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L A N G U A G E   C H A N G E

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C U L T U R A L   C O N T A C T

A   C A S E :   L A D I N O   /

K A R E N   G E R S O N

B.A., BOĞAZIÇI UNIVERSITY., 1980

Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements

for the

Degree of Master of Arts

in

Psychology

Department of Social Sciences, School of Administrative Sciences

Boğaziçi University

1983

Bogazici University Library



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## I N T R O D U C T I O N

1.1 The study of language has been a fascinating subject for researchers because of the generally held belief, that a careful scrutiny, and a good understanding of this very exciting subject will enable the unveiling of many crucial issues. The origins of interpersonal communication, the historical development of languages; the psychological relationships between an individual and the language or languages he speaks and the development of a community in relation to its language are some of these issues. Language is influenced by various factors such as the sociological, cultural, and the psycholinguistic factors such as perception, memory, and cognition. Time being a constant variable, language is in a continuous flux with all these different factors operating on it. That is why the study of Change constitutes an essential aspect of any study of language. A study of the changes that occur in a language across time, can bring out the influences at work on the structure of that language. Change and Structure are interrelated and both of them are influenced by psycholinguistic and sociolinguistic processes and limitations.

The historical events down through the centuries provide invaluable data to the sociolinguist who wants to study psycholinguistic changes in a language. The immigration of the Spanish Jews to the Ottoman Empire in 1492 and their settling down all around the empire, but mainly in Istanbul, İzmir and Selânik in

large colonies, is an example of one such historical event. These people brought with them their own language which is today called Ladino and succeeded in preserving it for more than four centuries. With the foundation of the Turkish Republic in 1923 the Ottoman Empire was abolished resulting in a total change in the social conditions of the country. These social changes forcibly affected the Jewish communities who adapted themselves to the new rule in a very short time. What was most affected however, was their language which could no longer be preserved as before because the factors which had helped its maintenance disappeared with the Ottoman Empire. With the influence of entirely new factors, Ladino started to slowly disappear and be replaced by Turkish.

When two cultures come into contact it is impossible for them not to influence one another. In this case, the influence of the dominant Turkish culture was greater on the Jewish, the culture of a minority. The influence was greatly seen in the latter's language, especially after the Republic was founded. This study is an attempt at tracing the influence of Turkish on Ladino across the last four generations. The domains of investigation will be limited to semantic and lexical change, and the reasons pertaining to these changes.

The influences of Turkish on Ladino has proved to be a good example of what sociolinguists have tried to explain in their theories of language change as influenced by culture contact. This research will aim at answering some of the questions on this subject.

1.2 The Historical Background of the Turkish Jews and their Language:<sup>(4)</sup>

In 1492, after the fall of Granada which marked the end of the Reconquista, the Catholic monarchs Isabella of Castille and Ferdinand of Aragon, decided to send all the Jews who refused to be converted, into exile.

Approximately 200,000 Spanish Jews were exiled towards the North of Europe, and also spread out in branches throughout the Mediterranean area. It has been of course, quite difficult to estimate the exact number of refugees in every country but according to F. Cantera Burgos 93,000 came to the Ottoman Empire, 3,000 to France, 9,000 to Italy, 21,000 to the Netherlands etc... The arrival of the Jews in Turkey coincided with the powerful era of the conquests of the Ottoman Empire. In 1492, in Istanbul, the Grand Rabbi Capsali asked Sultan Bayazit II to open the gates of his country to the Spanish refugees. Bayazit consented to do this quite readily as his conquests had been accompanied by a serious demographic vacuum.<sup>(5)</sup>

Istanbul, Salonica, Safed, Jerusalem, Cairo, all were witness to the flow of the refugees until the end of the sixteenth century.

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1. All the historical facts in this chapter have been taken from: Sephiha, H.V., L'Agonie des Judéo-Espagnols., Editions Entente Paris., 1977
  2. Bayazit is known to have said of the King of Spain: "How can this monarch be considered wise and intelligent when he impoverishes his own kingdom and enriches mine!" (Sephiha, p.14)

The communities were grouped according to their origins like Cordova, Aragon, Leon, Mallorca etc... Every group had their own synagogue or Kal: 'Kal de Kordova', 'Kal de los Gregos' etc.. but these were later united into one type of synagogue. A nostalgia for their mother-land existed throughout the community, hence the Hebrew word for Spain: Sepharad, and the name they chose to call themselves: Sephardim.

The Islamic religion is especially known for its reverence to all the other religions and prophets before Mohammed. Following this, there has always been a greater amount of tolerance practised in the Ottoman Empire towards minority groups. There were of course, certain restrictions like distinguishing signs, pre-determined type of hair-style and clothes of certain colours and form, but these were rarely applied very strictly. The tolerance in the Empire was quite ideal for the Jews who knew how exacting the laws were in the Christian countries. They were not obliged to build walls around their villages and so were not forced to keep themselves separated from the natives of the country. The minorities always found a way out of the restrictions by becoming government employees or diplomats.

Essentially warriors, the Turks knew how to put to good use the intellectual and pragmatic qualities of their minority subjects. During the whole of the sixteenth century they gathered round themselves counsellors who were mostly Jewish and who are said to have brought great profit and prosperity to the Empire. They also mostly required the services of Jewish doctors.<sup>(3)</sup> The Sultans trusted and honoured their Jewish subjects who were littl

inclined to betray them in favour of the Christian monarchs. Many travellers of the time who wrote about their journeys to the East noticed the important role the Jews played in the Ottoman Empire.<sup>(4)</sup>

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3. Some Jews were diplomats and some were financiers. The sudden rise of Joseph Nasi to a highly exalted position is significant. He had come to Istanbul in 1553, and belonged to a family of bankers who had branches in Anvers, France and Venice. After he came to Istanbul with all his family the Sultans Süleyman II and Selim II loaded him with honours. In 1565 Sultan Selim made him Duke of Naxos and gave him the management of Cyclades. Don Solomon Ibn Yaish arrived in Turkey in 1585. Sultan Murad III accorded him the title of Duke of Mytilene.

4. Pierre Belon wrote for example in 1553:

"Ceux qui médecinent en Turquie, par Egypte, Syrie, et Anatolie, et autres villes du pays du Turc, sont pour la grande partie Juifs. Il est facile aux Juifs de sçavoir quelque chose en medecine: car ils ont la commodité des livres Grecs, Arabes et Hébreux qui ont esté tournez en leur langage vulgaire, comme Hippocrate, et Galien, Avicenne, Almansor, ou Rosis, Serapion, et autres auteurs Arabes."

Jean Thévenot, a subject of Louis XIV gives a very good image of the peaceful and harmonious coexistence of every kind of people under the Ottoman rule : "L'île de Chio est fort sujett aux tremblements de terre, elle serait fort fertile si elle n'était pas si pierreuse, et si elle avait un peu d'eau, mais il y pleut si peu, qu'il faut tous les ans au printemps faire la procession, par la ville, pour obtenir la pluie du ciel; les Turcs font premièrement la leur, puis les Grecs, puis les Latins, puis les Juifs: les Turcs se mettent fort peu en

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The prosperity of the sixteenth century did not continue however. With the decline of the power of the Ottoman Empire and the continuous defeats of its army, life also began to get harder for the people. It was difficult to find work and even so, the salaries were very low. The Jews also had to resign themselves to a dreary kind of life always trying however, to follow the precepts of their Torah (holy book).

Grouping themselves according to their province of origin and linguistic affinity, the Jews formed communities governed by the Rabbi, the chief of the Yeshivah, the Master of Studies, and the Judge. Every group had its own Synagogue, its school, another superior school (Yeshivah), and its court. They also had groups of charity for looking after the poor, the needy, the ill and the old members of the community. The taxes were collected by members of the societies and delivered to the government official at that town thus showing an internal autonomy in their lives.

The community was ruled by its rabbis, school masters and judges. They were both hispanic and Jewish and were almost entirely out of touch with the outside world except when refugees or travellers came to tell them the events of the world. Otherwise they led a traditional and patriarchal life following their religious scripts to the letter. Their ceremonies, holidays,

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peine lesquelles de toutes ces prières sont éaucées, pourvu qu'ils aient ce qu'ils demandent /.../"

(Sephtha, p.26)

and other important days were organized by the religious authorities who also had the education of the community under their control. Having many children was considered to be a blessing of God and this idea was reinforced by the education given to the sons who had an exalted position in the society. They were taught to read and write both in Spanish and in Hebrew letters.

A parallel cultural development took place in the prosperous times of the sixteenth century when many rabbinic universities were founded in cities like Salonica, Safed, Jerusalem, Smyrna, Bursa, Ankara etc... The Jewish child would first go to the Talmud Torah often referred to as meldar (to read) where he learned how to read and write, and also the translation of the Bible in Ladino. After this school, if he was found to have talent, or as was more usually the case, after an apprenticeship period he went to the Yeshivah which was the university.

The Jews who had been living in Christian Spain were all hispanophones and most of them ignored Hebrew, their liturgical language. The Rabbis and religious men had to have translations of religious texts and books so as to teach their Spanish speaking people and keep them attached to their religion. The language they have used in these translations goes back to the thirteenth century. They used their everyday language, then called Ladino, Romance, or Español in an effort to produce texts as equally sacred as their originals. Memorization of these texts by students and their being taught throughout the following generations allowed Ladino to come to our days.

This was how the Vernacular Spanish, or Espaniol or Judezmo

(Judaism), or Judio or Jidio (Jewish) was born. Judezmo, Judio and Jidio correspond to a need of identifying their own language. The German Jews have done the same thing by calling their language Yiddish from the word in German Jüdisch meaning 'Jewish'. The Moslem Turks knew Spanish only through the Jews so they called it Yahudice meaning 'language of the Jews'.<sup>(5)</sup>

Wherever they went, the Sephardic Jews took with them the language of the fifteenth-century Spain which had been their native tongue for many centuries. This language did not follow the changes that affected it in Spain in the following decades. It continued to be spoken as in 1492. Travellers were astonished at finding such good speakers of Spanish such a long way away from its motherland, in the first decades following the migration, but in later years not realizing that this language was an archaic form of their own they labelled it as strange. The step was thus taken, in identifying this particular language as belonging exclusively to the Sephardim or Judéo-Espagnols.

However, the political decline in the following centuries was paralleled by a cultural decline. In the eighteenth and

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5. The identification had been so well-established that the arrival of Christian Spanish citizens was met with exclamations like 'A Jew! A Jew!'. Amusing anecdotes on this subject are abundant. It is said for example, that a Spanish priest who knew there were Spanish speaking Jews in Salonica was walking through the streets trying to communicate with them. Certain of these people however, hearing him speak Spanish turned round and spat in his direction saying, "Bah, a Jewish 'priest'!" (Sefiha, p.17).

nineteenth centuries, the studies of the Torah and the religion deteriorated to such a point that most members of the community did not know how to read the Bible. They tried to overcome this crisis by publishing a new edition of the Old Testament in Hebrew and Ladino, and also an encyclopedia of the Jews containing all the traditions, legends, anecdotes and religious scripts. They thus prevented the loss of identity that threatened to overcome the community, and also the loss of ethical and theological works translated to judéo-espagnol or ancient Castiliano.

However much the Jewish societies lived cut off from the world outside, they were not out of touch with the world of their hosts. The continuous relationship and interaction between them led to a borrowing mostly on the part of the Jews in the cultural domains of music, beliefs, traditions, superstitions, cooking, and language. Words in Turkish, Greek, Bulgarian, Italian were assimilated into Ladino so well that after some time even the native speakers could not differentiate between the borrowed words and their originals.

- Ex. 1.     'fostan' (from Tk. fistan) -- dress  
          'carukas' (from Tk. carik) -- slippers  
          'piron' (from Greek piruni) -- fork

The changes in the culture and the language came about quite early. Already in the sixteenth century, Israel Najara had some of his poems sung with melodies borrowed from the Turkish Music of the time. Many Jews, especially those who were protected by the capitulations or consuls, dressed themselves in the Turkish costume despite the restrictions.

Everyday the muezzins called the religious to prayer; hearing them caused the Jews to adopt many of their airs and 'makans' in their synagogues. The best cantors were called 'bilbil', a borrowing from the Turkish word 'bülbül' (nightingale), which even became a family name. Even the Romansas (folkloric songs) were affected by the Turkish culture both in the lexical and the thematic levels which allowed poets to have a newer and larger repertoire. We may also, though very rarely, come across Turkish words in sacred religious texts in Ladino: "... tambyen tu di a el komo dinim del pesah no espartiran despues del korban pesah afikomín."<sup>(6)</sup>

Many legends, fairy stories and traditional anecdotes were borrowed from the Greek, Bulgarian and Turkish cultural treasures.<sup>(7)</sup>

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6. Bueno, Yishak (ed)., Agada de Pesah., Güler Matbaası., Istanbul. 1953., p.7

7. Most remarkable is the borrowing of the famous Nasreddin Hoca personality who is a traditional figure in the Turkish culture representing a naivité coupled with sharp and humouristic cunning and wit. He is referred to in Ladino as 'Coha' ('Goha' by the Egyptians). He has become so familiar to the Jews that there are quite a few proverbs, idioms, and expressions with Coha, who was assimilated into the culture with relish:
- Ex. 2. 'Coha se fue al banyo, topo de kontar un anyo.' (Coha went to the bath, and talked about it for a year.)
- Ex. 3. 'Si Coha viene s'ezbraga, le parese ke es banyo.' (If Coha comes he will strip thinking that this is a bath.)
- Ex. 4. 'Se vistio Coha vistido de Şaba en dia de semana.' (Coha wore his Saturday clothes during the week.)
- Ex. 5. 'Espartio Coha, para si lo mas.' (Coha divided the goods and took most of it himself.)

The many superstitions that were shared by the Turks and other nations under their rule were also shared by the Jews. One comes across famous persons sacralised after their deaths and visited by Moslems, Christians and Jews alike to have their wishes realised. 'Telli Baba' is an example of this.

Such changes, effects, and borrowings from one culture to the other went on during centuries in the Ottoman Empire where linguistic repression was never exercised.

With the French Revolution however, came the ideals of Equality and Fraternity, causing the Jews throughout the world to have a great admiration for France, 'the blessed country'. This paved the way for the foundation of L'Alliance Israelite Universelle in Paris in 1860, with the aim of protecting the Jews in the world. It was at first interested in the Jews of Poland and Russia who led very difficult and miserable lives, but its activities were not accepted by Russia. So, it spread out to the South and started founding schools: Baghdad (1865); Istanbul (1865); Smyrna and Salonica (1873) etc... By 1912 the Alliance had a total of 71 schools for boys and 44 schools for girls: 52 in the European part of Turkey and 63 in the Asiatic part. As the teaching was done in French, it logically follows that French became the language of the culture and penetrated in all sections of the communities. French also became the language of all the other minorities, and also of the educated section of the Turkish community.

The teachings of the Alliance schools brought Ladino under a new influence: French. The traditional teachings in Ladino

were slowly substituted by French. The graduates of the Alliance schools formed an élite who used Ladino only in communicating with parents or with the people who had not had a chance of studying in these schools, the 'klasa basa' or the 'bassa classe'. The rupture became both linguistic and social. The articles in the Ladino press became extremely French-styled, thus influencing the Spanish syntax. Although the people tried to resist the effects of French, the snobism that governed the community was more powerful and the Jews found themselves before a new form of their language: the 'judéo-fragnol'.

1.2.1. In Turkey:

Despite the numerous migrations there are still about 35,000 to 40,000 Spanish Jews in Turkey. With the poorest part of the population gone, there remains now a community of bourgeoisie whose members are mostly business men or have liberal professions. Since there is no more migration the situation has been stabilized. The migrations have resulted in the abandoning of synagogues, and the closing of the communal schools except for a few in Istanbul-- where the language of teaching is Turkish. Families who have the means to send their children to foreign colleges or Turkish schools, do so. The charity services still exist, and the religious life, though highly weakened by the indifference of the members, continues.

Turkish and the other foreign languages are pushing Ladino further back into the background. In 1955, 64% of the Jews in Turkey had declared that Yahudice was their native language when in 1927 84% had said so. In 1970 there were still two

newspapers half in Ladino and half in Turkish with about 7,000 readers. Today, after the disappearance of 'La Vera Luz' (The True Light) in 1972, only 'Salom' (Peace) remains. Ladino is maintained quite firmly in the religious sections of the community. It was the only language which was spoken at the Grand Rabbinate in 1970, though today the younger employees speak Turkish. The monolingual Ladino speakers can be found only amongst the oldest members of the community. The others are either bilingual (Ladino+Turkish), or trilingual (Ladino+French+Turkish), or as is the case today, monolingual again with Turkish as the only language used in communication.

### 1.3 Purpose of the Study:

As can be seen from the section above, on the historical background of Ladino, the important socio-historical events that have occurred in the last century have very much affected the lives of the minorities who were after all part of the larger Turkish culture, even if they were regarded as such or not. The War of Independence followed by the foundation of the Turkish Republic and the Lausanne Pact in which Jews were accepted as Turkish citizens and not as a minority were major events which affected their culture. As a consequence it can be seen that Ladino is a perfect example for language change under conditions of culture contact. If a language is used by a social group which is a minority and if its functional importance for that group declines, then that language is bound to slowly fade away.

The present study addresses itself to two major aspects of language change as promoted by culture contact:

- I. The description of the linguistic changes in Ladino, mainly:
  - A. Semantic Changes, and
  - B. Changes in the Lexical Items.
- II. The investigation of the factors operative in the fading out of Ladino due to its loss of functionality in the society that had been using it for more than four hundred years.

The linguistic area of study being too large and wide for this research, we have focused our attention mainly on semantic changes and changes in lexical items. Only cursory glances have been taken of Phonology and Syntax which are the other two main parts of the grammar of a language.

Semantic Change refers to the changes in meaning that are brought about in a language by different social and cultural factors. Changes in Lexical Items however, are the changes that occur to particular items of the vocabulary of a language. Although these two fields somewhat overlap, it would not be wrong to say that Semantic Change takes only meaning into consideration, while a study of Changes in the Lexical Items involves change of both meaning and form. The reasons for these changes are manifold and they will be discussed later.

The other reason for the change that occurs in a language is social. Language is in continual flux open to influences of socio-historical events, attitudes, and many other social

effects during the course of Time. A language has to be functional in communication in the first place, for it to survive. If it is replaced in functionality by another language then it will go out of use and will consequently fade out.

Ladino was not in danger of fading out until the twentieth-century. Beginning from the end of the nineteenth century however, the drastic changes that took place in the social organization of the communities involved led to a decline in the use of the language in a matter of four to five generations. This research attempts to trace down some aspects of the social and cultural change that took place by studying Ladino speakers of four different generations and by making intergenerational comparisons. The speech data used for the investigation of linguistic changes also comes from the interviews that were held with the subjects of the four different generations.

#### 1.4 The Hypotheses:

- I. There will be differences in the Ladino and Turkish spoken and understood across the different generations of Ladino speakers in terms of :
  - A. Amount
  - B. Frequency
  - C. Fluency
  - D. Accent
  - E. Syntax, and
  - F. Main source for borrowings.
- II. The influence of Turkish in the form of lexical borrowings

will mostly be seen in:

A. Idioms and expressions

B. Lexical categories such as nouns, adjectives, verbs etc. in particular, food names, household items, business terminology and the like; that is , in vocabulary pertaining to everyday situations where there is inevitable contact with Turkish.

III. Any item borrowed from Turkish will be adapted to the phonological and syntactic systems of Ladino by the speakers.

IV. The attitudes of the speakers towards Ladino will be increasingly negative with decreasing age.

V. The functionality of using Turkish in interpersonal communication will increase with decreasing age.

CHAPTER II  
M E T H O D

2.1 The Sample:

The data was collected from a sample of 82 people randomly chosen from Ladino speakers in Istanbul. To show the various differences in the speeches of Ladino speakers across generations, the sample was taken from four different age groups for whom periods of language acquisition and early use correspond to:

- |                            |              |
|----------------------------|--------------|
| I. Before and up to 1920   | ( ←- 1920)   |
| II. Between 1921 and 1940  | (1921--1940) |
| III. Between 1941 and 1960 | (1941--1960) |
| IV. After 1961             | (1961 → )    |

The sample was randomly selected from among the guests attending the weddings in the Neve-Şalom Synagogue. During the time of sample selection there were about thirty weddings at the Neve-Şalom Synagogue, the major place where the Jewish wedding ceremony is carried out in Istanbul. Weddings are classified as first, second and third class according to the economic possibilities of the families, therefore the guests at the ceremonies came from a wide range of backgrounds. Thus the Neve-Şalom ceremonies seemed a good place for getting a fairly satisfactory random sample. Three to five people were randomly selected by the researcher at every ceremony for thirty weddings, and their addresses were obtained. Some people could not be reached due to the summer holidays and a sample of 82 was finally obtained

(42 male and 40 female subjects):

<u>Generation</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Male</u>	<u>Female</u>
I. ←- 1920	20	10	10
II. 1921--1940	20	10	10
III. 1941--1960	20	10	10
IV. 1961 →	22	12	10
Total	82	42	40

TABLE I. DISTRIBUTION OF SUBJECTS ACROSS GENERA

The speech style of the speakers of a language is closely related to their socioeconomic status. It is often the case too, that higher SES is associated with better education. An SES-stratification of the sample however, always causes problems in social scientific research because of the very subjectivity of the classifications of High, Middle, and Low SES, and the fact that in most cases these classifications overlap to a most unwelcome degree. Therefore, in the present study, SES was excluded as a control variable. A good random sample should be able to cover the range of the SES continuum, that is why, any specific characteristics pertaining to this variable will be taken up as observations in the data analysis, thus avoiding the subjectivity in the purposive sample which would otherwise have been formed.

## 2.2 Procedure:

A ten-minute interview which was audio-recorded was made with every subject. The interview consisted of fifteen ques-

tions, three stories portrayed by ten caricatures to be recounted and a request for the description of a Bar-Mitzvah that the subject had seen or experienced. Then, the researcher had short talks with the subjects about their attitudes towards speaking Ladino and these were written down as observations. The analysis was carried out on the recorded data transcribed in the phonetic transcription determined by the researcher herself.

Apart from the interviews, over one thousand idioms and expressions were collected. This was done by listening to the free speech of many speakers over a period of eight months.

### 2.3 Materials:

The materials consisted of a tape-recorder, audio-cassettes, and a set of caricatures for narrative elicitation, prepared by a student of 'Devlet Güzel Sanatlar Akademisi'. They were prepared as three stories, the first portrayed in four cards and the other two in three cards each, giving a total of ten cards. The first story called 'DOTA' (dowry), told about the love affair of a young couple coming to nought because the parents could not agree about the amount of the girl's dowry. The second story called 'FIKSO' (the day women gather to play cards) tells about four women playing a card game in the house of one of them. The third story called 'KAZAR' (getting married) tells about a wonderful love affair between a young couple turning into a sordid kind of life once married. (See Appendix II) These stories are about subjects on which every Turkish Jew can converse comfortably because of their very actuality and

ironical quality. The speech elicited by these caricatures constitute the data for the comparison across generations because they are standard material.

#### 2.4 Data Collection:

The following questions were asked to every subject in Ladino

1. 'Kuantos anyos tiene?'  
(How old are you?)
2. 'Ke eço aze?'  
(What is your job?)
3. 'Komo es su situasyon ekonomika? a. Başa b. Media c. Alta'  
(What is your economic situation? a. Low b. Middle c. High)
4. 'En ke eskola(s) estudio?'  
(In which school(s) did you study?)
5. 'Ande es su kaza?'  
(Where do you live?)
6. 'Ande nasyo?'  
(Where were you born?)
7. 'Ande nasyeron sus paryentes?'  
(Where were your parents born?)
8. 'Komo se yama la lingua ke esta avlando?'  
(What is the language that you are speaking called?)
9. 'Ande se l'ambezo a avlar? Komo?'  
(Where did you learn to speak it? How?)
10. 'Ke ligua avlaş (avlavaş) en vuestra kaza kon vuestros paryentes?'  
(Which language do (did) you speak at home with your parents?)

11. 'Ke liguas avla aparte del Ladino?'  
(What languages do you speak apart from Ladino?)
12. 'Ke lingua avla mas munço i mas mijor?'  
(Which language do you speak most and best?)  
'Puede darme el orden i el pursantaj en un dia?'  
(Could you give me the order and the percentage in one day?)
13. 'Ke son las okazyones donde avla estas linguas? Por exemplo, en ke okazyones u situasyones, u kon komo de personas avla el Ladino?'  
(On what occasions do you speak these languages? For example, on what occasions or with what kind of people do you speak Ladino?)
14. 'Puede meldar i eskrivir en Ladino? Si no, porke?'  
(Can you read and write in Ladino? If not, why?)
15. 'En ke lingua avla mas trankilo? De ke?'  
(In which language do you speak more comfortably? Why?)

After these questions the subjects were shown the ten caricatures and they were asked to recount the three stories they saw:

Story I	:	'DOTA' (dowry)	:	Caricatures 1-4
Story II	:	'FIKSO' (day for playing cards)	:	Caricatures 5-7
Story III	:	'KAZAR' (getting married)	:	Caricatures 8-10

To elicit some kind of free speech the subjects were then asked to give an account of a Bar-Mitzvah they had seen or experienced.

For the generation of (1961 →) a different procedure for collecting the data had to be followed in some cases. For the subjects who could not at all speak, but who claimed to understand Ladino, the researcher proceeded in the following way: The subjects were asked to translate the fifteen questions into Turkish and answer them in Turkish or in Ladino if they could do so. The researcher had written down the stories of the caricatures in Ladino and the subjects were asked to translate what the researcher said sentence by sentence. In this way the degree of comprehension was obtained for these subjects. No free-speech could be elicited from them but answering the questions in Ladino was encouraged.

Some of the subjects who belonged to the generation of (← 1920) had problems in solving the caricatures. They were either too old to see the pictures properly or they just could not make out anything of the caricatures themselves. So they were asked to recount a wedding and a day for playing cards of their time so as to cover the stories of the caricatures.

## CHAPTER III

### R E S U L T S    A N D    D I S C U S S I O N

#### 3.1 Description of the Linguistic Changes in Ladino:

Both linguistic and non-linguistic factors influence the changes that occur in the Semantic and Lexical fields of a language:

##### Semantic Change caused by Linguistic Factors:

Most linguists agree that meaning is the element in a language which has the least resistance to change. (Meillet 1926, Weinreich 1953; Lehmann 1973). They contend that meaning is always vague in relation to its form (word), and that there is no one-to-one relationship between meaning and form. That is why, with different kinds of influences working on language, this relation between form and meaning proves to be most vulnerable to changes. There are always more meanings than there are words, so that if there arises any need for encoding new meanings, this is done by either generating new words or changing the old ones. There are nine types of changes that can occur by the influence of this type of linguistic factor:

I. Narrowing: when a word which signified a more general meaning narrows down and comes to have a more specialized meaning, this is called 'Narrowing'.

Ex.6 The Castiliano word 'Frio' (cold) has narrowed down to mean only (cold weather) in Ladino.

Ex.7 Castiliano 'Lampara' (lamp) is used in Ladino only for the religious lighting of candles at ceremonies. 'Lampa' is the word used to designate the meaning of normal lamps.

II. Widening or Extension: this occurs when a word comes to have a more generalized meaning than what it started out with:

Ex.8 Castiliano 'Rosa' (rose) widened in meaning to (flower) in Ladino.

Ex.9 Castiliano 'Kodrero' (flesh of sheep) widened to (sheep in general) in Ladino.

Ex.10 'Asukar' (sugar) is also used for (diabetis).

Ex.11 'Dulse' (sweet 'adj.')

has also come to acquire the meaning of (jam).

Ex.12 The Castiliano word for (it's a pity, poor thing) was 'Pekado'. This word widened in meaning in Ladino and also came to mean (Sin) with a generated verb of the same root 'Pekar' (to sin).

III. Metaphor: occurs when the metaphorical meaning of the word comes to be substituted for the original word and the original meaning is forgotten:

Ex.13 Castiliano 'Negro' (black) has the meaning (bad) in Ladino and another word, 'Preto' is used for (balck).

Ex.14 Ladino 'Puerko' is now used to mean (very dirty) whereas its original meaning was (Pig).

Ex.15 In the same way 'Oveja' which originally meant

(sheep) is now used as (very obedient).

Ex.16 'Lonso' (bear) has come to acquire the additional meaning (stupid) through metaphor.

Ex.17 'Ravano' (raddish) is now also an adjective describing (a very lazy student).

IV. Metonymy: is the semantic change that occurs when a word comes to have a meaning that is near the original in space or time:

Ex.18 Ladino has borrowed the word 'Çadir' (tent) from Turkish and uses it as (umbrella).

V. Synecdoche: occurs when the new word is related to the old one through a part-whole relation:

Ex.19 Ladino 'Dulse' (sweet) also came to acquire the meaning (jam).

VI. Hyperbole: is the name given to the change a word undergoes from stronger to weaker meaning:

Ex.20 Castiliano 'Helado' (ice) changed its meaning to 'Yelado' (cold) in Ladino.

VII. Litotes: is when the change goes from the weaker to the stronger meaning.

VIII. Degeneration: occurs when a word comes to have a completely different negative meaning:

Ex.21 Ladino 'Kozina' (kitchen) has acquired the meaning of (W.C.).

IX. Elevation: occurs when a word is used with a much more positive meaning:

Ex.22 Ladino 'Lokura' (madness) is also used as an adject-

tive meaning (delicious).

Semantic Change caused by the Influence of Non-Linguistic Factors:

One of the most important sources of influence on the semantic fields and lexicon of a language is the advances that are made in technology and science with the consequent changes that occur in society. Whenever new items are invented or discovered there arises a need to name them. These names are either taken from the already existent words by extending their meanings like the word 'Pool' in English which underwent a change in meaning when 'Swimming pools' came into fashion; or they are borrowed from a language they are in close contact with.

A language like Ladino which had no contact with its mother language Spanish, had no other choice but supply the missing vocabulary from the languages around it, ie. French, Greek, and Turkish. Thus we have 'radyo', 'televizyon', 'telegrafo', 'telefon', 'elektrisit'... from French; 'piron' (fork)... from Greek; and 'karpuz' (water-melon), 'kebab' (kebab), 'soba' (stove) etc... from Turkish.

Changes in the Lexical Items:

Weinreich (1953) brings in a detailed account for the interference that occurs on lexical items. He contends that there are several ways in which one vocabulary influences or interferes with another. Given two languages, we may have the morphemes of A being transferred to B; or the morphemes of B being transferred

or used with new functions taking the morphemes of A as a model; or we could have compound lexical items where both of the latter processes might be combined.

I. Simple Words: The type of interference that is mostly seen in simple lexical items is their outright transfer from one language to another. Sometimes the transferred items are changed phonemically in such a way as to resemble any other word of the language which accepts them. Thus we have the words 'huri', 'uti', 'kazik', 'bizelya', 'buzuk'... in Ladino which have been borrowed from the Turkish words 'boru' (tube), 'ütü' (iron), 'kazık' (cheated), 'bezelye' (peas), 'bozuk' (not working), consecutively. Looking at the phonemic adaptation of these words it is difficult for the speakers to realize that they are borrowed items from Turkish because of their complete phonetic assimilation.

II. Phrases: Two types of interference occurs with phrases, or may be transferred in analyzed forms. When this occurs the phrase is seen to get adapted to the syntactic pattern of the influenced language. There are quite a few examples of this kind in Ladino, with the transfer of Turkish phrases, expressions and idioms.

Ex. 22. 'Ke haber?' -- Ne haber? (What's up?)

Ex. 23. 'Sinko paras no vale.' -- Beş para etmez. (It isn't worth tuppence.)

Ex. 24. 'La soba no esta travando.' -- Soba çekmiyor. (The stove isn't working.)

Ex. 25. 'La kavesa me se izo kazan.' -- Kafam kazan oldu. (My head is aching.)

Ex. 26. 'Komimoz un buen kazik' -- İyi bir kazık yedik.

(We were cheated).

- Ex. 27. 'Ande t'estas yindo demanyana sabahlan?' -- Sabah sabah nereye gidiyorsun? (Where are you going so early in the morning?)

Phrases or even longer forms like proverbs can be reproduced with equivalent indigenous forms. This form of interference is generally called Loan Translations, but is also subdivided into three:

A. Loan Translations proper where the foreign forms are reproduced exactly feature by feature. Thus we have in Ladino:

- Ex. 28. 'Me unflo la kavesa bueno' -- Kafamı iyice şişirdi (S/he made my head ache.)

- Ex. 29. 'Ken save?' -- Kimbilir? (Who knows?)

- Ex. 30. 'Las luzes estan kortadas.' -- Işıklar kesik. (The lights are out.)

- Ex. 31. 'Ya dyo savor de kalavasa.' -- Kabak tadı verdi. (It has become terribly boring.)

- Ex. 32. 'Kavesa de lenyo!' -- Odun kafalı! (Wooden head!)

- Ex. 33. 'Ya amanesyo en Üsküdar' -- Üsküdar'da sabah oldu. (It is morning in Üsküdar, meaning it is too late.)

B. Loan renditions where the foreign form proves to be just a general model for the reproduction. In this case the reproduction is not so exact.

- Ex. 34. 'Ya me aze el eço' -- İşimi yapar (görür). (It does my work.)

C. Loan creations where new forms are created to match the forms in the language that causes the influence.

We have thus dealt with the kinds of lexical and semantic interference one language can practise on another and the types of borrowings that can occur. It can correctly be assumed that the integration of the interfering and borrowed elements will cause certain problems. Only the lexical items which have been borrowed as a result of the appearance of technical and scientific innovations, inventions and objects can be integrated into the recipient language, without having any important effects. Any other type of interference or loans will affect the already existing vocabulary, in any one of the following three ways:

I. There could arise a confusion between the contents of the new and the old word:

Ex. 35. The Ladino word for (kitchen) 'kozina' is used confusingly to mean (toilet) since the word 'mupak' (kitchen) from the Turkish 'mutfak' was borrowed.

II. The old word may disappear:

Ex. 36. The Ladino words for (slippers, dress, legs) have disappeared and the borrowed forms 'çarukas', 'fostan', 'paças' have taken their place.

III. Both the new and the old word may survive and their contents may come to be specialized:

Ex. 37. The Ladino word for (ice) has survived together with the new borrowed form 'buz' from Turkish. But the word 'yelado' is now used to mean (cold)

instead of (ice).

The Semantic Changes and Changes in the Lexical Items that have occurred in Ladino seem to support the linguistic theories on Change of Lehmann (1973), and Weinreich (1953). Both Culture Contact and the evolution that a language undergoes through the passage of time influence the changes that occur in a language. Change, under these circumstances seems inevitable; the rate and amount however, seems to depend on how strong the impact of social events is on the language and on how much these social events are involved with it.

### 3.2 The Investigation of the Fading-out of Ladino and Results pertaining to the Research Hypotheses:

It was deemed important by the researcher to collect some background information about the subjects in order to better substantiate the hypotheses. Questions I, II, III, V, VI and VII are related to the demographic characteristics of the speakers like age, occupation, income level and place of birth and origin.

#### I. Age:

The first question 'Kuantos anyos tiene?' (How old are you?) shows us the range of the speakers' ages across and within the four generations. .(See Table II).

#### II. Occupation:

Question II 'Ke eco aze?' (What is your job?) furnished the data for this particular characteristic of the speakers. The answers to this question were interesting though not very surprising.

	GEN. I	GEN. II	GEN. III.	GEN. IV
Age RANGE	85-63	61-43	40-24	11-20
NUMBER	20	20	20	22
AVERAGE	71.4	53.6	33.6	16.7
ST. DEV.	6.77	5.85	4.84	1.67

TABLE II. THE AGE RANGE OF THE SPEAKERS

Out of the forty women that were interviewed only one girl, eighteen years old, said she worked as a secretary. Seven others in the fourth generation were students, but all the rest said they were 'mujer de kaza' (housewife). (See Table III)

OCCUPATION	NUMBER	PERCENTAGE
HOUSEWIFE	32	80
STUDENT	7	17.5
SECRETARY	1	2.5
Total	40	100

TABLE III. OCCUPATION OF THE WOMEN SUBJECTS

This finding shows us the attitude of the community towards working women or working wives. A woman is obliged to go to work only when it is economically very necessary for her to do so.

It is not considered at all socially acceptable for a woman to go to work as it would put the husband's powers of supporting his wife under question. Most of the women however, seemed embarrassed and felt uncomfortable at admitting they did nothing or stayed at home. Although such reactions could indicate that the attitude of the community towards the categories "working woman" vs. "housewife" is slowly changing it should be taken with precaution since an attitude cannot be considered to be really held by a person if the behaviour does not show up.

The professions of the men covered a large range of different jobs. (SEE Table IV).

OCCUPATION		NUMBER
INDUSTRY	FACTORY OWNER	3
	INDUSTRIAL	2
	ENGINEER	5
MANAGEMENT	SPARE PARTS	3
	MANAGER	4
	ACCOUNTANT	3
TRADE	MERCHANT	3
	CLOTHING	1
	PHOTOGRAPHER	1
	SHOE-SHINE	1
	ELECTRICIAN	1
OTHER	LIBERAL	2
	STUDENT	6
	DOCTOR	3
	RETIRED	4
Total		42

TABLE IV. OCCUPATION OF THE MALE SUBJECTS

The point of interest about the men's responses to this question was that the names of the professions were given either in French or in Turkish. (See Appendix III). Ever since the Jews settled down in the Ottoman Empire, men were the members of the community who had contact with the major community outside their own. They did business all around the country and this continuous contact with the business world resulted in the importing of the business terminology into the language by the men. These were the kinds of words that were linguistically most vulnerable in terms of 'change' because their Ladino counterparts were not at all used while the borrowed terms were used continually.

### III. Economic Situation:

Question III "Komo es su situasyon ekonomika? Başa, media, alta?" (How is your economic situation? Low, middle, high?) and Question IV 'Ande es su kaza?' (Where do you live?) were the two questions by which the researcher hoped to obtain information about the socioeconomic situation of the subjects. From the two questions, number III proved to be quite a bad one for an interview. 95% of the speakers said their economic situation was "middle", 3% said it was "low", and only 2% said it was "high". Of the 95% who said their situation was "middle" at least half should have said "high" according to the observations of the interviewer, but here cultural effects prevented them from saying so. No correct estimate of the level of SES could be obtained from this direct question.

Question V however has given us more of an idea about the

economic situation of the speakers than Question III. The addresses of the subjects give us a clearer idea of their economic situation. The economically well-off members of the Jewish community live in Nişantaş, Gayrettepe, Etiler or Bebek; the middle-SES members live in Şişli, Osmanbey and Kurtuluş; and the people who are low on the economic scale live in Şişane, Kuledibi, Balat and their surroundings. With few exceptions, this is generally the case. The farther away people live from Şişane and Kuledibi the higher their status rises on the social level and the better they are considered in the community. However, the only relation that could be observed between Ladino speaking and SES level is that low-SES people were more fluent in their speech in Ladino, meaning that they did not spend any time in Pauses while speaking in all the generations. There does not seem to be any other kind of relation otherwise. Of course SES level may influence education means which indirectly influences performance in Ladino speaking.

#### IV. Place of Birth and Origin:

Question VI 'Ande nasyo?' (Where were you born?) and Question VII 'Ande nasyeron sus paryentes?' (Where were your parents born?) provided the necessary data about the place of birth and origin of the subjects. Apart from the demographic information that this data gives, the place of birth and origin of the speakers are also language related variables which take into account any differences in the speeches of Ladino speakers. There are some differences which may be termed dialectical in the Ladino spoken in different regions of Turkey, the main dialects belonging to

Istanbul, İzmir and Edirne. 90% of the speakers were born in Istanbul, and the other 10% were born in the Marmara region with the exception of one speaker who was born in Bulgaria. (The others were born in Çanakkale, Edirne, Çorlu, Tekirdağ). As can be seen, there was no problem of dialect differences in the present study.

Information about the place of birth of the parents shows how the places of settlement for the Jews have converged to the big, metropolitan cities like Istanbul and İzmir from places like Çorlu, Tokat, Edirne, Kırklareli, Çanakkale, Tekirdağ etc... It supports a historical fact that the Jews moved to the metropolitan areas as their numbers decreased. They preferred moving to places where their own communities were more numbered.

#### V. Identifying Ladino:

Question VIII 'Komo se yama la lingua ke esta avlando?' (What is the language that you are speaking, called?) was included in the interview to see how the speakers identified the language and therefore, indirectly themselves. (See Table V).

Even when the speakers called the language anything other than "Spanish", all of them continued to refer to it in their later speech as "Espanyol, Ispanyolca, Spanyol" which shows the strong identification with Spain, the motherland of the Sephardic Jews. Nevertheless, the speakers all remarked that it was the Spanish the Jews spoke in Turkey and that it was no longer pure. Apart from the oldest speakers who are more or less monolingual in Ladino, all the others told the interviewer that the language had become mixed with Turkish and that they could not see the use

of studying such an impure and 'funny' language.

NAME GIVEN	FREQUENCY
'Espanyol', 'İspanyol', İspanyolca', 'Spanyol'	63
'Cudeco-Espanyol' (Jewish-Spanish)	7
'Ladino'	11
'Cudyo' (Jewish)	1
'Sefaradit' (Hebrew name for 'Spanish')	2
'Karışık' (Mixed)	1
'Esperanto'	1
Total	86*

TABLE V. IDENTIFYING LADINO

### 3.3 Results Pertaining to the Hypotheses:

Hypothesis I stated: " There will be differences in the Ladino spoken and understood across the different generations of Ladino speakers in terms of:

- A. Amount
- B. Frequency
- C. Fluency
- D. Accent
- E. Syntax

F. Main source for borrowings."

Before presenting the results related to each subquestion of Hypothesis I, the amount and duration of speech produced in Ladino in the interviews in general, will be discussed. The differences in the speeches of the subjects across the four generations is quite apparent from the frequency tables. (See Tables VI, VII and VIII). The "Minutes of Speech" in Table VI corresponds to the length of the interview in minutes. The pauses that are noted on Tables VI, VII and VIII were calculated with a stop watch, and they constitute the times when the subject hesitated to find his words or thought about the formulation of his sentences.

The findings are summarized in Tables VII and VIII where we see that while the first two generations all speak Ladino quite fluently, the percentage starts dropping (90%) in Generation III and we notice a dramatic drop in the last generation (54%). The amount of pauses gives us a good idea of the fluency of the Ladino spoken. The speakers of Generation III spent half their time in pauses whereas Generation IV speakers used two-thirds of their time trying to formulate sentences in Ladino. It is also quite significant to note that more than half of Generation IV speakers who did produce speech in Ladino could not tell about a Bar-Mitzvah, in other words, no free speech was obtained from these speakers suggesting that even though their level of comprehension is high, their level of competence in Ladino is very low.

Table VIII shows that with decreasing age we have more

borrowings from Turkish and French, the two main sources of Non-Ladino words. This was the case, even though it was constantly observed that subjects did their best to control their speech and speak as purely as possible. Although the subjects were encouraged to speak as spontaneously as possible, there was a great effort not to use borrowed terms. Many subjects were seen to get extremely uncomfortable when they realized they had used a Turkish word and then to try and find its Ladino counterpart. In spite of the controls that the subjects exercised on themselves we can see from Table VIII that they have not been enough to stop the interference in their speech.

TABLE VI. FREQUENCY OF NON-LADINO WORDS

Gen. I	Subj. No.	Age	Minutes of Speech	No. of Non-Ladino words	No. of Non-Lad wor./Min
	1	72	4.5	10	2.22
	2	73	5	14	2.8
	3	74	3.5	11	3.14
	4	70	5	11	2.2
	5	79	3	17	5.6
	6	64	6	14	2.3
	7	63	6	19	3.16
	8	70	5	19	3.8
	9	67	10	69	6.9
	10	85	4	23	5.75
	11	67	5	20	4

Gen. I	Subj. No.	Age	Minutes of Speech	No. of Non-Ladino words	No. of Non-Lad wor/Min
	12	75	5	12	2.4
	13	65	6	27	4.5
	14	64	5	16	3.2
	15	75	4	16	4
	16	84	20	30	1.5
	17	70	4	27	6.75
	18	66	4	39	9.75
	19	82	6.5	32	4.92
	20	63	5	16	3.2
Gen. II					
	21	45	5	20	4
	22	56	5	21	4.2
	23	60	5	40	8
	24	60	4	14	3.5
	25	61	6	30	5
	26	59	4	30	7.5
	27	59	4.5	21	5.25
	28	43	4.5	14	3.1
	29	47	4	12	3
	30	53	7	24	3.42
	31	45	4	19	4.75
	32	51	4.5	8	1.77
	33	54	5	20	4
	34	52	6	38	6.33
	35	56	5	20	4

Gen. II Subj. No.	Age	Minutes of Speech	No. of Non-Ladino words	No. of Non-Lad wor/Min
36	55	5	16	3.2
37	57	5	21	4.2
38	43	12	47	3.91
39	58	10	107	10.7
40	58	10	57	5.7

Gen. III

41	35	5	20	4
42	27	5	COULD NOT SPEAK LADINO	
43	24	5	18	3.6
44	30	5	COULD NOT SPEAK LADINO	
45	27	7	15	2.14
46	26	8	12	1.5
47	32	8	23	2.87
48	38	7	13	1.85
49	41	6	15	2.5
50	32	6	46	7.66
51	32	5	13	2.6
52	40	6	12	2
53	37	6	17	2.83
54	38	6	11	1.83
55	32	6	20	3.33
56	36	6	17	2.83
57	40	6	9	1.5
58	33	5	13	2.6
59	37	5.5	11	2

Gen.III Subj. No.	Age	Minutes of Speech	No. of Non-Ladino words	No. of Non- Lad wor/Min
60	35	6.5	32	4.92
Gen. IV				
61	11	4	COULD NOT SPEAK LADINO	
62	19	5	11	2.2
63	18	5	COULD NOT SPEAK LADINO	
64	16	8	32	4
65	17	5	COULD NOT SPEAK LADINO	
66	16	7	COULD NOT SPEAK LADINO	
67	11	6	COULD NOT SPEAK LADINO	
68	20	7	17	2.42
69	19	5	25	5
70	19	6	12	2
71	17	5	5	1
72	16	5	COULD NOT SPEAK LADINO	
73	17	5	COULD NOT SPEAK LADINO	
74	19	5	COULD NOT SPEAK LADINO	
75	19	7	12	1.7
76	18	7	14	2
77	20	7.5	32	4.2
78	10	5	COULD NOT SPEAK LADINO	
79	19	7	25	3.57
80	17	7	25	3.57
81	15	5	COULD NOT SPEAK LADINO	
82	16	6.5	61	9.38

Generation	Average Non-Ladino Words/Min	Percentage of Sp. who spoke Ladino	Percentage Time lost in Pauses
I	3.79	100	0
II	5.0	100	0
III	2.9	90	50
IV	3.5	54	70

TABLE VII. AVERAGE FREQUENCY OF NON-LADINO WORDS ACROSS GENERATIONS

For Generation III the amount of pauses reduces the time used for speech by half, and for Generation IV by two-thirds. That is why, taking this fact into consideration the table for Average Non-Ladino words should be given as follows:

Generation	Average (taking % time lost in pauses.)	Average (taking %paus %speakers.)
I	3.79	3.79
II	5.0	5.0
III	5.8	6.44
IV	11.67	21.6

TABLE VIII. AVERAGE FREQUENCY OF NON-LADINO WORDS TAKING PAUSES AND NUMBER OF SPEAKERS INTO ACCOUNT

A Test of K-Treatment Means was carried out on the Average Number of Non-Ladino Words per Minute (taking into account time lost in pauses and also the number of speakers who did speak Ladino) in each generation. The results of the Anova show that the mean number of Non-Ladino words spoken per minute varies significantly across the four generations in the present study ( $F= 25.43$ ,  $d.f.= 3,66$ ,  $p < 0.01$ ).

Tables VI, VII, and VIII show that while Generations I and II could speak quite comfortably for a length of time, starting with Generation III the degree of fluency decreases considerably. First of all, the percentage of subjects who could speak dropped from the 100% in the first two generations to 90% in Generation III and further to 54% in Generation IV. (See Table VII.) Among the subjects who could speak in the last two generations many pauses were noted while the subjects spoke. (See Table VII.) People were observed to have difficulty in finding their words. They tried to say what they wanted in very short and concise sentences without expanding on any of the subjects or going into any kind of detail about anything.

The most conspicuous decrease in fluency was observed in Generation IV speakers. They uttered very short sentences describing action only. No complex sentences were made. There were no descriptions and no abstract concepts. Sometimes only verbs were thrown out accompanied by lots of gesticulations to make the interviewer understand what they meant.

When a language is first acquired nouns and verbs are the first parts of speech to be learned accompanied by adjectives.

Flowery descriptions or abstract concepts can be put into words only when a language is thoroughly learned at the native level. In the same way, the first parts of speech of a language to be forgotten or lost by following generations are those elaborations. When these are lost as a consequence of non-usage, as in the case of Ladino, then that language is no more a language but a 'Pidgin' or 'Creole' which are forms of languages used for functional purposes only. Ladino, in the hands of Generation IV speakers is not a 'Language' any more. There is no fluency left, and words prove to be too difficult to be produced, there is a lot of gesticulation and the end product is a series of very short, action sentences.

Question X, "Ke lingua avlavaş (avlaş) en vuestra kaza kon vuestros paryentes?" (Which language did (do) you speak at home with your parents?) constitutes one of the most important questions of the study since responses to this question should reflect the time of language switch from Ladino to Turkish in the community. The switch in the home language should be predictive of the amount, and frequency of Ladino spoken by speakers. The findings are summarized in Table IX.

In the light of these findings, it can be said that Generation I speakers are monolingual Ladino speakers with certain families having French as the dominant language at home. That is why Generation I speakers speak fluent Ladino. The amount of Turkish spoken in the homes of Generation I speakers is very little. Most of them admitted that it is only since they have grandchildren that they have been obliged to introduce Turkish

	Gen.I		Gen.II		Gen.III		Gen.IV	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
FRENCH	4	20	9	45				
LADINO	13	65	4	20	2	10		
TURKISH					4	20	18	82
LADINO+FRENCH	1	5	4	20	11	55	3	13.5
FRENCH+TURKISH					2	10		
FRENCH+LADINO	1	5	3	15				
TURKISH+LADINO+FRENCH	1	5			1	5	1	4.5
Total	20	100	20	100	20	100	22	100

TABLE IX. DISTRIBUTION OF THE SUBJECTS ACCORDING TO THE LANGUAGE SPOKEN AT HOME

into their homes.

For Generation II speakers French seems to be the language that dominated their homes. In addition 35% of the speakers were bilingual at home. Turkish however, slowly started to rise in frequency with the coming of compulsory education in Turkish. Also in accordance with the special clause in the Lausanne Pact in 1923 which defined the Jews as Turkish citizens and not as a minority, there was greater motivation for assimilating themselves in every way to the larger community. French, then the most prestigious language in both communities, retained its dominant position in the homes of the Jewish community. With monolingual parents in Ladino however, it is more than probable

that Generation II speakers were bilingual. The degree of fluency and the production of free speech is quite the same in the first two generations. (See Table VI.)

The prestigious era of French appears to have faded away by Generation III where we observe a slow rise in the use of Turkish with a dramatic upward shoot in Generation IV, where it becomes the dominant language. The small proportion of use of other languages is in homes where there are very old grandparents. As can be seen from Table IX, there is a significant difference between the languages spoken at home across the four different generations ( $\chi^2 = 90.4708$ , d.f. = 9,  $p < 0.001$ )

It was assumed that the language of education would have the greatest effect on the speech of Jewish speakers. Question IV investigated this assumption: 'En ke eskola(s) estudio?' (In which school(s) did you study?). The answers are summarized in Table X. The table shows that the predominant language of education throughout the first three generations was French. The speakers of Generation I studied in French starting with primary school. These speakers consider French as one of their primary languages. The ones who did not study French in primary school did not consider it as a primary language, although they claimed to speak it perfectly well. The speakers of Generation II had some Turkish in school but their education was predominantly in French. There were also some speakers who considered French their maternal language even though they had not studied in French. These speakers spoke French only, in their families. Speakers from Generations III and IV did not consider French

	Gen. I	Gen. II	Gen. III	Gen. IV
French	75	70	50	27.3
Turkish	0	20	40	63.6
Ladino	5			
Italian	5			
English			5	4.55
German	5		5	4.55
French+English		5		
French+Greek	5			
Illiterate	5	5		
Total	100	100	100	100

TABLE X. LANGUAGE OF EDUCATION OF LADINO SPEAKERS (in percenta

as their maternal language. All of them considered Turkish only as their primary language because they had had their education in Turkish.

The percentages in Table X show the decrease of French dominance and the increase in the dominance of Turkish for Ladino speakers. Again we see a significant difference across the four different generations with regards to the language they speak at home ( $\chi^2 = 268.8484$ , d.f. = 9,  $p < 0.001$ ). The table also reflects a decrease in bilingualism and an increase in monolingualism across the generations.

It was observed that whenever a subject had studied in French, s/he borrowed more from French than from any other lan-

guage when speaking Ladino. (See Appendix I).

Another factor which influenced the borrowings from French has been the continual decrease of interest in Ladino literature and writings. Question XIV 'Puede meldar i eskrivir en Ladino?' (Can you read and write in Ladino?) was constructed to see if the knowledge of Ladino has been on an intellectual basis. It appears that only Generations I and II are aware that there exists a Ladino alphabet in Hebrew letters. (See Appendix IV). Nearly all of them asked the researcher if the question meant that they could read and write with 'Rashi' (Ladino alphabet in Hebrew letters) letters. All the speakers in Generation I who had gone to school had learnt Rashi but none of the subjects in the other generations had done so. While speakers in the second generation claimed they could both read and write in Ladino (if it was in the Latin alphabet) speakers of the younger generations said they could only read but not write. About half of the speakers in the fourth generation said they could neither read nor write in Ladino.

These answers give us another aspect of the influence of French in the fading away of Ladino. With the easier Latin alphabet, French took its place as the language of lecture among Ladino speakers. People read and wrote much more in French than they did in Ladino. The alphabet in Ladino was forgotten and its place was taken over first by French and then by Turkish.

Question XII, 'Ke lingua avla mas munço i mas mijor? Puede darne el orden i el pursantaj en un dia?' (Which language do you speak best and most? Could you give me the order and the

percentages in one day?) proved to be most informative. Responses to this question showed the differences across generations. (See Table XI.)

		French	Turkish	Ladino	Fr+Tk	Lad+Fr+Tk	Lad+
Gen I	Men	20	40	10	30		
	Women	20	10	50			20
Gen II	Men		40	10	40	10	
	Women	30	10		40	20	
Gen III			100				
Gen IV			100				

TABLE XI. PERCENTAGES OF LANGUAGE SPOKEN BEST AND MOST

As can be seen from Table XI there is a sex difference in Generations I and II in relation to the language best spoken. This is an interesting and yet expected finding which confirms the assumption that it is the men who had continuous contact with Turkish because of their business transactions, whereas the women had very little obligatory contact with Turkish except for those whose grandchildren forced them to talk in Turkish. It is these women who are more conservative with the language (Ladino) while the men bring in most of the interferences.

Table XI shows us that 50% of the Generation II speakers are bi- or trilingual (40% 'French+Turkish for both men and

women, 10% for the men and 20% for the women 'French+Turkish+Ladino'). The fact that men use more Turkish than women for whom the language has not become functional can again be observed here. And yet we notice that 40% of the women as well as the men are bilingual in French and Turkish, and not in French and Ladino as would be expected. While 40% of the men consider as the language they speak best and most Turkish only, 30% of the women consider French only. It seems we can safely assume that in Generation II, men are either monolingual Turkish speakers or bilingual in French and Turkish; and the women are either monolingual in French or bilingual in French and Turkish. The 10% of the women who speak only Turkish are those who have not studied in the Jewish schools where the courses were all in French and Turkish.

When primary education in Turkish became compulsory and when the Jewish community consciously started a process of assimilation as Turkish citizens, knowing the language of the country well became very important. Families stopped speaking any other language besides Turkish as much as they could so as to teach their children good Turkish. The effects of this change can be observed in the responses of Generations III and IV which are all in favour of Turkish (100%). When the interviewer also asked them why this was so, they said that first of all they were living in this country and so they had to know the language well and secondly they had studied Turkish from the beginning so it was normal that they spoke it better and thirdly, it was their mother tongue so they spoke it the whole day long. It

was seen from Table XI that there was a significant difference across the generations with regards to the language they spoke best and most. ( $\chi^2 = 64.1036$ , d.f. = 9,  $p < 0.001$ )

The second part of Question XII comprises the proportion of each language spoken in one day. These frequencies were obtained by a direct question: 'What percentages of the day do you speak these languages?'. (See Table XII.)

		Turkish	French	Ladino	English
Gen I	Men	61	19.5	19.5	
	Women	36	9	55	
Gen II	Men	82.9	5	12.1	
	Women	52.4	26.6	21	
Gen III	Men	97.5		2.2	0.3
	Women	77.5	2.3	20.2	
Gen IV		81.2	9.65	9.15	

TABLE XII. AVERAGE PERCENTAGES OF THE LANGUAGES SPOKEN IN ONE DAY.

There are certain points that should be considered before interpreting these results. The percentages are the speakers' subjective estimates of the frequency of speech in one day and not data based on objective recordings which were practically impossible to obtain for a whole day. The second important point is that these are estimates of frequency of speech for a day

of the year 1982 when Turkish has become the dominant and only language of the young generations. All these people speak much more Turkish than they did in olden times. That is why we see that even the oldest generations speaks a lot of Turkish today. Most of the grandmothers were complaining that they had to revert to speaking Turkish when their grandchildren were present because they could not effectively communicate with each other.

Taking these points into consideration, we see that the sex difference that was previously observed is present in this case too, thus strengthening what was argued before. The difference goes on even in Generation III but disappears in Generation IV. Generation III women are all housewives, staying at home the whole day long and mostly interacting with older people who speak Ladino. As such their average Ladino percentage is higher than the men who are at work the whole day (20.2% as opposed to 2.2%). This difference disappears in Generation IV. One would expect however, that the percentage of speaking Turkish would be higher than 81.2% for this generation. Among these young speakers there were five students who are in schools where the language of education is not Turkish and who are therefore obliged to speak a foreign language during the day in school. Another five had very old grandparents in their homes with whom they said they spoke Ladino because the grandparents had difficulty in understanding Turkish.

It was previously observed that 50% of Generation II speakers are bilingual with French being the dominant language for the women. (See Table XI). Today however, even though the women

speaking more French than the men (26.6% as opposed to 5%), Turkish is the language they speak most in one day (82.9% for men, and 52.4% for women).

A progressive decrease in the frequency of use of Ladino is also seen across the generations:

Generation	Percentage for Using Ladino
I	37
II	17
III	11.1
IV	9.15

TABLE XIII. FREQUENCY OF USING LADINO ACROSS THE GENERATIONS PER DAY.

The third part of Question XII asked the subjects to rank the languages they spoke in terms of fluency from the most to the least fluent. The answers are summarized in Table XIV.

A new phenomenon that can be observed in Table XIV is the progressive increase of the knowledge of English, the modern, prestigious language. (See Table XV). The decrease observed in Generation IV speakers can be accounted for by the speakers' age which is too young to have learned a foreign language.

Another interesting point to be noticed is that, of the 82 subjects interviewed only nine (approximately 11%) know Hebrew, the religious language of a community which is distinguished

from other communities by its religion only. All the nine speakers who claimed to know Hebrew said they knew it very little. We can conclude that Hebrew has no functional importance for these speakers even though they used many religious terms in Hebrew when telling the interviewer about a Bar-Mitzvah they had seen.

Generation	Percentage of people who speak English
I	20
II	45
III	60
IV	50

TABLE XV. INCREASE IN KNOWLEDGE OF ENGLISH.

Table XVI presents the average number of languages spoken by each generation and shows us that the Sephardic Community in Turkey is a multilingual community.

Generation	Average Number of Languages Spoken
I	4
II	3.6
III	3.65
IV	2.3

TABLE XVI. THE AVERAGE NUMBER <sup>of</sup> LANGUAGES SPOKEN BY EACH GENERATION.



	Best Spoken	2nd Best	3rd Best	4th Best
<b>Gen III</b>				
Turkish	100			5
FRENCH		50	20	5
Ladino		40	45	15
English		5	15	35
German		5		5
Hebrew			10	5
Italian			5	
<b>Gen IV</b>				
Turkish	100			
Ladino		36	14	14
French		27	4.5	
English		14	23	9
German		4.5		
Hebrew			4.5	4.5

TABLE XIV. PERCENTAGES OF THE ORDER OF THE LANGUAGES SPOKEN BY THE SUBJECTS.\*

\* For a detailed account of every subject's answer See Appendix VII.

A control question for all that has been written so far about Hypothesis I was Question XV: 'En ke lingua avla mas tranquilo? De ke?' (In which language do you speak more comfortably? Why?).

Again here, the differences across the generations are clearly seen even though nearly all the speakers said they spoke Turkish more and more these days. (See Table XVII). In every house that the researcher has been to, there was a television. The introduction of the radio and television into every house has influenced the speakers' Turkish a lot. They hear it more and they learn it better. They are also helped in this way, in their integration into the larger society. With more and more occasions to use Turkish nowadays even the oldest generation speaks quite a lot of it.

Generations III and IV said they spoke Turkish most comfortably because it was their mother-tongue. The speakers in the

---

8. Certain speakers used certain exclamations meaning "Oh, God!" in Hebrew, but this is one of the ways in which people give themselves away as "basse classe". It is considered very "bad ton" to use exclamations like "Hay Adonay!", "Hay Ašem!" or "Baruh Ašem" which is an expression like "Thank God!" in Hebrew. One should utter these expressions in Turkish or in French. This is a good example of people's different attitudes to certain usages of languages. Hebrew is a religious language and therefore, sacred. It does not do for people to use it here and there, thus spoiling its sanctity. The ones who do so are not well-favoured by others.

older generations who said they spoke Turkish more comfortably claimed that this was so because they spoke it more than any other language and that they were used to it. The ones who said 'French', said that they had studied in French and had practised it often enough for them to feel most comfortable with it. The ones who said 'Ladino', said that it was the language they had spoken ever since they were born.

	Gen I		Gen II		Gen III	Gen IV
	Men	Women	Men	Women		
Turkish	20	10	50	10	100	100
French	40	20	30	60		
Ladino	10	50				
Tk+Lad	20	10	10	10		
Tk+Fr	10			10		
Tk+Lad+Fr				10		
Tk+Fr+Eng			10			
Fr+Lad+Grk		10				

TABLE XVII. PERCENTAGES OF THE SPEAKERS AND THEIR MOST COMFORTABLE LANGUAGE.

Contexts of use of Ladino:

Question XIII was constructed in order to find out about the contexts in which Ladino was used by the speakers. 'En ke okazyones i kon komo de personas avla el Ladino?' (On which

occasions and with what kind of persons do you speak Ladino?). There were varying answers according to the specific characteristics of the speakers:

Generation I:

The men who said their mother-tongue was French, said they spoke French with anyone who knew the language and Ladino with old people (older than themselves) who did not know French.

The men, in general, said they spoke Ladino at home with their wives and with their friends. They said they spoke Turkish at their work and with their grandchildren.

The women said they spoke Ladino all day long with everyone. They said they reverted to Turkish with their grandchildren.

Generation II:

The women said they spoke Ladino with their parents, French with their friends (or French and Ladino), and Turkish with their children.

The men said they spoke Ladino with old people. Some who spoke French, said they spoke Ladino with "ignorants" who did not speak any other language well.

Generation III:

They said they spoke Ladino with their old parents and when they wanted to speak about secrets they did not want their children to understand. Otherwise they said they spoke Turkish.

Generation IV:

Most of them said they did not speak Ladino. Some of them said they spoke with their very old grandmothers or grandfathers

who did not know or could not very well understand Turkish. What was interesting in quite a few of the answers was that they said they spoke Ladino for fun. They said they imitated the manners and accents of their grandmothers and spoke Ladino to each other so as to enjoy themselves. They also said they mostly used the expressions and idioms that their mothers and grandmothers frequently used.

Accent:

It is a known fact that the human infant can emit every possible kind of sound until he learns to speak. When he starts to acquire a language however, the sounds that are particular to that language, i.e. its phonetic units, dominate all other sounds which are subsequently lost to him from that time on. If the child is monolingual, then he will speak all the other languages he later learns with the influence of the phonetic units of his native language. Sometimes, there are persons who reach near perfection in the accent of a language they acquire later but even then, if they are not absolutely controlled, the sounds will tend to be produced with the phonetic units of their native language now and then.

When a person is bilingual or consciously puts himself to learn another language at a very early age then he can emit the sounds of both languages perfectly. In the present study, this is the case with the speakers of Generations I and II. They can emit the sounds of French and Ladino perfectly even though their Turkish sounds are not perfect. With the switch that occurs at Generation III however, it was observed that the

Turkish phonetic system was dominant so that any sounds particular to Ladino were pronounced with a near alternative in Turkish:

All the words with / $\int$ / sounds in Ladino were pronounced with the /d/ sound in Turkish. In the same way, the / $g^h$ / sound particular to Ladino was pronounced as /g/ like in Turkish. Thus we have /madre/ instead of /ma $\int$ re/, and /gate/ instead of / $g^h$ ate/.

The fact that the differences in accents were observed starting with Generation III when the switch to Turkish occurred, supports our hypothesis which says that there will be differences across the generations as regards Accent and we see that there is an increasing Turkish accent in the speech of the younger generations. While the older two generations spoke Turkish with a foreign accent, the last two generations produce Ladino with a Turkish accent and in the Turkish phonetic system. Learning Ladino comes at a stage in their lives, when it is already too difficult to emit its particular sounds.

Another example in the differences of Accent was observed when the subjects were asked a question about their place of birth or where they lived. All of them gave "Istanbul" as the answer of one of these two questions. However, while all the subjects of Generations I and II said "Estambol", there was an abrupt switch in Generation III from where on all the subjects said "Istanbul". Small as this example appears to be, it confirms our view that the influence of the Turkish phonetic system on Ladino strongly increases in Generation III.

Syntax:

The decline in syntax was mostly observed in Generation IV speakers. It was more or less retained intact by the speakers of the other generations with a few individual differences. The changes in syntax can be listed as follows:

1. The most conspicuous was the inability of the speakers to use the correct article ('el' or 'la') for the nouns. These mistakes were made only by the youngest generation.

2. They could not use object pronouns. e.g.,

Ex.38 'Los Komşus estan vyendo a eyos.'

(The neighbours are seeing to they) instead of the correct Ladino formulation:

'Les vizinoz los estan mirando'

(The neighbours them are looking at.)

There are two points of importance to be noted here:

i. The subtle difference between the verbs 'to see' and 'to look at' is not realized and the two verbs become undifferentiated, and the choice of either of them while speaking Ladino appears to be random. The subjects choose either 'mirar' (look at) or 'yer' (see) on the spur of the moment, depending on which one they remember first.

ii. The second point concerns the object pronouns in Turkish and Ladino. In Ladino the object pronouns are used before the verb, after the subject. This rule however, is applied only for object pronouns. The other objects are used after the verb as in other SVO languages. When first acquiring a language the children always use the regular forms of the rules of grammar

for everything. The irregularities are not taken into account. The same kind of thing happens when acquiring a foreign language. The irregular forms are very difficult to be learned. Thus the fourth generation subjects for whom Ladino is a foreign language could not acquire the correct usage of object pronouns even though this usage brought that particular sentence formation closer to the Turkish syntax (SOV type of sentence). Instead they used the normal SVO formation.

3. The third type of mistake that was seen to occur in Generation IV speakers is their leaving out the prepositions in their sentences. e.g.,

Ex39 'El ijo esta pensando un ija'

(The boy is thinking a (masculin article) girl), instead of using the preposition that goes with the verb 'to think ef':

'El ijo esta pensando a una ija'

The influence of Turkish is strongly felt here. There are no prepositions in Turkish which is a postpositional language. Some of them appear as suffixes with the words they are supposed to give the meaning. That is why a speaker seemingly translating from Turkish into Ladino would find it difficult to put in any prepositions:

'El ijo esta pensando un ija' is correct

(Erkek çocuk düşünüyor bir kızını)

as far as the Turkish translation is concerned.

These syntactical mistakes were observed in all the Generation IV subjects who did speak Ladino (54% of the number interviewed.).

We can see that the results that were presented up to this point strongly support Hypothesis I. The following is a summary of these results:

i. With decreasing age there are more borrowings from Turkish and French, and these are the two main sources of Non-Ladino words.

ii. Generation I speakers are monolingual Ladino speakers with certain families having French (the prestigious language) as the dominant language at home.

They speak fluent Ladino and borrow less than the other generations from the other languages.

There is a sex difference in Generation I, concerning the use of Turkish. Men speak more and better Turkish than women.

Generation I speakers speak more Turkish in present days than they ever did before when they were living with their parents. Even so, the amount of Turkish they speak (especially women) is less than that spoken by the younger generations.

iii. French seems to be the language that dominated the homes of Generation II speakers.

The men of Generation II, are either monolingual Turkish speakers or bilingual with French and Turkish ; and the women are either monolingual with French or bilingual with French and Turkish.

Today, even though Generation II women speak more French than men, Turkish is the language they speak most in one day.

iv. The shift from Ladino and French to Turkish occurred in Generation III.

65% of Generation III speakers speak two languages in their homes but 100% speak Turkish best and most, and it is the language they are most comfortable with.

The prestigious era of French is seen to fade away in Generation III.

The difference between Men and Women is seen in Generation III too, as far as the percentages of the languages spoken in one day is concerned.

v. Turkish takes absolute reign both in the homes and in every environment of Generation IV speakers. It is the language they speak best and most and the one they are most comfortable with. They do not speak Ladino if they can help it.

vi. The contexts for using Ladino get narrower (i.e. speaking with very old people) with decreasing age.

vii. The language of education seems to be the one from which most of the borrowings are taken while speaking Ladino.

viii. While the older two generations speak Turkish with a foreign accent the younger two generations speak Ladino with a Turkish accent.

ix. A decline in syntax has been observed with decreasing age especially in Generation IV speakers.

Hypothesis II stated: "The influence of Turkish in the form of lexical borrowings will mostly be seen in:

A. Idioms and expressions

B. Lexical categories such as verbs, nouns, adjectives, etc... in particular food names, household items, business terminology and the like, that is, in vocabulary pertaining to everyday situations where there is inevitable contact with Turkish."

Out of the 1250 idioms and expressions that were collected 275 (22%) showed various kinds of influence of Turkish. These idioms and expressions were:

a. either directly translated from Turkish:

Ex.40 'Ya amanesyó en Üsküdar' (Üsküdar'da sabah oldu), or

b. they had Turkish words in them:

Ex.41. 'Çalış çalış, pan bayat' (Çalış çalış bayat ekmek ye) or

c. they were both translated from Turkish and had Turkish words in them:

Ex.42 'Diez dedos diez marafetes' ( On parmak on marifet ). (See Appendix V).

55 of the words used for food names have been found to be in Turkish. (See Appendix VI.) These are the food names that have completely lost their Ladino equivalents. The researcher has not included in her list the names that have their Ladino equivalents and are used interchangeably. It should also be held in mind that the women never went out to do the shopping and that it was the men's business to supply food to the house.

The question about the occupation of the subjects has shown

that the business terminology has been the most vulnerable to change. (See Appendix III).

Words borrowed from Turkish into Ladino can be divided into six groups:

- i. Nouns
- ii. Verbs
- iii. Adjectives
- iv. Adverbs
- v. Postpositions
- vi. Exclamations
- vii. Other

The highest proportion of borrowings appears in the category of Nouns followed by Adjectives, Postpositions and Verbs. These are words with high frequency in Turkish and also words that are special to Turkish like "oklava, falan, inşallah, yani, neyse, etc..." There are many words which are not especially frequent in Turkish and which have Ladino counterparts which are used interchangeably. Most of the words in the Verb category are these kinds of words. The usage of these shows how strong the influence of Turkish has become. This is especially true for the speakers of Generations III and IV who take up Turkish words at random while speaking Ladino. Whenever they forget a Ladino word they immediately pick up the Turkish word that has the same meaning. They apply the same treatment to French words if they know that language.

As can be seen from these examples Hypothesis II has been supported.

Hypothesis III stated: " Any item borrowed from Turkish will be adapted to the phonological and syntactic systems of Ladino by the speakers."

When foreign lexical items are taken into a language they are adapted to the syntactic pattern of that language itself. (Weinreich, 1953). The adaptation may also be the other way round, that is indigenous lexical items may be used with the foreign syntactic patterns or these two types of adaptation may be interchanged. An advanced degree of bilingualism is required for the second to happen though, while there is no such requirement for the first type.

When Slobin (1975) talks about the influence of one language on the other in bilingual people he says that these people use the structure of one language with the vocabulary and expressions of both languages intermingled with each other, and he gives many examples of this kind of combination. What is interesting in these examples is that the people in question take the rules and structure of the language which is more familiar and therefore "easier" in terms of syntax, and try to use that syntax in both languages. This is more or less what happened in Ladino, too. For speakers of Ladino, an Indo-European language, Turkish has a completely different structure, and if the speakers are not bilingual to an advanced degree, learning Turkish syntax will be quite difficult. Ladino speakers, until the 1920's were almost monolingual in Ladino, and what is more, there was a strong tendency to speak Ladino among the Sepharadi Jews, so what happened with the borrowed lexical items was to integrate them into the

Ladino syntactical patterns:

Ex. 43. 'No me karışeyo en sus ecos.' -- İşlerine karışmam.

(I don't poke my nose into what he's doing.) The verb "karışmak" (Tk.) is used here in Ladino Simple Present tense and it is conjugated as if it was a Ladino verb: 'karışeyar' which is 'mesklar' in the original language. There are many examples of this kind where the verbs are used in all the different tenses in the same way as Ladino verbs are used:

Ex. 44. 'El buri se tikadeyó' -- Boru tıkanı. (The tube got blocked).

'tikadeyó' -- past tense of verb 'tikadeyar' which is the equivalent of the Turkish verb 'tıkanak'.

Ex. 45. 'El bazar estava yeno para patladeyar.' -- Pazar yeri patlayacak kadar doluydu. (The Bazaar was full to cracking).

'patladeyar' -- patlamak (Infinitive form).

Ex. 46. 'El buzluk del frijider se bozdeyó.' -- Buzdolabının buzuğu bozuldu. (The freezer of the refrigerator is not working.)

'bozdeyarse' -- bozulmak

Ex. 47. 'Kuando vino aryentro las yaras me çarpeví, tanto m'espantí.' -- Yara içinde gelince çarpıldım, böyle korktum ki. (When he came in all wounded I got a terrible shock.)

We can see from these examples that the Turkish verbs are used according to the grammatical structure and rules of Ladino.

In examples 43, 46, 47 we see that for the verbs which are used in the Passive form in Turkish "bozulmak, çarpılmak, tıkanmak", Ladino uses a reflexive form which accounts for the same function of passives in Ladino. Thus,

'bozdeyar' is "bozmak", and

'bozdeyarse' is "bozulmak".

Another syntactic rule of Ladino that is used with borrowed Turkish lexical items, is the one involving the use of the definite article. Unlike French and German where the use of the definite articles (masculine, feminine or neutral) does not depend on any kind of rules, in Ladino (and Castiliano, for that matter) there exists a very simple rule for the choice of the definite article for every noun. This is a phonological rule which says that the nouns which end in an /a/ sound will take the feminine article 'la', and the nouns which end in an /o/ sound or with a consonant, take the masculine article 'el'. The rule being that simple it is with no hesitation that it was used on Turkish nouns:

Ex. 48. 'El bakkal' -- bakkal (grocer)

Ex. 49. 'La Ada' -- Ada (island)

Ex. 50. 'El buri' -- boru (tube)

Ex. 51. 'La fasulya' -- fasulye (the beans)

Ex. 52. 'El kapak' -- kapak (the cover)

Ex. 53. 'La soba' -- soba (the stove)

The plural articles 'las, los' are used accordingly. An extension of this rule of the definite article is the Agreement Rule for Adjectives. Thus,

Ex. 54. 'La agua klorluya' -- klorlu su (chlorinated water).

Ex. 55. 'El pikap bozdeyado' -- bozuk pikap (the broken record-player.)

The Phonemic Integration of the borrowed lexical items occurs in a similar way as the syntactic integration. There are four basic types of phonemic integration that can occur according to Weinreich (1953):

I. Under-Differentiation of Phonemes: this occurs when two sounds of the foreign phonetic system are confused in the borrowing language because it does not have such a differentiation. Ladino does not differentiate between long and short vowels so that any Turkish lexical items containing long vowels are integrated into Ladino as short vowels.

Ex. 56. 'yani', 'marifet' (Tk.) etc... are pronounced with short /a/ sounds in Ladino.

II. Over-Differentiation of Phonemes: is the opposite of the first type where the borrowing language introduces distinctions that do not exist in the foreign language. Ladino uses the phonemes /g/ and /y/ in complementary distribution for the items borrowed from Turkish. /y/ is used when the letter g is at the beginning of a word.

Ex. 57. Thus /güzel" becomes /yuzel/ in Ladino.

III. Reinterpretation of Distinctions: occurs when the bilingual interprets the phonemes of the foreign system by the relevant phonemes of his own primary system. Thus, Ladino speakers interpret the sound of 'ğ' as /g<sup>h</sup>/, a velar sound and therefore, /a:aç/ 'ağaç' (tree) in Turkish becomes /ag<sup>h</sup>aç/ as pronounced by Ladino speakers. As there is no /ü/ sound in Ladino

they interpret the /ü/ sounds of the Turkish items as /u/ and in this way /güzel/ becomes /yuzel/ in Ladino.

IV. Phone Substitution: actually is about identically defined phonemes that exist in both languages but where pronunciations differ.

The phonemic interferences will not be readily perceived by speakers who are not bilingual. Monolingual speakers however, will notice differences in the accents of the speakers of the foreign language. One of the arguments on the subject is that bilingual speakers will try to produce the sounds of both languages in their native form and not according to the phonemic system of either one of the languages. However, this may not be entirely the case for bilinguals who have one of the two languages as primary and the other as secondary. When the two languages do not have an equal footing for the speakers then it would be correct to assume that the phonemic system of the primary language will affect the accent of the speaker more than the phonemic system of the secondary language.

Another important factor in predicting the way the interfering sounds will be produced concerns the speaker's attitude towards the language from which the items were borrowed. If the language is one of prestige then it is highly probable that the speakers will try to produce the sounds as their original to be able to claim some of the prestige for themselves and also to appear educated and of higher status. This can be seen in the attitude of Ladino speakers towards French.

In the present study, the Turkish words that were borrowed were indeed assimilated into the syntactic and phonological system of Ladino. However, starting with Generation III speakers, the Turkish words were pronounced in their original forms in Turkish. Thus 'musafires' was pronounced as 'misafires'; 'Estanbol' as 'Istanbul' etc... The reason for this important change across the generations, is, as has been stated above, that Turkish is the dominant language for the last two generations. Even though this was so, even the youngest generation tried to fit any Turkish words they used to the syntax of Ladino. The most simple rules of syntax, that of the plural and that of the article were insistently used by speakers of even the youngest generation, as if they proved to themselves that by so doing they were speaking Ladino.

So we see that Hypothesis III was quite supported for Generations I and II and partially for the last two generations for whom Turkish is the dominant language. These latter used the borrowed Turkish items in their original phonological form though they did integrate them into Ladino syntactic frames.

Some observations were also made for subjects whose primary language was French and who used many French words in their speech. (See Appendix I.) However, their borrowings seem to be random. They utter the first word that comes to their mind be it French or Ladino. If it is a French word however, it fits into the Ladino syntax, but not Ladino phonology as Turkish words usually are. There may be a few reasons for this: one of them can be the fact that for these people French is the more

dominant language, just like Turkish is for Generations III and IV. In the same way that the latter are not taking up the Ladino phonology for the Turkish words they use, so the French speakers also do not use it for the same reason of language dominance. Another reason might be the fact that French as the prestigious language retains a kind of untouchable quality that urges the speakers to preserve it intact. Thus we have:

Ex. 58. 'Ya mos ABITÜimos' (We have been used to it.) Verb 's'habituer' in French has been used with Ladino past tense conjugation suffix but with the correct pronunciation in French.

Ex. 59. 'LEÇONES, BONBONES' Here the Ladino plural suffixes are pronounced.

These subjects could talk in some length and about quite complex and abstract subjects as long as they could substantiate French words into their speech.

Hypothesis IV stated: "The attitudes of the speakers towards Ladino will be increasingly negative with decreasing age."

The characteristics that have been discussed so far about Ladino and especially the switch to Turkish that occurred after the second generation has made it an "old people's language". It is seen as a language to be spoken with grandparents or people of grandparents' age.

During the interviews what was mostly observed was the extreme reluctance with which the subjects spoke Ladino. Especially the younger subjects kept telling the interviewer that they spoke badly, that this was not really a language so what was the use

of studying it. When these youngest subjects were asked if they used Ladino at all in their everyday lives, their answer was: "Oh, yes. When we want to make fun of our elders, or when we want to have fun ourselves, we speak it." Some said they spoke Ladino with their grandparents because they did not understand Turkish very well but they added that it was extremely difficult for them to do so, so they usually forced the older people to speak Turkish with them. They also said that they did not see the use of studying Ladino because they did not think it was a "real" language anyway with all those Turkish, French, Greek, etc... words that had come to be mixed in it. They said it was not Spanish and it was not Turkish but a mixture of the two. It was observed that Generation IV speakers were especially contemptuous of Ladino.

Some of the older subjects considered it very strange to have a conversation in Ladino with as young a person as the interviewer and because of this, they kept reverting to Turkish while answering the questions so they continuously had to be prompted to speak in Ladino. This shows how the older generations are being strictly conditioned by the younger generations to talk to them in Turkish. And yet it could be observed that they were extremely glad to find a young person speaking Ladino. They said that nowadays nobody wanted to speak Ladino and it was obvious that they regretted this a lot.

The middle generations though not as contemptuous as the youngest generation speakers, still did not consider Ladino to be a sufficiently important language to teach their children.

They emphasized that it was more important for their children to learn English or French, one of the modern languages. Some of these members however, said that Ladino was a language in its own right and that they were going to teach it to their children but these subjects were in minority. The majority's attitude toward speaking, learning and studying Ladino, was negative except for Generation I speakers who were all positive towards Ladino.

Hypothesis V stated: "The functionality of using Turkish in interpersonal communication will increase with decreasing age."

During the interviews it was observed that the speakers reverted to the language they knew best as soon as the interview was over. While speaking Ladino too, any remark they would make about the questions of the interview, their own answers, or the caricatures; or any kind of interjection-words like exclamations and asides, were uttered in the language they were more comfortable with. For some speakers this language was French and for some it was Ladino. But for all the speakers in Generations III and IV, the language they reverted to whenever they were having a difficult time, was Turkish.

As the results that have been presented up to this point have shown, there has been a switch in the dominating languages starting with Generation III around the years 1935-1945. From then on, Ladino rapidly declined. It was observed that even in the speech of the oldest generation speakers, whenever a complex or abstract word was needed it was borrowed from French. When

a language is not studied in school, it is left to be used in everyday occurrences which are active and concrete. The finesses of a language are learned through its literature and through studying its grammar in depth. Ever since the "Alliance" founded its schools all over the world, Ladino was not studied in schools any more. There exists a wide literature of Ladino but as no one learned how to read the Rashi alphabet, (See Appendix IV), none of it is read. That is why, at first French, and then Turkish came to dominate Ladino. These languages were studied in schools, people could comfortably pour their thoughts into words in these languages. They could not do it in Ladino because they had lost the finesse of the language. Only the concrete, day-to-day speech, action sentences and words remained. It must also not be forgotten that even the action words are limited because, as we have seen in the results discussed above. Ladino has primarily been a language of the women. The men being at work the whole day, did not use Ladino as much as the women. The women, however, lived in very conservative and closed communities where action was rather limited. That is why many action words were also forgotten and borrowed from other languages when the necessity to use them arose after the emancipation of the society.

Taking all these factors into consideration it is easy to see that the functionality of Ladino has decreased in parallel with its decrease in usage in the younger generations. Interpersonal communication today is dominated by Turkish in the youngest generation. A function that Ladino has however, is the communi-

cation between husband and wife who do not want their children to understand what they are talking about. The youngsters make fun of Ladino, in Ladino, which gives them a sense of belonging to a particular group of people who have the same sense of humour.

It appears that the functionality of Ladino has decreased from being the dominant communication language to being a language used for making jokes thus suggesting that Hypothesis V has been supported.

The results of the study have shown that the hypotheses were mostly supported and there were additional findings which gave them depth.

## CHAPTER IV:

### THE THEORETICAL DISCUSSION OF LANGUAGE CHANGE AND CONCLUSION

Even though human beings like to divide themselves into nations, races and cultures, and they continually try to separate themselves out from others by borders and barriers it is slowly becoming impossible for people not to come into contact with each other. Even before the very advanced technology shortened distances (both physical and social), the continual wars and immigrations that took place in history always enabled different cultures to be influenced by one another. A natural consequence of such culture contact for a long time is the reciprocal influences that occur.

The main type of influence that comes about whenever two cultures come together appears in the languages of the cultures in question. Weinreich (1953) calls any kind of influence on language "interference" and he differentiates between "interference in speech" and "interference in language". He states: "In speech, interference is like sand carried by a stream; in language, it's the sedimented sand deposited on the bottom of a lake"<sup>9</sup>

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9. Weinreich, Uriel., Languages in Contact: Findings and Problems., New York., 1953., p.11.

Interference in Speech is an individualistic phenomenon. It occurs because of a bilingual speaker's personal knowledge of the interfering language. Interference in Language, however, is an influence that settles down in the speech of almost every individual who speaks the language. This type of interference is bound to finally take root as part of the language itself as a result of being continually used by the speakers. This is not a factor of bilingualism any more. Whenever the interference comes to the point that a speaker of language A uses a foreign form because he has long heard it from others and not because he has just picked it up occasionally, then this form can be considered to belong to language A. This theoretical distinction should be made if we are to understand what language contact means to an individual and how he experiences it. What the linguist classifies as interference may not seem like interference at all to the individual who is speaking the language. Most of the time, people are not even aware that there are foreign elements in their speech. As such, when studying interference in language it is the phonological, grammatical, semantic and stylistic integration of the foreign forms that become the main points of interest.

When two languages come into contact like Turkish and Ladino, or French and Ladino, the language which accepts the influence (Ladino in this case) is mostly affected in its semantic and lexical fields because the influence of a different culture and environment brings about changes in meaning in the language that finds itself in the different surroundings. (Lehmann, 1973).

FORM OF INTERFERENCE	EXAMPLE	STIMULI	RESISTANCE FACTORS	STIMULI	RESISTANCE FACTORS
Interference		Any points of difference between two systems	Stability of systems; requirements of intelligibility	Social value of source (model, primary) language; bilingual interlocutors; affective speech; individual propensity for speech mixture; etc.	Social value of recipient language; intolerance of interference; puristic attitudes toward recipient secondary language; loyalty to mother tongue; unilingual interlocutors, etc.
Non-differentiation of phonemes (p. 15)	/d/ and /t/ not differentiated	Absence of corresponding distinctions in primary language	Functional yield of the distinction	---	Loyalty to secondary language
Non-differentiation of phonemes (p. 18)	[k] and [kʰ] treated as separate phonemes	Presence of distinction (only) in primary language	---	---	---
Misinterpretation of relevant sources (p. 18)	Voiceless /p/ treated as phonemically tense and only concomitantly voiceless	Different phonemic systems	Existence of appropriate holes in the pattern	---	---
Substitution (p. 19)	[r] for [ʁ] where there is only one trill phoneme	Different pronunciations of equivalent phonemes	Danger of confusion with another phoneme	Social value of primary language	Loyalty to secondary language
Substitution of loanwords (p. 26-8)	English /rajs/ into Hawaiian /laiki/	Difference in phonemic systems; homogeneous but different type of word structure in recipient language	Potential homonymy (?)	Intolerance of recognizable loanwords; unilingualism of speaker	Social value of source language
Formal interference					
Formal interference of morphemes (pp. 31-7)	Slovak-German in <i>Pressburg-u</i> ; Yiddish-English <i>job-shmoh</i>	Congruent systems, much common vocabulary, relatively unbound morphemes, greater phonemic bulk	Non-congruent systems; complicated functions of morphemes	Affectiveness of categories	Loyalty to recipient language
Formal interference of grammatical relations (pp. 37-9)	German-English <i>I come soon home</i>	Different relation patterns	Conflict with existing relations	Affectiveness of categories	Loyalty to recipient language
Formal interference in function of "indicators" morpheme or category (pp. 39-42)	German-English <i>how long are you here?</i>	Greater explicitness of model (usually)	---	---	Loyalty to recipient language
Formal interference of obligatory categories (pp. 42ff.)	Loss of old French tense system in Creole	Very different grammatical systems	---	Makeshift language	Loyalty to recipient language
Formal interference of loanwords (pp. 44-6)	English <i>change</i> into Amer. Portuguese <i>chinjar</i>	Homogeneous word structure in recipient language	---	Intolerance of recognizable loanwords; unilingualism of speaker	Social value of source language
Formal interference as such (p. 46)	---	Structural weak points in recipient vocabulary, need to match differentiations in source language	Existence of adequate vocabulary	Lexical inadequacy in face of innovations; oblivion of infrequent words, need for synonyms, prestige of source language, stylistic effect of mixture	Loyalty to recipient language
Formal interference of words other than semantic extension (p. 47)	German <i>Telephon</i> rather than <i>Ernsprecher</i>	Congenial form of word; possibility of polysemy (?)	Potential homonymy (?); uniconsonantal word form	Bilingualism of interlocutors	Loyalty to recipient language

Changes in meaning are closely associated with the cultural environment of a particular language; that is why semantic change is different from phonological or syntactic changes which may be studied by abstracting those parts of the language from the people who speak it or from the culture. Meaning however, has a special place in a language because of its relationship to the individuals and culture that creates it. That is why the present study has given a detailed account of the theories about semantic changes and changes in the lexicon substantiating them with examples from Ladino.

#### The Social Theories on Language Change Through Language

##### Contact:

Man uses language to communicate with others whom he needs in order to survive in a complex society. The development, expansion, survival, decline or disappearance of language depends on what the society does with it. It is not possible to abstract language from the particular setting or society it belongs to. Any study of language therefore, should also comprise the study of the particular community which speaks it. Much can be learned about a group of people by looking at the specific language or languages they speak, and vice versa.

Language is one of the characteristics which distinguishes one group of people from another because it brings forth the culture of that group of people more than anything else. However, Sapir (1926) notes that, "Historians and anthropologists find that races, languages, and cultures are not distributed in parallel

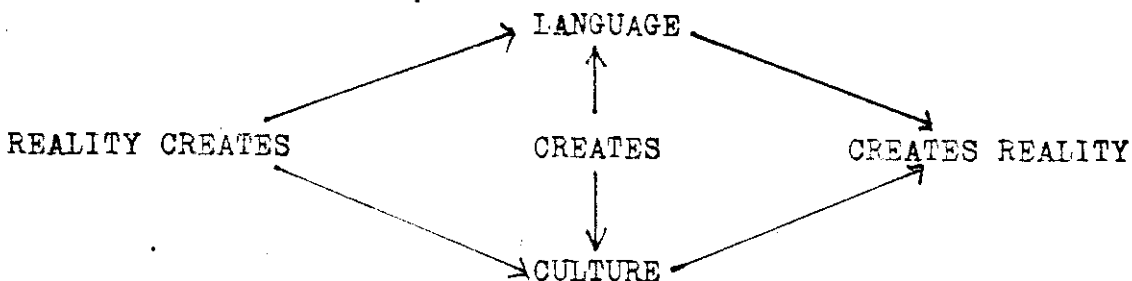
fashion, that their areas of distribution intercross in the most bewildering fashion, and that the history of each is apt to follow a distinctive course. Races intermingle in a way that languages do not. On the other hand, languages may spread far beyond their original home, invading the territory of new races and of new cultural spheres."<sup>10</sup> Although it is true that many unpredictable things do happen to languages, it is a known fact that whenever two cultures come into contact either as neighbours or as two communities which have to live together and communicate it is nearly impossible for some kind of influence not to take place. Unless there is complete isolation, then they will influence each other in terms of language and culture.

For four hundred years Ladino speakers succeeded in preserving their language. The reason for this was that they were living in a society which was very conservative about its language. The religious and cultural identity could be preserved only if speaking Turkish could become taboo (especially for the women). This is an example of the Language Loyalty Weinreich (1953) talks about, its motivating factors being the fear of losing the group identity, the fear of assimilation erasing their group as a minority, and the desire to avoid intergroup marriages. When the loyalty lost its strength Ladino became very vulnerable to foreign influences. For four hundred years however, Ladino and the Sephardic culture that arose from it constituted the

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10. Sapir, Edward., Language., New York., 1921., p.222

world of reality for this group of people. Fishman (1971) talks about Christian and Christian's theory. They have related language, culture and reality in the following circular way:



LANGUAGE, CULTURE, AND REALITY.<sup>11</sup>

They emphasize that a shift in languages will also cause a shift in cultures which implies the level of acceptance of the minority group. It would not be right to make a statement of this strength after studying the example of Ladino. Long before the shift in languages occurred, the Sephardic culture and folklore was greatly influenced by the Turkish culture. The best examples can be seen in Ladino music which has greatly been influenced by Turkish Classical music. Pamela Dorn who is presently doing research on Ladino music in Istanbul, has collected many records where the Ladino songs have been sung in the accompaniment of Ud, Darbouka and Violin, the three main instruments of Turkish Classical Music. The songs themselves are mostly of Turkish or Greek

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11. Fishman, J., Advances in the Sociology of Language I., Mouton, Paris., 1971., p.110.

origin translated into Ladino or with Ladino lyrics. The reason for the Greek influence is because the two communities lived very close to each other and there was a lot of interaction between them. Taking these examples into consideration, it could be said that, language shift is the last chain of the shift in cultures which started long before the language shift. Even so, it could not be said that for the Sephardi Jews there has been a complete shift in culture and language although the youngest generations have completely assimilated themselves, because as long as they have their religious traditions, they will have that part of their culture intact. It is the Sephardic (Spanish) part of their culture which has changed and has been taken over by the Turkish culture. The difference in religion which constitutes the most conservative and change-resistant part of a culture, prevents the complete shift in cultures for the Sephardis.

William Labov (1963,1964) sees linguistic change as a process of adaptation and linguistic evolution. He contends that to study this change adequately one must deal with three problems primarily: Transition, Embedding, and Evaluation, which are the keys to finding the route, the socio-linguistic matrix and the social meaning of a change. In two studies that were made: Martha's Vineyard (1963), and New York City (1964), Self Identity was found to be at the root of linguistic change. In the first study, being a Vineyarder and having a native status as such constitutes the key factor, while in the second study the socio-economic status or class the New Yorker belongs to and most of all his ethnic identity seem to be most important factors in the emer-

gence of linguistic change. In both studies however, age comes in as a common factor; in fact Labov treats Generation as one of the important features to which a linguistic rule is sensitive. Labov's findings show a parallel to the present study on Ladino.

The Transition Problem is to find out which route a linguistic change has taken from an earlier stage. The aim is to trace down as many of the intervening steps as possible, eliminating all but one possible alternative from which one can claim the linguistic change to have occurred. The change in Ladino was started by the men of the community, whose speech was more influenced by Turkish because of their business and of their being in continuous contact with the language every day. Compulsory primary education in Turkish was the end of the road for Ladino.

The Embedding Problem is to find out the continuous matrix of social and linguistic behaviour in which the linguistic change is carried off. If correlations are found between events in the linguistic and the non-linguistic system coupled with social behaviour, then linguistic change and its consequences can become a little more predictable.

The Sephardi Jews wanted to become Turkish citizens and not a minority, so after the Lausanne Pact in 1923 there occurred a conscious process of assimilation. They accepted the compulsory primary education in Turkish thus accepting Turkish as their native language. If there had not been such a motivation for assimilation in the society then linguistic change would not have been so quick and abrupt.

The Evaluation Problem is to find out the subjective correlates of the objective changes which have been observed. Ladino has come to be considered as the funny language of 'old folks' and of the 'ignorants'. It is not considered as a proper language because many words have been borrowed from Turkish. As Ladino is spoken less and less, many words are forgotten, and their Turkish or French equivalents replace them. This causes the speakers to be more contemptuous of the language. As the vicious circle goes on Ladino's disappearance becomes hard to avoid.

The most important questions that arise when studying a community where more than one language is regularly used is, WHO speaks WHAT language to WHOM and WHEN? If we are to look at the matter from a purely probabilistic point of view, it would seem that the matter of choice of any one language in any particular situation by these people could be random, but the fact remains that it is hardly a random matter. The choice of language is a purposeful and quite conscious matter. It is easy to see that in multilingual communities a certain language is chosen at a certain time, place and surroundings, and when talking with certain people, whereas another language is chosen when these conditions change. This fact brings to mind that maybe more than a Topic-Language relationship, there is a sociocultural phenomenon related to the choice of a particular language. It could be that certain socioculturally recognized spheres of activity are associated with one language rather than another. Fishman (1971) calls this phenomenon "diglossia" and differen-

tiates it from bilingualism which he says is an individual attitude towards the choice of languages whereas diglossia comprises the societal codes about which language to use in which situations. In diglossia each code serves certain functions for the society so that there is no overlap in the codes. In bilingualism the choice of language while communicating is random.

Fishman makes the following table to represent the relationships between bilingualism and diglossia:

DIGLOSSIA

+

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BILINGUALISM

<p>I. Both bilingualism and diglossia</p>	<p>II. Bilingualism without diglossia</p>
<p>III. Diglossia without bilingualism</p>	<p>IV. Neither diglossia nor bilingualism</p>

The male Ladino speakers showed 'diglossia without bilingualism' before the twentieth century. In non-Jewish communities they spoke either Turkish or Greek according to where their business took them, but for intragroup purposes they used Ladino only. For the women there was 'neither diglossia nor bilingualism'.

They were monolingual Ladino speakers. The picture has changed to 'both diglossia and bilingualism' for the Generation I speakers of the present study who have become grandparents. The men still use Turkish for intergroup purposes but as the women have also learned Turkish through their grandchildren, both Turkish and Ladino is used for intragroup purposes; Ladino for speaking with same-age friends and children, and Turkish for speaking with grandchildren. The Generation II female speakers display 'bilingualism without diglossia', French and Turkish being the two main languages of this generation we see that the choice of languages is random when both parties speak both languages. Fishman's definition of 'bilingualism without diglossia' exactly fits the findings of the present research about Generation II speakers who correspond to the transitional generation from Ladino to Turkish:

"Children typically become bilingual at a very early age, when they are still largely confined to home and neighbourhood, since their elders (both adult and school age) carry into the domains of intimacy a language learned outside its confines. Formal institutions tend to render individuals increasingly monolingual in a language other than that of hearth and home. Ultimately, the language of school and government replaces the language of home and neighbourhood, precisely because it comes to provide status in the latter domain as well as in the former due to the extensive social change to which home and neighbourhood have been exposed."<sup>12</sup>

Fishman has studied the immigrants who came to the United

States and he declares that there are four stages that the immigrants undergo to become bilingual:

BILINGUAL  
FUNCTIONING  
TYPE

DOMAIN OVERLAP TYPE

OVERLAPPING DOMAINS

NON-OVERLAPPING DOMAINS

COMPOUND

('interdependent'  
or fused )

II. Second Stage: More immigrants know more English and therefore can speak to each other either in mother tongue or in English (still mediated by the mother tongue) in several domains of behaviour. Increased interference.

I. Initial Stage: The immigrant learns English via his mother tongue. English is used only in those few domains (work sphere, governmental sphere) in which mother tongue cannot be used. Minimal interference. Only a few immigrants know a little English.

COORDINATE

('independent')

III. Third Stage: The languages function independently of each other. The number of bilinguals is at its maximum. Domain overlap is at its maximum. The second generation during childhood. Stabilized interference.

IV. Fourth Stage: English has displaced the mother tongue from all but the most private or restricted domains. Interference declines. In most cases both languages function independently; in others the mother tongue is mediated by English (reverse direction of Stage I but same type.)

TABLE XVIII. TYPE OF BILINGUAL FUNCTIONING AND DOMAIN OVERLAP DURING SUCCESSIVE STAGES OF IMMIGRANT ACCULTURATION.<sup>3</sup>

The same kind of parallel can be drawn for the Sephardis who were also immigrants to a new country. What Fishman calls the 'Initial Stage' however, lasted for four hundred years before going on to the second stage. The Generation I speakers of this research display the characteristics of Stage II, Generation II of Stage III; and Generation III of Stage IV. Fishman has not included the next stage where no more bilingualism remains and the ancestral language becomes a 'calque'. These characteristics are displayed by the Generation IV speakers.

Reasons for the Influence that Languages in Contact have on one Another:

Fishman, in his theory of 'Language Maintenance and Language Shift' explains some of the reasons why languages influence one another and says that his theory "... is basically concerned with the relationship between degree of change (or degree of stability) in language usage patterns, on the one hand, and ongoing psychological, cultural, or social processes on the other hand, in populations that utilize more than one speech variety for intra-group or for inter-group purposes."<sup>14</sup> He suggests that there are three major points of interest on this subject but only one is relevant for the present study:

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12. Ibid., p.297

13. Ibid., p.306

14. Ibid., p.301

Habitual Language Use at More than One Point in Time:

What for Fishman constitutes the basic data for analyzing and studying language maintenance and language shift is any kind of change that appears in the language under study. He says that the main points of interest are "... degrees of maintenance or displacement in conjugation with several sources and domains of variance in language behaviour."<sup>15</sup>

a. Media Variance: Fishman proposes that the degree of maintenance and shift may prove to be quite different in different media like written, and spoken language. If the speakers attain literacy before the contact situation then reading and writing in one's mother-tongue causes the speakers to have stronger resistance to shift. Reading and writing in a particular language of course, makes one much more aware of the language itself and helps correct one's style of speech. It is always encouraged by teachers of foreign languages to read many books and practise writing. These are two practices that bring the mistakes to the fore by making the speaker conscious of them.

If literacy is attained after language contact has occurred then shift will be quicker and resistance will not be so strong. When the Sephardic Jews arrived in the Ottoman Empire they were already a literate people with a written culture of their own. Of course, the literacy that these people had, was acquired through religious channels, and in religious contexts. The 'Yeshivas' which were attended by all the boys of the community, taught the laws

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15. Ibid., p.301

of God, how to read the 'Torah', and also how to write in 'Rashi' which was basically Hebrew, but arranged in such a way as to comprise all the sounds in Ladino, too. (See Appendix IV). It is therefore not surprising that, until the foundation of the Alliance the Sephardic culture continued to flourish in a more or less intact Ladino. After the 1860's however, attendance to the 'Yeshiva's decreased and people began to attain literacy in French, with the Latin alphabet. This particular time is, I think, the turning point for Ladino because it is at this time that it started losing its prestige and the support of most of the literate members of the community. There started a shift at that time. In 1923 when the Turkish Republic was founded and the ministry of education built primary schools which were compulsory for everybody, the members of the Jewish community attained literacy first in Turkish; and gradually reading and writing in Ladino (especially Ladino writing) decreased more and more to the level that now only the very oldest members of the community read the only newspaper left in Ladino, 'Salom' which is half in Turkish and half in Ladino. Fishman's hypothesis seems to work quite well for Ladino.

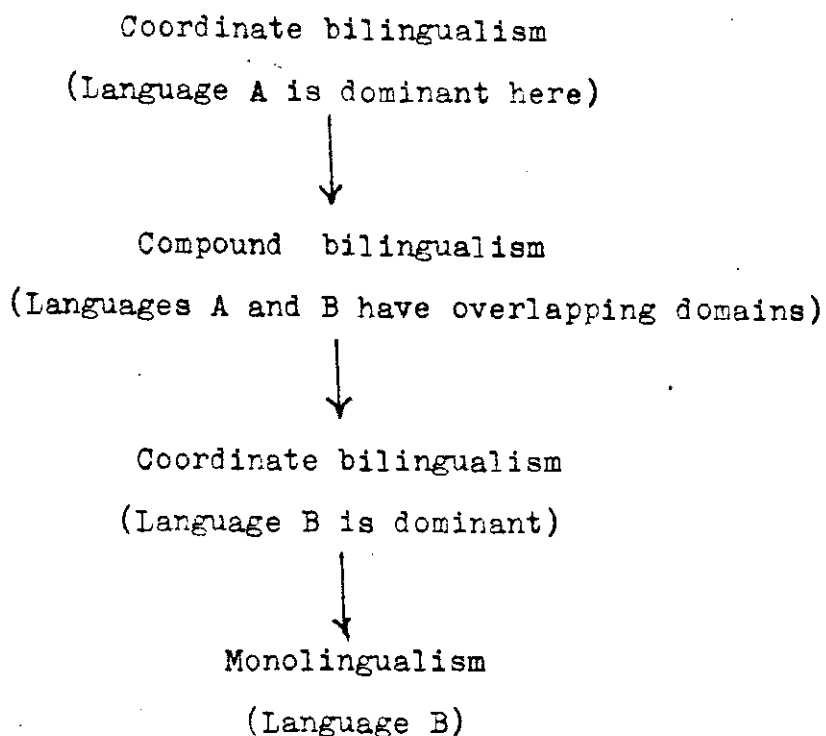
b. The Compound-Coordinate Distinction: Fishman made this distinction after his observations on bilinguals and proposed two types of bilingualism. Compound Bilingualism refers to the acquisition of the two languages during childhood in the home context where they are interchangeably in the same situations. Coordinate Bilingualism occurs when an individual learns one language at home with his parents and the other at school and at

work. The coordinate type will use one language for certain domains of situations and contacts while the compound type may use his languages in all domains which overlap. Bilingual speakers themselves will vary according to the overlapping domains in their use of both their languages.

Certain domains like family and religion, prove to be especially resistant to shift in comparison to others like the occupational domain. These domains may also protect the disadvantaged languages even when shift has occurred to an advanced degree.

Ladino speakers of the oldest generation who were bilinguals (males mostly), with Turkish as the second language were of the coordinate type using Ladino in all communications with fellow-Jews, while using Turkish for business relationships outside the Jewish community. The next generation (Generation II) can be said to be compound bilinguals in general, (they acquired Turkish in school and Ladino at home), using both Turkish and Ladino in their home environment. In Generation III, Turkish is dominant and Ladino is used between husband and wife for private communication. (It is important to note this fact here because Generation III is the one where the language shift from Ladino to Turkish has occurred.) The fourth and youngest generation speakers of the present study are not bilinguals any more. They are monolingual Turkish speakers with very limited knowledge of Ladino. These people speak Ladino only if they have grandparents who do not speak Turkish. Otherwise, they speak Turkish all the time: the shift has been complete following a continuum to reach mono-

lingualism:



The Role of the Socio-Cultural Setting:

The socio-cultural setting is very important in determining the reasons for language change. If a certain feature is adopted by the whole group as an index of behaviour then the changes will occur according to the influence that particular feature will have on the language and culture of that community.

For a language to become dominant for a bilingual, its functionality for him as a member of a larger community is important. He will use the language that will bring him prestige, social advance and higher status. (e.g. the Sephardis have used French for these reasons). Furthermore, the environment may lead him to use a certain language whatever his feelings towards it.

The whole society may adopt a certain type of behaviour towards one language or the other. (e.g. the adoption of Turkish by the Sephardis as their maternal tongue after the Republic was founded).

Children learn their languages from their parents together with their parents' mistakes. The correction of their mistakes is done by institutional forces (e.g. schools) in the community. Institutionalized learning of a language will be most resistant to change. Ladino was preserved for four hundred years because the schools took care to teach the children the language well. When there were no more schools to teach Ladino, it started to decline. Besides, the Jewish community realized that Ladino was of no use to them in modern Turkey where modern Turkish took over. When such a realization occurs it is normal that the people become indifferent to interference in the language. However, even at this stage there may be strong cultural resistance for certain areas. It is interesting to note that even in pure Ladino the word for 'Saturday' is in Hebrew. The words connected to the religious ceremonies were all pronounced in Hebrew by the speakers of this study. This proves that religion constitutes the most important barrier in intergroup relationships. It is easy for languages to be assimilated but there are certain domains where shifts and changes cannot occur. The role of the society and the cultural setting is very important in this matter.

Ladino is a perfect example which shows how culture contact affects language change. Culture contact can bring about language

change in a variety of ways: it can help create new languages if the occasion arises (pidgins become creoles and then a decreolization gives birth to a completely new language), and it can also cause a language to disappear slowly as in the case of Ladino.

Language is certainly the most important aspect of any culture. Every community and every culture develops a language which best expresses their thoughts, feelings, ambitions, what in fact puts into expression all their primitive level of meaning. For anybody who is born into a certain society there is a world of reality already set for him to belong to, apart from his own subjective world of reality. The mark the culture we belong puts on us, the way we are moulded by a particular culture also affects the way we speak. Every culture has a particular way of viewing the world, and what better place to look for it than its language. Their whole outlook on life, their ideas, feelings, ambitions, in short, everything that makes them different from another culture is reflected in their language. If we want to learn a language really well we also have to absorb the culture out of which it arose; that is the only way that will make us think as they do and in their own language.

This study has tried to analyze a group of people with a specific culture (the Sephardic Jews) and language (Ladino). This language which has been our main point of interest had been preserved by the community for more than four hundred years but as the research has attempted to show, it has nearly disappeared in a matter of three generations.

After their exile from Spain, the Sephardic Jews who did not come to the Ottoman Empire and who were dispersed through Europe and North Africa quickly assimilated the new cultures they went into. Ladino was forgotten very quickly and the languages of their new countries were adopted. These people preserved only their religion and religious traditions. The picture was quite different in the Ottoman Empire as discussed in the introduction. Living in a conservative and closed community there was no motivation for these people to learn or speak Turkish. It was quite the contrary in fact, for the women, speaking Turkish was nearly a taboo. They were living in a community where speaking Turkish was unnecessary and where no one obliged them to speak any one language or another.

It is of course impossible to imagine a language being preserved intact by so many generations of speakers even if they were completely closed off from the world which the Jewish community was not. The language they brought with them was bound to change, even if they had stayed in Spain. How it has changed and how it was influenced by other languages and how it slowly started to disappear is what this research has tried to study and to understand.

The 1860's brought about the first great blow to Ladino with the introduction of French as the language of education, culture, and men of thought. This heavy social blow however, was not enough for the folklore and culture of four hundred years to be forgotten. It took about three generations for French to reach its peak in dominance to decline rapidly in the

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next generation (the percentages dropped to zero for French when the Generation III subjects were asked about the language they spoke best and most). The rapid decline of French and Ladino after the 1920's has come about because Turkish became the dominant language of the community.

When primary education in Turkish became compulsory after the foundation of the Turkish Republic the Jewish community refused the right to be treated as a minority in the Lausanne Pact so that their own primary schools too, got under the rule of the ministry of education. This was the most important factor which brought about the decline of Ladino. Children who studied Turkish from very early ages considered it to be their only maternal language and the language they spoke best and most. Any other language they learned either from their grandparents (Ladino), or from their secondary schools (English, French or German) was considered to be a foreign language. There was also a strong motivation to speak good Turkish and thus become indistinguishable from the rest of the community. Not speaking good Turkish would mean they would be treated as a minority which the Jews as Turkish citizens did not want.

Members of the first generation were found to be the only ones who stuck to Ladino tenaciously and refused to acquire any other language. This seems to be related to the primary and secondary socialization Berger and Luckmann (1971) talk about. Ladino has been deeply internalized by these people as a primary socialization process and constitutes a crucial part of their world of reality, thus making it impossible for them

to replace it with another language. Ladino gives them a sense of identity both at the personal and at the group level, so that its loss would result in a loss of identity. The next generations have not had Ladino as a primary socialization process and so, for them the question of losing one's identity does not arise if they do not speak Ladino. It is only a matter of knowing the old folklore and 'the old people's' traditional language. For the youth, it is a matter of joking and feeling they have something special to share that is different from the larger community. In the five hundred years that the Sephardis have been living in Turkey, the Turkish culture has penetrated into the Ladino culture and affected them even up to their music and religious hymns (the prayers which are sung today at the synagogues, are sung in a Turkish 'makam'), and today Ladino's rapid decline is a sad fact.

The reasons for the loss of functionality of Ladino have to be more deeply delved into in future research. One of the reasons, Education which was in the form of intuitive knowledge at the beginning of the research proved to be a very important factor and needs to be looked into in greater detail. The introduction of the television to every home in Turkey, is another factor that was not taken into account in this study. It would be interesting to see how this affected the decline of Ladino with a controlled research on the subject.

More attention should be paid to Generation IV speakers in future research. Their age might have caused problems for the researcher in the following ways: a. they are at an age

(a critical age), which makes them shy and unsure of themselves, so it is possible that their performance in Ladino has been worse than it actually is; b. the fact that the researcher was young and talked to them in Ladino might have seemed strange and therefore affected their performance; c. they could have been at an age when they were just beginning to learn Ladino which might have caused them to give a deficient performance. Future research must certainly take these points into consideration when getting constructed. The deficiencies in the speech of the researcher herself might have biased the older subjects to a relaxation and simplification of their own speech but it was observed that this did not happen. In fact, the subjects made a special effort to speak Ladino as best they could. Some of the oldest subjects even made a point of teaching the researcher some sophisticated words she did not know, and they were observed to feel very proud of themselves to know Ladino better than she did.

The relationships of the human beings to the languages they speak is an area of study that comprises many factors, each one more interesting than the other. I would like to conclude with a comment by Sapir:

"Everything that we have so far seen to be true of language points to the fact that the human spirit has evolved - nothing short of a finished form of expression for all communicable experience. Thus form may be endlessly varied by the individual without thereby losing its distinctive contours; and it is constantly reshaping itself as is all art. Language is the most massive and inclusive art we know, a mountainous and anonymous

work of unconscious generations."<sup>16</sup>

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16. Sapir, E., Language., New York., 1921., p.235

A P P E N D İ X I :

THE NON-LADİNO WORDS THAT WERE USED BY THE SPEAKERS :

GENERATION I:

MEN:

1. (72) (4,5 min)

Tk: PARAS (⌘), AMA (⌘), KATES (⌘), YENE, PEKİ.

Fr: FABRICATEUR, GATEAU, MATERNELLE, FRANÇAIS, JEUNE HOMME.

2. (73) (5 min)

Tk: PARAS (⌘), HAKİKİ, AMA (⌘), PASTA, ENGLENAR (eğlenmek), KUTİ, OKLAVA, YENE, EL KUSUR.

Fr: RETRAİTE, GATEAU, ETAGE, JEU DE CARTES, TORCHON.

3. (74) (3,5 min)

Tk: TÜCCAR, ORTA, AMA (⌘), PARAS (⌘), PASTA, KUTİ (kutu). ANLAŞYAR (anlaşmak).

Fr: LEÇON, PROFESSEUR, PAR COEUR.

4. (70) (5 min)

Tk: PARAS (⌘), AMA (⌘), ZAVALİ, PASTA, KARİŞİK, OKLAVA, BAKLAVA,

Fr: PHARMACIEN, MOYENNE, QUE, CONTACTE.

5. (79) (3 min)

Tk: BASMACILIK, BİN UÇ YUZ ON DOKUZ, ALMAN, NASİL, FRANŞİZ, ALİANS VAR, BU DA BOYLE, TABİ, BELLİ OLMAZ, VAZİYETE YORE, ANA DİLİ.

6. (70) (5min)

Tk: EMEKLİLİK, TEKNİK OKULU, BOZDEYAR, PARAS (⌘), MUSAFİRES,

DERT, KOVALADEYANDO, AMA (\*).

Fr: LA COUR, POURSUIVANDO, PROFESSEUR, AVENIR.

7. (63) (6 min)

Tk: FOTOGRAFÇI, EL KARAR, TABI (\*), AMA (\*), İŞTE, PASTA, KOVALADEYANDO, NE YAPACAKSIN, ZAVALI, LATİNCE, PARAS.

Fr: FLIRTANDO, LA MADAME, SITUATION, HEBREU.

HEBREW: KORTAR MİNYAN, BARUH AŞEM.

8. (70) (5 min)

Tk: ORTA MEKTEP, PARAS, (\*), AMA (\*), SE BOZDEYO, DEMEK, ZAVALI, OGRAŞAR (uğraşmak).

Fr: FABRICATEUR, GRACE A DIEU, ÇOMMERÇIYO (commerce), CLIENTES, HABITUADOS, QUESTION, SIMPLE, RESPONSABILITE.

HEBREW: K'ESTE EN GANEDEN (PARADISE).

9. (67) (10 min)

Tk: YOK CANIM, ÇÖP TENEKESİ, PARAS (\*), KUTİ, ESKAZA, OKLAVA, ÇARUKA, AMA (\*), EVET, BAKLAVA.

Fr: DIRECTEUR, MONSIEUR, SALONIQUE, PAR PRATIQUE, QUOI, MAXIMUM (\*), MINIMUM (\*), NON PARDON, LINGUA, VEHICULAIRE (\*), RELATIONS, RENCONTRES (\*), HEBREU (\*), ORIGINE (\*), UTILIZAMOS, COUPLE (\*), VIS-A-VIS (\*), POUBELLE, LA SUITE, NEGOCIANDO (\*), IMAGINATIONES (\*), BONBON, INTERPRETAR, TANDIS QUE, REGRETANDO C'EST-A-DIRE, GATEAU, PROBABLEMENTE, MAITRESSE DE MAISON, VAISSELE, JE COMPRENDS, ABOUTISO, APPAREIL, SIMPLE(\*), LEÇONES (\*), PRIERE MINIMAL, STANDART (\*), MOYENS (\*), MANIFESTATION (\*), SOCIALE, RELIGIEUSE, OCCASION (\*), REMERCIAR (\*), GENERALE, FELICITAR, REJOUISSAR, ASSISTIR.

IO: (85) ( 4 min)

Tk: PARAS (\*), AMA (\*), KUTİ, EL KUSUR, MUSAFİRES, KOVALADANDO  
Fr: ASSURANCE, ECOLE, ORIGINE, GATEAU, ETAGES, SIMPLE, LEÇONE  
PRIERE, JEUNE HOMME, LA COUR, COUPLE, PROFESSEUR, QUESTION,  
MATERNELLE.

WOMEN.

II: (67) (5min)

Tk: KÜLTÜRLÜ, PARAS (\*), AMA (\*), YAZILI, YIBI, TAMAM, BU KADAR.  
Fr: COUPLE, ÇA QU'EST-CE QUE C'EST? CERTAINEMENT, RELANCE, OU,  
COCKTAIL, DE SUITE.

I2: (75) ( 5 min)

Tk: EMEKLİ, ORTA, AMA (\*), MUSAFİRES, BÜFE, TABİ, NEYSE.  
Fr: SOEURES, FRANÇAIS (\*), QUESTİONES, ENFIN, JEUNESSE.

I3: (65) ( 6 min)

Tk: YENE (\*), AMA (\*), PARAS (\*), MUSAFİRES, KARTAS,  
Fr: RETRAİTE, AIDE-COMPTABLE, FRANÇAIS (\*), ANGLAIS, LATIN,  
DECLARANDO AMOR, QUESTION (\*), MALHEUREUSEMENT, EMBETTE, RE-  
SULTAT, RECEPTION, DAMMA, GENRE, JEUNE HOMME, DEMOISELLE, TA-  
QUINAR, FAUTEUIL, PARTICİPAR, MOYENES (\*).

I4: (64) ( 5 min)

Tk: PARAS, AMA, YİNE, MUSAFİRES, KUTİ.  
Fr: PİANİSTE, JE JOUE L'ORGUE, MATERNELLE, COUPLE, GATEAU,  
FRANÇAIS, JEUNE HOMME, POURSUIVANDO.

I5: (75) (4min)

Tk: VARLIK, TEKRAR, AMA (\*), SEVİŞİYORLAR, NASIL DENİR. PARAS.  
Fr: GOUTER (\*), LEÇONES (\*), ORIGINE, FRANÇAIS, JOURNAL, MADAM  
MAS, GATEAU, BÜFE, COCKTAIL.

I6: (84) (20 min)

Tk: MUCİLLİT, YENE (\*), NO YAKIŞEYA (\*), (yakışık olmaz), BE-  
GENO, (beğenmek), MUSAFİRES, AYDE (\*), (haydi), ESTE KARAR  
(bu kadar), PARAS (\*), CAYILAS (\*) (cahiller), MUNASUP (\*)  
(münasip), KİSMET (\*), ESNAFİKOS, KOLAY KOLAY, NESA (\*), (neyse  
TEZKERE, ASKERLİK, İNCESAZ, ARABAS (\*), KETANA (kâğıthane), PİŞ  
İN (peşinen), ENGLENEYAR (\*) (sohbet).

Fr: MENAGE, QUARTIER, PAR EXEMPLE(\*), MONSIEUR (\*), HOTEL.

I7: (70) (4 min)

Tk: BİLE, BAKKAL, PAZAR, BU KADAR, LA PARA (\*), TAMAM MI?

Fr: FEMME DE MENAGE, MOYENNE, FRANÇAIS (\*), LA PLUPART, PAR  
OCCASION, MADEMOISELLE, BONBONES, GATEAU, BRILLANT, EN PARTICU  
LIER.

I8: (66) (4 min)

Tk: ALTMİŞ, ALTMİŞ ALTI (\*), VALLA, PALAN, YANI, ÇORLU'DA,  
MEKTEBİ, NE BİLİM BEN, NERDE DOĞDULAR?, ANNEM ÇORLU DA HERAL-  
DE DOĞMUŞTUR, RAHATLIKLA, BURDA NE VAR, PARAS(\*), BAŞKA BİR  
KIZI MI SEVİYOR?, TEMİZLİK, TAMAM MI?, AYDE (\*), HAYİRLİSİ (\*).

Fr: MOYENNE, FRANÇAIS (\*), GATEAU, LA KARTA, TOILETTE, BIBERON  
MADEMOISELLE.

HEBREW: BESİMANTO (religious blessing for the newly wed).

I9: (82) (6,5 min)

Tk: MUPAK (\*), ÇİNİS (tabak), ESTE KARAR (bu kadar) ,EV KADINI  
YENE(\*), ANA DİLİ, BAKIYORLAR, NE YAPIYORLAR?, PASTAS, ÇİKOLA-  
TINES (\*), KAVE, ALLAHAIŞMARLADİK, TELLİ (telli duvaklı), KİNA  
YECESİ, MA (\*), RAKİ, KÜFE, CUMBUŞ, AMA, MESELA, YANI, DAR HABER.

Fr: ETAGES, ENGAGE, KLUPES, MIDİ.

HEBREW: HATİMA (O.K.)

20: (63) (5 min)

Tk: HANUM, AMA (\*), ORTA, BİRİNCİ, BU KADAR, ZAVALİ, PEKİ,  
TAVLA.

Fr: PARDON, LATİN, CAFE, LA MAİRİE, HEBREU, LEÇON.

GENERATION II:

MEN:

21: (45) (5 min)

Tk: PARAS (\*), KE KARAR (ne kadar), YENE (\*), PASTA, AMA (\*),  
ESTE KAKAR, (bu kadar).

Fr: COMPTABLE, FRANÇAİS, REUNIERON, QUESTION, SEMBOL, BUFE,  
REUNION, CARTES, BLESADA, PARTENAİRES, EL MALHEUR.

22: (56) (5 min)

Tk: EMEKLİ, CİVATA, PERÇİN, NORMAL, DEVAMLI, EVET, PARAS (\*),  
EÇANDO PALAVRAS, (laf atıyorlar), ÇALGİCİS, BİŞEY DİİL.

Fr: ARANJARON, MADAME, UN CARRE, CARTAS, Mİ MAMA İ Mİ PAPA.  
HEBREW: RABİNİM (Rabbis).

23: (60) (5 min)

Tk: ALTMİŞ, KATİP DE, O KADAR, ORTA, İLK, EVET, NORMAL, MA (\*),  
AŞK MEŞK, TAMAM, PARAS (\*), AMA (\*), POKER, BAŞKA İŞLERİ YOK,

KABUL EDİYORUM BUNU, TAMAM DİL Mİ?, BU RESİM BİRAZ ENTERESAN,  
MESUT, BU ÇEKİLİR Mİ YAHU?, ALLAH RAHMET EYLESİN, ZAVALİ.

Fr: LA MADAME.

24: (60) (4 min)

Tk: AMA (\*), BANKA, MA.

Fr: DISTINCTIONES, PIYESA DE TEATRO, FLIRTANDO, CONVERSATION, REGLAR, QUESTION, MAITRESSE, COMMERAGES, SUPPORTAR.

25: (61) (5 min)

Tk: AMA(\*), MA, KUTİ, PARA (\*), KAT, DAR KARA (yüz vermek), OKLAVA, APASİS (apansız=suddenly).

Fr: DIRECTEUR DEL PERSONNEL, DETERGEANT, FRANÇAIS (\*), PARDON, MONTANTE, BONBONS, DUNKE (donc), GATEAU, CARTAS, FORMA, PROPOSITIONES, SIMPLE, POSTA (poste), EXPATRIAR, KAPAÇI (capable) FAUSSE BIJOUTERIE, EXPOSITION, AVENTURE.

HEBREW: HAVERANSA (ortaklık).

26: (59) (4 min)

Tk: AMA (\*), PARAS (\*), KUTİ, PASTA, OKLAVA, MUSAFİRES, MA.

Fr: NEUROLOGUE, FRANÇAIS (\*), ETAGES, MATERNELLE, FLIRT, QUESTION, LOIN DES YEUX LOIN DU COEUR, MAITRESSE DE MAISON, TORCHON CHIC, TIRE A QUATRE EPINGLES, MALHEUR, LA COUR.

27: (59) (4'5 min)

Tk: AMA (\*), ENGLENEYİMOS MUNÇO (çok eğlendik), MA.

Fr: D'ORDINAIRE., FRANÇAIS (\*), PRECISAR, BUREAU, TRADUCCIONES, LETRAS, DISTINCTION, PRECISA, IRONIQUE, DAMMA, PERIODA, CAMPAGNA, PROFESSEUR, TIMIDE.

ENGLISH: LOVE AT FIRST SIGHT.

28: (43) (4'5 min)

Tk: BİR MÜESSESEDE TİCARİ MÜDÜR SAYILABİLECEK DURUMDAYIM, TİCARET LİSESİ, AMA(\*), TABİ (\*), YANİ (\*), PARAS.

Fr: FRANÇAIS, RELATIONES.

(MANY pauses, he could find his words with great difficulty.)

29: (47) (4 min)

Tk: AMBALAJ, KUTİ, İKİNCİ KARMA İLKOKULU, ANCAK, DEDİKODU, PAZARLIK, PIŞMAN, PARAS (\*).

Fr: CONTINUANDO, RELANCE.

30: (53) (7 min)

Tk: TENEKE, KARAR (orta), İLKOKUL, YENE (\*), MUŞTERİZ, YANİ (\* ALIŞTERİMOZ (alıştık) (\*), ARTİK (\*), TABİ (\*), AİLECE OLARAK VAR, HAYAL, NELER YAPIYORLAR VALLAYİ, MUSAFİRES (\*), MUNAKAŞA, ANLAŞEYANDO, ESNAFES, MALOMA, DAGIDİMOZ (dağıttık).

Fr: BONBONES, PHOTO.

WOMEN:

31: (45) (4 min)

Tk: AMA (\*), NİÇİN, PARAS (\*), KUTİ, OKLAVA, MA.

Fr: FRANÇAİS, ANGLAIS, PREPARANDO, CARTES, COUPLE, FLİRTANDO, COMMERAGES, PARDON, LE MARIAGE, LA SUİTE, POURSUIVANDO.

32 : (51) (4'5 min)

Tk: PARA (\*), YAKIŞIKLI, KATES, AMA.

Fr: FRANÇAİS, GATEAU, MADEMOISELLE, POURSUIVIENDO.

33: (54) (5 min)

Tk: MANASTIR, TÜRKÇE, RUMCA, İTALYANCA, PARAS (\*), KARAR, HOPPALA, OKLAVA.

Fr: FRANÇAİS (\*), ANGLAIS, TURC, GREC, İTALIEN, MADAME, GATEAU DE TROIS ETAGES, CARTAS.

ENGLISH: ENGLISH.

34: (52) (6 min)

Tk: PARAS (\*), AMA (\*), EL KUSUR.

Fr: MOYEN, FRANÇAIS (\*), HEBREU, DAMMAS (\*), MATERNELLE, JEUNE, PROBLEME(\*), PECUNIAIRE, SENTIMENTALE, DEBROUILLARDE, MALGRE, ENVERS, ÇA NE SERT A RIEN, LE DESEPOIR, REPRESENTA, ET VOILA, ORIENTALE, EMOTION, DEJA, COMPTABILITE, MARRIAGE DE RAISON, SENSIBLE, RESPONSABLE.

35: (56) (5 min)

Tk: AMA (\*), BEDIKODU.

Fr: FEMME DE MAISON, FRANÇAIS (\*), SITUATION, COUPLE, GRAND MAMAN, REUNISARON, JEUNE FILLE, DAMMA, GATEAU, CHIC, RELANCE, COMMERAGES, BOUQUETO, DICTATURE, POSSIBILITE.

36: (55) (5 min)

Tk: ESTE KARAR (\*), PARAS (\*), AMA (\*), PASPAL.

Fr: FRANÇAIS (\*), D'UN COTE, EN RETARD, TORCHON, GATEAU, CHIC, MODERNA, HEBREU.

GREEK: PRENKİPO (Büyük Ada).

37: (57) (5 min)

Tk: AMA (\*), PARAS (\*), EL KUSUR.

Fr: COMPTABILITE, FRANÇAIS (\*), LANGUE MATERNELLE, COLLEGUES, QUESTION, PROPOSANDO, CHIC, BIEN MISE, CARTES, REMERCIA, SUBVENIR, A SUS BESOINES, DIRIGEARSE.

38: (43) (12 min)

Tk: KE HABER HANUM? (\*), KARAR (şöyle böyle), TİCARET LİSESİ, BALATLIYA, MA (\*), GEÇİMSİZLİK, HAYAL, PARAS, HAVALIYA, AMA (\*), LALES, KADİFE, NİŞAN, ÇANTA (\*), TABİ (\*), LÜKS, SALON, DANCESÖZAS, KATES, PASTA (\*), EL KUSUR, ÇOCUK ESİRGEME KURUMU.

Fr: DAMMA (\*), M'IMAGINO, PRODUISAR (produire), FLIRTANDO,

SITUATION, TOILETTE, BORDEAU, BRODÎ (broderie). ELEVO (élève),  
COSTUME, RENARES, MARON, PHOTO, BLOUSA, COIFFEUR, CHIGNON,  
FARDADA, CEREMONIE.

HEBREW: MAZAL (chance).

39: (58) (10 min)

Tk: YIRMİDÖRTE DOĞDUM, ELLİOÇO (58), PARA (π), MA, TAMAM,  
MUSAFİRES, NEDEN ACABA?

Fr: BONJOUR, MERCI, QU'EST-CE QU'ON DIT ? j'SAIS PAS, CALCULAR  
DOCTEUR, TELEPHONES, RENDEZ-VOUS, AUTRICHIANA, FRANÇAIS (π),  
PARDON, OCCASION, COUPLE, ASSORTI, ÇA C'EST DEJA LE TEST DE  
RORCHACH QUE TU ME FAIS, AH, PARDON, MAIS C'EST POUR TOI,  
SEULEMENT ÇA NON, C'EST LA SUITE DE LA MEME HISTOIRE TOUJOURS,  
TRES COMPLIQUE CE QUE TU ME FAIS FAIRE LA' PROBABLEMENT, QUES-  
TION, C'EST LE JEU QUOI ? GATEAU DE MARIAGE, D'OU TU AS SORTI  
TOUT ÇA ? C'EST TOI QUI AS FAIS FAIRE CES CARICATURES ? APOS-  
TROPHE, COMMENT ON DIT ? (π), DES FLEURES, QUEL EST LE CHOSE ?  
SIMPLE, PRIERE, SALON DE RECEPTION, BLEU-MARINE, RECITO, DE  
RIEN.

40: (58) (10 min)

Tk: EV HANIMI, ÜNİVERSİTE, AMA (π), PARAS (π), DUZDEANDO (du-  
zeltmek), İŞSALA (İnşallah), PİŞİN (peşin),

Fr: DROIT, FRANÇAIS (\*), DROLE, EXPLIQUAS, CONVERSATION, COR-  
RESPONDANCE, OCCASION, CARACTERES (harf), QUESTION, ORIGINAL-  
MENT, JEUNE FILLE, .L'AVENIR, MARCHANDAGE, REGRETANDO, JEUNE  
HOMME, DUNKE (donc), SINCEROS, NON, POURQUOI TU DIS COMME ÇA ?  
C'EST UN CHASSEUR DE DOT, MAÎTRESSE DE MAISON, EMBETANDO,  
VAMPE (π), PHOTO DE MARIAGE, ENTHOUSIASTE, PANTALONES, ETAPE

JEUNE, IMPRESSION, COMMENT ON DIT ? PROFONDA.

ENGLISH: PHENOMENON, VIVID.

GENERATION III:

41: MEN: (35) (5 min)

(Many pauses)

Tk: MÜHENDİSLİK FAKÜLTESİ, MÜHENDİS, AMA (⌘), ADAM, SADECE  
PARAYI DÜŞÜNÜYOR GALİBA, İÇTEN, MİSAFİRES, PASTA, BEDDUA OKU-  
YORLAR, LAF ATIYOR, KOVALADANDO, OKLAVA.

Fr: FLİRTANDO, QUESTION.

42: (27) (5 min)

Couldn't talk at all. He answered all the questions in Turkish  
He translated the stories correctly however. This subject talk  
only French and Turkish with his family. He said he never  
could learn how to speak Ladino.

43: (24) (5 min)

(Many pauses and could find his words with difficulty).

Tk: ENDÜSTRİ MÜHENDİSİ, ÜNİVERSİTE, AMA (⌘), PARAS (⌘), KUTİ,  
SE BOZDEYO. ANLAŞEYAR, PASTA, TEMİZLİK, BİRBİRLERİ İÇİN KÖTÜLÜK  
DÜŞÜNÜYORLAR, VAH VAH, ZAVALLI.

44: (30) (5 min)

Didn't speak Ladino. He could only understand.

45: (26) (7 min)

(Spoke very slowly with many pauses).

Tk: MÜHENDİS, TEKNİK ÜNİVERSİTE, MUSEVİ LİSESİ, ANADİL, KOMSU,  
KE KARAR, AMA (⌘), MİSAFİRES, PARAS (⌘), LAVORER, EL DİSKORSO.

Fr: CARTAS, BEBE.

46: (26) (8 min)

Tk: MA (⌘), AMA, PARAS (⌘), SULANMAK, PASTA.

Fr: DOCTEUR, PARDON, EL KARİKO (carré), SOUVENİR.

ENGLISH: NIGHT CLUB.

47: (32) (8 min)

(Had difficulty in speaking. He pronounced his sentences very slowly).

Tk: KİMYA MÜHENDİSİ, FAKÜLTE, ÖYLE DEĞİL Mİ ? PEK FENA DEĞİL-  
MİŞ, YANİ, MAŞALLAH, MA, PARAS.

Fr: FRANÇAİS (⌘), MATERNELLE, SUJETOS, MARCHANDANDO, SEPARANDO  
CONCERNE, PROFESSEUR, SİNAGOGA, LOCALE, DANSEUSE.

48: (38) (7 min)

Tk: PARAS (⌘), ORKESTRA.

Fr: İNDUSTRIEL, HEBREU, FRANÇAİS, HABİTÜİ, COUPLE, PREPARANDO,  
DAMMAS, NORMALE, TEMPLO, RABIN.

(He spoke with short sentences generally using action verbs  
and with many pauses).

49: (41) (6 min)

Tk: EKONOMİ FAKÜLTESİ, PARAS (⌘), ZİYAFET.

Fr: İNDUSTRIEL, ARRANGEAR, MADEMOISELLE, MODERNA, TOILETTE,  
HEBREU, FRANÇAİS, SALON.

Eng: DANCING

Hebrew: İVRİT (Hebrew), SEFARADİT (Spanish)

50: (32) (6 min)

Tk: PARÇAS, AMA (⌘), ÖGRENCİ, TARHAN KOLEJİ, TURKÇAS (he  
made fun of the way old people spoke Turkish.), O KADAR,

İNGİLİZCE, FRANSTZCA, VALLAYI, AMA, BAZI BAZI, ME SE KARI-  
ŞEYA, DEDİKODU, KE KARAR DE PARAS, YANI, OLUMSUZ, PARAS (\*),  
TOZ, KAZA, FORTUNA (firtina), YAVRUM, HANUMİKA, PASA UN  
KALEM (geç bir kalem), MUTLU, DAYANEYO, EYLENEYİMOS, ARTİK,  
ESKİ TAS ESKİ HAMAM.

Fr: AUTOMOBİLES, FRANÇAİS, GLORİFİKANDO, NEGATİP, BUFE.

WOMEN :

51: (32) (5 min)

(Many pauses. Spoke with difficulty.)

Tk: DEDİKODU, PARAS (\*), EÇAR PALAVRA (laf atmak), KOVALA-  
DANDO KON LA OKLAVA.

Fr: FRANÇAİS (\*), PREPARAR, TOMAR LEÇONES DEL RABİN, CON-  
TİNUO, HEBREU.

52: (40) (6 min)

Tk: PARAS (\*), PASTAS, O KADAR (many pauses).

Fr: PRATIQUE , FRANÇAİS, ANGLAIS, FLİRTANDO, SEPARAR, GATEAU  
REMERCİAR, PRIERE.

53: (37) (6 min)

Tk: AMA (\*), PARAS (\*), ŞİK (\*).

Fr: MONSIEUR, SIGNIFICADO, ARRIVANDO (\*), GLORİFICANDO,  
QUESTIONES, DEMOISELLE, BEBE, SEMBOLE, JEUNE HOMME, COURA-  
MENTE, HEBREU, FRANÇAİS.

HEBREW: İVRİT (hebrew).

54: (38) (6 min)

Tk: AMA (\*), KARAR, PARAS (\*).

Fr: FRANÇAİS (\*), GRAMAMA, QUESTION, ATTENTARLO, DAMMAS,  
BEBE, POURSUIVANDO, LEÇON.

55: (32) (6 min)

(She anghed a lot and didn't want to speak Ladino serieusly. There were many pauses.)

Tk: PARAS (\*), HERHALDE ANLAŞAMADILAR. NO SE ANLAŞEYARON, O KADAR, DEDİBODU, GAYET MESUT, ZAVALLI, PALO DE SÜPÜRGE (süpürge sopası), OKLAVA, GAYET ŞIK, ANNELER, BABALAR.

Fr: NORMALE, FRANÇAIS, GATEAU.

56: (36) (6 min)

(She spoke with very short action sentences.)

Tk: NİŞANTAS KIZ LİSESİ, TUTULURUM, TERCİH, KE KADAR, ANLAŞEYARON, PARAS (\*), PASTA, KOŞTUREYANDO, OKLAVA, ŞIK, SALON.

Fr: CONFERENCE, PARDON, PHOTO.

57: (40) (6 min)

Tk: ONBESİNCİ İLKOKUL, MESELA, PARAS (\*), OLABİLİR, PİŞİN.

Fr: QUESTİONES, CONTINUANDOLO.

58: (33) (5 min)

(She thought it funny to speak in Ladino. Many pauses.)

Tk: AMA, PARAS.

Fr: FRANÇAIS (\*), ANGLAIS, CLİENTES, DANS LA VİE QUOTİDIENNE MATERNELLE, COUPLO, PREPARANDO, GATEAU.

59: (37) (5'5 min)

Tk: PARAS (\*), OKLAVA, KOVALADEANDO.

Fr: FRANÇAIS, FLİRTANDO, GATEAU, CARTAS, PHOTO, LEÇON, LOCAL HEBREW: SEFARADİT (Spanish.)

60: (35) (6'5 min)

(Made fun of speaking Ladino continually.)

Tk: SÖYLE BÖYLE, AMA (\*), PARAYİKAS (\*), PARAS.

Fr: BONJOUR, PAS MAL, FRANÇAIS, ANGLAIS, HEBREU, MADAME (\*),  
GATEAU, MONSIEUR, BEBE, RELIGIEUX, SOCIALE, SELON LA RELI-  
GION, L'ESSENCIEL, SELON LA VIE SOCIALE, SOIREE, HORS DU  
COMMUN, TOUJOURS, MEILLEURS.

GENERATION IV

61: (II) (5 min)

He could neither speak nor understand Ladino.

62: (I9) (5 min)

(Many pauses. He used very short sentences mainly verbs.)

Tk: AYAKKABI BOYASI, ORTA, TÜRKÇE (\*), İSPANYOLCA, YÜZDE  
YÜZ, PARAS (\*), KART, TOMANDO VOLTA (voltage alıyor).

Fr: BEBE.

63: (I8) (5 min)

He couldn't speak but could understand Ladino he found it  
very funny to talk in Ladino.

64: (I6) (8 min)

(He made fun of speaking Ladino. He could find his words  
with great difficulty and with many pauses.)

Tk: IŞIK LİSESİ, YANI, BİR DAKİKA, ÖĞRENMEK, FRANSIZCA,  
TÜRKÇE, İNGİLİZCE, İSPANYOLCA, YÜZDE YÜZ, PARAS (\*), ANLA-  
ŞEYAR, KART, NUTUK, SÖYLEDİM, BU KADAR.

Fr: ELEVA (élève), ENTRE EUX, ET (\*), QUI SONT VIEUX, FRAN-  
ÇAIS, DANS, MARIER, ENFIN, PREPARANDOSE.

65: (I7) (5 min)

He couldn't speak Ladino and could neither translate every-

thing correctly. There were many words he couldn't understand  
He made fun of Ladino.

66: (I6) (7 min)

He could neither speak nor understand correctly. The interviewer had to repeat many of the sentences before he could catch the meaning.

67: (II) (.6 min)

Although eleven years old this speaker could understand everything and he even tried his hand at pronouncing one or two words. The words he couldn't understand were: TRAN-KILO (comfortable), SE KEREN (they love each other) KONTEENTE (happy).

68: (20) (7 min)

(He made fun of Ladino and the accent of older speakers. He told the interviewer that he talked in Ladino only for fun) (Many pauses.)

Tk: DEDİKODU, ANLAŞAR, PARİL PARİL, YAN, CADIYA, TURTA.

Fr: COMPTABILITE, FRANÇAIS, MARRIAGE, SEPARANDO, DAMMA, POSSEDA, BUFE, BEBE, MI SOEUR.

69: (I9) (5 min)

(He made terrible fun. He laughed at himself and at the interviewer continually. He constructed very short subject-verb sentences.)

Tk: ONDOKUZ, ELEKTRİKÇİ, KARIŞIK, EVDE, TÜRKÇE, İŞ ORTAK-LARIMLA, UFAKTAN BERİ ONU ÖĞRENDİM, DEDİKODU, BU İŞ OLMADI, AYRILIYORLAR, DÜŞÜNANDO, PARAS (\*), BIÇAK, ÇİNİS, KOVALADEO.

Fr: BUFE, VIZITANDO.

HEBREW: HAY ADONAY ( Hay Allah )

70: (I9) (6 min)

(He spoke with difficulty with many pauses.)

Tk: TİCARET, TÜRKÇE, ANADİLİM, DEDİKODU, PARAS (\*), KAHVAL-  
TI, BERBER, KALABALIK, ESTE KARAR.

Fr: BEBİKO, MİDİ.

71: (I7) (5 min)

(Many pauses, short action sentences.)

Tk: PARÇACI, AMA (\*), VE.

HEBREW: İVRİT (hebrew), ANGLİT (english).

72: (I6) (5 min)

He couldn't speak but could understand everything.

WOMEN:

73: (I7) (5 min)

She couldn't speak but could understand everything.

74: (I9) (5 min)

She couldn't speak but could understand everything.

75: (I9) (7 min)

(Many pauses)

Tk: ÖZEL DOST İLKOKULU, MERAK, PARA (\*), MA (\*);

Fr: St.MICHEAL, HEBREU, FRANÇAİS, ANGLAIS, QUESTION, JOUANDO

76: (I8) (7 min)

( She has a grandmother who is unilingual in Ladino so she  
was quite fluent.)

Tk: SEKRETERA, BEYOGLU KIZ ORTA OKULU, PARAS (\*), PASTA, ÇOK GÜZEL, KAVGAS, AMA(\*), ZOR, MİSAFİRES.

Fr: GRAMAMA, SALON.

77: (20) (7'5 min)

(Many pauses)

Tk: MUSEVİ LİSESİ, TÜRKÇE, ESTE KARAR, KOMŞUS, YÜRÜYÖRLAR, BIYIKLI, AİLELER, KUTİ, ANLAŞAYAR, AMA (\*), TRES KATLI PASTA FAKAT, ÜZGÜN, KOVALADEANDO, HEYECANLI (\*), TABİ, AKSİLİKES (\*) FERMUAR SE PATLADEYO, EL TEKERLEK DEL OTOMOBİL SE PATLADEYO, MUTLU.

Fr: CORTEGE.

78: (10) (5 min)

She could understand everything but could produce only one or two sentences.

79: (19) (7 min)

(Many pauses. She started telling the stories of the caricatures but could not continue. She could translate everything correctly. Her speak in Ladino was usually incorrect.)

Tk: ONDOKUZ, OKUYORUM, ÜNİVERSİTEDE, ORTA, TÜRKÇE, BAZEN DE FRANSIZCA, TABİİ, GERİSİ, ÖBÜRLERİ, DEVAMLI, FRANSIZCAYI, ANNEM BABAM DIŞINDAKİ BÜYÜKLERLE İSPANYOLCAYI YAŞLILARLA, ANADİLİM, PARA, MİSAFİR, PASTA.

Fr: SITUATION, ET.

80: (17) (7 min)

( Many pauses.)

Tk: PENCEREDE, BİRBİRLERİNİ İSTİYÖRLAR, ANNELER BABALAR, REDDEDİYÖRLAR, PARAS (\*), BU KADAR, GELİNLİK, KOŞMAK, OKLAVA

Fr: ET, GATEAU, CIGARETTE, AMUSANT, ELEVA, EN GRAMAMA, EN FRANÇAIS, EN TURC.

81: (I5) (5 min)

She couldn't speak but could understand everything.

82: (I6) (6'5 min)

( Many pauses.)

Tk: BİLMİYORUM, OKULA GİDERİM, NE DİYECEM ? ÖĞRENCİ NASIL DENİR ? BİLMİYORUM Kİ, ORTA, İSPANYOLCA, TÜRKÇE, İNGİLİZCE, AY NI NE ? SOKAK NASIL DENİR ? SEVGİLİ NASIL DENİR ? BİLMİYORUM 'AND' AY 'AND' GELİYOR AKLIMA, KOMŞU NEYDİ ? GÖRÜCÜ 'THINK' GELİYOR AKLIMA KARIŞTIRIYORUM, BU NE ? NE DÜŞÜNÜYORLAR ? KART, BİR DAKİKA, BİR KIZ BEGENMEK, YİYİCEKMiŞ GİBİ, KAVGAS, YANI, BELKİ, ANLATIRIM, NESİNİ ? BİR TANEYE GİTTİM, ZATEN ÇOK ZOR BU, ANLATAMAM. PARAS.

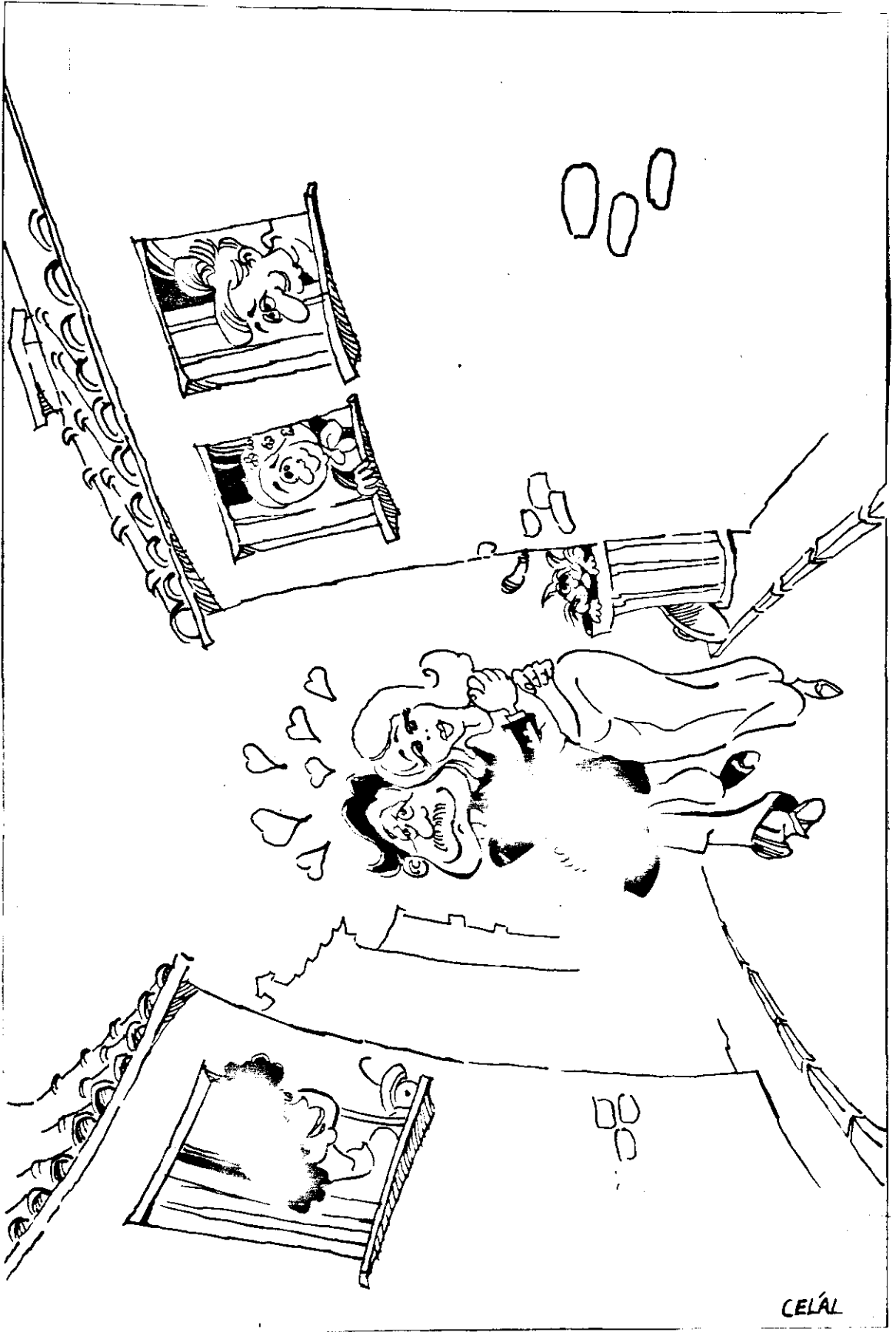
A P P E N D I X    I I :

THE CARICATURES

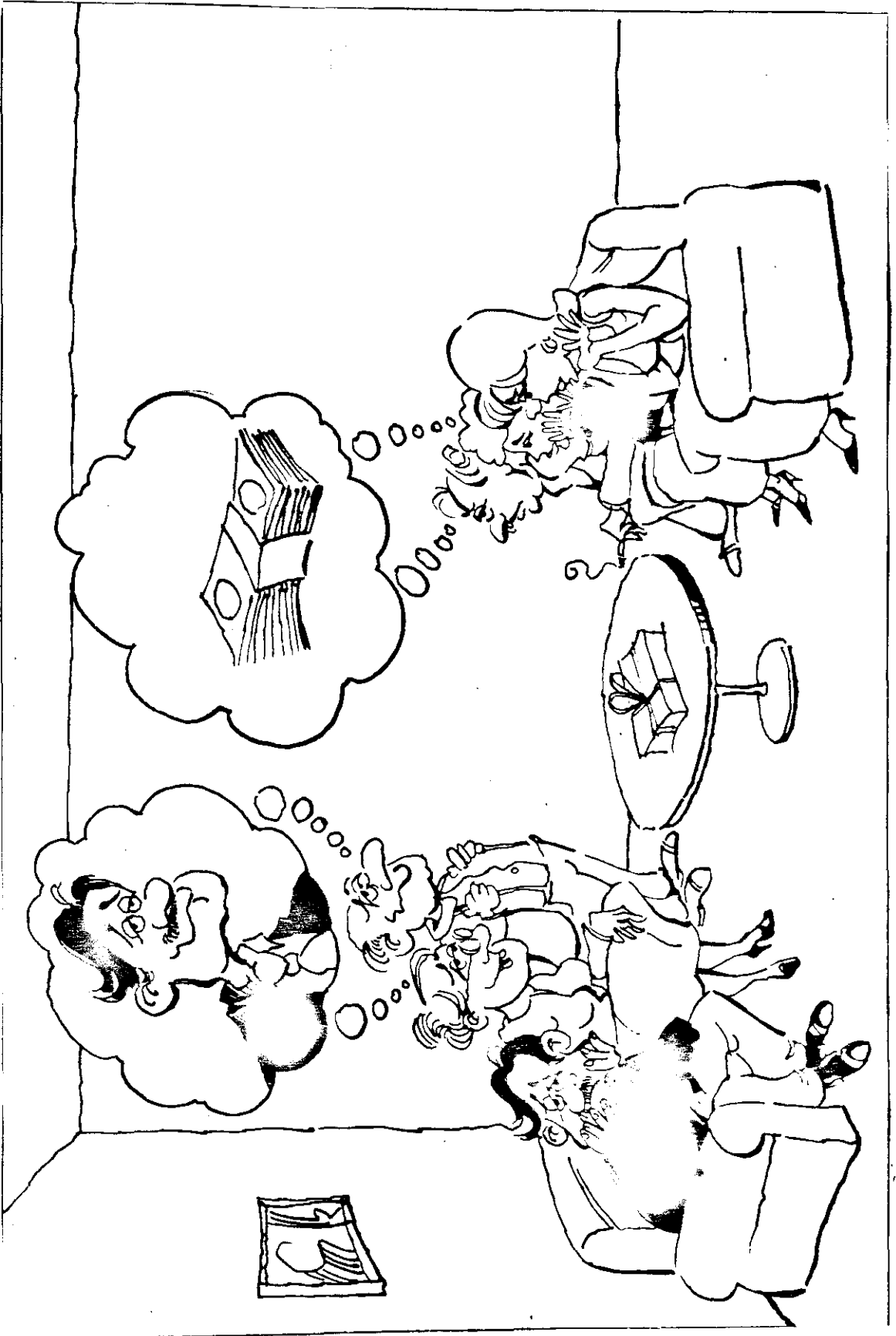
STORY    I:        'D O T A'        (Caricatures 1 to 4)

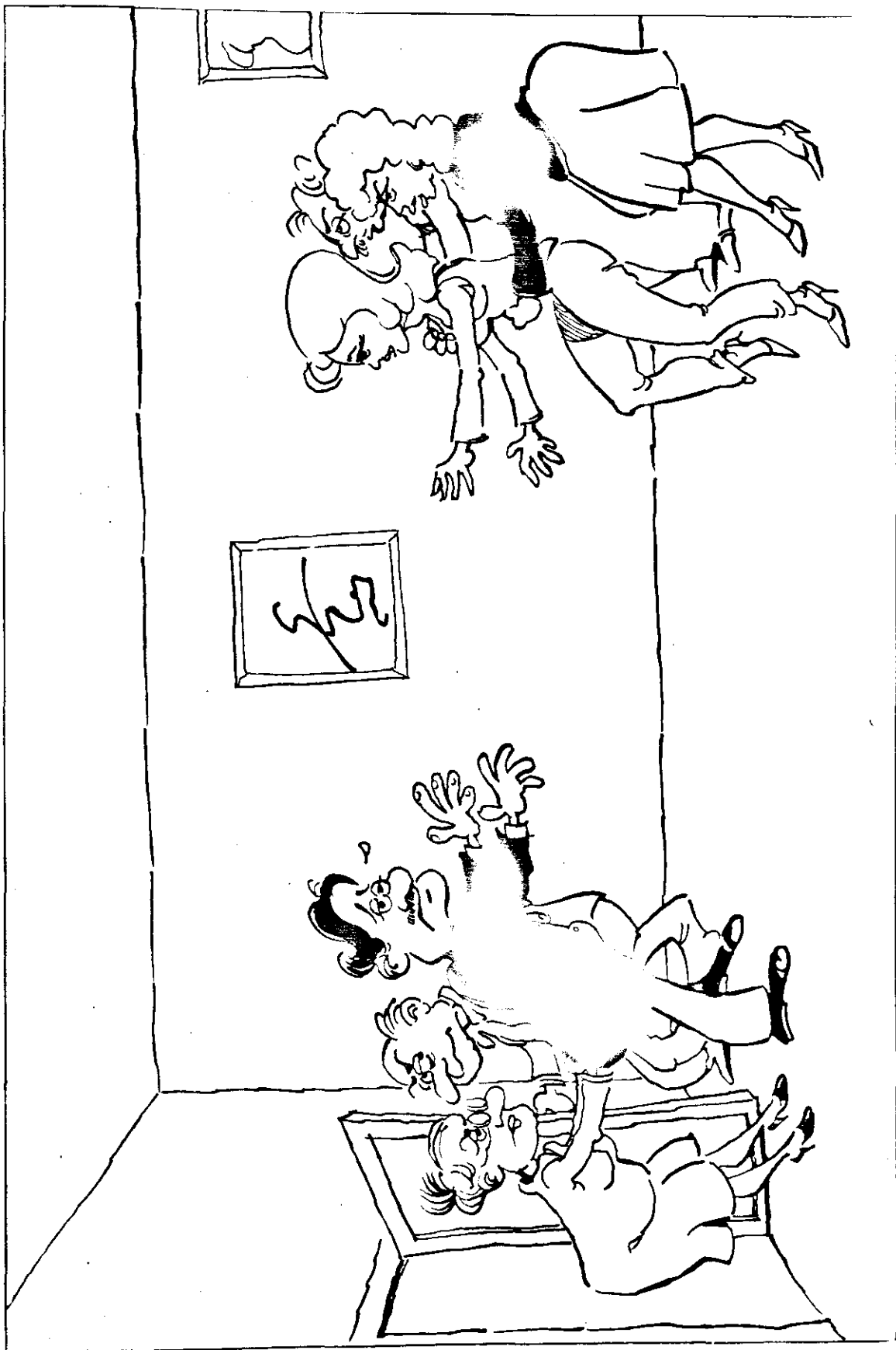
STORY   II:        'F I K S O'       (Caricatures 5 to 7)

STORY   III:        'K A Z A R'       (Caricatures 8 to 10)

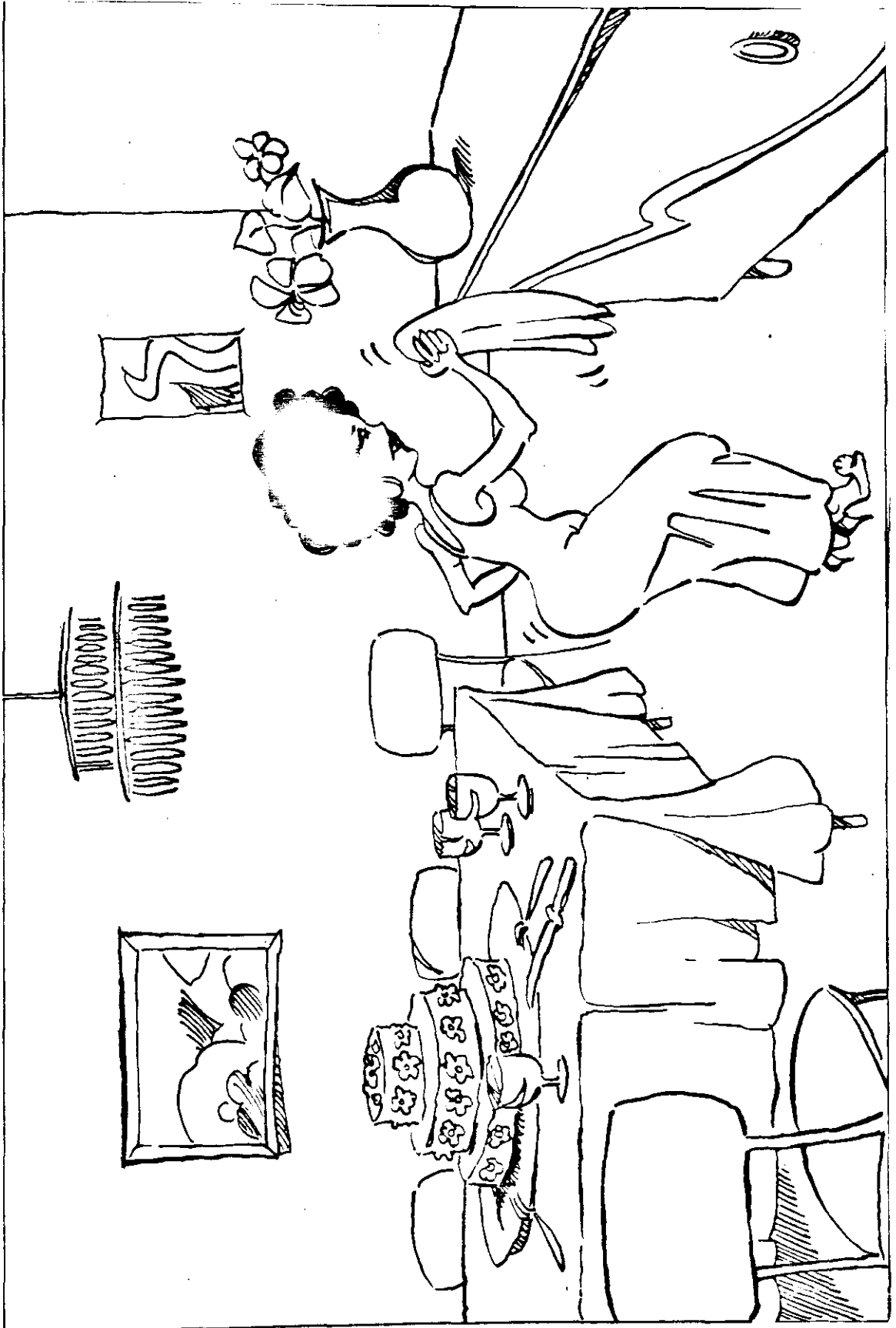


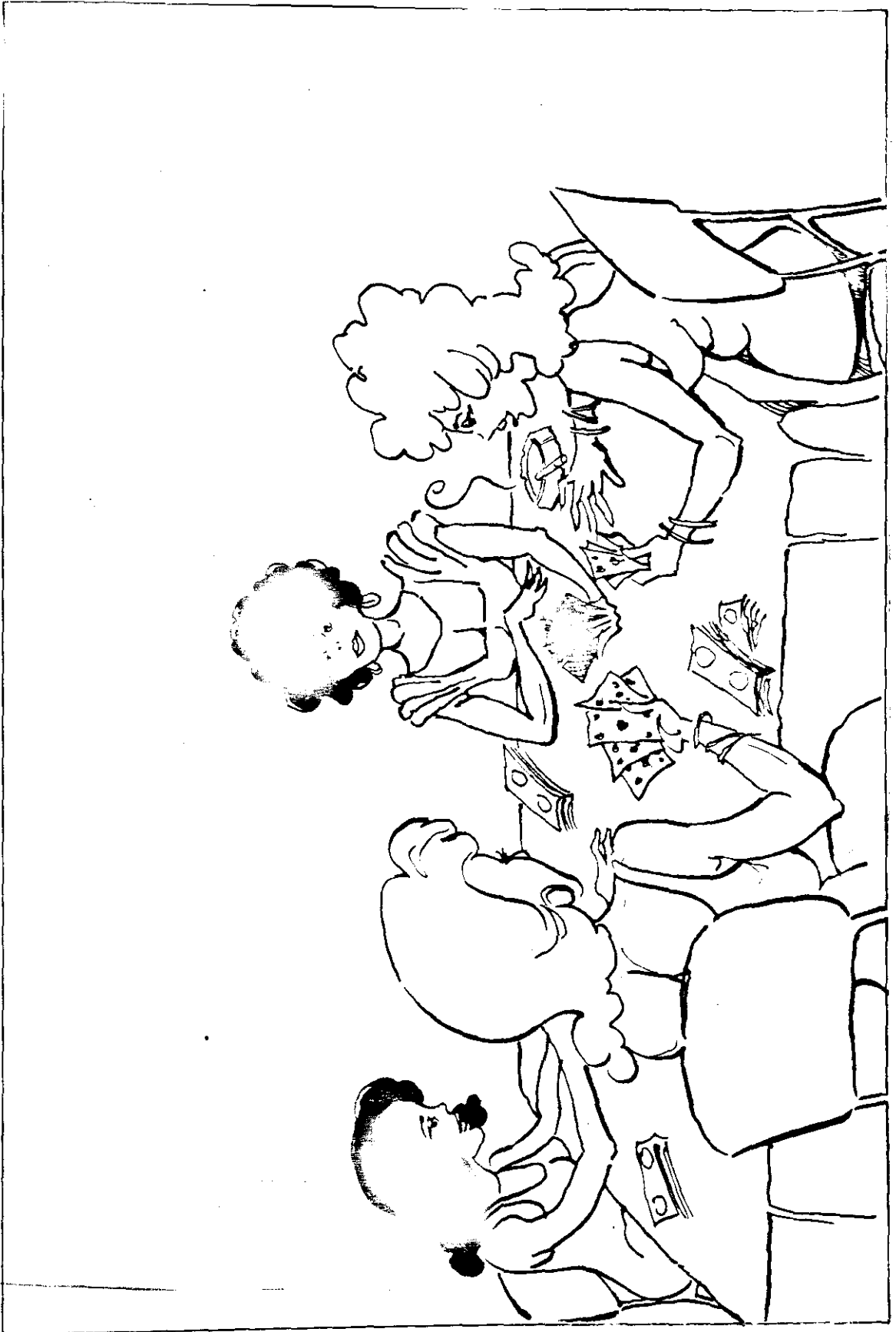
CELAL

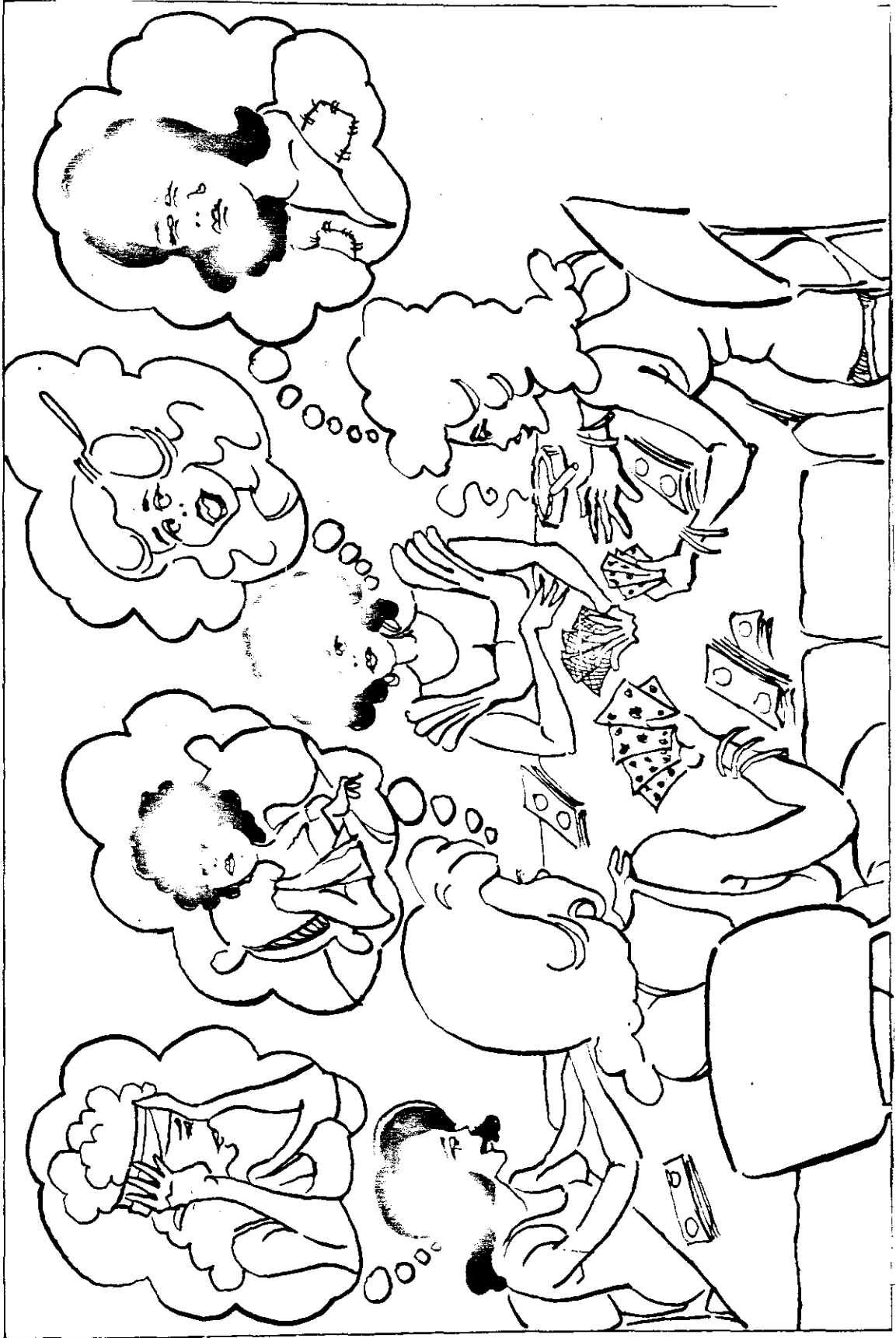




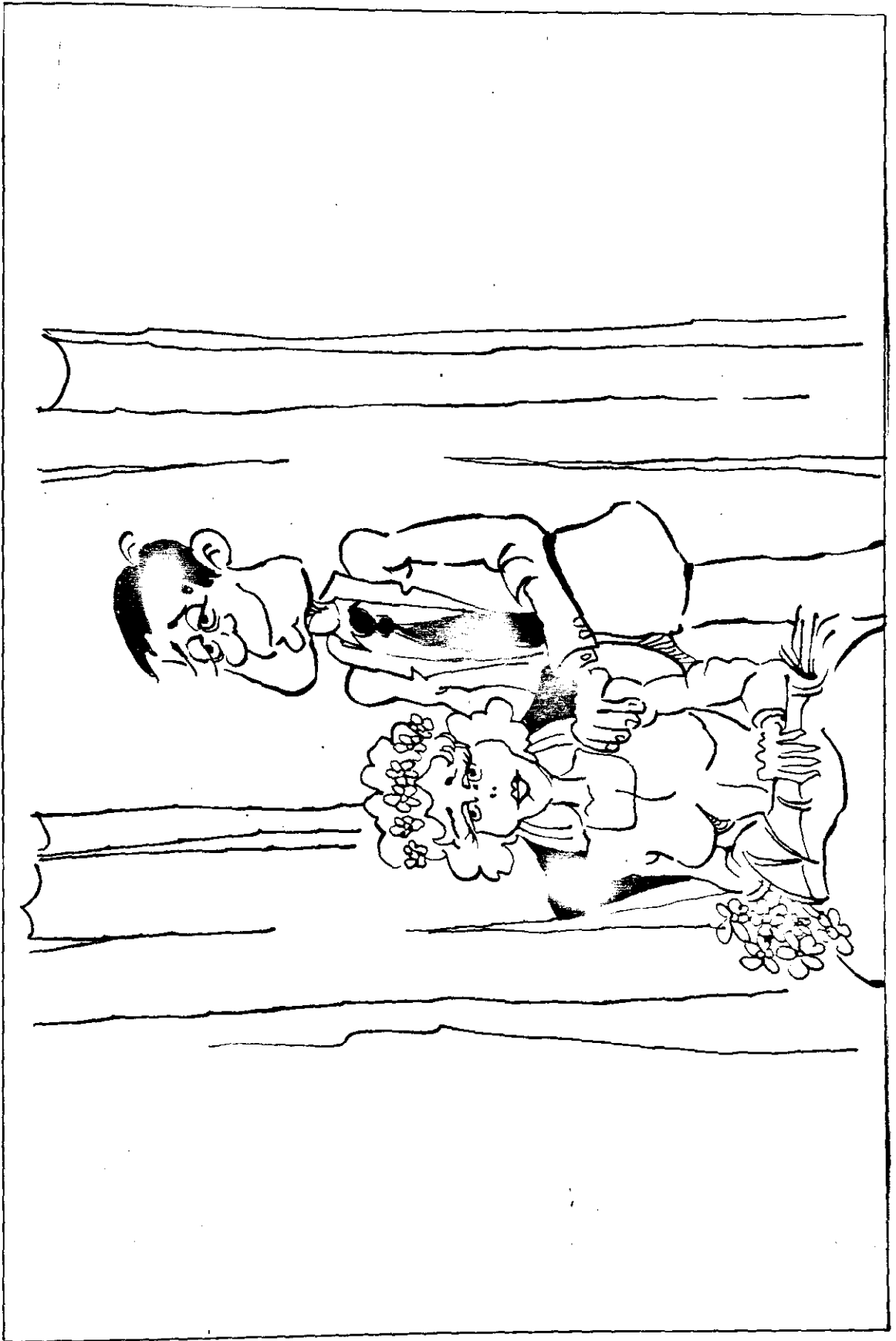


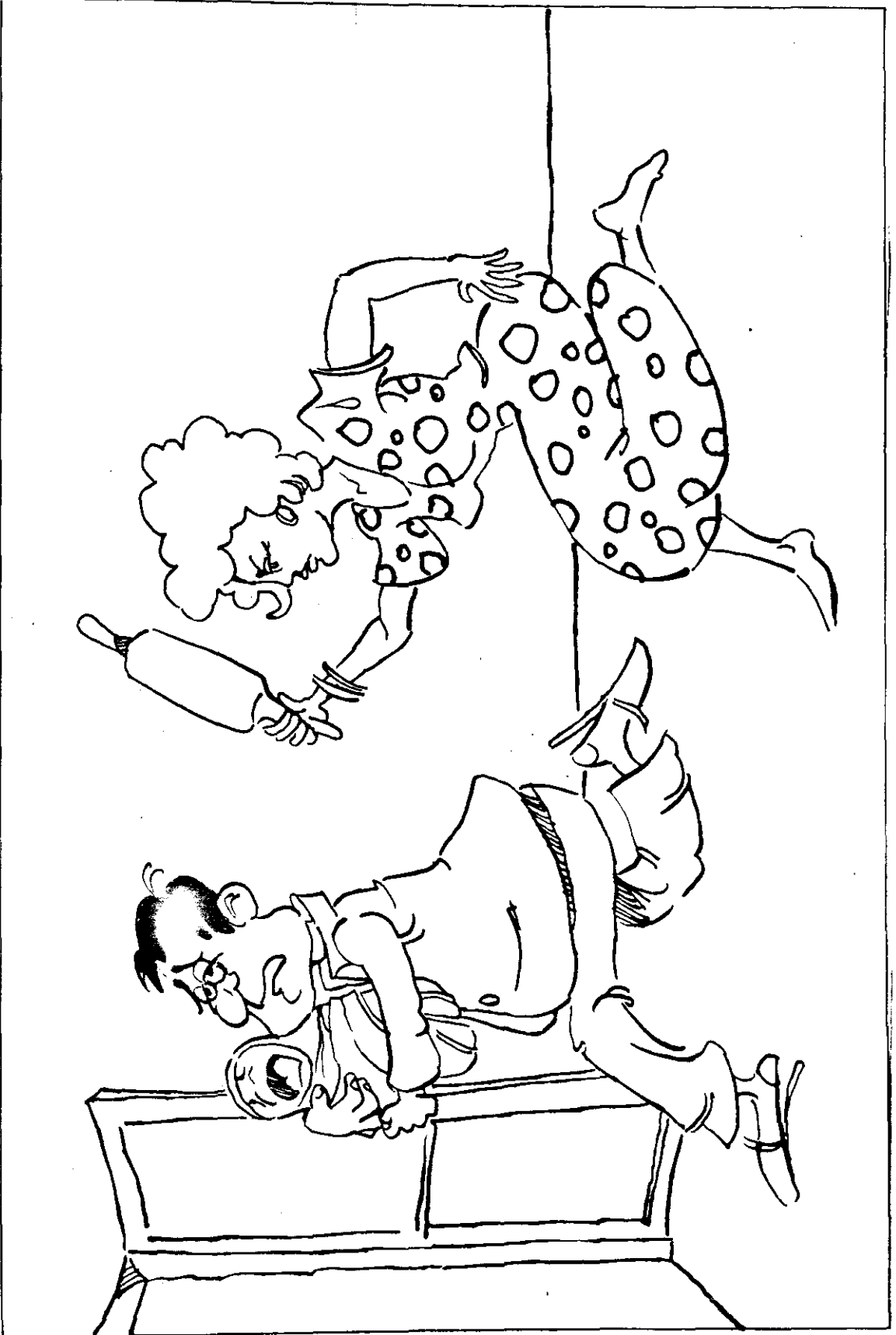












A P P E N D I X III:

NAMES OF PROFESSIONS GIVEN BY MALE SUBJECTS:

GENERATION I:

1. Fabricateur
2. Retraité
3. Tuccar
4. Pharmacien
5. Basmacılık
6. Emekliyim
7. Fotoğrafçı
8. Fabricateur
9. Directeur
10. Assurance

GENERATION II:

11. Comptable
12. Emekli
13. Kâtip
14. Comerçero
15. Directeur de Personnel
16. Neurologue
17. Fabricateur
18. Ticarî Müdür
19. Ambalaj
20. Teneke

GENERATION III:

21. Mühendis
22. Kimya Mühendisi
23. Endüstri Mühendisi
24. İşletmeci
25. Mühendis
26. Docteur
27. Kimya Mühendisi
28. Industriel
29. Industriel
30. Parças de Otomobiles

GENERATION IV:

31. Öğrenci
32. Ayakkabı Boyası
33. Parçacı
34. Elevo
35. Öğrenci
36. Öğrenci
37. Öğrenci
38. Comptabilité
39. Elektrikçi
40. Ticaret
41. Parçacı
42. Öğrenci

APPENDIX IV : 14

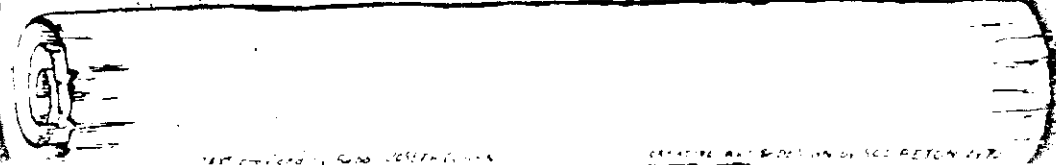
# Ladino

Hebrew (printed)	Ladino**	at the end of the word	used as vowel	supplementary letters	Ash <sup>+</sup>	Rashi
א	A	א	Aleph	אָלֶפֶט Alfa	א	א
ב	B	ב	Bet		ב (as v)	ב
ג	G	ג	Guimal		ג (as ch & j)	ג
ד	D	ד	Dalet		ד (as vide & to go)	ד
ה	H	ה	He	הָאָלֶפֶט Alfa	ה	ה
ו	V	ו	Vav	וָאָלֶפֶט Alfa	ו	ו
ז	Z	ז	Zayin	זָאָלֶפֶט Alfa	ז (as j) ז (as j)	ז
ח	Ch	ח	Het	חָאָלֶפֶט Alfa	ח	ח
ט	T	ט	Tet		ט	ט
י	Y	י	yod	יָאָלֶפֶט Alfa	י	י
כ	K	כ	Kaf	כָאָלֶפֶט Alfa	כ	כ
ל	L	ל	Lamed		ל	ל
מ	M	מ	Mem	מָאָלֶפֶט Alfa	מ	מ
נ	N	נ	Nun	נָאָלֶפֶט Alfa	נ	נ
ס	S	ס	Samech		ס	ס
ע	I	ע	Ayin		ע	ע
פ	P	פ	Pe	פָאָלֶפֶט Alfa	פ (as ph or f)	פ
צ	TS	צ	Tsadi	צָאָלֶפֶט Alfa	צ	צ
ק	K	ק	Kof		ק	ק
ר	R	ר	Resh		ר	ר
ש	Sh	ש	Shin	שָאָלֶפֶט Alfa	ש	ש
ת	T	ת	Tav		ת	ת

\* used only in Hebrew

+ Ashkenazi script

\*\* handwritten letter known as SOLETREO among Turkish Sephardim



A P P E N D I X V:

IDIOMS AND EXPRESSIONS INFLUENCED BY TURKISH :

- I: Esta aziendo luvya seles .
- 2: Çinça de tamuz.
- 3: Kitar al rey, meter al vizir .
- 4: Se va el kyayaci vyene el bumuelero.
- 5: Em prove em gaviente.
- 6: Tyene unas kuantas tavlas mankas. ( Birkaç tahtası eksik )
- 7: Alegria kon bumuelos i biskoços de raki.
- 8: Se açilo komo la paparuna.
- 9: Sin komer oğlu sin komer ( görmemişin oğlu).
- 10: Me lo kito por la nariz (burnumdan getirdi).
- 11: Komo de antika.
- 12: Se komyo una medra. (Fena bir bok yedi).
- 13: Una çene bavyeka.
- 14: Ni ayre de yiriz ni mujer mizmiz.
- 15: Mereses una medalya de patata.
- 16: Tiyene unyas palangas / paletas.
- 17: Ken no tiyene meoyo, ke tenga paças.
- 18: A pişar al l'iyup , aeskansar en la kasturiya.
- 19: Ande s'arapa el guerko kon turbin.
- 20: Biride.....(bu arada).
- 21: Pişin.....( peşinen = immediately).
- 22: A pişin ke te vide , a pişin m'ennamori.
- 23: Çalış, çalış pan bayat.
- 24: İnat de Gurcis.

- 25: Ya me suvieron los inyervos al tepe.
- 26: Le das la mano te toma i el pye. ( Elini verirsin ayağını da alır).
- 27: No es yabancı, es konu komşu.
- 28: El tavan ke t'apiyade
- 29: La boka ke te se vaya al yan.
- 30: Kada uno a su boy.
- 31: Kontar por benadam. (adam yerine saymak.)
- 32: Duz iva (ova) komo la vava.
- 33: Al rey un yeşil yaprak.
- 34: Lo izo de sinko paras.
- 35: Soz rendesiz meşe odunu.
- 3-: Ez kara de kösele.
- 37: Esta muy aversiz.
- 38: Si por la puerta lo ečas, por la ventana entra (Kapıdan atarsın pencereden girer.
- 39: Me serro la puerta en la kara. (Kapıyı suratıma kapadı.)
- 40: Te paso mahpul ?
- 41: La fasulya esta leçe.
- 42: No me miro ni en la kara. (Suratıma bila bakmadı).
- 43: No me dyo kara. (Yüz vermedi).
- 44: El melon muz salyo kalavasa. (Kavun kabak çıktı).
- 45: Estas durmiyendo enpiyes. (Ayakta uyuyorsun).
- 46: Es komo polvora. (Barut gibi).
- 47: Se le korto la gana de komer. ( İştah'ı kesildi).
- 48: No kere meter nada en boka.(Ağzına bir şey koymak istemiyor)
- 49: Tyene la boka suzya. (Ağzı pis ).

- 50: Las kuras no me izyeron hayre.
- 51: A ke avli a la pared, a ati.( Ha duvara konuşmuşum ha sana.)
- 52: Travo la puerta i se fue. (Kâpiyı çekti ve gitti).
- 53: Esta loka bolada por el.(Onun için deli divane oluyor).
- 54: Diyez dedos diyez marafetes.( On parmak on marifet).
- 55: Ya amanesyo en Üsküdar. ( Üsküdar'da sabah oldu ).
- 56: La leçe se korto. ( süt kesildi ).
- 57: Kome poko, toma moso. ( Az ye , uşak tut ).
- 58: Defa la lu. ( Bir daha ).
- 59: Dar boya. ( dövme )
- 60: Buzana , Çamurana, Yağana . (emphatic adjectives).
- 61: Avlar ez lo tuyo ? (Laf mı bu dediğin ?)
- 62: Estas azyendo fiyakas i cakas.
- 63: No me digas ! (Deme ya !)
- 64: Ke estas dizyendo ? ! ( Ne diyorsun ?!)
- 65: Es bombaciya.
- 66: Se izo komo tu kara. (Suratına benzemiş.)
- 67: Estava una mar azete.( Deniz yağ gibiydi ).
- 68: Sedakero parese. ( Dilenci'ye benziyor).
- 69: Tiene korason de oro. (Altın gibi kalbi var).
- 70: Es buen ijo. ( İyi çocuktur).
- 71: Me komyo las paras. ( Paralarımı yedi).
- 72: Ez ravano. ( bayır trupu )
- 73: Kortar i matar. (kesip biçmek).
- 74: Tomar reflo. ( nefes almak )
- 75: Se l'arepozo l'alma. ( içi rahatladı )
- 76: .... mecburi/ ke viene de buri (rhyming couple).

- 77: Afuera las karas. (sözüm meclisten dışarı).
- 78: Kale meter guantes para avlar.(Konuşmak için eldiven giymeli)
- 79: Moz dimos el çatal en la mano.
- 80: Eçar el palpak para peleyar.
- 81: Alma estreça. ( dar canlı).
- 82: El ke toma kale ke sepa dar. ( Almasını bilen vermesini de bilmeli.)
- 83: Esto muerto del ambre. ( açlıktan ölüyorum).
- 84: Guerkeriyas. (şeytanlıklar)
- 85: Eçar palavras. (laf atmak).
- 86: Todo lo ke te viene de la mano, no te lo metas detras.  
( Elinden geleni ardına koyma).
- 87: Le viene munças kozas de la mano. (Elinden çok şey gelir.)
- 88: Lo puedo topar kon los ojos serrados.(Gözlermi kapalı bulurum)
- 89: Entiyende todo a l'arovez.( Herşeyi ters anlar).
- 90: Ijo d'un çanta.
- 91: Cilveliya muçaça.
- 92: De nazar guadrado i de ojo malo.
- 93: No avriyo la boka. (Ağzını bile açmadı).
- 94: Me salyo l'alma por la nariz. (Canım burnumdan çıktı.)
- 95: Penyado a la broş. Esta muerto por el groş.
- 96: Lo çuflaron bueno. ( Onu iyi düdükletiler )
- 97: Esta eçando d'ennalto. ( yüksekten atıyor).
- 98: Esta buen pedaso ! ( parça ! ) ( for a girl)
- 99: Esta un pedaso pahpahlı !
- 100: Me suvyo la sangre a la kavesa. (Kan beynime sıçradı).
- 101: Eçar un ojo. ( Bir göz atmak).

- I02: Va azer kolaçan.
- I03: Ya me komites la kavesa. ( Başımın etini yedin ).
- I04: Ande van platos viyenen çanakas .
- I05: Kandelar de eski cami (meaning stupid).
- I06: Kortar la palavra. (Sözünü kesmek)
- I07: Kortar palavra. ( Söz kesmek ).
- I08: Los huevos d'Ali bey.
- I09: Ayuda de keten tohumu.
- I10: Ya le di la nota. ( Notunu verdim).
- I11: Diya i noçe. (gece gündüz).
- I12: Se l'asento el kayık por entero.
- I13: Ya'sta karar. (Daha neler !)
- I14: Kualo ? !( Ne ? !)
- I15: Los comes estan tenekes .
- I16: El avlar suyo ez kiyamet (çok)
- I17: Tiyene asukar. ( şeker var )
- I18: Moz yamo kon medya boka. ( Yarım ağızla çağırdı )
- I19: Le dimos una buena de lisyon. (İyi bir ders verdik.)
- I20: Tiyene ojo en ti. ( Sende gözü var )
- I21: Me arapo una ora en el telefon.( Telefonda bir saat traş etti)
- I22: No me kontes konsejikas. (Bana masal anlatma).
- I23: Mira cadi!
- I24: Se esta vendiyendo karo. (Kendini pahalıya satıyor).
- I25: Mi şeşo merka arabacılar entero.
- I26: Estava un sol kemador. (Güneş yakıcı idi.)
- I27: Gani estas paras kon la sudor de la frente.(Alnımın teri ile kazandım bu paraları).

- 128: Se izo tandur kebab en el sol.
- 129: Paras no tyene para lomer ravanos para regoldar.
- 130: Takunya de banyo! (Stupid)
- 131: No le vyene nada de la mano. (Elinden hiç bir şey gelmez.)
- 132: Ni la mano le toma ni el pye. (Ne eli tutar ne ayağı.)
- 133: Si l'oskupes en la kara va dizir ke esta azyendo luvya.  
(Suratına tükürsen yağmur yağıyor diyecek.)
- 134: Mas vale komer un bembriyo ham ke la barva del Haham.
- 135: Bive a la Uşa. (The name of a hill.)
- 136: Dale una agua. (Bir su ver.)
- 137: Mos se izo kolay i livyano.
- 138: Esta kuero i ueso. (bir deri, bir kemik.)
- 139: El sol lo mareya, el ayre lo şaseya.
- 140: Es şasuta. (şası.)
- 141: Ketana por sehora. (Kağıthane.)
- 142: Me kedo la savor en la boka. (Tadı ağızımda kaldı.)
- 143: Aspera azno a la yerva mueva. (Ölme eşeğim ölme.)
- 144: Rova pitas beza mezuzas.
- 145: Esta en şışez.
- 146: No te sikileyes, todo va entrar en regla.
- 147: Pasado seya. (Geçmiş olsun.)
- 148: La boka tomada. (Ağzın tutulsun.)
- 149: Mal de murir no es. (Ölüm yok ya.)
- 150: Ojos bilyas, boka orno, nariz kyula de liblibis.
- 151: Seko tutun.
- 152: Se kemó, se yandiró.
- 153: No tenia otro remedio. (Başka çaresi yoktu.)

- 154: Korolado canciğer.
- 155: Kag<sup>h</sup>alonbaşı.
- 156: Me se tomaron las paças.
- 157: Tomo kolora bayat.
- 158: Dar los uesos en la mano. (Kemiklerini eline vermek.)
- 159: D'Anderne vinites/ curuelikos komes. (Edirne)
- 160: Me kayo de los ojos. (Gözümden düştü.)
- 161: Lenyo de banyo, hamam odunu.
- 162: Esta aleskuro zindan.
- 163: Esta eçando de la işkembe.
- 164: La fiel me l'arevento. (Ödüm patladı.)
- 165: Si lo vez otra vez/ arrevatale la fes.
- 166: Se truço i a la kaşika de pan.
- 167: Musafires de punto.
- 168: Ya te vas a travar la oreja. (Kulağını çekeceksin.)
- 169: Kon palo supurye.
- 170: Eçarse enriva. (üstüne atlamak.) (slang)
- 171: Eçarse ensima. (üstüne yatmak.) (slang)
- 172: Travar los kaveyos. (Saçını başını yolmak.)
- 173: Estava komo la roza. (Gül gibiydi.)
- 174: El ke se muere kon su ecel se va a pişar al duvar de la  
de la meşkita.
- 175: Lo izo groş nuevo.
- 176: Haram ke te se aga.
- 177: Eçar vardas.
- 178: Se estuvo araskando dia entero. (Bütün gün kaşındı.)
- 179: Ya moz vino buktiyas.

- 180: Muhtar de la male. (mahalle)
- 181: Yaz yazici, kaghajones oniki.
- 182: Avrir el ojo kon kerpeten.
- 183: De la boka de eya al lagum.
- 184: Komo el azno va venir. (Essek gibi gelecek.)
- 185: Ni a mi duşman /or/ inimigo.
- 186: El tavan me kayó.
- 187: Me rompyo el korason. (Kalbimi kirdi.)
- 188: Romper la kavesa. (Kafa kırmak.)
- 189: Mil mueren de nazar i uno de su muerte.
- 190: Perde sin klavos.
- 191: Es bayaghi.
- 192: Alevanto las paças i izo las paras.
- 193: Esta amariyo safran.
- 194: Kara de limon.
- 195: Bivas! (Çok yaşa!)
- 196: La kavesa me se izo daul. (davul)
- 197: De todo kâmil.
- 198: Vay bastadro!
- 199: Ya dyo savor de kalavasa. (Kabak tadı verdi.)
- 200: Tyene una boka faresana.
- 201: S'alevanto kon el pye syedro. (Solundan kalktı.)
- 202: Esta kyup borraço.
- 203: No t'averuensas i te sallaneyas.
- 204: Ya me kito el posteki.
- 205: İnçir kufas i eçar a la mar.
- 206: Yorar var mauyar var.

- 207: Serró los ojos. (Gözlerini yumdu.)
- 208: Meter a la puerta. (Kapıya koymak.)
- 209: Kitar alay.
- 210: Tener la frente limpia. (Alnı temiz olmak.)
- 211: Travar a alguno. (Birine çekmek.)
- 212: La sangre le esta buyendo. (Kanı kaynıyor.)
- 213: Se kitaron los ojos. (Birbirlerinin gözlerini oydular.)
- 214: Muy hatisinas.
- 215: Lo tomaron al tef.
- 216: Este kadar. (Bu kadar.)
- 217: No aviya ni lugar para meneyar. (Kimildayacak yer yoktu.)
- 218: Doktor de matasanoz.
- 219: Para un dinsiz un imansiz.
- 220: La munça miel bulaneya.
- 221: Eçar las paras por la ventana.
- 222: A la franka.
- 223: A la turka.
- 224: No ay fuego sin umo. (Ateş olmayan yerden duman çıkmaz.)
- 225: Esta grano para patladar.
- 226: Çatra patra.
- 227: Son buçukas.
- 228: Esta un bilbil.
- 229: Daldeyó kuçara.
- 230: Se esta kurdeyando por aryentro.
- 231: Este no se aze benadam. (Bu adam olmaz.)
- 232: Esta fediendo leş.
- 233: Lo ize de doz paras. (İki paralık ettim.)

- 234: Beve aua komo sarniç.
- 235: Se travó una fotografia. (Fotoğraf çekti.)
- 236: Coha se fue al banyo, topo de kontar un anyo.
- 237: Si Coha viene s'ezbraga, le parese ke es banyo.
- 238: Se vistyo Coha vistido de Şaba en dia de semana.
- 239: Bareyohaci! (Eskici)
- 240: Ya sintyo gayos kantar ama...
- 241: Ke metyo Coha en mi 'souca'. (bana ne, neme lâzım.)
- 242: Vini Cudyo kagame ke m'esto yindo al banyo.
- 243: La kavesa me s'esta aboltando. (Başım dönüyor.)
- 244: El bel me se tomo. (Belim tutuldu.)
- 245: Ni la mano le toma ni el pye. (Ne eli tutar ne ayağı.)
- 246: Tiene unas kuantas tavlas mankas. (Birkaç tahtası eksik.)
- 247: Çarukas, fostan.
- 248: Esta endevdado fista las yakas.
- 249: Los inço tepeleme.
- 250: No ve sol. (Güneş görmez.)
- 251: Apasis. (Apansız.)
- 252: Es de ceves. (ceviz)
- 253: Ke dizes? Paças.

A P P E N D I X VI :

FOOD NAMES INFLUENCED BY TURKISH

- |                  |                |              |
|------------------|----------------|--------------|
| 1. domates       | 24. flamur     | 47. limonata |
| 2. patatas       | 25. şurup(iko) | 48. simit    |
| 3. karpuz        | 26. ahududu    | 49. misir    |
| 4. kayisi        | 27. ananas     | 50. dolmas   |
| 5. şotili        | 28. pistil     |              |
| 6. vijna         | 29. raki       |              |
| 7. fasulyas      | 30. bira       |              |
| 8. bamyas        | 31. şampanya   |              |
| 9. bizelya       | 32. yarka      |              |
| 10. ispinaka     | 33. palaza     |              |
| 11. portokal     | 34. zavzavat   |              |
| 12. narancas     | 35. dolmas     |              |
| 13. liblibis     | 36. ispanakuço |              |
| 14. fustukes     | 37. prasifuçi  |              |
| 15. tereot       | 38. yullikas   |              |
| 16. turlu        | 39. karnabit   |              |
| 17. köftikas     | 40. biftek     |              |
| 18. limon        | 41. bonfile    |              |
| 19. çiroz        | 42. truşi      |              |
| 20. salata vedre | 43. sucuk      |              |
| 21. prasa        | 44. pasturma   |              |
| 22. kave         | 45. pazi       |              |
| 23. çay          | 46. balkaba    |              |

A P P E N D I X VII :

PERCENTAGES OF THE LANGUAGES SPOKEN IN ONE DAY

GENERATION I:

MEN:

- |  |                             |
|--|-----------------------------|
| 1. 70% Turkish, 30% French             | 6. 50% Turkish, 25% French, |
| 2. 60% Turkish, 30% French, 10% Ladino | 25% Ladino                  |
| 3. 70% Turkish, 30% Ladino             | 7. 80% Turkish, 20% Ladino  |
| 4. 80% Turkish, 20% Ladino             | 8. 30% Turkish, 70% French  |
| 5. 30% Turkish, 70% Ladino             | 9. 70% Turkish, 20% Ladino, |
|  | 10% French                  |
|  | 10. 70% Turkish, 30% French |

WOMEN:

- |                             |                             |
|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 11. 40% Ladino, 60% Turkish | 16. 50% Ladino, 50% Turkish |
| 12. 30% Ladino, 60% French  | 17. 100% Ladino             |
| 10% Turkish                 | 18. 30% Ladino, 70% Turkish |
| 13. 50% Ladino, 50% Turkish | 19. 80% Ladino, 20% Turkish |
| 14. 80% Ladino, 20% Turkish | 20. 80% Ladino, 20% Turkish |
| 15. 10% Ladino, 30% French, |                             |
| 60% Turkish                 |                             |

GENERATION II:

MEN:

- |                            |                            |
|----------------------------|----------------------------|
| 1. 60% Turkish, 40% Ladino | 2. 70% Turkish, 30% Ladino |
|----------------------------|----------------------------|

3. 100% Turkish
4. 70% Turkish, 25% French,  
5% Ladino
5. 90% Turkish, 10% French  
and Ladino
6. 80% Turkish, 20% French
7. 80% Turkish, 20% French  
and Ladino
8. 99% Turkish, 1% Ladino
9. 100% Turkish
10. 80% Turkish, 20% Ladino

WOMEN:

11. 70% Turkish, 30% French
12. 50% Ladino, 30% Turkish,  
20% French
13. 75% Turkish, 25% French
14. 50% Turkish, 50% French
15. 30% Turkish, 30% Ladino,  
40% French
16. 70% Ladino, 30% Turkish
17. 99% Turkish, 1% French
18. 70% Turkish, 30% Ladino
19. 50% Turkish, 50% French
20. 50% Turkish, 50% French

GENERATION III:

MEN:

1. 100% Turkish
2. 100% Turkish
3. 95% Turkish, 3% English,  
2% Ladino
4. 100% Turkish
5. 95% Turkish, 5% Ladino
6. 100% Turkish
7. 100% Turkish
8. 100% Turkish
9. 95% Turkish, 5% Ladino
10. 90% Turkish, 10% Ladino

WOMEN:

11. 90% Turkish, 10% Ladino
12. 70% Turkish, 20% French,  
10% Ladino

13. 60% Turkish, 40% Ladino
14. 60% Turkish, 40% Ladino
15. 90% Turkish, 10% Ladino
16. 70% Turkish, 30% Ladino

17. 70% Turkish, 30% Ladino
18. 100% Turkish
19. 70% Turkish, 30% Ladino
20. 95% Turkish, 3% French,  
2% Ladino.

GENERATION IV:

1. 100% Turkish
2. 100% Turkish
3. 99% Turkish, 1% Ladino
4. 100% Turkish
5. 60% Turkish, 30% French,  
10% English
6. 100% Turkish
7. 99% Turkish, 0.5% French,  
0.5% Ladino
8. 90% Turkish, 10% Ladino
9. 100% Turkish
10. 85% Turkish, 15% Ladino
11. 100% Turkish

12. 100% Turkish
13. 60% Turkish, 35% French,  
5% Ladino
14. 80% Turkish, 20% Ladino
15. 80% Turkish, 20% Ladino
16. 100% Turkish
17. 99% Turkish, 1% French
18. 50% Turkish, 30% French,  
20% Ladino
19. 100% Turkish
20. 100% Turkish
21. 100% Turkish
22. 100% Turkish

A P P E N D I X VIII:

WORDS BORROWED FROM TURKISH \*

NOUNS:

para	emekli	küfe
kat	çaruka	cumbuş
pasta	çöp tenekesi	tavla
kuti	yazili	çalgıcı
oklava	büfe	aşk meşk
(el) kusur	kismet	pazarlık
tuccar	esnafikos	teneke
baklava	tezkere	muşteriz
anadil	askerlik	hayal
musafir	araba	geçimsizlik
dedikodu	Ketana	nisan
mupak	sohbet	salon
çini	bakkal	çanta
kave	pazar	lâle
dert	ev kadını	kadife
kina yecesi		
raki		

\* Considering that Generation III and IV speakers picked up Turkish words at random, the list on this Appendix was prepared by taking into account only the speeches of Generation I and II speakers.

VERBS:

englenar  
anlaşeyar  
alıştirar  
duzdevar  
bozdeyarse  
kovaladar  
ograşar  
sevişmek  
yakişeyar  
begenar  
dar haber  
var  
dagidar

ADJECTIVES:

hakiki  
orta  
zavalli  
karişik  
eskaza  
kültürlü  
cayila  
munasup  
telli  
hanum  
devamli  
apasis  
pişman  
yakişikli  
paspal  
havali  
lüks

ADVERBS:

yibi, gibi  
neyse, nesa  
tekrar  
bile  
meselâ

EXCLAMATIONS:

ne yapacaksın  
yok canım  
valla  
hayılısi  
bi şey diil  
yahu  
malûma  
hoppala  
işşala

OTHER:

ama  
yene  
tabi  
este karar  
tamam  
ayde  
pişin

işte  
demek  
evet  
falan  
ancak  
artık  
niçin

neden acaba

A P P E N D I X IX:

ORDER OF THE LANGUAGES FROM BEST TO WORST

GENERATION I:

MEN:

1. French and Turkish, Ladino, Italian, English, Greek.
2. French and Turkish, Ladino, Greek, Italian.
3. Turkish, Ladino, French, Greek.
4. Turkish, Ladino, French, Greek.
5. Ladino, Turkish, French, Greek.
6. Turkish and French, Ladino, Greek.
7. Turkish, Ladino.
8. Turkish, Ladino, French
9. French, Ladino, Greek, Turkish, Italian
10. French, Turkish, English, Ladino, Hebrew, Greek, German.

WOMEN:

11. Ladino, French, Turkish.
12. French, Turkish, Ladino, English, Greek.
13. Ladino, Turkish, Greek, French.
14. Ladino and French and Greek, Turkish
15. Ladino, French, Turkish.
16. French, Turkish, Ladino, English, Italian, Greek
17. Ladino
18. Ladino, Turkish, French.
19. Ladino, Turkish, Greek.

20. Turkish, Ladino, French.

GENERATION II:

MEN:

1. Turkish, Ladino, French
2. Turkish, Ladino
3. Turkish and Ladino
4. Turkish and French, Ladino, Greek, English.
5. Turkish and French, Ladino, English, Greek.
6. Turkish and French, Ladino, English.
7. Turkish and French, Ladino, English, Italian, Greek.
8. Turkish, Ladino, French.
9. Turkish, Ladino.
10. Ladino, Turkish.

WOMEN:

11. French and Turkish, English, Ladino.
12. French and Turkish and Ladino, Greek.
13. French, English, Turkish, Greek, Italian.
14. Turkish, French, Ladino, Hebrew, English.
15. French, Turkish, Ladino, English.
16. Turkish, Ladino, French.
17. French, Turkish, Ladino.
18. French and Turkish, English, German.
19. French and Turkish, English, German.
20. Turkish, Ladino.

GENERATION III:

MEN:

1. Turkish, French, Ladino, English.
2. Turkish, French, English, Ladino.
3. Turkish, English, Ladino, German.
4. Turkish, German, French, Ladino, English.
5. Turkish, Ladino, English.
6. Turkish, Ladino, Italian, English, Hebrew, German.
7. Turkish, French, Ladino, English.
8. Turkish, French, Ladino, Hebrew, Italian, English.
9. Turkish, French, Hebrew.
10. Turkish, Ladino, English, French, Italian.

WOMEN:

11. Turkish, French, Hebrew, Ladino.
12. Turkish, French, Ladino, English.
13. Turkish, Ladino, French, English.
14. Turkish, Ladino, French.
15. Turkish, French, Ladino, English.
16. Turkish, French, Ladino.
17. Turkish, Ladino.
18. Turkish, French, Ladino, English.
19. Turkish, Ladino, French.
20. Turkish, French, Ladino.

GENERATION IV:

1. Turkish
2. Turkish
3. Turkish, Ladino.
4. Turkish, French, English, Ladino.
5. Turkish, French, English.
6. Turkish, French, English, Ladino.
7. Turkish, English, French.
8. Turkish, Ladino.
9. Turkish, Ladino.
10. Turkish, Ladino, Hebrew, English.
11. Turkish
12. Turkish, English.
13. Turkish, German, English, Ladino.
14. Turkish
15. Turkish, English.
16. Turkish, French, Ladino, Hebrew, English.
17. Turkish, Ladino.
18. Turkish, Ladino.
19. Turkish, Ladino.
20. Turkish, French, English, Ladino.
21. Turkish, French, Ladino.
22. Turkish, Ladino, English.

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