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Jiddistik heute

Yiddish Studies Today

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Der vorliegende Sammelband לקט eröffnet eine neue Reihe wissenschaftlicher Studien zur Jiddistik sowie philologischer Editionen und Studienausgaben jiddischer Literatur. Jiddisch, Englisch und Deutsch stehen als Publikationssprachen gleichberechtigt nebeneinander.

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Eastern Yiddish Toponyms of German Origin

1. Introduction

Little is known about the earliest stages of the development of Yiddish in Eastern Europe. Early sources written by local Jews in their vernacular German-based language are rare. Prior to the sixteenth century, only one short text is available. It comes from Silesia and dates from 1436.[1] A few documents have survived from the sixteenth century. In this situation, an analysis based on indirect information can be of great help. Onomastics provides one of the most powerful tools in this domain. The historical and philological analysis of given names used by Jews of Eastern Europe can be found in Beider 2001. It is also not surprising that several linguists addressed Yiddish toponyms in order to shed more light on the development of Eastern Yiddish (EY).

The article by Beranek (1951) represents the first serious attempt to study Jewish place names in Slavic countries. It provides an appropriate analysis of various processes internal to Jewish communities. Beranek also states[2] that if several languages were used by the Christian majority and German was one of them, Yiddish mainly took toponyms from German. Among his examples are: *Pru:k* 'Prague' < Prag, *Oüvm* < Ofen, *Dants(k)* < Danzig, *Lemberik* < Lemberg, compare Czech Praha, Hungarian Buda, Polish Gdańsk, and Lwów (Ukrainian L'viv, Russian L'vov), respectively. For several unusual Yiddish toponyms from western Galicia, Beranek reconstructs hypothetical German forms that, according to him, may represent the etymons for these toponyms: *Brigl* < *Briegel (Polish Brzesko), *Rayshe* < *Reschau (Polish Rzeszów).[3]

The most detailed study on EY toponyms was written by Stankiewicz (1965). His work deals only with the territory that during the interwar period belonged to Poland. The author collected a comprehensive list of Yiddish toponyms and proceeded to make the first systematic analysis of their phonology, with special chapters dealing with their stress patterns, vocalism, and consonantism. Stankiewicz addresses the

1 See Frakes 2004: 64–67.
2 Beranek 1951: 91.
3 Ibid.: 99.

question of the possibility of the German etymons. Among names that, according to him,[4] are clearly of German origin are: *Lise* < Lissa, *Zamter* < Samter, *Lesle* < Junges Leslau, *Altlesle* < Leslau, *Pa:zer* < Peisern, *Zaybish* < Saibusch, *Apt* < Abt, *Lemberik* < Lemberg, *Rayshe* < Reichshof (Polish equivalents are Leszno, Szamotuły, Inowrocław, Włocławek, Pyzdry, Żywiec, Opatów, Lwów, and Rzeszów, respectively; note that for the last toponym in this list his etymology is different from that suggested by Beranek). Stankiewicz also notes[5] that the city names *Poyzn* and *Varshe* may represent the Yiddish development of (more likely) German Posen and Warschau, or (less likely) of Polish Poznań and Warszawa. He correctly emphasizes that to suggest the most adequate etymological analysis, ideally one should trace the history of each Yiddish place name and of its Slavic and German equivalents. However, he is rather skeptical about this possibility because of the paucity of the historical studies of toponyms in all these cultures.

Many pages of Weinreich's posthumous *opus magnum* (1973) deal with Yiddish toponyms. Basically, he agrees with Stankiewicz. Weinreich tries to complement the analysis of his predecessor by adding more details concerning certain particular toponyms from Poland and covering the place names from the Ukrainian and Belarusian territories that during the interwar period were part of the USSR. He also addresses the question of the possibility for Yiddish toponyms to have German rather than Slavic etymons. Here his approach is opposite to that of Beranek. Weinreich is more than skeptical about the idea that the Yiddish toponyms are patterned after the German ones, and more generally about the theory that EY is closely linked to the medieval German colonial language in Poland.[6] To counter these ideas, Weinreich stresses that, contrary to Jews, Germans in Poland do not have the shifts /a/ > /u/ (as in Yiddish *Kruke*, compare German Krakau) and /u/ >/i/ (as in *Kitne* < Kutno),[7] or reduced syllables as in *Varshe* (compare German Warschau). Conversely, Yiddish has no analogue to a number of German names, such as Salzberg for Bochnia and Großsalz for Wieliczka. Weinreich criticizes Stankiewicz's hypothesis about the provenance of *Apt*, the Yiddish name for Opatów, from German Abt.[8] He says that no German document is found that would demonstrate the existence

4 Stankiewicz 1965: 179.
5 Ibid.: 159.
6 Weinreich 1973 (IV): 260.
7 This argument is anachronistic. The fronting /u/ > /i/ took place in Central Yiddish well after the end of the Middle Ages.
8 Weinreich 1973 (IV): 292.

of this German toponym. He suggests an alternative hypothesis: Jews coming from Western Europe to Poland created the name by making a calque from Polish *opat* 'Abbot' to their vernacular language, compare Middle High German (MHD) *apt/abt*, New High German (NHG) *Abt*. Weinreich finds "absolutely untenable" the idea expressed by the historian R. Mahler, who considers that if a Yiddish toponym is similar to the German one, this means that Jews lived in the place at least from the sixteenth century, because at that time there was still the German stamp on Polish cities.[9] Weinreich stresses that among the hundreds of Jewish settlements in Poland there are many for which there is no evidence that there had ever been German colonists. He mentions a German map for Eastern Europe compiled in 1907, where numerous town names have no German cognates among those for which Yiddish names are special. According to Weinreich, "in some places where Germans lived together with Jews for a time, the Jews could have been the first arrivals; since it was easier for recently arrived Germans to communicate with Jews than with Poles, it would have been natural that in some instances they adopted the name of a new settlement from the Jews." Globally speaking, Weinreich's approach puts particular emphasis on linguistic innovations internal to Jewish communities. As a result, he often suggests similarities between German and Yiddish to be due to parallel independent developments. As can be seen from the sentence quoted above, sometimes he even comes to a totally unusual hypothesis that reverses the direction of influences in comparison to the most common point of view.

An adequate critical evaluation of the above opinions is impossible without an analysis of oldest available documents dealing with the presence of Germans in Poland. The aim of this paper is to use these sources in order to see how they can shed light on the history of the early development of EY.[10]

2. Germans in Medieval Poland

In Kraków and Sandomierz, the main cities of medieval Lesser Poland, the first known German colonists arrived during the first part of the thirteenth century, mainly from Silesia. In Kraków, the capital city and

9 Ibid.: 282.

10 In this paper, contemporary Yiddish toponyms are mainly taken from Stankiewicz 1965 and Weinreich 1973. In ambiguous cases and for places for which no information was found in the two sources in question, the lists of Yiddish toponyms compiled by the YIVO Institute for Jewish Research (New York; www.yivo.org/uploads/files/topo.htm) were consulted.

the most populous locality of the country, their proportion grew particularly rapidly.[11] For the whole fifteenth century, persons having typical German given names and/or surnames represented a large majority in the city. During the fourteenth to fifteenth centuries, the role of Germans was also important in many other towns of Lesser Poland. This was true for the largest places, such as Nowy Sącz, Stary Sącz, Bochnia, Wieliczka, Tarnów, Biecz, Opatów, Olkusz, and Lublin. A German presence was also quite visible in numerous smaller localities, some of which were even founded by them and received names based on the German language.[12]

Starting from the second half of the fourteenth century and for a period that lasted about two centuries, German colonists became predominant in many localities of Red Ruthenia (also called Red Russia), that is, the territory of several old Russian principalities that were incorporated into the Polish state during the 1340s. These families mainly originated from Silesia, Lesser Poland, Saxony, and Bohemia. During that period, often in direct relationship with the influx of German immigrants, numerous regional towns were granted the *Magdeburg rights*, the set of urban laws known in Poland as "German law" (in Polish: *prawo niemieckie*). In the largest cities of the area, Lwów and Przemyśl, in the fifteenth century Germans accounted for about 70–80 percent of the total population. Their number was also significant in Przeworsk, Mościska, Tyczyn, Krosno, Jarosław, and Busk. Certain towns in Red Ruthenia (including Łańcut < German Landshut) were founded by Germans.[13]

11 Among geographic nicknames appearing in the oldest Kraków books written in German (1300–1305), sixty are derived from places in Silesia, nine from Czech localities, and six from towns in Thuringia. Another group of nicknames of German colonists living in Kraków at that time are based on toponyms from Poland. The German origin of numerous other individuals mentioned in these books is revealed by their given names, see Kawczyński 1883: 17.

12 See details in Lück 1934: 36–45, 73–75. This book is often ignored by contemporary scholars. The main reason is likely to be the personality of the author. An activist of the German minority cultural organizations in Poland during the 1930s, he became an active member of the Nazi party after the beginning of World War II. An SS officer, Lück was killed in 1942 on the Russian front. These personal facts should not prevent using his writings for scientific studies in the domain of history and linguistics. Lück's book provides the most detailed description available of the early German settlement in Eastern Europe. No particular apology of the role of Germans is visible. The reader can often adhere to his conclusions simply because the author supplies numerous details obtained by him during his meticulous fieldwork in the Polish archives. Generally speaking, the factual information presented in the book in question appears to be reliable.

13 See details in Lück 1934: 76–87 (with numerous tables).

Another influx of German colonists concerned medieval northern Polish territories. During the thirteenth to fourteenth centuries, an important number of German-speaking migrants came to Greater Poland, where numerous places received the *Magdeburg rights* at that time. The presence of Germans is particularly visible in the largest cities, including Poznań, Pyzdry, Kalisz, and Gniezno. In Kuyavia, they also became particularly numerous in the largest cities: Brześć-Kujawski, Włocławek, and Inowrocław. In 1346, in the immediate vicinity of Bydgoszcz, a new important German settlement, Brahenburg (future Bromberg), was founded, which gradually merged with Bydgoszcz. The German presence was particularly important in Pomerelia and the neighboring Chełmno Land, where Teutonic knights, German clergy, and numerous other colonists had been established. As a result, during the fourteenth century, Germans represented a large majority in the biggest cities of the area (Gdańsk, Chełmno, and Toruń) and were commonly present in many other localities. In Mazovia, their role was significantly more limited. Germans were important in Płock during the fourteenth century. During the same period they are very visible in Warsaw.[14]

3. Yiddish Toponyms of Medieval German Origin

Taking into account the facts presented in the previous section, it is not surprising that until the beginning of the sixteenth century, for the urban population in many places of Lesser Poland, Red Ruthenia, and northern Polish territories, as well as in certain cities of Greater Poland, the German language was of paramount importance. In Kraków, German remained the administrative language for several centuries. The oldest municipal documents from Poznań (from the end of the fourteenth century and the first third of the fifteenth century) are written in German or (rarely) in Latin (W1). Both languages are also used in other sources from the same city, dating from the fifteenth and the start of the sixteenth century (W1, K1). The oldest municipal books of Lwów from the end of the fourteenth century (CZ1) are written in Latin. Those from the first quarter of the following century (CZ2, CZ3) already include certain German texts. The totality of materials from the 1440s dealing with the local jurisdiction in relationship to the *Magdeburg rights* (CZ4) appear in German. All these texts were published in their original spell-

14 See details in Lück 1934: 27–36. For a general discussion of medieval German settlements in Poland, see also Kaczmarczyk 1945, with a map on p. 133.

ing. The large majority of persons mentioned (local citizens, as well as merchants coming to Lwów from other places) are unambiguous Germans. Poles and Armenians are significantly less numerous. The number of references to Jews and Ruthenians (ancestors of modern western Ukrainians) is even smaller. This distribution is valid for all the aforementioned Lwów documents, that is, both Latin and German. On the other hand, sources of a similar kind from Przemyśl from the first half of the fifteenth century (ST1) are mainly written in Latin. Only a few documents are in German.

Numerous references to toponyms appear in the sources in question. Generally, the language of the document is determinant for the spelling used. In Latin documents, place names often appear in their Latin or Latinized forms. For example, in CZ3 we mainly find: Cracovia for Kraków, Leopolis for Lwów, Primislia for Przemyśl, Sandomiria for Sandomierz, Nova Civitas for Nowe Miasto (literally: 'new town'), Poznania for Poznań, and Wratislavia for Wrocław (Silesia). It is clear that such forms are purely bookish: they were not used in everyday conversations. However, Latin names existed only for the most important places. For smaller towns, toponyms in Latin documents do not have any special Latin suffix. They correspond to either Polish or (rarely) German names.[15] Yet no ambiguity exists for toponyms present in German documents. They clearly reflect the way the same places were called by persons who used German as their vernacular language. Most likely, the names for small localities were known only to Germans who lived in the area. On the other hand, the names for cities were also known to Germans well outside the region in question. For example, we find similar forms in the Prussian official documents from the times of the Teutonic Order (T1, T2, T5, and KDL).

Table 1 presents information concerning Yiddish toponyms that are of medieval German origin. The first column provides variants from Central Yiddish (CY), in their modern forms valid at least since the eighteenth century and the forms (given in square brackets) that were valid several centuries ago, before the CY shifts /u:/ > /i:/, /o:/ > /u:/, /aj/ > /a:/, and /ej/ > /aj/ took place. If the town in question is cited in ACP, the Hebrew spelling in question is also present in the first column.[16]

15 Among collections of sources used for this paper, it is only in ST1 that German or Germanized forms are common in Latin documents; compare Warso for Warszawa (p. 2), Drobicz for Drohobycz (p. 2), Rubeschaw for Hrubieszów (p. 67), Tharnow for Tarnów (p. 72), Landishuth for Łańcut (p. 102), and Schedlisk for Siedliska (p. 298). See also in footnote 50 examples of doubtless German forms for Lublin (namely Lubleyn and Löblyn).

16 For all quotes from ACP, the corresponding page numbers are indicated. When using that book as a source for Yiddish toponyms from the period between 1580 and 1764, one

The second column indicates the region and uses the following abbreviations: GP = *Greater Poland*, KUY = *Kuyavia*, LP = *Lesser Poland*, MAZ = *Mazovia*, POM = *Pomerelia*, RR = *Red Ruthenia*, VOL = *Volhynia*. (The same abbreviations appear in square brackets [ ] in the text below.) The third column gives Polish names and, in curly brackets, transliterated Ukrainian names, both according to their modern spelling. Note that the Polish names do not differ substantially from those used in the Polish language at the end of the Middle Ages. To illustrate this statement, the toponyms that appear in Latin documents from the fifteenth century are given in square brackets.[17] They generally show the Polish forms. The last column presents medieval German names for the same places that were mainly extracted from the German sources of the fifteenth century discussed in the two previous paragraphs. For those places for which German names phonetically different from the Polish ones were used in the nineteenth to twentieth centuries, these names are given in square brackets. All toponyms concern towns except for the region of *Kie* 'Kuyavia.'

should bear several factors in mind. First, the editor of ACP standardized a number of spellings in the index. As a result, the actual spellings on the pages to which the references are made in the index can be different. Second, the fact that the original documents were written in Hebrew (and, moreover, by learned Jewish scribes who were perfectly aware of the Christian toponyms) influenced in certain cases not only the spelling used, but also the choice of the exact form among the variants known to Jews. Sometimes, the choice was made in favor of a form that corresponds to the official name used by Christians that could be different from the vernacular Yiddish form. For example, the town of Lubartów is called Levertev in contemporary Yiddish. This name is derived from Lewertów, the form used in Polish until 1743, when the town name was changed to Lubartów. As a result, the Yiddish name reflects an archaic Polish form. Yet in ACP (pp. 404, 513) during the 1750s, this town is referred to as לובֿרטוב, that is, according to the newly changed official Polish name. This issue is particularly acute for several cities mentioned in Table 1. One can see that for Poznań/Posen, Hebrew documents whose text appears in ACP vary between the traditional Jewish form פּוזנא and the forms reflecting either the German or Polish names. The fact that for the city of Lwów/Lemberg ACP presents almost exclusively the form לבֿוב can, in theory, be interpreted in two ways. First, it can result from the desire of the scribes to conform to the official Polish name. Second, it can imply that the contemporary Yiddish Lemberik (based on German Lemberg) is only a few centuries old. However, other Jewish sources preclude the second possibility. A Yiddish document written in the city in question between 1616 and 1618 calls it *Lemberig (Dubnov 1909: 21).

17 For all references appearing in the second and third columns, the name of the source is followed by the page number. Latinized forms are given in the second column in brackets only if the non-Latinized ones were not found. A representative list of Polish toponyms found in medieval (principally Latin) sources appears in Malec 2003.

Table 1: Oldest EY toponyms borrowed from German

Modern CY [early CY]	Region	Polish [fifteenth-century Latin (source)]{Ukrainian}	Fifteenth-century German (source) [nineteenth-century German]
Altlesle	KUY	Włocławek [Antiqua Wladislavia (WS1 336)]	Leszlow (T5 17), Leszlouw (T5 68) [Leslau]
Apt(e) אפטא (ACP 69)	LP	Opatów [Opatowia (CZ3 52)]	Abtau (Lück 1934: 41),[1] Gross Opathow (W1 302)
Brisk	KUY	Brześć Kujawski [Brzescze (W1 336)]	Briszke (T1 663, T5 21, 68), Bryskie (W1 313), Briske (T1 609, KDL 72), Briszk (T5 78), Bryszk (T5 173), Brisk (W1 60) [Brest]
Dantsk דאנציק (ACP 101), דאנצק (ACP 297)	POM	Gdańsk [Gdanzyg (T5 137)]	Danczke (W1 299, T5 63), Dantzke (CZ4 33), Danczk (T5 68) [Danzig]
Graydi(n)k [greydik]	RR	Gródek Jagielloński [Grodek (CZ3 18)]{Horodok}	Grödik (CZ4 45, 206, 261), Grödig (CZ4 180), Grödek (CZ4 249)
Kie [Ku(y)e] קויא (ACP 474)	KUY	Kujawy [Cuyawa (W1 335)]	Cuya (T2 409), Koye (T2 213), Coye (T5 73), Coya (T5 102) [Kujawen]
Kolomay [Kolomey] קאלימי (ACP 54)	RR	Kołomyja [Colomia (CZ3 8)]{Kolomyja}	Kolomei (CZ4 43), Colomey (CZ4 304) [Kolomea]
Kros	LP	Krosno [Crosna (CZ3 71)]{Korosno}	Crosse (CZ4 12, 108), Crossen (CZ4 14) [Krossen]
Kru:ke [Kro:ke] קראקא (ACP 1)	LP	Kraków [Cracov (CZ3 95)]	Croke (CZ4 36, 288, 308), Crocaw (CZ4 65), Crocav (CZ4 223), Crokow (ST1 45, T5 21, KDL 375) [Krakau]
Lemberik לבוב (ACP 7, 9, 52), לעמבורג (ACP 12)	RR	Lwów{L'viv}	Lemberg (ST1 242, T5 109), Lemburg (CZ4 65), Lemborg (T5 18) [Lemberg]
Lesle לעסלא (ACP 101)	KUY	Inowrocław [Junowladislavia (W1 336)]	Jungeleslaw (T5 17), Junge Leszlaw (T5 91) [Inowrazlaw, Hohensalza]
Loutsk, Loytsk לויצק (ACP 139)	VOL	Łuck [Luczsko (CZ3 12, 16), Luczko (CZ3 32), Luczco (CZ3 100)]{Luts'k}	Lauczke (CZ4 10, 76, 85), Lawczke (CZ3 61, CZ4 105, KDL 111), Lawtzk (T5 15)

1 The form Abtau appears in German-language medieval documents of the Bishopric of Lebus, to which Opatów belonged during that period. The existence of this form makes implausible Weinreich's hypothesis about the Yiddish form resulting from an innovation internal to Polish Jews. However, I was unable to find in any available source the German form Abt mentioned by Stankiewicz.

Lintshits [Luntshits] לונטשיץ (ACP 14, 101)	GP	Łęczyca [Lancicia CZ2 48, Lunczicz CZ2 22]	Lunczicz (KDL 385), Luntzitcz, Luntczicz, Luntschitcz (T5 68, 72, 109) [Lentschütz]
Mezrits מעזריטש (ACP 512)	GP	Międzyrzecz [Medzirzecz (W1 333, 361), Myedzyrzecz (W1 344)]	Mezericz (W1 64) [Meseritz]
Oshpitsin אוישפיצין (ACP 52)	LP	Oświęcim [Uswynczin (ST1 5)]	Awswenczyn (CZ3 71) [Auschwitz]
Pa:zer [Payzer]	GP	Pyzdry [Pizdri (CZ3 14), Pyszdri (W1 364)]	Peyser (CZ4 214) [Peisern]
Poyzn(e) פוזנא (ACP 1, 6, 7), פוזין (ACP 55, 313), פוזנן (ACP 4, 12, 52)	GP	Poznań [Poznania (W1 334)]	Pozenow (T5 73), Poznaw (T5 78), Posenow (T5: 187), Posenaw (KDL 385), Pozenaw (W1 60), Poznaw (K1 15) [Posen]
Rayshe [Reyshe] רישא (ACP 97, 275)	RR	Rzeszów [Rzeschow (ST1 103)]{Ryashiv}	Resche (CZ4 197, W1 328), Resze (CZ4 223)[2]
Ropshits ראפשיץ (ACP 391)	LP	Ropczyce [Ropczicz (ST1 62, 66, 72), Robczice (ST1 137), Robszicze (ST1 79)]	Robszicz (CZ4 46), Ropschicz (CZ4 60, ST1 252), Ropszicz (ST1 248), Roppczitcz (CZ4 53) [Ropschitze]
Tsants, Tsans, Tsandz	LP	(Nowy/Stary) Sącz [Sandecz (CZ3 71)][3]	Czanse (CZ3 127, T2 99, T5 179), Czancze (ST1 251) [(Neu/Alt) Sandez]
Tsouzmer, Tso(y)zmer צויזמר (ACP 126), צוזמיר (ACP 270)	LP	Sandomierz [Sandomiria (ST1 94)]	Czaudmer (CZ4 48, 76), Czawdmer (CZ4 125), Czawdemer (T5 78, 81), Czudemer (KDL 385), Czudimir (T5 115) [Sandomir]
Va:slits [Vayslits][4]	LP	Wiślica [Wislicia (ST1 120)]	Weyslicz (CZ4 5, 75)
Zamter	GP	Szamotuły [Schamothuli (W1 356, 395)]	Sampter (W1 290), Szampter (W1 288) [Samter]

2 These references corroborate Beranek's idea about the origin of the Yiddish *Rayshe* (see section 1). On the other hand, the form Reichshof suggested by Stankiewicz does not appear in any available source compiled before the twentieth century. Moreover, its root (compare MHG *rîch*) would give /a:/ in modern CY, instead of the observed /aj/. Actually, Reichshof was used for Rzeszów by Nazis in 1939–1945. As can be seen in Table 1, this designation was made without any connection to the medieval German name of the city.

3 The form *Sandecz* was used in Polish until the eighteenth century (Malec 2003: 170).

4 Weinreich (1973 (II): 357) gives only the standardized form *Vayslits*. The vernacular CY form **Va:slits* is reconstructed here, based on the link of the root vowel in this toponym to the proto-vowel whose reflex in CY is /a:/.

The comparison of forms in the different columns of Table 1 shows the existence of several phonetic shifts that occurred in German in comparison to the original Slavic toponyms. All these phenomena are found in Yiddish toponyms too:

(1) Diphthongization */u:/* > */au/* and */i:/* > */aj/*. Examples: /tsaud(e)mer/ from earlier /tsu:dimir/ 'Sandomierz,' /lautske/ for Łuck, אוישפיצין for Oświęcim, /vayslits/ for Wiślica, and /payzer/ for Pyzdry. These processes occurred during the fourteenth century in the Silesian dialect of German (basic for the colonial language in Poland)[18] for MHG *û* and *î*, respectively.[19] Yiddish-speakers who came to Eastern Europe mainly from Central Europe borrowed from German colonists forms that were already diphthongized. This idea is corroborated by the fact that we do not find in EY diphthongized forms for Slavic /i:/ or /u:/ outside of toponyms for which Germans had diphthongized forms.[20]

18 For medieval Poznań, see Anders 1938 (especially pp. 327–330). For an analysis of the German language in Kraków (1300–1305), see Kawczyński 1883 (especially pp. 18f). CZ4 complements these two sources dealing with westernmost Polish cities, allowing for the analysis of the German dialect used in Lwów, that is, in the southeasternmost part of Poland. That collection reveals the following features whose combination is purely Silesian (every reference is followed by the corresponding page number): (1) diminutive suffix *-el* (Jekil 7, Nickil 29, Stenczel 134, Hanczel 200); (2) /e:/ for MHG *ei* (*clede* 'clothes' 30, *czwe* 'two' 173); (3) /e/ for MHG *i* (regular *smet* 'smith' 15, occurrences of *czweschen* 'between, among' 32); (4) /o/ for MHG *u* (regular *zon* 'son' 22, occurrences of *scholdig* 'guilty' 34 and *kopper* 'copper' 34); (5) internal /pp/ for MHG *pf* (*kopper* 'copper' 34, *topper* 'potter' 160); (6) initial /f/ for MHG *pf* (*phfaffe* 'cleric' 33, *phande* 'pledge' 201); (7) 'eu' for MHG *ou* (*vorkeuffen* 'to sell', *heupt* 'head'); and (8) unrounding (*bemesche* 'Bohemian' 40, *mechtig* 'mighty' 187).

19 Moser 1929: 159.

20 *Zaybish* – derived from the German *Saibusch* that in turn comes from the Polish Żywiec [LP] (Stankiewicz 1965: 167) – represents another Yiddish example. All examples "from the Slavic component of Yiddish" suggested by Weinreich (1973 (II): 357, 359) are unconvincing. The Vistula river (Polish Wisła) is called Weichsel in German, that is, with the same diphthong as Yiddish *Vaysl*. The Yiddish name seems to be a compromise between the German and Polish forms. The information about the Yiddish name for the town of Wiślica appears in Table 1. This Yiddish toponym can either be taken directly from German, or appear by analogy to the name of the Vistula river. Yiddish *tayster* 'purse' is out of context: compare *tajstra* 'bag, purse,' known in Ukrainian, Belarusian, and Polish. No diphthongization took place in Yiddish: this word was borrowed from Slavic languages already with /aj/. Weinreich says himself that the Yiddish *troyb* 'tube' (compare Ukrainian *truba*) is unknown in CY. Consequently, its diphthong is unlikely to be old. Most likely, it arose because of the contamination of the Eastern Slavic etymon by the Yiddish word *troyb* 'grape.' For the Yiddish toponym Loytsk, as well as for *tsoyg* 'bitch,' *shoyb* 'fur-lined coat,' and *yoykh* 'broth,' Weinreich mentions a hypothetical intermediary role of German that should be either accepted or rejected. Taking into account the information from Table 1 for *Loytsk*, as well as the presence of the words Zauke, Schaube, and Jauche in German dictionaries (with exactly the same meanings as the respective Yiddish words), one should accept this hypothesis without hesitation.

Note that /ou/ and /a:/, found in the Yiddish toponyms in question, represent the EY equivalents for MHG û and î, respectively.[21]

(2) *Change /s/ > /ts/ in the initial prevocalic position*. Examples: /tsan(t)se/ for Sącz and the German name for Sandomierz.[22] This process is known in CY in certain words of Hebrew and Slavic origin.[23] However, it is far from being general,[24] and for this reason borrowing of ready-made German forms appears more plausible.

(3) *Rounding /a:/ > /o:/*.[25] Example: /kro:ke/ for Kraków. In principle, this process could occur internally in Yiddish, compare CY *ru:dem* for the city called Radom [LP] (ראדום ACP 135) not only in Polish, but also in medieval German (CZ4 84). However, the regular use of the letter "o" in the first syllable of the old German name for Kraków, and the importance of the German-speaking community of this city in the Middle Ages, both make more plausible the idea that Jews already borrowed from German the form with the rounded vowel.

(4) *Umlaut /o/ > /ö/*. Example: Grödik for Gródek. This process is unusual: at that period, German dialects do not use umlaut without some particular reasons that do not seem to be applicable here.[26] Yiddish *Greydik* clearly results from early *Gre:dik*/*Gre:dek* that has the

21 The case of Oświęcim/Auschwitz is of particular interest from a methodological point of view. Indeed, the contemporary Yiddish *Oshpitsin* looks much closer to the Polish form: the two forms share the initial /o/ and the same number of syllables (three), while the disyllabic German Auschwitz has the initial diphthong /au/. However, this similarity is purely superficial and partly fortuitous. From Table 1 one can see that a few centuries ago the Yiddish form was Oyshpitsin, with the initial diphthong (exactly as the German form), while the fifteenth-century German form was three-syllabic. The dissimilation /šv/ > /šp/ appears to be internal to Jews. The forms in all three languages underwent different developments: (1) in Polish, the variant with /u/ in the initial position disappeared, ceding its place to the form with the initial /o/ (actually, the latter form is older, compare Malec 2003: 184); (2) in German, the internal /n/ and, later, the ending /in/ have been dropped; (3) in Yiddish, the stress was displaced from the first to the last syllable and later the initial /oj/ was monophthongized to /o/ in the syllable that became unstressed.

22 In German texts in question, the digraph "cz" represents the standard spelling for the affricate /ts/. For example, one regularly finds there the preposition "czu" (compare NHG *zu* 'to'). The letter "z" mainly corresponds to /z/, while "tz" for /ts/ is rarely used.

23 Beranek 1965: map 31.

24 Numerous toponyms that have initial /s/ in Slavic languages – such as Sanok, Sarnaki, Sejny, Serock, Sokółka, Sokołów, Sosnowiec, and Suwałki – also have /s/ in EY. The fact that their Jewish communities were established more recently than those from Sandomierz and Nowy Sącz is unlikely to be fortuitous.

25 This process was common in German dialects for MHG *â*. On the other hand, "o" for MHG *a* is mainly known in medieval sources corresponding to Bavarian and Hessian (Moser 1929: 116f, 142–147).

26 All phonetic contexts in which one finds umlaut in German dialects at the end of the MHG period (see Moser 1929: 93–100) are irrelevant here. Morphologic umlaut appears in diminutive and plural forms constructed following German patterns.

change /o/ > /e/, that is, the unrounded equivalent of the process observed in the German form.[27]

(5) *Simplification of the initial consonantal cluster* (*if it is non-existent in German*) *by dropping the first sound*. Examples: /vl/ > /l/ and /gd/ > /d/ in German names for Włocławek and Gdańsk, respectively.[28] We also observe this process in Ludmir/Lodmir, the Yiddish name for the city in Volhynia today called Volodymyr in Ukrainian, Vladimir in Russian, and Włodzimierz in Polish (1611 לאדמר)[29] and ACP 95, לאדמיר ACP 83). For this reason, the Yiddish toponym in question is also likely to reflect the influence of German.[30]

27 Umlaut-forms are rare among EY toponyms. Among the examples: (1) CY *yerisle* for Jarosław [RR]; (2) CY *reydim* (earlier *re:dim*) for Radymno [RR]; and (3) CY *heylitsh* (earlier *he:litsh*; האליטש in 1654, ACP 86; העליץ in 1729, ACP 310) for Halicz [RR] (Ukrainian Halych). In all cases, the umlaut is unlikely to be of medieval German origin. Variants of Jarosław with the initial Je- are known in both Polish (Jerezlauus in 1271; Stieber 1973: 51) and Ukrainian (Jeroslav 1549, Eroslavu 1577; Shevelov 1979: 545) sources. In the fifteenth century, this town appears in Latin documents as Ieruslavia or Iaroslaw (ST1 12, 23), while German texts make references to it as Iarosla(w) (CZ4 42), Ioroslaw, or Iaroslaff (ST1 91, 147), all without an umlaut. The final reduced *-e* in the modern Yiddish name fits well to the ending of the form Jaroslau used in German documents of Galicia during the nineteenth century. Yet Jewish references from the seventeenth to eighteenth centuries call this town יערסלב (ACP 14, 83, 512) or יערוסלב (ACP 15), invariably with the final /v/. Radymno appears in Latin sources as Radimna (ST1 40, 80, 83), Radymna (ST1 43), Radimpna (ST1 95, 282), Radim (ST1 4), or Radime (ST1 22). The only found reference in a German text is Radymne (ST1 52). Not one of them has an umlaut, but in the general history of Polish phonetics the change of initial Ra- into Re- is well known (Stieber 1973: 46f). Halicz occurs in German documents in a form that in no case could be the etymon for the Yiddish name: the German form has the initial /g/ and the final /ke/ (see Table 3 at the end of section 3). Polish and Ukrainian names are much closer to the Yiddish form. However, no umlaut-form is found in any of these three languages. It is unclear whether the umlaut was internal to Yiddish or, after all, results from some non-identified process in Ukrainian or Polish. Bin-Nun (1973: 310) conjectured that the Yiddish umlaut-forms for Gródek, Radymno, and Halicz were borrowed by Jews from German colonists. As can be seen from the information above, this statement is valid for the first of these towns and invalid for the last one. The German origin of the Yiddish name for Radymno is more attractive than the Polish one, not because of the umlaut, but because of the absence in Reydim/Raydim of the Slavic ending -no. Indeed, a similar effect can be observed in German and Yiddish forms for Krosno (see Table 1) and Yiddish *Lise* derived from German Lissa (Polish Leszno) [GP] (ליסא ACP 313). Also note that the Lithuanian city of Vilna (Polish Wilno) (ווילנא ACP 176) appears in German documents as Wyll/Will (W1 284). Both Radim and Radime appear in the collection of documents in which German forms are particularly common in Latin texts (see footnote 15), and, therefore, it is plausible that these forms are German after all.

28 As can be seen from Table 1, during the Middle Ages the Polish name for Inowrocław (Yiddish *Lesle*) included the cluster "wl" and not "wr".

29 Dubnov 1909: 19.

30 In medieval Latin documents it is mainly called Lodomeria or Ladimiria (compare also Ladimir in CZ3 31). However, Yiddish could not take the toponym directly from Latin. Alternatively to dropping the initial /v/ in the unusual cluster /vl/, both German and Yiddish also had a possibility to change this cluster into /bl/, common in these two languages. This phonetic shift can be observed in Yiddish Blodeve for Włodawa. According to Weinreich

(6) *Change of the Polish ending with "w" and one or several vowels (examples: -ów, -aw, -awa, and -awy) into a reduced vowel.* Examples: /kroke/ for Kraków, /reshe/ for Rzeszów, /kuye/ and /koye/ for Kujawy. This change is rather exceptional in Yiddish. Indeed, among many dozens of Yiddish toponyms in Poland and Ukraine derived from towns with one of these endings, a large majority end in *-ev(e)*, *-av(e)*, *-ov(e)*, or *-oyv*. The list of forms on -e is small. To those present in Table 1, one can add only CY *Bresle* for Wrocław [Silesia] (ברסלא ACP 33, ברעסלי ACP 297), *Varshe* for Warszawa [MAZ] (ווארשא ACP 52, 139; וורשי ACP 41), *Yerisle* for Jarosław [RR],[31] *Tu:(r)ne* for Tarnów [LP] (טארני ACP 275, 394; טרנא ACP 299), and *Tarle* for Tarłów [LP] (טרלא ACP 303). The last locality represents a particular case: this town was founded in the mid-sixteenth century. All others are either large cities or a region (Kuyavia) known since the Middle Ages in both Latin and German sources. In standardized German (NHG), the names for the cities in question end in *-au*. Yet in early sources we often find German names with monophthongs (exactly as in Yiddish) in the final position, compare Croke, Resche (both listed in Table 1), Warscha (CZ4 54) and Warsche (W1 299; NHG *Warschau* 'Warsaw'), and Bresle (CZ4 20; NHG Breslau 'Wrocław').[32] Also note Coye/Cuya for Kuyavia. We find a similar reduced final vowel in the names of two areas that in the Middle Ages were countries: Yiddish **Maze* (מאזי ACP 1) 'Mazovia' (Polish *Mazowsze*), exactly as in the old German name for the same area,[33] and *Lite* (ליטא ACP 4) 'Grand Duchy of Lithuania' (Polish *Litwa*, Belarusian *Litva*, German *Litauen*).[34]

(7) *German "r" for Polish "rz".* Examples: German names for Brześć, Międzyrzec, Rzeszów, and Sandomierz. The change of the palatalized

(1973 (IV): 281, without any reference), the form Blodau is occasionally found in German. However, for several reasons the German influence here is unlikely. Note the typically Slavic ending of the Yiddish form, the fact that this town was inside of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania where German presence was marginal, and the relatively young age of the locality: until the second half of the seventeenth century, references to this small town in historical sources are rare. Moreover, in a Jewish document of 1713, the toponym appears with the initial /v/: וולאדאווי (ACP 265).

31 See footnote 27.

32 For Tarnów, we do not find forms with the reduced final vowel in available German sources from the fifteenth century, compare Tharnaw (T5 176) and Tarnow (CZ3 118). During the last centuries, this city was called Tarnau in German.

33 We find a reference to Maze in a German document from the first quarter of the fifteenth century (CZ3 105). In other German sources of the same period the country name appears as *Mazow* (T1 150, 181) or *Mazaw* (T1 620). During the twentieth century, the NHG form was already *Masowien*, while Yiddish used *Mazovye*.

34 In German documents from the fifteenth century, Lithuania is called *Littowen* (T1 108, 194), *Littouwen* (T2 595), or *Littawen* (T2 598). However, the ethnonym 'Lithuanian' appears as *Lytt* (W1 282), while the NHG word is *Litauer*.

Polish /r'/ into the affricate /rž/ is known since the thirteenth century.[35] Since both /rž/ and the palatalized /r'/ are foreign to German phonology, Germans choose the closest phoneme, /r/, available in their consonantal chart. In theory, the same scenario could be applicable – independently of German – for the speakers of Yiddish migrating from the west.[36] However, we can observe that the list of Yiddish toponyms having /r/ (and not /rž/ or /ž/) for Polish "rz" and covering places situated in ethnically Polish (and not Ukrainian or Belarusian) territories is rather short. In addition to toponyms mentioned in Table 1, it also includes: *Brigl* for Brzesko [LP], *Brishtshe* for Brzeście [LP], *Dobrin* for Dobrzyn nad Wisłą [MAZ], *Kuzmir* for Kazimierz Dolny [LP], *Kuzmark* for Kazimierz (suburb of Kraków) [LP], *Laskarev* for Łaskarzew [LP], *Prushnits* for Przasnysz [MAZ], and *Vreshne* for Września [GP].[37] For many of them, the German intermediary between Yiddish and Polish is plausible.[38] Note that the only toponym for which "rz" is regularly present in German sources of the fifteenth century is Przeworsk [RR]. It appears as Przeworsko (CZ4 82, 84, 175), Prziworske (CZ4 182), and Przeworsken (CZ4 209, 215, 236). In Latin texts, its most common spelling (by far) is Przeworsko (CZ1 42, ST1 passim). In the Jewish sources from the seventeenth to eighteenth centuries it appears as פריוואַרסק, פּרשעוואַרסק, and פּשעוואַרסק (ACP 134, 360, 441).

Several phonetic phenomena in German forms mentioned in Table 1 (also present in their Yiddish equivalents) are isolated rather than general: a diphthong at the end of the German name for Kołomyja, a special processing of the nasal vowel in /luntšits/ for Łęczyca,[39] the

35 Stieber 1973: 49.

36 Stankiewicz 1965: 176.

37 Ibid.: 176 f; Weinreich 1973 (II): 210.

38 Even during the last centuries, Dobrin, Kasimir (suburb of Kraków), and Wreschen were standard German names for Dobrzyn, Kazimierz, and Wreśnia, respectively. These places are known since the Middle Ages, cf. references in old German sources to Dobryn (T5 16) and Kazmir (CZ4 125), but Polish-influenced Wrzeschna in a Latin text (W1 337). The Polish Brze- is rendered Bri- in medieval German names of several cities. The first example appears in Table 1 (see the line for Brześć-Kujawsk). Brzeg, a city in Silesia, appears as Brige (CZ4 288). During the last centuries it was known in German as Brieg. Brzesko was also originally called Brzeg in medieval Polish. Diminutive forms Brzezek and Brzesko appeared during the fifteenth century (Malec 2003: 49). Yiddish name for Brzesko, *Brigl*, corresponds to a diminutive of /brig/. It is unclear who created this diminutive: Germans (from whom Jews took a ready-made form) or Jews. The former possibility is more plausible, especially if we take into account the fact that Brzesko appears as Briegel in some German sources. (As discussed in section 1, Beranek reconstructs the form *Briegel. However, Weinreich (1973 (IV): 259) states that such a form appears in German, though he does not explicitly give his source of information.) The toponym Przasnysz has a by-form with *Pra-* even in Polish, and, for example, during the fifteenth century it appears in Polish sources as Prassznysz and Prasznisz (Malec 2003: 200; see also the discussion of *Prushnits* in section 4).

39 The form *Lunciz* appears in the famous Latin-language bull issued by Pope Innocent III for the Archbishopric of Gniezno (1136), whose numerous toponyms represent one of the

change /l/ > /r/ in /zamter/ from Szamotuły, and the change /tš/ > /š/ in the German name for Ropczyce. The simultaneous presence of the largest number of changes characterizes German /mezerits/ for Polish Międzyrzecz. In addition to /r/ for "rz" mentioned above, one also finds: /ts/ for final /tš/, /e/ for nasal "ę" in the first syllable, /e/ for /i/ in the last syllable, and /z/ for /dz/.

From Table 1, it can also be seen that several medieval German toponyms have special forms in which the difference in comparison to Polish forms is not purely phonetic: /brisk(e)/[40] for Brześć, /krose/ for Krosno, one /n/ instead of two in the name for Poznań, Lemberg for Lwów, and the calque Abtau for Opatów. In all these cases, the corresponding Yiddish toponyms clearly had German etymons. The first of them is of particular interest. In Yiddish, the same name, *Brisk*, is applicable to two cities called Brześć in Polish: one in Kuyavia, and another in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania (now Brest in Belarus, also known during the last centuries as Brest-Litovsk; בריסק ACP 23, 37, בריסקא ACP 62). Weinreich[41] suggested that Polish Jews, when settling in Lithuania, carried over the name of the place from Kuyavia to the local city, since both of them were pronounced similarly by local Slavs. However, we can observe that Brisk – as the name for Brest-Litovsk – is found in the German document of 1379 (KDL 53). As a result, the scenario proposed by Weinreich for Jews is actually likely to be valid for Germans. We have no evidence that a single Yiddish-speaker was present in Lithuania at that early period. As a result, Jews likely borrowed from Germans the same name for both cities.[42]

most important sources for studies of Old Polish phonetics. A variant spelling Lunczicz is found in certain other old documents from Poland that are not German. Most likely, Germans borrowed this form from Poles and kept it for several centuries, while for Poles the pronunciation of the toponym changed.

40 In the German texts in question the digraph "sz" corresponds to the sound /s/, NHG ß.

41 Weinreich 1973 (II): 213.

42 Formally speaking, we cannot exclude the possibility that both cultures independently applied the name of the city in Kuyavia to that in Lithuania. Several etymologies were suggested for this Yiddish toponym. Weinreich (1973 (II): 212f) proposes a series of implausible phonetic shifts, but admits that the problem remains unsolved. Beranek (1951: 95) considers that the final *-sk* might appear by analogy with numerous other Polish toponyms ending in *-sk(o)*. Stankiewicz (1965: 180) suggests the idea about the back formation from the original adjectival derivative *brisker* based on Polish *brzeski* 'from Brześć'. This theory appears the most attractive, though it deserves several amendments. One is fundamental: Stankiewicz actually suggested a plausible etymology for the name used by Germans. As for Jews, they borrowed from Germans a ready-made form. Another amendment is of less importance. Data in the third column of Table 1 show that the original German form was pronounced /briske/. Consequently, there is no need to make an additional hypothesis about the back formation: /briske/ can directly represent the Germanized form of the Polish adjective *brzeski*. The same idea can also explain /galtske/, the German name for Halicz (see Table 3 at the end of section 3), compare the Russian adjective *galitskij*. Note that in

We find in Table 1 several examples for the apocope of the final vowel, compare German names for Pyzdry, Szamotuły, Ropczyce, and Wiślica. Numerous other cases are found in the German documents of the fifteenth century: Bel(e)hoscz for Biłohorszcze (CZ4 257, 284), Glinan/Glynan for Gliniany (CZ3 67, 89, 106, 109), Stawczan for Stawczany (CZ 224), Targowisch for Targowiszcze (CZ3 91), Schedlisk for Siedliska (ST1 298), and Wynik for Winniki (CZ4 226). Several rules appear to be general: (1) if a Polish toponym ends in *-ice*/*yce*, *-icy*/*ycy*, or *-ica*/*ycy*, its German equivalent ends in *-itz*; (2) German toponyms end in *-n* if the Polish end in *-ny*. The same rules are applicable for Yiddish, compare CY (1) *Dembits* (דמביץ ACP 508) for Dębica [LP], *Zaleshits* for Działoszyce [LP], and *Gorlits* for Gorlice [LP]; (2) *Berzhan* (ברעזאן ACP 238) for Brzeżany (Ukrainian Berezhany) [RR], *Berzhin* for Brzeziny [GP], and *Zdin* for Zduny [GP].[43] Dropping of the final vowel of the Slavic toponym is not general in medieval German toponyms. Numerous forms end in a vowel (mainly *-e*). In addition to German spellings cited in Table 1 for Brześć, Gdańsk, Krosno, Łuck, and (Nowy/Stary) Sącz, compare Busko, Skole, Camyonka, Canczugy, and Belze (CZ4 12, 14, 41, 72, and 75), whose Polish cognates are Busk(o), Skole, Kamionka, Kańczuga, and Bełz [all RR], respectively. Moreover, in words from the general lexicon, an apocope is unknown for various East Central German dialects, including Silesian. As a result, here we are dealing with a rule that is not purely phonetic. In Yiddish, apocope is general in words from the general lexicon, but not in toponyms.[44] From the above information, the influence of German on Yiddish in this context is plausible.

the Middle Ages both Brześć-Kujawski and Halicz were important political and economical centers, principal cities of a duchy in Kuyavia and an Old Russian principality, respectively. For this reason, Slavic adjectives derived from their names could enter in German rather easily. (It is precisely the existence of a similar ending in the German name for Halicz, for which the possibility of a creation by analogy is non-applicable, as well as the status of both cities, that make the above theory by Beranek less plausible than the general idea by Stankiewicz.)

43 CY *Gline* for Gliniany may be a secondary form derived from early **Glin*(*y*)*an*. Here, one of the two /n/ disappeared exactly as in the Yiddish and German forms for Poznań.

44 Examples: *Lentshne* (לענטשני ACP 110) 'Łęczna' [LP], *Shinyeve* (שיניאווי ACP 258) 'Sieniawa' [RR], and *Strel*(*i*)*sk* (סטרעליסק ACP 276) 'Strzeliska' [RR]. Moreover, in Yiddish toponyms, cases of additional final vowel absent from the Slavic form (as can be verified in Malec 2003) are present. Among them: *P*(*e*)*remishle* (Polish Przemyśl, Ukrainian Peremyshl') and *Shidlovtse* (שידלובצי ACP 289) 'Szydlowiec' [LP]. These Yiddish names could either be influenced by the presence of a vowel in forms corresponding to oblique cases of the Slavic names for these places, or created by analogy to numerous toponyms ending in a vowel in the Slavic nominative (Beranek 1951: 95–96). In certain cases, a form with a final vowel is surely only a few centuries old. For example, Yiddish *Ostreftse* (אסטראוצי ACP 404) corresponds to Ostrowiec Świętokrzyski [LP]. Yet at the end of the sixteenth century this locality was still a village called Ostrów, without the suffix *-ec* (Malec 2003: 182).

For certain Yiddish toponyms, it is difficult to establish whether their direct etymons were German or Slavic. This is evidently the case when German and Slavic names are phonetically identical or quite close. Several examples of another kind are given in Table 2.

Table 2: Yiddish toponyms with uncertain source language

Modern CY [early CY]	Region	Polish [fifteenth-century Latin (source)]{Ukrainian}	Fifteenth-century German (source) [German nineteenth century]
Baytsh [Beytsh]	RP	Biecz [Byecz (CZ3 40), Byetcz (W1 342)]	Beecz (CZ4 167), Becz (CZ3 91) [Beitsch]
Dru:bitsh [Dro:bitsh] דראהאביטש (ACP 502)	RR	Drohobycz [Drohobicz (CZ3 100)]{Drohobych}	Drobitsch (CZ4 21), Drohobicz (CZ3 105)
Rotin	RR	Rohatyn [Rohatin (ST1 120, 126), Rogatin (105, 107)]{Rohatyn}	Rohatin (CZ4 36, 57, 68, 73), Roatin (CZ4 214)

From Table 2, we can observe the presence of diphthongs in both Yiddish and German Yiddish names for Biecz. However, both of them could develop independently from Polish /e:/. The absence of /h/ in the two other examples characterizes both Yiddish and certain German variants. Here again the development could be parallel. Intervocalic /h/ of Ukrainian origin is foreign to both Germanic languages in question.

The final stress in the CY toponyms ending in /-i:n/ (*Lublin* 'Lublin,' *Garvolin* 'Garwolin,' *Knin* 'Konin,' *Bendin* 'Będzin,' *Dobrin* 'Dobrzyn,' etc.) represents one of the striking idiosyncrasies of this EY dialect. Stankiewicz suggested that before the sixteenth century Polish toponyms generally had vocalic endings.[45] Consequently, the corresponding Polish toponyms were ending not in *-in*, but in *-ino*, with the penultimate accent. Once the final vowel was dropped, Polish shifted the stress to the new penultimate syllable, while in Yiddish it remained posited on the same vowel that now became the final one. Stankiewicz also spoke about the fact that for the Polish forms ending in *-in* in the nominative case, in the oblique cases the /i/ appears already in the penultimate syllable. These oblique case forms could also influence the creation of the Yiddish pattern. As indicated by Weinreich, this theory contradicts the history of Polish phonetics.[46] The penultimate stress became stabilized in Polish only at the beginning of the seventeenth century; between the

45 Stankiewicz 1965: 165f.
46 Weinreich 1973 (II): 235.

fifteenth and seventeenth centuries it was initial after being freely posited during the previous centuries.[47] Weinreich himself paid attention to the fact that a similar pattern is found in German toponyms of Berlin, Schwerin, Küstrin, Köslin, and Stettin, all situated in a compact area covering formerly Slavic territories of Brandenburg and Pomerania.[48] He suggested that Jewish migrants from the area in question brought the pattern "place names ending in *-in* have the stress on the ultima" to medieval Poland. This theory is also unsatisfactory. It is unclear how a pattern for which one can find only a few examples in German could become so widely used by Jews in Poland. Moreover, we have no evidence about massive eastern migrations of Jews from that area. Most importantly, we find direct proof of the presence of the pattern in question in medieval Polish. The treatise on Polish spelling written circa 1440 by Jakub Parkoszowic, the rector of the Kraków Academy, provides a number of examples of Polish words with long vowels. Among them, in the list of words with a long vowel in final closed syllables before a nasal consonant, the author mentions such toponyms as Bozaczyn, Prodoczyn, Coczyn.[49] No information is available that could allow us to decide whether Polish Jews took this pattern directly from Poles or from Germans who lived in Poland in the Middle Ages. Actually, we have no formal evidence that the latter ever applied the final stress in toponyms from Poland ending in *-in*, although, taking into account the existence of names following this pattern in Brandenburg and Pomerania, this is quite plausible.[50]

Numerous Yiddish toponyms in Eastern Europe clearly had Slavic and not German etymons. This is the case for a large majority of towns where a German community was not present. However, it is also the case for places where the presence of an important German population is known from historical sources and/or whose names often appear in medieval German documents. A sample appears in Table 3.

47 Stieber 1973: 73, 101.

48 Today the last three cities are situated in Poland; their Polish names are Kostrzyn, Koszalin, and Szczecin, respectively.

49 Stieber 1973: 56. This medieval Slavic pattern is likely to be responsible for the German toponyms in Brandenburg and Pomerania too. Also note that the Polish toponyms from the mid-15th century do not end in a vowel (contrary to the idea by Stankiewicz that he actually took from a non-critical reading of a paper by Polish linguist Aleksander Brückner). Actually, an important number of Polish toponyms end in a consonant even in the oldest documents such as, for example, the famous Gniezno bull issued in 1136 (see footnote 39); see also Malec 2003.

50 In the form Lubleyn 'Lublin' (CZ2 89, Latin source) we observe the diphthongization /i:/ > /aj/ typical for German. However, this spelling is exceptional and its final element could be due to a contamination by the German diminutive suffix spelled *-lein* in NHG (*-lîn* in MHG). Other variants present in German sources are Lublin (CZ4 98, 200), Loblin (CZ4 16), and Lobelyn (Lück 1934: 44); one Latin source mentions Löblyn (CZ4 22).

Table 3: Yiddish toponyms with Slavic etymons

Modern CY [early CY]	Region	Polish [fifteenth-century Latin (source)] {Ukrainian}	Fifteenth-century German (source) [German nineteenth century]
Bokhnye	LP	Bochnia [Bochna (CZ2 113, CZ3 20, 41, ST1 5, 84)]	Boche (CZ3 71, ST1 204) [Salzberg][1]
Heylitsh [He:litsh] האליטש (ACP 86), העליץ (ACP 310)	RR	Halicz [Halicz (CZ3 21)] {Halycz}	Galczke (CZ3 89, 95, 96, CZ4 35, 54), Galczg (CZ3 106), Galcz (CZ3 83)
Komenits (Southeastern Yiddish) [Kamenits] קאמיניץ (ACP 89)	RR	Kamieniec Podolski [Camenecz (ST1 233, 262, CZ3 51), Camnicz (CZ3 14)] {Kam"yanets'-Podil's'kyj}	Camencz (CZ3 4, CZ4 2), Kamencz (CZ4 54)
Libetshoyv [Lubetshoyv]	RR	Lubaczów [Lubaczow (ST1 78, 220)] {Lyubachiv}	Lubetschaw (CZ4 280), Lubeczaw (CZ4 308)
Moshtshisk מושציסק (ACP 269), מאשטשינסק (ACP 394)	RR	Mościska [Moscziska ST1 40] {Mostys'ka}	Mosticz (CZ4 140), Mosczicz (CZ4 134)
Petrikev פיוטרקוב (ACP 103), פיעטרקוב (ACP 503)	GP	Piotrków Trybunalski [Pyotrkow (W1 426), Pyothrkov (T5 98)]	Peterkaw (T2 570), Petirkaw (T2 232), Peterkow (T2 174, 207), Peterkau (T5 6, 13, 25) [Petrikau]
Pilzne	LP	Pilzno [Pilszno (CZ3 14), Pilszna (CZ3 13), Pilsno (ST1 217)]	Pilzen (CZ4 160, 199, 273, ST1 72) [Pilsen]
Premishle פרעמשלא (ACP 35, 126), פרעמסלא (ACP 32, 139)	RR	Przemyśl [Przemisl (ST1 120)] {Peremyshl'}	Primsel (CZ3 60), Prymsel (CZ4 86), Primzel (CZ4 33), Primpsel (CZ4 7), Primisl (CZ3 123)
Ribishoyv [Rubishoyv] רובשוב (Dubnov 1909: 17, ACP 156), הרובשוב (ACP 156)	RR	Hrubieszów [Rubeschow (CZ2 130)] {Hrubeshiv}	Rubischaw (CZ4 181), Rubeschow (CZ4 84), Robeschow (CZ3 127, ST1 127), Rubyeschewo (W1 307)
Trebevle	RR	Trembowla [Trebowla (CZ2 93, 108, 134)] {Terebovlja}	Treble (CZ4 293), Trebil (CZ2 119), Treblow (CZ3 106)
Zhidetshoyv, Zidetshoyv	RR	Żydaczów [Zudaczow (ST1 102)] {Zhydachiv}	Zaudeczaw (CZ4 129), Zawdeczaw (CZ4 80), Zawdaczaw (CZ4 109), Zawdiczaw (CZ4 113)

1 German sources from the fifteenth century do not mention the form Salzberg. Similarly, Wieliczka [LP] (Yiddish *Velitshke*) often called Groß Salze in German sources of the last centuries, appears as Weliczke in German medieval texts (CZ4 230). This shows that the opinion of Weinreich about the names of these two towns (cited in section 1) can be anachronistic.

As can be seen from Table 3, in Yiddish names for Bochnia, Halicz, Kamieniec Podolski, Mościska, Pilzno, and Piotrków, the ending is of doubtless Slavic origin, different from that found in the medieval German toponyms. Moreover, for Halicz, Yiddish and German have different initial consonants. The German form for Trembowla lacks internal /v/. German forms for Przemyśl all start with *Pri-*[51] that is not found in the Yiddish toponym.

In the German form for Żydaczów, we can observe the diphthongization /u:/ > /au/ discussed above in this section.[52] Because of its diphthong /oy/ in the (stressed) final syllable, it is of Ukrainian origin. For the same reason, the Yiddish names for two other towns from the same general area (formerly Red Ruthenia), Lubaczów and Hrubieszów, are also of Ukrainian origin.[53]

The non-German forms of certain Yiddish toponyms listed in Table 3 (namely, those different from the towns discussed in the previous paragraph, all of which reveal phonetic features many centuries old) can in theory result from a Slavonizing during the last centuries of the former, German-based, Yiddish toponyms.

4. The Modern Era

With the rise of the Polish urban middle class, gradual de-Germanizing took place. In a number of towns from Lesser Poland (including Miechów and Wiślica), this process was finished by 1500. During the second half of the fifteenth century, many other formerly important centers of German colonization, such as Brześć Kujawski and Bydgoszcz in the North, and Lublin and Sandomierz in the South, were completely Polonized.[54] At the same period, the urban population in Mazovia was predominantly Polish.[55] During the first third of the sixteenth cen-

51 Apparently, in the Middle Ages, this was the general German way of rendering Polish *Prze-* (see also footnote 38 about *Brze-*).

52 Note that in this toponym – contrary to its modern name – the oldest Slavic/Latin sources have /u/ in the first syllable.

53 It was Stankiewicz (1965: 180) who, taking into account the final stress in Yiddish, suggested the Ukrainian origin of these three Yiddish toponyms. Note that – contrary to the three toponyms in question – Yiddish names never end in *-oyv* when the corresponding polysyllabic Polish toponyms from the ethnically Polish territories end in *-ów* (Weinreich 1973 (II): 251). As can be seen from Table 3, the change of the initial Ukrainian /hr/ into /r/ characterizes Yiddish, German, and Polish names for Hrubieszów (compare Polish alternate form Rubieszów). The consonantal cluster /hr/ is foreign for all these three languages.

54 Lück 1934: 178.

55 See details in Tymieniecki 1921: 19. The author shows that in Mazovia and neighboring parts of Podlasia, Germans were found in the fifteenth century only in Warsaw, Goniądz,

tury, the influence of German declined even in Poznań and Kraków: this language gradually ceases to be used in the administrative document and is replaced there by Latin, and later Polish.[56] However, during the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries a new, second, wave brought to Poland an important number of German immigrants. Contrary to the medieval influx, this one primarily concerned only northern areas. Migrants from Germany and Silesia came to Greater Poland and from the Prussian provinces to the Toruń area and from it to Mazovia.[57] During the second half of the sixteenth century, Protestant immigrants played a significant role in the growth of the towns of Leszno [GP] (German Lissa), Lewartów [LP] (now Lubartów, Polonized by the mid-seventeenth century), and Zamość [RR].[58] However, the linguistic impact of these immigrations was limited and unlikely to have influence on EY. The third wave of German-speaking migrants corresponds to the period of partitions (1772–1815). It was directed into the northwestern region that received the name of West Prussia and to former Lesser Poland and Red Ruthenia, the area taken by Austrians that received the name of Galicia.[59] During the period until World War I, the provinces that were taken by Prussians, that is, West Prussia and Posen (Polish Poznań), underwent Germanizing.

Because of the existence of these several periods when German linguistic influence was important in various parts of Poland, it is sometimes difficult to establish the time when Jews borrowed certain Yiddish toponyms from Germans. Most likely, the German etymons of all Jewish toponyms mentioned in the previous section had already entered Yiddish in the Middle Ages. This is particularly true in cases where German medieval forms are distinctly different from those used in German during the last centuries. However, for certain places, German forms underwent no major change since the Middle Ages. For them, the age of the borrowing to Yiddish from German is difficult to establish. For instance, this is the case for *Varshe* 'Warsaw' and *Poyzn* 'Poznań.' For the latter city, the Yiddish name followed the same changes as the German name. Indeed, one can easily see the correspondence between the respective older forms (פּוזנא **Po(y)zne* and Posenaw/Posenau) and that between those used during the twentieth century (*Poyzn* and Posen).

Nur, and Zakroczym, while his study of sources from numerous other towns of the area reveals that their population was overwhelmingly Polish.

56 See numerous details concerning the Polonizing of Greater Poland in Tymieniecki 1938.

57 See the map in Kaczmarczyk 1945: 167.

58 Lück 1934: 183.

59 See the map in Kaczmarczyk 1945: 181.

We do not know the chronology of the development of CY *Pru:shnits* 'Przasnysz' [MAZ] that very likely had a German etymon.[60] A similar problem exists for *Ektsin*, a compromise form between German Exin and Polish Kcynia [GP] and *Sheps* 'Sierpc' [MAZ].[61] On the other hand, Yiddish *Lise* for Leszno/Lissa (ליסא ACP 313) surely developed after the medieval period. The same is true for a number of other Yiddish toponyms from Polish territories taken by Prussians during the partitions of Poland. Yiddish *Stanisle* for Stanisławów [RR] (a city built only in 1662) is clearly among the most recent borrowings: Stanislau was the German name for this city in Galicia.[62]

5. Conclusion

The information taken from historical sources and arguments provided in this paper show that a few dozen Yiddish toponyms in Eastern Europe are based on names used in medieval German that were different from the original Slavic names. This kind of situation can be decomposed into two separate phases: (1) creation by Germans of toponyms distinct from their Slavic etymons; (2) borrowing of these toponyms from German to Yiddish. Considering the list of toponyms in question, one can suggest several factors that appear to be determinant for these two phases.

For both phases, no massive presence of local German-speakers was mandatory. Just the awareness about the existence of these places, as well as various kinds of contacts, direct or indirect, between people from these areas and those living in different German-speaking provinces, were sufficient for the development of specific German toponyms, with important differences in comparison to the correspond-

60 No old German reference to this town was found in available sources. However, during World War II, Germans called it Praschnitz, that is, with final /ts/ instead of Polish /š/ and internal /š/ instead of modern Polish /s/ (though old Polish forms with /š/ are known as well, see footnote 38). Both these peculiarities are present in the Yiddish form. This name from the Nazi era is likely to be based on some earlier German name for the town. Note that in some cases, the newly assigned names for Polish towns had nothing to do with old German names; see footnote 2 of Table 1 (p. 439) about Reichshof used for Rzeszów.

61 This town appears as *Scheps* on a German map of Prussia by Gaspar Henneberg (1576), while in Polish sources from the fourteenth to sixteenth centuries it is called *Seprcz(e)*, *Syeprcz*, and *Sieprcz* (Malec 2003: 218). Stankiewicz (1965: 179) suggested that the Yiddish name for this town appeared within the Jewish community because of the folk etymology that related it to Yiddish sheps 'sheep.' The existence of the identical German toponym makes this hypothesis more than doubtful.

62 The Hebrew sources from the eighteenth century invariably use forms ending in /v/: סטנסלאב (ACP 404) and סטאנסלוב (ACP 513).

ing Slavic toponyms. Two independent factors were important for the volume of these contacts. The first of them concerns the size of the place. Big cities that in the Middle Ages played an important role in the economic and political life of the area had greater chances than smaller towns to appear in the category in question. The same is *a fortiori* true for names of countries and provinces. They were necessarily known outside of the area. The distance between the place and the area where a significant German-speaking population lived represents a second important factor. The smaller the distance, the tighter were contacts and the more plausible the possibility of the development of a specific German toponym. Jews living in German-speaking provinces naturally borrowed the German toponyms in question from the Christian majority. As a result, during the formation of the Yiddish-speaking communities in Poland and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, Jews could migrate eastward from western German-speaking areas, already having these German-based toponyms in their vernacular language as ready-made forms. Note that Poland (*Polska*, in Polish) and Red Ruthenia/Russia (Polish *Ruś*, Russian and Ukrainian *Rus'*) are called *Poyln* (פולין ACP 1) and *Raysn* (רייסן ACP 355) in EY, with an evident link to German *Polen* and *Reußen*, respectively.[63] Other examples were discussed in previous sections. Yiddish uses German-based names for: (a) Mazovia, Kuyavia, and, likely, Lithuania too, as well as for (b) the largest Polish cities, including Warsaw, and (c) a few Polish towns – such as Sierpc and possibly Przasnysz – situated in the immediate vicinity to Prussian borders.

There is no evidence of the existence of pre-Yiddish Jewish communities in various Polish provinces. Yet in Ukrainian territories (Red Ruthenia) incorporated during the fourteenth century into Poland and Lithuania, Slavic-speaking Jewish communities existed before the arrival of Ashkenazic migrants from the West. After the merger of the two Jewish groups, western migrants gradually established Yiddish as the new vernacular language of local Jewish communities. In certain cases, this switch to another language supplanted previous names used locally by Jews, replacing them by toponyms brought by Yiddish-speakers. Note that the most important cities of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania – such as Brest, Luts'k/Lutsk, and maybe also Volodymyr/Vladimir (all formerly within the principality of Volhynia) – received Yiddish names based on German toponyms.[64]

63 Compare, for example, the following medieval German references in T5: Polan (pp. 21, 38, 91), Polen (pp. 63, 87), Reuszen (p. 21), and Reussen (p. 91).

64 Vladimir appears as וולדימיר in a document of the eleventh century (Neubauer and Stern 1892: 71). This spelling fits perfectly the Old Russian name of this city and is independent from its modern Yiddish name. The use of the name *Brisk* for Brest was not established

The presence of important local German-speaking communities was evidently also highly favorable for the creation and/or strengthening of particular German names in Slavic territories. For medieval Poland, this factor was partly correlated with those discussed above. Indeed, numerous Germans lived in the Middle Ages in the biggest Polish cities, many of which were situated not far from German or Germanized provinces. It is for smaller towns that this factor was of particular importance. The reason is simple: these toponyms were unknown outside their own geographic area. The information present in this paper shows that specific German names were much more common in areas where the presence of a German Christian population was particularly visible during the Middle Ages, namely, in Lesser Poland, Red Ruthenia, Greater Poland, and Kuyavia. For some localities in question, numerous Germans continued to live along with Poles and Jews in the modern era too. Yet for towns of Mazovia, Ukraine, Belorussia, and Lithuania, where Germans were significantly less numerous or not present at all, specific German toponyms are rare. Contrary to the names of provinces and large cities and some towns close to borders, Jews could borrow German names of small towns situated far from German-speaking provinces only locally. For this borrowing to take place, it was not necessary for Germans to constitute a majority in the towns in question. Since Yiddish was much closer to the dialect of German colonists than to the language(s) spoken by local Slavs, the former was more influential on Yiddish than the latter. In any case, the existence of such borrowings of names of places other than large cities constitutes a cogent argument for the thesis about the important influence that the language of German colonists exerted on the early development of EY.

The fact that a number of other modern Yiddish toponyms show features that make it impossible for their derivation from the medieval German names for the same place can be interpreted in two ways.[65] First, we can deal with the situation in which a name borrowed from Germans at some moment in Jewish history was later Slavonized and, as a result, its modern form hides its German past. The smaller the local Jewish population, the bigger were the chances for Yiddish toponyms to become Slavonized in the Modern Era. Second, the Yiddish names of certain localities have always been related to Slavic names, even if Ger-

even during the first half of the seventeenth century. For this, we find direct evidence in writings of Meir Katz, an Ashkenazic Jew who served at that time as rabbi in the Belarusian town of Mahilyow (Russian Mogilev). He wrote that Jews around him spoke mostly Russian and called the town Brest by its Russian name and not the Yiddish one, *Brisk* (see the discussion in Dubnov 1909: 23, Weinreich 1973 (1): 92).

65 The choice between them could be made only via the analysis of the detailed historical sources that are, unfortunately, unavailable.

man names, different from the Slavic ones, also existed. Such a scenario could be realized if at the moment when the local Jewish community became significant, the German one was already in decline. In other terms, it was the relative chronology of the establishment and development of German and Yiddish communities in the same towns and their surroundings that was a determinant factor. One can imagine two opposite theoretical scenarios to illustrate this rule. In Scenario 1, German-speakers are common in a town during a long period, but Jewish presence is marginal there during the same period. The odds are high that Yiddish toponyms will be based on the Slavic name. In Scenario 2, German-speakers cover an important part of the Gentile population of a town during a short period, but it is precisely during that period that the Jewish community becomes firmly established there. In this situation, the German toponym can survive among Jews well after the total Polonizing of the local Christian population. Several concrete examples can also be proposed. In the list of Yiddish toponyms that are of Slavic rather than German origin (Table 3), the biggest cities are Piotrków Trybunalski and Kamieniec-Podolski (now Kam"yanets-Podil's'kyj, Ukraine). The first of them acquired an important status relatively late: it became an important administrative center during the second half of the fifteenth century only and was the site of the Polish Crown Tribunal between 1578 and 1792. We have no information about the dwelling of Germans in this city. Moreover, during the fifteenth to eighteenth centuries, Piotrków was several times granted the privilege *de non tolerandis Judaeis* ("non-toleration of Jews") that restricted the growth of its Jewish population. The story of Kamieniec-Podolski is different. It the Middle Ages, numerous Germans lived in this city, along with Ruthenians, Poles, and Armenians. On the other hand, its municipal authorities made numerous efforts to prevent Jews from settling there, with special laws promulgated in 1477 and 1598. It is no surprise that the German toponyms for both places, purely official for the first and more vernacular but still not reaching Jews for the second, were not taken by Yiddish. The situation in other large cities, well known since the Middle Ages, with important German and Jewish population (in the cities themselves or in their large suburbs), such as Kraków, Poznań, Sandomierz, and Lwów/Lemberg was totally different, and we find for them German-based names in Yiddish. Today, Horodok and Mostys'ka are both small towns in western Ukraine. However, in the Middle Ages the first of them (called Gródek Jagielloński in Polish) was an important economical center, with numerous references in German and Latin documents. Despite the privilege *de non tolerandis Judaeis* that

was valid from 1550 until the second half of the seventeenth century, its German-based Yiddish name survived until recent times. The second one, called Mościska in Polish, was a much smaller locality and only a few documents mention people coming from it to the neighboring cities of Lwów and Przemyśl. We do not know details about its early Jewish community, but in any case, the source of its modern Yiddish name is Polish, despite the demographic dominance of Germans there during the fifteenth century. Many elements in the history of Krosno and Pilzno appear to be similar. During the nineteenth century, both of them were district centers in western Galicia and their population figures were similar (about 2,000 inhabitants circa 1880). In both of them, the medieval German population was important, as can be seen from the names of people coming from these towns to Lwów (CZ3, CZ4) and Przemyśl (ST1) during the fifteenth century. Both Krosno and Pilzno received the privilege *de non tolerandis Judaeis* during the second half of the sixteenth century. Yet Yiddish names developed differently: they are German- and Polish-based, respectively. The difference can be explained by several factors. During the fifteenth to sixteenth centuries, Krosno was one of the most populous towns of Lesser Poland. Its first Jewish residents are mentioned in the fifteenth century, that is, precisely during the period when it was a flourishing commercial center of the region. At the same time, the economic and demographic importance of Pilzno was significantly less. No mention of Jews appears in the town records until the mid-sixteenth century.[66]

Even if – as is shown in this paper – the influence exerted by medieval German colonists in Poland was important for the development of Yiddish, it should not be exaggerated. Numerous toponyms were taken directly by Jews from Slavs, without any intermediary of Germans. For many places in Central and Eastern Poland, as well as in the territories of modern Ukraine, Belarus, and Lithuania, the German presence was marginal. Moreover, we also find a number of Yiddish toponyms of Slavic origin for towns with a significant proportion of Germans. On the other hand, once taken from Germans, certain toponyms underwent important modifications during the history of Yiddish: shifts of stressed vowels (that were general for EY subdialects and concerned the toponyms as well), apocope, and certain consonantal changes as well.[67]

66 The above rules also possess exceptions. For Przemyśl, with a considerable German community in the fifteenth century and a Jewish street known already since the middle of the same century, Yiddish has a name that is of Slavic origin (that most likely replaced at some moment the older, German-based, name).

67 Examples from Table 1: /z/ instead of /d/ in *Tsouzmer* 'Sandomierz' (most likely due to some kind of contamination rather than to a purely phonetic shift); internal /n/ in *Graydink* 'Gródek' and *Moshtshinsk* 'Mościska' (other toponyms from the same group are *Linsk* 'Lesko' and *Ninsk* 'Nisko'; note that all four places in question correspond to the same

We know a lot about this internal history thanks to the studies by Weinreich and other major contributors to Yiddish historical linguistics. The aim of the present paper was to complement their results by showing certain features acquired by Yiddish during the earlier period, that of the initial development of this language in Slavic countries. That period is of particular interest for the history of Yiddish because it was crucial for the survival of this language. Indeed, in Jewish history we know very few instances of Jewish communities that spoke a vernacular idiom not based on the language of the Gentile majority. The two most striking examples are Spanish-based Judezmo in the Ottoman Empire and German-based Yiddish in Eastern Europe, which survived (and in many respects were formed) over the course of centuries in the linguistic environment in which the surrounding population used languages belonging to other language families. For the first example, the fact that the Sephardic communities in the eastern part of the Mediterranean region appeared after a mass migration that followed the forced expulsions from the Iberian Peninsula during the 1490s was certainly of paramount importance. Yet we do not find any historical reference to mass migrations to Eastern Europe. Local Yiddish-speaking communities were formed much more gradually than the Sephardic ones in the Ottoman Empire. A non-interrupted influx of Jewish migrants (primarily from Bohemia, Moravia, Silesia, and eastern German territories), followed by internal Eastern European migrations, within the Polish Kingdom and from Poland to the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, lasted several centuries. From historical documents, the important growth of local Jewish communities can be posited in the fourteenth to sixteenth centuries. By 1500, the largest number of Jewish communities appeared in Lesser Poland, Greater Poland, and Red Ruthenia.[68] In the same areas, precisely during the period of the formation of important Yiddish-speaking communities, new incoming Jewish families met large groups of urban Christians, who were using in their vernacular life an idiom close to their own. Tight contacts with Germans who lived in Polish and Red Ruthenian towns in large numbers had an important influence on the development of local dialects of Yiddish, and became a major factor that allowed Ashkenazic immigrants not to switch from their vernacu-

geographic area). To a general EY innovation (and not to a putative German influence suggested in Stankiewicz 1965: 178) is due the affrication /s/ > /ts/ after /n/ or /l/ found in *Belts* for Bełz [RR], *Kintsk* for Końskie [LP], *Nasheltsk* for Nasielsk [MAZ], *Plintsk* for Płońsk [MAZ], and *Shrentsk* for Szreńsk [MAZ], as well as in *Mintsk* and *Pintsk* used for the Belarusian cities of Minsk and Pinsk, respectively.

68 In the last area, western newcomers gradually merged with their local Slavic-speaking coreligionists, whose communities are known in the territories of modern Ukraine in the tenth to thirteenth centuries.

lar language to Polish or Ukrainian. When the local German-speaking Christian population disappeared after a gradual merging with Poles (who shared with Germans the same Catholic religion), a number of important Yiddish-speaking communities were already firmly established in the area. The study of the oldest Yiddish toponyms of German origin reveals a page in the history of that period that in many aspects was determinant for the Jewish presence in Eastern Europe and for the development of Yiddish as the unique vernacular language of local Jews.[69]

Collections of original records used [70]

ACP = Halperin, Israel, ed., 1945: *Acta Congressus Generalis Judaeorum regni Poloniae*, 1580–1764 [in Hebrew]. Jerusalem: Bialik Institute.

CZ1 = Czołowski, Aleksander, ed., 1892: *Najstarsza księga miejska 1382–1389 // Pomniki Dziejowe Lwowa, 1.* Lwów: Nakładem gminy król. stoł. miasta Lwowa.

CZ2 = –, ed., 1896: *Księga przychodów i rozchodów miasta 1404–1414 // Pomniki Dziejowe Lwowa, 2.* Lwów: Nakładem gminy król. stoł. miasta Lwowa.

CZ3 = –, ed., 1905: *Księga przychodów i rozchodów miasta 1414–1426 // Pomniki Dziejowe Lwowa, 3.* Lwów: Nakładem gminy król. stoł. miasta Lwowa.

CZ4 = Czołowski, Aleksander and Jaworski, Franciszek, eds., 1921: *Księga ławnicza miejska. 1441–1448 // Pomniki Dziejowe Lwowa, 4.* Lwów: Nakładem gminy król. stoł. miasta Lwowa.

K1 = Kaczmarczyk, Kazimierz, ed., 1925: *Akta radzieckie poznańskie, 1 (1434–1470)*. Poznań: Nakładem poznańskiego towarzystwa przyjaciół nauk.

KDL = Raczyński, Edward, ed., 1845: *Kodex dyplomatyczny Litwy*. Wrocław: Zygmunt Schletter.

69 This information should not be interpreted as a corroboration of the theory about EY being derived from the language of German colonists in Poland. This paper deals with a second stage of the development of EY during which the language of these colonists (related to a Silesian subdialect of East Central German) had an important influence on various aspects of EY (including its phonetics, primarily in the domain of the consonantism, general lexicon, and toponyms). The first stage of the development of EY (during which the Proto-EY vocalism was formed) took place earlier in territories situated southwest of Poland, namely in Bohemia-Moravia (Beider 2010).

70 For quotations from all books listed below, the paper gives the page numbers, not the document numbers.

ST1 = SMOŁKA, Jan and TYMIŃSKA, Zofia, ed., 1936: *Księga ławnicza. 1402–1445 // Pomniki Dziejowe Przemyśla, 1.* Przemyśl: Nakładem gminy miasta Przemyśla.
T1 = TOEPPEN, Max, ed., 1878: *Acten der Ständetage Preussens unter der Herrschaft des Deutschen Ordens*. Vol. 1 (1233–1435). Leipzig: Duncker & Humblot.
T2 = TOEPPEN, Max, ed., 1880: *Acten der Ständetage Preussens unter der Herrschaft des Deutschen Ordens*. Vol. 2 (1436–1446). Leipzig: Duncker & Humblot.
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