

A STUDY OF THE BEIRUT DIALECT OF JUDEO-SPANISH AS SPOKEN BY ONE INFORMANT

by

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Abstract

This thesis is a study of the Beirut dialect of Judeo-Spanish as spoken by one informant of that community now living in Vancouver, B.C. The analysis of the dialect was based upon oral material which was tape-recorded. The study describes the phonology, lexicon, morphology, and syntax as they appeared in the corpus which consisted of about 33,000 words. Pertinent features are compared to both the Judeo-Spanish norm and to Old Spanish, noting the conformations, and differences, and indicating the reason for variances.

The informant's speech contained many archaisms especially in the vocabulary. Archaic features of the phonology, however, have become obscured through the influence of superstrata and cannot provide any conclusive evidence which would corroborate certain phonetic distinctions of Old Spanish. There is also some variance between the phonology of this dialect and other Sephardic dialects.

Also evident in the dialect studied here were: impoverishment of vocabulary, the introduction of neologisms and new formations, analogical changes common to Sephardic Spanish and some other analogical changes peculiar to this dialect only.

While other dialect studies of Judeo-Spanish show a dominant number of Turkish loans, this dialect has a far greater number of Gallicisms of apparently recent introduction. Widespread social and cultural changes in the life of the Sephardim in recent years have radically affected these dialects. The increasing pressure of external influences is obscuring many phonological and syntactical patterns hitherto used by Judeo-Spanish and the existence of many anomalies and much free variation is evidence of the advanced state of decay of this dialect.

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Introduction

Introduction

Sephardic or Judeo-Spanish is a dialect spoken by the Spanish Jews who were exiled by the Inquisition in 1492.

Sephard or Sepharad is a Hebrew word designating the Iberian peninsula. The Sephardim or Sepharadim, Jews speaking Hispanic tongues, settled in North Africa, Austria, Holland, and Italy, but the majority settled in Greece, Yugoslavia, and Turkey.¹

A few of these people first sought refuge in Portugal, but they, exiled by Portugal also, soon joined the earlier groups of exiles in the Levant. Spanish, because of its cultural prestige, became the tongue used by all these exiles, including those Jews who had originally used Catalan or Portuguese.

The Beirut community, whose Sephardic dialect is the subject of this paper, is small. The number of Sephardim there was estimated, in 1907, to be three thousand, almost all of whom spoke Arabic and little Judeo-Spanish. In addition to these linguistically assimilated Jews, there existed a small nucleus of forty to

¹ José Mair Bernardete in Hispanismo de los sefardíes levantinos, Madrid, 1963, one of the most recent works, contends that the definitive history of the Sephardim in exile has yet to be written. Other historical works which may be consulted, however, include: M.L. Wagner, "Los judíos de levante, Kritischer Rückblick bis 1907", Revue de Dialectologie Romane, I, 1909, Pp. 470-506; A. Pulido, Los israelitas españoles y el idioma castellano, Madrid, 1904, and Espanoles sin patria o la raza sefari, Madrid, 1905; M. Molho, Usos y costumbres de los sefardíes de Salónica, Madrid, 1950; J. Amador de Los Ríos, Los judíos de España y Portugal, Madrid, 1960; Wagner, op. cit., pp. 470-71, has a selected bibliography of mainly nineteenth century writers; J. M. Bernardete, op. cit., pp. 199-201, has a bibliography containing some of the more recent works on the Sephardim.

to forty-five Sephardic speaking families, recent arrivals from Turkey, or the Balkans.¹

The informant used in this paper has a background typical of that sector of the Beirut community which has preserved the Judeo-Spanish language. This Sephardic speaking group was joined by others, coming, as previously, from Turkey or the Balkans, as did the informant's family. This emigration as well as other population movements of the Sephardim was the result of World War II. The "Sephardic capital", Salonica, before the war had consisted of approximately sixty to seventy-five thousand Spanish Jews,² most of whom died in Nazi concentration camps. Many of the Sephardim, especially those from Turkey and Greece emigrated to the United States during or after the war.

The Sephardic informant used in this study was born in 1928 in Skoplje, Yugoslavia. His mother had grown up in Skoplje although she had been born in Salonica. She was married in Skoplje to a native of Salonica. The family lived briefly in Salonica, one or two years, and in 1930, moved to Smyrna (or Izmir) in Turkey where they remained until 1935. Here the informant attended for two years an Italian Catholic school. From 1935 until 1944, the informant's family lived in Beirut, where he continued to attend an Italian Catholic school until 1941 and then began to study

¹M. L. Wagner, "Los judíos de levante", Revue de Dialectologie Romane, I, 1909, p. 479.

²Wagner, "Los judíos", Revue de Dialectologie Romane, I, 1909, p. 478 and A. Pulido, Espanoles sin patria, Madrid, 1905, p. 25, 31, 111.

English at an American "prep school" in Beirut. When the family emigrated to the United States in 1944, the informant went to New York University. He is now a professor of mathematics.

The informant's family, while living in the Balkans, spoke only Judeo-Spanish. The informant began to learn Italian and French when he started school and speaks both languages fluently. He learned some Turkish as well as Arabic while the family was in Turkey and Lebanon. In Beirut, Judeo-Spanish was still spoken in the home and to their small circle of Sephardic friends but, the informant recalls that French was spoken to all acquaintances who were not Sephardim. The informant's constant contact with Judeo-Spanish was broken in 1945 when he left New York. His English can be classified as an acquired language, and in addition to a slight accent, shows some features of New York English. He has had no contact with either written or spoken Standard Spanish. I did not use Spanish in conducting interviews with the informant in order not to influence him.

Oral material for this study was gathered twice weekly in tape-recorded interviews with the informant over a period of three months. The corpus consists of material collected in these eight hours of tape, about 33,000 words. The interviews were conducted in several forms: extended monologues on listed subjects, question and answer sessions, and some direct questioning on specific words and pronunciations. Selected passages were then transcribed phonetically. I have tried to describe the phonology, lexicon, morphology, and syntax of the corpus as far as the material would allow and have tried to relate the features of the dialect studied here to the Judeo-Spanish norm and to Old Spanish, noting

the conformations and differences, and indicating the reason for variances.

Chapter I Phonology

Phonetic Symbols

The following phonetic symbols have been used in the phonetic transcription: I have adapted the I.P.A. symbols to facilitate the typing.

- p a voiceless bilabial stop
- b a voiced bilabial stop
- t a voiceless dental stop
- d a voiced dental stop
- k a voiceless velar stop
- g a voiced velar stop
- f a voiceless labio-dental fricative
- v a voiced labio-dental fricative
- ð a voiced inter-dental fricative
- s a voiceless dental (or predorsal, fricative
- z a voiced dental fricative
- š a voiceless palatal-alveolar fricative
- ž a voiced palatal-alveolar fricative
- h a pharyngeal continuant
- χ a voiceless uvular fricative
- ɣ a voiced velar fricative
- r a voiced alveolar single flap
- č a voiceless palatal-alveolar affricate
- dž a voiced palatal-alveolar affricate
- m a voiced bilabial nasal
- n a voiced alveolar nasal
- ɲ a voiced palatal nasal
- ŋ a voiced velar nasal
- l a voiced dental lateral

- ʎ a voiced palatal lateral
 ɮ a voiced velar lateral
 y a palatal semivowel
 w a velar semivowel (labialized)
 i a high front-close vowel
 e a mid front half-close vowel
 ɛ a mid front half-open vowel
 ae a mid central half-open vowel
 a a low central open vowel
 ɪ a lowered high front open vowel (as in English bit)
 ə a mid central half open vowel (schwa)
 ǣ a nasalized low open vowel
 ɔ a mid back half open vowel
 o a mid back half close vowel
 u a high back close vowel
 ʊ a lowered high back open vowel (as in English book)
 /ʊk/ book
 ʌ a low-mid central close vowel (as in English up)
 /ʌp/ up
 ẽ a mid front half-open nasalized vowel. (as in French
 fin /fẽ/ fin)

Phonetic Transcription

A phonetic transcription of a portion of the first tape recording done by the informant:

yo na 'si ɛn ɛs 'ko pya yu go 'sla vya mis pa 'ryɛn tɛs
 'e ran de sa 'lo ni ka ɛn 'gre sya ma mi 'ma dre 'kwan do
 'e ra 'u na 'ni ña mwi 'çi ka se fwe a yu go 'sla vya kɔn
 su pa 'ryɛn tɛs i dis 'pyɛs, an 'si ke yo, na 'syo ɛn ɛs-
 'ko pya no av 'la moz ɛɮ 'sɛr bo ni ɛɮ 'gre go 'so lo ɛn

ęs pa 'ñoł. 'teñ go un ęr 'ma no 'so lo no 'teñ go ęr 'ma-
 nəs. ęł na 'syo ęn sa 'lo ni ka. yo na 'si 'so lo ęn ęs-
 'ko pya i 'kwan do te 'ni a 'so lo 'u nqz dqz 'me zez mqz
 a tqr 'ni mqz ęn 'gre sya, ęn sa 'lo ni ka. mis pa 'ryęn tęs
 vi 'vi an ęn sa 'lo ni ka ęn a 'kel 'tyęm po. mi 'ma dre
 se fwe a ęs 'ko pya 'pqr ke su pa 'ryęn tes 'e ran de ęs 'ko-
 pya, vi 'vi an ęn ęs 'ko pya i 'qn de yo na 'si. vi 'vi moz
 ęn sa 'lo ni ka 'u no o dqz 'a ñqs i dęs 'pwęs moz 'fwe-
 mos ęn tur 'ki a, ęn iz 'mir i a 'ya ęs 'tu ve 'fis ta
 'kwan do te 'ni a moz 'o čo o syę te 'a ñoz. yo na 'si
 mił no ve 'sęn to 'treyn ta i 'siñ ko. ęn iz 'mir fwe a
 la es 'ko la i ta'lya na, 'u na ęs 'ko la mwi de 'pa dres
 frã sis 'kãe nqz i am bi 'zi ęł i ta'lya na ał 'męz-
 mo 'tyęm po. ke av 'la moz ęł la 'di no ęn 'ka za.
 i moz 'fwe mos a 'mi gqz de lqz i ta'lya nqs. i ęn
 la 'ka za 'qn de vi 'vi a moz 'e ran tam 'byęn i ta 'lya-
 nqs. fwe a 'ya pqr doz 'a ñqs ęn la ęs 'ko la i ta -
 'lya na i dęs 'pwęs noz 'fwe moz a bey 'rut 'le ba nqz
 ęn 'treyn ta i 'siñ ko i ęs 'tu ve a 'ya 'as ta mił
 no ve 'sęn to kwa 'ren to 'kwa tro i a 'ya kqz tin u 'i.
 'e ra 'u na es 'ko la i ta 'lya na, 'e ra de 'pa dres
 do mi ni 'kãe nos 'as ta kwa 'ręn ti 'u no. 'e ra 'u noz
 'kwan tqz 'a ñqs, 'syę te 'a ñqs ęn la ęs 'ko la i ta-
 'lya na i dęs 'pwęz me fwe a 'u na es 'ko la a me ri-
 'kae na, yu ni 'vãr si ti Af bey 'rut. te 'ni a 'u na ęs -
 'ko la 'pa ra 'an tęz de u ni vęr si 'dad, "pręp skuł".
 ęs 'tu ve a 'ya ęn bey 'rut dqz 'a ñqz i dęs 'pwęz 'kwan do

me 'vi ne a loz ęs 'ta dos u 'ni dos me 'fwe a nu 'york
yu ni 'var si ti.

no su 'fri moz dęł 'to do, so la 'męn te en kwa 'ręn ti
'u no 'kwan do loz in 'gle zez a ta 'ka ron a 'si rya i a
'le ba non i a laz ko 'lo n'yaz frã'se zaz i 'kwan do la
'frã sya ęn 'tro la gę ra ęł šik ęs 'ta va ęn kon 'troł
a 'ya. ęn kwa 'ręn ti 'u no loz in 'glę zęz de si 'da ron
ke kę 'ri an to 'mar ęł pa 'ęz i a ta 'ka ron i a 'vi a
un 'po ko de 'gę ra pęr sęš se 'ma naz, a 'vi a un bom-
bar da 'myęn to 'ka da 'no ċe ma no 'e ra mwi 'nęg ro, no
'e ra di 'fi ċi le de 'to do. doz 'me zęs o ku 'pa ron la
'ty ęra no tu 'vi moz mas 'gę ra ęn a 'keł 'par te dęł
'mun do. ęn kwa 'ręn ti 'kwat ro de si 'di moz de ve'nir, de
a tor 'nar moz. yo na 'si un si ti 'zin de loz ęs 'ta dos
u 'ni dos. mi 'pad re 'kwan do 'e ra man 'se vo de di zi 'seš
'a ños sa 'lyo de 'gre sya. 'vi no ęn nu 'york i du 'ran te
la 'pri ma 'gę ra, se a tor 'no 'ko mo sol 'da do a me ri-
kãe no i se ke 'do ęn lal 'ma nya por tręz 'a ños i
'kwan do se a tor 'na va ęn a 'me ri ka pa 'so por yu go 'sla-
vya i a 'ya ęs ke ęn kon 'tro mi 'ma dre i se ke 'do.
'dun kwe mo 'zo troz 'to dos 'ċi kos 'e ra moz 'to dos a me-
ri 'ka nos, ęn su pa sa 'por te a me ri 'kãe no i no a 'vi a
nin 'gu na di fi kul 'ta ęn a tor 'nar moz ęn a 'me ri ka
i de si 'di moz ęn kwa 'ręn ti 'kwa tro de a tor 'nar moz. mi
'pad re i mi ęr 'ma no vi 'nyę ron ęł pri 'mę ro i 'u noz
'kwan tos 'mę zez mas 'tar de ni 'mad re i yō ve 'ni moz
kun va 'por. tu 'mo un mez. 'e ra un kon 'voi noz 'fui moz
de Be 'rut en 'kai ro. noz ki 'di moz a 'ya 'u na se 'ma na.

Phonemes

The following twenty-six phonemes appear in the corpus of the informant's speech. Sample words in which they occur are given in phonemic transcription.

/p/	/preto/ 'black'
/b/	/bevir/ 'to drink'
/t/	/tomar/ 'to take'
/d/	/domandar/ 'to ask'
/k/	/kopo/ 'glass'
/g/	/avagar/ 'slow'
/f/	/fuir/ 'to flee'
/v/	/vivir/ 'to live'
/h/	/haham/ 'rabbi'
/m/	/murir/ 'to die'
/n/	/nono/ 'grandfather'
/ñ/	/maña/ 'manner'
/l/	/luvia/ 'rain'
/r/	/rompir/ 'to break'
/s/	/pasar/ 'to pass'
/š/	/kišar/ 'to complain'
/dž/	/džidió/ 'Jew'
/č/	/čika/ 'small'
/y/	/yamar/ 'to call'
/i/	/ansiñar/ 'to teach'
/e/	/esperar/ 'to hope'

/a/	/karo/	'car'
/o/	/bos/	'voice'
/u/	/buz/	'ice'

Consonantal Phonemes

The stops. All stops are unaspirated. A series of voiced and voiceless stops occurs at bilabial and dental-alveolar positions and a voiceless stop at the velar position with a gap occurring in the pattern where a voiced velar equivalent might be expected.

/p/ /t/ /k/
/b/ /d/

There are no perceptible positional variants for the voiceless series /p/, /t/, /k/ as is also the case in standard Spanish.

In addition to the gap in the voiced stops, there are also differences from standard Spanish phonology in the parallel pattern of the fricative allophones of the voiced series [b], [d], [g] from [b] , [d] , [g].)

/b/

The voiced bilabial stop /b/ is a phoneme contrasting with the voiced labio-dental continuant /v/ in the minimal pair /bos/ 'voice' and /vos/ 'you'. The fricative b does not occur once, either as a phoneme or allophone, in the corpus of my informant's speech. I have checked this carefully since the fricatives does occur in the dialects studied by Wagner, and Crews, and

/b/ (cont.) its existence in the Sephardic dialects is a controversial subject in studies of Judeo-Spanish. There are, then, no positional variants of /b/ or /v/. However, the distribution of /b/ and /v/ seems to be limited. /b/ almost never occurs in intervocalic position in this corpus (except 'li be ro'), a word of Italian origin, but is regularly replaced by /v/ in this position, for example, be 'ver 'to drink', es kri 'vir 'to write', 'i va 'I was going'. /v/ cannot occur after the nasal, although in other positions, that is initially, /b/ and /v/ are not mutually exclusive, as in am bi 'zar 'to learn', em bo.ra ċe 'ar 'to become inebriated', bom bar da 'my en to 'bombing'. This limitation on the occurrence of the stop /b/ suggests that the fricative /v/ may, in this dialect be replacing an earlier fricative b. b might easily be identified with v on the basis of frication especially since b is not known to other languages spoken by this speaker. There is, however, written evidence of b in Old Judeo-Spanish rashi transliterations showing that Old Spanish had the bilabial fricative before 1492.¹ The controversy among writers on Judeo-Spanish regarding the existence in Modern Sephardic Spanish of b or v and b shows that different solutions have

¹L. Spiegel, "Old Judeo-Spanish Written Evidence of Old Spanish Phonemes", Ph.D. dissertation, Minnesota, 1952, p. 122.

/b/ (cont.) been chosen by various Sephardic dialects. In this dialect, the existence of y, the labio-dental fricative, may have been affected by the lack of the sound b in the superstrata and adstrata languages which the modern sefardí, especially in smaller Judeo-Spanish speaking communities is obliged to learn. That the bilabial fricative b was retained in Salonica,¹ although Modern Greek has only the labio-dental β may be the result of the great number of Judeo-Spanish speakers living, until recently, in Salonica. Alternatively, the variety and confusion of phonetic findings in various dialects may well reflect the vacillation of b and y in Old Spanish which was resolved independently outside Spain in each Sephardic community.

/d/ may have a fricative allophone [ð] which can occur only in intervocalic position, but its appearance is sporadic and occurs in free variation with [d] in identical environment. The incidence of d intervocalically seems appreciably higher than [ð]. In all other positions [d] occurs. Examples with fricative: sa 'li do 'left', ke 'dar 'to remain', 'pye ara 'stone', 'sye-ara 'left', 'ma dre (but also 'ma dre) 'mother', la 'di no (only once, otherwise la 'di no) 'Sephardic Spanish', a ko 'arar 'to remember'. Examples with the stop: ka 'za do 'married', 'to do (but also

¹ C. Crews, Recherches sur le judéo-espagnol dans les pays balcaniques, Paris, 1935.

/d/ (cont.) 'to do) 'all', 'pa li da 'pale', pro te ža 'dor
'protector', pe 'ka do 'pity, sin', pu 'di a 'I
could', ul vi 'dar 'to forget'.

The affri-
cates:

A pair of voiced and voiceless affricates occur at
the dental-alveolar position.

/dž/

/č/

/dž/ has allophones dž, ž. The affricate occurs
initially while the fricative occurs in intervocalic
position, at least in words of Spanish origin or in
fully assimilated loans. Example, dže 'no yos
'knees', džen te 'people', džur 'nal 'newspaper',
dži 'dyo 'Jew'; mu 'žer 'wife, woman', mi 'žor
'better', ka 'le ža 'street', and va 'li ža 'suitcase'
conform to the prevailing tendency.

/č/

/č/ has no perceptible variants.

The frica-
tives:

Voiced and voiceless fricatives occur at labio-dental,
alveolar, and velar positions, with a voiceless frica-
tive in the palatal position. (ž does not have phone-
mic status)

/f/ /s/ /š/ /x/

/v/ /z/ /g/

Except for the loss of Old Spanish phonemic /ž/, the
fricatives represent the most nearly complete series.

/f/

/f/ has no allophones. while some Judeo-Spanish dialects
maintain the labio-dental f (Old Spanish h) and others
use the aspirated h, this dialect has generally lost

/f/ (cont.) initial f. Initial f is, however, sporadically retained in a very few words. Thus the informant says 'i ža 'daughter', av 'lar 'speak', a 'zer 'do', but fu 'ir 'flee' and fe 'rir 'wound'. It is interesting that 'fas ta, 'as ta, and even 'fis ta 'until' (possibly Italian fino plus asta) appear. The sporadic occurrence of f in these instances is perhaps attributable to the informant's brief stay in Yugoslavia where f is retained in Sephardic Spanish.

/v/ /v/ is distinguished phonemically from /b/ (see /b/ above). /v/ does not occur, however, after the nasal /m/ which conditions the homorganic stop /b/. This parallels the pattern of the stop /d/ after /n/, and /k/ which conditions a preceding allophone [ŋ]. Hence am bi 'zar (INVITIARE) 'to learn', de man 'dar 'to ask', 'nuñ ka 'never'.

/s/ /s/ is not the Old Castilian apical variety, but an alveolar dorsal in the informant's speech. The distribution of this phoneme /s/ is perplexing. It seems to occur in free variation with z in some circumstances but does not represent a phonemic neutralization in any definable environment. For example, mo 'zo tros, mo 'zo troz, and also mo 'so troz occur in identical environments without a change in meaning: noz 'fwe moz 'we went, nos 'fwemoz, and nos 'fwe nos all occur, so that the conditioning factor is neither the presence of voice nor phonemic neutralization in

/s/ (cont.) word or utterance final position. At most, there is a strong preference of final z over /s/, but it is not a consistent change, and it is not limited to final position. This situation is further complicated because, at the same time there appear to be residual traces of Old Spanish phonemic contrast between /s/ and /z/ in examples where free variation consistently does not occur in the informant's speech as in 'ko za 'thing', 'ka za 'house', and pa 'sar 'to spend, pass'. The informant corrected my pronunciation of kasa to 'ka za. The phonemic difference in modern standard Spanish has disappeared giving rise to an allophonic distribution of [s] and [z]. Presumably, the Old Castilian /s/ - /z/ phonemic distinction would have come with the Sephardim from Spain and, indeed, this informant's speech and possibly his Beirut dialect is the only one which does not conform to the general Judeo-Spanish tendency to maintain the phonemic distinction.

A former /s/ when preceded by a yod (which has since disappeared) palatalizes as, for example, di zi- 'seš 'sixteen' (-seis) and all second person plural forms of the verb like av 'la teš 'you spoke' (-asteis) and de 'ša teš 'you left' (dešasteis). Velar consonants have also palatalized a preceding /s/ which becomes /š/ in certain words: buš 'kar 'to look for', and peš 'ka do 'fish'. According to Lapesa, this change

/s/ (cont.) also occurred in peninsular Spanish in the sixteenth century.¹

In addition, the phonology of this dialect will tolerate an "impure" s, possibly, in this speaker's dialect because of French, English, and Italian borrowings which exist concurrently with forms having an epenthetic 'e', for example, Es 'ko pya 'Skoplje', es 'ko la 'school', but spe sya li 'da des 'specialities'.

/h/ /h/ occurs most frequently in words of Arabic and Hebrew origin, as in ha 'zi no 'sick', ha 'ham 'rabbi', but it also occurred once in Spanish a 'ho ra 'now' along with the more frequent pronunciation a 'o ra 'now'.² The voiced fricative g, however, occurs as normal in the compound a gor 'a ño 'last year'.

/g/ /g/ has two allophones: a voiced velar stop [g] and the norm [ɣ]. [g] occurs only after its homorganic nasal, as in 'teñ go 'I have', otherwise [ɣ] occurs in all other positions, for example, 'gre sya 'Greece', 'ga to 'cat', a'mi gos 'friends'. Initial [g] is a commonly known feature of the Salonica dialect also. That the velar fricative [ɣ] has become the phonemic norm in this dialect is perhaps due to foreign influence. The fricative g occurs in Modern Greek γ and

¹R. Lapesa, Historia, p. 336.

²One would expect * a 'go ra. The appearance of /h/ here may be due to identification of voiced velar fricative g with voiceless continuant /h/. (?)

/g/ (cont.) may have been identified with Arabic ġ (ghain) in the Beirut area. Salonica, which prior to World War II was the largest Sephardic community, may well have been the place of origin of this development, surrounded, as it is, by Greek. The informant lived in Salonica for two years and his mother had been born there.

Nasals. Voiced nasals occur at bilabial, alveolar, and dental points of articulation.

/m/ /m/ can occur in free variation with /n/ in certain circumstances, such as, before the bilabial semivowel /w/. Thus: 'mwes tra and also 'nwes tra 'our' occur; 'mwe vo and 'nwe vo 'new'; 'mwe ve and 'nwe ve 'nine'. Perhaps on the analogy of 'mwes tra 'our', m and n vary freely in moz/noz, mozotroz/nozotroz 'we' despite lack of a bilabial element. The informant uses these forms cited above interchangeably. Otherwise, /m/ and /n/ are distinguished. This phonetic situation of free variation in certain words may perhaps lend credence to the /s/-/z/ variation which also appears to be a phonemic distinction in a few words.

/n/ /n/ has allophones [n] and [ɲ]. [ɲ] occurs only before velar stops k and g. For example, 'nuɲ ka 'never', 'liɲ gwa 'language', but otherwise [n] occurs.

/ɲ/ /ɲ/ has no perceptible variants.

Liquids.

/l/ /l/, a voiced alveolar palatal has a velar positional variant, [ɭ] which occurs word and syllable finally, for example español. Otherwise, [l] occurs. This development may be due to earlier Portuguese speaking Jews or it may be a recent English incursion.

/r/ /r/ is a single voiced alveolar flap, for example, 'pe ro 'dog' and rom 'pir 'break'. There is no alveolar trill /rr/ occurring as a phoneme or positional variant in this dialect. Most Judeo-Spanish dialects have retained the phonemic contrast of single /r/ and the multiple /rr/. Marius Sala claims that, "În norma iudeospaniolei din București am găsit și alte simplificări ale sistemului fonologic înregistrate în alte regiuni. Este vorba de dispariția fără urme a distincției dintre /r/ și /rr/."¹ In addition to the loss of /rr/ in the Beirut dialect as well as in the Judeo-Spanish of Bucharest, it has also been lost in the Smyrna dialect of New York.² The probable reason for this development in the three dialects mentioned is the lack of phonemic distinction between /r/ and /rr/ in the superstrata.

¹M. Sala, "Organizarea unei norme noi spaniole în indeospaniola", Studii și cercetări lingvistice, 4, Anul XVII, 1966, p. 403.

²D. Levy, "La pronunciación del sefardí esmirniano de Nueva York", Nueva revista de filología española, 6, 1952, p. 277.

Semi-
consonants or
semi-vowels

- /y/ /y/ has no positional variants. /y/ for /ʎ/ is found in the spoken language in many Spanish speaking areas and the tendency to make this change must have already been present in the speech of the late fifteenth century. Normal developments are ka 'yar 'to be quiet' and ya 'mar 'to call'. Exceptional is biʎ 'le to 'ticket' which is an Italian loan. 'lu vi a 'rain' and ca 'li ža 'street' which have /l/ rather than /y/ replacing Castilian /ʎ/ are in common use among Sephardic dialects.
- /w/ /w/ has no positional variants.

Consonantal Phonemes

	Bilabial	Dental	Labio-dental	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar
Stops						
Vl.	p	t				k
Vd.	b	d				
Fricatives						
Vl.			f	s	ʃ	h
Vd.			v		ʒ	g
Affricates						
Vl.					č	
Vd.					dž	
Continuants					y	
Nasals	m			n	ɲ	
Laterals				l		
Vibrants (single flap)				r		

The Vowel Phonemes

/i/	a high close front unrounded vowel
/e/	a mid front half-close unrounded vowel
/a/	a low central open unrounded vowel
/o/	a mid back half-close rounded vowel
/u/	a high back close rounded vowel

/i/ has allophones [i] and a lowered high front lax vowel [ɪ] which occurs in a pretonic syllable before [i] am bi 'zi 'I learned', ki 'di moz 'we stayed'. Otherwise [i] occurs as in 'di ši 'I said'.

/e/ has allophones [e] and [ɛ] a low mid front half-open lax vowel. The open variety [ɛ] frequently occurs in closed syllables, under stress, and before r.

er 'ma no 'brother'

a 'kɛl 'that'

'fwɛ 'he went'

But, however, closed and open e can occur in free variation with each other as well as with [ɪ]

(a) de sr 'di moz 'we decided'

dɛ sr 'di moz

dɪ sr 'di moz

(b) drs 'pwɛs 'after, then'

dɛs 'pwes

(The variant drs 'pyes also occurred once).

/e/ (cont.) (c) an sɪ 'ɲar 'to teach'

an se 'ɲar

(d) dɪ 'zir 'to say'

dɛ 'zir

de 'zir

/a/

/a/ a low central unrounded vowel has occasionally a final variant, a schwa, [ə].

ɛr 'ma nɛz 'sisters'

Sa 'ri kə 'little Sarah'

Also there is sporadic use of [æ] but only in English loan words and the word a 'mɛ ri 'kæ no 'American'. These two variants are probably the result of English influence. Another such variant attributable to French occurs, /ã/ in words related to French.

'frã sya 'France',

frã 'sez 'French'

These three vowels are not, of course, regularly a part of the phonology, but represent incomplete phonological assimilations.

/o/

/o/ has three allophones which can occur in a pattern similar to that of the allophones of /e/. Thus [ʊ], a lowered high back lax vowel appears pretonically, open [ɔ] occurs in closed syllables, and the more closed [o] appears in open syllables. [ʊ] can occur in free variation with [o] within a word.

kʊ 'mi da 'food', kʊ 'mer, or ko 'mer 'to eat

/o/ (cont.) uɫ vi 'dar 'to forget'

pʊ 'di a, po 'der, or pʊ 'der 'to be able'

'ɔn de 'where'

na 'syo 'he was born'

Neither /e/ or /o/ can close to /i/ and /u/ respectively in word final position as happens in many Judeo-Spanish dialects. Thus the form er 'mo zo 'beautiful' is possible, but the form er 'mo zu as used in Bosnia, is not in this dialect. Similarly, 'ver de 'green', does not tolerate closure of the final vowel to [i] in this dialect. Closure of these vowels can, as in other dialects, occur in pretonic position.¹ Of course, e/i fluctuations are also found in modern Spanish dialects. These fluctuations are known to be a change characteristic of Leonese at least in final position.² It is also significant that Old Spanish fluctuated in the usage of o/u and i/e. Menéndez-Pidal states that fluctuations between o/u, i/e lasted until into the sixteenth century.³

/u/ /u/ has no allophones. (The lowered and more lax [ʊ] is a positional variant of /o/.)

¹But 'lin gwa 'language' may derive its [i] through It.

²Alonso Zamora Vicente, Dialectología española, Madrid, 1963, p. 88.

³Menéndez-Pidal, Orígenes del español, Madrid, 1944, p. 67.

/u/ (cont.) u'ni doz 'united'

'u noz 'some'

Clusters

The clusters -bd- or -vd-, as in Judeo-Spanish generally, have been preserved as they were in Old Spanish:

siv 'da 'city'¹

'dev da 'debt'

duv 'dar 'to doubt'

'kov do 'elbow'

'viv da 'widow'

The frequency of this cluster -vd- seems to cause Ev 'ro pa 'Europe' and 'kav sa 'cause' to conform to this pattern also although they had /u/ even in Old Spanish.

Popular Changes

Popular phonetic changes of /w̄e/ and /b̄w/ becoming /ḡwe/ do not occur in this dialect although they are attested in nearly all Judeo-Spanish dialects and in other Spanish dialects as a vulgarism. The "purity" of the dialect studied here is not due to contact with the standard language nor is it likely that it is attributable to any foreign influence. The following forms, which are commonly cited as typical of Judeo-Spanish are not necessarily typical of all Sephardic speech as study of this dialect has shown. Thus: the informant renders 'devil' 'wer ko but not guerko (Old

¹This loss of final d is exceptional and is probably influenced by Italian città.

Castilian huerco); 'bwe no 'good' but not gweno; 'węz mo 'smell' but not gwezmo.

Another phonetic substitution frequent in most other dialects but absent in the informant's speech is the aspirate /h/ replacing /f/ or /s/ followed by a bilabial. Thus only fwe appears in this dialect, never hue which is usually cited as Judeo-Spanish and 'sue ño 'sleep' not shueño.

Vowel Phonemes

	FRONT	CENTRAL	BACK
HIGH CLOSE	i		u
MID CLOSE	e		o
LOW OPEN		a	

Chapter 2 Lexicon

General Remarks

The preservation of older forms no longer current in standard Spanish is characteristic of all Judeo-Spanish dialects. This archaic quality applies not only to the retention of certain sounds mentioned in the chapter on phonetics but is also a striking feature of the Judeo-Spanish lexicon. This is not, of course, a surprising phenomenon when one recalls that the exile of the Sephardim occurred before the great linguistic transitions of the Golden Age, and that subsequently, the Spanish Jews lived in almost complete isolation in self-sufficient communities mainly within a Turkish empire which was willing to leave minority groups to themselves. The break with the peninsula and its linguistic and literary development was complete. For a time the old 'romances' which the Sephardic Jews kept in many colonies would tend to fix the stage of the language as it was when they were in Spain. Some literature was composed in exile, but in small quantity and only for a short time. Several generations later the literacy of the Sephardic Jews had much declined, thereby removing any standard to which the spoken language might adhere.

As one would expect, the fluctuations and variant usages of the language in fifteenth and early sixteenth century Spain are reflected in the Judeo-Spanish lexicon. For example, in Valdés' Diálogo de la lengua we find the following discussion as to whether current usage favoured asperar or esperar and whether there was a distinction in meaning.

Marcio.-... ¿ Hazéis alguna diferencia entre asperar y esperar?

Valdés.- Yo sí, diziendo asperad in cosas ciertas, y esperad en cosas inciertas, como vosotros usáis de aspettar y sperar; y assí digo: espero que este año no avrá guerra. Bien sé que pocos o ninguno guardan esta diferencia, pero a mi me ha parecido guardarla por dar mejor a entender lo que scrivo.¹

The distinction is still observed in this dialect of Judeo-Spanish. In addition to the factors mentioned above, such vacillations in peninsular usage in this period of rapid innovation partially account for the lack of a fixed language standard in Judeo-Spanish.

The proportion of older forms varies according to the dialect of Judeo-Spanish. The dialects of the smallest and most isolated communities have preserved the greatest number of archaisms, a linguistic phenomenon which is common in outlying areas. The Monastir dialect, according to Max Luria,² is the most archaic, while that of Morocco, as seen in the study by Paul Benichou,³ does not differ radically from Modern Spanish due to its closer contact with the peninsula.

While the number of words derived from the common stock of Old Spanish is probably greater in standard Spanish than in Judeo-Spanish,⁴ nevertheless Judeo-Spanish has continued

¹ Juan Valdés, Diálogo de la lengua, ed. Cl. Cast., Madrid, 1964, p. 86.

² Max Luria, "The Monastir Dialect", Ph.D. dissertation, Revue Hispanique, LXXIX, 1930, p. 323 ff.

³ Paul Benichou, "Observaciones sobre el judeo-español de Marruecos", Revista de filología hispánica, VII, 1945, p. 209-258.

⁴ Dr. A. S. Yahuda, "Contribuciones al estudio del judeo-español", Revista de filología española, II, 1915, p. 347.

using some words current in the general Spanish of the fifteenth century but which have since dropped out of the standard language. The words in this category have not always remained unchanged but, as is to be expected in a living tongue, they have occasionally an independent development of their own. For example, Old Spanish lazdrar 'to work hard', while it is retained in the Skoplje dialect studied by Cynthia Crews¹ has become ladrar in the speech of the informant, and lazrar in Spain.

In addition to separate developments in each language community, further variances among Sephardic dialects and between sefardí and the standard Spanish of the peninsula have as their basis the several varieties of medieval Spanish dialects which the Jews brought with them. Also some Jews did not go directly to the Levant but took up residence for a time in Portugal before joining the other exiles.

Ya hemos hecho constar que en los primeros tiempos del establecimiento de los judíos en Oriente hubo entre ellos un regionalismo pronunciado, que se manifestó en la fundación de cales o sinagogas nacionales. Se distinguieron entre sí los judíos de Castilla, de Andalucía, de Aragón, de Cataluña, de Portugal, y hasta hoy día (1930) muchas familias sefardíes recuerdan aún su procedencia. Más tarde la lengua tendió a unificarse por el continuo trato entre sí de los sefardíes de distinta procedencia, y esta unificación se realizó sobre todo en las grandes ciudades, donde antes se hablarían de seguro distintos dialectos.²

Wagner has probably exaggerated a little in claiming that many

¹Cynthia Crews, L'Espagnol Dans Les Balcons, Paris, 1930, Ph.D. Dissertation, p. 167.

²M. L. Wagner, Caracteres Generales, p. 15.

sefardíes remember from what area they come since some Spanish Jews such as the one mentioned in Luria's dissertation are even unaware that the language they are speaking is Spanish. Indeed, the term džidyó, džudezmo, and even ladino used to describe the language does not stress that the language is related to Spanish. Formerly, the term ladino was the Latin language as distinguished from Hebrew but the word is now used without the speakers' awareness of its etymology. The informant used for the present study does not know from what province his ancestors came, but, as do the majority of those who speak ladino, he realizes that his language is a form of Spanish.

Among the inherited Spanish words, some few are still distinguishable as being from northern dialects, that is, Aragonese and Leonese. There are no obvious traces of Andalusian discernible in the Judeo-Spanish of the Levant for it is believed that the majority of Sephardic Jews of Andalusian origin settled in North Africa.¹

Two large linguistic divisions in the Levant are generally distinguished: that of the eastern Levant embracing Istanbul, Turkey, and the Near East, which is Castilian in character; and, that of the western Levant, including Macedonia, Greece, Bosnia, Serbia, and part of Bulgaria, which is principally Aragonese and Catalanian in flavour.² This will explain to some extent a number

¹A.S. Yahuda, "Contribución". Revista de filología española, II, 1915, p. 359.

²M.L. Wagner, Caracteres, p. 22. Cf. Bernardete, Hispanismo de los sefardíes levantinos, p. 75.

of evidently northern words in the informant's speech possibly as a result of his contact with dialects from the Balkans and western Judeo-Spanish, but, more probably these words have been accepted by all Sephardic dialects as a kind of koine, since some dialectal features of Aragonese and Leonese appear to be held in common among all Sephardic dialects even in the 'Castilian' area. Among the words which Wagner gives as peculiar to the western region,¹ for example, the following are to be found in the informant's speech (eastern and 'Castilian' Judeo-Spanish): 'ar vo le 'tree', a 'su ker 'sugar', so 'lom bra 'shadow', and 'lon že 'far'. The informant's period of residence in the western area was very short and in any case if these words were not intelligible in the eastern region, that is Turkey and Beirut, where the informant lived subsequently, others would probably have been substituted. Otherwise, in relation to the proportion of northern features in other Judeo-Spanish dialects, the informant's speech is remarkable for its fidelity to Old Castilian, notwithstanding the influence of local environments which are largely responsible for creating new variations in each Sephardic area.

Another prime factor influencing the shape of the lexicon is the spoken and non-literary nature of the dialect. Nowadays its usage is restricted to the home and to a limited circle of Sephardic acquaintances whereas other languages have to be employed in business and the professions. There was, however, a flourishing literary tradition until a general decline in the eighteenth century. Scholars prefer to apply the term *ladino*

¹Wagner, Caracteres, ibid., p. 22.

only to religious writings and translations such as the Ferrara Bible. The literary language is written in Hebrew transcription called rashí or, in more recent times, ladino is written in Latin characters such as in La Vara, a Sephardic review formerly published in New York until 1945, and in some modern Israeli newspapers. The Sephardim themselves do not distinguish between ladino, defined by scholars as the literary and written aspect of the language as mentioned above, and the vernacular or spoken tongue called žargon, džudezmo or džidyó. All four terms are used by most of the Spanish Jews without distinction. The spoken tongue is what concerns us here. Most writers on the subject base their observations on the written language.¹ There is a considerable discrepancy between the two levels, particularly in vocabulary. The informant does not recognize literary words which I put to him like leer 'to read' listed by Mr. Subak.² This speaker, who has had an otherwise excellent education, cannot read the rashí script and, indeed, told me that 'one cannot write in ladino, because it is not a written language.' He employs French for written communication with his family.

A literary link with the peninsula might have served as a stabilizing factor on the language, and might have provided a model or 'language ideal'. In addition, it seems that even the influence of literary ladino was, for the most part diminished through the prestige of the schools of the Alliance Israélite Universelle offering instruction in French and the national language

¹eg. J. Subak's works (cf. bibliography).

²J. Subak, Das Verbum in Judenspanischen, Bausteine, Halle, 1905., p.321.

to exclusion of Spanish.¹ These schools set up by the French Jews to help their "backward brothers" largely replaced the synagogue schools.

The nature of Judeo-Spanish as a spoken language, without a literary norm then has had many predictable consequences and effects upon the lexicon, some of which are common to other varieties of colloquial Spanish: impoverishment of vocabulary, ready acceptance of neologisms, new formations independently invented through analogy to the Old Spanish model, new meaning for older words and rapid acceptance of loan words needed to meet the lacunae in the language due to new cultural contacts. Once accepted, the borrowed portion of the vocabulary seems ephemeral and likely to give way to a spontaneous loan from another source, if the first loan word does not come readily to mind. This device does fulfill the primary function of language which is communication, but contributes to what purists call the decadence of Judeo-Spanish. The spontaneous loan is likely to be understood by other sefardíes who usually have at their command three or four languages.

In short, there is a fluid and flexible standard, a lack of consciousness of 'correctness' regarding not only vocabulary, but also grammar and style.

Early loans, chiefly Turkish, are usually, but not always, assimilated to the Judeo-Spanish phonetic pattern, (for example,)

¹ Bernardete, Hispanismo de los sefardíes levantinos, Madrid, 1963, p. 153. "En lugar de ayudarlos a rejuvenecer su lengua...La Alianza rehusaba enseñar el español."

fil 'džan 'cúp', should show a medial ž. Recently acquired loans from other language sources are usually unassimilated phonetically, as in, šamē dā 'fer 'railroad', in the speech of my informant retains the nasal vowel of French. Both assimilated and unassimilated elements may exist concurrently, no doubt, because the sefardí must learn to speak the languages of the superstrata from which words are drawn. This informant, for example, speaks French, English, and Italian fluently, as well as some Arabic and Turkish.

The proportion of loan words in the lexicon is very high and gives a "hybrid" character to the language in much the same way that Rumanian and English appear mixed. Loan words include not only substantives, but also verbs in this dialect. Abraham Danon, however, lists Turkish loans of prepositions, adverbs, and conjunctions.¹ Unfortunately, he does not state from which dialect of Judeo-Spanish he takes his examples, but it is most likely that of Istanbul, which presumably would contain a higher proportion of Turkish loans. However, the list of words which he gives is not at all representative of the dialect under discussion here, for only one of the many words which he cites is known to the informant: amma 'but' which has a joint Turkish-Arabic origin probably reinforced by Old Spanish mas, and Italian ma. Otherwise, Turkish loans in this dialect are usually confined to substantives.

The number and kind of foreign loans in each Judeo-Spanish dialect is, of course, subject to variation. In Bosnia, for example,

¹A. Danon, "Le turc dans le judéo-espagnol", Revue Hispanique, XXIX, pp. 1-12.

the number of Turkish loans is far less than that of Istanbul, according to Kalmi Baruch,¹ but the Turkish element still dominates over other loan sources.² And again, the number of loans is significantly higher in urban centres than in the rural areas where the Spanish element is more faithfully preserved.³

It is generally agreed that Turkish is the foremost contributor of loan words to all Sephardic dialects. This is a natural consequence when one recalls that the sefardies have been subject to the influence of the Turkish language in varying degrees of intensity for five centuries. Indeed, under these circumstances, it is surprising that Spanish survived.

Other languages which contribute to the hybrid character of Judeo-Spanish are Arabic, French, Italian, Hebrew, and recently, English, due to the large immigrations of Spanish Jews to English speaking areas, especially the United States.

The proportion of non-Iberian elements in Judeo-Spanish has naturally increased as the centuries passed. Early travellers to Sephardic colonies remarked on the 'purity' of the language a century after dispersion. Gonzalo de Llesca is always quoted

¹Kalmi Baruch, "El judeo-español de Bosnia", Revista de filología española, XVII, p. 120.

²Except for Rudolfo Gil in "La lengua española entre los judíos", La España moderna, 1909, p. 36, who discerns three in equal proportion: Hebrew, Turkish, and Arabic in literary documents.

³Yahuda, "Contribuciones", Revista de filología española, II, 1915, p. 355.

in this regard:

Llevaron nuestra lengua y todavía la guardan y usan della de buena gana, ...y yo conocí en Venencia judíos de Salónica hartos,¹ que hablaban castellano tan bien o mejor que yo.

However, by the seventeenth century, certainly, Judeo-Spanish was notably different from the Spanish of the peninsula. Bernardo Aldrete, a later traveller, says of the Spanish Jews, "Los que fueron de Espana /sic/ hablan aun toda via el language que lleuaron delle, i se reconoce que es de aquella edad, diferente desta."²

In addition, it seems that even before the exodus from Spain the Sephardic vocabulary was distinguished by a few peculiarities, the result of varying social and cultural influences. Religion was a primary factor. From the early date given by Corominas, it is apparent that prior to the dispersion, Judeo-Spanish must have regularly employed the form Dio 'God' as opposed to Dios. The reason seems to be that in very early Spanish the plural of Dio and its alternative Dios was los Dios which later became los dioses. The monotheistic Jews, nevertheless, continued to use Dio perhaps because they felt Dios to be plural. Another such word arising from religious differences and also from the close relationship of the Moors and Jews, is al 'ha 'the first day', a word of Arabic origin probably shared by Moors and Jews and used

¹ Gonzalo de Llesca, Historia Pontifical Barcelona, 1606, as cited by C. Crews, L'Espanol Dans les Balcans, p. 24.

² B. Aldrete, Varias Antigüedades de España, Africa, y otras provincias, Anvers, 1614, as cited by C. Crews, L'Espanol Dans les Balcans, p. 24.

to replace the strictly Christian domingo 'Sunday '. ¹

Mel 'dar 'to read', as rendered by the informant, has been documented by Corominas as from the first half of the fifteenth century and appears in Danza de la Muerte with the meaning 'enseñar '. It may first have been used by the Jews exclusively of reading a religious document since the most acceptable etymology established by Spitzer and Blondheim is 'meletare', a latinized version of Greek μελετάω 'to meditate' thence to read and meditate. ² Le 'er 'to read' is not recognized by the informant, although it is used in literary Ladino texts. ³

Also appearing in the corpus is ha 'zi no 'sick' of Arabic origin, according to Corominas who attests Old Spanish hacino about 1400. The Old Spanish meaning was 'sad' while to Judeo-Spanish speakers it meant 'sick' as it did in Arabic.

Similarly dez ma zal 'da do Judeo-Spanish 'unlucky, unhappy' retains the original sense of Hebrew mazal 'luck' whereas the Spanish version desmazalado which, ⁴ Corominas mentioned as having been used by Cervantes, had already belonged to Castilian

¹ alhad is the form usually given in other Sephardic dialects.

² L. Spitzer and D.S. Blondheim, "meldar", in Revista de filología española, Vlll, 1921, Pp. 288-291, and Romania, XLIX, Pp. 371-375.

³ See also p. 31 of this Chapter.

⁴ This form is peculiar only to this speaker's dialect, generally, Judeo-Spanish retains dezma zalado. Eg. Y. Malkiel, "A Latin-Hebrew blend: Hispanic 'desmazalado' ", Hispanic Review, 1947, Pp. 272-301.

by that time for more than two hundred years but was used in the sense 'flojo, abatido'. It is interesting that the informant, although he does not know Hebrew, was aware of the origin of this word. The opposite in his Judeo-Spanish dialect is ma zal 'da do not mazaloso as cited by Corominas in the same entry.

While still in Spain, Old Castilian harbar 'to do something in a hurry' came to be used by the Sephardim in the sense of 'to beat' as a result of association with the Biblical name Harbonah which meant 'beating'. The form appears in this dialect as a har 'var 'to beat, wound'.¹

The following lists are word categories which have been established in this corpus.

Loan Words

Turkish loan words

(Loan words are in phonetic transcription.)

(Turkish sources are spelled according to modern orthography)

Nouns

a ra 'ba 'car'

(And Ar.) araba 'vehicle'

ba 'zar 'market'

pazarlik 'bargaining'

'ber ber 'barber'

berber

bo'ri ka 'dumpling'

bo'rek 'tart containing meat and cheese'

buz 'ice'

buz 'ice'

čai 'tea'

çay 'tea'

¹Crews, "Some Arabic and Hebrew words in oriental Judeo-Spanish." Vox Romanica, 14, 1954, 1955 p. 304. Mrs. Crews corrects Corominas' etymology.

či 'ni 'dish, plate, china'

džus 'tan 'purse, wallet'

fil 'džan 'a coffee cup'

ha 'mal 'porter'

ig 'li za or

ik 'li za 'church'

ka 'sal 'butcher'

kef 'tes 'meatballs'

kon 'du ri as 'shoes'

and

kon du're ro 'shoemaker'

mu sa'fir 'host, guest'

'pal to 'coat'

pa 'ra or

pa 'ras 'money'

pan'dža 'beet'

por to 'kal 'orange'

ra 'ki

čini 'china'

guzdan 'purse'

filcan or fincan

hamal 'street porter'

the alternative pronunciation with 'k' may stem from Turkish kilise 'a Christian church' from Fr. église.

kasap . kasab is the usual Judeo-Sp. form. This form with 'l' comes by way of Greek κασάπης.

(And Ar.) keftes

kondura 'shoe'

It is phonetically unlikely to suppose that the origin of this Judeo-Sp. word is Fr. cordonnier, as Kraus supposes,¹ when the Turkish stem is still intact in the Sephardic word. 'sa pa to is recalled by the informant as an "old-fashioned word" used by his grandmother to mean 'shoe' also.

misafir 'traveller, guest'

palto 'overcoat' (which is probably from the French paletot.)

para 'money'. J. Sp. pa 'ras may be singular or plural eg. mučas parás 'much money'.

pancar 'beet'

portakal 'orange'

raki 'a kind of brandy'

¹Karl Kraus, "Judeo-Spanish in Israel", Hispania, 34, 1951, p. 270.

'sin ga no 'gypsy'

čingane cf. It. zingaro.

šar 'ši 'marketplace'

čarsi 'marketplace'

u 'da 'room'

odá 'room'

'viš nas 'a cherry confection'

višne 'a black cherry'
(while se'ri za is used by the informant to mean 'cherry'.)

zer ze vet 'li 'green vegetables'

zersevat 'vegetables'

Verbs

siklearse 'to be bored'

şikayet 'complaint' In some J.-Sp. dialects, siklear appears with the meaning 'grieve'.¹

Interjections

'hai de 'come now, come'

hayde

Conjunctions

amma 'but'

In this form, from (Tk.) and Ar. amma. ma is another J.-Sp. alternative. cf. Gk. καί, It. ma, Sp. mas, Fr. and Port. mais.

It is significant that the majority of the words above describe items peculiar to the Near East, common foods, apparel, and words of use in business and the market. Only one verbal root comes from Turkish and only one conjunction. There are no structural influences in this dialect or in Judeo-Spanish generally which can be traced to Turkish. The relative lack of influence exerted by Turkish is surprising in view of the long contact between the two. It will be shown, furthermore, that those loan words borrowed by Judeo-Spanish are usually the same words which other Balkan

¹Luria, 'Monastir', Revue Hispanique, LXXIX, 1930, p. 554.

languages have also taken from Turkish. I have included again in the list of Balkan loans several of the Turkish words shown above which have been borrowed not only by Judeo-Spanish but also by other Balkan languages. The list includes other words of various origins which are also shared among Balkan languages.

Balkan loans

Judeo-Sp.

1. 'am ma 'but (occasionally ma) cf. Turk./Ar. amma,
Gk. $\mu\alpha$
2. bre 'hey' (interjection) originating with Gk. $\beta\rho\epsilon$ ¹
cf. Rum., Bulg., Turk.
3. čai 'tea' of Chinese origin ča, the
source for J-Sp. is likely
Turk. čay cf. Rum. ceai.²
Gk. $\tau\omicron\alpha\iota$ Russ. Bulg. Serb.
čaj
4. 'hai de 'come' (interjection) from Turk. hayde, cf. Gk.,³
Alb., Bulg., Serb., and Rum.
aide/haide, etc.
5. ha 'mal 'porter' From Turk./Ar. hamal, hâmmal.
cf. Gk. $\chi\alpha\mu\acute{\alpha}\lambda\eta$ Alb. hamal,
Serb. amal, Bulg. hamalin.
Rum. hamal.⁴
6. ku 'ko na described by the perhaps of Gk. origin $\kappa\omicron\kappa\kappa\acute{\upsilon}\nu\alpha$
informant as 'a snooty young
lady' 'lady' cf. Bulg., and Rum.
cucoană

¹M. Luria, "Monastir Dialect", p. 548.

²A. Cioranescu, Diccionario Etimológico Rumano, Univ. de la Laguna, Biblioteca Filológica, 1959.

³Cioranescu, Diccionario Etim. Rumano

⁴Ibid.

7. na 'here' used in handing someone something. of unknown origin, but cf. all Slavic languages and Gk. and Rum.¹
8. por to 'kal 'orange' from Turk portakal, cf. Gk. πορτοκάλι Rum.² portocal, and Alb. portokalje²
9. pin 'za la (s)' 'pea' from Gk. πιπέλι Luria cites the unadapted form pinzeli in his Monastir dialect.³
10. ri 'za 'handkerchief' Turk. rida, but J-Sp. through Serb./Bulg. ruza cf. Ar. rit⁴
11. zer ze vet 'li 'green vegetables' zer ze vet 'li Turk. zerzavat, cf. Gk. ζαρζάβιτς Bulg./Serb. and Rum.⁵ zarzavat

Judeo-Spanish seems to calque the Balkan form of 'please' by using the verbal phrase 'I ask you' thus Judeo-Spanish te rogo cf. Rumanian te or vă rog, Greek παρακαλώ, and Turkish lütfe from lütfelemek 'to please'.

Since Judeo-Spanish is a language peculiar to the Jews, one would expect to find a reflection of the Jewish life and customs, and especially the Jewish religion in Judeo-Spanish. In a very traditionally-minded family with a background of the synagogue school there are probably even more of these words current in the vocabulary than occur in the corpus of the speech of the informant, who attended only French and Italian schools. It seems that the preservation of Judeo-Spanish as a spoken tongue is partially due

¹Cioranescu, Diccionario Etim. Rumano

²Ibid.

³Luria, "Monastir Dialect", p. 548.

⁴Crews, Le Judéo-Esp. dans les Balcons, word index.

⁵Cioranescu, Diccionario Etim. Rumano

to its use in synagogue ritual and to its identity in the minds of the Sephardim with a liturgical as well as a colloquial language. Hebrew words might have entered Judeo-Spanish through the practice of translating Hebrew religious texts into Spanish. The influence of Hebrew on the speaker's dialect extends only to loan words whereas in ladino texts there is a marked Hebrew influence on style and syntax as seen in Subak's study.¹ On the whole, Hebrew has affected Judeo-Spanish only slightly when compared to its affect upon Yiddish² probably because, as I have mentioned, Spanish is the liturgical language to the Sephardim,³ but Hebrew is used in this capacity by the Ashkenazim.

Hebrew loans.

Nouns.

a 'ver 'air'

(Gk. also), while aire in J.-Sp. and in this dialect has narrowed in meaning to 'wind' only.

be de 'hen 'cemetery'

This form is borrowed from a euphemism in Hebrew beth ha-hayyim 'house of the living'. bedehen is unique to this dialect while other variations include bedahei, bidahayim⁴ Here is another example of assimilated and non-assimilated elements existing concurrently

¹J. Subak, "Zum Judensp.", Pp. 129-185.

²C. Crews, "Some Arabic and Hebrew words in Oriental Judeo-Spanish", Vox Romanica, XV, 1954, 1955, p. 304.

³For a discussion of the use of Judeo-Spanish in the liturgy see A. Pulido, La raza sefardí, Madrid, 1901 (?), p. 98.

⁴Crews, "Arabic and Hebrew words", p. 304.

in J.-Sp. Final Hebrew 'm' is adapted to the Spanish pattern of a final 'n' since 'm' is not tolerated in final position. However, in ga 'ne dem 'heaven' ff. the opposite occurs. 'm' is also tolerated in haham below.

ga 'ne dem 'heaven'

from Hebrew gan-eeđen 'Eden, paradise'.¹ Final 'm' here is probably an instance of hyper-correction.

ha 'ham 'rabbi '

Hebr. haham

kal 'synagogue'

Hebr. kahal 'assembly'. Kal is used by the informant along with sinagoga which appears to be a recent English loan since I have not seen it attested in other Judeo-Spanish dialects.

maz la 'ha 'luck, happiness'
ma zal 'da do 'lucky, happy'
dez ma zal 'da do 'unlucky,
unhappy',

These forms are based on Hebr. mazal 'luck'. Ma zal 'da do, unique to this dialect, seems to have been reformed by analogy on dezmazalado and mazaloso² which are the usual J.-Sp. forms.

'pe sa 'passover'

from Hebr. pesah. Final aspirate 'h' while lost in this dialect is usually retained in others.

ša 'bat 'Saturday'

the Hebrew word 'sabbath', while alhá 'the first day' is Sunday. Spanish 'sa ba do is also known.

Verbs.

a har 'var 'to beat'

according to Mrs. Crews,³ this verb is associated with the Hebrew root h-r-bh 'ruined,

¹Crews, "Arabic and Hebrew words", p. 305.

²See Corominas' entry desmazalado.

³Cf. p.37, note 1.

devastated', cognate with Ar. kh-r-b, and this association was carried over to J.-Sp. causing it to differ from Old Sp. aharbar 'to do something in a hurry'. She corrects Corominas on this point in that he thinks the J.-Sp. meaning differs because it has older meaning.

mel 'dar 'to read'
(older 'to learn')

In Judeo-Spanish mel 'dar has completely replaced le 'er although the latter verb appeared in literary Ladino.¹ Mayor-Lubke believes meletare was introduced into Latin by the Jews.² Blondheim establishes a Vulg. Lat. form meletare 'to meditate' in imitation of Gk. μελεῖν which in the Septuagint calques the Hebr. hagah 'to meditate' or 'to meditate over a religious text'. Hence comes 'read a religious text' and finally simply 'to read'.³ In Judeo-Gk. it is still used in the sense 'study of the law'. Corominas mentions J.-Fr. forms miauder, Prov. maudá, and southern It. meletare.⁴ Wagner finds the same Hebrew calque in Yiddish leinen which is a synonym of Gr. lernen and J.-Sp. meldar.⁵

¹Cf. p.31, note 1.

²Meyer-Lübke, Etymologisches Wörterbuch.

³Blondheim, "Essai d'un vocabulaire comparatif des parlers Romains des Juifs au moyen age", Romania, XLIX, 1923, p. 341, ff.

⁴Cf. Corominas entry meldar (Old Sp. 'enseñar')

⁵Wagner, Beiträge zur Kenntnis des Judenspanischen von Konstantinopel, Wein, 1914, section 170.

The Spanish Jews while in Spain maintained a fairly close relationship with the Moors and filled the useful role of interpreters between Christians and Moors because of their knowledge of Hebrew, Arabic, and Spanish.¹ This contact is reflected in the nature of Arabic loan words found in Judeo-Spanish. Four words in the following list seem to have been taken by the Jews directly from the moriscos. Judeo-Spanish 'ša ra retains the older Arabic sense of 'forest' while the same word in standard Spanish meant 'bush, thicket' (Mod. Sp. jara, jaral).² Al 'ha for 'Sunday' was shared by those of Moslem and Jewish faiths.³ Occasionally, the word retained by the Sephardim shows a closer relationship to Arabic than the same word as it appears in Spanish. For example, ki 'ra in Judeo-Spanish is phonetically closer to Arabic kirâ 'rent' than Spanish alquiler⁴ as is also Judeo-Spanish ha 'zi no from Arabic hazin but Old Spanish hacino 'sick'.

Some Arabic words have reached Judeo-Spanish through Turkish and these have been mentioned earlier under Turkish loans. Six words in the following list are directly attributable to the immediate influence of the Arabic superstratum of Lebanon in the informant's Beirut speech. These are: 'in ša la Spanish 'ojalá where one might logically expect to find Old Spanish ošalá, ra 'ki

¹Wagner, Caracteres, p. 10.

²See Corominas, jara

³Crews, Judeo-espagnol, p. 18.

⁴See Corominas alquiler

'a liquor', kef 'tes 'meatballs', 'mu šo 'lip' which replaces the usual Judeo-Spanish bezo 'lip', and mu ša 'ma 'raincoat'. Except for rakí which is commonly known in Judeo-Spanish, I have not seen these words attested in dialects other than in the informant's. There are a number of loans which may be considered recent because of their apparent lack of phonetic assimilation.

Arabic loans:

Substantives.

al 'ha 'Sunday'

χa 'tir 'love'

'in ša la Spanish 'ojalá'

ki 'ra 'rent' (noun)

mu ša 'ma 'raincoat'

'mu šo 'lip'

kef 'tes 'meatballs'

ra 'ki 'a liquor'

'sa ra 'forest'

Arabic sources

al had 'the first day'

found only in the expression por el χatir de Dio 'for the love of God'. It is phonetically probable that it is a direct loan from Ar. rather than Turk. hatir because of the retention of χ which is otherwise absent in the phonology of this dialect.

identified by the informant as a Lebanese word.

kirâ which is also the root of Mod. standard Sp. alquilar.

mušamá cf. Tk. mušamba 'oilskin'

mūso. Labio was not understood.

keftés

rakí.

šara. Italian bosco appears occasionally. The form 'ča das 'forest', which is also used, may be a variation of 'sa ra.

In 1860, the general cultural level of the sefardies had fallen to such an extent that the French Jews established the Alliance Israélite Universelle in order to raise the standard of

education. This institution created a series of French schools which supplanted the synagogue schools with their outmoded curricula and methods. The rabbis gave the classes in religion, a concession to appease them, apparently, for they had strongly opposed the French schools initially. The language of instruction was French to the exclusion of Spanish.¹ Although the Alliance provided a much needed stimulus to the overall education, it also hastened the decline of Judeo-Spanish by establishing French as the new language ideal. Concerning the establishment of these schools, Renard says, but without acknowledging the omission of Spanish, "Il ne fallut pas attendre longtemps pour que la langue française devînt celle de l'élite et pour que le ^{"2} *giudesmo* fût relégué au rang de patois vulgaire et commun. Under these conditions, it is inevitable that Judeo-Spanish should add yet another non-Iberian element to the lexicon, French. The influence of French seems to have been increasing steadily. The number of French lexical elements observed in the informant's speech is far greater than the number of Turkish loans, and is second only to the number of Italian loans found in this corpus. While the corpus does not represent the entire Judeo-Spanish vocabulary of the speaker, it probably contains the more common elements of the informant's lexicon and, as such, this change in dominating influence is significant. Hitherto, Turkish has been the most prominent factor in the borrowed portion of the Judeo-Spanish

¹J. Mair, Hispanismo de los sefardíes levantinos, p. 155.

²R. Renard, "L'influence du français sur le judéo-espagnol du Levant", Revue des langues vivantes, vol. 27, I, 1961, p. 49.

vocabulary, at least in the Balkans.¹ At present, both Italian and French loans, considered individually, outweigh the Turkish elements in the informant's speech and although Italian loans occupy first place in this corpus, they are not as important as the French influence, for this influence can be seen not only in the loan words and calques but also in the syntax. I believe that this shift in influence from Turkish to French is a change that probably has affected all Judeo-Spanish dialects, for, unlike the Italian background which could be considered peculiar to this speaker, the instruction of French was widespread among the Sephardim.

In addition, the Beirut dialect, as represented by this informant, is a small and very recent dialect community of diverse Balkan origins according to Wagner,² and as such, one could expect it to be fairly representative of a Balkan koiné. To indicate to some degree how extensive recent French influences have been, Karl Kraus notes that the present day written style of sefardí newspapers in Israel is more French than Spanish.³ Syntactical influence upon this sample of Beirut dialect will be discussed in the chapter on morphology and syntax.

The majority of French loans have been assimilated to the Judeo-Spanish phonetic and morphological pattern, for example orozo 'happy' is derived from French heureux, but there are also a few unadapted ones

¹Wagner, Caracteres, p. 40.

²Wagner, "Los judíos de Levante", Revue de Dialectologie Romane, Vol. I, 1909, p. 479.

³K. Kraus, "Judeo-Spanish in Israel", Hispania, 34, 1951, p. 267.

which retain the French nasals, as I have mentioned earlier.

Generally French verbs of the first conjugation are assimilated to the Spanish first conjugation, not because most sefardi speakers are aware of Judeo-Spanish conjugations but because it seems to be the only "living" conjugation as it is in Modern Spanish. Moreover, verbs of other sources are usually taken into the -ar conjugation as well, for example, Turkish sikilmek sik le 'ar se 'to be bored'. There are two exceptions, found in this corpus where French déménager gives Judeo-Spanish, de me na 'žer 'to move house', and French demande becomes Judeo-Spanish de man 'der. The intrusive 'i' of con dw i 'zir seems to come from the influence of French conduire.

It is sometimes difficult to state with certainty whether some words have been taken from French or English in those cases in which the loan word has been adapted phonetically and morphologically to the Judeo-Spanish pattern and where, of course, two possible etymons are similar. Words which are also found in the Monastir dialect,¹ which has had no contact with English, can be assumed to be of French origin. Those words which find no corroboration in the latter or in other studies are kon'ser to 'concert', 'fil mo 'film', 'si ne ma 'movies', and de si'dar 'to decide'. I have included as Gallicisms some words which might also be considered Anglicisms and have indicated that they are doubtful on grounds that the informant was always aware of using an English loan and identified the English loan words which the family had used in New York.

¹Luria, "Monastir Dialect", p. 547.

A similar problem occurs with a vo 'ka to' 'lawyer',
a 'men da 'fine', and blu 'blue' which may be of French or
 Italian source. These words are listed as Italianisms by
 Luria,¹ although he does so without substantiating his decision.
 In this present study they have been arbitrarily placed under
 Italian loans but are marked as doubtful.

Gallicisms:

Substantives

Judeo-Spanish

a 'dre so 'address'

a šō ti 'yō 'sample

bu le 'var es 'boulevards'

'bu to 'goal'

kon 'ser to 'concert'

e 'le vo 'student'

'fil mo 'film'

ga 'to 'cake'

'lam pa 'lamp'

muš 'wa 'handkerchief'

pal 'to 'overcoat'

pa ra plu'i 'umbrella'

French sources

adresse or possibly an
 Anglicism.

échantillon.

boulevard. The Judeo-Spanish
 word is probably a direct loan
 from French. It is a recent
 French loan in standard Spanish.

but

concert or possibly an
 Anglicism.

élève. estudiantes, studentes,
 and alumnos are also used by
 the informant.

film or possibly an Anglicism.

gateau. An initial velar would
 be normal instead of [g]

lampe. or possibly an Anglicism.

mouchoir

paletot. cf. also Tk. loans.

parapluie

¹Luria, "Monastir Dialect", p. 547.

'pru na 'plum'

prune. Tk. loans-words are usually used in other Judeo-Spanish dialects.

'syek lo 'century'

siècle

'si ne ma 'cinema'

cinéma

šo ko 'la 'chocolate'

chocolat

va 'kan sa 'vacation'

vacances

ša 'mẽ d̃a 'fer 'railway'

chemin de fer

Verbs.

a re 'tar 'to stop'

arrêter

kon dwi 'zir 'to drive'

through the influence of con-
duire. Cf. Spanish conducir

de me na 'žer 'to move house'

déménager

de man 'der 'to ask' (Spanish
pedir and preguntar)

demandar

dé si 'dar 'decide'

décider or possibly an Anglicism.

en do ma 'žar 'to damage'

endommager

pro te 'žar 'to protect' and
pro te ža 'dor 'protector'

protéger

re gre 'tar 'to be sorry, regret'
and regreto

regretter. Cf. "Monastir
dialect"

Adjectives

o 'ro zo, -a 'happy'

heureux

se ri 'o zo, -a 'serious'

sérieux, but Spanish, Portu-
guese, and Italian, serio. Also
possibly an Anglicism.

Calques

'to dos dos 'both'

tous deux

la mas 'par te 'most, the
majority'

la plupart (du temps) as in the
expressions: Judeo-Spanish
la mas 'par te del i' tyem po
and la mas 'par te de la 'džen te.

de 'to do '(not) at all'

du tout

Other

par 'šã s 'fortunately'

parchance

mer 'si 'thank-you'

merci. The informant tells me that "gracias" is never used, but he has obviously heard it somewhere.

Kalmi Baruch who notes that Italian is an important element in the Judeo-Spanish of Bosnia, believes that the seventeen words found in his dialect were introduced long ago because of business associations with Venice which lasted until the beginning of the nineteenth century, that these Italianisms were in general use among all social classes (as opposed to the French elements which are confined to the well-educated), and that there is no question of present-day influence.¹ Of those words listed by Baruch, only three are present in the informant's vocabulary: la vo 'rar 'to work', 'spa go 'string', and 'dun kwe 'then' (lavorar, spagu, dunki, in Bosnia) so that these words may be considered the older Italian elements generally current in most Judeo-Spanish dialects. Probably then, the majority of the Italian words in this corpus are recent loans. It is difficult to ascertain if unassimilated loans such as in di vi dwa li 'ta, per so na li 'ta, and sen si ti vi 'ta form the more recent core of these loans while empleado 'employee' is older (?) since, as we have seen, unadapted loans of apparently long standing may exist in other areas of the vocabulary. However, the majority of words

¹ Kalmi Baruch, "El judeo-español de Bosnia", RFE, XVII, 1930, p. 120.

in the informant's speech in the following list must be fairly recent to Judeo-Spanish by reason of their predominance, for so large a number of Italianisms has not been found in other dialects.

Italian Loans

Judeo-Spanish

Italian

Substantives:

a 'men da 'fine'

ammenda cf. French amende, Old Spanish enmienda (Meyer-Lübke). Multa is also known.

'an dže lo 'angel'

angelo (dž unassimilated)

'a ra bo 'Arabic language and nationality'

arabo

a vo 'ka to 'lawyer'

avvocato cf. French avocat

bi 'Ĥe to 'ticket'

biglietto. Only in foreign loans does this Ĥ occur.

'boš ko 'forest'

Italian bosco: Judeo-Spanish does not show the usual change of /s/ to /š/ before /k/. šara, and las cadas 'forest' are more frequently used.

'do no 'gift'

dono

du 'zi na 'dozen'

dozzina

em pye 'ga do 'employee

impiegato

(per) e 'zem pyo '(for) example

esempio

dža 'ke ta 'jacket'

giacchetta

in di vi dwa li 'ta 'individuality'

individualità

is tra 'ñe ro 'stranger', 'foreigner'

Italian straniero

'ka me ra 'room'

Italian camera: Judeo-Spanish camareta also from Italian cameretta 'small room' is a synonym along with the most frequently used udá. The 'a' of

kra 'va ta 'necktie'

'ko lar 'neck'

ko 'ra že 'cheek, impudence'

'no no 'grandfather'

'no na 'grandmother'

or 'lo žio 'watch'

pa 'ez

pa 'ke to 'package, parcel'

pe 'ka do 'pity, sin'
(que pekado 'what a pity')

pen 'se ri o 'thought'

per so na li'ta 'personality'

'pos ta 'post office'

'pran zo 'banquet'

'pron to 'ready'
(estar)

'pul so 'wrist'

sa 'la ta 'salad'

sal 'si ča

sar 'de las 'sardines'

the former may perhaps be due to confusion with 'cama'

cravatta cf. French cravate.
Early commercial relations with Venice until the Nineteenth Century may have brought this word into Judeo-Spanish.

collo (?) perhaps also influenced by Spanish collar.

Italian coraggio 'courage, bravery, (fig.) effrontery'
cf. French courage.

nonno, -a
cf. Gk.

orologio

paese i>e under stress in this dialect would not be a normal development although s/z vacillate. Cf. Sp. país.

pacchetto

a calque on peccato!

pensiero: Judeo-Spanish word has undergone metathesis.

personalitá. cf. Judeo-Spanish: individualitá, senitivitá, all without assimilation to Spanish -dad noun termination.

posta cf. French

pranzo 'dinner'

pronto, cf. Cat.

pulso

insalata but cf. also Tk. salate.

salsiccia

sardella

<u>sen si ti vi 'ta</u> 'sensitivity'	<u>sensitivitá</u>
<u>so 're zo</u> 'smile'	<u>sorriso</u> also Portuguese
<u>'spa go</u> 'string'	<u>spago</u>
<u>'tre no</u> 'train'	<u>treno</u>
<u>va 'li ža</u> 'suitcase'	<u>valigia</u>
<u>ver 'gwe ña</u> 'shame'	possibly Italian <u>vergogna</u> influencing Spanish <u>vergüenza</u> .

Adjectives:

<u>blu</u> 'blue'	Italian <u>blu</u> (?) cf. French <u>bleu</u>
<u>di 'fi ċi le</u> 'difficult'	<u>difficile</u>
<u>'fa ci le</u> 'easy'	<u>facile</u> Another Judeo-Spanish synonym is <u>fa 'sil</u>
<u>'fyę ro</u> 'haughty, proud'	<u>fiero</u>
<u>'džus to</u> 'just'	<u>giusto</u>
<u>ka 'pa ċe</u> 'capable'	<u>capace</u>
<u>'li be ro</u> 'free'	<u>libero</u>

Verbs:

<u>a ve 'nir</u> 'to happen'	<u>avvenire</u>
<u>džu 'zar</u> 'to joke, play'	Old Spanish <u>jugar</u> with Judeo-Spanish dž through influence of Italian <u>giocare</u> .
<u>gri 'tar</u> 'to scold'	calques Italian <u>sgridare</u> 'scold'
<u>la vo 'rar</u> 'to work' and <u>la 'vo ro</u> (substantive)	<u>lavorare</u> It appears that Old Spanish <u>tra ba 'žar</u> does exist in Judeo-Spanish, but has acquired an obscene meaning.
<u>pro fi 'tar</u> 'to profit' and <u>'pro fi to</u> (substantive)	<u>profittare</u> and <u>profitto</u>
<u>ru vi 'nar</u> 'to ruin, spoil'	<u>rovinare</u>

Other

a lo 'mañ ko 'at least'

al manco. Also Judeo-Spanish synonym al 'mi ni' mo calqued on Italian.

sen 'tir 'to hear, listen'
(never 'sorry')

this Judeo-Spanish narrowing of meaning may have been influenced by Italian sentire.

Portuguese loans

Portuguese loan words were probably absorbed by the Judeo-Spanish dialects at an early date since there has been presumably very little contact with Portuguese since the large Sephardic settlement of 1492. Most of the Portuguese arrived in Turkey and the east about the same time as the Spanish at the invitation of the Sultan of Turkey, while the Spanish Jews who sought asylum in Portugal following the Expulsion Edict went, for the most part, along with the Portuguese Jews to Amsterdam when they were expelled from Portugal in 1496.¹ The Portuguese Jews formed a part of the Sephardic colonies in the Levant, quickly giving up the Portuguese language in favour of Spanish,² but leaving a legacy of a few words. Most of the ones listed below from the informant's speech, can also be observed in other Sephardic dialects.

Judeo-Spanish

a 'in da 'yet' or 'still'

al fi 'ne te 'pin'

a ma 'ña na 'tomorrow'

Portuguese

ainda

alfinete

calqued on amanhã. un 'o tro 'di a is a synonym.

¹Wagner, Characteres, p. 12.

²Ibid.

'bi ra 'anger'

kon 'ten te 'happy'

'ko po 'glass' or 'cup'

'kri za 'crisis'

džur 'nal 'newspaper'

'pre to 'black'

'lon že 'far'

embirra 'obstinacy, tiff'

contente but Spanish contento.

copo 'glass'. The Judeo-Spanish meaning is not restricted to a special kind of glass as Spanish copa. Tk. fil'dzan is a coffee cup. There may also be some English influence when 'ko po means 'cup'.

crise

Portuguese jornal.¹ Cf. French journal. This word poses a problem since it could also be an Old Spanish word jornal, as cited by Valdés who said it had been borrowed from Italian. Vacillation between o and u is common and is not a decisive factor.

prêto. Judeo-Spanish 'ne gro 'evil'. The meaning of 'evil' assigned to this word is a calque on Tk. Kötü 'black evil'. It is also possible that 'pre to is from Old Spanish prieto since there is some variant diphthongization in Judeo-Spanish.

longe (also Aragonese).

Anglicisms

English loans are the most recent of all, and can, doubtless-ly be assigned to the time which the informant spent in New York city. They may well be current among the various Sephardic dialects of New York city now. The informant was there for four years. These loans may have been taken from Sephardic Jews of longer residence there since almost all have been assimilated to Spanish patterns.

¹Luria, "Monastir", p. 544.

Judeo-SpanishEnglish

'ka ro 'car'

car

li bre 'ri a 'library, bookstore'

library

si ti 'zin 'citizen'

citizen

fur ni 'tu ra 'furniture'

furniture. Judeo-Spanish mo 'bi ~~ka~~ and 'mo bi le were also used. The informant volunteered the information that in New York they did use fur ni 'tu ra which supplanted the other two.

gro se 'ri as 'groceries'

groceries, apparently common in other American Spanish dialects.

park 'park'

park

'par ti 'party'

party

re a li 'zar 'realize'

realize

sto 'par 'to stop'

stop. Another word which the informant recalls learning in New York.

suk 'ses 'success'

success

'tro ko 'truck'

truck

Calque

to 'mar 'to take (time)'

take time. This may have been only a momentary transference since the informant on two other occasions uses du 'rar.

Old Spanish

The following Old Spanish words no longer current in the vocabulary of Standard Spanish have been found in the informant's speech. Words have been verified in Corominas' Diccionario etimológico unless otherwise stated.

Judeo-Spanish

a do 'var 'to fix, repair'

a di 'lan tre 'in front of'

a fe 'rar 'to catch'

'a gro 'bitter' (also a 'mar-go)

a har 'var 'to beat'

a 'hora 'now'

al 'ku ña 'family'

a 'lo ra 'now'

a ma 'tar 'to extinguish,
put out (a light, lamp, or fire)

am bi 'zar 'to learn'
am bi 'zar se 'to be accustomed'

Old Spanish

Old Spanish adobar 'arreglar, adornar'. Corominas documents toward 1140. Old French adober 'armar caballero'

Corominas cites delantre which occurs in Old Leonese. The prefix change is probably due to Spanish adelante, 1250.

Old Spanish aferrar, (a nautical term. Spanish coger is not known.)

Corominas gives agrio, perhaps at the beginning of the Sixteenth Century. agro, 1251, normal until the Seventeenth Century.

(see Hebrew loans.) already used in Old peninsular Judeo-Spanish harbar 'hacer algo de prisa' Date 1500, as given by Corominas should be earlier.

agora, 1107: ahora, 1335,
Mod. a(h)ora:

related to Spanish alcurnia, 1604. Old Spanish alcuña at beginning of Fifteenth Century. Ar. kúnya 'name'.

Cid. 1. 357. alora cf. Italian allora.

Corominas cites Old Spanish, Portuguese matar o fogo, in Cast. in the Middle Ages it was frequent.

Old Spanish vezar according to Valdés, p. 123 "Dícese entre gente baxa vezo, por 'costumbre' ... es bien verdad que casi siempre vezo se toma en mala parte, aunque do vezo hazemos vezar por 'enseñar.' cf. avezar. Judeo-Spanish asiñar 'to teach'.

an 'si, an 'si na 'so, thus'

Old Spanish ansí, according to Valdés, p. 84. Marcio: "Adonde vos escrivís estonces, assí, y desde, otros escriven entonces, ansí, y dende, mudando la 's' en 'n'.

Valdés: ...en los vocablos que avéis dicho stá mejor la 's' 'que la 'n'.... Cf. istonces ff.

a ron 'ġar 'to throw'

Old Arag. arronġar Corominas finds the variant arronjar, used by Sánchez de Badajoz, and Mateo Alemán.

a sen 'tar 'to sit down'

Corominas gives Spanish sentar Fourteenth Century but rare until Sixteenth Century. The only old form is the transitive asentar.

as pe 'rar 'to wait'
(esperar 'to hope')

Corominas notes that the variant asperar was wide-spread in Old Castilian in the sense of 'wait' while Valdés complains (p. 86.) that few people maintain this difference between asperar and esperar.

la a 'su kar 'sugar'

gender was feminine in Old Spanish cf. Modern Spanish el azúcar but also azúcar morena.

(a) tor 'nar 'to return'

Old Spanish tornar

a va ga 'ro zo 'slow'

vagaroso 'desocupado, descuidado, perezoso', antiguo. Cf. Portuguese devagar 'slow'

ban 'tsl 'apron'

Old Spanish avantal current until the Seventeenth Century.

be .vy en da 'drink'

Old Spanish bebienda Sixteenth Century but its appearance in Judeo-Spanish indicates an earlier date.

bu 'ti ca 'store'

Old Spanish botica, 1251, in the sense of 'shop', is from Bizantine Gk. apothiki. The synonym bodega also is used by the informant

'biv da 'widow'

Old Spanish labio-dental continuant v eventually vocalized to u giving viuda Modern Spanish.

<u>'dev da</u> 'debt'	Old Spanish <u>devda</u>
<u>duv</u> 'dar' 'to doubt'	Old Spanish <u>dubdar</u>
<u>'e čo</u> 'business'	Old Spanish <u>hecha</u> had the same sense. Modern Spanish <u>negocio</u>
<u>em pre</u> 'ster' 'to lend'	Corominas gives Old Spanish <u>deprestar</u> , but Valdés mentions vulgar <u>emprestar</u> . (p. 101) "Tengo por grossero el <u>enprestar</u> ."
<u>en ca ri</u> 'ñar' 'to miss someone'	Corominas gives <u>escariño</u> from <u>cariño</u> probably from dialectal <u>cariñar</u> 'echar de menos', now only Arag. but before general, from Latin <u>carere</u> .
<u>en fas</u> 'tyar' 'to annoy, bother' (someone)	Corominas under <u>hastío</u> says, "...antes <u>enhastiar</u> <u>enfastiar</u> , <u>fastidiar</u> duplicado culto, 1463, con el matiz moderno de importunar, molestar es rarísimo en el siglo de oro." But it does occur in this sense in Judeo-Spanish <u>cf.</u> the form <u>enfasiar</u> from Istanbul. ¹
<u>en glu</u> 'tir' 'to swallow'	Corominas gives Modern Spanish <u>engullir</u> from <u>*ingluttire</u> , Old Spanish <u>englutir</u> . This form appears in Istanbul as <u>engrutir</u> . ²
<u>(la) fin</u> 'the end'	Corominas cites <u>fin</u> with feminine gender as frequent in the Middle Ages.
<u>fra</u> 'gwar' 'to build'	Corominas derives <u>fraguar</u> , Thirteenth Century from Latin <u>fabri-cari</u> 'to shape'.
<u>dži</u> 'no yo' 'knee'	Old Arag. Hanssen gives the form <u>genoyllos</u> #67.
<u>ha</u> 'zi no' 'sick'	Corominas gives <u>hacino</u> from Ar. <u>hazin</u> about 1400 with the meaning 'sad, wretched'.

¹Wagner, Beiträge zur Kenntnis ..Konstantinopel, #170.

²Ibid.

is 'ton ses 'then'

is pan 'ter se 'to be afraid'

ka 'ler 'to be necessary'

'kan so 'tired'

'kaš ka 'rind' (of fruit)

'ka va 'cave'

ka ve 'zal 'pillow, cushion'

ke 'ren sya 'love'

la ko 'lor 'colour'

'kov do 'elbow'

'kwe ro 'skin (of a person or animal)

kul 'po zo 'guilty'

la 'drar 'to work hard'

le 'ši va translated by the informant as "laundry water"

estonces is common in Old Spanish texts.

Old Spanish espander

occurring only in the impersonal form kale 'it is necessary'. Old Spanish cf. Arag. and Cat.

according to Corominas Old and dialectal Spanish.

under Spanish cáscara, Corominas says "También se oye y se dice dialectalmente casca." Judeo-Spanish occasionally changes /s/ to /š/ frequently before /k/.

Corominas attests cava with this meaning about 1275.

Old Spanish cabezal

semantically equal to Judeo-Spanish amor. Corominas gives querencia "antic. cariño ...por amor."

The feminine gender is Old Spanish usage.

The y was still usual in Valdés' time, p. 69 "cobdo, dubda...mejor es con la b que sin ella, y porque toda mi vida los he escrito y pronunciado con b."

Old Spanish: the meaning 'piel de hombre o de animales.' 1250. Cf. also Golden Age usage.

Corominas gives culpado as the older form of Modern culpable, but the Academy dictionary cites culposo as Old Spanish in the sense "que ha cometido culpa".

Old Spanish (gritar is 'to bark' in this dialect.)

Corominas finds Modern Spanish lejía from Latin aqua lixiva, Older Spanish lexia generally used in all ages except Portuguese which

le 'šu ra 'great distance'

'le tra 'letter' (i.e. written communication)

lon 'gu ra 'length'

'lwen go 'long'

ma 'la do 'sick' and
ma la 'ti a 'sickness'

ma ne 'ar 'to move'

'ma ña 'manner'

mañ 'kar 'to need, lack'

mer 'kar 'to buy'

man 'se bo 'young man' and
man 'se ba 'young girl'

uses lixivia, Cat. lleixiu, and Old Arag. lesiba. Probably the latter form has given Judeo-Spanish word.

Old Spanish lejura ('lejanía') (Academy Dictionary)

According to Corominas, this was the Old Spanish sense. In Valdés' time both were known apparently but he prefers letra to carta. p. 149.

Old Spanish longura ('longitud') (Academy Dictionary).

Valdés preferred the usage of luengo to largo although luengo was even then becoming antiquated- "aunque lo usan pocos." p. 115.

Valdés gives malatía as an old Gk. loan in Spanish with this meaning "malatia por enfermedad" p. 24. (Cf. also Italian malato)

Corominas under menear cites Old Spanish manear about 1400, in the sense 'manejar' 1220-50, deriv. de mano; alterado bajo el influjo del cat. y oc. menar 'conducir, mover' que de ahí pasó al cast., y se halla en la Edad Media."

Corominas gives maña as Old Cast. and says it became a synonym of manera in the Middle Ages. Valdés, p. 96, says both are the same. manera is also known to the informant.

Academy Dictionary gives as Old Spanish in the sense 'faltar' Cid 1.3312

By Valdés' time merkar was still the preferred usage. "Antes digo mercar que comprar." p. 149.

Old Spanish manceba about 1330, "pasando por muchacha." There is none of the present day connotation of 'concubine' in Judeo-Spanish, although this meaning is given by

me 'ta 'half'

'mez mo 'same, self'

man 'gra na 'pomegranate'

mi zu 'rar 'to measure, to
tailor'

'ka za de mi 'su ra 'tailor'
shop'

na mu 'rar 'to fall in love'

'nyer" vo 'nerve'

'on de 'where'

o 'ga ño 'this year'

pla 'zer 'to be pleasing, like'

'pres to 'early'

'pun to 'minute'

Corominas 1155, and was also known by Valdés, p. 135, "De mancebo hacemos también manceba, que quiere decir moça y quiere dezir concubina."

According to Corominas meetad, metad, were Old Cast. and Leon. while the Arag. form was mitad. Final d was probably lost in Spain since it is not the tendency of this dialect to drop d (cf. It. metá.)

Old Spanish me (e) smo

This seems to be a variation of Old Spanish minglana. The r of man 'gra na may be due to the influence of granada or to Italian melagrana. Minglana was archaic by Valdés' time. "minglana por granadaya no se usa." p. 117.

Old Spanish mesurar.

Old Spanish (according to the Academy Dictionary.) Cf. Portuguese.

Corominas says that this Old Spanish form is still used in Arag. speech. Arag. may be the source of Judeo-Spanish word since nervio is documented as early as 1251.

Old Spanish

Valdés also used the form ogaño. (p. 188.)

Old Spanish placer which gustar replaces after 1599.

Old Spanish in the signification of 'early' and known to Valdés, (p. 150) "Antes digo presto que aina."

punto in Judeo-Spanish replaces minuto or momento in Spanish. It

may represent an undocumented usage of Old Spanish since it seems to be a direct development of Latin punctum temporis 'a minute'.

'sye dro 'left'

A development of Old Spanish siniestro (?) or perhaps by analogy with Old Spanish riedro 'back'. (Cf. Meyer-Lübke #7269.)

siv 'dad 'city'

Old Spanish cibdad

'škur to 'short'

Corominas cites Old Leon. and Portuguese curto. /s/ may become /š/ in this dialect before /k/. /k/ becomes /šk/ perhaps by analogy to other forms already cited. Cf. Rum. scurt, Old Italian scortare etc.

so 'lom bra 'shade'

Old Spanish and Old Leon.

ti 'nye bras 'dark'

Old Spanish tiniebras. This is felt to be a learned word by the informant who also uses las os'ku-ras. Wagner finds tinieflas in the Balkans and Istanbul.¹

'wez mo 'smell' and
uz 'mar 'to smell'

Old Spanish usmar, osmar, Laposa implies that güesmo is the general Judeo-Spanish form.² Baruch finds Bosnian guz mer.³

'wer ko 'devil'

Old Cast. huerco from orcus 'Pluto'.

ven 'di da 'sale'

One old variant of venta was véndida.

'vi dro 'glass'

Old Spanish vidro

¹Wagner, Judensp.von Konstantinopel, p.99.

²Laposa, Historia de la lengua española, p. 338.

³Baruch, "El judeo-español de Bosnia", R. F. E. XVII, 1930, p. 137.

vi ži 'tar 'to visit' and
vi 'ži ta 'a visit'

This word was apparently known in Old Spanish as an alternative to visitar. Valdés, p. 77, "...y qual os contenta más, excribir vigitar o visitar..."

Other Factors Affecting the Lexicon

Numerous other factors such as metatheses, prefix changes, variant diphthongization from the standard language, semantic narrowing and expansion, new formations, analogical changes, and impoverishment of certain lexical resources are evident in the vocabulary of Judeo-Spanish.

Methatheses are frequently of the -rd- to -dr- variety such as a ko 'drar se 'to remember' (Spanish acordarse); 'ved re 'green' (verde); pe 'drer 'to lose' (perder); 'so dro 'deaf' (sordo); 'go dro 'fat' (gordo); kod 're ro 'lamb' (cordero); a la ta. dra da 'at nightfall' (based on *tardada and tardecer); and 'pro ve 'poor' along with the variant 'pov re.

Some differences are due only to a change in prefix. In this dialect, there is quite a marked predilection for the prefix a- where Standard Spanish often uses en- or no prefix at all. These are some typical examples: a si 'ñar 'to teach'; a lim pi 'ar 'to make one's toilet, clean'; a ro 'gar 'to pray'; a le van 'tar se 'to get up'; a tor 'nar 'to return'; and a sen 'der 'to sit down'. Spanish calzar adds a prefix to become Judeo-Spanish en kal 'sar 'to put on shoes'. šu 'gar suffers a loss of prefix (Spanish enjugar) as well as ban 'tal 'apron' where Spanish has delantal and Old Spanish avantal. Prefix differences occur in other Spanish dialects besides Judeo-Spanish.

Diphthongization in this dialect is very unstable and does not

appear to follow any phonetic rule, diphthongizing in some words just as Standard Spanish does, or, in other cases, where Spanish does not diphthongize. The opposite phenomenon also occurs, that is, a single vowel appears where the standard language has a diphthong. This lack of diphthongization is frequently described as a characteristic feature of the Leonese dialect,¹ and, of course, Portuguese prefers a single vowel. The irregularity of this phenomenon in Judeo-Spanish, and it is a general "peculiarity", may be due to the influence of either Leonese or Portuguese speakers in the early Sephardic communities. Portuguese influence is slight indeed but the existence of numerous other Leonese features has been mentioned elsewhere. Words in which this variant diphthongization can be illustrated are: ri 'zin 'recent' (Spanish recién), 'mo ble 'furniture' (Spanish muebles), a 'ze to 'oil' (Spanish aceite), 'pre to 'black' where one would expect prieto, 'gre go 'Greek' (griego), de 'sor te ke 'so that' (de suerte que), 'pon te 'bridge' (punte), es 'ko la 'school' (escuela), di zi 'seš 'sixteen' (dieciseis), and di si 'o čo 'eighteen' but di zi 'sye to. Radical changing verbs are also included in this category. The informant uses: mi a 'ko dro 'I remember', 'pen so 'I think', 'ke ro 'I want', 'ro go 'I ask', pre 'fe ro 'I prefer', and en 'kon tro 'I meet', all of which would have diphthongs in the standard speech. 'sye ro 'I shut' and 'pye dro 'I lose' show the expected change.

Instances of diphthongization in Judeo-Spanish where Spanish has a single vowel are much fewer than the reductions to a single vowel, and include the following: di 'pyen de 'it depends',

¹Cf. for example, Hanssen's Gramática, p. 22.

kon 'tyen te 'happy' or the variant kon 'ten te (see Portuguese loans), and bas tan ta 'myen te 'sufficiently' when the normal adverbial suffix in this dialect is 'men te. The form with 'myen te might also be considered an archaism since it was used in Old Spanish too.

New formations can be noted in the use of the following words: o re 'žal 'earring' based on o're ža 'ear'; či 'kes 'childhood'; man se 'ves 'youth'; no ve 'dad (or no 'ti syas) 'news'; se 'lar se 'to be jealous'; ha zi 'myen to or ha zi 'nu-ra 'sickness' based on ha 'zi no 'sick'; ser vi 'de ra 'servant'; pro te ža'dor 'protector'; based on pro te 'žar; no 'ča da (cf. tar 'da da); kon ten 'tes 'happiness'; man 'ke sa 'lack'; kon du-'re ro 'shoemaker' based on kon 'du ryas 'shoes'; mer 'ka da 'purchase'; ke 'ši da 'complaint'; bom bar da 'myen to 'bombing'; and go ver na 'myen to 'government'. The last two listed may also be influenced by Italian and English respectively.

Some groups of words must serve two concepts in Judeo-Spanish where the standard language is able to differentiate. Pa 'ryen tes means both parents and relatives; 'ka ra 'cheek and face'; and li bra 'ri a (see also English loans) 'bookstore and library'. Me-'ter serves as Spanish 'poner and meter'. Also evident is a simplification of verbs formed on adjectival bases in Spanish, as a 'zer 'lu vya 'llover'; a 'zer'tris te 'entristecer'; a 'zer 'nye ve 'nevar'; and ke 'dar se ka 'ya do 'callarse'. The concepts 'something, some time, someone', and 'some' are rendered as 'u na 'ko za, a laz 've zez, and 'u na per 'so na: but 'some things' and 'some months', 'u naz 'kwan tas 'ko zas and 'u naz 'kwan tas 'me zez.

Tro 'kar replaces Spanish cambiar; e 'čar se, acostarse; to 'par, encontrar, both in the sense of 'to find' or 'to be' (hallar is lost); and is pan 'tar se is used to the exclusion of tener miedo. In all these cases the standard words are not understood excepting en kon 'tar whose meaning has narrowed to 'meet'. Other semantic shifts have occurred changing the concept completely, as in es ka 'par 'to finish', or, more often, expanding or narrowing the Spanish word as in re 'do ma 'a bottle (of any kind)', kri a 'tu ra 'a child of any age in the general sense', and 'fi no 'elegant'. 'ay re has narrowed to mean only 'wind' while a loan word a 'ver is 'air'; tra 'tar has become exclusively 'bargain' while pro ku 'rar is retained as 'to try'; and 'pun to means only minute. 'ne gro has the signification 'bad, evil' while 'pre to means 'black' and sen 'tir serves as to hear, feel' (oir is not known') while, in the sense of 'to be sorry' Judeo-Spanish uses re gre 'tar. ar 'ma da, possibly influenced by English 'army', was employed by the informant to mean 'army'. 'Together' was rendered by en 'u na as well as en 'džun toz.

Some distinctions are accomplished by the use of the diminutive -iko, a northern Spanish form, in words like ka 'li ža 'street' but ka le 'ži ka 'alley', and is 'to ri a 'history' but is to 'ri ka 'story'.

Analogical changes, too, play a part in creating variation in Judeo-Spanish vocabulary, as, for example, in the ordinal numbers: pri 'me ro, se 'gun do, tre 'se ro, and kwa 'tre ro, but the majority of these changes are to be found in the verbal paradigms like tru- 'ši moz 'we brought' and vi 'ni moz 'we came'. These forms are discussed more fully under morphology.

Chapter 3 Morphology and Syntax

Introductory Remarks

Since the corpus obtained from the informant for this study has been purposely limited, the material does not permit an exhaustive morphological and syntactic presentation of the dialect. Many persons, and some tenses of the verb appeared infrequently, some information had to be obtained by direct questioning and in certain cases it was impossible to elicit. By its nature, the texts obtained from the informant for this study, with an absence of natural conversation caused the material to be uneven. I avoided speaking Spanish to the informant so as not to suggest any words or constructions which he might not naturally use. I have treated, on the whole, only those forms and constructions which are different from those in use in Standard Spanish.

The greatest variance from Standard Spanish will be seen in the verb forms used in this Judeo-Spanish dialect. A tendency toward simplification, present in the dialect as a whole, is here manifest in a reduction of the number of tenses, with a consequent doubling of meanings for one form, and the decadence of the subjunctive. Analogy also plays a dominant part in reducing the number of verbal morphemes and is responsible for the new form taken by, at least, one tense.

There is a heavy influence upon structure and syntax exerted by other languages, and these are usually Gallicisms. The dialect under consideration here seems to have assimilated more Gallicisms into its syntax than other Judeo-Spanish dialects. Archaic forms are, of course, often preserved. Much independent development cannot be separated from analogical changes already mentioned.

Indicative Tenses

The indicative tenses in use are the present, imperfect, preterite, future, conditional, present perfect, pluperfect, and three progressive tenses: present, imperfect, and preterite.

The Present Tense

The present tenses have possibly the fewest changes. The morphemes, person and tense, of the first conjugation are: -o, -as, -a, -'a moz, - aš, -an. In accordance with this pattern, we find in this dialect, do 'I give', and es 'to 'I am', as they appeared in Old Spanish as well. Archaic so 'I am' and vo 'I go' have become, in this dialect, se 'I am' and va 'I go'. The former are the more usual forms encountered in Judeo-Spanish dialects but, se, in addition to its appearance in the dialect studied here, is attested in the Smyrna dialect as a variant of so with a first person plural semos 'we are'.¹ The Old Spanish conjugation was:

seo, seyo, or so	seemos, seyemos, or sedemos
sees, seyes, or siedades	seedes, seyedes, or sodes
sè, siede, or seye,	seen or sieden ²

This paradigm in my informant's speech is:

se	somoz
sos	soš
es, or e	son

The paradigm as it now stands is a combination of old and new forms. The second person plural is probably a palatalization of sois.³ Throughout all conjugations the second person plural morpheme is -š and the singular, -s. By analogy, the stress on the

¹ Hirsch, "A study", p. 67.

² Cf. Pidal, Gramática, #116, and Hanssen, Gramática, #230.

³ See also Chapter I, Phonology, p. 15.

second person plural falls on the penultimate syllable making a uniform stress pattern throughout the paradigm. Other Sephardic dialects accent the last syllable of the second person plural.

Sample paradigms:

Conjugation I. av 'lar 'to speak'

'av lo	av 'la moz
'av las	'av laš
'av la	'av lan

Conjugation II. de 'ver 'to have to, ought, should'

'de vo	de 've moz
'de ves	'de veš
'de ve	'de ven

Conjugation III. vi 'vir 'to live'

'vi vo	vi 'vi moz
'vi ves	'vi veš
'vi ve	'vi ven

lr 'to go' conjugates: va, vas, va, vamos,¹ vaš, van. Va

'I go' may be an analogical formation based on, perhaps, the identical person morphemes in the first and third persons singular of the imperfect and preterite tenses: 'i va, and fwe. The change of vo to va in the first person is characteristic only of the Judeo-Spanish dialect studied here, as far as I know.

The impersonal for of a 'ver 'to have' is a 'there is, there are', and this is, of course, also the older Spanish form ha. Two other forms of this appear in the corpus: 'o moz 'we are', based probably on 'so moz 'we are', an 'they are', and aš 'you (pl) are'.

¹Subak, "Judenspanisch", Zeitschrift, XXX, p. 138 gives yimos, yides as first and second person plural forms in Turkey.

The Imperfect Tenses

The imperfect tenses also show little variation from Standard Castilian.

Sample paradigms

Conjugation I. tor 'nar or a tor 'nar 'to return'

tor 'na va	tor 'na va moz
tor 'na vas	tor 'na vaš
tor 'na va	tor 'na van

Conjugation II. po 'der 'to be able'

pu 'di a	pu 'di a moz
pu 'di as	pu 'di aš
pu 'di a	pu 'di an

Conjugation III. di 'zir 'to say'

di 'zi a	di 'zi a moz
di 'zi as	di 'zi aš
di 'zi a	di 'zi an

Cre 'i va 'I thought' occurs alongside cre 'i an 'they thought' but the absence of other forms makes it impossible to say that there is an alternative conjugation.¹ Fu 'i a moz 'we were going' also occurs along with its synonym 'i va moz. These alternative forms may mark the beginning of another analogical change such as the one which took place with the preterite tense in Judeo-Spanish (see the Preterite which follows), or it may simply be a vestige of a dialectal usage brought from Spain. Ve 'nir 'to come' has a first person 'vi a 'I was coming' as well as ve 'ni a 'I was coming, he was coming'.

¹Menéndez-Pidal, Gramática histórica, #117, discusses dialectal podeba, teneba, dormiba, veniba, etc. in regions where -b- is not lost in the second and third conjugations of the imperfect.

Preterite Tense

More drastic changes are effected by analogy in the preterite tense in the first persons, singular and plural of the first conjugation, making the morphemes conform to those of the second and third conjugations. This change is typical of Judeo-Spanish. Certain irregular verbs in this dialect are unaffected by this change.

Sample paradigms.

Conjugation I. am bi 'zar 'to learn'

am bi 'zi	am bi 'zi moz
am bi 'za tes	am bi 'za teš
am bi 'zo	am bi 'za ron

Similarly, one finds ya 'mi 'I called', tu 'mi 'I took', es ka 'pi 'I finished', noz ki 'di moz 'we stayed', a tor 'ni moz 'we returned', and de 'si moz 'we left'. Av 'lar 'to speak' is a slightly irregular paradigm, having av 'li 'I spoke' but av 'la-moz 'we spoke'. The latter could be considered an archaism in this dialect. It may have been retained because it is a frequently used verb.

Conjugation II. kumer 'to eat'

ku 'mi	ku 'mi moz
ku 'mi tes	ku 'mi teš
ku 'myo	ku 'mye ron

Conjugation III. partir 'to leave'

par 'ti	par 'ti moz
par 'ti tes	par 'ti teš
par 'tyo	par 'tye ron

Some strong verbs have, however, retained the -e in the first person singular. Thus:

ver 'to see'

'vi de	vi 'di moz
'vi tes	'vi teš ¹
'vi do	'vye ron ¹

The dialect also maintains vine 'I came', tuve 'I had', and estuve 'I was' while Modern Spanish puse is completely replaced by metí 'I put'.

Ir 'to go' has a preterite fwe 'I went, he went' (as also va 'I go, he goes' and iva 'I was going, he was going'). The paradigm is then:

fwe	'fwe moz
'fwi tes	'fwi teš
fwe	'fwe ron

It is significant that similar forms were known among other variants in Old Castilian and in Old Leonese, a dialect which, as we have already seen has had a considerable influence upon the Judeo-Spanish dialects. Thus:

Old Castilian

fúy, fúe, fu
fuste, fuiste
fué, fo

Old Leonese

fúy, fúe, foy
fusti, fosti, fuəsti
fué, fo, fu, foe²

But the choice in Judeo-Spanish of these archaic forms was probably the result of the analogy with the tenses of ir in which the first and third persons are the same (va, fue, iva).

The Smyrna dialect, as studied by Ruth Hirsch, shows a somewhat similar tendency to make the first person conform to the third. She

¹Cf. vide (vulgar), and vido (old) in Hanssen, Histórica, # 257.

²Hanssen, Gramática, # 258 and Menéndez-Pidal, Gramática.

lists a paradigm for ver 'to see' giving vido as 'I saw, and
¹ he saw'.

'Tru ši 'I brought' and 'di ši 'I said' retain their
 historic vowels.

The Future tense

There is no synthetic form of the future in this dialect although other Sephardic dialects have these forms. The informant does not understand the split infinitive alegrarmosemos cited by
² Subak as from Judeo-Spanish in Turkey. All of the studies which I have seen on Judeo-Spanish have a synthetic type of future which is also employed by modern Spanish in addition to the periphrastic ir a followed by an infinitive. The dialect under consideration here has apparently lost the synthetic form entirely, or, at least, I have been unsuccessful in eliciting one. Many examples of the future occur in the corpus but they are all of the analytical type involving the use of two different periphrases. Ir a or simply ir followed by an infinitive has the highest frequency.

Sample paradigm:

All conjugations. di 'zir 'to say'

va (a) di 'zir	'va moz (a) di 'zir
vas (a) di 'zir	vaš (a) di 'zir
va (a) di 'zir	van (a) di 'zir

Thus me va ke 'dar 'I shall stay', se laz va a dar 'I shall give them to them', el va man'dar 'you will send', te van a kos 'tar 'they will cost you'.

Synonymous with this future is an alternative future formed by

¹ Hirsch, "A study", p. 67.

² Subak, "Judenspanisch", p. 182.

using a 'ver a or simply a 'ver and a following infinitive. This type appears more rarely in the corpus, and occurred in the following examples: voz 'o moz a ver 'we shall see you', eya a a ri 'var 'you will arrive', and voz aš a ri 'var 'you (pl.) will arrive'.

Conditional or Conditional Perfect

Analogous to the formation of the future is the periphrastic conditional or conditional perfect tense which used the imperfect auxiliaries of those verbs which form the future plus the preposition a and an infinitive: Conjugation with ir.

'i va a ku 'mer	'i va moz a ku 'mer
'i vas a ku 'mer	'i vaš a ku 'mer
'i va a ku 'mer	'i van a ku 'mer

This paradigm is used to translate both 'would eat', 'would have eaten'.

Conjugation with a 'ver. 'would be, would have been'

a 'vi a a es 'tar	a 'vi a moz a es 'tar
a 'vi as a es 'tar	a 'vi aš a es 'tar
a 'vi a a es 'tar	a 'vi an a es 'tar

The use of a single verbal form for two concepts, in this case conditional/conditional perfect is also found in Papiamentu, a language which, like Judeo-Spanish tends toward economy and simplification.

Papiamentu.

Preterite	I ate	mi a come
Present perfect	I have eaten	mi a come
Past perfect	I had eaten	mi a come
Future perfect	I shall have eaten	lo mi a come
Conditional	I should eat	lo mi a come

Conditional perfect I should have eaten lo mi a come.¹

Pluperfect

The compound tense of the pluperfect, using the auxiliary aver and the past participle, as in Modern Spanish, appears where one might have expected an Old Spanish synthetic pluperfect. The latter has been lost in this dialect.

Sample paradigm. tra 'yer 'to bring'

a 'vi a tru 'ši do	a 'vi a moz tru 'ši do
a 'vi as tru 'ši do	a 'vi ās tru 'si do
a 'vi a tru 'ši do	a 'vi an tru 'ši do

Present Perfect

The informant consistently substitutes a simple preterite for the present perfect. The only forms of the present perfect which appear were a 'di čō 'he has said', and 'tye ne 'i do 'you have gone'. It is, however, known that other dialects of Judeo-Spanish can conjugate the present perfect using either aver or tener as auxiliary. The latter may be of Portuguese origin, as well as the usage of the simple preterite for the present perfect.

Participles

Past participles are, in general true to the usual Spanish pattern with -ado terminating first conjugation verbs am bi 'za do 'learnt', e du 'ka do 'educated'. Other participles which occurred were tru 'ši do 'brought', 'e čō 'done', es 'cri to 'written', 'di-čō 'said', 'vis to and 'vi do 'seen', 'i do 'gone', vi 'ni do 'come', mel 'da do 'read', me 'ti do 'put' but a tor 'ni do 'returned'

¹E. R. Goilo, Papiamentu Textbook, Aruba N. S. 1962, p. 84.

(atornar). The consistency with which the last form appears may indicate that the analogy of a tor 'ni, a tor 'ni moz in the preterite will eventually change other past participles on this same pattern.

The present participles add the morphemes - 'an do to the first conjugation, 'yen do to the second and third. The usage generally conforms to that of standard Spanish, as in Judeo-Spanish pasimoz la nočada kumyendo i bevyendo¹ 'we spent the evening eating and drinking', vide ke avia muča džente asperando 'I saw that there were many people waiting'. But, however, participles may also follow the preposition en: en arivando 'on arriving', en respectando 'in respecting'. The latter usage is frequent in Old Spanish and is probably reinforced as a structural calque on French in this dialect. It is, however, common Sephardic usage. These participles are used most frequently in the formation of the progressive tenses. All three progressives appeared in the corpus: present, imperfect, and preterite.

Progressive tenses

Present progressive. es 'tar av 'lan do 'to be speaking'

es 'to av 'lan do	es 'ta moz av 'lan do
es 'tas av 'lan do	es 'taš av 'lan do
es 'ta av 'lan do	es 'tan av 'lan do

Imperfect progressive. es 'tar 'yin do 'to be going'²

es 'ta va 'yin do	es 'ta va moz 'yindo
es 'ta vas 'yin do	es 'ta vaš 'yin do
es 'ta va 'yin do	es 'ta van 'yin do

¹In phrases and sentences used as examples in the text, a written stress will be used in accordance with stress rules of standard Spanish.

²The infinitive in this dialect is ir with present participle yindo but Subak, "Judenspanisch", p. 138 gives J.-Sp. yir and yendo.

Preterite progressive. es 'tar as pe 'ran do 'to be waiting'

es 'tu ve as pe 'ran do	es tu 'vi moz as pe 'ran do
es tu 'vi tes as pe 'ran do	es tu 'vi teš as pe 'ran do
es 'tu vo as pe 'ran do	es tu 'vye ron as pe 'ran do

The use of a full slate of progressive tenses is interesting in view of the dialect's tendency towards simplification and economy. It does, however, relate to an evident preference for analytical forms.

Passive Voice

The passive is normally rendered by a reflexive verb as se 'di ze 'one says' but the true passive has been retained and appears three times in the corpus. It is formed with ser and a past participle. Agent is expressed by par 'by'.

no se son ambizados a alevantarse presto¹
'they are not used to getting up early'

fwe destruído par los konvensionalismos...
'it was destroyed by the conventionalisms...'

Obligation

Obligation may be rendered by dever or dever de 'must, should', and kale ke 'it is necessary, must'.

vozotroz deveš ayudar 'you must help'

devía de lavar el fildžan 'I had to wash the cup'

kale ke voz ir 'you must go'

Treatment of the Subjunctive

The subjunctive has one tense, the present, and is otherwise regularly replaced by the indicative tenses. Even the use of the present subjunctive is severely limited. Impersonal expressions, expression of emotion, an action in the

secondary clause still pending, and indefinite antecedents do not usually condition a following subjunctive. However, the usage is fluid and a subjunctive, but only in the present, may occur.

A. Examples with the indicative:

Me ispanto ke la kriature se cayó.
'I am afraid that the child has fallen.'

Es pekado ke no lo vimos.
'It is too bad that we have not seen him.'

Kero topar una perona ke avla ladino.
'I want to find someone who speaks ladino.'

No konosko ningunos ke avlan español.
'I do not know anyone who speaks Spanish.'

Esperava ke tu ivas a estar akí.
'I hoped that you would be here.'

B. A present subjunctive may or may not be used in the subordinate clause in which the action is pending:

Me va kedar akí asta kwando tornas.
'I shall remain here until you come back.'

Vamos antes ke vengan.
'Let us go before they come.'

C. An alternative usage with the future indicative is also possible:

Voz omoz a ver kwando voz aš arivar....
'We will see you when you arrive....'

This last may possibly reflect French usage.

Judeo-Spanish usually has two subjunctives: the present and the past, according to Saporta, who establishes the following condition: "If the superordinate verb is past, the subordinate is either present subjunctive or past subjunctive in free variation;

if the superordinate verb is not past, the subordinate verb is present subjunctive."¹ The dialect which he deals with included spoken material collected from Seattle informants (from Izmir), and written material from Bosnia, Bitolj (Monastir), Salonica, and Constantinople, compiled from other writers' studies. The earliest date of the change which occurs in this informant's speech can be traced probably to Beirut, since the past subjunctive is used in Izmir where the informant lived prior to moving to Beirut. It is, moreover, a logical step from free variation of two forms, past and present, to elimination of one, the past, in the interests of economy, and perhaps reinforced by similar subjunctive usage in French. The informant did mention that while they lived in Beirut they always used French in conversing with non-Sephardic speaking friends. Certainly, there are other Gallicisms in this dialect, that will appear in the following pages, which are not shared by other Judeo-Spanish dialects. These will include the examples in C. on page 81 where a future indicative replaces a present subjunctive which would be normal for the majority of Sephardic dialects.

Indirect Commands

Indirect commands always take an indicative in the subordinate clause following a main verb in the past in accordance with the dialect's usual preference for substituting an indicative for a past subjunctive. A present subjunctive or a present indicative may be

¹Sol Saporta, "Verbal Categories of Judeo-Spanish", Hispanic Review, 21, 1953, p. 207.

used in the subordinate clause when it follows a main verb of volition in the present, but an infinitive may occur in free variation with either.

Examples:

- a) main verb past with past indicative:
Kerían ke nozotroz moz íbamos a kaza
kon eyoz. 'They wanted us to go home with them'.
- b) main verb present with present indicative:
Kere ke nozotroz moz vamos. 'He wants us to go'.
- c) main verb present with present subjunctive:
Keres ke te merke una koza? 'Do you want me to buy you something?'
Le va dizir ke venga kon nozotroz. 'I shall tell him to come with us'.
Ya te avertí ke no lo deşes. 'I warned you not to leave it.'
- d) with infinitive in subordinate clause:
Me domandan de ayudaldos. 'They ask me to help them'.

Typical usage of the infinitive in other Judeo-Spanish dialects include the following:

Dame um pesiko de pam para poder komer yo.
 'Give me a little piece of bread to I can eat'.

These infinitives have been classified as following two patterns: where the actor of the subordinate is a modifier of the superordinate verb or where the actor of the subordinate form is in a free form with the infinitive.¹ Another example which appeared in the corpus was Kale ke voz kriaturas ir a dormir aora. 'It is necessary that you children go to bed now.' This example and the informant's Me domandan de ayudaldos are parallel to the examples cited from other dialects. The latter expression may also be a calque on either French or Italian.

¹Saporta, "Categories", p. 211.

Conditional Sentences

Conditional sentences are rendered fairly consistently with an imperfect indicative in the protasis and a conditional in the apodisis.

Examples:

Si tu merkavas kondurias nuevas te ivan a kostar mučhas parás.
'If you were to buy new shoes they would cost you a great deal of money'.

Si eya no lo avía kazado se iba a kazar kon mi ermano.
'If she had not married him she would have married my brother'.

But:

Si tenía tiempo podía venir con ti.
'If I had time I could come with you'.

Si no te alevantavas tanto presto, no tenías tanto sueño.
'If you had not gotten up so early you would not be so sleepy'.

It is interesting to note that the imperfect indicative can fulfill all the uses of its subjunctive equivalent even in the result clause, paralleling the Standard Spanish usage of an imperfect subjunctive in free variation with a conditional in this kind of sentence.

According to Mr. Saporta's classification, conditional sentences in Judeo-Spanish usually employ an imperfect in both "superordinate" and the "subordinate" elements and occasionally the combination: imperfect of ir plus infinitive found in the conclusion and interpreted as an imperfect.¹ This combination is, however, the only possible form of the conditional in my informant's speech and the synthetic form, which is used elsewhere in Saporta's sentences other than in the pattern described above, has disappeared in the

¹Saporta, "Categories", p. 212, 213.

dialect studied here. This syntactical feature is, then, characteristic of Judeo-Spanish. In any case, the imperfect or past subjunctive has disappeared from this dialect, (but usually retained) and is regularly replaced by the corresponding indicative.

Condition contrary to fact:

Se komporta komo si era una kriatura.

'She behaves as if she were a child.'

Avlas komo si no me kreivas.

'You speak as if you do not believe me.'

This construction would seem to be a recently incorporated Gallicism since it is peculiar only to this dialect. The usual Judeo-Spanish pattern for condition contrary to fact is:

Este s'está dando aires komo si fuera mui riko.

'This man is giving himself airs as if he were very rich'.¹

One may conclude then, that the subjunctive in the dialect studied here is in the late stages of its disappearance, all past tenses of the subjunctive having been lost, and the irregular use of the present subjunctive indicating its decadence. As has been shown, there is a heavy Gallic influence on the syntax of this dialect, which supports the remarks in the chapter on the lexicon about the shift in foreign influences from the formerly dominating Turkish influence which was manifest only in vocabulary, to a present day dominance of French which extends its sphere into the structure of the language.

Commands

Command forms were difficult to elicit and only three occurred

¹Saporta, "Categories", p. 209.

in the corpus: a familiar singular 'mi ra 'look', vi 'ži ta 'visit'; and a formal 'mi re 'look'. Imperatives were often rendered by the phrase te 'ro go 'please' and an infinitive, as in te rogo de ir a la posta por mi.

Nouns

The morphology and syntax of the nouns, pronouns, adjectives, and adverbs does not show as many changes from Standard Spanish as the verbs. Nouns form their plurals as in Standard Spanish.

Eyes 'foot', however, is felt to be singular with a plural 'pyes es 'feet'. Most words of non-Spanish origin have been adapted to the pattern for Spanish plurals with the exception of very few words like se fa ra 'dim which retains the Hebrew plural.

Diminutives

The suffix -iko seems to be the only diminutive in use. It is a favourite Aragonese suffix.¹ Diminutives which occur in this corpus: ga'ti ko 'kitten', 'bye se 'zi ko 'little foot', ma ne-'zi ko 'little hand', Sa 'ri ka 'little Sarah', i 'ži ka 'little daughter'.

Subject pronouns

yo 'I'	(m) nozotroz or (m) noz 'we'
tu 'you' (familiar singular)	vozotroz 'you' (familiar plural or polite singular and plural) and voz 'you'
el, eya, 'he, she, you'	eyos, eyas 'they' or 'you' (polite plural)

Both the third person and the second person plural may be used

¹Lapesa, Historia, p. 316.

as pronouns of respect. The impression is that el, eya, eyos, and eyas are the most formal forms of address, while voz, vozotroz used to one person is less formal and can also be familiar. Old Castilian used nos and vos (nosotros and vosotros were emphatic)¹ and the former are still used Leon.² Judeo-Spanish preserves the archaic nos and vos as noted above. El, eya, eyos and eyas are typically Leonese forms used in the sense of Castilian usted.³ The informant first used voz and then tu to me and supplied the other forms, el and eya as terms of extreme politeness that he would use to someone of higher rank.⁴ These pronouns are always used with the "correct" form of the verb, that is voz, with the second person plural. That the pronouns nearly always appear with the verb (excepting yo) may be the result of French influence, as, no doubt, the use of voz for the formal, although it is Spanish, is also reinforced by French vous. El and eya were likely the older forms brought from Leon by sefardies of that region, and voz, in its formal sense, when added through French influence caused a further distinction in the gradation of formality much like that which exists between Rumanian tu, mata, and dumneavoastra 'you'. Voz, employed formally, is not unusual in the Judeo-Spanish of the east despite Lapesa's idea that voz is confined to Morocco, and el, eya, to eastern Judeo-Spanish.⁵ Voz may have been introduced as a

¹Pidal, Gramática, #93, 1.

²Hanssen, Gramática, #170.

³Ibid., #490.

⁴The form usted or older vuestra merced is not understood.

⁵Lapesa, Historia, p. 337.

Gallicism to the Sephardic Spanish of the east which came under the influence of the schools of the Alliance.

Object pronouns:

me	moz/noz
te	voz
lo	los
la	las

Indirect object pronouns:

me	moz/noz
te	voz
le	les

Voz as the direct or indirect object pronoun is, of course, an archaism. Le cannot be the direct object. These pronouns are the etymologically "correct" ones and there is not the confusion of lo, la, le, as in Standard Spanish.

Prepositional pronouns:

kon mi	kon mozotroz/nozotroz
kon ti	kon vozotroz
kon él, eya	kon eyos

Moz, and voz may also be used as prepositional objects as in para moz, para voz 'for us, for you'. The forms connigo and contigo are unknown. Both para mi and para yo 'for me' are possible in this dialect and the latter seems to be Aragonese usage.¹

Reflexive pronouns:

me	moz
te	voz
se	se

¹Pidal, Gramática, #93, 1.

Possessive adjectives:

mi, mis	' nwes tro, 'mwes tro -os
tu, tus	' vwes tro -os
su	sus

It is possible that there is some English influence in the following use of the third person pronouns: su kaza 'his house', but sus kaza 'their house'. It may also be an independent development of Judeo-Spanish since it is common in Sephardic dialects. The occurrence of the definite articles with the possessive adjectives (la mwestra kaza), a vestige of Old Spanish,¹ is only sporadic in this dialect although it is a commonly-noted feature of Sephardic Spanish.

Possessive pronouns:

el 'mi o -os	el 'mwes tro, ('nwes tro) -os
el 'tu yo -os	el 'vwes tro -os
el 'su yo -os	el 'su yo -os

Example: onde dešates el tuyo? 'Where did you leave yours?'

Object pronouns, as in standard Spanish precede finite forms of the verb except for the affirmative commands, and occasionally are enclitic at the beginning of a breath group.

Examples:

	<u>la vide</u>	' I saw her'
	<u>lo avía topado</u>	' he had found it'
	<u>moz plaze</u>	' we like '
But:	<u>mire la</u>	' look at it'
	<u>dío la</u>	' he gave it' 2

¹ Menéndez-Pidal, Gramática, #95.

² H. Ramsden, Weak Pronoun Position in the Early Romance Languages, 1963, p. 166. In Spanish to the late fifteenth century there is almost total postposition after a third person subject pronoun (el vio los), but dio la is the only instance of postposition found in this study which differs from that practised by the modern language.

Indirect object pronouns precede the direct, as in Standard Spanish. A combination of third person indirect and direct object pronouns changes the indirect object to se. There is no plural form -sen which is often found in Sephardic Spanish.

Examples:

<u>se laz va a dar</u>	'I shall give them to them'
<u>se lo mostramos</u>	'We show it to him'

Reflexive pronouns also precede the conjugated forms of the verb as moz vamo 'we are going', and me kidí 'I stayed'.

As in Old Spanish, a pronoun following the infinitive may undergo metathesis. This form appeared only once, and in conjunction with the shift of r to l: ayudaldos 'to help them'.

Conclusions

It is apparent from this study that Judeo-Spanish is not homogeneous, that indeed, the dialects vary considerably, and that change can occur rapidly. A recent shift to a dominance of Gallicisms has been pointed out, at least in this dialect, over the earlier preponderance of Turkish. It should be noted, however, that the latter has never exerted any syntactical influence and is restricted to loan words. The schools established by the Alliance Israélite in the Levant are the likely source of the Gallic influence. For this reason, it may be that other Sephardic dialects will now show a greater number of Gallicisms.

The most obvious archaisms were in the lexicon and the informant's speech showed about the same proportion of Old Castilian words as other Sephardic dialects with a few remnants of Old Leonese and Old Aragonese words which are a part of the Judeo-Spanish "koine". This dialect follows the distinction made by Wagner: western areas show stronger Aragonese and Leonese features while eastern areas are largely Castilian in nature.

The informant's speech showed impoverishment of vocabulary, the introduction of neologisms and new formations, some analogical changes peculiar only to this dialect, and some characteristics common to colloquial Spanish in other areas. A comprehensive study which would take into consideration the peripheral dialects such as the one studied in this paper, has not been done, and some urgency is indicated since the disappearance of these dialects is imminent. In addition, further comparison among dialects is required in order to ascertain which Judeo-Spanish features substantiate certain phonological changes and stages of Old Spanish. Studies of dialects will help compile the necessary evidence. Interpretation of the

assembled material must take into account the increasing foreign influences and the abundant anomalies that exist concurrently within one dialect. These features include wholly or partially unassimilated sounds, loans, and even forms and syntax. External influences affect every dialect and these are rapidly destroying the phonological and syntactical patterns used until recently in Judeo-Spanish. The amount of free variation in all aspects of this dialect is evidence of that decay, already having obscured many distinctions.

The dialect has lost its sense of direction and identity. Loss of its "language ideal" is due to the absence of written Judeo-Spanish literature, the lack of formal education in the mother tongue, the destruction of Sephardic communities like that of Salonica in the last war scattering the population, the prestige of other languages used in business, professional, and cultural pursuits. In addition, modern communications and travel are dissolving the ghetto communities where preservation of the language is possible because of their isolation. What was preserved relatively intact for four hundred years under these conditions has changed more within the twentieth century than all four preceding centuries.

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