

Chapter 4

Borrowing Semantic Space: Diachronic Hybridization

1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter is concerned with the effects on one language's semantic system when it is under the influence of another's, where there is no borrowing of actual morphemic shapes.¹ It is concerned, 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 pattern.

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 cataloging of cases of semantic borrowing to the development of 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 2. 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 nonaccommodation made by Yiddish to Slavic, as set forth in sections 5 and 6.

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 preexisting system, generating hybrid formations, intersections, redistributions of polysemy, extensions, and further forms of novel semantic patterning. This language has thus undergone **diachronic hybridization**. And the conclusion suggests that this process may be quite general for languages in contact.

This chapter'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.

2 THE PARTITIONING OF 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 of "object maneuvering" that express an agent's using a body part to move or position an object. Some English examples are shown in (1).

- (1) *English verbs of object maneuvering—ones that involve*
- a. positioning: hold/put (in)/take (out)
 - b. possession: have/give (to)/take (from)
 - c. transport: carry/bring/take (to)
 - d. propulsion: throw/kick/bat (away)
 - e. steady force: push/pull (along)

In sentences containing such verbs, the agent and object themselves are expressed independently by nominals. The verb root expresses the remainder of the activity. This activity can encompass a number of distinguishable semantic parameters, including those shown in (2).

- (2) *Parameters in object maneuvering expressed by verbs*
- a. the type of causality
 - e.g., onset (ballistic) causation in *kick*, extended (controlled) causation in *put*

- b. the absence or presence of a secondary agent
e.g., absent in *put*, present in *give*
- c. the directional vector of the motion
e.g., ‘to’ in *put*, ‘from’ in *take*
- d. deixis
e.g., ‘hither’ in *bring*, ‘hence’ in *take* (to)
- e. the type of force exerted
e.g., compressional in *push*, tractional in *pull*
- f. the body part or other object that acts as instrument
e.g., the arm in *throw*, the leg in *kick*, a rigid linear object in *bat*

Most of these languages in addition have another set of forms—variously known as particles, preverbs, ((in)separable) prefixes, and so on, though I refer to all the different types alike as verb “satellites” (see chapter II-1)—that largely express path configurations in space, such as English *up*, *out*, *back*, *apart*. Further, the languages that have both these morpheme sets—verb roots of object maneuvering and Path satellites—can combine them not only in a compositional construction that expresses the concrete compounded sense of objects maneuvered along paths, but also in a construction with a more abstract, often psychological meaning.

In this context, a notable observation is that 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 noncognate verb roots meaning ‘hold’ in English, Russian, and Latin combine with largely noncognate path satellites to yield forms with very similar abstract and often “psychological” meanings.²

(3)	<i>English</i>	<i>Russian</i>	<i>Latin</i>	<i>Common meaning</i>
a.	hold	deržat’	tenere	‘hold’
b.	hold up	pod-deržat’	sus-tinere	‘support’
c.	hold back (tr)	u-deržat’	re-tinere	‘restrain’
d.	hold back (intr)	s-deržat’-s’a	abs-tinere	‘refrain’
e.	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 (see chapters II-1 and II-2). To begin with, this language simply lacks verb

roots with meanings like ‘hold’, ‘put’, ‘give’, ‘throw’, and so on. Rather, its roots refer to various kinds of objects or materials as moving or located. Examples include *-qput-* ‘for loose dirt to move/be located’, *-caq-* ‘for a slimy lumpish object (e.g., a toad, cow turd) to move/be located’, *-p^hup-* ‘for a bundle to move/be located’. Forming a second set of forms, some 50 directional suffixes give the combined indication of path or site plus reference object (the Ground). Examples are *-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^u* ‘over to a neighbor’s’. Notably included in this set of suffixes 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’. Next, in a third set of forms, some two dozen instrumental prefixes indicate the event causing the verb root’s action. Examples are *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]). Finally, a fourth set of forms consists of two deictic suffixes: *-ik-* ‘hither’ and *-im* ‘hence’. Combinations of these four morpheme sets provide the nearest equivalents to the Indo-European-type formulations for putting, giving, and so on. For example:

(4) a. *uh-caq-ta*:

Literal: ‘by acting on it with a swinging linear object, (cause) a slimy lumpish object to move out of an enclosure’

Instantiated: “throw a toad out of the house”

b. *ci-p^hup-ay*

Literal: ‘by acting on it with one’s hands, (cause) a bundle to move into someone’s grasp’

Instantiated: “give someone a bundle”

c. *ru-qput-wi-s^u-ik-*

Literal: ‘by pulling on it, (cause) dirt to MOVE to a neighbor’s hither’

Instantiated: “drag some dirt over here to a neighbor’s”

Thus, the various semantic parameters incorporated within the Indo-European verbs of object maneuvering, or in the nominals they take, are in Atsugewi allocated to different grammatical categories and are conceptualized there in accordance with the way that this language partitions semantic space. The maneuvered object, which is expressed in the direct object nominal in English, is instead expressed in Atsugewi in the verb

root, where it is conceptualized less as a static object than as a process involving a moving or located object. The type of force exerted or the action of a body part or other instrument that effects the maneuvering is abstracted off for separate expression in the instrumental prefix set, where it is construed as a distinct causal event giving rise to the main event of object movement/location. Concepts of grasping or possession, or of shifts therein, are expressed by directional suffixes, along with more typical Path + Ground concepts, and are presumably conceptualized there as being kinds of directionals. Deixis is expressed separately by a distinct morpheme pair.

This pattern of semantic structuring in Atsugewi extends to certain further categories of object maneuvering, though with less affixal freedom. Thus, for the category of garments in dressing, distinct verb roots or verbal stems refer to the motion or location of specific garments, while affixes indicate whether one has the garment on, dons it or doffs it, or puts it on or takes it off someone else. For example, the verbal stem *hi:-pun* ‘for an apron to move/be-located with respect to wear’ takes the locative suffix *-asw* to indicate having an apron on, as in *swhe-punáswa* ‘I am wearing the apron’. It takes the prefix *p-* ‘back’ and the suffix *-ik* ‘hither’ to indicate donning an apron, as in *sphe-punik-a* ‘I put the apron on’. And it takes the suffix *-tip* ‘out of liquid/un-’ to indicate doffing an apron, as in *swhe-púnt^hpa* ‘I took the apron off’. Likewise, for the category of locating one’s own body parts through internal muscular control, distinct verb roots or verbal stems refer to the motion or location of specific body parts, while the directional and deictic affixes indicate the paths taken or sites occupied by them. For example, the verb root *ismak* ‘for a person’s ear to move/be-located’ can take the suffix *-iks* ‘laterally onto/into a vertical surface’ to refer to placing one’s ear against a door (say, to listen to voices on the other side). The verb root *ipl* ‘for a person’s tongue to move/be-located’ can take the suffix sequence *-hiy -ik* ‘out of moorings’ to refer to sticking one’s tongue out (say, at someone). The verbal stem *pu-qa* ‘for a person’s mouth to move/be-located’ can take the suffix sequence *-ikn -iw* ‘onto/into a mouth’ to refer to kissing someone—literally, to ‘place-one’s-mouth onto-someone’s-mouth’. And the verb root *rahy* ‘for a person’s head to move/be-located’ can take the suffix *-ay* ‘into someone’s (or something’s) grasp’ (the same suffix as for giving someone an object) to refer to laying one’s head down on a pillow. Even the concept of ‘nothing’ to some extent conforms to the Atsugewi organization of semantic space: there is a verb root *raps* ‘for nothing to move/be-located’ that can take the suffix *-uk* ‘on

the ground (in existence)' to refer to the existence of nothing, as in *wrapsak-a* 'There is nothing', or the suffix *-ahn* 'in one's grasp (in one's possession)' to refer to having nothing, as in *swrapsáhna* 'I have nothing'.

A wider comparison of the different formulations for 'object maneuvering' in the two language groups above reveals that their semantic organizations can differ in a number of respects, as set forth in the following list.

Differences in the Semantic Organization of English and Atsugewi in the Representation of 'Object Maneuvering'

1. Different concepts are expressed—as an example, the Atsugewi notion of a 'gravitic container' has no direct analogue in English.
2. Otherwise corresponding concepts are expressed under different grammatical categories—for instance, 'dirt' is expressed by an English noun but by an Atsugewi verb root.
3. The concepts of otherwise corresponding sets are parceled out in different ways among the grammatical categories—for example, '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.
4. Otherwise corresponding concepts are combined with different sister concepts within a morpheme—thus, a path's reference object (Ground) 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').
5. Otherwise corresponding concepts have different degrees of inclusiveness—for instance, 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 ax) with any resulting action (such as propelling or chopping).
6. Otherwise corresponding concepts have different obligatoriness of expression—for example, the causal instrumentality within a referent situation must in most cases be indicated in Atsugewi but is largely optional in English.
7. Different morpheme sets are present, having different group meanings—thus, English has a set of verb roots that express the manner of maneuvering; Atsugewi lacks this but has one that expresses the type of object that is in a state of Motion.

8. 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 an instrumental prefix and a directional suffix.

9. Otherwise corresponding constructions have some different constructional meanings—for example, 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, whereas the Atsugewi ones largely do not (other sets of morphemes that bear such meanings directly are used instead).

Pinker (1994) holds the view that the morphemes of different languages actually express very similar concepts and that this similarity has been obscured by stilted glossings of the morphemes. But the evidence here points toward genuine differences in the semantic organization of language. Poor glossing cannot account for the fact that Atsugewi simply lacks verb roots with meanings like those of the English verbs *have*, *give*, *take*, *hold*, *put*, *carry*, *bring*, *throw*, *kick*, *push*, and *pull*. Nor can it account for any of the other types of language difference just identified.

On the basis of these and additional observations (including ones from Yiddish and Slavic, discussed next), we may compile a number of the factors that can characterize any semantic space. Differences in these factors are a major part of what distinguishes the overall semantic organization of one language from that of another. In the following compilation of factors, the term “meta” indicates the overall concept or meaning associated with the whole of some category or set of morphemes or polysemes.

(5) *Factors that characterize the semantic structure of different semantic spaces*

- a. the particular concepts (with their componential makeup and degree of inclusiveness) expressed by the morphemes—and the metaconcepts expressed by the morpheme sets
- b. in cases of polysemy, the particular set of concepts grouped together under a single morpheme—and the metameaning common to them
- c. the grammatical categories of the individual morphemes and of the morpheme sets³
- d. the constructions in which the different morpheme sets come together—and their metameaning

- e. the obligatoriness and the frequency of use of each concept and meta-concept
- f. the ramifiedness of each metaconcept—that is, its number of distinctions, its complexity of organization, its extent of application . . .

Historically, there may be some diachronic process at work among the cognate languages of each family, such as Indo-European or Atsugewi and its close relatives, acting to maintain a single organization of semantic space. If so, such a process must operate at a linguistic level more abstract than that of particular morphemes, for the parallelisms earlier observed across Indo-European languages largely involved noncognate 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 suffixally. 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 much of any change at all.

On the other hand, the structure of semantic space can also be observed to be something of an areal phenomenon in that unrelated neighboring languages often share much of their overall semantic organization. On the assumption that such languages typically did not all have the same organization before contact, exposure to outside structure must in some respects be strong enough to overcome resistance to a sweep of changes. The remainder of this chapter sets forth some of the theory and forms of such change under external influence.

What has just been described in terms of diachronic linguistic structures and processes must eventually be explained in terms of ongoing cognitive structures and processes. What can be said in outline now is that, in each individual, the aspects of cognitive organization that support the overall semantic structure of the language he or she has learned are generally more stable—or less responsive to factors for change—than those aspects responsible for the associations between particular morphemes and their referents. However, those further aspects of cognitive organization that process novel forms of semantic structure on exposure to them *can* affect those aspects that otherwise maintain the original semantic structure.

3 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 associated constructions.

The main prefixes in this system are listed below, each glossed with only a selection of the senses in its polysemous range. 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’ versus ‘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-* ‘radially inward’) and, especially, more abstract and metaphoric path-derived notions.⁴

(6) Main Yiddish verb prefixes

a. Separable [stressed] prefixes

i. Doublets

<i>Long</i>		<i>Short</i>	
arayn-	‘in’	ayn-	‘in’, ‘radially inward’
aroys-	‘out’	oys-	‘out’, ‘to exhaustion’
aroyf-	‘up’	oyf-	‘open’, ‘<perfective>’
arop-	‘down (from)’	op-	‘off’, ‘in return’, ‘to a finish’
ariber-	‘across/over’	iber-	‘in transfer’, ‘back and forth between’,
arunter-	‘down (through)’, ‘to underneath’	unter-	‘re-’, ‘overly’ ‘up to’, ‘a bit from time to time’
arum-	‘around’	um-	‘pivotally over’

ii. *Singlets*

on-	'into an accumulation', 'full', 'to capacity'	tsunoyf-	'(severally) together'
durkh-	'through'	tsuzamen-	'(dually) together'
avek-	'away', 'down (upon)'	funander-	'apart'
tsu-	'up to', 'fast', 'additionally'	antkegn-	'opposite', 'counter', 'into encounter'
farbay-	'past'	faroys-	'ahead', 'pre-'
anider-	'down (to)'	mit-	'along (with)'
nokh-	'along after', 'in emulation'	afer-	'forth'
tsurik-	'back'	fir-	'out (from under)'
kapoyer-	'upside down'		

b. *Inseparable [unstressed] prefixes*

tse-	'radially outward'	ba-	'<causative>'
ant-	'away', 'un-'	far-	'mis-', '<causative>'
der-	'reaching as far as'	ge-	'—'

4 THE BORROWING PATTERN

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.

4.1 Aspects of Slavic Semantic Space 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.

4.1.1 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'.⁵ Thus, with a verb meaning 'tear/pluck' and the noun for

‘flowers’, *na-rvat’ cvetov* 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-*. It in fact has the analogue 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. It appears, for example, in expressions like *Di kats hot ongehat ketslekh*, literally, ‘The cat formed an accumulation of kittens by having (giving birth to) them’ or, very loosely, “The cat has birthed up quite a batch of kittens in her life.”

We can put this prefixal usage in tabular form and add further examples.⁶

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

4.1.2 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 the same three 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 equiva-

lent, the ‘fill’ meaning is expressed by the prefix *voll-*, and the ‘capacity’ meaning is taken by the prefix *satt-*.

(8)	<i>Russian</i>	<i>Yiddish</i>	<i>German</i>	<i>Common meaning</i>
a.	na- +GEN	on- +ACC		‘accumulate Ving’
b.	na- +ACC +INSTR	on- +ACC mit	voll- +ACC mit +DAT	‘fill, Ving’
c.	na- REFL +GEN	on- REFL mit	satt- REFL an +DAT	‘V to one’s capacity’
b’.	na-lit’ stakan vodoj	on-gisn a gloz mit vaser	ein Glas mit Wasser voll-giessen	“pour a glass full of water”
c’.	na-smotret’-s’a kartin	on-zen zikh mit bilder	sich an Bildern satt-sehen	“have seen one’s fill of pictures”

4.1.3 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. 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’, ‘into dispersal’, ‘one into many’, ‘into bits/destruction’. Examples of each meaning are *raz-dut* ‘puff out (as, one’s 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 ‘radially outward’ and ‘dispersal’ usages (e.g., *zer-blasen* ‘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.

4.1.4 The Metameaning of a Morpheme Class Another form of semantic borrowing involves the metameaning 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 shown in (9).

(9)	<i>Russian</i>	<i>Yiddish</i>	<i>Common meaning</i>
a.	pro-čitat'	iber-leyenen	'read through <perfective>'
b.	na-pisat'	on-shraybn	'write down <perfective>'
c.	s-jest'	oyf-esn	'eat up <perfective>'
d.	vy-pit'	oys-trinken	'drink up <perfective>'
e.	za-platit'	ba-tsoln	'pay <perfective>'
f.	raz-rezat'	tse-shnaydn	'cut through <perfective>'

4.1.5 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 metaconcept. The metaconcept of 'Path' is expressed by satellites as well as by prepositions in the Indo-European languages that have both these morpheme classes, and a Path-expressing sentence can often contain the particular 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*, 'He went into the house', is complete as it stands with only a preposition, but it can also add the correlative satellite *hinein* at the end, though colloquial usage may prefer it absent. In these same circumstances, however, both Yiddish and Russian must include the satellite along with the preposition. Thus, these two languages have no option but to say *Er iz arayn-gegangen in hoyz* and *On vo-šěl 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.

4.2 Aspects of Slavic Semantic Space Not Borrowed by Yiddish

An influencing language can include a number of concepts expressed by individual morphemes and metaconcepts 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—for example, 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 (*iditi/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—for example, *-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—that is, the single occurrence of a punctual event, such as *-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).

5 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 noncommensurate semantic space of Slavic: hybrid formation, intersection, depolysemizing, and elaboration.

5.1 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.

5.1.1 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 4.1.5) often results in a kind of **exact 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 **inexact 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).

5.1.2 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. Consider, for example, the same Yiddish *on-* prefix that was earlier seen to have borrowed a group of meanings from, say, Russian *na-*. First, this Yiddish prefix did not borrow all of the Russian prefix's meanings—the others were borrowed by different prefixes. Second, the Yiddish prefix retained some of its original Germanic meanings—which put it in relationship with Russian prefixes other than *na-*. And third, the Yiddish prefix 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 (10) (which also lists the origin—"Gmc" or "Slc"—of each meaning of a Yiddish prefix).

(10)	Russian	Yiddish	Semantic origin of Yiddish form	Common meaning
a.	{ ob-V NP + ACC	{ arum-V arum NP	Germanic	'circle NP, Ving'
b.	{ ob-V ob NP + ACC	{ on-V on/in NP	Germanic	'V to a point against'
c.	{ pri-V k NP + DAT	{ on-V in/oyf NP	Germanic	'arrive at NP, Ving'
d.	{ na-V NP + GEN	{ on-V NP + ACC	Slavic	'accumulate Ving'
e.	{ na-V NP + ACC NP	{ on-V NP + ACC	Slavic	'fill, Ving'
	+INSTR	mit NP		
f.	{ na-V REFL NP	{ on-V REFL	Slavic	'V to one's capacity'
	+INSTR	mit NP		
g.	{ na-V na NP + ACC	{ aroyf-V oyf NP	Slavic	'V upon'
h.	{ voz-V	{ aroyf-V	Germanic	'V upward'

Examples of the forms newly introduced in this table are given in (11).

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

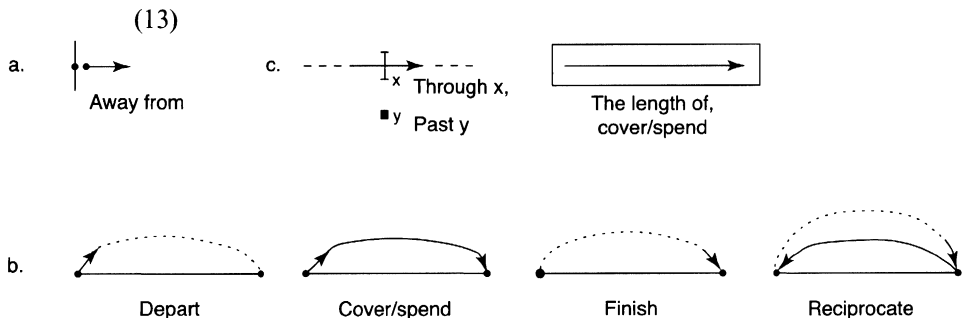
The shifting of semantic envelopes can be more readily characterized for another Yiddish prefix, *op-*, the cognate of MHG *abe|ab|ap* and NHG *ab-*. This prefix has borrowed some, but not all, the meanings of two different Slavic prefixes, while retaining some unique meanings of its own (other original meanings had Slavic counterparts)—as seen in (12).

(12)	Russian	Yiddish	Semantic origin of Yiddish	Common meaning
a.	pro-V mimo NP +ACC	farbay-V (far) NP + DAT	Germanic	'V past'
b.				
c.	pro-V NP + ACC			'V the whole length of'
d.	pro-V NP + ACC	op-V NP + ACC	Slavic	'cover X distance/ spend X time, Ving'
e.	ot-V ot-V NP + DAT	op-V op-V NP + DAT	Slavic	'finish Ving'
f.				
g.	ot-V ot NP + GEN	op-V fun NP	Germanic	'V in return/ reciprocation to'
h.	ot-V ot NP + GEN	op-V fun NP	Germanic	'depart from, Ving'
i.				
j.	ot-V	op-V	Germanic	'(re)move from a surface, Ving'
k.	ot-V REFL			'disunite one end from the rest, Ving'
l.		op-V		'repulse, Ving'
				'get out of (obligation), Ving'
				'arrange/agree to, Ving'

An accurate analysis of a morpheme's polysemous range must include treatment of all the meanings actually occurring (see Lindner 1981 and

Brugman 1988 for some thorough treatments in English)—whereas the above prefixes each have a number of additional meanings not listed. But perhaps something of the following analysis will still 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 (13a) (see chapter I-3 for such spatial characterizations). But the meanings that *op-* acquired from *pro-* and *ot-*, (d) to (f), all imply encompassing the whole of some bounded extent, whether each of the end points is definite or merely implicit, as schematized in (13b). 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. Earlier, 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 Russian *pro-* is quite distinct from that of Yiddish *op-*. It involves movement along a linear path, whether this extends just enough to traverse a reference point or spans the distance between two end points, as suggested in (13c). Thus, the ‘distance/time-spanning’ sense, (d), common to both *pro-* and *op-*, fits into the larger schema of each of these two morphemes by virtue of two different semantic features. Its feature of ‘linear extent’ is appropriate to the ‘linear path’ sense of *pro-*, and its feature of ‘boundedness at both ends’ is appropriate to the ‘bounded-extent encompassing’ sense of *op-*. As for Russian *ot-*, its polysemous range mostly fits within that of Yiddish *op-*. But because *op-* additionally includes the ‘distance/time-spanning’ sense, it fits more centrally within a ‘bounded extent’ schema than *ot-* does. This allows us to speak of a hybrid character that distinguishes it from its influencing morphemes as well as from its original self.



5.1.3 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 (14), with English sentences for illustration.

- | | | |
|---------|-------------------------------|---|
| (14) 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—for example, *točit'* and *na-točit'* 'sharpen', in the dialect of some speakers—groups the four aspectual notions as shown in (15A). The prefixed form refers solely to an action performed once to completion, such as sharpening a knife to a fine edge—aspect type (a). However, aspect types (b) and (c)—for instance, 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 in Russian by verb stems that can also take suffixes to indicate secondary imperfective—like Russian *uč-it'-s'a* 'learn', which takes prefix *vy-* and suffix *-iv*, as shown in (15B). Here, the form with prefix alone, as before, indicates solely aspect type (a). But now the form that also contains the suffix can refer to either aspect type (b) or aspect type (c), but only to these two, and so distinguishes these two aspect types from aspect type (d). Aspect type (d), as before, is indicated by the unaffixed form.⁷

- | | | | |
|------|------------------|---------------------------|------------------|
| (15) | A. 'sharpen' | B. 'learn' | C. 'sharpen' |
| a. | <i>na-točit'</i> | <i>vy-uč-it'-s'a</i> | <i>on-sharfn</i> |
| b. | <i>točit'</i> | <i>vy-uč-iv-at'-s'a</i> | <i>on-sharfn</i> |
| c. | <i>točit'</i> | ? <i>vy-uč-iv-at'-s'a</i> | <i>on-sharfn</i> |
| d. | <i>točit'</i> | <i>uč-it'-s'a</i> | <i>sharfn</i> |

Now, Yiddish verb stems do take prefixes to indicate perfective aspect—as in *sharfn/on-sharfn* 'sharpen'—but they do not take suffixes to indicate a secondary imperfective. Nevertheless, these Yiddish verbs do not be-

have like the nonsuffixal Russian verb in (15A) but, in a way, more like the suffixal type in (15B). In the Yiddish pattern for grouping the aspect types, shown in (15C), the prefixed form covers the first three types, in effect corresponding to the prefixed Russian verb with or without its suffix. With this seeming parallelism, one might take the more differentiated Russian (15B) pattern as basic, and conclude that the Yiddish prefixed form indicates both the perfective and the secondary imperfective (perhaps with a “zero” derivation for the latter). However, this seems a discordant imposition on Yiddish from an external system, the one found in Russian. 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—that is, 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.

5.2 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 intersections involving the prefix or the verb.

5.2.1 Separable/Inseparable Distinction + Prefixal Marking of Perfective

Yiddish has maintained the Germanic distinction of separable versus inseparable prefixes, while borrowing from Slavic the use of the prefix to mark perfective aspect. 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’.

5.2.2 Precedence Marking by Long/Short Prefixes + Prefixal Sense Borrowing

The paired long and short prefixes of Yiddish retain from Germanic their complementary marking of “precedence” for certain nominals in a sentence. Using the term “Figure” for the moving object in a motion event and the term “Ground” for the stationary reference object

(see chapter I-5), we can note the following approximate generalization: The long prefix marks the Figure as coming ahead of the Ground on the case hierarchy—for instance, as direct object versus oblique object—while the short prefix marks the reverse precedence. Thus:

- (16) a. arayn-shtekhn a nodl (F) ‘stick a needle into one’s arm’
 in orem (G)
- b. ayn-shtekhn dem orem (G) ‘stick (puncture) one’s arm’
 mit a nodl (F) with a needle’

By contrast with Yiddish, some Russian verb prefixes permit either of the two Figure/Ground precedences, while some prefixes require either one or the other of the precedences, but they in any case do not exhibit distinct forms that mark their associated precedence. Thus, Yiddish has this feature from its own origins and has not yielded it over to the Russian pattern. Nevertheless, each of the members of the long/short prefix doublets of Yiddish has been free to acquire some of the senses present in the otherwise comparable Slavic prefixes.

5.2.3 Auxiliary Distinction + Construction Borrowing Without a Slavic parallel, Yiddish maintains its Germanic use of two different auxiliaries for forming the past tense. These are *zayn* ‘be’ for use with verbs of motion, position, being, and becoming (roughly generalized) and *hobn* ‘have’ elsewhere. This distinction intersects with constructions otherwise wholly borrowed from Slavic. For example:

- (17) a. Oni raz-bežali-s’. Zey zaynen zikh tse-lofn.
 “‘They ran off in all directions.”
- b. Oni raz-legli-s’. Zey hobn zikh tse-leygt.
 “‘Lying there, they stretched out.”

5.2.4 Motion Verb Omission + the Reduplicative Satellite Pattern Yiddish retains from Germanic the option of omitting a nonfinite motion verb from a sentence that contains a path-specifying satellite or prepositional phrase. Omitting the verb in this way is not a Slavic pattern. But Yiddish intersects this pattern with the borrowed Slavic pattern of coupling a reduplicative satellite with a preposition (section 5.1.1). Thus, while German can omit a motion verb in the presence of a path prepositional phrase alone, Yiddish must also include a path satellite there, as in (18).

- (18) 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.”

5.2.5 Deixis + Manner Yiddish has developed a unique construction that indicates deixis—in particular, motion toward the speaker’s perspective point—together with the manner of motion, whether on foot or in a vehicle, as shown in (19). 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, which are largely lacking in Slavic. Slavic, on the other hand, extensively insists on indicating manner of transit in the verb, a feature that Germanic must forgo when expressing ‘hither’-type deixis in the verb. Yiddish, heir to both sensibilities, has thus devised a construction that indicates both at once, as (19) illustrates.

- (19) a. kumen tsu geyn/forn ‘come walking/riding’
 b. brengen tsu trogn/firn ‘bring by carrying/conveying’

5.3 A More Ample Borrower’s System Can Depolysemize a Donor System

While Russian has on the order of 22 prefixes, Yiddish has as many as some 36, 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 the minor motion or metaphoric senses of *pere-*. One such sense is ‘in transfer’ as in *iber-shraybn NP* ‘copy NP (something written) in writing’ (*pere-pisat’*), or in *iber-ton zikh*

‘change clothes’ (*pere-odet’-s’a*). Another such sense is ‘back and forth between’, as in *iber-varfn zikh mit NP* ‘throw NP back and forth to each other’ (*pere-brosit’-s’a + NP-INSTR*), or in *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 *aroyt-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 depolysemize it—in borrowing from it.

5.4 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—that is, 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—for example, *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, settled on its occasional inherited semelfactive construction of the type *gebn a kush* ‘give a kiss’ as a model, and developed an *elaboration* of it into an extensive and sometimes obligatorily used system for indicating single or momentary occurrences of any type. This system’s periphrastic construction has basically consisted of a “dummy” verb like *gebn* or *ton* (‘give’, ‘do’) plus a nominal form of the contentful verb, but it can now additionally include a satellite and a reflexive, as (20) shows.

(20) a.	shmekn NP	to smell NP	gebn NP a shmek	'to take a sniff/ whiff of NP'
b.	zogn	'to say'	gebn a zog	'to remark'
c.	trakhtn	'to think'	gebn a trakht	'to (stop and) think for a moment'
d.	op-esn NP	'to finish eating NP'	gebn NP an es op	'to finish off (eating) the last remaining bit of NP'
e.	oyf-efenen zikh	'to open up (intr.)'	gebn zikh an efn oyf	'to suddenly come open'

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, Yiddish may have generally resisted borrowing verb suffixes from Slavic—as already seen in its failure to adopt the suffixal secondary imperfective—and so also may have avoided the suffixal semelfactive, turning instead to the construction it already possessed with something of this semelfactive meaning. Second, that construction had already gained in currency on another front: it was the main vehicle for the language's incorporation of Hebrew verbs. Examples are *khasene hobn* 'to marry', *moyde zayn zikh* 'to admit'.⁸

Another case of the pupil outstripping the teacher is the use of a reduplicative verb prefix in addition to a preposition (section 5.1.1). Yiddish caught on to the obligatory inclusion of a like-sounding prefix and extended it beyond the cases found in Slavic. Thus, corresponding to nonreduplicative forms in Russian are *durkh-V durkh NP* 'through'; *arum-V arum NP* 'around'; *nokh-V nokh NP* 'along after'; *mit-V mit NP* 'in accompaniment with'; *ariber-V iber NP* 'over/across'; and *farbay-V far NP* 'past'. The last example is noteworthy in that the original and also presently existing form, *farbay-V NP-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*, presumably because of its phonological character.

6 TYPES OF NONACCOMMODATION 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 nonaccommodation while otherwise under Slavic influence.

6.1 Rejection of Features of an Influencing Language

Much as the instances of borrowing first mentioned in section 4.1 were just now seen to behave as parts of larger systems, in the same way the instances of nonborrowing first mentioned in section 4.2 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,⁹ 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 section 4.2). 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 widespread, 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—that is, 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 nonproductive 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*-V *fun* NP ‘down off of’, *arunter*-V (*fun/durkh/oyf* NP) ‘downward through space’, *anider*-V (*oyf* NP) ‘down toward/to/onto’, *avek*-V *oyf* NP ‘down onto’.

6.2 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.

6.2.1 Loss of Marking Motion Versus Location by Case 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 this marking of the motion versus location distinction by case, it can mark it by a novel construction—perhaps one that arose under continuing Slavic pressure for indicating the distinction. In this construction, the path verb prefix is repeated after the object nominal in the case of motion but not of location. Examples are *arayn-krikhn in kastn arayn* ‘crawl into the box’, versus *zitsn in kastn* (**arayn*) ‘sit in the box’.

6.2.2 Loss of Marking Different ‘from’ Types with Prepositions For a second case, 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’.

6.2.3 Loss of Marking a Bounded Versus Unbounded Path with Satellites A third Germanic-Slavic shared feature is a certain form of aspect dis-

tion 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.)

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

Satelit *obletel* zeml'u v 3 časa.

“The satellite ‘circumflew’ 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'a.

“The satellite flew around the earth for 3 days.”

Yiddish, preceded 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 in Yiddish. And this decline is itself perhaps the result of Yiddish dropping the inseparable use and retaining only the separable use of such originally dual-functioning prefixes as *um-*, *durkh-*, *iber-*.

7 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 partitioning of 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 do so, 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.

(22) *Factors for Semantic-Space Borrowing from a D(onor) Language into a B(ororrower) Language*

- a. A metameaning generally transfers from a morpheme-class of D to a *similar* morpheme class of B—that is, to a morpheme class of comparable syntactic category and with some semantic instances already consonant with the metameaning of D’s morpheme class.

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 transfers from a morpheme of D to a *similar* morpheme of B—that is, to a morpheme of comparable phonological shape and with some meanings already consonant with the Donor 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 morphemes.

Thus, Yiddish *op-* borrowed both the ‘finish’ and the ‘reciprocate’ meanings from Slavic (Russian) *ot-*, and Yiddish *on-* borrowed the ‘accumulate’, ‘fill’, and ‘sate’ 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 of the class, but only its metameaning or member meanings, and B expresses these meanings with a preexisting native construction that is already semantically consonant with those meanings.

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—that is, 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 features, making various kinds of accommodation between the two patterns. Such accommodations include hybrid formation, intersection, depolysemizing, and extension.

See section 5 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 four-way prefixally indicated ‘down’ distinctions 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 the Russian *pro-* sense ‘the whole length of’ and has neutralized its inherited accusative/dative ‘motion/location’ distinction, counter both to its origins and 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, and so on that operate on the new configurations of material as a whole.

Regarding principle (h)'s assertion that not *all* of an influencer's features are borrowed, it is not clear 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 had 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 appears that the factors presented in section 2 for the partitioning of semantic space in general, and the principles in section 7 for the ways that one such semantic space can affect another—together with the earlier detailing of Yiddish under Slavic influence, a case that instantiates both these sets of factors and principles—provide a framework for understanding the structured interaction of semantic systems.

Notes

1. This chapter is a moderately revised version of Talmy 1982. For their contribution to the preparation of the original paper, I am grateful 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 Vanderspek 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 rather sensitive to differences of dialect. In fact, since the observations below on Slavic-influenced features in Yiddish were gathered from different dialect representatives, it is possible that some dialect might not have them all.

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. It may at first seem odd to include “grammatical category” among semantic factors, but each grammatical category actually imposes its own semantic “impress” on 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 chapter I-1).

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,” “ts,” and “ch” instead of the more usual linguistic notations “x,” “š,” “c,” and “č.”

5. 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 chapter (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.

6. In the examples cited hereafter, the abbreviations REFL, GEN, ACC, etc., stand for “reflexive,” “genitive,” “accusative,” and so on. 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'* endings on Russian verbs are infinitive suffixes, and *-s'a* is the reflexive. The Yiddish equivalents are *-n* and *zikh*.

7. 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 aspect type (b), ‘read a newspaper through to the end every day’, but not for aspect type (c), ‘now be reading a newspaper until the end be reached’. Where this last aspectual

notion would otherwise be called for, aspect type (d) can be used as a near substitute, with the unaffixed verb form used to express it.

8. 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.

9. While it rejects such suffixes for inflections, Yiddish *has* borrowed *derivational* suffixes that add meaning—for example, *-eve* (cf. Russian *-ov-a*), conferring a pejorative sense, as in *shraybeven* ‘write in an inferior manner’ (M. Weinreich 1980:531).