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YIDDISH FOOTPRINTS: THE SILENT INFLUENCE ON AMERICAN ENGLISH, STANDARD JAPANESE, REGIONAL POLISH, AND ARGENTINIAN SPANISH

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Abstract: This study considers the complex history of the Jewish diaspora that may have led to either direct or indirect adoption of Yiddish loanwords into American English, standard Japanese, Argentinian Spanish, and regional variants of Polish. This corpus-lexicographic loanword analysis connects the number of Jews in various regions with the status and entrenchment of Yiddish loanwords in the languages in question. The noted, in some cases, indirectness of loanword adoption is believed to be caused by varying degrees of language contact.

Keywords: loanwords, borrowing, Yiddish, assimilation, entrenchment, internationalisms, American English, regional Polish, standard Japanese, Argentinian Spanish

1. Introduction

The topic of loanwords has been of significant interest to many scholars, not only from a theoretical point of view, by focusing on their definition (Haugen 1950) or classification (Jaafar, Buragohain & Haroon 2019; Ornstein-Galicia 1992), but also from a practical point of view, by studying loanwords

from a given language (Steinmetz 2001) or *into* a given language (Cannon & Egle 1979). This can be attributed to the globalization of numerous languages and the dynamic nature of language contact (Weinreich 1954). Presently, due to these factors, the tracing of loanwords' source languages has become both easier and more complex – easier due to the availability of sources, yet hindered by the increasing ambiguity of the language lexicon border, as well as the disappearance of foreign connotations that loanwords could evoke.

Lexical borrowing frequently occurs between languages to fill lexical gaps by adopting content words like nouns, verbs, or adjectives. Language contact facilitates this process, resulting in either the exchange of individual lexical elements or the creation of new hybrid languages (Noonan 2010). This study focuses specifically on borrowing, in which a word's form and meaning are imported (from Yiddish) as loanwords, after appropriate orthographical and phonetic changes (into four languages).

2. Yiddish as the crossroads of multiple languages

Yiddish stands out from other Jewish languages due to its prevalence and autonomy. It is a vernacular language used by Ashkenazi Jews from Central and Eastern Europe. Modern Yiddish is a mixture of influences from Hebrew, Slavic, and Romanian languages, as well as from Lithuanian. This influence of other languages can be attributed to the Jewish community's pursuit of linguistic assimilation in the country of stay (Geller 1994: 14-28). Arising from Middle High German, Yiddish has also made a lasting impact on American English (AmE) and Polish, particularly in the Silesian region within the GZM Metropolis (Pol. *Górnośląsko Zagłębiowska Metropolia*).

2.1 Loanwords as historical evidence

The borrowing process is complex and sometimes involves an intermediary language to enable the adoption of words between languages that had either no contact or minimal contact with the target language (Bila et al. 2020). However, the presence of loanwords always suggests that a contact took place, and by tracking down the etymological data of a lexeme we can learn more about the linguistic exchange of two cultures.

English is a common intermediary language that popularises loanwords from various languages, leading to their adoption by others. Due to the intervention of an intermediary language, we distinguish between direct and indirect language contact, resulting in the adoption of direct or indirect loanwords (Bila et al. 2020: 297-298; Andersen 2014). However, if multiple intermediary languages simultaneously use a loanword, it may be called an internationalism.

Following the terminology proposed by Haugen (1950), and later also applied by Hoffer (2002), we also refer to the borrowed forms that were adapted from one language to another as *loanwords,* and use the term borrowings as an umbrella term that encompasses various products of the borrowing process, including loanwords, loan blends, and calques. The choice of this terminology is not only based on other researchers (Dylewski & Bator 2021; Crystal 2008) but also on the fact that while searching for words by language of origin, the Oxford English Dictionary (OED, *s.a.*) usually returns words referred to as borrowings or foreign words. However, in the case of retrieved words of Yiddish origin, we do not observe any words that did not undergo the orthographic assimilation like other foreign words, or a compound word created from Yiddish and source language lexemes. Therefore, in this study, we refer to the borrowed lexemes as loanwords.

Naturally, to discuss loanwords in terms of historical evidence we can adopt several approaches. We can either track the change of meaning or use and/or focus on its etymology. The latter approach is applied for instance by Rychło et al. (2024) or Rychło (2017), and in this work, which does not track the change of meaning but merely acknowledges it. Loanwords can also be studied in terms of entrenchment, which here is understood as the degree to which selected loanwords are established in the target language. The entrenchment is assessed by analysing the lexicographic and corpus data (cf. Stefanowitsch & Flach 2017).

2.2 Historical background: Jewish population in the USA, Japan, Poland, and Argentina

The Jewish population grew significantly in Central and Eastern Europe territories in the 19th century. According to De Lange (2002: 7), by 1880, Europe was inhabited by approximately 7 million Jews, who constituted around 90% of the global Jewish population. The early 1880s marked the start of massive Jewish emigration to, for instance, the United States of America, making it today the second-largest Jewish population after Israel (Della Pergola 2022: 275; Schultz 2018). Many Jewish immigrants settled in Manhattan's Lower East Side neighbourhood, which became the locus of European Jewish immigrants from Eastern Europe. Since many immigrants feel a sense of unity and cohesion in their communities by sharing their native language, Yiddish served as a special means for Jewish immigrants to feel unity due to:

a) Yiddish being a common language of the Jewish people from various nations (mainly of Eastern Europe).

b) Yiddish being the linguistic and cultural glue that solidified a community of people who emigrated from their homelands primarily due to persecution (Stavans & Lambert 2023:10-12).

Yiddish was also spoken as a language by the Jewish community in Japan, whose history dates from 1861 (Karesh & Hurvitz 2006: 244-245). Just prior to World War II, many Jewish refugees, seeking peace, resettled in the Japanese Empire due to their mass persecution and the Holocaust (Tokayer & Swartz 2004). Nevertheless, Japan was not a popular destination among Jews. The present-day insubstantial population of the Jewish community suggests that the potential Yiddish loanwords most likely entered the Japanese lexicon via an intermediate language, e.g., English.

A robust Jewish community was also present in Poland, which has a long history of settlement dating back to the 10th century, in the region now known as Metropolis GZM among other regions. The repression of the Jews in Poland was not an immediate result of outbreak of WWII; it intensified in 1937 in conjunction with the end of the Geneva Conventions and the introduction of racial law, culminating with the *Cristall Nacht* in 1938 (Węcki 2012: 295-306) that resulted in a decrease of the Jewish population in the Silesian region. Most of the Jews that remained in the region were systematically deported and murdered (Węcki 2012: 307-311). Even though the official language in Metropolis GZM is standard Polish, many of the residents either passively or actively use the lexical regionalism from the Silesian dialect, whose vocabulary is heavily influenced by German (Hentschel et al. 2019), and the Kraków dialect, which belongs to the Lesser Poland dialects group (north-eastern part of Metropolis GZM, see Ryś 2021).

South America was also a noticeably popular relocation for Jewish people, with over 100,000 Jews arriving in the region between 1880 and 1914, usually settling in Argentina (De Lange 2002: 24). Yet, most Jews arrived in Argentina after 1924 (Chinski & Astro 2018: 1). As observed by Skura and Fiszman (2013: 238), Jews arriving in Argentina concentrated mostly in Buenos Aires and to a lesser extent in other large cities. The steady inflow of Jewish people, noticeably to Argentina, has made it presently the sixth-largest Jewish community in the world (Della Pergola 2022).

Table 1. Estimated Jewish population. Source: Own processing after Pergola 2022; Polish national census of population and housing 2021 (2023); World Jewish Congress, *s.a*.

Country	Core Jewish Population
The United States of America	5,700,000 (2020)
Argentina	179,500 (2020)
Poland	9,650-17,156 (2021)
Japan	1,000 (2015)

The above table presents the Jewish population in specific countries between 2015 and 2021. The core Jewish population in Poland includes people who declare themselves Jewish or Polish-Jewish.

3. Aims, material, and methods

This study aims to analyse the selected Yiddish loanwords (YLs) in four languages spoken on four different continents (AmE, standard Japanese, Argentinian Spanish (ArSp), and regional Polish spoken in the Metropolis GZM), regarding their presence and frequency. The choice of the languages is intentional and largely exemplary. The geographical variants of Spanish and Polish selected for the analysis are expected to reflect Yiddish influence, given the history of the Jewish people. As pointed out by Dziekan (2024), language with its social, geographical, historical, and situational variation has an informative potential and is a source of knowledge about its speakers.

The analysis considers YLs etymology, taking the stance that the lexemes marked by the OED, *s.a.*, as borrowings from Yiddish are not recognised as those in other analysed languages. We assume that English, as a global *lingua franca*, may have helped spread YLs to other languages more than the migration of Yiddish speakers; thus, the starting point of this study is the analysis of YLs in English. The study began with an online search of all English-known words of Yiddish origin in the OED, *s.a.*, using the advanced search option. We selected 36 words from the initially retrieved 199 YLs – 41, including derivatives provided in Table 2. The selection criteria were based on identifying the most frequent Yiddish loanwords into English according to the OED. Additionally, we selected only those high-frequency borrowings that exhibited unique or novel semantic properties (e.g., emotion, actions, etc.), while excluding borrowings associated with culinary dishes (e.g., *matzo*, *blinz*, etc.) or terminology used in the Jewish community for specific religious or community purposes (e.g., *shtetl*, *yeshiva*, etc.). This approach allowed for the analysis of words with broader cultural and linguistic significance in the English-speaking world, which may also have been borrowed by Japanese, Spanish, and Polish.

Next, we divided the selected loanwords into four groups based on their etymology provided by the OED, *s.a.*, PIE 2007 and Boryś (2005).

Table 2. YLs grouped by origin. Source: Own processing

German Origin via Yiddish	Slavic Origin via Yiddish	Hebrew Origin via Yiddish	Unknown Origin via Yiddish
kvetch, schlep, klutz, schmaltz, nosh, dreck, meister, mensch, putz, schlemiel, schlock, schlong, schlump, schmutz/schmutzing, schnorrer, schnozz, shicksa, shtick	*tchotchke, boychick, nebbish, noodge/nudzh/nudnik, pogrom, schlub, schmuck*	*mazel tov, meshuga, chutzpah, tuchus, goy/goyish, maven*	*schmooze, bupkis, meh*

Selected YLs and their cognates were analysed based on their entries in dictionaries and their frequency in corpora. To augment the research on the chosen loanwords, and since the analysis started

with the YLs in English, bilingual English-Japanese and English-Spanish dictionaries were used to establish the forms of the loanwords in Japanese and Spanish. The dictionary entries and corpus queries helped to assess the entrenchment and overall popularity of selected YLs in the analysed languages. Subsequently, the monolingual dictionaries were used to further analyse the lexemes' entrenchment. Notably, the lexicographic data is one of the most frequently used in similar comparative and etymological analyses (e.g., Golda et al. 2022; Jedziniak & Ryszka 2024) due to its accessibility, objectivity, and verification performed by the editors. The usefulness of language corpora is also recognised by various authors (e.g., Golda et al. 2023; Tissari et al. 2019) who point out the fact that the use of corpus data facilitates work with natural language in use, and it can be also used to study mentioned entrenchment (e.g., Stefanowitsch & Flach 2017).

Table 3. Lexicographic and corpus sources. Source: Own processing

	English	**Japanese**	**Polish**	**Spanish**
Bilingual dictionary	N/A	Jisho, *s.a.*; Tangorin, *s.a.*; Weblio, *s.a.*;	Makosz (2007)	COD, *s.a.*; CESD, *s.a.*; WordReference Dictionary, *s.a.*; Galimberti Jarman, Russell, Styles Carvajal, Horwood (2003)
Monolingual dictionary	MWD, *s.a.*; OED, *s.a.*	Kōjien, *s.a.*; Sūpā Daijirin, *s.a.*	SJPDor 1958-1969; WSJP PAN 2018	DRAE 2014; DHA 2004; Marchetti (2014)
Etymological dictionary	OEtD, *s.a.*; PIE 2007; Pokorny 1959	N/A	Boryś (2005)	N/A
Corpora	ANC, *s.a.*	jaTenTen, *s.a.*	NKJP 2013	CORPES XXI Version 1.0, *s.a.*

Moreover, the English-source etymologies were cross-referenced with each other and then classified using semantic categories proposed primarily by Schultz (2018). In Polish, the collected material was juxtaposed with the sources on the Polish language used in the Dąbrowa Basin (Pastuchowa & Skudrzykowa 1994; Skudrzyk 2016) and the Silesian dialect (Czajkowski 1996; Wyderka 2000-2020). Naturally, similarly to Rychło et al. (2024) and Rychło (2017), we assume that etymology retrieved from secondary sources is not necessarily the only correct interpretation of the word's history; therefore, we try to juxtapose the retrieved information with as many sources as possible.

3. The linguistic analysis of YLs

This study does not aim to provide a detailed etymology of the words; rather, it relies on the etymological information found in the dictionary entries of the analysed lexemes. The selected words, in most cases, are not recent contributions to the selected languages, and some of them have already been discussed by linguists, e.g., *chutzpah*, *maven*, *shiksa*, *schlep*. (Ornstein-Galicia 1992). Lastly, it

should be mentioned that the spellings of the loanwords presented below are not the sole ones (e.g., spellings provided by Ornstein-Galicia 1992), but simply the ones provided by the OED, *s.a.*

3.1 YLs of German origin

Most of the lexical items in the research material do not have a Spanish counterpart with Yiddish origin nor do they appear in the corpus. The only item that has received some lexicographic evidence indicating its usage in the ArSp is *schlep*. The word is noted by Marchetti (2014), and the dictionary also indicates the Yiddish origin of the word (included in neither DHA 2004 nor DRAE 2014). There is no evidence of the entrenchment of the word in the corpus. We conclude that this lexical item belongs to a colloquial variant of ArSp, but the frequency of its use is low. As an element of the colloquial register, it does not form part of the standard vocabulary recognised by DHA 2004 or DRAE 2014.

The words *mensch* and *meister* do receive some returns in the Spanish corpus, however, they are used mostly as proper nouns or appear in citation from German texts, accompanied with a translation into Spanish; therefore, they cannot be considered Yiddish loanwords in ArSp. When it comes to Japanese, Tangorin, *s.a.* provides us with two spellings of 'meister,' マイスター and メイステル with the latter providing no results while searching in jaTenTen. Notably, in Japanese the latter spelling is used in surnames, not as a common noun denoting someone skilled or an expert. Based on the lexicographic evidence, we can conclude that マイスター is perceived in Japanese as a word of solely German origin. The word *meister* is also present in Polish as *majster* and is noted by all the consulted sources.

Schmaltz, is present both in Japanese (シュマルツ) and Polish (*szmalec*). However, unfortunately, no further comments can be provided on the example of シュマルツ since none of the dictionaries provides any additional information on it other than it is a counterpart of 'Schmaltz; Schmalz; Schmulz' (Weblio, *s.a.*). After undergoing the necessary script adaptation, it has been used according to its source meaning.

Considerably more can be said about Polish *szmalec* (schmaltz) borrowed from German *Schmalz* (from Middle High German *smalz*). During WWII, its meaning extended to the ransom paid by Jews to avoid being turned in to the Gestapo (SJPDor 1958-1969). Later, from this meaning, derived another noun, Polish *szmalcownik* (also spelt in English as *shmaltsovnik*), denoting a person who was blackmailing Jews who were in hiding or Poles who were hiding them. Notably, there is also a Polish noun *szmelc* denoting something damaged, rusty, or useless. This noun derived from German

schmelzen/*Schmelze* 'melt/melting' (hence in Polish also *smalec* 'lard') from Middle High German *smalz* from Proto-Germanic **smalta-*/**smulta-* (Kroonen 2013: 456), which later evolved into Yiddish *schmaltz* (OED, *s.a.*, OEtD, *s.a.*).

Lastly, out of 36 analysed lexemes, only *kwik* 'kvetch,' is noted by dictionaries and used in modern Polish. However, its etymology points to Proto-Slavic roots contrary to what is provided by the OED, *s.a.*, and to our initial suspicion that it was a borrowed lexeme into Silesian.

3.2 YLs of Slavic origin

Only one loanword from this category is present in all the analysed languages, *pogrom.* In Japanese dictionaries, the definitions of ポグロム *pogrom* mention the persecution and murder of the Jews; however, they do not point to Yiddish as a source language nor suggest any relation of this word with Yiddish, but rather Russian (see Jisho, *s.a.*). Nevertheless, as in Spanish, it is a fully established loanword. *Pogrom* in Spanish has two different spelling variants: *el pogrom* (COD, *s.a.*, and WordReference, *s.a.*) and *el pogromo* (CESD, *s.a.*, DRAE 2014). Regarding the corpus search, there were 24 results returned for the form *pogrom* (12 from Argentinian sources) and 54 for *pogromo* (14 from Argentinian sources, 23 from Spanish sources). Given that the usage of this word is not restricted to Argentina, DHA 2004 does not list this word, and DRAE 2014 lists it without any area-of-use information, we conclude that it is a fully established loanword, and its use is not limited to Argentinian variant of the Spanish language.

Schmock is another lexical item in this group that received some lexicographic evidence indicating its usage in the ArSp. The word is listed by Marchetti (2014), who also indicates the Yiddish origin of the word. However, it does not appear in the general DHA 2004 or DRAE 2014. There is no evidence of the entrenchment of the word in the corpus. We conclude that this lexical item belongs to a colloquial variant of ArSp, but the frequency of its use is low.

Nudnik, is not present in modern Polish, and is not noted in WSJP PAN 2018. Already in SJPDor 1958-1969 it was described as a historical form, and defined by using the modern form, *nudziarz*. Even though the older form prevailed in the dialectal Polish (Boryś 2005: 368), the sources on Silesian and Dąbrowa Basin lexicon do not include this word with a meaning similar to that in AmE.

Boychick is in fact not a loanword, but a loan blend of English *boy* with Slavic diminutive suffix (cf. Polish *-czyk*, Russian *-чик* (*-čik*). However, the resemblance to Silesian *bojtlik* (see *bajtel*) is quite intriguing, and the available linguistic works fail to provide an extensive analysis of this lexeme

etymology. It is quite likely that the root of both *boychick* and *bojtlik* derives from English *boy*, which is a word with uncertain etymology – cf. Liberman 2008: 13-19 (possibly from Old English *$b\bar{o}ja$* (PIE 2007: 485, cf. Pokorny 1959: 164) 'younger brother,' which might be a shortened form of Proto-Indo-European *$bhr\breve{a}ter$-* (Pokorny 1959: 163), however, this suspicion requires further research.

3.3 YLs of Hebrew origin

Two of lexical items from this group *tuchus* and *shiksa* are listed by Marchetti in Spanish as *tujes* and *shikse*, and he also points to the Yiddish origin of the word. However, as in the previously discussed cases, they do not appear in DHA 2004 nor DRAE 2014. There is no evidence of a strong entrenchment of the word in the corpus. *Shiksa* returns three results in the corpus, whereas *tujes* returns one. We conclude that this lexical item belongs to a colloquial variant of ArSp, but the frequency of its use is low. Two other words from this group *mazel tov* and *goy* do appear in the corpus in a few Argentinian texts, however, they also appear in texts from other Latin American countries. They do not seem to constitute a part of the Argentinian variant of the Spanish language but rather might be used in Spanish in broader territories in the contexts close to the Jewish community.

Chutzpah, another lexeme from this category is present in both Polish and Japanese. In Polish, *chutzpah* is spelled either *chucpa* or *hucpa* (Biesaga 2013: 359) whereas in Japanese dictionaries it is present as フツパー. The dictionaries suggest that the lexeme entered Japanese via AmE in the 20th century.

3.4 YLs of unknown origin

Putz is included by Marchetti (2014), as *pots*, yet does not appear in DHA 2004, DRAE 2014 or the corpus, thus, again, we consider it a low frequency lexical item belonging to the colloquial variant of ArSp. At the same time, the word *meh* receives relatively more returns in the corpus. Most of them are an abbreviation, however, 9 returned results represent the usage of the word with the original Yiddish meaning, possibly due to the growing influence of English since texts come from different Spanish-speaking countries and are not limited to Argentina.

Most likely, Yiddish *putz* and Silesian *puc* 'plaster' have the same root words and come from the Old German *Putz*, 'plaster, decoration,' which in Silesian retained its original meaning and pronunciation, whereas in English gained an ironic sense. Nevertheless, it should be highlighted that in German slang, *Putz* also denotes 'jerk, fool, penis.'

4. Discussion and conclusions

Most Yiddish loanwords (especially those of high frequency) display considerable semantic, morphological, and orthographic adaptation in English, Polish, and Spanish but not in Japanese, which limits the borrowing process to script and phonetic adaptation. Since Yiddish and Hebrew both use a Semitic orthography, all YLs are fully adapted to the English, Polish, and Spanish orthography; however, many words in Yiddish, especially those of German origin, are often spelt in a German manner (e.g., *putz*, *schlock*, *schlong*). Due to the multiplicity of potential spellings of various sounds and the phonological adaptation into English we can observe many spelling variants for a single word (e.g., *tshotshke*, *tshatshke*, *tchachke*, and others).

According to the lexical classification by Schultz (2018), most of the YLs in English (50%) belong to the semantic category of "people and everyday life" (Schultz 2018: 2). Schultz (2018) further distinguishes seven subcategories that relate to clothing, payment, trade, communication, love/sexuality, and social aspects. Using Schultz's categorization schema, the analysed here 36 YLs fall into the following subcategories: human behaviour and characteristics (75%), communication (11%), love and sexuality (8%), but also criminality (3%) and gastronomy (3%) which for Schultz (2018) are separate categories.

Table 4. Analysed YLs and their cognates with number of their returns in corpora.
Source: Own processing

	AmE	**Japanese**	**Polish**	**ArSp**
Word (returns) 'meaning'	kvetch (19), tchotchke (2), schmooze (40), schlep (27), meshuga (4), bupkis (1), klutz (38), nebbish (35), chutzpah (74), meh (32), nosh (43), pogrom (19), goy/goyish (5), schmaltz (18), noodge/nudnik (7), tuchus (2), dreck (20), schlub (10), maven (38), meister (16), schmuck (18), mensch (5), putz (12), schlemiel (4), schlock (26), schlong (4), schlump (3), schnozz (4), schnorrer (1), shicksa (4), shtick (35)	マイスター (21,587) / メイステル (0) 'meister,' フツパー (0) 'chutzpah,' シュマルツ (51) 'schmaltz,' ポグロム (334) 'pogrom,' メシュガー (22) 'meshuggah'	*goj* 'goy' (4,005), *pogrom* 'pogrom' (8,954) / *pogromić* (150), *hucpa* (1,527) / *chucpa* (87) 'chutzpah'	*pogrom* (12) / *pogromo* (14) 'pogrom,' *mazel tov* (2) 'mazel tov,' *goy* (3) 'goy,' *Shikse* (3) 'shiksa,' *tujes* (1) 'tuchus,' *meh* (1) 'meh'

The number and frequency of loanwords in the analysed languages do not entirely correlate with the size of the Jewish population. Several strata of Yiddish loanwords exist in AmE, ranging from lexical borrowings used almost exclusively by Jewish people living in close-knit communities and Jewish/Hebrew schools to those that are so widely used in everyday American speech that they are not even recognised as Yiddish borrowings (Schultz 2018). Many Yiddishisms are so entrenched in AmE that they are viewed simply as coming from American English, not Yiddishisms. This lexical

layer comprises the selection of the 36 Yiddish loanwords in this study, which were selected based on their frequency and usage patterns.

While Yiddish historically has been the conduit for the selected loanwords in English, it also borrowed many of the words from other languages, including German, Hebrew, Polish, and Russian. In the selected borrowings used in this project, German was the richest source of loanwords into Yiddish at 50%, Slavic languages at 22% and Hebrew at 18% (with 8% being of unknown origin). Further research is needed to determine what conclusions can be drawn from this composition. Most of the analysed lexemes, contrary to English, entered Polish directly from German or Russian. Japanese dictionaries note that the analysed lexemes are of foreign origin using katakana script, and in the case of *pogrom*, the definition points directly to Russian origin. The analysis shows that despite English being a modern *lingua franca* with the capability to entrench internationalisms in other languages, it did not play any specific role in the influx of the YLs to the analysed languages. On the other hand, the Jewish community and its history influenced the entrenchment of some of the analysed words. Yet, this is not necessarily true in the case of Polish, which not only borrowed lexemes of similar root as YLs directly from German, but was also the source language for many words that entered Yiddish.

Importantly, other lexicographic studies on Polish (which is the official language in GZM) include many other lexemes of Yiddish origin that did not enter this study, e.g., *bajgiel* 'bagel,' *kitel* 'kitel,' *kugel* 'kugel,' *aj baj* 'oy vay,' *cymes* 'tzimes,' *kiszka* 'kishke' and *knedel* 'knaidel' (Brzezina 1986). Importantly, for loanwords such as *kugel*, *knedel* and *kitel*, both in standard Polish and its dialects, etymological studies point to their German roots: *Knödel*, and *Kittel* (see WSJP PAN 2018; SJPDor 1958–1969).

Most of the lexemes from the list do not seem to have Spanish counterparts of Yiddish origin since they do not appear in any of the consulted dictionaries and corpus (e.g., *klutz, dreck*). However, some lexemes from this group have been identified by Fainstein (2019) who uses their adapted spelling (e.g., *clots, drec, meshigás/meshíguene*) and suggests that they function as intracommunity loanwords in the Jewish community of Buenos Aires (Fainstein 2019: 139). Our study neither confirms nor disproves the usage of these words among the Jewish community members in Argentina; however, the conclusion based on lexicographic and corpus data is that they are not established loanwords in ArSp. Of 36 analysed words, 5 are recognised as a part of Argentinian colloquial vocabulary: *schmoc* 'schmuck,' *schleper* 'schlepper,' *potz* 'putz,' *shikse* 'shiksa,' and *tujes* 'tuchus.' Nevertheless, they do not appear in the consulted sources, and have a low frequency, i.e., between 0 and 3, during the corpus search. Words from this group appeared as well in Fainsten (2019), however, with different spelling,

and this research indicated that *tujes* was a commonly recognizable lexical item in the Spanish of Buenos Aires, while *shikse* was one of the few words with Yiddish original with some level of recognisability among Argentinians who do not belong to the Jewish community. We conclude that the words in this group belong to a colloquial variant of ArSp, but the frequency of their use is low. One word from the list appears to function as a fully established loanword in the Spanish language.

To summarise, many Yiddish words in AmE can be traced to the period of 1880-1924 and later, during which the inflow of Jewish immigrants was the highest. In Standard Japanese (known among linguists for its eagerness to borrow from other languages, especially English) there are few YLs or words that are considered YLs; however, we see many internationalisms, e.g., ポグロム 'pogrom' or the mentioned above, but not analysed, ベーグル 'bagel.' Regarding YL in ArSp, most scholars identify three periods of Yiddish preservation in Argentina: splendour, decline and rediscovery (Chinski & Astro 2018; Skura & Fiszman 2013), which also correlate historical events with the use of YLs among ArSp speakers. However, Fischmann (2011: 53) suggests that Yiddish is currently alive only in the forms of proverbs occasionally used by Spanish speakers. This stance is also partially confirmed by the above analysis, which shows that despite numerous Jewish communities, presumably Yiddish speaking, the YLs' penetration of ArSp vocabulary is not prevalent.

As the analyses show, despite its *lingua franca* status, English does not always function – at least in the context of the analysed examples – as an intermediary language that facilitates the spread of loanwords. The selected lexemes were most frequently borrowed directly from Yiddish, or the language that was the source of Yiddish lexemes. The number of YLs cannot be easily correlated with the population due to the limited size of the YLs sample. However, the analyses reveal that the correlation is significantly stronger between the history of the Jewish community and YL's or words of the same root, entrenchment, and frequency.

Notes

The etymological data (including the meanings explications) on the loanwords used in the analysis has been organized into a table, which is available here: https://tinyurl.com/svab7ck7.

Abbreviations

ANC – *American national corpus.* Available at: https://anc.org/

ArSp – Argentinian Spanish

CESD – *Collins English-Spanish dictionary*. Available at: https://www.collinsdictionary.com/dictionary/english-spanish

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YLs – Yiddish loanwords

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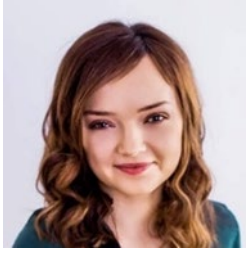
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