Ascertaining the position of Judezmo within Ibero-Romance

Ascertaining the position of Judezmo within Ibero-Romance

The year 1492 marks a significant landmark in the histories of the Iberian dialects of Arabic and Romance. In that year, the Christians regained control of the entire Peninsula and Arabic was doomed to eventual displacement from southwest Europe after almost 800 years of written and spoken presence. The date 1492 is also significant for it witnessed (1) the discovery of America and (2) the definitive expulsion of the Jews from Castile and Aragon—two events which initiated the long and unbroken colonial chapter in the history of Ibero-Romance.

Iberian Jews had first begun to emigrate in large numbers to North Africa after the country-wide anti-Jewish disturbances of 1391, but the bulk of the Jewish population remained in the Peninsula. Between 1492 and the close of the 15th century, a series of edicts expelled the Jews permanently first from Castile and Aragon and, shortly thereafter, from Navarra and Portugal as well. After 1492, Marranos—Jewish converts to Catholicism who continued to retain clandestinely some form of Jewish religio-cultural (but probably not linguistic) identification—who had not been directly affected by the expulsion edicts, began to leave Spain and Portugal in significant numbers because of persecution. As a result of the migration of Iberian Jews and Marranos, various forms of Ibero-Romance speech were transplanted to North Africa, the Ottoman Empire and to other parts of Western Europe. The two groups of exiles differed linguistically. The Marranos spoke Spanish and Portuguese which were probably identical to the general Iberian norms—except possibly for occasional elements peculiar to the Spanish speech of the Jews[1]. But by the 19th century, most

[1] An example is *meldár* 'read the Bible in the synagogue' used in Netherlands and Curaçao Portuguese, *mildadúra* 'commemoration for a deceased person on the anniversary of his death, involving the explanation of a passage from the Rabbinical literature' in Netherlands Portuguese (cf. W. DAVIDS, *Bijdrage tot de studie van het Spaansch en Portugeesch in Nederland naar aanleiding van de overblijfselen dier talen in de taal der Portugeesche Israelieten te Amsterdam*, in: *Handelingen van het zesde Nederlandsche-Philologencongress*, Leiden 1910, p. 146–147; D.S. BLONDHEIM, *Les parlers judéo-romans et la Vetus Latina*, Paris 1925, p. 78; I.S. EMMANUEL, *El portugués en la sinagoga «Mikve Israel» de Curaçao*, in: *Tesoro de los Judios sefardies*, Jerusalem 1959, vol. 1, p. XXXI). Cf. also Bordeaux French *meldadoure* 'reading of the Law' (G. CIROT, *Recherches sur les Juifs espagnols et portugais à Bordeaux. Les vestiges de l'espagnol et du portugais dans le parler des Juifs bordelais* (supplément), *BHisp. 24* [1922], 204). The Judeo-Spanish etymon *meldár* comes ultimately from Byzantine (or Judeo-?) Greek; cf. modern Greek *meléti* 'study' and there are cognates in other Judeo-Romance texts. For details, cf. BLONDHEIM, *op. cit.*, p. 75–79. For additional descriptions of Western European Marrano Spanish and Portuguese, cf. G. HILTY, *Zur judenportugiesischen Übersetzung des «Libro conplido»*, *VRom. 16* (1957), 297–325; *17* (1958), 129–157, 220–259 (especially p. 150–157); J.A. VAN PRAAG, *Restos de los idiomas hispano-lusitanos entre los sefardies de Amsterdam*, *BRAE 18* (1931), 177–201; J.A. VAN PRAAG, *Gesplete zielen*, Groningen 1948; C. ROTH, *The role of Spanish in the Marrano diaspora*, in: *Hispanic studies in honour of Ig. González Llubera*,

former Marrano communities in Europe and the Americas had abandoned Spanish and Portuguese in favor of the local languages—English, Dutch, German, Italian and French. On the other hand, the language of the exiled Iberian Jews in Africa and the Ottoman Empire, in both written and spoken form, was, from the earliest records, a form of Spanish that was distinct from the Spanish spoken by the Marranos. In this paper we call the present-day spoken language of the Iberian Jews in North Africa (Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia) West Judezmo and that of the Iberian Jews in the successor states of the Ottoman Empire (Greece, Albania, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Turkey, Rumania, Palestine and the Arab Near East) East Judezmo[2]. The written language of the Iberian Jews which was used mainly in Bible translations as well as the language of original religious compositions probably had no spoken tradition; both norms will be referred to indiscriminately as Ladino[3].

The purpose of this paper is to try to determine (1) the relationship of Judezmo to the Ibero-Romance dialects and (2) the historical period of its creation as a speech form distinct from the Spanish of the Christian majority. Our point of departure will be an evaluation of the traditional models for the genesis of Judezmo; where these models are unacceptable, we will propose alternate models. To some extent, the new models for defining the position of Judezmo within Ibero-Romance call for information which is often not available at the moment. Hence, the main contribution of the present paper will be to formulate new topics for research, rather than provide definitive answers.

In their attitudes towards the genesis of Judezmo, scholars are divided into two camps. According to one view, Judezmo developed a separate existence from Spanish only after 1492 and should be defined as essentially a transplanted 15th century

Oxford 1959, p. 299–308; G. Tavani, *Appunti sul giudeo-portoghese di Livorno*, *AION 1* (1959), 61–69; Z. Szajkowski, *Notes on the language of the Marranos and Sephardim in France*, in: *For Max Weinreich*, The Hague 1964, p. 237–244.

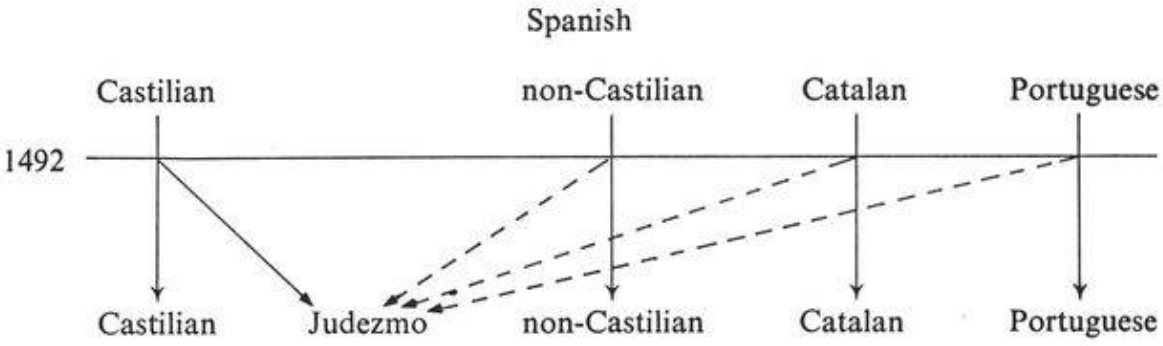
[2] There are significant differences between East and West Judezmo, but we are presently unable to ascertain the age of the differences existing between modern West and East Judezmo.

[3] We prefer the term Judezmo to the more common Judeo-Spanish, since the latter is generally unknown to native speakers. In this paper we use Tsarfatic and Italkic for Judeo-French and Judeo-Italian respectively, Yevanic for Judeo-Greek, Shuadit for Judeo-Provençal and Yahudic for Judeo-Arabic. For discussion on language names, cf. M. Weinreich, *Prehistory and early history of Yiddish: facts and conceptual framework*, in: *The Field of Yiddish*, New York 1954; M. Weinreich, *The Jewish languages of Romance stock and their relation to earliest Yiddish*, *RomPhil. 9* (1955–56), 403–428; M. Weinreich, *Gešixte fun der yidiše šprax*, New York 1973, vol. 1, chapter 2; S. Birnboym, *Džudezme*, *Yivo bleter 11* (1937), 193; S. Marcus, *Hasafa hasfaradit-yehudit*, Jerusalem 1965, p. 66–69; D. M. Bunis, *The historical development of Judezmo orthography: a brief sketch*, New York 1974 (*Working papers in Yiddish and East European Jewish studies 2*), p. 6–11; ib., *Problems in Judezmo linguistics*, New York 1975 (*Working papers in Sephardic and Oriental Jewish studies 1*), p. 2, 4–5. Recently, some native speakers have taken to referring to the spoken language as Ladino. The data in this paper were culled in part from native speakers of Salonika, Sofia, Istanbul and Beirut Judezmo. Examples from other locales come from published materials. I wish to express my gratitude to David M. Bunis, a Judezmo specialist, for reading through an earlier draft of this paper and suggesting improvements.

Castilian dialect. An opposing view, usually accepting the basic premise that Judezmo is primarily a form of Castilian, maintains that Judezmo already existed in Spain before the Expulsion of 1492 and continued to diverge still further from Spanish after that date[4].

The argument that Judezmo begins after 1492 will henceforth be cited as model I and can be diagrammed as follows. A broken arrow denotes a minor non-Castilian component incorporated into Judezmo.

Table 1. Model I: Judezmo develops after 1492



Those who claim that Judezmo dialects came into being only after 1492 base their case primarily on two main arguments. (1) After 1492, innovations spreading through Castilian could no longer affect the transplanted Judezmo dialects (except, possibly, those West Judezmo dialects in Morocco which are contiguous) and, as a consequence,

[4] Proponents of the first view include M. GRÜNBAUM, *Jüdisch-spanische Chrestomathie*, Frankfurt 1896, p. 1; B.F. ALONSO, *Los Judíos españoles de Oriente*, *La España moderna 195* (1905), 75; S. BERNFELD, *Hayesod haivri balašon hasfaradit-hayehudit*, *Rešumot 1* (1918), 256, 267; M.L. WAGNER, *Carácteres generales del judeo-español de Oriente*, Madrid 1930, p. 15; M.L. WAGNER, Review of K. LEVY; *ZRPh. 50* (1930), 745–746; VAN PRAAG, *op. cit.*, 1931, p. 21; S. ROSANES, *Korot hayehudim beturkiya vearcot hakedem*, Sofia 1937–38, vol. 5, p. 365; L. SPITZER, *Der oyfkum fun di yidišromaniše špraxn*, *Yivo bleter 14* (1939); Y. MALKIEL, *The Jewish heritage in Spain*, *HR 18* (1950), 338–339; I. SPIEGEL, *Old Judaeo-Spanish evidence of Old Spanish pronunciation*, unpublished Ph. D., University of Minnesota 1952, p. 7; H. KAHANE, Review of M. SALA; *Language 49* (1963), 943–48; I.S. RÉVAH, *Formation et évolution des parlers judéo-espagnols des Balkans*, in: *Tesoro de los Judíos sefardíes*, Jerusalem 1964, vol. 7, p. XLI; I.S. RÉVAH, *Hispanisme et judaïsme des langues parlées et écrites par les Sefardim*, in: *Actos del primer simposio de estudios sefardíes 1964*, Madrid 1970, p. 238; M. SALA, *La organización de una «norma» española en el judeo-español*, *Anuario de letras 5* (1965), 182. Proponents of the second view are BLONDHEIM, *op. cit.*, 1925; K. LEVY, *Zu einigen arabischen Lehnwörtern im Judenspanischen*, *ZRPh.51* (1931), 705; M.A. LURIA, *A study of the Monastir dialect of Judeo-Spanish based on oral material collected in Monastir, Yugoslavia*, *RHisp. 79* (1930) and separately New York, p. 10; BIRNBOYM, *op. cit.*, p. 195ss.; L. SPITZER, *Origen de las lenguas judeo-románicas*, *Judaica 136–138* (1944), 180 (note SPITZER's change of views); WEINREICH, *op. cit.*, 1955–56; 1973, vol. 1; H. PERI, *Un glosario medico-botanico en judeo-español medieval*, in: *Tesoro de los Judíos sefardíes*, Jerusalem 1960, vol. 3, p. LXIV–LXV; S. MARCUS, *A-t-il existé en Espagne un dialecte judéo-espagnol?*, *Sefarad 22* (1962), 129–149; C. BENARROCH, *Ojeada sobre el judeo-español de Marruecos*, in: *Actos del primer simposio de estudios sefardíes 1964*, Madrid 1970, p. 265.

some features of 15th century pre-Classical Spanish, either now lost or rare in Spanish dialects, were broadly retained in Judezmo, thus conferring an "archaic" character to the latter[5]. The argument of physical separation from Spain for some five hundred years is not altogether convincing, since separation from the homeland equally characterizes the South American dialects and the transplanted Spanish of the Marranos, which also came into being after 1492, yet these dialects invariably remain close to European Spanish (Castilian) norms[6]. Moreover, the Moroccan West Judezmo dialects differ from Iberian Spanish dialects despite geographical proximity to Spain and contact with Spanish, and reflect a close similarity to East Judezmo. (2) The second major reason cited for the lack of identity between East Judezmo and Castilian is the fact that the mingling of Jews from all over the Iberian Peninsula in the Ottoman Empire led to unique mergers of Castilian (spoken by the majority) and various non-Castilian components which would have been impossible in Spain[7].

Scholars who opt for separation and merger as the factors determining the rise of a separate Judezmo language are frequently prepared to concede that the speech of the Jews may have been nominally differentiated from Christian norms even before 1492 because of (1) the addition of Hebrew loans[8], (2) the use of a Hebrew script[9], (3) a different pattern of integration of Arabic loans[10], (4) a preference for Arabic and Hebrew in place of learned Latin expressions, which, in the words of one writer,

[5] Cf. R. GALDOS, *La traducción hebreo-castellana del libro de Isaias en la Biblia Ferrariense y en la de la Casa de Alba*, *Estudios ecclesiasticos 5* (1926), 211; LURIA, *op. cit.*, p. 332; S. ROSANES, *Divrei yemei yisrael betogarma*, Tel Aviv 1930, vol. 1, p. 281; S. ROSANES, *op. cit.*, 1937–38, p. 365; A. ZAMORA VICENTE, *Dialectología española*, Madrid 1970, p. 351; G. DÉCSY, *Die linguistische Struktur Europas; Vergangenheit, Gegenwart, Zukunft*, Wiesbaden 1973, p. 147. The criterion for labeling components as archaic should be internal Judezmo considerations, not the state of the modern Castilian lexicon. Observers interested in showing how Judezmo dialects have retained features common to 15th century Spanish which are lost in all or most Spanish dialects seem unconcerned that Judezmo dialects lack a great deal of Arabic and early Romance vocabulary still retained in most Spanish dialects; yet, no one claims that Spanish dialects are in any way "archaic" vis-à-vis an "innovative" Judezmo. Portuguese has also been cited as having the "air of an archaic Spanish" because its sound system is more similar to non-Castilian dialects of Spanish than to Castilian (W.J. ENTWISTLE, *The Spanish language together with Portuguese, Catalan and Basque*, London 1936, p. 284).

[6] SPITZER, in his earlier writings, suggests that the Spanish carried to America was identical to that carried by the Jews to the Ottoman Empire. Subsequently, both groups experienced separate developments (*op. cit.*, 1939).

[7] Cf. W. SIMON, *Charakteristik des judenspanischen Dialekts von Saloniki*, *ZRPh. 40* (1920), 657; WAGNER, *op. cit.*, 1930, p. 15; WAGNER, *op. cit.*, Review 1930, p. 745–746; MALKIEL, *op. cit.*, p. 338–339.

[8] DÉCSY, *op. cit.*, p. 147.

[9] SPIEGEL, *op. cit.*, p. 7; M.J. BENARDETE, *Cultural erosion among the Hispano-Levantine Jews*, in: *Homenaje a Millás-Vallicrosa*, Barcelona 1954, vol. 1, p. 32–33. The use of a Hebrew script is also cited as the reason why Judezmo developed apart from Spanish in the Ottoman Empire after 1492 (M. KAYSERLING, *Biblioteca española-portugueza-judaica*, Strassburg 1890, p. XIX; ROSANES, *op. cit.*, 1937–38, p. 366). Needless to say, the conception of the importance of script is very naive.

[10] RÉVAH, *op. cit.*, 1964, p. XLI.

was brought on by "la diferencia de vida religiosa, moral y social"[11], or (5) a few lexical archaisms and regionalisms[12]. In some writers, all arguments appear simultaneously[13]. These regional and archaic tendencies, according to Malkiel, are caused by the self-containment of the Jewish communities and their relative closure towards standardization trends affecting 15th century Castilian. Nevertheless, neither Malkiel nor the other scholars cited here consider such an incipient state of diglossia as sufficient cause to posit the existence of Judezmo in the period before 1492.

There are three problems with the merger theory as the key to the genesis of Judezmo. (1) Writers who speak of late mergers and the rise of a new koine in the Ottoman diaspora have so far failed to define precisely the nature of the linguistic mergers postulated or to reconstruct their chronological stages. If, as we suspect, many of the present-day isoglosses in East Judezmo are of relatively recent origin (cf. discussion of prevocalic *f* below, p. 187), then any merger of dialects or dialectal features would have to be placed correspondingly later in time, and, as such, would become a far less important factor in motivating the genesis of Judezmo. Of course, even if we could establish the existence of a new koine in the immediate post-1492 period, this would still not rule out the possibility that the original dialects imported from Spain were already distinct from the non-Jewish dialects. (2) West Judezmo exhibits great similarity with Balkan dialects, though the former, presumably brought across the Straits primarily by Andalusian and other South Spanish Jews, was probably more homogeneous in its dialectal make-up than Balkan dialects[14]. (3) Most important, the methodology used to ascertain that a merger did indeed take place is mechanical, atomistic and anachronistic. The customary methodology calls for linking all features in post-Iberian Judezmo not identifiable as "Castilian" with similar features found in any or all non-Castilian Ibero-Romance dialects. For example, since Judezmo *fižó(n)* 'kidney, black bean' cannot be derived from the antecedent of Modern Castilian *frejol*, similar-sounding Portuguese *feijão* and Galician *feižó*, *freižó* are suggested as the source[15]; Judezmo *alfinét(e)*, *alfinéti* 'pin' < Arabic

[11] J. Martínez Ruiz, *F-, h- aspirada y h-muda en el judeo-español de Alcazarquivir*, *Tamuda 5* (1957), 159–160.

[12] Wagner, *op. cit.*, 1930, p. 14–15; Ig. González Llubera, *Santob de Carrión. Proverbios morales*, Cambridge 1947, p. VI; Malkiel, *op. cit.*, p. 338–339.

[13] Cf. E. Correa Calderón, *Sobre algunos metaplasmos en judeo-español*, *Sefarad 28* (1968), 1, p. 220.

[14] Cf. Benarroch, *op. cit.*, p. 265. For an opposing view that West Judezmo is also merged in origin, cf. Martínez Ruiz, *op. cit.*, p. 158, 160. A comparison of early West and East Judezmo would allow us to clarify whether a common Judezmo koine existed before 1492. We know of no detailed contrastive studies of these two colonial branches of Judezmo. In the discussions below, we are obliged to leave West Judezmo dialects aside for lack of reliable data.

[15] Luria cites *fižón* as a "Galicianism" (*op.cit.*, p.223); Zamora Vicente cites Portuguese and Galician etyma (*op.cit.*, p.369). For A.S.Yahuda, *fižón* is an "Andalusian" component (though no etymon is given) (*Contribución al estudio del judeo-español*, *RFE 2* [1915], 354). Portuguese, Catalan, Turkish and Castilian examples are cited here in their respective standard orthographies; Judezmo

alxilāl deviates from Castilian *alfiler* but can be connected immediately with Portuguese *alfinete*[16]; common Judezmo *frónja* (Bursa *enfrónja*) 'pillow case' is also labeled "Portuguese" since *fronha* occurs in Portuguese while the Castilian (and general Spanish) term is *funda*[17]. Portuguese and Galician are, however, not the only non-Castilian components "identified" in Judezmo. From Catalan or Aragonese (the two areas are contiguous), Judezmo allegedly acquired *kalér* 'be necessary'[18] though a Portuguese derivation has also been suggested[19]. Bosnian, Bitolj Judezmo *dódzi* 'twelve' is ascribed to Catalan[20], but on the basis of phonetic similarity, one might choose a link with Provençal *dotze* as well.

It is strange that "Portuguese" features are found almost exclusively in the lexicon and that some characteristic features of Portuguese of the pre-1492 period are not attested at all (e.g. nasalized vowels). Furthermore, we might expect that "Portuguese" components would be encountered mainly in areas where Portuguese Jews were known to have been numerically preponderant (e.g. in Salonika). But many "Portuguisms" are attested throughout the Balkan Judezmo territory (and even in the Moroccan dialects) with no competing non-Portuguese root in evidence, e.g. "Portuguese" *fižón* nowhere has a "Castilian" doublet, say **frežól*[21].

and Spanish dialectal examples appear in a broad phonetic transcription or in the form given in the literature. Old Spanish and Old Portuguese examples are taken from J. COROMINAS, *Diccionario crítico etimológico de la lengua castellana*, Madrid 1954–57 and J.P. MACHADO, *Dicionário etimológico da língua portuguesa*, Lisbon 1952–59, unless otherwise stated. For some authors, Portuguese components in Judezmo are not necessarily due to merger in the Ottoman Empire, but were introduced during the brief five-year period between 1492 and 1497 when Spanish Jews were permitted to reside in Portugal (BERNFELD, *op. cit.*, p. 269).

16 Cf. M.L. WAGNER, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis des Judenspanischen von Konstantinopel*, Vienna 1914, p. 149; M.L. WAGNER, *op. cit.*, 1930, p. 24; LURIA, *op. cit.*, p. 221. J.M. ESTRUGO cites the word as either Portuguese or Galician (*Los Sefardíes*, La Habana 1958, p. 75). A problem in defining the Judezmo word as Portuguese is the fact that in Portuguese itself the root is not attested until the 16th century (J. P. MACHADO, *Influência arábica no vocabulário português*, Lisbon 1958, vol. 1, p. 195).

17 SALA, *op. cit.*, p. 182; ZAMORA VICENTE, *op. cit.*, p. 296, 362, 370. This identification, along with countless others, could be shown to be erroneous simply by checking Old Spanish sources, rather than contemporary dialects. The form *frunna* is encountered in a text from 1099 from Sahagún, Province of Leon (A. STEIGER, *Zur Sprache der Mozaraber*, in: *Sache, Ort und Wort, Jakob Jud zum sechzigsten Geburtstag*, Genève-Zürich-Erlenbach 1943, *RH 20*, p. 641, 653). Cf. also current Leon dialect *roña* 'insignificant object, object of little worth' (S.A. GARROTE, *El dialecto vulgar leonés hablado en Maragateria y tierra de Astorga*, Madrid 1947, p. 238).

18 WAGNER, *op. cit.*, 1930, p. 24; C.M. CREWS, *Extracts from the Meam Loez (Genesis) with a translation and a glossary*, *Proceedings of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society 9* (1960), 13–106. Cf. Catalan *caler*, *cal(d)re*; Provençal *calé*.

19 R. RENARD, *Sepharad*, Mons 1966, p. 129. This is patently impossible since there is no cognate of *kalér* in Portuguese.

20 WAGNER, *op. cit.*, 1930, p. 17; W. GIESE, *Das Judenspanische von Rhodes*, *Orbis 5* (1966), 410; I.S. RÉVAH, *Formation et évolution des parlers judéo-espagnols des Balkans*, *Iberida 6* (1961), 196.

21 For a list of alleged Portuguese components which do occur in restricted areas, cf. SALA, *op. cit.*, p. 182. The suggestion to identify "Portugisms" by the presence of *f* in words where Castilian

An approach which links East Judezmo with any and all Iberian dialects, even of the 15th century, leads to absurd conclusions. If we were to carry the "linking" or "random selection" approach to its logical conclusion, than East Judezmo would turn out to be a very complex mosaic of bits and pieces derived atomistically from every major dialect zone in the Iberian Peninsula—including areas where only a marginal Jewish population is known to have resided. For example, Luria claims that Judezmo constitutes a living linguistic atlas of the language of Castile, some parts (which?) of Aragon, Leon, Asturias and the north of Spain in the early 15th century, while Saporta y Beja cites about twenty regions in Spain and Portugal which are represented in the new Balkan Judezmo koine[22]! In an attempt to bolster the mosaic claim with historical facts, some linguists have tried to establish major migration routes in the 16th century from the Iberian Peninsula to the Balkans. For example, Wagner repeatedly proposed that the Jews who had originally settled in the Eastern Balkans (i.e. Eastern Bulgaria, Turkey) came primarily from Castile, while the Western Balkan communities (Macedonia, Greece, Bosnia, Western Bulgaria including Sofia) numbered settlers hailing from Castile, Portugal and Northern Spain (specifically Aragon and Cataluña)[23]. The reasoning was that the Western Balkan dialects "share" features now (!) associated with Northern Spanish dialects, e.g. (a) *-u, -i* < *-o, -e*; (b) *-e* < *-a*; (c) preservation of Latin prevocalic *f*. Wagner's schema has so far met with little criticism, though Luria, over forty years ago, was advising caution in

has θ (orthographic *h*) (as suggested by A. Galanté, *La langue espagnole en Orient et ses déformations*, *Bulletin de l'Institut égyptien*, series 5, 1 [1907], 16) is absurd since the retention of *f* is characteristic of a great many contemporary Spanish dialects, as well as Portuguese, and was probably characteristic of more dialects in the 15th century than at present, e.g. Old Spanish *fasta*, Modern Spanish *hasta* 'until' ~ Judezmo *fásta* ~ Portuguese *até*!

[22] M.A. Luria, *Judeo-Spanish dialects and Mexican popular speech*, in: *Homenaje a Millás-Vallicrosa*, Barcelona 1954, vol. 1, p. 789; E. Saporta y Beja, *Le parler judéo-espagnol de Salonique*, in: *Tesoro de los Judíos sefardíes*, Jerusalem 1966, vol. 9, p. LXXXIV.

[23] M.L. Wagner, *op.cit.*, 1914, p. 100ss.; M.L. Wagner, *Algunas observaciones sobre el judeo-español de Oriente*, *RFE 10* (1923), 242–244; M.L. Wagner, Remarks in *ASNS 147* (1924), 256–257; M.L. Wagner, *op.cit.*, 1930, p. 21; M.L. Wagner, *Espigueo judeo-español*, Madrid 1950, p. 9. The historical evidence does not entirely support Wagner's claims, since the Judezmo-speaking communities in Macedonia, Serbia, Bosnia, and Bulgaria owe their origin to emigrants from Salonika and Istanbul, in addition to direct settlements from Spain. Cf. Révah, *op. cit.*, 1961, p. 191; S. Kamhi, *Jezik, pjesme i poslovice bosansko-hercegovačkih Sefarada*, in: *Spomenica. 400 godina od dolaska jevreja u Bosnu i Hercegovinu*, Sarajevo 1966, p. 106; J. Tadić, *Doprinos Jevreja trgovini s dalmatinskim primorjem u XVI i XVII veku*, *ib.* p. 34; J.G. Armistead and J.H. Silverman, *Judeo-Spanish ballads from Bosnia*, Philadelphia 1971, p. 3. The Judezmo of Albania, Rumania and the Near Eastern Arabic-speaking countries is usually not explicitly classified. Occasionally, Wagner's formulations reach heights of imprecision as when he cites Salonika Judezmo as "partly" a West Balkan dialect since forms with both *f* and θ are found there (*op.cit.*, 1950, p. 9). There are also variations on the theme, as when Sala claims that West Balkan Jews came originally from northwest Spain (Leon, Galicia?) (*op. cit.*, 1965, p. 180). See also Yahuda, *op. cit.*, p. 351–353. The theory of a west-east isogloss in the Balkans seems to have been first advanced by J Amador de los Ríos, *Estudios históricos, políticos, y literarios sobre los Judíos de España*, Madrid 1848, p. 469.

equating geography with language. Luria correctly noted that the custom of naming synagogues in many Balkan towns after Iberian placenames and regions (e.g. "Cataluña", "Evora", "Portugal", "Aragon", etc.) may represent general movements of population rather than specific points of origin[24]. Moreover, certain locales from which Jews are known to have emigrated are missing among the names of newly-founded synagogues, e.g. Asturias, Galicia, Leon[25]. Recently, Révah has proposed that while the Jewish population may have come from heterogeneous areas, the kinds of linguistic mergers that resulted were probably haphazard and don't reflect all the diverse origins of the population[26]. Révah is certainly justified in doubting whether geographical origin (when it can be ascertained with certainty) is a reliable index of the character of a transplanted dialect, since Castilian may have been spoken by Jews living outside of Castile as well[27]. Révah objects to the mechanical labeling of present-day East Judezmo dialects which have retained Latin prevocalic *f* as necessarily non-Castilian in origin (corresponding usually to phonetic zero in contemporary Castilian), but unfortunately he does not depart from the popular view that Judezmo was originally identical with Castilian.

The testimony of contemporary observers in the Balkans is frequently cited in support of the view that the first Iberian Jewish settlers there spoke Castilian, but, in our opinion, the data are inconclusive and not infrequently contradictory. Spanish visitors to 16th century Istanbul, Salonika and Cairo often praise the "pure Castilian" speech of the local Jews they encountered[28]. Even if these Jews were indeed conversant in Castilian, this does not mean they didn't speak Judezmo as well. Moreover, the term "pure Castilian" can be interpreted in another way. One might suppose that Spanish observers took the presence of many Judezmo features no longer attested in most Castilian dialects (but still recognizable to 16th century speakers as "Old" Castilian, e.g. the retention of prevocalic *f*) to mean that the Jews spoke an "archaic" (therefore "pure") Castilian, seemingly frozen in its tracks after 1492. No less ambiguous is an early 16th century Jewish testimony which seems to support the assertion that the Iberian Jews spoke a variety of Iberian (non-Jewish) dialects prior to the rise of a general Judezmo koine.The observer laments that Jews in Salonika could not always understand one another, e.g. the "Portuguese" Jews allegedly say *palomba* and

[24] *Op. cit.*, 1930, p. 6–7.

[25] See the map of Jewish settlements on the inside covers of F. BAER, *A history of the Jews in Christian Spain*, Philadelphia 1966, vol. 2 and R.D. BARNETT (ed.), *The Sephardi heritage*, London 1971. On the variety of Iberian Jewish communities in the late 15th century Ottoman Empire, see B. LEWIS, *Notes and documents from the Turkish archives*, Jerusalem 1952, p. 25 and RÉVAH, *op. cit.*, 1964, p. XLIV.

[26] *Op. cit.*, 1961, p. 194. This article is vastly superior to his subsequent analysis (of the same title) of migrations which is a study in total confusion (*op. cit.*, 1964).

[27] See *op. cit.*, 1964, p. XLIII—though no evidence for this claim is forthcoming.

[28] See J.C. BAROJA, *Los judíos en la España moderna y contemporanea*, Madrid 1961, vol. 1, p. 235.

the "Spanish" Jews *paloma* for 'dove' (< Latin PALŪMBA)[29]. The observation is only partly correct; of course Castilian and Aragonese have simplified *-mb-* > *-m-*, but the retention of the cluster is characteristic not only of Portuguese, but of 10th–12th century Mozarabic and modern-day Galician and Leonese dialects as well, e.g. Mozarabic *bulunbīna*, Leonese *palumba*, *palomba*, Galician (Asturian) *pallombu*. But in this particular example, the Portuguese form of the root is *pombo*, *pomba*[30]. We are tempted to conclude that in the 16th century the labels "Portuguese" and "Spanish" may not have been used in a precise linguistic or geographic manner—but simply as cover terms for dialectal variants[31].

The traditional characterization of Judezmo as originally 15th century Castilian has been popular for so long in Judezmo linguistic circles probably because of the fact that there are no major phonetic features in Judezmo which do not also occur in some Iberian or South American Spanish dialects (Wagner, *op. cit.*, 1930, p. 17). By accepting the premise that Judezmo was essentially Castilian in origin, research in historical Judezmo linguistics has become directed predominantly towards the identification of the "non-Castilian" components in the language, with the result that the study of the chronology and geography of Judezmo features has been neglected. Model I has thus had an injurious impact on a great many studies. For example, the insistence on equating Judezmo with Old Castilian led Grünbaum to deny any separate existence to Judezmo before 1492 and to treat all deviations from Old Castilian and other Ibero-Romance dialects as influences from other Romance languages, and not as independent Judezmo innovations, as, for example, when he derived Judezmo *dio* 'God'

[29] Cited by ROSANES, *op. cit.*, 1930, p. 136. It would be worthwhile in this regard to collect contemporary parodies of Jewish speech such as the stereotype of "Jewish" Portuguese in the 16th century writings of GIL VICENTE (see HILTY, *VRom. 17* [1958], 152, N3).

[30] The dialectal examples are taken from ZAMORA VICENTE and cited in his transcription (*op. cit.*, p. 45, 149–150). For Mozarabic, see D. A. GRIFFIN, *Mozarabismos del «Vocabulista»*, *Al-An. 23* (1958–59), 323. Mozarabic is the term coined by R. MENÉNDEZ PIDAL for the Spanish spoken in Muslim territories which had special features attested nowhere else. The dialect has similarities with Navarro-Leonese and Aragonese dialects. With the reconquest of the Peninsula, Mozarabic was gradually submerged by Castilian (S. M. STERN, *Les vers finaux en espagnol dans les muwaššaḥs hispano-hébraïques*, *Al-An. 13* (1948), 334, and reprinted, in English, in: *Hispano-Arabic strophic poetry*, selected and edited by L. P. HARVEY, Oxford 1974). For the geographic expanse of Mozarabic, see the maps in ENTWISTLE, *op. cit.*, after p. 146, 161 and ZAMORA VICENTE, *op. cit.*, p. 24. For *-mb-* in Judezmo dialects, see M. SALA, *Phonétique et phonologie du judéo-espagnol de Bucarest*, The Hague-Paris 1971, p. 113. ZAMORA VICENTE is in error when he writes that *-mb-* is common Judezmo (*op. cit.*, p. 358). ALONSO characterizes the Judezmo woman's name *Palomba* as a Galician pronunciation (*op. cit.*, p. 76). In the documents published by F. BAER, *Die Juden im christlichen Spanien*, Berlin 1929–36, 2 vol., vol. 2, the name *Paloma* appears four times (e.g. Toledo 1486, Talavera near Valencia 1489) while *Palomba* appears once (Seville 1450's). On the spread of the *mb*-cluster simplification rule from Cataluña, Navarra and Aragon to Castile, see ENTWISTLE, *op. cit.*, p. 143, 149. NEBRIJA's grammar of 1492 has only *-mb-*. For a map of *-mb-* simplification, see ZAMORA VICENTE, *op. cit.*, p. 46.

[31] In Bordeaux, Spanish and Portuguese Marranos and Jews were all called indiscriminately "Portuguese" (CIROT, *op. cit.*, p. 213).

(cf. Castilian *Dios*) from Italian *dio*[32]. Similarly, Spiegel assumed that *xwrws* (= [*xoros*]) 'free (people)' in the *Coplas de Yoṣef* written in Hebrew characters in the 15th century must have followed an earlier stage when the word was pronounced with *f-*, since Old Castilian texts (and other "Spanish" texts in Hebrew characters, as well as modern Judezmo dialects) have this root in the form *for(r)os (op.cit.*, p. 90–91). Spiegel thus resorted to the roundabout explanation that Arabic *ḥurr* 'free' > Old Castilian (and by definition Judezmo, which, for Spiegel, is simply Spanish written in Hebrew characters) *for(r)o* > secondarily Judezmo I *xoro* (and Modern Castilian *ahorrar* 'save'). Had Spiegel not been blinded by the requirement of identifying Judezmo with Castilian, he might have concluded that *xoro* and *foro* were both primary treatments of the Arabic loan by speakers of different Iberian dialects.

The inability to identify the Romance component of either Spanish Judezmo or East Judezmo dialects with any single dialect of 15th century Spanish has caused dissatisfaction among some scholars with model I and led to the proposal of a second model—one which treats Judezmo and Spanish dialects as equal direct heirs to a common Vulgar Latin patrimony. Model II, which accepts the existence of Judezmo in Spain before 1492, appears basically in two variants: (1) Model IIa: Judezmo arose among Iberian Jews sometime before 1492 (no specific chronology is ever given, except that the earliest extant Iberian texts in Hebrew characters date from the 11th century) and (2) Model IIb: Judezmo is the continuation, in Spain, of a Judeo-Vulgar Latin dialect and has, as its immediate cognates, Tsarfatic, Shuadit and Italkic. The breakup of Judeo-Vulgar Latin is not identical to that of Vulgar Latin, since the former has given rise to only four distinct speech forms, with Italkic presumably coterritorial with Italian, Tsarfatic coterritorial with northern French dialects, Shuadit with Provençal, and Judezmo spoken in Spain and perhaps Cataluña[33]. The suggestion of a written Judeo-Vulgar Latin (but without specific endorsement for a model IIb for colloquial Judezmo) was first put forward by Blondheim in 1925, but the implications of this model for Judezmo were not spelled out in detail until Max Weinreich (*op. cit.*, 1954, 1955–56, 1973)[34]. Unfortunately, all those linguists who have posited the existence of Judezmo in Spain before 1492 have failed to address themselves to the question of whether Spanish Judezmo was a form of Castilian, or essentially was more closely aligned, at least in some historical stages, to other Ibero-Romance dialects.

[32] GRÜNBAUM, *op. cit.*, p. 14. WAGNER, on the other hand, considered this word the only unique Ibero-Romance lexical item in Judezmo (*op. cit.*, Review 1930, p. 746).] See also discussions in ENTWISTLE, *op. cit.*, p. 58, 194.

[33] Arguments in favor of Model IIa seem to be encountered for the first time in K. LEVY, *Historisch-geographische Untersuchungen zum Juden-Spanischen.* Texte, Vokabular, grammatische Bemerkungen, *VKR 2* (1929), 342–381.

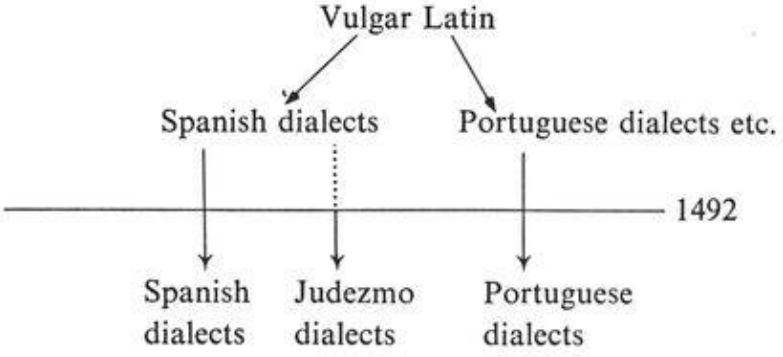
[34] BLONDHEIM, *op. cit.*, 1925 is based in part on his *Contribution à la léxicographie française d'après des sources rabbiniques*, *R. 39* (1910), 129–183 and *Essai d'un vocabulaire comparatif des parlers romans des Juifs en moyen âge*, BLONDHEIM, 1923, p. 1–47; 343–388; 526–569. Other supporters of model IIb include BIRNBOYM, *op. cit.*, and BUNIS, *op. cit.*, 1974, 1975.

At the moment, we have no basis for choosing between models IIa and IIb. A prerequisite for accepting the latter is proof that the other Jewish forms of Romance (specifically Tsarfatic and Italkic) share common Romance features with Judezmo which are unique to them alone, and hence derivable from a Judeo-Vulgar Latin. The claims for model IIb cannot be discussed here further, since they require much more preliminary study of the historical lexicography of the spoken Judeo-Romance languages—research which goes far beyond the confines of the present paper (cf. discussion of Judezmo *meldár* in N 1 above)[35].

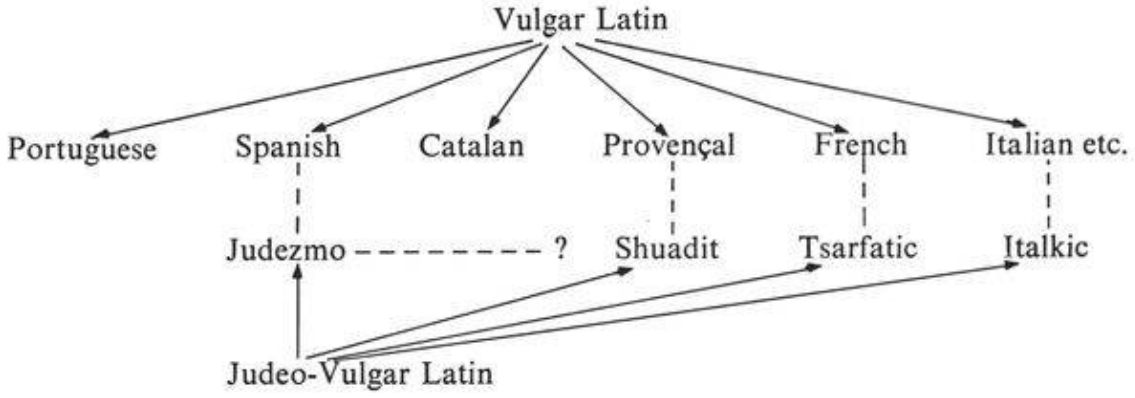
In the diagrams and discussion below, we will refer to pre-1492 Judezmo as Judezmo I and henceforth the labels East and West Judezmo will bear the number II to distinguish them from the pre-Expulsion form of the language. The two variants of model II may be diagrammed as follows.

Table 2. Models IIa and IIb for the genesis of Judezmo: Judezmo develops before 1492.

Model IIa: Judezmo < Spanish dialects (Castilian?).



Model IIb: Judezmo < Judeo-Vulgar Latin



[35] R. LEVY finds that less than 2% of the vocabulary in Tsarfatic texts is unknown in contemporaneous Old French documents (*The background and significance of Judeo-French*, *M. Ph. 45* [1947], 7). For rejection of a Judeo-Vulgar Latin as formulated by BLONDHEIM and WEINREICH, but without

Curiously, proponents of a Judezmo I period often use the same arguments as the supporters of model I. For example, while Révah had rejected a different treatment of Arabic loans as a cause for supporting the existence of Judezmo I, Levy notes this consideration as precisely a reason for arguing in favor of Judezmo I (*op. cit.*, 1931 b, p. 705). For Marcus, the presence of Hebrew loans and models for loan translations is sufficient reason to opt for the Judezmo I stage as well (*op. cit.*, 1962, p. 129). Entwistle seems to be ingeniously espousing both viewpoints when he claims (without offering proof) that modern Judezmo II can tell us much about what colloquial 15th century Castilian was like (this would imply that Judezmo I was originally identical or nearly identical with Old Castilian) (*op. cit.*, p. 216–219), at the same time insisting that a Judezmo I koine existed prior to 1492 (*op. cit.*, p. 219). For Crews, only the spoken language of the Jews was different from that of the Christians before 1492; a common written language was used by both groups[36]. On the other hand, González Llubera characterizes the written language of the Jews in the first half of the 14th century as archaic compared to that of the Christians, though he is noncommittal about the existence of spoken Judezmo I[37].

The acceptance of the second model, in either of its variants, necessitates in part a different set of research topics and data. Whereas model I seeks evidence for a post-1492 merger among the transplanted Iberian dialects and identifies "archaisms" and "dialectisms" in East Judezmo II by reference to Spanish dialects, model II immediately has to confront the delicate problem of reconstructing the changing (?) dialect makeup of a pre-1492 Judezmo[38]. In spite of numerous methodological difficulties,

any discussion of the genesis of Judezmo, see M. BANITT, *Une langue fantôme: le judéo-français*, *RLiR 27* (1963), 245–294 and A. FREEDMAN, *Italian texts in Hebrew characters: problems of interpretation*, Wiesbaden 1971.

[36] C. M. CREWS, *Recherches sur le judéo-espagnol dans les pays balkaniques*, Paris 1935, p. 15.

[37] *Op. cit.*, 1947, p. VI. H. VIDAL SÉPHIHA takes the view that the Iberian Jews had a distinct literary tradition but did not differ from the Christians in their spoken language (*Langues juives, langues calques et langues vivantes*, *La linguistique 8* [1972] 2, 59–68). The written languages of the Jews are frequently different from the non-Jewish norms, especially in Bible translations and religious texts, because of the strong Hebrew imprint and different dialectal basis for the written standard (cf. I. GARBELL, *The Jewish Neo-Aramaic dialect of Persian Azerbaijan*, The Hague 1965, p. 15; cf. also the reference to BLONDHEIM in N 81).

[38] A rare call for the study of the dialectal relationship of the Iberian speech of the Jews to that of the contiguous Christians is found in HILTY, *op. cit.* (especially *17* [1958], 150ss.). According to HILTY, the nature of the Portuguese spoken by the Jews before the emigration can best be determined through the study of Portuguese texts in Hebrew characters intended for a Jewish audience, and, secondarily, through the texts composed by Portuguese Jews in the emigration, Judeo-Portuguese features preserved in Judezmo, and the language of the Portuguese Marranos. Unfortunately, the task of defining the dialectal makeup of Iberian Jewish speech is complicated by the paucity of written records. For Judezmo I texts, see F. FERNÁNDEZ Y GONZÁLEZ, *Ordenamiento formado por los procurados de las aljamas hebreas pertenecientes al territorio de los Estados de Castilla, en la asamblea celebrada en Valladolid el año 1432*, *Boletín de la Real Academia de Historia 7* (1885), 145–189, 275–305, 395–413; *8* (1886), 10–27 (reprinted in BAER, *op. cit.*, 1929, vol. 1, p. 280–298); F. FITA, *Aguilar de Campóo. Documentos y monumentos hebreos*, *Boletín de la Real Academia de Historia 36*

there is surely no need to accept Crews' negative assessment that if there ever existed a Judezmo I distinct from 15th century Spanish, the differences would have long since been leveled out by the emerging koine of East Judezmo II in the 16th century (*op. cit.*, 1935, p. 15, 23). Such an assessment is obviously dependent upon the prior characterization of East Judezmo II as a continuation of a 16th century koine—an assumption for which no conclusive proof has been given. On the contrary, the evidence of Judezmo II enables us to reconstruct the outlines of the Arabic corpus and some of the phonological norms of the Romance component in Judezmo I dialects[39].

We assume that East Judezmo II Arabisms (1) not attested in Turkish (the major source of Arabisms for East Judezmo II dialects after 1492), or (2) not identical to Turkish Arabisms in form and/or meaning, must also have been part of the original Judezmo I corpus. In general, West Judezmo II dialects are a less reliable index in this regard because of the difficulty in distinguishing there between original Judezmo I Arabisms and the North African Arabic component acquired after 1391—though the Arabic corpus in East Judezmo II offers some clue to the pre-emigration Arabic component in West Judezmo II.

Spanish Jewry between the 8th and 15th centuries was not linguistically homogeneous. The numerous Jews settled in the Peninsula before the Muslim invasion in 711 were presumably Romance-speaking[40]; Jews who entered the Peninsula from North Africa after 711 were Arabic-speaking. Since the two languages became largely coterritorial, there never were clear boundaries in Spain between the Arabic and Romance speech communities; even the areas of relative dominance of Arabic in general, and for the Jewish speakers in particular, are impossible to fix with precision for any period, since the political boundaries were in a constant state of flux. For example, between the 11th and late 13th centuries, Muslim domination was reduced from the southern half to approximately the southern third of the Peninsula; at the time of the final expulsion of the Moors in 1492, the Muslim-controlled areas consisted solely of Granada. Moreover, the relative dominance of Arabic and Romance was not synonymous with Muslim or Christian political control respectively. While the Arabic language was used longest in Muslim Granada and parts of Valencia, the use of Arabic characters for writing Romance (the so-called *aljamiado* or Mozarabic literature) encompassed both areas of Muslim domination as well as areas of Castile, Aragon

(1900), 340–347; Ig. González Llubera, *Fragmentos de un poema judeo-español medieval*, *RHisp. 81* (1933), 421–433; Ig. González Llubera, *Coplas de Yoçef*, Cambridge 1935; Ig. González Llubera, *op. cit.*, 1947; J. Llamas, *La Antigua Biblia Castellana de los judios españoles*, *Sefarad 4* (1944), 219–244; M. Morreale, *Las antiguas biblias hebreo-españolas comparadas en el pasaje del Cántico de Moisés*, *Sefarad 23* (1963), 3–21; Spiegel, *op. cit.*; Bunis, *op. cit.*, 1974, p. 15–17.

[39] The present-day differences in the forms and functions of the shared Romance lexicon of Judezmo and Spanish dialects are very difficult to evaluate in the absence of reliable historical lexicographical studies of Judezmo and Ladino, and so will have to be ignored in this paper.

[40] The presence of Jews in Spain was already mentioned in the Council of Elvira, held at about 300 A.D.

and Leon to the north which were early reconquered from the Muslims[41]. On the other hand, even in the south, Arabic at no time transplanted Romance. There is ample evidence that Arabic-speaking Jews preserved their native language when they migrated north to Christian-controlled territories, especially after the Almohades invasion of Andalusia in the 1140's. For example, the town of Huesca in northern Aragon was liberated from Muslim control in 1096 but there is indication that Arabic-speaking Jews resided there as late as 1190; in nearby Zaragoza, Yahudic documents have been found from the 1220's (Baer, *op. cit.*, 1969, vol. 1, p. 94, 398 N). We may assume that only by the late 13th century were the bulk of the Jews Romance-speaking, though by no means necessarily monolingual[42].

While the massive Arabic component in all Ibero-Romance dialects points to the existence of a significant bilingual intermediary, the means for reconstructing the extent of that bilingual community among Christians, Jews and Muslims are limited. For example, we might be able to obtain a rough idea of the expanse of Arabic among the Jews and Christians by delineating the areas in which Yahudic and Christian Arabic texts are found; this question is not dealt with by Blau in his study of Iberian Judeo-Arabic and deserves to be explored[43]. The distribution of Arabic toponyms in the Peninsula offers some idea of Muslim control and influence, but tells us nothing about the length of time Arabic speech was retained in any locale. Otherwise, the extent of Arabic among the Jews and Christians could be inferred from the integration of the Semitic component embedded in their Romance speech. This latter means, which would at best suggest kinds of pronunciation norms, though not necessarily their precise boundaries, is explored below.

Judezmo and Spanish dialects subject the Semitic fricatives *h*, *ḥ*, *x* to a common three-way integration: Arabic *h*, *ḥ*, *x* (and, for Judezmo, Hebrew *h*, *x*) > (a) *f*; > (b) *h* in Latin spelling (= [*x*, *h*]?), corresponding to Hebrew spellings with *h*, *x*[44]; >

[41] According to Baer, Arabic survived longer in Castile than in Aragon (*op. cit.*, vol. 1, 1961, p. 112, 17′).

[42] Cf. Spiegel, *op. cit.*, p. 118. For references to the migration of Arabic-speaking Jews and the use of Arabic in Christian Spain, cf. Baer, *op. cit.*, 1961, vol. 1, p. 76, 83, 94. The greater retention of Arabic among the Jews than among the Christians is established by the preponderance of the former as translators (B.E. Vidos, *Manual de lingüística románica*, Madrid 1965, p. 227, N 1). The relatively large number of non-Hispanicized Arabic family names among 15th century Jews also suggests either that Arabic may have been retained sporadically at this late date, or that the Jews had originally closer cultural ties with the Muslims than the Christians did.

[43] Cf. J. Blau, *The emergence and linguistic background of Judaeo-Arabic*, Oxford 1965.

[44] The spelling of *h* in Old Spanish texts in itself is no guarantee that a [*h*] or [*x*] was pronounced, since *h* also appears in words where it is etymologically unjustified, e.g. Old Castilian *Habrahan* 'Abraham' (*Danza de la muerte*, early 15th century). Cf. also the description of *h* in Nebrija's grammar of 1492. Latin orthographic *h* in Judezmo I materials probably denoted both glottal and velar fricatives. In the discussions below, the notation *h* symbolizes both fricatives. Words which in Judezmo texts in Hebrew characters are spelled with *x*, e.g. *xwrws* (= [*xoros*]) 'free (men)' (*Coplas de Yoçef*) appear in the *Pentateuch of Constantinople* (1547) (in Ladino) with the Hebrew letter *h*, e.g. *ʾlhwryyh* (= [*alhoria*]) 'freedom', *hwrw* (= [*horo*]) 'free'. The relationship of Ladino to Judezmo

(c) Ø. A fourth possibility, *k* or *g*, is found only in Spanish dialects but not apparently in Judezmo I (see discussion below, N 62). The reflex *f* is common to all Portuguese, Catalan and northern non-Castilian dialects of Navarra, Leon and Aragon; Modern Castilian now shows a mixed picture of *f* and orthographic *h* (phonetically Ø)—mainly the latter treatment. The reflex Ø in Arabic loans in Spanish dialects could reflect an underlying *h*, which was lost at the time that Romance *h* (< *f*) > Ø, or the original *f* in those dialects where no intermediary *h*-stage developed[45]; Ø is attested for the first time in Old Castilian texts of the 12th century. Historians of Spanish have yet to unravel the details of the historical *h* ~ *f* patterning in the Spanish dialects. One reason for the present uncertainty may be that the original geography of the three treatments in Spanish has become (hopelessly?) obscured by the Castilian loss of *f* > (*h* >) Ø which began spreading fan-like after the 9th century from Old Castile in the north to the southwest, south and southeast[46]. For Judezmo I dialects, the geographic contours of the three original reflexes are more amenable to reconstruction since there was no change of *f* > Ø in the Iberian dialects of the Jews. The reflex *f* for the three Semitic fricatives seems to have been most characteristic of the speech of the Jews in the northern and southeastern areas (e.g. Old Castile and northern parts of New Castile, Aragon, Navarra, Leon, Valencia and Cataluña), with *h*, *x* in the south; the reflex Ø is met with only sporadically in a broad transitional belt between the *h*, *x* and *f* zones (e.g. in the Valladolid and Guadalajara areas). In Judezmo I dialects, Ø may have been an original pattern of integration, or, alternatively, a later development in areas where *h*/*x* and *f* were both originally attested; Ø in Judezmo I is apparently first encountered only in the late 13th century.

I–II needs to be clarified. The *Ferrara Bible* of 1553, published by and for Marranos in Latin characters has *alforria*. The loss of *f* in *hulano* 'so-and-so' (< Arabic *fulān*) in the *Ferrara Bible* looks like a hypercorrection since, even in the *f*-dropping dialects of East Judezmo II, *f* is usually retained before *u*, and certainly in this root (cf. Spanish *fulano*, Portuguese *fuão*, Old Galician *foan*). Cf. discussion in L. WIENER, *The Ferrara Bible*, *MLN 10* (1895), 84; BLONDHEIM, *op. cit.*, 1925, p. 149; E.K. NEUVONEN, *Los arabismos del español en el siglo XIII*, Helsinki 1941, p. 199–200. RÉVAH's claim that the existence of *x* in Hebrew enabled the Jews to accept Arabic *x* is patently absurd (*Formation et évolution des parlers judéo-espagnols des Balkans*, in: *Actes du X^e congrès international de linguistique et philologie romanes, Strasbourg 1962*, Paris 1965, vol. 3, p. 1351). If this were true, then Hebrew-Arabic *x* should not have been replaced by *f* in dialects of Judezmo I in northeast Spain and Cataluña.

[45] Cf. J.H. ENGLISH, *The alternation of H and F in Old Spanish*, New York 1926, p. 64.

[46] The two classic studies of Arabisms in the Ibero-Romance dialects (A. STEIGER, *Contribución a la fonética del hispano-árabe y de los arabismos en el ibero-románico y el siciliano*, Madrid 1932, and NEUVONEN, *op. cit.*) make no clear statements about the geography of the various patterns of integration. The suggestion by E. ALARCOS LLORACH that *f* and *h* were in free variation for some time seems unlikely in view of the fact that both reflexes are found today—though *h* may have simply been an orthographic convention when *f* was lost (*Fonología española*, Madrid 1961, p. 249). Cf. also his discussion in *Alternancia de "f" y "h" en los arabismos*, *Archivum 1* (1951), 29–41. According to English, the reflex of *h* characterized northern Spanish dialects (Santander, Burgos, Logroño) and was just as old as the *f* reflex, typical af the central regions (Leon, Segovia, Soria, Aragon, Toledo, Andalusia) (*op. cit.*, p. 12, 74, 81).

While the shifting geography of the *f*, *h*/*x* and Ø treatments of Semitic fricatives through time affords us insight into the underlying Romance sound patterns, it is by no means clear what the Romance speech of the Jews was in any one area. An examination of pre-16th century Romance texts in Hebrew characters suggests that Jews may have spoken a number of Ibero-Romance dialects, e.g. *fyğws* (= [*fižos*]) 'sons' (Valladolid 1432) versus *fylyyw* (= [*filio*]) 'son' (Aragon 1465)[47]. Ascertaining (1) the dialectal makeup of Judezmo I and (2) whether or not the speech of the Jews was identical to that of the Christians in all areas constitute the foremost tasks confronting Judezmo historical linguistics; the present paper can only formulate questions for research without providing detailed answers. The suggestion by Stern that the Jews originally spoke a dialect of Mozarabic—a suggestion apparently not explored in the subsequent literature—deserves to be investigated (*op.cit.*, p. 335). Furthermore, if the Jews spoke a variety of (Judeo-?) Ibero-Romance dialects in Spain, did these speech forms survive in the Peninsula long enough to be transported to the Balkans? If so, what was their fate in the new environment? The existence of multiple Ibero-Romance speech forms in use among the Jews — speech froms which may well have differed from the contiguous and coterritorial non-Jewish dialects— does not preclude the possibility of a uniform koine developing from at least some of the Judeo-Ibero-Romance dialects before 1492. Hence, we have to entertain still a third model for the genesis of Judezmo I—namely, the existence of a number of Judeo-Ibero-Romance dialects in the pre-1492 period. In our discussions, we continue to use the term Judezmo as a cover term for any Ibero-Romance dialect in use among the Jews and we will speak of a «South», «North» and «Central» Judezmo I— where «North» includes, at least in the 15th century, some southeastern territory (Valencia), and «South» encompasses southern parts of old Castile. Future research may permit a more precise characterization of the geographical borders.

Examples of Jewish names from South and North Judezmo are presented in tables 3 and 4; they are taken from the Latin and Spanish documents published by Baer, *op.cit.*, 1929–36. A further potential source of data which awaits collection and study is the Iberian placenames in Jewish texts[48].

[47] Cf. J.L. LACAVE, *Pleito judío por una herencia en aragones y carácteres hebreos (conclusión)*, *Sefarad 31* (1971), 49–101. The modern-day Aragones dialect has *fillo*, *fío* (GARROTE, *op. cit.*, p. 54). The materials studied by LACAVE suggest that the Aragonese dialect in Hebrew characters was distinct from South Judezmo in its Romance, if not its Semitic, component (since both languages have *f* for Semitic *h*, *ḥ*, *x*)—but was the language of the texts "Judeo-Aragonese" or merely Aragonese in Hebrew characters? Evidence that the Jews were also conversant in the local varieties of Spanish comes from the Inquisition proceedings of the late 15th century which mention the existence of Jewish prayer books in the Castilian and Valencian dialects (BAER, *op. cit.*, 1966, vol. 2, p. 336, 361, respectively; the original documents are reprinted in BAER, *op. cit.*, 1936, vol. 2). The fact that Marranos who settled outside of Spain spoke Castilian Spanish suggests that before 1492 there was erosion of the Judezmo-speaking community in favor of the coterritorial Christian norms.

[48] Unfortunately, nothing like the monumental collection of Tsarfatic placenames compiled by H. GROSS exists for any other Jewish language (*Gallia Judaica*, Paris 1897; Amsterdam ²1969).

Table 3. Integration of Hebrew and Arabic components in two Judezmo I «dialects»

South Judezmo I	*North Judezmo I*
1. *Yehuda* (Valladolid, Old Castile area 1293–94); *Yuda* (Valladolid 1486–89) < Hebrew *yəhūdāh* male name[49]	1. *Yfuda* (Ocaña, New Castile 1327); *Jaffuda* (Valencia 1349); *Jafuda* (Zaragoza, Aragon 1370)
2. *Haya* (Toledo, New Castile 1132) female name < Hebrew *xāyāh*	2. *Aifia* (in the same document as *Haya*); *Fia* (Guadalajara, New Castile 1299)
3. *Habib*[50] (Santiago [de la Espada, Murcia?] 1287); Valladolid area early 14th century; Trujillo, Extremadura 1461) family name < Arabic *ḥabīb*	3. *Ffabib* (Barcelona, Cataluña 1367)
4. *Cohen* (attested in many areas and in many periods) family name < Hebrew *kohen*	4. *Cofen* (Valencia 1353; Seville, Western Andalusia 1379–80; Medina del Campo, Old Castile 1450's)[51]
5. *Yahion* (Maqueda, New Castile 1352) family name < Arabic *yaḥyā*	5. *Jaffa* (Lérida, Cataluña 1172; Tortosa, Cataluña 1178); *Yaffia* (Santiago, Galicia (?) 1287); *Abenafia* (Valencia 1308; also common in Calatayud and Huesca in Aragon and Barcelona) < Arabic/Hebrew *ben yaḥyā*
6. *Haçan Alfandari* (Ávila, Old Castile 1371) male name < Arabic *ḥasan*	6. *Ybenfacen* (Zaragoza 1397) family name < Arabic *ibn ḥasan*
7. *Mardohay* (Xerez de la Frontera [on old border of Granada and Christian Spain] 1266; Ávila 1303) male name < Hebrew *mordəxay*	7. *Mordofay* (Valencia 1349)

[49] For an example of velar fricative deletion, cf. the family name *Abenamias* in table 4 below.

[50] The name appears with a dot under the *H* in the early 14th century document (BAER, *op. cit.*, 1936, vol. 2, p. 123).

[51] Seville is in the far south of the country. Cf. discussion of the *f* reflex in that area, p. 179 below.

8. —	8. *Avinfaleva* (Aragon and Cataluña—e.g. Zaragoza, Huesca, Lérida, Tortosa, Alcañiz 1270's) family name < Arabic *ibn ḥalāwa*
9. —	9. *Alfaqui(m)*, *Alfachim* (common family name in Navarra, Cataluña, Perpignan)[52]; *Faquim* (Tortosa 1365) family name < Arabic *(ʾal) ḥakīm* literally '(the) doctor, learned man'[53]; *alfaquimo*, *alfachino* (Barcelona 1160); *alfaqui(m)*, *alfaquin* honorific title (Seville 1250's)[51]
10. —	10. *marfesuan* (in Latin characters) (Aguilar de Campóo, Old Castile, first half of the 13th century) (Fita, *op. cit.*, p. 342) 'second month of the Jewish calendar coinciding with parts of October and November' < Hebrew *marxešvan*

The data given in table 3 allow us to plot the steady erosion of *f* in the north. For example, in the north of Old Castile (Aguilar de Campóo) we recorded *marfesuan* with *f* < Hebrew *x* in the first half of the 13th century, but already by the end of that century, orthographic *h* was being retained in Latin spellings for original *h*, *ḥ* in the adjacent southern area of Valladolid, e.g. *Yehuda* (1293–94), *Habib* (early 14th century) and *Habibe* (Plasencia 1461). Often the norms overlap in one and the same region, e.g. both *h* and *f* in Santiago and Valladolid: *Yehuda* (Valladolid 1293–94) alongside *ʾlğwf(ʾ)r* (= [*aldžofar*]) 'jewels' < literary Arabic *ʾaldžawhar* 'jewels' (Valladolid 1432)[54], *Cofen* (Medina del Campo 1450's). Similarly, in the far south in Andalusia, where orthographic *h* is most typical, we also encounter instances of *f*, e.g. *Cofen* (Seville 1379–80). Either the examples of *f* in *h* territory and *h* in *f* territory are chance instances of population migration (the examples are often of proper

[52] In the 15th century, Perpignan and adjacent areas of modern-day France belonged to the Kingdom of Aragon.

[53] Cf. also the Old Spanish *alfaquim*, *alhaquin* 'doctor, learned man' (for a detailed discussion of the change of *-m* > *-n* in Old Spanish spellings see G. Hilty, *El libro conplido en los Iudizios de las Estrellas*, *Al-An 20* [1955], 4–11); *alquihames* (with metathesis), called a cultism by Neuvonen, *op. cit.*, p. 292 (but not listed in Corominas). According to Corominas, *alfaquin* is first attested in 1275–76 in the meaning of 'Muslim doctor' (place of text not indicated).

[54] The mixed Hebrew-Judezmo text in Hebrew characters in which the word appears is reprinted in Fernández y González, *op. cit.*, and Baer, *op. cit.*, 1929, vol. I, p. 280–298.

names) or in fact reflect real overlapping of pronunciation norms in certain "merged" areas—i.e. different degrees of Arabicization among residents of a single area. The existence of merged areas suggests that Garbell's recommendation of distinct areas of Hebrew pronunciation norms is oversimplified[55]. If our suspicion of widespread merger of populations stemming from frequent migrations is correct, we then have a basis for theoretically positing an emerging superdialectal koine in the Judezmo I period[56].

A particularly interesting problem is the appearance of Ø and *h* alongside *f* in the Guadalajara area (cf. the examples already cited in table 3 above) and Ø in the Valladolid area in addition to *h*. Table 4 below shows the changing norms in these two districts; the distribution of *f*/*h* in the Romance component is given alongside for comparison. The area in which Arabic and Hebrew fricatives appear as Ø will be designated Central Judezmo I.

Table 4. Mixed norms for Semitic and Romance *h*/*f*/Ø in Guadalajara and Valladolid = Central Judezmo

Guadalajara (New Castile—originally North Judezmo zone)

century	13th	14th	15th	*examples*
Semitic component	*f*, *h*, Ø	*h*		*Fia f. Yhuda* 'Fia daughter of Yehuda' 1299; *Ybenamias* family name < Arabic/Hebrew *ibn naxmias* 1299; *Abraham de la Fija* 1398 < Hebrew *ʾavrāhām*
Romance component	*f*	*f*	*h*	*Fia f. Yhuda: f.* = [*fiža*] 'daughter' 1299; *Abraen de la Hija* (Buitrago, northern province of Madrid, 1492)

Valladolid (Old Castile—originally south Judezmo zone)

Semitic component	*h*, Ø	*h*	Ø, *f*	*Yeuda*, *Yehuda* 1293–94; *Abran Fierro* 1486–91; *Habib* early 14th century; *ʾlğwf(ʾ)r* (= [*aldžofar*]) 'jewels' < Arabic *ʾaldžawhar* 1432
Romance component	*f*	*f*	*f*	*fʾzyr* (= [*fazer*]) 'do' 1492

[55] Cf. I. GARBELL, *The pronunciation of Hebrew in medieval Spain*, in: *Homenaje a Millás-Vallicrosa*, Barcelona 1954, vol. 1, p. 647–648.

[56] The same claim of superdialectal status has been made for Yiddish in Germany (N. SÜSSKIND, *Betraxtungen vegn der gešixte fun yidiš, Juda A. Joffe bux*, New York 1958, p. 146–157; J. A. FISHMAN, *Yiddish in America: socio-linguistic description and analysis*, Bloomington-The Hague 1965, p. 5).

The overlapping of *h* and Ø between the 13th and 15th centuries in the originally *f* area of Guadalajara, and the persistence there of *h* through time, as well as the appearance and retention of Ø in a predominantly *h* zone are reminiscent of the general Castilian change of *f* > *h* (first attested in the 9th century) and subsequently of *h* > Ø (first noted in the 12th century). But in the two areas of Guadalajara and Valladolid, Castilian *f* had become *h* several centuries earlier[57]. Moreover, the interchange of *f*, *h*, Ø noted in Judezmo only applies to the Semitic component. In the Romance component of the languge, in both these and in other areas, original Latin prevocalic *f* was very well preserved—in contrast to Castilian, e.g. Valladolid Judezmo *fyğys* = [*fižos*] 'sons', *fyryr* = [*ferir*] 'injure', *f°zyr* = [*fazer*] 'do' (1432) of Romance origin, and *f°sṭh* = [*fasta*] 'until' an early loan from Arabic *ḥitta, ḥatta*; Madrid Judezmo *Fermosa* girl's name (in Latin characters) (1380)[58]. Therefore, the appearance of *h* and Ø in Guadalajara (North) Judezmo I must be interpreted as an encroachment of the Semitic pronunciation norms of South Judezmo I upon the northern areas. The change of *h* > Ø in the Semitic component in Valladolid (South) Judezmo I may also be seen as an independent development of Judezmo not connected with Castilian, though we would not rule out the possibility that in Valladolid the Castilian change of *h* (from native Romance *f* and Arabic *h*, *ḥ*, *x*) > Ø was spreading to coterritorial Judezmo, where *h* solely of Semitic origin was affected. One could argue that, by this time, the first stage of Castilian *f* > *h* had long since been completed and hence *f* in Valladolid Judezmo remained unchanged. The northeast area of Judezmo I retained *f* < Semitic *h*, *ḥ*, *x* since these areas were not originally Castilian-speaking, but Catalan and Aragonese areas (the latter was not broadly Castilianized until the 14th century). The fact that Ø is apparently confined to a central, transitional belt between the original *f* and *h* zones suggests a later origin for Ø.

A particularly intriguing question is why Valencia, an area in the southeast historically heavily influenced by Muslim culture and Arabic language, should fall in the 14th century into the *f*-area of Judezmo. There is evidence that in Old Valencian dialects, Arabic *x* > *orthographic h*, e.g. Old Valencian *hilil* 'pin' ~ Castilian *alfiler* (< Arabic *°alxilāl*). This would suggest that *x* may have become accepted in the sound pattern of some south Spanish dialects, as it was in South Judezmo I[59]. While we might explain the lack of Arabicization in Judezmo I in the Valencia area as the result

[57] Cf. maps for the 13th and 16th centuries in R. Menéndez Pidal, *Orígines del Español*, Madrid 1950, after p. 232; for the 10th, 16th and 20th centuries, cf. Zamora Vicente, *op. cit.*, p. 56, 61, 66.

[58] The root **fermózo* 'beautiful' is found without *f* in all East Judezmo II dialects, regardless of whether *f* is generally retained or not. Cf. below, p. 189.

[59] In western areas of Andalusia and in the Aragon dialect *x* < *f* is retained in the Romance component, e.g., *xilo* 'thread' ~ Castilian *h* [*ilo*], but not in the Arabic loans. The example of *jaique* 'Moorish headed cape' < Arabic *ḥā°ik* 'weaver' given by Alarcos Llorach (*op. cit.*, 1951, p. 33) is irrelevant since it is not attested in Spanish until 1884 (Corominas). The meaning 'headed cape' is apparently found only in the Moroccan dialects of Arabic.

of migration of Jews from the north (say, from neighboring Cataluña)—with an *f* pattern of integration—it is also plausible that by the 14th century, the period in which our examples fall, the Arabic influence had already been largely eradicated (Valencia was reconquered in the 12th century). This raises the question of whether Jews and non-Jews in Valencia spoke identical Romance dialects.

East Judezmo II dialects continue all three reflexes found in Judezmo I dialects, with a preference for *x* and Ø. It is reasonable to assume that Ø < *x*, *h* in East Judezmo II may very well continue the Central Judezmo I norm, e.g., Istanbul *almáda* 'pillow' < Arabic *ʾalmuxadda* (cf. Portuguese *almofada*, Modern Castilian *almohada* [*almoáda*]). The word never appears in East Judezmo II with *f*, even in those dialects where Romance *f* is not lost; examples of *x*, *h*-loss in the Hebrew component are *aspán* 'insolent person' < Hebrew *xacpān*, *aftará* 'chapter from the Pentateuch' < Hebrew *haftārāh*, Salonika *alkilá* 'synagogue, congregation' < Hebrew *kəhīlāh* 'congregation' with the Arabic definite article. For the retention of Semitic *x*, cf the Bucharest family name *Xalfon* (Sala, *op.cit.*, 1971, p. 63). As to the North Judezmo I pronunciation norms, where *f* replaces a Semitic pharyngeal glide, velar or glottal fricative, we find only occasional examples in East Judezmo II, e.g. *(f)ásta* (the loss of *f* in some dialects is a later development) 'until' < Arabic *ḥatta*, *ḥitta* (versus Old Spanish *hata* 1098, *fa(s)ta* 13th century; Modern Spanish *hasta*; Old Portuguese *ataa*, *ata*, Modern Portuguese *até*); *foro* 'free', *alforia* 'freedom' < Arabic *ḥurr* 'free', *ʾalḥurriyya* 'freedom' (cf. Old Spanish *forro* 13th century, Modern Spanish *ahorrar* 'save', Old Portuguese *forro* 1185, *alforria* not attested before the 16th century). The form *xwrws* (=[*xoros*]) 'free (people)' attested in Judezmo I (cf. p. 171 above) does not appear currently in East Judezmo II, nor does a form with Ø—**oro*. In the examples below in table 5, we may observe that East Judezmo II dialects basically maintain the Arabicized norms of South Judezmo I in spite of their very reduced Arabic corpus; the Spanish forms, particularly Castilian, show relatively broad distortion of the Arabic phonological and morphological structure. Unless otherwise stated, the Arabic roots are not found in Turkish.

Table 5. Comparison of Judezmo-Ladino and Spanish-Portuguese-Catalan norms for Semitic loans.

1. Ladino *alhabaka* 'basil' (Ferrara Bible 1553) (Blondheim, *op.cit.*, 1925, p. 149), West Judezmo II *alxabáka*, East Judezmo II *Alxaváka* girl's name (Rosanes, op. *cit.*, 1930, p. 278) versus Old Spanish *alhabeca*, *alhabega* (Murcia dialect c. 1560 and still attested in Albacete), Modern Spanish *albahaca*; Old Portuguese *alfábega*, *alfávega*, Portuguese *alfavaca* (since the 16th century—possibly via Castilian?). Cf. also North Portuguese dialectal *alfádega*, *arfádiga*, *orfádiga*; Catalan *alfàbega*, *alfàbrega* < Arabic *ḥabaq*.

2. East Judezmo II *alxénie* 'henna' (Luria, *op.cit.*, 1930, p. 118) versus Old Spanish *alfeña* (1252), Spanish *alheña*. Cf. Neuvonen, *op.cit.*, p. 152.

3. East Judezmo II (Salonika, Sarajevo) *alxašú* 'type of cake', (Sarajevo) *alxašúf* 'round pastry made with oil'[60] versus Old Spanish *alfaxú*, *alfaxor*, *alaxu* (Nebrija 1492), Modern Spanish *alajú*, *alajur* 'paste made from almonds, walnuts and honey' < Arabic *ḥašw* 'forcemeat, stuffing'. Turkish has the word without the definite article in the form *haşv*.

4. East Judezmo II (Bitolj) *alxurove* 'carob' (Luria, *op.cit.*, 1930, p. 130), (Istanbul) *axaroβa* (Crews, *op.cit.*, 1955, p. 307–308), *xarova*, (Salonika) *xaroβa*; Ladino *xardoubba* (Blondheim, *op.cit.*, 1925, p. 144), West (?) Judezmo *aljaroba* (1772)[61] versus Old Spanish *garrova* (1269)[62], *algarrova* (1555), Modern Spanish *garroba*, Navarra dialect *algarrofa* (Tudela, Pamplonna)[63], Salamanca dialect *carrafa* 'carob fruit'. Forms without the Arabic definite article are also still attested in Cespedosa. Cf. also Old Portuguese *alfarroba*, *ferroba* (16th century), Catalan *garrofa* < Arabic *xarrūb*, *xurnūb*. Cf. OttomanTurkish *harrûb*, *harnûb*.The Judezmo forms may also be influenced by Hebrew *xarūv*.

5. Ladino *bateha* (Ferrara Bible 1553) 'watermelon' (Blondheim, *op. cit.*, 1910, p. 151; 1925, p. 32) versus Old Spanish *badea* (1423), *badeha* (for *baldeha*?) (Nebrija 1492), Modern Spanish *albudeca* 'watermelon, small melon', *badea* 'watermelon, bad melon'; Old Portuguese *batecha* (*ch* = [K]) (1506), *budefa*; Portuguese *pateca*. Cf. also N 62.

6. Ladino *hadie* 'gift, sacrifice' (Blondheim, *op. cit.*, 1910, p. 172) versus Old Spanish *alfadia* (1239), *odia* 'gift', Old Portuguese *alfadia* (1209), *alfadias* (13th century), *odiá*, *adiá* (16th century) < Arabic *hadiyya* 'gift'. According to J. P. Machado[64], the Portuguese forms without *f* are taken from Arabic via Malay. There are no forms with *h* in Spanish.

[60] C. M. Crews, *Some Arabic and Hebrew words in Oriental Judaeo-Spanish*, *VRom. 14* (1955), 300.

[61] Cited in K. Adams, *Castellano, judeoespañol y portugués*, *Sefarad 26* (1966), 221–228, 435–447; *27* (1967), 213–225.

[62] According to Steiger, *op. cit.*, 1932, Arabic *x* > *k*, *g* up to the 12th century (cf. also Neuvonen, *op. cit.*, p. 170, 290). Alarcos Llorach suggests that the scattered instances of *k*, *g* for the three posterior Arabic fricatives reflect southern Mozarabic speech habits (*op, cit.*, 1951, p. 37, 40–41). Cf. also discussion on p. 186, 190 of the text. In East Judezmo II we also encounter *k* for Hebrew *x*, e.g. Salonika *zakú(t)* 'merit' ~ West Judezmo (Alcazarquivir) *sexút* < Hebrew *zxūt* (cf. F. Cantera, *Hebraísmos en la poesía sefardí*, in: *Estudios dedicados a Menéndez Pidal*, Madrid 1954, vol. 5, p. 92–93, 96).

[63] Cf. J.M. Iribarren, *Vocabulario navarro*, Pamplona 1952.

[64] *Influência arábica no vocabulário português*, Lisbon 1961, vol. 2.

7. East Judezmo II *taréxa* 'task, commission' (Crews, *op. cit.*, 1955, p. 309) versus Old Spanish *tareha*, *taráyh* (Nebrija 1492), *tarea* (1542), Old Portuguese *tarefa* (16th century), *tareia* (via Castilian) (Steiger, *op. cit.*, 1932, p. 149; Neuvonen, *op. cit.*, p. 301–302) < colloquial Arabic *ṭarīḥa*. The East Judezmo II form cannot be from Turkish since this root has apparently not been borrowed by the latter from Arabic.

8. Ladino, East and West Judezmo II *xazíno* 'sick', East Judezmo II *enxaziṇárse* 'become sick' versus Old Spanish *hacino*, *hasino* (1400), *hazino* (1473), *facino* (no date or place) 'sad, afflicted, poor, miserable, unfortunate' < Arabic *ḥazīn* 'sad, unfortunate'.

9. East Judezmo II *safanória* 'carrot' versus Old Spanish (with metathesis and *f* loss) *acinorias* (1334), *çanahoria* (1492), Modern Spanish *zanahoria* [*θanaória*] (first attested in the 14th century), Portuguese *cenoura*, *cenoira* (loans from Castilian because of the lack of *f*?), Catalan *saf(r)anoria* < North African Arabic *°isfanāriyya*. Cf. also discussion in Neuvonen, *op. cit.*, p. 301–302. In Sofia East Judezmo II, the root has been replaced by *aúč* < Turkish *havuç*[65].

Theoretically we could assume that the retention of an Arabicized pronounciation norm in East Judezmo II was due to reinforcement by the Arabic pronunciation norms in Turkish where *x*, *ḥ*, *h* are generally rendered as *h*, but never as *f* (Turkish lacks *x*). Turkish influence, however, is unlikely, since (1) large segments of Judezmo-speaking Jews were monolingual for a very long time, (2) not all East Judezmo II dialects were equally exposed to Turkish influence, and (3) East Judezmo II has *x* in Arabic elements unknown to Ottoman Turkish, e. g. *alxá(d)* 'Sunday' < Spanish Arabic (?), North African Arabic *(yom) °alḥad*[66]. East Judezmo II, once removed from an Iberian Arabic or Yahudic superstratum, became quantitatively, but not qualitatively, de-Arabicized.

A comparison of the Arabic component in Judezmo I and II provides some limited evidence that Judezmo may have been undergoing Castilianization before 1492. Consider the two Arabic loans in table 6 below, where Judezmo II (but not Judezmo I) bears striking similarity to Castilian norms of integration.

[65] Coterritorial Bulgarian dialects do not seem to borrow the Turkish root for 'carrot', which raises the suspicion that East Judezmo II may be more Turkicized, or Turkicized in other ways, than coterritorial Balkan languages.

[66] This appears to be the only Arabic root in East Judezmo II not attested in any Spanish dialects. The form is not found in any Judezmo I text, but may be assumed to have existed, since it is unknown in Ottoman Turkish. The only other conceivable source for the East Judezmo II loan would be West Judezmo II, but channels of communication between the two Judezmo dialects have yet to be established. WAGNER's reference to Pedro de Alcalá with regard to *alxád* is incorrect (*Judenspanisch-Arabisches*, *ZRPh. 40* [1920], 548–549).

Table 6. Changing forms of Arabic elements in Judezmo

1. Judezmo I *ʾlbšʾrh* (= [*albišāra*]) 'good news' (Yehuda Halevi, early 12th century, originally from Tudela, Navarra, but lived subsequently in Andalusia and Toledo); East Judezmo II (Istanbul) *albrísiya*, Salonika *alvísya* '(recompense to bearer of) good news'[67], general West Judezmo II *beso/urá* versus Old Spanish *albricia* 'good news' (*Poema el Cid* 1140), Modern Spanish *albricias* 'reward for good news'; Valencian dialect *albišeres*, Leon dialect *alvišeras*, *alvišeres*, West Asturian dialect *albizoras*; Portuguese *alvíçaras*, *alvíçeras* (a form with *x* [*š*], *alvixaras*, is attested only in the 16th century) 'good news, reward for good news; hurrah!' The West Judezmo II form is clearly a borrowing from Hebrew *bəsōrāh*; Judezmo I reflects the Arabic etymon *bišāra* with the Arabic definite article. According to Corominas, the various Iberian forms suggest a dialectal Arabic *bišra*, *bušra*; cf. Spanish Arabic *bušāra* (Pedro de Alcalá 1505). The only example of *bišāra* is in the Jewish source cited above. Cf. also Turkish *beşâret* 'good news, pleasure caused by good news (learned); unseemly, ugly dress' (colloquial), which has clearly exerted no influence on East Judezmo II.

2. Judezmo I *ʾṭʾbwd* (= [*atabud*]) *(Coplas de Yoçef*, 15th century*)* (González Llubera, *op. cit.*, 1933, p. 428), East Judezmo II *tabut*[68] 'coffin, casket' versus Old Spanish *ataúd* (since the 13th century); Spanish Arabic *tébut* 'stern of a boat; secret sanctuary of a temple', *taibút* 'chest, coffer, safe' (Alcalá 1505); Murcia dialect *atahud* (1271), Aragon dialect *ataβút*[69], *tabut*, *tayut*, *tayud*[70]; Portuguese *ataúde* (13th century), Catalan *taüt*, Sicilian *tabbutu* < Arabic *tābūt*. The East Judezmo II form may have been reshaped by the Turkish Arabism *tâbût*.

Thus, while Iberian Jewish and most Christian speakers of Romance were equally exposed to an Arabic superstratum, especially in the southern half of the Peninsula, only the sound pattern of the Jewish speech—Judezmo—underwent permanent restructuring, by acquiring [*x*, *h*] solely in the Semitic component—some four or five hundred years before [*x*, *h*] were accepted in dialects of Castilian—in its Romance

[67] It is unclear whether the meaning of 'recompense to the bearer of good news' is attested in all Judezmo dialects and whether it was one of the meanings of Biblical Hebrew *bəsōrāh*. The passage from YEHUDA HALEVI is cited by STERN, *op. cit.*, p. 312.

[68] The word is cited as Turkish by S.I. CHÉRÉZLI, *Nwevo čiko diksionariyo žudeo-espanyol-franses*, Jerusalem 1898–99.

[69] The argument in ZAMORA VICENTE (*op.cit.*, p. 221) that the fricative in Aragonese *ataβút* is epenthetic in order to break an intolerable hiatus in unconvincing in view of the Arabic etymon.

[70] Cited in A. BADÍA MARGARIT, *Contribución al vocabulario aragonés moderno*, Zaragoza 1948.

component[71]. Christian Spanish either failed to respond to the potential interference of an Arabic superstratum, or did so only regionally—and in the case of Castilian, at best temporarily. It was the acceptance of non-native [*x*, *h*] which set the Arabic component apart from the native component in the Ibero-Romance speech of the Jews. In the speech of the Christians, Semitic loans underwent the same phonological development as the native Romance component. The reason for the relative lack of receptivity towards Arabic pronunciation norms in Castilian must be sought, in part, in the fact, that the area of Cantabrica in Old Castile was never occupied by the Muslims, so that Castilian—the dialect whose innovations were destined to spread from the north over most of the southwest, south and southeast of the Peninsula in varying degrees—thus developed relatively free of Arabic influence. Large numbers of Arabic-speaking or Arabicized Jews, on the other hand, were constantly moving from south to north—especially in the middle 12th century to escape the Almohades invasion of Andalusia. It is these southern Jews who became the primary carriers of the Arabicized norms of Romance speech to the rest of Romance-speaking Jews. The Mozarabic-speaking Christian immigrants from the south evidently failed to influence significantly the Romance speech of the Christians in the north or the pattern of integration of Arabic roots there—even though the major source of Arabisms in the north may well have been the southern Mozarabic speakers (cf. Alonso Llorach, *op. cit.*, 1951, p. 37, 40–41, and N 62 above)[72].

Acceptance of *x*, *h* by southern Jews and the continued maintenance of this norm in all of East Judezmo II (with few exceptions) argues against the claim made by supporters of model I that the Jews brought a strong northern non-Castilian component, together with Castilian, to the Western Balkans while a more homogeneous Castilian speech was transported to Turkey and Eastern Bulgaria. It is more reasonable to suppose that the type of Judezmo I which took form in the south of Spain (and was later restructured in Castile?) was transplanted more or less uniformly to all of the Balkans. Therefore, if there were any "mergers" in Judezmo, they should rather belong to the pre-1492 period, where they take the form of incorporation of a few scattered loans from Central Judezmo (preference for Ø) and North Judezmo *(f)* in South Judezmo *(h)*. There is so far no justification for speaking about "Castilian" and "non-Castilian" mergers as such in the development of East Judezmo II.

[71] Modern Castilian [*x*] (spelled *j*), apparently first attested in the 16th century, has a variety of origins: Latin TL, CL, GL clusters (e.g. *viejo* 'old' < VĔTŬLUS, *ojo* 'eye' < ŏCŬLUS, *teja* 'tile' < TĒGŬLA), Latin KS, PS, ŬLS (e.g. *mejilla* 'jaw' < MAXILLA, *caja* 'box' < CAPSA, *pujar* 'push' < PŪLSĀRE), Latin LI (e.g. *hijo* 'son' < FĪLIUM), Latin SSI (e.g. *rojo* 'red' < RŬSSEUS). It is unclear from Spanish historical phonological studies what the relative chronologies of these heterogeneous developments are. Cf. table 9 below.

[72] In demonstrating greater openness to Arabic than the Christians, the Iberian Jews resemble their Yiddish-speaking coreligionists of a later period in Eastern Europe who showed greater receptivity to Slavic linguistic influences than the speakers of coterritorial colonial German dialects.

Partly as a consequence of different dynamics in population movement and partly as a result of the preeminence of South Judezmo I norms throughout Jewish Spain, Judezmo I dialects failed to participate in the general lenition of *f* which characterizes most of the coterritorial Iberian dialects. It is the retention of Latin prevocalic *f* in Judezmo I and II dialects, more than any other feature, which supports our claim that Jews and Christians must have spoken distinct forms of Romance long before 1492. In Castilian, initial and most cases of medial *f* before a vowel *(> h)* > Ø. Preconsonantal *f* is retained as such, as well as prevocalic *f* following a consonant, e.g. Modern Spanish *hijo* 'son' < FĪLIUM versus *fuego* [*fwégo*] 'fire', *flor* 'flower', *alfiler* 'pin'. Exceptions like *fiesta* 'holiday' for expected **hiesta* are due to later borrowings from Latin (cf. also cognate *enhiesto* 'steep' with the expected native development).

The present-day East Judezmo II dialects offer a mixed picture of prevocalic *f*-retention. There are East Judezmo II dialects where (a) *f* is kept with a few exceptions (e.g. Bitolj, Sarajevo, Salonika); (b) *f* is dropped as a rule (e.g. Rhodes) and (c) *f* is now retained sporadically (e.g. Istanbul). In the framework of model I, where East Judezmo II dialects were characterized as Old Castilian, the partial or widespread presence of *f* in some East Judezmo II dialects would have meant (1) that when the Jews left Spain in 1492, the Castilian change of *f* was not yet completed in all regions[73], or (2) that Judezmo *f* in fact had also participated in the general Castilian change of *f (> h)* > Ø, but that the results were now blurred by the subsequent introduction of Portuguese and non-Castilian Spanish components with *f* during the development of the alleged new East Judezmo II koine in the 16th century[74]. But, as we have already seen, neither assumption can be maintained: (1) Castilian *f* had been lost in most of those areas where the bulk of the Jewish population resided long before 1492; (2) Judezmo I documents from Castilian-speaking areas reveal a consistent retention of *f*; (3) some Istanbul Judezmo texts, beginning with the early 18th century, show a progressive dropping of *f*, though there are differences in distribution among the early texts.

Some examples of changing norms in Istanbul East Judezmo II are given in table 7 below.

[73] This argument is found in L. LAMOUCHE, *Quelques mots sur le dialecte espagnol parlé par les Israélites de Salonique*, *RF 23* (1907), 979 and M.L. WAGNER, *op. cit.*, 1923, p. 243.

Most studies of East Judezmo II are imprecise about the distribution of *f* ~ Ø. The "typology" of Judezmo dialects suggested by M.A. LURIA, *Judeo-Spanish dialects in New York City*, in: *Todd Memorial Volumes. Philological Studies 2*, New York 1930, p. 7–16, is pointless since it is based on a single root *(f)avlár* 'speak'.

[74] Both the arguments of partial Castilianization of the Jews and multiple migrations to the Balkans are accepted by SALA, *op. cit.*, 1971, p. 133. Cf. also discussion in N 23 above. The distribution of *f* in West Judezmo II is ignored in the discussion below for lack of reliable data.

Table 7. Selective examples of changing Istanbul Judezmo norms[75].

1702	*(f)iža* 'daughter'	*afogados* 'strangled, choked'	*(f)ablar* 'speak'	*fazer* 'do'
1730	—	*afogarse* 'strangle, choke'	—	—
20th century	*iža*	*aoγarse*	*ablar*	*azer*

As a result of the growing vacillation in many dialects retaining *f*, speakers have begun to invest the *f* ~ Ø choice with new stylistic functions, e.g. in 20th century Bosnia and Salonika the minority Ø has become associated with learned pronunciation[76], while in Istanbul, *f*, now on the defensive, was the learned variant[77]. These facts are a reflection of a common process—i.e. the recalibration of the minority form as a learned variant[78]. In no East Judezmo II dialect is non-Romance *f* deleted, e. g. Hebrew *cāfōn* 'north', *sāfeq* 'doubt', *°afīlū* 'even' > East Judezmo II *safón*, *safék*, *afilú ke* 'even though, although'; cf. also *safanória* versus Spanish *zanahoria* in table 5.

If East Judezmo II dialects had indeed reflected the changes taking place in 15th century Castilian, we should expect some *x* reflexes of *f*—the second stage of development in many Castilian dialects, yet East Judezmo II dialects show only *f* or Ø. Whatever the nature of *f*-loss in East Judezmo II, this development must have been independent from and posterior to the corresponding loss in general Castilian[79]. Furthermore, there is no reason to believe that the lenition of *f* in all those East

[75] The examples of 1702 are taken from González Llubera, *Three Jewish Spanish ballads in MS British Museum, Add. 26967, MAe. 1* (1938), 15–28 and those of 1730 from C.M. Crews, *op. cit.*, 1960.

[76] Simon, *op. cit.*, p. 675–676 and K. Baruch, *El judeo-español de Bosnia, RFE 17* (1930), 132–133.

[77] J. Subak, *Zum Judenspanischen, ZRPh. 30* (1906), 149. Nowadays forms with *f* are considered rustic or pejorative.

[78] Bosnian Judezmo from the 18th century has hypercorrect (?) *alda* 'skirt' ~ modern-day Bosnian *fálda* (Armistead and Silverman, *op. cit.*). Today, all dialects, including the Bosnian, have *f* in this root. Examples of *f* in historically unjustified positions do not exist.

[79] In regard to *f*, Judezmo resembles the Mozarabic dialect—and the current Navarro-Aragonese and Leonese dialects which in part still retain prevocalic *f*. Mozarabic usually retains *f* but there are indications of *h* as well, e.g. *hyºl* ~ *fyºly* 'gall, bile' < Latin fel(lis) ~ Modern Castilian *hiel* (F.J. Simonet, *Glosario de voces ibéricas y latinas usadas entre los mozárabes*, Madrid 1888, p. 267). Unfortunately, we are unable to define the geographical parameters of the lenition in Mozarabic sources. In Spanish dialects as well, the spread of *θ* into *f* areas is uneven and does not always proceed according to phonetic environments. Research in East Judezmo II dialectology would enable us to specify the chronology and geography of *f*-loss with greater precision for each Judezmo dialect; nevertheless, there are serious methodological problems. Many of the pre-World War II

Judezmo II dialects which have such a rule reflects a single chronological development. On the contrary, because the environments in which *f* is lost seem to be diverse, and not easily describable in terms of phonetic rules, we are inclined to posit independent processes of lenition for the East Judezmo II dialects in the post-1492 period, as well as the diffusion of *f*-loss in many dialects on a lexical basis. All dialects retain *f* before and after a consonant, e.g. Bucharest *fružálda*, Bucharest, Bulgarian *frižálda* 'cake' ~ Old Spanish *hojalde* (no Spanish forms are attested with *hr-* or *fr-*); *alfinét(e)*, *alfinéti* 'pin'; all dialects retain *f* in the environment *a-a*, e.g. *safanória* 'carrot'; in all dialects the word for 'beautiful' is found without *f*, e.g. *ermózo*—except in proverbs, as a girl's name and as an exclamation, e.g. Bitolj *firmózu* 'fine, beautiful'! Table 8 gives some indication of *f*-loss in five areas.

Table 8. The fate of initial prevocalic *f* in five East Judezmo II dialects.

initial prevocalic environment	Bosnia	Salonika	Rhodes	Istanbul	Bucharest
i	*fížu* 'son'	*(f)ížo*	*ížu*	*ížo*[80]; *filo* 'thread'	*ížu*
e	*firída* 'injury'	*ferída*	*irmózu* 'beautiful'	*(f)erída*	*ferída*
a	*ásta* 'until'	*(f)azér* 'do'	*ártu* 'satiated'	*azér*	*ártu*
o	*fóža* 'leaf'	*fóya*; *afoγár* 'drown'	*ugár*	*aoγárse*	*óža*; *augárse*
u	*furmígja* 'ant'	*fuláno* 'so-and-so'	*úmu* 'smoke'	*fuláno*	*fúmu*

centers were relatively recent in origin, while some of the earliest centers founded in the 16th century were either never canvassed in the published field work (e.g. Vidin and Nikopol, Bulgaria) or died out long ago (e.g. Temeşvar, Rumania). On the relative recency of the Macedonian Judezmo settlements, cf. M.L. WAGNER, *Los dialectos judeoespañoles de Karaferia, Kastoria y Brusa*, in: *Homenaje ofrecido a Menéndez Pidal*, Madrid 1925, vol. 2, p. 194; LURIA, *op. cit.*, 1930, p. 3. In some instances, we have knowledge of earlier norms being superseded, e. g. Dubrovnik (Ragusa), Croatia (cf. J. SUBAK, *Judenspanisches aus Saloniki mit einem Anhange: Judenspanisches aus Ragusa*, Triest 1906). Finally, the oldest Judezmo settlements with an uninterrupted history have frequently been exposed to repeated settlement so that the historical continuity of the local dialect is difficult to reconstruct. For example, the Judezmo settlement in Kastoria, Greece was founded in 1493, but was resettled by Jews from Ianina (then under Albanian control) in 1820 (WAGNER, *op. cit.*, 1925, p. 198–199).

[80] The fate of medial *f* before *i* in Istanbul East Judezmo II is different, e.g. *aperfižár*, *profižár* alongside *aižár* 'adopt a child' and *ížo* 'son'. Unless there was interference from other dialects, we would suppose that *aižár* was a secondary development from *ížo* after the loss of *f*.

The widespread argument voiced by supporters of model I that words in Judezmo with *f* corresponding to the absence of *f* in Spanish are of Portuguese or Spanish non-Castilian origin is totally unjustified. Such an assumption could only arise in a model which identifies Judezmo with Old Castilian. An example like Judezmo *fadár* 'destiny, name a child at birth', Bitolj *fadárju* 'fate, luck' (cf. Spanish *hado*, Portuguese *fado* < Latin FATUM)—with *f* in all dialects—characterized as a "Portuguese" component by Luria (*op. cit.*, 1930, p. 222) and Wagner (*op. cit.*, 1930, p. 76, N 3), should only be considered as such in those dialects where *f* is consistently dropped before *a* (e.g. Turkish or Eastern Bulgarian dialects). But then it would be necessary to show that the change of *f* > Ø took place in the Judezmo I or early Judezmo II periods before the introduction of Portuguese loans. But even if all these conditions could possibly be met, we could still theoretically assume that *fadár* etc. in a basically *f*-less dialect was simply a borrowing from an East Judezmo II dialect where *f* was consistently preserved. To ascertain the existence of a merger of Castilian and Portuguese components in East Judezmo II, we must compare the East Judezmo II dialects internally among themselves, and externally with Vulgar Latin—rather than with Old Castilian alone.

Table 9 summarizes the inventory and distribution of *f* and *h* ([*h*, *x*]) in Judezmo I–II and Castilian. Each dialect is taken as an ideal type, though, in reality, the dialects are often mixed in character. The table also ignores the fate of *f* before [*wé*] which dialectally in both Judezmo and Spanish may become *x*. A broken arrow denotes borrowings from another dialect; () indicates a marginal source for the segment in question or a segment introduced through borrowing from another dialect. In all dialects f_1 is of Romance and Semitic origin while x_2 ([*h*, *x*]) is only of Semitic origin — < *h*, *ḥ*, *x*. We ignore *k* < Hebrew *x* (e.g. Salonika East Judezmo II *zakú(t)* 'merit').

In the table of examples on p. 192, the disparate chronologies of Spanish and Judezmo *f*- loss are represented by different subscripts for Ø.

Table 9. Inventory and distribution of *f* and *h* in Ibero-Romance.

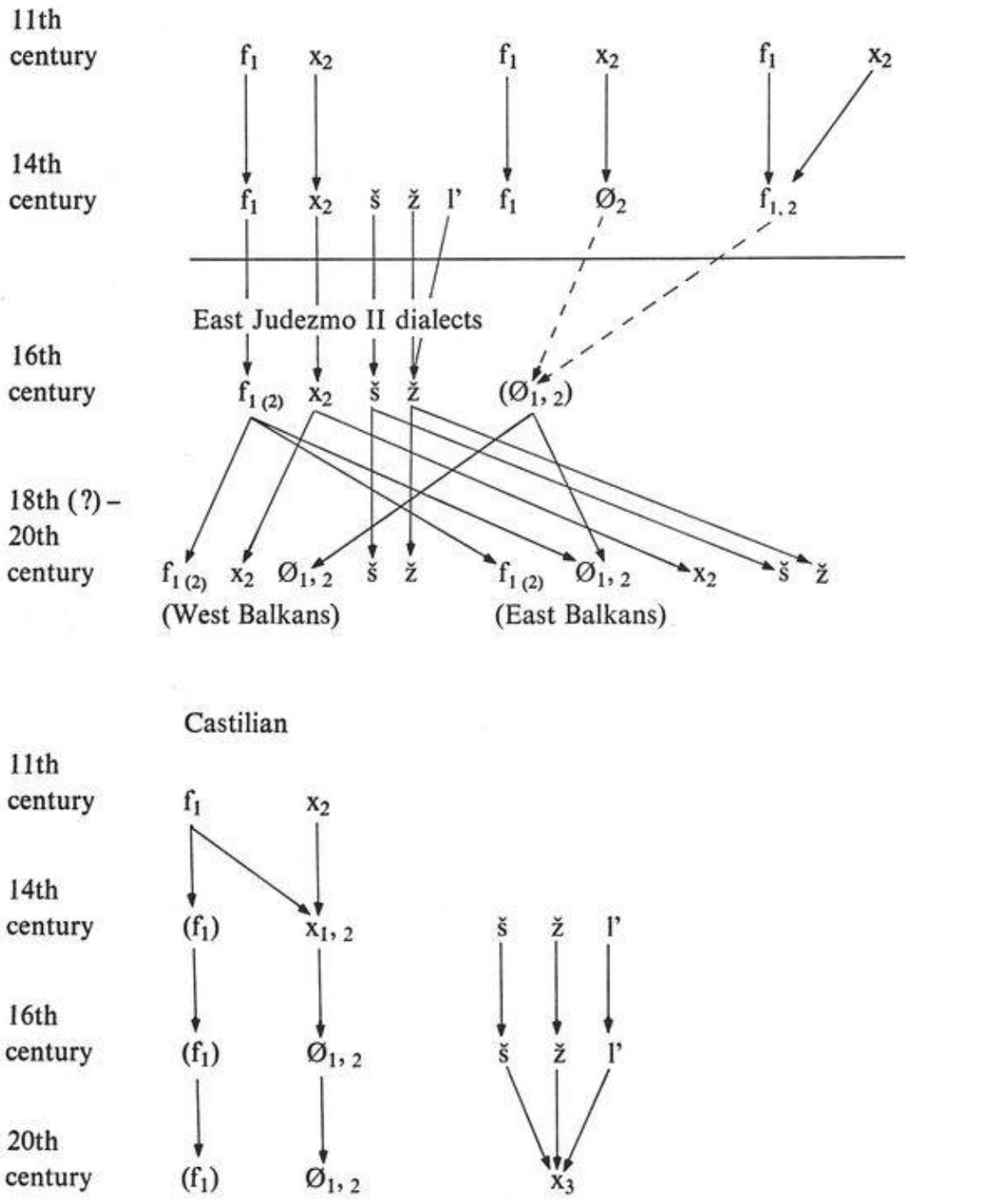


Table of examples:

East Judezmo II: *fwégo* 'fire', *flóšo* 'lax, weak' *(f)ížo* 'son', *safanória* 'carrot', *fóro* 'free', *falagár* 'cajole', *almáda* 'pillow', *aspán* 'insolent person', *alxaváka* 'basil', *agúža* 'needle', *abášo* 'under, below'.

Spanish: *fuego* 'fire', *flojo* 'lax, weak', *zanahoria* 'carrot', *ahorrar* 'save, economize', *halagar* 'cajole', *hijo* 'son', *almohada* 'pillow', *albahaca* 'basil', *aguja* 'needle', *abajo* 'under, below', *ojalá* 'God grant'.

East Judezmo II				Castilian Spanish		
		West Balkans	East Balkans			
Romance	f_1	*fwégo*	*fwégo*	Romance	f_1	fuego
		flóšo	*flóšo*			flojo
		fížo	—			—
Semitic		*safanória*	*safanória*	*Semitic		—
Semitic	f_2	*fóro*	*fóro*	*Semitic	f_2	—
		falagár	*falagár*			
*Romance	$Ø_1$	—	—	Romance	$Ø_1$	hijo
*Semitic		—	—	Semitic		zanahoria
Semitic	$Ø_2$	*almáda*	*almáda*	Semitic	$Ø_2$	almohada
		aspán	*aspán*			albahaca
						ahorrar
						halagar
Romance	$Ø_3$	—	*ížo*	*Romance	$Ø_3$	—
Semitic	x_2	*alxaváka*	*alxaváka*	*Semitic	x_2	—
*Romance	x_3	—	—	Romance	x_3	aguja (< ž)
						abajo (< š)
						hijo (< l')
*Semitic		—	—	Semitic		ojalá (< š)
Romance	ž	*agúža*	*agúža*	*Romance	ž	—
		(f)ížo	*ížo* (< l')			
Romance	š	*abášo*	*abášo*	*Romance	š	—

The last factor contributing to the development of a distinct Judezmo I is the existence of independent variants of Arabic in use among the Jews, Christians and Muslims[81]. It is as yet unclear whether the Jews already spoke a distinct form of Arabic in North Africa or whether Yahudic (Blau's "Judeo-Arabic") developed in Spain sometime after the 8th century. The assumption that Spanish Yahudic had a non-Iberian antecedent, and that this language may have been the immediate cognate of other forms of Yahudic still spoken elsewhere in the Arabic-speaking world—e.g. in Egypt, Iraq and various parts of North Africa—offers a potential parallel to the Judeo-Romance dialects[82]. There is some reason to think that the Arabic component in Judezmo was, from the very start, not only distinct from that in Christian dialects of Ibero-Romance, but also from Yahudic as well, as innovations from the latter failed to spread to Judezmo—e.g. after the 13–14th centuries, when South Judezmo I speakers had moved en masse to the north leaving pockets of Yahudic speakers relatively isolated in Muslim Granada. For example, the Sabbath food prepared in advance on Friday because of the religious prohibition to cook on the Sabbath is called *adefina, adafina* in Judezmo I and West Judezmo II from Arabic-Yahudic *d-f-n* 'hide, bury' with the definite article *ʾad-*[83]. The model for this word is probably the Hebrew phrase *ṭāman ʾet haxammīn* literally 'hide (i.e. cook) the Sabbath food'[84]. The present-day Moroccan Yahudic term is *sxina* from Arabic-Yahudic *s-x-n* 'heat, warm'. Both roots are attested in Spanish, e.g. *adefina, adafina* (first noted in 14th century texts), Portuguese *adafina* 'secret, buried treasure'—which preserves the original Arabic meaning; Old Spanish *çahinas* (1492) 'kind of thin porridge', Modern Castilian *zahina* 'sorghum'. The latter term is known in Andalusia in the meaning of 'porridge made from flour'[85]. The discrepancy in Arabic vocabulary between Yahudic and Judezmo suggests independent utilization of common Arabic resources.

In conclusion, our investigations have led us to reject a number of widespread assumptions held about the genesis of Judezmo and to formulate new questions for future research. Judezmo I was not wholly identical to the emerging Castilian norms of the 12–15th centuries due to the differential impact of Arabic (Yahudic) and Hebrew-Aramaic and to the selective acceptance of Ibero-Romance elements peculiar

[81] For details, cf. BLAU, *op. cit.* Similarly, the Arabic component in Mozarabic is not wholly identical with that of Castilian (VIDOS, *op. cit.*, p. 305ss.). Cf. also the Jewish habit of using Arabic roots in the meaning of Hebrew cognates (BLONDHEIM, *op. cit.*, 1925, p. 145).

[82] The topic of comparative Yahudic dialectology has yet to be seriously explored. BLAU posits four types of Yahudic (*op. cit.*, p. 54).

[83] The term is presently unknown in East Judezmo II dialects, though M.L. WAGNER suggests it was once attested there (*Zum Judenspanischen von Marokko, VKR 4* [1931], 240).

[84] For the suggestion that the Hebrew-Aramaic *xammīn* 'hot (food)' is the model for this food term in many Jewish languages, see our *The term "Sabbath food": a challenge for comparative Jewish interlinguistics*, forthcoming in *Journal of the American Oriental Society*.

[85] Cf. W. MARÇAIS, *Textes arabes de Tanger*, Paris 1911, p. 149, N 3; A.A. VENCESLADA. *Vocabulario andaluz*, Madrid 1951, p. 658.

to the Jewish speakers. Hence, model I which stressed the relative purity of descent of Judezmo from Old Castilian had to be replaced by model II where Judeo-Ibero-Romance dialects were derived from a very complex fusion of native Iberian and foreign Semitic elements. In the emigration, the realization on the part of Judezmo speakers that their speech differed from the emerging Castilian standard may, in fact, have opened the way for increased receptivity towards new foreign influences in East Judezmo II, i.e., may have stimulated fusion tendencies—thereby leading to still further differentiation from Castilian. A number of new research topics now assume prominence for the first time: (1) Were there a number of Ibero-Romance dialects used by the Jews before 1492? If so, were such dialects already superseded in Spain by proto-East Judezmo or were they also transplanted to the Balkans where they were subsequently given up? (2) What was the relationship of the early Judezmo I dialects to Castilian and other Ibero-Romance dialects? A specific question is whether native Judeo-Iberian dialectal traits (but not necessarily the Arabic component shared with Spanish dialects) were leveled out by relexification to Castilian norms before 1492? (3) Did a Judezmo I koine ever develop, and in which territories? Did such a koine subsequently become the basis of East Judezmo II? (4) When was Yahudic replaced in Spain by Judeo-Ibero-Romance—and specifically by what dialects of the latter?

The student of other Jewish languages, especially Yiddish, will surely recognize in the Judezmo experience not only many familiar research problems but also similar methodological topics[86]. Consider, for example, the problem of direct descent versus a fusional history, and usefulness of exploiting the Hebrew-Aramaic component in Jewish languages as a means of reconstructing dialect groupings and early pronunciation norms. Moreover, Jewish languages apparently share many variables in their external histories, which makes a comparative study particularly inviting: (1) Jewish languages often develop in a bilingual milieu (e.g. Judezmo in a Yahudic and possibly Yevanic milieu, Yiddish on a Judeo-Romance substratum)[87]; (2) Jewish languages are always potentially open to enrichment from a Hebrew-Aramaic component —though they differ widely in the actual utilization of the common Semitic resources; (3) Jewish languages often develop in a native and foreign (or colonial) setting (e.g.

[86] On the need for an internal comparison of Jewish languages, see BIRNBOYM, *op. cit.*, p. 195ss; SPITZER, *op. cit.*, 1944, p. 183; WEINREICH, *op. cit.*, 1955–56, p. 404 and especially WEINREICH, *op. cit.*, 1973, vol. 1.

[87] A significant difference between Yiddish and Judezmo is the depth of the linguistic tradition, i.e. while speakers of Judezmo may have been heirs to a Judeo-Vulgar Latin, the Jewish emigrants to the Rhineland in the 9th century were probably not previously conversant in any Germanic language. Moreover, the nature of the fusion experience in Judezmo I and early Yiddish probably differed in that the former underwent Arabicization at the same time that Arabic (Yahudic) continued to be spoken by large numbers of Jews; on the other hand, the Yiddish contact with Judeo-Romance in the Rhineland was probably briefer.

transplanted Judezmo in the Balkans, transplanted Yiddish in Eastern Europe)[88]; (4) in their transplanted variants, Jewish languages have acquired additional components from the languages of other Jewish communities which they enveloped (e.g. East Judezmo submerged Yiddish, Hungarian, Yevanic, Shuadit and Italkic spoken by Jewish communities in the Balkans, while Yiddish was adopted extensively by the resident Slavic-speaking Jews in Eastern Europe); (5) Jewish languages were often broadly receptive to interference from contiguous and coterritorial languages of the non-Jewish population and tended to become extreme fusion languages (e.g. Eastern European Yiddish was significantly restructured through its contact with Slavic as was Judezmo through its contact with Turkish in the east and North African Arabic in the west).

As our knowledge of the developmental stages of different Jewish languages deepens, comparative Jewish interlinguistics may come into its own as an independent field of study. This is the exciting challenge for the future.

Tel-Aviv University *Paul Wexler*

[88] While Judezmo had only a colonial period after 1492, Yiddish has always maintained both an indigenous (Western) and colonial (Eastern) tradition.