Mordkhe Schaechter

PLANT NAMES IN YIDDISH

A handbook of botanical terminology

YIVO Institute for Jewish Research
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Publisher's Preface

YIVO is very pleased to present the reader with the handbook *Plant Names in Yiddish* by Dr. Mordkhe Schaechter. The author began preparing this book back in the 1960s and for various reasons could not publish it until now. The body of the book was completed in the late 1970s, the introductory chapters — in the 1990s. Since Dr. Schaechter was unable to complete it, that task has been left to us. Thus, credit for completing the book is YIVO's; much greater credit is due to Dr. Schaechter's chief assistant, David Braun of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology; and above all, to the author himself.

The reader should be aware that YIVO, in the person of the writer of this preface, saw to the proofreading of the introductory chapters (the body of the work was typed on an electric typewriter in the days before computers were common and was proofread at that time); and oversaw the process of printing and publication. No attempt was made to edit the body of the work in any way, so the reader will note that here and there, there are inconsistencies (for example, the author thanks a number of people who have since died without, of course, noting that fact). For technical reasons, the chapter “Plants Names and their Sources” is incomplete, including only the letters alef, beyz and veyz. When a second planned volume is published, we expect to include the rest of the bibliography.

The reader will also note that the computerized chapters use a different typeface from the typewritten ones. This should present no problem provided the reader bears in mind, for example, that where italics were used on the computer, underlining was used on the typewriter.

So the book is now available to all those who will enjoy reading and consulting it. We know that you share our joy!

On behalf of the YIVO Institute for Jewish Research
Dr. Paul Glasser
March 2005

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קאַרטאָפל.

1. Preface

Until its publication, *Plant Names in Yiddish* (henceforth: *PNY*) went through several stages. After the publication of a smaller project, "Names of trees and shrubs," whose theoretical part was published in the journal *Yidishe Shprakh* (vol. XXVI, 1966, pp. 56-80), objections were raised: why only trees and shrubs? How about flowers? How about vegetables, especially those virtually unknown in Eastern Europe? And we ourselves added: How about the aquatic plants the pedagogue and writer A. Golomb wrote about in Yiddish? And the mushrooms and toadstools? And the medicinal plants – how can one understand the Yiddish booklets on folk medicine if we don't clarify the meanings of the various botanical terms in them? And how can we possibly ignore the industrial plants about which quite a bit was written in Yiddish, especially in the Soviet Union? And generally the botanical terms that were taught in Yiddish schools in Eastern Europe?

By thus expanding the scope of our project we soon realized that the result would just be overwhelming, beyond the capabilities of an individual. Therefore it was decided to leave out many terms in the fields of phytomorphology, phytoanatomy, phytophysiology, phytoecology, phytogeography, and phytogenetics, as well as paleobotany, all of which would be left for a later hoped-for encompassing project, "Terminology of Life Sciences in Yiddish." As a result, what we were left with in the final analysis was just plant names, i.e., phytotaxonomic terminology of a descriptive and prescriptive nature, as well as a select number of morphological terms found in various Yiddish manuals of botany and agronomy

Authorship. Although *PNY* has only one compiler, it is in essence largely a collective work. It could not have been accomplished without the many compilers of Yiddish textbooks and readers on the natural sciences and geography, the translators and authors of travelogues, the terminologists and lexicographers, the dialectologists and collectors of regional lexicon, prose writers and poets with an eye for natural phenomena. Their indi-

vidual contributions are acknowledged in the "Yiddish Terminological Sourcefinder" in *PNY*.

Of direct assistance were primarily the tens of informants who most graciously supplied botanical nomenclature. (Their names are listed in the chapter "Symbols, Abbreviations and Sources: Bibliography and Informants"). We also received assistance in various ways: some individuals supplied us with relevant source material: Khanele Buler, Marshall Burgin, Leybl Kahn, I. Pushett. Others sent in names of plants, clarified meanings of obscure terms or supplied bibliographic data: Prof. Robert Austerlitz, Tsvi Ayznman, Hirsh Osherovitsh, Zachary M. Baker, Y. Elberg, Dr. Paul Glasser, Meyer Horowitz/Hurwitz, Prof. Bertram Kabak, Nekhome Winer, Beatrice Silverman-Weinreich, Tsvi Talshir, Sore Zylberman, Dr. Yitskhek Niborski, Charles Nydorf, Dr. Rakhmiel Peltz, Eliezer Fränckel, Elinor Robinson, Yankev-Tsvi Shargel, Z. Schñadower, Eli Shekhtman. To Dr. Itzik Gottesman, I owe a special debt of gratitude for putting at my disposal the Yiddish terminological treasures contained in several extremely valuable collections in the YIVO archives. Also, thanks go to Adam Whiteman for his assistance in matters of computer use.

For editorial assistance we are indebted to Uriel Weinreich, who managed to read the first version of "Names of Trees and Shrubs in Yiddish" up to *Cupressus sempervirens* a week before his untimely death; as well as to M.-M. Shaffir and Bella Schaechter-Gottesman, who read the introductory chapters and made valuable observations.

Special thanks are due to my wife Charlotte/Tsharne Schaechter, who in the first stage of this project (1963-67) immersed herself together with me in the world of plants – went to botanical gardens, parks, forests, read botanical literature. Eydl Schaechter (now Reznik) edited (1980-1982) the material with utmost care, precision, reliability and expertise which never ceased to amaze me. Binyumen Schaechter helped to edit and type out an initial version of the first few dozen pages of the "Yiddish Terminological Sourcefinder" (1983-1984); Susana Wolkowicz went through the "Yiddish Terminological Sourcefinder" and bibliography in 1985/86 and unified them in accordance with the principles which the author established for this book; David Braun completed part of this work and prepared the colossal amount of material which is included in this first volume of *PNY* in camera-ready form during the summers of 1987-93 and the academic year 1992-1993, part on an electric IBM typewriter (1987-90), part on a word processor (1991-93).

The picture would not be complete without mentioning the generous subsidies by the late Takhne (Tanhum) Brise, as well as the Judah Zelitch Foundation for a Living Yiddish, the Meyer and Tzippe Fruchtbaum Foundation, the Binyumen Shekhter Foundation for the Advancement of Standard Yiddish, and the Shmuel and Sime Kaplan Fund of the League for Yiddish. Without them *PNY* would have ground to a halt at an early stage.

At the final stage (1992), the generous contributions of: Shelby Shapiro, as well as Wolf Arzt, Dr. D. Guralnick, and Dr. Martin Peretz (in the memory of his mother Elke Peretz, née Weberman, one of the valuable informants for *PNY*) should be gratefully acknowledged.

2. Introduction: Yiddish botanical terminology

'There aren't any plant names in Yiddish'

The supposed dearth of Yiddish botanical terms is an old stereotype that has haunted the Yiddish speech community for generations. It has been repeated countless times, even by those who might have been expected to know better. Maurice Samuel (1943:194), for example, claims that "when it comes to harebell, clover, gardenia, dahlia, gladiolus, rhododendron, broom, clematis, fuchsia, cowslip, hyacinth, the word does not exist in Yiddish, except as a violent transliteration out of German or Russian." Little did he realize that the English, German and Russian names of most of these plants are – to use his description – nothing but a "violent" loan of the international term, which usually consists of a Latin or Greek root with a Latin ending: *Gardenia, Dahlia, Gladiolus, Rhododendron, Clematis, Fuchsia, Hyacinth.* What European language does not call these plants by their Latin-Greek name? The Latin name *Dahlia*, for example, is used in Dutch, English, Finnish, French, German, Hungarian, Italian, Norwegian, Polish, Portuguese, and Swedish. *Gladiolus* is used in all of the above languages, as well as in Albanian, Bulgarian, Czech, Danish, Serbo-Croatian, and Spanish. The Greek-origin *Rhododendron* is the term used in almost every European language. If the Yiddish *hiatsint* (used by, for example, the Yiddish poets Itsik Manger, Leyb Naydus, Pesi Hershfeld-Pomerants-Honigboym) is a "violent" loan, what are the Russian *giatsint*, Ukrainian *hiatsint*, German *Hyacinthe*, Czech, Danish, Dutch, Slovenian, Swedish *hyacint*, Polish *hiacynt*, Spanish *jacinto*, French *jacinthe*, Italian *giacinto*, Hungarian *jácint* (Balashev 1970: 109)? Even the Hebrew *yakinton* is just a "violent" loan of this universal term.

Calques

Furthermore, hundreds of plant names in English, German, Russian, and other languages are loan-translations – calques – from the international, Latin-Greek term: for example, Mimosa pudica (German *schamhafte Mimose*, Russian *mimoza stydlivaja*, Yiddish *shémevdike mimóze*, etc.), Impatiens noli-tangere (German *Rührmichnichtan*, English *touch-me-not*, Yiddish *rírnitl/rir-mikh-nisht-ón/nisht-rír-mikh-ón*). And if they are not calques from Latin-Greek, they are calques from each other: *forget-me-not*, German *Vergißmeinnicht,* Russian *nyezabudka*, Polish *niezapominajka*, Yiddish *ni(sh)t-fargés-mikh/fargés-mikh-ni(sh)tl/fargésnitl* (in various textbooks)/ *gedénkmirl* (in the works of Moyshe Nadir and Moyshe-Leyb Halpern). Nor is this phenomenon confined to Indo-European languages.[1]

The Ukrainian *jablonka rajska/jablinka rajska* (Makowiecki 1936: 277), the German *Paradiesapfel* (which also means 'tomato') and the Yiddish *ganeydn-epl* all go back to the international (Latin) Malus paradisiaca. There is nothing 'violent' in the transliteration, transcription, or translation of these terms. It is a most natural fact of (terminological) life.

Terms from Yiddish ethnobotany

Not even scientific-systematic terminology, let alone ethnobotanical terminology, consists, however, entirely of loan words and loan translations. Yiddish ethnobotany has supplied us with terms for the European elder (Sambucus nigra) – *rúkhes-shtékns*, *shéydim-shtékns*, and *meshúgene gráypelekh* (Khayes 1938: 296), for the glorybind (Convolvulus) – *shlénderl*, for the common dandelion (Taraxacum officinale) – *miekhblum*, *blínde blum*, *pékhbliml (*Stutshkov 1950: 210; Biber 1939: 40); for the genus Amanita – *meshúgene shvémlekh*; for the bladder silene (Silene cucubalus) – *krigelekh*.

One of the terms for willow is *sháyne-boym* (from *hoysháyne >hesháyne >sháyne* – 'willow twigs used ritually on the holiday of Sukkoth'). *Shayne-boym* has been noted in the writings of Mendele Moykher-Sforim from 1864, as well as those of A. Golomb et al. from the 1920s. Among the ethnobotanical terms in use in Palestine, *khaves faygn* 'Eve's figs' for bananas (Sheskin 1954) must be registered.

Considering the traditional revulsion at the pig, the epitome of ritual impurity in Jewish law and life, it is interesting to note how many Yiddish ethnobotanical terms refer to the pig: *kházer-bónen* (among Alsace Yiddish

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1) The Hebrew terms for Arenaria, Asplenium, Marsilea, Thuja, Casuarina, Alnus, Ficus, Forskahlea, Protaceae, Grevillea, Anabasis, Noëa, Chenolea, Bassia (=Madhuca), Digera, Boerhaavia, Bougainvillea, Phytolacca, Agrostemma, Velezia and many others are outright loans. The Hebrew words for Ophioglossum, Polypodium vulgare, Adiantum capillus veneris, Spermatophyta, Dicotyledoneae, Salix babylonica, Juglans regia, Morus nigra, Morus alba, Chenopodium ambrosioides, Tetragonia expansa, Trianthema petandrum, Agrostemma, and dozens of others are calques. All in all, over three-fourths of Hebrew botanical terminology are loans or loan-translations from Latin-Greek or from German — "'violent transliterations" in Samuel's words (1943).

speakers); *kházer-blum* (in Lithuania) – 'plantain'; *kházer-nisl* 'acorn'; *kházershe béblekh* 'henbane'; *kházerlekh* in certain Central Yiddish areas: B´dzin, Szczekociny) – 'gooseberries'; *kházer-épelekh* (in Wieruszów, Poland – 'tomatoes'; in Suceava, Rumania – 'wild apples'); *kházer-krígelekh* and *kházershe krígelekh* – synonyms of *kházershe béblekh*. Furthermore: *kházershe yágdes* (in Northern Yiddish); *kházershe ríbelekh* (Malva neglecta), etc.

A peculiar semantic change, discovered only during the past few years, occurred in the case of *éylbirt* (MHG *ölber* > *éylber* > *éylbert* > *éylbirt*). While it is generally known as one of the words for 'olive', along with *maslíne* and *olív(ke)*, *éylbirt(n)* – realized in Central Yiddish as /aylbit(n)/ – it turns out, has come to mean 'sunflower' (sg./pl.) and 'sunflower seeds' (plurale tantum) in large sections of Congress Poland, especially in the Kielce-Lublin area. The common link between 'olive' and 'sunflower seeds', of course, is the production of oil, for which both are used. In literary usage, *éylbirt* for 'sunflower' and *éylbirtn* for 'sunflower seeds' is relatively rare.

The introduction of botanical terminology in the Yiddish language

Old beliefs never die, they merely change. Thus we hear and read that it was the Yiddish day-school movement in interbellum Eastern Europe that introduced botanical terminology. Of course, the school movement in Eastern Europe did enrich the Yiddish language with numerous loan words and new coinages for plant names, organs, and functions, but the foundation and the 'lower floors' of Yiddish botanical terminology can be found in much earlier periods.

1. Not only from such printed sources Lifshits's Russian-Yiddish dictionary do we draw botanical terms, but they are found in much earlier texts. We encounter the Old Yiddish term for 'willow' in the *Seyfer Hamagid*, and the Yiddish term for 'mulberry tree' in *Brantshpigl* (1676) and in various other sources. As long ago as 1290, one finds in a manuscript (see Perles 1887; Timm 1977) the Old Yiddish terms for 'fern', 'mountain ash', 'hemp', 'saffron', 'fennel', 'mallow', 'box tree', 'sagebrush', 'laurel', 'elder' (for which Samuel claimed [in 1943!] that Yiddish had no term), 'willow tree', 'mint', 'poppy', 'cherry', 'anise', 'rute', 'reed', etc.
2. In two books on popular medicine dated 1474 and 1509 (Bernstein 1953), we find the Old Yiddish terms for 'elder', 'walnut', 'laurel', 'fig', 'almond', 'flax', 'saffron', 'ginger', 'garlic', 'horseradish', 'pear', 'apple', 'lily', etc. Preger's Yiddish tourist guide (1650) lists 'rosemary', 'mustard', 'grapes', 'green peas'.
3. Through the centuries, Yiddish Bible and Talmud translations, exegetic literature, and popular treatises on Jewish law and custom

have all referred countless times to Yiddish plant names, especially those with halakhic relevance. Among the Yiddish lexical items in rabbinical responsa (Bar-El 1977) we find a variety of cherry (*amaréln*), 'leek', 'melon', 'pomegranate', 'anise', etc. The five species of grain of ritual importance, for example – wheat, spelt, barley, rye, oats – have had Yiddish terms all through the history of Ashkenazic Jewry (Kosover 1958: 16-17).

Yiddish terms for the five vegetable species that are halakhically appropriate for the Passover ceremony have been documented at least since the 12th century (Kosover 1967: 243 ff). The Yiddish terms for 'charlock', 'wormwood', 'leek', 'lettuce', 'horseradish', 'parsley', 'chervil', 'chicory', 'cherries', 'sour cherries', 'apple', 'pear', 'plum', and 'nuts' are many centuries old.

Turning to modern Yiddish literature: the poet Nokhem Yud (1932: 131-132) depicts in loving terms nine species of mushroom in just one poem: *kézerl, mókhever, buravík, talstúkhes, rízhikes, vólvenkes, vórtsl-shvémlekh, híntishe shvémlekh, púlvershvom.* An average reader reminisces in a letter to the editor[2] about seven species of mushroom in his native town.

Morphophonemic changes

The age-old Yiddish botanical terms, of course, underwent the morphophonemic changes that occurred in the Yiddish language through the ages.

1. **Vermut* 'wormwood' suffered the unstressed vowel reduction so common in Yiddish, turning into *vermet,* attested in the writings of Wertheim (1736), Khay-Odem (Bernstein 1955), Sotenever (1851). The word for 'carob' (Ceratonia siliqua) has developed from the German *Bockshorn* through *bókshorn >bóksor >bókser >boks >boksl,* all stages well attested in the literature and in the spoken language (the last two in Central Yiddish, especially in Transcarpathia).
2. The international term Fuchsia (in Polish: *fuksja*) is rendered either as *fúksye* (Golomb 1922; Horovits 1929; Yunin 1974), or as *fuks* (Abelson 1915), or as *fuksl* (Hirshbeyn 1916). But while *fuks* and *fuksl* are recent literary attempts at morphophonemic integration, probably consciously done, the same cannot be said of (a) *níle-bárlekh, yenkíper-bárlekh, kol-nídre-bárlekh,* (b) *shíkse-bárlekh* or of (c) *ertsisról-épelekh, reshkhóydesh-rétekhlekh, shíker-níslekh.*
   a. At first blush the Southeastern Yiddish (henceforth SEY) series *níle-bárlekh, kol-nídre-bárlekh, yenkíper-bárlekh,* is inexplicable. Folk etymology has interpreted these terms to mean 'pears that mature around Yom Kippur' or the Day of Atonement. As a matter of fact, however, most varieties of pears mature in the fall, around that time of year. The correct explanation must be sought

2) Louis Garber, in *Forverts*, New York, November 15, 1972.

elsewhere. In the Ukrainian language there is a variety of pear *hruša hnyl'ka* (Makowiecki 1936: 277), corresponding to the Polish *gnilki*. The term *hnyl'ka* and the variant *hnyl'a* were adopted by the coterritorial speakers of SEY, for whom /h/ is non-phonemic, and this loanword *nile* (with the explanatory second element *barlekh* 'pears') thus landed in the middle of 'liturgical territory', *nile* (Neilah) being the closing series of prayers on Yom Kippur. After *nile-barlekh* was rationalized as a derivative of Neilah, a wiseguy (*a lets*) must have launched the next step and then yet another step: *kol-nídre-bárlekh* (Kol-Nidre – the most solemn prayer on the eve of the Day of Atonement – the chronological opposite of Neilah) and *yenkíper-bárlekh* (*yenkíper*, a 'descendant' of Yom Kippur, the Day of Atonement), or 'Day of Atonement pears'. The result: a Day of Atonement series of pseudoritual synonyms, all denoting the same variety, the cognates of the Ukrainian *hnyl'ka*, with no factual – chronological or ritual – connection to the Day of Atonement. All three terms have found their way into Literary Yiddish: *kol-nídre-bárlekh* occurs in the writings of Mendele Moykher-Sforim, Sholem-Aleykhem, Eliezer Shteynbarg, and Naftole Gros, *níle-bárlekh* in the writings of Yankev Fridman, *yenkíper-bárlekh* in the writings of Meylekh Ravitsh, all of whom are strongly influenced by SEY, that is, by the Yiddish of Ukraine, Bessarabia, and East Galicia.

b. Another instance of hitherto unexplained but not inexplicable word formation is *shíkse-bárlekh* 'Gentile-girl pears', with a further development to *shíksedike bárlekh* (for example, in the poetry of Trakhtenberg [1935]). This term too has no intrinsic factual relation to girls, Gentile or Jewish, for that matter. *Shíkse-bárlekh* is another case of folk-etymological reinterpretation – serious or in jest. It is, I assume, the Yiddish transformation of the Ukrainian *syhička* (Makowiecki 1936: 274), again with the loss of nonphonemic /h/, as was the case with *níle-bárlekh,* from the same general SEY area.

c. To this writer, one of the underlying explanations for *níle-bárlekh, kol-nídre-bárlekh, yenkíper-bárlekh, shíkse-bárlekh,* as well as *Ertsisról-épelekh* 'crab apples' and a number of others, is humor, a universal driving force in word formation (Havers 1931).[3] Humor must have been at work in the coining of *reshkhóydesh-rétekhlekh* (Hebrew *rosh-hodesh* 'the beginning of the lunar month', a half holiday), a variant of *khóydesh-rétekhlekh,* which

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3) On the subject of humorous, parodistic word formation, see also M. Weinreich (1973, III: 243-250).

in turn is a loan translation for the name of Raphanus sativus radicula, named 'lunar radish' in a number of European languages (Polish, Ukrainian, Rumanian, etc.). The first step – from 'lunar radish' to *khóydesh-rétekhlekh* – is simple: calquing. The next step, however – *reshkhóydesh-rétekhlekh* – is a humorous further development.

3. A word with many synonyms in Yiddish ethnobotanical terminology is 'pine cone'; *shíshke* (with its northern variants *síske, síshke, shíske*), *shíshnik, shlóf-bérele, shlófepl, shlófépele*, the last two variants appearing in the writings of Y.-M. Lifshits and Y.-L. Perets. Here again we find a branching-out that possibly includes a humorous formation. *Shlóf-bérele* 'sleep berry' and *shlóf-épele* (pronounced /shlufepele/) 'sleep apple' are calques from a number of Slavic languages, where the term 'sleep berry/sleep apple' is based on the belief that putting a pine cone under one's pillow would induce sleep. The coinage *shlúfképele* (for example in the works of Elyezer Shteynbarg) and *shlúfképl* (in the works of Y. Metsker and Y. Hesheles) is folk-etymology pure and simple. The next stage of development, *shrúf-képele* 'bolt head', with *shluf* 'sleep' reinterpreted as /shruf/, SEY for *shroyf* 'bolt' (screw), is either spontaneous folk-etymology or a tongue-in-cheek remodeling of a word which in its previous stage was clearly understood as a sleeping aid. The breaking of the etymological tie could have been the result of playfulness. At any rate, while *shlófépele/shlúfépele* is 'only' a calque, *shlófképl, shlófképele, shrúf-képele* are all internal Yiddish developments.
4. A question that is often raised is, where does *kúres-bárlekh* come from? This term is a link in the evolutionary chain *beys-hakvóres >beysakvúres >beysakúres >kúres*, with the elimination of the /v/ in postconsonantal position in some words in a large area of Southern Yiddish (for example, *tsvíshn >tsíshn, tsvúgn >tsúgn, kvurt >kurt*) (Mieses 1924: 66). In other words, *kúres-bárlekh* stems from *beys-hakvóres-bárlekh* – pears growing in the cemetery, that is, wild pears, a synonym for *váldbarlekh, vílde bárlekh, dz(h)í(tsh)ke bárlekh, dz(h)í(tsh)kelekh*, etc.

Plant names in idioms, proverbs, and similes

Many Yiddish plant names have become part-and-parcel of Yiddish idioms, proverbs, popular similes: *kebébe mit lákrits, hándlen mit kébebe* (*kubébe/kebébe/kabébe* being the Yiddish term for Piper cubeba; *lákrits*, the cognate of the English *licorice* – the term for Glycyrrhiza); *farfáln vern vu der shvártser féfer vakst* 'to disappear without a trace' (*shvártser féfer* – the Yiddish term for Piper nigrum); *shtark vi a demb* 'strong as an oak', *hóy(e)kh vi a sósne/topólye* 'tall as a pine/poplar', *a noz vi a barbúlkele* ' a

bulbous nose (like a potato)', *sheyn vi a karefírer ésrig* 'good-looking as an ethrog (Citrus medica ethrog), imported from (the island of) Korfu', *shmekn vi a royz* 'fragrant as a rose', *lign vi a hunt in krópeve* 'be inconspicuous as a dog in nettle', *vaksn vi shvémlekh/pitserítsyes* 'to mushroom'.

Embarras de richesses: synonyms

It is a well-known fact in comparative dialect geography that plants introduced relatively late – such as potato, tomato, peanuts, sunflower – display a vast variety of synonyms, resulting in a checkered linguistic map. Some languages covering a large area possess dozens of geographically distributed synonyms for these plants. Yiddish is no exception.

1. 'Potato' is regionally known as *búlbe, búlve, bílve, kartófl(ye), kartóplye (!), érdepl, ekhpl, ríblekh, barbúlyes, zhémikes, mandebérkes, bánderkes, krumpírn,* etc. One town in Galicia, Sanok, at a crossroads of languages and cultures, boasts five different synonyms for 'potato': *kartóflyes, zhémikes, bílves, érdepl*, and *bánderkes* (Noble 1965: 48).
2. While Literary Yiddish is content with two synonyms: *pomidór* and *tomát*, Spoken Yiddish is much richer in synonyms for 'tomato': *tréyfener épl, shmád-épl, kházer-épl, baklazhánes, róyte, bandúres* (in Palestinian Yiddish), etc., the first three reflecting the fear, lasting well into the 20th century, of eating this supposedly dangerous fruit (see Prilutski 1938), even after it had been declared by a number of rabbis kosher and fit to eat. Simon (1960: 43) recalls in his memoirs how he was derided in his young adulthood by Ukrainian Jewish schoolmates who did eat tomatoes: "You'll get used [to the tomatoes], you dyed-in-the-wool *Litvak* [Lithuanian Jew], and you'll love them."
3. 'Peanuts' are known in the various regions of 'Yiddishland' as *rébenislekh, moyshe-rabéyne-nislekh, ertsisról-nislekh, (a)merikáner nislekh*, *marokáner nislekh, kitáyske nislekh* ('Chinese nuts'), *shtróyene nislekh* (e.g., in Radom), *(fi)stáshkes*, etc.
4. For 'sunflower' Yiddish possesses *zúnroyz, royz* [4] (with the variants *reyz, zúnreyz, zínroyz, zínreyz*), *zúnblum, levóne-kvéyt, levónetshátshke, levóne-sóneshnik* (in Mohilev-Podolsk), *sóneshnik, shóntshenik, tshóndzhenik, áylbit, sháynperl* (in Moldavia), *zúmerglants, éyerblúmen/áyerblímen, tábikblímen,* etc.
5. Oranges are variously known as *marántsn, pomerántsn, aplsínen/aplsínes, paltshínes, portugáln* (the term used for centuries in the Land of Israel). From *aplsínes/apltsínes*, of Russian derivation,

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4) In addition to the basic meaning 'rose' and 'sunflower', *royz* – along with *blum/blim/bloym/bleyml/blayml, kveyt*, and *tshátshke* – is used regionally as the generic term for 'flower'.

through *apltshínes* (*sabesdiker losn*!) and metathetically attained *paltshínes*, popular etymology has treated us to the following gem: *palestínes* 'Palestine fruit'!

Among the names of plants, plant parts, and fruits possessing a bewildering assortment of synonyms and variants in Yiddish ethnobotanical terminology are also the following:

6. Red radishes are variously known as *(resh)khóydesh-rétekhlekh, réte(kh)lekh, shóntse rétekhlekh, róyte rétekhlekh, (resh-khóydesh-) ríbelekh, róyte ríbelekh, redískelekh* (see paragraph on humor above).
7. 'Turnip' shows up as *brúkve, bríkev, brús(h)ke, brútske, krútshke, grízenes, ribn, váse markhávkes*, attesting to the ability of languages in contact to influence each other.
8. Another illustration of the bewildering asssortment of plant names in Yiddish are the terms for sorrel. Harkavy, in two of his early dictionaries (1898a, b), refers the reader from *shtshav* to *shtshavév* 'sorrel'; he lists only *shtshavév* in a third dictionary (1900). In the last of his dictionaries (1925), after incorporating all of Lifshits's lexical items, Harkavy lists *shtshav* and *shtshavév* as synonyms, as well as Lifshits's *kvaséts*.[5] He does not list the Central Yiddish ('Polish Yiddish') vintage *shtshuf* and *khtshuf*, let alone the rarer forms listed below.

The Thesaurus of the Yiddish Language (Nokhem Stutshkov 1950: 223) is more inclusive: *shtshav, shtshávye, shtshavél, shtshavév, tsvey*, and *kvaséts*, but it too omits the Central Yiddish *shtshuf, khtshuf, tshákhets* (Erlikh 1982: 143), and the archaic *ámper*. Weinreich's dictionary (1968) lists *shtshav* exclusively, the most commonly used term in American Yiddish, corresponding to both Polish *szczaw* and *Ukrainian ščav*. Tsanin's dictionary (1982) is the only one that does not omit *shtshuf* (etymologically rendered as *shtshov*); indeed, it is the sole form he lists.

- **a.** In belles-lettres, *shtshuf/khtshuf* occurs in the works of M. Burshtin, Y. Emiot, B. Glazman, S. Horontshik, Khayim Krul, Y. Opatoshu, and Y. Perle (Schaechter 1986 a: 172-173, 283).
- **b.** In the mainly Soviet Yiddish competition between the variants *shtshávye* and *shtshavél* (as in *hózn-shtshavél*), *shtshavl* and *shtshavév*, the latter seems to have gained the upper hand and has thus been standardized – at least for Soviet Yiddish – in the Russian-Yiddish Dictionary (Shapiro *et al.* 1984) along with *shtshav*.

Not recorded in any dictionary are *shtsha, tshákhets, shtshave* (Maltinski), *shtsháver* (Kolodni).

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5) Actually, *kvásets* does not refer to Rumex acetosa, but to another species, Rumex acetosella.

9. Sweetflag (Acorus), too, possesses a plethora of regionally varied synonyms and variants: *(d)zháver, sháver, shóver, shéver, sháber, shaván, shuváres, áyer, kálmes, kólmes, kvítshers, fáyfelekh, lépekhe, lépak*. In belles-lettres we encounter only the following variants: *zháver, sháver, kvítshers*, as well as the Russianizing *aír* (bisyllabic), preferred by the Yiddish school movement to the colloquial *áyer*, partially because of homonymophobia, the latter being homonymous with *áyer* 'your'.
10. Burrs used to play an important role on Tishebov (the ninth day of Ab, commemorating the destruction of the First and Second Temples). There was a custom, it seems, in all of Eastern Europe for boys to cause mischief on that day by throwing burrs into the beards of men and into the hair of women, especially young girls. In various parts of the Yiddish speech area, burrs were known as *bérelekh* and *tíshebov-/tíshebu-bérelekh, tíshebov-bérshtlekh* and *bérshtlekh* (*bershtl* 'brush'), *tíshebov-kémelekh* and *kémelekh* ('combs'), *shtékhlkes* (*shtekhn* 'to prick, stab, sting'), *shtekhúfkes, shtékhenes, shtékekhts, shtékhe(r), shtákhe, shtákhl-epl, shtékh-képelekh, kóltenes, koltns, búdikes/búdzhikes, shíshkes (sískes, síshkes, shískes), kólkes, skáyes, krétslekh, kíbes, klétes, tsápelekh, bérzelekh* (Shapiro *et al.* 1984: 486), *bír(i)kes, lópekhes*, and – *tíshebovlekh*.
11. Blackberries were regionally known as *bérelekh, shvártse bérelekh, yág(e)des, shvártse yág(e)des, zápres* (Rabakh 1952: 61), *bórefkes, brúsnitses, ózhenes*. Even for 'bud', a plant organ with little everyday use, Yiddish has, according to my observations, nearly a dozen synonyms: *knosp, knespl, butón, eygl, shpríts-éygele, shpróts-képele, knop, knepl, púpke, pupítshkele, pisk.*

Beginnings and geographic expansion

The historical development of Yiddish botanical terminology can be viewed not unlike geological strata – some terms coming in solid chronological succession, others in patches interspersed in the solid strata.

The first four strata can be defined as the linguistic material of Hebrew-Aramaic, Romance, medieval German, and Slavic derivation – the components[6] that entered into the fusion we know as the Yiddish language. They represent the following:

a. The vernaculars of the Jewish immigration to the Rhine-Main-Moselle are in the 9th and 10th centuries: Zarphatic and Italkic,[7] that is, the Jewish vernaculars previously known as Judeo-French and Judeo-

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6) We follow M. Weinreich in his preference for *component* rather than the older *element*.
7) The terms *Zarphatic* and *Italkic* are Birnbaum's (1979: 67). In M. Weinreich's (1973, I: 105 ff.) terminology: *Western* and *Southern Loez*.

Italian (for more details, see section 'East vs. West', below).

b. The medieval German dialects these immigrants encountered there and later in various areas of what were to become Upper, Central, and – to a lesser degree – Lower German speech areas.

c. The Hebrew-Aramaic elements that had entered the incipient Yiddish language through various channels: as a substratum preceding (Birnbaum 1979: 58) or contemporaneous with Zarphatic and Italkic, as an adstratum from the Hebrew and Aramaic texts of prayer and study.

d. The older Central and East European stratum, consisting of loans from coterritorial West Slavic languages: Old Czech – through the mediation of Western Canaanic (M. Weinreich 1973; I: 83-89; III: 12-80), for example *kreyn* – and Old Polish (for example, *szczaw>shtshov>shtshuf>khtshuf*), was the result of eastward migration and settling of West Slavic lands.

e. As Jewish migrants moved further east, an East Slavic stratum – Ukrainian and Byelorussian – was added. This stage had its highpoint with the Jewish agricultural colonization in Ukraine, Bessarabia, Byelorussia, and Crimea, where the Yiddish speech community came to know first-hand, for example, the varieties of wheat – *banátke, arnaútke, khersóner gírke*, etc. advertised for and by grain dealers in the periodical *Kol-mevaser* in the 1860s. The settlers came to know useful steppe plants, as well as weeds. *Kuráy* (genus Salsola, called Russian thistle in English), for example, is mentioned countless times in Yiddish literature referring to Jewish colonization in Ukraine, as well as the more recent colonization in Argentina, in the works of such writers as B. Epshteyn, Elye Gordon, Note Lurye, Noyekh Lurye, Leyb Kvitko, and Elye Spivak (for more details, see the section on agricultural terminology below).

f. Geographically and linguistically peripheral in the development of Yiddish botanical terminology in Eastern Europe were the Jewish communities to the north and south of the Slavic heartland and to the south of the Carpathian mountains. Plant names of Estonian, Hungarian, Latvian, Lithuanian, Rumanian, and Slovak provenience had local currency but failed to gain literary acceptance, with the partial exception of the Moldavian dialect of the Rumanian language in Bessarabia.

g. Difficult to place chronologically but clearly Eastern European are the various internal Yiddish developments – new, anonymous coinages, semantic shifts – mentioned above.

h. The next stratum – like the preceding one – was not the result of contact with coterritorial languages, but the consciously sought influence of a non-contiguous language: the Germanizing attempts

of the Maskilic (Enlightenment) and early post-Maskilic period in the 19th century and the first two decades of the 20th century.

i. Overlapping with the Germanizing period, but continuing until World War II, is the influence of modern literary Polish and literary Russian, whose channels were partly the bureaucracy of a state and partly the intellectual sway exerted by Polish and Russian usage on some Yiddish writers, especially journalists. It enriched the Yiddish botanical terminology with a number of loans and calques. The strong influence of Russian continues to this day.

j. Emigration overseas brought Yiddish speakers into contact with new languages and new plants. The Ashkenazic, Yiddish-speaking community in the Land of Israel dates from the 15th century (Kosover 1966: 248-258, 355). Its botanical lexicon includes such terms as *súmsum* 'sesame', *bandúres, askedínye, sábres*, etc., of Arabic, Turkish, Judesmo and Slavic derivation, some of which have then entered Modern Hebrew.

It is a well-known fact, but easily overlooked: the first agricultural settlers on Palestine were East European Yiddish speakers, both during the first wave of immigration – in the colonies of Rishon-Letsion (in Yiddish: *Rishn*), Zikhron Yaakov (in Yiddish: Zikhren-Yakev), and Rosh-Pina founded in 1882, Ekron in 1883 (see Usishkin 1889), as well as the Second Aliya. The published material on agriculture in Palestine, such as that in the Yiddish periodical *Kolonist* (Jerusalem, 1883-5) and the later Zionist descriptions of Palestinian flora (Ben-Gurion and Ben-Tsvi 1918; Kilerman 1919), unfortunately were heavily Germanizing, *daytshmerish*, and did not reflect actual spoken Yiddish. In addition to belles-lettres (Kheyn-Shimoyni, etc.), the best, most reliable source for old Palestinian Yiddish plant names is the above-quoted study by M. Kosover (1966).

k. The Jewish experience in Argentina has enriched the Yiddish plant repertoire with a number of plants, notably *ombúboym* (Phytolacca dioica). There is no Yiddish poet or prose writer in Argentina who has not mentioned it at least once. One of the main plants cultivated by the Jewish agricultural settlers in the Pampas was (and still is) alfalfa, which by haplology was reduced to *alfe*.[8] Most of the new Argentinian-Yiddish botanical terms, such as *paraisn-boym*, are of Spanish origin. There was no discernible word-coining activity in the agricultural colonization in Argentina. From the available printed texts it is obvious that loan words were the main source of enrichment (see Shoykhet 1953: 27).

l. The far-eastern Soviet Jewish settlement in Birobidzhan (on the northern bank of the Amur River) was not much of a success in

8) See the letters by the settlers published by Bizberg (1945).

terms of numbers, especially since its leadership was arrested and shot during the Stalin purges of the 1930s, but it did capture the imagination of quite a number of people. It enriched the Yiddish language with dozens of Far Eastern plant names, hitherto unknown to the Yiddish speech community: mandzhúrisher áshboym (Fraxinus mandzhurica), mandzhúrisher líndnboym (Tilia mandzhurica), mandzhúrisher nísnboym (Juglans mandzhurica), mandzhúrisher kanátnik (Abutilon theophrasti), mongólisher demb (Quercus mongolica), koréer límene-yágde (Schisandra koraiensis), koréishe sósne (Pinus koraiensis), daúrer róytboym (Larix gmelini), daúrer b(e)réze (Betula dahurica), daúrishe lílye (Lillium dauricum), daúrishe royz (Rosa davurica).[9] These terms are commonly used in the works of Yiddish writers and poets who made Birobidzhan their home permanently or for a long period (Emonuel Kazakevitsh, Henekh Kazakevitsh, Buzi Miler, A. Vergelis), as well as those who came only for a short time but who wrote about it (D. Bergelson in his novel *Birebidzhaner*, M. Khashtshevatski's *A rayze keyn Birebidzhan*, Motl Grubian's "A vokh in Birebidzhan" in *Sovetish heymland*).

m. When a large Jewish community arose in Florida after World War II, a number of subtropical plants, especially flowers, started cropping up in the works of Yiddish poets who had settled there, notably Pesye Hershfeld-Pomerants-Honigboym. The same is true of California. When describing their physical environment, the California writers (Ronch, Dayksl, etc.), however, too often simply used English loan words, although some linguistic creativity was also at work in the form of calques: *Yehoyshúe-boym* 'Joshua tree' (Yucca brevifolia).

n. In present-day Israeli Yiddish a number of Modern Hebrew botanical terms have found their way into the writings of Israeli Yiddish writers: *tiltán* (for example, in the writings of Avrom Lev, a farmer-poet), *khatsáv* (in the writings of Yankev-Tsvi Shargel).

o. Beginning in the second half of the 19th century, but especially after World War I, down to this day, conscious innovation has prevailed: many plant names have been coined, either because the older names have been forgotten or become obsolete, or because lexical gaps had to be filled. This was done to a large extent at the Kiev Institute for Jewish Proletarian Culture, in the 1930s.

Yiddish agricultural terminology

Yiddish agriculture? Weren't Eastern European Jews either scholars

9) The vacillation between *dahur…/daur…/davur…* is in the international scientific terminology, not of our making.

(with their wives the breadwinners), merchants, or tailors? Another cherished stereotype. Well – yes and no. In addition to scholars, merchants and tailors, East European Jews were also shoemakers, tinsmiths, blacksmiths, locksmiths, glaziers, coopers, tinkers, water carriers, coachmen, and yes – farmers too.

Twenty-eight per cent of the Jewish population of Carpatho-Ukraine tilled the soil, as did 18% of the Jews of Galicia (Birnbaum 1979: 17). In 1924 the Jewish community in Bessarabia included 2972 farming households (*Landvirtshaft* 1926).

According to the statistics compiled by Brutskus (1926: 27, 36ff., 57, 84), 41,962 Jews were farmers in 1913 in the territory of pre-World War I Russia, up from 36,153 at the end of the 19th century. In 1924, 38,886 Jewish farmers were living in the former Kherson and Yekaterinoslav provinces, while by 1925 new Jewish agricultural colonization encompassed 27,988 souls in Byelorussia, Crimea, and Ukraine. (This was before settlement was begun in Birobidzhan.)

A historical aside. Jews in Germany were permitted to own fields and vineyards only up to the 12th century (Kosover 1958: 18-19), when Jewish ownership of land and vineyards was banned, but Jewish agriculture soon began in Central and Eastern Europe: Jewish farmers are documented in a village near Bytom, Silesia, from 1227 on (M. Weinreich 1973, III: 78), but in Eastern Europe, tilling the soil was not an isolated phenomenon. When Jews migrated to Eastern Europe, they entered many trades closed to them in medieval Western Europe, among them agriculture. Jewish agricultural colonization in Eastern Europe started in Galicia in 1785, in southern Russia in 1807, in Bessarabia in 1833, in Byelorussia and Lithuania in 1844.

Contrary to the largely successful attempts to standardize Yiddish botanical terminology within the Yiddish school systems (see below), the botanical component of Yiddish agricultural terminology was for the most part not affected by language planning, at least up to 1919. It was 'down to earth', accepting without hesitation loan words that the coterritorial Belarussian, Lithuanian, Polish, Romanian, Russian and Ukrainian languages had to offer. The Maskilic and post-Maskilic armchair botanists, on the other hand, who had little factual knowledge of the plant life they were describing by translations (mainly from German sources), 'enriched' the Yiddish language with innumerable German words (Harkavy 1891, Abelson 1915), as mentioned before.

An important source for the study of Yiddish botanical terminology are the various periodicals that served the needs of the Yiddish-speaking farmer. The early periodicals, like *Der yidisher farmer* (New York, 1891-2), *Der kolonist* (Jerusalem, 1893-5), *Der yidisher farm-almanakh* (New York, 1915-7), were heavily Germanizing, drawing to a large extent upon German agricultural handbooks. More reflective of actual day-to-day usage

were the Argentinian *Kolonist* (Dominguez-Entre Rios, 1916-7) and *Kolonist kooperator* (Buenos Aires, 1917-76),[10] but especially *Yidisher landvirt* (Warsaw, 1928; Lviv, 1933-9), *Birobidzhaner shtern* (Birobidzhan, 1930-), *Kolvirt-emes* (Kalinindorf, 1930-5), *Kolvirt-shtern* (Nay-Zlatopolye, 1931-6), *Bahershn di tekhnik fun der sotsyalistisher landvirtshaftlekher produktsye* (Kharkov, 1932-4), and the last 10-12 years of *Der yidisher farmer* (New York, 1908-59).[11]

Agricultural handbooks and other sources

In the 20th century, gardening became a popular pursuit for some city dwellers who owned patches of suburban land. (Keeping orchards had become popular earlier, in the 19th century.) Courses in gardening were offered both by the O.R.T. (Organization for Rehabilitation through Training) and by the agricultural schools run by the Jewish Colonization Association (J.C.A.) in eastern Galicia, Bessarabia, and elsewhere.

An important role in assisting Jewish agriculturists and gardeners to learn their new trades was played by agronomists through the handbooks they published. These were instrumental in the enrichment of Yiddish botanical terminology. Thus, Raseyn's handbook of gardening (1939) lists many dozens of vegetable varieties including, for example, eight varieties of potatoes, among them *friike roze, zeks-vokhedike*, etc. Even richer is a handbook on orchard-keeping (Leykin 1935): it gives a good description and advice on cultivating 32 commercial varieties of apples (1935: 75-81), 27 varieties of pears (1935: 81-5), and 15 varieties of plums (1935: 85-8).

Two additional figures shed light on the statement about the role of agronomists. Some garden varieties of fruits and vegetables, of course, were known in Yiddish in the 19th century and probably much earlier. The fact that, for instance, I. Rabin (1968: 77) can list in his memoirs – in one breath – ten varieties of apples (*antón, anís, hóznkep, váynike, tsigánkes, pépinkes, váyser alív, shampányer, sháfran, apórt*) and five varieties of pears (*dushésn, bergamótn, béres, smólkes, sapozhánkes*) attests to their popularity. In my *Plant Names in Yiddish*, (Schaechter 1994), I list (with their sources) 240 (two hundred and forty) varieties, including synonyms and variants of pears and 189 (one hundred and eighty nine) varieties of apples. Many of these varieties, as well as varieties of other fruits and vegetables, were culled from interviews with Yiddish speakers, but most were drawn from the Yiddish agricultural handbooks written by agronomists (Borovitsh 1927, Dobrolyubov-Gitman 1933, Dobzhinski 1934-8, Kamenetski and Tsegelnitski 1920, Kolodni 1919, 1921, Leykin 1935, Raseyn 1939, Tretyakov 1933, Veler 1900, etc.) or memoirs (such as those of Hirsh

10) After 1976, with the demise of its last Yiddish editor, A. Gabis, it became a Spanish-language publication.
11) Particularly under the guidance of its last editor, L. Berman.

Abramovitsh, Roze Nevadovski, Berl Rabakh, Alperson, etc.).

Language corpus planning

With the westernization of the Yiddish speech community in the 19th century, the traditional botanical lexicon no longer sufficed. Thus when the periodical *Kol-mevaser* (Odessa, 1862-70) began to publish reports on far-away lands, it was obliged to introduce *broytboym, velingtonye*, and other terms for tropical, equatorial, or New World plants.

The conscious expansion of Yiddish botanical terminology in the 19th and 20th centuries took place mainly along the following avenues: (1) by compilers of bilingual dictionaries; (2) by prose writers and poets; (3) by translators; (4) by compilers/authors of handbooks of gardening and agriculture; (5) by teachers of the natural sciences.

Bilingual dictionaries

When Lifshits set about compiling his classic Russian-Yiddish dictionary (1869) he was confronted with lexical gaps which he tried to fill to the best of his ability. Thus he had to coin *shleyfgroz* (1869: 408) for the plant known in English as horsetail (Equisetum), a neologism later used in a number of textbooks (Filiptshenko 1929, Kazakevitsh 1923, etc.).

A colossal role in the 'enrichment' of Yiddish botanical terminology was played by the early Harkavy dictionary (1891) and by Abelson (1915). This so-called 'enrichment', however, consisted of copying in transliterated form countless botanical terms lock, stock, and barrel from German dictionaries: *mukenfenger, akervinde, akermintse*, etc. The early Harkavy and Abelson had no qualms about flooding the Yiddish language with terms freighted with purely Christian associations: *Osterblum* 'Easter flower' (Harkavy), *Krist-vortsl* (Abelson 1915: 221), *Kristus-akatsye* (Abelson 1915: 647, 808), *Kristus-palme* (Harkavy 1891: 413), *Marien-groz* (Abelson 1915: 644). Even basically anti-Semitic terms were acceptable to Abelson: *Yudas-boym* (1915: 748), *Yuden-oyer* (1915: 744), *Yudenkarsh* (1915: 1721), *yidndorn* (1915: 1745). On the other hand, this pseudo-enrichment was not a totally negative factor. By listing many English botanical terms in their bilingual dictionaries and glossing them with pseudo-Yiddish 'equivalents', Harkavy and Abelson did not quite fill the lexical gaps but rather, unwittingly, called attention to their existence and thus indirectly challenged the Yiddish speech community to fill these gaps in a better way than had heretofore been the case.

Translations

When Mendele Moykher-Sforim published his Yiddish version of Jules Verne, *Der luftbalon* (1869), he was bound to introduce the international

plant name *baobab* (Adansonia digitata). Many other translators were faced with the same problem: faithful rendering into the target language (Yiddish) of the original, including botanical terminology, or an approximation. Some translators were more conscientious, some less; some succeeded – especially the Soviet Yiddish translators, for whom, as with all Soviet translators, a wrong translation was a most serious matter, at least in the Stalin era – some failed. Thus Y.Y. Shvarts (1918), an otherwise reputable Yiddish poet, mistranslated four out of seven plant names[12] in his rendering of Shakespeare's *Hamlet*, act IV, scene V into Yiddish.

Teaching natural sciences and standardization

The interbellum Yiddish school of Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, and the Soviet Union taught the sciences in Yiddish; hence the need to fill many gaps in botanical terminology. This task was performed by a number of textbooks written/translated mostly in the years 1919-34, by S. Brianski, Y. Burtyanski, M. Dubinski, Y. Giligitsh, A. Golomb, G. Grinberg, D. Hokhberg, H. Kazakevitsh, Malke Khayimson, Helene Khatskls, L. Prusman, Y. Shtshupak, and I. (Srul) Yakhinson. These textbooks were published mostly in Kiev, Moscow, and Vilnius. After the Holocaust, one more textbook of the natural sciences appeared in Bucharest (*Naturvisnshaft* 1947), and one by Golomb was printed in Mexico in 1947.

The standardization outside the Soviet Union was the result of the efforts of classroom teachers of the natural sciences and authors or translators of textbooks, who were in the main teachers themselves. Except for Golomb's textbook of botany, which benefited from the assistance of Z. Kalmanovitsh, a noted Yiddish linguist, standardization of botanical terminology in Latvia, Lithuania, and Poland was not an outgrowth of coordinated efforts of linguists and specialists in the field. In Liepaja, Latvia, for example, both the compiling of basic terminologies and the modernization of spelling were performed in 1919 by two teachers: Mendl Mark and Ayzik Elkishik (see Mendl Mark 1973: 49-51); the implementation of this standardization attempt was, however, confined to Latvia and does not seem to have had any significant effect on similar attempts elsewhere.

The standardization of Soviet Yiddish, on the other hand, was largely institutionalized. Thus, the standardization of botanical terminology was officially entrusted to Y. Burtyanski, L. Prusman, and Y. Shtshupak, 'among the best-qualified and most popular [Yiddish] teachers of the natural sciences in Soviet Ukraine' (Rozntal-Shnayderman 1981: 301).

Standardization in Eastern Europe came to an abrupt halt with the Holocaust. After World War II, it was begun anew, mostly with an eye to New World and Israeli plants (Schaechter 1966, 1994, Uriel Weinreich 1968).

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12) He rendered *rosemary* as *farges-mikh-nit-blimlekh* rather than as *rozmarin*, *fennel* as *hopn* rather than *fenekhl*, *rue* as *vermut* rather than *rutl*, *daisies* as *rir-mikh-nit-on-blimlekh* rather than *margeritkes*! (I am grateful to Elinor Robinson for calling my attention to this translation.)

Competing variants

In addition to filling lexical gaps, standardization had to contend with competing variants and was forced to choose among them.

1. A case in point is the Yiddish word for 'fern'. This is a plant with little practical everyday value and hence not widely spoken about in Yiddish. Liondor's Polish-Yiddish dictionary (1827) does not list it; neither do Lifshits's excellent Russian-Yiddish (1869) and Yiddish-Russian (1874) dictionaries. Harkavy's exceedingly mediocre lexicographic attempts of the 1890s (see Schaechter 1986b), while unimaginatively copying hundreds of words from German dictionaries, also introduced the NHG *Farnkraut* as *'fárnkroyt'*, an easy way out of the problem of filling Yiddish lexical gaps. In this, Harkavy was followed by Abelson's equally mediocre dictionary (1915). An attempt to integrate this German loan word was made by one of the authors of Yiddish school textbooks, Hokhberg (1920): *fárn-kráytekhts* and *fárn-kráytekher*, but neither Harkavy's openly Germanizing *fárnkróyt*, nor Hokhberg's Yiddishizing 'readjustments', *fárn-kráytekhts* and *fárn-kráytekher*, succeeded in taking root in spoken Yiddish or in literary usage.

Spoken Yiddish, at least up to the Holocaust with its resulting total dislocation, relied, apparently, for its term for 'fern' exclusively on Slavic loan words in various degrees of morphophonemic integration, as reflected in belles-lettres, poetry, and scholarly publications: *paporótnik* (in the works of Moyshe Kulbak, Khayim Grade), *papórtnik* (in the translations of Kulbak[13] and in the articles of Volf Yunin/Wolf Younin), *paporót* (in the works of Y.Y. Shvarts), *paporótl* (Kazakevitsh), *páperet* (Helene Khatskls), *papórt* (in the textbooks and handbooks compiled by Gloyberman; Shtshupak, Burtyanski, and Prusman, Kazakevitsh; G. Grinberg; B. Kotik), *páprot* (Rukhl Korn), and *paprótnik* (Grade, Khayimson, Itsik Kipnis). *Paporótnik* derives from Russian, *paporót* – from Ukrainian. The fact that *paporót* is found in the works of Shvarts, hailing from a Yiddish speech area not contiguous with Ukrainian, could leave the door open for considering it an internal Yiddish development, namely a truncation, rather than a loan from Ukrainian. On the other hand, *paprótnik, papórt*, and *páperet* are probably internal developments in Yiddish. In the Yiddish schools in Poland in the early 1920s,[14] as well as in the Soviet schools down to the Holocaust, *papórt* was taught, while the textbooks of Helene Khatskls attempted to introduce the integrated form: *páperet*.

The etymological hypersensitivity of the Yiddish speech community (see Schaechter 1986a: 219-224, 265, 286) and the late 19th and 20th-century aversion of the Yiddish-speaking intelligentsia to Russian and

13) First name unknown, but probably not identical with Moyshe Kulbak.

14) As witness the detailed anonymous Yiddish manuscript outline of a course in systematic botany preserved in the archives of the YIVO (notebook no. VII, dated February 25-July 7, 1922, and obviously taught during that period).

Polish loan words precluded, however, the total reliance on Slavic-origin terms, and hence new coinages were bound to appear. Thus, M. Kats (1919: 42, 339) came up with *shpítsnblat*.[15]

Some textbooks (A. Golomb, Malke Khayimson) introduced another neologism, *fédergroz*, which in time became the term most widely taught in the Yiddish schools in Poland in the late 1920s and the 1930s. After World War II, *fédergroz* appears in the works of writers who had attended these schools (A. Sutskever, Khave Roznfarb), as well as others (Y. Rapaport, Kh. Kiel, Ish Yoir), while some (notably Kipnis and Grade) continued to use the derivatives of the *pap…* — series.

In the 20th-century lexicographic works, all words for 'fern' are ignored by Harkavy in his dictionaries of 1925 and 1928, thus discarding the ill-conceived loan word *fárnkróyt* of his earlier works. The Soviet Yiddish dictionaries (Rokhkind and Shklyar 1940; Falkovitsh 1941) diverge slightly from the recommendation of most Soviet Yiddish textbooks of botany, biology, and related sciences by recommending the unintegrated Russian form *paporótnik*, while the Soviet textbooks, as has been pointed out, prefer *papórt*. The most recent Soviet dictionary (Shapiro *et al*. 1984) has a synthesizing, eclectic approach, including both the forms used in Soviet Yiddish publications (*paporótnik* and *papórt*, the latter with the mistaken qualification 'colloquial') and the form preferred in non-Soviet standardizing publications, namely *fédergroz*.

The *Thesaurus of the Yiddish Language* (Stutshkov 1950: 201, 212) lists *fédergroz* but explicitly rejects *farn, fárnkráytekh, paporót*, and *paporótnik*, the first two, obviously, as *daytshmerizm*s, the latter two as unintegrated Russian loans. Stutshkov and his editor overlook, however, the form *papórt* widely used in various Yiddish textbooks of the natural sciences, as well as *paprót*, and Helene Khatskls's *páperet*. On the other hand, they attempt to introduce an unnecessary and misleading refinement of *fédergroz*, namely *flédergroz*,[16] unattested in any other source.

Uriel Weinreich's dictionary (1968) lists only *fédergroz*, as do Tsanin's Yiddish-Hebrew dictionary (1982) and Gris[Gruss]-Kerner's Yiddish-French dictionary (1982). Finally, this writer (Schaechter 1994) recommends *féder-groz* and *papórt* for 'fern' in general and *páperet* – in accordance with Khatskls's usage – for the genus Dryopteris (in older sources: Aspidium).

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15) In his preface, Kats attributes the large number of Yiddish scholarly neologisms in his book to the Yiddish schools and terminological commissions in 'Russia, Ukraine and Lithuania, especially … in Kiev and Vilnius'. Whether *shpítsnblat* is a term Kats coined himself or borrowed from others remains an open question. Since he was a leading figure in Yiddish cultural activities in Kiev in 1918, this might be a case of modesty as far as his contribution to language enrichment is concerned.

16) Since in addition to *féderdike* 'fern-like plants', *fléderdike* is also listed (1950: 207), the possibility of a misprint must be excluded. It seems, rather, to be a case of standardizing interference without factual knowledge as far as the item to be named is concerned, since *flédér* has other connotations than *féder,* not applicable to a descriptive term for 'fern'.

2. Many times, a botanical term from interbellum school usage reflects a conscious or subconscious bias against Slavic loans. Thus, when Giligitsh introduced *shnéybal* and *shleyfl* in his textbook of botany as synonyms for the popular, older Slavic-origin *kálene* (for Viburnum), he was introducing a new (and superfluous) German loan word (NHG *Schneeball)*, as well as a calque from German (NHG *Schlinge*). The bending over backwards *vis-à-vis* accepted Yiddish terms of Slavic origin is, however, older than the school movement. It goes back to Mendele Moykher Sforim's credo *'Fónye loy yizókher'* (freely translated: 'We reject the Russian influence outright)'. Some writers, such as Itsik Kipnis, on the other hand, relied heavily on regional popular usage, containing many Ukrainian and Russian loan words. Kipnis, incidentally, was renowned for his subtle mastery of the Yiddish language.
3. The dichotomy between an everyday spoken Yiddish term of Slavic – and, to a lesser degree, Rumanian and Lithuanian – derivation vs. the standardized school term of various derivations (a long-standing word preserved only in written Yiddish, a new coinage, a loan word from NHG) is, of course, a phenomenon that extends further than the field of botanical terminology. In the vast corpus of Yiddish literature centered on the Yiddish-speaking agricultural settlements in Bessarabia, Birobidzhan, Crimea, and Ukraine – novels, short stories, memoirs by Y. Dobrushin, Perets Hirshbeyn, the Lurye brothers, Ayzik Raboy, et al – this bifurcation is clearly discernible in agricultural, horticultural, and related terminologies. When Gordon (1969: 26-27), for example, talks about building chicken coops, he uses the literary *shtélekhl* (diminutive of *shtal* 'stable'), but the protagonists use – in dialog – *kúrnik*, the everyday term of Slavic derivation.
4. A case of four-way competition can be found in the terms for lily-of-the-valley: the German-origin *máy-glekl* (cf. NHG *Maiglöckchen*), the Russian-origin *lándish*, the Polish-origin *konválye*,[17] and the term from the Yiddish school terminology *máy-koysyele*.[18]

Children's language

An interesting source of botanical terminology is Yiddish children's language. Probably the first terms observed and clearly defined as such were *nézboym/nézerboym* 'maple'. The literal meaning is 'nose tree', a reference to the fact that the fruit of the maple tree was stuck on their noses by Yiddish-speaking children, at least in the Belarussian-Yiddish speech area.

Children in the Central Yiddish speech area (Głowaczów, etc.) called the fruit of the European mountain ash (Sorbus aucuparia) *krel* 'bead' (Pri-

17) Used for example by Rukhl Korn, Y. Metsker, and Abe Shtoltsnberg, as well as the writers on agricultural subjects in interbellum Poland, such as Enzelberg.
18) As of this writing, this 'race' has not yet been decided. All four words are still competing, with a slight edge going to *máy-koysyele.*

lutski 1926-1933: 41), a fact that inspired the poet Sutskever (1963: 171) to term the tree *krélboym*.

One of the favorite fruits of Yiddish-speaking children is the fairly recent addition to the East European culinary repertoire known in English as the *peanut*. I cannot vouch for the Yiddish-speaking children of Old Jerusalem, Antwerp, or the agricultural colonies of Argentina, but I lovingly recall a childhood game in Chernivtsy, Ukraine (at that time: Cernăuţi, Romania) that included splitting open the peanut lengthwise and admiring the resulting 'figure' of a man with a flowing, forked beard clearly discernible, at least to a child's fertile imagination. Small wonder that Yiddish-speaking children in various areas of Eastern Europe accordingly coined such terms for the peanut as *rébe-níslekh* 'teacher/rabbi nuts' and *móyshe-rabéynu-níslekh* 'Moses the Lawgiver nuts'.

Also probably rooted in children's language are *kvítshers, fáyfelekh, (tíshebov-)bérshtlekh, tíshebov-kémelekh, tíshebovlekh*, and other terms for 'burrs' (see the section on synonyms above).

The 'flower generation'

Twentieth-century Yiddish (especially since the 1920s) could, with a little hyperbole, be called the 'flower century' or the 'flower generation'. For the first time the Yiddish speech community, its writers and poets and at least some of its speakers, discovered flowers and their beauty. In the preceding centuries, talking about or admiring flowers was considered *bitl-zman* (a waste of time that should properly be devoted to the study of the Law). Sutskever and Shargel, Fridman and Shafir write lyrically about real flowers and coin names for imaginary flowers. Hirshbeyn, in his travelogues, writes about the flower *Makabéyer-blut* (a calque from the Modern-Hebrew term for Helichrysum sanguineum), as well as about *tíger-lílye, shlángen-lílye, fóyglblum*. Khil Falikman, a Bessarabian-born Soviet Yiddish writer, mentions in one brief piece of his (1973) a dozen or so names of flowers: *shvártsbretlekh, zúnroyzn, pérl-blímelekh, nastúrtsyes, georgínes, matyóles, ástres, shnéygleklekh*, etc.

Even the gruesome Holocaust literature does not close its eyes to flowers – in one article about the destroyed Jewish community of Melave (Mława), the author, Dr. Zev Yunis (1950: 34-36) makes a point of listing the flowers growing there: *khábres, konkóles* (typographical error for *konvalyes*?), *mílekhblímelekh, lílyes, váser-lílyes, rezéde, bez, nastúrtsyes, levkóye, ástres, georgínes, royzn, oleánders, tábikblimen* 'sunflowers'.

One single informant, Mr. L. Iwier from Zhebye of eastern Galicia, rattled off to me 14 names of flowers as fluently as he would read them from a printed list: *bez, yasmín, georgínes, brátkes, shnéygleklekh, rezéde, margerítkes, royzn, málver royzn, konfitúr-royzn, górtnroyzn, téyroyzn, tulipánes, nákhtfaylkhn.*

East vs. West

Finally, a terminological flashback. Let us quickly recapitulate: the history of Yiddish encompasses two periods: (a) the First Literary Yiddish (FLY), based on Western Yiddish dialects (WY), which disintegrated at the turn of the 19th century; (b) Modern Literary Yiddish (MLY), emerging around the turn of the 19th century, based on a synthesis of the main East European Yiddish (EY) regional varieties: Southeastern (Ukrainian or *Voliner*) Yiddish, Northern (Northeastern or *Litvish*) Yiddish, and Central Yiddish – more precisely, those regional varieties to the north of the Carpathian mountains, the Yiddish spoken in Congress Poland and Galicia. Other EY regional speech varieties participated in the development of MLY to a lesser degree ('Rumanian' and 'Lithuanian' Yiddish) or virtually not at all ('Hungarian', 'Slovakian', 'Carpatho-Ruthenian-Maramureş -Transylvanian', 'Latvian', and 'Estonian' Yiddish).[19]

1. In WY and in FLY, the Romance component played a larger part than in EY. The first Yiddish botanical term of Romance provenience that comes to mind is *milgro(y)m*, a 'cousin' of the English *pomegranate* and the German *Granatapfel*. It is attested in the earliest Yiddish texts down to this day, when the word for 'pomegranate' is still *milgro(y)m*.
2. Some botanical terms ultimately of Romance origin entered the Yiddish language not by way of the Zarphatic- and Italkic-speaking medieval Jewish settlers in the Rhine-Main-Moselle area, but through the mediation of German and, later, Slavic languages. From the vantage point of Yiddish, they are to be considered part of its Germanic or Slavic component. *Maránts*, 'orange', for example, is a transformation of the Polish *pomarańcza* and/or of the German *Pomeranze*, which in turn go back to the Late Latin *pomorancium*. (*Marants* coexists with the CY *pómerants*, which has also survived as a surname.)
3. *Karsh/kersh* 'cherry' is etymologically related to the MHG *kerse*, which in turn goes back to the Latin *cerassus*. From the vantage point of Yiddish, however, *karsh/kersh* belongs to its Germanic component, rather than to its Romance stock.

To continue with the geological image: the lexical stratum derived from medieval German was very broad in spoken WY and in FLY, based on WY dialects, but is somewhat slimmer in MLY, based on EY dialects. To reconstruct fully the original thick medieval Germanic stratum is easier when all we are looking for is literary evidence of the existence of a term in FLY, and much more difficult in the less-attested spoken WY. We cannot rely on most of the evidence from the early centuries to render the vernacular faithfully in its phonemic subtleties.

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19) The seeming discrepancy between this statement and p. XVIII (f) above is easily explainable: the Yiddish used in the Republic of Lithuania did participate in the development of MLY, at least in the 20th century, but not in the development of botanical terminology beyond the spoken level.

Written vs. spoken Yiddish

Many botanical terms that we encounter in FLY have obvious MHG (or Early NHG) cognates, but there is no certainty that a given word encountered in a text was actually used in the spoken WY of the time. Thus the series **איפֿוך, איפֿיך, איפֿא** possibly, but not necessarily, reflects spoken WY, with **איפֿא** the form used by the *bney-hes*, those WY-speakers with zero articulation of /x/. The NHG correspondent is *Eppich*.

In a number of cases, we can safely assume that the attested FLY form corresponded to the spoken WY one. One example: the term for apple. In MLY, it is *epl*, in both singular and plural, and likewise in most of EY. Some areas of Central Yiddish, however, still preserve an archaic singular form *apl* (and a variant /ápu/), thus confirming the form *apl*, if not *apf(i)l*, amply attested in FLY. There is also no doubt that *nus, nusn/nis*, and others were present in spoken WY, not just FLY, since they remain common in Eastern Europe in modern times.

With regard to lexical items of Semitic derivation, it is also sometimes doubtful from FLY evidence whether the recorded items were actually part of spoken WY. A case in point as an obviously unreliable source for Yiddish botanical terminology is Callenberg (1733). He does not seem to be able to distinguish between Hebrew and Yiddish and lists the Hebrew terms for apple, wheat, barley, rye, onions, almond, etc., as Yiddish! Unless some of them were part-and-parcel of spoken WY without modern Yiddish linguistics being aware of it.

On the other hand, just as in other lexical fields, we must observe that while some items of Semitic derivation were characteristic for WY and FLY, others are characteristic for EY and MLY. Thus, *sháyne-boym, (resh-)khóydesh-rétekhl, et al.* are attested only in EY and/or MLY.

A clearcut difference between 'East' and 'West' – WY and EY, FLY and MLY – is the role botanical terms of Slavic origin play: while in WY *kreyn* 'horseradish' (EY: *khreyn*)[20] is attested from the 14th century on – along with *meretish* (cf. NHG *Meerretich*) – and *yag(e)des* (*Or Khodesh* 1671:27)/*yades* (Preger 1650: 5) 'berries' from the 17th century on – the bulk of Slavic-origin botanical terms entered the Yiddish language in its EY/MLY phase. Thus the parallel series (the first word – WY of Germanic origin, the second – EY of Slavic, Semitic, or other derivation): *líndebam* vs. *lipe* 'linden'; *éykhebam* vs. *demb* (plus variants) 'oak'; *véydebam* vs. *vérbe* 'willow' (and *sháyne-boym*); *péterzil/péterzayl* vs. *pétreshke* 'parsley'; *loukh* vs. *póre-tsíbele* (or *prazh*) 'leek'; *ámper* vs. *shtshav* 'sorrel', and so on.

All in all, Yiddish botanical terminology is a fertile ground for linguistic research from both a synchronic and diachronic point of view.

□

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20) It remains an open question whether WY derived this word directly from Czech/Western Canaanic or through the mediation of German dialects (M. Weinreich 1973: II: 199 ff.).

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3. Guidelines for the Use of *Plant Names in Yiddish*

PNY is divided into several sections: 1) the Trilingual Taxonomic Dictionary: Latin-English-Yiddish; 2) the morphological list, which includes the most important words for plant parts or stages of a plant's development;[1] 3) the list of "Symbols, Abbreviations, and Sources: Bibliography and Informants"; 4) "Plant names and their sources." And finally, 5) the English Index to *PNY*, as well as Yiddish and English introductory chapters.

Trilingual Taxonomical Dictionary: The Latin-English-Yiddish (pp. xx)

The base language for this part of *PNY* is Latin, the standard language for the natural sciences. Alongside each Latin term is its English equivalent, if such is available. To the far right of that is the recommended Yiddish equivalent.

Standardized Plant Names was used as the authoritative source on Latin and English plant names. Where the information in this source was inadequate, a number of other authorities were also consulted; they are listed here in order of the priority they have been given for the purposes of this work: *Encylclopaedia Britannica, Webster, Brockhaus, Botanicheskij Slovar'*, and *Bol'shaja Sovetskaja Entsiklopedija*. For plants of the Land of Israel, *Magdir letsimkhey erets-yisrael* by Eig-Feinbrunn received second priority after *Standardized Plant Names*.

Although the Latin botanical nomenclature is indeed the most reliable, exact, stable, and unified, inconsistencies do exist within it. Where a botanical item is listed in *Standardized Plant Names* by one name yet appears in several of the above-mentioned authorities under another name, *PNY* followed the principle that "the majority rules" and accepted the decision of those other authorities. If two or more Latin names are available

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1) For technical reasons, omitted from this volume.

[current] for the same plant, the reader is not referred from one Latin name to the other – only the one found in *Standardized Plant Names* is listed. But in the case of plants that are indigenous to the Land of Israel, we do refer the reader from one Latin name to the other, since the *PNY* user in Israel is more likely to use *Magdir* than *Standardized Plant Names* as his standard reference, and there is sometimes a contradiction between the Latin names found in those two sources. Where there were discrepancies regarding the official plant name to which none of the above-mentioned sources was able to lend its authority, *PNY* left these inconsistencies as they were: it was not the goal of this book to play a hand at standardizing international botanical terminology! As such, the plant names *Betula dahurica, Lillium dauricum,* and *Larix davurica,* for example, are all listed in the Trilingual Taxonomical Dictionary, for that is the way we found them in the Birobidzhan (USSR) sources we consulted, although the second element in these three terms is derived from the name of one single river. In the Yiddish, though, we did lend a normative hand – *dau'rer* was selected as the term over the variants *dahurer* and *davurer,* found in the relevant Yiddish literature.

The Yiddish terms which appear in the Trilingual Taxonomical Dictionary were standardized by the compiler in accordance with the following principles:

1. the uniqueness or differentness principle: when two or more synonyms or variants of a plant name exist, the one recommended as the standard was the more uniquely Yiddish one, the one that arose within the realm of the Yiddish language proper.
2. "the majority rules" – the synonym or variant with the largest geographic distribution or the greatest currency in the written language was selected.
3. balance of spoken vs. written language: the approach that a written form is preferable to a spoken form was rejected. The attempt was for both to be well represented; it is naturally our desire/goal that the standardized nomenclature have roots in the spoken language.
4. the shorter the word the better, unless the shorter word contradicts the above principles.
5. an older living/current form is preferable to a newer living/current form, but a newer current form is preferable to an archaism.
6. semantic transparency is advisable, whenever feasible..

The names of those species which begin with *stam, geveyntlekh, gortn-, esevdik, meditsinish, refue(dik)* (i.e., the Latin *sativa,* the English *garden,* etc) drop this first element in conversational speech. The spoken language is generally more economical (yet at the same time less precise) than scientifically accurate technical literature.

If an international term is not listed in the trilingual dictionary, it is to be understood that a corresponding Yiddish term does not yet exist and

that the international term may thus be incorporated into Yiddish (rewritten with Yiddish letters).

If the name of a botanical genus is identical in Latin, English, and Yiddish, we have not included it in the Trilingual Taxonomical Dictionary, unless we also list its taxonomically lower forms, i.e., the species. For instance, the genus *Danthonia* is known as such in Latin and English (and in Hebrew: דנתוניה). It is not listed in the trilingual dictionary. From this one must assume that the recommended Yiddish term should be *dantonye* (דאַנטאַניע). (See under the *mekoyrim-vayzer* about bringing internationalisms into Yiddish.)

Frequently only the species name is given in the trilingual dictionary and not the name of the genus. But from the species name one is to derive the name of the genus. For example, from the Yiddish term *blo-glekele ('Campanula rotundifolia')* one is to deduce that *glekele* is the name of the genus, i.e., the equivalent of the Latin *Campanula,* while *blo-* acts as the specifying additional element *(rotundifolia).* The two parts/elements together comprise the name of the species.

If the name of the species is comprised of one element (e.g., *gramafondl 'Campanula rapunculoides'*), the name of the genus is not derivable.

Plant species the names of which begin with *common, garden, edible, cultivated, medicinal,* etc. (and in Hebrew with מצוי, etc.) appear in their Yiddish form in the trilingual dictionary with this specifying element in parentheses. This element is skipped over in the natural speech of all living languages when mention is being made of the most common, most well-known species. In the international, scientific, i.e. Latin, terminology, however, this element (*sativus, communis*, etc.) may not be dispensed with.

The trilingual dictionary, as opposed to the section "Plant names and their sources," is selective and normative in nature – thus the former lists only two terms for *Taraxacum officinale* ('common dandelion'), while the descriptive *mekoyrim-vayzer* lists all twenty-one synonyms and variants which we have so far encountered in Yiddish sources.

The Key to Proper Names

4288 Yiddish equivalents of Latin terms are listed in the Trilingual Taxonomical Dictionary, including a small number of synonyms and variants. But in fact, by consulting the "Key to Proper Names," the user of *PNY* will have recourse to many, many more standardized terms than these alone." Let us say that someone finds the term *Cytisus Austriacus / Austrian Broom* and wishes to find its Yiddish equivalent. By alphabetically looking up *Cytisus* in the Trilingual Taxonomical Dictionary, (s)he will find that *Cytisus* is *bobboym* in Yiddish, but the name of the species *Cytisus austriacus* is missing. The "Key to Proper Names" (pp. XX) will show him that *austriacus / Austrian* is for the purposes of Yiddish botanical terminolgy:

estraykhsh. The answer to his query is thus: *estraykhsher bobboym.* Indeed, the reader will be required to know a fundamental of Yiddish grammar – that the Yiddish adjective is inflected to agree with the gender of the noun it is modifying. In order to find the gender of a specific noun, the reader must consult the section "Plant names and their sources," where (s)he will find the definite article of the botanical term next to its entry.

It is always recommended to consult the "Key to Proper Names" in such a case, since basic Yiddish knowledge of geographical terms is not always reliable. It is common knowledge that the Yiddish equivalent of *Austrian* is *estraykhsh* or *estraykhish,* and indeed *Cytisus austriacus* turned out to be *estraykhsher bobboym*. Yet in the case of Latin *pannonicus* as the second component of a plant name, the Yiddish equivalent is not *panonish* (as it would normally be for this historic and geographic term), but *ungerish* (in the domain of botanical nomenclature), which translates literally as 'Hungarian'.

Included in the "Key to Proper Names" are not just geographical terms, so common as elements in international plant names, but personal names of botanists who discovered or classified specific plants, e.g., *Rosa engelmanni* – in Yiddish: *englmans royz*. The extent to which this "Key to Proper Names" broadens the possibility of expressing standardized botanical terms in Yiddish is enormous.

"Plant Names and their Sources"

This section of *PNY* is an attempt to get as close as possible to the body of Yiddish plant names. It lists all the Yiddish plant names encountered in written and in spoken Yiddish by the compiler, along with their sources. In cases where a specific term has been introduced into the body of Yiddish botanical terminology for the first time through this work (in the trilingual dictionary), the basis on which it has been introduced is given (i.e., if it is an internationalism, loan word, neologism, etc.).

Alongside the sources are other pieces of information relevant to each term, such as: gender, stylistic observations, etc. Text in these notes which is underlined or italicized is in abbreviated form. These abbreviations are explained in the section "Symbols, Abbreviations and Sources" (this section is discussed below).

International terms are listed in the section "Plant names and their sources" only to the extent that the compiler found them in spoken or written Yiddish (e.g., *nimfee* for the international *Nimphea* in the Yiddish journal *Di goldene keyt, tsistus* for *Cystus* in Tsanin's Yiddish-Hebrew dictionary.) The number of international plant names is so huge that it would be impossible to list them all, or even half or a third, in the trilingual dicitonary. However, Yiddish is open to international scientific terms, so if a specific international term is not found in the trilingual dictionary, one must not as-

sume that it is thus not to be used in Yiddish. Yet in a case in which Yiddish does have a term of its own, it is unnecessary to use an international one within Yiddish. For example, using the term *Arachis hipogea* ('peanut') in Yiddish is superfluous when Yiddish already has the terms *rebe-nislekh, moyshe-rabeyne-nislekh, shtroyene nislekh, ertsisroel-nis, amerikaner nislekh, marokaner nislekh, fistashkes, stashkes* etc. from the Yiddish ethnobotanic repertoire. As standardized terms, the trilingual dictionary recommends *rebe-nislekh* and *stashkes,* while the rest are considered synonyms appropriate for non-technical literature/*belles-lettres,* poetry and everyday speech. (As mentioned in the subchapter on the trilingual dictionary, how to incorporate international terms into Yiddish when a plant name is missing from the trilingual dictionary is discussed xx.)

The section "Plant names and their sources" is arranged alphabetically. Consult the Yiddish version of this chapter (pp.) for special notes on the ordering of the entries.

The source of each botanical term in the *mekoyrim-vayzer* appears in parentheses immediately after the term and its plural and definite article (if those last two appear at all). But take note:

1. If a term was found in a glossary or dictionary which lists words alphabetically, the number of the page on which the term was found has not been given, unless the word appears in the glossary or dictionary in a place which didn't fall under the domain of the alphabetical ordering.
2. References are made to Stutchkoff's *Thesaurus of the Yiddish Language* not by synonym groups (as is commonly done), but by page number, thus making the item easier to find.
3. References to textbooks and schoolbooks with terminological glossaries are made to the glossary itself and not to corpus, unless the two bring contradictary information or the glossary does not include specific words used in the corpus.

References

The references found in the section "Plant names and their sources" are varied in character. If a Latin plant name appears after the Yiddish plant name, that means that this plant name is the one recommended in the trilingual dictionary as the standard Yiddish form. In some rare cases this is one of two terms which has been determined the standard; in even rarer cases – one of three. A reference indicated by the word *zen* זען 'see' indicates that the term following this symbol is recommended over the one preceding it, and that the user of the section "Plant names and their sources" should look under that entry to find the definition of the term he originally sought in this section. The same procedure holds true for an equal sign (=) following a term, just that this symbol denotes the permissibility of the

synonym or variant in the spoken language, belles-lettres, poetry, and memoirs, but a preference for the term referred to for scientific usage.

More detailed information about the symbols and abbreviations used in the section "Plant names and their sources" are available in the Yiddish version of this chapter.

Treatment of gender, number, orthography, and pronunciation in the section "Plant names and their sources" are dealt with in the Yiddish chapter *"Shprakhike onvayzn"* of the Introductory section.

Troubleshooting

Following are several possible scenarios which may face the user of *PNY*. They will be succinctly instructive of how to find one's way about this work.

1. A user knows the international/Latin scientific name of a plant and wishes to find its Yiddish equivalent. S/he will find this in the trilingual dictionary.
2. The Yiddish name of a plant or fruit is known to the user, but s/he wishes to find out the Latin name. S/he will find the term and relevant information about the term (gender, plural form, sources, normative comments, etc.) following the term in the section "Plant names and their sources." If this happens to be the term recommended in *PNY* as the standard, the Latin name will be listed under that entry. If it is not, the standardized Yiddish term will be indicated by זע֤ן ('see') or =. The user will then look up that term in the section "Plant names and their sources" and find the official Latin name.
3. The user knows the Yiddish name of a plant or fruit and wishes to found out the English name. S/he uses the section "Plant names and their sources" as in case (2) to find the Latin name, then looks up the Latin name in the trilingual dictionary, next to which will be listed the English name.
4. The user knows an English term and wishes to find the Yiddish equivalent. S/he must look up the English term in the "English Index" and find there the page number at which to look for the answer to his question in the trilingual dictionary.
5. If the user knows the Hebrew (or Czech, French, German, Hungarian, Polish, Rumanian, Russian, Spanish, etc.) name and seeks the Yiddish equivalent, s/he must look up the Latin name of the plant in a comprehensive reference work of the respective language and then look the Yiddish name up in our trilingual Latin-English-Yiddish dictionary. In the case of Hebrew, we recommend looking it up in *Magdir letsimkhey erets yisrael.* If the Latin name is impossible to find, s/he has to try to find the English name of the

plant, and by searching in the English Index, s/he will find the page on which the English term glosses with its Yiddish equivalent.

6. The user knows the English name of a part of a plant or a stage in its development. He must look in the "Morphological list" to find the equivalent Yiddish term.
7. The reader knows several Yiddish names of a particular plant (or fruit of a plant) and wishes to find out which one is recommended in *PNY* as the standardized term. He must look up the term he knows in the *Mekoyrim-vayzer*. If he finds the Latin equivalent of the Yiddish term there, **that** is the recommended Yiddish term. If he finds an equal sign (=) or זע. ן, the term after these symbols is the one recommended for standardization.