

**The Anti-Castilianist Credo
of Judezmo Journalist Hizkia M. Franco (1875-1953)**

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1. Nineteenth-century maskilic dissatisfaction with Judezmo: The Castilianization gambit

During the first three centuries following the expulsions of the Jews from Iberia at the end of the fifteenth century, the rabbis of their Judezmo-speaking descendants in the Ottoman Empire expressed displeasure over having to write for the masses “en lengua ajena a nós” (Almosnino 13a),¹ that is, in the Jews’ Ibero-Romance, rather than in their Holy Tongue, Hebrew (see Bunis 2011a). But, overall, the rabbis found no fault with the *quality* of the Judezmo in which they spoke and wrote. The Ottoman Sephardic satisfaction with Judezmo waned only in the first half of the nineteenth century when – at first, under the influence of the linguistic purism advocated by adherents of the Jewish Haskalah movement in German-speaking lands,² and later, in light of the criticism of Judezmo by European non-Jews³ – some Levantine Sephardic intellectuals began to look askance at Judezmo as being a ‘corrupt, mixed jargon’,⁴ and proposed replacing it with modern Castilian.

During the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries two of the most influential Hebrew-letter Judezmo periodicals published in the Ottoman Empire were *El Tiempo* (Constantinople, 1871-1930) and *El Telégrafo* (Constantinople, 1878-1931).⁵ On 28 Sivan 5646 (1 July 1886) David Fresco, editor of *El Tiempo*, published an article entitled “Un pueblo mudo” in *El Telégrafo*. In the article, and in subsequent articles by Fresco, the Ottoman Jews’ everyday language was accused of being a “jerigonza

¹ For other Jewish references to Ottoman Jewish Ibero-Romance, or Judezmo, as a ‘foreign language’, see Bunis (2011a).

² For example, in a prefatory remark in German to Yisrael Bejar Hayim’s Ladino translation of *Hojmat Yehošua’ ben Sirá* (Vienna, 1818), its publisher described the translation as being “in gemischter spanisch türkischer Sprache mit hebräischen Lettern” ([i]b). See the scholarly edition by Romero. On Haskalah purism and Yiddish see, for example, Wisse (6-7).

³ For instance, the Spanish historian José Amador de los Ríos (1818-1878) remarked (479) that “... el lenguaje usado por los judíos españoles fuera de la península ibérica, no pudo menos de admitir extraños elementos que en parte contribuían a desfigurarlos”, and added (479, n. 10) that “Nuestro querido amigo don J. Heriberto García de Quevedo [...] hace relación de los judíos de Smyrna, manifestando que hablan un castellano harto corrompido...”.

⁴ E.g., “... el español corompido que hablamos ...” (*La Época* 4:155 [Salonika, 1878], 3); “nuestro lenguaje corompido [...] nuestra jerga” (“Sitri Halevi”, *El Tiempo* 22:27 [1894], 293); “jargón español” (*La verdad* 2 [Sofia, 1900], 36); “este jargón judeo español del cual servimos [...] esta mesclatina que hablamos” (*La Época* 25:1229 [1900], 1-2), “jargón korompido” (*La Época* 26:1288 [1901], 4).

⁵ On *El Tiempo* see Gaon 1965, no. 110; on *El Telégrafo*, *ibid.*, no. 115; and see their entries in the *Bibliography of the Hebrew Book* (<http://www.hebrew-bibliography.com>).

(jargón, sefat ‘ilegim)’ (*El Tiempo* 29:62 [1901], 676), a “lingua corompida” (*El Tiempo* 29:63 [1901], 688), and he urged them to replace it.

In various places in his writings, Fresco rejected modern Castilian as a suitable replacement, both on sentimental and pragmatic grounds:

La lingua de Torquemada [...] no juga ningún rolo en el movimiento intelectual y comercial... La lingua español, mismo si él [=el judío otomano] la escribe como el más illustre escritor de España, no le es de utilidad en la lucha por la existencia. (*El Tiempo* 29:63 [1901], 690)

To facilitate the integration of the empire’s Jews within the broader Ottoman society, Fresco advised them instead to adopt Turkish, and to familiarize themselves with the commercially advantageous languages of Europe:

No somos “judíos⁶ españoles” si no que judíos otomanos que conservaron la lingua española... Debríamos adoptar como lingua madre la lingua de nuestro país [...] y cultivar también las linguas de las grandes naciones del mundo, el inglés, el alemán y el francés. (*El Tiempo* 32:77 [1904], 343)

However, in the language he himself used in *El Tiempo*, Fresco sometimes substituted characteristic Judezmo grammatical constructions and lexemes which diverged from modern Spanish, or were of non-Romance origin, with their literary Castilian analogues. Some Ottoman Sephardic journalists saluted such modifications. But others took exception to it, insisting that the basic character of Judezmo – or *judeo-español*, as most of the westernized journalists called it – be retained as the basis for a gradually evolving, modernized and independent idiom.

⁶ As an addition to Hassán’s system of transcription of Sephardic texts written in Hebrew letters, the character *ḏ* will be used in passages from the periodicals *El tiempo*, *El telégrafo* and *La Boz de Oriente* to denote the textual character *dálet* + diacritic <ḏ>, employed in those papers to represent the Judezmo phoneme /ð/, which is always fricative, e.g., זודייוס *judiós*. The character <ḏ> will be used in passages from all Hebrew-letter sources to denote the phoneme /d/ (always occlusive [d]) when the Spanish reader would otherwise tend to interpret it as [ð], e.g., אדופטאר *adoptar*. For orthographic simplicity, unmarked <d> will be used in passages from all Hebrew-letter sources to denote occlusive /d/ ([d]) when agreeing with Spanish (e.g., קואנדו *cuando*), as well as to denote fricative /ð/ agreeing with Spanish in passages from the periodical *El comercial* and from Franco’s 1924 anthology, *Impresiones y reflexiones*, in which the grapheme *dálet*+diacritic was not used: e.g., זודייוס *judiós* (= [zu’ðjos]). In accordance with Hassán’s system, syntactic phonetics are not considered here (e.g., סומוס זודייוס *somos judiós* = [‘somoz zu’ðjos]), and <v> always has fricative value.

2. Hizkia M. Franco (1875-1953)

2.1 Career as journalist and communal leader

One of the more articulate opponents of the proposal to Castilianize Judezmo was Hizkia (Hizkiyá) M. Franco, who aired his views on the subject in Hebrew- and Roman-letter Judezmo newspapers he edited, as well as in other Judezmo periodicals.⁷ Born in Rhodes in 1875, Franco had studied both religious and secular subjects, and received more advanced education in Constantinople. His father headed a yeshiva and was awarded a major rabbinical appointment in Jerusalem (1911-1917). Franco established himself in Izmir and engaged in Judezmo journalism. He was listed (in volumes 13-15) as the administrative manager of the Izmir Hebrew-letter Judezmo periodical *El Nuvelista* (1891-1922), edited by Yaakov Algranti.⁸ In 1905 Franco founded and edited a Hebrew-letter Judezmo news and views periodical in Izmir entitled *El Comercial*,⁹ in which his brothers Gad and Leví also played a role.¹⁰ The periodical ceased publication at the end of 1909. Franco also assumed important leadership roles in the Jewish communities in which he resided. He and his family had connections with, and held leadership positions in, the Jewish community of Milas, Turkey (Çolak 245).¹¹ In 1917 Franco served as head of the Jewish community of Izmir.

After re-establishing himself in the Island of Rhodes, Franco dedicated himself to Jewish communal service there too, and served as the head of the Jewish community (1925-1936). In Rhodes Franco edited the Turkish-language newspaper *Selam*, and in 1928 founded a short-lived Judezmo communal news periodical printed in the Latin alphabet entitled *Buletino Mensual de la Comunidad Israelita*, in which he was listed as “director responsable”.¹² In 1934 he initiated another Latin-letter Judezmo paper in

⁷ On Hizkia M. Franco see Gaon 1938: 506 (based partially on *La Boz de Oriente* no. 42 [Istanbul, 24 August 1931]); Franco 1994: 11; and Lévy (89-93), containing Franco’s Judezmo poem “The Deportation”. On Franco’s role in the Judezmo press see Levi, and Romero (1992, 181, 194, 214 and 216).

⁸ On *El Nuvelista* see Gaon 1965, no. 201, and its entry in the *Bibliography of the Hebrew Book*.

⁹ On *El Comercial* see Gaon 1965, no. 251, and the relevant entry in the *Bibliography of the Hebrew Book*.

¹⁰ Gad Franco was a partner in the publication of *El Comercial*, and also contributed to Judezmo and Turkish papers in Izmir and Constantinople (Romero 1992, 181, 193). A supporter of political Zionism early in his career, Gad Franco sympathized with the Modern Hebrew movement. He expressed hostility toward Spanish, and advocated the replacement of Judezmo by Hebrew, Turkish or French (Pulido 107). Gad Franco received a law degree in Paris and developed a successful law practice in Istanbul (Gaon 1965, no. 251). He suffered severely during the period of the *varlık vergisi*, but was honored by the Turkish Ministry of Public Education in a ceremony held at the University of Istanbul in 1948 (*La Boz de Türkiye* 10:212 [15 October 1948], 85).

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See

also

http://www.turkofamerica.com/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=558&Itemid=174 .

¹² On the *Buletino Mensual* see its entry in the *Bibliography of the Hebrew Book*.

Rhodes, this time calling it *El Boletín: Órgano Mensual de la Comunidad Israelita*; it continued publication for about three years.¹³ Recognized as a major figure in the Rhodes Jewish community, Franco was called upon by the Italian government to serve as an advisor on Jewish matters. In addition to writing in his own papers, Franco was a local correspondent for the Istanbul Judezmo periodical *La Boz de Oriente* (1931-1939),¹⁴ in which he was referred to as an “excelente amigo” of the editorial board, and for its sequel, *La Boz de Türkiye* (1939-1949).¹⁵ In these papers he reported primarily on the Jewish community of Rhodes.

In 1944 the German occupying forces issued Franco an exit permit to leave Cos. He set out for Turkey, but the Turkish authorities refused him entry because he had renounced his Turkish citizenship in 1924 in favor of Italian citizenship, and thus he was deported to Palestine, where he remained until 1946. In a poetic series entitled <“En margen de la Biblia: El libro de Iyov”>, published in *La Boz de Türkiye* in 1948 (9:204 [1 June 1948], 354; 205 [15 June 1948], 371),¹⁶ Franco expressed his despair over the destruction of European Jewry, including his native Rhodes community.

Franco spent his last years in the Belgian Congo and in Salisbury, Southern Rhodesia. He wrote about his African experiences in <“Impresiones de viaje”>, published in *La Boz de Türkiye* in 1948 (9:205 [15 June 1948], 368-369).¹⁷ A romantic to the end, Franco described his sorrow at being in Africa after a life spent mostly in the ‘magic East’:

<Yo me siento aqui aislado y sufro de la nostalgia del magico Oriente. Yo so, como una planta que, arrancada de su suelto natal, es transplantada sobre un terreno que no es el suyo, que no le es ni propio, ni propicio. Aqui yo no respiro mas aquel aire embalsamado, en aquella atmosfera pura. Yo so lejos del clima vivificante onde me engrandeci, del “medio magico” onde fue elevado, es desir que yo me siento alejado de tantos queridos, de tantos caronales amigos y es por esto que yo digo con Yehuda Halevi, nuestro gran poeta nacional, *Im ani bemaarav, libi bemizrah*, que si mi persona es ahora aqui en el occidente [sic] africano, mi alma resta siempre entre los recuerdos fascinadores del Oriente lejano.>

¹³ On *El Boletín* see Gaon 1965, no. 60, and the relevant entry in the *Bibliography of the Hebrew Book*. It is a pleasure to thank Dr. Dov Cohen of the Ben-Zvi Institute Library for helping me consult this periodical, and for calling my attention to articles in other Judezmo periodicals relevant to the present study.

¹⁴ On *La Boz de Oriente* see Gaon 1965, no. 48, and its entry in the *Bibliography of the Hebrew Book*.

¹⁵ On *La Boz de Türkiye* see Gaon 1965, no. 54; and the entry in the *Bibliography of the Hebrew Book*. A copy of issues from 1948 was kindly made available to me by Stephen Levy.

¹⁶ Citations from Judezmo sources in the Latin alphabet are enclosed within angular <> brackets.

¹⁷ See also Franco’s <En la Congregación Judia de Leopoldville>, *La Boz de Türkiye* 10:210 (1948), 54-55.

In July 1948, in reaction to the establishment of the State of Israel on 14 May 1948, Franco published a serialized Judezmo adaptation of Dante Lattes' *Il sionismo* (Rome 1928) in *La Boz de Türkiye*.¹⁸ He memorialized the Holocaust victims of his native community in *Martyrs juifs de Rhodes et de Cos* (1952).¹⁹ Hizkia Franco died in Salisbury in 1953. Franco had been married to Sol (née Alhadeff) and had six children.

In his periodical *El Comercial*, as in his subsequent papers, Hizkia Franco's key role was to report the local mercantile and Jewish communal news, which filled the periodicals' first few pages. But on the remaining pages of the papers Franco often voiced his opinions on a variety of communal affairs. In *El Comercial*, Franco encouraged others, including his brother, Gad, and friends such as Rafael Amato, to do so as well. Sometimes the *Comercial* writers initiated the topics; at other times they reacted to topics raised in articles published in other Judezmo papers, such as *La buena esperanza* of Izmir, and *El Tiempo* of Istanbul. Perhaps fearing personal reprisals for some of his views, Franco usually published them under pseudonyms, especially "El fantásista", "Aquel", and in the case of his poems, "El chico poeta". In 1924 Franco republished some 40 of his Judezmo essays and poems in a 173-page collection entitled *Impresiones y reflexiones*.²⁰ It was printed in Izmir (although the title-page says Rhodes) and dedicated to Rafael Amato.

2.2 Hizkia Franco's Opposition to the Castilianization of Judezmo

Off and on from the mid-nineteenth century, the Levantine Sephardic 'language question' caught the attention of journalists. One of the sparks which rekindled discussion of the question in the early twentieth century was the 1905 publication in Madrid of Spanish senator Angel Pulido's *Españoles sin patria: La raza sefardí*. In the work, much of which centered on the language used in contemporaneous Sephardic communities, Pulido (146) argued that "no hay un lenguaje que pueda llamarse con propiedad judesmo, como idioma de los sefardim, sino que hay un castellano viejo corrompido, adulterado con muchas y distintas alteraciones". Before publishing his book, Pulido had established contact with Sephardic leaders throughout the Ottoman Empire and beyond. He invited them to 're-enter' the Hispanic world and even consider immigrating to Spain, and he urged them to replace their 'corrupt Old Castilian' with modern normative Spanish. In his book, Pulido reported on the reactions of the Sephardic intelligentsia to his proposals. While many had respectfully declined his suggestions, Pulido informed the reader, some were attracted to the Castilianization proposal. One of them was Yosef/Joseph (later, José) M. Estrugo of

¹⁸ <La historia del Sionismo, adaptado por Hizkia M. Franco>, *La Boz de Türkiye* 9:206 (15 July 1948), 385-386; 9:207 (1 August 1948), 14; 10:209 (1 September 1948), 46-47; 10:210 (15 September 1948), 61; 10:213 (1 November 1948), 11.

¹⁹ The work was translated into English by the author's grandson, Joseph Franco, as *The Jewish Martyrs of Rhodes and Cos* in 1994.

²⁰ For details see the *Bibliography of the Hebrew Book*.

Izmir, who published his views on the subject in the Judezmo periodicals *El Tiempo* and *El Telégrafo* of Constantinople. Another was Hizkia Franco's friend, Rafael Amato of Izmir, who, under the pseudonym "Hispanófilo", published articles in Castilianized Judezmo in Franco's *El Comercial*.

Franco's resistance to the Castilianization proposal took several forms. One of the earliest was a pragmatic request in *El Comercial* (1:17 [1906], 11) on behalf of the average reader: "Los hispanófilos abundan. Ayer enviaban un artículo de Ángel Pulido. Hoy nos mandan un pedazo de Pompeyo Gener.²¹ Rogamos a estos señores de enviarnos pedazos simples para que el lector no tenga mucho a penar." By "simples" Franco meant less Castilianized.

At first apparently bemused by the myriad solutions to the Sephardic 'language question' proposed by Judezmo journalists, Franco sometimes related to the topic with humor and irony.²² In a satirical article on the 'language question' entitled "Una eternal tempesta", Franco under the guise of "El fantásista" flippantly adopted the attitude of the anti-Judezmists, calling his language "el corompido dialecto júdió-español" and mocking the opinions on the subject expressed by David Fresco (1853-1936),²³ Nisim de Yeudá Pardo (1859-1913),²⁴ Šemuel Sa'adí Haleví (Sam Levy, 1870-1959),²⁵ and Jacques Danon (Franco 1924, 26-28). With them he asked: "¿debían hermošear esta lingua bastarda o abandonar este heritaje de la España de Torquemada?" In the article "Prensa y opinión" (Franco 1924, 29-30), "El fantásista" cynically summarized the opinions emerging during the 'language question' controversy:

Parece que nuestra prensa tiene el güerco en las tripas. Continualmente ella ħarba²⁶ su cabeza contra este duro maredo que llaman la 'cuestión de la lingua'. Queren dar una lingua a nošotros ħudiós de Oriente que nos creen sin una, un "pueblo mudo" [...]. "¡El hebreo!", grita el uno, "nuestra lingua nacional, la lingua de nuestros padres. Al nombre del ħudaišmo embežadlo!" "Nošotros somos en Turquía", diće un otro, "debemos embežar el turco, que nos servirá a mucho". "A cualo bueno estos aires y estas afectaciones? Antes de todo la lingua que nos dará

²¹ Pompeyo Gener (1848-1919) was a Catalan literary critic.

²² In an early pseudo-lexicographical piece, first published in 1895 and headed "Definiciones", Franco already demonstrated his leanings toward humor and irony with regard to things linguistic as well as to some aspects of traditional Jewish society. Note, for example, his definition: "ħabrá (talmud torá) – escola onde dependían la iñoranza."

²³ On Fresco's attitude toward Judezmo see Stein (especially 72-73); and Bunis (forthcoming).

²⁴ On Pardo and the language question see Bunis (2011b).

²⁵ Levi's attitude toward Judezmo is treated in Bunis (2004; 2010, and 2011c).

²⁶ Although written, as usual in Judezmo, with *ħet* (ח), and thus transcribed here by <ħ>, it should be noted that, except in Arabic-speaking countries, the Sephardim did not have the sound [ħ] as in Arabic, but only [x], which they represented by *ħet*. Thus, throughout this article, the transcription symbol <ħ> should be read as [x].

pan: embezád dunqüe el francés, esta lingua comercial, aristocrática y diplomática”. Y una última música viene entonar el himno judio español – que no es ni judio ni español, si no que un bastardo [...]. ¿Ónde que vaiga dunqüe este pobre judio? ¿Cuál lingua él embece a sus hijos? Cuatro exclamaciones responden a estas demandas: “¡El turco!” - “¡El hebreo!” - “¡El francés!” - “¡Español!” Decidido. Debemos dunqüe embezar esta nueva lingua que nos recomienda la prensa: La lingua turco-hebraica-franco-española! (¿No parece la locomotiva con el treno que corre?)

In an article published in *El Comercial* (2:44 [1907], 3-4), “El fantáista” went on to broach the issue of Castilianization. Again his tone was mildly ironic:

A la atención de nuestros gaceteros judio-españoles

Queridos señores,

No sé si remarcateš que, desde un cierto tiempo, el “Comercial”, a tendencias hispanófilas, emprendió una campaña silencioša y pacífica en favor de nuestro aquerenciado judeo español. Por exhortarnos a adherir al hispanofilismo, algunos de sus redactores nos servían de vez en cuando algunos de estos “platos castillanos” que, por ser nuevos y extraños, no podían ser por nosotros que ševdos y indigestos.

Pocos eran así los meldadores que los saboreaban. Por mi parte, yo no podía ver que de negro ojo los esfuerzos de estos hispanófilos que, de escribanos sueltos que somos, queren hacer de nosotros hombres sometidos y cativos, en atándonos fuertemente de pies y de manos. Sus campaña por tanto me inquietaba poco; siendo yo vía sus palabra sin eco ninguno.

Ma agora la coša troca de forma, ella deviene grave y mismo periculoša. No se trata, ni más ni menos, que de un ataco a nuestra libertad literaria judeo-española.

Un hispanofilico, que no es a mis ojos que un muerde fuye, empezó desde unas cuantas semanas a encajarse entre las colonas del “Comercial” por embezar las reglas que debíamos seguir en nuestro génerošo y liberal judeo-español! Él pretende, el insolente, atacanar nuestro lenguaje y quere por esto imponernos reglas y mešuras.

¿Remarcáš la ošadía?

El mal es que el maliciošo personaje que encarna este “hispanofilico” se sirve de una inženioša metodo que parece darle esperanzas de reušita. Él escribe poco y plaçiente, para que lo melden toda la gente.

¿Y cuál será entonces nuestra situación a nosotros todos, escribanos judioš de Oriente?

Hoy nuestra libertad es cumplida. Nuestra péndola va de arriba abajo, ella corre de ciedra a derecha. Nosotros tenemos la maraviosa facultad de tornarnos al viento que sopla y vestir nuestros pensamientos con los trajes los más variados; franco, turco, hebraico y cohetera [sic]. Y ninguno tiene el coraje de hacernos la mínima remarca.

Hoy tenemos “prochesos” y “procesos”, “derechos” y “diritos”, “proyectos” y “proyéto”, y mañana ¡helás! ¡No tendremos que solo “diritos”, “procesos” y “proyectos”! Mañana no habrá más “responsabilitá”, “pensadas” y “mantenición”, pero “responsabilidad”, “pensamientos” y “mantenecimiento”.

Hoy tenemos el “cante” que rima armoniosamente con “bonete”; tenemos también “boneta” que se caña admirablemente con “salata”.

Hoy tenemos por esclamarnos: “¡helás!” Entonces no habrá que “¡guay!” “¡alora!”

Hoy la lingua es el juete de nuestro caprichio. Mañana nosotros deviendremos los esclavos del suyo. Nosotros que hacemos hoy tanto, mañana ni “La crónica comunala”.

Y qué deviendrá entonces nuestra poeśía, nuestra rica y variada literatura judeo-española?

Guay a nosotros si nos permitiremos hablar de “la lingua española la cuala les [=nos] es muy querida” y devista vos verés todos, hispanófilos y hispanofilicos, levantarsen como los gallos y gritar: “¡Iñorantes! Vos pecás así. Debés decir: “¡La lingua española [la cual] nos es querida”!

Y nosotros perderemos toda la “otoritá”, toda la “diñitá”, de las cualas gozamos actualmente con tanta fiereza.

Queridos compañeros, como lo veš, el mal es grande, el perícolo iminente. Los momentos son preciosos, no tenemos tiempo de pedrer. Pues_ que no podemos ahora, en nuestra avanzada edad, meternos a la escuela y deprender la lingua y la gramática española que, atorguémolo, iñoramos totalmente. No tenemos otro remedio más que de librar combate al enemigo que nos desfia. Debemos aunar nuestros esfuerzos y combatir hasta la última trance por salvar nuestra “diñitá literaria”. Armémos-nos de nuestras plumas vígorosas y burlescas, insultantes y tocaderas, y ataquémos-nos a todos estos hispanófilos que merecen llenamente nuestro menosprecio. ¡Y que el triunfo de esta cavsa santa nos sea acordado!

En la firme esperanza que mis palabras callentes toparán un eco en vuestros blanduzcos corazones, yo vos rogo, queridos y caros compañeros, de agradecer los respectos de vuestro y jamás devuado servitor,

El fantásista.

In an article in the following issue of *El Comercial* (2:45 [1907], 4), Franco's colleague Rafael Amato ("Hispanófilo"), who had written the Castilianizing pieces to which Franco referred, tried to convince readers that "El fantásista" was merely being facetious, and actually supported Castilianization:

Dos palabras

Contrariamente a lo que se imaginaron algunos, leí con mucho placer el artículo publicado por "El fantásista" en el último número del Comercial, aunque él parezca ser escrito por combatir mi campaña hispanófila. Digo "parezca" por-que conozco el autor pseudónimo en cuestión y sé que, efectivamente, él es un castillanista. Él no ha querido que criticar el lenguaje de nuestros periodistas, y con qué hermosa ironía, ¡mi Dios! Que digan lo que quieren aqueos que juzgan superficialmente y sobre las apariencias; pero los lectores que se dan la pena de reflexir entenderán que en el fuero de su conciencia no es un grito de alarma que "El fantásista" quería echar, ma un grito de trionfo. Él no ha sido franco, y por castigarlo, el tipógrafo (que él sea bendicho) se erijó un justezario en favor de los hispanófilos.

"No habrá más 'dirito', pero 'derecho'" decía "El fantásista" en su manuscrito. El tipógrafo compuso "No habrá más 'derecho', pero 'dirito'".

"No se debe decir "La lingua española la cuala les es querida", pero "La lingua española la cual nos es querida", había escrito "El fantásista". Aquí el escopo era de dar a entender que en el vero español no se dice nunca "la cuala", mismo por el femenino, sinó "la cual". Nuestro tipógrafo suprimió la palabra sobre la cual estaba bañada la observación y compuso "La lingua española nos es querida". Aún muchos yerros tipográficos semejantes calía ver cuanto "El fantásista" los sentía (regretaba)...

Hispanofilico

But, to use the trite expression, "many a true word is spoken in jest". It seems that Franco actually did object to the heavily Castilianized variety of language used by "Hispanófilo" and others, which he believed the average reader found "insipid", "indigestible" and "unenjoyable". This fact becomes clear from Franco's subsequent writing. For example, although there is a certain ironic flavor to the complaint by "El fantásista" that the Hispanophiles were trying to prevent Judezmo writers from using non-Castilian-origin synonyms of Judezmo words, Franco himself made frequent use of such synonyms (e.g., *pero/ma*, *guay/helás*, *ruido/bruido*, *teretemblos/re'asim* (< Hb.) and he obviously had no intention of giving them up. In a piece published in *El Comercial* (3:9 [1908], 5-6) under the pseudonym "Aquel", Franco replied to comments by J. H. (perhaps Joséf Házán) on a lecture that had been delivered the

same year by Rafael Amato. Agreeing with Angel Pulido, Amato had argued that Spanish should play a long-range role in the life of the Ottoman Jews. J. H. was of the opinion that this was not to be – not for reasons of sentiment, but pragmatism: Spanish would be of no use to the Ottoman Sephardim in their intercommunal social or commercial lives. “Aquel” could not entirely agree with J. H., since he saw the disappearance of *juđeo-español* as a practical impossibility. For him, the question posed many years before by David Fresco, editor of *El Tiempo*, as to which language the Ottoman Jews should adopt had been answered centuries ago: *juđeo-español* – which was taking shape as a solid edifice, its modern variant being erected stone by stone:

No entrevemos el menester ni el molde por onde desaparecerá el juđeo-español, este precioso heritaje de nuestro triste pasado. No somos más en presencia de una “lingua a adoptar”, ma de una “lingua adoptada”, lingua madre que hablamos en nuestra chiquez, que hablamos ahora en nuestras familias, y hablarán cierto nuestros hijos, al avenir, malgrado todas las previsiones y todas las “leyes económicas” que citan a tuerto y a traverso. No se trata non más del chapeo o de la gravata que pueden trocar en cada momento al primer movimiento de fantaśia, ma de una lingua que entró ya en nuestro espíritu, en nuestra sangre, de una lingua que no podrán arancar nunca a nuestra lingua.

Se yerran en diciendo que el español se depiedre. Un golpe de ojo comparativo entre su pasado y su presente vos bastará por iluminar delante vuestra inteligencia el grande paso que él ha hecho, malgrado las críticas y las exclamaciones, en despecho de todas las maldiciones y todos los cantos de muerte que le fueron dedicados poco a poco. El español – **el juđeo-español** – se forma, se organiza, por tomar la consistencia de un cuerpo sólido; piedra a piedra su edificio se alza cada día.

Not only was Franco in fact an advocate of *juđeo-español* – he was downright intoxicated with it, saying of the Judezmo press and the language of its writers:

Nuestra brava prensa nos pertenece ... Su lenguaje florecido y delicioso, su estil variado y rico, son nuestros. Sus palabras escogidas y perfumadas de un delicio muchas veces encantador, estas palabras que corren cada día de entre los labios como las perlas finas del oceano, nos personifican en un gesto expresivo y fenomenal. (Franco 1924, 20)

In an article published in 1931 in the (at that time, Hebrew-letter) periodical *La Boz de Oriente*, entitled “Tribuna líbera: ... Letra abierta” (*La Boz de Oriente* 1:35

[1931], 2-4), Franco equated the status of the archaizing Sephardic Bible-translation language with that of the Aramaic targumim, saying of the latter:

[...] Es tal y cual lo que nosotros hacemos en nuestros días en ajuntando el texto sagrado al treñado castillano que llamamos “ladino”... No tendríamos, cierto, nada a decir si esta tradición era continuada por nosotros judioes españoles, no en forma antigua de “šenáyim micrá veehad targum”²⁷ pero en aquea de “šenáyim micrá veehad ladino”, porque es solamente así que ella hubiere tenido su razón de ser continuada.

3. Judeo-español as an independent linguistic entity

Some of Hizkia Franco’s ideas on just how modern *judeo-español* should – and should not – solidify were formulated in a public letter addressed to David Fresco, entitled “La cuestión del judeo-español”. An allusion in the letter to a lecture by Fresco’s colleague, José M. Estrugo (“su última conferencia”), suggests that *it* was the immediate catalyst for Franco’s letter. Written in Rhodes in 1923 and published in *El Tiempo* (51:53 [Constantinople 1923], 428-429), Franco’s letter – reproduced in romanization in the Appendix (A) at the end of the present article²⁸ – amounts to an anti-Castilianist, pro-Judezmist credo.²⁹ The remarks it contains shed light on Franco’s preferences regarding aspects of the Judezmo writing system, morphology, lexicon, and syntax. They also bring to the fore Franco’s rejection of any attempt to massively Castilianize Judezmo; and they elucidate his view of Judezmo as a linguistic entity separate from Castilian. The Judezmo language ideology of Hizkia M. Franco as expressed in “La cuestión del judeo-español” will be summarized in the following paragraphs. Most of the examples are taken from that text.

3.1 Orthography

Like his turn-of-the-twentieth-century Judezmist predecessor, Šemuel Haleví of Salonika, Franco ostensibly supported the use of Hebrew letters for writing Judezmo.³⁰ Before settling in Rhodes, Franco’s periodicals and publications were always in the traditional Rashí characters. When the Istanbul periodical *La Boz de Oriente* began to publish some of its articles in romanization, in addition to those in Hebrew letters,

²⁷ ‘Once in Hebrew and twice in Aramaic’.

²⁸ Also reproduced in the Appendix (B) is a romanized sample of how Franco incorporated his linguistic principles in fictional writing.

²⁹ On the Judezmist principles advocated by journalists who preferred the use of popular Judezmo as the basis for the modern literary language see Bunis (2011c). On some possible influences from Yiddishism on Judezmism see Bunis (2010).

³⁰ Franco’s writings contained echoes of Levy’s writings, for example, his allusions to *climas* as a factor in language change (cf. similar use of *clima* in an article by Levy in *La Época* 26:1288 [1901], 4).

Franco's articles always appeared in the Hebrew-letter section. In his use of Hebrew-letter orthography, Franco preserved some of its characteristic features, such as: (a) the use of *lamed+yod+yod* (ליי) corresponding to Castilian *y* (e.g., ליי *yo*); (b) double yod (יי) for the *y* glide, corresponding to Castilian orthographic single *i* (e.g., אידייזמאס, phonemically: *idyomas*); (c) usually single *reš* (ר) for both flapped *r* and trilled *rr* (e.g., קוריינטי *corriente*);³¹ (d) abbreviations such as סי for *señor*. Franco also made occasional use of vowel points in the Hebrew font to clarify pronunciation, e.g., ל'ויז' *José*, קל'וני *Cluni* (*El Comercial* 3:15 [1908], 11, and 3:16 (1908), 9). In his 1924 anthology Franco seems to have conceded to modern Castilian orthography in the printing of a preposition and a following definite article as two words instead of one, as had been the practice in *El Comercial*: e.g., אינל *en el* → אין איל *en el*, דילה *de la* → די לה *de la*, cf. also לוקי *lo que* > לוקי *lo que*. But in other respects the anthology preserved the traditional orthography.

According to Franco, the use of Roman characters in his Rhodes periodical, *El Buletino*, was not by choice, but because Hebrew type was unavailable. He stated this expressly on the first page of the first issue: <Nuestro deseo es de publicar este buletin en letras ebraicas; pero hasta que estas letras ariven creimos dever empesar la publicacion en caracteres latinos. Esperamos que con los proximos numeros daremos la satisfaccion deseada>. It is unclear why Franco went on to publish the subsequent *El Boletin* in romanization: perhaps the continued unavailability of Hebrew type, or its prohibitive cost, or perhaps the preference expressed by readers. In either case, his Roman-letter orthography approached, but was never identical with, Castilian. For example, he used <ni> instead of <ñ> (e.g., <anio>), frequently <s> instead of <c> for voiced [z] (e.g., <haser>), <v> for [v] corresponding to Spanish (e.g., <sovre>), and occasional <ch> for [š] (cf. Old Spanish <x>) (e.g., <bacho>), and he never used accent marks as obligatory in Castilian, or the characteristically Castilian inverted punctuation marks ¿, ¡ at the beginning of a sentence. Perhaps it was the romanization used in 1928 in Franco's *El Buletino* which provided the model for the romanization employed by Albert Cohen (1888-1949) of Istanbul, as illustrated in his periodical, *La Boz de Türkiye*. With its <c/qu> for [k] (e.g., <con>, <que>), <s> for [z] corresponding to Castilian <s> (e.g., <deseo>), silent <h> (e.g., <hasta>), and <j/g> for [dʒ], [ʒ] and [ʃ] corresponding to modern Spanish <j/g> (e.g., <gente>, <hijo>, <dijo>), Franco's Latin-letter orthography may be seen as a kind of forerunner of the system advocated by Iacob M. Hassán and Elena Romero, in its diacritic-free variant.

³¹ A few forms contain double *reš* (רר), e.g., גיררה *guerra*, אירראסייונאל *irracional*, and in Franco's later writings, טייררה *tierra*, פיררו *perro*.

3.2 Romance component

3.2.1 Phonology

In his letter to Fresco, Franco called attention to some of the phonological divergences he noticed between *judeo-español* and Castilian. Franco lacked training in linguistics and the history of Spanish and thus his comments are often of the naive, popular sort. For example, he confused the concept of graphemes and the phonemes they represented, he was unaware of the phonological values of various letters in modern Spanish orthography, and he misunderstood the historical development of Ibero-Romance phonology (illustrated, for example, in a statement such as “La letra *b* castellana, en muchas palabras, el *judeo-español* la rende más floja”). Nevertheless, in his own way, Franco pointed out many of the significant phonological features distinguishing Judezmo from modern Castilian.

In both his Hebrew-letter and romanized texts Franco generally maintained the traditional Judezmo phonological system, including: (a) the preservation of the sibilant phonemes /dʒ/ (e.g., ג'וסטה *justa* / <justa>), /ʃ/ (e.g., באשו *bajo* / <bacho/-jo>³²), and /z/ (e.g., בייז'ה *vieja* / <vieja>), and of initial /f-/ (from Latin F-) where preserved among the Sephardim of Turkey (e.g., פ'יריד'ה *ferida* / <ferida>); (b) the distinction between the phonemes /b/ and /v/ (e.g., ביב'ה *viva* / <biva>), /d/ and /ð/ (e.g., סיב'דאד' *civdad*),³³ and /s/ and /z/ (e.g., גאנאנס'יוזו *gananciošo* / <ganancioso>); (c) the preservation of the phoneme /χ/ (e.g., חאראגאן *haragán* / <haragan>); (d) the reflection as phonological zero of historical *ll* between a front vowel and an adjacent vowel (e.g., אקיאוס *aqueos*);³⁴ the reflection of Latin QUE-, QUAE- as *que*, as among the Sephardim of Turkey, in words such as *quen* (קין / <quen>) and *quere* (קירי / <quere>);³⁵ (e) the reflection of Latin -GN- as *ñ* in a word such as *iñorante* (איניוראנטי); (f) the use of vowel reductions in lexemes such as *probas*, *antigo*; and (f) lexemes illustrating vowel shifts and instability such as *lingua* (לינגואה) / <lingua>.³⁶

Several features of the phonology reflected in Franco's texts do not correspond to popular modern Judezmo: e.g., *n-* (not *m-*) in *nosotros* (נוזוטרוס / <nosotros>) and *nue-* (not *mue-*) in *nuestro* (נואיסטרו / <nuestro>), *fue-* (not *jue-*) in *fuerza* (פואירסה / <fuerza>), *-rd-* (not *-dr-*) in *tarde* (טארדי / <tarde>), *-ś-* (not *-vs-*) in *cašo* (קאזו / <caso>). In all of these instances Franco's forms correspond to normative modern

³² Cf. Fr. <ch> = [ʃ]. The forms within angular brackets appeared in Franco's Latin-letter periodicals.

³³ This phonemic opposition was maintained orthographically only in Hebrew-letter periodicals which regularly distinguished between ט and ד', such as David Fresco's *El Tiempo* of Istanbul.

³⁴ In his romanized texts this was generally denoted by <ll>, e.g., <aquellos>. However, where Judezmo [j] + vowel corresponded to Castilian + vowel, Franco usually used <ll>, e.g., <familla>, representing [fa'mija].

³⁵ For relevant discussion see Quintana Rodríguez (228-31).

³⁶ Franco's forms occasionally reflect the tendency toward neutralization of the historical vowel oppositions *e* vs. *i* and *o* vs. *u* in nonstressed position, usually resulting in realization as *i* and *u*, as characteristic of his native Rhodes dialect (see Quintana Rodríguez 40-57).

Castilian, which is perhaps what led some researchers to the conclusion that, in his Latin-letter periodicals, Franco himself actually attempted to Castilianize his language.³⁷ However, it must be remembered that most of the above-mentioned features are also characteristic of the Ladino translation-variety into which Hebrew and Aramaic sacred texts were traditionally rendered (especially the older variants of that variety), as well as of other conservative forms of Judezmo (for example, traditional poetic language). Furthermore, many of them parallel the corresponding segments found in cognate lexemes (where they exist) in French and Italian (e.g., *nous/noi*, *notre/nostro*, *force/forza*, *tard/tarde*, *cas/caso*) – languages with which Franco was familiar and which heavily influenced his Judezmo. There is a certain class component to Franco’s language ideology, and he may have felt that the distinctive Judezmo forms were typical of “la clase ordinaria y inculta” (*El Tiempo* 51:53 [1923], 429), while he himself evidently identified with the group he classified as “nuestros intelectuales, esta partida refinada, esta crema de nuestra sociedad” (Franco 1924, 26). Franco did not object, however, to the use of popular forms in material intended for the ‘proletariat’: “Nuestro ‘proletariado’ quere del estil populario y tienen razón los que se lo dan” (Franco 1924, 26). Franco himself used such forms when depicting the speech of the popular sector. For example, Franco always used the cluster *fue-* when writing in his own voice; but in a fictional piece by him, the simple, pious Jew sent out to invite synagogue members to leave their homes early in the morning in order to attend penitential prayers is portrayed as shouting to them from outside their homes “¡Juera! ¡Juera!” (Franco 1924, 138).

3.2.2 Morphology

Franco’s texts demonstrate an insistent preservation of fundamental characteristic features of the Judezmo nominal, verbal and pronominal systems, including:

- (a) feminine gender for substantives with *-or*, such as *la grandor*;
- (b) hypocoristic forms such as *hermanico* and *yueltećico*;
- (c) finite verb forms diverging from normative Castilian such as present-tense *creigo* [=creo], *vego* [=veo], *haiga* [=haya], *empeza* [=empieza], and preterite-tense *remarquí* [=remarqué], *remarquimos* [=remarcamos], *remarcateš* [=remarcasteis];
- (d) third-person plural enclitic *-sen* with the infinite and gerund, as in *emprestarsen*;
- (e) the neuter pronoun *cualo*;

Franco also supported the coining of new lexemes through the use of native derivational morphemes, such as *ħaraganear* [=ser perezoso], from *ħaragán* + *-ear*.

In several instances, Franco’s morphology disagrees with some variants of popular modern Judezmo (influenced by French) and appears to agree with modern Castilian. For example, unlike some varieties of popular Judezmo, which tend to overtly

³⁷ E.g., Gaon 1965, no. 60 on *El Boletín*; and the entries on *Buletino Mensual* and *El Boletín* in the *Bibliography of the Hebrew Book*.

distinguish four forms of adjectives (i.e., m.sg. vs. f.sg., m.pl. vs. f.pl.) ending in their masculine singular forms in a liquid (*l, m, n, r*), in Franco's texts, as in normative Castilian, only two forms occur: singular, with a final consonant, and plural, with consonant + *-es*, e.g., (f.pl.) *tales* (not *talas*) *influenzas*, (f.sg.) *orígen/-ín común* (not *comuna*), (f.sg.) *inmortal* (not *inmortala*) *cuestión*. However, it must be noted that we also find the same forms in pre-modern varieties of Judezmo, in Ladino and other conservative varieties of the language used in the modern era, and perhaps no less importantly, in Italian (sg. *tale* vs. pl. *tali*, sg. *comune* vs. *comuni*, *immortale* vs. *immortali*).

3.2.3 Lexicon

3.2.3.1 Ibero-Romance

Franco often shows a preference for the distinctly Judezmo forms of lexemes of Ibero-Romance origin, although he was familiar with their normative modern Castilian cognates. These Judezmo forms frequently corresponded to forms used in medieval, regional, or popular Ibero-Romance, or were apparently unique to the Jews: e.g., lexemes appearing in his “credo” such as *judío* [=judío], *onde* [=donde], *cavša* [=causa], *percurar* [=procurar, tratar], *ayebrarse* [=abrevarse], *dešñar* [=designar], *hec* (ק״ס) [=he], *áinda* [=todavía], *dičiplo* [=discípulo], *andada* [=andar], *manadero* [=fuente], *mercado* [=comprado], *rellevar* and *somportar* [=soportar], *yerbo* [=palabra], *ansí* [=así], *mientras* [=mientras], *parientez* [=parentesco], *ataco* [=ataque], *gaste* [=gasto], *ignoranza* [=ignorancia], *civdađ* and *civdađino* [=ciudad, ciudadano], *enseñamiento* [=enseñanza], *yivđa* [=viuda], *ajuntar* [=juntar], *riflo* [=aliento].

On the other hand, Franco was aware of many modern Castilian lexemes which were absent in Judezmo (at least in his dialect), and he generally refrained from using them: e.g., *acaso*, *siquiera*, *cuyo*, *hacia*, *datos*, *acerca*, *ambos*, *anterior*, *atender* [=hacer atención], *cartera* [=portefolio del ministerio], *ampliar* [=dar un poco más de riflo].

At first glance it seems difficult to reconcile Franco's avowed opposition to the Castilianization of Judezmo with his statement “No vemos ningún inconveniente a que tengan recurso a la lingua de orígen, al castiđlano, todas las većes que el menester se hará sentir, por emprestarse los vocáblos que mancan en nuestro dialecto”. However, this was perhaps an attempt to block potential criticism of his views. In reality, Franco used few forms clearly and uniquely derivable from normative modern Castilian, as opposed to their popular modern Judezmo analogues. The most outstanding of these forms were *Usteđ* (not *él/ella*, *vosotros/-as*) and *ahora* (i.e., אַאורֶה, not *agora*); Franco would have seen both of these forms in articles by contemporaneous sympathizers of Castilianization such as Joseph Estrugo and Rafael Amato. In their texts Franco would also have seen the few other forms he employed which corresponded to normative

Castilian but disagreed with some variants of Judezmo which he adopted, e.g., *pobre* (not *probe*, although both forms are known in Judezmo dialects), *tan* [ʃusta] (not *tanto*, although this apparent Italianism is rare in pre-modern Judezmo).

In a few instances, apparently to demonstrate his acquaintance with the Castilian forms preferred by some of his fellow journalists, Franco used the usual Judezmo form of a word – often, a Gallicism or Italianism – and then added the Castilian equivalent, either after the expression *si quere*, e.g., *las tornuras o si quere los ‘giros’ de las frašes* [cf. Fr. *tournure*]; or within quotation marks, e.g., *aribo o ... “llegada”* [cf. It. *arrivo*]; or within parentheses, e.g., *populaciones (poblaciones)* [cf. Fr. *population*, It. *popolazione*], *avenir (porvenir)* [cf. Fr. *avenir*, It. *avvenire*], *senso (sentido)* [cf. Fr. *sens*, It. *senso*]. In rare instances he used a Castilianism and then explained it parenthetically, e.g., *precišo (menester)*, *a pešar (malgrado)*. In editing his “credo” for republication in *Impresiones y reflexiones*, Franco modified a few forms in the direction of normative Castilian: *aquea* → *aquella*, *vego* → *veo*, *cuđiošo*³⁸ → *cuidošo*; and he replaced a Gallicism and two Italianisms with Castilianisms: *miliös* [cf. Fr. *milieus*] → *medios*, *distingüe* → *distingue*, *mai* → *nunca*. In several instances Franco’s texts show vacillation between characteristic Judezmo forms and their Castilian correspondents: e.g., *guadrar* / *guadrar*, *güevo* / *huevo*, *semos* / *somos*, *puedemos* / *podemos*, *delantre* / *delante*, *demprano* / *temprano*, *estonces* / *entonces*, *leciones* / *lecciones*, *esprito* / *espirto* / *espírito*, *esforzo* (cf. It. *sforzo*) / *esfuerzo*.³⁹

As typical of his western-educated and European-oriented Judezmo-speaking contemporaries, Franco had a passion for polysyllabic, learned borrowings ultimately of Latin or Greek origin. Many such lexemes used by Franco might at first glance appear to be Castilianisms. But in fact they can easily be derived from other Romance languages, such as French and Italian, if one takes into consideration the systematic morphological shifts regularly used by Judezmo speakers to incorporate such elements into Judezmo by changing their derivational endings to the native correspondents originating in Old Spanish. For example:

Castilian	French	Italian	Judezmo
-e: clase	-e: classe	e- classe	a-: clasa
-ar: fijar	-er: fixer		-ar: fixar [fik'sar]
-sión: ocasión	-sion: occasion	-sione: occasione	-sión: ocašión
-oso: valoroso	-eux: valeureux	-oso: valoroso	-ošo: valorošo
-encia: tendencia		-enza: tendenza	-encia: tendencia

Thus, any one of those languages could have been the source of the borrowings. In some instances, the occlusive *b* (ב) or *d* (ד), rather than characteristic Judezmo fricative *b̄* (ב̄) and *d̄* (ד̄), in the stems of certain of these elements demonstrate their

³⁸ For relevant discussion see Quintana Rodríguez (212-15).

³⁹ The examples are taken from various issues of *El Comercial* and *Impresiones y reflexiones* (i.e., Franco 1924).

non-Castilian origin (at least when compared with their Castilian *spoken* forms). For example:

Castilian	French	Italian	Judezmo
-ario: vocabulario [-β-]	-aire: vocabulaire	-ario: vocabolario	-ario: vocabulario
-ción: consideración [-ð-]	-tion: consideration	-zione: considerazione	-ción: consideración

If Franco borrowed such forms from Castilian, then his Hebrew-letter transcriptions constitute spelling pronunciations, based on their orthographic forms as found in Castilian dictionaries, without consideration for their actual phonological realization in the modern language. This was connected to a wider phenomenon among Judezmo speakers such as Franco, in which Castilian borrowings tended to be realized according to French rather than Castilian pronunciation rules: e.g., <j-> as [ʒ] instead of [dʒ], as in *joven*, *juđió*, *Jósé*; intervocalic <g(a/o/u)> as [g] instead of [ɣ], as in *elegante*; intervocalic <-s-> as [z] rather than [s], as in *preciso*; <x>, generally as [gz] before a voiced sound (e.g., איגזיסטי [eg'ziste]) and [ks] before a voiceless sound (e.g., איקספריסיונים [ekspre'sjones]).⁴⁰

In the case of certain lexemes, it is obvious that the direct source was not Castilian but another Romance language, either because of (a) the form of the word (e.g., *fervente*, cf. It. *fervente*, vs. Sp. *ferviente*; *governo*, cf. It. *governo*, vs. Sp. *gobierno*; *concioso*, cf. Fr. *consciencieux*, vs. Sp. *concienzudo*; *fi-/fedel*, cf. Fr. *fidèle*, It. *fedele*, vs. Sp. *fiel*, *capitala* 'capital city', cf. Fr., It. f. *capitale*, vs. Sp. *capital*), (b) its gender (cf. feminine *origen/-in*, cf. Fr. f. *origine*, It. f. *origine*, vs. S. m. *origen*), (c) its sense (e.g., *influenza* 'influence', cf. It. *influenza*, vs. Sp. *influenza* 'flu', *influencia* 'influence'), or (d) the absence of a cognate word in Castilian (e.g., *malgrado* 'despite', cf. It. *malgrado*, Fr. *malgré*; *suceso*, cf. Fr. *succès*, It. *successo*; *verso* 'toward', cf. Fr. *vers*, It. *verso*). This is also true of several idioms and constructions used by Franco; e.g., *dudar ... de ello* (cf. Fr. *j'en doute*, It. *ne dubito*, vs. Sp. *lo dudo*), *no es que* 'is only' (cf. Fr. *n'est que*, It. *non è che*, vs. Sp. *no es más que*), *Es a nosotros (a formarlo)* 'It is up to us (to form it)' (Fr. *c'est à nous*, It. *sta a noi*, vs. Sp. *nos toca*).

3.2.3.2 French

Like most Judezmo writers of his generation and background, products of French-speaking educational frameworks such as the Alliance Israélite Universelle with French-speaking commercial and intellectual contacts, Franco wrote in a style exhibiting clear French influence. Unlike some others, he voiced no objection to

⁴⁰ But cf. *fixar* [fik'sar], *próximo* ['proksimo], which could reflect Old Spanish but more likely derive from French.

borrowing in moderation from French, or from other “congeneric” Romance languages such as Italian, and in fact avidly exploited these sources, especially at the lexical level. The many lexemes in his composition which are likely to have originated in French include *jurnal* (Fr. *journal*), *tornura* ‘turn of phrase’ (*tournure*), *detornar* ‘to divert’ (*détourner*), *fixar* [fik’sar] ‘to establish’ (*fixer*), *revenir* ‘to return, fit’ (*revenir*), *parvenir* ‘manage to’ (*parvenir*), *concernante* ‘concerning’ (*concernant*), *puisque* ‘since’ (*puisque*), *por tanto* ‘nevertheless’ (*pourtant*), *por hasardo* ‘by chance’ (*par hasard*, cf. also It. *azzardo*), the very language-name *judeo-español*, and calques of idioms and constructions such as *Va querer permeterme Usted de* (cf. Fr. *Voulez-vous me permettre de*), *meter a luz* (cf. Fr. *mettre en lumière*), *de más en más* ‘increasingly’ (cf. Fr. *de plus en plus*), (*el castillano*) *él mismo* (cf. Fr. [*le castillan*] *lui-même*). Probably also reflecting French influence is Franco’s systematic use of the subject pronoun (e.g., *yo*, *él/ella*) where superfluous in everyday spoken Judezmo, as in Spanish. Franco’s use of Hispanisms as well as cognate Romanisms enabled him to make lexical distinctions using reflexes of the same Latin etymon, impossible in other Romance languages, e.g., *suerte* ‘fortune’ (cf. Sp. *suerte*) vs. *sorte* ‘type’ (cf. Fr. *sorte*).

3.2.3.3 Italian

Italian had always been a significant trade language among the merchants of the Mediterranean Basin, and thus had some influence on Judezmo from the sixteenth century on. The Island of Rhodes was governed by Italy between 1912 and 1947 and thus Italian was an especially important language there during that period. Hizkia Franco was familiar with Italian, and Italianisms are to be found in his writings, although they are less prominent than Gallicisms: e.g., *agente* (*agente*), *escola* (*escuela*), *exempio* (cf. It. *esempio* + Fr. *exemple*, vs. Sp. *ejemplo*), *póvero* (*povero*), *alora* (It. *allora*), *peró* ‘but; however’ (*però*), *dunqüe/dunque* (*dunque*), *mai* (*mai*), *echétera* (*eccetera*), *sigüe* (*seguire*), *distingüe* (*distinguere*), *mancar* ‘lack; fail to’ (*mancare*), *raportar* (cf. *rapporto* + *riportare*), and the alternate language-name form *judeo-español* (*giudeo-spagnolo*). In a few instances, even Italian orthography was reflected in his writings: e.g., double *lamed* (לל) for geminated *l*, as in *bella* (ביללה), *bellísima* (בילליסימה).

3.2.3.4 Of undeterminable western Romance origin

Because their Hebrew-letter spellings employ *vav* (ו) for *o* and *u*, and *yod* (י) for *e* and *i*, and lack an indication of stress position, in the case of numerous borrowings emerging during the Modern Judezmo period, it is impossible to ascertain which modern Western Romance language was the source, or, in certain instances, exactly how Franco pronounced them: e.g., נון *non* = Fr., It., or Old Sp. *non*?, איפוקה = *epoca* (cf. Fr. *époque*) or *época* (cf. It. *epoca*, Sp. *época*)?, פאאיז/ים = *paés/-s* (cf. It. *paese*) or

país/-s (cf. Fr. *pays*, Sp. *país*)?, איסטיריליים = *esteriles* (cf. Fr. *stérile*) or *estériles* (cf. It. *sterile*, Sp. *estéril*)?, פירמיטיר = *permeter* (cf. Fr. *permettre*, It. *permettere*) or *permitir* (cf. Sp. *permitir*)?, פ'אסיל = *facil* (cf. Fr. *facile*) or *fácil* (cf. Sp. *fácil*)?, קאסטיליאנו = *castillano* (with palatalized [λ], cf. It. *castigliano*) or *castellano* (with [j], cf. Sp. *castellano*)?. Wherever possible, the transcriptions used here reflect the forms used by Franco in his Latin-letter writings.

3.2.3.5 De-Castilianization and Re-Judezmization of Romanisms

In the 1923 version of Franco's "La cuestión del judeo-español", several Hispanisms were used in their normative Castilian forms, or Modern Castilian synonyms were added parenthetically. In the 1924 version, these were recast in their more usual Judezmo forms (some of them reflecting French or Italian), and the parenthetic Castilianisms were omitted. For example:

1923	1924	1923	1924
populaciones (poblaciones)	populaciones	entonces	alora
concienciošo	concienciošo	significativo	siñificativo
judeo-español	judeo-español	capital	capitala
mucho ⁴¹	muncho	relevar	rellevar
judio ⁴²	judio	distinta	distincta

3.2.4 Syntax

Franco directly pointed out several differences in the syntactic structures of Castilian and Judezmo through examples offered in his "credo". These centered on the use of the passive versus active voice: "Con razón se los llama (judeo-español: los llaman) apóstolos"; the use of *-se* versus *-sen* with a plural subject; the presence versus absence of the indefinite article; and the use of idioms:

No pueden sustraerse (judeo-español: sustraersen) los gobiernos (judeo-español: gobiernos) a (judeo-español: una) empresa tan razonable como la de atender (judeo-español: como aquea de hacer atención) a estas energías;

and constructions such as that used to emphasize the subject, the choice of object pronouns, and the preferred passive construction:

"Lo mismo el czar que el príncipe Mirsqui, a quen se confió la cartera, manifestaron sus propósitos de ampliar la vida y mejorar la suerte de los

⁴¹ For relevant discussion see Quintana Rodríguez (217-20).

⁴² See Quintana Rodríguez (232-34).

desdichados israelitas”. En nuestro judeo-español esto quiere decir: “El césar él mismo y el príncipe Mirsqi, al cual fue confiado el portefolio del ministerio, manifestaron sus intenciones de dar un poco más de riflo a la vida y de amejorear la suerte de los desdichados israelitas”.

As in modern literary Judezmo generally, under the influence of French *leur* and/or Italian *loro*, Franco used the formally plural possessive adjective *sus* with a singular substantive possessed by a third-person-plural subject, e.g., *sus origen*. In some respects, the use of the preposition *a* also coincided with that of French and Italian, as opposed to Spanish, e.g., *hasta un cierto grado* (cf. Fr. *dans une certaine mesure*, It. *fino a un certo punto*, vs. Sp. *hasta cierto punto*). Franco expressed the absolute superlative by means of the construction illustrated by (*se daban*) *al (luxo) el más (rafinado)* (cf. Fr. *le* [noun] *le plus* [adjective], vs. Sp. *el* [noun] *más* [adjective]). His frequent use of the subject pronoun where superfluous in Spanish may also be seen as influenced by French.

3.3 Turkish-Balkan Component

Like many contemporaneous Judezmo writers of his class and background, Franco tended to reject the elements of Turkish and Balkan origin so widely used in popular Judezmo. He considered them “*ḅarḅariśmos ajenos*” used by “*la clase ordinaria y enculta*” – although, actually, many of them had a long history of use in the language, and were employed by the rabbis as well as certain other educated speakers. He adduced three Turkish-origin verbs to illustrate the class of words he rejected: *embatacar* ‘to soil, dirty’ (cf. Sp. inchoative *en-*, Tk. *batak* ‘quagmire’), which in fact is documented in the reflexive form from at least 1730, and in the transitive form, from at least 1862;⁴³ *carišt(i)rear* ‘to mix’ (cf. Tk. causative *kariřtir-*),⁴⁴ documented from at least 1852, and in the form *cariřear* (cf. Tk. *kariř-*), from at least 1773;⁴⁵ *candirear* ‘to persuade’ (cf. Tk. *kandır-*), documented from at least 1853.⁴⁶ Nevertheless, Franco did occasionally use Turkisms-Balkanisms in parenthetical explanations of potentially unclear words, e.g., *sacón (ḅaral)* ‘large sack’ (cf. Jud./Sp. *saco* + *-ón*, Tk. *harar* [< Ar. *xarār*] ‘large haircloth sack’), *encoladera (colaḡia)* ‘laundry woman’ (cf. Sp. *en-* + *colar* ‘do laundry’, *-a* + Tk. *kolacı* ‘starcher’), *simple huevo en la agua (refedán)* ‘soft-boiled egg’ (cf. Tk. *rafadan*), *paraśitas* (dalcauques) ‘parasites’ (cf. T. *dalkavuk*). Occasionally, Franco even incorporated Turkisms-

⁴³ E.g., “Se enbatacaron en la sangre” ‘They became stained with the blood’ (Julí 192b); “Que toméš la camisa de seda y que la enbataquéš de sangre” ‘Take the silk gown and soil it with blood’ (Cofino 3a).

⁴⁴ *Cariřtirear* appears in the 1923 version, reduced *cariřtrear*, in the 1924 re-edition.

⁴⁵ E.g., “Con cariřear la lumbre en el horno, es mutar [de komer el pan]” ‘Mixing around the fire in the oven, it is permitted’ (Argüete 53a); “Cariřtirean de este vino en el vašo” ‘They mix this wine in the glass’ (*Šibḅé* 83a).

⁴⁶ E.g., “No penaba ... para candrear a el ben adam” ‘He did not struggle to persuade the man’ (Palachi 63a).

Balkanisms as free-standing lexemes, e.g., *fostán* ‘woman’s skirt’ (Tk. *fistan*), *bogo* ‘soft bundle’ (Tk. *boğ*, Gk. *bóghos*), *kukuvaya* ‘owl’ (Tk. *kukuvaya*, Gk. *koukouvágia*), *na!* ‘here!’ (Tk. *na*).

3.4 Hebrew-Aramaic Component

Franco made no comment with respect to the use of Hebrew-Aramaisms, and no examples of them appeared in his “credo”. But in his other writings Franco unhesitatingly incorporated such elements, generally with reference to specifically Jewish concepts, e.g., *Yisrael* ‘the Jewish people’, *šabat*⁴⁷ ‘Sabbath’, *pésah* ‘Passover’, *tebet* ‘month of Teveth’, *mašá*⁴⁸ ‘unleavened bread’, *šamáš* ‘synagogue beadle’, *ḥazán* ‘cantor’, *tešubá* ‘penitence’, *tefilá* ‘prayer’, *quehilá*⁴⁹ ‘synagogue’ [pl. *quehilot*], *talmud torá* ‘religious elementary school’, *pidión* ‘redemption ceremony’, *cupot* ‘philanthropic organizations’, *eden*⁵⁰ ‘(Garden of) Eden’, *šiyonistas* ‘Zionists’. A few of the traditional Hebraisms which Franco employed were not directly related to Judaism, e.g., *garón* ‘throat’, *mažal* ‘luck’. In his fictional depictions of Sephardic folk life Franco incorporated characteristic fusion forms such as *purimlic* ‘Purim present’ (cf. *purim* + Tk. *-lik*), and hypocoristic forms of personal names such as *Yišḥacucho* (< *Yišḥac*) and *Mošón* (< *Mošé*).

4. Epilogue

The principles elaborated in Hizkia M. Franco’s 1923 “linguistic credo” were attacked by some Judezmo journalists, both in direct allusions to his “La cuestión del judeo-español” and in general critiques of the variety of language used by others who wrote in a style similar to that which Franco had advocated. For example, in his “La decadencia del jorنالismo judeo-español”, published in *El Telégrafo* (no. 103 [25 May 1923], p. 2), José M. Estrugo of Izmir ridiculed Franco’s suggestion that the language of the Ottoman Sephardim was a new language, separate from Castilian:

Hay quien se atreve a decir que el judeo español representa uno de los fenómenos lingüísticos del cual pueden hacer una nueva lengua. ¡No hay nada más torpe! ¿Quiénes son los que se creen capaces de hacer nuestro nuevo idioma? ¿A qué academias vamos a acudir y a qué sabios judíos

⁴⁷ In the Judezmo dialect of Izmir, Hebrew syllable-final *tav* is generally realized as voiced [ð] or voiceless [θ]; thus, read [ʃa'bað/-θ].

⁴⁸ The Hebrew letter *šadi* is realized as simple *s* in the Judezmo dialects of Izmir and Rhodes as in most other Judezmo dialects; thus, phonetically, the word should be read [ma'sa].

⁴⁹ Hebrew *he* is reflected as phonological zero in Judezmo; thus, phonetically, the word should be read [kei'la].

⁵⁰ Hebrew syllable-initial *ayin* is reflected as phonological zero in Judezmo, thus, phonetically, read ['eðen].

para ayudarnos? ¿A los de Sarayevo, de Viena, de Rodes o de Magnesia?
¡Palabras, nada más que palabras!

David Elnecavé, who had edited the Judezmo periodical *El Judió* in Istanbul (1909-1911), published an article entitled “Prensa judía en Turquía” in his Castilian-language periodical *La Luz* (Buenos Aires, 26 March 1948). In the article, Elnecavé criticized the language used in *La Boz de Türkiye* – which employed a variety of Judezmo close to that advocated by Franco, and which published contributions by Franco himself. Elnecavé was also critical of the other Judezmo periodicals published in Istanbul in 1948. “Esta prensa ...”, he wrote, “tanto su presentación como su contenido y su ortografía, dejan mucho que desear”. Elnecavé censured the modern Turkish-based “cambios radicales en los consonantes aplicados a un idioma latino”, as used in the Roman-letter Istanbul Judezmo papers *Šabat*, *Šalom* and *Atikva*, particularly their use of <k> instead of <c/qu> (e.g., <karakter>, <kesyon>), which in his view “denaturan cumplidamente la origen de estos términos”. Elnecavé conceded that “*La Boz de Türkiye* ... emplea la ortografía de los idiomas latinos”, as was Franco’s custom as well; but nonetheless, argued Elnecavé, “el lenguaje empleado en esta hoja de publicidad es ... corrompido, maltratado, violentado (sic), es una Torre de Babel (resic). Cada uno escribe según se le da la gana. No existe sintaxis ni reglas gramaticales; los verbos se conjugan al gusto de quien escribe” (*La Boz de Türkiye* 9:203 [15 May 1948], 353).⁵¹

In 1948 *La Boz de Türkiye* published a letter to the editor by Francisco Javier Lasarte, a non-Jewish reader in Spain. In it the reader expressed great empathy for the Sephardim; but at the same time he echoed the words of Ángel Pulido of almost half a century before: for him, the language of the Jews of Turkey was “castellano sefaradita, aquel castellano del siglo XV”, and thus hardly the separate linguistic entity Franco had perceived in it.

Such criticisms of the variety of language Hizkia Franco advocated, and their authors’ disagreement with Franco’s perception of *judeo-español* as a distinct, independent language, seem to have shaken Franco’s linguistic confidence somewhat. Echoing David Fresco’s attack on Judezmo half a century before, in a prefatory article entitled <“Objeto de esta publicacion”>, appearing on the first page of the 12 September 1934 issue of his *El Boletín*, Franco wrote: <Un puevlo sin lingua es un puevlo mudo... Nuestra comunidad ... es desdichosamente una colectividad muda,

⁵¹ In a reply entitled <“Todos en un sesto!”>, published on the same page of *La Boz de Türkiye*, the editor, Albert Cohen, reminded Elnecavé that, in his Hebrew-letter periodical *El Judió*, founded in Istanbul in 1909 (Gaon, no. 106 and the paper’s entry in the *Bibliography of the Hebrew Book*) he himself had used the same sort of language he now criticized. Cohen further remarked that, if he and his colleagues were to write “en puro castellano”, they would not be understood by their readers. Albert Cohen was a rare bird in Istanbul of his time: a native Judezmo speaker, he in fact attempted to write Castilianized Judezmo using Castilian spelling. His publications include *Maimonides, su vida y sus obras* (Istanbul, 1935), *La significacion de Kippour* (Istanbul, 1936), *La evolucion de la mujer y el rolo de la mujer judia en la historia de Israel* (Istanbul, 1937).

incapace de exprimir sus deseos y sus pensamientos, un ser que se agita en la solombra y qui se debate dentro un silencio de muerte”. Franco noted that lack of support and problems of health had forced him to discontinue his earlier *El Buletino* of 1928. Nevertheless, Franco wrote with confidence in *El Boletín*: <Hoy reprendemos la tarea con la firme esperanza de llevarla adelante>.

Hizkia Franco’s last statement on <‘Judeo-Espaniol’> would seem to be a letter addressed to Albert Cohen, included within an article by Cohen entitled <“El problema insoluble del Judeo-Espaniol”>, which appeared in *La Boz de Türkiye* in April 1949.⁵² In the article, Cohen replied to comments regarding the language used in *La Boz de Türkiye*, which had been submitted to the paper by David Elnecavé of Buenos Aires, Sam Levy of Paris, Isaac Altavév of Istanbul, and H. M. Franco. In Franco’s letter, he seemed at first to have succumbed finally to the pressure he must have felt for years to conform to the opinions and linguistic style of his late-nineteenth-century adversary, David Fresco. In the letter, Franco’s advice to the paper’s editor was to

<“evitar el empleo de terminos flagrantemente franceses y de preferir expresiones espagnolas que todos sus lectores conocen... Se trata de una obra de purificacion menesterosa que Usted puede muy bien realizar... A notar que el defunto David Fresco empleava estos terminos en la forma indicada y conforme al castellano”>.

And yet, further explaining himself, Franco in the end made it clear that the ‘expresiones espagnolas’ he had referred to were in fact those elements of Hispanic origin which he believed had always formed an integral part of the traditional language: <“No demando de Usted que emplee el castellano que nos es estragnio, ma solamente el Judeo-Espaniol tal que lo usamos...”>

Despite his critics, in *El Boletín*, as well as in the articles he contributed to *La Boz de Türkiye* into the late 1940s, Hizkia M. Franco continued to maintain the basic linguistic principles he had outlined in “La cuestión del judeo-español”. Although making use in his Roman-letter orthography of some Castilian-like graphemes (e.g., <c/qu> rather than <k>, which of course also corresponded to French and Italian orthography), Franco persisted in his use of characteristic Judezmo phonological, morphological, lexical and syntactic forms.

Franco’s present-day ideological heirs – journalists such as Moshe Shaul, Klara Perahya and Karen Gerson Şarhon, and creative writers such as Žamila Kolonomos, Matilda Koen-Sarrano, Eliezer Papo, Gad Nassi and Moshe Aelion – have taken Franco’s independent *judeo-españolismo* a step farther away from the artificial Castilianization to which Franco objected, and closer to popular Judezmo. They have rejected those Castilianizing Latin-letter forms used by Franco himself, such as *nośotros*, *nuestro*, *tarde*, (feminine) *nacional*, *ahora*, *ella*, *querer*, and replaced them

⁵² *La Boz de Türkiye* 10:222 (1 April 1949), 253-54.

with their more usual Judezmo equivalents, at the same time spelling them in their own distinctive fashion: *mozotros*, *muestro*, *tadre*, (feminine) *nasionala*,⁵³ *agora*, *eya*, *kerer*. In doing so they have exposed themselves to the criticism of major Sephardic studies scholars such as Elena Romero and the late Iacob M. Hassán, who demanded that romanized Judezmo be written according to the principles of modern Castilian orthography (Hassán, 149). But, like Hizkia M. Franco in his day, the current Judezmist writers have the courage of their convictions, and are determined, to paraphrase Franco, to keep “estos dos lenguajes” as “dos seres estrechamente apariantados” – and not make of them one and the same individual.

⁵³ The form is in fact incorporated in the organizational name La Autoridad Nasionala del Ladino (Jerusalem).

APPENDIX A (= Franco 1923)

La cuestión del júdeo-español⁵⁴

Al señor director del jurnal “El Tiempo”

— * —

Va⁵⁵ querer permeterme Usted⁵⁶ de revolver, un momento, las cenizas onde yaáce ahora la inmortal cuestión júdeo-español [sic] que, en despecho de todas las condenaciones a muerte pronunciadas contra él, levanta aún una vez⁵⁷ la cabeza, por presentarnos su figura siempre viva, siempre fidel [1924: viril]?⁵⁸

A pesar de sus valorosas y famosas campañas anti-castillanas, yo remarqué desde siempre en su estimada gaceta una tendencia siempre creciente a castillanizar nuestro materno lenguaje, el júdeo-español. Usted percuró siempre, a meúra que el menester se le hacía sentir, a recoger vocablos en el diccionario castillano y a hacer de ellos un uságe cuídooso [1924: cuidado] y concencioso [1924: concencioso]. Esta tendencia se ha accentuado aún más desde el aribo, o, si quere, desde la “llegada” a Conspla⁵⁹ de su joven y inteligente colaborador, se’[ñor] José Estrugo que, cierto, es un fervente diçiplo del se’[ñor] Pulido, el nuevo [1924: noble] y venerable [1924: venerable] apóstolo de la reconciliación hispano-hebrea. Los artículos publicados en el “Tiempo” por este joven escritor, y su última conferencia sobre todo, han remetido sobre el tapete la vieja y inmortal cuestión júdeo-español [1924: júdeo-español]. Esto me da la ocasión y quizás el derecho de emitir a mi torno algunas consideraciones a este sujeto.

Este movimiento que tiende a castillanizar nuestra lingua coriente, ¿tiene él su lugar de ser, tiene él esperanza de sucesso?

Permítame de dudar mucho [1924: mucho] de ello.

Como su nombre lo indica, el júdeo-español es de origen española. Él tuvo la lingua española como madre, el judió [1924: judió] como padre y el Oriente como suelo natural. Es una planta arancada al suelo de la Península Ibérica, y transplantada en Oriente onde, bajo la influencia de un nuevo clima, de un otro aire [1924: aero], ella devino otra, distinta [1924: distinta] de sus hermanas españolas.

⁵⁴ In transcribing the Hebrew-letter text according to the romanization system advocated by Elena Romero and the late Jacob M. Hassán I have taken into consideration the romanization used by Hizkia Franco in his Latin-letter writings. Thus, *lingua* not *lengua*, *permeter* not *permitir*, *aribo* not *arribo*, etc.

⁵⁵ In the anthologized version (1924) this word is preceded by the line: Si’[ñor] director.

⁵⁶ In the transcription, the character <đ> will be used to represent the textual character *dalet*+diacritic (ř). That character is not used in the 1924 version.

⁵⁷ In the anthologized version this is written: vez. In the remaining footnotes such alternate forms will be noted without comment.

⁵⁸ Variant forms appearing in the 1924 version in *Impresiones y reflexiones* are given in square brackets after the word 1924.

⁵⁹ Cf. Sp. Cons/pla, an abbreviation of Constantinopla.

Yo quiero ver en el judeo-español la repetición de un fenómeno social bastante frecuente, el fenómeno lingüístico que da lugar ordinariamente al nacimiento de nuevos dialectos, de nuevos idiomas, de nuevas lenguas. Alejamiento de poblaciones (poblaciones),⁶⁰ de climas; trocamientos de formas y de intonaciones, rinden diferentes y distintos [1924: distintos] los lenguajes de un mismo pueblo, de un mismo país [1924: país]. La lucha por la existencia empieza entonces [1924: ahora], la lucha lingüística. De estos lenguajes, es aquel que da pruebas de más vitalidad, de más virtud, de un mejor y elegante asiento, que parviene a predominar y a adquirir la soberanía literaria y lingüística.

Ariba también que algunos de estos dialectos resisten, coexisten y dominan en centros y miliós [1924: medios] diferentes; es la época de la feudalidad lingüística. Como en Italia, en Francia como [1924: y] en todo otro país [1924: país], existe también en España, como lo reconoce se'ñor Estrugo,⁶¹ una infinidad de dialectos que se hacen la guerra en despecho de sus origen común, de sus visible semejanza. El caso del francés, del italiano, del portugués y del español él mismo [1924: ellos mismos], que son lenguas hermanas, neo-latinas, es muy significativo [1924: significativo]. Sus estudio mete a luz la grandor de sus semejanza. Esto no empidió portanto [1924: por tanto] que ellas devinieran lo que son: lenguas distintas [1924: distintas] y independientes.

Tal es a mis ojos el caso del judeo-español. Su parentez con el castillano es grande; su semejanza es tan viva que es [1924: sería] menester ser ciego por no verla. Portanto [1924: por tanto] y malgrado todo, él no es más el mismo; él es un otro. Estos dos lenguajes se acercan, se asemejan, sí; pero esta semejanza no es que aquea [1924: aquella] de dos seres estrechamente aparentados, la que remarcan entre una madre y una hija [1924: una hija y una madre]. Influencias de países [1924: centros] y de climas, de pueblos y de intonaciones, de espacio y de tiempo, produjeron trocamientos tan profundos que poco a poco ellas se alejan, se desfiguran, se desconocen. El espacio que aparta ya estos dos viejos parientes es considerable. Él es bastante por atirar la atención de aqueos que quieren ver en ellos el mismo personaje.

Hablando de algunos ubrajes en judeo-español mercados en Conspla por el director de la Escola [1924: Escuela] Diplomática de Madrid,⁶² el se'ñor Pulido, en su hermosa obra "*Españoles sin patria*",⁶³ se exprime a este sujeto así:

"Estaban las tres impresas [1924: las tres (obras) impresas (estampadas)] en letras rabínicas y las dos últimas redactadas en idioma tal que de él decía [1924: decía].⁶⁴ 'Si se debe llamar español se aparta mucho [1924: mucho] del castillano'. Con este motivo refería que en la capital [1924: capitala] turca y sus enmediaciones, había más

⁶⁰ In the 1924 edition, parenthetical (*poblaciones*) is omitted.

⁶¹ In the 1924 edition the phrase *reconoce se'ñor Estrugo* is omitted.

⁶² The director of the Spanish Escuela Diplomática referred to was Pedro Felipe Monlau (Pulido, 84).

⁶³ The reference is to Pulido (84-85).

⁶⁴ In the 1924 edition, after *decía* appears: (*el se'ñor Pulido reporta aquí la opinión del ilustre escritor don Guzmán*). The reference is to the Spanish man of letters, Juan Pérez de Guzmán y Gallo (1841-1928).

de 40 mil *judíos* [1924: *judíos*] que hablaban dicha lengua importada de España, dialecto castellano poco o nada conocido en nuestra península”.

Un chico estudio comparativo a este sujeto servirá a hacer resaltar más visiblemente el espacio que aparta ya estas dos lenguas parientes:⁶⁵

La letra *b* castellana,⁶⁶ en muchas palabras, el *judéo-español* la rende más floja y él pronuncia [v] (ב').⁶⁷

castellano	judéo-español
palabra	palabra
haber ⁶⁸	haber ⁶⁹
libro	libro
trabajo	trabajo
labio	labio
pueblo	pueblo
pobre	pobre
cebada	cebada
sobre	sobre
obra	obra
gobiernos	governos
etc[étera]	etc[étera]

Este fenómeno se produce en un senso (sentido) contrario: en castellano dicen *יִיִר*,⁷⁰ el *judéo-español* decimos *יִיִר*.

⁶⁵ The 1924 version omits the entire “chico estudio comparativo”, which begins with this sentence and continues through that beginning “Estas tornuras y maneras de hablar”.

⁶⁶ Here Franco wrote the letter *b*, and in the following paragraphs, the letters *s*, *j* and *h*, in the Latin alphabet.

⁶⁷ Franco obviously believed that Castilian written was always pronounced [b], corresponding to in French and Italian. In the following tables we will use the distinction <b, v / b, v> to mark the difference between [b] and [v].

⁶⁸ The character *h* denotes a consonantal *he* (הא) in Franco’s text, e.g., האביר.

⁶⁹ Spelled אביר.

⁷⁰ Franco was unaware that, in some phonological environments, Castilian <v> was realized as [b], and that in certain words having <v> in the modern language, Old Castilian had alternate , realized as [b], e.g., <biviri>.

La letra *s* castillana el judeo-espaol la pronuncia [z] (τ):⁷¹

casti ll ano	ju de o -espa ol
vacío	<u>va</u> ció
caso	ca so
casar	ca sa r
casa etc[étera]	ca sa etc[étera]

Y la letra *j* el castillano la pronuncia como *h* aspirada:⁷²

casti ll ano	ju de o -espa ol
judío	ju dió
caja	ca ja
gente prójimo etc[étera]	ge nte próximo ⁷³ etc[étera]

La letra *h* castillana la pronunciamos como *f*:⁷⁴

casti ll ano	ju de o -espa ol
hervor ⁷⁵	fervor
hada	fada
herida, ⁷⁶ etc[étera]	feri da , etc[étera]

Cierto, esto es cuestión de puro dialectismo.

Y aúna una infinidad de palabras diferentemente pronunciadas. Reportaré algunas:

⁷¹ Here Franco evidently meant modern Castilian <s> and <c>. He was apparently unaware that <c> was used in modern <vacío>, and <z> in medieval <vazío>, and that medieval intervocalic <s> was realized as voiced [z].

⁷² Here the reference is obviously to modern Spanish; Franco was probably unaware of the [dʒ/ʒ] realization of <j> in the medieval language, or of the fact that modern <j> reflected medieval <x> [ʃ], as in <caxa> ['kafa].

⁷³ The pronunciation ['proksimo] is meant.

⁷⁴ Franco was probably unaware that modern Spanish word-initial <h> often reflected medieval <f>.

⁷⁵ The Hebrew letter ה (*he*) is used to denote Castilian <h>, e.g., הירב'ור.

⁷⁶ This word is spelled without initial *he*: אירידה.

castiġlano	ĵuĊeo-espaġol
donde	onde
dentro	dientro
piensar ⁷⁷	pensar
ataque	ataco
fijar	fixar ⁷⁹
ignorancia	ignoranza
ciudaĊ	civĊdaĊ
ciudadanos	civĊdaĊinos
ante	delantre
cauġa ⁷⁸	cavġa
escuela	escola
gasto	gaste
enseġanza	enseġamiento
bajo	baġo
viuda	vivĊda
juntar	aġuntar
discipulos, etc[étera]	diĊiplos, etc[étera]

Muchas,⁸⁰ numerosas son las palabras y expresiones que no empleamos del todo:

castiġlano	ĵuĊeo-espaġol
acaso	por haġardo
siquiera	al menos
cuyo	el cual, del cual
ĥacia ⁸¹	verso
datos	informaciones
acerca	concernante
ambos	de dos

En castiġlano, cuando quieren hablar de una coġa que apartiene a muchas [1924: munchas] personas, diĊen: *su cosa*, mientras que noġotros decimos: *sus coġa*.

Lo que distingue [1924: distingue] nuestro dialecto del castiġlano no son solo las palabras y las expresiones; hay tambiġn las tornuras o si quiere los ‘ġiros’ de las fraġes:

“Con razġn se los llama (ĵuĊeo-espaġol: los llaman) apġstolos”.

⁷⁷ The matter of vowel-breaking in the Castilian verb was unclear to Franco; he evidently assumed that since Castilian *piensa* corresponded to Judezmo *pensa*, the Castilian infinitive was *piensar*.

⁷⁸ The Hebrew-letter transcription of modern Castilian <causa> as קאאזא (i.e., ['kauza]) is another example of Franco’s interpreting Spanish orthography under the influence of French and Italian.

⁷⁹ Hebrew-letter פיקסאר ([fik'sar]).

⁸⁰ In the 1924 version the word *muchas* is omitted.

⁸¹ Spelled האסיאה.

“No pueden sustraerse (judeo-español: sustraersen) los gobiernos (judeo-español: gobiernos) a (judeo-español: una) empresa tan razonable como la de atender (judeo-español: como aquea de hacer atención) a estas energías”.

“Ya en nuestro libro anterior”.

“Lo mismo el césar que el príncipe Mirsqi, a quen [sic] se confió la cartera, manifestaron sus propósitos de ampliar la vida y mejorar la suerte de los desdichados israelitas”.

En nuestro judeo-español esto quiere decir:

“El césar él mismo y el príncipe Mirsqi, al cual fue confiado el portefolio del ministerio, manifestaron sus intenciones de dar un poco más de riflo a la vida y de amejorar la suerte de los desdichados israelitas”.

Estas tornuras y maneras de hablar tienen todo lo que quiere de casti||lano ma nada de judeo-español.

El judeo-español sigüe dunque su evolución natural. Nada podría [1924: podrá] detornarlo de su andada evolutiva; y los esfuerzos [1924: y los esfuerzos que hacen] por acercarlo de su origen, del casti||lano, me parecen esteriles. Es el río que va siempre adelante y que no aribarán may [1924: nunca] a hacerlo tornar a su manadero. El uso consagrado es el árbitro soberano en la circunstancia. Es por esto que las gramáticas se arastan [1924: adaptan] al uso, a la lengua hablada, y nunca la lengua a las gramáticas. Todos sus buenos esfuerzos a escribir siempre, por exemplo, *esfuerzos, escuela, causa, ciudad, judió, etc[étera]*, no nos empidieron a que nosotros continuáramos a ir pronunciando: *esforzo, escola, cavsa, civdad, judió, etc[étera]* [1924: echét[era]]; como ninguna fuerza en el mundo⁸² podría decidirnos a decir: *caja, dejar, gente, hacer,*⁸³ *casa*, en lugar de: *caja, dejar, gente, hacer, casa*, etc[étera] [1924: echét[era]].

Cierto, el judeo-español tuvo a sufrir las influencias del ambiente que lo entorna y que lo alejarán⁸⁴ de más en más de su origen primera. No hay lengua en el mundo, mismo entre las mas ricas, las mas poderosas,⁸⁵ que haiga podido sustraerse a tales influencias. Como lo reconoce su inteligente colaborador, el casti||lano él mismo no mancó de relevar (sompsonar) [1924: rellevar], entre otras, la influencia de la civilización judeo-‘araba [1924: judeo ‘araba],⁸⁶ y numerosas son las palabras y las expresiones de estas dos lenguas-hermanas,⁸⁷ que enriquecieron su vocabulario. Mismo la “alcuña” [1924: “alcurnia”] que emplea se[ñor] Estrugo es de origen ‘araba: *الكنية* alcuña, tal que nosotros, en nuestro judeo-español [1924: judeo español], usamos emplearla por desñar el nombre de familia. Esta adaptación del judeo-español es tan justa que aquea del casti||lano me parece irracional y sobre todo⁸⁸ cacofónica.

⁸² In the 1923 version the word *mundo* is missing; it is added in the 1924 text.

⁸³ Spelled *האסיר*.

⁸⁴ In the 1923 version the word order is erroneous: *y que lo entorna alejarán*.

⁸⁵ In the 1924 text, *entre* appears before *las mas poderosas*.

⁸⁶ In both texts the segment ‘araba is spelled with initial ‘ayin (ע): *עראבה*.

⁸⁷ 1924: *linguas hermanas*; i.e., Arabic and Hebrew.

⁸⁸ In the 1924 version the phrase *y sobre todo* is omitted.

Podrían tolerar hasta un cierto grado la influencia de las lenguas congénéricas como el francés y el italiano, que son de la [1924: son de] misma esencia que nuestro dialecto; pero no hay quien sea favorable al empleo de barbarismos ajenos como *carištirear* [1924: *carištrear*], *candirear*, *embatacar*, que solo la clase ordinaria y inculta usa. No vemos ningún inconveniente a que tengan recurso a la lengua de origen,⁸⁹ al castellano, todas las veces que el menester se hará sentir, por emprestarse los vocablos [1924: vocabolos] que mancan en nuestro dialecto, tal que Usted lo ha hecho hasta ahora; como no vemos igualmente⁹⁰ ningún inconveniente a que nosotros continuemos a hacer *ħaraganear* de *ħaragán*, *gananciošo* de *ganar*, pues que aquí la lengua cultiva su dominio natural, si ayebra de su propio manadero, pues que ella vive de su propia vida.

El judeo-español [1924: judeo español] es el barómetro de nuestro intelecto, el espejo de nuestra civilización. No creigo que podrían [1924: podrán] acusar de infidelidad este intérpreta que dice lo que somos, este artista que nos pinta quizás muy admirablemente.

El judeo-español es nuestra obra. Sus imperfecciones, sus desfiguramientos, nos revienen. Ellos nos pertenecen cumplidamente. Él manca, el póvero, de dotrino [1924: doctrino] y de educación. Es a nosotros a formar lo, a bien elevarlo, porque él devenga el agente de progreso que se desea.

El judeo-español es la obra del tiempo y de las circunstancias, tal que ha sido la suerte de todos los idiomas. Los deliñamientos que lo caracterizan son por así decir incancelables. Non sabrían dunque tan fácilmente – de la tarde a la mañana, como dicen – embarar la obra de tantos siglos, derocar un edificio tan histórico; porque no es facil arancar la lengua a un pueblo entero. Hec por cuallo yo considero esteril este movimiento que tiende a castellanizar nuestro dialecto. Yo no vego [1924: veo] ahí que un esfuerzo de imaginación que el avenir (porvenir) desmentirá.

Rodes Marzo 1923
Hizquiá Franco

APPENDIX B (= Franco 1924, 91-96)

Chelebí Mošón

Chelebí Mošón, esta figura simpática, este corazón generoso, este hombre un tiempo alegre, dichoso, es agora triste, pensatible.

Un tiempo, coreador de su oficio cerca un “franco”, un evropeo, ganando mucho y facilmente, gastando mucho y corientemente, Chelebí Mošón era un notable de la comunidad, un señor estimado y entornado de muchos, tanto de pobres que de parasitas (dalcauques) que gozaban anchamente de sus liberalidades. Y el šamáš, y el ħazán, y el pariente y el vecino, todos tenían el ojo sobre él, porque cuando pasando

⁸⁹ In the 1924 version the phrase *a la lengua de origen* is omitted.

⁹⁰ In the 1924 version, *igualmente* is omitted.

por la calle, saliendo de casa o de la quehilá, él les expandiera su mano generosa por darles lo que “enveluntaba su buen corazón”.

En su familia, en el seno de su vida íntima, el entreno era el mismo. Él vivía como un príncipe: el mejor pescado, el más caro plato, adornaban de ordinario su mesa, sobre todo las noches de *šabat* y de fiesta. Su mujer, sus hijas siguiendo fielmente la moda, se daban al lujo el más refinado, indicando onde ellas un gusto excesivo, la coquetería.

Las cosas no son durables en este bajo mundo. Ellas son al contrario sujetos a transformación. El ma^zal de Chelebí Mošón había tornado, su destino presentaba ahora una fa^z poco brillante:

El “franco” al cual él servía desde muchos años venía de suspender sus pagamientos, de hacer falita. Nuestro chelebí se topó un buen día de jueves sin hecho y sin provecho y lo que es peor, sin de cinco en el pecho. Todo lo ganado él lo había aregado sin pensar al avenir, al día en el cual su destino venía de ronjarse tan inesperadamente.

Esta novedad poco esperada fue un terrible golpe por nuestro chelebí, que desesperado en primero, no mancó a consolarse en esperando reu^sir con un otro “franco”, gracia a su título de “coredor honesto”, único resto de su trabajo pasado.

Manteniéndose con estas ilusiones, Chelebí Mošón esperaba ganarse la gracia de un otro mercader que el buscaba, ¡guay! en vano, ellos siendo raros. Ahora él era tormentado por el remorso de su vida negligada, de su imprudente pasado y él se juraba ahora ma muy tadre ¡guay! de no dejarlo más fuyir si un otro pájaro cayía en sus manos.

Entretanto él debía vivir, su familia reclamaba pan. De otra parte él era obligado, por diñidad, por no romper de en medio el delicado cristal que llaman “amor propio” de no mancar a sus hábitos, de dar a sus conocidos que no mancaban de atagantarlo.

Cualo no hace el menester! Reducido a la miseria, él vendía ahora objetos de valor, muebles supérfluos de su casa, por abastecer a los menesteres urgentes de la familia. Los días, los meses pasaban y Chelebí Mošón no parvenía aún a nada. Ahora había debido pasar de los objetos supérfluos a los menesterosos. Él vendía todo, todo lo que él podía ... a medio precio. ¡Aj! Qué tristeza, qué regreto no resentía él cuando mandaba, pedazo a pedazo, el mueble de su casa, y qué cuidados y qué acavidos no debía él tomar por que su vecina, su hija mismo, no lo viera, no lo supiera. Él vía aunquando ahí un remedio por las horas, la salvación. ¿Y si esto también venía a mancar?

* * *

Esto también aribó. No había restado más nada para vender, para vivir. Ahora él era pobre, literalmente pobre, sin el soldo. Y era semanas de Pésah, la sesión de los gastos. ¡Se diće! Calzados para sus hijos, fostán para sus hijas, chapeo para su mujer y ... ma^sá para Pésah. Todo muy menesteroso, indispensable. Y decir que Chelebí Mošón no disponía de ninguna suma, que no tenía ni un soldo en su haldiquera, es

describir lo mas elocuentemente posible la ansia, la grande estrechura dentro la cual se topaba agora nuestro ĝeneroso, ma imprudente amigo.

Él era dunq̄ue hundido en sus penserios. Él pensaba agora a su pasado, al tiempo de su riqueza onde él aregaba su moneda con puñados. Todos los recuerdos de su vida pasaban en revista bajo su espíritu enquieto. Un momento él había olvidado y sus miserias, y los embarazos del tiempo presente. Él fue súbito despertado por el ruido de un hombre que venía a verlo. Era un pobre cercano que, iñorando la situación presente de nuestro chelebí, venía por recorer a su corazón ĝeneroso. Fue un momento crítico, terrible este en el cual Chelebí Mošón declaró el azo al garón:

—¡Pardón! No tengo.

Era por la primera vez en su vida que él venía de proferir esta palabra: ¡Non! Su mano habituída a dar siempre, su boca se había auñado a decir instintivamente: Sí.

“Sí”, “Non”. Estos dos yerbos tan pequeños describen en veés un mundo de verdades. Ellos exprimen laconicamente la ventura y la desdicha, la esperanza y el deéspero.

Y Chelebí Mošón, que había topado la ventura en el primero, vía agora su desdicha en el segundo. Y mientras que hundido en la tristeza de estos penserios él creó oír estos ĝimidos:

—Papá, mis calzados!

—Onde está el fostán?

—Y la mašá!

Agora él era en el más oscuro de los deésperos.

* * *

Ĵusto en aquel momento Roša, su hija, la inteligente Roša, se acercó de él, la sonriía en los labios.

—Papá, le dijo ella, guádrame, le rogo, estas diez lirás.

El pobre de Chelebí Mošón fue esmovido hasta en sus entrañas delante esta oferta hecha tan noblemente por su hija, este pedazo de su alma, y sus dos miradas se encontraron, dos miradas expresivas, reconocientes, afecionosas.

—¿De ónde te vino esta moneda, mi hija?

—Es mi ganado, papá, el fruto de mi laždrado.

Habiendo entendido la situación crítica de su desafortunado padre, la inteligente hija había secretamente laborado; ella se había hecho encoladera (colaĝía).

Profundamente movido por la oferta de su hija, Chelebí Mošón no pudo más resistir y, las lágrimas desbrochando de sus ojos empezaron a corer como finos diamantes sobre su barba frescamente emplateada. Y lleno de querencia y de reconocencia, él abrazó su hija, su inteligente Roša, que había de salvarle el honor, la vida.

Él tenía agora moneda por mercar todo lo menesterošo para la fiesta de Pésah, su hija conocía un oficio, Chelebí Mošón era salvado.

“El fantašista”

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