

The majority of Jewish languages – especially the more ‘exotic’ ones – have scarcely been studied. Two of them, however, *have* received considerable scholarly scrutiny: Yiddish (a fusion of Germanic, Hebrew and Aramaic, Slavic and Romance elements), the traditional language of Ashkenazic Jewry, and Judezmo (today often called ‘Ladino’ or ‘Judeo-Spanish’), a traditional language of Eastern Sephardic Jewry.

For those unfamiliar with the latter language and its history: Judezmo was born in medieval Spain as a fusion of Hispanic, Hebrew and Aramaic, Jewish Arabic and Romaniot or Jewish Greek elements and was retained in the lands of the Ottoman Empire and its successor states, as well as in parts of North Africa (where it was called *xaketiya*), by the Jews banished from Spain in 1492. In their new homes in the East, the Sephardim gradually absorbed linguistic elements from their non-Jewish neighbors: the Turks, Greeks and, to a lesser extent, Bulgarians, Serbs, Croats, Austrians, Rumanians and Armenians in the Ottoman lands, and the Arabs – and also Jewish Arabic speakers – in North Africa. In the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries, Judezmo was also heavily influenced by French and Italian; with immigration to the United States and Israel in the twentieth century, English and Israeli Hebrew also made, and continue to make, their marks on the language. According to Ruppin (1931), there were some 350,000 native speakers of Judezmo in 1900 and 1925. Judezmo speakers are believed to number around 350,000 at the present time, too (*cf.* Renard, 1966: 105); however, all of them speak at least one other language as well. The major Judezmo speech centers today are located in Israel, Turkey, the United States, and France.

It is to the credit of several major figures in Yiddish studies that – despite their unflinching scholarly dedication to the language of their own Jewish subculture group – their wide-ranging curiosity about and, indeed, fascination by the general nature, role and characteristic features which they perceived to be shared by the traditional languages of all Jewish subcultures moved them to undertake serious investigations of other Jewish languages as well.

But at least of equal importance, the unique insights they gained from extensive research into Yiddish and their admirably extroverted approach to Jewish cultural ‘unity within diversity’ ultimately led them to lay the groundwork for a new field of inquiry: *Jewish interlinguistics*, the comparative study of Jewish languages. Yiddishists such as Heinrich Loewe (1911), Ber Borochov (1913), Matthias Mieses (1915), Salomon A. Birnbaum (1937, 1944, 1951), Max Weinreich (1954, 1956, 1973), and Nathan Süsskind (1965) made invaluable preliminary observations in this area, delineated the major principles, methods and goals of the field and urged its further exploration.

However, none – not even Weinreich, whose chapter ‘[Yiddish Within the Framework of Jewish Languages]’ in his monumental *Geshikhte fun der yidisher shprakh* (1973) is the most significant statement on Jewish inter-

linguistics published thus far – ever undertook a systematic, comprehensive comparative study of the linguistic features common to any two or more Jewish languages; not even the two most easily accessible and well-known ones, Yiddish and Judezmo. This may at least partially be explained by the fact that scholars in the field of Judezmo have failed to provide adequate descriptions and analysis of those features of Judezmo which have directly comparable analogues in Yiddish (*cf.* Bunis, 1975a).

The project in which I am currently engaged is, therefore, rather novel: a comparative linguistic analysis of Judezmo and Yiddish. The study first endeavors to fill the major lacunae in Judezmo linguistics, from the standpoint of Jewish interlinguistics. Toward that end, it will offer a treatment of four crucial problems: (1) the language’s Hebrew and Aramaic component – its phonological, grammatical, lexical and semantic integration within the total linguistic system of Judezmo (*cf.* Bunis, forthcoming); (2) *ladino*, the special calque language of literary and oral translation of sacred and liturgical Hebrew or Aramaic texts – its linguistic features and, particularly, its function in the Judezmo speech community and impact on spoken and non-translation written varieties of the language;¹ (3) the names used by native speakers for Judezmo;² and (4) the language’s traditional Jewish-letter writing system and the manner in which Judezmo speakers have coped with the problem of transcribing an essentially Romance-stock language in a Semitic-origin alphabet (*cf.* Bunis, 1974; 1975b).

Then, as a contribution to Jewish interlinguistics, I will compare, directly and systematically, the previously mentioned aspects of Judezmo with their analogues in Yiddish. Finally, I will discuss the major features differentiating the two languages.

Although the project itself is unique, it nevertheless follows quite logically from earlier Jewish language research; the theoretical framework underlying it derives essentially from that established for Yiddish linguistics by scholars such as those recalled above.³

2. Sources of the Present Analysis

In my own project, I am attempting to synthesize the major contributions of my predecessors and also to reveal some fresh insights and a great deal of new data I have acquired from a close analysis of Judezmo and Yiddish and from work with native Judezmo speakers and previously neglected Judezmo printed sources. More specifically, the scope of my analysis has been expanded considerably by the inclusion of data culled from much ignored Judezmo texts published in the traditional Jewish alphabet.

In order to keep the data within manageable proportions, I have restricted

my inquiry – for the time being, at least – to Modern Eastern (i.e., non-North African) Judezmo, comparing it with Modern Yiddish. According to my own interpretation of the language and its key historical periods, Modern Judezmo extends from the early or middle part of the nineteenth century (at which time a secular Judezmo press begins to flourish) to the present. In addition to utilizing the existing Judezmo glossaries and the texts published in scholarly journals by linguists – texts which were recited by native speakers mostly for non-native listeners/collectors/analysts, with the speaker knowing full well that the listener was not a member of his or her speech community, and perhaps altering his or her everyday speech with that fact in mind – I have augmented my corpus by including representatives of two important types of texts written *by* native speakers *for* native speakers: namely, Modern Judezmo folk and humor periodicals and rabbinical works.

Viewed with an eye both to a Judezmo-Yiddish comparative analysis, and simply in terms of my desire to peel back some of the linguistic layers of present-day Judezmo to reveal the folk language of a generation or two or three ago, the texts I examined which yielded the most and the choicest fruit were: *Séfer daméseq eliézer* (volume one), a simplified code of Jewish law for the Sephardic layman published in Belgrade in 1862 by Rabbi Eliezer ben Šem Tov Papo of Sarajevo; *Séfer vehoxiáx avrahám*, a series of moralistic lectures published in Thessaloniki around 1853 and again in Izmir in 1862 and 1877 by Rabbi Avraham ben Háyym Palači of Izmir; the weekly satirical folk periodical *El Djougueton*, edited by Elia Rafael Karmona and published in Constantinople from 1909 to around 1932; the sardonically humorous weekly *El Kirbatch*, published in Thessaloniki from 1910 to around 1913 under the editorship of Moise Lévy; and *El Messerrett*, an important literary and political periodical which enjoyed wide popularity among the Jewish masses in Izmir, where it was published from 1897 to around 1923 under the direction of Alexandre Benghiatt, a prolific writer, poet and translator, who said of this paper '*El Messerrett* is . . . meant to be read by those who do not know any language but Judezmo'.⁴

I also perused about a dozen additional Modern Judezmo rabbinical texts and twenty or so other Judezmo books and periodicals of a non-religious nature. All of these proved to contain rich pockets of new information on the traditional folk Judezmo once employed by earlier generations of speakers and now largely fallen into disfavor. Often, I found the texts to be especially wealthy in Hebrew and Aramaic derivatives, which lend themselves well to comparison with Yiddish data.

Previously published lists or studies of the Hebraisms in Eastern Judezmo – e.g., those by Bernfeld (1925), Rosanes (1930), Molho (1948), Crews (1955, 1962), Moissis (1958), Marcus (1965), Malachi (1967), Moskona (1971), and the Hebraisms in Nehama's recent (1977) Judezmo-French dictionary,

published posthumously – were all limited to several hundred items at most. However, I have already managed to collect over 3,000 items, and to that figure must be added an important number of fusion formations, in which morphemes of Hebrew-Aramaic and non-Hebrew-Aramaic origins are combined in a single lexical item. In comparative terms, it should be noted nonetheless that the Yiddish lexicon contains more than twice the number of Hebraisms presently known in Judezmo; probably closer to three times that amount. And Yiddish fusion formations far outnumber those in Judezmo.

I would like to devote the rest of this paper to a partial and experimental analysis of two specific problems in the comparative study of Judezmo and Yiddish: some names of the languages and certain problems of the lexicon and component structure. It should be kept in mind that the analyses which follow are still tentative.

3. Some Names of Jewish Languages

In studying the assortment of names used by speakers of Judezmo and Yiddish to denote their native languages, one cannot help but notice that one of the language-name categories which they – as well as the speakers of five other Jewish languages – share is the 'self-naming' one. That is, they all possess a language name which derives from the name speakers use to refer to themselves, either 'Jewish' or 'Hebrew', so that the languages are called 'Jewish (language)' or 'Hebrew (language)'. In Yiddish this category is filled by the name *yidish* or *idish* and its other variants; in Judezmo, by the name *judézmo* (which also functions in the language as a substantive signifying 'Judaism', 'proper religious observance', 'Sephardic cursive script', and other concepts) and by the less common names *jidyó* or *judyó* and their variants. Since I have spoken about the names *judézmo* and *jidyó* elsewhere (Bunis, 1978), I will not dwell on them here, except to say that *judézmo* appears textually as early as 1742/1743 in the sense of 'Jewish language' and was the name preferred by Alexandre Benghiatt, editor of the Izmir Judezmo weekly *El Messerrett* (see sec. 2 above).⁵

Incidentally, some of the ways in which Benghiatt handles the name *judézmo* in his writings are highly reminiscent of Yiddish usage. For example, after prefacing a newspaper piece with a Biblical quotation in Hebrew, he says that his readers will probably ask: 'What's this? Has Benghiatt become a *xaxám*, a 'scholar' or 'rabbi'? Previously he had written in ordinary *kabá judézmo*, i.e. in 'common, coarse Judezmo' or 'Jewish'. And now in Biblical verse? (cf. *El Messerrett* 23.54 [Izmir, 1919], 1). *Kabá judézmo* – the Yiddish analogue *prost yidish* quickly comes to mind. In the Judezmo and Yiddish expressions, the adjectives – pejorative and yet somehow almost affectionate

when used to describe the languages – both originate in the coterritorial non-Jewish languages, Turkish and Polish, respectively.

Or consider Bendiatt's humorous attempt to tell his readers about a certain barber: 'Avram Sarano', he writes, 'is a *perukéro*, that is to say a *barbéro* – or simply a *berbér*, as we say "*en nwestro lašon de žudézmo*" – in our Jewish/Judezmo language' (cf. *El Messerrett* 23.62 [Izmir, 1919], 7). First, the high-flown terms of French and/or Italian derivation, then the plain 'Jewish' equivalent (actually of Turkish origin). How similar Bendiatt's phraseology is to the Yiddish expression *oyf undzer yidish lošn*.

As I have already mentioned, the existence of 'self-naming' language names in other Jewish languages is also known. In Biblical Hebrew we find *yehudit*. In Mishnaic Hebrew, *ivrit*. I am informed by Ms. Haideh Sahim, formerly of Teheran, that among Persian Jews, *ebri* – literally meaning 'Hebrew' – is used to denote the so-called 'Judeo-Persian' vernacular; however, in contexts where the listener might misinterpret it to mean 'Hebrew' proper, it may be qualified by saying *ebrie hamadán*, literally 'Hebrew [of the Iranian city of] Hamadan'. (According to one of Max Weinreich's (1973: sec. 20.1) informants from Iran, the name *jidí* or *judí* is also known, but Ms. Sahim has told me that that name is extremely pejorative and would more likely figure in non-Jewish Persian speech.)

For Modern Targumic, or 'Jewish Neo-Aramaic', the native name *lišna yehudia* has been reported (Ben-Yaakov, 1961: 21–22). In a satirical play by a non-Jewish author, speakers of so-called 'Judeo-Comtadine' are said to call their language *šudi(t)*, apparently a reflex of Hebrew *yehudit* (Szajkowski, 1948: 3–6). And finally, the name *judío* occurs in a text in so-called 'Judeo-Italian' (Weinreich, 1973: 114).

Of the language names I have discussed, two occur in Jewish languages spoken in regions where the languages of Jews and coterritorial non-Jews do not belong to the same immediate language families, namely, *žudézmo* (or *židyó*) on Balkan language territory in the former Ottoman Empire (except for *žudézmo* in Rumania, where the autochthonous non-Jews also speak an essentially Romance stock language), and *yidish* on Slavic territory in Eastern Europe. (Note that Western Yiddish as spoken in the German speech regions of Western Europe is called *yidish taytsh* or variants thereof, signifying 'Jewish- or Judeo-German' and not simply 'Jewish'.) It is relatively easy to understand how the everyday languages spoken by Jewish communities in linguistically heterogeneous areas such as the Ottoman Empire and the northern tier of Eastern Europe came to be intimately associated – in the minds of their native speakers as well as among coterritorial non-Jewish populations – with the Jewish communities themselves, and thus to be called 'Jewish' or 'Hebrew' by Jew and Gentile alike (cf. Turkish *yahudice* 'Jewish language; Judezmo; Hebrew', Polish *język żydowski* 'Jewish language; Yiddish').

Interestingly, however, the names *yehudit*, *ebri*, *lišna yehudia*, *šudi(t)*, and *judío* are – or were – current in areas in which Jews and coterritorial non-Jews speak – or spoke – closely related languages. These Jewish-language names clearly demonstrate that, despite the similarities existing between the Jewish and coterritorial non-Jewish varieties of Canaanite, Persian, Neo-Aramaic, Provençal and Italian, some Jewish speakers, at least, recognized enough of a divergence to warrant calling their own varieties 'Jewish', in contrast to coterritorial non-Jewish varieties.

4. Component Structure and Problems of the Lexicon

I would like to move now from language names to another promising area of Jewish interlinguistic research: component structure and problems of the lexicon.

Max Weinreich observed that all Jewish languages, with the exception of the earliest ones, Hebrew and Targumic (or 'Jewish Aramaic'), are the results of the fusion of at least three components. The first, consisting of Hebrew and Aramaic elements, is the oldest component and one which, according to Weinreich, lends a certain stability to the language. (As an expedient, I will refer to this component by the abbreviated form 'Hebrew-Aramaic'.)

The second component is the prelanguage (with its Hebrew-Aramaic component), which tends to dwindle with the evolution of the language but attests to the gradual nature of language shift. The third is the variety – or, as Weinreich called it, the 'determinant' – of the non-Jewish language which was coterritorial with the nascent Jewish language. As a rule, it is from this 'determinant' that the major phonological and grammatical features, as well as the highest percentage of lexical items in any given Jewish language, derive. The third component might, therefore, be called the 'major determinant', for lack of a better name.

In those instances where speakers of a Jewish language emigrate from the land of its origin, the language may acquire a fourth, and possibly additional, components, through interaction with new coterritorial groups. Modern Jewish languages also have what might be termed an 'international component'. Consider now the components of Yiddish and Judezmo:

The first is, of course, Hebrew-Aramaic. The prelanguage of Yiddish is Laaz or, more specifically, medieval Italkic Laaz or 'Judeo-Italian' and Tsarfatic Laaz or 'Judeo-French', reminding us of the presumed Italian and French origins of the earliest Yiddish speakers. The prelanguages of Judezmo would appear to be medieval Romanian or 'Judeo-Greek' and medieval Jewish Arabic. (There is some evidence for both; I will speak more about this later on. Also, the precise configurations might have varied from community to community

in Spain.) Diverse regional and social-class varieties of medieval German and medieval Spanish made up the major determinants of early Yiddish and early Judezmo, respectively. With the immigration of Yiddish speakers to northern Europe beginning around the thirteenth century, Yiddish gained a fourth component, Slavic – particularly Czech and, more importantly, Polish. Similarly, immigration to the Ottoman Empire and North Africa at the end of the fifteenth century introduced a fourth major component in each of the two principal regional varieties of Judezmo: a Balkan, especially Turkish and, to a lesser extent, Greek component in the Ottoman Empire, and a North African ‘Judeo-Arabic’ and/or Arabic component in Morocco, Tunisia and the other Judezmo – or *xaketiya* – speech centers of North Africa. In modern times, international elements entered Yiddish, essentially through Russian and German, and Judezmo, through French and Italian. Considering the superabundance of French and Italian elements in Modern Judezmo, one might validly speak of French and Italian components in that language.

Let us now take a closer look at the first two components of Judezmo and Yiddish and examine some sample problems in their comparative study. For lack of space, I will limit the present discussion to nouns and their derivatives, essentially, and will deal solely with the problems of *phonological form, occurrence, semantic reference, synonymy* and *grammatical integration* in my treatment of the Hebrew-Aramaic components.⁶

4.1. Hebrew-Aramaic Components

4.1.1. *Phonological Form* Hebraisms in both Yiddish and Judezmo tend to undergo some of the same phonological processes. For instance, the front vowels *e* and *i* in both languages may lower to *a* in the environment of the sounds *x* and *r*; thus compare Heb. *yexezkél* ‘Ezekiel’ with Jud. *xaskél* and Yid. *khaskl/khatskl* (and note that the Judezmo and Yiddish forms both display apheresis of the initial segment *ye-*), or compare Heb. *biryón* ‘terrorist’ with Jud. *baryón* ‘wild person’, and Heb. *xerpá* ‘disgrace’ with Yid. *kharpé*. In both languages a word-final nasal consonant may cause the nasalization of a preceding vowel, and subsequently the consonant itself may be dropped; cf. the Heb. name *šimón* ‘Simon’ with the Jud. variant *šimō̄* and the (regional) Yid. variant *šimō̄*. Voiceless consonants in Yiddish and Judezmo may acquire voice, through anticipatory assimilation, when preceding a voiced consonant; contrast Heb. *xesbón* ‘account’ with Yid. *khezħbm*, Jud. *xazħbón*. Two similar or identical syllables in direct sequence may reduce to a single realization; cf. Ashkenazic Whole (or textual reading pronunciation) Hebrew *avrohóm* ‘Abraham’ with Yid. *avróm*, and Judezmo speakers’ Whole Hebrew *avraám* with Jud. *avrám*. Phonological developments such as these are not restricted

to Judezmo and Yiddish, of course; indeed, they are phonological universals, known in all languages. In calling attention to the examples just given, my intention is merely to demonstrate that, as is true of elements belonging to each of the other linguistic components of Judezmo and Yiddish, Hebrew and Aramaic derivatives are fully integrated elements in those languages and, as such, are subject to all of the phonological rules and processes which operate in them.

4.1.2. *Occurrence* The problem of the actual occurrence of specific items of Hebrew-Aramaic origin in the two languages, and the particular regional, social-class and stylistic varieties of a given historical period in which they function, is an especially crucial one. The basic variables are: the presence vs. absence of reflexes – let’s call them x_1 and x_2 – of some Hebrew-Aramaic etymon – call it x – in (1) specific historical, regional and social-class varieties of oral Judezmo vs. oral Yiddish genres, in everyday vs. more specialized (e.g., humorous, learned) styles; and in (2) literary Judezmo vs. literary Yiddish genres, in religious or traditional vs. more secular (e.g., journalistic, humorous, scientific, belles-lettristic) styles. Some examples will clarify this and demonstrate a few of the possibilities (see also Figure 1).

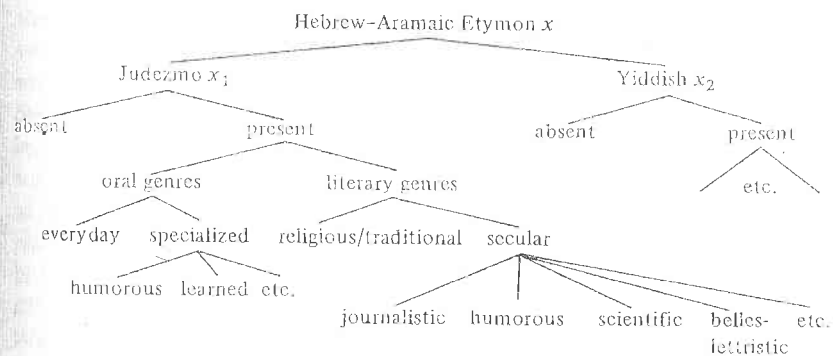


Figure 1.

The Hebrew-Aramaic-origin lexical items *balebós* in Yiddish and *balabáy* in Judezmo, meaning roughly ‘owner; host; boss’, are present in all spoken and written varieties of both languages. The Yiddish word *efsher* ‘perhaps, maybe’ occurs in all spoken and written varieties of that language, but Judezmo *efšár* ‘perhaps; it is possible’ seems only to occur in rabbinical writings. Judezmo *uláy* ‘perhaps, maybe’ is present in regional varieties of modern spoken Judezmo, but I have never encountered it in Jewish-letter Judezmo printed works (rabbinical or otherwise); whereas Yiddish *ulay* (in the same sense) is a learned

word, listed by Yehoyash and Spivak (1926: 6) but not by U. Weinreich (1968), and it is probably rare if not entirely absent from everyday modern spoken Yiddish. Judezmo *garón* 'throat' appears in all spoken and written genres of the language but has no cognate in Yiddish. On the other hand, Yiddish *mekehk* 'price' occurs in all spoken and written varieties but has no cognate in Judezmo. To the extent possible, comparisons of this type must be done systematically and comprehensively. Fortunately, for Yiddish this is greatly simplified by the existence of several useful dictionaries/thesauruses (e.g., U. Weinreich, 1968; Yehoyash and Spivak, 1926; Stutshkov, 1950), some of them devoted entirely to Hebrew-Aramaic elements. In the case of Judezmo, however, the situation is quite different. Nevertheless, I am presently trying to determine the occurrence of Hebrew-Aramaic-origin lexical material in Judezmo on the basis of transcribed oral texts, the broad range of Jewish-letter printed texts described in sec. 2 above and the few existing dictionaries and glossaries.

4.1.3. *Semantic Reference* Hand in hand with the problem of occurrence goes that of semantic reference. That is, given the presence of a reflex x_1 and/or x_2 of Hebrew-Aramaic etymon x in a particular or in all varieties of Judezmo and/or Yiddish, in what sense is it used? In the same sense as in Hebrew-Aramaic proper? (And, if the question is pertinent for a given item, as in Biblical vs. Mishnaic vs. [regional vs. pan-Jewish] rabbinical Hebrew-Aramaic?) Let us call this sense a . Or, if the etymon has more than one sense in Hebrew-Aramaic proper, in which of the senses is it used in Judezmo and/or Yiddish – in senses a , and/or b , and/or c , etc.? Or perhaps it is used in some different novel sense in Judezmo and/or Yiddish; that is, a semantic shift of some kind might have taken place. This sense might be called b if the Hebrew-Aramaic etymon only has one sense a , or perhaps d , if it has, say, three (a, b, c) senses. Alternatively, the reflex or reflexes may be used in several distinct senses, some or all of which may agree or disagree with the meaning of the etymon in Hebrew-Aramaic proper. Conversely, if a Hebrew-Aramaic-origin lexical item x_1 and/or x_2 serves to convey a certain meaning a in Judezmo and/or Yiddish, is there more than one form used to signal this meaning in Hebrew-Aramaic proper? And if so, which of these forms is the one that functions in Judezmo and/or Yiddish – or does more than one? Again, some examples to illustrate (see also Figure 2).

The Hebrew etymon *haclaxá* (to use the Modern Israeli pronunciation of Hebrew etyma) signifies 'success', and its Judezmo and Yiddish reflexes, *azlaxá* and *hatslokhe*, retain that sense. Hebrew *tfilá* and Yiddish *tfile* both mean 'prayer'; one referent of Judezmo *tefilá* is 'prayer', but the word also has the specialized meaning 'morning prayer, Shachrith service'. Historically, Hebrew *tsadik* denotes a 'righteous or saintly man', and Judezmo *sadik* pre-

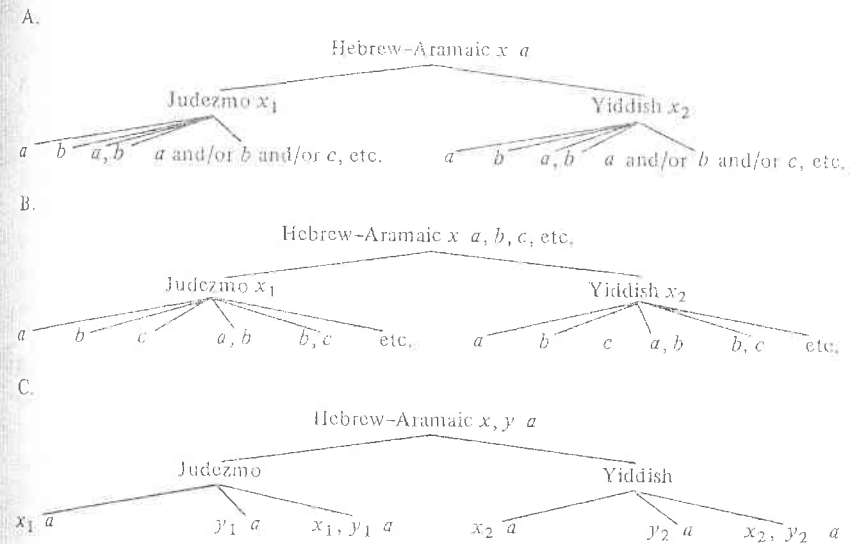


Figure 2.

serves that sense; one meaning of Yiddish *tsadik* is 'saintly', but it is also used in the specialized sense of 'Hassidic rabbi'.

The Yiddish word *khosed* no longer retains the sense of its Hebrew etymon, 'pious man', as Judezmo *xasid* does; rather, a *khosed* is a 'follower' or 'admirer', and particularly 'an adherent of the so-called Hassidic movement'. In Judezmo, a *yaxid* is a 'lay member of a congregation', and not simply an 'individual', as the Hebrew and Yiddish words *yaxid* and *yokhed* denote. Hebrew *ráas* signifies both 'quaking' or 'earthquake' and 'noise'; Yiddish *rash* means 'noise' but not 'earthquake', Judezmo *ras̄* means 'earthquake' but not 'noise'. The referent 'manuscript' is represented by two alternate forms in Hebrew, *ktav yad* and *ktivá*; in Yiddish, the traditional word for 'manuscript' is *ksav yad*, and in Judezmo it is *ketivá*. In Biblical Hebrew, the points of the compass 'south' and 'east' are *négev* and *kédem*; in rabbinical Hebrew they are *daróm* and *mizráx*. Judezmo and Yiddish accept only the rabbinical forms, pronounced *daróm/-n* and *mizdráx* in popular Judezmo, *dorem* and *mizrekh* in Yiddish. The Jewish holiday celebrated on the 33rd day of the counting of the 'Omer' is known as *lag booymer* in the Whole Hebrew of Yiddish speakers and as *lag boymer* in Yiddish, but as *lag laómer* in the Whole Hebrew of Judezmo speakers as well as in Judezmo proper.

The Hebrew word *gzerá* signifies a 'decree' of any kind; i.e., it is neutral. Considering the types of decrees often issued in connection with the Jews throughout their history, it is not surprising that Judezmo *gezerá* and Yiddish

gzeyre usually mean not simply 'decree' but 'evil decree'. In Hebrew, *séfer* means 'book'; its Judezmo and Yiddish reflexes, however, denote special kinds of 'books': Yiddish *seyfer* is a 'religious book or tract', Judezmo *séfer* is a 'Torah scroll'.

4.1.4. *Grammatical Integration* So far I have discussed the occurrence and semantic reference of individual Judezmo and Yiddish lexical items derived from Hebrew-Aramaic without taking into account their integration within the grammatical systems of the two languages. As full-fledged constituents in the morphological systems of Yiddish and Judezmo, Hebraisms and Aramaisms are also open to the same grammatical processes – e.g., derivation, compounding, modification or qualification, and occurrence in proverbial and fixed expressions – as are elements belonging to the other components of the languages.

Perhaps one effective way to illustrate this would be to take a single Hebrew etymon and inventorize its reflexes in Judezmo and Yiddish. Of special interest are the strikingly parallel derivational processes whereby a Hebrew stem fuses with non-Hebrew-origin affixes (principally Hispanic and Balkan in the former language, Germanic and Slavic in the latter) to create innovative Judezmo and Yiddish nouns, adjectives, verbs and adverbs.

Let us consider for this purpose the grammatical incorporation in Judezmo and Yiddish of a single lexical item (and its derivatives) which, despite the talmudic expression *en mazál leiyisraél* (literally, 'Israel has no constellation [*mazál*]'), figuratively, 'Israel has no luck') is to be found in most if not all Jewish languages: I am speaking of reflexes of the Hebrew etymon *mazál*.

Yiddish *mazl* and Judezmo *mazál* preserve most of the senses of their Hebrew etymon, namely 'star; constellation, sign of the zodiac', later on 'luck; fortune; fate'. In Judezmo the word has acquired the additional sense of 'predestined one', comparable to Yiddish *basherter*, and in this sense it sometimes appears in the diminutive form, *mazalíko*.

The most common semantic referent of Judezmo *mazál* and Yiddish *mazl* is 'luck' or 'fortune'; when used in those senses they may be qualified by adjectives. To express the notion 'good fortune' in Judezmo, we find: *mazál álto* (literally, 'high fortune'), which can be compared with Yiddish *hoykh mazl* and the expression *zayn mazl iz derheykht gevorn* (literally, 'his fortune rose, became elevated'); *bwen mazál* or *mazál bwéno* 'good fortune', parallel to Yiddish *gut mazl*; *mazál kláro* 'clear fortune', corresponding to Yiddish *likhtik mazl*; and the idiom *mazál en médyo el syélo* (literally, 'fortune in the middle of the sky'). In Yiddish, somebody else's powerfully good luck may be dubbed *ayzn mazl* 'iron luck'; 'questionable' or 'shady luck' may be called *treyft* or *gneyvish mazl* (literally, 'non-kosher, nefarious' or 'thievish luck').

Also used are the expressions *galkhish mazl* 'priestly luck' and *goyishker* or *nit keyn yidisher mazl* 'gentile or non-Jewish luck'.

By suffixing the Hispanic-origin adjectival morphemes *-ózo* and *-ído* to *mazál*, Judezmo speakers derive the adjectives *mazalózo* and *mazalído*, meaning 'fortunate'; the parallel Yiddish construction is *mazldik*, with its Germanic-origin adjectival morpheme *-dik*. The Judezmo and Yiddish forms show number and gender inflection: masculine singular *mazalózo*, feminine singular *mazalóza*, masculine plural *mazalózos*, feminine plural *mazalózas* in the former language; masculine singular *mazldiker*, feminine singular *mazldike*, neuter singular *mazldiks*, common plural *mazldike* in the latter.

In Yiddish, the terms *bar-mazl* and *bal-mazl*, derived by compounding the Aramaic- and Hebrew-origin morphemes *bar* and *bal* ('son of', 'master of') with *mazl*, denote a 'lucky individual'. One way to express 'success' or 'prosperity' in Yiddish is with the compound *mazl-brokhke*, which may also function adjectivally in the form *mazl-brokhedik* 'prosperous, booming, abundant'. The compound *dobre-mazl*, containing the Slavic-origin element *dobre* which signifies 'good' in the stock language, ironically implies 'rotten luck' in Yiddish.

To describe the state of 'having luck', speakers use the verbal expressions *tenér mazál* in Judezmo and *hobn mazl* in Yiddish. *Mazl* appears in a multitude of Yiddish fixed and proverbial expressions; Judezmo also has several with *mazál*, some paralleling, or at least reminiscent of, those in Yiddish. To wish someone 'good luck!', an appropriate Judezmo expression is *mazál (álto) ke ténga!* (literally, 'may you have [high] luck!'); in Yiddish it is *zol zayn mit mazl!* 'may it be with luck!', in a *mazldiker sho (mitn rekhtn fus/fisl)* 'in a lucky hour (with the right foot/little foot)!', or *lemazl!* 'with luck!'. Congratulations at family celebrations are extended in Yiddish with Hebrew-origin *mazl tov!* 'good fortune!'; in Judezmo, the corresponding wish is Hebrew-origin *besimán tov!* or Aramaic-origin *besimaná tavá!* (literally, 'in a good sign!'), except on the occasion of the birth of a female, in which case Hebrew-origin *bemazál tov!* 'with good fortune!' is in order. (*Mazaltóv* was traditionally a popular feminine personal name among Judezmo speakers; today, it is often replaced by *Mathilde* or *Fortunée*.)

When a person changes his or her place of residence, in Yiddish one customarily says to him or her: *meshane mokem, meshane mazl!* 'a change of place, a change of luck!', which is a fixed expression couched entirely in Hebrew. In Judezmo, the parallel expression is *troká(r)* (or *aboltá[r]*) *kazál, troká(r)* (or *aboltá[r]*) *mazál!* 'to change one's village is to change one's luck!'; here, all elements are of Hispanic origin except for *mazál*; the corresponding Hebrew-stock expression, *šinúy makóm, šinúy mazál!*, is known in Judezmo, but seems restricted to the written language. To describe the all-encompassing power of luck, speakers of Yiddish and Judezmo regularly use the Hebrew-stock expression *akól talúy bemazál, afilú séfer torá šebaexál!* (as pronounced

by Judezmo speakers; in Yiddish, it's *hakol toluy bemazl, afile seyfer toyre shebeheykh!* 'everything depends on luck, even the Torah scroll in the ark'.

The preciousness of luck is expressed in Judezmo by the proverb *maz vále úna dráma de mazál, ke úna óka de dukádos!* 'one four-hundredth of a Turkish *okka* of luck is worth more than an *okka* (or two and one half pounds) of ducats!'; in Yiddish, this takes the form *besser mazl a kvint eyder gold a funt!* 'better a whit of luck than a pound of gold!' and variants thereof. Of a lucky person it is said in Judezmo *nasyó kon mazál* 'he was born with luck'; in Yiddish the corresponding expression is *geboyrn vern in a mazldikn tog* 'to be born on a lucky day'. Some individuals are so fortunate, their good luck is effective even while they sleep, as portrayed in the Judezmo proverb *la xanú[m] durmyéndo, el mazál despyérto* 'the lady sleeping, her luck awake', and its Yiddish counterpart *er shloft, un zayne revokhim geyen* 'he sleeps, and his profits keep coming in' (although this one does not contain the word *mazl*).

No matter how lucky parents may be, however, they are unable to pass luck on to their daughters, as communicated in the Judezmo proverb *ašugár i kontádo te do yo, mazál i ventúra te de el dyo* (and variants) 'a trousseau and dowry I give you, luck and fortune may God give you', and its Yiddish equivalent, *nadn kenen eltern gebn, ober nit keyn mazl* 'parents can give a dowry, but not luck'. The belief that one's luck is predetermined and irreversible is demonstrated in the Judezmo proverb *ken négro mazál tyéne, núnka lo pyédre* 'one who has bad luck never loses it', and the somewhat similar, although more neutral, Yiddish expressions *itlekhs kind vert geboyrn mit zayn mazl* 'each child is born with its own luck' and *mazl iz nit far alemen glaykh* 'luck is not the same for everyone'. Judezmo and Yiddish speakers agree that the person unfortunate enough to have been born without luck would be better off never having been born at all, as stated quite plainly in the proverbs *ken no tyéne mazál, mižor es ke no náska* 'one who has no luck is better off not being born' and *on mazl zol men gornit geboyrn vern oyf der velt* 'without luck one should not be born at all (in the world)'.

In Yiddish, the Whole Hebrew proverb *eyn mazl leyisroel* is sometimes followed by the ironic vernacular paraphrase *a yid hot nit keyn mazl* 'a Jew has no luck'. The Judezmo analogue is *el řidyó tyéne mazál bášo* 'the Jew has low/bad luck', and there is no shortage of terminology for 'bad luck' or 'misfortune' in either Yiddish or Judezmo. 'Bad luck' may be rendered literally, e.g., by Judezmo *négro mazál*, or the speaker may prefer more descriptive expressions, such as Judezmo *mazál de péro* 'a dog's luck', corresponding to Yiddish *hintesh mazl*; *mazál bášo* 'low luck' (already mentioned), with its Yiddish parallel *niderik mazl*; *mazál tapádo* 'bottled or covered luck'; and *mazál čimineádo* 'smoky luck'. In addition, Yiddish has *fintster, shver, vist*, and/or *biter mazl*, i.e., 'dark, hard, bleak, and/or bitter luck'. Yiddish *azá*

mazl! and parallel Judezmo *ta! mazl!* 'such luck!' are used ironically in the sense of 'no luck!'.

The idea of 'bad fortune' may also be conveyed through compound forms of diverse linguistic origin, such as: Judezmo *dez mazál*, with its Hispanic-origin negative prefix *dez-/des-*, paralleling Yiddish *umglik* (← *um-* + *glik*), in which 'luck' is expressed by a morpheme of Germanic origin); and Judezmo *mal(en) mazál* 'bad (in) luck', containing the relatively rare Hispanic-origin Judezmo morpheme *mal* and corresponding to Yiddish *shli(m) mazl*, with its Germanic-origin morpheme *shlim*; there is also a derivative form, *shlimezalneráy*, exhibiting a suffix of Slavic origin and thus composed of elements from the three major stock languages of Yiddish: Germanic, Hebrew-Aramaic and Slavic. From Judezmo *mazál bášo*, noted above, is derived the abstract noun *mazalbašedád* 'misfortune', bearing the productive suffix *-edád*, of Hispanic origin; compare this with Yiddish *shlimazldikeyt*, having the productive Germanic-origin abstract nominal suffix *-keyt*.

Incidentally, call a Yiddish speaker a *shlimazl!* or a Judezmo speaker a *mazál bášo!* and you have insulted him. *Shlimazl* also has a series of derivative forms: masculine *shlimezalnik*, feminine *shlimezalnitse* or *shlimezarnitse*, having final morphemes of Slavic origin; the 'extremely unfortunate' *shlim-shlimazl*; the fictitious personal name *shloyme zalmen*, applied to the luckless; *shlimóyz*, a jocular back-formation resulting from the metanalysis of *mazl* as *moyz* 'mouse' + vowel mutation (*oy* → *a*) + the diminutive suffix *-l*; and the adjectival form *shlimazldik*, with its productive Germanic-origin suffix *-dik*. The latter has an analogue in Judezmo *dez mazaládo*, showing the productive Hispanic-origin negative morpheme *dez-* and deverbal adjectivizing morpheme *-ádo*; the word is also used as a substantive meaning 'unlucky person' or 'evil doer' and there is a derived verbal form, *dez mazalár* 'to make unhappy'.

Moving on to some other problems in the comparative morphological analysis of the Hebrew-Aramaic components of Yiddish and Judezmo, we find that in both languages Hebrew-origin nouns may pluralize with Hebrew-origin plural markers (e.g., Yid. *khokhem* 'wise man; (iron.) fool' → *khakhomim*, Jud. *xaxám* 'wise man; rabbi' → *xaxamim* (cf. Israel Heb. *xaxamim*); Jud. *tefilá* 'prayer; morning prayer' → *tefilod*, Yid. *tfile* 'prayer' → *tfiles*) (cf. Israeli Heb. *tfilot*), or with plural morphemes derived from the languages' major determinants (cf. Jud. *zaxú* 'merit' → *zaxús*, with the Hispanic pluralizer *-s*; Yid. *skhus* 'merit' → *skhusn*, with the Germanic pluralizer *-(en)*). Judezmo plurals may be tautological, exhibiting both Hebrew- and Hispanic-origin plural morphemes (e.g., *ed* 'witness' → *edimes*, *mizvá* 'commandment' → *mizvódes*), while Yiddish plurals may display Germanic vowel mutation as well as a Germanic plural suffix (cf. *kol* 'voice' → *keler*). In both languages, non-Hebrew elements ordinarily pluralize with markers derived from the major stock languages, but a few such lexical items may actually co-occur

with Hebrew-origin plural morphemes (cf. Jud. *ladrón* [Sp. *ladrón*] 'thief' → *ladronim*; Yid. *doktor* [Ger. *Doktor*] 'doctor' → *doktoyrim*).

Hebrew-derivation abstract nouns ending in *-út*, historically of feminine gender, generally shift to neuter gender in Standard Yiddish and, in most instances, to masculine gender in Judezmo (and the Whole Hebrew-Aramaic of Judezmo speakers [see Goldenberg, 1972]) – all the more remarkable given the obligatorily feminine gender of Romance-origin Judezmo nouns with final *-(t)úd/-(t)út* (cf. Heb. f. *raxmanút* 'pity', Yid. n. *dos rakhmones*, Jud. m. *el raxmanú(d/-t)* [but f. *la juventúd* 'youth', cf. Sp. f. *juventud*]). This introduces a historical problem too complicated to pursue here: the partially independent diachronical development of Judezmo's Hebrew-Aramaic component *vis-à-vis* the language's other components.⁷

Hebrew-origin personal names in Judezmo and Yiddish may enter into a myriad of etymologically varied hypocoristic derivational patterns: cf. Heb. *estér* 'Esther'; Yid. *ester*, *esterke*, *esterl*, *estershi*, *ete/jes'e*; Jud. *estér*, *esterika*, *esterina*, *esterula*, *estorláci*, *esterlúka*, *esterúča*, *estérka*; or Heb. *davíd* 'David'; Jud. *daví(d)*, *dáryo*, *daviko*, *daviče*, *davičón*, *davičónáči*, *dáča*, *dáču*; Yid. *dovid*, *dovidl*, *dovtshe*, *dode/dod'e*, *dodik*, *dodke*, *donke*, *doñe*.⁸ Compare also the Judezmo surnames *davíd*, *davičo*, *bar davíd* and *ben davíd* with the Yiddish surnames *dauidof*, *dauidovitsh*, *dauidzon*.

In the syntactic domain, certain non-Hebrew-origin elements in Judezmo and Yiddish may participate in parallel constructions of Hebrew derivation; cf. Heb. *aní šebaani* 'extremely poor', Yid. *biter shebebiten* 'extremely bitter', Jud. *rikón šebarikoním* 'extremely wealthy'.

4.1.5. *Synonymy* Having briefly examined the occurrence, semantic reference and grammatical integration of some Hebrew-Aramaic elements in Judezmo and Yiddish, let us consider an equally stimulating problem: that of *synonymy* or *near-synonymy* in the two languages. More precisely, my concern here will be with the presence vs. absence of synonyms or near-synonyms of Judezmo and Yiddish lexical items of Hebrew-Aramaic origin, in the same or in other components, and with the nature of that synonymy.

Both languages may have reflexes of a single Hebrew-Aramaic etymon and synonyms or near-synonyms of it in the same and/or other components as well. For example, in Judezmo one word for a 'poor man' or 'pauper' is *aní*; its Yiddish cognate is *oni*, but that concept is also conveyed by Judezmo *próve*, of Hispanic origin, and by Yiddish *oremán*, of Germanic origin, and *evyen* (or *on-veevyen*) and *kabtsn*, Hebrew origin.

Another possibility is that one of the languages may have a lexical item of Hebrew-Aramaic origin alternating with synonym(s) or near-synonym(s) of other origins, while the second language uses only an item or items of non-Hebrew-Aramaic origin or only an item or items of Hebrew-Aramaic origin.

To illustrate, the Yiddish words *mehalekh* and *merkhek*, of Hebrew origin, and *vaytkeyt* and *distant*, of Germanic origin, are synonymous or nearly synonymous in the sense of 'distance'; in the same sense, Judezmo has lexical items of Romance derivation such as *lonjúra* (cf. Italian *longe* 'far', Hispanic-origin abstract nominal morpheme *-ura*), *lešúra* (cf. Old Spanish *lexos* 'far'), *lešanía*, *alešamyénto* *distánsya*, but I have found none of Hebrew-Aramaic origin. Conversely, Judezmo *gargánta* 'throat', of Hispanic origin, is regionally synonymous with Hebrew-Aramaic-origin *garón*; Yiddish only has Germanic-origin *haldz* and *gorgl*. The Yiddish word for 'sea' is Hebrew-origin *yam*; in Judezmo there is only Hispanic-origin *mar*.

In some cases, Hebrew-Aramaic-origin reflexes may have specialized (e.g., humorous, figurative) senses in Judezmo and Yiddish and may alternate with neutral near-synonyms belonging to the other components; or it may be that a Hebrew-Aramaic-origin reflex has a specialized meaning in one language but is neutral in the other. For example, the verb 'to eat' is generally expressed by neutral *komér* in Judezmo and *esn* in Yiddish (of Hispanic and Germanic derivation, respectively); the Judezmo and Yiddish verbs (*a*)*xaléar* and *akhlen*, derived from the Hebrew root *axal*, have a more humorous connotation and imply gluttony. Judezmo *avér* 'air, climate', of Hebrew-Aramaic origin, is nearly synonymous with Hispanic-origin *áyre*. The meaning 'air' is ordinarily signaled in Yiddish by Germanic-origin *luft*; Hebrew-Aramaic-origin *aver*, however, is used either in the figurative or poetical sense or carries the negative connotation 'bad odor'.

4.1.6. *Further Concerns* In addition to the kinds of comparative problems in the Hebrew and Aramaic components which the preceding examples merely hint at, the Judezmo research literature and the supplementary data I have accumulated suggest complex problems of historical, regional, social-class and contextual or stylistic variation and code-switching, as well as problems of frequency, which need to be dealt with before we can accurately determine the extent to which parallels or unparallels exist in Yiddish. And then there is the more elusive and complicated problem of accounting for the rise of specific parallels and analogous forms – and also divergences – in Yiddish and Judezmo; e.g., did they originate as a result of oral and/or literary monogenesis, polygenesis, borrowing, and/or fortuity? But such discussion, as well as an examination of the third and fourth components of Judezmo and Yiddish, will have to be left for another occasion. I would like to close this paper with some brief observations on the second component of Jewish languages, i.e., the so-called prelanguage component.

4.2. Prelanguage Components -

A comparative study of the relatively few lexical items in Judezmo and Yiddish presumed to derive from their prelanguages – Laaz or ‘Judeo-Romance’ in the case of Yiddish, medieval Jewish Arabic and Romaniot in that of Judezmo – may give us some insight into why certain linguistic elements are preserved even after speakers have discarded the languages in which they had originally functioned (in the case of Jewish languages, the prelanguages) in favor of other languages (for our purposes, the early stages of Judezmo and Yiddish).

I will focus my attention here on one apparent factor: we find that some lexical items retained in Judezmo and Yiddish from their prelanguages have importance in the religious/cultural life of the Jews. Consider, for example, the substantives denoting the ‘reading of the Law’: Judezmo *meldadúra* (from the verb *meldár*, which may be compared with Greek *meletein* ‘to meditate’), and Yiddish *leyenen* (compare Old French *lire* ‘to read’, which developed from an earlier form **lejer* → **leier*). Both show a specialization of the senses their cognates had in the non-Jewish correlates of those languages. Their denotation of an activity so central to traditional Judaism was probably the decisive factor in their having been preserved in all stages of Judezmo and Yiddish. Interestingly, the meaning of the Judezmo verb *meldár* in time broadened from ‘to study, read a religious text’ to ‘to read (in general)’ in the Ottoman Empire, although apparently not in Morocco; the Yiddish verb *leyenen* now signifies ‘to read (in general)’ as well.

Yiddish *bentshn* ‘to bless, recite the grace after meals, etc.’ is also of Laazic origin (cf. the plural present participle *benedičenti* in an Italkic Laaz or ‘Judeo-Italian’ text from around the twelfth century cited in Weinreich, 1973: sec. 119.1). However, the derivation of Judezmo *bendizír* ‘to bless’, obviously cognate with *bentshn*, is Hispanic (or ← Roman Laaz?) and not Romaniot or ‘Judeo-Arabic’; Judezmo speakers use Hebrew-origin *birkád* (*a*)*mazón* for ‘grace after meals’ and the periphrastic verb *dizír birkád* (*a*)*mazón* ‘to say grace’ for its recitation.

With the exception of the name for ‘Saturday’, which is of Hebrew-Aramaic origin in both Yiddish (*shabes*) and Judezmo (*šabád*), the names for the days of the week in Yiddish are of Germanic origin. In Judezmo, however, the Hispanic-origin name for ‘Sunday’ was rejected because of its clear reference to the Christian Lord (cf. present-day Spanish *domingo*, which derives from Latin *DIES DOMINĪCUS* ‘Lord’s day’). Instead, Jewish Arabic-origin *alxad* (cf. Arabic (*yaum*) *il-wahad*, literally ‘first day’) was retained.

On the other hand, Judezmo and Yiddish both use elements derived from their major determinants, Hispanic and Germanic, rather than from their prelanguages, to designate ‘God’, the focal concept in traditional Judaism: in Judezmo, ‘God’ is *el dyo*, in Yiddish, *got*, to which the devout add *barixú*

‘blessed be He’ (of Hebrew origin) in the former, *borukh-hú* in the latter. These alternate with the perhaps less frequent Hebrew-origin *hashem* (or *hashém yishorekh*), literally ‘the Name’ (or ‘the Name, blessed be He’) in Yiddish, *ašém* (or *el šemidbaráx*) in Judezmo, used by pious speakers. The sacred, Hebrew-origin name *adonáy* appears in Judezmo proverbs but not in spoken Yiddish. This suggests that no hard and fast rule can be formulated regarding the role of elements from the prelanguages. Nevertheless, explanations for the survival of specific lexical items must be attempted.

I hope that in this brief paper I have succeeded in demonstrating that there is a great deal of exciting work to be done in the comparative study of these two major languages of the Jewish Diaspora.

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Notes

1. See Séphiha (1973) for a linguistic analysis of *ladino* versions of Deuteronomy.
2. I offer a preliminary discussion of Judezmo language names in Bunis (1975a: 4–5; 1978, and sec. 3 above).
3. An analysis of the ideological movement known as Yiddishism and the positions assumed by its leading proponents is offered in Goldsmith (1976).
4. Cf. *El Messerrett* 23: 2 (Izmir, 7 October 1918), 1: ‘*el meserét ez un žurnál para ser meldádo de akéos ke no konósen ótra lúngwa mas ke el judézmo*’ (this and the following quotations from the Judezmo are here transcribed from their original Jewish-letter text).
5. Benghiatt used the name *judézmo* consistently in the issues of *El Messerrett* which I examined. The same name also appears (along with others) in Moïse Lévy’s *El Kirbatch* (e.g., 1: 23 (Thessaloniki, 1910), 4: ‘*syèmpe demandámos, porké nwéstroz ermánoz non méten tódos, sóvre los portález de suz grótas, suz nómbre en judézmo?*’ [‘We constantly ask why our brothers don’t put their names in Judezmo over the entrances of their shops.’]) and Elia Rafael Karmona’s *El Djougueton* (e.g., 4: 45 (Constantinople, 1913), 3: ‘*un yaván, por savér dos palávraz en judézmo, se kería pasár kómo judyó*’ [‘A Greek, knowing a few words of Judezmo, wanted to pass himself off as a Jew.’]), as well as in other Judezmo publications (e.g., in Šelomó B. Astrugo’s [Vienna, 1890] adaptation of Molière’s *Le mariage forcé* [pp. 23–36: ‘*de ke lúngwa kerés servívos kon mí? . . . fransés? no, no, no, no, no, judézmo, judézmo, judézmo, judézmo, judézmo, judézmo*’ [‘What language do you want to use with me? . . . French? No, no, no, no, no, Judezmo, Judezmo, Judezmo, Judezmo.’]); cf. also Bunis (1978).

The word *judézmo* served as the traditional gloss for Biblical Hebrew *yehudit* ‘Judean, Jewish language’ as early as 1742/1743 (cf. the five-volume Judezmo Bible translation published in Constantinople, 1739–1745 by Rabbi Avraham ben Yišhak Asa). In the sense of ‘Judezmo language’, *judézmo* was first noted in the research literature in 1890 (cf. Kayserling, 1890: XVIII: ‘Ce jargon est nommé ordinairement “Ladino” [sic] . . . ou judéo-espagnol [sic] . . .; les Juifs dans les pays des

Balcans le nomment "Judezmo,"); it was mentioned in numerous subsequent research publications and continues to be discussed today (e.g., cf. Kolonomos, 1978: 69: "The Macedonians always called the spoken language of the Jews the "Jewish" and never the "Spanish language", while the Jews of Macedonia themselves never referred to their own language as "Ladino" or "Judeo-Espagnol" but simply said "favlār in d'žudezmu" [to speak Jewish].")

6. The Yiddish data to follow derive from Stutshkov (1950), Uriel Weinreich (1968), Yehoyash and Spivak (1926), Birnbaum (1922); the Judezmo examples, chiefly from Nehama (1977), Moskona (1971) and personal observations.
7. In the case of masculine Hebrew-Aramaic-origin *-id* nouns in Judezmo (and in the Whole Hebrew-Aramaic of Judezmo speakers), the masculine abstract nominal marker of Arabic probably served as the model. My thanks to Professor Chaim Rabin for calling my attention to this parallel and to Professor Richard Steiner for guiding me to relevant literature.
8. I owe the derived forms of Judezmo and Yiddish given names to Stankiewicz (1964; 1969); the references listed in note 6 above; and personal observations.

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