

Тондокументи из архива фонетического
записей из фонетического архива
Академии наук СССР (1899–1950)

Sound Documents from the Phonogrammarchiv
of the Austrian Academy of Sciences
The Complete Historical Collections 1899–1950

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Series 12: Judeo-Spanish from the Balkans

The Recordings by Julius Subak (1908) and Max A. Luria (1927)

Audio CD 1: The recordings by Julius Subak (1908)
Audio CD 2: The recordings by Max A. Luria (1927)

Audio CD 3: The recordings by Max A. Luria (1927)

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Verlag der
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der Wissenschaften



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Series 12:
Judeo-Spanish from the Balkans
 The Recordings by Julius Subak (1908)
 and Max A. Luria (1927)

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were representatives of the lower classes, and quite illiterate (Luria 1930: 1–12). Luria's recordings thus give us the image of a Sephardic community conservative in all aspects, including education, language, literature and way of life. Consequently, almost all the recordings made by Luria are dialogues in a traditional and non-Westernised Judeo-Spanish (Ph 3180–3183) as well as literary samples of traditional folk literature, such as proverbs and sayings (Ph 3178), riddles (Ph 3179) and *consejas* ('folktales': Ph 3184–3201), whose main characters are those of folk literature – among them Giohá (Ğuxá, in Ph 3186), the hero of many very popular folktales in Arab and Islamic culture, who also found his way into Sephardic folklore.

Finally, a comparison between the recordings made by Subak in 1908 and those by Luria in 1927 reveals that, in the first decades of the 20th century, Sephardic culture and language was not steady at all. On the contrary, there were many differences among communities, depending on the social, economic and cultural situation and the degree of Westernisation of their population.

Aldina Quintana Rodríguez
**A linguistic analysis of the Judeo-Spanish
idiolects recorded by Subak (1908)
and Luria (1927)**

Introductory remarks

The forty-one *Phonogramme* in this edition are of exceptional linguistic value: they constitute the first sound documents of Judeo-Spanish, recorded precisely in an epoch of cataclysmic changes in which also the traditional Jewish society of the Ottoman Empire was transformed into a modern society (see the contribution by Paloma Díaz-Mas). This process, taking place parallel to the historical events, was not uniform. In the north of the Balkans (Sarajevo, Belgrade, Sofia, Rouse, Bucharest, etc.) or in cities with large numbers of Sephardic inhabitants (Salonika or Istanbul), the process of modernisation was early and more rapid; in smaller and geographically more isolated communities such as Monastir (Bitola), however, modernisation came later. What makes these recordings so special, then, is that they still reflect this earlier way of life.

Expelled from Spain in 1492, the Sephardim obtained permission from the Turkish sultan Bayezid II to settle in the Ottoman Empire.

In the Sephardic communities founded in the Balkan Peninsula, Turkey and the Holy Land, Judeo-Spanish – a koiné which arose among speakers of Castilian and other Hispanic dialects, also integrating elements of contact languages (Hebrew, Turkish, Balkan Slavic languages, Italian, Arabic, and later French and German depending on the geographical areas) – was retained as the language of the Sephardim for almost half a millennium. When, at the beginning of the 20th century, researchers like Subak began to analyse Judeo-Spanish, the Sephardic communities were undergoing a process of deep social changes in which Judeo-Spanish was directly involved. The modernisation of society in the Balkan countries affected the Sephardim in just the same way as it affected general society. The integration of minorities in the national states (both linguistically and otherwise), the enrolment of women in schools and various other social dynamics came to threaten the existence of Judeo-Spanish, while contact with the national languages facilitated innovations which were to break its relative uniformity and erase some features strictly considered as Spanish (Quintana 2006: 317–318). On a geographically isolated city like Monastir, however, visited by Luria almost 20 years later, the era of modernity had not yet dawned.

Neither Subak nor Luria noted in the protocols accompanying the recordings what languages other than Judeo-Spanish their informants spoke. From other sources, however, we gather that Judeo-Spanish speakers like Abraham A. Cappon also knew French and Spanish, while Moshe ben Rafael Attias had a perfect command of Turkish; both presumably also spoke Serbo-Croatian. Various mistakes of interpretation in their transcriptions in the protocols prove that neither Subak nor Luria knew Judeo-Spanish well, which is why they probably used Spanish in their conversations with Sephardim. This fact does not affect the language of the recordings with their texts from the popular and traditional Sephardic repertory, but somewhat limits their linguistic value. This is particularly true of Subak's *Phonogramme*, since this class of texts, strongly subject to oral traditions, cannot always reflect the real idiolect of the informant, especially as far as syntactic or lexical aspects are concerned. If to this we add the limited duration of the recordings and the small size of the corpus, it becomes clear that Subak's collection lends itself primarily to a phonetic and phonological analysis of Judeo-Spanish and is particularly suitable for the analysis of linguistic variation: diatopic variation and some aspects of diastratic and age-based variation of Judeo-Spanish

can be studied in the light of these recorded fragments. The recordings made by Subak and Luria thus help us to clarify the development and characteristics of two phonemes of the linguistic system employed by Balkan Sephardim:

a) Judeo-Spanish has preserved the opposition /b/ : /β/ in all the Judeo-Spanish dialects. The fricative phoneme was labio-dental in all the Sephardic varieties, as revealed in the idiolects recorded by Subak and Luria: *kavéos, visten, súven, kaváyo, van, vós* (Ph 1073); *nuvénte* (Ph 3176); *guévu, grávi* (Ph 3177); *savádu, kávrze, yéve* (Ph 3178); *maraviyóze* (Ph 3179); *alevantátes, suvráži* (Ph 3181), etc. Other researchers, such as Wagner (1914), had characterised it as bilabial, no doubt erroneously.

b) In all the Judeo-Spanish idiolects preserved on our recordings, palatal /ñ/ was retained: *síñór, soñádo* (Ph 1073); *España, insiñansa, áño* (Ph 1074); *española, peñándose* (Ph 1076); *akompáñe* (Ph 1077); *esfuéñu* (Ph 1078); *mañána* (Ph 1080); *áñus, síñór, Spaña* (Ph 1084); *ñígár, gáñí* (Ph 3177); *kuñáde* (Ph 3178); *muntáñe, ñiévi* (Ph 3179); *Almáñe* (Ph 3182); *síñó* (Ph 3184); *tiñózu, púñus* (Ph 3190); *amañáne, léñe* (Ph 3194), etc. This phoneme later lost its palatal quality in most Judeo-Spanish dialects.

The recordings by Julius Subak (1908)

With the exception of Ph 1073 – the Trieste recording which offers a fragment of Salvador Sefami's Judeo-Spanish idiolect of Istanbul from the central area (type A) – all the other idiolects gathered by Subak belong to the Sephardic dialect spoken in the Judeo-Spanish peripheral area (type B) (cf. Quintana 2006: 123–125, 390). This variant of Judeo-Spanish reflects some of the linguistic innovations which arose in the 19th century as a result of its contact with local languages. In the idiolects of these informants there still coexisted Spanish features which later were to be replaced with phonetic features of the local Balkan languages. We must not forget that Subak's informants, born between 1843 (Moshe ben Rafael Attias from Sarajevo, Ph 1077) and 1891 (Blanka Levi from Sarajevo, Ph 1078), actually represent three generations of Sephardim who lived through very different periods of the geopolitical history of the Balkans. Since the dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire in fact lasted for one century (from 1823 with the independence of Greece up to the proclamation of the Republic of Turkey in 1923), the process of modernisation

of the states created at that time was not homogeneous.

We can distinguish here between a) the first generation, comprising young men still instructed in Jewish traditional schools and generally illiterate women; b) a generation of males who had already come into contact with Western instruction through the *Alliance Israélite Universelle*; c) finally, a generation where all the Jews, including the girls, were alphabetised thanks to obligatory instruction in Jewish, European or national schools. In all of them the teaching of the national languages became obligatory, whereas that of Judeo-Spanish was not, even though it continued to be taught (cf. Vučina 2006). Subak's collection therefore consists of idiolects of Judeo-Spanish speakers of different ages, where the linguistic instruction received by each informant has ontogenetic relevancy, so that the Judeo-Spanish idiolects of the oldest and youngest informants would place at opposite ends of an imagined scale; this allows us to observe linguistic change in progress, with the following three possibilities presenting themselves:

a) Judeo-Spanish was their only mother tongue

and the only language of communication with other Sephardim (Ph 1073, 1086, 1087); independently of that, some of the males had acquired other languages: all of them possessed at least basic knowledge of Biblical Hebrew, and some also had rudimentary knowledge of Turkish (Ph 1079, 1080), only rarely being proficient in that language (Ph 1077).

b) Judeo-Spanish was their only mother tongue, but at least another language acquired at school (French, Italian, or the national language) began to alternate with Judeo-Spanish in daily communication outside the familiar domain (Ph 1076, 1081, 1082, 1083). The teaching of Biblical Hebrew was part of the Jewish instruction for male children.

c) Judeo-Spanish continued as the mother tongue of all Sephardim, but another language (French or the national language) replaced Judeo-Spanish as the daily language of communication of those young men and women who studied outside the traditional Jewish schools (Ph 1078, 1084, 1085). In this generation of Sephardim, the massive enrolment of both boys and girls in school

became obligatory after the definitive secession of Serbia, Bosnia, Bulgaria and Romania from the Ottoman Empire in 1878. In some communities, the instruction of Hebrew assumed major importance especially among males.

We will deal first with features that are common to all of Subak's informants speaking varieties of type B, and which are the results of phonological and phonetic changes. Later on we will discuss features belonging to the group of linguistic innovations or changes in progress.

1. Linguistic changes completed by 1908:

a) reduction of [e] and [o] to [i] and [u] (*puédí, unírár, finía, pur óru, móru fránku, ayurándu, prisípíu, lus siélus, ...*), a feature that is present even in the language of literate informants such as Abraham A. Cappon (Ph 1074: *salúdu, bienkirída, estankármuz, paríéntiz, sinízaz, kalorózu, insiñánsa, dízregla, kí, dulóres, lu, nasióris, etc.*; Ph 1075: *óžus, brásus, nóčis, kun*); a notable exception is the idiolect of the 17-year-old Blanka Levi (Ph 1078), probably due to the fact that her language was already less subject to the traditional Judeo-Spanish of

Sarajevo: she reduces the above-mentioned vowels to a much lesser extent than do the rest of the speakers, all representatives of other age-based variation

b) aphaeresis of initial [e-] before the consonant clusters *-sp, -st* and *-sk*, which frequently occurs with all the recorded speakers of type B (e.g. *spandídúra, spartía, stimádos, stáva, skuridád, skaléra*); the few exceptions are probably due to the *tempo lento* in which the story was told (Ph 1080: *ispírta, eskuridád*) or to the choice of the Castilian form, as in the case of Abraham A. Cappón (Ph 1074: *España*) and Rafael Attias (Ph 1076: *españóla*)

c) preservation of the affricate /ʒ/ in a very limited number of words (including *dóže, tréže* and *póžo*), none of which occurring in Subak's recordings, but presumably the pronunciation employed by Marco Peris for the numeral 12 in the protocol of Ph 1084 (cf. Subak 1910: 36–37; Crews 1935: 195, n.189); both /ʒ/ and the affricate /ʃ/ – occurring in *Šión* (Ph 1078), as also in the pronunciation of Hebrew, Slavic, German and Yiddish words – are phonemic in the Judeo-Spanish varieties of Sarajevo and Monastir as well as in other West Balkan

dialects, while in Istanbul, for instance, /ʒ/ is completely unknown

d) fluctuation between the pronunciation and loss of etymological Castilian [f-] in word-initial position (cf. Quintana 2006: 381); this is absent from our recordings (e.g. Ph 1074: *ížoz, ermózu*, Ph 1075: *azía, íze*, Ph 1077: *avlár, az[e]dór, azía*, Ph 1079: *íža*, Ph 1084: *ížu*, Ph 1086: *ížo, ádo*), probably due to a sociolinguistic development that took place even in the variety of Sarajevo in the speech of persons of a high social level (such as Abraham A. Cappon and Moshe ben Rafael Attias), whereby in neutral speech [f-] was usually retained (Baruch 1930: 133, Quintana 2006: 98)

e) [f] preceding the diphthong [we] remains labio-dental in the recording of the young Blanka Levi from Sarajevo (Ph 1078: *esfuéñu, fuérsá*), shifting to a uvular articulation in the speech of Nissim Efraim from Belgrade: *xué* (Ph 1079, 1080); a result of the contact between Judeo-Spanish and Serbo-Croatian is the articulation of /x/ as a glottal sound in all the Sephardic communities of Serbia, Bosnia and Croatia (Quintana 2006: 100–101, 382)

f) retention of the segment *-rd-*, a typical

feature of the Judeo-Spanish of Sarajevo and characteristic of the speech of all the generations represented in the respective *Phonogramme*, including Cappon's (Ph 1074: *guardámos*; Ph 1075: *guardáva*; Ph 1078: *ardór*, etc.), although we would have expected Cappon – born in Rouse and later living in Ploiești (until 1900) – to use metathesised *-dr-*, as do the speakers from Belgrade (Ph 1080), Bucharest (Ph 1084) and Niš/Sofía (Ph 1086): *tádri, piedrésí* and *guádrí* (see also Quintana 2006: 384); Cappon's forms without metathesis might indicate either his attempt to make his language conform to the modern Spanish model or accommodation to the pronunciation of the variety of Sarajevo

g) reinforcement of the fricative variants of /d/ and /g/ between vowels, a phonetic change found among almost all of Subak's speakers of dialects belonging to type B, which may even result in the loss of sonority of this consonant (Ph 1079: *lákrimaz*); it is strangely absent, however, in the speech of Rahel Avram from Niš/Sofía (Ph 1086) and Luna Kovos from Plovdiv (Ph 1087), both fifty years old, which may possibly be explained by the fact that the language of women tends to be more

conservative than the language of men (instead, we find remains of the former Judeo-Spanish pronunciation of the fricative variants of *ldl* and *lgl*: *guádrí, paríða, nočáða, piadádes*).

2. Changes in progress:

h) adoption of [-ə] instead of [-a] in final position, which is already manifest in Mosko Aladjem's rapid speech (Ph 1082), appearing as a tendency also in the idiolects of Yosef Levi from Rousse (Ph 1083), Sara Yuda from Sofia (Ph 1085) and Rahel Avram from Niš/Sofia (Ph 1086); this innovation – which eventually resulted in [ə] occupying the position of a phoneme in the vowel system (Kunchev 1974: 7, 15) – was caused by contact between speakers of Judeo-Spanish and Bulgarian and came to differentiate the Judeo-Spanish of Bulgaria from other varieties

i) palatalisation of [k] followed by [e] and [i], a change in progress that can be observed in varying degrees in the speakers from Vidin (Ph 1082), Bucharest (Ph 1084) and Sofia (Ph 1085): *kíézu* < *kezu*, *čí* < *ki*, *kiéres* < *kéris*; this innovation of Slavic origin existed also in the Judeo-Spanish of Sarajevo (Subak 1910: 135)

and Monastir (Luria 1930: 117) as a shibboleth identifying illiterate people, especially old women

j) palatal articulation of [k] and [g] preceded by accentual [i], an innovation caused by Judeo-Spanish speakers coming into contact with Slavic languages, but still absent from Subak's recordings, since it affected the Judeo-Spanish spoken in the communities of Bosnia, Serbia, Croatia, Macedonia, Romania, and the north and west of Bulgaria only later (Quintana 2006: 92–93, 380); we can still hear *dígo* in the speech of informants recorded in Bucharest and Plovdiv (Ph 1084, 1087), and *indkas* (Ph 1074), *řamka, čka* (Ph 1076), *čko* and *řko* (Ph 1077) in first and second generation speakers from Sarajevo

k) loss of the opposition *řl* : *řl*; this innovation – one of the most significant changes in Judeo-Spanish – appears in Ph 1076, but the two sounds involved are confused by Rafael Attias: in implosive position, for instance, he says [poř] instead of [por], and intervocalically, that is where the opposition is relevant, he says [óřo] instead of [óro]. On the other hand, his father Moshe ben Rafael Attias (Ph 1077) distinguishes both sounds, according to the

Castilian standard. Total confusion seems to exist in the idiolect of the young woman from Sarajevo, Blanka Levi: her articulation of [ř] is not the traditional one used in Judeo-Spanish, and her efforts to achieve the typical pronunciation end in hypercorrection (*Křiadór, řřimavéra*). This confusion emerges already in the generation of Abraham A. Cappon, who says [deřeráste] and [teřéno] (Ph 1074), [ařregládo] and [dizrégla] (Ph 1075). A similar situation can be found among all the informants from dialect area B (cf. Quintana 2006: 390). This innovation, then, illustrates well enough the processes of change that were taking place in Judeo-Spanish during the second half of the 19th and the first decades of the 20th century, when the majority of Sephardim acquired the languages of their places of residence. The contact between Judeo-Spanish and these languages triggered several innovations in the Sephardic language, some of which are revealed in the idiolects recorded by Subak.

Let us now look more closely at the Judeo-Spanish as spoken by Salvator Sefami (Ph 1073). Though Salvator Sefami left Istanbul in 1889, living in Trieste in 1908, he had

preserved the distinctive linguistic features of the Sephardic variety of his native Istanbul (phonetic type A): maintenance of unaccented [e] and [o] (*múnčo, deřrensádos, máno, loóres, peřdón, kolarádo*); absence of aphaeresis of initial [e-] followed by the consonant clusters *-sp, -st* and *-sk* (*espéžo, estáte*); loss of initial [f-] (*iřikos*); metathesis of *-rd*, which, in the Judeo-Spanish of Istanbul, had taken place already centuries ago, is absent in the sample: *peřdón* (*later pardón*) is due to French influence, while *yařán* (instead of *yařrán*) is the pronunciation current in Bosnia and other Sephardic communities in the area; retention of the fricative variants of *ldl* and *lgl* (*mařřuga, deřrensádos, kriádo, ládo*, etc.); preservation of the opposition between *řl* and *řl* up until the present (*řéi, řéina, géřa, kára, kolarádo*), despite its low functional load.

In addition, all the recordings by Julius Subak also show non-phonemic linguistic changes typical of Judeo-Spanish: Sephardic *yeřmo*, which can lead to the loss of the voiced palatal fricative in contact with accentual [i] and [é]: *kavéos* < *kavéyos* (Ph 1073), *rodias* < *rodřyas* (Ph 1075), *panař* < *panařř* (Ph 1077);

rhotacism: *alvoréra* (Ph 1076); lambdacism: *alvoréra* (Ph 1076); syncope: *azdór* < *azedór* (Ph 1077), *ispirtu* (Ph 1080); elision: *d'ónde*, *l'unjár* (Ph 1077), *k'avía arivatádu'n pidásu* (Ph 1082), *le'rispundía* < *le arispundía* (Ph 1085); paragoge: *ġanimé* (Ph 1079); aphaeresis: *šindré* (Ph 1079); palatalisation: *ayigría* (Ph 1087); anticipatory assimilation: *ankansár* (Ph 1081); dissimilation: *asimélda* < *asimelha* (Ph 1076); acoustic metaphor: *ermuzió* < *ermuyó* (Ph 1080); liaison: *doz ižikos*, *loz del* (Ph 1073), *noz indikas laz óras*, *noz asérkaz*, *konósiz al ómbre i tódaz suz óvras* (Ph 1074), *despertémoz nos*, *nuéstraz mános* (Ph 1078), etc.

As for the lexical elements from the ethical/religious domain and Sephardic tradition, we find *malaxín(is)* 'angels' (Ph 1086) and *Šión* 'Zion' (Ph 1078), but also several euphemisms referring to God: *el Dió* (Ph 1076, 1078, 1080, 1086), *el Álto* (Ph 1073) 'the Almighty', *el Kriador* (Ph 1078) 'the Creator' and *el Santo Bindičo* (Ph 1087) 'the Holy bless him!', the last three being literal translations from Hebrew. In Judeo-Spanish, the *parido* (Ph 1086) is the husband of the *parida* 'the woman who has

recently given birth', and not the newborn child, an example for the wealth of benedictions used by the Sephardim would be *il Dió vos guádrí* (Ph 1086) 'May God watch you!' Contact with Hebrew (employed alongside Judeo-Spanish for social functions), French (the new language of culture after 1865), Ottoman Turkish, and other languages such as Italian, German or Serbian, is evident in a total of some 25 loan-words (with an unsurprisingly high number of Turkish ones in Ph 1077, Zeki Effendi's recording), e.g. from Hebrew, *malaxín(is)* (Ph 1086; a hispanicised form of Hebrew *mal'axim* sing. *mal'ax* 'angel'); from French, *akáblan* (Ph 1074; Fr. *accabler* 'oppress'); from Turkish, *sırma* (Ph 1073; Turk. *sırma* 'silver thread'), *zaríf* (Ph 1076; Turk. *zarif* 'elegant'), *panair* (Ph 1077; Turk. *panayir* 'market') or *ġanimé* (Ph 1079; Turk. *canım* 'oh my!, goodness!'), an expression of surprise or dismay); from Italian, *séra* (Ph 1085; It. *sera* 'evening'); from German, *profésor* (Ph 1084; Germ. *Professor*), and, finally, *ašindré*, a word of mixed Portuguese-Serbian origin (Ph 1079; Port. *xadrez* 'chess', with Serb. *šindra* '(clap)board' – 'chess' in the Judeo-Spanish variety of Belgrade).

The recordings by Max A. Luria (1927)

Unlike Julius Subak, Max A. Luria focused his attention on the Judeo-Spanish spoken in Monastir, which later resulted in a comprehensive description of this dialect (Luria 1930). Its "phonetic idiosyncrasies" and the fact that "the dialect of Monastir is even more archaic than most other Judeo-Spanish dialects" (Luria 1930: 1, 10) were the factors that determined his decision in favour of a study of this dialect alone instead of continuing his initial plan "to make a comparative study of the Judeo-Spanish dialects spoken in the city of New York" in the 1920s (Luria 1930: 1). For the preparation of this study Luria had at his disposal Judeo-Spanish speakers from Monastir who years before had immigrated to New York. His periodic meetings with them between November 1926 and May 1927 served him as linguistic training for his later visit to Monastir between July and August 1927 (Luria 1930: 1f.). During his stay he recorded twenty-six *Phonogramme* that contain oral texts read by two informants, the 34-year-old Moise A. Calderon and the 28-year-old Leon Camhi.

As far as the personality of New York's *Monastirlis* is concerned, Luria emphasises

their "unusual linguistic ability", so that it was "not rare to find many who can read, write and speak four or five languages, languages which differ among themselves to a marked degree, as for example, Judeo-Spanish, Hebrew, Turkish, Greek, French, Italian ..." (Luria 1930: 2). And he continues like this (*ibid.*):

Even among the recently arrived immigrants one notices an accretion of English words which add to the linguistic medley brought over from the Near East. Again there is a tendency to adapt their mode of speech to the more numerous and dominant Judeo-Spanish group in New York. Rather than suffer constant ridicule and humiliation brought on by the peculiarities of their speech, they exercise their linguistic adaptability and adopt the language of the mocker.

Needless to say, in view of this attitude – which also reflects the low esteem they had of their own language – New York's *Monastirlis* would thus hardly have qualified as ideal linguistic informants. The Sephardim still living in Monastir in 1927 were the only Jews to preserve the more distinctive features described in Luria (1930), until they were deported to Treblinka's concentration camp in 1943, where very few survived the Holocaust (for an account of the history of Monastir see now Cohen 2003; the following paragraph is based on Luria 1930: 4–10).

In 1927, when Luria visited Monastir, which fifteen years previously had become part of Serbia after centuries under Ottoman rule, the city was still rather isolated, and there existed only little contact between the Sephardim and other important Jewish centres like Salonika and Belgrade. Its 3,000 Sephardic Jews, ten per cent of the total population, lived peacefully side by side with the rest of the inhabitants of the city (Turks, Romanians, Albanians, Bulgarians and Greeks). Their economic situation, however, was very unsatisfactory, and occupations were limited to "trades and professions" such as "petty merchants ..., money changers, tailors, tinsmiths, some blacksmiths, junk dealers, cobblers ..., porters, and dealers in old rags". The cultural standard was very low, too. In 1895, *the Alliance Israélite Universelle* opened a school, but shortly before 1927 it had been completely abandoned. The young men, who were to a certain degree Westernised, attended "the public schools ... or the French school conducted by the Lazarist Brothers", leaving the country "at the very first opportunity". The city's isolation, the adherence to traditional life and the lack of social mobility were undoubtedly factors contributing to the particularly conservative nature of the dialect.

The Sephardic language of the oral texts recorded by Luria is characterised by the preservation of Castilian syntactic structure. The peculiar pronunciation – due especially to various changes in the vowel system – is responsible for the dialect of Monastir sounding manifestly less Castilian than the rest of the Judeo-Spanish dialects. Now, since it is practically impossible to add something new to Luria's comprehensive description of Monastir's Sephardic dialect, the following discussion will focus on the place that this dialect occupies in the general context of Judeo-Spanish variation.

The Judeo-Spanish spoken in Monastir belongs to the phonetic type B (cf. Quintana 2006: 390). It possesses some features that are found in the Judeo-Spanish spoken in the area of Slavic (Serbian, Bulgarian and Macedonian) or Slavicised languages (Romanian); these are the more distinctive features:

a) use of the sibilant affricates /š/ : /ž/, with the voiceless phoneme – apart from Hebrew and German words – appearing also in words of Slavic origin (e.g. *pitulšes*; Ph 3181) and after [j] in some Spanish words: *káše*, *kašádu*

(Ph 3176), *kašikes* (Ph 3181); in addition to words of Slavic origin (e.g. *žingnu*; Ph 3176), the voiced phoneme appears in a very small number of Spanish words: the numerals *ónzi*, *dózi*, *trézi*, *katózi* and *kínzi* or the word *pózu* (Ph 3176) as well as the verb *apúze* (Ph 3197) b) reduction of unaccented [e] and [o] (Subak 1910: 37, Luria 1930: 99–102), as in *siéá*, *ócu*, *duziéntus*, *ššéntus*, *nuvisiéntus* (Ph 3176), *páguntar*, *irimígu* (Ph 3177), *áruv* (Ph 3179), etc.; this is not a phenomenon of Leonese origin (Luria 1930: 101), but a Judeo-Spanish innovation related to the Portuguese adstratum (Quintana 2006: 50–55)

c) aphaeresis of prosthetic *i* (< *e*) preceding the clusters *-sp*, *-st* and *-sk*, as in *stáz*, *stámus* (Ph 3180), *skóliye*, *skapár* (Ph 3181), *skápi* (Ph 3194), *skalére* (Ph 3196), *sklamó* (Ph 3197), etc.; the loss of the vowel takes place also before *-sf*: *sfuégre* (Ph 3178, 3181)

d) palatalisation of /k/ and /g/ preceded by a palatal vowel: this is not mentioned by Luria, nor can it be observed in Moïse A. Calderon's or Leon Camhi's idiolects; it is however later reported by Kolonomos (1968: 2148) and Kovačec (1986–1987: 160), which reflects the Slavic influence on the Judeo-Spanish spoken particularly by those born after 1912.

Here is a list of further characteristics of the Judeo-Spanish phonetic subgroup b4 (cf. Quintana 2006: 390), which includes the Judeo-Spanish of Monastir, Kastoria and Pristina and is characterised by the preservation of a greater number of Castilian features:

e) the phonological opposition /r/ : /r̄/, which is true also of all the Sephardic dialects of the central area (Quintana 2006: 376), as in *āuḡár* (Ph 3177) 'wrinkle', (*yo*) *arógu* (Ph 3192) 'I request', but infinitive *aruḡár*; *kárus* (Ph 3179) 'wheels', *kāriku* (Ph 3181) 'shopping cart', *káru* (Ph 3182) 'expensive'

f) retention of etymological [f-] as in the Judeo-Spanish spoken by Sephardim from all of the most western communities of the Balkans (Quintana 2006: 381), e.g. *furmíge* (Ph 3177), *fambriéntu*, *fížu*, *fágu*, *farmóze* (Ph 3178), *fiéru* (Ph 3179), *fayádu* (Ph 3182), *fórmus*, *fízu* (Ph 3192), etc.

g) retention of the segment *-rd-* without metathesis, as in the Judeo-Spanish spoken in Bosnia and in the Sephardic communities of the Adriatic coast (Quintana 2006: 384), e.g. *ḡurdike* (Ph 3182), *ḡurdure* (Ph 3186), *ḡuardó* (Ph 3189), *pára mórdi* (Ph 3193), *verdád*(d)

(Ph 3194), *urđinátis*, *urđiní* (Ph 3195), *tárdi* (Ph 3200); some words, though, are pronounced with metathesis, perhaps because Luria's informants read the texts: *góđru*, *guadrár* (Ph 3177), *góđre* (Ph 3177, 3185), *pidri* (Ph 3190) h) in the dialect of Monastir – as in the Judeo-Spanish spoken in the Sephardic communities in contact with Greek dialects – the phoneme /g/ is always pronounced as a guttural, except when preceded by /n/ (Luria 1930: 118–119, Révah 1961: 192, Quintana 2006: 89), hence *antígu*, *ğuzğár*, *virğuéense* (Ph 3177), *muéğe* (Ph 3178), *ğustóze*, *amígu*, *akjúne*, *ğurdike*, *vákje*, *ağradándu*, *sįjúnde*, *ağóre*, *ğrándi*, *dįgu* (Ph 3182), *kunténgu*, *véngje*, *mángu*, *alungár*, *amįnguár* (Ph 3177), *lungór* (Ph 3193), etc.; exception: *la mangráne* (Ph 3179)
 (i) the pronunciation of [e] instead of [a] in final unaccented syllable, a feature that immediately identified a Sephardic speaker of Monastir, already noted by Subak (1910: 37) and said by Luria (1930: 101) to be of Leonese or Catalan origin, but probably rather a Sephardic innovation related to the reduction of unaccented [e] and [o] (see above, feature b): *buéne*, *kriatúres*, *fizíke*, *die* (Ph 3181), *únez*. *řupizikes de Almárne múi fines* (Ph 3182),

etc.; consequently, in the Judeo-Spanish spoken in Monastir – and also in Pristina – final unaccented syllables always display the vowels [i], [e] and [u] instead of [e], [a] and [o] in the Judeo-Spanish spoken in the central area (Quintana 2006: 58–59), as also in the Castilian standard: *istómađu fambríentu núnke no tiéni uréže* (Ph 3178), as opposed to *estómago ambriénto/ambierto núnka no tiéne oreža* in Judeo-Spanish central dialects.

The sporadic pronunciation of *verdá* and (*f*)*ermóza* as *vardá* (Ph 3177, 3180, 3186) and *farmóze* (Ph 3178) betrays influence from the language of Sarajevo in the idiolects of the two informants from Monastir. In the 1920s rabbis and teachers from Sarajevo were sent to Monastir, such as R. Sabetai Djaen, who in 1927 was the Rabbi of this community. We should also pay attention to the form *múđu* (Ph 3177, 3193), found in the Judeo-Spanish spoken in Salonika and Sarajevo; it is *múnđu* – a popular form of Old Spanish – in other idiolects of the phonetic group B, and *múnđu* in Istanbul (Ph 1073).

On the morphosyntactic level it is interesting to observe the use of the gerund in the function of an imperative if the ordered action has to be performed immediately, something that also occurs in the Judeo-Spanish spoken in the area of Salonika, e.g. *akavakándu* (Ph 3192), *ičándu* (Ph 3193).

In addition to the several euphemisms referring to God in Subak's recordings, it is necessary to add *il Patrón díl Múndu* (Ph 3180) 'the lord of the world', another literal translation from Hebrew. Contact with Hebrew has contributed to the Judeo-Spanish vocabulary not only an endless number of words such as *buxór* 'the first born', *afaxá* 'confidence' (Ph 3180), *řušxódiř* 'the first of the month' (Ph 3181), *řamór* 'donkey' (Ph 3184), etc.; it is also the basis of many others, such as *sįxuréntu* 'sad, gloomy' (Ph 3185), composed of *sįxurá* (< *marah řeřorah* 'melancholy') + the Judeo-Spanish suffix *-ento*, or the verb *kařrár* 'to curse, to blaspheme' (Ph 3187) from *kafar*, etc. These Hebrew elements together with tens of Turkish words as well as some of Greek and Slavic etymology make up some one hundred lexical items of non-Romance origin which are

present in the twenty-two dialogues and stories recorded by Luria; in spite of the genre, this evidence is enough justification to classify the Judeo-Spanish spoken in Monastir in 1927 as much more traditional than that employed in the recordings made by Subak in the communities of the northern Balkans almost twenty years previously.

Further details on numerous other (non-phonemic) linguistic features of the Judeo-Spanish of Monastir as well as translations of the loan-words occurring in our *Phonogramme* can be found in Luria (1930: 223–233); for Hebrew words it is also recommended to consult Bunis (1993b).

The recordings by Julius Subak (1908)

with transcriptions by Aldina Quintana Rodríguez
and comments by Edwin Seroussi and Rivka
Havassy

- 1 *Romance* [a version of *Landarico*; cf. CMP
M8, category: "The Adulteress"]
Spoken by Salvator Sefami, 49 years old,
Prokurist [employee with full power of
attorney] in a china shop
Rec. July 15, 1908 in Trieste, Italy; Ph 1073

El t̄ei ke múnčo madrúga
ánde la t̄eina se iva.
Topó a la t̄eina en kavéos,
en kavéos destrensádos,
kon un espéžo en la máno,
mirándose zu ermozúra,
dándo loóres [al ...] a ei Álto
ke tan lúzia l'a kriádo.
El t̄ei, por burlár kon éya,
ei ládo le a apretádo.
"Estáte, estáte, Andarlíno,
tú mi primér namorádo.
Doz ižikos túyos téngo,
doz del t̄ei ke son kuátro.
[Los túyos kómen] en méza
[loz ...] i loz del t̄ei apartádo.

Loz del t̄ei vísten de séda
i los túyos sírma i pérla.
Loz del t̄ei súven en múla
i los túyos a kaváyo.
Loz del t̄ei van a la géra
i los túyos al palásio."
Éya se bóita la kára
[i ve al t̄ei] a su ládo.
"Perdón, perdón, siñór t̄ei,
ke'sxuēño me a soñádo."
"Perdón, perdón, vós la t̄eina,
kon un yardán kolorádo."

Comment:

This is a familiar version of this popular *romance*
widespread among the Jews of the Balkans.
Similar variants of this version of the *romance*
were documented in Turkey, Istanbul, Salonika
and Rhodes (CMP M8.19–28; Hemsí 1995:
no.42A–B; Petersen 0426:9). Subak specifically
points out that his informant read the text from
Subak's own article (Subak 1906a: 179f.) and
that he could not remember the Judeo-Spanish
version of the Ten Commandments, an iconic
Jewish text that Subak presumably wanted to
leave on record: "Hielt beim Rezitieren meinen
gedr. Text in der Hand ... Textprobe no.3 des
Aufsatzes 'Zum Judenspanischen' ... An die

ladino-Übersetzung der Zehn Gebote konnte
sich Sefamý nicht erinnern." However, in his
article Subak does not indicate if he recorded
this *romance* from Sefami, from his informants
from Sarajevo or from a third source. Sefami,
born in Constantinople, was Subak's main
informant for his observations on the Judeo-
Spanish dialects from Salonika and Istanbul
(cf. Subak 1905, 1906a).

- 2 Two poems [composed by the speaker;
published, with deviations, as *Á España*
and *El reloj arreglado* (complete version) in
Cappon (1922: 1, 25f.), which served as the
model for the present layout of the verses]
Spoken by Abraham A. Cappon, 55 years old,
["Ofisianté l° a la skola moderna", i.e. First
Cantor of Sarajevo's New Temple synagogue]
Rec. October 12, 1908 [in Sarajevo, Bosnia
and Herzegovina]; Ph 1074

Un salúdu kalorózu a Espáña ...
de Avrahám Kapón, Sarayévo

A tí, Espáña, bienkirída,
nozótros "mádre" te yamámos.
Miéntas tódas nuéstras vídas,
tu dúise léngua no dešámos.

Áunke tú noz desteráste
kómo madrástra de tu séno,
no estankámuz di amárte
kómo santízimo t̄eño,
dónde dešáron nuéstrs pádres
a sus paríentiz stimádos
i las sinízaz de miyáres
de torturádos i kemádos.

Por tí nozótros no guardámos
aborisión, paiz ermózu,
por konsigiénti te mandámos
nuéstru salúdo kalorózu.

El t̄elóze ařegiádo ... del mízmu Kapón

Tú, ke noz indíkaz laz óras del día,
ke noz asérkaz de la muérte fría:
De ói endelánti tóma insiñánsa,
deša tu dizrégla, tróka tu uzánsa.

Konósiz al ómbre i tódaz suz óvras
i sávis jki pókas son suz buénaz óras!
Kuándo lo akábían dulóres i ánsias,
kuándo lo t̄udéan máles i dizgrásias;
kuándo la povréza lu va persigiéndo,
ke su mizéria se va rekresiéndo,
as tú ke el año úna óra ténga,
ke ésta óra váya i no vénga.

Kuánder en la žénti no ái malkerénsia;
 kuánder los kazádos biven bién [...] su
 kerénsia ... [ja!];
 kuánder pádris i ížoz i tódus pariéntis,
 siémpri se stíman i son bién konténtis;
 kuánder no ái mális ni persekusiónis,
 éntri los kriáduz de tódas nasiónis,
 as ke la minúta séa de un año
 i núnka tengámos ningún mal [ni dáño].

Comment:

These two texts were published in the journal *La Alborada*, "revista literaria israelita-española" which appeared from 1898 to 1899 in Ploiești, Romania – being printed in Rustchuk (Rousse), Bulgaria – and was renewed between 1900 and 1901 in Sarajevo as "periódico instructivo literario, órgano del judaísmo de Bosna-Herzegovina" (Romero 1992: 186f., 215, 278f.; Liebl 2007: 11f., n.13). Cappon collected his poems in a 1922 volume entitled *Poesías* (published in two editions in the same year by his son Jacob A. Cappon in Sarajevo). Cappon's vigorous and dramatic delivery conveys his emotional reactions to the texts. The second poem is reminiscent of the more traditional *coplas* genre, and its last verse even evokes a famous line from *Noche de alhad*, a widespread Sephardic song for the ending of the Sabbath.

3 Poem [composed by the speaker; published with deviations and in its entirety, as *Un suspiro de dolor* in Cappon (1922: 71f.)] Sung by Abraham A. Cappon, 55 years old, "Ofsiante l° a la skola moderna" [i.e. First Cantor of Sarajevo's New Temple synagogue] [Rec. October 12, 1908 in Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina]; **Ph 1075**

A mi Žustino ... de Avrahám Kapón,
 Sarayévo

Tú sáves kuánder te amáva,
 ké azía yo pur tí.
 Más ke miz óžus te guardáva,
 mi álma dáva yo por tí.

Tú en miz brásus te kresiste,
 presióza álma fuiste tú;
 i tú por mí amor tuviste,
 kon mí estávas siémpre tú.

Díaz entéros te tenía
 en miz rodias yo a tí
 i múčas nóčis no durmía,
 tódo velándote a tí.

[Tu] kára éra múi grasióza,
 a ángel paresias tú.
 Pués kon tu ávía armonióza,
 ¿a kén no enkantávas tú?

Por tu bundád i tu kerénsia
 stáva siémpre yo kun tí
 i, por tu gran inteližénsia,
 un ĝenio íze yo de [tí].

Comment:

This composition by Cappon "laments the death of his five-year-old son Tzidkyá (Justino) in 1908" (Liebl 2007: 13, n.17). The melody, defined in the protocol of the recording as "(türkisch) populär", is a variant of one of the most popular melodies circulating in the Ottoman territories and adopted by the Sephardic Jews for several liturgical and secular texts (Seroussi 1999). The melody originated in the patriotic anthem "Ey vatan, ey ummi musfik" ('Oh my homeland, oh beloved mother') by the Turkish composer Rifat Bey, written for the ratification of the first Ottoman Constitution of 1876. Due to its patriotic message, this melody became widespread among all the minorities throughout the decaying Ottoman Empire.

4 *Romance* [incomplete version of *La vuelta del marido/The Husband's Return*; cf. CMP I1, category: "The Husband's Return"]

Sung by Rafael Attias, 44 years old, auditor in the accounting department of the provincial government of Bosnia-Herzegovina [Rec. October 12, 1908 in Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina]; **Ph 1076**

Románsa española kantáda por Rafaél
 Atías Zéki: La Alvoréra

Alvoréra, mi alvoréra,
 tan galána i tan ĝentíl,
 la řais tién de óřo
 i la řáma de marřil.
 En la řamika más óika
 úna dáma ái zaríf,
 peñánder sus trensádos
 kon un péñe de marřil.
 Poř ai pasó un kavayéro
 k'asimélida Ámadí.
 "Así bivař, kavayéro,
 así! Dió voz déše bivar.
 Si víteř ai mi marído,
 a mi marído d'Ama[dí]."

Comment:

This *romance* is one of the oldest, best preserved and most copiously documented texts in the Judeo-Spanish *romancero* and

among the most characteristic *romances* of the Bosnian Sephardic tradition. Its melody has served for the singing of various Hebrew religious songs since the 16th century (for a detailed study of this text and its music, see Katz 1972–1975). The recorded version – sung here by one of Zeki Effendi's sons, apparently identical with the “treasurer of the Sephardic association *La Benevolencia*” (Liebl 2007: 14) – includes only the opening lines of the *romance* which is very similar to other versions of this text documented in Bosnia (Elazar 1987: 261; Armistead & Silverman 1971: 46, B6; Laura Papo's version in Petersen 0113:75).

- 5 Moralistic song [composed by the speaker; published, with deviations and in its entirety, as “Konsežos de nuestros viežos” in *La Alborada* 21 (7th June 1901): 91] Spoken by Moshe ben Rafael Attias, 65 years old, tax office assistant (cashier) [Rec. October 12, 1908 in Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina]; Ph 1077

Tu pláta péza kon el pézo,
tu ávla péza kon el sézo.
Ken de miskinu si búrla,

a su azdór repúdia.
Sávio pénsa lu ke ávla,
lóko lo ke pénsa ávla.
Ken en bién mi ġuzgará,
tódo buénu le alkansará.
Sóvre flošéza de mi membrár,
múčus se akėšan sin karár.
Asópla sóvre brázas – se ensenderán,
eskúpe sóvre éyas – se amatarán.
Por igualár lu gránde kun lu číko,
ke sin el próve no puédi ħivír il ħíko,
ke kon tóda su ħíkėza i podér
ai tiémpo ke lu tiéne di ministér.
I si no avían ġėnte próves,
¿de ónde tomáva el ħíko sirvidóres,
ke l'inča el čibúk i le alímpie la fes,
ke le dé a lavár i le alímpie lus čizmės,
ke le sakúda la ġubė,
ke le aparėže la fermelé,
ke le sakúda luz mindėres,
[ke le sak...] ke le yėve los teftėres,
ke le aparėže el čabašír,
ke lo akompáñe al panaír?
Si no avían ġėnte plazentėra,
¿de ónde tomáva la bulisa gizandėra,
de ónde tomáva lavandėra,
kén se azía kuzinandėra?
¿Kė era si avían tóduz ħíkos

i grándis sin avér číkos?
¿Kén pudía máz avlár,
kén si dešáva komandár?
¿A kén avía di imbidjár,
de kén se enselár?
I kon ésto kále entender
ke el próve no tinía dí kumér.
Si il ħíko no si dešáva sirvír,
no tinía il próve d'ónde bivír.
Por éso tiéne il próve de l'unřár
a el ħíku ke le da a maškár.
I el ħíku se a de akavidár
al próve de no lo menospresiár.

Comment:

This moralistic song (“konsežo”, lit. ‘advice’ or ‘guidance’) consists of paired rhymes that call to mind a series of popular maxims. The main topic of the item is the respect that individuals of different social classes need to have for each other due to their mutual interdependence. The song reflects the sharp social stratification of traditional Sephardic society and the tensions embedded in class relations.

- 6 Zionist hymn [an incomplete and slightly deviating version of the *Himno Sionista* composed by Abraham A. Cappon in 1900] Sung by Blanka Levi, 17 years old Rec. October 13, 1908 [in Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina]; Ph 1078

Despertėmoz nos, ermánus,
del esfuėñu del dolór,
i atėmos nuėstraz mános
kon kerėnsia i amór.

Básta tánta letaržia
en ke duérme la nasión.
Kon unión i eneržia
buškarėmos salvasión.

Loz ħepúdios ħenkontrėmos
i lučėmus kon ardór.
El dezėo ke tenėmos
kumplirá el Kriadór.

De kuráže bién armádos
i kon fuėrsa del Dió
lavurėmos aunádos
por tornárnos a Šiόν,
por tornár a nuėstra tiėra
dónde briya kon kandór
la etėrna primavėra
en su dúl[se esplandór].

Comment:

According to the protocol, this Zionist poem by Abraham Cappon – who also wrote a translation of *Hatikva* – was published in 1902 in Sarajevo by “D.A. Chayon” (presumably Daniel A. Cayon/Kajon, who also printed *La Alborada*; Liebl 2007: 14f.). The activist tone of this text (“enough of the lethargy in which the nation is caught”, “to return to our land where an eternal spring shines with ardour”) reflects the deep involvement of Cappon with the emerging Jewish national movement. The music is “von Ivela, Bukarest,” i.e. composed by the famous blind musician A.L. Ivela (1878–1927), born as Avraham Levy/Levi (or Halevi?), who was the *Kapellmeister* of the Sephardic synagogue “Kahal Grande” in Bucharest from 1900 until his death (Seroussi 1988; Stoianov & Stoianov 2002). The melody of this patriotic Zionist song is most naturally inspired from the reservoir of marching melodies characteristic of the Italian *Risorgimento*. Ivela and all the personnel of the Sephardic community in Bucharest are known to have been inspired and guided by Italian Jewish models.

- 7 *Romance* [incomplete version of *Rico Franco*; cf. CMP O2, category: “Rape and Abduction”]
Sung by Nissim Efraim, 60 years old, merchant
Rec. October 12/25, 1908 in Belgrade, Serbia; Ph 1079

[E]l réi tenía una iža,
una iža di tal ver,
non la dáva ni pur óru
ni pur pláta, ġanimé.
[No...] La mitió en el ġuégú,
nel ġuégú del ašindré.
Tódoz ġúgan, tódúz ġúgan,
a tódúz í lis da [el] šindré.
[S]asintó un móru fránku,
la ganó di príma ves.
Sigún la ganó'l móru fránku
i di vísta la xué a ver.
La tupó ayurándu
lákrimaz de [a doz i tres].

Comment:

This is a fragment from the beginning of this Sephardic *romance*, which, according to the protocol, is here recited from memory, but can be found in print: “bei R. Menéndez Pidal,

Danon” – most probably a reference to the inclusion of this *romance* in Menéndez Pidal’s *Catálogo del romancero judío-español* (1945) published for the first time in 1906/7 (no.85 in this catalogue) and in Abraham Danon’s “Recueil de romances judéo-espagnoles chantées en Turquie” (Danon 1896: no.1). The version in CMP O2.8, also from Belgrade, starts with the same verse (most others do not).

- 8 *Genesis* I, 1–12
Spoken by Nissim Efraim, 60 years old, merchant
Rec. October 13/26, 1908 in Belgrade, Serbia; Ph 1080

[En el] prisípiu krió el Dió a lus siélus i a la tiēra, i la tiēra éra náda i vanidád i skuridád sóvri fázis di abízmu, i ispírtu dil Dió asupláva sóvri fázis di laz águas. I díšo il Dió ke séa luz i xué luz. I vídu il Dió a la luz ki buénu. Apartó el Dió éntri la luz i éntri la eskuridád, i yamó el Dió a la luz día i a la skuridád la yamó nóči, i xué tádri i xué [man...] i xué mañána: día únu. I díšo il Dió: Séa ... ki si apártin ... [sea ...] éntri laz águas, i xué apartádu éntri águas

a laz águas. [I díšu il Dió ...] I ízu il Dió [a la ... a la ...] a la spandidúra i apartó il Dió éntri laz águas dibášu de la spandidúra, i éntri laz águas d’aríva la spandidúra i xué ansí. Yamó il Dió a la spandidúra siélus, i xué tádri i xué mañána: i il día sigúndu. I díšu il Dió: Se apártin laz águas di dibášu di lus siélus, en lugár únu, i se apartó [...] i le díšu séku i xué ansí. Yamó il Dió a lu séku tiēra [i ... i a lu...] i a la ... [spandidura] [voice in the background] yamó águas. [voice in the background: I vido ...] I vídu il Dió ke buénu. I díšu il Dió: Irmuyése la tiēra, i ermuzió la tiēra i xué [ar...] árvul i frútas, i ízu frútas a su manéra i asimbrádu vinién sóvri la tiēra. I xué ansí. I sakó a la tiēra, [irmuyó ...] irmuyó ermóyu i ízu a su manéra i díšu ... [i lu... i a ...] i a luz árvulis ki plantó i díšu: xué frúto [i a] i a su sémen [ki a] ki su manéra. I vídu il Dió ki buénu.

Comment:

This is an oral recitation of the first chapter (*Gen* I, 1–12) of the Hebrew Bible in Judeo-Spanish translation (= Ladino). The text does not correspond exactly to any of the known printed Judeo-Spanish translations of the Bible circulating in the area where Subak recorded:

La biblia de Ferrera (1553); Constantinople Pentateuch (1547); Avraham Asa's translation (Constantinople 1739); Israel Bechar Haim (Belgrade 1815); Pentateuch (Constantinople 1871). We must therefore assume that the text was recited by memory, a technique of transmission that was customary in traditional Sephardic schools; and gaps in his memory are to be blamed for the account in the final paragraph somewhat deviating from the Hebrew text of the Bible.

- 9 *Romance* [incomplete version of *El conde Niño/The Persecuted Lovers*; cf. CMP J1, category: "Faithful Love"]
Sung by Mosko Aladjem, 30 years old, clerk
Rec. November 24/6, 1908 in Vidin,
Bulgaria; **Ph 1081**

Alvantéž voz, la mi turúnža,
del vuéstru líndu durmír.
Sintiréš kantár un líndu kánti
di la siréna di la mar.
"Siréna dí mar non kánta,
ni kánta ni kantará,
si non ez un líndu mansévu
ke a mí mi kéri ankansár.
Si kuriréš nóči i día a mí
non mi pudréš ankansár."

Comment:

In the protocol, this *romance* is entitled *La serenada*, perhaps following the information given by the singer, Mosko Aladjem (Vidin 1879 – 1935 Sofia), a certified public accountant from Vidin (a town on the Danube in Northwest Bulgaria next to the border with Romania and Serbia). According to his daughter, Elza Rizova, Aladjem was a war hero and sometime deputy mayor of Vidin, but "wasn't strongly religious – he kept the official holidays from time to time" (cf. Centropa-Database; Centropa-Interview: 4f.). He sings a short opening fragment of *El conde Niño* in a Turkish-influenced melismatic style that is characteristic of Sephardic *romances* from the Balkan areas. The text published by Danon (1896: no.19) starts with almost identical verses. This particular opening of the *romance* was documented in versions from Belgrade, Plovdiv, Bucharest, Istanbul, Izmir, Beirut and more (CMP J1.5 and others).

- 10 Fable [a version of *The Fox and the Crow*; cf. AT 57]
[Spoken by Mosko Aladjem, 30 years old, clerk]
[Rec. November 24/6, 1908 in Vidin,
Bulgaria]; **Ph 1082**

La řapóze i la gráža
La gráža k'avía arivatádu'n pidásu di kíezu, i
la řapóze pinsádu in kí manéra lu va túmar
il kíezu di la bóka di la gráža; [in éstu] la
impisó a alavár a la gráža. La gráža ki sáve
bién kantár [i ki] il pádri i la mádri kunisió la
řapóze [...] la gráže. La gráže grítava gek
pára non pudér afitár il kíezu di la bóke;
otre vez la řapóze [si dizía ...] yiné impisó
alavándu a la gráže ki sávi buén kantár. La
gráža avrió la bóka i el kíezu si kayó imbášu;
al púntu la řapóze si lu arevató ayí [mízmu].

Comment:

This is one of Aesop's fables, inherited by La Fontaine (Book 1, no.2, *Le corbeau et le renard*). Versions in Ladino are extant of both Aesop's fables (printed in Constantinople 1820) and La Fontaine's (cf. the poetical translations by Shelomo Shalem of Salonika, published separately as "La graja y la rapoza" in *La Epoca*,

22nd November 1901). A third version of this fable in Judeo-Spanish is included in Israel Bechar Haim's *Sefer Ošar ha-Haim* (Belgrade 1823). However, Aladjem's rendition does not correspond to any of these printed sources.

- 11 *Romance* [incomplete version of *Melisenda insomne/Sleepless Melisenda*; cf. CMP B17, category: "Ballads Based on the French Epic"]
Sung by Yosef Levi, 45 years old,
Prokuraführer [employee with full power of attorney] in the firm of A.M. Farchi
Rec. November 30/12, 1908 in Rousse,
Bulgaria; **Ph 1083**

Nóči buéna, nóči buéna,
nóčis son de namurár,
nóčis son de namurár;
dándu vuéltas pur la káma
kómu a el péši en la mar,
kómu a el piškádu en la mar.

Comment:

This is a very well known and documented pair of *romance* lines that became an independent folk song popular in Sarajevo and Bulgaria. Versions of these verses – including the additional line supplied in Subak's protocol but

not sung by the informant – were published by Danon (1896: no.2, as a variant to the main text) and Wiener (1903–1904: no.XXVI). The latter documented this song in Sofia in 1898, which is close in time and location to Subak's recording. Another similar version from Bosnia was published by Armistead and Silverman (1971: 69, C1). This traditional melody is in an extremely melismatic style reminiscent of the Bosnian *sevdalinka* and even the Turkish *ghazel*.

12 Speech

Spoken by Marco Peris, 38 years old, barber
Rec. November 12/25, 1908 in Bucharest,
Romania; **Ph 1084**

[Siñóris, dóži novénbri mil muvišéntus i óçu,
ió Márkus Pérís, ížu di Pérís ben Israél, ...] la
idád tretióçu áñus, di profisióñ birbér, pur dar
el konkúrsu al siñór profésor Súbak ávlu in
ésti gramofón, kun el linguáži míu matérno, i
tiné pasénsia, či va režistrár adilántri, í a lus
[balákus] kuálus van a vinír. I yo prisíandumi
či la boz mía va turár, dígo a lus ermánus
míus, ke tenés a las manéras moéstras í al
linguáži muéstru, či no kómu dízi la génti či

está [en el púntu] di piedrérsi. I pinsámus
a lu ke asufríerun kuántu tiémpu muéstrus
pádris stovíerun en la Spáña persekutádu
i asufrídu. En tódas éstos [puévlus]
pasámus di tódu [sin piedrérmoz la relijióñ]
i el linguáži, ¿di če agóra kuándu muz está
kamináñdu boénu, olvidár i negližeár la
[relijióñ] i la linguáže muéstrus?
Ermánus, pinsávu a las kriatúras voéstras a
kuálu vos konǵuro a krisérlus kómu boén ġidió.

Comment:

In this recorded appeal, Marco Peris, a hairdresser from Bucharest, calls upon his listeners to preserve the Judeo-Spanish language and culture. What is of interest here is the lachrymose concept of the Jewish experience in Spain, a topic that betrays Peris' exposure to modern Jewish historiography. After introducing himself to his listeners, he continues with what in English would read like this: 'I say to my brothers, hold on to our customs and to our language, otherwise – as people are saying – it [the language] is about to be lost. And let us think for how long our forefathers suffered in Spain, persecuted and mistreated. All this we survived without losing the religion and the

language, why should we now that we are doing well forget and neglect our religion and language? Brothers, think of your children whom I implore you to educate as good Jews.'

13 Love song

Sung by Sara Yuda, 24 years old,
[no profession]
Rec. December 26/9, 1908 in Sofia,
Bulgaria; **Ph 1085**

Amór a tí ti téngo,
tú no mi kiéres.
Lo dégo, lo manténgu,
tú no mi kiéres.

Me sos došmán, serás pišmán.

Abašáñdo de la skaléra,
por dárli buéna séra,
me tomó de la máno,
mi yév'al bálo.

Nel bálo mi diziya
ki di mí no si'spartía.
Ma yo le'rispundía:
"Tódo falzía."

Me sos dušmán, serás pišmán.

Abašáñdo de la skaléra,
por dárli buéna séra,
me tomó de la máno,
mi yév'al bálo.

Nel bálo mi dizía
ki di mí no si'spartía.
Ma yo le'rispundía:
"Tódo falzía."

Me sos došmán, serás pišmán.

D'infrénte mi paréses
úna palómba.
Tú sos mi kumpañéra
ásta la tómba.

Me sos došmán, serás pišmán.

Comment:

Amor a ti te tengo is a Judeo-Spanish contrafact of an extremely popular dance melody of the early 20th century made famous in its French version as *La Matchiche*, or *Matchiche* (for the following account see chiefly Dubé, Fléchet, Thompson and Paroles.net). There is widespread confusion regarding the connection between this song and the *Maxixe* (or "Brazilian Tango") that was imported from Rio de Janeiro to Paris in the 1870s.

The *Maxixe* has roots in the Polka and Habanera and its dance patterns were apparently a mixture of the Two Step and Tango steps and patterns. *But La Matchiche*, or at least its refrain, originates in an 1895 zarzuela (lyrics: P. Cadenas; music: Pedro Badía) and is not strictly related to the Brazilian tango per se, except in its name. *La Matchiche* usually appears in early sheet music editions as "Spanish march". The zarzuela itself draws on a motif from the opera *O Guarani* (premiered at La Scala, 1870) by the great Brazilian composer Carlos Gómez. *La Matchiche* was "composed" by Charles Borel-Clerc (1879–1959) to lyrics (by Léo Lelièvre and Paul Briollet) whose theme is the dance itself. Also circulating under the title *La sorella*, it was printed in sheet music as early as 1904 (a Saint Petersburg edition; the first American edition of 1905 has English lyrics by C.H. Taylor). However, it was the 1905 recording of *La Matchiche* by one of the major figures of the French vaudeville at the time, Félix Mayol (1872–1941), that instantly catapulted this song into one of the greatest hits of the Belle Époque chanson (Mayol recorded it five times in different versions). During the first two decades of the 1900s this song was printed, performed,

recorded, paraphrased and reworked countless times by many artists (including the young Maurice Chevalier) and in several languages. No wonder, then, that the Sephardic Jews of the Eastern Mediterranean, living under the aegis of French-inspired culture, reacted immediately to this hit and acted as people from many other nations did: they wrote their own version in their language. One widespread Judeo-Spanish version, titled *La judía y el español*, even retains the original French refrain. However, *Amor a ti te tengo* is probably the earliest of the Judeo-Spanish covers of *La Matchiche*. It was commercially recorded, with that title, as early as 1907 by Sida Musaffia from Bosnia and issued by Zonophone, a subsidiary label of Gramophone (matrix number: X 103563, cf. Bresler 2008; this is the same company that had issued Mayol's recording only two years earlier). The refrain of *Amor a ti te tengo* ("Me sos došmán, serás pišmán", translating as 'You dishonour me, you will regret it') includes two Turkish words that entered Ladino (*düşman* 'enemy, antagonist'; *pişman* 'regretful, repentant') creating a phonetic imitation of the French refrain "Allons doucement, ne pressons pas l'mouvement". This Judeo-Spanish commercial recording may be the backdrop to the version recorded by Subak.

14 Ritual song

Sung by Rahel Avram, 50 years old,
[no profession]

Rec. December 26/9, 1908 in Sofia,
Bulgaria; Ph 1086

Parída, il Dió 'us guádrí.

Parída, il Dió vus guádrí,
malaxínis del ótru ládo,
parída stá.

Parída stáva la Tèina
de tódo mal.

Parída, il Dió 'us guádrí,
malaxínis dil ótru ládo,
parída stá.

Parída stáva la Tèina
de tódo mal.

La parida parió un ížo,
i la parída parió un ížu.
Malaxín guádrin al parído
di tódo mal.

Parída stáva la Tèina,
parída stá.

Parída parió un ížo.
Malaxín guádrin al parído,
parída stá.

Parída stáva la Tèina,
parída stá.

[...]

Parída parió un ádo,
i la parída parió un ádo.
Malaxínis del ótro ládo,
parída stá.

Parída stáva la duèña,
parída stá.

Parída, il Dió vus guádrí.
La parída, il Dió [vus guádrí].

Comment:

This song, defined by Subak in the protocol as "Ritueller Gesang", is a fragment of an uncommon version of the well-known *cantica de parida*: *El parto feliz*. This traditional Sephardic song was sung to the mother of the newborn during the days preceding the circumcision. In Bulgaria, this version is known

with the melody heard in this recording (see Weich-Shahak 1983: exs. 4–5). Another variant is from Salonika (documented by Baruch Uzziel; see Larrea Palacín 1959: 341f., no.XVI). Some of its formulations recall verses of *romances*, such as *Hermanas reina y cautiva* (CMP H1), which usually includes the verse “La sclava parió un hijo / la ama parió una hija” or “La reina parió una hija / la cativa parió un hijo”. One version of this *romance* also includes “Parida el Dio vos guadre / cuanto quiere la vuestra madre”. Another *romance* that shares verses with Subak’s recording is *La infanta parida* (CMP R3), which sometimes starts “Parida estaba la reina”. It is difficult to assess which text generated the other, but this sharing of lines shows a strong interaction between Sephardic folksong genres. The singer, born in Niš (Serbia), is somehow hesitant in her performance, repeating lines and pausing in the middle. This lack of confidence can be explained by a note in the protocol that says: “in Sofia erlernt”. In other words, this song did not belong to her hometown tradition but rather was learnt after she emigrated from Serbia to Bulgaria at the age of fourteen.

15 Song

Sung by Luna Kovos, ca. 50 years old, laundress

Rec. December 4/17, 1908 in Plovdiv, Bulgaria; **Ph 1087**

Úna nóche buéna, amán,
ke moz amanesió por tódo'l múnndo, amán.

Y’anočesió la nočáda buéna, aí ayigría,
demandámos piadádes del Santo Bindíčo,
piadádes.

Tú soz un’álma buéna i klára, amán,
vo lo dígo, ke téngas días buénas, amán.

Comment:

The Bulgarian Judeo-Spanish song repertoire is known for its archaisms. Apparently, this is a very rare prayer in the form of a song, perhaps even a lullaby. Some of its phrasings as well as the topic of the night and the imminent morning vaguely recall the opening lines of an inedited Judeo-Spanish song we were able to locate in a manuscript of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America in New York, MS 3185, fol. 63a (an Eastern Mediterranean manuscript dating from the 18th or 19th century):

La noche a nos anochece
Y el día amanece
Miro por cuatro partes
Por ver si esclarece
Ya lo se por cierto
que tu cabo vence

En ti me arrimo Dio
En ti me apiado yo
De ti demando yo Dio
Dio las buenas demandas

The recordings by

Max A. Luria (1927)

with transcriptions by Aldina Quintana Rodríguez

All recordings were made in Monastir (Bitola) during July and August 1927, the speakers being:

Moïse A. Calderon, 34 years old, insurance agent
Leon Camhi, 28 years old, store-keeper” [*AmE; BrE* shopkeeper]

16 Isolated words

Spoken by Moïse A. Calderon; **Ph 3176**

siéti – siéti

óču – óču

muévi – muévi

ónži – ónži

dóži – dóži

tréži – tréži

katóži – katóži

kínži – kínži

[dizi]sés – [dizi]sés

vénti – vénti

trénte – trénte

sikuénte – sikuénte

sesénte – sesénte

učénte – učénte

nuvénte – nuvénte

duziéntus – duziéntus

treziéntus – treziéntus

kuatrušéntus – kuatrušéntus

šišéntus – šišéntus

sitišéntus – sitišéntus

učusiéntus – učusiéntus

nuvisiéntus – nuvisiéntus

póžu

narís – narízis

bos – bózis

ves – vézis

mes – mézis

lus – lúzis

kálše – kálše

kalšádu – kalšádu

dúlši – dúlši

igzistír – igzistír

igzersísiu – igzersísiu

mužér – mužér

mužéris – mužéris

dišár – dišár

fižu – fižu

fiže – fiže

kiži – kiži

díšu – díšu

buškár – buškár

pašáro – pašáro

Díšu il ómbri ki buškáre ónži
pašárus pára la mužér.

La mužér kížu kínži, ma no
igzístin.

Un zingnu traíye tódus luz
mézis óču, ma ói no trúšu
náde.

17 Isolated words
Spoken by Moïse A.
Calderon; **Ph 3177**

[...]
gódrú
góte
ğuzár
ğrándi
ğayíne
ğritár
ğquadrár
ğúésu
ğēře
ğústu
ğuévu
ğuzğár – ğuzğár
antígu – antígu
kunténgu
frağuar – frağuar
diğulér – diğulér
intregár – intregár
ğuzğadór – ğuzğadór
ñiğár – ñiğár
ařuğár – ařuğár
príğuntár – príğuntár
siğuénti – siğuénti
siğír – siğír

sígu – sígu
vérge – vérge
virğuéense – virğuéense
téngu – téngu
lóngu – lóngu
grávi – grávi
tingámus – tingámus
amárgu – amárgu
véngu – véngu
glórie – glórie
dizmungár – dizmungár
mángo – mángo
véngo – véngo
mángu – mángu
alungár – alungár
glóbu – glóbu
aminguár – aminguár

Si tu inimígu ez furmíge, kóntilu
kómu ğaméyu.
Véngu a ğuzğár al ómbri ki no
intregó la ğayíne gódre kun luz
ğuévus.
Ġastí laz parás ki ğañí.
Mí diğuéyi múču.
Ařógu al Dió ki véngo.
Il gólpi ére múču grávi.
No ez verğuéense di dizír la vardá.

18 Proverbs [cf. Luria (1930: XXIX)]
Spoken by Moïse A. Calderon;
Ph 3178

Ki muélge il mulínu, séye
salvádu séye trígu. [cf. Luria
(1930: XXIX, I.22)]
No ğúğis kun mí amór, míre ki
kéme.
In tódes laz kuládes, méti laz
bráges. [cf. Luria (1933: no.193)]
A góte a góte s'ínči la bóte. [cf.
Luria (1933: no.1)]
Káda ğáyu a su ğayinéru kánte.
[cf. Luria (1933: no.46)]
Kíen a la miél ařiméše, álgu si il
apége. [cf. Luria (1933: no.316)]
Istómaxu fambríentu núnke no
tiéni uréže. [cf. Luria (1930:
XXIX, I.33)]
Óndi no aí kundúču, éntre pan
múču. [cf. Luria (1930: XXIX,
I.40)]
[Ku...] Kuçiyádes in kuérpu
ažénu no değuélin. [cf. Luria
(1933: no.71)]

A mí ki mí véngo il kuérnu deréču, ki si ğúgin
la ğénti. [cf. Luria (1933: no.7)]
Ni sfuégre ni kuñáde, ni vizíne aidáde. [cf.
Luria (1933: no.276)]
Il péru maúye i maúye fista ki kéde kayádu.
[cf. Luria (1933: no.174)]
Pádrí ez il ki mantiéni, no il ki inğéntre. [cf.
Luria (1930: XXIX, I.50)]
La řikéze es la kávze di múçes ánsies. [cf.
Luria (1930: XXIX, I.51)]
Fížu ğanadór, yéve tres, trái dos. [cf. Luria
(1933: no.133)]
Fíže varéže, tódu lu kué véyi, disfile. [cf.
Luria (1933: no.131)]
A mí méstru il fágu il fúzu, i a mí mi kéde il
úzu. [cf. Luria (1933: no.6)]
Kíen kómi i déše, doz vézis méti méze. [cf.
Luria (1933: no.325)]
A vós vú lu dígu la mí sfuégre pára ki
intiénde la mí nuére. [cf. Luria (1933: no.10)]
Il sapatéru yéve siémpri il sapatu řótu. [cf.
Luria (1933: no.181)]
Šástrí in piés, kuřidór asintádu. [cf. Luria
(1933: no.383)]
Kíen no tiéni a la farmóze, béze a la
mukóze. [cf. Luria (1933: no.343)]

19 Riddles [cf. Luria (1930: XXVIII; minor
deviations)]
Spoken by Moïse A. Calderon; **Ph 3179**

[cf. Luria (1930: XXVIII, II.1–7)]
Úne kóze, kóze múi maraviyóze:
Doz mil, trez mil, kapakuti.
(La manğráne.)
Kantaríkuz abukádu no si viértin.
(Luz bíkuz di la váke.)
Di la muntáñe abášu lu éçes, no si arómpi.
(Il papél.)

Il die inkulgádu, la nóçi al buráku.
(Il fiéru di la puérte.)

[cf. Luria (1930: XXVIII, II.8–9)]
La nóçi s'iskóndi, il díe aparési.
(Il sol.)

Il díe al suriyén, la nóçi istiráde.
(La çulté.)

[cf. Luria (1930: XXVIII, II.10–20)]
[Al ...] Al águe istá i no si móže.
(Il sol.)
Kuátru írmaníkuz akuříendu, luz dos číkus
adilántri, luz doz ğrándiz atrás. Tódus kuátru
akuříendu, i luz ğrándiz a lus číkus no luz
aféren.

(Lus kárus di l'arabá.)

Tódu ái al múndu. Sólu tres kózes no ái.
(Kapák a la mar, milizíne a la muérti,
iskalére pára asuvír a lus siélus.)
Un ben adám agumitándu di díe i di nóçi.
(La fuénti.)

[cf. Luria (1930: XXVIII, ll.31–33)]

Un pašáru sin áles buló, [in un ...] in un árvul
sin tames apuzó. Vínu un ómbri sin piés, i
sin mánus lu tumó.
(La ñiévi.)

20 Dialogue [composed by the speaker; cf. Luria
(1930: XXIV; minor deviations)]
Spoken by Moïse A. Calderon; Ph 3180

A: Buénuz díes, Buxór.

B: Buéne salú i vídes.

A: ¿Ké xabér? ¿Stáz buénu?

B: Buéno šukur. ¿Tú, stáz buénu?

A: ¿Óndi stás kaminándu? Asentéte i
bivirémus un kavé.

B: ¿Kómu kiéris?

A: xáimíku, inkuméndame dos kavés. ¿Ké tal
vas pasándu, Buxór?

B: ¡A bré, Avráml! ¿Kómu ki ti díge? Ansíne,
midiyánu. No tinémuz féču. No stámus

pudiéndu vindér.

A: ¡ pur la pláse muéstre ái [múços ...] múço
kríze. No sé kómu si vá fazér.

B: ¡Il Patrón dil Múndu ke apóze la beraxá.
Éste simáne mi vínu um póku di tópe di
Silanik. Aínde no púdi fazér sifté.

A: No ti sikléis. Aftaxá nul Dió ki kun mižór
présiu si vá vindér.

B: Ya ez vardá, ma yo kiéru la píte in la
mánu. Si si véndi ésta tópe préstu, ya la stó
inkumindán[do] di víste i la métu al logár.

A: Ya ez vardá lu kué dízis, ma no son lus
tiempuz de ántis. Agóre no si véndi la tópe
kulái. Si kiéri tuvídu pasénsie.

B: Puédi ser Patrón dil Múndu se apiáde, se
ávrin luz féčus.

A: ¡Aftaxá nul Dió!

B: ¡Kéde enbunóre!

A: ¡Vá enbunóre!

21 Dialogue [composed by the speaker; cf. Luria
(1930: XXV; minor deviations)]
Spoken by Moïse A. Calderon; Ph 3181

A: ¿Ké xabér? ¿T'levantátes buéne, Súnxu?

B: Buéne.

A: ¿Ké stáz faziéndu?

B: Añikužéndu las kriatúres pára mándar a la

skóliye. ¿I tú, Arménte, ké stáz faziéndu?

A: Na, indaóre mití la séne i téngu ói kuláde.

Ya la mandé a yamár a m'sfuégre pá ki
m'ayúdi. Kiéru skapár más préstu pára salír a
la pláse a merkár algúne kóze pára lus čikus.
Si tiénis tiémpu a la miyudíe, salímus ĝúntes.

B: ¡Buénu dízis! Yo ói kiéru mirkár kašikes
pára la čikitíke. Salímus ĝúntes. Kuándu vas a
skapár, ečemi úne bos.

A: Buénu, ya ti mándu xabér kun mi fižíke.

B: ¡Siénti! ¿Ti si tópa algún kaříku di vénte ki
m'impréstitis? M'ulvídi di dizíri a mi marídu ki
mi tráge.

A: T'impristaré. Ya téngu un kaříku suvráži.

B: ¿Sávis k'ói ez tušxódiš? Si kiéri féču um
póku di tayarínes o algún buyíku abultádu.

A: Yo ya téngu azélti buéne in káze. Faziré
únes kuántes pitulíšes i vámuz al šeraltí.
Pasarémuz il díe.

B: Si ti dimánde mi sfuégra algúne kóze, no
séye ki li miširikis. A la ĝuái yal karvón si lu
dišítis.

A: Dáti um póku di prise pára ki skápis más
prestu.

22 Dialogue [composed by the speaker; cf. Luria
(1930: XXVI; minor deviations)]
Spoken by Moïse A. Calderon; Ph 3182

A: Buénuz díes.

B: ¡Séyes bién vinídu!

A: ¡Séyes bién fayádu!

B: ¿Ké dizéyis?

A: Víni a mirkár um póku di tópe pára un
vistídu.

B: Múču buénu. Téngu tópes buénes. ¿Ké
kulór kiéris?

A: Kiéru algúna řupizíke ki séye řezíe i baráte.

B: Ğustaménte éste simáne mi viniérun únez
řupizíkes de Almáñe múi fines i a présiu
kunviníli.

A: Ša virémus. Sólu ki séye kulór kafé.

B: Téngu úne de kulurizíke múi ĝustóze. Yo ti
kunséžu kómu amíĝu ki ti tómis ésta tópe.

A: Buéne es, ma kiría algúne máz ĝurdíke ki
mi válge pára l'inviérnu.

B: Ti daré ótra tópe máz yéne. Ma ti vá kustár
um póku más káru.

A: ¿A ké présiu kúste?

B: Éste ez a dóži bānkes il métru. Éste ótre ez
a diziséš il métru. Kuále ti pláze, tóme.

A: Máz múču mi istá aĝradándu éste sigúnde,
ma mi es káre.

B: Pára tí ya ti vo dišár úne bánke.
 A: Buénu, kórtimi doz métrus i sientaisínku.
 B: ¡Kun salú ki si vístel!
 A: Rópe ya mirkí. Agóre kiéru il xárgi ki séye il satén di láne i la fódre in kulór.
 B: Téngu pára ti dar un satén di lu říku dil múnđu i úne fódre múi grándi kóze.
 A: Ša virémus.
 B: ¡Míre řópe ki ti'stó dándul!
 A: La řópe ya ez máz de buéne. Virémuz a ver il nómbrí dí la kriatúre. ¿Kuántu es?
 B: ¡Ĝamím, tóme tú! Pur il présiu, no piliámus.
 A: Ti dígu úne kóze: las palávres kláres il Dió laz bindízi.

23 Dialogue [composed by Moïse A. Calderon; cf. Luria (1930: XXVII; minor deviations)]
 Spoken by Leon Camhi; Ph 3183

A: ¿Ké xabér?
 B: Tódu buénu. ¿[A] ké vinitis?
 A: Vini a mirkár um póku di basmá pára fazér frankítes pára las kriatúres.
 B: Éste basmá ez múi buéne. Al lavár no sáli la kulór.
 A: ¿A ké présiu ez il píku?
 B: A muévi dináris il píku i siévi pára tí.
 A: ¿Ké'stáz favlándu? La vizíne mie tumó

ayér a óĉu dináris il píku, i ke véyis ¡ké basmá!
 B: Mánku di muévi no mi kunviéni.
 A: No séye. Dámi um póku di xasé. Kiéru ki séye dúpie i ki no si ávre al lavár.
 B: Tóme d'éste xasé, ez múi buéne.
 A: ¿A kómu mi la vaz a dar? Míre, ki kiéru baráte.
 B: A tí ti la vo dar a óĉu dináris il píku. Ki ti kánsis di yivárlu i ki no s'istrúye.
 A: Buéne ez la xasé, ma a mí máz di siéti i méyu non mi váli. Si ti kunviéni, kórtimi trézi píkus.
 B: Púrke sos muštírle, ya ti vo a dar a ésti présiu.
 A: Kórte. Dámi i um póku di basmá fanéle pára úne ĝubíke. Sólú ki no káye la kulór, ki séye kun algúnes řuzfikes.
 B: Pára ki tómis basmá fanéle, téngu um pidasíku dí láne ki ti fágas un vistídu i ki ti ĝózis dí yivárlu.
 A: Buénes dízis, ma il présiu ez múi káru.
 B: No ti'spántis. Ya ti la vo dar al présiu di la fanéle, púrke mi suvró ésti pidasíku i no téngu más.

24 "Conseja" [as told by B. Negrin (age 52), folktale type AT 1525 (*The Master Thief*); cf. Luria (1930: I, ll. 1–35; minor deviations)]
 Spoken by Moïse A. Calderon; Ph 3184

Ún die istáven kaminándu doz ómbris. Il únu li díšu al ótru:
 – Yo sé múi buénu ařuvár.
 Il ótru le ařspundió:
 – ¿Kómu ařóves?
 – Yo li puédu ařuvár la misírke d'ésti kazalínu.
 Il ótru li dízi:
 – ¿Kómu si la vaz ařuvár?
 – Kun mayestríe.
 Il ótru li dízi:
 – ¡Ki no si la puédiz ařuvár!
 – Agóre mi virás kómu si la vo ařuvár.
 Dízi al kazalínu:
 – Ómbri ¿kuántu kiéris pur la misírke?
 – Siéti ĝróšis.
 – Dámi kuántu la véyu. Ez múĉu káre, ¿no mi la das pur seš ĝróšis?
 – No ti la dó.
 – Buénu, vámuz óndi il méstru míu. Li tumaré lus siéti ĝróšis i mi daráz la misírke.
 Il kazalínu si fué kun ésti ómbri a la puérte dil sarái. Il kazalínu tinie un xamór i un pálu.
 Kuándu vinu a la puérte dil sarái, li díšu il ómbri al kazalínu:

– Dámi la misírke.
 – Dámi las parás i después ti daré la misírke.
 – ¿Yo no ti díši, a mi siñó, ki yo vo a tumar las parás di mi méstru i ti laz vó a dar a tí?
 – Il xamór, ¿óndi ki lu déši?
 – ¡O! Aspérti tú akí kun il xamór i il pálu, i yo yévu la misírke a mi méstru i tómu las parás i ti las trágu akí.
 – Buénu, ki séye.
 Il ómbri tumó la misírke i si fué adiéntru dil sarái. Intró pur la úne puérte i salió pur la ótre. Il kazalínu istá asperándu al ómbri ki li vâ tráer las parás. Il di la misírke fizú la íde sin la viníde.

25 "Conseja" [as told by H. Catan (age 55), folktale type AT 503 (*The Gifts of the Little People*); cf. Luria (1930: XVIII, ll. 1–20; minor deviations)]
 Spoken by Leon Camhi; Ph 3185

[Al tiémpu avie doz irmánus], únu próvi i únu říku. Tóduz dos tiníen ĝrúte. Istáve il říku [aříva]. Ésti říku lu kué li dáve di mantinisió n al próvi lu kué amasáve l'áĝue di la básine. Akéyu li dáve pur mantinisió n.
 Un die pasó úne ĝayíne in die di bazár. Éste ĝaíne pasó pur la vándu dil říku. Li dimandó:
 – ¿kuántes parás kiéris?
 Li dízi:

– ¡Diéz gróšis!
I el říku li dió seš, siéti gróšis, i no si la dió. I tánte munéde ki tinjá' l říku nun si la merkó. Pasáve il d'abášu, la vídu la gáine il ĩrmánu, il próvi. Li díšu:

– ¿Kuántu kiéris pur ésta gáine?

Li díšu:

– ¡Diéz gróšis!

Kitó il próve diéz gróšis i si la merkó. Il ĩrmánu říku salió in méyu díř čarší a ver: kién si la vá merkár la gáine. I vídu ki si la merkó el ermánu próvi. [Díř] tan, tan fuérti ki li vínu, si fué kun múču merák en su káze. La mužér ki lu véi múču siřuréntu stá dziéndu:

– ¿Ké'stáz ansíne?

Li díšu:

– ¡Děšimil!

– ¿Pur kuálu es? ¿Pur kuálu es? ¡Dízimil!

Li díšu:

– ¿Ké ti diré? Ói pasó úne gáine múču gódre.

I yo, tántes parás ki téngu, no la mirkí, i mi ĩrmánu k'ez il próvi, ki yo lu manténgu, mi kitó la gáine de la mánu.

26 "Conseja" [as told by M. Casorla (age 84), folktale type AT 1741 (*The Priest's Guest and the Eaten Chicken*); cf. Luria (1930: VI, II.1–26; minor deviations)]

Spoken by Leon Camhi; Ph 3186

Avié úne vez un ómbri ki si yamáve Ğuxá. Un díe il dímandó l'álme a Ğuxá kúmer pátu. Salió al bazár i mirkó un pátu. Lu díguyó i si lu yivó a la mužér pára ki si lu kuzíni. La mužér lu kuzinó il pátu, i si lu kumió éye entéru. La nóči vinu i Ğuxá in káze i li dímandó a la mužér:

– ¿Ó stá il pátu?

I la mužér l'ařispondió:

– ¿Kuál pátu? ¡No truřtis pátu!

Stá pinsánu dí Ğuxá si dí vardá truřu pátu o no. Al díe mirkó ótru pátu. Lu díguyó i lu yivó in káze. La mužér lu kuzinó. Ótre ves si lu kumió éye sóle entéru. Al díe fué i mirkó ótru pátu. Il ómbri dířu a laz vizínes:

– Éstu ki téngu a la mánu jésto no es pátu!

Laz vizínes il dířerun:

– ¡Ya es pátu!

Si lu dió a la mužér ki lu kuzíni. La mužér lu kuzinó i si lu kumió ótre ves. Vínu la nóči i Ğuxá s'asintó a la méze i dímandó a la mužér:

– ¿Ké tal salió el pátu?

– Salió múi buénu. Inčimus un tinřirizíku yénu dí ğurdúre. No vámuz a ser kadír di mu lu kúmer luz dos sólus. Yáme in algún řořá [i ...] ki méldi un póku pur l'álme di tu pádri i ki kóme i él díř pátu.

Il řořá mildó lu kué mildó pur l'álme díř pádri, i kiéri salir afuére las káres. A la puérte díř

siřvisiu avle un buráku. La mužér [di ...] di Ğuxá in lu kué istá il řořá al siřvisiu ...

27 "Conseja" [as told by S. Pesa (age 58), folktale type **921F (*Never Seen, Eaten, or Heard Before*); cf. Luria (1930: XVII; minor deviations)]

Spoken by Leon Camhi; Ph 3187

Úne ves un řéi kitó un priřunéru dziéndu:

– ¿Kuál ómbri puédi savér tres kózes las kuáles no tiéni vístu? Il ómbri ki lu vá pudér dizírri las tres kózes ki kiéri il řéi, li vá dar un gránde řiřálu. Si no li vá pudér dizír las tres kózes, lu vá matár.

I fuérun múčus ómbriř. No li pudiérun dizír lu kué kirle il řéi. A la fin salió un próvi ki no tinie ni pan pára kúmer. Si dířirminó a ir óndi il řéi i a desatár las tres kózes. Inřró óndi il řéi. Lu řiřivió il řéi. Li dířu:

– Víéni, asénte. ¿Tú sos ki mi vaz a dizír las tres kózes?

– Sí, mayestá. ¿Kuáles son las tres kózes ki dímande, mayestá?

Il řéi ĩmpisó:

– Las tres kózes son ki kiéru yo ki mi dířes, la príme es úne kóze ki no téngu vístu. La

siřvúnde, lu kué no téngu kumídu. La dí trez es lu kué no téngu sintídu.

Il próvi si díznudó dířántri díř řéi pára le amuřtrár lu kué no tiéni vístu. I li dímandó al řéi:

– ¿Tiéniř vístu éřtu?

– No, dířu' l řéi.

Ařóre la siřvúnde. Il próvi s'asintó ĩmbářu i kářó.

– ¿Tiéniř kumídu éřtu?

– No, dířu.

La térsie es lu kué no téngu sintídu.

Il próvi ĩmpisó a kařrár al řéi, al pádri, a la mužér, al papú, a la maná.

– ¡Bářte! Éřtu no téngu sintídu, dířu il řéi.

Il řéi no s'aravió pur lu kué li dířu las tres kózes néřres i li dió il řéi un grándi bakčis.

28 "Conseja" [as told by M. Pardo (age 52), folktale type AT 1534 (*Series of Clever Unjust Decisions*); cf. Luria (1930: XIII, II.1–25; minor deviations)]

Spoken by Leon Camhi; Ph 3188

Avié un túřku múču néřru. Un día ařřó un pátu, lu yivó in káze, lu díguyó, i li dířu a la mužér:

– Fázilu in un tafsín buénu i yévelu al

panadéru pára ki si fáge. í a la meydíe vó a vinír a kumér.

La mužér lu fízu. Ičo azéiti i mantéke i lu vivó al panadéru. Il panadéru lu kusió i lu kitó imbášu pára ki si lu tómi. Pur aí pasó il kadí. Vídu il pátu fermózu i lu dimandó al panadéru. Il panadéru l'arispundió:

– No ti lu puédu dar. No ez míu. Ez de un négru túrku. M'ispántu.

– No l'ispántis tú. Dámilu a mí, i yo ti vá a fázer múčes bundádis, púrke yo sé il kadí. Kuándu ti lu vâ dimandár, dízili ki s'abuló il pátu díl su tafsín.

Si lu tumó il pátu i si fué il kadí. I li díšu:

– Kuándu kiéris, viéni óndi mí. Yo ti vó gužgár.

Il patrón vínu a buškár il pátu. Li díšu:

– Dámi il pátu ki ti trúši la mañáne.

Li díšu:

– ¡S'abuló!

– ¿Kómu? li dízi.

– Pátu díguyádu no abóle. Dámilu, si no ti vó matár.

Kitó el kučiyu pára matárlu. Il panadéru si fuyó pára si yir óndi il kadí. Pur il kamínu avía un turnéru. Istáve aburakándu un sigarétu i lu istáve mirándu kun un óžu, si istáve aburakádu. Il panadéru, kuriéndu, dió úne dáde i si lu insiegó il óžu. I lu impisárun a kužér pára matárlu.

29 "Conseja" [as told by D. Nisan (age 64), folktale type AT 910C ("Think Carefully Before You Begin a Task"); cf. Luria (1930: XII, ll. 1–30; minor deviations)]

Spoken by Leon Camhi; Ph 3189

Avie un ómbri. Avrió úne butíke i mitió un táblu dziéndu – Véndu mióyu. Tódu il ki kiéri ki vénge i ki méрки.

Pasó il téi tevdił. Miró al táblu i vídu lu kué iskrivi. Intró adientru.

– ¿Ké véndis? li díšu.

– Mióyu véndu.

– ¿Kómu véndis, kun óke o kun mizúre?

– Yo véndu kuturú, sin mizúre.

– ¿Pur kuántu véndis? ¿Ké ez la páge?

– Pur sién líres.

– Si un ómbri kiéri más póku ¿no li da?

– No li dó. Sién líres no [es ...], mángu no.

[Li vien ...] Li vínu káru al téi sién líres. Si fué máz aí, pinsándu, i turnó tórne. Il téi li díšu:

– ¡A bré! ¿máz barátu no puédi ser?

Díšu:

– Mángu di sién líres no puédi ser.

– Dízimi ¿lu kué ez il mióyu ki mi vaz a vindér? Ti vo dar las líres.

– Fiádu non aí. Las parás imbášu i ti puédu dizír ké ez il séxel.

Li dió las parás il téi. Si guardó las parás i [...] i díšu:

– Dušún dayáp. Péuse i fázi.

– ¡E! ¡Más! díšu.

– ¡No aí más. No aí más!

Il téi kitó il kučiyu pára matárlu. Díšu:

– ¿Pur éstez dos palávres mi kiéri tumár sién líres?

– ¡Stu véndu!

Il téi si fué múču řaviózu. Si fué in káze.

Mandó a yamár el arapadór. Vínu il arapadór. Stá arapándu al téi.

30 "Conseja" [as told by M. Casoria (age 84), folktale type AT 1565 (Agreement not to Scratch); cf. Luria (1930: V; minor deviations)]
Spoken by Leon Camhi; Ph 3190

Avie tres próvis. Il únu ére tiñózu. Il ótru ére samózu. Il ótru ére mukózu. Si dišéren éntri lus tres:

– Vámuz a řir ařikužér sidaká. Di la sidaká ki vámuz ařikužér, únu sólu ki si tómi tódes las parás. Kun ki il tiñózu no si va agozár, il samózu no si vâ ařaskár, i il mukózu no si va amukár.

Pasó un říku i li priğuntó al priméru:

– ¿Ké fazies a tu tiémpu?

– Yo kun éste kavése pidrí tóde la munéde, dándusi púñus a la kavése.

Al ótru li preğuntó:

– ¿Ké fazies a tu tiémpu?

– Tóduz luz vistíduş éren di sírme, si araskándu.

Al térsiu li priğuntó:

– ¿Tú, ké fazies a tu tiémpu?

In pasándu la mánu pur il náris pur se amukár, díšu:

– ¡Éstu ez mintíres, í éstu ez mintíres.

Éstu es púrke si kížu amukár. Dispués tódu lu kué ařikužérun si dispartíerun pará i pará.

31 "Conseja" [as told by M. Pardo (age 52), folktale type **290 (To Each His Share); cf. Luria (1930: XIV; minor deviations)]
Spoken by Leon Camhi; Ph 3191

Kuándu dispartíerun a káda ómbri i animál laz orlás, pasó káda únu a tumár su párti. A la trazeríye kidárun il řamór i il řaméyu. Stáven yíndu a tumár sus párti, viérun al kaváyu vinír kun úne řrándi orlá di su párti. Pinsó il řaméyu ki li van a dar an él il máz řrándi, i ansíne si fué sin kudíadu, kun řipózu. Il řamór pasó adilántri. Fué al lугár i dimandó ki li diéren la párti. I li diérun úne řikitíke. Il řamór no si kuntintó. Li dišérun ki no aí ótre, k'inde úne aí řrándi pára il řaméyu.

Dízi il řamór:

– Dámi, la viré.

Mitió la mánu i si l'añuvó. Dispués vínu'l gaméyu. Dimandó su párti, i li diérun la čiike. Díšu:

– Yo só grándi. Kiéru úne gránde. Il xamór más čiiku es, tiéni grándi. Yo káli ki ténge más grándi.

– Ma no aí ótre, l'añispundiérun.

– No kiéru, díšu.

Tumó pára si yir. Si l'añungárun pur atrás, si l'apegárun pur fuérse i fin ói li kidó pur atrás.

32 "Conseja" [as told by M. Casoria (age 84), folktale type **806 (*Punishment of a Miser*); cf. Luria (1930: VII, II.1–24; minor deviations)]
Spoken by Leon Camhi; Ph 3192

Avié úne vez únu ki tinie siéti kíblis di dukádus. I lus tinie intirádus al kurtížu. Ésti tinie fižus. A luz fižus no liz dió náde. Pasárun díes, vínu óre dí si murír. Yamó a luz fižus i liz díšu:

– Akavakánde la guérte i vaš a tupár siéti kíblis di dukádus. Lu kué vuz arógu ez un kušiníku di dukádus ki mi mítēs aí a la fóye, i no diğáš náde a luz intirádóris.

Vínu la óre dil Satán pur li dar il xibút akéver, sigún [la kua...] a kualúnki ben adám. Il muérto kító dil kušiníku un puñádu di dukádus

i luz dió al Satán. Satán si luz yivó dilántri dij Dió. Il Dió li díšu:

– Yo fórnus no vó a fázer kun ésti óru, púrke il óru es tiére.

Satán kižénu đugársi di ésti ómbri, si fízu kómu un amígu di ésti múnđu.

– ¿Ké'stáz aká, bré? ¿Diskaítis di la munéde?

– No diskaí. Me deguéli aká, me deguéli ayá, me trušérun aká.

– ¿Kieris vinír in káze?

– Sí, li díšu il muérto.

– ¿Munéde tiénis?

– Ya téngu.

– Tóme un puñádu.

Tumó un puñádu i lu va a yivár a su káze. Lu pasó pur un čarš d'axčís i panadérus.

33 "Conseja" [as told by Y. Grasián (age 72), folktale type AT 981 (*Wisdom of Hidden Old Man Saves Kingdom*); cf. Luria (1930: II; minor deviations)]

Spoken by Leon Camhi; Ph 3193

Un luğar avie di mil pikus di lungór i más. Salíde no avie. Un díe úvu un fuégu a la intráde di la káyi. Akél díe avie áiri, i águé no si tupáve par'amatár el fuégu. La ġénti stáven a luz mil pikus di al kávu. Il fuégu istáva

endelántri. Éyus no pudíen fuyír púrke avie fuégu adilánti i si van a kimár tódus. Aí avie un viéžu. Dimandó:

– ¿Ké ez la řebuélte i éstuz ġritus? ¿Ké es? Li dišérun ... lus pariéntis ... an akél viéžu díziénde:

– Ki muz vámuz a kimár tódus, il bién i laz álmes. Pára mórđi ki tinémus fuégu grándi, águé no aí pára l'amatár. Il áiri stá'suplánde, stá asindiénde más, i muzótrus no tinémus pur óndi fuyír.

Il viéžu ére múču sixilúdu.

– Ađóre si kierēs iskapár vuzótrus, laz álmes i il bién, préstu mantiniénde il fuégu, ičánde távies i madérus. Di lus kiniéntus pikus primérus, dizfazérmi las kázes, i la madére, i yiválde al fuégu.

In yivándulu éstu al fuégu, il fuégu se amató, siénde no túvu luğar pára kaminár pára vinír adilántri. Istónsis kiniéntus pikus si kimárun i kiniéntus pikus kidárun, i laz álmes kun il bién. In no yivánde akéyus madérus i távies pára mantinér il fuégu, s'avíen a kimár éyus, laz álmes i il bién.

34 "Conseja" [as told by Y. Grasián (age 72), folktale type 1920F–*A (*The Skillful Liar*); cf. Luria (1930: III, II.1–19; minor deviations)]
Spoken by Moíse A. Calderon; Ph 3194

Úne vez avie un řéi. Akél řéi kirfe ki li kuntáren úne mintíre. Si il ómbri ki díšu la mintíre ére sin kazár, la dáve a la fiže pur mužér. Si ére kazádu, il dáve il méyu ġuvénu. Impisárun a yir ġénti, sávius i intindíus ki pudíen favlár mintíres. Il řéi díže:

– Éstu ki m'istás kuntánde ya ez verdád.

¿D'óndi mi lu dipréves ki ez mintíre?

Il sávü no si lu pudíe apruvár ki ez mintíre.

Siénde akéyus sávius i savídus kúandu impisáven a favlár kun el řéi, algúnu dízie ki úne vez avie un říku; ótru dízie di lus sávius ki avie un próvi; ótru dízie ki éren múčus ermánus; ótru dízie ke aí un mansévu i ningúnu no pudíe kun él. Impisáven a kuntár kun las palávres d'añve. Un ótru úvu ki stáve bezér di la víde. Fué óndi il řéi i li dimandó lisénsie, díziénde:

– Yo ti vá a kuntár úne mintíre. Sin ki skápi yo di favlár, vaz a dížír tú ki lu kué kuntí ya ez o verdá o mintíre. Éste mintíre ti la vó a tráer amañáne. I aparéze loğar pára la mintíre ki ez múi grándi.

¿Ké fízu akél ómbri? Tumó sínku arabás di akéyes ki tráyin léñe i laz fízu las sínku úne.

35 "Conseja" [as told by B. Negrin (age 52), folktale type 655*B (*The Clever Advisor*); cf. Luria (1930: XXIII, II.1–17; minor deviations)] Spoken by Moïse A. Calderon; Ph 3195

Al tiémpu avie un tēi. Ésti tēi li agradáva asuvír in kaváyu buénu. Un díe díšu a luz amíguš ki tiníe kun él:

– Yo mi kiéru merkár il máz buén kaváyu díl múndu.

Lu díšu fēču. Dimandó a luz amíguš ki tiníe kun él óndi pudíe tupár pára mirkár il máz buén kaváyu díl múndu. Únu dí suz amíguš li díšu ki in la Austríe sálin luz mižóris kaváyus. Mandó a la Austríe ki li mándin il mižór kaváyu ki si tópe af, kuántu kiéris ki kósti. I d'ayí l'añispundiérun ki li va a kustár trez mil líres. Él díšu ki séye il présiu in líres. Dispuéz [ki ...] di diéz díes, il kaváyu ya lu trušérun a la káze del tēi, i dišérun al tēi:

– ¡Siñór tēi, bíve tu grandéze! Il kaváyu ki tú urdinátis ya lu trušérun in káze, i pagímus trez mil líres.

Al ótru díe el tēi istáve asintádu kun éstuz amíguš.

– ¿Savéš kí il kaváyu ki urdini ya mi lu trušérun, i mi kuvrárun trez mil líres? Agóre kiéru savér s'il kaváyu váli tántez líres. Kiéru ki vuzótrus lu prisiéš si váli las parás ki dí.

36 "Conseja" [as told by M. Pardo (age 52), folktale type AT 571A (*The Tale of the Basin*); cf. Luria (1930: XV, II.1–19; minor deviations)] Spoken by Moïse A. Calderon; Ph 3196

Al tiémpu avie un ómbri múču próvi ki tiníe úne múžer i síngu kriatúres. No pudíe yivár pan in káze pára kúmer. Un díe sintió la barabánče ki stáve dziéndu ki si véndi úne káze kun óču udás i pur un mez fiádu. Tódu il ki kiéri puédi yir a vértle i mirkárte. Ésti próvi díšu:

– Na, la merkaré yo, biviré un mez a la káze, i dispués lu kué kiéri ki séye.

Fué al lugár ki la stáven vindiéndu, artilió i la mirkó kun máz múču présiu. I tódus si maraviyárun de ésti próvi ki no tiníe parás. Fiziérun lus papélis, s'afirmó él, i li diérun laz yávis. La káze es kumplide entére. Tumó laz yávis, intró a la káze. Vídu a la intráde úne fermóze bayché. Asumbió [la skál...] la skalére i intró al salón. Vídu ki tódu istáve bién mitídu, kun suz mézes, kanebésis. Avrió úna udá. Vídu un sierviku i s'ispantó. Il sierviku li díšu: – No t'ispántis. Si mi dáves únes salúdes, ganáves.

Al ómbri tumó il kuráze, tumó atrás, lu saludó. Alungó la mánu il sierviku i li púsu sién líres. Il ómbri vídu las sién líres, si laz ičo a la faldukére i salió, salió.

37 "Conseja" [as told by M. Pardo (age 52), folktale type AT 935** (*The Poor Rope-maker*); cf. Luria (1930: XVI, II.1–20; minor deviations)] Spoken by Leon Camhi; Ph 3197

Un díe il tēi kun il vizir salió a kaminár. Vínu un próvi i liz dimandó sidaká. Il tēi kitó úne líre i li dió. Il próvi tiníe la líra a la mánu. Pasó pur la puénti, li kayó la líra al Triu. S'abašó, la buškó i no la tupó. Al ótru díe, ótre vez il tēi salió a kaminár kun il vizir. Ótre vez ésti próvi liz dimandó i il tēi kitó i li dió doz líres. Il próvi, mirándusi doz líres a la mánu, si fué kuñéndu pára su káze. Pur il kamínu, laz doz líres si laz ató a la řizayike. I vídu un póžu. [Intró ...] kízu bivér águe. La apúže la řizayike imbášu pára bivér águe. Vínu úne gráže i si la yivó la řizayike. Il próvi yuró i sklamó:

– ¡No úvu xáiri!

Al ótru díe, ótre vez il tēi salió a kaminár kun il vizir. Il próvi ótre ves liz dimandó sidaká. Il tēi kitó diéz líres i li dió. Il próvi, viéndu un puñádu di líres, díšu:

– Agóre vo yir a merkár tódu pára mi káze.

Fué, merkó [úne ...] úne uyíke. Laz diéz líres laz ičo adientru. Pasó pur óndi un bakál i li díšu:

– Éčimi úne óke dí fižónis ke akí, yo vo a ir a merkár pan. Ya vo a vinír a la tumár.

Il próvi fué a merkár pan. S'ulvidó il próvi óndi dišó la uyíke.

38 "Conseja" [as told by M. Elias (age 55), folktale type 157A Ashliman (*The Lion in Search of Man*); cf. Luria (1930: XX, II.1–25; minor deviations)] Spoken by Leon Camhi; Ph 3198

Un díe dil inviránu saliérun un lión kun luz yavris afuére dil nídu. Si dešó di pasár úne búfne. La búfne lu vídu al lión ki istáva asintádu. S'ispantó la búfne. Li parisió ki si lu kiére kumér. S'inkurvó al león i pasó. Kuándu viérun lus čikitikus feunfikus éstu, si maraviyárun. ¡Un grándi animál s'inkurvó al león! Li dišérun a la mádri:

– ¿Pur ké s'inkurvó ésti grándi animál? Ésti ez máz grándi di muzótrus.

Li díšu la mádri:

– ¿No savéš kí muzótrus sómus luz řeyis dil múndu?

Li dišérun:

– ¿Kuálu ez řeyis?

– Řeyis ez il ki ez máz grándi di tódus i kumánde a tódus.

– ¿I no ái máz grándi di muzótrus ki mus kumánde a muzótrus?

Liz añispundió la mádri:

– Il ben adám ez máz grándi di muzótrus. I él mus kumánde a muzótrus.

Li díšu il fižu leoniku:

– ¿Núnke muzótrus pudémus matár algún ben adám?

Li díšu la mádrí:

– Algúne ves ki no tiéni in suz mánus úne kóze ki manéye kun suz dédus. Istónsis mu lu pudémus kumér, i él es sáviu.

Il fižiku leoniku sintió éstu di la mádrí ki li kuntó, si lu mitió al m'óyu.

39 "Conseja" [as told by S. Cohen (age 62), folktale type **1525* (*The Thief by Necessity*); cf. Luria (1930: XIX, ll.1–20; minor deviations)]
Spoken by Leon Camhi; Ph 3199

Al tiémpu avie doz maliğis, i luz doz amuráven in la mizme káze, únu abášu i únu aríve. Il únu li díšu il mazál, ganáve máz mižór. Il ótru ganáve póku, no tinía mazál. Un díye ya arivó faziéndusi Pésax. La mužér dil próvi s'istá selánu dil vizínu ki ya trúšu tódu pára Pésax. Su marídu no li trúšu d'ainde náde. Úne nóči s'impisó a piliár kun su marídu. Stá diziénu a su marídu:

– ¿Pur ké ... óndi il vizínu ya trušérun tódu i stá lavuránu il mizmu lavóru túyu, luz doz vuz vaš inğúntuz a la málé?

I li díšu il marídu a la mužér:

– ¿Ké ki ti fáge? Akél gáne, yo no gánu.

I li díšu akéye mužér:

– Tiéni buén mazál i tú ... no tiénis. Yo no sé, díšu al marídu. Tú aróve i tráimi pára kumér.

– Buénu, mi fiže, amañáne vo ařuvár.

A la mañáne s'alvantó il ómbri i s'ičó il sáku al ómbri. Si fué a la malá. Tupó un túrku.

saliénu di la puérte di su káze kun un kántru in la mánu. Li díšu al ómbri:

– Dámili ésti kántru, ti l'inčiré d'águe.

Il buénu dil túrku si lu dió il kántru al ómbri.

40 "Conseja" [as told by Y. Cohen (age 57), folktale type AT 325 (*The Magician and His Pupil*); cf. Luria (1930: XXI, ll.1–28; minor deviations)]

Spoken by Leon Camhi; Ph 3200

Al tiémpu avie úne maná. Éste maná tinie un ñétu. Éste maná ére próvi. No tinie d'óndi kumér. Éste laváve kuláde de un ómbri grándi. Un díe de alxá, il ñétu buškó en káze pára kumér i no tupó. Sí fué i il ñétu ánde stáve la maná ki stáve lavánu la kuláde i li díšu:

– Dáme kumér.

Díšu:

– Va a ganár.

A la tárdi kuánu vínu in káze la maná:

– Maná, an akéye fiže ki stáve lavánu kuláde

in akéye, la kiéru pur nóvie.

– ¿Ké stáz favlánu, ñétu miu? Akéye ez fiže di pašá.

– ¡Yo la kiéru!

– Buénu, li favlarémus mañána al pašá kómu ti la da pur nóvie.

Pur la mañáne si fué la maná óndi il pašá.

Li díšu al pašá:

– No t'arávís lu kué ti vó a dizír. Akél niétu ki vínu ayér akí la kiéri a tu fiže pur mužér ¿se la das?

– Ya si la dó, kómu se ambéze un travážu ki no aí pur il múndu ótru.

– Mil dukádu d'ál pára ki si ambézi a travažár.

Li dió il pašá mil dukádu. Il ñétu si fué óndi un méstru fičizéru.

– Kiéru ki m'ambézi fičiziries.

– Ya t'ambézu. Kiéru kiniéntus dukádu. Pur seš mézis t'ambézu.

Kávu di la kóze no si kidó óndi il méstru a ambizár buénu. Il méstru lu ičó.

41 "Conseja" [as told by Y. Grasiani (age 72), folktale type **926D* (*An Unusual Way of Resolving the Suit*); cf. Luria (1930: IV, ll.1–29; minor deviations)]

Spoken by Leon Camhi; Ph 3201

Úne ves avie un říku bastán[ti]. Algúne ves si fazie di ministér múčes parás. Vinie ándi il bankiér i tumáve la súde ki kirfe. Il bankiér kómu ya lu kunisie ki ére múču říku, li dáve il impórti ki dímandáve i li dizie:

– Viéni dispués i méti la firme.

Kuánu ie il říku pára li pagár il impórti ki li tumó, il bankiér arazgáve el bónu priméru i dispués li tumáve las parás. Ésti kadár d'unór grándi tinie il říku. Kuánu tumáve, no afirmáve il papél. Kuánu pagáve, priméru li arazgáve il bónu, dispués li dizien:

– Págemi.

Un díe li tumó il říku úne súde múi grándi di munéde impristádo i no afirmó il papél kómu siémpri. Pasánu doz, trez díes s'inkuntrárun figúre kun figúre, il únu vinie d'abášu, il ótro vinie d'aríve. Li díšu il bankiér ki li dió la súde di munéde:

– ¿Di ké no vinitis afirmár il papél?

Li díšu il říku:

– ¿Pur ké k'affirmi? ¿Lu kué mi dátis ki ti dévu d'affirmár?

Li díšu:

– La munéde ki ti dí ántis trez díes.

Il říku arispóndi:

– Yo no tumí.

Il bankiér fué a la ġustisie i kuntó, diziénu ki el tinie ki tumár di tal říku tále súde di

munéde, i il říku dízi ki no dévi.
 – Yo la kiéru, dířu il bankiér.
 Stónsis yamárun al říku i li diřérun:
 – Pági li al bankiér la munéde ki ti dió.
 Il říku ařispundió:
 – Yo no li dévu náde.

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Map



The Balkans (map adapted from Benbassa & Rodrigue 2000: xiii)