there discoverable threads extending from these three linguistic groups to the ancient Parsic? These questions have not yet been touched by scholarship.

2.10 The sunset of Targumic as the spoken language of a major Jewish community came with the rise of the Arabs (2.1.1). A survey of the linguistic condition of the Jews up to the Arab period is therefore in place.

The frontal attack of Hellenism on Jewish culture failed; but at least it was historical drama on a large scale, and visible signs of Japhet's beauty remained in the tents of Shem, to use a stock phrase so popular in the Haskalah period. Nor will we leave Persian out of consideration in the overall picture of Jewish subcultures, although the phenomenon seems to be marginal in Jewish culture history, locally circumscribed—possibly only because our point of observation is so far from the scene. One does not even note any memorable dramatic conflicts.

Neither Yavanic nor Parsic can compare with Targumic in position among Jews in ancient days. The role of Targumic in Jewish culture history is determined, as seen above, not by the number of Jews speaking that language today or the number who spoke it in the past. Targumic emerged from antiquity as an all-Jewish possession, together with Hebrew and as a part of the holy language. The Bible, the Mishna, the Gemara, the Midrash, the responsa of the Gaonim are all in the holy language. Their content became the unified basis of all Jewish subcultures of the Middle Ages and the modern period, including Ashkenaz. Targumic emerged from antiquity as the second major Jewish language; long after it had ceased being the native language of the majority of Jews, there came into being in Targumic new prayers, Sabbath and holiday songs and poems, cabalistic books. *The Zohar*, the central work of Jewish mysticism, is in Aramaic, not in Hebrew (2.7.1).

2.11 It is generally accepted that Saadia Gaon was the first to write a halakic work in Arabic (on the degree of Judaization of Arabic among Jews; 2.11.1), and this was in the first half of the tenth century. But decades later we find a sentence in Hai Gaon (2.8) to the effect that Targumic is "still" ("*adayin*") spoken in all smaller places ("*bekhol haayarot*"). This is first-class testimony on internal bilingualism in the Jewish community. Hai Gaon received inquiries on religious matters from Basra in Arabic; he even wrote, according to report, an Arabic book. His "still" and "smaller places" tell us that the victory of "a kind of Arabic" among the Jews was not achieved at a single stroke. Just as in the case of the extinction of Hebrew as an unmediated language (2.5), here too we have to consider a protracted and locally varying process. And the fact that in the small community of Kurdish Jews Targumic has survived as an unmediated language to date (2.8) is proof of this.

"Arabic" as a native tongue among Jews (in 2.11.1 it will become clear why it is more appropriate to speak of a separate Jewish language with Arabic stock, which may be called Yahudic) is current among a much larger group. On the eve of World War II the number of Yahudic speakers was estimated at about seven hundred thousand. Of course, we have no statistics on the Gaonic period, but by no means can the current figure give us any idea of the proportion and the dynamics of Yahudic in former years. By virtue of the Arab conquests, Yahudic was firmly established in Yemen, Babylonia, Palestine, and all of North Africa, from Egypt to the Atlantic; even Sicily and southern Italy, which as a rule should be included in the Yavanic culture area (2.12), were at times considerably influenced by North Africa.

On the Pyrenean Peninsula the Jews were part of the Arabic culture sphere for centuries. The so-called Jewish Golden Period in Spain (2.28) can be understood only in the framework of Arab developments (2.19.8). With the Christian-Spanish reconquest of the peninsula, the Jews gradually emerged from the Arab sphere and a Jewish language with Spanish stock, Dzhudezmo, took root (2.19).

The Jewish linguistic situation in the western part of North Africa is interesting. The first group of exiles, which came from Spain to northern Africa at the end of the fourteenth century, might have spoken partly Dzhudezmo and partly Yahudic (2.19.8.3). Those who arrived in northern Africa after the general expulsion in 1492 spoke only Dzhudezmo. But in the new home (except partly in Morocco) the Sephardim resumed Yahudic, although in the version of their liturgy, in custom, and in their communal organization they have remained apart from the indigenous Arabic Jews to date.

2.11.1 The Jewish-Arabic culture area has been the object of study of not a few scholars, among them some of the highest caliber. By now one would really hope to see synthesizing studies characterizing both what unites all "Arabian Jews" and the variants in this large bloc culturally. Similarly, a comprehensive synthesizing work on the language of the Jews in Arab countries is still lacking. There are competent monographs, although not enough; and even they do not provide a systematic comparison with the coterritorial non-Jewish Arabic.

It is unfortunate that so many students of language speak of just Arabic among Jews, without the qualifying addition of "Jewish." Detailed firsthand studies are available on the language of the Jews in Morocco, Algeria, Yemen, Iraq (Bagdad), and elsewhere, and differences vis-à-vis the local non-Jewish Arabic are evident everywhere. The question is whether the distance between the language of the Jews and the non-Jewish correlate is everywhere the same. Then comes the question of how much these Jewish formations have in common besides the Hebrew

component, notwithstanding the fact that the language of the Algerian Jews appears at first to be a variant of the non-Jewish Algerian Arabic and that of the Bagdadi Jews to be a variant of the local Arabic. An analysis of the common elements, if there are any, may hopefully reveal the lines of the historical development of Yahudic.

The Arabic component in the Jewish language of northwestern Africa (Maghreb [West] is the accepted name) has been found to have a strong archaic character; may the same also be said of the language of other "Arabic"-speaking Jews? And to what degree does this communality extend to the treatment of the Hebrew component in their language among the "Arabic"-speaking Jews of diverse areas?

From an overall picture of the contemporary language the way should lead back into the past, to the famous works of Judeo-Arabic literature. The distinguished Arabist Goldziher once wrote: "It is very hard to assume that Maimonides would have written ... in that so poorly grammatical jargon which appears at times in the manuscripts of his *Siraj* [*Commentary on the Mishna*]. It was the copyists who introduced the vulgar errors, which, truth be said, have crept in, for only a very small number of those that constantly studied these books had sufficient intelligence and preparation to be interested in the grammatical correctness in which these books were undoubtedly written." Only he who could measure up to Goldziher in Semitic scholarship could challenge his thesis that Maimonides and the other great "Arabic" writers among Jews used the form of expression of non-Jewish Arabic literature. But what he himself says about the copyists is an indication that the Jewish public proceded in a direction of its own with respect to language. Goldziher belongs to the school of the nineteenth century that maintained that essentially only the lofty literary languages are a legitimate object of research, not the unnormed spoken variants of the populace. Modern linguists should be interested, in the first place, in the departures from the classical and from the contemporary coterritorial non-Jewish Arabic; even in the illustrious works of Judeo-Arabic literature they will seek the deviations alongside the norm.

We are indebted to Goldziher, and before him to Steinschneider, for indicating that the first mention of a specific Jewish variant of Arabic goes back as far as the first half of the ninth century, where the name *lugat al-Yahûd* (the language of the Jews) is used. *Yahûd* is to this day the Arabic word for 'Jews (collective)' and therefore it appears that, seen from within, Yahudic is the best name for the language of Arabic stock that came into being among Jews, and this name is adequate for all periods in the history of this language.

2.12 When the backbone of Hellenism was broken, Jewish Hellenism shrank too, but it did not disappear. It became entrenched in a vestigial

area—in the Byzantine Empire, which was completely liquidated only in 1453 by the Turks. Around the year 1003 the empire was still fairly large. It comprised Asia Minor and the adjacent islands, the Balkan Peninsula and the adjacent islands, southern Italy (Calabria and Apulia), and the eastern part of Sicily. In these areas Greek was the language of the coterritorial non-Jewish population; about southern Italy and Sicily this can be said only in part; at any rate, Greek was the language of administration and education there.

Among Jews in the Arab countries the Byzantine Empire was known as *Rum*, *Alrum*—a remembrance of the Roman world-empire legacy that Byzantium had taken over substantively and ideologically. Occasionally the name Romania is found. But most frequently the designation is Yavan—the ancient Jewish name for Greece. After the division of the Roman Empire into eastern and western parts, Yavan came to denote the eastern empire. Even cultural-historical nuances were expressed in the medieval Jewish nomenclature. Southern Italy and Sicily, where strong traces of the language have not been eradicated to this day, received the name *Italia shel yavan* (Greek Italy). In the attempt to use a terminology deriving from internal Jewish relations, it is most convenient to speak of Yavanic Jews and to designate their language (2.12.1) as Yavanic. In the course of our discussion it will become apparent that for the sake of clarity it is well to include in the same phenomenon of Yavanic the so-called Judeo-Greek of antiquity (2.6.1, 2.12.1). The fact that modern Yiddish uses "Yavanic" to designate Russian (Greek Orthodox) with various nuances of meaning cannot cause any difficulty in renewing the traditional definition of the word for scientific purposes.

Since David Kaufmann referred to Byzantium some seventy-five years ago as the dark continent of Jewish history, a considerable number of studies on communities and individuals have appeared, but the overall role of Byzantium in Jewish history in the Middle ages is still largely awaiting its discoverer. Numerically the Yavanic community lagged behind the others even on a medieval scale. If we rely on Benjamin of Tudella, it seems that the number in the twelfth century reached between twelve and fifteen thousand. Nor could Yavanic Jewry boast of scholarship. The only exception was Greek Italy, which was a genuine intersection of Jewish subcultures and languages. Here Yavanic held firm, associations were maintained with Roman Italy further north, and Yahudic survived for several centuries after Arab rule had ceased (2.11). The sentence "because from Bari will come forth the Torah and the word of God from Otranto" must have had the Yavanic Jews in mind, although Bari and Otranto are in southern Italy.

But whether it supported more or less scholarship, all of Yavan is important as an intermediary junction between the Orient and Europe.

That in Greek Italy, and in Yavan in general, the Palestinian stratum in study and in applied law was comparatively better represented than the Babylonian can be explained geographically and historically. In North Africa and Rome, Yavanic was replaced at an early date by Roman-Loez, a Jewish language of Latin stock (2.15.2), and the continued use of the Yavanic verb *meletān* (to study, to read) among Jews in the Latin-Romanic culture sphere (2.14.1.1) strikingly illustrates this continuity. Also, the Knaanic territory (2.13.2), which later became part of Ashkenaz, was colonized from Yavan. This colonizing function of the Yavanic Jews was possible because they occupied a prominent place in the large-scale foreign commerce of Byzantium.

2.12.1 Long after the encounter in Rome, Yavanic and a Loez Jewish language—this time it was Dzhudezmo (2.19 ff.)—met on the Balkan Peninsula. After the Spanish exiles had found a refuge in Turkey in the sixteenth century, most of the indigenous Yavanic Jews adopted Dzhudezmo as their spoken language. We do not know how long the process of adoption took, probably hundreds of years; in the meantime there was a coexistence of Yavanic and Dzhudezmo. The problem of the forms of interference has not yet been touched upon. But in the mountainous regions of Epirus, in the northwestern part of the country, several Yavanic communities survived up to the catastrophe of World War II; Ioannina was the most important. There are some data on Yavanic in the liturgy, but on the whole this Yavanic community has not yet found a linguist redeemer. A description of contemporary Yavanic would not only explain the difference between Yavanic and Greek, but could also open new perspectives on historical connections. For the time being, only a few directions of future research can be mapped out.

Reliable information is available on the translation of the Bible among Yavanic Jews. Toward the end of the nineteenth century, and probably later, the teachers (of traditional Jewish elementary schools) adhered to the version of the Pentateuch translation published in Constantinople in 1547. This is a word-for-word translation as was true previously in the case of Aquila. In manuscripts of individual biblical books this manner of translation goes back much beyond the middle of the sixteenth century, and in Rabbi Nathan of Rome, author of the *Arukh*, a dictionary of the Talmud and Midrash (eleventh century), the "missing link" is found. Nathan says explicitly about certain words in Aquila that they are still used among the Yavanic Jews of his day.

This fact was noted by Blondheim, the original investigator of the Loez languages (2.16 ff.), and he coupled it with his own analysis of sixty-odd correspondences between the so-called ancient Judeo-Greek translations and those written and printed from the thirteenth to the seventeenth centuries. Actually there are more translations, but Blondheim had no ambition to exhaust the material. He formulated his conclusion thus: "It is clear that in translating the Bible orally the teachers continued to use expressions taken from the Septuagint and mainly from Aquila. The idea is not absolutely new, but there is no evidence of it having been accurately and systematically presented."

Theoretically we can conceive of a situation when there was no continued history of "Judeo-Greek" (however the term is to be interpreted linguistically in each given period). This would mean that at least three times—in the ancient Hellenistic period, in the Middle Ages, and in modern times—Jews have taken over Greek stock and added non-Greek material to it: Targumic, Roman-Loez (2.15.2 ff.), Dzhudezmo (2.19 ff.), Turkish. Such a thrice-repeated creation did not seem plausible from the very outset: the history of the group is a continuous one, although it did not develop in a single direction (2.16.2). In addition, Blondheim has demonstrated that the language of instruction among Yavanic Jews (this special language [2.15.1] could well be designated School Greek, analogous to the term *Lerntaytsh* [School German] for the Ashkenazic territory) continues in an uninterrupted chain from antiquity to the present. It is all the more desirable to postulate continuity in the spoken language. For antiquity I have already intimated the possibilities of comparison arising from the collation of the epigraphic materials and the lists of Greek in Hebrew texts with recognizable vernacular elements in the stylized Pentateuch translation (2.6.1). The same is also necessary for the modern period. With a description of contemporary Yavanic in hand, it would be easier to obtain specific Jewish vernacular elements from the stylized biblical texts, particularly in the presence of a few nonbiblical texts of previous centuries, modern folkloristic materials, and so on. Tentatively the term *Yavanic* may be used for the entire history of "Greek" among Jews from the Hellenistic period to date; a concentrated attack on the sources and a comparison with contemporaneous non-Jewish Greek should also lead to a periodization in the history of Yavanic, and material for regional differentiation in the Yavanic of various periods may even emerge.

2.13 In the case of Knaan we encounter for the first time a medieval territory on which the Jews have imposed, arbitrarily one could say, a geographic name from the Bible. Yavan is something else; the name is identical with Ionia, a designation of (a part of) Greece among the Greeks themselves; hence the identification is an original and permanent one, save that the designated area and ethnic unit have gradually changed. But *Knaan*, *Ashkenaz*, *Zarfat*, and *Sepharad* certainly did not designate the Slavic lands, Germany, France, and Spain in the Bible, and this transposition should be seen as an endeavor on the part of a

dislocated and scattered people to somehow rationalize the medieval world at least imaginatively; a kind of continuity was established, although everyone was aware of the novelty of the situation.

There are numerous studies attempting an explanation of why the names *Ashkenaz*, *Sepharad*, and *Zarfat* were attached to these particular countries, but so far the results have been generally unsatisfactory. In the case of *Knaan* the reason given does seem plausible; possibly the Jews in the Middle Ages started with *Knaan* and thereafter designated the other countries in the biblical manner. *Knaan* is an adaptation of a non-Jewish designation. Beginning with the seventh century, the Slavic lands figure in the writings of Greek and Latin writers as Sclavinia, or Esclavonia, Sclavonia (the land of the slaves), for thence slaves were exported to the Mohammedan countries by way of the Byzantine territories. Etymologically *slav* derives from *slovo* (word); in his own self-concept the Slav is one who can speak—in contrast to the outsider who is a *nemec* (mute); but *slavus* sounded very similar to *sclavus* (slave). Thus arose the identification, which in language was justified solely by the similarity in sound, but which had factual support in life. To this folk etymology the linguistic inventiveness of the Jews added a second level. "Canaan—a servant of servants shall he be unto his brethren," reads the sentence in Genesis 9:25, and *Canaanite slave* has long been the accepted term for a slave; hence (E)sclavonia and Knaan became identical.

The first mention of Knaan in this sense is made in the anonymous *Yosifon*, written in Greek Italy in the beginning of the tenth century, and thereafter *Knaan* occurs so often in commentaries and codes in the course of the centuries that all the sources simply cannot be enumerated.

Knaan is generally only a geographical-ethnic concept, not a political one. Sometimes Bohemia (or Jews in Bohemia) is meant, just as the Czechs themselves occasionally called their language *jazyk slovensky* (the Slavic language). At other times we note in a text that with the term *Knaan* the writer understood all areas in Europe settled by Slavs. Until medieval German colonization (2.13.1, 7.30), these areas were much more extensive than they are today; they began in the northern half of the Balkan Peninsula and comprised not only eastern Europe, but also the eastern part of central Europe—beyond the Elbe and the Saale and further south up to the area of Bamberg and Nuremberg. Up to the middle of the thirteenth century the boundary between Ashkenaz and Knaan ran along the Thuringian and Bohemian forests or, in other words, along a line from Erfurt to Regensburg. In these two border cities the Jewish communities were at least partially Knaanic. Moreover, even in Vienna and probably in other cities of Austria, where the coterritorial population was German, some of the Jews were arrivals from

Knaan: the great scholar Rabbi Isaac, son of R. Moses, the teacher of the MaHaRaM of Rothenburg and author of *Or Zarua*, lived for a while in Vienna and among the codifiers he is referred to occasionally as Rabbi Isaac of Vienna, but he emanates from Knaan and is the ornament of Knaan. Later we shall see that there were two Jewish communities that arose on Slavic territory more or less simultaneously with Loter. The settlement among the west Slavs, in the Elbe basin, we may designate western Knaan and the settlement among the east Slavs in Kievan and Halitian Russ, eastern Knaan.

2.13.1 Knaan and the language of Knaan are mentioned in Jewish scholarly literature with reference to Bohemia, but the Knaanites have not yet obtained full recognition in Jewish cultural history. At least three reasons may be indicated for this. First, Knaan was absorbed at an early date by Ashkenaz. The zenith of Knaan was perhaps already passed by the end of the thirteenth century; the last illustrious representatives of Knaan in the realm of scholarship were apparently Isaac Or Zarua in the first half of the thirteenth century, and his son Hayim Or Zarua. We do not know how long after the arrival of the Ashkenazim Knaanic and Yiddish existed beside each other, although an intensive research of the documents may yield some facts or hints. By the middle of the fifteenth century, however, Yiddish was already victorious. The sources are very reticent even concerning that period when Knaan was in its bloom and the name does occur. The commentators and codifiers were not interested in writing cultural history or in preparing material for a future historian (2.1, 2.8). A Knaanic word is included if needed for translation purposes; Knaan is mentioned if the question concerns a practice in effect in that country.

Historians and linguists are nevertheless in a position to reconstruct the past even from less than fully adequate fragments, unless something obstructs their view. Such an obstruction arose among Jewish historians in the past hundred years, first among the German Jewish historians (3.1) and later even among some of their successors in eastern Europe. They knew the facts; to a large extent they discovered the facts. But they took over from the stock German historiography the view that essentially "Eastern Germany" is as German as "Western Germany" and that Bohemia-Moravia was also part of the same system, for if it is not entirely German "ethnic ground," it is German "culture ground." It was concluded, therefore, that the spread of the Jews along the Middle Elbe proceeded more or less in the same fashion as along the Middle Rhine only at a slower pace; and the history of the Jews in Bohemia-Moravia was also forced into the Procrustean bed of German Jewish history.

This is a distorted perspective even for the time when "Eastern

Germany" and Bohemia-Moravia were already thoroughly Ashkenized (7.47.1), let alone the earlier period. Up to the beginning of the Ashkenazic move eastward, in the thirteenth century, Knaan was a separate culture area, with its own pedigree. The RaABaN of Mainz in the first half of the twelfth century, who in his younger days had been in Knaan, speaks with great reverence about the authority of the "early scholars" there. The great Ephraim of Regensburg (d. 1175) also says: "In the land of Knaan there are illustrious scholars." Such places as Magdeburg, Halle, and others had been urban settlements under the Slavs before the German conquerors and colonizers imposed their law on the local population. The German code known as the Sachsenspiegel also brought the "Jew laws" from the West, but the objects of these laws had been in the land before the new invaders and lawgivers.

The practices of a collective are more conservative than their memory. After Ashkenazation the Jews forgot the old Knaanic times, but east of the Elbe in Germany "the Saxon version" of the services, closer to the Bohemian and Polish versions than to the Ashkenazic version, remained in use right into the twentieth century. Affinity for the East in "Eastern Germany" can also be found in the applied law. It may seem a trivial detail that in one place suet was ritually edible and in another not, but when we learn that in Erfurt, as in Austria, the decision was against the consumption of suet whereas in the Rhineland it was permitted, old cultural divisions are revealed. Austria followed the *Or Zarua* in everything—this is what the MaHaRIL records around 1400; and the author of *Or Zarua*, although closely linked with the scholars of Loter and Zarfat, was the classical representative of Knaan. And when Erfurt also follows the Knaanic pattern, it is evident how far-flung Knaan was and how small Ashkenaz was up to the thirteenth century.

Bohemia remained independent of Ashkenaz I even more than "Eastern Germany" did. The differences manifest themselves in connection with taking out the scrolls of the Torah, in whether or not the *Havdalah* (the benediction over the wine at the conclusion of the Sabbath and the festivals) is to be recited at the conclusion of Yom Kippur, and whether or not non-Jewish cheese is ritually edible. Tykocinski has compiled a list of such differences and then summarized: "With respect to many religious customs . . . Bohemia was a separate area, independent of the West."

It should be stated that at least some of these peculiarities are traceable to Yavan. As late as the nineteenth century (and possibly even later) the Old Synagogue in Prague was following the Romanic custom (2.12). The first instance of the golem legend appeared in Byzantium, and this may explain why it blossomed forth so vigorously, later on, in Prague. In western Knaan, just as in Yavan, the Right of Settlement (the right

of the community to decide on the settlement of an individual) was not in operation, and in Loter it was. Much may be expected from a systematic study of the associations of Yavan and Knaan.

2.13.2 A look at the system of rivers in Europe shows clearly from whence these associations stem: western Knaan is an offshoot of Yavan. Through the Vltava (Moldau), a tributary of the Elbe, on which Prague is situated, the basin of the Lower and Middle Danube is linked with the Elbe basin. Nature has created an ideal water route from the Black Sea to the North Sea, from Byzantium into the lands of the western Slavs.

Jews of Yavan followed the same route (2.2); the desire to find better and new domiciles was coupled with persecutions in Byzantium, which drove them from their old homes. No later than the tenth century there were Jewish communities in Prague, Meissen, Merseburg, Halle, Magdeburg, and in several places which simply bore the name "Jewish settlement" (*villa Judaeorum*). These Jews came from the south, and their "paths of invasion" can be traced. One column set out from Salonika, long a flourishing commercial center and as early as the tenth century one of the most populous cities in Europe. Among its inhabitants were a conspicuous number of Slavs. From these the Jewish merchants going north could have acquired the Slavic language (South Slavic), let us say, while still at home. From Salonika the way led through the north-south river valleys to the Danube, then upstream through the territories of present Hungary and Austria as far as Linz or Passau in Austria, and thence to the Vltava, which flows through Bohemia into the Elbe in the very heart of the land of the western Slavs. A second highway opened, probably somewhat later, further west. Cutting straight across the Balkan Peninsula, the journey was resumed by water, utilizing the political calm on the Adriatic, up to the top of the gulf, thence through the Alp valleys of Carinthia along the "Jewish settlement" to the border toll stations on the Danube. Here, before approaching the Vltava, both routes converged.

Through their settlement in the western Slavic countries Jews gained entry into countries with a high economic potential; and although this settlement ostensibly did not reach the lower Elbe, there was nevertheless communication with the sea by way of Magdeburg. But the development of Knaan had still further economic significance: Jewish merchants of the south gained access to the great east-west routes of international trade, which passed across Europe, from the Atlantic to western and middle Asia (2.1.2). The cultural-historical correlate thereof was the creation, at the intersection of these routes, of another Jewish subculture, the Knaanic, genetically linked with Yavan, but horizontally coordinated both with the scholarship of Loter-Zarfat and of Babylonia. It is difficult to state with assurance that Prague was the first Jewish

settlement on western Slavic territory; the sources are too meager. At any rate, Prague became the most prominent Jewish center in Knaan at an early date. The *Sefer hadinim* (*Book of Laws*) of R. Judah Hakohen, presumably a younger contemporary of Rabbi Gershom Meor Hagolah (1.2), makes, ostensibly, the first mention of Prague in a Hebrew book (which tells the story of two Jewish orphans sold in the slave market of Prague); and excavations after World War II leave no doubt that Prague had a stable Jewish community as far back as the tenth century.

2.13.3 What is the linguistic character of western Knaanic? On the basis of our knowledge of other Jewish languages we may posit that this too was a fusion language: Hebrew was the language of the texts; there was a predecessor Yavanic language (which must have had a Hebrew component; 6.1.1); there was the Slavic determinant encountered in western Knaan. From these sources the three components of the fusion language Knaanic were probably derived. Interference from Yiddish also must have taken place when the contacts between Knaanites and Ashkenazim became permanent.

Before this is established by facts it is conjecture, but conjecture built on the experience of other Jewish culture areas. Whether the problem of Knaanic can be fully solved on the basis of linguistic evidence only specialists can say. The matter is complicated, and up to now we have not yet heard the decisive word. The codes and the exegetical literature contain hundreds of words and phrases "in the language of Knaan," but the material is highly specific: almost exclusively glosses, to render directly or to illustrate the meaning of Hebrew words. A glossator selects difficult Hebrew words, the simple "are well known"; hence there is no chance for a Hebrew-component word to appear among the glosses. No Yavanic words appear in the texts. If we abide by the thesis of fusion language, it has to be proved on the Slavic component alone. So far the Knaanic material has been used to provide a number of direct proofs for Old Czech: such a lexical or grammatical item appears in this or that gloss, consequently it was so in Old Czech. In other words, the Czech linguists proceed on the assumption that *leshon knaan* is simply the traditional Jewish name for Czech and that the Knaanic glosses are simply Czech written in the Jewish alphabet.

The desire to proceed in this manner is understandable, for however limited the inventory of *leshon knaan* may be, it is still much greater than the Czech language material prior to 1300, found in Latin, Czech, and German sources altogether. Nevertheless the question should be raised whether archaisms or neologisms in vocabulary or grammar compared to Czech per se are not detectable in *leshon knaan*; and the possibility of discovering in a Knaanic gloss a linguistic item that pertains to another

western Slavic area rather than to Bohemia is not precluded. With regard to at least two Knaanic glosses in the manuscripts of Rashi's commentary, conjectures were advanced—it is questionable whether certainty is attainable in view of the precariousness of the readings and the paucity of comparative material—that they manifest morphological fusion: *p(y)rynvs* (featherbeds) and *qrvqym* (beetles) seem like a combination with *-vs* and *-ym* derived from the Hebrew. For the period following 1250, when western Knaanic long continued to struggle with Yiddish, we have to imagine not only the coexistence of two languages in the flourishing Jewish community of Bohemia-Moravia, but also a condition of interference in each of the two languages. The elements of the Slavic component (7.48 ff.) then entered Yiddish; western Knaanic, then already the minority language among the Jews, must have had an influx of a large number of linguistic items from Yiddish. Presumably, had we specimens of western Knaanic from that period of decline, we would be inclined to observe a change in the structure of the language owing to the newly penetrated Yiddish component.

2.13.4 There is no question that there was also a Jewish subculture area in the territory of the eastern Slavs. Here, generally, it is not the territories of Novgorod or Moscow that should be thought of; the reference is to Kievan and Halitian Russ, that is, the basins of the Middle Dniepr and Upper Dniester and those of the Upper Dniepr and the Nemen. In modern terms that would mean that we are not concerned with Great Russia, but the Ukraine and Belorussia-Lithuania.

Had the first Jewish settlers in the eastern Slavic areas (7.57) arrived from the West, the oldest Jewish settlements would have been in Halitian Russ (sometimes this territory is designated Red Russ or Red Russia; anachronistically: eastern Galicia). But the first Jews appeared in Kievan Russ and they did not come from the West. Combining meager historical data with the facts of geography, we must come to the conclusion that Jews arrived among the eastern Slavs from four reservoirs: (1) from the remnants of the Yavanic colonies north of the Black Sea; (2) from Byzantium; (3) from Caucasia, or by way of Caucasia, from the Parsic culture area; (4) from the Khazar state. Ostensibly the oldest mention of Jews in the Kievan area is the legend of Vladimir of Kiev (later, St. Vladimir), to the effect that on deciding toward the end of the thirteenth century to choose a new religion, Jewish emissaries came to him and proposed conversion. The legend must have a historical background, at least in the sense that there was a Jewish settlement in Kievan Russ or in the vicinity. In the eleventh century Jews are mentioned in Kiev; in 1124 the Jewish Street and a Jewish Gate were burned down. In the same century we hear of a Jewish scholar—R. Moses of Kiev—

and in the following century we hear of the scholar R. Itse of Chernigov. In 1240 the Mongol (or Tatar, as it is called in Russian history) invasion destroyed the Jewish community in Kiev.

Since Kiev was a communication hub on the long route of Atlantic—Rhine—Regensburg—Bohemia—Moravia—Kievan Russ—western Asia, it is highly probable that at least individual Jews arrived there also from Loter. The RaABaN in Mainz told in the first half of the twelfth century, in his *Even Haezer*, that as a youth he had been to *rvσy*ʔ and the wayfarers in Russia are mentioned several times in that book. It is normally to be assumed that some of these "wayfarers" did not reach Kiev and stopped in Halitian Russ. Jews are mentioned, as residents of a city that seems to be Przemyśl—a very old trade junction on the east-west route—by a codifier of the eleventh century (there is no absolute certainty on this, for the name was corrupted in copying; it appears as *prymvl*). One *bnymyn mvvldymyr* (Benjamin of Vladimir), who came to Cologne in 1174, is mentioned in the famous report on the Second Crusade of Ephraim of Bonn; it is generally agreed that this is *Ludmir* in Volhynia (Vladimir-Volynski), in days of old also a transit point of international trade.

In conjunction with the eastern Slavs in the north, it is well to recall the political-territorial conditions in the Middle Ages (7.57). Even after Poland had concluded a personal union with Lithuania in 1386, the latter was still larger and more powerful. At the end of the fourteenth century the Grand Duchy of Lithuania extended from the Baltic almost to the Don River. In the east it included all of present Belorussia up to Vitebsk and Smolensk, and in the south the largest part of present-day Ukraine (among whose western border cities were Vladimir, Lutsk, Ostrog). It may be assumed that Jews from southern Lithuania also migrated into northern Lithuania of that period, that is Lithuania-Belorussia in present terminology. There is a tale concerning the Karaites of Troki, near Vilna, that they were brought there by Grand Duke Vitautas in 1397, when he wrested the land up to the Sea of Azov from the Tatars. Undoubtedly, some rabbanite Jews also came with the Karaites. The idea, therefore, suggests that there were in Lithuania-Belorussia not only Ashkenazim, but also Knaanic (and Crimean; 2.23) Jews. Possibly those Jews of Lithuania-Belorussia, of whom the frequently cited sentence of R. Meir Katz, in the beginning of the seventeenth century, testifies that they speak "the language of Russia" (2.13.5), were late Knaanites.

2.13.5 Once the ethnographic Lithuanian territory was greater than it is today; nevertheless the largest part of the population of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania was eastern Slavic. The eastern Knaanic language in its Slavic component, therefore, must have been built of eastern

Slavic stock (Great Russia does not enter into consideration; 7.58); in present terms we would say, of Ukrainian and Belorussian stock. The question of when Ukrainian and Belorussian became differentiated as separate linguistic systems is not in place here.

Few remains of the eastern Knaanic language have survived, but there should be no doubt of its existence. There are several testimonies. One document, emanating from the Cairo Genizah, goes back roughly to the year 1000. It is a Hebrew letter of recommendation of the community of Salonika for a Jew who was journeying to Palestine "to bow down to the holy place" and would undoubtedly require the assistance of the communities on the way. "He is from *rvσy*ʔ (the congregation of Russia), visiting our community of Salonika . . . and he has requested from us these two lines to commend him to your generosity and to your guidance from town to town and from island to island through reliable people, for he knows neither Hebrew, nor Yavanic, nor Arabic, only the language of Knaan that the people of his native land speak. . . ." The link of Russia and the language of Knaan in the same document precludes the possibility that the recommendee was from the Elbe basin.

We hear of R. Itse of Chernigov (2.13.4) that he expounded his teachings in the language of Russia.

In the responsa of the Ashkenazic authorities there are three facts bearing on our subject (the evidence is all of a later period, as late as the first half of the seventeenth century): (1) In a question sent from Mezhbizh to the BaH (R. Joel Serkes) in 1605, we read that a Jew "had testified in the language of Russia and we translated it [in the community minutes] into the language of Ashkenaz." (2) A question was sent to R. Meir Katz concerning a man in Vilna who had betrothed a woman and thereby had said "in the language of Russia *yʔ tʕby ʔσtym mqds byl* (with that I betrothed thee)." (3) The same R. Meir Katz was asked why in Brisk dekuya (in northern Poland, in Polish Brześć Kujawski; 7.56.2.2) the name of the town was written in bills of divorce *Brisk*, whereas in Brisk delite (Brest) *brσty*. To which R. Meir, then rabbi in Mogilev-Dniepr, replied: "It seems to me that there is no need to write the non-Jewish name in Brisk dekuya, for there all Jews call it *Brisk*. . . . And the fact that it is general usage in Brisk delite . . . to write *brσty* is no proof, for it has become customary among most of the Jews in these parts to speak the language of Russia, and they call the city *Bresti*. God willing and the world will be full of knowledge and all [Jews] will speak one language, the language of Ashkenaz, then *Brisk* will be written exclusively. . . ."

The three facts speak for themselves. In Lithuania-Belorussia-Ukraine Yiddish was spoken in the seventeenth century. It is to be assumed that R. Meir Katz was wrong in his use of the word *most*, if we attempt

to confine the expression "in these parts" to the region of Mogilev, eastern Belorussia. But it is no fiction; it is merely a considerable exaggeration. The exaggeration derives from the temperament of a community leader with a program: he presents the danger as greater than it is in order to combat it with greater vigor. We dare not brush off the notations of the BaH or of R. Meir Katz. The question is only of their correct interpretation. From R. Meir's statement "it has become customary" the conclusion could be drawn that these speakers of the language of Russia had been formerly Yiddish speakers and in the time of R. Meir they came closer linguistically to the Slavic milieu. But this can be conceived only as a hypothesis. It rather stands to reason to deny the existence in Belorussia and in the Ukraine in the first half of the seventeenth century of groups, or at least clusters, of Jews whose direct language was not Yiddish, but "the language of Russia."

In 1867 Albert A. Harkavy, in his *Hayehudim usefat haslavim*, advanced the so-called Slavic theory: In ancient days Jews in the Slavic lands spoke Slavic. The debate on this subject continued for some fifty years, and in 1908 Simon Dubnow demonstrated that at least as far back as the sixteenth century the language of the Jews both in the Polish and in the east Slavic territories was Yiddish. Reviewing the arguments of both sides now, it becomes evident that essentially they disagreed only on the matter of the proportions. Harkavy: "In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the Jews in Russia were divided in two; half spoke Russian [!]..., the other—German [!]...." Dubnow: "Even then there was a small percentage of linguistically assimilated ... mainly among the masses—mostly villagers—but this does not characterize the whole people." It seems that with respect to the principal question there can be only one opinion: Just as in the Elbe basin so in the Dniepr basin there was a Jewish pioneer-population with a kind of Knaanic speech prior to the arrival of Ashkenazic immigrants whose Yiddish ultimately won out. The question particularly concerns the Vistula basin (2.13.6).

There still remains the question of determining what, linguistically speaking, eastern Slavic—"the language of Russia" in the BaH and in the writings of R. Meir Katz—means. Out of context it could be assumed to mean simply Russian; when R. Meir cites in another responsum what a non-Jew said to a Jew, he also characterizes that statement as being "in the language of Russia." But the BaH places in opposition the language of Russia and the language of Ashkenaz, and in the cited Mezhbizh minutes "the language of Ashkenaz" assumes the following character: *Mir zaynen givezn in der Valakhay ikh un Khayim* khosn shel kmar *Yitskhok* br' *Shloyme* mi*krasni* ... besho *do di* mehume *iz givezin.* (We were in Walachia, I and Khayim the son-in-law of Mr. Isaac, son of R. Solomon of Krasny ... at the time of the riot.) Since "the language of Ashkenaz" here does not mean German, we are justified in thinking that "the language of Russia" is not necessarily Russian. The formula of betrothal cited by R. Meir (*y? tʿby ?ʿtym mqds byl*) is certainly not Russian; the fusion character of the sentence renders it absolutely unintelligible to a speaker of Russian or any other eastern Slavic language. Possibly other linguistic indications may be obtained from the small amount of fugitive eastern Knaanic material.

2.13.6 The problem of a pre-Ashkenazic settlement in Poland should be approached in the light of the above geographic, historical, and linguistic considerations about Jews in the Slavic sphere. The Kalisz Charter of 1264 deals clearly (although not expressly) with Jews from the west: the text was modeled after the charter of Austria (1244) and Bohemia (1254), and it was issued at the time of Polish reconstruction following the Mongol invasion (1241). No influx of people and wealth could come from the east, and the Polish rulers began to attract settlers from the west, German and Jewish. We have to search intensively for evidence of Jews in Poland up to the middle of the thirteenth century. Harkavy maintained (perhaps motivated by his "pro-Russian" approach) that in Poland there had been no Jewish "Slavic" speakers, and from this stance he argued with the German Jewish scholars who wanted to find traits of Polish in the Slavic of the Jewish texts in eastern Europe; these could be nothing but Russian, he contended. But methodologically even less justified was the procedure of those who wanted to solve the problem of whether there had been a pre-Ashkenazic substratum for Poland and Ukraine-Belorussia-Lithuania together. "Polish-Lithuanian Jews" is applicable only after the Lublin Union of 1569 (7.57); the concept can be introduced after the establishment of Ashkenaz II. Up to the thirteenth century Poland and Lithuania were two absolutely different magnitudes, and whereas concerning the eastern Slavic territories we could answer positively, in the case of Poland we may possibly have to leave the question open.

There is a chronicler's notation for the year 1085 (and this, Graetz maintained, is the oldest mention of the Jews in Poland) that on the day of her death, Judita, the wife of Duke Ladislaus Herman of Poland, performed pious deeds and from her own funds ransomed many Christian slaves from Jewish hands. But critical historians realized that this is no proof of a Jewish settlement in the country. Poland was one of the transit countries for east-west trade, so Jewish merchants surely traversed Poland. The presumable indications of Khazar settlements in Poland, allegedly going back to the ninth century, appear fantastic to most experts. (And if there were Khazars, does this necessarily mean Jews? Only the Khazar aristocracy adopted the Jewish religion.) Con-

cerning the Polish coins with Hebrew characters found in the high hundreds in excavations in western Poland there is a dispute as to whether they stem from the tenth or the thirteenth century, and occasionally the view is advanced that the minters for the Polish rulers were Jews of Bohemia. The writings *plvny*, *pvlv''ń*, *pvly?* in manuscripts of codes from the eleventh to the thirteenth centuries contain so many errors and the context is so uncertain that it is risky to read "Poland" into them.

Thus we come to the end of the twelfth century with practically no definite information. Two travelers, from about the middle and closer to the end of the twelfth century, passed through Poland; but this was the route from the Occident to the Orient and constitutes no proof of a Jewish settlement in the country. The case of a third traveler, Eliezer, son of Isaac, of Prague, is a bit more concrete. He carried on a correspondence with Judah the Pious as to whether something should be given to the cantor at weddings, on Purim, and on Simhath Torah. Eliezer was in favor of it and, in passing, he told that in Russia, Poland, and Hungary there were no scholars; a learned man was therefore engaged who served as cantor, rabbi, and teacher. Regrettably, it is uncertain whether he himself was in any of the communities in Poland, nor can the date of his information be ascertained; around 1200 is the best that can be said about it.

About individual Jewish communities in Poland (in contrast to Silesia or Russ or Lithuania, which are linked with Poland in history) prior to the Mongol invasion, there are seemingly no more than two bits of data. Both are from the thirteenth century. In 1205 the place name Żydowo (Jewtown), some fifteen kilometers south of Gniezno, is mentioned in a deed; in 1237 we hear of the *puteus Judaeorum* (well of the Jews) in Płock, which can mean only a ritual bathhouse, and this is a sure indication of the existence of a community. In the case of Żydowo we are inclined to think of a suburban community of the type of the aforementioned western Knaanic "Jewish settlements" (2.13.2)—Gniezno was on a trade route, albeit not a primary one—consequently the first thought is of a western Knaanic place. It is risky to venture even a guess about Płock as to whether Jews of Ashkenazic derivation dwelled there. In both cases we may actually think of both of pre-Ashkenazic and pioneer-Ashkenazic settlements. Perhaps we may incline a trifle to the second conjecture for in the rabbinic literature the term for Poland is only the Ashkenazic *Poyln*; there is no Slavic-colored term.

The Kalisz Charter could not have been the *beginning* of the Jewish settlement in Poland; it could only sanction an actual condition. All the same, the Jewish settlement in Poland came into being late. Perhaps

the geographic explanation may suffice for the fact that Poland appears on the Jewish map so late. Poland is in the middle between western Knaan and eastern Knaan. It is furthest from Byzantium and from the old Jewish population reservoirs in the east. Only the migration wave coming from Ashkenaz I was powerful enough to roll up to Poland.

There are no Jewish linguistic remains of the pre-Ashkenazic period in Poland; therefore there is no basis for postulating here a pre-Ashkenazic specific-Jewish spoken language.

2.14 From Yavan and its offshoot Knaan we return now to the sphere of influence of the Western Roman Empire. Here we are in the sphere of the Latin language and its daughter languages; Jewish correlates to these came into being, some of them very conspicuous. Palestine is not included here, although the Temple was destroyed and the country was occupied by Rome; there the Romans acted like faithful guardians of the Hellenistic legacy. Only those Jews who came (or were brought) to Rome or western North Africa and to other places on the west coast of the Mediterranean were exposed to Latin, and later on its daughter languages.

Basic facts on the Jewish linguistic condition may be gleaned from a study of the epitaphs in the Jewish catacombs in Rome, excavated mainly since the end of World War I. We are no longer surprised that the reporters speak of simply Latin on the Jewish tombstones. For the present we shall follow their designation; the linguistic quality of the texts will be discussed later (2.14.1 ff.). The reporters also speak of simply Greek among the Jews in Rome. We already know that this may mean both Yavanic, Greek with a Jewish coloring, and real Greek (2.6.1, 2.12.1); where these cannot be delimited the designation "Greek" will be used, the quotation marks indicating the problematic character of the issue.

There is a survey of some 600 epitaphs, a small number of the first century C.E., somewhat more of the second, but mainly of the third and again a small number of the fourth. Only one is Targumic; another is half Hebrew, half "Greek"; another dozen are "Greek" or Latin but with a bottom line in Hebrew *shalom al yisrael* (peace upon Israel) or simply *shalom*. All other texts are in "Greek" or in Latin; 443, or 74% "Greek," 157, or 26% Latin; in other words the ratio of "Greek" to Latin is nearly three to one.

In general, during the first centuries of the Christian era there was a great influx of people from the east to Rome, mainly the poor and impoverished, and the congregations in Rome were entirely Greek in the beginning. But toward the end of the second century Latin began to gain the ascendency; in the middle of the fourth century there was no more Greek Christianity in Rome.

Among Jews the picture is different; the ratio of "Greek" to Latin on the surviving epitaphs shows virtually no decline throughout the entire third century. Conceivably, even some of the Jews who had gone over to Latin inscribed their tombstones in "Greek," for "Greek" incorporated elements of holiness. The proof: some epitaphs are in Latin in Greek characters, others in "Greek" in Latin characters; some Latin epitaphs have as the last line not *shalom* in Hebrew, but the Greek equivalent *en eirēnē* (in peace).

All these precautions notwithstanding, the majority of specialists maintain that the spoken language of the small number of Jews in Rome prior to the Destruction of the Second Temple was Latin (or a kind of Latin) and that after the Destruction there also arrived a congregation of *ebraei* (Hebrews), that is Targumic speakers. But the large majority of new arrivals spoke "Greek," which survived much longer than Greek among non-Jews. It cannot even be said with certainty whether "Greek" did not survive among some Jews as late as the fifth century. A more precise formulation is impossible, for with the invasion of the barbarians and the fall of the Western Roman Empire in 476 there begins a stretch of centuries practically without documentation. In the period when vision became clearer again, Latin no longer existed as an unmediated language, its place having been taken by the daughter languages, the so-called Romance languages. In Italy this means the Italian language (more precisely, Old Italian), to which there is a Jewish correlate, southern Loez (2.18). There is no longer any mention of Jews speaking "Greek" in medieval Rome. On the basis of the cited evidence, the conclusion is more or less as follows: excluding the small group of Targumic-speaking "Hebrews," of whose fate and end we know nothing, there were in Rome up to the fourth century, and perhaps even later, two Jewish linguistic communities: a "Greek" (we may now say again, a Yavanic) and a Latin. In the fourth century, and perhaps later, in the course of the dark centuries, the Yavanic community disappeared; it was presumably absorbed in the other. The former Latin community gradually developed into a southern Loez one (2.16.2). The first tombstones, after the long interruption of the seventh century, were found in Venosa, in southern Italy, east of Naples. Among the epitaphs there are some in "Greek," but in Jewish characters. These tombstones cannot be conceived of as a simple continuation of the above-mentioned type, in Rome. The Venosa tombstones were apparently put up not for the descendants of the former indigenous Roman residents, but for later arrivals, Yavanic Jews.

This hypothetical chronology was sharply and definitely (perhaps too definitely in view of the vagueness of some of the documentation) rejected by the Italian Jewish scholar Cassuto. Jews in Rome, he maintains, went over to Latin no later than did non-Jews; devotion to "Greek" on the tombstones is merely an expression of cultural conservatism.

Seemingly all agree that in northern Africa "Greek" as a spoken language among Jews ended earlier than in Rome. Yet around the year 400 St. Augustine relates that the Greek-derived word for 'Friday' is used "even by those [Jews] who speak more Latin than Greek" (2.14.1). That is, there were still both kinds.

2.14.1 It is a question of the word *paraskevē*. The first meaning is 'preparation', but in the Hellenistic period it assumed among Jews the meaning of 'preparation for the Sabbath', the eve of the Sabbath, Friday. This means a change in the internal form (1.8.2). With this "Greek" word, which apparently was used in this sense only among Jews, they entered the sphere of Latin. They introduced into their Latin, from their prior language, the Greek-derived word, as attested by St. Augustine in his Latin commentary on John, in speaking of Good Friday: "*Paraskevē* means in Latin 'preparation', but the Jews show a great predilection for this word . . . even those that speak more Latin than Greek."

Further on in the same text we hear from St. Augustine about the equivalent of the word that among Jewish Latin speakers is *cenapura* (pure meal). This, too, is an expression that the Jews did not create, but rather specified for their own needs. Originally it was a pagan term used to describe a certain meal in a mystery cult. The Christians, too, adopted this expression, but since the first Sabbath meal was on Friday evening only among the Jews, the meaning of 'pure meal' could be extended to 'Friday' only among them. And here we come to a sociolinguistic sensation: the word for 'Friday' in modern Greek is *paraskevē*, and in the Roman language of modern Sardinia it is *kenáßura*. How great the Jewish influence on the coterritorial non-Jewish milieu must have been!

There are a number of such Latin words that were not used among Jews or that had a specific semantic nuance among Jews: *metuentes* (the fearing), corresponding to *yereim* (fearful) (cf. *yere shamayim* [God-fearing]; in the Greek sphere there was a complete correspondent to it, *phoboúmenoi*); *observare* for *shamor* (for instance, to observe the Sabbath); *thalamus* (a word of Greek derivation and apparently taken over from the Greek sphere) (wedding canopy); *dies magnus* (the great day) (patterned after the "Greek" *megálē hēméra*) (Yom Kippur); *peregrina* (a female stranger, a female proselyte); *dies bonus* (good day; Hebrew, *yom tov*); *lex* (law) for Torah; *domus eterna* (eternal home) for Hebrew *bet olam* (Ecclesiastes 12:5); *veneranda rūs* (venerable place) for paradise; and so on.

We must conclude that quotation marks are called for not only in case of the "Greek" used by Jews and suspected of having become Judaized, but also in case of the "Latin" current among Jews.

2.14.1.1 Two loanwords from "Greek" were current among Jewish "Latin" speakers in Rome, with the same meaning and ramification of meanings: *synagōgḗ* and *scholḗ*. The various meanings intertwine: administration of the community; the community itself; the place where the community gathers for prayer and study. Both words in their Latinized forms, *synagōga* and *schola*, were passed on to the Jews of the Middle Ages (2.16.2).

Most instructive, I believe, is the function and development of the Greek-derived *meletân* among Jews. In the form presented here it is the infinitive of a Greek verb, defined in Greek dictionaries as 'meditate, contemplate'. But in the Septuagint it is used as a translation for *hago* (to meditate), as in the sentence *vehagita bo yomam valayla* (and thou shalt meditate therein day and night) (Joshua 1:8). Thus 'meditation' became 'learning', and in the sense of 'study' there is the "Greek" substantive *meletió* (a diminutive; something like 'the little study') in a Yavanic song from the end of the Middle Ages, which was still sung at the end of the sixteenth century in the Corfu synagogue. The Jewish method of study called forth the criticism of the church fathers at an early stage, and St. Jerome (d. 420), for instance, levels the charge at the "Pharisees" that their meditation is only with the mouth, by reading the sacred texts, whereas Christians meditate in the Law through deeds: "When I give charity, I meditate in God's Law; . . . when I visit a sick person, my feet meditate in God's Law."

The Latin word used by St. Jerome is *meditari*. It was very widespread in Latin, and Jewish "Latin" speakers surely knew it too. But the Latin vernacular also had a Greek loanword in the form of *meletāre* with the same meaning as in Greek (the derivation of this word in contemporary Sardinian means 'reconsider, regret', and in contemporary Provençal 'hesitate'). Did the Jewish "Latin" speakers link their meaning (*hago* > *meletān* 'study') with the "non-Jewish" Latin *meletāre*, or did they themselves take over the word with the specific Jewish meaning from Yavanic? No irrefutable direct answer can be seen, but the latter is more plausible. For the Jewish meaning began among Jews not with "Latin," but with their prior language, Yavanic, and did not cease with "Latin": the meaning 'study' (and later also 'read from the Torah'; 2.16.2) passed on to the languages that the Jews created as correlates to the daughter languages of Latin.

2.14.1.2 In comparing "Latin" among Jews and Latin per se, lexical-semantic differences arrest our attention first. But even in the small collection of facts discussed above we came across other things. The

Sardinian *kenáßura*, for example, cannot derive directly from (ordinary) Latin *cēna pura*, for as long as the meaning 'pure meal' was still clearly felt, the expression was a substantive with an attributive adjective (which in Latin follows the substantive) and both words have equal accents; the adjective loses its own accent when the "phrase" becomes a "word" (for instance: /yom tov/ 'good day' > /jontef/). This means that the loss of accent in the adjective could have come only after the combination of substantive plus adjective assumed the meaning of 'Friday'; in other words, although the phenomenon of loss of accent in such combinations is known in Latin and in various other languages, the shift of accent in *cēna pura* must be conceived of as a specific process in Jewish Latin.

A second survival of Jewish influence in Sardinia: in Sardinian—not among the Jews; there are practically no Jews there—September is called *kaputanni*, literally 'the head of the year'. Undoubtedly this is a reflection of the Jewish Rosh Hashanah (head of the year), in view of the fact that the festival usually occurs in September.

2.15 The system of reducing "Jewish Latin" to a quantity of *words* is an expression of that atomistic approach to linguistics that was so characteristic of the prestructualistic period (1.5 ff.). Not that there was a lack of knowledge, but there was a lack of appreciation and of proper emphasis. It was recorded that Jewish Latin seems "common," but this was explained by the fact that Jewish Latin speakers came from the common people and were not exposed to the influence of cultural "classical" Latin. The question of whether this "commonness" of Jewish Latin was in any way specific in relation to ordinary "vulgar Latin" was rarely asked. Scrutiny does reveal something even prior to concentrating on the subject. Greek-derived words that entered Jewish Latin were declined in the Latin manner. In their Latin the Jews showed a predilection for certain suffixes that were also used in ordinary Latin, but not in the same proportion. There are calques (8.9) of Hebrew-derived names: Vitalinus (with the diminutive suffix *in;* cf. Latin *vītālis* [alive, viable] from VĪTA [life]) linked to *hayim* (life). There is even a form that cannot be explained except as a fusion: *Barvalentini* is certainly *bar* (son) and the genitive of *Valentinus*. The change in internal form, as seen above, for instance, in the shift of *guter tog* (good day) > *yom tov; fremder* (stranger) > *ger* (proselyte) (2.14.1) also transcends the narrow limits of specific lexical items.

2.15.1 With the previous descriptions of Latin among Jews and Latin among non-Jews (or, Jewish Latin and ordinary Latin or Latin per se) we have come only halfway. Latin speakers were pagans in the beginning and only later, in the sight of the Jews, so to speak, did they gradually become Christian. Hence, only in the beginning was there a Jewish Latin alongside of ordinary Latin; later on there came into being pagan

Latin, Jewish Latin, and Christian Latin side by side. The problem of "how Latin became Christianized" (Christine Mohrmann's expression) has been thoroughly studied since the last quarter of the nineteenth century, and we can gain much therefrom for our case.

Even prior to the growth of interest in Christian Latin, considerable attention was devoted to what was then called "Church Latin." The scholars were historians of the Church—great experts in Latin, but not linguists. In the twentieth century linguists turned to the field and the approach changed. The theory of "special languages" (*langues spéciales*), propounded in 1908 by the Belgian sociologist-folklorist Van Gennep (1.6.9), gained acceptance, and after World War I, the Hollander Schrijnen, along with his disciples, established the study of Christian Latin on new theoretical bases.

Upon acquaintance with this system it appears simple, much as Columbus' egg. Every social group in a linguistic community has a tendency to develop its own "linguistic style" (or as others call it, "social dialect"; 1.6.1). This is seen, for instance, in the specialized languages of scholars, artisans, musicians, or, to make a distinction, thieves: a specific selection is made of the common general linguistic possession and linguistic innovations are introduced. Among the groups likely to create modifications in language, the religious groups must certainly not be overlooked; there are some who say that religion is an especially powerful force in the creation of language (2.25). Linguistic differences between Catholics and Protestants in Germany have been pointed out frequently; similarly, differences between Greek Orthodox Serbs and Catholic Croats. Denominational differences create differences in the mode of life, which in turn leads to differences in language. How much more so must have been the language-creating force of two such religions as Christianity and paganism. Tertullian (d. ± 230), one of the early Christian writers, described in few words the wall separating Christians from the surrounding world despite physical proximity: "One may live together with the non-Christians, but it is not allowed to die together with them. . . . Let us live together with everyone; let us rejoice because of the community of nature, and not of superstition. We are equal in soul, but not in [the fundamentals of] doctrine. We are co-owners of the world but not of the [religious] error." *This* world may be the same, but the orientation is toward the other world. How different one feels may be more important than how different one *is*. If the spiritual partition between the two groups in the speech community is sufficiently effective, the difference of styles in a language can develop and ultimately lead to such an overall difference that they are regarded as two cognate, but separate, languages. At the time of the existence of two such language styles, it is hard to say how far from one another their development will

lead; whether two languages have resulted or not can be told only in retrospect.

Following approximately this course, Schrijnen understood that in studying Christian Latin it is not enough to fish out "Christian words," although the vocabulary stands out most strikingly. Not only the final result of Christianization is discernible in the vocabulary, but also the various methods. At times a word was simply adopted directly from the Christian Greek; at others, Latin-derived neologisms were coined in the Greek manner; and in other cases old Latin words were invested with a new, Christian meaning. (An ideological basis is clearly visible: some Christian writers maintain that a reinterpretation of former pagan words in a Christian manner means compromising with "pagan superstition.") But after all, words are merely the beginning. Christian Latin, it has to be made clear, is *a special language*, namely "an integrated system of differentiations of a lexical, semantic, morphological, syntactic, and even metrical character."

Given the social differentiation brought about by religion, it is not necessary to search for a special causal explanation of each linguistic difference: there is a subgroup that uses the language in its own way; and even when it uses the existing patterns, the emerging forms are not always like those of the other members of the society who are not in the same subgroup.

Let us recall the linguistic balance in Rome up to and after the victory of Christianity (2.14). In the second century Latin was still essentially the pagan language. Three hundred years later, pagan Latin was no longer; the bearers of the language were all Christians. Because of the Christianization of the speakers, Latin underwent a radical change. At the time Christians in large numbers adopted Latin as their daily language, that language already had a rich literary tradition and a standard. Most Christian Latin-writers were well versed in the norms, but they rebelled because the speakers of Latin in their Christian subgroup regarded the norms with contempt: the most important thing was to express the new idea with the properly affective and intellectual stress. "Mostly colloquial speech is more effective in expressing things than erudite perfection," said St. Augustine.

The struggle of the two "styles" continued for several centuries, and the result was a compromise between the extreme pagan and the extreme Christian language. Marks of this compromise are still visible in the daughter languages of Latin.

2.15.1.1 The rise of the Romance languages entailed no break in continuity—there was no moment when the speakers became aware that they were speaking a new language that was no longer Latin. There was no awareness then of the birth of the new language nor was there

a birthday (1.3). However, since real Latin was still used almost exclusively as the language of the Christian liturgy, literature, chancery, and education, people had an opportunity of confronting Latin with the new linguistic reality. Hence as early as the eighth century, and in some places even earlier, there arose the terminological difference between *lingua latina* (Latin language) and *lingua romanica* (Romance language).

Contemporary linguistics operates with much more refined instruments and knows of many more details. Between actual Latin and the finished Romance languages there were intermediate stages. In the first centuries of our era (let us say schematically, till 300 C.E.) Latin was socially stratified, but even in the so-called Vulgar Latin, in the language of the lower strata, no overly strong areal differentiations were manifest. The later differentiation among the Romance languages was apparently brought about, in the various provinces to a varying degree, by the pre-Latin ethnic substrata; the extent of infiltration of Roman soldiers and colonists, and hence the extent of Latinization at the time of the fall of the political dominion of Rome; and differences in the originally possessed Latin. In the history, say, of Romanic in northern Gaul, that is of pre-French and French, the following stages can be marked off (2.16.2): the period of ubiquitous, locally as yet undefinable Vulgar Latin (schematically, up to 300 C.E.); the period of locally colored Gallic Latin, which gradually passes into Gallic Romance (schematically, 300–600 C.E.); the period of Earliest French (schematically, 600–900 C.E.); the period of Old French (schematically, since 900 C.E.).

These are the Romance languages as linguistics knows them today: Italian, Dalmatian (on the eastern shore of the Adriatic Sea; it ceased to be an unmediated language toward the end of the nineteenth century), Romanian, Sardinian, Spanish, Portuguese, Catalan, Provençal, French, Rhaeto-Romanic (in the Swiss canton of Grisons and in the neighboring Tyrolese-Friuli Alps that belong to Italy).

2.15.2 From Christian Latin we can learn more than a little about Jewish Latin, both positively and negatively. The size of the group was an important factor: Christians were very numerous even before Christianity became the state religion in 312, and Jews had been and remained a small minority. Under equal circumstances a small group has less power of resistance; it is more subject to absorption by the majority. But this tendency was opposed by another extralinguistic factor (1.10): the will to survive. Jewish aversion to non-Jewishness did not change after Constantine's adoption of Christianity. Jews remained the same dissenters in the changed religious ambience, and AKUM (worshippers of stars and planets), originally a factually descriptive characterization of pagans, was carried over as a derogatory form for Christians.

This must have also determined the attitude of the Jews to the non-Jewish Latin. The non-Jewish peculiarities in early Christian Latin, in pagan Latin, and in later Christian-pagan compromise Latin (known in a later period as *galahut* [clerical Latin]; 3.3) were shunned. It is to be expected that gradually Jewish Latin in the Christian period of Rome became more differentiated from Latin per se.

The possibility of factually studying the extent of independence is much smaller in Jewish Latin than in Christian Latin because of the far greater paucity of Jewish materials. No Jewish Latin literature has come down to us. Besides funerary inscriptions, which are as a rule monotonously formalized, there exists a Latin Bible translation, the so-called *Vetus Latina* (the old Latin [Bible]), which has been intensively investigated. It is a Christian Bible; it was in use among Christians in the early period, prior to the new Latin translation of St. Jerome in the fourth century, later known as the Vulgate. But Blondheim submitted ample proof that the text of the *Vetus Latina* is not only chained to the letter of the Hebrew original, but clearly composed under Jewish influence (possibly even by Jews?). And although we know from our discussion of the Septuagint and Aquila (2.6.1) how difficult it is to extract elements of a spoken language from a translation that is basically subordinate to the original, we may nevertheless hope that basing themselves on Blondheim and utilizing the recently acquired knowledge about Christian Latin, new investigators, gropingly following the path of reconstruction, will ultimately provide a clearer conception of the structural differences between Jewish Latin and Latin per se.

There are, besides, certain considerations that depend less on concrete finds than on clearer conceptions. How far is it from a special language (2.15.1) to an independent language? No clear absolute criterion is available. Danish and Norwegian are very close to each other, yet are nevertheless considered separate languages. Sicilian and Tuscan are very remote from each other, and are nevertheless considered two dialects of the same language, Italian (5.3.1). The relative measure is also associated with extralinguistic no less than purely linguistic factors. Are both linguistic formations the possession of members of the same ethnic group (for instance, French among Catholics and Protestants in France) or does the religious difference become intensified by a difference in extraction? To what extent have the bearers of one of the formations crossed, completely or partly, into new territories? To what extent was one of the formations affected by a prelanguage or prelanguages (2.13.3, 2.27, 6.1.1) which did not affect the other formation, or did not affect it in the same way? How long was the subgroup separated? (The longer the separateness of the bearers, the greater the difference in the linguistic formation.) To what extent have areal or social variants

developed in the given linguistic formation? Did the subgroup of interest to us possess a different written language, that is, was there an internal bilingualism in this subgroup (4.3)? Did the special language itself begin to develop its own styles? The list goes on and on.

If we were to compare, say, Jewish Latin as contrasted to Latin per se, on the one hand, and Yiddish as contrasted to the German stock language, the colossal difference in the degree of independence would be striking. Nevertheless, Jewish Latin is a manifestation of the broad phenomenon of Jewish linguistic process. Its roots derive from Targumic and Yavanic, and it grows into the widely ramified Jewish languages of Romanic stock (2.15.2.1). If the mesh of the Latin-investigator is so coarse that the "little peculiarities" do not disturb him, he can speak of "Latin among Jews" and let it go at that. He may even just speak of Latin and fulfill his obligation; after all, a linguist has the right to speak of Indo-European as such as opposed to Finno-Ugric as such. But others have no less the right to wish to see Jewish culture development and language development from within (and these will be joined by all linguists who are time and again fascinated by the superabundance of structuring in language). They will seek peculiarities even in what may be called—by a term suggested by Yiddish research (1.8)—the Latin component of "Jewish Latin." The question is first of all if there is a "Jewish Latin" phenomenon also in Vulgar Latin. If so, the second question must follow immediately: Is the same phenomenon found in Vulgar Latin at the same time, in the same place, in the same combination, and with the same function? If the test is negative, we must conclude that we have encountered here a specific fact of "Jewish Latin."

For this reason it is desirable to have special Jewish-oriented names even for the less flourishing Jewish languages, to emphasize their independence in the Jewish framework (2.15, 2.27). For the Jewish language with a preponderance of Romanic stock, the most appropriate name is Loez language (2.15.2.1). In Hebrew texts, Latin is frequently designated as *leshon romi* (the language of Rome). I therefore call "Jewish Latin," the oldest rung of the Loez languages, Romanic-Loez.

2.15.2.1 A number of Romance languages (2.15.11) have Jewish correlates. Occasionally they are called among Jews *Latin*, *Ladino* (Latin), ignoring the fact that basically real Latin died toward the end of antiquity or in the beginning of the Middle Ages. Ladino for a certain style variation of the language of the Sephardim (2.19.8.3.1–2.19.8.4) is very widespread. But the most frequent designation for these Jewish correlates in the medieval Hebrew texts is Loez. The only time the root occurs in the Bible (Psalms 114:1) it has the meaning of 'strange, outlandish, chaotic' (Yehoash), and in the later literature the word occasionally denotes any language other than Hebrew. Mostly, however,

it is used in connection with Romance languages (and countries) or with the non-Jewish languages spoken there (cf. "Aramaic," "Yavanic," and so on) or, more frequently, with the Jewish correlates of these languages. Most frequently Loez denotes the language of Jews in Zarfat and middle and northern Italy, that is, the Jewish correlates of Old French and Old Italian. It is, therefore, most appropriate to adopt the name Loez languages for the sum of Jewish correlates of Romance languages (2.15.1.1).

How many such correlates are there? With Rhaeto-Romanic and Dalmatian, Jews seemingly had no enduring contact. In Catalonia and Portugal Jews lived a long time, but there is no justification for postulating independent Jewish correlates for the local languages (2.20); Dzhudezmo (2.19 ff.) designates what was once the language of Jews on the entire Pyrenean Peninsula. With respect to Sardinian we know only that Jews were donors (2.14.1.2). Rumanian encountered the Yiddish language in the beginning of the Middle Yiddish (1500–1700) period, but there is no trace of Yiddish with Rumanian stock. Hence there remain four Loez language correlates of the Romance languages:

1. *Dzhudezmo:* the correlate of Spanish, together with Catalonian and Portuguese (2.19–2.20)
2. *Chuadit:* the correlate of Provençal (2.21–2.21.3)
3. *Western Loez:* the correlate of French (2.17–2.17.4)
4. *Southern Loez:* the correlate of Italian (2.18–2.18.3)

We have encountered the coordination of a Jewish language with a culture area more than once. Hence we need not be surprised that the four Loez languages coincide with four distinct culture areas: Sepharad, Provence, Zarfat, Italy (that is northern and middle Italy; southern Italy was part of the Yavanic culture area; 2.12). Western Loez and southern Loez stand apart, but they are nevertheless closer to each other than the other two. On the other hand, Dzhudezmo and Chuadit are more related to each other, and they can be placed in the Sephardic subgroup of Loez languages.

Each Loez language will be discussed in this chapter. For the time being we want to fix in the generic name "Loez languages" the very facts of their inner relatedness to each other and of their outward separateness vis-à-vis other languages.

2.16 One way of approaching the essence of the Loez languages would be to begin with the latest phase of each of them and proceed gradually into the past to arrive at their common roots. This is the procedure outlined above in connection with Yiddish (1.4). But such a procedure can be used only for Dzhudezmo and, in part, for southern Loez (2.18 ff., 2.19 ff.). We can still approach Dzhudezmo, to a very large degree, by means of direct informants and similarly, but to a much

lesser degree, southern Loez. By questioning the untutored, no more than remnants of Chuadit, at best, may be ascertained; beyond that one has to resort to documentation. Most difficult is the case of western Loez (2.17). There the thread of native speech was broken centuries ago; only written sources remained. Therefore in regard to the total scope of Loez languages, and especially western Loez, there is no choice but to proceed from the bottom up, just as we have approached the Romance languages by way of Latin (2.15.1.1). The way from Roman-Loez to the Loez languages can perhaps be comprehended best by perusal of the work of David Blondheim, of whom it was said that "no one ever assembled, organized, or interpreted these fruitful materials to an extent in any degree comparable [to his]."

Blondheim's principal work, published in 1925, is titled *Les parlers judéo-romans et la* Vetus latina (*The Jewish-Romance Vernaculars and the* Vetus latina), with a subtitle "A Study of the Relations between the Bible Translations in the Romance Language of the Jews in the Middle Ages and the Old Versions." His analysis of some twenty-five Bible translations, glossaries, and compilations of glosses shows that among Jews in the Romanic countries there was a very great similarity in the manner of translating the Bible, regardless of the area from which the evidence comes. Furthermore, it was made manifest that the Jewish method of translation differs markedly from the Vulgate, but approaches closely that of the *Vetus Latina*. Blondheim deduced from these facts a genetic kinship, namely, in the first centuries of the Christian era the Jews in Rome had their own "Jewish Latin" translation of the Bible (which also strongly influenced the *Vetus Latina*). This "Jewish Latin" translation has not been preserved in writing, but to a large degree it can be reconstructed because its elements were transmitted to the Jews dwelling in Romanic lands in the Middle Ages.

For Jewish culture-historians the paramount issue is not whether the *Vetus Latina* had actually been so dependent on the Jewish manner of translation as Blondheim maintained. To the students of the *Vetus Latina* this must be essential, and they do not necessarily agree with Blondheim. But in the Jewish context the *Vetus Latina* was merely the spark that kindled Blondheim's scholarly imagination. Because of that spark, he arrived at the idea of the existence of a Jewish pattern of study, which was transmitted from Roman-Loez to the Loez languages; thence there was only one step to postulating a commonality of the Loez language in general, built on a genetic relationship just like the commonality of the Romance languages. The conclusion remains as a permanent contribution of the little monographs concerning somewhat more than one hundred and fifty words, which comprise the principal part of Blondheim's work. The conclusion stands even if his daring

thesis about the part of the *Vetus Latina* should turn out to be too strongly one-sided or even unproved.

2.16.1 Blondheim arranged the texts he used by country: France, Provençe, Catalonia, Spain, Portugal, Italy. The question, therefore, suggested itself to him: did Jews in each of these countries have their own language? His first answer was that it was impossible to say since the texts at his disposition were almost exclusively glosses or translations, and from translations, especially Bible translations extremely faithful to the original, and certainly from glosses, it is difficult to discern the character of the language used natively by Jews at that time. Later on, however, he decided that the usage of the term *vernacular* was justified, which he actually incorporates in the title of his work, and the most important part of the work is titled, "An Essay of a Comparative Vocabulary of Romance Vernaculars of Jews in the Middle Ages."

But, as seen above, the subtitle of Blondheim's book bears another designation "the Romance Language [singular!] of the Jews in the Middle Ages." Nor does he define—and all this seems to be an expression of a kind of uncertainty—wherein *he* sees the difference between vernacular and language; the boundary between one case and the other may be fluid, but in each case there must be a criterion. Instead Blondheim resorts to a comparison:

> These vernaculars were by no means unintelligible to the other inhabitants of the country and were far from having the completely specific character of Yiddish in eastern Europe that Germans do not understand at all. The language of French Jews in the Middle Ages, for example, might have made the same impression on their Catholic compatriots as did the vernacular of the German Jews up to the period of the Emancipation upon non-Jewish Germans. The language of Rashi and of the Judeo-French glossators was in this respect probably comparable to the vernacular of the Provençal or Italian Jews in the beginning of the nineteenth century.

First of all it must be clarified that the analogy with Yiddish does not hold. It is an exaggeration to say that "Germans do not understand at all" the Yiddish of eastern Europe (1.9.1). Say a simple sentence in Yiddish to a German and to a Frenchman, the German will still understand more. Concerning western Yiddish up to the Emancipation, there is the frequently quoted statement of the German Yiddish-scholar, Professor Wagenseil, printed in 1699, long before the Emancipation: "[The Jews have given the German language] an entirely foreign tone and sound; they have mutilated, minced, distorted, the good German words, invented new unknown [words], and mixed into German countless Hebrew words and phrases; with the result that he who hears them

speak German[!] must conclude that they speak nothing but pure Hebrew, for practically no single word comes out intelligible." Certainly, Wagenseil allowed himself to be carried away by his temperament, but that he was not altogether wrong is evidenced by the fact that several dozen handbooks for the study of Yiddish by Germans appeared in Germany in the eighteenth (and even in the nineteenth) century.

Moreover, that the uniqueness of linguistic formations cannot be determined by (undefined) "intelligibility" (7.1.1) may be realized from the following example. The Argentine, by virtue of his Spanish, will certainly understand the Italian immigrant better than the German immigrant; yet no one will doubt that Italian and Spanish are two distinct languages. After our discussion of the special languages (2.15.1 ff.) we need no longer doubt that the characterization arrived at there must be adopted, at least as a working hypothesis, for the Loez languages also. From the point of view of each large Romance *massif*, they may be considered subsystems, but this blurs their Jewish specificity and, as Blondheim himself sensed, their mutual coherence. From the point of view of Jewish cultural morphology (2.4) they must be conceived of not as subordinate, but as coordinate Jewish correlates of the non-Jewish *massifs;* we shall, moreover, inquire about a mutual affiliation of these correlates with one another.

2.16.2 Blondheim's diligence and erudition called forth the admiration of all, but a considerable number of Romanists remained skeptical about his line of thought—precisely because he had not stated it resolutely. Here is what Spitzer, one of the great Romanists of our generation, said in 1942:

> Blondheim has contributed to the belief that ... [the] Judeo-Romance languages [are] independent entities corresponding to the Romance languages ... by reconstructing a "common stock" of words (mainly theological and liturgical) belonging to the medieval Jewish varieties of Italian, French, Provençal, Catalonian, Spanish and Portuguese. This list, it was suggested, is representative of a (Vulgar) Judeo-Latin.... Blondheim's assumption of a common Judeo-Romance language, however, has been refuted by Italian Jewish scholars. They are content with explaining the peculiarities of medieval Judeo-Italian, Judeo-Spanish and the rest as parallel outgrowths of the religious and cultural conditions which were alike for Jews in all the Latin countries.

That is to say that what Blondheim calls "Jewish Romance vernaculars" were in each of the culture areas of the Romanic world no more than the local Romance languages plus certain expressions for elements of Jewishness in the culture. Where this thought is followed to its limit,

we must conclude that at each temporal stage there was an association only between the relevant local language and more or less constant elements of Jewishness. Schematically, if we take France as an example, it would look thus (the temporal development in an ascending order):

Among the Coterritorial Population		*Among Jews*	
Old French	——→	Old French	Plus expression for elements of Jewishness
Early French	——→	Early French	
Gallo-Latin (Gallo-Romanic)	——→	Gallo-Latin (Gallo-Romanic)	
General Vulgar Latin	——→	General Vulgar Latin	

In contradistinction, Blondheim's ideas could be presented in the following scheme (the terms are those that were used or that could have been used by him):

Among the Coterritorial Population		*Among Jews*
Old French	----→	Jewish Old French
Early French	----→	Jewish Early French
Gallo-Latin (Gallo-Romanic)	----→	Jewish Gallo-Latin (Jewish Gallo-Romanic)
General Vulgar Latin	----→	Jewish General Vulgar Latin

Surely Blondheim would not deny the striking fact of the existence of "horizontal" associations between the language of the Jews and those of the non-Jews at each chronological stage, indicated by the broken arrows pointing to the right, but the emphasis in Blondheim's method is on the vertical arrows. His principal accomplishment is the discovery of the existence of a Jewish Latin which partly continued in existence in the "Jewish Romance vernaculars" (in terms of the present book, a Roman-Loez which partly survived in the Loez languages).

"Partly" must be included, for not all of the facts are proof of continuity. Of the lexical items analyzed in connection with Roman-Loez, *kenáβura*, for instance, survived only among the Christian Sardinians (2.14.1.2); nowhere is it found among Loez Jews in the Middle Ages. In medieval Jewish texts stemming from France, Spain, Catalonia, and Italy, Blondheim found the derivative of *mel(e)tare* (to study): *miauder*, *meltare*, *meldar*, and so on. (I am constrained to give the transliterations in Latin characters as found in Blondheim; in the originals they are in Jewish characters.) According to all indications, the ancestor of the Yiddish word *tetshn* (to blow the shofar), which is represented in various Loez languages (7.20.1.1), also derives from Roman-Loez.

If several Loez languages have the same unit, or the same sum of units, and there are no cultural-historical proofs of "horizontal" borrowing

from one medieval Loez language to another, the idea suggests itself that the various phenomena grew "vertically" from Roman-Loez into the respective Loez languages. Most striking is the fundamental oneness in the orthographical systems of the Loez languages. They must of necessity derive from a common root, that is, the orthographic system of Roman-Loez; to speak of an accidental similarity is irrelevant. Noteworthy of word-forming suffixes is *mentu*, found in diverse "Loecized" variants in the Loez language. Variants of *dolamentum*, for instance, are given in the Loez languages as the translation for the Hebrew word *pesel* (a graven image). Various verbal prefixes and suffixes that the Loez languages have in common also point backward, to Roman-Loez.

The derivatives of the Greek-origin *schola-synagōga* (2.14.1.1) manifest in each of the Loez languages a definite preference, although both terms are reflected among Jews in the entire Romanic world. Sepharad differs from all other Loez subareas in the fact that only there is *(e)znoga*, the derivative of *synagōga*, the word for "prayer house"; conversely, in western Loez and southern Loez the derivative of the word means 'congregation'. Moreover, the impression of the gathered evidence is that the derivatives of *schola* are much more frequent in western Loez and especially in southern Loez than the derivatives of *synagōga*. Were this correct—and a monographic search could introduce much more certainty here—it would explain why *synagōga* is not reflected at all in Loter-Ashkenaz, and why *shul* (cf. *schola*) became the only word in Yiddish (7.18).

For western Loez we can cite circumstantial evidence of "vertical" association from at least two instances of the history of Yiddish. *Leyenen* (older *leyen*, written *lyy'n*; 7.20.3) came into Yiddish because of Loez Jews. Had western Loez been merely a reflection of Old French at the time of the rise of Loter, the ancestor would have been *lire* (as in Old French) and the Yiddish verb would therefore be different. *Leyen* can derive only from the Gallo-Romanic form **leje-* > **leie-*; this means that the archaic form was still current among western Loez speakers, who brought the word to Loter, in contrast to the coterritorial French. The same applies to *piltsl*, the Yiddish word for 'girl', 'maid' derived from western Loez (7.20.3).

It is only natural that the continuity is disclosed only in some facts with which the linguist operates. Developments take place in the course of time, or in the history of one language, and this means that linguistic items drop out and are replaced by others.

2.16.3 The continuity of Roman-Loez into western Loez (in other words, the vertical association, as Blondheim conceived it, compared to the horizontal) can also be established in the sound system. Three illustrations are here presented.

1. The type *miauder* vis-à-vis the versions with *l* in the other Loez languages (for instance, *meld-ar* in Dzhudezmo; 2.16.2) is clearly a reflection of the transition *AL* > *au* found in French in contrast to Latin and the other Romance languages (for example, Latin ĀLTUM, modern French *haut*, but Italian and Spanish *alto*; 7.20.1, 7.20.2). If *meletare* were a root to be found also in French, the temptation would be great to conclude that **miald* > *miaud* took place in French, and Jews took over the word ready-made. But in this case the transition *AL* > *au* took place in a word that non-Jews in France did not know; this means that the Jews in that territory had the specific Jewish word with *-al-* before the transition in the Old French period, and the Jewish correlate, western Loez, experienced the transition as a whole, not only in the elements of the Romanic component derived from Old French.

2. A Latin manuscript of the tenth century, written in Chartres, northern France, transliterates some score of Hebrew sentences into Latin characters. The word *yiplu* (fall) in Psalms 45:6 is rendered *gippolu*. The *-o-* is presumably to suggest the *ə-* pronunciation of the *schwa*; but of interest to us is the *gi-* in *gippolu* (and similar Old French transcriptions; for example *Hagin* [Hayim]). Such expert Romanists as Blondheim and Spitzer confirm that *gi-* can mean nothing but *dži*. This transition would have been impossible had not Jews prior to that pronounced *ji-* as we still do today, and the Hebrew words of the type *yiplu*, *Hayim* had not gone through the Romanic development *j* > *dž*. Compare Latin IAM with Italian *già*, French *déjà*, Latin IUSTUM with Italian *giusto* and French *juste*, and several hundred words more, where Latin I, before a vowel pronounced *j*, became *dž*. In Italian the *dž* (phonemically rendered /ǰ/) exists to this day. Originally French also had a *dž*; the present pronunciation *ž* came into being in the thirteenth century (7.15.1).

3. Latin *C*, pronounced *k* in such words as CAMERA, CĀNTĀRE, and many others, became in French /š/, spelled *ch* (up to the thirteenth century pronounced *tš*, thereafter *š: chambre*, *chanter*, and so on). When we find in Hebrew the word *cmpń* for Champagne, we say that this is the way the recorders rendered as well as they could the *tš*. In western Loez texts we also find a form *k'npyyn'* or similar to it. Here, we conclude, is reflected the older version of the name with a *k*; the Latin equivalent of the name is also pronounced with a *k*, CĀMPĀNIA.

But here comes the surprise. In the writings of Zarfat there are numerous cases where words of this type are written not just with a *q*, but with a *q̃* (or at times *q̄*). This can be interpreted only in one way. The spelling with a *k* began at a time when the pronunciation was *k*. When pronunciation began to change in the direction of *tš*, in the beginning the old spelling continued; the written form is always conser-

vative. But later on a generation of recorders apparently noticed that the pronunciation of the former phoneme /k/ moved in certain positions, and so the diacritical mark was used to indicate the cases in which the sound was *not* *ḳ*. Later generations no longer associated *q* with *tš*; it had become traditional to render the phoneme /č/ with *q̄* and a diacritical mark; *ʒ* must be the result of a still later "spelling reform." The aim was to approach closer to the phonetic principle, but it was reached only halfway (7.20.1). Had Jews adopted "Jewish French" anew after *c* had changed and there had been no internal evolution in the separate language of Jews, it would not occur to anyone to spell with a *q̌*.

The three illustrations are sufficient to show that western Loez was no modification of the vernacular in the period of Old French. Western Loez developed from Roman-Loez roughly parallel with the development of French from Latin.

Let us here underline the fact, which at first seems a mere external thing of secondary importance, that western Loez, like all Loez languages and like all Jewish languages in general, was written in Jewish characters. Of course it can appear at first glance to be a thing of secondary importance (only if viewed entirely linguistically; the tremendous sociopsychological force of the continuity of the Jewish alphabet is too patent to require further elaboration). But even purely linguistically much can be learned from the writing, because of its independence of the Romanic writing system with their Latin characters. By way of illustration, let us take the use of the so-called silent *aleph* and the designation of the "eclipsed" vowels in unstressed syllables (8.8.5).

2.17 In analyzing the contribution of western Loez to Yiddish we shall encounter further concrete grammatical-lexical, phonemic, and orthographic problems (7.19). But western Loez did not end its life with fertilizing Yiddish; Zarfat and its language lasted for a long time. The fact that all texts of Rashi and the *Tosafot* to this day reproduce the western Loez translation words (*BeLaAZ*) is a weak, but symbolically impressive, reflection of the fact that western Loez was the language of Zarfat and that in the eleventh and twelfth centuries the light of the yeshivas in Zarfat shone into Ashkenaz, Knaan, and northern Italy. In the triad of Zarfat-Ashkenaz-Knaan for over a century Zarfat took the lead.

The communities of Zarfat extended in a triangle from the line Caen-Clisson to the Franco-German language boundary (7.19), in the direction of the Moselle River; in the very center of the area, no more than some two hundred kilometers from each point, there is Corbeil, directly south of Paris (2.21, 2.22). Documents preserved in abundance establish that western Loez was also the language of the settlement established as a Zarfatic colony on the *iye hayam* (the islands of the sea, according to Isaiah 11:11), that is England. It was established following the Norman conquest in 1066 and was destroyed in the expulsion of 1290. Zarfat too was weakened by constant expulsions in the course of the fourteenth century (although from the point of view of total Jewish history we may say that God sent the remedy before the affliction; when Zarfat declined, Ashkenaz II was on its way up). Like "the islands of the sea," Zarfat was the victim of a catastrophe: the series of expulsions that had begun as early as the thirteenth century culminated in the general expulsion of 1394. It is characteristic of the attitude of medieval Jews toward historiography that not a single writer attempted to record the destination of the exiles of Zarfat. Indicatively, in scattered remarks, we hear from Germany, Italy, and Hungary about the men of Zarfat and their language up to the sixteenth century. The last mention ostensibly is by Eliyohu Bokher, stating in his *Tishbi* (1541) that the men of Zarfat pronounce the Hebrew *ayin* "in the throat." Then silence descends, the descendants of the exiles mingled with the Jews in their new domiciles, and only in Piedmont, northern Italy, there remained three communities, where as late as the nineteenth century they still used the French liturgy. The men of Zarfat and the men of Knaan disappear from the scene in the same period.

If we take the period up to 1500, we have a total of six hundred years since 900, schematically the beginning of Old French. In French this comprises, according to the classification of the Romanists, Early Old French (from the ninth to the end of the eleventh centuries), Later Old French (from the end of the eleventh to the beginning of the fourteenth centuries), and the beginning of the Middle French. Is it conceivable that over such a long period there occurred no developments in western Loez? It is not necessary that changes that ultimately led to the same results as in French took place at the same time. The transition *AL* > *au*, for instance, ostensibly came later in western Loez or proceeded more slowly. The temporal stages in the French language and in the Jewish correlate need not necessarily coincide; most likely they do in part but not entirely. Each separate case must be investigated.

Several reasons for nonagreement are patent. Even in its Romance component the language of the Jews was built on a different regional basis. Jews lived mainly in Champagne, Lorraine, Île de France, Franche-Comté; obviously they derived their knowledge of contemporary French from there; but in Old French as it has come down in the texts, there are also very marked regional influences of Normandy and Picardy. Moreover, the conscious striving toward unification appeared in Old French quite early, favored by the centralizing political-

administrative power of Paris, and the intervention in the language of court and church norm creators also began there quite early (1.6.6–1.6.7.1). All these impulses reached the Jews only feebly or not at all. All of this was prior to a consideration of the specific language-creating force immanent in the independence of the Jewish community in Zarfat. We may therefore expect to find—and to the extent that the material has been studied this is confirmed—in the Jewish correlate of Old French not only a Hebrew component, which of course was not in the language of the non-Jews, but in the Romance component a specific representation of regional elements, especially favored suffixes (albeit taken from the Romance repertory), their own archaisms and neologisms, and so forth.

2.17.1 This is the direction in which research in western Loez and, it may be added, in Loez languages in general, should proceed: never lose sight of the Romance facts, but never overlook facts of Jewish linguistic distinctiveness and of continuity in the distinctiveness. And we must certainly be on the lookout for traits common in the Loez languages and not found in the coterritorial Romance languages.

Until recently, research in "Judeo-French" was almost exclusively in the hands of students of French who sought to augment knowledge of French by means of Jewish material. (To a still larger extent this applies to research on "Judeo-Spanish" and to its utilization for Spanish; 2.19.) These scholars included distinguished Romanists, beginning with Arsène Darmesteter in the 1870s, and they were fairly successful. Studying the Romance handbooks and dictionaries, one readily sees that Romanics gained much more from Jewish linguistic facts than Germanics, for instance, ever knew how to utilize Yiddish (and especially the German component in Yiddish) for research on German. Moreover, we have to admit that we owe our knowledge of Jewish distinctiveness in the Romanic world of language mainly to representatives of the school of "Judeo-French" for the sake of French, "Judeo-Spanish" for the sake of Spanish, and so on. Assuredly it is scientifically legitimate for them to continue their work. But the time has come to establish the idea that it is legitimate to put the stress on the Jewish specificity also. In the sciences of culture and personality, of which linguistics is one, to detect differences is at any rate as important as perceiving similarities. Looking from within, we may expect more, and not only about Jewish linguistic development; general linguistics also stands to gain more. The new approach will probably be more productive even for the previous auxiliary function of "Judeo-French" and the others.

2.17.2 In consonance with the general conception of Jewish languages, we must first inquire about facts of fusion (1.8) that are impossible from the very outset in the non-Jewish correlate of western Loez.

A number of erroneous conceptions about the degree of independence of western Loez has gained currency. Neubauer—no linguist by strict criteria, but a reputable bibliographer who also reliably described many texts—maintained that French Jews in the Middle Ages used a very pure French; and Bacher, a competent philologist, concurred. In this respect, too, Blondheim struck a new path, but he did it with excessive humility, almost incidentally, without stressing his thesis. In the glosses, the purpose of which is obviously only to translate difficult Hebrew words, one would not expect to find Hebrew-component words. It is interesting, however, that the rare Hebrew words *sinim*, *yamin*, *teman* are rendered in the glosses by the synonym *drvń*, *kedem* by the synonym *mzrx*, *hayam* by the synonym *mʿrb*. The rare word *totafot* (frontlets) (Exodus 13:16) is rendered by the glossator *tpylyń*. For *hadas* (myrtle) there was no synonym; the Hebrew was apparently the accepted word in western Loez, so the glossator resorted to the following device: haĥdas *ʾhdσ* (with a *tseyre* under the *aleph* and the *daleth* and a *schwa* under the *he*) *ʾyn bv lʿz* (*hadas* is a *hadas*, there is no translation for it).

In the few brief western Loez poems, published by Blondheim with ample commentary, he found a considerable degree of lexical fusion (in his formulation, "Jews in medieval France . . . used a large number of Hebrew words [in their spoken language]"). The few poems contain entire lines in Hebrew; that is, the poems are of a macaronic kind; but even the western Loez lines have no less than a dozen Hebrew-stemming words: *ʾbvθ* (patriarchs), *ʾdvń* (Edom), *xtń* (bridegroom), *khń*, *klh* (bride), *krvbyń* (cherubim), *mcryń* (Egypt), *mcryyń* (Egyptians), *pσx* (Passover), *kdvs* (benediction over wine), *kdvsh* (name of a prayer).

One verb manifests morphological fusion (8.8.1): *ʿσqr*, to comprehend as /asker/ from the root *asok* (to study the Torah).

There are also several cases of relexification (8.9). *Plyyń* (cf. Modern French *plain*) (smooth, easy) renders the concept of 'literal, not allegorical, sense of the Bible'. *Qyyṕ dʾ mvyys* (*schwa* under the *qoph*, the *daleth*, and the first *yod* in the third word) is 'head of the month' (on the *q* in *qyyṕ*; 2.16.3). One instance shows a change in internal form. The correspondent of *qvnǧyy* in French means 'leave, permission, discharge' (Old French spelling *congié*; Modern French *congé*); and as long as we are dealing with this area of meanings (for example in Ezra 3:7: "according to the grant that they had of Cyrus king of Persia") this is simply a French-stemming word in western Loez. However, in Hebrew the first meaning of *reshut* is not 'permission', but 'ownership' (hence in the Talmud the concepts of *reshut hayahid* [private domain], *reshut harabim* [public domain], and so on), and from this *qvnǧyy* assumed a meaning in western Loez that it does not have in French. In rendering the concept of 'to possess, to obtain', as for instance "and took of that

which he had with him" (Genesis 32:14), a western Loez gloss uses the word *qvngẏy*.

2.17.2.1 The phonological relationship between western Loez and Old French also calls for additional explanation. It is not a question here of mere differential phonetics (1.9.1), that is, whether a Jew was recognizable by his pronunciation even when he spoke "pure French," but also of phonemic markers. There were presumably in the Hebrew component (or in the Hebrew itself of the men of western Loez; 7.3) phonemes nonexistent in other parts of the language. The foremost example is obviously the *ayin* (phonemically symbolized / ʿ / or /ˤ/; 7.3, 7.15.2). Also the /h/ may show this clearly.

We do not expect to find in western Loez an /h/ in the elements derived from Romance sources, or from the Loez languages in general, since it had already disappeared in Late Latin (first of all in the less cultured language of the lower classes, from whom the speakers of Roman-Loez mainly derived the Latin component of their language). Hence no Romance language inherited the phoneme /h/. But a new category of /h/-words came into French from Germanic. With the influx of the Franks into northern Gaul there came into northern Gallo-Romanic, and thence into the subsequent French, some two hundred Germanic-stemming words beginning with /h/, such a quantity that the local population received a new phoneme /h/, mainly initially. This phoneme remained in French up to the sixteenth century and then it also became silent. Western Loez also had the /h/ phoneme in the same category of words of Germanic ancestry, as seen in the manuscripts sometimes spelled with a *he* and sometimes with a *heth*, while the old Latin-stemming *h* is simply ignored, that is, skipped in writing. In *Mahazor vitri* (ca. 1100), for instance, there is a gloss *xˤlmʔ* (helmet); the Old French correspondent is *helme*, a word brought by the Franks to northern Gaul.

It would be impossible to say anything about the Hebrew-component words with *heth* and *he*, for the traditional spelling is spread as a cover over the phonological realities, if there were not in western Loez two words whose ancestry is Arabic. One *xr(d)vbls* (humps of camels), a translation of *dabeshet* (Isaiah 30:6); the second with the *heth* in the middle of the word is *tbxyʔs* (with a *patah* under the *teth* and *beth*, a *hiriq* under the *heth*, and a *schwa* under the *aleph*), the translation of *batehorim* (I Samuel 5:6) 'emerods'. (The biblical text has *bafolim*, but tradition has it that this is the *ketib*, the written form; the *keri*, the reading, is *batehorim*.) The fact that in two such non-Romance-stemming words (in whose cases we cannot conceive of a sanctification of an old orthography) the *x* was preserved must not be dismissed as a coincidence. These are not Hebrew-stemming words, so there was no spelling tradition to protect the *x*. We must therefore conclude, by analogy with *xˤlmʔ*, that the *heth* is an indication of an explicitly articulated aspirate in the non-Romance elements of western Loez. That means, of course, mainly the Hebrew component; it may very well be that its *heth* (and possibly also *he*) was not "silent."

If this be so, we may at the very least posit that although /h/ was also in the phonemic repertoire of French at the time that western Loez was alive in Zarfat, the utilization of the phoneme was greater in western Loez than in contemporary Old French. The latter had the /h/ only in Germanic-derived words, whereas western Loez had it also in the Semitic-stemming words, which includes, in addition to several words of Arabic derivation, the entire Hebrew component of western Loez.

2.17.3 Where the Hebrew component of western Loez is concerned, or details of fusion in which both the Hebrew and the Romance components are involved, patently no agreement between western Loez and Old French is to be expected. Evidence of convergence of the Loez and the Hebrew components of western Loez must also be sought, and it seems that in the final /s/ in the plural of substantives ending in /e/ (7.22–7.22.2) such a phenomenon is to be found. But even as far as the Romance component is concerned, which can be directly compared to Old French, numerous autonomous traits appear in the Jewish correlate. Let us recall the various examples analyzed above. The western Loez item may be more archaic than the corresponding item in Old French, and may go back to the very beginnings of the Middle Ages or even to antiquity. If one refuses to see the vertical associations in the Loez languages, what point is there to the formulation that among Jews Old French did preserve given elements of Vulgar Latin and among non-Jews it did not? In keeping with the logic of the facts, we must recognize the vertical associations and say that Roman-Loez had a quantity of linguistic items that did not exist in Vulgar Latin, or had existed and disappeared, and through the Jewish chain of transmission these items came into western Loez. On the other hand, the Jewish item may be more advanced than the corresponding item in Old French. Third, there is the possibility that although formally the Jewish item is positively "Romanic," yet there may be no corresponding item to it in Old French; it may have originated in western Loez itself.

2.17.4 The ideal procedure in the study of western Loez (and this language is taken merely by way of illustration; it applies to every Loez language) would be as follows. For the present let us forget the clear and unquestionable associations with Old French that previous research has established. Let us pretend that several hundred manuscripts have been unearthed somewhere (mainly glosses, but also poetic texts), written in the Jewish alphabet, and it is known that these are in

a language that Jews of Zarfat spoke in the Middle Ages. Let us not rush in with theories as to how close to contemporary coterritorial Old French or how distant from it this language is. Instead let us prepare descriptions, of a preliminary and definitely revisable character, of the phonological system, morphology, and so on, first based on one text, then on others, keeping in mind those already analyzed. Particular attention must be paid to the carry-over from Roman-Loez, to similarity to other Loez languages, and to fusion phenomena. Also the social style of the preserved sources must be borne in mind as a matter of course. The base of the language pyramid, the everyday language of conversation of ordinary Zarfat Jews, is virtually not represented in the sources, and the excess of abstract substantives in them, when compared with Old French texts, probably derives from the specific western Loez language of study, not from western Loez per se. Thus we shall gradually arrive at a description of the entire structure of western Loez. If variations in area, period, and literary style are discernible, they should be indicated. With proper caution we can map out a history of western Loez from the time this language became differentiated from Roman-Loez to its eclipse in the sixteenth century.

Only after all of the foregoing would it be time for a comparison, subject by subject and as a whole, with various formations of French.

Such a name as western Loez over against "Judeo-French" (and similarly southern Loez over against "Judeo-Italian," Chuadit over against "Judeo-Provençal," Dzhudezmo over against "Judeo-Spanish") is in itself no startling accomplishment—until one discerns the great symbolic significance involved. Such names stress the principle of the necessity of opposing two coterritorial totalities, a Jewish and a non-Jewish, not a "general" totality over against Jewish fragments. This is the same method intimated in our discussion of all Jewish languages, beginning with Hebrew in the Semitic ambience and with Targumic as against Hebrew. Thus the way is paved for Jewish linguistics (2.25).

2.18 The same basic approach must normally apply to all Loez languages, but modifications in method are needed, depending on the object of study. The specificity of southern Loez—the second Loez language that became fused into the Loezic component of Yiddish—is the fact that here we are not constrained to rely only on written sources. The Jewish community of Italy was subject to numerous persecutions but it was never hit by one fatal general expulsion involving the entire country. Consequently the community was not destroyed, and its language, southern Loez, survived up to the twentieth century in a substantial fashion. Of course, not under the name of southern Loez. This is a newly coined term to emphasize the autonomy of this linguistic formation, in the same sense as indigenous internal names are preferred

for other Jewish languages. Up until now the literature has mostly used the name "Judeo-Italian," and insofar as previous scholars are quoted, the customary name will be employed here too. But in the course of the discussion it will become evident (2.18.3) how inadequate this hyphenated name is for a linguistic formation that has its own regional differentiation in modern times, its own style with respect to language of study, its own history of a thousand years, and hence its own set of problems that cannot be solved within the bounds of Italian.

To this day there are words and expressions that Italian Jews insert into Italian when among themselves: *goyél* (non-Jew); *poyél* (artificial) (adjective from the Hebrew *paol*); *meltare* or *maldare* (study, read) (2.14.11); *inhalmare* (deceive) (from the Hebrew *halom* [to lull in a dream]); *negro* (common, base) (from Italian *negro* [black], used only by Jews); *hasirúd* (filth) (*hazirut*); *far' galúd* (to behave among non-Jews in a pronounced Jewish manner); *fare šefok* (vomit); *past del resud* ("feast of possession," farewell feast when a relative moves into a new house or a new place; on *reshut* see 2.17.2); and many others. Most of the words are of Hebrew derivation; their meaning has frequently changed beyond recognition. The words are pronounced more or less in what is known today as the Sephardic pronunciation (7.4 ff.).

These lexical units are hardened remnants of a phraseology that was still highly customary up to a generation ago among Italian Jews. Other people still remember complete phrases or proverbs, such as *taref peio de lo hazzir* (more forbidden than swine) or *fra zonod e mezzonod se ne vanno le mangod;* the Hebrew-derived words are *zonot*, *mezonot*, *maot*, and the meaning is 'what with harlots and food, the money is spent'. The invocation "God protect you" was *Dio te sciomeria*, from the Hebrew root *shamor*. Now this type of language material must be obtained from older informants, and much of that which was not salvaged is now permanently lost. In 1930 Cassuto wrote that the Florentine Jewish dialect "had been spoken only several decades ago in the more folksy circles and . . . a small remnant of it has survived to this day." Has this language disappeared completely? Yes, said Raffaele Giacomelli, in a 1933 review of a collection by Crescenzo Del Monte, *Nuovi sonetti giudaicho-romaneshi:* "Up to 1870 [the year of complete emancipation] all Jews, regardless of social stratum, spoke this dialect." There are, however, facts that lead us to pause. Del Monte wrote his poems about Jewish life in Rome and in the idiom of Roman Jews prior to World War II, and were we to say that with him "the last cantor passed away" (in 1955 a collection of his poems appeared posthumously in Rome), we would have to explain a collection of poetry in the Leghorn Jewish idiom, *Ebrei di Livorno*, by Guido Bedarida, published in 1956. More than twenty years after Giacomelli's categorical statement and after

the German occupation of Italy, which brought death to the bearers of Jewish particularity, Bedarida's book proffers not only nostalgic descriptions of the good old days, but also poems about Mussolini's anti-Jewish laws, Auschwitz, the liberation, and a Leghorn Jew who emigrated to Israel.

2.18.01 To be sure, Bedarida says that only the aged still know the language, but at any rate there exists a possibility of integrating, upon systematic examination, the fossilized scattered phrases and words with a language that is connected in sentences and can be recorded or comparatively easily reconstructed. If we take one step backward in time, the sources become abundant. There are in that language a number of literary products (not necessarily of literary quality) of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth centuries that can be utilized for the purpose of the overall linguistic description. To be sure, just as the linguist has to exercise caution with the informant who reports on the speech of former years (memory can mislead) so nonauthentic forms may have crept into the texts; some of them were written by non-Jews with derisive intention, but caution minimizes the danger of stumbling.

In addition to Rome and Leghorn, there are other regional variants of the Italian Jewish language: material has been accumulated from Florence, Venice, and mainly from various places in Piedmont. Particularly instructive are two humorous poems of the last decades of the nineteenth century, reflecting the conflict between the conservative and modern social circles. The publisher of the poems, Benvenuto Terracini, is a noted Italian linguist, and he has provided a competent commentary, pointing up the great phonological similarity of the texts to the Turin idiom. Lexically there are considerable differences. In the two poems, each containing some seventy short lines, Terracini found over fifty words requiring explanation, and many of these not of Hebrew derivation. Even in the phonological system there is a difference from that of the Turin idiom. Terracini attempts to explain it by the large influx to Turin of Jews from various small communities in Piedmont after the second half of the nineteenth century. The Italian of these Jews was very similar to that of Turin, but nevertheless not identical with it. But Terracini himself is not entirely satisfied with this explanation, and indeed it cannot satisfy, for it would necessitate the assumption that in these small communities, up to the Emancipation, the Jews had spoken exactly like the coterritorial non-Jewish population, whereas there is adequate proof that earlier the difference between "Jewish Italian" and "Christian Italian" (for the sake of vividness let us resort to such terms) was greater than it is today.

Ostensibly, Terracini is reluctant to call the Jewish idiom a dialect,

for in the case of a dialect one's first thought is of an areal variant (1.6.1), and in Italy the areal differences are very great. In his work (and also in that of other Italian writers) the expression *parlata* frequently occurs, which can best be rendered by "vernacular"—the equivalent of Blondheim's *parler* in French. Recalling van Gennep's and Schrijnen's deliberations (2.15.1), it seems best to describe the modern Judeo-Italian as a special language. "The Turin Jewish vernacular," in the formulation of Terracini, "is not a vernacular with a specific phonetic and grammatical system that would clearly differentiate it from the general [Turin Italian] dialect (and the same can be said about all Judeo-Italian vernaculars). [The vernacular of the Jews] represents simply a specific fluctuation of general tendencies in the history of Piedmontese and Turinian, which derives from the historical and social conditions that differentiated the Jews from the rest of the population."

2.18.1 The parenthetical clause in the above quotation, "and the same can be said about all Judeo-Italian vernaculars," is certainly trustworthy, coming as it does from such an authority on Italian. But it seems to be based merely on a synchronous comparison of each "Judeo-Italian vernacular" with the coterritorial general Italian dialect. To the best of my knowledge no one has yet undertaken the second step in the synchronous investigation; namely, to compare the locally determined "Judeo-Italian vernaculars" with one another, removing them for the time being from comparison with the coterritorial non-Jewish Italian. If it is advisable to deal with Jewish speech norms in each locality separately, it should certainly be worthwhile for scholarship to search for their common denominator.

An attempt to predict the results of such a search is unnecessary; a careful look must be cast in both directions. It is conceivable theoretically that each locally definable variety of the Yiddish language came into being independent of the others (cf. 2.16.2) and that the common elements in these varieties, as observed today, are a later acrolectal accretion. Such a preconceived assumption may find support in the fact that the Jewish population in Italy, small as it has always been, is historically highly diverse. It derives from various culture areas; what has been said about Italy as a whole—that it is a meeting place of cultures—applies no less also to Jewish Italy. The smallest share in Italian Jewry is probably that of the "Italians" or "the sons of Rome," as they have sometimes been called. They may possibly be the descendants of those Jews who go back to the speakers of Roman-Loez in ancient times, although an accretion from the south, from Greek Italy (2.12), should be assumed. Leghorn, a community whose flowering began no earlier than the end of the sixteenth century due to the influx of Sephardim, consists largely of descendants of former Dzhudezmo speakers (2.19 ff.);

no wonder that the Sephardic substratum has brought into the "Judeo-Italian" of the local Jews patent elements of Dzhudezmo. In Piedmont, western Loez impact through Zarfatic immigration after the expulsion of 1394 (2.17) must be taken into consideration. On the other hand, in Venice, Mantua, Brescia—strongholds of the Ashkenazim—the influence of Yiddish may be expected.

In contrast to the foregoing, there is another hypothesis that requires testing. This hypothesis is arrived at on the basis of analyzing the contacts with Roman-Loez and considering an analogy with western Loez; namely, in reconstructing the older stages of the regional variants of "Judeo-Italian" there will emerge an older common nucleus. This agrees well with other findings. Berenblut found "Judeo-Italian" peculiarities even in Judah Leon Modena (ca. 1600), who so yearned to write pure Italian; Cassuto uncovered influences of "Judeo-Italian" in the Hebrew of Immanuel of Rome (ca. 1300). There is an abundance of other works of Jews who intended to write pure Italian; there are works of Italian Jews in Hebrew—all these should be submitted to a thorough analysis by experts. First of all, Cassuto's hypothesis (thus far inadequately supported), that the "Judeo-Italian vernacular" derives from the language of the Jews in medieval Rome, should be examined. Cassuto arrived at his conclusion not by means of a systematic comparison of the modern locally definable varieties of Judeo-Italian (such a comparison, as just indicated, is yet to come). He drew from a source that we have not yet discussed—from extant older texts.

Whether the hypothesis that from these texts there might emerge a nucleus localizable in Rome is right or not, they should at any rate be analyzed in a historically synthesizing perspective and the results confronted with the yield of the reconstruction on the basis of the modern material.

2.18.2 Cassuto's bibliography of Judeo-Italian translations of the Bible comprises fifty-six items: nineteen glossaries or vocabularies, twenty translations of the entire Bible or of single books, and seventeen translations of the prayer book, which are included because the prayers contain so many selections from the Bible. Cassuto was of the opinion—and there has been none more versed than he in this field—that as far back as the thirteenth century an unchanging system of translating the Bible became fixed among Jews in Italy which is reflected in all preserved translations, and that the beginnings of the translation tradition in "Italian" go back as far as the tenth century. Thus, according to Cassuto, the history of "Judeo-Italian" began about the same time as the history of Italian, and has not been interrupted since. The Roman-Loez roots have been discussed above (2.18.1). Two factors were responsible for the development of this translation literature. The needs of the

elementary schoolteacher and of the untutored desiring to know the meaning of a biblical passage may be designated an individual factor, although it was operative in a very large part of the community. But in addition there were the needs of communal life. There is no doubt that at least in some communities parts of the Bible were read to the congregation in southern Loez. To be sure this was an auxiliary text in vehicular language that could not have the sanctity of Hebrew (4.4), but it is in the nature of a vehicular language to assume the attributes of shared sanctity, hence the growing tendency to endow it with a norm.

Besides the translation, two medieval poems of the genre of religious poetry have been preserved. One of them, published by Artom, apparently stems from the fourteenth century; concerning the second (called by Spitzer "a poetic masterpiece") the editor Cassuto said that the extant text was from the fourteenth century, but it was a copy; the original probably dated from the twelfth century. Thus we see again that the beginnings of "Judeo-Italian" come close to the beginnings of Italian.

Cassuto himself—leading spokesman in the field of "Judeo-Italian"—left a number of studies, and although they are mostly preliminary surveys, they are full of important material and guiding thoughts. Berenblut has made a comparative study of six translations of Isaiah. He is assuredly right in his polemic with Cassuto, maintaining that the language of the biblical texts was not and could not be identical with the ancient spoken language of Jews in Rome. In our discussion of the Bible translations into Yavanic (2.12), we saw that the intention of remaining extremely faithful to the Hebrew original gave rise to a specific language of religious study. It is therefore absolutely unrealistic to imagine that the Bible translation can directly reflect the native language of the community: the language of religious study is a style apart. But there must be an indirect reflection, for he who is effecting the stylization cannot completely conceal his spoken language, even if he wished to do so.

Thus, the most urgent desiderata now are monographs on concrete texts, and the procedure, it seems, should be as follows. First, the elements of stylization should be identified as far as possible. Again it should be borne in mind—previous investigations have left no doubt about it—that at the time of the Renaissance there was born in a certain sector of Jews an aspiration to correct Italian (such as the aspiration in Mendelssohn's days among some speakers of western Yiddish to correct German, not merely any German at all that might be understood by the non-Jews). Some of the Bible translators in Italy then carefully examined Italian Bible translations based on the Vulgate, and any number of "correct Italian" expressions (that is, simply speaking,

Italian) were introduced into the translations intended for Jews. In the study of "Judeo-Italian" Bible translations this stratum of Italianisms must be eliminated, for these marginal lexical and grammatical items tell us nothing about the actual language of Italian Jews at that time. Then, if the document is localized, everything that can be ascribed to the coterritorial non-Jewish dialect at the time the document was written should be isolated. This requires labor, but stopping at this point would mean a task half done. Only now have we arrived at the remainder of linguistic items that cannot be explained by factors of contemporary coterritorial Italian. This remainder is the object of reliable "Judeo-Italian" research.

2.18.2.1 Initially, the quest is for non-Romance items, and this means, first of all, elements of Hebrew derivation. The modern language of Italian Jews has a very conspicuous Hebrew component. Concerning the language of the old texts, the opposite must be said. Whether or not there had been in former centuries other writings in Judeo-Italian, only quite specific types of literature have come down to us: translations of the Bible and the prayer book and several poems (which in respect of genre are also a reflection of the sanctified Hebrew books; 2.18.2). Certain types of literature are linked to definite styles. In our analysis of western Loez (2.17.2) we have seen—and this is distinctly confirmed by a perusal of older Yiddish literature—that for certain styles the use of Hebrew-derived words was considered unsuitable (8.13).

However, Hebrew-derived items are not missing entirely in the older southern Loez texts, and this is especially apparent when we take into consideration the notations on the manuscripts; these come closer to the spoken language. Cassuto gathered a number of facts from texts per se and notations, by way of illustration; most likely many more are extant. *Zadikim* (righteous) or *hasidim* (pious) remain as they are; these words presumably were more affective in meaning than their Italian-derived correspondents. Just as in western Loez (2.17.2) *teman* is rendered *darom* (south), *totafot*, *tefillin* (phylacteries). Women were wished that God make them *zokhe* (worthy) of seeing the reconstruction of the *bet hamikdash* (temple). A small *sidur* (prayer book) was designated *siddurello*. There are also verbal fusions, such as *gazrare*, from the Hebrew *gazor* (to decree); *batlare*, from the Hebrew *batel* (distract); *machlare*, from the Hebrew *mahol* (forgive). *Berit* (covenant) was rendered *patto* (pact), but in the phrase *zot beriti* (this is my covenant) it was necessary to decide on whether to use a feminine form (for *berit* in Hebrew is feminine) or a masculine form (for *patto* is masculine). The Hebrew factor was decisive. The translation gives *questa* not *questo*, namely *questa lo patto mio* (this [fem.] my pact), and in addition, in the Hebrew pattern, the predicate *è* is omitted, which is absolutely required by Italian (and southern Loez spoken) convention.

Berenblut recorded eight instances in the translations of Isaiah in which a word in the original is rendered with another word derived from Hebrew rather than by the original Hebrew word: (1) 6:1 *veshulav meleim et hahekal* (and His train filled the temple) is rendered *shekinah* (divine presence); (2) 14:26 *vezot hayad hantuya al kol hagoyim* (and this is the hand that is stretched out upon all the nations) is rendered *makah* (plague); (3) 24:14 *miyam* (from the sea, that is, from the seaside) is rendered *maarav* (west) (2.17.2); (4) 30:22 *ze tomar lo* (thou shalt say unto it: "Get thee hence") is rendered *tinuf* (filth)—the sentence speaks of idols, and the association is apparently with the Hebrew word *zoah* (excrement); (5) 30:33 *tofte* (hearth) is rendered *gehinom* (hell); (6) In Isaiah 36:11–13 the famous expression *yehudit* (the Jews' language) occurs: King Hezekiah's representatives request the emissary of the Assyrian king to speak to them in Aramaic and not *yehudit* "in the ears of the people that are on the wall"; the translation has *leshon kodesh* (Hebrew); (7) 65:2 *perasti yaday* (I have spread out my hands) is rendered *teshuvah* (repentance); (8) 65:11 *haorkhim lagad shulhan*, the word *gad* is rendered *mazal* (fortune). (Yehoash also translates this 'to fortune' and explains that this means 'to the god of fortune'.)

Spitzer finds no Hebrew-derived words in the western Loez poem of the twelfth century, published by Cassuto, but an abundance of calques fashioned after the Hebrew; that is, with relexification (8.9). We have such instances also in the translations of the sacred texts. *Gevurah* is rendered *baronia* (for example, 1 Chronicles 29:11: *lekha adonay hagedulah vehagevurah* [Thine, O Lord, is the greatness, and the power]), for *barone* (baron) apparently embodied the concept of *gibor* (mighty). Since *barone* is the individual mighty man, the collective substantive *baronaglie* can be used to designate the collective of mighty men, the army (in Hebrew, *hayil*). And here something that is specifically Jewish enters, which cannot be fathomed by means of Italian. In a notation to a 1499 translation of the prayer book, the copyist says, concerning his patroness who ordered the book, that she is a *donna de baronaglie*, an *eshet hayil* (commonly rendered in English "a woman of valor").

Such cases represent a change in the internal form (1.8.2)—a fact of intimate fusion. But as far as the external form is concerned we have crossed here into the Romance component of southern Loez.

2.18.2.2 By analogy with Yiddish we may assume with certainty that the peculiarity of a Jewish language is not necessarily manifest in the existence of a Hebrew component (1.9.1). Southern Loez points to the same conclusion. In the older language of Italian Jews the Romance-derived items also have peculiarities that cannot be explained by factors of coterritorial Italian.

Even Berenblut, although opposed to Cassuto's "Roman" theory (2.18.1), has found southern elements of Italian in southern Loez texts

that do not stem from southern Italy. In a glossary, written in Sermide (on the Po River some forty kilometers south of Mantua in northern Italy) in 1591, he finds "[Italian] dialectal expressions of Roman and southern derivations." A glossary from Piedmont (Alba, southeast of Turin) has "the largest number of southern characteristics"; and so continually. Terracini raises doubts about the reliability of Berenblut's localizations, and one is inclined to side with Terracini. But if we agree that each document must be studied separately and that rigidity in the identification of old dialectal characteristics should be avoided, there emerges the realization that Italian Jews centuries ago had a different composition of elements in the Italian component of their language from the coterritorial Italian. The vague "centuries ago" may be changed to "as far back as the Middle Ages," bearing in mind Cassuto's statements about the age of the translation tradition and the fact that he came to the same conclusion about the linguistic domination of Rome in connection with his religious poem of the twelfth century.

Here a central fact of the history of the Italian language appears that had only a lateral relation to the Jews. Since Dante's days Tuscan had primacy in Italian; not only did it predominate in literature and in the spoken language of the higher strata, but Tuscanisms deeply penetrated the dialects of other areas. Rome's impact is comparatively new, called forth by the role that the city began to play as a political and spiritual center in the renewed kingdom of Italy after 1870. The language of Jews, as readily imaginable, was affected by the achievements of Tuscany to a much lesser degree. In the Renaissance wide circles of Jews were attracted to the pursuit of a uniform Italian on a Tuscan basis. This was reflected in some of the texts analyzed by Cassuto and Berenblut; Tuscanisms break into texts clearly not of Tuscan derivation. The Counter-Reformation in the sixteenth century curbed the impulses of those Jews who yearned for the surrounding world. The closed character of the Jewish community as a whole was not broken until World War II, and something of that nature even survived the Catastrophe.

Of course, the thesis about the predominance of Roman traits may be right or wrong in regard to the old "Judeo-Italian" texts and right or wrong in regard to the modern locally defined vernaculars. The student of the modern period must also differentiate between old "Romisms" and those that have penetrated in the course of the last century. This is part of the difficult problem of the degree of continuity in the language of Italian Jews.

Among the unchanging items of the old translation language that have to be closely tracked in the evidence of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries are phonological elements (for instance, the ending *i* in various

inflected forms, where Italian has *e*) and systematic elements (for instance, order of words, agreement between adjective and noun). But, as is to be expected, the peculiarities manifest themselves most clearly in word formation (for example, the use of the prefixes *in*, *a*; verbal constructions with *fare* [make], to render the *hifil*, the causative conjugation, more rarely the *piel* or *hofal* conjugations) and in the choice of words. A number of instances of this kind have occurred throughout the text; another example will be presented here.

The most frequent word for 'God' in the old texts of Italian Jews is *Domeded* (sometimes spelled with a *daleth* at the end of the word and sometimes with a *daleth* and a line over it). Not all details in the history of this word are clear, but undoubtedly we have here a compound: the first element (that is, the first two syllables) goes back to *Dominus* (lord) and the second to *Deus* (God). Italian has no such compound. It may therefore be said that we have here a classical instance of indigenousness in the midst of adoption: the elements are to be found elsewhere too; the pairing of the elements is specifically Jewish.

2.18.3 We can now summarize the motives for conferring on the language of Italian Jews a special name: southern Loez. Spitzer contends that the specific Jewish names that I stress or construct sever the unity of the Romance languages. But I have already emphasized that there is no denial of the right of the Romanists to speak of Judeo-French, Judeo-Italian, and so on; the question is only are they fair to their object, do they point up its peculiarities sufficiently. The system of Romance kinship that Dietz established is not endangered; it is impregnable. But much is gained for the Jewish correlates by viewing them from within. "Judeo-Italian" (just as we have seen in the case of "Judeo-French") is apt to minimize the independence of the object of study, to create the false impression that the problems of this phenomenon can be solved by the traditional means of research on Italian. The bearers of this language, however firmly and however long they have been integrated in Italy, have not been absorbed in the coterritorial population. The language exists even today, although mainly in writing; in speaking it emerges only in fragmentary fashion. But in the nineteenth century, as seen above, it was an absolutely native language, and its continuous history goes back some thousand years as a correlate of Italian. If the pre-Italian period is included, nearly another thousand years may be added. All this time the language remained apart, identifiable vis-à-vis the non-Jewish correlate. It is really differentiated, but not exactly the way Italian is. It has a Hebrew component, which Italian is lacking, but even its Romance component often proceeds on its own way. It developed its own translation style, a study style, that can be spotted in texts of eight hundred years ago. Its roots go back to

antiquity, but apparently it was still being used in the beginning of the twentieth century.

Consequently, problems of research emerge that must first be detached from Italian to perceive their nature. Sporadic raids on the theme will not carry us too far. Is it worthwhile digging into the subject with the diligence and penetration properly called for? From the point of view of Italian, possibly not; after all "Judeo-Italian" is only a tiny corner of Italian. But from the point of view of Jewish language and cultural history, it is eminently worthwhile, and even our rapid survey has shown that general linguistics and history may expect a rich harvest. To master the methods of research it is not enough to be at home in Italian studies; one has to be able to learn from other Jewish languages, for although the material is specific the fusion processes are to a large extent analogous. Even Cassuto, who in the context of his time and spiritual world is enmeshed in the universe of discourse of "Judeo-Italian"—and this need occasion no surprise—once blurted out the observation that the object of his study was "virtually an Italian Jewish."

Loez is rooted in the Jewish tradition, and this led to the name of Loez languages. In this system the name southern Loez is easily recognizable and easy to remember.

2.19 The name *Dzhudezmo* for the language of the Sephardic Jews was suggested in the Yiddish scientific literature by Solomon A. Birnbaum in 1939 and has been naturalized. This is the designation—more correctly, one of the designations—for the language among its speakers themselves. *Ladino* is an accepted term, both among Sephardim and outside their community, but it means only the literary form of the language used in the older literature, somewhat analogous to *taytsh* (traditional-literary) in Yiddish. "Judeo-Spanish" is still current in Romance studies, but the narrowness and hence the lopsidedness of the designation is clear from our discussion of other Jewish languages of Romance stock.

All is a matter of fortune. "Judeo-Spanish" research has attracted the interest of a number of Romanists since the beginning of the twentieth century; prior to that time there were only a few studies. Besso's very useful bibliography, containing 134 entries, could probably be doubled if completed; and since there were several first-rate and many well-trained scholars among the investigators, it is no surprise that they laid a solid foundation. Outstanding among them was Max Leopold Wagner (a non-Jew), who since 1914 constantly returned to various phases of the subject in articles and books; he gathered raw material, made extensive studies of important details, and in 1930 published a comprehensive sociohistorical survey in a book titled *Caracteres generales del Judeo-español de Oriente* (*Characteristics of the Judeo-Spanish of the East*). These studies deal with Dzhudezmo in various localities (Wagner

himself began with an extensive study on the language in Constantinople), containing monographs on phonetics, morphology, vocabulary, and so on, as well as fine collections of proverbs, folksongs, and tales—truly a treasury from which spiritual sustenance can be drawn. But scholarly accomplishments depend not only on finding facts and avoiding errors of ignorance in interpreting them, but also on mapping out the goals of the investigation in the proper perspective. And here it must be said, with all gratitude for the achievements that have been made, that much is still lacking.

Scanning the titles in Besso's bibliography, we note that these are almost exclusively studies of the contemporary language; studies of a historical character are very rare. On the face of it this is an advantage; synchrony is the point of departure of the linguist. The fault, however, is that diachronic considerations constantly intrude on studies intended as descriptive; but these considerations are not about "Judeo-Spanish," but about Spanish. Practically all investigators have a Hispanistic outlook: to glean from "Judeo-Spanish" that which can help better understand the history of Spanish (2.17.1).

Spanish happens to be blessed with what the social sciences call a "control group": in 1492, the year of the expulsion of the Jews from Spain, a new Spain sprang up in America. The Jewish exiles and non-Jewish colonizers took with them from Spain (this is the assumption) the same language. And although Jews settled comparatively close, on the Mediterranean coast, their Spanish remained much more archaic. Latin America has maintained close contact with the mother country throughout the centuries; hence the language today, certain local peculiarities notwithstanding, is the same on both sides of the Atlantic. Sephardic Jews had no contacts with the stepmother country (again, this is the assumption of most Hispanists); therefore they have preserved the language of five hundred years ago. The language of Ladino literature remained comparatively pure. The subservience to Hebrew syntax should be discerned and discounted, but in vocabulary, morphology, and phonetics the admixture is small. Many foreign elements (Arabic, Turkish, and others) have penetrated the spoken language; these must be isolated so as not to obscure the Old Spanish picture.

Not only the terminology and the definitions of old and new, indigenous and foreign, written and spoken language appear here colored in accord with the special needs of the Hispanist, but even the factual assumptions call for correction. In the following discussion it will become evident that the Sephardim did have contact with Spain even after the Expulsion (hence younger elements of Spanish could have entered into their language) and that in Spain itself, up to the Expulsion, the language of the Jews was not identical with that of the non-Jews.

A prerequisite for the study of Dzhudezmo in a competent fashion is a

thorough familiarity with Hispanics and reliable informants on Dzhudezmo. But this is not enough. One has to be at home in the language, in its spoken form and its written variants, and employ the proper methodological tools (2.18.3). Methodologically, much can be gained here from the achievements of research in Yiddish—usually only with reference to establishing the broad theoretical issues, with reference to the "algebra." The concrete arithmetic magnitudes, both linguistic and sociolinguistic, are different in each language that Jews have created; and in the case of Dzhudezmo this characteristic must be sought with greater assiduity, for the language has developed in its linguistic structure and its literary rise to a lesser extent than Yiddish.

2.19.1 As in the case of the history of Ashkenaz and Yiddish, Sepharad too had a radical historical break that separated Sepharad I from Sepharad II. In a sense the break in Sepharad was even more pronounced, for Ashkenaz I did not cease existing with the establishment of Ashkenaz II. Through the expulsion of the end of the fifteenth century (1492 Spain, 1498 Portugal), the Sephardim became exclusively a diaspora community. It would be safer to say "almost exclusively." One must not linguistically ignore the Marranos, who initially remained in their former domiciles (2.19.3.1).

Let us first stake out a few basic facts about Sepharad II and let us not fail to note the advantage that, in the case of Dzhudezmo, we can begin with the present and proceed to the past.

The number of Dzhudezmo speakers on the eve of World War II was estimated at two hundred and fifty to three hundred thousand. They lived in Morocco, right across the Straits of Gibraltar, but mostly in the eastern half of the Mediterranean basin. Their large center, Salonika—which had once been Yavanic, then became Sephardic, and as early as the sixteenth or seventeenth century acquired the name "Little Jerusalem"—was at its apogee at the outbreak of World War I: close to eighty thousand Jews, almost exclusively Dzhudezmo speakers, who accounted for more than half of the total population. Some fifteen years later, when the Greek government replaced the Turkish, Salonika had no more than about fifty thousand Jews and only a few thousand escaped from German hands in World War II.

In the years between the two world wars attempts were made to establish a more or less uniform written language for all speakers of Dzhudezmo; this subject calls for a study. Monographs about the spoken language and texts (that served or could serve as a basis for the linguist) are mostly from Salonika. In addition there are, to a larger or lesser extent, reliable data on the Dzhudezmo of Smyrna, Bursa, and Constantinople in Turkey; Karaferia and Kastoria in Greece; Bitola, Skopje, Sarajevo in Yugoslavia; Ruschuk and Plovdiv in Bulgaria; Bucharest

in Rumania. I know only of one study in Israel, and that after the establishment of the state. It should be borne in mind that the names of the countries are significant only in identifying the coterritorial non-Jewish population rather than historically; when the Sephardim came there all that territory was Turkey, and the political-administrative subdivisions that influenced Dzhudezmo were not necessarily those of today.

It is only natural that in Bulgaria, Bulgarian elements penetrated the spoken language, in Rumania, Rumanian, and so forth. In addition, locally definable differences in phonology, forms, and words can be discerned. Particularly salient are the differences between Morocco and the Balkans. Whether clear subsystems are distinguishable—that could be designated as dialects—further research will have to determine.

All reporters indicate that Dzhudezmo contains a goodly "admixture" to the "Spanish." There is no question that the largest amount of the fusion stock is of Spanish provenance, but where is the system of the language? Wagner's book on "Judeo-Spanish" in Constantinople (1914), which became a model for later monographs, has, following the texts (eighty-two pages), a second part dealing with word formation, syntax, vocabulary (fifty-nine pages) and a chapter titled "Foreign Elements" (twenty-three pages), arranged in the following order: Portuguese, Italian, French, Greek, Turkish, and Hebrew elements. The objection is not to the proportion between Spanish and the foreign elements—in this respect we must rely on the expert—but the approach is clear: even among the non-Spanish elements (we shall discuss them further), the Romance, that is, those closest to Spanish, are discussed first; then come the Turkish and Hebrew contributions to the language. Facts of fusion are not uncommon in the literature, including the works of Wagner himself, but all appear incidentally; they are not the focus, and the mechanisms of fusion remain obscure.

From the point of view of understanding the language of the Sephardim, we are mostly interested wherein it *differs* from Spanish. It has been frequently reported with a measure of surprise that some Sephardic folksongs are identical with Spanish ones, and this surely is a significant cultural-historical fact, but I see no study dealing with the songs that are *different* from Spanish in content, structure, rhyme, and assonance. Sundry fieldworkers have published several thousand proverbs in Dzhudezmo, and none mentions that they are identical with Spanish; is there not a need for a comparative study of their structure and language? The repertoire of maledictions is indigenous; this is a series of linguistic facts that calls for analysis. In his *Caracteres* Wagner has established that "of all notorious and emphatic . . . obscene and foul words . . . from Spanish not one is used by Jews in the Orient." His

explanation is that morality is so high among Jews that they avoid obscenity at all costs, and instead resort to circumlocutions and euphemisms. It would take us too far afield to enter into the psychological problem of whether the function of the substitute, since it is already in existence, is essentially different from the previous, more uncouth expression. But from the linguistic fact we certainly can learn a good deal: Dzhudezmo has its own set of words for what may be called the intimate anatomical-physiological sphere. On the next page Wagner informs us that there are indeed vulgar expressions, but not those used in Spanish; they are either other words of Spanish derivation or words adopted from Turkish.

In order to comprehend the system, we are most interested in the integration of various components of Dzhudezmo, and it seems that the hypothesis of Dzhudezmo as a fusion language can take us much further. From the descriptions that we possess, even contours are discernible if we but regroup the material.

What other components, besides the Spanish, emerge? We are endeavoring to remain within the boundaries of synchrony, but we also utilize what we know about other languages and language in general. Insofar as we go back in time it is for the time being not beyond the great crisis of 1492 (2.19.8). It is possible that by moving cautiously from the present backward we may learn more about the past than by a frontal attack on an older linguistic monument (1.4).

2.19.2 The Hebrew component is striking. Many recorders tell us that in Dzhudezmo the Hebrew component (in imprecise usage this means 'the number of Hebrew words') is much smaller than in Yiddish. Possibly this is so, and if it be established, then will be the time to look for sociolinguistic causes. But perhaps the impression is due to the fact that the lexical needs of the various styles (translation and ethical literature, the language of scholars, the romances, the language of newspapers) have not been sufficiently analyzed; and it is also possible that informants attempted to use fewer "Hebrew words" (8.13) for the benefit of outside data collectors.

A considerable number of the Hebraisms coincide with the inventory in Yiddish, except for the pronunciation, which is the Sephardic (7.4): *sidaká* (charity), *benaðám* (son of man), *gálah* (priest), and so on. The more the meaning, or the usage, differs from Yiddish, the more piquant appear the cases. When a Dzhudezmo speaker wants to warn against an outsider, he does not say (like the Yiddish speaker) *meyvin beloshn* (he understands the language) but *joðea a lašón* (he knows the language; the preposition *a* designates the accusative) or simply *lašón* (language). An obstinate person is *kišuri* ("keshe oref" [stiff necked]), a bore is *damkabé* ("dam kaved" [heavy blood]). *Hahán* (sage) means 'rabbi';

malsin is an informer; *Purim* signifies not only the festival, but also *shlakhmones* (the exchange of presents); *malamata* 'more or less'; *sehurá* ("mara shehora") is 'melancholy'; *bemá* means, as expected, 'a domestic animal', but specifically it means not 'cow' but 'donkey'.

Of phonological shifts note must be made of the neutralization of /m, n/ at the end of the word, which when discontinued, again leads to historically unjustified final consonants. For instance, *hazám* ("hazan" [cantor]), *kinyám* ("kinyan" [marriage promise]), but also the opposite *hahán* ("hakham" [sage]). The information of the reporters that this type of form came from people of "small learning," that is, from those whose habitual pronunciation of fused Hebrew (7.3) was not affected by the Hebrew norm, is welcome. This pronunciation must be of interest to us, even though a researcher who cannot free himself from the Hebrew standards calls it "vulgar." In a voiced ambience /š/ is realized as /ž/; for example, *hažbón* (account), *peraža* (weekly lection). On the other hand, we find a merger of the *shin* and *sin* series. Pedants pronounce *šabá* (Sabbath), *rošhodeš* (New Moon), *šedim* (ghosts), and so forth, but the "more popular" versions are *sabá*, *roshodes*, *sedí*, and so forth. *Samás* (sexton) seems to be a unique form. *Darsar* (preach) seems to be the more frequent form, but *dirúš* (sermon)—a rarer word?—is with /š/.

The dropping of the final consonant following an accentuated vowel is a frequent phenomenon in the Hebrew component: *balabáy*, *berí*, *kabó*, *saba*, *talé*, *tesabeá*, *zahú*, and so forth (the Hebrew origins are *baal habayit* [master], *berit* [covenant], *kavod* [honor], *shabat*, *talit* [prayer shawl], *tishea beav* [ninth day in the month of Av], *zekhut* [merit]).

From the plural there can be a retroformed singular that differs in vowel from the plural; for instance, *moaðí* (festivals), which forms a singular *moað* (instead of *moeð*).

2.19.2.1 All reporters have observed fusions in sentences or phrases: *dar get* (Hebrew *get*, 'divorce') 'give a divorce'; *tomar get* 'to take a divorce'; *fazer tani'* (Hebrew *taanit*, 'fast') 'to fast'; *hus ke* (Hebrew *huz*, 'besides') 'besides that'; *kon tenáy ke* (Hebrew *tenay*, 'condition') 'on condition that'; and so on. Also, fusion in word formation and flexion can be observed (8.8–8.8.1). A few illustrations will suffice.

Verbs are formed from a root of a Hebrew component and a Spanish-component suffix in the infinitive *ar;* or, if the root ends in a vowel, *ear.* Occasionally a prefix is added: *enheremar* (from the Hebrew *herem* [anathema]) 'anathemize'; *sehurarse* (Hebrew [*mara*] *shehora*, 'melancholy') 'to be melancholy'; *ahenarse* (Hebrew *hen*, 'grace') 'to act graciously'. We also have the two-component verb, something like the Yiddish *zoykhe zayn* (to be meritorious): *ser zoher* (Hebrew *zokhe*).

Adjectives with Romance-component morphemes and Hebrew- com-

ponent roots are *henozo* (Hebrew *hen*) 'gracious'; *mazalozu* (Hebrew *mazal*, 'luck') 'lucky', *desmazalado* 'unlucky'; *sehludo* (Hebrew *sekel*, 'intelligence') 'intelligent'; *holiente* (Hebrew *hole*, 'sick') 'sick'; and so on.

Substantives with Hebrew-component roots and Romance-component suffixes are *rubizza* (*rubi* from the Hebrew *rabi* 'master') 'wife of a rabbi'; *hanifero* (Hebrew *hanof*, 'flatter') 'flattering'; *hamuriku* (Hebrew *hamor*, 'donkey') 'fool'; *eliavito* (little Elijah); *beméka* (Hebrew *behema*, 'beast'), 'little fool'; and so on.

The plural of *laðrón* (robber) is *laðronim* beside *laðrones*. More frequent are Romance-component plural endings in Hebrew-component substantives: *benaðám* (Hebrew *ben adam*, 'son of man') is in the plural *benaðames; bema* (Hebrew *behema*, 'beast') is in the plural *bemás*. The inherited form *behemot* would be rendered *bemóθ*, and this would become *bemó*. In *mazaloðes* (Hebrew *mazal*) the Spanish-stemming plural suffix is added to the inherited plural (*mazalot*). *Mizƀa* (Hebrew *mizva*, 'commandment') has two plural forms, differentiated in meaning: *mizƀó* (< *mizvot*), 'calls to the reading of the Torah', and *mizƀás*, 'coffins with deceased in them'.

2.19.2.2 We encounter a complicated case of phonetic fusion in the phoneme /h/. We do not mean the pure aspirate; it is nonexistent in Dzhudezmo. *Haggadah** is *agaða*, and so on. There is an alphabet game that begins *la álef e azlahá ke tengas* (the *aleph* stands for *hazlaha* [success] that shall attend you), although *hazlaha* is spelled with a *he*, not with an *aleph*. The old Latin-stemming *h* is also nonexistent in Dzhudezmo; it disappeared as far back as Roman-Loez (2.17.2.1), and there is no trace of it in Dzhudezmo. (Neither does Spanish have any reflection of this Latin *H-*, although it has been retained in spelling; cf. Latin HABĒRE, Spanish *haber*.)

The /h/ of concern to us now is a voiceless velar fricative; in transcribed texts it is frequently designated *ḥ* or *ḥ* or sometimes just *h*, for there is no pure aspirate, hence there is no possibility of mistake. In *azlaha* (see above) we had a medial example of this phoneme. The rule insofar as the Hebrew component is concerned is simple: this phoneme /h/ comes in all words, where the spelling has the Hebrew letter *heth* or *kaph*. In the Romance component there arose, by way of Spanish, an /h/ that was a derivative of the Latin *F-*.

Beginning, perhaps, in the twelfth century, words such as FACERE (to make) appear as *hacer* in Spanish. This *h* was a fricative, and retained this quality up to the time of the expulsion from Spain (1492); thus Dzhudezmo took it over. After the sixteenth century this *h* (< *f*) also became completely muted in Spanish and has been retained only

*A collection of tales, psalms, and songs recited at the festive meals on Passover night.

orthographically. In Dzhudezmo the picture is not so uniform. In most Spanish-stemming words the *h* disppeared, but there is also a reflection of the two older stages through which the Latin *F-* passed on its way to zero. The variants depend (not all details are clear) on the area or the social stratum from which the speakers come. Thus 'to speak' is generally *avlar*, but we also find *favlar* (that is the third and first stages; cf. Latin FĀBULARI, Spanish *hablar* with only an orthographic *h*). 'Strong' is *fuerte*, but also *hwerte* is found (that is the first and second stages; cf. Latin FORTE, Spanish *fuerte*).

Thus far the Romance component of Dzhudezmo and Spanish basically go hand in hand. But not in the diffusion. And this is not all. Through the Hebrew component there has come into Dzhudezmo the series of *heth-* and *kaph-* words which Spanish, of course, does not have: *hopá* (wedding canopy), *milhá* (*minha* [afternoon prayer]), *ruah* (spirit), *seḥel* (intelligence), *mallaḥ* (angel), and so forth. Also Turkish-stemming words with the same phoneme have come into Dzhudezmo, for instance, *ḥáber* (information), which are unknown in Spanish. On the other hand, there has come into modern Spanish an /h/ (spelled *j*) as in *judío* (Jew). In this accretion the Romance component of Dzhudezmo has no share, for it has exclusively, just as the older Spanish, the word *(d)židió*. When we stop with the purely descriptive view, it is correct to say that both Dzhudezmo and modern Spanish have the phoneme /ħ/. But the differential analysis shows that the origin of the /ħ/- words is considerably different in both languages.

2.19.2.3 On the threshold of the Hebrew and Romance components stands the phenomenon of relexification (8.9). Several facts are at hand.

The word for 'rabbi' is not only *(el) hahán* (Hebrew *hakham*, 'sage') but also *(el) savyo*, cf. Spanish *(el) sabio* (the wise). *Arrib' abasó* (more or less) corresponds to Spanish *de arriba abajo*' (from top to bottom, up and down); the Dzhudezmo meaning arose under the impact of the Hebrew component *maala-mata* (see above) 'more or less'.

Because of tabu (3.3.2 ff.)—thus we must interpret the motivation—a Romance-component word was replaced by a Hebrew-component word: instead of *el lonso* (the bear) (cf. Old Spanish *el onso*) the word chosen was *el lámed* (the [Hebrew letter] *lamed*). One of the derogatory words for an Armenian among Dzhudezmo speakers is *ratón* (mouse). The logic behind this description remains concealed until one learns that the Armenians refer to themselves as *ahpar;* the similarity in sound to *ahbár* ('mouse' in Hebrew) has set up the link to *ratón*.

2.19.3 It has been pointed out that the Spanish elements in Dzhudezmo have retained many traits no longer present in Spanish today, but in existence in medieval Spanish. As far back as 1914 Wagner compiled a list of some hundred Old Spanish words current in Dzhu-

dezmo, adding thereby that he laid no claim to completeness; both he and others have since then added considerably to this list. "Archaisms" from the point of view of Spanish are also found in the morphology. An authoritative history of the Spanish language asserts that the phonetics of "Judeo-Spanish" is essentially the same as that of Spain toward the end of the fifteenth century, citing many good illustrations.

But the very illustrations show that "essentially the same" is exaggerated. In the first place—as seen in the analysis of /h/—the spread is different. It is quite natural for Hispanists to be interested in genealogy and to show their mettle in learning to what Old Spanish dialects "Judeo-Spanish" (we would say the Spanish component of Dzhudezmo) corresponds. Practically all traces lead to Galicia, Asturias, León, North Castile, Aragon, Catalonia—all provinces located more or less no further south than an extension of the northern border of Portugal. These comparatively limited regional peculiarities became the norm for Dzhudezmo in the Near East ("in the Near East" must be emphasized, for Dzhudezmo in northern Africa may be different). Since we may assume that not all exiles who departed by sea eastward came from the above-mentioned northern Spanish provinces, one of two explanations must be adopted: either the spread of Spanish-stemming facts in the language of the Jews was already different prior to the Expulsion (2.19.8.2), or exiles from various regions in Spain met in the dispersion, which led to a fusion of the Romance component of Dzhudezmo. At any rate, we cannot speak of identity, for the factor of distribution is also of great significance in characterizing the system of a language.

But even granted that there is identity, this is only one side of the coin. Simultaneously, the reporters cite facts of the Romance component in Dzhudezmo that do not exist in the Spanish of any period. In other words, in many respects the Dzhudezmo community created something new, although according to potential Spanish patterns. The accent in many words—we still deal with the Romance component—is different from the Spanish. There are also differences in vocabulary and syntax. The conjugation of the verb is greatly simplified. In the case of the adjectives the comparison of the type bad ~ worse was done away with and replaced by *mas maló* (more bad), rather than follow the Spaniards with their archaic *peor* (worse). On the other hand, in the declension of adjectives there arose differences of gender where Spanish had at all times only one form for masculine and feminine. The gender of substantives differs in many cases from the Spanish. All these detailed facts must be carefully gathered; perhaps a general tendency may be detected.

Playful repetitions (like *libe-shmibe* [love-shmove] in Yiddish): *levanteis konde, levanteis monde.* The first two words mean 'Arise, count' (from a

text of a ballad), the third word repeats 'arise', the fourth word really means nothing; it is added playfully, perhaps a trifle ironically, for the rhyme.

Mock forms in which the normal forms *padre, madre* (father, mother) have variants *pudre, mudre.* Occasionally this is even strengthened by the addition of a disparagement consonant *š* initially: *špudre, šmudre.*

There are categories for which we have to be on the lookout. I will cite only one example of each.

1. Shift of meaning: 'lips' are *bezos.* The word exists in Spanish also, but (spelled *besos*) means 'kisses'. (The Spanish word *labios* [lips] is not used in Dzhudezmo.)

2. Tabu substitutes: Because coal is black and black is one of those words that should not be used, the word for it in Dzhudezmo is *blanko,* the first meaning of which is 'white'. This is somewhat like the Yiddish *der guter yor* (the good year) instead of the *shvarts-yor* (the black year).

3. Folk etymologies: *awgwarse* (to drown) is linked with *awgwa* (water); the Spanish word *ahogarse* means 'to choke' and has nothing to do with water.

The verb *meldar* (to read) (2.14.1.1, 2.16.2) is widespread in the entire area of Sepharad II, as are its derivatives: a substantival infinitive *el meldar* (the place of study, school) and the agent noun *meldador* (reader of the Torah in the synagogue). It is one of those words that make us speak of the Romance, not the Spanish, component in Dzhudezmo. The root goes back to Roman-Loez, therefore it is pre-Spanish (2.19.9). There are variants in meaning; apparently in Morocco it means only 'to read, to study a sacred book'; in the East it can mean—a later development—also just reading, for instance fiction, and an editor refers to his readers as *meldadores.* In the East, apparently, the word *melda* (the place of study) is familiar, *bet midrash.*

Special attention should be given to the name of God, *el Dió.* It is very close to the Spanish *Diós,* and yet how remote! The explanation is that the Spanish form *-s* (cf. Latin DEUS) was unsuitable, for in Dzhudezmo, just as in Spanish, *-s* is the distinctive feature of the plural noun; hence the Spanish form *Diós* carries the suggestion of more than one God (Trinity?). For additional emphasis the Dzhudezmo speaker mostly adds the definite article *el:* God is one and only. A step further: Occasionally the plural of 'God' has to be used, say, in translating such a sentence as Exodus 20:3: "Thou shalt have no other gods before me." The authoritative Sephardic Bible translation, published in Ferrara in 1553 (in use to date), translates 'God' (*Elohim*) *Dioses.* Among Jews this form can be understood in only one way: there can be no conceivable plural of *(el) Dió;* if plural, it must come from a word that to begin with did not designate the Jewish God.

2.19.3.1 Whence the linguistic items in the Romance component of Dzhudezmo that developed in Spanish itself only after 1500? It is unnecessary to resort to the belletristic saying that "the seed of the development was planted before" and came to fruition in both languages after their separation. For it was not an absolute separation. After 1492 there were no Jews to leave Spain, but there were Marranos. "In the course of two centuries there was not a boat that embarked from the Salamanca port that did not disembark a more or less significant group of crypto-Jews," writes the historian Molcho. And he rightly emphasizes the fact that they were all people of social position, merchants or professionals, who through their connections in various western European countries also expanded the horizon and the chances of the Sephardim in the Near East.

These "more or less significant groups" of new arrivals could not have been too large in number, but their social, hence linguistic, weight must have been felt. They were bearers of prestige. But what kind of linguistic influences did they introduce into the Dzhudezmo community? It must be borne in mind that the very possibility of continuing to live as a Christian necessitated the avoidance of all Jewish speech peculiarities, if such there were (2.19.8). The further the distance from the generation that lived through the Expulsion, the more the Marranos were compelled to cast off the traits that made their language Jewish in manner and pattern and become speakers of Spanish per se. They no longer even knew the Hebrew alphabet, and the famous Ferrara Ladino translation of the Bible in 1553 was issued for them in Latin characters.

In the Diaspora the Marranos gradually became absorbed, culturally and linguistically, by the previous Sephardic residents, but the Ladino literature of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries must bear traces left by the Spanish speakers. These two centuries were a period of great change in the Spanish language, and the difference between Old Spanish and New Spanish is very striking. That part in the Romance component of Dzhudezmo which is in line with New Spain must be considered to be a contribution of the Marranic thrust.

2.19.3.2 And here is the place to explain why the well-known Sephardic centers in Amsterdam, Bordeaux, Bayonne, Nice, Hamburg, and other cities were omitted in the geographic location of the Dzhudezmo colonies (2.19.1). It so happens that in this case Sephardim is not identical with Dzhudezmo speakers.

At the time of the Expulsion no exiles settled in the enumerated places—Jews had not been permitted then in those Western countries where subsequently Sephardic communities were established. The first to open its doors was Holland, around 1600, and throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries groups of Marranos left the Iberian

Peninsula. They were brought up as Christians; and although their urge to Judaism was so dramatically alert, we have to assume that linguistically they were similar to the non-Jewish population (with the exception perhaps of Hebrew-stemming words that were preserved in the families by transmission from parents to children).

Another important fact: A large majority of Marranos came not from Spain, but from Portugal. Since this involves, as we shall see, the problem of the share of Portuguese in Dzhudezmo, the historical background has to be clarified. It is estimated that some hundred and fifty thousand Jews left Spain at the time of the Expulsion; those who yielded and embraced Christianity were hounded by the Inquistion, and the Marranos who clung to Jewishness were dispersed, for there were *malsinim* (informers) in their midst. Few Jews were permitted to leave following the publication of the edict of expulsion; by far the vast majority were baptized forcibly, and for several decades the Inquisition left the "Neo-Christians" in peace. During this time there was formed, we may say, a Marrano community comprising tens of thousands of people. When they began to leave Portugal after 1531, they were united not only by tradition and solidarity in common suffering, but also through certain threads of underground organization. This helped in the establishment and flowering of the new Marrano centers in western Europe. Some of these communities called themselves Spanish-Portuguese, others simply Portuguese. It is hard to say whether the names testify exactly to the composition of the communities; perhaps other motives played a part in the choice of the names.

At any rate, we must not lapse into the error of taking the language of the famous Sephardic communities in western Europe to be Dzhudezmo. It should not be particularly difficult for Romanists to find out to what extent it was Spanish or Portuguese and to what extent, given the great similarity of the two, a kind of compromise language was created; there are ample books of community records available, as well as printed sermons of rabbis, and so on. This has no direct bearing on our problem of independent Jewish languages save in one respect. This post-Marrano Jewish Spanish and Portuguese (or Spanish-Portuguese) was affected by Dzhudezmo.

At times and here and there the influence must have been quite apparent. It came, of course, from the (Near) East. The "Neo-Christians" who became Jews anew had to import from the East not only prayer books, *mahazorim*, and ethical books (in which the Ladino, itself a specific formation of Dzhudezmo, was constantly affected by the spoken Dzhudezmo), but also Dzhudezmo speakers (1.6.8), religious functionaries, and teachers, and there must have been intensive interference on both sides. Later on, the western European Sephardim

emancipated themselves from the East; they established schools and yeshivas of their own, and the printing houses of Amsterdam served them appropriately. But among the authors published in Amsterdam there were also Dzhudezmo speakers, and perhaps an effect of Dzhudezmo may be discerned in the literary production of those who did not even speak this language themselves.

2.19.3.3 The difference in the impact on Dzhudezmo between the Expulsion from Spain and the Expulsion from Portugal is not hard to see. Settlement history confirms the assertion of authoritative experts based on linguistic evidence: Portuguese had very little influence. In the phonetic system no Portuguese traits are evident at all; in vocabulary there are at most a score of items. Earlier opinion was different. But it was a mistake, which came from the fact that Dzhudezmo was compared with contemporary literary Spanish and Portuguese—hence many analogies were found with Portuguese. Wagner has pointed out that the picture is completely different if Old Spanish, rather than contemporary Spanish is examined, and the regional formations in northwestern Spain (the provinces of Asturias and León) bordering on Portugal rather than the highly unified literary language. The traits that Old Spanish had in common with contemporary Portuguese Dzhudezmo could have been taken over from Old Spanish.

For the comprehension of the sociolinguistic situation in the post-Marrano communities in western Europe, consideration should be given to the fact that Portuguese and Spanish were not rivals on the same level. Portuguese was usually the language of the majority of the members of the community, but Spanish had the advantage of being much closer to that archaizing Dzhudezmo (Ladino) which had the character of cosanctity beside Hebrew. In communities where Portuguese was decidedly the language brought along by the majority, for instance, in London, Spanish was studied in the Talmud Torah as late as the middle of the eighteenth century, although the spoken language of the children might have been English. In the Sephardic synagogue of London to this day one is called up to the reading of the Torah in Portuguese. In Amsterdam part of the *Hanoten teshua** is still said in Portuguese.

After all is said and done, there remain several dozen cases in Dzhudezmo that cannot be explained on the basis of Old Spanish. One should be on the lookout for such facts, particularly in the Dzhudezmo of Leghorn, for in that community Portuguese rather than Spanish Jews were preponderant. That which cannot qualify as Old Spanish and agrees with Portuguese will have to be considered as the contribution of the Portuguese Marranos.

*Prayer for the welfare of the state and its rulers recited on Saturday and the festivals.

Another hypothesis to be tested should be as follows: Even prior to 1492, that is, on the Iberian Peninsula itself, the unique language of the Jews (2.19.8) incorporated certain elements of Portuguese, so that the exiles from Spain brought these elements with them to Turkey in the Romance component of their language. A means of deciding one way or the other would be a test of the age of the Portuguese elements: perhaps it is possible to determine whether they belong to Portuguese antecedent to 1500.

2.19.3.4 There is an accretion of still another Romance source, Italian, which justifies even more fully the term *Romance component* (and not Spanish component) in Dzhudezmo.

On one hand, none too rigorous investigators sought Italian influences where they were unnecessary; they thought that such words as *džusto* (just) or *ponte* (bridge) must derive from Italian *giusto* and *ponte*, for the Spanish forms are *justo* (with /*h*/; 2.19.2.2) and *puente*. But again "Spanish" here means only the modern literary Spanish, which certainly did not give rise to the Spanish-stemming elements of Dzhudezmo; in Old Spanish or in variants of Old Spanish, forms with *dž* did exist, and there is no need to resort to Italian. Similarly, some quasi Italianisms could have come into Dzhudezmo from the Balkan Peninsula through the mediation of Turkish or Greek (2.19.4, 2.19.5). Italian was the most widespread commercial language in the East and affected, at least lexically, the languages of the entire Mediterranean basin.

On the other hand, the possibility of a profound Italian influence on Dzhudezmo must be taken into consideration. First in Italy itself. When the Dzhudezmo community in Italy gradually took over southern Loez (2.18.01), considerable Italian elements must have entered by way of normal interference into the language of those speakers who had contact with Italian and retained Dzhudezmo. We moreover learn from the historians that outside Italy, in the East, a contrary absorption process took place; speakers of southern Loez went over to Dzhudezmo, and assuredly traces of this transition were left in eastern Dzhudezmo. Commercial terms, including the names of the months, various designations of objects of material culture, affective words such as *nonó* (grandfather) and *nona* (grandmother) probably derive from this source.

2.19.4 In addition to the Hebrew and Romance components, a third component should be postulated in Dzhudezmo, the Turkish. Today's language boundaries in the East coincide more or less with the political boundaries and they could account for Dzhudezmo contacts with Turkish only in Asia Minor and in the narrow wedge west of Constantinople. But when the Sephardim came the Balkans belonged to Turkey (although the other Balkan peoples dwelled in the same places as today). The language of administration and domestic commerce was Turkish,

and to a certain extent every Jew had to know that language. As late as the nineteenth and twentieth centuries Turkish purists would ridicule the average Jew's Turkish speech, but correct or not, the Turkish language was strong enough to reach many spheres of the Dzhudezmo community.

The force of the Turkish impact really manifested itself only after the beginning of the emancipation of the Balkan nations. That the language of the ruling majority should penetrate the vocabulary of a community that has no strong will to resist is a daily occurrence; even when a minority does have a developed cultural language and a flourishing literature it is never altogether immune to the language of those in power. But Greece became an independent kingdom in the beginning of the nineteenth century; the other Balkan states had completely seceded from Turkey by 1878, by degrees even before. Nevertheless the Turkish share in Dzhudezmo, established for centuries, remained evident in Greece, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, and Rumania. (On the similar role of Polish in the east Slavic territories see 7.57.) In ethnographic Turkish territory there was, in addition, the constant influx of new Turkish-stemming loanwords, and experts can distinguish between naturalized elements in the Turkish component and the modern accretion of administrative and technical terms.

Most conspicuous is the Turkish share in vocabulary. Words of various parts of speech were easily incorporated. Noteworthy is Wagner's statement that in Dzhudezmo there are many words of Turkish derivation for which there is no synonym of another component. Some Turkish-stemming words assumed a specific meaning in Dzhudezmo (for instance, *čadir* in Turkish means 'tent', and in Dzhudezmo it means 'umbrella'). Moreover—and from the point of view of peculiarity this is even more important—the monographs provide numerous examples of integration in morphology and word formation.

Words of Turkish derivation assumed a plural form where the Turkish has the singular and vice versa. Turkish-stemming roots are combined with Spanish-stemming suffixes. Verbs with Turkish-stemming roots are easily formed by the addition of the suffix *ear*; substantives of Turkish derivation take on Spanish-stemming endings or suffixes; for instance *oxá* (a kind of measure) ~ plural *oxás*, or *para* (a coin, money) ~ diminutive *paraika*. Spanish-stemming words have assumed new meanings under Turkish influence (*ora* means not only 'hour', but also 'watch'; in the Turkish manner, Dzhudezmo does not say 'to smoke tobacco' as in Spanish, but 'to drink tobacco' [*beber tutun*]—*tutun* is of Turkish derivation). Compounds may consist of one Spanish-stemming and one Turkish-stemming element (even one root may be a fusion of two; for instance, in *rizúm* [grape] there are traces of Spanish *racimo* [cluster] and Turkish *üzüm* [raisin]), and so on. Sometimes the Hebrew component, too, is drawn into the fusion; for instance, there are two parallel words from the Hebrew word *gaava* (pride) for 'proud person': *gabiento* and *gabağı*—one with a Spanish-stemming and the other with a Turkish-stemming morpheme added. In their transition into Dzhudezmo, the Turkish-stemming elements have undergone considerable phonetic change and at least one new phone was added under the influence of Turkish in *all* Dzhudezmo—the velar [ɨ]. Some facts in the Turkish component can be explained only on the basis of Turkish forms of centuries ago, indicating how old the component is.

Two phenomena—one a category, the other a unique word—that deal with the impact of Turkish are worthy of detailed consideration. We have mentioned above (2.19.3) the playful repetition of the type of *konde . . . monde*, where only the first word has a direct meaning (count). The second is an addition purely for the emotional affect of intensification in whatever direction. Wagner relates this with a similar fact when, for instance, *azer šušu, šu* (make hush-hush-hush, whisper) is extended to *azer šušušu mušušu*. Spanish knows of no such device. Both Wagner and Spitzer after him state resolutely that this is patterned after a Turkish process; for instance, *šapka mapka* (ironically, something like 'a hat from hatland'; *mapka* in itself is no word in Turkish, it is merely improvised here to rhyme with *šapka*). Specialists in Dzhudezmo and Turkish should decide on the derivation of the pattern, but the notion of a Turkish origin is eminently plausible. Spitzer himself analyzed the fact of American English adopting the Yiddish pattern of *libe-shmibe* (love-shmove) in such formations as *possible-shmossible* (8.8.2). Now if a minority language can introduce such a specific pattern into the majority language, all the more so the majority language into the minority language.

About the second item there is not the least doubt that it comes from Turkish. Above we have discussed the form *el Dio* (2.19.3). This has an equivalent also heard frequently, *taván*. This is a Turkish word, but there it means 'roof, ceiling'. On the meaning of this word in Dzhudezmo, Abraham S. Yahuda wrote as follows: "As a rule *el taván* is used as an attribute of the Divinity, meaning 'heaven', in order not to say 'God'." It can be heard in such sentences, for instance, as *el taván ke moz guađre* (heaven protect us). The word is never used in Dzhudezmo in its direct meaning. For those concepts the Spanish-stemming word *tečo* is used, although it happens that because of the well-known Turkish meaning of *el taván* some people would indulge in frivolity and give it some such meaning as 'go implore the roof'.

Vis-à-vis the exaltedness of the word just analyzed, it is worth recalling Wagner's assertion that "coarse" words in Dzhudezmo are to a large extent of Turkish derivation (2.19.1). The amplitude is considerable.

2.19.5 Can we also speak of components that entered Dzhudezmo

from other coterritorial languages? I am inclined to answer in the negative, for the influx is quantitatively not overly large, and tangible structural influences are nowhere in evidence.

Turkish is a determinant in relation to Dzhudezmo. The language closest to Turkish with respect to impact is Greek; perhaps more correctly, the Yavanic language with its Greek component. When the Sephardim arrived in the East, Yavanic was the language of the established small Jewish community that they found there. The 1547 edition of the Constantinople Pentateuch reckons with a condition of bilingualism: "A translation . . . into Yavanic and Loez—the two languages current among our people dwelling in the lands of Turkey . . . "; the transition from Yavanic to Dzhudezmo in the small secluded communities of Greece continued as late as the twentieth century. It is therefore conceivable that in the process of Sephardization the Greek Jews have carried over elements of their language into Dzhudezmo.

Basically the researcher has to distinguish between diverse series of linguistic facts. One series is easily distinguished: such words as *apotripós* (guardian) or *aver* (air). They have to be attributed to the Hebrew component, just as is the case in Yiddish, for they entered Hebrew in the talmudic period and were known among Sephardic no less than among Ashkenazic scholars. The discernment of what entered Dzhudezmo from Yavanic and what directly from coterritorial non-Jewish Greek is much more difficult. Here another difficulty is added: many words formed in Greek are also found in Turkish and only a deeper look —if anything at all—can help decide from what source the word entered Dzhudezmo.

Suffixing of Greek-stemming words in the accepted Dzhudezmo manner can be illustrated by *pizmozo* (stubborn), where the Greek-stemming root is *pizma* (obstinacy), or by *kurdear* (wind the clock), where the Greek-stemming verb is *kurdizo*. But all told the number of Greek elements, if the literature is to be relied on, is very small; even in the fairy tales of Salonika they can be found only in negligible quantities. A trifle more can be detected in the proverbs, and reason would dictate that in the everyday, less disciplined language the influx of Greek elements was larger.

The same, with the same reservations, must be said about Serbian-Macedonian elements in Yugoslav territories. Possibly the contact levels with the coterritorial population (except the Turks) were actually limited at that time, when the disciplined language of more or less fixed texts precipitated; and perhaps at the bottom of this is the adherence to a special style that avoids elements of the coterritorial language.

In the scattered material that Wagner brought from Bulgaria, we see more possible phenomena of infusion. Not only do we find adopted

words in cases of modern conditions (*učitel* [teacher], *ispit* [examination]), but even Bulgarian suffixes are incorporated (*amanitsa* [Haman's wife, a shrew]), and at times Dzhudezmo words or phrases are formed according to Bulgarian patterns.

In Rumania the interference of the vernacular was probably always strong because of the proximity in vocabulary and the grammatical system of the two languages. Then again Crews, in her search in 1930 for "genuine" Bucharest Dzhudezmo, also found surprising elements of stability.

2.19.6 Toward the middle of the twentieth century signs accumulated of a linguistic and social crisis in Dzhudezmo. What does crisis in a language mean linguistically? In World War II the Germans scored great victories over the Jewish population in the Balkans; and in Greece, for example, no more than ten percent of the Jewish population survived. But the reduced number of speakers is no linguistic criterion. There are languages of tiny communities from which linguistics has learned much. The poverty of the literature is of no concern to the linguist in his calling; dozens of languages have been recorded only after the arrival of an outside investigator. Permeation with "foreign" elements in itself is also no longer a fault since the realization that there are no languages without admixture; and if interference reaches the point of fusion, fascinating new problems spring up for the linguist.

But there is one limit: when the very system of the language is destroyed. We observe this among immigrants who are in the process of totally adopting the language of the country, and the system of the language that was brought along has become entirely haphazard among the last speakers. The breakdown of the system is particularly marked in those cases where the declining language has no support in an ideology or in standard norms (2.19.7).

That the language of a minority should disappear is probably a rarity—if it happens at all. Generally the effect of language shift is such that among its speakers of yesterday (and sometimes even among its still earlier speakers) there remains a part of the language. Initially one can still speak the language, but the ability is rarely utilized—perhaps only in contact with older people, perhaps only in a particular mood. For a considerable time afterward, words, phrases, and intonations remain that are interjected into the new language to add flavor to it (2.18). Incidentally, cases are known of members of the second or third generation who show great pleasure in using these "delicious" speech elements and feel less restrained in doing so.

One must observe how large the degree of resistance the system manifests in absorbing extraneous matter. A study of a Dzhudezmo weekly and several other publications in Israel stresses the comparatively

noticeable number of Gallicisms (the writers evidently went through the French Alliance schools in Turkey); but much more apparent, both in the quotations and in the analysis, is the flexibility of the language and the integrity of the system.

Even an article that made its special aim (and achieved it) to reach informants from Bulgaria whose Dzhudezmo was infested with elements of the vernacular, at the same time simultaneously reveals the fact that the system of Dzhudezmo was not affected by that which is sometimes called jargonization. A Dzhudezmo stylist will make a sour face at such a sentence as *al cual jezik estas avlando?* (In what language do you speak?), for since the birth of Dzhudezmo either *lingua* or *lašon* (language) is used, and the Bulgarian *jezik* is stylistically a barbarism. A similar barbarism is the preposition *al* (in); in Dzhudezmo, as a rule, simply the accusative is used. Nonetheless, there is no doubt that the quoted sentence is Dzhudezmo and not Bulgarian. If the linguist's measure is morphology, then it is thoroughly Dzhudezmo. If vocabulary is also among the criteria, then the penetration of outside elements is no more than one fact amidst all the other facts. One can, therefore, speak of a linguistic crisis only diagnostically, in relation to a social crisis (2.19.7), if the penetration proceeds with glaring rapidity. Irrigation is one thing and inundation another. Theoretically a stabilization on a new level is certainly still possible, with a higher degree of fusion than in the previous stage.

2.19.7 The purely linguistic crisis in Dzhudezmo is not only a concomitant, but in effect the result of a social crisis. The rise of national states in the Balkans in the last century (including the Turkey of the Young Turks), all of them with monistic linguistic ambitions with reference to the minorities and all ready to set up an administrative machine in favor of the state language, was a heavy blow for Dzhudezmo. History knows an ample number of instances in which persecution has been of no avail. The minority digs in and maintains its language in the hothouse of the family, while all children are compelled to attend an elementary school conducted in the state language and no other language is permitted in the state institution. But in the case of Dzhudezmo, the concentric attack from without hit on a weakened community. The focused linguistic will was apparently much weaker in the Sephardic tradition than in Ashkenaz (4.13–4.18). The language-creative powers resided mainly in the momentum of routine, in the cumulative weight of existing facts. But in the twentieth century (and to some extent even earlier) traditional Sephardic culture began to wither. The *kheyder* became repugnant; the yeshiva no longer had prestige. Jewishness, formerly a way of life, began to metamorphose into a religion (3.5), and the "spirit of the time" was against religion. The

adherents of tradition became weak, and the Sephardic community hardly made an effective attempt to create a modern-oriented culture that would synthesize the old and the new and implant devotion to language.

There were indeed a few hopeful signs, and it is apparently no coincidence that shortly after World War I Dzhudezmo newspapers spoke favorably about Yiddish and even translated stories from Yiddish. From a cluster of facts we want to record the impression (until a documented study will appear) that a sort of center of aspirations to elevate Dzhudezmo existed in a circle of Sephardic students from Bosnia in Vienna; there they could have drawn their inspiration, on the eve of World War I, from the Yiddishist students at the Vienna University. The journal *El mundo sefardi* (The Sephardic World), which began to appear in Vienna in 1923, was apparently the organ of these pioneers. Their endeavors to create a new literary standard language to replace Ladino (2.19.8.4) surely deserve a detailed study. If they themselves did not formulate the principles of standardization, their intentions can easily be derived from their literary production: the selection of a basic supra-regional vocabulary, the selection of a minimum of grammatical and phonetic norms, the determination of the degree of permissible tolerance of regional peculiarities, agreement on a uniform orthography, and so on.

The innovators did not succeed at that time in creating a social movement to strengthen the will to preserve and develop the language by means of ideological influence and appropriate institutions. After the desolation of World War II it became even more difficult to once again lead the language on an uphill course.

2.19.8 After the structure and structural problems of Dzhudezmo in Sepharad II have become apparent, it is much easier to see the linguistic problems of the Sephardim up to 1492, on the Iberian Peninsula itself.

There was a theory, adhered to even by serious Hispanists (now it is no longer heard of), that the history of "Judeo-Spanish" began only after the Expulsion; the Old Spanish that the Jews had taken with them in a state of purity "became corrupt" only abroad, in a foreign linguistic milieu. The more fastidious even tried to bolster this view with linguistic arguments. The fact that the Spanish-stemming elements of eastern Dzhudezmo contain elements of diverse Old Spanish dialects was explained as follows: In Spain itself the Jews of each province had spoken the dialect of the local population; only in the Diaspora did the speakers of the various dialects mingle. Today, all in this field agree that Dzhudezmo antedates the Expulsion. There are texts dating from long before the Expulsion, such as business letters, not only written in Hebrew characters but containing considerable amounts of Hebrew-component

elements. The language is definitely not Spanish. Even the word *meldar* (2.14.1.1, 2.16.2, 2.19.3) is found in non-Jewish Spanish sources antedating the Expulsion, when Jews were exposed to ridicule; it is certain that the scoffers took it from the language of the Jews.

More research will probably result in a more detailed periodization; but in the history of Dzhudezmo we must operate with at least two periods: New Dzhudezmo (after the Expulsion) and Old Dzhudezmo (up to the Expulsion).

Let us first sketch the outlines of the Jewish language situation on the Iberian Peninsula in the Middle Ages against the background of general historical developments. The Arab conquerors became masters of practically the entire peninsula in the eighth century; only small areas in the mountainous north remained unconquered. The reconquest on the part of the Christian kingdoms began in the second half of the eleventh century and continued for nearly two hundred years; the last Arab position fell only in the year of the Expulsion (2.1.1).

Upon the advance of the Arabs, the influence of their language rose both in general and among the Jews; upon their retreat, this influence declined. But the chronology of the reconquest alone does not solve the problem of the alternation of cultural influences among the Sephardim. Saragossa and Tortosa had been reconquered by the Christians in the first half of the twelfth century, but the Hebrew documents of the local communities still showed marked influences of Arabic a century later. Toledo had become Christian again very early, in 1085, and Arabic linguistic influences disappeared from the local Jewish community documents no earlier than the end of the fourteenth century.

On the other hand, it is a fact that even in the province of Andalusia, where Arab culture flourished most, the pre-Arab population was not obliterated. Its Spanish became highly Arabized (from these territories must come the largest number of the nearly four thousand Arabic-stemming words that linguists have counted in contemporary Spanish), and in general a remarkable fusion of culture patterns arose there. Nonetheless, allowance must be made for the fact that even in Andalusia the Jews did not confront a uniform Arab mass. The non-Jewish population was divided as far as religion was concerned between Moslems and Christians; linguistically, we may assume between Arabic-speakers and a minority speaking Spanish. That the Jews also knew the language of the Spanish minority well can be attested from the twenty-odd Spanish poems appended to their Hebrew poems by such poets of strongly Arab southern Spain as Judah Halevi and Moses ibn Ezra.

The relations of Yahudic (2.11) to Dzhudezmo must not be simplified by assuming a plain alternation with the shift in political boundaries. Had the Arabs exterminated all non-Arabic languages, we would have

to imagine that the tradition symbolized by *meldar* could have survived only in the north and that Dzhudezmo speakers could move from the north to the south only together with the Christian kings. But the tradition of a Jewish language with Romance stock on the Iberian Peninsula was older than the arrival of the Arabs, and if some Spaniards retained their Romance then their Jewish neighbors, or some of their Jewish neighbors, could just as well have retained their kind of Loez. In other words, we must very much reckon with the possibility that in the Golden Period there were two linguistic communities among the Sephardim, a Yahudic and Dzhudezmic, and that a large percentage of the Jews knew and spoke both Yahudic and Dzhudezmo.

Yahudic occupied a large territory outside the Iberian Peninsula even when part of Sepharad I was still Yahudic; hence the Yahudic of Spain is only one angle of research on Yahudic. Up to the Expulsion, Dzhudezmo had no other territorial basis than the Iberian Peninsula; here alone were the problems of this language localized to the end of the fifteenth century.

2.19.8.1 When we search for indications that reveal the independence of Old Dzhudezmo from Old Spanish, we are struck first of all by the elements of Hebrew derivation. It is not merely a question of single words, such as *malsin* (informer) (2.19.2), of whose existence prior to 1492 there can be no doubt, but also of fusions. Not too many Jewish writings have survived the storms of the Expulsion, and even these have not been studied by linguists; nevertheless something may be adduced. An association *Malbishe arumim* (Providers of Garments), for example, which existed in Saragossa (Aragon) in the fifteenth century, figures in a contemporary Spanish document as *Malvise Arhumin*, but in addition another name is also mentioned: *Confraria de Malvisar* (Fraternity for *Malbishing* [from the Hebrew verb *malbish* (to clothe)]).

A real treasure has been preserved in Valladolid (Castile): Statutes for the Jewish communities in Castile, formulated by a council in 1432. Regrettably, this document has been studied in detail only historically, not linguistically, although it was published in 1885. Isidore Loeb, the distinguished Franco-Jewish scholar, immediately noted that the statutes "in Hebrew characters . . . are written in a language in which Hebrew and Spanish constantly mingle and create an odd mosaic." Loeb's conclusion is that this is not a direct reflection of the spoken language among Spanish Jews ("in conversation they assuredly introduced far less Hebrew") but a kind of chancery language that reminds him of the scribe's style in Yiddish (4.25.1.2). But even if we were for the time being to rely on Loeb's intuition, we must take into consideration the fact that, as a rule, a style can exaggerate only givens that are found in the language. °*Enhereman* (they excommunicate) is a verb we incidentally

found in the modern Dzhudezmo of Constantinople (2.19.2.1); but even without this felicitous coincidence it would be impossible for a scribe to invent this pattern, for the matter was of most serious import, calling for full understanding on the part of the reader. The form *°samaies* (beadles), which Loeb did not know how to explain, could possibly have used the Spanish-derived plural ending *es*, for the singular was, because of the loss of the *s* at the end of the word (2.19.2), not *samass*, as Loeb expected, but **samá*. Our major gratitude to Loeb is for dwelling on what he himself called "the most important grammatical curiousity": "The tenses are very frequently formed by a combination of the Spanish verb *°seer* (to be) with the Hebrew present participle. For example: *°sonos metakenim takanot* (we enacted regulations); *°ke sean mekabelim* (that they accept); *°ke sean kobeim* (that they fix)." This, again, is a pattern that we know from modern Dzhudezmo and that attests to a high degree of fusion, certainly prior to the Expulsion.

2.19.8.2 The Romanists have pointed out, incidentally, various lexical items characteristic of the language of the Jews in Spain that are not, or are only in part, of Hebrew derivation. We have already discussed *meldar* (2.19.8). That the Jews used the form *Dió* and not *Dioś* (2.19.3) is attested as early as 1410, if not earlier.

A central problem of pre-Expulsion Dzhudezmo is the regional coloring of the Romance component: Was the Romance component identical with the local Spanish of the region, or was there already a fusion of various Spanish regional peculiarities in the Romance component of Dzhudezmo on the Iberian Peninsula? Extant sources could provide the answer, but for the time being there is no study on this subject in view.

Surely, we may draw conclusions from the facts that Jewish words penetrated into the language of the non-Jewish population on the Iberian Peninsula. *Malsin* has become firmly established in Spanish. Most interesting is *desmazalado* (unlucky), which has found its way even into Cervantes. To be sure, Cervantes was born fifty-odd years after the Expulsion, but Jews must have left the word; only people could be expelled, not their impact. A competent Hispanist has found that *desmazalado* has a parallel in a Romance root in a northern Spanish dialect, but he is sure that the Hebrew word *mazal* (luck) also had a share in shaping the meaning of the word. An additional proof that *desmazalado* derives (or also derives at the same time) from *mazal* is the fact that similar formations are found among so many nations that have Jews in their midst: *kakomazalos* (ill-starred) in Greek, *Schlamassel* (mess) in German, *ślamazarny* (negligent, slovenly) in Polish.

2.19.8.3 The cultural history of the Sephardim would indicate that Dzhudezmo may also have an Arabic component (2.19.8). On reflection

we arrive at the conclusion that this component must have two different chronological strata.

When the exiles brought Dzhudezmo from Spain to northern Africa and the Sephardim encountered the indigenous Yahudic speakers, this encounter must have left its mark on the languages of both communities. We need not be surprised, therefore, that in the nearly five hundred years that have elapsed, northern African Dzhudezmo was permeated by Arabic. The task is to segregate that which entered Dzhudezmo by way of Yahudic, that is, from the Arabic component of Yahudic, and that which has come in directly from the coterritorial Arabic-speaking non-Jewish population. Historically, the Arabic component in northern African Dzhudezmo may be compared to the Turkish component (2.19.4) in eastern (Balkan-Asia Minor) Dzhudezmo. In both instances we are dealing with Arabic-stemming elements that have come in *after* the Expulsion.

In addition *all* Dzhudezmo has a still older Arabic structure, antedating the Expulsion. The historical facts permit no doubt that Dzhudezmo speakers and Yahudic speakers lived for centuries alongside each other and shared the same political fate. The linguistic influences must have been profound in both directions; herein lies an important field for researchers.

The case most frequently cited in this matter is *alxá* (Sunday); in most sources it appears as *alxad*, but the *d* apparently was dropped in speech after the stressed vowel (2.19.2). It is the universal word in all Dzhudezmo, from Morocco to Asia Minor and Israel. The forebear is Arabic *alxad* (the one, the first [day]); *al* is the Arabic article. (Compare, with reference to the content of this phrase, the Hebrew *Yom aleph* [Sunday].) Besides *shabat* (Sabbath), this is the only name of a day that is not derived from a Romance forebear, and the reason for it has been well defined. Jews did not mind using names such as *martes* (Tuesday) or *miércoles* (Wednesday), for the names of the pagan deities Mars and Mercury underlying them were not recognized. But underlying the Spanish *domingo* (Sunday) is the forebear (DIES) DOMINICUS (the day of the Lord), and this means Jesus Christ. This Christian connotation was apparently vivid, so Jews rejected it.

But how did the Arabic word become the substitute? Assuming that in the beginning the Dzhudezmo speakers had been Yahudic speakers, it would seem that at the rise of Dzhudezmo the creators of the new fusion language accepted from their Spanish determinant all other names of the days for in them there was no Christianity; only *domingo* did they dislike, and understandably, for the concept of Sunday retained the term of their Yahudic prior language. But this is not a realistic notion, for we have so much proof of the unbroken existence of a Loez

language in Spain from the days of Roman-Loez. This means probably in the south too, but at least in the north, the Jewish correlate of Spanish persevered throughout the entire period of Arab rule. Few Arabic influences reached the north. Besides, we may ask, how did the Jews on the Iberian Peninsula call the first day of the week before the arrival of the Arabs (and the Jews speaking the other Loez languages that were outside the Arabic culture sphere)? By way of conjecture, we may answer that in the Romance world in general, and on the Iberian Peninsula up to the contact with Yahudic, Jews avoided the Christian word and used a circumlocution with other Romance-stemming elements, for example, "the first day."

Other Arabisms (or Yahudisms—perhaps there are methods of specifying which) in the Dzhudezmo of the peninsula are *aldžama*, in western Europe generally transcribed *aljama* (community), *almaalna*, in Spanish texts *almaona* ([a kind of] extraordinary tax), *alcavala* (sales tax), and a number of terms of congregational life that continued long after the Arab regime.

2.19.8.3.1 In analyzing Arabic-stemming words in modern eastern Dzhudezmo, the question should be raised as to whether these words could not have entered through the mediation of Old Spanish. (We are dealing here with Arabisms in Old Dzhudezmo; in the Balkans, Arabic-stemming elements could have entered by way of the Turkish determinant, and there are linguistic criteria whereby this can be determined.) For example, *xazino* (sick) is also found in Old Spanish; therefore we cannot determine if it entered Dzhudezmo directly or in a roundabout way. The fact that the word *xazinura* (sick) is not attested in Old Spanish is interesting for the independence of Dzhudezmo, but *ura* is a Spanish suffix and therefore it does not concern Arabic. The case of *šara* (forest) is different. One may wish to explain this too as an item of the Romance component: *jara* in Spanish is a kind of a bush; one may assume that in Dzhudezmo we have only an extension of meaning. But Wagner pointed out that in Arabic the word has the same broad meaning as in Dzhudezmo and thence he came to the conclusion that Dzhudezmo had taken the word unaltered and directly from the Arabic determinant.

Even more subtle is Wagner's finding about *blanko* (coal). Offhand it seems like a Spanish-stemming word—*blanco* is 'white' in Spanish—and thus we have actually classified it (2.19.3). But the Arabic word *biod* (white) also means 'coal' in contemporary Yahudic, for instance in Algeria. Theoretically this would still leave the question open of who borrowed from whom; but the word is attested in Old-Andalusian Arabic—hence Dzhudezmo speakers probably took it from Yahudic speakers (incidentally, the fear of uttering the word for 'black' is also widespread among Arabs).

Another series of facts strengthens the idea of Yahudic as a prior language of a large part of the Dzhudezmo speakers in Sepharad I. Gruenbaum, an Arabic and Ladino scholar (2.19.8.4), noted a similarity in the method of translating the Bible between Arabic and Sephardic Jews. Blondheim concurred and also provided the explanation: these translations derive all the way from Saadia Gaon. Again we have a case of vertical legitimation (3.6.1; Ashkenaz is not unique in this respect, only most consistent), which leads from one culture area to another and from a language to a prior language.

Incidentally, it is highly probable that the specific Sephardic usage of the word *°ladino* was also strengthened through the influence of Arabic. Essentially, it means only 'Latin', and we have seen that among Jews in Romance countries—outside Spain, too—it was occasionally used, in slightly varying forms, as an equivalent for Loez (2.15.1). But the term was really widespread only among the Sephardim (2.19.8.4). And here one recalls that among the Mozarabs, the Arabized Christians of southern Spain, the name *al latinia* was current. It meant 'Romance', and it probably goes back to the first encounters of the Arabs with the southern European world, when the distinctions between the individual Romance languages were not yet so striking (2.15.1.1). Therefore, it is perhaps no coincidence that the term *ladino* attained such prominence among the Sephardim, the only Jewish community in the Romance countries that had an intimate contact with the Arabs.

2.19.8.4 Ladino is the old written language of the Dzhudezmo community, and a written language calls for a specific approach (1.6.7). Its styles should be investigated, but it must not be identified with the spoken language of any period. It contains spoken-language elements and moves along with the course of time, but in order to discern the spoken-language elements the accumulated written-stylistic strata must be cleared away first.

The material is vast and pleads for careful sifting, classification, and interpretation by the proper methods. So far very little has been accomplished, and of this the largest part is preoccupied with fishing out what is to be found and what cannot be found in the Old Spanish dictionaries. Therefore no more than an outline of the subject can be given here.

Ladino is first and foremost the language of translations of the sacred texts. Most frequently mentioned is the *Biblia en lengua española traduzida palabra por palabra de la verdad hebrayca* (*The Bible in the Spanish Language Translated Word for Word from the Hebrew Truth*) printed in Latin characters in Ferrara, northern Italy, in 1553. This is a feat of Marrano penitents, and Hispanists have frequently dealt with the text, although no full monograph on it has appeared. Far less attention has been given to the bilingual Constantinople translation of the Pentateuch of 1547,

which we have already mentioned (basically this is a text in four languages: Hebrew, Aramaic, Yavanic, and Ladino; 2.12.1). This edition is not accessible to most Hispanists, for it is in Hebrew characters.

What was said above about the Spanish spoken language of the Marranos (in contrast to Dzhudezmo; 2.19.3.1–2.19.3.2) does not apply to the translations that they printed. One thing is clear: they wanted a Jewish *Biblia*, otherwise they could have spared themselves the great trouble of printing; printed Christian Bibles in Spanish were readily available in the middle of the sixteenth century. But the Marranos did not bring with them their own great scholars capable of making a new translation for them—particularly since, in the case of sacred texts, the traditionally fixed character of the text is part of its sacredness. Therefore it stands to reason that in Ferrara a version was printed that was brought along from Spain and had been most zealously guarded there.

But be it a reprint or a new translation, there is a little information on the Ferrara Bible, sufficient to find in it (even if we know nothing about Dzhudezmo besides this) clear indications of a "special language" (2.15.1). Substantives with the suffix *ensia* are frequent, whereas in Spanish the parallel formations ceased before 1300. Similarly, verbs ending in *iguar*, to render the Hebrew *hiphil*, the causative conjugation, are widely represented. 'God' is *el Dio*, as anticipated, and not *Señor* (Lord), as rendered by the Christian Spanish Bibles. For 'mourn' the Jewish translations have *alemuñarse*, which goes back to Latin LAMENTĀRI, but is not found in the non-Jewish Spanish texts. *Revid hazahav* (a gold chain), in Genesis 41:42, is *collar del oro* (. . . of the gold) and not *de oro* (of gold), for the original has *hazahav* with the definite article. *Mayim* is rendered *aguas* (waters) and not *agua*, as in the Spanish Bible; otherwise it would not be sufficiently faithful to the original. These, of course, are only a few examples taken at random. Words of Hebrew derivation have practically no place in this kind of style, but it is full of Jewish peculiarites.

There are things in which Constantinople and Ferrara differ; that is, in the realm of the Old Sephardic tradition they represent two different translation systems; a detailed analysis may possibly come closer to the reasons behind this or that variant. In Ferrara *Pesah* is rendered *Pesah*, but the related word *pascua* is used to render *hag* (festival), in accordance with Spanish *Pascua*, which means both Easter and Passover or any church holiday (even Christmas is *Pascua de Natividad*). On this point Constantinople happens to come closer to Christian usage and has *°pascua* for both *Pesah* and *hag*. In Ferrara Potiphar is called *eunuco* (*seris* in the Bible); in Constantinople he is *σynql'bv*, apparently the same word as 'slave', but Arabized; and altogether there are more Arabisms

in this edition. The itinerant merchants that call forth in the minds of the brothers the idea of selling Joseph are *Ismaelitas* in Ferrara, and in Constantinople *°los moros* ([the Arabs]; the Hebrew texts in the Arab sphere speak of *yishmeelim* or *goyim* [Arabs] and *arelim* [Christians]). The Egyptian priests (Genesis 47:22) are in the Constantinople edition *°monaxos* (monks); in general the non-Jewish priest in these translations has the neutral name *mayoral* (eldest).

Constantinople also has a specific Jewish translation for the word *betula* (virgin) into which Christian missionaries have always attempted to insinuate a hint of the mother of God. The Spanish-stemming *virgen* would support this insinuation; so Constantinople uses *°escosa*, the first meaning of which is 'kid'.

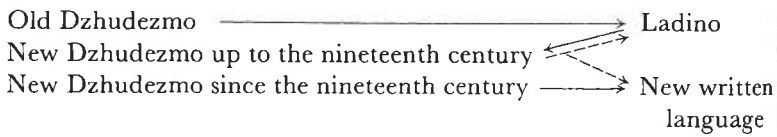
Following the publication of the Constantinople and Ferrara translations in the middle of the sixteenth century, a considerable number of new translations appeared, and some of them approach, to the extent that is discernible from brief descriptions, one or the other of the two types. But it can very well be that the Sephardim brought from Spain more than two basic types of translations of the Bible. In recent decades a number of medieval Bible manuscripts were found in Spanish libraries that may also help shed more light on the problem of Ladino. Spanish scholars have realized that among the medieval Spanish Bibles there is one category that was definitely designated for Jews; they found their way into the state libraries apparently through confiscations. They are all written in Latin characters (and the cultural-historical cause and significance of this fact has yet to be clarified), but their manner is specifically Jewish. In one of the manuscripts, written at the end of the fourteenth or the beginning of the fifteenth century, the name of God is rendered, as in the 1533 Ferrara edition, *Adonay* (and not *Señor*); the word *°monxes* (monks), the likes of which we have seen in the 1547 Constantinople edition, here means Pharaoh's 'magicians'. There is no doubt that the publications of the sixteenth century are fairly late representatives of a fixed medieval Sephardic tradition, and that for the history of Ladino, hence also for the history of Dzhudezmo as a whole, there is solid early source material available.

2.19.8.4.1 In the Ladino works that are not direct translations from Hebrew (for instance, ethical books) the language is not so conservative, and traditional constructions, words, and grammatical forms are more readily replaced by new ones. Here we find many compound verbs in which one element is the auxiliary *ser* (be): *ser metaken* (remedy), *ser mezake et harabim* (favor the public), and so on. Fusion formations of various components are more frequent and words of Hebrew derivation are more abundant. These are all indications of a well-known process: the spoken language is beginning to break down the fences of the rigid

literary style (2.19.8.4). By delving into details, there must be a possibility of dating some of these innovations and thus also discerning more clearly the development of the spoken language in Sepharad II. Possibly in analyzing the texts we may discern that the degree of openness for spoken-language elements depends on the literary genre: translations of prayers, penitential prayers, and so on; poetic paraphrases of biblical texts; ethical literature and historical poems.

There must be threads linking the traditional language with the language of the new secular-oriented writings (in our terminology we would call them "maskilic"), which began to make their appearance in the first half of the nineteenth century. The writers were brought up in the old manner and their readership was also deeply immersed in tradition. From here, again, there was a bridge to the language of the newspapers of the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth centuries, where °*meldar* means also 'read a newspaper', and °*darsar* (preach) is also used for a lecture in an academy. At the same time the language of the press, although intended only for practical needs, must be viewed in conjunction with the conscious efforts to create a new written language (2.19.7).

The following scheme will perhaps clarify the relations:



2.19.9 In the course of our earlier discussion, the question came up unexpectedly as to whether Dzhudezmo had its rise in the Middle Ages in the dramatic meeting of northern Spanish and southern Spanish Sephardim, or whether the language goes back to a time prior to the Arab invasion and is a direct outgrowth of Roman-Loez.

Only these two alternatives can be accepted. About the numerous translation words cited by Blondheim (2.16.2) the question may be raised as to whether they are bookish words that came to the Sephardim by way of literary influences. But even if the significance of these hundreds of words were to be denied, there is one that speaks with a hundred voices. This is *meldar*, our well-known verb (2.19.8). It comes from a Roman-Loez ancestor (2.14.1.1), through a Yavanic forefather, and this is proved through its existence in all Loez languages. But in none of them is it as popular as in Dzhudezmo; in none of them has it blossomed forth in so many derivative forms and meanings. It was impossible for the word to have come to Sephardic Jews from another Loez language through literary channels. Had Yahudic the root *meld*, we could take into consideration the fact that the Yahudic community, on arrival in Spain, had possibly taken over the word from the established Roman-Loez speakers and later on transmitted it to the Dzhudezmo speakers. But Yahudic does not know of the word. Hence the conclusion is certain. And if one word was preserved in Dzhudezmo beyond any doubt through direct tradition from as far back as Roman-Loez times, this could apply to all words that *could* derive from Roman-Loez. On second reflection, from what Loez language could Dzhudezmo benefit? Provense was a recipient, and not a donor (2.21 ff.); the southern-Loez speakers were far, and the western-Loez speakers still further.

From Roman-Loez in antiquity to Dzhudezmo of the twentieth century there extends an unbroken chain of tradition. Just as the local Vulgar Latin gradually developed to a stage called Spanish (2.15.1.1), so the locally colored Roman-Loez of the Jews in Spain developed to a stage that we may call Dzhudezmo (2.15.2.1).

This reflection leads to the postulation of a break in Old Dzhudezmo (2.19.8.4.1). This must come somewhere between 711 and 1492, that is, between the Arab invasion of the Iberian Peninsula and the Expulsion. It is as yet too early to attempt to fix the boundary with greater precision.

2.20 Upon an analysis of Dzhudezmo it is possible to explain why the list of Loez languages (2.15.2.1) differs from the number that could be inferred from Blondheim's presentation of *Les parlers judéo-romans*. He cites glosses from France, Provence, Catalonia, Spain, Portugal, and Italy (2.16.2), and apparently that is the number of vernaculars he had in mind. In the present list there are no "Judeo-Portuguese" and "Judeo-Catalan." The basis for postulating them is too weak.

The Portuguese influences in post-Expulsion Dzhudezmo are surely not conspicuous enough to suggest a special language among Jews in Portugal before the Expulsion (2.19.3.3, 2.19.8). Blondheim cites glosses from Portugal and, concerning a few of them, he is of the opinion that there are grounds to believe that they reflect a Jewish-Portuguese tradition of translation (apparently these translations did not enter Ladino). But all his material is taken from three books printed in Ferrara and in Amsterdam between the middle of the sixteenth and the middle of the seventeenth centuries; and all three books, as can be expected in the communities of children of Marranos, are under a strong influence of Spanish, so that Blondheim himself states "they cannot be cited as full proofs of a linguistic tradition going back to a Latin period among the Jewish population of Portugal before 1492. Therefore I cite them only in parentheses."

The situation in Catalonia seems slightly different, but the result is the same. There were old and important communities (Barcelona, Gerona, and others) in Catalonia, and there is no doubt therefore that at least in eastern Dzhudezmo Catalan regional traits are incorporated

in what we call the Romance component. Thus far the Romanists have not told us if they can be identified in the modern spoken language or in the older Ladino; perhaps the Catalan traits have merged with features of neighboring Spanish regions. With reference to the glosses material, Blondheim is here even less categorical than in the case of Portugal. In his monograph on words, Catalonia figures constantly, but the secret comes out in the introduction characterizing the sources. It so happens that the Catalan language extends beyond the Pyrenees, into the southeastern corner of the territory of France; there it coincides with Provençal so closely that frequently the linguist is hardly able to decide which is which. Blondheim therefore assigns his most important source to "Provence-Catalonia," and of the two texts that he cites as deriving from Catalonia, one may be from Provence and the other bears marked Spanish influences. Two leaves of a glossary going back to the thirteenth century remain. This remnant is certainly, insofar as age is concerned, a very important document, but Blondheim himself does not say that it justifies significant conclusions even concerning single words. Surely on such weak foundation an independent Jewish language cannot be constructed.

Should new facts be discovered about the former existence of Jewish languages of Portuguese and Catalan stocks, these languages, because of their proximity to Dzhudezmo, will be included in the Sephardic subgroup of the group of Loez languages as well. For the present we have in this subgroup only two languages: Dzhudezmo in the Sephardic culture area and Chuadit in the area that Jews called *Provense.*

2.21 The name *Provense* (in medieval rabbinic literature spelled *prvbynch* or something similar) is of course identical with the name *Provence*, but among Jews that designation had a broader meaning. We have an analogy in the name *Provençal*, which designates the language of all southern France, not only that of the former county of Provence. Ancient Jewish Provense includes not only Marseilles or Arles (the traditional spelling in Jewish sources: *mrśylyyh*, *ʾrly*) but also such important communities as Narbonne, Perpignan, Montpellier, Carcassonne, Nîmes (*nrbvnʾ*, *pyrpynyʾn*, *mnpslyyr*, *qrqʾsvnh*, *nmsy*), and others that are outside the political boundaries of Provence. Provense, it may be said, covers the entire area of southern France, insofar as Jewish settlements were there in the Middle Ages. Merchants from the east, Syrians, Greeks, Jews (Yavanic and Roman-Loez, presumably) came here as far back as antiquity. More or less stable communities here surely go back to Roman days; the Jewish settlement in Narbonne is documented as early as the fifth century. Hence, we may assume in the language of Provense Jews an unbroken affiliation with Roman-Loez. Our test word, the Roman-Loez *meletāre* (2.14.1.1), has been preserved among

Jews in various cities of southern France to date in *maoudá* (and variants) 'read, study (Torah)'.

Indeed, some historians speak of Jews in "southern France," and formally this is permissible, for it is opposed to northern France, that is, Zarfat. Yet this designation is misleading, for northern and southern appear as parts of one unit, France. In reality this territory of ancient Gaul had been a unit only as long as there was no France. Later in the Middle Ages, when the Jewish culture areas were established in Europe (2.1), Zarfat and Provense were altogether apart from each other. As a rule they were not hermetically sealed. In some customs the Provense practice seems to be a compromise between Sepharad and Zarfat. Occasionally, we find in the biography of a scholar that he lived both in northern and southern France. But suffice it to record the symbolic fact that Rashi, the central figure of Zarfat-Ashkenaz, knew no Arabic; hence in his exegesis he followed a course different from that of the scholars of Provense, the Iberian Peninsula, and northern Africa.

On the other hand, Rashi and his achievements were practically unknown in Provense even a generation after his death. In this respect, as in general, Provense was part of the southern Jewish world (2.2). Scholarship here drew its sustenance from Sepharad; the liturgy and the system of the practical application of the law rested on Sepharad; the interest in grammar, in philosophy, and in secular sciences was the same as on the other side of the Pyrenees, and it was in Provense that the great works of the Sephardic period of glory written in Arabic were translated into the Hebrew—the *Cuzari*, *Hovot halevavot*, *More nevukim*. One thing must be borne in mind: it was not a migration of Sephardim who brought along their Sephardic essence over the mountains. The majority of Jews were long established in "southern France" no less than in Spain. Provense had no access to the north and the local intellectual life was inadequate; consequently it relied on Sepharad.

The split Provense-Zarfat can be boldly charted on the map. Reviewing the hundreds of places recorded in Gross' geographical-historical lexicon, *Gallia Judaica*, the first impression is that they are scattered throughout the entire length and width of contemporary France. But if one excludes those localities where no Jewish settlement ever existed—according to all indications, only individual Jews are sporadically mentioned in the official non-Jewish records—the picture is entirely different. Lyon, Mâcon, Chalon-sur-Saône are very old communities on the banks of the Rhone and Saône; in respect of customs they followed Zarfat. Beyond this we see a dense net of Jewish communities in Provense, a dense network of Jewish communities in Zarfat (practically all north of the Loire), and in between a wide zone of no-man's-land, with hardly a Jewish settlement.

It is not surprising, therefore, that about 1200, when learning flourished both in Zarfat and Provense, the Jewish spiritual distance, say, from Rashi's town of Troyes to Mainz and even to Prague was much smaller than, say, from Troyes to Béziers (in Jewish sources *bdrs*) in Provense. Between Zarfat and Loter (later Ashkenaz) and Knaan there was a kind of "real union" in Jewishness, differences nowithstanding. And not because the actual distance between Troyes and Mainz is really smaller; the distance to Prague happens to be greater. It is not a question of mileage, but of direct association or lack of association (2.21.1).

2.21.1 The Pyrenees constituted partition with respect to intimate contacts between Sepharad and Provense, but through the center of what is contemporary France there passed a boundary Provense-Zarfat as a sharp break. Where can we find the roots of this contrast? They are inherent in the processes of general history; Jewish history followed suit, albeit not in every respect. In order to dramatize the contrast some scholars have spoken of "two Frances" in the Middle Ages.

The oldest major factor in separating southern from northern France is the proximity of the south to Rome. Hence Romanization began here much earlier and was carried out much more intensively, and this had lasting effects on social organization and the juridical systems. In the days of the Western Roman Empire and afterward in the first centuries of the Middle Ages the connections between Rome and Gaul, Britain and Germany (Rhineland) were largely by way of Provense; from the Tiber estuary by sea to Marseilles, up the Rhone to Lyon, and further north by way of the Saône. Here one came to the branching of further river systems. Northwest was the Seine basin, a tributary of the Loire, and thence to Brittany. Due north the headwaters of the Moselle were practically reached, that is the system of the Middle and Lower Rhine, and on the other side of the Upper Rhine are the sources of the Danube, which practically cuts across all of Central Europe on its way to the Black Sea. Jews—how could it be otherwise?—had to use these very means of communication possibilities. We hear of Jewish merchants who journeyed from Rome to Marseilles, and the Jewish communities in Lyon, Chalon-sur-Saône are actually settlements on the ancient road along the Rhone (2.17). At that time there was still no division in Gaul between north and south, not in general and not among Jews.

When the Arab fleets appeared in the western half of the Mediterranean, the maritime route Rome-Marseilles to the Rhone estuary became risky. It was necessary now to travel by the land route, from Rome north across the western Alps. As early as the eighth century northern Italy became a transit area, the Alpine St. Bernard Pass was used to travel to what is now Switzerland. Thence the way was open

to northern France (along Lake Geneva and the Rhone) and to the Rhineland (along Lake Constance and the Rhine). The Lower Rhone became dormant as an international water route. Thus southern France became relatively isolated from foreign trade despite all the economic developments in Europe resulting from the rise of Venice and Genoa and the Crusades. Southern France then turned even more to the southwest, to the Iberian Peninsula. After the thirteenth century Barcelona, with its growth in trade and navigation, became the point of attraction for southern France.

A third force in splitting the territory of formerly uniform Gaul was the colonization of the Franks in the north. Where the influence of the Franks did not reach, that is where Provençal is.

The Provençal language has not been exposed to Germanic (Frankish) influences, but is very close to Catalan, across the Pyrenees. On the other hand, the influence of Arabic is stronger in Provençal than in French. Culture bonds have proved to be stronger than the barrier of the Pyrenees erected by nature.

2.21.2 The Jewish language of Provense was also much closer to Old Dzhudezmo than to the western Loez of Zarfat. Even before we delve into linguistic speculations, one cause is striking: The largest part of Romance stock in this language came from the Provençal language and this is in many respects closer to Catalan and Spanish than to French. This Jewish "Provensal," as we may call it for the present (in 2.21.3 a more appropriate name is suggested), can be studied first in a large number of glosses, the oldest of which go back to the twelfth century. There is also extant a novel in verse of the fourteenth century about Queen Esther, community statutes from the end of the fifteenth century and later, entries in minute books, and so on. How much can be concluded from these older writings about the spoken language of each period is another question. Actual or quasi-spoken language can be found in several texts written by non-Jews for purposes of mockery. This type of writing is also not later than 1500.

The history of "Provensal" becomes clear after mapping out the basic contours of political history. The general decree of expulsion of 1394, which virtually destroyed the western Loez linguistic community, applied also to Provense, to the extent that the territory was under the rule of the French king. However, the decree was invalid in two territories. Provence proper, on the left bank of the Rhone, had seceded from the Carolingian state as far back as the end of the ninth century and continued an independent existence to 1481; Jews were expelled from Provence only in the beginning of the sixteenth century. A small Jewish settlement, four communities in the area known in French history as Comtat Venaissin, continued uninterruptedly in the territory of

former Provense. In 1394 Comtat Venaissin belonged to the Pope; papal rule continued to 1791, and during that rule the Jews were not expelled. Here, in the four communities of Avignon, Carpentras, Cavaillon, and Isle-sur-la-Sorgue, Provensal was preserved and developed till the nineteenth century, and in the beginning of the nineteenth century the distinct language of the Jews was clearly discernible. Later on emigration began from the four communities and the language declined, but toward the end of the nineteenth century a friend of the language still gathered a vocabulary of some two hundred words and even in our day people recall specific Jewish expressions.

Words of Hebrew derivation, of course, have held on most firmly, such as *rhamor* (Hebrew *hamor* [ass]; the *rh* is an attempt to produce in Latin characters a similitude of the *heth*), *ensicorégé* (Hebrew *shikor* [intoxicated]). Particularly striking to both eye and ear is the fact that some sibilants in Hebrew-stemming words (written with *sin*, *samekh*, *taw*) were transformed into /f/: *sus* (horse) is /fuf/, *mesila* (the [Jewish] street) is /mefila/, *mesharet* (servant) is /mesaref/, and so forth; accordingly the voiced correspondent of /s/ is transformed into /v/, for instance, *zona* (harlot) is /vona/.

From the probes of the students of Provençal who have dealt with the language of the Jews in Comtat Venaissin one concludes that the non-Hebrew-stemming parts of the language as well are not identical with the Provençal spoken there. Details have to be sought out and collated, but we may surely formulate a working hypothesis that "Provensal" is a fusion language, of which one component is Hebrew and the other Romance. In the Romance component by far the largest part is of Provençal derivation, but one must also not forget that the "Provensal" *meletare* (2.21) is an outgrowth from as far back as Roman-Loez. With reference to the Provensal elements it must be borne in mind that before the language community shrank and became confined to Comtat Venaissin only, it had spread over a large part of the territory of Provençal. It is quite plausible that at that time elements of various Provençal dialects entered the language of the Jews; these elements have been preserved and further developed in the language of the Jews in Comtat Venaissin.

2.21.3 Since it is certain that over the centuries the Jewish language in Provense could not remain static (2.17.4), it is probably advisable to make the first tentative break in the history of the language at the time when its territory became confined exclusively to Comtat Venaissin, that is, about 1500. This date was crucial in two senses. We have just spoken of the probable effect on the Romance component; thenceforth the contact with Provençal dialects outside Comtat Venaissin was severed. Simultaneously the Spanish Expulsion deprived the Jews in the

remainder of Provense of the last external support and left them totally forsaken. This must have had an influence both on the Hebrew component of their language, for no more scholarship arrived from beyond the Pyrenees, and the Romance; the influence of Dzhudezmo was discontinued.

The designation for the modern language of the Four Communities most frequently encountered in literature is Judéo-Comtadin, in French sources *judéo-comtadin*; *comtadin* is the adjective of the noun *Comtat* (county) used as an abbreviation for the full name Comtat Venaissin. But there is a more appropriate designation, which undoubtedly grew from within. In a satire written in the first years of the nineteenth century—*Lou pés enléva* (*The stolen scale*)—the author, a Christian judge Anrès, notes that the Jewish hero "speaks his language Chuadit." The word is surely an outgrowth of *yehudit* (Jewish). We know that the [j] was transformed among Loez Jews to /ž/ [dž] and later on among Provense Jews by way of /ž/ to /š/. The non-Jewish writer could not have invented the name for the language of the Jews; undoubtedly, Jews referred to it in this way among themselves.

Lack of older evidence of the internal name of Provensal is no hindrance to transferring the name to older times; historians of language frequently presume this (5.3.1, 5.5). Hence, we may speak for the time being about Old Chuadit and New Chuadit, with the break about 1500, and if detailed discoveries will warrant it, more detailed subdivision can be introduced.

2.22 The facts and conclusions about the two Frances have a direct bearing not only on the framework of Ashkenaz, that is, on the problem of Zarfat versus Provense, but also on Ashkenaz and Yiddish itself. For herein is revealed from what Romance countries Jews could have come to Loter and what Loez languages could have contributed to the Loez component of Yiddish. Without communication, culture and language relationships are impossible.

We now see clearly why from ± 900 to ± 1200 Chuadit must have been closer to Dzhudezmo than, for example, to southern Loez. We may conceive of certain contacts between southern Loez and western Loez, and the two may have even come closer to each other owing to the fact that, because of possibilities of communication, the bearers of the two languages could become partners in the settlement of Loter. Conversely, we shall not expect to find too much proximity (besides the proximity that comes from belonging to the Loez languages) between Chuadit and western Loez, let alone between Dzhudezmo and western Loez.

Herewith the problem of what Loez languages should be considered in examining the Loez component in Yiddish is basically solved. The

analysis of communication routes indicates that there is no point in seeking in Yiddish a contribution from Dzhudezmo or Spanish or Portuguese. The theoretical possibility of influence in individual cases is not precluded. We know of linguistic items that stray far afield, but the burden of proof, the cultural-historical and the purely linguistic, is on the proponent of the hypothesis. It is not enough to bring from a remote language a word that sounds somewhat similar; one has to come forth with an idea of the route by which it could possibly have come.

The very reverse holds for western Loez and southern Loez; here the cultural-historical facts suggest from the very outset that a strong share in the formation of Yiddish may be expected (6.1–6.9).

2.23 To complete the inventory of Jewish languages a few more must be added: (1) *Krimchaki*—on a Tatar (Turkic) base, spoken by a small community of Jews, who up to the Russian Revolution were concentrated in Karasubazar and Simferopol, Crimea, and (2) *Judeo-Georgian*—on a Georgian basis, entirely different from the language of the Caucasian mountain Jews discussed above (2.9.1). More than these elementary facts cannot be given for the time being, for no studies of these languages or the history of their bearers are available.

Practically nothing is presently known about the languages (or the Jewish coloring in the languages) of the small groups of autochthonous Jews in India, Ethiopia, and among the Berbers.

Should the language of the Karaites be included among Jewish languages? In the twentieth century Karaite ideologists have maintained that they are not Jews; but as late as the nineteenth century, let alone in former years, the thesis was quite the contrary: The Karaites are the authentic Jews. Their language must therefore be discussed, albeit marginally, in the context of Jewish languages. There are at least three such language communities: (1) Karaites in Poland-Lithuania-Eastern Galicia (Troki, Halicz); (2) Karaites in Crimea; and (3) Karaites in Constantinople. In the first two, the stock consists mainly of Turkic languages, and both spring from a common root; in the last the stock is mainly Greek.

Nothing is known about the language of the Khazars, and the extant material is probably too sparse to expect much greater knowledge.

2.24 The first juxtaposition of the individual Jewish languages normally makes an impression of colossal variety. It is striking at every turn.

MATERIAL: In Dzhidi by far the largest share comes from Persian, in Dzudezmo from Spanish, and so on. Even in those Loez languages that have a cognate Romance determinant, the distance from one to the other is very great.

AGE: After Hebrew there appears among Jews a correlate of the ancient Persian language; the beginnings of Jewish encounter with

Persian may be fixed in the eighth century B.C. Then come Targumic in the sixth century B.C. and Yavanic in the fourth century B.C.; Roman-Loez in the first century C.E.; Yahudic in the seventh century C.E.; southern Loez, western Loez, Dzhudezmo, and Chuadit in the seventh or the eighth century; Knaanic and Yiddish in the ninth or tenth century. These, of course, are only relative indications, with all the reservations about dating the beginnings of a language (1.3).

CHARACTER OF THE PRIOR LANGUAGE: In the case of Yiddish the prior language determinant (Loez) is from an entirely different origin than the determinant that later became quantitatively the strongest (German). Targumic is different: the prelanguage, Hebrew, must have been conceived by the creators of the former as a language close to the new language. What is the relationship of Yahudic to Targumic? Genetically both are of the same derivation, but it is doubtful whether the speakers conceived of it as such in their language experience. For southern Loez and western Loez, it can be said that the prior language is the preceding stage of one and the same Loez language. In the case of Dzhudezmo we have to take into consideration, although not for all parts of the community, the existence of two prior languages, Roman-Loez and Yahudic.

SPREAD: Some Jewish language communities occupy only a small area (western Loez, southern Loez, Chuadit), others a large area. Seemingly, they all began in a small area, but some remained more or less in the territory of origin while others spread and gave rise to colonies that grew larger than the mainland. Some languages (Yahudic, Yavanic, western and southern Loez, for example) are (or were) capsulated in the non-Jewish correlate; others (Dzhudezmo, Yiddish) are coterritorial with various non-Jewish languages.

DEGREE OF SYSTEMIZATION: There must be a relative systemization in every language, otherwise it is no language. But the degree of systemization apparently differs with each Jewish language.

Hebrew is not included in this survey, for it has, because of its history, a special set of problems (7.3 ff.).

2.24.1 There are very important differences, perhaps the most important, that have not been mentioned heretofore.

DIFFERENTIATION IN USAGE: There is no Jewish language without a folklore. The folklore style is probably closest to spoken usage; even in the Bible folkloric elements of the time are discernible, when Old Hebrew was still an unmediated language. But in writing, some Jewish languages were used only in translating the sacred texts or in explaining their content (Yavanic, Knaanic). In Dzhudezmo and in Dzhidi-Bokharic (to a certain extent, it can be said, also in the older stages of Chuadit and southern Loez) there developed, in addition to a "cosacred" literature, one whose stress was not on holiness. In this respect,

Yiddish, of course, has advanced far beyond any other Jewish language. Hand in hand with this goes the usage of the language, written and spoken, in various fields of social life. Where the society is more differentiated the language has more diverse functions in the press, in all kinds of organizations, in the schools, in the theater, in scientific research. The more such phenomena are discernible, the stronger the standard and cultivated language tendencies. Some Jewish languages (perhaps most) have not gone through this development at all. Dzhudezmo reveals conspicuous beginnings; in this respect Yiddish is far beyond competition. Of all Jewish languages Yiddish has, therefore, the largest degree of individuality. In the case of Yiddish the same fusion language potential led to entirely different results.

What remains to be analyzed is the extent to which such a ramification of social functions in a language is bound up with the number of speakers. Surely there is some relationship, although a contributing factor is also the degree of economic and social development of the country, or the countries, where a Jewish language is spoken. On the other hand we see that in one instance (let us say southern Loez) along with urbanization and industrialization there came a shrinkage of the language, whereas Yiddish under the impact of similar factors experienced an expansion of social functions and linguistic possibilities. The *will* of the community to develop its language must be there. But what factors create and stimulate the will?

There are no exact statistics of Jewish language communities for any period. Even where national censuses are available the government is usually not too anxious to reveal the truth about the size of the minorities, and there is usually a tendency to report smaller numbers. But estimates differ widely in this respect; estimates pertaining to the twentieth century are more or less reliable, for the overall picture can be more readily controlled.

Another difficulty of citing numbers with respect to Jewish language situations is inherent in the fact that first of all agreement is necessary on how to define a speaker of a Jewish language. It is one who *speaks* this language mostly or one who *can* speak the language or one who *understands* it, when spoken by others. More or less uniform criteria will have to be established so that single Jewish speech communities can be compared with one another, and this is a useful task.

But from the very outset the difference between various communities can be seen with the naked eye. The Yahudic community in 1939 comprised nearly seven hundred and fifty thousand speakers; the Dzhudezmo community two hundred and fifty to three hundred thousand, the Dzhidi some eighty thousand. The number of Yiddish speakers on the eve of World War II was between ten and eleven million; after the Holocaust the estimate should be put at some six million.

2.25 Along with the striking differences among the Jewish languages there are also similarities, and these are certainly also an object of research. If again we begin our deliberations with the great variety repesented by most of the material in all these languages, we must assert, however, that certain groupings *can* be made. Thus we can speak of a Semitic group that comprises Targumic and Yahudic (and Hebrew, of course); two subgroups in the Persian culture area; of a Loez group that has a Sephardic subgroup. The Jewish languages can therefore be classified according to the genetic affiliation in the component adopted in the early period of the language from the then coterritorial non-Jewish population.

The similarities go further and deeper. After all we are concerned here with languages of subcommunities of one general community that we call Jews (or, in modern terminology, the Jewish people). And how deep is the social-psychological significance of the fact that so many subcommunities designate their languages with the equivalents of the word *Jewish* (Dzhidi, Yahudic, Chuadit, and so on).

In his pioneer work of 1915 titled *Die Entstehungsursache der jüdischen Dialekte* (*The Cause of the Rise of Jewish Dialects*), Matthias Mieses analyzed the various answers to the question as to why specific languages had risen among Jews. Oppression? But slaves in Rome, peasants tied to the soil in feudal Europe, did not create their own languages. Descent? But we know of numerous cases (Huguenots cast out into Germany, Greeks in southern Gaul in ancient times) when small groups of foreign derivation quickly lost their language particularism. Economic position? But never have *all* merchants spoken a separate language; always only Jewish merchants, and among Jews not only merchants. Thus Mieses examined diverse arguments and refuted them, until he came to the conclusion that the common creative force in all Jewish languages is the Jewish religion. To corroborate his conclusion he cited numerous illustrations from various non-Jewish language communities in which religious differences led to differentiation in language. Thus Mieses in his theoretical deliberation crossed the boundaries of *Jewish* sociolinguistics.

It had taken some time before Mieses was properly appreciated. In the course of criticism it appeared that he had not presented some of the facts quite accurately (some of his formulations are not sufficiently cautious), that he did not appreciate the difference between styles in a language and different languages. But these have no bearing on the essence. Mieses' basic thesis became one of the permanent posesssions of scholarship. Consequently two naive conceptions drop out of consideration: (1) A quasi-sociological one—that Jewish languages arose because Jews "had been excluded from the community." A separate language arises because of the separateness of a community, but Jews

were not necessarily excluded, and at times attempts were made to "include" them by force. Through a single act of baptism every Jew could become a member of the non-Jewish community and its privileges. But there were always Jews who declined. They *wanted* to be separate (3.1 ff.). (2) A quasi-historical one—that Jewish languages came into being because Jews in the course of their history were a mere plaything in the hands of external forces. Of course Aramaic and Greek penetrated Palestine not because Jews wanted it so, Dzhudezmo left Spain not because Jews wanted it so, and so on. Nevertheless there was a theoretical possibility for Jews to be linguistically swallowed up by their milieu, as happened to so many other minorities, and the fact that the Jews created their own languages is also the result of the operation of inner Jewish forces. All the differences conditioned on the specific situation of the Jews notwithstanding, it is still the same compromise between inner and outer historical forces that comes to expression in the rise of nations and languages (2.3).

We only wish to modify Mieses' term *religion*, for it is bound to evoke contemporary, that is anachronistic, conceptions. Today many Jews and Christians live in essentially the same fashion, and the difference all year is merely that the former attend (or can attend) services on Saturday and the latter on Sunday. In relation to the rise of language one should speak not of the Jewish religion, but of *Jewishness* (3.5). In the traditional Jewishness of diverse culture areas there are many variants and even contradictions; and yet Jewishness has linked all Jews over time and space in a community of historical fate and in a consciousness of this fate. To what extent is this community of fate recognizable in Jewish language behavior? The answer to this should come from Jewish interlinguistics.

2.26 Where genetically interrelated languages are concerned, such as western Loez, Dzhudezmo and so on, the task of the comparer is relatively clear: they all have a Romance component and this links them with Roman-Loez. Similarly, the goal of a coordinated study is easy to see when we know that one language served as a prior language for the second, such as Yavanic for Roman-Loez. But even in the case of such Jewish languages that are remote from each other in history, material, and structure—as say Targumic, Yavanic, Knaanic—comparative study can be initiated to discover principles of language formation (if such there are) and factors that render these principles operative.

Extralinguistic factors must be uncovered here to no lesser extent than linguistic ones, possibly even to a greater extent (1.10 ff.). For instance, opposition to the Jewish language is discernible from the period of the Second Commonwealth (2.5.1 ff.), and in various forms it manifests itself in various linguistic communities; but this difference

in forms is important, and it may even have direct linguistic effects. Is the opposition in the name of the dominant language or of Hebrew? (We have in mind here the period after the Destruction of the Temple; the situation Hebrew-Targumic was atypical.) Is the struggle a purely internal one or is the external power involved? Another problem, for instance, is whether at the time of the rise of the language there exists a group of Jews speaking the non-Jewish correlate. In the case of Yiddish, for example, we can be sure that up to the Haskalah there was no Ashkenazic community that spoke "pure German"; but it is quite possible that a certain stratum of Jews spoke "pure Greek" in the days of the Second Commonwealth (2.6 ff.).

Frequently we have to be content when, in place of an answer, we get the opportunity to ask a new question on a higher level. The matter is comparatively transparent (although here too we have to arrive at an adequate linguistic characterization), when we see in a number of Jewish languages—probably in all—such words as *pesah*, *maza*, *hagada*. The matter becomes much more complicated when we notice in Jewish languages a special style of translating and we want to analyze it in detail. The ubiquity of the expressions of the scholar, such as *kashe* (question), *terets* (answer), *sugye* (topic), *bishloyme* (granted), and so on, poses the question: what are the equivalents of *opfregn* (refute), *tomer* (perhaps), *madekh* (if even), *zol ikh zogn* (assuming, should I say), and so on. Small formal or semantic clusters may be especially subtle. At least in some languages we see the identical use of such words as *kheyn* (charm), *tam* (taste), *mazl* (luck) with corresponding derivations (*kheyn-evdik* [charming] in Yiddish, *xanuse* in southern Loez) or formations of this kind, *gazern* (decree) or *goyzer zayn*. Here it is not a question of "Hebrew words" but of basic pattern principles and occasionally of common imagery; for instance, in a Yahudic letter of 1053 from Jerusalem to Toledo, we are told of an old sick father that he is in a condition "that I could wish on our enemies." Dzhudezmo speaks of *mazal alto* (high fortune), for instance, in Yiddish: *Zayn mazl iz derheykht gevorn* (his fortune was elevated). In Dzhudezmo and in southern Loez we saw the equivalent of *shvarts* in the same meaning as in our Yiddish *shvarts-yor* (devil), *shvarts-shabes* (sabbath of mourning). Were we more proficient in the various Jewish languages, we could formulate with greater certainty conclusions about "polygenesis" of this imagery or about adoption from subcommunity to subcommunity. Neither must we overlook analogous phenomena among the coterritorial non-Jewish population. But since we have sounded a note of caution, it would be unfair to refrain from drafting at least an outline; let us merely remember that it is better to have an excessive "apparent" or "perhaps" than an excessive "undoubtedly."

2.27 The great breakthrough in understanding Jewish languages came through the achievements of research in Yiddish (although these achievements fall far short of the aspirations and the possibilities). From the large amount of discovered facts there emerged, it can be said, a set of "algebraic" concepts that can be applied, in principle, to every Jewish language. Thus the description of the concrete "arithmetic" of each language separately becomes enriched, and this in turn will lead to partially renewed and enriched "algebraic" formulations.

The essence of a Jewish language, we postulate here, is the fact that it is a fusion language. There is evidently a regularity in the register of components. In the first place there is the Hebrew component. Quantitatively it is nowhere the largest, yet it is the oldest in each Jewish community measured in terms of the totality of Jewish history. Variations from language to language and internal development in each language notwithstanding, this first component, as we may call it for the sake of brevity, represents the elements of relative stability.

The second component comes from the prior language, which also contained a Hebrew component: Yavanic in relation to Roman-Loez, Loez (western Loez and southern Loez) in relation to Yiddish, and so on. The second component tends to shrink in the subsequent history of the language, but has a very important function sociologically: it assures the gradualness of the language change.

The third component arises from the non-Jewish language that was coterritorial with the given Jewish language at the time of its rise.

Some Jewish languages have no more than three components; others have added a fourth (for instance, the Slavic component in Yiddish). The effect of such an addition or the lack of it has yet to be investigated and formulated.

We must also attempt to express in comparable formulations the degree of fusion within the boundaries of each component separately (8.6). It stands to reason that in Yiddish, for instance, where the community has been involved in more than one formation of Hebrew (3.8 ff., 4.25–4.26), the internal fusion in the Hebrew component is greater than in languages whose bearers knew nothing of Hassidism or Haskalah. In the case of the third component (and the fourth, if there is one), it is very important to know whether the bearers of the Jewish language met with the relevant stock language in one regional variant or in several regional variants.

At any rate, much more knowledge can be gained from investigation and reflection if the approach is from within. Hence the demand (2.17.1, 2.19) not to juxtapose a Jewish fragment with a "general" totality, but a Jewish totality with a non-Jewish totality: Yahudic with Arabic, Dzhudezmo with Spanish, and so on. It is only a casual observation

that the non-Jewish correlate (say Spanish) and the Jewish correlate (that is, Dzhudezmo) use the same material to a large extent. But the question is, what does "to a large extent" mean? If we recall, for example, what the comparison between Spanish and the Romance component of Dzhudezmo has shown, we shall see that both formations quite frequently use different age, areal, and stylistic items. Besides, developments have occurred in the Romance component of Dzhudezmo that are nonexistent in Spanish. These developments were due in part to the fact that in Dzhudezmo one component influenced the other and in part to the fact that it developed in the course of so many centuries, consequently in its own fashion.

Not only is there a constant juxtaposition between the two correlates, the Jewish and the non-Jewish, but a constant opposition as well. In a metaphysical-sounding metaphor one could say that in the Jewish languages even the former non-Jewish material is permeated with a Jewish spirit. Translated into an idiom more congenial to the contemporary scholar, this means that it is the task of Jewish interlinguistics to find the linguistic tools and procedures through which the "Judaization" was brought about.

In sum, it may be said that without a non-Jewish correlate, that is without a Jewish community dwelling among non-Jews, a Jewish language was impossible. On the other hand, nowhere have Jews taken over the language of the surroundings *in toto;* they have always selected (8.1 ff.). The more the language of the Jews developed, the more it moved away, even in its third component, from the non-Jewish correlate. The innovations can come from the mutual influence of the components, from the interference of a new external language in a new territory, but of course also from an internal development that is to be expected under conditions of independence. In some cases linguistic items have been preserved that have become extinct in the relevant fusion stock language, and in still other cases innovations have arisen in the third component of the Jewish language in phonetics, grammar, and vocabulary that are unknown in the fusion stock language. The degree of independence generally varies in the different Jewish languages, and depends, as we have seen, on the degree of fusion systemization, on the degree of transplantation, on the degree of achievements of the given community in the field of scholarship, on the degree of social differentiation and literary refinement in the community, and so on. Jewish interlinguistics should deal with the matters that derive from the positing of all of these questions, and it has a chance of becoming an important branch in the scholarship of the Jewish people. In addition it also has something to say to general linguistics.

2.27.1 The linguistic and sociolinguistic dimensions that are repeated

in the various languages—component, prior language, non-Jewish correlate, and so on—can be expressed via algebraic symbols of a sort and the relations among them can be expressed in formulas. Thus we can gradually arrive at a typology of Jewish languages. With respect to the relationship of community to language apparently two basic types of language development emerge: (1) either the community remains in its territory and a non-Jewish language comes to it, which it recreates for its needs (for instance, Yavanic), or (2) the community takes shape in a new territory and creates there a new language (for instance, Yiddish). If we designate territory with *T*, the non-Jewish language with *Ld*, the prior language with L_1, and the new Jewish language with *L*, we arrive at some such symbolization as:

Type 1: $T\,L_1\,Ld \longrightarrow L$
Type 2: $T_1\,L_1\,Ld \longrightarrow L$

Another illustration that has to do with the composition of the language—the difference between Yahudic, where we can conceive of only three components (a Hebrew, a Targumic, and an Arabic), and Yiddish, where there is also a fourth component (the Slavic)—can be expressed by juxtaposing

$C_1C_2C_3$ to
$C_1C_2C_3C_4$,

but in the case of Targumic, where the second component merges with the first, there is apparently no C_2, unless we can prove the difference between Hebrew, which is a determinant in each Jewish language, and the vernacular Hebrew, which was the prior language of Targumic (2.5 ff.).

Now let us take a question that has a bearing on the relation between the third component and the non-Jewish correlate of a given Jewish language. If we let *U* represent any linguistic item, we could represent the above-discussed difference between the Spanish-derived elements in the Romance component of Dzhudezmo and Spanish thus (in the first row is Spanish, in the second the Spanish-derived elements of Dzhudezmo):

$$\begin{array}{llllllll} U_1U_2U_3U_4U_5U_6 & . & . & . & U_mU_o & & U_s \\ U_2 \quad U_4U_5 & . & . & . & U_nU_qU_r & & \end{array}$$

This is to be explained thus: (1) The *number* subscripts designate linguistic items that theoretically *could* have entered the Romance component of Dzhudezmo from the Spanish determinant, but actually not all entered; the creators of the fusion language were selective. (2) The *letter* subscripts designate language items that could *not* have been

common to both systems. In the upper line, where the subscripts *m*, *o*, and *s* appear, it is a question of facts and relationships that were extant in the Spanish stock language, but in such of its variants (areal, social) to which Jews had no access; or they could have arisen in Spanish after 1500, when Dzhudezmo could no longer incorporate them. The subscripts *n*, *q*, and *r* in the second line are used to designate facts or relations that developed independently in the Romanic component of Dzhudezmo and that are unknown in the Spanish stock language.

These are all isolated and relatively simple cases for the sake of illustration. Matters can be greatly elaborated, so that a single formula comprehends diverse categories of facts and relations, both of linguistics proper and of sociolinguistics, and one must not minimize the symbols just because they only reiterate what has been known before. A formula in itself is not a new discovery, but it can be methodologically seminal, and even necessary, for it embraces a sum of phenomena and renders their message more vivid. Hence it sharpens the investigator's look for the essential in relation to the secondary and guides his thought in new directions.

A set of formulas can surely be formulated for the Hebrew language (and for Hebrew in its diverse variants) that should both highlight the singularity of the language and place it in a relationship to the other Jewish languages.

2.28 In the past thousand years Ashkenaz and Sepharad have been the two pillars of European Jewry, we may say of world Jewry. Our survey has shown to what extent Ashkenaz means more than "German Jews" and Sepharad more than "Spanish Jews"; Ashkenaz is the bearer of Yiddish, in Sepharad Dzhudezmo and Yahudic intersect. The communities were separated from each other: There was little migration from Ashkenaz to Sepharad; the exiles of Spain did not migrate to the Ashkenazim. The examination of the cultural-historical framework of Ashkenaz should therefore conclude with a differential analysis of these two subcultures.

The comparison is needed not for the sake of boasting, not for the sake of putting forth claims who owes whom, but to find out the specific weight of each community. Without it there is no key to Jewish language development or to Jewish cultural history in general. The problem is not what *is* a Sephardi, what *is* an Ashkenazi (ethnic "essences" tend to change under changed conditions), but rather what is the achievement of the Sephardim and of the Ashkenazim in the past thousand years. Nor are we here necessarily concerned with finding new facts (2.1), although each newly published poem, each new edition of a halakic work, each tombstone unearthed from the dust are welcome. Most important is fresh interpretation.

To this day we live with the picture as drawn by Jewish scholarship in the middle of the nineteenth century. The representatives of this scholarship had no doubt that Sepharad was higher. When French, Dutch, and German Jews began yearning for civil rights and for a place in society at large, the Portuguese of Bordeaux, Amsterdam, and Hamburg sparkled before them. The Portuguese were likewise devoted Jews, but they were not "ghetto Jews." They (since from a distance only the summits of the mountains are seen) were rich, practically monopolists of certain branches of trade with the Orient, not wretched petty traders. The education of their children was in the European fashion—not in tiny *hadarim*, but in large Talmud Torahs. They were interested in European (that is, non-Jewish) art. Their gifted young men studied medicine, mathematics, and philosophy in the leading universities. Christian writers, and particularly the "tolerant" among them, advised Ashkenazic Jews to draw a moral from their Portuguese brethren. In their natural striving to find support in the struggle for emancipation, the Jewish historians found in the past the reason for all the virtues of the Sephardim. In Sepharad Jews were not "excluded from society" (3.1 ff.), so they could be pleasing both to God and to man. This is how Graetz characterizes the diplomat-patron of the tenth century, Hasdai ibn Shaprut: "He was entirely modern in his character. . . . His easy, pliant, and genial nature was free both from the heaviness of the Oriental and the gloomy earnestness of the Jews. On the contrary, his actions and expressions reveal him as a European, and through him, so to speak, Jewish history receives a European character."

At first glance it may seem surprising that just at a time when Jews began to speak more of "human dignity" the criteria should so clearly be adopted from the outside. But this would lead us afield into the wide realm of the "sociology of knowledge." Suffice it here to note that the Sephardic Golden Period (including the name), so idyllically described in our historical literature, is more nearly a product of the maskilic nineteenth century in Berlin than of the eleventh and twelfth centuries in Cordova. This does not affect the greatness of the great individuals. The Jewish scholars of the period projected into the past their own sociopolitical ideals; we now know enough about the danger of unconscious partiality to recognize it and still not accuse them of conscious distortion.

A second reason for the need to revise the stock conceptions is the fact that today we know so much more about Spanish Jewish history than at the time when the foundations of modern Jewish scholarship were laid in the nineteenth century. This too is not said derogatorily; standing on a person's shoulders it is no feat to see further than he. At any rate, after the truly far-reaching advances made in Spanish Jewish history in the

past generation a new overall picture would look entirely different. In Sepharad too the sun appeared from behind the clouds only at intervals, and the spots on it were always quite conspicuous. Poverty, the burden of taxation, and class struggles continually plagued the Spanish communities; persecution and discriminations had been daily occurrences long before the Inquisition was established. Spanish cities, too, had separate Jewish streets. Nor did the Sephardim have Jewish lords in abundant number; and the majority of them, even in the best of times, had to worry about other things besides poetry, grammar, and secular sciences.

We have not yet reached the stage of generalization about the profound difference between Sepharad and Ashkenaz. We must set out on the slow road of detailing, and we must renounce the idea that detail means trifle.

2.29 In one important respect, in the matter of transplantation, we saw a similarity between Ashkenaz and Sepharad. In the course of their development both spread out far beyond their original boundaries and, by the beginning of the modern period, both had their center of gravity elsewhere than where the communities had been born.

Entirely different is the comparison with respect to numbers (2.24.1). Let us take all possible precautions about the uncertainty of estimates (and more than estimates are impossible if we have no reliable censuses), and then arrive at an agreement that a cautious "perhaps" is still a better prop than a categorical refusal to cogitate. According to Ruppin, there were, around 1700, about two million Jews in the world; deducting the comparatively small numbers in the other groups, this figure was equally divided between Ashkenazim and Sephardim. This equilibrium presumably goes back to the time when both groups appeared more or less simultaneously on the historical scene. Both were quite small in number. Some estimated data have been gathered on Loter-Ashkenaz. Mainz and Worms, the largest communities in Loter in the eleventh century up to the massacres of the First Crusade, each had a maximum Jewish population of a thousand. Frankfort on the Main, a Jewish mother-city, had in 1241 no more, and probably less, than four hundred Jews, and in 1612, at the time of the Fettmilch Expulsion, no more than some fifteen hundred. Even in the eighteenth century, Metz, a famous center then, had slightly over two thousand Jews; Prague, largest of central European Jewish communities up to the Emancipation, had some ten thousand Jews. There is no need to compare the foregoing with New York as a mass center of Jews. On the eve of World War II Poland alone had nearly forty cities with over ten thousand Jews; in this category were Ostrowiec, Baranovichi, and Stry.

The change is seemingly a product of the nineteenth century and only

the Ashkenazim were fortunate enough to benefit from it. According to Lestchinsky's estimated calculations, the number of Jews around 1825 was somewhat over three million. On the eve of World War II the number was estimated at seventeen million, of which the Ashkenazim constituted nearly ninety-five percent; the rest included both the Sephardim and the communities that are neither Sephardic nor Ashkenazic.

Utilizing Ruppin's diagram, we arrive at the graph shown in figure 4 (let us again emphasize that it is given only as an illustration and lays no claim to exactness).

Assuredly more detailed material on Sephardim and Ashkenazim in individual communities can be found; hence there is an opportunity for rendering the estimated figures cited here more exact.

2.30 In addition to area and number, another such list of subjects can be drawn up that should be examined for the differences between Sephardim and Ashkenazim:

1. The spiritual preholdings. Can it be proved that the opposition Sepharad ~ Ashkenaz continues a prefiguration Babylonia ~ Palestine (7.4), and if not, what elements from Babylonia and what elements from Palestine were brought into the culture areas of Sepharad and Ashkenaz?
2. Ritual practices, liturgy, customs.
3. Occupations of Jews in various times and places. From this derives largely
4. The degree of contact with the non-Jewish surroundings in various times and places among various strata of Jews. This again will indicate various attitudes to and various degrees of familiarity with the coterritorial non-Jewish language.
5. Specific personal names.
6. The Hebrew of this or that community—pronunciation and vocalizing, influence of the spoken language in writing Hebrew, the character of the prose and poetry literatures, the interest in grammar.
7. The organization of Jewish communal institutions.
8. The method of study; to what extent learning permeated the masses of the Jewish people.
9. The effect of a single radical expulsion in comparison with several reshufflings in the course of a longer period.

Together with area and number we have here ten points. The list is not exhaustive, but it suffices to indicate that a purposeful collaboration of various scholarly disciplines is needed to accomplish the task. Most of the answers must still be sought; ready conclusions are few. But above all the reader should expect to find in this book mere hints, not a systematic discussion of the visible contrasts between Ashkenaz and

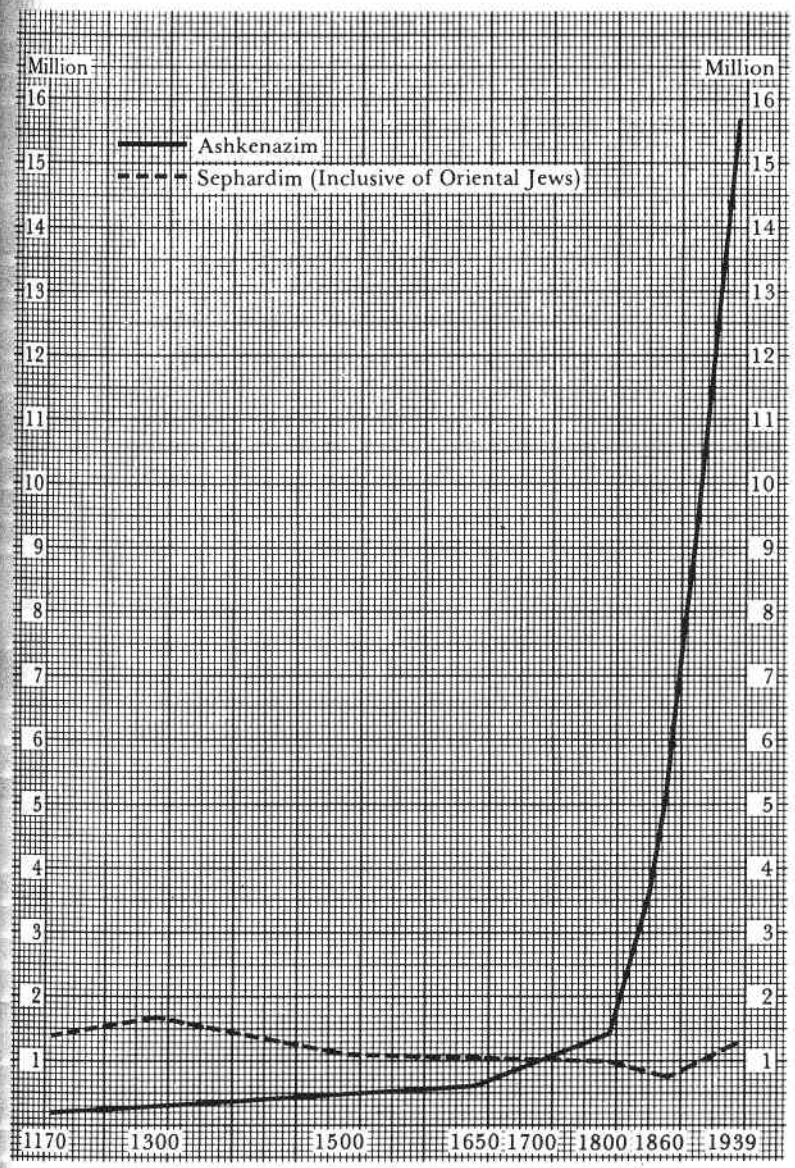


Fig. 4. Ratio of Ashkenazim and Sephardim, 1170–1939.

Sepharad; here the direct object is Yiddish and Ashkenaz, not Ashkenaz vis-à-vis Sepharad.

We now approach the Way of the SHaS in Ashkenaz, which is the sociolinguistic and psychological basis of the Yiddish language. Comparison with other culture areas, including Sepharad, will now be made only as the need arises in the course of presentation. Zarfat will be drawn in a bit more, for with respect to culture area Zarfat and Loter-Ashkenaz are very close to each other.

3
The Language of the Way of the SHaS

3.1 Without communal separateness there is no separate language; hence the rise of Ashkenaz was the precondition for the rise of Yiddish. Small groups of immigrants become absorbed after a generation or two in the mass of the surrounding population (1.1), and thereby also lose their own language. All told, the Ashkenazim were merely tiny specks scattered over large areas of the non-Jewish world. Then how, we must inquire, has Ashkenaz become more than "Jews in Germany"?

Up to the eighteenth century this was not called in question, neither among the Jews themselves nor among their neighbors. The Jews had been a separate community from time immemorial, and so they were also a separate community in the German lands, not merely a sum of individuals. The first to ponder the historical causes of Jewish independence were Jewish publicists at the end of the eighteenth century. Historians in the capacity of publicists came after them in the first half of the nineteenth century with much more weight. Zunz, greatest of the Jewish scholars of that period, still drank of the waters of French rationalism, and strong traces of that influence can still be detected also in the later German-centered Jewish scholarship (2.13.1). When the political emanations of the French Revolution enabled Jews in central Europe to demand emancipation, the constraint to live in separate streets must have stood out as the clearest sign of denial of rights. Those demanding rights began to use the word *ghetto* with that emotional coloring which it had up to the Hitler period. They formulated the theory heard to this day: In the Middle Ages the Jews were locked in the ghetto and thus excluded from society at large and its intellectual development; in this forced isolation, both their mode of life in general and their language in particular became corrupted.

Graetz maintained (2.28) that the exclusion began with the First Crusade. And since up to that period intellectual development among Germans was slight, Ashkenazic Jews therefore never had any share in the medieval culture of Germany. Other Jewish scholars were of the opinion that long ago (up to the thirteenth century, and possibly even later) Jews in the German lands had been members of society at large, had dressed like the Germans, had spoken German, and had even