

Borrowing Semantic Space: Yiddish Verb Prefixes between Germanic and Slavic

Author(s): Leonard Talmy

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Borrowing Semantic Space: Yiddish Verb Prefixes between Germanic and Slav  
 Leonard Talmy  
 University of California, Berkeley

## 0. Introduction

This paper is concerned with the effects on one language's semantic system when it is under the influence of another's, where there is no transfer of actual morphemic shapes--in particular, with the development of intermediate or hybrid semantic patterns that differ from the influencing language's pattern as well as the borrower's original one. Certain aspects of this investigation are not wholly new. Certainly the particular case to be focused on--Slavic influence on Yiddish verb prefixes--has been long recognized and in certain respects characterized (e.g., U. Weinreich (1952), M. Weinreich (1980:527-530)). And the encompassing framework here--the overall semantic organization of a language--is familiar as the major concern of Whorf (1956). But this investigation makes several unique contributions. First, it aims beyond the pure cataloguing of cases of semantic borrowing to an explanatory account. To this end, cases are considered within the general framework of "semantic space"--that is, for any language, the patterns in which semantic domains are subdivided and in which the resulting concepts are represented among the surface morphemes; the characterizing features of semantic space are presented in Section 1. Also to this end, the conclusion presents nine principles--generalized from the specific observations of the Yiddish example--that may govern the processes of semantic borrowing in general. Second, thanks to the larger framework, previously unnoticed forms of semantic borrowing become evident. Several such forms appear among the types of accommodation and non-accommodation made by Yiddish to Slavic, as set forth in Sections 4 and 5. Third, the overall most contributory finding of this investigation is that the language under study did not simply take on another language's semantic system whole, but creatively adapted it to its own pre-existing system, thereby generating hybrid formations, intersections, "unpackings", expansions, and further forms of novel patterning. And the conclusion suggests that this behavior may be quite general. This paper's final, but not least, contribution is sheer addition to the relatively small amount in the literature that concerns the borrowing of meanings without adoption of actual morphs. Outside of discussions of calques (loan translations) or the presentation of particular instances, the major offering on the subject has remained chapter 2 of U. Weinreich (1953).<sup>1</sup>

## 1. Characterizing Semantic Space

Before I detail the general features of semantic space, I will illustrate its character with a contrastive example involving two different language groups. Indo-European languages and their neighbors all seem to exhibit a particular semantic pattern. They have a set of verb roots that express an agent's using a body part to move or position an object--e.g., English hold, put (in)/take (out), give (to)/take (from), carry/bring/take (to), throw, kick. The agent and object themselves are expressed independently by nouns; the verb root expresses

the remainder of the activity, often indicating the manner of maneuvering (ballistic throw vs. controlled put), the body part involved (the arm for throw, the leg for kick), the participation of a secondary agent (give vs. put), the sense of the motion (put vs. take), and deixis (bring vs. take). Most of these languages in addition have another set of forms--variously known as particles, preverbs, [(in)separable] prefixes, etc., though I have proposed to refer to all the different types alike as "satellites" (Talmy (1975, forthcoming b))--that largely express path configurations in space, e.g., English up, out, back, through. Further, the languages that have both these morpheme sets can combine them in a construction that expresses not only the concrete compounded sense, but also a more abstract, often psychological meaning. Still further, particular constructions of this type are often quite parallel across the various languages, comparable in both semantic makeup and resultant meaning, even where their corresponding morphemes are not cognate. Thus, the non-cognate verb roots meaning 'hold' in English, Russian, and Latin combine with largely non-cognate path satellites to yield forms with very similar abstract and "psychological" meanings: <sup>2</sup>

(1) <u>English</u>	<u>Russian</u>	<u>Latin</u>	<u>common meaning</u>
hold	deržat'	tenere	'hold'
hold up	pod-deržat'	sus-tinere	'support'
hold back (tr)	u-deržat'	re-tinere	'restrain'
hold back (intr)	s-deržat'-s'a	abs-tinere	'refrain'
hold out	vy-deržat'	sus-tinere	'endure'

However natural the preceding semantic arrangement may seem to us as speakers of European languages, the fact is that it is far from universal. A wholly distinct semantic landscape appears in America among northern Hokan languages and some of their neighbors--as illustrated by Atsugewi (cf. Talmy (1972)). To begin with, this language simply lacks verb roots with meanings like 'hold', 'put', 'give', 'throw', etc. Its roots refer to various kinds of objects or materials as moving or located--e.g., -qput- 'for loose dirt to move/be located', -caq- 'for a slimy lumpish object (e.g., a toad, cow turd) to move/be located', -phup- 'for a bundle to move/be located'. Forming a second set of forms, some fifty directional suffixes give the combined indication of path or site plus reference object--e.g., -ak' 'on the ground', -wam 'into a gravitic container (e.g., a basket, pocket, cupped hand, lake basin)', -ta: 'out of an enclosure', -wi·s<sup>u</sup> 'over to a neighbor's'. Notably included among these and of the same semantic mold are forms referring to holding: -ahn 'in one's grasp', -ay 'into someone's grasp', -tip-ay 'out of someone's grasp'. In a third set, some two dozen instrumental prefixes indicate the even causing the verb root's action--e.g., ca- 'from the wind blowing on (it)', ru- 'by pulling on (it)', ci- 'by acting on (it) with one's hands', uh- 'by acting on (it) with a swinging linear object' (hence, by pounding, batting, or throwing [with the arm as linear object]). It is combinations of these three morpheme sets that provide the nearest equivalents to the Indo-European-type formulations for putting, giving, etc. For example:

- (2) a. uh-caq-ta:      b. ci-p<sup>h</sup>up-ay      c. ru-qput-wi-s<sup>u</sup>  
 a'. Literal: '(cause) a slimy lumpish object to move out of an enclosure by acting on it with a linear swinging object'  
 Instantiated: "throw a toad out of the house"  
 b'. Literal: "(cause) a bundle to move into someone's grasp by acting on it with one's hands" Instantiated: "give someone a bundle"  
 c'. Instantiated: "drag some dirt over to one's neighbor's"

There may be some diachronic process at work among the cognate languages of each group, acting to maintain a single organization of semantic space. But if so, it must operate at a linguistic level more abstract than that of particular morphemes--for the parallelisms observed across the languages largely involve non-cognate forms. A process might have to be posited that maintains (among other aspects of pattern) semantic "slots"--regardless of the etymologies of the morphemes that come and go to fill them. Such a process can well be imagined, a consequence of a language's high degree of overall structural interconnection. For example, Atsugewi's expression of 'taking' is perhaps kept suffixal partly because 'having' and 'giving' are also expressed thus. Further, if a verb root were to take over that meaning, it would have to cede its usual expression of the 'thing taken' to some sentence constituent ill-adapted to it. The sweep of structural readjustments that would be entailed might militate against any change at all. In any case, whether or not a diachronic process of this sort exists, it is not necessary to postulate any, since commonality of semantic space is clearly an areal phenomenon extending to unrelated languages, so that a theory of inter-language influence can account for the whole. Some properties of such a theory are worked out in the remaining sections of this paper.

Now, a close comparison of the different formulations for 'object maneuvering' in the two language groups above reveals a number of respects in which semantic organizations can differ: (a) Different concepts are expressed--e.g., the Atsugewi notion of a 'gravitic container' has no direct analog in English. (b) Corresponding concepts are expressed under different grammatical categories--e.g., 'dirt' is expressed by an English noun but by an Atsugewi verb root. (c) The concepts of corresponding sets are parceled out in different ways among the grammatical categories--e.g., 'giving' and 'throwing' are classed together in English as actions one does to an object, so that both are expressed by verbs, whereas in Atsugewi, 'giving' is classed as a directional concept to be expressed by a directional suffix, while 'throwing' is classed as a precursor causal action to be expressed by an instrumental prefix. (d) Corresponding concepts are combined with different sister concepts within a morpheme--e.g., a path's referent object is expressed alone in an English noun (into a container) but is combined with indication of the path in an Atsugewi directional suffix (-wam 'into a container'). (e) Otherwise corresponding concepts have different degrees of inclusiveness--e.g., English throw refers to a swinging motion only as made by an arm to propel an object, whereas the Atsugewi instrumental prefix uh- can refer to a swinging motion made by any linear object (such as an arm or axe) with any resulting action (such as propelling or chopping). (f) Corresponding concepts have different obligatoriness of ex-

pression--e.g., the causal instrumentality within a referent situation must be indicated in Atsugewi but is largely optional in English. (g) Different morpheme sets are present, having different group meanings--e.g., English has a set of verb roots that express manner of maneuvering; Atsugewi lacks this, but has one that expresses an object's type and its state of motion. (h) The morpheme sets come together in different constructions--the English construction that combines a verb, a satellite and/or preposition, and a noun corresponds to the Atsugewi combination of a verb root plus two affixes. (i) Otherwise corresponding constructions have some different constructional meanings--e.g., while the English and Atsugewi constructions just mentioned correspond in their indication of object maneuvering, the English constructions often extend to indicate abstract and psychological concepts, while the Atsugewi ones largely do not (other sets of morphemes that bear such meanings directly are used instead).

On the basis of these and additional observations (including ones from Yiddish and Slavic), we can compile the features that might characterize any semantic space and that can serve to distinguish one such space from another:

(3)

- a. the particular concepts (with their componential makeup and degree of inclusiveness) that are expressed by the morphemes --and the meta-concepts expressed by the morpheme sets
- b. in cases of polysemy, the particular set of concepts grouped together under a single morpheme--and the meta-meaning common to them
- c. the grammatical categories of the individual morphemes and of the morpheme sets<sup>3</sup>
- d. the constructions in which the different morpheme sets come together--and their meta-meaning
- e. the obligatoriness and the frequency of use of each concept and meta-concept
- f. the ramifiedness of each meta-concept, i.e., its number of distinctions, its complexity of organization, its extent of application, . . .

## 2. The Yiddish Verb Prefixes

Looking now within Indo-European to Germanic and Slavic--whose respective semantic systems do differ, though not as drastically as those above--I turn from comparing two static unconnected systems to observing how one system changes under the influence of another. Yiddish is a particularly appropriate case for such observation because, in migrating, it came under new areal influence. The language developed its initial form beginning around 800 C.E. in the Middle High German-speaking Rhineland and then around 1200 C.E. started extending progressively further into Slavic-speaking territories. Under Slavic influence, the Yiddish semantic system made a number of accommodations, many of which can be observed in the verbal prefix system and its constructional associates.

The main prefixes in this system are listed below. Notice that the originally preposed hin-/her- forms have been reduced to an undifferentiated ar- and their 'hence'/'hither' meaning distinction eliminated (as colloquial modern German, with forms like runter-, is now in the

process of doing). There has emerged a group of opposed prefixal doublets, with and without the ar-, that now mark a semantic distinction mainly of 'concrete' vs. 'abstract'. The prefixes with ar- indicate major concrete paths of motion (e.g., arayn- 'into'), while their ar--less mates indicate some minor concrete paths (e.g., oyf- 'to an open position', ayn- 'collapsing inward') and, especially, more abstract and metaphorical path-derived notions.<sup>4</sup>

(4)		<u>separable [stressed]</u>		<u>inseparable [unstressed]</u>		
		<u>doublets</u>		<u>singlets</u>		
		<u>long</u>	<u>short</u>	on-	tsunoyf-	tse-
		arayn-	ayn-	durkh-	tsuzamen-	der-
		aroyS-	oys-	avek-	funander-	far-
		aroyf-	oyf-	tsu-	antkegn-	ant-
		arop-	op-	farbay-	faroyS-	ba-
		arunter-	unter-	anider-	mit-	ge-
		arum-	um- 5	nokh-	for-	
				tsurik-	afer-	
				kapoyer-	fir-	

### 3. The Borrowing Pattern

In order to determine higher level accommodation patterns under semantic influence, one must start by identifying the first-order aspects of another language's semantic space that have transferred over, as well as those that have not. "Aspects" here refers not simply to features like category differences (say, the borrowing of nouns vs. verbs) but to major types of structural phenomena.

#### 3.1 Aspects of Slavic Semantic Space that Were Borrowed by Yiddish

With particular reference to verb prefixes, five aspects of Slavic semantic space can be pointed to as entering the semantic space of Yiddish:

##### 3.1.1 Individual Meanings of Morphemes

One type of semantic borrowing involves the transfer of one meaning of a morpheme in an influencing language into a morpheme of the borrowing language--preferentially into one with similar phonological shape, grammatical category, and prior semantic content. In this way, Yiddish has borrowed a number of individual meanings expressed by Slavic prefixes, using its own prefixes to express them. For example, Russian na-, prefixed to a verb V and taking the genitive of a noun N, has the meaning 'create an accumulation of N by Ving'.<sup>6</sup> Thus, with a verb meaning 'tear/pluck' and the noun for 'flowers', na-rvat' vetov means literally 'form an accumulation of flowers in plucking them' and loosely "pick [a bouquet of] flowers". Yiddish has taken on this exact meaning of na- with its phonetically similar and semantically compatible prefix on-, otherwise the correlate of German an-, and in fact has the analog of the preceding Russian expression (exact except for the use of accusative for the object noun): on-raysn blumen "pick [a bouquet of] flowers". The on- prefix in this meaning is now quite freely usable in Yiddish, not tied to the original Slavic models--appearing, e.g., in expressions like Di kats hot ongehat ketslekh., very loosely "The cat has birthed up quite a batch of kittens in her life". To put this prefixal usage in tabular form and add further examples:<sup>7</sup>

(5)	<u>Russian</u>	<u>Yiddish</u>	<u>common meaning</u>
a.	na- +GEN	on- +ACC	'create an accumulation of, Ving'
b.	raz- +REF	tse- +REF	'burst out Ving'
c.	pro- +ACC	op- +ACC	'cover X distance/spend X time, Ving'
a'.	na-rvat' <i>čvetov</i>	on-raysn blumen	"pick [a bouquet of] flowers"
b'.	ras-plakat'-s'a	tse-veynen zikh	"burst out crying"
c'.	pro-žit' god v Moskve	op-voynen a yor tsayt in moskve	"spend a year residing in Moscow"

### 3.1.2 The Grouping of Meanings under a Single Morpheme

A language can adopt not only a single meaning from a morpheme of an influencing language into one of its own but also, in a case of polysemy, several meanings from the same morpheme. It might be said that meaning clustering itself is a kind of semantic aspect that can be borrowed. Yiddish shows several prefixal borrowings of this kind from Slavic. Thus, Russian na- expresses not only 'accumulate by Ving' but also 'fill by Ving' and, with the reflexive, 'V to one's full capacity'. And Yiddish on- has these three same meanings. It should not, however, be assumed that three such meanings simply form a natural set or continuum, so that a morpheme in any language expressing one meaning will also express the others. In fact, in as close a language as German, the three meanings are parceled out for distinct treatments: the 'accumulation' meaning has no prefixal equivalent, the 'fill' meaning is expressed by the prefix voll-, and the 'capacity' meaning is taken by the prefix satt-:

(6)	<u>Russian</u>	<u>Yiddish</u>	<u>German</u>	<u>common meaning</u>
a.	na- GEN	on- ACC	- - - - -	'accumulate, Ving'
b.	na- ACC INS	on- ACC mit	voll- ACC mit+DAT	'fill, Ving'
c.	na- REF GEN	on- REF mit	satt- REF an+DAT	'V to one's capacity'
b'.	na-lit' stakan vodoj	on-gisn a gloz mit vaser	ein Glas mit Wasser vollgieBen	// "pour a glass full of water"
c'.	na-smotret'-s'a kartin	on-zen zikh mit bilder	sich an Bildern sattsehen	// "have seen one's fill of pictures"

### 3.1.3 The Distribution of Usage Within a Grouping

Another possible type of borrowing may involve the relative frequencies of occurrence of the different meanings grouped together under a single morpheme. Now, the Yiddish prefixes I have inspected in this regard do not clearly exhibit such a form of borrowing, but I employ a near case to explain the matter for potential application elsewhere. The Russian prefix raz-, in combination with various verb roots, exhibits a set of meanings that range from high to low frequency of occurrence in roughly the following order: 'radially outward', 'dispersal', 'one into many', 'into bits/destruction'. Examples of each meaning are: raz-dut' 'puff out (as, cheeks)', raz-bežat'-s'a '(many to) run apart in all directions', raz-rubit' 'chop (wood, etc.) into several pieces', raz-gryzt' 'gnaw to bits'. The Yiddish prefix tse- exhibits the same meanings in just about the same frequency distribution as in the Russian case, and participates in quite comparable verbal combinations. The cognate modern German prefix zer-, on the other hand, exhibits approximately the opposite distribution, with just one or two cases indicating radial movement (zer-streuen 'disperse') and with a majority of cases

indicating 'destruction' (e.g., zer-rühren 'stir to a pulp'). As it happens, Middle High German zer- had a distribution closer to that of Russian, with a number of 'radial' usages (e.g., zer-blâsen 'puff out', 'disperse by blowing'), so that Yiddish, coming from this background, had little to change under Slavic influence. It was rather the line leading to modern German that lost most of the 'radial' usages, thus shifting the balance of the distribution. But if we can imagine that Yiddish came from a non-Slavic-type distribution and then changed over, we have a model for a type of semantic borrowing that might come to be observed in other language contact situations.

### 3.1.4 The Meta-Meaning of a Morpheme Class

Another form of semantic borrowing involves the meta-meaning of a morpheme class. In the present case, Yiddish has borrowed the whole system of using the native set of path prefixes to indicate aspect. That is, it has been influenced to extend metaphorically the class's spatial path reference to cover temporal aspect as well. Actually, since Yiddish, like most languages with path satellites, did already have some instances of aspectual use with them, it would be more accurate to say that what it borrowed was the ramifiedness and obligatoriness of such aspect indication. To characterize it simply for now, the borrowed system consists of the obligatory appending of a prefix, a particular one for each verb, when the aspectual character of the referent situation is perfective. Comparable Russian and Yiddish examples are:

(7) <u>pro-čitat'</u>	<u>iber-leyenen</u>	'read through to the end'
<u>na-pisat'</u>	<u>on-shraybn</u>	'write in full'
<u>s-jest'</u>	<u>oyf-esn</u>	'eat all of'
<u>vy-pit'</u>	<u>oys-trinken</u>	'drink all of'
<u>za-platit'</u>	<u>ba-tsoln</u>	'pay in full'
<u>raz-rezat'</u>	<u>tse-shnaydn</u>	'cut through the requisite number of times'

### 3.1.5 The Obligatory Appearance of a Morpheme Class

Another form of semantic borrowing is that of the obligatory use of a particular morpheme class in the representation of some meta-concept. Path is expressed by satellites as well as prepositions in the Indo-European languages that have both morpheme classes, and a path-expressing sentence can often contain the combination of a satellite and a preposition together. In some languages, for example in German from Middle High to modern, a satellite is often only optional in a sentence that contains a preposition, and in fact is at times stylistically better omitted. Thus, NHG Er ging ins Haus is complete as it stands, but can also add hinein at the end, though colloquial usage may prefer it absent. In these same circumstances, however, both Yiddish and Russian must include the satellites. Thus, these languages have no option but to say Er iz aravn-gegangen in hoyz and On vo-šël v dom, 'He went into the house', with the path prefixes included. This obligatory appearance of the prefix in addition to the preposition is a well-established pattern in Slavic, and it seems that Yiddish must have acquired it under Slavic influence.

### 3.2 Aspects of Slavic Semantic Space Not Borrowed by Yiddish

An influencing language can include a number of concepts expressed by individual morphemes and meta-concepts expressed by morpheme classes that a borrowing language does not adopt. Some omissions of this sort seem part of a broader pattern of avoidance--perhaps nothing so general as rejection of a whole borrowing "type", on the order of those just preceding, but nonetheless principled. Yiddish exhibits semantic borrowing failures of several kinds with respect to Slavic. I will later suggest a principle that accounts for some of these, but here will simply point them out.

First, Yiddish has not borrowed certain individual concepts expressed by Slavic prefixal constructions--e.g., those of Russian za- za+ACC 'to beyond/behind' (za-plyt' za mol "swim beyond the breakwater"), s- na+ACC 'to and back from' (s-letat' na počtu "hurry to the post office and back"), pro- +ACC 'the length of' (pro-bežat' vs 'u ulicu "run the whole length of the street").

Second, Yiddish has failed to borrow several Slavic aspectual distinctions. One is the so-called "determinative/indeterminative" distinction marked by most motion verbs, which involves, among other properties, the difference between motion along a single direct path and anything more intricate. Russian marks this distinction either with suppletive verb forms (idti/xodit' 'go on foot') or with suffixal material immediately after the root (let-e-t'/let-a-t' 'fly')--and Yiddish has copied neither. Another Slavic aspect is "secondary imperfective", also marked with suffixation, which functions this way: Often the addition of a prefix to a verb root not only renders its meaning perfective, but also adds a nuance or even substantially alters the basic meaning. This novel semantic entity, already a perfective, now needs a sister form for the imperfective, and this is accomplished by the addition of certain stem-forming suffixes--e.g., -yv in the third form of this Russian series: pis-at' 'write (impf.)', za-pisat' 'jot down (pf.)', za-pis-yv-at' 'jot down (impf.)'. Yiddish exhibits no trace of such forms. Finally, Slavic languages have suffixation that indicates semelfactive aspect, i.e., the single occurrence of a punctual event--e.g., -nu in Russian čix-nu-t' 'sneeze once' (vs. čix-at' 'sneeze a plurality of times'). However, though Yiddish does indicate semelfactive, and has possibly borrowed the idea of extensively doing so from Slavic, it has not borrowed the idea of using suffixation for the purpose; it uses, instead, a special periphrastic construction (treated below).

### 4. Types of Accommodation by the Borrower's Semantic System to the Donor's

In the preceding, I have presented the cases of borrowing or non-borrowing as if they were more or less insular events that had no moorings within a larger system. In fact, however, every semantic feature that undergoes a transfer is originally situated within an integrated framework, and must be adopted into another one. The borrowing language must find creative solutions to the problems that this situation poses. I have identified the following four types of accommodation that Yiddish has made in incorporating features from the non-commensurate semantic space of Slavic: hybrid formation, perfect intersection, de-polysemizing, and elaboration.

#### 4.1 Hybrid Formation

One type of accommodation is to borrow only part of some donor semantic system and to incorporate this in a way that it becomes only part of the recipient system. This kind of part-to-part borrowing results in a hybrid system, one that is neither wholly like that in the influencing language nor like that originally in the influenced language, but rather a new formation with its own organization of characteristics. I can point to three cases of this sort in Yiddish borrowing from Slavic.

##### 4.1.1 Reduplication in the Prefix-plus-Preposition System

Many Slavic prefixes have the same phonological shape as the semantically corresponding prepositions, so that their obligatory use for path indication (Section 3.1.5) often results in a kind of "whole reduplication". Thus, Russian has v- v+ACC 'into', na- na+ACC 'up onto', s- s+GEN 'off of', ot- ot+GEN 'away from', iz- iz+GEN 'emanating from'. Yiddish has borrowed the pattern of obligatory prefix use. But in the case of its prefix doublets, its prior system demanded the use of the long prefix form for the indication of a concrete path. Yet it was only the short prefixes that were phonologically identical to the prepositions. The result was a merely partial overlap of phonological form in a new hybrid system of "partial reduplication": aroyf- oyf+DAT 'up onto', ariber- iber+DAT 'across', arunter- unter+DAT 'to under', farbay- far+DAT 'past' (this last form is treated further below).

##### 4.1.2 The Polysemous Range of a Prefix and its Overall Meaning

I have shown that a set of meanings under a polysemous morpheme can be borrowed as a group into a single morpheme of another language, but such borrowing does not have to result in a slavish semantic replica, a morpheme like its model in every detail of meaning. It can happen that only some, not all, of the source morpheme's meanings are borrowed, and that the affected morpheme retains some of its own original meanings. The result in such a case is a hybrid polysemy: the range of meanings encompassed by the remodeled morpheme is neither that of the donor nor that of its old self. To the extent that an overall semantic character attaches to a polysemous range, it can be said that because the affected morpheme has added and lost some meanings, its semantic envelope has shifted and also become a hybrid.

Hybrid polysemy seems to be the norm, rather than an exception, in the Yiddish prefixes affected by Slavic. For example, the same on- prefix that was earlier seen to have borrowed a group of meanings from (say) Russian na- did not borrow them all (the others were borrowed by different prefixes); it retained some of its original Germanic meanings (which put it in relationship with Russian prefixes other than na-); and it has virtually lost at least one original meaning (the 'initiate' sense seen in German an-, as in anschneiden 'make the first cut in (a loaf of bread)'), perhaps as a result of semantic "overcrowding" from the newly acquired senses. As a result, the prefixes of Yiddish and Russian (to take one Slavic language) cannot be placed in neat semantic correspondence but rather exhibit a series of overlaps, as seen in the following table (which also lists the origin--"Gmc" or "Slc"--of each meaning of a Yiddish prefix):<sup>8</sup>

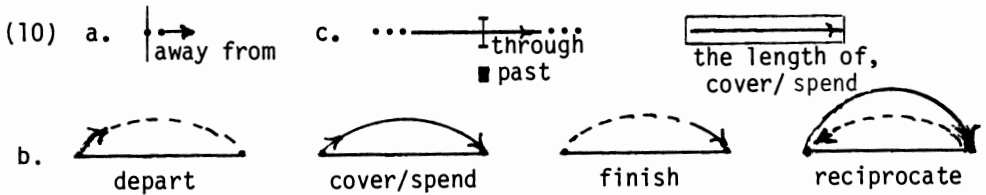
(8)	a.	<u>ob-</u> ACC	arum-	arum	Gmc	'circle, Ving'
	b.	<u>ob-</u> ob+ACC	<u>on-</u>	on/in	Gmc	'V to a point against'
	c.	<u>pri-</u> k+DAT	<u>on-</u>	in/o/yf	Gmc	'arrive at, Ving'
	d.	<u>na-</u> GEN	<u>on-</u>	ACC	Slc	'accumulate, Ving'
	e.	<u>na-</u> ACC INS	<u>on-</u>	ACC mit	Slc	'fill, Ving'
	f.	<u>na-</u> REF INS	<u>on-</u>	REF mit	Slc	'V to one's capacity'
	g.	<u>na-</u> na+ACC	<u>aroyf-</u>	oyf	Slc	'V upon'
	h.	(voz-)	<u>aroyf-</u>		Gmc	'V upward'

The shifting of semantic envelopes can be more readily characterized for another Yiddish prefix, op-, the cognate of MHG abe/ab/ap and NHG ab-. This prefix has borrowed some, but not all, the meanings of two different Slavic prefixes, while retaining some unique meanings of its own (other original meanings had Slavic counterparts)--as seen in this table:

(9)	a.	<u>pro-</u> mimo	farbay-	Gmc	'V past'
		+ACC	(far+)DAT		
	b.	<u>pro-</u> čerez	durkh-	Gmc	'V through (an opening)'
		+ACC	durkh		
	c.	<u>pro-</u> ACC	- - - -	---	'V the whole length of'
	d.	<u>pro-</u> ACC	<u>op-</u> ACC	Slc	'cover X distance/spend X time, Ving'
	e.	<u>ot-</u>	<u>op-</u>	Slc	'finish Ving'
	f.	<u>ot-</u> DAT	<u>op-</u> DAT	Slc	'V in return/reciprocation to'
	g.	<u>ot-</u> ot+GEN	<u>op-</u> fun	Gmc	'depart from, Ving'
	h.	<u>ot-</u> ot+GEN	<u>op-</u> fun	Gmc	'(re)move from a surface, Ving'
	i.	<u>ot-</u> ot+GEN	<u>op-</u> fun	Gmc	'disunite one end from the rest, Ving'
	j.	<u>ot-</u>	<u>op-</u>	Gmc	'repulse, Ving'
	k.	<u>ot-</u> REF	- - - -	---	'get out of (obligation), Ving'
	l.	- - - -	<u>op-</u>		'arrange/agree to, Ving'

An accurate analysis of a polysemous range must include treatment of all the meanings actually present (see Lindner (1981) and Brugman (1981) for some thorough treatments in English)--and the above prefixes each have a number of additional meanings. But perhaps something of the following analysis will stand: The original senses of op- in (g) to (j) cluster around a general notion of an object progressively distancing itself from some reference location, as indicated schematically in (10a) (see Talmy (forthcoming a) for such spatial characterizations). But the meanings that op- acquired from pro- and ot-, (d) to (f), all imply spanning the whole of some bounded extent, whether each of the end-points is definite or merely implicit, as schematized in (10b). Thus, the overall meaning of op-, which originally encompassed only motion away from a source point, has expanded to include optionally the trajectory and termination arising from that originating motion. In a way, the original 'depart' sense of op-, (g), occupies a pivotal position in this shift; before it was a suitable member-meaning because of its movement-from-source character, and now it fits because it also implies a destination. The overall semantic character of pro- is quite distinct from that of op-, involving movement along a linear path, as suggested in (10c). Thus, the distance/time-spanning sense, (d), common to both pro- and op-, fits into the larger schema of each by virtue of two different characteristics, its linear extent on the one hand and its boundedness on the other. As for the overall meaning of ot-, this seems rather similar to that of op-,

but because the latter includes the distance/time-spanning sense, it fits even more strongly in the 'bounded extent' schema; this allows us to speak of a hybrid character that distinguishes it from both its influencing morphemes as well as from its original self.



#### 4.1.3 The Prefixal Aspect System

Yiddish exhibits a further case of hybrid formation in the character of the aspect system manifested by its prefixes. To explain the matter, it is necessary to consider four aspectual notions, those listed in (11), with English sentences for illustration:

- (11) a. to completion once I drank up my milk.  
 b. to completion habitually I drink up my milk every time I'm given some.  
 c. in progress toward completion I'm drinking up my milk. / I'm getting my milk drunk.  
 d. ongoing I'm drinking my milk.

Slavic and Yiddish verb forms do not distinguish all four aspects but, in different ways, divide them into subgroups. A Russian verb stem that takes a prefix for the perfective but allows no suffixes to indicate a secondary imperfective--e.g., točit' and na-točit' 'sharpen', in the dialect of some speakers--groups the four aspectual notions as shown in (12A). The prefixed form refers solely to an action performed once to completion, e.g., sharpening a knife to a fine edge--aspect type (a). However, aspect types (b) and (c)--e.g., sharpening a knife to a fine edge every day, or now getting a knife toward full sharpness--have no unique indication and are in fact expressed in the same way as aspect type (d) --ongoingly sharpening away at a knife or knives. A different grouping pattern is exhibited by verb stems that can also take suffixes to indicate secondary imperfective--e.g., Russian uč-it'-s'a 'learn', taking prefix vy- and suffix -iv-, as shown in (12B). Here, the form with prefix alone, as before, indicates solely aspect type (a). But now the form that also contains the suffix serves to distinguish aspect types (b) and (c)<sup>9</sup> from aspect type (d) which, as before, is indicated by the unaffixed form.

- |                     |                           |                  |
|---------------------|---------------------------|------------------|
| (12) A. 'sharpen'   | B. 'learn'                | C. 'sharpen'     |
| a. <u>na-točit'</u> | <u>vy-uč-it'-s'a</u>      | on-sharfn        |
| b. <u>točit'</u>    | <u>vy-uč-iv-at'-s'a</u>   | on-sharfn        |
| c. <u>točit'</u>    | ? <u>vy-uč-iv-at'-s'a</u> | <u>on-sharfn</u> |
| d. <u>točit'</u>    | <u>uč-it'-s'a</u>         | sharfn           |

Now, Yiddish verb stems take prefixes for aspect indication--as in sharfn / on-sharfn 'sharpen'--but no suffixes. They do not, however, behave like the unsuffixed Russian verb in (12A) but, in a way, more like the suffixed type in (12B). In the Yiddish pattern for grouping the aspect types, shown in (12C), the prefixed form covers the first three types, in effect corresponding to the prefixed Russian verb with or without its suffix. With an array of this sort, one might take the Russian pattern as basic, and conclude that the Yiddish prefixed form indicates both perfective and secondary imperfective (perhaps with a "zero" derivation for the latter). However, this seems a discordant imposition from an external system. For within Yiddish, all three aspectual uses of the prefixed form can be encompassed under a single semantic notion. Whereas the Slavic prefix indicates true perfective, i.e., that the end point of a process is actually reached (unless countermanded by a secondary suffix), the Yiddish prefix indicates, rather, that the end point of a process is in view. This aspectual arrangement is a hybrid system, the result of differential borrowing of elements from the Slavic system.

#### 4.2 Perfect Intersection

In another form of accommodation by one language system to another, the borrowing language maintains all of the distinctions it had originally made in a particular semantic domain while adding on "orthogonal" distinctions made by an influencing language, without either set interfering with the other, and so forms an intersection of both distinctional sets. Yiddish exhibits a number of such intersections with Slavic, for example the following five involving the prefix or the verb.

Yiddish has maintained the Germanic distinction of separable versus inseparable prefixes, while using both kinds for the aspect indication borrowed from Slavic. Thus, separable on-, requiring a ge- in the past participle, and inseparable tse-, precluding a ge-, both indicate perfective aspect in Ikh hob ongesharft dem meser 'I sharpened the knife' and Ikh hob tserisn mayn hemd 'I tore my shirt'.

While they have acquired various meanings from Slavic, the Yiddish long and short prefix doublets still distinguish "role-precedence" among the nominals of a sentence. Using the term "Figure" for the moving object in a motion event, and the term "Ground" for the stationary reference object (see Talmy (1978a)), we can note the following approximate generalization: The long prefix marks the Figure as coming ahead of the Ground on the case hierarchy--e.g., as direct object vs. oblique object--while the short prefix marks the reverse precedence. Thus:

- (13) arayn-shtekhn a nodl in orem 'stick a needle into one's arm'  
ayn-shtekhn dem orem mit a nodl 'stick (puncture) one's arm  
with a needle'

Without a Slavic parallel, Yiddish maintains its Germanic use of two different auxiliaries for forming the past tense, with zayn 'be' for use with verbs of motion, position, being, and becoming (roughly generalized) and hobn 'have' elsewhere. We can see the intersection of this distinction with constructions otherwise wholly borrowed from Slavic in examples like:

- (14) Oni raz-bežali-s'. Zey zaynen zikh tse-lofn. 'They ran off in all directions.'  
 Oni raz-legli-s' Zey hobn zikh tse-leygt. 'Lying there, they stretched out'.

Yiddish also keeps its Germanic option of dropping a non-finite motion verb, and intersects this with factors otherwise borrowed from Slavic, e.g., with the obligatory use of a prefix in conjunction with a preposition. For example: Bald vi er iz aroyf[getrotn] oyf dem tretar, iz er arayn[gegangen/gekumen] in der kretshme. "As soon as he stepped onto the sidewalk, he went/came into the tavern".

Yiddish has developed a unique set of expressions that indicate deixis--in particular, motion toward the speaker's perspective point--together with the mode of motion, whether on foot or in a vehicle, as shown in (15). This construction may have arisen as the intersection of a Germanic factor with a Slavic one. Germanic frequently indicates deixis in the verb with its come/bring-type forms, quite lacking in Slavic. Slavic, on the other hand, extensively insists on indicating mode of transit in the verb, a feature that Germanic must forego when expressing deixis. Yiddish, heir to both sensibilities, has thus devised a construction that indicates both at once:

- (15) kumen tsu geyn/forn 'come walking/riding'  
 brengen tsu trogn/firn 'bring by carrying/conveying'

#### 4.3 An Ampler Borrower's System can De-Polysemize a Donor System

While Russian has on the order of twenty-two prefixes, Yiddish has as many as some thirty-six, and it has put them to good use in taking on Slavic prefixal meanings. Where a Slavic prefix has several meanings grouped together under it, Yiddish often splits them up so that they come under distinct prefixes. This process, moreover, is in large measure semantically principled. Thus, where Yiddish doublet prefixes are involved, the long form takes on the commoner concrete senses, while the short form takes on the rarer concrete meanings as well as the more abstract senses, including all the aspect indications. For example, Russian uses the same prefix pod- to indicate both the notions 'to underneath' and 'up to', as in pod-katat'-s'a pod+ACC 'roll under' and pod-exat' k+DAT 'drive up to'. Yiddish borrowed both these senses, but assigned them to different forms of the same doublet, as in arunter-kayklen zikh unter 'roll under' and (in some dialect areas) unter-forn tsu 'drive up to'. Likewise, long prefix ariber- acquires any 'across' usages from Russian pere-, while short iber- has taken on such meanings of pere- as 'in transfer': iber-shraybn 'copy (something written)' (pere-pisat'), iber-ton zikh 'change clothes' (pere-odet'-s'a); and 'back and forth between': iber-varfn zikh mit 'throw...back and forth to each other' (pere-brosit'-s'a +INS), iber-vinken zikh 'wink to each other' (pere-mignut'-s'a).

With regard to aspect indication, Russian vy-, for example, does double duty expressing both spatial 'out' and aspectual 'perfective', as in vy-bežat' 'run out', vy-pit' 'drink to completion'. Yiddish separates these two senses with its doublet prefixes, as in aroyf-loyfn 'run out' and oys-trinken 'drink to completion'. Likewise, in the other cases of

doublet forms indicating aspect, it is always the short prefix that is used, as in these perfective verbs: iber-leyenen 'read', op-vegn 'weigh (tr.)', ayn-zinken 'sink', oyf-esn 'eat'.

These Yiddish examples manifest an apparently hitherto unobserved phenomenon. It is the general expectation that a borrowing language will at best be faithful to its influencer's distinctions, but more likely will in part efface them. Here we have instead a case of refinement. The general case can be put this way: One language's subsystem, having more components than the corresponding subsystem in another language, can in a semantically principled way sort out some of the latter's forms of polysemy--or "de-polysemize" it--in borrowing from it.

#### 4.4 A Borrower Extending a Borrowed Feature Further than the Donor

In certain cases of borrowing, a feature of an influencing language so successfully takes root in a borrowing language that it develops there beyond its previous scope. Such seems the case with the semantic notion of semelfactive aspect--i.e., singleness of occurrence--in going from Slavic to Yiddish. In Russian, the semelfactive suffix -nu is mainly limited to verbs whose imperfective sense involves a sequence of "unit" actions, like jumping or breathing. When -nu is added, the resultant reference is to a single such unit--e.g., pryg-at 'jump along', pryg-nu-t 'take a jump'. Yiddish, presumably inspired by the Slavic indication of aspect in general and of semelfactive in particular, elaborated its occasional inherited construction of the type gebn a kush 'give a kiss' into an extensive and sometimes obligatorily used system for indicating single or momentary occurrences of any type. The system's periphrastic construction, consisting basically of a "dummy" verb like gebn or ton ('give', 'do') plus a nominal form of the contentful verb, can now additionally include a reflexive and a separated prefix, e.g.:

- |      |                             |                       |
|------|-----------------------------|-----------------------|
| (16) | <u>gebn a shmek</u>         | 'to take a sniff'     |
|      | <u>gebn a zog</u>           | 'to remark'           |
|      | <u>gebn a kum-arayn</u>     | 'to enter'            |
|      | <u>gebn zikh a makh-oyf</u> | '(a door) to open up' |

It is not clear why Yiddish was so hospitable to the growth of the semelfactive. It is somewhat clearer, though, why the periphrastic construction became its vehicle. First, since the language has resisted borrowing suffixes, it may have turned to the construction it already possessed with something of this meaning. Moreover, that construction had already gained in currency on another front--it was the main vehicle for the language's incorporation of Hebrew verbs--e.g., khasene hobn 'to marry', moyde zayn zikh 'to admit'.<sup>10</sup>

Another case of the pupil outstripping the teacher is the reduplication of prefix upon preposition (Section 4.1.1). Yiddish caught on to the obligatory inclusion of a like-sounding prefix and extended it beyond the cases found in Slavic. Thus, corresponding to non-reduplicative forms in Russian are durkh- durkh 'through', arum- arum 'around', nokh- nokh 'along after', mit- mit 'in accompaniment with', ariber- iber 'over/across' and farbay- far 'past'. The last example is noteworthy in that the original and also presently existing form, farbay- DAT, gave way to the felt need for some kind of phonological reduplication through the addition, in some dialects, of the semantically unmotivated preposition far because

of its phonological character.

## 5. Types of Non-Accommodation by the Borrower to the Donor

The preceding section dealt with cases of actual borrowing of features from one language into another, classing them according to the type of accommodation to them made by the recipient system. But a language that has accepted some features can resist others. Yiddish can be seen to manifest two forms of such non-accommodation while otherwise under Slavic influence.

### 5.1 Rejection of Features of an Influencing Language

Much as the instances of borrowing first mentioned in Section 3.1 were just now seen to behave as parts of larger systems, so the instances of non-borrowing first mentioned in 3.2 can now be seen to reflect larger motivating factors. One such factor, stated generally, is that a structure in another language can be incommensurate enough to a potential borrower that neither the structure nor sometimes even the meanings expressed by it will be acceptable. In just this way, Yiddish seems to have an aversion to borrowing inflectional suffixes on the verb to indicate anything but syntactic relations. Only this latter function has been served by its inherited suffixes, which indicate the infinitive, the participles, and person and number agreement. Thus, Yiddish has no precedent for verb inflections that would add meaning, such as notions of aspect,<sup>11</sup> and so has resisted the Slavic inflectional suffixes that do just this. Formally, it has rejected them outright--nothing of them has been borrowed that might appear in the actual form of suffixes. Semantically, Yiddish has also rejected the meaning expressed by one set of Slavic suffixes, those for the determinate/indeterminate distinction of motion verbs (see 3.2). Yiddish has borrowed the function of the suffixes indicating secondary imperfective, but only to the extent that its prefixes have extended their aspectual reference so as to encompass that function. The only strong case of semantic borrowing from a Slavic suffix is the indication of semelfactive, but this, as already seen, is manifested by an entirely distinct construction.

Another factor, possibly a widespread one, is a language's seeming tendency to ignore an influencing language's relative lack of distinctions. That is, a language otherwise subject to external influence may tend not to lose inherited distinctions just because the influencing language lacks them. Such a factor amounts to a bias in favor of "positive" borrowing--i.e., the taking on of novel features and discriminations--rather than "negative" borrowing, the taking on of another system's comparative limitations. An example in our present context is the prefixal indication of the path notion 'down'. Russian has for this only the non-productive prefix niz-, and mainly relies on external adverbial expressions to indicate the notion. Yiddish in the face of this prefixal sparseness has maintained its basically four-way distinction: arop- fun 'down off of', arunter- fun/durkh/oyf 'downward through space', anider- oyf 'down onto (general)', avek- oyf 'down onto (for acts of placing)'.

### 5.2 Changes Counter to Influence (and Inheritance As Well)

A language can not only maintain an original structure without assimilation to an influencing language's pattern, but can go so far as to

change it in the opposite direction. In the three cases of this type cited next for Yiddish, the avoided Slavic model is largely the same as the inherited Germanic one--Yiddish here flies in the face of both influence and inheritance. To account for such a development, one may have to invoke a notion of strong "drift"-like pressures internal to the system.

One case involves the common Germanic-Slavic use of two different nominal cases, the dative and the accusative, after the same preposition to indicate location and motion, respectively. Counter to both these linguistic inputs, Yiddish has come to use only the dative after all prepositions (except those meaning 'as, like', which take the nominative)--even though it has otherwise largely maintained the dative/accusative distinction in both noun phrases and pronouns. Though Yiddish has thus lost marking of the distinction by case, it can mark it by a novel construction --perhaps one that arose under continuing Slavic influence--in which a path prefix is repeated after the object nominal in the case of motion but not of location--e.g., arayn-krikhn in kastn arayn 'crawl into the box', zitsn in kastn (\*arayn) 'sit in the box'.

Another common Germanic-Slavic feature is the use of different prepositions to distinguish types of 'motion from'--thus, German aus+DAT 'out of', von+DAT 'away from', and Russian iz+GEN 'out of', s+GEN 'off of', ot+GEN 'away from'. Yiddish has not maintained such distinctions in its prepositional usage but has gone on to indicate the whole semantic range with the one preposition fun 'from'.

A third Germanic-Slavic shared feature is a certain form of aspect distinction and the means for indicating it. Traversing the total length of a bounded linear path in a period of time is indicated in both German and Russian with an accusative and a verbal prefix (inseparable, in the case of German), as in (17a). However, open motion along an unbounded path for a period of time is indicated with a preposition and no prefix (though German may also include a separable prefix), as in (17b). (The latter construction has become increasingly used in German for the bounded case as well, though the former construction is still not used for the unbounded case).

(17) a. Der Satellit hat die Erde in 3 Stunden umflogen.

Satelit obletel zeml'u v 3 časa.

"The satellite flew around the earth in 3 hours".

(i.e., made one complete circuit)

b. Der Satellit ist 3 Tage (lang) um die Erde geflogen.

Satelit letel vokrug zemli 3 dn<sup>ta</sup>.

"The satellite flew around the earth for 3 days".

Yiddish, backed and surrounded with this common semanto-syntactic feature, has nevertheless gone on to lose it. It expresses both cases in the same way: Der satelit iz arumgefloygn arum der erd in 3 sho / 3 teg. The loss is possibly due to the decline of the (a)-type construction, itself perhaps the result of Yiddish dropping the inseparable use of such originally dual-functioning prefixes as um-, durkh-, iber-.

## 6. General Principles that Govern Semantic Borrowing

In this concluding section, I want to abstract and condense into a single set of principles the properties of semantic change that Yiddish

prefixes have here been seen to exhibit under Slavic influence. These properties may well apply more generally to other cases where one language adapts its semantic space to that of another. Accordingly, the principles below are formulated in a generic phrasing, with "D", for "donor", referring to any influencing language and "B", for "borrower", to any corresponding influenced language. Such phrasing is not intended as a claim that all languages in fact behave according to the principles. It is meant, rather, as a suggestion that some languages might, and as a framework for investigating other language-contact situations with an eye toward working out a fully secure set of principles for semantic influence.

(18) Factors for Semantic-Space Borrowing from a D(onor) Language  
into a B(orrower) Language

a. A meta-meaning generally transfers from a morpheme-class of D to a similar one of B--i.e., to one of comparable syntactic category and with some semantic instances already consonant with the other's meta-meaning.

--Thus, aspect indication by the Slavic verb-prefix category was borrowed by the Yiddish verb-prefix category, in which a few instances of prefix use had already indicated aspect.

b. Within such corresponding morpheme-classes, a meaning generally transfer from a morpheme of D to a similar one of B--i.e., to one of comparable phonological shape and with some meanings already consonant with the other morpheme's meaning-range.

--Thus, Yiddish op- sounded like Russian ot- and already had certain 'off from' meanings in common with it, before borrowing others of its meanings.

c. With such corresponding D and B morphemes, several meanings tend to transfer over, so that a partial identification grows between the two.

--Thus, Yiddish op- borrowed both the 'finish' and the 'reciprocate' meanings from Slavic (Russian) ot-, and Yiddish on- borrowed the 'accumulation', 'fill', and 'satiety' meanings from Slavic (Russian) na-.

d. As a corollary of (a), B generally borrows neither syntactic category nor meanings from a D morpheme-class to which it has no parallel, seeming to treat it, rather, as incommensurate or alien.

--Thus, in Slavic verbs, certain inflectional suffixes add semantic content, whereas Yiddish ones only indicate syntactic relations; Yiddish has developed no suffixes akin to this novelty and, moreover, has largely avoided even the meanings they express.

e. If B does borrow from an unparalleled D morpheme-class, it generally takes on not the syntactic category but the meanings, expressing these with a native construction already semantically consonant.

--Thus, Yiddish did borrow the Slavic suffixally indicated semelfactive, but expressed it with its native periphrastic construction, which already had some instances of such meaning.

f. B tends to maintain the properties of its original semantic space--i.e., all its inherited semantic and syntactic features and distinctions. Thus, B generally does not replace its original features when borrowing from D. Rather, it adds the novel features to its own, making various kinds of accommodation between the two patterns: hybrid formations, inter-sections, "unpackings" (de-polysemizing), extensions.

--See Section 4 for examples.

g. Similarly, due to such retention, B generally does not drop its original features just because D lacks parallels.

--Thus, Yiddish kept its 4-way prefixally indicated 'down' distinction, and also most original meanings of prefixes like on-, even though Slavic lacked these.

h. B does not borrow all of D's semantic system but only portions of it. Thus, some original B features continue unchallenged within the B system, or even develop in a direction counter to the D model.

--Thus, Yiddish has not borrowed certain Slavic prefixal meanings such as Russian pro-'s 'the whole length of', and has neutralized its inherited accusative/dative 'motion/location' distinction even counter to the Slavic model.

i. All the preceding factors that govern borrowing probably continue to recycle at successive stages as B remains under D's influence. That is, B, rather than taking over D semantic space at the outset, makes a continuing sequence of "creative" adaptations and accommodations, most of which take it ever closer to the D system. This process might go on until an end point of complete homology between the B and D semantic spaces, with only the morphemes' shapes differing.

Several of the last principles can benefit from further comment. Principle (f) raises the question of how languages resist an overload of features if they tend to preserve old ones while adding new ones. I suspect that a language does not so much replace old features with new ones in direct response to an influencer as that--secondarily in its own time and way--it cuts down on original, borrowed, and hybrid features alike through internal processes of pruning, reshuffling, etc., that operate on the new configurations of material as a whole. Regarding principle (h)': assertion that not all of an influencer's features are borrowed, it is unclear what factors--outside of principle (d)--might determine the pattern of what is and what is not borrowed. But we can at least be sure of this much: Undoubtedly involved is the integrated sense that native speakers have for their language's overall organization of lexical items and grammatical features--and hence, for what of another language might fit in more felicitously and what less so. As for principle (i)'s notion of ultimate homology between two contacting languages, Gumperz and Wilson (1971) describe just such an end state for a Dravidian language under Aryan influence in one Indian community. It seems quite possible, however, that a language could continue indefinitely without arriving at such total homology. Yiddish might well have turned out to be such a case if it were to have continued in Slavic territories, because it had two external connections: continuing associations with the German-speaking world, and its special connection with the Hebrew of religious writings, whose vocabulary and structure exerted a continuing influence on the language. In conclusion, it is my feeling that with Section 1's feature for semantic space in general, with the present principles for the ways that one such semantic space can affect another, and with the earlier detailing of Yiddish under Slavic influence--a case that instantiates both sets of general factors--we have a framework for understanding the structured interaction of semantic systems.

## 7. Notes

1) For their contribution to the preparation of this paper, I am grate

to several friends and colleagues--to Anna Schwartz, Malka Tussman, and Rose Cohen for their native linguistic expertise in Yiddish, Simon Karlinsky and Esther Talmy in Russian, Karin Wanderspek in German, and Henryka Yakushev in Polish; to Dan Brink and Tom Shannon for their proficiency with Middle High German and to Martin Schwartz for his with the Hebrew component in Yiddish; to Yakov Malkiel and Elizabeth Traugott for their special knowledge of the relevant literature; and to Jennifer Lowood for her editorial acumen. In addition, the following reference works proved of great value: U. Weinreich (1968) for Yiddish, Ozhegov (1968) for Russian, and Lexers (1966) for Middle High German. Needless to say, these kind folk and worthy volumes are to be held innocent of any misfeasances in presentation, analysis, or assertion of fact that follow. It is my observation, over a variety of Yiddish speakers and writings, that the phenomena reported on here are quite sensitive to differences of dialect. Indeed, the observations below on Slavic-influenced features in Yiddish were gathered from different dialect representatives and are not necessarily all to be found in any one dialect.

2) Johanna Nichols has pointed out to me that some of the Russian forms --likeliest pod-deržat' and possibly also u-deržat'--may well be calques based, in fact, on Latin forms. While such a fact would detract from the present tabular demonstration, the general phenomenon of wholly parallel constructions must still be seen to hold.

3) Grammatical category may at first seem an odd inclusion among semantic factors, but each category actually contributes its own semantic "twist" to any concept expressed in it. Thus, the action of telephoning when expressed as a noun instead of a verb (He called me/He gave me a call) acquires some sense of reification into a delimited "thing". And a material like blood when expressed by a verb (I'm bleeding) seems to lose some of its sense of materiality and become "actionalized". (see Talmy (1978b)).

4) The orthography used here and throughout to represent Yiddish (normally written with Hebrew letters) is the one approved by the YIVO Institute for Jewish Research and adopted by the standard-setting Yiddish and English dictionary of U. Weinreich (1968). It uses kh, sh, and ts instead of the more usual linguistic notations x, š, and č.

5) In most dialects, um- occurs rarely and seems to have little felt connection with arum-. Both um- prefixes might be better placed in the singlets column.

6) As M. Weinreich (1980:539) points out, the various Slavic languages are so close that for most phenomena dealt with here they can be regarded as having exerted an undifferentiated Slavic influence on Yiddish. Russian is used as the Slavic language of reference throughout the paper (though a spot-check of Polish suggested that this language, too, was consonant with the borrowing pattern observed). The term "Germanic" is used differently below. It does not refer to a whole linguistic family, but only to features common to the transmitted Germanic component of Yiddish, the MHG of the Rhineland, and in a number of instances also modern standard German.

7) In the examples cited hereafter, the abbreviations REF, GEN, ACC, etc., stand for "reflexive", "genitive", "accusative", etc. After Yiddish prepositions, no case indication is given because they all take the dative (ones meaning 'as' or the like take nominative, but do not appear here). The -it', -et', and -at' on Russian verbs are infinitive endings and -s'a is the reflexive; the Yiddish equivalents are -n and zikh.

8) Examples of the new forms here are: (a) o-bežat' dom / arum-loyfn arum a hoyz // "run around a house" (b) ob-lokotit's'a o dver' / on-shparn zikh on a tir // "lean against a door" (c) pri-exat' / on-forn // "arrive in a vehicle" (g) na-stupit' na zmeju / aroyf-tretn oyf a shlang // "step upon a snake" (h) vz-letet' / aroyf-flien // "fly up".

9) Depending on the verb and on the speaker, aspect type (c) might not be expressible at all in one word. For example, pro-čit-yv-at' can be used for 'read a newspaper through to the end every day', but not for 'now be reading a newspaper until the end be reached'. In such cases, aspect type (d) can be used as a substitute aspectual notion, with the unaffixed form used to express it.

10) Martin Schwartz has suggested to me that the conjugational complexities of the Hebrew verb favored its incorporation in a selected frozen form within a periphrastic construction.

11) While it rejects such suffixes for inflections, Yiddish has borrowed derivational suffixes that add meaning--e.g., -eve (cf. Russian -ov-a), conferring a pejorative sense, as in shraybeven 'write in an inferior manner' (M. Weinreich (1980:531)).

## 8. References

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