

JUDEO-ROMANCE LINGUISTICS

A Bibliography
(Latin, Italo-, Gallo-, Ibero- and
Rhaeto- Romance except Castilian)

Paul Wexler

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Volume 47

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For Carol, Nina and Sivan

Hêj, ty, maci, rodna mova,
Hêj, ty zvon vjaliki, slova,
Zvon mahučy,
Zvon bliskučy,
Z srybra lity,
Z zlota zbity,
Zahrymi ty,
Zahrymi!

Ales' Harun, from "Pesnja-zvon" 1912
(reprinted in his Matčyn dar, Munich
1962)

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INTRODUCTION

Most bibliographies require no introduction motivating their compilation; not so the present bibliography. Some students of Romance may wonder why Judeo-Romance languages are not best integrated into a general bibliography of Romance linguistics, while some may even go further and deny the very existence of a Judeo-Romance discipline. The few remarks below are intended to explain why the judaized Romance or Judeo-Romance languages should not be regarded solely as an adjunct of Romance linguistics, and hence why the present separate bibliographical treatment is in order.

The field of comparative Judeo-Romance linguistics essentially came into being in the first quarter of this century when D.S. Blondheim suggested that a Judeo-Latin translation of the Hebrew Bible formed the basis for subsequent judaized Romance translations composed by the early Middle Ages in most of the Romance-speaking lands—in France, Provence, Catalunya, Castile, Portugal and Italy.¹ In 1956 M. Weinreich amplified Blondheim's views of a Judeo-Latin calque language tradition to include a colloquial Judeo-Latin language as the common parent of all the judaized Romance languages.² Most Romanists have remained sceptical about a Judeo-Romance family of languages beginning with Latin—either calque or colloquial; and some even question the existence of individual Judeo-Romance languages. For these scholars, the uniqueness of "Judeo-Romance" languages lies solely in the use of a Hebrew script, occasional loans from Hebrew, Judeo-Aramaic and other languages previously spoken by the Jews prior to their arrival in the Romance lands, or the influence of Hebrew on the syntax and word-formation of Romance—especially in the traditional Bible translations.³

Here is not the place to expound in detail on the process of linguistic judaization of non-Jewish languages—a process that has repeated itself in many Jewish speech communities over the last two and a half millenia.⁴ Suffice to emphasize here that the "Jewish" profile of a language does not consist simply of a handful of unique non-native components and/or the use of the Hebrew script. Rather, the major ingredients in the

judaization of a non-Jewish language are the unique selection of non-Jewish speech material and its fusion with the non-native components cited above. In Judeo-Romance languages, the unique judaized substratal elements are Judeo-Greek and Judeo-Arabic. Idiosyncratic linguistic processes and unique sources of enrichment combine to render the histories and structures of judaized Romance languages distinct from those of their closest non-Jewish cognate(s). In addition, Judeo-Romance languages often enjoy geographical parameters that differ from those of their non-judaized Romance cognates. For example, Judeo-French was carried to neighboring German lands and Piedmont up until the early 1500s—areas where French was not normally spoken; conversely, Judeo-Romance speech is not encountered in all parts of the Romance world, e.g. there is no "Judeo-Romanian." Moreover, while French Christians brought their Norman dialect to England in 1066, French Jews appear to have introduced dialects of a different stock.

I am personally inclined to accept the views of Blondheim and Weinreich of an original Judeo-Latin speech which underwent fragmentation parallel to the dismemberment of Vulgar Latin. Yet, considerable research is still needed before we can state with certainty whether all judaized Romance languages may lay claim to direct descent from Judeo-Latin. Establishing the age of the Judeo-Romance languages thus constitutes a major desideratum of comparative Judeo-Romance linguistics.⁵ I suspect that the judaization of some Romance languages—e.g. Judezmo/Ladino and Judeo-Portuguese—may have taken place in the wake of the Reconquista around the 11th century.⁶ As the "distance" between cognate Romance and Judeo-Romance languages is often modest—in no case is it as dramatic as that between contemporary German and Eastern Yiddish dialects—many observers have concluded, to borrow H.J. Leon's words, that "there is no evidence whatsoever of a Judeo-Greek or Judeo-Latin in any respect comparable with the Yiddish or Ladino of later times."⁷ The fact is, the nature and extent of judaization (including de- and subsequent re-judaization) of each Romance language through time and space is quite varied; Yiddish and Ladino (differing in their respective relationships to German and Castilian) are only two types of judaization and can hardly serve as the sole index of judaization.⁸ It is unnecessary to conclude categorically, along with Leon, that "the Jews formed no linguistic island in ancient Rome."⁹ The typology of judaization in the Romance lands is another topic that urgently awaits researchers.

The Romance languages spoken and written by Jews have spawned a multitude of publications way out of proportion to

the volume of extant Judeo-Romance attestation—short fragments in Judeo-Latin (3rd c BC—6th c AD), Judeo-Aragonese and Judeo-Catalan (13th c—15th c), glosses in Judeo-French (11th c—15th c), Judeo-Provençal (12th c—15th c) and Judeo-Italian (beginning with the 11th c), original texts in Judezmo, Judeo-Provençal and Judeo-Italian (beginning with the 14th c) and translations from the Hebrew in Judeo-Ibero-Romance and Judeo-Italian (beginning with the 13th c). Today, only Judeo-Italian and -Castilian (Judezmo) survive as spoken languages, and of the two, only the former remains in situ.

The present volume constitutes the first comprehensive bibliography of all the Judeo-Romance languages attested before the expulsions of the Jews from the Kingdom of France and the Iberian Peninsula (1394 and 1492-8 respectively)—with the exception of Judezmo and Sephardic Ladino, for which we have the excellent bibliography of D.M.Bunis.¹⁰ The present bibliography does not include Judeo-Romance languages created after the 16th century, thus there is no coverage of the newly judaized French spoken (and written?) by former speakers of North African Judeo-Arabic and Judezmo,¹¹ or the French norms of the Jews who resettled in Lorraine in the early 18th century.¹² An earlier annotated bibliography of Judeo-Portuguese that I published in 1985 forms the basis of the Judeo-Portuguese section in the present volume.¹³ I have greatly expanded the coverage of Judeo-Romance onomastics given in R.Singerman's bibliography of 1977.¹⁴ The coverage of the present bibliography extends through 1987, with a few items from 1988.

The first Jews to settle in Rome were speakers primarily of Judeo-Greek and marginally of Judeo-Aramaic. These two imported Jewish languages contributed profoundly to the emergence of unique judaized forms of Latin. Hence, the present bibliography includes selected references to Judeo-Greek (especially on Roman soil). In addition, I have included a section on Romance "merged" Hebrew and Judeo-Aramaic—i.e. hebraisms and judeo-aramaisms incorporated in colloquial Judeo-Romance; items treating the monolingual ("whole") Hebrew and Judeo-Aramaic norms of the Romance-speaking Jews are included only when they shed light on the merged norms and/or the paths of migration of the Jews into the Romance-speaking lands. For the sake of brevity, whenever synthetic works are available for a given topic, I rarely give earlier entries. Thus, since Judeo-Latin and Judeo-Greek inscriptions are systematically covered by J.-P.Frey,¹⁵ there is little need to cite most of the earlier literature; subsequent studies are, however, included. Similarly, of the vast literature on Roman Jewish catacomb inscriptions, it suffices to list H.J.Leon's state-of-the-art study with its

full bibliographical coverage. Other works on Jewish tombstone inscriptions are only listed here when they contain materials of interest to Judeo-Romance linguistics. I have also incorporated some original works of and references to the Romance literature written by Jews in Latin characters, since these materials may contain data relevant to the reconstruction of Judeo-Romance speech; examples are the Ibero-Romance translations of the Bible made by the Jews in the 15th century and possibly earlier (presumably for both a Jewish and Christian audience), literature composed in the Marrano recensions of Spanish and Portuguese (outside of the Peninsula) and the religious and secular literature of Italian Jews during the Renaissance. For the same reason, I have also cited references to standard Romance texts written in Hebrew characters by Jews. These materials emphasize the heterogeneity of Jewish linguistic creativity in the Romance lands. Primary texts are listed only when there is no comprehensive bibliographical coverage of them available. The reader will find here no references to studies in comparative Jewish linguistics which ignore Romance topics, since my comprehensive bibliography of the literature on this subject up to 1980 is easily available.¹⁶ Reviews are listed (together with the items reviewed) only when they contain comments of linguistic interest; in the index reviews are cited with the letter R following the number. I have not included references to parallel topics in the non-Judeo-Romance languages (e.g. cognate lexicon), as tempting as this was, since this would have greatly inflated the size of the work; the interested reader can easily track down the relevant literature independently. Similarly, historical and etymological dictionaries are not cited, unless they contain a particularly interesting discussion of Judeo-Romance data. The literature on a number of terms associated with Jews is voluminous (e.g. Ibero-Romance 'crypto-Jew' or Italian 'ghetto'), hence I only cite the literature necessary to document the variety of proposed etyma.

It should be clear then that the Judeo-Romance languages are entitled to their own bibliographical coverage, given the incomplete overlap of Romance and Judeo-Romance topics. In general, both the potential audience and constellation of topics in Judeo-Romance linguistics are both much broader than in Romance linguistics. The main topics in Judeo-Romance linguistics which are largely irrelevant to general Romance linguistics are the unique ad- and substratal components of Judeo-Romance and early Jewish settlement history in the Romance lands. Moreover, because of the fragmentary nature of Judeo-Romance remains, the relative importance of topics differs in Judeo-Romance and Romance linguistics. For example,

lexicology and onomastics loom inordinately large on the horizon of Judeo-Romance;¹⁷ the obsolescence of many Judeo-Romance languages explains the preoccupation with historical topics. Romance and Judeo-Romance languages also differ in the nature of their relevance to the study of other languages. On the one hand, Judeo-Romance linguistics can be expected to make a major contribution to medieval and pre-Diaspora Hebrew linguistics. On the other hand, Judeo-Romance linguistic phenomena can often only be elucidated fully with the aid of contiguous Jewish languages—e.g. the Judeo-Romance component in early Western Yiddish dialects is crucial for reconstructing Judeo-French and Judeo-Italian norms.

A separate bibliographical treatment of the Judeo-Romance languages should facilitate a deeper appreciation of the contributions that the latter may make to Romance linguistics in general—though the idiosyncratic experiences of judaized Romance speech make it difficult to extrapolate with ease from Judeo-Romance to Romance and vice versa. Up until now, Judeo-Romance topics have scarcely been canvassed in Romance linguistic bibliographies—though some scholars have utilized Judeo-Romance materials in discussions of general Romance topics—especially when Jewish materials predate the earliest known non-judaized sources.¹⁸ There are four reasons for the widespread disregard of Judeo-Romance data in general studies: (1) The bulk of studies in Judeo-Romance linguistics have been compiled by non-linguists (usually historians) and published in non-linguistic journals (this is especially true of onomastic materials).¹⁹ (2) Unlike the field of Yiddish which has profited from the fulltime attention of the finest linguists since its inception in the early 20th century,²⁰ Judeo-Romance linguistics has attracted all too often scholars (a) whose major fields of endeavor lay elsewhere (e.g. G.I. Ascoli, Y. Malkiel, B. Terracini and M.L. Wagner) or (b) who were largely ignorant of linguistic theory (e.g. H.V. Séphiha, most contemporary students of Judeo-Italian). Unfortunately, no other Romanist has matched the breadth of interest displayed by D.S. Blondheim. (3) Unlike the Yiddish impact on coterritorial German dialects, Judeo-Romance languages have had a relatively minor impact on Romance languages. (4) Judeo-Romance languages have traditionally been written in Hebrew characters.

I hope that the present bibliography serves to popularize the field of Judeo-Romance languages both among students of general Romance and comparative Jewish linguistics, since many research topics can best be approached only by a collaboration and cross-fertilization between the two disciplines.

1. Les parlers judéo-romans et la Vetus latina (P 1925).
2. "The Jewish Languages of Romance Stock and their Relation to Early Yiddish," RPh 9 (1956), 403-28.

3. For further discussion, see P.Wexler, Three Heirs to a Judeo-Latin Legacy: Judeo-Ibero-Romance, Yiddish and Rot-welsch (Wi 1988). Greek and Latin were customarily written by Jews in the non-Jewish alphabets, though occasionally Latin inscriptions were written in Greek and Greek inscriptions (in Rome) were also written in Hebrew characters (see F.Lenormant, "La catacombe juive de Venose," REJ 6, 1882, 204). The Hebrew alphabet has been used for all other Judeo-Romance languages up until recent times, when Latin, and even occasionally Cyrillic, script have come to be employed (for Judezmo and Judeo-Italian).

4. For a comprehensive description of the phenomenon, see my "Jewish Interlinguistics: Facts and Conceptual Framework," Language 57 (1981), 99-149.

5. H.Guttel believes the age of the Judeo-Romance languages cannot be settled until all the texts are published ("Etat présent des études judéo-romanes. Communication faite à la Société des Etudes Juives," REJ 134, 1975, 3-4, 218).

6. See details in Wexler, op.cit. 1988. On the glottonyms Judezmo and Ladino, see D.M.Bunis, Sephardic Studies: A Research Bibliography incorporating Judezmo Language, Literature and Folklore, and Historical Background (Garland: NY-Lo 1981), x-xii. For Judeo-Italian and Judeo-French/Judeo-Provençal M.Weinreich proposed the terms "Southern" and "Western Loez" respectively (from Hebrew la'az or lo'ez 'foreign talk': op. cit.). S.A.Birnbaum coined the terms "Italkian" and "Zarfatic" (or zorfatish) for Judeo-Italian and Judeo-French language and Hebrew script types (from Hebrew italkit 'Italian' and carfatit 'French') in his "Aschkenasische Handschriften. Woher stammen die deutschen Juden?," ZGJD 3 (1931), 276 and "Jewish Languages," Essays in Honour of Dr.J.H.Hertz, eds. I. Epstein et al., 67 (Lo 1944). On script types, see also his The Hebrew Scripts 1-2 (Ldn 1957-71). Birnbaum also coined the glottonyms "Catalanic" and "Portuguesic" for Judeo-Catalan and Judeo-Portuguese in "Jewish Languages," EJ(J) 10 (1971), col 67 and Yiddish. A Survey and a Grammar (T-Bu 1979), 15, 120. On the names for Judeo-Provençal, see Z.Szajkowski,

דאס לשון פֿון די ייִדיש אין די ארבע קהילות פֿון קאמטא-וועניטען
(NY 1948), 3-6; G.Jochowitz, "Shuadit: la langue juive de
Provence," AJ 14 (1978), 63; S.A.Birnbaum, op.cit. 1979:15.

7. H.J.Leon, The Jews of Ancient Rome (Ph 1960), 92.

8. Jews in the Romance lands occasionally also wrote in the standard language (in both the Christian and Hebrew alphabets).

9. Ibid. 92. F.Lenormant proposed the concept of "judaized" Latin over a century ago (op.cit. 202).

10. See Bunis, op.cit. Bunis's bibliography supersedes an earlier less satisfactory bibliography by M.Studemund (Bibliographie zum Judenspanischen, Ham 1975). Bunis's coverage of Ladino is restricted to the recension used by Judezmo speakers. My bibliography includes references to the recension of Ladino used by Portuguese Jews and to connections between Ladino and Judeo-Latin.

11. On this topic, see the brief remarks by H.Schuchardt in a letter to L.Sainéan in 1889—reprinted by C.Gininger, "Sainéan's Accomplishments in Yiddish Linguistics," The Field of Yiddish 1 (1954), 154.

12. See S.Kerner, "Les démarches des envoyés de la Communauté juive de Metz à Paris et à Versailles relatives à la "taxe Brancas", "Annales de l'Est 1974, 217-64.

13. "Linguistica Judeo-Lusitanica" in I.Benabu and J.Sermoneta, eds., Judeo-Romance Languages (J 1985), 189-208.

14. See R.Singerman, Jewish and Hebrew Onomastics. A Bibliography (Garland: NY-Lo 1977).

15. Corpus inscriptionum iudaicarum 1 (CV 1936; 2nd ed NY 1975).

16. See Wexler op.cit. 1981.

17. Studies of Judeo-Romance onomastics have yet to exploit the materials assembled by historians of the primary documents and tombstone inscriptions.

18. Judeo-Romance data are treated in a number of major etymological dictionaries, e.g. W.von Wartburg, Französisches

etymologisches Wörterbuch lff (Basle, B-Lpz, Bonn 1928ff); J. Coromines, Diccionari etimològic i complementari de la llengua catalana (Bar 1980ff); J. Coromines and J. A. Pascual, Diccionario crítico etimológico castellano e hispánico 1-5 (M 1980-3). See also R. Levy, "References Made to Judeo-French by Erhard Lommatzsch," ZFSL 66 (1956), 29-35 (on Judeo-French citations in E. Lommatzsch, ed., Altfranzösisches Wörterbuch. Adolf Toblers nachgelassene Materialien lff, B 1925ff). F. Mistral included Judeo-Provençal terms in his dictionary of Provençal, Lou tresor dóu Felibrige 1-2 (Aix 1879-87). Judeo-Romance data have also been cited often in historical grammars, see e.g. G. F. Burguy, Grammaire de la langue d'oïl 3 (Lpz 1856), 156 (the first such mention); K. Nyrop, Grammaire historique de la langue française 1 (Copenhagen 1904, 2nd ed), 497; R. Lapesa, Historia de la lengua española (M 1965, 6th ed), 303, 335-9, 358 and in literature surveys, e.g. U. T. Holmes, A history of Old French Literature from the Origins to 1300 (NY 1952), 314-5; P. Zumthor, Histoire littéraire de la France médiévale (VIe-XIVe siècles) (P 1954), paragraphs 511, 517, 528, 537. I have made no attempt to cite references to Judeo-Romance in the surveys of language and literature. The Judeo-French glosses occasionally appear in early Christian sources as well, e.g. the first Church-censored edition of the Babylonian Talmud printed in Basle 1579 (Order Mo'ed. Tractata Rosh Hashanah) and the Biblia latina cum postillis Nicolai de Lyra (Ve 1481) both contain Judeo-French glosses.

19. Most of the materials have appeared in journals of Jewish studies, e.g. the JQR, the MGWJ and the REJ.

20. A number of prominent Yiddishists have taken an interest in Judeo-Romance topics, see e.g. S. A. Birnbaum and M. Weinreich, and important materials have been published in Yiddish, e.g. Szajkowski, op.cit.