

STRUCTURAL CONSEQUENCES OF LANGUAGE SHIFT:  
JUDEO-SPANISH IN ISTANBUL

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ABSTRACT

After evaluating a series of sociolinguistic interviews and translation exercises conducted among the Spanish-speaking Sephardic community in Istanbul, Turkey, I examine the morphological and syntactic changes present across several generations of informants (ages 19-95). The structures that were analyzed included gender agreement, number agreement, adjective placement within the noun phrase, subject-verb agreement, and subjunctive usage in subordinate clauses. My results indicate that the younger generation exhibits the greatest amount of structural change in that they no longer produce agreement or introduce other linguistic structures not present in the Judeo-Spanish of the older generation. I identify the origins of these structural changes as either inherent to Spanish or based on unbalanced bilingualism with Turkish, the dominant language. Furthermore, I analyze the current sociolinguistic status of Judeo-Spanish in Istanbul, focusing on its linguistic domains, preservation, and intergenerational transmission.

נו ב'וס אויטיש די לוס גוזאנוס קי ליס ב'יינין אלהס פארה אזירסי פאפיליוניס?

No vos oitesh de los guzanos ke les vienen alas para azerse papiyones?

Have you heard about the caterpillars that grow wings and become butterflies?

(Marcel Cohen 2006).

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## **CHAPTER 1: LANGUAGE ENDANGERMENT AND LANGUAGE SHIFT**

My research focuses on language shift and its structural consequences manifested in the Judeo-Spanish dialect spoken in Istanbul, Turkey. Judeo-Spanish in Istanbul, as well as its other dialects spoken in the Balkans, France, Israel, and the United States, is one of many Spanish dialects currently in danger of extinction. Even though Peninsular and Latin American Spanish is considered increasingly important as a world language essential for social and economic development, other dialects of Spanish are geographically and socially situated in such a way that speakers are encouraged to abandon them in favor of the surrounding languages. These dialects include the aforementioned Isleño dialect in St. Bernard Parish and the closely related Brulé variety spoken in Ascencion Parish, Louisiana, the many varieties of Spanish spoken in the American Southwest, especially in Colorado and New Mexico, Western Saharan Spanish spoken in refugee camps in Mauritania and other parts of Africa, Haketía Spanish spoken in Morocco and France, and Philippine Spanish spoken by a reduced number of speakers in Manila.

**1.1. Language Endangerment and Language Shift: Definitions.** The past century has witnessed the demise of many languages and dialects. Many linguists predict that by the next century, about half of the world's five or six thousand languages will be extinct (Nettle and Romaine 2000, 7). The study of endangered languages and dialects is important to the field of linguistics because their disappearance entails the loss of linguistic diversity, which is crucial to validate or challenge current linguistic theory. Furthermore, the study of language shift, that is, when one population of speakers acquires a new language and eventually favors solely this new language, presents several

language universals relevant to language attrition and changes that occur due to second-language influence.

Language endangerment is a multicausal phenomenon. The following scenario attempts to illustrate several of these causes which led to the endangerment of a dialect of Spanish spoken in Louisiana. In late August 2005, the tragic aftermath of Hurricane Katrina included the loss of human lives and billions of dollars in material damage throughout the Gulf States. But this devastation also involved a less evident facet of human life: namely the Isleño Spanish dialect, spoken primarily in St. Bernard Parish by descendants of Canary Islanders who settled in the Spanish-held Louisiana territory more than two-hundred years ago. Because the hurricane destroyed most buildings in largely rural St. Bernard Parish (among them the Los Isleños Museum, which promoted local Isleño dialect and culture), most inhabitants had to be evacuated to different parts of the country, including a settlement of FEMA trailers located in a state park six hours away from their former homes.<sup>1</sup> Repopulation and rebuilding have been slow yet critical. By October 2006, only one-fifth of the former inhabitants of St. Bernard Parish eligible for reconstruction aid had applied for grants and even among these only about forty percent expressed a desire to resettle in their original communities.<sup>2</sup> The rebuilding of St. Bernard Parish is crucial to the future of Isleño culture and language, since Isleños comprise two-thirds<sup>1</sup> of the parish's inhabitants. Their dialect has survived over the centuries due to their close community ties, and their culture is intricately woven into the daily activities of the marshlands (Lipski 1990, 7-8).

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<sup>1</sup> <http://www.npr.org/templates/story/story.php?storyId=5041976>

<sup>2</sup> <http://www.wdsu.com/news/9998262/detail.html?rss=no&psp=news>

The preceding scenario illustrates causes that can affect a language with a stable speaker population to the degree that it alters this stability. Each of these aspects may be addressed by a sociolinguistic definition. For example, the labels **language death** (Dressler 1996) and **language endangerment** (Campbell and Muntzel 1989) focus on the loss of speaker population, in this case, caused by a natural disaster. The language dies simply because its speakers perish. Campbell and Muntzel (1989) present a similar case in which speakers are persecuted or annihilated by other groups. If the speaker is identified as a member of the persecuted group by the language he or she speaks, then speakers will cease to use that language to avoid immediate personal danger (Campbell and Muntzel 1989, 182-3). Thus the language disappears abruptly and is no longer passed down to the next generation. Campbell and Muntzel's (1989) study cites examples from various indigenous Central American languages, considered endangered because the local governments persecuted their speakers as local authorities associated indigenous languages with an indigenous uprising. The reduction in the number of speakers may also result from speaker relocation, thus transforming a once cohesive community into smaller group of speakers. This is precisely what happened to the survivors of Hurricane Katrina as their members were disbanded into several FEMA camps. Unfortunately, this is not the first time that the Isleño community has faced relocation and reconstruction. In 1915 and in 1985, powerful hurricanes forced the rural Delacroix Parish Isleño communities to resettle in New Orleans. In 1965, when Hurricane Betsy devastated St. Bernard Parish, many Isleños sought to settle permanently in New Orleans as well (Lipski 1990, 8).

When Isleño communities resettled in predominantly English-speaking New Orleans, Isleño Spanish became an **immigrant language**. Many case studies of language shift come from immigrant communities such as Quebec French immigrants in Ontario (Mougeon and Beniak 1989), Spanish in the United States (Lipski 1993), and Finnish in the United States (Campbell and Muntzel 1989). This is because the nature of most immigrant communities matches the two essential conditions for language shift, as postulated by Sankoff (2004). Immigrant communities initiate a 1) long duration of contact with another language. This is evident as the children of the first immigrants undergo schooling in the second language from a very early age. Immigrant communities also experience 2) strong socioeconomic pressure to learn the new language (Sankoff 2004, 638-9). Therefore, contact and pressure are necessary for language shift.

Language shift is not unique to immigrant communities, but they do present a fast process of language shift because the economic advantages of speaking the new language are greater than in a community with a longer historical and social interaction. However, as part of this study, when I use the label **language shift** I am describing a gradual and progressive transition from one language to another, and a shift may occur over several generations, along with the gradual shrinking of the social spheres or domains in which the language was originally used (Thomason 1988, 100). This gradual change between the increasing use of the second language and the constant abandonment of the first is referred to as **transitional bilingualism** (Lipski 1993). After a long period of contact and stable bilingualism, the shift and preferred use of the second language affect the proficiency in the first, resulting in several levels of proficiency within the same

community. Because the younger generation appears to be receptive to this shift, some researchers have labeled this language shift as **young people's language** (Schmidt 1985). Even though the preceding labels attempt to focus on different sociolinguistic scenarios, the outcomes are similar in that, ultimately, bilingual speakers demonstrate a strong tendency to prefer the new language over their ancestral tongue. The continuous resettlement of the Isleño communities into larger English-speaking areas accelerated the ongoing trend to shift from Isleño Spanish to English. In a 1990 study, Lipski estimated that there were 1,000 to 2,000 Isleños who had preserved their unique culture, and only about 500 of these spoke the dialect at various levels of proficiency (Lipski 1990, 11). The Isleño dialect outside St. Bernard did not fare as well. For example, in a 1997 study, Holloway estimated that fewer than ten speakers of the Brulé variety of Isleño Spanish remained in Ascencion Parish (Holloway 1997, 4).

**1.2. Consequences of Unbalanced Bilingualism.** After a long period of contact, a situation of bilingualism develops within the group, which now uses both the ancestral and the new languages. At this stage, a balanced bilingualism may be present in which both the new and the ancestral languages are used in all contexts, without any social stigma associated with either of the languages. However, because of social or economic reasons, this balance may change in favor of the second language, increasing the domains or social situations in which the second language is used while reducing the domains of the first language. The economic value associated with a language diminishes considerably when it can no longer be used in political, professional, or business spheres or language domains. This may be the result of the favored language being declared as

official by the national government, or simply because the favored language has a larger population of monolingual speakers who hold more political or economic power. Dorian (1981) defines the association of a language with particular domains as **language allocation**. At this point in language shift, both languages still coexist, but each language is used for different domains (Dorian 1981, 74-5). The first language is considered endangered when language allocation favors the second language in such a way that domains essential to survival, such as the economic domain, are solely conducted in the second language, while the first language is relegated to relatively minor, reduced or culture-specific domains such as the arts, religion, popular entertainment, and folklore. Furthermore, if the domains of the ancestral language are generally perceived as having a lower status in society, then the language becomes invisible, without any political strength to create and promote educational institutions for its instruction (Wurm 1991, 5-6; Crystal 2000, 83). Loss of language domains can have catastrophic effects on the endangered language. Not only is the language used less often, but also by fewer speakers. The language may also cease to be the only or preferred medium for literature, the arts, and cultural activities. In fact, the language may survive only at home, among family members, or even be further reduced to storytelling or jokes. This language allocation and its consequent loss of domains have both sociolinguistic and structural consequences on the endangered language.

Once the endangered language loses political or professional domains, its speakers may suffer social consequences that range from the physically harmful (as in the aforementioned persecution of speakers of indigenous languages in Central America) to

the tacit, considering their language as inferior or uneducated speech (as was the case of Isleño Spanish, when English-speaking teachers would inculcate derogatory attitudes towards this dialect (Lipski 1990, 10)). Surprisingly, these disparaging attitudes towards speaking the first language may also originate within the members in the language community who are more proficient in the ancestral language or completely monolingual. In one of the first studies to focus on the grammatical aspect of a language in shift, Schmidt observed that the younger generation of speakers of Dyirbal, an Australian language, was linguistically suppressed not only by speakers of English, who considered the aboriginal language inferior and primitive, but also by the older generation of traditional Dyirbal speakers, who claimed to speak a more traditional variety and viewed the younger generation's Dyirbal as defective (Schmidt 1985, 7, 16-9). Because unfavorable language attitudes may be symptomatic of language allocation and language shift, it is important for the researcher to evaluate the linguistic perceptions speakers have of their own language and the second language. I have sought to determine the current language attitudes relevant for this research through a sociolinguistic interview.

Language allocation also leads to structural changes within the language. In fact, several linguists view structural change as a *sine qua non* characteristic of endangered languages. Campbell and Muntzel (1989) are quick to postulate that the structure of a dying language is "very likely to undergo a certain amount of change" (Campbell and Muntzel 1989, 186). Janse (2003) views the structural differences between an endangered language and its corresponding healthier variety as a symptom of language death. Actually, Janse refers to such differences as **structural decay** (Janse 2003, ix-x) and

other linguists utilize similar labels such as **attrition** (Andersen 1982), **obsolescence**, and **contraction** (Campbell and Muntzel 1989, Dorian 1989) to describe the phonological, lexical, grammatical, and syntactic characteristics of the endangered language in comparison to a healthier variety. The reason for these changes seems to originate in the reduction in the number of social domains in which the language is used, which entails loss of vocabulary, discourse patterns, and style specific to these linguistic situations (Crystal 2000, 83). Once the speaker ceases to use a specific linguistic structure in a domain, this structure is no longer transmitted to the next generation. The speaker then adopts an equivalent structure from the more powerful language. This new lexicon or set of structures coming from the second language may trigger a restructuring of the entire linguistic system. I will discuss in a subsequent chapter these externally induced structural changes.

According to Janse (2003), the main concern in endangered languages lies in what he considers improper or imperfect learning reflected as “structural decay” (Janse 2003, ix-x). He claims this restructuring does not affect the grammar of healthy languages because the imperfect learning of the younger generation receives corrective or normative feedback from the older generation. The prestige associated with speaking an endangered language is so reduced that the older generation fails, or does not consider it worthwhile, to note the phonological, lexical, and grammatical innovations produced by the younger generation. Consequently, this younger generation accelerates the language shift and linguistic change (Dressler 1996, 199; Romaine 1989, 44). Whereas the role of feedback in language acquisition is the focus for other areas of linguistics, and it is

debatable whether younger speakers would seek to imitate the language of the elder speakers and not of their peers, I must highlight the fact that the speech of the younger generation contains numerous innovations, many of which are based on patterns within the linguistic system of the endangered language, and not solely on external causes. I will discuss in a subsequent chapter these internally induced structural changes.

My research on languages in shift and their structural characteristics follows the groundwork of Schmidt (1985) on the Australian language Dyirbal and of Dorian (1981) on Scottish Gaelic. In fact, I adopt Schmidt's definition of what constitutes an endangered language. Regardless of the number of speakers, language endangerment is "the *reductio ad absurdum* of the narrowing of function where a new language replaces the older one over its entire functional range" (Schmidt 1985, 4). The *reductio ad absurdum* of the narrowing of function is, translated into Dorian's (1981) terminology, the disproportion in allocation in which one language has more domains (functional range) than another. Schmidt observed that the reduced social and functional range attested in Dyirbal caused a lack of uniformity among speakers. Schmidt's research concluded that this reduction in social function and style were ultimately responsible for the fragmentation of grammatical forms, that is, the leveling and lack of grammatical rule application observed in semispeakers (Schmidt 1985, 41-4). In my research, I must demonstrate that the language in question has undergone 1) language allocation and 2) a constant decrease in the number of domains in which it is used. I have sought to address this by providing a historical perspective on the language later in this chapter, as well as asking these questions directly to the speakers I interviewed.

Communities experiencing language shift may display a language **proficiency continuum**, in which the older generation is highly proficient in the first language, but not in the second, while conversely, the younger generation is highly proficient in the second language, but has difficulty using the first. The investigation of intergenerational linguistic change may thus provide invaluable clues to the change the language experiences as exposure to the second language increases. It may also increase our understanding of which morphosyntactic and syntactic structures may be more vulnerable to change. Landmark studies on language shift have included a proficiency continuum correlated with the age of the speakers (Dorian 1981, Schmidt 1985, Lope Blanch 1990, Silva-Corvalán 1994), but often researchers (Harris 1994, Holloway 1997) are only able to access the lower end of the proficiency continuum which at this stage already includes the oldest members of the community with various degrees of fluency, most of them being semispeakers. The term ‘semispeaker’ also lacks a definite interpretation, as many linguists use it to describe different levels of proficiency in the L1 among bilinguals. My definition is based on the speaker’s performance, as defined by Dorian (1977, 27), which characterizes semispeakers as displaying (i) reduced stylistic options, (ii) preference for analytic constructions over synthetic equivalents, and (iii) the leveling through analogy of irregularities present in the healthy variety. The frequency of reduced style, increased analytical constructions and analogies is contrasted to fluent-speaker norms within the community (Dorian 1982, 26). I will expand on these characteristics in subsequent chapters, as I seek to identify the structural patterns present in language shift.

## **CHAPTER 2: SOCIOLINGUISTIC HISTORY OF JUDEO-SPANISH**

**2.1. Beginnings and First Language Shifts.** Fishman (1991) introduced a way to “measure” the level of endangerment experienced by a given language. In this Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (henceforth GIDS), level 1 indicates the optimal scenario in which the endangered language occupies educational, professional, governmental, and media domains, albeit without political independence (Fishman 1991, 107). In Level 2, the language is employed only in the lower spheres of government and mass media, and in Level 3 the language domain is limited to lower work sphere. Level 4 confines the language to basic education in the schools, and in Level 5 this education is achieved only at home and within the community. In Level 6, the language is attained orally from the older generation. In Level 7, the community is fully integrated into the society of the dominant language. The community still speaks the endangered language, but they are beyond child-bearing age, which impedes direct intergenerational transmission. Level 8 is the lowest in the Fishman GIDS. In this stage, the language is spoken by a reduced number of old speakers who cannot recollect much vocabulary or syntactic structures and are at best described as passive or semispeakers (Fishman 1991, 88). The current sociolinguistic situation for Judeo-Spanish lies somewhere between the eighth and the sixth level in Fishman’s GIDS. The following is an abridged sociolinguistic history of Judeo-Spanish, with special focus on the Istanbul community, in which I attempt to trace the fall of Judeo-Spanish from level 1 to level 8 according to Fishman’s GIDS.

The Judeo-Spanish speaking community, like most Sephardic communities, has its roots in the Iberian Peninsula. Judeo-Spanish is a Jewish language, that is, it is a language

spoken by a group of people who have traditionally and historically practiced Judaism. Jewish communities had existed in Spain since Greek and Roman times, continued under Visigothic Christian rule, and ultimately flourished under Muslim rule after 711 (Wexler 1981, 110; Benbassa and Rodrigue 2000, xxvi). Wexler suggests that language shift is not uncommon among Jewish communities, and Spanish Jewry experienced several language shifts similar to those experienced by the rest of the Iberian population. For example, the first Jewish communities likely consisted of Hellenized Jews who settled among the Greeks and Phoenicians in Antiquity. Early in the fourth century, these Jewish communities abandoned Greek in favor of Latin and, eventually, the language change continued into the several Iberian Romance varieties. Wexler (1981) provides three characteristics universal to all Jewish languages. First, the Jewish language varies to some degree from the adopted coterritorial non-Jewish language. This variation may be the result of Hebrew and Aramaic borrowings (adstrata), the second characteristic. And third, these languages tend to be written in Hebrew script, which is vital to the liturgy and culture of the Jewish people (Wexler 1981, 99). Whereas most of the Romance vernaculars spoken in the Iberian Peninsula are found written in the Hebrew script, we cannot conclude that these dialects so differed considerably from their Christian counterparts as to be mutually unintelligible. In southern areas of the Peninsula, another language shift occurred beginning in the eighth century with the advent of the Muslim conquest in 711 CE, when most Jewish and Christian populations seem eventually to have abandoned their Romance vernaculars and adopted dialects of Arabic (Miller 2000, 36). Finally, as the Christian Reconquest gained momentum after the fall of Seville in 1248, Jewish communities shifted once again to the various Romance languages,

predominantly Castilian (Wexler 1981, 110, Benbassa & Rodrigue 2000, xxvi). Some researchers claim that the Arabic to Romance language shift that occurred within the Jewish community left an imprint in the Jewish dialect of Romance so that it differed somewhat from the coterritorial language spoken by the Christian majority (Miller 2000, 36-7). Even though the question of a Judeo-Spanish dialect in the Iberian Peninsula before 1492 has no definite answer, we can conclude that the Jewish communities in the Iberian Peninsula were familiar with language shift. Perhaps Spanish Jewry did not consider the vernacular, spoken language as essential to their identity as Jews, since they employed Hebrew and Aramaic as liturgical languages.

The concept of a “Jewish language” plays an interesting role within the context of endangered languages. We can argue that, except for the modern example of Israeli Hebrew and the Jewish variants of healthy languages such as English spoken in growing Jewish communities, a Jewish language is de facto an endangered language. Wexler claims that most Jewish communities are minorities who have experienced segregation, discrimination, and forced migrations. The unequal treatment of the Jewish minority imparts to their speech a low prestige by comparison to the speech of the non-Jewish population (Wexler 1981, 103). In the fifteenth century, Jewish communities in the Iberian Peninsula were subject to segregated and discriminatory regulations under both Christian and Muslim rule. In the Christian areas, Jews were allowed to live only in certain urban areas known as *Juderías* (Hebrew *kal* or *kehilla*; Arabic *aldjama*) and were not allowed to expand or build new dwellings. Under the Muslim caliphates, both Jews and Christians were subject to the dhimmi system, in which their religious and

institutional freedoms were guaranteed as long as they paid a special tax. However, they were also treated as second class citizens and were limited in the professions and property they could have (Benbassa and Rodrigue 2000, xxviii; Sachar 1994, 4-5). Thus, similar to the Central American languages cited by Campbell and Muntzel (1989), being Jewish and, by association, speaking a Jewish language situated these speakers in immediate danger, a state of affairs that favored language shift as a way of personal survival. The Jewish population throughout the centuries fluctuated as many chose to convert to Islam or Christianity (Stillman 1979, 64). The most important events before the 1492 Expulsion Decree were the Iberian Pogroms of 1391, which resulted in the conversion of thousands of Jews to Christianity and the annihilation of entire communities, such as that of Barcelona (Benbassa and Rodrigue 2000, xxxii-v; Sachar 1994, 44-7). Even in more modern contexts, Jewish languages usually did not enjoy political recognition (with the exception of Yiddish in the former Soviet Union and Modern Hebrew in Israel), and they usually coexisted with other related languages or non-Jewish counterpart languages which did have political recognition. These powerful languages recognized by a state usually had a long established cultural and literary tradition. Some examples of these modern Jewish languages include Judeo-Spanish in Latin America and Judeo-Arabic in Yemen (Wexler 1981, 102-3). In any case, the adverse situations experienced by the Spanish Jews in the Iberian Peninsula were not present in the Ottoman Empire. Researchers disagree on how many Jews left Spain in 1492. Sachar estimates about 30,000 individuals while Benbassa and Rodrigue cite 12,000 Jewish families; Séphiha gives the impressive number of 200,000 exiles. Jews from all over Spain streamed down to the Mediterranean and Atlantic harbors to initiate their voyage towards the Ottoman

Empire, North Africa, Portugal (where they were eventually expelled in 1497), the Duchy of Ferrara, and Northwestern Europe (Sachar 1994, 72-73; Benbassa and Rodrigue 2000, 10; Séphiha 1997, 23).

The benevolence of the Ottoman Sultan Bayazit II is illustrated by the alleged anecdote that, upon hearing of the 1492 Expulsion from Spain, the Sultan exclaimed “Can you call such a king (Ferdinand of Spain) wise and intelligent? He is impoverishing his country and enriching my kingdom” (Sachar 1994, 76; Díaz-Mas 1997, 58; Benbassa and Rodrigue 2000, 7). This story, apocryphal or historical, lived in the Sephardic lore for centuries. Even as late as the twenty-first century, Marcel Cohen wrote:

Delante de sus kortizanos disho el: ‘En la vuestra idea Fernando es un rey bien savio. Ke savio el rey ke se izo mas povre para enrikeserme [?] I pishín pishín eskrivíó el un firmán diziando kualmente iva a matar a todos los Turkos ke harvan o azen danyo a los djudiós.

Before his courtesans he said, “You may think that Ferdinand is a very wise king. How can this king be wise when he is impoverishing himself in order to make me rich? And he quickly wrote an edict saying that he would kill any Turk that dared strike or cause harm to the Jews.

(Marcel Cohen 2006, 92)

In any case, the Spanish Jews were valuable to the Ottoman Empire because they were viewed as a group of people that could settle the newly conquered regions and function as an urban and merchant class. This plan appears to have worked because even as late as the end of the nineteenth century the bulk of Ottoman Jewry was concentrated in the Ottoman Balkans and mainly in large cities (Benbassa and Rodrigue 2000, 5; Stein 2004, 9-10). The first waves of Sephardim were known as *andalavizos* because the Sultan had placed posters (*avizos*) in all the Ottoman cities ordering that the newcomers be given a

benevolent welcome and threatening with the death penalty anyone who mistreated them. When the Sephardim were asked about their origins, they responded *anda al avizo* meaning “go see the poster” (Díaz-Mas 1997, 58; Kohen and Kohen-Gordon 2000, 25; Benbassa and Rodrigue 2000, 7). The new Sephardic immigrants were accommodated into the *rayah* or *zimmi* system, the Ottoman equivalent of the Andalusian dhimmis, in which Jews were granted limited social and legislative autonomy within their *mahalle* (neighborhood, quarter) and a guarantee of life and property in exchange for a poll tax and certain restrictions in the usage of animals, dress, servants, and places of worship, among others (Sachar 1994, 89-91; Díaz-Mas 1997, 58; Benbassa and Rodrigue 2000, 3; Stein 2004, 10). Thus, just like the Christians and other numerous minorities in the Empire, they lived as a distinct community within the Ottoman mosaic, without the compulsion to abandon their language and religion. Thanks to these freedoms, the Sephardic community did not abandon their **immigrant language**, and Judeo-Spanish thrived as the Sephardim settled all over the Ottoman Empire. Some researchers estimate that by the 1520s, between 50,000 and 150,000 Jewish households existed within the Empire’s borders. In Istanbul alone, the 1603 census recorded 973 new, mainly Sephardic, Jewish households, while the total number had increased to 2,195 households in 1608 (Benbassa and Rodrigue 2000, 9, 11).

In comparison, other Sephardic communities that settled outside the Ottoman Empire eventually lost their language in the exile. Some of the émigrés who settled in Ferrara and other parts of Italy gradually shifted to Judeo-Italian, as they were absorbed by the larger communities there (Wexler 1981, 111; Sachar 1994, 213). For the most part, this

wave of immigration caused language shifts that were ultimately beneficial for the Judeo-Spanish speaking community. Since the Sephardic Jews left Spain carrying a flourishing civilization, their language was considered an important one to learn. In addition, as previously illustrated, the Sephardic Jews were favored by the Ottoman Sultan. Therefore, many Jewish groups that came into contact with the Sephardic exiles abandoned their language and adopted Judeo-Spanish in order to identify themselves with the newcomers. For example, some speakers of Judeo-Arabic in Morocco were slowly absorbed into the Judeo-Spanish speaking community in the fifteenth century, even adopting Sephardic rites and Spanish names (Wexler 1981, 111; Sachar 1994, 193-5). . Another example is the Judeo-Italian community in the island of Corfu, which ultimately shifted to Judeo-Spanish as the Sephardic exiles gained economic prominence in those lands. The Sephardic influx had the greatest effects on the local linguistic groups around the harbors of Istanbul and Thessalonica, where the Sephardic population became very numerous. In the fifteenth century, the native Greek-speaking Romaniot Jews and the Turkic-speaking Karaite Jews in Istanbul became minorities as the Sephardic surpassed them in numbers, and many members of these populations began to adopt the Sephardic language and religious practices. Even as late as the 1930s, the Sephardim accounted for ninety percent of Istanbul's Jewish population, thus controlling Jewish institutions and social patterns in the city (Farhi 1937, 151). A similar situation happened in Thessalonica, which ultimately became the largest Sephardic city, where many Jewish communities speaking Greek, Provençal, and Yiddish eventually shifted to Judeo-Spanish between the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries (Wexler 1981, 111). Economic factors also motivated other Jewish communities, and even non-Jews, to learn Judeo-

Spanish. Sephardic artisans and merchants settled throughout the Empire, establishing a commercial network all over the Eastern Mediterranean. Their professions also included tax assessors and collectors acting on behalf of the Ottoman Empire. Their role in the Ottoman economy was so extended that in 1547 Pierre Bellon de Mans, a French traveler, observed that the Sephardim possessed the majority of Turkish revenues and wealth and that they set the highest price on the collection of tributes (Sachar 1994, 76).

In addition to the increasing numbers of Judeo-Spanish speakers due to language shift and their economic importance, Judeo-Spanish also became the language of the sciences, arts and entertainment. Sephardic doctors gained prominence in the Ottoman courts, and their research contributed to the contemporary medical literature and practices. Being physicians to the Sultan, they acted as intermediaries between the Ottoman government and the Jewish community before the Sephardic chief rabbinate was created. In another cultural aspect, the Sephardic Jews introduced the printing press to the Ottoman Empire. Although they were not allowed to use the Arabic-based Ottoman Turkish alphabet reserved only for Muslims, they fomented books and later newspapers in Hebrew, Spanish, and Portuguese, among other languages. The first book in Spanish published in Istanbul in 1510, *Shehitá i Bediká*, was a manual for ritual slaughter and animal inspection. In spite of the substantial economic and literary resources, most Judeo-Spanish books published before the eighteenth century seem to be merely translations from religious works written in Hebrew and Aramaic (Benbassa and Rodrigue 2000, 60-61; Sachar 1994, 89-90). Finally, their contributions to popular entertainment were also

noteworthy. Sachar (1994) points out that as late as the seventeenth century, most theater arts in the main Turkish cities were performed by Sephardic Jews (Sachar 1994, 89-90).

Perhaps the single most important factor for the maintenance of Judeo-Spanish derives from the concept of Jewish identity. Benbassa and Rodrigue (2000) claim that ethnic or national background (Spanish exiles) can be confused or fused with religious identity (Judaism), especially when Jews are transplanted to non-Jewish environments. The 1492 Expulsion had disintegrated communal and family structures, and, as a result of this trauma, the Sephardim were obsessed with the task of “continuity” of culture and identity. Therefore, the concept of Sephardic Jews as exiled Spaniards became a *sine qua non* element of their Judaism. The transmission of their Jewish identity implied the transmission of their Hispanicity, both in cultural and linguistic forms (Benbassa and Rodrigue 2000, 12-3, 17). This separate Spanish identity different from other Jews developed early in the Ottoman Diaspora, as the first exiles refused to be represented before the Sultan by the Greek-speaking Romaniot Jewish authorities, which had settled in Istanbul centuries before. The Sephardic community was ultimately allowed to appoint their own spokespersons from within the Spanish-speaking community (Sachar 1994, 77). The hegemony of Sephardic Judaism over other Jewish communities was reinforced as Sephardic Talmudic academies flourished throughout the Ottoman Empire, emerging as the leading center for Jewish scholarship during the sixteenth century (Sachar 1994, 90; Benbassa and Rodrigue 2000, 24-5). There was also a brief interlude in the late 1500s, when speaking Judeo-Spanish had strong political implications, as the Sultan made a prominent Sephardic, Don Joseph Nasi, Duke of the Mediterranean island

of Naxos. This political figure funded synagogues, libraries, printing presses, and orphanages. He also sponsored numerous rabbis and scholars, as well as the Sephardic colonization of Tiberias, one of the four holy cities in traditional Judaism, then under Ottoman rule (Sachar 1994, 84-6).

At this point in the fifteenth to early sixteenth centuries, Judeo-Spanish can be situated in Stages 2 or 1 of Fishman's GIDS. Although Judeo-Spanish does not have full political hegemony within the Ottoman Empire, the language is ubiquitous in social, economic, political, religious, educational, and entertainment domains. Inside the Jewish community in this period, Judeo-Spanish occupies a far higher ranking, used almost exclusively, with only Hebrew, Aramaic, and Ladino (the Hebrew to Spanish syntactic calque) used for liturgical functions. In the context of the Ottoman Empire, Judeo-Spanish may be in Stage 2, since the rule was that only Muslims could occupy the higher spheres of government (Don Joseph Nasi was a notable exception). In Stage 2, the language has a clear ethnocultural separation from Ottoman Turkish, and the language is kept inside the intragroup institutional bases of the community. This linguistic situation implies that even though the language may not have strong political power outside the community, it serves as unifying, identity factor within (Fishman 1991, 105-9). Thus, towards the end of the sixteenth century, Judeo-Spanish was a strong language, used by a vibrant community in all its domains, with political, educational, economic, and religious institutions, and with very few bilingual speakers.

**2.2. Social and Economic Decline.** The decline of the Judeo-Spanish community as a stable language community originates in the late seventeenth century, when the Ottoman Empire began to suffer the disadvantages of its rapid expansion, controlling territories from the Arabian Peninsula and Iraq to the Balkans and North Africa. The first wave of economic woes affected the Jewish population. This, in turn, led to a surge of Messianic movements; the most important was that of Shabbatai Zvi. The furor of the Messiah of the Aegean (he was born in Izmir, off the Aegean coast of Asia Minor) and its consequent disappointment had severe consequences for the social and religious structures of Sephardic Jewry. The major disillusionment suffered as the Jewish population realized that the acclaimed Messiah was false in turn led to a backlash of fundamentalism. Never before had the Sephardim in the Ottoman Empire become so radical. Religious authorities even established regulations for the exact length of men's beards and ordered women to be veiled when in public. Shabbatai Zvi eventually converted to Islam, taking with him numerous followers, mainly from Thessalonica, who likewise adopted Islam with some underground Judaic traditions (Sachar 1994, 94, 151-4; Benbassa and Rodrigue 2000, 56-8). By the end of the Shabbataism movement around 1676, Sephardic Judaism had lost considerable prestige, as well as a great number of its adherents, to Islam.

Because Jewish life was so intricately woven into the economic and social fabric of the Ottoman Empire, it was greatly affected when the empire began to deteriorate. After an unsuccessful second siege of Vienna in 1683, the Ottoman Empire suffered a series of defeats which led to a considerable loss of territory and economic power (Imber 2002,

86). The Empire attempted to alleviate its economic woes by raising taxes on its non-Muslim subjects. Many Jewish communities in the provinces could not pay these levies, and eventually many opted to emigrate out of the Ottoman Empire. Furthermore, Jewish immigration from Europe came to a halt, putting an end to outside resources and population increase. The communities that managed to survive were impoverished and destabilized, with fewer members and economic resources. Even the Jewish populations in Istanbul and Thessalonica lost their economic power because of their communal deficit and increasingly higher taxes. Gradually, Sephardic Jews lost their economic role in the Empire, replaced by Greeks and Armenians (Benbassa and Rodrigue 2000, 27-8; Sachar 1994, 93). The lack of economic prestige in turn led to lack of political power. Several anti-Jewish events began to take place. Local Greeks conducted several pogroms in major Ottoman cities as a way to assert their economic and political power. In 1728, Ottoman authorities forced the relocation of several hundred Istanbul Jews from their traditional Balat neighborhood because Muslim neighbors complained that their presence “defiled a nearby mosque.” During this period, the Ottomans passed laws specifying Jewish clothing, restricting synagogue construction and repairs, and establishing segregated quarters. By the late eighteenth century and beginning of the nineteenth century, Jewish vocations shifted from the mercantile and political spheres to more marginal and socially inferior jobs, such as shopkeepers, housepainters, porters, and peddlers (Sachar 1994, 94).

Surprisingly, it was during this period when Judeo-Spanish literature truly flourished. As noted above, the first literary works in Judeo-Spanish consisted mainly of translations

from original works in Hebrew, Aramaic, and other languages, but from the early 1720s a resurgence of original works flooded the Judeo-Spanish presses. These original works consisted mainly of books on ethics and religious poetry. The most important of these works is the *Me'am Lo'ez* (Istanbul, 1730) which was a compendium of rabbinical commentaries on the Talmud, Mishnah, and other religious texts. Rabbi Hulli (also spelled Culi) of Jerusalem began writing this vast work in 1730, and his labor was carried on throughout the centuries by several scholars, until its completion in 1899 (Sachar 1994, 95-6; Benbassa and Rodrigue 2000, 60-4).

In spite of this brief literary revival, I consider that early eighteenth-century Judeo-Spanish was already an endangered language, somewhere between Stage 5 and 3 in Fishman's GIDS. In Stage 3, the language in question lacks economic power, therefore professional members of the community (in traditional Sephardic society, this refers solely to the men) need to be bilingual in order to survive economically. Since now most Sephardic professions were limited to the lower social spheres, the language became unnecessary for economic or political survival. By the early eighteenth century, the Judeo-Spanish community began to experience **language allocation**, as speakers associated Turkish, Greek, and other languages with the economic and mercantile domains, while Judeo-Spanish became the language of culture and religion. Stage 4 refers to the implementation of Judeo-Spanish in the lower educational and work domains. Even though Fishman is using the term education in more modern, standardized, and institutionalized terms, there was no such equivalent in Ottoman Turkey. However, Talmud academies and trade schools continued using Judeo-Spanish

as part of their instruction. Moreover, the literary revival mentioned above attests to the fact that Sephardic Jews were both literate and interested in preserving their language. Fishman claims that literacy at Stage 4 may be associated with the need to reassert their language as part of the group identity, which was the norm very early in the history of the Spanish-speaking Sephardic Jews. Finally, Stage 5 presents a more pessimistic scenario in which literacy in Judeo-Spanish is not reinforced by the community. Due to economic instability, the Judeo-Spanish community fluctuated between Stages 4 and 5 depending on their economic status. Poor families could not afford schooling and literacy, while wealthy families were able to take part in the literary renaissance (Fishman 1991, 95-105).

**2.3. Institutional and Governmental Language Reforms.** By the early nineteenth century, Sultan Mahmud II attempted to modernize the Ottoman Empire by establishing a series of social reforms, such as the abolition of the janissary corps, his personal guard, in 1826. The janissaries utilized uniforms and other garments made exclusively by the Sephardic Jews, therefore the disbanding entailed a great economic loss for the community. The prominence of the Sephardim in the textile industry was also affected by the competitive markets developing in Europe and the Americas (Sachar 1994, 93; Stein 2004, 12). In 1839, the *Tanzimat* (Reorganization) Reforms provided equal legal rights for the non-Muslim subjects of the Empire. This equality was restated in the 1856 Decree of Reform, which abolished the *dhimmi* tax and opened military ranks to non-Muslims. Also in 1856, the diverse *dhimmi* communities were stripped of their judicial power as government courts became responsible for criminal, civil, and commercial

cases. Finally, in 1869, Ottoman citizenship was granted to all Ottoman subjects regardless of religion (Sachar 1994, 97; Benbassa and Rodrigue 2000, 69-70; Stein 2004, 13). Even though these modernizing regulations were intended to ameliorate the social conditions of the Empire's non-Muslim minorities, in the long run, they minimized their autonomy, transforming them into mere religious organizations, from communities integrated into the Empire to groups disassociated from the rest of the Empire by their religion (Benbassa and Rodrigue 2000, 70; Stein 2004, 14). However, the Sephardic cultural block remained strong, mainly due to its increasing population. The 1844-1856 Ottoman censuses revealed that about 150,000 Jews lived within the Empire. This number doubled to 300,000 in subsequent years. Between 1881 and 1906, the Jewish population of Istanbul, Izmir, and Edirne increased by at least thirty percent, and that of Thessalonica by forty percent. Even after the loss of the Ottoman Balkans in the early nineteenth century, the Jewish population within the remnants of the Empire reached more than 250,000 (Sachar 1994, 97; Benbassa and Rodrigue 2000, 70; Stein 2004, 9).

The first set of language reforms that directly affected the usage of Judeo-Spanish, however, did not come from the Ottoman authorities, but from the Jewish community itself. As the Ottoman attempt at modernization began to disintegrate and disillusioned many of its citizens, the Sephardim looked towards Europe for their cultural and economic advancement. As part of their modernization attempts, already by the mid-nineteenth century a great number of families enrolled their children in Protestant and Catholic mission schools that had a much more modern curriculum than the Judeo-

Spanish *meldares* or religious schools (Sachar 1994, 98). A larger threat to Judeo-Spanish, however, came from the French schools of the Alliance Israélite Universelle.

Recently founded in France in 1860, the schools of the Alliance Israélite Universelle aimed to “civilize” and educate Levantine and Ottoman Jewry by imposing French language and culture (Stein 2004, 13). In 1863, a regional committee of French Jews (*Frankos*) and other foreign Jews living in the Ottoman Empire openly invited the Alliance to establish schools within its borders. In the 1860s and 1870s, pilot schools were set up in Istanbul, Izmir, Edirne, Thessalonica, as well as in Syria, Egypt, North Africa, and all over the Balkans (Sachar 1994, 98; Benbassa and Rodrigue 2000, 78, 83). Although at first the Sephardic community offered some resistance to the new schools, French was becoming a global language, omnipresent in print and public life. At the same time, many Ottoman Jews no longer considered Judeo-Spanish a language of commercial and social value (Stein 2004, 56, 59). This **language allocation** by itself entailed a large enrollment in the Alliance schools. By 1905, about one third of Jewish boys in Istanbul attended the Alliance schools, with a much higher percentage for girls. The rest received schooling in the *meldares* (Judeo-Spanish religious schools), private schools, and Protestant and French Catholic schools. By 1908, the Alliance schools consisted of 40,000 students in Turkey and the Balkans, and this number reached almost 10,000 in Turkey proper by 1911. The expansion of the Alliance schools was so vast that by 1912 every Ottoman Sephardic community with at least one thousand members had one or more Alliance institutions (Sachar 1994, 99; Benbassa and Rodrigue 2000, 83-5).

The impact of the Alliance schools on the culture and language of Ottoman Jewry cannot be overestimated. A true cultural revolution began to take place. For the first time, girls were receiving a formal education in large numbers, which in turn allowed some of them to enter the workforce during the World War I years. This is an important consideration for Judeo-Spanish since, unlike the men of the community, Sephardic girls had traditionally remained at home and did not require bilingualism to survive economically. By the late nineteenth century, as a result of French schooling, unbalanced bilingualism and language allocation affected all members of the Judeo-Spanish community. Furthermore, in addition to academic subjects, the Alliance schools began to include religion in their curriculum, thus encroaching upon some of the functions of the Talmud academies (*meldares*) that still used Judeo-Spanish to teach religion (Benbassa and Rodrigue 2000, 84, 86). French culture dominated every aspect of Sephardic culture, and French quickly became the language of the elite, reducing Judeo-Spanish as the language to be spoken at home only (Séphiha 1986, 88-9). People began to discard traditional Sephardic names and adopted Gallicized versions for boys (Sephardic *Moshé* became French *Moïse* ) and entirely new French names for girls, a tradition that survived well into the late 1930s (Sachar 1994, 99; Farhi 1937, 153). However, the Alliance was able to exert its greatest influence by sponsoring several periodicals that helped spread its ideologies throughout the Jewish communities in the Empire.

The first Judeo-Spanish newspaper was the ephemeral *La Puerta del Oriente* (Izmir 1841- 1845), followed by numerous pamphlets and bulletins in the 1850s (Benbassa and Rodrigue 2000, 74; Stein 2004, 60). Coincidentally, the most influential newspapers

began to emerge in the 1860s and 1870s, that is, the time when the Alliance was also gaining popularity. Thus, the Alliance became the main patron of major newspapers, such as *El Tiempo* (Istanbul 1872-1930), and utilized the newspaper to launch a campaign disparaging Judeo-Spanish and establishing French as the language of civilization (Stein 2004, 60, 66-9). *El Tiempo* consistently portrayed Judeo-Spanish as a “shameful jargon,” a “bastard tongue,” and a “dying language,” promoting French and Turkish as more useful languages. According to the editors of *El Tiempo*, Judeo-Spanish had no literary value and it served only for “light reading,” whereas French was reserved for academic and scientific texts and Hebrew for religious scholarship (Stein 2004, 55, 59). The most poignant linguistic contribution of journals with a westernizing, modernizing agenda, such as *El Tiempo* and its successor *La Boz de Oriente*, was the creation and implementation of a new kind of “Gallicized” Judeo-Spanish, a linguistic style of Judeo-Spanish through which the language was “cleansed” of borrowings from Hebrew, Aramaic, Turkish, and other Balkan languages, and in turned utilized French lexicon and syntax with Spanish morphology (Stein 2004, 69-70; Farhi 1937, 155). The result was a Gallicized Judeo-Spanish, also known as Judeo-Fragnoles, spoken by the educated middle and upper classes that had access to French schooling in an attempt to identify themselves with French civilization. This Gallicized version, however, was not immediately embraced by all Sephardim, and many considered the “modernized” dialect an aberrant incomprehensible mixture derisively known as “enfrankeado,” as it is illustrated by the following excerpts of satirical dialogues from Thessalonica newspapers from the 1930s and 1940s<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> All Judeo-Spanish transcriptions used in this research follow the *Aki Yerushalayim* phonetic style, which has been adopted by current Judeo-Spanish periodicals in an effort to standardize spelling.

**Benuta:** Sha meldamos agora

**Benuta:** So, let's read now

**Ezrá:** “Un grande sinistro devastó el mas grande edifisio sanitario de muestra sivdad”

**Ezrá:** “A great fire destroyed the biggest hospital in our city”

**Benuta:** Ke kiere dezir esto, Ezrá?

**Benuta:** What does this mean, Ezrá?

**Ezrá:** Kien save, Benuta; no mashkareí nada... El Dio ke los fieda alos djornales ke eskreven tanto enfrankeado para no pueder morder ni una palabra.

**Ezrá:** Who knows, Benuta; I wasn't able to grasp anything... May God strike the newspapers that write so “Frenchified” that I'm not able to bite a single word.

(Bunis 1999, 471-2)

In a similar exchange, Bohor and Djamila, another Thessalonica couple, try to make sense of the French lexicon in their newspaper. Bohor gives up and sees the new language as incomprehensible as “Arabic” (*Felahesko*), to which Djamila replies:

**Djamila:** Ke ke te responda, balabay regalado, kuando tu no kieres sentir nada de lo ke es modernismo.

**Djamila:** What do you want me to say, dear husband? You don't want to hear anything about modern things.

These satirical exchanges took place in the 1930s and 1940s in Greece, but they illustrate that even at a time when the influence of the Alliance was ebbing throughout the former provinces of the Ottoman Empire, French was still perceived as the gateway to modernity and social ascension. However, in spite of the efforts of the Alliance schools, a total shift from Judeo-Spanish to French did not occur en masse to the point that Judeo-Spanish ceased to be spoken in the Ottoman Empire. In some cases, the usage of French was superficial at best. Stein (2004) provides the anecdote of an Alliance French teacher,

who complained that in a discussion, everyone started speaking “in correct, even elegant French,” but in an instant, it would “inexplicably move into Judeo-Spanish jabbering” (Stein 2004, 59). Even if there was no total shift, French left an indelible print on the language, as some researchers claim that as much as twenty percent of the Judeo-Spanish lexicon comes directly from French (Séphiha 1997, 29). In addition, the attempts to create a Judeo-Spanish to French shift resulted in the perception of Judeo-Spanish as a language useless for cultural and economic advancement. By the 1920s, when the Turkish government imposed their own laws against foreign languages, officially ending French schooling in Turkish soil, the Alliance institutions had educated and dominated secular culture for more than three generations of Ottoman and Levantine Jews (Benbassa and Rodrigue 2000, 102; Stein 2004, 13). This pro-French stance lingered for some generations more, as many Judeo-Spanish chose to learn French as a foreign language within the new state curriculum or at home. Of the twenty-five Judeo-Spanish speakers interviewed in Istanbul in the spring of 2007, sixteen claimed some level of proficiency in French. All of them, however, were in their mid-forties or older (ages 44 to 97).

In contrast to the Alliance Israélite Universelle’s education reforms attempting to impose French as the language of civilization by means of **transitional bilingualism**, which took generations of educated Jews to take effect, the campaign of the Turkish government to establish Turkish as the national language was far more rapid and effective. Initially, the Ottoman authorities were not interested in the languages taught in non-Muslim schools, and allowed the *dhimmi* to choose their school curricula (Stein 2004, 58). In 1891, the campaign to encourage Jewish citizens to learn and speak Turkish was initiated by the

Alliance-sponsored newspapers, such as *El Tiempo*, claiming that, in addition to French as the cultural language, the community had to learn Turkish in order to demonstrate their allegiance to the Ottoman nation. Furthermore, *El Tiempo* argued that it was essential to know the language of the nation for survival, defense, and social mobility, and the newspaper even attempted to supply its subscribers with Turkish lessons (Stein 2004, 63-4, 69). In 1894, the Ottoman government began to demand instruction in Turkish to all its non-Muslim citizens, and it required fluency in Turkish to hold a government post. This law, however, was rarely enforced, and by the early 1900s, Jewish citizens who maintained some level of state authority were not forced or expected to be fluent in Turkish. These lax language policies resulted in generally low rates of Turkish fluency among the Jewish community at the end of the nineteenth century (Stein 2004, 58, 64). The emergence of language policies, however, triggered a debate about the future of Judeo-Spanish between the two main Sephardic centers in Istanbul and Thessalonica. Thessalonica, where Sephardic Jews comprised over fifty percent of the population, had not yet succumbed to the language policies of the newly-founded Greek state. Thessalonica Sephardim claimed that Judeo-Spanish, though not an international language, could be used to teach any school subject from religion to science. By 1901, newspapers such as *El Tiempo* were in full “Turkification” campaign, referring to Judeo-Spanish as a shameful language, and comparing the “backwardness” of the Jewish community to the “progressive” decisions of the Greek and Armenian communities in Istanbul who had already begun to use Turkish (Stein 2004, 71-2, 74-5, 78). Díaz Mas (1997) captured this linguistic struggle by citing the satirical play *Lingua i Nación*

*Israelita* (Istanbul, 1910), in which the characters personify different Judeo-Spanish newspapers trying to choose one language:

*Ala Turka, somos obligados al patriotismo*  
*Ala Evrea, somos atados al djudaismo*  
*Ala Franzesa, kamino de luz i de kultura*  
*Todas tres, obligo santo de natura*

We have to speak Turkish because of our patriotism,  
We are bound to speak Hebrew because of our Judaism,  
We have to use French, the way of light and culture,  
By nature, we have a holy duty to all three

(Díaz-Mas 1997, 123)

Coincidentally, Judeo-Spanish is not mentioned in the play, reflecting the growing belief that it was not a useful language. This idea may have been fomented by the newspapers in the late nineteenth century. Because Ottoman Judeo-Spanish consisted of so many dialects, and each dialect borrowed from the surrounding languages as well as containing phonological and lexical characteristics of their own, it was by no means a standardized language by the early twentieth century. Therefore, unlike the standardized Hebrew, French, and Turkish, Judeo-Spanish newspapers had no consistent spelling, grammar, and vocabulary, thus furthering the idea that Judeo-Spanish was a patois, a mixed language, without any literary or cultural value (Stein 2004, 73). In any case, after three decades of pro-Turkish language policies, very little remained of the Judeo-Spanish press in Istanbul by the late 1930s, reduced to a single biweekly newspaper, *La Boz de Oriente*, which utilized a mixture of French and Spanish spelling, some Turkish, and a small section written in the Hebrew Rashí script (Farhi 1937, 154).

The full force of Turkish language policies came with the peaceful Young Turk Revolt of 1908. The Young Turks sought to transform the Ottoman Empire into a modern, centralized state, but this in turn led to a nationalistic sense of “Turkism,” which directly or indirectly established a strong link between the new government and Turkish ethnicity and language (Sachar 1994, 100; Benbassa and Rodrigue 2000, 71, Stein 2004, 14-5).

The sense of nationalism was further heightened by the loss of most of the Empire’s European provinces by 1909. Austria-Hungary incorporated Bosnia-Herzegovina, and Bulgaria declared its independence in 1909. During the First Balkan War (1912-1913), Greece annexed Crete, and Italy took over Ottoman Tripolitania (modern Libya).

Between 1913 and 1914, Greece, Bulgaria, and Serbia absorbed Ottoman Macedonia (Sachar 1994, 100; Stein 2004, 81). The newly independent states, in turn, launched aggressive nationalistic language policies within their new borders, thus accelerating the Judeo-Spanish to Bulgarian, Serbian, or Greek shift. Bulgaria had already begun the “Bulgarization” of its Jewish citizens as early as the 1890s, before its independence; and Greece enforced its Hellenization policies in the 1920s (Stein 2004, 80). The language policies in the Balkans imperiled the future of Judeo-Spanish with the greatest effect because the bulwark of Judeo-Spanish speakers was located within the borders of the former European provinces. The only city that was able to resist these language policies was Thessalonica, where Jews still remained the majority. However, the Treaty of Lausanne of 1923, which involved a Turkish and Greek population exchange, overwhelmed the city with a Greek majority, and the Sephardic community was eventually annihilated during Nazi occupation in the 1940s (Sachar 1994, 101; Benbassa and Rodrigue 2000, 101). The Balkan Wars also caused the first great migration of

Sephardic Jews out of Turkey. As early as 1913, newspapers in Istanbul provided advice and information about where to settle abroad. These migrations increased during Turkey's involvement in World War I, when many Jews were drafted, as well as during the Greco-Turkish War from 1920-1922. Between 1884 and 1924, more than 20,000 Sephardic Jews emigrated to the United States, Latin America, and Sub-Saharan Africa (Agard 1950, 203; Sachar 1994, 100; Stein 2004, 80-81; Benbassa and Rodrigue 2000, 185). In addition, the aforementioned population exchange in 1923 continued to reduce Jewish presence in Turkish cities through a surge of Turkish-speaking immigrants from Greece (Sachar 1994, 100-1). In 1927, the First Republican Census revealed a Jewish population of 81,872 located mainly in Istanbul, Izmir, and Edirne, and about eighty-five percent claimed Judeo-Spanish as their native language (Sachar 1994, 104; Benbassa and Rodrigue 2000, 101; Stein 2004, 78-9).

Even though the Treaty of Lausanne of 1923 guaranteed the rights of non-Muslims, these did not include linguistic rights. In 1915, the Young Turk government demanded that Turkish language, history, and geography be taught in Turkish by Muslim Turks in all schools inside the Turkish Republic. This law was fully implemented in 1923.

Furthermore, in an effort to fully "Turkify" the new government, all non-Muslim officials at the state level were dismissed from their posts between 1923 and 1924, thus facilitating the implementation of nationalistic policies (Benbassa and Rodrigue 2000, 101-2, 104).

During the xenophobic measures of the 1920s, Turkish citizens were not allowed to be members of any non-Turkish organization. For Jewish citizens, this meant that they could not be part of the World Zionist Congress, World Jewish Congress, or the religious

Orthodox Federation, thus isolating them from international Jewry (Sachar 1994, 104). This law also included foreign organizations with an educational purpose, such as the Alliance. In 1924, all Alliance schools in Turkey became fully-integrated community schools, using the official syllabuses imposed by the Turkish government. As a result, all Jewish schools were forced to use Turkish as the only language of primary instruction, with Hebrew and French occupying a secondary and minimal place in communal schools (the old *meldares*) and in the former Alliance schools respectively. Judeo-Spanish instruction ceased to exist (Benbassa and Rodrigue 2000, 102; Sachar 1994, 104). By the late 1930s, an observer indicated that the only Jewish school in Istanbul, the B'nei Brith, had posted a marble plaque on its entrance, proclaiming in Turkish: *Kardaşlar siz Türksiniz [sic] ve Türkçe diliniz olmalıdır*, meaning “Brethren, you are Turks, and Turkish should be your language” (Farhi 1937, 157). Finally, in 1931, all foreign primary schools were officially closed down throughout the country. In addition, in an effort to secularize the country, religious instruction was banned from schools, until it was made optional again in the 1950s (Benbassa and Rodrigue 2000, 102-3). This secularization limited Judeo-Spanish instruction in the *meldares*, where it was used for religious purposes. The impact of Turkish on Judeo-Spanish was evident within a few generations. By the early 1960s, there were about two thousand Turkish words and expressions incorporated into Judeo-Spanish (Hassan 1963, 177).

In 1928, Turkish changed from Ottoman Arabic to Latin script, and all non-Latin scripts were outlawed. Consequently, the few Judeo-Spanish periodicals were forced to change gradually from the Hebrew Rashí script to the Turkish Latin script (Díaz-Mas 1997, 122).

In spite of this first wave of aggressive language policies in Turkey and in the new Balkan republics, Judeo-Spanish continued to be the language of Sephardic Jewry. For example, by the end of the nineteenth century, over eighty percent of Serbian Jewry asserted Judeo-Spanish as their native language, and in the 1930s, almost ninety-percent of the Jewish populations of the new states of Greece, Bulgaria, and Turkey maintained Judeo-Spanish as their mother tongue (Stein 2004, 56, 59-60). However, the social stigma associated with not speaking the national languages and the increasing exodus out of the Balkans and Turkey proved to be devastating to the stability of the last Judeo-Spanish communities. Nationalistic language policies immediately positioned Judeo-Spanish in Stage 6 of Fishman's GIDS. In this stage, the intergenerational transmission of the language may be interrupted as the younger members of the family learn the majority language, and choose to adopt it in several contexts where the minority language was formerly used. At the same time, the endangered language may be marginalized to limited social spheres, being spoken only among family members, some of whom may display different levels of proficiency in the endangered language with a higher proficiency in the majority language (Fishman 1991, 92-5). Some newspapers such as *La Boz de Oriente* demonstrate this incipient shift from Spanish to Turkish as some Spanish lexicon is followed by Turkish equivalents in parenthesis (Farhi 1937, 155).

In 1931, an ardent pro-Turkish campaign ostracized those citizens that dared to speak foreign (i.e., non-Turkish) languages in public, including the languages of the Armenian, Greek, Kurdish, and Judeo-Spanish communities (Benbassa and Rodrigue 2000, 102). Consequently, the Judeo-Spanish community pushed vigorously towards a complete shift

to Turkish. In 1937, an observer visiting Istanbul noted that during the High Holidays, prominent community members exhorted the synagogue congregations to adopt Turkish as their language, to “abandon their corrupted jabbering (Judeo-Spanish) in favor of the beautiful tongue of the Gazi,” the title of the Turkish president Mustafa Kemal Atatürk (Farhi 1937, 157). In addition to the pro-Turkish movement, population woes also affected the Judeo-Spanish community. In 1934, the nascent Turkish economy struggled with depression and unemployment, provoking a deeper discontentment with the stable Greek and Armenian minorities. Because of this discontentment, in addition to nationalistic fervor, crowds of Muslim Turks broke into the homes of Turkish minorities, including Jews. In Thrace and in the Channak Peninsula (Çannakkale), Muslim throngs ransacked Jewish homes and business. As a result, more than a fourth of the Jewish population of the looted areas chose to immigrate to Istanbul and join the larger Jewish community there (Sachar 1994, 103). Even though this migration briefly strengthened the community in Istanbul, most Jews chose to leave Turkey. During the second major Sephardic migration out of Turkey, almost a quarter million of its Jewish citizens migrated to Europe, Latin America, and the United States. The United States had the largest numbers of Sephardic immigrants in the Americas, about 30,000 distributed in New York, Los Angeles, Seattle, and other cities (Sachar 1994, 101-2). France absorbed the majority of the Sephardic immigrants in Europe; by 1939, Paris alone had a thriving Turkish Sephardic community of about 25,000 (Stein 2004, 81). Marcel Cohen, whose parents immigrated to France, described this *mêlée* of national identities as:

Lo kuriozo kon todo esto es de pensar ke fue yo un Ebreo para los Espanyoles antes de la salida, después un Espanyol para los Turkos, un Turko para los Fransezses... i aora sto un Franséz para los Espanyoles...

The funny thing about this is to think that, before the Exile, I was considered a Hebrew by the Spaniards, then I was seen as Spaniard by the Turks, then French thought of me as a Turk... and now I'm seen as a Frenchman by the Spaniards...

(Marcel Cohen 20006, 106-7)

Xenophobia, nationalistic language policies, and mass migrations greatly reduced the number of Judeo-Spanish speakers. In 1935, only fifty-four percent of Turkish Jewry claimed Judeo-Spanish as their native language, and, instead of Turkish Jews, they began to identify themselves as “Turks of the Mosaic religion” (Sachar 1994, 104).

Because of Turkey's neutrality during the Second World War, Turkish Jewry was not devastated by the Holocaust perpetrated by the Nazis and their collaborators in Europe and North Africa. However, the wartime blockade around the eastern Mediterranean limited the struggling Turkish economy. In 1942, the Turkish government implemented the *Varlık Vergisi* or value tax, designed to levy taxes on mercantile goods. This tax, however, was not equal for all Turkish citizens. Muslims paid the least, about five percent of their annual income, whereas non-Muslims were taxed almost fifty times as much. Greeks were taxed one-hundred and fifty-six percent, Jews one-hundred and seventy-nine percent, and Armenians two-hundred and thirty-two of their annual income. Non-Muslim business owners who could not pay the *Varlık Vergisi* were sent to labor camps to build roads in Anatolia, where many fell ill and perished. More than half of the businessmen in labor camps were Sephardim. When the *Varlık Vergisi* was finally rescinded in 1944, it left one third of Turkish Jewry in complete poverty and great debt (Sachar 1994, 105-6; Benbassa and Rodrigue 2000, 182-3). As a result, Sephardic Jews

began to emigrate en masse out of Turkey for the third time, this time to the newly founded State of Israel. The *Varlık Vergisi* remains as the mostly cited anti-Jewish event in the history of modern Turkey, and its implications are vivid in many speakers. One speaker (F80D) expressed this event as:

*Pasimos muy negras oras akí. Kontra los djudiós estava muy muy negro. Muncha djente se fueron a Israel o en otros lugares. Akéos tiempos estava yeno yeno de kriaturas. No se podía azer nada. No podíamos avlar demasía pishín ya moz aferavan, ya vimos muchos espantos. Tomaron a todos los ombres i los enviaron en los akeles leshos de Estambul. Munchas oras pretas, ansina ke kedimos pokos djudiós; no ay muchos djudiós mas.*

We had very bad days here. It was very bad against the Jews. A lot of people left to Israel or to other places. In those days, it was full of children. But we couldn't do anything. We couldn't complain too much or they would seize us quickly, we saw a lot of scary things. They took the men and sent them far away from Istanbul to those things. There were many dark hours, so now very few Jews are left; there are not many Jews left.

The speaker was in her early teen years when this happened. However, her account illustrates the decrease in Jewish population (*yeno yeno de kriaturas*) due to government policies and economic hardships in Turkey and to emigration to Israel.

The first large wave of immigration of Turkish Jews to Israel (Hebrew *aaliyah*) took place in 1909, when Palestine was still part of the Ottoman Empire (Benbassa and Rodrigue 2000, 186). During the early 1940s, especially between 1943 and 1944, the years when the *Varlık Vergisi* was strictly enforced, approximately 4,000 Jews relocated to the British Mandate of Palestine. If the number seems insignificant, we must take into account that in the 1940s the Jewish community in Turkey numbered about 80,000 (Stein 2004, 81; Benbassa and Rodrigue 2000, 186). This immigration came to halt briefly in 1948, when Turkey banned emigration to the newly-founded State of Israel, but it

continued in 1949, after Turkey established diplomatic ties with the Jewish State. In 1949 alone, more than thirty thousand impoverished Turkish Jews left for Israel, and they were joined in 1954 by another 45,000 immigrants (Benbassa and Rodrigue 2000, 186-7; Sachar 1994, 113). During the Cyprus crisis between Greece and Turkey in 1956, crowds of nationalistic Turks attacked all shops that did not have Turkish names. Even though the anger was directed towards Greek shops, Armenian and Jewish shops were attacked and looted, especially the Jewish businesses in Pera (modern day Beyoğlu). After these events, an additional fifteen thousand left Turkey for Israel and Western Europe. Between the 1940s and late 1950s, about forty percent of Turkish Jewry had emigrated to Israel and other lands. In the 1960s and 1970s, the Turkish Jewish community was further reduced as more than ten thousand decided to emigrate (Sachar 1994, 116; Benbassa and Rodrigue 2000, 188). By 1979, between twenty-three and twenty-four thousand Jews remained in Turkey, including twenty thousand living in Istanbul (Díaz-Mas 1997, 225). However, in subsequent years there was very little violence directed against Jews in Turkey. Perhaps, secularization and Turkification were so advanced that Turks themselves perceived the tiny Jewish community as Turks of a different religion living in a secular state. Most members of the community are quick to point out that even though there was violence against the Jewish community in the past, it is not the current status quo. One speaker commented:

(F80C) *Kuando era chika, ama de ke se fondó el Israel, la mediná ke se tomó nos dan onor. Antes era “ba ba ba,” ama agora son buenos kon mozotros.*

(F80C) When I was small [there was violence], but since Israel was founded, the state that was taken, they honor us. Before it was “bam bam bam,” but now they are good to us.

The subsequent violence directed against Istanbul Jewry came from foreigners or Turks in association with radical Islamist groups, such as the Palestinian bombings of Neve Şalom, the most important Sephardic synagogue in Istanbul, in 1986 and in 1992 (Sachar 1994, 114, 117), as well as the 2003 Al-Qaeda bombings of Neve Şalom and other synagogues and consulates in Istanbul.<sup>4</sup> This violence against the local Jewish population from foreigners resulted in a closed down of the community centers and synagogues to the public. Thus, it is mandatory to contact the Chief Rabbinate or other Jewish authorities to obtain permission to visit Jewish sites, which are for the most part heavily guarded and monitored. (F49) explained that:

(F49) *Ama estos lugares están kaché. Antes no era ansina. Al kal le podías entrar, akí podías, agora no estás pudiendo entrar, kale ke tomes izín i se están espantando, ken sos, ken no sos? Tienen razón.*

(F49) But these places are hidden. It wasn't like that before. You could go inside the synagogue, here you could, now you can't go inside, you have to get permission, and they are afraid, who are you, what are you? They are right.

In the mid 1990s, the Jewish population of Turkey numbered 18,000, and it increased to about 20,000 by the year 2000 (Sachar 1994, 116; Benbassa and Rodrigue 2000, 188). Currently, in 2008, the Chief Rabbinate of Turkey (*Hahambaşılık*) estimates that there are about 23,000 Turkish Jews, including the Ashkenazi community.<sup>5</sup> In the mid 1990s, *Şalom*, the only Jewish newspaper published partially in Judeo-Spanish had less than two-thousand Turkish subscribers, and there seemed to be no major efforts to transmit the language to the next generation. The younger generation received most schooling from private institutions that used Turkish, French, and English as the languages of instruction (Sachar 1994, 117). The Turkish Sephardic communities in Europe and in the Americas,

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<sup>4</sup> <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/europe/3227076.stm>

<sup>5</sup> <http://www.musevicemaati.com>

cut off from the bulk of Sephardic populations, struggled to keep the language alive for a few generations. In a letter to his friend, Marcel Cohen, son of Turkish immigrants to France, writes:

Kiero eskrivirte en Djudiό antes ke no keda nada del avlar de mis padres. No saves... lo ke es morirse en su lingua. Es komo kedarse soliko en el silencio kada dıa ke Dio da, komo ser sikileoso sin saver por ke.

I want to write to you in Jewish [Spanish] before there is nothing left of my parent's language. You don't know... what it's like to die with one's language. It's like being alone in silence every day that God gives, like being worried without knowing why.

(Marcel Cohen 2006, 73)

In a way, the fate of Judeo-Spanish is consistent with the other languages in Istanbul after Turkish was solidified as the sole official language. In his memoirs, the Turkish writer Orhan Pamuk remarks that in the mid nineteenth century the French writer Gautier marveled at the multilingualism prevalent all over the city, where he could hear Turkish, Greek, Armenian, Italian, Judeo-Spanish (which he calls Ladino), French, and English. Gautier felt ashamed as a French monolingual in this "tower of Babel." Pamuk, born in 1952, describes the transformation of the city that he observed as a child, from the multilingual tower of Babel to a Turkish city:

The cosmopolitan Istanbul I knew as a child had disappeared by the time I reached adulthood... After the founding of the Republic and the violent rise of Turkification, after the state imposed sanctions on minorities... most of these languages disappeared. I witnessed this cultural cleansing as a child, for whenever anyone spoke Greek or Armenian too loudly in the street..., someone would cry out, "Citizens, please speak Turkish!"--echoing what signs everywhere were saying.

(Pamuk 2004, 239)

More than a century and a half of pro-French and pro-Turkish language policies, in addition to a reduced community due to emigration, has currently situated Istanbul Judeo-Spanish on Stage 7 of Fishman's GIDS. In Stage 7, most current speakers of Judeo-Spanish are fully integrated into the society which speaks the majority language, but they are beyond child-bearing age (Fishman 1991, 89). The language no longer attains intergenerational transmission, and therefore it is currently used by the last generation of speakers, most of them older than 60 or 70 years old. The case of Judeo-Spanish in Istanbul, as well as the community in Israel, is exceptional in comparison to other dialects of Judeo-Spanish, such as Salonikan Judeo-Spanish or Sarajevan Judeo-Spanish, that are actually in Stage 8 of Fishman's GIDS. In the last stage of GIDS, speakers are isolated and in advanced age, without any sense of community, and they have great difficulty remembering words or producing full sentences (Fishman 1991, 88). There is no specific data as to the number of speakers of Judeo-Spanish in Turkey. However, in the late 1980s, Séphiha estimated that there were about 400,000 Judeo-Spanish speakers worldwide that maintained that language with several levels of proficiency. Monolinguals were rare, if any (Séphiha 1986, 34-5).

In this chapter, I have analyzed the sociolinguistic history of Judeo-Spanish as it developed among the Jewish immigrants from Spain to the Ottoman Empire in the late fifteenth century. Even though Judeo-Spanish entered the Ottoman mosaic with economic and social strength (Stages 1 and 2), this power ebbed towards the end of the eighteenth century, as Sephardic Jews entered a lower work sphere (Stages 3-5). The implementation of language policies in favor of French, and then Turkish, in the late

nineteenth and twentieth centuries altered the transmission of the language (Stage 6), while xenophobic and nationalistic policies, mass migrations, and a reduced community finally hindered the transmission of the language to the next generation (Stages 7 and 8). In the next chapter, I intend to present a more detailed sociolinguistic representation of Judeo-Spanish in Istanbul, including speakers' opinions about their language, its current status, its transmission, and its future.

**CHAPTER 3: THE SPEAKERS, THE COMMUNITY,  
AND THE LANGUAGE**

**3.1. Speakers and Methodology.** The present study is based on a series of interviews of twenty-five Judeo-Spanish speakers in Istanbul in March and April 2007. The speakers comprised eighteen women and seven men, ages 19 to 97. The interviews consisted of three parts. The first part, conducted in Turkish and Judeo-Spanish, elicited general information about the speaker, such as age and residential history, as well as a series of questions evaluating the speaker's language attitudes and perceptions. This sociolinguistic questionnaire can be found in Appendix C. The information obtained from this first part is discussed in this chapter. The second part consisted of the translation of sixty-one sentences from Turkish to Judeo-Spanish in which certain morphological and syntactic features were involved. This translation exercise can be found in Appendix B. The results of this second part are discussed in Chapter 4. The third part consisted of free speech regarding the speaker's childhood, favorite food, or favorite pet, as a way to get additional sampling of the Judeo-Spanish language besides the translation exercise. These three components were often shifted, and did not always follow the same order. The original speaker pool was twice as large, but these twenty-five informants were selected because they were born in Istanbul or moved there at a very young age, completed all three parts of the interview, and were able to produce enough data for analysis. Some informants were Istanbul natives who lived in Israel for a few years, but ultimately returned and settled in Istanbul for most of their lives. Table 1 below details the speakers' pool by gender and age.

**Table 1: Speakers' Age and Gender**

<b>19-29</b>	<b>30-39</b>	<b>40-49</b>	<b>50-59</b>	<b>60-69</b>	<b>70-79</b>	<b>80-89</b>	<b>90-99</b>
n = 3	n=1	n = 4	n = 3	n = 3	n = 2	n = 8	n = 1
F19 M21 M25	M30	F40 F43 F44 F49	F54 F58A F58B	F60 F67 M69	F70 F73	F80A F80B F80C F80D M82 F82 M84 F85	M97

Men = 7, Women = 18

As we can deduce from Table 1, most of the Judeo-Spanish speakers interviewed were women, who accounted for more than seventy percent of the total pool. The researcher's intuition is that older women more readily spoke Spanish because traditionally they were not encouraged to learn other languages outside the community, and therefore felt more at ease in Judeo-Spanish. The researcher observed a much higher usage of Turkish among the men of the community, even when engaging in leisure activities such as playing cards, dominoes, and backgammon. This observation, however, differs from Harris' (1979) study in New York City and in Israel, since she noticed that it was easier to interview men and that women offered the most initial resistance to speaking Judeo-Spanish (Harris 1979, 298). Similarly, I also perceived that the men in the community of Izmir, a harbor city off the Aegean coast in Turkey, used Judeo-Spanish extensively, especially in the domain of religion. In any case, these interviews were completely voluntary, and the fact that most volunteers in Istanbul were women perhaps reflects the social history of the language, since in traditional Sephardic society, which closely followed Ottoman mores, women were not allowed to socialize outside the community.

Even as late as 1930, while doing his research on the Monastir (present-day Bitolj, Macedonia) dialect of Judeo-Spanish, Luria complained that:

The women of the past generation were doomed to live a life of obscurity and ignorance. Little or no liberty was allowed them; and it has proved almost impossible to get any linguistic material from them because of the social and moral fence which the oriental male draws around them.

Luria (1930, 8)

There is also a disparity in the speakers' ages. More than two-thirds of the speakers in the data pool were fifty or older, beyond child-bearing age, which means they can no longer create families in which to use and expose the language to the next generation. As we recall, this situates the language at Stage 7 of Fishman's GIDS (Fishman 1991, 89). Similarly, most of Luria's Macedonian speakers interviewed in 1930 were fifty or sixty years of age or older (Luria 1930, 9). This is parallel to Harris's study on New York and Israeli Judeo-Spanish communities, where eighty percent of speakers were age fifty or older (Harris 1979, 111). Thus, Judeo-Spanish is often associated with the older generation, as the language of the grandparents.

Much like the studies of Schmidt (1985) on Dyrbal, Dorian (1973) and (1981) on Scottish Gaelic, and Holloway (1997) on Brulé Spanish, the speakers in my research displayed a generational proficiency continuum in which older speakers were proficient in the language, while the youngest speakers were considered as semispeakers at best. In fact, the youngest members of this pool of speakers, (M25), (M21), and (F19), were not able to produce any complete sentences in Judeo-Spanish, and their interviews were conducted mostly in English or Turkish. For these three speakers the translation exercise consisted of identifying Judeo-Spanish words in Turkish. It seems that both the older and

the younger generations are aware of this proficiency continuum, as it was expressed by (M69) and (F43):

(M69) *Malorozamente la djenerasi3n muestra es la djenerasi3n del kavo ke va avlar Espanyol... malorozamente, par egzempie, mi ija, mi ijo bivieron kon moz3s en la chik3z fin a ke se kazaron... nunka pudieron avlar mucho en Espanyol pero avlaron todo en Turko malorozamente.*

(M69) Unfortunately our generation is the last generation that will speak Spanish... unfortunately, for example, my daughter, my son lived with us from their childhood until they got married... they were never able to speak much Spanish, but they said everything in Turkish unfortunately.

(F43) *Eos saven, el de moz3s se est3 eskapando. El Espanyol est3 eskapando kon eos, est3 eskapando ak3.*

(F43) They (the older generation) know, ours is ending. Spanish is ending with them, it's ending here.

This perception reflects the results found by Harris in 1978, as about seventy-one percent of her New York informants claimed that they were not as fluent in Judeo-Spanish as their grandparents or parents. However, only about thirty-two percent of her Israeli informants shared this intuition (Harris 1979, 150).

## **3.2. Perception of the Language.**

**3.2.1. Ties to Hispanicity and Judaism.** Altavev (2003) conducted a study on the usage of Spanish and Turkish among the Sephardic community in Istanbul as a way to construct identity. In her work, Altavev claims that one way to reveal how speakers perceive the language is by the name they choose to refer to it. Altavev, who conducted her interviews in Turkish, claims that those speakers who referred to the language as “Ladino” sought to give it “authoritative international or academic support,” whereas the neutral label was simply the Turkish word for Spanish, *İspanyolca* (Altavev 2003, 56-7).

Perhaps her intuitions are based on the fact that current organizations that promote the Judeo-Spanish refer to it as “Judeo-Spanish” or as “Ladino,” such as the Autoridad Nacionala del Ladino based in Israel and created by the Israeli government in 1997.<sup>6</sup> The sociolinguistic part of my research, however, did not contain a specific question regarding the nomenclature of the language. Instead, this answer was obtained indirectly when I asked each speaker in which languages they were proficient: *kualas linguas avla?* Table 1 below illustrates their answers.

**Table 2: Nomenclatures for Judeo-Spanish**

Label	Number of speakers = 25*
Espanyol/Spanyol/Ispanyol	20
Ladino	3
Djudeo-Espanyol	3
Djudió	2
Spanish	2

\* *The number of speakers interviewed was 25, but four of those speakers gave it two labels or more.*

The most common label seems to be simply some variation of *Espanyol*, which is compatible to Altabev’s (2003) and Harris’s (1979) results in which the label *Íspanyolca* was used predominantly. In fact, about seventy-five percent of Harris’s New York informants and about eighty-two percent of her Israeli speakers preferred the label “Espanyol.” Perhaps in my data pool this term is favored because it represents the least threat to Turkish nationalism, since *Ladino* and *Djudeo-Espanyol*, as mentioned above, denote some sort of international, mainly Israeli and French support, and *Djudió*, the Judeo-Spanish word for “Jewish,” implies a minority religion. Similarly, Altabev’s results concluded that the Turkish labels *Musevice* (“Mosaic Language”), *Judezmo*

<sup>6</sup> <http://www.aki-yerushalayim.co.il/anl/index.htm>

(Judeo-Spanish for “Judaism”), and *Yahudice* (“Language of the Jews”), which are directly linked to Judaism, were used sparingly, representing almost nine percent of her results (Altabev 2003, 57). Thus, *Espanyol* simply implies a language, like the other minority languages in Turkey such as Greek, Armenian, and Kurdish, without revealing much about national or religious affiliations.

Another interpretation is that the term *Espanyol* is maintained because it evokes the collective history of the Sephardim, as Spanish exiles. Researchers interviewing Judeo-Spanish speakers often encountered this self-identification as Spaniards, such as Luria’s (1930) study on Monastir Judeo-Spanish, in which a speaker declared *Ma somuz ispanyolis!* “But we are Spaniards!” after identifying with most of Spain’s traditions and language described by Luria. Luria goes as far as to claim that Macedonian Sephardim have kept Spanish alive as “a marked proof of the deep love and affection that find a firm root not only in their hearts but in the soil of Spain which is almost as hallowed as a second Jerusalem” (Luria 1930, 8-9). I was not able to detect this deep connection with Spain in the Istanbul Sephardim. However, all speakers are aware that their ancestors and their language are rooted in Spain, as it was expressed by (M82):

*Mozós vinimos kinyentos anyos antes de la Espanya; los arondjaron i una parte tomaron akí en Osmanlí. De akel tiempo ke vinimos hue todo en espanyol.*

We arrived from Spain five hundred years ago; they expelled them [the Jews] and some of them settled in the Ottoman [Empire]. Since that time that we arrived, everything has been in Spanish.

In addition to this Hispanic identity, it seems that speaking Judeo-Spanish also buttressed the identification of the modern Sephardim as Jews. Previously, we observed that the

only institutions that sought to instruct students in Judeo-Spanish were the *meldares* (from Judeo-Spanish *meldar*, “to read, to study”) or Talmud academies, because Spanish helped to understand the liturgical Hebrew-to-Spanish calque known as Ladino in which many religious works were written (Farhi 1937, 153-4; Séphiha 1986, 24). However, these *meldares* were gradually abandoned in the mid-nineteenth century, first in favor of western Protestant and Catholic missionary schools, and ultimately in favor of the French Alliance schools (Sachar 1994, 98; Stein 2004, 13). In any case, the *meldares* continued functioning in some capacity, and instruction in Spanish continued to some degree among Turkish Jewry until religious education was prohibited in the early 1930s as part of secularization of the Turkish Republic. However, Judeo-Spanish and its liturgical version Ladino did not disappear from the religious domain. On the contrary, it appears that religion became the only domain in which Judeo-Spanish was able to thrive. When Farhi visited Istanbul during the High Holidays in the late 1930s, she stressed the fact that Judeo-Spanish was used in conjunction with Hebrew during the religious services, wedding ceremonies, documents, and in events hosted by the Chief Rabbinate (Farhi 1937, 153). In the 1950s, religious instruction became optional, and many were able to use Judeo-Spanish to study the liturgical texts (Benbassa and Rodrigue 2000, 102-3). However, during the 1950s the country had already become completely Turkified after several waves of nationalism, and the Jewish communities had been diminished due to emigration, and many saw very little use in learning Judeo-Spanish. In any case, the fact that Judeo-Spanish lingered the longest in the religious domain helped to define it as an integral part of Judaism. This was expressed by several speakers, such as (F80D) and (F58B)

(F80D): *En avlante de Espanyol, moz sentimos ke somos Djudiós...*

(F80D): By speaking Spanish, we feel that we are Jewish...

(F58B): *Agora seguro ke no es bueno porke estamos pedriendo mozotros la lingua i la din yaani.*

(F58B): Of course now it's not a good thing because we are losing the language and that means the religion.

It is interesting to note that both speakers equate Judeo-Spanish with being Jewish (*somos Djudiós*) and practicing Judaism (*la din*). This may be the reason why religion is the last domain in which Turkish is replacing Judeo-Spanish. The religious domain seems to be last haven for a lot of endangered languages, to the point that their sole function becomes liturgical. Such is the example of some Native American languages, Coptic, and Latin. One of the youngest speakers (or semispeakers) interviewed (M25) related that for his bar mitzvah, he had to read a passage of the Torah in Hebrew, then interpret the passage in Judeo-Spanish and in Turkish. However, he confessed that he merely memorized the Spanish part, and that he did not understand what he said. Furthermore, (M25) also noted that when he was younger:

We read *ha-Agadá* in Turkey, *ha-Agadá* is in Spanish, in Hebrew, nowadays we read it in Turkish, but I remember at my grandmother's house the *berahás* would be in Hebrew but the stories would be in Spanish, you know, the *Mas Avastado dezimos* "Bize Yeterdi."

The prayers (*berahás*) and stories that he mentions (*ha-Agadá* or *Haggadah*, the account of the Jewish Passover; and *Mas Avastado*, a thanksgiving prayer for Passover known by its Hebrew name as *Dayenu*) are central to the story of the liberation of the Israelites from Egypt, and one of the most important holidays in Judaism. Therefore, the fact that they have been translated into Turkish, such as the rendering of *Mas Avastado* as "Bize Yeterdi" (Literally, *It would have been enough*), demonstrate the high degree of language

shift in the religious domain. Another speaker (F82) noted that Judeo-Spanish is also losing to Hebrew in the religious domain. Although most of the liturgy in Judaism is performed in Hebrew and Aramaic, there are some prayers and songs that have traditionally been sung in the vernacular. However, Hebrew is replacing Judeo-Spanish in this area as well:

(F82) *En el kal los están ambezando la lingua evreo, los kantes, las berahás, el nuevo nisíl.*

(F82) At synagogue, they are teaching the songs and prayers in the Hebrew language to the new generation.

Perhaps because Hebrew is the language of mainstream Judaism and one of the official languages of the State of Israel, the Spanish to Hebrew shift in the domain of religion is not perceived as a threat to their identity as Jews. However, this illustrates that currently Judeo-Spanish has been replaced in all of its major domains.

**3.2.2. “A Mixed Language” and Multilingualism.** Wexler claims that Jewish languages are, by nature, mixed languages, having an inherent Hebrew and Aramaic component (Wexler 1981, 99). Along these lines, Séphiha claims that modern Judeo-Spanish lexicon is composed of about twenty percent French vocabulary, fifteen percent Turkish, and about ten percent Hebrew and its calque Ladino (Séphiha 1997, 29). In fact, Séphiha reclaims with pride the “nobility of our mixed language,” as he explains that both English and French have historically been mixed languages (Séphiha 1986, 110).

In spite of this “nobility,” most studies on Judeo-Spanish communities from the twentieth century onwards have emphasized the disparaging perceptions that speakers feel towards

the language. A common thread among these attitudes is that Judeo-Spanish is not “real Spanish” or that it is a mixed language, which results from comparing Judeo-Spanish varieties to Castilian Spanish (“real” Spanish) or to other standardized languages such as French. Some Judeo-Spanish publications towards the end of the nineteenth century show evidence that speakers were aware that their Spanish was different from Castilian Spanish, and some authors attempted to introduce Castilian lexicon in their works with more familiar Judeo-Spanish equivalents glossed in parenthesis. Thus, the introduction in a Judeo-Spanish and German dictionary from 1884, reads:

*La avla Eshpanyola de dito livriko djeneralmente es la verdadera. I por muchas palabras ke no son konosidas, topara el meldador alado (serado en medias lunas) komo la uzan muchos en avlar.*

The Spanish language of this little book is generally authentic. And the reader will find next to those words that are not very well known (enclosed in parenthesis) as they are used in the speech of many.

Ben Mihael (1884)

If Judeo-Spanish cannot be considered “real Spanish,” the perception that it is not a real language is further influenced by its readiness to incorporate many lexical borrowings from other languages. This apparent lexical heterogeneity is often cited when justifying disparaging attitudes towards the language. Thus, in the Judeo-Spanish and German dictionary mentioned above, the author explains that it was very hard (*fuerte*) to bring about such work, since Spanish “está mesclado en kada provinsia de la Turkía kon la avla de akel país” (It is mixed in every Turkish province with the language of that country). As Judeo-Spanish became a topic of research in the twentieth century, its construction as a mixed language was often expressed with negative qualifiers by both informants and researchers.

In 1930, Luria identified French bilingualism as one of the “several factors which are tending to break down the identity of the dialect” among the younger generation (Luria 1930, 8). Similarly, Farhi’s 1937 study on Judeo-Spanish in Istanbul declared that the language had “lost its primitive purity,” and contained French vocabulary and syntax (Farhi 1937, 151, 155). In 1971, when Sala was investigating the phonology of Judeo-Spanish in Bucharest, he noticed that many Sephardim refused to speak the language in public because they perceived it as a half-Romanian, half-Spanish jargon, and it was no longer *une langue chic*, an elegant language (Sala 1971, 19-20). In his introduction to the *Diccionario Básico Ladino-Español*, Pascual Recuero claims that borrowing from Turkish, French, Greek, and other languages has rendered the language “diluted” and devoid of its “initial expressive richness” (Pascual Recuero 1977, iii-iv). Almost half of Harris’s speakers in New York and Israel considered Judeo-Spanish to be a mixed language and a jargon, and about sixty percent felt that Judeo-Spanish was not important, practical, or useful enough to be passed down to the next generation (Harris 1979, 145, 162). Contemporary studies still claim that Judeo-Spanish is a mixed language, although they no longer imply any negative attitudes. Thus, Alvar (2003) claims that Judeo-Spanish was the result of a diglossia (Hebrew and Spanish) which led to a mixed language based on several Iberian dialects, such as Castilian, Aragonese, and Navarrese, which became highly heterogeneous due to the different languages that were incorporated into the mixture throughout the Sephardic Diaspora (Alvar 2003, 105).

The perception of Judeo-Spanish as a jargon, a mixed language, or not “real” Spanish was expressed by several speakers during the interviews. For example, (F80b), (F60), and (F19) reported:

(F80b) *El Espanyol nuestro es, ya sabes, jargón, un poko de... ma no avlí tanto negro.*

(F80b) Our Spanish is, you know, a jargon, a little bit of... but I didn't speak too badly.

(F60) *Ama el Espanyol nuestro es mesklado kon el francés i kon el Turko.*

(F60) But our Spanish is mixed with French and with Turkish.

(M30) When I began to use my Ladino, for example, I was using *trokar*, instead of *cambiar*, because in Ladino I heard about it *trokar*, but in real Spanish we are using *cambiar*.

(F19) It's not real Spanish, it's *Djudió* (Jewish) Spanish.

It is interesting to note that (F60) cites French and Turkish, since historically these languages have had the greatest impact on Judeo-Spanish. Lexical borrowing and code switching in languages in shift may increase considerably, particularly among the younger generation of speakers. Dorian (1973) claims that the younger speakers of a language in shift often remark that their speech is “inferior” to that of their parents and grandparents, and that they base their opinion almost exclusively on the lexicon of the language. Dorian's (1973) Gaelic speakers felt that the older generation had more “words for things” than what their generation had (Dorian 1973, 414). Harris's (1979) research on the vocabulary of the New York and Israeli communities concluded that speakers were not able to remember about twenty-one percent of her list of common words (Harris 1979, 188). This lexical vacuum in the younger generation is often filled by lexicon from other languages in which the speaker is more fluent. This “filling” of the lexical void was expressed by several of Harris's informants, as one of them explained that he uses Turkish and Hebrew words when speaking Judeo-Spanish if he cannot remember the words. Another one of her speakers filled the lexical void with Bulgarian words (Harris 1979, 153). Similarly, two of my speakers claimed that:

(F80B) *Avlava Espanyol kon amigos, amigas, ermanos, todos, kon el papá i la mamá, ma natürel kon biervos adientro en Turko.*

(F80B) I spoke Spanish with friends, siblings, everybody, with my father and my mother, but with Turkish words in it, of course.

(F54) *Uzo el espanyol... pero uzo siertos **words** ke no puedo topar en otras linguas.*

(F54) I use Spanish... but I use some words from other languages that I can't remember [in Spanish].

The impact of bilingualism on Judeo-Spanish is unavoidable, since currently there are no monolingual speakers, although there may have been some in the late 1980s. Séphiha (1986) asserts that in 1900 there were about 360,000 speakers of Judeo-Spanish worldwide, most of them monolingual, whereas in 1986 there were about 400,000 speakers of Judeo-Spanish, the majority being at least bilingual (Séphiha 1986, 34-5). Particularly in my data pool, the norm seems to be that speakers “know” or are familiar at several levels of proficiency with at least three languages. In fact, Harris (1979) claims that the rule for Sephardic communities has always been bilingualism or rather, multilingualism. Sixty-one percent of her New York speakers and ninety-six percent of her Israeli informants spoke three languages or more (Harris 1979, 131-2). Luria (1930) remarks that the Judeo-Spanish speaker in New York “possesses an unusual linguistic ability,” citing Hebrew, Turkish, Greek, French, and Italian as the languages that were spoken and written by the community. Luria also concludes that this “ready linguistic adaptability ... cannot but have a marked influence on the eventual form the dialect will take” (Luria 1930, 2). Some speakers consider this multilingualism and language mixing as part of their Jewish identity, as (F70) expressed:

*Saves una koza, kon los djudiós es ke todos konosen sinko, sesh linguas i kuando avlamos mesklamos porke savemos ke ya vas entender. I una vez estava en kaza*

*de mis parientes i unos amigos mios de kuarenta anyos ke están en la Amérika vinieron, i mis ijos estaban. Empesimos a avlar Turko, Fransés, Inglés, Espanyol, todo endjuntos, muy normal en kuarto linguas. No me apersiví ke es una koza anormal porke ansina avlamos. Kuando fuimos a kaza, mis ijos disheron al papá, “estuvieron avlando por dos oras kuarto linguas,” i les paresió muy komík esto.*

You know something, about Jews, is that everybody knows five, six languages, and when we speak, we mix them, because we know that you will understand. And one time I was with some relatives and some of my friends who had been in America for forty years came over, and my children were [there too]. We started talking in Turkish, French, English, Spanish, all together, very normally, in four languages. I didn't perceive it as an abnormal thing because that's how we speak. When we got home, my children told their father, “they talked in four languages for two hours,” and they thought this was very funny.

Of the twenty-five speakers interviewed in Istanbul, only two, (F80a) and (F73), claimed to speak Spanish and Turkish only. The rest spoke additional languages, as illustrated on Table 2 below.

**Table 3: Additional Languages spoken by the Sephardic Community in Istanbul**

F44					
F49					
F54					
F58B					F19
F58A					M21
F60	F43				M25
F67	F44				M30
M69	F54				F40
F70	F60				F43
F80D	M69				F44
F80C	F80D				F54
F80B	F80B	F80B			F58B
M82	M82	M82	F54		F60
F82	F82	M84	F58B		M69
F85	F85	F85	M82	M30	F80D
M97	M97	M97	M84	F80D	F80B
<b>French n=16</b>	<b>Hebrew n=11</b>	<b>Greek n=5</b>	<b>Italian n=4</b>	<b>German n=2</b>	<b>English n=13</b>

As Table 2 indicates, there is a wide variety of languages spoken inside the community, and many speakers are actually polyglots. The languages in Table 2 demonstrate the

particular history of the Sephardim in Turkey. Thus, French is the language prevalent among the older members of the community, the majority being sixty years or older. This is a direct result of the French education and pro-French linguistic attitudes sponsored by the Alliance Israélite from the mid-nineteenth century until the mid-1920s, when French was discarded in favor of Turkish. The fact that some French speakers are in their forties attests to the persistence of pro-French attitudes as late as the 1960s, when French was still considered an international language, and they may still exist today. When asked which languages were spoken by the Sephardic youth in Istanbul, (F44) listed “*Inglés, Turko... i kuando sus madres dizen, debes de ambezarte, en Fransés se ambezan.*” (English, Turkish... and when their mothers tell them, you have to learn, they learn French). These results match those found by Harris in the Judeo-Spanish community in Israel, as French and Hebrew were the languages employed by most speakers besides Judeo-Spanish. Her New York informants, however, used English and Castilian Spanish the most outside the Judeo-Spanish speaking community (Harris 1979, 179).

Hebrew is spoken in several degrees of fluency by almost one half of the interviewed speakers. This is because they learned it in school as part of their Jewish education or because they have family members in Israel. In fact, several speakers attempted to settle in Israel and some of them lived there for as long as fifteen years (F80C, M84, and M69). It is interesting to note that the youngest speakers of Hebrew are in their forties, which suggests that the acquisition likely began in the 1960s, the period when immigration to Israel from Turkey was the highest. Some of these speakers used Hebrew words

sporadically while speaking Judeo-Spanish, such as *Tsarfat* ('France,' used to mean 'French' by M82), *bétah* ('of course,' by F60), *yófi* ('nice, neat,' by F60), *héder* ('room,' by F43) and *saftá* (from Hebrew *savta*, 'grandmother,' by F43).

Several speakers also claimed to be proficient in Greek, since many Sephardim shared neighborhoods with the Greek community in Istanbul, such as Pera (modern Beyoğlu) and Tatavla (modern Kurtuluş). In addition, many Sephardic men learned Greek in order to conduct business with the prominent Greek community. For example, (F80B) claims that her father spoke *un Grego muy ermozo*, a very beautiful Greek. This linguistic contact ended in 1923, with the Greek-Turkish population exchange as specified by the Treaty of Lausanne. This explains why most Greek-speaking Sephardim in Istanbul are age eighty or older. There were very few Greek words used by these speakers.

English is the newest language incorporated into the Sephardic linguistic repertoire, as most speakers proficient in English are in their forties or younger. Eleven of the twenty-five speakers observed that English is one of the languages that the younger generation learns, especially in secondary education or at the university level. The Jewish school in Ulus (Istanbul) also offers English courses. Another incentive to learn English is that it is one of three official languages of Israel. In a way, this reflects a trend happening all over Turkey, and perhaps worldwide, as the younger generation perceives the economic advantages often associated with speaking English. Several speakers used some English words when speaking Judeo-Spanish, such as *words* (F54), *city* (F44), and *actually* (M30). Surprisingly, two of the youngest speakers, (M25) and (F19), used the English

word *Spanish* to name their language. I will say more about the role of the younger generation in section 3.5.

### **3.3. The Community and the Language.**

**3.3.1. Community Demographics.** As we discussed in Chapter 2, the current Jewish population in Turkey consists of about 20,000 individuals, primarily located in Izmir, and to a greater extent, Istanbul (Benbassa and Rodrigue 2000, 188). The Jewish population in Istanbul is the result of two patterns of migration. One pattern depleted the Jewish population as many migrated to Israel, Europe, and the United States, whereas the other pattern replenished it as Sephardim from the Turkish provinces moved to Istanbul escaping from persecution during the nationalistic riots. The migratory movements from the peripheral provinces to Istanbul continued from the 1950s until today, as many Sephardim sought economic opportunities and a strong Jewish community (Altabev 2003, 126). Many of these newcomers originated from communities in which Judeo-Spanish was not used, such as the Judeo-Arabic and Judeo-Georgian communities, or from communities in which the displacement of Judeo-Spanish by Turkish was highly advanced to such a degree that even the older speakers were semispeakers at best.

Altabev (2003) claims that the incorporation of these non-Judeo-Spanish elements into the community encouraged communal and religious services to shift from Judeo-Spanish to Turkish, the only language that the Jewish community in Turkey as a whole had in common (Altabev 2003, 127). Some speakers I interviewed were discarded from the final data pool because they moved to Istanbul from the provinces too recently, and were not able to produce full sentences in Judeo-Spanish. Speakers born in Istanbul of parents

who immigrated from the provinces and speakers who moved to Istanbul with their families at a very early age (ten years or younger) were included in the data. Table 4 below summarizes the places of origin of the speakers' parents who came from outside of Istanbul.

**Table 4: Cities of Origin of Parents**

<b>Geographic Area</b>	<b>Place</b>	<b>Number of Parents</b>
Europe	<b>Constanza, Romania</b>	1
	<b>Varna, Bulgaria</b>	1
European Turkey	<b>Edirne</b>	6
	<b>Bursa</b>	2
	<b>Tekirdağ-Çorlu</b>	6
Asian Turkey	<b>Izmir</b>	2
	<b>Çanakkale</b>	2
Other	<b>Cairo</b>	1

As Table 4 illustrates, twenty-one out of the fifty parents of the speakers, or forty-two percent, came from outside of Istanbul. Thus, the migration from the provinces also had a buttressing effect in the community, as it provided additional speakers to the community experiencing its own exodus to Israel. In addition to the Sephardic families who came from the provinces, there were many single men and women who married native Istanbulites. Thus, the data pool included seven speakers whose both parents were born outside of Istanbul, but it also included seven speakers who had one parent (five fathers and two mothers) from the provinces and one parent native to Istanbul. This means that many intermarriages between members of Istanbul and outside communities took place. In many instances, if the outside member married into a Judeo-Spanish speaking family, this encouraged the member to reacquire and use Judeo-Spanish, even if previously he or she was considered a semispeaker. Thus, (F67) is proud that she hails from Bursa and thus she grew up speaking Turkish flawlessly. However, after her family

moved to Istanbul, she eventually had to use Judeo-Spanish as she married into a Judeo-Spanish-speaking family.

(F67) *Yo... en Bursa avlávamos todo en Turko, por esto teníamos un Turko muy bien... Dompués ke vine a Estánbul, tuve esfuegra, tuve marido ke no savía muy bueno el Turko i yaani sin kerer me ambezí el espanyol, ama me lo ambezí bueno.*

(F67) I... In Bursa we always spoke in Turkish, that's why we spoke Turkish very well... After I moved to Istanbul, my mother-in-law and my husband did not know Turkish very well, and, I mean, without being aware, I learned Spanish, but I learned it well.

In spite of this migration from the provinces, I did not detect any other Judeo-Spanish dialects in the speech of the Istanbul community. This is probably because the children of the immigrants learned the Judeo-Spanish dialect as it was spoken in Istanbul. That is, the Istanbulite dialect probably served as the prestige norm, since Istanbul was the most important city in Turkey. However, I did observe some differences in the Judeo-Spanish equivalents for *after*. Thus, (F67) with Bursa origins says *dompués*, (F58B) and (F49) with Edirne origins say *dospués*, whereas speakers with Istanbulite origins say *después*, although *dospués* is also used. This lexical difference may be due to dialectal substrata, that is, lexical features belonging to the parents' dialect and utilized by the children when speaking the Istanbulite dialect. However, this study considers Judeo-Spanish in Istanbul as one dialectal block.

As migrations from the provinces and the exodus out of Istanbul were reshaping the components of the Sephardic enclave, the community itself was also undergoing geographical changes. These geographic changes included the abandonment of the old Jewish neighborhoods, whether through social or economic mobility, or simply because the *mahalle* no longer served its communal purpose within the framework of the Turkish

Republic. Harris (1979) explains that one of the reasons for the disappearance of Judeo-Spanish is that there are no longer Sephardic communities. Harris (1979) defines a community as a close-knit neighborhood (geographical space) which has a strong cultural force. However, modern Sephardic communities are no longer geographically close, and it is increasingly difficult to keep the younger generation inside the community as many opt to move outside in search of educational, economic, or social opportunities (Harris 1979, 260-1). Even though Harris (1979) was describing this lack of communal cultural force in the Israeli and New York Sephardim, the same pattern applies to the Istanbul community. The disintegration of the old Sephardic neighborhoods, such as Balat in Fatih (in the Golden Horn part of Istanbul) and Kuzguncuk in Üsküdar (in the Asian side), can be observed by studying the residential history of the twenty-five speakers and their parents. As we discussed earlier, twenty-one speakers came from outside Istanbul. Six parents came from “Istanbul,” without revealing any specific neighborhood origins. Table 5 below summarizes the neighborhoods of residence for the Istanbulite parents from which we know more specific residential history. Appendix 1 provides a map of these neighborhoods.

**Table 5: Neighborhoods of the Istanbulite Parents**

<b>Istanbul Area</b>	<b>Neighborhoods</b>	<b>Number of Parents</b>	<b>Age range of Speakers</b>
Golden Horn	<b>Fatih-Balat</b>	7	60-80
	<b>Sirkeci</b>	1	70
Central Istanbul	<b>Hasköy</b>	2	80
	<b>Beyoğlu-Şişhane-Galata</b>	1	54
	<b>Beşiktaş-Ortaköy</b>	5	21-43
	<b>Şişli-Kurtuluş-Nisantaşı</b>	2	30
Asian Istanbul	<b>Üsküdar-Kuzguncuk</b>	2	82-85
	<b>Kadıköy-Göztepe</b>	3	19-54

Table 5 shows that there is also an intergenerational component to neighborhood distribution. Thus, the parents of the older speakers were established in traditionally-Jewish neighborhoods such as Balat and Kuzguncuk, whereas the parents of the younger speakers settled in Kadıköy and Beşiktaş-Ortaköy, in the Greater Istanbul area. The data for the speakers themselves shows a higher sense of mobility (except for M21 and F19, who still live with their parents). That is, not only a movement away from the traditional Jewish areas of Istanbul, but also an increase in the number of neighborhoods that each speaker has lived in for at least five years. Thus, (F80A) has parents who came from Balat and from Hasköy, but even though she was born in Balat, she lived in Beyoğlu most of her life. (M30)'s parents come from Şişli, where he was born, but he lived in Gayrettepe, Ortaköy, Üsküdar, and finally returned to Gayrettepe, near Beşiktaş. Table 6 below recaps the residential history of the twenty-five speakers interviewed. The higher number of speakers is due to the inclusion of speakers whose parents were not native to Istanbul and because all places where the speaker resided for more than five years were included.

**Table 6: Speakers' Residential History**

<b>Istanbul Area</b>	<b>Neighborhoods</b>	<b>Number of Speakers</b>	<b>Age range of Speakers</b>
Golden Horn	<b>Fatih-Balat</b>	3	60-82
	<b>Sirkeci</b>	0	0
Central Istanbul	<b>Hasköy</b>	1	80
	<b>Beyoğlu-Şişhane-Galata</b>	9	43-85
	<b>Beşiktaş-Ortaköy</b>	4	21-73
	<b>Şişli-Kurtuluş-Nisantası</b>	9	30-80
Asian Istanbul	<b>Üsküdar-Kuzguncuk</b>	2	30-44
	<b>Kadıköy-Göztepe</b>	6	19-82
Other Periphery	<b>İstinye</b>	1	25

In comparison to Table 5, we observe that very few speakers have stayed in the place of residence of their parents. Whereas Jewish Balat was the place of residence for the majority of Istanbulite parents, only three out of twenty five speakers lived in Balat at any point. The preferred neighborhoods for the twenty-five speakers seem to be Beyoğlu-Şişhane-Galata, Şişli-Kurtuluş-Nisantaşı, and Beşiktaş-Ortaköy in Central Istanbul and Kadıköy-Göztepe in Asian Istanbul. Thus, the Istanbul Sephardim are spread over larger distances than their forebears, although emigration has rendered their population smaller than that of their parents' and grandparents' generations. According to the Chief Rabbinate's website, services to the Jewish community reflect both the old and the new patterns of settlement. Thus, two kosher restaurants are found in Beyoğlu, the Jewish hospital is in Balat, the homes for the aged are in Hasköy and in Galata (Beyoğlu), the main synagogues are situated in Hasköy, Şişli, Ortaköy, Balat, Sirkeci, and Kuzguncuk, the Jewish school is located in Ulus, the Jewish cemeteries lie in Hasköy, Ulus, Ortaköy, and Kunguncuk.<sup>7</sup> Even though the community's services are spread over a large geographic area, there is a sense that the young Sephardim often seek to settle near these services. Thus, (M30) explains that:

To be Jewish in Turkey you cannot live except in Istanbul or Izmir or something like that. It's very difficult because we have some traditions and we have some rules to live here. And to be honest, you cannot live wherever you want in Istanbul. We have common parts, Gayrettepe, Ulus, Nisantaşı. But there are a lot of parts in Istanbul so we cannot live. For example, Bahçılar, because there are a lot of people living [there], but none of the Jewish people are living there.

In any case, the fragmentation of the community implies that Judeo-Spanish no longer exists in a large geographical space such as a neighborhood, but it is limited to individual homes disconnected from a large community.

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<sup>7</sup> <http://www.musevicemaati.com>

**3.3.2. Language Domains.** The demise of the Sephardic neighborhood greatly limited the number of language domains in which the children could hear and acquire Judeo-Spanish. Put another way, the lack of geographical space contributed to the reduction of contextual space. As noted in Chapter 1, the research of Dorian (1981) and Schmidt (1985) defines language endangerment as the reduction of the language's functional range or domain. Sala (1971) perceived this earlier in the Bucharest dialect, as he concluded that the "disappearance of Judeo-Spanish consists above all in the reduction of the sphere of its usage... and the diminution of the number of its speakers" (Sala 1971, 13). We have already observed that Turkish and Hebrew are replacing Judeo-Spanish in the religious domain, and that Turkish has a monopoly on most linguistic domains of the Sephardic community such as education and business. In her research on the New York and Israeli communities in the late 1970s, Harris (1979) listed six domains in which Judeo-Spanish was still present. These domains are 1) language of the home, 2) language of older people or grandmother language, 3) secret language, 4) humor language, 5) lingua franca with other relatives, and 6) modified as Castilian or Latin American Spanish for professional uses (Harris 1979, 127-130). I observed that Judeo-Spanish in Istanbul occupies the domains mentioned above, although not to the extent of Harris's New York and Israel speakers.

Judeo-Spanish in Istanbul can be considered the language of the home simply because it is the only physical space in which it may be spoken. The "Turkish Only" campaigns are still fresh in the memories of the speakers, and Judeo-Spanish is simply not spoken outside in the street. (F60) described this situation as:

*Komo bivimos en Turkía, mozós avlamos en Turko, porke afuera en las kayes kale avlar el Turko porke viene muy negro al oído kuando se avla otra lingua akí. Por modo de esto, avlamos todo en Turko.*

Since we live in Turkey, we speak Turkish, because outside in the streets you need to speak Turkish because it sounds very bad to the ear when someone speaks another language here. Because of this, we always speak Turkish.

Five of the older speakers said that they currently speak Judeo-Spanish at home with their siblings, children, and grandchildren. These speakers were (F80A), (F80B), (M84), (F82), (F80A), and (F70). (M69) speaks with his wife and with other relatives but not with his children. Surprisingly, six of the younger speakers currently use Judeo-Spanish at home when speaking to older relatives such as a parent or grandparent. These speakers were (F60), (F54), (F58B), (F49), (F43), and (M30). The individual cases of (F60) and (F49) are interesting because even though they acquired Judeo-Spanish from their parents at an early age, they did not use the language until they married into families in which one of the elder in-laws (mothers-in-law) was more proficient in Judeo-Spanish than in Turkish. They explain:

(F60) *Kon la esfuegra todos avlávamos en Espanyol en kaza.*

(F60) At home, all of us spoke in Spanish with my mother-in-law.

(F49) *Kon mi suegra ke kaji no savía el Turko avlávamos en Espanyol.*

(F49) We spoke Spanish with my mother-in-law, who didn't know enough Turkish.

In total, only eleven out of the twenty-five speakers stated that they speak some Judeo-Spanish at home. Even though Judeo-Spanish is no longer the prevalent language in the Sephardic home, the fact that it is spoken at some level may encourage the younger

generation to acquire it and the older generation to transmit the language. The role of the home domain in language transmission will be further discussed in section 3.4.

Judeo-Spanish may also exist as the language of the older generation or as the language used by the younger generation to communicate with the older generation. As we discussed above, the six younger speakers who use Judeo-Spanish at home do so with older members of the family. Also, as we observed in section 3.1, more than two-thirds of the speakers in the data pool were age fifty or older. Of the seven speakers who claim to use Judeo-Spanish with friends, six are age sixty or older. Thus, Judeo-Spanish may exist as the language that may be spoken at a certain age. For example, (F70) claims that even though she heard Judeo-Spanish growing up, she never spoke it at home or elsewhere. She began to use the language with friends after she turned sixty-five years old. The idea that there is a certain age at which it is permissible to speak Judeo-Spanish may be linked to erroneous theories about the acquisition of Turkish. For example, (M30) noted that the older generation at home

doesn't want to talk this language because they think it's making their pronunciation bad, that it's affecting their pronunciation bad in Turkish.

The disparaging attitudes towards having an accent when speaking Turkish were also echoed by (M82) as he justified why it was important to speak Turkish to the younger generation:

(M82) *En la mas parte del negocio te aze avlar Turko. El Turko ke avlamos mozós no era lojik, no era bueno, tienes un aksán ke estás avlando.*

(M82) You need to speak Turkish because of most businesses. Our Turkish didn't make sense, it wasn't good, you had an accent when you would speak.

The older generation that is bilingual in Turkish and Spanish may refrain from speaking Judeo-Spanish at home if they believe that this will affect their children's and grandchildren's pronunciation of Turkish. Thus, when the speakers have reached advanced age and the younger generation has moved out, they feel free to use Judeo-Spanish once again.

Judeo-Spanish may also exist with a limited function to serve as a secret language when speakers do not want to reveal their topic of conversation. The language may occur briefly as code words (such as M30's mother who uses *lonso*, literally "bear," to refer to someone in the street who is rude and impolite) or in whole conversations. However, the usage of Judeo-Spanish as a secret language by older relatives or by themselves was reported only by three speakers: (F70), (F44), and (M30):

(F70) *Ke te kontaré una koza. Kuando yo era chika mi mamá avlava kon las vizinas, kon las amigas avlava en Djudeo-Espanyol i yo no avlava del todo i les paresía ke no entendía nada. Estava en un kantón meldando mi libro, estava oyendo todo lo ke se dize. Kuando tenía ocho anyos, kontaron una koza un poko falanta i yo me reí, entonses entendieron ke estava entendiendo i kortaron de avlar kozas ke no kalía.*

(F70) I will tell you something. When I was little, my mom spoke Judeo-Spanish to the neighbors and to her friends, and I didn't speak it at all, and they thought that I didn't understand it. I was sitting in the corner, reading my book, and I was listening to everything that was being said. When I was eight years old, they said something a little inappropriate, and I laughed, and they realized that I understood everything, and they stopped talking about things that they weren't supposed to.

(F44) *I mi padre kon mi padre [sic] kuando kerían avlar una koza sekreto es ansí en Espanyol, ansí me ambezí, es una lingua de áyri djente.*

(F44) When my father and my father [sic] wanted to talk about something secret, it's like that, that's how I learned, it's a language when others [are around].

(F44) *Un poko kon mis amigas kuando keremos avlar una koza sekreto... esto es una lingua de sekretos.*

(F44) Sometimes with my friends when we want to say something secret... this is a language for secrets.

(M30) They are using this language when they are speaking something that they don't want us to understand.

(M30) For example, we are trying to speak something around her [his niece] that we don't want her to understand.

The usage of Judeo-Spanish as a language of secrets was also reported in the New York and Israeli communities interviewed by Harris (1979). One of her speakers exclaims "I'm glad my parents had so many secrets!" because her perception is that she was able to hear and acquire the language this way (Harris 1979, 128). Thus, some of the younger Istanbul speakers maintain the language in this limited context.

Judeo-Spanish may also be heard when telling humorous stories or other forms of entertainment. However, only (F85), (F80A), and (F70) were able to remember songs or jokes in Judeo-Spanish. (F70) was able to tell a *Djohá* story, which is a traditional and humorous account with the trickster Djohá as the central character. (F54) reported that this is the only situation in which she would use Judeo-Spanish with her friends.

(F54) *Uzo el Espanyol kon siertos amigos hudíos para azer umor...*

(F54) I use Spanish with some Jewish friends to be funny...

Sometimes the Jewish community center in Istanbul sets up theatrical performances in which Judeo-Spanish is used to some degree for comical effect. The actors involved in these projects are exposed to Judeo-Spanish, which in turns encourages them to learn and the use the language more. Thus, (M30) has benefit from these "tiyatros":

(M30) But when I began to attend this theater class, I began to understand everything so they were also shocking.... My Spanish, my Ladino is better... because I have attended a lot of theaters, so they were using this Ladino a lot, so I have learned a lot about, but to be honest, I cannot tell that I know it. It's ok, I can understand everything.

Humor and entertainment may be one of the few domains in which the language shows some promise, especially since it was used in this context by some of younger members of the community. I must also point out that in the past two decades or so traditional Sephardic music in Judeo-Spanish has experienced a revival worldwide, and that there are currently a plethora of musical groups that offer a wide variety of styles and performances.

Harris (1979) also listed Judeo-Spanish as a lingua franca with relatives living in other countries (Harris 1979, 129). Because each country in the Sephardic Diaspora has imposed their own language policies, relatives who live in different countries may not share any languages in common, except Judeo-Spanish. As we observed in Chapter 2, Turkish Jewry experienced mass migrations to the United States and Israel. Therefore, it is not uncommon that Turkish Sephardim have relatives in these countries. (F80A), (F80C), and (F73) have relatives in Israel; (F80B), (F80D), and (F70) have relatives in the United States; and (M69), (F58A), and (F54) have relatives in both countries. They all reported that they often use Judeo-Spanish when speaking on the phone with their relatives, since they are not very proficient in Hebrew or in English. It is interesting also that many of their relatives in the United States have acquired a variety of Latin American Spanish, thus buttressing their command of Spanish (although introducing lexical and phonological Americanisms into their Judeo-Spanish). Thus, (F80B) speaks in

Spanish with her cousin in Los Angeles, who has acquired some sort of mixture of Judeo-Spanish and Mexican Spanish. Similarly, (F70) has a son and grandchildren in California, and they also use Spanish to communicate. Her grandchildren have learned Latin American Spanish in school, but they are able to speak with her. And (F80D) has a daughter in Florida, with whom she is able to speak in Spanish, albeit in a Judeo-Spanish and Cuban Spanish mixture. I must note that Judeo-Spanish, in comparison to the different Latin American and Castilian dialects, has maintained a phonological system very close to that of Old Spanish. Furthermore, in addition to lexical elements similar to Old Spanish, Judeo-Spanish has also acquired vocabulary from Hebrew, French, Turkish, Italian, and other languages. Therefore, the phonological and lexical differences between Judeo-Spanish and the Latin American varieties are striking.

Judeo-Spanish as the lingua franca of the Sephardim may be one of the last domains in which it may survive. When Sala interviewed the moribund community of Bucharest in 1971, he noted that there existed about 150 individuals, in their fifties and sixties, who only used Spanish whenever they would meet outside their corresponding families that had already experienced a complete shift to Romanian or German (Sala 1971, 15).

The last domain listed by Harris (1979), related to the idea of a Sephardic lingua franca, is the usage of Judeo-Spanish modified to some degree to fit Castilian or Latin American models for professional purposes. For example, Harris noted that her New York informants who worked in the garment industry often used Judeo-Spanish in a modified way that resembled Puerto Rican Spanish (Harris 1979, 130). (M30)'s aunt was able to

use her Judeo-Spanish, to her astonishment, when she got lost in Boston while visiting the United States:

(M30) In the beginning she couldn't communicate with people, but then she has discovered that people were talking in Spanish, so she began to use her special Ladino, and then we were talking by the phone, she told me I could easily communicate with people because all of them were talking in Spanish here, Spanish is very common.

Only three speakers said that they use Judeo-Spanish or some form of Spanish at their work place. (F44) reported that she uses Judeo-Spanish for journalistic purposes and with her friends at their workplace, the headquarters of the Jewish newspaper *Şalom*. (F70) is a volunteer at the *Şalom* newspaper and a frequent contributor to their Judeo-Spanish section. (M30), who works in the tourism industry, sometimes modifies his Judeo-Spanish when he encounters clients from Spain:

(M30) Actually, most of clients were from Spain, so we have to speak Spanish, so first of all I was really afraid of using my language because I couldn't think that, uh, they can understand me, but they could understand me, so it was really funny for me, so I began to go to meetings with them. I began to take them to the airport, to the hotel....

The value of knowing Judeo-Spanish as an essential asset to be competitive in the world market, in which Spanish is increasingly becoming important, was expressed by several speakers.

(F49) *No estamos avlando mucho. Antes avlavan Espanyol, aval dospués ampesaron avlar en Turko, agora yiné están avlando en Espanyol, porke Espanyol está en la vida, todo ay Espanyol. En la Amérika, en Espanya, Meksika, todos están avlando en Espanyol.*

(F49) We are not speaking [Spanish] much. They spoke Spanish before, but then they began to speak Turkish, and now once again they are speaking Spanish, because Spanish is [to make] a living, Spanish is everywhere. Everybody in America, Spain, and Mexico is speaking Spanish.

(F44) *I agora agora los hóvenes supieron la valor de esta lingua i agora agora se kieren ambezarse esta lingua.*

(F44) And very recently young people have realized the value of this language, and very recently they want to learn this language.

I was not able to investigate fully the teaching of Spanish in Turkey by the Cervantes Institute, a Spain-based organism that fosters Spanish language and culture abroad, or by Turkish high schools. However, (F49)'s son studied Spanish briefly in high school as an elective. And, even though he was not able to continue studying Spanish, this provided him some passive understanding of Judeo-Spanish.

(F49) *Mi ijo kere ambezarse bueno en Espanyol. Está entendiendo anval no está pudiendo djeváp.*

(F49) My son wants to learn Spanish well. He understands but he can't reply [in Spanish].

In any case, it seems that speakers are aware of some of the phonological and lexical differences between Castilian or Latin American Spanish and Judeo-Spanish. Thus, (F80B) and (F54) had hesitations about using Judeo-Spanish *la arabá* because they had heard *el coche* and *el carro*, 'car' from their California relatives. (M30) noted that these lexical differences are based on Old Spanish versus modern Spanish words, and he makes a comparative analogy to Ottoman versus Modern Turkish:

(M30) But logically, I think that, I don't know if it's true, but I think it's like our Ottoman Turkish. The old people in Turkey are using a lot of Ottoman words, it's like this, I think. For example we use in Turkish "success" *başarı*, but the old people are using *muvařak*. It's like that.... I was using *trokar*, instead of *cambiar*, because in Ladino I heard about it *trokar*, but in real Spanish we are using *cambiar*.

Either because they have heard their relatives or because they have been exposed to Castilian and Latin American music and movies, many speakers displayed sporadic

replacements of Judeo-Spanish /dj/ and /j/ as Castilian and Latin American /h/. Thus, (F85) and (M30) *iho* ('son,' Judeo-Spanish *ijo*), (M82) and (M30) *muher* ('woman,' Judeo-Spanish *mujer*), (F80B) and (F58) *vieha* ('old,' Judeo-Spanish *vieja*); (F54) *hudíos* ('Jews,' Judeo-Spanish *djudiós*). In many instances, the speaker replaced the sound, only to revert to the Judeo-Spanish pronunciation when the same word reappeared later in the sentence. For example,

(F80B) Mi tía **vieha** kere ke la vijite en sivdad **vieja**.

The substitution of Judeo-Spanish /j/ and /dj/ by Castilian /h/ seems to be the only phonological feature perceived by most of the community, and it is one of the key changes that speakers make when they modify their Judeo-Spanish in professional settings with speakers of Castilian and Latin American dialects. (M30) describes an encounter he had with Mexican Spanish in Houston:

(M30) My friends from Mexico, when I was in Houston, I told, "*Tienes ijas,ijos?*" She didn't understand. Then, I corrected myself, "*Tienes ihas, ihos?*" They understood. But in Ladino, *mujer* it's *muher, vieja, vieha...*

Modified Judeo-Spanish as a way to converge to Latin American and Castilian Spanish used in professional settings may be the only domain that shows a promising future for the language, since the younger generation observes the economic benefits of speaking Spanish in the world market. The question is if this domain would encourage some sort of dialect diglossia, in which Judeo-Spanish preserves its phonological, lexical, and syntactic characteristics in Turkey and it adapts to Latin American and Castilian in certain contexts, or if it would lead to an entire dialectical shift in which Judeo-Spanish

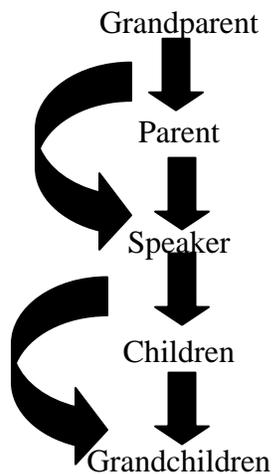
losses its characteristics as the young generation only use the Latin American and Peninsular adaptations.

Almost three decades later, the domains that Harris (1979) described for the New York and Israeli communities still apply to some degree to the Istanbul community today. Even though Judeo-Spanish as the language of the home, the language of older people, a secret language, the language of humor, a Sephardic lingua franca, and a base for Castilian and Latin American Spanish may appear to have enough domains to survive for the next generations, I must point out that these domains are fragile, since, with the exception of using Judeo-Spanish to acquire the more commercial Castilian and Latin American varieties, these domains are located on the periphery and have very little economic or social value. Judeo-Spanish as the language of the home and of the older generation may disappear when the speakers who are more proficient in Turkish grow older, and thus Turkish becomes the sole language in this domain. However, it is encouraging that, three decades after Harris's work, Judeo-Spanish has essentially maintained the same linguistic domains. The only major domain loss for the Turkish Sephardim is that Judeo-Spanish is no longer the language of religion. The six remaining domains may serve as a stepping stone for the younger generation to hear and acquire the language.

**3.4. Language Acquisition and Transmission.** All twenty-five speakers agreed that the home was the domain where they grew up hearing Judeo-Spanish the most and where they ultimately acquired the language. Ideally, speakers grew up in situations where they

spoke Judeo-Spanish to their parents and grandparents, and, after marriage, they continued to speak Judeo-Spanish to their children and grandchildren. This ideal situation, however, was rarely reported, and only (F80A) claimed that she spoke Judeo-Spanish with her parents and grandparents, with her children and grandchildren. According to her, she and her daughter raised her grandson, and they spoke to him in Turkish and Judeo-Spanish. This linguistic transmission is summarized in Diagram 6 below.

**Diagram 6: The Transmission of Judeo-Spanish at Home**



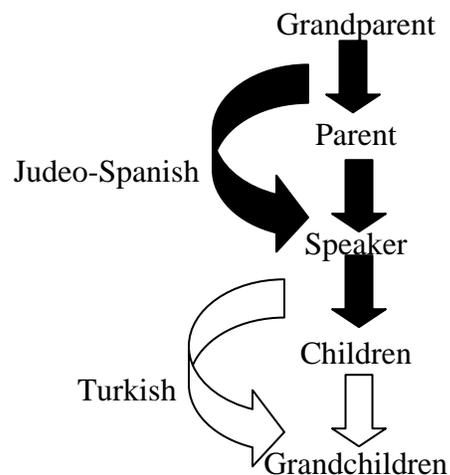
Unfortunately, once the younger members of the family move out of the home, Turkish seems to take over. Thus, (F80A) complained that now when she speaks to her grandson on the phone, he uses both Turkish and Spanish in his replies.

*(F80A) Mozotros ke bivimos en la Turkía avlamos en Turko mas mucho, en Espanyol no avlamos mucho. Antes no avlávamos en Turko. Yo le avlo en Espanyol i el en vezes me responde kualo en Turko kualo en Espanyol.*

(F80A) We live in Turkey and we mostly speak Turkish, we don't speak much Spanish. Before, we didn't speak Turkish. I speak to him [her grandson] in Spanish and he sometimes replies some things in Turkish, some things in Spanish.

The majority of (F80A)'s generation, however, matched the transmission in Diagram 7 below, in which they used Judeo-Spanish in all previous generations, and with their children, but both themselves and their children employ Turkish with their grandchildren. (F80B), (F80C), (F80D), (M84), and (F85) reported the intergenerational transmission in Diagram 7.

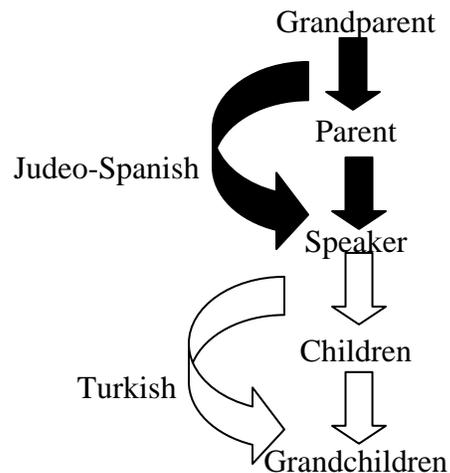
**Diagram 7: The Transmission of Judeo-Spanish and Turkish at Home.**



Other speakers, ages 60-82, displayed more interruptions in the intergenerational transmission of Judeo-Spanish, as they chose to speak both Turkish and Judeo-Spanish to their children. Eventually, Judeo-Spanish took a secondary and minor role as Turkish became the only language of communication between children and parent, as illustrated in Diagram 8. Speakers who fit this model of intergenerational transmission where Judeo-Spanish was acquired from their parents but was not passed down to their children

were (F49), (F54), (F58B), (F60), (M69), (F73), (M82), and (F82). This break in transmission resulted in the speakers' children turning out to be semispeakers at best, having a passive knowledge of Judeo-Spanish or limited proficiency, and feeling much more at ease in Turkish.

**Diagram 8: The Transmission of Judeo-Spanish and Turkish to Children.**



This also implies that the third generation was exposed very little to Judeo-Spanish.

(F58B), (F60), and (M69) describe this break in the transmission of the language:

(F58B) *Tengo dos hijos buchukes ke no avlan Espanyol, ma en Turko.*

(F58B) I have two twin sons who don't speak Spanish, only Turkish.

(F60) *Los hijos konosen un poko el Espanyol ama no tanto komo mi, lo mas avlan en Turko. Baazen, muy ralo, avlan kon mi en Espanyol. Yo les avlo en Espanyol i eos me responden en Turko, ma los inyetos no entiendien hich.*

(F60) My children know little Spanish, but not as well as I do, for the most part they speak Turkish. Sometimes, very rarely, they speak Spanish with me. I speak Spanish to them and they reply in Turkish, but my grandchildren do not understand at all.

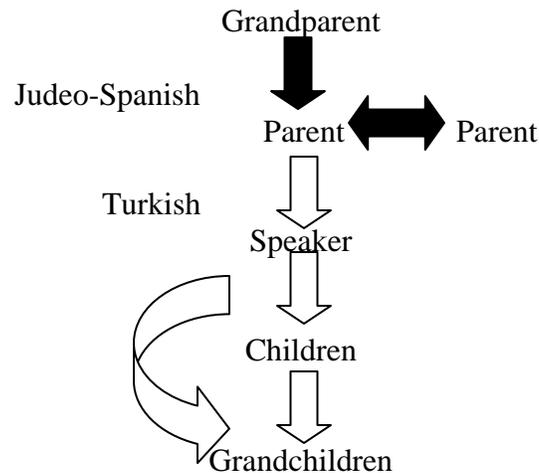
(M69) *Mi ija, mi ijo nunca no pudieron avlar mucho en Espanyol pero avlaron todo en Turko ... agora todos los mansevos... están avlando todo en Turko i no ay*

*djente muncho ke están avlando mas de los komo a mi, ke tienen anyos de setenta, ochenta, eos avlan Espanyol en kaza i en la kaye mizmo, ama la mansevez no.*

(M69) My daughter and son... were never able to speak much Spanish, but they said everything in Turkish... now all the young people... are always speaking Turkish and there isn't a lot of people who speak [Spanish] except those like me, who are seventy, eighty years old, they speak Spanish at home and even in the street, but not our youth.

In many instances, these passive speakers are able to acquire the language, either because their parents and older relatives used the language among themselves or because Judeo-Spanish and Turkish bilingualism existed inside the home. Diagram 9 below attempts to account for the acquisition of Judeo-Spanish by these speakers.

**Diagram 9: The Transmission of Judeo-Spanish to Passive and Semispeakers.**



Speakers who claim that they did not speak Judeo-Spanish at home while growing up, but that they understood the language and were able to reply to their parents and grandparents in French or Turkish were (F70), (F67), (F58A), and (F43).

(F70) *Entendía todo, no avlava. Mi nona me avlava en Espanyol yo le respondía en Fransés.*

(F70) I understood everything, but I didn't speak it. My grandmother would speak to me in Spanish, and I would reply in French.

(F67) *En chika yo no avlí Espanyol, ma oía de padres.*

(F67) When I was small, I didn't speak Spanish, but I heard it from my parents.

(F43) *En chika yo kon dingunos no avlava, solo oía mi madre kon mi padre avlava, ama yo no avlava solo oía. Agora no estamos avlando hich, kon mi madre baazen, ama kon los ijos no.*

(F43) When I was small I didn't speak [Spanish] with anyone, I just heard my mother speaking with my father, but I didn't speak it, I just heard it. Now we are not speaking [Spanish] at all, with my mother sometimes, but not with my children.

The case of (F70) is remarkable because she currently speaks Spanish to her children and grandchildren. In his memoirs, Marcel Cohen writes that the only reason why he is able to write in Judeo-Spanish is because his parents, who emigrated from Turkey to France, never stopped speaking "Jewish" at home.

*Ma en kaza nunca desharon de avlar Djudió i ansina es ke yiné yo me embezí.*

But at home they never stopped speaking "Jewish," and that's how I learned it again.

(Cohen 2006, 73)

This demonstrates that semispeakers or passive speakers can acquire and use the language and be able to transmit it to the next generation. Any revitalizing plans must take into account these speakers as a good resource for language transmission.

Some of the youngest members in my proficiency continuum were in a situation similar to Diagram 8 because their grandparents played an important role in the transmission of Judeo-Spanish. Thus, even though their parents spoke to them in Turkish, their

grandparents continued using Judeo-Spanish with them. Unfortunately, in many cases, once the grandparent passed away, the entire family stopped using Judeo-Spanish. Speakers and semispeakers who acquired Judeo-Spanish from their grandparents in my data were (F44), (F40), (M30), and (M21). However, (M21) was not able to produce any sentences in Spanish, but was able to recognize some words. In some instances, these few phrases or lexical items may serve as a base to acquire Judeo-Spanish later on, as (M30) did after being encouraged to use Judeo-Spanish in his theater classes, and (40) reported that:

(F40) *Ya está saviendo, ya savo ya, de chikéz yaani küçükten kalmış, öğrenmişim bu şekilde devam ediyor.*

(F40) I'm beginning to know now, I know now, I mean, from what remained from my childhood, from what it seems that I had learned, in this way, it continues.

(F44) noted that even though her parents used Spanish among themselves, they did not use the language with her. Instead, it was her grandmother who transmitted the language:

(F44) *Es lo ke me ambezí de la granmamá. A vezes me se está viniendo al tino, a vezes se me está olvidando.*

(F44) It's what I learned from my grandmother. Sometimes it comes to mind, sometimes I forget it.

(M30) claims that his mother is playing this role, as she is currently making a conscious effort to speak Spanish around her grandchildren (his nephews). Thus, he explains:

(M30) Actually mom is specially speaking Spanish next to her grandchildren, and... my sister's big girl that is ten years old is understanding everything in Spanish. For example, we are trying to speak something around here that we don't want her to understand, *esta no kome esto*, she always understands, and she's telling that, "I understand what you said," "What did I say?" and she's translating it in Turkish, "how do you know I don't like to eat that?"

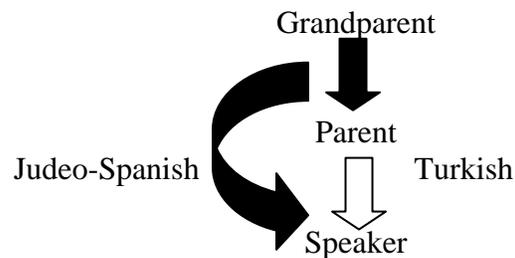
Similarly, (F80B) also points out that her granddaughter is remembering some of the words she heard as a child from her.

(F80B) *Mi inyeta no avló nunca en Espanyol, ma oyen el granpapá, la granmamá ke avlavan en Espanyol en kaza i ea entiende todo, ya save los biervos.*

(F80B) My granddaughter never spoke Spanish, but they [the grandchildren] heard the grandfather, the grandmother that they would speak Spanish at home, and she understands everything, she already knows words.

Diagram 10 below attempts to reconstruct this language transmission:

**Diagram 10: The Transmission of Judeo-Spanish by the Grandparents**



Acquisition by a grandparent may also foment the notion that Judeo-Spanish is the language used for the older generation. Harris (1979) attested this as the greatest number of her New York and Israeli informants said that they used or currently speak Judeo-Spanish to a grandparent (Harris 1979, 121).

Diagrams 7-10 account for the acquisition and transmission of Judeo-Spanish for most of the speakers in my data. There are, of course, a few exceptions. Thus, (M95), the oldest informant in my data, actually acquired Judeo-Spanish from his grandparents, and not his parents, and yet he is as proficient as the other speakers in their eighties. (F80B) said that:

(F80B) *Todos avlávamos en Turko en kaza, ma mi marido le plazía mucho el Espanyol i les dizía a los ijos ke se deven ambezar porke es una lingua muy ermoza.*

(F80b) All of us spoke Turkish at home, but my husband liked Spanish a lot, and he said to our children that they should learn [Spanish] because it is a very beautiful language.

Thus, (F80B)'s family decided to maintain and transmit Judeo-Spanish simply because they appreciated its value as a language, not for its economic value. (M25) was exposed to Judeo-Spanish by both his parents and his grandparents, and yet he is not able to speak in full sentences in Judeo-Spanish. Thus, the models in Diagrams 7-10 may need some revision, but we can observe that the traditional intergenerational transmission of the language becomes fragmented with the younger speakers. We can also note that, for the most part, speakers who currently are sixty or younger did not actively use the language while growing up, but they were passively exposed to the language at home.

Another commonality among the acquisition of Judeo-Spanish for these speakers is that they mention a female figure, a mother, mother-in-law, or a grandmother, as the main source of the language. Harris (1979) goes as far as to claim that in New York and in Israel, women are the members of the family who pass down the language to their children, at least more than the men who have to prepare them for the outside world. When answering *En chiko/a kon ken avlava Espanyol?* (Who did you speak Spanish with when you were small), (F70), (F54), (F44), (F40), (M30), (M21), and (F19) specifically mentioned their grandmother, and (F80A), (F80B), (F58B), (F49) mentioned their mother and later their father. When answering *Agora kon ken avla Espanyol?* (Who do you speak Spanish with now?) (F82), (F80A), and (F80B) mentioned their daughters

specifically, (M69) mentioned that he speaks with his wife, (M30) mentioned his girlfriend, and (F60) and (F49) mentioned their mothers-in-law specifically. Perhaps the language is passed down primarily by the women of the community because the home is still the domain in which Judeo-Spanish can be heard, away from the Turkish nationalistic attitudes on the outside. This pattern, however, is changing. From the eighteen women that were interviewed, only seven reported that they were homemakers, and most of these were sixty years of age or older. The rest had worked in a variety of professions such as seamstress, diplomat, nurse, farmer, accountant, secretary, esthetician, journalist, and student. Thus, as the new generation has benefited from the women's rights movement and Sephardic women occupy new spheres of work, it seems doubtful the Judeo-Spanish will be preserved solely by the women of the community.

Some speakers are aware that the reason why the language is dying is simply because the new generations grew up without hearing it.

*(F73) El dert de agora es ansina, no ay mucho avlar en Espanyol, todo en Turko, i munchas ijikas i mansevikos no saven avlar en Espanyol. Todo avlan en Turko. De ke manera? Porke se uzaron de chikos.*

(F73) Today's affliction is like this, there isn't much use of Spanish, everything is in Turkish, and many young women and men do not know Spanish. They always speak Turkish. Why? Because that's the way they are used to since they were small.

However, many speakers are quick to blame Jewish institutions for not promoting the language, especially when they compare them to Greek and Armenian institutions that have done an extensive labor to revive their languages among their communities in Istanbul. Thus, (F58B) and (M30) place the responsibility to teach Judeo-Spanish to the younger generation on Jewish educational institutions. (F58B) even claims that language

loss puts in peril the entire community by assimilation to the Turkish language and culture.

(F58B) *Ma los Gregos o los Ermenís no izieron esto. En primero se ambezaron sus linguas i después se ambezaron el Turko, i mozós tenemos eskola djudía, ma los Ermenís, los Gregos preferan siempre de mandar a las kriaturas a sus eskolas i no a las eskolas Turkas. Mozós izimos al kontrerio, los metimos en eskolas Turkas i este modo kuando fue el tiempo de las universitás se están asimilando.*

(F58B) But the Greeks and the Armenians do not do this. First they learn their languages and then they learn Turkish, and we have a Jewish school, but Armenians and Greeks always prefer to send their children to their schools, and not to Turkish schools. We did the opposite, we sent them to Turkish schools, and, like this, by the time they go to college, they are assimilating.

(M30) Some of my friends can understand but most of my friends cannot even understand Ladino. So when I think about this, I think that it's a... pity to this language. For example, I appreciate the Armenian people here. When they have a baby, they are first talking in their language and then Turkish. Most of the Armenian people here talk very good Armenian, but we cannot do this.

Perhaps “assimilation” is the best word that can describe the younger generation of Sephardim. This is best illustrated as Turkish replaces a very small, but significant domain of Sephardic culture: name giving. As we learned in Chapter 2, the Sephardim adopted French names under the influence of the Alliance Israélite Universelle in an effort to appear Westernized or European. Similarly, in an attempt to appear as ethnic Turks, the current trend is to use Turkish names for the younger generation. This is especially crucial when the young Sephardim leave their communities to do their compulsory military service and interact with Turkish citizens from all over the country. Several speakers remarked on this:

(M84) *Los nombres se izieron “Erol,” “Alper.” Yo so Albert, al inyeto le dezimos “Alper.”*

(M84) Their names became “Erol,” “Alper.” My name is Albert, and we named my grandson “Alper.”

(M82) *I los nombres ay muchos ke se trokaron. Par eksample, ken se yamava Avram, se yama Ibrahim.*

(M82) And many names were changed. For example, someone named “Avram,” is [now] Ibrahim.

(F58B) *Porke dospués de mozotros, dospués del akel muestra los ijos no s’ambezimos de el Espanyol i esta lingua se va pedirse [sic] porke siempre mozotros komo bivimos en la Turkía, moz espantimos, siempre estuvimos mas cuadrados metimos nombres Turkos a los ijos por modo del askerlık ke tengan nombres Turkos, ke les parese ke son muzulmanes, ke se komporten mijor.*

(F58B) Because after us, after our uh [generation], we didn’t teach Spanish to our children and this language will be lost because, since we live in Turkey, we were scared, we were always careful, and we gave Turkish names to our children so that they have Turkish names when they do military service, so that they (the non-Jewish Turkis) think that they are Muslim, so that they behave better [towards their children].

This cultural division is present in my speaker pool as well, as the four youngest speakers, (M30), (M25), (M21), and (F19) had Turkish names.

Even though a complete list of language revitalization institutions and efforts in Turkey and abroad is beyond the scope of this dissertation, I must mention that there are several organizations funded by the Jewish community that attempt to preserve the language in Istanbul and Izmir. For example, recently the weekly *Şalom* launched a supplement *El Amaneser* entirely in Judeo-Spanish. Some speakers also reported that the Cervantes Institute in Istanbul had special Spanish courses for Sephardic Jews. Moreover, universities also offer symposia and conferences that deal with every topic of Sephardic culture. Some universities in the United States, Israel, and France teach Judeo-Spanish as part of their curricula. Radio Exterior España based in Spain emits a weekly broadcast

entirely in Judeo-Spanish. This is part of a worldwide effort to maintain the language and to try to preserve it for the future, but ultimately the current generation will decide if Judeo-Spanish continues to be part of Turkish Jewry or if the complete shift to Turkish takes place in the twenty-first century.

**CHAPTER 4: STRUCTURAL CONSEQUENCES IN  
ISTANBULITE JUDEO-SPANISH**

#### 4.1. Languages in Shift and Structural Changes.

Researchers who study languages in shift often share the initial reaction that the language appears not to follow any sort of regulatory patterns. While conducting her research on East Sutherland Gaelic, Dorian (1973) observed:

Initially, it was as little apparent to me as to the ... speakers themselves that anything like systematic change was underway in the grammar... My notes seemed to show a dismal patchwork of inconsistencies and (from the point of view of the standard language) mistakes, haphazardly distributed over villages, speakers, and occasions.

(Dorian 1973, 414)

The perception that the language is inconsistent and that it lacks rules is also expressed by the native speakers themselves as they try to teach or record the language, as Halio-Torres (1980) explained as he attempted to describe a universal Judeo-Spanish writing system:

Every Spanish-Jew who speaks the language of his ancestors knows that his dialect is not tightly governed by rules. Almost every one of them speaks differently, having come from a different somewhat isolated community under different influences.

(Halio-Torres 1980, 96)

This apparently erratic linguistic variation results as obligatory rules found in the healthier variety of the language become optional, fail to apply, or as new patterns develop (Cambell and Muntzel 1989, 189). However, recent studies on languages in shift have demonstrated that this variation is not erratic and chaotic, but rather follows underlying rules and mechanisms as in healthy languages. As Schmidt (1985) was conducting research on the Australian language Dyirbal, she realized that apparent 'mistakes' made by the younger generation were not 'ad hoc errors,' but traditional grammatical norms at different levels of simplification (Schmidt 1985, 44). For the most

part, researchers agree that variation in languages in shift is not determined by stylistic or social variables. That is, the language does not vary according to different social groups or social contexts. Thus, Dorian's (1994) study on East Sutherland Gaelic concluded that the language displays little or no stylistic variation simply because the language lacks the wider range of domains it possessed in the mid-twentieth century (Dorian 1994, 666). Similarly, social variation does not play a significant role in languages in shift. Mougeon and Beniak's (1989) study on Welland French spoken in Ontario, Canada, noted that the structural changes in the endangered dialect were present in speakers from all social classes (Mougeon and Beniak 1989, 309). Wolfram (2004, 780), however, admits the possibility that languages in shift may display some social variation. For example, upper class members of the same speech community may have had the opportunity to become bilingual at an earlier stage, thus experiencing a stronger influence from the second language. Likewise, speakers with a more humble background may not have had secondary or bilingual education, maintaining the endangered language longer in a wider variety of domains than the upper classes. For the Judeo-Spanish community in Istanbul, social variation may have come into play when French was exclusive to the upper classes, but the ubiquity of the Alliance Schools and compulsory Turkish instruction effaced a strong social variation, at least in terms of second language usage. In any case, the work of Dorian (1994) suggests that "variation that is fundamentally linked to age and proficiency shows dramatic movement in variant use" (Dorian 1994, 657). Dorian's phrase "dramatic movement" means that the number of variants either increases or decreases according to the speaker's age and proficiency. Because of this, I am investigating language change in terms of age groups and levels of proficiency.

Because language change depends on intergenerational transmission, ideally the researcher will encounter a **proficiency continuum**, in which the older generation is more proficient and uses the language in more domains than the younger generation. At the same time, a proficiency continuum establishes a base line for comparing linguistic forms. Andersen (1982) stipulates that the base line for variation must come within the linguistic group being studied (Andersen 1982, 85). That is, the endangered variety must be compared to former or older versions found in historical texts or in the older generation. Schmidt (1985) utilized data elicited earlier from the same linguistic group and the speech of the older generation in order to study the structural changes displayed by the young Dyirbal community. Silva-Corvalán (1994) used a proficiency continuum in Los Angeles. Sometimes even the older generation contains mostly semispeakers in the language, and thus the language may be compared to approximate external baselines, such as closely related dialects. Thus, Mithun (1989) compared the endangered Cayuga spoken in Oklahoma to the healthier variety spoken in Ontario. Dorian (1981) and (1994) studied both the older generation and the speech of geographically separated villages. Holloway (1997) found only ten semispeakers of Brule Spanish in Ascension Parish, Louisiana, and used the Isleño dialect of Saint Bernard Parish as a comparison base line. In the Judeo-Spanish community in Istanbul, I have found a proficiency continuum, which is the basis of this research. As I conducted these interviews, it was my intuition that the older speakers more readily understood and responded in Judeo-Spanish, as opposed to the younger generation, who preferred to use Turkish or English.

I have focused on the speech of the older generation, as well as documented sources, as a base line to determine what constitutes a structural change.

Structural changes in languages in shift have two sources. They originate either externally, from the second language, or internally, from changes occurring in the first language that are not rooted in the second language. These internal changes also seem to be general to languages in shift. In this chapter, I will first address structural changes that originate externally, and then I will discuss changes triggered internally.

**4.2. Domain Loss, Bilingualism, and Structural Change.** According to the definitions of Dorian (1981) and Schmidt (1985), domain loss determines the progress of language shift. Although there are exceptional cases in which a language dies because its speakers are annihilated through war or natural disasters, for the most part language shift entails speakers gradually changing from one language to another in all the domains that the first language formerly occupied. In order for the second language to take over the domains of the first language, a high level of bilingualism must exist within the speech community in question (Romaine 1989, 39). As we observed in Chapter 3, this is characteristic of the Judeo-Spanish community, since there are no monolinguals and the community is at least bilingual in Turkish.

Most studies that address structural changes possibly introduced through extensive contact with a second language come from the area of language acquisition. This kind of research evaluates the effects of the native or first language (L1) on the acquired or

second language (L2) and even on the third (Cenoz 2003). My research addresses the opposite situation, the effects of the L2, an external source, on the L1. In second language acquisition, this is known as **reverse** or **backward transfer** and its focus has been primarily on lexical items. In fact, the lexicon of a language in shift is one of the first areas affected by loss of domains.

The loss of domains entails the loss of vocabulary used for those particular domains. As we discussed in Chapter 3, younger speakers often remark that their elders had more “words for things” than they do (Dorian 1973, 414). Sala’s (1970) research concluded that Bucharest Judeo-Spanish was experiencing a decrease in vocabulary (Sala 1970, 65). Harris’s (1979) study on Judeo-Spanish varieties in Israel and New York reached a similar conclusion. In fact, the work of Harris (1979) was a purely lexical study which consisted of the translation of one-hundred and thirty words from English, Hebrew, or French (depending on which language the speaker felt more comfortable in), into Judeo-Spanish. Her results revealed that Judeo-Spanish in New York and Israel was suffering from insufficient vocabulary, and that more than twenty percent of the lexicon in the translation exercise was not remembered by her informants (Harris 1979, 110, 152, 188). This lexical void is filled by terms from the second language, as it takes over the domain. Thus, in comparison to phonological or syntactic items, it appears that lexicon is the “most readily borrowable element” (Sankoff 2004, 658).

Lexical items from the dominant language may appear in the language in shift in the form of code switching (the alternate use of two or more language systems) or as borrowings

(the morphological and phonological incorporation of lexical elements into the host language system), or both. These lexical items from the dominant language act as interference, as they are elements of one language while speaking or writing another, or as integration elements, as they are fully incorporated into the language in shift (Mackey 1970, 195). Sankoff (2004) argues that whether these lexical elements come into the language in shift as code switching or as borrowings, they are never fully incorporated, and their usage or adaptation triggers innovations and other structural changes in the receiving language (Sankoff 2004, 643, 647, 650-2, 658; Bavin 1989, 270). In a healthy speech community not experiencing language shift, these innovations and structural changes can be minimized, but a speech community undergoing language shift is greatly affected by these adaptations.

**4.2.1. Structural Consequences in the Phonology.** Lexical items can trigger changes in the structure of the host language because they have phonological information different from that of the host language. Consequently, the lexical item needs to undergo phonological changes to match the phonology of the host language, but it can also cause “subsequent adjustments” in the phonology of the host system (Sankoff 2004, 643). In my data, some speakers noted how Turkish words are “adjusted” to fit Judeo-Spanish phonology as they are incorporated to fill in lexical gaps:

(F44) *Los Espanyoles ke vinieron, los Sefarades ke vinieron de Espanya, i agora tanbién, no saven dezir ütü, ke es el planchador, plancha, kütü, kutí ke es box, i büro, burí, eos dizen utí, kutí, burí, esto me plaze muncho kuando metes “i” al fin del kelimé se aze en Espanyol.*

(F44) The Spaniards that came, the Sephardim that came from Spain, and nowadays as well, they don’t know how to say *ütü*, which means iron, *kütü*, which

means box, and *biuro* [office], they say *utí, kutí, burí*, I like this a lot, when you put “i” at the end of the word and it becomes Spanish.

However, in languages in shift the phonology of the dominant language can affect that of the endangered language. Andersen (1982) studied several cases of the phonologies of languages in shift and concluded that, for the most part, the phonology of the language in shift assimilates to the phonology of the dominant language. This **assimilation** is achieved by **retention**, that is, by keeping the phonological features that are also present in the dominant language, or by **deletion**, the disappearance of phonological features alien to the dominant language (Andersen 1982, 94-5). Retention and deletion as mechanisms to adapt to the phonology of the dominant language are attested across language shift situations from various language families. In fact, because phonological features tend to be predictable and easy to tabulate, most research on languages in shift has been conducted in the area of phonology. Campbell and Muntzel (1989) present several examples of deletion in the phonologies of Central American languages in shift where the dominant language is Spanish. Thus, the Pipil variety of the younger generation has lost its contrastive vowel length, and the Mayan dialect Tuxtla Chico Mam has replaced its postvelar /q/ with the velar /k/. Campbell and Muntzel argue that these phonological changes are the result of assimilation to the phonology of Spanish, which lacks contrastive vowel length and postvelar /q/ (Campbell and Muntzel 1989, 186). Lipski’s research on the Isleño dialect of Spanish spoken in St. Bernard Parish in Louisiana noted that the last generation of semispeakers tended to neutralize the multiple alveolar trill /rr/, characteristic of Spanish, as a single trill /r/, as in English (Lipski 1990,

18). The disappearance of features from the original phonology may be easier to detect than the retention of features. In fact, it seems that retention can only be claimed in contrast to deletion. Thus, Andersen's (1982) and Campbell and Muntzel's (1989) argument is that phonological features in the dominant language will remain unaffected in the language in shift, and those features that are not present in the dominant language will tend to disappear. However, it is important to consider these patterns in the phonologies of languages in shift because they repeat to some degree in the morphology and syntax.

**4.2.2. Structural Consequences in the Morphology.** The effect of lexical items is not limited to introducing phonological alterations in the host language, but borrowed lexicon may also introduce morphological and syntactic information (Sankoff 2004, 643). For instance, when a new lexical item enters the host system, it must be assigned a morphological category. However, the influence of the morphology of the dominant language on the morphology of the host system may be difficult to attest since the two languages in question may not share any similar morphological categories, even if they belong to the same family. Concepts that generally make up the most common morphological categories, such as gender, number, and animacy, are not conveyed identically in all languages, and not by analogous structures.

There are some studies that suggest structural changes in the morphology of the host language as a way to **assimilate** to the morphology of the dominant language. Since Spanish is an inflectional language, I will illustrate this assimilation to the dominant

language with examples from inflectional morphology, that is, morphological categories that are conveyed through inflectional affixes. Campbell and Muntzel's research on American Finnish concluded that this endangered dialect has lost case marking in adjectives, which may have resulted from assimilation to the adjectival system of English, which has no case (Campbell and Muntzel 1989, 191-2). Dorian's (1981) landmark study on the East Sutherland variety of Gaelic noted that semispeakers were increasingly dropping the masculine and feminine distinction, showing a tendency to use the masculine gender only. The loss of gender in East Sutherland Gaelic may reflect influence of the dominant language, English, which has no morphological gender categories in nouns (Dorian 1981, 124-5). Lipski (1993) analyzed the speech of Spanish and English bilinguals in the United States who were experiencing language shift to English. In his study of transitional bilinguals, Lipski (1993) concluded that their Spanish lacked gender and number inflection in articles and adjectives, obligatory in healthy varieties of Spanish. The lack of gender and number inflection reflects the English system where articles and adjectives do not indicate gender or number (Lipski 1993, 161-2). It appears that in the cases of American Finnish, East Sutherland Gaelic, and Spanish, morphological categories are lost or are no longer expressed by the inflection. Thus, this kind of assimilation could be interpreted as a **reduction** of morphological categories absent from the dominant language.

**4.2.3. Structural Consequences in the Syntax.** Because the syntactic structures of both languages may vary greatly, structural influences on the syntax of the host language rooted in the dominant language are often easy to detect since they may be present as

syntactic calque. A syntactic calque imitates a syntactic structure in the dominant language using equivalent or near-equivalent lexicon from the host language. To illustrate, Holloway (1997) describes how prepositional usage in English has affected Brulé Spanish in such a way that indirect object pronouns and the preposition *a*, typically used in Spanish to convey the ablative or spatial ‘from,’ have been replaced by the preposition *de*, as in the English construction. Sentences (1), (2), and (3) below illustrate this syntactic assimilation to English.

(1) English: The man stole the wallet **from** the woman.

(2) Brulé Spanish: El hombre robó la cartera **de** la mujé.  
The man stole the wallet **from** the woman

(3) Spanish: El hombre **le** robó la cartera **a** la mujer.  
The man **IO** stole the wallet **PREP** the woman

The indirect object (IO) *le* and the preposition *a* (PREP) in Standard Spanish (3) have been replaced in Brulé Spanish (2) by the preposition *de*, analogous in many functions to English *from*. In addition, Holloway (1997) observed similar patterns of English prepositional usage in other Brulé Spanish prepositional verb constructions to such a degree that most of the verb and preposition relations in the language in shift appear as calques from English (Holloway 1997, 133-4).

If this type of assimilation has added an extra function to the Spanish preposition *de*, structural changes that originate in the dominant language may also result in the deletion of syntactic structures. Lipski (1990) attested this type of reductive assimilation as speakers of Isleño Spanish sporadically omitted the definite articles in the generic subject, as illustrated in examples 4-6 below:

(4) English: I think that [ ] people are just people.

(5) Brulé Spanish: Me parece que [ ] gente son gente.  
I think that [ ] people are people

(6) Spanish: Me parece que **la** gente es gente.  
I think that **the** people is people

The loss of definite articles was also observed before the object opposition, as in examples 7-9 below.

(7) English: We learned it at [ ] school.

(8) Brulé Spanish: Lo aprendimo en [ ] escuela.  
it we.learned at [ ] school

(9) Spanish: Lo aprendimos en **la** escuela.  
it we. learned at **the** school

The loss of the definite articles in these contexts appears as assimilation to the English structures (Lipski 1990, 87). Therefore, some structural changes in the syntax of languages in shift add or delete structures as the dominant language introduces its syntactic calques. In Section 4.4 I will discuss syntactic calques in Judeo-Spanish.

**4.2.4. Summary of Structural Consequences due to Bilingualism.** All structural changes in the phonology, morphology, and syntax of languages in shift due to the influence of the dominant language appear as a mechanism to assimilate to the dominant language. The mechanism illustrated in the examples above included retention, reduction, and addition of functions to the host system. Furthermore, these changes appear to be rooted in the lexicon of the dominant language entering the host system, introducing phonological, morphological, and syntactic information. In fact, Sankoff

(2004) considers that the lexical level, along with its phonetic and phonological components, are the major “gateways” that lead to all other aspects of change due to bilingualism (Sankoff 2004, 643). However, there are some structural changes in languages in shift that appear to originate not in the dominant language, but rather as a restructuring of the language’s own phonology, morphology, and syntax.

**4.3. Internally-Induced Changes.** A great number of studies on languages in shift discuss structural changes that cannot be explained by the influence of bilingualism. These structural changes also appear to be universal, as they are attested in a variety of languages in shift from different families, irrespective of their contact languages. These internal changes appear to be mechanisms to establish general leveling and simplification across the language.

**4.3.1. Structural Consequences in the Phonology.** Campbell and Muntzel (1989) claim that languages in shift may generalize or level their phonological systems. These generalizations occur as the phonological system no longer displays irregular phonological or allophonic distributions. Irregular distributions are defined as those alternations that occur in specific or rare contexts that seem to be exceptions to the system as a whole (Campbell and Muntzel 1989, 187-8). In simplified terms, exceptions to the rule cease to be exceptions, and these irregularities are processed like the rest of the phonological system. For instance, the disappearance of the postvelar /q/ in Tuxtla Chico Mam, mentioned previously as assimilation to the Spanish system, can also be explained as generalization of the phonological system. The postvelar /q/ has a very specific

distribution in Mam, and does not appear in all contexts. Thus, its disappearance results in a phonological system with general rules (Campbell and Muntzel 1989, 188).

Phonological distribution plays an important role in phonological generalizations.

Campbell and Muntzel (1989) argue that the language in shift will have a tendency to eliminate subphonemic and allophonic variants as a way of eliminating rule exceptions.

Thus, healthy dialects of Pipil produce voiceless allophones of /l/, /w/, and /y/ only in word final position, but this allophonic variation is absent from Pipil dialects

experiencing shift to Spanish (Campbell and Muntzel 1989, 187). But generalization

works in both directions. That is, if the elimination of variants produces a generalized pattern, the spread of these variants throughout the phonology can have the same effect.

Thus, Teotepeque Pipil has generalized voiceless /l/, a feature that occurs word final in

healthy Pipil, but which now appears in all word positions. Similarly, the Xinca varieties

spoken in Jumaytepeque and Guazacapan, Guatemala, have generalized glottalization to

all the consonants in the phonology, whereas healthy varieties of Xinca only exhibit these allophonic variants before a glottal stop (Campbell and Muntzel 1989, 189).

In languages in shift, generalizations that move in the direction of the norm or towards

the exceptions function as a way to establish a uniform pattern throughout the language.

Structural changes that result in uniformity also appear in the morphology of the

language in shift.

**4.3.2. Structural Consequences in the Morphology.** The morphology of languages in shift displays mechanisms that generalize morphological inflection or that eliminate

morphological categories. Andersen (1982) claims that a speech community experiencing language shift will not exhibit the same number of morphological categories as in the healthy variety (Andersen 1982, 97). Campbell and Muntzel (1989) exemplify this with the Oto-Manguean language Ocuilteco, in which the dual category has disappeared out of its morphology, reduced to only singular and plural number categories (Campbell and Muntzel 1989, 191-2). Thus, the plural category has expanded from describing “more than two” to encompassing “more than one,” and eliminating the dual category. A more dramatic reduction in morphological categories was revealed by Bavin’s (1989) research on the endangered Australian language Warlpiri, which concluded that no speaker under the age of seventeen maintained all five distinct pronominal forms used for independent pronouns, subject clitics, and object clitics. All these forms underwent several kinds of category merging, and this merging was correlated to the speaker’s age (Bavin 1989, 280-1). The reduction of categories occurs even in instances where the dominant language has a similar construction. Thus, Dorian’s (1981) study on East Sutherland Gaelic discovered a reduction of morphological categories as the genitive was in the process of disappearing from the language’s four case system. The fact that English, the dominant language influencing Gaelic in East Sutherland, has a genitive construction did not help preserve the Gaelic genitive case. In contrast, the vocative case, which has no English equivalent, was consistently present throughout the language continuum in her research, from older to younger speakers (Dorian 1981, 129-130).

The linguistic contact between English and East Sutherland Gaelic is an example in which structural changes in languages in shift are not due solely to the influence of the dominant language, but a combination of external and internal causes. Another example from Gaelic and relevant to Spanish is that young speakers and semispeakers displayed a trend to generalize the masculine gender throughout the gender system, thus eliminating the feminine gender category (Dorian 1981, 124-5). Lipski's (1993) research on the Spanish of transitional bilinguals in the United States yielded similar results, as his speakers employed the masculine definite articles, *el* (masculine singular) and *los* (masculine plural) at a more consistent rate than the feminine equivalents *la* (feminine singular) and *las* (feminine plural) (Lipski 1993, 161-2). The examples from Gaelic and Spanish can be interpreted as having internal causes, a tendency of the language in shift to eliminate morphological categories, but an alternative explanation is that this reduction is the result of external influence from English, which has no grammatical gender. Similar to the phonological patterns discussed in the previous section, generalization strategies in the morphology can also result in the creation or spread of morphological features elsewhere in the language. Mougeon and Beniak (1989) present an interesting example from Welland French, spoken in Ontario, Canada, in which speakers use additional forms in the determinative system not found in Canadian French. These additional forms appeared as a generalization of the feminine plural *celles* to masculine singular contexts as *celle* (Mougeon and Beniak 1989, 299). In Section 4.4 I will present a similar pattern in Judeo-Spanish.

Both the phonology and morphology of languages in shift appear to undergo structural changes geared towards the reduction of exceptions and the spread of general rules. In addition, the morphology attempts to eliminate morphological categories or to create new ones using inflectional forms, also to regularize its structure. These generalization or leveling patterns are also present in the syntax.

**4.3.3. Structural Consequences in the Syntax.** Although syntax is the least-studied area in languages in shift, some studies suggest that syntactic structures undergo some degree of simplification. Lipski's (1993) study on the Spanish of transitional bilinguals in the United States revealed a simplification pattern in which speakers opted for third person forms in first and second person contexts, as illustrated below with the conjugation of the verb *pensar* 'to think.' The personal suffixes are in **bold**:

<b>Singular</b>	<b>Plural</b>
(10) <u>yo</u> <b>pienso</b> 'I think'	(13) <u>nosotros</u> <b>pensamos</b> 'we think'
(11) <u>tú</u> <b>piensas</b> 'you think'	(14) <u>ustedes</u> <b>piensan</b> 'you all think'
(12) <u>él</u> <b>piensa</b> 'he thinks'	(15) <u>ellos</u> <b>piensan</b> 'they think'

The Spanish of transitional bilinguals displays only two forms, based on the third person forms, as illustrated below:

<b>Singular</b>	<b>Plural</b>
(16) yo, tú, él } <b>piensa</b>	(17) nosotros, ustedes, ellos } <b>piensan</b>

The loss of inflectional morphology seems to be aided by the syntax itself. That is, no information about the subject will be lost in the verbal conjugation if the pronoun always precedes it, as it is done in English. Furthermore, the third person conjugation was possibly taken as the model because it shows the root vowel alternation (*e > ie*) prevalent in the second person as well, but not in the first person. However, the number of the subject is still conveyed by the inflectional morphology with *-an* appearing in plural forms (Lipski 1993, 161-2). This morphosyntactic structural change demonstrates that a language in shift attempts to simplify its verbal structure without losing any essential information.

However, sometimes information is lost for the sake of simplification. Silva Corvalán's (1994) analysis of Los Angeles Spanish revealed a generalization pattern among the two Spanish copulas, *ser* and *estar*. In healthy varieties of Spanish, simply stated, *ser* expresses permanent states (such as national origin or physical descriptions) and *estar* conveys transitory states (such as emotions). Silva Corvalán's (1994) data showed that speakers of Los Angeles Spanish were beginning to use *estar* in *ser* contexts, especially in constructions with predicate adjectives (Silva Corvalán 1994, 92-3). The loss of *ser* could be interpreted as a way to eliminate one of the two copulas, even if this meant losing semantic information. Also, of the two copulas, *ser* is more irregular, as it altered its stem in most present-tense conjugated forms, and it changed stems in the preterit, present, imperfect, and future. We can also argue that the loss of one copula is due to English influence, since English only has *to be*, but ultimately Silva-Corvalán traced this

semantic and morphosyntactic change to Mexican Spanish, where the language is not endangered and is not in contact with English.

Most studies that focus on the syntax of language in shift describe some kind of compensatory syntactic mechanism that occurs as a result of other structural changes in the phonology or morphology of the language. These compensatory syntactic strategies attempt to recover information lost to structural changes elsewhere in the language.

Andersen claims that these compensatory strategies can create a fixed, analytical syntax. A fixed syntax replaces the meaning conveyed by prefixes or suffixes or other kinds of morphology. With a standard word order, the relationship between the subject, verb, and object in a sentence is expressed by their position in relation to each other (Andersen 1982, 100-2). Campbell and Muntzel (1989) explain that the loss of the object case in American Finnish, which we discussed in Section 4.2.2 as the result of English influence, was compensated syntactically by establishing a fixed Subject-Verb-Object order (Campbell and Muntzel 1989, 194). Dorian (1981) attributes a structural change in the syntax of East Sutherland Gaelic to changes in its phonology. In healthy varieties of Gaelic, the past tense is conveyed by lenition in the verbal paradigm. This is an important phonological feature because it serves to differentiate the past tense from the imperative forms. Without lenition, these two forms would appear identical. However, the East Sutherland dialect of Gaelic does not undergo lenition. Consequently, the language has compensated this information loss by syntactically fixing a pronoun after the past tense form (Dorian 1981, 138). Word order may also play a role in other morphosyntactic structures. Thus, Schmidt's (1985) research on the Australian language

Dyirbal attested different word orders among the older, more proficient generation. The older speakers were using a Subject-Verb order in intransitive sentences, and two patterns Object-Nominal Phrase-Verb and Pronoun-Object-Verb for transitive sentences.

However, the younger generation used only the Subject-Object-Verb word order in transitive sentences, whether the subject was a nominal phrase or a pronoun (Schmidt 1985, 105-6). Thus, Young People's Dyirbal associates SV order with intransitive sentences and SOV with transitive sentences, a function that is also conveyed by the transitivity of the verb.

The ultimately preferred word orders SV and SOV are interesting choices for languages in shift. Givón (cited in Romaine 1989, 376) claims that SVO is the easiest word order to process, and Markey (also cited in Romaine 1989, 377) concludes that SVO is the word order typical of analytical languages (a discussion on analytical strategies is found below). Thomason and Kaufman (1988) claim that word order is changeable through language shift, and this shift usually happens in favor of SVO and SOV (as exemplified by the Dyirbal of the younger generation). These word orders are the most common in world languages because they readily establish the "identification of the subject and object by their position relative to each other and to the verb" (Thomason and Kaufman 1988, 55).

Another compensatory strategy found in languages in shift is that of analytical structures. Analytical structures such as free morphemes are more transparent than derivational or synthetic structures since they reflect a clearer relationship between meaning and syntax

(Andersen 1982, 100-2). Giacalone Ramat (cited in Holloway 1992, 94) considers that an analytical strategy is a form of simplification, because it selects communicative structures with a minimum of syntactic opacity. Analytical structures function as paraphrases or circumlocutions that convey the same meaning as the synthetic construction (Andersen 1982, 105). Andersen claims that often even healthy languages have both synthetic and analytical constructions, but that a language in shift will ultimately only employ the analytical one. This is defined as syntactic reduction, because the possible number of syntactic constructions used for one meaning is reduced (Andersen 1982, 97). Spanish is a good example of a healthy language that presents both synthetic and analytical constructions to convey tense. For example, the future tense has the synthetic forms in (18) and (19):

(18) yo com-er-é  
I eat-FUTURE-I  
'I will eat'

(19) tú habl-ar-ás  
you speak-FUTURE-you  
'you will speak'

But it can also be conveyed analytically as in (20) and (21), which use the conjugations of the verb *ir* 'to go' as an auxiliary:

(20) yo v-oy a comer  
I go-I to eat  
'I'm going to eat' = 'I will eat'

(21) tú v-as a hablar  
you go-you to speak  
'You are going to speak' = 'you will speak'

Even though there can be shades of meaning in that the forms with *ir* 'to go' may refer to a more proximate future, for the most part, both forms may be used interchangeably.

Pipil and Cayuga present interesting examples of analytical syntactic structures replacing synthetic tense and aspect structures in languages in shift. Traditional Pipil utilizes suffixes to convey the future tense, but these have been methodically replaced in the endangered variety by periphrastic constructions using the Pipil equivalent of the verb ‘to go’ (Campbell and Muntzel 1989, 192-3). Mithun (1989) observed that in obsolescent Oklahoma Cayuga a free morpheme *é:* ‘again’ was often used whereas the healthier Cayuga dialect spoken in Ontario used an infix to express the repetitive aspect. The Cayuga example is striking because it shows that even polysynthetic languages opt for analytical structures when undergoing shift (Mithun 1989, 248-9). The preference for analytical syntactic structures is an indicator of compensatory strategies for languages in shift, as these structures attempt to recover information loss caused by changes elsewhere in the language.

Sometimes, these compensatory strategies include innovative syntactic structures that are not shared by the dominant or by the healthy varieties of the language, but they originate as “mean” or “average” structures, also known as **convergence**, in which they appear to assimilate two grammatical components from two different languages (Mougeon and Beniak 1989, 302). East Sutherland Gaelic created a third passive construction from the two possible constructions that already existed in the healthier variety of the language (Dorian 1981, 142-4). Semispeakers of the Australian language Warlpiri have the tendency to use English lexicon for emphatic discourse, and also for negative imperatives, instead of the native lexicon, thus giving a new function to borrowed lexicon (Bavin 1989, 276, 279). The Amazonian language Tariana introduced a whole new

category of evidentials as it merged its morphological category with the system from Tucano, the dominant language (Aikhenvald 2002, 152-3). Aikhenvald (2002) claims that innovation takes place, similarly to fixed word order and analytical constructions, as a way to compensate for information loss as a result of structural changes involving a high functional load (Aikhenvald 2002, 144). It is also interesting to note that innovations or convergence happen regardless of the typological distance between the two languages (Thomason and Kaufman 1988, 52-53).

**4.3.4. Summary of Structural Consequences due to Internal Changes.** The majority of structural consequences due to internal changes in the phonology, morphology, and syntax of the language in shift originate as mechanisms to generalize rules throughout the language. This generalization can either eliminate exceptions to phonological or morphological rules or spread them throughout the system. Moreover, the morphology of a language in shift eliminates morphological categories. Syntactic and morphosyntactic structures also display generalization and simplification strategies. Other changes in the syntax of the language are compensatory strategies or innovations that occur as a way to recover meaning or information that was lost due to a structural change elsewhere in the language.

#### **4.4. Structural Consequences in Judeo-Spanish.**

**4.4.1. Summary from Other Studies.** Studies that address structural consequences in Judeo-Spanish are very few. Most researchers focus on the cultural or sociolinguistic aspect of the language, mentioning lexical borrowing or linguistic calques briefly or

outside the context of languages in shift. Only recently have researchers focused on structural aspects of Judeo-Spanish, such as the work of Sala (1971) on phonology, Harris (1979) on the lexicon, Varol-Bornes (1996) on structural influence from Turkish, and Altabev (2003) on code switching within the social context. However, we can conclude from these studies that all dialects of Judeo-Spanish have been experiencing structural consequences in the twentieth century.

Luria (1930) described some phonological differences between the older and the younger generation in Monastir (Bitolj, Macedonia). According to his observations, the younger Monastirlis sought to imitate the Salonikan dialect by dropping the initial /f-/ in their lexicon, so that words like *fazer* ‘to do’ > *azer*, *favlar* ‘to speak’ > *avlar*. This tendency also included the “derision and deprecation” of the older generation who used it (Luria 1930, 106). Luria also offers an insight into social variation, as he reports that the older men and women of the lower class had a tendency to palatalize initial /k/ as /tʃ/ (written <ch>) in words such as *ken* ‘who’ > *chen* and *kieri* ‘he wants’ > *cheri* (Luria 1930, 117). However, the study of Sala (1971) on Bucharest Judeo-Spanish concluded that the phonology was essentially Spanish, altered only by French and Rumanian borrowings (Sala 1971, 199-200). Séphiha (1986) also noted the usage of the French vocalic phonemes /y/ and /œ/ in borrowings, instead of adaptations to the host system (Séphiha 1986, 105). All these processes are phonological assimilations to the dominant language. Penny (2000) cites an example in which the phonology of other languages, namely French and Turkish, helped spread an allophonic variation to other contexts in Judeo-

Spanish. In the evolution of the Judeo-Spanish phonological system, the phoneme /dʒ/ had the allophone [ʒ] in intervocalic position as in:

- |                            |                       |
|----------------------------|-----------------------|
| (22) /dʒénte/ ‘people’     | (23) /viʒíta/ ‘visit’ |
| (24) /dʒudió/ ‘Jewish man’ | (25) /káʒi/ ‘almost’  |

Because /dʒ/ and /ʒ/ are full phonemes in Turkish and /ʒ/ is in French, Penny (2000) argues that borrowings from these languages, such as (28) and (29) below, contributed to the following distribution of Judeo-Spanish /dʒ/ and /ʒ/:

- |                                      |                                    |
|--------------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| (26) /dʒústɔ/ ‘fair’                 | (27) /óʒos/ ‘eyes’                 |
| (28) /ʒurnál/ ‘newspaper’ (< French) | (29) /hódʒa/ ‘husband’ (< Turkish) |

It is highly likely that French and Turkish promoted the allophone [ʒ] as a full phoneme, since the word initial distribution of /ʒ/ and the intervocalic distribution of /dʒ/, as presented in (26) to (29) above, only occurs in borrowings from these languages that preserved their original phonology and did not incorporate the Judeo-Spanish phonological distribution (Penny 2000, 180).

Harris (1979) reports that Judeo-Spanish in Serbia has undergone shift in stress due to Serbo-Croatian influence (Harris 1979, 106). To my knowledge, this is the only instance in which the dominant language has influenced the suprasegmental features of Judeo-Spanish. A recent study on gender assignment revealed that typically Peninsular and Latin American dialects of Spanish assign the feminine gender to nouns that end in *-a*, but these same dialects assign the masculine gender to nouns that end in a stressed *-á*. This is because these dialects of Spanish cannot have a stressed inflectional suffix.

However, under the influence of Hebrew, which has a stressed *-á* as the inflectional feminine suffix, and the influence of Turkish, which generally displays word final stress, Judeo-Spanish has assigned borrowings that end in *-á* to the feminine gender (Romero 2004, 32-4). In this example, the stress placement from the dominant languages has affected the morphological categories in the language in shift.

Luria (1930) described possible Greek influence on the number system in Monastir Judeo-Spanish (Luria 1930, 144-5).

The morphology of Judeo-Spanish has also undergone several structural changes. Sala (1971) notes that Bucharest Judeo-Spanish no longer uses Spanish derivational suffixes to form new words (Sala 1971, 21). Harris's (1979) research on the Judeo-Spanish dialects spoken in New York and Israel revealed that the morphology had incorporated two productive suffixes from Turkish to create new words, namely those denoting profession (illustrated in 31 and 32 below) and nationality (Harris 1979, 98). Varol-Bornes's (1996) study of Istanbul Judeo-Spanish revealed that the language had incorporated at least seven Turkish derivative suffixes into its morphology (Varol-Bornes 1996, 220-3). For illustrative purposes, I will cite only one of these derivative suffixes: *çi*, (<ç> = /tʃ/) which denotes a profession. Thus, Turkish *sütçü* 'milkman' is derived as follows:

(30) Turkish *süt* 'milk' + *çi* 'profession' = *sütçü*<sup>8</sup> 'milkman'

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<sup>8</sup> Vowel harmony applies in Turkish, hence the vowel change. Notice, however, that vowel harmony does not apply in the Judeo-Spanish examples.

Judeo-Spanish has borrowed this ‘profession’ suffix, and it is used extensively to create new words, as in (31) and (32):

(31) Judeo-Spanish *limon* ‘lemon’ + *çi* = *limonchí* ‘lemon vendor’

(32) Judeo-Spanish *kavé* ‘coffee’ + *çi* + *kavedji*<sup>9</sup> ‘coffee server’

The Spanish suffixes used for this purpose (such as *-or*, *-ero*, *-ista*, etc.) are not as productive as the Turkish borrowing.

Judeo-Spanish morphology also appears to experience structural changes that resulted in the expansion of a morphological inflection. Penny’s (2000) study on Spanish variation observes that the Judeo-Spanish feminine gender marker, *-a*, has spread to adjectives that typically are not inflected for gender agreement. These adjectives end in */-l/* or */-e/*, and in healthy varieties of Spanish these adjectives do not acquire the *-a* suffix when referring to a feminine noun. However, Judeo-Spanish has generalized this paradigm to all adjectives, resulting in forms such as *grande* (masculine) and *granda* (feminine) ‘big’, when Standard Spanish uses *grande* for both masculine and feminine, and *nasional* (masculine) and *nasionala* (feminine) ‘national’, whereas Standard Spanish uses *nacional* for both genders (Penny 2000, 189). In contrast to this additive generalization, Harris (1979) describes subtractive generalization in the Judeo-Spanish spoken in New York and Israel. Judeo-Spanish, like other dialects of Spanish, typically forms the plural by adding the suffix *-s* to the noun in question, as in (33) and (34) below:

(33) *kaza* ‘house’ → (34) *kaza-s* ‘houses’

---

<sup>9</sup> Voicing occurs between two vowels, hence */tʃ/* > */dʒ/*, written as <dj>

However, when the word ends in a consonant, the morphology adds an epenthetic *-e-* after the final consonant and before the plural marker to avoid two consonants at the end of the word:

(35) *sivdad* ‘city’ → (36) *sivdad-es* ‘cities’

Harris’s (1979) data, however, shows a pattern in which the morphology no longer produces the epenthetic *-e-* before the plural marker, producing plural forms such as (38) and (40) below:

(37) *komunidad* ‘community’ → (38) *komunidad-s* ‘communities’

(39) *universidad* ‘university’ → (40) *universidad-s* ‘universities’

Thus, the inflectional morphology for the plural has deleted this variation, resulting in one uniform plural marker for all forms (Harris 1979, 205).

In the area of morphosyntax, Luria (1930) cites some examples from Monastir Judeo-Spanish in which the subject and the verb do not agree when the subject is a collective noun. Thus, a singular noun used collectively may take a plural verb (41) or a masculine plural adjective (42):

(41) Si **mitierun** otre ves djenti  
Reflex. went.**plural** again people  
‘People **went** inside again.’

(42) Avíe djenti **asintadus**  
There.were people seated.**plural**  
‘There were people **sitting** down’

Conversely, a plural noun used generically or expressing a unit can take a singular verb conjugation, as in (43):

- (43) Arrivó faziende-s di Pésah  
 Arrived.**singular** preparation-**plural** for Pesach  
 ‘The preparations for Pesah **have arrived**’

The discrepancies in number between the subject and the verb are based on the semantic interpretation of the subject as a collective noun (Luria 1930, 182-5). Since Luria (1930) elicited this data from the older generation fluent in Spanish and variation in interpretation of collective nouns as singular and plural has also been attested in healthy languages, it is not clear if this restructuring was part of language shift, but it illustrates that the Monastir dialect displayed some alternations in its conjugations that could initiate greater structural change among the younger, bilingual generation.

Varol-Bornes (1996) describes a syntactic influence from Turkish in the Judeo-Spanish dialect of Istanbul as the Judeo-Spanish possessive construction mimics that of Turkish. To express a possessive relationship between nouns, Turkish uses a series of “possessor” and “possessed” suffixes, as in (44), whereas healthy varieties of Spanish use the preposition *de*, as in (45).

- (44) Turkish: Moiz-in                      baba-sı                      ‘Moiz’s father’  
                     Moiz-**possessor**    father-**possessed**
- (45) Spanish: El                      padre de Moiz                      ‘Moiz’s father’  
                     article    father **of** Moiz

However, there is a tendency among the younger generation to mimic the Turkish word order and omit the preposition *de*, illustrated in (46) below:

(46) Moiz \_\_\_\_\_ el padre \_\_\_\_\_      ‘Moiz’s father’  
Moiz (possessor) the father (possessed)

Thus, the Turkish possessor-possessed order in the nouns is preferred over the Spanish possessed + *de* + possessor order. The possessor-possessed order in Istanbul Judeo-Spanish is fixed as a compensatory strategy for losing the preposition.

However, Varol-Bornes (1996) describes another possessive construction that appears as a convergence of both the Turkish and the Spanish systems. This possessive construction is used when there are more than two participants involved, that is, when there is more than one possessor-possessed relationship, as in (47) below:

(47) [Amiga de mi hermana] la madre  
Friend **of** my sister the mother  
‘the mother of [my sister’s friend],’ NOT ‘the friend of my sister’s mother’

Constructions such as the one in (47) seem to converge both systems in that for the first possessive relationship [friend of my sister] the Spanish word order and preposition *de* are used, but for the second possessive relation, the Turkish word order is used [mother of [the friend of my sister]]. This is a mechanism to avoid confusion as Judeo-Spanish lack the case morphology present in Turkish for this type of construction with more than one possessive relationship (Varol-Bornes 1996, 228). Thus, Judeo-Spanish syntax shows an example of assimilation to Turkish syntax, convergence, and innovation.

Other syntactic structural changes include periphrastic constructions in some verbs, as noted by Luria (1930). Verbs such as *mentir* ‘to lie’ and *liver* ‘to rain,’ appear as *dizir mentires* ‘to tell lies’ and *fazer luvie* ‘to make rain.’ Luria (1930) claims that this is a sign of the “corruption” of the language, but these are probably just examples of bilingual influence since these are periphrastic verbs in Turkish, *yalan söylemek* and *yağmur yağmak* (Luria 1930, 165).

Finally, some researchers have also remarked about subjunctive usage. In the 1930s, Monastir Judeo-Spanish had preserved the subjunctive mood with “considerable fidelity” (Luria 1930, 194-5). However, a recent study (Romero 2006) utilizing data from Monastir, Salonika, and an online Judeo-Spanish message board named Ladinokomunita demonstrated that the subjunctive mood has been disappearing in Judeo-Spanish, especially in relative clauses when the antecedent is unknown or unidentified. The subjunctive proved to be strongest in subordinate clauses when it conveyed influence and future action (Romero 2006, 12). Similarly, the subjunctive appears to have moved to typical subjunctive contexts but without a change of subject in the subordinate clause (Romero 2006, 16-7). I will delve further into the Judeo-Spanish subjunctive in following sections, as it is one of the features that I will be analyzing in my data.

These studies reveal that the Judeo-Spanish dialects in Monastir (Luria 1930), Bucharest (Sala 1971), New York, Israel (Harris 1979), and Istanbul (Varol-Bornes 1996) display structural changes in the phonology, morphology, and syntax due to both external and internal causes. In my research, I have decided to focus primarily on the structural

changes in the morphology and the syntax of Judeo-Spanish spoken in Istanbul. My decision is based on the dearth of studies on languages on shift that focus on morphology and syntax, since most are based on phonology and lexicon.

**4.4.2. Methodology.** Following the work of Schmidt (1985) and Dorian (1981), I elicited information on the presence of structural change through the translation of sixty-one “stimulus” sentences from Turkish to Judeo-Spanish (Schmidt 1985, 44-5; Dorian 1981, 117-8). These stimulus sentences in Turkish were prepared so that their translation would result in the Spanish structures in question. These sentences are found in Appendix B. These structures are gender and number agreement (morphology), adjective placement (syntax), and subjunctive usage (syntax).

A sample exercise of the translation task is the Turkish sentence in (48) below:

(48) <u>Yeni gelin-ler mutlu</u>	‘The new brides are happy’
new bride-pl happy	

This sentence was translated into Judeo-Spanish as:

(49) las novias nuevas están orozas	(by M84)
(50) las novias rezién espozadas están orozas	(by F70)
(51) las novias nuevas están orozas	(by F58B)
(52) las nuevas novias está buenas	(by F43)
(53) nuevo novias están kontente	(by M30)

The Turkish sentence in (48) has given us the Judeo-Spanish sentences in (49) to (53), as expressed by the selected speakers. These sentences allow us to observe how speakers express gender and number (*novias* is a feminine plural noun) in a variety of grammatical

contexts such as definite articles, adjectives in the noun phrase, adjectives in a copula construction, as well as subject-verb agreement. However, I must stress the fact that these exercises were not designed to test translation skills, but rather to provide a fixed environment in order to obtain similar responses. Thus, in the Turkish sentence in (47), one speaker (M82) said:

(54) los nuevos kazados son orozos

This does not mean that (M82) has failed to agree in gender and number, but simply that he has chosen a plural masculine noun (*kazados*) as a generic term, and therefore his response has followed in the masculine and plural paradigm, not in the feminine and plural. Fortunately, there was little lexical variation in the Judeo-Spanish translations, and most of the twenty-two speakers agreed at the lexical level, at least.

**4.4.3. Results for Morphology.** Gender and Number agreement were the chosen morphological features for this study. Being a dialect of Spanish, Judeo-Spanish assigns gender to all its nouns based on physical and morphological characteristics. Thus, nouns that denote men or male animals are assigned the masculine gender and nouns that denote women or female animals fall into the feminine gender. The rest of the lexicon is divided into the two genders based on their word endings. Thus, most words that end in *-a* or *-á* are assigned the feminine gender (exceptions include *día* ‘day’), as well as most words that end in *-or* (exceptions being *amor* ‘love,’ *vapor* ‘steamboat’). Most words that end in *-o* are assigned the masculine gender. For other dialects of Spanish, Nissen (2000) proposes a phonologically based system using percentages of occurrences. According to

this system, about 99.89% of Spanish nouns that end in *-o* are assigned to the masculine gender, 96.6% of nouns that end in *-a* are assigned to the feminine category, and about 89.35% of those that end in *-e* are found in the masculine gender. Most forms of inflection in adjectives, determiners, and pronouns follow this vowel distinction (Nissen 2000, 252, 254; see also Teschner and Russel 1984, 116-7).

In contrast to Judeo-Spanish, Turkish does not have gender as a morphological category. This means that determiners, adjectives, and other structures are not altered to reflect the gender of the noun in question. This is an important observation, since the lack of grammatical gender in Turkish will most likely affect the usage of gender agreement in Judeo-Spanish.

Table (55) below lists the masculine and feminine nouns that appeared in the translation exercise answers most frequently. Because I did not detect any difference in the treatment of physical versus grammatical gender, I have included them under the same gender categories. For sake of brevity, only their singular forms are listed. Their Turkish and English equivalents are cited.

**Table (55): Masculine and Feminine Nouns in the Translation Exercise**

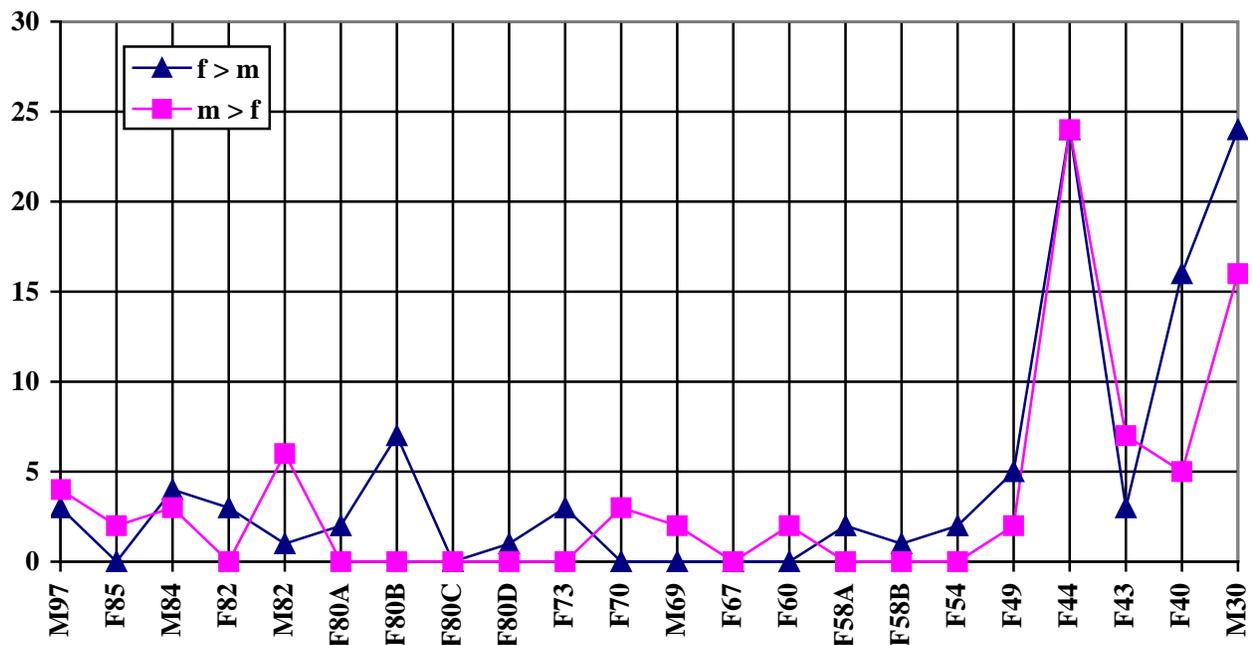
<b>Masculine</b>	Turkish and English glosses	<b>Feminine</b>	Turkish and English glosses
ijo	oğul ‘son’	ija	kız ‘daughter’
ombre	adam ‘man’	mujer	kadın ‘woman’
padre	baba ‘father’	madre	anne ‘mother’
onkle	amca ‘uncle’	tanta/tante	teyze ‘aunt’
tío	amca ‘uncle’	tía	teyze ‘aunt’
novio	damat ‘groom’	novia	gelin ‘bride’
elevo	öğrenci ‘student’	ermuera	gelin ‘daughter-in-law’
livro	kitap ‘book’	sivdá(d)	şehir ‘city’
otó	araba ‘car’	arabá	araba ‘car’
día	gün ‘day’	kaza	ev ‘house’
país	ülke, şehir ‘country, city’	komida	yemek ‘food’
jurnal	gazete ‘newspaper’	gazeta	gazete ‘newspaper’
arvolé	ağaç ‘tree’	meza	masa ‘table’
vapor	gemi ‘boat, ship’	mar	deniz ‘sea’
pasharó	kuş ‘bird’	lingua	dil ‘language’
kal	sinağog ‘synagogue’	kamareta	oda ‘room’

As in other dialects of Spanish, Judeo-Spanish conveys gender agreement in the determiners, adjectives, as well as in the past participle in passive constructions. Originally, my data attempted to account for the usage of gender in determiners (demonstrative pronouns, indefinite articles, definite articles), in adjectives inside the Noun Phrase, and in adjectives in a copular construction. These distinctions were tallied into eight categories, namely masculine and singular, their physical and grammatical divisions, plus their masculine and plural forms. However, there was no major difference in how physical and grammatical gender was conveyed, and neither was there a different pattern between singular and plural gender. A similar situation occurred with the various grammatical contexts. In other words, the structural changes that were present in the gender system were not correlated to their structural position in the sentence, but rather to the speakers who performed these sentences. That said, most speakers displayed some

structural changes in the gender assignment system, as illustrated in Graph (56) below.

Graph (56) summarizes the percentage of instances in which a feminine noun was given the masculine gender either in its determiner, noun phrase adjective, or adjective after a copula ( $f > m$ ) and the percentage of instances in which a masculine noun was assigned the feminine gender in the same contexts ( $m > f$ ).

**Graph (56): Percentages of Feminine and Masculine Gender Shifts**



As we can observe from Graph (56) above, the higher percentages of shift from feminine to masculine gender appear among the younger generation, especially in speakers ages forty-four and younger. The replacement of the feminine gender by the masculine gender, that is, taking the masculine gender as the default, has been documented previously in East Sutherland Gaelic by Dorian (1981, 124-5) and in the Spanish of transitional bilinguals in the United States by Lipski (1993, 161-2). However, my data also displays the opposite pattern, albeit at lower percentages, as the feminine gender takes over the masculine gender in some contexts. Once again, the higher percentage of

masculine gender shifting to the feminine is found among the younger generation, in speakers forty-four and younger. Surprisingly, (F44) displays roughly an equal amount of shift from feminine to masculine and masculine to feminine (24 %).

The structural consequences in the Judeo-Spanish system may be rooted in several causes. As stated previously, Turkish does not use gender as a morphological category. Thus there is no modification of determiners or adjectives in agreement with the noun. The reduction of gender from two to one single default category can be accomplished either by making all feminine nouns masculine or by making all the masculine nouns feminine. It seems that the community as a whole is experiencing both patterns, at least in the incipient stages, although these tendencies are more noticeable in the younger generation.

Another interpretation of the feminine to masculine and masculine to feminine shifts is the result of morphological leveling, which can account for some of the data. For example, (F40) and (M30) interpreted the masculine word *día* 'day' as feminine, probably because it ends in *-a*, as most feminine words do.

(57) Esta día es ermozo (by F40)  
this-f day-m is beautiful-m  
'This day is beautiful.'

(58) Esto una día muy bien (by M30)  
this-m a-f day-m very good  
'This [is] a very good day.'

However, (F40) made the shift in the post copular adjective in sentence (57), and (M30) did so in the indefinite article in (58). By making a masculine word that ends in *-a* part of the feminine paradigm, speakers are actually regularizing the gender system. Similarly, (F44), (F43), and (F40) interpreted the masculine word *vapor* ‘steamboat, ship’ as feminine, since most words that end in *-or* are feminine:

- (59) Mis ijos están en la vapor viejo (by F44)  
 my sons are on the-**f** ship-m old-m  
 ‘My sons are on the old ship.’
- (60) Los ijos mansevos en esta ermoza vapor keren estar (by F43)  
 the sons young on this-**f** beautiful-**f** ship-m want to be  
 ‘The young sons want to be on this beautiful ship.’
- (61) Mis ijos kieren en esta vapor estar (by F40)  
 my sons want on this-**f** ship-m to be  
 ‘My sons want to be on this ship.’

Regularization patterns may also explain some of the feminine to masculine gender shifts displayed by the older generation. Some of the older speakers interpreted the feminine word *sivdad* ‘city’ as masculine:

- (62) Los sivdades nuevas son serka del porto de la mar (by M82)  
 the-**m** cities-f new-f are near sea harbor  
 ‘The new cities are near the sea harbor.’
- (63) Los nuevos sivdades están serka de la mar (by F80B)  
 the-**m** new-**m** cities-f are near the sea  
 ‘The new cities are near the sea.’
- (64) El padre kere vijitar el viejo sivdad (by F80B)  
 the father wants to visit the old-**m** city-f  
 ‘The father wants to visit the old city.’
- (65) Los sivdades nuevas es serka de la mar (by F80D)  
 the-**m** cities-f new-f are near the sea  
 ‘The new cities are near the sea’

Because *sivdad* does not end in *-a*, *-á*, or in *-or*, the most common feminine endings, it has been assigned the masculine gender. This may explain why these apparent ‘mistakes’ are performed by the older, more proficient generation.

Regularizations based on masculine forms were also found throughout the data, especially in the demonstrative. Like most dialects of Spanish, Judeo-Spanish has the following gender and number agreement pattern in its demonstrative system:

<b>Masculine</b>	<b>Feminine</b>
(66) <u>este</u> libro ‘this book’	(67) <b>esta</b> kaza ‘this house’
(68) <u>estos</u> libros ‘these books’	(69) <b>estas</b> kazas ‘these houses’

Notice that the masculine ending in the singular *-e*, changes to *-o* in the plural. There is no alternation in the feminine, simply the affixation of plural marker *-s*. Some speakers, most of them forty-four and younger, exhibited a pattern in which the vowel in the singular was changed to *-o*:

(70) <u>Est</u> o ombre es mansevo ‘This man is young’	(by F67)
(71) <u>Est</u> o karo es nuevo ‘This car is new.’	(by F44)
(72) <u>Est</u> o otó es nuevo ‘This car is new.’	(by F43)
(73) <u>Est</u> o ombre está mansevo ‘This man is young.’	(by F43)

(74) *Esto ombre es mansevo* (by M30)  
'This man is young.'

(75) *Esto una día muy bien* (by M30)  
'This [is] a very good day.'

(76) *Los mansevos ijos mios kieren estarse en esto ermozo barko*  
'My young sons want to be in this beautiful ship.'  
(by M30)

These examples were not considered as lack of gender agreement in my data because they still convey the masculine gender. It's simply a new pattern based on the plural form. Interestingly, a new plural pattern based on the singular form was only accounted once by one speaker, (F54):

(77) *Estes ombres kieren komer bueno* (by F54)  
'These men want to eat well.'

In (77) above, the plural form *estes* is based on the singular *este*. These leveling or regularizing structural changes are common in languages in shift as a way to simplify its morphology.

Overall, it seems that the gender system is not undergoing major changes, except among the younger generation, where as much as one-fourth of masculine nouns and one-fourth of feminine nouns are shifting gender. Some of these changes are the results of eliminating irregularities in the gender assignment system, while others reflect the loss or weakening of gender as a morphological category in Judeo-Spanish.

Another aspect of Judeo-Spanish morphology under investigation in this research was number agreement. Judeo-Spanish denotes the singular number with a zero morpheme and the plural with *-(e)s*. The epenthetic *-e-* is added irrespective of gender when the noun ends in a consonant, as illustrated below:

<b>Singular</b>	<b>Plural</b>
(78) arabá ‘car’	(79) arabá- <b>s</b> ‘cars’ (feminine)
(80) novio ‘groom’	(81) novio- <b>s</b> ‘grooms’ (masculine)
(82) sivdad ‘city’	(83) sivdad- <b>es</b> ‘cities’ (feminine)
(84) kal ‘synagogue’	(85) kal- <b>es</b> ‘synagogues’ (masculine)

Similar to the gender system, plural agreement with the noun is conveyed in the determiners, adjectives, and passive constructions. In addition, number also plays a role in verbal conjugations. This is illustrated in (86) and (87) below:

(86) La nueva novia está oroza	‘The new bride is happy.’
(87) Las <u>nuevas</u> <u>novias</u> <u>están</u> <u>orozas</u>	‘The new brides are happy.’

Notice that in (87), the definite article (*las*), the adjective in the noun phrase (*muevas*), the adjective after the copula (*orozas*), and the verb (*están*), agree in number with the plural noun *novias*. Furthermore, verbal number agreement differs in that the plural is marked with *-n*, not *-s*.

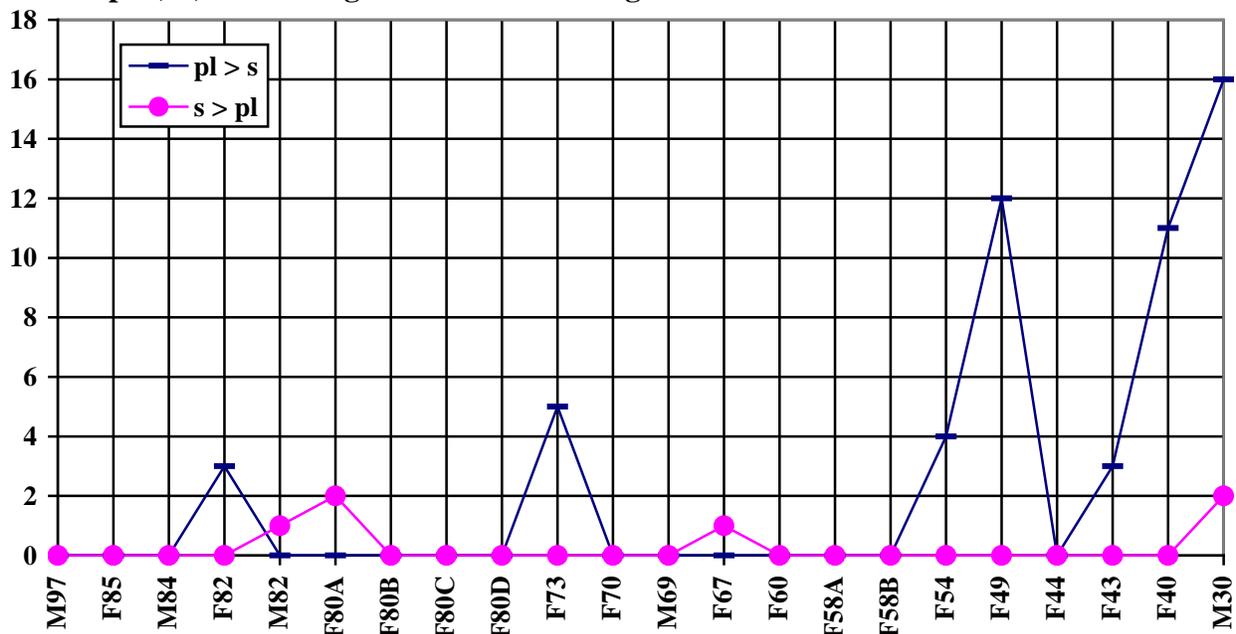
The Turkish plural system marks the plural number with the suffix *-lar/-ler*. The vowel alternation is part of vowel harmony, which is not relevant to this study. This suffix is

attached to the plural noun, and optionally on the verb when the noun is an animate object (person, animal), as illustrated below:

- (88) Güzel kuş bu yemeğ-i sever. ‘The beautiful bird loves this food.’  
 beautiful bird this food-acc loves
- (89) Güzel kuşlar bu yemeğ-i sever. ‘The beautiful birds love this food.’  
 beautiful bird-**plural** this food-acc loves
- (90) Amca evim-e gelmek ister. ‘My uncle wants to come to my house.’  
 uncle my house-dat come wants
- (91) Amcalar evim-e gelmek ister(ler). ‘My uncles want to come to my house.’  
 uncle-**plural** my house-dat come wants(**plural**)

Because the plural marker in Turkish appears only in certain contexts, its usage may influence the Judeo-Spanish number assignment system. Graph (92) below summarizes the percentage of instances in which a plural noun was rendered as singular either in its determiner, noun phrase adjective, or adjective after a copula (pl > s) and the percentage of instances in which a singular noun was rendered as plural in the same contexts (s > pl).

**Graph (92): Percentages of Plural and Singular Number Shifts**



As we can observe from Graph (92) above, the shift from plural to singular is far greater and more present across more age groups than the singular to plural shift. The lack of plural number agreement seems to be greater among the younger generation, ages 54 and younger, although (F82) and (F73) display similar percentages. Since all speakers are Turkish and Judeo-Spanish bilinguals, we can infer that the dearth of plural marking in Turkish morphology is the cause of the lack of plural agreement in Judeo-Spanish.

Another interpretation is that endangered languages tend towards simplification. The lack of number agreement in the determiners and adjectives can be seen as a way to reduce redundant information. Since the noun already has a plural marker, other grammatical structures in the language do not need to restate this. The inverse is also attested, that is, the noun does not mark its plural suffix if other structures in the sentence do so, as in (93) below:

(93) Estos ombre kyero komer buenos komidas (by M30)  
 This-pl man want-sing eat good-pl food-pl  
 ‘These men want to eat good goods.’

In (93), only the first element in the noun phrase (demonstrative *estos*) marks the plural of the noun. Even though these instances were rare, they can also be explained as a way to eliminate redundant information.

More surprisingly, and less common, is the combination of singular nouns with plural agreement forms, as in (94), (95), and (96) below:

(94) Mis parientes biven en sivdad **grandes** (by M82)  
 my relatives live in city-singular big-plural  
 ‘My relatives live in a big city.’

(95) Las de **las** sivdad a las tantas estamos indo verlas (by F80A)  
those from the-**pl.** city-**sing.** to the aunts we.are going to see.them  
‘We are going to see the aunts that [are] from the city.’

(96) Mis tíos moran en sivdad **grandes** (by F67)  
my uncles live in city-**sing.** big-**plural**  
‘My uncles live in a big city.’

There are several explanations for this pattern. As we recall, Luria (1930) described a similar pattern in singular nouns that took plural adjectives or plural verb forms when they referred to a collective entity, as in (97) below:

(97) Avíe djenti **asintadu-s**  
There.were people-**singular** seated-**plural**  
‘There were people sitting down’

There may be a similar pattern occurring in Judeo-Spanish in Istanbul, in which collective or indefinite nouns may take plural articles and adjectives. Even though these are very few instances (the highest was two percent occurrence), they may fall into the larger verbal paradigm, as I will discuss below.

Similar to the gender system, the plural paradigm seems to undergo several simplification strategies aimed at reducing irregular forms or alternations. As we observed in (78) to (85) above, an epenthetic *-e-* must be added between the word ending and the plural *-s* when the word ends in a consonant. Some speakers did not perform the epenthetic *-e-* rule:

(98) Las nuevas **sivdad-s** están serkas de la mar. (by F43)  
the-pl new-pl city-**pl** are near the sea  
‘The new cities are near the sea.’

- (99) Estos ermozas muheres están entrando en la **siudad-s** vieja. (by M30)  
this-pl beautiful-pl woman-pl are arriving in the city-pl old  
‘These beautiful women are arriving at the old cities’

The plural forms in (98) and (99), which were also attested in Harris’s (1979) data from Israel and New York, violate a Judeo-Spanish morphophonological rule that a word cannot end in two consonants. Some speakers attempted to circumvent breaking this rule by deleting the last consonant of the lexical item, as in (100) and (101) below:

- (100) Las **siudá-s** son serka de la mar. (by F67)  
the-pl city-pl are near the sea  
‘The cities are near the sea.’

- (101) En muevas **suidás** están serkas de la mar (by M30)  
the-pl new-pl city-pl are near the sea  
‘The new cities are near the sea.’

Or by not adding the -s suffix to the noun at all, displacing plural marking elsewhere in the sentence, as in (102) below:

- (102) La-s mueva-s **sivdad** está-n serka de la mar. (by F40)  
the-pl new-pl city-sing be-pl near the sea  
‘The new cities are near the sea.’

Some nouns that end in -s did not receive a plural marker, probably because their ending was interpreted as the plural marker or because the result of adding the plural -s to the ending -s without the epenthetic -e- did not produce a different plural form:

- (103) Lo-s **país** nuevo-s está-n serka de la mar (by F58A)  
the-pl city-sing new-pl be-pl near the sea  
‘The new cities are near the sea.’

Other plural forms are the result of one suffix taking over the context of another suffix with the same or similar grammatical information. As we observed in the paradigm in (86) and (87) above, the plural marker for nouns, adjectives, and determiners is *-(e)s*, but in verbal conjugations, the plural is conveyed with *-n*, as restated below in (104):

- (104) La-s mueva-s novia-s está-n oroza-s  
 the-**pl** new-**pl** bride-**pl** be-**pl** happy-**pl**  
 ‘The new brides are happy.’

Some speakers utilized the verbal plural suffix *-n* in adjectives and determiners where the correct suffix should be *-(e)s*, as illustrated below in (105) and (106):

- (105) Lo-s pasharó-s alegre-n está-n en aach. (by F40)  
 the-**pl** bird-**pl** happy-**pl** be-**pl** on tree  
 ‘The happy birds are on [the] tree.’

- (106) E-n mueva-s suidá-s está-n serka-s de la mar. (by M30)  
 the-**pl** new-**pl** city-**pl** be-**pl** near-**pl** of the sea  
 ‘The new cities are near the sea.’

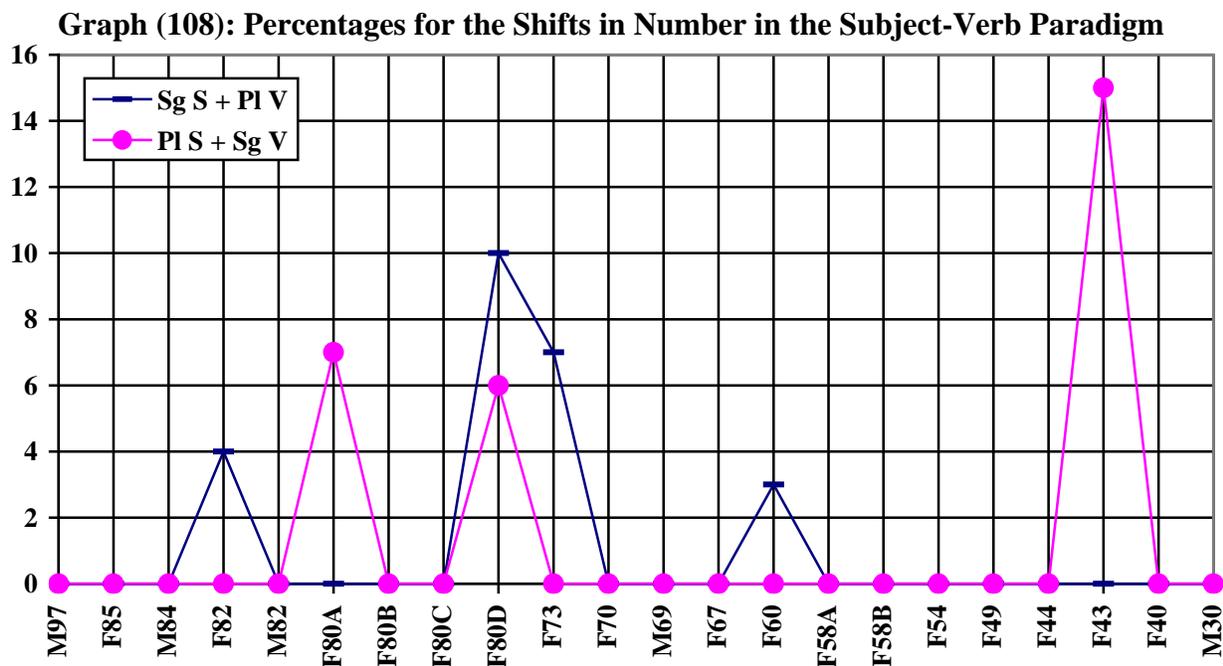
In (105), the adjective should be *alegre-s*, with the *-s* as the correct plural marker for adjectives, but *alegre-n* uses the verbal plural marker. Most interesting is the example in (106), because the process appears to be:

- (107)  $el + -n \rightarrow eln \rightarrow en$

In that the masculine singular form of the definite article *el* has been combined with the verbal plural ending *-n*. The implementation of verbal suffixes in adjectival contexts to denote the same information as an adjectival suffix may have several causes. First, as we

observed in the morphology of languages of shift, there is a tendency towards eliminating redundancy. If there are two suffixes that convey the essentially the same information, plurality in these examples, then the language will eliminate one as a way to simplification. Another more direct reason is the fact that Turkish utilizes the same suffix *-lar/-ler* to indicate plurality in nominal and verbal contexts, as previously illustrated in (88) to (91).

I also investigated number in the subject-verb paradigm. Since Turkish exhibits the optional agreement of verbs with plural subjects, as illustrated in (88) to (91) above, I wanted to investigate if this pattern had caused any structural changes in Judeo-Spanish. Because of the way the data was elicited, the most common verbs were *ser* and *estar*, and because the *-n* suffix appears only in the third person, these were the only subject-verb combinations that I took into consideration. Graph (108) summarizes the discrepancies in number in the subject-verb paradigm.



Examples of sentences with a plural subject and a singular verb included:

- (109) La madre i la ija **está** en el vapor. (by F80A)  
the mother and the daughter **be-sing** on the boat  
'Mother and daughter are on the boat.'
- (110) Lo-s sivdad-es mueva-s **es** serka de la mar. (by F80D)  
the-pl city-pl new-pl **be-sing** near of the sea  
'The new cities are near the sea.'
- (111) Lo-s gemí-s **está** en grande mar. (by F43)  
the-pl boat-pl **be-sing** on big sea  
'The boats are on the big sea.'
- (112) La-s mueva-s novia-s **está** buena-s. (by F43)  
the-pl new-pl bride-pl **be-sing** well-pl  
'The new brides are well.'

Even though the plural subject-singular verb pattern could be explained by the Turkish pattern, surprisingly only three speakers, (F80A), (F80D), and (F43), displayed this tendency at very low percentages.

The opposite combination, a singular subject with a plural verb, was also attested, especially among the older generation:

- (113) La mueva sivdad me **está-n** serka de la mar. (by F82)  
the new city I am thinking **be-pl** near of the sea  
'I think that the new city is near the sea.'
- (114) Mi famía **está-n** en ermoza kaza. (by F80D)  
my family **be-pl** in beautiful house  
'My family is in [a] beautiful house.'
- (115) Mi famía **está-n** en esta kaza. (by F73)  
my family **be-pl** in this house  
'My family is in this house.'

(116) Mi familia están en esta ermoza kaza.  
my family **be-pl** in this beautiful house  
'My family is in this beautiful house.'

(by F60)

With the exception of the sentence in (113), the other sentences following the singular noun with a plural verb pattern involved the collective noun *famía* 'family.' As we noted earlier in Luria's (1930) data from Monastir Judeo-Spanish, collective nouns in the singular may take a verb in the plural. The fact the older, more proficient speakers in Istanbul followed this pattern attested earlier in geographically distant Monastir (Bitolj), Macedonia, suggests that this pattern was a common feature to Judeo-Spanish dialect. Apparently, the younger generation in Istanbul does not follow this optional rule for collective nouns.

To summarize, it seems that Judeo-Spanish in Istanbul is currently undergoing some structural changes in its gender and number morphology. There is a greater change in its gender than in its number system. In fact, most changes in its number system can be explained by either assimilation to Turkish or as the interpretation of collective nouns with plural agreement. Furthermore, structural changes in both the gender and number categories appear to be spearheaded by the younger generation, although at very low percentages.

**4.4.4. Results for Syntax.** The position of the adjective within the noun phrase, subject-verb agreement, and subjunctive usage were the chosen syntactic features for this research. These structures were selected because they are the result of syntactic rules and are produced at very specific contexts.

The position of the adjective within the noun phrase is determined by its semantic relationship to the noun. In Judeo-Spanish, as in all dialects of Spanish, the standard placement of adjectives in the noun phrase is after the noun, as illustrated in (117) and (118) below:

(117) las kazas nuevas  
the houses new  
'the new houses'

(118) los pasharós kontentes  
the birds happy  
'the happy birds'

However, if the adjective within the noun phrase describes a quality inherent to the noun, the adjective may be placed before:

(119) la blanka inyeve  
the white snow  
'the white snow'

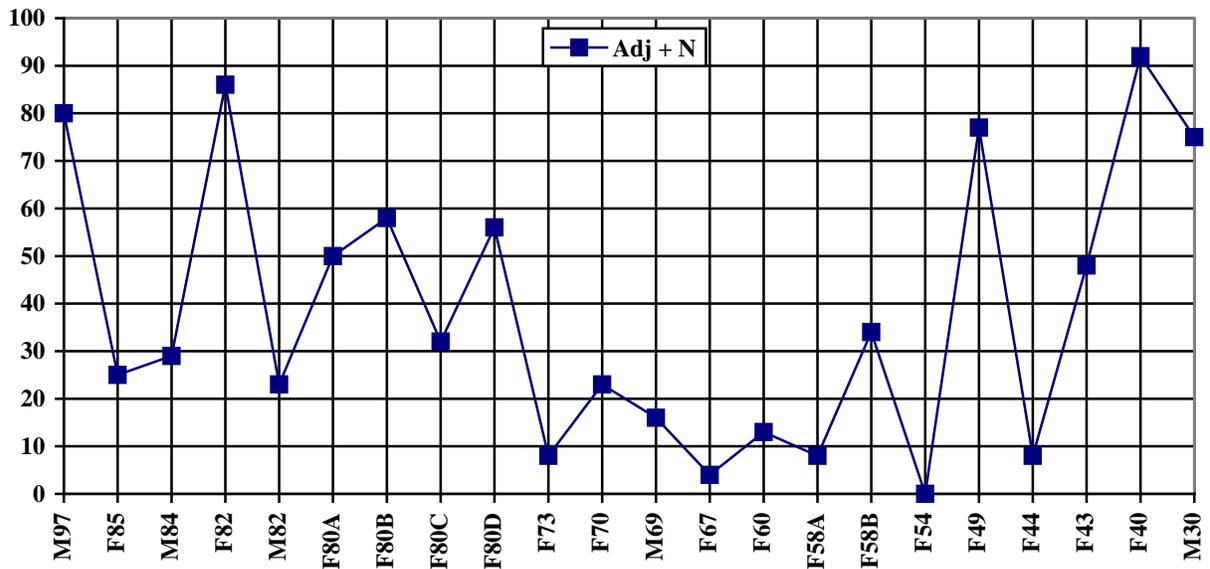
(120) la grande mar  
the big sea  
'the big sea'

In addition to alternation allowed by an inherent quality, the adjective may also be placed before the noun as a way to denote a polite compliment or to lessen the impact of the description. This stylistic alternation is illustrated in (121):

(121) la ermoza mujer  
the beautiful woman  
'the beautiful woman'

Because the rule that places the noun phrase adjective before the noun is optional, we cannot use it as a guideline for structural change. However, we can observe if the pre- vs. postnominal variation is present throughout the speech of the speakers interviewed in Istanbul. Graph (122) below summarizes the percentages of occurrences when adjectives were found before the noun within the noun phrase for all noun phrases with adjectives produced by the speakers during the translation exercise:

**Graph (122): Percentages of Adjectives Placed before the Noun in the NP**



As we can observe in Graph (122), there is a general tendency to place the adjective before the noun, especially among the younger generation and some older speakers, namely (M97) and (F82). However, the general trend appears as the younger generation favoring the adjective before the noun, which was the optional position, instead of placing the adjective after the noun, which was the standard. The predilection for a pre-nominal placement of adjectives may be rooted in Turkish. As illustrated below, adjectives in the Turkish noun phrase may only be placed before the noun:

(123) beyaz kâr  
white snow  
'the white snow'

(124) büyük deniz  
big sea  
'the big sea'

In fact, this position is obligatory, since placing the adjective after the noun would no longer result in a noun phrase, but a complete sentence. This is because the Turkish copula is zero  $\emptyset$ .

(125) Kâr  $\emptyset$  beyaz.  
snow be white  
'The snow is white.'

(126) Deniz  $\emptyset$  büyük.  
sea be big  
'The sea is big.'

It appears that the younger speakers, being more proficient in Turkish, are applying Turkish syntactic rules and interpreting an optional rule in Spanish as obligatory. Even though this structural change is not uniform and it is based on an optional rule in Spanish, it serves to illustrate how Turkish syntax may affect Judeo-Spanish syntax across generations.

Another syntactic feature that was selected to observe structural changes was the subject-verb agreement, although this pattern may also fit as part of the morphology of the language. Like other dialects of Spanish, Judeo-Spanish conjugated verbs agree with the person and number of their corresponding subjects, as illustrated in (127) to (132) below with the verb *estar* as its model:

	Singular	Plural
First	(127) yo est- <b>ó</b> ‘I am’	(130) mozotros est- <b>amos</b> ‘we are’
Second	(128) tu est- <b>ás</b> ‘you are’	(131) vozotros est- <b>ásh</b> ‘you all are’
Third	(129) el/ea est- <b>á</b> ‘he/she is’	(132) eos/eas est- <b>án</b> ‘they m/f are’

As we can observe from (127) to (132), the verb takes a different suffix for each person. However, my data was not collected with an eye to making an exhaustive inventory of the Judeo-Spanish conjugation system. There were several obstacles inherent to the translation exercise itself. For example, many speakers shifted to second person in Spanish when translating a first person sentence from Turkish. This is a common risk when utilizing a translation exercise, as speakers do not situate themselves in the context. Another hindering factor was the lack of variety in verbs, for the majority of the sentences contained the verbs *ser* and *estar*. Other verbs such as *vijitar* ‘to visit,’ *komer* ‘to eat,’ and *ir* ‘to go’ were not usually conjugated with their nouns, since *estar* + gerund was used instead, as in *estó vijitando* ‘I am visiting’ instead of *vijito* ‘I visit.’ This is because most sentences in Turkish were in the present progressive. Taking all this into consideration, there were several crystal clear instances in which the following tendencies were attested in speakers ages forty-three and younger.

Some speakers conjugated a third person singular or plural subject with a first person singular verb, as in:

(133) mi padre est-**ó** kontente (by M30)  
my father be-**1st person** happy  
‘My father is happy.’

(134) mi ijo ker-**o** ke mueva sivdad kale ke aze bueno (by M30)  
my son want-**1st person** that new city must clause become good  
‘My son hopes that the new city is good.’

(135) el novio kier-o ver nueva novia (by M30)  
the groom want-**1st person** see new bride  
'The groom wants to see the new bride.'

(136) estos ombres kier-o komer buenos komidas (by M30)  
these men want-**1st person** eat good food  
'These men want to eat good food.'

The substitution of the third person by the first may be perceived as a way to reduce and simplify morphosyntactic categories by avoiding redundancy. Because the subject has already been expressed, the verb does not need to convey this information. However, the opposite pattern, the usage of the third person singular verb with a first person verb, was also observed:

(137) yo est-á pensando ke mi madre va kozer la komida (by F43)  
I be-**3rd person** thinking that my mother will cook the food  
'I think that my mother will cook the food.'

(138) yo est-á pensando ke tomar nuevo koche (by M30)  
I be-**3rd person** thinking clause take new car  
'I think that [I will] buy a new car.'

(139) yo est-á pensando ke los arvolés de esta ciudad están chikos (by M30)  
I think-**3rd person** clause the trees of this city are small  
'I think that the trees of this city are small.'

The usage of the third person as the default form for the other persons, attested in the speech of transitional bilinguals by Lipski (1993), has been labeled as a creoloid feature (Lipski 1993, 161-2).

The subject-verb paradigm in Judeo-Spanish requires further study, especially with a variety of verbs, and not just *ser* and *estar*, which have some irregular forms and are used

as auxiliaries. However, my data shows that there is some structural change happening in this area of morphosyntax, even if it occurred sparingly and was produced by only two speakers.

The last syntactic feature that I investigated was the use of the subjunctive mood.

Because the type of subjunctive mood that I am taking into account appears only in a subordinate clause, I have decided to include these results in the syntax portion of this study. The Judeo-Spanish subjunctive is conditioned by three structural and semantic factors: 1) there must be a subordinate clause, 2) the main clause must have some semantic information that affects the agent of the subordinate clause, and 3) the subjects of the main clause and the subordinate clause are not the same. The relationship of these three factors is illustrated in (140) below:

- (140) Yo kero ke mis amigos vengan a mi kaza.  
I want clause my friends come-subj to my house  
'I want my friends to come to my house.'

In (140) above, the subordinate clause is indicated by the particle *ke*, which indicates subordination. The semantic information in the main clause is found in the verb *kerer* 'to want,' which denotes influence. And finally, the subjects of the main clause (*yo* 'I') and the subordinate clause (*mis amigos* 'my friends') are different. The result of these three factors is that the verb in the subordinate clause, *vengan*, appears in the subjunctive mood.

It is important that these three factors be in place, or the subjunctive mood will not be produced. For example, if there is no change in person, then there is no subordinate clause, and the result is a verb in the infinitive:

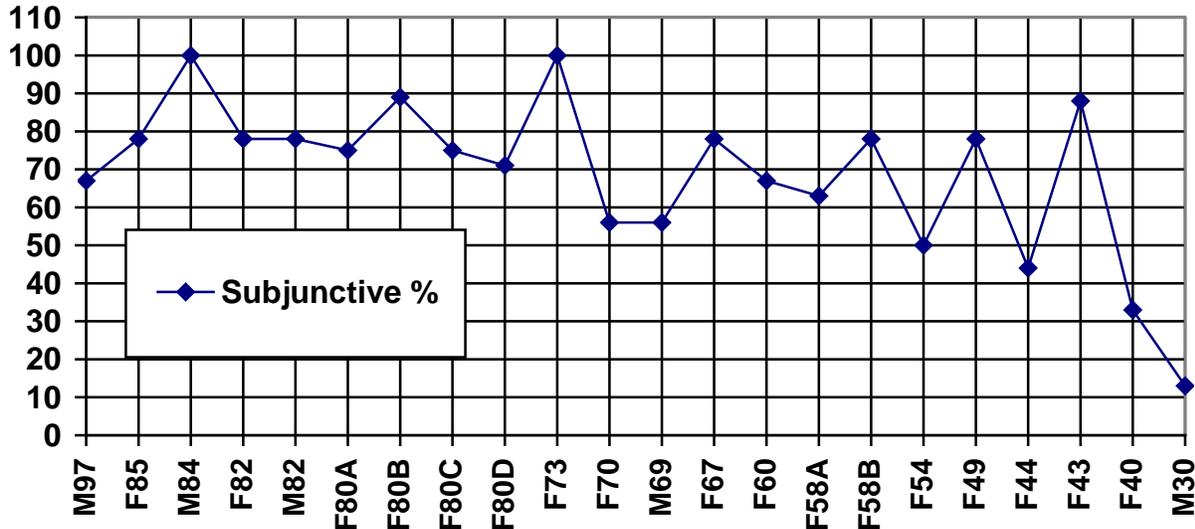
- (141) Yo kero **ir** a mi kaza.  
I want go to my house  
'I want to go my house.'

If there is no semantic information in the main clause that triggers the subjunctive mood, then the result is a verb in the indicative:

- (142) Yo pienso **ke** mis amigos **vienen** a mi kaza.  
I think clause my friends come-ind. to my house  
'I think that my friends are coming to my house.'

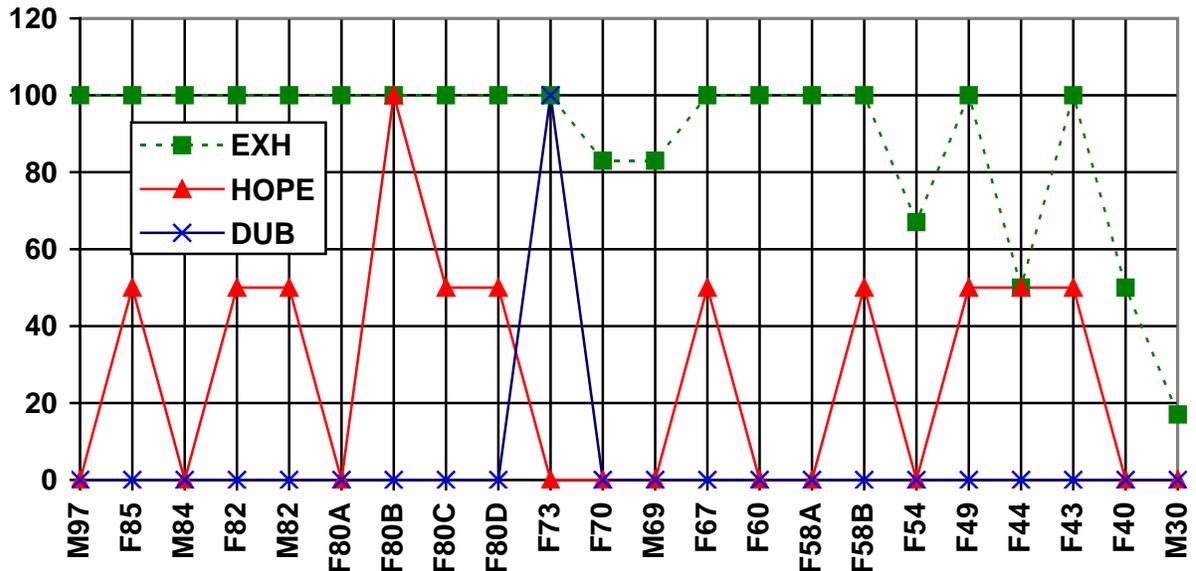
The types of semantic information that trigger the subjunctive in subordinate clauses are varied, but in this study I am only considering three types. The first semantic category is that of influence, namely exhortative verbs that express needs, wants, and orders. In my data, the Turkish verbs were *istemek* 'to want,' translated in Judeo-Spanish as *kerer*, and *emretmek* 'to order,' translated into Judeo-Spanish as *ordonar*, *empozar*, *dezir*, and *demandar*. The second semantic category is hope or wishful thinking, conveyed by the Turkish verb *ümit etmek* 'to hope, to wish' and translated into Judeo-Spanish as *esperar*, *rogar*, *dezezar*. And the last category is doubt or negation of truth, represented by the Turkish verb *inanmamak* 'to not believe,' translated by some speakers as *no kreyer*, *no pensar*, and *no pareserse*. Graph (143) below illustrates the percentages of subjunctive usage in all three categories.

**Graph (143) Percentage of Subjunctive Usage**



As Graph (143) demonstrates, the subjunctive mood is disappearing as the younger generation uses the subjunctive mood less than the older generation. However, the rate of disappearance is different for each semantic context, as illustrated in Graph (144) below:

**Graph (144): Percentages of Subjunctive Use for exhortative, hope, and dubitative contexts.**



As Graph (144) shows, subjunctive usage is not uniform throughout its contexts. Thus, we can observe that the subjunctive has almost disappeared completely in the context of doubt or dubitative sentences (DUB), since only one speaker (F73) produced it in this context. The subjunctive in the context of hope or wish (HOPE) is a bit more erratic, since only about half of the speakers produced it, but its appearance does not seem to be correlated to the speaker's age. And finally, the subjunctive appears to be very strong in the context of influence or exhortative sentences (EXH), since all speakers produced the subjunctive in this context. Furthermore, the production of the subjunctive in the context of influence is correlated with the age of the speaker, as the younger generation displays lower percentages of usage than those of the older generation.

These three categories were chosen because they had been addressed in previous studies on the Judeo-Spanish subjunctive. Thus, a study on subjunctive usage by the Monastir, Salonika, and Ladinokomunita (an internet newsgroups with speakers from a wide variety of Judeo-Spanish dialects) speech communities concluded that the subjunctive in dubitative sentences was highly erratic, with only about a fifty percent production (Romero 2006, 10-2). The disappearance of the subjunctive in the Istanbul community is far more advanced, as only one speaker produced it in this context. The same study also showed that the Judeo-Spanish subjunctive was disappearing in the context of emotions, which is a semantic category closely related to HOPE in my data. Thus, the Salonika community of the 1930s showed 43% usage, whereas the Ladinokomunita data of 2000 showed only about 25% (Romero 2006, 10-1). The fact that in my data only about half of the speakers produced the subjunctive in the HOPE context shows that the struggle of the

subjunctive continues in this category. Finally, in Romero (2006), I concluded that the subjunctive was rather strong in the category of influence or exhortative sentences, as it was produced 98% of the time by both the Monastir and Salonika communities, and 88% by the Ladinokomunita speakers (Romero 2006, 12). This is consistent with the data being analyzed here, since this was the only category in which all speakers produced the subjunctive mood, with (M30) having the lowest percentage of usage or 17%.

In some instances, the absence of the subjunctive mood was closely linked to the poor lexicon exhibited by the speaker. The speaker appears to have forgotten or substituted a subjunctive triggering verb with a non subjunctive verb. Thus, the subjunctive-triggering *esperar* ‘to hope, to wish’ is often replaced by *pensar (bien)* ‘to think (good)’ (by M97, F80C, M69, F60, F58, and F40), which does not trigger the subjunctive. Thus, the subjunctive is affected by lexical changes, as one verb (*pensar*) takes over the semantic field of another (*esperar*).

I must also point out that the subjunctive vs. indicative dichotomy is not crystal clear. In some exhortative sentences, a different particle was used to indicate subordination, as in (145) and (146) below:

(145) el padre ordona a su ijo de **alimpiar** su kamareta (by F70)  
 the father orders to his son [clause] clean.**inf** his room  
 ‘The father orders his son to clean his room.’

(146) mi padre me está ordonando de **alimpiar**-le su kamareta (by M69)  
 my father to.me is ordering [clause] clean.**inf**-for.him his room  
 ‘My father is ordering me to clean his room for him.’

In (145) and (146) the usage of the particle *de* has resulted in an infinitive instead of a subjunctive verb. Even though the usage of *de* is not consistent with the other speakers, one can argue that (F70) and (M69) did not use the subjunctive because they did not perceive it as a subordinate clause traditionally introduced by *ke*. This is an example in which the replacement of one particle, essential to the subjunctive equation, can very quickly eliminate the subjunctive mood.

Another factor to consider is what type of indicative speakers are using in subjunctive environments. This is best illustrated in the category of HOPE. In this category, most speakers who did not choose the subjunctive mood opted for the indicative forms of the periphrastic future, the periphrastic conditional, and the conditional.

Some speakers opted for the periphrastic future, which is composed of the verb *ir* ‘to go’ in the present indicative + infinitive:

(147) mi ijo espera ke la sivdad nueva va ser ermoza (by F70)  
my son hopes clause the city new **goes be** beautiful  
‘My son hopes that the new city **is going to be** beautiful.’

(148) yo espero ke mi madre mos va kozer la mijor komida (by F60)  
I hope clause my mother to.us **goes cook** the best food  
‘I hope that my mother **is going to cook** the best food for us.’

Speakers who produced the periphrastic future in this context were (M97), (F82), (F80C), (F80D), (F70), (M69), (F60), (F58A), (F58B), (F49), (F43), and (F40). Other speakers chose the periphrastic conditional or the synthetic conditional, as illustrated below. The

periphrastic conditional is composed of the verb *ir* ‘to go’ in the imperfect indicative + infinitive:

(149) mi ijo pensa ke el shehír iba estar emozo (by F58A)  
my son thinks clause the city **go.imperfect be** beautiful  
‘My son thinks (hopes) that the city **would be** beautiful.’

(150) kreo ke mi madre gizaría las komidas ke yo kería (by F44)  
I.think clause my mother **cook.conditional** the foods clause I want.conditional  
‘I think (hope) that my mother **would cook** the food that I want (like).’

(F58A) and (F44) were the only speakers who employed the conditional forms in this context. By far, the majority of speakers favored the periphrastic future. It seems that the periphrastic future is taking over the subjunctive mood in the context of hope, as this tendency appears across generations.

To summarize, the Judeo-Spanish subjunctive is in the process of disappearance. Even though the Judeo-Spanish subjunctive requires a more extensive study than the concise analysis provided here, it seems that its disappearance is not uniform in all of its contexts. Thus, the Judeo-Spanish subjunctive remains strong in the area of influence or exhortative sentences, it is being replaced by the periphrastic future in the hope category, and it is all but extinct in dubitative sentences. Part of this disappearance is related to lexical erosion, as the language loses or substitutes words that trigger subjunctive, as well as the substitution of *ke*, which indicates subordination, by the particle *de*. Overall, the usage of the Judeo-Spanish subjunctive is closely linked to the proficiency continuum, as younger speakers use it less than the older members of the community.

In this chapter, I have attempted to summarize some of the structural changes that have been observed in other languages, with particular attention to those cases involving inflectional morphology and syntax similar to that of Spanish. I have also highlighted some of the structural consequences that have been observed in various dialects of Judeo-Spanish by other researchers. Finally, I have added the contribution of my research, demonstrating that the Judeo-Spanish community in Istanbul is currently experiencing structural consequences in its morphology and syntax, namely in the features of gender, number, adjective placement, subject-verb agreement, and subjunctive usage. Some of these structural consequences result as speakers no longer apply obligatory rules, as in subjunctive use in dubitative sentences, or as speakers attempt to level irregularities or rule exemptions, as observed in some instances in the gender and number paradigms. Other structural changes serve to simplify the language or to avoid redundancy, as it was observed in the subject-verb agreement, or as speakers lose lexical domains and substitute words that trigger certain syntactic structures, as in some instances of subjunctive usage. These strategies, in combination with the strong morphological and syntactic influence from the dominant language Turkish, have affected the language of the younger generation in such a way that it differs morphologically and syntactically from the speech of their forebears.

**CHAPTER 5:**  
**SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION**

## **5.0. Structural Consequences of Language Shift: Judeo-Spanish in Istanbul**

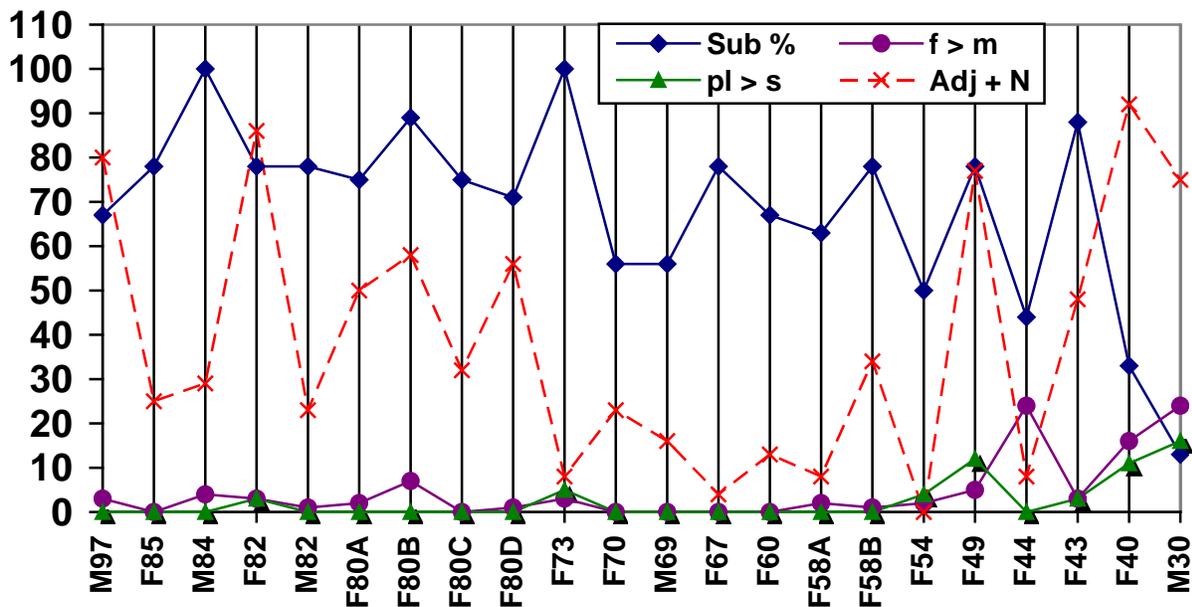
In the previous chapters I presented the sociolinguistic history of Judeo-Spanish, culminating in its current situation in Istanbul. As I described in detail in Chapter 3, Judeo-Spanish in Istanbul is struggling to survive, reduced to peripheral and highly restricted domains such as the language of entertainment, a secret language, and the language of the older generation, among other sociolinguistic situations. These periphery domains are not to be considered a safe area where the language is thriving, since Turkish, and to some extent Hebrew, English, and French, are constantly challenging the useful presence of Judeo-Spanish. To illustrate this, we observed how Judeo-Spanish was once considered the language of Sephardic Judaism, but currently both Hebrew and Turkish are encompassing the religious domain, at least in Istanbul. In the broad picture, we observe that the Sephardic community in Istanbul favors Turkish as the official language of the state, necessary for economic and political survival. Hebrew is also favored as the language of the Jewish community and for those Sephardim who ultimately want to settle in Israel for economic or religious reasons. French is no longer taught as extensively as during the era of the Alliance Israelite schools, but a new global language, English, is preferred and widely studied among the younger generation. In this linguistic struggle, Judeo-Spanish is relegated to peripheral, minimal, and sporadic instances, therefore its survival in the future generations does not seem very promising.

And yet, Judeo-Spanish is still part of Sephardic life in Istanbul. Linguists and other observers have been predicting the death of Judeo-Spanish in Istanbul since the 1930s, but the language manages to survive in different domains or contexts. In addition, it

appears that semispeakers or passive speakers, who grew up hearing and understanding the language, but not speaking it, are able to acquire and produce the language in some form. Moreover, the younger generation is aware of the importance of Spanish as a global language, and interest in learning Spanish as a way to broaden their economic and academic prospects is increasing in Turkey.

Judeo-Spanish is currently undergoing some morphological and syntactic restructuring, as illustrated by Graph (151) below, which summarizes the structural consequences discussed in the previous chapters.

**Graph (151): Percentages of Subjunctive Usage, Feminine to Masculine Gender Shift, Plural to Singular Number Shift, and Pre-nominal Adjective**



Graph (151) demonstrates that, for the most part, the Judeo-Spanish of the younger generation is experiencing a higher degree of structural changes or dramatic movement in variant use, in the terminology of Dorian (1994). Thus, the younger generation has the

highest percentages for gender shift, both for feminine to masculine and masculine to feminine. The graph above shows only the feminine to masculine shift for the sake of simplicity, but we can observe that speakers such as (F49) and (M30) have about 25% of shift. Similarly, the younger generation also exhibits the higher percentages of plural to singular shift, with (F49), (F40), and (M30) in the lead. Likewise, most young speakers in their forties and thirties displayed a preference for placing the adjective before the noun in the noun phrase, as it is done in Turkish. And, finally, the younger generation produces the least amount of subjunctive mood in subordinate clauses, replacing it with the indicative mood, the infinitive, or other constructions. The patterns of these structural changes allow us to conclude that the younger generation is leading language change in the Istanbul dialect.

However, in spite of these structural consequences typical of languages in shift, as they are triggered by the structure of the dominant language and by structural simplification, change itself is minimal. In other words, even the younger speakers still retain all morphological categories for the most part, as the shifts in gender from feminine to masculine (24% at its highest), and masculine to feminine (also 24% at its highest), and the shifts in number from plural to singular (16% at its highest) and singular to plural (2% at its highest) are overall quite low. This leads one to conclude that Judeo-Spanish in Istanbul is dying with its “morphological boots” on, to use the phrase coined by Dorian (1978) to describe how an endangered language, in spite of reduced domains and number of speakers, has still managed to keep most of its structural morphology intact (Dorian 1978, 608). This is surprising, given the fact that Turkish does not have grammatical

gender and that it marks the plural minimally on nouns and sometimes on verbs. Since Turkish is used in more domains than Judeo-Spanish, one would expect a stronger influence on Judeo-Spanish morphology, especially among the younger generation which uses Turkish exclusively. It seems that Judeo-Spanish morphology is quite resistant to change in this regard. My results echo not only those of Dorian (1978) for East Sutherland Gaelic, but also the conclusions reached by Silva-Corvalán's (2004) research on Spanish spoken in the American Southwest. Silva-Corvalán (2004) concluded that Southwest Spanish was dying with its "morphological boots" on because speakers with the lowest levels of Spanish proficiency still maintained verbal inflections and gender, number, and case markers (Silva-Corvalán 2004, 218). Although beyond the scope of this dissertation, I would be interested in analyzing other languages rich in morphological constructions in similar language shift situations, and investigate if these morphological boots are particular to these languages.

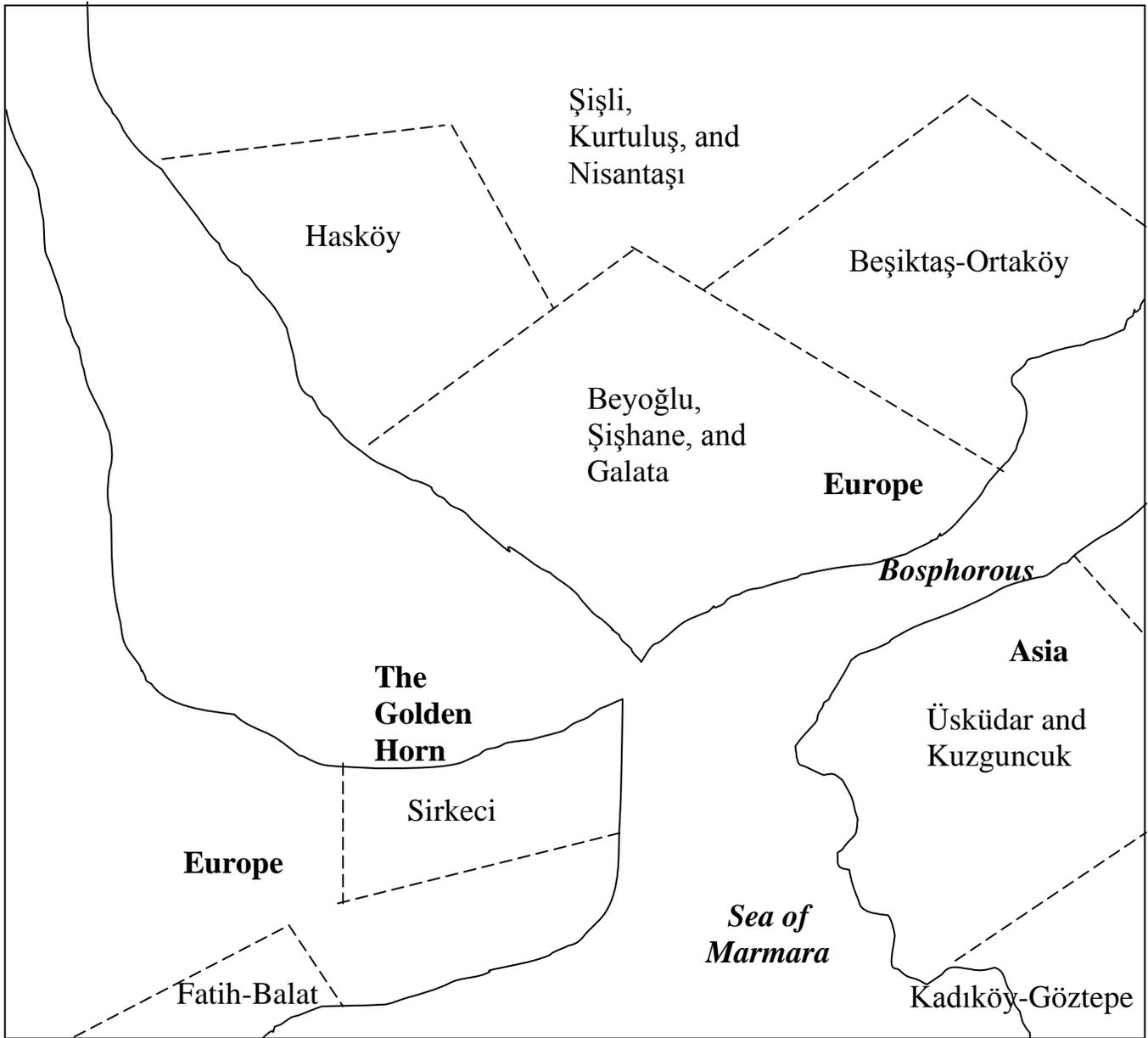
The Judeo-Spanish syntax presents more dramatic structural changes. As Graph (151) above illustrates, the highest percentage of adjectives placed before the noun in the noun phrase was 92% for (F40). Even though we can argue that this placement is favored due to Turkish influence, which only allows the adjective before the noun, this structural change was already present in the language, and therefore it is not radically different from the speech of the older generation. The greatest structural change appears in the lack of subjunctive usage in subordinate clauses by the younger generation, with 13% production by (M30) at its lowest percentage. In my data, this is the most significant difference between the speech of the young Sephardim and that of the older generation.

Perhaps the lack of subjunctive results directly from lack of a wide range of domains. The less the language is used, the fewer stylistic options it has, and structures such as subordination are seldom produced. In any event, broadly speaking, Judeo-Spanish in Istanbul remains largely unchanged, with few structural consequences, with its grammatical boots on.

As the Sephardim in Istanbul move into the twenty-first century, the question remains if Judeo-Spanish will continue to survive in its peripheral domains or if it will disappear completely within the next generations. If the language manages to survive, then we must consider if it will remain faithful to its present morphological and syntactic structures or if the new generations will incorporate new changes or accelerate the changes in gender, number, adjective placement, subject-verb agreement, and subjunctive usage that are already in place. The structural consequences of languages in shift are important to the theoretical and sociolinguist because these changes reveal structural mechanisms inherent to the language in question, especially how the language reacts to external and internal linguistic influences. At the same time, the community or linguist organizing revitalization efforts must consider the current phonological, morphological, and syntactic characteristics of the language in order to devise appropriate instruction materials and educational programs.

## **APPENDICES**

**Appendix A: Map of Istanbul's Districts and Neighborhoods Relevant to this Study:**



**Appendix B: Translation Exercise from Turkish to Judeo-Spanish. The answers of the oldest and the youngest speakers have been provided.**

**Turkish-Spanish Translation Exercise**

<i>Speaker</i>	<i>Sentence</i>
<b>Turkish</b>	<b>1. Bu adam genç.</b>
M97	esta persona es mansevo
M30	esto ombre es mansevo
<b>Turkish</b>	<b>2. Bugün güzel bir gün.</b>
M97	oy es buen día, ermozo día
M30	esto una dia muy bien
<b>Turkish</b>	<b>3. Baba mutlu.</b>
M97	mi padre está muy orozo
M30	mi padre está kontente
<b>Turkish</b>	<b>4. Kitabımın iyi olduğunu düşünüyorum.</b>
M97	penso ke el livro es bueno
M30	para mi, mi livro está bien
<b>Turkish</b>	<b>5. Bu araba yenidir.</b>
M97	este otomovíl es nuevo
M30	esta otomovíl es nuevo
<b>Turkish</b>	<b>6. Evim eski.</b>
M97	mi kaza es vieja
M30	mi kaza no es nuevo
<b>Turkish</b>	<b>7. Bu kadının uzgun olduğuna inanıyorum.</b>
M97	esta mujer merikiyoza
M30	para mi esta muher no está kontente mucho
<b>Turkish</b>	<b>8. Arabalar yeni</b>
M97	los otomoviles nuevos
M30	estos otomoviles son nuevos
<b>Turkish</b>	<b>9. Mutlu kuşlar büyük ağacın tepesinde şarkı söylüyorlar.</b>
M97	los pasharós en los árvoles están kantando
M30	kontente pasharós están kantando en la grande arvolé
<b>Turkish</b>	<b>10. şehirdeki yeni evler büyük.</b>
M97	las kazas de la sivdad son grandes
M30	las kazas muevas en esta sivdad están grandes

<b>Turkish</b>	<b>11. Yeni gelinler mutlu.</b>
M97	las novias están kontentes
M30	muevo novias están kontente
<b>Turkish</b>	<b>12. Güzel gelinimi seviyorum.</b>
M97	amo a la ermoza novia
M30	yo kiero mucho bien en la ermoza novia mia
<b>Turkish</b>	<b>13. Oglumun evinden geliyorum.</b>
M97	estó vinyendo de la kaza de mi ijo
M30	estó viniendo de a kaza mi iho
<b>Turkish</b>	<b>14. Her gün gazeteyi okuyorsunuz.</b>
M97	kada dia estas meldando las gazetash
M30	tu estás meldando los gazetos el dia entero
<b>Turkish</b>	<b>15. Babanızı ziyaret ediyorsunuz.</b>
M97	estás vijitando a tu padre
M30	estás ziyarando tu padre
<b>Turkish</b>	<b>16. Senin güzel bir dil konuştuğunu düşünüyorum.</b>
M97	estás avlando una lingua muy ermoza
M30	yo penso ke tu estás avlando una lingua ermozo
<b>Turkish</b>	<b>17. Adamlar eski sinağogda.</b>
M97	las personas están en el kal viejo
M30	los ombres están adientro del vieho kal
<b>Turkish</b>	<b>18. Mutlu öğrenciler okullardalar.</b>
M97	los orozos elevos están en la eskola
M30	kontente estudiantes están en la eskola
<b>Turkish</b>	<b>19. Yaşlı teyzem onu eski şehirde ziyaret etmemi istiyor.</b>
M97	esta teyzé kere ke te agas musafir
M30	mi vieja tante kere ke viaharme eya en la sivdad vieja/vieha
<b>Turkish</b>	<b>20. Arkadaşlarımın evime gelmesini istiyorum.</b>
M97	kero mis amigos ke vengan a mi kaza
M30	yo kiero mi amigos ke vengan a la kaza mía
<b>Turkish</b>	<b>21. Annem orada olmamı istiyor.</b>
M97	mi madre kere ke esté yo ayá
M30	mi madre kero ke me está aya

<b>Turkish</b>	<b>22. Ođlum yeni Őehirin gzel olmasını mit ediyor.</b>
M97	mi ijo espera/pensa ke la sivdad es ermoza
M30	mi ijo kero ke mueva sivdad kale ke aze bueno
<b>Turkish</b>	<b>23. Kızım doktor olmak istiyor.</b>
M97	mi ija kiere ser dokteur
M30	mi ija kero azerse doktoresa
<b>Turkish</b>	<b>24. Baba ođluna odasını temizlemesini emrediyor.</b>
M97	el babá está ordonando ke alimpen la kaza
M30	la padre está preguntando a su ijo/iho ke limpia la kamareta suyo la padre está demandando su ijo kale ke limpio la kamareta suyo
<b>Turkish</b>	<b>25. mit ediyorum ki annemin en sevdiđim yemeđi piŐirir.</b>
M97	penso ke mi madre va kozer la ermoza komida
M30	me está pensando ke mi mamá está gizando la komida fevuruta mia
<b>Turkish</b>	<b>26. Anneler ođulların iyi Őeyler yapmalarını ister</b>
M97	las madres keren ke los ijos agan buenas kozas
M30	los madres keren los ijos ke azen buenas kozas
<b>Turkish</b>	<b>27. RaŐelin lkeden geldiđine inanmıyorlar.</b>
M97	no me estó kreyendo ke Rashel entró a la sivdad
M30	no s'están pensando ke Rashel está viniendo de la otra parte de mundo
<b>Turkish</b>	<b>28. Amca benim her gn ispanyolca konuŐmamı istiyor.</b>
M97	mi tío kere ke avle en espanyol kada dia
M30	mi onkli kyero ke me avla espanyol el día entero
<b>Turkish</b>	<b>29. KuŐ masadaki yemeđi yemek istiyor.</b>
M97	el pasharó kere komer la komida de la meza
M30	los pasharó kiere komer de la komida en la meza
<b>Turkish</b>	<b>30. Ođlum doktor olmak istiyor.</b>
M97	mi ijo kere ser dokteur
M30	mi ijo kiero azerse doktor
<b>Turkish</b>	<b>31. Yeni araba almađı mit ediyorum.</b>
M97	penso de merkarme mueva arabá
M30	está pensando ke tomar nuevo koche
<b>Turkish</b>	<b>32. Amcam her gn gazete okumak istiyor.</b>
M97	mi tio/onkle kere kada dia meldar gazeta
M30	mi onkli kyere meldar los gazetos el día entero

<b>Turkish</b>	<b>33. Damat yeni gelini görmek istiyor.</b>
M97	el novio kere ver a la novia
M30	el novio kiero ver mueva novia
<b>Turkish</b>	<b>34. Genç oğluların bu güzel gemide olmak istiyor.</b>
M97	los mansevov keren estar en esta vapor
M30	los mansevov ijov mios kieren estarse en esto ermozo barko
<b>Turkish</b>	<b>35. Bu adamlar iyi yemek yemek istiyorlar.</b>
M97	estas personas keren de komer buena komida
M30	estos ombre kyero komer buenos komidas
<b>Turkish</b>	<b>36. Raşel annesinin mutlu olduğunu söylüyor.</b>
M97	*****
M30	Rashel está diziendo ke su madre está kontente
<b>Turkish</b>	<b>37. Amcam diyor ki bu yemek güzel.</b>
M97	*****
M30	mi onkle está diziendo esta komido es muy bien
<b>Turkish</b>	<b>38. Yeni öğrenci bu şehirin sıcak olduğunu söylüyor.</b>
M97	*****
M30	el estudiante nuevo está pensando esta suidad es kalor
<b>Turkish</b>	<b>39. Amcalarım büyük şehirde yaşıyorlar.</b>
M97	*****
M30	mi onklis están biviendo en la grande siudads
<b>Turkish</b>	<b>40. Anne mutlu oğlularını seviyor.</b>
M97	*****
M30	la madre kiere bien en la kontentes ijov/ ihos
<b>Turkish</b>	<b>41. Şehirdeki ağaçların küçük olduğunu düşünüyorum.</b>
M97	*****
M30	está pensando ke los arvolés de esta siudád están chikos
<b>Turkish</b>	<b>42. Bu güzel kadınlar eski şehire gidiyorlar.</b>
M97	*****
M30	estos ermozas muheres están entrando en la siudads vieja
<b>Turkish</b>	<b>43. Bence bu masalar küçük.</b>
M97	*****
M30	para mi estas mezas están chikos

<b>Turkish</b>	<b>44. Yeni şehirler denize yakınlar.</b>
M97	*****
M30	en muevas suidás están serkas de la mar
<b>Turkish</b>	<b>45. şehirdeki teyzelerimizi ziyaret ediyoruz</b>
M97	*****
M30	estamos ziyarando de los tantis ke tenemos en la suidads
<b>Turkish</b>	<b>46. Annemiz diyor ki biz iyi yemek seviyoruz.</b>
M97	*****
M30	la mi madre está diziendo ke yo keremos bien en las komidas buenos
<b>Turkish</b>	<b>47. Bu yeni evi seviyorsun(uz).</b>
M97	*****
M30	tu kieres bien a esta mueva kaza
<b>Turkish</b>	<b>48. Amcalar büyük kitapları okuyorlar.</b>
M97	*****
M30	los onklis están meldando livros grandes
<b>Turkish</b>	<b>49. Teyzeler sıcak yemek severler.</b>
M97	*****
M30	los tantes kieres bien en las komidas kaéntes
<b>Turkish</b>	<b>50. Ailem bu güzel evde.</b>
M97	*****
M30	mi famía está en esta ermoza kaza
<b>Turkish</b>	<b>51. Annem amcaların şehirde olduklarını söylüyor.</b>
M97	*****
M30	mi madre está diziendo ke mi onklis están en la siudads
<b>Turkish</b>	<b>52. Gemiler büyük denizde.</b>
M97	*****
M30	los barkos están en la grande mar
<b>Turkish</b>	<b>53. Lezzetli yemek masada.</b>
M97	*****
M30	ermoza komida es en la mása
<b>Turkish</b>	<b>54. Oğluların o yeni gemide.</b>
M97	*****
M30	mis ijos están adientro de en nuevo barko

<b>Turkish</b>	<b>55. Kızım büyük odasında.</b>
M97	*****
M30	mi ija está en grande kamareta
<b>Turkish</b>	<b>56. Anne ile kız gemide.</b>
M97	*****
M30	la madre kon ija están en la barko
<b>Turkish</b>	<b>57. Güzel kuş evim içinde.</b>
M97	*****
M30	ermozo pasharó está adientro de kaza
<b>Turkish</b>	<b>58. Bence bu iyi bir araba değil.</b>
M97	*****
M30	para mi esta koche no está bien
<b>Turkish</b>	<b>59. Annem teyzemi ziyaret etmek istiyor.</b>
M97	*****
M30	mi madre kyere ke viahar a mi tante
<b>Turkish</b>	<b>60. Babası eski şehire ziyaret etmek istiyor.</b>
M97	*****
M30	su padre kiero viahar a la suidad vieho
<b>Turkish</b>	<b>61. Güzel kızımız o şehirde okumak istiyor.</b>
M97	*****
M30	mis ermozo iha kiero meldar en la ermoza suidad

**Appendix C: Sociolinguistic Questionnaire in Judeo-Spanish (Basic questions, with English translations in Italics)**

1. Komo se yama? *What is your name?*
2. Kuantos anyos tiene? *How old are you?*
3. Ande nasió? En kuala parte? *Where were you born?*
4. Ande bivió toda su vida? *Where have you lived most of your life?*
5. De ande es su madre, su padre, su espoz/mujer? *Where is your mother, your father, your spouse from?*
6. Kualo echo aze? *What is your job?*
7. Kualas/Kuantas linguas avla? *Which/how many languages do you speak?*
8. De chiko/chika, kon ken avlava espanyol? *When you were a child, with whom did you speak Spanish?*
9. Agora, kon ken avla espanyol? *With whom do you speak Spanish now?*
10. I agora kualas linguas/kualo avlan los djóvenes/la mansevez? *Nowadays, which languages does the young generation speak?*
11. Kualo es el avenir de nuestro espanyol? *What is the future of our Spanish?*
12. Puede me kontar un poko de su chikez? Tenia perro, gato, pásharo? *Could you tell me a bit about your childhood? Did you have a dog, cat, bird?*
13. Puede me kontar una shaká, una conseja, una kantika en espanyol? *Could you tell me a joke, story, song in Spanish?*
14. A kualas partes a vijitado? *Where have you traveled?*
15. De chiko/chika, kualas eran las komidas preferidas? Komo se azen? *What was your favorite food when you were a child? How do you make it?*
16. Si un novio i una novia keren kasarsen, kualo kale ke eos agan? *If a couple wants to get married, what must they do?*
17. Esto vijitando a Estambul por un mes, kualo kale ke yo vea, ke aga, ke vijite? *I'm in Istanbul for one month, what must I see, do, visit?*

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