

Maria Kaspina (Moscow)

Yiddish Folklore in Czernowitz Today (Recordings of 2004-2009)

The basic subject of my investigation is the field work on collecting the remnants of Traditional Culture of Ashkenazic Jewry in Eastern Europe. During the last years I have organized 7 expeditions to the Jewish community of Czernowitz (2004-2009). The choice of this city in the South-Western Ukraine was caused by several factors, among them is the fact that in Czernowitz there still exists small authentic Jewish population (from 1000 to 2000 persons), native speakers of Yiddish, survivors of the Holocaust who remember the pre-war traditional Jewish life. Owing to these field researches we have collected more than 200 hours of audio recordings of interviews with local Jewish elderly people. The Jewish population in Czernowitz in our days is heterogeneous. The majority are the Jews from small Ukrainian towns of Podolia district, who came to Czernowitz soon after the Second World War. Another group of informants consists of the Jewish natives of Bessarabian cities, such as Brichany, Edintzy, Orgeev, Khotin, who also came to Czernowitz in the years 1946-1949. The local Jews from Czernowitz and from the nearest Bukovina district, whose native languages is German and not Yiddish, are the least in number. The picture of traditional Jewish life in each of these three groups of the Czernowitz Jewry has some slight differences and peculiarities, but within framework of this paper I would like to concentrate on general characteristics of their collective memory about traditional Jewish life in the pre-war Podolia, Bessarabia and Bukovina.

I would like to focus on the problem of continuity of traditional culture. The following questions are of major interest: which components of the traditional Jewish life have been preserved in the memories of the people whose way of life now, in most cases, is far from being traditional; what exactly in this traditional culture is vital and relevant for them; and what are the mechanisms of keeping and transformation of the traditional knowledge.

I'm going to examine three issues that, in my opinion, might help us to solve some of the afore-mentioned questions. As a matter of fact, the mechanisms of transference of the traditional culture can be divided into three spheres: flashback memories from childhood; Yiddish keywords that wake up memories about rituals, ceremonies, and customs; and all the traditions connected with death, commemoration of the dead and with some other actual practices that exist even nowadays in the everyday life of the people.

Children's memories

The principal materials that we have collected are childhood impressions of our informants. They can remember and describe traditional Jewish customs and rituals only after they turn to their own memories from the years, when these traditions were alive and relevant for them. Before the Second World War most of our respondents were 10-15 years old. In the towns of Bessarabia and Bukovina in that time there was the Rumanian government, not the Soviet one, so many of our informants really had a chance to experience the traditional Jewish culture early in life.

Childhood memories are very bright and concentrate on some colorful and vivid details only. This can be perfectly seen in the conversations on traditional Jewish festivals with our informants. They describe the holidays as they remember them from their own childhood, and the major role in their narrative is given to children, which is not surprising at all. For instance, the process of describing the Passover Holiday usually leads us to the memories of the Passover Seder in the parents' house and of the cup for *Elianuvi* (Eliahu ha-Navi, the prophet Elijah). Children had to watch if the wine in that cup was touched by the unseen figure of the prophet, and this waiting became a key detail in the interviews about Passover. Sometimes our respondents remember four ritual questions (*Fir Kashes*) that a youngest participant of the Seder should ask. Usually they remember only the fact that children had to ask some questions, but sometimes they can recall the questions themselves, usually in Yiddish: "*Tote, ikh wil dikh freygn di fir kashes. Di ershte kashe wil ikh dikh freygn. Farvus ole tug fin a gonts yur wiln mir esn khumets, wiln mir esn motse, oder didozike teg fin yontef esn mir nor motse? Hob ikh dikh gefregt eyn kashe*" (Father, I'll ask you 4 questions. My first question is – why every day of the year we eat bread or matzah, but on this day of the Holiday we eat only matzah. I have asked one question.) (Czern_05_Shternberg). We were even lucky to record a comic version of these questions, which is told as a joke: "*Nu, farvus a top hot ein oyer in hengt nisht... In hengt! Di host tzvey oyer in hengst nisht! Farvus in a galosh vaser rint aroys, un az me geit droisn, geit aran, di voser in galosh?*" (Why a pot has one ear and it hangs, but you have two ears and don't hang? Why water goes outside the galosh, but when one goes outdoors, the water goes inside the galosh?) (Czern_08_Ivankovitzer). This version, however, is extremely rare to come across.

Another bright Passover reminiscence is the memory about taking part in the preparation for baking matzah. Almost every informant remembers how he or she, as a child, helped his parents or grandparents to bake matzah and had a very responsible task – to roll out pastry and make holes in it with special devices.

Purim remains in the memory of our informants a joyful day, when children received some gifts – *shalahmones*, – and visited their neighbors and relatives, singing the Purim song: "*Haint is Pirim, morgn is oys, git unz a griven un varft unz aroyz*" (Today is Purim, tomorrow it is over, give us money and throw us away). (Czern_06_Gimmelbrandt, Czern_04_Shternberg). One can come across similar impressions, when the interviewer invokes the matter of Hanukkah. The main topic in the narratives about this holiday is "*Khonike gelt*" – the presents and money that children received from their adult relatives during these days.

One more festival that our informants remember more or less clearly is *Simhes Toyre*. On this day it was customary for children to come to the synagogue with special painted and decorated small flags. We often record the descriptions of these flags, of the pictures and illustrations they had, of the process of decorating them with apples and candles. One of the most vivid recollections about these flags we have recorded from a Bessarabian Jew, Isaya Kleyman. He describes how the boys in his childhood tried to spoil the flags of the girls they liked in order to attract their attention. (Czern_06_Kleyman) Similar occasion of traditionally regulated misbehavior is also reflected in the memories about the 9th of Av – *Tishebov*, another significant day in the Jewish calendar. The children used to throw burs of plants (*berelekh*) into the beards of old people or at each other. This well-known custom, that is mentioned in different East-European Jewish sources (such as memoirs of Polina Vengerova, 2003: 75, Yekhiel Shtern, 1990: 63 and others), had a big impact on our informants. Often they could not explain it, or even could not connect it with the day of *Tishebov*, but they remember the custom itself very brightly.

Children's folklore also has a deep impact on the memory of our informants. Until now they remember popular children's game songs, sayings and counting rhymes, such as, for instance: "*Tzip-tzop, emerl, kim tzi mir in kemerl, ih vil dir epes vayzn, shiselech mit ayzen*"¹ (Tzip-tzop, little bucket, come to me in my room, I'll show you something, a bowl with ice) (Czern_07_Koyfman, Czern_08_Katz). When children quarreled, in order to make up they used to hook each other's little fingers together and recite: "*Rigele, rigele, roygez, mir zainen geven broygez, rigele, rigele rik, zen a khover tzurik*" (Little hook, little hook, anger. We have been angry, little hook, little hook, we are friends again). (Czern_08_Koyfman) (About this rhyme see Pipe S.Z., 1971: 323). Another well-remembered custom was to throw the first tooth, or just any milk-tooth lost by a child, to the oven, or to the roof, and to say: "*Mazele, mazele, na dir a bejnemer tzon, un git mir an aizern tzon, tfu-tfu-tfu*" (Mouse, mouse, take this tooth from a bone and give me an iron tooth, tfu-tfu-tfu) (Czern_05_Shvartzbroit, Czern_07_Gimmelbrandt, Czern_07_Kleyman). The popularity of these texts could probably be explained by the fact that this tradition was not only received by our informants in their childhood, but they also transfer it further to their own children and grandchildren as part of common knowledge. Several times we met young Jews from Czernowitz, who can quickly recognize these texts from their own childhood, because their grandparents used to play with them this way.

The next component of our informants' children memories that we will examine here are the well-established narratives, which were told in their youth as part of the family tradition. These could be miraculous stories about family members, such as their meeting with evil spirits (Czern_05_Gorovitz, CBJS_Tul_05, Czern_07_Koyfman), or stories about miraculous healing of distant relatives by a visit to the grave of some Rabbis (Czern_07_Bukchin), and so on. Below is an example of such a story in translation from Russian: "*My father told me one thing. When he was a boy, his father worked at the sugar factory of Brodsky. He, Brodsky, had his own administrators in each factory. So his father was in charge of the fields of a sugar beet, the beet from which people make sugar. And once my father had to go to my grandfather who was in the fields (I never*

knew my grandfathers, they both died before the revolution). So, my father went to give him something, I don't know exactly what. And he rode a horse, my father. And he says: "I suddenly see – a kitten is under the horse legs, and the horse all the time kicks over the traces. I bended down, got down from the horse, and lifted up this kitten. The kitten was very pretty; I took him and patted him. I thought – "it's OK, we'll get there – I'll give you some milk". So, it was very late at nighttime, but the moment dawn broke this kitten as though disappeared. He didn't fall down, nothing – it just seems as if he exhaled. This little kitten. And he (the father) began to tell this story, and there were the peasants who worked in the field. They said: "This is nothing other than the evil spirit". I don't know what it is". (Czern_05_Gorovetz). It is worth emphasizing several features of this narration. First of all, as a standard folk believe story, it has in its foundation a meeting with evil forces, and one of the most intriguing details in this narrative is the fact that this interpretation – who actually the strange kitten was – comes from the gentile peasants, who are well acquainted with this phenomenon in the rich Slavic folk tradition. The main character – the father – could not explain this unusual incident by himself.

Another important thing here is the constant verification of this story by the personal information on the narrator and her family – who the father and the grandfather were, why she does not remember her grandfathers, what exactly her father thought, when he saw a kitten etc. Such narratives are usually told quite willingly in the name of a person, who told them to our informant: father, mother or grandparents. The personal component – the events all occurred with real characters, whom the other members of the family may personally know – is an important tool of memorizing these stories.

Another distinct feature of these stories is the fact that they can easily be told at several serial interviews almost word to word both in Russian and in Yiddish by our bilingual informants. This detail is not unique for the family stories only; on the contrary, it is a common feature of any "formed", ready narratives, like stories about famous biblical characters, jokes about Hershele Ostropoler and others. Such narratives have also become part of Traditional Jewish Culture that has been preserved, many external obstacles notwithstanding. Quite often these "formed" narratives remain in the memories of our informants exactly because they were told by close relatives in their childhood just like personal stories. Almost every story of this kind begins or ends with the words: "as my mother told me" or "my father taught us, that...". More in detail the storytelling tradition in East European Jewish culture and its basic mechanisms of transmission are described in the works of Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 1974). In the regions of Bukovina and Podolia we have made several recordings of one very famous Midrashic legend about Moses in Pharaoh's palace (midrash Shemot Rabbah, 1), which is told exactly as part of the oral family tradition. In the story Moses, as a child, is tested by the evil Pharaoh's magicians that place a bowl with gold and a bowl with hot coal before Moses. If he reaches for the gold, he should be killed, but if he reaches for the coal, he has no understanding, and there is no need to kill him. The gold and the coal were placed in front of Moses, and he started to grab for the gold. However, an angel intervened, shoved the gold to the side, and Moses not only grabbed the hot coal, but then even put the coal into his mouth. As a result, he became "slow of speech and slow of tongue" (CBJS_Tul_05, Czern_06_Shternberg, MP_08_082_

Rikkelman). Actually, the retelling of this story is one of the few rare examples of any Biblical or Postbiblical story that we may record in oral rendering nowadays in Podolia, Bessarabia and Bukovina. Probably, this legend was very popular in the pre-war period in the given regions. Its etiological character, explaining Moses' tongue-tie, and colorful details of vitally important choice have ensured its wide dispersion in many Jewish communities.

Yiddish keywords

Besides children's memories, some special keywords that help to reconstruct forgotten realities undoubtedly serve as another important mechanism of the memorization of the Past. The most significant role here is played by keywords in Yiddish, because they actualize the language our informants spoke in the days when the events that they describe took place. Almost all of our informants are bilingual. They can easily speak both Russian and Yiddish, and sometimes they also know Ukrainian, Rumanian and German. But with the exception of very few people, most of them have spoken Russian in their everyday life in the last decades. As they explain it, they stopped using Yiddish after their parents or other close relatives died. As a result, it is hard for many of them to start communication in Yiddish after such a long break. They can fluently reproduce some kind of the so called "ready" or "formed" narratives in Yiddish – about their biography, their Holocaust survival stories, and the family narratives that we examined earlier. However, when they try to keep up an ordinary conversation in Yiddish, they are confronted with many difficulties. At the same time, some basic keywords often allow them to recall not only the meaning of the words themselves, but also the traditions, customs, and sayings that are associated with them.

One of such keywords is the term "*krishmeleyen*" that consists of two parts in Yiddish: "*Krishme*" – from the Hebrew term "*Kriyat Shemah*" – reciting the prayer "*Shemah Israel*" ["Hear O Israel"] and "*leyen*" – to recite. According to many ethnographic materials on Jewish Folklore Tradition from the end of the XIXth – the beginning of the XXth centuries, the original custom was as follows: when a son was born, the children from the local "*kheder*" would go to his house every day before circumcision, in order to recite the "*Shemah*" prayer. This was called "*krishme leyen*", and was done to protect the mother and the child from evil spirits. Usually the children received sweets and candies from the householders for this mission. (Lilientalowa, 1927:14, Sabar, 2002). One will not find any mentioning of this custom in the interviews that we have collected so far, but the word itself remains in the tradition, although its meaning has been reduced. Our informants, who experience difficulties trying to remember the rituals of circumcision ceremony, or the customs of celebrating the birth of a son, usually quickly recognize the keyword "*krishmeleyen*", and then they describe the following tradition: on the day of the circumcision of a new-born boy, the parents called children from the whole neighborhood, afterwards they through the sweets and candies to the cradle of the baby, and the children were invited to take them. (Czern_08_Averbukh, Czern_06_Shvartzbroit, Czern_07_Katz). This is called "*krishmeleyen*", in spite of the fact that in this version it has nothing to do with the actual reciting of the "*Shemah*" prayer. Sometimes one can come across an explanation, that the word "*krishme*" means

the ceremony of the circumcision itself (Czern_06_Krechmer, Czern_05_Ivankovitzer). So, the meaning of the term has changed, but it remains as a marker of an important traditional custom. It has become a key-word that helps to reconstruct the whole practice, in which many of our informants took part in the pre-war period.

A similar function is performed by different Yiddish terms connected with the world of traditional Jewish culture, traditional food etc. The terms “*Khonike gelt*” or “*shalahmones*” serve as markers for the holydays of Hanukkah and Purim. The terms like “*Khipe kedishe*” (a marriage baldachin or, sometimes, a marriage contract) (Czern_07_Shternberg, Czern_08_Ivankovitzer), “*a wort*” or “*tnoim*” (an engagement), and “*sarvern*” (a cook) actualize the memory about traditional Jewish Weddings. The concept of “*yikhes*” helps us to start a dialogue about social and cultural status in the traditional and modern Jewish society (for details see Kushkova, 2008). The keywords “*yortzait*” (anniversary of relative’s death), “*kadesh*” or “*kodesh*”, “*yizkor*” (prayer for the dead) and “*takhrihim*” (burial garments) function as markers for different elements of the Jewish funeral rite.

In a slightly different way the same holds true for the names of Jewish food, such as “*lekek*” (a biscuit cake), “*gefilte fish*” (stuffed fish) or “*ftudn*” (a cake from puff paste) – the terms actualize the memories about recipes, about the people who used to cook them or the occasions when they were usually cooked (such as weddings, family celebrations), and so on. The difference here lies in the fact that these memories are not as deep as the memories about holidays or family customs. Jewish cookery remains one of the vivid remnants of traditional Jewish life in the studied regions. Until nowadays you may find traditional Jewish food in the stores and cafeterias of some Ukrainian towns like Czernowitz, Mogilev Podolski or Tulchin. The names and descriptions of Jewish food are virtually the one and only thing that our young Jewish and Non-Jewish informants at the age of 20-30 may reproduce about the traditional Jewish culture there. They got this knowledge in their own families or from the families of their Jewish friends, neighbors, etc.

Commemoration of the dead and other actual practices

The last but not least portion of Jewish Tradition that occupies a significant place in the narratives and records that we have collected in Czernowitz and some other bordering regions is the whole complex of customs connected with funeral and commemoration of the dead people. Regretfully, this sad topic remains extremely relevant in every traditional culture that hardly survives. The death of close friends or relatives forces even very assimilated and acculturated Jews to turn towards the traditional Jewish burial customs and practices. Sometimes in the records of our interviews we may find traces of some old tradition in a reduced form. In the year 1966 the family of one of our informants buried their father according the proper ritual. They hired ten religious Jews who came to their house daily during the year after the death of the father and recited “*Kaddish*”. They did this secretly, and were very afraid that someone would notice ten Jews, who gather every morning in one house. When their mother died in the year 1983, they could find only several Jews who came to their house for no more than three months (Czern_08_Katz). But in spite of this reduction, the basic elements of the Jewish

funeral and mourning rituals are known to more or less each Jewish informant in the described region. During the 6 years of our research we have been observing that in the days that, according to the Jewish Tradition, are devoted to the commemoration of the dead, a lot of Jews come to synagogues and Jewish cemeteries. In the summer month that is called Elul in the Jewish calendar it is obligatory to visit the cemetery where your relatives are buried. Not once we have met at the Jewish cemetery of Czernowitz people who came from abroad to visit their ancestors' graves during this month.

There exist several mechanisms of transmitting this knowledge. One of them is the abovementioned memory from childhood, when traditional Jewish funerals were a usual event. Very often we record how our informants recall the burial of their grandparents (on a special desk, in a white shroud without a coffin) and a rabbi reciting the prescribed prayers (Czern_05_Shternberg, Czern_06_Gimmelbrandt, Czern_08_Shapiro). The keywords are yet another way of transmitting the tradition. Frequently the terms like “*shive*” – seven days of mourning period, “*keveruves*” [*kever oves*] – ancestors' graves, or “*a mule*” – a commemorative prayer – help us to revive the memory about burial customs at our interviews (for details see Dymshitz, 2007).

An obvious additional factor in the transference of funeral rituals is the constant contact of our informants with this complex of traditional lore in their everyday life. It did not lose its actuality and still has a very high value. Our informants still keep the anniversaries of their relatives' death (*yortzait*), they order a special prayer in the synagogue and bring traditional food there, namely *lekekhn un bronfn*, a cake and vine or vodka. They strictly observe the prohibition to go to the Jewish cemeteries on Saturdays and Jewish Holidays, to wear the shoes of a dead person (because otherwise it is as if you are walking upon his head), and so on. They treat the matter of naming the newborn babies in their families by the names of their dead relatives very seriously. This tradition remains extremely actual even in too much assimilated families. People retell family stories about prophetic dreams in which a dead relative comes to a woman in childbirth and asks her to give the baby her or his name in exchange for the longevity and health of the child. (Czern_08_Katz, Czern_07_Zherebetskaya, Czern_06_Ivankovitzer). The young Jews of Czernowitz and Podolia region know exactly whose name they received, and when they have their own babies, they try to call them by the names of their ancestors (for details see Amosova, Nikolaeva, 2008). It is also widely customary in the region under investigation to come to the graves of close relatives in cases of trouble or decease and to ask for help. There is a special prayer in Yiddish, which is very popular among our informants: “*Mome / tote, ikh bet dir, loyf un bet Got az dayn kinder zol zan gezind, parnuse...*” (“My mother/father, I ask you, run and beseech God that your children may be healthy, that they have earnings etc.”) (Czern_05_Gimmelbrandt). This prayer is recited in Yiddish, since it is addressed to an older relative, whose native language was Yiddish (in detail see Dymshitz, 2009). Another actual practice, which is still quite popular amongst both Jews and Gentiles of the region, is veneration of revered rabbis' graves. People write notes with their requests, sorrows and problems and leave them on the graves of the most famous rabbis at the Jewish Cemetery (for details see Amosova, Kaspina, 2009).

One may find such notes at the Jewish cemetery of Czernowitz and at the neighboring cemeteries of Sadgorah, Vizhnitz, Khotin etc.

The relevance of some traditional beliefs and knowledge for everyday life increases the chances not to be forgotten for some specific elements of Folk Jewish Culture. The fate of the traditions connected with the world of death customs anticipates some magic practices and popular superstitions likewise. One of the widespread diagnoses for any unclear symptoms of children diseases in the Folk Medicine of both Slavs and Jews in this region is the evil eye. The name of this disease in Yiddish has in itself a magic component – it is called “*a git oyg*” – literally “a good eye”, so that not to mention evil in vain. The aged Jewish women in Czernowitz still use a popular Yiddish incantation as a good folk remedy from the evil eye: “*Drai vaber zitzn af a shtein, eine zugt yo, di tzveite zugt nein, un di drite zugt – fun vonen es iz gekimen, ahin zol iz gein, tfu-tfu-tfu*” (Three women sit on a stone. The first says “yes” [so-and-so has an evil eye], the second says “no”, and the third says: from where it has come, that way it should return. Tfu-tfu-tfu). (Czern_05_Shternberg, Czern_06_Gimmelbrandt, Czern_07_Koyfman, Czern_07_Katz). This magic formula is still most in-demand (about this incantation in detail see Kaspina, 2009). The same holds true for some omens and popular beliefs. For example, the superstition that it is prohibited to kill a spider has not lost its actuality yet: “They said that it was not allowed to kill spiders. We had a housemaid, who threw the spiders out of the window during the cleaning. Because it is a big sin]to kill spiders[. When *Beis a-Mikdash*, the Temple was destroyed, they brought water in order to put out the fire. This is a joke. The spiders are disgusting”. (Czern_06_Shternberg). The legendary elements about the Temple on fire and the role of the spiders in its extinguishing or burning we can find, for example, in the ethnographical collections of YIVO from different regions of Poland and Ukraine (Kahan, 1938: 293-294). Most likely, they have survived in the memory of our informants until nowadays because they are connected to the authentic belief that is widespread both in the Jewish and the Slavic Folk traditions of the region, namely that it is a bad (or, sometimes, good) omen to kill a spider. On the other hand, its etiological character that has an allusion to the events in the Jewish History helps this superstition to endure.

Coming back to the main subject of our research, it can be observed that the three components that we have singled out in this paper and that help to preserve traditional Jewish culture (such as flashback memories from childhood, Yiddish keywords and some additional practices that have not lost their actuality yet), in fact, mutually interact with each other. Most accepted and popular are those elements of traditional culture that combine all the three features: they are rooted in childhood memories, there are special keywords in Yiddish that help to remind of the rituals standing behind them, and they still exist in everyday life practices of our informants. I am convinced that it is extremely important not only to collect these memories about traditional Jewish culture, to publish the collected materials, to prepare a database that will facilitate searching and browsing inside the collected interviews, but also to pay attention to the transferal mechanisms of traditional knowledge that we have described and to actuality of this knowledge in the eyes of our informants.

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List of the informants: (The number signs the year of recording, i.e. 05 – 2005)

Czern_05_Gorovitz – Gorovitz Klavdia Isaevna, 1926 (Tomashpol, Podolia) – 2007 (Czernowitz)

Czern_05_Shternberg – Shternberg Rosa Ovshievna, 1925 (Khotin, Bessarabia), since 1986 lives in Czernowitz.

Czern_05_Shvartzbroit – Shvartzbroit Anna Iosifovna, 1925 (Chernivtz, Podolia), since 1946 lives in Czernowitz

Czern_06_Gimmelbrandt – Gimmelbrandt Riva Fridrikhovna, 1932 (Czernowitz) – 2009 (Czernowitz)

Czern_06_Kleyman – Kleyman Isaya Davidovich, 1931 (Rashkov, Bessarabia), since 1946 lives in Czernowitz

Czern_06_Krechmer – Krechmer Polina Oskarovna, 1917 (Izmail, Bessarabia), since 1957 lives in Czernowitz

- Czern_07_Bukchin – Bukchin David Aronovich, 1945 (Czernowitz)
Czern_07_Katz – Katz Klara Moiseevna, 1935 (Czernowitz)
Czern_07_Koyfman – Koyfman Tzilya Moiseevna, 1928 (Brichany, Bessarabia), since 1948 lives in Czernowitz
Czern_07_Zherebetskaya – Zherebetskaya Berta Adolfovna, 1921 (Nepokolivtsi, Bukovina), since 1944 lives in Czernowitz
Czern_08_Averbukh – Averbukh Maria Sabbataevna, 1927 (Kishinev), since 1949 lives in Czernowitz – 2009 (Czernowitz).
Czern_08_Ivankovitzer – Ivankovitzer Anna Iosifovna, 1933 (Shargorod, Podolia), since 1944 lives in Czernowitz.
Czern_08_Shapiro – Shapiro Klara Isakovna, 1927 (Slavuta) – 2008 (Czernowitz)
CBJS_Tul_05 – Kolodenker Pesya Shaevna, 1927 (Tulchin, Podolia)
MP_08_082_Rikkelman – Rikkelman Etya Naumovna, 1929 (Mogilev Podolski, Podolia)

Note

¹Analogous variants of this rhyme are found, for example, in Rubin, 2000: 48.