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Mary K. FitzMorris

Productivity, influence, and evolution: The complex language shift of Modern Ladino

Mary K. FitzMorris

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Reading Committee:

Sharon Hargus, Chair

Alicia Wassink

Ellen Kaisse

Devin E. Naar

Program Authorized to Offer Degree:

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Abstract

Productivity, influence, and evolution: The complex language shift of Modern Ladino

Mary K. FitzMorris

Chair of the Supervisory Committee:

Sharon Hargus

Department of Linguistics

This dissertation uses data from interviews with Seattle Ladino speakers, an online forum in Ladino, and documents from the University of Washington Sephardic Studies Collection to investigate the language shift that Modern Ladino has undergone. Ladino is the language that developed when the Jews who were exiled from Spain in 1492 fled to the Ottoman Empire and mixed Ottoman Turkish and other languages into their Spanish. Chapter 1 of this dissertation provides a short language shift literature review, a brief history of the Ladino speech community, and information about each of the aforementioned Ladino data sources. Chapter 2 explores the variation of the vowel raising pattern found in the Rhodesli dialect of Seattle Ladino and shows that this variation existed before Rhodesli speakers came into contact with non-raising speakers

in Seattle. Chapter 3 explores the combinatory potential of the Turkish-origin suffix -*dji* and finds that, while the majority of the roots being combined with this suffix today are of Turkish origin, there appears to still be some productivity with respect to this suffix. Chapter 4 challenges the traditional three-generation language shift model, showing that this model is insufficient for Modern Ladino, as it fails to account for the multilingualism and constant language contact inherent to the Ladino speech community in the 20th century, but also throughout its history. Ultimately, this dissertation provides a snapshot of Modern Ladino in the 20th century, and highlights what are likely some of the last recordings of Seattle Ladino speech that will be made.

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To the Ladineros

A los ke mos desharon la buena vida, en Gan Eden ke esten.

Author's Note

Audio recordings of some of the Seattle Ladino speech examples included in this dissertation can be found at <https://sites.google.com/view/mollyfitzmorris>.

1 Introduction and background

Ladino, or Judeo-Spanish, is an Indo-European language that developed when many of the Jews who were exiled from Spain in 1492 fled to the Ottoman Empire and North Africa. These speakers, known as Sephardic Jews (from the Hebrew *Sefarad* ‘Spain’), presumably comprised a heterogeneous speech community in the Ottoman Empire, having come from diverse parts of the Iberian Peninsula speaking many different Ibero-Romance language varieties. Eventually, Castilian Spanish became the dominant language of this new speech community, but gradually, speakers began to mix elements from Turkish, Arabic, Greek, French, Italian, Hebrew, and other languages into their Ottoman Jewish variety of Spanish.¹ Presently, Ladino is highly mutual intelligible with Modern Castilian Spanish, but the two differ not only due to retentions of Medieval Castilian forms by the Ladino speech community in the Ottoman Empire, but also due to innovations made by those same speakers. Ladino is currently very endangered, but

¹ Much like with American Jewish English, there were also already elements of Hebrew (and Aramaic) present in the Spanish spoken by Sephardic Jews before they left the Iberian Peninsula.

Seattle, Washington is home to one of the few remaining Ladino speech communities in the world, with most of the speakers in their early 80s or older.

Bunis (2013b) separates this history of the Ladino language into three periods, defining Old Judezmo as the period before the 1492 expulsion from Spain, Middle Judezmo as the period between 1492 and approximately 1790, and the Modern Judezmo period as the period from 1790 onward. Bunis (2013b) further defines the Early Modern period as until World War I. Following this terminology, I use the term Modern Ladino in this dissertation to refer to the speech acquired to varying degrees and in different locations around the world by Ladino speakers in the 20th century. It is worthwhile to note that while Bunis prefers the term “Judezmo,” as he asserts that this was the most common term for the language in the Early Modern period (1982, p. 51), and many other scholars prefer the term “Judeo-Spanish,” I will refer to the language throughout this dissertation as “Ladino,” as this is by far the preferred term for Seattle speakers of the language.

Like any speech community undergoing language shift, modern-day Seattle Ladino speakers show abundant evidence of language decay in their speech, and all have switched to speaking English as their dominant language. In fact, it appears that the

speech community underwent a complete language shift from Ladino to English within three generations, the second of which is the oldest generation of Sephardic Jews in Seattle today. In this dissertation, however, I showcase several features of Modern Ladino, using data from Seattle speakers, and from other speakers around the world, to show that the Modern Ladino language shift is far more complicated than it appears superficially. I examine the notions of productivity and decay and interference and influence to illustrate this process and discuss its connotations for speakers today as well as for the future of the speech community and the language. In this introductory chapter, I provide background information, not only on the history of the language and the Seattle Ladino speech community, but also on language endangerment and language shift. In Chapter 2, I illustrate the vowel raising process specific to the Rhodes dialect of Ladino in Seattle. In Chapter 3, I investigate the combinatory potential of the Turkish-origin agentive *-dji* suffix using data from an online corpus formed by speakers around the world. In Chapter 4, I return to the notion of language shift in order to reconsider the data presented in Chapters 2 and 3, and I consider the language mixing that has been central to the development Modern Ladino. Ultimately, I show that in the case of Ladino, the path of the language shift process is neither clear nor consistent; in fact, the language

shift process has been ongoing and also itself evolving since the advent of Ladino five centuries ago.

1.1 Language endangerment and language shift

Any analysis of the present-day Seattle Ladino speech community must account for language shift. As mentioned briefly above, the middle generation of an ongoing language shift, the children of immigrants, are currently the oldest living generation of Ladino speakers in Seattle. This generation typically grew up hearing but not speaking Ladino at home, and so today, many speakers of this generation can read and understand Ladino, but have a lot of difficulty producing sentences or completing elicitation tasks. Most of this generation of speakers can be considered *semi-speakers*, which Dorian (1977) defined in a Scottish Gaelic language shift context as speakers "who could make themselves understood in imperfect Gaelic but were very much more at home in English" (p. 24). Unfortunately, strictly by this definition, many Seattle Ladino speakers may not even fit into this category, and are perhaps better considered passive bilinguals. During sociolinguistic interviews which were intended to be conducted in Ladino, most of the speakers I spoke with struggled to form sentences in Ladino and all of the interviews

contained significant portions of speech in English (see FitzMorris (2014)). In more recent elicitation sessions, where I asked speakers to name objects in images or asked for translations, speakers seemed slightly more relaxed, but still struggled often to remember words.

Fishman (1964) defines *language shift* as a situation where a speech community comes into contact with an "other tongue," which "gain[s] speakers to the end that bilingualism initially increases and then decreases as the erstwhile 'other tongue' becomes the predominant language of the old and the mother tongue of the young" (p. 48). This is perhaps the first widely accepted definition of language shift.

More recent studies have provided more specific and nuanced definitions. Milroy and Li (1995) investigate the Chinese to English language shift in the Chinese community of Tyneside, England and determine that social network is the variable most closely related to language choice. Puthuval (2017) describes the Mongolian to Mandarin language shift in progress in Inner Mongolia, China; her study is unique in that it focuses on language transmission within families rather than describing a late-stage language shift. Jones-Jackson (1984) looks at third person singular pronouns in the Gullah speech community in South Carolina and notes that while it appears that *decreolization*, or the

“morphological, phonological, and syntactical elaboration of features characteristic of creole languages” (p. 352) is limited at this point, the fact that there exist several pronoun variants suggests that a shift toward English is underway (p. 361).

In the context of her study on language change and gender in Oberwart, Austria, Gal (1979) describes language shift as “very much the same as other kinds of linguistic change. It consists of the socially motivated redistribution of synchronic variants to different speakers and different social environments” (p. 17). More specifically, the situation that Gal encountered in Oberwart was “the entire community gradually and systematically changing from stable [Hungarian-German] bilingualism to the use of only one language [German] in all interactions” (1997, p. 376).

Dorian (1981) describes a then ongoing shift from Gaelic to English as follows: “Seen from the society-wide point of view, present-day East Sutherland bilingualism is transitional, or unstable. It is only the last stage of a general transition from nearly universal monolingualism in Gaelic to nearly universal monolingualism in English” (p. 94).

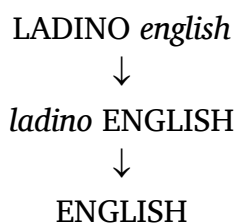
Crystal (2000) also describes a period of “unstable” bilingualism, preceded by pressure on the speech community to speak a dominant language, and followed by a

decline in bilingualism and an increase in younger speakers using only the dominant language (pp. 78-79). Such a situation appears to be underway currently in the Turkish speech community of the Netherlands. Sevinç (2016) finds a three-generation shift in progress, where the first and second generations are bilingual in Turkish and Dutch, but the third generation generally does not maintain the Turkish language as well as their parents and grandparents. In the context of immigrant speech communities in the United States, Harris (1994) describes a very similar, though perhaps more extreme, pattern:

The shift to the dominant language usually takes place over the course of three generations. The first generation (or grandparents) speaks the original language or mother tongue fluently and uses it most, if not all, of the time. The second generation (or parents) is bilingual in the mother tongue and the replacing language and often begins to feel more at home in the new language. [...] It is this bilingual generation that passes on the replacing language to the third generation as its new mother tongue. The members of the third generation (or grandchildren) understand or speak the native language of their parents very little, if at all, since they use the replacing language one hundred percent of the time. (p. 252)

In the case of Seattle Ladino, Harris's description would seem to be a perfect illustration of the pattern of language shift. We can visualize this model of language shift in Seattle as follows:

(1) Language shift in the Seattle Ladino speech community



Generally, Sephardic immigrants to the United States spoke Ladino as their dominant language, and some learned English to varying degrees. Those who worked outside of the home may have learned English quite well, and in fact, many of my speakers report that their parents learned English upon arriving in Seattle. The second generation generally heard Ladino at home and learned it first in a chronological sense, but went to public schools in Seattle and learned English. For this generation, English became the dominant language, but it is this bilingual generation that is the subject of this study. The third generation, the grandchildren of immigrants, generally knows Ladino food words and perhaps some proverbs, but does not speak the language. For now, as I review the history of the Ladino language and some of its notable phonological and morphological features in the following chapters, this model of language shift will suffice. I will, however, return to and challenge this traditional model in Chapter 4.

1.2 Ladino in *Sefarad*, the Ottoman Empire, and Seattle

In order to understand the modern-day Seattle Ladino speech community, one must understand the history of the language. Ladino has its roots in *Sefarad*, the Hebrew name for the Iberian Peninsula, but it truly developed in the Ottoman Empire before making its way to the New World. Below, I briefly describe the history of the language and speech communities in all three places.

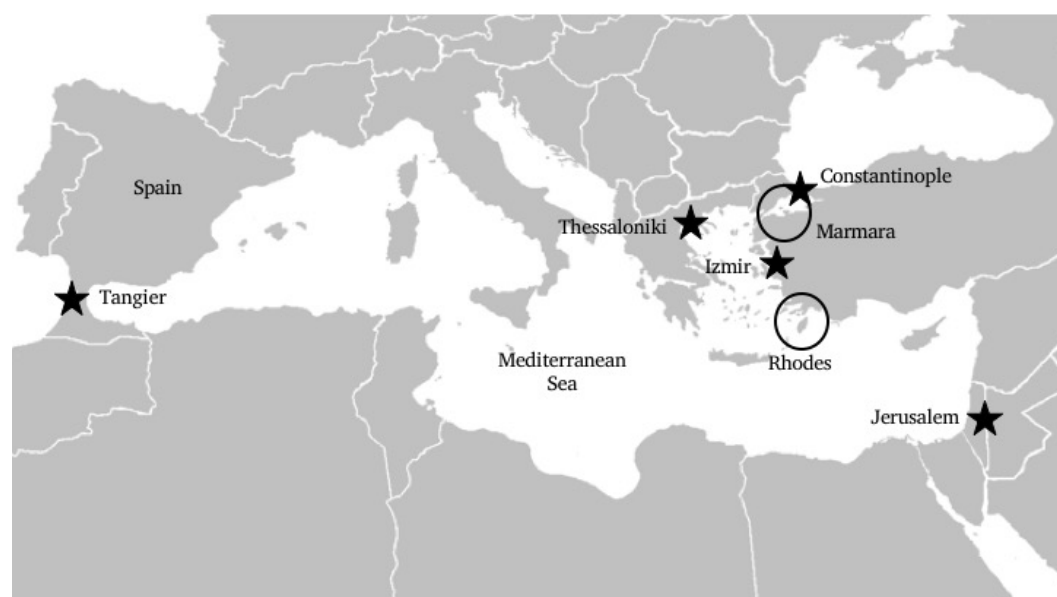
1.2.1 Ladino in *Sefarad*

Spain's *convivencia*, the coexistence of Jews, Christians, and Muslims for several centuries, is noted as quite unusual in its stability (Benbassa & Rodrigue, 2000, p. xxix).

In 1492, however, on the heels of the reconquest of Granada from the Moors and fearing the influence of Jews on recent converts to Christianity, King Ferdinand and Queen Isabella signed the Alhambra Decree, giving Jews approximately three months to convert to Catholicism or flee the Kingdoms of Castile and Aragon. Tens of thousands chose exile. Thessaloniki, or Salonika, (in modern-day Greece) and Constantinople (now Istanbul, Turkey), both major cities of the Ottoman Empire, were two of the most popular destinations. Jews who eventually settled in Rhodes initially fled to Thessaloniki or

Constantinople, as well as Izmir (Smyrna) (in modern-day Turkey) and Jerusalem (Levy, 1971, p. 66, cited in Angel, 1980, p. 21). These cities, as well as the island of Rhodes, the island of Marmara, and the city of Tangier, are shown on the map in example (2):

(2) Notable Sephardic communities after 1492



Though Jews on the Iberian Peninsula were undoubtedly speaking Castilian (and other Iberian language varieties) before the Expulsion, there is much debate as to how much these language varieties differed from the local Christian varieties. What is clear is that at the time of the Expulsion, Sephardic Jews were speaking Romance language varieties that were mutually intelligible with their local Christian counterparts.

1.2.2 Ladino in the Ottoman Empire

As mentioned above, Jews fleeing Spain did not head straight for Rhodes in 1492; in fact, the Dodecanese island was not yet part of the Ottoman Empire, but was instead controlled by the Knights of St. John until 1523 (Shachar, 2012, p. 180). Some sources suggest that Jews may have played a role in the Ottoman victory over the Knights, and that Jews were invited by the Sultan to live on the island of Rhodes as a result (Perelsztejn, 1995). "In time," writes Shachar (2012), "the south-eastern, Jewish, part of town became one of the most densely populated areas of the Mediterranean" (p. 182).

Though Sephardic Jews lived in close-knit communities in the Ottoman Empire, with much of life centered around the Jewish community and Judaism, the Ottoman Empire was extremely multicultural, and so interactions did occur between the Sephardic Jews and other ethnic, religious, and cultural groups (Benbassa & Rodrigue, 2000; Shachar, 2012; Angel, 1980). On the island of Rhodes, after the Ottoman takeover of the island in 1523, the largest ethnic groups were the (Muslim) Turks, the (Orthodox Christian) Greeks, and the Sephardic Jews. When the Ottomans took control of the island, however, the Greeks were no longer allowed to live within the walls of the old city (Shachar, 2012, p. 73). Furthermore, the Greeks and the Jews appeared to carry on

a centuries-long feud, possibly the result of Greek resentment of the preferential treatment awarded to the Jews by the Ottomans (Shachar, 2012, pp. 181-182). The physical separation and the unfriendly relations both suggest that Greeks and Jews had far less contact than Jews and Turks, which may help to explain why relatively little Greek influence is seen in the Rhodesli Ladino spoken in Seattle. There was not a total lack of contact, though, and apparently a common spot for the congregation of all three groups was the tavern (Shachar, 2012, p. 184).

In addition to natural language contact, Rhodesli Sephardic Jews were introduced to languages in the education system. While Turkish was historically not taught to Jewish students in Rhodes (Benbassa & Rodrigue, 2000, pp. 54-55, 72), the establishment of the *Alliance Israélite Universelle* school in Rhodes in 1904 meant that French became the language of instruction in Rhodes (Benatar & Pimienta-Benatar, 2000, p. 25, Benbassa & Rodrigue, 2000, p. 84). Angel (1980) asserts that Turkish was taught as a second language in the Alliance school as well (p. 80-81). Importantly, however, Italy occupied the island in 1912, leading to the elimination of Turkish instruction in favor of Italian; Greek was also no longer used in official capacities (Shachar, 2012, pp. 47, 187; Angel, 1980, p. 81). In the 1920s, the Jews were eventually forced to use Italian as the

language of instruction in their schools (Shachar, 2012, p. 187). The use of Italian in Jewish schools in Rhodes will be discussed in more detail in Section 4.1.1 below.

Though Sephardic Jews often commanded several languages, Ladino remained the dominant common language of the community. Non-Sephardic Jews who had lived in Rhodes before 1492 or who migrated to the Ottoman Empire after the Sephardic Jews adopted Ladino, and many non-Jewish people commanded Ladino as a second language (Angel, 1980, pp. 17, 23; Shachar, 2012, p. 188). In the early 20th century, as the Ottoman Empire began to fall apart, Sephardic Jews from cities in newly independent lands, such as Thessaloniki and Edirne (Adrianople), fled to Rhodes (Shachar, 2012, pp. 164-165). Additionally, following the Greco-Turkish War and subsequent destruction of Izmir, Rhodes saw an influx of Izmiris to the island (Shachar, 2012, pp. 164-165). Shachar (2012) estimates that these new "foreign Jews" accounted for about ten percent of the Rhodesli Jewish population (p. 165). These migrations to Rhodes obviously led to dialect contact between the non-raising Izmir, Edirne, and Thessaloniki dialects of Ladino and the raising Rhodes dialect.

Italy was granted official possession of Rhodes with the Treaty of Lausanne in 1923. After several decades of relative peace on the island, however, Nazi race laws

were put in place in 1938, and the Italians surrendered to the Nazis in 1943 (Angel, 1980, p. 39; Perelsztejn, 1995). In 1944, those Jewish Ladino speakers still living in Rhodes were deported to Auschwitz, where the vast majority were killed by the Nazis. Emigration to the Seattle Sephardic community had begun well before this point, though, and very few Rhodesli Holocaust survivors joined the Seattle community. Chapters 2 and 4, however, will discuss the Barkeys, a Seattle family that was still in Rhodes when the race laws were established. Greece was granted possession of the island of Rhodes following the conclusion of World War II.

1.2.3 The Seattle Ladino speech community

Seattle's Ladino speech community was established at the turn of the 20th century, with the first Sephardic Jewish settlers arriving from the Ottoman island of Marmara (in present-day Turkey) in 1902 to work in the fishing industry (Cone, Droker, & Williams, p. 60). The first settler from Rhodes arrived in 1904 (Angel, 1980, p. 147). Immigration continued and increased quickly when the Ottoman Empire began conscripting non-Muslims in 1909, and within a few decades, Seattle's Sephardic Jewish community had split itself into two religious-cultural groups based on their geographic origins (Umphrey

& Adatto, 1936, p. 256; Adatto, 1939, pp. 41-42). Albert Adatto, a historian who grew up in the Seattle Sephardic community, describes the motivation for the separation as differing "patterns of culture" (1939, p. 41).

The split is perhaps best illustrated by the establishment and continued existence of two Sephardic synagogues in Seattle: Congregation Ezra Bessaroth was established in 1914 by the Rhodes group, or the *rodeslis*, and Sephardic Bikur Holim Congregation was established in 1917 by the families from Marmara, Istanbul, Tekirdağ, and other parts of present-day northwestern Turkey, known in Ladino as the *turkinos*.² These synagogues were originally established in Seattle's Central District, but moved to the Seward Park neighborhood around the 1950s. Importantly, I am not suggesting that Ezra Bessaroth's congregation is still comprised of only members of Rhodesli heritage, nor that Sephardic Bikur Holim's congregation is still comprised of only members of Turkish heritage, but in a Jewish community as small as Seattle's, the existence of two separate Sephardic

² It is important to note here that the terms *rhodesli* or *rodesli* and *turkino* would *not* have been used in the Ottoman Empire, and only came into use in the Americas. In fact, it is likely that most immigrants coming from the Ottoman Empire thought of themselves as Turks.

synagogues for an entire century serves as a strong symbol of the linguistic and cultural division that has existed within the Sephardic Jewish community since its establishment.³

As discussed above, the Seattle Ladino speech community has undergone a language shift from Ladino to English. Because of this and similar processes of language shift in Ladino speech communities around the world, Ladino is currently very highly endangered, with perhaps a few tens of thousands of semi-speakers left in the world, and far fewer fluent speakers. Most speakers can be found in Israel, Turkey, and the United States. Seattle is home to a sizeable and prominent speech community, though, as previously mentioned, most members of the speech community are passive bilinguals with limited production proficiency. My estimate is that, as of 2019, there are perhaps two dozen speakers in the Seattle area who can communicate proficiently and with some degree of fluency in Ladino. As of 2019, seven of the speakers who contributed to this study have passed away since being interviewed. With this in mind, it is important to

³ Interestingly, a similar division is attested in the Sephardic Jewish community of Portland, Oregon, whose community was established by people coming from Seattle. Though Portland has only one Sephardic synagogue, Congregation Ahavath Achim, “the Istanbulis, the Jews from Turkey, sat on the right side of the center aisle and the Jews from Rhodes sat on the left side” (Vida Sefaradi, 2014).

note here that the recordings made for this project could be some of the final recordings made of Seattle Ladino. This dissertation aims to provide a snapshot of Seattle Ladino as it was and is spoken in the 2010s and to honor the Ladino speakers who have contributed to this project.

1.3 Data collection

The data referenced throughout this dissertation come from three primary sources: recorded speech, an online corpus of written Ladino, and documents from the University of Washington Sephardic Studies Collection.

1.3.1 Interviews with Seattle Ladino speakers

The recorded speech used in this dissertation comes from recordings made with 18 speakers between late 2013 and mid-2018 in the Seattle area.⁴ Most of the speakers are the children of immigrants, and all can be considered to be members of the middle

⁴ I also conducted three interviews in Buenos Aires, Argentina in 2014 and one in Los Angeles, California in 2018. One speaker from Buenos Aires is cited in Section 4.1, but no data from the Los Angeles interview is included in this dissertation. Notably, however, the Los Angeles speaker did the Ladino-to-English translations for the book *A Hug From Afar*, referenced in Chapters 2 and 4.

generation of the ongoing language shift. These speakers generally grew up hearing but typically not speaking Ladino at home, though there are some exceptions. Almost all of the speakers whose data are used in this study are or were members of a group called the *Ladineros*. The *Ladineros* are a group of twenty or so Sephardic Jews who meet once a week for *la klasa*, a 90-minute gathering where they typically read stories and messages in Ladino and translate them aloud to English.

The speakers' data were gathered in several different ways. Most of the speakers participated in interviews conducted by me in Ladino; these interviews were conducted either one-on-one or in dyads (generally depending on the marital status of the speaker(s)), typically lasted between an hour and two hours, and all contain at least some English dialogue. Some speakers were interviewed more than once, with different research questions guiding each interview.⁵ In these interviews, I asked questions about the speakers' backgrounds and childhoods, their families, Sephardic culture, and their

⁵ One sociolinguistic interview was designed to gather recorded speech and basic demographic and historical data, as well as language attitude data. A second interview was created to elicit social network data, but this research project was quickly abandoned once it became clear that Ladino was not used widely enough in the present day to warrant a social network study.

thoughts about Ladino. Seven of the speakers participated in elicitation sessions conducted by me in English in which the speakers were asked to either translate English words into Ladino or to describe pictures; these were done in 2016 and 2017, and produced both isolated single words and short, contextualized phrases and sentences. Four of the speakers were recorded engaging in conversations with fellow native Ladino speakers between 2016 and 2018. Lastly, six of the speakers were recorded reading a passage from Matilda Koen-Sarano's *Kuentos del bel para abasho*, an anthology of modern Ladino folktales. The youngest speaker sampled was 74 at the time of her interview, and the oldest speaker was 96 at the time of her first interview. Sample interview questions, elicitation prompts, and a reading prompt can be seen in Appendices A, B, and C. A full list of the speakers in this study can be seen in (3) below:

(3) Seattle Ladino speakers in this dissertation⁶

Name	Place and year of birth	Notes
Al	Seattle, 1936	
Bill ⁷	Seattle, 1929	
Charlene	Seattle, 1950	Marlene's sister
Ike	Seattle, 1930	
Irving	Seattle, 1920 (d. 2016)	Married to Vivian
Jack C	Seattle, 1929	
Judy	Geneva (Switzerland), 1942	
Lilly	Seattle, 1929	
Lucie	Elizabethville (Belgian Congo), 1937 (d. 2015)	
Marcelle	Seattle, 1927 (d. 2019)	Married to Ralph
Marlene	Seattle, 1950	Charlene's sister
Menache	Seattle, 1922 (d. 2019)	
Morry	Seattle, 1929	
Ralph	Seattle, 1927	Married to Marcelle
Regina	Rhodes, 1932	Married to Victor
Sylvia	Seattle, 1943	
Victor	Seattle, 1931	Married to Regina
Violette	Seattle, 1920	
Vivian	Seattle, 1928 (d. 2018)	Married to Irving

One challenge to working with this recorded speech is that because of the Seattle Ladino language shift, I cannot really be sure that speakers are providing me with the grammatical forms that are truly systematic for them, and so I can only describe the

⁶ Special thanks to Barbara, Elliot, and Mickie, the (Ashkenazi, non-Ladino-speaking) spouses of Jack, Lucie, and Morry, respectively, for their very interesting contributions to my interview data.

⁷ Note that Bill was not interviewed for this dissertation, but he was surveyed as part of the research for my master's thesis (FitzMorris, 2014).

language based on the data set that I have compiled. Many of the examples provided in this dissertation are the only example in my entire data set of a particular form, and so it is always possible that a speaker is providing me with an idiosyncrasy or, possibly, a mistake in production.

1.3.2 Online corpus

As previously discussed, Ladino is an endangered language, and many Seattle speakers struggle in elicitation sessions. Furthermore, I found the morphological element of study in this dissertation particularly difficult to elicit, as it does not appear at a very high frequency in spoken Seattle Ladino today. For these two reasons, I chose to use *Ladinokomunita* (LK) as a corpus of Modern Ladino. LK is a Yahoo group, founded by Izmir-born native Ladino speaker Rachel Bortnick in 1999, and is described on its home page as "a correspondence circle in Ladino." On the site, speakers from around the world post messages written entirely in Ladino to other members of the group.

Though LK is not a corpus of spoken Ladino, it appears to be the largest and most diverse corpus of Modern Ladino in existence, as its tens of thousands of messages date back to late 1999 and were written by speakers of virtually all of the extant dialects of

Ladino. Message posters are also asked to include their current city with their message, so it is often possible to gather information about where the author was living at the time a particular message was written, though, importantly, there is typically no way to know where an author was born and/or grew up.

There are, of course, major challenges to using written data in a linguistic study. Though it is typically possible to guess what phonological and morphological forms a particular orthographical form represents, the researcher cannot be sure without verifying with the author, something that is not always possible.⁸ One example where the intended meaning is unclear can be seen below:

(4)	el	su-chi		el		kimur-dji
	the.M.SG	milk/water -AGT		the.M.SG		coal-AGT
	eran	livra-do-s	por	araba-s	de	kavayo
	be.PST.3PL	deliver-PTCP-PL	by	wagon-PL	of	horse

‘The milk/water seller [and] the coal seller used horse-drawn carriages for deliveries’

(*Ladinokomunita* # 12533)

⁸ Not only might speakers have omitted contact information, or passed away since posting their message, but importantly, this research project was deemed by the University of Washington's Human Subjects Division (HSD) to *not* be research with human subjects. A separate research project would need to be approved by HSD in order to contact LK members directly to inquire about their posted messages.

The lack of clarity here comes from the spelling of *suchi*. It is unclear whether the author is referring to the milkman (*sütçü* [syɫʃy] in Turkish, from the stem *süt* [syɫ], ‘milk’) or a water seller (*sucu* [suɟu] in Turkish, from the stem *su* [su], ‘water’). My sense is that the author is referring to the milkman, with two reasons for this interpretation. Firstly, he uses the voiced suffix *-dji* with the voiced-final stem *kimur* just a couple of words later, so I imagine that he would use *-dji* if the stem were *su* and not *sut*. Secondly, there are other examples where other authors (not the *suchi* author) delete [t] before the *-chi* suffix in the data set, such as *inachi* ‘stubborn’ (from the Turkish *inatçı* [inatʃi]) and *kalafachi* ‘caulker’ (from the Turkish *kalafatçı* [kalafatʃu]). It is certainly possible, however, that the author did, in fact, intend to say ‘water seller’ here. This particular example will become relevant again in Section 3.4.5 below.

Using LK as a corpus also poses a challenge for a study like this in that it is quite common for speakers to ask about the usage of a particular word or form on the forum, and for that word or form to become a topic of conversation about which many messages are posted. An example of this that is relevant to this study is *inatchi*, meaning ‘stubborn person,’ which an author uses in the following context:

(5) *sigun* *mi* *la-s* *persona-s* *ke* *nas-en* *en*
 according.to me the.F-PL person-PL REL be.born-3PL in

la-s *montanya-s* *son* *muy* *inat-chi-s*
 the.F-PL mountain-PL be.PRES.3SG very stubborn-AGT-PL

testarudo-s *no* *se* *komo* *se* *diz-e*
 stubborn-PL NEG know.PRES.1SG how REFL say-PRES.3SG

est-o *en* *Djudeo* *Espanyol*
 this-M.SG in Jewish Spanish

'In my opinion, the people who are born in the mountains are very stubborn
testarudos (I don't know how to say this in Ladino)'

(*Ladinokomunita* # 2616)

In this message, the author uses what he sees as a Turkish word (*inatchis*), glosses it in Modern Spanish (*testarudos*), and then says that he does not know the Ladino equivalent. In fact, one Ladino equivalent is exactly the Turkish word he used, and his claim that he did not know the equivalent started a chain of at least 10 messages discussing the word and how it is used in Ladino, which inflated the count of *inatchi* TOKENS (and TYPES) in the data set. This complex challenge of determining what is Ladino and what is Spanish or Turkish or something else will be discussed in detail in Chapter 4.

Also contributing to inflated `TOKEN` counts are the data set's many duplicated messages, often presumably copied and pasted from previously posted messages; authors will sometimes re-post their own previously written messages to commemorate an annual event, as one example, or may re-post an older message written by someone else to remind the group members about it.

Lastly, not everyone who posts a message on LK is a native (or even proficient) speaker of Ladino. I, in fact, have posted more than one message to the forum during my six years of group membership; my few posts do not contain any items of study in this dissertation, however, and therefore were not included in the analysis in this paper. This diversity, an important characteristic of LK's membership pool, will be discussed again in Chapter 3.

1.3.3 Sephardic Studies Collection archive

Data for this project were also gathered from two collections of documents from the University of Washington Sephardic Studies Collection. Both of these documents (or collections of documents) have strong ties to the Ladineros, and thus, indirectly, the recorded speech data used in this dissertation. One document is an original handwritten

recipe for *borekas*, a very common traditional Sephardic pastry, written by Rachel Shemarya, the mother of Al. The second group of documents is a collection of letters relating to the Barkey family, the family of Regina. The letters referenced in this dissertation are only those written in Ladino by people living in either Rhodes or Tangier, though the collection also contains numerous letters written in English between Americans and to the Barkeys regarding the Barkey family's immigration to the United States. Of course, the same challenge of mapping morphology and phonology to orthography applies to these documents as to the *Ladinokomunita* corpus. This recipe and this collection of letters will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 2.

2 Vowel raising in the Rhodesli dialect of Seattle Ladino

In this chapter, I will discuss a variable phonological phenomenon that serves to separate Seattle Ladino into two dialects: the vowel raising seen in the Rhodesli⁹ dialect of Seattle Ladino, exemplified below:

- | | | | |
|-----|------------|-----------------------|------------------|
| (1) | [ˈtje.nis] | *tjenes ¹⁰ | ‘you (sg.) have’ |
| (2) | [teˈner] | *tener | ‘to have’ |

Note that in example (1), the mid vowel in the second syllable, historically *e, raises to [i] because that syllable does not carry stress. Meanwhile, in example (2), the same historical mid vowel *e does not raise in the second syllable because that syllable carries stress in this word. In the Rhodesli dialect of Seattle Ladino,

⁹ Throughout this paper, I will use the Anglicized version of a demonym common among members of the Seattle Ladino speech community, *Rhodesli*, which comes from the word *rodes* ‘Rhodes’ and the Turkish demonym-forming suffix *-li*.

¹⁰ This asterisk marks a historical form, *not* an ungrammatical form. I will use asterisks to mark historical forms in place of back slashes to represent underlying forms throughout this dissertation because in many cases, it is unclear whether restructuring has occurred. There are no instances of asterisks denoting ungrammatical utterances in this dissertation.

the mid vowels /e/ and /o/ are sometimes raised to [i] and [u] respectively when they appear in unstressed position. Example (2) above illustrates the variability of this rule, as the mid vowel *e in the first syllable does not raise to [i], despite not carrying stress in this word. While some Rhodesli speakers pronounce this word [te¹ner], however, others do sometimes pronounce it as [ti¹ner]. Angel (1980) provides a description of the phenomenon from the community's perspective, observing that "the Jews of Rhodes tended to pronounce words that ended with an *o* to sound like a *u*" and "words that ended with a short *e* sound were pronounced with a long *e*" (p. 135).

After illustrating the vowel raising pattern using examples from recordings of speakers in the Seattle area, I will present previous proposals about Ladino vowel raising, and evaluate these proposals in the context of Seattle's Rhodesli Ladino dialect. Lastly, I will use letters written on the island of Rhodes to show that vowel raising was variable before the speakers arrived in Seattle.

As mentioned in Section 1.3 above, the Seattle speakers surveyed for this research project are almost all members of the group called the Ladineros. The five Rhodesli speakers who were consulted for this phonology research are Al,

Lucie, Menache, Regina, and Violette. (See example (3) in Chapter 1 above for a list of all the speakers in this study.) Considering that only 5 of the 18 speakers consulted are Rhodesli, it is clear that, among the Ladineros, the *turkinos* outnumber the *rodeslis* by quite a bit; importantly, however, this is not a proportional representation of the wider Sephardic Jewish population of Seattle. In addition to reading and translating during *la klasa*, the Ladineros often share extended metalinguistic commentaries on the way their parents used to say certain things, what sort of things are Ladino and “not Ladino,” and, importantly, “correct” pronunciation. During an interview in 2014, a speaker was discussing some of the variants he used that he deemed “wrong,” without realizing he was listing Rhodesli variants not found in the Turkish dialects.¹¹ During this commentary, he stopped to ask me, “Of course, you’ve been in class when we’ve gotten involved with the o’s and the u’s, haven’t you?” Here, he was referring to the regular debates that ensue when he or other Rhodesli speakers produce an unstressed mid vowel as [u] instead of [o]. Not only are speakers aware of the

¹¹ Two common examples are *dumpues* ‘after’ and *auera* ‘now,’ which would be *despues* and *agora* for most *turkino* Ladino speakers in Seattle.

existence of vowel raising and able to identify it, but some speakers of the Turkish dialects will even correct speakers of the Rhodes dialect if they raise these vowels.¹²

The social salience of Rhodesli vowel raising is just one of the reasons that it is an excellent subject of study. Additionally, this vowel raising is marked as Rhodesli, and appears to be stereotyped, meaning that Ladino speakers in Seattle strongly associate this phenomenon with speakers of Rhodesli heritage. Thirdly, because of language shift and subsequent assimilation, very few differences remain between Seattle's two dialects of Ladino, and vowel raising appears to be by far the most prominent of these distinctions. Lastly, Rhodesli vowel raising is not extremely well documented in the literature. It is often mentioned, but very

¹² There are several standard language ideologies at play in the Seattle Ladino speech community. As far as I can tell, the main standard against which speakers compare their Ladino speech is the language of their parents. There are several possible explanations for *turkinos* criticizing the pronunciation of *rodeslis*, including the fact that *turkinos* outnumber *rodeslis* in the Ladineros group, the fact that unstressed mid vowels are not raised in standard Modern Spanish, and the fact that the rule is variable, meaning *rodeslis* often use the same unraised pronunciation as *turkinos*. A full exploration of the standard language ideologies of this speech community is outside the scope of this research project, but would make for an excellent investigation in the future.

rarely phonologically analyzed or described in a detailed way, and there is very little literature specifically about speakers from Rhodes. I will survey some of the extant literature on the subject in Section 2.2 below.

2.1 Ladino and Spanish phonology

Most modern dialects of Ladino have the same five-vowel system as Modern Castilian: /i e a o u/ (Quintana Rodríguez, 2006, p. 30). Several of the authors mentioned in Section 2.2.2 below note that vowel raising is more common in (or even, incorrectly, limited to) final syllables.¹³ Though Ladino stress patterns are typically similar to those of Standard Spanish, which favors stress on the penultimate syllable, Ladino displays more variation in stress patterns than does Castilian. Hualde and Şaul (2011) suggest that antepenultimate stress, which is not the favored pattern in Standard Spanish, is even less common in Ladino because many words with this stress pattern in Spanish actually stress the *final* syllable in Ladino (2011, p. 104); the authors note that this phenomenon is relatively recent, raising the question as to whether it may be due to Turkish

¹³ For an example, see the reference to Angel (1980) at the end of this section.

phonological interference. If we consider only the examples provided by Hualde and Şaul, [pa.ʃa'ro] ('bird'), [nu.me'ro] ('number'), and [gwer.fa'no] ('orphan'), all of which are relatively common words, word-final stress replacing antepenultimate stress does not appear to be the rule in Seattle Ladino, as each of these words carries stress on the first syllable in the Seattle dialects.

In raising varieties of Ladino, there are several possible raising patterns (Quintana Rodríguez 2006, p. 40-61; Luria, 1930, pp. 103-103), but the pattern of Rhodes is, in fact, raising of only unstressed /e/ and /o/, leaving only the maximally differentiated vowels [a], [i], and [u] in unstressed syllables. Importantly, however, as we will see below, this is a variable rule, meaning it is optional, and [e] and [o] can and do still surface in unstressed syllables. In the Rhodes dialect, then, we see the form *kinze 'fifteen' realized as either ['kin.ze] or ['kin.zi] and the form *doktor 'doctor' as either [dok'tor] or [duk'tor].

2.2 Vowel raising literature

In this section, I will first discuss some basic characteristics of Rhodesli vowel raising, as described in the literature. I will then discuss language contact and

potential origins of Ladino vowel raising. Lastly, I will review research on varieties of Ladino and their vowel raising patterns.

Crosswhite's (2001) cross-linguistic study of vowel reduction notes that the term *vowel reduction* can refer to anything from "the wholesale deletion of unstressed vowels" to "non-neutralizing changes in the pronunciation of both stressed *and* unstressed vowels" (p. 3). The vowel reduction of import here is also Crosswhite's focus of study: "cases where two or more underlying vowel qualities are neutralized in a stress-dependent fashion" (p. 3). As we will see below, this vowel raising, where unstressed /e/ and /o/ raise to [i] and [u] respectively in some dialects of Ladino, is often mentioned, but rarely accounted for and sometimes even inaccurately analyzed.

2.2.1 Language contact and possible origins of vowel raising

Many Ladino scholars have attempted to explain the origins of Ladino vowel raising, to varying degrees of success. In this section, I will briefly review previous research on the origins of vowel raising.

Penny (1992) provides an extremely useful perspective on the issue, drawing on Social Network Theory to help explain the development of Ladino in the Ottoman Empire. His main proposal is that, with speakers coming from all over the Iberian Peninsula, “social networks which existed within Jewish communities before 1492 cannot have survived the expulsion without severe disruption,” and, because of this, “in the period after 1492, Judeo-Spanish is likely to have undergone faster-than-average internal change” (p. 126). Drawing on the notion of new “weak ties” (Milroy & Milroy, 1997) in the Ottoman Empire, Penny suggests that the neutralization pattern of Ladino vowel raising emerged because it was articulatorily simpler (with three unstressed vowels instead of five) and lead to “greater regularity” among a speech community comprising speakers with weak ties to one another (pp. 127, 130).

Quintana (2014) most thoroughly articulates the theory that vowel raising in Ladino came from Portuguese. Quintana explores the migration patterns of Lusophone Jews and concludes that contact between Portuguese speakers and Ladino speakers was “very intense” throughout the development of Ladino in the Ottoman Empire (pp. 72-73). Teyssier (1987) notes that by the year 1500,

Galician-Portuguese had evolved into a system with eight phonemes, only three of which appeared in unstressed final position, and that the reduction of “pretonic” mid vowels took hold around 1800.

Quintana posits that a lack of exposure to prestige Iberian Spanish forms combined with the instability of the developing Ladino may have “prevented speakers of Judeo-Spanish from confronting issues relating to possible ‘errors’ in spoken Castilian by Portuguese Jews, and from recognizing Portuguese replications in their speech” (pp. 71-72). Perhaps the most compelling piece of Quintana’s argument, however, is that “Port Jews,” Portuguese-speaking Jews who lived in the port cities on the Adriatic Sea, had more close contact with the speakers of raising varieties of Judeo-Spanish than they did with the speakers of non-raising varieties (pp. 83-84). While numerical dominance of raising Portuguese Ladino speakers may have been possible in smaller port cities, it was not possible in cities with very large Sephardic Jewish populations like Thessaloniki and Constantinople. Quintana suggests that this is why the Ladino varieties of Thessaloniki and modern-day Istanbul do not have vowel raising, despite the fact that these cities were port cities.

It seems probable that vowel raising originated at least in part due to weak social network ties among newly settled Ladino speakers in the Ottoman Empire. This theory would seem to suggest, however, that vowel raising developed immediately and was then retained for 500 years, which does not necessarily align with Teyssier's description of the history of Portuguese vowel raising. Quintana's argument that Ladino vowel raising came from Portuguese is compelling and it seems the likely explanation, but the argument is not strong enough to convince me that it is absolutely the correct explanation.

2.2.2 Vowel raising in Ladino dialect sketches

Several studies from throughout the twentieth century that tend to focus on particular dialects (or dialect regions) of Ladino address vowel raising to some extent. Each study, however, is either inaccurate or incomplete in some way, and none focuses on the Rhodes dialect specifically.

In his survey of Ladino dialects, Wagner (1930) only makes mention of word-final unstressed /e/ and /o/, and does not describe patterns of word-medial vowel raising. Furthermore, he suggests a correlation between vowel raising and

the conservation of the word-initial *f-* from Latin, such as in *fazer* ‘to do,’ (cf. Modern Spanish *hacer* [aser] and Ladino variant *azer*), still present in some contemporary Romance languages (cf. French *faire*, Portuguese *fazer*, Italian *fare*). Though the vowel raising and word initial *f-* may coexist, there is clearly not a direct correlation, as, for example, the dialect of Thessaloniki retained the initial *f-* but does not have raising, whereas the Rhodes dialect has raising but generally did not retain the initial *f-*.¹⁴

Harris (1994) briefly discusses vowel raising, focusing on its use in the Monastir (Bitola, Macedonia) dialect, but noting that it occurs in other dialects as well (p. 70). Harris notes that indirect object pronouns like **le* and the reflexive **se* undergo raising, but claims that “in dialects other than that of Monastir, only the pretonic *o* closes to *u*, as in *arispunder* (responder) ‘to respond’ and *muzotros* (nosotros) ‘we’” (p. 70). It is unclear whether Harris is claiming that pretonic **e*

¹⁴ A particularly illustrative example of the coexistence of the two elements can be found in *Ladinokomunita* # 25512, where the author writes, “las formas otentikas dil muestro diyalektu son **fiju**, fazer, favlar.” [“The authentic forms of our dialect are ‘son,’ ‘do,’ ‘speak.’”] In non-raising dialects, the word *fiju* ‘son’ would be realized as *fijo*, and in dialects without word-initial *f-*, as *ijo* or *iju*.

is not raised or that *o is not raised in other positions, though the former seems like the more probable claim. This claim, however, definitely does not hold for speakers of Seattle's Rhodes dialect, as data presented in Section 2.3 will demonstrate. Furthermore, Harris makes no specific mention of word-final, post-tonic, or pretonic raising in any dialects other than that of Monastir.

Penny (2000) provides a vague and incomplete description of vowel raising in Ladino, declaring: "In those varieties of Judeo-Spanish spoken in the western Balkans (Bosnia, Serbia, Macedonia) and elsewhere, the three vowels found in final syllables are the maximally differentiated /i/, /a/ and /u/."¹⁵ Unfortunately, Penny makes no mention of stress patterns, leaving open the incorrect interpretation that stressed mid vowels in final syllables are raised. Stressed mid vowels in final syllables are not systematically raised in Seattle Ladino, which will be demonstrated in Section 2.3 below. Penny also appears to group all of the raising dialects together in this brief analysis, which is overly simplistic and

¹⁵ The use of slashes to surround vowels here further muddies Penny's claim, as slashes are typically used to represent underlying forms, not surface forms. It is unclear whether Penny is suggesting here that resurfacing has occurred and that underlying forms do not contain the mid vowels.

inaccurate. Furthermore, as discussed above, vowel raising is optional, at least in the Rhodes variety of Ladino currently spoken in Seattle, meaning any of Ladino's five vowels can surface in final syllables, even unstressed ones.

Luria (1930) notes that pretonic mid vowels are raised to [i] and [u], which is certainly not always the case in Seattle Ladino, as shown in examples above. Luria also observes that final /a/ raises to [e],¹⁶ and final /e/ and /o/ raise “when followed by *n* or *s*” (pp. 100-103). With these observations, Luria begins to discuss phonological conditioning, and knowing that Spanish words ending in /n/ or /s/ typically carry stress on the penultimate syllable, we can make the connection between neutralization and stress patterns, but Luria himself fails to explicitly relate the two.

In her survey of several dialects of Ladino in the Balkans, Crews (1935) suggests that, in addition to the raising neutralization, there is a less common tendency to lower unstressed /i/ and /u/ to [e] and [o] (p. 26). According to Crews, the dialects of Bucharest and Monastir feature the mid-to-high

¹⁶ As mentioned above, there are different raising patterns in different Ladino dialects. The raising of /a/ has not been observed in the Rhodes dialect.

neutralization in unstressed syllables, and, while it tends to maintain the contrast, the Skopje dialect raises more than the Thessaloniki dialect (which does not raise in unstressed syllables) (pp. 29-42).

Sala's (1971) sketch of Bucharest Ladino notes that he found both [e] and [o] in all positions, including initial, medial, final, stressed and unstressed (pp. 27, 32), thus offering evidence that the raising rule is variable in dialects other than that of Rhodes. In unstressed position, Sala suggests that there is an intermediate sound between the mid and high vowels, both front and back, that is typically perceived as a high vowel (pp. 27, 32). Furthermore, Sala notes that the unstressed mid front vowel is found mostly in the most rarely used words, and that this suggests that the neutralization is not produced according to precise rules (p. 28).

In his sketch of Bulgarian Ladino, Kanchev (1974) notes that unstressed vowels, particularly /e/ and /o/, undergo considerable modifications in this dialect. In final position, /e/ and /o/ surface with the same articulation as [i] and [u], basically, but word-medially, in both pretonic and post-tonic position, Kanchev claims that the vowels vacillate between mid and high position (p. 1).

2.2.3 Clewlow (1990)

Perhaps the study most similar and relevant to my research on the Rhodes dialect of Seattle Ladino is Clewlow's (1990) dissertation, which discusses two speakers of Rhodesli Ladino in Vancouver, British Columbia. Clewlow notes that vowel raising, which he describes as "the frequently different timbre of atonic vowels compared to that of those in Standard Spanish," is prominent in his recordings, especially for the male speaker (p. 38). Clewlow also notes that these speakers raise vowels not only in the unstressed syllables of polysyllabic words, but also in monosyllabic function words, including prepositions, pronouns, and articles. Clewlow also notes, however, that unstressed mid vowels often surface as [e] and [o] in his recordings, confirming the optionality of the rule that has been attested repeatedly above. Though both optionality and raising in monosyllabic words are seen in Seattle's dialect, some of the tokens that Clewlow suggests are not often raised in Vancouver are quite often raised in Seattle, including [padre] 'father' and [de] 'of, from'. This could be due to interspeaker variation within the Rhodes Ladino dialect, or it could potentially be related to language contact between

rodeslis and *turkinos* in Seattle. This possibility will be further explored in Section 4 below.

Clellow also distinguishes between western and eastern dialects, but he does so using vowel raising to divide them, citing the dialects of Rhodes, Macedonia, Bosnia, Serbia, and western Bulgaria as western dialects, with raising. He also begins to present a phonological analysis to account for variation in the raising of tokens. Assimilation to an adjacent syllable containing a mid vowel can affect or prevent raising, he notes, as is often the case with the vowel in the conjunction [ke] ‘that’, especially when it is followed by [e] or [ɛ]; this same vowel can even be lowered a bit if it is preceded and followed by mid and/or low vowels (Clellow, 1990, p. 41). Clellow acknowledges that there is some sort of phonetic conditioning affecting the raising of unstressed mid vowels, and posits that the variation he observes is most likely not free. He also suggests that “a determined lexical element may become a kind of phonetic unit which prevents raising of atonic /-e/” (p. 41), citing the words /paðre/ and /maðre/, which were apparently not raised in his recordings, but making no mention of similar words

that contain unraised unstressed /o/. Interestingly, I find that the *e in *padre and *madre¹⁷ is very commonly raised for Seattle Rhodesli speakers.

2.2.4 Quintana Rodríguez (2006)

The most thorough of all attempts to describe vowel raising across dialects of Ladino can be found in Quintana Rodríguez (2006). Quintana Rodríguez surveys the extant literature, including most of the sources cited above, and discusses patterns within and across dialects. She notes, firstly, that the /e/ : /i/ and /o/ : /u/ neutralization in unstressed syllables serves to divide Ladino into two dialect groups. In one group are the raising speech communities, those that have the neutralization: Bosnia, Serbia, Romania, Bulgaria (until Karnobat), Monastir, Kastoria (Greece), Rhodes, and Hebron. In the second group are the non-raising speech communities, those that do not have the neutralization: Turkey, Greece

¹⁷ While Clewlow indicates underlying forms and the sounds /ð/ and /r/ in his transcriptions, I'm indicating historical forms because of the possibility of restructuring, and the sounds /d/ and /r/ because these are what are typically used in the Seattle Ladino speech community.

(except Kastoria and Rhodes), and Egypt. The Jerusalem and Vienna speech communities do not quite fit into either group (p. 40).

For the raising dialects, Quintana Rodríguez calls neutralization in unstressed word final position “general,” but less frequent in other positions (pp. 41-42). For pretonic mid vowels, Quintana Rodríguez suggests that the particular combination of pretonic and stressed vowel affects the likelihood of raising, for example, /o/ before a stressed /i/ is more likely to raise than /o/ before a stressed /u/ (p. 42). Another characteristic of the raising dialect group, as several other scholars mentioned, is the neutralization in what Quintana Rodríguez calls monosyllabic words (rather than clitics), though she notes that this particular neutralization differs by speech community, and provides examples only from Ruse (Bulgaria) and Sarajevo (p. 44).

Quintana Rodríguez also touches upon some sociolinguistic variables affecting variation in raising. First, she suggests a tendency for men to not raise unstressed mid vowels in words of Hebrew origin, linking this tendency to men traditionally learning to read Hebrew (p. 47). Secondly, similarly to Kanchev (1974), she notes that vowel raising is, unsurprisingly, more common in lower

socioeconomic classes and in speakers with less education, adding that, in Rhodes, the use of mid or high vowels was especially dependent on the social status of the speaker and of the social context of the speech (p. 47). No further information is provided about this, unfortunately, but considering that the variable in question is socially stratified, it sounds like its use or disuse could be an example of situational code-switching, as described by Blom and Gumperz (1972), where speakers signal changes in a social setting with a linguistic change (p. 424). This also raises the question as to whether vowel raising may have been seen as covertly prestigious (Labov, 1972b, p. 295), and as a symbol of local belonging in Rhodes. Quintana Rodríguez also notes that by the 1930s, Ladino written texts no longer displayed vowel raising (p. 48), which may have been true for formal texts, but was not true for less formal texts, like recipes and letters, as Section 4 will show. Quintana Rodríguez's description suggests that there was variation in Rhodes Ladino leading up to the demise of the speech community in the 1940s, but we cannot conclude from this information to what extent this variation was within-speaker, as opposed to community-wide. In the following section, I will show that Ladino vowel raising *was* variable on the island of Rhodes, before

speakers arrived in Seattle, and I will illustrate both within-speaker variation and interspeaker variation.

2.3 Vowel raising in Seattle Ladino

It is important to keep in mind when examining data from an endangered language that the data is limited in several ways. One of these limitations is that many of the examples of vowel raising that follow are the *only* example in my data set of a particular form. They are being used here to help illustrate patterns, and I hope to be able to add significantly to this sketch of Seattle Ladino vowel raising with more data collection in the future.

It is clear immediately that vowel raising for speakers of Seattle's Rhodes dialect is variable; there do not appear to be speakers who raise all unstressed mid vowels. What is *not* clear is to what extent language shift is related to the variation that can be seen. Based on the data collected, there appears to be a tendency for higher raising frequencies in elicitation sessions than in interviews. Labov's (1972a) theory about attention paid to speech suggests that speakers are more likely to use vernacular forms when less aware of their speech (p. 256), so

assuming these (semi-)speakers were more relaxed in the elicitation sessions (where I asked for single words) than in the interviews (where I sought complete utterances), this would make sense.¹⁸ Future research should look to confirm this observation, however, and to compare vowel raising frequencies across several types of speech event.

Also clear from the data thus far is that speakers do not appear to be hypercorrecting. Other than the occasional irregularity, I have not found instances of speakers raising stressed mid vowels as a rule, nor of systematically lowering stressed or unstressed high vowels. It is quite evident that this is a rule that speakers have learned and it also appears quite evident that the rule is

¹⁸ Traditionally, one-on-one interviews have been found to correlate with slightly less formal speech styles than reading passages or the production of isolated words (Labov, 1972a, p. 264), meaning that we should expect *higher* frequencies of vowel raising in interviews. Because many of these speakers struggle with proficiency in Ladino, however, I suspect that they generally felt more comfortable producing single isolated words or short phrases in Ladino than listening to questions in Ladino and attempting to construct detailed responses in Ladino. Based on my observations, I strongly believe that the speakers who did both the interview and the elicitation task felt much more at ease during the elicitation session. I hypothesize that these speakers were paying less attention to their speech during the elicitation task, and that, therefore, my findings, though initially surprising, are actually in line with Labov's attention paid to speech theory.

productive, not just learned with particular lexical items. This can be seen when asking speakers to read passages, which contain many words speakers have either forgotten or never seen before, but the speakers still raise relatively consistently. Both variation and reading style will be discussed in detail in later sections.

2.3.1 Basic principles of vowel raising

When examining the vowel raising in Seattle's Rhodesli dialect of Ladino, several basic phonological characteristics emerge. Firstly, Seattle speakers often raise the mid vowels in certain monosyllabic prepositions, pronouns, and other stressless clitics and clitic-like words. Several examples can be seen below:

(3) Raised mid vowels in stressless clitics and 'clitic-like' words

- | | | | |
|----|------|-----|------------------------|
| a. | [di] | *de | 'of, from' |
| b. | [mi] | *me | 1SG.REFL (or 1SG.OBJ) |
| c. | [si] | *se | 3SG.REFL (or 3PL.REFL) |
| d. | [li] | *le | 3SG.OBJ |
| e. | [ki] | *ke | REL |

From the variety of consonant sounds in this short list, it is clear that place of articulation, manner of articulation, nasality, and voicing do not affect raising.

Providing further proof that vowel raising is tied to stress patterns, the data suggest that the mid vowel in the interrogative or declarative *ke cannot be raised, in contrast to the stressless relative *ke, whose mid vowel can be raised, as seen in example (3) above. The data set contains several examples of the stress-carrying interrogative or declarative *ke, some of which can be seen below:

(4) Examples of stressed *ke, as an interrogative and declarative morpheme

- | | | |
|----|--|---------------------|
| a. | [ke e ¹ dad ¹ tjen.es] | 'How old are you?' |
| b. | [ke la ¹ vor ¹ az.es] | 'What is your job?' |
| c. | [por ¹ ke] | 'Why?' |
| d. | [di ¹ ke] | 'Why?' |
| e. | [ke pi ¹ ka.du] | 'What a sin/shame!' |

In these examples, the interrogative or declarative *ke carries stress, so the vowel is mid each time, but when *ke appears as a (stressless) relative, as in example (3), the vowel is often raised. An example contrasting both forms of *ke can be seen below, in this utterance produced by Lucie:

- (5) [ke] plazer [ki] estamos dando ke, deke nos estas avlando espanyol komo mozotros, or ladino komo mozotros¹⁹

Note that in this example, the vowel in the third *ke is also reduced, though it is perhaps not as high as the first relative [ki]. You can also hear a raised vowel in [dike] here, as well as in [dandu], [nus], [avlandu], [komu], and [muzotros]. As far as I can tell, the distinction in raising between interrogative and declarative *ke has not been noted in other discussions of Ladino vowel raising.

Word position (i.e. a vowel appearing in the first syllable of a word versus the final syllable of a word versus word-medially) does not appear to substantially affect whether unstressed mid vowels are raised, but, importantly, when gathering data from speakers with such limited vocabularies, words with unstressed word-final mid vowels far outnumber words with unstressed mid vowels in other positions. This is because speakers of Seattle Ladino rely heavily on Ladino vocabulary inherited directly from Medieval (or Modern) Spanish, whose stress is very often on the penultimate syllable. The predominance of words of Spanish

¹⁹ My translation: “What a pleasure that you’re giving us, why are you speaking Spanish like us, or Ladino like us?”

origin in this data set slightly limits phonological research, as this data set cannot really be used to test for a relationship between word position and likeliness of raising, whereas other Ladino corpora may be able to be used.

Despite the usage of several data collection methods, all of the data were collected in the presence of an outside observer (me) and the speakers were always aware of the recorder. Perhaps the data collected from conversations between two native speakers are the closest approximation possible to *naturalistic* Ladino speech,²⁰ but even during those sessions, speakers often times addressed me directly. For these reasons, speech style effects cannot really be measured from this data set, though the reading passage data *do* serve as evidence of the productivity of the vowel raising rule. Despite unstressed mid vowels being represented orthographically by <e> and <o>, speakers regularly read them as high. Several examples can be seen below, with raised vowels in bold:

²⁰ In 2017 Seattle, it is virtually impossible to capture anything resembling *naturalistic* Ladino speech, no matter the elicitation methods, as the language's domains of usage have been limited considerably, to the extent that it is virtually only used for greetings and food-related, religious, and cultural terms.

(6) Examples with raising of orthographically mid vowels

- a. [mi] <me> 1SG.OBJ
- b. [bu're.kas] <borecas> potato and cheese pastries
- c. ['ke.zu] <kezo> 'cheese'
- d. [mu'ʒer.is] <mujeres> 'women'
- e. [em.pi'so] <empesó> 'began'

As can be seen in example (6e), however, variation can also be found in reading passage data, in this case, a word-initial unstressed mid <e> that is not raised.

The tendency to raise vowels while reading will be discussed in further detail in Section 2.4.1 below.

Raised unstressed mid vowels can be front *e or back *o, as seen in the examples above, and can appear in the same word as vowels of all other qualities, including the low vowel /a/. Examples of raised vowels before and after /a/ can be seen below:

(7) [mus'tra.va] *mostrava 'showed'

(8) ['pa.dri] *padre 'father'

In the examples so far, it is evident that vowels can be raised preceding and following a variety of consonants, and in different word positions. The full data set contains examples of raising in a significant enough number of segmental contexts and positions in the word to be certain that these are not what condition vowel raising. It is possible but unconfirmed from this data set, however, that unstressed mid vowels may raise in an assimilation process when in proximity to a glide, in a process similar to that described by Clewlow (1990) in his description of Rhodesli Ladino as spoken in Vancouver, British Columbia. Some examples from my Seattle data set can be seen below:

(9) Instances of raising in proximity to a glide:

a.	[a'ni.ju]	*anijo	'ring'
b.	[tʃa'pe.ju]	*tʃapejo	'shoe'
c.	[ka've.jus]	*kavejos	'hair'
d.	[me.dju]	*medjo	'middle'
e.	[mju]	*mijo	'mine'
f.	[si.ga'ri.ju]	*sigarijo	'cigarette, cigar'
g.	['kuan.du jo]	*kuando jo	'when I '
h.	['di.ʃi jo]	*diʃe jo	'I said'
i.	['i.zi jo]	*ize jo	'I did'
j.	[si 'ja.ma]	*se jama	'his/her name is'

Of course, these examples could just be instances of normal unstressed mid vowel raising that happen to occur in proximity to a glide. My Seattle data set also contains many examples of unstressed mid vowels that are not raised despite their proximity to a glide; therefore, further research is necessary to confirm an assimilatory relationship.

2.3.2 Vowel raising within verb paradigms

Because of stress shifts in verb conjugations, raising patterns in verb paradigms also provide strong evidence that vowel raising is a phonological rule and is not just memorized along with specific lexical items. Some of the verb paradigms extracted from the data set can be seen below:

- (10) Verb conjugations for historical ***kerer** 'to want'
- | | | | |
|----|-------------------------|----------------------|------------------------|
| a. | [^h ke.ri] | *ker-e ²¹ | want-PRES.3SG |
| b. | [^h ke.ris] | *ker-es | want-PRES.2SG |
| c. | [ki ^h ri.ja] | *ker-ija | want-IPFV.1SG (or 3SG) |

²¹ Speakers of Modern Spanish will notice here that Ladino does not follow the same patterns of diphthongization in its verb paradigms as Spanish.

- (11) Verb conjugations for historical ***tener** 'to have'
- | | | | |
|----|------------|----------|------------------------|
| a. | [ˈtje.ni] | *tjen-e | have-PRES.3SG |
| b. | [ˈtje.nis] | *tjen-es | have-PRES.2SG |
| c. | [tiˈni.ja] | *ten-ija | have-IPFV.1SG (or 3SG) |
- (12) Verb conjugations for historical ***komer** 'to eat'
- | | | | |
|----|--------------|------------|-----------------------|
| a. | [ˈko.mi] | *kom-e | eat-PRES.3SG |
| b. | [kuˈmi.ja] | *kom-ija | eat-IPFV.1SG (or 3SG) |
| c. | [kumˈjo] | *kom-jo | eat-PST.3SG |
| d. | [koˈmjɛn.do] | *kom-jendo | eat-GER |
| e. | [koˈmjɛn.du] | *kom-jendo | eat-GER |
- (13) Verb conjugations for historical ***korer** 'to run'
- | | | | |
|----|--------------|------------|-----------------------|
| a. | [ˈko.ri] | *kor-e | run-PRES.3SG |
| b. | [koˈri.ja] | *kor-ija | run-IPFV.1SG (or 3SG) |
| c. | [korˈjo] | *kor-jo | run-PST.3SG |
| d. | [kurˈjo] | *kor-jo | run-PST.3SG |
| e. | [koˈrjɛn.du] | *kor-jendo | run-GER |
| f. | [kuˈrjɛn.du] | *kor-jendo | run-GER |

For all of these verbs, the present tense morphemes shown are monosyllabic, but the imperfect morpheme is disyllabic. This means that the stress is carried on the mid vowel in the first (penultimate) syllable in the present tense, but shifts to the second (penultimate) syllable in the imperfect tense. For this reason, the word-initial mid vowel becomes unstressed in the imperfect tense; this is illustrated by

the contrast between [e] in (10a) and (10b) and [i] in (10c), as one example. The word-final unstressed mid vowels in (10a), (11a), (12a), and (13a) are all raised, as can be expected. In example (12), the same contrast exists between the present and imperfect tenses, but there is also a stress shift to the final syllable in the preterit, allowing the word-initial /o/ to be raised, as can be seen in (12c). In examples (12d) and (12e), two realizations of the gerund, which has two unstressed mid back vowels, can be seen. In (12d), neither vowel is raised, while in (12e), only the word-final vowel is raised. In example (13), the contrast in stress between present, imperfect, and preterit can be seen once again. In this set of data, however, the unstressed word-initial mid vowel in the imperfect tense in (13b) is not raised, and there are two iterations of the preterit, one with a raised word-initial unstressed mid vowel in (13c) and one with an unraised word-initial unstressed mid vowel in (13d).

Examples (13e) and (13f) above were actually produced by the same speaker within a couple of seconds of each other. When looking at a picture of a girl running, the speaker could not remember the word *korer*, and asked me for a hint. After I told him first that it began with the sound [k] and then after, [ko],

he was able to remember and said [kor'jen.du], but immediately corrected himself to [kur'jen.du]. This suggests that my hint affected the first vowel in the first realization and prevented the speaker from raising, but the word did not sound quite right and so he corrected it by raising the vowel. As further compelling evidence of vowel raising as a phonological rule, however, the speaker still naturally raised the final *o in the first production of the word, [kor'jen.du], despite my "[ko]" hint about the first syllable.

2.3.3 Variation in raising

As mentioned above, vowel raising in Seattle's Rhodes dialect of Ladino is undeniably variable. No speaker raises all of their unstressed mid vowels, and, in fact, even the speakers who raise the most appear to do so only about half of the time. There are, of course, several possible sociolinguistic explanations for this variation, but such a discussion is outside the scope of this dissertation. Below are some examples of the variation across speakers found in the data set:

(14) Interspeaker variation pairs in the data set

a.	[la ¹ di.no]	[la ¹ di.nu]	'Ladino'
b.	[¹ ro.des]	[¹ ro.dis]	'Rhodes'
c.	[¹ ʤen.te]	[¹ ʤen.ti]	'people'
d.	[¹ mad.re]	[¹ mad.ri]	'mother'
e.	[¹ pad.re]	[¹ pad.ri]	'father'
f.	[¹ a.ze]	[¹ a.zi]	'do' (3SG.PRES)
g.	[mo ¹ zo.tros]	[mu ¹ zo.trus]	'we'

For each of the pairs above, the two forms were produced by two different speakers. The raising does not appear to be entirely tied to individual speakers or individual lexical items, though, as the data also show a sizeable amount of intraspeaker variation. Each of the following pairs was produced by a single speaker, sometimes even within seconds of each other:

(15) Intraspeaker variation pairs in the data set

a.	[¹ kuan.do]	[¹ kuan.du]	'when'
b.	[¹ un.us ¹ kuan.tus]	[¹ un.us ¹ kuan.tos]	'some, about'
c.	[¹ e.jos]	[¹ e.jus]	'they'
d.	[del ¹ ga.da]	[dil ¹ ga.da]	'thin'
e.	[¹ buen.o]	[¹ buen.u]	'good'
f.	[se mos ¹ tra.va]	[si mus ¹ tra.va]	'become' (3SG.PST)
g.	[pi ¹ ka.do]	[pi ¹ ka.du]	'sin'

As can be seen above, even entire phrases, such as in examples (15b) and (15f), can show variation.

This intraspeaker variation manifests itself in intriguing ways. For example, one speaker produced the unraised vowel in (16a) while counting during an elicitation task, but raised the same vowel in the same word in a reading task, resulting in (16b):

- (16) Intraspeaker variation in reading pronunciations of <ocho>
 (*otʃo) 'eight'
 a. [ˈo.tʃo]
 b. [ˈo.tʃu]

This is particularly interesting because we would expect the speaker to be less likely to raise the vowel during a reading task, where the mid vowel is presented in the orthographical representation of the word. A different speaker produced the words for 'nine' and 'nineteen' with different vowel qualities, as can be seen in example (17) below:

(17) Intraspeaker variation between 'nine' and 'nineteen'

- a. [ˈnue.ve] 'nine'
 b. [dje.ziˈmue.vi] 'nineteen'

These two forms surfaced mere seconds from each other, as they were both produced during a portion of an elicitation task asking speakers to count to twenty. Furthermore, it is interesting that the speaker uses the standard Spanish alveolar initial nasal [n] in 'nine,' where the vowel is not raised, while she uses the Ladino bilabial initial nasal [m] in 'nineteen,' where the vowel is raised.²² This raises the question as to whether the speaker may have two separate lexical items for nine, /nueve/ and /mueve/, where only the second has a final vowel that is eligible for raising. Further research could attempt to address the relationship between the *Spanishness* of a speaker's Ladino dialect and his or her propensity to raise unstressed mid vowels.

²² It is not surprising that the speaker would have the form /nueve/ in her lexicon, as she experienced what Bürki (2016) deems "re-Hispanicization" in Tangier, Morocco in the 1940s. Re-Hispanicization is Bürki's term for language contact between Ladino speakers and standard Spanish speakers in Spanish Morocco that resulted in language shift back toward Spanish. This speaker, in fact, often experiences interference from Spanish when speaking Ladino.

Speakers also showed variation in unstressed vowel quality within a single word, meaning they raised at least one, but did not raise all, of the eligible vowels in a particular word. Several examples of this can be seen below, with all of the raising eligible vowels in bold:

(18) Examples of variation within a single word

a.	*diferente	[di.fe ¹ ren.ti]	'different'
b.	*bevjendo	[biv ¹ jen.do]	'drinking'
c.	*bolizikos	[bo.li ¹ zi.kus]	'little balls'
d.	*delantre	[di ¹ lan.tre]	'in front'
e.	*interesante	[in.te.res ¹ an.ti]	'interesting'
f.	*lavorando	[la.vo ¹ ran.du]	'working'
g.	*morikos	[mo ¹ ri.kus]	'African-Americans'
h.	*pedasos	[pe ¹ da.suz]	'pieces'

The data set also includes pairs in which there are two different productions of the same word, exhibiting within-word variation. Three such examples can be seen below:

(19) *etjando

a.	[e ¹ tjan.du]	'taking, putting'
b.	[i ¹ tjan.do.me]	'taking me'

- (20) *novesjentos 'nine hundred'
 a. [no.ve'sjen.tus]
 b. [no.vi'sjen.tos]

- (21) *kolorado 'red'
 a. [ko.lo¹ra.du]
 b. [ku.lo¹ra.du]

In example (19), both interspeaker and intraword variation are evident; two different speakers produced iterations of the word /etjando/, but while one raised the word-initial mid vowel and left the gerund and clitic mid vowels as mid, the other raised the word-final gerund vowel but not the word-initial. In example (20), it is very possible that the mid vowel in the first syllable is prevented from being raised because the syllable carries secondary stress, but the data suggest that even this non-raising is variable, as example (21) shows raising in a syllable that presumably carries secondary stress. Furthermore, in example (21), the mid vowel in the second syllable, which definitively does not carry stress, is not raised in either production.

Meanwhile, in many cases, all unstressed mid vowels in a single word are raised, as in the examples below:

(22) Examples where all eligible vowels are raised

a.	*k o lores	[ku'lor.is]	'colors'
b.	*e n medio	[i'me.dju]	'in the middle'
c.	*k o rjendo	[ku'rjen.du]	'running'
d.	*r o gando	[ru'gan.du]	'praying'

In these examples, the raising rule is applied completely, and any vowel that can be raised is raised.

2.3.4 Etymology and raising

Considering the popular theory that vowel raising found its way to Ladino through repeated contact with Portuguese (Quintana, 2014), an important question about vowel raising is whether (and to what extent) it is applied to words of non-Hispanic origins. Unfortunately, as previously mentioned, most likely due in large part to the aforementioned language shift, speakers of the Seattle dialect of Ladino use relatively few words of non-Hispanic origin in their speech (though they typically recognize and understand them in reading passages or when used by other speakers). The data set does, however, contain a few instances of raised

unstressed mid vowels in words of non-Hispanic origin, many of which can be seen below:

(23) Raised vowels in words of non-Hispanic origin

a.	* besarot (Hebrew)	[bi.sa'roθ]	Bessaroth ²³
b.	* borekas (Turkish)	[bu're.kas]	Sephardic pastry
c.	* boja (Turkish)	[bu'ja]	'paint'
d.	* tʃapejo (Portuguese, French)	[tʃa'pe.ju]	'hat'
e.	* finçanes (Turkish)	[fir'ç̣a.nis]	'cups'
f.	* palto (Italian, Turkish, Greek)	[ˈpal.tu]	'coat'
g.	* portokal (Turkish, Arabic, Greek)	[por.tu'gal] ²⁴	'orange'
h.	* meldar (Ancient Greek)	[mil'dar]	'to read'

A raised mid vowel in the root *meld-*, as shown in (23) above, only appears a single time in the corpus, and was only recorded relatively recently. The data set contains several examples, however, where the root mid vowel stays mid and the mid vowel in a Hispanic verbal suffix is raised, such as in (24) below:

²³ As discussed above, Congregation Ezra Bessaroth is the name of one of Seattle's Sephardic synagogues.

²⁴ The voiced velar in this production is interesting, but not particularly surprising, as the word for the fruit comes from what was believed to be the orange's country of origin, Portugal.

(24) *meldando (Ancient Greek) [mel'dan.du] 'reading'

Considering how common the root *meld-* is in the data set, I wonder if examples like (24) merely show within-word variation, or if they suggest that roots and words of non-Hispanic origin are less likely to contain raised unstressed mid vowels. It is also not entirely clear that these non-Hispanic roots were not lexicalized with raised roots. Further research and many more tokens with non-Hispanic roots are necessary to explore these questions.

2.4 Evidence of vowel raising in historical documents

Evidence of vowel raising can also be found in documents written by speakers of the Rhodes dialect of Ladino. In this section, I will examine two sets of documents, a recipe and a collection of letters, to provide evidence for the productivity and variability of vowel raising.

2.4.1 Rachel Shemarya's *borecas di patata* recipe

It is not uncommon for vowel raising to be reflected in the orthography of speakers of the Rhodes dialect, but the lack of vowels in the Hebrew alphabet may have

played a part in this.²⁵ Importantly, however, vowel raising is entirely a *phonological* process and not related to orthography, so no firm conclusions can be drawn about the unstressed mid vowels that are spelled with <e> and <o> in a text. Any author may have been hypercorrecting in his or her spelling and actually writing mid vowels as high, or the author may have written the vowels as mid even though they are in unstressed position and may have been raised in speech.

Below is a recipe for potato *borekas*, a traditional savory Sephardic pastry, written by the mother of one of the Ladineros, estimated to be from the 1950s. Though there are many spellings that appear to reflect vowel raising in this recipe, they cannot be taken for certain as accurate representations of the author's realizations of these forms. It seems likely, however, that many of the

²⁵ Hebrew orthography does not typically include vowels, and when vowels are included, the mid and high front vowels share one orthographical representation, *yod* (י), while the mid and high back vowels share one orthographical representation, *vav* (ו). This makes it essentially impossible to distinguish between mid and high vowels in Ladino texts written using the Hebrew alphabet.

orthographical forms in this recipe do, indeed, provide an idea of the author's pronunciation:

- (25) Rachel Shemarya's borecas di patata recipe (ST00674), courtesy of Sephardic Studies Collection at the University of Washington, Page 1

1 Borecas di Patata
 1 Patata grande mundala azila
 Pedasos tapala di agua metila a
 escaldar cuando ya si escaldo pitata
 Dila agua azila mask. echa
 L. Ucharica sal
 L. Bekin Pader
 pisico marchwin
 fezo Ruedo
 1 queso Batido
 minealo todo juntos e gasta si
 esta Buena di sal e di fezo si es
 ke si teri mas echa ke si aga
 sanorido Disha la Patata
 2 ^{siemi} selchanis arina
 1 Ucharica sal
 1 Ucharica Bekin Pader
 1/4 Bekin soda ke este Pronto

In the gloss below, spellings that suggest raising are bolded.

(26) Rachel Shemarya's borecas di patata recipe, *Page 1: Gloss and translation*

borecas di patata	potato borekas
1 patata grandi mundala azila	1 big potato peel it make it [into]
pedasos tapala di agua mitila a	pieces cover it with water set it to
escaldar cuando ya si escaldo kitala	boil when it is boiled take it
dila agua azila mash echa	out of the water and mash it put
1 cucharica sal	1 teaspoon salt
1 bekin pader	1 baking powder
pisico marcherin	small piece of margarine
kezo raedo	grated cheese
1 guevo batido	1 beaten egg
minealo todo juntos e gusta si	mix it all together and taste [to see] if
esta bueno di sal e di kezo si es	it is good with salt and cheese if it's
ke si keri mas echa ke si aga	that it needs more put [more] so it will be
savorido disha ²⁶ la patata	flavorful leave the potato
sierni	sift
2 filchanis arina	2 cups flour
1 cucharica sal	1 teaspoon salt
1 cucharica bekin pader	1 teaspoon baking powder
1/4 bekin soda ke este pronto	1/4 baking soda and it's ready

As can be seen above, the vowel in the monosyllabic *de is consistently raised.

The monosyllabic reflexive *se is also raised throughout, resulting in a neutralization between *se (REFL) and *si ('yes, if'). Also raised are the unstressed

²⁶ *Disha* is a rare example of overcorrection. The Spanish equivalent is *dejar*, with a mid vowel that does not raise or diphthongize in verb paradigms. It seems very unlikely that the word was lexicalized for Rachel Shemarya with a high vowel, as she spells it with a mid vowel twice (in the sixth and thirteenth lines) on the second page of the recipe.

mid vowels in *grande ('large'), *aze²⁷ ('make'), and *kere ('wants'). Notably, only the etymological *front* mid vowel is spelled with a high vowel by Rachel; this is interesting because many descriptions of vowel raising, including both phonological sketches from the twentieth century and earlier and descriptions provided by native speakers of Ladino, only mention the back vowel /o/ being raised to [u]. The second page of the document can be seen below:

²⁷ Hualde and Şaul (2011) note that Ladino did not undergo the same sibilant devoicing pattern as Modern Spanish, in which this verb would surface as [ˈa.se] or [ˈa.θe], and cite /aˈzer/ as the underlying form of the infinitive (p. 98).

- (27) Rachel Shemarya's borecas di patata recipe (ST00674), courtesy of Sephardic Studies Collection at the University of Washington, Page 2

agora toma 2
 1/2 Cupica di kidush azeiti
 2 Cupicas di agua
 echa la le Buega apenas Buzo
 echa la arina ki esta sinida
 e mineala e deshala ke si yeli
 si esta Blanda la masa echa un
 Poco di arina e azis Bolizicos da
 azis delgada e la enchis di Patata
 echas azeiti ala marina das azis
 das metis enmedio del omo
 400 Por 25 minutos sino estan
 Bran las Deshas 5 minutos
 otros ya vas aver la color le
 asis help tu ya van salir
 Buenas quel lak mi alma
 si surro masa azis Duranchas

(28) Rachel Shemarya's borecas di patata recipe, *Page 2: Gloss and translation*

agora toma	now take
1/2 cupica di kidush azeyti	1/2 kiddush cup of oil
2 cupicas di agua	2 cups of water
ke buega apenas buyo	[put it to] boil when [it's] boiled
echa la arina ki esta sirnida	add the flour that is sifted
e mineala e deshala ke si yeli	and mix it and leave it to cool
si esta blanda la masa echa un	if the dough is soft add a
poco di arina e azis bolizicos ela	little bit of flour and make little balls and
azis dilgada e la enchis di patata	flatten them and fill them with potato
echas azeyti ala marina elas azis	add oil to the [dough] and make them
elas metis enmedio del orno	and put them in the middle of the oven
400 por 25 minutos sino estan	400 for 25 minutes if they're not
bran las deshas 5 minutos	brown leave them 5 minutes
otros ya vas aver la color le	more and you will see the color [will
asis help tu ya van salir	help you] they will come out
buenas gud lak mi alma	good good luck my dear
si sierno masa azis duranchas	if <i>sierno</i> ²⁸ dough make [cookies]

On this page of the document, the unstressed vowels in *azeite ('oil'), *yele ('cool') *delgada ('thin'), and *enches ('fill') are raised. The word <sirnida> likely also shows vowel raising in the first vowel, as the Real Academia Española confirms that both the Spanish and Latin equivalents (*cerner* and *cernere*, respectively) have a mid vowel in the first (unstressed) syllable. The <u> in <cupica> is possibly raising from *kopa, but is

²⁸ This word appears to be related to *sierni* and *sirnida* above, which come from the Ladino *sernir* 'to sift, to sieve,' but this meaning does not make sense in this context. The translation for *sierno* suggested by the author's son and the UW Sephardic Studies Research Coordinator is 'left over.' I am grateful to Assistant Professor Bryan Kirschen of the State University of New York at Binghamton for helping me to decode *sierni* and *sirnida*.

also quite possibly a dialectal variant that can be traced back to the Latin *cuppa* (Real Academia Española).

Though, once again, no firm conclusions can be drawn about spellings using <e> and <o>, it is interesting that the author uses both *ke* and *ki* to represent the relative *ke in this recipe; the two even appear in successive lines on the second page. The conjunction *i* is not only spelled as <e> in this recipe, but is also very often attached to the following word. As I have not found any variation reported between [e] and [i] for this conjunction in any dialect of Ladino, the most logical explanation is that the author was confused about the underlying form of this particular vowel, resulting in a hypercorrection in her spelling. Because the author sees the conjunction as a (stressless) clitic, as evidenced by her attaching it to the following word, we can be relatively sure that she pronounced this word as [i], as is the common pronunciation of this word in Ladino, but, due to its stresslessness, she assumed it was a raised vowel and spelled it using <e>.

Perhaps most interesting about this document, however, is how it is read by a Rhodesli Ladino speaker who was born and raised in Seattle. The speaker recorded reading this recipe, Al, is, in fact, Rachel Shemarya's son. Below are examples of the many instances in which the orthographical representation contained a mid vowel, but Al read the word with raising:

(29) Words with orthographical mid vowels read by Al with a raised vowel

a.	<borecas>	[bu're.kas]
b.	<pedasos>	[pe'da.suz]
c.	<cuando>	['kuan.du]
d.	<pisico>	[pi'si.ku]
e.	<kezo>	['ke.zu]
f.	<juntos>	['dʒun.tus]
g.	<bueno>	['buen.u]
h.	<e>	[i]
i.	<ke>	[ki]
j.	<poco>	['po.ku]
k.	<bolizicos>	[bo.li'zi.kus]
l.	<enmedio>	[i'me.dju]
m.	<color>	[ku'lor]

Note that many of the orthographical forms in this list contain the unstressed *back* mid vowel, which, as noted earlier, was not spelled with a high vowel in Rachel Shemarya's spelling. As the reader here is Rachel's son, this may suggest that Rachel was raising

these vowels herself, even though it is not reflected in her spelling.²⁹ Not only do these data provide further evidence for the productivity of the vowel raising rule, but they may provide more information about the author's vowel raising tendencies. In fact, her son has said several times in interviews and elicitation sessions that he often remembers how his mother used to speak; he may be reading the recipe in his mother's dialect, or he himself may have learned his vowel raising from her. The speaker's raising in this reading passage is unexpected, as mentioned above, as the orthographical representation can logically be expected to affect pronunciation. It is possible that these examples of raising above are careless reading mistakes on the part of the reader, but this seems unlikely, as he only mistakenly reads two words written with high vowels as mid vowels in the whole recording, <azila> and <azes>. It seems likely, instead, that the phonological rule for vowel raising is ingrained in this speaker's Ladino grammar, and he therefore knows to read unstressed mid vowels as high.

²⁹ It is possible, of course, that some forms have been lexicalized with high vowels, such as words containing the always unstressed plural masculine suffix *os, as seen in examples (29), (29), and (29) above; based on the variation seen in this speaker's data, however, though I think it is possible that a select few forms have lexicalized, I think it is unlikely that this is the case for more than just a handful of lexical items.

2.4.2 The Barkey Letters

A much more robust source of historical Rhodesli Ladino is the collection of letters written by Claire Barkey³⁰, currently housed in the Sephardic Studies Collection at the University of Washington. Notably, Claire was the eldest sister of Regina, one of the Ladineros, and a speaker featured in this study. Claire Barkey was born on the island of Rhodes in 1921, and began writing letters to family in Seattle, mostly to her maternal uncle Ralph Capeluto, as an elementary schooler in 1930. As the Italians allied more and more closely with the Germans in the 1930s, life for the Rhodesli Jewish community became unbearable. Fortunately, the Barkey family, like many Rhodesli Jewish families at this time, knew that they needed to leave Rhodes as soon as possible.³¹ The family faced an extra hurdle, however, in their quest for emigration, as the patriarch, Abraham, was born in Turkey, and the United States had very low quotas for immigrants born in Turkey. With the help of Ralph Capeluto, the family was able to emigrate to Tangier in

³⁰ This surname is spelled several different ways in the letters, including <Barki>, <Barchi>, and <Barkey>.

³¹ Two of the most common destinations for emigrating Rhodesli Jews were what was then the Belgian Congo – recall that one of the speakers featured in this study, Lucie, was born there – and the United States.

present-day Morocco, in 1939. After seven years spent in Tangier, all but Abraham immigrated to the United States in 1946, and Abraham, still limited by American immigration quotas for Turks, followed in 1949. Translations of Claire's letters, as well as commentary written by Claire's daughter, Cynthia, were published in a 2016 book, *A Hug From Afar*.

Between 1930 and 1946, Claire wrote at least 54 letters to Ralph Capeluto in Ladino.³² Claire's letters provide a fascinating snapshot of the Ladino language as spoken in Rhodes and Tangier during these 16 years. Also archived in the collection of Barkey letters are a handful of letters written by members of the Barkey/Capeluto family other than Claire, including her young aunt Esther Capeluto, her sister Rachel, and her brothers Victor and Morris, among others. The Barkey letters provide strong evidence of the presence of variable vowel raising in Rhodesli Ladino during this time period. There is clear evidence of intraspeaker variation among the letters written by Claire, and a comparison with the

³² The UW Sephardic Studies Collection only contains those letters found among Ralph Capeluto's things by his children after his death. Claire suggests several times in her letters that some correspondence had been lost in the mail or had failed to reach Ralph, so it is quite likely that Claire wrote several more letters to Ralph and others that are not archived in this collection.

letters written by others shows evidence of interspeaker variation. These letters are key to an understanding of vowel raising in Seattle Ladino's Rhodes dialect, as they provide evidence that the process was variable even before Rhodesli speakers came into contact with non-raising *turkino* speakers in Seattle. This means that this variation is not due to contact with non-raising dialects in Seattle, though it may be due to contact with non-raising dialects in Rhodes, as briefly mentioned briefly in Section 1.2.2 above.

In the first letter written by nine-year-old Claire in 1930, there are several examples that suggest the variability of vowel raising in Rhodes Ladino. The first page of the letter can be seen below:

- (30) Letter from Claire Barkey to Raphael Capeluto (Book 1, ST-001), courtesy of Sephardic Studies Collection at the University of Washington, Page 1

Rodi 24 Marzo 1930.

Carrissimo Zio Rophael Capeluto.

Con grande plaser li ago esta cica letra por averti saver como grazias al diò ià stamos mui buenos de la salut de mismo speramos sa-
ver de su parte amen esta semana reservi-
mos una cica letra sua i nos alegrimos
moi muncio tumimos rissivo de su letra che
mi alegi mui muncio cumu che risiviera
particolar para mi cherido Zio es che il tiempo
no mi promete che cada semana le chero escre-
vir porchè l'estudio tinemus muncio aquera
porchè stamos asiendo lo che estavan asiendo
antis nellas classas altas. Cada Piernes tinemus
gimlastica l'otro Piernes mos foto-grafimos con
el misiv di gimlastica che es un Italiano
i si ama Paoselli. I merchè una stampica
che no costa nada, se chere conosermi es mui
che me disio il cherido Papa che meta un

As with the Shemarya recipe above, raised unstressed mid vowels that are represented orthographically in the letter are bolded in the following gloss.

- (31) Letter from Claire Barkey to Raphael Capeluto, *Page 1: Gloss and translation*³³

Rodi 24 Marzo 1930

Carrissimo Tio Raphael Capelouto.

Con grande plaser li ago esta cica letra por aserti saver como grazias al diò ià stamos mui buenos de la salut de mismo speramos saver de su parte amen esta semana resevimos una cica letra sua i mos alegrimos moi muncio tuvimos rissivo de su letra che mi alegri mui muncio cumu che risiviera particular para mi cherido tio es che il³⁴ tiempo no mi promete che cada semana le chero escrevir porchè l'estudio tinemus muncio aguera porchè stamos asiendo lo che estavan asiendo antis nellas classas altas. Cada Viernes tinemus gimlastica l'otro Viernes mos foto-grafimos con el misiù di gimlastica che es un Italiano i si ama Paoselli. I merchè una stampica che no costa nada, se chere conoserme es [masus?] che me diseio il cherido Papa che meta un
(*letter continues on page 2*)
[English translation on following page]

³³ The translation of this letter is taken from Barkey Flash, et al. (2016), and was done by Claire's brother, Morris Barkey. Because the translations are relatively loose and do not correspond word-for-word to the original letters, it is difficult to provide a line-by-line comparison like for the Shemarya recipe in 2.4.1 above.

³⁴ It is possible that *il* here contains a raised mid vowel, but it is more likely that this is just an example of the strong influence of Italian on Claire Barkey's Ladino. This Italian influence will be discussed in detail in Section 4.1.1.

Rhodes 24 March 1930

My dear Uncle Raphael Capeluto,

It is with great pleasure that I write this short letter in order to let you know that, thank God, we find ourselves in good health; we hope you are. This week we received a short letter from you and were very glad to receive news from you. Dear Uncle, time does not allow me to write every week because our studies are those done previously by higher grades. Every Friday we have gymnastics. Last Friday they took a picture with our gymnastics teacher, who is an Italian by the name of Paoselli. I bought a photo which hardly cost anything. If you want to recognize me, at the suggestion of my father I put a (*continued*)

In this letter, there is orthographical variation evident for the monosyllabic words

*de, *le, *me, and *se.³⁵ On the first page of the letter, Claire Barkey also uses a

high vowel in <aserti> (*azerte) and <alegri> (*alegre). More interesting,

however, is the variation seen in some of the verb forms. On this page, the third-

person plural present tense verb form <tinemus> (*te'ne.mos) appears twice

with a raised vowel in the suffix (and a raised vowel in the root), but Claire uses

the mid vowel in the suffix in the forms <stamos>, <speramos>,

³⁵ <Si> could represent a Hispanic form with vowel raising, or it could represent the Italian form *si. Italian influence in Claire Barkey's Ladino will be discussed in detail in Section 4.1 below.

<resivimos>, <alegrimos>, and <foto-grafimos>. Furthermore, in contrast to <tinemus>, the past tense of *te'ne.mos, *tu'vi.mos is spelled with the mid vowel even though the two suffixes are identical in their underlying segments.

The second page of the letter can be seen below:

- (32) Letter from Claire Barkey to Raphael Capeluto (Book 1, ST-002), courtesy of Sephardic Studies Collection at the University of Washington, Page 2

punticu en la frente se chere saver Lea de
 la tante Mari esta con mi in una classa
 che es la terza elementare. Sto percorando a
 escapar la escola presto pormor di asel di aiu-
 do a la mamma il cherido grand-papa quando
 turnò su letra di l'alegría empero a corar.
 Il cherido grand-papa lo saluda i lo abrasa di
 lechos del cherido papa e la cherida mamma
 los saludan l'oncle David i la tante Behora
 i las igiose lo saludan l'oncle Todix i la tan-
 te Mari i los igiose lo saludan l'oncle Cilebon
 i la tante Garina i los igiose lo saludan
 i la tante Ester lo saludan i la tante Gioia
 lo saludan di la gramama Clara lo saluda
 de toda nuestra parientera los saludan.
 Addio su miui chivida surinica
 Clara Barchi lo saluda i li
 mando un faerte abraso de
 lechos i le rogo miui muncio che
 me responda.

- (33) Letter from Claire Barkey to Raphael Capeluto, *Page 2: Gloss and translation*

puntica en la frente se chere saver Lea de
 la tante Mari esta con mi in³⁶ una classa
 che es la terza elementare. Sto percorando a
 escapar la escola presto pormor di aseldi³⁷ aiu-
 do a la mamma il cherido grand-papa quando
 tumò su letra di l'alegria empesò a iorar.
 Il cherido grand-papa lo saluda i lo abraza di
 lechos del cherido papa e la cherida mamma
 los saludan l'oncle David i la tante Behora
 i las igiase lo saludan l'oncle Sadic i la tan-
 te Mari i los igiose o saludan l'oncle Cilebon
 i la tante Sarina i los igiose lo saludan
 i la tante Ister lo saludan i la tante Gioia
 lo saludan di la granmama Clara lo saluda
 de toda nuestra parientera los saludan.
 Addio su mui chirida suvrinica
 Clara Barchi lo saluda i li
 mando un foerte abraasso de
 lechos i le rogo mui muncio che
 me responda.
 [English translation on following page]

³⁶ This is another example where it is unclear whether this is vowel raising or the use of an Italian form.

³⁷ This form, <aseldi> is a variant of *azer de, and illustrates the syllable-final lateralization of /r/ to [l], a process that is relatively common across varieties of Spanish, perhaps most notably, Puerto Rican.

dot on my forehead. If you want to know, Lea of Aunt Marie is in my class; that is the third grade. I am trying to finish school fast so that I could help Mama. Dear Grandpa, when he took the letter [in his hands], started to cry from joy. Dear Grandpa says hello and gives you a big hug from afar. Regards from dear Papa and dear Mama. Regards from Uncle David and Aunt Behora and daughters. Uncle Sadik, Aunt Marie and family send you their regards. Also Chelibon, Aunt Esther, and Aunt Sarina and family, Aunt Gioia, Grandma Clara, and all the relations send you their regards. Bye, your very dear niece, Clara Barchi, who sends you regards and a tight hug from afar. I beg you to answer me.

On the second page of the letter, variation between <di> and <de> can be seen once again, as can variation between and <le>. Also spelled with high vowels are <tumò> (*tomo), <chirida> (*kerida), and <svrinica> (*sovrinika).

Evidence of vowel raising can also be seen in spelling confusions or hypercorrections, which are less common in the letters than the use of <i> and <u> for unstressed mid vowels. In this first letter, only two clear examples of hypercorrections emerge. On the first page, in the eighth line, Claire writes <moi> to represent what is presumably [mui], generally written as <muy> or <mui>. Here, the underlying vowel is most likely high. Note that Claire also spells this word <mui> earlier on the first page of the letter, in the fourth line of prose. In the eleventh line of

text on the first page, Claire writes <escrevir> to represent what is presumably [eskriver], with an underlying high vowel in the second syllable. Another spelling confusion that is perhaps more difficult to characterize is <cumu>, seen in the ninth line of the first page. Note that Claire also spells this word <como> in the fourth line of the first page. It is unclear why Claire uses this spelling. It is possible that she raises both vowels in the word, though that would be unusual and a violation of the phonological rule. It is also possible that Claire does not fully know which sounds <o> and <u> represent. This spelling of [komo] persists throughout Claire's letters, and is even used for an Italian word [si'ko.me] 'since,' which is written as <sicumu> in a 1938 letter.

Each of these characteristics of Claire's writing persists in her letters well into the 1940s, after she has left Rhodes and moved to Tangier. There is strong evidence that Claire's Ladino evolves greatly during her time in Tangier, which will be discussed in Section 4.1.2.3 below, but even so, her letters continue to show orthographical representation of raised unstressed mid vowels, intraspeaker variation, and overcorrections in spelling.

Letters written by Claire's aunt Esther, her brothers Victor and Morris, and her sister Rachel provide evidence for both intraspeaker variation, in that, like Claire, these authors do not use high vowels to represent all unstressed mid vowels in their orthographies, and interspeaker variation, in that they use high vowels in some words where Claire does not and do not use high vowels in some words where Claire does. Esther Capeluto's letters provide a stronger basis for comparison, however, as they are greater in number than those written by the other Barkey children, and they span a similar period of time as Claire's letters. The only letters in the collection that were written by Victor, Morris, and Rachel were sent after the family had moved to Tangier. The significance of this move to Tangier will become clear in Section 4.1.2.3 below. Importantly, however, the complete collection of Barkey letters shows that vowel raising in Rhodes Ladino was variable on the island of Rhodes, before Rhodesli Ladino speakers arrived in Seattle. This proves that it was neither the language shift to English in Seattle nor contact with non-raising *turkinos* in Seattle's community that caused the onset of the variation.

2.5 Conclusion

This chapter used spoken and written data to sketch a variable phonological phenomenon, vowel raising, in the Rhodes dialect of Seattle Ladino. Analysis of recorded speech collected from five Rhodesli Seattle speakers shows that vowel raising is tied to stress patterns, more specifically that unstressed /e/ and /o/ optionally raise to [i] and [u] respectively. The data allow for a possible higher tendency to raise in proximity to a glide, but neither support nor refute this, nor a relationship between etymology and tendency to raise. Written documents provide important information about vowel raising. A recipe for potato borekas written in Seattle in the 1950s shows evidence of variation, and asking the author's son to read the recipe provided strong evidence of the productivity of the vowel raising rule. Letters written on the island of Rhodes in the 1930s show that the phenomenon was variable before Rhodesli speakers came into contact with speakers of the non-raising Turkish varieties in Seattle. This eliminates the possibility that the variability of vowel raising in the Rhodes dialect of Seattle Ladino is a result of contact between the two dialects (or dialect groups) in Seattle.

3 The Turkish suffix *-dji*

This chapter uses *Ladinokomunita* as a corpus to investigate the morphological properties of the Turkish suffix *-dji* in Modern Ladino, or Judeo-Spanish. Ladino, a mixed language, borrows extensively from Turkish and other languages, often leaving speakers with several possible lexemes or morphemes to express an idea. Using Bauer's (1983) definition of productivity, this chapter investigates the combinatory potential and productivity of the combinatory potential and productivity of the Turkish suffix *-dji*, including how Turkish vowel harmony and voicing assimilation are treated in Ladino.³⁸ Though it appears on the surface that words containing the suffix *-dji* are or were most often borrowed in their entirety from Turkish, the corpus data actually provide evidence of the productivity of the *-dji* suffix in Ladino. Rather than illustrating the decline of Ladino, the *-dji* suffix appears to be a rare example of relatively recent creativity and vitality of the language.

³⁸ According to Bauer (1983), "Any process [...] is said to be productive if it can be used in the production of new forms, and non-productive if it cannot be used synchronically in this way" (p. 18).

3.1 Literature

In this section, I provide relevant information about Turkish phonology and morphology, Ladino morphology, and the Turkish suffix *-ci/-çi*.

3.1.1 Turkish phonology and morphology

Turkish has an eight-vowel system: / i y e ø a o u u /. Bunis (2008) notes that, as we would expect, Ottoman Turkish phonemes were replaced by their closest Hispanic counterparts when Turkish words were borrowed into Ladino; these substitutions include [ju] for [ø], [i] for [y], and [i] for [u] (pp. 190-191). It is not clear why, according to Bunis, Ladino [u] does not instead replace Turkish [u], as both are high back vowels. Throughout this chapter, we will see examples of words borrowed from Turkish where the vowel substitutions do not fit Bunis's generalization as outlined above.

In Turkish, an agglutinative language, stress often falls on the final syllable, even as suffixes are added to a root (Lewis, 1978, p. 21) because "the great majority of Turkish suffixes" are able to carry stress (Göksel & Kerslake, 2005, p. 29). This is also, in fact, the stress pattern for words ending with the suffix *-dji* in Ladino, meaning Ladino words

with the *-dji* suffix stress the final stressable suffix.³⁹ Notably, it is common for nouns of borrowed origin, especially from languages other than Arabic or Persian, to not conform to the word-final stress pattern (Göksel & Kerslake, 2005, p. 27).

Turkish has both vowel harmony and voicing assimilation, neither of which are rules in Ladino. In Turkish, if the last vowel of a stem is a back vowel, then the vowel(s) of any following suffixes must be back; the same goes for roundedness (Kerslake, 2015, p. 185). It appears that backness harmony existed from essentially the beginning of the Old Ottoman period (defined by Kerslake as the thirteenth to fifteenth centuries), but that the roundedness harmony did not become widespread until the New Ottoman period (defined by Kerslake as the nineteenth century to 1928) (p. 185). Ladino, however, often cannot (or does not) maintain vowel harmony in words borrowed from Turkish, resulting in words like [istanbuli] (or [istanbulli]) ‘Istanbul-ite’ (which would be [Istanbul-lu] in Turkish), as seen in example (1) below:

³⁹ As an example of how stressable and not stressable suffixes interact in Ladino, if a feminine inflectional suffix [a] is added to a Ladino *-dji* word, the stress remains on the *-dji* syllable, not the final [a] or [as] syllable. In contrast, a word with *-dji* followed by another stressable suffix, like *-lik*, for example, would stress the second suffix, *-lik*.

(1) mi padre er-a istambu-li i mi madre
 my.SG father be.IPFV-3SG Istanbul-DMN and my.SG mother

izmir-li-a
 Izmir-DMN-F⁴⁰

'my father was from Istanbul and my mother from Izmir'

(*Ladinokomunita* # 17305)⁴¹

In this example, even though Ladino has the vowel necessary to maintain vowel harmony, [u], the word surfaces with the high front vowel [i] instead. This phenomenon is common in the data set and will be discussed in detail in Section 3.4.4 below. Native Ladino speaker (and LK founder) Rachel Bortnick notes that Ladino, in fact, only has the one allomorph for the demonym suffix, [li] (personal communication, December 3, 2017). In cases where the Ladino inventory does not contain the vowel necessary to maintain vowel harmony, the Turkish vowels are not even necessarily approximated to the most similar vowel in Ladino; for example, Turkish [y] is often converted to [u] or even [o] in Ladino, likely because the rounding affects speakers' perception of the [y]

⁴⁰ In this gloss, I use DMN to denote the Turkish demonym suffix, also used in Ladino.

⁴¹ Most of the examples in this paper come directly from *Ladinokomunita*. Each of LK's messages is numbered, making them easy to reference. Furthermore, a message can be searched for by any member of the group by its identifying number on the LK homepage.

vowel. The Turkish word *kömiir* [kømyr] 'coal', for example, surfaces as *kimur* in the LK data set. As mentioned above, Bunis (2008) noted a general pattern of vowel substitution when Turkish words were borrowed into Ladino, but both vowels in the Ladino word *kimur* show that this pattern does not always hold.⁴²

Turkish voicing assimilation requires the initial consonant of a suffix to match the preceding sound with respect to voicing (Csató Johanson & Johanson, 2015, p. 207). Voicing assimilation is somewhat less noticeable than vowel harmony in Ladino, however, as Ladino contains virtually all of the voiced and voiceless phonemes that adhere to voicing assimilation in Turkish. Most likely because it is not obligatory in Ladino, there is quite a bit of variation in the retention of the Turkish voicing assimilation rule in Ladino. This will be discussed further in Section 3.4.5 below.

⁴² There are other examples in the LK data set, such as *furketadji* from Turkish *firkete* [furkete], *totondjis* from Turkish *tütüin* [tytyn], and *nobetchi* from Turkish *nöbet* [nøbet], that contradict Bunis's (2008) vowel approximation proposal. Rachel Bortnick notes that *firkete* actually came to Turkish from Italian *furchetta*, and wonders whether Ladino originally borrowed it from Turkish or from Italian (personal communication, December 3, 2017).

3.1.2 Ladino morphology

Ladino morphology typically quite closely resembles Castilian Spanish morphology, with a few exceptions. One exception that will become relevant below is that in Ladino, there is a tendency to mark gender on words that would not be marked for gender in Spanish.

Two examples can be seen in (2) and (3) below:

- (2) el vende-dor er-a japones-**o**
 the.M.SG sell-er be.IPFV-3SG Japanese-M

'the seller was Japanese'

(*Ladinokomunita* # 11021)

- (3) av-ia una mujer djudiy-a sefardi-**ya**
 there.be-IPFV.3SG a.F.SG woman Jewish-F Sephardic-F

'there was a Sephardic Jewish woman'

(*Ladinokomunita* # 12055)

In Standard Spanish, the words in question would be *japonés* in (2) and *sefardí* in (3), without gender marked. Notably, Turkish does not have grammatical gender at all. As in Spanish, Ladino plurals are generally marked with the -s suffix, which has the same allomorphs [s] and [es] as in Spanish, as well as voiced variants [z] and [ez]. In

orthographical representation on LK, <s> and <es> appear to be heavily favored, while in speech in Seattle both the voiced and voiceless variants surface regularly.

Bunis (2008) notes that it was common for Ladino speakers in the Ottoman Empire to use Ottoman Turkish "bound morphemes" with both Ottoman Turkish and non-Turkish stems followed by Ladino number and gender inflectional suffixes (p. 198). One of Bunis's examples of a non-Turkish root combining with a Turkish suffix is *pletedji*, 'quarrelsome (person),' which is formed from the Spanish root *pleto* 'quarrel' and the *-dji* suffix, and appears in the LK data set.

3.1.3 Turkish *-ci/-çi*

The Turkish *-ci/-çi*, from which Ladino *-dji* is derived, is an agentive suffix, producing nouns and adjectives. Buğday (2009) attests to the existence of the suffix in Ottoman Turkish, explaining that "occupations or professions and individuals who are continually or currently occupied with a thing are indicated by means of the suffix *جی -ci/çi*" (p. 59). Buğday provides the following examples and translations, to which I have added Latin transliterations and morpheme glosses:

(4) Ottoman Turkish *-ci/-çi*

a.	هوتل	هوتلجی
	hotel	hotel-ci ⁴³
	hotel	hotel-AGT ⁴⁴
	'hotel'	'hotelier'
b.	یول	یولجی
	yol	yol-ci
	way	way-AGT
	'way	'traveler'
c.	عربه	عربهجی
	araba	araba-ci
	wagon	wagon-AGT
	'wagon, carriage'	'driver of a wheeled vehicle'

(Buğday, 2009, p. 59)

Göksel and Kerslake (2005) differentiate two variants of the suffix, one that combines with verbs, *-(y)Ici/cI*, and one that combines with nouns, *-CI* (pp. 56, 61).⁴⁵ Both suffixes

⁴³ The spellings in each of the second lines of these three glosses comes from Buğday (2009, p. 59), but I have broken each agentive word into morphemes myself. Note that in (4b), the spelling used by Buğday reflects backness harmony, but not roundedness harmony.

⁴⁴ I will use the gloss AGT throughout this paper to denote the agentive suffix in both Turkish and Ladino.

⁴⁵ The orthographic representation of these suffix variants accounts for both voicing assimilation and vowel harmony. The <y> in the deverbal suffix is optional, depending on the final sound of the stem. The capital <I> in the deverbal suffix and in the

form nominals which can also function as adjectives and sometimes adverbs (p. 53). Importantly, however, Göksel and Kerslake point out that “in Turkish the boundaries between noun, adjective and adverb are somewhat blurred. Many lexical items are able to occur with the typical functions of more than one of these classes” (2005, p. 49). For this reason, in some cases, it can be difficult, especially in Ladino, to determine whether the root combining with the *-ci/-çi* suffix is a noun, adjective, adverb, or verb. Lewis (1978) provides some simple examples of the function of the *-ci/-çi* suffix:

- (5) Modern Turkish *-ci/-çi*
- | | | | |
|----|------|----------|-----------------------|
| a. | iş | [i] | 'work' |
| b. | işçi | [iʃ-tʃi] | workman ⁴⁶ |
| | | work-AGT | |

(Lewis, 1978, p. 59)

denominal suffix denote that the vowel changes according to vowel harmony rules. The capital <C> in the denominal suffix denotes that the consonant can be either <c> or <ç>, depending on the voicing of the previous sound.

⁴⁶ Rachel Bortnick notes that a better Turkish translation for *işçi* would be 'worker' (personal communication, December 3, 2017).

(6) Modern Turkish *neci*

- a. *ne* [ne] 'what?'
- b. *neci* [ne-ɟi] 'of what profession?'
- what-AGT

(Lewis, 1978, p. 59)

Particularly interestingly, the second person affix *-sin* can be added to [neɟi], shown in example (6b) above, resulting in the question seen below in (7), 'What do you do for a living?':

(7) Modern Turkish *necisin*

- necisin* [ne-ɟi-sin] 'What do you do for a living?'
- what-AGT-2SG

With vowel harmony and voicing assimilation, there are eight possible allomorphs of this suffix in Turkish, seen in the table in (8) below:

(8) Allomorphs of Modern Turkish suffix *-ci/-çi*

	after [+ voice]		after [- voice]	
	<i>front</i>	<i>back</i>	<i>front</i>	<i>back</i>
<i>unround</i>	ɟi	ɟu	tʃi	tʃu
<i>round</i>	ɟy	ɟu	tʃy	tʃu

Interestingly, Kerslake (2015) notes that the voiced and voiceless allomorphs were in free variation in the Old Ottoman period (defined by Kerslake as the thirteenth to fifteenth centuries), regardless of the voicing of the final sound in the stem (p. 187); this free variation seems to have disappeared, however, by the sixteenth century, around the time that Spanish-speaking Jews would have started arriving in the Ottoman Empire.

Because Ladino only has a five-vowel inventory, however, only the following four allomorphs can theoretically be found in Ladino:

(9) Allomorphs of Modern Ladino suffix *-dji*

	after [+ voice]	after [-voice]
<i>front</i>	ɟi	tʃi
<i>back</i>	ɟu	tʃu

As we will see in the following sections, however, it appears that really only two of these allomorphs are commonly used in Modern Ladino.

3.2 Research questions and hypotheses

The research questions driving this study relate primarily to the combinatory potential of *-dji* in Ladino. Specifically, this study aimed to determine the kinds of roots with which *-dji* is able to combine, and to what extent, if any, Turkish vowel harmony and voicing assimilation are maintained in Ladino. These research questions can be seen below:

- (10) **RQ 1:** What types of roots (in terms of lexical category) can the suffix *-dji* combine with in Ladino? Does it maintain the agentive meaning in Ladino?
- (11) **RQ 2:** In Ladino, can the Turkish suffix *-dji* still combine with roots from languages other than Turkish? How common is this?

- (12) **RQ 3:** Do words produced using the *-dji* suffix in Ladino carry vowel harmony and voicing assimilation over from Turkish?

Using my six years of fieldwork experience with the Seattle Ladino speech community, as well as observations in Ladino texts and on *Ladinokomunita* (to be discussed in the following section), I formulated the following corresponding hypotheses:

- (13) **H1:** The Ladino suffix *-dji* can combine with nouns, adjectives, and verbs, like Turkish *-ci/-çi*. It maintains the agentive meaning in Ladino.
- (14) **H2:** In Ladino, the Turkish suffix *-dji* can still combine with roots from languages other than Turkish, and remains productive.
- (15) **H3:** Vowel harmony and voicing assimilation are typically not carried over from Turkish in Ladino words produced using the *-dji* suffix.

Each of these hypotheses will be discussed in detail in Section 3.4 below.

3.3 Methods

To see how the *-dji* suffix was being used by speakers of Ladino posting to the site, I searched 55,500 messages⁴⁷ posted to the aforementioned *Ladinokomunita* forum for words containing the four Ladino allomorphs of *-dji* listed in (9) above, by orthographic representation.

Because the corpus contains written data, it is important to attempt to account for any and all orthographic forms that may represent the allomorphs of study. In the case of Ladino, because there is no standardized spelling system, there is not a one-to-one ratio of *-dji* allomorph to orthographic form; the four *-dji* allomorphs shown in (9) above can in fact be represented by at least the following six orthographic forms:

(16) Orthographic representations of *-dji* allomorphs in LK data set

allomorph	orthographic representation(s) in LK
[ɕi]	dji, ji
[ɕu]	dju, ju
[tʃi]	chi
[tʃu]	chu

⁴⁷ This research was conducted in June 2016. As of August 2019, there are more than 61,400 messages on the site.

It is of course possible, depending on the phonetic inventory of the individual author, that <ji> and <ju> do not actually represent the voiced affricate [dʒi]/[dʒu], but rather the voiced postalveolar fricative [ʒi]/[ʒu]. There is no way to know for sure from this data set which consonant sound the author uses in speech. As a point of reference, most Seattle Ladino speakers have both the voiced fricative and the voiced affricate in their phonetic inventories, and use the affricate for the *-dji* suffix.

Within *Ladinokomunita*, I searched for words containing <dji>, <ji>, <chi>, <dju>, <ju>, and <chu>, and then hand-filtered the search results so that the sequences only appeared as suffixes.⁴⁸ Once I was confident that a word contained a *-dji* suffix, I searched the message(s) containing that word (and any morphological variants, such as feminine or plural forms) for information about the word's meaning and I noted a gloss for each word.

Following Hayes & Londe (2006), I counted both TOKEN and TYPE frequencies, though, unlike Hayes & Londe, I decided to count each unique spelling of a word as a

⁴⁸ Hand filtering was necessary; because Turkish is agglutinative, the *-dji* suffix may not be the rightmost suffix in a word, even in words adapted from Turkish into Ladino. See (23) below for one such example.

TYPE because I intended to look carefully at inflectional morphology. Also contrary to Hayes & Londe, I found TOKEN frequencies to be ultimately useful because the LK data set is significantly smaller than theirs. Because I chose to group different spellings as separate TYPES, I found *roots* to be an important grouping category to use as well. When searching the data set, I counted each unique spelling of a word as a TYPE, and each time a particular spelling appeared in the forum as a TOKEN. As mentioned above, TYPES were later grouped by root; roots will be discussed in detail in Section 3.4.3 below. I also noted the current location of the author(s) of each TYPE, if possible, and recorded a TOKEN and message count for each TYPE. As an example, LK message # 21789 contains the following *-dji* words:

(17) *-dji* words found in LK message # 21789

- a. kumar-dji
gambling-AGT
'gambler'
- b. kumar-dji-lik
gambling-AGT-ness
'the property of being a gambler' (in Mod. Turkish: 'addiction to gambling')

- c. kumar-dji-s
gambling-AGT-PL
'gamblers'

Each of the forms above was used a single time in the post. (17a) – (17c) were each listed as a TYPE, and each received a TOKEN and message count of 1. Later, when TYPES were grouped and counted by roots, (17a) – (17c) were all grouped into a single root, *kumar*.

3.4 Findings

As can be expected with a data set from a moribund language, there are problems with the data set; including but not limited to misspellings by authors, incorrect usages of words, disagreements about meaning, and non-agentive uses of the *-dji* suffix. The data set, however, is robust, and I believe that it can be used to draw some conclusions about how the *-dji* suffix is used in Ladino today. Before discussing specific findings, I will briefly summarize the overall frequency of the *-dji* suffix in the LK data set. In subsequent sections, I will address my research questions in detail.

3.4.1 Frequency of *-dji* in LK

In the 55,500 messages analyzed, 707 TOKENS (spread across 242 TYPES and 131 roots) containing the agentive *-dji* suffix were found⁴⁹. The table in (18) below shows the TOKEN frequencies for each of the allomorphs by orthographical representation:

(18) TOKEN frequencies of *-dji* allomorphs by orthographic representation

orthographic representation	TOKENS
dji	409
chi	252
ji	28
chu	12
dju	6
ju	0
TOTAL	707

The voiced allomorph with the high front vowel, *-dji* (written as <dji> and <ji>) is by far the most common allomorph, with 437 total TOKENS in the data set. The next most common allomorph was the voiceless allomorph with the high front vowel, *-chi*.

⁴⁹ It is likely that there are tokens using the *-dji* suffix that I did not find because they were misspelled. I did, in fact, catch one token that was misspelled, *basmacj*, because it was found in a message that included a correctly spelled *-dji* word.

3.4.2 Non-agentive anomalies

One research question asked whether words formed using *-dji* would retain the agentive meaning from Turkish. I hypothesized that the suffix does, in fact, retain the agentive meaning in Ladino. In fact, there were several forms of *-dji* found in the data set that cannot be said to contain the suffix with its agentive meaning. These non-agentive anomalies were not included in TYPE, TOKEN, or root counts. Three of these forms will be discussed below.

3.4.2.1 *Proper names*

Allomorphs of the *-dji* suffix were found in some Turkish place names, including Sirkeci and Mektupçu, neighborhoods of the Turkish cities of Istanbul and Izmir, respectively.

Examples of each can be seen in (19) and (20), with the *-dji* allomorphs in bold:

(19) en la gara del treno de **Sirkechi**
 in the.F.SG station of.the.M.SG train of Sirkeçi

estava-mos

be.IPFV-1PL

'we were in the Sirkeçi train station'

(Ladinokomunita # 28034)

(20)	engrandes-i	en	el	kartier	de
	grow.up-PST.1SG	in	the.M.SG	neighborhood	of
	Salhane-Mektup chu	en	Izmir		
	Salhane-Mektupçu	in	Izmir		

'I grew up in the Salhane-Mektupçu neighborhood in Izmir'

(Ladinokomunita # 1523)

Though these names originated from an agentive use of the *-dji* suffix (*sirkeci* means 'vinegar seller,' and *mektupçu* is a letter carrier or professional letter writer, according to Rachel Bortnick, (personal communication, December 3, 2017)), they are Turkish place names, and therefore not considered Ladino usages of the suffix, and were not included in the data analysis.

3.4.2.2 *Hadji*

The word *hadji* presents an odd case, as it is unclear whether it is a usage of the *-dji* suffix in its agentive form. In Arabic, the term *haji* (حجّي) [ħaɟʒi] can be used to refer to someone who has made the Muslim pilgrimage, the *hajj*, to Mecca. The term has also been adopted into Turkish, *hacı* [ħaɟɯ]. Shachar (2012) notes that, when used in Ladino, the term refers to a Jew who has been to Jerusalem (p. 207). The Arabic word is a clear example

of a *nisba* adjective, an adjective formed using a very common Arabic denominal adjectival suffix, *-i*, but the Turkish example is less clear. Is the Turkish word a true borrowing, or is it a backformation of the agentive form that has come to mean something like *hajj-doer*? Because the word likely entered into Ladino via Turkish rather than directly from Arabic, it is unclear whether the word is just a Ladino borrowing from Arabic via Turkish, or if it is possibly an example of the *-dji* suffix being attached to the root *hadj-*. In this case, it appears that *hadji* actually *does* have an agentive meaning, but not necessarily because it was formed using the *-dji* suffix.

3.4.3 Roots and combinatory potential

In general, Ladino *-dji* appears to, like its Turkish counterpart, combine with adjectives and nouns. In the data set, 131 unique roots were found. 91% (n = 119) of the roots in words containing the *-dji* suffix in the LK data set are Turkish roots. The 12 non-Turkish roots can be seen in (21) below:

(21) Non-Turkish roots found in the LK data set

root	gloss	origin	TYPES	TOKENS
benadam	gentleman	Hebrew	1	1
forka	gallows ⁵⁰	Portuguese	1	1
hona	guide	Hebrew	1	1
lanterna	lantern	Romance ⁵¹	1	1
mona	monk	Romance ⁵²	1	1
palavra	word	Spanish	2	3
paliaruha	old clothes	Greek	3	5
paputch	shoe	Greek	1	1
pele	fight	Spanish	3	10
plete	fight	Spanish	2	7
refran	song	Spanish	1	2
tevila	ritual bath	Hebrew	1	2

As can be seen above, 8 of the 12 non-Turkish roots were used in a single TYPE, and many were used in a single TOKEN. It is clear from the LK data set that the *-dji* suffix favors

⁵⁰ I am unsure of the meaning and origin of this root, but the author writes that he thinks it is related to the phrase *enforkado ke lo vea*, which can be used to describe a person in a bad situation. Néhama (1977) glosses *forka* as either 'gallows' or a 'difficult situation' and notes that the word comes from Portuguese (p. 215). *Enforcado* can mean 'hanged' in Modern Portuguese.

⁵¹ The exact origin of this word is unclear because it is similar in all of the major Romance languages, but I suspect it came from either French *lanterne* or Italian *lanterna*. It is also possible that it came from Spanish *linterna* or Portuguese *lanterna*.

⁵² The exact origin of this word is also unclear for the same reason as mentioned in footnote 51 above, but I suspect that *mona* came from French *moine*. It is also possible that it came from Spanish *monje* or Italian *monaco*.

combination with Turkish roots in Ladino, but it is certainly still able to combine with non-Turkish roots, as evidenced by the roots with larger TYPE and TOKEN frequencies in (21) above, like *paliaruha*, *pele*, and *plete*.

Many of the Modern Turkish roots in *-dji* words in the LK data set are historically of Arabic or Persian origin, and several of the Turkish roots found in *-dji* words in the LK data set came to Turkish from French, likely in the 19th century. A *-dji* word featuring a Turkish root of French origin, *bisiklet*, can be seen in (22) below:

(22)	se	la	kont-ava	a	Yani	el	bisiklet-chi
	OBJ	it.F.SG	tell-IPFV.1SG	to	Yani	the.M.SG	bicycle-AGT

'I told (it) to Yani the bicycle seller'

(*Ladinokomunita* # 17392)

Some other Turkish roots of French origin in the LK data set are *gazeta* 'newspaper,' *antika* 'antique,' and *otel* 'hotel.'

As can be seen in the table in (21), Hebrew, Spanish, and Greek roots were also found in *-dji* words in the LK data set. An example of a word with a Hebrew root and the *-dji* suffix can be seen in (23) below:

(23)	no	ven-ia	la	tevila-dji-a
	NEG	come-IPFV.3SG	the.F.SG	ritual.bath-AGT-F

'the woman who performs the ritual bath did not come'

(Ladinokomunita # 25654)

In this case, the Hebrew root *tevila* (טבילה) [tevila] combines with *-dji* to denote the woman who performs the Jewish ritual bath. An example of a word with a Spanish root and the *-dji* suffix can be seen in (24) below:

(24)	ansina	kal-e	tom-ado	est-e
	so	be.necessary-3SG.PRES	take-PTCP	this-M.SG

palavra-dji-lik
word-AGT-ness

'so we have to adopt this way of talking'

(Ladinokomunita # 41886)

In this example, the Spanish root *palavra* combines with the Turkish suffixes *-dji* and *-lik* to form a word meaning something like 'the quality of talkativeness.' This example shows one of four tokens in the data set containing the *-dji* suffix and the Turkish derivational

nominal suffix *-lik*.⁵³ While it is unsurprising that *-dji* can combine with *-lik*, as this is very common in Turkish, this particular example is notable because it shows a Romance root taking two derivational suffixes from Turkish.

An example of a *-dji* word with a Greek root can be seen in (25) below:

(25) merk-i est-a lamp-ika de-l palye-roha-dji
 buy-PST.1SG this-F lamp-DMN.F from-the.M.SG old-clothes-AGT

'I bought this little lamp from the secondhand (clothes) seller'

(*Ladinokomunita* # 24207)

The root *paliaruha* comes from the Greek words *palia* (παλιά) [paɫa] 'old' and *ruha* (ρούχα) [ruxa] 'clothes.' Notably, this root has a fully Turkish alternate, *eskiruba*, which can surface with (*eski-ruba-dji*) or without (*eski-dji*) the morpheme for clothes.⁵⁴ The *eskiruba* root had 4 TYPES and 11 TOKENS in the data set, while *paliaruha* had 3 TYPES and 5 TOKENS.

⁵³ The Turkish suffix *-lik* can be added to nouns, adjectives, and adverbs to form nouns that denote a state or an embodiment of a concept (Göksel & Kerslake, 2005, pp. 64-65).

⁵⁴ Rachel Bortnick suggests that there is a slight semantic difference between *eskidji* 'secondhand seller' and *eskirubadji* 'secondhand **clothes** seller,' though one LK message glosses *eskidji* as a person who sells secondhand clothes (LK # 14028), so it is clear that at least some speakers do not perceive such a semantic difference.

It is clear from the data set that *-dji* can combine with non-Turkish roots, but the overwhelming majority of the *-dji* words in the LK data set contain Turkish roots. This may seem to suggest that these words are or were borrowed in their entirety from Turkish, and therefore that the *-dji* suffix is not very productive in Ladino today, but analysis of possible vowel harmony and voicing assimilation in the data set will show that this is not the case.

3.4.4 Vowel harmony

As mentioned above, *-dji* and *-chi* are clearly the favored allomorphs in the data set. Considering that the data set contains only 18 total TOKENS containing a back vowel suffix, words in this data set with [a] or [u] as the final vowel in the root are all but certain to violate vowel harmony.

As discussed in Section 2.2 above, Turkish has a larger vowel inventory than Ladino, but Ladino authors on LK appear to violate vowel harmony even in cases where the Ladino vowel inventory contains the appropriate harmonizing vowel. This can be seen in the example below:

(26)	se	fue	ande ⁵⁵	el	baluk-chi
	REFL	go.PST.3SG	to.the.place.of	the.M.SG	fish-AGT

'she went to the fishmonger's shop'

(Ladinokomunita # 12169)

This example is particularly interesting, because the Turkish root *balık* [baluɰ] contains a vowel not found in Ladino's inventory, the high unrounded back vowel, [ɰ]. For this word, the Turkish vowel [ɰ] in the root has been replaced by the high rounded back Ladino vowel [u] in this author's grammar, but the [ɰ] in the suffix has not been replaced by [u]. In the data set, the *baluk* root has 4 TYPES, *balikchi*, *balukchi*, *balukchia*, and *balukchis*.⁵⁶ Although the back vowel is favored in the root (18 total TOKENS of *balukchi*, *balukchia*, and *balukchis*, compared to 6 TOKENS of *balikchi*), only the front vowel is found in the suffixes. This is not very surprising, as the back vowel was heavily disfavored in suffixes in the data set, but it is curious nonetheless. These particular examples provide some evidence against the borrowing of Turkish words in their entirety, as, in the case

⁵⁵ The Ladino preposition *ande* functions much like the French preposition *chez*, and means something like 'at the place/home of.'

⁵⁶ Note that the three *baluk*- words also contradict Bunis's (2008) proposal about vowel assimilation patterns, which suggests that Turkish [ɰ] becomes [i] in Ladino.

of Turkish *balıkçı* [baluktʃu], it would be quite odd for the first vowel in a lexicalized unit to be replaced by [u] but the second instance of the same vowel to be replaced by [i]. Thus, it is clear from the overwhelming predominance of the front vowel in the *-dji* allomorphs found in the LK data set that vowel harmony is generally not maintained in Ladino, and in many cases vowel harmony violations in Ladino provide evidence for the productivity of the *-dji* suffix.

3.4.5 Voicing assimilation

In the data set, there are many TOKENS (n = 96) containing voiced consonants or vowels followed by the voiceless allomorphs, *-chi* and *-chu*. Among the 12 total TOKENS containing *-chu*, there are 2 TOKENS of *machunchu*, 'candy seller,' in which the *-chu* suffix is preceded by the voiced nasal [n].⁵⁷ There are 94 TOKENS of *-chi* following a voiced-final root. Two examples can be seen in (27) and (28) below:

⁵⁷ It is possible here, of course, that these two speakers represent happen to represent [ç] with <ch>. One, in fact, uses <chi> or <chu> in every item in a list of seven vendors: *yogurtchu* 'yogurt seller', *dondurmachi* 'ice cream seller', *kitirchi* 'popcorn seller', *salepchi* 'salep (drink) seller', *machunchu* 'candy seller', *sutchu* 'milkman', *balikchi* 'fishmonger'. The messages were written more than two years apart by two different speakers, so I do not think that any sort of imitation or influence has occurred here.

(27) lo-s isporta-**chi**-s en medio de la-s
 the.M-PL sport-AGT-PL in middle of the.F-PL

kaye-s
 street-PL

'the peddlers in the middle of the streets'

(Ladinokomunita # 8173)

(28) siguro komo dish-eron munch-o-s ke la
 sure as say-PST.3PL many-M-PL that the.F.SG

Turkiya arrisiv-yo de manera benadami-**chi**
 Turkey receive-PST.3SG of manner good.man-AGT

los djidio-s salid-o-s de Sefarad
 the.M.PL Jew-PL departed-M-PL from Spain

'of course, as many others have said, Turkey took in the Jews from Spain
 in a very welcoming (gentlemanly) way'

(Ladinokomunita # 39901)

The word *isportachis* comes from the Turkish *işportacı*. It appears that the *-ci* stem lost its voicing for some reason for this author. Perhaps more interesting, however, is *benadamichi*. The stem of this word comes from Hebrew, and literally means 'son of Adam,' but has come to mean something more like 'good man' colloquially. What is most interesting about this example is the apparent addition of a vowel between the stem

benadam and the suffix. A possible explanation for the addition of this kind of bridging vowel could be that speakers are adhering to a word structure more like that of Spanish, where word structure is typically VCV and vowels are regularly inserted "to separate potentially uncongenial obstruent clusters" (Lang, 1990, pp. 29, 26). Furthermore, "Spanish suffixes are invariably vowel commencing (Lang, 1990, p. 29), which may also help to explain the insertion of vowels between a root and the *-dji* suffix. Other examples of voiced-final stems with *-chi* appear in the table below:

(29) *-dji* words with voiced final stems before voiceless *-chi*

chamashirchiya	‘(female) launderer’
dondurmachi +	‘ice cream maker/seller’
karpuzchi +	‘watermelon seller’
kitirchi +	‘fried eggplant seller’
machunchu +	‘candy maker/seller’
manifaturachi	‘traveling clothes salesman’ ⁵⁸
pekmezchi +	‘molasses maker/seller’
pastachi	‘baker’
yagchi +	‘oil seller’

⁵⁸ *Manifaturachi* is defined by the author as a person who “vendiya ropas alas kazas” (sold clothes to the houses).

Note that all of the forms marked with a + above were written by the same author in one of two messages, posted about three years apart. The lists of occupations in these two posts provide strong evidence that this particular author only learned the voiceless allomorphs *-chi* and *-chu*. As discussed in Section 1.3.2 above, *suchi* is another possible example of a voiced-final stem followed by *-chi*.

Interestingly, there are only four TYPES (each comprising one TOKEN) containing the voiced *-dji* allomorph following a voiceless consonant. They are listed in (30) below:

- (30) Instances of *-dji* allomorph following a voiceless consonant in the LK data set:
- | | | |
|----|--------------|---------------------|
| a. | fotografdjia | ‘photographer’ |
| b. | inatdjis | ‘stubborn [people]’ |
| c. | videografdji | ‘videographer’ |
| d. | zarzavatdji | ‘vegetable seller’ |

Importantly, two of these TYPES, seen in (30a) and (30c) above, were written by a heritage speaker of Ladino in their 30s, who only learned the voiced high front vowel allomorph of the *-dji* suffix. Because there are only two other TYPES that exemplify this kind of voicing dissimilation, and because the *-dji* suffix is so predominant in the data set, I suspect that the authors of (30b) and (30d) above either mistakenly used the voiced

suffix in these TYPES, or that they, too, only learned the voiced high front vowel allomorph of the suffix. In fact, example (30d) appeared in a list of professions that contain the *-dji* suffix:

- (31) pued-e ser ke te akodr-as
 be.possible-3SG.PRES be.INF that REFL.2SG remember-2SG.PRES
- no solo de-l boya-dji ma i de-l lo-s
 NEG only of-M paint-AGT but and of-M.SG the-M.PL
- zarzavat-dji teneke-dji leblebi-dji mastraba-dji
 vegetable-AGT tin-AGT chickpea-AGT mastraba-AGT
- touloumba-dji kafe-dji
 pump-AGT coffee-AGT

‘Perhaps you remember not only the painter, but also the vegetable seller, tinsmith, leblebi (roasted chickpeas) vendor, mastrabadji, firefighter, café owner’⁵⁹

(Ladinokomunita # 4169)

Notably, *zarzavat* is the only voiceless-final stem in the list, so there are no other examples of voicing dissimilation.

⁵⁹ I asked Seattle Ladino speakers and several scholars to help me figure out what the word *mastraba* meant, but no one knew.

As discussed above, not all members of LK are native Ladino speakers, and so there are many possible reasons that an author may have violated Turkish voicing assimilation rules. It is interesting, however, that the *-dji* allomorph is the most common in the data set, and yet the majority of the voicing assimilation violations feature the less common *-chi* allomorph. If Ladino speakers were disregarding voicing assimilation entirely when constructing new *-dji* words, we should expect to see speakers using significantly more voiceless-final roots with the *-dji* suffix. The findings here suggest that Ladino does not, in fact, disregard voicing assimilation entirely, but that perhaps certain forms have been lexicalized in Ladino with a bridging vowel and the voiceless *-chi* allomorph.

3.4.6 Ladino inflection

As mentioned above, Bunis (2008) observed that Ladino words with the Turkish *-dji* suffix still use Ladino gender and number inflection, and this is, in fact, the case for the *-dji* words in the LK data set. Though the vast majority of the *-dji* words found in the LK data set contain roots of Turkish origin, it is clear from the consistent use of Ladino inflectional morphemes that Ladino morphological processes are still operating quite

productively and regularly on these words. As shown in Sections 3.4.4 and 3.4.5, it appears that the *-dji* suffix is still being attached to roots in Ladino, rather than *-dji* words being borrowed as lexicalized units from Turkish. Furthermore, as I will now show, there is ample evidence in the LK data set that Ladino continues to use only its own inflectional morphology, and does not borrow already inflected words from Turkish or other languages.

As mentioned previously, though Turkish does not have grammatical gender, Ladino does, and it marks gender in places where Spanish does not overtly do so. There are many examples of *-dji* words with the feminine gender morpheme [a] attached in this data set, two of which were shown in examples (23) and (30) above.⁶⁰ While it does not mark gender, Turkish does mark the plural explicitly, with the suffix *-ler/-lar*. There are no TYPES in the LK data set where a *-dji* word is pluralized with the Turkish plural marker. There is, however, a significant number of TYPES in the data set where a *-dji* word is pluralized with the Ladino [s] plural morpheme. A *-dji* word marked for both gender and plural can be seen in example (32) below:

⁶⁰ For reasons that are not entirely clear, words with the *-dji* suffix can be overtly marked for gender with the feminine [a] morpheme, but not with the masculine [o].

(32)	la-s	mujer-es	no	era-n	kumar-dji-a-s	mas
	the.F-PL	woman-PL	NEG	be.IPFV-3PL	gambling-AGT-F-S	more
	grande-s	ke	lo-s	ombre-s		
	big-PL	than	the.M-PL	man-PL		

'the women were not bigger gamblers than the men'

(*Ladinokomunita* # 25653)

There are actually only 2 TYPES among the *-dji* words of the LK data set that contain both the feminine morpheme and the plural morpheme, but there appears to be a simple explanation for this. Because of the meaning of the *-dji* suffix, a *-dji* word marked with both [a] and [s] would mostly likely refer to a group of women; any mixed gender group would only be marked by the [s] morpheme. Furthermore, many of the *-dji* words in the data set are used to describe occupations, especially occupations during the period of the authors' childhood; these occupations were likely mostly undertaken by men. For these reasons, it makes sense that there would not be many *-dji* words referring to a group of women in this data set. The only other TYPE in the data set that contains both inflectional morphemes is *tutundjias* 'tobacco factory workers,' which was apparently a common profession among Jewish women in Thessaloniki.

Despite the relative lack of *-dji* words containing both gender and plural inflectional morphemes in the data set, however, it is clear that only Ladino inflectional morphological processes are applied to Ladino *-dji* words, and that the processes are still being applied productively.

3.5 Conclusion

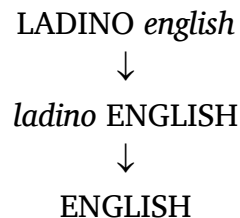
This chapter investigated the combinatory potential of and the words created using the Ladino agentive suffix *-dji*. In 55,500 messages posted to the online forum *Ladinokomunita*, 131 unique roots were found attached to *-dji*; these roots were broken down into 242 TYPES, and 707 total TOKENS containing the suffix. Over 90% of the roots are of Turkish origin, but roots of Hebrew, Greek, Spanish, and other Romance origins were also found. The vast majority of the roots are nouns or adjectives, and the suffix appears to generally retain its agentive meaning (with a few notable exceptions). The voiced front vowel *-dji* allomorph of the suffix is the most common, followed by voiceless *-chi*; the back vowel allomorphs, *-dju* and *-chu*, were only found in a handful of TYPES and TOKENS. In general, Turkish vowel harmony is not retained in Ladino, but violations of Turkish vowel harmony in Ladino *-dji* words provide strong evidence against lexicalized

units being borrowed in their entirety from Turkish. It cannot be said that the Turkish rule of voicing assimilation is totally ignored in Ladino, as there are very few TYPES (and very few TOKENS) containing voiceless consonants preceding the *-dji* allomorph, but many TYPES (and many TOKENS) containing voiced consonants or vowels preceding the voiceless *-chi* allomorph. It is also clear from the data set that *-dji* words in Ladino are inflected often (and only) with Ladino inflectional affixes. Though it may appear on the surface that *-dji* words reflect the moribundity of the Ladino language, they in fact demonstrate the ongoing morphological productivity (and creativity) of the language. This apparent productivity will be revisited in the following chapter.

4 The complex process of language shift in Modern Ladino⁶¹

This chapter challenges the simple model of language shift presented in Chapter 1 above, and reproduced below:

(1) Language shift in the Seattle Ladino speech community



I noted in Chapter 1 that Harris (1994) perhaps illustrated this model best, describing the process over the course of three generations (grandparents, parents, and grandchildren). The grandparents are dominant in the ethnic language, while the parents grow up bilingual in the ethnic language and the dominant language. The grandchildren only learn the dominant language. As previously mentioned, this model appears to fit the Seattle Ladino speech community well, as it is certainly the case that the parents'

⁶¹ This chapter expands upon material previously published in FitzMorris (2014) and FitzMorris (2016). All material is being republished here with permission.

generation is generally bilingual, though dominant in English, and the grandchildren typically do not speak Ladino. This chapter examines the first two steps of the above model of language shift to show that this model is actually too simplistic to fit the reality of Ladino both before and after it arrived in Seattle. Namely, speakers were not monolingual in Ladino, nor were they simply bilingual in Ladino and English. Furthermore, languages that have come into contact with Ladino have been adapted into the language relatively constantly for over 500 years; while some languages have certainly interfered with the use of Ladino, most have merely donated some elements, thus contributing to the ever-changing nature of Ladino.

4.1 Italian, French, and Spanish: Evidence of language shift in the Barkey letters

As mentioned in Chapter 2, Claire Barkey's letters illustrate several key points about Rhodesli vowel raising. They also, however, serve to illustrate the complicated process of language shift that took place among Ladino speakers around the world in the twentieth century. The dates, as written in Claire's letters, give us a preview of the evolution of Claire's Ladino over the course of about fifteen years. Of the 25 letters

written by Claire in Rhodes (between 1930 and 1939) and 29 in Tangier (between 1939 and 1946), all but 7 letters are dated using a date in the format November 30, 1945.⁶²

The months, as they appear in these long form dates before and after early 1942, can be seen in (2) below.⁶³ In this list, before 1942, French variants are listed in plain text, while Italian variants are *Italicized*.

⁶² Of the seven letters not dated in this format, five are dated using a DD/MM/YY or DD/MM/YYYY shorthand, and two are undated.

⁶³ The complete list of dates, exactly as they were written by Claire, can be found in Appendix D.

(2) Months, as written by Claire Barkey before and after 1942

Before 1942	1942 onward
janvier, <i>gennaio</i>	enero
février, <i>febbraio</i>	febrero
mars, <i>marzo</i> ⁶⁴	marzo
avril, <i>aprile</i>	abril
mai	mayo
juin, <i>giugno</i>	junio
juillet	julio
août	--
<i>settembre</i>	septiembre
octobre, <i>ottobre</i>	octubre
novembre ⁶⁵	noviembre
<i>dicembre</i>	diciembre

Before 1942, for six of the month names, Claire switches between French (in plain font) and Italian (italicized) forms, and there is no apparent relationship between time and variant(s) used before 1942. In fact, in the case of February 1939, Claire writes two

⁶⁴ It is possible that the form *marzo* ‘March’, used in the first letter Claire wrote to Ralph Capeluto in 1930, is Spanish/Ladino and not Italian, but the fact that not a single other Spanish/Ladino form is used before 1942, as well as the fact that Claire was attending an Italian school around this time, suggest that Claire was using the Italian month name here.

⁶⁵ This is the spelling for both the French form and the Italian form, so it is not possible to determine which form Claire intended to use for the three letters using this form in the date.

letters that month, and dates them as “3 Février 1939” and “il 25 Febbraio 1939,” using both the French and Italian month names just three weeks apart. This strongly suggests that Claire had both French and Italian in her linguistic repertoire while living in Rhodes, and that she could use either one of them to fill Ladino gaps, or perhaps even for stylistic or personal purposes as well.

Importantly, however, there seems to be a point for Claire, somewhere around 1942, where the shift from Rhodesli Ladino to Standard Spanish really takes hold. Note that while Claire uses French and Italian month names relatively interchangeably before March 1942, she uses *only* Standard Spanish forms in the dates after that point. This shift is also extremely evident in the overall lexicon, orthography, and sometimes even the syntax of these letters, though the point at which the letters become truly *Spanish* rather than Ladino is less clear.⁶⁶ Claire’s language use in Rhodes will be discussed in Section 4.2.1 and in Tangier in Section 4.2.2 below.

⁶⁶ Note that the recipients of the letters do not change after 1942. The vast majority of the letters are addressed either to Ralph and/or Rachel Capeluto, with a few addressed to Ralph’s sister Jamila. This rules out the possibility that Claire’s switch to Spanish is to suit her interlocutor, along the lines of Accommodation Theory (Giles, 2016) or Audience Design Theory (Bell, 1997).

4.1.1 Italian, French, and education in Rhodes

Claire went to an Italian school for at least a few years as a child, as evidenced by graduation certificates provided by her daughter, Cynthia Barkey Flash (personal communication, April 25, 2019). It is also likely that she used Italian at least part of the time at her job in Rhodes, as evidenced by the Italian masthead on her office stationery.

The Italian influence in Claire's earliest letters may suggest that Claire was essentially using the Italian orthographical system she learned at school, and "sounding out" the words she wanted to write in her native Ladino. In these early letters, perhaps the most immediately obvious influence can be seen in the orthography, with spellings like <giu> for [ɟ] or possibly [ʒ], <qu> and <ch> for [k], <c> for [tʃ], and <gn> for [nj]⁶⁷, as seen in words like *giusto* 'just,' *quosas* 'things,' *che* 'that,' *cica* 'small,' and *agno* 'year.' Also striking are the double consonants, perhaps representing actual consonantal geminates borrowed from Italian in Claire's speech, or perhaps just a habit acquired from writing in Italian. These can be seen in spellings like *avviso* 'notice,' *immagina* 'imagine,' and *paressio* 'seemed.' The most thorough evidence of influence from Italian, however,

⁶⁷ Hualde and Şaul (2011) note that there is no [ɲ] phoneme in Ladino, but rather, that the sound is formed by two distinct phonemes [n] and [j] (p. 100).

can be found in the lexicon in these letters. Many of these Italian words are cognates for Hispanic-origin words, such as *viaggi* ‘trip,’ *lettera* ‘letter,’ and *nuovamente* ‘newly,’ while others are clearly Italian words whose Hispanic equivalents are not cognates, such as *fra* ‘between’ (Lad. *entre*), *mancansa* ‘lack’ (Lad. *falta*), and *soggiorno* ‘stay’ (Lad. *estansia*). In the cases of *mancansa* and *soggiorno*, perhaps the Italian variant is fresher in Claire’s mind, as these words are a bit more formal, and it appears that she uses Italian in different linguistic domains than she uses Ladino, but the case of *fra* is pretty striking, as function words are generally considered to be a closed lexical class. There is also the case of the Italian *in seguito* ‘after,’ which is not a cognate for a word meaning ‘after’ in Spanish, but is clearly related to the Spanish words *siguiente* ‘following’ and *seguir* ‘to follow.’ Does Claire use this Italian phrase because it is so similar to semantically related Spanish-origin words?

Another important question here is whether we can say that these Italian-origin variants are not, in fact, *Ladino* words. This is the key issue that will be discussed throughout this chapter; because Ladino is a mixed language and developed as a result of language contact, we cannot really say with certainty what is Ladino and what is foreign or borrowed. For this very same reason, we cannot trace a neat pattern of 20th

century language shift from Ladino to English or Ladino to Turkish or Ladino to Spanish. Things get even more complicated when we look at words in Claire Barkey's letters that appear to be a hybrid of Italian and Spanish, words like *nel fratttempo* 'in the meantime' (It. *nel frattempo* + Sp. *tiempo*), *riguardantes* 'regarding' (It. *riguardo* + Sp. *-antes*), and *tassas* 'taxes' (It. *tassa* + Sp. *-s*).

Importantly, Ladino, especially Rhodesli Ladino, has borrowed from Italian over the course of its lifetime. That being said, two key points must be mentioned here. Firstly, many, perhaps most, of the Italian-origin words listed above would not be found in Seattle Ladino today. Secondly, these Italian-origin words appear to be few and far between in the speech of Claire's parents, as evidenced by the fact that the letters dictated to Claire by her parents contain few, if any, of these words. Claire was a native Ladino speaker and though it is not uncommon for Ladino speakers to report that Italian, French, or Turkish was occasionally used at home, Claire's younger sister Regina reports that the family spoke Ladino at home: "Mi madre i mi padre avlavan ladino en kasa i mi padre

savia avlar turko, i Rodes era italiano so avlava italiano tambien, i avlava grego.”⁶⁸ The obvious conclusion here might seem to be that Claire’s Ladino was abnormal, but instead, I see this complicated evolution (or language shift) of Claire’s Ladino as a representation of the also evolving Rhodesli Ladino speech community during the early twentieth century. I suspect that many Rhodesli Jewish children spoke a variety of Ladino with heavy Italian influence, like that seen in these letters.

There is also evidence of French influence in Claire Barkey’s writing in Rhodes. This is to be expected, as historians and survivors of Rhodes suggest that most Jewish Rhodesli children were educated in French (Benatar & Pimienta-Benatar, 2000, p. 25, Benbassa & Rodrigue, 2000, p. 84). Examples of French words in Claire’s early letters include *familles* ‘families’, *genous*⁶⁹ ‘knees’, *oncle* ‘uncle,’ and *tante* ‘aunt’, among others. It also appears that Claire knew how to write in French as well as or possibly better than

⁶⁸ My translation: “My mother and my father spoke Ladino at home and my father knew how to speak Turkish, and Rhodes was Italian, so [my father] spoke Italian too, and he spoke Greek.”

⁶⁹ Note here that Claire uses a -s plural suffix, when the Standard French form of ‘knees’ is *genoux*. It is difficult to know whether this -s came from other French plurals that Claire knew, or whether it came from Ladino. Interestingly, when not followed by a vowel, the French word *genoux* would be pronounced [ʒœnu], so it contrasts phonetically with a typical Spanish or Ladino plural ending in [s] or [z].

she knew how to write in Ladino, as occasionally she uses French-influenced spelling for Ladino words, such as *disperation* [disperasion] ‘desperation’ and *vach* [vaʃ] ‘you (pl.) go.’

Once the Barkey family arrived in Tangier, however, the language seen in Claire’s letters began to evolve in an entirely different way. As previewed above, after arriving in Tangier, Claire’s Ladino began to shift away from Italian and French, and toward Modern Spanish, in a process known as *re-Hispanicization* (Bürki, 2016).

4.1.2 Haketia, Ladino, and re-Hispanicization in Tangier

In this section, I review the literature on Moroccan Judeo-Spanish and re-Hispanicization and discuss the changes that Claire Barkey’s Ladino underwent in Tangier in the years 1939-1946. I also show that this process of re-Hispanicization is not unique to the Tangier speech community.

4.1.2.1 *A brief history of re-Hispanicization in Morocco*

In order to describe the process of re-Hispanicization in Morocco we must first note that the term “Judeo-Spanish” can be used to describe two different language varieties that

formed when the Jews who were exiled from Spain fled to different parts of the world and developed new hybrid Spanish language varieties. Importantly, these Spanish speakers fled not only to the Ottoman Empire, where they formed Ladino (also sometimes called Eastern Judeo-Spanish), but also to Morocco, where they formed Haketia (or Western Judeo-Spanish). Basically, Ladino and Haketia had parallel histories, where Ladino developed in contact with Turkish (and other languages) and Haketia developed in contact with Arabic. Unsurprisingly, much like Ladino, Haketia developed as a result of language contact, and also currently finds itself endangered as a result of language contact. The languages involved in each process, however, are different.

According to Bürki (2016), for the period of time between 1492 and Spanish occupation around 1860, autochthonous Arabic-speaking Jews were typically found in central and southern Morocco, “Berber Jews,” presumably Tamazight-speaking Jews, were found inland in northern Morocco, and Sephardic Jews were found in the coastal cities of northern Morocco (p. 126). Benoliel (1977) attributes the creation and maintenance of Haketia to three factors: firstly, the need for Jews to be able to be understood amongst each other without other ethnoreligious groups understanding; secondly, the need to borrow from local languages or Hebrew due to the separation from

Spain that caused Moroccan Sephardic Jews to forget Spanish terms; thirdly, the desire to possess an intergroup language that could distinguish Sephardic Jews from the autochthonous Arabic- and Berber-speaking Jews mentioned above (p. 6). While Arabic syntax has not had any influence on Haketia, significant influence from Arabic can be found in the Haketia lexicon, phonology, and morphology (Bunis, 2008, p. 200).

With the Spanish occupation of Tetouan in 1859, northern Morocco effectively became a Spanish colony. Though the official colonization period was only about two years, Bürki (2016) notes that Spanish presence in the north of Morocco was essentially continuous from that point onward (p. 129)⁷⁰. In 1912, France and Spain divided Morocco into protectorates, with Spain taking control of the northern portion of the territory (p. 129). Spanish was, of course, the language of administration and official business throughout this Spanish presence in Morocco.

Before Spanish colonization, Haketia was a minority language, the language of the *other* in comparison to the dialectal Arabic spoken by the majority; with the

⁷⁰ Morocco gained autonomy in the mid-twentieth century, though there is still quite a bit of Spanish presence (both physical and cultural) in northern Morocco. With respect to physical presence, Spain continues to maintain two enclaves, Ceuta and Melilla, which are bordered by the Mediterranean Sea and Moroccan land.

establishment of a Spanish colony, however, Haketia suddenly gained ground as a language variety related to the prestigious colonial language of Spanish (Aslanov, 2008, p. 212, cited in Bürki, 2016, p. 134). Throughout this period, Haketia was used for daily communication among Sephardic Jews, and Spanish was used in formal contexts (Bürki, 2016, p. 144); this is a textbook case of *diglossia*, defined by Ferguson (1959) as “speech communities [using] two or more varieties of the same language [...] under different conditions” (p. 325). Bürki (2016) notes that there arose a “social barrier” between Haketia speakers and speakers of Spanish and/or French (p. 145), and Haketia came to be associated with lower social classes and a lack of education. Eventually, “the official Spanish presence and the influence of the [Spanish] language were translated into the extinction of Haketia” (p. 131). This process, through which Spanish overtook Haketia, is referred to by Bürki as *re-Hispanicization*. Bénichou (1945) describes the effects of re-Hispanicization:

El estudio del judeo-español de Marruecos es además difícil en nuestros tiempos porque el dialecto ha estado sometido, desde hace varias generaciones, al influjo del castellano

moderno, que lo ha invadido, destruyendo en él varios caracteres esenciales.⁷¹ (p. 209, cited in Bürki, 2016, p. 122)

Here, Bénichou uses the word *invadido* ‘invaded,’ suggesting an attack of Haketia at the hands of the Spanish language; little by little, unique elements of Haketia were replaced by their more prestigious “pure” Spanish counterparts. Importantly, Bénichou notes the difficulty in studying the re-Hispanicized Haketia more than 70 years ago, meaning re-Hispanicization had already made significant progress by this time.

Bürki (2016) notes some of the predominant changes seen in the re-Hispanicization of Haketia. Phonetically, Haketia’s /ʃ/ and /ʒ/ were replaced with the Castilian [x], variation between /s/ and /z/ shifted in favor of the Modern Spanish /s/, and Spanish /θ/ made its way into Haketia speech (Bürki, 2016, p. 144). Re-Hispanicization also included other phonological elements, such as the “loss of the prosthetic g- in words like *güerfano* in [favor] of Sp. *huérfano*, and the loss of the velar g- in Hak. *güeno* as opposed to Sp. *bueno*” (Bürki, 2016, p. 145). Bürki also notes specific lexical changes, including the replacement of *ande* with *donde*, *mazzal* with *suerte*,

⁷¹ My translation: “The study of Moroccan Judeo-Spanish is all the more difficult these days because the dialect has been subject, for several generations, to the influence of modern Castilian, which has invaded it, destroying many of its essential characteristics.”

munchas with *muchas*, and *escuridad* with *oscuridad* (Bürki, 2016, pp. 144-145). Some of these changes mirror changes from Ladino to Modern Spanish, and can be seen in Claire's last letter from Tangier in Section 4.1.2.3 below.

Bunis (2008) describes the re-Hispanicization of Haketia as the result of a sort of cultural awareness that allowed Sephardic Jews to thrive outside of Spain and stayed with the community for several centuries:

The wealth of North African Arabisms in Haketia and Ottomanisms in Judezmo testify to centuries of Sephardic openness to the surrounding peoples and their cultures. [...] The same "selective openness" to the world around them and awareness of and sensitivity to changes in the value systems and aesthetics of that world, has facilitated the decision by recent generations of Sephardim in Morocco and the former Ottoman regions to remove from their language the thousands of Arabisms and Turkisms that for centuries gave their unique languages their distinctive local character. (p. 207)

Bunis hints at the prestige of Spanish, noting the Sephardic community's "sensitivity to changes in the value systems and aesthetics" of the world around them. For various socioeconomic reasons, the Sephardic Jews moved away from their own vernacular toward the language of prestige. Importantly, Bunis points out that the same social

pressures that caused Judeo-Spanish varieties to develop in the first place are the social pressures that lead to language shift and re-Hispanicization.

As I mentioned earlier, however, it is clear that while Ladino is certainly very endangered worldwide, Haketia has fared even worse. Unlike in Ladino, there does not exist much written Haketia material, and what little there is only dates back to the nineteenth century (Bürki, 2016, p. 127). Haketia was not used as the language of literature or of the press, whereas the Ottoman Sephardic community had a thriving Ladino literature scene and published newspapers in Ladino in many of the major cities of the Empire (Bürki, 2016, p. 150). Perhaps most importantly, in stark contrast to the situation in the Ottoman Ladino speech communities, “relations between Moroccan Sephardic Jews and Spain were not cut off completely in 1492” (Bentolila, 2008, p. 168, cited in Bürki, 2016, p. 126), and it seems that the Sephardic community of Morocco never lost contact with Spain. The Jews of the Ottoman Empire, of course, lost virtually all contact with Spain for several hundred years.

4.1.2.2 *Re-Hispanicization in Argentinean Ladino*

After reviewing the process of re-Hispanicization of Moroccan Haketia, it should be clear that re-Hispanicization is essentially just a specific kind of *language shift*. Speakers of a variety of Spanish came to Morocco, shifted as a community toward the use of a new variety, and then shifted back to the use of Spanish. This is a different pattern of shift than the Ladino-to-bilingualism-to-English pattern I described in Chapter 1 for Seattle Ladino, but it is a pattern of language shift nonetheless. This point is made even more clear when we briefly consider the case of Ladino in Buenos Aires, Argentina.

Even Argentinean Ladino speakers who were born in the Ottoman Empire and can easily read and understand Ladino struggle to produce it in spontaneous speech due to extensive interference from Argentinean Spanish. When asked why Ladino had declined in usage in Buenos Aires, one speaker, José, explained:

- (3) En mi kasa siempre se avlava en ladino. Aki tambien. Despues, kon muchos anyos, tomavan otras palabras del espanyol moderno, digamos, de ke, naturalmente, esto no es rasional, se van asimilando al lugar. I es mas fasil, espanyol a espanyol. Entonses topavamos otra vez las palabras espanyolas ke no teniamos kuando entravan las palabras turkas i griegas, italianas i fransesas.⁷²

Though this speaker is really only describing the gradual shift from Ladino to Modern Spanish in his individual family, these comments can also be considered to be a representation of the overall shift of the Buenos Aires Ladino speech community. This speaker suggests that the changes that Ladino has undergone were sort of a natural return to the way the language used to be, before the Jews were expelled from Spain in 1492, and Ladino speakers were forced to borrow from other languages. This speaker is very clearly describing a re-Hispanicization of Ladino in Buenos Aires, very much like the process seen in Moroccan Haketia. In the case of Buenos Aires, Spanish was not only the

⁷² My translation: “In my house, we always spoke Ladino. Here [in Buenos Aires] too. After many years, we started taking words from modern Spanish, let’s say, naturally, this isn’t rational, you assimilate to the place. And it’s easier (to assimilate), Spanish (Ladino) to Spanish. So we were finding these Spanish words again that we didn’t have when the Turkish, Greek, French, and Italian words started entering the language.”

prestigious language and the language needed for economic success, but also the majority language numerically speaking. Like Haketia speakers in Morocco, Argentinean Sephardic Jews had an advantage over other ethnic groups, particularly Ashkenazi Jews, in that they could easily understand Spanish. This advantage, however, probably also meant that the shift from Ladino to Spanish was very rapid; in Buenos Aires, it appears to have taken place within a single generation of speakers.

4.1.2.3 *Claire's letters and Rhodesli Ladino in Morocco*

Important to take from the above discussion is the assumption that the Barkey family came into contact with very little, if any, Haketia during their seven years in Tangier. In contrast, not only did they likely come into contact with Modern Spanish, but they probably used it as their primary language of public communication. Shortly after arriving in Tangier, Claire's letters continue to show influence from French and Italian, and still show evidence of widespread, though variable, vowel raising. Little by little, however, Modern Spanish variants that are clearly distinct from their Ladino equivalents begin to creep in. In a letter written in October 1939, Claire uses the forms *nosotros* 'we' and *nos* (REFL.3P.SG) (instead of the Ladino *mozotros* and *mos*) for the first time. Notably,

however, she also uses the related Ladino variants *muestras* ‘our’ and *mos* ‘to us’ in that same letter. In her next letter, written in November of that same year, she uses the Spanish *nueva* ‘new’ instead of the Ladino *mueva*. In the following letter, written in May 1940, suddenly several more Spanish variants are used, including *tios* instead of *oncle i tante* for ‘uncle and aunt.’ This is notable because, as discussed in FitzMorris (2014), Seattle Ladino speakers today remain generally quite sensitive to traditional Ladino gender marking, where the masculine plural cannot be used to describe a mixed-gender group, and so *tios* would not be an acceptable way to say ‘uncle and aunt’ for most of these speakers (see FitzMorris (2014)). Eventually, Claire starts to use very Standard Spanish verb forms, and even the Modern Spanish word for ‘God,’ *Dios* instead of the Ladino *Dio*. Modern Spanish syntactic structures like *me toca* ‘it is my turn,’ *lo antes posible* ‘as soon as possible,’ and *es [...] razonable el preguntaros* ‘asking you (pl.) is reasonable’ become very common in these letters by 1945. In her last letter written from Tangier in April 1946, Claire is still not really using Standard Spanish’s stress-marking accents in her orthography. There are also a few spelling confusions such as *ohala* for *ojalá* ‘I hope,’ one last vestige of vowel raising in *ringraciandoos* ‘thanking you,’ one last Ladino grammatical structure in *irsen* ‘they (pl.) leave,’ and a handful of non-standard

Spanish words. Otherwise, though, Claire writes the entire two-page letter in Standard Castilian Spanish. To appreciate the severity of the shift in Claire's language, compare the first letter from 1930 (found on pages 78-84 in Chapter 2) to the final letter written by Claire in Tangier, from 1946:

- (4) Letter from Claire Barkey to Raphael Capeluto (Book 4, ST044), courtesy of Sephardic Studies Collection at the University of Washington, Page 1

Tanger, el 19 de Abril de 1946.

Mis queridos tios, Ni yo se que palabras emplear para exprimir toda nuestra gratitud y reingraciaros por todo lo que estais haciendo por nosotros. No sabeis cuanto apreciamos vuestros gestos y a la par de nosotros todos lo que siguen nuestros pasos referente a nuestra ida a los Estados Unidos se quedan curiosos como estais procurando tanto y gastando al mismo tiempo para conseguir llevarnos a vuestro lado. Todavia los extraña mas, cuando saben de que no nos conocemos personalmente, pero todo lo que dicen es que mis tios saben lo que hacen y que nunca se arrepentiran de llevarnos con ellos. Porque, queridos tios, como os lo he repetido miles de veces, nuestra obligacion y deseo sera el reemolusaros de todo lo que estais adelantando para nosotros aunque siempre os quedaremos eternamente reconocientes de vuestras gestiones y trabajo. Ojala todo hubiera marchado como nosotros queriamos, no que ya estamos hartos de tanto esperar y llevar tantos contratiempos. Si nos hubieran dicho desde el primer momento que teniamos que esperar tanto, esta bien, pero cuando ya teniamos por tantas veces todo seguro y sobretodo esta ultima vez, sucedio este contratiempo que verdaderamente nos desilusiono por completo. Como decia vosotros. Cuanto trabajo y disgustos nos cuesta este viaje a America, pero si es por nuestro bien, como no lo dudamos y que rogamos a Dios, no importa esperaremos otro poquito mas. Sea hasta que Dios quiera.

Queridos tios, primeramente ringraciandolos os acuso recibo de vuestro telegrama y luego de vuestra carta. Aunque desiendo que fuera lo contrario, nunca me ilusione de que conseguiriais nada por ahi. Para el 5 de Mayo me parecia muy imposible puesto que por aqui yo habia intentado todo y hecho todo lo que me era posible para hacer algo. Lo que os ruego es que os informeis para cuando cuentan dar numeros de quota turca. Hoy todo depende de ahi, porque barcos hay cuando queremos. Es todo lo contrario de antes. Hoy con las lineas espanolas, hay barcos cada mes. Lo que antes nos parecia fin de mundo, hoy estamos contentos con poder marcharnos para July. Estamos todos tan desesperados y luego tan alborotados que ni sabemos lo que hacemos ni yo sobretodo tengo mas ganas de trabajar aqui. Me habia despedido para fin marzo y todavia sigo trabajando hasta que reciba nueva orden. Mientras estemos aqui no nos queda mas remedio que buscar a seguir viviendo. Pero os lo aseguro que no con muy pocas ganas sigo haciendo mis obligaciones, lo que es raro en mi, gustandome como me gusta el trabajo de oficina. No es que lo haga mal porque este no es mi caracter ni siguiera mi conciencia me lo permite, pero os lo aseguro que me cuesta mucho trabajo. Asi es que os lo pido de favor que en vuestra proxima nos deis alguna informacion exacta de cuando podremos contar con la partencia. Por ahi es mas facil, porque de aqui el Consulado no dice nada. Solo nos dijo que nos llamaria cuando llegue el momento oportuno, pero este momento puede tardar meses y años si los da la gana. Lo que si nos interessaria saber es cuando aproximadamente podran disponer de nuestros de quota turca. De mientras tambien nos espantamos no sea que los affidavits que son del 30/7/45 no sirvan mas. Entonces ya es otro lio.

Ahora, queridos tios, os voy a comunicar una noticia que no os esperabais. Cuando nos llamaron para decirnos que la quota turca estaba llena y que los de la quota italiana no podiamos marcharnos solos porque debiamos seguir a mi padre para irnos toda la familia junta, yo le propuse al Conail de que Estner que es de alguna diferente de la nuestra y que no hace parte de nuestra familia, no tenia nada que ver con nosotros. El Conail no me dio grandes esperanzas pero me prometio que escribiria a Washington. Como habiamos sido engañados tantas veces, yo no di mucha importancia, pero el resultado es que el 5 de Abril la

- (5) Letter from Claire Barkey to Raphael Capeluto (Book 4, ST044), courtesy of Sephardic Studies Collection at the University of Washington, Page 2

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llamo para darle en visado habiendo recibido su numero de cuota italiana, y le dijo que se preparara para partir el 5/5/46. Ya os podeis imaginar con cuanta prisa y cuanta estrechura para ella por separarse de nosotros se está preparando. De mientras estamos en Pesah. Si Dios quiere el 26 de Abril sale de Tanger para Cadiz y el 2 o 5 de Mayo sale para America. Todavia no sabe el itinerario que va hacer, como lo sepa os escribire en seguida. De mientras, os rogaria se lo comuniquéis a Hesquia Benatar que se informe el dia que llega el v-apor "Marques de Comillas" a Nueva-York para que vaya a recibirla. Esther está muy desconsolada por irse sola y pensando en la separacion nuestra, ya os lo figurais despues de tantos años juntos, pero nosotros la consolamos diciendole que la separacion es para muy poco tiempo, lo que esperamos y deseamos. La verdad que os diga yo misma la envidio, tuvo mucha suerte. La envidio ~~mucho~~ con razon, porque siendo las dos nacidas en Italia, solo ella pueda irse, esto es el colmo! Enfin que se le va hacer? Esperamos un poco mas.

Queridos tios, ahora me voy a permitir sugeriros una cosa. Se que es mucho acusar de vuestra bondad, pero ya que os metitis en el baile y que nos metisteis la sabor en la boca, os ruego me escuchéis don toda atencion. De acuerdo con el papa, hemos pensado de que si la cuota turca tardará mucho y segun lo que os dirán por ahí, convendria, puesto que la cuota italiana está abierta, que hagais unos affidavits separados para los 6 de nosotros, Rachel, Haim, Mosche, Jacques y Regina y yo. Teniendo aqui todo preparado, todos los papeles hasta los mismos pasaportes renovados, y estando la cuota italiana abierta, supongo que al recibir los affidavits no nos pondrán ninguna dificultad. Pero antes de hacer nada, quiero que os informéis bien, porque no quiero que gasteis en balde, ya bastante con todo lo que habeis gastado hasta ahora:

- 1º) Si es que la Quota turca va tardar mucho y si para podrá beneficiar de ella.
- 2º) Si es que llamarnos a los 6 será posible, facil y con buen resultado.

En vuestra proxima, os espro leer sobre el particular reengraciandoos anticipadamente.

Queridos tio y tia, ya sabeis que las personar nunca llegamos a pagarnos unos a los otros sea en bien o en mal. Como hemos visto en muchos casos, hoy, las acciones buenas o malas que uno hace, Dios las recompensa inmediatamente. Hoy en dia, como yo digo las cuentas me parece que Dios las liquida al momento, no le gusta ajustar cuentas antiguas. Así es que Dios os lo pagará todo lo que hagais por nosotros con salud, que es lo principal, felicidad, vida larga y bienestar. Amen.

Mis bendiciones os son tambien dirigidas por mi mediacion de parte de mis primas Vida y Rosa, Lea y Rachel. En cada carta que nos escriben no hacen mas que alabaros y echarvos bendiciones. Cada cosa que reciben de vosotros es como de los cielos que las viene. Estan por ahí pasando la mas grande miseria sobre todo Lea y Rachel que no tienen ningun revenido. Vida y Rosa por lo menos, de vez en cuando reciben algo de su hermano del Congo y ahora estan esperando de un momento a otro para irsen con él, pero Lea y Rachel estan completamente desprovistas de ningun ayuda, sino es que reciben lo vuestro. Así es que os podeis imaginar con que alegria les llegan vuestras cosas. Y la querida tanta Rachel cuanto entrada está en sus corazones como en los nuestros, porque muy bien sabemos que estas son cosas de mujeres y que la que mas se ocupa de ello, e-s ella. Bueno, parece que ya es ora de que t-ermine. Con esto ya tendreis bastante para cansaros. De aqui todos os besan a vosotros, juntos a mis queridos primos, muchos besos de

Claire

It is clear that Claire's Ladino was re-Hispanicized to a great degree in Tangier. But can we then say that it's no longer Ladino? At what point do we draw the line between Ladino and Modern Spanish? Unfortunately, Claire Barkey passed away in Seattle in the early 1990s, so unless a recording of her speaking in Ladino surfaces, it is impossible to analyze her Ladino speech now. Claire's younger sister, Regina, however, is still alive and is living in Seattle as of 2019. To what extent does Regina's speech resemble Claire's writing, then, especially considering that Regina is 11 years younger than Claire? In the next section, I examine the modern-day speech of Regina and other Seattle Ladino speakers to contrast the notions of *linguistic influence* and *linguistic interference*, further illustrating Ladino's complex language shift over time.

4.2 Influence or interference? The cases of Spanish, French, and English in Ladino today

This section uses Modern Ladino speech and corpus data to trace the effects of language shift and evolution throughout the twentieth century and to contrast the notions of *influence* and *interference* of a contact language. While Spanish, French, and Italian are all used in Modern Ladino, they interact with Ladino in different ways.

4.2.1 Spanish and Modern Ladino

In this first section, I discuss Modern Ladino in contact with Standard Modern Spanish, and the effects of this contact.

4.2.1.1 *In Seattle*

As discussed above, Claire Barkey's youngest sister Regina, who was born in Rhodes in 1932, has been interviewed several times over the course of more than five years for this research project. Regina was 7 years old when the Barkey family moved to Tangier in 1939, and 14 when the family arrived in Seattle in 1946. When asked which languages she spoke, Regina told me, "Asta di katorze anyos la lingua primera era ladino ma [...] me ambizi italiano, i despues en Tanher fui a una eskola franseza, i despues vine aki sin avlar ingles i me ambizi a avlar ingles."⁷³ She also noted that while she went to a French school, she has not used French in many years and that she can currently understand French and Italian, but she cannot really speak either one.

⁷³ My translation: "Until I was fourteen, my first language was Ladino, but I learned Italian, and after in Tangier, I went to a French school, and then I came here [to Seattle] without speaking English, and I learned to speak English."

Regina's speech varies between Ladino phonetics and phonology and Spanish phonetics and phonology. For example, in one sentence from a 2013 interview, she says [ses vezez] 'six times,' using the Standard Spanish variant for 'six' but the Ladino variant for 'times,' inserting [z] between vowels and word-finally in the plural. Notably, a few minutes later, she uses the Ladino variant for 'six,' [seʃ], which contains a sound not present in the Standard Spanish phonetic inventory, [ʃ]. Regina also uses Spanish lexical items not typically found in Ottoman Ladino, such as *pero* for 'but' instead of Ladino *ama* or *ma* and *nueve* for 'nine' instead of *mueve*. (Recall that one of the first Spanish influences to appear in Claire Barkey's Ladino was the replacement of Ladino word-initial *m-* with Standard Spanish *n-*.) Most striking about Regina's Ladino, however, is that it shows extremely few signs of vowel raising. In fact, in the same 2013 interview with her husband, in 75 minutes of speech, more than half of which is Regina speaking, I did not find a single example of Rhodesli vowel raising. Regina describes herself as a Ladino speaker who also knows Spanish, but it is clear from her speech that the two have blended in an irreversible way for her. In that same interview, I asked her how to say 'neighborhood,' which is often some variation of *vizindado* in Ladino, but also potentially *kuartier* and sometimes even *area* in Seattle Ladino. When she couldn't remember the

word, and I did not yet know it, I offered that it was *barrio* in Spanish, thinking maybe that would remind her. She said that it was also *barrio* in Ladino, then stopped for a moment to think about it, and exclaimed, “No se si esto avlando [...] ladino o espanyol!”⁷⁴ (FitzMorris, 2014, p. 54).

Though it is clear that Regina’s Ladino also underwent the re-Hispanicization process, she is not the only Seattle Ladino speaker to exhibit effects of this process in her speech. Two other speakers, Irving and Menache, show relatively heavy influence from Spanish in their Ladino. Irving talks about studying Spanish at Garfield High School and using Standard Spanish to communicate with other Hispanophones during his adult life. As an example, when introducing his wife, Irving says, “I [laughs] mi espoza, *mi mujer*, se yama Vivian.”⁷⁵ The fact that Irving laughs and first says the Spanish *espoza* and then repeats the word as *mujer* suggests that he realizes he is using a Spanish word and is correcting himself with the more widely used Ladino variant.⁷⁶ Menache, who is of Rhodesli descent, shows less vowel raising than other speakers like Al, Violette, and

⁷⁴ My translation: “I don’t know if I’m speaking...Ladino or English!”

⁷⁵ My translation: “And my wife (Sp.), my wife (Lad.), is called Vivian.”

⁷⁶ *Espoza* [espoza] is not an unacceptable term for ‘wife’ in Ladino; it is used, but *mujer* appears to be more common. Note that it differs from the standard Spanish [esposa].

Lucie, potentially because his Rhodesli father spent several years in Argentina before coming to Seattle.

4.2.1.2 *On Ladinokomunita*

The complicated relationship between Spanish and Ladino can also be seen somewhat when reexamining the *Ladinokomunita* data set and considering research questions related to those outlined in Chapter 3. In that chapter, I sought to determine the productivity and combinatory potential of the Ladino Turkish-origin *-dji* suffix, which is highly productive in Turkish. The suffix is seemingly less common in Ladino, however, as only about 700 *-dji* words appeared in more than 55,000 messages. There are several suffixes in Spanish that can be used to produce similar and often semantically-corresponding agentive words in Spanish, including, but not limited to *-ante*, *-ador*, *-ero*, and *-ista*. To compare how these Spanish-origin suffixes number in usage versus the Turkish-origin *-dji*, I searched the LK data set for *only* the corresponding Spanish words for each of the 131 unique roots described in Chapter 3. For example, the most common *-dji* root in the data set was *inat*, as in *inatchi* ‘stubborn.’ Because there is not a single way to say ‘stubborn’ in Spanish, I searched the LK data set for both *obstinado* and

testarudo (as well as their feminine and plural variants). An immediate and obvious criticism of this methodology is that this method of translating and then searching is inherently flawed; anyone who speaks a second language knows that there is often not a perfect one-to-one correspondence between two seemingly semantically-corresponding adjectives in different languages.⁷⁷ I will return to this point shortly.

In short, the Spanish-origin variants of the *-dji* words found in the LK data set are substantially more common in the data set than their *-dji* counterparts. As an example, one *-dji* word in the set was *yazidji* ‘writer,’ which was used only twice in 55,500 messages over the course of almost twenty years. One of its Spanish-origin alternatives, *eskritor*, was used at least 555 times⁷⁸ in the same data set over the same period of time. The most common Spanish-origin of *-dji* words and the `TOKEN` counts of the Spanish variants can be seen in (6) below:

⁷⁷ In a mixed language like Ladino, this lack of one-to-one correspondence is perhaps even more marked. As one example, though the most common way to say ‘thank you’ in Seattle Ladino is *mersi*, from the French, speakers also say *todo bueno ke tengas* (lit. ‘may you have everything good’) and also use the Spanish-origin *grasias*.

⁷⁸ It is possible that *eskritor* was actually used more than 555 times, as I did not intentionally search for potential misspellings of the Spanish-origin variants of the *-dji* words.

- (6) Most common Spanish-origin agentive words with *-dji* variants in the LK data set

Spanish word	<i>-dji</i> variant	gloss	TOKENS (Sp.)
<i>eskritor</i>	<i>yazidji</i>	writer	555
<i>kantador</i>	<i>sharkadji</i>	singer	433
<i>eskrivano</i>	<i>yazidji</i>	writer, scribe	217
<i>kantante</i>	<i>sharkidji</i>	singer	201
<i>djurnalista</i>	<i>gazetadji</i>	journalist	179
<i>pintor</i>	<i>boyadji</i>	painter	134
<i>muzikante</i>	<i>chalgidji</i>	musician	101
<i>guardia</i>	<i>bekchi</i>	guard	98

Note that here I do not list both TOKENS and TYPES, as I am not interested here in the inflectional morphology of these words. Instead, I group all spellings and morphological variants of a root together and list only TOKEN counts. As one example, the TOKEN count of 179 for *djurnalista* actually includes the TYPES *djurnalista*, *jurnalista*, *djurnalisto*, and *jurnalisto*, as well as the plurals of those four variants. Note that the TOKEN count for *eskritor* alone rivals the total TOKEN count for all *-dji* words in the entire data set, and the TOKEN count for the two most common Spanish-origin variants outnumbers the total *-dji* TOKEN count substantially.

As mentioned above, semantics are a relevant factor that must be considered when examining the use of the *-dji* suffix versus one of its Spanish-origin counterparts in this

data set. As discussed in Chapter 3, the *-dji* suffix is extremely versatile in Turkish; it can essentially be added to any noun, adjective, or verb root to produce the word for a person somehow related to (being, doing, selling, or making) that root. For some words, the task of determining and searching for the Spanish-origin equivalent(s) of each of the *-dji* words in the data set proved to be challenging. The example of *inatchi* above illustrates this challenge well, where it can be translated as *testarudo* or *obstinado*, but those two words do not comprise an exhaustive list. Another illustrative example is *dalaveradji*. The root comes from the Turkish *dalavere*, which means something like a trick or a ploy, but can really be translated into dozens of words in English, depending on the nuance. Néhama's (1977) dictionary, defines the Ladino *-dji* word as both '*chevalier d'industrie*' (which is an antiquated term that means something like 'a person who makes a living by defrauding others') and 'intriguing' (p. 112). It would be very challenging, perhaps impossible, to search the LK data set for every single possible potential Spanish-origin alternative for this word in Ladino; fortunately, a few brief searches suggest that even the most common Spanish-origin alternatives are few and far between in this data set.⁷⁹

⁷⁹ As one example, the word *intrigante* is only used twice in the data set.

Searching for Spanish-origin counterparts was much simpler for words with a single clear meaning, like *dentist* or *fisherman*, for which I could search for the morphological variants of a single TYPE (*dentista* or *dentisto* and *peskador*, in these cases) and feel relatively confident that I had found virtually all of the TOKENS of these particular words. There are also examples in the data set of *-dji* words denoting occupations related to very specific items, such as *baklavadj*, *leblebidji*, *pekmezchi*, and *simitidji*.⁸⁰ There is no single word of Spanish origin for any of these vendors, as far as I know; instead, one would have to say *vendedor de baklava*, etc. In cases where there is, however, a single-word Spanish-origin equivalent for these agentive *-dji* words, in the vast majority of cases, the Spanish-origin variant is used far more than the *-dji* variant in the LK data set. In addition to the examples discussed above, there were words like *farmasisto* for *ezadj* ‘pharmacist,’ *mentirozo* for *yalandji* ‘liar,’ and *panadero* for *pastachi* ‘baker’. One possible conclusion here is that many of the *-dji* words used in the LK data set were used because the *-dji* suffix is simply more convenient than using a multi-word phrase such as *vendedor*

⁸⁰ *Baklava* refers here, of course, to the traditional Mediterranean dessert, *leblebi* is chickpea, *pekmez* is molasses, and *simit* is a kind of Turkish bread. Recall that *-dji* generally connotes a ‘maker’ or ‘doer’ of the root of the word, so these words would likely refer to food vendors.

de baklava. Why exactly words like *dentisto* ‘dentist’ are being used more commonly than *dishchi*, however, is not entirely clear. In many cases, these words surely existed before Jewish Spanish speakers left the Iberian Peninsula, and so it is very possible that many speakers never adopted the *-dji* variant of some of these words. In cases like *fotografo* ‘photographer,’ however, we can say for sure that the word is relatively new, and especially in this case where Turkish shares the same root as Spanish (the word would be *fotoğrafçı* in Turkish, or *fotografchi* in Ladino with the *-dji* suffix), it is clear that a choice has been made by the speaker/author, though it is not clear whether that choice was made consciously or not.

Importantly, however, for some of these pairs of Spanish-origin words and *-dji* words, there is *not* a direct semantic correlation. One such example is *boyadji* and *pintor*. In this case, *boyadji* is generally used to mean a person painting a house or a wall, whereas *pintor* would be a person who creates artwork with paint. Eliminating pairs like this from the data set and examining only those pairs whose meanings are truly equivalent could be an interesting future research project. Unfortunately, due to the state of the Ladino language today, I suspect that it would be quite difficult for a linguist

willing to undertake this challenge to find speakers proficient enough to provide the precise semantic judgements necessary for such a project.

This preference of Spanish-origin agentive words can be found among the Ladineros in Seattle as well. Very few -dji words were used in interviews with Seattle speakers, but many Spanish-origin words like *farmasista* ‘pharmacist’ and *shastre/shastra* ‘tailor’ were common. In either case, however, these data suggest that the -dji suffix is slowly being replaced by the Spanish-origin agentive suffixes in yet another example of Ladino and its ongoing five-century language shift.

4.2.2 French and Modern Ladino

French is perhaps less influential among modern-day Seattle Ladino speakers than it was among their parents’ generation, in large part because most of these speakers did not go to French schools. That being said, some French influence can be found in the Ladino of Seattle today. Perhaps the best example of French influence in Seattle can be seen in the speech of Lucie. Lucie was born in the city of Elizabethville in what was then the Belgian Congo. There was a large Sephardic community of Rhodesli origin in this city at the time, and Ladino was widely spoken among the members of the community. Lucie

reports, however, that French was the majority language and the language in which she was educated. Lucie's family moved to Seattle when she was 11 years old, and she immediately began to attend English courses alongside her father.

Perhaps the most striking example of Lucie's use of French in her Ladino, came in response to my asking in Ladino where and when she was born:

- (7) Yo nasi en un pais de Afrika, Elisabethville, la...city...sivdad, Elisabethville, Belgian Congo, Congo Belge. En français, c'est Congo Belge. Et je suis née à Elisabethville, mille neuf cents trente-sept, nineteen thirty-seven, juillet dix-huit, July eighteenth.⁸¹

This particular quote is an example of code-shifting, as defined by Silva-Corvalán (1983), where Lucie shifts from Ladino to both French and English in order to fill gaps in her Ladino, suggesting that she feels more proficient in both of these languages than she does in Ladino. It is telling that after struggling with the Ladino word "sivdad," Lucie gives

⁸¹ Since Lucie uses three different languages, I will distinguish here between **English**, **Ladino**, and **French**: *I was born in a country in Africa, Elisabethville, the city...city ...Elisabethville, Belgian Congo, Belgian Congo. In French it's "Congo Belge."* *And I was born in Elisabethville, nineteen thirty-seven, **nineteen thirty-seven**, July eighteenth, **July eighteenth**.*

the rest of the response in English and French, using no additional Ladino words. In fact, as in the quote above, Lucie replied with entire sentences in French to some of my later interview questions, which were asked in Ladino. For example, when I asked which language Lucie spoke with her parents when she was a child, she replied, “Nous parlons entre nous dans notre famille, nous parlons en français et ladino.”⁸² We always spoke both languages.” Later in the interview, however, she said: “La primera lingua de kasa era ladino,⁸³ very much so.” It is clear that Lucie is aware that there is some French in her Ladino, as she remarked, “Kuando yo avlo aki kon los Ladineros i partikularmente kon el Hazzan, ay muchos biervos ke son en fransez.”⁸⁴ It is not totally clear whether Lucie sees this French as an overall positive or negative influence on her Ladino, but it is relatively apparent that she views it on par with, or perhaps even more positively than,

⁸² My translation: “We speak (sic) among ourselves in our family, we speak in French and Ladino.” Note here that, as is also the case for many Seattle speakers with Ladino, Lucie struggles with the correct verb tense and ends up using the present tense to describe the past.

⁸³ My translation: “The first language at home was Ladino”

⁸⁴ My translation: “When I speak here with the Ladineros and particularly with the cantor [who is also the leader of the Ladineros], there are a lot of words that are in French.”

English, as evidenced by the trilingual quote discussed above, and by her using only French to answer questions posed to her in Ladino.

Lucie, however, is the only Seattle Ladino speaker that I have observed code-switching to French. Instead, French has left its biggest mark by far on the Seattle Ladino *lexicon*. Dozens of the most common words used in Seattle Ladino today come from French. Some examples of common French-origin words include *oncle* ‘uncle’, *jantil* ‘nice’, *kuartier* ‘neighborhood’, *mankar* ‘to lack’, *egzemplo* ‘example’, *avenir* ‘future’, *shavon* ‘soap’, *elevo* ‘student’, *koraje* ‘courage’, *madam* ‘madam’, *orozo* ‘happy’, *refuzar* ‘to refuse’, and *buto* ‘goal’, among many others. There are also cases in Modern Ladino where the origin of a word is either French or Italian, but it is unclear. Examples of this are *retornar* ‘to return, to go back’ which is possibly from the French *retourner* but could also be from the Italian *ritornare*, and *arrivar* ‘to arrive’ (Fr. *arriver*, It. *arrivare*).⁸⁵ These examples, though they also resemble English words, do not come from American English, as they

⁸⁵ Harris (1994) suggests that *arrivar* comes from French (p. 108).

can be found not only in Néhama's dictionary, but are also used extensively on *Ladinokomunita*.⁸⁶

4.2.3 English and Modern Ladino

The most common non-Hispanic elements in the Ladino of Seattle today, however, come from English by far. The vast majority of the English seen in Seattle Ladino can be described as indicating language decay, meaning speakers use English words or phrases (sometimes entire sentences or even several minutes of speech) when they have forgotten or do not know the Ladino equivalents. This is discussed in detail in FitzMorris (2014), and so, in this section, rather than focusing on language decay, or *interference* from English, I will highlight examples of potentially positive *influence* from and productivity of English in Seattle Ladino. In this section, I will describe ways in which English has been used to produce new forms in Ladino, as opposed to replacing pre-existing (forgotten) forms.

⁸⁶ A search for the string “return” in the Ladinokomunita data set produced 859 hits, and “arriv” produced 781. “Return” hits are likely virtually all forms of the verb *retornar*, but a large minority of the hits for “arriv” are forms of *arriva* ‘above,’ rather than forms of *arrivar*.

Lilly was born in Seattle in 1929 and is the oldest of four children. Her parents were both born in present-day Turkey. Lilly's status as the oldest child is relevant to her language use, since the oldest child of immigrants often has little to no exposure to the majority language until he or she begins school. Younger siblings, in contrast, are often exposed to the majority language by their older siblings, leading the majority language to become the language spoken among the children. For this reason, older siblings tend to have a higher proficiency in the minority language than do younger siblings (Montrul, 2016, pp. 208).

Lilly indicated in the interview that her first language was, unsurprisingly, Ladino. In fact, she said that when she entered school at the age of five, she spoke English with a Ladino accent, and even pronounced the word *Seattle* with an accent:

- (8) Nasi en Siatli, Washington. Siatli, *Seattle*, Washington because kuando empesi, kuando fui a la eskola la primera ves en kindergarten, kuando me demandava, “Ande bives?” [Yo dishe] Siatli porke en mi kaza avlavamos todo ladino. Yo era la primera de kuarto and mi mama i mi papa avlavan en ladino. Kualo ke te diga? Yo tadri en Siatli, Washington. Avlava kon *accent*. Really.⁸⁷

⁸⁷ My translation: “I was born in Seattle, Washington. Siatli [as the name is often pronounced in Ladino], Seattle, Washington because when I began, when I went to

Note here that Lilly uses the English word *accent*. It is unclear whether she truly forgets the Ladino equivalent in this moment, or uses the English for stylistic purposes.

In contrast to Regina and Lucie, who were immigrants themselves, Lilly was born to immigrant parents in the United States. Also in contrast to the other two women who used French and Spanish, Lilly only mixed English into her Ladino speech, but much of this mixing came in the form of connectors and filler words, often the first word of a sentence. The most common English words I observed in Lilly's speech were *so, you know, but, and yeah*. Lilly is also the only speaker I have interviewed who is proficient enough to casually code-switch between English and Ladino, as seen below:

- (9) Oh, komidas, my mother was a great cook. Agora, antes teniamos de lenya i kimur estovas and gizavan las komidas kon savor i de alma i korason, you know? And kada viernes, well, first of all, on Thursdays, they would go shopping, and no avia automobil. Era todo kon shopping bags.⁸⁸

school for the first time in kindergarten, when they asked me, 'Where do you live?' [I said] 'Siatli' because in my house we spoke only Ladino. I was the first of four [children] and my mother and father spoke Ladino. [...] What can I say? I grew up in Seattle, Washington. I spoke with an accent. Really."

⁸⁸ My translation, distinguishing **English** and Ladino: "**Oh, foods, my mother was a great cook. Now, before we had wood stoves, and they cooked the foods with flavor and with heart and soul, you know? And every Friday, well, first of all, on Thursdays, they would go shopping, and there weren't cars. It was all with shopping bags.**"

This particular passage can be distinguished from examples of language decay in that the speech is fluid; there are neither pauses nor hesitations separating the two languages. Lilly is not switching to English to fill lexical gaps in her Ladino, but rather speaking in a way that feels natural to her.

Another way in which English is being used by Seattle Ladino speakers is morphological innovation. The innovative word that inspired the research described in Chapter 3 was actually *shinedji* [ʃam'ɔ̃ʒi] ‘shoeshine,’ after I heard it used by several speakers at a Ladineros meeting. Realizing that this word was almost certainly not used in the Ottoman Empire, I decided to investigate the combinatory potential of the *-dji* suffix. Ultimately, as described in Chapter 3, I did not find any English roots in the *Ladinokomunita* data set, and therefore, *shinedji* was never discussed in that chapter, and I concluded that *shinedji* was an anomaly and Seattle speakers were not really creating new words using the *-dji* suffix. Mere weeks after wrapping up that research project, however, another Seattle Ladino speaker, Jack, told me that his uncle worked as an *embroideradji* [ɪmbɾɔɪdɛɾa'ɔ̃ʒi], ‘embroiderer.’ I have also since discovered that *puscarchi* ‘pushcart vendor’ is attested in New York. There are plenty of examples of Seattle Ladino speakers using English-origin words to create new words in Ladino without disrupting

the morphological structure of the language. Other examples from interviews include *marketa* ‘market,’ *magnifisento* ‘magnificent,’ and *djermanos* ‘Germans.’

In Seattle, it was also common to borrow pre-formed words from English into Ladino. The Ladineros generally agree that words like *oret* ‘alright,’ *tubich* ‘quarter’ (coin, from ‘two-piece’), *chunga* ‘chewing gum,’ and *garbich* ‘garbage’ were common in the speech community when they were children. In some cases, like *tubich* and *chunga*, it seems likely that these words were borrowed because the referents were new to the speakers, and in the case of *garbich*, which could refer to general trash or could refer to something like the process of trash collection, this may also be the case. In the case of *oret*, however, it seems likely that the speakers just heard this casual and perhaps even slangy word being used by their American neighbors and decided to adopt it to *Americanize* their speech. In each of these cases, it is clear that these words were not borrowed to conceal language decay, but rather, were borrowed for the same reasons that words like *kolay* ‘easy,’ *boreka* ‘börek,’ and *askerlik* ‘[military] draft’ made their way from Turkish into Ottoman Ladino.

4.3 Conclusion

This chapter aimed to invalidate the simple Seattle Ladino language shift model described in Chapter 1, and reproduced in example (1) of this chapter. In fact, the first two steps of this language shift were significantly more complex than just *Ladino* and *Ladino-English bilingualism*. As demonstrated by Claire Barkey's letters, the first step of this language shift process was not a situation in which all speakers speak a stable and consistent variety of Ladino. In fact, Claire's Ladino appears to differ quite a bit from the language used by her parents. The second step of this language shift process is generally considered to be unstable, but in the case of Seattle, it is far more complicated than this model allows for. Not only has Seattle Ladino gained and retained some influence from languages such as Standard Spanish and French, but speakers have also used American English in an innovative way to develop a dialect of Ladino completely unique to Seattle. It is certainly clear that there has been some interference from some languages, such as American English and Standard Spanish in Morocco, both of which have contributed to the decline in usage of Judeo-Spanish, but in many cases, non-Hispanic elements which enter Ladino as borrowings are quickly adapted into the

language and contribute to its evolution. Borrowings from Italian and French and American English in the twentieth century are no different linguistically than borrowings from Hebrew and Aramaic before 1492 and Ottoman Turkish in the Ottoman Empire. To deem these borrowings *interferences* rather than *influences* is to take a purist and prescriptivist stance that is incompatible with the study of Ladino, an inherently “impure” mixed language that has borrowed from non-Hispanic languages since before its speakers even left the Iberian Peninsula.

5 Conclusion

This dissertation examined an endangered language, Modern Ladino, using data from native speakers in Seattle, Washington, an online corpus of written Ladino, and documents in the University of Washington Sephardic Studies Collection. The Seattle Ladino speech community is currently undergoing a language shift from Ladino to English, a shift that appears to be nearing its end. Generally, models of language shift posit a three-generation model, with the middle generation comprising speakers of an “unstable” bilingualism. While at first glance this model appears to fit the Modern (Seattle) Ladino speech community well, a closer look at how Seattle Ladino interacts with languages in which it has come into contact shows that, in fact, the model does not adequately represent the language change in progress in this speech community. This dissertation first examined the vowel raising process of the Rhodesli dialect of Seattle Ladino, finding that the process is variable and was variable before raising speakers came into contact with non-raising speakers in Seattle. The dissertation then discussed the combinatory potential of the Turkish origin *-dji* suffix, finding that, though the majority of *-dji* words found in the Yahoo Group *Ladinokomunita* contain Turkish roots, the suffix

does appear to retain productivity. The fourth chapter described the complex nature of Modern Ladino's ongoing language shift, illustrating language contact over the past century with Italian, French, Spanish, and English. I suggest that, in fact, Ladino has been undergoing a constant but inconsistent language shift since its inception in 1492. Furthermore, I suggest that assigning negative value judgments to influence/interference in Ladino from specific languages is incompatible with the study and/or appreciation of the language. It is not possible in most cases to determine with certainty where Ladino ends and another language begins. For these reasons, Modern Ladino's language shift does not fit the traditional language shift models posited by scholars throughout the 20th century.

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Appendix A

Sample sociolinguistic interview questions in Ladino (from FitzMorris, 2014)

Informasion basika i los padres

1. Komo te yamas?
2. Ande i kuando nasites?
3. Kienes eran tus padres?
4. Kual es el pais natal de tus padres?
5. Tienes viajado al pais natal de tus padres? Kuando? Komo fue?
6. Kuales linguas avlavan tus padres, i ke tan bien?
7. Kuando yego tu famiya a Seattle?
8. Por ke vino tu famiya a Seattle?
9. Ke izieron tus padres kuando vinyeron a Seattle?
10. Ya tenian tus padres famiya o amigos aki en Seattle kuando yegaron?

La chikez

11. Kual es tu lingua materna?
12. En kual lingua te avlavan tus padres kuando eras chiko/a? En kual lingua les avlavas a tus padres?
13. Komo ambezates el djudeoespanyol?
14. Kuales otras linguas avlas, i ke tan bien?
15. Tienes ermanos? Kienes son? Ainda moran en Seattle?
16. Ande engrandesites?
17. Kienes eran tus vezinos?
18. Kien fue tu mijor amigo kuando eras chiko/a?
19. Kual es tu rekuerdo favorito de la mansevez?
20. Kual fue tu fiesta o selebrasion favorita kuando eras chiko/a?
21. Komo se yamava la parte de la sivdad ande agrandesites? Avia muchos sefaradim aki?
22. Kuales otros grupos kulturalos o etnikos moravan en este vizindado?

23. Avia rasismo entre los grupos diferentes en esta parte de la sivdad? Avia antisemitismo?
24. Avia divisiones adentro de la komunidad sefaradi?
25. Komo fue la relacion entre los sefaradim i los ashkenazim? Avia mucha influencia ashkenazi en tu vida? En la relijion sefaradi?
26. A kual kila iva tu famiya kuando eras chiko/a? La seremonia se konduzia en djudeoespanyol? En ebreo?
27. A kual(es) eskola(s) asistias de kriatura? Onde estava la eskola? Ainda esta aya?
28. Fue una eskola djudia? Fue una eskola relijiosa?
29. Se avlava el djudeoespanyol en tu eskola?
30. Ambezates el ebreo en tu eskola?
31. Asistias a un Talmud Torah despues de la eskola?
32. Eras miembro de un grupo de mansevos djudios?
33. Sintias musika en djudeoespanyol de kriatura? La sintes agora?
34. Meldavas literatura en djudeoespanyol de kriatura? La meldas agora?
35. Meldavan tus padres (o meldavas tu) algun jurnal en djudeoespanyol? Kual?
36. Kuales komidas eran komunes para ti de kriatura? Kual fue tu komida favorita?
37. Komias komida kasher?
38. Te akodras de algunos refranes [en djudeoespanyol] ke dezian tus padres?

La famiya

39. Kien es/fue tu espoz/a? De onde es? A ke se dedika o se dedikava?
40. Komo se konosieron tu y tu espoz/a?
41. Avla/entiende tu espoz/a el djudeoespanyol?
42. Tienes ijos? Kienes son? Ainda moran en Seattle? A ke se dedikan?
43. Avlan/entienden tus ijos el djudeoespanyol?
44. En ke lingua avlas kon tus ijos?

La lingua djudeoespanyola i la komunidad sefaradi

45. Kuales otros nombres saves para [la lingua ke estamos avlando agora]?

46. En tu opinion, estamos avlando el kasteyano agora? Estamos avlando un dialekto del kasteyano?
47. Avlas el kasteyano moderno/estandard?
48. Komo describirias tu erensia? Te konsideras una persona kon erensia espanyola?
49. Tienes viajado a Espanya? Tienes viajado a otro pais ispanoavlante? Avlates en djudeoespanyol? Te entendio la djente ispanoavlante?
50. Tienes konosido a la komunidad ispanoavlante de Seattle? Tienes avlado en djudeoespanyol kon ispanoavlanges norteamericanos? Te entendieron?
51. Kuando i por ke desidites seguir praktikando el djudeoespanyol kon el grupo “ladinero”?
52. Ke signifika “sefaradi”?
53. Sigun ti, ke une la komunidad sefaradi? Kuales son los aspektos mas importantes para la identidad sefaradi? La relijion? La lingua?
54. Ke pensas sobre el futuro de la lingua djudeoespanyola?

Appendix B

Sample elicitation list

Can you count to twenty in Ladino?

- | | | | |
|-----|--------|-----|-----------|
| 1. | uno | 11. | onze |
| 2. | dos | 12. | doje |
| 3. | tres | 13. | trese |
| 4. | kuatro | 14. | katorse |
| 5. | sinko | 15. | kinze |
| 6. | sesh | 16. | desisesh |
| 7. | siete | 17. | desisiete |
| 8. | ocho | 18. | desiocho |
| 9. | mueve | 19. | desimueve |
| 10. | diez | 20. | veinte |

Could you name all of the following colors in Ladino? (*images*)

21. rojo – red
22. amariyo – yellow
23. azul – blue
24. vedre – green
25. naranja/portokal – orange

Can you name some question words?

26. ande – where
27. kien – who
28. kualo – what
29. kuando – when
30. komo – how
31. kuinto(s) – how many

Now I'm going to show you some images. Could you tell me what each item is in Ladino? Could you use that word in a sentence?

32. people – djente
33. handkerchief - rida/riza
34. ring – aniyo
35. diamond – diamante
36. paint – boya
37. hat – chapeyo
38. soup – chorba
39. parents (mother, father) – djenitores (madre, padre), ijo (son)
40. church – eglisia
41. peanut/pistachio – fustuke
42. devil – guerko
43. shoe – kalsado
44. hair – kaveyo
45. book – livro
46. hand – mano
47. ear – oido
48. gold – oro
49. bus – otobus
50. newspaper – periodiko
51. police – polisia
52. sky – sielo
53. cigarette – sigariko
54. dress – vestido
55. student – elevo
56. school – eskola
57. coat – palto, abrigo

I'm going to show you some opposites now. Could you name the pair?

58. old, new – viejo, nuevo
59. happy, sad – feliz/orozo, triste

- 60. small, large – grande, chiko
- 61. easy, difficult – kolay, yuch
- 62. same, different – mizmo, diferente
- 63. day, night – dia, noche
- 64. women, men – mujeres, ombres
- 65. a lot, a little – mucho, poko
- 66. question, answer – demanda, repuesta

Now I'm going to show you some pictures. Each picture shows a person doing something. Then I'm going to give you a sentence to complete in Ladino using the action in the picture.

- 67. listen (sinte, sintio, sintiendo, sinto)
- 68. read (meldar, melda, meldo, meldando, meldo)
- 69. eat (komer, komo, komiendo, komó)
- 70. tell (kontar, kuento, kontando, kontó)
- 71. run (korrer, korro, korriendo, korró)
- 72. lose (pedrer, pedro, pedriendo, pedró, pedremos)

Can you tell me how to say these words in Ladino?

- 73. friend – amigo
- 74. bachelor – bekar
- 75. dulce (Sephardic jam)
- 76. word – biervo (*Is there a word other than palabra?*)
- 77. in front of – enfrente
- 78. favorite – favorite
- 79. interesting – interesante/o
- 80. capable – kapache
- 81. husband – marido
- 82. middle – medio
- 83. name – nombre
- 84. other – otro
- 85. soon – presto
- 86. first, second, third – primero, segundo, tresero

87. beginning – principio
88. always – siempre
89. only, alone – solo
90. right away – (en) supito
91. everything – todo
92. only – uniko (*only child*)
93. time(s) – vezes (*first time, many times*)

Appendix C

Sample reading passage (from Koen-Sarano, 2005, p. 79)

El chapeo nuevo

Avia una madam muy muy rika, ama un pokitiko fieregana. No le plazía gastar parás. Un dia, s'asentó en el balkón. Sta viendo ke stan pasando mujeres kon chapeos muy muy ermozos. Disho: 'Yo tengo parás... Deké ke no me merke i yo un chapeo?' Fue, se merkó un chapeo maraviyozo i se lo metió. Empesó una luvia terivle. La mujer tomó el fostán, se lo echo enriva la kavesa. La djente le sta diziendo: 'Ey, madam, madam! Se le sta viendo!...' 'No emporta!' disho eya, 'El chapeo es nuevo! Esto es de kuarenta anyos!'

My translation:

The new hat

There was a very rich woman, but she was a little bit cheap. She didn't like to spend money. One day she sat on the balcony. She saw that women were walking by with very beautiful hats. She said, "I have money... Why don't I buy myself a hat?" She left, she bought herself a marvelous hat, and she put it on. A terrible rain began. The woman took her dress, and she put it up over her head. People started telling her, "Hey, madam, madam! We can see [your body]!" "It doesn't matter!" she said, "The hat is new! This [body] is 40 years old!"

Appendix D

Longform dates as written in 48 letters by Claire Barkey

- (1) 24 Marzo 1930
- (2) 23/28 Aout 1931
- (3) 19 Giugno 1933
- (4) 28 Avril 1935
- (5) 30 Juin 1937
- (6) 14 Settembre 1937⁸⁹
- (7) 15 Febbraio 1938
- (8) 29 Aprile 1938
- (9) 23 Giugno 1938
- (10) 9 Ottobre 1938
- (11) 19 Novembre 1938
- (12) li/le 27 Novembre 1938⁹⁰
- (13) 9 Dicembre 1938
- (14) 30 Dicembre 1938
- (15) 3 Gennaio 1939
- (16) 3 Février 1939
- (17) 25 Febbraio 1939

⁸⁹ Starting with this letter, some (but not all) of Claire’s letters up until January 1939 are written on her boss’s office stationery. This is notable because the stationery’s masthead is in Italian. One version contains the full address of the office in Italian, while the second contains only the boss’s name and blank lines for the page number (“Seguito foglio N. ___”), date (“Rodi, li _____”), and recipient (“per _____”). In all but one of the letters written on this Italian stationery, Claire uses the Italian month variant, but in one case, she uses that blank line with the Italian article in front of it to write “3 Février 1939.”

⁹⁰ In examples (15) and (23), it is difficult, if not impossible, to determine whether Claire wrote the Italian *li* or the French *le* before the date.

- (18) 14 Avril 1939
- (19) li/le 2 Mai 1939
- (20) le 3 Juillet 1939
- (21) le 10 Août 1939
- (22) le 9 Octobre 1939
- (23) le 10 Novembre 1939
- (24) le 7 Mai 1940
- (25) 18/3/40
- (26) le 3 Mars 1941
- (27) 18 de Mayo 1942
- (28) el 12 de Junio 1942
- (29) el 22 de Mayo 1943
- (30) el 23 de Mayo 1943
- (31) el 22 de Junio 1944
- (32) el 29 de Septiembre 1944
- (33) el 15 de Noviembre 1944
- (34) el 20 de Diciembre 1944
- (35) el 24 de Enero 1945
- (36) el 19 de Febrero de 1945
- (37) el 2 de Abril de 1945
- (38) el 24 de Abril de 1945
- (39) el 6 de Junio de 1945
- (40) el 4 de Julio 1945
- (41) el 25 de Julio de 1945
- (42) el 18 de Septiembre de 1945
- (43) el 3 de Octubre de 1945
- (44) el 31 de Octubre de 1945
- (45) el 7 de Noviembre 1945
- (46) el 10 de Enero de 1946
- (47) el 19 de Abril de 1946
- (48) el 16 de Mayo 1946

Appendix E

Letter from Claire Barkey to Raphael Capeluto: Translation⁹¹

Tangier, April 19, 1945 (sic)⁹²

Dear Uncle and Aunt:

I can find no words to express our gratitude and to thank you for all you are doing for us. You don't know how much we appreciate your gestures. All the people who keep track of our steps regarding our going to the U.S. are astonished that you are trying so hard and also spending in order to bring us to your side. They are even more surprised when they find out that we do not know each other personally, but they say that my uncles know what they are doing and that never will they be sorry to bring us over because, dear ones, as I have repeated thousands of times, our obligation and wish is to reimburse you for everything you are paying for us in anticipation, although we will remain eternally grateful for your efforts and work. We wish everything would go the way we wanted for we are tired of waiting and being so disappointed. Had they told us from the first moment that we had to wait so long, it would have been all right. But we were sure of everything so many times, especially the last one, another complete disappointment happened. How much work and displeasure this trip to America costs us. But, if it is for our own good, as we do not doubt, it does not matter if we wait a little longer. Be it until God wills.

Dear ones, first of all, I acknowledge receipt of your telegram and of your letter. Even though I wished the opposite, I did not get up hopes of your succeeding in anything over there. It appeared to me impossible for May 5, as I had tried everything and done my best here. I hope you inquire when they intend to issue numbers for the Turkish

⁹¹ This translation also comes directly from *A Hug From Afar*, pp. 196-197.

⁹² Note that this letter is dated incorrectly in the English translation. The original letter says 1946.

quota. Everything depends there because there are boats whenever we wish, not as before. Boats of Spanish lines leave every month. What seemed very distant today we would gladly leave in July. We are so desperate and agitated that we do not know what we are doing, nor do I feel like working here. I had taken leave for the end of March, but I still keep on working until I receive new orders. While we are here, we have no choice but to keep on living. But I assure you that I fulfill my obligations reluctantly, which is unusual for me as I like office work. It is not that I perform badly for it is not in my makeup, nor does my conscience allow it, but I assure you it requires a lot of effort on my part. Therefore, I ask you to please give us exact information as to the day of our departure. It is easier over there because the local consul does nothing. He only tells us that he would call at the opportune moment, but this can take months and years if they feel like it. What concerns us is to know when the numbers of the Turkish quota will be available. Meanwhile, we fear that the affidavits dated July 30, 1945, would be useless. Then that would create another mess.

Now, dear Uncle and Aunt, I will give you some news you didn't expect. When they called on us to tell us that the Turkish quota was filled and that we could not avail ourselves of the Italian quota because we had to follow my father to leave together as a family, I propounded to the Consul that Esther had a last name different from ours and had nothing to do with us. The Consul did not offer much hope but promised to write to Washington. As we had been deceived so many times, I did not give it much thought. But what ensued is that on April 6, he called her to give her a visa, having received her number of the quota, and told her to get ready to leave on April 5, 1946 (sic).⁹³ You can imagine with how much haste and worry she is getting ready. Meanwhile, Passover is here, and God willing, she leaves Tangier on the 26th of April for Cadiz, and she departs on the 2nd or 5th of May for America. She does not know the itinerary as yet. When she finds out, I will write right away. Meanwhile, please advise Heskia Benatar to find out the date of the arrival of the steamship "Marques de Comillas" at New York so that he may go to receive her. Esther is dejected to leave by herself, and is also thinking of our separation. You can imagine after so many years of being together, but

⁹³ Note that the translation suggests that there is an error here. In fact, the original letter says "5/5/46," *not* April 5, 1946, so it is the translation that is erroneous.

we console her by telling her that it is for a short while. That is what we wish and hope. The truth is that I envy her, she was lucky. I envy her for good reason as we both were born in Italy but only she can leave. That is the limit! What can we do? We will wait a little longer.

Dear ones, now I will allow myself to suggest something. I know I am taking advantage of your kindness, but since you are on the “dance floor” and gave us a taste, please listen carefully. Agreeing with Papa, we thought that if the Turkish quota will not resume for a long while, it would be advantageous since the Italian quota is opened, to prepare separate affidavits for the six of us, namely, Rachel, Haim, Moshe, Jacques, Regina, and I. Having everything ready, papers, renewed passports, and Italian quota being reopened, I supposed that upon receiving the affidavits they will find no obstacle. But before undertaking anything, I would like you to inquire because I do not want you to spend money needlessly; you have already spent enough.

- 1) If the Turkish quota will take long to be opened.
- 2) If having the six of us together will be possible, easy, and bring results.

On your next letter, please give us the details.

Dear Uncle and dear Aunt, you know that one cannot repay, be it in good or bad. As we have seen in many cases, good or bad actions are given an immediate response by God. The Almighty will reward you for what you’re doing for us with good health, which is the main thing, happiness, a long life, and well-being, amen.

My blessings are also addressed through me on behalf of my cousins, Vida and Rosa, Lea and Rachel. Each letter they write adds more praise and blessings. Everything they receive from you is like manna from heaven. They are enduring poverty, especially Lea and Rachel, who have no income. Vida and Rosa at least receive something from their brother in Congo and are waiting from one moment to the next to join him. But Lea and Rachel are lacking help except when they receive yours. You can imagine with what joy they receive your assistance. We have Aunt Rachel in our hearts as she has us in hers, as we know that these are women’s work and she is the one who will take care

of it. Well, it is time to close. You have had enough of it! Everyone sends kisses. To you and my dear little cousins, kisses from

Claire