

On two derivational phenomena in Judeo-Spanish

Ora (Rodrigo) Schwarzwald, Bar-Ilan University

Abstract

Two phenomena in the derivation of words in Judeo-Spanish are presented here: a. e-o vowel alternations within the stem; b. morpheme prefixation of a- and en- to base stems. The vowel alternation can be explained by historical, etymological and sociolinguistic factors together with dialectal and literary preferences. The prefixation continues Hispanic trends, but shows innovations in JS that apply to Hispanic as well as to non-Hispanic stems.

Keywords: *Judeo-Spanish, derivation, sociolinguistics, history, etymology.*

1 Introduction

Words are derived in a variety of ways in every language. Words of the same etymological origin may take dissimilar derivational turns in different languages. Here are two examples: (a) Latin *homo*, *-īnis* 'man', becomes *hombre* in Spanish, *home* in French and Catalan, *uomo* in Italian, and *homem* in Portuguese; (b) Persian *pairidaēza* 'circling wall' was borrowed by many languages: Greek *παράδεισος* '(originally) circling wall, (later) garden, zoo,' Latin *paradisus*, English *paradise*, French *paradis*, Spanish *paraíso*, Catalan *paradis*, German *paradies* meaning 'paradise,' Hebrew *pardes*, Aramaic *pardesa~paradisa*, and Arabic *farādis~firdaus* meaning 'orchard.' Each of these languages adopted the original word either from a genealogical source or from a borrowed word, changed it to fit its phonological and morphological system and modified its meaning.

In the present study, two such derivational phenomena will be described in Judeo-Spanish (JS), a language which is based on medieval Iberian Spanish. JS is the language of the Jews who were expelled from Spain in 1492 and settled in the Ottoman Empire and in North Africa (Bunis 1992; Díaz-Mas 1992). Many of the converted Jews (new Christians) left Spain and Portugal at a later date and subsequently returned to

Judaism. Some of these ex-converted Jews were assimilated into the JS communities of the previously expelled Jews; others formed their own communities in Italy, the Netherlands, England, and France. Because most of the Jews were detached from the Iberian varieties of Spanish, JS developed and changed over the years. Due to the large geographical area in which the Jews settled, various JS dialects were formed (Quintana 2006).

The two derivational phenomena that will be discussed here are: a. *e-o* vowel alternations within the stem; b. morpheme prefixation to base stems. In both cases the derivation in JS diverges from standard Spanish and shows fluctuations of forms. Vowel alternation developed as a result of historical, etymological and sociolinguistic factors together with dialectal and literary preferences. Morpheme prefixation continued Hispanic linguistics trends, but shows innovations in JS.

2 Vowel alternations within stems

A number of JS words show *e-o* vowel alternation within the stem. Two examples will be described and analyzed in detail (1-2). Other similar examples will be briefly discussed afterwards.

2.1 JS first example

- (1) a. *veluntað~voluntað* 'wish, desire' (N)
 b. *enveluntar~envoluntar* 'want' (V)

The Latin sources are VOLŪNTAS, -ATIS (N) and VELLE (V). Modern Spanish only uses the nominal form *voluntad*, although the verb *voluntar* 'want' occurs in old juridical medieval Spanish texts.¹⁶⁹ The vowel *e* does not occur in the stem of any derivations of the Modern Spanish word (Corominas & Pascual 1981-1991, v. *voluntad*).

¹⁶⁹ The form *voluntaren* 'they will want (FUT.SUBJ)' was attested in 1219 according to REAL ACADEMIA ESPAÑOLA: Banco de datos (CORDE) [en línea]. *Corpus diacrónico del español*. <<http://www.rae.es>> (compo DL-23).

In medieval JS texts from Castile and Aragon the following forms appear: *voluntad*, *boluntaθ*, *veluntaθ*, *beluntad* (Minervini 1992: 486).¹⁷⁰ These forms already exhibit *o-e* alternations in JS. The alternations of the letters *v-b* existed in medieval and post medieval Spanish, representing /b/ and /β/ which turned into the allophones [b~β] in Modern Spanish (Penny 2002: 73-74). In JS *b* and *v* became autonomous phonemes after the Middle Ages.

In medieval non-Jewish Spanish translations of the Bible, I found only one occurrence of *avelunto* for the Hebrew *rāšā* '(he) wanted' (Biblia de Évola dated 1429, 1Chron. 28: 4; see <http://corpus.bibliamedieval.es/>). For all other translations of this verb in its various occurrences, *aver/fazer voluntad/t* 'have/do the wish' was used whenever the stem *voluntad* was chosen. The Hebrew noun *rāšōn* 'wish' only appears as *voluntad/t* in a few translations, and never as *veluntad*.

Ottoman Empire JS texts from the 16th century onwards only use the forms *veluntad*, *enveluntar*, and rarely <*enbeluntar*> in early texts. The JS Ferrara Bible from 1553 written in Latin letters and late JS Hebrew script texts from Italy only use *voluntad* and *envoluntar*.

Two explanations can be given for the common JS forms: vowel dissimilation or different etymologies. In the case of dissimilation, speakers distanced the back non-low vowels (*o-u*) from each other, and used a fronted vowel instead of *o*, namely *e*, hence forming *veluntad* from which *enveluntar* was derived.¹⁷¹

According to the second explanation, the early Latin verb influenced the JS formation. Speakers took the vowel *e* from the Latin verbal *VELLE* form and generalized it into the nominal form. Apparently, they were aware of the commonly used Spanish form in nouns as reflected in fluctuating JS medieval forms. However, they preferred the *veluntad* and *enveluntar* forms and continued using these in exile throughout the Ottoman Empire (Nehama 1977: 183, 583). Moreover, JS speakers expanded this usage

¹⁷⁰ JS was written in Hebrew letters until the middle of the Twentieth Century, when its speakers switched to using Latin letters. Early Latin script JS texts were printed by ex-converted communities. JS is represented phonetically here.

¹⁷¹ Such a dissimilation exists in Hebrew, e.g. in biblical Hebrew *roš* 'head' + *-on* > *rišon* 'first,' *tox* 'inside' + *-on* > *tixon* 'central, intermediary'; in Modern Hebrew *cemergefen* > *cemargefen* 'cotton wool.'

to other derived forms: *veluntario* 'voluntary, willful; spontaneous (Adj); volunteer (N),' *veluntozo* 'wishing (Adj)'; *enveluntado* 'preferred (Adj),' *enveluntarse* 'want; to become reconciled.' The equivalent *voluntario* still exists in Modern Spanish with the vowel *o*. The other JS derived forms have no parallels in Spanish.

The situation is different for the JS speaking communities in Italy, many of which were comprised of ex-converted Jews who returned to Judaism after leaving Spain. During their stay in Spain, they had used Christian Spanish in order to conceal their Jewish ancestry. After leaving Spain and Portugal, they kept close ties with these countries for familial, diplomatic and commercial reasons. The language of these communities was influenced by Spanish standards; therefore, they kept using *voluntad* with the vowel *o*, as in Spanish. Close contact with the expelled Jewish communities and the need to use the verbal form of the same stem caused the formation of *envoluntar*.

2.2 JS second example

- (2) a. *afermoziguar/fermoziguar~afermoziguar* 'beautify, glorify' (V)
 b. *fermozo~hermozo~ermozo~formozo* 'beautiful' (Adj)
 c. *fermozura~hermozura~ermozura* 'beauty' (N)

The Spanish equivalents are *hermosear* (V), *hermoso* (Adj), and *hermosura* (N).¹⁷² The Latin etymology for *hermoso* is FORMŌSUS. *Hermosear* and *hermosura* are derived from *hermoso* in Spanish. Portuguese *formoso*, literary Catalan *formós* (spoken Catalan *hermós* due to Castilian influence), and Italian *formoso* 'shapely' kept the vowel *o*. The change of the Latin vowel *o* to the Spanish *e* is already apparent in medieval Spanish (Perhaps it is a dissimilation process, as explained above, to avoid two consecutive *o* vowels.).

In addition to the vowel *e-o* alternations in (2a-b), the existence of *f* in JS needs consideration. In the history of the Spanish language, the initial *f* turned into *h* and was eventually lost in pronunciation although kept in writing (Lapesa 1984: 142-146, 379-

¹⁷² Spanish /s/ is often pronounced [z] intervocalically in JS.

380, 422; Penny 2002: 90-94). During the Middle Ages and in the 16th and 17th centuries, the letters *f* and *h* alternated in orthography, both in Spanish and in JS texts, but from the 18th century onwards, *h* was written in Spanish in words like *forno*~*horno* > *horno* 'oven,' *figado*~*higado* > *higado* 'liver.'¹⁷³ However, in JS, the letter *h* (Hebrew *he*) was totally omitted from the 18th century onwards, thus forming the words *ermozo*, *orno*, and *igađo* (spelled with an initial *aleph*). The occurrence of *f* in (2a) proves that the word was created early in medieval Spanish, because it did not undergo the change *f*>*h*> \emptyset (there is *ermozear* but no **ermoziguar*). The forms in (2a) are literal, those in (2b-c) are used regularly in all circumstances; however, those with an initial *f* were restricted to some JS dialects from the 18th century onwards, especially in the Thessaloniki area and in the western parts of the Balkans (where the above words are still pronounced today as [fórno, fíyađo~féyađo]).

The distribution of the *o-e* forms in (2a-b) is not as clear cut as in the first example (1). Most of the forms in (2a-b) with the vowel *o* after *f* occur in Italy, although sometimes *e* occurs there as well; most of the forms with the vowel *e* occur in the JS of the Ottoman Empire, although sometimes with the vowel *o* (Schwarzwald 1989: 417; 2008: 224-225, 314, 318; Wiesner 1982: 4). This distribution means that both forms were familiar to JS speakers.

Unlike example (1) above, it seems that the Ottoman Jews preferred in (2a-b) the old Spanish variety with the vowel *e*. Italian Jews seem to have favored the Latin etymology of the vowel stem *o*, which could also be explained by language contact with Italian and Portuguese, the spoken language of the ex-converted Jews which retained the vowel *o* as well.

Perhaps there is also a better literal explanation for the uneven distribution of the forms. Sometimes the forms occurred next to each other in the same phrase when translators tried to find equivalents to the Hebrew verbs *pe'er* 'glorify,' *šibbeaḥ* 'praise,' and *hiddar* 'praise, exalt,' when referring to God's greatness. In order to slightly alter the closely related meanings which are represented in Hebrew by different words, the translators used fluctuating forms, thus alternating the forms with *e* and *o*.

¹⁷³ In some dialects in the north and west of the Iberian Peninsula, *f* has been longer retained phonetically.

2.3 Other examples

It seems that the *e~o* alternation occurs in the environment of the labio-dental consonants *v* and *f*, as in the previous examples, and as in example (3). However, the other examples exhibit *e~o* alternations in different environments. This means that this phonetic factor is invalid.

- (3) *afrentar~afrontar* 'insult; confront (V)' (Sp. *afrentar*; *afrontar*; Latin *affrontāre*, derived from *frōns*, *-tis* 'front')

Both forms existed in medieval Spanish, although they are semantically distinct today in Modern Spanish: *afrentar* 'insult,' *afrontar* 'bring face to face; confront.' The change from *o* to *e* occurred in medieval Spanish based on the Latin varieties (Corominas and Pascual 1981-1991, v. *frente*; cf. *frente* 'front' < ancient *fruenta* < Latin *FRŌNS*, *-TIS*). The old variations were kept in JS, although *afrentar* is much more frequently used than *afrontar* (Perez & Pimienta 2007; Koén-Sarano 2009/10). *Afrontar* is more commonly used only in the Thessaloniki area (Nehama 1977: 12). The following derivatives occur in JS: *afrenta~afrenta~afrento*, *afrentación* 'insult (N)', *afrentado~afrentado* 'insulted (Adj)', *afrentarse* 'confront with.'

- (4) *se~so*, *semos~somos* 'be.pres.1sg, 1pl' (Sp. *soy*, *somos*; Latin *sum*, *sumus*)

According to Quintana, the forms *so* and *somos* are literal whereas *se* and *semos* are vernacular in JS. The existence of *semos* can be seen in vulgar Iberian dialects from Aragón and Andalucía, based on the ancient form *sedemos* > *seemos* > *semos*. The first person singular form was derived from the plural form by analogy, and probably influenced by the stem vowel of the verb *ser* 'be' (Quintana 2006: 151-152).

- (5) *koneser~konoser* 'recognize, know' (Sp. *conocer*; Latin *cognoscere*; Prt. *conhecer*;
Catalan *conèixer*)

Both forms were used in JS. The most commonly used form is *konoser*, however *koneser* has also been used since the 16th century (e.g. on the title page of *Shulhan Hapanim*, also called *Meza de el alma*, from 1568). *Koneser* was probably either a dialectal form inherited from the Iberian Peninsula or the result of the influence of Portuguese speaking communities on JS speakers (Corominas and Pascual 1981-1991, v. *conocer*).

- (6) *preva~prova* 'proof, evidence, trial (N),' *prevar~provar* 'prove, try (V)' (Sp. *prueba* from *probar* 'try, examine'; Latin *prōbāre*; Prt. and Catalan *prova, provar*)

The medieval spelling of the word was with the letter *v*, *prova*, *provar*, as in JS, Portuguese and Catalan. The vulgar and dialectal Iberian forms included the vowel *e*, *prueva* > *preva* (Corominas and Pacual 1981-1991, v. *probar*). These forms were retained in JS. It is only in early JS texts from the 16th century that *preva* occurs. The forms with the vowel *o* were probably influenced later by Portuguese.

2.4 Overview

The few examples presented above show *e~o* alternations in JS stems. All the forms are based on medieval Spanish which derived from early (vulgar) Latin forms. Traces of the variants can be found either in the dialectal diversity that already existed in the Iberian Peninsula, as in examples (1, 3-5) or in the later influence that languages in contact had on Jewish communities, as in examples (2, 5-6).

Various factors play a role in JS vowel alternations:

- (a) Etymological – the Latin stem used for the derivation of words: we demonstrated in (1) that one of the explanations can be that *enveluntar* was derived from the Latin *VELLE* rather than from the nominal *VOLŪNTAS*, -ATIS.

(b) Dialectal – the Iberian dialects that influenced JS forms, as in examples (2-6) where either Portuguese and Catalan dialects or vulgar forms effected the choice of the variations.

(c) Local – the places where JS speakers settled: there are differences in the uses of some variations between the JS speakers who lived in the Ottoman Empire and those who lived in Italy. This is especially clear in examples (1) and (2) where *envelontar* and *heromzo~fermozo* were used specifically in the Ottoman Empire, while *envoluntar* and *hormozo~formozo* were used in Italy. The choice of *se* and *semos* in (4) is typical of spoken JS in the Ottoman Empire communities, but not in Italy. The impact of neighboring languages is also detectable in example (2) where either Italian or spoken Portuguese influenced the choice of the vowel *o* in *formozo*.

(d) Linguistic mode – the modes (written or spoken) in which words occur: example (4) demonstrates the difference between literary and spoken modes. The forms *so* and *somos* only occur in JS literature in the Ottoman Empire. *Se* and *semos* occur in spoken JS and in humoristic writings which imitate the spoken varieties (Bunis 1999: 377, 395, 440, 444).¹⁷⁴

(e) Historical – the time of change, in old or modern JS: some of the variations are already attested in medieval times, as in examples (1, 3-5) and these were retained in JS. In example (6) we can observe an historical change as *preva* is used in the 16th century, while *prova* developed later.

These factors are all connected to each other and encompass linguistic as well as sociolinguistic considerations. The linguistic factors involve the etymology of the forms and their diachronic change through the years. The sociolinguistic factors involve the users of the language: they reflect the locations where the Jews originated in the Iberian Peninsula; they represent different JS dialects in various locations – the Ottoman Empire versus Italy; they mirror different communities – expelled Jews versus ex-converted Jews whose linguistic substrata were dissimilar; and finally, language registers alter according to linguistic modes – formal and written versus vernacular JS.

¹⁷⁴ Quintana (2006: 151) mentions one occurrence of the form in a *copla* (a sung poem) from Thessaloniki, which is also an oral variety.

The examination of these vowel alternations can only prove that there is no consistency in JS words regarding *e-o* stem variations, thus no rule can be formulated. Each word needs different analysis and explanation.

3 Morpheme prefixation to base stems

Examples (1-3) have already demonstrated JS parasynthetic prefixation processes: *enveluntar*~ *envoluntar* in (1) shows the addition of the prefix *en-* to the stems; *afermoziguar*~ *aformoziguar* in (2) and *afrentar*~*afrontar* in (3) demonstrate the addition of the prefix *a-* to the stems. In the following subsection two JS prefixes will be described, *a-* and *en-* which do not carry specific meanings and which are interchangeable at times. Other prefixes like *es-*,¹⁷⁵ *des-*, and *re-*¹⁷⁶ will not be described here, although they also show great variations and need special etymological consideration. The prefixes described here are common in JS; some are based on ancient forms, others are JS innovations.

¹⁷⁵ There are no direct equivalent forms in either Spanish or Latin for many morphological and semantic examples with the prefix *es-*, e.g. *eskarinyar* 'yearn for, miss someone, long for' (from *karinyo?* 'love, fondness'; Sp. *encariñarse* 'grow fond of'; Latin *CARĒRE* 'lack, be in need of', Aragonese *cariño* 'nostalgia'); *esbivlar* 'desecrate' (Old Sp. *aviltamiento* from Old Sp. *aviltar* 'debase, degrade' derived from dialectal *viltat*, from vulgar Latin **VILĪTAS*, *-ĀTIS* 'vileness'); *espander* 'scatter, extend' (Sp. *expandir?*; Latin *EXPANDĒRE*).

¹⁷⁶ The prefixes *re-* and *des-* are more transparent in meaning, although *des-* alternates very often with *es-* in JS, e.g. *destruir*~*estruir* 'destroy' (Sp. *destruir*; Latin *DESTRUĒRE*), *deskožer*~*eskožer* 'choose' (Sp. *coger*, Latin *EX-* and *COLLIGĒRE*); *reklamar* 'demand, claim, prosecute' (Sp. *reclamar*, Latin *RECLAMĀRE* from *RE-* and *CLAMĀRE* 'call').

3.1 Examples with the prefix *a-*:

- (7) *abašar* 'go down, lower' (Sp. *bajar* from *bajo* 'low', Latin *bassus*)¹⁷⁷
- (8) *abastar* 'be sufficient' (Sp. *bastar*, Vulgar Latin **bastāre* from Greek *βαστάζειν*)
- (9) *alevantar* 'get up, stand up' (Sp. *levantar*; Latin *levante* from *levar*)
- (10) *asoplar* 'blow away, blow on' (Sp. *soplar*, Latin *sufflāre*)
- (11) *ar(r)ogar~rogar* 'plead' (Sp. *rogar*; Latin *rogāre*)
- (12) *ar(r)ekožer~rekožer* 'collect, gather' (Sp. *recoger*; Latin *recolligēre*)
- (13) *aboltar* 'turn upside down' (Sp. *voltear* from *vuelta*; Latin **volūta*)

Examples (7-12) show the addition of the prefix *a-* to stems of Spanish origins with no further change. In example (13) there is a slight change from the Spanish source: /b/ is retained intervocalically in JS and the ending is *-ar* rather than *-ear*.

- (14) *asender~ensender* 'lighten' (Sp. *encender*, Old Sp. *acender*; Prt. *acender*; Latin INCENDĒRE)

Example (14) shows free alternations in JS – *asender~ensender*. The form *asender* is based on an Old Spanish form which also exists in Portuguese, whereas the variant *ensender* is directly derived from the Latin source which also prevailed in Modern Spanish.

- (15) *amatar* 'extinguish (e.g. light, fire)' (Sp. *extinguir*, *apagar*, rarely *matar*; Old Sp. *amatar*)¹⁷⁸

¹⁷⁷ JS kept the medieval consonants /š/, /ž/ and /ǧ/, which changed to /x/ in Modern Spanish, e.g. JS *dīšo* 's/he said,' *īžo* 'son, child,' *ǧente* 'people,' *ǧusto* 'correct, right' (Sp. *dijo*, *hijo*, *gente*, *justo*)

¹⁷⁸ The etymology of *matar* is unclear according to DRAE. It occurs in other Romance languages – French, Italian, and Portuguese (but rarely in Latin). Several suggestions have been raised regarding its source (Corominas & Pascual (1981-1991, v. *matar*). The verb can be found in medieval Mozarabic *harǧas* from the Iberian Peninsula. It should be noted that the Semitic source has not been considered,

The verb *amatar* in JS is distinctly different from *matar*, although semantically related to it. *Matar* means 'to kill,' whereas *amatar* is 'to extinguish light or fire.'

(16) *axenar(se)* 'beatify (oneself)' (from Hebrew *ḥen* [xen] 'beauty, grace')

The example in (16) shows the productivity of this prefixation process, as the prefix *a-* applies to a loan word from Hebrew.

(17) *aboniguar* 'improve, make better' (Sp. *abonar* from *bueno* 'good'; Latin BONUS 'good')

(18) *abiviguar* 'revive' (Sp. *avivar* from *vivo* 'alive, living' from Latin VIVUS)

(19) *abidiguar*~*abediguar* 'revive'

The last three examples (17-19) need special consideration. All three, like (2a), carry the verbal ending *-guar* derived from Latin -IFICĀRE (Penny 2002: 293), as in Spanish *santiguar* 'bless,' *fraguar* 'build,' and Old Spanish *amochiguar* and *muchiguar* 'increase, multiply' (from *mucho* 'much, a lot' from Latin MULTIFICĀRE; both forms are still used in JS). Nevertheless, all three parallel verbs in Spanish do not carry this ending.

These three JS examples carry different stems from Spanish. JS *aboniguar* resembles Spanish *abonar* in the prefix *a-*, but differs from its stem.

Both (18) and (19) occur in liturgical translations of the Hebrew verb *le-haḥayot* 'to-revive,' from the 16th century onwards, and later on in independent texts. The JS verb *abiviguar*~*abeviguar* (17), like the Spanish *avivar* is derived from the adjective *vivo* 'alive' or the verb *vivir* 'live,' but as in (13), /b/ exists intervocalically in JS, whereas Spanish keeps the [β] <v> sound.¹⁷⁹ The verb *abiviguar* occurs in texts from the ex-

although the root *m-(w)-t* exists in Arabic and Hebrew meaning 'to die', from which 'to kill' has been derived in Semitic languages (e.g. Hebrew *hemit* 'killed').

¹⁷⁹ Blondheim (1925: 172) attributes this to ADVVICARE, rather than to VIVIR. The verb *abeviguar*~*abiviguar* also occurs sometimes in medieval non-Jewish Bible translations, next to *resucitar*

converted communities in Italy and Amsterdam, and as stated above, these communities kept close ties with Spain; therefore they retained the source stem of *vivo*.

The equivalent verb presented in (19) *abidiguar~abediguar* occurs in JS texts from the Ottoman Empire. Two explanations can account for this verb formation: dissimilation or a different stems. According to the first explanation, in order to avoid two consecutive labial consonants *b* and *v*, one of the sounds dissimilated and changed into the alveolar *d*. However, according to the second explanation, the source of *abediguar~abidiguar* is the stem of Spanish *vida* 'life' (Latin *VITA*), from which the verb was formed with the consonant *d* instead of *v* (Sepiha 1973: 240; Wiesner 1981: 16).

3.2 Examples with the prefix *en-*

- (20) *embanyar* 'wash; clean the dead corps' (Sp. *bañar* from *baño* 'bath'; Latin *BALNEĀRE*)
- (21) *enreinar* 'rule as a king' (Sp. *reinar*; Latin *REGNĀRE*)
- (22) *enmentar* 'remind' (Sp. *mentar* from *mente* 'mind, understanding,' from Latin *MENS, MENTIS*),
- (23) *endevinar~endivinar* 'predict, prophesy' (Sp. *adivinar, divinar*; Latin *DIVINĀRE*)
- (24) *ençikeser* 'reduce, lessen' (Sp. *achicar* from *chico* 'small,' from Latin *CICCUM*)
- (25) *engraciar* 'endow' (Sp. *agradar*, Old Sp. *engraciar* from *gracia*, from Latin *GRATĪA*)

The examples show that some of the verbs are derived in JS by prefixation of *en-* to the stem. In some cases the addition is straightforward (20-22). In (23) JS opted for the prefix *en-* whereas Spanish for the prefix *a-*. The same preference is demonstrated in (24), where JS uses *en-* while Spanish has *a-*, however, the verb formation is totally different in these languages, although both are derived from the adjective *chico* 'small.'

'revive' or other compound expressions. DRAE does not recognize the word; Corominas and Pascual mention *aviviguar*(!) and *avidiguar*(!) as JS words (1981-1991, v. *vivo*).

Example (25) shows retention of an Old Spanish form which is not in use anymore in Modern Spanish.

- (26) *enladinar~ladinar* 'translate into Ladino, explain' (from *Ladino*,¹⁸⁰ from Latin LATĪNUS, LATINO)

Both forms in (26) *enladinar~ladinar* are derived from the language name Ladino, and both verbs are in use with no dialectal preferences. The verbs do not exist in Spanish.

- (27) *embatakar(se)* 'get dirty' (from Turkish *batak* 'swamp, filth')

The example in (27), *embatakar(se)*, shows that the process of *en-* prefixation is active and applies to words of non-Latin origins, just like *axenar(se)* in (16) (cf. also *enxaremar~enxeremar~enxarmar* 'excommunicate, ostracize' from the Hebrew *herem* [xérem] 'ban, excommunication')

- (28) *enfeuziar* 'trust', believe in' (from JS *feuzia* 'trust, assurance' from Latin FĪDŪCĪA)

Enfeuziar in (28) is a common JS word which has no equivalent form in Spanish (Quintana 2006: 337-343, 529-553; Schwarzwald 2012: 25).

- (29) *enrodiyar~ar(r)odiyar* 'kneel' (Sp. *arrodillar* from *rodilla* 'knee' from Latin ROTELLA)

- (30) *enġinolyar* 'kneel' (from JS *ġinolyo* [ġinoyo] 'knee'; Sp. *hinojo* from vulgar Latin GENUCŪLUM)

The examples (29-30) occur in liturgical translations from Hebrew. The biblical verse says: *li tixráʿ kol bérex* (Isaiah 45:23) 'every knee will kneel before me (lit: to-me will-kneel every knee).' Hebrew prayer books use *lexá tixráʿ kol bérex ~ kol bérex lexá tixráʿ*

¹⁸⁰ Ladino is one of the names used by Sephardic Jews to refer to their JS language. Linguists use the term Ladino to refer to the JS calque type language of liturgical translations from Hebrew.

'every knee will kneel before you.' In Hebrew *bérex* 'knee' and *lixróa* 'bow down' are derived from different roots, but the translators preferred using the same stem for both words (as in the English translation). It is translated in various versions as *ke/que ami se arodilyara/rodillara toda rodilya/rodilla* 'every knee will kneel before me' (in JS Bible translations);¹⁸¹ *todo ġinolyo ati se enġinolyara* (in a prayer book from 1568); *toda rodilya/rodilla ati se arodilyara/arrodillar* 'every knee will kneel before you' (in a JS prayer book from 1552 and in Passover *Haggadot*; Lazar 1995a:113; Schwarzwald 2008: 78, 120-121; 2012: 153)). Spanish has no verb derived from the noun *ġinolyo* (Sp. *hinojo*).

3.3 Overview

Prefixation is common in Spanish words based on Latin origins: AD- > *a-*, DE- > *de*, DĪS- > *des-*, IN- > *en-*, EX- > *es-*, PER- > *per-*, RE- > *re-*, SŪB- > *so-*, etc. (Alvar and Pottier 1987: 350-356; Penny 2002: 285-286). JS makes frequent use of the prefixes *a-* and *en-* in the formation of verbs (and derived adjectives) as does Spanish, as can be seen in examples (14, 17-18, 23-25). The prefix *en-* is already based on the Latin IN- in (14).

There are many verbs that are the same in Spanish and in JS with the same prefixation, probably inherited in JS from Iberian medieval Spanish, e.g. *afinar* 'refine, polish, finish,' *aflojar* (JS *aflošar*) 'slacken, loosen,' *agradar* 'please'; *embarazar* (JS *embarasar*) 'obstruct, trouble,' *encajar* (JS *enkašar*) 'insert, force in,' *entablar* (JS *entavlar*) 'cover with boards, splint,' and many more.

The examples presented above suggest a JS independent formation of the prefixation process. The following generalizations can be drawn:

- a. Only rarely do the prefixed forms alternate freely with the non-prefixed forms, e.g. *ar(r)ogar~rogar* (11), *ar(r)ekožer~rekožer* (12), *enladinar~ladinar* (26). In most cases the prefixed form is the only existing ones.

¹⁸¹ In medieval Bibles one finds the following in the translations of the same verse from Isaias 45:23 (<http://corpus.bibliamedieval.es/>): *Ca ami sacoruara todo linnage* (E6/E8), *que amj rrodillara toda rrodilla* (E3), *que amj se omjllaran todos los ynoios fincados* (E5/E7), *que ami se homillaran todos los ynojos fincados* (E4). *que ami encoruan [adoran] todas las gentes & los ynoios* (Alba). In none of the translations does the verb *ginollar* or *hinojar* 'kneel' occur.

- b. The prefixes *a-* and *en-* alternate freely in a few cases, but keep the same meanings, e.g. *asender~ensender* (14), *enrodiyar~ar(r)odiyar* (29).
- c. The prefixation process occurs in words of Romance origin as well as in loan words that became fused into JS. Thus, the Hebrew word *ḥen* [xen] 'beauty, grace' is the base stem for JS fused words like *xenozo* 'gentle, nice,' *xenozura* 'beauty, grace,' and *xenli* 'prompt; dressed properly' (the suffix *-li* is Turkish). The same Hebrew word is the base for the derivation of a new JS verb with the prefix *a-*, *axenar(se)* (16), which has a few derivatives: *axenaḏo* 'well formed,' *axenaḏura*, *axanamiento* 'decoration, beatification,' *axenozear* 'decorate, beatify.' The same process occurred with *embatakar* (27) from the Turkish *batak* that has the derivatives: *embatakarse* 'get dirty, be incontinent,' *embakatina* 'dirt, filth' and *embatakaḏo* 'dirty' (and see the discussion after (27) and the derivatives from *ḥerem* [xérem]).
- d. In addition to the prefixation of *a-* and *en-* to non-Romance stems, the prefixes occur in innovative verbs that do not exist in Spanish: *enveluntar~envoluntar* (1a), *afermoziguae~aformoziguar* (2a), *enčikeser* (24), *aboniguar* (17), *abiviguar* (18), *abediguar~abidiguar* (19), *enladinar* (26), *enfeuziar* (28), *enrodiyar~ar(r)odiyar* (29), *enğinolyar* (30).
- e. There is a change of meaning in *afrentar~afrontar* (3) and *amatar – matar* (15) in JS which is not the case with Spanish.

4 Conclusion

JS originated in the Iberian Peninsula in the Middle Ages and was carried by the Jews to the lands where they lived in exile. The speakers of JS were familiar with Hebrew and Aramaic, the religious and cultural languages in which they prayed, studied and corresponded with other Jewish communities. In the countries where the Jews settled, they were in constant contact with other languages such as Turkish, Greek, Arabic, Bulgarian, Italian, Portuguese, etc. As the Jews used various Iberian Peninsula dialects it took time for the language to unify into a kind of *koiné* (Minervini 2002; Quintana 2009). Over the years, with the detachment from Spain and Portugal, the language

developed independently, although the ex-converted communities kept close contacts with the Iberian Peninsula and their language was closer to the Spanish standards.

Languages change over the years. The lexicon and syntactic structures change first but morphology does not change as much. Nevertheless, both phenomena discussed in this article show that morphology did change in JS over the years. The *e-o* vowel alternations are partly based on direct Vulgar Latin influences, on various Iberian dialectal choices, on neighboring languages reflections, on literal considerations, and on places of settlements. The vowel alternations are not systematic, hence cannot be attributed to any rule. Each case needs to be analyzed on its own.

Prefixation of *a-* and *en-* to various stems for the formation of new Hispanized verbs is quite prolific in JS. It is based on Iberian Spanish processes, sometimes with a slight change of meaning, and it expands to non-Spanish stems. According to Ralph Penny "Non-standard varieties of Spanish in all areas show even more arbitrary use of *a-* and *en-*, often without modifying the sense of the base word" (Personal communication). JS can be considered as one of the non-standard varieties of Spanish due to its development. However, it became standardized in many areas without setting any norms for its use (Bunis 2005; Quintana 2012). The addition of *a-* and *en-* enabled JS speakers to enlarge the vocabulary of the language by a simple Hispanic morphological device which sometimes added semantic shifts.

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Ora (Rodrigue) Schwarzwald
The Department of Hebrew and Semitic Languages
Bar-Ilan University
Ramat Gan, Israel 52900
Ora.schwarzwald@biu.ac.il