

JEWISH LANGUAGES

Sarah Bunin Benor

Revised, copy edited version, submitted 4/4/12

To appear in Oxford Bibliographies Online

Jewish Studies section

Entry ID: 9780199840731-0056

INTRODUCTION

Wherever Jews have lived, they have tended to speak and write somewhat differently from their non-Jewish neighbors. In some cases these differences have been limited to the addition of a few Hebrew words (e.g., among some medieval French Jews and some contemporary American Jews), and in other cases the local Jewish and non-Jewish languages have been mutually unintelligible (e.g., Yiddish in Eastern Europe and Ladino in the Balkans). The resulting language varieties have been analyzed under the interdisciplinary rubric of Jewish languages, also known as Jewish linguistic studies, Jewish interlinguistics, or Jewish intralinguistics. The phenomenon of Jewish languages came to scholarly attention during the political debates about Yiddish and Hebrew in the early 20th century. Researchers began to analyze individual Jewish languages, including Yiddish, Judeo-Spanish, Judeo-Italian, and Judeo-Arabic. In the mid-20th century, Yiddishists Solomon Birnbaum and Max Weinreich spearheaded comparative research on Jewish languages. The late 1970s and 1980s saw a slew of edited volumes that dealt with several Jewish languages, a short-lived journal, and progress toward a theoretical understanding of Jewish language based on comparative analysis. It was in these years that the study of Jewish languages transitioned from the realm of isolated publications to a small academic field. This field continues to blossom today, as evidenced by recent conferences, publications, and online collaboration. In all of this scholarship on Jewish languages, as in language research more generally, there have been two major trends: descriptive and theoretical. The descriptive work has provided data on the written and spoken languages of Jews around the world and throughout history. This work is crucially time-sensitive, as many of the long-standing Jewish vernaculars (such as Judeo-Greek, Judeo-Arabic, Jewish Aramaic, and Jewish Malayalam) are on the verge of extinction due to mass migrations and upheavals. Theoretical work has focused on classifying Jewish languages, describing their genesis, and analyzing features they have in common, especially Hebrew and Aramaic words. This bibliography offers an introduction to this diverse body of work, demonstrating that the field has come a long way in the past century. In addition, the fact that many of the references here are to edited volumes and journal articles, rather than book-length comparative analyses and theoretical treatments, suggests that much work remains to be done. (This bibliography does not include descriptive work on individual languages, including textbooks, dictionaries, grammars, and analysis of language variation, change, and ideology. For work of this type, readers are referred to *General Overviews*, *Bibliographies*, and to the articles on *Yiddish[obo-9780199840731-0017]* and *Ladino[obo-9780199840731-0013]*.)

GENERAL OVERVIEWS

Several scholars have written general overviews of the phenomenon of Jewish languages geared toward nonspecialists, students, or the general public. These texts outline the history of Jewish settlement in the Diaspora, indicating where Jews have lived in different eras and which languages they have spoken. Some discuss linguistic features common to many Diaspora communities, such as using Hebrew and Aramaic words and writing systems. These works necessarily—and often tacitly—take stances on controversial theoretical issues, such as how to define and delimit Jewish languages and what to call them. Newcomers to the field might begin by reading the brief encyclopedia articles: Spolsky and Benor 2006 introduces the history of Jewish languages and describes a few briefly, including Judeo-Arabic and Jewish English. Bunis 2009 goes into more depth about the linguistic traits of Jewish languages, offering examples from Judezmo and Yiddish that illustrate principles of component fusion. The articles in *Encyclopaedia Judaica* (Skolnik 2007) offer longer introductions to individual Jewish languages, including their history and scholarly debates. The ****Jewish Language Research Website**** is a useful tool for teaching and study, as it includes descriptions of several languages, as well as maps and visual and audio samples. Rabin, et al. 1979 offers a smaller-scale array of resources in Hebrew. Lowenstein 2000 serves as an excellent textbook for college courses, as it is fun to read and contextualizes Jewish languages among other cultural realms. Sunshine 1995 offers a brief history of the field of Jewish interlinguistics.

Bunis, David M. “Characteristics of Jewish Languages.” In *Encyclopedia of the Jewish Diaspora: Origins, Experiences, and Culture*. Vol. 1, *Themes and Phenomena of the Jewish Diaspora*. Edited by M. Avrum Ehrlich, 167–171. Santa Barbara, CA: ABC CLIO, 2009. [ISBN: 9781851098736]

Explains how Jews distinguished themselves linguistically from non-Jews, including the integration of Hebrew and Aramaic words, influences from Jewish languages spoken before the most recent migration, archaisms, and linguistic innovations. Discusses migration patterns, translation traditions, and writing. Examples are mostly from Yiddish, Judezmo, and Judeo-Arabic.

Jewish Language Research Website[<http://www.jewish-languages.org/>].

This site offers descriptions, bibliographies, and resources for over a dozen Jewish languages, including Hebrew, Jewish Aramaic, Jewish English, Jewish Malayalam, Jewish Russian, Judeo-Arabic, Judeo-French, Judeo-Greek, Judeo-Iranian, Judeo-Italian, Judeo-Persian, Judeo-Portuguese, Judeo-Provencal, Ladino, and Yiddish. It lists over a hundred scholars and links to syllabi, sound samples, and other teaching resources.

Lowenstein, Steven M. *The Jewish Cultural Tapestry: International Jewish Folk Traditions*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2000. [ISBN: 9780195134254]

Chapters 1–3 (pp. 1–67) of this well-written book on Jewish cultural diversity offer a fine introduction to folk traditions, regional variation, and Jewish languages. Includes timelines, genealogies, language trees, maps, photos, migration histories, and linguistic analysis. The remainder of the book discusses names, cuisine, dress, music, ancestry, etc.

Rabin, Chaim, Joshua Blau, Haim Blanc, and several discussants. *Haleshonot hayehudiot: Hameshutaf, hameyuhad vehabe‘ayati. Pe’amim* 1 (1979): 40–66.

Descriptions of sixteen languages—Judeo-Aramaic (old/new), Judeo-Kurdish, Judeo-Arabic, Judeo-Berber, Judeo-Persian, Judeo-Tat, Judeo-Georgian, Krimchak, Judeo-Greek, Judeo-Italian, Ladino, Judeo-Provencal, Judeo-French, Yiddish, and Judeo-Slavic—images of “Avadim Hayinu” translated in several Haggadoth, an overview of Jewish languages by Chaim Rabin, and a symposium focusing on Judeo-Arabic and its relationship to Ladino.

Skolnik, Fred, ed. *Encyclopaedia Judaica*. New York: Macmillan Reference USA, 2007. [ISBN: 9780028659282]

Includes descriptions and bibliographies of several languages and their literatures, including a series of in-depth articles about Hebrew language, grammar, script (including images), and literature, and shorter articles about Yiddish, Hebrew, Aramaic, Ladino, Judeo-Arabic, Judeo-French, Judeo-Provencal, Judeo-Greek, Judeo-Italian, Judeo-Persian, Judeo-Tat, and an overview of Jewish languages.

Spolsky, Bernard, and Sarah Bunin Benor. “Jewish Languages.” In *Encyclopedia of Language and Linguistics*. 2d ed. Vol. 6. Edited by Keith Brown, 120–124. Amsterdam: Elsevier, 2006. [ISBN: 9780080443621]

Brief description of the phenomenon of Jewish languages, touching on their history and distinctive features. Includes contemporary languages like Jewish English and offers statistics on contemporary language use.

Sunshine, Andrew. “History of Jewish Interlinguistics: A Preliminary Outline.” In *History of Linguistics 1993*. Edited by Kurt R. Jankowsky, 75–82. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 1995. [ISBN: 9789027245656]

Brief history of comparative studies of Jewish languages. Analyzes early-20th-century writings of Mises and Borokhov and mid-century work by S. Birnbaum and M. Weinreich.

BIBLIOGRAPHIES

A number of bibliographies are useful for researchers of Jewish language theory, as well as specific Jewish languages and cultures. Although these bibliographies are written in English, they include references in Yiddish, Hebrew, German, French, Spanish, and other languages. Weinreich and Weinreich 1959 lists work on Yiddish up to that date, and Bratkowsky 1988 takes this work as a starting point and lists work from 1959 to 1988. Bunis and Sunshine 1994 fills in the picture, offering resources that appeared in Yiddish periodicals such as *Yidishe Sprach* and *Shriftn*. For Ladino/Judezmo/Judeo-Spanish, readers should look to Bunis 1981, which incorporates history and folklore as well as linguistics. Wexler 1989 presents a list of works on other Romance languages. For resources on Judeo-Arabic, Judeo-Persian, and other Jewish languages, readers can start by consulting Baumgarten 1996, as well as the brief bibliographies on the ****Jewish Language Research Website****, cited under ***General Overviews***.

Baumgarten, Jean. “La linguistique des langues juives: Éléments bibliographiques.” *Histoire Epistémologie Langage* 18.1 (1996): 179–188.

A 224-item bibliography of Jewish languages, not including Hebrew. Sections include general, sociolinguistics, Judeo-Arabic, Judeo-Spanish, Judeo-French, Judeo-Greek, Judeo-Italian, Judeo-Persian, Neo-Aramaic, Judeo-Portuguese, Judeo-Provencal, Judeo-Slavic, Judeo-Tat, and Yiddish.

- Bratkowsky, Joan G. *Yiddish Linguistics: A Multilingual Bibliography*. New York: Garland, 1988. [ISBN: 9780824098049]
[A 2,188-item bibliography of linguistic studies of Yiddish, 1959–1988, including journal articles, textbooks, dictionaries, and other resources in several languages.](#)
- Bunis, David M. *Sephardic Studies: A Research Bibliography: Incorporating Language, Literature, and Folklore, and Historical Background*. New York: Garland, 1981. [ISBN: 9780824097592]
[A 1,891-item bibliography of research and other resources on Sephardi Jews, Judezmo language and literature, folklore, etc.](#)
- Bunis, David M., and Andrew Sunshine. *Yiddish Linguistics: A Classified Bilingual Index to Yiddish Serials and Collections, 1913–1958*. New York: Garland, 1994. [ISBN: 9780824097585]
[Important resource for scholars of Yiddish linguistics. Lists articles about Yiddish linguistics that appeared in Yiddish edited volumes and journals \(e.g., *Yidishe Filologye* and *Yidishe Shprakh*\). Sections include phonology, syntax, lexicography, stylistics, etc.](#)
- Weinreich, Uriel, and Beatrice Weinreich. *Yiddish Language and Folklore: A Selective Bibliography for Research*. The Hague: Mouton, 1959.
[Bibliography of research on standard Yiddish, dialect geography, history of Yiddish, Yiddish as a Jewish language, folk music, proverbs, and the life cycle.](#)
- Wexler, Paul. *Judeo-Romance Linguistics: A Bibliography (Latin, Italo-, Gallo, Ibero-, and Rhaeto-Romance except Castilian)*. New York: Garland, 1989. [ISBN: 9780824045319]
[A 1,653-item bibliography of research on Jewish languages descended from Latin, not including Judezmo. Deals with ancient and medieval Judeo-Latin, Judeo-French, Judeo-Italian, Judeo-Portuguese, Rhaeto-Romance, etc.](#)

COLLECTED WORKS OF INDIVIDUALS

Since the late 20th century a number of volumes have appeared that bring together multiple works of key scholars of Jewish linguistics. Fishman, who pioneered the sociology of language and brought that approach to the study of Jewish languages, presents several of his important papers on Yiddish in Fishman 1991. Wexler 2006 focuses on Yiddish, contact among languages, and Jewish linguistic theory. It presents many of Wexler's previously published articles, reassessed according to his more recent (controversial) theory of relexification. Chetrit 2007 also offers theory surrounding the origin and distinctiveness of Jewish languages, based mostly on the author's work on Judeo-Arabic and Judeo-Berber, much of which is presented for the first time in this book. Birnbaum 2011, a posthumous collection of many of the author's articles, offers work that influenced the other three books in this section, as well as work that Birnbaum had begun before his death in 1989. These four volumes present different approaches to Jewish languages, based on the scholars' disciplinary training and the languages they researched. The volumes also serve as a useful model of publishing, making multiple articles on related themes available in a single volume.

- Birnbaum, Salomo A. *Ein Leben für die Wissenschaft: Wissenschaftliche Aufsätze aus sechs Jahrzehnten*. Edited by Erika Timm. 2 vols. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2011. [ISBN: 9783110251944]

Two-volume collection of many of Birnbaum's works on linguistics and paleography of Jewish languages, especially Hebrew, Yiddish, Jidic (Judezmo), and Bukharic. Includes previously unpublished articles and notes on eastern European Jewish languages (Tatic, Krimchak, Chaltai, Karaï, Yevanic, Dönme), language in Fez, a Bukharic poem, and the paleographic term "Mashait."

Chetrit, Joseph. *Diglossie, hybridation et diversité intra-linguistique: Études socio-pragmatiques sur les langues juives, le judéo-arabe et le judéo-berbère*. Paris: Editions Peeters, 2007. [ISBN: 9782758400134]

Compilation of Chetrit's published and new work on Jewish languages. Offers a theory of Jewish languages, including criteria for "total" (vs. partial) Jewish languages, and sociolinguistic and morphophonemic analysis of Moroccan Jewish language, including proverbs, liturgical translations, merchants' secret language, and women's language. Important work, despite poor editing and lack of an index.

Fishman, Joshua A. *Yiddish: Turning to Life*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 1991. [ISBN: 9781556191114]

Collection of two dozen papers written by Fishman in English and Yiddish, mostly on the sociology of Yiddish. Articles deal with the relationship between Yiddish and Hebrew, Yiddish in America, the Czernowitz conference, and ultra-Orthodox Yiddish. Includes some work not previously published.

Wexler, Paul. *Jewish and Non-Jewish Creators of "Jewish" Languages: With Special Attention to Judaized Arabic, Chinese, German, Greek, Persian, Portuguese, Slavic (Modern Hebrew/Yiddish), Spanish, and Karaite, and Semitic Hebrew/Ladino; A Collection of Reprinted Articles from Across Four Decades with a Reassessment*. Wiesbaden, Germany: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2006. [ISBN: 9783447054041]

A 958-page collection of thirty-four of Wexler's articles on Jewish languages from 1964 to 2003 plus a preface explaining his new understanding of non-Jews' relexification as a major factor in the genesis of several Jewish languages. Papers analyze a dozen languages, Jewish language theory, words for "synagogue" and "Sabbath food," and language contact.

JOURNALS AND BOOK SERIES

A few journals and book series have focused entirely or mostly on Jewish languages. The ****Jewish Language Review**** was published in the 1980s by David Gold and Leonard Prager through the Haifa-based Association for the Study of Jewish Languages (and continued briefly as *Jewish Linguistic Studies*). With a liberal definition of Jewish languages, or "lects" (an umbrella term for languages and dialects, also known as language varieties), this journal brought together articles on language use, ideology, and etymology in Jewish communities around the world, including dozens penned by editor David Gold. ****Masorot**** has been publishing since the 1980s, offering articles on many aspects of Jewish languages, especially the Hebrew and Aramaic component and translations of Hebrew and Aramaic texts. While the ****Jewish Language Review**** had a more Ashkenazi bent, ****Masorot**** has a more Mizrahi orientation, based on the backgrounds and interests of the editors. ****Edah Ve-lashon**** is a book series closely connected with ****Masorot**** and also published by Magnes Press. It has published several monographs of Jewish linguistic interest, including several volumes on translations of Hebrew and Aramaic texts into Jewish languages. ****Misgav**

Yerushalayim** has organized conferences on languages of Sephardi and Mizrahi Jews and published several volumes of proceedings. Like **Masorot** and the **Jewish Language Review**, these volumes bring together papers on diverse topics in several Jewish languages. In addition to those listed here, journals of the past and present have published scholarly work about Yiddish (*YIVO Bleter*, *Shriftn*, *Yidishe Shprakh*) and Hebrew (*Leshonenu*, *Mehkarim Belashon*, *Israel Studies in Language and Society*). The *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* has devoted a few issues to Jewish languages (cited under *Sociolinguistics and Sociology of Language*). Another journal of interest is the *Mediterranean Language Review*, published from 1983 to 2005, which included several articles about Jewish languages, including Judeo-Arabic, Jewish Neo-Aramaic, Judezmo, Yiddish, and Krimchak. Finally, various Jewish studies and linguistics journals have from time to time published articles about individual Jewish languages.

Edah Ve-lashon series. Jerusalem: Magnes, 1977–. [class: bookSeries]

A series of over two dozen monographs about Jewish languages and Hebrew traditions, published by Magnes Press and the Jewish Oral Traditions Research Center. Includes analyses of Hebrew recitation traditions and translations of biblical and rabbinic texts into various Jewish languages.

Jewish Language Review. Edited by David Gold and Leonard Prager. Haifa: Association for the Study of Jewish Languages, 1981–1987. [class:Periodical]

Seven-volume journal “devoted to all aspects of the inner and outer linguistic history of the Jewish people and related groups, along the entire chronological and spatial axes” (vol. 1, p. 5). Each issue includes several articles, bibliographies, reviews, notices, and “responsa,” hundreds of questions and answers about various Jewish languages.

Masorot[<http://www.magnespress.co.il/website/index.asp?category=157>].

[class:Periodical]

Journal that publishes articles about Jewish languages and Hebrew traditions. Has been edited by Moshe Bar-Asher, Aharon Maman, Steven Fassberg, Ofra Tirosch-Becker, and David Bunis; published every 2 to 3 years since 1984 by Magnes Press and the Center for the Study of Jewish Languages and Literatures at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem.

Misgav Yerushalayim: The Center for Research and Study of Sephardi and Oriental Jewish Heritage[<http://www.folklore.org.il/misgav.htm>].

Since 1982, this research institute has published several volumes of essays in Hebrew, English, French, and other languages about Sephardi and Mizrahi language, literature, history, and folklore. Some are proceedings from the International Congress on the Study of Sephardi and Oriental Jewish Heritage, which is held every few years.

COLLECTIONS OF JEWISH LANGUAGE RESEARCH

Several scholars have compiled research on a number of Jewish languages into journal issues and edited volumes. While some of these collections are based around a theme, others include work that is diverse in topic, area of inquiry, and approach. Introductions and theoretical essays tend to focus on the state of the field, definitions of Jewish languages, criteria for including studies, and research agendas. General collections include articles on multiple Jewish languages in an effort to unify research and foster the field of Jewish interlinguistics/comparative Jewish linguistic studies. A few of these

volumes are festschrifts in honor of respected scholars of Jewish languages (Dawidowicz, et al. 1964; Maman, et al. 2007; Aspesi, et al. 2008; Tobi and Kurzon 2011), and these tend to be somewhat arbitrary collections of papers with diverse data sources and methodologies. Benabu and Sermoneta 1985 continues this tradition with a focus on Jewish languages of Romance stock. Paper 1978 is a proceeding from a conference on Jewish languages and includes basic descriptions of several languages. Baumgarten and Kessler-Mesguich 1996 and Alvarez-Péreyre and Baumgarten 2003 are the most unified collections, conceived and coordinated by scholars concerned with comparative analysis and theoretical contribution to the study of Jewish languages and to linguistics more generally. In addition to the volumes listed here, one might add the compilations and conference proceedings in *Journals and Book Series*.

Alvarez-Péreyre, Frank, and Jean Baumgarten, eds. *Linguistique des langues juives et linguistique générale*. Paris: CNRS Éditions, 2003. [ISBN: 9782271061539]

Important collection of papers discussing theoretical approaches to Jewish languages, debates, and case studies of specific languages. Focuses on Judeo-Italian, Judeo-Spanish (Judezmo, Hakétia), Modern Hebrew, Judeo-Arabic (Moroccan, Yemenite), Aramaic, Judeo-Greek, and Yiddish.

Aspesi, Francesco, Vermondo Brugnatelli, Anna Linda Callow, and Claudia Rosenzweig, eds. *Il mio cuore è a Oriente: Studi di linguistica storica, filologia e cultura ebraica dedicati a Maria Luisa Mayer Modena*. Milan: Cisalpino, 2008. [ISBN: 9788832360912]

Collection of articles in fields that Modena has touched. Of particular interest are several articles on Judeo-Italian, Judeo-Spanish, Yiddish, Judeo-Arabic, Hebrew, and Aramaic, as well as one on names of Jewish languages. Many articles are in Italian.

Baumgarten, Jean, and Sophie Kessler-Mesguich, eds. *Special Issue: La linguistique de l'hébreu et des langues juives. Histoire Epistémologie Langage* 18.1 (1996).

This collection focuses on the history of research on Jewish languages and repositions the field as part of general linguistics, rather than only Jewish studies. Articles on Hebrew, Yiddish, Judezmo, Judeo-Arabic, and Jewish language theory, plus a bibliography of Jewish linguistics.

Benabu, Isaac, and Joseph Sermoneta, eds. *Judeo-Romance Languages*. Jerusalem: Misgav Yerushalayim, 1985. [ISBN: 9789652960030]

Essays on Judeo-Spanish (Ottoman and Moroccan), Judeo-Portuguese, and Judeo-Italian, with a focus on translations and Hebrew and Aramaic elements.

Dawidowicz, Lucy, Alexander Erlich, Rachel Erlich, and Joshua A. Fishman, eds. *For Max Weinreich on His Seventieth Birthday: Studies in Jewish languages, Literature, and Society*. The Hague: Mouton, 1964.

Large collections of articles in English, Yiddish, and Hebrew about Jewish language and culture. Features work on Eastern Yiddish, Western Yiddish, Hebrew, Judeo-Arabic, Judeo-Spanish, and Ethiopian Jews. Includes a Yiddish bibliography of Weinreich's work.

Maman, Aaron, Steven Ellis Fassberg, and Yochanan Breuer, eds. *Sha'are lashon: Mehkarim ba-lashon ha-'ivrit, be-aramit uvi-leshonot ha-yehudim, mugashim le-Mosheh Bar-Asher*. 3 vols. Jerusalem: Mosad Byalik, 2007. [ISBN: 9789789653423]

An impressive collection of about one hundred articles, including many on Hebrew in all its periods. Vol. 3 focuses on Diaspora Jewish languages, including Yiddish, Judeo-

Spanish, and Judeo-Arabic. Most articles are in Hebrew; some are in English and French.

Paper, Herbert H., ed. *Jewish Languages: Themes and Variations*. Proceedings of Regional Conferences sponsored by the Association for Jewish Studies Held at the University of Michigan and New York University in March-April 1975. Cambridge, MA: Association for Jewish Studies, 1978. [ISBN: 9780915938018] [class:conference-proceeding]

Papers and responses from a two-site conference, "Hebrew and Jewish Languages: Case Studies of Language-Culture Continuity," give overviews of the languages.

Joshua Blau on Hebrew and Medieval Judeo-Arabic, Jonas Greenfield on ancient Aramaic, Marvin Herzog on Yiddish, George Jochnowitz on Judeo-Romance languages, Denah Lida on Ladino, and Herbert Paper on Judeo-Persian.

Tobi, Joseph, and Dennis Kurzon, eds. *Hikre ma 'arav u-mizrah: Leshonot, sifruyot u-firke toladah, mugashim le-Yosef Shitrit*. Jerusalem: Karmel, 2011. [ISBN: 9789655401424]

Articles in Hebrew, English, and French analyzing issues in linguistics (especially pragmatics), literature, music, and history. Diverse foci, including translations of texts, Hebrew components, spoken language, and theater. Discusses several Jewish languages, especially Judeo-Arabic, Judeo-Spanish, Yiddish, and Hebrew.

Sociolinguistics and Sociology of Language

Joshua Fishman, founder of the field of the sociology of language, has brought much-needed theoretical orientation to the field of Jewish linguistic studies and directed the attention of sociologists of language to the phenomenon of Jewish languages. In combination, Fishman 1981, Fishman 1985, and Fishman 1987 serve as an impressive collection of research on the sociology of Jewish languages. Fishman 1981 presents a strong theoretical foundation, and all three collections include important case studies of language policy, status, functions, and use. These collections, especially Fishman's theoretical overviews, continue to influence contemporary research. Benor and Sadan 2011 bring the sociology of Jewish languages into the age of the Internet, focusing on postvernacularity in old languages and variation in new ones.

Benor, Sarah Bunin, and Tsvi Sadan, eds. *Special Issue: Jewish Languages in the Age of the Internet. Language and Communication* 31.2 (2011).

Articles on contemporary Jewish languages, including Yiddish, Ladino, Judeo-Greek, Jewish Mexican Spanish, and Jewish English. Using Jeffrey Shandler's notion of postvernacularity (*Adventures in Yiddishland: Postvernacular Language and Culture*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005), these papers discuss how old Jewish languages are viewed and are shifting to new ones.

Fishman, Joshua A., ed. *Special Issue: The Sociology of Jewish Languages. International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 30 (1981).

Features foundational theoretical articles of Jewish interlinguistics by Joshua Fishman, Chaim Rabin, David Gold, and David Bunis, as well as case studies of Judeo-Spanish, Judeo-Italian, Judeo-Arabic, Ashkenazic German, and Jewish English.

Fishman, Joshua A., ed. *Readings in the Sociology of Jewish Languages*. Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill, 1985. [ISBN: 9789004072374]

Intended as the first volume in a book series, this rich collection of sociolinguistic research includes work on Hebrew, Yiddish, Judezmo, Judeo-Greek, Judeo-Italian and Judeo-Provençal, Judeo-Arabic, Hakétia, and Jewish English. Focuses on language status, ideologies, and functions. Includes an important theoretical introduction by Joshua Fishman.

Fishman, Joshua A., ed. *Special Issue: The Sociology of Jewish Languages*. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 67 (1987).

Eight sociolinguistic case studies, most dealing with Yiddish in various locales, plus a review of the ***Jewish Language Review*** (cited under ***Journals and Book Series***).

Hebrew and Aramaic Component in Jewish Languages

Another area that has inspired some collective publishing is the Hebrew and Aramaic influences on Jewish languages. Two European conferences in the 1990s focused on this fruitful topic and issued volumes of proceedings. Both Tedghi 1995 and Morag, et al. 1999 hold together well, including articles on various issues surrounding the Hebrew and Aramaic words used in many Jewish languages. In both volumes, the theoretical overviews unify the work and contribute to our comparative understanding of Jewish languages. In addition, much research on this topic has been published in various journals and book series in Israel (cited in ***Journals and Book Series***).

Morag, Shelomo, Moshe Bar-Asher, and Maria Mayer-Modena, eds. *Vena Hebraica in Judaeorum Linguis: Proceedings of the 2nd International Conference on the Hebrew and Aramaic Elements in Jewish Languages (Milan, October 23–26, 1995)*. Milan: Università degli Studi di Milano, Dipartimento di Scienze dell'Antichità, 1999.
[class:conference-proceeding]

Collection of papers in English and French on the Hebrew and Aramaic influences on various Jewish languages, including several varieties of Arabic, Neo-Aramaic, Ladino, Yiddish, Judeo-Italian, Judeo-Greek, and Judeo-French, plus theoretical/comparative articles by Frank Alvarez-Péreyre and by Shelomo Morag, who died shortly before the book's publication.

Tedghi, Joseph, ed. *Les interférences de l'hébreu dans les langues juives*. Paris: Institut National des Langues et Civilisations Orientales, 1995.

Proceedings of a 1994 conference, including papers on Hebrew loanwords in several time periods in Judeo-Spanish/Ladino, Judeo-Arabic, and Yiddish. The introductory essay by Frank Alvarez-Péreyre theorizes Hebrew influences in Jewish languages.

LEXICONS OF HEBREW AND ARAMAIC WORDS IN JEWISH LANGUAGES

Several scholars have published dictionaries of Hebrew and Aramaic words used in Jewish languages, based on written and/or spoken sources. Scholars interested in comparative analysis of Hebrew and Aramaic influences on multiple Jewish languages might find these works useful. Glinert 1992 focuses on the English-speaking world. Bunis 1993 lists words used in Ottoman Judezmo. Niborski 1999 focuses on Yiddish, especially its literature. Henshke 2007 is a dictionary of Hebrew words in Tunisian Judeo-Arabic. Most useful would be a comparative dictionary. Shelomo Morag envisioned and initiated such a project at the Hebrew University's Jewish Oral Traditions Research Center: a synoptic dictionary of Hebrew and Aramaic words used in languages of the Mediterranean basin (including Judeo-Persian, Judeo-Georgian, Judeo-Aramaic,

and Iraqi, Yemenite, Moroccan, and Tunisian Judeo-Arabic). The project is currently nearing completion under the direction of Aaron Maman. In addition, two other dictionaries are in preparation: Maria Modena-Mayer's lexicon of the Hebrew and Aramaic words in Judeo-Italian and Julia Krivoruchko's lexicon of the Hebrew and Aramaic words in Judeo-Greek. The publication of these works, in conjunction with online collaboration surrounding the Jewish Language Research Website, will facilitate more comprehensive comparative analysis of the Hebrew and Aramaic words in Jewish languages.

Bunis, David M. *Ha-yesodot ha-ivriyim veha-aramiyim ba-sefardit ha-yehudit ha-hadashah*. Jerusalem: Magnes, 1993. [ISBN: 9789652238030]

Well-annotated dictionary of Hebrew and Aramaic words in Judezmo, based on textual and spoken sources. Includes a significant introductory essay and information about morphological integration.

Glinert, Lewis. *The Joys of Hebrew*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1992. [ISBN: 9780195074246]

Lexicon of over six hundred Hebrew words and phrases used within Jewish English. Each entry includes a brief definition, example sentence, and discussion/contextualization from traditional and modern sources.

Henshke, Yehudit. *Lashon ivri be-dibur 'aravi: Otsar ha-milim ha-ivri ba-'aravit ha-meduberet shel yehude tunisyah*. Jerusalem: Mosad Byalik, 2007. [ISBN: 9789653429352]

Dictionary and grammar of Hebrew words in Tunisian Judeo-Arabic, based on a rich corpus of spoken data. Introduction discusses how Hebrew words are integrated phonologically, morphologically, and syntactically into Arabic.

Niborski, Isidoro. *Verterbukh fun loshn-koydesh-shtamike verter in yidish*. Paris: Medem Bibliotek, 1999.

Lexicon of Yiddish words that stem from Hebrew and Aramaic, combining and building on the information available in several previous dictionaries. Includes literary citations.

DEFINING THE FIELD

Scholars in the late 19th and early 20th centuries began to describe the languages spoken by Jews throughout history and around the world and to point out their similarities and differences. Loewe 1911 and Mieses 1915 represent the best known of these early studies, incorporating research on several regions and historical periods. Efroykin 1951 continued this tradition, focusing on the genesis of Jewish languages and what the author perceived as their imminent demise in the wake of the Holocaust and the ingathering of Diaspora Jews in the newly founded State of Israel. In the several decades that followed, Yiddish linguists Max Weinreich and Solomon Birnbaum spearheaded comparative linguistic analysis and set much of the agenda for work that continues today. Birnbaum 1937 introduced comparative analysis between Yiddish and Judezmo, and Weinreich 1954 (and in greater depth in Weinreich 2008) introduced Jewish linguistic theory by integrating analysis of multiple Jewish languages. Two papers published in 1981 (in combination with the volumes in *Collections of Jewish Language Research*) crystallized this tradition of research into a small academic field, known as Jewish intralinguistics or Jewish interlinguistics. Gold 1981 described the field and suggested

criteria for delimiting its objects of study. Wexler 1981 described the history of Jewish languages, posited factors in their genesis, and set an agenda for comparative research. In addition to the works cited in *General Overviews*, Wexler 1981 serves as an excellent introduction to Jewish linguistic studies, as it cites a great deal of previous literature and represents an ambitious and erudite approach to the field.

Birnbaum, Solomon A. "Judezmo." *YIVO Bleter* 11 (1937): 192–198.

This Yiddish article describes Judezmo (Judeo-Spanish) and compares it to Yiddish, especially their Hebrew and Aramaic components. Birnbaum calls for a "a new field of linguistics, a Jewish sociology of language on the foundation of the comparison of all Jewish languages" (195), and he predicts that "the comparison of Yiddish and Judezmo will be one of the most important" (*ibid.*).

Efroykin, Israel. *Oyfkum un umkum fun yidishe goles-shprakhn un dialekt[n]<http://www.archive.org/details/oyfkumunumku00efro>]*. Paris: Farlag Kiyem, 1951.

This book discusses Yiddish, Ladino, Aramaic, Judeo-Tat, Judeo-Arabic, Judeo-Greek and others. Theorizes how these languages/dialects came about and why they are currently in decline. Focuses mostly on sociological issues but also includes some linguistic analysis. Compares the mid-20th-century situation of Yiddish to that of ancient Aramaic.

Gold, David L. "Jewish Intralinguistics as a Field of Study." *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 30 (1981): 31–46.

Gold describes the field of "Jewish intralinguistics," arguing for a "continuum of Jewish languageness" and against restrictive definitions and distinctions between language and dialect. He reports on the state of the field and calls for comprehensive and comparative research on the speech and writing of Jews and related groups.

Loewe, Heinrich. *Die Sprachen der Juden<http://sammlungen.ub.uni-frankfurt.de/freimann/content/titleinfo/1339355>]*. Cologne: Jüdischer Verlag, 1911.

History of Jews' languages in Europe and the Middle East. Characterizes some languages as distinctly Jewish and others as not. Touches on communities other work overlooks, including Samaritans, Karaites, Dönme, and Suriname Jew-Tongo. Discusses Jewish language genesis, influence of Jewish languages on non-Jewish languages, and the value of Modern Hebrew.

Mises, Matthias. *Die Entstehungsursache der jüdischen Dialekte*. Vienna: R. Löwit Verlag, 1915.

This short book is an early foray into comparative Jewish linguistics. Including only minimal linguistic analysis, Mises focuses on the sociology of Yiddish, also touching on Judeo-Persian, Judeo-Greek, Judeo-Spanish, and others. He situates the phenomenon of Jewish dialects in more general research on language, religion, and ethnicity.

Weinreich, Max. "Prehistory and Early History of Yiddish: Facts and Conceptual Framework." In *The Field of Yiddish: Studies in Yiddish Language, Folklore, and Literature*. Edited by Uriel Weinreich, 73–101. New York: The Linguistic Circle of New York, 1954.

Discusses the history of Yiddish and briefly describes other Jewish languages, including Targumic, Yahudic, Dzhudezmo, Knaanic, and Judeo-Persian. Introduces notion of "prelanguage" and distinction between "Whole Hebrew" and "Merged

Hebrew.” Describes Babylonian and Palestinian Hebrew pronunciation systems and explains shifts in Ashkenazic Hebrew. Includes map of medieval Jewish languages.

Weinreich, Max. *History of the Yiddish Language*. Edited by Paul Glasser. Translated by Shlomo Noble and Joshua Fishman. 2 vols. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2008. [ISBN: 9780300108873]

Weinreich’s posthumously published magnum opus is a treasure trove of data, history, and analysis of Jewish languages. Citing research on a dozen Jewish languages, and offering his own take, Weinreich lays the framework for comparative Jewish linguistic analysis. Calls for a “systematic research program” on language use in Jewish communities. Originally published in Yiddish in 1973.

Wexler, Paul. “Jewish Interlinguistics: Facts and Conceptual Framework.” *Language* 57.1 (1981): 99–149.

This article brought the phenomenon of Jewish languages to the attention of linguists and jump-started the field of Jewish interlinguistics. With extensive footnotes and over 350 references, it surveys the linguistic history of the Jewish diaspora and discusses various features of Jewish languages. “Formulates urgent research tasks in comparative Jewish interlinguistics” (99). See also *Jewish Linguistic Theory*.

JEWISH LINGUISTIC THEORY

In the 1970s and 1980s scholars continued Birnbaum and Weinreich’s lines of inquiry and worked toward a unified theoretical understanding of Jewish languages based on comparative analysis. It was in these years that the study of Jewish languages transitioned from the realm of isolated publications into a small academic field. Several scholars offered suggestions for what this field should be called, including Jewish interlinguistics, Jewish intralinguistics, and linguistics of Jewish languages. And several suggested and began work on additional lines of inquiry, such as typology/classification, interaction of the components, commonalities in Hebrew and Aramaic influences, orthographic variation, ideologies surrounding Jewish languages, and contact with Hebrew, Aramaic and other languages. Only a few scholars have researched multiple Jewish languages well enough to analyze them in depth, and only a few groups of scholars have collaborated across language families. While the articles in this section shed much light on the phenomenon of Jewish languages, they also indicate that much work remains to be done.

Genesis and Sociology of Jewish Languages

Much of the theoretical work on Jewish languages has been concerned with defining the object of study, including Rabin 1981 and Fishman 1985 (see also Wexler 1981, cited under *Typology of Jewish Languages*, and Gold 1981, cited under *Defining the Field*). These works and others describe the factors that lead to the genesis of Jewish languages, including various components, the use of Hebrew orthography, and patterns of migration and communal interaction and separatism. Fishman 1985 in particular offers a compelling analysis of the sociology of Jewish languages, focusing especially on the patterns of diglossia with Hebrew and Aramaic. Bar-Asher 2002 lists several common features of Jewish languages and calls for comparative analysis. Weinreich 2008, which could be listed in most sections of this bibliography, is the foundation for much of this work, as it offers several theoretical notions based on lexical and sociolinguistic data from Yiddish and about a dozen other Jewish languages. Wexler 2006 describes a

revisionist theory of Jewish language genesis, focused on non-Jews identifying as Jewish and relexifying various languages. Through comparative sociological analysis of multiple languages, these works demonstrate that it is more fruitful to analyze the development of Jewish languages over their life course than to try to pinpoint and posit factors for their genesis.

Bar-Asher, Moshe. "Behinot be-heker leshonot hayehudim ve-sifruyotehem." *Pe'amim* 93 (2002): 77–89.

Argues that Jewish languages should be studied comparatively, discusses periodization of Jewish languages, and lists common elements, including translation of traditional literature, integration of biblical and rabbinic quotes, the Hebrew component, and archaisms.

Fishman, Joshua A. "The Sociology of Jewish Languages from a General Sociolinguistic Point of View." In *Readings in the Sociology of Jewish Languages*. Edited by Joshua A. Fishman, 3–21. Leiden, The Netherlands: E. J. Brill, 1985. [ISBN: 9789004072374]

Important essay theorizing the sociology of Jewish languages, including definitions and limits, language vs. dialect, standardization and planning, genesis and subsequent development, diglossic functions of spoken and written languages (Hebrew and Aramaic), and English as a Jewish language.

Rabin, Chaim. "What Constitutes a Jewish Language?" *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 30 (1981): 19–28.

Considers various requirements for defining a linguistic entity as a "Jewish language" and settles on a language used in a relationship of diglossia with Hebrew and Aramaic. Argues that Jewish languages constitute a "diglossic federation."

Weinreich, Max. *History of the Yiddish Language*. Edited by Paul Glasser. Translated by Shlomo Noble and Joshua Fishman. 2 vols. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2008. [ISBN: 9780300108873]

Applying general linguistic theory, this book generated key Jewish linguistic concepts, e.g., linguistic determinants, selectivity and fusion, Ashkenaz I and II, communal interaction and separateness, the relationship between religion and culture, and the impact of the "Way of the SHaS" on spoken languages. Posits a typology of Jewish languages. Detailed notes; 258-page index. Translation of 1973 Yiddish original.

Wexler, Paul. "Preface: Old Views, New Views, and Renewed Views." In *Jewish and Non-Jewish Creators of 'Jewish' Languages: With Special Attention to Judaized Arabic, Chinese, German, Greek, Persian, Portuguese, Slavic (Modern Hebrew/Yiddish), Spanish, and Karaite, and Semitic Hebrew/Ladino; A Collection of Reprinted Articles from Across Four Decades with a Reassessment*. By Paul Wexler, xv–liv. Wiesbaden, Germany: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2006. [ISBN: 9783447054041]

A reassessment of the author's previous understanding of Jewish languages. Based on his findings of "lexical predictability" in Yiddish, Wexler argues that some Jewish languages were created through relexification by non-Jews joining Jewish communities. Revises his typology of Jewish languages and offers desiderata for Jewish linguistic research.

Typology of Jewish Languages

Several scholars have organized Jewish languages into categories. Sephiha 1972 distinguishes between spoken languages and calque translation languages based on

Hebrew texts. Wexler 1981 offers a four-part typology: languages with Jewish substrata, languages that acquire a Jewish identity, calque translation languages, and languages distinguished only by occasional Jewish elements. And Chetrit 2007 (cited under *Collected Works of Individuals*) distinguishes between partial and full Jewish languages. Some recent work has approached Jewish languages as differing in degree rather than in kind, building on comparative research by Weinreich (see Weinreich 2008, cited under *Genesis and Sociology of Jewish Languages*) and Gold and Prager (see **Jewish Language Review**, cited under *Journals and Book Series*). For example, Masson's article in Alvarez-Péreyre and Baumgarten 2003 argues for a continuum of Hebreotropism—how much a given language is influenced by Hebrew. Benor 2008 posits a continuum of distinctness from local non-Jewish languages, on which Yiddish and Judezmo occupy a unique position. Similarly, Hary 2009 describes Jewish religiolects as existing on a spectrum of distinctness from local majority languages. Alvarez-Péreyre and Baumgarten 2003 offer several approaches to Jewish linguistic typology and theory.

Alvarez-Péreyre, Frank, and Jean Baumgarten, eds. *Linguistique des langues juives et linguistique générale*. Paris: CNRS Éditions, 2003. [ISBN: 9782271061539]

Offers multiple theoretical approaches to Jewish languages, including papers by Jean Baumgarten, Frank Alvarez-Péreyre, Moshe Bar-Asher, Maria-Luisa Mayer Modena, Marie-Christine Bornes-Varol, and Michel Masson. Issues include which languages should be included, how they should be classified, and how research can use and contribute to general linguistic theory.

Benor, Sarah Bunin. "Towards a New Understanding of Jewish Language in the Twenty-First Century." *Religion Compass* 2.6 (2008): 1062–1080.

Posits a theory of a "distinctively Jewish linguistic repertoire" that avoids problems of definition and language vs. dialect. Distinguishes between "post-co-territorial" (Yiddish/Ladino) and other Jewish languages. Offers a research agenda for comparative Jewish linguistic analysis focusing on common features of Jewish languages and intercommunal, inter-speaker, and intra-speaker variation.

Hary, Benjamin H. *Translating Religion: Linguistic Analysis of Judeo-Arabic Sacred Texts from Egypt*. Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill, 2009. [ISBN: 9789004173828]

Introduces theoretical concepts, including "Jewish-defined religiolect," Jewish linguistic spectrum, and majority (vs. coteritorial) language. Describes common characteristics of Jewish language varieties past and present. Offers a theory of translation of sacred texts into vernacular words, including the importance of multilevel analysis and the literal vs. interpretive tension/continuum.

Sephiha, H. Vidal. "Langues juives, langues calques et langues vivantes." *Linguistique* 8.2 (1972): 59–68.

Distinguishes between spoken Jewish languages and calque translation languages, which Sephiha argues were older and were unintelligible to those unfamiliar with Hebrew. Data from Judeo-Spanish, -Greek, -German, -Italian, etc. Calls for research on contact between calque and spoken Jewish languages, as well as among spoken Jewish languages.

Wexler, Paul. "Jewish Interlinguistics: Facts and Conceptual Framework." *Language* 57.1 (1981): 99–149.

Wexler describes an unbroken chain of Jewish language shift from ancient Hebrew to the contemporary obsolescence of many long-standing languages. Posits a typology of Jewish languages, discusses factors leading to their genesis, describes their components and how they interact, and compares them to creoles, confessional dialects, etc. See also **Defining the Field**.

Comparative Linguistic Analysis

A few works contribute to a unified and comparative understanding of Jewish languages through in-depth linguistic analysis. Bunis 1981, Bunis 2005, and Szulmajster-Celnikier and Varol 1994 offer in-depth comparative analysis of elements of Yiddish and Judezmo/Judeo-Spanish, focusing on the interaction of components and especially their Hebrew and Aramaic influences. These articles portray Yiddish and Judezmo/Judeo-Spanish as extremely rich and full of linguistic creativity, and they point to the potential of comparative research, especially Bunis 2005. Other works offer comparative analysis of the Hebrew and Aramaic words in Jewish languages, especially Judeo-Arabic, Judeo-Italian, and Yiddish: Mayer Modena 1986, Morag 1992, Bar-Asher 1998, and Aslanov 2010. These articles use spoken and written language data to describe which Hebrew and Aramaic words are commonly used, where they are borrowed from, and how they vary and change in pronunciation, meaning, and use. In addition to these, some comparative research can be found in **Collections of Jewish Language Research**, **Journals and Book Series**, and the proceedings of the World Congresses of Jewish Studies.

Aslanov, Cyril. “Mehelek diber le-zulato: Milim ivriot shema‘amadan hishtane agav hishtak‘utan ba-leshonot hayehudim.” *Masorot* 15 (2010): 25–38.

[Brief analysis of prepositions that become nouns and nouns that become verbs in Yiddish and Judeo-Italian.](#)

Bar-Asher, Moshe. “Behinot be-heker hamarkiv ha‘ivri be-aravit hayehudit hehadasha be-mizrah uve-ma‘arav..” *Masorot* 3–4 (1998): 147–169.

[Describes how Hebrew words have changed in form, meaning, and use in a few varieties of Judeo-Arabic.](#)

Szulmajster-Celnikier, Anne and Marie-Christine Varol. “Yidich et judéo-espagnol: Dynamique comparée de deux langues de Diaspora.” *Plurilinguismes* 7 (1994): 93–132.

[Comparative analysis of Yiddish and Judeo-Spanish, focusing on base language, other source languages, and especially Hebrew and Aramaic influences. Discusses archaisms, reduplication, word play, and combinations of various source languages. Analyzes functions of the Hebrew and Aramaic component, including religiosity, derision, humor, family life, affect, metaphor, and cryptic and ludic functions.](#)

Bunis, David M. “A Comparative Linguistic Analysis of Judezmo and Yiddish.” *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 30 (1981): 49–70.

[Comparative analysis of several linguistic phenomena in two Jewish languages: Yiddish and Judezmo. Discusses language names, components \(based on M. Weinreich’s model\), and phonological, morphological, and semantic aspects of Hebrew and Aramaic words. Includes an extended discussion of reflexes of Hebrew “mazel.”](#)

Bunis, David M. “A Theory of Hebrew-Based Fusion Lexemes in Jewish Languages as Illustrated by Morphologically Derived Animate Nouns in Judezmo and Yiddish.” *Mediterranean Language Review* 16 (2005): 1–115.

Analysis of animate nouns from Hebrew and their morphological integration into modern Judezmo and Yiddish, including feminine forms, plurals, diminutives, compound forms, and jocular constructions. Posits a theory of Jewish language development: Jews consciously adopted Hebraisms to distinguish themselves linguistically from non-Jews and other Jews. The most comprehensive comparative Jewish linguistic analysis to date.

Mayer Modena, Maria Luisa. “Le choix “hébraïque” dans le lexique des langues juives.”

In *Divre ha-kongres ha-‘olami ha-teshi’i le-mada’e ha-yahadut*. Vol. 1. Edited by David Assaf, 85–94. Jerusalem: Ha-igud ha-‘olami le-mada’e ha-yahadut, 1986.

Brief paper about Hebrew and Aramaic words used in Jewish languages, with examples from Judeo-Italian, Hakétia, Yiddish, Judeo-French, etc. Points out that Hebrew words are used for religious terminology, Talmudic reasoning, taboo words, and secret language.

Morag, Shelomo. “Hamilim ha-ivriot ba-leshonot hayehudim – mispar hebetim klaliyim.” *Mi-kedem umi-yam* 5 (1992): 101–114.

Comments from a conference talk about the phenomenon of Hebrew loanwords in Jewish languages, including their history, how they change in meaning and usage, and words that appear in many Jewish languages. Includes examples from Judeo-Arabic in several locations and discussion of Primo Levi’s thoughts on Judeo-Italian.

SPECIFIC JEWISH LANGUAGES IN THE CONTEXT OF JEWISH LINGUISTICS

Several scholars have analyzed individual languages as examples of the broader phenomenon of Jewish languages. These works discuss common characteristics of Jewish languages as they manifest in the language under scrutiny, sometimes leading to new theories surrounding Jewish languages. The original studies of Jewish languages in the context of Jewish linguistic history are by Max Weinreich (Weinreich 2008) and Solomon Birnbaum (Birnbaum 1937; Birnbaum 1979). They use data especially from Yiddish and Judezmo to call for comparative research with other Jewish languages. Chetrit 2007 brings data from Judeo-Arabic and Judeo-Berber, offering a new typology of Jewish languages. Benor 2009 and Fudeman 2010 analyze data from very different contexts, 21st-century United States and medieval France, and come to similar conclusions about defining and delimiting Jewish languages. Gamliel 2009 is the most in-depth study to date of Jewish Malayalam, a language of Indian Jews, as a Jewish language. Hary 2009 contributes to our understanding of Jewish languages through its analysis of spoken and written Judeo-Arabic, especially as it was used in translations of Hebrew and Aramaic texts. And Sabar 2002 offers data and analysis of Jewish Neo-Aramaic, focusing on issues of interest to Jewish linguistic studies. In addition to those listed here, articles of this type can be found in **Collections of Jewish Language Research**. As Weinreich 2008 and Benor 2009 point out, research on one Jewish language suggests questions we might ask about other Jewish languages. The field is fortunate to have scholars working on diverse Jewish languages investigating some of the same questions and formulating new ones.

Benor, Sarah Bunin. “Do American Jews Speak a ‘Jewish Language’? A Model of Jewish Linguistic Distinctiveness.” *Jewish Quarterly Review* 99.2 (2009): 230–269.

Comparative analysis of the language of contemporary American Jews and Jewish languages of the past. Using the notion of Jewish linguistic distinctiveness, Benor argues that American Jews speak a “Jewish language” similar to Judeo-Italian, Judeo-Arabic, and others, but different from Yiddish and Judezmo. Discusses lack of Hebrew script.

Birnbaum, Solomon A. “Judezmo.” *YIVO Bleter* 11 (1937): 192–198.

Brief analysis of Judezmo (Judeo-Spanish) in relation to Yiddish and other Jewish languages. Focuses on the Hebrew-Aramaic component. In Yiddish.

Birnbaum, Solomon A. *Yiddish: A Survey and a Grammar*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1979. [ISBN: 9780802053824]

This book situates Yiddish among Jewish languages by discussing how they should be characterized. Discusses the history, elements, and dialects of Yiddish, and describes its script, sounds, morphology, and syntax.

Chetrit, Joseph. *Diglossie, hybridation et diversité intra-linguistique: Études socio-pragmatiques sur les langues juives, le judéo-arabe et le judéo-berbère*. Paris: Editions Peeters, 2007. [ISBN: 9782758400134]

Discusses Judeo-Berber and Judeo-Arabic in the context of Jewish languages, demonstrating the differences in their distinctiveness through analysis of spoken and written data. The chapter on Judeo-Berber is the most comprehensive study of this language to date.

Fudeman, Kirsten A. *Vernacular Voices: Language and Identity in Medieval French Jewish Communities*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010. [ISBN: 9780812242508]

Analysis of language use in 13th-century northern France in the context of Jewish languages. Focuses on Hebrew-French code switching and loanwords in French texts written in Hebrew letters. Argues that Jewish language in medieval France involved “voluntary acts of linguistic distinctiveness.”

Gamliel, Ophira. “Jewish Malayalam.” *International Journal of Dravidian Linguistics* 38.1 (2009): 147–175.

Brief but in-depth description of Jewish Malayalam (spoken in Kerala, in the south of India), a Dravidian language. Using previous research on common elements of Jewish languages, Gamliel describes the Hebrew and Aramaic elements, archaisms, displaced dialectalism, script, and other features of Jewish Malayalam.

Hary, Benjamin H. *Translating Religion: Linguistic Analysis of Judeo-Arabic Sacred Texts from Egypt*. Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill, 2009. [ISBN: 9789004173828]

Study of 18th- and 19th-century translations of Hebrew and Aramaic texts into Judeo-Arabic. Discusses the history and structure of Judeo-Arabic in the context of Jewish languages. Offers a model of text translation using concepts from linguistics. See also *Jewish Linguistic Theory*.

Sabar, Yona. 2002. *A Jewish Neo-Aramaic Dictionary: Dialects of Amidya, Dihok, Nerwa and Zakho, Northwestern Iraq; Based on Old and New Manuscripts, Oral and Written Bible Translations, Folkloric Texts, and Diverse Spoken Registers, with an Introduction to Grammar and Semantics, and an Index of Talmudic Words which Have Reflexes in Jewish Neo-Aramaic*. Wiesbaden, Germany: Harrassowitz. [ISBN: 9783447045575]

Study of Jewish Neo-Aramaic dialects, based on the author's extensive research of the spoken language. Introduction includes in-depth analysis of orthography, phonology, morphology, and semantics. Discusses issues of Jewish linguistic interest, including archaisms, doublets, words for non-Jews, and integration of Hebrew loanwords.

Weinreich, Max. *History of the Yiddish Language*. Edited by Paul Glasser. Translated by Shlomo Noble and Joshua Fishman. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2008. [ISBN: 9780300108873]

Situates Yiddish historically and linguistically in relation to languages that have influenced it, as well as languages that have similarities. Discusses phenomena common in Yiddish and several other Jewish languages. Full translation of 1973 Yiddish original: *Geshikhte fun der yidisher shprakh*.

COMPARING JEWS AND OTHER GROUPS

As Fishman 1985 (cited under *Sociolinguistics and Sociology of Language*), Alvarez-Péreyre and Baumgarten 2003 (cited under *Collections of Jewish Language Research*), and others have pointed out, Jewish languages have much to offer general linguistics and sociology of language. Several scholars have pointed to similarities and differences between Jewish languages and languages of other religious and ethnic groups (minority and majority). Wexler 1980 offers a linguistic analysis of periphrastic verbs in Yiddish (Hebrew origin) and Turkish (Arabic origin). Wexler 1986 takes a broader approach, comparing Jewish languages, especially Yiddish, to Romani (Gypsy) languages in Europe. Fishman 1987 compares the status and ideologies surrounding Jewish languages and pidgins and creoles. Stillman 1991 explores commonalities between Jewish languages and Islamic languages and serves as a good reading for a college class. Through examples from diverse ethnoreligious groups, especially in the Middle East, Myhill 2004 argues that Jewish languages are not a unique phenomenon. While these articles serve as useful preliminary discussions, much comparative work remains. For example, to date there has been no in-depth comparison of the linguistic repertoires of Jews and of contemporary ethnic groups in immigrant-heavy societies like the United States and Western Europe, especially African American English, which has been the subject of much research.

Fishman, Joshua A. "Post-Exilic Jewish Languages and Pidgins/Creoles: Two Mutually Clarifying Perspectives." *Multilingua* 6.1 (1987): 7–24.

Compares Jewish languages with pidgins and creoles on the basis of ideologies about them. Finds similarities in power dynamics, naming practices, and self-image, as well as differences in functional origins and relationship to holy texts.

Myhill, John. *Language in Jewish Society: Towards a New Understanding*. Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters, 2004. [ISBN: 9781853597619]

This book on Jews' relationship to language includes a brief sociolinguistic comparison between Jews and other ethnoreligious groups, including Copts, Maronites, and Gypsies.

Stillman, Norman A. "Language Patterns in Islamic and Judaic Societies." In *Islam and Judaism: 1400 Years of Shared Values*. Edited by Steven M. Wasserstrom, 41–55. Portland, OR: Institute for Judaic Studies in the Pacific Northwest, 1991.

Sociolinguistic comparison of Jews' and Muslims' language ideologies and use. Analyzes attitudes toward holy tongues; history of migration, conquest, and language

shift; use of Hebrew and Arabic script; and loanwords from Hebrew and Arabic for religious, ethical, and social concepts, names, salutations, and prophylactic formulas.

Wexler, Paul. "Periphrastic Integration of Semitic Verbal Material in Slavicized Yiddish and Turkish." In *The Field of Yiddish: Studies in Language, Folklore, and Literature; Fourth Collection*. Edited by Marvin I. Herzog, Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, Dan Miron, and Ruth Wisse, 431–473. Philadelphia: Institute for the Study of Human Issues, 1980. [ISBN: 9780915980987]

Comparative analysis of Hebrew-origin verbs in Yiddish and Arabic-origin verbs in Turkish, focusing on their periphrastic constructions.

Wexler, Paul. "Exploring the Distinctive Features of *Wandersprachen*: The Case of European Romani and Jewish Languages." *Mediterranean Language Review* 2 (1986): 7–45.

Compares and contrasts European Jewish languages (especially Yiddish and Karaim) and European Romani languages. Analyzes lexicon (especially loanwords from Greek and Slavic), phonology, morphology, and sociolinguistic situation, as well as lexical impact on surrounding European languages. Reprinted in Wexler 2006, cited under *Collected Works of Individuals*.

JEWISH LANGUAGE IDEOLOGIES

Language ideology refers to peoples' views about language and its relationship to social life. A good deal of work has looked at how speakers, outsiders, and scholars have viewed Jewish languages, especially in comparison to other types of languages and dialects. Birnbaum 1979 discusses various conceptions of Jewish languages. Fishman 1987 explains how Jewish languages have been discussed in relation to pidgins and creoles. Myhill 2004 analyzes how scholars and lay people have understood Jewish languages, and Myhill 2009 is a brief presentation of some of those arguments. Frakes 1989 offers a fascinating discussion of ideology in scholarship on Yiddish and Judeo-German. Similarly, Fudeman 2010 includes an enlightening analysis of ideology in various scholars' conceptions of Judeo-French and their personal relationship to Yiddish and other Jewish languages. A number of these works analyze the names that speakers, nonspeakers, and scholars have used to refer to Jewish languages. In addition, two works focus solely on this important issue: Prager 1986 is a useful list of names for many Jewish lects (languages and dialects), and Bunis 2008 analyzes many of these names. All of this work reminds us that scholarship is influenced by and influences general conceptions of language, identity, and community.

Birnbaum, Solomon A. *Yiddish: A Survey and a Grammar*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1979. [ISBN: 9780802053824]

In the introduction to his survey and grammar of Yiddish (pp. 3–15), Birnbaum considers different categorizations of Jewish languages, including "mixed languages," "creolized languages," and "dialects," as well as various explanations for their distinctness.

Bunis, David M. "The Names of Jewish Languages: A Taxonomy." In *Il mio cuore è a Oriente: Studi di linguistica storica, filologia e cultura ebraica dedicati a Maria Luisa Mayer Modena*. Edited by Francesco Aspesi, Vermondo Brugnattelli, Anna Linda Callow, and Claudia Rosenzweig, 415–433. Milan: Cisalpino, 2008. [ISBN: 9788832360912]

Analysis of how Jews have named various Jewish languages, varieties, and scripts, focusing on Judezmo and Yiddish and incorporating some information from Judeo-Italian, -Persian, -Romance, -Aramaic, and -Arabic. Discusses notions of foreignness, names of specific non-Jewish groups or languages, toponyms, Jewishness, “our language,” and Judeo-X.

Fishman, Joshua A. “Post-Exilic Jewish Languages and Pidgins/Creoles: Two Mutually Clarifying Perspectives.” *Multilingua* 6.1 (1987): 7–24.

Fishman compares ideologies surrounding Jewish languages (including use of terms like “jargon” and various glottonyms) to ideologies surrounding pidgins and creoles.

Frakes, Jerold C. *The Politics of Interpretation: Alterity and Ideology in Old Yiddish Studies*. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1989. [ISBN: 9780887068454]

A critical investigation of ideology among scholars of early Yiddish/(Judeo-)German texts. Frakes offers in-depth analysis of how scholars name and classify the language and how the texts are edited and transliterated for Yiddishist and Germanist audiences. The conceptual framework might be applied to other Jewish languages.

Fudeman, Kirsten A. *Vernacular Voices: Language and Identity in Medieval French Jewish Communities*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010. [ISBN: 9780812242508]

In chapter 1 of this study of medieval French Jewish language, Fudeman analyzes scholarly debates about Judeo-French qua Jewish language. She discusses the work of Banitt, M. Weinreich, and others who have glorified or downplayed the distinctiveness of Judeo-French, in light of their ideologies about Yiddish and other Jewish languages.

Myhill, John. *Language in Jewish Society: Towards a New Understanding*. Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters, 2004. [ISBN: 9781853597619]

Study of the role of language in Jews’ conceptions of identity and group boundaries, touching on sacralization and scholars’ understanding of what constitutes a Jewish language. Also offers discussion of the Hebrew language “revival” and contemporary Israeli language policy.

Myhill, John. “Varieties of Diaspora Languages.” In *Encyclopedia of the Jewish Diaspora: Origins, Experiences, and Culture*. Vol. 1, *Themes and Phenomena of the Jewish Diaspora*. Edited by M. Avrum Ehrlich, 172–180. Santa Barbara, CA: ABC CLIO, 2009. [ISBN: 9781851098736]

Discusses ideologies surrounding Jewish languages, focusing on when a distinctive way of speaking is considered a separate language. Compares the languages of Jews to those of other groups.

Prager, Leonard. “A Preliminary Checklist of English Names of Jewish Lects.” *Jewish Language Review* 6 (1986): 225–236.

Lists and recommends or rejects many glottonyms (names of languages) for Jewish languages; e.g., recommends Judezmo, Yiddish, Ancient Jewish Greek, Shuadit, Zarfatic, Jewish English; rejects Targumic, Marathic, Western Loez, and all the Judeo-X names. Prager explains the logic of his choices and gives references for the originators of some glottonyms.