JUDEO-SPANISH: AN EXAMPLE FROM RHODES

By

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to the required standard

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Date **SEPT. 1/90**
Abstract

This study explores the Judeo-Spanish dialect through the analysis of an oral sample provided by two native speakers from Rhodes. A twenty-minute segment has been transcribed phonetically and incorporated into the thesis.

A preliminary section provides the necessary historical, cultural and linguistic background for the analysis of the sample. Distinctive phonetic, morphological, lexical and syntactical features of the informants' speech are pointed out and their significance demonstrated both synchronically, in relation to Eastern Judeo-Spanish and modern Hispanic Romance, and diachronically, showing survival of Old Spanish elements.

In the conclusion, the writer states that the development of the dialect was the result of the unique sociological conditions prevailing in the Sephardic communities of the Ottoman Empire and highlights both the historical continuity of Judeo-Spanish as well as its participation in the common heritage of Hispano-Romance.

He notes the presence or lack of certain foreign elements in their speech and alludes to Westernization and their education on Rhodes. He mentions differences in their pronunciation.

The writer concludes that the segment of the dialogue recorded and transcribed is representative of the distinctive
features of Judeo-Spanish and that, as such, it is a good introduction to the dialect.
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D. F. C.
Abbreviations Used

adj. adjective
adv. adverb
Angel Marc D. Angel, The Jews of Rhodes: The history
of Sephardic Community
Ara. Aragonese
Ast. Asturian
Baer Yitzhak Baer, A History of the Jews in
Christian Spain
Bunis "Toward a Linguistic Geography of Judezmo:
Published Sources" (see Bibliography)
Cat. Catalan
Cfd. D. Lincoln Canfield, Spanish Pronunciation in
the Americas
conj. conjunction
Cor. Joan Corominas and José A. Pascual, Diccionario
critico etimológico castellano e hispánico
Crews C. M. Crews, Recherches sur le judéo-espagnol
dans les pays balkaniques
CSp. Castilian Spanish
dial. dialectal
dim. diminutive
EF Elí Ferera (informant)
Eng. English
esp. especially
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>fam.</td>
<td>familiar</td>
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<tr>
<td>Fr.</td>
<td>French</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gal.</td>
<td>Galician</td>
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<td>Ger.</td>
<td>German</td>
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<tr>
<td>Gr.</td>
<td>Greek</td>
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<td>Heb.</td>
<td>Hebrew</td>
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<tr>
<td>impf.</td>
<td>imperfect tense</td>
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<tr>
<td>inf.</td>
<td>infinitive</td>
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<tr>
<td>It.</td>
<td>Italian</td>
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<td>JSp.</td>
<td>Judeo-Spanish</td>
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<tr>
<td>Lat.</td>
<td>Latin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leo.</td>
<td>Leonese</td>
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<tr>
<td>lit.</td>
<td>literally</td>
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<tr>
<td>mod.</td>
<td>modern</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n.</td>
<td>noun; note</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neb.</td>
<td>Antonio de Nebrija, Gramática castellana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neh.</td>
<td>Joseph Nehama, Dictionnaire du judéo-espagnol</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nf.</td>
<td>feminine noun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nm.</td>
<td>masculine noun</td>
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<tr>
<td>OSp.</td>
<td>Old Spanish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p.</td>
<td>person</td>
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<tr>
<td>p. p.</td>
<td>past participle</td>
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<td>phr.</td>
<td>phrase</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pl.</td>
<td>plural</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
IX

pop. popular
prep. preposition
pres. present tense
pret. preterite tense
prn. pronoun
Ptg. Portuguese
RF Rosa Ferera (informant)
s. singular
Sala Marius Sala, *Phonétique et phonologie du Judéo-espagnol de Bucarest*
SAM. Spanish American
Sp. Spanish
std. standard
Trk. Turkish
Val. Juan de Valdés, *Diálogo de la lengua*
vb. verb
vi. intransitive verb
vr. reflexive verb
vt. transitive verb
Wagner *Caracteres generales del judeo-español de Oriente*
ZamV. Alonso Zamora Vicente, *Dialectología española*
Phonetic Symbols Used

Vowels

[a] open /a/  
Ptg. "fado"
Sp. "casa"

[ə] low central vowel between [a] and [a]
Eng. "land"

[a] neutral low central vowel  
Ptg. "fala"

[e] close mid front vowel  
Sp. "seco"

[ɛ] open low front vowel  
Ptg. "festa"

[i] unrounded high front vowel  
Sp. "recibo"

[ɪ] lax high front vowel  
Eng. "list"

[i] semivowel /i/  
Sp. "hay"

[o] close high back vowel  
Sp. "comer"

[ɔ] open low back vowel  
Ptg. "agora"

[u] rounded high back vowel  
Sp. "uva"

[A] lax low back vowel  
Eng. "but"

[u] lax high back vowel  
Eng. "good"

[u] semivowel /u/  
Sp. "pausa"

[y] rounded high front vowel  
Fr. "lune"

[ɔ] neutral mid central vowel  
("schwa")  
Ptg. "dever"
Fr. "leçon"
Consonants

[b] voiced bilabial plosive
[β] voiced bilabial fricative
[d] voiced dental plosive
[ð] voiced interdental fricative
[dz] voiced dental affricate
[dʒ] voiced palatal affricate
[f] unvoiced labiodental fricative
[g] voiced velar plosive
[ɣ] voiced velar fricative
[h] unvoiced glottal fricative
[ɦ] voiced glottal fricative
[j] voiced palatal fricative
[ʒ] voiced prepalatal fricative
[k] unvoiced velar plosive
[l] voiced lateral continuant
[ɭ] voiced palatal lateral continuant

Sp. "ambos"
Sp. "hubo"
Sp. "hablando"
Sp. "pudo"
Ptg. "ouvido"
It. "mezzo"
It. "giusto"
Sp. "fuente"
Sp. "gallo"
Sp. "hago"
Eng. "hand"
Ger. "haben"
Eng. "aha"
Sp. "ya"
Eng. "yes"
Sp. "cosa"
Fr. "quel"
Sp. "valer"
Eng. "leaf"
CSp. "olla"
Ptg. "ilha"
Cat. "mirall"
[ɪ] sound between [l] and [r]

[m] bilabial nasal continuant

[n] dental nasal continuant

[ŋ] palatal nasal continuant

[ŋ] velar nasal continuant

[p] unvoiced bilabial plosive

[φ] unvoiced bilabial fricative

[r] voiced alveolar vibrant ("flap")

[r] single alveolar fricative

[r] multiple voiced alveolar vibrant

[F] multiple alveolar fricative

[s] unvoiced dental sibilant

[ʃ] unvoiced alveolar sibilant

[ʃ] unvoiced palatal sibilant

[t] unvoiced dental plosive

Sp. "mil"
Eng. "moon"
Sp. "nido"
Eng. "any"
Sp. "año"
Ptg. "vinho"
Sp. "elenco"
Eng. "ink"
Sp. "pista"
Sp. "hora"
(Like Eng. "dairy" but with the tongue closer to the alveolar ridge)
Sp. "ría," "cerro"
Sp. "hasta"
Ptg. "cem"
CSp. "sello"
Cat. "cinc"
Ptg. "faixa"
Cat. "així"
Sp. "tono"
Ptg. "oito"
[ts] unvoiced dental affricate

[tʃ] unvoiced palatal affricate

[v] voiced labiodental fricative

[w] bilabial semiconsonant

[z] voiced dental sibilant

[j] voiced alveolar sibilant

[ʒ] voiced palatal sibilant

[o] unvoiced interdental fricative

[χ] unvoiced uvular fricative

Diacritical Marks and Conventions

' following syllable is stressed (never indicates apheresis, syncope or apocope)

~ nasalization of vowel

: lengthening of preceding vowel in phonetic transcription

n, u, ə sounds weakly-articulated or loseable

/a/, /d/ phonemic representations

It.  "zio"
Eng.  "its"
Sp.  "ocho"
Eng.  "chin"
Ptg.  "vós"
Fr.  "vin"
Sp.  "bueno"
Eng.  "we"
Sp.  "desde"
CSp.  "rasgo"
Ptg.  "gelo"
Cat.  "pujar"
CSp.  "zumo"  "hacer"
CSp.  "ajo,"  "gesto"
1. Introduction

1.1. The Present Study

The purpose of this study is to approach Judeo-Spanish through the linguistic analysis of the speech of two Sephardim from Rhodes. There is no attempt to make a definitive statement on the Rhodian vernacular, although conclusions are drawn based on occasional observations found pertaining to the Judeo-Spanish spoken on Rhodes. To this writer's knowledge, no in-depth analysis of the speech of the island has been undertaken.

Since it is in eastern Judeo-Spanish that the most distinctive features of the dialect are to be observed, I was fortunate to obtain the participation of two informants from Rhodes.

1.2. Terminology

1.2.1. The dialect is known by several names, some of which are: "español," "español muestro," "españolit," "sefardí," "judezmo," "djudió," "djidió."

1.2.2. What the Sephardim call their language is revealing. Names such as "español" and "español muestro" assert their Hispanic identity among the peoples of the lands in which they settled. Others, "judezmo" (i.e. "Judaism"), "jidyó," confirm
their indentification of the Spanish language with the very condition of being Jewish.

This writer feels that the term "Ladino" (< Lat. "latinu[m]"), is best avoided when referring to spoken Judeo-Spanish in scholarly work since it meets with a certain amount of opposition. Although the word is familiar to many and widely used to refer to the dialect spoken by the Sephardim, it appears that it should, strictly speaking, designate only the type of language used to translate literally the Scriptures from Hebrew into Spanish. Such language was characterized by its calques on Semitic syntax and never spoken by Spanish Jews. Lapesa, Alvar, Zamora Vicente, García de Diego, Sala, Wagner, Crews, Baldinger, Armistead, Silverman, Vidal Sephiha, Angel, Canfield, etc., prefer "Judeo-Spanish" or its equivalent in other languages. I therefore use "Judeo-Spanish" throughout this study, believing it to be more technically, and universally, acceptable.2

1.2.2. "Eastern Judeo-Spanish" refers to the dialects of Judeo-Spanish spoken in the lands of the former Ottoman Empire (especially the Balkans, Turkey, the Levant).
2. Historical Background

2.1. From Ancient Times to the Expulsion

Jews were already living in the Iberian Peninsula in antiquity, where their settlements, as elsewhere throughout the Roman Empire, were a consequence of the ancient Diaspora.

Early in the Christian era, although the Church sought special laws to restrict contact between Jews and Christians--centuries prior to the harsh ecclesiastical legislation enacted under the Visigoths--, there was relatively little persecution of the Jews, who were still judged under Roman law (embodied in a compilation entitled the "Lex Romana Visigothorum," effected in 506). However, after the conversion of Reccared from Arianism in 589, the monarchy began to oppress Jews thereby bringing their policy in line with that prevailing in other Catholic kingdoms. The oppression was intensified in the following century by the severe persecution initiated under King Sisebut.

Discriminatory economic and political policies, travel restrictions, forced conversions, the death penalty for proselytization and other brutal measures aimed to destroy the Jewish community. It should hardly be surprising that the Jews enthusiastically welcomed the Muslim invaders in 711.

From 755 on, the lot of the Jewish communities improved greatly. During the Caliphate, which lasted until the early
eleventh century, they enjoyed a large measure of communal autonomy, economic prosperity, and attained positions of political importance; there was a flourishing of the arts. This period under Muslim rule has been called the "Golden Age" of Hispanic Jewry.

With the fall of the Caliphate, repression was once again inflicted on Jewish communities: first, by the Almoravides (as well as by the plundering Christians) in the latter part of the eleventh century; subsequently by the Almohades in the following century. Jewish communities in Andalusia were destroyed. The Almoravides and Almohades were fanatical peoples who had crossed over from North Africa in defence of Islam, which was imperiled by the lack of Muslim unity in the Peninsula. The Jews fled to the Christian north where they were settled in fortresses which would form the nuclei of the Jewish quarters ("juderías").

The Reconquest, temporarily halted for several decades, regained its momentum, vigorously pushing south. The impressive territorial gains marked a transition for the Jews from Muslim to Christian rule. It was "during the thirteenth century [that] Jewish settlements began, for the first time, to dot the entire Peninsula. They now spread out into the remote corners of Portugal and Navarre, places unknown in the annals of Jewish history before the Christian reconquest."5

The Jews' prosperity and political influence increased greatly as a result of the important role they played in the Reconquest. The Christian kings sought their collaboration in
the administration and resettlement of the newly-conquered territories, as they were esteemed for their administrative, commercial and linguistic skills—many had been brought up in the Muslim states, spoke Arabic, and were familiar with the land and its customs, where they had occupied important posts in government. Many Jews were highly regarded and enjoyed important government positions; considerable influence was wielded by Jewish court physicians. Jews, deemed to be royal serfs, were preferred to Muslims or even Christians for such posts—they were considered more reliable and, since they were legally second-class citizens, as in the rest of Christian Europe, were viewed as expendable.

The monarchy protected the Jews in its service for practical reasons: they were not only loyal and capable administrators, financiers and diplomats, but could also be counted on to provide a reliable source of revenue. A king's dealings with the Jews therefore depended, in large measure, on practical considerations. Although it was forbidden under canonical law to promote Jews to positions of trust in which they had authority over Christians, this prohibition was largely ignored by the monarchy, for reasons of political expediency, right up until the period immediately preceding the Expulsion.

Alphonse the Wise, particularly, availed himself of Jewish scholars and employed them as administrators. Yet despite that king's reputation of benevolence toward the Jews, it would appear that his treatment of them was governed, as had
traditionally been the case, by political expediency. Even under his rule, Jews suffered religious and political persecution.\textsuperscript{6}

By the mid thirteenth century, virtually all of the Iberian Peninsula, with the exception of the Kingdom of Granada, was in Christian hands. With the Reconquest largely completed, the peninsular Christian states, secure within their borders, began to implement harsher discriminatory policies toward the Jews resembling those in effect in the rest of Christian Europe.\textsuperscript{7}

This was especially true of Aragon, whose role in the Reconquest came to an end long before Castile's, which had closer links with the south of France and the Papacy. In Aragon, the Inquisition (already in existence in Provence) began trials of "conversos" (Jewish converts to Christianity). "The Jews sat on the crater of a volcano seething with religious and nationalist tensions."\textsuperscript{8}

In the fourteenth century, Jews made up a good part of the population of many Spanish cities and lived, voluntarily, in the "juderías," which enjoyed considerable autonomy. The political and socio-economic status of the "aljamas" (communities) was gradually eroded as privileges gained during the Reconquest were taken away. The posts of the skilled, highly-placed Jewish courtiers were coveted by ambitious Christian nobles, resentful that Jews held power over Christians, in violation of canonical law. Anti-Jewish sentiment was intensified by the Cortes, city councils and the Church; demands made to reduce Jewish rights were resisted, with varying degrees of success, by the monarchy.
Churchmen preached hatred of the Jews whom they condemned, on biblical grounds, for practising usury, despite the fact that not only was moneylending not an exclusively Jewish occupation, but it was far from being their usual means of livelihood—most Jews were artisans. As political influence was lost, the growth of Jewish communities came to a halt.

The decline continued throughout the fourteenth century, accelerating in the latter half. The aljamas were devastated, first by a severe outbreak of the plague in 1348, then by fanatical English and French mercenaries brought in to support both Pedro the Cruel and his rebellious brother Henry of Trastamara during the Civil War. Anti-Jewish sentiment rose sharply, culminating in the massacres of 1391, which broke out in Seville and spread throughout Andalusia, to Castile and then to Aragon in the following year. During the pogroms, aljamas were severely disrupted as their members were murdered or dispersed. Thousands of Jews converted to Christianity rather than risk martyrdom and conversions under duress continued for approximately twenty-five years, even after the persecution had ceased. A serious obstacle to reconstruction was the number of Jews who had converted; another was the opposition on the part of the cities.

The resulting very large "converso" population had serious religious and socio-economic consequences in the fifteenth century; it would be the major underlying cause of the Expulsion. After a period of laxity, the magnitude of the
problem manifested itself when, in the late 1440's, serious disturbances broke out between Old and New Christians which lasted for twenty-five years until order was restored twenty-five years later.

The Jews celebrated the rise to power of Ferdinand and Isabella believing that their well-being depended on political stability. However, after the monarchs had put down the rebellious nobles and consolidated their power, they moved decisively to achieve their goal of political and religious unity by eliminating the last remaining bastion of Muslim power in the Peninsula, the Kingdom of Granada, and by striving to eradicate heresy. With regard to the latter objective, the presence of Jews was perceived as an obstacle.

In 1480, the order (a reenactment of a law of 1412) was given for the segregation of Jews and Muslims from Christians. Three years later, the Inquisition (formally established in Castile in the early sixties) decreed the exile of all Jews from Andalusia—a partial expulsion, but one which ominously foreshadowed the looming tragedy. Also in 1483, Tomás de Torquemada, confessor to the Queen, was appointed to head the Inquisition in all territories under the Crowns of Castile and Aragon, thereby centralizing the power of the ecclesiastical tribunal for greater efficiency.

Most of the "conversos" were Christian in name only, their parents and grandparents having converted when forced to choose between baptism or death. They practised Judaism secretly, some
even openly, aided by their Jewish brethren who were naturally desirous to have them return to their ancestral faith. Not only backsliding "conversos" ("relapsi") but also Jews who had been found guilty of assisting them, were swept up in the fury of inquisitorial proceedings. The Inquisition went about its task of rooting out heresy with a vengeance, interrogating thousands and performing many executions.

In 1492, within three months after the conquest of Granada, the Catholic Monarchs signed the edict for the expulsion of all Jews from their dominions. Immediately following the promulgation of the edict, a widespread campaign resulted in many Jews' renouncing their faith to become Christians and thereby remain in their homeland. Perhaps as many as 170,000, however, chose exile over apostasy.

Thus began a new diaspora for the Jews, after fifteen hundred years of a rich and varied history in the Iberian Peninsula. During most of that long period, Jewish life had been characterized by the insecurity of being at the mercy of a hostile majority, always conditioned by the struggle between Christianity and Judaism. Incredibly, they survived all attempts to destroy them as a community, held together by what Yitzhak Baer has called "the inner light concentrated within the heart of the small persecuted people."
2.2. The Sephardim after the Expulsion

Most of those forced to leave Spain sought refuge in neighbouring Portugal (where Jews would also no longer be welcome a few years later). France's borders were all but closed to Jews; only "conversos" who intended to embrace Christianity were admitted. Others went to North Africa, Italy, and the Eastern Mediterranean basin.\(^\text{10}\)

Since Turkey was the only country that readily accepted the Spanish Jews in its dominions and imposed relatively few restrictions, most exiles eventually settled in the lands of the Ottoman Empire, either immediately or in the decades following the Expulsion.

The Sephardim joined existing Jewish communities, generally Greek-speaking and of the Romaniot tradition, throughout the Turkish dominions in the East. Where they formed a minority, they were assimilated and, within a couple of generations, ceased to speak Spanish; if they constituted a majority, however, they aggressively maintained their language and culture. Large Spanish-speaking Jewish communities grew up, notably in Salonika and other cities in the north of Greece, and Asia Minor—particularly Constantinople and Smyrna.\(^\text{11}\) For a while, in their distant communities, the Sephardim maintained their regional affiliations and there were Leonese, Aragonese and Castilian synagogues. Even Ashkhenazic and Romaniot Jews
eventually adopted the language of the Sephardim so that Spanish, to a considerable degree, became the language of Jews of the Ottoman Empire.

2.3. General Linguistic Development

The expelled Jews took with them the culture and language of late-fifteenth-century Spain. In their new communities, most of them far from their homeland, synagogues bore the names of native regions and even cities, thus reflecting the cultural diversity of Sephardic centres.

The language spoken by exiled Castilian Jews would not have been appreciably different from that of their Christian countrymen except for the occasional archaism or word peculiar to their speech, usually Hebrew, the logical result of differences in custom and ideology and of the relative segregation from Christian speakers of the language.\textsuperscript{12}

Fifty years after the mass expulsion of Jews from Spain, the Spaniard Gonzalo de Illescas wrote about the Spanish of the Sephardim who had settled in Turkey:

Llevaron de acá nuestra lengua, y todavía la guardan y usan de la buena gana, y es cierto que en las ciudades de Salónica, Constantinopla, Alexandría y El Caíro y en otras ciudades de contratación y en Venecia, no compran ni negocian en otra lengua, sino en español. Y yo conocí en Venecia hartos judíos de Salónico que
hablaban castellano, con ser bien mozos, tan bien o mejor que yo.¹³

Into the seventeenth century, the speech of the dispersed Sephardim was becoming noticeably different from that of Peninsular speakers. In Spain, the important changes of what has been called the "phonetic revolution" had radically altered standard pronunciation during the previous century. The Sephardim, however, living in their distant communities and progressively isolated, continued to pronounce fundamentally as had their exiled forbears.

A koine developed as a result of unique social conditions which could not exist in the Peninsula. The Jews who came together in the centres of the Ottoman Empire were from all over the Iberian Peninsula: most were from Castile, but a great many were from other parts of the Peninsula including Aragon, Leon, Portugal, where other dialects and languages were spoken. In the special multicultural Hispanic environment of the Sephardic centres of the East, the phonetics, morphology, lexicon and syntax of Peninsular Castilian was gradually modified and a distinctive Jewish dialect was formed.

Communications with Spain were not lost immediately after 1492, but after a few generations isolation increased. The Sephardic communities of the East, although connections with one another were maintained, were eventually cut off from the linguistic norms prevailing in the Peninsula. Although for a century or so after the Expulsion works in Spanish were written
and efforts were made to keep the language pure, there was a gradual impoverishment of the vocabulary and many words were adopted from the languages of the host countries as well as from Hebrew and many were retained which had disappeared in the standard language of the Peninsula.

Whereas Sephardim living in Western European centres eventually lost their Spanish through cultural assimilation, those in the Ottoman Empire vigorously maintained their language and culture thanks to the favourable political and social climate and especially to their intense pride in their culture. The Sephardim of the East clung to their language and liturgy, to their identity. With an air of superiority, they aggressively asserted themselves over the local Jews, assimilating them and laying the foundations for a culture which was to flourish for three hundred years.

In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the quality and very survival of the language there was undermined by radical political and social change. The dissolution of the Ottoman Empire saw the emergence of new states which compelled the Sephardim to educate their children in the national language and imposed military conscription. Increasing Westernization was largely the result of the educational endeavours of the "Alliance Israélite Universelle." The profound influence of French threatened to transform the language into what Vidal Sephiha has called "judéofragnol."¹⁴ Largescale emigration increasingly disrupted the fabric of traditional Sephardic society in which
the language had been kept alive. Two catastrophic wars this century have devastated Sephardic communities. Judeo-Spanish, largely confined to home life for at least two centuries, is now being forgotten by the younger Sephardim. The future of the dialect as a living language looks bleak.

2.4. Rhodes

The informants for this linguistic study originate from the island of Rhodes, located in the southeastern Aegean just off the coast of Turkey.

In ancient times, the island was variously under the sway of competing Greek city states and Persia until it achieved independence in the late fourth century B. C. Rhodes then became an important centre of learning, the arts and commerce (it is presumed that it was during this period of greatness, during the third century B. C., that the Colossus of Rhodes was built). From the mid second century B. C., the island was part of the Roman Empire and came under Byzantine rule when the Empire was divided up in 395 A. D.

From the latter part of the eighth century, it was governed for a few years by Muslims then by a series of local lords, for a time by the Genoese and then again became part of the Byzantine Empire. At the invitation of the Byzantine government, the Knights of St. John Hospitallers occupied the island in the early fourteenth century in order to defend it from the Turks.
Jews exiled from Spain in 1492 were not welcome to establish themselves on Rhodes. In fact, in the early sixteenth century, the ruling Christian Knights subjected the Jewish community of the island to persecution reminiscent of that which had occurred in Spain and elsewhere: the choice between baptism or expulsion and forced baptism of Jewish children.\textsuperscript{16} Life for the Jews of Rhodes changed for the better when the Turks conquered Rhodes at the end of 1522.

The Jews living on the island hailed a Muslim victory just as their brethren in Spain had done eight centuries before. The Sultan encouraged Jewish settlement of the island and offered incentives. As a result, Jews, mainly Spanish exiles and their children, began to emigrate to Rhodes from other parts of the eastern Mediterranean under Turkish rule.

The development of the Sephardic community of Rhodes reflects, in many ways, what took place elsewhere in the Ottoman Empire.\textsuperscript{17} The large, continuing influx of Spanish-speaking settlers resulted in the local Jewish population's adopting Sephardic customs and language; Spanish was, "within a generation or two [ ] certainly the universal language of the Jews in Rhodes."\textsuperscript{18}

Judeo-Spanish culture flourished due, in large measure, to considerable communal autonomy. There were officials who were mediators between the community and the central government and those who were responsible for the internal government of the community. Self-government meant that communities could function
governed by Jewish law with very little interference from the Turkish government. Spanish was the language of daily communication, of education and, along with Hebrew, the vehicle of their culture. The privilege of using Spanish and Hebrew in education and the legal system instead of Turkish was an important factor in the preservation of the Sephardim's linguistic and cultural identity. The city of Rhodes, where virtually all Jews on the island lived, came to exercise considerable influence among the scattered Sephardic communities of the Ottoman Empire through its rabbinical authorities and scholars and was referred to by its inhabitants as "little Jerusalem."  

Jews were an officially-protected people, held important privileges and lived in a society which was generally tolerant, though they did not possess the rights of full citizenship, which only Muslims enjoyed, and were subjected to annoying dress restrictions, the purpose of which was to remind them that they were considered inferior and to isolate them. The Turkish, and especially the Greek Christian, population was generally hostile toward the Jews so that members of the community went out of their way to keep a low profile and avoid trouble with the non-Jewish population. This was another important sociological factor which helped to maintain a tightly-knit, self-reliant community, as it had throughout the history of Jewish settlement on the Peninsula.

Rhodes was governed by the Turks until 1912, when it was lost to Italy during a war fought between the two countries. The
occupation lasted until 1923 when the island officially became Italian territory. The lives of the Jews of Rhodes took a turn for the worse when the Fascist government aligned the country with Nazi Germany in 1936. Two years later, repressive anti-Jewish laws were established.

After Mussolini's fall from power in the summer of 1943 and the ensuing armistice between Italy and the allies, German forces occupied the island. In July, 1944, the Nazis deported virtually every Jew on the island (Turkish citizenship saved a handful) to the concentration camps—not even ten per cent of the more than seventeen hundred survived.21

After the war, attempts to reorganize the community proved unsuccessful. Hardly any Jews remain on Rhodes today.22 Most Sephardim originating from the island now live in the United States.
3. The Oral Sample

3.1. The Informants

Elí and Rosa Ferera, who obligingly (and enthusiastically) agreed to provide a sample of their speech for analysis, originate from Rhodes, where they spent their formative years.

Mr. Ferera, born in 1916, lived on the island until the beginning of 1938 when he left to join other family members then living in Rhodesia, now Zimbabwe, which had a large community of Sephardim from Rhodes. He worked as a wholesaler merchant, in business with his brother-in-law for thirty of the forty years he lived there.

Mrs. Ferera (née Israel) was born in 1924 and remained on Rhodes until 1944 when she was deported to Auschwitz with the rest of the Jewish community. Liberated in 1945, she made her way to Rome where she remained for eight months until her departure for Rio de Janeiro. There she lived with her uncle and his family for two years, from 1946 to 1948, when she went to Rhodesia to see her sister. During the thirty years Mrs. Ferera spent in Rhodesia, where she met her husband, she worked as a bookkeeper in the accounting department of an Italian firm.

In addition to their dialect of Spanish, both informants are fluent in English, Italian and French; Mr. Ferera also speaks Greek. The informants have had to use their foreign languages in the workplace (Mr. Ferera, mainly Italian, French
and a little English; his wife, primarily Italian). They have not lost touch with French and Italian and watch television programmes in those languages.

The only significant exposure to Standard Spanish, other than their holiday in Spain a few years ago, were the two years Mrs. Ferera spent in Rio with her uncle and his family, Sephardim who had come from Argentina (their language had assimilated to Standard Spanish). She has also corresponded with her South American Sephardic relatives with the aid of an English-Spanish dictionary to ensure that her language is standard. The couple do not have the habit of reading Spanish—Mrs. Ferera has, at some point, read a work in Spanish; her husband, perhaps part of one. They have had occasional exposure to written Judeo-Spanish (the press, books).

Both informants have always spoken their mother tongue at home. During most of their life, they have formed part of a large Judeo-Spanish-speaking community. In Vancouver, however, they appear to be the only members of the Sephardic community who still speak the dialect.

Mr. and Mrs. Ferera have two daughters, aged thirty-seven and forty, both of whom understand Judeo-Spanish; neither of them speaks it. The younger can communicate with her parents in Standard Spanish, having studied the language at university.
3.2. The Recording Session

On April 24, 1990, this writer recorded a sample of Mr. and Mrs. Ferera's speech at their home in Vancouver. The following transcription is of a continuous segment of just under twenty minutes of their forty-minute dialogue, which was felt to be an adequate, and manageable, length for the purposes of this analysis.

In the recording, Mr. and Mrs. Ferera reminisce about life on Rhodes.

3.3. Introduction to the Transcription

The following conventions should be noted: empty square brackets ([ ]), rarely found in the transcription, indicate a brief omission due to incomprehensibility (the nature of each omission is explained in the notes); three dots (...) indicate pauses, indecision and partially-expressed thoughts present in natural speech; an apostrophe ('') immediately precedes a tonic syllable (as previously indicated, it never denotes designates apheresis, syncope or apocope). "EF" = "Elí Ferera"; "RF" = "Rosa Ferera."

The symbol [s] represents any dental articulation of /s/ (apical especially in the case of RF; more coronal [or, perhaps, even alveolar in some words, although the same symbol is employed] in EF's speech; [ð] may often be a dental fricative.
3.4. Transcription

1 EF: vo ñmp ... vo am'psar jò a a'vlar, 'roza.

2 RF: 'oouke.

3 EF: jo so mas grand di ti, so vo am'psar jo, ou'ke?

4 RF: abso'lutli.

5 EF: ra:st. so ... e'li fe'rera, el 'nombri; jo mi 'jamo e'li fe'rera, na'sido i 'rodis. na'si in si 'yalun du di fevri'e mil i nyvi'sjentuz i di zi'sej. 'kižu řizir ki 'tuvi a'γwera se'tent ... so 'təŋgo se'tenta i 'kwatro 'años. mi 'paõre i mi 'maõre, mu'fón i ro'zina fe'rera. lu ki ma'koðru di la ... de 'kwando 'era mwi 'tʃiko: bi'viamuz en la džuð'ria natural'mente. en la džuð'ria tru'kimuz dos 'kazaz. la, la, la 'prima 'kaza nu ma'koðru 'kwaţi 'naða. la sa'yunda 'kaza en la džuð'ria ma'koðru 'klaro 'klaro, mwi 'klaro. la 'kaza 'era 'prɔpriu api'yaða a'sërka ðe la 'skola džu'dia. la ka'leža 'ande mo'ravamuz 'era 'una ka'leža a'γwera en la džuð'ria, natural'mente. nu se di ke la ja'mavan. ma'koðro ke la ja'mavan la ka'leža di 'lokus 'purke a'via ŕ'ja en 'suptu 'ntre la 'notʃe a'via 'unu o doz 'deos si alvan'tava 'ntre la 'notʃi,
kami'navan da'riva à'ba'ju i'ts'andu 'grituz, 'eran um
'poko, no 'eran ...

RF: nor'mal.

EF: nor'mal, de'retjoz, ... ënd ñm, 'ësta 'kaza me
la'koôru 'komu ki 'fwëra ... o, ja bi'vimuz 'pëdi ser
'asta ke jo t'ì'nìa 'tëëdzi, ka'torze 'ánøz bi'vi a'ja.
i natural'mëntë la, 'ëra, la 'skola 'ëra pëin api'yaôa
a la 'kaza 'mìa--no 'solù la 'skòëla: i la sìna'gøya
'ëra, la sìna'gøya 'grandì 'ëra ta'mjën 'proprìu
api'yaôa a'ja, ënd ñm, 'ëramuz, la fà'mìa 'mwësa,
'ëramuz, kiž zìr, 'kwàtru ør'manuz i 'una ør'mana. jo
'ëra ïl ... ïl, ïl kwàr'tenû de loz ør'manôz i tì'nìa
'unà ør'mana mas 'tjìka òì mi. tu, tu ta'mjën mu'rava,
natural'mënt ... tu 'onde tu ...

RF: no, jo mo'rava ìn la kae 'antja ...

EF: í la kae 'antja.

RF: ín la kae 'antja ...
39 RF: ... i jo te'nia kwatr ... tres er'manas, i mi 'paôre
   i mi 'maôre ki bi'vian ...

40 EF: ēl 'nombri, 'roza ...

41 RF: ... i jo 'roza fe'rera. na'si in el venti'trez ðe
   ðe'sembro milinovi'sjentoz i venti'kwatro, i ... 'komo
   'diçi ...

42 EF: al 'nombri, 'roza ...

43 RF: jo so 'roza fe'rera. na'si in el venti'trez ðe
   ðe'sembro milinovi'sjentoz i venti'kwatro, i ... 'komo
   'diçi ...

44 EF: 'kwantaz er'manaz 'eraf?

45 RF: tres er'manas. ëfeliz'mente laz doz se muri'erôn en el
   'kampo dés'pwes ke 'fwëramoz depor'taos kon mis
   'paôrez in 'džunts. ënd ñm, mi arì'koôro di ti
   tam'bjen i ði tu fa'mia 'purki 'eran mwi a'miyoz las
   fa'mias, 'pêro a ti no te kono'sia pur ðal 'toôo. ëz
   sola'mente 'kwando 'vine a 'lafrika ke 'tuvi ùl
   pla'zer ði'ñkon'trarti i dés'pwez ði ...

46 EF: o wel, ... jà, jà, jo ta'mjn ma'koôro mwi 'klaro ðe,
   ðe, ðe, ... de tu 'paôre, ðe tu 'maôre, ðe tuz er'mââz
   i 'toôu 'purke tu mu'ravaz en la kae 'antja a la
   en'tràa 'proprìu ðe la džuôs'ria, sou 'kwand'
   sa'liamuz ðe la džuôs'ria 'para ir al tjar'jì, 'para
   ir al man'draki, 'para ir a la plaž, 'para ir
   'andi ... kwal'siasi lu'yar, de'viamuz i' pa'sar por
tu 'kaza ... 'proprju. ënd a, natural'mente ma'koöro
óe 'toöoz, de 'toöoz uz 'otros. n> 'solu 'estu, ke tu
ær'mana 'rika 'era ...

RF: 'stava en la ...

EF: 'e'sta'amuz en la 'mizma 'klasa, 'iamuz a la 'skola en
'džuntus, ë'sta'vemuz ë la 'mizma 'klasa. a'vlandu ëe,
ëe, ëe la 'skola, kiž zir, 'iamuz pi'jin a la
'skola ... di tšiki'tikus, ki 'iamus pa'jin a la
'skola džu'öia--'era 'skola džu'öia en el 'tjempo 'mio:
'era, 'era di lali'äs izrael'it univer'sel--, i a'ja
la, la 'lingwa príš'pal 'era, pwed ser, 'era la
frä'seza, ma si mísë'ña va 'múntjü in i'breo ta'mjé i,
al empa'jëo, itæ'ljanëo, ma lo mas príš'pal 'era i
frä'sez. 'era 'una, 'era 'skola av ... di i'žikuz i
i'žikaz: laz i'žikaz 'era di 'una 'parti i luz i'žikuz
di 'lotra 'parte, ma, du, òu'rante la rikrea'sjon, muz
enkon'travamus 'toöoz a òin 'džuntuz, ma òl 'ultimu
'añu ëe la 'skola--ke 'ra 'una 'skola elemen'tara,
vera'mente--a la e'dad di 'treðzi,24 ka'torzi 'añus,
ska'pavamuz: no a'via maz; i 'lultimu 'añu ëe la
'skola, la 'klasa 'mwësra 'era i'žikoz i i'žikaz i'n
'džuntus.

RF: ja.
83 EF: 'ænd a ... 'estu ma 'a'koðru 'klaro, 'klaro de laz, de
84 laz i'žikaz i ő luz i'žiku loz 'nombres 'toðuz,
85 'ænd a ...

86 RF: 'pero mo'zotroz 'era dife'renti. jo ë el ... komen'si
87 la e'skola ita'ljana ... no a'via e'skola frä'seza
88 a'kel 'tjempo; 'era 'skola ita'ljana. muz ambi'zavamuz
89 el frä'sez tam'bjen i le'breo, ma la 'lingwa prisi'pal
90 'era lita'ljano.

91 EF: o kiž 'd'zir, tu no fwèdz a la 'skola džu'öia en la
džuö's'ria?

92 RF: jes, a la 'skola džu'öia en la džuö's'ria, ma no 'era
94 lali'äs!

95 EF: a, no 'era maz lali'äs, 'era ...

96 RF: no 'era lali'äs, ...

97 EF: ... 'era çl'räìi ita'ljana.

98 RF: ... 'era 'skola itali'ana 'purke, a'kel 'tjempo, loz
99 itali'anoz ja 'eran, 'stavan en 'roðiz, ænd æ", ...
i
100 mas 'kwalo ... apren'diamuz 'toðaz 'èstas 'lingwas!
EF: wel a, del, ḫf kors, 'stamoz a'vlando ja e ȫife'resiaz
de la e'dad 'tuja i 'mia, 'stamuz a'vlando ḫd, o, do,
doz 'epokaz um 'poko dide'rentiz. en el 'tjempo ke
ma'koōro jo de la tʃi'kez, de 'kwando 'era tʃi'ki o i
'tʃiko, 'era la, 'era ėflu'ēsia, ėflu'ēsia 'yrandi
'turka 'purke mi ama'koōro25 lo ke mis pari'entes
sa'vian todz a'vlar, a'vlavan bjen in 'turku 'purke
őa'inda 'asta el milnuyv'sjentuz i 'dodži 'rodis
aparte'nia a la tur'kia; ḥa tur'kia ě'stuvo en 'rodis
pur kwatru'ʃentuz 'ańu'.

RF: si.

EF: Ḫe: zir, en milnuyv'sjents i 'dodži ki luz, ḥl
go'verno i'tałia ... 'uvo la 'gera i litæ'ljæāh, luz
ita'ljanuz oku'parō la 'izla i, ḥi milnuyv'sjëuz i
'dodži, 'rodis si 'izu itæ'ljæna.

RF: si.

EF: ænd am, ma 'mizmo los profi'soris ki ti'niamuz en la
'skola 'mwesra, ma'koōro ḥa a'via um profe'sor vi'dal
ke 'era profë'sor ôi i'breo. a'via um profe'sor 'mizmu
de la 'rusia. no se di ke 'liŋgwa 'esi profe'sor ... 
a'ja muz ambu'zava i'breo, a'via profe'sorez
itæ'ljænoz; el ... il, il derek'tor ële la 'skola 'era

itæ'ljæno.

RF: itæ'ljæno, ële la i'talja.

EF: itæ'ljæno, si, i a'via prof.'sorez ðitæ'ljæno. la, la
prof.'sora mas ki, ki bus²⁶ ako'oramuz da'in'da 'asta el
'dia di oi, ki ûse'ño ðen'era'sjones ði 'mwares 'era
'unà maðmwæ'zel ta'rantu ka ...

RF: ou!

EF: ... asa'yun ta:'koðras, [],²⁷ 'kwandum vi'nimus a'ki a
la'merika, 'antæ šø 'dodži 'añuz su'pimus ki mamwæ'zel
ta'rantu bi'via a'ki ð si'àtøl, i 'kwandum 'fwæmuz a
važø'tar a si'àtal, la 'prima 'koza ki, ki bu'ʃkimuz ði
a'zer 'ez a viž'tarla a 'esta maðmwæ'zel ta'rantu. i,
ì 'faektu, la 'fwæmuz, la ðe'rimuz,²⁸ la vižø'timuz i
muz 'izu 'una risivi'dura a'ja mwi, mwi 'yrande. 'era
'unà profa'sora mwi 'strikerja, mwi sè'vera, ma 'era mwi
'bwena profa'sora, i ðz a 'kauza 'ðea ki, ki muz
amba'zimuz ø vera'mente a'vlar el frã'sez, ki 'mizmu al
'dia de oi, ki, pur 'añuz i 'añuz, nu tu'vi ... no
tε'niamuz 'nunka okazi'on di a'vlar al frã'sez', i
da'inda el 'dia de oi, sa'vemuz el frã'sez ba'stante
bjê.
'era 'una prufa'sora mwi ekspsio'nal tam'bjen 'purki
'era, 'era ' strikta mas kô'riôa ói 'toôos 'pirko ..., 'purki, vera'menti, Ì"sè'ñava mwi de mwi bjên, i kun
'ea no a'via a a'zer 'naôa di spes ... ói'viaz di
ambi'zarti, no a'via 'otra ma'néra óì, óì a'zer.

so, [], 29 jo ti 'ôisi, a'via óì ..., al imp'sjo30
'dîsi ki te 'eramuz 'una fa'mia óì 'kwatru ir'manuz i
'una er'mana. jo, a la e'dad di 'tredži 'añuz,
muzotruz mus sa'limuz óe la džuô'ria. mi 'pa're
kom'pro 'una 'kaza 'fwêra en ël ma'raj, a'fwêra, 'ke
'era 'una 'kaza, a'keus 'tjempuz 'era 'una 'kaza
vera'menti mwi 'bwena, i a la e'dad di 'tredži 'añus,
'kwandu, 'kwandu ska'pi la 'skola džu'dia, mu'zo'dru'
mus 'f'ëmus,31 sa'limuz óe la džuô'ria i mus 'fwemuz
a mu'rar al ma'raj, al ma'raj kô, kô, ma'raj, al, al,
a los st'burbz, a'fwêra, ënd a, i da'ja mi fwe jo a
kôti'nwar loz e'stuôioz è la 'skola itâ'ljôna. la mas
'parti, p'ôd ser tres, 'kwatro 'deos, ële lus kum'pañuz
miu óì, óì 'klasa kôti'nwarô kô mî è la 'skola
itâ'ljôna; luz 'otrus 'todus si 'fwêron pi'jin ë
lâvo'rar. a la, a la e'dad di 'tredži, ka'torzi 'añus,
'kizi 'añus, la mas 'parti si 'fwêrô lâvo'rar. a,
'asta k, a en, 'asta ñ'kel 'tjempo ñ'reòi miz er'manuz
ja, i ñl ir'manu 'yrandi 'mio, 'džako, en ël
milnuvi'sjents ñ venti'kwatru, 'kwandu jo 'era òa'inda
tʃiki'tiko, ja par'ttjo 'para, a'via par'tiòu, 'para la ro'dezia na, a la ro'dezia, k ... di ke si fwe a la ro'dezia? jo ta'nia ü 'tìu, ün ir'mano di mi 'paòre, ki ... 'vers' ... nu se 'kwáòo eγζàkta'menti, 'kre'o ge in il milnyv'isjèntz i 'siŋku, milnyv'isjènt'z i 'sej, par'ttjo di 'rodis, si fwe a la ro'dezja. si fwe a la ro'dezja, e'stuvò ai 'unus 'kwantuz 'aŋuz i, i pi'ʃin 'antiz öe la 'prima 'gera, 'kreiu, ki 'vinu a, a, tur'no a 'rodis, 'era mä'sevo 'ðainò, [ ø]32 a'stava siŋ ka'zar, 'vinu a 'rodis, tu ... t'u'ko una 'novia, si kæ'zo, i tur'no di 'mwevo a la ro'dezia. ënd a, dus'pwez òi 'unus 'kwantuz 'aŋuz, ja te'nia un 'etjo ba'stant'i 'bweno, lo man'do ja'mar a m' ar'mano 'γrandi, 'džako, i mi ar'manu si fwe a'ja ë milnov'isjèntz i venti'kwatro, 'kreiu. òus'pwez òi un 'aŋu ò doz, ìl si'γundu ar'manu 'mio, æf ber'tu, si fwe ta'mjë a la ro'dezia i mi 'tiu le'ò, kà lo man'do a ja'mar, 'purke a'kel 'tjempo a'via al'redi 'una emiyra'sjон ba'stant, ba'stante 'γrande. 'mũntjòs e'stavan [,33 kẽn si in'ia34 a la'merika, kẽn a la'merika òel sur, de lardžen'tina, al bra'zil, a'ki ì la'merika, nỳ jork, at'lan'ta, si'ætæl, loz 'andžəlæz, i 'mũntjuz a'via a al a ... a ro'dezia, in 'lafrika, i al 'kongo belž, ki a'γwera la ro'dezia ez a'γwera zim'babwe, ìl 'kongo belž a'γwera ez za'ir.
RF: st, ez, ez interes'anti di ver 'komo si 'fweron di 'tođa, a 'tođañ las 'partez di l 'mundu, ispesial'mente ðes'pwez di ki ... ðel 'treinta i 'otjo 'kwandu 'uvo ra'sizmo: la i'talja si ðli'o kun la dżer'manja i en'tonsiz si 'fwerő' maz 'múntfuz ði 'roðís. æ'viæn ke'dædo 'unuz doz mil pær'asonas i 'roðís sola'menti, i 'estaz doz mil, el ... ðn el 'año kwarenta'kwatro, 'fweron deport'taðos 'toðus, i 'fweron deport'taðoz a 'aujvits 'ondi si muri'eñ la mas 'parti.

EF: ma ...

RF: lo ke ke'daron 'fweron do'zjentas pær'asonas, and ðæts, 'eso f'ë 'toðo.

EF: ma ... di 'roðiz, natural'menti, jo, 'kwando sa'li de 'roðiz, ja te'nia al'reði, 'ëra un 'ombri, 'ëra ù mæ'sevu ði venti'un 'añuñ, so, de ma'næra ke 'tenğu 'unaz me'morias fan'tastikaz ðe 'roðis. loz a'miyoz ðe, ðe, ðe la tji'kez ðe 'roðiz no me lós 'pweðo 'nuñka, 'nuñka olvi'ðar. ez vär'dað ki nu tì'ñiamuz, dżer'al'menti a'vlandu, no a'via ri'kezaz, no a'via, ma 'ëra 'una 'viða 'bwe'a ... kum ... pa'savamoz 'kumu 'tjikos, los pasa'tjempoz 'ëran vëra'menti ñ la ka'leža, ñ la ka'leža džu'gywavamoz a'ja kon lo ... džu'gywavamoz a laz 'bijaz, džu'gywavamoz a ko'ñer,
džu'ɣwavamuh ... el paso'tjempo èn'tera 'era
'prop pièu ... a'ziamoz 'era ... džu'ɣwavamos fut'bol,
'iamuz a la kae 'antja en las pi'lotaz, 'iamuz ... nu
se ... a, a, a la 'pwërta ñe la mar a'i, a las 'peñaz,
a las 'kozaz, ènd ñm, ma 'komu ma'kooro ki 'mizmu
'kumu da'ída i'žiku di 'dodži 'añus, 'trežiči 'añuz,
a'kel 'tjempu ñl, ... a'vian a'vjer tu èn la džud'ria
'mizmu un ko'ledžo ra'biniko, ko'ledžo 'ondi
'stavan ... emp'saron []35 'dženti []36 mā'sevuz, i
de, no 'solo di 'roöiz ñe ñe, ñe, ñe, no se ... del
e'žiptu, del nor'tafrika, 'mizmu a'via um 'pretu de
'abi'sìja ...

RF: sì.

EF: ... ki vi ... e'stava vi'ñendu a 'estì ko'ledžo 'para
   a'zërsin 'titʃrs ...

RF: profe'sores.

EF: ... profë'sorez di i'breu, o ra'binuz, i mu'zotros,
   'komu i'levaz di 'skola, ma'kooro, loz ja'batis 'iamuz
   a'ja al ko'ledžo ra'binikò a to'mar lisi'onez ñi, ñi,
   ñi, ñi la 'bibia, del tal'mud, ma 'solo 'estu,
   ñf kors 'era una 'viöa mwi, ta'mjë, mwi džu'dia ... en
   ke 'sësiu? ki ... laz ... el, el ko'mërsju de la i'a
'era en [] en lah 'manuz ñe loz džu'djoz i, i, i 'era
una 'viča mwi džu'dia in døet laz bu'tikaz, luz
'ëgосjos, il 'dia ñi jà'bat, 'sabato, jà'bat, 'todo
'stava se'radu, ma al'ñad, ke 'ëra, al'ñad, 'todu\textsuperscript{37}
æ'vrian. jà'bat mu'zotrus 'todus, kon 'mwesos\textsuperscript{38}
'pañrez, muz 'iamus 'sjemprì a la sìna'qoyà--'ëra,
'ëra do'vere. las sìna'qoyàz, el 'dia ñi jà'bat di
ma'ñana, 'stavan, 'stavan, 'jenaz i, duñ'pwez ñe la
sìna'qoyà, muz 'iamuñ a viži'tar a las 'tiañ a'ja i
muz 'óavan a la, a la, las 'tiañ, a los ' tôiz, a
b ..., a bi'zar la 'manu a to'ôuz i a salu'darmuz pur
ñi jà'batë,\textsuperscript{39} ñeñ ñìm, ...

\textsuperscript{37} RF: wel æ, jo mi a'koθru tam'bjë ke 'ëra una 'viča mwi
trañ'kila i mwi, a öñ no, te'nemoz 'unos suve'nìres
mwi er'mozos i ... di, di la 'izla, di laz, di 'kwandu
vi'nia la, leños'e'ranò, ki muz 'iamuñ a tu'mar luz
'bañus a la plaž, a la ma'. des'pwez, la prima'vera
'kwandò 'toñoz los 'kampos sist'qìan a'ja ñi
marya'ritaz i di, ñi 'floriz di la kam'pàna ke
'ëra ... muz 'iamuñ a ñer lus 'pìñiks kun 'tòôz ñi
la kam'pàna, e, 'kwalò ... 'ëra, 'ëra 'una 'viča mwi
ayra'ôavle. da'inda, la 'izla ðì mwi er'moza 'pero nu
'tjëne a'ke' ñermo'zura ñe a'kel 'tjëmpò 'purke si
tro'ko, si zvilu'po mwi 'mûntjò; a'kea vez 'ëra mas,
'kreyu, 'para mi, 'ëra maz, maz er'moza. des'pwez, ñen
la escuela, la, la luz, a miembros, siempre


ti'niamuz, mus 'viamuz 'muntfo, džo'wavamus 'muntfo

en las 'kaes ... ai ða nau, 'era, 'era una 'viða mwi

ayra'ðavle, 'kre'o.40 sola'menti ke 'kwâ'nöo no

po'di ... jo ... el re'yreto maz 'yrande ye 'teño es

ke no 'puði konti'nwar di estudi'ar 'purke, a'kel

tjemplo, la escuelas se se'raron 'para 'todo' loz

džudi'oz--'esto fwe ð el milnove'sjentoz i 'trenta i

'otjo 'kwando, 'kwando la i'talja komë'so a ëzer las,
laz leiz ra'sjales ... tam'bjen.

EF: ma, a'parti di 'eso, a'ðwëra, a ... a'vlandu di 'antiz
di 'estu, del milnuvi'sjentz i kwâ'rënta i 'unu,
kwa'rënta i doz, a'vlandu de la, 'propriu ðe la
tji'kes ...a'i, ma'koðru ki 'kwando jo fwe a la 'skola

ita'ljana, k'i 'stuvi 'kwatro 'añuz in la 'skola

ita'ljana 'para ska'par luz i 'studiuz. a'ðwëra

'muntfuz se 'keðan kuri'ozuz kw ..., en la ro'dezia

o a'ki, se 'keðan kuri'ozu 'komu 'kwandu []41

'kwantaz 'lïngwaz, a ke a'vlamoz di'versaz 'lïngwaz.

mu'zoðroz a'vlamuz e ... ê frã'sez, a'vlamuz en

lïnglëz, a'vlamuz ëta'ljano, a'vlamuz ëspa'nol, jo

'avlo ë 'greyu, i se 'keðà, 'komu es po'sivli? wel,

'era 'una 'koza natu'ral: e, e, e, ê 'kaza

a'vlavamus ... ëspa'nol. mu'zoðroz no, no, a'kel
RF: si.

EF: ...'para mu'zotro', a'vlavamus spa'ñol: 'mwesos 'pa'res a'vlavan ñspa'ñol, lo, l, 'mwesoz ... los 'pa'rez de 'mwesos 'pa'res, pur žen'era'sjonez i žan'ra'sjoneñ a'vlavën 'spa'ñol, ke a'γwεra lo l, ja'mamuz la'din?, vera'mente, la ... 'kwalu ε' la'dino? la'dino, la ma'n'era ke 'n'tjendu jo, la'dinu ez ñspa'ñol 'vježu, ñspa'ñol ke se a'vlava kwatru'jentuz 'añuz 'antiz, [ ]42 'esoz džu'djoz de 'rođiz. wel, džu' ... è 'rođiz pa'rè ... al para'ser, ès ke a'via džu'djoz di 'antiz òi la ...

RF: o, 'antis.

EF: ... ñkwizisjon di ..., ma la 'yrandi ... ñfu'zjö fwe 'kwandu, du'rante la ekspul'sjon di, òi, òi, ... de la ñkwizi'sjon de la 'spaña, ki 'toooz loz džu'øjos 'fweron obli'yaōoz öa 'irse öa la 'spaña. 'una 'yrandi par'tiða 'fweron pr'méro a, a, a la tur'kia, an al im'pero oto'manº, i ða'ja, si 'veneron a 'roðiñ i, i a'ja, pur žen'era'sjön i žen'era'sjön i žen'era'sjön, kontuni'ää, kontu'nimuz a a'vlar an ñspa'ñol. so, ñ
'kaza a'vlavamuz ī ispa'ñol. 'fwemuz a la 'skola ői
tʃiki'tikuz, 'éra pʃin ja muz ambi'zavan a a'vlar ī
frā'ses ... i, i, i ita'ljano tam'bjen, natural'mente,
ī al 'tjempo 'mio. si'komu la ma ..., la, la mažori'ta
de la []"ënàn' greyus 'todus, 'greyus tam'bjē te
ambi'zava īn la 'kaje, 'tantu j'star kō 'greyu, kō
'greyu tē ambi'zavañ, mu'zotruz muz amb'zavamz a a'vlar
ē 'greyu. so, di tʃiki'tikuň, di kwan'd tə'niamuz 'ōzi,
'dodži 'años sa'viamuz a'vlar ɔ'reői 'kwatru 'lɪŋwaz.

RF: jæ:

EF: a'vlavamuz ī, īn ispa'ñol, ī frā'sez, ī, īn iŋ'glėz,
i, i, i sa'viamuz mīl'dar ī, īn i'breu ta'mjē
ba'stante, ba'stante bjën.

RF: jo 'kreýo kī ... mi fa'mia 'debe45 ser ki bivi'o ēn
'roðīz di ... 'tėŋo di se'yuro 'unos tre'zjentos
'años 'antis ki 'stavan ė 'roðīs. spēsial'mente la
fa'mia ɪzɬa'el46 'purki ti'nīa" loz ra'binos, ju: no,
pur du'zjentoz i sin'kwenta 'años tu'vjeron ra'binos
iŋ 'kaða ženera'sjon de 'esta fa'mia, i 'lultimo
ra'bino ōi 'roðīs, ki 'éra il 'tiu ōi mi 'paõre, fwe
'lultimu ra'binu ōi 'roðīs. est ... a 'kaða s ... 331
fa'bat 'iamuz a viži'tarlo, ē, i 'éra um pla'zer di
ver 'esti 'ɔmbri 'purke 'éra un 'ombri ki vera'menti
EF: wel, a'vlandu ðe 'ese ra'bino, ðel 'tiu ke 's, 'ke 'éra 'tiu 'tuju, ðl gran ra'binu ði 'roðiz, jo me la'koðru 'tantu 'klaru 'purke jo 'ia a la sin'a'goya 'andi 'ia ðl ra'bino, ...
kondzia una partiöa öl ser'visju. dous'pwez muz
'dava 'sjempr' ü ser'mon ën, ën ispañol, i 'ëra 'una
fi'yura vera'menti di ki 'toöuz lu, lu mi'ravamus kô,
kôn ü ri'spektu ...

RF: si.

EF: ... fantastiku, fenome'nal, aaa ...

RF: vera'mente, 'éra un, un 'ombre mwi spë'sjal, 'mezmu ki
jo 'éra mwi 'tšika ña'inda, 'përø mi lu ri'koöro
'tantu 'klaru: 'éra, 'éra, vera'menti, lo 'teño e
ôe'lantre ôe miz 'ožus!
4. Analysis of the Transcription

4.1. Phonetics

This section examines phonetic features of the recording from both a diachronic and synchronic standpoint by presenting the historical development of phonemes characteristic of the informants' speech and situating them within the framework of eastern Judeo-Spanish and within Hispano-Romance generally.

4.1.1 Vowels

4.1.1.1. A prominent feature of the speech heard in the recording, especially Mr. Ferera's, is the frequently different timbre of atonic vowels compared to that of those in Standard Spanish.

4.1.1.2. This occurs not only in syllables within words but also in monosyllabic words such as prepositions, pronouns and articles which, as they are generally proclitic, are atonic within the sentence. For example, pretonic and atonic final /e/ and /o/ are often raised to [i] and [u] respectively: [api'yaða] (15), [bi'zar] (249) ['nombri] (5), ['grandi] (29), [mu'raβaž] (55), [tu'mar] (254), ['lokus] (18), ['kwatru] (31), ['solu] (28). Monosyllabic words such as prepositions and articles, atonic by nature, follow the same pattern: [di] (3), [lu] (10). This distinctive feature of the informants' speech is
characteristic not only of the pronunciation of Rhodian Jews (Lévy, Angel 135). Final /e/ and /o/ are pronounced [i] and [u] "en todas las regiones occidentales (Macedonia, Bosnia, Servia, Bulgaria occidental)." These atonic vowels are raised in any position in the western dialects but are better preserved in the eastern dialects, including Constantinople, where they are raised only in pretonic position. In Salonika, there is hesitation between [e] and [i] even when /e/ is prothonic.

Research has therefore shown that although treatment of these atonic vowels varies among Judeo-Spanish dialects, a pattern can be observed among western dialects on the one hand and eastern dialects on the other.

4.1.1.3. In the recording, atonic /e/ and /o/ are quite often pronounced as [e] and [o]: ['paore] (9), [ke] (18), [de] (10), [e'dad] (78); ['kwatro] (8), ['klaro] (14), [de'retoz] (24), ['poko] (22).

4.1.1.4. The timbre of atonic vowels may become more open: [en] (11), [des'pwez] (47), [de] (56), [jo] (1), [no] (61); or lax: [mi] (9), [k'o] (315) (Sp. "con"), [pruf'zora] (137).

4.1.1.5. As with pretonic /e/ in the last example, a vowel falling in atonic position may be reduced to "schwa" ([a]). This occurs particularly in rapid speech and especially with /e/. Thus, /a/ > [a]: [la ja'mavan] (345); /e/ > [a]: [ma'kooro ka a'via] (118), [a'vlar øl fräs'zæ] (141); /i/ > [a]: [la zikaz] (74), [a'vlamuz øta'ljano] (284); /o/ and /u/ do not appear to be reduced to [a].
4.1.1.6. Elision commonly causes vowels to disappear, as in colloquial Spanish everywhere. Some of the many examples to be found in the transcription are: [ˈdeos] (20), Sp. "de ellos"; [aˈkauza ˈðea] (138), Sp. "de ella"; [daˈriva] (21), Sp. "de arriba". In [taˈkoðas] (130), Sp. "te acuerdas," the [e] of the reflexive pronoun has been assimilated to the initial [a] of the verb but the length of the vowel shows that the vowels have not become fully elided as in [maˈkoðru] (10), Sp. "me acuerdo".57

4.1.1.7 Atonic vowels, clearly articulated in std. Spanish, may be eliminated entirely: [vo əmpˈsar] (1), Sp. "voy a empezar"; [pwed ser] (70), [todz] (107), [en ˈsuptu] (19).58 The interesting form [fweˈdz] (91) (OSp. "fueste," std. mod. Sp. "fuiste") has developed through apocope of the posttonic /i/ of metathesized /ˈfweˈtis/ and voicing of the resulting consonant cluster in liaison with the following preposition.59

4.1.1.8. Vowels in stressed syllables are generally of the same timbre as in the standard modern language, although tonic /e/ very frequently opens to [ɛ], especially before /r/ and nasals with reasonable consistency: [aˈγwɛɾa] (8), (OSp. "agora," std. mod. Sp. "ahora"), [ˈɛɾa] (15), [ˈɛɾamuz] (30), [plaˈzer] (52); [bjen] (107), [tamˈbjen] (312), [dɪˈɛɾɛnti] (86).

4.1.1.9. Initially, the distribution of open/close and lax/tense vowels, which are often in free variation, may appear chaotic. Patterns do emerge, however, when one discerns the
significant role played by syntactic phonetics; the timbre of a vowel is frequently determined by its phonetic environment.

4.1.1.10. A few examples drawn from Mr. Ferera's speech will serve to illustrate this important feature. For instance, the Sp. conjunction "que," often pronounced [ki] since it is atonic, is always heard as [ke] immediately before [e] or [ε] through assimilation: [ke t'ra] (77), [ke tεŋu] (208); also due to assimilation, [e] instead of [i] may be pronounced in the environment of mid to low vowels, especially when they are both preceding and following the conjunction: [ma'koo ro ke la ja'mavan] (18), ['asta ke jo] (26), [en el 'tjempo ke ma'koo ro jo] (103-104). The same sort of articulatory approximation can be perceived in the raising or lowering of the timbre of atonic vowels throughout the recording. In the following examples, the same words, repeated seconds later, can take different forms under the influence of their phonetic environment: [en 'suptu 'ntru la 'not[e_a'via] (19); [si alvan'tava 'ntru la 'not[i_e]] (20).

4.1.1.11. The fact that timbre appears sometimes to be conditioned by phonetic environment therefore suggests that the distribution of atonic vowels is not totally free. It is also possible that a determined lexical element may become a kind of phonetic unit which prevents raising of atonic /-e/. An example of this in the recording may be /'paøre(s)/ and /'maøre/ (the former cited by Angel as an example of a word in which raising would take place). The words are mentioned several times, each
time with /-e/ preserved. Conforming to the pattern is Angel's other example: ['nombri] (5).

4.1.1.12. Diphthongization in the recording is generally as in Std. Spanish. In terms of the number of different words in which there is divergence from Std. Spanish phonetics, these are rather few. They are often repeated, however. Many of the Jews who settled in the eastern Mediterranean in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries spoke Hispanic dialects and languages in which diphthongization was either unstable (Leonese, Aragonese) or in which Latin /œ/ and /ø/ were not diphthongized (Portuguese, Catalan).

4.1.1.13. The diphthongized Standard Spanish form "escuela" never appears in the transcription, only ['skola], [e'skola] or [ɔ'skola]. Forms such as [ma'koo̯ru] and [ta:'koɔ̯ras], mentioned above, also show an undiphthongized stressed stem vowel (cf. Sp. "me acuerdo," "te acuerdas") which may have developed through analogy with the first person singular [ako'ɔramuz] (126), and/or the infinitive or through Portuguese or Italian influence.

4.1.1.14. The form [dzi'zeʃ] (7) is worthy of note for the absence of diphthongization in both syllables in which it is present in Standard Spanish ("dieciséis").

4.1.1.15. When a vowel precedes /n/, it often becomes strongly nasalized and the consonant disappears completely: [ta'mjø] (71), [pr̩si'pal] (72), [k̩ti'nwaro k̩] (162),
4.1.1.16. The conjunction /i/ (Sp. "y") is not pronounced [e] by dissimilation as in the standard language ("e") before words with initial /i/: [i'zikuz i i'zikaz] (73), [i frã'ses . . . i ita'ljano] (311-312).

4.1.1.17. An example of dissimilation is the form [dus'pwez] (180) (Wagner, 73, n. 11) in which pretonic /e/ becomes [u] anticipating the labial semiconsonant.

4.1.2 Consonants

4.1.2.1. Phonetically, and historically, one of the most distinctive features of Judeo-Spanish, clearly reflected in the recording, is the general preservation of the Old Spanish sibilants and their phonemic distinctions. The so-called "phonetic revolution"—during which deviations from standard pronunciation, previously latent or limited in scope, became widespread and ultimately triumphed and medieval pronunciation was largely transformed into what may be considered modern pronunciation—lasted approximately from the mid sixteenth century to the first quarter of the seventeenth, and was accomplished, for the most part, roughly during the lifetime of Cervantes and Lope de Vega. The question is naturally complex: one cannot measure precisely when a certain change in pronunciation took place for there were not only chronological but also
geographical and sociological factors which must be taken into consideration. A phonetic change probably took root in one area then in another, first among one generation or social class, and likely did not affect all words of the class at the same time.

When Jews were compelled to abandon the kingdoms of Castile and Aragon in the spring and summer of 1492, Standard Castilian Spanish had three pairs of sibilants, each pair consisting of a voiced/unvoiced contrast: [ts]/[dz]; [ʃ]/[ʒ]; and [ʃ]/[ʒ]. The subsequent "phonetic revolution" entailed the loss of phonemic distinction within and among these pairs through articulatory relaxation for ease of pronunciation—very important for consonantal development in Spanish—and through devoicing of the voiced element of each pair. 

4.1.2.2. Until the sixteenth century, orthographic "ç" ("c" before /e/ and /i/) and "z" were affricates, pronounced [ts] and [dz] respectively. The weakening and subsequent disappearance of the plosive element (the voiced affricate was the first to undergo change) left dental sibilants pronounced [s] and [z]. As in the Spanish of southern Spain, Spanish America, and in Standard Portuguese, the OSp. unvoiced affricate has, in Judeo-Spanish, become a fricative: [nasì] (6), [nasìdo] (6), [konosìa] (50) [sin'kwènta] (327), ['una 'yrasja] (334). The weakened articulation of the plosive element of the corresponding voiced affricate [dz] produced [z]: [pla'zèr] (52), ['izu] (136) (Sp. "hizo"), [di'ziamus] (289). The resulting voiced fricative has preserved the old
voiced/unvoiced contrast lost in the standard language four hundred years ago. Of even greater significance is the survival, in a limited number of words, of the plosive element of this affricate. In some JSp. dialects, the affricate /dz/ is still heard in a limited number of words, including /'dodzi/ and /'tredzi/; the phoneme is heard palatalized in others, as in the recording: ['dodzi] (108) and ['tredzi] (151). Reduction of /dz/ to a fricative has taken place in ['ōzi] (317), [ka'torzi] (78) and ['kīzi] (165).

4.1.2.3. In Old Spanish, orthographic "x" was pronounced [ʃ]. Judeo-Spanish, in keeping with its highly conservative nature, has maintained this unvoiced palatal fricative, heard in the recording in ['baʃu] (21) and [ti 'ōiʃi] (149). The dialect has also kept the corresponding voiced phoneme, [ʒ] intervocalically and [dʒ] initially or after a consonant, in Old Spanish orthographically "j," or "g" before /e/ and /i/: [ka'leʃa] (16), [i'zikuz] (73), [vjeʒu] (296), [oʒus] (363); [dzuʃ'ria] (11), [dzu'dia] (16), [dzu'djoz] (239) (note the shift in stress, cf. Sp. "judíos," but its preservation in the feminine adjective immediately preceding), [dzu'ywavamos] (218), [dʒe'ral'menti] (212); however, the plosive element can disappear especially when the phoneme is syntactically in medial position: [pur źeʃra'sjon i źeʃra'sjon i źeʃra'sjon] (308). As can be seen, the old voiced/unvoiced contrast has again been maintained, in this case without a change in articulation.
4.1.2.4. In Judeo-Spanish, [zę] and [dż] were allophones, as they had been in Old Spanish, until the intense Westernization which began in the last century. French words with initial /zę/ and Italian words with intervocalic /dż/ (e.g. [ko'ledżo] [224]) entered the dialect. As a result, since [zę] and [dż] could then appear in the same positions, they ceased to be allophones, becoming separate phonemes.

4.1.2.5. Until the mid sixteenth century, the phoneme represented by orthographic "s" in initial and absolute final position as well as by medial "ss", was an unvoiced alveolar sibilant (/ś/), which it remains in central, northern and eastern Spain, northern Portugal and southern France. In Judeo-Spanish, however, as in the speech of much of southern Spain, of Spanish America and in Standard Portuguese, the phoneme has become dental due to the influence of /s/ (< /ts/): [prufa'sora] (138), ['esi] (120), [ser] (25). The preservation of the corresponding voiced phoneme /z/, orthographically "s,“ has maintained in Judeo-Spanish dialects the old voiced/unvoiced contrast. As occurred with the unvoiced counterpart, there was again a shift in articulation from alveolar to dental due to phonetic interference from the phoneme resulting from the former dental affricate ([z] < [ądż] < [dz]): ['kaza] (13), [kæ'zo] (179), [bi'zar] (249).

4.1.2.6. The sibilant /s/ is voiced according to the laws of syntactic phonetics, as it was in Old Spanish. This voicing occurs not only where it does in the standard modern language,
i.e. preceding the voiced consonant of a following word—[sa'limuz ðe] [152], ['éstaz doz mil] [200]—but also in linking with the vowel of the following word: ['kwantaz ér'manaz 'èraʃ?] (45), [i'zikoz i i'zikaz in 'džuntus] (80-81).

4.1.2.7. The fundamental aspect of the change from medieval to modern pronunciation concerns the transformation of the sibilants. The preservation, to a large degree, of essential features of the Old Spanish phonetic system is what largely accounts for the distinctive, archaic nature of Judeo-Spanish pronunciation and, in this respect, makes the dialect seem closer to sister languages and dialects of the Peninsula—Portuguese, Galician, Leonese, Aragonese, Catalan—than to Modern Castilian.

4.1.2.8. Documentary evidence gathered by Amado Alonso reveals that the pronunciation of orthographic "v" was, in the late Middle Ages, more or less as English /v/, but with weaker articulation. It also indicates that there was confusion between the articulation of "v" and of "b", not surprisingly, which began in the north, in the region of Burgos, close to the Basque country—this is significant, for testimony indicates that the Basques confused the articulation of the two phonemes—whence it spread to the Centre and then to the South. In 1492, the confusion existed but was not yet general. The old labiodental pronunciation [v], preserved in Eastern Judeo-Spanish, is much in evidence in the transcription: [tu'vjeron] (327), [mo'ravamuz] (16), ['dava] (355),
[a'via] (79), ['uvo] (113). In cases where Sp. orthographic "v" occurs at the beginning of a breath group, [v] instead of [b] is almost always heard: [vo] (1), ['vinu] (178). When [v] is heard in the recording, it represents Sp. orthographic "v" (std. mod. Sp. [b] or [β]) or "b" (when [β] in std. mod. Sp.). The initial [b] of forms of Sp. "vivir," although an exception to this norm, can be found in Nebrija: [bi'viamuz] (11), [bi'vimuz] (25), [bi'vi] (26), [bi'vian] (40).

4.1.2.9. Initial Latin "f-" is either kept or lost completely, as in std. mod. Spanish. The phoneme is preserved in: ['fwɛrá] (vb.) (25)/(prep.) (153), [fa'mia] (30), [έfeliz'mente] (46), [fwɛdz] (Sp. "fuiste") (91), [fwe] (159), ['floriz] (Sp. "flores") (257); it is lost in: [a'vlar] (1), [a'vlandu] (65), [a'vlavan] (107), [a'vlavamus] (287), [a'vlava] (297), [a'vlamoz] (282), [i'žiku] (dim. of Sp. "hijo"; here = Sp. "niño") (222), [i'žikuz] (73), [i'žikaz] (74), [a'zer] (134), ['izu] (vb.) (115), [a'ziamoz] (218), ['etjo] (n. < p. p.) (180), [ɛr'moza] (263), [ɛr'mozos] (253), [ɛrmo'zura] (261).

4.1.2.10. Luria reported the loss of /f/ < Lat. "f-" in Rhodes as well as nearby Chios and Smyrna and noted that it had also disappeared in other areas of the East of the former Ottoman Empire including Constantinople, Sofia, Palestine, Cairo and Alexandria. He indicated that, in the Western region, the phoneme had been retained in Monastir (Yugoslavia), Salonika and Bosnia, for example. The treatment of Lat. "f-" therefore
depended on geographical location. Interestingly, he found that sociological factors also influenced the treatment of the phoneme. The older generation of Monastir generally preserved the phoneme but younger people tended to eliminate the phoneme in imitation of the speech of Salonika, an important and more modern centre where /f/ was not maintained consistently. They would even mock its retention (Lur. 428-429). In other areas, there is aspiration of initial Lat. "f-," as can be heard in south and western Spain and Spanish America. The three stages of retention, aspiration and loss of /f/ are a reflection of the current and historical situation of Hispanic languages and dialects.

4.1.2.11. Palatalization of /s/ (> [ʃ]) may occur before an unvoiced plosive, i.e. when injective: [buʃkimuz] (133), [duʃpwez] (246) (Sp. "después," the only place palatalization occurs in this word). This phonetic change also occurred in fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Spanish; it is common in Judeo-Spanish (Monastir [Lur. 437]) and can still be heard in dialect. In a few instances, there is also palatalization in the environment of "yod" or a high front vowel: /sj/ > [ʃ]: [kwatruʃɛntuz] (110); /insi/ > [ʃi]: [prʃi'pal] (70); /eis/ > [eʃ]: [dizi'seʃ] (7). With regard to the last example, there is the possibility of phonetic influence from Portuguese both in the palatalization of /-s/ and in the lack of diphthongization in the first syllable (cf. Ptg. "dezasseis" [dazə'saiʃ]). In Portuguese, sibilants are palatal in word-final position.
Cf. also ['era\] (45) (Sp. "érais"), cf. Ptg. "éreis" (['era\]).

4.1.2.12. Voiced /z/ is heard palatalized in the third person singular of Sp. "querer," which forms part of the stock phrase ['ki\u00f9u \'zi\u00f1\u00f1] (7) (Spanish would use the present tense: "quiere decir [que]"). In Old Spanish, the phoneme /\u00f3/ was also heard in this verb form as well as in /vi\u00f1\u00f1\u00f1\u00e1r/: [vo\u00f3\u00f1\u00f1\u00e1r] (133). Cf. also ['kwa\u00e7\u00e1] (13).

4.1.2.13. In Judeo-Spanish, as in much of the Spanish of Latin America and the Peninsula, palatal /l/ ([\u00e1]) has been reduced to "yod" ([j]) ("yeismo"): [jo] (3), [ja'mar] (181), [ja] (311), [a'ja] (69). However, when [j] < [\u00e1] is intervocalic and not at the beginning of a stressed syllable or a breath group, it often disappears entirely: ['kae] (35), ['ea] (147) (Sp. "ella"), [a'keus] (154) (Sp. "aquellos"), [a'kea] (262), Sp. "aquella." The form [fa'mia] (30) (Sp. "familia") indicates that [lj] has to have been identified with, or become, [\u00e1] for the same phonetic development to have taken place. The exception is found in ['bijaz] (216) (< Fr. "billes" [bij]).

4.1.2.14. The multiple alveolar vibrant /\u00e1/ is reduced to a single vibration ("flap") (/r/) in both initial and medial position: [fe'\u00e7\u00e1r\u00e9ra] (5), ['ro\u00f8is] (6), [da'\u00e7\u00e1r\u00e9va] (21), ['ro\u00f8za] (42), ['rika] (62), ['g\u00e7\u00e1ra] (113).

4.1.2.15. English interference is probably responsible for [r] instead of [r]: ['propr\u00edu] (15).
4.1.2.16. Voiced plosives are frequently heard where the corresponding fricatives would be expected in Modern Spanish pronunciation: [b]: [ja bi'vimuz] (25), [ki bi'vian] (40), [ra'binos] (327), [ba'stante bjë] (142-143); [d]: [a la e'dad di] (78), ['era di] (69); [g]: [sın'a'goya] (28), [la gër'a] (113). The articulation of voiced plosives, other than at the beginning of a breath group or after a nasal, could very well be a survival from the old language.

4.1.2.17. Metathesis, which has played a role in the development of Spanish and is common in popular speech today, can be seen in a few forms which are characteristically Judeo-Spanish. "Recordar" undergoes the same kind of metathesis as the forms of "acordar" shown above: [mi lu ri'koôro] (361), [[mi ari'koôro] (48) (the latter form evidence either of prosthetic "a" [to be discussed later] or confusion with "acordar"). Another example is the previously-mentioned verb form [fwædz], part of the phrase [...] tu no fwædz a la 'skola džu'ðia [...] (91). OSp. "fueste" (Neb. 114, 125) has undergone metathesis to become JSp. /'fwetis/. "Fueste(s)" can be found in Leonese. Through syncope of the posttonic vowel, /tis/ > /ts/ and then voicing of the resulting cluster in liaison with the following vowel: /ts/ > [dz]. Metathesis is also evident in [pr'merô] (306).

4.1.2.18. Initial /n/ is pronounced [m] in pronominal and adjectival forms of the first person plural: [mu'zotrus] (243),
and in the adj. ['mwevo]: [tur'no di 'mwevo a la ro'dezia] (179).

4.1.2.19. An intrusive nasal is heard in ['mũntʃu] (71), Sp. "mucho," and in "ambi'zava" (121) (see §4.3.1.3) (Sala, 148-149, 24.3., n. 121). Both forms are characteristically Judeo-Spanish.

4.1.2.20. The velarization of final /n/ as in [eʃ el] (103) is common in varieties of Modern Spanish.

4.1.2.21. Assimilation of /l/ to /r/ occurs in [ke 'fa'binû] (348-349), Sp. "que el rabino." The same occurs in Standard Spanish in which initial /r/, however, is a multiple vibrant.

4.1.2.22. In the first person plural of the imperfect tense of Sp. "jugar," [-'γa-] > [-γwa]: [džu'γwawamos] (218). This phonetic change commonly occurs in other words in Judeo-Spanish (e. g. [lu'γwar]).

4.2. Morphology

4.2.1. Grammatical forms which died out in the standard language during the course of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries live on in Peninsular dialects and in Spanish America, but Judeo-Spanish exhibits a far greater number of archaisms, apparent in certain features of its morphology. In the recording one hears: [vo] (1) instead of Sp. [boi], and [so] (3) for Sp. [soi]. The /i/ of Modern Spanish became the standard after
the Expulsion probably through false division of the common emphatic "soy yo" and then spread, by analogy, to the other first person singular forms ending in stressed /o/.

4.2.2. Other verb forms heard in the recording also take the listener back to Old Spanish: [mus 'viamuz] (265), Sp. "nos veíamos," (Wagner, 110, n. 4) and ['eraʃ] (45), without the /i/ of Sp. "eráis," were common in the old language.

4.2.3. The preterite of Sp. "ir" shows some interesting forms. The first person singular is everywhere the same as the third, e. g. [mi fwe ʃo] (159), [si fwe] (170). Instead of Sp. "fuimos," ['fwêmez] (132) is heard. As mentioned above, the curious metathesized JSp. /'fwetis/ becomes [fwedz] through syncope and voicing.

4.2.4. The first and third persons singular of the imperfect tense of the same verb are ['ia]: [jo 'ia a la sinayɔγa 'andi 'ia e1 ra'bino] (339-340); the plural of the same verb is heard as ['iamus] (67). There is no trace of the Std. Sp. fricative: ['iBa], ['iBamos].

4.2.5. The preterite endings of the first person singular and plural of "-ar" verbs are a distinguishing feature of Judeo-Spanish: they are the same as for verbs ending in "-er" and "-ir." This may have come about through a need to distinguish the preterite of the first person plural from the present, the /i/ of which then spread to the first person singular. Since most of the recording deals with the informants' life on Rhodes, the past tense is used frequently. Some "-ar"-verb forms are:
4.2.6. The first person singular of Sp. "creer" is heard as ['kreyu] (263) or as ['kreiu] (176). Cf. Ara. "crego," "creyo" (ZamV. 262) and the unvoiced velar plosive in Cat. "crec."

4.2.7. The prefixing of /a-/ and /en-/, much more widespread in Old Spanish than in the modern language, is revealed in several nonstandard forms. The preposition "a" is found prefixed to a past participle, used as an adjective: [api'yaða] (15), Sp. "pegada"; to a preposition: [a'serka] (15); to a conjunction: [asa'yun] (130), Sp. "según"; to verbs: Sp. "levantar: [si alvan'tava 'entre la 'notji] (20), [muz al'van'ta'amos] (352); Sp. "recordar": [mi ari'koðro di ti] (48), although here, the /a/ may have arisen through confusion with the commonly used /akodrarse/ (< Sp. "acordarse"). The preposition "en" appears prefixed to Sp. "verano" in [lē'ne'rano] (254), a Judeo-Spanish form which has developed by analogy with Sp. "invierno."91

4.2.8. The full, never the apocopated, form of "tanto" is used before adjectives and adverbs: ['tantu 'tantu 'klaru] (348), ['tantu impo'nente] (351), probably by analogy with the adjectival use of the full form or, perhaps, due to the influence of Italian.
4.2.9. As can be seen from the form [leiz] (273), no /e/ is required after the semivowel /i/ to make the plural, as in the modern, more standardized language (cf. Sp. ['lejes]), in which the semivowel, in final position in the singular, becomes a semiconsonant in medial position in the plural.

4.2.10. One also notices divergence from Standard Spanish concerning noun suffixes. From the Sp. "chico," frequently heard in the recording, frequently heard in the recording both as an adjective and a noun, is derived the nonstandard [tʃi'kɛz] (104), cf. Sp. "niñez," formed from "niño" in the same manner. The formation of the noun [ri'si:vɪ'dura] (136) contrasts with Sp. "recibimiento," "recepción."92

4.2.11. The diminutive suffix used is /-iko/: [i'žiku] (222), [i'žikuz] (73), [i'žikaz] (74); the double diminutive [tʃi ki'tikus] (67), has the infix /ti/ as in Std. Spanish. The suffix /-iko/ is nowadays largely dialectal in the Peninsula and is considered a typical feature of Aragonese. It was very common in Old Spanish but was eventually ousted in the standard language by its contender, /-ito/.

4.2.12. The ordinal [kwar'tenʊ] (32), Sp. "cuarto," shows the /-eno/ suffix common in pop. Old Spanish, used to form ordinal numbers from three to ten.

4.2.13. The suffix /'ižo/ (cf. Sp. "-ijo" ['ixo]) is added to the stem of /empe'sar/ to form [(al) empa'ʃi̞o] (72) (/empe'sižo/) (Wagner 104, n. 1), Sp. "(al) principio."

4.2.15. By analogy with most feminine nouns, final /e/ has become /a/ in ['klasa] (65). The analogical transformation of /-e/ to /-a/ in feminine nouns and adjectives, very common in Judeo-Spanish, is also a feature of Aragonese (cf. Ara. "granda").

4.2.16. The definite article before feminine nouns beginning with "a", whether stressed or unstressed, is "la": [la'merika] (189), [lardżen'tina] (189), ['lafrika] (191).

4.2.17. The masculine personal direct object is never "le," as it is commonly in Spain, always /lo/ ("loismo"): [lo 'teŋgo ē ðe'lanter ðe miz 'ožus] (362-363).

4.2.18. The suffix of the noun [mažori'ta] (313) shows Italian morphological interference (cf. Sp. "mayoría").

4.2.19. The use of prepositions sometimes differs from that of Standard Modern Spanish.

4.2.20. "De" appears instead of "que" in the comparative, with the disjunctive instead of the subject pronoun: [ti'nia 'una ćr'mana mas 'tįka 🦋 mi] (32-33). This looks very much like a calque on the Italian comparative construction. "De qué" instead of "por qué" is heard in [di ke si fwe a la ro'dezia?] - (170-171).
4.2.21. There are also cases in which a preposition is found but where one is not used in Standard Spanish. "De" is employed, contrary to standard usage, in [ez intərɛ'santə ði vər] (194). In the phrase [la 'prima 'koza ki . . . buʃ'kimuz ði a'zer] (133-134), the use of the preposition is almost certainly an italianism because of the verb it accompanies (cf. "cercare di fare qualcosa"). This calque on Italian replaces the native Spanish "tratar de." "En" is heard with "juntos" in [dɛs'pwez ke 'fweramoz depor'taðos kon mis 'paðrez in 'dʒuntus] (47-48), [iamuz a la 'skola en 'dʒuntus] (64-65), [la 'klasa 'mwɛsra ɛra i'žikoz i i'žikaz in 'dʒuntus] (80-81); "a" is also found in addition to "en" where no preposition is required in the standard language; [muz enkon'travamus 'toðoz a ain 'dʒuntuz] (75-76).

4.2.22. With "acordarse de," the preposition is omitted when the object pronoun is used, which precedes the verb: ['ɛsta 'kaza me la'koðru] (24-25), probably by analogy with the verb "recordar" (cf. Sp. "esta casa me acuerdo de ella"). The preposition is also absent in [a'kel 'tjempo] (88), where "en" is required in the standard language.

4.2.23. Other examples of prepositions being used differently from in the standard language are: ['ɛntə la 'notʃi] (20) and [pur ðɔl 'toðo] (50) in the sense of Sp. "en absoluto."

4.2.24. "Muy" is used as an intensifier instead of "-ísimo" in [mwi 'mʊntʃo] (262) (cf. Sp. "muchísimo").
4.2.25. English interference is evident in the non-Romance use of the ordinal number, as well as the preposition preceding it, for the date: [na'si ḳn si'γundu di fevri'e] (6-7).

4.2.26. On occasion, a verb does not agree with its subject, but with the sense of what is being said. This is not uncommon in popular speech in the Peninsula and the Americas.

4.2.27. Examples from the recording are: [la mas 'parti si 'fwerō lavo'rar] (165), [si muri'e'fo la mas 'parti] (202), [una 'γrandi par'tiða 'fwerон] (305-306), and [lo ke ke'daron 'fwerон do'zjentas par'sonas] (204).

4.2.28. The verb in ['para ³'zεrsin 'titʃrs] (231) shows final /n/ by analogy with the third person plural marker of conjugated forms. Grammatically, the infinitive must remain invariable, but agreement is sought according to the sense of the utterance.\(^95\)

4.3. Lexicon

4.3.1 Old Spanish

4.3.1.1. Much of the lexicon of Old Spanish which has fallen out of use in the standard language over the centuries, has been preserved in the everyday speech of the Sephardim.

4.3.1.2. OSp. "mancebo," Sp. "joven," is heard in the recording: [mā'sevu] (208); as is the OSp. adjective "prieto": ['prɛtu] (227), Sp. "negro," here used as a noun.\(^96\)
4.3.1.2. The verb /ambi'zar/ (Lur. §169; Sala, 148-149, 24.3., n. 121) < OSp. "abezar" means "to learn" or "to teach" in the recording\textsuperscript{97} When it is used in the sense of "to learn," Sp. "aprender," it is reflexive: [muz ambi'zavamuz el frä'sez tam'bjen i le'breo] (88-89), [muz ambä'zimuz a véra'mente a'vlar el frä'sez] (138-139), ['greyus (sic) tam'bjë te ambi'zava'] (314-315).\textsuperscript{98} The verb can also mean "to teach," Sp. "enseñar": [muz ambi'zava i'breo] (121); [muz ãmbi'zavan a a'vlar] (311).\textsuperscript{100}

4.3.1.3. The way in which certain verbs are used takes the listener back to Old Spanish. OSp. "morar," replaced in the modern colloquial language by "vivir," is often heard in the recording: [mo'rabamuz] (16), [mo'ra va] (35), [mu'raz] (55).\textsuperscript{101} Sp. "vivir" is also used in the same sense: [bi'viamuz en la džuð'ria] (11). Sp. "trocar," semantically restricted in the std. mod. language to convey the sense (esp. commercial) of "to exchange, change," has retained the general meaning of Sp. "cambiar" in Judeo-Spanish: [trú'kimuz] (12), [si tro'ko] (261-262);\textsuperscript{102} and Sp. "henchirse" is used where Standard Spanish would require "llenarse": [to'oz los 'kampos sät'jian a'ja òi marýa'ritaz] (256-257).\textsuperscript{103}

4.3.1.4. OSp. "agora," not used in Standard Spanish for centuries, is heard as [a'ýwëra] (8), stressed /o/ having been diphthongized by analogy with the stressed /we/ of so many other forms in the language.\textsuperscript{104} Only the diphthongized form is heard in the recording. Another OSp. adverb, "onde," is heard several
times: ['ondi] (202). This primitive form has been preserved in Ptg. "onde." In mod. Spanish, however, it has been replaced by "donde," the preposition which often preceded the adverb having lost its meaning.

4.3.1.5. The Sp. conjunction "mas," employed in written Modern Spanish but no longer used colloquially, is heard twice in the recording: ['ɛra 'striktə mas kə'riðə òi 'toðoð] (145) and in the filler phrase [mas 'kwalo] (100).

4.3.2 Hispanic Languages and Dialects


4.3.2.2. Often heard is the Gal./Ptg. adverb /a'inda/ prefixed with the preposition "de" which has lost its semantic input (as in mod. Sp. "donde"): [da'inda] (142). The adverb can mean not only Sp. "todavía" but also "además;" neither of these standard forms is encountered in the recording.

4.3.3. Italian

4.3.3.1. Understandably, there is Italian influence on Mr. and Mrs. Ferera's lexicon as both informants were educated
in that language, in which they have worked and with which they have maintained contact.\textsuperscript{108}


4.3.3.3. Verb forms that come directly from Italian are: [si zvilu'po] (262), Sp. "se ha desarrollado";\textsuperscript{109} [lævo'rar] (164), Sp. "trabajar";\textsuperscript{110} and, probably, [tur'no] (177), used in the sense of Sp. "volvió" (cf. It. "tornare").

4.3.3.4. The adjective [kwal'siasi] (59), Sp. "cualquier," is pure Italian as is ['prima], which appears in [la 'prima 'kaza] (13), [la 'prima 'koza] (133) and [la 'prima 'gëra] (176).

4.3.3.5. Very often encountered is the adverb [vera'menti] (146) (It. "veramente," Sp. "realmente," "verdaderamente"). Also from Italian is ['propriu] (276), used adverbially in the sense of Sp. "mismo."

4.3.3.6. The It. preposition "verso" is heard instead of Sp. "hacia": ['verso ... nu se 'kwā'o εγγζaktaměnti, 'kre'ō ye in il milnyv'jsjentz i 'siŋku, milnyv'jsjentž i seʃ] (172-173).

4.3.3.7. The conjunction [si'komu] (313) is from It. "siccome." In accordance with the dialect's phonology,
gemination has been reduced to a single consonant. Final [u] has replaced /e/ by analogy with /'komu/. Repeatedly heard is the conjunction [ma] (71) (It. "ma"), which almost always takes the place of Sp. "pero";¹¹¹ it also replaces Sp. "sino": [no 'solo di 'roðiz ma . . . del e'ziptu, del nor'tafrika, ...] (226-227).¹¹²

4.3.4 French


4.3.4.2. A gallicized verb form is: [aparte'nia] (109) < Fr. "appartenir" (Sp. "pertenecía").

4.3.4.3. The Fr. adjective "belge" is heard in ['koŋgo bɛlɛ] (192), Sp. "Congo Belga." Since the informants' schooling was not in Spanish and their contact with the standard language has been limited, they may not know the Spanish names of some
countries that came into being after relations between eastern Sephardic communities and the Peninsula were largely severed.

4.3.4.4. The phrase [la mas 'parti] (165) seems to be a syntactic calque on Fr. "la plupart" (cf. Sp. "la mayor parte," "la mayoría"). The sense of [diman'dava] in ['éra un 'ombri ki véra'menti di'mandava ri'spektu] (332-333) (Sp. "exigía") suggests a semantic calque on Fr. "demander" and/or Eng. "demand."\(^{113}\)

4.3.4.5. The stressed final syllable of [fut'bol] (218) may indicate that the noun entered the language via French. Ultimately, of course, it is an anglicism.

4.3.5 English

4.3.5.1. English plays a much less significant role in the dialogue than Italian and French. The vast majority of English words and phrases heard are either filler words, which take the place of a pause while the speaker gathers his thoughts, or are chatty remarks commonly made in the course of a conversation.

4.3.5.2. Examples of filler words, which do not contribute anything meaningful to the dialogue, are: [so] in [so vo ãm'psar jo] (3), immediately followed, in (208), by the translation [de ma'néra ke]; ['ænd ãm] (24) and its many phonetic variants; [æ ðə ãnɔ] (266), Eng. "I don't know"; [wɛl] (285) ['wɛl a] (101), [ɔ wɛl] (53); [ju: no] (326).
4.3.5.3. Common remarks in English, like the filler words, are occasionally heard: [jɛs] (93), [jæ:] (319) and ... three in quick succession: EF: [...ou'ke?]/ RF: [abso'lutli]/ EF: [raːst] (3-5).

4.3.5.4. Other frequently-used English words and phrases, performing a variety of functions, turn up repeatedly: [ʤf kɔrs] (101); [əl'rɛi] (207); [in əʊst] (240); [ənd əɛts], instantly translated: [ənd əɛts, ɛsə f'ɛ tɔd̪o] (204-205).

4.3.5.5. Although a Spanish equivalent may be given once the English has slipped out, it is not usually since such commonly-used words and phrases are now a natural part of their speech. An interesting hybrid consisting of an English phrase adapted to their speech with a native suffix is [ɪ 'fæktu] (135); the English is redundant in [ja ɛt'nia al'rɛi] (207); [su'bɜːbəz] (159) is supplied to explain the meaning of [ma'raʃ] (158), which the speaker had already used spontaneously.

4.3.5.6. Given that both informants are fluent in English, its presence in their speech, as described above, is hardly surprising; both informants have spent most of their lives in areas where English is the official language.

4.3.5.7. The interference is more significant when an English word takes the place of one in the native language. For example in ['titʃræs] (231) or ['pɪknɪks] (258), although the latter may almost be considered international. Rather than Sp. "Nueva York," [njɪ ˈɔrk] (190) is heard.
4.3.6 Hebrew

4.3.6.1. The following examples from the transcription are associated with Jewish religious observance and customs, as are most of the Hebrew borrowings in Judeo-Spanish. Instead of Sp. "sábado" (from Hebrew through Lat. "sabbātum") one hears [ʃaˈbat] (241) < Heb. "נַבָּת" (Wagner, 82, n. 4) Interestingly, the informant provides not Sp. "sábado" but It. ['sabato] (241) as the equivalent for [ʃaˈbat]. Spanish is not used to designate either Saturday or Sunday: Hebrew is used for the former, Arabic for the latter (see §4.3.8). The plural of [ʃaˈbat] is [ʃaˈbatis] (234), a regular Spanish formation (the Hebrew plural suffix is "-im"). Another Hebrew borrowing is [teˈva] (353) < Heb. "תָּהָב," the reading chair in the synagogue.

4.3.7 Turkish

4.3.7.1. The noun [tʃarˈʃi] (57) (< Trk. "çarşı") is a kind of market where many kinds of goods—although not provisions—are sold.

4.3.7.2. The adverb [piʃin] (66) (Wagner 66; Crews, n. 588), Sp. "en seguida," is heard several times. Nehama lists "/piʃin/" but refers the reader to "/peʃin/," under which he gives the following primary definition: "'maintenant, de suite, tout de suite, sur-le-champ, à
This is the meaning expressed in [luz 'otrus 'todus si 'fwəron pi'jin æ lævo'rar] (163-164); ['era pʃin ja muz əmbi'zavan a ə'vlər ì fræ'ses . . . i itàljano tam'bjen] (311-312); and in ['toðus φʃi muz al'van'ta'amos] (352). Only Mr. Ferera uses this adverb. Occasionally he gives it the sense of Sp. "precisamente," "mismo," Eng. "just," "right": [la 'skola 'era pʃin apɪ'yaða a la 'kaza 'mia] (27-28); [i'amus pə'ʃin a la 'skola džu'ðia] (67-68); [pi'ʃin 'antiz ðe la 'prima 'gera] (175-176).

4.3.8 Arabic

4.3.8.1. The only Arabic contribution which appears in the transcription is perhaps the best-known in Judeo-Spanish: [al'χad] (242) (Crews, nn. 45, 203), Sp. "domingo." The final consonant may be devoiced > [t] in Judeo-Spanish. Even prior to the Expulsion, the Arabic instead of the Spanish word (perceived as too Christian).

4.3.9 Greek

4.3.9.1. Characteristically Judeo-Romance is the verb "meldar" (Wagner 83), Sp. "leer": [sa'viamuz məl'dar . . . ìn i'breu ta'mjë ba'stante, ba'stante bjən] (321), Sp. "leer". The verb entered the speech of Spanish Jews prior to the Expulsion
(< late Lat. "meletare" < Gr. "μελήταν" < "μελήτων"). It exists in other Romance languages in connection with the Jews and has the basic meaning of Eng. "teach," "study," "read." "Meldar" originally meant "to read the Jewish sacred texts" and later, by extension, simply "to read" (Wagner, 32, n. 1). The latter, more general meaning is suggested by the above example from the recording since "in Hebrew" is specified.

4.3.9.2. The noun [man'draki] (58) appears to be a direct borrowing from Greek. It is "the port of Rhodes" (Angel 112).

4.4. Semantics

4.4.1. The noun ['etjo], from the past participle of /a'zer/, is used as Eng. "job" in [dus'pwez òi 'unus 'kwantuz 'ænuz, ja te'nia un 'etjo ba'stant[i 'bweno] (180-181).

4.4.2. Instead of the Sp. verb "terminar, "acabar," one hears /(e)skapar/ (Wagner, e. g. 70, n. 11): [a la e'dad di 'treòži, ka'torzi 'ańus, ska'pavamuz: no a'via maz] (78-79);
['kwandu ska'pi la 'skola dźu'dia] (156); ['para ska'par luz i'studiuz] (279).
5. Glossary

The following glossary is intended primarily as a basic lexical guide to the transcription. Proper names have not generally been included; nor have forms which are the result of predictable phonetic and morphological developments, described in the appropriate sections of the analysis.

Nevertheless, the list does sometimes contain forms and constructions representative of Judeo-Spanish or which differ sufficiently from their Standard Modern Spanish equivalents to warrant inclusion.

The lexical items selected have been transcribed phonemically. Equivalent Standard Spanish terms/expressions in orthographic script have been provided under the entries. English definitions appear on the right. All descriptive categories, equivalences and definitions are in context. The number of the line in the transcription in which an item first appears is in brackets.

/a'gwera/ (8) adv. (< OSp.) "now"

"ahora"

/a'keus/ (154) adj. "those"

"aquellos"
/ako'drarse (de)/ (10) vr.  "remember"

"acordarse (de)"

/ma'kodru/ (10)

/ta:'kodras/ (130)

/ali'ansa/ (94) nf. (= "Alliance Israélite Universelle")

/al'xad/ (242) nm. (Ar.)  "Sunday"

/levantarse"

/si alvan'tava/ (20)

/ambi'zar(se) (88) vr., vt. (< OSp.)  "learn"; "teach"

"aprender"; "enseñar"

/muz ambi'zimus/ (138-139) 1st p. pl. pret.

/•andi/: see /onde/

/an'sina/ (350) adv. (OSp.)  "thus," "like that"

"así"

/aparte'nia/ (109) vi. (< Fr.)  "it belonged"

"pertenecía"

/ariko'drarse (de)/ (48) vr.  "remember"

"recordar"

/mi ari'kodro di/ (48)

/asa'gun/ (130) prep.  "as"

"según"
/belž/ (192) adj.

/'kongo belž/ (192) "Belgian Congo"

"Congo Belga"

/'bijas/ (216) nf. (< Fr.) "marbles"

"bolas"

/bi'zar/ (249) v. "kiss"

"besar"

/buʃ'kimus/ (133) 1st p. pl. pret. "we tried"

(calque on It. "abbiamo cercato") "tratamos"

/bu'tikas/ (240) nf. (< Fr. or OSp.) "stores," "shops"

"tiendas"

/da'inda/ (108) adv. (Gal./Ptg./Ast.) "still"; "moreover"

"todavía"; "además"

/'dea/ (138) prep. + prn. "of her"

"de ella"

/(en) de'lantre de/ (362-363) prep. "before," "in front of"

"delante de"

/'deos/ (20) prep. + prn. "of them"

"de ellos"

/de'sembro/ (43) nm. (< Fr.?) "December"

"diciembre"

/diman'dar/ (333) vt. (< Fr./It./Eng.?) "demand"

"exigir"

/diman'dava ri'spektu/ (333)
"I said"
"twelve"
"duty"

"in the beginning,"
"at first"
"summer"

"you were"

"finish, "complete"

"I finished, "completed"

"job"

"February"

"you went"
"fuimos" (< OSp.; dial.)

"iba"

"íbamos"

"alumnos"

"empire"

"niña" (OSp. sibilant)

"niño" (OSp. sibilant)

"calle"

"calle"

"campo"

"quien ... quien"

"(some)one ... another (one)"
"that is to say"

"class"

"college,"

(here) "seminary"

"I began," "started"

"we continued"

"I think," "believe"

classmates"

"which"

lit. "but which," used as a filler phrase

(cf. the SAm. filler "esteee")

"any"

"fourth"
Almost: /'kwaţi/ (13) adv.
  "casi"

Work: /lavo'rar/ (165) vi. (It.)
  "trabajar"

Lesson: /lisi'on/ (235) nf.
  "lección"

But: /ma/ (71) conj. (It.)
  "pero"

The port of Rhodes: /man'draki/ (58) nm.

Young man: /man'sevo/ (177) nm. (OSp.)
  "joven," "mozo"

Suburbs: /ma'raj/ (153) nm. (< Trk.?)
  "las afueras"

The majority: /mažori'ta/ (313) nf. (It.)
  "la mayoría," "la mayor parte"

Read: /mil'dar/ (321) vt. (< Gr.)
  "leer"

We, Us: /mo'zotros/ (86) prn.
  "nosotros"

Much: /'mũntʃu/ (71) adj., adv. (dial.)
  "mucho"

Live: /mu'rar/ (33) vi. (OSp.)
  "vivir"
/mus/ (75) prn.
"nos"

/ˈmweso/ (30) adj. (OSp., dial.)
"nuestro"

/ˈmwesro/: see /ˈmweso/

/ˈmwevo/ (179) adj.
/di ˈmwevo/ (179) adv. phr.
"de nuevo"

/ˈonde/ (16) adv. (OSp.)
"donde"

/ˈožus/ (363) nm. (OSp. sibilant)
"ojos"

/ˈparti/ nf.
/la mas ˈparti/ (165) (< Fr.)
"la mayor parte," "la mayoría"

/parˈtida/ (306) nf. (< Fr.)
"parte"

/ˈuna ˈgrandi parˈtida/ (305-306)
"muchos" (< Fr.)

/ˈpeñas/ (220) nf.
(here) "large rocks sticking out of the sea (elicited from EF)

/piˈlotas/ (219) nf.
(here) "cantos rodados" (EF)
"first"  
"immediately"; "right"  
"beach"  
"negro"  
"first"  
"just," "exactly"  
"regret"  
"recess" (school)  
"welcome," "reception"  
"Rhodes"  
"Saturday"  
"sense"
/\si'komu/ (313) conj. (< It.)
"ya que," "puesto que"

/ska'par/: see /eska'par/
/ska'pi/: see /eska'pi/

/so/ (3) 1st p. s. pres. (OSp.)
"soy"

/'suptu/ (19) adj.
/en 'suptu/ (19) adj. phr.
"de repente"

/suve'nires/ (252) nm. (< Fr.)
"recuerdos"

/\ja'bat/ (241) nm. (Heb.)
"Saturday," "sábado"
(Jewish) "Sabbath"

/\ja'batis/ (234) pl. of /\ja'bat/
"sábados"

/te'va/ (353) nf. (Heb.)
(el estrado de lectura de
la sinagoga)

/'todo/ nm.
/no ... pur del 'todo/ (50)
prep. phr.
"en absoluto"
"he went/came back,"
"returned"
"thirteen"
lit. "we changed"
lit. "cambiamos"
"market"
"childhood"
"just a small kid"
"chiquititito," "niñito"
"really," "truly"
"verdaderamente," "realmente"
(time) "around"
"we saw/would see one another"
"we visited"
"viejo"

"viejo"

"I am going"

"it has (been) developed"
6. Conclusions

Eli and Rosa Ferera, Sephardim from Rhodes, belong to a long Hispanic tradition in the Eastern Mediterranean Basin. The language they speak has been passed on from generation to generation by descendents of those Jews who were expelled from Spain towards the end of the fifteenth century, of the many others who later joined them, and the Jews who were assimilated into the Sephardic culture. The language of the Eastern Sephardim lives on in the originally-settled areas and in widely-scattered emigrant communities.

Like many, perhaps most, Sephardim, my informants speak several languages yet their native language prevails in the home. This is precisely where the dialect has managed to survive.

In this study, I have explored distinctive features of the informants' speech which, while setting them apart from speakers of the Modern Standard Spanish, at the same time unite them with all fellow speakers of Hispano-Romance.

I approached the oral sample I chose as the corpus of this study with a knowledge of Hispanic languages and dialects, and was immediately struck by the phonetic richness of the informants' speech. It reminded me of Portuguese, a language with which I am very familiar; many of the phonemes that might seem to typify Judeo-Spanish pronunciation are, in fact, representative, of Peninsular speech from Portugal right across
the north of the Iberian Peninsula to Catalonia—Standard Modern Castilian is, phonetically, the "odd man out." I wanted my transcription of the recording to be narrow enough to reflect accurately this phonetic complexity.

My interest in historical phonetics has led me to dwell on a fascinating aspect of Judeo-Spanish: the preservation of the palatal sibilants and the voiced/unvoiced contrast, which closely link the dialect to Old Spanish and to modern Hispanic languages and dialects. In the recording, those phonemes are ever-present.

The phonetics of the dialect as well as various distinctive morphological and lexical features are largely the result of both its conservatism and the unique sociological conditions created in the Sephardic communities of the Ottoman Empire, precipitated by the tragedy of 1492, which led to the creation of a koine, based on Spanish, the common language. That this sociological factor had an impact can be seen in the raising of atonic /o/ and /e/ and in forms such as ['kreyu] and [ka'leža], to cite obvious examples.

The effects of the intense exposure to Western influence since the last century and the resulting multilingualism of Judeo-Spanish speakers is evidenced in the recording especially by lexical influence from Italian and French, the languages which have most transformed Judeo-Spanish within approximately the last century and a half. This is natural given their similarity to the dialect. The fact that both informants were
educated in Rhodes when Italian influence was very strong only partially explains the Italianisms in their speech, since French and Italian lexical borrowings have been part of a general cultural and sociological phenomenon affecting all Eastern Judeo-Spanish dialects.

I would perhaps have expected greater interference from English, since Mr. and Mrs. Ferera have by now spent the greater part of their lives in English-speaking countries. The few Hebrew elements heard can be explained by the general nature of the dialogue. Although Turkish has historically had a considerable impact on Eastern Judeo-Spanish, its inconsiderable presence in the informants' speech can be attributed to Westernization: formerly used Turkish elements have gradually been replaced by French and Italian words due to the greater prestige of those languages and to the ease with which they could enter a dialect belonging to the same family of languages.

Basing my observations on my research to date, I am unable to state that their speech is, as a whole, "typical" either of the Judeo-Spanish as it was spoken on Rhodes or of that which is at present spoken by Rhodian Jews living abroad. However, I can certainly affirm that phonetically important features of their pronunciation, from the point of view of historical Spanish phonetics, such as the Standard Spanish treatment of initial Lat. /f/, the raising of /o/ and /u/, and the preservation of /v/ are characteristic not only of the pronunciation of Rhodes
but also, individually or in combination, of that of other Eastern dialects.

One must ask if it is still possible to state, in detail, what constitutes "typical" Judeo-Spanish. There are no official norms such as those which govern Standard Modern Spanish and no modern literature to speak of; the language of the press is not a reliable guide to the spoken language, nor can it serve as a model, since it is characterized by a preponderance of French and Italian morphological, syntactic, lexical and semantic influence. One can generalize about distinctive features of the historical speech areas of Eastern Judeo-Spanish, but the demographic situation has been drastically altered since Wagner and Crews did their research in the 1930's.

There may be differences in pronunciation and vocabulary between two speakers of approximately the same age and originating from the same place. Overall, Mrs. Ferera's speech is not radically different from her husband's, but there are variations: she raises or reduces atonic /o/ and e/ less frequently; her /s/ is distinctly apical (Mr. Ferera's articulation sounds coronal, at times alveolar, although it is represented by [s]); also, /s/ does not palatalize in her speech. Relying only on the transcription, it is hard to reach definitive conclusions on lexical differences between them—Mr. Ferera spoke much more than his wife. However, a discussion on certain elements heard in the recording revealed some differing lexical preferences and that Mrs. Ferera,
when faced with a choice, would tend toward Standard Spanish (see § 3.1). Before the recording session, Mr. Ferera jokingly admonished his wife not to use "fancy words." But the point here is not to exaggerate differences in their way of speaking, but to reflect on the impact of differing levels of exposure.  

The analysis of the transcription contained in this study provides the reader with the essential features of the dialect. Mr. and Mrs. Ferera's entertaining example of free-flowing speech in their native language is a good introduction to Judeo-Spanish.
Notes

1 The Moroccan Sephardim call their language "ḥaketiya."

2 Entwistle calls the dialect "Jewish Spanish." Bunis, like other scholars, rejects "Ladino" to denote the spoken language, for which he prefers "Judezmo." He rejects "Judeo-Spanish," which he describes as "an artificial, hybrid term invented by Western European philologists" and, concerning "(e)spanyol," he states: "although widespread among native speakers in recent years, [it] also appears to be an import, lacking true roots in the community and failing to distinguish the language from Spanish" (David M. Bunis, Sephardic Studies: a Research Bibliography Incorporating Judezmo Language, Literature and Folklore, and Historical Background [New York: Garland, 1981] xi). With regard to the term "(e)spanyol," I have not seen his opinion concerning it's lack of "true roots in the community" expressed elsewhere. Mr. Ferera insists that Jews on Rhodes called their language "español." To them, they spoke Spanish.

The Encyclopedia Judaica is an exception to the rule in its endorsement of the use of "Ladino" for colloquial Judeo-Spanish: "The widespread view that the term 'Ladino' is only applicable to the 'sacred' language of Bible translations and prayers, whereas the other names are reserved solely for the spoken language, seems hardly tenable" ("Ladino," Encyclopedia Judaica 1971).

For further discussions on the above terminology, see Haïm Vidal Sephiha, Le judéo-espagnol (Paris: Entente, 1986) esp. Ch. 1; Paloma Díaz-Mas, Los sefardies: historia, lengua y cultura (Barcelona: Riopiedras, 1986) 100-103.


4 "Book Twelve" of the Forum Judicum, or Fuero Juzgo, a legal code incorporating many conciliar decrees, governed virtually every aspect of Jewish life. Although the laws were not fully enforced, their spirit reflects the intensely antisemitic atmosphere of later Visigothic rule. Even this early, a decree was issued expelling from the country all Jews who refused to become Christian, but this, also, apparently could not be fully implemented.

5 Baron 164. Although there had long been Jews living in the north of Spain, their large-scale migration to the Christian states of the north, where they settled and acquired the Romance
of their particular region, was to have major significance in
the later development of Judeo-Spanish.

6 Baer, vol. 1, 128-129. "His personal attitude toward the
Jews changed several times. . . . In Castile, [ ] in addition to
the various objective factors—practical politics, religious
interests, and class tensions—certain subjective factors often
proved decisive, namely, the whims and vagaries of the king's
mind" (Baer, vol. 1, 129).

7 Baer, vol. 1, 178.

8 Baer, vol. 1, 181.

9 Baer, vol. 1, 76.

10 "According to Jewish and Christian sources, the majority
of the exiles, numbering between 100,000 and 120,000, emigrated
to Portugal. . . . The remaining exiles, who probably numbered
no more than about 50,000, sailed from the southern ports
(Almería) for North Africa or from the eastern ports (Valencia
and Barcelona) for Italy and the East" (Baer, vol. 2, 438).

11 Large Sephardic communities were established in various
European centres and in North Africa, notably Morocco. I will be
concentrating on historic and linguistic developments in the
eastern Mediterranean, where the Sephardic tradition remained
strongest and Judeo-Spanish steadfastly endured over the
centuries.

12 At the time of the expulsion, Spanish Jews said, and
still say, "el Dio" instead of "Dios," interpreting the form
with "s" as the plural, suggestive of the Trinity; and "alhad"
([al'y]ad) instead of "domingo," also felt to have Christian
overtones. The verb "meldar" ("to read") was also used by Jews
prior to 1492 (for "alhad" and "meldar" see § 4.3.1.)

13 Max Leopold Wagner, Caracteres generales del judeo-
español de Oriente. Revista de Filología Española, Anejo 13
(Madrid: 1930) 14.

14 See Vidal Sephiha.

15 The information in this brief survey of the historical
and cultural background of the Jews of Rhodes comes primarily
from the fine book written by Marc D. Angel (see the following
note), which my informants kindly lent to me.

16 Marc D. Angel, The Jews of Rhodes: the History of a
Sefhardic Community (New York: Sepher-Hermon Press and The Union
"The Sephardic community of Rhodes can fairly be seen as a microcosm of Sephardic life throughout the cities and towns of the Empire. By focusing on the history and culture of this community, one may understand more clearly the general history and culture of the Judeo-Spanish-speaking Sephardim." Angel 2.

Angel 23.

Angel 76.

Jews had often been forced to wear distinctive attire in Spain. Such regulations were in force in Christian and Muslim countries.

"Of the Jews who were deported from Rhodes, only 151 survived. Twenty-two had died on the voyage, 1145 at Auschwitz, and 437 in the labor camps." Angel 152. (Note expressing indebtedness to Franco, Galante, Hilberg and Nehama on p. 183).

"The Sephardic community in Rhodes was born as a result of the expulsion of the Jews from Spain. It died in the ashes of the German concentration camps" (Angel 152).

Sometimes the speaker is probably just thinking or changing his mind about what he wants to say.

Perhaps a pure fricative.

Initial /a/ by analogy with /ri'kodro/.

/mus/. The bilabial nasal has become plosive probably by assimilation to the preceding and following plosive /k/.

Incomprehensible. It sounds like [amɔz'buah].

The preterite of /ver/ and probably a slip on the part of the informant: I later elicited /'vimus/.

Incomprehensible.

/empe'sižo/. Assimilation of the dental articulation of /s/ to the palatal articulation of /ž/ and loss of the latter phoneme.

Word rapidly articulated. /w/ weak, atonic vowel labialized making timbre difficult to perceive.

Incomprehensible.

Incomprehensible. It sounds like [jensɪn].

Or [si 'ia].
Incomprehensible. It sounds like [a 'asē].
Incomprehensible. It sounds like [kē ɛz].
Perhaps ['toduɲ].
Possibly ['mwes'os].
The [ɔ] is a supporting vowel.
Or ['kreio].
Incomprehensible.
Incomprehensible. It sounds like [o'zeə, dandi'stalə].
Incomprehensible. Obviously the word for "population."
/'eran/. Assimilation of /r/ to n/.
/deve/?
Sounds like [ɻ], though the norm in Judeo-Spanish is for /ɻ/ to be reduced to /r/.
There is no trace of the labiodental or bilabial fricative after /i/ found in this word in other JSp. dialects. Cf. Ptg. "cidade."
Or [vi'ʃtidu].
/pi'ʃin/. Assimilation of the plosive of /p/ to the fricative articulation of the sibilants immediately preceding and following.
Intrusive /t/: /su'via/ (Std. Sp. [su'βia]).
The figures appearing in round brackets throughout this analysis refer to the line numbers in the left-hand margin of the transcription.

This author confirms the raising of /-o/ to [u] and of /-e/ to [i]: "The Jews of Rhodes tended to pronounce words that ended with an 'o' to sound like a 'u' e.g., 'manu(s)' instead of 'mano(s),' 'biscochu(s)' instead of 'biscocho(s).'. Words that ended with a short 'e' sound were pronounced with a long 'e' e.g. 'padree' instead of 'padre,' 'nombre' instead of 'nombre.'" (I take "ee" to mean [i]: the description is intended for a nonspecialist English-speaking reader.) This is an accurate account of what takes place in the speech of my informants.

Angel says "tended to pronounce" concerning /-o/; this reflects what takes place in the recording, especially with regard to Mr. Ferera. The author appears more categorical when he describes the raising of /-e/, which is, again, only a tendency in the speech of the informants. This writer was surprised by certain observations on the phonetics of the Judeo-Spanish of Rhodes made by Wilhelm Giese in a brief article he published in 1955. (The author states that, at that time, there were only three Jewish families still living on the island.) (Wilhelm Giese, "Das Judenspanische von Rhodos," Orbis, vol. 5 [1956] 407-410.)

The author's conclusions were based on his analysis of the speech of Abraham Galimidi and his daughter Sultana. In the brief transcription of an oral sample provided by the latter, atonic /e/ is pronounced [e], [ě] or [ɛ] (once as [i] in diphthong: [kai], Sp. "cae"); atonic /o/ is articulated as [o] or [ə]. This contrasts with what is obviously a distinctive feature of my informants' speech.

My suspicion that some of Giese's findings might not be reliable were supported by David Bunis: "In 1956, Giese briefly reported on Rhodes Judezmo. The limited and at times questionable data offered in his article, based on material collected by him during a very short stay in Rhodes after the almost complete decimation of the island's Jewish community by the Nazis, would appear to be of minimal usefulness for our purposes. The speech of Giese's informants seems to show evidence of contamination by other regional varieties" (Bunis 14-15).

M. L. Wagner, Caracteres generales del iudeo-español de Oriente (Madrid: Revista de Filología Española—Anejo 12, 1930) 22.


The disappearance of the /e/ (/i/) of the definite article in [lita'ljano] (90) suggests Italian influence. However, the vowel may have been elided with the /a/ of ['era] (90) as frequently happens to other words with initial /e/ in a similar environment.

See below under "Consonants" and especially the section on "Morphology."

I have chosen to quote Mr. Ferera in this section on syntactic phonetics since the timbre of the vowels in his wife's speech conforms more to that of standard Spanish (e.g. atonic /e/ and /o/ are raised to [i] and [u] less often). In addition, he has provided much more material.

The undiphthongized initial syllable as well as the palatal [ʃ] might exhibit Portuguese influence.

There is no need to postulate French interference for the elimination of /n/ in [fra'sez] (72) or in [fra'seza] (72), since there is often a tendency in Judeo-Spanish for /n/ to be lost with strong nasalization of the preceding vowel.

In standard Castilian.

Cf. mod. Sp. [na'θiðo], [konoθia], [θiŋ'kwenta], ['una 'yraθja]. This "seseo" also developed in Andalusia during the sixteenth century, initially in the area of Seville, whence it spread to the Americas, and is a feature of standard Portuguese, French and Catalan, although in the latter it is alveolar due to identification of the dental [s] of the affricate (once the /s/ had been lost) with the alveolar [ʃ].

The treatment of OSp. /dz/ in the numbers from "one" to "fifteen" is identical in the dialect of Salonica: "/'onze/," "/'dodže/," "/'tredže/," "/'ka'torze/," "/'kinze/" (Neh.)

The /ʃ/ of Eng. "sherry" and Fr. "Quichotte," words taken from Spanish before the transformation of the palatal sibilant into the velar fricative (/χ/) characteristic of the modern language, bears witness to the former pronunciation.


It is likely that the plosive element of the voiced palatal affricate had already begun to weaken by the time of the Expulsion. The relaxing of its articulation and subsequent disappearance had already led to the creation of a fricative in
medial position. The phonological development of Spanish has shown that plosives are weakened first in final, then medial, and lastly in initial position.

[ko'ledžo] (224), with intervocalic [dž], is an Italianism, as is, probably, the same articulation in n [lardžən'tina] (189). Of course, English may also play a part in the [dž] articulation in the latter.

Such was the case in old Spanish until devoicing of the sibilants took place in the latter half of the sixteenth century. As still occurs in Judeo-Spanish, final /s/ was voiced in linking (i.e. when not in absolute final position) just as it was when preceding vowels within words. This syntactic rule still operates in Portuguese ([uʃ], [uz 'otrufs], [uz 'otruz 'měʃ]) and in French, in which final /s/ is silent, but pronounced [z] during liaison with the vowel sound of the following word (except when such word begins with so-called "aspirate 'h'": [leʃ], [lez 'otrəz], [lez 'otrəz Ʞəm]).

See Amado Alonso, De la pronunciacion medieval a la moderna en español (Madrid: Gredos, 1967-69).

The aspiration and subsequent disappearance of initial Latin /f-/ in standard Spanish is a typically Castilian phenomenon, the origin of which has been traced to the region of Burgos. Documented as early as the ninth century, the shift from /f/ to /h/ had spread throughout Castilianized Spain, or the /h/ had been lost, by the early sixteenth century. (Alonso 38-39).


E.g. New Mexican "['kajko], ['maʃkar], ['moʃka], [peʃkar]" (Max Luria, "A Study of the Monastir Dialect of Judeo-Spanish Based on Oral Material Collected in Monastir, Yugo-Slavia." Revue Hispanique 79 (1930) 438. These same words also have [ʃk] in Portuguese, in which it is a phonetic law that palatalization of /s/ and /z/ occur not only before voiceless and voiced plosives ([bipu] [gʃtə], [deʃɔɾ], [تراʃυ]) but also before fricatives ([_amtəɾ], [dəʃ'viu]) and nasals ([meʃmu], ['siʃnə]).

Note the absence of diphthongization in this JSp. verb form as well.

This palatal articulation of the sibilant was discussed by Juan de Valdés:

Marcio —... no quiero contender con vos, con tanto que me digáis qual tenéis por mejor, dezir
"quige" y "quigera" o "quise" y "quisiera," y quál os contenta más, escribir "vigitar" o "visitar," porque veo algunos, y aun de los cortesanos principales, usar más la "g" que la "s."

Valdes --Yo por muy mejor tengo la "s" y creo que la "g" no la avéis oído usar a muchas personas discretas, nacidas y criadas en el reino de Toledo o en la corte, si ya no fuesse por descuido.

Marcio --en la verdad creo sea así, aunque no fuesse sino porque el "vigitar" tiene a mi ver del villanesco. . . .


Of course, the vast majority of the Spanish Jews expelled in 1492 did not speak, nor were they subsequently influenced by, the "lengua de la corte."

77 For the conservation and transformation of /λ/ in Spanish America see D. Lincoln Canfield, Spanish Pronunciation in the Americas (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981) 6-7, 12-13, 15, and passim.

78 The weakening and loss of intervocalic /j/ is not just a phenomenon of Judeo-Spanish. In that position, the phoneme (< /λ/ or /j/) weakens, vocalizing to /i/) "generally in Mexican border Spanish (including Monterrey, N. L., Mexico) as well as all of Central America and coastal areas of Venezuela, Colombia, and Ecuador" (Cfd. 12), although that author later contradicts himself concerning the latter two countries: "/y/ intervocalic tends to be [i] [referring to shaded area in the southern United States along the border with Mexico] (also heard in all of Central America except Panama, the coasts of Colombia, and Ecuador [sic])" (Cfd. 83). And in the dialect area of New Mexico/Colorado, the only one in the southern States which "has maintained linguistic continuity since colonial days," the phoneme can disappear entirely (as it does in the speech of this writer's informants) and he cites "[ka'pia]" and "['ea]" (Cfd. 80).

79 In parts of Spanish America, particularly in Central America and Colombia, the plosives [b], [d] and [g] are heard after consonants and semivowels (see Cfd. 11) where std. CSp. would require the fricatives [β], [ð] and [ɣ].

80 E. g. Sp. "peligro" < Lat. "periculu(m)."

81 ZamV. 190.
82 Cf. Gal. "pirmeiro."

83 In 17th century Spanish theatre, "mueso" and "mos" were used by rustics ([n-/ > [m-] by analogy with "me"). "Mos" and "mosotros" live on in "vulgar" Spanish of the Peninsula (Lapesa § 116, 8; § 125, 7).

84 The [o] in the pretonic syllable of [dʒo'yawamus] (265) (Mrs. Ferera only) may be simply in free variation with /u/, a survival from OSp. "jogar," or due to Italian influence (cf. It. "giocare"). Neh. shows only "/dʒu'yar/.

85 The primitive forms survive in Portuguese: "sou," "estou," "vou."

86 Nor is there an /e/ in the Portuguese conjugation (cf. Ptg. "viamos" ['viámuj]).

87 This form is documented by Nebrija. His conjugation of the preterite ("passado acabado") of "ir" and "ser" shows stressed /e/ instead of /i/ throughout: "fue/fueste/fue/fuemos/fuestes/fueron." (Antonio de Nebrija, Gramática castellana. Vol. 1. Ed. Pascual Galindo Romeo and Luis Ortiz Muñoz (Madrid: Junta del Centenario, 1946) 114.

88 Cf. Ptg. ['iámuj], ['iá].

89 The third person singular and plural forms of the preterite heard in the recording are as in standard Spanish, e. g. [kom'pro] (152), [tur'no] (177) (Sp. "volvió"), [si kæ'zo] (179), [si tro'ko] (261-262), [kom'f'so] (272), [kðti'nwarð] (162), [emp'saron] (225).

90 Cf. [embe'rano] (Wagner, 77, n. 1).

91 In this section, one might possibly include the prepositional [ð ðe'lantra] (Sp. "delante"), although this writer has transcribed two words, unsure whether or not the speaker considers the expression to be one word (cf. Sp. "enfrente," "encima," from which /en'endelantre/ might have been created by analogy). The intrusive /r/ quite likely developed by analogy with other prepositions, especially the opposite, Sp. "detrás." I have likewise shown /en 'dʒuntus/ as two words throughout, admittedly influenced by the orthography of Sp. "en juntos" (although, in Std. Sp. this adverbial expression does not mean "together," as it appears to in the recording, but "in all," "all together" (i. e. when summing up).

92 Nehama shows neither the form with the suffix used by Mr. Ferera nor that with std. Sp. "-miento," only "/resep'sjon/."
I elicited from the informants not only [la 'amerika] but [la 'afrika] (cf. std. Sp. "la América" but "el África"). There was considerable variation in old Spanish regarding the use of "el" and "la" before nouns beginning with unstressed and unstressed "a." The Sephardim living in their distant communities remained unaffected by the subsequent systematization of Spanish grammar which eliminated variations and inconsistencies that had existed in the old language. It is also possible that the use of "la" before any noun with initial "a" is due to Italian influence since the informants' schooling was in that language.

Perhaps strengthened by Fr. "majorité" and Eng. "majority."

This could also be an example of a personal infinitive, for which one could speculate on Portuguese influence.

This could also be due to Portuguese influence. Cf. Ptg. "preto" (['pretu]).

Covarrubias shows the verb as "abezar" and gives the definition "vale enseñar y acostumbrar" (Sebastián de Covarrubias, Tesoro de la lengua castellana o española, ed. Martin de Riquer [Barcelona: Horta, 1943]) 28; in Valdés, it appears as "vezar," defined as "enseñar" (Val. 123). Compare their conflicting etymologies!

Mrs. Ferera later uses Sp. "aprender": [aprën'diamuz 'toďaz 'tstas 'lǐngwas] (100).

Before the following examples, he says [si mísē'ňava 'mŭntjū in i'bresco ta'mjē] (71).

Cf. Fr. "apprendre," which can occasionally be translated as "teach." In the following example, provided by Nehama under "/ambezar/" the idea of "showing" or "teaching" is made plain: "/si'ińo, venega le ambezare/: 'Père, venez que je vous montre comment il faut faire.' (= C'est gros Jean qui en remontre à son curé)" (Neh. 35).

"Morar," a semilearned word < Lat. "mŏrārī" (Eng. "to remain, stay," etc.), can be found in Spanish literature from the earliest times. It must have been used colloquially during the Middle Ages, but has been restricted to erudite usage for centuries (as already in Don Quixote) (Joan Coromínas and José A. Pascual, Diccionario crítico etimológico castellano e hispánico (Madrid: Gredos, 1980-1983) vol. 4, 137. Cf. Ptg. "morar" and, for example, its derivative "morada," both still colloquial and frequently used in that language. (The Lat.deponent verb would naturally have become active ["morare"] in Low Latin by analogy with verbs of the first conjugation).
In Portuguese as well, "trocarr" has about the same restricted usage as in mod. Spanish, the more general verb being "mudar(-se)."

In mod. Spanish, the sense of "henchirse" has been narrowed to that of Eng. "to swell" (cf. the broad meaning of the Ptg. cognate "encher-se"). The verb displeased Juan de Valdés, who used it only when he had no choice:

"Henchir" parece feo y grossero vocablo, y algunas veces forzosamente lo uso por no tener otro que sinifique lo que él, porque 'llenar' no quadra bien en todas partes; conhórtome con que lo usa el refrán que dize: "De servidores leales se hinchen los ospitales" (Val. 112)

"Agora" (< Lat. "hāc hōrā") was the usual form ("general o poco menos") until the end of the Middle Ages, was regularly found in literature up to the eighteenth century, and can still be heard in rustic speech (Cor., vol. 3, 387). Cf. Ptg. "agora."

It appears only once in the transcription. Both speakers usually say [ma], an Italianism (see "Lexicon") widely used in Judeo-Spanish dialects; "pero" is heard in this recording to a much lesser extent.

Intervocalic sibilants are unvoiced in Galician in contrast to Portuguese.

The sense is usually that of Sp. "todavía." With the meaning of Sp. "además": [da'inda, la 'izla ɛz mwi ər'moza] (260).

Mrs. Ferera received her entire schooling in Italian; Mr. Ferera, also, was educated in that language except for the very early years of primary school when he was taught in French.

Mrs. Ferera has used the preterite where modern Spanish would prefer the present perfect. This usage is characteristic of Judeo-Spanish as well as of northern Spanish dialects and Portuguese.

The Italian derivative /lavo'rar/ is irreplaceable in Judeo-Spanish to express the general concept of "to work" since Sp. "trabajar" is a vulgar term for "to copulate." The verb can have that meaning (the usual one in Judeo-Spanish) in the Peninsula as well (Wagner 63, n. 1).

It always does in Mr. Ferera's speech. The It. derivative is the standard eastern Judeo-Spanish form. In the recording, ['pero], used exclusively by Mrs. Ferera, is heard only four times (50, 86, 260, 361).
The use of "pero" instead of "sino," although nowadays ungrammatical in the standard language, was quite common in Old Spanish. The lack of differentiation, although possibly a survival from the old language, is most likely due to syntactic in addition to lexical interference from Italian.

Here, [diman'dava] may also reveal lexical, but especially semantic, input from English.

(Neb. "ἭΠά")

Nehama's dictionary lists both "/sa'bá/" (the main entry) and "/ʃəbat/.

It can also be the shopping district. "1. marché où l'on vend toutes sortes de choses (sauf les victuailles)' . . . 2. 'le quartier de la ville où sont groupées les boutiques'. . . .' (Neh. 107).

Neh. 432.

This might be rendered in Standard Spanish as "La escuela estaba al lado mismo de mi casa." In a similar construction, on the same topic, '/proprriu/ has already been used as a synonym of /pi'ʃin/: [la 'kaza 'era 'propriu api'ya'α a'sερκα ὑε la 'skola džu'dia] (14-16).

Giese transcribes this adverb but supposes that it comes from OSp. "puxar," Mod. Sp. "subir": [i pi'ʃe 'komo ke me di'ʃerɔn: 'sale a'fwera! źo sa'li, la 'βɔmba ka'jo i mu'rjerɔn se'senta židjɔs ke sa'ljerɔn del kal] (Giese 408-409). Obviously, [pi'ʃe] is a phonetic variant of [pi'ʃin] and means "as soon as," Sp. "en cuanto."

See Cor., vol. 4, 20.

At the time of writing, I cannot verify whether or not this is the actual word for "port" in Greek.

Sp. "negocio" is later used in the sense of Sp. "tienda": [laz bu'tikaz, luz źe'gosjos, ći 'dia ri sa'bat, . . . 'todo 'stava se'radu] (240-242).

The Moroccan dialect, "ḥaketiya," has largely disappeared through increased exposure to Peninsular Spanish. Needless to say, when Sephardim who still speak Judeo-Spanish move to a Spanish-speaking environment, they rapidly assimilate, abandoning their dialect.


Real Academia Española. Fuero Juzgo en latín y castellano, cotejado con los más antiguos y preciosos códices. Book 12: "De devedar los tuertos, é derraygar las sectas é sus dichos." Madrid, 1815.


