Abstract and Keywords

This chapter discusses the use of language varieties in the Jewish diaspora experience in the framework of sociolinguistic studies. Wherever Jews have lived and either wished to distinguish themselves from their neighbors or were encouraged or forced to distinguish themselves, they did so through clothing, food, ritual, and also through language: they have spoken and written somewhat differently from their neighbors around them. Examining the Jewish linguistic spectrum through theories of language continuum, distinctiveness, and repertoire allows us to recognize patterns and commonalities across time and a space. Sociocultural and sociolinguistic analysis of Jewish religiolects demonstrates a tight connection between language and religion, while also helping elucidate the ways in which Jews—as well as non-Jews—have crossed religious boundaries.

Keywords: Aramaic, Hebrew, Jewish linguistic spectrum, Judeo-Arabic, Judeo-Spanish, language and religion, religiolect, language continuum, Yiddish

SCHOLARS have approached the phenomenon of Jewish language varieties from different perspectives since the advent of the field at the end of the nineteenth century.[1] Some have chosen descriptive linguistics, writing mostly about one language in particular and producing grammar books, textbooks and lexicons. Others have opted for a more theoretical vantage, doing comparative studies or looking into shared features of Jewish language varieties, such as the Hebrew and Aramaic components in them.[2] Since the 1980s, there has been a surge in the study of Jewish linguistics.[3]

A sociolinguistic framework can help reveal the connection that has existed between Jewish languages and religion. Sociolinguistic studies analyze language use according to variables such as place of birth and language acquisition, place of domicile, age, gender and sexual orientation, socioeconomic factors, occupation, education, social setting, and so forth. An important variable, which has often been overlooked among sociolinguists, is religious affiliation and identity.
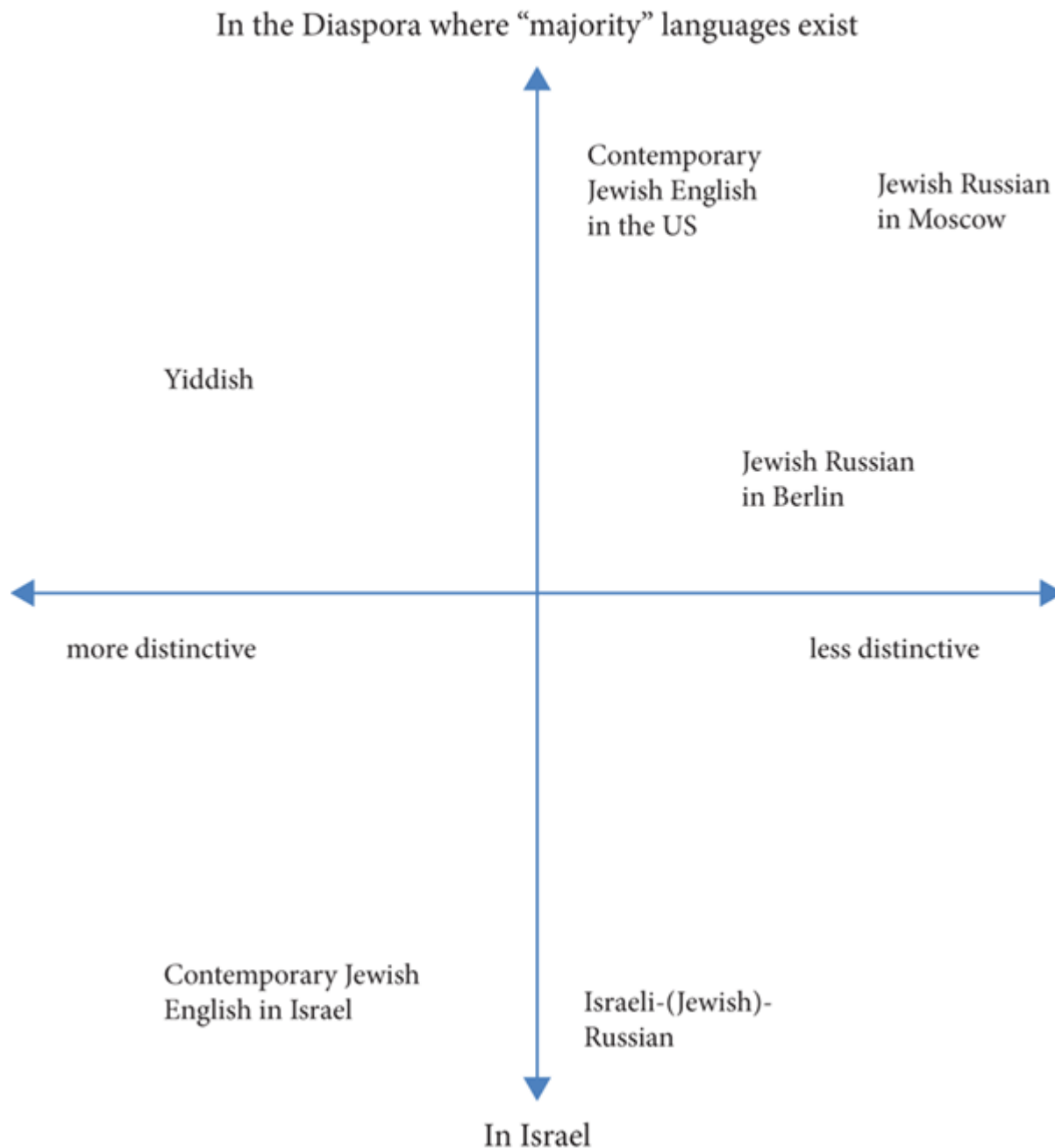
Wherever Jews have lived and either wished to distinguish themselves from their neighbors or were encouraged or (sometimes) forced to distinguish themselves, they did so through clothing, food, ritual, and also through language. They have spoken and written somewhat differently from their neighbors around them. With a few exceptions, including Yiddish in Slavic-speaking areas, Judeo-Spanish around the Ottoman Empire, as well as the contemporary use of Jewish language varieties in Israel, Jews have tended to speak and write variants of local languages. The distinctiveness of these variants has ranged from minor to major, depending on the degree of Jews' integration into the surrounding populations, their orientation toward rabbinic texts, and other factors. Only a trained dialectologist or sociolinguist can find significant differences between Egyptian Judeo-Arabic and the standard dialect used in Egypt. On the other hand, Judeo-Arabic in Baghdad differed significantly from the dominant Muslim dialect there (as well as from Christian Arabic there).[4] Although much previous research on Jewish language varieties assumes that the phenomenon essentially ended with modernity, there exist twentieth- and twenty-first-century manifestations as well.

(p. 644) The concept of the Jewish linguistic spectrum allows us to place Jewish language varieties on two continua simultaneously. One continuum, that of distinctiveness, stretches from those varieties with a high concentration of the most prominent distinct linguistic characteristics to language varieties with low concentration of such distinct linguistic characteristics. These characteristics differentiate the Jewish language varieties linguistically and culturally from the surrounding "majority" languages. For example, these characteristics distinguish, to a certain degree, Judeo-Persian from Persian in general. In the language varieties with the highest concentration of distinct linguistic characteristics, such as Yiddish, the languages have transformed so thoroughly that they have become largely unintelligible to outsiders. On the other side of the continuum, we find language varieties with only few and marginal traits, such as varieties of secular Jewish English.

The other continuum is the location continuum. On one end of the continuum, we find language varieties in the diaspora that exist side by side with the majority language of which it is a variant—as with Judeo-Italian employed by the Jews of Italy from medieval time until today. On the other end of the continuum, we find religiolects used in (p. 645) Israel as a result of migration. Israeli-Amharic (or Hebraized Amharic) developed as a result of the immigration of Ethiopian Jews to Israel in the 1980s and 1990s. In other words, Jews—and non-Jews—who came to Israel from Ethiopia developed a "mixed" language variety, composed of Amharic and Hebrew as well as other elements, as a result of immigration.[5]

The Jewish Linguistic Spectrum

In the Diaspora where "majority" languages exist

Contemporary
Jewish English
in the US

Jewish Russian
in Moscow

Yiddish

Jewish Russian
in Berlin

more distinctive   less distinctive

Contemporary Jewish
English in Israel

Israeli-(Jewish)-
Russian

In Israel

The above diagram depicts the Jewish linguistic spectrum in the broadest way possible: throughout history, from ancient to modern times, and with the widest geographical coverage possible. Despite the claim, often advanced in the literature,[6] that Jewish language varieties mark a phenomenon of the past, that their use is disappearing and that all Jewish language varieties are endangered, new language varieties have developed and are currently developing with various degrees of distinctiveness.

In the context of the language continuum, it is probably impossible to define Jewish language varieties solely on the basis of linguistic considerations, as it is difficult to find linguistic criteria that are common to Judeo-Arabic, Judeo-Berber, Judeo-Portuguese, and

Yiddish. In other words, it is not feasible to conduct a comparative study of Jewish language varieties based on genetic or typological classifications: not all Jewish language varieties are genetically related (as are the Slavic languages), nor do all possess common typological characteristics (such as the Subject-Object-Verb word order found in both Japanese and Turkish). Jewish language varieties therefore need to be examined within a different framework, where sociohistorical, sociocultural, and sociolinguistic factors are also taken into account, since these language varieties share cultural commonalities.[7] In general, language has to be defined along geographical, historical, linguistic, political, religious, and sociological lines.[8]

A more suitable term for a Jewish language variety is *religiolect*.[9] The term refers to a language variety developed in a specific religious community that later may spread outside of the community. A Jewish religiolect, then, is a spoken and/or written language variety employed by the Jewish population of a specific area and historical context, although it later may extend to other communities and areas. The term religiolect may not appear to fit all Jewish language varieties, in the sense that religion was not the determining factor of Jewishness for some speakers of Jewish language varieties, as was the case for Yiddish-speaking secular Jews of the first half of the twentieth century. However, the term describes not the personal identity of the speakers but rather the characteristics of a language variety, often embedded before the rise of secularism. Furthermore, even secular Jews resorted to self-definition and in-group construction based on religion: Bundists, Folkists, or Zionists upheld quasi-religious distinctions between Jews and non-Jews while often rejecting Jewish religion itself. In the Jewish diaspora in India the term religiolect presents other problems: there, Jewish Malayalam might be better characterized as one of the many castelects of Kerala. The dichotomy in Kerala is not necessarily between the various religious communities, but rather between/ambalakkār/"those who go to temples," and/paḷḷikkār/"those who go to /paḷḷi/" (prayer shrines, i.e., church, mosque, or synagogue). Our knowledge of the Jewish religiolects of the past is inadequate, since in many cases scholars began to study them when it was too late and only a handful of speakers remained—or, worse still, they had already become extinct. What is (p. 646) still under-researched are newer Jewish religiolects, which have been created in modern times in the diaspora and also in Israel, due in part to migration patterns, conversion, and an increase in Jewish identity awareness.

Jewish Religiolects in the Diaspora and in Israel

Jewish religiolects developed and thrived in the diaspora in the ancient, medieval, and modern periods. Besides Hebrew and various Jewish forms of Aramaic, Hellenistic Jews began to employ a distinct Jewish form of Koine Greek, which many centuries later in the Balkan would develop into Yevanic, also known as Judeo-Greek.[10] In the Near East, Judeo-Arabic began to develop in the Arab peninsula in the seventh century CE.[11] In North Africa Judeo-Berber (Berberic) emerged along with Haketia, a variety of Judeo-Spanish in-

fluenced by Arabic, and in Iran Judeo-Persian (Parsic) developed.[12] Kurdish Jews use Judeo-Neo-Aramaic, Judeo-Arabic dialects, and also Judeo-Kurdish with mixed Hebrew, Turkish, and Arabic elements. Judeo-Turkish appeared only in written forms beginning in the sixteenth century and faded out when the Jewish community in Turkey became Turkified in 1923 with the establishment of the republic.[13]

In Christian Europe, Latin eventually gave rise to at least six different Jewish religiolects: Judeo-Italian (Italkian) in Italy, Judeo-Provençal (Shuadit) in southern France and Judeo-French (Zarphatic) in the north, Judeo-Catalan (Catalanic) in the eastern part of the Iberian Peninsula, Judeo-Portuguese (Portugesic) in the western part, and Judeo-Spanish (Ladino, Jidyó, Judezmo, and additional names) in between. Yiddish originated in the tenth century among Jews in the Rhineland, including the variety of Judeo-Alsatian (Yédisch-Daïtsch) in Alsace.[14]

In Central Asia Jews employ Judeo-Tajik (Bukharic; however, some speakers call it Farsi), whereas in Daghestan in the eastern and northern Caucasus, Jews use Judeo-Tat (Judeo-Tatic, or Juhuri, of the Iranian family).[15] Jews in Georgia in the southern Caucasus speak Judeo-Georgian (Gurjic).[16] Crimean Jews, both Rabbinic and Karaite, employ Judeo-Crimchak (of the Turkic family) and much further to the east, Jewish Malayalam developed, especially among the Jews of Kerala in southern India.[17]

Most speakers of these religiolects emigrated to Palestine/Israel, France, North America, and faced either Zionist pressure to speak only Hebrew or otherwise pressure to speak the local languages, English or French. The Holocaust and the Soviet crackdown on Yiddish brought about the loss of a huge number of Yiddish speakers and, in the former case, a fair number of speakers of Judeo-Spanish. There were also numerous informal factors of modernization—including self-imposed pressure—that encouraged the abandonment of the "old" languages, and consequently some of these Jewish religiolects have declined, some have become endangered, and others are now extinct. Other factors such as nationalism, better public education, and the mass media encouraged linguistic assimilation.

(p. 647) On the other hand, the diminishing religiolects have been replaced by new Jewish religiolects during the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, concentrated among speakers in several places. In English-speaking countries and elsewhere, some forms of Jewish English emerged, especially in the twentieth century and particularly among Orthodox Jewish communities.[18] Contemporary Yiddish emerged in Haredi, or ultra-Orthodox, communities in the United States, Europe, Israel, and elsewhere.[19] In France and Israel, a newer form of Jewish French ("Franbreu") first grew out of the large emigration of Jews from North Africa in the 1950s and 1960 and became more widespread in the 1990s.[20] In Argentina, Mexico, and other Spanish-speaking places, new varieties of Latin American Jewish Spanish began to form in the twentieth century.[21] The same holds true for Jewish Swedish in Sweden, Jewish Dutch in the Netherlands; contemporary Jewish German in Germany, Jewish Russian in the former Soviet Union; Israeli Russian in Israel, Jewish Hungarian among Hungarian immigrants living in Israel, and Israeli (Jewish)-Amharic (or Hebraized Amharic) in Israel. [22]

The situation for contemporary Judeo-Arabic is a bit different. Up until the twentieth century, newer forms of Judeo-Arabic continued to develop in Egypt,[23] Iraq,[24] North Africa,[25] Palestine,[26] and elsewhere in the Arabic-speaking world. However, Judeo-Arabic speakers emigrated en masse from Arabic-speaking countries, beginning in the 1950s, following the establishment of the State of Israel, and continuing into the 1960s, with the majority going to Israel and significant groups settling in France and the United States and Canada. Despite this mass exodus, there was some resistance to the decline of the religiolect.[27] This happens by way of importing Judeo-Arabic phrases into Hebrew literature,[28] spoken Hebrew,[29] modern liturgy (Rabbi David Buskila's work in the 1970s and 1980s in Morocco[30] and Rabbi Aharon Farhi's liturgical writings in Syrian Judeo-Arabic in Brooklyn, NY in the 1990s[31]), music in Israel (the New Andalusian Orchestra, Shimon Buskila, Dikla, Neta Elqayam, A-WA), and Israeli film (*Sh'chur* (1994), *Turn Left at the End of the World* (2004), and *Farewell Baghdad* (2014), shot entirely in Baghdadi Judeo-Arabic), and theater (Asher Cohen's work in Moroccan Judeo-Arabic in Israel and Gad Elmaleh's acting in Moroccan Judeo-Arabic in Montreal, Canada).[32] Nevertheless, the religiolect is endangered and close to becoming extinct in sociolinguistic terms; in other words, the number of its native speakers is diminishing quickly.[33]

Sociocultural and Sociolinguistic Characteristics of Jewish Religiolects

Looking across the broad range of Jewish language varieties, which encompasses linguistic diversity and numerous distinct geographic and historical contexts,[34] one can nevertheless posit ten features, ranging from script and grammatical structure to a specific tradition of translating sacred texts. A Jewish language variety does not need to have all the features in order to qualify as a "Jewish religiolect," since Jewish language (p. 648) varieties within the Jewish linguistic spectrum can be placed on two continua: one measuring the concentration of these characteristics, the other measuring geographical concentration between the diaspora and Israel. In fact, Jewish speakers and writers have at their disposal a repertoire of linguistic elements and features different from their neighbors and they choose when and how to use these distinct features. This repertoire can include lexical items brought in from Hebrew and Aramaic as well as from other Jewish language varieties, and it can also include other linguistic elements (for example, in late and contemporary spoken Egyptian Judeo-Arabic, one of these elements is the preference for the vowel /u/[35]). This is how users of the religiolects make their language variety distinct from the language varieties around them.

The first and most apparent of these features is the consistent use of Hebrew characters in the written forms of Jewish language varieties. Up until the nineteenth century, Jews almost invariably adopted the spelling conventions of Talmudic orthography, employing the final forms of Hebrew letters and sometimes adding vowel and diacritic signs and using existing consonants or symbols. The Hebrew script symbolized the "Jewishness" of the community.[36] Use of a script (usually of a "scared language") to mark religious affiliation

is not uncommon in religious communities around the world. Muslim communities have often used the Arabic script as a marker of Islam in their language varieties. Such is the case in Aljamiado,[37] Jawi (Malay), Māpiḷḷa-Malayalam,[38] Persian, Ottoman Turkish, Urdu, or the Hui Muslim community of Xiaojin which writes their Chinese language variety in Arabic letters. On the other hand, there are also Muslim communities that have adopted Latin or Greek-Cyrillic letters: Turkish, Indonesian, and some Central Asian languages. In the same way, Christian communities have often employed the Greek-Cyrillic or Latin scripts to symbolize the centrality of the Eastern Orthodox or Catholic Church in the respective language communities. In Yugoslavia, up until the 1990s, Serbo-Croatian was considered a single language, except for the script: Cyrillic characters were used in Serbian, whereas the Latin alphabet was employed in Croatia.[39]

Jewish language varieties use different traditions of orthography and different writing systems, sometimes simultaneously. Competition among various orthographic and writing systems is typical of a situation in which the choice between linguistic systems transmits implicit cultural, political, and religious messages. Historically, there was competition in Judeo-Arabic between three orthographic traditions, the phonetic, the Arabicized, and the Hebraized.[40] The decreasing use of phonetic Judeo-Arabic orthography and the increasing use of Arabicized orthography in the tenth century CE may hint at growing literacy at the time. It seems that the phonetic orthographic tradition reflected a culture centered more on oral than written transmission. At the same time, Karaite communities in the Near East wrote Judeo-Arabic in Arabic characters as well as with Hebrew/Aramaic letters, a convention that some scholars[41] have interpreted as a subtle attack on the dominant rabbinic community (which used only Hebrew characters in different spelling traditions), with whom they competed for intellectual and political hegemony. Moreover, the tension between Arabicized and Hebraized orthographic traditions, from the fifteenth century onwards (the beginning of the period of Late (p. 649) Judeo-Arabic), reflected the changing dynamics of Jewish-Muslim religious relations. The emergence of Hebraized orthography in Late Judeo-Arabic was driven, among other things, by increasing fragmentation of society along religious lines, also evident in Christian-dominated countries in the same period.[42]

Hebrew/Aramaic and Latin characters also competed in Judeo-Spanish. Many users of the religiolect employed Hebrew script, while the *anusim*, those who converted to Catholicism and later returned to Judaism, used Latin script in Spain and after their 1492 expulsion. They had mastered Spanish better and therefore preferred the Latin alphabet. Much later, during the twentieth century, as Sephardic communities became increasingly secular, they started using the Latin script more frequently for writing Judeo-Spanish. Many Sephardim studied at schools established by the Alliance israélite universelle throughout the Mediterranean and Middle East, where they learned French and other foreign languages, which encouraged the preference for the more "international" alphabet.[43]

Yiddish too can serve as a good example of this orthographic competition. In the Soviet Union there was an attempt to dissociate Yiddish from its religious roots by abolishing the traditional Yiddish spelling of Hebrew/Aramaic-derived words. Thus, the name of the Yid-

dish Communist newspaper and publishing house *Der emes*, the "truth" (a translation of the Russian *pravda*) was spelled phonetically with עמעס ('*ayin-mem-'ayin-samekh*), whereas the traditional spelling would have been '*alef-mem-tav*, as is the case in Hebrew אמת, from which the word is derived. Adopting the phonetic spelling and shying away from the Hebrew-derived spelling, the founders of *Der emes* communicated a political message, disassociating Yiddish from Hebrew and Zionism.

Jewish language varieties incorporate Hebrew and Aramaic components in them. These components are found throughout the structure of the religiolects, in phonetics and phonology, morphology, and syntax. They are not restricted to the sphere of religious-cultural vocabulary but are rather found throughout the lexicon. For example, in Judeo-Arabic '*ilā* marks the definite direct object just like the Hebrew '*et*.[44] We find in an eighteenth/nineteenth-century Egyptian Judeo-Arabic translation of a Passover Haggadah, the phrase /kullena 'ārfīn ilā iš-šarī'a/ ["and all of us know the Torah"] translating verbatim the Hebrew כולנו יודעים את התורה, and using the Hebraized '*ilā* as equivalent to the use of the Hebrew '*et*. The Hebrew word ערל, "uncircumcised man," is transferred as is into Judeo-Arabic, /'arel/, where it assumes the meaning of a Christian man. Its plural, however, is ערליין /'areliyyīn/, which uses the Arabic plural morpheme /-īn/, thus incorporating the Hebrew lexeme into the Arabic structure of the religiolect.

Similarly, in Jewish English, Hebrew words such as הלכה ["Jewish law"], כשר ["kosher"], דרש ["drash"] (a biblical interpretation), and פסק ["make a legal decision"], take the English morphemes -ic, -ally, -ed, and -ing to create the following respectively: *halakhically* ["as far as Jewish law is concerned"], *non-hekhshered* ["(food) without a rabbinic seal of kashrut"], *koshering* ["rendering (vessels and kitchen surfaces) kosher"], *drashing* ["presenting a (biblical) interpretation"], and *he paskens by him* ["he makes a legal decision according to him."].[45]

(p. 650) In Judeo-Italian *paxad* ["afraid"], *paxadoso* ["timid"], and *impaxadito* ["got scared"] are derived from the Hebrew פחד ["be afraid"], while the verb *gannaviare* ["to steal"] comes from גנב ["steal"]. The Jews of Rome for the last one hundred years have called the police *iorbèddi*, probably derived from Hebrew *yod-bet*, which is the number 12, although the term is not used among other Italian Jews.[46] In Jewish Malayalam, speakers use Hebrew lexemes with Malayalam forms:/sār‿appĕṭṭu/ ["suffered, got into trouble"] consists of /sār‿a/["trouble"] taken from the Hebrew צרה and followed by /pĕṭṭu/ (past /pĕṭ-/); and /śālomāyi/ ["died"], which includes /śālom/["peace"], taken from Hebrew שלום, and followed by /āyi/["to be"] (past of /āk-/).

Another characteristic of Jewish language varieties is that they have sometimes developed a distinct spoken form, mostly not comprehensible to people outside the community, as in the case of Baghdadi Judeo-Arabic.[47] Jewish language varieties in their written forms are almost always unreadable to most non-Jews, if only for the use of the Hebrew script.

Jewish language varieties developed specifically within the communities, although they may later move beyond the confines of the community. Jews wrote in these language varieties for a Jewish readership, with their literature usually treating Jewish topics. However, it has happened that Christian and other non-Jewish works have been translated or adapted into several Jewish language varieties.

Many Jewish language varieties feature migrated or displaced dialectalism.[48] In other words, regional dialectal characteristics from one region appear in another. In Cairene Judeo-Arabic we encounter the phenomenon of *níktib/niktíbu* for first-person singular/first-person plural imperfect, which is typical of western Arabic dialects. This characteristic is not usually expected in Cairo, but one may find it in the language of Cairene Jews, probably due to Jewish migration from North Africa to Cairo. Another example from Egyptian Judeo-Arabic is the appearance of the plural demonstrative pronoun /hadōli/ ["these"] (alongside /dōli/). The Egyptian Judeo-Arabic variant /hadōli/ does not exist in standard Cairene and comes to Egyptian Judeo-Arabic through migrated dialectalism from the Christian-Arabic and Judeo-Arabic Baghdadi dialects. Another example of migrated or displaced dialectalism can be found in Judeo-Italian. In the southern Italian dialects (Gyoto-Italian) one finds the form /li donni/ ["the women"] instead of the standard /le donne/. At the same time, a typical characteristic of central Italian dialects is a system of seven vowels. The *combination* of these two distinct regional features can only be found in Judeo-Italian, suggesting a synthesis of dialectal elements from different regions due to unique migration patterns among the Jewish communities in Italy.

Jewish religiolects often preserve archaic forms that have become extinct in the respective majority languages. In Egyptian Judeo-Arabic the verbal pattern *fuʿul* has survived, as opposed to *fiʿil*, which has replaced it in the modern Egyptian dialect. The Judeo-Arabic /ēš/ ["what"], /lēš/ ["why"], and /kēf/ ["how"] have survived in Egyptian Judeo-Arabic in the sentence-initial position, in contrast to the standard dialect, where other pronouns, /ēh/ ["what"], /lēh/ ["why"], and /ezzāy/ ["how"] appear at the end of the sentence.[49] Both Judeo-Spanish and Yiddish, which are Jewish religiolects with a rich history of migration, use many archaisms. The former preserves the archaic Spanish (p. 651) phonemes /š/ and /dž/, as opposed to /x/ for both in modern Spanish, whereas Yiddish has kept the archaic word *hait*, which has disappeared as an independent word from standard German, surviving only as a suffix in words like *Kindheit* "childhood."[50]

Jewish speakers have usually considered their language varieties to be special and separate from the local languages around them. This actually began in the Hebrew Bible where its language is called *yehudit* "Jewish" (2 Kings 18: 26, 28; Nehemiah 13: 24; 2 Chronicles 32: 18). In Morocco Jews called their language variety *illuġa dyalna* ["our language"] or *ilʿarabiyya dyalna* ["our Arabic"], whereas they termed Muslim Moroccan Arabic *ilʿarabiyya dilmsilmīn* ["the Arabic of the Muslims"]. In places where Jews and Christians spoke different dialects of Neo-Aramaic (Iraq, for example), Jewish speakers called their religiolect *lishan hodhaye* ["language of Jews"] or *lishan(a) deni/didan* ["our language"]. Jewish Italians called Judeo-Italian of Rome *Scionacodesce* and that of Turin *Lason Acodesh*, in both cases from Hebrew *Lashon ha-Kodesh*. Speakers of Jewish Malay-

alam call their language variety /malayalam šelanu/ ["our Malayalam"], distinguishing it from other language varieties of Malayalam: /ze lo malayalam šelanu/ ["this is not our Malayalam"]. Kerala Jews also refer to their language variety as *malbarit* or *cochinit*. Speakers of Judeo-Tat refer to their language as *zuhun imu* ["our language"], *zuhun juhur* ["language of the Jews"], or *juhuri dzhuhuric*, *juwri* ["Jewish"], differentiating it from Muslim Tat.

Another feature of Jewish religiolects: the "spirit" of Jewish language varieties, or the repertoire of images, formulations, concepts, and icons that Jews have at their disposal is derived from Jewish sources in Hebrew and Aramaic, usually from sacred texts.

Many Jewish language varieties share an important literary genre, the often-verbatim translation of sacred and liturgical Hebrew/Aramaic texts into the various Jewish religiolects: *šarḥ* in Judeo-Arabic, *šar'* or *šarḥ* in Judeo-Neo-Aramaic, *tavsili* in Judeo-Georgian, *tefillot latini* or *tefillot vulgar* in Judeo-Italian, *tamsir* in Jewish Malayalam, *ladino* in Judeo-Spanish, and *taytsh* in Yiddish, among others. The translations include, the Bible, the *Siddur* (the prayer book), the Passover *Haggadah*, *Pirke 'Avot* (a collection of moral and religious teachings composed during and soon after the Second Temple period), and more.

The Emergence of Language Varieties among Jews in the Diaspora

Many scholars have argued that Jewish religiolects developed in parts of the diaspora out of preexisting languages. Jews used these language varieties in their communities in both written and spoken forms. Some of them may have developed as a result of the migration and dispersion of the Jews throughout Africa, Asia, and Europe during the early centuries of the Common Era.[51] These language varieties initially came into being out of a desire for integration into the non-Jewish environment, but later in the (p. 652) migration process came to be a hallmark of Jewish distinctiveness.[52] In other words, the Jews' initial adoption of preexisting languages in the diaspora may have been an attempt to fit into their new environments, but later the languages established themselves as Jewish religiolects, with Hebrew script, Hebrew and Aramaic components, and other distinctive characteristics mentioned above, thus becoming a symbol of Jewish identity and an obstacle to integration (Judeo-Greek and Judeo-Arabic are good examples for this claim).

A seemingly conflicting thesis posits that Jewish language varieties have developed as a result of conversions to Judaism, and not just as a result of Jewish migration. In other words, non-Jews who converted to Judaism or non-Jewish members of Jewish or mixed households—such as manumitted slaves, servants, or nannies—may also have contributed to the development of Jewish language varieties.

This latter point has often been ignored by Jewish studies scholars. It should be reemphasized, therefore, that the strict differentiation between Jews and other communities and religious groups only emerged gradually. The Second Temple period saw a vast and un-

precedented expansion of the number of Jews, as people across the Roman Empire and beyond converted to the Jewish faith or adopted certain aspects of Jewish life, while numerous Jews devoted themselves to proselytizing.[53] This process produced, over the course of this period, such important Jewish language varieties as Judeo-Aramaic and ancient Judeo-Greek (*Yevanic*).

The subsequent rise of Christianity did not immediately halt the expansion of emerging rabbinic Judaism. Apart from the conversion of two kingdoms to non-rabbinic forms of Judaism—Himyar in southern Arabia in the fifth century CE and Khazaria in southern Russia in the first half of the eighth century CE—there are numerous indications of non-rabbinic conversions to Judaism of Berber tribes in North Africa in the pre-Islamic period. In addition, a systematic rabbinic conversion effort seems to have been directed at slaves owned by Jews. This was also practical since rabbinic law banned non-Jews from handling food in Jewish households. Rabbinic law encouraged circumcision and ritual immersion of slaves—that is their formal conversion and liberation—and strongly discouraged their resale. When freed, these people became full-fledged Jews.[54] There exist further indications that sexual relations between slaveholders and slaves were not uncommon, and that these were sometimes resolved through full conversion and liberation of the slaves, so that the resulting offspring were considered Jews. In the view of Ben Zion Wacholder, the majority of slaves owned by Jews were manumitted and converted, probably doubling the Jewish population of the Middle East and North Africa between the seventh and eleventh centuries.[55]

It is in this context of slave absorption and mass conversion, that we must understand that the rise of Judeo-Arabic on three continents (Africa, Asia, and Europe) as a giant among Jewish language varieties is hardly surprising, as many of its speakers descended from converted populations. On a smaller scale, though also likely through conversion, Judeo-Berber emerged in North Africa in the same period and earlier. Elsewhere, Jewish memorial books for the Crusade massacres in early medieval Germany, the cradle of Yiddish, contain significant numbers of converts to Judaism in their lists of victims, (p. 653) although in this case no documentary evidence has so far been found for mass conversion or systematic proselytizing.

While legal restrictions and bans on conversion to Judaism had been imposed from the outside much earlier, the path to conversion was effectively blocked only after Christian and Muslim control over vast populations of the recently converted solidified in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance. Jewish religious law acknowledged this development through a more restrictive interpretation of proselytism, such as in the *Shulḥan ʿArukh* (1565). By then, many Jewish language varieties with written records had already become established.

Considering the often-blurred boundaries between Jews and non-Jews in many periods—including the present—it would be rather unrealistic not to expect linguistic input from proselytes. In fact, many Jewish religiolects emerged through a combination of these seemingly two contradictory historical processes: on the one hand, the vast migration and

subsequent integration of Jews, including their adoption of preexisting majority languages; on the other hand, an influx into many Jewish communities of converts, who brought their own languages and enriched them with their newly acquired religious and educational heritage. Sarah Benor, in her research on the emergence and development Orthodox Jewish English in the present, has found that the newly Orthodox Jews may have had a disproportionate linguistic impact on Orthodox English because of a possible tendency to "hyperaccommodate."[56]

This interplay of acculturation and reculturation of migrants and locals, of mutual integration and isolation of Jewish and "non-Jewish" communities, and of transference and replacement of language elements appears to be mirrored in the complex structure and eclectic nature of many Jewish language varieties.

Crossing Religious Boundaries in the Diaspora

The Jewish linguistic spectrum needs to be seen in relation to a set of larger connected phenomena, particularly language varieties used by adherents of other faiths. Just as we can identify Jewish language varieties, we can also recognize Christian or Muslim language varieties.[57] At the same time, the participation of non-Jews in the Jewish linguistic spectrum, and religious crossover more generally, should be taken into account when analyzing Jewish language varieties.

Indeed, the linguistic reality of Jews, Christians, and Muslims is sometimes more complex than academic classification would have us believe. Many Jews adopted Christian or Muslim language varieties all over the world. Conversely, we find several cases where Christians or Muslims have entered into the Jewish linguistic spectrum. In the most minimal sense, this is evident in lexical influx among professional subgroups: sometimes Christian and Muslim craftsmen borrowed professional terminology from (p. 654) their Jewish colleagues in their respective trade jargons or argots. Primo Levi reported the adoption of Judeo-Italian elements in Northern Italy among Christian furriers.[58] In Cairo and Alexandria Christian and Muslim goldsmiths and silversmiths used to work closely with Jewish, mostly Karaite goldsmiths and were influenced by their religiolect, Egyptian Judeo-Arabic, in their daily trade. These Christian and Muslim goldsmiths to this day, long after the departure of Jewish goldsmiths from Egypt, still use an argot they call "Hebrew" (*'ibri* or *lugha 'ibriyya*) or "Jewish" (*lughat il-yahūd*) or *lugha isrā'iīliyya*, (literally "Israeli language," but meaning "Jewish language"),[59] which contains Hebrew and Aramaic lexical elements. For instance, the goldsmiths use the noun /yāfet/ (fem. /yafta/; pl ./yaftīn/) ["nice"] to describe a customer who pays well and the derived verb /yaffet/ ["offer a high price" or "treat a customer well"], both of which probably come from the Hebrew יפה ["nice"] via Egyptian Judeo-Arabic.

At times the lexical influx from Jewish religiolects reached the larger non-Jewish language community. Many lexemes from the Jewish linguistic spectrum passed on to the dominant language, especially in slang. In Sefrou in Morocco in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, Muslims used terms taken from Sefriwi Judeo-Arabic, such as /baddai/

["clearly"] and /bruxhaba/ ["welcome!"]. There are many examples of the impact of Jewish English on American English, usually in large urban centers with a sizeable Jewish population, but also through film and television, such as the work of Woody Allen or *Seinfeld*. Moreover, scholars have observed a lexical Hebrew and Aramaic impact on Christian-German dialects in the Rhine valley via Yiddish dialects, which may date back to the Middle Ages.[60] For example, in Hessonian dialects the word *schäckern* "to flirt" comes from Hebrew /šikkor/ ["drunken"] or /šeker/ ["lie"]; *Schmiere stehen* ["to keep a lookout"] comes from Hebrew /šmira/ ["keeping"]; *Ganove* ["a thief"] from Hebrew /ganav/ ["a thief"] with the same meaning spread beyond local dialects to standard spoken German. Even in general colloquial German we find lexical influence from the Jewish linguistic spectrum: *meschugge* ["crazy"], probably from Yiddish via Hebrew /mešuga/ (משוגע) and *mies* ["ugly" or "bad"], also probably from Yiddish via Hebrew /mi'us/ (מיאוס).[61]

In fact, even as early as Martin Luther, we see that his Bible translation employs the term *Schule* with the meaning "synagogue," rather than standard German "school." One also glimpses a lexical impact from the Jewish linguistic spectrum on Dutch, where *mokum* often refers to the city of Amsterdam. This term comes from Yiddish which in itself comes from Hebrew /makom/ ["place"]. In the criminal sphere in contemporary Dutch we find *gannef* /xanev/ ["thief"], from Yiddish via Hebrew /gannav/ ["thief"]; *yatten* /yatən/ ["to steal"], from Yiddish via Hebrew /yad/ ["hand"]; *smeris* /smerıs/ ["policeman"], from Yiddish via Hebrew /šmira/ ["gurading"]; and *bayes* /bayəs/ ["jail"], from Yiddish via Hebrew *bayit* ["house"]. Yet in another example, Llanito (or Yanito),[62] a mixture of Andalusian Spanish and British English varieties, spoken by the majority of Gibraltarians, includes hundreds of Hebrew lexemes as well as other influences from Haketia, a Judeo-Spanish variety influenced by Arabic and spoken in northern Morocco and the Spanish exclaves of Ceuta and Melilla.[63] Moreover, Muslims in some villages in (p. 655) Iran such as Sede use the Judeo-Persian language variety employed by Jews in Isfahan and distinguished from the Persian used by Muslims there.[64]

Though less common, bilingualism cutting across religious lines has also sometimes been a defining feature of Jewish religiolects. In Ruthenia (today western Ukraine) some Christian nannies learned Yiddish and used it to communicate with the Jewish families they worked for. In some cases, they also taught Jewish children the Hebrew prayers, while Hebrew blessings were widespread among the general Greek-Catholic (or Russian-Orthodox) population of the region.[65] There are also reports from early modern Saloniki of non-Jews, especially those who worked in the city's harbor, employing Judeo-Spanish as their professional variety, a reflection of the prevalence of Jews working in the Saloniki port.[66]

In Morocco there are still Muslims who are able to use some form of Moroccan Judeo-Arabic as a result of their close association with Jews in the past. Cory Driver recounts a story about Hamou, who grew up in Tachouite, a town on the plain on the Sahara side of the High Atlas Mountains. His father had a Jewish servant, 'Azar. Hamou's father died early, and Hamou's younger brothers were sent to live with relatives in Imzgan, which is on the Atlantic coast south of Agadir. Hamou stayed in the care of 'Azar because he was old enough to work on the family farm and maintain the family's property. According to

Hamou, 'Azar was very careful not to proselytize; however, he and his wife and children celebrated all the Jewish holidays. Hamou, recounting the stories more than fifty years later, had a sophisticated vocabulary for discussing *Pesach* celebrations and various *midrashim*, even though he was a practicing Muslim in a town now devoid of Jews. In fact, Hamou had the same Moroccan Judeo-Arabic repertoire in his own variety of Arabic.[67]

The reverse phenomenon can also be found. For example, medieval French Jews in one region employed vocabulary found only among Christian speakers in other regions.[68] In the Arabic-speaking world, Jewish speakers sometimes use terms taken from Islam, such as *šarīʿa* for Torah in Egyptian Judeo-Arabic[69] or *kuttāb* for *ḥeder* (a traditional classroom designed for teaching children sacred texts) and *knīs/knīse* for both synagogue and church in Tiberian Palestinian Judeo-Arabic.[70] Furthermore, the Jews of San'a in central Yemen in the early decades of the twentieth century spoke the dialect of the Muslims, while in southern Yemen, Jews and Muslims spoke different language varieties.[71] In Baghdad Judeo-Arabic served as the dialect originally used by all communal groups in the city until Bedouin dialects replaced it among its Muslim population.[72]

However, the greatest challenge to traditional definitions of Jewish language varieties is the case of Modern Hebrew as it is used in Israel today. Many Israeli non-Jews, especially educated speakers, have achieved a near-native or native fluency in Hebrew, while younger Israeli Arabs increasingly code switch and effectively create a mixed language variety. The latter regularly use terms like/glida/ ["ice cream" in Hebrew] rather than /būza/ (the Arabic) or /ramzor/ ["traffic light" in Hebrew] instead of /išāra/ (the Arabic) when speaking Palestinian Israeli Arabic. Similarly, among some Arab Israeli speakers, (p. 656) the Hebrew root *š-m-r* ["guard"] takes the Arabic verbal pattern to result in /byušmur/ ["he guards"] and the Hebrew root '-m-s ["busy"] takes the Arabic verbal pattern to result in /ma'mūse/ ["busy," fem.]. In fact, the majority of Israel's non-Jews, over a fifth of the country's citizens, are to varying degrees bilingual, usually Arabic-Hebrew and sometimes Russian-Hebrew. In spite of popular misperceptions, the linguistic community of Hebrew is not outlined anymore by religion but, for the most part, by citizenship or residency. Hence, religiolects emerge and develop in specific religious communities but can extend beyond those communities.

Conclusion

The history of Jewish language varieties is as old and as widespread as the diaspora itself. Despite the vast difference in historical contexts and the linguistic diversity encompassed by the category of Jewish language varieties, there are prominent features that these religiolects have shared. At the same time, the study of Jewish language varieties opens a window to the exploration of Christian and Muslim religiolects because the differentiations between Jews and their neighbors in the diaspora has not always been so strict. Jewish language varieties are not just phenomena of the past but are very much a part of contemporary Jewish diasporic life.

Much remains to be examined in the field of Jewish language varieties in the diaspora. The pressing needs are the collection of larger corpora, especially from the emerging diasporic language communities, and greater cross-disciplinarity, exploring the potential contributions from the research on Jewish language varieties in the diaspora to other areas of Jewish studies and linguistics as well as other fields.

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(p. 662) Hary, Benjamin, and Martin J. Wein. "Religiolinguistics: On Jewish-, Christian, and Muslim-Defined Languages." *International Journal for the Sociology of Language* 220 (2013): 85–108.

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Notes:

(1.) This essay is a synthesis of several of my publications in the field: Benjamin Hary, *Multiglossia in Judeo-Arabic: With an Edition, Translation, and Grammatical Study of the Cairene Purim Scroll* (Leiden, New York and Köln: E. J. Brill, 1992); Benjamin Hary, *Translating Religion: Linguistic Analysis of Judeo-Arabic Sacred Texts from Egypt* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2009); Benjamin Hary and Martin J. Wein, "Religiolinguistics: On Jewish-, Christian, and Muslim-Defined Languages," *International Journal for the Sociology of Language* 220 (2013): 85–108; Sarah Bunin Benor and Benjamin Hary, "A Research Agenda for Comparative Jewish Linguistic Studies," in *Languages in Jewish Communities, Past and Present*, ed. Benjamin Hary and Sarah Bunin Benor, 672–694 (Boston and Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton, 2018).

(2.) Numerous discussions about how to name the phenomenon of Jewish distinctiveness in language use have appeared in the literature. A short overview can be found in Hary and Benor, *Languages in Jewish Communities*, 1–4. Although I have coined the term "religiolect" (see n. 9) and used it repeatedly, I opted to use here the term "language variety," as it may contain all forms of Jewish linguistic distinctiveness.

(3.) Sarah Bunin Benor has discussed this surge in her comprehensive summary of the major debates in the field in "Do American Jews Speak a 'Jewish Language'? A Model of Jewish Linguistic Distinctiveness," *Jewish Quarterly Review* 99, no. 2 (Spring 2009): 230–269. The recent increase in attention to the "continuum of Jewish distinctiveness" is intimately connected, in my mind, to the rapid development of social dialectology and later of the field of sociolinguistics since the late 1960s and early 1970s.

(4.) See the important study on the topic, Haim Blanc, *Communal Dialects in Baghdad* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1964).

(5.) Anbessa Teferra, "Linguistic Features of Hebraized Amharic," in *Languages in Jewish Communities, Past and Present*, ed. Benjamin Hary and Sarah Benor (Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton, 2018).

(6.) See, for example, Chaim Rabin et al., "Jewish Languages: The Common, the Unique and the Problematic," *Pe'amim* 1 (1979): 40–66. [Hebrew].

(7.) Herbert Paper calls this *Kulturbund*. See *Jewish Languages: Theme and Variations* (Cambridge, MA: Association for Jewish Studies, 1978), vii.

(8.) See Hary, *Translating Religion*, 8–12, for a discussion of this issue.

(9.) In the past I have used a different term, *ethnolect* (in *Multiglossia*, for example), in the context of Jewish language varieties. However, the term "ethnic" is very problematic and has undergone several changes in meaning. In popular usage its meaning is close to "racial," while the academic usage is captured in Anthony D. Smith's definition as a "named human population with a myth of common ancestry, shared memories and cultural elements, a link with a historic territory or homeland and a measure of solidarity." See "Ethnic Sources of Nationalism," *Survival* 35, no. 1 (1993). A better and more suitable term, then, is *religiolect*, which I first mentioned briefly in *Multiglossia*, xviii, n. 1. The term *religiolect* avoids the messiness of "ethnicity" and relates directly to the religious backgrounds of the people who use this language variety. See also Hary, *Translating Religion*, 12–13 and Benjamin Hary, "Religiolect," in *Jewish Languages*, 43–46 (Ann Arbor: Frankel Institute for Advanced Jewish Studies, University of Michigan, 2011).

(10.) Steven Fassberg, "Judeo-Aramaic," in *Handbook of Jewish Languages*, ed. Lily Kahn and Aaron D. Rubin (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2015), 64–117; Julia Krivoruchko, "Judeo-Greek," in *Handbook of Jewish Languages*, ed. Lily Kahn and Aaron D. Rubin (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2015), 194–225.

(11.) Hary, *Translating Religion*, 29–49; Benjamin Hary, "Judeo-Arabic in the Arabic-Speaking World," in *Languages in Jewish Communities, Past and Present*, ed. Benjamin Hary and Sarah Benor (Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton, 2018), 35–69; Geoffrey Khan, "Judeo-Arabic," in *Handbook of Jewish Languages*, ed. Lily Kahn and Aaron D. Rubin (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2015), 22–63.

(12.) Joseph Chetrit, "Judeo-Berber, Its Uses and Its Texts in Morocco," in *Languages in Jewish Communities, Past and Present*, ed. Benjamin Hary and Sarah Benor (Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton, 2018); Yaakov Bentolila, "Haketia," in *Encyclopedia of Jews in the Islamic World*, vol. 3, ed. Norman Stillman (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2010), 73–75; Habib Borjian, "Judeo-Iranian Languages," in *Handbook of Jewish Languages*, ed. Lily Kahn and Aaron D. Rubin (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2015), 234–296.

(13.) Laurent Mignon, "Judeo-Turkish," in *Handbook of Jewish Languages*, ed. Lily Kahn and Aaron D. Rubin (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2015), 634–640.

(14.) George Jochnowitz, "Judeo-Provençal in Southern France," in *Languages in Jewish Communities, Past and Present*, ed. Benjamin Hary and Sarah Benor (Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton, 2018), 129–144; Michael Ryzhik, "Judeo-Italian in Italy," in *Languages in Jewish Communities, Past and Present*, ed. Benjamin Hary and Sarah Benor (Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton, 2018), 94–128; Marc Kiwitt and Dörr, Stephen, "Judeo-French," in *Handbook of*

Jewish Languages, ed. Lily Kahn and Aaron D. Rubin (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2015), 138–177; Devon Strolovitch, "Judeo-Portuguese," in *Handbook of Jewish Languages*, ed. Lily Kahn and Aaron D. Rubin (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2015), 552–592; David Bunis, "Judezmo (Ladino/Judeo-Spanish): A Historical and Sociolinguistic Portrait," in *Languages in Jewish Communities, Past and Present*, ed. Benjamin Hary and Sarah Benor (Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton, 2018), 185–238; Ora Schwarzwald, "Judeo-Spanish Throughout the Sephardic Diaspora," in *Languages in Jewish Communities, Past and Present*, ed. Benjamin Hary and Sarah Benor (Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton, 2018), 145–184; Alexander Beider, "Yiddish in Eastern Europe," in *Languages in Jewish Communities, Past and Present*, ed. Benjamin Hary and Sarah Benor (Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton, 2018), 276–312.

(15.) Vitaly Shalem, "Judeo-Tat in the Eastern Caucasus," in *Languages in Jewish Communities, Past and Present*, ed. Benjamin Hary and Sarah Benor (Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton, 2018), 313–356.

(16.) Reuven Enoch, "Jewish Georgian," in *Handbook of Jewish Languages*, ed. Lily Kahn and Aaron D. Rubin (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2015), 178–193.

(17.) Ophira Gamliel, "Jewish Malayalam in Southern India," in *Languages in Jewish Communities, Past and Present*, ed. Benjamin Hary and Sarah Benor (Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton, 2018), 357–379.

(18.) Benor, Sarah. "Jewish English." In *Languages in Jewish Communities, Past and Present*, ed. Benjamin Hary and Sarah Benor (Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton, 2018), 357–382.

(19.) Dalit Assoulin, "Haredi Yiddish in Israel and the United States," in *Languages in Jewish Communities, Past and Present*, ed. Benjamin Hary and Sarah Benor (Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton, 2018), 472–488.

(20.) Miriam Ben-Refael and Ben-Rafael, Eliezer, "Jewish French in Israel," in *Languages in Jewish Communities, Past and Present*, ed. Benjamin Hary and Sarah Benor (Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton, 2018), 544–568.

(21.) Evelyn Dean-Olmstead and Susana Skura, "Jewish Latin American Spanish in Buenos Aires and Mexico City," in *Languages in Jewish Communities, Past and Present*, ed. Benjamin Hary and Sarah Benor (Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton, 2018), 383–413.

(22.) Patric Joshua Lebenswerd, "Jewish Swedish in Sweden," in *Languages in Jewish Communities, Past and Present*, ed. Benjamin Hary and Sarah Benor, (Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton, 2018), 383–413; Anna Verschik, "Yiddish, Jewish Russian, and Jewish Lithuanian in the Former Soviet Union," in *Languages in Jewish Communities, Past and Present*, ed. Benjamin Hary and Sarah Benor (Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton, 2018) 627–643; Renee Perelmutter, "Israeli Russian in Israel," in *Languages in Jewish Communities, Past and Present*, ed. Benjamin Hary and Sarah Benor (Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton, 2018) 520–543; Yehudit Rosenhouse, "Jewish Hungarian in Hungary and Israel," in *Languages in Jewish*

Communities, Past and Present, ed. Benjamin Hary and Sarah Benor (Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton, 2018), 453–471; Teferra, "Linguistic Features of Hebraized Amharic."

(23.) Hary, *Translating Religion*, 91–159; Gabriel Rosenbuam, "The Arabic Dialect of Jews in Modern Egypt," *Bulletin of the Israeli Academic Center in Cairo* 25 (2002): 35–46.

(24.) Jacob Mansour, *The Jewish Baghdadi Dialect: Studies and Texts in the Judaeo-Arabic Dialect of Baghdad* (Or-Yehuda: The Babylonian Jewry Heritage Center, 1991).

(25.) Moshe Bar-Asher, *Linguistic Traditions of the Jews of North Africa* (Jerusalem: Bialik Institute, 1998). [Hebrew]

(26.) Aharon Geva Kleinberger, "Judeo-Arabic in the Holy Land and Lebanon," in *Languages in Jewish Communities, Past and Present*, ed. Benjamin Hary and Sarah Benor (Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton, 2018), 569–582.

(27.) Ella Shohat, "The Question of Judeo-Arabic," *Arab Studies Journal* 23 (2015): 14–76.

(28.) Eli Amir, Sami Mikhail and Albert Suissa are important Israeli novelists of Moroccan and Iraqi descent.

(29.) Yehudit Henshke, "Patterns of Dislocation: Judeo-Arabic Syntactic Influence on Modern Hebrew," *Journal of Jewish Languages* 3 (2015): 150–164.

(30.) Aharon Maman, "Judeo-Magrebian from David Buskila to Asher Cohen—Renaissance or Swan Song?" in *Ḥikrei Ma'arav u-Mizraḥ: Studies in Language, Literature and History Presented to Joseph Chetrit*, ed. Yoseph Tobi and Dennis Kurzon (Jerusalem: Carmel, 2011), 111–134. [Hebrew]

(31.) Shay Matsa, "Judeo-Arabic in the United States: Changes in the Writings of Aleppo Jews in New York," *Bein Ever le-Arav* 5 (2002): 155–165. [Hebrew]

(32.) See Hary, "Judeo-Arabic," section 4.3.

(33.) Hary, *Translating Religion*, 48–49.

(34.) Hary, *Translating Religion*, 19–25; Hary and Wein, "Religiolinguistics," 89–93.

(35.) Benjamin Hary, "Spoken Late Egyptian Judeo-Arabic as Reflected in Written Forms," *Jerusalem Studies in Arabic and Islam* 44 (2017): 20–21; Rosenbuam, "The Arabic Dialect," 37.

(36.) There are still unanswered questions in this area. The Karaites used both the Hebrew/Aramaic and the Arabic script when they wrote Judeo-Arabic. The explanations given in the literature for this phenomenon have ranged from better education among the Karaites (which brought about familiarity with the Arabic script) to the desire to protest rabbinic authority through the use of the Arabic script instead of Hebrew/Aramaic characters.

(37.) Aljamiado is a Spanish language variety (usually written in Arabic characters) used by the Moriscos in the sixteenth century. Consuelo López-Morillas notes that the Arabic script employed in Muslim language varieties, as well as the Hebrew script in Jewish language varieties, became "an explicit emblem for the religious and cultural cohesion of the linguistic group." *Textos aljamiados sobre la vida de Mahoma: El Profeta de los moriscos* (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, Agencia Española de Cooperación Internacional, 1994), 17.

(38.) Muslims in North Malabar, India use this "castelect." It is written in Arabic script with some orthographic adjustments to represent the phonetic system of Malayalam.

(39.) Clearly, there is no implication here that language users actually choose a script to fit the needs of their religious identification. While this may sound democratic, it is probably quite unhistorical. However, whenever rulers imposed a religion on a country, the religious authorities would usually be given responsibility for education and they would impose their standards, including the script, on that country.

(40.) Benjamin Hary, "Adaptations of Hebrew Script," in *The World's Writing Systems*, ed. William Bright and Peter Daniels (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), 727–734 and 741–742.

(41.) Joshua Blau, *The Emergence and Linguistic Background of Judaeo-Arabic: A Study of the Origins of Neo-Arabic and Middle Arabic*, 3rd ed. (Jerusalem: Ben-Zvi Institute, 1999); Geoffrey Khan, *Karaite Bible Manuscripts from the Cairo Genizah* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 20, n. 65.

(42.) Jonathan I. Israel, *European Jewry in the Age of Mercantilism, 1550–750* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989).

(43.) Ora Scharzwald, "Judaeo-Spanish," in *Oxford Handbook of Jewish Studies*, ed. Martin Goodman (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 572–600.

(44.) Benjamin Hary, "On the Use of 'ilā and li in Judeo-Arabic Texts," in *Semitic Studies in Honor of Wolf Leslau*, ed. Alan Kaye (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1991), 595–608.

(45.) In this example we also see the Yiddish influence on Jewish English. First, the Hebrew word פסק may have entered Jewish English via Yiddish, and second, the use of the Jewish English preposition *by* ("according to" or "at the house of") came to the religiolect via Yiddish (from German). Benor, "Do American"; Sarah Benor, *Becoming Frum: How Newcomers Learn the Language and Culture of Orthodox Judaism* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2012).

(46.) This term is attested in Crescenzo Del Monte's sonnets, where he uses a form of Judeo-Roman that dates back to the times of the ghetto but was still largely used during his lifetime (1868–1935). The number 12 in Neapolitan smorfia (widely used even beyond Naples) signifies "soldiers," and in its Roman variant means "cops" (birri). It is told that under the Fascist racial laws (1938–1943) the presence of plain-clothed officers of the

Fascist police in the synagogue was signaled by inserting in ritual chant the clause, *Nun fate devarìmmi, ce so' iorbèddi* ["Do not talk too much, there are cops around"].

(47.) See Blanc, *Communal Dialects in Baghdad*.

(48.) Hary, *Translating Religion*, 22–23.

(49.) Hary, *Translating Religion*, 23.

(50.) Solomon Asher Birnbaum, *Yiddish: A Survey and a Grammar* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1979), 10.

(51.) Solomon Asher Birnbaum, "Jewish Languages," in *Encyclopedia Judaica* (New York: Macmillan, 1971), 10:68.

(52.) Shmuel Ettinger, "The Modern Period," in *A History of the Jewish People*, ed. Haim Hillel Ben-Sasson (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1994), 771.

(53.) According to historian Menahem Stern: "in the Second Temple era, the Jewish faith expanded as it had never before and has never since. Throughout the Roman Empire and beyond it, people adopted the Jewish faith or at least part of the Jewish way of life. Large sections of the Jewish people made it their concern to convert the heathen to Jewish monotheism and took pride in the fact that Jewish customs were to be found everywhere." "The Period of the Second Temple," in Ben-Sasson, ed., *A History of the Jewish People*, 277.

(54.) Joseph R. Rosenbloom, *Conversion to Judaism: From the Biblical Period to the Present* (Cincinnati: HUC Press, 1978), 80.

(55.) Ben Zion Wacholder, "The Haskalah and the Proselytizing of Jews During the Gaonic Era," *Historia Judaica* 18 (1956): 106.

(56.) Benor, *Becoming Frum*.

(57.) Hary and Wein, "Religiolinguistics"; Norman Stillman, "Language Patterns in Islamic and Judaic Societies," in *Islam and Judaism: 1400 Years of Shared Values*, ed. Steven M. Wasserstrom (Portland: Institute for Judaic Studies in the Pacific Northwest, 1991).

(58.) Primo Levi, *The Periodic Table* (New York: Schocken Books, 1984), chapter 1.

(59.) Gabriel Rosenbaum, "Hebrew Words and Karaite Goldsmiths' Secret Language Used by Jews and Non-Jews in Modern Egypt," *Pe'amim* 90 (1990): 116 [Hebrew].

(60.) Hary and Wein, "Religiolinguistics," 94.

(61.) Neil Jacobs, *Yiddish: A Linguistic Introduction* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005).

(62.) See *Ethnologue* website. https://www.ethnologue.com/.

(63.) Yaakov Bentolila, "Haketia," in *Encyclopedia of Jews in the Islamic World*, ed. Norman Stillman (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2010), 3: 73–75.

(64.) Rabin et al., "Jewish Languages," 53, 56.

(65.) Yehuda Erez, ed., *Encyclopedia of Diasporas: Subcarpathian Ruthenia* (Jerusalem and Tel Aviv: Encyclopedia of Diasporas Publishers, 1959), 231–244, 249–252 [Hebrew]; Aryeh Sole, "Between the Two World Wars," in *Encyclopedia of Diasporas: Subcarpathian Ruthenia*, ed. Yehuda Erez. Jerusalem and Tel Aviv: Encyclopedia of Diasporas Publishers Inc., 1959, 149 [Hebrew].

(66.) Esther Benbassa and Aaron Rodrigue, *Sephardi Jewry: A History of the Judeo Spanish Community, 14th–20th Centuries* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000).

(67.) Cory Driver, *"Yours or Ours?" Muslims Performing Selfhood in Moroccan Jewish Cemeteries.* Ph.D. Dissertation, Emory University, Atlanta, GA, 2017, 130–134.

(68.) David S. Blondheim, *Les parlers judéo-romans et la Vetus Latina* (Paris: Champion, 1925), 1xxxvivii.

(69.) Hary, *Translating Religion*, 205.

(70.) Aharon Geva Kleinberger, *Autochthonous Texts in the Arabic Dialect of the Jews of Tiberias* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2008), 15–16.

(71.) Shlomo Dov Goitein, "Hebrew Elements in the Spoken Language of Yemenite Jews," *Lešonenu* 3 (1931): 357, 361, n. 2 [Hebrew]; Paul Wexler, "Jewish Interlinguistics: Facts and Conceptual Framework," *Language* 57, no. 1 (1981): 99–149. 108.

(72.) Wexler, "Jewish Interlinguistics," 106, especially n. 16.

Benjamin Hary

Benjamin Hary is a Professor at the Skirball Department of Hebrew and Judaic Studies at New York University and is the Director of NYU Tel Aviv. His research interests include Jewish language varieties in general and Judeo-Arabic in particular.