

From Neutral Usage to Caricature: German Influences on Bosnian Judeo-Spanish, as Reflected in the Writings of the Sefhardic Circle

Eliezer Papo (Beer Sheva)

The peculiar Bosnian dialect of Judeo-Spanish (later in the Text BJS) has attracted the attention of researchers as late as the beginning of the previous century, when Julius Subak (1906) published his article “Zum Judenspanischen” in the *Zeitschrift für Romanische Philologie*. Ever since, its different aspects have been documented, analyzed and treated by a variety of scholars. The first two researchers after Subak came from the ranks of the Bosnian Sefhardic community itself, in the interwar period. Kalmi Baruh described its main phonological and morphological characteristics, in his studies in German (1923), Spanish (1930),¹ French (1935)² and Serbo-Croatian (1936).³ And Samuel Romano’s trilingual, BJS/French/German, dictionary *Dictionnaire judéo-espagnol parlé – français – allemand, avec une introduction sur la phonétique et sur la formation des mots dans le judéo-espagnol* (a PhD dissertation presented to the University of Zagreb in 1933 and not published until 1995 in Jerusalem) represents a first step in the lexical documentation of the dialect. Only two decades after the German-backed Croatian occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Holocaust that it brought about, Baruh’s and Romano’s work was resumed by Edward Stankiewicz (1964), August Kovačec (1968), Juan Octavio Prenz (1968), and Krinka Vidaković-Petrov (1976).

In his introductory article to Romano’s Dictionary, David Bunis (1995) had already summed all the contributions to the research of Bosnian dialect until that time. Since then, documentation, description and analysis of this dialect were furthered by Isak Papo (1981a, 1981b and 1995),⁴ Alica Knezović (1986), Aldina Quintana (1997 and 1999), Andrea Zinato (1998), Muhamed Nezirović (1988 and

¹ Spanish translation of Baruh (1923).

² French translation of Baruh (1936).

³ Baruh’s *Selected works* have been published in English, in 2005 and 2007 (the latter being an enlarged version of the 2005 edition). See Baruh (2005), (2007).

⁴ In his research, Isak Papo dealt primarily with non-Romanic influences on BJS, producing two dictionaries, one of the Hebrew words in BJS (Papo 1981a) and another of Ottoman loans in this dialect (Papo 1981b). Neither of these two manuscripts was ever published.

2002),⁵ David Pardo (1995),⁶ David Bunis himself (2001) and my own research (Papo 2008, 2009a and 2009b). I have already also dealt with Slavic (see Papo 2006/07 and Papo 2007a) or Serbo-Croatian (see Papo 2007b) influences, as these are reflected and represented in the writings of the *Sephardic Circle*.⁷ The present research concentrates on German linguistic influences on the language of the authors of the *Sephardic Circle* (usage of German words in the narrative or instructive [i.e. didascalical] passages) or the language of their characters (linguistic representation), as well as on the role of this stratum in their linguistic policy and poetic strategy.

In order to understand the phenomena, its reasons and dimensions, a quick look into the history of Bosnia and Herzegovina at the end of the 20th century is in order. Unlike in Serbia or Montenegro, in multi-ethnic Bosnia and Herzegovina, the gradual end of Ottoman rule did not mean the creation of an independent state. In order to establish and secure order in a country torn apart by the civil war between its Muslim rulers and their Serbian-Orthodox subjects, European superpowers of the time gave the Austro-Hungarian Empire the mandate to rule the country in the name of the Sultan. Austrian plans, however, were slightly different from the beginning, but it was only in 1908 that they could act on them openly. Taking advantage of the turmoil caused by the revolution in Istanbul, the Habsburgs proclaimed the annexation of the country. This brutal violation of the agreement reached at the Congress of Berlin prepared the ground for World War I with its millions of victims, only six years after the Austro-Hungarian proclamation of the annexation of Bosnia. With the Berlin Congress in 1878, the status of Bosnia and Herzegovina changed dramatically. From the most northern province of the disintegrating Ottoman Empire, it became the most southern province of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Thus, all Bosnians were “transferred” from one civilization to another, without even leaving their homes. In order to pave the way for the future annexation, the Austrians, immediately upon their entry into Bosnia, started industrializing the country and Westernizing the landscape. The introduction of Austro-Hungarian architecture, the massive migration of the Muslim population to Turkey and the parallel immigration of the Austrian occupational apparatus into the country redesigned the social milieu as well. During the process, the local population itself (especially the urban elite)

⁵ It should be noted that in spite of its general title, the article concentrates primarily on BJS, mostly on its phonological peculiarities, and all the examples were collected from the writings of Bosnian Sephardic authors.

⁶ In 1995, the *Glasnik Jevrejske Zajednice Bosne i Hercegovine* (Herald of the Jewish Community of Bosnia and Herzegovina) dedicated its entire issue to the booklet for learning spoken BJS, prepared by D. Pardo. The main contribution of this booklet lies in its grammatical section, as well as in the documentation of the slang words, which were not included in Romano’s dictionary.

⁷ For the ideology of the movement, see the manifestos written by its members: Kajon (1927) and Kamhi (1927). For more information on the subject, see Loker (1995), Papo (2006/07; 2007a and 2007b).

underwent overwhelming transformations in clothes as well as in the culinary and the entertainment culture, etc. Bosnian Jews,⁸ being exclusively an urban population,⁹ managed to adapt quite quickly to the new order. Obviously, they had learned to prefer the enlightened absolutism of the Habsburgs to the destabilized and decentralized Ottoman rule in Bosnia, whose last decades were marked by the total despotism of the local Muslim elite. Just like the rest of the country, the Jewish Community started acquiring a Western profile. New cultural and humanitarian societies (like *El Progreso*, *Nueva Flor*, *La Benevolencia* [1892], *Humanidad* [1894], *La Lira* [1901] and *Glorija* [1903]) were created;¹⁰ the first Judeo-Spanish newspaper (*La Alborada* [1900]) was started,¹¹ etc.

In this period, the entire autochthonous population of the country –Bosnian Serbs, Muslims, Croats and Jews– were exposed on a daily basis to thousands of new Western inventions, concepts and institutions; which, most of the time, were mediated by the German language. For the overwhelming majority of these objects and concepts, there were no SCB or Judeo-Spanish names. As far as the linguistic innovations in the administrative field were concerned, the Austro-Hungarian authorities used the “Croatian, Slavonian and Dalmatian experience” (as countries which make up present-day Croatia were part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire for quite some time. However, just like in Croatia, in Bosnia and Herzegovina, many words were also adopted straight from the German language of the ruling administration and the new immigrant industrial elite. Thus, both languages spoken in Bosnia and Herzegovina – SCB (spoken by Bosnian Muslims and Orthodox and Catholic Christians) and BJS¹² – started to gradually adopt hundreds of German terms related to different realms of daily life, such as new institutions and professions, new Western-like furniture and clothes, new dishes and kitchen utensils, etc. With time, many of these became an inseparable part of both languages, SCB and BJS.

However, by the end of the 19th century, a gradual process of language shift within the Bosnian Sephardic Community had commenced. This process was intensified during the first decades of the 20th century, especially during the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, and was completed with the annihilation of Bosnian Jewry during the Croatian occupation of the country in WW II, and with the postwar assimilation of the Holocaust survivors and their offspring.¹³ With the

⁸ For the history of the Bosnian Jews prior to the Austrian occupation, see Levy (1996a). The book was also translated into Serbian/Croatian/Bosnian (hereafter: SCB), see Levy (1996b). For the history of Bosnian Jews between the two world wars, see Pinto (1987).

⁹ For the history of Sarajevo from ancient times until the Austro-Hungarian occupation, see Skarić (1937).

¹⁰ On different Jewish societies in Sarajevo, see Pinto (1966).

¹¹ For more information on the newspaper and its founder Ham Ribí Abraham Aharon Cappon, see my forthcoming bibliography of *La Alborada* (in Hebrew).

¹² In 1878 it was the first language of all Bosnian Jews and the only language of the majority of them.

¹³ See Vučina Simović (2010).

change of rulership in 1878, Bosnian Sephardim lost the bonds of unity with their Sephardic brethren on the Balkans, having ever since to rely more and more on their relations with other ethno-religious communities of Bosnia. It is from this deepened contact with their neighbors and from the constant need for new linguistic solutions (brought about by the ever-changing reality) that SCB influences (once so superficial) entered all the spheres of the language of Bosnian Sephardim: its lexicon, morphology, phonology and syntax. In the interwar period, SCB evolved gradually from external to internal influence, becoming the language of the younger generations of Bosnian Jews, it ceased to be a mere language of the neighbors and became a language spoken fluently by Bosnian Jews as well. Such a quick adoption of SCB by Jewish children was brought about primarily by the establishment of obligatory state-run elementary education in 1909. This meant not only the end of 400 years of Jewish educational autonomy in Bosnia (from this point on, traditional Jewish education was confined to classes on religion in public schools or to the synagogue), but also spelled the end of the exclusivity of Judeo-Spanish in the Bosnian Jewish microcosm. That was because the teaching language at the public schools established by the Austro-Hungarian administration was SCB, i.e. the language of the country.¹⁴

The first generations of Jews educated in public schools went to them monolingual, but graduated from them fairly bilingual. Many of them retained peculiar Jewish problems with SCB (such as obstacles with noun declensions or with accents) throughout their lives, which stigmatized them as non-native speakers. However, for most of them, SCB became the sole language of their reading (and even writing) culture, while Judeo-Spanish was reduced to the language of intimacy spoken only at home or in the Jewish milieus. When members of these generations became parents themselves, many of them choose to raise their children in SCB, in order to prepare them for the public school, and to avoid the problems with accent referred to. Having in mind this process of the ever-growing SCB influence on BJS, one has to ask to what extent German influences on BJS were direct, and to what degree they should be seen as part of the ongoing SCB “attack” on BJS, where, together with hundreds of other SCB words, the Germanisms already adopted by this language had entered BJS. Many a time, BJS Germanisms disclose an already Slavicized form – or the same semantic shift typical of SCB.

It should be said that BJS did not die without “putting up some fight”. In the interwar period, when the process of language shift reached a peak, a group of idealistic Bosnian Sephardic intellectuals tried to prevent the oblivion of Judeo-Spanish language and culture, primarily by perpetuating it through literary means, but also by offering a linguistic alternative to younger generations: a modern Judeo-Spanish (JS), capable of conveying anything a Bosnian Jew would want to say. Leading Bosnian Sephardic intellectuals (such as Ḥam Ribī Avram Romano,

¹⁴ See Bogićević (1965), Peco (1971) and Papić (1972).

Dr Samuel Romano,¹⁵ Laura Papo “Bohoreta”,¹⁶ Benjamin Pinto,¹⁷ Moni Finci,¹⁸ Dr Joshua Izrael¹⁹ and others) wrote dozens of plays, novels and short stories in Judeo-Spanish. Some of these authors (e.g. Avram Romano and Benjamin Pinto) were dialectal writers *par excellence*. Others (like Laura Papo “Bohoreta”) tried to recreate a modern supra-dialectal literary JS which could easily be understood by all the Sephardim of the ex-Ottoman lands. In both cases, however, their writings disclose certain Germanic linguistic influences, some of which were adopted into Judeo-Spanish straight from German (for example, by Bosnian Sephardic students who graduated from Vienna University or by the Bosnian Sephardic elite, who was in direct contact with the Austrian Habsburg administrative apparatus and its dominant language), while others came to Judeo-Spanish via SCB, to which they had been naturalized before.

I. Neutral Usage of the German Stratum in BJS

It should be emphasized that unlike SCB influences on BJS, which encompass all linguistic levels, German influences are limited almost exclusively to the lexicon and to a few scarce examples of morpho-syntactical influences that I was able to attest in the JS writings of the members of the *Sephardic Circle*.

A. Phono-Morphological Influences?

The tendency of BJS speakers in the first half of the last century to pronounce certain internationalisms identified with the high culture with Germano-Slavic phonemes /z/ and /ts/, alongside with traditional JS variants of these words, which are always realized with /s/, should be seen primarily as a German lexical influence on BJS, mediated by SCB, rather than a phono-morphological German influence on BJS. First of all, because these international “high culturisms”, which from the Austrian Habsburg occupation until the Liberation were pronounced with Germano-Slavic /z/ and /ts/ have never replaced the Romance equivalents in JS. The second was because in the meanwhile, in the post-Holocaust period, they have totally ceased to be used; mostly due to the tendency of the few Bosnian Sephardim who still speak JS to emulate a “general” Sephardic – or even standard Spanish *façon de parler*, rather than a Slavo-Germanic intellectual one. The following examples, however, belong to the period before WW II; when, as stated, many Bosnian Sephardic intellectuals opted for the Germano-Slavic variant of international “high culturisms”:

¹⁵ For the short biography of Dr Samuel Romano, see Loker (1995) as well as Nezirović (1992: 605-607).

¹⁶ For Bohoreta’s bio-bibliography, see Papo (2007c; 2009b and 2010).

¹⁷ For Pinto’s bio-bibliography, see Nezirović (1992: 600-605).

¹⁸ For Finci’s short bio-bibliography, see Nezirović (1992: 615-616).

¹⁹ For Izrael’s short bio-bibliography, see Nezirović (1992: 557-560).

En los tiempos pasados, kuando el sentimjento religiozo era mas rezjo, i la luz de la *civilizacijon* no era konosida en la Bosna, los žudijos tambjen estavan lešos de asemežarse kon los žudios del mundo aklarado [...] Es muj rezonavle ke todos den las bozes por los ke tienen la buena *intencjon* i ke puden fraguar un grande i ermozo templo, para ke todos tengan la buena gana de ir a azer las orasiones, sintjendo los ermozas kantos de loz hazanim i de un plaziente koro *ceremonial* ke deve alegrar al Dío i ni la žente i azer onor al nombre de Israel. (“Jehudi”²⁰ 1924, the italics are mine).

B. Morpho-Syntactical Influences

Some of the members of the *Sephardic Circle*, especially those amongst them (like Laura Papo “Bohoreta”) who were trying to offer to the Bosnian Sephardic youth a valuable JS alternative to total shift to SCB, had to create many neologisms in order to satisfy the need for new words. Most of “Bohoreta’s” neologisms were calques from SCB, but one of them is an obvious calque of a German expression: “La escena reprezenta una kaza de stada (Wohnzimmer) los detenedores (Ständer) kon taponikos blankos y ermozos, saksis de mimoza” (Papo 1930, III: 1). The neologism *kaza de stada*, meaning ‘a living room’, is an obvious attempt to calque into BJS the German noun *Wohnzimmer* (as indicated in the gloss).

The generation of Sephardic intellectuals schooled in Vienna would also sometimes introduce expressions into their native BJS typical for enlightenment rhetoric, such as *luz de la civilizacijon*, meaning *Light of Civilisation* (German *Aufklärung* – Hebrew *Haskala*), as in the following example:

En los tiempos pasados, kuando el sentimjento religiozo era mas rezjo, i la luz de la *civilizacijon* no era konosida en la Bosna, los žudijos tambjen estavan lešos de asemežarse kon los žudios del mundo aklarado [...] (“Jehudi” 1924).

The expression *luz de la civilizacijon* seems to be a calque translation of SCB *svjetlo civilizacije*, which itself seems to be calqued after the German expression *Licht der Zivilisation*.

C. Lexical Influences

c. 1. Nouns

c. 1. a. Nouns Ending in /ə/

The SCB mediation in BJS adoption of German words is most obvious in the case of German feminine nouns ending with the vowel /ə/. During their adaptation into the grammatical system of SCB, the final vowel [ə] of these nouns is changed for

²⁰ I have not been successful in identifying the intellectual “concealed” behind this pseudonym, whose meaning is simply *a Jew*.

/a/, the final vowel typical for feminine nouns in SCB. One of the general rules for the lexical influences of SC on Bosnian spoken JS is that SCB nouns ending in the vowel /a/ are recognized as feminine – and, consequently, the definite or indefinite article for feminine is added to them, according to their place in the sentence. The same is true for the SCB nouns of German origin which were adopted into the grammatical system of BJS by SCB mediation. This can be attested in the following examples, where nouns such as *kriza* ‘crisis’ (from German [*die*] *Krise*, via SCB *kriza*) or *mašina* ‘train’ (from German [*die*] *Maschine*, via SCB *mašina*) are recognized as feminine nouns:

No si ke guerko mi jeva in la kaza di lus fižus, aver, didju, no staran bjen kuvižadus, i mi fagu no diras, intera in una alguža, a no dispartaldus, kvandu aji, la avlatina di ejus: ki *la Kriza* estu, ki *la Kriza* akeju... No sari, mi Suluča, ožu, la noći intera, pinsandu ken sira *esta pusta Kriza*, ki tantu mal fazi. Didjamus, ki dibašu di esti sjelu tan mavi i irmozu, aj binadam, ansina kruel, no diču in tus karas, komu *esta Kriza?* (M. M. P.²¹ 1932).

Sjentes, tu, Rikica, la akompanjas a tija Bonača fin il banof i li merkas karta fin Visoka, la asentat en la *mašina* i tornas (Altarac 1931).

Mus asintimus al bircauz dilantri dondi keda la *mašina*, i jo mi jami un đaru, di piva (“Josefiko” 1932).

c. 1. b. Nouns Ending in Consonants

German nouns ending in consonants are usually recognized as masculine, regardless of the gender of the word in the original language. Sometimes, this BJS recognition even of feminine German words ending in consonants as masculine nouns, manifests direct BJS borrowings from German, as in the example: “Ansina kaminando, avlando i kontando las novitades ja se aserkaron asta el *trafik*...” (“Jakoviko” 1940b). This is because in SCB, a morpheme {-a} is added (*trafika*) to this German noun, to assure its recognition as feminine noun.²²

However, sometimes texts produced by the *Sephardic Circle* attest the existence of parallel variants of the same German noun ending with a consonant: The Slavicized form mediated by SCB – and an independent BJS form, borrowed directly from German. This is the case with the German feminine noun *Station* ‘train station’, which is attested in these texts in two forms: *štacija* (as in the example “Mirava pur la vintana: *la štacija* jena a bulukis di gjenti kurjendu paraka i paraja kun lus kuferis i bogus in las manus para alkansar lugar.” M. M. P. 1938) and *štacijon* (as in the example “Kuandu ja sali, a ken ti topu a la *štacijon*, ajdi jo ja mi ija turnar, a Buhureta, ki es ala mija suvrina.” “Josefiko” 1932).

²¹ We still do not know for whose name these initials stand.

²² In both languages, BJS and SCB, the noun has the same meaning as in Viennese German: ‘tobacconist and newspaper shop’.

From the point of view of the existence of the two variants in the BJS, most interesting is the following example in which both forms are used subsequently, by the same literary character: “No uvo tanta denti a la *štacijon* kvando si hueron lus adis a Jeruŝalajim. Jo ki salgo a la kaj, a ken topo a la puarta de la *štacija*, a tu ermano” (“Lević” 1931).

It should be noted that in the first example, the form *štacija* shows up in the narrative part of the short story (“*la štacija* jena a bulukis di gjenti kurjendu paraka i paraja...”), thus reflecting the author’s own language; while in the second example, the form *štacijon* appears in the middle of a repique ascribed by the author to one of his characters (“Kuandu ja sali, a ken ti topu a la *štacijon*...”). In the third example, both forms show up in a repique by a literary character (“No uvo tanta denti a la *štacijon*... a ken topo a la puarta de la *štacija*”). This small example illustrates well the fact that when it comes to German lexical borrowings generally there does not seem to be a substantial difference between Sephardic authors themselves (language of narration) and their literary characters (linguistic representation). In both registers the same type of Germanisms, attesting thus the more frequent usage of this lexical stratum, the neutral one, which most of the time is devoid of any special poetical function. If even feminine German nouns ending in a consonant are recognized in BJS as masculine, how much more so those German consonant-ending nouns which are masculine in German itself; as in the examples: *pinzel* ‘brush’ (from German [*der*] *Pinsel* ‘brush’ [there is also *pincel* (<Cat. *pinzell* in Mod. Sp.)²³ or *stimung* ‘atmosphere’ (from German [*die*] *Stimmung*, via SCB *štimung*).²⁴

Once German nouns ending with consonants are recognized (adapted) as masculine nouns, their BJS plural form is made regularly by addition of the suffix *-is* (rarely pronounced in BJS as *-es*), as in the examples *keksis* ‘cookies’ (from Austrian German *das Keks* [German *der Keks*], via SCB *keks*),²⁵ *kuferis* ‘suitcases’ (from German [*der*] *Koffer*, via SCB *kufer/kofer*)²⁶ or *plakatis* ‘placards’ (from German [*das*] *Plakat*, via SCB *plakat*).²⁷

That many of the German influences on BJS were mediated by SCB can be attested not only from the fact that numerous German words were incorporated into BJS in their already Slavicized form (as has been shown in the examples *kriza* and *mašina*, and will be shown further in *cigla*), but also from the fact that they almost always have the same meaning as in SCB, even when the latter is slightly different from the meaning in the original language.

²³ “Eja mezma tomava el *pinzel*, se aremangava las manos i enkalava” (“Jakoviko” 1940a).

²⁴ “Vitali la mira raviozo – i el *stimung* se va jelar, Esterka abolta todo” (Papo 1930, III: 15).

²⁵ “Non paso nada, nalda... trajedno el čaj kon *keksis*” (“Jakoviko” 1936b).

²⁶ “Mirava pur la vintana: la *štacija* jena a bulukis di gjenti kurjendu paraka i paraja kun lus *kuferis* i bogus in las manus para alkansar lugar” (M. M. P. 1938).

²⁷ “Melda les los plakates, Reuben! Aki va aver kavesas rotas!” (Papo 1924b).

Thus, for example, German makes a difference between [*die*] *Zigarre* (cigar) and [*die*] *Zigarette* (cigarette). In BJS, however, just like in Bosnian and Herzegovinian SCB, the word *cigara* is used with the meaning of cigarette (while for cigarette both languages use the word *kuba*): “Sjende la lumbre, si aze un kave preto para ‘razbijar el mamurluk’ si asenta a lado de la soba ala turka i afumando la *cigara* va pensando todo loke tjeni de gizar para Šabat” (“Jakoviku” 1936a).

An even more blatant example is the one of the German word [*der*] *Schwabe* ‘Swabian, inhabitant of Swabia’, which in SCB and in BJS has acquired the meaning of a pejorative term for speakers of German (Austrians and Germans): “Vadaj, mi fižu, li dizija, la boz tjenis di *švabu*, no paresi ki ti nasitis ala Bilava. El sintija kun la boka avjarta i si kidava kajadu, pinsandu komu sea la boz di lus *švabus*” (M. M. P. 1932b).

It should be noted that the transformation *Schwabe* – *Švabo* already occurred during the incorporation of the noun into the grammatical system of SCB, thus the BJS form *Švabu* is a result of the phonological tendency peculiar to BJS, the one of “closing” of the non-accented vowel [o] into [u]. In BJS, the term *švabodido* is used as a pejorative name for Ashkenazi Jews, as will be shown later in the passage on adjectives.

Usually, the diminutive form of masculine nouns, whether borrowed or of Iberian origin, is created by adding the suffix *-iko/ikjo* to the original noun. However, the only diminutive form of a masculine noun of German origin that I have found until today in the JS writings of the Sephardic Circle deviates from this rule: “Sakude kon *un klofiko* čiko se akompanja” (Papo 1930, II: 1).

This diminutive form, *klofiko* ‘stick used to beat carpet’ developed from German [*der*] (*Teppich*)*klopf**er*, via SCB *klofer*, but if it was to follow the general rule of adoption of foreign nouns, it should read *kloferiko* (comp. SCB *klofer/kloferčić*).

Sometimes, in the process of “phonological assimilation”, Germanisms incorporated into the grammatical system of BJS undergo certain modifications: as, for example, with the noun *športi* ‘sport’ (from German [*der*] *Sport*, via SCB *šport/sport*), whose atypical ending *-ort*, under the influence of BSJ words *muarti*, *huarti* etc., was gradually transformed unto more usual *-orti*: *športi*: “Ke guerko mos manda a sufrir por *športi*” (Papo 1930, III: 11).

Many of the German nouns adopted by BJS are merely names of the facilities or institutions which came to Bosnia and Herzegovina with the Austro-Hungarian occupation, together with their names, as in the cases of *bircauz* ‘pub’ (from German [*das*] *Wirtshaus*, via SCB *bircauz*)²⁸, *banof* ‘train station’ (from German [*der*] *Bahnhof*, via < SCB *banovo*)²⁹, *kino* ‘cinema’ (from German [*das*]

²⁸ “Mus asintimus al *bircauz* dilantri dondi keda la mašina, i jo mi jami un đaru, di piva” (“Josefiko” 1932).

²⁹ “Sjentes, tu, Rikica, la akompanjas a tija Bonača fin il *banof* i li merkas karta fin Visoka, la asentias en la mašina i tornas” (Altarc 1931).

Kino, via SCB *kino*)³⁰ or *markale* ‘central covered market in Sarajevo’ (from German [*die*] *Markthalle*, via SCB *markale*).³¹

Others had to do with modern professions, such as *automehaniker* ‘auto-mechanic, garage mechanic’ (from German [*der*] *Automechaniker*, via SCB *automehaničar*), *mehánica* ‘mechanics’ (from German [*die*] *Mechanik*, via SCB *mehanika*), *manufaktura* ‘manufacture’ (from German [*die*] *Manufaktur*, via SCB *manufaktura*)³² or *maler* ‘painter’ (from German [*der*] *Maler*, via SCB *maler/moler*), as in the following example:

No vejas, ja aj dos semanas ke enpesi i saves komo es, akejas fitižas mijas dieron i tomaron keren enkalar las kazas, i esto no enkalar komo si enkala, sino jamaron a el pusto «*maler*» i beli si es *maler* i ja traje en kaza *maler*. Ni onde mi madre, buen mundo ke mi tenga, no avia este *maler*. Eja mezma tomava el pinzel, se aremagava las manos i enkalava (“Jakoviko” 1940a).

Here “Jakoviko” puts into the mouth of an older Sephardic lady a nice play on words based on two loan-words borrowed by BJS from two different languages: German *Maler* (painter) and French *malheur* (bad luck), both realised in BJS as *maler*. The message is obvious, according to this Sephardic lady’s *Weltanschauung*, the professional painter himself is bad luck. Houses should be painted by the *mater familias*, as in the days of old. Another typical group of borrowed terms had to do with names of clothes that came to Bosnia with the occupation, such as: *trenčkot* ‘trench coat’ (from German [*der*] *Trenchcoat* (Papo 1930, II: “requizit”) or *Erbeitskeittel/Arbeitskeittel* ‘overall, smock’ (from German [*der*] *Arbeitskittel*).³³

Sometimes German words are given in parenthesis, in order to facilitate the understanding of the Modern Spanish noun, introduced by the author to BJS, but unknown to the general Bosnian Sephardic public, as in the example: “La escena mostra *el taler /Werkstell/* de Esterka” (Papo 1930, II: 1), where the German noun [*die*] *Werkstelle* ‘workshop, atelier’ is used to explain the Modern Spanish *taler*; or in the example: “El es *seražero (šloser)*, ea es kuzindera i lavorando todos dos akomodan l’egsistencia, i non sufren” (Papo 1924a), where the German noun [*der*] *Schlosser* ‘locksmith’ is brought to explain the Modern Spanish *cerrajero*.

Many a time, German nouns ending with a consonant are incorporated into BJS by mediation of SCB, as can be attested from the fact that their forms were already adapted to SCB, by addition of the morpheme {a}, as in ~~in~~ the following example, where the German masculine noun [*der*] *Ziegel* ‘brick’ is incorporated

³⁰ “Oj kuandu aj *kinos* i iškolos es huarti, muj huarti es kun ejas!” (“Jehi” 1934).

³¹ “Dija di mjerkulis diši para ariminjadar las kalsas i la mudadura, i la minjana kuandu stuvi al *markale*, dišu, ja jamare a eja, ki mi ajudi” (“Josefiko” 1932).

³² “De *automehaniker* a manufaktura. De *mehánica* a ropas!” (Papo 1930, I: 19).

³³ “*Erbeitskeittel* para Vitali” (Papo 1930, III: “requizit”); “Se va Vitali vistido de *Arbeitskeittel*” (Papo 1930, III: 5).

into BJS as a feminine noun, just like in SCB: “Kun un trapu inbružada *la cigla* ki stava insima di la soba i asintandosi si li mitija dibašu di lus pjes ki ja si li vijan intizadu dil friju. *Esta cigla* no li manka nunca di insima di la soba a tija Vinuča, di salida Sukot fin las hadras di Pesah” (M. M. P. 1937).

Interestingly, sometimes German words serve even as a source of inspiration for Sephardic authors, when they are coining new BJS words; as for example in the phrase: “La escena representa una kaza de stada (Wohnzimmer) *los detenedores* (*Ständer*) kon taponikos blankos y ermozos, saksis de mimoza” (Papo 1930, III: 1), where “Bohoreta” coins a new word: *detenedores* ‘stand’, on the basis of the German noun [*der*] *Ständer*, of the same meaning.

c. 2. Adjectives

Until now, I have found in the JS writings of the Sephardic Circle only one single adjective that originated in the German language. It is a German noun [*der*] *Schwabe* ‘Swabian, inhabitant of Swabia’, which (as already stated) in SCB and in BJS has acquired the meaning of a pejorative name for speakers of German (Austrians and Germans). When followed by a JS noun *gjidio/gjudio/a*, it serves in BJS as an adjective, denoting German(-speaking), i.e. Ashkenazi Jews:

Elem, luke li sto kuntandu, mi tija, si afara tija Āntil pur il besu, in esta Saratica, li dimandava la alma, bjen di su madri, šabat kumer kašer i ija onde un *švabu-gjidio* i in kurtu diču, ja savi, ki a mi no mi agrada muču kuntar, afilu, ki mi jaman “la avlastona” keru tumar ala fiža di esti švabu. I esti, ki es il švabu, luke li dire, vinu a ver komu, sta la koza... (“Josefiko” 1931).

Gjusto serka Hanuka se kazo un suvrino de tija Bulisa kon una “*švaba gjudija*”, ma sjendo ke tija Bulisa stuvo malata, este karar, ke non se pudo manjar ni por la kama, asta ke non vino tija Rufkula i la masirijo – i por esta rason non fue tija Bulisa ala beraha del suvrino (“Jakoviku” 1936b).

c. 3. Verbs

As far as verbs of German origin attested in the writings of the members of the *Sephardic Circle* are concerned, they are far fewer than the nouns. However, all the existent examples were absorbed into the grammatical system of JS by attributing them to the conjugation I (-AR). In all the cases, the same rules were applied: the German infinitive morpheme -EN is replaced in JS by the infinitive morpheme-EAR (phenomenon also common in Castilian). Due to the peculiar phonological characteristics of Bosnian JS, in this dialect this morpheme is usually pronounced as -IAR/IYAR. The addition of the JS morpheme attributes the verbs in this case to the conjugation I. From now on, they are conjugated through all the tenses and persons as all the verbs belonging to this group, as can be seen from the verb *hofirijar* ‘to court someone’ (from German *hofieren*, via SCB *hofirati*), which appears in the infinitive form in one of the stories of Ḥam Ribī Avram Romano

“Buki”:³⁴ “Kvandu algun mansevu enpesa a hofirijarli, es ki ja li migijo il kezu di adjentru di la stupica. Kvandu spoza il mansevu, estonsis ja entro in la stupica i kvandu si vjenčeja, istonsis ja si sero”.³⁵

In another story, the verb *masirijar* ‘to give someone a massage’ (from German *massieren*, via SCB *masirati*) appears in perfect tense, in third person singular: “Gjusto serka Hanuka se kazo un suvrino de tija Bulisa kon una *švaba gjudija*, ma sjendo ke tija Bulisa stuvo malata, este karar, ke non se pudo manjar ni por la kama, asta ke non vino tija Rufkula i la *masirijo* – i por esta razon non fue tija Bulisa ala beraha del suvrino” (“Jakoviku” 1936b).

c. 4. Adverbs

As far as adverbs are concerned, just as in the case of the adjectives, up until now I have not found a single case of the usage of German-originated adverbs in JS writings of the *Sephardic Circle*: not in the language of the authors nor in the language ascribed by them to their characters.

II. Poetic Function of the German Stratum in BJS

Until now we have dealt exclusively with the neutral usage of the German stratum in BJS, in which there does not seem to be much of a difference between the register of the authors themselves and the register of their characters. However, in a few cases this stratum is used for comic purposes, as a demarcation line between Sephardim and Ashkenazim on the hand, or between modern and younger Sephardim and their traditional elders on the other.

Thus, writing about Tia Bulisa’s visit to her “mueva suvrina di Vjena” –or, in other words to her “new Viennese niece”– or, more accurately, to her nephew’s Ashkenazi wife, Jakoviku describes their meeting in these words: “*O, gistehand* [German *Küss die Hand*] *tante Bulisa*. Tija Bulsa ni ečo tino luke le dišo la ‘suvrina’ le areponde: *Dičoza i alegre ke mi tures*. La suvrina non avlava en španjol, sjendo es ‘švaba gjudija’ i le era a tija Bulisa un poko fuerte para entender la” (“Jakoviku” 1936a). Soon enough, both of them, the “aunt” and the “niece”, have to switch to SCB, as Tia Bulisa does not understand any German.

In Josefiko’s story “Tardi di vjarnis”, another Sephardic older lady asks tija Rufkula how Ashkenazim can live without JS: “Ama mi tija Rufkule, komu estus švabus bivin in kaza sin avlar in gjidjo. Na, ki kera dimandar di la vizina il rajador, komu va dizir?” (“Josefiko” 1931).³⁶

³⁴ For Romano’s bio-bibliography, see Nezirović (1992: 573-585).

³⁵ Romano, Avram “Buki” (1924). As I will show later, this same verb is used again in another story, written by another author from the same Circle, but this time with a special poetic function: creation of distinction between two generational lects: the language of the parents and of the children.

³⁶ According to Nezirović (1992: 617), this might be a pseudonym used by Dr Isak Izrael.

As stated previously, when used as poetic strategy by the writers of the *Sephardic Circle*, the Germanisms are not used only for demarcation between the Sephardim and the Ashkenazim, but also between different generations amongst the Sephardim themselves. Thus in “Jehi’s” story “Kun il amargu”, a young Sephardic girl has a problem in explaining to her old-fashioned daddy what *hofirijar* ‘to court someone’ means, as in his world there was no such a thing as courting, and he is quite suspicious that the word might mean something much more physical:

- *A mi ja mi hofireja unu!* kita eja di boka.
- *Luke dišitis?* grita il padri, *luke dišitis, avla mas klaru, no t’intjendu!*
- *Ja mi hofireja unu!*
- *Ho- fi- re- ja!* torna il padri ditras d’*eja. Avla, luke es estu ho-fi-re-ja?* va gritandu i va atravandu la palavra.
- *Eja ja si mitjo a jorar: “No se komu se dizi, ja ... ja ... ja mi beza”... Ejus no m’intjendin, no mi bizo sino e mi beza, mi keru jen si zaljubijo di mi!* (“Jehi” 1934).

Sometimes however, the German stratum is used by the writers/members of the *Sephardic Circle* in order to create caricatural personalities, young Sephardic snobs and wannabes, whose exposition to the Austrian German language and Viennese culture brought them to despise and hold in contempt anything related to their native Sarajevo, Bosnia and especially to its peculiar Sephardic traditions. One such a comic and disgusting personality is that of Silvio in Jeshua M. Israel’s theater play *La vižita de tija Sunhula*:³⁷ a young Sephardic student, returnee from Vienna, who never learned proper German (as we will learn from the German stratum used in his JS), but who is already unable to express his “noble” and “refined” thoughts and feelings in his native JS, without mixing dozens of German words. Since in his eyes only Austrian Habsburg culture is really worthy of that name, he feels that there is nothing in Sarajevo:³⁸

Kali ki sepa tu, ki en esti Saraj non aj nada, non aj ni un tiatro, ni un *rodiba* (German *Rodelbahn*), ni una *opera*. Ah, madre mija, si vijas *ausfirera* (German *aufführen*) una opera di Pucini, di Vagner, vjeras luke es *seneri* i *produkcijon*, aki non aj nada mas ki *unterhaltung* del [sic] Union, de la Gloria, de la Matatja, i estu un [sic] vez al anjo. Ken si *esta produciren?* Salomiko Daniti, ki lo jaman el *Baron*, kon Donči i la Lenka, i *estan forspieln* (German *vorspielen*) und so vietar

³⁷ For more information about the play and its author, see Nezirović (1992: 557-560).

³⁸ Until recently, we have only known about this play through the Bosnian Sephardic press and the critical reviews that were published in it. A few years ago, I discovered in the *Archive Yakir Even-Tov* that at least one role from the original manuscript of the play has been preserved: the role of Silvio.

(German *weiter*). Jo non puedu estar *begreifen*, komu estaš *ainbringen* en tjenpo es estas *dumhajten* (German *Dummheiten*).³⁹

This quite repulsing snob is even Germanizing the names of local foods, such as *čevapi* (in BJS *chevapis*) as if unable to pronounce their original Balkan names: “No ja, tingjer *čivapin*, kastanjas, pasas, pastel, ćuftikas. Estu non *estan fresen* ni lus kavajos di Vjena, otro ki lus *menšen*”.⁴⁰

Conclusion

The writings of the members of the *Sephardic Circle* show certain interferences of Austrian German in BJS. Some of these German influences are exclusive for BJS, and were introduced straight into this language by the first generation of Sephardic students who were sent to Vienna. However, most of the German stratum is shared by BJS and SCB, and when taking into consideration the Slavicized forms of many BJS Germanisms, one must come to conclusion that many of the latter have entered BJS through the mediation of SCB. Having in mind the quite short period of time (but a few decades) that BJS was under heavy Austrian German influence, it is only normal that most of these influences belong to the level of lexicon, and very few to the syntax, while there are no attested long-term direct Germanic influences on the phonology and morphology of BJS. It should be noted that most of the German lexemes incorporated into the grammatical system of BJS are nouns, with very few cases of adaptation of verbs and adjectives, and no examples of adoption of German adverbs at all. While in the interwar period many of the younger Bosnian Sephardim spoke JS but thought in SCB, there was never a critical mass of Bosnian Sephardic intellectuals who spoke BJS but thought in Austrian German. Consequently, the latter’s influences on BJS are not deep and all-embracing like the SCB influences on BJS.

References

- Altarac, Miko. (1931) Las enbonoras de tija Bonača. *Jevrejski glas* V, 46 (185): 6.
- Baruh, Kalmi. (1923) *Der Lautstand des Judenspanischen in Bosnien*. Unpublished Doctoral Dissertation: University of Vienna.
- . (1930) El judeo-español de Bosnia. *Revista de la Filología Española* 17: 113-154.
- . (1935) Les Juifs Balkaniques et leur langue. *Revue Internationale des Études Balkaniques* 2: 173-179.
- . (1936) Јевреји на Балкану и њихов језик. Књига о Балкану I. Београд, стр. 280-286.

³⁹ Israel (c. 1928: 1).

⁴⁰ Ibid.

- (2005) *Selected Works on Sephardic and Other Jewish Topics*. Ed. by Krinka Vidaković-Petrov, Alexander Nikolić et al. Jerusalem: Moshe David Gaon Center for Ladino Culture and Shefer Publishers. [Second, extended and corrected edition, 2007].
- Bogićević, Vojislav. (1965) *Istorija razvitka osnovnih škola u Bosni i Hercegovini u doba turske i austrougarske uprave (1463–1918)*. Sarajevo: Zavod za izdavanje udžbenika.
- Bunis, David M. (1995) Foreword (pp. v-x). In Samuel Romano (ed.). *Dictionary of Spoken Judeo-Spanish/French/German: with an Introduction on Phonetics and Word Formation*. Jerusalem: Misgav Yerushalayim.
- (2001) On the Incorporation of Slavisms in the Grammatical System of Yugoslavian Judezmo. *Jews and Slavs* 9: 325-337 [Festschrift Professor Jacob Allerhand, ed. by Wolf Moskvich].
- Israel, Jeshua M. (c. 1928) *La vižita de tija Sunhula*. Rolo de Silvio. A part of an unpublished theater play.
- “Jakoviko”. (1940a) Para noće de Pesah: Las hadras. *Jevrejski glas* XIII, 16-17 (619-620): 10.
- (1940b) A Tija Lia la kazamintera no le kamina el ečo. *Jevrejski glas* XIII, 23 (626): 7.
- “Jakoviku”. (1936a) El peše de tija Buhureta. *Jevrejski glas* IX, 5 (409): 4.
- (1936b) Tija Bulisa onde la suvrina. *Jevrejski glas* X, 6 (410): 6.
- “Jehi”. (1934) Para noće de Šabat: Kun il amargu. *Jevrejski glas* VII, 7 (311): 6.
- “Jehudi”. (1924) Un dialogo interesante. *Jevrejski život* I, 37: 2.
- “Josefiko”. (1931) Tardi di vjarnis. *Jevrejski glas* V, 45 (184): 7.
- (1932) Fazjendu un banju di Liđa. *Jevrejski glas* VI, 10 (201): 6.
- Kajon, Ješua A. (1927) Sefardi do danas (pp. 19-32). In *Biblioteka Esperanza*. Zagreb: Esperanza.
- Kamhi, Samuel. (1927) Sefardi i sefardski pokret (pp. 3-18). In *Biblioteka Esperanza*. Zagreb: Esperanza.
- Knezović, Alica. (1986) *Fonetika i fonologija židovsko-španjolskog govora u Sarajevu*. MA thesis: University of Zagreb.
- Kovačec, August. (1968) Les séphardim en Yougoslavie et leur langue (d’après quelques publications yougoslaves). *Studia romanica et anglica zagrebiensia* XXV-XXVI: 161-177.
- Levi, Moric. (1969) *Sefardi u Bosni: Prilog istoriji Jevreja na Balkanskom poluostrvu*. Beograd: Savez Jevrejskih Opština Jugoslavije [Serbo-Croatian translation of Moritz Levy. (1911) *Die Sephardim in Bosnien*].
- “Lević”. (1931) Para noće de šabat: Lu de Saraj no aj in sieti partis del mundo. *Jevrejski glas* V, 51 (190): 7.
- Levy, Moritz. (1996a) *Die Sephardim in Bosnien: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Juden auf der Balkanhalbinsel*. Klagenfurt: Wieser Verlag [reprint of the original edition of 1911].
- (1996b) *Sefardi u Bosni: Prilog historiji Jevreja na Balkanskom poluotoku*. Sarajevo: Bosanska biblioteka. [Bosnian translation of Moritz Levy. (1911) *Die Sephardim in Bosnien*].

- Loker, Cvi. (1995) On the Author, the Late Dr. Samuel Romano (p. iv). In Samuel Romano (ed.) *Dictionary of Spoken Judeo-Spanish/French/German: with an Introduction on Phonetics and Word Formation*. Jerusalem: Misgav Yerushalayim.
- . (1997) Sarajevski spor i sefardski pokret u Jugoslaviji. *Zbornik Jevrejskog istorijskog muzeja* 7: 72-79.
- M. M. P. (1932a) Pur no ir tonta al otu mundu. *Jevrejski glas* VI, 7 (198): 7.
- . (1932b) Ki bjen ki mi lavi. *Jevrejski glas* VI, 13 (204): 7.
- . (1937) Ken es ombri ken mužer? *Jevrejski glas* X, 6 (461): 7.
- . (1938) Tija Strulača en la mar. *Jevrejski glas* X, 45 (499): 8.
- Nezirović, Muhamed. (1988) Algunos rasgos fonéticos del español anteclásico en el habla judeo-española de Bosnia (pp. 1537-1545). Cáceres. In Manuel Ariza, Antonio Salvador & Antonio Viudas (eds.). *Actas del I congreso internacional de historia de la lengua Española*. Madrid: Arco Libros.
- . (1992) *Jevrejsko-španjolska književnost*. Sarajevo: Svjetlost.
- . (2002) Judenspanisch (pp. 101-116). In Miloš Okuka (ed.). *Wieser Enzyklopädie des europäischen Ostens. Band 10: Lexikon der Sprachen des europäischen Ostens*. Klagenfurt: Wieser.
- Papić, Mitar. (1972) *Školstvo u Bosni i Hercegovini za vrijeme austrougarske okupacije 1878–1918*. Sarajevo: Veselin Masleša.
- Papo, Eliezer. (2006/07) Les influences slaves sur le judéo-espagnol de Bosnie dans la littérature du “Cercle séfarde”. *Yod – Revue des études modernes et contemporaines hébraïques et juives* 11/12: 315-337.
- . (2007a) Slavic Influences on Bosnian Judeo-Spanish, As Reflected in the Literature of the ‘Sephardic Circle’ (pp. 267-286). In Pedro M. Piñero Ramirez (ed.). *La memoria de Sefarad: Historia y cultura de los sefardíes*. Sevilla: Fundación Sevilla Nodo y Fundación Machado.
- . (2007b) Serbo-Croatian Influences on Bosnian Spoken Judeo-Spanish, As Reflected in the Literary Works of the Members of the Sephardic Circle. *European Journal of Jewish Studies* I, 2: 343-363.
- . (2007c) The Life Story and the Literary Opus of Laura Papo ‘Bohoreta’, the First Female Dramatist Who Wrote in Judeo-Spanish [in Hebrew]. *El Presente – Studies in Sephardic Culture 1 / Mikan – Journal for Jewish and Israeli Literature and Culture Studies* 8: 61-89.
- . (2008) Ethnic Language in an Age of Nationalism: Bosnian Judeo-Spanish in Modern Times [in Hebrew]. *Pe’amim* 113: 11-51.
- . (2009a) The Partisan Haggadah: Carnival Laughter as a Way of Coping with Traumas Caused by Persecution and Combat and as a Medium for Construction of Collective Identity (pp. 142-216) [in Hebrew]. In David M. Bunis (ed.). *Languages and Literatures of Sephardic and Oriental Jews*. Jerusalem: Misgav Yerushalayim & Bialik Institute.
- . (2009b) The Linguistic Thought of Laura Papo ‘Bohoreta’ [in Hebrew]. *Pe’amim* 118: 125-175.
- . (2010) Entre la modernidad y la tradición, el feminismo y la patriarquia: Vida y obra de Laura Papo ‘Bohoreta’, primera dramaturga en lengua judeo-española. *Neue*

- Romania 40 / *Judenspanisch* XIII: 97-117.
- Papo, Isak. (1981a) *Hebraizmi u govoru sarajevskih Sefarada / Hebraisms in the Vernacular of the Sephardim in Sarajevo*. Sarajevo (MS).
- (1981b) *Turcizmi u govornom jevrejsko-španjolskom jeziku sarajevskih Sefarda*. Sarajevo (MS).
- (1995) Turcizmi u jevrejsko-španjolskom Sefarada Bosne i Hercegovine (pp. 241-252). In Muhamed Nezirović, Boris Nilević & Muhsin Rizvić (eds.). *Sefarad '92*. Sarajevo: Institut za istoriju Sarajevo i Jevrejska zajednica Bosne i Hercegovine.
- Papo, Laura "Bohoreta". (1924a) *Madres*. *Jevrejski život* 35: 3.
- (1924b) *Morena*. *Jevrejski život* 38: 2.
- (1930) *Esterka: Ritrato social de nuestros dias* (MS).
- Pardo, David. (1995) In memoriam za svakodnevni govorni judeo-espanjol. *Glasnik Jevrejske Zajednice Bosne i Hercegovine* 9: 8-46.
- Peco, Esad. (1971) *Osnovno školstvo u Hercegovini za vrijeme austrougarske vlasti 1878–1918*. Sarajevo: Zavod za izdavanje udžbenika.
- Pinto, Avram. (1966) Jevrejska društva u Sarajevu (pp. 173-188). In Samuel Kamhi (ed.). *Spomenica 400 godina od dolaska Jevreja u Bosnu i Hercegovinu*. Sarajevo: Odbor za proslavu 400-godišnjice od dolaska Jevreja u BiH.
- (1987) *Jevreji Sarajeva i BiH*. Sarajevo: Veselin Masleša.
- Prenz, Juan Octavio. (1968) Vicisitudes del judeo-español de Bosnia. *Románica* I: 163-173.
- Quintana, Aldina. (1997) Diatopische Variation des Judenspanischen in den Balkanländern und in der Türkei. *Neue Romania* 19 / *Judenspanisch* II: 47-65.
- (1999) Proceso de recastellanización del Judesmo (593-602). In Judit Targarona Borrás & Angel Sáenz-Badillos (eds.). *Jewish Studies at the Turn of the Twentieth Century*. Vol. II. Leiden: Brill.
- Romano, Avram "Buki". (1924) *Aparežos*. *Jevrejski život* 40: 4.
- Romano, Samuel (ed.). (1995 [1933]) *Dictionary of Spoken Judeo-Spanish/French/German: with an Introduction on Phonetics and Word Formation*. Jerusalem: Misgav Yerushalayim.
- Skarić, Vladislav. (1937) *Sarajevo i njegova okolina od najstarijih vremena do austrougarske okupacije*. Sarajevo: Opština grada Sarajeva.
- Stankiewicz, Edward. (1964) Balkan and Slavic Elements in the Judeo-Spanish of Yugoslavia (pp. 229-236). In L. S. Dawidowicz (ed.). *For Max Weinreich on His Seventieth Birthday: Studies in Jewish Language, Literature and Society*. The Hague: de Gruyter.
- Subak, Julius. (1906) Zum Judenspanischen. *Zeitschrift für Romanische Philologie* 30: 129-185.
- Vidaković-Petrov, Krinka. (1976) Mogućnosti proučavanja jezičko-književnog nasleđa španskih Jevreja na našem tlu. *Forum: Časopis Odjela za suvremenu književnost Jugoslavenske Akademije Znanosti i Umjetnosti* XV, 32 (7-8): 302-312.
- Vučina Simović, Ivana. (2010) *Stavovi govornika prema jevrejsko-španskom jeziku: u prilog stvaranju tipologije održavanja/zamene jezika*. PhD thesis: University of Belgrade.
- Zinato, Andrea. (1998) Documenti in giudeo-spagnolo dalla rivista «Jevrejski glas»

(Sarajevo). *Annali di Ca'foscari. Rivista della facoltà di lingue e letterature straniere dell'università di Venezia* XXXVII, 1-2: 629-645.

