Elements of Language Contact between German and Yiddish in the Jewish Press of Interwar Bukovina

AUGUSTA COSTIUC RADOSAV

The remarkable diversity and cultural complexity of interwar Bukovina is conclusively illustrated by the numerous instances of language contact between German and Yiddish in the Bukovinian Jewish press.

Augusta Costiuc Radosav
Lecturer at the Faculty of History and Philosophy, Babeş-Bolyai University, editor-in chief of **Studia Judaica**. Author of the vol. **Vocile unei istorii neterminate: Presa idiş din spaţiul românesc extracarpatic 1855–1900** (Voices of an unfinished history: The Yiddish press in the extra-Carpathian Romanian territories 1855–1900) (2014).

Framing and Context

THE CONTACT between Yiddish and German is of a particular nature, since one of the fundamental layers of Yiddish is composed of medieval German. In Bukovina, which became an Austrian province in 1775, a more notable contact occurred during the second half of the nineteenth century, with the influx of Jewish immigrants from neighboring territories.[1] The contact was facilitated by members of the Haskalah, the Jewish Enlightenment movement, and also by the imperial policies of Austria, which were aimed at transforming the Jews into "better people and more useful citizens"[2] of the state, by setting up German-language schools for Jewish children. Such schools were founded starting in 1854 in Chernivtsi, Suceava, Sadhora, and other towns, and they were remarkably successful.[3]

The language contact was also stimulated by the similarity between Yiddish and German, such that successive waves of Jewish immigrants to Bukovina in the nineteenth century were able to learn German very easily, adopting it as their second language. In many such cases, German came to replace Yiddish as their first language, the latter becoming their second language of communication.[4]

In terms of diastratal allocation, German was used by acculturated Jewish intellectuals who supported the Haskalah and were focused on German culture and literature, which they sought to emulate. In this sense, the Schiller or Goethe translations by Jewish intellectuals of the Enlightenment—*maskilim*—are edifying, as well as their original works written in German, inspired by Sturm und Drang literature.[5] On the other hand, Yiddish was the language of the lower class, since most of its speakers were humble craftsmen or traders.[6] These linguistic configurations also determined the spatial configuration of the urban space in Chernivtsi, in the sense that the Oberstadt was inhabited by educated and well-off German-speaking Jews, while the Yiddish-speaking Jews of more humble means lived in the Unterstadt.[7]

During the interwar period, German and Yiddish shaped two distinctive cultural fields among the Jews of Bukovina. On the one hand, after 1918, German maintained its role as the language of culture of the Jewish elite of Bukovina, mainly concentrated in Chernivtsi. Notable Jewish writers of Bukovina, such as Alfred Margul-Sperber, Rose Ausländer, Moses Rosenkranz, Alfred Kittner, Paul Celan, Immanuel Weissglas, and others, found their identity in the German-speaking culture, which they successfully cultivated.[8] On the other hand, Yiddish was intensely promoted through cultural associations such as Yidisher Shul Fareyn, Morgnroit (of the Jewish socialist movement Bund), or Ber Borochov (of the socialist-Zionist movement Po'ale Zion). Some of their prominent members were significant writers such as Eliezer Steinbarg, Yankev Sternberg, Moyshe Altman, and Itzik Manger.[9] Several possible markers can linguistically circumscribe the two cultural fields outlined in Bukovina during the first half of the twentieth century: topography—German was spoken in the Oberstadt, while Yiddish was spoken in the Unterstadt; the public or private space—German was spoken in public, while Yiddish was used at home; places of culture such as libraries or book clubs—German was used by their members with no explicit political affiliation, while Yiddish was preferred by members of the Jewish socialist movement (Bund) or the socialist-Zionist movement (Po'ale Zion).[10]

Despite the delineation of the German and Yiddish cultural and linguistic fields, there are clues indicating they might not have been outlined very precisely, but were rather the result of confluences, interconnections, dialogues and interferences. The diversity of communication practices attests to many instances of bilingualism, both at the level of the cultural and urban elite, as well as

at a more popular, rural level. For instance, in cities certain library subscribers and members of book clubs were able to attend cultural activities in both Yiddish and German, with no particular preference for either.[11] Among the Jewish intellectual elite, many circumstances attest to bilingual practices employed by authors such as Kubi Wohl,[12] Moses Rosenkranz,[13] Alfred Kittner,[14] and Vera Haken.[15] A series of testimonies from people living in rural Bukovina also confirm the presence of a variety of bilingual practices in that area, as shaped by particular circumstances: the first case concerns Jews who used German only for spoken communication, and Yiddish for writing and reading, because they only knew the Hebrew alphabet; the second case refers to Jews who could read in both German and Yiddish, but couldn't use German in written communication; the third case concerns Jews who could read German newspapers, but used Yiddish to debate the news they had read; the fourth case regards Jews who corresponded either in Yiddish or in German using Hebrew script (*Jüdischdeutsch*);[16] the fifth case refers to family situations in which the parents or grandparents spoke Yiddish with each other and German with their children;[17] the sixth case reveals the audience's diversity during Yiddish lectures organized by the Yidisher Shul Fareyn cultural association, where the listeners spoke a mixture of German and Yiddish, half of them being German-speaking Jews.[18] One of the enthusiastic participants to those Yiddish lectures was the German-speaking Jewish poet Alfred Kittner, who unreservedly expressed his fascination with, and admiration for, the personality and works of the Yiddish poet Itzik Manger.[19]

Yiddish-German Language Contact during the Interwar Period

According to certain perspectives from the early twentieth century, the contact between German, Yiddish, and other languages spoken in Bukovina resulted in the emergence of numerous errors in Bukovinian German. Those voices contended that, in addition to frequent "Austrianisms," Bukovinian German was "contaminated" by numerous "Yiddishisms," or "Bukovinisms" of Yiddish origin: the frequent use of the reflexive in verbs which in German do not usually take this form, such as *sich schaukeln*, *sich knien*, *sich kochen* or *sich spielen* (in the sense of "acting superficially," a meaning borrowed from Slavic languages and transferred to German through Yiddish).[20] The same category of "Bukovinisms" of Yiddish origin also includes the use of the adverb *ja* in the sense of "however," in place of the German *allerdings* or *doch*, like in the case of the expression "ich werde es aber *ja* thun."[21] "Bukovinisms" derived

from Yiddish also include the use of the Yiddish accusative-dative form for singular masculine and neuter nouns, such as in the case of "ich gehe *im* Zimmer," in place of the German accusative "ich gehe *ins* Zimmer";[22] the use of the interrogative expression *für was?* meaning *why?*, in place of the German interrogative adverb *warum?*;[23] the use of the expression *aber wo!* meaning *alas, no!*, in place of German expressions *o, nein!* or *ach, nein!*;[24] the use of interjections, such as: *taki*, meaning *really*; *is that so* (affirmative) or *taki?* (interrogative), meaning *you don't say?* (as an expression of doubt); *ahi*, meaning *wow!* (as an expression of wonder, amazement); *joi*, meani*ng oh my!* The extensive use of *joi* projected upon that preposition several semantic valences: the first one expressed pain, suffering, despair, such as in the case of "*joiker* nicht so," in the sense of "don't whine so much"; the second one conveyed regret, as in the example of "*joi*, das tut mir aber leid," meaning "alas, I am very sorry"; the third one revealed surprise, as in the example "*joi*, hast du mich erschrocken!," meaning "oh my, you've scared me!"[25] Some of the "Bukovinisms" borrowed from Yiddish are phraseologies, such as *der Schlag soll dich treffen*,[26] meaning "[I hope] you have a stroke."

The borrowing of certain Yiddish elements by German, through language contact, is very conclusively revealed in the German-language Jewish periodicals of interwar Chernivtsi. These testify to the existence of a variety of Bukovinian German in this city, known as "Czernowitzerisch," shaped by the massive influences of Yiddish and other languages of contact.[27] As illustrated by the German-language Jewish periodicals of interwar Chernivtsi, the first category exemplifying the influences of Yiddish on German is that of direct lexical transfers or borrowings from Yiddish to German. The elements introduced as direct lexical transfers include flexible morphological parts (nouns, verbs, adjectives, pronouns), as well as invariable morphological parts (interjections, adverbs). Regarding the flexible morphological parts, most lexical transfers recorded are nouns, such as: *Broche*[28] (*blessing*—Yiddish original ברכה,[29] translit. *brokhe*); *Chutzpe*[30] (*naughtiness*, *shamelessness*—Yiddish original חוצפה, translit. *khutspe*); *Gewure*[31] (*power*, *greatness*—Yiddish original גבורה, translit. *gvure*); *Kowed*[32] (*honour*—Yiddish original כבוד, translit. *koved*); *Maseltoff*[33] (*congratulations*—Yiddish original מזל-טוב, translit. *mazl-tov*); *Tachles*[34] (*purpose*, *goal*—Yiddish original תכלית, translit. *takhles*); *Zures*[35] (*suffering*, *mourning*, *misery*—standard Yiddish original צרות, translit. *tsores*, rendered here as the Southeast Yiddish dialect *tsures*); *Stramel*[36] (*fur hat worn by the Hassidic Jews*—standard Yiddish original שטריימל, translit. *shtrayml*, rendered here as the Southeast Yiddish dialect *shtramel*); *Chammer*[37] (*donkey*—Yiddish original חמור, translit. *chamer*); *Chassene*[38] (*wedding*—Yiddish original חתונה, translit. *chasene*); *Meschuggener*[39] (*crazy*—standard Yiddish original משוגענער, translit. *meshugener*) and *Meschiggener*[40] (*crazy*—standard Yiddish

original משוגענער, rendered here as the Southeast Yiddish dialect *meshigener*); *Ganev*[41] (*thief*—Yiddish original גנב, translit. *ganef*); *Chuchem*[42] (the original meaning of the word is *smart*, *intelligent* but the German-language Jewish periodicals employ the figurative meaning of *idiot*, *blinkard*—Yiddish original חכם, translit. *khokhem*, rendered here as the Southeast Yiddish dialect *khukhem*). In addition to nouns, direct lexical transfers of flexible morphological parts also include verbs, such as: *blischken*[43] (*to shine*, *to sparkle*, *to flicker*—Yiddish original בלישטשען, translit. *blishtshen*); *horwen*[44] (*to toil*—Yiddish original הארעווע_ן, translit. *horeven*); *chappen*[45] (*to catch*, *to grab*—Yiddish original כאפן, translit. *khapn*). Direct lexical transfers of flexible morphological parts also include adjectives, such as *bekowedt*[46] (*esteemed, honored*—Yiddish original בכבודיק, translit. *bekovedik*), or pronouns, such as *jach*[47] (*I*—Yiddish original יאך, translit. *jakh*, a dialectal form from Warsaw for the standard first person singular personal pronoun איך, translit. *ikh*).[48]

The direct lexical transfer of invariable morphological parts is evident in certain interjections and adverbs. Among the Yiddish-borrowed interjections which were frequently used in Bukovina were *ahi!*[49] (Yiddish original אהי!, translit. *akhi!*—bearing two semantic nuances: *wow!* as an expression of wonder, amazement and *ugh!* or *pah!* as an expression of negative surprise, generated by an unexpected and unpleasant event);[50] *anu*[51] (*come on!* Yiddish original אַנו!, translit. *anu!*); *oy* with the variant *oi* (*woe!*—Yiddish original אוי, translit. *oy*, as an expression of regret, suffering, despair);[52] *nu*[53] with the variant *no*[54] (*therefore*, *so*—Yiddish original נו, translit. *nu*, expletive interjection meant to introduce a speech or to request an answer from the interlocutor). Regarding adverbs, we note the frequent use of *take*[55] with the variant *taki* (*really*; *is that so*—Yiddish original טאקע, translit. *take*); the pair *ahin* (*there*, Yiddish original אהין, translit. *ahin*) and *aher*[56] (*here*, Yiddish original אהער, translit. *aher*).

The second category of transfers reflected by the German-language Jewish periodicals of interwar Chernivtsi is that of partial transfers or hybrid linguistic structures, including words consisting of elements belonging to both the source language (Yiddish) and the target language (German). Depending on how these words are formed, this category includes hybrid compounds or hybrid derivatives.[57] The most common transfers are partial, in the form of hybrid compounds, such as: *Obermelammed*[58] (*superior teacher*), composed by joining the German determinant *Ober…* (*superior*) and the Yiddish noun *melammed* (*teacher in Jewish religious primary schools*—Yiddish original מלמד, translit. *melamed*); *Strassenbollotee*[59] (*muddy streets*), composed by joining the German noun *Strassen* (*streets*) and the Yiddish-origin *bolotee* (*mud*—Yiddish original בלאָטע, translit. *blote*). Less frequent are the hybrid derivative partial type transfers, such as *benebbicht*[60] ([he/she] *pities*, with the infinitive *benebbichen*—to pity), derived from the Yiddish-

origin interjection *nebbich* (meaning *poor him/her*—Yiddish original נעבעך, translit. *nebekh*) and the German prefix *be-*.

The German-language Jewish periodicals of interwar Chernivtsi are also edifying for a third category, namely that of transfer by translation, whereby words or phrases transferred into the target language (German) borrow from the source language (Yiddish) both morphological and lexical or semantic characteristics.[61] For instance, we have the prepositional phrase *auf der Sonne* (*in the sun*—Yiddish original אויף דער זון, translit. *oyf der zun*), which incorporates the lexical transfer of the Yiddish preposition *auf* instead of the German *unter*, as well as the use of the definite article in the dative case, required in Yiddish by all prepositions;[62] or the adverb of place *herein* (*inside*—Yiddish original אריין, translit. *arayn*), with the Yiddish meaning of a movement *from the speaker* and not with the original German meaning of a movement *towards the speaker*, as in the case of "wenn du gehst *herein* ins Wasser."[63]

The fourth category, namely that of grammatical transfers, is extensively illustrated in the German-language Jewish periodicals of interwar Chernivtsi. The first subcategory of grammatical transfers emphasizes the reproduction of morphological categories from the source language (Yiddish) into the target language (German). These reproductions include: declension of the definite article in the dative case, plural, according to Yiddish grammatical rules, as in the examples "von *die* jüdischen Sachen";[64] "mit *die* Sachen";[65] "mit *die* Kindergarten";[66] "von *die* Viecher";[67] "bei *die* Kälten";[68] "bei *die* Wahlen";[69] declension of the adjective in the dative case, plural, according to the Yiddish model, as in the example "mit *solche* Kavaliere."[70] The second subcategory of grammatical transfers refers to the borrowing of words and their syntactic function from the source language (Yiddish) and their reproduction in the same form in the target language (German). Some illustrative examples include: the pronominal-interrogative adverb *für was?* (*why?*), a calque of the Yiddish interrogative adverb *farvos* (Yiddish original פֿאַרװאָס), as in the example "*für was* frißt die Beschtie Hafer?";[71] or the relative pronoun *was* (*which*), a calque of the Yiddish relative pronoun *vos* (Yiddish original װאָס), as in the example "Kavaliere, *was* die Steuern nicht bezahlen."[72] The third subcategory of grammatical transfers includes enclitic forms of verbs in the interrogative mood, when the second person singular personal pronoun, positioned after the verb, merges with it. Yiddish contraction always results in the elimination of the letter "d" (Yiddish original ד) from the personal pronoun, while in German there are variants in which the "d" is either eliminated or kept: "zerspringen *sollstu*, wann *gehstdu*?"[73] The fourth subcategory of grammatical transfers refers to elements of clausal syntax, namely, to positioning the predicate in the word order of the subordinate clause. According to the Yiddish language model, the predicate is placed immediately after the

subject in the subordinate clause, and not at the end of it: "wenn du *gehst* herein ins Wasser."[74] If the predicate is in a compound verb tense, the verbal auxiliary no longer takes the final position in the subordinate clause, preceded by the past participle, but rather the compound predicate is positioned immediately after the subject, in the verbal auxiliary sequence, followed by the past participle: "daß der Ebner *hat bekommen* die zwei Prozent";[75] "daß schon mein Urgrossvater *hat gebacken* Mazzes."[76] The fifth subcategory of grammatical transfers refers to double negation. This grammatical transfer may have occurred both following the contact of Bukovinian German with Yiddish, as well as with the Austrian dialects, where double negation is present: "wird *keine* Faxen *nicht* gemacht."[77]

The fifth category, namely that of phraseological transfers, is very well represented in the German language Jewish periodicals of interwar Chernivtsi. According to the degree of idiomization of the transferred phrasemes, there are idiomatic expressions and proverbs, or non-idiomatic expressions (collocations), and, depending on their degree of equivalence, phrasemes can meet the criteria for total or partial equivalence. There are no transfers meeting the standards of perfect equivalence, but there are numerous examples of total equivalence with small deviations: morphosyntactic (differences of preposition, number, case, tense or mood of verbs), such as the idiomatic expressions "asa Juhr *zi* mir"[78] (standard Yiddish original אַזאַ יאָר אויף מיר,[79] translit. "aza yor *oyf* mir," rendered here according to the Southeast Yiddish dialect), or "*Perlen sind herausgekommen aus seinem Mund*"[80] (Yiddish original עס פערלט פֿון זײַן מויל,[81] translit. "es *perlt* fun zayn moyl"); lexical (one of the words is replaced by a synonym or partial synonym), such as the idiomatic expressions "Perlen *sind herausgekommen* aus seinem Mund"[82] (Yiddish original עס שיט זיך בײַ אים פערל פֿון מויל,[83] translit. "es *shit zikh bay im* perl fun moyl") and "a *Schlag* auf Deine Gebeine"[84] (Yiddish original אַ מכה דיר אין די ביינער,[85] translit. "a *make* dir in di beyner"), or the proverb "Umgekehrt *ist* auch gefahren"[86] (Yiddish original אומגעקערט הייסט אויך געפֿאָרן,[87] translit. "umgekhert *heyst* oykh geforn"); of explication (deduction or addition of words), such as the idiomatic expression "a Schlag zu Dir!"[88] (Yiddish original אַ שלאָג זאָל אויף אײַך קומען,[89] translit. "a shlog *zol* oyf aykh *kumen*!"). Regarding transfers with a partial degree of equivalence, such as phrasemes with lexical substitutions by words which are not synonymous, we note the idiomatic expressions "Der *Schlag* soll Dich *treffen*"[90] or "a *Schlag* auf Deine Gebeine"[91] (Yiddish original אַ מכה אײַך אין די ביינער,[92] translit. "a *make* aykh in di *beyner*!").

Regarding non-idiomatic phrasemes (collocations), we note transfers of common formulas with total equivalence of various degrees: perfect equivalence, such as "Gott soll abhüten"[93] (Yiddish original גאָט זאָל אָפּהיטן,[94] translit. "Got zol ophitn"); with small lexical deviations, such as "Was ist *etwas*?"[95] (Yiddish original וואָס איז עפּעס,[96] translit. "vos iz *epes*?"); with small morphosyntac-

tic deviations, such as "*bitten* Sie sich aus sein gutes Jahr"[97] (Yiddish original איר זאָלט זיך אויסבעטן אַ גוט יאָר,[98] translit. "*ir zolt* zikh *oysbetn* a gut yor" and "gesund tragen und gesund zerreißen"[99] (Yiddish original טראָגט געזונט און צעריסט געזונט,[100] translit. "trogt gezunt un tserayst gezunt").

German-Yiddish Language Contact during the Interwar Period

THE GERMAN influence on Yiddish was mainly the result of the stylistic movement known as *daytshmerish*, which emerged in Eastern European Yiddish in the nineteenth century. *Daytshmerish* refers to numerous linguistic elements specific to the German language, transferred to both written and spoken Eastern Yiddish, peaking between 1880 and 1920.[101] The *daytshmerish* style is different from German expressed in Hebrew characters (*Jüdischdeutsch*), which was also frequently used in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in places where the German language was used, including Bukovina.[102] Although the influences of *daytshmerish* on spoken Yiddish have not been preserved, they can be extracted and revealed with the help of written sources, such as the Yiddish periodicals of interwar Chernivtsi.

The influences of *daytshmerish* on written Yiddish comprise orthographic, lexical and grammatical transfers. The best represented category is that of orthographic transfers. There are many examples of transfers of vowels in Yiddish, which resemble German vocalization. The following such transfers are noteworthy: עה (Yiddish *ayen-hey*) for rendering the German unrounded anterior openmid vowel [ɛ] (Germ. *eh*), such as in the case of שטעהען[103] (translit. *shtehen*; see Germ. *stehen*; cf. Yiddish original שטיין, translit. *shteyn*); ה (Yiddish *hey*) succeeding other vowels, such as in the following cases באַציהונג[104] (translit. *batsyihung*; see Germ. *Beziehung*; cf. Yiddish original באַציונג, translit. *batsyiung*), פֿאַרשטעהט[105] (translit. *farshteht*; see Germ. *versteht*; cf. Yiddish original פֿאַרשטייט, translit. *farshteyt*), or קומט אָהן[106] (translit. *kumt on*; see Germ. *kommt an*; cf. Yiddish original קומט אָן, translit *kumt on*); יע (Yiddish *yud-ayen*) to render the German vowel digraph *ie*, used in place of the Yiddish vowel *i* (י), such as in the case of ציעל[107] (translit. *tsyiel*; see Germ. *Ziel*; cf. Yiddish original ציל, translit. *tsyil*); ו (Yiddish *vov*) to render the German vowel *u*, used in place of the Yiddish vowel *i* (י), such as in the case of באַנוצען[108] (translit. *banutsen*; see Germ. *benutzen*; cf. Yiddish original באַניצן, translit. *banitsn*); ע (Yiddish *ayen*) for rendering the German vowel *e*, used in place of the Yiddish vowel *a* (אַ) in the Germanized prefix *be-* (germ. *be-*), which replaces the standard Yiddish ba- (באַ), such as in the case of

בעשלוסען[109] (translit. *beshlusen*; see Germ. *Beschlüssen*; cf. Yiddish original באשלוסן, translit. *bashlusn*); אָ (Yiddish *komets aleph*) for rendering the German vowel *o*, used in place of the Yiddish vowel *u* (ו) in the Germanized prefix *fol-* (Germ. *vol-*), which replaces the standard Yiddish prefix *ful-* (פול), such as in the case of פֿאָלשטענדיגע[110] (translit. *folshtendige*; see Germ. *vollständige*; cf. Yiddish original פֿולשטענדיקע, translit. *fulshtentike*); ע (Yiddish *ayen*) for rendering the German vowels *e, ö, ä*, used in place of the Yiddish diphthong *ey* (יי), as in the examples געהט אַוועק[111] (translit. *geht avek*; see Germ. *geht weg*; cf. Yiddish original גייט אַוועק, translit. *geyt avek*), שעהנער[112] (translit. *shehner*; see Germ. *schöner*; cf. Yiddish original שיינער, translit. *sheyner*), פֿאָרצולעגן[113] (translit. *fortsulegn*; see Germ. *vorzulegen*; cf. Yiddish original פֿאָרצולייגן, translit. *fortsuleygn*); אָ (Yiddish *komets aleph*) for rendering the German vowel *ö*, used in place of the Yiddish diphthong *ey* (יי), as in the example לאָזונג[114] (translit. *lozung*; see Germ. *Lösung*; cf. Yiddish original לייזונג, translit. *leyzung*).

There are also instances of consonant transfers, according to the German consonant model. The most common examples comprise words containing deaf consonants in the final position, which are written according to the German model of etymological orthography (*-d* or *-g*), rather than to the Yiddish phonetic spelling (*-t*, Yiddish original -ט). In the case of גרונדאידעע[115] (translit. *grundidee*; cf. Germ. *Grundidee*), we note the presence of the etymological *-d* (-ד) of German origin, in place of the Yiddish final phonetic *-t* (-ט). In addition, there are many examples of words ending in the etymological suffix *-ig* (-יג), according to the German model, and not in the phonetic *-ik* (-יק), as used in Yiddish: וויכטיג[116] (translit. *vikhtig*; cf. Germ. *wichtig*); שולדיג[117] (translit. *shuldig*; cf. Germ. *schuldig*); שוועריגקייטן[118] (translit. *shverigkeytn*; cf. Germ. *Schwerigkeiten*); הייליגע[119] (translit. *heylige*; cf. Germ. *Heilige*). There are also instances of words with the deaf consonant *-d* in the initial position, which are also written in agreement with the German model of etymological orthography (*-d*), and not with the Yiddish phonetic orthography rules (*-t*, Yiddish original -(ט): באדייטן[120] (translit. *badeytn*; cf. Germ. *bedeuten*).

The second category eloquently reflected in Bukovinian Yiddish periodicals is that of lexical transfers. Of these, the most numerous are autosemantic words (nouns, verbs, adjectives, pronouns, adverbs), such as: ווײַטערער[121] (translit. *vayterer*, cf. Germ. *weiter*), in place of the Yiddish original ווײַטערדיקער (translit. *vayterdiker*); אייניגע[122] (translit. *eynige*, cf. Germ. *einige*), in place of the Yiddish original עטלעכע (translit. *etlekhe*); דאַמאַלס[123] (translit. *damals*, cf. Germ. *damals*), in place of the Yiddish original דעמאָלט (translit. *demolt*); פֿאָרטצוזעצען[124] (translit. *forttsuzetsen*, cf. Germ. *fortzusetzen*), in place of the Yiddish original ממשיך צו זײַן (translit. *mamshikh tsu zayn*); ווערהענד[125] (translit. *vehrend*, cf. Germ. *während*), in place of the Yiddish original אין משך פֿון, respectively פֿון במשך (translit. *in meshekh fun*, re-

spectively *bemeshekh fun*); דערמאָגען[126] (translit. *dermogen*, cf. Germ. *ermöglichen*), in place of the Yiddish original מיגלעך מאַכן (translit. *miglekh makhn*); בעשלוסען[127] (translit. *beshlusen*, cf. Germ. *Beschlüssen*), in place of the Yiddish original החלטות (translit. *hakhlotes*); איהריגע[128] (translit. *ihrige*, cf. Germ. *irrige*), in place of the Yiddish original טעותדיקע (translit. *toesdike*); אַנשויאונג[129] (translit. *anshoyung*, cf. Germ. *Anschauung*), in place of the Yiddish original אַרויסקוק (translit. *aroyskuk*).

In addition to autosemantic words, lexical transfers also include functional or grammatical words (articles, pronouns, derivative particles—suffixes or prefixes, conjunctions, interjections). Thus, the following functional word transfers can be observed: the conjunction אַלס[130] (translit. *als*, cf. Germ. *als*), in place of the Yiddish original ווי (translit. *vi*); certain Germanized prefixes such as *er-* (Germ. *er-*), which replaces the standard Yiddish *der-* (דער), or *un-* (און), which is used in place of the standard Yiddish *um-* (אום), as in the examples ערוואַרטענער (translit. *ervartener*; cf. Germ. *erwartener*, in place of the Yiddish original דערוואַרטענער, translit. *dervartener*), respectively אונצעהליגע (translit. *untsehlige*; cf. Germ. *unzählige*, in place of the Yiddish original אומצייליקע, translit. *umtseylike*); the Germanized suffix -יאָן (cf. Germ. *-ion*), which replaces the standard Yiddish -יע (translit. *-ye*), as in the example נאַציאָן (translit. *natsyon*; cf. Germ. *Nation*, in place of the Yiddish original נאַציע, translit. *natsye*).

The third category illustrated in Yiddish periodicals of Bukovina is that of grammatical transfers. There are instances of transfers through which morphological categories are borrowed from the source language (German) and introduced into the target language (Yiddish). These reproductions include: borrowing the gender of German nouns, as in the example פֿון דער יאַסער אוניווערסיטעט[131] (translit. *fun **der** yaser universitet*; cf. Germ. *von **der** Jassyer Universität*), in place of the standard Yiddish variant פֿון דעם יאַסער אוניווערסיטעט (translit. ***fun dem** yaser universitet*); or the introduction of the vowel ע (Yiddish *ayen*) in verb endings in the indicative mood, present tense, first and third person, plural and in the infinitive, as in the examples האַבען[132] (translit. *haben*; cf. Germ. *haben*), in place of the standard Yiddish form האָבן (translit. *hobn*), or מאַכען (translit. *makhen*; cf. Germ. *machen*), in place of the standard Yiddish variant מאַכן (translit. *makhn*).

Conclusions

THE REMARKABLE diversity and cultural complexity of interwar Bukovina is conclusively illustrated by the numerous instances of language contact between German and Yiddish in the Bukovinian Jewish press. The German and Yiddish Jewish periodicals reveal a network of very diverse cultural connections, which are also reflected through elements of language contact, and

their comparative study highlights new and unique coordinates of the multicultural profile of Bukovina during the interwar period.

❑

(Translated by LUCIA HOREA)

Notes

1. Mariana Hausleitner, *Die Rumänisierung der Bukowina: Die Durchsetzung des nationalstaatlichen Anspruchs Grossrumäniens 1918–1944* (Munich: R. Oldenbourg Verlag, 2001), 29–30.
2. Haim Hillel Ben-Sasson, "Dohm, Christian Wilhelm von," in *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, 2nd edition, vol. 5, COH-DOZ, editor in chief Fred Skolnik, executive editor Michel Berenbaum (Jerusalem: Keter Publishing House, 2007), 733–734.
3. Hermann Sternberg, "Das Unterrichtswesen der Juden in der Bukowina," in *Geschichte der Juden in der Bukowina*, edited by Hugo Gold, vol. 1 (Tel Aviv: Edition "Olamenu," 1958), 77–78.
4. Kurt Rein, "Zum Czernowitzer Deutsch," *Südostdeutsche Vierteljahresblätter* 50, 1 (2001): 67.
5. N. M. Gelber, "Geschichte der Juden in der Bukowina: Unter österreichischen Verwaltung," in *Geschichte der Juden in der Bukowina*, 1: 58–59.
6. Susanne Marten-Finnis and Markus Winkler, "Location of Memory versus Space of Communication: Presses, Languages, and Education among Czernovitz Jews, 1918–1941," *Central Europe* 7, 1 (2009): 45. See also Susanne Marten-Finnis, "Wer sprach Jiddisch in Czernowitz? Ein Ansatz zur Erforschung von sozialen und situativen Faktoren gemeinsamer Textrezeption," in *Presselandschaft in der Bukowina und den Nachbarregionen: Akteure—Inhalte—Ereignisse (1900–1945)*, edited by Markus Winkler (Munich: IKGS Verlag, 2011), 71–73.
7. Efrat Gal-Ed, *Niemandssprache: Itzik Manger—ein europäischer Dichter* (Berlin: Jüdischer Verlag im Suhrkamp Verlag, 2016), 66. See also Marten-Finnis and Winkler, 44.
8. George Guțu and Peter Motzan, "Nachwort," in *Die Buche: Eine Anthologie deutschsprachiger Judendichtung aus der Bukowina*, compiled by Alfred Margul-Sperber, edited by George Guțu, Peter Motzan, and Stefan Sienerth (Munich: IKGS Verlag, 2009), 425–467.
9. Arthur Kolnik, "Der Yidisher Shul Fareyn in Tshernovits," in *Shloyme Bickel yoyvlbukh: Ateret Shelomoh: tsu zayn 70stn geboyrntog*, edited by Moshe Starkman (New York: Farlag Matones, 1967), 222–223. See also Shmuel Aba Soifer, *Das jüdische Wohlfahrtswesen in Czernowitz: Mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Bemühungen um die Vereinheitlichung des Hilfswerkes* (Chernivtsi: Verlag der Buchhandlung Kramer, 1925), 94–97.
10. Marten-Finnis and Winkler, 44.

11. Gaby Coldewey et al., *Zwischen Pruth und Jordan: Lebenserinnerungen Czernowitzer Juden* (Cologne: Böhlau, 2003), 22.

12. Peter Motzan, "Kubi Wohl," in *Die Buche*, 424. See also *Kubi Wohl, der Meteor: Zikhroynes, opshatsungen, lider, briv*, afterword by Alfred Kittner (Haifa: Dfus "Or," 1980).

13. Peter Motzan, "Moses Rosenkranz," in *Die Buche*, 411. See also Moses Rosenkranz, *Kindheit: Fragment einer Autobiographie*, edited by George Guţu and Doris Rosenkranz, with an essay by Matthias Huff (Aachen: Rimbaud, 2001), 10–11.

14. Aleksander Shpiglblat, *Bloe vinkln: Itsik manger—lebn, lid un balade* (Tel Aviv: Y. L. Perets, 2002), 46–47. See also Marianne Hirsch and Leo Spitzer, *Ghosts of Home: The Afterlife of Czernowitz in Jewish Memory* (Berkeley–Los Angeles–London: University of California Press, 2010), 97.

15. Vera Haken, *Kinder-yorn, yugnt yorn mit Eliezer Shtaynbarg* (Tel Aviv: Y. L. Peretz, 1969), 21.

16. Marten-Finnis and Winkler, 44.

17. Rosenkranz, 10. See also Miriam Bercovici, "Interview" (conducted by Ana-Maria Hincu, August 2003), *Centropa Archive*, accessed 3 Dec. 2021, https://www.centropa.org/en/biography/miriam-bercovici.

18. Coldewey et al., 22–23. See also Alfred Kittner, "Erinnerungen an den Poeten Itzik Manger," in *Jüdisches Städtebild Czernowitz*, edited by Andrei Corbea-Hoişie, with photos by Guido Baselgia and Renata Erich (Frankfurt am Main: Jüdischer Verlag im Suhrkamp Verlag, 1998), 198.

19. Alfred Kittner, "Erinnerungen an den Poeten Itzik Manger," *Neue Literatur* 3 (1979): 31.

20. Rein, 68. See also *Bukowiner Deutsch: Fehler und Eigenthümlichkeiten in der deutschen Verkehrs- und Schriftsprache der Bukowina* (Vienna: Im kaiserlich-königlichen Schulbücher-Verlage, 1901), 43.

21. *Bukowiner Deutsch*, 23, 43.

22. *Bukowiner Deutsch*, 35.

23. *Bukowiner Deutsch*, 36.

24. *Bukowiner Deutsch*, 26.

25. Rein, 69. See also *Bukowiner Deutsch*, 16–17.

26. *Bukowiner Deutsch*, 27.

27. Ágota Nagy, "Faszinosum 'Czernowitzerisch': Zur deutsch-jiddischen Kontaktvarietät im Czernowitz der Zwischenkriegszeit," in *Terra Judaica: Literarische, kulturelle und historische Perspektiven auf das Judentum in der Bukowina und in Galizien/Literary, Cultural and Historical Perspectives on Bukovinian and Galician Jewry*, edited by Francisca Solomon and Ion Lihaciu (Konstanz: Hartung-Gorre Verlag, 2020), 127.

28. *Die Bombe: Eine lustige Streitschrift gegen Alle* 3 (1931): 3, 6, qtd. in Ágota Nagy, "Deutsch-jiddischer Sprachenkontakt am Beispiel der Czernowitzer deutsch-jüdischen Presse der 1930-er Jahre," Ph.D. dissertation, Veszprém, Pannon Egyetem, 2011, 51.

29. Yiddish words spelled with Hebrew characters inserted by Augusta Costiuc Radosav.

30. *Die Bombe: Eine lustige Streitschrift gegen Alle* 5 (1931): 3; *Die Bombe: Halbmonats-schrift für Politik, Wirtschaft und Satire* 23 (1935): 14; *Der Tag*: *Unabhängiges und demokratisches Organ für die Interessen der Stadt Cernăuți, der Bucovina und des Reiches* 304 (1933): 3, qtd. in Nagy, " Deutsch-jiddischer Sprachenkontakt," 51.

31. *Die Bombe: Eine lustige Streitschrift* 4 (1931): 2; 7 (1931): 6; 8 (1931): 6; 14 (1931): 2; *Der Tag* 616 (1934): 2, qtd. in Nagy, "Deutsch-jiddischer Sprachenkontakt," 51.

32. *Die Bombe: Eine lustige Streitschrift* 3 (1931): 2; *Die Bombe: Halbmonatsschrift* 23 (1935): 15, qtd. in Nagy, "Deutsch-jiddischer Sprachenkontakt," 51.

33. *Der Tag* 411 (1933): 3; *Die Bombe: Halbmonatsschrift* 25 (1935): 2, qtd. in Nagy, "Deutsch-jiddischer Sprachenkontakt," 51.

34. *Die Bombe: Eine lustige Streitschrift* 3 (1931): 2, qtd. in Nagy, "Deutsch-jiddischer Sprachenkontakt," 51.

35. *Die Bombe: Eine lustige Streitschrift* 6 (1931): 3, qtd. in Nagy, "Deutsch-jiddischer Sprachenkontakt," 51.

36. *Der Tag* 500 (1934): 10, qtd. in Nagy, "Deutsch-jiddischer Sprachenkontakt," 52.

37. *Czernowitzer Humor* 7 (1931): 9, qtd. in Nagy, "Deutsch-jiddischer Sprachenkontakt," 60.

38. *Die Bombe: Eine lustige Streitschrift* 4 (1931): 4; *Der Tag* 648 (1934): 2, qtd. in Nagy, "Deutsch-jiddischer Sprachenkontakt," 60.

39. *Die Bombe: Eine lustige Streitschrift* 6 (1931): 8, qtd. in Nagy, "Deutsch-jiddischer Sprachenkontakt," 60.

40. *Der Tag* 207 (1932): 5, qtd. in Nagy, "Deutsch-jiddischer Sprachenkontakt," 60.

41. *Czernowitzer Humor* 7 (1931): 8, qtd. in Nagy, "Deutsch-jiddischer Sprachenkontakt," 75.

42. *Die Bombe: Eine lustige Streitschrift* 8 (1931): 6, qtd. in Nagy, "Deutsch-jiddischer Sprachenkontakt," 62.

43. *Die Bombe: Eine lustige Streitschrift* 4 (1931): 5; 8 (1931): 6, qtd. in Nagy, "Deutsch-jiddischer Sprachenkontakt," 62.

44. *Die Bombe: Halbmonatsschrift* 23 (1935): 14, qtd. in Nagy, "Deutsch-jiddischer Sprachenkontakt," 69.

45. *Die Bombe: Eine lustige Streitschrift* 2 (1931): 4, qtd. in Nagy, "Deutsch-jiddischer Sprachenkontakt," 70.

46. *Der Tag* 160 (1932): 3, qtd. in Nagy, "Deutsch-jiddischer Sprachenkontakt," 52.

47. *Czernowitzer Humor* 6 (1931): 9, qtd. in Nagy, "Deutsch-jiddischer Sprachenkontakt," 53.

48. Ewa Geller, *Warschauer Jiddisch* (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 2001), 139. See also Nagy, "Deutsch-jiddischer Sprachenkontakt," 53.

49. *Die Bombe: Halbmonatsschrift* 23 (1935): 14, qtd. in Nagy, "Deutsch-jiddischer Sprachenkontakt," 54.

50. According to some, the interjection *ahi!* originated in Ukraine, referring to a dreaded Ukrainian executioner named Ahi. Cf. Hirsch and Spitzer, 90, 141. See also *Bukowiner Deutsch*: 16; Rein, 69; Georg Drozdowski, *Damals in Czernowitz und rundum: Erinnerungen eines Altösterreichers* (Klagenfurt: Verlag der Kleinen Zeitung, 1984), 71.

51. *Die Bombe: Eine lustige Streitschrift* 5 (1931): 3; *Die Bombe: Halbmonatsschrift* 23 (1935): 13, 14; 25 (1935): 2, qtd. in Nagy, "Deutsch-jiddischer Sprachenkontakt," 54–55.

52. *Die Bombe: Eine lustige Streitschrift* 4 (1931): 6; *Die Bombe: Halbmonatsschrift* 25 (1935): 2; *Der Tag* 82 (1932): 2; 652 (1934): 2, qtd. in Nagy, "Deutsch-jiddischer Sprachenkontakt," 57–58. See also Drozdowski, 73.

53. *Die Bombe: Eine lustige Streitschrift* 2 (1931): 3; 3 (1931): 7; 5 (1931): 3; 6 (1931): 3; *Der Tag* 56 (1932): 2; *Czernowitzer Humor* 25 (1931): 3; 15 (1931): 5; 24 (1931): 9; *Die Bombe: Halbmonatsschrift* 23 (1935): 13, qtd. in Nagy, "Deutsch-jiddischer Sprachenkontakt," 55–56. See also Drozdowski, 74.

54. *Die Bombe: Eine lustige Streitschrift* 4 (1931): 6; 6 (1931): 3, 5, qtd. in Nagy, "Deutsch-jiddischer Sprachenkontakt," 56–57. See also Drozdowski, 72–73.

55. *Die Bombe: Eine lustige Streitschrift* 5 (1931): 3; 6 (1931): 3, 4, qtd. in Nagy, "Deutsch-jiddischer Sprachenkontakt," 59. See also *Bukowiner Deutsch*, 16. See also Rein, 69.

56. *Die Bombe: Halbmonatsschrift* 23 (1935): 14, qtd. in Nagy, "Deutsch-jiddischer Sprachenkontakt," 59.

57. Nagy, "Deutsch-jiddischer Sprachenkontakt," 77–78.

58. *Der Tag* 263 (1933): 4, qtd. in Nagy, "Deutsch-jiddischer Sprachenkontakt," 80.

59. *Der Tag* 304 (1933): 3, qtd. in Nagy, "Deutsch-jiddischer Sprachenkontakt," 84.

60. *Der Tag* 406 (1933): 2, qtd. in Nagy, "Deutsch-jiddischer Sprachenkontakt," 86; Nagy, "Faszinosum 'Czernowitzerisch,'" 130.

61. Nagy, "Deutsch-jiddischer Sprachenkontakt," 87–88.

62. *Die Bombe: Eine lustige Streitschrift* 9 (1931): 4, qtd. in Nagy, "Deutsch-jiddischer Sprachenkontakt," 88; Nagy, "Faszinosum 'Czernowitzerisch,'" 131.

63. *Die Bombe: Eine lustige Streitschrift* 9 (1931): 4, qtd. in Nagy, "Deutsch-jiddischer Sprachenkontakt," 88; Nagy, "Faszinosum 'Czernowitzerisch,'" 131.

64. *Die Bombe: Halbmonatsschrift* 25 (1935): 1, qtd. in Nagy, "Deutsch-jiddischer Sprachenkontakt," 102.

65. *Die Bombe: Halbmonatsschrift* 25 (1935): 1, qtd. in Nagy, "Deutsch-jiddischer Sprachenkontakt," 102.

66. *Die Bombe: Eine lustige Streitschrift* 6 (1931): 3, qtd. in Nagy, "Deutsch-jiddischer Sprachenkontakt," 102.

67. *Der Tag* 135 (1932): 2, qtd. in Nagy, "Deutsch-jiddischer Sprachenkontakt," 102.

68. *Der Tag* 237 (1932): 2, qtd. in Nagy, "Deutsch-jiddischer Sprachenkontakt," 102.

69. *Die Bombe: Eine lustige Streitschrift* 5 (1931): 3, qtd. in Nagy, "Deutsch-jiddischer Sprachenkontakt," 103.

70. *Die Bombe: Halbmonatsschrift* 23 (1935): 13, qtd. in Nagy, "Deutsch-jiddischer Sprachenkontakt," 104.

71. *Der Tag* 135 (1932): 2, qtd. in Nagy, "Deutsch-jiddischer Sprachenkontakt," 104. See also *Bukowiner Deutsch*, 36.

72. *Die Bombe: Halbmonatsschrift* 23 (1935): 13, qtd. in Nagy, "Deutsch-jiddischer Sprachenkontakt," 104.

73. *Die Bombe: Halbmonatsschrift* 23 (1935): 14, qtd. in Nagy, "Deutsch-jiddischer Sprachenkontakt," 105.
74. *Die Bombe: Eine lustige Streitschrift* 9 (1931): 4, qtd. in Nagy, "Deutsch-jiddischer Sprachenkontakt," 101.
75. *Die Bombe: Eine lustige Streitschrift* 5 (1931): 3, qtd. in Nagy, "Deutsch-jiddischer Sprachenkontakt," 101.
76. *Die Bombe: Halbmonatsschrift* 25 (1935): 1, qtd. in Nagy, "Deutsch-jiddischer Sprachenkontakt," 100.
77. *Die Bombe: Halbmonatsschrift* 23 (1935): 13, qtd. in Nagy, "Deutsch-jiddischer Sprachenkontakt," 99.
78. *Der Tag* 19 (1932): 2, qtd. in Nagy, "Deutsch-jiddischer Sprachenkontakt," 108; Nagy, "Faszinosum 'Czernowitzerisch,'" 134.
79. Yosef Guri, *Fun yidishn kval: Yidisher frazeologisher verterbukh/Otzar ha-nivim shel ha-Yidish* (Jerusalem: Magnes Press; Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 2012), 46.
80. *Der Tag* 174 (1932): 2, qtd. in Nagy, "Deutsch-jiddischer Sprachenkontakt," 112.
81. Nahum Stutchkoff, *Der oytser fun der Yidisher shprakh* (New York: YIVO, 1950), 360.
82. *Der Tag* 174 (1932): 2, qtd. in Nagy, "Deutsch-jiddischer Sprachenkontakt," 112; Nagy, "Faszinosum 'Czernowitzerisch,'" 135.
83. Nahum Stutchkoff, *Der oytser fun der Yidisher shprakh* (New-York: YIVO, 1950), 360.
84. *Die Bombe* 23 (1935): 14, qtd. in Nagy, "Deutsch-jiddischer Sprachenkontakt," 112.
85. Yosef Guri, *Lomir hern gute bsures: Yidishe brokhes un kloles* (Jerusalem: Magnes Press; Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 2004), 54.
86. *Czernowitzer Humor* 4 (1932): 1, qtd. in Nagy, "Deutsch-jiddischer Sprachenkontakt," 109.
87. Stutchkoff, 117.
88. *Die Bombe* 23 (1935): 14, qtd. in Nagy, "Deutsch-jiddischer Sprachenkontakt," 112.
89. Sholem Aleichem, "Dos porfolk," in *Mayses far yidishe kinder*, vol. 1 (Buenos Aires: YKUF, 1953), 140.
90. *Der Tag* 237 (1932): 7, qtd. in Nagy, "Deutsch-jiddischer Sprachenkontakt," 112.
91. *Die Bombe* 23 (1935): 14, qtd. in Nagy, "Deutsch-jiddischer Sprachenkontakt," 112; Nagy, "Faszinosum 'Czernowitzerisch,'" 135.
92. Guri, *Lomir hern gute bsures*, 54.
93. *Die Bombe: Eine lustige Streitschrift* 14 (1931): 4, qtd. in Nagy, "Deutsch-jiddischer Sprachenkontakt," 110.
94. Yitskhok Niborski, Bernard Vaisbrot, and Simon Neuberg, *Yidish-frantseyzish verterbukh/Dictionnaire Yiddish-Français* (Paris: Medem-Bibliotek/Bibliothèque Medem, 2011), 99.
95. *Die Bombe* 23 (1935): 14, qtd. in Nagy, "Deutsch-jiddischer Sprachenkontakt," 109.
96. Sholem Aleichem, "Tsu der sude," in *Likhvoyd yom-tev* (Warsaw: Progress, 1913), 241.
97. *Der Tag* 174 (1932): 2, qtd. in Nagy, "Faszinosum 'Czernowitzerisch,'" 134.
98. Stutchkoff, 635.
99. *Der Tag* 241 (1932): 2, qtd. in Nagy, "Faszinosum 'Czernowitzerisch,'" 135.

100. Stutchkoff, 635. See also Niborski, Vaisbrot, and Neuberg, 191.
101. Noyekh Prilutski, "Metodologishe bamerkungen tsum problem daytshmerish," *Yidish far ale* 8 (1938): 209. See also Steffen Krogh, "*Dos iz eyne vahre geshikhte…* On the Germanization of Eastern Yiddish in the Nineteenth Century," in *Jews and Germans in Eastern Europe: Shared and Comparative Histories*, edited by Tobias Grill (Berlin–Boston: De Gruyter Oldenbourg, 2018), 89.
102. Paul Wexler, "Ashkenazic German (1760-1895)," *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 30 (1981): 119–132. See also Werner Weinberg, "Die Bezeichnung Jüdischdeutsch: Eine Neubewertung," *Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie* 100 (1981): 268; Krogh, 89.
103. Y. Apelboym, "Undzer rikhtung," *Dos yidishe blat* 1 (2 December 1927): 1.
104. Y. L. Tsirelson, "Agudes Yisroel un ir tsil," *Der yudisher veg* 7 (October 1932): 2.
105. "Der internatsyional fun der burzsoazi," *Di Frayheyt* 87 (30 December 1920): 1.
106. Ayzik Minster, "Fun hoydesh tsu hoydesh," *Der yudisher veg* 7 (October 1932): 1.
107. Tsirelson, 2.
108. Tsirelson, 2.
109. Tsirelson, 2.
110. Tsirelson, 2.
111. Minster, 1.
112. Minster, 1.
113. Minster, 1.
114. Tsirelson, 2.
115. Tsirelson, 2.
116. "Vikhtig far ale, velkhe hobn kroyvim in Amerike," *Di Frayheyt* 87 (30 December 1920): 3.
117. "Ale abonenten," *Undzer vort* 10 (9 June 1922): 1.
118. "Vikhtig far emigranten!," *Undzer vort* 10 (9 June 1922): 1.
119. Minster, 1.
120. "Parodyien," *Der cancic* 1 (11 September 1928): 2.
121. "Der internatsyional fun der burzsoazi," 1.
122. Shimen Mentsher, "Fareynigung?," *Di Frayheyt* 87 (30 December 1920): 3.
123. Yitshale, "Ver iz shuldik?," *Der cancic* 1 (11 September 1928): 6.
124. Minster, 1.
125. Minster, 1.
126. Minster, 1.
127. Tsirelson, 2.
128. Tsirelson, 2.
129. Tsirelson, 2.
130. "Der internatsyional fun der burzsoazi," 1.
131. "Vos hert zikh in land?," *Undzer vort* 10 (9 June 1922): 1.
132. "Der internatsyional fun der burzsoazi," 1.

Abstract
Elements of Language Contact between German and Yiddish
in the Jewish Press of Interwar Bukovina

Following the integration of Bukovina into the Habsburg Empire in 1775, the Jews began to settle in this region in increasing numbers. By the end of the nineteenth century, many of those Jews became German speakers, while another significant part remained speakers of Yiddish. Due to the use of both languages among the Jews of Bukovina, there are many recorded instances of mutual influences between Yiddish and German. These mutual influences, through language contact, were most evident in the first half of the twentieth century. The most relevant medium in which these language transfers were recorded is the Jewish press of Bukovina, in German and Yiddish. A comparative study of these Jewish periodicals may illustrate how, on the one hand, the language contact between German and Yiddish generated a particular semantic abundance, while on the other hand it contributed to the remarkable cultural diversity and complexity of interwar Bukovina.

Keywords
language contact, Yiddish, German, Jewish press, Romania