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Christians, Jews and Muslims in the Ottoman Balkans

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From Early Middle to Late Middle Judezmo: The Ottoman Component as a Demarcating Factor

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1. Castilian of the three religious communities of medieval Spain

In Spain of the Middle Ages, the distinct religious and cultural traditions of the country's Christian, Muslim and Jewish inhabitants led to the rise of three distinctive co-territorial and contemporaneous varieties of Castilian.¹ In original writing composed by members of these three speech communities, most of the grammatical features were shared. But in vernacular translations of their sacred texts, and even in original writing, certain other linguistic features were unique to each religious group. For one thing, each group wrote its vernacular in the alphabet taught in its religious schools and used in its most sacred religious texts: Christians, in the Roman alphabet of the Latin Bible and Catholic liturgy; Muslims, in the Arabic script of the Quran; and Jews, in the Hebrew letters of the Bible and Talmud.² In translations of their sacred works, the Jews and Muslims employed calques and other syntactic constructions mirror-imaging the original Hebrew or Arabic sources, as well as archaizing grammatical forms lending an antique flavor. During the period of Jewish residence in Spain, the Spanish Catholic Church frowned upon translating the Bible into the vernacular; but the Jews cultivated a literal translation language, incorporating some rabbinical exegesis, into which boys were taught to translate sections of the Bible as part of

1 The research upon which the present article is based was supported by Israel Science Foundation grant 807/03, for which I hereby express my gratitude.

2 On the development of the Hebrew-letter orthography of Judezmo (or 'Ladino', or 'Judeo-Spanish') speakers, see David M. Bunis, "Writing as a Symbol of Religio-National Identity: On the Historical Development of Judezmo Spelling", *Pe'amim* 101-102 (2005), pp. 111-171 [in Hebrew].

their elementary education.³ The translations were also used to a certain extent in the synagogue.⁴ As Muslims lost their knowledge of Arabic and adopted Ibero-Romance, they too began to translate their sacred texts into a distinctive Castilian.

Furthermore, the distinct belief systems, cultural orientations, and everyday lifestyles of the members of each group led to the incorporation within their version of the vernacular of characteristic words and linguistic structures originating in their sanctified religious languages: Latin, among the Christians, Arabic among the Muslims, and Hebrew (and to a lesser degree Aramaic) among the Jews. Thus, for ‘prayer’ and related rituals, Catholics used words of Latin origin such as *rezo* ‘prayer’ (< *rezar* ‘to pray’ < L. *recitāre*),⁵ *oficio* ‘Catholic liturgy, religious service’ (< L. *officium*), and *misa* ‘mass’ (< L. *missa*); Muslims used Arabisms such as *asala* ‘prayer’ (< A. *al-ṣalā*), *adu(w)ā* ‘supplicatory prayer’ (< A. *ad-du‘ā*), and *addān* ‘call to prayer (from the minaret)’ (< A. *adān*); and Jews employed Hebraisms such as *tefilā* ‘prayer’ (< H. *téfilla*), *bakašot*⁶ ‘supplications’ (< H. *baqqašot*), and *selixot*⁷ ‘penitential prayers’ (< H. *seṯllhot*).

Because of their religious orientation, the Muslims and Jews also rejected certain Castilian words the use of which might have been understood as an acceptance of Catholic beliefs and practices. For example, whereas Catholics denoted ‘Sunday’, the

3 On the oral transmission of the Ladino sacred-text translation tradition, see David M. Bunis, “Translating from the Head and from the Heart: The Essentially Oral Nature of the Ladino Bible-Translation Tradition”, in *Hommage à Haim Vidal Sephiha*, Winfried Busse, Heinrich Kohring & Moshe Shaul (eds.), Peter Lang, Berne 1996, pp. 337-357.

4 See David M. Bunis, “Distinctive Characteristics of Jewish Ibero-Romance, Circa 1492”, *Hispania Judaica Bulletin* (Jerusalem 2004) 4, pp. 105-137.

5 The following abbreviations of language names are used in the present article: A. = Arabic, B. = Bulgarian, G. = Greek, H. = Hebrew, I. = Italian, L. = Latin, P. = Persian, SC. = Serbo-Croatian, T. = Turkish, V. = Venetian.

6 Note the values of the following special symbols used here in the transcription of Judezmo: *č* = *ch* (I.P.A. [tʃ]; *d* = *th* [ð] as in English *that* or, in some Judezmo dialects (e.g., Bosnia, Serbia), = *d* [d]; *g* = *γ* (as in Greek *gamma*), or in some Judezmo dialects, = *g* [g]; *ġ* = *j* [dʒ] as in English *jolly*. *ny* = *ñ* [ɲ] as in Spanish *año*; *š* = *sh* [ʃ] as in English *shop*; *θ* = *th* [θ] as in English *think*, or in some Judezmo dialects, = *t*; *x* = *ch* [χ] as in German *ach*; *ž* = *g* [ʒ] as in French *rouge*. Stress in words ending in a consonant other than *-n* or *-s/-z* is final; it is penultimate in other words. Irregular stress is indicated by an acute accent.

7 For a characterization of the Hebrew-Aramaic component of pre-Expulsion Jewish Ibero-Romance, see David M. Bunis, *A Lexicon of the Hebrew and Aramaic Elements in Modern Judezmo*, Magnes Press, Jerusalem 1993, pp. 17-20.

Christian day of rest, by *domingo*, from Latin *dominicus dies* (with its reference to Jesus as ‘Lord’), Muslims tended to reject that term in favor of Hispano-Arabic-origin *al-ḥadd*, meaning simply ‘the first (day)’, and a reflex of the same word, pronounced [al’xað], was also used by the Jews. In the last case, this was a preservation of the word which had been used by the Jewish Ibero-Romance speakers’ Judeo-Arabic-speaking ancestors, before the Jewish communities of Spain made the transition to Ibero-Romance following the re-conquest of parts of Spain by the Christians.

2. Judezmo in the Ottoman Empire: Historical periods

In 1492, both Muslims and Jews were officially expelled from Spain. Although some Muslims were able to continue residing in the country for more than a century, most Iberian Muslims made their way back to their ancestral homeland in North Africa and became integrated within its Arabic speech community, thus putting an end to their communal use of a distinctive Castilian. Some of the expelled Jews also crossed the Mediterranean southward to North Africa; but most found refuge in the Ottoman Empire, at the invitation of Sultan Bayezid II. For the descendants of the Spanish Jews in both these regions, the period during which their ancestors in Spain had made use of a distinctive Castilian proved to be but the first of three periods in the development of unique Jewish languages which to this day continue to enjoy some use, in the states carved out of the Ottoman Empire, in Morocco, and in immigrant communities in Israel, Europe, the Americas, and elsewhere. In the Ottoman regions, the *Sephardim* or ‘Jews of Iberian ancestry’ came to refer to their evolved form of Jewish Castilian as *gudezmo* or *ḡu-/ḡidyô*, that is ‘Jewish’,⁸ paralleling the use of terms used by the Turks such as *çifti*, *Yahudice*, *Musevice*, and others denoting the language as ‘Jewish’, and the analogous terms used by other non-Jewish groups of the empire, e.g., *jevrejski* in the languages of the South Slavs. In Morocco, the language of the Sephardim was referred to popularly as *Haketia*.

In Spain, as was noted, the Jewish variety of Castilian had been distinguished from its Muslim and Christian counterparts primarily through its incorporation of elements

8 See David M. Bunis, “Native Designations of Judezmo as a ‘Jewish Language’”, in *Studies in Language, Literature and History Presented to Joseph Chetrit*, Yosef Tobi & Dennis Kurzon (eds.), Haifa University, Haifa & Carmel, Jerusalem 2011, pp. *41-81.

from Hebrew and Aramaic. Following the Expulsion of 1492 the evolving Judezmo of the Ottoman regions became increasingly distinct from the varieties of Spanish spoken in Spain and South America not only because of its growing Hebrew and Aramaic component,⁹ but also as a result of the openness of its speakers to their Ottoman surroundings, and particularly the varieties of urban Turkish, Greek, South Slavic, and other languages spoken by their non-Jewish neighbors in Istanbul, Salonika, Izmir, Sarajevo, Belgrade, Sofia, and many other Ottoman cities and towns.

In retrospect, the first, pre-Expulsion stage of incipient Judezmo may be called the *Old Judezmo Period*. With the Expulsion and the re-settling of most of the Sephardim in the Ottoman Empire, the language underwent two additional historical stages, which may be called the *Middle Judezmo Period*, and the *Modern, Late or New Judezmo Period*.¹⁰ Each of these periods may be further divided into sub-periods. In earlier work, I demonstrated how these periods may be distinguished using the criteria of phonology, or the sound system, morphology, or grammatical forms, and syntax, or word order. In the present article I shall focus on changes in the component structure of the language as an additional marker of the transition from one historical stage to another. More precisely, I will discuss the early historical development of the Ottoman component of Judezmo as one of the primary ingredients in the creation of the unique Ottoman or Turkish-Balkan Sephardic Jewish subculture. Because of space limitations, I will confine the present discussion to developments occurring between the Early Middle and Late Middle periods of Ottoman Judezmo. It should be noted that my observations will be based on texts surviving from the mid-sixteenth through late eighteenth centuries. All of the sources are rabbinical works in Judezmo or Hebrew, published in Istanbul, Salonika, or Izmir, as well as at some presses in Italy. Due to the types of texts available, and the specific topics addressed in them, it is possible that the linguistic picture they present does not correspond exactly to the living language as used by the speech community during their periods of publication. But for the period under discussion, these are the principal sources at our disposal.

9 For an attempt at an exhaustive lexical inventory, see Bunis, *Lexicon* (Note 7 above).

10 For some further details on historical periodization, see David M. Bunis, *Lexicon* (Note 7 above), pp. 17-47; *ibid.*, *Judezmo: An Introduction to the Language of the Ottoman Sephardim*, Magnes Press, Jerusalem 1999 [in Hebrew], pp. 20-38.

3. The Middle Judezmo Period and the rise of the Ottoman component¹¹

In earlier attempts to delineate the historical periodization of Judezmo, I suggested that the Middle Judezmo Period had started immediately with the establishment of most of the Sephardim in the Ottoman Empire at the end of the fifteenth century and lasted until around 1790. During that period, the language's Hispanic component started to undergo independent development, relatively free of influence from peninsular Spanish. Furthermore, the language's Hebrew-Aramaic component enjoyed significantly greater representation in written Judezmo than in the former period. It was during this period too that the Ottoman component of Judezmo began to take shape—indicative of intensive interaction between the Sephardic immigrants in the Empire and their non-Jewish neighbors, including speakers of Turkish proper, as well as of Balkan languages such as Greek, Serbo-Croatian, Bulgarian, and Romanian, which had themselves by this time undergone significant influence from Turkish, and would continue to do so in subsequent centuries.

It is well known that, when the Ottomans took possession of the Balkans and part of the Middle East beginning in the late thirteenth century—long before the arrival of the Sephardim in the region—few of the indigenous peoples abandoned their ethnic and/or religious languages in favor of Turkish as their in-group language. Rather, until the dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire, its diverse non-Turkish ethnic groups continued to use their own, albeit somewhat Turkicized, languages within their communities, and reserved the use of Turkish proper for interaction with the Ottoman authorities, and for communication with other groups in the Empire who did not speak their own ethnic tongue.

The Sephardim who reached the shores of the Empire at the end of the fifteenth century adapted themselves to this pre-existing pattern of religio-ethnic language loyalty within a broad framework of ethnic heterogeneity and multilingualism. The Sephardim maintained their own ethnic languages for in-group use during the next five centuries: Judezmo for everyday speech and for writing aimed at a popular audience, and Hebrew as the principal language of liturgy and high-level rabbinical scholarship. From 1492 until the establishment throughout the Ottoman Empire of the

11 The term 'Ottoman component' is used here in the sense of linguistic material derived from Turkish and other languages of the Ottoman Empire, including material etymologically from Turkish, Arabic, Persian, Greek, South Slavic, and other linguistic sources.

network of French-language schools sponsored by the Paris-based Alliance Israélite Universelle, founded in 1860, no foreign languages were taught in the Jewish schools of the Empire, just as non-Islamic languages were not taught in its Muslim religious schools. As a group, the Empire's Jews did not begin the formal study of Turkish or other local national languages until the late nineteenth century. It was only with the proclamation of the Turkish Republic, for example, that, in apparent identification with the goals of the Republic, and under pressure from the Turkish population and its authorities to participate in the transformation of the new state into a linguistically homogeneous nation, the Jews of Modern Turkey as a group began to shift to Turkish as their primary spoken and written language, studied formally in school. Mutatis mutandis, the same is true of the Sephardim of the South Slavic lands, who began to adopt languages such as Serbian and Bulgarian in the late nineteenth century, and Greece, where Sephardim made efforts to master Greek primarily after 1912, when Salonika was annexed to Greece during the First Balkan War.

This does not mean, however, that the Jews of the Ottoman Empire had no knowledge of Turkish or other non-Jewish languages used within the empire before the start of its dismemberment. Quite the contrary, in order to ensure their everyday livelihood and the maintenance of satisfactory relations with their neighbors and the official regime, most Jewish men, the majority of whom engaged in commerce, had to have a basic familiarity with popular spoken Turkish, as well as other non-Jewish languages. We learn from the rabbinical responsa of the Ottoman rabbis that, even before the nineteenth century, not only Jewish men but also Jewish women were able to communicate in Turkish to some extent with their non-Jewish neighbors. Whether or not identical in sounds, grammar and syntax with the varieties of Turkish used by the Gentile neighbors themselves, the popular-level Turkish used by Jews in interaction with their neighbors over time became an increasingly rich source of borrowings in their everyday Judezmo. By the middle of the twentieth century, Rabbi Michael Molho, a historian of the Salonika community, estimated that popular spoken Judezmo contained some 2,000 elements of Ottoman origin.¹² In texts from the sixteenth through twentieth centuries, some 5,000 such elements have thus far been documented as part of the *Historical Lexicon of the Turkish Component of Judezmo* project, which I began to undertake in 1996 with the support of a grant from the Israel Science Foundation.

4. Language of the Romaniote Jews as an early source of Ottomanisms in Judezmo

In the early stages of the re-settlement of the Jewish refugees from Spain in the cities and towns of the Ottoman Empire, assistance was received from the Judeo-Greek-speaking Jews of the veteran Romaniote community, already resident in the region from Byzantine times.¹³ It is probably with the help of Romaniote Jews that the immigrants from Spain began to become acquainted with the Turkish language and the Ottoman milieu. Thus, in incorporating linguistic material of Ottoman origin into incipient Ottoman Judezmo, there may at first have been some competition between the forms of Turkisms employed by the Romaniotes in Judeo-Greek and those which the Sephardim heard in the speech of Turks. For example, in a responsum from Constantinople, 1519,¹⁴ by the Romaniote rabbi, Eliyyahu Mizrahi (HaRe'em, Constantinople c. 1450-1526), the 'chiefs of a neighborhood' are referred to both as *maxalābasīs* <מהלכשיש> and as *maxalābasīdes* <מהלכשידיים>.¹⁵ The first form corresponds to Turkish *mahalle* (< A. *maḥalla*) *başı*, pluralized with Hispanic-origin -s; the second form incorporates the Greek plural -des, used with borrowings of Turkish

12 Michael Molho, "Penetración de extranjerismos en el español de Oriente", *Presente y futuro de la lengua española*, vol. 1, Cultura Hispánica, Madrid 1964, pp. 325-334 (esp. p. 330).

13 For historical background on the group, see Joseph R. Hacker, "The Jewish Community of Salonica from the Fifteenth to the Sixteenth Century", Ph.D. diss., Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1978 [in Hebrew]; Mark Alan Epstein, *The Ottoman Jewish Communities and their Role in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries*, Klaus Schwarz, Freiburg 1980; Joseph Hacker, "Ottoman Policies Towards the Jews and Jewish Attitudes Towards Ottomans During the Fifteenth Century, in Benjamin Braude & Bernard Lewis (eds.), *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Empire*, vol. 1, Holmes & Meier, New York 1982, pp. 117-125; Steven Bowman, *The Jews of Byzantium 1204-1453*, University of Alabama Press, Tuscaloosa, Alabama 1985; Minna Rozen, *History of the Jewish Community in Istanbul: The formative Years, 1453-1566*, Brill, Leiden & Boston 2002. On the language of the Romaniotes, see Paul Wexler, "Recovering the Dialects and Sociology of Judeo-Greek in Non-Hellenic Europe", in Joshua A. Fishman (ed.), *Readings in the Sociology of Jewish Languages*, Brill, Leiden 1985, pp. 227-240; Mary C. Connerty, *Judeo-Greek: The Language, The Culture*, Jay Street Publishing, New York 2003.

14 The dates offered in the present article in citations of rabbinical works in Judezmo and Hebrew are the Gregorian correspondents of the Hebrew years actually appearing in the works.

15 Eliyyahu Mizrahi, *Tēšuvot šē'elot [...] 'Eliyya Mizrahi*, Constantinople 1560 (republished Jerusalem 1938), no. 15.

origin having a final stressed vowel.¹⁶ Similarly, in one of the responsa of Sephardic Rabbi Hayyim Šabbēṭay (=Maharhaš, Salonika, before 1555-1647), an Ottoman ‘memorandum’ or ‘document’ was denoted as a *teskyerē* <טישקייירי>, closely reflecting Turkish *tezkere* (< A. *tazkira*);¹⁷ but in another of his responsa we find the plural form *deskeredes* <דישקיייריש>,¹⁸ reflecting its Greek reflex, sg. *deskerēs*, pl. *deskerēdes*.¹⁹ In the instance of these two borrowings—and many others which will be cited below—our sources are Ottoman Sephardic rabbinical texts in Hebrew. However, the plural forms with Hispanic-origin *-s*, rather than with a Hebrew or Turkish plural morpheme, demonstrate that they were incorporated into Ottoman Sephardic rabbinical Hebrew from Judezmo, and thus must be seen primarily as Ottoman borrowings in Judezmo.

5. Triumph of the spoken Turkish forms

By the Late Middle Judezmo period, which in earlier work I suggested had begun as late as 1728, the Jews of Iberian origin in the Ottoman Empire as a group had gained considerable familiarity with Turkish proper, and the Turkish borrowings in Judezmo now tended to correspond only to their Turkish forms, rather than to their reflexes in Greek or other Balkan languages. Thus, in Judezmo texts from this period on, ‘memorandum’ or ‘document’ is denoted only by *teskyerē* <טישקייירי> in the singular and *teskyerēs* <טישקיייריש> in the plural—the latter form created through the addition of the Spanish-origin plural suffix *-s*, without any trace of the earlier Judeo-Greek variant.²⁰

16 For examples of the use of *-des* in Greek, especially with borrowings from Turkish, see Geoffrey C. Horrocks, *Greek: A History of the Language and its Speakers*, John Wiley & Sons, West Sussex 2010, 2d ed., pp. 287-288.

17 “*Le diše, ‘Vos darē teskyerē* <טישקייירי> de las dos vandas bitireada” ‘I told him, “I’ll give you a completed authorization from both sides”’ (Hayyim Šabbēṭay, *Sefer torat hayyim*, vol. 1, Salonika 1713 [republished Jerusalem 2003], no. 82, from Chios). Here and in the following footnotes, I offer the earliest documentation of the Judezmo Ottomanisms I have encountered in Judezmo or Ottoman Sephardic Hebrew sources.

18 “*בא פקיד המלך [...] ובקש מאת היהודי להראות לו דישקיייריש*” ‘The clerk of the king [...] came and asked the Jew to show him a document’ (Hayyim Šabbēṭay, *Sefer torat hayyim*, vol. 2, Salonika 1715 [republished Jerusalem 2003], Addenda, no. 2).

19 Cf. pl. *deskerēdes* (e.g., <http://www.rizitiko.org/etimologia1.html#alfa>; <http://topontiki.gr/Articles/view/6265>); http://siatista.blogspot.com/2009_07_01_archive.html).

20 E.g., in Hebrew contexts, plural *teskerēs* <תישקיייריש> in Moše ben Mordēxay Galante (b. Rome, 16th century, d. Safed, after 1612), *Sefer šē’elot utšuvot [...] Moše Galante*,

In certain instances, the Early Middle Judezmo adaptations of Turkish words with certain final consonants or consonant clusters prohibited in that position in Spanish had an *-e* or *-i* added at the end. The paragogic *-e/-i* produced forms which were acceptable according to Spanish phonological tendencies; such forms, however, may also have been influenced by Judeo-Greek reflexes in which *-is* (in the nominative case) was added to the Turkish bases. For example, Turkish *hüccet* (from Arabic *ḥuġġa[t]*, through Persian), carrying senses such as ‘title deed, property deed of a real estate asset; document’, and having word-final consonant *-t* which is prohibited in Spanish phonology, is reflected in one responsum of Rabbi Šemu’el de Medina (Maharašdam, Salonika, 1506-1589) as *xoġete/-i* <חוגי'טי>, ²¹ and in another, as *xoġet* <חוגי'ט>, ²² The first variant may be compared with the Ottoman Greek reflex *xotsēti*, ²³ while the word-final consonant in the second form corresponds to the Turkish form *hüccet*

Venice 1608 (republished Jerusalem 1960), no. 84; and in Yošiyahu Pinto (Syria, c. 1565-1648], *Nivḥar mikesef*, Aleppo 1869 (reprinted New York 1984), no. 91; and *teskyerēs* <טיסקירי'ש> in 'Avraham ben Moše de Botōn (Salonika, 1545?-1588), *Sefer leḥem rav*, Izmir 1660 (republished Jerusalem 1968), no. 209; and Yēhi'el Basan (b. Rhodes, 1550, d. Constantinople 1625), *Še'elot utšuvot*, Constantinople 1737, no. 73. In Judezmo contexts one finds plural *teskerēs* <טיסקירי'ס> in Rahamim Mēnahem Mitrani, *Sefer me'am lo'ez: Yēhosua'*, vol. 1, [Salonika] 1849, f. 98b; *teskyerēs* <טיסקירי'ס> in 'Eliyyahu Ġaxōn (ed.), *Sefer mēzakke 'et harabbim*, Salonika c. 1850, f. 13b; *tezkerēs* <טיזקירי'ס> in *El lunar* (Salonika 1865), p. 22.

- 21 The vowel qualities are not specified in the Hebrew-letter texts, which use *vav* <ו> for both *o* and *u*, and *yod* <י> for both *e* and *i*, and thus the vowel qualities are uncertain. The vocalization *xoġet* is offered by Joseph Nehama, *Dictionnaire du judéo-espagnol*, C.S.I.C., Madrid 1977, p. 256. In vocalized Hebrew-letter Judezmo texts, and in texts in romanization, the final paragogic vowel is denoted as *e*; e.g., Šaddiq ben Yosef Formōn (tr.), Bahye ibn Paquda, *Sefer ḥovot halēvavot bēl'az*, Salonika c. 1568, sec. 2, f. 88a: *kušāke* <קושאקי> ‘sash’ < T. *kuşak*.
- 22 Šemu’el de Medina, *Še'elot utšuvot Maharašdam*, Salonika 1596 (reprinted Lemberg 1862), *Hošen mišpaṭ*, no. 15 <חוגי'טי> *xoġete/-i*; the form *xoġete/-i* also appears in 'Eliyyahu Ben Ḥayyim (=Ra'anah, b. Edirne 1530?-1610?), *Heleq rišon mitēšuvot še'elot*, vol. 1, Constantinople (bet. 1603-1617) (reprinted Jerusalem 1984), no. 53. The variant <חוגי'ט> *xoġet* appears in the aforementioned De Medina, *Še'elot utšuvot Maharašdam*, 'Orah ḥayyim, no. 114. Both variants appear in De Medina, *Še'elot utšuvot Maharašdam*, *Hošen mišpaṭ*, no. 265.
- 23 For an example of use see http://androsdocs.ims.forth.gr/search_results.php?from_date=1625&search_muslim=&search_term=&search_type=%CE%A7%CE%BF%CF%84%CE%B6%CE%AD%CF%84%CE%B9&to_date=1821&l=2.

itself. But following the early seventeenth century—i.e., a century before the start of the period I had earlier defined as the Late Middle Judezmo period—the Judezmo reflexes of these words tended to lack the final *-e/-i*, and thus, in the instance of most such Turkish borrowings in Judezmo, only the forms reflecting the final sequence in Turkish survived. For example, following the early seventeenth century, only *xoḡet*—and variant *oḡet*, to be discussed in section 7 below—appeared in Ottoman Sephardic documents in Hebrew and Judezmo.²⁶ This again marks the triumph of the Turkish over the Hispanized or Grecized forms.

6. Extension of the Ottoman Component: Expansion of the semantic domains

6.1 Early Middle Judezmo Period

As typically occurs when speakers of a language relocate to a new region and come into contact with the language of a dominant group characterized by a highly developed culture, as was the case with the encounter between the Jews from Iberia and the Turks of the Ottoman Empire, the predominant class of Ottoman words which began to be borrowed by the newcomers was common nouns referring to the civilization of the reigning group. In the Early Middle Judezmo period, most borrowings were related to what was for the Sephardim a new, unique milieu: the Ottoman administrators and institutions, which came to be referred to by words such as *b-/pašá* ‘pasha, the highest title of civil and military officials; governor of a province’ (< T. *paša*),²⁵ and *pašalik* ‘the quality, rank and function of a pasha; territory governed by him’ (< T.

24 E.g., “*Dan les dará xoḡet* <דַּן לֵאדָרָא חֹגֵט> *de resivido*” ‘Dan will give them a deed of receipt’ (‘Ahāron ben Yosef Šašon [b. Salonika 1550/5, d. Constantinople 1626], *Torat ’emet*, Venice 1626 [republished Jerusalem 1970], no. 132).

25 E.g., “*Una nave del baša*” ‘A ship of the pasha’ (Yosef Ben Lev [=Maharival, b. Monastir 1505, d. Constantinople 1580], *Še’elot utšuvot*, vol. 1, Constantinople [1561] [reprinted Jerusalem 1988], no. 9, from 1549); “*Era el paša* <הַפַּאשָׁא> *vekil mutlak de todas sus fazyendas* ‘The pasha was the unconditional [cf. T. *mutlak* < A. *mutlaq*] agent [cf. T. *vekil* < A. *wakil*] with regard to all his properties’ (Ya‘āqov ben Moše Be Rav [b. Maqueda (Spain), c. 1474, d. Safed, 1546], *Sefer še’elot utšuvot [...] Ya‘āqov Be Rav*, Venice 1663 [reprinted Jerusalem 1958], no. 25); Cynthia M. Crews, “One Hundred Medical Recipes in Judeo-Spanish of ca 1600”, *Revue des Etudes Juives* 126 [1967], pp. 203-263 [p. 249].

paşalık):²⁶ the monetary units of the empire, e.g., *parâ* ‘one fortieth of a piastre’²⁷ (< T. *para* < P. *pāre*), *axča/akčē* ‘small silver coin worth a third of a *parâ*’ (< T. *akçe*);²⁸ its foods (*yufkās* ‘thin layers of pastry dough; baked good made from that dough’ (< T. *yufka*);²⁹ *yagürte/-i* ‘yogurt’ (< T. *yağurt*, and cf. G. *yaourti*);³² its distinctive articles of clothing (*fereğē* ‘roomy, usually dark-colored, long coat’ (< T. *fērāce* < A. *farāğā*), *kaplamâ* ‘kind of jacket’ [< T. *kaplama*]);³³ and other elements of material culture specific to the Ottoman scene.

Elements of Hebrew origin continued to provide the terminology for Jewish religious life. However, most of the Ibero-Arabic terminology relating to Islam and the Hispanic-origin terms for practices relating to Christianity that the Jews had used in Iberia were either completely replaced or supplemented by elements of Turkish, Persian, Greek, South Slavic, and other local languages in the Ottoman regions. With reference to Islam, the Ottoman borrowings included terms such as *ğami*³² ‘mosque’

- 26 E.g., “*Por ser sivdad grande i afamada i tener debašo de si muças otras sivdades i vi(l) yas, la (h)izo tambyen paşalik*” ‘Because of its being a large and famous city and having under it many other cities and villages, they also made it a pasha-governed territory’ (Moše Almosnino [Salonika, c. 1515–c. 1580], Pilar Romeu (ed.), *Moisēs Almosnino: Crónica de los Reyes Otomanos*, Tirocinio, Barcelona 1998, p. 113).
- 27 E.g., “*Kyes ganar una parâ, vyen darâs un eduθ*” ‘If you want to earn a fortieth of a piaster, come testify’ (Ya‘aqov Hana, in ‘Ahāron ben Hayyim ‘Avraham Hakohen Pērahya [b. Salonika 1627?, d. 1697], *Parah matte ‘Aharon*, vol. 3, Amsterdam 1703 [republished New York 1992], no. 42, from Salonika 1685).
- 28 E.g., “במעות המזוייפים הנקרא קאלפ אחג’א והמה עשויים קלים יותר” ‘in the counterfeit coins called *kalp axčâ* [cf. T. *kalp* (< A. *qalb*) *ak-/ahçe*] and they are made lighter’ (De Medina, *Šē’elot utšuvot Maharašdam* [Note 22 above], ‘*Orah hayyim*, no. 124).
- 29 E.g., “היופקאש שעושין בזה הדרך [...]” ‘The flaky pastry goods which they make in the following way [...]’ (Šēmu’el de Medina, *Šē’elot utšuvot Maharašdam*, Salonika 1585, I, no. 26).
- 30 E.g., “חלב חמוץ הנקרא ‘יגורט’” ‘sour milk called *yagurte/-i*’ (Barux ben Šelomo Qala‘i [d. Salonika 1597], *Sefer meqor barux*, Izmir 1659 [republished Jerusalem 1992], no. 68, from Ioanina 1579).
- 31 E.g., “*Amar lo hatogar ‘Hayâ lo un fereğē i un kaplamâ eskuro*” ‘The Turk told him, “He had a robe-like garment and a dark jacket”’ (De Medina, *Šē’elot utšuvot Maharašdam* [Note 22 above], ‘*Even ha’ezer*, no. 53, from 1543). (In the Salonika 1581 edition this is no. 80, and only the *fereğē* is mentioned.) Note that the testimony of a Turk is reconstructed here, in a blend of Hebrew and Judezmo, by a Jew who probably tried to replicate the Turk’s terminology.
- 32 E.g., “בית במסילת היהודים והיא קרובה לגאמ”ע דהיינו בית תפיל”ת תוגרמי” ‘a house in the Jewish quarter near the small mosque, i.e., Muslim house of prayer’ (Galante, *Šē’elot utšuvot* [Note 20 above], no. 28).

(T. *cami* < A. *ġāmi*‘; cf. also J. *meškita* < S. *mezquita* < A. *masġid*), *kadī*³³ ‘Muslim judge, religious authority’ (< T. *kadī* < A. *qādī*; vs. J. *dayān* ‘Jewish judge’ < H. *dayyan*, religiously unmarked *ġwes* ‘judge’ < S. *juez*), *kindī*³⁴ ‘(time of the) Muslim afternoon prayer’ (< T. *ikindī*; vs. J. *minxā* < H. *minḥa* ‘Jewish afternoon prayer’), *bayrān/-m*³⁵ ‘Muslim religious holiday’ (< T. *bayram*; vs. J. *moed* ‘Jewish holiday’ < H. *mo*‘ed). Terminology relating to Christianity often originated in Greek and South Slavic, although the Judezmo reflexes often suggest Turkish rather than those languages as the immediate source; for example, *paskalyā*³⁶ ‘Easter (of the Greek Orthodox)’ (cf. T. *paskalya* < G. *pasxaliā*), *papās*³⁷ ‘Christian (esp. Greek Orthodox) priest’ (cf. T. *papaz/-s* < G. *pappās*).³⁸

- 33 E.g., “*No te estorves en ninguna sensya salvo en sensya ke te onren la ġente, i te kyeran byen los [...] bašās i los kadīs i los muderizes*” ‘Do not concern yourself with any field of knowledge except that which will cause people to honor you, and bring you the respect of [...] the princes [cf. T. *baša*] and Muslim religious judges and the members of the ulema [cf. T. *müderis* < A. *mudarris*]’ (Formón, *Hovat halēvavot* [Note 21 above], f. 2:67a).
- 34 E.g., “יום ראשון [...] בשעת מנחה בשעת קינדי” ‘Sunday at the time of the [Jewish] afternoon prayers, at the time of the Muslim afternoon prayers’ (Yisḥaq Adarbi [b. Salonika, c. 1510], *Divre rivot*, Salonika 1581 [reprinted Jerusalem 1989], no. 4, from 1553); “*despwēs de kindī*” ‘after the Muslim afternoon prayers’ (Yom Tov Sahalon [b. Safed, c. 1559, d. 1620], *Šē’elot utšuvot Mahari”i Šahalon haḥadašot*, annotated by Y. Boksboym, M. Ben Šim‘on & M. Rubenstein, two vols., Jerusalem 1980, no. 25b, from Izmir 1617).
- 35 E.g., “ביום שהיה באייר” ‘On a day that was a Muslim holiday’ (Yosef Karo [b. Toledo, 1488, d. Safed, 1575], *Šē’elot utšuvot Bet Yosef [...] ‘Even ha’ezer*, Salonika 1598 [reprinted Jerusalem 1960], *Goy mesiaḥ léfi tummo*, no. 2, from 1551). Note that the sixteenth-century Judezmo variant reflex *bayrān*, with final -n corresponding to Turkish -m, may be understood as an accommodation to Hispanic phonology; but the Greek reflex *bayrāni* must also be taken into consideration as a possible influence.
- 36 E.g., “*Partyeron de ai [...] ġidyōs [...] antes de la paskalyā*” ‘Jews left there before Easter’ (Hayyim Šabbēṭay [d. 1647], *Sefer šē’elot utšuvot hašayyaxot lēṭur ‘Even ha’ezer*, 2 vols., Salonika 1651 [reprinted Jerusalem 1970], no. 35, from Salonika 1632).
- 37 E.g., “כל הגדולים של העכו”ם והפאפ”ם של הערלים” ‘All of the important people of the idol worshippers and the priest of the Christians’ (Moše ben Yosef Mitrani [=Hamabbīṭ, Salonika 1500-1580], *Sefer šē’elot utšuvot Mabbīṭ*, vol. 2, part 2, Venice 1629-30 [reprinted Jerusalem 1990], no. 188).
- 38 On some religiously marked lexical correspondents in Judezmo, see Sarah Benor, “Lexical Othring: How Ottoman Sephardim Refer to Non-Jews”, in David M. Bunis (ed.), *Languages and Literatures of Sephardic and Oriental Jewry*, Misgav Yerushalayim & Bialik Institute, Jerusalem 2009, pp. *65-85.

6.2 Late Middle Judezmo Period

In the Early Middle Judezmo period, the Sephardim of the Ottoman Empire continued to use Hispanisms to denote most elements of realia which they had already known in Spain. But by the Late Middle Judezmo period—which in this respect now appears to have begun as early as the second half of the seventeenth century—Ottomanisms had begun to take the place of some of these as well.

6.2.1 Flora, fauna, and their derivatives

An illustration of the extension of the semantic fields to which Turkish and other languages of the Ottoman Empire contributed to Judezmo from this period on is the significant replacement by Ottomanisms of the Hispanic-origin names previously used for some of the raw fruits, vegetables, flowers, and nuts, as well as seafood, and the substances and foods derived from them, which had commonly been found in Spain. In the Ottoman Empire, agriculture was primarily in the hands of the Turkish and other peasantry, who spoke Turkish and other local languages; and Greeks engaged in fishing. Through direct interaction with their Gentile neighbors in market places, coffee houses and taverns, and at street vendors' stands, and with non-Jews who worked in their homes, Jews acquired knowledge of the Ottoman terminology relating to foods and their preparation. Thus it was natural for Judezmo speakers to borrow terms from the neighboring peoples relating to agriculture, seafood, cuisine, and the like, and even to adopt their dishes, when adapted to Jewish dietary laws. Some of the earliest examples of this incorporation are found in the classic, multi-volume Judezmo anthology of biblical exegesis, *Me'am lo'ez*, initiated by Rabbi Ya'aqov Xulí (b. Jerusalem? 1689?, d. Constantinople 1732).³⁹ Many of the terms appear in Xulí's first volume, on Genesis (Istanbul 1730), and in his treatment of the first half of Exodus (Istanbul 1733). In the latter volume they are especially pivotal in the author's discussions of the Passover holiday, such as the preparation of vessels for holiday use, and the suitability of specific foods for consumption during the holiday. Additional terms appear in other culinary-related contexts, such as the proper benediction required before and after the consumption of specific foods, and their preparation, and serving and storage methods.

39 Numerous food and especially drug substances are already documented in the Judezmo manuscript from the Ottoman Empire, written around 1600, published by Cynthia M. Crews ("One Hundred Medical Recipes" [Note 25 above]). But most of these terms were probably known only to popular medical practitioners and druggists, whereas the terms appearing in Xulí's works were probably known to the average Judezmo speaker of his time.

Of particular interest is the fact that Xuli (and other authors) occasionally note the Turkish origin of the borrowings (e.g., “*dudaim en el kanpo, ke es una yerva ke se yama en turkesko yasmín*” [see number 8 below]), and state that certain foods are actually ‘called’ (J. *se yama*, H. *niqra*) by Ottoman names, or various rare food terms ‘mean’ (*keren dezir*) the foods currently known by those names, as opposed to synonyms of Hispanic origin, which were apparently used in older literary texts known to the authors but were no longer used in everyday speech (e.g., “*El tabako ke lo yaman burnû tutûn*” [see no. 2 below], “*Los garvansos ke se yaman leblebizes*” [no. 17], “*salamura ke se yama truši*” [no. 20], “*poros, kere dezir prasa*” [no. 21]).

In the following list, Ottoman-origin terms for raw food substances appearing in Xuli’s volumes are noted. Unless otherwise indicated in the footnotes, Xuli’s volumes from 1730 and 1733 constitute the earliest documentation of these lexeme(s), printed in bold.

Xuli 1730

- 1 *Las ke se dize en eyas minê besamim son, almiskle, (h)anber*⁴⁰[...] Those [flowers] over which one says [the] “kinds of spices”⁴¹ [benediction] are musk, **musk-mallow**[...] (f. 149a).
- 2 *El tabako ke lo yaman burnû tutûn*⁴² [...] *tyene bwen gwezmo.* The tobacco that they call burnû tutûn (**snuff**) has a good fragrance (f. 149a).
- 3 *La perla [...] es de unas kâškaras de estridya*⁴³ *ke se yaman en ‘arabe sedef*⁴⁴ A pearl [...] is from shells of the **oyster**, which are called in Arabic sedef (**mother-of-pearl**) (f. 15a).
- 4 *Las ke se dize en eyas isbê besamim son estas, menekše*⁴⁵ *fulyas*⁴⁶ *rudá, zambakes*⁴⁷[...]

40 Cf. T. *amber* (*çiçeği*) ‘musk-mallow’ < P. *an-/ambar*, A. *’anbar*.

41 Cf. benediction “Blessed are You, Lord, our God, King of the Universe, who creates various kinds of spices” (... *bore mine bēsamim*).

42 Cf. T. *burnu* (< *burun*), *tutun*. E.g., “מעלה עשן טוטון” ‘He smokes tobacco’ (Hayyim ben Yišra’el Benveniste [b. Constantinople, 1603, d. Izmir, 1673], *Sefer ba’e hayye mišū’t heleq y[ore]’de[ʿa] niqra ʿeš hadaʿat*, Salonika 1788 [reprinted Ashdod 1997], no. 142, from Izmir 1660). The word also appears in Crews, “One Hundred Medical Recipes” (Note 25 above), p. 259.

43 Cf. T. *ist(i)ridye* < G. *ostereidi*.

44 Spelled with word-initial *šadi* <š>; cf. T. *sedef* < A. *šadaf*.

45 Cf. T. *menekše* < P. *benefše*. *Menekše* appears in the medical manuscript of around 1600 published by Crews (“One Hundred Medical Recipes” [Note 25 above], p. 248).

46 Cf. T. *fulya* < I. *foglia*.

47 Cf. T. *zambak* < A. *zanbaq*.

- Those [flowers] over which one says “kinds of herbs” are these, **violets, jonquils, rue, lilies** [...] (f. 149a).
- 5 *Los guzanos ke ay en el paz⁴⁸ i espinaka i yaprakes⁴⁹* [...] The worms that there are in the **chard** and spinach and **vineleaves** [...] (f. 120b).
- 6 *Lavando los peškados dyentro del agwa a kitarles la salamura⁵⁰* [...] Washing the fish in water to remove the **brine** [...] (f. 2b).
- 7 *Tomava un punyadiko de tyera kon un poko de samān⁵¹ i lo rongava.* He took a small fistful of earth with a little straw and threw it (f. 81a).
- 8 *Ut agaḡi,⁵² ḡingivire, yasmīn,⁵³ morta, pimiyenta, trandafilās,⁵⁴ en todas estas dirā asé besamim.*
Indian aloe, ginger, **jasmine**, myrtle, pepper, **roses**, over all these one will say “spice trees”⁵⁵ (f. 149a).
- 9 *Asemežan delante de el komo un graniko de xardal⁵⁶ en la mar.* They seem to Him like a small grain of **mustard (seed)** in the sea (f. 13a).
- 10 *Eskondyō a eyos Yaakov de bašo del ārvol yabani⁵⁷ ke serka de Šexem.* Jacob hid them under the **uncultivated** tree near Shehem (f. 174b).

48 Cf. T. *pazi* < P. *paju*.

49 Cf. T. *yaparak*. Seventeenth-century: “בתוך קדרה של חמין יאפראקיש שמו עליהם ביצים” ‘in a pot of hot Sabbath food, grape leaves, they put eggs on top’ (Me’ir ben ‘Avraham de Botōn [c. 1575–1649], *Sefer šē’elot utšuvot*, Izmir 1660 [republished Jerusalem 1983], no. 29).

50 Cf. T. *salamura*, cf. G. *salamouira*, V. *salamora*.

51 Cf. T. *saman*.

52 Cf. T. *ōd* [< A. *ūd*] *aḡaci*. Cf. ot in Crews, “One Hundred Medical Recipes” [Note 25 above], p. 249.

53 Cf. T. *yasemin* < P. *yāsemen*. Sixteenth-century: “הביא פרחי יאסמין” ‘He brought jasmine petals’ (Pinto, *Nivhar mikesev* [Note 20 above], no. 31). Ya‘aqov ben Maxir Xulī (*Me‘am lo‘ez* [...] *bērešit*, Constantinople 1730, f. 159b) noted the Turkish origin of the word: “*Topō dudaim en el kanpo, ke es una yerva ke se yama en turkesko yasmīn, ke tyene bwen gwezmo*” ‘He found mandrakes in the field, which are an herb that is called in Turkish *yasmīn*, which has a good smell’.

54 Cf. G. *triandāfylo*.

55 Cf. benediction “Blessed are You, Lord, our God, King of the Universe, who creates spice trees” (... *bore ‘aše bēsamim*).

56 T. *hardal* < A. *xardāl*; cf. also H. חרדל (*hardal*).

57 Cf. T. *yabani* < P. *yābān-ī*.

- 11 *Una have ke su biko era grande kwanto el mušo del sifyo*⁵⁸ [...]
A bird whose beak was as long as the sword of a swordfish [...] (f. 146a)

Xuli 1733:

- 12 *En los konfites de anason*⁵⁹ [...] *dirá šeakol* [...]
Over candies from **aniseed** one will say [the benediction] “everything”⁶⁰ [...] (f. 193b).
13 *En los konfites de [...] fistukes*⁶¹ *dirá aès* [...]
Over candies from [...] **pistachio** one will say [the benediction] “creates the fruit of the tree”⁶² [...] (f. 193b).
14 *Si [...] topó unos kwantos trigitos [...] dyentro de la givra*,⁶³ *akel rakt*⁶⁴ *es xamés*.
If [...] he found some small grains of wheat [...] inside the **residue** of [of the *raki*], that *raki* (**brandy**) is leavened [and thus prohibited during Passover] (f. 52b).
15 *En Misráyim ay unos karpuzes*⁶⁵ *ke son yenos de kaldo* [...]
In Egypt there are **watermelons** that are full of juice [...] (f. 192b).

- 58 Cf. G. *ksifias*. Note the following distinction between the perhaps formal, literary term found in some texts, and the term by which the fish is called among Judezmo speakers: “*Un peškado ke se yama peše espada i lo yamamos nozotros sifyo*” ‘A fish that is called sword fish and we call it *sifyo*’ (Yišaq Magriso, *Sefer me’am lo’ez heleq šeliši sefer wayiqra*, Constantinople 1753, f. 43b).
59 Cf. T. *anason* < G. *anison*. The word appears in the manuscript published by Crews (“One Hundred Medical Recipes” [Note 25 above], p. 232).
60 Cf. benediction “Blessed are You, Lord, our God, King of the Universe, through Whose word everything comes into being” (... *šehakol nihya bidvaro*).
61 Cf. T. *fistuk* < A. *fustuq* < P. *piste*. The form *fustukes* appears in the manuscript published by Crews (“One Hundred Medical Recipes” [Note 25 above], p. 240).
62 Cf. benediction “Blessed are You, Lord, our God, King of the Universe, who creates the fruit of the tree” (... *bore pèri ha’eš*).
63 Cf. T. *cibre*.
64 Cf. T. *raki* < A. ‘*araqī*. Sixteenth-century: “שאל ממנו [...] שיתן לו לבן א’ לקנות ראקי” ‘He asked him [...] to give him a coin worth a third of a *para* to buy *raki*’ (Šašon, *Torat ’emet* [Note 24 above], no. 6, from Salonika 1597).
65 Cf. T. *karpuz* < P. *xarbūz*. Seventeenth-century: “ה’ר יעקב [...] מצה [...] איש תוגר מוכר קארפוזיש [...] ליהודי א [...]” ‘Rabbi Ya‘aqov [...] found [...] a Turkish man selling watermelons [...] to a Jew’ (Moše ben Ya‘aqov Šalton [1615-1685], *Sefer bēne Moše*, Constantinople 1712, no. 45, from Constantinople 1668); “*Milōn o karpūs*” ‘melon or water-melon’ (Dani’el de Avila Gallego, *Diálogo del kolorado*, Salonika 1601, f. 39a); also in Crews, “One Hundred Medical Recipes” (Note 25 above), p. 252.

- 16 *Myel [...] kitada del kován*.⁶⁶
Honey [...] taken from the **hive** (f. 58b).
- 17 *Los garvansos ke se yaman leblebizés⁶⁷ [...] su beraxá es peri aadamá [...]*
The chickpeas which are called *leblebizés* [...] their benediction is “fruit of the earth”⁶⁸ [...] (f. 191b).
- 18 *Remoža mazís⁶⁹ en agwa*.
He moistens **gall nuts** in water (f. 206a).
- 19 *Mesklan arina o nišasta⁷⁰ dyentro de la myel*.
They mix flour or **starch** into the honey (f. 58b).
- 20 *La kalavasa i koles [...] i anğenaras,⁷¹ ke se yaman alxaršofas en krudas, se dirá šekol, i si son kočas o en salamura, ke se yama truši,⁷² dirá peri aadamá*.
Over pumpkin and cabbages [...] and **artichokes**, which are called *alxaršofas* when uncooked, one will say [the benediction] “everything [comes into being]”, and if they are cooked or are in brine, which is called *truši*, one will say [the benediction] “fruit of the earth” [...] (f. 191b).
- 21 *Les tenia savor de [...] poros, kere dezir prasa*.⁷³
It tasted to them like [...] allium porrum, meaning **leeks** (f. 142a-142b).

66 Cf. T. *kovan*.

67 Cf. T. *leblebi* < P. *leblebi*.

68 Cf. benediction “Blessed are You, Lord, our God, King of the Universe, who creates the fruit of the earth” (... *bore pēri ha’adama*).

69 Cf. T. *mazi* < P. *māzū*. *Mazi preto* ‘black gall-nut’ appears in the medical manuscript published by Crews (“One Hundred Medical Recipes” [Note 25 above], p. 248).

70 Cf. T. *nišasta* < P. *nišaste*. The form *nišaste* appears in the medical manuscript published by Crews (“One Hundred Medical Recipes” [Note 25 above], p. 247).

71 Cf. T. *enginar*, G. *angināra*.

72 Cf. T. *turşu* < P. *turşi*. Sixteenth-century: “*el navo [...] si está kočo o en truši kon vinagre o kon mostaza [...]*” ‘turnips, if cooked or pickled in vinegar or mustard [...]’ (*Livro lyamado en lašōn hakōdeš Šulxān hapanim i en lađino Meza de el alma*, [Šēmu’el Benveniste, tr.], Salonika 1568, f. 37a; see discussion in Cynthia M. Crews, “Some Linguistic Comments on Oriental and Moroccan Judeo-Spanish”, *Estudios Sefardies* 2 [1979], pp. 3-20 [p. 20]).

73 Cf. T. *pirasa*. Seventeenth-century: “*I tomaron ižos de Yaakov sovre la ġente de Gáas [...] i los kortaron al mođo ke kortan prasa* ‘And the sons of Jacob turned on the people of Ga’ash, and cut them like one cuts leeks’ (Moshe Lazar [ed.], *Sēfer ha-yāšār: First Ladino translation* [Haverford College, Ms. Hebr. 18], Labyrinthos, Lancaster Ca. 1998, p. 252 [from the second half of the seventeenth century]); Crews, “One Hundred Medical Recipes [Note 25 above], p. 250; “אחד שמכר מאה אוקואשן של כרתי לחברו פראש”ה בלעז” ‘One

- 22 *Aùn ke kortò la vedrura en pedasikos muy menuços komo la salata⁷⁴ [...] no se demuða su beraxà [...]*
 Even if he cut the vegetable into very fine little pieces like a **salad** [...] its benediction does not change [...] (f. 191b).
- 23 *En el susam⁷⁵ se dize bore perì aadamà i si se molyò en molino para kitar su azeyte i kome lo ke sovra, ke se yama kuspà⁷⁶ dirà šekol [...]*
 Over **sesame** one says “creates the fruit of the earth” and if one ground it in a grinder to extract the oil and eats the residue, which is called **kuspà**, he will say “everything” [...] (f. 191b).
- 24 *Los kweškos de šeftelì no se dize beraxà del todo en-eyos.⁷⁷*
 On peach pits one does not say a benediction at all. (f. 189b).
- 25 *Despwès de beber [...] šerbet⁷⁸ de kaysis⁷⁹ dirà borè nefāšòθ [...]*
 After drinking [...] **sherbet** from **apricots** he will say “Creator of all life”⁸⁰ [...] (f. 192a).
- 26 *En [...] višnas⁸¹ [...] se dize en eyos borè perì aès [...]*

who sold 100 *okkas* of leeks to his associate, *prasa* in Laʿaz [Judezmo]’ (Yaʿaqov ben Hayyim Alfandari [1620-1695], *Sefer mušal me ʿeš*, vol. 2, Constantinople, 1736 [reprinted Jerusalem, 1998, from Pressburg, 1878 edition], no. 11). Note that the author states that ‘*karti* (leeks) is *prasa* in Laʿaz’; i.e., he identifies *prasa* as a Judezmo lexeme.

- 74 Cf. T. *salata* < I. *insalata*. Seventeenth-century: “בסעודות גדולות של בשר [...] מביאין סאלאט”ה’ ‘In large feasts with meat [...] they bring salad and pickled cucumbers [...] to stimulate the appetite’ (ʿAvraham ben Mordēxay HaLewi [b. c. 1650], *Sefer gimnat wēradim*, Constantinople, 1715-17 [reprinted Jerusalem, n.d.], ‘*Orah hayyim, kēlal* 1, sec. 30).
- 75 Cf. T. *susam* < A. *susam* (sīsām).
- 76 Cf. T. *kūspe* < P. *kusbe*.
- 77 Cf. T. *šeftali* < P. *šeft-ālū*.
- 78 Cf. T. *šerbet* < A. *šarbat* (through Persian). Sixteenth-century: “*agwa de možadura de pasas i figos o su kozeðurà ke (l)yaman šeyrbet* <שׁײרביט> ‘raisin and fig juice or compote that they call *šeyrbet*’ ([Benveniste, tr.], *Meza de el alma* [Note 72 above], f. 35b; see discussion in Crews, “Some Linguistic Comments” [Note 25 above], p. 20).
- 79 Cf. T. *kayısı*.
- 80 Cf. benediction “Blessed are You, Lord, our God, King of the Universe, Creator of all life and its needs” (... *bore nefāšot rabbot*).
- 81 Cf. T. *višne*, SC. *višnja*, B. *višna*. Seventeenth-century: “מרקחת מגדגניות והם הנקר’ וישנאש’ ‘a spread from morello cherries which are called *višnas* and they are [referred to in older texts as] *gindas* [sic; cf. S. *guindas*], and they also make a drink from them with honey and sugar which is called

Over [...] **morello cherries** [...], one says “creates the fruit of the tree” [...] (f. 192a).

- 27 *Las nwezes ke no las sembran para azerlas dulce estando xames⁸² [...] su dērex es de komerlas por fruta despwēs ke se gizan byen en-el ārvol [...]*

Nuts that are not sowed for making jam since they are **bitter/unripe** [...] their way is to eat them as fruit after they have ripened well on the tree [...] (f. 193b).

- 28 *Azer šerbet, kere dezir de remožar pasas o zerdelis⁸³ o resto de fruta seka, segun azen en el enverano [...]*

To make sherbet, meaning to soak raisins or **wild apricots** or other dried fruit, as they do in the summer [...] (f. 203a).

- 29 *I liryos i zirni kadēs⁸⁴ i zimbul hindi,⁸⁵ ke son mođos de konservas, su beraxā es perī aadamā [...]*

And violets and **jonquils** [...] and **spikenard** which are [used in] types of jams, their benediction is “fruit of the earth” [...] (f. 193b).

Furthermore, by the early eighteenth century time, Judezmo speakers evidenced an increasing familiarity with, and in fact incorporation into the local Jewish cuisine, of prepared foods which played a role in the rich Ottoman culinary tradition. These items, too, as well as their categorizations, were generally borrowed into Judezmo together with their Ottoman names, as evidenced in Xulí’s volume from 1733, with its extensive discussion of foods and utensils, especially within the framework of Passover:

xošap/-f [cf. T. *hoşaf/-b* < P. *xoš-āb* ‘drink of stewed fruit’] (Benveniste, *Ba’e hayye [...]* *y[ore]’de[’a]* [...] ‘*es hada’at* [Note 42 above], no. 127, from Izmir 1661).

- 82 Cf. T. *ham* < P. *xām*. E.g., “*Sovre fruta xam i kaida šeakol bendizirās*” ‘Over unripe and fallen fruit you will pronounce the benediction “everything”’ (‘Avraham ben Yishaq ‘Asa [tr.], *Letras de ribi Akivā*, Constantinople 1729, section 2, f. 6a). *Xam* already appears in the Judezmo manuscript from around 1600 published by Crews (“One Hundred Medical Recipes” [Note 25 above], p. 243).

- 83 Cf. T. *zerdali* < P. *zerdālū*.

- 84 Cf. T. *zerrin kadeh*, P. *zerrīn*, A. *qadaḥ*. Seventeenth-century: “השושנים הנז’ היו קלאיילינא” ‘*And the said flowers were one carnation and jonquils with five little branches of filigree* [cf. T. *sırma*]’ (Yosef ben Moše Mitrani [= Mahariḥ, 1568-1639], *Šē’elot utšuvot [...]* *lēharav [...]* *Yosef ben [...]* *Moše Mitrani*, vol. two, Venice 1645 [republished Bene Beraq 1994], ‘*Even ha’ezer*’, no. 39).

- 85 Cf. T. *sūmbūli hindi* < P. *sunbuli hindi*. The form *zimbul hindi* and other variants appear in the manuscript published by Crews (“One Hundred Medical Recipes” [Note 25 above], p. 257).

- 30 *El simit⁸⁶ ke lo yaman čorek⁸⁷ o anasonlís [...]*
The **round, crisp bread with sesame seeds** that they call *čorek* or *anasonlís* (aniseed bread) [...] (f. 188b).
- 31 *Fidalgo [...] kome [...] medyo čorekito⁸⁸*
A dainty aristocrat eats only half a **little ring-shaped bread** (f. 189a).
- 32 *Las baklabás⁸⁹ de kezo ke trayen en las fyestas al prisipyo de la seudá [...]*
The cheese pastries that they bring in during celebrations at the beginning of the festive meal [...] (f. 190b).
- 33 *Tavlá⁹⁰ de fyero ke la ponen sovre la bogāča.⁹¹*
An iron **tray** that they put on top of the **loaf/pastry** (f. 59b).
- 34 *En boyos o borekas⁹² [...] dirá amosí.*
Over round pastries and **flaky pastries** [...] he will say “Who brings forth”⁹³ (f. 194b).
- 35 *I lo mezmo es en čorbá⁹⁴ de arōz kwando el grano está entero [...]*
And the same is true of rice **soup** when the grain is whole [...] (f. 191b).
- 36 *En la alatrea ke se yama eskolača⁹⁵ [...] ay safek en su beraxá.*
Regarding the noodles that are called *eskolača* [**fried vermicelli**] [...] there is doubt concerning the benediction (f. 188b).

86 Cf. T. *simít* < A. *samid*. Seventeenth-century (with pl. *simites*): “גוייה אחת שעושה סימיטיש” [...] ‘a Gentile woman who makes round, crisp breads’ (Benveniste, *Ba’e hayye [...]* y[fore]’de[‘a]] [...] ‘es hada’at [Note 42 above], no. 153).

87 Cf. T. *čōrek*.

88 Cf. T. *čōrek* + J./S. dimin. *-ito*.

89 Cf. T. *baklava*.

90 Cf. T. *tabla* < A. *tabla*.

91 Cf. T. *boğaça* < I. *focaccia*. *Bogača* is offered in the anonymous Bible glossary *Sefer hešeq Šelomo* (Venice 1588, ff. 12b, 31b) as the translation of (*wé*)*kikkar* (וככר) ‘and one loaf of bread’ in Exodus 29:23 and *šēlil* (צליל) ‘a slice [of barley bread]’ in Judges 7:13.

92 Cf. T. *bōrek*. Earlier: “*Boreka i boyiko, [...] si komistes por artar, netilá i amosi kere adelantar*” ‘flaky-dough or round filled pastry, [...] if you eat them to be sated, they should be preceded by the benedictions over hand washing and bread eating’ (‘Asa, *Letras de ribi Akivá* [Note 82 above], sec. 2, f. 7a).

93 Cf. benediction “Blessed are You, Lord, our God, King of the Universe, who brings forth bread from the earth” (... *hamosí lehem min ha’areš*).

94 Cf. T. *čorba* < P. *šorbá*.

95 Cf. SC. *kolač*, also G. *skoulíki* ‘worms’, J./S. *es*-[base]-*a*; see Max L. Wagner, “Espiguelo judeo-español”, *Revista de Filología Española* 34 (1950), 9-106 (p. 51); Petar Skok,

- 37 *Kwando beve el kahvê*⁹⁶ [...]
 When one drinks **Turkish coffee** [...] (f. 32b).
- 38 *Dan as[pros] a-el del kaymak*⁹⁷
 They give money to the man who sells the **cream** (f. 135b).
- 39 *Las manuras*⁹⁸ *ke azen [...] son masod delgađas ke las gizan enteras i las komen kon kezo komo koza de masa.*
 The *manuras* [**cheese and matzah dish**] they make [...] are thin matzoth that they cook whole and eat with cheese as a doughy food (f. 198a).
- 40 *En-el envyerno [...] uzan a komer pačás*⁹⁹ *kon ažos i vinagre.*
 In the winter [...] they are used to eating [a dish made from] **leg of mutton** with garlic and vinegar (f. 205b).
- 41 *El xavyari*¹⁰⁰ *ke azen de abotáraxo*¹⁰¹ [...]
 The **caviar** they make from **egg roe preserved in brine** (f. 205b).

Etimologijski rječnik hrvatskoga ili srpskoga jezika, Jugoslavenska Akademija Znanosti i Umjetnosti, Zagreb 1971-74, vol. 2, p. 122.

- 96 Cf. T. *kahve* < A. *qahwa*. Sixteenth-century: "והנות הקהווא [...] and the coffee shop [...]" (Mitrani, *Sefer šē'elot utšuvot Mabbib*, vol. 2, part 2 [Note 37 above], no. 150). The word is also used by Xulí (*Me'am lo'ez [...] bērešit* [Note 53 above], f. 100a): "*Kwando se vižitan una a la otra [...] lo uzaron de dar kahvê kon mođos de dulce i kon saluđar a la patrona de kaza, dizaendo, 'En bođas de gwestros izos'*" 'When the women visit one another [...] they used to give coffee with various types of sweets and they [i.e., the recipients] greet the woman of the house, saying "[May it be so] at the weddings of your children" '.
- 97 Cf. T. *kaymak*. E.g., "הני דאכלי קיימאק [...] הקאיימאקיש" 'those who eat cream [...] the creams [...]' (Benveniste, *Ba'e hayye [...] y[ore]"de[^ca][...] 'eš hada'at* [Note 42 above], no. 159, from Tiria 1645).
- 98 Cf. G. *manoūri* 'kind of soft white cheese'.
- 99 Cf. T. *paça* < P. *pāçe* 'little foot' < *pā* 'foot', dim. suffix *-če*. Xulí (*Me'am lo'ez [...] šemot*, Constantinople 1733, f. 280b) employed the word *pačā* to explain the meaning of Hebrew *arkuvā* (ארקובה) 'the leg from under the hip bone to the ankle' (Marcus Jastrow, *A Dictionary of the Targumim...*, Luzac, London 1903, 121: E.g., "*Los pyes de la beemā [...] el pye está en tres partes. El de abašo se yama 'arkuvā', ke son las pačás*" 'The legs of cattle are in three parts. The lower part is called the *arkuvā*, which are the *pačás*'.
- 100 Cf. T. *havyar*, G. *xavyāri*.
- 101 Cf. G. *avgotáraxo*. The form *avgotáraxas* already appears in the sixteenth century: cf. "נמצאנו בבית ה'ר יעקב והיו ביד בנו ראובן ביצי דגים הנקראים אבגוטראגאש [...] בעיר ברוסה" 'We were in the house of Rabbi Ya'aqov and his son Re'even had in his hand roe called *avgotáraxas* [...] in the city of Bursa' (Tam [Ya'qov] ben David 'Ibn Yahya [1470?-1541], *Šē'elot utšuvot 'ahōle Tam, Tummat vēšarim*, Venice 1622 [republished Jerusalem 1999], no. 82).

- 42 *La **pasturmā** [...] es koza ke ay en-eya espesyas i pimiyenta.*¹⁰²
Pasturmā (dried, preserved meat) [...] is something that has spices and pepper (f. 59a).
- 43 *Salremos a-kamino en-el dezyerto sin tener **komanya**.*¹⁰³
 We shall set out on the road in the desert without **provisions of food** (f. 68b).
- 44 *Las **melôpitas***¹⁰⁴ *[...] las ponen en-el tafsîn.*¹⁰⁵
 Honey pastries [...] they put on the **small copper tray** (f. 58b).
- 45 *En-el aröz, si lo kome kočo kwando está el grano entero, ke se yama **pilaf***¹⁰⁶
*o aröz **tanē**,*¹⁰⁷ *su beraxā es bore perî aadāmā [...]*
 Over rice, if one eats it cooked in whole grain form, which is called **pilaf** or **tanē (individual grain)** rice, its benediction is “creates the fruit of the earth” (f. 191b).
- 46 *El **salep***¹⁰⁸ *[...] es un bevraže dulce ke lo beven en-el envyerno kayente kayente i se beve [...] a sorvo a sorvo.*
Salep¹⁰⁹ [...] is a sweet drink that they drink very hot in the winter and it is drunk [...] one sip at a time (f. 187b).
- 47 *El **suguk***¹¹⁰ *ke se venden por estas partes [...] tyene din del **malbēn**.*¹¹¹

102 Cf. T. *b-/pasturma*. Note the early variant *pastirmā*: “היהודי ההוא היה קצב בשוורים בזמן שעושים” “הפאשטירמה” ‘That Jew was a butcher of cattle at the time they make dried, preserved meat’ (‘Ibn Yahya, *Šē’elot utšuvot ‘ahōle Tam*, no. 74).

103 Cf. T. *kumanya*, I. *compagna* and other Romance forms denoting ‘ship’s provisions’ (Henry & Renée Kahane & Andreas Tietze, *The Lingua Franca in the Levant*, University of Illinois, Urbana 1958, no. 212).

104 Cf. G. *melôpita*. The base, *pita* ‘flat, filled bread’ (cf. T. *pide/-te*, G. *píta*, SC., B. *píta*) appears in the medical manuscript from around 1600 published by Crews (“One Hundred Medical Recipes” [Note 25 above], p. 250); cf. also “*Se kozyò i se izo komo pitas*” ‘It was cooked and became like flat, filled breads’ (‘Avraham ben Yisḥaq ‘Asa, *Sefer šulḥan hamelex, es xibur de šulxān arux [ōrax xayim] kopyado en lađino*, Constantinople 1749, f. 157b).

105 Cf. T. *tepsi*.

106 Cf. T. *pilaf* < P. *pe-pilāv*.

107 Cf. T. *tane* < P. *dāne*.

108 Cf. T. *salep*, variant *sahleb* < A. *sahlab*. In the manuscript from around 1600 published by Crews (“One Hundred Medical Recipes [Note 25 above], p. 255) one finds the Arabicized spelling *s[a]hl[a]b* <סחלב.

109 A drink made from powdered *Orchis mascula* root.

110 Cf. T. *sucuk*.

111 Cf. Ar. *malban*. Note the following description offered by Re’uven Ben ‘Avraham ‘of Štip’ (*Sefer tiqqune hanefes*, vol. 2, Salonika 1775, ff. 51a-51b: “*En Xevrōn azen una koza dulce*

The **corn-starch-and-nutroll candy** that they sell in these regions [...] is governed by the same dietary law as the *malbén* (**fruit-jelly-like sweet**). (f. 188b).

48 *Pēsax [...] la taxina*¹¹² *es pekado de komerla.*

During Passover [...] it is a sin to eat **tahina** paste (f. 55b).

Additional terms appear in Xulí's volumes in other culinary-related halakhic contexts, such as the proper benediction required before and after the consumption of specific foods. Some terms denote implements, vessels, and measures used in the preparation, serving, or storage of foods.

Xulí 1730:

49 *Bever una čanaka*¹¹³ *de vino [...]*

To drink a **pot** of wine [...] (f. 145b).

50 *Rompyò un ġaro de čini*.¹¹⁴

He broke a **china** jar (f. 37a).

51 *Tenia una kavra i [...] de su kwero izyeron una kirbá*¹¹⁵ *para inčir agwa kon eya.*

She had a goat and from its skin they made a **liquid bag** to fill with water (f. 112b).

52 *Un boteziko byen siyado i pwesto dyentro de un kuti*¹¹⁶ [...]

A little bottle well sealed and put inside a **tin box** [...] (f. 81b).

ke se yama malbén i es arope ke-lo buyen mučo i enmleskan en el sémola para ke-se espeze i despwès lo eskuđian en tavlás ančas i se kwažan i-se azen komo la pitagra" 'In Hebron they make something sweet that is called *malbén* and it is grape syrup that they boil a lot and mix with semolina so that it thickens and afterwards they pour it on wide trays and it congeals and becomes like apricot leather'.

112 Cf. T. *tahin* < A. *taḥīn*. 16-17th century: "שאלת על הטאחי"נה שמוציאין ממנה שמן שומשמיץ" 'You asked about the sesame paste from which they extract sesame oil' (Mordēxay ben Yēhuda HaLewi [Egypt, b. c. 1520, d. 1684], *Sefer darxe no'am*, Venice 1697 [reprinted Ashdod 1997], 'Orah hayyim, no. 6).

113 Cf. T. *čanak* + J./S. femininizing *-a*.

114 Cf. T. *čini* < P. *čini* < Činī 'China'.

115 Cf. T. *kirba* < A. *qirba*.

116 Cf. T. *kutu*, G. (neuter) *koutí*. Seventeenth-century: "ראובן גבה קצת מעות [...] והניחם בחנותו" 'Rē'aven collected a few coins [...] and placed them in his shop in a tin box' ('Ahāron Lapapa [b. Manisa c. 1590, d. 1667], *Sefer bēne 'Ahāron*, Izmir 1674 [republished Jerusalem 1990], no. 75).

- Deve la presona de aparežar el **librik**¹¹⁷ i el **ligén**¹¹⁸ a los pyes de su kama.*
A person should prepare the **ewer** and **basin** at the foot of his bed (f. 28b).
- 54 *Apareža tres mezuras [...] de sémola, 18 **okás**.*¹¹⁹
Prepare three measures [...] of semolina, 18 **Turkish okes**¹²⁰ (f. 99a).
- 55 *Si se orina la kriyatura [...] akuden presto kon algün **peškír**¹²¹ para alimpyarlo.*
If the child urinates on himself [...] they hasten to bring some **table napkin** to clean him (f. 176b).
- 56 *Un **tulum**¹²² yeno de vyento, [...] avyendo en el algün burakito, no es posivle ke ture el vyento en el.*
A **goat-skin bag** full of air [...], if it has a small hole in it, the air cannot remain in it (f. 19b).

Xulí 1733:

- 57 *Los **librikitos**¹²³ de kahvè [...], si es ke su boka es muy estreča, no los syerve agalã.*
Little **pots for coffee** [...], if their spouts are very narrow, they cannot be made fit for Passover use through boiling (f. 60b).
- 58 *Los espetos i **eskalas**¹²⁴ i **mašás**¹²⁵ [...] ke se syerve de eyos ensima de la lumbre [...]*
The spits and grills and tongs [...] that they use over the [cooking] fire (f. 60a).

117 Cf. T. *ibrik* < A. *ibrīq*.

118 Cf. T. *le-/liġen* < P. *legen* ‘anything mixed up with clay’.

119 Cf. T. *okka* < A. ‘*uqqa* < L. *unica*. Sixteenth-century: “נתן רבי שמעון [הנזכר] סך אוקאש אנייר, [...] ועלו הסך מהאוקאש, סך כל אוקה [...]” (De Medina, *Šē’elot utšuvot Maharašdam, Hošen mišpaṭ* [Note 22], no. 53, from 1544); “*Tomō una pyedra de la tyera ke pezava sesenta okás*” ‘He took a stone from the earth which weighed seventy okes’ (Lazar, *Sēfer ha-yāšār* [Note 73 above], p. 240); Crews, “One Hundred Medical Recipes” [Note 25 above], p. 249, abbreviated *ok* ‘אוק’.

120 The Turkish oke is equivalent to 400 dirhems, 2.8 pounds, or 1,225 grams.

121 Cf. T. *peškír* < P. *pešgir*. The word is also mentioned by Xulí in his 1730 volume on Genesis (*Me’am lo’ez [...] bērešit* [Note 53 above], f. 176b).

122 Cf. T. *tulum*.

123 Cf. T. *ibrik* < A. *ibrīq* + J/S. dimin. *-ito*.

124 Cf. G. *skāra*.

125 Cf. T. *maša* < P. *māse*.

- 59 *Los [...] platos de farfuri¹²⁶ [...] no se pweđe servir de eyos en pèsax.*
China plates [...] cannot be used during Passover (f. 59b).
- 60 *La have [sic] [...] ke, estando bolando [...], si esbatyò de una [...] sovre kwal ker koza dura komo balas o ferdés¹²⁷ [...] de [...] trigo [...]*
 A bird [...] which, while flying [...], if it suddenly hit against anything hard such as bales or **sacks** [...] of [...] wheat [...] (f. 282a).
- 61 *Kelim de pèsax [...], kučiyos i finġanes¹²⁸ [...]*
 Passover vessels [...], knives and **coffee cups** [...] (f. 52b).
- 62 *Antes de dezir kiduš [...] se deve gostar del vino en un finġaniko aparte [...]*
 Before saying the sanctification over wine one must taste the wine in a separate little **coffee cup** [...] (f. 192b).
- 63 *Uzan de gizar komiđa [...] en el kapak¹²⁹ de la kaldera.*
 They are accustomed to cooking food [...] on the **cover** of the cauldron (f. 60b).
- 64 *Izo un enġenyo de azer un kapakito de tavla para akel burako.*
 They came up with the idea of making a **little cover** of wood for that hole (f. 308a).
- 65 *Si no topa kântaro nwevo tomará una kuvá¹³⁰ o un bariliko.*
 If he does not find a new jug he will take a **bucket** or little barrel (f. 56b).
- 66 *Verá de ponerlas [las masoθ] dyentro de un paneri.¹³¹*
 He will see to putting [the unleavened breads] inside a **basket** (f. 58a).
- 67 *Ġaros i [...] i mortero [...] i pirones¹³² [...], es menester akavidarse de eskaldar al prisipyo los kelim.*
 Pitchers and [...] mortars [...] and **forks** [...], it is necessary to take care to scald the vessels at the beginning (f. 60a).
- 68 *Azen esta mezura de teneke.¹³³*

126 Cf. T. *faġfuri* < P. *faġfuri* (< P. *faġfūr* + A. -i).

127 Cf. T. *ferde* < A. *farda*.

128 Cf. T. *finġan* < A. *finġān*. Seventeenth-century: "נותנין הקהו"ה בפנינ'אן" 'They give the coffee in a little coffee cup' (HaLewi, *Ginnat wēradim* [Note 73 above], 'Orah hayyim, *kēlal* 3, sec. 4)

129 Cf. T. *kapak*. Perhaps an early reflex of this is *kabako* <קאבאק>, used in [Benveniste], *Meza de el alma* (Note 72 above), f. 57b, in the sense of a 'lid' used to cover a vessel.

130 Cf. T. *kova*.

131 Cf. G. *panèri*.

132 Cf. G. *peiroūni*.

133 Cf. T. *teneke*. Sixteenth-century: "[...] ובה [אח'וד] ובה טינקי אה'וד] ובה" 'Each of them had silver chains inside a tin box; and he came [...] and took one tin box' (De Medina, *Šē'elot utšuvot Maharašdam, Hošen mišpaṭ* [Note 22], no. 389).

- They make this measuring device out of **tin** (f. 56b).
- 69 *Sesto de ramas del lulav segun son los **zenbiles**¹³⁴ de Misrayim [...]*
A basket from palm branches as are the **baskets** from Egypt [...] (f. 206b).
- 70 *La **tuvlá**¹³⁵ o pyedra ke tapan el orno [...]*
The **brick** or stone with which they cover the oven [...] (f. 292a).

Furthermore, Xuli's text from 1730 has several terms adopted from the Ottoman milieu referring to the persons involved in food provision, and one of the places in which food was served:

- 71 *La pyerna [...] el **kasap**¹³⁶ ya la purgô.*
The leg {of the slaughtered animal} [...] the **butcher** already removed the forbidden vein from it (f. 169b).
- 72 *Potifar, sinklavo de Parô, [...] era **kasab başı**¹³⁷ del rey.*
Potifar, slave of Pharaoh, [...] was the king's **chief butcher** (f. 185b).
- 73 *Bavonod alguna gente [...] se alevantan demanyana i se van derečo a la **mehana**¹³⁸ i beven raki o vino i de ayi se van al kaal.*
For our sins there are people [...] who get up in the morning and go straight to the **tavern** and drink rakı or wine and from there they go to the synagogue (f. 113b).

134 Cf. T. *zembil* < P. *zinbil*.

135 Cf. T. *tuğla* < L. *tegula*.

136 Spelled <קאסאפ>, cf. T. *kasap* (< A. *qaşşāb*); cf. also H. קצב *qaşav*. Moše Almosnino of 16th-century Salonika used the plural form *kasapes*, with Hispanic-origin -es (cf. Romeu, *Moisès Almosnino* [Note 26 above], p 156). In texts from the modern era there appears an alternate plural employing the Hebrew-origin plural morpheme -im (-ים): *kasapim* <קאסאפֿים> (e.g., *El gugeton* 1 [Constantinople 1909], p. 140).

137 Cf. T. *kasap* (< A. *qaşşāb*) *başı* '(Ottoman) chief butcher, superintendent of the butcher's guild and director of the sheep tax'.

138 Here spelled <מיהאנה>, cf. T. *meyhane* < P. *mey-xāne*. In a rabbinic Hebrew text from the early seventeenth century the word is cited as being in the 'language of Gentiles': "ל...ח עשו את בית הכנסת בית היין של גוים הנקרא בלשונם מיהנא" 'And [...] they made the synagogue a tavern of Gentiles, called in their language *mehana*' (Basan, *Še'elot utsuvot* [Note 20 above], no. 104). But by the second half of the century the word is simply incorporated in a Judezmo sentence without qualifying it as a foreignism: "*Estando yo travazando en mexanê* <מיהאני> *de un arel en Xaskyoy* <האסקיוא> [...]" 'While I was working in the tavern of a Christian in Haskoy [...]' (Salton, Bēne Moše [Note 65 above], no. 45, from Constantinople 1668). The plural *mianot* <מיאנוט>, formed with Hebrew-origin

6.1.2 Other semantic domains

As will be illustrated in the remaining sections of this article, especially from the seventeenth century, Judezmo borrowed lexemes from Turkish and other contact languages of the Ottoman Empire relating to numerous other domains of realia. Attesting to a deeper knowledge of the Ottoman milieu and its languages, now the borrowings also included lexemes denoting abstractions, such as ‘obstinacy’ (e.g., *pizma*¹³⁹ < G. *peïσμα*, *inat*¹⁴⁰ < T. *inat* < A. *‘inād*), ‘offense’ (e.g., *kabaet*¹⁴¹ < T. *kabahat* < A. *qabāhat*), ‘vengeance’ (e.g., *intikam*¹⁴² < T. *intikam* < A. *‘intiḡām*), ‘effort’ (e.g., *zaxmet*¹⁴³ < T. *zahmet* < A. *zahma[t]*), ‘ease’ (e.g., *kolaylik*¹⁴⁴ < T. *kolaylık* < *kolay*¹⁴⁵

-od (-ת), appears in *La gwerta de oro* (Livorno 1778, f. 12b), by Sarajevo-born David ‘Atias; but in the modern era the plurals *meanès/-às* < מניאניס/אס-אס >, with Hispanic-origin *-s*, are documented for Izmir and Istanbul, respectively, (e.g., *-ès* in ‘Avraham Palači, *Sefer wēhoxiah ‘Avraham*, 2d ed., Izmir 1877, f. 9b; *-às* in *El ḡugeton* 5:22 [Constantinople 1913], p. 4).

- 139 E.g., “*Se peleō kon eyos Kuçuk Yazığı [...] le gwardaron la pizma*” ‘Little Scribe [cf. T. *küçük yazıcı*] fought with them [...]; they remained stubbornly against him’ (Šelomo ben ‘Aharon Ben/Ibn Hason [Salonika, early 17th century], *Sefer bet Šelomo*, Salonika 1720 [republished Brooklyn, 1991], *Mišpaṭim*, no. 47, from Vidin 1610).
- 140 E.g., “*A la swegra le enbarasa el sinyorio de la rizin venida; la rizin venida kyere mutlak soberyya, ma la vyeža la kyere dešar; i kon estos inates enpesan a gritar*” ‘The mother-in-law is disturbed by the bossiness of her new daughter-in-law; the latter is absolutely [cf. T. *mutlak* < A. *mutlaq*] haughty, but the old woman pays her no mind; and with this stubbornness the two of them start shouting’ (‘Atias, *La gwerta de oro* [Note 138 above], f. 31b).
- 141 E.g., “*Enkomendi ke lo enforkaran por toḡos akeos kabaetes ke izo*” ‘I ordered that they hang him for all those misdemeanors that he committed’ (Yišaḡ Magriso, *Sefer me‘am lo‘ez heleq rēvi‘i [...] sefer bēmidbar*, Constantinople 1764, f. 33a).
- 142 E.g., “*Toma intikam de akeos aniyim*” ‘He takes revenge on those paupers’ (Magriso, *Me‘am lo‘ez [...] bēmidbar* [Note 141 above], ff. 33a-33b).
- 143 E.g., “*Dame mi moneda i te pagarè tu zaxmet*” ‘Give me my money and I’ll pay you for your trouble’ (anon. tr., *‘Arye bamistarim*, Constantinople 1766, f. 4b).
- 144 E.g., “*destruyëndolo [...] kon akel mezmo kolaylik i fasilidad*” ‘destroying it [...] with that same ease and facility’ (‘Atias, *La gwerta de oro* [Note 138 above], f. 4a).
- 145 E.g., “*ד’ שלמה [...] הוא [...] שאמר [...] אני אתן לו את בתי אם ימתין י”ד שנים והשיב הבחור שזה יהיה קולאי*” ‘Rabbi Šelomo [...] is the one [...] who said “I’ll give him my daughter [in marriage] if he will wait 14 years”, and the young man said that it would be easy’ (De Medina, *Šē‘elot utšuvot Maharasdam* [Note 22 above], *‘Even ha‘ezer*, no. 38).

‘easy’), ‘deviltry’ (e.g., *šey(n)tanlik*¹⁴⁶ < T. *şeytanlık* < *şeytan* < A. *šaytān*, J. *šeytān*¹⁴⁷).

7. Phonological shifts

In addition to the sound shift illustrated by the sole form *xoġet* in Late Middle Judezmo resulting from the Early Middle Judezmo variants *xoġete/-i* ~ *xoġet* (< T. *hüccet*), as discussed in section 5 above, the variants of the Judezmo reflexes of Turkish *hüccet* in texts from the sixteenth through eighteenth centuries also illustrate another phenomenon in the transition from Early to Late Middle Judezmo. In the sixteenth and, to a lesser extent, early seventeenth centuries, the Hebrew-letter reflex of the Ottoman Turkish phones denoted by the Arabic consonantal letters *he* <ه>, *xa* <خ> and *ha* <ح> (corresponding to modern Turkish <h>) vacillated between *he* <ה>, perhaps representing [h] (as in English *heart*), more frequent *het* <ח>, probably representing *x*, and rare zero. For example, we find *he* in <ח'גג> (denoting [hoġet]?) in the Salonika 1594–97 edition of the responsa of Šemuel de Medina,¹⁴⁸ as well as in the responsa of Yosef Taitasak (c. 1490–1561)¹⁴⁹ and Estruk Ben Sanči (d. 1643).¹⁵⁰ We find variant *het* in <ח'גג> (representing [xoġet]) in the responsa of Yosef Karo (1488–1575),¹⁵¹ Yišhaq Adarbi (or Adrebi, born c. 1510),¹⁵² Yosef Almosnino (died 1689),¹⁵³ and most other responsa collections from this period.

146 E.g., “*Mas sensya i žeyntanlik se le rekvere oy*” ‘More cleverness and deviltry are required of him today’ (‘Atias, *La gwerta de oro* [Note 138 above], f. 3a).

147 Judezmo *šeytān* does not seem to appear textually before the beginning of the twentieth century.

148 De Medina, *Še’elot utšuvot Maharašdam* [Note 22 above], *Hošen mišpat*, no. 15, from 1577.

149 Yosef ben Šelomo Taitasaq (b. Spain or Portugal, c. 1490, d. Salonika, 1561), *Tėšuvot še’elot lėrabbi Yosef Taitasaq*, ed. Meir Benayahu (reprinted Jerusalem 1987), p. 344.

150 Estruk ben David Ben Sanči (b. Nikopol?, c. 1570, d. Jerusalem?, 1643), *Sefer še’elot utšuvot rabbi Estruk be[n]”ra[bbi] David ibn Sanči*, ed. M. ‘Amar, Bar-Ilan University, Ramat-Gan 1982, no. 32.

151 Yosef Karo (1488–1575), *Še’elot utšuvot ‘avqat roxel*, Salonika 1791 (reprinted Jerusalem 1960), no. 77, from 1550.

152 Adarbi, *Divre rivot* [Note 34 above], no. 189, from 1566.

153 Yosef ben Yishaq Almosnino (b. Salonika?, 1642, d. Nikolsburg, 1689), *Sefer ‘edut biYhosef*, vol. 1, Constantinople 1711, no. 9.

Following the middle of the seventeenth century, consonantal *he* in Judezmo Ottomanisms tended to be absent in the writings of most authors, as was the use of *he* in pre-vocalic position in lexemes of Hispanic origin (e.g., פֿ-/האזיר *azer* replaced פֿ-/האזיר *f-/hazer*, reflecting Old Spanish *fazer*, which ultimately yielded *hacer* in Spanish). In the Hebrew tradition of the Ottoman Judezmo speakers the letter *he* became universally realized as phonological zero (that is, it had no phonological reflection). The Ottoman *h/x/h* consonants came to be reflected almost entirely by *x*-denoting *het*, or zero-denoting 'alef. Thus we find *xoget* <חוגיט> replacing earlier *hoget* <הוגיט> in the Salonika 1797-98 edition of the responsa of Šemu'el de Medina,¹⁵⁴ and the plural form *ogetes* <אוגיטיס>, with etymological *h* now realized as zero, in Xulí's 1730 *Me'am lo'ez* on Genesis (f. 14b).

In his use of *he* in prevocalic position in Ottomanisms, Xulí tended to be more conservative than other Judezmo writers of his period. The *he* he used in the spelling <האנביר>, i.e., "*hanber*", in example no. 1 above—the word undoubtedly being realized as *an-/amber*—is perhaps an attempt to reflect the 'ayn of the Ottoman spelling <عبر> 'nbr; or perhaps it is a hypercorrection, hinting at the author's familiarity with Judezmo spelling of the sixteenth century, when Hispanic word-initial *f-* (from Latin *f-*) was reflected as *f-/h-* <פ'ה>. Xulí also used prevocalic *he* in a few other Ottomanisms: e.g., kahvé <קאהבי> 'Turkish coffee' < T. kahve (no. 37 above), mehaná <מיהאנה> 'tavern' < T. meyhane (no. 73), zimbul hindí <זימבול> 'spikenard' < T. sūmbūli hindi (no. 29). In writings by other authors of the late seventeenth through mid-eighteenth centuries one already finds the older sound reflected in these words as phonological zero, or *x*-indicating *het*, instead of *he*: <קאווי> kavé,¹⁵⁵ <מיהאני> mexané (Constantinople 1668) and <מייאני> meané (1753),¹⁵⁶ <זינבול אינדי> zinbul indí (1746).¹⁵⁷ Xulí also used obviously hypercorrect forms such

154 De Medina, *Še'elot utšuvot Maharašdam* [Note 22 above], Hošen mišpat, no. 15.

155 Cf. <אבק הקאווי> 'the coffee powder' (Pinto, *Nivḥar mikeseḥ* [Note 20 above], no. 2); <קאווי> (Ya'aqov ben Šemu'el Hagiz [=HaManiaḥ, b. Livorno 1620, d. Constantinople 1674], *Sefer halaxot qetanot*, Venice, 1704 [republished Jerusalem 1994], no. 1).

156 Turkish *h* (Ottoman *x*, from Persian *x*) is reflected as *x*-denoting <ח> in <מיהאני> *mexané*, in Šalton, *Bene Moše* [Note 65 above], no. 45, from Constantinople 1668; and as phonological zero in <מייאני> *meané*, in Magriso, *Me'am lo'ez* [...] *wayiqra* [Note 58 above], f. 33b.

157 Turkish *h* (from Arabic *h*) is reflected as zero in <זינבול אינדי> *zinbul indí* in Yīšḥaq Magriso, *Sefer me'am lo'ez ḥeleq šeni misefer šemot*, Constantinople 1746, f. 42b, who cites the word as Turkish: "El šibōleṯ nerd [...] es una esesya ke se yama en franko espiko nardo i lo yaman en turkesko zinbul indí" 'Spikenard [...] is a spice that is called in Romance [cf. I. spigonardo 'wild ginger', S. *espicanardo* 'spikenard'] and they call it in Turkish *zinbul indí*'.

as have <האב'י> for Spanish-origin *ave* ‘bird’ (e.g., 1733:282a; cf. S. *ave* < L. *avis*), demonstrating that for him, he had no consonantal value. In either case, Xulí—who could perhaps read Ottoman in the Arabic alphabet, which knowledge might have influenced his spelling of the Ottomanisms in his Judezmo—represents one of the last generations of Judezmo speakers to use *h*, even sporadically, in prevocalic (or pseudo-consonantal) position.

Some of the culinary-related Ottomanisms cited above from Xulí’s texts from 1730 and 1733 also illustrate other types of sound changes which Ottomanisms underwent as they became acclimated in Judezmo. Xulí’s texts are from the eighteenth century, but some of the phonological shifts exemplified in it are already documented in the Early Middle period. One such feature is a tendency toward metathesis, or transposition of sounds, in lexemes having *-ur-*, which shifts to *-ru-*, as illustrated in *truší* ‘brine’ (no. 20), from Turkish *turşu* (cf. also Greek *toursí*). As was noted, this Judezmo metathesized form is already documented in a text from Salonika, 1568.¹⁵⁸ As alluded to by Xulí, by his time the word had apparently replaced, or at least co-existed in Istanbul Judezmo, with the earlier borrowing from Greek for the same concept, *salamura* (no. 20).

Xulí’s lexemes *borekas* a ‘kind of pastry’ (no. 34), from Turkish *börek*, *burnü tutün* ‘snuff’ (no. 2), from *burnu tutün*, and *fistukes* ‘pistachios’ (no. 13), from *fistük*, illustrate an early set of vocalic adaptations: the widespread replacement of the Turkish rounded front vowels *ö* and *ü* by what were perceived as their closest correspondents in the primarily Hispanic-origin phoneme inventory of Judezmo, *e* and *i*, respectively, and that of the Turkish unrounded back vowel *ı* by *i* or *u*. The early incorporation of the word *borekas*, as well as of *čanaka* ‘pot’ < T. *çanak* (no. 49), is probably demonstrated by the final *-a* added to the bases, thereby Hispanizing the form and preventing word-final *k*, which runs counter to Hispanic phonological tendencies. However, borrowings documented from the late seventeenth century or later frequently showed final occlusives and other final consonants as in Turkish, without a vowel paragoge: e.g., *simit* ‘round, crisp bread’ < T. *simit* (no. 30), *çörek* ‘kind of round bread’ < T. *çörek* (no. 30), *salep* ‘hot orchid-root drink’ < T. *salep* (no. 46), *pilaf* ‘rice dish’ < T. *pilaf* (no. 45), *tulum* ‘skin bag’ < T. *tulum* (no. 56). This demonstrates that, by this time, the Sephardim had made some accommodations to the Turkish phonological system.

158 [Benveniste], *Meza de el alma* [Note 72 above], f. 37a. The medical manuscript from ca. 1600 published by Crews (“Medical Recipes in Judeo-Spanish” [Note 25 above], p. 259) contains another example: *trup toumí* ‘radish seeds’, cf. T. *turp tohumu*.

On the other hand, into the modern era the Sephardim continued to maintain certain early accommodations to their earlier Hispanic-based phonology, such as the tendency to replace word-final *-e* by *-a*, as in *estridya* ‘oyster’ < *istridye* (no. 3), *ḡivra* ‘sesame residue’ < *cibre* (no. 14); a certain tendency to replace the palatalized velar *gʻ* with the affricate *ḡ*, e.g., *anḡenaras* ‘artichokes’ (no. 20), cf. T. *enginar*, G. *angināra*. The height of unstressed vowels sometimes shifted, e.g., *ṣefteli* ‘peach’ < T. *ṣeftali* (no. 24), *zerdelis* ‘wild apricots’ < *zerdali* (no. 28), perhaps through assimilation to the adjacent high vowels. One also notes phenomena reminiscent of tendencies in Spanish such as: lenition of *b* > *v* in *ḡivra* ‘sesame residue’ < *cibre* (no. 15), a certain vacillation between *l* and *r*, as well as the addition of a prothetic *e* before word-initial *s* + consonant, both illustrated in *eskalas* ‘grills’, from Greek *skāra* (no. 58), as well as the attraction of an *-n* to a word-final stressed vowel, as in *taṣṣin* ‘tray’ < T. *tepsi* (no. 44). There are also innovative shifts unique to Judezmo, e.g., the fortition of *v* into *b* in *baklabās* ‘flaky pastry’ < T. *baklava* (no. 32). Initial *l-* in *librik* ‘ewer’ (< T. *ibrik*, no. 53) is probably the result of the metanalysis of an earlier definite form *el ibrik* ‘the ewer’ as *el librik*. The forms of a few of the lexemes having parallels in several Balkan languages suggest borrowing from a source other than Turkish, e.g., *kuti* ‘box’ (no. 52), more closely resembling Greek *kouti* than Turkish *kutu*.

8. Grammatical categories of Ottomanisms and their structural features

We can see from Xuli’s texts that, by the early eighteenth century, the Ottoman component of Judezmo was not restricted to nouns. From the late seventeenth century, other elements—scarcely represented until then—began to appear with greater frequency. These included previously undocumented: free-standing adjectives (e.g., *mukaet*¹⁵⁹ ‘diligent, attentive’ < T. *mukayyet* < A. *muqayyad*; *sakat*¹⁶⁰ ‘lame, physically defective’ < T. *sakat* < A. *saqat*; *inag-/inatḡi*¹⁶¹ ‘stubborn’ < T. *inatḡi* (<

159 E.g., “*No avias de estar tu mukaet de azer el mandamyento del Sem yiḡbarax*” ‘Were you not supposed to be diligent in performing a commandment of the [Holy] Name Blessed be He?’ (Magriso, *Me’am lo’ez heleq ṣeni misefer ṣēmot* [Note 157 above], f. 17a).

160 E.g., “*Nasyō sakat*” ‘He was born lame’ (Xuli, *Me’am lo’ez [...]* ṣēmot [Note 99 above], f. 4b).

161 E.g., “*Mira ke inagḡi, ke le dišimos ke fwera kon nozotros i no kyizo*” ‘Look what a stubborn person, because we told him to go with us and he refused’ (Perahya, *Paraḡ matḡe ‘Aharon* [Note 27 above], no. 113, from Salonika 1680).

inat ‘stubbornness’ < A. *‘inād*); *teklifsis*¹⁶² ‘informal’ < T. *teklifsiz* (< *teklif* ‘without ceremony’ < A. *taklif*), adverbs (e.g., *kasten*¹⁶³ ‘intentionally, deliberately’ < T. *kasten/-den* < A. *qaşdan*; *beraber*¹⁶⁴ ‘together’ < T. *beraber* < P. *berāber*; *yakindān*¹⁶⁵ ‘recently’ < T. *yakindān*), conjunctions (e.g., *amā*¹⁶⁶ ‘but’ < T. *am(m)a* < A. *‘ammā*; *āndžak*¹⁶⁷ ‘only; but, however’ < T. *ancak*); and exclamations (e.g., *vay*¹⁶⁸ ‘woe! alas!’ < T. *vay*; *na*¹⁶⁹ ‘here (it is)! look!’ < T. *na*; *bre*¹⁷⁰ ‘hey! you! look here!’ < T. *b[i]re*; *keske*¹⁷¹ <קסכק> ‘if only, I wish’ < T. *keşke* < P. *kāski*). As we shall see, from the late seventeenth century, an ever-increasing number of morphologically derived Ottoman-origin verbs and adjectives, as well as bound morphemes affixed to bases of non-Ottoman origin, are evidenced as well. The structural innovations documented in the Late Middle period demonstrate a deepening familiarity with Turkish on the part

- 162 E.g., “*azerse amigo dēl [...] kon aregalarlo de vez en vez asta ke le kovre amistađ i este teklifsis kon ēl*” ‘to become friends with him [...] by giving him gifts from time to time until he receives friendship from him and is informal with him’ (Xulí, *Me’am lo’ez [...] šēmot* [Note 99 above], f. 139b).
- 163 E.g., “*Lo izo kasten*” ‘He did it intentionally’ (Xulí, *Me’am lo’ez [...] bērešit* [Note 53 above], f. 222a).
- 164 Cf. “*Izo beraber su kavod kon el kavod de el Še[m]’yiθ[barax]*” ‘He equated [‘put together’] his own honor with that of the [Holy] Name Blessed be He’ (Yiṣḥaq bēxar Šemarya Argwete, *Sefer me’am lo’ez heleq rišon šel sefer dēvarim*, Constantinople 1773, f. 32a).
- 165 E.g., “*La letra franseza ke vino yakindān del rey de Fransya*” ‘The French letter that came recently from the king of France’ (‘Atias, *La gwerta de oro* [Note 138 above], f. ia).
- 166 E.g., “*Kome i beve amā es kon sar grande*” ‘He eats and drinks, but it is with great affliction’ (anon., *Qol mēvaser*, Constantinople ab 1755, f. 39a).
- 167 E.g., “*Para el oro ke se tuvo demenester para el miškān āngak puđo abastar dita kantidađ para dos kozas, no mas*” ‘Of the gold that was needed for the altar, this amount could barely suffice for two objects and no more’ (Magriso, *Me’am lo’ez heleq šeni misefer šēmot* [Note 157 above], f. 110a).
- 168 E.g., “*Vay de fulano*” ‘Woe unto So-and-so’ (Xulí, *Me’am lo’ez [...] bērešit* [Note 53 above], f. 37b).
- 169 E.g., “*Na, toma este dinero i anda, mērkate i kome!*” ‘Here, take this money and go, buy it for yourself and eat’ (‘Asa, *Šulḥan hamelex* [Note 104 above], f. 222b).
- 170 E.g., “*Ya [...] te remango las aldas, bre putora, bre bagaša!*” ‘I’ll make a mess of you, [hey] you whore, [hey] you low piece of baggage’ (‘Avraham Toledo, *Koplas de Yosef Asadik alav ašalom*, Constantinople 1755 [1st ed. 1732], f. 11b).
- 171 E.g., “*Keske [...] un día ya veremos ke kaerā en mwestras manos*” ‘If only one day we see him fall into our hands’ (Toledo, *Koplas de Yosef Asadik alav ašalom* [Note 170 above], f. 6a).

of the Jews as a group, who by this time have heard and spoken Turkish, in various forms, for over two centuries.

8.1 Gender and inflectional morphology

As was mentioned, the pluralization of Ottomanisms through the suffixation of Hispanic-origin plural *-(e)s* is documented from the Early Middle Judezmo period. It is only toward the Late Middle period that the fusion within a single lexeme of other inflectional morphemes and bases of diverse origins—Hispanic, Ottoman, and Hebrew—seems to become widespread as well.

8.1.1 Substantives

In the Early Middle period, the gender of Ottoman borrowings had not yet been fixed decisively; thus in a text from 1543 we find the noun phrase *kaplamā eskuro* ‘dark jacket’ (< T. *kaplama*), displaying a Turkish noun with final *-ā* qualified by a masculine adjective.¹⁷² By the Late Middle period the gender of such nouns would be feminine (e.g., *la dolalmā* ‘fireworks’ [< T. *donanma*] in a text from 1778),¹⁷³ unless the semantic reference was to a male (*el pašā* ‘the pashah’).¹⁷⁴

The plural form *leblebizes* ‘roasted chick-peas’ (Xulí, 1733, no. 17), from Turkish *leblebi*, is pleonastic. Perhaps under the influence of Hispanic-origin words with stem-final *-is* such as Judezmo *perdis* ‘partridge’ (cf. S. *perdis*, pl. *perdices*), the probable earlier plural, *leblebis*,¹⁷⁵ was reinterpreted as a singular, leading to the redundant plural, *leblebizes*. Later on in the Late Middle period, the word was also to be found in the metathesized form *bilibizes*,¹⁷⁶ which is the form most commonly used today.

In the Early Middle Period, the Ottomanisms in Judezmo had pluralized almost exclusively with Hispanic-origin *-(e)s*. But by the late seventeenth century, with the link to Spanish as spoken in Spain long broken and the internal trend toward fusion

172 De Medina, *Šē’elot utšuvot Maharašdam*, ‘Even ha’ezer [Note 22 above], no. 53, from 1543.

173 ‘Atias, *La gwerta de oro* (Note 138 above), f. 63a.

174 E.g., *pašā* is feminine in Nehama, *Dictionnaire du judéo-espagnol* (Note 21 above), p. 417.

175 The plural *leblebis* seems only to be documented in the modern period (e.g., Zeldā Ovadia, “Gastronomia sefaradi”, *Aki Yerushalayim*, no. 89 <leblebis>).

176 Cf. “*Los bilibizes, [...] su beraxā es boré perī aadāmā* ‘Over toasted chickpeas, [...] the benediction is “Who brings forth fruit from the earth” ’ (Ben ’Avraham ‘of Štip’, *Tiqqune hanefēš*, vol. 2 [Note 111 above], f. 53a).

of components intensifying, one also finds instances of Ottomanisms with word-final stress pluralizing with Hebrew-origin morphemes: *-im/-in* (יִם-/יִן), for masculine nouns (e.g., pl. *felaxim*¹⁷⁷ < *felax*¹⁷⁸ ‘peasant farmer’ < T. *fellāh* < A. *fallāh*), and *-od*¹⁷⁹ (וֹד), for feminines (e.g., *kasabod*¹⁸⁰ < *kasabā*¹⁸¹ ‘small town’ < T. *kasaba* < A. *qaşaba*).¹⁸²

8.1.2 Adjectives

In Early Middle Judezmo, the relatively few adjectives of Ottoman origin were not yet well integrated structurally within the Judezmo grammatical system. Judezmo adjectives originating in Turkish—a language which does not use grammatical gender—did not yet systematically show the overt, Hispanic-origin masculine/feminine gender distinction which came to be characteristic of substantives and adjectives belonging to all linguistic components of later Judezmo. For example, in a text from 1551 the plural form *sopalis*, from Turkish *sopalı* ‘striped with gold thread’

177 “*Me venian felaxim* <פֿלאַחִים> *i me dezian* ‘Porkè no demandas la sangre de tu padre? Akel felax <פֿלאַחַה>, *es èl ke lo matò* [...] *Kwando ivan de Šexem* [...] *los toparon felaxin* <פֿלאַחִין>” ‘Peasants came to me and said “Why don’t you demand revenge for your father? That peasant, he’s the one who killed him’ [...] When they were leaving Shechem [...] peasants found them’ (Šemu’el Garmezán [b. Salonika, 1605?, d. c. 1675], *Sefer mišpète sedeg*, Jerusalem 1945, no. 98, from 1665).

178 Singular *felax* is already documented in Ottoman Sephardic Hebrew in the late sixteenth century; e.g., “היה מרבר עם פל”ח א’ מכירו [...] הפלא”ח” ‘He was speaking with a certain peasant, an acquaintance of his [...] the peasant’ (Mitrani, *Še’elot utšuvot Mabbīt*, vol. 2, part 2 [Note 37 above], no. 220, from 1579).

179 The variant plural *felaxes* is also documented (e.g., Xulí, *Me’am le’ez* [...] *bèrešit* [Note 53 above], f. 164a).

180 E.g., “*Le dešò a-èl su padre mil kasabod por lo seko i mil naves por la mar*” ‘His father left him 1,000 towns on dry land and 1,000 ships at sea’ (Rè’uven Ben ’Avraham ‘of Štip’, *Sefer tiqqune hanefes*, vol. 1, Salonika 1765, f. 64b).

181 The singular, *kasabá*, already appears in the seventeenth century; e.g., Yosef ben Moše Mitrani (Maharit, b. Safed, 1568, d. 1639), *Tèšuvot ufišqe Maharit hahadašim*, Tsvi Yehoshua Leitner (ed.), Maxon Yèrušalayim – Mif’al ’Or Hamizrah, Jerusalem 1978, no. 7: “יש לחם בקאצאבה לקנות” ‘There’s bread to buy in the town’.

182 In the sixteenth century the plural *kasabás*, with Hispanic -s, appears: “היה יושב בחנות” ‘and he used to sit in a shop in Edirne selling on credit to Jews and Muslims, merchants of the towns’ (Moše Alšex [1508-1600], *Sefer še’elot utšuvot*, Venice 1605 [reprinted B’nai Brak 1984, ed. Yom Tov Porges], no. 42).

+ Hispanic-origin pluralizing *-s*, with no overt feminine marker, was used to qualify feminine plural *tokas* ‘head-coverings’.¹⁸³ But in the Late Middle period we begin to find Hispanic-origin *-a* added to Ottoman-origin adjectives with *-li* qualifying feminine nouns; e.g., *misirlia letra* ‘Egyptian (Arabic) script’ (from Turkish *misirli*), occurring in a text from Istanbul 1755.¹⁸⁴ This use was to become widespread in Late Modern Judezmo.¹⁸⁵

Nevertheless, through Late Modern Judezmo, only number, but not gender, is distinguished in Ottoman-origin adjectives ending in a consonant, as in Spanish. This is illustrated in the plural form (*nwezes*) *xames* ‘unripe (nuts)’, from Turkish *ham* (from Persian *xām*) + Hispanic-origin plural *-es* (in Xulí’s text from 1733, no. 27 above). Turkish does not distinguish number in adjectives; perhaps under its influence, and as opposed to Hispanic syntax, number is not overtly distinguished at all in certain of the Ottoman-origin adjectives borrowed into Judezmo during the Late Middle period, e.g., *kadir* ‘able, capable’ (< T. *kadir* < A. *qādir*), which is used to qualify plural as well as singular nouns (vs. synonymous S. sg. *capaz*, pl. *capaces*).¹⁸⁶

8.2 Derivational morphology

In the transition from Early Middle to Late Middle Judezmo, one notes an increase in the number of Hispanic-origin affixes used to derive new substantives, verbs, and adjectives from Ottoman bases. In the Late Middle period, the use of Ottoman-origin bound morphemes with non-Ottoman bases also begins to be documented.

183 Cf. “וְטוֹקָאשׁ לְבָנוֹת מוֹשֵׁלְכוֹת רֹצֵהוּ” (לְוֹמֵר) סוֹפְלִישׁ ‘and white striped hats, i.e., [having] gold stripes’ (Karo, *Šē’elot utšuvot Bet Yosef* [...] *‘Even ha’ezer, Goy mešiah léfi tummo*, no. 2, from 1551).

184 Cf. “*En gran misirlia letra, en lingwaže de moriško* ‘In large Egyptian letters, in the Arabic language’ (Toledo, *Koplas de Yosef Asadik* [Note 170 above], f. 3b).

185 That the overt gender distinction m. *-li* vs. f. *-lia* had still not been completely systematized in the Early Modern Judezmo period may be seen in a form such as pl. *vedrolis* ‘greenish’ (cf. J. *vedre* [S. *verde*] ‘green’, T. *-li*, S. *-s*) qualifying a feminine noun in: “*En el kavo de la Afrika ay gente ke sus vistas son vedrolis*” ‘At the end of Africa there are people whose appearance is greenish’ (Pinhas Eliyahu Ben Me’ir, *Sefer habērit* [...] *en avla muy linpya*, tr. Avraham Benveniste Gatenyo, Salonika 1847, f. 52b).

186 E.g., cf. “*Son kadir a pelear kon todo el mundo*” ‘They are capable of fighting with everyone’ (anon. tr., *Sefer Eldad hadani*, Constantinople 1766, f. 12b).

8.2.1 Substantives

8.2.1.1 Hypocoristics. Hypocoristic forms of Ottoman common nouns, created through the suffixing of Hispanic-origin (default) *-iko* (cf. S. *-ico*), as well as (phonologically conditioned) *-ito* and *-eziko* (cf. S. *-ito*, *-ecico*), are already documented in the Early Middle period.¹⁸⁷ Their numbers increase greatly in the Late Middle period, as exemplified by food-related terms such as *fiṅṅaniko* ‘little coffee cup’ (no. 61 above) and *kapakito* ‘little lid’ (no. 63) occurring in Xulí’s texts. Also in the Late Middle period one begins to find Hispanic-origin pejorative suffixes added to Ottoman bases, e.g., *čelebako*¹⁸⁸ ‘(derogatory) gentleman, finicky man’ (in a text from 1764), from *čelebí* ‘(finicky) gentleman’ < T. *çelebi* + Hispanic-origin *-ako* (cf. S. *-aco*).

8.2.1.2 Other derived substantives. Some neologisms created through the fusion of Hispanic-origin derivational suffixes to Ottoman and other local bases are already noted in the Early Middle period. These include: (1) agent forms with Hispanic-origin *-ero*, such as *xaraḡero* ‘tax collector’ (documented from Salonika 1525), from *xarač* ‘tax’ (< T. *haraç* < A. *xarāḡ*),¹⁸⁹ and feminines with *-esa*, a suffix perhaps of Italian origin (*-essa*), such as *naziresa* ‘female administrator, superintendent’ (from Istanbul 1590), from *nazir* (< T. *nazır* < A. *nāzır*),¹⁹⁰ (2) names of nations with *-ia* such as

187 For examples see David M. Bunis, “Ottoman Judezmo Diminutives and Other Hypocoristics”, in Frank Alvarez-Pereyre & Jean Baumgarten (eds.), *Linguistique des langues juives et linguistique générale*, CNRS, Paris 2003, pp. 193–246.

188 “*Esta komida [...] no inče, ke es komida de delikados i de čelebakos*” ‘This food is not filling, because it is the food of delicate people and would-be gentlemen’ (Magriso, *Me’am lo’ez [...] bēmidbar* [Note 141 above], f. 97b).

189 Cf. sg. “לא היה כראגידור” ‘he was not a tax collector’ (Adarbi, *Divre rivot* [Note 34 above], no. 56), pl. <חאראג’ירוש> *xaraḡeros* (ibid., no. 59, from 1525).

190 E.g., “הוכרחו [...] מרת אישטראפולה [...] להיותה נאזירי”סה מפי המת [...] והנה עד היום חוש” והנאזירי”סה” “*Ms. Estrapula [...] was proven [...] to be the administrator as stated by the deceased [...] and in fact to this day Xuši and the female administrator are responsible for the execution of the deceased’s will*’ (Ben Hayyim, *Heleq rišon mitēšuvot šē’elot*, vol. 1 [Note 22 above], no. 97, from Istanbul 1590). The suffix may also be read *-isa*. On these agent suffixes in Judezmo see David M. Bunis, “A Theory of Hebrew-Based Fusion Lexemes in Jewish Languages as Illustrated by Animate Nouns in Judezmo and Yiddish”, *Mediterranean Language Review* 16 (2005), pp. 1-115.

191 E.g., “*Fweron [...] a Blaxia* <בלאחיא>” ‘They went to Wallachia’ (Yosef ’El’azar of Sofia in De Medina, *Hošen mišpaṭ* [Note 22 above], no. 16, from 1577).

192 E.g., “*ke se bolvyese a poner orden en su estado o dukado o sangakado*” ‘that he return and put order in his state or duchy or territory (i.e., T. sancak) he controlled’ (cf. Romeu, *Moisés Almosnino: Crónica de los Reyes Otomanos* [Note 26 above], p. 102).

Blaxia ‘Wallachia’ (documented from Sofia 1577), from South Slavic *Vlah* (cf. also toponymic *Vlahija*);¹⁹¹ (3) names with *-ado* denoting regions, such as *sanġakado* ‘a subdivision of an Ottoman province’, from Turkish *sancak*.¹⁹²

As the Jewish familiarity with, and active use of, Turkish increased toward the Late Middle period, so too did the prevalence of similar fusion neologisms, with additional Hispanic-origin suffixes. Some of them denoted actions, e.g., (1) denominal forms with *-ada* (S. *-ada*), such as *toyakada*¹⁹³ ‘blow with a stick’, from *toyakā* ‘cudgel’ (< T. *toyaka*), in a text from Belgrade 1664, and *kir-/kurbačada*¹⁹⁴ ‘whipping’ < *kirbač* ‘whip’ (< T. *kirbaç*), from Istanbul 1763; and (2) names of language varieties with *-esko* (S. *-esco*), such as denominal *felaxesko*¹⁹⁵ ‘language of peasants’, from *felax* ‘peasant’ (< T. *fellah* < A. *fallāh*). But such neologisms now also included denotations of more abstract concepts as well, such as deverbal nouns with the suffixes: (1) *-dura* (S. *-dura*), e.g., *čattleadura*¹⁹⁶ ‘crack’ (< *čattlear* ‘to crack’ < T. *çatla-*), from Istanbul 1730; (2) *-myento* (S. *-miento*), e.g., *sikileamyento*¹⁹⁷ ‘boredom, annoyance; shame’ (< *sikilear[se]* < T. *sıkıl-*), from Istanbul 1753; and (3) *-syön* (S. *-ción*), e.g., *artirasyön*¹⁹⁸ ‘raising of a price’, from *artirear* (< T. *artır-* +), from Istanbul 1778.

193 E.g., “*Viđo ke er[fa]’ Yišmael [...], ečado de boka ariva ke paresia ke avlava, i tenia toyakadas en la kavesa ke kon toyakadas lo mataron*” ‘He saw that it was Yišma’el [...], lying with his mouth up so he looked as if he were speaking, and he had marks from blows with a cudgel on his head because with cudgel blows they killed him’ (Moše ben Nissim Benveniste [1606-1677], *Še’elot utšivot pene Moše*, vol. 1, Constantinople 1669 [reprinted Jerusalem 1988], no. 84, from Belgrade 1664).

194 E.g., “*Los malaxim [...] me golpean kon kirbačadas de fwego*” ‘The angels [...] strike me with whippings of fire’ (Yišaq Abohav, *Sefer mēnorat hama’or en lađino*, ‘Avraham ben Yišaq ’Asa [tr.], Constantinople 1762, f. 9a); “*Los iryō sesenta kurbačadas de fwego*” ‘He wounded them with seventy whippings of fire’ (anon. tr., *Pētirat Moše Rabbenu*, Constantinople 1763, f. 6b).

195 E.g., “*Una kantiga en felaxesko*” ‘A song in the language of the peasants’ (Xulí, *Me’am lo’ez [...] bērešit* [Note 53 above], f. 157a).

196 E.g., “*Pinos [...] sin aver en eyos ningün inyudo ni čattleadura*” ‘pines not having in them any knot or crack’ (Xulí, *Me’am lo’ez [...] bērešit* [Note 53 above], f. 216a).

197 E.g., “*Una de las siboθ ke vyenen los negaim es de sikileamyento i gastamyento de sangre*” ‘One of the reasons that plagues come is from boredom/depression and spending of blood’ (Magriso, *Me’am lo’ez [...] wayiqra* [Note 58 above], f. 49+2b).

198 E.g., “*Amān, kon artirasyön, kižo azer konsumisyön i el Dyo se lo baldō*” ‘Haman, offering a high price, wanted to annihilate [the Jews] and God nullified it’ (*Koplas nwevas*, Constantinople 1778, f. 1b).

Evidence of fusion formations employed by Judezmo speakers in which lexemes of Turkish and Hebrew origin combined to yield new compounds responding to Jewish life under the Ottoman administration began to appear in the sixteenth century. These included *kabar baṣī*¹⁹⁹ ‘chief gravedigger’ < J. *kabar* ‘gravedigger’ (< H. קבר *kabbar* ‘gravedigger’) + T. *baṣī* ‘its head’ (< *baṣ*); *rav axčast*²⁰⁰ ‘tax paid by the chief rabbi of the Ottoman Empire’ < J. *rav* ‘(chief) rabbi’ (< H. רב *rav*) + T. *akçe*(*si*), regional (e.g., Anatolian) *ahçe*(*si*) ‘its (Ottoman historical) small silver coin; money’; *kaṣav akčast*²⁰¹ ‘(kosher) butcher’s tax’ < J. *kaṣav* ‘butcher’ (< H. קצב *kaṣav*) + T. *akçesi* (from 1589).

From the late seventeenth century, when the Judezmo speech group as a whole had attained a greater level of competence in Turkish than their immigrant ancestors, bound morphemes of Turkish origin, too, began to be incorporated into the active derivational system of Ottoman Judezmo, attaching themselves to bases of non-Ottoman as well as Ottoman origin. Interestingly, the earliest such coinages are forms in which the non-Ottoman base bears a resemblance to an existing, nearly synonymous Ottoman base. In some instances the two bases may both have occurred with the same bound morpheme as variants. The neologism *magazenġi*²⁰² ‘warehouse owner’, occurring in a text from 1658, is a fusion of Judezmo *magazēn* ‘warehouse’ and the Turkish suffix *-ci*, widely reflected in the languages of all peoples in contact with the Ottomans.²⁰³ The Judezmo fusion was perhaps influenced by Turkish *mağazacı* ‘shopkeeper’ <

199 E.g., “הסכימו [...] למנות בחור א’ תוך חברת הקברים לחבר ולגבאי והקבא”ר באש”י היה מן הרוב המסכימים” “בדבר הזה” ‘They agreed [...] to appoint a certain young man as a member and treasurer of the fellowship of gravediggers and the chief gravedigger was among the majority of those who agreed to the thing’ (Basan, *Šē’elot utšuvot* [Note 20 above], no. 22).

200 E.g., “ממה שפורעים על הרב אחגי”שי” ‘from what they settled on the rabbi’s tax’ (Karo, *Šē’elot utšuvot ‘avqat roxel* [Note 151 above], no. 205). For discussion see Mina Rosen, *A History of the Jewish Community in Istanbul: The Formative Years, 1453-1566*, Brill, Leiden & al. 2002, pp. 27-33. The earliest evidence of payment of this tax is from July 1480 (*ibid.*, p. 29).

201 E.g., “צלגי”ן ואברי”ז וכל הנוסף וקצב אקגאס”י” ‘They exempted the said Re’uven completely from all manner of [financial] burdens [... such as] the annual tribute [cf. T. *salġin*] and the extraordinary tax [cf. T. *avariz* < A. ‘*avariz*] and all the added taxes and the butcher’s tax and money-changer’s fee’ [cf. T. *sarraftik* < A. *šarrāf* + T. *-lik*]’ (Basan, *Šē’elot utšuvot* [Note 20 above], no. 42).

202 E.g., “והיה יחיאל הנד’ מאגאזינג’י במצרים” ‘and the said Yēhi’el was a warehouse owner/worker in Egypt’ (Benveniste, *Pēne Moše*, vol. 1 [Note 193 above], no. 15, from 1658).

203 For a detailed look at the incorporation of *-ci* in Judezmo lexemes with Hebrew bases, see Bunis, “A Theory of Hebrew-Based Fusion Lexemes” [Note 190 above], pp. 57-68.

mağaza ‘warehouse’ (< F. *magasin*? < A. *maxāsin*); but while Judezmo *magazèn* is well documented in the sixteenth century.²⁰⁴ Turkish-origin *magaza* only appears in Judezmo texts in the twentieth century.²⁰⁵ Bases both of Turkish and Hispanic origin appear in the variants denoting ‘spinach seller’ found in a responsum from Istanbul 1665: *ispanakčī* <איספאנאקג> (cf. T. *ispanakçı* < *ispanak* ‘spinach’ < G. *ispanāki*) and *espinacī*²⁰⁶ <איספינאג> (cf. J. *espinaka* [S. *espinaca*] ‘spinach’). In the fusion *pizmonḡī* ‘singer of Jewish religious songs’, occurring in a text from Salonika 1773, the base is Hebrew-origin *pizmon* (פזמון) ‘religious song’, which lacks a parallel with a homophonous base in Turkish—although Turkish has structurally and semantically analogous *ilahici* ‘singer of Muslim hymns’ (< T. *ilāhi* < A. *ilāhī* ‘hymn’ + T. *-ci*)—thus demonstrating the productive status attained by this time by the suffix *-ḡī*. From this point the suffix began to occur increasingly with non-Ottoman as well as Ottoman bases, irrespective of Turkish analogues.²⁰⁷

The first appearance of the Judezmo reflex of Turkish *-lı* (noted above in section 8.1.2) with a non-Ottoman base, too, seems first to appear with a base having a Turkish near-homonym: distinctively Judezmo *Rodes*²⁰⁸ ‘Rhodes’ (cf. T. *Rodos* < G. *Rōdos*;

204 E.g., “אותו מאגאזין ששכר מהגורי” ‘the same warehouse that he rented from the Gentile’ (Karo, *Šē’elot utšuvot ‘avqat roxel* [Note 151 above], no. 119).

205 Cf. hypocoristic *magaziko* ‘little storeroom’ in ‘Alexander’ (i.e., Gavri’el) Benghiatt’s periodical *El meseret* 8:24 (Izmir 1904), p. 5.

206 This form alternated with Turkish-origin *ispanakčī* (cf. T. *ispanakçı* < *ispanak* ‘spinach’ < G. *ispanāki*): e.g., “איספאנאקג [...] איספאנאקג” ‘Yehuda Hakohen the spinach seller [...] the spinach seller’ (Benveniste, *Šē’elot utšuvot pene Moše*, vol. 1 [Note 193 above], no. 36, from Istanbul 1665).

207 Although they were probably used before, feminine forms with *-ḡia* do not appear textually until the second half of the nineteenth century, e.g., f.pl. *dabuḡias* ‘female plaintiffs, claimants’ (< SC. *davudžija* < T. *dāvacı* < T. *dava* ‘lawsuit, complaint’ < A. *da’wā* + T. *-ci* [cf. Abdulah Škaljić, *Turcizmi u srpskohrvatskom jeziku*, Svjetlost, Sarajevo 1966, p. 208]), e.g., “*Kun pinsar ki lus maridus no ganan kulay, [...] eyas si agan dabuḡias i dimandaderas* ‘Thinking that their husbands do not earn their living easily, [...] they [their wives] should become claimants and seekers [of their welfare]’ (‘Eli’ezer Papo, *Sefer pele yo’es [...] in ladinu*, Yehuda Papo (tr.), Schlossberg, Vienna 1870, f. 200); f.sg. *kiraḡia* ‘female tenant’ (< T. *kiraci* < *kira* ‘rent’ < A. *kirā*) (Salomon Israel Cherezli, *Nwevo čiko diksyonaryo žudeo-espanyol/fransés*, Avraham Moše Lunz, Jerusalem 1898-99, vol. 2, p. 219).

208 The Judezmo form *Rodes* is known from at least the sixteenth century; e.g., “מעשה שהיה כן” ‘An incident happened that in the holy congregation of Rhodes [...]’ (De Medina, *Šē’elot utšuvot Maharašdam* [Note 22 above], *Yore de’a*, no. 53).

S. Rodas). In a text from 1668 we find *rodesli*²⁰⁹ <רודיסלי> which, like its Turkish correspondent *Rodoslu* (Ottoman *Rodosli*), can function as a substantive or adjective. Other nominatives/adjectives in which *-li* occurs with a non-Ottoman base are known from the mid-nineteenth century.²¹⁰

8.2.2 Synthetic verbs

Judezmo texts from the Early Middle period begin to document the creation of synthetic verbs having Ottoman-origin bases and the Hispanic-origin verbalizer *-ear*.²¹¹ For example, in a responsum of Šemuel de Medina from 1577 we find the phrase “*Kyero imzalear el oġet²¹² del xaser*” ‘I want to have the title deed of the courtyard officially signed’. The stem of *imzalear* ‘to sign’ is Turkish *imzala-*, itself derived from Arabic *‘imzā*’ and Turkish denominal verbalizing *-la-*.

Texts from the late seventeenth century document a few more such verbs, and also illustrate a change in the structure of some of them which occurred during this period: those derived from Turkish verbal stems ending in a vowel, such as *imzala-*, now tended to receive the verbalizing suffix *-dear*, an interesting fusion of the *-d-* occurring in Turkish verbs in the past definite tense (e.g., *imzaladı* ‘he signed’) and Hispanic-origin *-ear*.²¹³ The infix *-d-* enabled the preservation of the Ottoman stem in its entirety with the suffixing of *-ear*.

209 E.g., “בעיר רודיס בא דיר’ויש א’ ואמר שני יהודים שנכנסו בפורקאטה באיסקינידיריאה שהאחד היה שמו” ג’יליבי כהן איסטאנבולי ואחד רודיסלי הרגו אותם בעלי הפורקאטה ההיא [...] וראו אותם אנשים] עבריים ‘In the city of Rhodes (*Rodes*) a dervish [J. *derviş* < T. *derviş* < P. *darvīš*] came and said, “Two Jews who boarded a light frigate [J. *furkata*, cf. T. *fırkata* < I. *fregata*] in Alexandria, one of them named *Čelebi* [J. *čelebi* < T. *çelebi* ‘gentleman’ < *Çelep* ‘God’ + A. *-i*] Koen, a resident of Istanbul (J. *estanbuli*, cf. T. *İstanbullu*, Ottoman *İstanbulli*), and one a resident of Rhodes (*rodesli*), the owners of that frigate killed them” [...] and passersby who were residents of Rhodes (*rodesli* [s]) saw them’ (Moše ben Nissim Benveniste [1606-1677], *Še’ elot utsuvot pene Moše*, vol. 2, Constantinople 1671 [reprinted Jerusalem 1988], no. 13, from 1668).

210 See Bunis, “A Theory...” [Note 190 above], pp. 76-77.

211 On such verbs as used in Late Modern Judezmo, see Haim Vidal Sephiha, “L’hispaniseur *-ear* en judéoespagnol”, *Travaux X, Aspects des civilisations ibériques* (1974), Saint-Etienne, pp. 85-93; Michael Studemund, “Balkanspanisch und Balkanlinguistik: Die balkanspanischen Verba auf *-ear*”, *Forschung und Lehre* (Festschrift Johannes Schropfer), Slav. Seminar, Hamburg 1975, pp. 400-409.

212 For discussion of the word, see section 5 above.

213 The later form is illustrated in the synonymous variant *emzaladear* ‘to sign’, documented for twentieth-century Sofia Judezmo (Isaac Moskona, “On Some Influences on ‘Judezmo’ – the

An apparent scuffle between a Jew and Christians in Istanbul 1680, and the Jew's having wounded several of them before he was beheaded from behind, was described by Moše 'Arama in the following words: "*Estando en la kal'è, se adelantò dito Salamoniko i abašò abašo i čengleseò* <ג'ינגליסיאר> *kon los kistyanos i yaradeò* <יארדיאר> *a-dos o tres de eyos*" 'While inside the fortress walls, this Salamoniko advanced and went down and fought with the Christians and wounded two or three of them'.²¹⁴ The base of the second verb is Turkish 3sg. past definite *yaradı*—denoting in Turkish 'was useful, suitable', but logically understood by the Jews to denote 'wounded', from Turkish *yara* 'wound' (in Turkish 'wounded' is in fact *yaraladı* < *yara* 'wound' + denominal verbalizing *-la-* + past definite *-dı*). The first verb, presuming an infinitive *čenglesear/-šear*, seems to derive from Turkish *cenkleş-* 'to fight, quarrel' (< *ceng* 'fight' < P. *ğeng*) which, since the base has a final consonant, attracts 3sg. preterite indicative *-eò* (< *-ear*). More Ottoman-origin verbs appear in testimony from Istanbul 1686 concerning a boat lost at sea: a passenger reported "*Mos se batireò* <באטיריאר> *el kaik*" 'The boat sank'. A Jewish passenger, unable to keep himself afloat by holding onto wreckage, was heard to say "*Ya no pweòo yo mas day|a|near* <דאיניאר>" 'I can't hold on any longer'.²¹⁵ These two locally incorporated verbs, *batirearse* and *dayanear*, derive from Turkish *batır-* (cf. causative *-ır-*) '(intransitive) to sink, be sunk' and *dayan-* 'to support, hold'.

A literary text published by Moshe Lazar and believed to be from the seventeenth century offers two more instances of Turkish verbal stems attracting the Hispanic-origin verbalizer. The transitive verb *šašear* 'to bewilder, surprise' and its intransitive correspondent *šašearse* (cf. T. *şaş-* 'to be surprised, bewildered', *şaşır-* 'to be confused about; lose one's head over') appear in the phrases "*Este moso ke tyenes en tu kaza, mos šašeo de mirarlo, ke no puđimos kitar los ožos de èl de ver su ermozura[...]*" "*Por un poko ke lo visteš, vos šašeasteš de verlo?*" 'This young man whom you have in your house, it stunned us to look at him, so that we couldn't take our eyes from him, seeing his beauty'. 'From just the short time that you saw him, you swooned

Language of the Balkan Jews", *Annual* [of the Social, Cultural, and Educational Association of the Jews in the People's Republic of Bulgaria] 11 (Sofia 1976), 173-194 (p. 182).

214 'Aharon Alfandari [b. Izmir, c. 1700-1774], *Sefer yad 'Aharon*, vols. 1-2, Izmir 1756-66, no. 6; Moše Hayyim Šabbētay, *Torat Moše*, Salonika 1797 [reprinted Jerusalem 2004], *Hošen mišpať*, no. 28.

215 Alfandari, *Mušal me 'eš* [=Note 73 above], vol. 2 no. 2, from Istanbul 1686.

to see him?”²¹⁶ The verb *yamaladear* ‘to plunder’ occurs in the sentence: “*I dešaron iżos de Yaakov dyes ombres de su ġente para yamaladear* <יאמאלאדיאר>” *la sifdaq de Tapuah*” ‘And the sons of Jacob left ten men of their people to plunder the city of Tapuah’.²¹⁷ The base of the verb is Turkish *yağmaladı*, 3sg. past definite of *yağmala-* ‘to plunder’ < *yağma* ‘plunder’ (realized in modern urban Turkish as [ja:’ma]), but in Judezmo generally as [jaɣ’ma], as in rural/eastern/pre-modern Turkish).

These late-seventeenth-century fusion verbs probably exemplify many more already used in speech of the period. Numerous others are documented in Judezmo texts from the early eighteenth century. One of them, *aburuntar* ‘to sniff, smell’, occurring in Xuli’s 1730 discussion of the patriarch Isaac (on f. 148b), illustrates the coining of synthetic verbs from Turkish substantives: “*Despwēs aburuntō Yisxak ke akel gwezmo era de gan eden*” ‘Afterwards Isaac smelled that that fragrance was from Paradise’. The base is *burun* ‘nose’, verbalized with the voiceless correspondent of the Turkish infix *-d-* cited above (i.e., *-t-*) and Hispanic-origin verbalizing *a-[base]-ar*.²¹⁸ Another such verb, *pizmeār*²¹⁹ ‘to be stubborn, look for excuses’, is an example of a verb reflecting a Greek base (cf. G. *peisma* ‘obstinacy’).

8.2.3 Analytic verbs

Turkish has a rich inventory of analytic or ‘light’ verbs, constructed of formally invariant meaning-providing complements, particularly substantives of Arabic and other non-Turkish origins, and auxiliary verbs such as *et-* and *eyle-* ‘to do, make’. Early Middle Judezmo displays numerous parallel analytic verbs and verbal idioms, several employing as the auxiliary the synonymous verb *f*-(*h*)*azer*. Examples of such constructions in sixteenth-seventeenth century Judezmo include: (*h*)*azer teftiš* ‘to investigate’ (cf. T. *teftiṣ* [< A. *taftiṣ*] *et-*),²²⁰ (*h*)*azer šematā* ‘to make a big noise, cause

216 Lazar, *Sēfer ha-yāšār* [Note 72 above], p. 284.

217 Lazar, *Sēfer ha-yāšār* [Note 72 above], p. 250, offers the transcription <yahmaladear>, i.e., *yaxmaladear*, which is one of its variants in Modern Judezmo; but in the Hebrew-letter text reproduced in Lazar’s volume the spelling is יאמאלאדיאר, with etymological *-ğ-* receiving zero phonological representation, in fact reminiscent of modern urban Turkish. Perhaps the *-h-* was inserted by a Modern Judezmo-speaking assistant responsible for the transcription.

218 Note that Turkish expresses ‘to sniff’ by means of analytic *burunu çekmek*.

219 E.g., “*El ke pizmea i no kere meldar [...]*” ‘He who is stubborn and refuses to study [...]’ (Abohav [tr. ’Asa], *Mēnorat hama ’or* [Note 194 above], f. 48a).

220 E.g., “*Nos dezia ke ya avia mandado (h)azer teftiš*” ‘He told us that he had already ordered them to investigate’ (cf. Romeu, *Moisēs Almosnino* [Note 26 above], p. 256).

an uproar' (cf. T. *şamata et-*)²²¹ *fazer fesat*²²² 'to misbehave, make or plot mischief' (cf. T. obsolete *fesat* [< A. *fasād*] *et-*), *hazer yağma*²²³ 'to plunder' (cf. T. *yağma et-*), *hazer arze*²²⁴ 'to present official papers about a certain matter to a superior' (T. *arzet-* [< A. 'arz]), *azer raet*²²⁵ 'to show consideration, entertain' (cf. T. *riayet* [< A. *ri 'āya(t)*] *et-*), *azer zevk(e)*²²⁶ 'to enjoy oneself' (cf. T. *zevk* [< A. *zawq*] *et-*).

In the early eighteenth century, textual examples of analytic verbs and Turkish-origin verbal calques became more numerous. Mirroring their Turkish models, some also featured Hispanic-origin auxiliary verbs other than *(f)-/(h)azer*. Many of the calques incorporated Ottomanisms; e.g., *bever tutün*²²⁷ 'to smoke (literally, drink) a

221 E.g., "*Para esto venites aki, par[a] [...]fazer šemata?*" 'For this you came here, to make a lot of noise?' (Haviv Amato in *De Medina, Šē'elot utšuvot Maharašdam, Hošen mišpat* [Note 22 above], no. 5).

222 E.g., "*Vinyeron dos turkos a la boda kon unas ga(l)yinas i dišeron ke avian fečo un fesat*" 'Two Turks came to the wedding with chickens and said they had made some mischief' (Hakohen Pērahya, *Paraḥ matte 'Aharon*, vol. 3 [Note 27 above], no. 103, from Salonika 1595).

223 E.g., "*Los ġenizares [...] una noče entraron en las kazas de los ġudyōs i kristyanos i (h) izyeron muy grandisima yağma*" 'One night the Janissaries entered the houses of the Jews and Christians and did a great deal of looting' (cf. Romeu, *Moisēs Almosnino: Crònica de los Reyes Otomanos* [Note 26 above], p. 170). For the related synthetic verb *ya(x)-/yağmaladear*, see section 8.2.2 above.

224 E.g., "*I los kadis leskyeres i pašas i defterdares ke entravan a hazerle 'arze, komo entravan ansi salian, sin ningün (h)ēčo*" 'And the chief military judges [cf. T. *kadilasker* (< A. *qāḏī* + 'al-'*askar*) and pashas [cf. T. *paša*] and finance ministers [cf. T. *d-tefterdar* (< A. *daftar* + P. *-dār*) who entered to present official papers, just as they had entered they left, without accomplishing anything' (cf. Romeu, *Moisēs Almosnino: Crònica de los Reyes Otomanos* [Note 26 above], p. 139).

225 E.g., *Kwando boltarā Mordexay, sume 'rased] le arā raet* 'When Mordechai returns, your honor will show him consideration' (Šelomo ben Binyamin HaLewi [b. Izmir c. 1620, d. 1697], *Sefer lev Šelomo*, Salonika 1808 [reprinted Brooklyn, N.Y. 1991], 'Even ha'ezer, no. 26, from 1684).

226 E.g., "*Ke zevke izimos [...] en la ziara*" 'How we enjoyed ourselves during the pilgrimage [to Erets Yisra'el]' (Alfandari, *Yad 'Aharon* [Note 214 above], no. 10, from Izmir 1684).

227 E.g., "*Tutün no beveras si la avdalā no dirās*" 'You shall not smoke until you have said the "separation from the Sabbath" benediction' ('Asa [tr.], *Letras de ribi Akivā* [Note 82 above], sec. 2, f. 11b). Cf. also *bever tabako* 'smoke [literally, drink] tobacco' (Xulí, *Me'am lo'ez [...] bērešit* [Note 53 above], f. 37a).

water-pipe’ < T. *tütün iç-*; (f) *azer insaf*²²⁸ ‘to act with justice or equity, be fair (literally, do justice)’ < T. *insaf* (< A. *’insāf*) *et-*; *tomar xaber*²²⁹ ‘to learn [literally, take] the news’ < T. *haber* (< A. *xabar*) *al-*; *salir saip por*²³⁰ ‘to stand as [literally, go out] protector or patron (to someone)’ < T. *sahibe* (< A. *ṣāhib*) *çik-*; *kedar(se) (a) musafir*²³¹ ‘stay as a guest in someone’s home; enjoy overnight hospitality’ (cf. O.T. *mūsafir*, M.T. *misafir* [< A. *musāfir* ‘traveller’] *kal-*); *poner* (later Judezmo *meter*) *baz/-s*²³² ‘bet, place a wager’ < T. *bahse* (< A. *bahs*) *gir-/tutuş-*, *bahset-*.

Other calques translated the Turkish verbal idioms entirely by means of non-Turkish lexemes: e.g., *kwanto* (cf. S. *cuanto* ‘how much’) used in the sense of Turkish *kadar* (< A. *qadar*) ‘(an approximate) amount’, e.g., “*Estuve mirando kwanto unas dos oras i no paresyô mas*” ‘I kept looking for about two hours and he didn’t appear again’;²³³ *tokar a el kavod de* ‘to insult (literally, touch) someone’s honor’ < T. *namusuna* (< A. *nāmūs*) *dokun-*²³⁴ *bolar* (literally, ‘fly’) ‘to disappear, be lost; die’ < T. *uç-* (literally ‘fly’, figuratively, ‘disappear’);²³⁵ *venirle de la mano* ‘to be within one’s capabilities (literally, come from the hand)’ < T. *elden gel-*²³⁶ *kitar en meḏyo* ‘to bring to light,

228 E.g., “*Vyendo ke ya lo sirvyô trenta kwarenta anyos aze insaf kon darle lisensya ke se vaya ande kere*” ‘Seeing that he has already served him for thirty or forty years he is fair with him by allowing him to go wherever he wants’ (Xulí, *Me’am lo’ez [...]* *šēmot* [Note 99 above], f. 78b).

229 E.g., “*Ya tomí xaber i me dišeron ke un pašâ estâ xazino*” ‘I received news and they told me a pasha was ill’ (Magriso, *Me’am lo’ez heleq šeni misefer šēmot* [Note 157 above], f. 96a).

230 E.g., “*No avia ken pudyera avlar mal por él [...]* *syendo el rey salía saip por él*” ‘No one could speak ill of him [...] because the king stood as his patron’ (Magriso, *Me’am lo’ez [...]* *bēmidbar* [Note 141 above], ff. 33a-33b).

231 E.g., “*Se kedô musafir en la kaza de el goy*” ‘He stayed as a guest in the house of a Gentile’ (Magriso, *Me’am lo’ez [...]* *bēmidbar* [Note 141 above], ff. 148b).

232 E.g., “*Dos presonas [...]* *puzyeron baz uno kon otro i dišeron todo el ke anda i aze araviar a llel tome kwatrosyentos aspros*” ‘Two people [...] made a bet with one another and said “Whoever goes and makes Hillel angry will receive 400 *akçes*’ (Ben ’Avraham ‘of Štip’, *Tiqqune hanefeš*, vol. 1 [Note 180 above], f. 110a).

233 Šalton, *Bēne Moše* [Note 65 above], no. 23, from Constantinople 1682.

234 E.g., “*Tokan a el kavod de la ley*” ‘They insult the Torah’ (Magriso, *Me’am lo’ez heleq šeni misefer šēmot* [Note 157 above], f. 108b).

235 E.g., “*Kwando bola un ombre grande del dor [...]*” ‘When a great man of the generation dies [...]’ (Magriso, *Me’am lo’ez [...]* *wayiqra* [Note 58 above], f. 5b).

236 E.g., “*Iva azyendo kwantas averod le venía de su mano*” ‘He kept committing as many transgressions as he was able to’ (Magriso, *Me’am lo’ez [...]* *bēmidbar* [Note 141 above], ff. 33a-33b).

discover; expose' < T. *ortaya çıkar-*;²³⁷ *no tener kara de* 'not to dare to' (cf. T. *yüz olma-*).²³⁸

Ottoman Turkish was also the catalyst for a change in the way Hebrew-origin verbal complements were used in Judezmo analytic verbs. In Early Middle Judezmo, Hebrew present participles used in analytic verbal constructions with the Spanish-origin auxiliary verb *ser* 'to be' agreed with the subject in number and gender, as in Spanish (and Hebrew): e.g., *Eyos son zoxim* (H. m.pl. *zoxim* זוכים) 'They (m.) are worthy', *Eyas fweron niftarot* 'They (f.) passed away' (H. f.pl. *niftarot* נפטרות). But in Late Middle Judezmo, under the influence of the use of the invariant, etymologically masculine singular form of the Arabic-origin present participle in Turkish 'light' verbs with auxiliary *ol-* 'to become'—e.g., *lāyik*²³⁹ [< A. m.sg. *lāyiq*] *oldw/oldular* 'he was / they were worthy', in which the complement is formally singular, although the auxiliary verb may be singular or plural, and the referent of the verb may be masculine or feminine—Hebrew-origin verbal participles with *ser* also began to be invariantly masculine singular: e.g., *Eyos son zoxé* (H. m.sg. *zoxe* זוכה) 'They (m.) are worthy', *Eyas fweron niftar* 'They (f.) passed away' (H. m.sg. *niftar* נפטר).²⁴⁰ Thus the Hebrew participles began to parallel the use of the Arabic-origin participles borrowed into

237 E.g., "*Pwede ser ke eyos sepan kitarte esta manera en medyo*" 'Maybe they can expose you in this way' (anon., *Mešalim de Šelomō amēlex*, Constantinople 1766, f. 12a).

238 E.g., "*No tenian kara de dezirle a Mošē*" 'They did not dare tell Moše' (Magriso, *Me'am lo'ez heleq šeni misefer šēmot* [Note 157 above], f. 56b).

239 Judezmo *layik* is documented in a manuscript dictionary from Izmir, c. 1910.

240 Other etymologically masculine-singular Arabic-origin participles employed in Turkish 'light' verb constructions with auxiliary *ol-* ('be, become') which have been borrowed into Judezmo include: *mecbur* (< A. *mağbūr*) 'to be obliged, compelled' (cf. 20th-century Izmir J. *megbur* [ms. dictionary]); *mevcud* (< A. *mawğūd*) 'to exist, be present' (cf. early 20th-century Sofia J. *mevgud* [H. B. 'Arye, *Kestyōn gūdīa: estudyos*, K. Tsutsev, Sofia 1900, p. 16]); *musallat* (< A. *musallaṭ*) 'to worry, pester' (cf. 20th-century Edime J. *azerse musallat* 'to work furiously, unrelentingly' (Abraham Danon, "Essai sur les vocables turcs dans le judéo-espagnol", *Keleti Szemle* 4 (1903), pp. 215-229, 5 (1904), pp. 111-126 [p. 119]). For a more detailed analysis of Judezmo analytic verbs with Hebrew-origin complements, see David M. Bunis, "Judezmo Analytic Verbs with a Hebrew-Origin Participle: Evidence of Ottoman Influence", in Bunis, *Languages and Literatures of Sephardic and Oriental Jewry* [Note 38 above].

Judezmo from Turkish: e.g., *El es / Eyos son muxtač* ‘He needs / They need’ (< T. *muhtaç* < A. *muhtāg*).²⁴¹

8.2.4 Adjectives

Fusion adjectives derived from bases used in Turkish and other languages of the empire and derivational suffixes of Hispanic origin begin to receive documentation in the mid-seventeenth century. Most of these are past participles of derived verbs with Turkish bases, with adjectival function: e.g., *bitireado*²⁴² ‘finished, completed’ (< *bitirear* < T. *bitir-*), *bineado*²⁴³ ‘mounted (on an animal)’ (< *binear* < T. *bin-*), *boyadeado*²⁴⁴ ‘painted’ (< *boyadear* < T. *boya-*). Other derived adjectives exhibit various productive Hispanic-origin adjectivizing suffixes: e.g., *-Vvle* (S. *-Vble*) in *kurutavle*²⁴⁵ ‘dry, rainless’ < *kuru* ‘dry’ (and cf. causative *kurut-* ‘cause to dry’); *-ozo* (S. *-oso*) in *pizmozo*²⁴⁶ ‘stubborn’ < G. *peisma* ‘obstinacy’.

9. Loan translations and syntactic influence

Syntactically and in terms of idiomatic expression, the relatively few extant texts from the Early Middle Judezmo period make use of constructions of Hispanic origin, and also interweave calques of Hebrew origin exemplifying the *ladino* or literal calque register characteristic of the language of sacred-text translation. But by the Late

241 E.g., “*Se topan talmidē xaxamim ke no son muxtač i ya tyenen sus revenidos*” ‘There are rabbinical scholars who are not needy and have ready sources of income’ (*El gugeton* 5:26 [Constantinople 1913], p. 3).

242 E.g., *Šabbētay, Torat hayyim*, vol. 1 [Note 17 above], no. 82, from Chios, cited in Note 17 above.

243 E.g., “*Estando bineado, ke lo saludara*” ‘While mounted [on his camel], let him greet him’ (Xulí, *Me’am lo’ez* [...] *bēresit* [Note 53 above], f. 118a).

244 E.g., “*dos ilos de lana boyadeados* ‘two woolen threads, dyed’ (Magriso, *Me’am lo’ez heleq šeni misefer šemot* [Note 157 above], f. 16b).

245 E.g., “*Esto era en anyos kurutavles, però en anyo ke avia beraxā kitava en lugar ke se sembrava*” ‘This was in dry years, but in a year in which there was blessed rain [the soil] yielded wherever it had been sowed’ (Magriso, *Me’am lo’ez* [...] *jbēmidbar* [Note 141 above], f. 64a).

246 E.g., “*Son ravyozos i pizmozos*” ‘They are angry and stubborn’ (Xulí, *Me’am lo’ez* [...] *šemot* [Note 99 above], f. 28a).

Middle Judezmo period, numerous calques of Turkisms idioms had found their way into the texts. Some of the calques of Turkish verbal expressions were cited in section 8.2.3 above. There are also loan translations of other Turkish constructions. Although they are phrased entirely in elements of Hispanic origin, their lack of parallels in Hispanic sources and their clear resemblance to Turkish idioms make their Ottoman sources obvious. Such calques include: *de ke?* ‘why?’ < T. *neden* (vs. S. *¿porqué?*);²⁴⁷ consecutive number expressions such as *syete očo (días)* ‘seven or eight (literally, seven eight) (days)’, cf. T. *yedi-sekiz gūn* (vs. S. *siete u ocho*);²⁴⁸ *sovre mi kavesa* ‘I swear’ (literally, ‘upon my head’) < T. *baş(im) üstüne* (vs. S. *por mi vida*, etc.);²⁴⁹ *poko munčo* ‘more or less (literally, little much), approximately’ < T. *az çok* (vs. S. *más o menos*);²⁵⁰ *sin ley* ‘atheist’ < T. *dinsiz* (< A. *dīn*).²⁵¹

Furthermore, Turkish *aşağı yukarı* ‘approximately’ (literally, down up) would seem to be the model for the synonymous, morphemically Hebrew expression *mala mata* (מטלה מעלה, i.e., ‘up down’), used in Ottoman Sephardic rabbinical Hebrew as well as Judezmo.²⁵² Turkish influence is probably responsible, as well, for the generic use of a singular noun rather than a plural if accompanied by a qualifier denoting plurality, e.g., *munča ora* ‘many hours (literally, many hour)’ (cf. T. *çok saat*).²⁵³ The idiom *aramızda teklif yok* is reflected as *de ti a mi no ay teklif*²⁵⁴ ‘There is no need for formal

247 E.g., “*De ke se-riō [...] De ke fizo burla?*” ‘Why did he laugh [...]? Why did he make fun?’ (Sabbētay, *Torat hayyim*, vol. 1 [Note 17 above], no. 82); “*De ke estáš asentado?*” ‘Why are you sitting?’ (Magriso, *Me’am lo’ez heleq šeni misefer šemot* [Note 157 above], f. 112b).

248 E.g., “*Syete očo días estuvo en Karā Musal*” ‘He was in Kara Musal seven or eight days’ (Salton, *Bēne Moše* [Note 65 above], no. 26, from Iznimit 1635).

249 E.g., “*Sovre mi kavesa, non saldrē un punto de ake[l]ya šavaā*” ‘I swear I shall never change that will’ (Sahalon, *Še’elot ušvot Mahari*”*† Šahalon haḥadašot* [Note 34 above], no. 33).

250 E.g., “*Poko munčo ya te traygo lo ke me enbía el Še[m] yiθ[barax]*” ‘More or less I bring you what the [Holy] Name Blessed be He sent me’ (Magriso, *Me’am lo’ez [...] wayiqra* [Note 58 above], f. 77a).

251 E.g., “*izo de un sin ley*” ‘son of an atheist’ (Toledo, *Koplas de Yosef Asadik alav ašalom* [Note 170 above], 1755, f. 15b).

252 E.g., “*estando lešos de el unos 170 pikos mala mata [...]*” ‘being at a distance from him of approximately 170 lengths [...]’ (Xulí, *Me’am lo’ez [...] bērešit* [Note 53 above], f. 179b).

253 “*Estuvo penando para salir de la agwa munča ora*” ‘He was struggling to get out of the water many hours’ (Argwete, *Me’am lo’ez [...] dēvarim* [Note 164 above], f. 25a).

254 E.g., “*De ti a mi no ay teklif*” ‘Between you and me there is no formality’ (anon., *Sippur hanes*, Salonika ab 1755, f. 11b).

behavior between us' (literally, between you and me there is no formality). Calques of Turkish also include entire phrases, such as, *El Dyo es grande!* < *Allah büyüktür!* (literally, 'God is great!') 'God is sure to punish one someday for an injustice! Let us rely on God!'²⁵⁵ Turkisms may be used figuratively, as suggested in the statement: "*Dizen [...] por azer vengansa en las gentes [...] Son pan xarân*" 'They say, in order to take revenge on people, [...] They are forbidden bread'.²⁵⁶

At least according to the available documentation, throughout the Middle Judezmo period, Judezmo does not yet seem to have undergone any major syntactic influence from Turkish other than the calque constructions of the type referred to in this and the preceding sections. Qualified nouns which have become lexicalized exhibit Turkish word order, e.g., *belkyeš*²⁵⁷ 'purse kept around one's waist' (T. *bel kese*), *yan torbâ*²⁵⁸ 'field bag' (T. *yan torbastı*). In non-lexicalized noun phrases with an adjective the Turkish word order, adjective + noun, is rarely encountered; e.g., "*Es tevekël ombre*" 'He is an indifferent man';²⁵⁹ "*en gran misirlia letra*" 'in large Egyptian letters'.²⁶⁰ Rather, it is the Hispanic order, noun + adjective, which prevails, even if both noun and adjective are of Ottoman origin: e.g., *fes angidi*²⁶¹ 'red fez' (cf. T. *angıdı fes*); *un dolamâ meneviš*²⁶² 'blue jacket' (cf. T. *m-/beneviš[li] dolama* < P. *meneviš, dolaman*); *letra [...]* 'arabi' 'Arabic letters' (cf. T. *arabi/-pça harfleri*).²⁶³

255 *Mešalim de Šelomô amēlex* (Note 237 above), f. 5b.

256 *Sippur hanes* [Note 254 above], f. 5b.

257 E.g., "ידעתי שהמעות שהיו לו היו צרוורים לו בבילכיסו שלו" 'I knew that his coins were tied up in the purse around his waist' (Mitrani, *Šē'elot utšuvot [...]* *Yosef ben Moše Mitrani*, vol. two [Note 84 above], *'Even ha' ezer*, no. 24, from Istanbul 1620).

258 Haviv Amato in *De Medina, Šē'elot utšuvot Maharasdam, Hošen mišpat*. [Note 22 above], no. 5.

259 Xuli, *Me'am lo'ez [...]* *bērešit* [Note 53 above], f. 169b; cf. T. *tevekkul*, colloquial *tevekël* < A. *tawakkul*.

260 Toledo, *Koplas de Yosef Asadik alav ašalom* [Note 170 above], 1755, f. 13b.

261 E.g., "*Vide a la mučaca kon un fes angidi en la kavesa*" 'I saw the girl with a red fez on her head' (Yishaq Sebeb, Hakohen Pērahya, *Paraḥ matte 'Aharon*, vol. 3 [Note 27 above], no. 18, from Salonika 1685).

262 "*Yevava [...]* *un dolamâ meneviš*" 'He was wearing [...] a blue jacket' (Yosef Musači, in Hakohen Pērahya, *Paraḥ matte 'Aharon*, vol. 3 [Note 27 above], no. 38, from Salonika 1689).

263 Toledo, *Koplas de Yosef Asadik alav ašalom* [Note 170 above], 1755, f. 13b.

10. Closing remarks

The intensive interaction between the Judezmo speakers of the Ottoman Empire and their Turkish-speaking neighbors led to a gradually deepening knowledge of Turkish on the part of the Jews of the empire as a community, although there was undoubtedly individual variation between persons and probably even social sectors. Linguistically, the Turkish-Jewish encounter was reflected in an increasingly significant Turkish component in Ottoman Judezmo, paralleling in some ways the Turkish component in other languages of the Balkans. During the transition between what I have elsewhere called the Early and Late Middle Judezmo periods, the Turkish elements in the language grew in number and structural sophistication, as well as in the semantic domains to which they referred. Many of the developments we have noted in the language's Turkish component suggest that, at least with respect to that component, the Late Middle Judezmo period may already have begun in the second half of the seventeenth century, rather than the early eighteenth century, as I had suggested in earlier work. In either case, the Ottoman elements in Judezmo came to constitute an important, well-integrated component in the pre-modern language. Some constituents of the component survive in Judezmo to this day. But as is true among speakers of other languages of the Balkans today, contemporary Judezmo speakers feel increasing pressure to replace the veteran Turkisms in their language with analogues of other origins—in the case of Judezmo, generally from Romance languages—thus 'de-Ottomanizing' Judezmo, and cutting its former bonds with other languages of the Balkans.

