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Judeo-Spanish Encounters Modern Spanish:

Language Contact and Diglossia among the Sephardim of Los Angeles and New York City

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the
requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy
in Hispanic Languages and Literature

by

Bryan Kirschen

2015

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ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Judeo-Spanish Encounters Modern Spanish:
Language Contact and Diglossia among the Sephardim of Los Angeles and New York City

by

Bryan Kirschen

Doctor of Philosophy in Hispanic Languages and Literature

University of California, Los Angeles, 2015

Professor Claudia Parodi-Lewin, Co-chair

Professor Antonio C. Quicoli, Co-chair

For the past century, Los Angeles and New York City have been home to two of the largest Latino and Sephardic populations in the United States. Interaction between these ethnic groups, therefore, has been inevitable. However, there has been minimal research on the linguistic repercussions that have resulted from contact between these two linguistically similar yet distinct groups. From a sociolinguistic agenda, I explore how Judeo-Spanish speakers in these two metropolises utilize their language and in which domains. Furthermore, my research reveals that, among my informants (n=25), Judeo-Spanish is used as a platform to acquire proficiency in varieties of Modern Spanish.

Aside from conducting sociolinguistic interviews to account for the diglossic distribution among informants, I carry out production as well as perception experiments. These experiments

determine which features typically associated with a given variety of language are prone to transference. For the production experiment, informants engaged in conversation with a native speaker of Spanish from either Los Angeles or New York City, representing different varieties of Spanish (Los Angeles Vernacular Spanish and Dominican Spanish, respectively). After reviewing the type of speech produced by the informants, results indicate that informants utilize prepalatals [dʒ], [ʒ], and [ʃ] instead of velar [x] approximately one-third of the time. For the perception experiment, informants listened to real and nonce words in Judeo-Spanish and Modern Spanish and were asked to identify to which language each token pertained or was more likely to pertain. This experiment reveals that, although phonological differences assist the informants in making categorical selections, lexicalization remains the most important property for such categorization. The results of the perception experiment offer insight as to some of the phenomena occurring in the speech production of the informants.

Collectively, the results from these experiments reveal how Judeo-Spanish-speaking Sephardim utilize their language. Exploring theories of diglossia and accommodation demonstrate how informants position themselves in front of another speaker of Judeo-Spanish or Modern Spanish. As informants are often metalinguistically cognizant of the source languages of Judeo-Spanish, lexicalization allows them to determine which features to transfer between languages.

The dissertation of Bryan Kirschen is approved.

Teofilo Ruiz

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Claudia Parodi-Lewin, Committee Co-chair

Antonio C. Quicoli, Committee Co-chair

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2015

To my family

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PREFACE

While researching Judeo-Spanish as a linguist, I have also benefited from a number of other fields of study that have allowed me to better understand the intricacies of this language. My exploration of the Judeo-Spanish language and Sephardic culture has allowed me to work with scholars in fields related to Hispanic linguistics, Jewish studies, anthropology, and literature. Judeo-Spanish, as any language, can be explored from a number of directions. Keeping this in mind has allowed me to determine the organization and contents of my dissertation.

In order for readers to understand the structure of Judeo-Spanish, I have dedicated the first chapter of my dissertation to exploring the language as both a Jewish language and a Romance language. Given that my doctoral degree is within the field of Hispanic Linguistics, I believe it is important to review the composition of this language from both structural and ideological perspectives. This chapter will facilitate the reading of subsequent chapters in the dissertation, which deal with the methodology of my study, followed by the results and discussions.

Finally, I take this opportunity to note that throughout my dissertation, I research contact between two similar but different languages: *Judeo-Spanish* and *Modern Spanish*. While using the term ‘modern’ to describe all varieties of non-Sephardic Spanish, this should not suggest that Judeo-Spanish is not a ‘modern’ language. Although Judeo-Spanish retains many features from Old Spanish, it is not a fossilized or dead language; the language continues to develop and Sephardim still speak it today. The domains of usage will be discussed throughout this dissertation.

VITA

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Selected Publications

- 2015 "El contacto lingüístico entre los sefardíes y los latinos en los Estados Unidos." *Sefarad*, Consejo Superior de Ciencias Científicas, [forthcoming]
- 2014 "The (not-so) distant relationship between Spanish and Arabic." *Voices II*. UC Press, eScholarship.
- 2013 "Multilingual Manipulation and Humor in *I Love Lucy*." *Hispania*. Vol. 96, No. 4.
- 2013 "Language Ideologies and Hegemonic Factors Imposed upon Judeo-Spanish Speaking Communities." *Mester* XLII.

Selected Presentations

- 2015 “Diglosia y contacto judeoespañol-castellano entre los sefardíes de Los Angeles.” Panel: El estado actual del judeoespañol en Estados Unidos. XXV Congreso del español en los Estados Unidos & X Congreso del español en contacto con otras lenguas, March 26-29.
- 2014 “Judeo-Spanish and Spanish Contact in the United States.” 18º Congreso de Estudios Sefardíes. CCHS-CSIC, Madrid, Spain, June 30-July 3.
- 2014 “Linguistic Advantages and Constraints in the Classroom: Judeo-Spanish as an L2.” Panel: Applying Linguistics to the Learning of Middle Eastern Languages. Modern Language Association 129th Annual Convention. Chicago, Illinois, January 10.
- 2013 “Understanding the Syntax of Ladino, the Judeo-Spanish Calque.” Why Spanish Matters III: 50 Shades of Spanish: UCLA Spanish and Portuguese Department, Centro de Estudios Del Español de los Estados Unidos. May 17.
- 2013 “Contemporary Linguistic Features of ‘Cervantine’ Judeo-Spanish.” Panel: Redefining the “Fossilized” Language of the Twenty-First Century. Modern Language Association 128th Annual Convention. Boston, Massachusetts, January 5.
- 2012 “Judeo-Spanish: A Linguistic Hybrid of the Sephardic Hybrid Identity.” Collapse/Catastrophe/Change, American Comparative Literature Conference, Brown University, March 29-April 1.
- 2012 “Judeo-Spanish in Contact.” XVII Graduate Student Conference, CUNY Graduate Center, Hispanic and Luso-Brazilian Literatures and Languages. March 23-24, 2012.
- 2012 “Vos, Vozós i Vozotros: Historical Development and Contemporary Usage.” Judeo-Spanish Comparative Studies Symposium, ucLADINO, University of California, Los Angeles, February 21.
- 2011 “Sociolinguistic factors and narratives of the Sephardim upon immigrating to the United States.” Luso-Hispanic Immigration in the US: Linguistic, Literary and Cultural Perspectives, VIII Annual UCLA Department of Spanish and Portuguese Graduate Student Conference, April 21-22.
- 2011 “El judeoespañol contemporáneo en Los Ángeles: cambios fonológicos.” XXIII Congreso del español en los Estados Unidos & VIII Congreso del español en contacto con otras lenguas, March 19.

1

JUDEO-SPANISH AS A JEWISH LANGUAGE: LINGUISTIC REALITIES AND IDEOLOGIES

1. Introduction

In this chapter, I explore Judeo-Spanish as both a Jewish language and a Romance language. I explain its historical and linguistic roots dating back to the Iberian Peninsula and its development in the Sephardic diaspora. I begin by discussing models of Jewish language typology, beginning with Wexler's (1981) pioneering theoretical framework, continuing with that of Fishman (1985), and culminating in recent research by Benor (2010). I continue by highlighting differences within Judeo-Spanish dialectology, primarily among the two major varieties—Djudezmo and Haketia (Bunis 1992b). I use Djudezmo to refer to the spoken language of the descendants of the Iberian Jews who migrated to Turkey and the Balkans, and Haketia to refer to the spoken language of those Iberian Jewish descendants who settled in North Africa, primarily in northern cities of Morocco. Following this discussion, I analyze the syntactic calqued variety of the language known as Ladino (Sephiha 1985). Finally, I explore the ideological stance of Sephardic Jews as applied to Judeo-Spanish. While a clear linguistic analysis between Jewish languages and their non-Jewish cognates helps one to understand the hybrid nature of Jewish language typology, reporting upon extra-linguistic features is imperative for such investigation. I compare research from Callaway (2008), Kushner-Bishop (2004), Harris (1994) and Bunis (1992b) in order to assess extra-linguistic considerations that shape the Judeo-Spanish speakers' ideologies of their mother tongue. As such, this chapter offers a comprehensive examination of Judeo-

Spanish linguistic features, many of which will come into contact with varieties of Spanish found in the United States today, as discussed in subsequent chapters.

1.1 What is a Jewish Language?

In this section, I examine the myriad of Judeo-Spanish repertoires within the current framework of Comparative Jewish Linguistics (also referred to as Jewish Inter- or Intra-linguistics). Judeo-Spanish is one of a number of Jewish languages used contemporarily throughout the world and pertains to a much larger list if one takes into account those Jewish languages no longer in use.

Sephardim who speak Judeo-Spanish are often exposed to the language in their formative years; the language represents a unique grammar within their language faculty. Chomsky (1986) notes that the language faculty can be thought of as a *language acquisition device*, “an innate component of the human mind that yields a particular language through interaction with presented experience, a device that converts experience into a system of knowledge attained” (16). Considering such principles of language helps us to understand the linguistic structure of Judeo-Spanish and how its grammar fits into the larger theory of Universal Grammar. This initial state of the language faculty determines what is possible—grammatical—within a language and what is not. As we explore the nature of the Judeo-Spanish language, we will determine how innate properties of grammar interact with the societies in which the Sephardim have resided.

After examining complementary as well as competing definitions on what Jewish languages are, I evaluate their typology, creation, and further considerations within the field. I describe unique features of Judeo-Spanish and include the reasons for linguistic as well as ideological parameters to establish its norms. In order to answer a series of questions such as how Jewish languages emerge, how they are related, and who their users are, linguists of Comparative Jewish Linguistics have offered a variety of paradigms to respond to these as well

as other inquiries. Jewish languages are often compared to the languages spoken by their co-territorial non-Jewish neighbors. Wexler (1981) conjectures that “the base component of every Jewish language is derived from a coterritorial non-Jewish cognate—yet never completely overlaps with it,” often keeping them from obtaining an independent status as a language (117). Such a language is one that Ornan (1985) posits is spoken typically among Jews themselves, while expanding on the definition in that the language used from within the Jewish community is different from that outside of it. Stillman (1988) notes that Jewish languages, while often pertaining to unrelated linguistic families, are linked to one another in their “use of the Hebrew script for writing them (although this is not an absolute *sine qua non*) and the inclusion, and indeed ready assimilation, of an element of Hebrew and Aramaic vocabulary” (3). Distinct forms of writing and speaking among the Jews from their non-Jewish neighbors have been a common trend throughout history. Benor (2008) claims that differences among Jewish repertoires range from those that incorporate a small number of Hebrew and Aramaic words into their lexicon, to those that grammatically differ from their non-Jewish cognates. The substratal or adstratal degree of inclusion of Hebrew and Aramaic lexicon, as well as the sociolinguistic phenomena with which they interact, are a vital component to understanding Jewish varieties of language.

In regard to treating the Jewish repertoire as a language, researchers of Jewish languages and Jewish Comparative Linguistics have built upon one another’s work and proposed additional frameworks that encompass a number of lesser-studied Jewish languages. The most comprehensive definition is that of Fishman (1985), who defines a language as Jewish,

that is phonologically, morpho-syntactically, lexico-semantically or orthographically different from that of non-Jewish sociocultural networks and that has some demonstrably unique function in the role-repertoire of a Jewish sociocultural network, which function is not normatively present in the role-repertoire of non-Jews and/ or is not normatively discharged via varieties identical with those utilized by non-Jews (4).

In his description, Fishman encompasses the fundamental linguistic features of language while highlighting the significance of the sociological aspects of the users behind the language. As such, it is not only the linguistic construct of the Jewish language that must be focused on, but also a complementary understanding of psychological and sociological factors intertwined within the community of speakers.

Researchers continue to revise existing terminology in an effort to expand the database of Jewish languages and how they precisely fit into such frameworks. New hypotheses may be tested by examining research from both well-documented and understudied Jewish languages. Jewish Comparative Linguistics, which Wexler originally refers to as Jewish Interlinguistics, has a unique research agenda that has evolved into a field of its own. Research in this field compares those languages with similar typological features in which Wexler (1981) notes are, “derived from a coterritorial non-Jewish language, and each is open to similar types of enrichment—sometimes even similar resources” (137). He adds that speakers of Jewish languages are those who have a common ethno-religious identity and are linked to a series of language shifts dating back to Old Hebrew.

In recent decades, several issues have lingered over typological frameworks within the field. One of these concerns deals with the assumption that a Jewish language must be spoken by Jews for it to be identified as Jewish (Benor 2008). This preconceived notion has led scholars to conclude that Modern Hebrew cannot be classified as a Jewish language (Ornan 1985). This claim deduces that Modern Hebrew is not a Jewish language from a sociolinguistic perspective, given that Jews and non-Jews alike also speak it natively. Since Modern Hebrew has achieved official nation-state recognition by Israel and is, therefore, spoken by millions of Muslims and Christians in the land, the claim suggests that it is not possible for the language to be a Jewish

one. This is a topic that continues to result in debate among scholars. Judeo-Spanish, of course, also served non-Jews as the language of international trade, while gaining a great deal of attention throughout the Balkans (Harris 2006: 120).

While there is inevitably a ‘Jewish’ component to the conceived notion of a Jewish language, documenting precisely where these features lie remains at the forefront of the field. Similarly, although Jews typically used a variant of the Hebrew alphabet as the preferred orthography of their language, this cannot be a defining factor in determining what a Jewish language is. Judeo-Spanish, for example, was written for centuries in the Rashi and Solitreo alphabets, along with certain printed sources in Meruba-block characters. However, the reforms implemented by Ataturk in 1928 made it that all those residing in Turkey switch to the Latin alphabet, which included a switch from the Arabic alphabet used in Ottoman Turkish to a Latinized alphabet used for Modern Turkish. Judeo-Spanish speakers similarly gave up their established norms of writing (Borovaya 2003). In defining a Jewish language by its orthography, one would have to claim that Judeo-Spanish would subsequently lose the ‘Judeo’ character in its shift to the Latin alphabet; of course this is not the case. Benor (2009) notes, however, that works written in Jewish characters in languages like Judeo-Persian or Judeo-Arabic are often classified as Jewish literature, even if themes of the text are not related to Judaism. Nevertheless, the orthography of these texts is only decipherable to a (mostly) Jewish audience. The conundrum, therefore, lies in the purpose of implementing a Jewish font for written sources by the Jews.

Fishman (1985) notes that the most widely spoken contemporary Jewish language is still an emerging one—that of Jewish-English. Gold (1981) and Benor (2008, 2009, 2010) have carried out extensive research on Jewish English. Jewish-English, as the language is termed, does not have a history of documentation in Hebrew characters; however, it still pertains to the vast

number of Jewish (or Judeo-) languages in existence today. These issues, along with others, have provided scholars with new ways of analyzing individual Jewish languages and approaching comparative studies between them.

I have described Jewish speech varieties as languages. However, as linguists often find themselves discussing, the distinction between a language and a dialect is a controversial, political, and ideological matter. Max Weinreich is known for his statement that a “language is a dialect with an army and navy,” which serves to demonstrate the paradox as to how languages have become independently recognized from one another throughout history due to underlying politics at hand (Spolsky 2014: 141). Gold (1981) insists on using the terms ‘lect’ and ‘variety’ to describe what are typically referred to as Jewish languages. He asserts that using these terms allows the field to move forward and not put forth (often subjective) judgments on which speech varieties should be classified as dialects or languages, for which a comprehensive paradigm has not been created. He does, however, accept the hierarchal terminology of ‘language,’ which could be used to refer to Judeo-Spanish or Yiddish and the respective lects that pertain to each of them. Such an issue, prevalent across the world, is a linguistic and ideological one in both categorization and nomenclature. American English, British English, and Australian English are all classified as English; Egyptian Arabic and Moroccan Arabic are both considered Arabic; yet Bosnian, Croatian, and Serbian, due to politics within the former Yugoslavia, are considered separate languages by their speakers. Linguistically, however, there is no distinct point at which a language becomes independent from another, or simply a dialect of it, regardless of how many contrasting features they reveal. Identifying at what point Yiddish becomes a different language from German, Judeo-Spanish from Spanish, or Judeo-Arabic from Arabic, remains unanswered. This leads Gold to assert that a lect is “a Jewish lect to the extent that it furnishes its Jewish users

with the means of expressing all that a person as a Jew needs to express by language” (33). With this notion, one may explore how Jews go about using their language and the degree of Jewishness it suggests, given variation from the non-Jewish variety.

Benor’s work (2008, 2009, 2010) agrees with that of Gold, while considering Jewish languages as lects, etholects, and in describing a new theoretical construct—the Jewish Linguistic Repertoire. Benor (2008) emphasizes the importance in classifying what are typically referred to as Jewish languages as Jewish regiolects or Jewish lects. This revised terminology accounts for variation within a community, as opposed to ignoring varieties that fall anywhere outside of a fabricated standard of a Jewish ‘language’ or ‘dialect.’ The Jewish Linguistic Repertoire (JLR) focuses on the selective use of distinctive features that Jews use as resources in their speech or writing. Benor notes that such a concept takes the set system of a language and “renders the controversy about language vs. dialect irrelevant, and allows for the use of more or less distinct language by any Jew or non-Jew” (1068). These features, on the one hand, can include infrequent lexical incorporation from Hebrew, Aramaic or other languages and, on the other, represent the utmost unintelligible language in comparison to the non-Jewish cognate language. This shift in categorization focuses on the community and appreciates the elements that Jews use to interact within as well as outside of their speech communities. The revised construct shifts the question from “Does Jewish community X speak a Jewish language? to: How and to what extent does excerpt of speech or writing X make use of a distinctively Jewish linguistic repertoire?” (Benor 2009: 235). This adjustment to the fundamental and underlying question behind Comparative Jewish Linguistics allows scholars to connect past and present speech communities and assess their development diachronically.

While the JLR offers a distinct approach to the study of Jewish speech varieties, particularly for that of Jewish-English (Benor 2009), there are certain issues for which we must account. Of the documented Jewish languages, Yiddish and Judeo-Spanish are the most carefully researched. They also represent an anomaly compared to other Jewish languages and a hiccup to the JLR. Both Yiddish and Judeo-Spanish are what Benor (2008) refers to as post-co-territorial languages. This type of language is brought about when generations of speakers use their language outside their original territory in new regions of different languages, or when a speech community continues to use their language even when their co-regionalists shift to another one. Post-co-territorial languages constitute an exception and not the norm in Jewish history. This is understood in that Yiddish and Judeo-Spanish, both pertaining to this category, developed profoundly outside the lands of their base-language, while most other Jewish vernaculars remain in close geographic proximity to them. Thus, the JLR construct applies somewhat differently to these post-co-territorial languages, which I address through the lens of Judeo-Spanish spoken vernaculars in the following section.

The latest advance of Jewish language classification is an updated account of the Jewish Linguistic Repertoire to that of the Ethnolinguistic Repertoire (Benor 2010), in order to account for not only Jewish language varieties, but others as well. Similarly, this approach relies on a set of linguistic resources that speakers have at their disposal in order to index a given part of their (ethnic) identity. In this construct, variability and distinction are established by “any elements of language used in other groups (whether or not the speakers are aware of them), including system level morphosyntactic, phonological, and prosodic features, as well as sporadic lexical and discourse features” (160). This description of the revised theoretical construct complements as well as extends Fishman’s (1985) definition of a Jewish language.

Wexler (1981) accounts for four types of situations that allow for the creation of a Jewish language:

A. Languages that are different from their non-Jewish cognates because of linguistic developments of the associated Jewish community. Some of these languages are connected through a chain of language shift going back to Old Hebrew and implement a substratum of Hebrew and Aramaic. [Example: Yiddish].

B. Languages that are different than their non-Jewish cognates because of linguistic developments of the cognate language. The variety of the Jews, therefore, becomes Jewish by default. Some of these varieties are considered ‘fossilized’ or ‘archaic’ in that they do not develop in the same way that the non-Jewish cognate does. [Example: Judeo-Spanish “Djudezmo”].

C. Languages that are unspoken, yet are representative of culture and religion. Written varieties of this sort are typically calqued versions of liturgical texts where the Hebrew/ Aramaic component is translated word-for-word into the colloquial language of the Jewish community. This variety may exist alongside the spoken vernacular, however, varying greatly in linguistic construct. [Example: Ladino, the written translation variety of Judeo-Spanish].

D. Languages that vary minimally from the non-Jewish cognate yet incorporate an occasional set of Hebrew/ Aramaic elements in their speech. Such newly emerging or obsolescent languages tend to be preceded by the prefix ‘Jewish,’ rather than ‘Judeo.’ [Example: Jewish-English]. (Wexler 1981, 2006a).

The factors that lead to the development of a Jewish language include segregation, religion, migration (Wexler 1981), and/ or a desire for a separate linguistic profile (Wexler 2006b). Types A and B represent this concept in that the former (A) relies on changes

established from within the Jewish community while the non-Jewish co-regionalists bring about such change in the latter (B). The spoken vernaculars of Judeo-Spanish that developed outside of the Iberian Peninsula did not experience the same linguistic innovations that occurred from within it, as Jewish communities were virtually isolated from linguistic developments in the Peninsula.¹

The enrichment of Hebrew and Aramaic elements, which arise from religious practice and the nexus with their speech communities' established traditions, is common to all Jewish languages. The history of Jewish settlement and linguistic shift has been a topic of inquiry dating back to the Jewish exile into Babylon in 597 BCE (Spolsky 2014: 35). The history of migration among the Jews has put them in close quarters with speakers of cognate and non-cognate language varieties, adding adstratal or superstratal elements to their Jewish repertoires. As Jews often desire to have a distinct linguistic profile from their co-regionalists, this contributes to unique innovations within and across Jewish languages.

In the preface of his *Jewish and Non-Jewish Creators of Jewish Languages* (2006c), Wexler reviews the progress made in the field, areas that still call for improvement, as well as aspects that have gone ignored in previous research and had to be revised. His greatest addendum, which may best be classified as a restructuring of older theory, is that of relexification, proposed in 1991. Wexler describes relexification as a process in which speakers, “systematically replace their native vocabulary by the lexicon of another language (or more precisely phonetic strings) from another language, since the semantic and syntactic parameters of the latter are not usually taken over” (xvi). That is to say, a relexified language consists of the grammar and phonology of a different linguistic source than that of the majority of its lexicon. In

¹ The case of Haketia, the Moroccan Judeo-Spanish vernacular, however, remained in closer contact to the developments within Spain due to geographic proximity.

order to determine whether a language has been relexified, Wexler suggests comparison of the given languages called into question, analysis of the substratal (underlying) grammar and the superstratal lexicon embedded onto it. Such a task, however, is no small feat, as one must deal with a variety of linguistic features from a chain of associated languages.

Wexler (2006b), in his “Jewish Linguistics: 1981-1991-2001,” provides a panoramic view of his previous and current findings within the field. While Wexler focuses on the concept of a Jewish language and its typology and creation in his 1981 article, in 1991 he emphasizes the evolution of the theoretical framework of relexification. Wexler rejects previous research (including his own) on Yiddish, previously classified as a language that developed in the Rhinelands of Germany in the 9th century with substrata from Judeo-French and Judeo-Italian and an adstrata of High Middle German. Wexler posits that the formation of Yiddish can be attributed to the relexification of Sorbian, a West Slavic language, to a German lexicon. He postulates if Yiddish is a West Slavic language then Israeli Modern Hebrew must be as well, since the latter is grammatically and phonologically similar to Yiddish in construct, while being a relexification of Old Hebrew. In this theory, Wexler suggests that the grammar and phonology of Yiddish and Modern Hebrew are unquestionably Slavic, whereas the lexicon of Yiddish is predominantly made up of German and that of Modern Hebrew, Old Hebrew. Wexler (2006b) admits that he “erred in 1981 when [he] declined to characterize Hebrew as a “Jewish” language on the grounds that it was not created out of a non-Jewish language material through a process of linguistic Judaization” (63). He later accounts for relexification in his typology of Jewish languages as the calqued variety (type C), detailed in section III. An overview of Wexler’s typological stance develops the ‘written’ format of a type C Jewish language into a completely relexified speech vernacular.

In the 2001 section of this article, Wexler explores relexification in other Jewish linguistic constructs and encourages future collaboration among linguists and non-linguists in order to further account for linguistic subtleties across Jewish languages. One such attempt to expand the utility of relexification is that of Judeo-Arabic as spoken by the Jews in the Iberian Peninsula during the Middle Ages relexified to Castilian lexicon, thus creating a Judeo-Spanish repertoire pre-expulsion (Wexler 2006a). While Wexler attempts to strengthen his argument for Jewish language relexification in other linguistic constructs, it is his analysis in 1991 that remains a current theme in Comparative Jewish Linguistics. Wexler's contributions to the field encourage scholars to take a stance whether Jewish languages may be seen as a chain of language shift from one Jewish community to another or a series of relexifications of languages unrelated to the Jewish language model, as we shall explore below.

At the core of Jewish languages is lexical incorporation from Hebrew and/ or Aramaic. Wexler (1981) notes three roles for which these languages serve: “they are potentially the oldest component in a Jewish language, they are the only component common to all Jewish languages, and they are capable of systematically assuming two forms for each borrowed element” (119). Hebrew, the original language of the Jewish people would serve as a substratal element for the initial diasporic languages that the Jews adopted: Aramaic, Iranian, and Greek. For those Jewish languages not in direct contact with either Hebrew or its successor as of the sixth century, Aramaic (or Judeo-Aramaic at that), these two languages are considered to contribute secondary substratal or adstratal elements. The integration of Hebrew and Aramaic, commonly referred to as *The Holy Language* or *Lashon haKodesh* (LK), is what Rabin (1981) states as the “substructure that enabled the Jews in their wanderings to change spoken languages, and in some cases even written languages, without changing their culture” (24). Although Hebrew was not

utilized as a primary means of communication or socialization for over two millennia, the language had remained an integral component of the Jewish religion (Spolsky 1985). For this reason, Hebrew remained in the spheres of Jewish life and, thus, throughout their (Jewish) languages to varying degrees. Elements of Hebrew and Aramaic are often fully integrated into their respective Jewish languages (Bunis 1981). These elements undergo linguistic (phonological, morphological, etc.) rules in their new constructs. This assertion makes the fusion of features within Jewish languages clear, as opposed to believing that lexical items are merely borrowed resources and not fully integrated into the Jewish language. Elements of Hebrew and Aramaic incorporated into Judeo-Spanish, for example, have shown a variety of semantic processes. Certain lexical items retain the same meaning in both languages; some may (partially) differ, while other Jewish languages may semantically extend the definition of a particular word or phrase. These lexical refinements, of course, occur alongside all other linguistic juxtapositions.

1.2 Djudezmo and Haketia: The Judeo-Spanish Spoken Vernaculars

Speakers of Judeo-Spanish refer to their language by a number of names, among them: Djudezmo, Djudyo, Djidy, Haketia, Spaniolit, Muestro Espanyol, Haketia, Ladino, Judeo-Spanish, or simply Spanish or (E)spanyol. Each term has an ideological stance associated with it; however, for the purposes of this study, I use Djudezmo to refer to the spoken language of the descendants of the Iberian Jews who migrated to the Ottoman Empire, and Haketia to refer to the spoken language of those Iberian Jews who settled in North Africa, primarily in northern cities of Morocco. Judeo-Spanish, a term created by scholars within the last century, encapsulates all forms of diasporic Ibero-Romance Jewish speech. Often, Djudezmo is referred to as Eastern Judeo-Spanish and Haketia as Western Judeo-Spanish. Djudezmo may be further divided into

two varieties: Southeastern—encompassing Turkey, Greece, and Eastern Bulgaria, and Northwestern—representing the former Yugoslavia, Rumania, Western Bulgaria, and Austria (Bunis 1992b). Many speakers and language-orientated institutions refer to the language of the Sephardim as Ladino², however, this term will be used to describe a particular written variety of Judeo-Spanish (see section 1.3). Throughout the centuries of the post-Iberian Diaspora, Sephardim have referred to their language by all of these names, as documented in Judeo-Spanish periodicals and other textual and oral sources.

The history of the Judeo-Spanish language and its dialectology may be divided into three periods, as suggested by Bürki, Schmid, and Schwegler (2006). They suggest grouping the linguistic development of the Sephardim into *Sefarad I*, *II*, and *III*, where *Sefarad* represents not only the changes in the language, but also the relocation of the Sephardim in their diasporas. I categorize these *Sefarads* according to this paradigm in following table.

PERIOD	APPROXIMATE DURATION
<i>Sefarad I</i>	Medieval Judeo-Hispanic culture in the Iberian Peninsula
<i>Sefarad II</i>	Life in Sephardic communities formed outside of the Peninsula after the expulsions at the end of the fifteenth century
<i>Sefarad III</i>	Establishments in the United States, Latin America, Western Europe, and Israel

Table 1.1 Sefarads, adapted from Bürki, Schmid, and Schwegler (2006:9)

Sefarad I theoretically spans over a millennium in which the Jews resided in the Iberian Peninsula, yet particularly refers to the ways in which Jews used their language in the years

² While I use Ladino to refer to the written calqued variety, I keep the term when quoting a speaker who may use *Ladino* to refer to the spoken variety, as is quite common outside of academic circles.

leading up to la Reconquista. *Sefarad II* represents roughly four centuries in the Jews' diaspora into the Ottoman Empire and North Africa. Lastly, *Sefarad III* represents the shortest temporality beginning in the late nineteenth or early twentieth century. Bürki, Schmid, and Schwegler associate this diaspora with the migration patterns of the Sephardim after the rise of nation-states within the Ottoman Empire and the tragic events of World War II, where many Sephardic cities, like Ashkenazi, were annihilated.

Focusing on Djudezmo, Bunis (1992b) establishes a similar paradigm for the development of the Judeo-Spanish language according to three periods: Old, Middle and Modern. Differing from the previous periodization discussed, Bunis's analysis represents the linguistic paradigms associated within the respective geographical setting of the Sephardim and not the actual migration itself. The Old Period, similar to *Sefarad I*, spans from the beginning of Jewish settlement until 1492, the year in which the Jews were expelled from Spain.³ Scholars continue to debate whether or not a Judeo-Spanish variety existed during this period; this is due to the lack of primary sources alluding to the language of the Jews prior to their expulsion. Minervini (2006) expresses this challenge in noting, "la lingüística histórica tiene el límite intrínseco de estar basada sobre fuentes escritas, que inevitablemente borran-o al menos ocultan rasgos importantes de la lengua hablada, sobre todo aquella de los estratos sociales más bajos" (15). Bunis (1992b) explains the linguistic particularities of the Jewish variety of language while within the Peninsula, using the few medieval texts that have survived, most from the fifteenth century. However, similar to Minervini, he notes, "since writing, and especially creative and formal writing, always differs somewhat from speech, these written documents can only give us an imperfect idea of how the average medieval Sephardi spoke" (402). Both Bunis and Minervini

³ This could also span until 1497, the year in which the Jews of Portugal were forced to convert or exiled.

offer lists of lexicon to exemplify the influence of Hebrew and Aramaic in (non-calque based) writings, while noting minimal substrata from Judeo-Arabic and Judeo-Greek. Examples tend to be limited in the literature of those describing these substrata, often noting *meldar* ‘to read’ and *Ayifto* ‘Egypt’ from Judeo-Greek and *alhad* ‘Sunday’ and *alkunya* ‘surname’ from Judeo-Arabic.

Wexler (1981) acknowledges that Judeo-Spanish during *Sefarad I*, as well in the immediate years following the expulsion, predominantly mirrors Castilian, while undoubtedly having elements from other Romance languages present. For this reason, he notes, “it may be more correct to describe the speech of 15th century Iberian Jews as (Judeo-?) Aragonese, (Judeo-?) Valencian etc., rather than as simply ‘Judeo-Spanish’” (114). Given that the term *Judeo-Spanish* often encompasses all forms of Jewish Ibero-Romance language, there are still many questions to be asked about unique varieties of Jewish speech prior to the expulsions of the Sephardim. Nevertheless, although Judeo-Spanish is heavily based on Castilian Spanish, other peninsular languages have influenced its formation as well.

Aside from occasional lexical variation used by Sephardim, Minervini notes that in examining the syntax, phonology, and morphology, it is not possible to ascertain substantial differences between the Jews and Christians during this period. Similarly, Sephiha (1985) attests that prior to the expulsion, the Jews of Spain spoke varieties of Spanish similar to those of their Christian and Muslim neighbors. Therefore, differences between the Spanish of the Jews and that of their co-regionalists does not preclude a distinct Judeo-Spanish, as evidenced in later periods. These views are prominent among scholars who take the stance that the variety of language within the Peninsula was not uniquely Jewish in nature.

The strongest argument for a distinct Jewish repertoire during *Sefarad I* comes from an analysis across the Judeo-Spanish varieties of Djudezmo and Haketia. This argument notes that,

while these varieties developed after *Sefarad I*, the similarities between them indicate a common linguistic source for both groups of speakers. Schwarzwald (1999) asserts that the similarities between Djudezmo and Haketia are not coincidental. She notes the retention of prepalatal fricatives in both vernaculars as evidence of a common linguistic origin. This, however, would not indicate a unique Jewish component in speech during *Sefarad I* given that co-regional non-Jewish speakers also used these phones. Instead, their retention can be attributed to their isolation from the Peninsula during the evolution of Castilian. A more convincing argument for common roots from *Sefarad I* is the innovative lexical forms pertaining to both Djudezmo and Haketia, primarily of Hebrew origin. These include: *balabay(a)* ‘householder, boss’, *axenarse* ‘to beautify oneself’, *dezmalado* ‘unlucky’. Shared lexicon from other language stock includes: *trokamyento* ‘change’, *prometa* ‘promise’, *araskina* ‘itch’, and *prestura* ‘speed’ (Schwarzwald 1999: 406). While these forms provide evidence for a Judeo-Spanish repertoire within the Peninsula, the evidence does not necessarily account for a separate variety altogether.

The question whether Judeo-Spanish existed in the Peninsula prior to the expulsion compares to how the variety of language spoken by Sephardim outside the Peninsula is a Jewish variety. Benor’s (2010) Ethnolinguistic Repertoire is one approach that may account for this issue. In comparing Jewish vernaculars, she notes, “while speakers of Yiddish and Ladino spoke completely different language from their Slavic and Balkan neighbors, speakers of Judeo- Greek, Judeo- Arabic, Judeo- Persian, and dozens more languages spoke the local language with varying degrees of distinctiveness” (13).⁴ Although Benor does not apply the repertoire approach directly to Judeo-Spanish nor its distinct periodization, her theory reminds us of what is at the core of Jewish language typology. Benor’s statement reviews Djudezmo in *Sefarad II*, which was

⁴ In this case, Benor uses ‘Ladino’ in terms of the spoken vernacular, and not the calqued variety.

undoubtedly out of contact with the language developments occurring within the Peninsula during the initial centuries following the expulsion. However, Benor notes that speakers of Greek and Arabic spoke Jewish varieties of the language in their respective territories, and aptly places these Jewish varieties within the model of the Ethnolinguistic Repertoire. Therefore, the language spoken by the Sephardim in the Peninsula before the turn of the century following their expulsions should, and could, appropriately fit into this model as well. This type of language would be classified under Wexler's (1981) type D typology, which alludes to nascent languages, or those that are exceedingly similar to that of the co-territorial non-Jews, despite substratal influences from Hebrew, Aramaic, or possibly another language.

At this point, we must distinguish between the linguistic developments of Eastern (Djudezmo) and Western (Haketia) Judeo-Spanish during *Sefarad II*. As Djudezmo and Haketia are both post-expulsion developments, their linguistic origins can be traced to *Sefarad I*, and explored in the years following this period. The development of Djudezmo is represented during *Sefarad II*, encompassing the years 1493 until 1810. Bunis (1992b) categorizes this period in two distinct periods: Early Middle (1493- 1728) and Late Middle (1729-1810).

Minervini (2006) attributes the development of Judeo-Spanish outside of the Peninsula to koineization. She describes this term as the formation of a variety of language “que es consecuencia de las nuevas condiciones históricas, sociales y culturales determinadas,” referring here to the situation concerning Judeo-Spanish (18). For example, Wexler (2006a) notes the common belief that features from Portuguese found in Judeo-Spanish are attributed to koineization during *Sefarad II*. However, he hypothesizes that these components may have been integrated into Judeo-Spanish during the years between 1492-1497 in which many Sephardim migrated to Portugal before leaving there as well. Nevertheless, daily contact between Sephardic

communities, which may have exhibited slight differences in their Jewish repertoires depending if they were from Aragón, Castilla, León, Cataluña, or other regions, would level their language as they began to incorporate adstratal and superstratal components into their language. The Jews of various regions from within the Peninsula settled into post-expulsion areas with one another, often establishing synagogues based on their former cities, although not all were represented. Quintana (2006) notes that the initial process of koineization occurred within Sephardic communities during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. She posits that two koines developed independently, one in Istanbul and the other in Salonica. These two major centers of Sephardic life influenced other Judeo-Spanish-speaking communities with which they were in contact.

Following the years of the expulsion from Spain, Penny explores the linguistic development of Castilian within the Peninsula as well as Judeo-Spanish outside of it. Significant changes took place in both varieties, which makes comparison of such features a more promising undertaking during the period of *Sefarad II*. Judeo-Spanish retained certain phonological features that Romance varieties shared prior to the expulsion. Castilian replaced the voiceless prepalatal fricative [ʃ], its voiced counterpart [ʒ], and the voiced prepalatal affricate [dʒ] with the voiceless velar fricative [x]. Djudezmo, however, retained these pre-expulsion *Sefarad I* phones. Similarly, Haketia retained [ʃ] and [ʒ], while [dʒ] converged with [ʒ] in words of Ibero-Romance origin.⁵ Kushner-Bishop (2004) notes that these phones first simplified toward the end of the seventeenth

⁵ An example of Haketia [ʃ] is *disho*. Examples of Haketia [ʒ] include: *hijo* (son), *judió* (Jew), *religión* (religion) and *general* (general). In contemporary orthographic norms the grapheme *ĝ* (as opposed to *ĵ*) is used before an [e] or an [i].

century and the beginning of the eighteenth into [ʃ], which eventually velarized to [x]⁶ and remained at that until the present day. These developments occurred not only within the Peninsula, but all other territories founded by the Spanish after the expulsion, primarily due to close contact between them. Ottoman Sephardic quarters, of course, had minimal contact with the Iberian Peninsula after the Sephardim were expelled. Kushner-Bishop finds that the Sephardim zealously consider these prepalatal phonemes as a key marker of their language and a symbol of its preservation for more than five centuries. While for some, this retention serves as an identity marker; others perceive the fact that these phonemes did not morph into others as representative of the fossilized nature of the language.

Integral to understanding the development of the Judeo-Spanish language during *Sefarad II* is familiarity with the lifestyle in which the Sephardim lived in their diaspora. Stein (2002) notes that “under the Ottoman leadership, the Sephardim were able to blossom culturally, socially, and economically: not only as a discrete community but in symbiosis with the multi-lingual and multi-sectarian peoples alongside whom they lived” (226). This atmosphere was conducive to the expansion of the Judeo-Spanish language within the Ottoman Empire, where administrative regions were organized as *millets*. The establishment of the *millet* was defined in terms of ethnicity and religion, not by territory itself. Callaway (2008) notes the nature of this organizational structure in that,

there was a Muslim *millet*, to which Muslims of all different ethno-linguistic affinities belonged, an Orthodox *millet*, comprised of Greek and Slavic Orthodox Christian communities, an Armenian *millet*, comprised of Armenian Orthodox Christians, and a Jewish *millet*, comprised of Sephardim, Ashkenazim, Italian Jews, and other Rabbinical Jewish denominations (3).

⁶ Or the Castilian postvelar fricative [χ] used in primarily in the Central and Northern Peninsular (Schwegler, Kempff, Ameal-Guerra 2010).

Judeo-Spanish-speaking communities resided in intimate spaces that would not be of an equal nature after the fall of the Ottoman Empire. This space allowed for the Judeo-Spanish language to evolve in a unique way from that of Peninsular Spanish, all while staying the mother tongue of generations of Sephardim until at least the beginning of the twentieth century. The two major cities of Sephardic migration were those of Constantinople, (later, Istanbul), and Salonica (later, Thessaloniki). These two cities represented leading Sephardic societies, with Constantinople as the capital of the Ottoman Empire and Salonica, referred to as the little Jerusalem of the Balkans, as a major port city (Benbassa & Rodrigue 2000). Other main centers of Sephardic life included the cities of Izmir and Edirne.

Outside of the Iberian Peninsula, Djudezmo developed in slightly different ways and essentially created two main varieties: Northwestern and Southeastern—although there are certainly linguistic subtleties among each community within these groupings as well. Djudezmo represented a variety of lects, each with adstratal or superstratal phonological and lexical elements from their co-territorial languages. Djudezmo, however, was certainly not standardized across all communities within the Ottoman Empire. Lexical and phonological variation and innovation fluctuated from *millet* to *millet*, some of which can be evidenced throughout the Judeo-Spanish press starting in the second half of the nineteenth century.

The Early Middle Period (1493-1728) is classified by new linguistic developments, many of which can be associated with the koineization of Judeo-Spanish in the Balkans. An adstrata of Italian elements is also attributed to this period given trade relations with Venice and other port cities. Turkish and Greek elements began to enter the local speech varieties of the Sephardim, as well as those of other local languages. This period represents the formative years of Judeo-

Spanish outside of the Peninsula. The map below follows the migration of the Sephardim after their expulsion from Spain in 1492.

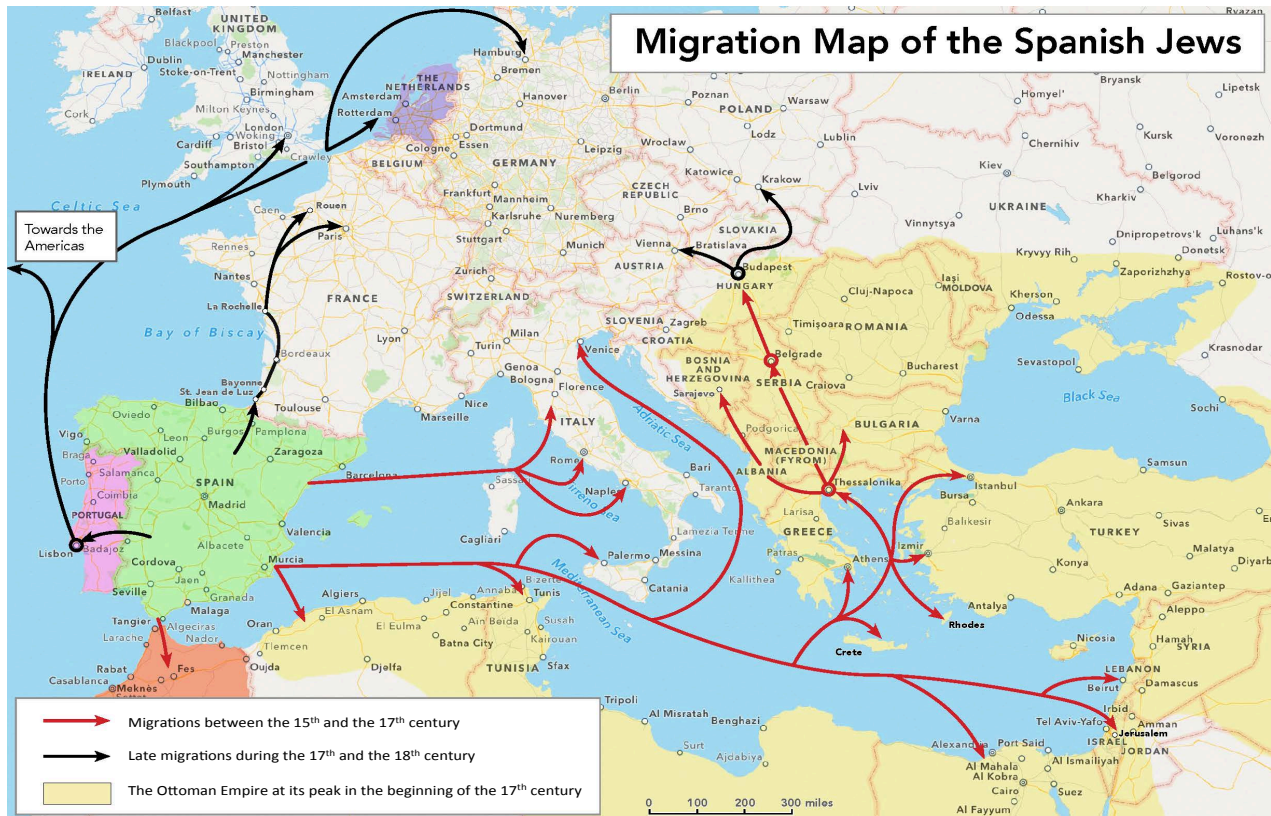


Figure 1.1 Map indicating migrations of the Sephardim as of 1492

The Late Middle Period (1729-1810) characterizes the onset of a plethora of rabbinical literature produced in the spoken vernacular. The purpose of such a literary style, as opposed to Hebrew or Ladino texts, was to target the majority of the Sephardim, all of whom were familiar with the colloquial language. The first major literary piece accounted for is that of Constantinople's Abraham ben Isaac Asa in 1729, a translation of *Oti'ot de Rabbi Akiva* (Letters of Rabbi Akiva). Subsequent works from Isaac Asa included works related to philosophical, historical and religious texts. Another work, deemed as the highest of caliber in Judeo-Spanish literature, is that of *Me'am Lo'ez*, a comprehensive collection of biblical commentary. Isaac ben

Makhir Khuli (1685-1732) initiated this project, and the entire series of commentary was completed by his successors in the nineteenth century (Bunis 1992b).

In these texts and others, new characteristics of Judeo-Spanish were documented. Consonant cluster *-rd-* was often metathesized into *-dr*, as in *vedra(d)* ‘true’, *vedre* ‘green’, *godro* ‘fat,’ and *guadrar* ‘to save.’ Also, as Peninsular Spanish went through a process whereas initial *f*→*h*→ \emptyset occurred, some Sephardic cities also began to replace initial *-f*, common in Old Spanish (and traced to Latin), with a zero-marking/ null grapheme (\emptyset), such as in *fazer*→*azer* ‘to do/ to make’ and *farina*→*arina* ‘flour.’ This phonological development, however, did not take place in cities like Salonica, Bitola, or Bucharest, where the initial *-f* was maintained (Sala 1970: 138).

Morphosyntactic changes occurred in the preterit forms of the first person singular and plural, as in *avli*⁷ ‘I spoke’ and *avlimos* ‘we spoke.’ The suffixes *-i* and *-imos* are common throughout all three sets of verbs (*-ar*, *-er* and *-ir*).⁸ Phonologically, while the Djudezmo varieties of Istanbul and Izmir produce vowels similar to Castilian, other Sephardic cities demonstrate varying degrees of vowel shift. Djudezmo speakers from Rhodes, Sarajevo, and Bucharest, for example, raise atonic front vowel *e*→*i* and back vowel *o*→*u* (Bunis 1975). Therefore, *djente* ‘people’ would be phonetically realized as [‘dʒen.ti] and *k(y)ero* ‘I want’ would yield [‘k(j)e.ru].⁹ Since most of the linguistic evidence from this time comes from textual

⁷ I add stress marks here although there are no such markers in Rashi or Soliteo transcriptions. Contemporary proposed standards of Judeo-Spanish in Latin characters also avoid placing accent marks.

⁸ Exceptions to this apply- i.e., *vide* ‘I saw,’ *dishe* ‘I said.’ The forms *vidi* and *dishi*, however, are not uncommon—due to either vowel raising in some cities or hyper-correction in others.

⁹ This is similar to front and back vowel raising in Portuguese.

documentation, I shall note that in Rashi and Solitreo writings, [e] and [i] were both represented by the letter yod (י / י) in medial or final position, or aleph yod (יָ / יִ)¹⁰ in initial position. Of a similar nature, both [o] and [u] were represented by the letter vav (ו / ו) in medial or final position, or aleph vav (וָ / וִ) in initial position. Speakers, of course, pronounced their particular variety and, in cases of textual ambiguity, would refer to context. Luria (1930) notes that Sephardim from Monastir often realize $a \rightarrow e$ in syllable-final position; examples include *kaze* ‘house,’ and *favles*, ‘you speak_{IND}.’ In Sarajevo, we also see the case of vowel lowering from atonic $e \rightarrow a$ as in *meldar* ‘to read’ realized as [mal'ðar] (Papo 2008).

During this period, an increasing number of lexical elements from other languages began to be incorporated into the Djudezmo vernacular with Hispanic verbal suffixes; examples include *badkar* from Hebrew ‘to check’ and *karistrear* from Turkish ‘to mix’. Similarly, periphrastic phrases were used as in *azer teshuvá* from Hebrew ‘to repent’ and *azer dikat* from Turkish ‘to pay attention.’ These examples demonstrate some of the linguistic innovations taking place during this period.

The Modern Period of Djudezmo, *Sefarad III*, may also be divided into early (1811-World War I) and late (World War I- present) periods. This divide is in accordance with the evolution of linguistic features of the language rather than migration patterns alone and, therefore, *Sefarad III* commences earlier than as in Bürki, Schmid, and Schwegler’s (2006) model. Bunis (1992b) attributes the start of the Modern Period to the increased number of texts published in the vernacular not only in Constantinople and Salonica, but throughout many cities where Sephardim resided, including Vienna, Belgrade, Sofia, Sarajevo, Bucharest, and

¹⁰ The first (left-most) letter/s are presented in Rashi characters followed by Solitreo letter(s) after the slash.

Jerusalem. This period commences at the start of the nineteenth century due to linguistic changes in morphology, phonology, and lexicon, which speakers retain to this day. The Modern Period of Judeo-Spanish begins around the year 1811 due to the modern vernacular portrayed in the works of Belgrade's Israel ben Hayyim. His publications, many of which he printed in Vienna, include: a High Holiday prayer book featuring vernacular commentary and instruction (1811), a reedited edition of the aforementioned Isaac Asa's eighteenth century Bible, as well as a series of manuals for children related to language and mathematics (Bunis 1992b: 409). Subsequent writers pertaining to this period, in addition to Hayyim, utilize a one-to-one grapheme to phoneme system in their writing, thus beginning to standardize Judeo-Spanish Rashi (and Solitreo) orthography. Texts from this period also feature adstrata from Slavic languages, evident in some of the Northwestern Sephardic varieties of language; examples include [a.pu'dzar] 'alight', [ka'ro.tsa] 'carriage' and [tʃu'pri] 'bridge' (410). These words would be pronounced differently in their Southeastern forms: [a.po'zar], [ka'ro.sa], and [kju'pri].

Of major importance within this period is the start of the printing press within Turkey and the Balkans. The Djudezmo printing press produced over 300 periodicals throughout the Mediterranean diaspora (Harris 1994). Many of the writers and editors of these newspapers were educated within Westernized schools such as the French *Alliance Israélite Universelle* (1860) and the Italian *Società Dante Alighieri* (1888). The French and Italian languages influenced some writers so much that their publications exhibited a "tendency to avoid words of Hebrew and Turkish origin, increasingly considered to be old-fashioned and of low prestige" (Bunis 1992b: 411). During this period, the Djudezmo printing press flourished in the Ottoman Empire and serves as a resource in understanding the linguistic developments and patterns throughout a number of Sephardic communities worldwide.

Unlike French and Italian, Hebrew and Aramaic enter Judeo-Spanish in two distinct ways, representing two sets of corpora. The first pertains to the Classical Corpus, which concentrated on liturgical texts, commentaries, and prayers. This corpus is primarily apparent in written sources. The second set of lexicon pertains to the Integrated Corpus. This corpus represents lexicon from Hebrew and Aramaic that Judeo-Spanish speakers incorporated into their spoken vernaculars. Aside from common Biblical quotations and terminology, which stem from the Classical Corpus, a great deal of lexicon was crafted in the diaspora representing new linguistic innovations such as semantic extensions or detractions and periphrastic verbal constructions. Morag explains that while the Classical Corpus was “text-bound,” the Integrated Corpus, “fully pertained to a system of living language,” applicable to most Jewish languages (quoted in Bunis 1992a: 9). The Integrated Corpus, therefore, represents lexicon that covers all aspects and emotions of individual and communal life. This set of lexicon pertains to the community. That is to say, any speaker of Judeo-Spanish would be able to recognize vocabulary from this corpus, whereas this is not the case with the Classical Corpus. These two sets initially interacted with one another in that the Classical Corpus nourished the Integrated one for its speakers. Bunis (1992a) accounts for over four thousand lexical items from Hebrew and Aramaic in Modern Djudezmo, from the early nineteenth century until the present. While Bunis collects personal narratives in addition to archival material, the latter shows an ample array of domains in which Hebrew and Aramaic were once used. If Hebrew and Aramaic elements were present, they appeared in either oral or literary genres. Oral genres include everyday matters as well as specialized (humorous, learned) themes, while literary genres include religious/ traditional texts or secular (journalistic, humorous, scientific, belles-lettristic) matters.

The Late Modern Period, which spans from World War I until the present day, encompasses the linguistic developments that have taken place primarily due to historical events in Sephardic communities and their greater surroundings. The Ottoman lifestyle of the Sephardim, as well as their language, would experience a shift toward secular and Western ideology during this period. Major historical events leading up to this period include the Young Turk Revolution in 1908, the Balkan Wars of 1912-1913, and the start of World War I in 1914. The beginning of this period is characterized by the dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire and, thus, the way of life that the Sephardim became accustomed to in the centuries after their expulsion from the Iberian Peninsula. The formation and recognition of nation-states, including that of Israel in 1948, brought about major emigration. Within cities throughout Turkey and Israel, Jews were pressured into speaking their newly reformed and established languages, with corresponding “Citizen Speak ‘X’” campaigns and slogans. In Turkey, a lesser Arabic- and Persian-influenced Turkish replaced Ottoman Turkish and was hegemonically imposed upon all of its citizens. In Israel, Modern Hebrew was imposed on Jews as the national language, which would ultimately replace—and endanger—other Jewish languages such as Judeo-Spanish, Yiddish, and Judeo-Arabic.

It is the series of events during World War II, however, that would forever change the landscape of world Jewry, as the Nazis murdered six million Jews—of all backgrounds—and annihilated vibrant Jewish communities in a few short years. All Sephardic populations were affected in one way or another. Flourishing Jewish communities within Greece and Yugoslavia were left almost vacant after over ninety percent of their Jewish populations were to perish during the Holocaust.

While *Sefarad III* continues to the present day, its linguistic features take on a new set of criteria. The series of events occurring during this period have greatly endangered the vitality of the language. This is a direct result of the destruction of Sephardic communities and hegemonic language policies for those communities that remained intact. Judeo-Spanish-speaking communities expanded into other parts of the world during *Sefarad III* including the United States, Canada, Mexico, Argentina, Venezuela, and Brazil, among others. The Djudezmo printing press also flourished in the United States in the first half of the twentieth century with at least nineteen newspapers (Ben-Ur 1998b); however, none have existed for over half a century. Judeo-Spanish, nevertheless, continues to develop due to superstrata of new co-territorial languages where the Sephardim reside. Pockets of Judeo-Spanish-speaking communities—or speakers—are found throughout the world, and many are active in the preservation and revitalization of the language.

Judeo-Spanish has reached a post-vernacular status today. Brink-Danan (2011) differentiates a vernacular from a post-vernacular in that the former allows for everyday communication, whereas the latter does not. Speakers of languages that are thriving today do not necessarily realize, nor need to concern themselves with, the external levels that the utilization of a language may take on. In the case of Judeo-Spanish, the post-vernacular model suggests that the use of the language by a speaker (today) represents much more than just communication. Use of a post-vernacular Judeo-Spanish represents the Sephardim's perseverance and history dating back to the Iberian Peninsula and the efforts to preserve the language in order to ensure its longevity. Although Judeo-Spanish varieties are indeed used currently for purely vernacular motives, all socialization in the language represents much more than just its use. This is particularly due to the fact that today's speakers of Judeo-Spanish are fully competent in another

language, if not several. These other languages have made their way to the forefront of most domains and, for most, the use of Judeo-Spanish is applied to very specific and limited ones.

The historical, linguistic, and sociological developments of Djudezmo, however, only represent one part of the Judeo-Spanish spectrum. While many Sephardim settled in various cities throughout Turkey and the Balkans, others travelled to cities in North Africa, particularly those in Morocco. The Sephardim in Morocco established themselves within a number of northern cities such as Tetuan, Tangier, Alcazar, Larache, Arcila, and Chauen. The Sephardim also settled into Ceuta and Melilla, which, however, pertain to Spain as autonomous regions. These newly entering Jews in Morocco were known as the *migorashim*—the expelled ones. This group of Jews contrasts with the already native-indigenous Jews, the *toshabim*, who resided in Morocco for centuries, speaking Arabic as well as Berber. Madkouri (2006) notes that the *migorashim*, “tenían sus propias leyes y reglamentos comunitarios que diferían de los de los toshabim, así como su folklore y su literatura. De hecho, visto su pasado cultural andalusí, se consideraban en muchos aspectos superiores a los marroquíes” (28). The estranged Sephardim would experience strong feelings of nostalgia for their native language in the centuries to follow their expulsion from Spain. The Western Judeo-Spanish variety of the Sephardim, Haketia, developed during the period of *Sefarad II*.

The first major work detailing Haketia was that of José Benoliel (1858-1937) in his corpus entitled, *Dialecto Judeo-hispano-marroquí o Hakitía*, published in 1977. The term Haketia is thought to have two possible derivations, with the first being the more linguistically based and presumably appropriate selection. That is, Haketia comes from the Arabic root ‘HAK,’ meaning to speak or narrate, followed by a Spanish suffix—*ía*. The second explanation for this name is that it derives from the diminutive form of the biblical figure, Isaac, or Haquito, thus

being the language of the Ishaquitos, along with the apheresis of his name to that of Haquito (Benoliel 1977: 3). This derivation, however, is prone to much scrutiny.

The linguistic development of Haketia is rich in construct, primarily due to elements incorporated from local linguistic sources. In regard to the origins of Haketia, Raz (2010) writes, “como se sabe, la fondina (*base*) de la haketía es prencipalmente el castellano medieval jalteado (*mezclado*) con palabras de más manaderos (*fuentes*) lingüísticos” (“La Historia,” para. 1). In comparison, the Spanish that the Sephardim took to the Ottoman Empire developed in a similar fashion to Haketia. This is primarily due to linguistic influences from the surrounding non-Sephardic communities. In regard to the similarities between the evolution of these two Judeo-Spanish varieties, Djudezmo and Haketia are comparable due to their base of primarily Castilian lexicon, yet distinct in that Djudezmo relies on linguistic resources from languages such as Turkish, French, and Italian, while Haketia benefits directly from Arabic (Nassi 2002). While speakers of Djudezmo and Haketia can often understand one another, such differences, depending on their degree of implementation, can make it so that these varieties become unintelligible to speakers of the other variety.

The uniqueness of Haketia is attributed, in part, to lexical and phonological incorporation from Arabic, particularly of the Moroccan variety. Madkouri (2006) suggests that such adstratal and superstratal elements were introduced not only by the toshabim who resided in these communities for centuries beforehand, but also by the non-Jewish presence of Arabic and Berber speakers. The status and marginalization of these Jews was conducive to the expansion of their language following the initial centuries after their expulsion. Due to the fact that Haketia has always been a primarily oral language, the corpus of literature that exists is quite miniscule. Bunis (1992b) notes the scarcity of texts in Haketia prior to the latter half of the nineteenth

century in that “it is only with the scholarly descriptions of popular Moroccan Sephardi speech and song... that we begin to get a detailed picture of the unique traditional language used by the Sephardim in Morocco” (405). Much of the documentation used after settlement into North Africa pertains to Ladino liturgical texts.

The first French institution of *L’Alliance Israélite Universelle* came to Tetuan in 1862 in an attempt to modernize the Jews of Moroccan cities. Children received daily instruction in French and, therefore, the language soon became one of prestige among the Sephardim. While the Alliance introduced the French language to Sephardic communities in Northern Morocco—like it did in Southeastern Europe—the language and culture were also spread in the south of the country due to the French Protectorate.

The minutes of the Jewish Community of Tangier, referred to as *Las Actas*, is evidence of the linguistic evolution in this city between the years 1860-1883. These documents recorded all doings within *la comunidad hebrea de Tánger*. Pimienta & Pimienta (2010) have recently published transcriptions in Latin characters of the protocols and minutes of the meetings that took place during these years—selected from the committee of the Jewish community in Tangier. Minutes were recorded in the Solitreo alphabet.

The year 1860 is a significant one for the linguistic development of Haketia. Sephiha (2012) has alluded to what can be two distinct periods with regards to the development of Haketia. The first period is that of 1492 until 1860, in which certain continuity could be found from medieval Spanish, with much influence from Hebrew and Arabic. The second period is from 1860 until the general forfeiture of Haketia as a primary means of communication. This period is marked by the Spanish occupation of Tetuan in the Hispano-Moroccan War, or *La Guerra de África*, from 1859-1860, a war that began due to Moroccan upheaval over the Spanish

zones of Ceuta and Melilla. The goals of this war from the Moroccan perspective were to gain control over Ceuta and Melilla, while Spain's goal was to gain control of Tangier and Tetuan, frequently referred to as '*la toma de Tetuan.*' The Wad-Ras treaty in late April of 1860 brought an end to the war, with Spain as the ultimate victor (Serels 1991). Therefore, the period following the expulsions of the Sephardim from the Iberian Peninsula until 1860 can be referred to as *Sefarad II* for Haketia-speaking communities. Subsequently, *Sefarad III* encompasses the years following 1860 until the present day.

From this critical period at the start of *Sefarad III*, Haketia went through a period of rehispanization. As Haketia developed into a distinct variety from medieval Spanish by incorporating unique lexical and phonetic elements, the process of rehispanization slowly transformed this language into one much more similar to that of Castilian Spanish today (Madkouri 2006). Textual sources from this time provide evidence of phonological change during this period. Bunis (1992a: 12) notes that some nineteenth century texts include lexical items spelled with a ן / ן which represented Castilian /x/ whereas they were previously spelled with a ן /ʃ/ or ן /z/; examples include [mu'xeɾ] as opposed to [mu'zeɾ] 'woman' and [de'xaɾ] as opposed to [de'faɾ] 'to leave.' The process of rehispanization occurred at such a rapid rate due to the proximity between Morocco and Spain, in addition to the politics between these countries during these years (Kirschen 2014).

The establishment of Spanish and French Protectorates in 1912 is considered an additional turning point for the dissolution of Haketia. Despite the somewhat limited lifecycle of Moroccan-Judeo-Spanish as a primary means of communication, remnants of the language are still present at various degrees in the linguistic repertoire of the Sephardim of Moroccan origin who reside within or outside of the country. Paloma (2015) reveals that among the dwindling

population of Sephardim in Morocco today, women use Haketia as a vector of power within the home and familial domains. Acts of speech in Haketia are naturally carried out through song. Similarly, Benhamú-Jiménez (2015) notes that in his native Melilla, younger generations of Sephardim still utilize Haketia when speaking with their family members or friends on a variety of matters, mostly personal.

The Spanish-Moroccan war of 1859-1860 initiated a major shift in the geographical homeland of the Haketia-speaking Sephardim, as many began to immigrate to Latin America, with Venezuela, Argentina, and Brazil among the most common of destinations. Cohen (2006) explains the reasons behind the migrations as two fold; the first, to take advantage of economic opportunity in new lands and the second, the ease the Sephardim found in migrating to lands where the language spoken in them was similar to their own native tongue. Economic opportunities abroad, suppression in the homeland, as well as the facility of linguistic transition were key factors for the migration of Moroccan Jews into Latin America.

In comparing Djudezmo and Haketia, the two major Judeo-Spanish spoken vernaculars, we are able to piece together and understand the linguistic developments of the Sephardim. While the consensus among scholars is that a Judeo-Spanish language did not exist prior to the expulsions of the Sephardim during *Sefarad I*, evidence suggests that the Jews had access to a distinct repertoire that allowed them to distinguish themselves from their non-Jewish co-regionalists when necessary. Furthermore, similarities in the lexicon, phonology, and morphology of Djudezmo and Haketia strengthen the argument for a linguistic commonality among the Jews in *Sefarad I*. These commonalities are best understood, however, in terms of Benor's (2010) Ethnolinguistic Repertoire approach—accounting for the array of linguistic resources that the Sephardim used to express their identity through language.

1.3 Ladino: The Judeo-Spanish Written Calque

Ladino, the common nomenclature for the language of the Sephardim today, presents a multidimensional discussion on Jewish language typology. In this section, I explore the origins of Ladino as a calque, its divergence from the Judeo-Spanish spoken vernaculars, and influence that the former has had on the latter since the expulsion of the Sephardim from the Iberian Peninsula in 1492 (Spain) and 1497 (Portugal). Examples to follow will illustrate the linguistic differences between the spoken and written (calque) Judeo-Spanish varieties.

While Jewish language typology (Wexler 1981) varieties A, B and D all refer to some sort of spoken vernacular with varying degrees of Hebrew / Aramaic substratum and adstratum, type C refers to “non-spoken languages of liturgy, [which] could be called ‘Judeo-calque’ languages.” (107). A calque refers to the linguistic representation of a language using word-for-word order, respecting the syntax of the original language, while translating the words from language X to language Y accordingly. Jewish languages have developed this particular type of written expression, primarily for liturgical purposes. In relation to the Sephardim, Ladino is the term used to refer to this Judeo-Spanish calque, which should be distinguished from any spoken vernacular over the centuries and throughout the many lands where the Sephardim have lived. Ivre Taytsh, the calqued variety of Yiddish and Sharh, the calqued variety of Judeo-Arabic, serve as additional examples of type C Jewish language varieties. Wexler (2006c) further notes that calqued varieties were iconized with sophistication in “recognizing that the ‘essence’ of a language resided in its syntax and word-formation strategies, and not in the lexicon” (xvii). Thus, despite its relexification, the syntax remains the most symbolic component.

Fishman (1985) explores the relation between the calque and its Lashon haKodesh (LK), holy vernacular, of either Hebrew or Aramaic, and posits, “for traditional literacy-related

purposes, they [calqued translations] are considered incomparably inferior to LK. For modern literacy-related purposes, their calque versions will not do” (15). These translations can be defined as a “Jewish version of the CT [co-territorial] language since its lexicon and grammar are both highly impacted by the sanctified model text it shadows” (14). Nevertheless, it is necessary to understand how written and spoken varieties of a language—representative of the entire linguistic entity—are to be distinguished. Therefore, the pattern of translation, typically $L1 \rightarrow L2$, is best described as $L1 \rightarrow LT \rightarrow L2$, where in order to arrive at the second variety of the language (L2), the original language variety (L1) must undergo the process of relexification (LT) (Sepiha 1985).

Rabbis often used calqued transformations in order to create translations of liturgical texts from Hebrew or Aramaic to that of a language understood by the larger Jewish population. Sepiha (2012) explains the calqued variety “era una manera de transmitir la herencia cultural y la tradición a los judíos hispano-parlantes y así mantenerlos en el seno de la sinagoga” which was made up of utilizing “los recursos de la lengua cotidiana, entonces llamada *ladino*, *romance*, o *español*, para calcar la lengua sagrada y producir un espejo revestido de español” (30). The degree of differentiation between the written variant and the spoken vernacular, however, remains under consideration.

In a revised stance on relexification, Wexler (2006c) asserts that the calqued variety of the Bible did not increase the knowledge of its entire readership; for those unfamiliar with the syntax of Hebrew, reading a text of this style would be a difficult task. This variety, he claims, “was basically incomprehensible to the ordinary speaker of the language” (xviii). Since relexified text relies primarily on the lexicon of the colloquial language, a plethora of terms were conceived to replace words from Hebrew and Aramaic. These relexifications were typically not

used in colloquial speech and, therefore, unfamiliar to the majority of its readers. Translations into Ibero-Romance-based vernacular occurred in Ladino texts even when Hebrew or Aramaic expressions were common in the colloquial language of the community. The paradox, of course, lies in providing all speakers of Djudezmo the opportunity to access liturgical texts of Hebrew or Aramaic origin while, nevertheless, removing all of the lexical items that may have been utilized (actively or passively) amongst the Sephardim. One may conclude, therefore, that the calqued variety does not reflect an accurate portrayal of the colloquial registers of its speakers. The Ladino language, apart from its syntax, in fact, may lexically be more similar to the non-Jewish varieties of Spanish than to Djudezmo or Haketia. However, the calqued variety would appeal to a wider readership, taking into account those who were not able to read liturgical texts in the Holy Language (LK).

The need for texts in Ladino can be understood in that the mass population of Sephardim did not have a vast knowledge of the Bible; familiarity and comprehension pertained to rabbinic scholars and not the general congregation. These texts were produced in a language, therefore, that appealed to a wider audience who did not master Hebrew (Bumaschny 1981). Sephiha (1985) reasons that the general public's lack of knowledge about the structure of these liturgical texts has led to a misunderstanding concerning the spoken and written modalities of Judeo-Spanish. This often creates generalizations toward the nomenclature of the language and the result has been a global phenomenon to name the spoken variety of Judeo-Spanish as Ladino. The term Ladino is often used in popular culture worldwide—both among those who are familiar

with the existence of the language, as well as leading institutions that research and promote its use.¹¹

Djudezmo- and Haketia-speaking communities alike used Ladino texts since its composition was meant to appeal to the same Iberian-originating Jewish population. These texts were typically published in Rashi or Meruba characters given the majority of the population was familiar with their corresponding alphabets. Ladino texts, however, were also printed in Latin characters for *Marrano* readership. Marranos, or those who were converted to Christianity during the Inquisition, were unfamiliar with the Hebrew alphabet or its variants, especially within a few generations after conversion. Many covertly practiced some of the Jewish laws, traditions, and customs, but made sure to erase any Jewish markers from their speech so as not to be identified as a Marrano. Consequently, the Marranos spoke the same language as their co-regionalists and were familiar with their respective Latin-based orthographies (Schwarzwald 1999). Upon returning to Judaism after migrating out of the Peninsula, these communities benefited from Ladino texts, fully transcribed in Latin characters and following the same unique structure as those texts printed in the Rashi or Meruba alphabet.

The contrast between Ladino and Djudezmo, both varieties under the umbrella term *Judeo-Spanish*, can best be understood by comparing the former in relation to Lashon haKodesh (Hebrew) and the originating Co-territorial Language (CT)—Castilian Spanish. To demonstrate the differences found in Ladino, let us examine the first verse of Genesis, including the Hebrew and Spanish equivalents.

¹¹ Such as the National Authority of Ladino, based in Jerusalem, as well as *Ladinokomunita*, an online forum with correspondence (in Judeo-Spanish, primarily Djudezmo) from Sephardim around the world.

I. In the beginning God created heaven and Earth.

Ladino:¹² En prisipyo kreo el Dyo a los syelos i a la tyera

Hebrew: בראשית, ברא אלוהים, את השמיים, ואת הארץ

(Gloss): in-beginning he created God (Elohim) < >¹³ the heavens and < > the Earth

Spanish: En el principio creó Dios el cielo y la tierra

In this verse we see four examples of linguistic inquiry, unique to the Ladino repertoire. The use of *el Dio* as opposed to *Dios* of contemporary Spanish is often accredited to the monotheistic ideals of the Jewish people, noting the removal of the final –s, in addition to the use of the definite article *el* ‘the.’¹⁴ This peculiarity, however, cannot be associated completely with the calqued variety, especially since the given name of God used in the Hebrew verse, *Elohim*, is plural in construct, while still representing one. However, the use of *el Dio* as the hispanicized form in the calqued component replaces one of several denominations for God including *adonay* [*h*]akadosh ha barux [*h*]u ‘The Holy Lord, the Blessed One’, employed often in other contexts (Bunis 1992a).

The following is a list of the three calqued influences evidenced within this verse. The initial *en prisipyo* as opposed to Spanish *en el principio*¹⁵ is due to the Hebrew glossed version corresponding to ‘in beginning;’ the Ladino, therefore, replicates this structure and confirms the reason for the null article in this version. Similarly, the plural marked *syelos* ‘skies,’ as opposed to Spanish singular *cielo* ‘sky,’ is due to the original Hebrew source, possible only in the plural form. Finally, the use of the preposition ‘a’ twice within the Ladino, (*a los syelos i a la tyera* ‘the

¹² provided here in Latin font

¹³ < > used to represent Hebrew “את” –“et,” indicative of an object to follow

¹⁴ This can also be traced to Latin and the case system. Other Romance languages use a singular declension for this term (i.e., Italian *Dio*).

¹⁵ Within these examples we are not comparing orthography but rather (morpho)syntactic differences.

heavens and the Earth’ compared to the Spanish *el cielo y la tierra*), is due to Hebrew syntax, which makes use of the lexical placeholder ‘et’ for direct objects. The table below reviews these three occurrences.

Ladino	Spanish vernacular	Calqued structure
en prisypyo	en el principio	lacking definite article
los syelos	el cielo	plurality
a los syelos i a la tyera	el cielo y la tierra	object marking

Table 1.2 Ladino vs. Spanish vernacular

The complexity of the Ladino structure becomes further apparent in examining written and spoken variations and their differences. This may be demonstrated simply with the word ‘tonight,’ as found in the Passover Haggada’s *Four Questions*.

‘TONIGHT’	
<p>LADINO</p> <p>la noche la esta / לה נוג'י לה איסטא</p>	<p>DJUDEZMO</p> <p>esta noche</p>
<p>HEBREW</p> <p>ha.layla ha.zeh/ הלילה הזה</p>	<p>MODERN SPANISH</p> <p>esta noche</p>

Table 1.3 Ladino vs. Djudezmo, Hebrew, and Modern Spanish

The table above illustrates that the Ladino syntax of ‘tonight’ is a word for word translation from its source language, Hebrew. As Hebrew syntax constructs ‘ha (*the*) layla (*night*) ha (*the*) zeh (*this*),’ with definite articles modifying both the noun *layla* and the demonstrative *zeh*, the Ladino version mirrors this in its calque, ‘la (*the*) noche (*night*) la (*the*) esta (*this*),’ once again representing the construction of the definite article modifying both the noun *noche* and the

demonstrative *esta*. However, if we look at how one would typically say ‘tonight’ in Djudezmo, we see that its construction is identical to that of Modern Spanish *esta noche*, literally, ‘this night.’

The intersection between Ladino and Djudezmo becomes more one-dimensional once we examine how Ladino, the calque, has influenced Djudezmo, the spoken vernacular, albeit to a linguistically minimal degree. Fishman (1985) explains that a part of the Jewish linguistic repertoire, the calque, “has its own dynamics, disproportionately influencing whatever other (usually marginal) written functions and possibly less marginal formal oral functions the newly developed language may acquire” (14). It is not uncommon to find a contemporary written text using *la noche la esta* instead of *esta noche*, while even being used at times in the spoken vernacular of the speaker. Implementing the former may be appreciated as more poetic or emphatic.

Another example in reference to a Ladino construct extending to Djudezmo usage is that of *karas*¹⁶ or *fases* ‘faces,’ *panim* in Hebrew. This structure represents the syntactic structure of Hebrew. In the second verse of Genesis, the Ladino text reads, “I la tyera era vana i vazia i eskuridad sovre fases de abismo i espirito de el Dyo abolava sovre fases de las aguas”—‘And the Earth was without form, and void; and darkness [was] upon the face of the deep. And the Spirit of God moved the face of the waters.’ Of particular interest in this verse is the word for ‘face’ appearing twice. Since the Hebrew word appears as “פני,”¹⁷ literally ‘faces,’ the Ladino text also appears in the plural form, *fases*. Therefore, this form, utilized in the spoken vernacular, is due to influence from the calque. Bunis (1992a) attributes the prevalence of Ladino texts, “employed extensively among the Judezmo-speaking Sephardim in the synagogue, school and home

¹⁶ *Karas* can also mean ‘cheeks.’

¹⁷ Shortened form (smehut) of פנים – *panim* due to noun + noun construction.

throughout the generations” as a factor that led to the preservation of the relexified hispanicized forms (31).

The aforementioned examples serve to review the subtleties and, at the same time, the complexities behind the linguistic repertoires of Judeo-Spanish. While the term Ladino is often used to describe the language of the Sephardim at all linguistic levels, evidence suggests that it is best suited to describe the written calqued variety. Ladino, from *enladinar*, or ‘to make Latin-like,’ describes the calqued process that was used for centuries to translate texts from Hebrew and Aramaic so as to make them more accessible to Sephardic communities. As such, the spoken Judeo-Spanish vernaculars, while benefiting from the linguistic uniqueness of Ladino, remain a separate linguistic entity that must be analyzed according to its own characteristics and respective paradigms.

1.4 Ideological Stance Applied to Judeo-Spanish

In examining the linguistic structure of Judeo-Spanish, we are able to better understand the hybrid identity of the Sephardim. By hybrid identity, I refer to the Sephardim’s distant Spanish past, their Ottoman roots, and their Jewish religion, and how these realities interact with one another. However, as Fishman (1985) points out, this is only one dimension in understanding the qualities of a Jewish language, with sociological and psychological elements of equal importance. While I analyze the sociological and sociolinguistic organization of Judeo-Spanish in the following chapter, in this section, I focus on the psychological and ideological stance surrounding various realms of Judeo-Spanish and its speakers. To this degree, a Jewish language may be defined as Jewish on “an attitudinal (i.e., cognitive-affective) basis, that is, they are Jewish because Jews or non-Jews believe them to be Jewish” (Fishman 1985: 6). Benor (2008)

also explores the nexus between language and identity and how ideology plays a fundamental role in a speaker's linguistic performance. Therefore, I consider how the Sephardim conceive their language and identity, as well as how others—Jewish or not—view these dynamics.

Irvine (1989) offers a fitting theoretical stance on language ideologies, stating that they are “a culture (or subcultural) system of ideas about social and linguistic relationships, together with their loading of moral and political interests (261).” The relationship between language ideologies and political interests is, therefore, integral in assessing hegemonic factors in a given nation. Hegemony is described by Rampton (2003) as “the relation of domination and subordination and one's assignment and shaping of perceptions of ourselves and the world” (49). Hegemony, thus, refers to the saturation of national ideologies on its citizens and marginalized (minority) groups, a case with which Judeo-Spanish-speaking communities are all too familiar. Prevailing national authorities with different linguistic objectives for their nation-states have taken great authoritative stance on such ideologies within Turkey, Israel, and the United States (Kirschen 2013). Callaway's (2008) research on Judeo-Spanish in Turkey demonstrates how ideologies have shifted the socialization of its citizens in that, “standard language ideology is hegemonic: there is no escaping it, even for those who actively retaliate against its effects” (65). The language reforms of the 1920s under Ataturk reflected the beginnings of a new nation, one in which future generations would grow up in a society quite different from their ancestors. In the case of Judeo-Spanish, Sephardim were no longer socialized into the same Ottoman Jewish networks as their immediate ancestors, who held their sense of linguistic community together for centuries after being expelled from the Iberian Peninsula.

The toponym *Sepharad*, Spain in Modern Hebrew, first appears in the Bible in the book of the prophet Obadiah (verse 20), alluding to the entire Iberian Peninsula where Jews were to

settle in the years of their diaspora. However, Papo states that the concept of Sepharad, “no es un lugar geográfico real” (Nieto 2003: 45). He explains the notion of Sepharad as a period of history spanning over 1,500 years, the time in which Jews dwelled in these lands and the circumstances that allowed them to have a passing homeland. While some Sephardim still express nostalgia for Spain, others consider Judeo-Spanish to encapsulate their rich mobile history. Nieto (2003) notes that for most Spanish speakers today, hearing Judeo-Spanish is quite an unequivocal shock. An encounter with the Judeo-Spanish language often represents “una especie de viaje en la máquina del tiempo hasta el castellano antiguo de las obras de Quevedo, de Cervantes” (71). One of Callaway’s informants in Istanbul considers “her own Spanish to be purer than that of most contemporary Judeo-Spanish speakers, and that this pure Judeo-Spanish was closer to the Spanish of Cervantes than even contemporary Standard Spanish” (61). Callaway notes that others, however, believe that any analogy regarding the purity of the language and its association to the days of Cervantes to be quite an entertaining rather than serious notion. While it is clear that Judeo-Spanish has developed considerably since the days of Quevedo (1580-1645) and Cervantes (1547-1616), who, nevertheless, were both born post-Iberian expulsions, many Sephardim and non-Sephardim often describe Judeo-Spanish as a fossilized language, primarily due to the retention of certain features previously discussed.

The depiction of Judeo-Spanish (or any Jewish repertoire) as a language or dialect is not only a matter of categorization but ideology as well. There are no set criteria or parameters for classifying a vernacular as either a language or a dialect and so the matter is ultimately decided based on the attitudes of speakers and their community (Rabin 1981). For many, while language is “thought to be ‘correct’, ‘beautiful’, ‘expressive’, etc., one that is ‘incorrect’, ‘ugly’, ‘crude,’ etc., is ‘only a dialect’” (Gold 1981: 32). This notion is prevalent in many societies where

languages, whatever they may actually mean or represent, are valued over dialects. Conversely, a dialect does not often reach a high level of appreciation amongst its speakers given its supposed lower status. Jewish languages are often equated with jargons, vulgar forms of speech, and illegitimate means of communication. One of the goals of Comparative Jewish Linguistics, therefore, is to battle these preconceived misconceptions both within the language community and outside of it.

Judeo-Spanish speakers express both positive and negative ideologies toward their mother tongue. Benor's (1999) research in Seattle, home to one of the largest Sephardic populations in the United States, demonstrates both sides of this spectrum. One of her informants express that Judeo-Spanish was "bastardized in the Ottoman Empire by the addition of Turkish, Greek, and other non-Hispanic words," alluding to the fact that a language with such a great deal of outside linguistic influence is not pure Judeo-Spanish (11). Similarly, this informant notes the influence of the English language on Judeo-Spanish and how many speakers are continuing to develop or, in her opinion, corrupt the language.

The problem of Judeo-Spanish nomenclature, discussed throughout this chapter is, in reality, an ideological one. Despite often being the topic of discussion among speakers and scholars alike, there are still those who prefer to call the language by a given name with which they feel most comfortable or familiar, oftentimes representing the nomenclature into which they were socialized. Although unique epithets are not known for most Jewish languages, scholars have often described them as being Jewish variants of their non-Jewish variety. However, as Wexler (1981) points out, "knowledge of native names would deepen our understanding of how speakers perceived the relationship between the Jewish and non-Jewish variants through time and space" (114). In fact, *Djudezmo* 'Judaism' and *Djidyó/ Djudyó* 'Jewish' are well documented

as epithets of the language among the Sephardim since the second half of the nineteenth century. Such names “clearly testify to the once-popular Ottoman Sephardi perception of their vernacular as distinctly a ‘Jewish language’ rather than a mere dialect of Spanish, as some speakers conceive of it today” (Bunis 1992b: 408). In this respect, speakers often recognize their language distinct enough from its co-territorial non-Jewish variety and label it as Jewish.

Notwithstanding what has been documented, Fishman (1985) states that denominations that are prefixed with the word ‘Judeo’ can actually be offensive. Such nomenclatures “are felt to imply that the unprefixated varieties are the original, genuine and unadulterated ones whereas the ‘Judeo’ varieties are, by implication, quite the opposite” (10). He notes that all of these factors form part of the ideological stance of a given speaker and their respective community at large. Regardless of the linguistic subtleties between a Jewish repertoire and its non-cognate variety, it is ultimately up to the speaker to position them against one another as significant or not. Sephiha (1985) observes that the Spanish of the Sephardim can begin to be described as Jewish around the year 1620, several generations after leaving Spain and Portugal and allowing for each variety to develop. Noting the ideological nature behind the language as a Jewish variety, Sephiha expresses how it has been accepted despite the fact that it may be a historical and linguistic misunderstanding. He compares Judeo-Spanish to the French language that developed in Canada in that, “the French Canadians, were they Jews, would have been said to speak Judeo-French” (181). For this reason, he continues, many Turks learned about the language of the Jews who dwelled in nearby millets and, therefore, referred to the language as *yahudice* ‘Jewish.’ Sephiha’s example, nonetheless, helps put the ideological abstractions related to Judeo-Spanish into perspective.

Westernization also brought forth pressing concerns within Sephardic communities. In 1860 the French Jews established the *Alliance Israélite Universelle* in order to westernize Near Eastern and North African Jewry. The Alliance was responsible for more than three generations of educating Jewish youth in an attempt to help them “succeed in the emerging world economy” (Stein 2002: 226). Additionally, the Alliance wanted to expose the Moroccan and Levantine Jews to higher standards of education, with a Western-European agenda. Aside from giving males the opportunity to receive a (secular) education from a culture of international regard, for the first time, many females were also able to receive an education. Sephardim were able to apply their knowledge of the French language and understanding of Western culture in their future undertakings, which made them grateful for such an education.

The Alliance made their stance clear regarding the Sephardim’s Judeo-Spanish; French should replace their language in all domains. Rodrigue (1990) asserts the Alliance’s position on this in that, “though it wanted to render the Jews everywhere into good productive citizens, it could not accept the fact that the moralizing and ‘civilizing’ necessary for this could be done in any medium outside the French language, following non-French methods” (171). Students learned French during their years of schooling and often integrated elements of the language into their Judeo-Spanish. To these students, learning French provided opportunities to advance in life. A common ideology, thus, ensued in Sephardic communities: “A Jew spoke Judeo-Spanish, or at least spoke French and bragged about not speaking Judeo-Spanish” (Callaway 2008: 38). This ideology can be applied to the Alliance’s outreach in both Morocco and the Levant, as students thought French to be a more prestigious language, one with which they could impress others. While other languages were naturally present in these Sephardic communities, no other language had the same appeal and vigor as French in the global linguistic market. French became so

integrated into everyday Judeo-Spanish that Sephiha (2012) suggests an additional variety of the language, Judeo-FragnoI.

Across generations of Sephardim, the relationship between language and religion varies. Thus, for some Jews, “Spanish is a direct index of Jewishness; for others Ladino indexes old ignorant Jews, for others Judeo-Spanish indexes the community’s rich heritage” (Callaway, 2008: 68). These generational divisions, however, are not well defined, as Sephardim in similar age groups express a variety of beliefs concerning the link between language and identity. In the following examples, we see remarks from three of Callaway’s informants from Istanbul who comment on the relationship between language and cultural or religious identity.

- (1) “Mozotros sentimos judios kwando avlamos Espanyol.”
‘We feel Jewish when we speak Spanish.’
- (2) “Kon esta lingwa mos konsentimos mas judio.”
‘With this language we feel more Jewish.’
- (3) “Una lingwa es una persona en el meoyo.”
‘A language is a person in the mind.’ (Callaway 2008: 44)

Callaway notes that the last comment is one that he heard most often throughout his interviews. It is apparent that something about the language feels Jewish to the Sephardim and, therefore, enables them to make the connection between language and identity. These feelings, however, do not often correspond to informants’ actual use of Judeo-Spanish as most, in fact, only use the language in very specific domains.

Another ideological matter that the Sephardim have faced has been the lack of acceptance among their Eastern European brethren, the Ashkenazim; this is particularly the case in the United States for a considerable part of the twentieth century. Relations between the Ashkenazim and the Sephardim were not always amicable, as the former would not accept the fact that the latter were not able to communicate in Yiddish. Language was not the only determining element

of the Sephardic identity that the Ashkenazim questioned, as their cultural and religious practices proved different as well. Ashkenazim did not often perceive the Sephardim as Jewish based on their appearance. With these ideological margins in place, Sephardic immigrants would go out of their way to prove to the Ashkenazim that they too were Jewish (Stern 1988). Furthermore, the Judeo-Spanish language of the Sephardim, while Jewish to them, was certainly not Jewish to the Ashkenazim who already spoke a (or to some, *the*) Jewish language. Ben-Ur (2009b) claims that the fundamental issue was that many Ashkenazim did not accept the Sephardim as Jewish. She coins this phenomenon “coethnic recognition failure,” which represents “a central experience of a new group of immigrants that defied conventional categorization, defined as a person’s denial of a fellow group member’s common ethnicity due to mistaken identity” (108). This misunderstanding represents the experience of many minority groups in the United States and abroad. Sephardim, just like other ethnic groups in the country, have to decide when, where, and with whom to use their mother tongue in an English-dominant society. For the Sephardim, the fact that they did not speak Yiddish was another obstacle to overcome.

The efforts to promote English in the United States, however, can be seen as implemented bottom-up, as the Sephardim are often the ones who were to apply their own ideological stance on one another. Halió (1996) relates his personal experience in that “most of us kids wouldn’t speak Ladino at home. They would tell their folk, ‘Estamos en la Amerika, kale ke avlemos en ingles,’” of course, not worrying about the preservation of the language or its connection to their religious or cultural identity (96). Rather, their concern was how to assimilate into their greater settings. The narratives of many Sephardim in the United States represent similar testimony in interactions with the Ashkenazim and the tactics that they implemented in

order to prove their Jewishness. Their Jewish language, and even writing in the Hebrew alphabet or a variant thereof, was not considered sufficient.

While speakers of Judeo-Spanish may have initially thought nothing pejorative of their language, contact with Peninsular Spanish made them question their native tongue. Callaway (2008) notes that “the language has become an objectified part of identity in a way that it probably never was ‘in the older days,’ when it was just the way Jews talked to each other” (62). The “kwestyon dela lingwa” (sic) appears as early as the 1880s in the Judeo-Spanish newspaper *El Tyempo* of Constantinople (Bunis 1996). At this time, editor David Fresco and others dedicated a portion of their writings to examining the relationship between their own vernacular and other varieties of Spanish. As the Judeo-Spanish printing press began to thrive, and modernization—to many synonymous with westernization—became prevalent, Sephardim began to question their language.

Since as early as the mid-nineteenth century, speakers of Judeo-Spanish began to question the validity of their language due to exposure to Modern Spanish. Harris (2006) suggests that, among Judeo-Spanish speakers in the United States, this is still common. Many of her informants expressed negative attitudes toward Judeo-Spanish and considered it to be “an inferior form of Spanish, referring to it as an ‘impure,’ ‘incorrect’ or a ‘non-genuine’ form of Spanish” (118). While Judeo-Spanish and Castilian are similar in linguistic construct, it is also the psychological and ideological properties of language that distinguish these varieties from one another, thus classifying the Spanish of the Sephardim as ‘Jewish.’

Although there has been no evidence for a printing press for publications in Haketia, a similar concept is described in a *New York Times* article from 1888. The newspaper published an article about a reporter’s time in Tetuan, noting differences between Moorish and Jewish

communities. Their languages were described in the following manner: “The Jews and Moors are as separated in habits, occupation, and language as in their homes and workshops. The Moors speak their own tongue, and the Jews a corrupted Spanish” (“Tetuan’s Moors and Jews,” 1888). The ‘corrupted’ Spanish that the article refers to is the Judeo-Spanish of the Moroccan Sephardim, Haketia.

Like other Sephardim, speakers of Haketia often referred to their language as Spanish, with no ‘Judeo’ prefix attached. Thus, utilizing terms such as ‘Moroccan Judeo-Spanish’ or ‘Castilian Spanish’ to identify their language was not a concern for speakers. Sharing this experience, Raz (2010) notes,

Esto lo digoy yo, pamorde (*por causa de*) que denantes (*antes*), yo jammeaba (*pensaba*) que stoy hablando, ni más ni menos, un español espejeado (*brillante*) y puro como en España!... Agüera (*ahora*) ya sepoy (*sé*) la verdad amarga fiel (*hiel; exp.*), es dizir que yo habloy un jalteo! (“La Historia,” para. 1).

The idea of a pure Spanish that many speakers like Raz grew up with soon began to be realized as a *jalteo*, or mixture of Spanish and Arabic.

Today, younger generations of Sephardim in Istanbul perceive Judeo-Spanish in a different way than their grandparents may. Callaway (2008) notes that, “Judeo-Spanish’s saving grace may be its connection to Standard Spanish” (61). As language indexes identity, young Turkish Sephardim are trying to connect with Judeo-Spanish, although in a distinct manner. Many of these youth perceive Judeo-Spanish as a dialect of Spanish and, therefore, a useful language to acquire. One of Romero’s (2012) informants, a thirty year old from Istanbul, who is a semi-speaker of Judeo-Spanish, shares this opinion in commenting, “when I began to use my Ladino, for example, I was using *trocar*, instead of *cambiar*, because in Ladino I heard about it-*trocar*, but in real Spanish we are using *cambiar*” (80). It appears that this speaker does not consider Judeo-Spanish to be “real Spanish,” insinuating that it is less correct than other varieties

of the language. Interest in Modern Spanish is on the rise among Sephardim, not only as a means to connect in part with a language associated with their cultural heritage, but also due to its increasing value as a critical world language. This belief was common among several of Romero's informants in Turkey. Those learning Spanish, however, often opt for modern varieties than that of Judeo-Spanish, with the former being offered in educational institutions throughout the country.

Ideology plays an important role when speakers of any Sephardic community attempt to expand upon their Judeo-Spanish vocabulary. Judeo-Spanish speakers often select between synonymous words that have entered Judeo-Spanish from other languages, which adds an additional layer to the cognitive stance of the speaker. Speakers who have strong opinions on the purity of the language gear toward linguistic choices that reflect their personal or communal ideologies. To this, Callaway notes that "these decisions will reflect the multiple ties the community feels to the Jewish, Sephardic, Turkish, and local...components of its identity, and their implementation in speech and in writing will index those stances" (65). These selections refer not only to lexical elements, but also to the ways in which speakers may represent their language orthographically. While Judeo-Spanish speakers no longer use the Rashi and Solitreo alphabets for writing, they express variation in the way they write using the Latin alphabet. The National Authority of Ladino, based in Jerusalem, has suggested a standard for Ladino orthography today, which is adhered to in their bi-annual journal *Aki Yerushalayim*, as well as the online internet discussion group *Ladinokomunita*.¹⁸ After much discussion on a standard Latin-based system, many Judeo-Spanish speakers adhere to these suggested norms. Others,

¹⁸ Held (2010: 84) recognizes the importance of *Ladinokomunita* in the preservation of Judeo-Spanish in noting "towards the dawn of the twenty-first century, when JS almost ceased to exist as a spoken language, the Sephardi phoenix surprisingly arose from its ashes in the terra incognita of the World Wide Web."

however, confer to French or Turkish orthography when writing in Judeo-Spanish. However, not all speakers of Judeo-Spanish are aware of these contemporary norms, which have only come about in the recent decades and, therefore, speakers transcribe their language as they deem best.

1.5 Concluding Discussion

As demonstrated in this chapter, the Sephardim have carried their language with them for centuries following their exile from the Iberian Peninsula. Medieval Spanish evolved not only where the Sephardim settled in the former Ottoman Empire or North Africa, but also within Spain. Judeo-Spanish developed due to the Sephardim's lack of exposure to the linguistic transformations occurring within the Iberian Peninsula as well as their exposure to new points of linguistic contact in each community where they resided. While Castilian Spanish is the foundation of the Judeo-Spanish language, the 'Judeo' component incorporates Hebrew and Aramaic elements into its vernaculars, alongside the ideologies associated with being Sephardic. The Sephardim have taken what many refer to as a 'fossilized' Spanish and morphed it into distinct vernaculars as a result of their rich linguistic surroundings. Unique morphological, syntactic, and phonological features have developed in Judeo-Spanish, creating a complex language that must take several linguistic repertoires into account in order to properly understand how it functions.

To summarize the linguistic development of Judeo-Spanish spoken vernaculars, I piece together the models of the scholars discussed in this chapter, suggesting their chronological paradigms in the following figure.

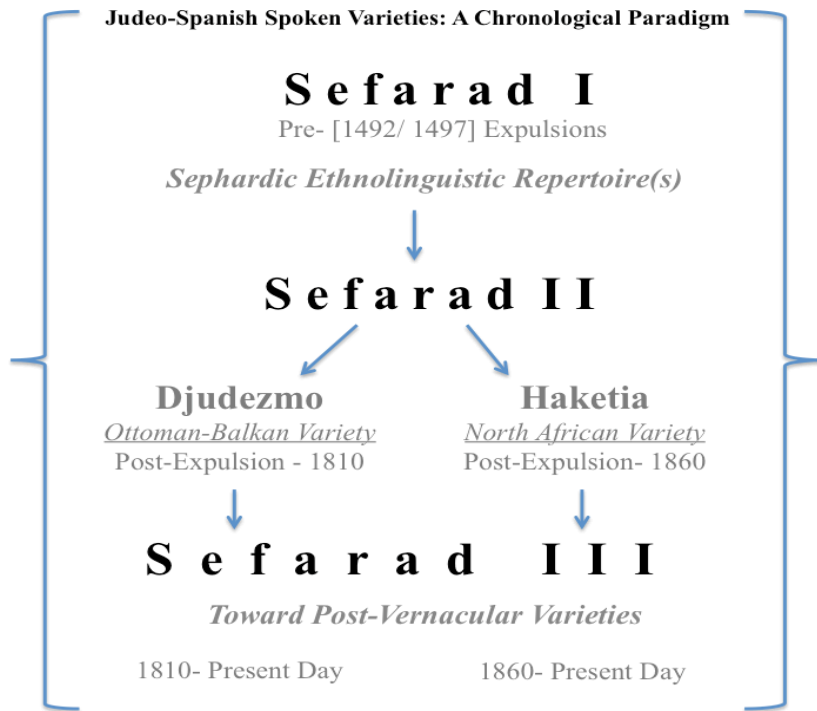


Figure 1.2 Judeo-Spanish Spoken Varieties: A Chronological Paradigm

In this figure, I take into account the two major spoken varieties of Judeo-Spanish, Djudezmo and Haketia. I do not place Ladino within this model since, as a written variety, it pertains to separate features discussed in section 1.3 of this chapter. Ladino texts, of course, were first crafted during *Sefarad I* and continued in their Rashi and Latin alphabets into *Sefarad II*. While these models serve to better understand the linguistic structure of Judeo-Spanish diachronically and synchronically, they pay little attention to the multilingual lifestyle of the Sephardim. The ideologies that Sephardim have attributed to Judeo-Spanish, as well as the other languages in their linguistic milieu, have regularly shifted as a result of the historical conditions in each locale throughout time. This has, inevitably, played a crucial role in positioning one language against another in both familial and communal domains.

Using the periodization of *Sefarad I, II, and III* (Bürki, Schmid, Schwegler 2006), I have categorized Judeo-Spanish varieties given their historical and linguistic development. The linguistic resources that the Sephardim had at their disposal to mark or unmark their speech allows us to utilize the Ethnolinguistic Repertoire model (Benor 2010) to account for their language prior to exile from the Iberian Peninsula at the end of the fifteenth century. At the start of the sixteenth century, distinct Judeo-Spanish vernaculars emerge, Ottoman Djudezmo and Moroccan Haketia. Djudezmo and Haketia share a number of linguistic features in common apart from their Ibero-Romance foundation, thus strengthening the hypothesis that their common descendants of *Sefarad I* shared a myriad of *Jewish* linguistic resources (Schwarzwald 1999). Sephiha (1985) suggests that these vernaculars may have become divergent from their co-regional variety by the start of the seventeenth century, a few generations after the migration of the Sephardim into their new territories. For the Sephardim, this period allowed for the incorporation of linguistic features from their co-territorial non-Jewish languages as adstrata or superstrata in their respective Judeo-Spanish vernaculars. While *Sefarad II* begins at approximately the same time for both Djudezmo and Haketia, the final stage of this period spans from the early nineteenth century (Djudezmo) to the mid-nineteenth century (Haketia), as noted in section 1.2. *Sefarad II* and *III* can be divided into Early and Late Periods, as suggested by Bunis (1992b). The current stage of Judeo-Spanish vernaculars is that of *Sefarad III*. Benor (2008) refers to this stage as post-vernacular given the reduced number of speakers and communities using these languages today. Though a fair assessment in comparison to the thriving latter half of *Sefarad II* regarding the language, Djudezmo and Haketia are certainly used by some speakers as a vernacular today. Use of Judeo-Spanish vernaculars toward the end of the twentieth century and in the beginning years of the twenty first century has varied from

speaker to speaker and community to community. Younger generations often find themselves relying on older ones to fortify their proficiency in the language and expand the domains in which the language can be used. The multilingualism of the Sephardim continues to present itself as both a linguistic resource and an ideological challenge, as speakers attempt to balance the ‘Judeo’ and ‘Spanish’ elements of their hybrid language and identity.

2

SOCIOLINGUISTIC CONSIDERATIONS OF THE SEPHARDIM OF NEW YORK CITY AND LOS ANGELES

2. Introduction

In this chapter, I explore the sociolinguistic history of the Sephardim in the United States, starting from their arrival in the country in the mid-seventeenth century until their presence in it today. Building off of Chapter 1, which reviews the Judeo-Spanish language as both a Jewish and a Romance language, this chapter contextualizes the linguistic nature of the language and maps it onto two of the largest Sephardic and Latino populations in the United States, those of New York City and Los Angeles. This chapter begins by reviewing sources from the early twentieth century describing Sephardic and Latino contact in New York City. I then consider periodicals based in New York City and Los Angeles to describe the internal structure of these cities' Sephardic communities, intercity correspondence, and problems the Sephardim faced due to linguistic expectations of assimilation and acculturation into the greater English-Spanish-Yiddish landscape of the United States. Such comparable patterns situate Judeo-Spanish linguistically today, according to theories of language endangerment, heritage languages, metalinguistic communities, (post-) vernaculars, diasporic language ideologies, and social networks. After defining each of the aforementioned terms and applying them to the Sephardim, I discuss the methodology for this study—informant selection as well as procedures and tasks. I examine diglossia among the Sephardim and explore a number of languages such as English, Turkish, Greek, Hebrew, French, and Modern Spanish that Sephardim often acquire for unique

purposes. Modern Spanish will serve as the focus of this study given that Judeo-Spanish speakers in New York City and Los Angeles find themselves using varieties of Spanish—both Judeo- and Modern—for various purposes and in a variety of domains.¹⁹

2.1 Sephardic and Latino Relations in the United States

The processes of assimilation, accommodation, and acculturation are common experiences of those who settle in a new city, state, or country. This is particularly true in the case of the United States, where people from all regions of the world migrate to in order to achieve the “American Dream” (Naar 2007: 458). The inhabitants of the United States are both multicultural and multilingual yet often give up a part of their identity in order to establish a new one. While not recognized as the official language of the country, English is certainly prevalent in all domains. For many, mastering English presents a gamut of opportunities that allow one to climb the ladder of social standing and success. The following pages explore how Sephardim, beginning the twentieth century, have sought to overcome language barriers—both with Jews and non-Jews—in the United States.

On the first page of his *Hispanic New York: A Sourcebook*, Remeseira (2010) notes the integral role that the Sephardim have played over the centuries in the crossroads of Spanish-speaking cultures in New York. In fact, the first Jews to arrive in the United States and establish a community were Sephardic Jews. In 1654, twenty-three Jews from Recife, Brazil settled into New Amsterdam, present day New York. This occurred after the Portuguese seized the land from the Dutch in Brazil. In New Amsterdam, they established the first Jewish congregation—that of Shearith Israel, known as the Spanish and Portuguese Synagogue (Sarna 2004). These Jews,

¹⁹ Within Spanish-speaking populations in the United States, varieties from—or based on—Latin American Spanish are predominant.

while often noted to all be Sephardim, were in fact represented by both Sephardim and Ashkenazim. The Sephardim to arrive were ex-Marranos, those Jews who converted to Christianity at one point and converted back to Judaism at another (Ramiro Bentes 1981). This is understandable if we look at the migration patterns of the Sephardim into their various countries after the expulsion and the fact that, once settled in New Amsterdam, much of their business in the synagogue was recorded in Portuguese. Quintana notes that “los sefardíes de Ámsterdam no hablaban judeoespañol, sino castellano puro, o portugués y escribían español con letras latinas, no con el alfabeto hebreo,” therefore, making clear any linguistic ambiguity that may exist (Nieto 2003: 36).

In the centuries to follow, and after waves of Ashkenazi immigration, Sephardim from the Ottoman Empire—Turkey and the Balkans—began to migrate into the United States. An estimated thirty thousand of these Levantine Sephardim arrived in the United States between 1880 and 1924, nearly twenty thousand in New York City alone. The national number of Judeo-Spanish-speaking Sephardim is approximated at nearly fifty thousand in the 1930s (Ben-Ur 2009a). Similarly, an estimated sixty thousand Latinos—mostly Puerto Ricans—were to arrive in New York City during the early twentieth century. Dworkin and Méndez (2007) explain that both groups were treated as minorities for linguistic and cultural reasons, observing, “they both needed to create a new ethos to deal with their cultural and linguistic dependence on a new ‘imperial’ language, cultural and linguistic assimilation to the host society, and racism” (337). While not identical, in many ways, the experience of the Latino population settling into New York City mirrors that of the Sephardim.

The Sephardim were not initially interested in establishing relationships with their neighboring Latino communities according to Levy (1944). Levy conducted research in New

York among the Izmirli Sephardic community in the early 1940s and notes that several of her informants were never interested in news related to Spain or the Castilian language. She believes that such a perception, however, began to change due to close contact between Sephardic and Latino communities in New York. As a result, Levy notes, “la vida internacional de Nueva York ha logrado borrar en gran parte este prejuicio” (6). Furthermore, the Sephardim felt closer to the Latino population with the rise of interest in (Latin American) Spanish within New York City. While not their variety of language, the Sephardim felt connected due to their linguistic parallels.

In his sourcebook, Remeseira (2010) includes a collection of memoirs from Bernardo Vega, a Puerto Rican union activist, who he considers “one of the fundamental sources for the history of the Hispanic communities of New York at the turn of the twentieth century” (xvi). César Andreu Iglesias published Vega’s memoirs after his death in 1984. In his writings, Vega notes that before East Harlem became known as Spanish Harlem—or its epithet ‘El Barrio’—it was highly populated by Jews. For the Jews, Harlem was known as ‘Little Jerusalem’ (Ben-Ur 1998a: 135). The Lower East Side and Harlem were home to both Sephardim and Latinos. Vega comments that the influx of Jewish immigrants to this area “made the whole area seem like the Tower of Babel,” indicating that, “many of them, in fact, could get along in five or even six languages” (Vega 2010: 76). He states that the Sephardim established a sense of community there for several generations, which was made up of schools, synagogues, and theatres (77). Cañas (2010) notes that in this area, the Sephardim “had established many businesses, shops, restaurants, and while they spoke Ladino among themselves, their clientele were mostly Latin Americans and peninsular Spaniards” (248). One can deduce, therefore, frequent contact between Sephardic and Latino populations.

Zentella (2010) confirms regular contact between these groups in recounting her

experience growing up in New York City, noting that an “increasing numbers of Puerto Rican immigrants were aided by Spanish-speaking merchants, often Sephardic Jews” (321). This testimony concurs with several narratives (personally conducted) from Sephardim in which the men in their families took on jobs as businessmen outside of the United States or once they settled into the country. Judeo-Spanish, according to Zentella, “was rekindled to serve the burgeoning Puerto Rican community” (321). The possibility for interaction between the Sephardim and the Puerto Ricans—and eventually other Latino groups—was abundant. Accordingly, Harris (1994) notes that several of her New York Judeo-Spanish-speaking informants, “reported that their linguistic ability got them better results from the Puerto Ricans, who were happy to hear some form of Spanish spoken” (168). This sequence of narratives helps to fathom the initial points of contact between Judeo-Spanish speakers with Spanish speakers in the United States, particularly in New York City. Furthermore, a review of the ethnolinguistic landscape from a century ago contextualizes contact between Judeo-Spanish and Spanish speakers leading up to the present day.

Benardete (1953) emphasizes frequent interaction between Sephardim—who he refers to as Hispano-Levantines—and Latinos in New York City, especially in areas of commerce. One result of such daily contact between these groups was the rehispanization of the Judeo-Spanish language that developed in the Sephardic diaspora. He reports,

The doctor, the lawyer, the accountant, the insurance agent, the dentist, the druggist, the merchant, the waiter, and the factory worker, are inevitably thrown into the company of Spanish-speaking peoples with the consequence that the outlandish excrescences are filed away or dropped off when confronted with genuine samples of the Spanish language in its modern vigor. School and shop, street and subway, radio programs and newspaper articles, moving pictures and restaurants, are some of the agencies contributing to this strange phenomenon of an artificial rehispanization of the Hispano-Levantines (147).

While he does not go into detail about what he means by “outlandish excrescences,” it is safe to

posit that Judeo-Spanish speakers made cognizant decisions which elements of their language to keep within group and which features of their language they would modify in order to communicate most effectively with speakers of Modern Spanish. While Benardete's intention is to describe the relations between these two linguistically similar communities in New York City, much of this can be applied and extended to the situation found in Los Angeles, where Judeo-Spanish and Spanish speakers were—and continue to be—in regular contact with one another.

Such common experiences among Sephardim in the United States often provided them with the necessary metalinguistic training on how to modify their Judeo-Spanish tongue to that of a Modern Spanish variety. For some, however, it meant the overall shift from Judeo-Spanish to Modern Spanish. In subsequent years, when these speakers were no longer transmitting their mother tongue onto future generations, and those with whom they communicated in the language began to pass away, it was Modern Spanish that many maintained for use of practicality in their given neighborhoods and communities.

One way to understand the sociolinguistic landscape of nearly a century ago is by looking at Judeo-Spanish periodicals printed in the United States during this period, demonstrating cultural and linguistic points of contact as well as ideologies among the Sephardim. Editor of *La Vara* newspaper Moise B. Soulam notes in his advice column for Sephardim, particularly Sephardic women, to be careful of what they say while out in public. He recounts a then-recent scenario where two Sephardic ladies were discussing personal matters and even making unpleasant comments in Judeo-Spanish. Shortly after, a Puerto Rican man approached them, greeted them, and invited them to his house. These women were most likely unaware of how widespread the Spanish language was at that time in New York City. Soulam advises, "... be careful not to speak [by] shouting, because I told you before New York resembles the Tower of

Babel. Here there are peoples and individuals who speak various languages, and without knowing or thinking about it we can be heard, understood, and accused by strangers...” (Stein and Cohen 2014: 363). Factual or not, from this anecdote it is clear that Soulam believed that the Sephardim did not yet realize that they were not the only ones who spoke a variety of Spanish in New York City.

2.1.1 Intercity Sephardic Relations

The Los Angeles Sephardic community was initially divided into three groups, which represented religious, charitable, and fraternal organizations: the Sephardic Hebrew Center (formerly known as the Peace and Progress Society), the Sephardic Community, and the Haim Vehessed Society. In the June 1934 edition of Los Angeles’s monthly Judeo-Spanish bulletin, *El Mesajero*, Samuel Berro writes that there is a great divide between these organizations. He notes that each community “has unfortunately maintained an attitude of indifference, isolation, and ignorance in the welfare and communal work of its sister organizations now in existence in America, for the last twenty-five years or so” (“Let Us Promote,” 6). This divide, he asserts, prevents the advancement of Sephardic life in Los Angeles.

The history of the Sephardic congregations in Los Angeles is one of a series of mergers, re-mergers, and name changes from as early as 1912 to as recent as 1994. In 1912, the A(ha)vat²⁰ Shalom Congregation broke into various factions including Peace and Progress of the Rhodeslis and the Sephardic Community of Los Angeles of the Turks. The former would change their name to that of the Sephardic Hebrew Center when they relocated their congregation to 55th & Hoover, while the latter would split into the Sephardic Community of Los Angeles and the

²⁰ Ahavat Shalom “Love and Peace” in Hebrew- often shortened to “Avat Shalom”

Sephardic Brotherhood of Los Angeles—known as Haim Vehessed. In 1959, the original Sephardic Community of Los Angeles re-merged into the Sephardic Community and Brotherhood of Los Angeles, renamed eventually to Sephardic Temple Tifereth Israel (STTI), whose congregation is located at 10500 Wilshire Blvd as of 1975.²¹ The Rhodesli Sephardic Hebrew Center was renamed Sephardic Beth Shalom in 1990, before merging congregations in 1993 with the Sephardic Temple Tifereth Israel and taking the name of the latter congregation. After eighty years of separations and mergers, the Judeo-Spanish-speaking congregations of the early 1900s were reunified.²²

The problem of solidarity among the Sephardim, however, was not unique to those in Los Angeles. Marc Angel, former Rabbi of the Spanish and Portuguese Synagogue in New York, had noted a similar issue amongst his congregation of Sephardim early in the twentieth century. He notes, “A serious problem of New York’s Sephardim since their arrival...has been disunity” (Angel 1973: 95). Sephardim formed various congregations, societies, and social organizations based on the geographical origin from which they came. Therefore, Judeo-Spanish-speaking Sephardim formed organizations for those from Monastir, Kastoria, Dardanelles, Rhodes, Gallipoli, and Izmir, among others (Benardete 1953). Angel refers to such problems as a common development for Sephardic communities nationwide, as demonstrated by the case of the Sephardim in Los Angeles. He asserts: “The difficulties plaguing the New York Sephardim were

²¹ In 1975, the move to STTI was made from their prior location at 1561 W. Santa Barbara Avenue (Martin Luther King Boulevard today). In 1981 the sanctuary of STTI was completed.

²² I have constructed this timeline from a variety of sources including: 1) Angel, Morris and Robert Rome (1991) *A Guide to Sephardic Jewish Los Angeles*. Los Angeles, California: The American Sephardi Federation, 2) Benveniste, Arthur. "Ladino: Now and Then." University of California, Los Angeles. Los Angeles, CA. 19 October 2011. Guest Lecture, 3) Hasson, Aron. "The Los Angeles Rhodesli Sephardic Community." (2013). Web. 11 November 2014, 4) Hattem, Bob. "Our History." Sephardic Temple Tifereth Israel. 2012. Web. 10 October 2014, and 5) various editions of *El Mesajero* (1933-35).

those of the Sephardim in Seattle, Atlanta, Los Angeles, Rochester, Indianapolis, and elsewhere” (Angel 1973: 108). In this regard, New York City faced similar concerns as those expressed by Los Angeles and other Sephardic communities nationwide.

Sephardic communities were often in contact with one another. In July 1934, then president of New York City’s Shearith Israel Congregation, Dr. David de Sola Pool, commended the Sephardic community of Los Angeles in *El Mesajero*. He writes to Dr. Benveniste congratulating him for “creating a genuine Sephardic community,” one that appears to be unified despite representing various communities and their respective organizations (“Correspondence,” 6). De Sola Pool comments that this sense of community “is something we have not succeeded in doing in New York, notwithstanding many well meant attempts” (“Correspondence,” 6). He continues to congratulate Benveniste and the Sephardim of Los Angeles for setting an example for Sephardic communities nationwide. Despite editors of *El Mesajero* reporting on ruptures among Sephardic organizations in Los Angeles, leading Sephardim in New York City applauded them for working toward the unification of these groups.

In its inaugural edition of *El Mesajero*, the editorial staff notes that they will be publishing articles on a monthly basis in New York’s *La Vara*. They indicate that, in this way, New York as well as those receiving the publication abroad will be well informed of activities occurring within the Los Angeles Sephardic community. The staff of *El Mesajero* furthermore wanted, “ke konoskan ke la sociedad paz i progreso esta mas o menos kontribuendo a el dezvelopamiento moral i kultural de nuestra kolektividad” (“Artikolos en La Vara,” September 1933: 10).²³ From these examples, we observe regular correspondence passing between Los

²³ “May they know that the Society of Peace and Progress is more or less contributing to the moral and cultural development of our collectivity.”

Angeles and New York City Sephardim.

The third largest Sephardic community in the United States today is found in Seattle, Washington. The Sephardic community of Los Angeles kept regular correspondence with Sephardim in Seattle, as evinced by *El Mesajero*. For example, in the December 1934 edition, the editorial staff announced that the principal of the Talmud Torah in Seattle, Albert Levy, would be relocating to New York to take over responsibility as editor of one of the city's more successful newspapers, *La Vara*. ("Una Nueva 'Vara,'" 2).

Editors of *El Mesajero* often wrote highly of Seattle, noting that Los Angeles's Sephardim, with all of their separated organizations, could learn a great deal from Seattle's cohesion. In the bulletin's October 1933 edition, Isaac Benveniste reflects upon his recent visit to Seattle and notes, "la komunidad se distinguo siempre por su advansamiento, sus akumplimientos i por su atitud moderno en todas sus sferas de aktividad" ("Mis Impresiones," 2).²⁴ He continues to highlight the strong connection among the Sephardim, both in religious and educational settings. He notes that not only are Sephardim active within their community, but they are respected by their brethren, the Ashkenazim. Furthermore, Sephardim were making great strides in education; several young men and women were attending college and several were taking on professional jobs.

Samuel Berro also called into question how the Sephardim could adapt culturally and linguistically in the United States, particularly in Los Angeles. He looks to Seattle as a model in solving the continuous problems of unity among the various Sephardic organizations in Los Angeles. In his April 1934 article, Berro comments that the Sephardim in Seattle have set "a fine example of unity and brotherly love... through the creation of the Seattle Progressive Fraternity,

²⁴ "The community always distinguished itself by its advances, its accomplishments, and for its modern attitude in all spheres of activity."

a representative body which has constantly rendered great services to the Sephardic Jewry” (“A Great Sephardic United Front,” 8). Such sentiments were echoed the subsequent month, when Berro again commends Seattle for its “remarkable example of good will,” noting that “the various fraternal and social organizations now in existence in Seattle are in excellent terms and friendly relations” (“Good Will,” 6). Like Benveniste, Berro remains in close correspondence with the Sephardic community of Seattle in order to solve internal issues that they were experiencing in Los Angeles.

The Sephardic community in the Northwest served as an inspiration to the Southwest, as demonstrated regularly in the Judeo-Spanish bulletin *El Mesajero*. And while Angel includes Seattle in his list of Sephardic cities nationwide that experienced ‘plagues’ similar to those among Sephardim in New York City, the editors of *El Mesajero* only highlight the progress made by the Sephardim in Seattle. Today, due to concentrated centers of religious and communal activity, Seattle’s Sephardic community may be considered more cohesive than those found in New York City and Los Angeles, where Sephardim currently live all throughout these cities.²⁵

2.1.2 Language Ideology and Shift among Sephardim

Angel (1973) notes that for many Sephardim, some of the first problems experienced in coming to the United States were those experienced on Ellis Island. Furthermore, according to articles published in the New York City Judeo-Spanish newspaper *La America*, Turkish Jews “were not familiar with American immigration laws and did not know how to answer the questions put to them” (89). Such issues motivated the editor of *La Amerika*, Moise S. Gadol, to publish a booklet

²⁵ The Seattle Sephardic community consists of both Turkish (Sephardic Bikur Holim) and Rhodesli (Ezra Bessaroth) congregations.

in 1916 entitled “Livro de Embezar las Linguas Ingleza i Yudish.”²⁶ This served as a guide for Sephardim entering the United States, reviewing information that they would need to know in order to become American citizens. Apart from the English component to this text, Yiddish was included so as to serve as a multilingual resource for the Sephardim. One section, “Egzamen por Devener Sudito Amerikano” reviewed possible questions that Sephardim could encounter upon taking their citizenship exam.²⁷ These sections were printed in the Rashi alphabet, both in Judeo-Spanish as could be expected and phonetically transliterated English. Gadol advertised this booklet and its various editions over the years of the newspaper’s publication (Kirschen 2013).

In *El Mesajero*, Berro regularly contributed articles on how the Sephardim should make a strong effort to learn English. His December 1933 article “Why ‘The Messenger’ Should Also Publish in English,” discusses the numerous benefits for the Sephardim to become active learners of the English language. He compares the Sephardim with the Ashkenazim, noting that the latter have made numerous strides in their acculturation into the United States, while the Sephardim have a great deal of work ahead of them. He writes, “It is to be regretted that contrary to our brethren, the Eshkenazim who have made a remarkable progress towards the culture and mastery of the English language, We Sephardic Jews, have contributed little to that valuable asset” (6).²⁸ Berro suggests that the Sephardic community of Los Angeles is indifferent in many aspects and is generally uninterested in reading. Due to these concerns, he writes that *El Mesajero* will begin to also publish articles in English, thereby hoping to encourage readers—especially young ones—to learn the language. Berro also suggests that besides learning English, older Sephardim

²⁶ “Book for learning the English and Yiddish languages”

²⁷ “Exam For Becoming an American Citizen”

²⁸ Berro capitalizes “We” in “We Sephardic Jews,” potentially be for emphasis, if not a typo.

should be educating the youth on religious and cultural matters since they will be the leaders of the future. Berro suggests that these matters, in particular that of learning English, are fundamental for the Sephardim.

Including articles in English in Judeo-Spanish newspapers was also common in New York City. In August 1934, the editorial board of *El Mesajero* extended its congratulatory remarks to *La Vara* for “su loavle inisiativa de entrodusir una seksion ingleza en sus kolunas por el benifisio de nuestra joventud sefaradita” (“Seksion Inlgeza,” 2).²⁹ A month later, editors then suggested that Sephardic communities nationwide commend *La Vara* for introducing articles in English in its columns. They assert that the inclusion of English represents “a step forward toward the preservation of many of our religious and other institutions in the future” (“The English Section,” 14). Of course, what they most likely did not consider at that time was that all shifts toward English would serve as a catalyst for the endangerment of their mother tongue in the years—and generations—to follow.

Not only did the Judeo-Spanish press comment on the linguistic hierarchy of English in the United States, but it also expressed various ideologies to its readership in regard to Modern Spanish. While many Sephardim in New York City and Los Angeles knew of Spanish-speaking populations before arriving to their new territories, those who did not know of these similar speech communities quickly came to realize their soon-to-be geographic and linguistic parallels. Ben-Ur (2009b) notes, “In the goal to homogenize the two groups, it was clear who bore the burden of linguistic conformity. Ladino, not modern Castilian, was in need of rehabilitation, partly for pragmatic reasons” (91). She cites articles in *La Vara* that would comment on both

²⁹ “Their respectable initiative in introducing a section in English in their columns for the benefit of our Sephardic youth.”

opportunities for the Sephardim to learn Spanish as well as hindrances in learning this variety. In a 1924 article entitled, “Kursos Gratis de Lingua Kastiliana,” the director of organizations and clubs announced that sisterhood activists had asked for Spanish professor Leo Pasternak to offer courses in ‘Castilian Spanish’ to the Sephardim at the Settlement House located at 133 Eldridge Street (91).³⁰ These courses were to be offered twice a week at no charge to those in attendance. Among those encouraged to enroll in these courses were those “ke kieren a darsen a komersio kon los paizes de avla espanyola i para akeyos ke bushkan pozisiones de korespondensia i sekretarios en kozas de eksportasion” (“Kursos Gratis, 9).³¹ The announcement suggests a number of reasons that the readership should take advantage of this opportunity. The sisterhood encouraged young men and women in particular to attend these courses since the ‘Castilian’ language was widely used in speech as well as literature.

While Judeo-Spanish speakers often considered learning Spanish as advantageous, there were also those who wanted to keep a distance established between the two languages, especially within the domains in which they emerged. Maír José Benardete contributed to *La Vara* on occasion and was accused of writing in Modern Spanish in Hebrew characters, rather than in Judeo-Spanish. Ben-Ur (2009b) reviews one such 1936 article, “La Boz de Nuestros Lektore,” in which readers complained about the inclusion of Benardete’s writings in their newspaper. One reader notes that Benardete, “is abusing the columns of *La Vara* and readers as well... If Professor Benardete wishes to write Castilian, he should write for *La Prensa*, a Spanish newspaper which appears in New York” (92). Regardless of content, the language that Benardete used appeared more similar to that of Modern Spanish than Judeo-Spanish. In this case, it is clear

³⁰ “Free Courses in the Castilian Language”

³¹ “That want to get into business with Spanish-speaking countries and those who are looking for positions as correspondents and secretaries in exportation houses.”

that Modern Spanish was not well received nor sought as a beneficial component to their newspaper. Rather, the inclusion of Modern Spanish-like material offended some of *La Vara*'s readership and caused them to respond by making their discontent widely known to the Sephardic community at large.

2.2 Placing Judeo-Spanish in the United States Today

As section one of this chapter reveals, Judeo-Spanish speakers in New York City and Los Angeles saw acculturation into American life as a priority. Sephardim often opted to use English as a visible—and audible—way to present themselves as American. Throughout such a process, they often learned that Yiddish and Hebrew, not Judeo-Spanish, were the Jewish languages of the United States and that Latin American Spanish rather than Judeo-Spanish was the primary Spanish variety in the country. These dynamics are necessary to recognize in order to comprehend the state in which the language finds itself today—not only as a Jewish language and a Romance language, but also as a modern and yet endangered language. In the section to follow, I relate Judeo-Spanish to the theories of language endangerment, heritage languages, metalinguistic communities, (post-) vernaculars, diasporic language ideologies, and social networks. Collectively, these fields help identify the state of the language today in the United States and, in many cases, abroad.

2.2.1 As an Endangered Language

Like most languages in the world, Judeo-Spanish is endangered. According to Krauss's (2007) language endangerment typology, Judeo-Spanish is to be classified as severely endangered, wherein the language is spoken only by those of the grandparental generation and older.

Utilizing Fishman's (1991) Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (GIDS) would suggest similarly and place the language at least at Stage 7. In this stage, "most users of Xish are a socially integrated and ethnolinguistically active population but they are beyond child-bearing age" (87). Given that Judeo-Spanish-speaking populations throughout the world represent different varieties of the language, as well as somewhat unique histories, one could categorize them individually based on the location of the Sephardim. Romero (2012), for example, suggests the Judeo-Spanish-speaking community in Istanbul to be at Stage 7 of Fishman's GIDS, while those of Salonica and Sarajevo better fit into Stage 8. In Stage 8 of GIDS, "most vestigial users of Xish are socially isolated old folks and Xish needs to be re-assembled from their mouths and memories" (88). No Judeo-Spanish-speaking community appears to fit into Stage 6 since, at this stage, Fishman suggests that younger generations attain the language from older generations. This may have been the case, however, during today's quadragenarians' and quinquagenarians' childhoods, typically acquiring elements of the language from their parents or grandparents. Judeo-Spanish in the United States appears to be situated at Stage 8 along with several other communities of speakers worldwide.

2.2.2 As a Heritage Language

Those who still speak Judeo-Spanish no longer use it on a daily basis, as many of their family members with whom they spoke it are deceased and children of these speakers never acquired nor learned the language. The endangered state of the language positions most of its speakers as heritage speakers. Heritage speakers, according to Valdés (2000), are individuals raised in homes where a language other than English is spoken and who are, to some degree, bilingual in English and the heritage language. To better understand and adapt this definition beyond English, I

consider the distinction Polinsky, et al. (2010) make between the majority and minority language, the former being “typically the language spoken by an ethno-linguistically dominant group in a country or region,” and the latter being the language “spoken by ethnolinguistic minority groups” (10). These two definitions complement one another since the majority language will need to be substituted since it will not always be English. Judeo-Spanish is not only a heritage language within the United States with English as the majority language, but among speakers in Israel with Hebrew as the majority language and Turkey with Turkish as the majority language. While Judeo-Spanish is the mother tongue/ first language (L1) for most speakers of the language, it is also a heritage language for these speakers. This occurs when the language has restricted use and often remains in particular domains, such as the home or other familial settings.

2.2.3 As a Metalinguistic Community

Communities of Judeo-Spanish-speaking Sephardim throughout the world often come into contact with one another, not necessarily because of their shared Sephardic rite of Judaism, but due to their shared cultural—and specifically linguistic—heritage. Due to the establishment of both physical as well as virtual organizations in recent decades, speakers worldwide find themselves working together in an effort to host events and create programs in their local cities, while encouraging other Sephardim to participate. Many of the participants in these activities are highly proficient in Judeo-Spanish, while others see participation as a way to learn about a language that was not passed down to them by older generations. What forms among participants is what Avineri (2012) refers to as a metalinguistic community. Avineri notes that such a community serves as a “framework for diverse participants who experience a strong connection

to a language and its speakers but may lack familiarity with them due to historical, personal and/or communal circumstances” (ii). While Avineri’s research concentrates on students of a variety of ages within the United States learning Yiddish within secular realms, Judeo-Spanish speakers often find themselves forming metalinguistic communities as well. One must learn how to become socialized into the culture of the language, whether or not that means actually speaking the language or having competence in it. This socialization allows those involved to understand and take pride in “the past as a way to understand one’s place in the present” (2). Therefore, the Judeo-Spanish global community is very much a metalinguistic one. Since Judeo-Spanish speakers are heritage speakers of their mother tongue, their active and passive proficiencies of the language vary. While one might be inclined to assume that younger speakers of Judeo-Spanish are often less proficient, this is not necessarily the case, as older speakers’ proficiencies will differ considerably depending on the community in which they reside and the domains in which they use their language(s).

2.2.4 As a Post-Vernacular

Speakers of Judeo-Spanish often iconize the language as a vehicle of memory traveling back in time over five centuries. The language, therefore, becomes more than a means of communication, but a symbolic remnant of Sephardic culture and history. This is similar to Shandler’s (2003) Yiddishland, where Yiddish in secular realms shifts from “a vernacular struggling for recognition of its legitimacy, to its current value as a prized object of heritage” (142). Although the primary purpose of language is to achieve communication between two or more speakers, the semiotics of language allows for the creation of additional meaning. That is to say, while Judeo-Spanish—much like Yiddish—once served primarily vernacular purposes, the

language is often utilized as a post-vernacular. As noted earlier, while the former values communication, the latter values use of a given language and its extra-symbolic meaning more. Judeo-Spanish as a post-vernacular “might be expected to do work beyond denotation and communication, acting also to preserve culture, promote identity or stand for the past” (Brink-Danan 2011: 117). Thus, as speakers of Judeo-Spanish utilize their language, we must ask whether or not they do so merely for communicative purposes or for reasons beyond the verbalized content of their speech. This concept will prove valuable as we review the sociolinguistic histories of the Judeo-Spanish-speaking informants concerned with this dissertation.

2.2.5 As a Diasporic Language Ideology

One central characteristic of the Judeo-Spanish-speaking metalinguistic community is their socialization into diasporic language ideologies. Avineri (2012) notes that such an ideology “focuses on linguistic structure as an iconic symbol of Jews’ mobile history. It is related to an ‘endangered’ language ideology, in that it focuses on the ways that historical circumstances and forces beyond a community’s control have shaped the fate of a language” (225). In her research, Avineri discusses how introducing learners to the source language of the Yiddish lexicon facilitates the relationship between language and the community’s mobile history. In the case of the Judeo-Spanish language, it is curious to note that speakers have high metalinguistic awareness on the source language of lexicon in their mother tongue. That is to say, speakers are often aware which lexicon enters Judeo-Spanish from languages other than Modern Spanish. This concept will prove fundamental in later chapters. While Avineri explores the socialization of learners of Yiddish and the scope of this dissertation deals with speakers of Judeo-Spanish, the

diasporic language ideology performs similarly among learners and speakers of these languages, constructing what it means to be a Jewish language.

2.2.6 As a Social Network

Judeo-Spanish-speaking Sephardim in the United States are quite heterogeneous. While many share a middle-class or higher social standing today, their individual histories vary a great deal. In order to place all of these speakers into a given collectivity, the theory of the social network is useful to implement. According to Milroy (2002), a social network “may be seen as a boundless web of ties which reaches out through a whole society, linking people to one another, however remotely” (550). This model is particularly beneficial given that speakers of Judeo-Spanish in the United States are first, one-point-five, or second-generation immigrants in the country. Furthermore, this model “provides a set of procedures for studying small groups where speakers are not discriminable in terms of any kind of social class index” (556). Given the collectivity in question, an analysis at the macro level does not seem beneficial to understand the internal relations among the Sephardim. However, while analyzing relations between the Judeo-Spanish-speaking Sephardim and Latino speakers of Spanish in New York City and Los Angeles, such a model may prove useful. Speakers of Judeo-Spanish relate to one another in both strong and weak ties, in which the former represents relations with friends and family, and the latter represents those relationships with acquaintances.

Judeo-Spanish speakers are often connected to other speakers of the language, albeit a limited number, and most commonly through relations of kin. Strong ties among speakers exist not only through blood, but also due to similar histories and a common mother tongue. The weak-tie model may be utilized, however, to ascertain the relation between Judeo-Spanish-speaking Sephardim and Spanish-speaking Latinos. Oftentimes, Judeo-Spanish speakers

communicate with Spanish-speaking Latinos in various domains. Such weak-tie relations may be the cause for dialect (or language) leveling between Judeo-Spanish and Modern Spanish. Milroy notes that in this process, leveling results in the “eradication of socially or locally marked variants (both within and between linguistic systems) in conditions of social or geographical mobility and resultant dialect contact” (565). This is also what Benardete (1953) refers to when Judeo-Spanish speakers who learn Modern Spanish remove and replace features of their language “when confronted with genuine samples of the Spanish language in its modern vigor” (147). In the chapters to follow, I explore which features—known to be salient markers among the Sephardim—are most susceptible to change. Similar to eradication is the concept of erasure, which Irvine and Gal (2000) define as “the process in which ideology, in simplifying the sociolinguistic field, renders some persons or activities (or sociolinguistic phenomena) invisible” (38). In this sense, it is expected that erasure be a prevalent characteristic in leveling.

Many Judeo-Spanish speakers are also connected with one another virtually through the online listserv *Ladinokomunita*, founded in 2000 by Izmir native Rachel Amado Bortnick. This listserv provides a unique case of the strong- vs. weak- tie model. The only requirement for posting in this online forum is that all messages be written in (a vernacular of) Judeo-Spanish.³²³³ Although many members of this virtual network do not speak the language themselves—as either students or researchers—those who most often contribute to the continuous array of conversations are proficient—and often native—speakers of the language. Frequent contributors oftentimes do not know each other, thus establishing a weak-tie connection with one another.

³² The moderators of the forum also request the use of the National Authority of Ladino’s *Aki Yerushalayim* convention of orthography. I have been a member of this forum for the past five years.

³³ For further information on *Ladinokomunita* as a Digital Home Land or (Post) Vernacular see Held (2010) and Brink-Danan (2011).

However, what is most curious is that, upon reading the forums over the years, members from across the globe establish strong-tie connections with one another through the Judeo-Spanish language. In reading the forums, one notes that speakers often write that they feel immediate familial connections with other contributors to the forum, particularly due to common stories, sayings, and mobile histories. As a result of establishing such strong virtual rapports, members of Ladinokomunita began organizing annual trips, starting in 2007. Participants on these trips travel to various sites related to Sephardic history. Several of the informants that participated in the present study—from New York City and Los Angeles—have established a social network with one another; some have even participated in the group’s excursions.

2.3 Informants and Methodology

As the investigator of this research and the person to carry out interviews and experiments, I made the decision to be an active observer and occasional participant within Judeo-Spanish spheres in both New York City and Los Angeles over the past five years. From interactions with Judeo-Spanish speakers, I have been introduced to other speakers of the language. As such, informant selection will be based on snowball sampling within both cities. Snowball sampling may be the most effective method in which to secure a group of informants who speak an endangered language, particularly since they form part of a speech community. Furthermore, in order to have speakers share their linguistic autobiographies with me, and in order to speak to them in their mother tongue, it was essential to immerse myself in their linguistic circles and build a rapport. Noticing the common trend among Sephardim to utilize their Judeo-Spanish language within group—as well as in Modern Spanish-speaking domains—has led me to carry out the research to follow.

The subject pool for this study consists of twenty-five informants. The foremost prerequisite to participate in this study was that each participant feel comfortable engaging in an interview conducted in Judeo-Spanish. Several Sephardim with whom I have come in contact related to me that, although they would be interested in partaking in the study, they would not be able to maintain a conversation nor respond confidently in Judeo-Spanish. This was often the case for Sephardim who were either born in the United States or who came to the United States at an early age. For the purposes of this study, they were not included among my informants.

Of the twenty-five informants, twelve reside in the metropolitan area of New York, either in New York City or Westchester County,³⁴ and thirteen reside in Los Angeles. Informants are first, one-point-five, or second-generation immigrants in the United States. In line with Lee’s (2005) classification, first generation individuals are those that migrated to the United States at some point after adolescence or into adulthood, one-point-five generation individuals are those who migrated to the United States during adolescence—prior to or near the critical period—and second-generation individuals are those who were born in the United States.

Twelve of the twenty-five informants in this study are male (n=6 in NYC, n=6 in LA), and thirteen are female (n=6 in NYC, n=7 in LA).

	Male	Female	Total
New York City	6	6	12
Los Angeles	6	7	13
			25

Table 2.1 Participants residing in New York City and Los Angeles

³⁴ Henceforth referred to just as New York City

This breakdown is of interest since, within the past few decades, studies on Judeo-Spanish-speaking Sephardim often consist mostly of women. While some may posit that women speakers of the language are easier to locate, more interested in participating and, in general, the keepers of the language, I have found no such gender disparity in conducting my research.³⁵

Throughout this study, I follow a similar system of coding participants to that of Romero (2012). Aside from coding for gender and age, I also indicate the city in which participants reside. For example, M_{LA}76 is a seventy-six-year-old male participant residing in Los Angeles. Correspondingly, F_{NY}88 is an eighty-eight-year-old female participant residing in New York. All participant identification and data is protected and secured as approved by—and in compliance with—the Institutional Review Board.

Nine informants in the present study were born in the United States, while sixteen informants were born abroad. Those born in the United States were born in New York City, Los Angeles, or Seattle. The locations of those born abroad consist of cities throughout Turkey (Istanbul, Izmir, Milas) and Greece (Thessaloniki, Kavala, Rhodes)³⁶ as well as Italy (Milan), Bulgaria (Sofia), Mexico (Mexico City), Rhodesia (Salisbury and Que Que; current-day Harare and Kwekwe, Zimbabwe), and Cuba (Havana). For a map indicating the birth cities of all informants, see figure 2.1. Several of those born outside the United States grew up in countries other than those in which they were born, including France, Spain, and Israel. The average number of years living in the United States for those born abroad is forty-seven. This range encompasses informants who arrived nearly seventy-five years ago, at the age of five or six, like

³⁵ Harris (1994: 136) discusses the women's role in transmitting Judeo-Spanish, as it is often the only language they knew in the Levant.

³⁶ This is according to modern day borders. Salonica and Rhodes, both formerly part of the Ottoman Empire, came under the control of the Greeks and Italians in 1912, respectively. Rhodes became a part of Greece in 1947.

F_{LA}81 and M_{NY}78, and as few as ten years ago in the exceptional case of the youngest informant to this study, M_{LA}43. Several born outside of the United States are survivors of the Holocaust. This is of particular interest in understanding why the Judeo-Spanish language is considered an endangered language today, whereas entire cities of Sephardim—as well as Ashkenazim—were murdered during World War II (Sephiha 2012). This also contributed to a rupture in the use of Judeo-Spanish for several participants who spoke the language regularly prior to World War II, yet rarely spoke it afterward.

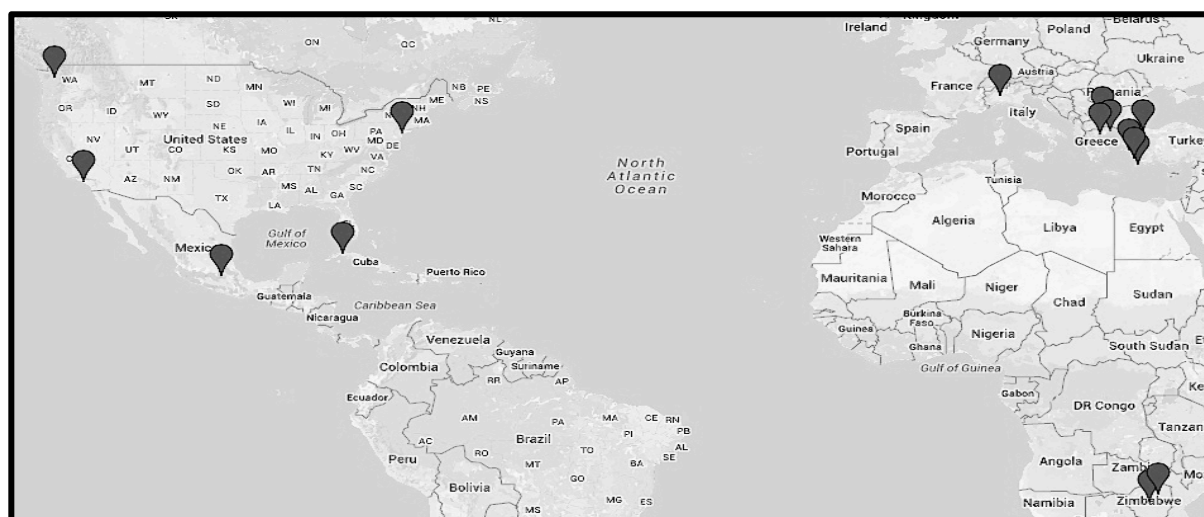


Figure 2.1 Birth cities of informants participating in this study

The mean age of participants in this study is approximately 74.25, which is quite telling of who speaks the language today. The language is not being transmitted to younger generations, with the rare occasion of passive acquisition. The oldest participant in this study is eighty-nine years old, while the youngest is forty-three. The mean age for participants in New York City is seventy-two and for Los Angeles is seventy-six. The mean age of all males participating in this study is 69.25 and for females is 78.75; table 2.2 provides additional information on this.

	Male	Female
New York City	65 (n=6)	79 (n=6)
Los Angeles	73.5 (n=6)	78.5 (n=7)

Table 2.2 Average age of participants residing in New York City and Los Angeles

My study consists of two quadragenarians, one quinquagenarian, four sexagenarians, eight septuagenarians, and ten octogenarians. The existence of a speaker below the age of fifty is quite rare today; these speakers typically share similar narratives in growing up with their *nona* or *vava* (grandmother) at home.

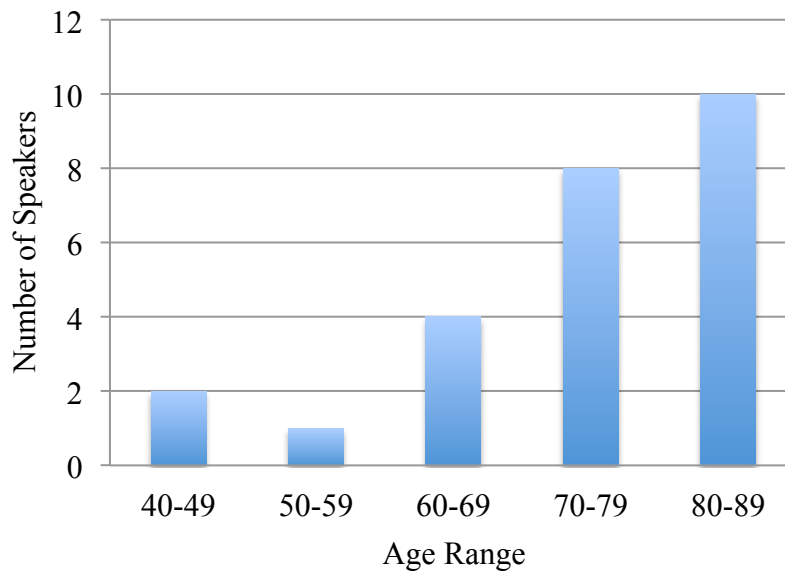


Figure 2.2 Age range of informants

While a great number of participants' fathers were businessmen in their respective countries, most of the male participants work(ed) in the United States as social workers, lawyers,

or educators. Participants typically responded that their mothers stayed at home or worked as seamstresses. Female participants similarly either stay(ed) at home, or work(ed) as educators, social workers, or in the entertainment industry. Most participants' parents were born outside of the United States, with the exception of M_{NY}53's parents who were born in the Bronx and F_{LA}78's father, born in Seattle.

When asked what is their first language, participants either responded Judeo-Spanish (or some variant in nomenclature) or the majority language of the country in which they were born. Several informants, however, did not mention Judeo-Spanish. Those who did noted that they had acquired the language from their parents, particularly their mother or grandmother. Informants responding this way clarified that the men in their family were typically out working. Some informants disclose that they learned Judeo-Spanish after adolescence from passive acquisition during childhood in order to speak with older relatives.

Bilingualism is a defining feature of the Judeo-Spanish-speaking Sephardim. Bilingual, or more often than not multilingual, proficiency is a characteristic of participants born either abroad or in the United States. Informants claim communicative proficiency in the following languages: English, French, Italian, Greek, Bulgarian, Turkish, Hebrew, Judeo-Spanish, and Modern Spanish. While some participants are more familiar with certain languages than others, the list is representative of the mobile history of the Judeo-Spanish-speaking Sephardim.

In the case of several New York City born participants, M_{NY}53, F_{NY}88, F_{NY}80, and M_{NY}86 did not learn English until starting elementary school, whereas others were exposed to English simultaneously with Judeo-Spanish. Many of the parents of these informants who began to learn English at the age of five to seven were learning English themselves, often attending night classes several times a week. Similarly, Sephardim born outside of the United States often

learned Judeo-Spanish before they learned the national language of their country, only being introduced to it upon enrollment in elementary school, as in the case of participant M_{LA}76 learning Turkish in Istanbul, and M_{LA}86 and F_{LA}82 learning Greek in Salonica.

In searching for informants for this study, I first targeted bilingual speakers of Judeo-Spanish and Modern Spanish. However, as I began to meet with potential participants, I realized that proficiency in the latter—Modern Spanish—need not be a prerequisite to participate in this study. While some informants are highly proficient in both Judeo-Spanish and Modern Spanish, in order to fully explore how Judeo-Spanish speakers utilize their language when in the presence of a speaker of Modern Spanish, informants not so familiar with Modern Spanish would contribute just as effectively in constructing this narrative. Aside from the differences between informants—gender, age, city of birth, city of current residence, and languages spoken—the range of proficiencies in Modern Spanish varies considerably. This would be expected, however, in working with such a heterogeneous group of informants.

Three of the twenty-five participants were raised in Judeo-Spanish-speaking households within Modern Spanish-speaking countries. Participant F_{NY}75, for example, while born in Sofia, Bulgaria, moved to Spain at age three and spent the next fourteen years of her childhood there. Though bilingual, she considers her mother tongue to be Bulgarian and Judeo-Spanish to be her heritage language, acquired during her formative years. Participant F_{NY}69 was born in Havana, Cuba and considers her mother tongue to be Cuban Spanish and Judeo-Spanish to be her heritage language, also acquired during childhood. Participant M_{NY}48, born in Mexico City, Mexico, considers Mexican Spanish to be his mother tongue; however, he learned Judeo-Spanish later in life when he began to perceive of the differences between languages. These three informants will be reviewed separately in later chapters. Apart from these three informants, the remaining

twenty-two are all second language (L2) learners of Modern Spanish.

In my dissertation, I work with Judeo-Spanish speakers who utilize their language within group as well as within non-Jewish Modern Spanish-speaking settings. I am not initially concerned with the participants' Judeo-Spanish or Modern Spanish level of proficiency, so as long as they self-identify as using both languages. Upon further examination, this will become clear as I review and analyze data produced by the informants.

2.3.1 Language Contact

Language contact (Potowski & Cameron 2007) explores the transference of linguistic features from one language variety to another, yet is not focused on the particular domains of use. Contact between languages leads to linguistic transference between them, thus creating convergence from one into the other. Silva-Corvalán (2002) defines convergence as “the achievement of greater structural similarity in a given aspect of the grammar of two or more languages, assumed to be different at the onset of contact” (4). The concept of convergence proves relevant in later chapters as we further explore its application among informants. We will also consider the contrary notion—that of divergence—in regard to theories of accommodation. Throughout this study, I explore language contact bi-directionally, in which language A not only affects language B, but language B also affects language A.

I examine negotiation between speakers in order to study how Judeo-Spanish speaking Sephardic Jews adjust their Judeo-Spanish to that of Modern Spanish varieties. Such modifications can be understood as acts of negotiation. Thomason (2001) defines negotiation as a mechanism implemented when “speakers change their language to approximate what they believe to be patterns of another language or dialect” (142). While negotiation is a broad term

that considers many situations of language contact, it is useful in exploring how Judeo-Spanish speakers approximate Modern Spanish varieties.

In order to understand how Judeo-Spanish speakers have negotiated their language and in which domains, I utilize the theories of diglossia and language contact. The two cities within the United States on which I focus my research are New York City and Los Angeles. According to the US Census Bureau American Community Survey (2012), there are only 125 speakers of ‘Ladino’ in the United States. However, speakers must write in the appropriate section of the survey that their native tongue is Judeo-Spanish, Ladino, or one of several nomenclatures for the language. The Berman Institute North American Jewish Data Bank (Sheskin 2013) indicates that New York City and Los Angeles are home to the two largest Sephardic populations in the United States. Therefore, I correlate largest Sephardic populations with largest Judeo-Spanish-speaking populations. Unfortunately, there is no precise figure for the number of Judeo-Spanish speakers in the United States, especially since the extent of their language proficiency varies.

According to the U.S. Census Bureau 2012 American Community Survey, New York City is home to 7,792,328 inhabitants—24.6% of which are Spanish speakers age five and older. This compares to entire state of New York, which consists of a 15% Spanish-speaking population age five and older from a total population of 18,405,939. The percentage of speakers in Los Angeles County reaches 39.5% above age five from a population of 9,312,312, which compares to a 29% Spanish-speaking population above age five from the state of California’s 35,504,620 inhabitants. These figures represent some of the largest Spanish-speaking populations in the United States. Other states where Judeo-Spanish-speaking Sephardim reside today—such as Florida and Texas—have high percentages of Spanish speakers, yet small Sephardic communities (see table 2.3). Finally, in Seattle—King County in particular—there is

only a 7.1% Spanish-speaking population above age five. The reason I do not include Seattle in this study is due to the fact that I concentrate on Modern Spanish and Judeo-Spanish communities in contact, for which Seattle does not rank high among Spanish speakers within the United States. For these reasons, New York City and Los Angeles are the most fitting locations to carry out investigation on contact between Judeo-Spanish and Modern Spanish.

	Population total	% Spanish speakers
NYC	7,792,328	24.6
NEW YORK	18,405,939	15.0
LA County	9,312,312	39.5
CALIFORNIA	35,504,620	29.0
King County	1,883,173	7.1
WASHINGTON	6,456,039	8.5
MIA County	2,438,164	62.8
FLORIDA	18,247,223	20.5
DALL County	2,257,824	34.2
TEXAS	24,126,355	29.8

Table 2.3 Languages Spoken at Home, S1601, Spanish, Population 5 years and older (U.S Census Bureau, American Community Survey, 2012, 1-Year Estimates)

2.3.2 Overview of Methodology

In order to explore diglossia and language contact among Judeo-Spanish speakers in New York City and Los Angeles, I divide this study into three assessments. The first part consists of sociolinguistic interviews in Judeo-Spanish with each informant (n=25), in pairs.³⁷ Interviews were recorded and typically lasted one hour. The responses gathered from these interviews provide qualitative data to answer the first research question:

- Which languages do the Sephardim of New York City and Los Angeles speak, and in which domains are they activated?

Exploring diglossia further reveals the gamut of proficiencies informants obtain in a number of languages throughout their lives. The hypothesis is, therefore, that speakers of Judeo-Spanish not only utilize their mother tongue in limited domains, but also utilize it as a platform to learn varieties of Modern Spanish due to regular contact with its speakers.

The second phase of the experiment is a production task. Each informant was paired with a speaker of Modern Spanish³⁸ and was asked to converse with their interlocutor, guided by a list of questions.³⁹ What variety of Spanish do informants utilize when speaking with speakers of Modern Spanish? The research question for this task is:

- Do informants use prepalatal ([ʃ], [ç], [dʒ]) or velar ([x]) forms when speaking with a Modern Spanish interlocutor and, if so, do they interact, how often, and under which conditions does this most likely occur?

³⁷ See Appendix A for sociolinguistic interview (in Judeo-Spanish)

³⁸ The exact type of Spanish will be explained in later chapters but for now is represented by the general ‘Modern Spanish’ categorization.

³⁹ See Appendix B for questions (in Modern Spanish)

Do Judeo-Spanish speakers alter their Judeo-Spanish or speak in a modern variety of the language when communicating with a Spanish—non Judeo-Spanish—speaker?

The third phase of my experiment is a perception task. Informants (n=24)⁴⁰ heard a series of pre-recorded tokens (real and nonce) in Judeo-Spanish and Modern Spanish. Using a pre-scripted program run on a computer through Praat, informants had to select to which language each of the tokens pertained. Tokens were randomized, counter-balanced, and selected based on lexical and/or phonological differences between Judeo-Spanish and Modern Spanish. Therefore, the research questions for this task are:

- Which phonological features are associated with Judeo-Spanish and Modern Spanish, and at what rate do speakers distinguish them from one another?
- Are informants more likely to perceive differences between Judeo-Spanish and Modern Spanish due to the lexicalization of commonly used lexemes or the acquisition of these phonological processes?

A detailed review of these tasks, including their methodologies, will be discussed in Chapter 4 (on production) and Chapter 5 (on perception). These tasks were both quantitative in scope, as I measure degrees of language contact and phenomena occurring when Judeo-Spanish speakers are confronted with Judeo-Spanish and Modern Spanish face-to-face. This data, along with information collected in the sociolinguistic interviews, will determine ways in which Judeo-Spanish speakers utilize their mother tongue as well as other languages in New York City and Los Angeles today.

⁴⁰ Due to hearing difficulties, one of the participants was not able to participate in this task.

3

DIGLOSSIA AND METALINGUISTIC COGNIZANCE

3. Introduction

This chapter reveals the multilingual nature of the Sephardim. I define diglossia and apply it to Jewish languages and then describe the diglossic distribution of my participant pool. I use the term diglossic distribution to explore the languages that participants speak in addition to the domains in which they use each of them. Aside from Sephardim speaking a number of languages—several mentioned in earlier sections—I examine patterns within participant narratives that illustrate the unique roles in which these languages function in relation to Judeo-Spanish. In this chapter, I discuss Turkish and Greek as secret languages, Hebrew as the language of recitation, French as the language of the elite, Portuguese as the language of comparison, and perceived prestige among varieties of Modern Spanish. I then discuss the concepts of linguistic insecurity, code-switching, and code-shifting as evidenced some informants. Finally, I account for the domains in which informants learn and utilize Modern Spanish today. All narratives in this chapter come from the sociolinguistic interviews conducted in this study.

3.1 Diglossia

One of the most useful sociolinguistic models that may be applied to Judeo-Spanish-speaking Sephardim is that of *diglossia*. The term diglossia describes domains of language use when there is more than one language used in a given community. This community can be a single city,

state, or country. Ferguson (1959) developed this theory in exploring varieties of the same language. After assessing the domains in which speakers used Classical Arabic compared to Colloquial Arabic in Arabic-speaking countries, Ferguson determined that diglossia could be divided into two tiers: High (H) and Low (L). Classical Arabic, *Fusha*, would be the High variety of the language, given its prestige and connection to liturgical texts such as the Quran. The community at large must learn this variety. The native varieties of Arabic, *Ammiyyah* and *Darija*, are the colloquial vernaculars of Arabic, and thus classified as the Low variety. Further research Ferguson conducted, comparing German and Swiss-German in Switzerland and French and Creole in Haiti strengthened his argument that each variety of language pertained to a specific social territory. He notes that speakers of a given language, where linguistic variety is a staple in society, are nurtured into diglossic behavior and understanding. Ferguson posits that the High (H) variety is typically the prestigious one, often associated with a literary history, education, and religion. This variety, which may vary in any linguistic branch from its lower (L) counterpart, is often a learned variety, and not acquired as a native tongue. The Low (L) variety of diglossia is used to describe one's mother tongue, which is often spoken in the home and familiar domains.

Subsequent theories on diglossia have expanded the original model and allowed for the inclusion of speech communities that may use two typologically distant languages in the High and Low domains. Shortly after Ferguson published his theory on diglossia, additional research by scholars in related fields expanded this model. Rubin's (1962) research in Paraguay was pivotal for the theoretical extension of diglossia. Diglossia, as attested to by Ferguson, explored the relation between varieties of a related language and their unique domains. Rubin, however, documented the linguistically unrelated languages of Guarani and Spanish, which were used side

by side with one another in a similar socio-linguistic manner that Ferguson initially described by means of diglossia.

Soon after, Fishman (1967) suggested the term *extended diglossia*, accounting for such cases reported by Rubin. Fishman's theoretical extension of diglossia, therefore, described sociolinguistic phenomena that occur when two language varieties, related to one another or not, are utilized in distinct ways within a given speech community. Fishman explains that High and Low varieties are still relevant to this extended understanding of diglossia. Whereas the High variety is utilized in the domains of high culture—education, religion, and politics—the Low variety is employed throughout the home, social gatherings, and work. His own research, based on Yiddish and Hebrew, fits appropriately into this extended model. He describes Yiddish (pre-World War II) as the L variety whereas Hebrew served as the H variety. Yiddish (L) would be used for intragroup communication, while Hebrew (H) would serve religious, cultural, and liturgical purposes.

Ferguson's theory of diglossia, along with Fishman's extended model, should be considered when dealing with language description and typology as well as historical linguistics. Given that languages are often in contact with one another within and across nations, diglossia may serve as an appropriate theoretical model in exploring the multidimensional sociolinguistic patterns within a speech community. Related fields—such as bilingualism or contact linguistics—complement the theory of diglossia, varying, however, in both their approach and end goal. While bilingualism may be present in a diglossic community, it is used to describe the linguistic behavior and knowledge of a speaker. Diglossia, however, serves to describe the linguistic organization at the socio-cultural level. Diglossia is often related to bilingualism as various languages or language varieties / repertoires are involved. Exploring a particular speech

community will reveal the degree of bilingualism among speakers, the sociolinguistic situation of diglossia, and whether or not these two phenomena are intertwined.

3.1.1. Diglossia and Jewish Languages

The theoretical model of diglossia is opportune in describing the sociolinguistic situation of Judeo-Spanish. Before reviewing the High and Low varieties (and their respective domains) of Judeo-Spanish, let us review some of the language particularities and terms associated with Jewish Language typology.

- The *Co-territorial Language (CT)* refers to the language spoken by the non-Jewish members in a given shared geographic region. In the case of Judeo-Spanish, Turkish is the CT of the Sephardim in cities such as Istanbul or Izmir. This CT can also be understood as the varieties of Ibero-Romance spoken within the Iberian Peninsula, whether Castilian, Aragonese, Catalan, etc., compared to the Jewish variety of the Sephardim.
- The *Jewish Language (JL)*, defined by Wexler's (1981) Jewish Interlinguistics typology or Benor's (2010) Ethnolinguistic Repertoire, represents the variety of language established within a Jewish community given a series of cultural and religious mores. Judeo-Spanish (*Djudezmo*, *Djidyo*, *Haketia*) is a Jewish language in that it was the variety of language used by the Sephardic Jews based in the Iberian Peninsula, which developed in the Diaspora (Turkey, the Balkans, North Africa, and later the Americas and Israel).

- Finally, *Lashon haKodesh* (**LK**), or the Holy Language(s), refers to Hebrew and Aramaic as implemented in liturgical texts such as the Bible or Midrash. LK can only be understood in relation to Jewish languages from the view of diglossia.

Fishman (1985) applies the theory of diglossia toward Jewish language taxonomy into various models. The High variety is superposed over the Low variety and the division between them represents the domains to which they pertain. Societal norms establish the point at which the High and Low varieties separate themselves from one another. LK (the Holy Language) is always the High variety on the diglossic scale, used for canonical religious purposes. The first model for diglossia may be:

(1) LK/ JL

The JL in this case is Judeo-Spanish (JS), therefore:

(1a) LK/ JS

Judeo-Spanish as a vernacular serves as a low variety in comparison to the LK. However, if we take into account the fact that speakers of Jewish languages often produce(d) a calqued variety in written form to educate those who are/ were not familiar with the language of LK, our model becomes more complex. Wexler (1981) defines this variety of language in his typology of Jewish languages as type C (types A, B, and D are all varieties of spoken vernaculars), which represents a word-for-word translation into the colloquial vernacular maintaining the syntax of Hebrew. In regard to Judeo-Spanish, Ladino is this type of non-spoken variety. Thus, Fishman posits a more precise model noting:

(2) LK +JL (of study and translation)/ JL (spoken)

To apply this to Judeo-Spanish results in:

(2a) LK + JS_{LADINO} / JS_{VERNACULAR}

In this scenario, the Holy (ancestral) languages, Hebrew and Aramaic, pertain to the High variety, as well as the translated variety of Ladino, while the spoken variety of Judeo-Spanish is considered to be the lower variety. As only a small percentage of the Jewish population was educated in rabbinical texts, the LK was considered the most elite of varieties.

While LK was implemented to a minor degree in Judeo-Spanish spoken vernaculars, Hebrew as a natively spoken language was dormant for nearly two millennia. Furthermore, since most men and nearly all women were not well versed in liturgical texts, they utilized translated varieties to keep abreast of religious matters. Thus, Ladino (the calque) served as a high variety studied in school, again, primarily by boys, until girls were also educated in this variety of language. However, JS_{LADINO} was considered inferior to LK, and could not compare in prestige. This would effectively produce a triglossic situation in which:

(3) LK/ JS_{LADINO}/ JS_{VERNACULAR}

This model consists of three distinct tiers, whereas JS_{LADINO} serves both High and Low functions within society.

Fishman also posits a model that differentiates skills within a language, noting certain proficiencies to be of higher value than others:

(4) R: LK, JL + W: LK, JL / S: JL

“R” represents reading, “W” stands for writing, and “S” is for speaking. In this model, Fishman claims that reading and writing in LK or a variety of the JL (calqued variety or not) serves as High functions, whereas speaking the JL in its colloquial registers pertains to the Low variety. LK was used for prayer and recitation and, therefore, would be utilized much more than in natural conversation. Therefore, written expression of language is valued over that of naturally produced spoken expression.

In some instances, JLs are altogether replaced by their CT thus yielding:

(5) LK/CT

The replacement of the JL to the CT (related or unrelated to the original JL) is common due to the endangered status of many Jewish languages. LK, however, remains as the High variety of many Jewish communities, whether or not there is a distinct Jewish language or repertoire that pertains to their speech.

Fishman's final model on Jewish language diglossia is a novel one:

(6) JL_y/ JL_y

In this case, the High variety and the Low variety are one and the same. This is a nonstandard case for Jewish Languages given the role LK continues to play. The case of Hebrew today may be the closest to this model; however, Modern Israeli Hebrew is not the same as Biblical Hebrew or other antiquated varieties of the language. Fishman described the case of the Yiddishist movement toward a unilingual model to pertain to this theory in which case a language such as Yiddish would serve all purposes of the Jewish repertoire. However, this is not the case as seen with the Hasidic Ultra Orthodox who use Yiddish as the Low variety while LK remains the prestigious High variety. Despite the fact that LK, or Biblical Hebrew, is not the same as Modern Israeli Hebrew, many of the aforementioned religious Ashkenazi Yiddish speakers do not conversationally speak any variety of Hebrew due to their similarity. This additional layer of Jewish language diglossia, however, does not apply to Judeo-Spanish-speaking realms, as Judeo-Spanish has always remained a Low variety in comparison to the High LK.

Fishman's take on Jewish Language diglossic typology relates to Ferguson's conception of the theory yet frames it from his expanded model. The LK and the JL calque are varieties that must be learned and are no one's native tongue, an idea that Ferguson initially emphasizes.

Jewish languages serving the function of Low varieties, in this case Djudezmo and Haketia, were typically acquired naturally by children. It is with these dynamics that High/ Low functions within Sephardic communities were established.

Bilingualism and diglossia are not new phenomena to Sephardic Jews, however. Benardete (1953) notes that even while in the Iberian Peninsula prior to their expulsion in the late fifteenth century, many Jews had competence in Castilian, Hebrew, and Arabic. This often benefited them as translators of texts into Castilian. He notes that the Jews of Spain—taking Castile as an example—“had two forms of the Spanish language, one for domestic and synagogal usage, and the other, more contemporaneous, for communication with the non-Jews at the market place and in social contacts” (60). And while certainly not the same Judeo-Spanish that developed in the years following the Jews’ expulsion from Spain, it appears that the Jews utilized various speech varieties depending on their corresponding interlocutors. While in their diaspora, the Jews formed koinés in each community, noting “without exception the Castilian modality of the romance languages of Spain triumphed in less than fifty years on foreign soil” (56). Castilian Spanish would serve as the substrate of the Judeo-Spanish language in all locations where the Sephardim settled.

Although Modern Spanish is the second most spoken language in the United States today, it may still be considered a minority language since it does not enjoy the same prestige as English does within the country. Given that Judeo-Spanish is also a minority language in the country and, in fact, in any country where it is still spoken, the diglossia I examine within the Sephardic repertoire is actually that of two minority languages, where English may be positioned as the ultimate High (H) variety. Exploring diglossia (believing that Judeo-Spanish is a dialect of Spanish), or extended diglossia (asserting that Judeo-Spanish and Modern Spanish are unique

languages) within the United States extends this framework, as the majority language is English. While I focus exploration on the domains of use between Judeo-Spanish and other varieties of Spanish, I will also explore English as the presumed High(est) variety among all participants. Judeo-Spanish and Modern Spanish are comparable, however, due to the fact that they both function as ethnic languages in the United States.

3.1.2 Turkish and Greek as Secret Languages

Many Sephardim report that their parents hardly spoke in Judeo-Spanish, and that they learned whatever they know from their grandparents, from *dichas* ‘sayings’ to *konsejas* ‘stories.’ Those who recall their parents speaking in Judeo-Spanish note that they only spoke it when they did not want them—their children—to understand what they were saying. Harris (1994) accounts for this phenomenon in her research, stating that many youth understood more than their parents thought they did. This is one of the domains that Harris suggests Judeo-Spanish inhabits today, as the ‘secret language’ of the Sephardim. Although the participants in my study are all highly proficient in Judeo-Spanish, they have slightly different narratives, still related to this concept. M_{LA}85—born in New York City, residing in Los Angeles for his adult life, and whose parents were born in Salonica—comments that his parents spoke in Turkish, Greek, or Bulgarian when they didn’t want him to understand what they were saying. He notes that for his parents, having lived in the Balkans, this was a natural way of life and communication for them. Similarly, participant M_{NY}53 notes that Turkish and Greek were the ‘go-to’ languages for his parents since Judeo-Spanish was the language of the household for everyone. He notes, “en mi kaza siempre se avlava todo en ladino i kuando no kerian ke los ijikos entendieran, avlavan en turko, si no

turko, grego.”⁴¹ This is often the reason that, outside of Judeo-Spanish, several participants are familiar with certain words or phrases in Turkish or Greek; this is due to acquiring them at a young age. Similarly, younger generations of Sephardim in the United States share passive knowledge of Judeo-Spanish since their parents would use it with each other when they did not want their child(ren) to be a part of the conversation, thus believing that their child did not understand and rarely speaking to him or her in the language. Participant F_{NY}80—born in Manhattan, raised in Brooklyn, and whose parents were from Salonica—recalled a difference in the languages her parents spoke at home depending on the subject matter. She comments, “mis parientes avlavan en grego kuando no kerian ke mozotros entendiaríamos lo ke estaban avlando, i kuando avlavan en turko era importante ke no saviamos lo ke estaban avlando.”⁴² Judeo-Spanish, however, was her first language, only learning English when she first went to school. In this case, her parents made a conscious decision which language to use based on the topic and possible understanding by their daughter.

3.1.3 Hebrew as the Language of Recitation

Informants to this study had a wide range of proficiencies in Hebrew, ranging from a few words and phrases to fluency. Those fluent in Hebrew typically spent a number of years in Israel, such as participant M_{LA}86 who lived there for seventeen years. Others either went to a kibbutz, ulpan,

⁴¹ “In my house, Judeo-Spanish was always spoken, and when they [the parents] didn’t want the kids to understand, they spoke in Turkish, if not Turkish, Greek.”

⁴² “My parents spoke in Greek when they didn’t want us to understand what they were saying, and when they spoke in Turkish it was very important that we didn’t understand what they were saying.”

or rabbinical school in Israel.⁴³ Only a select number of participants are highly proficient in Hebrew, all of whom are male. This does not come as striking, however, since it is the man who often learns Hebrew to utilize not only in communicative contexts but also for religious purposes. In most traditional ceremonies, men carry out the reading of prayers in Hebrew.

On the other side of the spectrum, several participants—both male and female—express various degrees of proficiency in Hebrew, but only in certain domains. That is to say, these participants are/ were able to read Hebrew for religious purposes, most of the time without understanding what they are/ were reading. This is a common experience, however, not just for the Sephardim. In the United States, like many countries outside of Israel, Jewish youth participate in some sort of religious after-school program in order to prepare them for their Bar or Bat Mitzvah, a service that officially recognizes them as an adult. Participants would regularly go to these schools after attending a day of public—secular—education. This ceremony varies based on the country in question as well as the period of time referenced. Many of the participants in this study—either raised in Turkey or the United States—noted that they learned enough Hebrew to read the language, oftentimes forgotten years after attending religious school if they did not continue attending synagogue services. These religious schools, regularly known as Talmud Torah (literally the study of Torah), placed learning to read Hebrew (mostly Biblical but sometimes Modern) as a high-function domain. In the past, females were excluded from such institutions, as their education would not focus primarily on religious matters (Jewish Women’s Archive “Talmud Torah”).

Referring to the diglossic distribution at such institutions, being able to read Hebrew serves as the prestigious H variety, which must be learned, and is valued over communicative

⁴³ An ulpan is an intensive course for learning Hebrew.

acts of proficiency in the language. While most of my informants were too young to remember newspapers in Judeo-Spanish, participant M_{NY}86 comments that once he learned the Hebrew alphabet in preparation for his Bar Mitzvah, he began to read the *La Vara* newspaper that his parents received. He notes that, while he did not actually understand when reading Hebrew in the Hebrew alphabet, he was able to understand the articles in Judeo-Spanish written in the Hebrew alphabet. *La Vara*, the last Judeo-Spanish newspaper in the United States, stopped publishing its paper in the year 1948. This case seems common in reviewing Levy (1944), who researched Sephardim in New York from Izmir. Her research reveals that, as of the early 1940s, younger generations of Sephardim typically did not learn how to read nor write in Judeo-Spanish. Proficiency in the Hebrew alphabet, nevertheless, was acquired upon studying Hebrew. While literacy in Judeo-Spanish was more common among men due to a greater number being enrolled in some sort of Hebrew school, women did account for some of the readership of Judeo-Spanish periodicals (Ben-Ur 2009a).

As Bar Mitzvahs became a part of Sephardic culture—primarily due to Ashkenazi influence—Sephardim would often deliver their Bar Mitzvah speeches in Judeo-Spanish with smatterings of religious quotations and expressions in Hebrew throughout. This was the case for M_{LA}85 and a number of Sephardim according to Halio (1996). Among Sephardim today, Bar Mitzvah speeches are no longer delivered in Judeo-Spanish; however, the use of terms and proverbs in Hebrew are still commonplace alongside a predominantly English discourse. Few prayers, if any, are regularly carried out in Judeo-Spanish within Sephardic synagogues.⁴⁴ Some informants indicate, however, that they include parts of the Passover Seder in Ladino or Judeo-

⁴⁴ See Appendix C for some of these prayers, including *Bendicho Su Nombre* and *Non Komo Muestro Dio*

Spanish, particularly during the recitation of *The Four Questions* or the singing of *Un Kavretiko* and *Ken Sopiense*.

3.1.4 French as the Language of the Elite

Several participants, either born abroad or whose parents were born abroad, were proficient in French. This is due to the fact that they attended *L'Alliance Israelite Universelle*, a chain of schools established throughout the Ottoman Empire that sought to educate—and westernize—the Jews. One way in which L'Alliance accomplished its task was by making the French language the primary language of instruction and “remapping the linguistic and cultural terrain of Jews in these regions” (Rodrigue & Stein 2012: xxv). Sephardim often replaced their everyday Judeo-Spanish with French, believing it to be more modern, intellectual, and rich in culture. Rodrigue (1990) states that the positioning of French as the elite language situated all other languages of the Sephardim to the peripheries, noting that “the place given to French as the language of mass education created a non-integrated polyglot Jewry unprepared for the requirements of the new nation-state” (172). Despite being exposed to a variety of languages, the Sephardim often received most of their academic training in French.

F_{NY80} notes that when her mother came to New York she used her knowledge of French to pronounce common street names in New York City. She recalls, “mi madre kuando era chika en Salonik, estava estudiando en l'Alliance Fransez, i kuando vinieron aki en New York, estava kaminando por las kayes—Orshád Street, not Orchard Street—Orshád, Delancé Street, not Delancey. So, everything with the French accent.”⁴⁵ This example illustrates that the French

⁴⁵ “When my mother was little in Salonica, she was studying at L'Alliance, and when they [the parents] came here in New York, she was walking in the streets [and said with French pronunciation] ...”

language—and the ideologies associated with it—may have even affected the way in which Sephardim learned English in the United States. Many informants in this study claim moderate proficiency in French, indicating that their parents were educated in the language.

3.1.5 Portuguese as the Language of Comparison

While most informants relate the roots of the Judeo-Spanish language to Castilian Spanish, some recognize the greater peninsular connection to the language, the Portuguese element. Some participants believe that, in some ways, Judeo-Spanish is more similar to Portuguese than Spanish, despite none of them speaking any variety of Portuguese. This was the case for M_{LA}85, M_{NY}66, F_{LA}80, and F_{NY}80, all born and raised in New York City to parents from Salonica, Greece. F_{LA}80 comments on Judeo-Spanish, “me parese a mi komo portugez, komo avlan los portugezes; los sonidos son muy suaves.”⁴⁶ These comments are not surprising, however, since Salonican Judeo-Spanish shares certain features with Portuguese such as the initial *-f* in *fazer* ‘to do’ and *fijo* ‘son.’ Portuguese also shares a number of other features with Judeo-Spanish not necessarily related to Salonican JS. Like Judeo-Spanish, Portuguese includes the phonemes /ʃ/ and /ʒ/, as well as many equivalent lexemes. Furthermore, and most likely outside of the metalinguistic detection of any informant, Brazilian Portuguese raises atonic /e/ → [i] and /o/ → [u] as do certain dialects of Judeo-Spanish, attested for and produced by our Rhodesli informants.⁴⁷

⁴⁶ “To me, it seems like Portuguese, how the Portuguese speak; the sounds are very pleasant.”

⁴⁷ For a historical overview of Judeo-Spanish in contact with Portuguese, see Quintana (2014).

3.1.6 Perceived Prestige among Varieties of Modern Spanish

Participants trace their ancestry to the Iberian Peninsula and look no farther than their Judeo-Spanish tongue as an aural remnant of this period dating back over five centuries. For this reason, informants often feel nostalgic for the land from which their ancestors once came. Many participants have never stepped foot in Spain, while others state that they have traveled to the country in the past. One pattern among the participants, however, is that they regard Peninsular Spanish to be more prestigious than that of the Spanish spoken in the Americas. Many comment that they believe Peninsular Spanish—which they regularly call *Castilian*—to be the purest variety of the language.⁴⁸ There is a strong preference for Peninsular Spanish versus those varieties spoken in other countries that are more representative of the Spanish-speaking populations within the United States. F_{LA}80 notes, “la djente en Nu York, kreo ke avlan mucho (sic) puertorikenyo i kubano i es muy difer[ente], i para mi no es el puro espanyol.”⁴⁹ F_{NY}80 shares a similar belief in noting that she has a very difficult time understanding Puerto Ricans speaking Spanish, due to how fast they speak. When asked what type of Spanish F_{NY}76 prefers, she indicated that she speaks Castilian Spanish, especially with those who work in her building. She comments that the Spanish she often hears in her neighborhood, however, is that of the Dominican variety. She describes Dominican Spanish as being unique in that “no tienen

⁴⁸ While in broad terms *castellano* can refer to the Spanish language, in narrow terms it refers to the Castilian Spanish of Spain. Informants typically utilize the term ‘Castilian’ to refer to the narrow definition or, more generally, to the Spanish spoken in Spain as opposed to the Spanish spoken in Latin America. They seem to be unaware of the variety of Spanish spoken in Southern Spain.

⁴⁹ “The people in New York speak Puerto Rican and Cuban [Spanish] and it is very differ[ent], and for me, that is not pure Spanish.”

konsonantos alkavo de los biervos...los ke lavoran, los dominicanos;”⁵⁰ while proceeding to imitate words in this dialect. In doing so, F_{NY}76 produces examples of sentences that contain word final deletion, as well as word final nasalization. Her remarks make it clear that she is cognizant of word final deletion (“no tienen konsonantes alkavo de los biervos”) as a feature of Dominican Spanish, but makes no reference to nasalization, which she most likely perceives as deletion.

Other informants state that their preference for Peninsular Spanish cannot be explained; they have no reason other than the fact that Spain is the land from which their ancestors came. F_{LA}82 comments, “kastilyano es muy muy ermoza lingua espanyola.”⁵¹ She also explains that she believes it to be the clearest variety of Spanish. M_{NY}53 notes that when he is with people from Latin America who speak Spanish every day, and each ones speaks the Spanish of his or her country, “yo trato de avlar kon—trato, no se si lo ago, ma trato de avlar kon—el espanyol, kon el aksento de Espanya ke me agrada.”⁵² He explains that he always utilizes Peninsular Spanish regardless of the origin of his Spanish-speaking interlocutor. Furthermore, despite infrequent contact with Spaniards, he states that he has not advertently or inadvertently shifted to any Latin American variety of the language. M_{LA}43, on the other hand, remarks that ever since he moved to Los Angeles ten years ago from Turkey, the variety of Modern Spanish he speaks has changed. He recalls, “el problema es ke kuando yo vine aki tuvi muncha difikulta porke kuando yo yegi aki avlava el kastilyano de Espanya, i kon aksento espanyol, pero

⁵⁰ “They don’t have consonants at the end of their words...those that work [here], the Dominicans.”

⁵¹ “Castilian [from Spain] is a very, very beautiful Spanish language.”

⁵² I try to speak—I try, but I don’t know if I do it, but I try to speak—in Spanish, with the accent from Spain, which I like.”

desafortunadamente ya se me perdió (sic)—avlo mas kon aksento me[x]ikano.”⁵³ ⁵⁴ When asked why he considered this to be unfortunate, he reiterated that he had first learned Peninsular Spanish in Turkey, and that was his preferred variety of the language. Participants do not often elaborate on why they prefer one variety to the other, but given their familial origins in Spain, we can conjecture why many Sephardim hold such ideologies close to heart.

3.2 Linguistic Insecurity

Participants in this study often commented that they had not spoken Judeo-Spanish in—or for—a very long time. Several commented that they rarely use the language, even if they are in frequent contact with someone who is proficient in it, such as a spouse or sibling. It is clear that Judeo-Spanish is never the preferred language of communication among the Sephardim in the United States today, given their proficiencies in a number of other languages. Other participants noted that they use Judeo-Spanish often but rarely have entire conversations in it. The production of certain words, expressions, and songs seems to be the remnants of the language for most speakers today. For some, speaking in Judeo-Spanish during the entire sociolinguistic interview proved challenging and several commented on how proud they were that they were able to ‘stay in the language’ for so long. Others, however, often turned to me to ask how to say certain words in the language. M_{LA}85, in preparation for our interview, brought out a Judeo-Spanish to English dictionary, as well as his wife’s Spanish to English dictionary. He mentioned that he often refers

⁵³ “The problem is that when I came here I had a lot of difficulty because when I arrived here I spoke Spanish from Spain and with a Spanish accent. Unfortunately, I lost it—I speak more with a Mexican accent.”

⁵⁴ While later chapters will analyze participants’ speech, one familiar with Judeo-Spanish lexicon, syntax, and phonology will notice Modern Spanish influence in M_{LA}43’s comment—or possibly, shifting between Judeo-Spanish and Modern Spanish.

to the Spanish to English dictionary since Judeo-Spanish and Modern Spanish are so similar.

Several participants displayed various degrees of linguistic insecurity while speaking. Richards and Schmidt (2002) note that linguistic insecurities are “experienced by speakers or writers about some aspect of their language use or about the variety of language they speak,” resulting in “modified speech, when speakers attempt to alter their way of speaking in order to sound more like the speakers of a prestige variety” (31). During the sociolinguistic interviews, linguistic insecurity was present; however, no participant felt that Judeo-Spanish was a jargon or any less important than varieties of Modern Spanish. Whether participants approximate varieties of Modern Spanish or not in their Judeo-Spanish speech may not necessarily be due to linguistic insecurity. It is often the case that recurrent contact with Modern Spanish has altered their lesser-used Judeo-Spanish.

3.3 Code-Switching and Code-Shifting

Harris’s (1994) work carefully explores code-switching (Poplack 1988) and code-shifting (Silva-Corvalán 1983) among Judeo-Spanish speakers in New York City, Los Angeles, and cities throughout Israel. While code-switching occurs when speakers implement two or more languages in a given dialogue (within a single sentence, constituent, or throughout sentences), code-shifting occurs when speakers try to maintain conversation in a language that is not their dominant one, thus utilizing other—and more proficient languages—in their discourse. These are phenomena that can be witnessed throughout several of my informants’ comments, which I include throughout this study. Harris’s findings suggest that code-switching and code-shifting are the most salient characteristics of Judeo-Spanish today, whereas English and Modern Spanish lexemes most regularly appear in Judeo-Spanish speech in the United States. In fact, among her

ninety-one informants (n= 28 in NY, n= 35 in LA, n=28 throughout Israel), Harris notes, “there was rarely a sentence uttered by the informants that did not contain some kind of recent borrowing from English, Modern Spanish, French, or Hebrew” (191). While code-switching and code-shifting were also evident throughout my informants’ speech, Harris’s findings do not concur with mine. That is to say, informants in my study did not code-switch to the same (high) degree that Harris’s did. This is most likely due to the design of my study and selection of participants; I sought out speakers who acknowledged their ability to carry out interviews in Judeo-Spanish.

Like Harris, my informants were native—or heritage—speakers of the language, each representing unique sociolinguistic histories. It is very likely that of the dozens of informants who could have participated in my study but did not—either due to linguistic insecurity or actual low proficiencies in the language—many would have shown high levels of code-shifting. Outside of New York City and Los Angeles, FitzMorris’s (2014) research also indicates a similar trend among Judeo-Spanish speakers in Seattle, particularly among Los Ladineros.⁵⁵

3.4 Becoming Socialized into Metalinguistic Cognizance

Several Judeo-Spanish speakers, born in the United States or abroad, learned at an early age that their Judeo-Spanish language was a marker that designated their ‘otherness’ outside of their family. This included to other Jews, primarily the Yiddish-speaking Ashkenazim, as well as their non-Jewish co-regionalists. Sephardim quickly socialized themselves into a state of metalinguistic cognizance, a term I define as one’s understanding of how his or her language

⁵⁵ A self-selected group in Seattle that meets regularly to practice and preserve the Judeo-Spanish language (FitzMorris 2014: 8).

compares or contrasts to that of another, and how he or she may utilize this recognition in order to accommodate to certain situations in a given setting.

In its formative years, the Sephardic experience in the United States was one of desire to be American. One of the most obvious ways in which one could accomplish this was by learning to speak English. Often, Sephardim were afraid of being isolated and many of their narratives reflect harsh realities of the racial discourse that they experienced. This would resonate with several of my informants who did not want to be seen as different. For example, F_{LA}80 notes that, “kuando nos (sic) venimos aki [a Los Angeles] de Nueva York, fuimos al *planetarium*, kon unas personas ke bivian—unas sefardim ke bivian—ayi, i estavamos avlando en sefaradi, i mi suvrina disho, ‘no avles espanyol porke no kieres aparaser me[x]ikano.’ Esto era mil novesienta—los sinkuentas! (sic).”⁵⁶ Other informants share similar sentiments in their interviews, indicating that their families came to the United States to be American, and not be associated with other nationalities. Growing up, F_{LA}78 notes that she did not want to be seen as different, and this meant that she did not want anyone to think that she was Hispanic or Latina. She comments that she was embarrassed “porke yo keria ser kompletamente amerikana, i eyos pensaron ke era me[x]ikana, i esto no me gustava. No keria estar asociada kon los me[x]ikanos—no era me[x]ikana—pero kon avlando espanyol, me pusieron en esta kategoria.”⁵⁷ Other participants had a hard time fitting into Jewish settings, since the Ashkenazim did not perceive

⁵⁶ “When we came here [to Los Angeles] from New York, we went to the planetarium with some people who lived—with some Sephardim who lived—around there, and we were speaking in Judeo-Spanish, and my cousin said, ‘Don’t speak [in Judeo-] Spanish because you don’t want to come off as Mexican.’ And this was in the 1950s!”

⁵⁷ “Because I wanted to fully be an American, and they thought that I was Mexican, which I didn’t like. I didn’t want to be associated with the Mexicans—I wasn’t Mexican—but speaking Spanish, they put me in that category.”

them to be Jewish either. F_{NY}76 recalls that “muchos ke avlavan yidish pensavan ke no eramos djudios”⁵⁸ Numerous informants share similar testimonies, which correspond to findings reported by Ben-Ur (2009b).

Growing up in Turkey, F_{LA}64 believed that non-Jewish Turks would know she was Jewish if she spoke in Judeo-Spanish. She notes that she did not want to use the language outside the home because, “No keria dizir a todo el mundo ke yo se djudia, i ainda oy no me plaze anunsar esto.”⁵⁹ M_{LA}43 remarks that when he grew up in Turkey, it was not so much of an issue that Judeo-Spanish was being spoken but rather that Turkish was not. This contrasts with the United States, however, in that a Sephardic Jew speaking Judeo-Spanish on the streets would most likely be perceived as someone of Latino heritage before being considered Jewish. This is primarily due to the fact that the history of the Jews in the United States is not widely known to most, apart from the Ashkenazi narrative. M_{NY}53 notes that during his youth he was cautious in using Judeo-Spanish because, oftentimes, speakers of Modern Spanish would think that he was speaking Spanish poorly. He comments,

Munchas personas, especialmente las personas ke avlan el espanyol moderno i no tienen konosimiento de nuestra kultura, de mozotros, de la lingua—al sintirmos avlar—pensan, yerradamente pensan ke estamos avlando un espanyol mal avlado... I por esto a vezes me travo de avlarlo—a vezes—delante de djente ke avlan en el espanyol moderno... Agora me agrada dar a entender a siertas personas ke es un dialekto, ke no es kestion ke estamos avlando un espanyol mal avlado.⁶¹

⁵⁸ “Many who spoke Yiddish thought that we weren’t Jewish.”

⁵⁹ “I didn’t want to tell everyone I was Jewish, and I don’t like to announce it even today.”

⁶⁰ *Se* is a dialectal variation from *so* in Judeo-Spanish, both first person singular of the verb *ser* ‘to be.’

⁶¹ “Many people, especially people who speak Modern Spanish and who do not have knowledge about our culture, about us, about our language—upon hearing us speak—they erroneously think that we are speaking a poorly spoken Spanish...And so, sometimes I hesitate to use it in front of

While M_{NY}53 discusses his hesitation to use Judeo-Spanish with speakers of Modern Spanish, he takes pleasure in the opportunity to educate others about a variety of Spanish unknown to so many. These narratives illustrate a variety of reasons that Sephardim choose to confine their use of Judeo-Spanish outside of familial domains.

Many Sephardim in the United States wanted to quickly assimilate into American culture, which resulted in differences between the American born Sephardim and those born abroad. Halio (1996) explores this topic, along with the rich multilingual nature of the Sephardim in his *Ladino Reveries: Tales of the Sephardic Experience in America*. In one conversation with a Sephardic man from Salonica, Halio recalls, “during our conversation, he interjected words in Greek, French, Turkish, Spanish, and Hebrew. When I questioned a word I did not understand, he would say, ‘You Americans, you are so poor. I feel sorry for you’” (16). While the linguistic nature of the Sephardim has often been multilingual, American born generations acquired English and struggled to retain their heritage language, Judeo-Spanish. He continues to recount that most American born Sephardim in the United States spoke Judeo-Spanish before speaking English, the latter often learned only at the start of their education in kindergarten and elementary school. The Sephardim could certainly relate to many speakers of heritage languages in the United States, as Halio notes, “the kids teased me and made me cry because I didn’t speak English” (23). Children were quickly socialized into American culture and they soon came to believe that any language other than English should only be spoken in certain domains since heritage languages were clearly marked.

Speakers of Judeo-Spanish indicate using their language on a very limited basis. Harris

people who speak Modern Spanish. Now, I like educating some of these people that it is a dialect and not a question of us speaking poorly-spoken Spanish.”

(1994) reports five domains in which speakers utilize Judeo-Spanish: 1) with older people, 2) as a secret language, 3) for humorous/ expression purposes, 4) as the common language among Sephardim, and 5) at work or with non-Sephardic Spanish speakers. Given that Judeo-Spanish is a highly endangered language, it is no surprise that the majority of its speakers is older and uses it with one another (domain 1). Earlier, I reviewed how, like Judeo-Spanish, Turkish and Greek were also used in several households when parents did not want their children to understand what they were saying. Judeo-Spanish takes this domain, however, among those Sephardim who typically did not acquire the language proficiently (domain 2); this is a rare occurrence among my informants. As there are many folktales, jokes, and proverbs in Judeo-Spanish, speakers seem to evoke them through the language, albeit only in front of a Judeo-Spanish cognizant audience (domain 3).

Considering Judeo-Spanish to be the *lingua franca* of the Sephardim is certainly still appropriate today, though typically among older generations of speakers.⁶² Judeo-Spanish varieties are intelligible and speakers throughout the world can typically understand one another. This calls into question, however, the relationship between language and culture. Most Sephardim in the United States, particularly of the second and third generation, do not speak Judeo-Spanish at all; therefore, the language only serves as a *lingua franca* for a limited number of Sephardim (domain 4). While domains 1-4 reflect the current ethnolinguistic vitality of Judeo-Spanish today, domain 5—utilization with non-Sephardic Spanish speakers—is certainly the most prevalent, and thus, the focus of this investigation. More so, as my work reveals, speakers of Judeo-Spanish regularly attempt to mirror Modern Spanish in order to communicate with non-Sephardic speakers of Spanish in the United States. Thus, my research explores whether speakers

⁶² I have personally been able to use Judeo-Spanish as a *lingua franca* in communicating with Sephardim in Bosnia and France.

of Judeo-Spanish are using Judeo-Spanish or varieties of Modern Spanish with their non-Sephardic Spanish-speaking interlocutors.

In reviewing the sociolinguistic interviews, a common narrative among my informants reflects the notion of language serving as both a barrier and a nexus between the Sephardic and Latino populations. I categorize points of contact for learning Modern Spanish and providing for its utility into the following domains: 1) in the classroom, 2) at home, 3) around the neighborhood, 4) within the family, 5) at work, and 6) while abroad. I find that these domains also account for the ways in which Judeo-Spanish speakers in New York City and Los Angeles become aware of the differences between their mother tongue and varieties of Modern Spanish. These settings also allow for them to put their metalinguistic cognizance into practice.

In the first instance, Judeo-Spanish-speaking Sephardim are students in Modern Spanish courses, often fulfilling their schools' requirements to study a second language while perplexing their teachers by their unique phonology, morphology, and lexicon. This point of contact serves as a formal setting for Sephardic children, adolescents, and adults to learn of the differences between their home variety of language (Judeo-Spanish) and that of the classroom (Modern Spanish). Since children no longer speak Judeo-Spanish, this point of contact does not apply to younger generations of Sephardim, despite being relevant to many of my older informants. In the case of adult learners, the classroom continues to allow them to learn Modern Spanish and determine how it varies from Judeo-Spanish. In many cases, however, Judeo-Spanish speakers have become metalinguistically cognizant of similarities and differences with Modern Spanish due to real-world situations of contact, as demonstrated in the next two settings. In the second domain, Sephardim come into contact with speakers of Modern Spanish through a variety of professions, either in their homes with assistants, caretakers, and gardeners, or in their buildings

with construction workers or management. In the third setting, speakers of Judeo-Spanish encounter speakers of Modern Spanish in their neighborhood and at local venues. In the fourth scenario, speakers of Judeo-Spanish learn of differences between the languages due to a family member, be it an extended relative or even a (Jewish or non-Jewish) spouse, who speaks a variety of Modern Spanish. In the fifth domain, speakers of Judeo-Spanish learn of modern varieties of Spanish in the workplace when coming into contact with a Modern Spanish-speaking colleague or client. Finally, in the sixth realm, Judeo-Spanish speakers use their language to communicate with speakers of Modern Spanish in Spanish-speaking countries outside of the United States. These six domains are where Sephardim often become or have become meta-linguistically cognizant of the differences between languages. To follow, I explore each of these domains in detail and describe them according to accounts provided by my informants during the sociolinguistic portion of our interviews.

3.4.1 In the Classroom

For young children, the classroom was one of the first sites where Judeo-Spanish speakers learned that their Spanish was not quite the same as other varieties. More so, Spanish teachers were the ones who would learn a great deal by having Sephardim in their classroom. Benardete (1953) remarks that many young Sephardim learned about the Spanish language, particularly the Castilian variety, in the classroom. Adolescents who had to take a second language often took Spanish, many thinking it would be an easy course to take and others who had no idea onto what they were about to embark. Several of my informants' testimonies, similar to other documented testimonies of Sephardim in the United States, recount moments of confusion between both student and teacher. For many of these Sephardic students, "e/spanyol" was their native tongue,

yet their teachers often corrected them when they utilized unknown lexical items or phonological patterns in their speech. Halio (1996) recounts that just reciting the days of the week was enough to cause confusion in the classroom due to lexical and phonological differences between the Judeo-Spanish and Modern Spanish varieties; for example, *djueves* vs. *jueves* ‘Thursday,’ *shabat* vs. *sábado* ‘Saturday,’ and *alhad* vs. *domingo* ‘Sunday.’ In a conversation with his teacher, Halio notes, “she [the teacher] asked me for an explanation. She said my accent was the best in the class and that she knew that I could speak Spanish, but there were times I used words that were definitely not Spanish” (185). Such interaction raises the question of how students of Modern Spanish utilized their Judeo-Spanish language in the classroom.

F_{LA}80 moved to Los Angeles from New York City at age twelve, and in seventh grade Spanish class she learned of differences between the languages primarily due to lexical disparities, noting the example *booz* (Judeo-Spanish) vs. *hielo* (Modern Spanish), both meaning ‘ice’ in English. To a degree, this scenario exists today in both New York City and Los Angeles when heritage speakers of Spanish matriculate in Spanish classes and regularly use varieties of language that are not taught by the teacher nor mentioned in the textbooks. While many teachers today are aware of linguistic differences in Spanish, it is not uncommon for students to feel a sense of insecurity or even embarrassment if their teacher corrects them. Such a student, of whichever variety of Spanish, may feel that the language taught in the classroom is more correct and prestigious, especially when coming from an authoritative figure in the classroom, the teacher.

While learning another variety of Spanish for the Sephardim proved challenging, informants commented that it was the teacher that was oftentimes the most frustrated. Informant

F_{NY}80 spoke about learning (about) Modern Spanish once she was enrolled in a Spanish class at her local school in Brooklyn. She comments,

En la eskola kuando tomi espanyol...la maestra arankava los kaveyos kuando sintiamos avlar (sic). La gramatika no es kastilyano (sic), [i] la pronunsiasion no es kastilyano (sic). Ma entendiamos todo lo ke estavamos meldando, ma kuando avlavamos, era totalmente diferente...Yeah, I got the medal.⁶³

It was not only in elementary or secondary school where Sephardim learned of Modern Spanish, for this realization continued into the college classroom. M_{NY}78 recalls taking Modern Spanish in college, where he finally began to understand how the languages differed from each other. He recalls that learning the language was very easy for him, despite the fact that his professor gave him a failing grade in the course. He recalls,

Yo tomi el curso de espanyol porke pensi ke es...muy kolay. I kuando tomi un egzamen, el profesor me dio un F... Recuerdo (sic) el profesor estuvo de Meksiko. ‘Porke estas uzando palvras ke nunca senti, ke no son espanyol?’ ‘Ke palavra?’ ‘Esta palavra.’ Yo uzi *meldar*. El disho, ‘nunca senti esto.’ ‘Si yo puedo demostrar ke esto es espanyol, vas a trokar el F?’ ‘Si, si.’⁶⁴

As the story continues, M_{NY}78 recalls bringing in a Spanish dictionary to class that apparently contained several of the archaisms that he used so often.⁶⁵ While these two participants note that taking Modern Spanish was easy for them, it certainly came with frustration, often on behalf of

⁶³ “When I took Spanish in school... the teacher would pull out her hair when she heard us speak. The grammar is not Castilian [and] the pronunciation is not Castilian, but we understood everything that we were reading. But, when we spoke, it was totally different.”

⁶⁴ “I took the Spanish course because I thought it was... very easy. And when I took an exam, the professor gave me an F... I remember that the professor was from Mexico. [He asked,] ‘Why are you using words that I never heard, that aren’t Spanish?’ ‘What word?’ ‘This word.’ I used [words like] *meldar* [to read]. He said, ‘I never heard of that.’ ‘If I can show that this is Spanish, will you change the F?’ ‘Yes, yes.’”

⁶⁵ The words in the dictionary were most likely words used in Medieval Spanish rather than *meldar*, which comes from Greek.

the instructor. Other informants recall similar confusion between student and teacher, thus turning what many had expected to be an easy course into quite a challenging one.

While not a Spanish language class, F_{NY}88 recalls learning about differences between her Spanish and Modern Spanish while attending an acting school and interacting with her Spanish-speaking instructor. She strongly believed that to provide for further opportunities and roles as an actress it was necessary to learn Spanish. She recalls speaking with her instructor one day; “yo uzava el espanyol ke yo savia, ke era ladino...Un dia me pregunto el profesor, ‘ke estas avlando? I le dishi, ‘espanyol.’ ‘Ke espanyol es esto?’ I me vino al tino, es verdad, el espanyol es diferente, yo esto uzando ladino.”⁶⁶ She continues that her instructor was so surprised that he brought out a dictionary and started saying that some of the words she was using were only heard in very rural Spanish-speaking communities up in the mountains. Several lexical items used in Judeo-Spanish, including *ansina* ‘so,’ and *aiga* ‘there is _{subjunctive}’ are utilized in rural parts of Mexico, whereas others, including *haragán* ‘lazy,’ and *fustán* ‘dress,’ are also used throughout El Salvador and other Central American countries (Parodi 2011).⁶⁷ In several instances, my informants recall referring to Peninsular or Latin American Spanish dictionaries in an attempt to validate their language.

3.4.2 At Home

Another frequent point of contact between Judeo-Spanish and Modern Spanish is that of the home domain. For example, F_{LA}78 often uses Modern Spanish when interacting with Spanish

⁶⁶ “ I was using the Spanish that I knew, which was Judeo-Spanish... One day the professor asked me, ‘What are you speaking?’ And I said to him, ‘Spanish.’ ‘What Spanish is that?’ And then it came to mind that it’s true, Spanish is different, I was using Judeo-Spanish.”

⁶⁷ These lexemes are also commonly found in Los Angeles Vernacular Spanish (Parodi 2011).

speakers in Los Angeles, since “ayudan en la kaza, ayudan kon el [x]ardin, [kon] empleados (sic).”⁶⁸ She further comments that she has learned Mexican Spanish in Los Angeles, and that that is the variety in which she believes to be most proficient. F_{LA}81 also notes using Spanish with those who work in her neighborhood and take jobs around her house. In one conversation, Halio (1996) recounts a conversation between a Judeo-Spanish-speaking mother and her Mexican Spanish-speaking cleaning lady. He writes, “Mom learned a new language, ‘Spanish,’ albeit the Mexican version. By the same token, the lady learned Ladino” (89). As the conversation between them continues, there is much confusion due to lexical differences between these two varieties of language; examples include: *entezar* vs. *congelar* ‘to freeze,’ *el booz* vs. *el hielo* ‘ice,’ *la pila* vs. *la fregadera* ‘sink,’ *los pirones* vs. *los tenedores* ‘forks,’ and *eskapar* vs. *terminar* ‘to finish.’ While Judeo-Spanish and Modern Spanish share a great deal of lexicon pertaining to a number of domains, that of the kitchen varies considerably. One related anecdote comes from F_{LA}89, who was born in Seattle to parents from Rhodes and came to Los Angeles at age five. She recalls learning of the difference between Judeo-Spanish and Modern Spanish “kuando tenia una mujer para limpiar la kaza de Meksiko. Yo le dishe, ‘vas a dar uti a las ropas?’ But, uti— no save kualo es uti—i mostri... *the iron*. ‘O, planchar.’”⁶⁹ Just like with *booz* ‘ice,’ several informants note that their use of the lexeme *uti* ‘iron’ has caused confusion for speakers of Modern Spanish.

Informants often noted that, when they thought there was a lexical difference for a given term between Judeo-Spanish and Modern Spanish, they would ask their Spanish-speaking

⁶⁸ “They help at home, they help with the garden, [with] workers.”

⁶⁹ “When I had a woman from Mexico clean the house, I said to her, ‘are you going to iron the clothes?’ But, she didn’t know what an *uti* [*iron* in Judeo-Spanish] was, and I showed her...the iron. [To which she replies,] ‘Oh, *planchar*’ [*to iron* in Modern Spanish].”

interlocutor. With Spanish-speaking assistants around the home, F_{LA}64 tries to speak in Modern Spanish, using words she knows they will understand. When she doesn't know if a word is different, she comments, “kuando avlo kon eyos yo miro de uzar palavras ke eyos van a entender...veremos aguera uzi palavras, yo digo biervos. De vez en kuando si no se este biervo en kastiyano de eyos, digo, mozotros dezimos ansi, ke sera en tu lingua?”⁷⁰ In this statement, F_{LA}64 catches herself using a word she considers to be more Modern Spanish than Judeo-Spanish, *palavras* rather than *biervos* ‘words.’ Asking, however, is not always necessary. F_{LA}82 recalls interacting with a Spanish-speaking assistant in her house who, at times, will try to ‘correct’ her speech. She remarks, “puedo avlar kon me[x]ikano—meksikanos, ama ago muchos yerros deke digo palavras ladinas, i la ninya ke lavora para mi siempre me dize, ‘no se dize esto.’ Me kere ambezar.”⁷¹ While she does not ask for feedback, she receives it nevertheless and, therefore, learns equivalent Judeo-Spanish terms or phrases in Modern Spanish. Both F_{LA}64 and F_{LA}82 comment that their interlocutors do not know much, if anything, about Judeo-Spanish and are very willing to provide them with feedback.

3.4.3 Around the Neighborhood

As my informants’ narratives reveal, the United States has often served as the land of linguistic recognition for those Sephardim relocating from abroad. M_{LA}77, born and raised in Rhodesia to parents from Rhodes, only came to the United States in 1975, at age thirty-eight. He notes,

⁷⁰ “When I speak with them I try and use words that they will understand. We see it now—I used *palavras* [Modern Spanish—words], I say *biervos* [Judeo-Spanish—words]. Sometimes if I don’t know this word in their Spanish, I say, ‘we say it this way, how is it like in your language?’

⁷¹ “I can speak with Mexicans [Modern Spanish pronunciation]—Mexicans [Judeo-Spanish pronunciation], but I make a lot of mistakes because I say words in Ladino, and the girl that works for me always says, ‘you don’t say it like that.’ She wants to teach me.”

“kuando yo vini aki, yo vidi una kaleja ke se yama ti[ʒ]—ti[x]era, yo estava diziendo ti[ʒ]era. No, dizen ti[x]era. Yo no savia ke avia muncha diferencia...trenta i ocho anyos.”⁷² Before arriving to Los Angeles, M_{LA}86 of Salonica, Greece, spent seventeen years in Israel. There, he married, raised his children, and learned Hebrew. He realized that his Spanish was different than other varieties “solo kuando vinimos aki [a Los Angeles]. En Israel no saviamos ke avian meksikanos...el mizmo espanyol. Solo aki kuando vini.”⁷³ These examples illustrate that coming to the United States was an eye-opener for many Sephardim who became exposed not only to American culture but also to the greater Spanish-speaking world and all of its varieties.

Born and raised in the Bronx, M_{NY}53 learned early in life about varieties of Modern Spanish. He explains, “de mi chikez, kuando era chikitiko en mi kaza avlavamos kaji siempre en ladino, i kuando salia a la kaye, sintia el kastilyano... sintia ke la djente avlava en un espanyol ke yo podia entender ma no era el mizmo espanyol ke se avlava en mi kaza, en mi famiya... i no savia deke.”⁷⁴ Participant F_{NY}88 also recalls knowing early in life about the existence of Judeo-Spanish and Modern Spanish. She learned of this “no muy grande, pormo ke konosiamos muchos espanyoles—puertorikenyos, i ya savia yo ke avia un poko diferencia.”⁷⁵ M_{LA}74

⁷² “When I came here I saw a street named ti[x]era [*scissors*—Modern Spanish pronunciation]; I was saying ti[ʒ]era [—Judeo-Spanish pronunciation]. No, they say ti[x]era [Modern Spanish pronunciation]. I didn’t know there was much of a difference...[I was] 38!”

⁷³ “Only when we came here [to Los Angeles]. In Israel, we didn’t know about Mexicans, [it is] the same Spanish. Only when I came here.

⁷⁴ “From youth, when I was very little we spoke almost always in Judeo-Spanish in my house, and when we went onto the street, I heard Spanish. I heard people speaking in a Spanish that I could understand but wasn’t the same Spanish that was spoken in my house, in my family...and I didn’t know why”

⁷⁵ “Early on since we knew many Spanish—Puerto Ricans, so I knew that there was some difference.”

learned Modern Spanish by working with the Sephardic Jewish community in San Diego when he first arrived to the United States, as many of its members came from Mexico. He notes that most of them did not speak Judeo-Spanish so he would learn their particular variety of language just by speaking to them and picking up on the differences. Informant M_{NY}86 notes that, while growing up in the Bronx, he often felt judged by the primarily Caribbean-speaking Spanish population for using a variety of Spanish unbeknownst to them. He recalls always knowing that Modern Spanish existed “porke kuando era chiko, kuando un espanyol me oyia avlar ladino, paresia ke yo soy loko—de otra jenerasion de Shakespeare—porke para eyos, mozotros—el dialekto kon ken avlamos parese... komo inglez antiko. Kuando me miravan, pensavan, ‘de onde vengo?’”⁷⁶ He clarifies that for many non-Sephardim, Judeo-Spanish appears to the ear as the language spoken during the time of Cervantes.

3.4.4 Within the Family

Judeo-Spanish was not the only variety of Spanish that would enter the intrafamilial relations of the Sephardim. F_{LA}81, who was born in Rhodes and came to Los Angeles at age six, has several relatives currently residing in Argentina. She notes that, “mis primos biven en Buenos Aires...Eyos avlan komo mozotros ma un pokito kon aksento—un aksento un poko kastilyano, kreygo—ma yo lo puedo entender.”⁷⁷ She further explains that her father used to live in

⁷⁶ “Because when I was little, when a Spanish speaker heard me speak Judeo-Spanish, it seemed like I was crazy—from another generation like that of Shakespeare—because for them, we—the dialect with which we spoke seemed like [comparable to] ancient English. When they looked at me, they thought, ‘where am I from?’”

⁷⁷ “Our cousins live in Buenos Aires...They speak like us, but with a bit of an accent—a bit of a Castilian accent, I believe—but I can understand them.”

Argentina as well, but she believes that he only spoke in Judeo-Spanish with her family.

Participants in this study also share similar narratives concerning exposure to Modern Spanish as a result of marriage with someone who speaks the language. Ben-Ur (1998a: 131) notes that given geographic co-existence, intermarriage between these two linguistically similar groups was not uncommon. M_{LA}85 observes that his wife, a Sephardic Jew from Cuba, regularly comments on differences she notices between his Judeo-Spanish and her Spanish. He remarks, “kuando avlava kon mi madre, mi esposa dizia, ‘en kastilyano no es i[ʒ]o, es i[x]a o i[x]o.”⁷⁸ Another married couple, M_{NY}78 and F_{NY}75 share a similar narrative. F_{NY}75, born in Bulgaria and raised in Spain to a Judeo-Spanish-speaking family, comments to her Judeo-Spanish-speaking husband who came to the United States as a child, “I think that I correct you enough that you start remembering, that you begin to catch the differences [between languages].” In these settings, one does not have to go far to recognize or pick up on the linguistic subtleties between Judeo-Spanish and Modern Spanish.

Informants F_{LA}80 and F_{NY}80 explain that they learn of differences between Judeo-Spanish and Modern Spanish from their children or grandchildren. These children or grandchildren have either studied Modern Spanish, are acquainted with speakers of it, or have traveled abroad. F_{NY}80 notes that, while her granddaughter does not speak Judeo-Spanish, she knows certain words and sometimes uses them in her Modern Spanish. She explains that while her granddaughter was abroad, a waiter insisted that the word she had used, *merendjena*, was not the way to pronounce eggplant, for in Spanish it is *berenjena*. She recounts that her granddaughter had to explain that she was Sephardic and that was how she knew the word.

⁷⁸ “When I would speak to my mother, my wife would say, in Spanish it isn’t i[ʒ]o (Judeo-Spanish pronunciation—*son*), it’s i[x]a or i[x]o (Modern Spanish pronunciation—*daughter* or *son*, respectively).”

3.4.5 At Work

Several participants comment that they regularly use varieties of Modern Spanish for business purposes. Working with other colleagues or clientele, speaking Modern Spanish has proved advantageous. Ben-Ur (1998a) remarks that several Sephardim learned Spanish for economic opportunity “in order to establish lucrative import-export business with Central and South America” (132). M_{LA}43 comments that he taught himself Modern Spanish while working with speakers of the language. Using Judeo-Spanish as a basis for communication, M_{LA}43 learned which linguistic features were to be altered in order to arrive at Modern Spanish. Today, he uses Modern Spanish in his daily life, especially for business purposes. Regarding the variety he speaks, he notes those from Spain, Mexico, and Argentina. He believes that you have to speak Modern Spanish in California, for “si no avlas el espanyol kasteyano, kasi kasi es muy difisil azer tus kozas porke en la mayoria de Kalifornia se uza mas kasteyano ke inglez, eksepto en las partes ofisiales.”⁷⁹ He comments that as a property manager, he regularly uses Modern Spanish, and believes that he uses Spanish—both Judeo-Spanish and Modern Spanish—more than he uses English. M_{NY}53 also uses Modern Spanish regularly in New York, noting “lo avlo kada dia en el lavoro. Aunke yo avlo tambyen el espanyol moderno, no le tengo el mizmo karinyo ke le tengo al ladino.”⁸⁰ M_{LA}76, while only taking a Spanish for Lawyers course, was asked to teach Spanish at the High School where he worked, in addition to Hebrew and ESL. Relying on Judeo-Spanish, and all of his metalinguistic awareness of Modern Spanish, he taught level one elementary Spanish for three years. When asked if he felt confident teaching this course, he responded,

⁷⁹ “If you don’t speak Castilian Spanish, it is almost impossible to do what you need to because in most of California, Castilian is used more than English.”

⁸⁰ “I speak it every day at work. Although I also speak Modern Spanish, I don’t have the same affection for it as I do for Judeo-Spanish.”

“kuando no savia una koza, avia el sinyor...ke era de Ekuador...le dizia kualo es esto i me ayudava.”⁸¹ These examples illustrate the variety of ways in which Sephardim use Modern Spanish in the workplace.

Similarly, M_{NY}60 notes that during his childhood in Istanbul, Turkey, he never thought much about where Judeo-Spanish fit into the greater linguistic schema of Spanish varieties. He explains that he didn’t know of Modern Spanish during childhood, even when his family moved to New York City at age nine. It was when he began to work, however, that he learned of the differences, noting, “en el echo avian puertorikenyos, dominika[nos], otros ke avlavan otra manera de espanyol. No era la mizma ke avlavamos en kaza kon mi padre i madre.”⁸² For many Sephardim, work often became the setting in which the linguistic differences between Judeo-Spanish and varieties of Modern Spanish became apparent.

M_{NY}86 notes that he started learning Modern Spanish at school, but does not know how he became proficient. He comments that he works with many speakers of Modern Spanish and that “tengo ke azerme entendido. So, ansi, kreo ke aprendi espanyol... de los Bronx.”⁸³ M_{NY}78 remarks that he also makes use of the differences that he knows of when working with his Spanish-speaking workers. He states, “ay lavorantes ke no avlan inglez o avlan poko inglez, i kon eyos, nesesito de avlar kon kualker—kual tengo—whatever I have. I si es korekto o si no es korekto, [lo] uzo. I eyos, me parese ke, por lo... for the most part...they understand.”⁸⁴ Thus, it

⁸¹ “When I didn’t know something, I asked Mr...who was from Ecuador... I asked him what it was and he helped me.”

⁸² “At work there were Puerto Ricans, Dominicans, and others who spoke another type of Spanish. It wasn’t the type we spoke at home with my parents.”

⁸³ “I have to be understood. So, that is how I learned to speak Spanish... from the Bronx.”

⁸⁴ “There are workers who don’t speak English or who speak a little English, and with them, I

becomes clear that Judeo-Spanish, in addition to his knowledge of some Modern Spanish, is sufficient to achieve communication.

For some informants, Judeo-Spanish is perceived as more similar to Peninsular Spanish than it is to varieties of Latin American Spanish. M_{LA}86 believes that is challenging to speak Spanish in Los Angeles since Judeo-Spanish is more similar to Peninsular Spanish than it is to Mexican Spanish. Accordingly, he finds it easier to understand—and be understood—by Spanish speakers from Spain. He recalls a time when he was a manager in a factory in Los Angeles overseeing sixty-five seamstresses, most of whom only spoke Modern Spanish. He explains, “keria o no keria, ay ke avlar en espanyol, porke keria el traba[x]o. A mi me importa el traba[x]o ...puede ser ke les fize *mix*... No aprendi el espanyol suyo enteramente porke kada uno es diferente, meksikano es diferente de Guatemela (sic).”⁸⁵ ⁸⁶ From these accounts, the priority for speakers is to achieve communication with speakers of Modern Spanish using whatever metalinguistic knowledge they have acquired and applying it. Therefore, speaking precisely in Modern Spanish is not of utmost importance as long as others can understand them.

3.4.6 While Abroad

Travel is a common experience for many Sephardim, having come from so many countries and having held on to their mobile history, which is reflected in their language. Speakers of Judeo-

need to speak with whatever I have. If it’s correct or if it’s incorrect, I use it. It seems that, for the most part, they understand.”

⁸⁵ “Whether I wanted to or not, I had to speak in Spanish, because I wanted work. Work is important to me...maybe I did a mix for them...I didn’t learn their Spanish entirely because each one is different, Mexican [Spanish] is different than Guatemalan [Spanish].”

⁸⁶ M_{LA}86 uses Modern Spanish *traba[x]o* rather than Judeo-Spanish *lavoro* for ‘work.’

Spanish oftentimes utilize their language when they find themselves in a Spanish-speaking country on vacation or business. Halio (1996) notes, “as those of us who have traveled to the many Spanish-speaking countries of the world know, we get along remarkably well. True, our accent is different, and very often, we use Turkish words like *paras* (money) and *kira* (rent). However, in very short, we learn the appropriate words to use” (201). Therefore, it appears that spending time in Spanish-speaking countries has taught the Sephardim a great deal about differences between their varieties.

FLA89 attempted to use her Judeo-Spanish while on vacation in Acapulco, Mexico where she asked a saleswoman, “Este fustan tiene kushak? No savia fustan i kushak...*but* me paresio ke eya va a saver ke fustan es un *vestido*, i kushak es un...Ya estava kazada...Estava en Meksiko i avla[va] espanyol.”^{87 88} As with other instances, this example illustrates the uncertainty Judeo-Spanish speakers have at times when determining which Modern Spanish words are identical to their native tongue and which are not. It also reveals that metalinguistic recognition is an ongoing process that continues throughout various points of contact with speakers of Modern Spanish.

The aforementioned domains can be divided into two types of exposure to Modern Spanish, the first direct and the second indirect. In domains of direct exposure, within the classroom and familial domains, speakers of Judeo-Spanish are frequently educated on varieties of Modern Spanish grammar and lexicon. They apply this knowledge to their Judeo-Spanish

⁸⁷ “Does this dress have a belt? She didn’t know *fustan* [JS—dress] and *kushak* [JS—belt]... but I thought that she would know that a *fustan* [JS—dress] is a *vestido* [MS—dress], and a *kushak* [JS—belt] is a...[MS—*cinturón*]. I was already married [at that time]...I was in Mexico and I was speaking Spanish”

⁸⁸ As noted earlier, *fustan* ‘dress’ is also used in Central American Spanish, but not in Mexico.

mother tongue and become socialized into metalinguistic cognizance. However, the second type of exposure is less direct—or indirect—and includes situations where Judeo-Spanish speakers learn of Modern Spanish varieties due to close contact with speakers, taking in their surroundings and paying attention to differences between languages. All six conditions have facilitated metalinguistic cognizance and occasions for utilization, regularly providing the Sephardim the ability to navigate between language varieties depending on their audience.

3.5 Concluding Discussion

Since Judeo-Spanish is a minority language and typically not known about among non-Jewish speakers of Modern Spanish, the Sephardim are the ones who have become aware of such linguistic differences, not the other way around. Given that Modern Spanish is more widespread in the United States and abroad, it serves as a majority language that the Sephardim learn. This contrasts with Judeo-Spanish since Sephardim acquire this language as their L1 or heritage language. Therefore, varieties of Modern Spanish take on the H domain for the Sephardim, whereas Judeo-Spanish pertains to the L domain. The reason Modern Spanish pertains to the H domain is due to the fact that most Sephardim must learn this variety. This variety serves as a majority language for them compared to Judeo-Spanish, since modern varieties are used regularly outside of the Sephardic community. Judeo-Spanish, on the other hand, pertains to the L domain since it is the variety of language acquired, to some degree, during childhood and is used in much more restricted ways. As with other cases of diglossia, many Sephardim utilize their L variety of the language as a platform to obtain proficiency in the H variety of the language. M_{NY}53 insists on this in that “si no lo uviera savido [el ladino], no kreygo ke uviera

podido ambezarme el espanyol moderno i estar al nivel ke esto.”⁸⁹ While several participants have returned to speaking Judeo-Spanish after years of distance from the language, it still fulfills the role of their heritage language, whereas Modern Spanish does not. Exceptions to this case include M_{NY}48, F_{NY}69, and F_{NY}75, who grew up with a variety of Modern Spanish as their L1, within the confines of a Judeo-Spanish-speaking household.

The six domains described above are the most common in which speakers of Judeo-Spanish learned of the greater Spanish-speaking populations and their unique varieties of Spanish. Aside from metalinguistically exposing the Sephardim to such differences, these domains also provide them with the opportunity to interact with speakers of Modern Spanish. During such exchanges, speakers navigate their way through Judeo-Spanish and Modern Spanish. For this reason, New York City and Los Angeles are fitting metropolises to explore interactions between Sephardic and Latino populations, especially from a sociolinguistic agenda. While I have reviewed the domains of diglossia among the Sephardim throughout this chapter, the next chapters determine how diglossia allows for language contact between these groups and which features of language are affected as a result of contact.

⁸⁹ “If I hadn’t known [Judeo-Spanish], I don’t believe that I would have been able to learn Modern Spanish and be at the level that I am in it.”

4

JUDEO-SPANISH CONTACT WITH MODERN SPANISH: PRODUCTION

4. Introduction

What are the linguistic ramifications for the close contact between Judeo-Spanish and Modern Spanish-speaking populations? In this chapter, I review previous research exploring the influence that Modern Spanish varieties continue to leave on Judeo-Spanish, as evinced by speech production of the Sephardim. I begin by reviewing fundamental differences in the phonemic inventory between Judeo-Spanish and Modern Spanish and examining the historical development of certain phonological processes. Then, I discuss the methodology for the production experiment carried out among all informants. Whereas previous research looks at the Judeo-Spanish speech of Sephardim, I explore the variety of language that Sephardim speak with their Modern Spanish-speaking interlocutors. This variety of language is often learned as a second language (L2) and represents diverse proficiencies among informants.

4.1 Where Modern Spanish and Judeo-Spanish Diverge

As reviewed in Chapter 1, Judeo-Spanish retains phonemes that are not found today in modern varieties of Spanish. The retention of these phonemes can be traced to Old Spanish. Of particular interest to this study are the fricatives /ʃ/, /ʒ/, /z/, /v/ and the affricate /dʒ/. These can be divided into three phonological processes that mark a historical divergence between varieties of language. The most salient differences between Judeo-Spanish and Modern Spanish are

attributed to their sibilant inventories. A chart of the phonemic inventory of Judeo-Spanish is included below. The sections to follow discuss three developments that occurred in Modern Spanish that did NOT occur in Judeo-Spanish: 1) velarization of prepalatals, 2) devoicing of /z/, and 3) merger of /b/ and /v/.

	Labial	Dental/Alveolar	Prepalatals	Palatal	Velar
Plosive	p b	t d			k g
Affricate			tʃ dʒ		
Fricative	f v	s z	ʃ ʒ	j	x
Nasal	m	n		ɲ	
Lateral		l			
Rhotic tap		r			

Table 4.1 Judeo-Spanish phonemes, adapted from Hualde and Saul (2011:91), Varol (2006:21), and Nehama (1977:xviii)

4.1.1 Velarization of Prepalatals

Studies on Judeo-Spanish often explore the most striking disparity between Judeo-Spanish and Modern Spanish, the distinction between Judeo-Spanish postalveolars/ prepalatals and the Modern Spanish velar. Judeo-Spanish maintains prepalatals /ʃ/, /ʒ/, and /dʒ/, whereas Modern Spanish utilizes velar /x/. Hualde and Saul (2011) illustrate this historical development as follows:

	Old Spanish	Istanbul Judeo-Spanish	Mainstream Spanish	English
I	/ʃ/ /'difo/	/ʃ/ /'difo/	/x/ /'dixo/	's/he said'
II	/z/ /'oʒo/	/z/ /'oʒo/	/x/ /'oxo/	'eye'
III	/z/ /'zente/	/dʒ/ /'dʒente/	/x/ /'xente/	'people'

Table 4.2 Prepalatal fricatives and affricate: Old Spanish and Modern Mainstream Spanish, adapted from Hualde and Saul (2011:99)

As demonstrated from this table, Judeo-Spanish phonemes /ʃ/, /z/, and /dʒ/ correspond to two phonemes in Old Spanish, /ʃ/ and /z/. In Old Spanish, [dʒ] and [z] were most likely allophones of the phoneme /z/ (Hualde and Saul 2011: 99). This is why Hualde and Saul list /'zente/ under Old Spanish in their table, which would be realized as ['dʒente] in Judeo-Spanish. Kushner-Bishop (2004) notes that in Modern Spanish, these phonemes first simplified into /ʃ/, eventually velarizing to /x/.

One may ask then, why /dʒ/ is considered to be a unique phoneme in Judeo-Spanish, and not an allophone of /z/ like in Old Spanish. After all, in Old Spanish such a distribution would yield [dʒ] word-initially or after a nasal, and [z] would be produced in all other environments. In Judeo-Spanish, however, /dʒ/ and /z/ can be considered two distinct phonemes (Quintana 2006, Hualde and Saul 2011, Romero 2013). Common to all Djudezmo varieties are prepalatals [ʃ], [z], [dʒ], as accounted for in Old Spanish. Similar to Old Spanish, Djudezmo (here divergent from Haketia⁹⁰), maintains the alleged allophonic distribution between [z] and [dʒ], the former distributed in intervocalic position, while the latter in word-initial position. However, with adstratal lexical incorporation from French and Turkish, languages that do not have such

⁹⁰ Haketia, however, retained [ʃ] and [z], while [dʒ] merged with [z] in words of Ibero-Romance origin.

allophonic stipulations, it is possible to find, for example, the word *jurnal* ‘newspaper,’ realized as [ʒurˈnal] in Judeo-Spanish. Turkish contains phonemes /ʃ/, /ʒ/, and /dʒ/, and French contains phonemes /ʃ/ and /ʒ/. This phonemic contrast in Judeo-Spanish occurred in the diaspora of the Sephardim once in contact with languages such as French and Turkish, where word-initial [ʒ] and word-medial [dʒ] appear in borrowings, which have been adapted into Judeo-Spanish.

Minimal pairs between /dʒ/ and /ʒ/, however, do not typically exist in Judeo-Spanish. Quintana (2006) notes one such pair: ente[dʒ]ar vs. ente[ʒ]ar. This difference occurs in Salonica, whereas the former is defined as ‘to freeze’ or ‘to stiffen’ and the latter, ‘to build a roof’ or ‘to cover with tiles.’ In other varieties like that of Istanbul, ente[dʒ]ar is realized as ente[ʒ]ar. Quintana explains that this helps to demonstrate, “que se trata de dos fonemas y no de variantes” (70, note 159). As we can see, placement of either phoneme can occur in word-initial or word-medial position with no restrictions as to whether or not the lexeme in question follows the historical distribution of Old Spanish. For example, while word-initial [dʒ]usto ‘fair’/ ‘correct’ and [dʒ]ente ‘people’ pertain to the word-initial allophonic distribution of Old Spanish, the list of lexicon below illustrates the further distribution of /dʒ/ in Judeo-Spanish.

Distribution	Attributed to—	Example	
word-initial	follows historical distribution of Old Spanish	[dʒ]usto	‘fair,’ ‘correct’
	Turkish borrowing	[dʒ]am	‘glass’
word-initial after vowel	follows historical distribution of Old Spanish	a[dʒ]ustar	‘to add’
	Turkish borrowing	a[dʒ]ile	‘hurry’
word-medial after nasal	follows historical distribution of Old Spanish	en[dʒ]unto	‘to add’
word-medial	Turkish borrowing (+suffix dji)	posta[dʒ]i ⁹¹	‘mailman’

Table 4.3 Distribution of /dʒ/

⁹¹ Turkish suffix added to Judeo-Spanish words to denote profession.

As demonstrated above, words that pertain to Old Spanish agree with the phonological distribution in Judeo-Spanish. However, we see examples such as a[dʒ]ile and posta[dʒ]í that are outside of the typical distribution patterns of Old Spanish. This is attributed to adstratal language influences, in this case, from Turkish. To follow is a list of lexicon in Judeo-Spanish that illustrates the incorporation of /ʒ/ in Judeo-Spanish

Distribution	Attributed to—	Example	
word-initial	French borrowing	[ʒ]urnal	‘newspaper’
		[ʒ]eneration	‘generation’
word-medial	follows historical distribution of Old Spanish	vi[ʒ]itar	‘to visit’
		i[ʒ]o	‘son’
		mu[ʒ]er	‘woman’

Table 4.4 Distribution of /ʒ/.

In the examples above, while we expect word-medial Judeo-Spanish lexemes to correspond to the distribution patterns found in Old Spanish, we witness examples of word-initial /ʒ/ as well. Again, this is due to adstratal language influence, in this case from French.

Turkish and French are two of the most influential languages on the phonological and lexical development of Judeo-Spanish, primarily due to historical reasons addressed in previous chapters. Among linguists of Judeo-Spanish, this is enough cause to extend the allophonic distribution of Old Spanish [dʒ] ~ [ʒ] into unique Judeo-Spanish phonemes /dʒ/ and /ʒ/. Thus, we can attribute two types of variation based on the source language of the Judeo-Spanish lexeme in question.

	Source language	Distribution
I	Judeo-Spanish word from Old Spanish	maintain [dʒ] ~ [ʒ] distribution
II	Judeo-Spanish word from diasporic language	maintain distribution as allowed for in source language

Table 4.5 Comparison of distribution between /dʒ/ and /ʒ/

While Judeo-Spanish varieties retain Old Spanish distribution of [dʒ], [ʒ], and [ʃ], and Modern Spanish varieties have replaced them with the voiceless velar fricative, /x/ is in fact a part of the Judeo-Spanish phonemic inventory, albeit for different reasons. This phoneme is found in lexical borrowings from various source languages in Judeo-Spanish, including Hebrew, Arabic, and Turkish. Examples include a[x]arvar ‘to beat,’ [x]azino ‘sick,’ and [x]aber ‘news.’

4.1.2 Devoicing of /z/

Another way in which Judeo-Spanish contrasts with Modern Spanish is due to voicing of the alveolar fricative. The historical development of this process is represented in the table below, tracing the roots of Judeo-Spanish, Peninsular Spanish, and Latin American Spanish to Old Spanish.

	Old Spanish	Istanbul Judeo- Spanish ⁹²	Peninsular Spanish	Latin American Spanish	English
I	/s/ /'pasa/	/s/ /'pasa/	/s/ /'pasa/	/s/ /'pasa/	's/he passes'
II	/z/ /'kaza/	/z/ /'kaza/	/s/ /'kasa/	/s/ /'kasa/	'house'
III	/ts/ /'bratso/	/s/ /'braso/	/θ/ /'braθo/	/s/ /'braso/	'arm'
IV	/dz/ /a'dzer/	/z/ /a'zer/	/θ/ /a'θer/	/s/ /a'ser/	'to do'

Table 4.6 Sibilants: Old Spanish, Judeo-Spanish, Peninsular Spanish, and Latin American Spanish, adapted from Hualde and Saul (2011:98).

This table illustrates that in Peninsular Spanish, Old Spanish apico-alveolar fricatives /s/ and /z/ collapsed into /s/ and Old Spanish dento-alveolar affricates /ts/ and /dz/ collapsed into /θ/. In Latin American and Andalusian Spanish, however, Old Spanish /s/, /z/, /ts/ and /dz/ all collapsed

⁹² While Hualde and Saul’s study examines the Judeo-Spanish of Istanbul, this paradigm can be extended to most varieties of Judeo-Spanish.

into /s/, known as the *seseo*. Finally, in Judeo-Spanish, Old Spanish voiceless /s/ and /ts/ collapsed into /s/, and voiced /z/ and /dz/ collapsed into /z/, thereby retaining sonority (Lipski 2009: 65). Thus, Old Spanish developed in three distinct ways in these varieties of Spanish.

Judeo-Spanish often contrasts words phonologically based on voicing of sibilants in word-medial intervocalic position. Bradley (2007) analyzes this phenomenon in regard to /s/ and /z/ in Judeo-Spanish, noting that this contrast often becomes neutralized when outside of intervocalic position. He also notes that both sibilants are neutralized to [z] when the following word begins with a vowel and to [s] before a pause. His examples include *maz o menos* ‘more or less,’ and *doz o tres* ‘two or three.’ The results of his study suggest that voicing may be best described as “variable process rather than as a categorical phenomenon” (49). Although these phonemes have minimal pairs in Judeo-Spanish, free-variation is often produced by speakers of the language. Such contrasts and variability will be further explored in the Chapter 5.

4.1.3 Merger of /b/ and /v/

Another phonological process that marks a historical divergence with Modern Spanish is the Judeo-Spanish maintenance of /b/ and /v/ as unique phonemes.

	Old Spanish	Judeo-Spanish	Modern Spanish
I	/b/→[b]	/b/→[b]	/b/→[b] →[β]
II	/v/→[β]	/v/→[v]	

Table 4.7 Historical distribution of /b/ ~ /v/ contrast, adapted from Amado Alonso (1967:21,46)

In Old Spanish, /b/ was in contrast with /v/ depending on the region. Lipski (2009) observes that Nebrija’s 1492 grammar as well as the 1529 *Diálogo de la lengua de Valdés* reveal that /b/ and /v/ were unique phonemes in Spain during this period (66). In Modern Spanish /b/ and /v/ would

merge and the former would become lenited (Hualde & Saul 2011). Word-initially, Judeo-Spanish is similar to Old Spanish, including when a word comes after another ending in a vowel. Thus, in Judeo-Spanish the [b] in ['bo.ka] remains [b] when in [la.bo.ka] 'the mouth.' This is unlike Modern Spanish whereas /b/ is lenited to [β] in intervocalic position. In Judeo-Spanish, the [v] in ['va.ka] remains [v] when preceded by a vowel as in [la.va.ka] 'the cow.' Compare this to Modern Spanish ['ba.ka] and [la.βa.ka].

In word-medial position, however, the contrast was not maintained from Old Spanish. Hualde and Saul (2011) attribute this to Latin in which words containing intervocalic /p/ yielded /b/ in Old Spanish (*sapēre*—*saber*), whereas Judeo-Spanish produced [sa'ver] 'to know.' This contrasts Latin word-medial [b] or [v] with Old Spanish [β] or [v] (*habēre*—*aver*) and Judeo-Spanish [a'ver]. In both of these cases, we see Judeo-Spanish producing [v]. In Judeo-Spanish, Old Spanish [b] has been preserved after the prefix *a-* as in [a'ba.fo] 'beneath' or [a.bol'tar] 'to return.' The word-medial contrast, however, has been preserved due to non-Spanish language borrowings such as *haber* [xa'ber] (Turkish: 'news') and *haver* [xa'ver] (Hebrew: 'business colleague,' or 'friend,' extended from Hebrew).

4.1.4 A Different Distribution: Yeísmo and Žeísmo

Yeísmo refers to the merger of the lateral palatal /ʎ/ with the fricative palatal /j/ to the latter phoneme.⁹³ Penny (1991) posits that this merger began in late Old Spanish, providing evidence

⁹³ The maintenance of /ʎ/, known as *lleísmo*, still occurs in some Northern and Central regions in Spain (i.e. Asturias and León) as well as in Paraguay and in certain high Andean plateaus (i.e. in Bolivia and Colombia).

in the fact that dialects of Judeo-Spanish utilize /j/ in their speech.⁹⁴ Depending on the location, the phoneme /j/ is produced in a variety of ways; allophones include [dʒ], [ʒ], [ʃ], and [tʃ], in addition to [j]. The various allophones produced from /j/ are often referred to as žeismo (Lipski 2009). The following table represents the allophonic distribution of [j] throughout the Spanish-speaking world.

DISTRIBUTION OCCURRENCE	
[dj] ~ [j]	usual in educated and urban Spanish in most areas of Spanish speech
[ʒ]	occurs in parts of Andalusia and America
[dʒ]	associated with Extremadura, Argentina, and Uruguay
[tʃ]	occurs in urban speech in the River Plate area
[ʃ]	appears in some varieties of Buenos Aires speech

Table 4.8 Productions of /j/, adapted from Penny (1991:93) and Schwegler, Kempff, and Ameal-Guerra (2010:293)

While [dʒ], [ʒ], and [ʃ] are realizations of /j/ in some varieties of Modern Spanish, they are phonemes in Judeo-Spanish, pertaining to an entirely different distribution. This overlap and difference became apparent in some of the New York City interviews. Informants M_{NYC}66 and F_{NYC}88 observed differences in the realizations of /j/ between their Dominican Spanish-speaking interlocutor and their own Judeo-Spanish, as demonstrated in the dialogues to follow. Only these two New York City informants spoke of this observation while conversing with their Spanish-speaking interlocutor. This might be expected to occur, however, in interviews taking place in

⁹⁴ Hualde and Saul (2011:91) consider this phoneme as an approximant instead of a fricative, thus /j/ and not /j̥/.

New York City, given that [dʒ] is common among the allophonic distribution of /j/ in the Caribbean Spanish variety spoken by both interviewers.

- (1) M_{NYC66} Una ga[j]ina. You know what ga[j]ina is? Po[j]o.
 I. Una ga[dʒ]ina
 M_{NYC66} Ga— (studders)
 I. Nosotros decimos ga[dʒ]ina.
 M_{NYC66} ¿Ga[dʒ]ina?
 I. Uhuh. Ustedes—
 M_{NYC66} En ladino, ga[j]ina.
 I. Ga[j]ina.
 M_{NYC66} *But*⁹⁵ po[j]o en español.
 I. Es po[j]o.
 M_{NYC66} Po[j]o, *yea, okay* lo mizmo. *Oh, that's interesting, you say*
 ga[dʒ]ina?
 I. *Yes, ga[dʒ]ina.*
 M_{NYC66} *Wow. Ok.*

In this conversation, M_{NYC66} makes an initial connection between Judeo-Spanish /dʒ/ and Dominican Spanish [dʒ], yet does not articulate why he calls this into question with his interlocutor. It is clear that he begins to ponder the use of [dʒ] in his interlocutor's speech, compared to its use in his own Judeo-Spanish. When M_{NYC66} notes that in Judeo-Spanish the word for chicken is ga[j]ina, his interlocutor repeats the word with the same pronunciation. Similarly, when he observes that chicken in Spanish is po[j]o, his interlocutor replicates his pronunciation. Though intrigued by his revelation, he does not appear to fully understand the distribution.⁹⁶ In the following dialogue with a Dominican Spanish-speaking interlocutor, F_{NYC88} notices a similar correlation between phoneme and allophone.

⁹⁵ English in italics.

⁹⁶ While outside the scope of this dissertation, in my personal teaching of Judeo-Spanish in Los Angeles, I have observed that students who speak a variety of Spanish (typically Mexican Spanish) as their L1 or heritage language often confuse the distribution of [dʒ], [ʒ], and [ʃ] in Judeo-Spanish. That is to say, they often produce [dʒo] instead of [jo] for 'I,' or [dʒamo] instead

- (2) I. [dʒ]a veo. Okay, *so*, las preguntas—
 F_{NYC88} Ah—
 I. Diga.
 F_{NYC88} Dishites⁹⁷ [ʒ]a veo. ¿De dónde vienes?
 I. Oh, mi papá y mi mamá son de la República Dominicana.
 F_{NYC88} Okay.
 I. *So*, hablo un español dominicano.
 F_{NYC88} Sí. *Okay*, por esto uzan [ʒ]a y no [j]a.
 I. Exacto.
 F_{NYC88} Y otros dizimos [j]a veo.
 I. Exactamente, *so* la variación.
 F_{NYC88} *Alright*, no importa.
 I. Ya cogió las pistas de dónde soy.
 F_{NYC88} Sí.
 I. [laughter]

Unlike M_{NYC66}'s dialogue, F_{NYC88} articulates on her interlocutor's [dʒ] compared to other Spanish varieties' [j]. She attributes this to the fact that her interlocutor is a speaker of Dominican Spanish, by noting, "por esto uzan [ʒ]a y no [j]a." Although the interlocutor uses [dʒ] consistently throughout her conversation, F_{NYC88} perceives it as [ʒ]. The interlocutor's use of [dʒ], however, prompts F_{NYC88} to ask where she is from, given the similarity to Judeo-Spanish. While both M_{NYC66} and F_{NYC88} discuss this with their interlocutors, neither discuss the fact that these two linguistic peculiarities are related to two different phenomena, that is to say the development of /dʒ/, /ʒ/, and /j/ with /x/, vs. /j/ with [dʒ]. This is to be expected, however, since, as Hayes (2009) notes, "when we speak, we automatically obey hundreds, perhaps thousands of phonological rules, but we can neither observe nor articulate what these rules are" (10). Given that these conversations occur in real-time, it is curious that both informants called this to their

of [jamo] for 'I call.' As mentioned, prepalatalization is one of the most salient features that distinguish Judeo-Spanish from Modern Spanish and, therefore, students tend to utilize these sounds more often than the language allows for.

⁹⁷ F_{NYC88} produces di[j]ites instead of Modern Spanish di[x]iste.

interlocutor's attention. This illustrates that both of these speakers were able to rely on their metalinguistic cognizance of the Spanish language to draw such conclusions.

4.2 Prior Research

Linguistic studies related to Judeo-Spanish are relatively few in number compared to other varieties of Spanish. From a sociolinguistic agenda, two of the most influential scholars on Judeo-Spanish are Tracy Harris and Rey Romero. Harris's (1994) research, published in *Death of a Language*, is based on her doctoral research in New York City and Israel, expanded to Los Angeles in the following years. In her fieldwork, she notes, "the Spanish used by the Puerto Ricans in New York and the Chicanos in Los Angeles, as well as the Spanish of other Spanish speakers in the areas, has had a great influence on the Judeo-Spanish of both New York and Los Angeles" (173). She highlights three of the phonological points of contact affecting Judeo-Spanish speech, mainly the replacement of:

- 1) prepalatals [dʒ], [ʒ], and [ʃ] by velar [x]
- 2) word-initial and intervocalic labiodental [v] by [b] or [β]
- 3) intervocalic alveolar [z] by voiceless [s]

Harris illustrates patterns of phonological transfer due to Modern Spanish in the Judeo-Spanish of her New York and Los Angeles informants, collected in 1978 (New York City) and 1985 (Los Angeles), in the following figure.

<i>Responses of Informants</i>				
<i>Phonetic Representation of Judeo-Spanish Word</i>	<i>Phonetic Representation of Modern Spanish Word</i>	<i>Modern Spanish Word</i>	<i>English Meaning</i>	<i>Sound Change</i>
[kaša]	[kaxa]	caja	box	[š]→[x]
[ižo, fižo]	[ixo]	hijo	son	[ž]→[x]
[mužer]	[muxer]	mujer	mother	
[kaleža]	[kayexa]	calleja	street	[j]→[x]
[inteližente]	[intelixente]	inteligente	smart	
[jente]	[xente]	gente	people	[j]→[x]
[joven]	[xoven]	joven	young	
[livro]	[libro]	libro	book	[v]→[b,β]
[estava]	[estaβa]	estaba	(I, s/he, it) was	
[ermoza]	[ermosa]	hermosa	beautiful	[z]→[s]
[roza]	[rosa]	rosa	rose	
[kezo]	[keso]	queso	cheese	[z]→[s]
[meza]	[mesa]	mesa	table	

Figure 4.1 Phonological transfer from Modern Spanish in the Judeo-Spanish of New York and Los Angeles informants, adapted from Harris (1994:176)

Romero (2013, 2015) revisits several of the questions addressed by Harris's work conducted in the late 1970s to early 1990s in a systematic and quantitative approach. In his 2013 article, Romero provides evidence that accommodation to velar [x] can best be described due to lexical borrowing given that it only occurs in those postalveolars/ prepalatals that have an [x] equivalent in Modern Spanish. He notes that this process of palatalization to velarization occurs in some lexical items more than others. His research is based on fieldwork in Istanbul Turkey, where 19 of his 45 informants demonstrated cases of accommodation to [x]. Using a multivariable analysis (VarbRul), he determines that social variables including age or gender did not have a significant role in accommodation to [x]. His results demonstrate that [ʒ] is most likely to condition accommodation to [x], followed by the lexemes ['i.ʒo] and ['i.ʒa] 'son' and

daughter.’⁹⁸ While /ʒ/ was realized as [x] in 27% of Romero’s informants who accommodated, /dʒ/ followed closely with 26% of occurrences. The least accommodation occurred with /ʃ/ → [x] only 6.6% of the time.

His results indicate that nearly 84% of all occurrences of accommodation were in eight lexical items, including: [‘i.ʒo] ‘son,’ [‘i.ʒa] ‘daughter,’ [mu‘ʒer] ‘woman,’ [‘vie.ʒo] and [‘vie.ʒa] ‘old,’ [dʒu‘ðjo] and [dʒu‘ði.a] ‘Jewish,’ and [‘dʒo.ven] ‘young.’ Given that eight of the nineteen lexical items cause most accommodation to [x], Romero posits that this phenomenon relies more heavily on lexicalization rather than phonological processes. Further evidence for his claim is that Romero’s informants never velarized those palatals that do not share historical distribution between Judeo-Spanish /dʒ/, /ʒ/, and /ʃ/ and Modern Spanish /x/. That is to say, while certain prepalatals in Judeo-Spanish lexicon ([‘i.ʒo] ‘son,’ [‘dʒen.te] ‘people,’ and [‘le.ʃos] ‘far’]) velarize in Modern Spanish ([‘i.xo] ‘son,’ [‘xen.te] ‘people,’ and [‘le. xos] ‘far’]), others do not. Thus, no informant over-extended this rule to produce [‘ka.ʒi] → *[‘ka.xi] ‘almost,’ or [buʃ‘kar] → *[bux‘kar] ‘to look for,’ each representing two distinct uses of palatalization in Judeo-Spanish that do not correspond to the typical patterns of velarization in Modern Spanish ([‘ka.si] and [bus‘kar]). A final argument for lexical borrowing as the cause for accommodation to [x] can be attested for in that informants regularly change stress from the Judeo-Spanish [dʒu‘ðjo] to the Modern Spanish [xu‘ði.o]. Thus, accommodation is not just phonological.

Romero’s 2015 study further assesses the role of lexicalization and lexical accommodation in Judeo-Spanish. In this study, Romero aims to expand the scope of his 2013 article by incorporating not only instances of phonological accommodation, but also that of lexical accommodation in the Prince Islands, Istanbul, and New York City. That is to say, in addition to

⁹⁸ All masculine and feminine words were categorized together, such as in the case of [‘i.ʒo] and [‘i.ʒa].

the phonological processes previously explored, he also accounts for entire lexical replacement from Judeo-Spanish (JS) to Modern Spanish (MS). Examples include: JS *merkar* vs. MS *comprar* ‘to buy,’ JS *hazino* vs. MS *enfermo* ‘sick,’ and JS *echo* or *lavoro* vs. MS *trabajo* ‘job.’ His results—via VarbRul analysis—indicate that in Istanbul, lexical accommodation is driven by the variable of gender with the category of ‘women’ being the most significant, followed by ‘nouns and adjectives’ and ‘sixty or younger.’ Romero notes, however, that this is not surprising since seventeen of the twenty-two informants in Istanbul were women. In the Prince Islands, the most significant variable for lexical accommodation was ‘sixty or younger,’ followed by ‘lexical’ and ‘phonological.’ In New York City, the most significant variable was age ‘sixty or younger,’ followed by ‘nouns and adjectives’ and ‘women.’

After running individual analysis on each city, Romero compares New York City to the Prince Islands. He chooses to not add Istanbul into this data “since a statistical analysis of all three populations would not prove realistic due to the large number of tokens from Istanbul” (14). Romero’s data includes the following tokens for each area researched: Istanbul (n=532), the Prince Islands (n=329), and New York City (n=156). The most significant variable in this analysis was location, ‘New York City,’ followed by ‘phonological replacement’ and ‘sixty or younger.’ Romero posits that the variable ‘location’ is most significant due to higher levels of contact among Sephardim with speakers of Modern Spanish in New York City than in the Prince Islands, or in general, throughout Turkey. Furthermore, phonological replacement occurs more than lexical replacement in determining whether a lexical item will be accommodated in Judeo-Spanish. Romero suggests that this could be understood in that phonological accommodation via velarization is more of an “effective mechanism” in accommodation than utilizing entirely divergent lexemes from Judeo-Spanish.

4.3 Methodology

Continuing off of previous research with speakers of Judeo-Spanish, the task that follows determines how Judeo-Spanish speakers interact with a Spanish-speaking interlocutor. In the sections to follow, I review the production experiment of this study and describe the methodology, including the design and procedure as well as the results. All twenty-five informants described in Chapter 2 participated in this study. However, given that three of these informants are also L1 speakers of Modern Spanish, I analyze their results separate from the rest of the informant pool.

Literature published in recent decades suggests that Sephardim velarize words that share a historical velar—prepalatal distribution when speaking in Judeo-Spanish with one another. As noted before, such an example would be pronouncing ['i.ʒo] as ['i.xo] ‘son.’ This shift can be attributed to a speaker’s contact with varieties of Modern Spanish. What happens, however, when Sephardim engage in conversation with speakers of Modern Spanish? Are they inclined to produce ['i.xo], or will the opposite phenomenon occur and will they produce ['i.ʒo]? That is to say, will Judeo-Spanish—their heritage language—influence the phonological production of their varying L2 proficiencies in Modern Spanish?

4.3.1 Judeo-Spanish and Modern Spanish Interaction

As many of the informants utilize a variety of Modern Spanish on a regular basis and all informants have attempted to communicate with a speaker of Modern Spanish at some point(s) in their life, this experiment served to elicit interaction between a Judeo-Spanish and a Modern Spanish speaker. Twenty-two of the informants had learned Spanish as a second language (L2) in a variety of settings (see Chapter 3) and demonstrate a range of proficiencies in the language.

Similar to the Judeo-Spanish sociolinguistic interview, this experiment was guided by a series of predetermined questions, this time in Modern Spanish. All conversations were recorded using an Olympic Digital Voice Recorder, WS-822.

Each informant spoke with a speaker of Modern Spanish. For this portion of the experiment, I collaborated with a total of four speakers of Spanish, intending to keep as many variables in place between them. These speakers would serve as the interviewers—the interlocutors—to the Judeo-Spanish-speaking informants. All interviewers were female college students (either in undergraduate or graduate school), with an average age of twenty-five. I thought it would be appropriate to select interviewers based on predominant varieties of Spanish spoken in the cities under investigation. Interviewers were all born in the United States and acquired Spanish from their parents who were all born abroad. The interviewers in New York City are children of Dominican parents and the interviewers in Los Angeles are children of Mexican parents. Each interviewer speaks the variety of Spanish they acquired from their parents, with additional features present due to contact with English as well as other dialects of Spanish in the United States. For example, both interviewers in Los Angeles speak a variety of Spanish closer to LAVS (Parodi 2011) than varieties indicative of (Standard) Mexican Spanish. I decided to collaborate with speakers of different varieties of Spanish since I wanted to make the interaction between the informant and the interviewer as natural as possible in the given city.

As confirmed in the sociolinguistic interviews, Los Angeles based Sephardim come into contact frequently with speakers of Mexican Spanish, and New York based Sephardim come into contact regularly with speakers of Puerto Rican or Dominican Spanish. Since I had already interviewed each informant earlier in Judeo-Spanish during the sociolinguistic interviews, I decided not to serve as their Spanish-speaking interlocutor. All four interviewers had minimal or

no knowledge of Judeo-Spanish prior to this experiment, a point that I indicated to each of the informants prior to their conversations. I asked each informant to speak to their interlocutor in a variety of Spanish that could be understood by both. The ultimate decision, however, was that of each informant and surely based on his or her interpretation of instructions, proficiency in modern varieties of Spanish, and other factors of accommodation, described later in this chapter.

Given the logistics of such a design, I alternated between two different interviewers in New York City and two in Los Angeles. This allowed me to make sure that interviews with informants were scheduled to their convenience. As such, each speaker of Judeo-Spanish was paired with one of the aforementioned interviewers according to location. Interviews typically took place at informants' homes or synagogues. The list of questions was adapted from Sarhon's (2014) study on Judeo-Spanish speakers in Turkey; questions addressed a variety of topics and elicited forms of speech related to the past, present, and future.⁹⁹ The average time for each of these interviews was 16 minutes. The interviewers were instructed to engage each informant in conversation and to direct conversation accordingly.

4.3.2 Research Questions

The goal of this study is to better understand what varieties of Spanish informants utilize when speaking with speakers of Modern Spanish. Do Judeo-Spanish speakers alter their Judeo-Spanish or speak in a modern variety of the language when communicating with a Spanish—non Judeo-Spanish—speaker? What are some of the salient phonological and lexical changes that occur? To answer these questions, our main research question is as follows:

⁹⁹ See Appendix B for questions (in Modern Spanish)

- Do informants use prepalatal or velar forms when speaking with a Modern Spanish interlocutor and, if so, do they interact, how often, and under which conditions does this most likely occur?

In order to address these questions, I transcribed all conversations between informants and their Spanish-speaking interlocutors. I recorded each time an informant used a word containing [x] in addition to any time the Judeo-Spanish prepalatals [dʒ], [ʒ], and [ʃ] were substituted for the velar, according to the distribution patterns previously discussed. Therefore, occurrences of *shabad*, *shabá*, or *shabat*, ‘Saturday,’ although they contain [ʃ], would not and do not produce [x]abad since the lexical item is from a source language outside of Spanish (or Romance languages for that matter). The same is true for the word *alhad*, ‘Sunday.’ Informants often auto-correct themselves when speaking; however, for the purposes of this study, I recorded only their first utterance for data collection.

4.3.3 Prepalatal to Velar Shift

Throughout interviews, informants would switch between Judeo-Spanish and Modern Spanish. One way to measure this switch between languages is by noting the replacement of prepalatal phonemes with velar /x/. These shifts happen at both the intersentential and intrasentential levels. Such shifts are unintentional, even when the informant is cognizant of the metalinguistic particularities between languages.

4.3.3.1 Intersentential Shift

During the sociolinguistic interviews outlined in Chapter 2, F_{LA}81 and F_{LA}78 began to discuss popular stories related to *Djoha*. Shortly after beginning her account, F_{LA}81 decides to engage in metalinguistic commentary to alert me of the differences between Judeo-Spanish and Spanish.

F_{LA}81 Yo mi rikordo una Djohá. Se kazó kon la—kon la boda, and the madre *says*,
‘mira i[3]o, kerido i[3]o.’ I[3]o, *see?* Instead of i[x]o, es i[3]o. Remember that.
That’s what we use. That’s the difference.

F_{LA}78 The pronunciation

F_{LA}81 You see?

F_{LA}78 You know that. I[3]o, mu[3]er.

F_{LA}78 quickly confirms F_{LA}81’s assessment and offers an additional example. Here, we also see code-switching into English, italicized throughout. F_{LA}81 continues with her story.

F_{LA}81 I[3]o not ixo. I[3]o kerido, mira. Kuando estás en la meza komiendo kon
tu—mu[x]er ke está ayi, dale unos o[x]os, dale unos o[x]os.’ *So, kualo aze*
Djohá?

After a slight pause following the word *tu*, ‘your,’ F_{LA}81 switches into Modern Spanish with the use of mu[x]er and o[x]os. This is particularly of interest since F_{LA}81 actually explains the difference between the two languages and soon reverts to Modern Spanish. This switch is intersentential since the speaker uses [3] in the beginning sentences and [x] in the latter.

4.3.3.2 Intrasentential Shift

When F_{NY88} speaks with her Spanish-speaking interlocutor, she begins to speak of her Ashkenazi neighbors.

F_{NY88} Al lado de mi viven marido y mu[ʒ]er [x]udíos, ashkenazím. Hay diferencia entre los sefardím, no en la ley, *but* en las culturas.

Again, we come across code-switching by the use of the word *but* from English. We also witness an intrasentential shift between Judeo-Spanish and Modern Spanish by the use of Judeo-Spanish [ʒ] in mu[ʒ]er, ‘woman,’ and Modern Spanish [x] in [x]udíos, ‘Jews.’ It appears that this word is fully lexicalized into Modern Spanish due to the shift in accentuation within the word (compare Spanish [x]udíos to Judeo-Spanish [dʒ]udiós). Unlike the intersentential case, this example is intrasentential since the shift occurs immediately within the same sentence.

4.4 Results

In this section, I review the results of the experiment outlined above. I begin by examining transfer from Judeo-Spanish into Modern Spanish by means of the phonemes /dʒ/, /ʒ/ and /f/, where /x/ may be expected. I then review the most common Judeo-Spanish lexicon that informants produce when speaking with their Spanish-speaking interlocutor. After describing phonological and lexical variation among informants, I assess how the three native Spanish-speaking informants performed in relation to the others. Using the statistical program GoldVarb, I account for a multivariate analysis of the data in order to determine which variables are most likely to condition palatalization among informants. After reviewing the variables, statistical

analysis, and constraint rankings, I describe how the Accommodation Theory could be employed in order to understand interaction between informants and their Spanish-speaking interlocutors.

4.4.1 Phonological Production

In tabulating the results, L2 informants (n=22) utilize a prepalatal instead of a velar in 35% of the lexicon that makes such a contrast between Judeo-Spanish and Modern Spanish. In noting which prepalatals are used most frequently, [dʒ] and [ʒ] are both used 33% of the time instead of [x], and [ʃ] is used 52% of the time where Modern Spanish replaces this phoneme with [x]. While [ʃ] is realized as [x] at a higher percentage than [dʒ] or [ʒ] to [x], we must keep in mind that the total number of tokens collected that maintains the [ʃ] ~ [x] contrast is much lower than the other groups. Thus, [dʒ] and [ʒ] were produced more frequently than [ʃ], just not in proportion to [x].

While these percentages may appear high, it is often highly used frequency words that are repeated among speakers. Of the sixty-seven realizations of [dʒ], six lexemes made up the majority of occurrences:

JS Lexeme	English	number of total occurrences
djugar	‘to play’	19
djudio	‘Jew’	14
djente	‘people’	8
endjunto	‘together’	6
djoven	‘young’	5
berendjena	‘eggplant’	4

Table 4.9 Most common lexemes where [dʒ] is maintained

In order to simplify categorizations, I have grouped together morphological variants of each lexical item. For example, *djugar* ‘to play’ could be *djugar* ‘to play,’ *djugan* ‘they play,’ and *djugava* ‘s/he played,’ etc. Similarly, *djudiό*, ‘Jew’ represents *djudiό* ‘Jew,’ *djudia* ‘Jewess,’

djudiós ‘Jews’ and *djudías* ‘Jewesses.’¹⁰⁰ Notice that these occurrences include several word classes, verbs, nouns, adjectives, and adverbs.

Of the sixty-one realizations of [ʒ], seven lexemes made up the majority of occurrences:

JS Lexeme	English	number of total occurrences
ijo	‘son’	19
mujer	‘woman’	12
vegetable	‘vegetable’	7
lenteja	‘lentil’	5
mijor	‘better’	3
konsejo	‘advice’	3
vijitar	‘to visit’	3

Table 4.10 Most common lexemes where [ʒ] is maintained

As with the previous table, *ijo* ‘son’ includes *ijo* ‘son,’ *ija* ‘daughter,’ *ijos* ‘sons/ children,’ and *ijas* ‘daughters.’

Of the twenty-eight realizations of [ʃ], three lexemes made up the majority of occurrences:

JS Lexeme		number of total occurrences
disho	“s/he said”	8
peshkado	“fish”	8
leshos	“far”	2

Table 4.11 Most common lexemes where [ʃ] is maintained

In the preterit, the Judeo-Spanish verb *dizir* ‘to say’ follows the paradigm: *yo dishe, tu dishites, el/eya disho, mozotros dishimos, vozotros dishitesh, and eyos/eyas disheron*. In this case, all forms contrast with Modern Spanish by the realization of [ʃ] instead of [x]. Several of these conjugations were included in the lexeme *disho* provided in the table above. Additionally, speakers often utilize *kashka* for ‘shell’ instead of Modern Spanish *casca*, occurring seven times

¹⁰⁰ Accent marks added for the purpose of clarification of stress.

in conversation. While this occurrence does not pertain to the [ʃ] ~ [x] replacement, it follows another pattern of palatalization from [s] to [ʃ].

Of the 156 prepalatal occurrences where velar [x] would be expected, 31— roughly 20% of the lexicon—pertain to vocabulary concerning food. As such, the lexemes *berendjena* ‘eggplant’ (n=4), *vejetable* ‘vegetable’ (n=7), *lenteja* ‘lentil’ (n=5), *peshkado* ‘fish’ (n=8), and *kashka* ‘shells’ (n=7), aside from phonologically contrasting with Modern Spanish, may be considered to the Sephardim as lexical loan words that are preserved phonologically across languages. The following table reviews informants’ maintenance of prepalatals within each of the following categories: 1) /x/ → /dʒ/, 2) /x/ → /ʒ/, 3) /x/ → /ʃ/, and /x/ → total.

Informant	/x/ → /dʒ/			/x/ → /ʒ/			/x/ → /ʃ/			/x/ → Total		
M_{LA}76	14	6	30%	4	0	0%	2	0	0%	20	6	23%
F_{LA}64	14	0	0%	2	0	0%	1	0	0%	17	0	0%
M_{LA}85	5	4	44%	0	13	100%	0	1	100%	5	18	78%
F_{LA}80	3	0	0%	7	0	0%	0	0	NA	10	0	0%
F_{LA}89	0	5	100%	1	2	67%	0	2	100%	1	9	90%
M_{LA}77	0	12	100%	5	6	55%	0	3	100%	5	21	81%
F_{LA}74	0	6	100%	0	2	100%	0	0	NA	0	8	100%
F_{LA}82	7	3	30%	11	0	0%	1	2	67%	19	5	21%
M_{LA}86	4	0	0%	13	1	7%	4	2	33%	21	3	13%
M_{LA}74	13	0	0%	17	0	0%	3	0	0%	33	0	0%
M_{LA}43	23	2	8%	9	0	0%	2	0	0%	34	2	6%
F_{LA}81	11	1	8%	8	5	38%	1	0	0%	20	6	23%
F_{LA}78	15	0	0%	16	1	6%	8	0	0%	39	1	3%
M_{NY}78	0	11	100%	0	8	100%	0	4	100%	0	23	100%
M_{NY}53	2	0	0%	9	0	0%	1	0	0%	12	0	0%
F_{NY}76	8	1	11%	11	1	8%	2	0	0%	21	2	9%
M_{NY}60	0	4	100%	0	2	100%	0	0	NA	0	6	100%
M_{NY}86	2	0	0%	4	2	33%	1	0	0%	7	2	22%
F_{NY}88	12	1	8%	4	7	64%	0	13	100%	16	21	57%
F_{NY}87	1	5	83%	0	2	100%	0	0	NA	1	7	88%
M_{NY}66	1	0	0%	0	0	NA	0	1	100%	1	1	50%
F_{NY}80	1	6	9%	1	9	90%	0	0	NA	2	15	88%
Total	136	67	33%	122	61	33%	26	28	52%	284	156	35%

Table 4.12 Maintenance of prepalatals among non-native Spanish informants

Four informants (F_{LA}64, F_{LA}80, M_{LA}74, M_{NY}53) used only velar [x] in their Spanish with no influence from Judeo-Spanish. Three informants (F_{LA}74, M_{NY}78, M_{NY}60) used the corresponding prepalatal in Judeo-Spanish each time velar [x] would be realized in Modern Spanish. Worthwhile to note is that F_{LA}74, M_{NY}78, and M_{NY}60 were the least comfortable in speaking Modern Spanish, even despite the fact that M_{NY}78 is married to F_{NY}75, who was raised in Spain and speaks Peninsular Spanish as her first language and Judeo-Spanish as her heritage language.

4.4.2 Lexical Production

Informants regularly incorporate Judeo-Spanish lexical items into their speech (table 4.13). The two lexemes that were utilized more than their Modern Spanish equivalents were *shabad* (66%) instead of *sábado* (34%) ‘Saturday’ and *sesh* (72.73%) instead of *seis* (27.27%) ‘six.’ The total number of tokens for ‘Saturday’ (n=97) greatly surpasses that of ‘six’ (n=11). Furthermore, while speakers regularly use *shabad* with their Spanish-speaking interlocutor, the context in which the word was typically used was in describing one’s childhood and certain traditions that they remember. Some of the informants who use *sábado* do so when describing their typical weekly schedule, and not necessarily their cultural and religious practices. Thus, while informants use *shabad* to reminisce upon and describe a weekly day of rest, others often use *sábado* when referring to their work schedule and daily routine. The table that follows reviews some of the more common lexical contrasts that were utilized by informants in their interactions.

Word	Language	Number of appearances	Total percent appearing
<i>beans</i>	MS—fri[x]oles	14	
	JS—fi[ʒ]ones	10	41.67%
<i>to work</i>	MS—trabajar	64	
	JS—lavorar	17	21%
<i>to change</i>	MS—cambiar	14	
	JS—trokar	2	12.5%
<i>Saturday</i>	MS—sábado	33	
	JS—shabad	64	66%
<i>Sunday</i>	MS—domingo	44	
	JS—alhad	9	17%
<i>to buy</i>	MS—comprar	6	
	JS—merkar	5	45.45%
<i>to read</i>	MS—leer	9	
	JS—meldar	7	43.75%
<i>six</i>	MS—seis	3	
	JS—sesh	8	72.73%

Table 4.13 Most frequent Judeo-Spanish lexicon used in speech with Spanish-speaking interlocutor

Let us return to the informants discussed in the section describing the phonological results, those of which pertained to a categorical rating of either utilizing Modern Spanish velars 100% or 0% of the time (and thus using the Judeo-Spanish forms entirely in the latter case). The four informants who used only velar [x] in their Spanish—F_{LA}64, F_{LA}80, M_{LA}74, M_{NY}53—rarely used any of the Judeo-Spanish lexicon specified above. The only case of Judeo-Spanish in their speech from the words listed above was that of *shabad* produced exclusively by F_{LA}64 (n=5) and F_{LA}80 (n=4), and in addition to *sábado* ‘Saturday’ by M_{LA}74 (*shabad* n=4, *sábado* n=6). F_{LA}80 used *fi[ʒ]ones* (n=2) yet did not use *fri[x]oles* ‘beans.’ Given that the phonological and lexical contrasts listed are the most frequent among informants, we can determine that these four speakers are some of the more practiced speakers of Modern Spanish.

The three informants who used the corresponding prepalatal in Judeo-Spanish each time velar [x] would be realized in Modern Spanish—F_{LA}74, M_{NY}78, M_{NY}60—display mixed results on their use of Judeo-Spanish and Modern Spanish lexicon from the previous list. Of the three informants, only M_{NY}78 utilizes some lexicon from Modern Spanish—exclusively for ‘Saturday’ *sábado* (n=9), and *seis* (n=1) vs. *sesh* (n=2) ‘six,’ as well an occurrence of *leer* ‘to read’ (n=1). Although M_{NY}78 used *leer*, he quickly auto-corrects himself to say *meldar*, followed by *leer* once again. As described earlier, I count only the first utterance for data collection, even if there is an auto-correction (or series of auto-corrections) to follow. From this data, we can determine that these three speakers rely heavily on their Judeo-Spanish knowledge, with little proficiency revealed in Modern Spanish at the time of the interview with the Spanish-speaking interlocutor. These results demonstrate that while combining results may serve to understand general trends among speakers, parsing the data reveals the heterogeneity of the informants, their proficiencies, and their preferences when positioned against a Modern Spanish-speaking interlocutor.

4.4.3 Native Spanish / Heritage Judeo-Spanish Informants

As previously noted, three informants of the original informant pool of twenty-five are native speakers of Modern Spanish, having been born or raised in a Modern Spanish-speaking country. Given that the focus of my dissertation deals with Sephardim who speak Judeo-Spanish as their heritage language and have learned Modern Spanish to various degrees as an L2, I have decided to discuss these three native Modern Spanish-speaking / heritage Judeo-Spanish speakers apart from the other twenty-two informants. The three informants that I will discuss separately in this section—in addition to in Chapter 5—are F_{NY}75, F_{NY}69, and M_{NY}48. The table to follow addresses some of their biographical data.

	Born in	Raised in	Years living in the United States
F _{NY} 75	Bulgaria	Spain	49
F _{NY} 69	Cuba		52
M _{NY} 48 ¹⁰¹	Mexico		13

Table 4.14 Biographical data for L1 Modern Spanish-speaking informants

Below, I provide data from their phonological production in Modern Spanish dialogue. As illustrated, nearly all utterances reveal the use of [x], as associated with Modern Spanish. The only case where palatalization was observed was by F_{NY}69. During her interview, F_{NY}69 produced the words *berendjena* ‘eggplant,’ *djudió* ‘Jewish,’ and *pishkadiko* ‘little fish.’ As observed in earlier results, Sephardim regularly maintain palatalization with lexical items related to food. This is the case with two of the three prepalatalized lexemes that F_{NY}69 produced.

Informant	/x/ → /dʒ/			/x/ → /z/			/x/ → /ʃ/			/x/ → Total		
F _{NY} 75	11	0	0%	16	0	0%	9	0	0%	36	0	0%
F _{NY} 69	5	2	29%	11	0	0%	5	1	17%	21	3	13%
M _{NY} 48	20	0	0%	10	0	0%	3	0	0%	33	0	0%
Total	36	2	5%	37	0	0%	17	1	6%	90	3	3%

Table 4.15 Maintenance of prepalatals among L1 Modern Spanish-speaking informants

In the lexical analysis of the experiment, F_{NY}75, F_{NY}69, and M_{NY}48 produced lexemes that were all part of Modern Spanish. The only case where Judeo-Spanish was used was by M_{NY}48 when discussing going to synagogue for *shabad*, therefore, using Judeo-Spanish, and only in one occurrence. These results, while coming from a small sample, demonstrate that speakers who have Modern Spanish as their first language and Judeo-Spanish as their heritage language, are able to distinguish the two varieties, at least when producing Modern Spanish. This will not

¹⁰¹ M_{NY}48 also spent limited amounts of time in the United States growing up, for limited

come as a major surprise, however, given that Modern Spanish serves as the High domain in the informants' diglossic distribution.

4.4.4 Sociolinguistic Variation among Speakers

The use of GoldVarb allows for sociolinguistic analysis of variables using a multivariate analysis, known as VarbRul. In addition to providing cross-tabulations between variables, it allows for constraint rankings as well as statistical analysis. The constraint rankings allow for analysis between the variants and the given context. One of the foremost advantages of using this statistical package is that it allows sociolinguistic factors to be accounted for alongside other variables.

Among the variables accounted for in determining the use of palatalization or velarization are: 1) gender, 2) current location: New York City or Los Angeles, 3) residence as of nine years of age: United States or abroad, 4) L1 Spanish: native or non-native, 5) origin of word/ source language: Spanish or other 6) lexical: related to food or other.

The variable 'interlocutor: Mexican Spanish-speaking or Dominican Spanish-speaking' was not included as a separate factor since this would be coded the same way as variable two, listed above. This is because coding for 'current location: New York City or Los Angeles' would be the same as that of the Spanish-speaking interlocutor. That is to say, the Mexican Spanish-speaking interlocutors¹⁰² always conducted the interviews in Los Angeles and the Dominican Spanish-speaking interlocutors always conducted those in New York City. Thus, any significant weight in this variable could have two potential conclusions.

¹⁰² More accurately, speakers of Los Angeles Vernacular Spanish (Parodi 2011)

Initially, I included the variable ‘born in the United States’ to this list, but replaced it with ‘residence as of nine years of age,’ to include those who came to the country early in their childhood. For these informants, English would be their L1. Finally, given that several of the lexical items pertained to food, I decided to code this as an additional variable. Thus, I would be able to determine if any phonological changes were occurring due to the type of lexicon used.

The purpose of using VarbRul is to determine if these independent variables influence the production of the dependent variable, velarization or palatalization. We are unable to break down the analysis of palatalization further (the use of /dʒ/, /ʒ/, or /ʃ/) since the data often yields *knock-outs*. *Knock-outs* is the term used in VarbRul to note any variable that occurs either 0% or 100% of the time, thus producing no variation. Some informants did not necessarily produce words containing either /x/, /dʒ/, /ʒ/, or /ʃ/. Another term that VarbRul uses is *singleton*, which refers to data that only occurs once within a given factor group. *Singletons*, however, did not occur in this data set. From the twenty-five informants, this data set consists of 804 tokens containing either palatalization or velarization.

In order to determine which independent variables determine the output of the dependent variable, we ran a binomial up and down analysis, which adds factor groups one at a time in the ‘stepping up run’ and removes them one at a time in the ‘stepping down run.’ The results determine the best run, which factors are significant, and the log likelihood of the constructed model. This test searches for the lowest log likelihood in order to provide for the best model that accounts for the data. While also determining significance, the binomial up and down analysis values a lower log likelihood over a more statistically significant p-value. Table 4.16 reviews the results from this run.

BINOMIAL UP and DOWN ANALYSIS	
BEST STEPPING UP RUN	BEST STEPPING DOWN RUN
Run # 22, 37 cells: Convergence at Iteration 9	Run # 23, 37 cells: Convergence at Iteration 9
Input 0.320	Input 0.320
Group # 1 -- M: 0.548, F: 0.460	Group # 1 -- M: 0.548, F: 0.460
Group # 2 -- L: 0.384, N: 0.651	Group # 2 -- L: 0.384, N: 0.651
Group # 3 -- A: 0.450, U: 0.579	Group # 3 -- A: 0.450, U: 0.579
Group # 4 -- S: 0.590, V: 0.094	Group # 4 -- S: 0.590, V: 0.094
Group # 5 -- 6: 0.425, 7: 0.637	Group # 5 -- 6: 0.425, 7: 0.637
Group # 6 -- \$: 0.476, %: 0.706	Group # 6 -- \$: 0.476, %: 0.706
Log likelihood = -440.047	Log likelihood = -440.047
SIGNIFICANCE = 0.041	Groups eliminated while stepping down: None
CODING, WHEREAS: 1) gender: m=male, f=female 2) current location: L=Los Angeles, N= New York City 3) residence as of nine years of age: A=abroad, U=United States 4) L1 Spanish: S=non-native, V=native 5) origin of word: 6= Spanish, 7= Other 6) lexical: %=food, \$=other	

Table 4.16 Binomial up and down analysis

As illustrated, the log likelihood of this model is -440.047, whereas $p < 0.05$. The results indicate that all variables prove significant. This is determined in that no groups were eliminated in either analysis, where variables that prove insignificant would be removed. The two analyses selected should include the same data, which is attested for in the table.

We also ran a binomial one level analysis to review the factor weight as well as input of all factors against the dependent variable. This analysis accounted for all data at the same time without adding levels. The factor weight indicates the probability of the variable occurring

during the rule application, the application total refers to the proportion of the dependent variable, and the input and weight together represent the combined effect of the probability and the proportion. The results from this run are shown in the following table.

BINOMIAL ONE LEVEL ANALYSIS				
Run # 1, 37 cells, n= 804				
Convergence at Iteration 9				
Input 0.320				
Group	Factor	Weight	App/Total	Input & Weight
1:	Male	0.548	0.36	0.36
	Female	0.460	0.36	0.29
2:	LA	0.384	0.30	0.23
	NYC	0.651	0.43	0.47
3:	Abroad	0.450	0.27	0.28
	US	0.579	0.50	0.39
4:	Non-Native	0.590	0.41	0.40
	Native	0.094	0.06	0.05
5:	Spanish	0.425	0.27	0.26
	Other Source	0.637	0.51	0.45
6:	Food	0.706	0.58	0.53
	Other	0.476	0.33	0.30
LOG LIKELIHOOD: -440.047				

Table 4.17 Binomial one level analysis; Application value: Occurrence of prepalatalization

We note that the log likelihood of -440.047 matches the binomial up and down analysis, but does not review which factors are significant in the production of the application value (the dependent variable). This information is verified from the prior analysis of the binomial up and down analysis. While provided with factor weights, we must reorganize the results to clarify which factors are the most indicative of production of the dependent variable.

Tagliamonte (2006, 2012) notes that factor weights range from 0 to 1, and when the factor weight is closer to 1, it typically favors the application value more than those factor weights closer to 0, which are said to disfavor it. This, of course, is relative to the other factor weights in order to determine the relationship between independent variables on the dependent variable. This positioning is referred to as a constraint ranking. In the table to follow, I include the factor weights just reviewed. The left side of the table represents the constraint ranking for the most significant variables that lead to velarization among informants. On the right, I also include the constraint ranking for the same variables in determining the production of palatalization; these results were collected by selecting the application value (dependent variable) set to lexicon containing palatalization (Judeo-Spanish).

CONSTRAINT RANKING	
by FACTOR WEIGHT	
VELARIZATION	PALATALIZATION
Native: 0.906	Lexical (food): 0.706
LA: 0.616	NY 0.651
Spanish origin: 0.575	Non-Spanish origin: 0.637
Abroad: 0.550	Non-native Spanish: 0.590
Female: 0.540	United States: 0.579
Lexical (other): 0.524	Male: 0.548
Male: 0.452	Lexical (other): 0.476
United States: 0.421	Female: 0.460
Non-native: 0.410	Abroad: 0.450
Non-Spanish origin: 0.363	Spanish origin: 0.425
NY: 0.349	LA: 0.384
Lexical (food): 0.294	Native: 0.094

Table 4.18 Constraint ranking by factor weight

As seen from this table, the factors under velarization are inversely related to those under palatalization. Factor weight values change, however, according to which dependent variable we consider. Values above 0.5 are indicated in bold, since they are more likely to favor the production of the dependent variable.

From these results, we see that native speakers of Modern Spanish (n=3) were most likely to keep Spanish lexicon velarized when speaking with a Spanish-speaking interlocutor. Conversely, they were the least likely to palatalize lexicon in Spanish (borrow from Judeo-Spanish). If we look at the leading factors for palatalization among informants, we see that the most significant factor from the data collected was the use of a lexeme related to food. Terms for food are often lexicalized when informants are speaking with Spanish-speaking interlocutors and thus include the palatalized Judeo-Spanish lexicon. This may be seen as a common phenomenon when languages and their respective cultures come into contact with one another and adopt certain lexical items, particularly related to food and culture.

Informants from New York were more likely to palatalize. This variable takes into account the three native Spanish speakers. Since these three speakers produced low rates of palatalization, the results suggest that the remaining informants are those who produced the majority of these forms. Additionally, informants tend to palatalize lexicon that comes from a source language other than Modern Spanish. Thus, informants are more likely to produce the velar form of a word when speaking to their Spanish-speaking interlocutor when the word is of Spanish origin. This is something that informants must be aware of since it is respected in the majority of instances. Non-native speakers of Modern Spanish (n=22) are more likely to keep palatalized lexicon in their speech when compared to the native speakers. Those born in the United States or who came to the country before age nine are also more likely to use Judeo-Spanish than those who were born abroad and came to the country later in life. Despite exposure to the varieties of Modern Spanish in New York City and Los Angeles, informants who have lived in the United States longer are more likely to utilize Judeo-Spanish when speaking with Spanish-speaking interlocutors than those who came to the country later. Of course, each of the

informants has different proficiency levels of Modern Spanish from their previous home countries. Males are also somewhat more likely to keep palatalized forms in their speech. Comparing this result with the sociolinguistic interviews, more of the female informants had contact at home with Modern Spanish-speaking aids or assistants whereas men often noted using the language in work settings. This may account for why males are more likely to produce velarized forms than females when in contact with speakers of Modern Spanish.

4.5 Accommodation Theory

When speakers—or communities of speakers—of different varieties of a language are in contact with one another, it is common for one to accommodate their language to that of the other. Giles, Coupland, and Coupland's (1991) Accommodation Theory reviews two processes that can take place: *convergence* and *divergence*. Whereas convergence serves to bring speakers closer to one another through acts of speech, divergence parts speakers in an attempt to retain one's identity. To achieve convergence or divergence, a speaker implements "a strategy whereby individuals adapt to each other's communicative behaviors in terms of a wide range of linguistic-prosodic-nonverbal features including speech rate, pausal phenomena and utterance length, phonological variants, smiling, gaze, and so on" (Giles, Coupland, and Coupland 1991: 7). Thus, the Accommodation Theory emphasizes extralinguistic and paralinguistic resources that a speaker may apply in a given act of speech. Using this theory helps us to understand the results of our production experiment and the varieties of speech that each informant utilizes when in contact with a speaker of Modern Spanish.

The purpose of the Accommodation Theory, as Giles et. al. suggest, is to present the theory "less as a theoretical edifice and more as a basis for sociolinguistic explanation" (3). This

theory relies heavily on psychological reasoning for the realization of certain linguistic variables that a speaker may produce. Thus, in order to assess an act of accommodation, one must look beyond the quantitative results and explore the qualitative internal relations between speakers to determine why such change or variation occurs.

4.5.1 Convergence

With the act of convergence, speakers may alter the variety of language they speak to that of their interlocutor. This change may either be temporary or alter the speakers' language for an extended period of time. Convergence may occur for a variety of reasons and can include the speakers' desire to fit in with a certain group. This model allows for speakers to hide certain linguistic features in their speech that mark them as different. Substantial contact and admixture between two varieties of language can eventually result in a variety similar to that of a koiné.

In the case of our analysis, it is clear that variation occurs among informants when in contact with a Modern Spanish-speaking interlocutor. These changes are conditioned by certain variables as revealed by our multivariate analysis. However, such an analysis cannot account for why this phenomenon occurs in the first place. Variation in phonology and lexicon between Judeo-Spanish and Modern Spanish occurs both within group (Judeo-Spanish to Judeo-Spanish speech) as I review in the aforementioned literature as well as out of group (Judeo-Spanish to Modern Spanish speech) as I address here. The results show that, quantitatively, some informants utilize phonological features and lexicon from Judeo-Spanish when speaking with a Modern Spanish-speaking interlocutor, but they do not account for the fact that some are speaking mostly in Judeo-Spanish since their proficiencies in Modern Spanish (as an L2) vary from speaker to speaker. This is where the Accommodation Theory proves useful.

All informants are heritage speakers of Judeo-Spanish, and most do not use the language on a regular basis. In all cases, varieties of Modern Spanish influence the production of their Judeo-Spanish. Informants often learn how to accommodate to a Modern Spanish-speaking interlocutor by altering certain phonological features (prepalatal to velar) or certain lexicon. In an attempt to sound similar to their interlocutor, informants regularly velarize palatals in Judeo-Spanish. For example, informants F_{LA}64, F_{LA}80, M_{LA}74, and M_{NY}53 always implement [x] in the place of a palatal when in conversation with their Modern Spanish-speaking interlocutor. As I can confirm from their sociolinguistic interviews, these four informants produce prepalatals when speaking in Judeo-Spanish. The speech variety that they utilize with their Spanish-speaking interlocutor, however, mirrors that of Modern Spanish; they accommodate to the speech of their interlocutor.

4.5.2 Divergence

Divergence occurs in speech when speakers decide that some sort of separation or distinction needs to be made apparent with their interlocutor. Such divergence allows for speakers to use a variety of language that may be more familiar to them. However, they may also decide to exaggerate certain features, or at least increase production of them, in order to strengthen their differences or to mark a clear distinction in the identity between speakers. Thus, while convergence may be seen as “a strategy of identification with the communication patterns of an individual internal to the interaction,” divergence is “a strategy of identification with linguistic communicative norms of some reference group external to the immediate situation” (Giles, Coupland, and Coupland 1991: 27). A speaker may make a conscious decision to distance themselves from their interlocutor by using such techniques.

Informants of this study regularly implement divergence as a method of accommodation to their Modern Spanish-speaking interlocutor. While informants regularly velarize and include lexicon unique to Modern Spanish, such acts of accommodation are not always consistent and are prone to occasional omission. Other times, the realization of the palatalized word is a conscious decision when the word pertains to a certain semantic category, comes from a source language other than Spanish, or when the speaker is not familiar with the Modern Spanish equivalent. Informants F_{LA}74, M_{NY}78, and M_{NY}60 never produced velarized forms in their speech, and thus, are speaking a mostly Judeo-Spanish variety with their interlocutor. While informants note some proficiency in Modern Spanish, they may be using Judeo-Spanish so as to demonstrate to their interlocutor how their Spanish is different. Even though some informants speak a variety of Spanish closer to that of their interlocutor—Latin American Spanish—some avoid utilizing the *seseo* by producing /θ/. While converging to the interlocutor by using Latin American Spanish, they are diverging from them by using a phoneme that does not pertain to either of their varieties of Spanish. Therefore, divergence can serve as a useful tactic for informants to decide how they want to position themselves in front of their interlocutor.

4.6 Summary

Linguistic features from varieties of Modern Spanish regularly affect the production of Judeo-Spanish. By exploring the historical development of certain phonemes in Judeo-Spanish and Modern Spanish, we are able to understand patterns of transfer among languages today. Since all informants note coming in contact—many quite regularly— with speakers of Modern Spanish, this chapter explores what variety of language informants produce when in such situations of contact. In order to provide for the most authentic data, each informant spoke to a speaker of

Modern Spanish. Informants in Los Angeles were paired with a speaker of Mexican heritage who spoke Los Angeles Vernacular Spanish, and those in New York City were paired with a speaker of Dominican Spanish. Given the demographics of these two cities, these are the types of Spanish with which informants are most familiar.

Let us now turn to our research agenda for this chapter. Our primary research question from this experiment was as follows:

- Do informants use prepalatal or velar forms when speaking with a Modern Spanish interlocutor and, if so, do they interact, how often, and under which conditions does this most likely occur?

After transcribing all interviews, we accounted for all cases of prepalatalization as well as velarization in order to determine when each was used. The non-native Spanish speakers (n=22) used prepalatalized lexicon in their speech in 35% of their speech. The native Spanish speakers (n=3) only produced prepalatalized forms at a rate of 3%.

We utilize the sociolinguistic multivariate analysis known as VarbRul to assess which independent variables affect the production of the dependent variable, prepalatalization. The following independent variables were included: 1) gender, 2) current location: New York City or Los Angeles, 3) residence as of nine years of age: United States or abroad 4) L1 Spanish: native or non-native, 5) origin of word/ source language: Spanish or other 6) lexical: related to food or other. All of these variables proved to be significant at a p-value of less than 0.05. As determined by VarbRul's constraint ranking analysis, the most frequent occurrence when an informant utilized a prepalatalized lexeme was due its semantic content. I included this variable as a factor group given an initial review of the data set. Lexicon referring to food—Sephardic or not—was often produced as in Judeo-Spanish, and is most likely to be lexicalized as such in the

informants' mind. Following this, informants from New York were more likely to palatalize—something that could be due to informants' knowledge that their interlocutor also includes prepalatals (allophones) in their speech, albeit according to a different distribution, that of /j/. Words of non-Spanish origin appear next in the ranking for when informants produce Judeo-Spanish palatalized forms. This is followed by the category of non-native Modern Spanish speakers being most likely to palatalize lexicon. Such a ranking can be understood when compared to the native Modern Spanish-speaking informants who rarely use Judeo-Spanish in their Modern Spanish-to-Modern Spanish contact. Next, informants who were born in or came to the United States prior to age nine were more likely to phonologically implement Judeo-Spanish forms of speech with their Modern Spanish-speaking interlocutor. It is likely that these informants were less proficient in Modern Spanish than those who came to the United States in the years to follow, three of which are native speakers of the modern variety. Finally, it was determined that gender played a role in determining palatalization as well, whereby men utilized Judeo-Spanish forms more often than women. Several male informants indicated throughout their sociolinguistic interviews that they often use Judeo-Spanish with speakers of Modern Spanish at work, whereas a number of women noted that they use forms of Modern Spanish that they have acquired with assistants in and around their house.

While a quantitative approach to the speech production of informants engaging in dialogue with Modern Spanish-speaking informants serves to determine the social variables that may cause linguistic change, a qualitative understanding of the community at large is essential in ascertaining why such variation occurs. The Accommodation Theory is one such attempt in understanding the varieties of language that informants produce when interacting with a speaker of Modern Spanish. While all informants speak Judeo-Spanish as attested for in their

sociolinguistic interviews, their proficiency levels in Modern Spanish as either an L1 or L2 vary by speaker. Judeo-Spanish rarely interferes with the three informants who are native speakers of Modern Spanish. This is due to Modern Spanish being situated at a higher—more familiar—diglossic setting. The majority of informants—non-native Modern Spanish speakers—implement strategies of convergence or divergence, however, when in contact with Modern Spanish. While some use elements of Judeo-Spanish speech with their Modern Spanish-speaking interlocutor due to uncertainty in Modern Spanish, others do so as a tactic to differentiate their language from that of their interlocutor. In other cases, informants converge to the language of their interlocutor and produce a variety of speech much closer to Modern Spanish than Judeo-Spanish, primarily by the replacement of phonological features and lexical items. This theory should be considered together with the results from the multivariate analysis so as to understand both the sociolinguistic variables that condition variation as well as the plethora of reasons informants may decide to speak the way they do when in contact with a speaker of Modern Spanish.

5

JUDEO-SPANISH CONTACT WITH MODERN SPANISH: PERCEPTION

5. Introduction

In an attempt to understand the patterns of production among speakers, this chapter explores perception among the pool of informants by categorically distinguishing between Judeo-Spanish and Modern Spanish lexicon. In this chapter, I review the methodology and results of the perception experiments. Nearly all experiments working with Judeo-Spanish are of the production variety. By conducting an experiment that tests perception, however, we are able to postulate additional claims as to why informants produce certain features in their speech. As such, this chapter serves to complement as well as expand the scope of the previous one.

As previously reviewed, Judeo-Spanish and Modern Spanish lexicon often vary in regard to one distinguishing phoneme or the use of an entirely different lexeme. In the first case, the meaning of a word is the same in both Judeo-Spanish and Modern Spanish and only differs by one phoneme (or allophone). This is often traced to the historical development of the Spanish language, as reviewed in Chapter 4; see table 5.1.

Phonetic Contrast	JS vs. Modern Spanish	English
[dʒ] vs. [x]	['dʒus.to] vs. ['xus.to]	'fair'
[ʒ] vs. [x]	['o.ʒa] vs ['o.xa]	'page'
[ʃ] vs. [x]	['le.ʃos] vs. ['le.xos]	'far'
[v] vs. [b] and [β]	['be.vo] vs. ['be.βo]	'I drink'
[z] and [s]	['me.za] vs. ['me.sa]	'table'

Table 5.1 Phonological distinctions in lexical items between Judeo-Spanish and Modern Spanish

As demonstrated from these examples, despite the replacement of a single phoneme, the meaning of each word remains the same between languages.

The other case in which Judeo-Spanish and Modern Spanish lexicon differ is when the lexemes contrast entirely. These Judeo-Spanish lexemes typically have a linguistic origin in a non-Iberian or non-Romance language; examples of this are included in table 5.2.

Judeo-Spanish	Modern Spanish	English	Judeo-Spanish origin
<i>araba</i>	<i>coche</i>	'car'	Turkish
<i>piron</i>	<i>tenedor</i>	'fork'	Greek
<i>nona</i>	<i>abuela</i>	'grandmother'	Italian
<i>shabad</i>	<i>sábado</i>	'Saturday'	Hebrew
<i>alhad</i>	<i>domingo</i>	'Sunday'	Arabic

Table 5.2 Examples of lexical differences between Judeo-Spanish and Modern Spanish

This brief list serves to demonstrate Judeo-Spanish lexicon that is divergent from its Modern (standard) Spanish equivalent. This list differs from that provided in table 5.1 in that entire lexemes differ between languages, and one cannot substitute one phoneme for another to arrive at the Judeo-Spanish equivalent (i.e.: compare Modern Spanish ['sa.βa.ðo] to Judeo-Spanish [fa'bat] and not ['sa.va.ðo] for 'Saturday').

5.1 Methodology

This experiment consists of two phases. I administered identification tasks using a programmed script via Praat on a MacBook Pro laptop. The two tasks were divided into 1) real words and 2) nonce words. In each task, informants heard a series of words (tokens) and were asked to determine if the items heard pertained—or were more likely to pertain—to *Ladino* or *Spanish*. In an effort to keep the responses categorical and binomial, the option 'both' was not included. I reviewed with informants that while 'Ladino' referred to the 'Judeo' variety of the language, 'Spanish' would refer to 'Modern Spanish' or, as many of the informants preferred, 'Castilian.' I avoided utilizing 'Judeo-Spanish' in this case so as to minimize confusion on screen.

All tokens were recorded via Praat at 44100 Hertz through an external CAD U37 USB Studio Condenser Recording Microphone. For these recordings, I collaborated with a native speaker of Mexican Spanish who holds a doctorate in Hispanic Linguistics. Prior to recording, we went over the unique features of Judeo-Spanish phonology and reviewed each token. These recordings were used in New York City as well as Los Angeles. All tokens were randomized within data sets (n=2). Each informant received one data set according to random distribution. The following table exemplifies the counterbalanced order in which informants were exposed to tokens in the real word task experiment.

Example Set 1	Example Set 2	English
<i>hijo</i> (MS)	<i>ijo</i> (JS)	‘son’
<i>disho</i> (JS)	<i>dijo</i> (MS)	‘s/he said’
<i>djusto</i> (JS)	<i>justo</i> (MS)	‘fair’
<i>leer</i> (MS)	<i>meldar</i> (JS)	‘to read’

Table 5.3 Example data sets in real word perception experiments

Once speakers were ready to begin, they would see the same instructions on each page: “Choose between Spanish and Ladino.” All tokens were dictated only once since we wanted the informants’ first impression in categorical perception. In the event that a speaker did not hear the word, he/ she was instructed to select based on his/ her first instinct and continue with the experiment. Informants utilized Sennheiser HD201 headphones for this task so as to minimize any potential outside noise. A standard wireless mouse was connected to the laptop for users to select between languages. A few informants, however, were unfamiliar with using computers and unable to maneuver the mouse; therefore, upon their response, I controlled the selection of tokens.¹⁰³ As displayed in figure 5.1, clicking on either ‘Spanish’ or ‘Ladino’ would turn the selection button red; informants would then have to click on ‘OK’ to confirm their answer.

¹⁰³ Response times were recorded for each selection but, due to my occasional assistance, I did not include this data in my results.

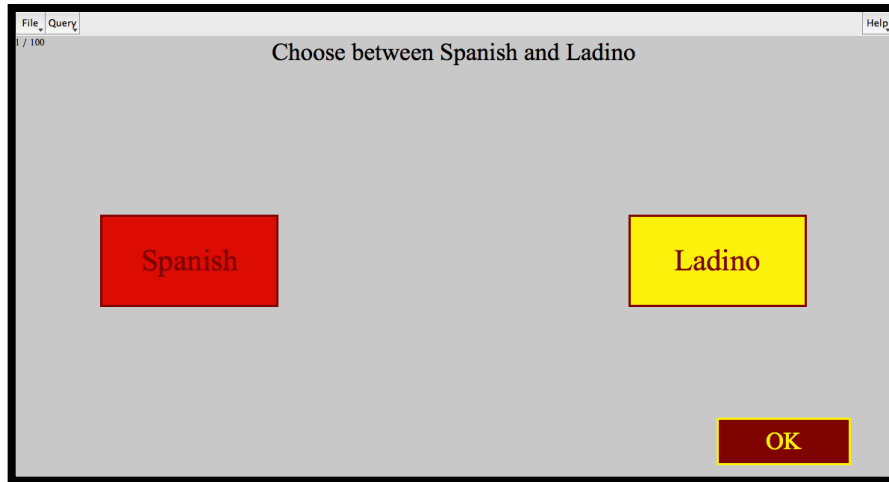


Figure 5.1 Interface seen upon selecting a language

Twenty-four informants participated in this experiment. One informant was unable to participate due to issues with hearing at the time of the experiment. Given the average age of all informants, this is something that should be considered. Similar to the production experiment, I will report on the results of the three native Spanish speakers separately.¹⁰⁴ I administered a practice set of tokens (n=3) to all informants to ensure that the volume and the positioning of the headphones were to their liking. Once completed, informants took the real word identification task.

5.1.1 Real Word Identification Task

The real word identification task consisted of one hundred (n=100) tokens. The primary purpose of this experiment was to collect data suggesting perception between Judeo-Spanish and Modern Spanish based on phonological divergence among prepalatals and velars in these languages. While collecting information regarding the perception of lexically similar but phonologically different tokens (prepalatal vs. velar), other tokens included—distractors—served to assess

¹⁰⁴ Three of the twenty-four tested

perception between /b/ and /v/ contrasts, /s/ and /z/ contrasts, and filler word lexical disparities between Judeo-Spanish and Modern Spanish. The total number of words that diverged in prepalatal-velar distribution in this experiment was forty-two (n=42). One-third of these tokens included /dʒ/, one-third /ʒ/, and one-third /ʃ/. Given that the real word identification task was counterbalanced, however, in any given data set (a total of 2), speakers were exposed to 21 prepalatals and 21 velars (/x/). The figures below illustrate the categories assessed throughout this task. Since there were a total of 100 tokens, the actual token values correspond to the percentage as well.

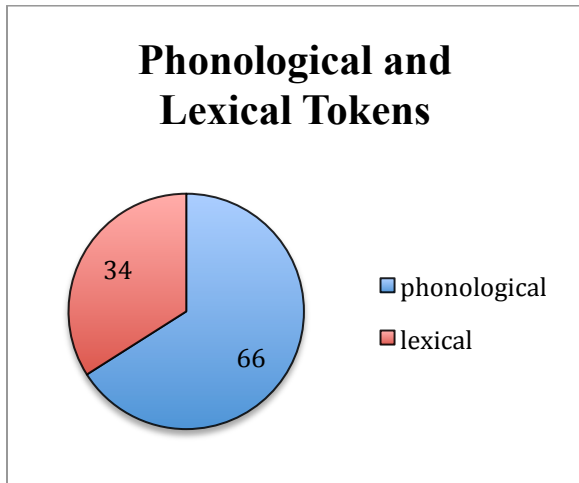


Figure 5.2 Real Word Categories of Tokens

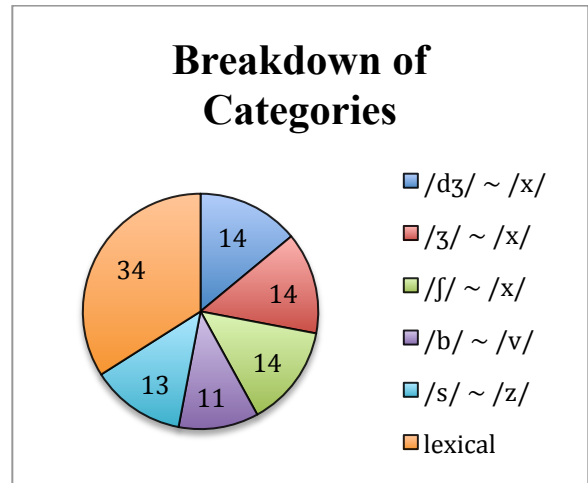


Figure 5.3 Real Word Breakdown of Tokens

Informants would hear the first token automatically after the introductory page containing instructions. Informants were instructed the following:

"This is a listening experiment. You will hear each word once. You must then select whether that word is Spanish or Ladino. Please click anywhere to begin. You will need to select OK to lock in your answers."

Upon hearing a word, informants would determine whether it pertained to Spanish or Ladino. Hearing ['dʒen.te], for example, would likely prompt an informant to select 'Ladino,' while another who heard ['xen.te], 'people,' would be inclined to select 'Spanish.' No visual cues were presented on screen so the only assessment was by means of auditory perception. Since informants range in proficiencies in both Judeo-Spanish and Modern Spanish, they had to rely on their first instinct. Informants were not able to return to prior tokens once having confirmed an answer.

5.1.2 Nonce Word Identification Task

After completing the real word identification task, informants were instructed that the last phase of the experiment would be similar, only in that the next set of tokens contained "nonce words," invented words that do not pertain to either language. Informants received the following on-screen instructions:

"This is a listening experiment. These are NOT real words in any language. You will hear each nonce word once. You must then select whether that word sounds like it could be a Spanish or Ladino one. Please click anywhere to begin. You will need to select OK to lock in your answers."

Upon reading the instructions, I reviewed with each informant that they understood the instructions and were to select to which language the token could more likely pertain, 'Spanish' or 'Ladino.' For this task, there were fifty (n=50) tokens. Most nonce tokens included a prepalatal vs. velar contrast (/dʒ/ vs. /x/, /ʒ/ vs. /x/, and /ʃ/ vs. /x/) as well as fillers with /v/ and

/z/. The following figure illustrates the number of tokens pertaining to each phonological group, twenty percent for each; each category contained ten tokens.

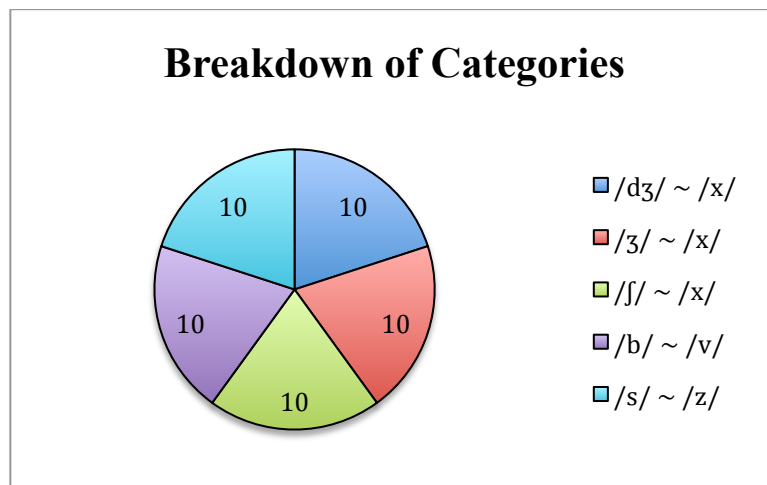


Figure 5.4 Nonce Word Breakdown of Tokens

Similar to the real word identification task, informants had to determine whether a token such as [ja'fon] was more likely to pertain to Spanish or Ladino. All nonce words were created following the syllabification of Modern Spanish and Judeo-Spanish and, as such, were often close to, or rhymed with, similar real words. One would expect that [ja'fon] would have enticed the informant to select Ladino for this token, primarily based on the intervocalic prepalatal voiceless fricative. Given that /s/, /v/ and /x/ exist as phonemes in Judeo-Spanish, in this experiment, we determine whether the informants associate these sounds more with Judeo-Spanish or Modern Spanish.

5.1.3 Real Word vs. Nonce Word Identification Tasks

The reason for including a real word identification task is to determine how informants categorically perceive Judeo-Spanish and Modern Spanish, if at all. While one differing phoneme is the only divergence among many of the words included, other words—fillers to this

experiment— demonstrate lexical variation beyond single phonological deviation. For example, one informant may hear Judeo-Spanish [mer'kar] while another will hear Modern Spanish [kom'prar], both meaning 'to buy.' In these cases, informants will rely on their lexical inventory more than their phonological inventory to place each token categorically by language.

Such a situation becomes more challenging, however, when certain lexical items such as [de'man.da] and [pre'gun.ta] are compared. While these lexemes typically mean 'question,' the former is often used in Judeo-Spanish and the latter in Modern Spanish. However, *demanda* contains different semantic meaning in Modern Spanish. Furthermore, a few informants utilized *pregunta* during their sociolinguistic interviews, even asking why I, as the interviewer, use *demanda* for 'question.' For all intents and purposes, I tried to leave lexemes that could best be described on a gradient, rather than categorical, out of the list of stimuli in the perception experiment. Constructing such a list proved challenging for having had to make categorical distinctions between language varieties. I based all selection on my knowledge of Judeo-Spanish and Modern Spanish and reviewed tokens with native speakers as well as bilinguals of both languages.

Why, then, include a nonce word identification task since no token is categorically associated with either language? To explore this question, I first assess what is at the core of phonological productivity. In addition to phonological rules being "language-specific," "intuitive," "untaught," and "unconscious knowledge," they are also "productive" (Hayes 2009: 9). A phonological rule is productive when it applies even to new words. The nonce word identification task forced informants to apply rules of his or her language(s) to derive at a selection. Since informants have never heard of the nonce words before, there was no possibility that they could answer on the basis of memorized forms (lexicalization). Therefore, whereas in

the real word identification task informants relied on their phonological and/ or lexical inventory of the tokens for the language in question, the nonce word identification task eliminated one of these variables, reliance on lexical inventory.

Upon hearing a nonce token such as [lu'ʒer], informants were unable to rely on *lujer* being a lexical item in Modern Spanish or Judeo-Spanish, since it does not pertain to either language. Instead, they must have relied on the phonological properties of the token and based their selection solely on that. The elimination of this variable, however, was subconscious and, thus, informants were not cognizant of the increased dependence on their phonological inventories. This contrasts with the real word identification task since, upon hearing a token such as [be.ren'dʒe.na] or [be.ren'xe.na], 'eggplant,' informants could utilize their phonological intuition (/dʒ/ in Judeo-Spanish where /x/ in Modern Spanish), as well as their lexical intuition ([be.ren'dʒe.na] is Judeo-Spanish and [be.ren'xe.na] is Modern Spanish).¹⁰⁵ Therefore, in this part of the experiment, the variable *lexicalization* became void since no token pertained to either language.

5.2 Research Questions

The overarching research questions for this experiment were as follows:

- Which phonological features are associated with Judeo-Spanish and Modern Spanish, and at what rate do speakers distinguish them from one another?
- Are informants more likely to perceive differences between Judeo-Spanish and Modern Spanish due to the lexicalization of commonly used lexemes or the acquisition of these phonological processes?

¹⁰⁵ The alternate Judeo-Spanish variety, *merendjena* [me.ren'dʒe.na], was not included.

In order to address these research questions, I explore the rate at which informants categorize tokens based on phonological and lexical properties. Furthermore, I examine which features informants perceive as more Judeo-Spanish or Modern Spanish and determine if there is statistical significance in such perception. Finally, I review features by geographic location of the informant, determining if location (New York City or Los Angeles) is a factor in the perception between Judeo-Spanish and Modern Spanish tokens. Once this data is reviewed, I will return to the main research questions of this experiment.

5.3 Assessment

To determine the perceptual patterns among informants, I review the following variables within real and nonce word identification tasks:

1. Real words containing /dʒ/ ~ /x/ contrast
2. Real words containing /ʒ/ ~ /x/ contrast
3. Real words containing /ʃ/ ~ /x/ contrast
4. Nonce words containing /dʒ/ ~ /x/ contrast
5. Nonce words containing /ʒ/ ~ /x/ contrast
6. Nonce words containing /ʃ/ ~ /x/ contrast
7. Real words containing prepalatal ~ velar contrast
8. Nonce words containing prepalatal ~ velar contrast

I further explore categorized variables including /b/ ~ /v/ contrast in addition to /s/ ~ /z/ contrast.

9. Real words containing /b/ ~ /v/ contrast
10. Real words containing /s/ ~ /z/ contrast
11. Nonce words containing /b/ ~ /v/ contrast

12. Nonce words containing /s/ ~ /z/ contrast

Finally, I look at aggregate means among the following categories:

13. Real words: Lexical

14. Real words: Phonological

15. Real words: All

16. Nonce words: All

5.3.1 Statistical Analysis

I compare the variables listed above with one another and determine in which contexts informants perform statistically more significant. What are the phonological and lexical boundaries between real and nonce words that informants perceive, and to what degree? Guided by the results of the production experiments discussed in Chapter 4, I focus exploration of the results to follow on phonologization and lexicalization of lexicon over certain social variables such as gender, age, and socioeconomic status. Another social factor—city of residency—was tested by means of statistical analysis using the Mann-Whitney rank-sum test in order to determine if any of the variables listed above were perceived significantly different based on the city in which the informants resided. The results, however, indicated that there were no significant differences in performance between New York and Los Angeles based informants. This is most likely due to the fact that informants' Judeo-Spanish vernaculars can be traced to unique features established in their parents and grandparents' homelands before arriving to the United States. Thus, informants residing in Los Angeles and New York City share language varieties based on former places of origin.

I first review all categories from the twenty-one Judeo-Spanish (L2 Modern Spanish) speaking informants and then discuss the results from the three Judeo-Spanish (L1 Modern Spanish) speaking informants. This latter exploration will serve as a case study for future research, to be further addressed in the following chapter. Since I am comparing two related experiments performed by the same informants and determining if there is a significant relation in either direction between variables, I utilize Wilcoxon signed-rank tests for the analyses to follow. Utilizing non-parametric testing helps to account for the fact that much of the data among variables was not normally distributed.

All selections from informants were saved onto Praat and results were extracted, collected into tables, and saved into unique tab-separated files in Microsoft Excel. In order to match informants' selections with each token's properties, I created a key, which matched for the variables listed above as well as language selection. For the real word identification task, I recorded each selected token (100 per 24 informants, total $n=2,400$ responses) with the categorically paired language prior to assessment, the phoneme in question for phonologically divergent tokens, and the matched meaning for lexically divergent tokens. I then created pivot tables in order to search among all categories based on speaker, location, token, phoneme, and number of correct responses. For the nonce word identification task, I created a similar key (50 per 24 informants, total 1,200 responses), but instead of matching for the number of 'correct' responses, I labeled this category as 'perceived language' response. Since all tokens in this portion of the experiment do not exist, phonological properties suggest to which language the tokens could pertain. The results from this section, therefore, demonstrate informants' preferences based on phonological categorization since there are no 'correct' answers within this

set of tokens. All 3,600 total responses were categorized and matched in the case of counterbalancing. Statistical analysis was run using Stata software at UCLA.

5.4 Results

In this section, I discuss the results of the perception experiments. To begin, I review the data elicited from the twenty-one Judeo-Spanish (L2 Modern Spanish) speaking informants. I first measure different variables against one another, assessing which features are perceptually more salient to the informants. Then, I examine the results from the three Judeo-Spanish (L1 Modern Spanish) speaking informants, and report on how this part of the study brings forth a variety of questions and implications for the present research.

5.4.1 Between Variables: L2 Informants

The data that follows serve to answer our first research question:

- Which phonological features are associated with Judeo-Spanish and Modern Spanish, and at what rate do speakers distinguish them from one another?

I analyze variables within the data of the twenty-one Judeo-Spanish-speaking informants, all of whom have varying proficiencies in Modern Spanish. I use the Wilcoxon signed-rank test to assess statistical significance between variables. Below, I include a list of all of the paired samples that will take part of the statistical analyses to follow.

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1. Real: /dʒ/ ~ /x/ vs. /ʒ/ ~ /x/ contrast | 11. /b/ ~ /v/ contrast: real vs. nonce |
| 2. Real: /dʒ/ - /x/ vs. /ʃ/ ~ /x/ contrast | 12. /s/ ~ /z/ contrast: real vs. nonce |
| 3. Real: /ʒ/ ~ /x/ vs. /ʃ/ ~ /x/ contrast | 13. Real: all palatal ~ velar contrasts vs. /b/ ~ /v/ |
| 4. Nonce: /dʒ/ ~ /x/ vs. /ʒ/ ~ /x/ contrast | 14. Nonce: all palatal~velar contrasts vs. /b/ ~ /v/ |
| 5. Nonce: /dʒ/ ~ /x/ vs. /ʃ/ ~ /x/ contrast | 15. Real: all palatal ~ velar contrasts vs. /s/ ~ /z/ |
| 6. Nonce: /ʒ/ ~ /x/ vs. /ʃ/ ~ /x/ contrast | 16. Nonce: all palatal~velar contrasts vs. /s/ ~ /z/ |
| 7. /dʒ/ ~ /x/: real vs. nonce | 17. Real: /b/ ~ /v/ vs. /s/ ~ /z/ contrasts |
| 8. /ʒ/ ~ /x/: real vs. nonce | 18. Nonce: /b/ ~ /v/ vs. /s/ ~ /z/ contrasts |
| 9. /ʃ/ ~ /x/: real vs. nonce | 19. Real: lexical vs. phonological |
| 10. All palatal-velar contrasts: real vs. nonce | 20. All: real vs. nonce |
| | 21. Phonological real vs. all nonce |

To begin, let us review the results among informants within each prepalatal ~ velar distinction. The following figure illustrates the mean correct or more likely perceived in both real and nonce identification tasks. As noted earlier, only the real word categories are marked ‘correct’ or ‘incorrect’ based on patterns of phonological distribution. Within the nonce word experiment, results were deemed ‘more likely’ perceived as Judeo-Spanish or Modern Spanish, based on the aforementioned patterns.

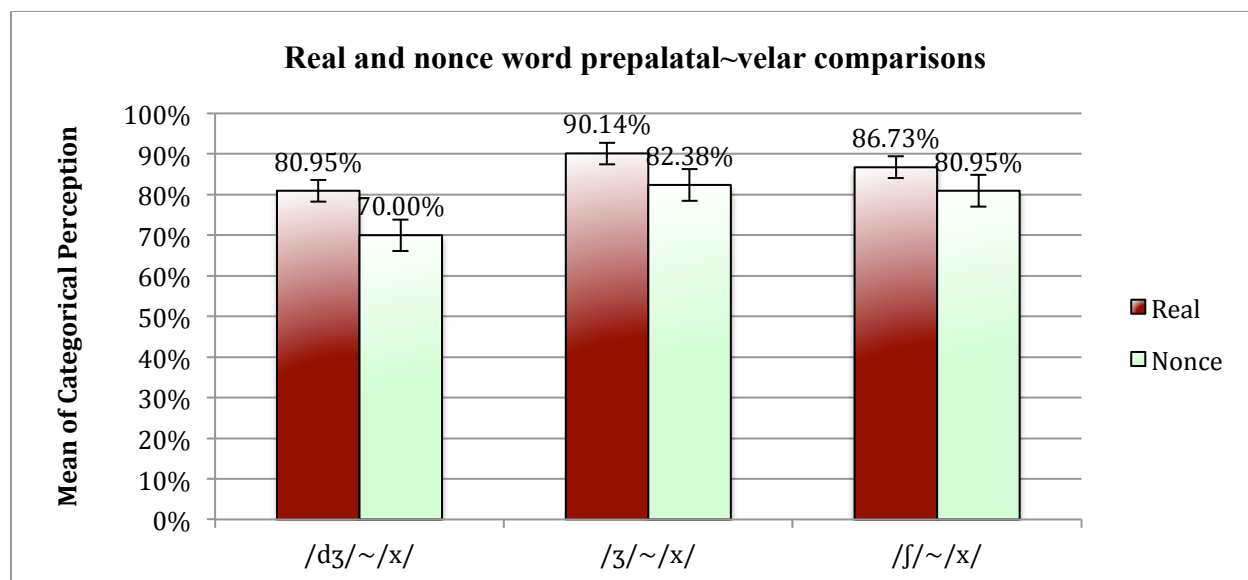


Figure 5.5 Real and nonce word prepalatal ~ velar categorical comparisons by mean, L2 informants

These results help us to determine the significance for tests one-ten vis-à-vis prepalatal and velar contrasts by variable and across real and nonce identification tasks. Concerning the real word identification task, informants perceive lexicon containing contrasts between /ʒ/ and /x/ at a significantly higher rate than lexicon containing contrasts between /dʒ/ and /x/, whereas $z=3.383$, $p < 0.01$. This is suggested by the figure above where informants perceive /ʒ/ ~ /x/ contrasts at 90.14% and /dʒ/ ~ /x/ contrasts at 80.95%. Thus, test one proved to yield significant results, whereas tests two and three contained p-values higher than 0.05.

Repeating this procedure for the nonce word identification task in tests four-six, it is determined that informants a) perceive /ʒ/ and /x/ contrast at a significantly higher rate than /dʒ/ and /x/ contrast, whereas $z= 2.822$, $p < 0.01$, and b) perceive /ʃ/ ~ /x/ contrast at a significantly higher rate than /dʒ/ and /x/ contrast, whereas $z=2.809$, $p < 0.01$. In figure 5.5, compare 70% for /dʒ/ and /x/ contrast to 82.38% for /ʒ/ and /x/ contrast and 80.95% for /ʃ/ and /x/ contrast. Test six, running /ʒ/ ~ /x/ against /ʃ/ ~ /x/ proves insignificant.

When looking at real vs. nonce word identification tasks within each prepalatal ~ velar phonological contrast, it is determined that only test seven proves significant, indicating that informants perceived /dʒ/ and /x/ contrast at a significantly higher rate between languages in the real word identification task, whereas $z=2.104$, $p < 0.05$. Here, we compare 80.95% correct responses in the real word task to 70% in the nonce-word task. Tests eight (/ʒ/ ~ /x/ real vs. nonce) and nine (/ʃ/ ~ /x/ real vs. nonce) prove insignificant.

If we examine all palatal ~ velar contrasts (/dʒ/, /ʒ/, /ʃ/ ~ /x/) between the real and nonce word identification tasks, we witness a significant difference in categorical perception. Therefore, test ten indicates that informants perform at a significantly higher rate at distinguishing prepalatal and velar contrasts in real words than in nonce words, whereas $z=2.399$, $p < 0.05$. Given that, tested individually, only /dʒ/ ~ /x/ produces a significant effect, we can determine that this factor played a substantial role in placing the comparative p-value lower than 0.05. If we look at the means of these two groups, as illustrated in figure 5.6, we see that informants correctly categorize prepalatals as Judeo-Spanish and velars as Modern Spanish 85.94% of the time, while in nonce words, prepalatals are perceived more as Judeo-Spanish and velars as Modern Spanish in 77.78% of the tokens.

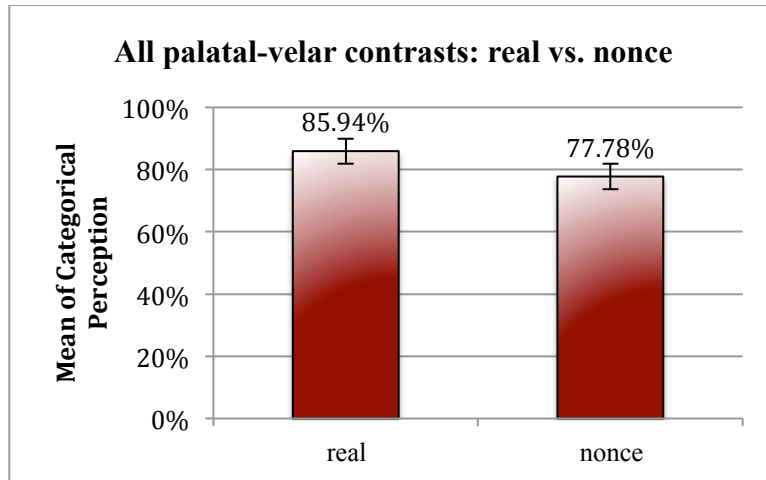


Figure 5.6 Real and nonce prepalatal ~ velar comparison by mean, L2 informants

With the collection of additional data, we are able to examine informants' perception in lexicon contrasting /b/ ~ /v/ between real and nonce words as well as /s/ ~ /z/ between real and nonce words. In both tests (eleven and twelve), however, no significance is determined in the informants' perceptual categorization of real vs. nonce words in either /b/ ~ /v/ contrast or /s/ ~ /z/ contrast. In fact, if we look at the means of these two groups, among both real and nonce categories, we see there is just an at-chance or slightly above-chance rate in categorical perception.

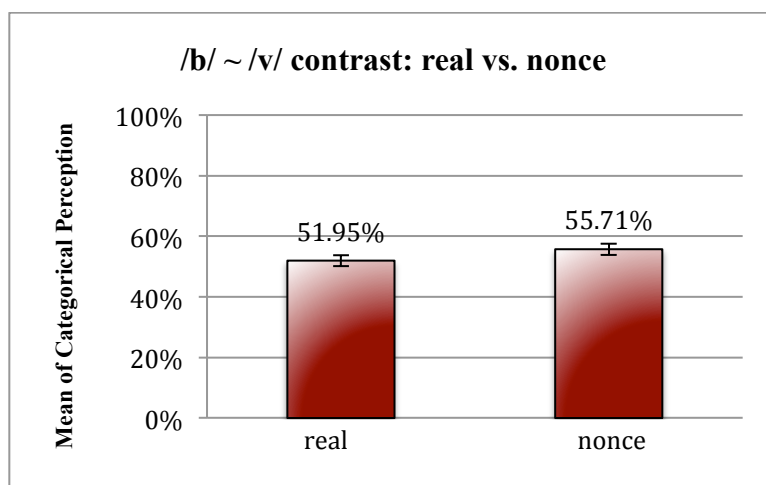


Figure 5.7 Real and nonce /b/ ~ /v/ comparison by mean, L2 informants

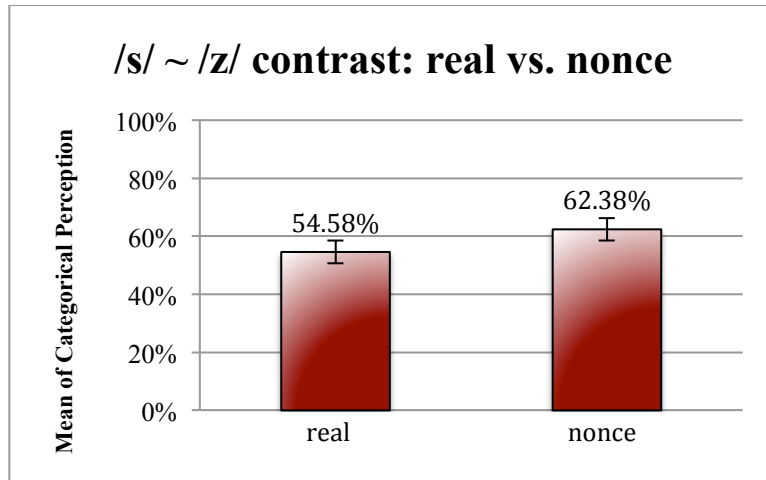


Figure 5.8 Real and nonce /s/ ~ /z/ comparison by mean, L2 informants

Given these results, it does not come as a surprise that tests thirteen-sixteen, comparing prepalatal ~ velar contrasts with /b/ ~ /v/ or /s/ ~ /z/ contrasts in real word or nonce word identification tasks, attest to significant differences in perception. The results demonstrate that informants perceive prepalatal ~ velar contrasts at a significantly higher rate than /b/ ~ /v/ or /s/ ~ /z/ contrasts in both real and nonce words, each with a significance of $p < 0.01$. Included below are the results of each of these tests.

13. Real: all palatal ~ velar contrasts vs. /b/ ~ /v/, $z=4.015$, $p < 0.01$

14. Nonce: all palatal ~ velar contrasts vs. /b/ ~ /v/, $z=3.329$, $p < 0.01$

15. Real: all palatal ~ velar contrasts vs. /s/ ~ /z/, $z=4.015$, $p < 0.01$

16. Nonce: all palatal ~ velar contrasts vs. /s/ ~ /z/, $z=2.591$, $p < 0.01$

When comparing informants' perception of real and nonce words between /b/ ~ /v/ and /s/ ~ /z/ contrasts (tests seventeen and eighteen), however, we see no significant difference, whereas both tests yield a p-value greater than 0.05.

The following figure compares all phonological categories among real and nonce words.

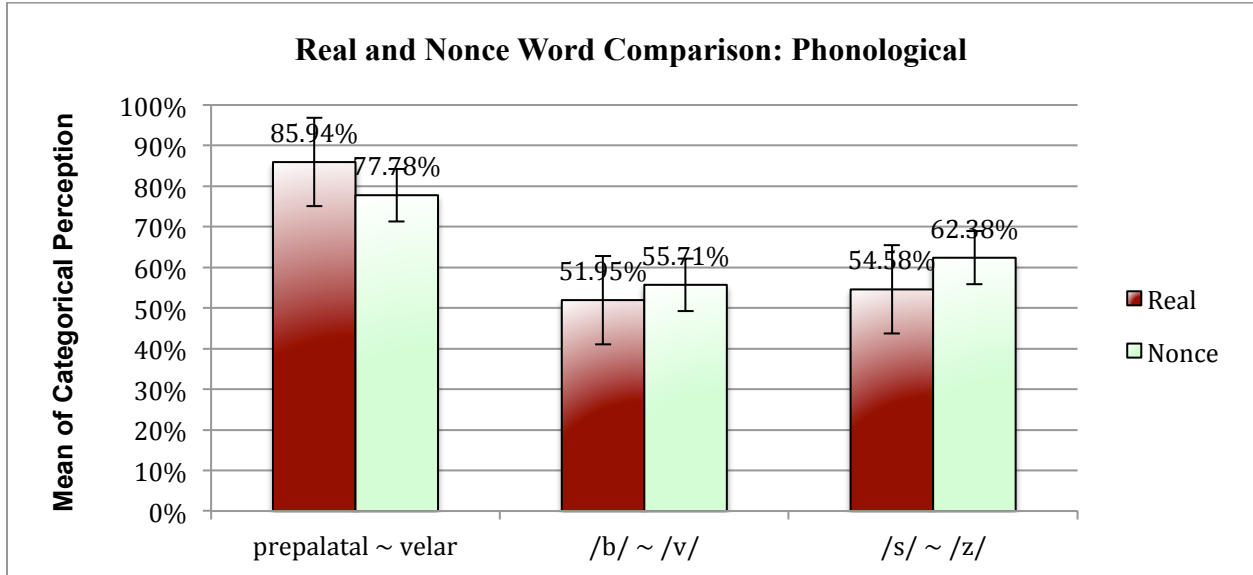


Figure 5.9 Real and nonce word phonological comparison by mean, L2 informants

This figure illustrates that within each phonological category informants perform similarly. Informants perform significantly different only between real vs. nonce prepalatal and velar contrasts, as well as when comparing place of articulation from prepalatal and velar real and nonce words against /b/ ~ /v/ and /s/ ~ /z/ contrasts.

After assessing all of the phonological variables and contrasts individually and collectively, we now run statistical analysis to determine if informants perceive lexemes of lexical variation or lexemes of phonological variation between Judeo-Spanish and Modern Spanish at significantly different rates. Since *lexical* is only a variable within the real word tokens, this test is run only within the real word identification task. The analysis of test nineteen reveals that informants correctly identify lexemes between Judeo-Spanish and Modern Spanish significantly better when they differ lexically than when they differ phonologically, whereas $z = 2.643$, $p < 0.01$. The following figure illustrates the mean percentage that informants categorize correctly among lexemes differing lexically ($n=34$) vs. lexemes differing phonologically ($n=66$).

We use the term ‘correct’ in this case, where as in prior figures we do not, since this figure only addresses the real word identification task where the tokens selected for this task are categorical.

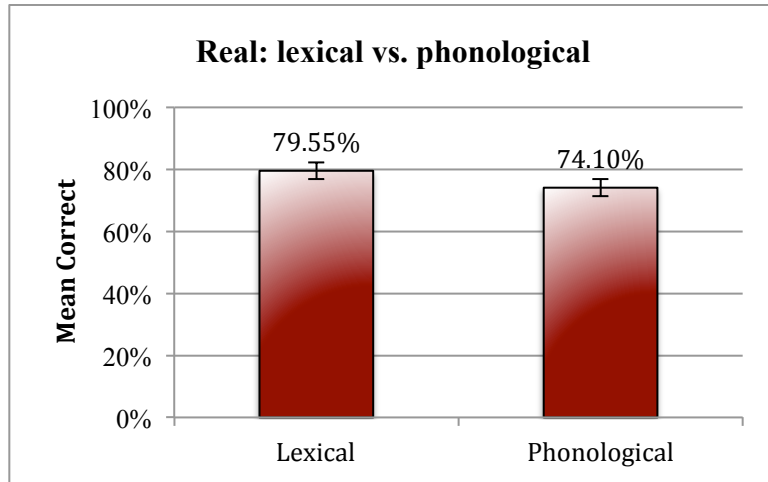


Figure 5.10 Real lexical vs. phonological comparison by mean, L2 informants

The penultimate test run between variables is that of all real words and all nonce words (test twenty). Partially due to the greater number of tokens in the real word identification task—double that of the nonce word identification task—it is determined that informants perceive real words at a significantly higher rate than nonce words, whereas, $z=2.087$, $p < 0.05$.

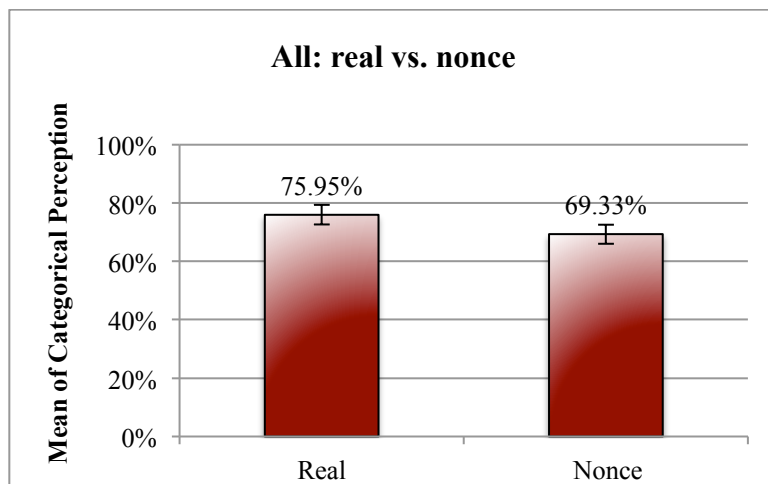


Figure 5.11 All real and nonce word comparison by mean, L2 informants

According to the categorical boundaries discussed previously, informants perceive real word lexicon between Judeo-Spanish and Modern Spanish at 75.95% and nonce words at 69.33%. It may, however, be more fitting to compare all nonce word tokens (n=50) to that of all real word phonological tokens (n=66), given that the nonce word identification task is based solely on phonological variation (test twenty-one). Thus, we eliminate the lexical component of the real word identification task. The aggregate means, however, do not differ much and, in this case, generate a p-value greater than 0.05; this can be accounted for given the fewer tokens in the analysis. In this comparison, informants categorize all nonce words according to distributional properties 69.33% of the time and real word phonological tokens 74.10% of the time.

Let us review which tests prove significant from the twenty-one explained in this section, whereby ‘X’ indicates significance.

Test		Significant	Test		Significant
1.	Real: /dʒ/ ~ /x/ vs. /ʒ/ ~ /x/ contrast	X	11.	/b/ ~ /v/ contrast: real vs. nonce	
2.	Real: /dʒ/ ~ /x/ vs. /ʃ/ ~ /x/ contrast		12.	/s/ ~ /z/ contrast: real vs. nonce	
3.	Real: /ʒ/ ~ /x/ vs. /ʃ/ ~ /x/ contrast		13.	Real: all palatal-velar contrasts vs. /b/ ~ /v/	X
4.	Nonce: /dʒ/ ~ /x/ vs. /ʒ/ ~ /x/ contrast	X	14.	Nonce: all palatal-velar contrasts vs. /b/ ~ /v/	X
5.	Nonce: /dʒ/ ~ /x/ vs. /ʃ/ ~ /x/ contrast	X	15.	Real: all palatal-velar contrasts vs. /s/ ~ /z/	X
6.	Nonce: /ʒ/ ~ /x/ vs. /ʃ/ ~ /x/ contrast		16.	Nonce: all palatal-velar contrasts vs. /s/ ~ /z/	X
7.	/dʒ/ ~ /x/: real vs. nonce	X	17.	Real: /b/ ~ /v/ vs. /s/ ~ /z/ contrasts	
8.	/ʒ/ ~ /x/: real vs. nonce		18.	Nonce: /b/ ~ /v/ vs. /s/ ~ /z/ contrasts	
9.	/ʃ/ ~ /x/: real vs. nonce		19.	Real: lexical vs. phonological	X
10.	All palatal ~ velar contrasts: real vs. nonce	X	20.	All: real vs. nonce	X
			21.	Phonological real vs. all nonce	

Table 5.4 Significance in tests among variables

5.4.2 Between Variables: L1 Informants

We now examine the results from the perception experiments of the Judeo-Spanish (native Modern Spanish) speaking informants. Since this group contains only three speakers, it is not necessary to statistically compare them against the twenty-one informants reported on in the previous section. However, we can compare and contrast the results from these two groups and see that Judeo-Spanish speakers who are also native speakers of Modern Spanish tend to perceive lexemes phonologically and lexically at a higher and, in the case of the real word identification task, at a more accurate rate.

The following figure illustrates the individual prepalatal ~ velar categorizations in both real and nonce word identification tasks among these three informants.

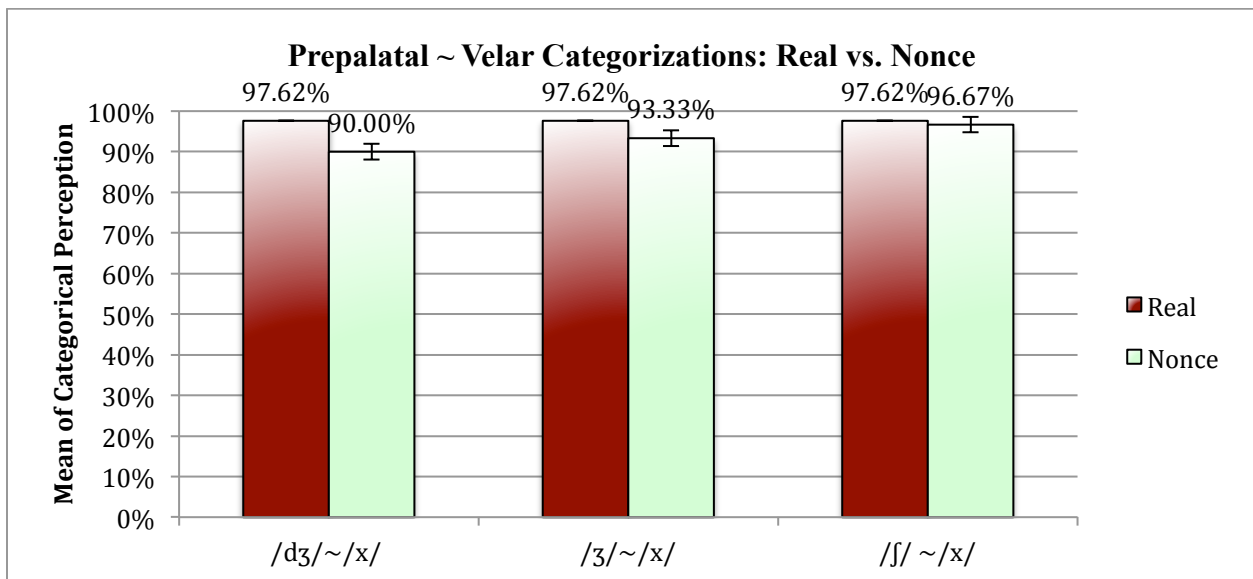


Figure 5.12 Prepalatal ~ Velar Categorizations: Real vs. Nonce, L1 informants

Informants perceive phonological distributions at over 90% in all of the means of the variables listed above. Furthermore, the mean for each prepalatal ~ velar distinction was the same: 97.62%.

Evaluating the average performance for these informants for both real and nonce words across the three phonological categories, gives us the following figure.

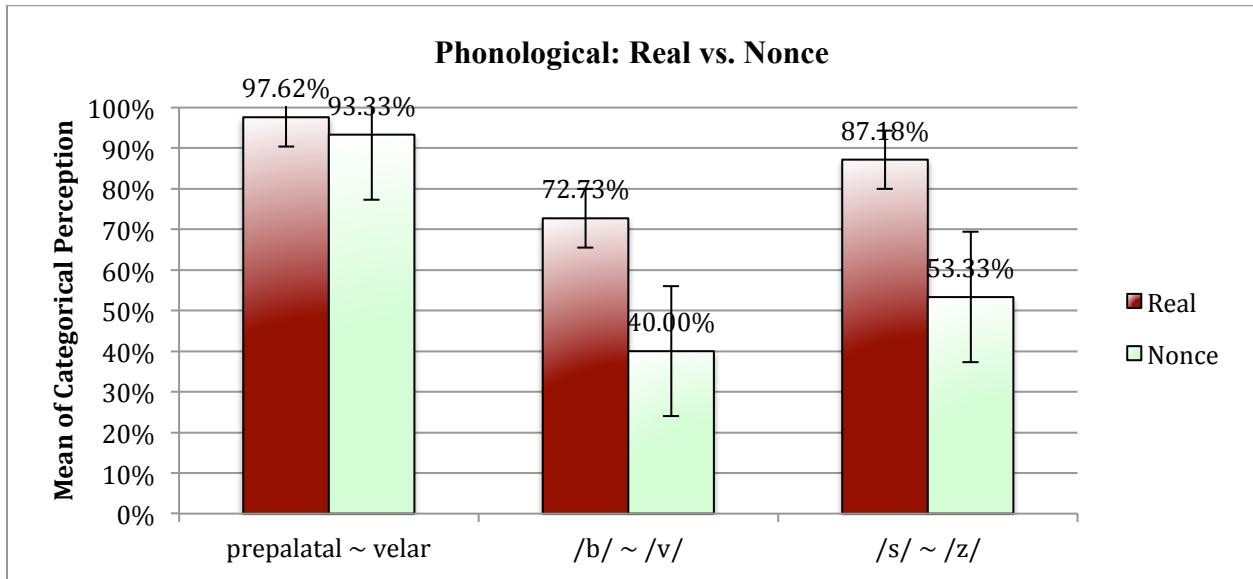


Figure 5.13 Phonological Categorizations: Real vs. Nonce, L1 informants

The L1 Modern Spanish-speaking informants correctly distinguish between velar and prepalatal real words between Modern Spanish and Judeo-Spanish 97.62% of the time. The contrast between real /b/ ~ /v/ contrast tokens, however, was 72.73%, and the contrast between real /s/ ~ /z/ contrast words was 87.18%. For nonce words, these informants associated /x/ with Modern Spanish and /dʒ/, /ʒ/, and /f/ with Judeo-Spanish 93.33% of the time. Furthermore, they perceive /v/ as Judeo-Spanish 40% of the time and /z/ as Judeo-Spanish 53.33% of the time.

Comparing the two main categories within the real word identification task— lexical and phonological—indicates the following results among informants.

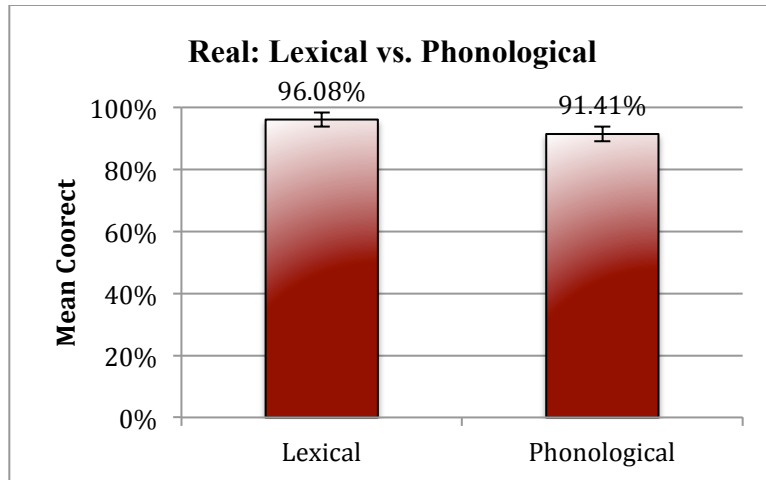


Figure 5.14 Real: Lexical vs. Phonological, L1 informants

Finally, we compare the informants' performance between all real and nonce words.

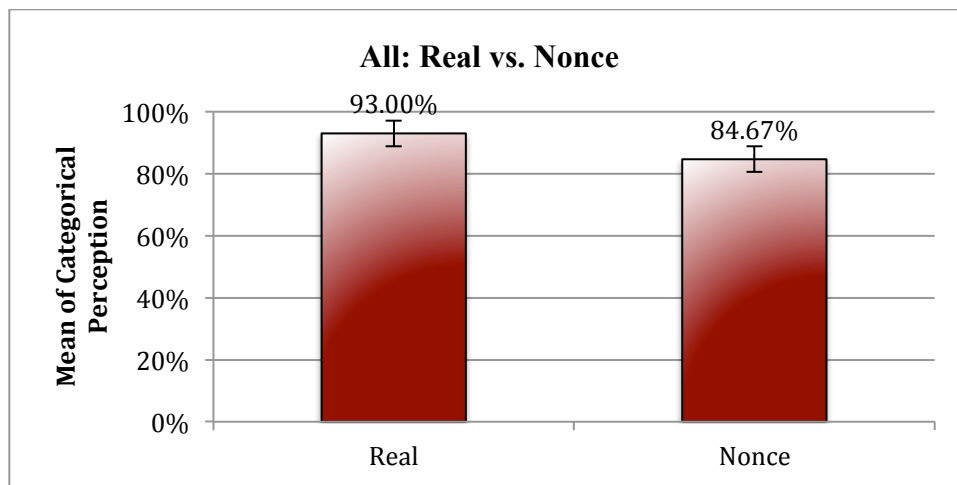


Figure 5.15 All: Real vs. Nonce, L1 informants

If we compare all tokens at the phonological level, our results indicate that informants perceive real words at a rate of 91.41% to nonce words at 84.67% (as in test twenty-one).

5.4.3 L1 vs. L2 Modern Spanish

Sections 5.4.1 and 5.4.2 evaluate the results from the two groups of informants in this study. As reviewed, both groups of informants are speakers of Judeo-Spanish in that the

language serves as their first language (L1) as well as their heritage language. However, the main focus group of this study consists of speakers (n=21) who have learned varieties of Modern Spanish as their L2 and demonstrate a variety of proficiencies in the language. The other group, while not originally intended as part of the study, brings forth additional considerations. This group consists of informants (n=3) who are also L1 speakers of varieties of Modern Spanish, in this case, Mexican, Spanish, and Cuban.¹⁰⁶ Therefore, we keep Judeo-Spanish consistent between both groups but differentiate them in that the former group consists of L2 Modern Spanish speakers and the latter group consists of L1 Modern Spanish speakers.¹⁰⁷

As noted in the prior section, it does not serve to statistically compare these two groups given differences in group size. However, we may look at their collective means within each variable to draw inferences. The table that follows—divided into two parts—reviews these results. L2 indicates the results from the twenty-one New York City and Los Angeles based residents and L1 examines the results from the three New York City based residents.

¹⁰⁶ While we can further classify the type of Spanish spoken by each of these informants, we will keep it broadly defined as pertaining to the country in which they were raised.

¹⁰⁷ Despite the fact that each language has a particular diglossic distribution for each speaker, the L1 Modern Spanish and the L1 Judeo-Spanish of these three informants create an additional layer of hierarchy, where Modern Spanish is used regularly (H domain) and Judeo-Spanish is seldom used (L domain).

INFORMANTS	Real /dʒ/~x/	Real /ʒ/~x/	Real /ʃ/~x/	Nonce /dʒ/~x/	Nonce /ʒ/~x/	Nonce /ʃ/~x/	Real Palatal	Nonce Palatal
L2	80.95%	90.14%	86.73%	70.00%	82.38%	80.95%	85.94%	77.78%
L1	97.62%	97.62%	97.62%	90.00%	93.33%	96.67%	97.62%	93.33%

INFORMANTS	Real /b/~v/	Nonce /b/~v/	Real /s/~z/	Nonce /s/~z/	Real Lexical	Real Phonological	Real All	Nonce All
L2	51.95%	55.71%	54.58%	62.38%	79.55%	74.10%	75.95%	69.33%
L1	72.73%	40.00%	87.18%	53.33%	96.08%	91.41%	93.00%	84.67%

Table 5.5 L1 vs. L2 Spanish, L1 Judeo-Spanish: Comparison across variables

By comparing results across informant groups, one observes that the L1 Modern Spanish informants perform at much higher and more accurate rates than the L2 Modern Spanish informants. The only two variables where L1 Spanish informants do not perform higher than L2 Spanish informants are nonce word /b/ ~ /v/ contrast and nonce word /s/ ~ /z/ contrast. We account for this given that the L1 informants are more proficient speakers of Modern Spanish and may have a harder time discerning between phonemes and allophones that pertain to either—or both—of their languages. Therefore, [b], common to both languages, [v], particular to Judeo-Spanish, and [β], particular to Modern Spanish, may make it perceptually more challenging for these informants to distinguish among tokens. Thus, all three of these phones are more familiar to the L1 Modern Spanish informant. A possible counter-argument, however, could suggest that L1 speakers are more likely to produce allophone [β] in Judeo-Spanish as well (and, therefore, perceive it as JS), which does not pertain to prescriptive Judeo-Spanish phonology. This could also apply to L2 informants with a great deal of contact with Modern Spanish.

While the real word identification task contains categorical choices of perception between languages, the nonce word identification task serves to test perception as a gradient,

since certain phonemes correspond to the other language, some as allophones. Whereas /z/ exists as a phoneme in Judeo-Spanish, it occurs as an allophone in Modern Spanish (ie. mi[z]mo; before a nasal ‘same’). While Modern Spanish /x/ directly relates to the Judeo-Spanish distribution patterns of palatalization (i.e.: if Judeo-Spanish di[f]o, then Modern Spanish di[x]o—‘s/he said’), it does exist in certain Judeo-Spanish lexicon that comes from other source languages (ie. [x]azino, al[x]ad, [x]aragan—‘sick,’ ‘Sunday,’ ‘lazy,’). Unlike L1 Spanish informants’ performance in the nonce word identification task with variables /b/ ~ /v/ and /s/ ~ /z/, these informants associate prepalatals /dʒ/, /ʒ/, and /ʃ/ with Judeo-Spanish and /x/ with Modern Spanish at higher rates—90% and over—than L2 Spanish informants.

5.5 Lexicalization vs. Phonologization

Now that we have assessed the data within and between variables, we shall return to our second research question of this experiment:

- Are informants more likely to perceive differences between Judeo-Spanish and Modern Spanish due to the lexicalization of commonly used lexemes or the acquisition of these phonological processes?

In order to determine whether the Judeo-Spanish (non-native Modern Spanish) speaking informants associated with this study are experiencing a process of lexicalization or phonologization, we must compare the variables of lexical variation and phonological variation in the real word identification tasks, as well as categories across real word identification tasks and nonce word identification tasks. If informants perceive differences between languages more strongly based on phonological accounts, we may expect to see significance leaning toward the nonce word identification tasks. This is due to the fact that the variable ‘lexical’ is eliminated, as

words in this task are not real. If informants perform significantly better on the real word identification tasks, we can determine that it is due in part to the lexical component. Thus, an entirely phonological account for perception between Judeo-Spanish and Modern Spanish would prove invalid.

The first comparison we make is within the real word identification tasks, whereas informants correctly perceive tokens of lexical difference at an average of 79.55% and tokens of phonological difference at a mean of 74.10%. Again, the statistical significance of this assessment, whereas $z=2.643$, $p < 0.01$, indicates higher rates of correct categorical perception due to lexical variation than phonological variation.

If we observe the data reported on in comparing real word with nonce word identification tasks in the previous sections, we can determine if the initial assessment remains the strongest. Among the tokens containing variables of distributional prepalatals and velars between languages, informants perceive real word prepalatals /dʒ/, /ʒ/, and /ʃ/ with Judeo-Spanish and /x/ with Modern Spanish at significantly higher rates than in the nonce word identification task, whereas $z=2.399$, $p < 0.05$. As previously noted, this is primarily led by the significance found between /dʒ/ and /x/ contrast in the real word vs. nonce word identification tasks. Additionally, no significance is attested for when analyzing real vs. nonce /b/ ~ /v/ contrasts and /s/ ~ /z/ contrasts. This, however, is mostly due to the caveats reported, where certain phonemes exist in both languages and thus, can only be measured on a gradient, and not deemed categorically as ‘correct’ or ‘incorrect’.

Therefore, in determining possible reasons for leveling between Judeo-Spanish and Modern Spanish, our testing suggests that perception among prepalatal ~ velar contrasts between languages is strongly based on the lexical element of the token in addition to the phonological

distribution and variation of the lexicon between languages. If the phonological properties were the most indicative of the informants' perception of Judeo-Spanish vs. Modern Spanish, we would expect that informants would perform significantly higher in the nonce experiments, despite the possibility that certain phones exist as allophones or phonemes of lexicon from other source languages. These results are in accordance with Romero (2013) in that lexicalization is the leading factor for conditioning phonological change among informants.

5.5.1 Selecting the Other

Aside from the limitations to this experiment examined throughout this chapter, informants may have selected their responses based on anything unfamiliar to their native tongue. That is to say, L1 Modern Spanish informants may have associated anything that they were not familiar with—lexically or phonologically— as 'other,' and, therefore, as Judeo-Spanish. Conversely, informants who are at lower proficiency levels of L2 Modern Spanish could have categorized any token unfamiliar to them as 'other' and, therefore, select 'Spanish.' Phonological differences, especially between [b] ~ [β] ~ [v] and [s] ~ [z], provide fewer cues than do entire lexical distinctions between Judeo-Spanish and Modern Spanish for informants to select from. However, given that informants have various levels of proficiency in each language, and that contact between both languages proves to be inevitable in both New York City and Los Angeles (see Chapter 3), it is expected that categorical perception between languages become skewed due to elements of contact.

5.6 Summary

In this chapter, I determined the rates of categorical perception between Judeo-Spanish and Modern Spanish among informants who utilize both languages. Informants listened to a series of real words and nonce words in a randomized order and were asked to select whether each word pertained or, in the case of the nonce words, was more likely to pertain to Judeo-Spanish or Modern Spanish. As with the production experiment, after extracting all data, I separated the results from the three Judeo-Spanish (L1 Modern Spanish) speaking informants so as to focus on our L2 Spanish-speaking informants.

The goal of my first research question was to determine which phonological features were associated with each language given the distributional phonological patterns between languages. The results indicate that informants perform at an at-chance or close-to-chance rate when perceiving between contrasts of /b/ and /v/ or /s/ and /z/ in Judeo-Spanish and Modern Spanish. However, informants perform significantly better when distinguishing between prepalatal and velar distinctions. Informants categorized prepalatals as Judeo-Spanish and velar /x/ as Modern Spanish 85.94% of the time in the real word identification task and 77.78% of the time in the nonce word identification task, with significance leading toward real word identification, whereas $z=2.399$, $p < 0.05$.

The second research question provides insight on theories of leveling between languages (or dialects) based on accounts of lexicalization or phonologization. It was determined that despite prepalatal ~ velar interaction between Judeo-Spanish and Modern Spanish, at the perceptual level, lexicalization proves significantly more telling of the informants' perceptual categorization of lexicon. One test that proved significant to help determine this included the comparison of lexicalization vs. phonologization within real words, whereas $z=2.643$, $p < 0.01$.

Additionally, we may utilize the significant finding of the real word vs. nonce word identification tasks for prepalatal ~ velar contrast to address this research question. Informants are able to differentiate between real words more easily than nonce words due to their lexical knowledge of the tokens in question. As such, informants perform significantly better in categorizing words lexically different than phonologically divergent by one phoneme. These results shed light on the conceivable linguistic realities caused by contact between speakers of Judeo-Spanish and Modern Spanish today.

Finally, an analysis of the three L1 Modern Spanish-speaking informants, who are also L1 and heritage speakers of Judeo-Spanish, attempts to further our study by calling into question what happens when a speaker is more proficient in Modern Spanish than Judeo-Spanish and comparing these informants to L2 speakers of Modern Spanish. The results from these informants, representing three distinct varieties of Modern Spanish, and all residing in New York City for their adult-life, direct our attention to various perceptual categories when compared to the Judeo-Spanish (non-native Modern Spanish) speakers. In regard to the real word identification tasks, these three informants perceive phonological and lexical differences between Judeo-Spanish and Modern Spanish to a much higher degree than the non-native Modern Spanish speakers. While the same is often true for the nonce word identification task, /b/ ~ /v/ and /s/ ~ /z/ contrasts yield the opposite, whereas these informants perform at lower rates compared to the larger informant pool. As posited, this is most likely due to the L1 Modern Spanish informants' phonological inventory of both languages and higher degree of interference between languages. The results from these three informants offer valuable insight into what may linguistically occur between languages when a speaker of Judeo-Spanish is also a native speaker of a variety of Modern Spanish.

6

IMPLICATIONS & CONCLUDING DISCUSSION

6. Introduction

In this dissertation, I have explored theories of diglossia and language contact and applied them to the Sephardic and Latino populations of New York City and Los Angeles. The findings of this study are based on qualitative as well as quantitative measures from the various interviews and experiments with twenty-five informants. This chapter reviews the primary research questions related to this study and the interactions between their results. Further, I discuss possible implications that language contact may induce within Judeo-Spanish-speaking populations, and suggest future research that can extend the scope of the current analyses.

6.1 The Nature of the Language

Judeo-Spanish, in all of its varieties, has developed in the centuries following the Sephardim's exodus out of the Iberian Peninsula. The language began to diverge from Old Spanish once its speakers were in contact with local languages throughout Turkey, the Balkans, and North Africa. Today, the language continues to evolve, transform, and shift based on the ideologies of its speakers, surrounding states, and countries. A language that was once a staple of Sephardic identity now lives in the endangered peripheries of its remaining speakers.

As confirmed by the informants of this study, speakers of Judeo-Spanish have often been multilingual, especially after their parents or grandparents were educated under the *Alliance*

Israélite Universelle. While other languages made their way to the forefront of speech among the Sephardim, speakers of Judeo-Spanish questioned their mother tongue and, furthermore, its necessity. Among this study's informants, Judeo-Spanish serves as the language that was spoken or heard in their house while growing up in Sephardic communities around the world. Many informants recount, however, that such communities—or sense of community—no longer exist.

We look to the theory of diglossia to address our first research question:

- Which languages do the Sephardim of New York City and Los Angeles speak, and in which domains are they activated?

This theory properly places Judeo-Spanish along the backdrop of the other languages and domains in which each are spoken by the Sephardim. While Judeo-Spanish is rarely used as a daily spoken vernacular, it continues to regularly surface when speakers are amongst one another, in recounting childhood stories, familial proverbs, old or modern songs, and liturgical hymns recited throughout the Jewish calendar year.

Given that New York City and Los Angeles are home to two of the largest Sephardic as well as Latino populations in the country, it is no surprise that speakers of Judeo-Spanish have learned varieties of Modern Spanish. Sociolinguistic interviews that I conducted in Judeo-Spanish with informants reveal that many have learned varieties of “Modern” Spanish to various degrees as a second language due to regular contact with speakers of the language. Further, informants use their knowledge of Judeo-Spanish to learn how their language differs from Modern Spanish. This metalinguistic cognizance allows them to use Judeo-Spanish as a platform to develop their Modern Spanish. The most frequent domains where speakers of Judeo-Spanish come in contact with Modern Spanish include: at home, in the classroom, around the neighborhood, at work, in the family, or abroad.

The results of this study indicate that speakers of Judeo-Spanish regularly accommodate to their interlocutor by means of either convergence or divergence. Informants note that they often attempt to speak a variety of Modern Spanish to their Spanish-speaking interlocutor in order to avoid confusion or further questioning as to their ‘Judeo’ variety of language. Others, however, indicate that upon building a rapport with speakers of Modern Spanish, they will inform them of their language, reveal how certain words are produced in it, and ask how they are said in Modern Spanish. These outcomes, therefore, answer our first research question.

Since contact between speakers of Judeo-Spanish and Modern Spanish is evident, the experiments following the sociolinguistic interviews attempt to explore the results of language contact. To do so, I examine production and perception of differing phonological and lexical features between languages. Recent research demonstrates that speakers of Judeo-Spanish realize traditional features of their language differently due to contact with varieties of Modern Spanish. The two most noticeable areas where such transference occurs are at the phonological and lexical level. Phonologically, speakers substitute prepalatal /ʃ/, /ʒ/, and /dʒ/, for velar /x/ in words of Spanish origin. Such substitutions, however, are rare or unseen when dealing with words of non-Spanish origin in Judeo-Spanish. Lexically, speakers often implement words that pertain to varieties of Modern Spanish instead of those from Judeo-Spanish. Thus, researchers suggest that Judeo-Spanish has begun to mirror varieties of Modern Spanish in speech. Additionally, they suggest that Sephardim use their Judeo-Spanish when communicating with speakers of Modern Spanish. There has been minimal—if any—research to date, however, on what type of language such speakers are using when in contact with a Modern Spanish-speaking interlocutor. In order to expand prior research related to Judeo-Spanish-speaking Sephardim, I include production as well as perception experiments to reveal language preferences and awareness among informants.

Guided by a predetermined list of questions, informants spoke with a speaker of Modern Spanish. I selected interlocutors who were either colleagues or colleagues of colleagues and were able to carry out the interviews in the variety of Spanish most common to the geographic location of the interview. As previously addressed, a speaker of Los Angeles Vernacular Spanish interviewed Los Angeles informants, and a speaker of Dominican Spanish interviewed the New York City informants. After transcribing and analyzing the speech of each informant with their interlocutor, I address the following research question:

- Do informants use prepalatal or velar forms when speaking with a Modern Spanish interlocutor and, if so, do they interact, how often, and under which conditions does this most likely occur?

Since velarization of prepalatals is among the most salient and common shifts to occur when a speaker of Judeo-Spanish speaks Judeo-Spanish, this question assesses whether the opposite phenomenon occurs when speaking with a speaker of Modern Spanish. In what language do informants speak? As reviewed in Chapter 1, we ask whether the Ethnolinguistic Repertoire can account for shifts in language that the informant enacts in order to effectively communicate with their interlocutor. Or, conversely, are speakers able to fully remove all Judeo-Spanish features from their discourse to arrive at speech more comparable to Modern Spanish? Since Modern Spanish implements /x/ whereas Judeo-Spanish utilizes /ʃ/, /z/, and /dʒ/, we assess which phonemes are more common in conversation. As the results demonstrate, informants typically employ /x/ in their speech, whereas shifting to one of the prepalatals 35% of the time.

Multivariate analysis from VarbRul confirms certain factors to be significant in favoring transference. This analysis allows us to determine the variables that condition such shift. The following factors prove significant at a p-value less than 0.05: 1) gender, 2) current location:

New York City or Los Angeles, 3) residence as of nine years of age 4) L1 Spanish: native or non-native, 5) origin of word/ source language: Spanish or other, and 6) lexical: related to food or other. According to a constraint ranking, the most defining feature in determining the use of prepalatalization is embedded in its semantic content. Words related to food are typically produced in Judeo-Spanish. Thus, lexical items pertaining to food can typically be thought of as lexicalized into informants' speech. Words of non-Spanish origin are also more prone to palatalization among informants. This can be attributed to the informants' metalinguistic cognizance of languages and knowing what is or what is not 'Spanish.' Further, informants in New York City prepalatalize more than those in Los Angeles, which is a telling result given that three of the New York informants are also native speakers of a variety of Modern Spanish and only palatalize velars in 3% of their production. Non-native speakers of Modern Spanish, twenty-two of the twenty-five informants, are statistically more likely to introduce elements of Judeo-Spanish speech when speaking with a Modern Spanish-speaking interlocutor. The inclusion of three L1 Modern Spanish/ Heritage Judeo-Spanish informants provides additional novelties to this study. While these informants' native Modern Spanish is likely to intervene with their production of Judeo-Spanish, the opposite rarely occurs. We can attribute this to diglossia and the fact that each of these three informants has used Modern Spanish in the decades since their time in the United States, whereas their use of Judeo-Spanish remains as infrequent—if not more infrequent—as the non-native Modern Spanish-speaking informants.

Apart from having informants converse with a speaker of Modern Spanish to elicit speech, I also investigate what informants perceive to be the differences between Judeo-Spanish and Modern Spanish. The real and nonce word identification tasks sought to determine how informants perceive certain phonological differences between languages. Further, we ask if such

perception is due to a process of phonologization or lexicalization. Thus, our two research questions are:

- Which phonological features are associated with Judeo-Spanish and Modern Spanish, and at what rate do speakers distinguish them from one another?
- Are informants more likely to perceive differences between Judeo-Spanish and Modern Spanish due to the lexicalization of commonly used lexemes or the acquisition of these phonological processes?

While entering this experiment with the goal of determining rates of perception between prepalatals and velars, other results became apparent. Informants perform at an at-chance rate or very close to it when determining categorical perception in real words differentiating Judeo-Spanish from Modern Spanish by either /b/ or /v/. Judeo-Spanish does not traditionally contain [β] as Modern Spanish does, although its actual realization due to contact with Modern Spanish speakers should be assessed in order to ascertain how frequent it is actually produced. Similar findings were noted for /s/ and /z/ categorical contrasts between languages. While /b/ and /v/ as well as /s/ and /z/ are considered phonemes in Judeo-Spanish and, therefore, result in minimal pairs, speakers may rely more on context for meaning since it is apparent that in perception, informants are not always aware of such contrasts. In speaking, there is also a great deal of fluctuation between the production of /s/ and /z/.¹⁰⁸ The nonce word identification task only reveals what informants perceive could be Judeo-Spanish or Modern Spanish, given /s/ and /b/ pertain to both languages and cannot be categorized as either ‘correct’ or ‘incorrect.’

¹⁰⁸ Such a phenomenon becomes apparent when reviewing written texts by speakers of Judeo-Spanish today. On *Ladinokomunita*, for example, some members hesitate between <s> and <z>. The same is true with and <v>. This fluctuation is often observed among contributors who are also speakers of Modern Spanish.

In determining which phonological contrasts are most salient in perceiving differences between Judeo-Spanish and Modern Spanish, we ask if perception is based on the lexical or phonological properties of the lexeme. As reviewed in Chapter 5, informants perceive prepalatal and velar contrast at a significantly higher rate in the real word identification task than the nonce word identification task. Additionally, in the real word identification task, informants perform significantly better when distinguishing between Judeo-Spanish and Modern Spanish when the lexeme in question varies entirely, as opposed to when it contrasts by one phonological feature. These results make clear that, while phonological contrast is perceived between languages, transference between the languages is highly due to lexicalization. Thus, we suggest that phonological transference between Judeo-Spanish and Modern Spanish in production is a result of informants' perceptual categorization—or miscategorization—of languages.

Informants who transfer prepalatal and velar phonemes between languages are often aware of the linguistic source language of the lexeme in question, as evinced by the fact that they do not produce words like /xabat/ instead of the expected /fabat/.¹⁰⁹ Interactions occur only when there is a historical distribution between prepalatals and velars, and thus transference occurs only when words are directly related to the Spanish language. These results suggest metalinguistic cognizance on behalf of the informants. Speakers distinguish between source language prior to phonological transfer; they do not prepalatalize or velarize lexicon that is not traced to Spanish origin. Similarly, in cases where /x/ exists in Judeo-Spanish, primarily from source languages other than Spanish, informants do not prepalatalize them. Thus, /xa'ber/ 'news' is never realized as /dʒa'ber/ or any other prepalatalized form. Informants rarely—if ever—adapt such words to the phonological patterns associated with words of Spanish source origin. In

¹⁰⁹ Whereas in Modern Spanish the /b/ would be realized as [β] and in Judeo-Spanish the final /t/ would be realized as [tʰ], [ð], or null.

these circumstances, informants are often aware of the lexically equivalent word in Modern Spanish, utilize the Judeo-Spanish equivalent as a loan word, or use their intuition in asking their interlocutor how a certain word is said if they should sense a difference between languages.

The three native Modern Spanish-speaking informants performed at higher rates than other informants in all cases but the nonce /b/ ~ /v/ and /s/ ~ /z/ contrasts. In the real word identification task, these informants correctly perceived 93% of all tokens compared to 75.95% by non-native Modern Spanish speakers. While the results of the L1 Modern Spanish speakers suggest a more accurate categorical perception due to higher proficiencies of Modern Spanish, this case study deserves further exploration. Informants could be using their innate acquisition of Modern Spanish to direct them in their selection of what pertains to Spanish and what pertains to the ‘other.’ This is despite the fact that the ‘other’ is their heritage language, Judeo-Spanish.

Although residing on opposite sides of the country, Judeo-Spanish speakers in New York City and Los Angeles share similar sociolinguistic narratives. These narratives reflect their communities’ desire to assimilate and acculturate over the past century to ideals of ‘Americanization.’ These acts have created consequences, however, that have placed Judeo-Spanish to the margins of Sephardic culture and identity. Often multilingual, Sephardim utilize each of their languages in particular domains with specific interlocutors and for certain purposes. Their overall detachment from Judeo-Spanish, however, has found new life given close contact—both geographically as well as linguistically—in New York City and Los Angeles. Speakers of Judeo-Spanish frequently disclose that their heritage language serves as a resource in learning modern varieties of Spanish, thus enabling them to interact with speakers of Spanish in their respective cities or abroad. As evinced by the results of the perception and production experiments of this study, New York City and Los Angeles speakers of Judeo-Spanish perform

significantly similar to one another, demonstrating that a similar phenomenon is occurring in both cities of the United States. Therefore, not only are speakers of Judeo-Spanish in each of these cities in regular contact with speakers of Modern Spanish, but the sociolinguistic and linguistic contact between these languages and their speakers yield similar consequences in perception and production among the Sephardim.

6.2 Implications

Most of the informants who participated in this study were in their seventies and eighties. While some speakers of the language are in their forties and fifties, this is rare. Speakers below forty are uncommon, which demonstrates the current state of the language. This is particularly the case in the United States where speakers of Judeo-Spanish typically use other languages in their daily life in lieu of their heritage language.

A revitalization of interest, however, is evident in the United States and abroad. Some informants note that the 1992 quincentennial of the expulsion of the Jews from Spain sparked a sense of attention and urgency within Sephardic communities to preserve the language, understanding its endangered state. Interest in Judeo-Spanish language and Sephardic culture appears to be on the rise within the United States, as evinced by a plethora of programming from centers, organizations, and activists throughout New York, California, Washington, Florida, and Texas. While much of these efforts—within academia as well as within the community—focus on documentation, investigation, and teaching of the language to those above the critical period, speakers of the language will need to strategize how to pass this language on to children if it is to be revived.

Younger Sephardim associate learning Modern Spanish as a means to connect with their ‘ancestral’ heritage, while learning a variety of Spanish that will allow for practical application today. Additionally, they may utilize this language when speaking with their *nonas* or *papus* ‘grandparents’ who still speak the language, despite the fact that both young and old speak English. Modern Spanish, therefore, provides them with additional domains in which they can use the language. Similarly, speakers of Judeo-Spanish regularly learn varieties of Modern Spanish, often passively but sometimes actively, in order to allow for possibilities of interaction with speakers of the language. If we reconsider Benor’s (2010) model of the Ethnolinguistic Repertoire, we understand how Sephardim merge Judeo-Spanish and Modern Spanish into a larger linguistic arrangement today. Although diglossia exists among older speakers of the language who still utilize their Judeo-Spanish from time to time, younger generations of Sephardim are most likely to learn Modern Spanish and retain remnants of their Judeo-Spanish linguistic history. That is to say, younger Sephardim may recall the prepalatal ~ velar contrasts or other contrasts between languages and select appropriate times to implement them. Unless grandparents who speak Judeo-Spanish speak the language to their newborn grandchildren to the point where the latter acquire it, these are likely to continue to be the consequences of contact between Judeo-Spanish and Modern Spanish.

6.2.1 The Law of Return

While some informants note the benefit of learning Modern Spanish in cities where the language is regularly spoken and heard, others comment that knowing the language could lead to Spanish or Portuguese citizenship. Both Spain and Portugal are in the process of establishing a ‘Law of Return’ for the Sephardim who were subjects of inquisition and expulsion from the

Iberian Peninsula centuries ago. Spain and Portugal, in an attempt to right a historical wrong, have extended the Sephardim an invitation to apply for citizenship to their countries.

Many questions have emerged since the announcement from the Spanish and Portuguese governments, including several queries on how one's Sephardic heritage is to be proven. In the case of Spain, the government has removed the prerequisite of living in the country for two years prior to receiving citizenship to an automatic process once all paperwork has been submitted, paid for, and approved. In November 2012, the Spanish newspaper *El País* reported,

Todos los sefardíes, descendientes de los judíos que fueron expulsados de España en 1492, podrán adquirir la nacionalidad española de forma automática, vivan donde vivan y siempre que acrediten su condición, ya sea por apellidos, idioma, descendencia o vinculación con la cultura y costumbres españolas (“La condición de sefardí”).

We notice that language is listed as one of the ways in which one may prove their Sephardic roots. The article continues to note that the Federación de Comunidades Judías de España is able to offer certification upon submission of the appropriate documentation. We must ask, however, what serves as evidence for ‘language’? Do they refer to Judeo-Spanish?

As of June 2014, the Federación de Comunidades Judías de España explains that the Consejo de Ministros has approved a variety of means to prove Sephardic heritage. Included in this list is “el idioma familiar,” eluding one to think of Judeo-Spanish (“Nacionalidad para sefardíes”). However, the list continues to highlight that applicants must take a test, noting that, “La especial vinculación con España exigirá la superación de una prueba de evaluación de la lengua y cultura española del Instituto Cervantes.” We note the lack of clarity in what is meant by ‘language.’ First, we see proof by means of the applicant’s ‘family language,’ but then we see that the Cervantes Institute will administer a test in ‘Spanish language and culture.’ Are applicants to be tested on—or in—Judeo-Spanish or Modern Spanish?

What shall applicants from the United States expect if they decide to apply for citizenship to *Sefarad*? Speakers of Judeo-Spanish today have never had to take an official exam testing their proficiency or knowledge of their heritage language; will Spain require them to do so now in order to obtain citizenship? And, if they will be tested in Modern Spanish, does that mean that Judeo-Spanish speakers—in the United States and abroad—will opt to focus on learning Modern Spanish, therefore, pushing Judeo-Spanish into an even further endangered state? The by-laws note further warning in that, “estarán excluidos los solicitantes que procedan de países donde el español sea idioma oficial.” While some communities of Sephardim, like those found throughout Argentina, Mexico, and Venezuela, are not required to take this exam, applicants from a country like the United States will be expected to do so.

Spanish is not recognized as an ‘official’ language of the United States. As revealed in this study, Judeo-Spanish-speaking Sephardim regularly interact with speakers of Modern Spanish and some have become so proficient that they use Modern Spanish on a daily basis. The three informants in this study who speak Modern Spanish as their L1 indicate that retaining their Judeo-Spanish becomes a challenge due to its linguistic proximity to Modern Spanish. Is Spain, therefore, making the feasibility of obtaining citizenship more simple for those Sephardim who speak Modern Spanish and are more likely not to use Judeo-Spanish? This draws attention to the position of the Spanish language within the United States. Does the United States need to recognize Spanish as an ‘official’ language for varieties of Spanish spoken in the country to be legitimized by institutions throughout Spain and the greater Spanish-speaking world? As Spain continues to receive applications for citizenship from Sephardim worldwide, they will continue to confront such complex questions.

Let us not forget, however, that Spain represents only a part of the history of the Sephardim of the Iberian Peninsula. Similar to Spain's welcoming of Sephardic Jews, Portugal also offers a 'Law of Return' to descendants of those who resided in their land centuries ago. As part of their Regulamento da Nacionalidade Portuguesa, Portugal notes that Sephardim may prove their roots in Portugal "através da demonstração da tradição de pertença a uma comunidade sefardita de origem portuguesa, com base em requisitos objetivos comprovados de ligação a Portugal, designadamente apelidos, idioma familiar, descendência direta ou colateral" ("Decreto-Lei"). Like Spain, Portugal will select applicants according to similar criteria, one being language. The *Times of Israel* clarifies Portugal's stance in that, "The law names Ladino, the Spanish-based Jewish dialect spoken by some 100,000 people worldwide, as a viable 'linguistic connection'" ("Portugal Becomes 2nd Country"). Further details note that proof may come by means of a "certificado de comunidade judaica com estatuto de pessoa coletiva religiosa, radicada em Portugal, nos termos da lei, à data de entrada em vigor do presente artigo, que ateste a tradição de pertença" ("Decreto-Lei"). Again, we ask which figure within the Jewish community will make such deliberations, what his knowledge of Judeo-Spanish is, and whether 'language' must be documented in familial records or still spoken by the applicant.

The Jewish Community of Oporto notes that a letter of validation confirming the applicant's connection to Portugal must come from one of their authorities or one from the Jewish Community of Lisbon. In regard to language, they note, "The family name or family language, which are not significant when taken alone, can be an element of proof of descentance and emotional connection" ("Portuguese Nationality"). They provide further clarification in noting acceptable forms of proof, which include: "documented evidence, testimonial evidence and expert evidence." Testimonial evidence is clarified in that it must come from, "reputable

witnesses who can attest to a family's oral tradition. Testimonial evidence must be submitted in writing. Testimony must be in the form of written depositions, signed by the witnesses and certified by a Notary Public (languages: Hebrew, English, Spanish or Portuguese).” They also explain that evidence from an expert on the Portuguese Jewish diaspora may be provided in Hebrew, English, Spanish, or Portuguese. It is likely that confusion regarding ‘Spanish’ will occur given no clarification or recognition of Judeo-Spanish. While one might assume knowledge of the Sephardim’s rich linguistic heritage, this remains unclear.

Spain and Portugal’s ‘Law of Return’ is a widely discussed topic among Sephardim today. As Sephardim worldwide decide whether to accept this invitation to return to the land of their ancestors, they ask themselves if they could ever call *Sefarad* home again. A number of informants commented that if they were to leave the United States it would be for Israel, and not for Spain or Portugal. While some recognize Spain and Portugal’s invitation as an attempt to apologize for their countries’ actions in the past, others remain skeptical and believe there to be financial motives involved. Some informants indicated that they might apply for citizenship for reasons of nostalgia, some for justice, and others for entry into the greater European Union. Time will reveal how well this is received among the Sephardim and how the variety of questions related to language is dealt with.

6.3 Directions for Future Research

Despite an increasing amount of research on Sephardic language, culture, and history, there is room for a great deal more of exploration. As we continue to study linguistic phenomena related to the Sephardim, we better understand more than five centuries since the development of the language. We are able to determine how Judeo-Spanish fits into the greater model of Jewish

languages and, at the same time, understand how Judeo-Spanish is also a Romance language. As Judeo-Spanish speakers, who represent different vernaculars of the language, continue to come into contact with one another, we observe how different properties, once unique to each group, are now realized. Similarly, given frequent interaction between speakers of Judeo-Spanish with those of Modern Spanish, we continue to observe linguistic transference that occurs as a result of contact. In this dissertation, I have shown sociolinguistic properties related to diglossia and phonological and lexical transference from contact between languages. However, syntactic and morphological points of contact should also be considered. Further, studies on Judeo-Spanish intonation can reveal how the language relates or differs from varieties of Modern Spanish and/or other Jewish languages.

One particular study that deserves further consideration is that of vowel raising in Judeo-Spanish, described in Chapter 1. If we look at Los Angeles's two largest populations of Sephardim, we notice that the Rhodeslis vowel raise and the Turks do not. Future research should explore whether or not this contrasting feature in Judeo-Spanish is still realized among the Rhodeslis, especially after the half-century to century since they began to arrive in Los Angeles. Few speakers of the language who were born in Rhodes are still alive, while some of their children may have acquired the language as a heritage language here in the United States. Do Rhodesli Judeo-Spanish speakers vowel raise today? Further, is there a difference among the different generations? As noted, Judeo-Spanish speakers from Turkey do not vowel raise, nor did I come across such a phenomenon realized in any of the interviews that I conducted in Judeo-Spanish with them. What happens, however, when a Judeo-Spanish speaker who identifies as a Rhodesli speaks with someone from Turkey? A careful analysis would determine if the Rhodeslis are more prone to removing this feature from their speech or if those from Turkey are

susceptible to incorporating it into theirs. In order to do this, of course, we would have to first determine if those of Rhodesli descent still produce vowel raising amongst one another and, if so, how consistent are they in raising unstressed mid-vowels to high-vowels.

Another opportune research trajectory, which would extend the scope of this dissertation, would be to look at speakers of Judeo-Spanish who reside in predominantly Modern Spanish-speaking countries. As our case study within this dissertation suggests, L1 Modern Spanish speakers who are also heritage speakers of Judeo-Spanish reveal additional sociolinguistic considerations for which we must account. Understanding the diglossic distribution within each community will be important in order to understand the linguistic realities that Sephardim face when Modern Spanish is the majority language of the country. Cities like Buenos Aires, Mexico City, and Caracas prove fitting to initiate such research. In fact, in speaking to Sephardim while in Buenos Aires in December 2011, it became evident that community members have an even more challenging time maintaining their Judeo-Spanish due to daily use of Argentine Spanish. In these communities, Argentine Spanish is the preferred language within most domains. Nevertheless, efforts within the community place Judeo-Spanish at the forefront of their cultural programming.

When communities that speak different languages come into contact with one another, linguistic features from one language are bound to influence the other. Such contact can result in koinés or pidgions or produce code-switching among speakers. In the case of Judeo-Spanish, Sephardic culture and Judaism have fomented yet another variety of language, a Jewish one. Judeo-Spanish, in all of its spoken and written vernaculars, provides the field of linguistics with additional considerations in understanding what the human mind is capable of and how contact with other languages can shape one's language, culture, and identity.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

SOCIOLINGUISTIC INTERVIEW

1. Komo se yama?
 - Ke es su alkunya?
2. Kuando nasio? (mez, data, anyo)
 - Kuantos anyos tiene?
3. Ande nasio?
 - En ke sivdad?
 - Ande en esta sivdad, en kualo parte?
4. Ande moro toda su vida, i agora?
 - Kuantos anyos tenia en kada sivdad?
5. Ke echo aze? Ke echo aziya? Si no lavora, kualo aziya?
6. De ande es su madre; su padre?
 - Ke echo azian?
7. De ande son sus nonos?
 - Ke echo azian?
8. Tiene marido/ mujer?
 - De ande es?
 - Es djudio/a? sefaradi? ashkenazi?
 - Ke aze (azia)?
9. Tiene ijos?
 - Komo se yaman?
 - Kuantos anyos tienen?
 - Kontamos un poko sovre eyos.
10. Tiene inyetos?
 - Komo se yaman?
 - Kuantos anyos tienen?
 - Kontamos un poko sovre eyos.
11. Komo se yama esta lingua ke avlamos agora?
12. Ke nombre uzavan su madre i su padre para esta lingua?
13. Ken avla esta lingua?
 - Ay djente no djudia o no sefaradi ke la avla(va)?
14. Kualo fue su primera lingua/ lingua materna?
15. Kualas otras linguas avla?
 - Konose ebreo/ ivrit?
 - Kuando lo uza?
16. Kualo lingua uza kon mas frekuensia?

17. A kualas eskolas se fue?

- Ken iva a estas eskolas?
- Avia ijikas i ijikos endjuntos o no?
- En ke lingua davan las klasas los maestros?
- En ke lingua avlavan los mansevikos endjuntos?
- Kualas linguas se ambezavan en la eskola, kuando?

18. Avia otros djudios no sefaradis ande moro?

- Ke dizian eyos sovre esta lingua?
- En ke lingua avlavan eyos?
- I kuando les avlava?

19. Kuando empeso a avlar inglez?

20. En ke lingua avla(va) kon su

nona matral _____

nona paternal _____

madre _____

ermanos _____

primos _____

ijos _____

otros de la famiya _____

el haham del kal _____

famiya en otros paizes _____

nono maternal _____

nono paternal _____

padre _____

tios _____

marido/ mujer _____

inyetos _____

miembros del kal _____

buenos amigos _____

21. En ke lingua avlavan sus djenitores endjuntos?

22. En ke lingua avlavan sus nonos endjuntos?

23. Es el djudeo-espanyol una lingua muerta?

24. Es importante avlar esta lingua?

25. Malgrado los mansevos no avlen la lingua, la entienden? Komo?

26. Una vez, sintio embarazado por uzar esta lingua? Kuando?

27. Ke pensava de esta lingua kuando era kriatura?

28. Se puede akodrar de un momento kuando no keria uzar esta lingua, o ke sintio algo negro sovre eya?

29. Alguna vez, sintio ke la lingua no era muy dezvelopada?

30. Kree ke ay diferencias en komo avla la lingua i komo la avlavan sus djenitores o sus nonos?

31. Su famiya avlava otras linguas? Kualas? Kuando?

- Su famiya avlava o konosia ebreo/ ivrit? Kuando?

32. Komo se eskrive en djudeo-espanyol?

33. Eskrive en djudeo-espanyol? Kualo? En ke alfabeto? (latin, meruba, rashi, solitreo)

- I sus djenitores i nonos?

34. Melda en djudeo-espanyol? Kualo?

- En ke alfabeto?

35. Ay o avia una gazeta aki en esta sivdad en djudeo-espanyol?
- Komo se yama(va)?
36. Tiene kolegas kon ken avlar/ eskriver en djudeo-espanyol?
37. Dainda tiene miembros de la famiya kon ken avlar/ eskriver en djudeo-espanyol?
38. Ande se puede oyir/ sentir el djudeo-espanyol?
- En los kales dainda se avla por los sefaradis?
39. Kuando oye el djudeo-espanyol, komo se siente?
40. Va a un kal/ kehila? Kualo?
41. Ay dialektos diferentes del djudeo-espanyol?
- Si si, ay un dialekto ke areyeva mas valor?
42. Kuando i komo savia ke esta lingua ke avlamos es diferente ke la lingua kastilyana (moderna)?
- Komo fue su reaksion?
43. Avla kastilyana (moderna) tambien?
44. Ande i komo se ambezo kastilyano?
45. Komo se komparan el djudeo-espanyol i el espanyol/ kastilyano (moderno)?
46. Alguna vez, tiene uzado el djudeo-espanyol para avlar kon un avlante del kastilyano (moderno?) Kuando? Kon ke frekuensia?
- Era fasil de entender la manera ke avlava/n el/eyos?
 - Pensava(n) el/eya/eyos/eyas ke era fasil de entender su djudeo-espanyol?
 - De ande venia(n) esta(s) persona(s)?
 - Kontamos un poko sovre su eksperiensia kon el kastilyano moderno
 - Tyene viajado a Sefarad o otrun país ande se avla kastilyano? Komo sintio? En ke lingua avlava? Se entendieron?
47. Le sirve avlar djudeo-espanyol en una komunita ande muchos avlan kastilyano moderno? Komo?

APPENDIX B

ESPAÑOL

1. En su juventud, ¿qué hacía el viernes por la noche? ¿Qué comidas se comían típicamente? ¿Se conservan estas costumbres hoy en día?
2. ¿Cómo es la comunidad sefardí de esta ciudad? ¿Hay? ¿Había? ¿Dónde viven todos?
3. ¿Qué hace/ hacía los domingos cuando no trabaja/ trabajaba?
4. Uno de mis amigos me va a visitar desde Israel por un mes. ¿Qué hay que hacer?
5. ¿Usa el español, o sea, el castellano mucho? ¿Me puede dar un ejemplo?
6. ¿En su juventud, ¿cuáles eran sus comidas favoritas?
7. ¿Es la vida más fácil o difícil hoy en día?
8. ¿Qué consejos quiere dar a los jóvenes de hoy?
9. ¿Qué nos puede decir sobre el futuro del mundo? ¿Para dónde vamos? Cuando piensa del futuro, ¿cuáles ideas le vienen a la mente?

APPENDIX C¹¹⁰

Prayer 1: בריך שמה : Berih Sheme (From Aramaic)

Bendicho su nombre de el sinior de el mundo,
bendicha su corona y su lugar, sea su veluntad con
su Pueblo Israel para siempre, y rezgate de tu derecha,
amostra a tu pueblo en casa de tu santedad, y para
contrayer a nos, de buendad de tu claridad, y por
recibir nuestros tefiloth con piadades, sea veluntad
delante de ti, que alarges a nos vidas con bien, y
por ser nosotros tus siervos, guadrados entre los justos,
por apiadar a nos, y por guardar a nos, y a todo lo
que a nos, y lo que a tu pueblo Israel.

Tu sos que mantienes a todos, y governas a todos,
tu sos que podestas sovre lo todo, tu sos que podestas
sovre los reyes, y el reynado tuyo es, nosotros
somos esclavos del santo bendicho el, que nos
omilliamos delante de el, y delante onra de su ley, en
cada ora y ora, non sovre varon mos enfeuziamos, y
no sovre angeles de los cielos mos asufrimos, salvo
en el dio de los cielos, que el es dio de verdad, y su
ley verdad, y sus profetas verdad, y muchigua por
azer bienes y verdades, en el mosotros mos enfeuziamos,
y a su nombre elpreciado el santo, nosotros
dicimos alavaciones, sea veluntad delante de ti, que
avras nuestros corazones en tu ley, y cumplas demandas
de nuestros corazones, y corazon de tu pueblo Israel, por =
bien y por vidas y por paz, Amen.

Blessed be Thy name, Lord of the universe, blessed be Thy crown, blessed Thine abiding place. May Thy favor be with Thy people Israel forever. In Thy Temple show Thy people Thy right hand's redeeming power. Grant us of Thy beneficent light and accept our prayers in mercy. May it be Thy will to prolong our life in goodness, and may I also be accounted among the righteous, that Thou mayest show me love and in Thy keeping hold me and mine with all Thy people Israel. Thou art He who provides food for all and sustains all. Thou art He who rules over all. Thou art He who rules over monarchs, for dominion is Thine. I am the servant of the Holy One, blessed be He, before whom and before whose glorious Torah I bow myself at all times. Not in man do I trust, nor do I rely on a son of God, but only in the God of the heavens who is the God of truth, whose Torah is truth and whose prophets are truth, and who abounds in doing goodness and truth. In Him alone I trust, and to His glory and glorious name I utter praises. May it be Thy will to open my heart in Thy Torah, and to fulfill the desires of my heart and the heart of all Thy people Israel for good, for life and peace.

¹¹⁰ Translations adapted from the Etz Chaim Sephardic Congregation of Indianapolis;
<http://etzchaimindy.org/members/ladino/ladino>

Prayer 2: אין כאלהינו :

Non komo nuestro Dio (From Hebrew)

Non komo nuestro Dio,
Non komo nuestro Senior,
Non komo nuestro Rey,
Non komo nuestro Salvador.

There is none like our God,
There is none like our Lord,
There is none like our King,
There is none is like our Savior.

Ken komo nuestro Dio,
Ken komo nuestro Senior,
Ken komo nuestro Rey,
Ken komo nuestro Salvador.

Who is like our God,
Who is like our Lord,
Who is like our King,
Who is like our Savior?

Loaremos a nuestro Dio,
Loaremos a nuestro Senior,
Loaremos a nuestro Rey,
Loaremos a nuestro Salvador.

Let us praise our God,
Let us praise our Lord,
Let us praise our King,
Let us praise our Savior.

Bendicho nuestro Dio,
Bendicho nuestro Senior,
Bendicho nuestro Rey,
Bendicho nuestro Salvador.

Blessed be our God,
Blessed be our Lord,
Blessed be our King,
Blessed be our Savior.

Tu sos nuestro Dio,
Tu sos nuestro Senior,
Tu sos nuestro Rey,
Tu sos nuestro Salvador.

Thou art our God,
Thou art our Lord,
Thou art our King,
Thou art our Savior.

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