THE ROLE OF JUDEO-SPANISH IN SEPHARDIC IDENTITY

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ABSTRACT

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This study focuses on understanding the reasons for the consciousness emerged towards Judeo-Spanish starting from the late seventies. This consciousness was followed by the establishment of several institutions, centers and even departments at Universities mainly in Israel, later in Turkey and all over the world aimed at maintenance of Judeo-Spanish by perceiving it as the unique medium of the continuance of the Sepahardic cultural heritage. The mentioned awareness towards Judeo-Spanish has become salient through the rise and the encouragement of the creative writing produced on distinct ethnic communication platforms by several Judeo-Spanish speakers composing of both native speakers and the generation raised by them, the youngest of whom was born around 1945.

As a result of the analysis of three ethnic communication platforms which consist of Judeo-Spanish part of *Şalom* newspaper, *Şalom*'s entirely Judeo-Spanish supplement *El Amaneser,* and the on-line correspondence circle *Ladinokomunita Yahoo Group, i*t is concluded that the activity based on recalling of memories regarding the past Sephardic life as a part of the recent creative writing activities in Judeo-Spanish

present that the Jewish language is still internalized and represents 'we' in the eyes of the remaining speech community.

It can be argued that through the cultivation of Judeo-Spanish on the ethnic communication platforms, Sephardic identities are strengthened and even reconstructed in some cases. It is concluded that the recent creative writing in the Jewish language is crucial both to preserve and archive the Sephardic cultural heritage embedded in the Jewish language for the next generations.

Keywords: Judeo-Spanish, Sephardic identity, multi-lingualism, Şalom, multiglossia

ÖZ

JUDEO-ESPANYOL DİLİNİN SEFARAD KİMLİĞİ ÜZERİNDEKİ ROLÜ

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Bu çalışma 70'lerden itibaren Judeo-Espanyol diline yönelik olarak gelişen bilinçlenmenin nedenlerini anlamaya odaklanmaktadır. Bu bilinçlenmeyi 70'lerden itibaren Judeo-Espanyol dilini Sefarad kültürel mirasının korunması ve devamın önemli bir parçası olarak algılayarak dili ve kültürü muhafaza amaçlı kurulan başlıca İsrail'de olmak üzere onu takiben Türkiye ve dünyanın bir çok yerinde kurulan birçok enstitü, merkez ve üniversite departmanları izlemiştir. Judeo-Espanyol 'a yönelik bu farkındalık en genci 1945 doğumlu ve yine bu neslin yetiştirdiği Judeo-Espanyol konuşucularının çeşitli on-line etnik iletişim platformlarında paylaştıkları yaratıcı yazım faaliyetinin artması ve bunun cesaretlendirilmesiyle belirginleşmiştir.

Şalom gazetesinin Judeo-Espanyol kısmı, aynı gazetenin Judeo-Espanyol eki *El Amaneser* ve on-line yazışma grubu *Ladinokomunita Yahoo Group* 'tan oluşan etnik iletişim platformlarının analizi sonucunda, Judeo-Espanyol dilinde son dönemde yapılmış olan yaratıcı yazım faaliyetlerinin bir parçası olan geçmişteki Sefarad yaşamına ait hatıraların anımsanmasına yönelik faaliyetin bir Yahudi dili olan,

Judeo-Espanyol'un halen konuşmakta olan topluluk tarafından içselleştirildiğini ve bu topluluk gözünde halen "biz" kavramını ifade ettiğini göstermektedir.

Etnik iletişim platformlarındaki Judeo-Espanyol yazım sayesinde Sefarad kimliğinin güçlenmekte olduğunu ve hatta bazı durumlarda yeniden oluştuğunu söylemek mümkündür. Sonuç olarak, bir Yahudi dili olan Judeo-Espanyol lisanındaki son dönemde yaratıcı yazım faaliyetlerinin Yahudi diline gömülü Sefarad kültürel mirasının korunması ve arşivlenmesi açısından çok önemli olduğu ortaya çıkmaktadır.

Anahtar kelimeler: Judeo-Espanyol, Sefarad kimliği, çokdillilik, Şalom, multiglossia

To All , Who Have Ever Spoken Judeo-Spanish,

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1.1. Introducing the Study

The continuous decline of Judeo-Spanish due to disconnection from Iberia with the Expulsion of 1492, was followed by a loss of prestige as a result of French cultural influence promoted by the *Alliance* on the community. Following the latter, Judeo-Spanish started loosing its religious and communicative domains gradually by the first half of the twentieth century mainly due to the effects of nationalism in Balkans, and later in Turkey afer the dissolution of Ottoman Empire, where Sephardic culture had flourished for five hundred years. In addition to this, following the foundation of Israel, the status of Modern Hebrew was heightened and a hostile attitude was developed against all Jewish languages as they were perceived as a threat to the evolution of newly revived Hebrew. However, starting from the late seventies, the state of Israel started supporting the maintenance of the Jewish languages by altering the previous policies in the earlier stages of the state-building period. An increasing consciousness or awareness towards Judeo-Spanish has been observed since the late 1970s. The awareness or consciousness that has emerged towards Judeo-Spanish starting from the late seventies has followed by the establishment of several institutions, centers and even departments at universities mainly in Israel, later in Turkey and all over the world for the maintenance of Judeo-Spanish as the unique medium of the continuance of the Sepahardic cultural heritage. The mentioned awareness or consciousness towards Judeo-Spanish has become salient through the rise and the encouragement of the literary expression produced on distinct ethnic communication platforms by several Judeo-Spanish speakers composing of both native speakers and the generation raised by them, the youngest of which was born around 1945. The creative writing in Judeo-Spanish that has increased gradually since the late seventies is the result of these activities propagated by some alarmed community members aimed at mobilizing the remaining speech community all over

the world for the maintenance of the Jewish language perceiving it as an important key element for the preservation of Sephardic cultural heritage.

Influenced by the mentioned awareness or consciousness towards Judeo-Spanish, this thesis has set out with the belief that Judeo-Spanish continues to be internalized representing 'We' in the eyes of the remaining Judeo-Spanish speech community dispersed to all over the world, but who mainly reside in Turkey and Israel. Based on this assumption, the study suggests that through the cultivation of the Jewish language via ethnic communication platforms a sense of 'Jewishness' continues to be produced. The study focuses on the role of the Jewish language in preserving, strengthening and even reconstructing the Sephardic identity for the remaining speech community on three ethnic communication platforms composing of *Şalom* newspaper, its monthly supplement *El Amaneser*, and *Ladinokomunita Yahoo Group* online correspondence circle.

The study follows Horboken's approach in understanding the role of ethnic communication platforms in the formation of the community perception arguing that ethnic minority communications have a crucial role in the struggle for cultural survival by providing the unity of ethnic dispersed communities, and by eliminating isolation. He states that ethnic language becomes a powerful element in constructing the ethnic consciousness and identity; and in addition, he highlights the role of the ethnic minority media in constructing ethnic identities providing an ethnic cultural and psychological 'safe haven' (Horboken 2004: 199-212). Harboken's approach provides insight to understand the role of ethnic communication platforms in strengthening Sephardic identity through the cultivation of the Jewish language.

All three ethnic communication platforms, which are specifically selected, are considered significant in terms of Judeo-Spanish cultivation.[1] Also, all three are

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[1] *Şalom* is considered to be unique in the world with its Judeo-Spanish section consisting of one page.*El Amaneser* is the *Ladino* [Judeo-Spanish] newspaper published by the Center monthly, and constitutes the second publication of its kind in the world. The second publication mentioned is *Aki Yerushalayim* that has been published in Israel since 1979. The online platform, which was founded in

Turkey origined, but they present transnational[2] features considering the current scattered situation of the remaining Judeo-Spanish speech community dispersed to all over the world. Therefore, the study covers the Judeo-Spanish speech community[3], who reside or were born in Turkey, and who mostly live in Istanbul. However, due to the mass migrations in the last century, the study also covers the remaining Judeo-Spanish speaking Turkish Jewry dispersed to all over the world, but mainly resident in Israel.

The aim of the thesis is to make a contribution to the studies concerning the present role of Judeo-Spanish in Sephardic identity by revealing the current domains of the Jewish language for the remaining speech community asking "Who speaks Judeo-Spanish, to whom, why, and with what objectives?"

The study argues that Jewish languages are internalized and recontextualized Judaicized systems of the local vernacular languages; and they respond to both full integration to the settled lands as well as Jewish cultural products that correspond to form a sense of 'Jewishness', through which Jewish community perception is constructed. Based on this assumption, this study argues that as a Jewish language,

2000, enables a 12 years of survey in archives. The messages posted to Ladinokomunita Yahoo group are analyzed in terms of understanding the power of Judeo-Spanish cultivation for the remaining speech community dispersed to all over the world.

[2] Both *Şalom* and its supplement have been published in Istanbul. *Şalom*'s Judeo-Spanish part is prepared by the columnists living in Istanbul, while *El Amaneser* has columnists from all over the world distinctively. *Ladinokomunita Yahoo Group* online correspondence circle was founded by a community member born in Turkey but resident in the United States. The online circle has members from all over the world. All three refer to the same target group composing of the remaining Judeo-Speech community dispersed to all over the world, which is assumed to be resident mostly in Turkey and Israel presently.

[3] According to Gerson Şarhon the youngest native speakers of Ladino were born around 1945. She addes that those born after that date, adopted *Ladino* [Judeo-Spanish] as second language or one of the family languages; lacking the exact features of the earlier generation native speakers (Gerson Şarhon, 2011). Malinowski states that by 1980 "Turkey remained as the only place in the world where a well-established, relatively homogenous community of Judeo-Spanish speakers can be found" (Malinowski, 1982:7). However, Harris argues that today Israel remains as the country where the largest Judeo-Spanish speaking community is (as cited in Hualde and Şaul, 2011:90).

Judeo-Spanish has served for the same end to Sephardic communities; and it presently continues to be internalized by the remaining speech community, and represents 'we'. This thesis argues that Judeo-Spanish cultivation on ethnic communication platforms contributes to the construction of the Jewish community perception for the remaining speech community.

To explain the mentioned mechanism argued concerning 'Jewish languages', the study adopts a hybrid approach to explain the internalization of Jewish languages combining perspectives on 'ethnicity' and language definitions by Fishman (1972)[4], otherization and self defining through linguistic alteration by Irvine and Gal (2009). Finally, the study supports the formulation with the approach of Edwards (2009) and Wardhough (2010) arguing that the structure of a language determines the way in which speakers of that language view the world, like a filter. [5]

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[4] Fishman highlights that primordial ethnicity is a social construct that is subject to change; its segments are symbolically constructed via organizations, ideologies, and political institutions, however relatively untransformed, unideological bits and pieces of primordial ethnicity may still exist below the level of conscious. Fishman, interprets 'ethnicity' as a dynamic phenomenon that corresponds to a much wider question which is not answered merely questioning the ethnic background of informant x, but involves fully integrated set of beliefs, views and behaviors, a "way of life" that could be perceived through a knowledge of actual observances regarding all traditional rounds of daily life consisting of actual beliefs, actual friendship patterns, and so on (Fishman, 1972:179-188). Following the perspective of Fishman, it can be argued that Sephardic ethnicity formulation corresponds to a fully integrated set of beliefs, views and behaviors, a "way of life" constructed in a period covering the whole diasporic history, rather than adhering to a race solely.

[5] Jewish languages are observed to be the products of the Jewish hybrid culture emerged in diaspora in accordance with unique diaspora conditions requiring full integration to settled lands. Jews adopted and adapted the vernaculars of the settled lands to fully integrate to broad public composing of non-Jews and at the same time Judaicized the local vernaculars to avoid assimilation and maintaining "Jewishness". In this sense, Fishman's approach to ethnicity and ethnic language explains best the formulation of Jewish languages. Fishman interprets 'ethnicity' as a dynamic phenomenon that is symbolically constructed correspondsing to fully integrated set of beliefs, views and behaviors, a "way of life" rather than questioning the ethnic background merely. Concerning the language Fishman states that the speech community employs the language as a symbolic system of ethno-cultural behavior that is constructed intergenerationally for the maintenance of cultural boundaries (as cited in Garcia, Peltz, Schiffman, and Fishman, 2006: 30-34). In addition to Fishman's approach to language, Irvine and Gal also shed in understanding the creation of Jewish languages. Irvine and Gal highlight that through linguistic alteration, and code switching self defining against some imagined 'Other' is aimed (as cited in Niño-Murcia and Rothman, 2009: 17). In this sense, following the latter, the study argues that the Judaicized vernacular has enabled defining 'us' and 'them' supported determining the cultural borders, which as a result helped to construct the sense of 'Jewishness'. In this context Edwards assumes that the reality is perceived differently by languages; therefore the language you

Following these perspectives, the study argues that the Judaicized vernacular has served as an 'ethnic' language to Jews considering the cease of communicative domains of Hebrew. In addition, it may be argued that the Judaicized vernacular enabled to define 'us' and 'them' that supported determining the cultural borders, which as a result helped to construct the sense of 'Jewishness'. Finally, in Jewish cases, Jewish language creation may be argued to be the local vernacular, which was internalized and Judaicized to perceive the reality in accordance with Jewish thought and experiences, serving like a 'filter'[6] to see the world through which the community perception is also constructed.

In this sense, the study argues that today Judeo-Spanish is still internalized by the speech community, representing 'Jewishness' in the eyes of the remaining speech community. Today, the role of Judeo-Spanish in formation of Sephardic identity continues through ethnic communication platforms due to the fact that the remaining highly decreased Judeo-Spanish speech community encounters dispersed to all over the world. In this sense, ethnic communication platforms may provide a virtual space where the community perception could be perceived and designed for the remaining Judeo-Spanish speech community that are dispersed to all over the world today.

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speak will determine the way you think, highlighting the powerful connection between language and identity, summing up the ideas of Sapir and his pupil Whorf (Edwards, 2009:60-63). According to Whorf, the structure of a language determines the way in which speakers of that language view the world, like a filter. Oppositely, Wardhaugh mentions that a culture of a people may also find reflection in the language they employ (Wardhough, 2010: 230-234). The latter formed the Jewish perspective to perceive the reality in the same vernacular language of the settled lands, but in a more internalized and recontextualized way in accordance with Jewish way of life shaped with Jewish thought. The latter can be argued to have created a Jewish perspective, a 'filter' to see the world.The latter enabled Jewish community perception to be constructed.According to constructivist perspective, the social reality is constantly constructed. In this sense, community perception can also be argued to be constructed constantly. In Jewish cases, following Edwards (2009), and Wardhaugh (2010), Jewish language creation may be argued to be the local vernacular internalized and Judaicized to perceive the reality in accordance with Jewish thought and experiences, forming like a 'filter' to see the world through which the community perception is also constructed.

[6] Due to constant diasporic history any Jewish language constructed pursues a hybrid formulation that is enriched and chained with the earlier Jewish languages. The mentioned hybrid formulation produces a Judaicized cultural synthesis that forms the Jewish perspective to perceive the reality in the same vernacular language of the settled lands, but in a more internalized and recontextualized way in accordance with Jewish way of life shaped with Jewish thought.

Through the Jewish language a new perception of community could be constructed that is highly hybrid due to interaction of Judeo-Spanish speaking community members, who reside in different parts of the world and who pursue different cultural experiences. As Sephardic cultural and traditional experiences become enriched and hybridized through ethnic communications platforms, a new perspective or 'filter' to perceive the world may emerge.

According to the constructivist perspective, the social reality is constantly constructed. The study follows Anthony P.Cohen's approach to construction of community perception arguing that 'community' is constructed symbolically by people based on life experience of the members and the meaning they attach to community (2000: 38,108-118). This is important for the study to explain how ethnic communication platforms provide a platform where the community perception could be perceived and designed for the remaining Judeo-Spanish speech community that is dispersed to all over the world today.

 In addition to Cohen's approach, in this context the study also follows diaspora and 'homeland' definitions of Weingrod and Levy to interpret the role of ethnic communication platforms in constructing identity (Weingrod and Levy 2006). Weingrod and Levy argue that forming trans-national identities, "diaspora" is linked to old/new Centers, which represents places, where immigrants and their descendents formerly lived, and towards which they develop positive memories and a personal attachment. Both Centers and Homelands grow in myth and nostalgia. While returning to the "homeland" includes a moral requirement, Centers are places where one might visit and enjoy, but do not perceive as places that he/she truely belongs (Weingrod & Levy, 2006:711). In the light of this perspective, it might be argued that ethnic communication platforms today provide a new 'Center' unifying the Judeo-Spanish speech community which would be impossible anywhere else

considering the current scattered situation of the remaining Judeo-Spanish speech commuminity dispersed to all over the world.[7]

The study will try to reveal that through cultivation of Judeo-Spanish which is still observed to be internalized by the speech community and continues to represent 'we' for the remaining Judeo-Spanish speaking members of the community, Sephardic identities are strengthened and even reconstructed in some cases on the mentioned transnational space provided by the ethnic communication platforms. In addition, the study will focus on the meaning of the latter activity that is triggered by the cultivation of Judeo-Spanish pursuing crucial meanings for the maintenance, and archival of Sephardic cultural heritage embedded in the Jewish language.

1.2.Historical Background

1.2.1. Sephardim in Ottoman Lands and in Turkey

In 1992, the Quincentennial Foundation Museum of Turkish Jews was inaugurated to celebrate both the 500th anniversary of the welcoming of the Sephardic Jews to the Ottoman Empire and the five centuries of continuous life in Turkey.[8]

The Sephardic presence in the Ottoman Empire dates back to the expulsion of thousands of Jews from Spain in 1492 (Angel, 2006:19). Ferdinand and Isabella

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[7] The study discusses the potential of Judeo-Spanish to serve as a medium (re)constructing of Sephardic identity through ethnic communication platforms: Şalom newspaper's one page Judeo-Spanish part, its supplement *El Amaneser* and Ladinokomunita Yahoo Group online correspondence circle. Horboken (2004:199-212) highlights the role of the ethnic minority media in constructing ethnic identities providing an ethnic cultural and psychological 'safe haven' on-line through the ethnic language following the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis, which puts essential emphasis in bridging ethnicity and language; arguing that the ethnic language becomes a powerful symbolic element in constructing the ethnic consciousness and identity. According to Brinkerhoff (2009), through internet, dispersed diasporans of different host countries connecting to a digital platform where they experience a shared homeland identity, and reinterpretation of their identity, form hybrid identities through story telling. Internet provides cyber communities comfort and identity support; also enables reinterpretation and hybridity. In the light of the mentioned perspectives on ethnic communication platforms and identity making, the study intends to understand the role of Judeo-Spanish in (re)constructing of the Sephardic culture through the interaction accomplished on-line.

[8] The Quincentennial Foundation Museum of Turkish Jews, "The Quincentennial Foundation ". 18 January 2010 <http://www.muze500.com/content/view/246/217/lang,en/>.

married in 1469 in the name of uniting the two branches of the Trastamara Dynasty in Castile and Aragon. With the marriage, the two united Catholic Dynasties had the sufficient power to re-conquest Muslim Granada. They confirmed the Edict of the expulsion of the Jews from all of Spain. Until then, Jews were coerced into leaving Judaism, and finally the Kingdom established the Spanish National Inquisition in the early 1480s to deal with the 'problem' of both the Jews and the converses (Haim, 2002: 1-19). The Edict of Expulsion of the Jews from Andalusia was promulgated on 1 January 1483 by Ferdinand and Isabella and signed on 31 March 1492. The penalty for violating the edict was death. This declaration of expulsion in 1492 caused a massive migration of Spanish Jews, Sephardim, to other parts of Europe.

A large number of these Jews were welcomed by the Ottoman Sultan Bayezid II. It was officially declared by the Sultan that Spanish Jews were free to migrate to and settle in Ottoman land and to become loyal Ottoman subjects in return. The number of the Jews leaving Spain is not certain but it is estimated between 40.000 and 350.000. With the authorization of Sultan Beyazid II, Ottoman Empire became the only great power that welcomed Jews at that time. Italian territories formed a stopover for the Jews heading to such Ottoman cities as Salonika, Constantinople, Symyrna, Rhodes, Monastir, Sarajevo and Sofia, while some stayed in Rome, Ferrara and Venice (Pérez, 2007: 90). The migration of the Jews from Iberian Peninsula to Ottoman Empire was a gradual process of many decades starting from 1481 and continuing till 1512 for the first arrivals, most of which before heading to Ottoman territories first went from Spain to Portugal, to the small Kingdom of Navarre and the French region of Provence, to Italian territories and some of them to North Africa (Levy, 1992: 4). The second arrivals to Ottoman territories during the sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries, constituted of the *converses,* who returned to Judaism (Angel, 2006: 33).

Before the arrival of Iberian Jews to Ottoman lands following the Expulsion, the great majority of the Ottoman Jewry was composed of Greek-speaking Romaniots,

and Karaite communities living in pre-Ottoman Anatolia and the Balkans. The Sultan Mehmet II (1451-81), who conquered Constantinople, populated the city by Romaniot Jews by transferring them from Salonika that became one of the most important Jewish centers in the world in the sixteenth century with Sephardim arrivals. Due to economic reasons, many members of Sephardim emigrated to other cities in Ottoman lands (Goffman, 2002: 16-20). According to Levy, by 1900 the Ottoman Jews, following the Ottoman retreat from territories including Salonica and other Jewish important centers, counted 400.000, constituting the fifth-largest community in the world, after those of Russia, Austria-Hungary, the United States, and Germany (Levy, 2002: xviii introduction). Until the secure population census of Ottoman Empire by the beginning of the nineteenth century, Shaw acknowledges that the numbers until the nineteenth century remain argumentative. However, he states that in accordance with Ottoman tax registrations and with the estimated numbers noted by the foreign visitors to Ottoman lands. Shaw (2008) notes that it is estimated that 36,000 Jews resided in only Istanbul following the expulsion from Iberia. This number increased to 56,490 with the migration to Ottoman lands from West and Central Europe, and also with the conquest of Serbia, Greece, and Iraq. Evliya Çelebi, the famous Ottoman traveler, noted that only in Istanbul 77,000 Jews resided in 1638. According to him, this number doubled the population of the Greek at that time. According to Richard Pococke, 100,000 Jews lived in Istanbul between 1771-73. Shaw notes that this is overestimated when compared to the reports of Ottoman population census made a century later (2008:58, 59) According to Benbassa and Rodrigue, the overall Jewish presence in Ottoman Empire after the arrivals of Sephardim was between 50.000-150.000 according to the resources basing on tax giving statistics. Benbassa and Rodrigue believe that the mentioned assumption, which puts the number of expellees[9] at astronomical figure of 400,000 is mytical, arguing that this shows the impact of the event in the Jewish imagination (Benbassa and Rodrigue, 2000:5-10). According to Rozen, the total population of the Jewish communities in Istanbul in 1535 was 48,420, 30,350 of which were Sephardi

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[9] For more information on the number of the Jews expelled, see Beinart (2002:284-290).

(2002:51). During the second World War, Stein states that 250,000 Jews resided in the Ottoman Empire's successor states Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, Serbia, and Greece (Stein, 2006: 499).

According to a briefing paper prepared by European Parliament of Directorate General External Policies of the Union, the present size of Jewish Community is estimated at around 20.000 in Turkey. The vast majority live in Istanbul, with a community of about 1.500 in Izmir and other smaller groups located in Adana, Ankara, Antakya, Bursa, Canakkale, Kirklareli. Since the younger Jews speak Turkish as their native language, the over-70-years-old generation is more at home speaking in French or Judeo-Spanish. To preserve Judeo-Spanish a conscious effort is spent by the remaining speech community (Gültekin-Punsmann, 2008).

1.2.2. Judeo-Spanish

Judeo-Spanish is a fifteenth century Spanish dialect spoken by the Jews exiled from Spain with the Edict of Queen Isabella and Ferdinand in 1492. Judeo-Spanish is derived mainly from Old Castilian (Spanish) and Old Portuguese, with many borrowings from Turkish, and to a lesser extent from Greek, Arabic, Hebrew, and French. The language has many names: *Espanyol, Espanyolit, Espanyol Ladino, Franco Espanyol, Romance Espanyol, Ladino, Judeo-Espanyol, Judeo-İspanyol, Judezmo, Judio, Jidio* and *Judeo-Spanish*. According to Diaz-Mas , *Judezmo or Espanyol, Spanyol, Hakitab* (among Sephardim in Morocco) have been the names regularly called by the Sephardim and the name Judeo-Spanish is a recent scholarly creation (Diaz-Mas, 1992: 74-77; Bunis, 2005: 58).

There is an ongoing argument that Judeo-Spanish existed before the departure from the Iberian Peninsula (Altabev, 2003: 60). Bunis (2005) suggests that the foundations of the 'Judeo-Spanish culture' date back to the first Jewish settlements in Iberia. Jewish speakers of varieties of Greek and Latin from the Roman Empire settling in Iberia developed the earliest varieties of Jewish Ibero-Romance variants of the

coterritorial languages: Jewish Castilian, Aragonese, Catalan, and others. Following the Muslim occupation of South Iberia in 711, Jews speaking Ibero-Romance adopted the Arabic language of the new settlers, and adapted a Jewish variant of it coded with Hebrew and Aramaic components, employing it in a distinctive Hebrew script. Thus, Jews of Iberia employed the adapted versions of the two vernaculars Arabic and Spanish, retaining classical Hebrew. Following the tendency of preserving the formerly spoken diaspora languages, Judeo-Greek roots of the community continued linguistically in newly adapted Jewish vernaculars.After the reconquest of Iberia by Spanish Christian Kings, Arabicized Jews re-adopted Ibero-Romance speech and culture, however Judeo-Arabic components continued to serve in Judeo-Spanish. Jews in Iberia, while employing Judeo-Spanish for daily use, employed mostly Hebrew for scholarly works, although for communal regulations, literature, poetry, and translations of sacred texts Judeo-Spanish was preferred. Iberian Jews cultivated Jewish variants of Ibero-Romance languages using Hebrew alphabets in texts dedicated to practices of Judaism. They used Latin alphabet in works dedicated to non-Jews (Bunis, 2005: 55-57,66).

After the 1492 Expulsion, with the forced emigration from Spain, the refugees took with them several varieties of these Jewish Ibero-Romance languages. Among them, only Castilian Jewish variant survived. The expulsion enabled Jewish Castilian to evolve independently breaking with Iberian Castilian, which in time identified as the distinctive group language of Levantine Sephardim, absorbing smaller Jewish groups speaking Yiddish, Judeo-Italian, and Judeo-Arabic. With the migrations, Sephardim was influenced by distinct languages and cultures of Christian and Muslim communities which include Turks, Balkan peoples of the Ottoman Empire, distinct nationalities of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, Italy, Holland, France, England, Islamic cultures in the Middle East and North Africa (Bunis, 2005:58-59). Ben-Naeh highlights that Jewish dialect of Ibero-Romance language (Judeo-Spanish) was cultivated using a Hebrew alphabet adapted for Sephardim named "Sephardic

handwriting". The evolution of this handwriting presented almost no varieties until the early twentieth century (Ben-Naeh, 2009:439).

Judeo-Spanish, after the arrival to Ottoman territories, was revitalized by the new comers who constitute the *conversos* that returned to Judaism. *Conversos* arrived Ottoman lands in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and they brought not only an updated version of Spanish but also an updated knowledge and attitudes; thus Professor Benardete, a Sephardic scholar, called them "Renaissance Jews". From then on, Judeo-Spanish had no significant contact with Spain (Angel, 2006:33).

Ben-Naeh states that Ottoman Jewish culture constituted Iberian and Ottoman cultures. Spanish and Portuguese exiles conserved the Iberian heritage both linguistically and culturally in their written and oral works. One of the leading factors of the maintenance of the Iberian heritage derives from the continuously arriving immigrants from Sepharad, through which the memories, stories, idioms are refreshed, protected, and the bond to the former 'homeland' Iberia is conserved (Ben-Naeh, 2009:437,438).

In the eighteenth century Judeo-Spanish Rabbinical literature flourished aiming at strengthening Jewish knowledge among the less learned; among the most important work produced there was the complete translation of Bible in *Ladino*, and the sermons delivered in Judeo-Spanish in Sephardic synagogues. The first published works that do not include religious content were published after the late eighteenth century, which was accompanied by the waves of secular 'enlightenment' of nineteenth and twentieth centuries. During the same period, Judeo-Spanish newspapers in the Ottoman regions flourished (Bunis, 2005: 68,69).

The diglossic situation of Judeo-Spanish with French started with the foundation of Alliance Israélite Schools. *Alliance Israélite Universelle* was founded in Paris in 1860 to improve the political and cultural status of the Jews by establishing a

network of schools throughout the Ottoman regions where Sephardic children could receive Western education in French. The missioners thought French language could improve the status of the Ottoman Jews. Angel assumes that Alliance schools caused a new hybridization among the Sephardic community. Judeo-Spanish was seen as an archaic corrupt language. French was seen as the "language of culture" by some Sephardim. Many Westerners wanted the Ottoman Jews to replace Judeo-Spanish with it. The use of French increasingly affected the spoken and written use of Judeo Spanish (Angel, 2006: 159). Jewish press provided a forum for the exchange of ideas about diverse social and political issues. The 'language question' of the community was discussed by many journalists.While Hizkiya Franco, the editor of the periodical *El Komersyal*, argued that Judeo-Spanish should be maintained by the Eastern Sephardim; David Fresco, the editor of *El Tyempo* discussed that the community should abandon its separate group 'jargon' to integrate better within the larger society (Bunis, 2005: 69-70).

Until the twentieth century together with French, Judeo-Spanish was the mother tongue of the Sephardic Jews in the Ottoman Empire. Only few of them spoke Turkish (Angel, 2006 :33). Ben-Naeh suggests that Jewish men spoke Turkish and Greek in order to organize their professional life. After the sixteenth century Turkish influence increased in vocabulary including diverse patterns of daily life. By the eighteenth century some Jewish intellectual men employed high levels of Turkish. Moreover, many literary, scientific works are cultivated in Turkish; translations of the two holy books Tora and Koran were made. There are also some multilingual literary works including Hebrew, Judeo-Spanish, Turkish, and Greek (Ben-Naeh, 2009: 445).

Diaz Más argues that Levantine Judeo-Spanish, which had already suffered a great decline with the Westernization which began in the nineteenth century, continued to decline with the division of the Ottoman Empire and emergence of the new Balkan states (Greece, Bulgaria, Rumania, and Yugoslavia) due to language planning policies in the framework of nation building processes. Díaz-Más adds that:

These states required the Jews, as good citizens, to become a part of all aspects of national life (including linguistic life) and even prohibited publication in their language (as in Greece in 1936). (1992: 95).

Altabev argues that there was neither need nor pressure for the Sephardim of the Ottoman Empire to acquire Turkish during Ottoman rule, arguing that the majority did not have a unified and institutionalized national language using different languages for different purposes. In this sense, during Ottoman rule, Judeo-Spanish did not encounter a strong national language competition. The conditions changed towards the end of the Ottoman rule and especially with the proclamation of the Turkish Republic in 1923: Judeo-Spanish suffered another wave of interference to its evolvement. By the end of the 1920s, Turkish became the compulsory language with the new education policies applied on a national basis (Altabev, 2003: 63-65).

Díaz-Más evaluates the mentioned process as follows:

Judezmo suffered another blow with Ataturk's reforms: linguistic normalization, campaigns to have everyone speaks Turkish ("Brothers, you are Turks and Turkish should be your language" went a refrain hung at the entrance of many Jewish institutions-In Turkish, of course), and even the prohibition (in 1928) against printing in any but the recently adopted- and adapted-Roman alphabet (1992: 95).

Altabev argues the already weakened status of Judeo-Spanish suffered a loss of prestige firstly due to French cultural influence promoted by the Alliance on the community. Altabev states that due to the loss of prestige, Judeo-Spanish began to retreat before the Turkish linguistic offensive particularly in the public domains of education. The loss of prestige was reinforced by Turkish, whose status was heightened during Turkish nation building process as a symbolic national unifying element. As a result of this process, Judeo-Spanish became the language spoken at home restricted to the family domain (Altabev, 2003: 63-64).

In addition, Held states that within the factors that deteriorated the status of Judeo-Spanish from the start of the twentieth century, together with the collapse of the Ottoman Empire, the Nazi extermination of the Judeo-Spanish speaking Jews of the

Balkans, the rise of Zionism, and the revival of Hebrew should be emphasized (Held, 2010: 83).

Concerning the present status of Judeo-Spanish Altabev suggests that the language is "mutating into another language":

> I further suggested that rather than limiting the issue of the study of Judeo-Spanish as a dying and /or surviving minority language, it is possible to consider the development of this language into another Jewish language. Rather than watching a language die, we might be witnessing the birth of a new language. While Judeo-Spanish is surviving in the current Turkish Jewish context, at the same time it is branching out and one of the branches is mutating into another language (2003: 241).

The 'new Jewish language' that Altabev refers to is 'Judeo-Spanish-Turkish'. Altabev states that every social context forms the unique language variety: in Turkish social context, while Judeo-Spanish is borrowing mostly from Turkish more and more, in Israel Judeo-Spanish borrows from Hebrew, and in the United States from English and Modern Spanish (Altabev, personal communications, 2010).

Bunis highlights the increasing consciousness or awareness towards Judeo-Spanish. Bunis observes that starting from 1960s and 1970s several middle-aged members of the speech community have attempted to foster creative writing in Judeo-Spanish with a sense of nostalgia and concern for their endangered communal language by defining it as a literary language of ethnic self-expression (Bunis, 2005: 71).

1.2.3. Jewish Multilingualism

Braziel highlights that from the beginning, the Jewish diaspora was fragmented with language, culture, customs, diets, ritual practices, and geographical locations which extend to all over the world through migrations. The Jewish vernacular are numerous: *Ladino, Yiddish, Judeo-Arabic, Knaaic* (an extinct language also called Judeo-Slavic), *Zarphatic (*once spoken in France and parts of Germany)*,Judeo-*

Aramaic, Dzhidi (Judeo-Persian), *Juhuri* (spoken in the Caucaus regions of Azerbaijan, Russia and Israel), *Karaim*(a Turkic Hebrew language with Crimean, Trakai, Lutsk-Halych dialect (spoken by Crimean Karaites and Turkik adherents of the Jewish sect in Crimea, Lithuania, Poland, and the Ukraine), *Krymchak* (Judeo-Crimean Tatar), and *Yevanic* (also called Romaniote and Judeo-Greek) (Braziel, 2008: 17). It can be argued that only three of the Jewish languages mentioned above have been studied well enough: Yiddish, Judeo-Spanish, and Judeo-Arabic.

Wexler states that the continuous Jewish language shifts derive from segregation, religious separatism, and migration and every time resulted in a tendency to create a Judaicized form of the vernacular spoken, forming multilingualism together with Hebrew retaining at least two vernaculars (Wexler, 1981: 99-103,106). Spolsky highlights that the construction of Jewish identity has long been closely associated with linguistic choice since the late second temple period, with a tendency to learn the vernacular to deal with non-Jewish neighbors and to spread the Jewish thought to broad public while remaining classical Hebrew learning as the representation of the religious identity (Spolsky, 1996: 181,182).

Harshav says that the Jewish multiglossia in Diaspora rooted in regaining the dignity of human existence and the need to unite with the "civilized" Western European ideas, which could be achieved by only joining or imitating it: mastering the language, literature, ideology, behavior and science of the settled community or creating a parallel culture in Jewish languages (Harshav, 1993: 5).

Jews have employed many languages throughout history as well as they studied Hebrew. In Diaspora, they adapted distinct coterritorial languages with Hebrew codes and experiences renaming the language as Judeo-X. The difficulties they encountered during Hebrew teaching in terms of usage, updating the language to the new world order and the clergy's block to the holy language in order to maintain its purity and because of many other reasons deriving from the modern world, caused Jews to employ the vernacular language of the territories they migrated to. They

transferred to the newly vernacular Hebrew codes, culture, experiences, dialect of the proceeding place, loanwords from Hebrew and all Jewish data (Benor, 2009: 230-269).

The conditions of the Ottoman Empire helped flourish the Sephardic culture from 1492 to twentieth century giving it a unique feature among other Jewish community in diaspora. Benbassa and Rodrigue explains the mentioned assumption as follows:

> The Ottoman model of ethnic organization had favored the preservation of a specific cultural heritage. It had made it possible to strengthen an almost autonomous Judeo-Spanish identity, without a direct or mythified link with the Iberian Peninsula, which had become a distant memory. (2000:196).

According to Diaz-Mas (1992:38-39) it was in the Ottoman Empire that the Sephardim was best received. The reasons of this can be based on the *millet* system in Ottoman Empire as İnalcık puts "Ottoman government allowed the immigrants to maintain their traditional community organizations and autonomy in their internal affairs" (2002: 8). The Sephardic culture flourished in the Ottoman lands was adopted by the Jews of other origins in the Ottoman Empire, who as time passed started using the liturgy, culture, and language of the Spaniards.[10] According to Rodrigue, following the arrival to Ottoman lands, sixteenth century was the intellectual and social Golden Age of the Sephardim in the Ottoman Empire, which paralleled closely their economic rise (1992: 167). Judeo-Spanish, has been the medium to the establishment of this flourishing culture for over five centuries.

1.3.Methodology

This study combines documentary research, and expert interview techniques. The data gather with the latter is examined through critical discourse analysis (CDA). To discuss the link between the language and identity constructions three ethnic communication platforms were analysed: Judeo-Spanish page of the weekly

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[10] The reasons of the latter is according to Diaz-Mas is as follows: Sephardim were not only numerous but also generally more highly cultured and more conscious of their own past (Diaz-Mas, 1992: 38-39).

newspaper *Şalom*, its supplement newspaper *El Amaneser* and Ladinokomunita Yahoo Group on-line platform.

The reasons of naming the language of the Sephardim as "Judeo-Spanish" in this study, which is a recent scholarly creation, can be expressed as follows. The language has been named up to now as *Espanyol, Espanyolit, Espanyol Ladino, Franco Espanyol, Romance Espanyol, Ladino, Judeo-Espanyol, Judeo-İspanyol, Judezmo, Judio, Jidio, Judeo-Spanish, Judezmo or Espanyol, Spanyol, Hakita* (Diaz-Mas, 1992: 74-77; Bunis, 2005:58). Bunis (2011) names the language as *Judezmo* with an emphasis on language religion and the ethnicity link. *Ladino* is the name used by the Spanish Jews as a calque-language such as Judeo-German, Judeo-Italian and Judeo-Greek, and was used to put Hebrew liturgical texts into Spanish words, and did not refer to the everyday language (Diaz-Más, 1992 :74-77). Despite the definition, today *Ladino* also refers to the everyday language without any emphasis on the religious tool of the language. Since the research question of this study discusses the role of the language of the Sephardim in Sephardic identity, in this sense, the name "Judeo-Spanish" is selected to meet this objective, which is a name formulated with two words with distinct roots that are not compound. In this study, I position myself both as an insider and as an outsider: I consider myself as an insider since I am a Spanish filologist, which combines modern Spanish knowledge and to a lesser degree old variants of Castilian earned from the reading of literature pieces. In addition to this, being familiar to the sociolinguistic features of the Spanish culture enables me to understand everyday Judeo-Spanish conversations, with a little bit help of French, and Portuguese in terms of vocabulary.[11] It is evident that the accessibility

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[11] As a Spanish filologue I tried to understand the internalization of the Jewish language perceived as *muestra lingua*[our language]. Since 2009, I have been a list observer to *Ladinokomunita,* with the permission of the moderator. I have been reading the messages with the help of my Spanish knowledge. Since I am a Spanish filologue, I suffered few interruptions in understanding of the texts, which generally based on unknown knowledge of Hebrew loanwords. Since there were not many Hebrew loanwords, it did not cause a problem in total formulating of the sentences. Due to shifting of alphabets (Hebrew, Arabic, Latin), I have observed that reading Judeo-Spanish loud and fast help to understand the language very much, which enabled the distinct phonological and morphological features of Modern Spanish and Judeo-Spanish to disappear. In time, with the help of continuous readings in Judeo-Spanish, I sensed the distinct features between the two languages gradually

of Judeo-Spanish stems from the fact that it is no more using Hebrew alphabet adapted for Spanish, the use of which would certainly complicate the language to a reasonable degree; however the language would still be open to 'outsiders' with the study of the alphabet. Linguistically, I observe that Judeo-Spanish sounds to a Spanish speaker only as a distinct variant of Spanish, with many borrowings from Turkish, and to a lesser extent from Greek, Arabic, Hebrew, and French. Even though the language is accessible, the Spanish speaker is still an outsider since he has not perceived the language as a 'Jewish language' when he reads it, which is quite important in the formulation of Judeo-Spanish. Bunis (2011) and Malinowski (1982) mention the perception of the language of Sephardim as "Jewish" in their studies, revealing the strong religion ethnicity and "Jewish language" bond. Developing a perspective in understanding the strong bond actually constitutes the main question of this research.

Critical Discourse analysis (CDA) is selected since CDA guide the individual and collective creation of reality. As Fairclough and Wodak put it, all discourses are thought to be recontextualizations of social practices implying a dialectical relationship between particular events, situations, institutions, and social structures (as cited in Wodak & Meyer, 2010:5). CDA is not interested in investigating a linguistic unit but studying the discourse framing the social phenomena; thus the term 'critical' refers to the analysis of 'sociologically construction of society' linking social and political frames as Krings argues (as cited in Wodak & Meyer, 2010:7). The aim of selecting CDA is to study the mentioned discourses within the events, situations, institutions, and social structures shaping them, and the potential of discourses to shape them mutually as well. The use of ethnic language Judeo-Spanish is analysed as a medium to challange power, and a 'medium of domination and social

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decreased, as if they were the same languages. After getting used to reading in Judeo-Spanish, it became possible for me to focus on the symbolic value of the language, which makes it Jewish, which makes it Judeo-Spanish. This time my perception of the language that based on the resemblance of the two languages gradually altered in the direction of separating of Modern Spanish and Judeo-Spanish, which enabled to understand *'muestra lingua'* [our language'], one of the names usually appear on *Şalom, El Amaneser*, and *Ladinokomunita* reffering to Judeo-Spanish.

force serving to legitimize relations of organized power', as Habermas observes (as cited in Wodak & Meyer, 2010:10). Discourse analysis aims to identify the knowledge, which is assumed conditional depending on people's location in history, geography, class relations and so on, trying to seek how this data is connected to power relations that may be transmitted through everyday communication, media, schools and so on. Discourses expressing social practice serve particular objectives and therefore they exercise power as they institutionilize and regulate ways of talking, thinking and acting. The bond between the 'reality' and the discourses are reciprocal; the social reality is shaped by discourses and discourses are shaped by social reality as well, constituting both individual and collective conscious, and reality (Jäger and Maier, 2010:34-37). In this sense, CDA presents the best approach to see the potential of the Jewish language in constructing 'social reality' and identity as well as the role of ethnic communication platforms, and the columnists having privileged roles on the process. CDA permitted to decode the meaning whilst the analysis of both the messages posted to Ladinokomunita Yahoo Group and the interviews conducted in Istanbul with some determined members of the community who have had tremendous effort on the maintenance of Judeo-Spanish.

The tree discourse planes, *Şalom* newspaper's one page Judeo-Spanish part*, El Amaneser* which is the entirely Judeo-Spanish supplement of Şalom, and *Ladinokomunta Yahoo Group* online correspondence circle are studied to clarify the role of the Jewish language in Sephardic identity.

Şalom newspaper's one page Judeo-Spanish part and its supplement, which is entirely in Judeo-Spanish, are studied through expert interviews conducted among the columnists and editors living in Istanbul. During the interviews the meaning of the use of the Jewish language Judeo-Spanish is analysed mainly concerning the language perception and its linkage with Sephardic identity.

Ladinokomunita Yahoo Group, one of the three ethnic communication platforms selected to study the role of Judeo-Spanish in Sephardic identity, constitutes the part

where the assumption of (re)construction of the Sephardic identity through Judeo-Spanish is analysed. The online platform, which was founded in 2000, enables a 12 years of survey in archives. The messages posted to *Ladinokomunita Yahoo group* are analyzed to understand the power of Judeo-Spanish cultivation for the remaining speech community dispersed to all over the world. Documentary research despite its all advantages such as its being economical in terms of both time and money, and its permitting to conduct a study over a long time, it has disadvantages as well. Since the examination of the documents is limited with the published ones, it has both advantages and disadvantages in terms of validity and reliability (Babbie, 2002:312-323; Bryman, 2008:523-529).

With the intention of analysing the role and the potential of the Jewish language in strengthening and (re)constructing community identities, the focus is on the first years when the three ethnic communication platforms were founded or planted as an idea. The aim of the latter is to access to a period when both the intentions and the discourse had the most powerful context.

To gather more information on the three ethnic communication platforms, there emerged a need to interview the columnists, and editors of the three. Semi-structured expert interview was selected as a technique to clarify the questions which emerged during the study of the three ethnic communication platforms. In scientific research, expert refers to the individual, who is assumed by the researcher to have specific knowledge on the field of action under study, which is not accesible to anybody in the field of action under study possessing an "institutionalized authority to construct reality" (Hitzler, Honer, and Maeder, 1994 as cited in Meuser and Nagel, 2009:18-19.). Expert interview is considered to be "quick, easy, and safe" to discover an exclusive realm of highly potential knowledge (Meuser and Nagel, 2009:17-20). Expert interviews helps the researcher have clearer idea of the problem. Bogner and Menz argue that experts constitute "source of information with regard to the reconstruction of sequences of events and social situations" (Bogner and Menz, 2009: 46).

Littig argues that expert interviews and interviewing the elite do not differ fundamentally. According to the constructivist definition, defining who counts as an expert is to some degree a process of "construct" of a researcher's interest. Experts can be described as trained and specialized or "functional elite" (as cited in Bogner and Menz, 2009: 50).

During December 2011, semi structured expert interviews were conducted in Istanbul with 6 experts involved in Judeo-Spanish maintenance efforts. The interviewees were certain community members who are assumed to enjoy a privileged status in recontextualizing and distributing the current perspective on language maintenance, and who also support and cultivate the recent literary creation in the Jewish language to make a contribution to preserve the culture as well as archive the Sephardic cultural heritage embedded in the Jewish language. Among the six experts interviewed, four of them were columnists, who write both on the Judeo-Spanish part of *Şalom* newspaper and on its supplement *El Amaneser*. One of the columnists interviewed was the director of the Ottoman-Turkish Sephardic Cultural Research Center, a columnist of *Şalom*, and *El Amaneser,* and also the publisher of *El Amaneser*, a musician, and the writer of two M.A. thesis on Judeo-Spanish. A part from the columnists, the coordinator of *El Amaneser*, who also works as the editor of the same paper, and the co-moderator of *Ladinokomunita Yahoo Group* is interviewed. In addition, to understand the religious employ of the language, as well as the highly embedded character of Judeo-Spanish in Sephardic identity, the general secretary of the Chief Rabbinate in Turkey, who has many studies on Judeo-Spanish language and who is the song writer to *Erensiya Sefaradi* music group, is interviewed. In addition to the expert interviews conducted in person, the moderator of *Ladinokomunita Yahoo Group*, who lives in United States, has been asked some questions by e-mail.

Semi-structured interview technique was adopted to provide the flexibility needed to gather particular information with both open-ended and closed, yet directed questions with the intention of combining the advantages of the two to gather

thoughts, facts, and feelings. Each interview approximately lasted 1 and a half hours. All the interviews were conducted in-person; except for one, all of them were recorded for transcription. Each interview began by asking each expert to describe his or her responsibilities. A set of open-ended questions were asked concerning the emergence of the three ethnic communication platforms, objectives, target group, and the use of the Jewish language. Experts were asked to comment on language perception including the meaning of *muestra lingua* [our language][12], Judeo-Spanish-French diglossic situation, and language death, as well as how Judeo-Spanish influences the community perception, community identity, and everyday life practices. Finally, at the end of the each interview experts were asked to comment on if Judeo-Spanish could be considered as an important re-emerging element in (re)constructin   Sephardic identity, and if ethnic communication platforms employing Judeo-Spanish composing of newspapers and on-line correspondence circles such as *Şalom*, *El Amaneser* and *Ladinokomunita Yahoo Group*, could have a role on this (re)construction.

After completing each interview, the audio recordings were transcribed and analyzed to synthesize with other information in accordance with the theoretical framework of the study. Concerning the limitations of the interviews, it can be argued that the interviews represent a Istanbul-centric view due to that the fact that all experts were from Istanbul. However, Istanbul-centric view can be considered to be an already competent element in constructing the present community perception since all three ethnic communication platforms analyzed in this study were Turkey origined although featuring transnational. Despite this limitation, interviews present a significant representation in understanding the recent awareness or consciousness that has risen towards Judeo-Spanish since the late seventies. The experts interviewed were composed of some community members, who had tremendous effort on maintnance of Judeo-Spanish aimed at mobilizing the remaining speech

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[12] *Muestra lingua* refers to Judeo-Spanish and widely used by columnists and community members on ethnic communication platforms.

community all over the world perceiving the Jewish language as an important key element for the preservation of Sephardic cultural heritage.

1.3.1.Information on *Şalom Newspaper*, its attachment *El Amaneser*, Gözlem Publishing House, and *Ladinokomunita Yahoo Group*

Şalom is a weekly newspaper published in Istanbul for Turkey's Jewish community, most of which constitute Sephardic Jews. Today, *Şalom* is the only representative of the Turkish Jewish press. The first edition was published on October 29th 1947 by Yaeş Avram and Yitzhak Leyon. Then the administration of the newspaper was given to Gozlem Publishing House. *Şalom* was established in 1947, and until 1980 it was published in Judeo-Spanish. In the first years when the newspaper was published, Judeo-Spanish was still used actively among the Turkish Jewish community. Starting from 1980s, the language of the newspaper has switched to Turkish and an attachment newspaper called *El Amaneser* in Judeo-Spanish was added in 2005. The mission of *Şalom* newspaper is to deliver news concerning the world Jewry, and besides publish news about Turkish Jewry.[13]

From 1947 to 1984, Avram Leyon coordinated Şalom.The newspaper was published in %80 Judeo-Spanish until the purchase of the newspaper in 1984 by Gözlem Publishing House. Then, the newspaper was published in Turkish, and only one page was kept in Judeo-Spanish. Gözlem Publishing House was established in 1984 as the only organ of the Turkish Jewish Community. Since 1991, it has started publishing, production of cd, tape production and their distribution, cultural studies, novels, stories, essays, cartoons, art books and poetry books and releasing albums in Turkish, French, English and Judeo-Spanish languages; also the sale of religious objects related to the community is undertaking.[14]

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[13] The information is acquired from the presentation text of Shalom sent to me by Eti Varon, who works at Shalom Archives Department.

[14]The information is acquired from the "Hakkımızda (About us)"section found on the web page of Gözlem Kitap. <http://www.gozlemkitap.com/index.php?contentId=1>.

Şalom and its supplement *El Amaneser* are accessed by subscription. While Şalom can be accessed online, only the older publications of El Amaneser are accessed online.

In addition to documentary resources, the study also examines virtual documents, which are open to possible distortions in terms of authenticity and credibility (Bryman, 2008:525). In this study, Ladinokomunita Yahoo Group, which is a correspondence circle written in Judeo-Spanish, is analysed to answer the research question regarding the role of the language in conserving the ethnic identity, and understanding the 'digital homeland' construction through the Jewish language.

Electronic discussion groups while providing virtual documents, they also permit some interviewing features as direct communication possible. Another advantage of these forums is they allow you to search in titles categorized by subjects since the establishment date of the discussion group. The disadvantage of the mentioned electronic discussion groups would be to have access to little data if it it does not generate many messages (Ó Dochartaigh, 2002:103). Ladinokomunita Yahoo Groups[15], consisting of 1377 members registered (last accessed August 2nd 2012) generate messages every day, between 10-20, which will provide to meet the objective.

Ladinokomunita Yahoo Group is a correspondence circle founded on Jan 5 2000 by Rachel Amado Bortnick. In the electronic discussion group, the only language employed is Judeo-Spanish without interference of any other language. The messages sent to the forum are first linguistically checked and corrected if needed before they are published. Some websites providing Judeo-Spanish grammar and dictionaries are fostered on the group front page. The purpose of the Ladinokomunita is to promote the use of Ladino;spread the use of a standardized method for spelling Ladino with Roman characters, according to the rules established by the journal "Aki

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[15] The information is acquired on the front page from the group information post written by Rachel Amado Bortnick, who is the founder and moderator of the discussion group Ladinokomunita <http://groups.yahoo.com/group/Ladinokomunita/>.

Yerushalayim.",and to promote knowledge of Sephardic History and culture.The topics mainly center around Sephardic culture, Judaism, history, and language, including: reminiscences of Sephardic life in Turkey, the United States, Rhodes, Salonika, or anywhere else in the world as well as reports on aspects of Ladino history and literature by researchers and knowledgeable members. The forum also announces programs and conferences related to Judeo-Spanish or Sephardic culture. Judeo-Spanish language courses, dictionaries, and books are also presented in the forum.

In this forum there are currently 1377 members registered (last accessed August 2nd 2012). The members were generally born in Turkey, still living in Turkey or immigrated to different parts of the world. The forum also accepts Spanish speaking non-Jews interested in acquiring the Judeo-Spanish language and identity. Ladinokomunita ranks as #15 among 31,932 Judaism groups at Yahoo! (Jan. 26, 2012).[16]

Held argues that Judeo-Spanish having lost its communicative tool among the speech community has now acquired a symbolic role in re-constructing the personal and collective Sephardic identity. The ethnic language is emphasized to construct a Sephardi digital 'homeland' or system of 'homelands' consisting of Iberia, Ottoman Empire territories, Eretz Israel, and Jerusalem (2010: 83,84).

1.4. Plan of Thesis

The thesis is composed of six chapters, the first and last one providing the introduction and conclusion. In the second chapter, the theoretical and conceptual framework of the study will be given. In this respect Jewish languages and identity construction are studied to understand the mechanisms of Jewish multilingualism. In this sense, Jewish language maintenance, and shifts are discussed through distinct

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[16] The information is acquired from the front page of Ladinokomunita
<http://groups.yahoo.com/group/Ladinokomunita/>.

perspectives to reveal the symbolic value of the language. In order to question the essentiality of the Jewish language to Sephardic identity, a constructivist and postmodern perspective is added as a second approach in addition to the detailed historical survey covering socio-political events that affected the evolution and perception of Judeo-Spanish starting from the Expulsion of 1492 which is analysed in the fifth chapter. Lastly, the role of ethnic language in (re)constructing diaspora identities through digital platform is discussed through theories of Horboken (2004), Brinkerhoff (2009), Brink-Danan(2011), and Held(2010).

The third chapter will give a brief analysis of the history of Jews and their multiglossia. In this chapter, the long Jewish multilingualism history of the distinct Jewish diasporan communities dispersed to different parts of the world is analysed. Jewish multilingualism is studied concerning the motives of their emergence, maintenance and meaning toJewish communities. Jewish language creation legacy is examined to provide the necessary wider outlook that is assumed to enable the grasp the strong emdedded structure of Judeo-Spanish in constructing and reconstructing Sephardic identity.

The fourth chapter is dedicated to the history of Judeo-Spanish. The chapter comprising of five parts analyses the language of Sephardim. The emergence and evolution of the language before and following the expulsion mainly focus on Ottoman Empire and Turkey. The communicative and symbolic domains of Judeo-Spanish are also highlighted. The decline and the current status of the language and finally the meaning of Judeo-Spanish in formation of the Sephardic identity constitute the issues that are mentioned in this chapter. The latter is analysed in a more detailed manner in the fifth chapter.

The fifth chapter focuses on the role of Judeo-Spanish in constructing Sephardic identity. Judeo-Spanish is considered to experience a phase where a 'slight movement' is observed clearly due to the increase in the literary work put through

ethnic communication platforms since 1980s. The fifth chapter is dedicated to this 'slight movement' of Judeo-Spanish and its linkage with Sephardic identity. In order to understand the meaning of the Jewish language in Jewish ethnic communication platforms, Jewish journalism in the Ottoman Empire and Turkey is analysed as a key factor in representing Jewish identity. The last part of this chapter focuses on the role of Judeo-Spanish in preserving and (re)constructing the Sephardic identity. To this end, *Şalom* newspaper's one page Judeo-Spanish part, and its supplement *El Amaneser*, which is entirely in Judeo-Spanish are analysed. In a more transnational context, the present potential of Judeo-Spanish to serve as a medium to (re)construct Sephardic identity through on-line ethnic communications is discussed with the analysis of *Ladinokomunita Yahoo Group*. The present role of Judeo-Spanish in formation of Sephardic identity through three ethnic communication platforms is analysed to understand the motives of the strong bond of the ethnic language with identity.

CHAPTER II

THEORETICAL AND CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

2.1. 'Jewish Languages' and Identity Construction

2.1.1. How Do Jews Use A Language?

'Jewish languages' have been defined by scholars in different ways: According to Rabin (1985), a'Jewish language' is the language spoken in diglossia with Hebrew and Aramaic, optionally written in Hebrew characters. According to Fishman, on the other hand, a Jewish language functions both symbolically and communicatively: the language that is to be considered as Jewish should be phonologically, morpho-syntactically, lexico-semantically or orthographically different from that of non-Jewish sociocultural networks with a unique function in the role of maintenance of a Jewish sociocultural network (as cited in Benor, 2010: 95). However, according to Benor, rather than asking "What is a Jewish language?", the question should be formulated as "How do Jews use language?" , and "What role did ideology play in language variation and change and in our understanding of what constitutes a Jewish language?" focusing on the symbolic role of a Jewish language (2011: 96). Following Benor, the study will intend to focus on the role of the Jewish language in Jewish social context.

Jewish language creation, which is belived to date back to 200 BC composing of adopting and adapting the vernacular spoken language of the newly settled lands, paralled with the continuous diasporic history of the Jewish communities, which emerged in accordance with the adaptational and survival needs in diaspora. Everytime the newly adopted vernacular of the settled lands was Judaicized with Jewish thought and traditions also carrying components from the previously employed Jewish vernacular(s). In this sense, any Jewish language constructed is a

cultural product composing of a hybrid formulation. The mentioned hybrid formulation produces a Judaicized cultural synthesis that forms the Jewish perspective to perceive the reality in the same vernacular language of the settled lands, but in a more internalized and recontextualized way in accordance with Jewish way of life shaped with Jewish thought. The latter can be argued to have created a Jewish perspective, a 'filter' to see the world. Through this 'filter' formed, Jewish languages have served a kind of 'ethnic' language having the power to mobilize the Jewish communities by producing a sense of "Jewishness".

2.1.2. The Role of the Jewish Language in Jewish Multilingualism: Internalization and Judaicization

A part from the Jewish vernacular, due to continuous migration to the newly settled lands and integration needs, Jews have employed multilingualism. They have used languages depending on different purposes, and depending on to whom they are addressing, or just to be perceived as "not different" in broad public. Understanding the mechanisms of the Jewish multilingualism is important to see the role of the Jewish vernacular, which enables an internalized and Judaicized way to see the world by forming a hidden Jewish perspective.

In the case of Ottoman-Turkish Jews, the 'natural' formulation of the Jewish multilingualism emerged in Ottoman lands and in Turkey aiming at earning different positive identities. This can be best explained with the following quotation:

> Ala Turka, somos obligados al patriotism
> Ala Evrea, somos atados al djudaismo
> Ala Franzesa, kamino de luz i de kultura
> Todas tres, obligo santo de natura.
>
> We have to speak Turkish because of our patriotism,
> We are bound to speak Hebrew because of our Judaism,
> We have to use French, the way of light and culture,
> By nature, We have a holy duty to all three" (as cited in Romero, 2008:34)

Jewish multilingualism formulation which is seen above presents languages used by Turkish Sephardic community, and it is linked to the development of distinct identity expansions that are seen necessary for the existence.[17] Three languages are mentioned: Turkish, Hebrew, and French. The most important and hidden message here is that the expression above is written in a Jewish language, which is Judeo-Spanish. The knowledge creation and transmittance were made through the Jewish language, which enables a more internalized way of perceiving the world.

Jewish multi-glossia (multilingualism) presents highly complex features in terms of identity and language links, which causes the need to formulate a unique perspective developed for Jewish cases only. To explain the latter, the emergence and mechanism of Jewish languages will be studied following the definitions of diglossia, and multi-glossia. Therefore, in this context, approaches of Wardhaugh (2010), Fishman (1980), Spolsky (1996), Myers (2006), Timm (2004), Max

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[17] Urcioli (2009) maintain that language might not necessarily represent 'ancestral belonging' in multilingual families. Urciuoli argues that language has a complicated place in the process of identity formation; it may or may not signify belonging; language is not always "natural" to one's cultural condition mainly basing her assumption on the studies she have conducted on pan-Latino identity. Secondly, argues that the perception of one's language regional can reinforce its perception as non-standard (Urciuoli, 2009: 257-277). Bustamante-López analyzes how do bilinguals themselves perceive their linguistic identity, and what identity or identities do bilinguals claim on Mexican-American English-Spanish, combining postsructuralist and postmodernist theories that suggest that individuals construct multiple changing identities. Ricans, Zentella argues that linguistic identity is actively reconstructed by adopting and transforming culture in multilingual communities (as cited in Bustamante-López, 2009:282). Jaffe (2007:58) notes the difficulty in maintenance of two languages with vastly different statues and uses in the surrounding community together with the difficulties of maintenance of the languages without having fluency in them. Additionally, discusses the disadvantages of the language which has not been studied, in its survival in the community. Bustamante-López argues that language selection does not necessarily mean intimacy or a sense of belonging to the group, but reflects attempts to anticipate interlocutor's linguistic identity,taking advantage of Guerra's observation of *transcultural repositioning* (as cited in Bustamante-López, 2009:298).Rothman and Niño-Murcia state that in multilingual families, cultural practices are transmitted through languages; each language is chosen to renegotiate an identity, and to perform different roles adopting a constructivist approach to linguistic identity. Additionally, Rothman and Niño-Murcia argue that the mentioned roles may change; re-evaluations and re-negotiations of linguistic identities may occur through time (Niño-Murcia and Rothman, 2009:310-327).
In Jewish languages case, considering the natural multilingual situation which emerged during diaspora experiences among Jewish families, employing distinct languages; all languages employed might have be chosen to express a distinct identity, the total of which might represent new hybrid identities.

Weinreich (1980), Parush and Sternberg (2004), Shandler (2004 will initially be discussed.

All theorists who will be mentioned in this part of the thesis highlight that in the case of Jewish languages, considering the natural multilingual situation which emerged during diaspora experiences among Jewish families employing distinct languages; all languages employed might have been chosen to express a distinct identity, the total of which might represent new hybrid identities. However, the Jews always needed a 'Jewish perspective' to perceive the world. For a more internalized way of producing and transmitting knowledge, they prefered a Jewish language representing the 'Jewishness'.[18]

Therefore, firstly it is crucial to see the definitions of the use of multi languages. According to Wardhaugh a diglossic situation occurs in a society when it has two different codes to employ in distinct set of circumstances. Mostly one language represents the prestigious variety that is thought and the other language lacking prestige and power represents the learned language. Diglossia can occur within the same language differing in dialects (Wardhaugh, 2010: 85-91). According to Fishman (1980:3), in order to flourish a diglossic situation of a language, at least a three-generation period is needed. Fishman extends the term 'diglossia' introducing 'multi-glossia'. He bases his ideas on Jewish languages, Spanish and English dialects spoken in distinct countries (as cited in Wardhaugh, 2010:91).

Following the diglossia definitions, secondly it is crucial to see how Jews employed diglossia. The role of the Jewish language among the other languages used in diglossia or multiglossia constitutes another important aspect, which can be studied within the framework of maintenance of the ethnic-cultural borders and identity

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[18] 'Jewish language' is not only a definition agreed by the outsiders or scholars. The term derives from the fact that Jews named 'their' adaptation of the vernaculars as Jewish. Benor stresses 'Jewish' perception of the vernaculars coded with Hebrew and Aramaic loanwords exampling the glottonyms, distinct names given to the languages spoken by the Jews: Yiddish, Judezmo, Shuadit (Judeo-Provençal), and Yahudic (Judeo-Arabic), etc.

construction. In this context, Spolsky (1996) hightlights that at least triglossic pattern of Jewish community has served until now. In the nineteenth century while Rabbis published in Hebrew, the sermons and lessons were given in Yiddish; In Medieval French, while Hebrew remained as the 'holy tongue', Laaz (Old French) was the Jewish vernacular; in Medieval Iberia, Middle Arabic was the vernacular. According to him, the construction of Jewish identity has long been closely associated with linguistic choice since the late second temple period. Jews learned a vernacular to deal with non-Jewish neighbors while classical Hebrew remained the 'holy tongue' as the language of prayer and devotion. Aramaic, which was one of the first Jewish vernacular language, was the language of study and the law. Jews speaking Aramaic with the cease of Hebrew as their mother tongue, learned Hebrew as the first step required to develop a religious identity (Spolsky, 1996:181). In conclusion, with the cease of oral Hebrew, Jews adopted Aramaic not only for communicative, and societal needs but also for spreading the Jewish religious thought to public. Thus, Aramaic is argued to be the first Judaicized local vernacular language as also mentioned by Spolsky (1996).

Thirdly, the formulation of Jewish languages will be examined regarding the emergence and the reasons. The formulation of Jewish languages is best explained by Myers (2006), who argues that Jewish diasporic language experience is a colorful journey that consists of mixing, melding, adapting, reframing, and translating their own 'native' language and the host of vernacular tongue. Similarly, the effects of Jewish diasporic history on language creation are mentioned by Timm who highlihgts that around 200 CE Jews started to use languages other than Hebrew because of migration to different geographical areas, socio-economic reasons herewith the requirement to communicate with the new non-Jewish environment. With the cease of the use of oral Hebrew, they adapted the vernacular language according to the exigencies of religious and traditional culture, adhering to Hebrew script (Timm, 2004:353). Besides, Parush and Sternberg (2004) argue that the need for a vernacular Jewish language might have emerged in diaspora especially among

the Nineteenth-Century Eastern European Jewish Society. They argue that use of Jewish language might have been voluntarily supported by rabbis whose power on the Torah teaching was threatened and who wanted the biblical language purism with the intention of keeping Hebrew untouched by public who used Hebrew for also secular reasons. In addition, Bartal mentions that the use of a Jewish language was a response to an unwanted assimilation, which continued then with a new ideological monolingualism from traditional Jewish multilingualism with the Enlightenment (as cited in Spolsky, 1996:184).

Another important element in understanding the formulation of the Jewish languages is the hybridization factor. Max Weinreich (1980) stated that Jewish vernacular languages generally derived from an earlier Jewish language, coded with important concepts of Jewish religious life. Yiddish was a Middle High German dialect, which included earlier French-based variety together with many Hebrew and Aramaic terms and expressions, later adopted Slavic features. *Ladino* [Judeo-Spanish] is a vernacular that is based on Medieval Spanish that adopted terms from Hebrew and later borrowed features from the languages spoken in Balkan region. Weinreich highlights that there are many more Jewish languages with versions of Aramaic, Greek, Persian, Romance, Slavic (Knaanic), and Arabic (as cited in Spolsky, 1996:182). The mentioned hybrid formulation of Jewish languages, which formed due to continous diaspora, appears as one of the most important elements in the emergence of a sense of 'Jewishness' representing secular ethnicity as well as the religious identity.

As stated before, Jewish languages emerge with the need for both communicative and religious domains due to the cease of oral Hebrew and continuous migration. Consequently, bilingualism, even tri-glossia, formed an important element of Jewish diaspora, the result of which fostered the construction of various identities. For instance, Jewish languages have fostered secular ethnicity as well. Shandler (2004) explains the role of Yiddish for the Jews as a medium to diaspora nationalism (as opposed to Zionism), and secular ethnicity (as opposed to religion). In this sense, a

Jewish language emerges with the need for both communicative and religious domains. Similarly, Modern Hebrew may be the last sample of the Jewish language creation legacy, which is assumed to date back to 200 DC. With the foundation of the state of Israel the Zionist movement of the late nineteenth century rejected the multilingual and multi identified Jewish history of Diaspora, favoring one national language to form the national identity. Modern Hebrew was presented as the new language to define the Jewish identity of the state of Israel as the 'homeland', from which Jews had been exiled eighteen hundred years ago. Hebrew was presented not only as the language of the Hebrew land but it was also used to distinguish the new identity from the old Jewish identity of the Diaspora (Spolsky, 1996:184). It might not be wrong to say that Modern Hebrew is another Jewish cultural product constructed that perpetuates the long Jewish language creation throughout the Jewish diasporic history.

To sum up, the emergence of Jewish languages are seen to be the products of the Jewish hybrid culture emerged in diaspora. Jewish languages carry importance in the formation of the Jewish perspective by distinguishing them from the broad public and by enabling them a sense of 'Jewishness'. This sense of 'Jewishness' is a formulation combined with both religious and societal domains for the maintenance of the cultural boundaries in broad public.

2.1.3. Jewish Language Representing 'We': Internalization and Formation of the Community Perception

The mechanisms of 'Jewish languages' cannot be explained solely with essentialist or constructivist perspectives to language and identity due to their unique formulation which emerges in diaspora conditions requiring full integration to settled lands and at the same time avoiding assimilation and maintaining "Jewishness". To

respond to the need, Jewish language creation emerges serving as an 'ethnic' (Fishman, 1972)[19] language.

Fishman argues that language corresponds to the 'ethnic identity' fostered by the same community, and to its interests organized both consciously, and unconsciously. According to him, the cease of a traditionally associated ethnic mother tongue is both a result and a cause of ethno- cultural dislocation. As a result, most dislocated ethnic groups have not been able to avoid such dislocation with their identities intact. Fishman highlights distinct perception of the language and ethnicity link by insiders and outsiders. The language and the ethnicity link is generally experienced positively among insiders, which is interpreted among social scientists as a linkage socially conditioned by the insider -"true believer" (Fishman, 2001: 154,160).

Following Fishman, it can be argued that the Jewish languages respond to the need for 'ethnic' identification of the Jews. Judeo-Spanish, as a Jewish language can be argued to correspond to the same need. In addition, the Jewish language constructed with these aims enable the creation of a Jewish community perception by forming the sense of 'we' and by distinguishing the 'other'.

Irvine and Gal discuss that through linguistic alteration, and code switching self defining against some imagined 'Other' is aimed (as cited in Niño-Murcia and Rothman, 2009: 17). In addition to self-defining against some imagined 'other', the emergence of Jewish languages in diaspora is interconnected with the construction of

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[19] Fishman highlights that primordial ethnicity is a social construct that is subject to change; its segments are symbolically constructed via organizations, ideologies, and political institutions, however relatively untransformed, unideological bits and pieces of primordial ethnicity may still exist below the level of conscious. Fishman, interprets 'ethnicity' as a dynamic phenomenon that it corresponds to a much wider question which is not answered merely questioning the ethnic background of informant x, but involves fully integrated set of beliefs, views and behaviors, a "way of life" that could be perceived through a knowledge of actual observances regarding all traditional rounds of daily life consisting of actual beliefs, actual friendship patterns, and so on (Fishman, 1972: 179-188). Following the perspective of Fishman, it can be argued that Sephardic ethnicity formulation corresponds to a fully integrated set of beliefs, views and behaviors, a "way of life" constructed in a period covering the whole diasporic history, rather than adhering to a race solely.

a positive social identity, as well as many other expectations. Edwards argues that social identity preserves mainly the self-interest among group members supporting the particular "us and them". Edwards says that in the light of the "social identity" theory of Turner and Giles (1981), Tajfel (1978,1982), Hogg and Abrahms (1988), Abrams and Hogg (1990), Turner (1991), Breakwell (1992) and Robinson (1996); speech accommodations[20] strengthen group distinctions (Edwards, 2010: 26-32). Speech accommodation was first developed by Howard Giles and Nikolas Coupland in *Language: Contexts and Consequences* (1991). This psycholinguistic theory analyzes the motivations of converging or diverging of individuals in social interactions with respect to their forms or styles of speech. By diverging, a tactical intergroup distinctiveness of individuals in search of a positive social identity is aimed (Giles, Coupland, Coupland, 1991).

In this context, Edwards assumes that the reality is perceived differently by languages; therefore, the language you speak will determine the way you think, Edwards also highlights the powerful connection between language and identity, summing up the ideas of Sapir and his pupil Whorf. Thus, according to this hypothesis the cease and the death of the language would be the loss of a unique window of the world, which is not accepted widely in this 'strong version' (Edwards, 2009: 60-63). According to Whorf, the structure of a language determines the way in which speakers of that language view the world, like a filter. However, Wardhaugh mentions that the culture of people may also find reflection in the language they use (Wardhough, 2010: 230-234).

The hybrid composition of Jewish languages represents the rich construed cultural heritage formed during long Jewish diaspora experiences, which as a result emerges

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[20] Speech-accommodation theory, is also known as *communication-accommodation theory*. First developed by Howard Giles and Nikolas Coupland in Language: Contexts and Consequences (1991), this psycholinguistic theory analyzes the ways in which individuals in social interactions converge or diverge with respect to their forms or styles of speech. It suggests that speakers are motivated under certain circumstances to adjust their speech styles in order to fulfill identity expectations. For further information see http://www.highbeam.com/doc/1O104-speechaccommodationtheory.html

as an important identity component. Unlike essentialist perspectives, identity is defined by the constructivist approach as construed, learned, negotiated, and modified within groups with the aim of achieving a positive identity. While essentialist ideology imagines the 'other' as homogenous and static and today deals more with recognition of rights; poststructuralist and postmodernist theories suggest that a person's identity is constructed, altered, challenged, and contested (Hidalgo, 2009: 333-336).

Due to diaspora experiences, 'Jewish languages' have been constantly constructed. Fishman adds that ethnic identity today is contextually constructed, which is multiple and partial in group identities regarding different social, emotional, cognitive situations of the each member benefiting from diverse languages within the community.[21]According to Fishman, the speech community employs the language as a symbolic system of ethno-cultural behavior that is constructed intergenerationally for the maintenance of cultural boundaries. In addition, Fishman highlights that language constantly creates and legitimizes the core boundaries as well. Fishman suggests that ethnicity is traditionally associated with religions; and is expressed with the clear connection with the language denoting kinship, heritage, hearth, and home. According to Fishman, the link between ethnic identity and language, which is not uni-directional, is fostered by globalization becoming more salient in consciousness (as cited in Garcia, Peltz, Schiffman, &Fishman, 2006: 30-34).

To sum up, it can be argued that Jewish language creation has emerged in diaspora due to the cease of Hebrew and continuous migration to gain a social positive identity in broad public and to respond to the needs in the newly settled lands avoiding assimilation and achieving the sense of 'Jewishness' in the same vernacular of the settled lands. The Judaicized vernacular enabled defining 'us' and 'them' by

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[21] Fishman, highlights the role of the hybridity while expressing the strong bond between ethnic language and identity. Fishman says that the connection between ethnicity and language acquisition can also be inter-ethnic, and even supra-ethnic in the case of shared lingua francas. However, ethnic language and identity and ethnic culture are all completely intertwining; also stressing that ethnicity is narrower than culture.

determining the cultural borders, which as a result helped to construct the sense of 'Jewishness'. The latter enabled Jewish community perception to be constructed.

2.2. Previous and Current Domains of Judeo-Spanish

One of the factors making Jewish languages a highly complex element in identity making process is the bond of the Jewish language with the religion. With the cease of the appliance of oral Hebrew, vernacular languages are adopted and Judaicized according to the exigencies of religious and traditional culture, adhering to Hebrew script (Timm, 2004: 353). In Yiddish case, Parush and Sternberg (2004) argue that among the Nineteenth-Century Eastern European Jewish Society the vernacular Jewish language might have been supported voluntarily by rabbis whose power on the Torah teaching was threatened and who wanted the biblical language purism with the intention of keeping the language untouched by broad public using Hebrew for also secular reasons.

In Sephardic case, Judeo-Spanish, the Jewish vernacular language, presents two distinct domains, one of which is religious, and the other is secular. Judeo-Spanish, following the Expulsion of 1492, became an important component in Sephardic identity, which flourished in diaspora pursuing the power of strengthening the Jews spiritually through printing and distribution of the manuscripts to Jewish communities in newly settled Ottoman lands. As Hebrew was not dominated good enough by broad public, Judeo-Spanish[22] became the language through which interpretations of Judaism, and Torah was transmitted for religious education.[23] Following the printing activities of rabbinic literature in the fifteenth century in the

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[22] Historically, *Ladino* [Judeo-Spanish] was used by the Spanish Jews as a calque-language such as Judeo-German, Judeo-Italian and Judeo-Gree,to put Hebrew liturgical texts into Spanish words (Diaz-Más,1996: 74-77).

[23] Judeo-Spanish used to have a religious domain as the language of religious education of broad public, who were not sufficiently fluent to study Torah in Hebrew language. In Talmud Tora schools Meam Loez, the commentary written in Judeo-Spanish in 1730, was widely studied. See Nassi, Gad.(2011). Sovre la Prensa Djudia en Turkia/Segunda Parte: La Mision de una Lingua en Embaraso. *Maguén-Escudo*, 161, 21-30.

Ottoman lands that ensured the Sephardic religious heritage to be transmitted to broad pubic strengthening the Jewish spiritual existence, in the nineteenth century Judeo-Spanish started to be effective on the design of the secular Jewish life in the Ottoman lands through Jewish journalism activities. The Jewish press in Ottoman lands earned an effective tool in designing of the secular life after the foundation of *Alliance Israelite Universelle* in 1860 in Ottoman lands to provide a better position socio-economically to Middle Eastern Jewry mostly resident in Ottoman lands by encouraging Westernization and embourgeoisement of Ottoman Jewry. Although French language was favored by the *Alliance* as the language of culture, due to the power of Judeo-Spanish as the mother tongue of Sephardim in mobilizing the Jewish communities providing the most audience, Judeo-Spanish appeared in the nineteenth century as the main medium of the expression of this regenerating secular life influenced by the *Alliance* acting as a tool designed to help the Ottoman Jewry to regain its economic competitiveness (Stein, 2000:13).

The decline of Judeo-Spanish by loosing its domains gradually started following the Expulsion of 1492, with the disconnection of the Spanish dialect from Iberia. It is observed that the already declining position of Judeo-Spanish followed by the diglossic situation with French was formed after the establishment of *Alliance Israélite Universelle* Schools favoring French culture and language. Judeo-Spanish appears in early twentieth century as one of the native languages of Sephardim relatively not competent to respond enough to the socio-econonmical needs of Sephardic Jews solely. In this sense, Judeo-Spanish was highly vulnerable and it gradually lost its religious and communicative domains in the last century due to distinct global events reshaping the world following the dissolution of the Ottoman Empire. During this phase shaped by the nationalism in the Balkans, and later in Turkey, learning of the local languages as an imperative for integration as well as to present loyalty to the newly founded republics. Thus, Judeo-Spanish retreated

gradually from public spheres, and finally ceased to be the home language of Sephardim in the last half of the current century.[24]

However, Romero (2008) during the interviews he conducted in Istanbul among 25 Judeo-Spanish speakers, reaches to the conclusion that Judeo-Spanish is still identified highly with the religion.[25] He suggests that the reason for Judeo-Spanish maintenance intertwining with the religious identity might stem from the highly endangered position of the language (Romero, 2008:55). The bond between Judeo-Spanish and religion that is still perceived strongly can be seen as follows:

> (F80D): *En avlante de Espanyol, moz sentimos ke somos Djudiós…*
> (F80D): By speaking Spanish, we feel that we are Jewish…
> (F58B): *Agora seguro ke no es bueno porke estamos pedriendo mozotros la lingua i la din yaani.*
> (F58B): Of course now it's not a good thing because we are losing the language and that means the religion. (cited in Romero 2008: 55)

Yusuf Altıntaş, general secretary of the Chief Rabbinate in Turkey, during the interviews conducted in the framework of this study in Istanbul in 2011 explained the meaning of speaking *muestra lingua* [Judeo-Spanish] in broad public composing of non-Jews:

> The situation of 'If I am Jewish, and if I speak a Jewish language to a Jewish, I feel myself Jewish' and 'speaking in a different language to feel ourselves Jewish while in Turkey everyone speaks Turkish' constitutes a psychosocial phenomena. Speaking of those days when Judeo-Spanish was the spoken language for the Sephardic Jews, since the Jew does not know his own language Hebrew unfortunately, speaking Judeo-Spanish meant 'I speak Spanish; I am different from the broad public.'

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[24] Hualde and Şaul (2011) mention that due to the nationalist pressures to adopt Turkish, after 1930s Judeo-Spanish gradually continued losing its domains, however until 1960s the vast majority of Sephardic Jews of Istanbul employed Judeo-Spanish at home and in community events. The mentioned harsh effects ocurred during early republican era caused the mother tongue Judeo-Spanish not to be transfered by the native speakers to younger generations intentionally aiming at providing a positive position socially.

[25] According to Fishman, the link between ethnic identity and language, which is not uni-directional, is fostered by globalization becoming more salient in consciousness (as cited in Garcia, Peltz, Schiffman, &Fishman, 2006: 30-34).

Romero highlighted that Judeo-Spanish has presently lost its religious domain stating that the prayers and songs traditionally been sung in Judeo-Spanish are now being sung in modern Hebrew, which presents the replacement of Judeo-Spanish with modern Hebrew in all of its major domains including the religious one (2008: 56).

Concerning the religious domain that Judeo-Spanish presently pursue, Yusuf Altıntaş mentioned during the interviews conducted in 2011 in Istanbul that in synagogues presently Judaism is not practiced in Turkish yet, but in 500 years what would happen is unknown. He adds that some of the practice is done in Aramian as well; it has not been forgotten yet despite the fact that no one understands it. The religious texts called *Elogios*, which means eulogies to God, are texts translated previously from Hebrew to Judeo-Spanish. Altıntaş mentioned that these texts are sometimes practiced in the synagogues. In future, their translated versions to Turkish will be used stating that in case of a possible death of Judeo-Spanish Judaism will not be affected since they have been translating Hebrew and Judeo-Spanish texts into Turkish trying to do their best. Altıntaş added during the interview:

> Judeo-Spanish is the maternal language, the language of our ancestors. In Sephardic Jewish component, there are both *Ladino*, and Judeo-Spanish. In Judeo-Spanish there are a lot words taken from Torah. But, they will not be lost anyway, they continue to survive in Hebrew. What will be lost is the Sephardic composition of Sephardic community. The fact that Judeo-Spanish is no longer the spoken language does not mean that Judaism is lacking among the younger generation. All of the religious books are translated to Turkish, they can always follow them eventhough Judeo-Spanish is forgotten.

In the light of the interviews conducted by Romero (2008) and the ones conducted during this study in Istanbul in 2011, it may be argued that Judeo-Spanish has not lost its domains yet in the eyes of the remaining Judeo-Spanish speakers composing a limited generation, the youngest of whom ages 50-55 years.[26] However, the translation of Hebrew and Judeo-Spanish texts into Turkish as stated by Altıntaş

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[26] The data regarding the age of the Judeo-Spanish speakers are noted from Karen Gerson Şarhon's presentation in Sephardi congress organized by L'IFEA (Institut Français d'Etudes Anatoliennes) in 2011. See Gerson Şarhon, Karen. (2011). "Judeo-Spanish today as reflected in the Ladino Database Project". Institut Français d'Études Anatoliennes.Sephardi Congress: Jewish Languages and the Spanish Legacy. Istanbul. June 7, 2011.

during the interviews, and the observation of Romero (2008) that the songs traditionally been sung in Judeo-Spanish are now being sung in modern Hebrew present the religious domain that Judeo-Spanish pursued previously has been replaced with Hebrew and other local languages, which is Turkish in case of Turkish Sephardim.

2.3 . Language Shifts among Jews and the Meaning of Maintenance of Judeo-Spanish

'Jewish languages' are traditionally considered as 'derivations' and 'distortions' of non-Jewish languages by scholars. Wexler argues that the reason for these assumptions derives from the fact that usually 'Jewish languages' lack political recognition (exceptions of Yiddish and Judeo-Tadjik in Soviet Union). Wexler highlights that the rise of the development of Jewish vernaculars is the result of the uninterrupted chain of Jewish language shift, which started with the shift from Hebrew to Aramaic in the 6th century B.C. Language shift starts with substratatum elements identified in the successor language, particularly in anthroponyms prior to its extinction elemements found from the successor language, and followed by a state of a bilingualism (Wexler, 1981: 103,104).

Jewish language creation legacy that is assumed to date back to 200 BC can only be evaluated within the Jewish diasporic history and the requirements which emerged as a result. Jewish communities had to integrate into the newly settled lands fully as a survival imperative. This fostered adoption of the local vernacular language of the newly settled lands and Judaicization of the same for spiritual continuance. In this sense, as a result of the continuous diasporic experiences and migration many Judaicized languages emerged. It is crucial to note that every newly created Jewish language was enriched by means of vocabulary from the earlier Jewish languages. While the newly local vernacular is Judaicized, the Jewish cultural and traditional production that is embedded in the earlier Jewish language(s) is coded in the new vernacular of the settled lands. The latter forms and strengthens the sense of

'Jewishness' with the mentioned hybrid composition withnessing the Jewish diasporic history.[27]

The language shifts among Jews should be evaluated within high intergrational needs in the newly settled lands.[28] Wexler states that ethnic identification shift is not necessarily the result of the language shift. The shift in the language may or may not intertwine with the loss of ethnic identification. While Turkic language speaking Bulgars who emigrated to the Balkans suffered full assimilation both in language and culture, Egyptian Copts remained their Christian identity after they switched Egyptian to Arabic. The original Jews speaking Hebrew in Palestine adopting Aramaic and Greek are the examples of the second type; they switched to distinct languages without full submersion. Different from Egyptian Copts, Wexler highlights that Jews, while retaining the written forms of Hebrew, developed a tendency to create a Judaicized form of the vernacular spoken, forming multilingualism by retaining at least two languages. Jewish language shift constituted both adoption of the vernacular spoken in the host territory, and the adaption of the same one with Jewish cultural and linguistical features. Wexler states that segregation, religious separatism, and migration have influenced the rise of the Jewish languages, Wexler also highlights that the birth of a Jewish distinct vernacular might be considered as voluntary acts of linguistic creativity and results

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[27] Wexler suggest that some Jewish vernaculars are linked to each other due to the chain of language shifts, which subsequently form Jewish identity due to displacement of the Jewish speakers from their original habitat especially in the cases that lack of acquisition of the newly coterritorial dialect (Wexler, 1981:105-106).

[28] Wexler points out the previous language shifts occurred among Iberian Jews, stating that the shifts were not uncommon (as cited in Romero, 2008:14). Hellenized Jews abandoned Greek for Latin; and with the Muslim Conquest in 711 CE, Romance vernaculars were abandoned to adopt dialects of Arabic (as cited in Romero, 2008:14). After the reconquest of Iberian peninsula by Christian Kings Jewish communities shifted again to the Romance vernaculars, predominantly to Castilian dialect (Wexler, 1981:110). Romero suggests that at that time Iberian Jews might not have perceived the Castilian as essential to their Jewish identity as Aramaic and Hebrew were employed for liturgical texts. Romero argues that Judeo-Spanish has been one of the 'immigrant languages' that Jews have adopted and adapted since the beginning of the Jewish diaspora suggesting that in diaspora especially in Ottoman territories Judeo-Spanish intertwined with Jewish identity, which fostered its maintenance (Romero, 2008: 21).

of differential impact of social and religious factors. Some some Jewish languages like *Ladino* have been used for Bible translations (Wexler, 1981:99-103,106).

It should be noted that in the case of Sephardim, language shift was not an issue until the nationalism effects started firstly in the Balkans and then in Turkish Republic following the dissolution of the Ottoman Empire. Sephardim in Ottoman lands did not require a shift of the language that they brought from Iberia. Besides, Benbassa and Rodrigue mention that ethnic and national background (Spanish exiles) are intertwined with religious identity forming Jewish diasporas suggesting that 1492 exile from Spanish territories caused a 'trauma', which created an obsessed task of 'continuity' of culture and identity. Thus, Jewish identity of the Iberian Jews became intertwined with their Hispanicity both in cultural and linguistic forms (as cited in Romero, 2008:21).

As a result of this unique condition provided in Ottoman lands, for over five centuries, Judeo-Spanish became the language of the Sephardic culture that flourished and enriched. The recent activities in the name of language maintenance dating back to the late seventies, should be evaluated within the mentioned unique position of Judeo-Spanish for Sephardim in Ottoman lands.

It is crucial to see that Jewish language maintenance was not an issue neither during the language policies of *Alliance Israelite Universelle* (1860) favoring French language, nor during the nationalism activities in Balkans and Turkey following the dissolution of the Ottoman Empire. It is observed that French language acquisition was perceived as an imperative to westernize and to prosper rather than a shift forming a diglossic situation between Judeo-Spanish and French. Nationalism in the Balkans and in Turkey caused a harsh effect on Judeo-Spanish, requiring learning of the local languages to integrate into the newly founded republics. In this sense, learning of the local languages was seen as another necessity for integration and to present loyalty to the settled lands. In addition to this, following the foundation of Israel, the status of Modern Hebrew was heightened and a hostile attitude was

developed against all Jewish languages as they were perceived as a threat to the evolution of newly revived Hebrew. However, starting from the late seventies, the state of Israel started supporting of the maintenance of the Jewish languages by altering the previous policies in the earlier stages of the state building period. It is observed that it was in the late seventies when awareness or consciousness was developed towards Judeo-Spanish by some alarmed Sephardic community members that took action to maintain the culture and the language. In this sense, the activity based on recalling of memories regarding the past Sephardic life as a part of the recent literary expression in Judeo-Spanish that has increased since the late seventies may present the need to strengthen and reconstruct in some cases the Sephardic identity that is perceived to be threatened in a globalized world. To theorize the language maintenance, different perspectives will be evaluated as follows:

Social Identity Theory assumes that in-group categorization created by the group members enhances in-group self esteem. Ethno linguistic Identity Theory based heavily on Social Identity Theory suggests that language is the main tool of ethnic maintenance. Giles and Johnson (1987) argued that language maintenance is a function of ethnic identification (as cited in Hidalgo, 2009:336). The theory of reversing language shift has significant role in understanding the belonging sentiment among a threatened group (Hidalgo 2009: 333-336). In this sense, it can be argued that the recent endangered position of Judeo-Spanish fostered the belonging sentiment among some members of the remaining speech community.

Similarly, Edwards argues that the relationship between the language and the speech community is not organic; thus in the most common occurrence, language death is seen as a result of language shift unless an entire community dies out while speaking its original language (2010: 38). The existence of the speech community shifting from its original language to another, forms a basis for the revitalization of the language. Additionally, Edwards mentions that apart from the external pressures, the language death occurs the most commonly due to lack of transmission from parents to children. In case of Jewish languages like Yiddish and Ladino, despite the strong

attachment of the speech communities to the language, Edwards states that the reason for the cease of the languages are to be found in the heightened status of Hebrew through becoming the language of Israel (2010: 40). Edwards's perspective is important to interpret the recent language maintenance activities concerning Judeo-Spanish in a wider perspective, which makes it clear that the maintenance efforts are highly related with the endangered position of the language.

Concerning language death, Bourdieu and Crystal's approaches might be helpful to understand the language maintenance activities. Bourdieu (1991) discusses the symbolic value of the language spoken selectively; the speech community attaches particular meanings to the language spoken (cited in Niño-Murcia and Rothman, 2009:16). The mentioned language and community identity bond firstly reveals the question of to what extent the language employed by the community is essential in community existence: What is language death and what happens to community when the language death accomplishes? In this context, Crystal mentions that the continuance of a language is dependant on the existence of the speech community saying, "To say that a language is dead is like saying that a person is dead. It could be no other way-for languages have no existence without people" (Crystal, 2000:1). In this sense, it can be stated that the existence of the remaining Judeo-Spanish speech community encourages the language maintenance activities.

In addition to this, Crystal says that when the language ceases its use among broad public, it loses the tool of communication, and it continues to survive as an archive of the people's spoken linguistic past. The language is no more a 'living language' unless it has fluent speakers. He states that according to most reference books published in recent decades there are 3,000-10,000 languages in the world that are about to die. Unlike the presumption arguing that any language with a very small number of speakers is bound to be in trouble, according to Crystal, to guarantee life for a language the population figures without context are useless (2000: 1-31).

Local languages are seen to be valuable because they promote community cohesion and vitality, foster pride in a culture, and give a community (and thus a workforce) self-confidence (Crystal, 2000: 31).

Crystal's understanding of language maintenance shows that the remaining speech community can perceive their language as highly important; and despite the loss of communicative domains, the language may continue to be important in the formation of a positive identity, which fosters the maintenance of the ethnic-cultural borders. Regarding language maintenance, Bernard thinks that language diversity is important as the language carries inherited knowledge, personal history (as cited in Crystal, 2000:34). Besides, Crystal argues that maintenance of diversity of cultures depends on maintenance of their languages. Through words and idioms together with personal history, a social history is transferred to generations, which fosters individual expression in the form of community or personal identity. Cultural distinctiveness of a community's character, which is embedded with its inheritance, is transmitted through language (Crystal, 2000: 34-40). Crystal's perspective help us understand the recent language maintenance efforts concerning Judeo-Spanish and the perception of Judeo-Spanish as a key element to maintain Sephardic cultural heritage by some alarmed members of the remaining speech community pioneering the language maintenance activities.

To conclude, this study assumes that the meaning of the language maintenance activities concerning Judeo-Spanish is based on the idea that Jewish language continues to be internalized representing the cultural distinctiveness of the community in the eyes of the remaining Judeo-Spanish speech community, as Cyrstal (2000) argues. Besides, Judeo-Spanish serving as an 'ethnic'[29] language fosters community perception for the remaining speech community, which the study

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[29] Fishman, interprets 'ethnicity' as a dynamic phenomenon that it corresponds to a much wider question which is not answered merely questioning the ethnic background of informant x, but involves fully integrated set of beliefs, views and behaviors, a "way of life" that could be perceived through a knowledge of actual observances regarding all traditional rounds of daily life consisting of actual beliefs, actual friendship patterns, and so on (Fishman, 1972: 179-188).

will intend to analyze in the last chapter in accordance with the perspectives of the scholars mentioned above.

2.4. Judeo-Spanish Representing 'We'

Judeo-Spanish having lost its religious and communicative domains in the last century re-emerges in the late seventies as a highly symbolic element identified with Jewish identity by some alarmed Sephardic community members due to the endangered position of Judeo-Spanish. Throught the actions mobilized by the same community members such as publication of *Aki Yerushalayim* entirely in Judeo-Spanish in Israel in 1979, continuation of *Şalom* newspaper's Judeo-Spanish part with great effort after the shift to Turkish in 1984, foundation of *National Authority of Ladino* in Israel in 1997, foundation of *Ladinokomunita* online circle in 2000, foundation of Ottoman Turkish Sephardic Cultural Research Center in 2003 in Istanbul, emergence of *El Amaneser* the entirely Judeo-Spanish supplement of *Şalom* published since 2005 in Istanbul, Sephardic cultural maintenance is linked highly with the maintenance of Judeo-Spanish. Similarly as in the past, Judeo-Spanish is internalized representing 'we' in broad public and cultivated for the formation of Sephardic community perception for the remaining Judeo-Spanish speech community.

2.4.1. Constant Reconstruction of the Community Perception:

Ethnic communication platforms may provide a platform where the community perception could be perceived and designed for the remaining Judeo-Spanish speech community that is dispersed all over the world today. Through the Jewish language a new perception of community could be constructed. That is highly hybrid due to the interaction of Judeo-Spanish speaking community members who reside in different parts of the world and who pursue different cultural experiences. As a result of the Sephardic cultural and traditional experiences' becoming enriched and hybridized through ethnic communications platforms, a new perspective or 'filter' to perceive the world may emerge.

According to constructivist perspective, the social reality is constantly constructed. In addition, the position of the languages depends on their position in the social reality constructed at that time period by the community members; how they perceive the 'community identity' and the language is decisive.

In this context, constant construction of community perception can be explained following Anthony P. Cohen's (2000), Omi and Winant (2001), and Berger and Luckmann's work (as cited in Flecha, Gómez, & Puigvert, 2001: 51-54).

Cohen discusses the role of community as a symbol based on life experience of the members and the meaning they attach to community, observing it as a culture constucted symbolically by people. Therefore, he suggests that 'community' is a mental construct which fostered its credibility by locality and ethnicity. In this sense, he mentions that according to the domino theory of politics, once emerges a group displaying distintiveness, individuals staying out of that group feel compelled to follow the suit, fortifying their distinctiveness to be represented with the bound bridged with the certain community aiming at delimiting the bounds of similiarity. In the same way, he argues that the emergence of the exaggerated view of distinct cultures derives from the same point of view which causes the need to display distinctiveness, suggesting that cultures are inherently antithetical fostered with an implicit negativity towards each other. However he argues that the mentioned symbolic meanings adhered to 'community' are relevant to members of the same community and non-members: the 'same' symbol can represent different perceptions. Cohen suggests that the meaning that the 'community' representations is understood distinctively depending on from the insider/outsider point of views. The sense of the 'community' by the insiders is symbolically complex, which is constructed through different life experiences. Therefore he argues that the perception of the 'community' by its members and non-members is highly complex. 'The community' is perceived distinctly and symbolically based on life experiences by the members and non-members. Therefore, the 'community' is constructed symbolically to be bounded to the individual's identity. The constructed distinct

perceptions of the same community all constitute relevant data to members and non-members of the community. In the light of these, Cohen mentions that the perception of the community lies in its members' perception; through which the 'community' is constructed symbolically to be bounded to the individual's identity as a referent (2000: 38, 70-74,108-118). This perspective highlights the importance of considering individual perceptions to Sephardic identity and language bond, also considering communal perceptions which all constitute relevant data.

Moreover, to define how 'community perception' is constructed, the racial awareness is also crucial in symbolic building of the community identity, which can both be communally and individually constructed. In this context, Michael Omi and Howard Winant's approach might help understand community perception construction for the remaining Judeo-Speech community. Omi and Winant employ racial formation theory to recompose the concept of racism, through which race and raicism is questioned. According to their theory, it is crucial to distinguish racial awareness from racial essentialism. While race continues to play a fundamental role in constructing and representing the social world, Omi and Winant argue that it carries unstable social meanings, which are constantly being constructed and transformed sociohistorically by political struggle; and should be considered as an element of social structure rather than as an irregularity within it (Omi &Winant, 2001: 371-382).

To put differently, it can be argued that both the perception of the 'community' and its bond with the 'language' are products of members and non-members of the community. The unstable relationship with the two might be explained by Social Constructivism outlook. To give a perspective to the construction of Sephardic identity and language bond, Social Constructivism defined by Berger and Luckmann might be analysed.

Berger and Luckmann, the autors of the most well known work on social constructivism, The Social Construction of Reality, suggest that society and people

are mutually created under the effect of each other passing through certain processes which are externalization, objectification, and internalization. Externalization refers to recognizing social order as a human product, which can only exist with human existence. Objectification process includes institutionalization and legitimization of the human activity constructed, which becomes typical after passing through generations, and it finally turns into institutions like mytology, theology, philosophy, or science. Internalization is perceiving as objective, subjective constructions created by people that comes from outside of ourselves: alienation of the human constructed reality. According to the theory, individuals experience two types of socialization throughout their lives, primary and secondary. While primary socialization refers to the individual experiences during childhood aimed toward the internalization of the adult world, secondary socialization process includes the reinterpretation of the selection of different options provided in the objective world of their society by the 'once socialized' individuals always with an option to change depending on the possibility and villingness of the individuals (as cited in Flecha, Gómez, & Puigvert, 2001: 51-54).[30] Berger and Luckmann's approach in explaining the construction of social reality might help permit a perspective to understand the recent awareness on Judeo-Spanish, virtually construction of a community through the use of the Jewish language through the space provided by ethnic communication platforms.

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[30] The limitations of social constructivism has been discussed by Searle and Shütz: Searle in his work, The Construction of Social Reality, criticises the social constructivist perspective regarding its absolute reliance on its assumption of 'human constructed reality' lacking any recognition relating to a reality beyond social construction.Schütz, putting the emphasis on the actor's consciousness develops an intersubjective conception of the life-world based on mutual sharing of meanings, behaviors, activities and events by actors in interactive situations; criticizing social constructivism for its oversight of intersubjectivity, which also gave rise to interactionism that goes beyond the individual's consciousness giving priority to processes of interaction (Flecha, Gómez, & Puigvert, 2001: 54-58).
Human constructed reality was first mentioned in the works of Bourdieu, who introduces the concept of habitus to explain the structuring structure that organizes practices and perception of practices of agents, individuals. Through structuring class conditions in habitus that is based on a system of differences, and differential positions social identity is defined : Identity is defined through difference, which is shaped by taken granted facts affirmed by agents, who also affirm to locate himself and others in upper or lower class habitus through differences (Flecha, Gómez, & Puigvert, 2001: 35-38).

To conclude, the theories mentioned above regarding social construction of the reality bases the formation of a virtual community through ethnic communication platforms for the remaining Judeo-Spanish speech community dispersed all over the world mainly resident in Turkey and Israel.

2.4.2. Formation of a Virtual Community Perception Through Judeo-Spanish

Judeo-Spanish presently continues to be internalized representing 'we' and 'Jewishness' in the eyes of the alarmed community members composing of the native and semi-speakers of the remaining Judeo-Spanish speech community. The mentioned members voluntarily undertake the responsibility to mobilize the remaining Judeo-Spanish speech community to cultivate the language and maintain the Sephardic cultural heritage embedded in the Jewish language through their columns in newspapers. Some of them were interviewed to understand the aims of the movement. It is noted that in this phase ethnic communications provide the necessary platform for the remaining Judeo-Spanish community by enabling them to mobilize online regardless of space and time. Therefore, ethnic communication platforms provide a transnational space where such kind of unification can only be enjoyed in today's conditions while the remaining Judeo-Spanish speech community is dispersed all over the world. The mentioned transnational space provided through the ethnic communication platforms that can be accessed by both transcription and online will be explained through 'homeland' theories of Levy (2006), Weingrod and Levy (2006), and William Safran (2005).

Levy argues that instead of the "sun-satellite" model, homeland-diaspora pair must be conceptualised as "fluid, historically conditioned and even multidirectional" (as cited in Weingrod & Levy, 2006:693). Following this in another work, Weingrod and Levy argue that forming trans-national identities, "diaspora" is linked to old/new Centers, which represents places, where immigrants and their descendents formerly lived, and towards which they developed positive memories and a personal

attachment. Both Centers and Homelands grow in myth and nostalgia. While returning to the "homeland" includes a moral requirement, Centers are places where one might visit and enjoy, but do not perceive as places that he/she truely belongs (Weingrod & Levy, 2006:711).

In this context, Levy problematizes 'homeland' discussing the 'real homeland' and 'symbolic homeland' by giving examples of the Moroccan Jewry. According to them, while Israel is the 'real homeland', Morocco is the 'symbolic homeland' towards which they develop nostalgia and symbolic identification. Diaspora is not only a dispersed community from homeland, but also becomes the 'Center' to diasporans, to which they develop a symbolic sense of belonging both culturally and linguistically. According to Jews in Morocco, the instruction of Modern Hebrew to younger generations creates a problematic debate; they discuss if it is the language of holy texts or the language of the Israilis? Levy argues that the relationship between the 'diaspora' and the 'homeland' are multidirectional, fluid, and historically conditioned, so does the connection between the 'language' and the 'homeland' (Levy, 2005: 68-96). In this context, Weingrod and Levy argue that space can be both "homeland" and "diaspora", criticizing the "solar-system" model. In addition to this, they highlight the effects of contemporary forces of globalization and continuing large-scale immigration on the image of "one nation—one land." Moreover, according to the study they conducted on the Israeli populations consisting Moroccan Jews, Ethiopian Jews, Russian Jews, and second and third-generation European-origin Israeli Jews, returning home does not necessarily bring about the end of ties and identifications with one's former land, but creates a new "diaspora" organizing transnational identities while they continue to live in their "homeland". "Homeland" image splits to distant diasporas (Weingrod & Levy, 2006:693-694).

Additionally, Safran suggests that there has been a shift in the homeland-diaspora nexus; Jewish diaspora is experiencing a process of 'dezionization', which includes

groups such as the secularists, socialists, potential inverstors in Israel, non-orthodox believers, enlightened Western Jews, left wing ideologues, academics and others disillusioned with the Israeli state power. Safran argues that with the considerable flow of Jews to the USA and Europe, the relationship between the Jewish homeland and the Jewish Diaspora is reconstructed; suggesting that harder notion of homeland has softened with notions of 'found home' in the diaspora (as cited in Cohen, 2008:12,13). The mentioned 'found home' might also have fostered the emergence of a digital platform where Sephardic presence would be reflected transnationally.

In this sense, in the case of Sephardim Iberia, Ottoman lands, United States and to a lesser degree other settled countries can be argued to constitute different 'Centers'. While ancient Israel may constitute the 'real' 'Homeland', it can be said that the state of Israel may also constitute another settled 'Center'.

In the light of the mentioned perspectives, it might be argued that ethnic communication platforms today provide a new 'Center' unifying the Judeo-Spanish speech community which would be impossible anywhere else considering the current scattered situation of the remaining Judeo-Spanish speech commuminity dispersed to all over the world. Ethnic communication platforms can be accessed online or by subscription at anytime and anywhere from all over the world regardless of time and space. Through the transnational space provided by the ethnic communication platforms, Sephardic identities can be strengthened and even reconstructed in some cases.

In this sense, Horboken highlights the role of the ethnic minority media in constructing ethnic identities providing an ethnic cultural and psychological 'safe haven', which often turns the discourse of cultural continuity into a political issue of resistance as well. Horboken highlights the symbolic meaning of the language of an ethnic group following the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis that puts essential emphasis in bridging ethnicity and language. He argues that the ethnic language becomes a powerful element in constructing the ethnic consciousness and identity in both cases

when it is still employed by the speech community and when it is no longer in use among the community but still preserving the symbolic value potentially. Through ethnic minority media the past and the future of the community is connected in line with today's requirements, providing a legitimization of the present and promoting a political mobilization of the community (Horboken, 2004: 199-212).

In other words, it can be argued that modern electronic media provides the unity of ethnic dispersed communities eliminating isolation, but also weakening the distinction between communities, through which shifting of identities and taking a more flexible approach to ethnic ideology can be observed in order to adapt themselves to the changing cultural environment. Horboken states that while ethnic minority communications have a crucial role in the struggle for cultural survival, their reliance on the highly symbolic values which are not decoded by younger generations may result in the loss of interest in the ethnic community life. While Horboken sees the role of ethnic minority media in constructing and reconstructing ethnic identities crucial, he also mentions that their full dependence on financial support of their community leadership and their vulnerability to both inside and outside influences should not be forgotten, which would evidently weaken their critical potential (Horboken, 2004: 212-214).

In this context, Van Hear states that electronic media gives the 'centre' the opportunity to establish transnational links among dispersed ethnics, uniting them on the basis of cultural, political and economic activities in more than one country (as cited in Horboken, 2004:215). While the mentioned transnational links may be established, it remains clear that the superiority and dominance of mainstream cultural and ideological values are fostered by globalization, with which ethnic communications cannot compete (Horboken, 2004: 214).

2.4.3. Digital Diaspora: 'Digital Safe Haven' Through Jewish Language

It can be argued that Judeo-Spanish is still internalized and represents 'Jewishness' in the eyes of the remaining speech community dispersed all over the word but who

mainly reside in Turkey and Israel. In today's conditions, ethnic communication platforms may provide a safe haven to the speech community to cultivate the language, through which they enjoy a shared identity that is strengthened and reconstructed in some cases via story telling, recalling of memories and any kind of creative expression in the Jewish language.

This part of the study is aimed at providing a discussion enabling a framework to the definition of a digital 'Center' (defined by Weingrod and Levy, 2006) through ethnic minority media, and diasporic websites. The main questions to be responded are: What is a 'digital homeland', and 'digital homeland' for whom? What is the role of the Jewish language in constructing a 'digital homeland'?

Diaspora members of a dispersed identity with common ties to the 'homeland' often constitute transnational networks, which link them to host countries. Safran notes four major components constructing diaspora identity: a distinct language, historical memory, a national religion, and the habitual status of a minority in larger societies (as cited in Brinkerhoff , 2009: 32). In this sense, diaspora identities are continuously reconstructed as a result of the mix components of the 'homeland', the hostland, and the lived experience. For instance, according to Brinkerhoff, through internet dispersed diasporans of different host countries connecting to a digital platform where they experience a shared homeland identity, and reinterpretation of their identity, form new hybrid identities through story telling. In other words, internet provides cyber communities with comfort and identity support; and it also enables reinterpretation and hybridity (Brinkerhoff, 2009: 29-99).

In this context, according to Cohen, offline Diaspora communities with experience of dispersal from the homeland present traumatic characteristics that are reassured online. Among the reassuring features experienced online that Cohen mentions, a collective memory and myth concerning the homeland, a return movement, strong ethnic group consciousness, a sense of solidarity with co-members of the diaspora community in other countries, and finally idealization of the homeland can be

counted (as cited in Held, 2010: 90). Likewise, Brinkerhoff states that the cyperspaces assemble diasporans from dispersed countries providing them a safe space to share memories, trauma, new ideas, diaspora experiences, shared needs, and the fate of the homeland; diasporans from dispersed countries with no physical presence find 'presence' with the mentioned webpages (Brinkerhoff, 2009: 29-99).

Furthermore, Helland points out in the article, *Diaspora on the Electronic Frontier: Developing Virtual Connections with Sacred Homelands*, that religion has become a significant component of the virtual world. According to the estimation of the Time Warner Company, in the year 2000 more people used the Internet for religion and spiritual purposes than those other mediums such as online banking or dating services. In addition, according to the studies conducted on Internet use in U.S., more and more Internet users seek religious information online. Helland, mainly basing his studies on the USENET religion group on net, observes that users with Jewish faith argue for the development of an exclusive area for their own online identity, where they could talk about their tradition, rules, and regulations or other issues regarding Judaism at a place that is safe to be Jewish, without having the need to defend their religious beliefs and practices. Helland suggests that a website aiming at developing connections among the religious community help people stay in touch with the homeland itself by creating a safe, supportive, and religiously tolerant environment. However, the web site is limited with textual representations of religious beliefs, and sometimes an online activity provide the virtual user a disembodied experience through the computer, undertaken alone, and witnessed by no one but the online participant (Helland, 2007: 956-974).

Concerning the role of the ethnic communication platforms in the formation of identity, Adroutsopoulos (2010) argues that multilingual diasporic websites constitute a 'sociolinguistic ecology', through which new hybrid identities and cultures are constructed. She bases her assumption on the examination of the relevance between code alternation and identity representation to display group

membership following theories of Sinclair and Cunningham (2000), Karim (2003), and Coupland, Bishop and Garret (2003) (Androutsopoulos, 2010: 263-288).

In the light of these perspectives, concerning the role of Judeo-Spanish in providing a space for the remaining speech community Brink-Danan (2011) and Held (2010) have similarly emphasized the importance of the Jewish language for virtual community formation: Both Brink-Danan(2011) and Held(2010) highlight the position of Judeo-Spanish as a metalanguage in preserving and reviving Sephardic memory online. Brink-Danan calls the imaginary boundaries provided by *Lainokomunita Yahoo Groups* as '*Ladinoland*'. Brink-Danan suggests that the transnational 'virtual' component of Ladino dates back to centuries through novels (Borovaya, 2003), newspapers (Stein, 2004), and rabbinic literature (Goldish, 2008). The transnational feature of Ladino for centuries perpetuates its presence on digital platforms as well, which according to Brink-Danan enabes a possible reversal of the dispersal of Sephardic Jewry (Brink- Danan 2011: 107-109). Brink- Danan in the study she conducted on Ladinokomunita Yahoo Groups, suggests that "online, locality, and community are overwhelmingly established (and managed) through language, meta-language and language ideologies" (Brink- Danan, 2011: 109).

 In the case of the study of Sephardi online communities, Held suggests that rather than refering the community as Digital Diaspora, Digital *Home-Land* is a more accurate concept. According to him, *Digital Home-Land* provides a virtual territory where long-lost offline communities, such as Sephardi community, are reconstructed online that could have not existed anywhere else. Held, in the light of Benedict Anderson's definition of Imagined Community, mentions a reconstruction of an imaginary identity based upon a culture represented merely online, which has none or very little connection in today's world. According to Held, the role of the language in Sephardi online correspondence circles constitute a meta-linguistic central theme, which is not accidental. Held suggests that the imagined sound of the language connects the members of *Digital Home-Land*, where the forgotten mother tongue is revived. Held highlights that for offline struggling Sephardi communities if

not a revival, a new stage of ethnic experience might emerge due to their being co-citizens of the *Digital-Homeland* (2010: 84).

In the light of the mentioned perspectives and studies on formation of a virtual community through ethnic communication platforms the role of Judeo-Spanish in strengthening and reconstructing of Sephardic identities for the remaining Judeo-Spanish speech community will be examined in the last chapter of this study.

CHAPTER III

HISTORY OF JEWS AND JEWISH MULTIGLOSSIA

This chapter is aimed at showing Jewish language creation legacy in historical continuity. Therefore, Jewish language creations will be mentioned considering continuos migration, and diaspora experiences. The chapter will intend to follow a chronological timeline while explaining the origins and evolutions of Jewish multiglossia, which composes of highly difficult bindings due to the scattered position of the world Jewry as a result of continuous exils, and migration to new lands. However, the study does not aim to explain Jewish history, but creation of Jewish languages within Jewish history. For the latter, emergence of Judaicized vernacular local languages, and the reasons and mechanisms of Jewish multilingualism will be studied in parallel to continuous migration and diaspora experiences. Following this study composing of Jewish multiglossia in historical continuity, history of Judeo-Spanish will be studied in a separate chapter as a product of Jewish language creation legacy that will be mentioned in this chapter. The chapter will intend to show how Jews adopted and adapted vernacular languages starting with the land of Canaan, Hebrew people.

3.1.The Origin of the Israelites

3.1.1 . The Land of Canaan, Hebrew People, and Their Languages

According to Kamm, the origin of the Israelites is thought to be related with the patriarch Abraham who lived around 1800 B.C.E., at the time of Moses and the Exodus from Egypt. Abraham journeyed from Haran to Canaan to find a new home guided by God: "Go forth from your native land and from your father's house to the land that I will show you. I will make you a great nation…" (Gen.12:1ff.). Abraham is referred to as Hebrew (Gen. 14:13). According to Kamm, the Israelites emerged out of Egypt under the leadership of Moses were also "Hebrews," but not all "Hebrews" were Israelites. Hebrews were known as Habiru to Akkadians and as

Apiru to the Egyptians. Canaan, at that time was populated by Canaanites, Amorites, Hittites, and Jebusites. Canaanites had possibly non-Semitic origins. Their religious beliefs were based on elaborate mythology (Kamm, 1999: 25, 26). Amorites were an entity speaking a variety of Semitic dialects that migrated from Arabian Desert to Northwestern Mesopotamia. Hittites were Indo-European people pushed into Asia Minor in about 2000 BCE. The Jebusites were a non-Semitic people originating in the Caucasian regions of Armenia, who settled in Mesopotamia around 1600 BCE (Kamm, 1999:1-9).

According to Kamm, Jacob, son of Isaac and grandchild of Abraham, settled in Egypt with the rest of the family, in the fertile area of Goshen in the Delta of the Nile. Before his death, Jacob addressed his twelve sons wishing to be buried in the Canaan territory. The mentioned twelve sons were to be the original twelve tribes of Israelites. After the rescue from Egypt under the leadership of Moses, the Israelites occupied a territory on the east bank of the river Jordan, on the plains of Moab, beside the Dead Sea (Num: 22:1). Before the death of Moses, God shows the territory that he promises to Israelites: "Gilead as far as Dan; all Naphyali; the land of Ephraim and Manasseh, the whole land of Judah as far as the Western Sea; the Negeb; and the Plain-the Valley of Jericho, the city of palm trees-as far as Zoar" (Deut.34:1-3). The territory promised to Moses just before he died was less than the original Convenant which Abraham proposed (Kamm, 1999:10, 22-23).

According to Kamm, Canaan, populated by different tribes with Semitic and non-Semitic origins, produced an alphabetical script containing thirty characters: twenty seven consonants and three vowel sounds. Based on Proto-Sinaitic alphabet, the Canaanite system named Ugaritic alphabet was derived, from which the Early Hebrew alphabet was derived, the original script of the Hebrew Bible. After the fifth century, BCE Ugaritic alphabet gradually shifted to a descendant of the Aramaic alphabet called Square Hebrew, which is also now the printing type of Modern Hebrew. Jews employed the two Semitic originated languages Hebrew and Aramaic at the same time. While, Aramaic was the international language of the diplomacy

and the language used in daily life, Hebrew remained as a medium to cultivate literature and classical works. Aramaic was also used to record historical events: the original version of Josephus "The Jewish war" was written between 70 and 75 CE in Aramaic (Kamm, 1999:27-28).

The Canaanite system of alphabet, from which derived Early Hebrew alphabet, also gave rise to the formation of the Phoenician alphabet ,which is the direct ancestor of alphabet used for English, Romance, Scandinavian, German, and other European languages together with Russian (Kamm, 1999:28).

During the fifteenth to thirteenth centuries BCE, Israelite occupation of Canaan continued. Canaan constituted a strategically important territory where Semitic/non-Semitic, Asian, Caucasian and Aegean people wanted to settle. Philistines, known as "Sea people" coming originally from the island of Crete, were among the settlers in Canaan. After the mass invasions of Dorians that put an end to their civilization in 1250 BCE, they came to settle to Syrian coast then to Canaan. Until the end of eleventh century BCE, there was no established central administration of Israelites. By then, King David established a monarchy in Canaan territory, extending the boundaries, which continued with his successor Solomon. It was the time that country experienced a period of prosperity and it was when the First Temple was believed to have been built. During the reign of Solomon's son Rehoboam, the country split into two reigns. The ten northern tribes of Israel rebelled to form the independent Kingdom of Israel; Rehoboam became the king of the Kingdom of Judah, the southern kingdom. About 586-538 BCE Babylonian exile took place until the fall of Persian King Cyrus, who confirmed to rebuild the Temple in Jerusalem that was destroyed during the revolt which occurred against Babylonian rule in 586 BCE (Kamm, 1999: 43-133 ; Lupovitch, 2010: 22).

During the Babylonian exile Aramaic became the daily spoken language, superseding Hebrew. Throughout the reign of Persian King Cyrus, Israelites in Babylonian exile were permitted to go back home to Judah, which lasted for two

hundred years. Judah, was now a part of Persian empire. Northern Kingdom of Israel was destroyed by Assyrians, from then on the inhabitants of Judah called Judaeans and Jews. The Persian rule in Judah ended in 332 BCE with the campaigns of Macedonian king, Alexander the Great. According to the legend, for the benefit of Alexandrian library seventy-two scholars were sent to Jerusalem to translate the Pentateuch, five books of Moses-The Torah, from Hebrew to Greek with the request of the librarian of Ptolemy II (283-264 BCE). After the death of Alexander the Great, Jews continued to drift away from Judaea and settled along Mediterranean coasts and the Greek islands, on the shores of Black sea, while a significant number settled in Alexandria (Kamm, 1999: 129-144).

3.1.2.The Jews in the Greek Age

Bickerman argues that Aramaic might have still been the business language and probably the mother tongue of the Jews in the days of Alexander the Great. Aramaic was an international language with no Aramean state or nation. Jewish books written in Aramaic were understood at the southern frontier of Egypt as well as at the southern end of Caspian (Bickerman, 1988: 51-52).

While Aramaic was spoken by Jews in the early Hellenistic age, gradually Jews learned Greek. The most important work in Greek was the translation of Bible and the interpretation of Torah in Greek under the patronage of Ptolemy II Philedelphus (275-246 B.C.E.). Jewish literature in Greek was para-biblical. Bible was seen the sole source of information about the national past and Greek had a crucial role for its transference to Alexanderian Jewish. Jewish literature was employed in Greek; for this reason, the writer did not feel the need to authenticate his tale. Most of the works apart from the translations of the holy book were styled as mythos, and fictionary work embellished of actual facts. These stories were believed to strengthen the attachment of the Jew to his faith. Bickerman suggests that these tales functioned at that time as the miracle plays of the middle ages. The purpose of the tales was to give education to common people. Apart from tales, transference of Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, which were written in Hebrew toward the end of the third century

B.C.E., to Greek constituted type of moral education to masses in third person (Bickerman, 1988:101,203-204).

According to Tcherikover, the Jewry in diaspora in all times had two mutually contradictory principles: adaptation to the host community and maintenance of the tradition. Adaptation to the host community required changing of the names and the language, and it also gave greater facility in dealing with non-Jews. Although the Jews outside Palestine spoke and thought in Greek, Aramaic, and Hebrew tongue in Egypt existed until the middle of the second century B.C.E. Tcherikover argues that old Greek won a decisive victory over Hebrew and Aramaic during Alexandrian time up to Roman and Byzantine epoch when the reawakening of the national spirit caused a considerable revival of Hebrew. Jewish Alexandrian literature started with translation of the Scriptures to Greek, known as "Translation of the Seventy". With the cease of Hebrew as the spoken and written language by broad public, Greek was used in the synagogue. The language of the inscriptions, the official assemblies and their resolutions were in Greek. Greek was used in all spheres of daily life. The Greek employed by Jews was not pure; it contained Hebrew idioms and customs. As well as the language, Greek also affected the Jews in Diaspora culturally. Political institutions of Greeks, Greek custom of honoring people by inscribing the name on a stone to be placed in a prominent public place, dedication of religious places to kings, impact of Hellenistic law on marriage and divorce of Jews were some of the features of the organization of communal life modeled with the influence of Greek polis (Tcherikover, 1999:146-349).

After the death of Alexander the Great, the empire was divided into three. The land of Israel was situated between the newly created Ptolemic and Seleucid empires and was conquered by Ptolemy and was held until 198, when came under the rule of the Seleucid Kingdom (Lupovitch, 2010:27).With the purpose of reducing the Hellenism impact over Judea, Macabees rebelled during the reign of Antiochus IV of Seleucid Empire founded after the death of Alexander the Great. Macabees founded Hasmonian dynasty that reigned for eighty years from 143 BCE until the arrival of

the Romans in 63 BCE (Kamm, 1999: 146-152 ; Lupovitch, 2010: 31). Until the second destruction of the Temple rebuilt in 70, the Zealots, one of the most uncompromising Jewish sect, rebelled to eliminate all traces of Roman rule from the land of Israel, as the Maccabees had done a century earlier. As a consequence of the defeat of the revolt, thousands of Jews in Judea were captivated to various parts of Roman Empire (Kamm, 1999: 213 ; Lupovitch, 2010: 38, 39).

3.1.3.The Hellenistic Diaspora in Alexandria and Rome: Judaism under Roman Rule

For the next two centuries, under Roman rule Judaism had more desirable status, defined as a *religio licita* (legal religion) by Julius Caesar while Christianity was regarded as religion that suddenly rose to prominence By the fourth century, with the Edict of Milan issued by the emperor Constantine in 313 redefining Christianity as the official religion of the empire, the status of Christians became preferable, but the status of the Jews remained uncertain and precarious for more than a millennium in a hostile ambience where they were forcibly converted to Christianity or killed under Christine doctrine. By the fifth century, compare to the last century both in Western Roman Empire and in Byzantium, the law codes of Emperors Theodosius and Justinian were more tolerant to Jews, protecting the existing synagogues and keeping their faith. In response to the harshness of Christian rule, Judaism developed an insular attitude to worldly ideas, which was reflected in Rabbinic Judaism (Lupovitch, 2010: 46-48).

With the emergence of Islam during the seventh century, the harshness of Byzantian rule over Judaism was reduced by Islamic conquests that extended to Byzantium and Sassanid Persia, where Jews lived. The Islamic contest, under the same rule united the Jewish world also bringing a period of Arabization of Jewish culture. As the language of science, Arabic replaced Greek and Aramaic leading to the emergence of a new ideal rabbinic scholar. By the ninth- and tenth-century under Sa'adia Gaon (882-942), leading figure of new scholarly ideal of Bagdad Jewry, wrote The *Tafzi*r, a commentary on the Hebrew Bible written in Judeo-Arabic; and *The Book of*

Opinion and Beliefs, a philosophical treatise in Arabic. By the beginning of the tenth century Rabbinic Judaism came into conflict with Karaism, a sectarian movement which originated in the biblical interpretations of Anan Ben David in eighth century rejecting the Jewish oral law established by Rabbinic Judaism. Although Abbasid caliphate recognized Karaism as a Jewish sect, it was regarded as an illegitimate form of Judaism by mainstream Jewish society (Lupovitch, 2010:61-67).

3.2. Jews of Spain: Origins of the Spanish Jewry

According to Güleryüz, the origins of the Spanish Jewry is uncertain. It is considered that some of the Jews left Holy land and headed to North Africa, and came to the Iberian Peninsula with the Vandal occupations around BC.420. Romanized Visigoths displacing the Vandals extended their authority in Hispania. With the conversion of Visigoths to Catholicism, Visigothic persecution of Jews began. Jews managed to keep their faith in spite of the suppressions. Visigoth Kingdom collapsed with the invasion of the Muslim Arabs headed by Tarik Bin Ziyad. Güleryüz suggests that the Iberian Jews persecuted under Visigoth rule welcomed the Arabic invaders helping them to conquer the Iberian Peninsula. In return for their friendly attitudes, Muslim Arabs offered the command of Cordoba and afterwards most of the cities were conquered (1993: 56).

Gampel argues that the Jewish existence in the Iberian Peninsula dates back to Roman Empire times; with regard to a third-century tombstone inscribed by Latin word "IVDAEA", which commemorated the death of a Jewish girl, Anna Salomonula. Jews are believed to arrive in Iberian territories alongside the Roman colonizers (1992:11). Lupovitch (2010) like Gampel, mentions that the tombstone of Anna Salomonula (Hanna bat Solomon) constitutes the earliest historical evidence of Jewish life in Spain dating back to the third century CE (Lupovitch, 2010: 68). Gruen (2004) mentions that Jews came to Rome during the second and first centuries BCE., some involuntarily as slaves or war captives, and some as visitors, immigrants and settlers (2004:17). Mostly it is believed that after the capture of Jerusalem in 63 BCE, Jewish prisoners were transferred to Rome as a consequence of Pompey's

victory in Judaea. Gruen also argues the possibility that many Jews migrated to Rome and Italy for purposes of commerce and to seek employment (2004:22).

Toledan philosopher Abraham Ibn Daud that lived in twelfth-century records a legend symbolizing the transfer of the center of Jewish life from Mesopotamia to Iberian Peninsula: Rabbi Moses ben Enoch from the Babylonian academies of Sura and Pumbedita was among the four rabbis hostaged in a ship owned by a Muslim mariner that set sail from the Southern Italian port of Bari. It is considered that the rabbis were collecting money for the dowries of indigent brides. The mentioned scholars arrived to Cordoba thanks to the major Jewish communities of Northern Africa and the community in Cordoba that agreed to ransom a large sum of money for their release. According to the legend, with the arrival of Rabbi Moses Ben Emoch in Iberian territories, he began studying in Talmud school under Rabbi Nathan, who afterwards is considered to propose him as the city's new chief rabbi and judge by resigning from his post. Cordoba is believed to become a site of Jewish scholarship independent of the Babylonian centers (Brenner, 2010: 83-84).

During the Council of Elvira at the beginning of the fourth century a card written by Bishop Severo de Menorca records of a synagogue destroyed and conversion of a Jewish community to Christianity. Based on this data, it is believed that in Catalonia, on the Balearic Islands, in the Levant, Bética, Avila, Astorga and Mérida there were settled Jewish communities (Iglesias, 1978: 87-89). Pérez states that there is documentation that records the presence of the Jews settled in the Coastal Mediterranean area including Barcelona, Tarragona, Tortosa, the Balearic Island, Orihuela, Elche and in the Guadalquivir Valley, in Granada, Toledo and Mérida after the fall of Roman Empire and during the Visigoth Monarchy. According to Pérez, when Jews settled in the Iberian Peninsula, at that time constituted a religious minority, not an ethnic one. Moreover, there were many converts and mixed marriages. The Jews considered Iberian territories the land of their ancestors recognizing themselves as Spanish as the old Christians (2007: 5-6).

3.2.1. "Convivencia": The Jews of Muslim Spain and Jewish Multiglossia in Spain

By the end of tenth century, with the split of Abbasid caliphate and the emergence of new Islamic kingdoms in Egypt, North Africa, and Spain, Jews in Spain from the eighth through the end of the tenth century found a relatively peaceful ambience of coexistence with Muslims and Christians referred as convivencia in Spanish. The period is often referred as the golden age in history of Diaspora due to the considerably better status of the Jews than any part of Christendom prior to fifteenth century Poland. Lupovitch suggests that the reason of the highly flourished Jewish life in Muslim Spain coincided with the emergence of Spain as an independent caliphate (Lupovitch, 2010: 67-69).

Brenner suggests that most of the cultural creativity of Spanish Jewry took place after the conquest of the Visigoth Empire in 711 by the Muslims. Jews liberated from Christian subjugation and intolerance practiced freely their religion flourishing a rich Jewish social life in comparison to Christian rule. With the conquest of Iberian Peninsula by Muslims, both Christian and Jewish social life were influenced by Arabic language and culture that even some poets and philosophers cultivated the Arabic language (Brenner, 2010: 86-87). Pérez mentions that the convergence between Jews and Muslims was not limited to "convivencia" based on the dhimma (the writ of protection statute), but despite the freedom of religion offered by the Muslims by the end of twelfth century 80 percent of the peninsula's Hispano-Roman population were converted to Islam, among whom existed many Jews (2007: 9). Besalel and Brenner argue that in contrast to the unhappy Ibero-Jewish history under Christian rule that excluded Jews through numerous laws enacted by Christian councils, in Cordoba the mixture of Jewish and Arabic cultures initiated a Golden Age during the caliphate of Abd-Al-Rahman III founded in 929 (Besalel, 2003: 77 ; Brenner, 2010: 85).

During the Muslim rule, there were several Christian Kingdoms, Castile and Aragon in the centre, Leon in the north, Portugal in the west and Navarre in the east. Gampel

(1992) states that during the Muslim rule on Iberian Peninsula, the convergence between the Jewish culture and Arabic culture influenced Hebrew studies. The impact of Arabic language and poetry together with Quranic studies could be seen on Hebrew language and Talmud studies. Jews for the first time studied Hebrew to create spiritual and sensual verse in Hebrew influenced by Arabic verses and studies. Islamic society is considered to have motivated highly Jewish Intellectual class to be born and flourish (Gampel, 1992:17, 18). With the invasion of Al-Andalus from Morocco in 1146 by Almohade, the Jewish presence in the South of Iberian Peninsula moved from Muslim Spain to Christian Spain, which included Castille, Aragon, Catalonia, Valencia, and Navarre (Benbassa & Rodrigue, 2000: prologue xxvi).

3.2.2. Linguistical Features of "Convivencia": Judeo-Spanish, Judeo-Arabic, and Hebrew

Sheindlin mentions that the impact of Arabic language and culture with the convergence between Jews and Muslims during the Muslim rule in the Iberian Peninsula inspired the Jews to cultivate for the first time secular Hebrew poetry since biblical times (1992: 39). Pérez argues that Jewish social life was assimilated under Islamic rule as they learned Arabic while expressing themselves in Hebrew and sometimes in Aramaic in their poetry. According to Pérez, there were two dominant cultures in the Iberian Peninsula during Golden Age: Muslim and Christian. He suggests that the Jews only adopted the dominant cultural model. He argues that most of the representatives of Jewish culture including Maimonides were representatives of Arabic culture as they studied and learned Arabic (2007: 11).

3.2.2.1. Judeo-Arabic

Judeo-Arabic was used from the seventh until the seventeenth centuries by the Jewry under the domain of Islam, which extended from Spain to India. Stillman suggests that even some forms of Judeo-Arabic travelled to Southeast Asia with Iraqi Jewish trading colonies; to France, England and Americas with Aleppan Jewish enclaves. Judeo-Arabic vernacular, *Yahuddiyya* (Jewish speech), emerged before the spread of

Islam among the Jewish tribes in Arabia (Stillman, 2005: 42-43). While Aramic was used for inscriptions and international affairs as the international language of the Near East, Arabic was their mother tongue and the vernacular language they needed to use for trading in Arabian peninsula (Newby, 1998:26). During the Islamic conquests of the seventh and eighth centuries, Arabic became the international language of the vast empire. Jewish subjects of the empire were taught Hebrew while they lived in an Arabic speaking community. For daily, religious, documental, and literary purposes Arabic was used, which is another Semitic language with many affinities to Hebrew and Aramaic. Judeo-Arabic was generally Middle Arabic lacking a standard style, depending on the education of the writer, written in Hebrew characters, which included added orthographical changes due to its adaptation to Hebrew script (Stillman, 2005: 43-47).

 In Middle Ages, Judeo-Arabic was written and spoken in very different forms due to the diglossic Arabic society, and in the course of time Middle Arabic gave way to communal dialect forms, which reflected to Judeo-Arabic as well. Stillman argues that the decline of medieval literary form of Judeo-Arabic might have started with the mass influx of Sephardi exiles to the major population centers of the Islamic world, using Hebrew as their primary language of literary expression. During the Middle Ages Middle East and North Africa Jewry produced popular literature including poetry containing variety of poetic genres. While most works of rabbinical high culture were written in Hebrew, religious texts such as the Bible, the Mishna, and the Haghada were translated to Judeo-Arabic. Besides, scriptural commentaries were written in Judeo-Arabic to reach to broad public, who had limited knowledge of the holy tongue. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, in Middle East and North Africa Judeo-Arabic periodicals emerged focusing on local and world news as well as Zionism, secularism, westernization, and anti-Semitism, which were never as numerous as in Ladino in Turkey and the Balkans. After World War I, with the influence of the *Alliance Israélite Universelle* schools and the impact of French Colonial rule in Maghrebi countries French publications gave way to Judeo-Arabic,

in Iraq and Lebanon, and during 1920s Jewish newspapers were published in Modern Standard Arabic with the exception of few periodicals being published in Judeo-Arabic in Morocco, Tunisia, and Libya. With the foundation of the State of Israel in 1948, following the arrival of Arabic speaking Jews, Judeo-Arabic periodicals continued their presence in the holy land (Stillman, 2005:47-50). Iraqi Jewish community is regarded as a distinguished group that are able to maintain their communal identity, culture, tradition throughout the century together with their old Arabic dialect coded with biblical Hebrew, biblical references also including words from Persian, Turkish, and Aramaic (Moreh, 2008:1). Baghdad Jews together with Judeo-Arabic cultivated literary work in Hebrew, including periodicals. Some of the weekly-periodicals were published partly in Hebrew and Arabic, among which Jeshurun can be listed. The context of Jeshurun included poems, and essays on the Baghdadian Jews, communal news, Zionist propaganda, and biography of Maiomonides in Arabic. 245 books are listed to be printed in Bagdad partly Hebrew and partly Arabic by two printing offices: Shohet and Dangoor (Sassoon, 2007: 200-201).

Together with Western literary genres, English and French novels, plays and short stories, works of the Hashkala movement in Europe written in New Hebrew were translated into Judeo-Arabic. The majority of Judeo-Arabic speaking descendants today live in Israel, France, Canada, the United States, and elsewhere, with a few exceptions of Jews still living in Arab lands. Judeo-Arabic is regarded as a dying language as other Jewish languages such as Yiddish and Judeo-Spanish. Unlike the entire Judeo-Arabic language with all its cultural heritage and meaning that is to be dying, some words and expressions continue their presence in modern Israeli Hebrew (Stillman, 2005:50).

3.2.2.2. Convivencia of Judeo-languages: Arabic, Spanish, and Hebrew

Hasdai Ibn Shaprut, a natural leader of Jews in Spain imported volumes of the (Babylonian and Jerusalem) Talmuds and endeavored to obtain correct Talmudic manuscripts. Ibn Saruk, Hasdai's secretary, compiled the first Hebrew dictionary and

became the first secular Hebrew poet in Muslim world since the ancient times. By the end of the tenth century Ibn Nabrela, who was considered as the most successful Talmudic and Arabic scholar in Spain, was one of the representatives of the coexistence of the two mutually flourishing cultures in Muslim Spain. Ibn Ezra, regarded as the greatest theologian of Islam in Spain, presented the complexity of Jewish culture in Spain. He wrote biblical commentaries defending Judaism from its Muslim, Christian, and philosophical critics together with a critique of the Qur'an. He also composed Hebrew poetry using metric virtuosity, in context of war. During his lifetime and after his death he was accused of violating scandalously Muslim law that reached to destroy of the Jewish community of Granada. Starting with the end of the tenth century, with the Berber invasion series, fundamentalist Muslim rulers, who were intolerant to Jews came to power in Muslim Spain (Lupovitch, 2010: 70-71).

The collapse of Jewish life in Muslim Spain motivated the Spanish Jewry to find new secure territories optioning: migration to elsewhere in Muslim world, migration to the Land of Israel, and migration to Christian northern Spain. The family of Moses Maimonides left Córdoba due to religious persecution, and first moved to Fez, Morocco in 1160, then to Cairo. Moses intended to fight against Karaism in Cairo. Moses cultivated there the most influential legal and philosophical works of his time, among which there were: *Misneh Torah*, legal code written in clear, concise Hebrew, and *Guide to the Perplexed*, a philosophical treatise written in Arabic on the purpose of resolving tensions between Judaism and Greek. *Misneh Torah* was written in Hebrew in order to attract the attention of broad Jewish audience while Guide to the Perplexed was written in Arabic for the older children of the Jewish elite. Another leading figure of Jewish cultural life in Córdoba was Yehuda Halevi, considered the greatest poet in the history of the diaspora. Halevi, saw the conflict between Muslim and Christian world in Spain as a microcosm of global conflict, arguing that Jews should return to Zion. He cultivated poems expressing his yearning for Zion such as "Libi ba-Mizrach". Centuries later, he was regarded as a precursor for Zionism, but Lupovitch states that his yearning for Zion reflected a traditional messianic belief.

Kuzari: *A Defense of a Despised Religion* was another greatest work of Halevi that exalted Judaism in the context of conversion of the Khazars to Judaism with the decision of their king. A part from the Jews that left Spain due to religious persecution, many Jews migrated to northern parts of the Christian Spain such as Abraham Ibn Davud and the Ibn Ezra family. Jews that did not leave Spain and settled to Northern Christian Spain at the thought of reestablishing themselves in a less problematic climate were subject to new complexities of the Christian Europe (Lupovitch, 2010: 72-73).

3.3. The Origins of Ashkenazi Jewry

Among the Jews settled in Rhineland, there was Ashkenazi Jewry, which according to Lupovitch traced its origins back to the Land of Israel via Italy. However, there are scholars with different theories on the subject. Rabbenu Gershom, an Ashkenazic rabbi came to Mayence from Italy, is believed to establish the first steps of the communal administration in the development of the Askenazic world, including rabbinic learning in France, reintroducing the lawmaking function of the rabbi, uniting the scattered Jewish communities into a federation by establishing a measure uniformity of local customs (Lupovitch, 2010: 79). Brenner suggests that the origins of German Jewry date back to the migration of the Kalonymides from Lucca to Mainz in the ninth century while origins that are found in Italy (Brenner, 2010: 95-96). Arthur Koestler, a Zionist Pioneer and writer of The Thirteenth Tribe, argues that the origins of the majority of the surviving Jews of Eastern Europe descended from Caucaus genetically more closely related to the Hun, Uigur and Magyar tribes and originating in the territories of Khazar Empire. Khazar thesis was supported by Yitzhak Sipper, who was a senior socioeconomic historian and a prominent Zionist in Poland, Israeli historian Baron. In addition, the colleague of Baron, Ben-Zion Dinur argued that Khazar Kingdom was the Diaspora mother of the greatest Diasporas: Russian, Lithuanian, and Polish. Zvi Ankori, professor of the Deparment of Jewish History at Tel Aviv University and his colleague Shlomo Simonson argued that Khazarian thesis of Koestler was borrowed from Abraham Polak's old dismissed

thesis which was considered to harm Zionisim, the existence of the State of Israel and Palestinian territories to be shown as ethnic element in Israeli identity politics (Sand, 2009: 239-242).

Jewish economical bounds did not succeed to decrease the level of the violation grow up towards them during the First Crusade (1096.) Ashkenazi Jewry suffered anti-Jewish violence and religious persecution especially the communities settled in Speyer, Cologne, and Worms. In 1103, Holy Emperor Henry IV declared that forcibly converted Jews were allowed to return to Judaism. The violence against Judaism was not repeated during the subsequent crusades. Jews were willing to pay more in exchange for protection while they were excluded gradually from most of European cities for economic-power relationed reasons in the twelfth century among which there were Prague, Kraków. Exclusions included owning or farming land, attending universities, being artisans, which limited them with only money lending and commerce (Lupovitch, 2010: 83, 84).

3.3.1.Polish Jewry: The Roots of Polish and Russian Jewry

Polish Jewry was initially invited from central Europe by the Duke Boleslaaw the Pious in 1264 consitituting of Ashkenazic Jews (Lupovitch, 2010: 120).

The origins of the Polish Jewry is believed to date back to ninth century. Jewish newcomers descending from Germany obtained special written previleges in Poland. As a result of the Crusades (1146-1147 and 1196) vast numbers of Jews flow to Poland from Germany in twelfth and thirteenth centuries, which continued to the fourteenth century. In eighteenth century the number of Jews residing in Poland and Lithuania was about 617,032. In 1775 Jews were expelled from Warsaw. After the last partitions of Poland, thousands of Jews were cut off from Poland (Dubdow, 2000:14-15, 127).

According to Lupovitch prior to the three partitions of Poland between 1772 and 1795, in tsarist empire there were no Jewish settlers. After the partition of Poland, Catherine the Great issued the Pale of Settlement to control the Jewish settlers of

former Polish provinces in the same area, which lasted until the abolition of the confining policy in 1917 (2010:173).

Isaac Bär Levinsohn like Abraham Harkavy, suggested that the origins of the Russian Jewry came from Volga, not from Germany as it is commonly supposed. Raisin argues that Jewish settlements in Russian territories might date back to the times during the Babylonian or Persian captivity. In Feodosia, which is a a port and resort city in Crimea in Ukraine, the presence of a thousand year of synagogue, in which exists a Greek inscription on a marble dating back to 80-81 BCE might be the evidence of the Jewish settlements in Crimea before the destruction of the Temple (Raisin, 2007: 1-2).

Dubnow(2000) says that it might be possible that the Jewish communities coming from the ancient lands of Hellenized Asia started settling in Eastern Europe during the times of Alexander the Great Tauris, the present Crimea received the Jewish Diaspora after the conquest of Judea by Alexander the Great (Dubnow, 2010:1).

3.3.2. Yiddish

3.3.2.1. Linguistical Features of Yiddish

Fishman mentions that the early beginnings of Yiddish date back to the 11th century in the middle Rhine basin as a language of fusion constituting Middle High German, Romance and Hebrew elements, which might also be viewed as a German variant as until sixteenth century there was no standardization in German language. According to Fishman the reason for the presence of Yiddish came from the psychological and social proximity of the Jews to their non-Jewish neighbors, effects of their pre-Germanic speech habits consisting phonetic, lexic, syntactic and the need to practice their religious culture. The survey of Yiddish started in Rhine and travelled to first what is now Southwestern and Central Germany, Bavaria, Austria, former Czechoslovakia territories, and Hungary. Starting from thirteenth century through Poland travelled to Lithuania, White Russia, the Ukraine, and Rumania. Since the nineteenth century has been employed in North and South America, Israel, Australia

and other immigration centers in the world. Yiddish was employed primarily as a vernacular language in all Ashkenazic social groupings without distinguishing poor and rich men and women, scholars and illiterates, or between professions. Secondly, Yiddish was the selected language as the vehicle of entertainment literature and as the vehicle of popular religious education or indoctrination among the community members that had not mastered sufficient Hebrew, especially poorer classes and women. Yiddish was used to translate prayer books added with commentaries to serve to uneducated masses. Starting as a fusion language to serve to Jewish immigrants for cultural and religious reasons, since then Yiddish has been suggested as a medium for national unity of the Jews, medium of mass-enlightenment and religious pietism. (Fishman, 1965:1-15).

With the Russian Revolution Fishman suggests that Yiddish also served as the language of a Jewish ethnic "national" group that had no governmental machinery (1965: 17). Wisse argues that the literary cultivation in Yiddish and efforts to teach Yiddish during Soviet Union was solidification of the Communist future, not the future of the Jews (2000: 120).

3.3.2.2. Interaction between Judeo-French, Slavic Languages and Yiddish

According to Timm the origins of the Eastern Jewry go back to the migration route from France or Italy to the Rhineland. She claims that with the Jewish migrations which occured gradually from southern Europe to Eastern Europe, Judeo-French might have travelled to the Rhineland and gradually ceased with the adoption of German spoken in the new migrated area but had verbal and cultural impact on the adapted German language. Depending on this, Timm suggests that there are many components of Judeo-French depending on the settlements in Rhineland, where Judeo-French was employed in neighboring territories. The traces of cultural legacy of Judeo-French include type of script, the pronunciation on tradition of Hebrew, double-glossing for Hebrew texts, Bible translation and series of Romance words. During the nineteenth century, great numbers of Slavonic words started to enter into Eastern Yiddish (Timm, 2004: 357-363).

3.3.2.3. The Decline of Yiddish Language, and Contemporary Position of Yiddish

Before the Russian Revolution of 1917, Yiddish managed to be the voice of the secular culture blossoming with its press, schools, publishing houses, departments at the college-university level, theaters, research institutes specializing in philological-literary-historical studies, and organizations of writers. With the foundation of Soviet Union as Bolsheviks consolidated power in two decades, during 1930s the attitude of the government towards minority languages including Yiddish changed drastically. The institutes that flourished with the help of Yiddish were closed. In spite of the efforts to curtail Yiddish, during 1959 still existed a half million of Jews to claim Yiddish as their mother tongue (Fishman, 1965:18).

Fishman argues that as long as the symbiotic relationship between Yiddish and its devotees continue, it will survive in spite of the demise of employment of Yiddish since the times of Haskala, the Jewish Enlightenment. Yiddish still serves as a common matrix of representation of common emotions and identifications for the Eastern Jewry that spread all over the world owing to migrations which originated from different reasons. According to Yiddishists, Yiddish constitutes an indispensable role on the maintenance of cultural identity and cultural creativity. Fishman believes that in spite of the demise of Yiddish, it will survive as an active link covering experiences of Eastern Jewry culturally, traditionally and religiously between younger Jews and their past (1965: 73).

Fishman mentions that the future of Yiddish depends on ultra-Orthodoxy Hasidim in the United States, according to whom Yiddish is a part of separate Hasidic life to promote spiritually the popularization and internalization of Jewish mysticism and the fundamental aspects of the Jewish faith. Hasidim, has employed Yiddish ideologically to lead the Jewish masses to Torah, the law. For this reason, Yiddish constituted holiness within itself (1965: 57-63).

In the seventh century Jewish residents living in Russian territories, who are believed to come from Greek cities on the shores of the Black sea and from Asia, spoke Slavic. With the immigrations from Germany in great numbers, Yiddish became the dominant language among the Eastern Jewry. Sand criticizes the opinions based on the adoption of the Yiddish language to find the origins of the East European Jewry in Germany, exampling many Khazarian roots including some place names found in Ukraine, Transylvania, Istria, Poland, and Lithuania, names for animals, Jewish dress "yarmulke" derived from a Turkic word. Yiddish, distinguished from the German Jewish dialect incorporated many words and expressions from the local French and German dialects. Tel Aviv linguist Paul Wexler argues that Yiddish is based on Slavic languages while its vocabulary is predominantly German (2009: 241).

Askenazic Jews created their culture at least in two Jewish languages: the Holy language, which incorporated Hebrew and Aramaic and Yiddish. While the Holy language bounded the international Jewish community, Yiddish formed one of the vernacular Jewish languages like Aramaic of ancient Babylonian exile, *Ladino* of Sephardic Jews. In contrast to Sand, Shneer states that Judeo-German and Yiddish constituted the same Essentials that Jews moving from the Mediterranean to the Rhine Valley were not speaking a distinct language from the German spoken by their non-Jewish neighbors. Yiddish employed in Rhine Valley combined features of the holy tongue as well as the Romanic languages spoken earlier, and with their immigration to Eastern Europe, Slavic language features were added to the language. Max Weinreich called the Jewish bilingualism as "internal Jewish bilingualism", which distinguishes other bilingualisms employed by other cultures resembling their ethnicity, politically or religiously. Yiddish was the oral language used by broad public for mundane interactions, while the holy language was for written literature and to communing with God. As well as serving for mundane purposes, Yiddish was used to translate the religious texts and they served for women's religious liturgy. Yiddish was also considered as a feminized language that is to substitute the men's Hebrew-language Torah. Shneer defines Yiddish as "handmaiden serving the exalted

queen, the holy tongue". Yiddish was influenced by the Haskalah, Jewish Enlightenment movement and Nationalism in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, which aimed to replace Yiddish with a European language or the state language and using Hebrew for public purposes. In contrast, Hasids believed in the employment of Yiddish to reach Jewish broad public to transmit modern ideas based on the fact that Hebrew is not mastered by broad public and Yiddish remains as the only language in common that could serve to reach to Jewish masses. Alexander Tsederbaum referred to this utilitarian feature of Yiddish in The Advocate (Ha-melits), which is the first Russian Empire Hebrew language published by him (Shneer, 2004: 30-35).

In nineteenth century Russia, with the influences of the Haskalah movement the Jewish bilingualism consisting of German/Russian and Hebrew was employed according to the context of the work. Before 1850s German, and then Russian became the selected language cultivated orally, giving Hebrew a primary role in all kinds of written works. Jewish Enlightenment, to spread modernized ideas fostered vernacular languages like Russian and German starting from 1850s. Maskilim preferred employment of a secular language that did not refer to Judaism in order to cultivate secular works. Even in modernized synagogues, the mentioned bilingualism served for the public by delivering sermons in German and later in Russian and prayers in Hebrew. Maskilim considered them selves modern and enlightened drifted apart from Yiddish. In Russia, 5.3 million Jews speaking Yiddish as mother tongue remained relatively conservative in switching the language in comparison to East European Jewish communities as only 26 percent of the community were literate in Russian. Across the Russian Empire shortly before the World War I mathematics, geography, natural science, and literature were taught in Yiddish language in modern Yiddish schools founded by secular socialists and nationalists. From the second half of the nineteenth century, Russian was favored for the language of instruction. During the revolution of 1905 in Russia, Yiddish was again the language that could show the Jewish-nationalist sentiments. Yiddishists suggested that the language of

instruction should be Yiddish rather than Russian or Polish. Even in 1908, during the conference of Yiddish Nathan Birnbaum, Zhitlovsky, and Peretz suggested Yiddish being the national language of the Jewish people. Even though Yiddish was the language known best in diaspora; Hebrew surpassed it as Palestino-centric wing of the Socialist Zionist movement favored Hebrew. Yosef Luria, a well-known Russian Zionist, believed that Yiddish was a shameful language representing the Jewish exile and argued that for this reason Hebrew should be the only language to unite the Jews' past cultural treasures with the present. Ironically, Luria favored Yiddish for the education of masses in Jewish national schools. The efforts to introduce Hebrew as a spoken language in Russia, because of its declining use among the community, was not successful (Fishman, 2005:5-47).

3.4.Adaptation to the Non-Jewish Community

Beginning with the First Crusade, and ending with the expulsion of the Jews from Spain, mainly the experience of the Jews in Medieval Christian Europe concerning their difficulties was based on the Christian and Roman law, together with the economic needs of the local nobles that defined the legal status of Jews and the discrepancy occurring between law and its implementation and enforcement. Lupovitch states that the mentioned discrepancy existed also in the world of Islam (2010: 74).

In Rome, the legal status of the Jews was stable and protected by the pope, that ruled Rome throughout the Middle Ages, while in nineteenth century France and pre-1250 Christian Spain the status of the Jews remained uncertain shifting from favorable to inconvenient. Lupovitch mentions that the economical bounds gained between Jews and their non-Jewish neighbors played crucial role in the presence of their status and their adaptation to the non-Jewish community where they settled in. The situation of the Jews in France examplifies Jews playing important role in the local economy gaining privileges in terms of the immediate economic needs of the nobles rather than theological concerns. Adaptation to the non-Jewish community had two aspects: economicall and cultural; Jewish scholars in France by the tenth century employed

French vocabulary to explicate biblical texts and Jewish women used French names. With the expansion of the Frankish kingdom under the rule of Charlemagne into an empire that incorporated much of Western and Central Europe, with his and his sons' protection Jews in France who settled in the eastern part of the Holy Roman Empire: Metz in 868, in Mayence (Mainz) in 906, by the end of tenth century Narbonne in southern France, Trois (Troyes), Lyon and Worms and Speyer along the Rhine. After the death of Charlemagne the privileges given to Jews during his reign grew discontent especially with the conversion of a priest to Judaism, consequence of which resulted in Emperor Henry II to expel the Jews from Mayence in 1012. However, the decision he made could not survive for long term, within a year he invited them back due to trade reasons. Jewish economical bounds in the communities in which they settled delayed the theological aims of Christian Europe to realize in first several centuries. Jews in Speyer were imposed to pay an annual tax in exchange for the protection of the sovereign (Lupovitch, 2010: 75,76).

3.4.1.Jewish-Christian Relations during the Thirteenth Century

Starting with the thirteenth century Jews witnessed several expulsion attempts in France, England, and the Holy Roman Empire primarily for religious terms with an economic undercurrent: growing influence of the popes on kings, the Jews' economic decline through impoverishment and the rise of a Christian merchant and money lending class; the rise of nation states and the notion of creating an ideal homogenous Christian population and the negative popular image of Jews. In France, the pope declared the Papal Inquisition in 1233 to revivify Christendom then in England in 1290 the expulsion edict was declared. However, the expulsion in France gained a more complex position due to royal economic policies and the inability of the king of France to subordinate the landed nobles that during the reign of Louis IX Jews were forced to abandon the country and recalled again with the ascension of Louis to the throne and finally in 1394 Charles VI expelled the Jews in perpetuity. The Jews settled in Holy Roman Empire were never expelled with a full-scale expulsion of edict since the Holy Roman Empire was a confederation they migrated

to the nearest state to admit them when evicted. After the Black Death, during the 1350s Jews were recalled to communities from where they were expelled. The expulsion in Iberian peninsula issued two centuries later due to the unique situation of convivencia of Christian and Muslim kingdoms with both having Jewish population within. With the unification of Aragon and Castille kingdoms, Christian Spain reconquested Granada ending the reign of Muslim rule in 1492, declared an expulsion of edict to be issued in March 1492. Although starting from the thirteenth century the status of the Jew was in question only after the reconquest of Granada in 1492 Spanish Jewry was forced to leave the Iberian peninsula, which set a a period of flux for world Jewry (Lupovitch, 2010: 88-101).

3.4.2.World Jewry in Flux: 1492-1750

3.4.2.1.Jews of Christian Spain, and Spanish Jews after the Inquisition

Until 1470 Spanish Jewries settled in Iberian Peninsula, which was then constituted of separate states ruled with their own rules. Jews who settled in Iberian Peninsula employed different vernacular languages depending on the region where they lived. While in Muslim Spain the vernacular was Arabic, in Christian Spain it was Latin. According to this information, Jews cultivated works in Latin and Arabic dialects in addition to Hebrew (Lupovitch, 2010: 97).

After the expulsion issued in Spain, Spanish Jewry and conversos (converted Jews) first went to Portugal, where they stayed until the edict of Portuguese Inquisition in 1536 by the King Joao III of Portugal. From Portugal starting from 1492 Jews fled to Western Europe, the Italian states and especially to the Ottoman Empire. Jews relocated to Amsterdam, following the Dutch revolt against Spain, encountered an ambiance that replaced the religious persecution with religious ecumenism. Jews fled to Ottoman Empire, of which policy provided support and loyalty of ethnic and religious minorities under the legal category of the dhimmi that allowed them to practice Judaism organizing communal life, to trade including international commerce, to profess artisanal crafts and medicine (Lupovitch, 2010:103-105,139).

Following Sultan Mehmet II's conquest of Istanbul, the city was repopulated by the subjects from all over the empire; Jews from Salonika, Bulgaria and Macedonia were transferred to Istanbul (Lupovitch, 1010:105). With the Expulsion of the Jews from Spain, the presence of one of the longest-lasting, culturally most productive Jewish Diaspora including the conversos, gradually moved to East from West first to Portugal and then to western Europe, the Italian states and to the Ottoman Empire. The expulsion was recognized by some Jews as an arrival of the messianic age. Ottoman territories were recognized as the broad sea that the Lord has opened as Moses did for the Jews during exodus from Egypt by a Portuguese converso (Lupowitch, 2010:103). The number of the Jews leaving Spain is not certain but it is estimated between 40.000 and 350.000. Castilian Jews first went to Portugal with the authorization of King Juan II for 6 months stay in exchange for a ducat coin, and then they left for North Africa. With the authorization of Sultan Beyazid II, Ottoman Empire constituted the only great power that welcomed Jews at that time. Italian territories formed a stopover for the Jews heading to Ottoman cities Salonika, Constantinople, Symyrna, Rhodes, Monastir, Sarajevo and Sofia, while some stayed in Rome, Ferrara and Venice stressing on their Spanish identities. The Jews kept speaking Spanish after the arrival to Ottoman Empire. The Spanish they cultivated was structurally and essentially Medieval Spanish while it constituted some evolutions as all living languages (Pérez, 2007: 90).

3.4.2.2. Jewish Settlements to Ottoman Territories after the Expulsion, and Judeo-Spanish

Levy (1992) highlights that in contrast to what is generally considered, Sephardim did not arrive to Ottoman territories in 1492, but the migration of the Jews from Iberian Peninsula to Ottoman Empire was a gradual process of many decades starting from 1481 to 1512 for the first arrivals. Most refugees from Spain first arrived in Portugal, the small Kingdom of Navarre and the French region of Provence, Italian territories and some of them went to North Africa. Centuries before the arrivals of the Spanish Jewry, Benei Romania, or Romaniot Jews were settled in Anatolia and

Balkans. Under Byzantine rule most of them spoke Greek (Levy, 1992: 3-4). With the arrival of great numbers of Spanish and Portuguese Jews to Balkans in 1492, Judeo-Greek culture gradually switched to Judeo-Spanish and Sephardic culture (Wexler, 1985: 229).

In the fifteenth century before the Jewish arrivals from Spain, with the expulsion from Kingdom of Bavaria, German Jews, Ashkenazim, numbering 1470 started to settle to Ottoman Empire during the reign of Murad II (1421-51) (Levy 1992,4). Most immigrants settled in Salonica, Istanbul, Edirne and the towns of Morea. Salonica became the capital of the Spanish exiles after the expulsion from Spain. Molho suggests that with the settlement of the Jews the population rose from 2.000 to 29.000 people. Jews constituted the half of the population and the other half was composed of Muslims, Orthodox Christians, and Levantines. In Salonica Spanish was the main local language and was considered synonymous with Jewish. Judeo-Spanish was used oral and written by the Jews of Salonica. They produced daily newspapers, original Works of fiction, translations of fiction and non-fiction, plays, folk songs, popular storytelling and communcal archives in Judeo-Spanish. Most of these sources were written in Rashi script (Molho, 2005: 243-244).

Jews that fled to southern Italy after the Spanish Inquisition issued, had to migrate to northward of Italy when the edict of expulsion was extended. Jews were regarded as counterweight against Protestant middle class. Counter-Reformation prevented the complete disappearance of Jewish presence in the Holy Roman Empire until 1618, when Jews were excluded from all larger states except Bohemia and Hesse, from all imperial free states except Prague, Frankfurt, and Hamburg. Under Swedish rule following the Swedish invasion of central Europe during 1630s, in 1632 7,000 Jews were placed in Mayence where the king of France had expelled the Jews with the 1394 edict in perpetuity (Lupovitch, 2010: 112,113). During the sixteenth and seventeenth century the status of the Jews remained as it was in the Middle Ages, especially the Court Jews living in Hungary, Chech lands, Prague, Bohemia, Moravia, and Habsburg empire, who had direct access to a prince, king or emperor,

additionally they were transnational community with access to non-Jewish world, and they continued their presence due to their economical power.

3.4.2.3. The age of Enlightenment and Emancipation, 1750-1880: Dutch Jewry, and Jewish settlement in the New World

Following the Dutch revolt against Spain during 1570s, Amsterdam formed a considerably favorable situation for Jews due to religious ecumenism and economic realism. By 1650 with the immigration from central Europe, the Jews in Amsterdam counted 2,000 including conversos and crypto Jews. Following the establishment of Jews in Amsterdam, in 1654 Oliver Cromwell readmitted the Jews to England. Jewish settlement in New World started with the establishment of Dutch and English colonies on Caribbean islands of Curuçao, Jamaica, and Surinam and to northeastern Brazil during Dutch rule. British Parliament granted full citizenship to any settlers in British colonies in 1740, which facilitated Jewish settlement in the New World (143-144). During Revolutinonary War there were approximately 3,000 Jews with mostly Sephardic descent living on the eastern seaboard of North American communities such as Philadelphia, New York and Charleston. Between 1820s and 1880s, 250,000 Ashkenazic Jewish immigrants arrived in America together with nearly 3 million Europeans. The second wave of Jewish settlers, who arrived in America during the nineteenth century were from central Europe mostly from Bohemia, Moravia and the German states speaking German in general. With the arrival of the second wave of Jewish settlers, Jewish diglossia was in question: some rabbis and intellectuals were suggesting German to be the language of prayer, while Jews born and raised in America preferred English. Isaac Meyer Wise, founder of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations (UAHC) and the leader of Reform Judaism favored American culture over German. Isaac Leeser, founder of the first Jewish newspaper the Occident (1843), favored English translations of the Sephardic prayer book, which he published in 1848(Lupovitch, 2010: 139,165-167).

3.4.2.4. Jewish communities in Central Europe, Ottoman and Russian Empires

By mid-century in central Europe there were large Jewish communities, which increased in number with the emancipation of Jews, especially in Vienna, Budapest and Warsaw mostly engaging with commerce (Lupovitch, 2010: 164).

Due to the tendency to create a more homogenous and centralized states, Jews who settled in Ottoman Empire and in Russia witnessed significant changes during the nineteenth century. The Jewish population in Ottoman Empire during and after the mid-nineteenth century increased in number from about 150,000 to 250,000 by 1912 (Lupovitch, 2010:71).

3.4.3. Anti-Semitism and Jewish Responses, 1870-1914

Constantin Pobedonostsev, Russian statesman, believed that "Jewish problem" in Russian Empire could only be solved by baptizing, forcing to emigrate and perishing Jews. In 1891, Jews were expelled from Moscow and Sr. Petersburg, following the rise of the anti-Jewish sentiment. About 2 million of the Jews expelled from Russian Empire, immigrated to United States (Lupovitch, 2010:185:186).

The exodus of the Jews from Russia and the impact it created among central European Jews gave rise to the birth of Zionism in the search of a Jewish homeland, which finally resulted in the Land of Israel. Prior to the exodus from Russian Empire, settlements in the Land of Israel had started by 1881. About 25,000 Jews arrived to Palestine, which raised to 50,000 by 1900. Following the First Aliyah (1882-1903) the Second Aliyah (1905-1914) came to Palestine in greater numbers, estimating 30,000 Jews motivated by labor Zionism. With the First War and following the Great War the dissolution of Habsburg, Ottoman and Russian Empires, created new conditions for the Jews. The dissolution of the Ottoman Empire brought Palestine under British control, which issued the Balfour Declaration of 1917 favoring a national home for the Jewish people (Lupovitch, 2010: 186-206).

The situation of central European Jewry especially in the Germany after the First World War deteriorated with the Nazi policy. The Nazi conquest of Poland by the end of the 1939, and the Nazi invasion of the Soviet Union in 1941, brought 3

million Jews under Nazi occupation. Combined with the Jews who settled in the Nazi allied states –Italy, Hungary, Romania, and Bulgaria-at the end of the 1950s 5 to 6 million Jews were killed as the impact of the Holocaust (Lupovitch, 2010: 229). The Holocaust itself led to the creation of new Jewish homelands: Israel, the United States and Soviet Union. By 1947, the British Mandate in Palestine collapsed. Following the British departure, United Nations approved partition of Palestine: 55 percent to the Jews and 45 percent to the Arabs, placing Jerusalem and Bethlehem under UN administration. By 1948, the State of Israel was declared as an independent state. Since then, Arab-Israeli conflict has been an unsolved conflict.

3.5.Hebrew

3.5.1. Hebrew and Modern Hebrew

As well as Hebrew, the use of Jewish languages for pragmatical uses have been criticized by rabbis, as they were not grounded in religious truth. Because of the sanctity of Torah, the languages used in order to teach Torah were considered sacred by Rabbis. The same vernacular language that is used to reach to religious texts and used for daily cultural and conversational practices formed a conflict among Jewish diaspora. While, rabbis tried to maintain the holy tongue sacred and untouchable together with the facts that were making classical Hebrew teaching and practice hard, the vernacular Jewish language started to form the identity of the diaspora as they cultivated every kind of literature and creative work. Modern Hebrew, designed to reunite the Jews in Zion as a state language, carried the risks of breaking radically with culture of the diaspora. Wisse (2000) suggests that Hitler's war against the Jews was simultaneously a war against Yiddish. Yiddish, prior to the war representing secular ideas of the German and Eastern Jewry, turned into a ghetto language used to keep diaries to transcend the Jewish experiences during the Holocaust. Wisse claims that English was recognized as the new language of the new land promising eternity for some American Jewish writers like Martin, whose mother tongue was Yiddish. English was hardly sensed to take charge of Jewish destiny. The revival of Hebrew language was the result of the essentialist expression of peoplehood, ethnicity,

cohesion, and political resolve interpreted by Zionists. It was considered as the only language that could unite the Jewish with the foundation of the state of Israel (Wisse, 2000: 2-324).

My concern is that the Jewish multiglossia in diaspora might come from the custom of cultivation of literature as well as deriving from socio-economical reasons. Kravitz considers Jews as people of word referring to their 3000 years of literature. The author claims that literature was the only artistic creation of ancient Israel (Kravitz,1972: 1,2).

3.5.2.From Biblical Hebrew to Modern Hebrew

According to Harshav (1993), the revival of Hebrew and the foundations of the State of Israel were shaped in diaspora rooted in *Jewish Secular Polysystem*, which contains all aspects and institutions of modern life together with the religious ones remaining voluntarily in organization. This system was formulated from the one suggested by Austro-Marxists in the beginning of the twentieth century with the aim of providing equality to the many language groups in the Austro-Hungarian Empire without dissolving the empire itself. Harshav argues that without the revival of Hebrew in the light of Jewish Secular Polysystem ideology, the State of Israel would not come into being (Harshav, 1993: 33-39). Modern Hebrew, uniting the sacred with the mundane one, was first shaped ideologically in diaspora, was also another new language adopted/adapted in a new geography with historical and religious importance to Jews. Modern Hebrew with territorial power, in this sense, as a Jewish language for the first time did not represent the exiled, humilliated, assimilated Jewish community.

According to Dubnow (1967) after the Babylonian Exile in 537 BCE, Hebrew ceased to be a spoken language and was substituted with a variety of Aramaic. Fraade (1990) argues that the custom of Torah reading was intended for Hebrew speaking listeners and the custom itself helped biblical Hebrew to survive (cited in Spolsky & Cooper, 2005: 20). Although Aramaic was the vernacular language, Hebrew had the

higher status. Chomsky (1957) says that Aramaic, like all other Jewish languages, at that time employed for Torah translations from Hebrew, for broad public who did not master in the holy tongue (cited in Spolsky & Cooper, 2005: 20). Hebrew constituted different dialects in Judaea and Galilee, covering pronunciations and grammar rules due to regional differences, which Spolsky and Cooper suggest to be a prudence of being a spoken language. A part from dialects, it is crucial to mention the differences between Mishnaic Hebrew referring to a spoken dialect of Hebrew employed after the Babylonian captivity and Biblical Hebrew referring to the written formal style of the langugage (Spolsky & Cooper, 2005:18-21) .

During and after the Babylonian captivity, Jewish multiglossia is believed to start with the use of Aramaic, which was the principal language of the non-Jewish inhabitants of Palestine. With the use of Aramaic by broad public during second century CE, Rabbis felt the need to teach Hebrew (Spolsky & Cooper, 2005: 23).

The conquests of Alexander the Great in the late 4th century BCE to Near East, by 150 BCE, Greek was another vernacular and translation language to be of Palestinian Jewish community. Greek was the language of cities like Caesarea, Ashkelon, Akko, Jaffa, Gadara, Philadelphia and Beth-Shean and other Greek colonies of Asia Minor. Greek became also the language of the Jewish communities in Egypt (Spolsky & Cooper, 2005: 24- 25). Weinreich (1980:59) highlights that until the end of the Bar Kokhba revolt in 135 CE, the Jews of Palestine were mutilingual. Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek were employed for distinct purposes and were selected due to regional differences (Spolsky & Cooper, 2005: 25).

The Pioneer of reviving Hebrew as a spoken language was the legendary figure Eliezer Ben-Yehuda, who propagandized the idea in his first article " A Burning Question" published in the Hebrew Journal Ha-Shahar in Vienna in 1879, edited Hebrew newspapers in Jerusalem, invented over two hundred new Hebrew words, and wrote first modern Hebrew dictionary of seventeen volumes. Modern Hebrew in making, lacked many terms and did not answer to everyday life practices. Moreover,

most settlers of the first Aliya (beginning with 1881–82 and lasted until 1903) were not fluent Hebrew speakers. Children learning Modern Hebrew at schools, had difficulties to use it outside naturally and fluently. Harshav argues that at the end of the first Aliya modern Hebrew proved itself, and was accepted as a condition for the revival of the nation (Harshav, 1993: 84,112).

Harshav suggests that Sephardi dialect of Hebrew was more prestigious, as Hebrew was not used in daily affairs, and remained as the language of reading holy texts unlike in Ashkenaz where Hebrew was a semiliving language. Ashkenazi dialect formed in Central and Eastern Europe after thirteenth century, and the vowels were changed and the words were contracted. Biblical fundamentalism fostered Ashkenazi dialect claiming that the distinction between patah(a) and kamats(o) remained better in Ashkenazi dialect. Ben-Yehuda and David Yelin believed in the need of socialization of Sephardi and Ashkenazi Jews. Accepting the Sephardi dialect helped overcome the difficulties consisting of several Ashkenazi dialects (Harshav, 1993:153-156).

Hebrew remained in Ashkenazi in two ways: loanwords in Yiddish that were contracted and differed in pronunciation, and an ideal version of Hebrew language to read Torah in the synagogue. Hebrew employed in Jewish vernacular languages caused gender changes of the words under the influence of the spoken language, together with the changes in pronunciation and context of the words a great amount of deviation and deterioration was seen in the Holy tongue. In spite of the controversy over whether to accept Sephardi dialect or not, it succeeded in Israeli Hebrew. Harshav argues that with the acceptance of the Sephardi dialect, the language lost its poetic musicality flourished in Ashkenazi. According to Harshav the controversy originated to decide between the two dialects represented the challenge of secular nationalism to the religious tradition (Harshav, 1993: 153-166).

3.5.3.The Meaning of a New Hebrew Language

Modern Hebrew represents an integrity consisting of complex modern Jewish ideas and Zionism as well as presenting the revolution of Jewish community through language. David Ben-Gurion argued that this revolution was not only against a system or a political, social, economic structure but against the unique destiny of a unique people (Harshav, 1993: 6). Based on this assumption, Modern Hebrew might also carry the sacredness within, which can be found in all Jewish languages. According to Harshav, the meaning of a new Hebrew language was to burry an integrity of experiences in Diaspora of hundreds of years consisting of all early emotions, ingrained modes of behavior, conventions, beliefs, subtle gestures, pithy sayings, fears and family warmth. Harshav highlights that the revival of Hebrew constituted such a revolution that it could only be familiarized with the destruction of the Second Temple in history. Modern Hebrew, if not was the medium for the continuation of experiences in Diaspora, was a beachhead to the secular world in the European mode following the nineteenth century Jewish Enlightenment literature, *Haskala*. It was aimed to create Hebrew or Yiddish literature that could include world literature combining original and translated, classical and contemporary literature (1993: 6- 27).

3.6. Jewish Multiglossia

3.6.1. The Reasons of the Emergency of Jewish Languages in Diaspora, Their Maintenance and Meaning by Broad Public

According to Timm around 200 CE Jews started to apply languages rather than Hebrew depending on migration to different geographical areas, socio-economic reasons herewith the requirement to communicate with the new non-Jewish environment. With the cease of the appliance of oral Hebrew[31], they adapted the

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[31] Concerning Hebrew, Parush and Sternberg highlight the complicated situation of Hebrew. They argue that in order to understand the emergence of Jewish languages it is crucial to analyze the situation of Hebrew language among Jews. Iris Parush and Saadya Sternberg (2004) in their article " Another Look at "The Life of 'Dead' Hebrew" Intentional Ignorance of Hebrew in Nineteenth-Century Eastern European Jewish Society" state that it was required to study Hebrew for all Jews and it was studied with reading, translating, interpreting the Torah in the heder, and the dialogic method of

vernacular language according to the exigencies of religious and traditional culture, adhering to Hebrew script (2004: 353). Correspondingly, Myers (2006) in his article "Language and the Jews" sees Jewish diasporic language experience as a colorful journey that consists of mixing, melding, adapting, reframing, and translating their own ''native'' language and the host of vernacular tongue.

The glottonyms given to the Judaicized vernacular local languages show that Jews have perceived them as 'Jewish'. In this sense, Benor argues that Jews have

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study employed in the yeshivahs. In nineteenth century among Eastern Jewish society an ignorance in Hebrew grammar was maintained, which was thought as a result of a socio-cultural change denoting the cultural transition from the Middle Ages to the Renaissance "humanism" as a reaction to scholastic curricula. Parush and Sternberg argue that the exclusion of Hebrew grammar from the traditional curriculum in terms of ideology and difficulties involved in its instruction. They highlight the importance of the dominance of the language grammatically in reading and interpreting Talmud and criticize the method of studying Talmud teachings from the vernacular Jewish language. Since Hebrew was not a spoken language concerning the limitations in grammar instruction, Rabbi Emden thought that there was no way of dominating the Holy tongue but quote Bible passages which can serve to illustrate the grammatical rules . Parush and Sternberg say that as most advanced scholars lacked a correct knowledge of Hebrew grammar, rabbinic literature consisted of grammatical "untidiness" . For these reasons Hebrew was not known among the broad public, Hasidim whereas among the Lithuanians there were students, teachers, and rabbis who knew grammar. Parush and Sternberg interpret the existence of some advanced scholars that dominate Hebrew language as a social and ideological purpose of keeping it hidden from the "masses" (Parush and Sternberg, 2004:173-184).

Parush and Sternberg also point out the dilemmas occurring among the Jewish society in terms of the secular usage of Hebrew. Modern Hebrew literature is rejected by the traditional community for its damaging effect to the sanctity of Hebrew, the biblical language by the maksilim. The dominance of the Hebrew grammar by some advanced scholars also give them a distinguished power on the knowledge. In Talmudic times also there was a gap between the holy language and the one spoken. At that time Hebrew grammar instruction was also seen a threat to Talmud; Karaites felt that the *Halachah* was based on a false interpretation of Scripture, and they were banished from the House of Israel. Parush and Sternberg highlights the contradiction between the traditional view that banishes the use of Hebrew for secular purposes and the need to dominate the language grammar by broad public in order to achieve right interpretations of Talmud. According to Buki Ben Yogli, the rabbis felt threatened from the grammar not because of the use of the language for secular functions that threatened rabbinic authority but the scriptural purity itself. Parush and Sternberg thinking the contrary, assume that the grammar would have threatened the hold of the oral tradition by rabbinic elite. They highlight the importance of the dominance of the language as an instrument for fortifying the religious authority and reproducing the existing social order referring to the battle between the Haskalah authors and rabbis in the nineteenth century. While many of the Eastern European maskilim favored democratization of language and knowledge melitzah favored biblical purism of the language that could be only achieved by quotations. Until the end of the nineteenth century Hebrew literature continued to develop as an elitist literature. The meaning of Hebrew in diaspora for some was unifying of the nation and for some it showed the glorious past. Finally, the dominance on the Hebrew grammar meant the dominance over the religious knowledge, which is not accepted by rabbis that hold the oral tradition of teaching Talmud (Parush and Sternberg, 2004:196-204).

perceived their languages as Jewish arguing that Jews throughout history have had glottonyms (language names) to name their language as distinct from that of their non-Jewish neighbors: Yiddish, Judezmo, Shuadit (Judeo-Provenc¸al), and Yahudic (Judeo-Arabic). She also mentions that presently among American Jews the tendency stays still, only they refer not to all Jewish speech but to discourse filled with Hebrew and Yiddish words. Humorously the language is called Yinglish (a blend of Yiddish and English) while among Orthodox Jews it is called Yeshivish.[32] The researcher suggests that with the birth of the state of Israel, Modern Hebrew as the official language has put an end to 2600 years of Jewish language creation (2009: 231-264).

Different scholars have intended to define Jewish languages answering the question "What is a Jewish languge?". Benor states that according to Rabin (1981), a'Jewish language' is the language spoken in diglossia with Hebrew and Aramaic, optionally written in Hebrew characters; while according to Fishman (1985: 4), a Jewish

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[32] Shandler (2004) and Benor (2009) analyse in separate studies the present position of Jewish languages Yiddish and Judeo-Spanish in United States. Benor says that while the influences of Yiddish on American English is little, its predominance is felt in Sephardic American Jews. Sephardic American Jews try to keep Judeo-Spanish alive introducing many Judeo-Spanish words to English, incorporating some Ladino blessings and prayers into their mostly Hebrew services, singing Ladino songs at their Passover Seder and some Sephardic synagogue publications include bits of Ladino. In Seattle Jewish Sephardic community Synagogue publishes a newsletter called La Boz, which includes Ladino section titles. According to Benor if in Seattle Sephardic Jews show an effort to maintain the language and cultural values of them, it is crucial to see the homogenous Jewish culture in America formed by Askenazi-Sephardic marriages and many Sephardic community members with Yiddish ancestry. The usage of Yiddish and introducing Hebrew or Yiddish new loanwords to English by young American Jews is seen as turning to more traditional religious observance (Benor, 2009: 254-256).

Concerning perception of Jewish American English, Benor observes that in United States the recognition of distinctive speech can be seen also in the use of subtitles in movies about Jews who are engaged in religious life and in some periodicals "Jewish English" term is used. Benor says that while American Jews recognize their in group speech language as distinct from that of non-Jewish, they see their out-group speech as identical to the English spoken by their non-Jewish neighbors. Regarding the alphabet, Benor observes that loanwords or isolated English words written in Jewish alphabet are introduced into the language to press Jewish identity like in Jewish English in the United States. Hebrew lettering, in which English letters are formed using similar-looking Hebrew letters fragmented or upside down is also applied by American Jews. Together with Hebrew identity codes, the language stays reachable by any English speaker (Benor, 2009: 249-264).

language functions both symbolically and communicatively: the language that is to be considered as Jewish should be phonologically, morpho-syntactically, lexico-semantically or orthographically different from that of non-Jewish sociocultural networks with a unique function in the role of maintenance of a Jewish sociocultural network (Benor, 2011: 95). In this context, Benor mentions that throughout history Jews have applied different styles of speech and writing of the same language spoken by their non-Jewish neighbors. She focuses on the use of distinctively Jewish linguistic repertoire in the vernacular language and determines a number of social and linguistic traits in order to analyze the Jewish linguistic distinctiveness: co territorial non-Jewish base language, observance of religious laws and customs, vernacular used in diglossia with liturgical Hebrew/Aramaic, Hebrew/Aramaic component in spoken and written language, translation of Hebrew texts into the vernacular, often word-for word, writing in Hebrew/Jewish characters, ancestral migration, previous Jewish language component(s), geographic dialect features displaced, identity as distinct from local non-Jews, other distinctive features, avoidance of non-Jewish features seen as religious, secretive/humorous/derisive ways of talking about non-Jews, and recognition of language as distinctly Jewish. According to Benor a Jewish language has two sources "the stock" and the "determinant" language.The stock language is the one used by non-Jews and the determinant one is applied by the X Jewish community. Hebrew and Aramaic loanwords are introduced to everyday speech, with the study of Rabbinic texts. The mentioned loanwords are used by any Jewish language speaker, not necessarily a Rabbinic text reader. A previously spoken Jewish language and socio-religious choses may also have reflections on the Hebrew usage of the x Jewish community. Benor, argues that Hebrew loanwords are common in the speech of religiously engaged Jews with a great deal of variation depending on learnedness, generation from immigration, and orientation toward Israel. Post-Emancipation Jewish languages are generally written in their local orthographies. Benor also notes a new feature of influence on the Jewish languages applied all over the world with the birth of the State of Israel. With the increased number of members of Jewish communities

around the world visiting Israel, Israeli Hebrew will also start to influence over the Jewish languages (Benor, 2009: 235-265).

However, Benor suggests asking "How do Jews use language?" instead of asking "What is a Jewish language?" focusing on the symbolic role of a Jewish language (2011: 96). In this sense, to understand the Jewish language employ among Jewish multilingualism many scholars have intended to focus on Jewish diasporic experiences, integration to newly settled lands socio-economically, and creating of a parallel culture to avoid assimilation. For instance, Harshav says that the Jewish multiglossia in Diaspora rooted in regaining the dignity of human existence and the need to unite with the "civilized" Western European ideas, which could be achieved by only joining or imitating it: mastering the language, literature, ideology, behavior and science of the settled community or creating a parallel culture in Jewish languages (Harshav, 1993: 5).

Harshav's perspective on creation of a parallel culture in Jewish languages can be best seen in Yiddish, which can be argued to be the best studied Jewish language scholarly. In this context, Shandler's definition of Yiddish language in terms of societal and identity bonds shows the mechanisms of the Jewish language. Shandler highlights that the connection between the x Jewish person with Yiddish starts with the first learning period of the language. Besides, according to a Jewish proverb, there is no need for instruction in Yiddish; it is di shprakh vos redt zikh—the language that "speaks (by) itself."The instruction of Yiddish is only twentieth-century phenomenon while the Ashkenazic Jewry is over 1,000 years old. According to Shandler, Yiddish has been influenced in structure and content from the first as Yiddish speakers were always in contact with non-Jews and have always been multilingual. Yiddish is first instructed at home orally then in written, original Loshnkoydesh the holy tongue, with the handbooks called brivnshtelers (letter-writing manuals) in the nineteenth century. In nineteenth century the language choice for the Jew was crucial, linking the identity with the nation. Yiddish was significantly important during *Haskalah*, the Jewish Enlightenment period that

started at the end of the eighteenth century in Eastern Europe. For the first time, in nineteenth century Yiddish became a public language. In 1906 Yosef Beker, in an essay insisted that Yiddish should be thought publicly, which meant receiving a public school education in one's mother tongue. From 1881 to 1914, some two million East European Jews leaving for the United States made real this assumption creating there a distinctive Yiddish culture flourished in more feasible ways than in Eastern Europe. Formal Yiddish-language instruction for immigrants' children began in the United States from the final years of mass emigration with the first secular Yiddish school system, the Labor Zionist Farband schools, was founded in 1910. Shandler highlights that by teaching of Yiddish, Jewish values and codes are transferred to the child. With these texts that are used to teach Yiddish, the historical heritage of Askenazi together with linguistic and cultural continuity is acquired. Yiddish as the language of education, became in the center of culture that redefines Jewish identity and practice. Yiddish was more than a language, it was a medium that linked the Askenazi past and future (Shandler, 2000: 100-111).

Concerning the bond of Yiddish with Jewish identity, Shandler highlights the discomfort which emerged from time to time regarding the recognition of the language's academic legitimacy in the mid 1970s. Yiddish was carried to University as College Yiddish makes no explicit claims to foster Jewish identity, solidarity, or continuity. He tells that today learning Yiddish means culturally as a step to an adult Jew as it is no longer a first language, if it is not mastered. The move of Yiddish to Academy also had implications as Yiddish to be studied by non-Jews as well as Jews. He assumes that at the century's end, the aspirations of various American Jews to transform the language yet again into something beyond a mother tongue (Shandler, 2000: 115-118).

Additionally, in his article entitled "Post vernacular Yiddish Language As a Performance Art" Shandler says that post vernacular Yiddish performance entails not merely speaking or hearing Yiddish, but "experiencing" Yiddish by music, dance,

and display in the language as well as traditional East European Jewish foods frequently served or sold at Yiddish special days. According to Hasidim Yiddish maintains its post-Holocaust role as a marker of their particular approach to piety. Shandler states that for the Jews, who are not traditionally observant, Yiddish is the language signifying diaspora nationalism (as opposed to Zionism), secular ethnicity (as opposed to religion). He says that post vernacular Yiddish experience is both full of retrospection and innovation that somehow both hunts and animates in every Yiddish festival, concert, lecture, and, perhaps, even every Yiddish conversation (Shandler, 2004: 37-38). In addition to this, Shandler (2000) in his article "Beyond the Mother Tongue: Learning the Meaning of Yiddish in America" assumes that traditional patterns of Ashkenazic multiglossia gave way to a much more open and contentious configuration of language use among East European Jews. Yiddish in America only has symbolic value as many American Jews cannot speak and write the language (Shandler, 2000: 98,100).

To sum up, in the light of Shandler's studies Yiddish appears as a Jewish language that has served as an ethnic, secular, and diasporic national[Jewish Ashkenazi] identity. The mentioned creation of a parallel culture can be a component of all Jewish languages, among which Yiddish, Judeo-Spanish, and Judeo-Arabic are considered to be best studied scholarly.

It is possible to conclude that Jews have applied many languages throughout history as well as studying Hebrew. They adopted the vernacular local languages of the newly settled lands and Judaicized the vernaculars with Hebrew codes and experiences perceiving the language as 'Jewish' giving distinct glotonyms. The difficulties they encountered during Hebrew teaching in terms of usage, updating the language to the new world order and the clergy's block to the holy language in order to maintain its purity and many other reasons deriving from the modern world may have fostered Jews to adopt the vernacular language of the newly settled territories to which they migrated. They transferred Hebrew codes, culture, experiences, dialect of

the proceeding place, loanwords from Hebrew and all Jewish data. As a result, the latter can be argued to have created a parallel culture as also Harshav (1993) argues.

In the following chapter, the history of Judeo-Spanish and its mechanisms will be studied as a continuation of Jewish language creation legacy.

CHAPTER IV

HISTORY OF JUDEO-SPANISH

> The history of the Sephardic Jews is not a part of the history of Jews. The history of the Sephardic Jews is the history of a part of Jews (Yusuf Altıntaş, 2011, personal communications).[33]

4.1.Emergence and Evolution of Judeo-Spanish before and Following the Expulsion

Judeo-Spanish is a fifteenth century Spanish dialect spoken by the Jews exiled from Spain with the Edict of Queen Isabella and Ferdinand in 1492. Judeo-Spanish is derived mainly from Old Castilian (Spanish) and Old Portuguese, with many borrowings from Turkish, and to a lesser extent from Greek, Arabic, Hebrew, and French. With the expulsion of the Jews from Spain in 1492, Judeo Spanish spread across Ottoman Empire and parts of North Africa (Goldberg, 1996: 226-228).

Díaz-Más (1992) states that the Ibero-Romance vernaculars employed by Iberian Jews then had more distinct features than their non-Jewish neighbors as they lived in physical isolation, which also caused social, cultural and linguistic isolation that fostered to the emergence of a different language. Díaz-Más claims this structure of Jewish life had reflections on other diasporic Jewish communities, where Jewish variants of vernaculars present just like Judeo-Ibero Romance languages spoken by Sephardim. The Latin variant is written and spoken with special characteristics by the Jews of the Roman Empire, German variant Yiddish, Judeo-Romance languages derived from French or Italian, and Arabic variant spoken by the Jews in the Maghreb. According to Díaz Más, the distinct features of the Ibero-Romance

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[33] Interview with Yusuf Altıntaş, December 2011, Istanbul.

vernaculars employed by the Iberian Jews derived from religious reasons such as replacement of Dios by El Dio due to its incompatibility with the strict notion of monotheism. It is considered that many Iberian Jews spoke Castilian dialect of Spanish prior to 1492. Considering the fact that in Iberia traditionally different dialects of Ibero-Romance languages have been spoken, the Jews living in different regions of Spain had employed the Jewish variants of these four dialects. However, Díaz-Más mentions that since Jews living in different regions of Iberia spoke distinct variants of Ibero-Romance languages before the Expulsion, in diaspora the emergence of a transnational Sephardic world helped eliminate regional differences and create a linguistic community where coexisted a mixture of varied characteristics and distant dialectal forms. The author highlights that since Judeo-Spanish continued to evolve independently; the Sephardim never established a unified linguistic norm. The speech of New Castile and Andalusia, which is known as the most socio-culturally prestigious dialect, was employed by the Spanish Jews and the Portuguese (Diaz-Más, 1992: 73-74).

While in the sixteenth century the Spanish dialect spoken by the Jews in exile did not differ markedly from the Spanish that continued to evolve in Spain; over time and due to the disappearing relations with Spain, Judeo-Spanish borrowed expressions and terms from Arabic, Turkish, Greek, Italian, French or Flemish. The Jews in exile started to call the language as *muestra lingua* [our language] rather than Spanish. Some names used to refer to Spanish dialect employed by the Jewish in exile are as follows: *Espanyol, Espanyolit, Espanyol Ladino, Franco Espanyol, Romance Espanyol, Lingua Sefaradit, Judezmo, Judio, Jidio, and Ladino*. Judeo-Spanish has been mostly used by the scholars. According to Diaz-Más, *Ladino* derived from Spanish Latino (Latin)(1992: 74-77). In contrast, Yusuf Altıntaş, argues in his conference paper "El Judeo-Espanyol en los textos sagrados i tekstos de orasyon de los judios komo una lingua de traduksion libre"[34] that Ladino does not derive from Spanish *Latín*, but from an Arabic expression "La Dini", which means "not

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[34] Judeo-Spanish in Jewish sacred texts and prayers as a translation language [calque language]

religious", "irreligious" "secular" (The name *Ladino* was used by the Spanish Jews as a calque-language such as Judeo-German, Judeo-Italian and Judeo-Greek. Ladino was used to put Hebrew liturgical texts into Spanish words, did not refer to the everyday language (Diaz-Más, 1992:74-77). However, today Ladino is also employed to refer to the Sephardic ethnic language with Iberian expressing the Iberian heritage.

Concerning the alphabet, the Jews of Spain developed a Hebrew letter writing system that included special characters enabling the transcription of Hispanic sounds absent from Hebrew, which continued to evolve in Ottoman Empire and North Africa following the Expulsion (Bunis, 2011: 24). Following the Expulsion, 'Jewish Castilian', the privileged dialect of Sephardic Diaspora evolved independently from the varieties of Spanish used in Spain and Latin America. Bunis defines the reasons for this separation in threefold: the preservence of some elements of medieval Ibero-Romance with greater conservatism;introduction of innovations in diaspora including different applications of pluralization; borrowing of loanwords from the languages of the people with whom they came into contact following the forced emigration due to Expulsion (Bunis, 2005: 59-60).

4.2. Evolution of Judeo-Spanish in Ottoman Empire

After their arrival in the Ottoman lands, the Sephardic Jews constituting the majority culturally influenced both the non-Sephardic Romaniot Jews with pre-Ottoman Empire ancestry, and Ashkenazi Jews, who had been expelled from Germany in the second half of the fifteenth century before Iberian Jews reached to Istanbul (Rozen, 2002:49). Sephardic Jewish impact was not only limited to the Ibero-Romance variant they preserved, but they also influenced the Ottoman Jewry in terms of custom and law. Angel states that the Sephardic community constituting of a hybrid Iberian regional cultures such as Aragonese and Catalonian, as a whole achieved a cultural supremacy among the communities that settled in Ottoman lands. According to Joseph Hacker, Sephardic dominance was the result of many factors: Firstly, they brought "ancestral spiritual possessions" to the Ottoman lands together with the

intellectual heritage they had in Spain. Secondly, they were higher in numbers than non-Sephardic Jews. Thirdly, after what they had suffered in Iberian Peninsula, they adopted a mission to revitalize the Jewish culture. Angel claims that the cultural hegemony of the Sephardim derived from the gradual predominance of their language among non-Sephardic Jews. Although Sephardim spoke different dialects in Iberian Peninsula, after arriving in the Ottoman Empire it was the Castilian Spanish that was employed mostly, which strengthened by the mid-sixteenth century with the emergence of a shared Judeo-Spanish culture (Angel, 2006: 24-32).

Angel assumes that while the Spanish language in Spain underwent natural development, the Spanish of the Jews in Ottoman lands remained "medieval". However, during the sixteenth and seventeenth century, the arrivals from Spain continued. The *conversos*, who returned to Judaism, came to the Ottoman Empire during the sixteenth and seventeenth century, bringing along the Spanish language that had developed since the fifteenth century. Judeo-Spanish was revitalized by the newcomers from Spain. According to Professor Benardete, a Sephardic scholar, they were the "renaissance Jews" who brought not only updated version of Spanish but also an updated knowledge and attitudes (Angel, 2006: 33). From then on, Judeo-Spanish in Ottoman lands had no significant contact with Spain.

4.2.1. Communicative and Symbolic Domains of Judeo-Spanish:

4.2.1.1.Judeo-Spanish in Diglossic Co-existence with the Holy Tongue

Long before the Expulsion, Spanish rabbis thought in Ladino rather than in Hebrew differently from other Jewish communities (Angel, 2006: 24-32). Judeo-Spanish was chosen as the language to compose religious works for the first time by Rabbi Huli, who wrote Me'am Lo'ez, the biblical commentary book written in 1730 in Istanbul, and received great enthusiasm by the Sephardic community. Upon his death his successors continued to produce volumes on all five books of the Torah, Jashua, Issiah, Songs of Songs, Ruth, Ecclesiates, Esther, Job, and Daniel. Between 1731 and 1807, the Jewish press in Istanbul published a total of 107 books; thirty of them were in Ladino (Angel, 2006: 82-96).

While Hebrew remained as the holy tongue, *Ladino* was employed as the calque-language of the rabbinical elite and Judeo-Spanish was cultivated by the Jewish masses, which also encouraged the emergence of a literary high culture among the educated. Following the Hebrew syntax, *Ladino* remained a sacred nature in translated texts, while the quotidian language maintained a more communicative function. Thus, the Jewish Ibero-Romance variant catered both religious and communicative needs forming Judeo-Spanish/Ladino diglossia, which also formed another diglossia of Hebrew/Judeo-Spanish (Benbassa and Rodrigue, 2000:60-64).

4.2.1.2. Communicative Domains Embedded With Symbolic Domains:Judeo-Spanish as a Language of Press, Education, Literature, Liturgical Texts, and Romances

Ladino was the only education language in the traditional Jewish schools. Although Sephardim lived on Ottoman lands, the Sephardic community did not consider learning Turkish until 1890s (Angel, 2006: 103). Until the mid-nineteenth century while boys attended to schools where they were taught to read and write in Ladino, few girls received formal education. Most of them received the necessary formation from their female relatives such as grandmothers, aunts, and older sisters. The education in traditional Jewish schools relied on chanting in singsong of the translated liturgical texts in Ladino (Angel, 2006: 101-102).

La Buena Esperanza, the first Ladino newspaper, was published in İzmir in 1842, by Raphael Uziel. Later seventy-five newspapers were published throughout the Judeo-Spanish world. La America (1910-25), and La Vara (1922-48) were the papers in the United States, which provided news from the World Jewry and the Jewish life in America, and other features including poetry, Ladino songs and proverbs, opinion pieces, and humor (Angel, 2006: 160,17). A part from the periodicals and newspapers, a secular Ladino literature also existed: Many novels, short stories, poetry, and essays were published in Ladino. While the vast majority of the publications were in Hebrew and on religious themes before the expulsion from

Spain, In Istanbul between 1799 and 1900, 106 of 138 titles were published in Ladino. These publications included translations from the world literature especially from the French, and the Modern Hebrew literature (Angel, 2006: 160).

Due to lack of Hebrew knowledge skills among the Jewish Sephardic community, Ladino had been the calque-language to translate liturgical works. During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in Rashi script some works in Ladino had been published (Angel, 2006: 93). Benbassa and Rodrigue(2000) state that Sabbateanism movement also influenced the rise of religious literature in Judeo-Spanish. By the early eighteenth century, religious Judeo-Spanish literature aimed at strengthening the faith and the alliance of the masses struggling with economic and social problems in the post-Sabbatean period, fostered Jews to renew and reinvigorate the Judaism. The written works were cultivated in Hebrew script traditionally like other Jewish variants; the use of Rashi alphabet influenced the emergence of a new dialect different from the Spanish employed by the non-Jewish together with the diasporan experiences. Benbassa and Rodrigue states that the same reservoir composed of popular religious works also encouraged in the age of Westerniation the emergence of the secular Judeo-Spanish literature and culture (2000: 60-64).

Romances, medieval Spanish love songs and ballads composed in Spain and after the expulsion, had great importance in Sephardic culture. The themes mostly revolved on general human experience, although some had biblical and religious context. *Romances* carry remarkable historical and cultural significance embedded with vivid medieval Spanish traditions (Angel, 2006:123).

Judeo-Spanish ballads, or *romances* combining motifs from the worlds of medieval chivalry belonged to the repertoire of women; they were sung during celebrations of birth, circumcisions, wedding, and funerals influenced by local Turkish, Greek, and Arabic non-Jewish musical tradtions (Bunis, 2005: 63-64). Angel claims that the reason of the *romances* sung in Judeo-Spanish presenting the rich medieval Iberian culture should not be interpreted as an aim to conserve medieval Spanish culture, but

as a traditional representation of the everyday life practices of the Jews in Medieval Spain, as an organic feature. Some of the romances were composed during their residence in Spain and some were composed after the expulsion in the style of the old. Romances were generally sung in groups as a form of entertainment among families and friends (Angel, 2006: 124,125).

Judeo-Spanish has been the language to transmit Sephardic Jewish culture in many different ways such as through Ladino proverbs, sayings and stories. Ladino Proverbs and sayings mainly derived from biblical, rabbinic sources; few of them had Spanish origins (Angel, 2006:131,138).

4.3. Decline of Judeo-Spanish

4.3.1. Judeo-Spanish during Westernization in Ottoman Empire

Due to disconnection from the evolution of the Spanish in Iberian Peninsula, Judeo-Spanish started to decline. In need of integration into the newly settled lands, Sephardic Jews learned the vernacular languages spoken in Ottoman lands such as Ottoman Turkish, Greek, and Slavic languages. As a result of the latter, Judeo-Spanish started barrowing too much vocabulary from the vernaculars aimed at responding to everyday life needs. The decline that had already started due to disconnection from the Iberian Peninsula continued with the foundation of Alliance Israélite Schools in 1860 on Ottoman Lands favoring French language education, as a result of which Judeo-Spanish started to evolve in a diglossic situation with French language.

The Alliance Israélite Universelle was founded in Paris in 1860 to improve the political and cultural status of the Jews. The Alliance established a network of schools throughout the Ottoman regions where Sephardic children could receive Western education in French. The missioners thought the French language could improve the status of the Ottoman Jews. Angel suggests that Alliance schools caused new cultural divisions among the Sephardic community (2006:159). While Judeo-Spanish was seen as an archaic corrupt language, French was seen as the

"language of culture" by some Sephardim. Many Westerners wanted the Ottoman Jews to replace Judezmo with it. The use of French increasingly affected the spoken and written Judeo Spanish. For instance, several periodicals in French such as Le Nouvelliste in Izmir (1889), L'Aurore in Constantinople (1908), Pro-Israel in Salonika 1917 and Hamenora in Constantinople (1923) were published.

Revah and Kahanof, rejecting to put the blame for the decline of Judeo-Spanish on the Alliance, claim that the Alliance and the French language responded to an urgent need among Sephardim the need to describe modern technology following the scrientific, industrial, and technical revolutions introduced by Western world toward 1860. Due to insufficient cultural, technological and industrial adaptation to Western world in Ottoman lands, Turkish was not responding to need to describe the modern technology; besides there was no Turkish language planning policy to spread the language to the non-Islamic minorities (Şeni and Le Tarnec, 2010). Hassán argues that Sephardim, aiming at participating in the progress accomplished by the industrialized countries by developing new business areas, accepted enthusiastically the education provided by the Alliance in French language, which was considered as the language of both diplomacy and the of modern civilization (cited in Harris, 1982: 83).

Sephardim elite, switched to French aimed at presenting their elevated cultural level, while Judeo-Spanish was kept in the intimacy of home and family, which also formed a diglossic situation. Sephardim elite employing French, by adding the French syntax, vocabulary, and French names to everyday language, Frenchified Judeo-Spanish (Harris, 1982: 84-85). However, Rachel Simon observes that eventhough *Alliance Israelite Universelle* schools favored French as a language of education, the instruction of language presented shifts depending on the local conditions, political decisions, and community needs. Judeo-Spanish was only employed in Salonica and in the lower grades of the school situated at Galata, while in Palestin after 1913, modern revitalized Hebrew became the dominant language following the campaigns favoring its use (Simon, 2002: 146).

As early as 1840, Chief Rabbi Hayim Moshe Fresco of Constantinople issued a proclamation demanding that the Ottoman Jewry learn Turkish. Following World the Sephardim in Turkey War mainly started to employ Turkish. In the late nineteenth century Chief Rabbi Abraam Palachi of Izmir proposed that all Jews should again speak their ancestral national language, Hebrew (Angel, 2006: 234).

Concerning the evolution and perception of Judeo-Spanish during the nineteenth century, Díaz-Más refuses Ortega and Borras's assumption that Judeo-Spanish was a fossilized language highlighting that a language cannot endure without changes and evolution. Díaz-Más mentions about the isolation among the Sephardim: the Levantine and the North African. The Levantine Judeo-Spanish was saturated with Gallicisms in the late nineteenth century. Having been educated in French Alliance schools formed a westernization tendency in the community that affected the Sephardim not only socio-culturally but linguistically (Diaz-Más, 1992: 85).

Díaz-Más also argues that some other variables existed in the Judeo-Spanish socio-linguistically among the Rabbinic and educated group, the upper or upper-middle class made up of wealthy businessman or great bankers, the lower middle class, the Westernized Levantine Sephardim, and Sephardic women. Díaz-Más assumes that the decline of Judeo-Spanish started with the Westernization process that began in the nineteenth century, and continued with the division of the Ottoman Empire and the birth of new Balkan states and lastly was affected very much from the linguistic normalization with Ataturk's reforms. The use of Turkish was perceived as a patriotic obligation by the Turkish Jews:

> Ala Turka, somos obligados al patriotism
> Ala Evrea, somos atados al djudaismo
> Ala Franzesa, kamino de luz i de kultura
> Todas tres, obligo santo de natura
>
> We have to speak Turkish because of our patriotism,
> We are bound to speak Hebrew because of our Judaism,
> We have to use French, the way of light and culture,
> By nature, we have a holy duty to all three (as cited in Romero, 2008: 34)

4.4. The Current Status of Judeo-Spanish

Judeo-Spanish, following the discconection from Iberia has gradually lost its domains. The already declining position of Judeo-Spanish following the disconnection from Iberia due to barrowing of too much vocabulary from the local vernaculars of the newly settled lands, entered to a new stage where the language lost the prestige and started a diglossic situation with French during language policies that were supported by Alliance Israelite Universelle schools in the nineteenth century. Following the dissolution of Ottoman Empire, the nationalism in the Balkans, and the Holocoust, which occurred afterwards during the World War II caused most of the speech community to disappear. In the mid nineteenth century, the nationalism in Turkey and the heightened status of Modern Hebrew following the foundation of the state of Israel during early stages of nation-building can be argued to be continuation of the effects of nationalism on Judeo-Spanish.

Considering the Holocaust in the Balkans, Ottoman-Turkish Jewish community and the members of the community that migrated to Israel can be considered to constitute the largest Judeo-Spanish speaking communities today.

Benbassa and Rodrigue note that between 1919 and 1949 100,000 Jews went to Israel (2000: 197-198). Fist generation Jews that immigrated to Israel, the United States and to other states maintained Judeo-Spanish, and the second Israeli born generation only understood the language. Yet the children of the immigrated Turkish Sephardic Jews learnt the language of the country in which they settled. The third generation no longer spoke Judeo-Spanish. Also in Turkey with the establishment of Turkish Republic in 1923, and Turkification policies of the state Sephardim started to learn Turkish and employ it daily rather than Judeo-Spanish (Angel, 2006: 164)

After the World War II many Turkish Jews immigrated to the United States, Latin America and the state of Israel. In United States and Israel after the first generation Judeo-Spanish was left due to the need to become a part of the new country or due to mixed marriages. According to a survey conducted in 1978 in New York presented

that only 52 percent of the children either spoke or understood Judeo-Spanish. Another survey conducted in Israel in 1977 showed that new generation no longer spoke Judeo-Spanish but considered Hebrew as their mother-tongue (Diaz-Más, 1992: 96-97).

In the mid-twentieth century some elderly still employed Judeo-Spanish while none of the younger generations spoke the language fluently. The situation remains the same in the twenty-first century as many of the native speakers died, Judeo-Spanish presents endangered language features (Angel, 2006: 164). Due to the nationalist pressures to adopt Turkish, after 1930s Judeo-Spanish still continued losing its domains gradually, however until 1960s the vast majority of Sephardic Jews of Istanbul employed Judeo-Spanish at home and in community events (Hualde and Şaul, 2011:91).

Malinowski states that by 1980 "Turkey remained as the only place in the world where a well-established, relatively homogenous community of Judeo-Spanish speakers can be found" (1982:7). Nevertheless, Harris states that today Israel remains as the country where the largest Judeo-Spanish speaking community is (cited in Hualde and Şaul, 2011: 90).

In his study on the structural consequences of language shift among Judeo-Spanish speakers in Istanbul, Romero observes that while Turkish is favored for economic and political survival, modern Hebrew is also favored by those who want to settle in Israel for economic or religious reasons; English is widely studied by the younger generation as the new global language, while French is no longer preferred as extensively as during the Alliance influence. The researcher claims that the decline of Judeo-Spanish as the language of Sephardic Judaism has ceased gradually due to the fact that Turkish and Hebrew are encompassing the religious domain. However, he adds that Judeo-Spanish is still part of Sephardic life in Istanbul surviving in different domains or contexts, and takes its power from semi-speakers of passive speakers, and the younger generation, who is aware of the global power of Modern

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Spanish, which could benefit them both economically, and academically (Romero, 2008: 156-157).

According to a briefing paper prepared by the European Parliament of Directorate General External Policies of the Union, the present size of Jewish Community is estimated to be around 20.000. The vast majority live in Istanbul, with a community of about 1.500 in Izmir and other smaller groups located in Adana, Ankara, Antakya, Bursa, Canakkale, Kirklareli. Since the younger Jews speak Turkish as their native language, the generation over-70-years-old is more at home speaking in French or Judeo-Spanish. To preserve Judeo-Spanish, a conscious effort is spent (Gültekin, 2008). [35]

Angel claims that Judeo-Spanish is not anymore the mother tongue of the young generation of the Judeo-Spanish community. In addition to this, he does not see any sociological reason to revitalize the language due to the reshaped conditions of the community. Angel claims that one of the important reconstructed social conditions of Sephardim which fostered the maintenance of Judeo-Spanish was Jews living in isolated enclaves, which is no more valid (2006 :176).

According to Malinowski, by 1980s one can notice some reawakening signs on the position of Judeo-Spanish. The expression 'reawakening' is stated considering the several events that led to the gradual decline of the language, which made it loose its domains. Among these events, the researcher includes the emergence of the negative perceptions of the language among the community as 'jargon' with the influence of *Alliance Israélite Universelle* schools, and the language attitudes of the Turkish government propagating the use of the national language. According to Malinowski, interest in Judeo-Spanish has been rewoken, and awareness has been raised of the relation between Judeo-Spanish and Modern Spanish with 300,000,000

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[35] Gültekin, Burcu., Religious Freedom in Turkey: Situation of Religious Minorities, Briefing Paper by European Parliament of Directorate General External Policies of the Union, February 2008

Hispanophones. With these developments, a practical interest in learning it emerged (Malinowski, 1982:19). Cervantes Institute Istanbul established in 2001, has also started special courses for Sephardic community. More, Ottoman-Turkish Sephardic Cultural Research Center offered Judeo-Spanish courses in cooperation with the Cervantes Institute Istanbul starting on 27th October 2005.

Concerning the role of a possible Hispanization on Judeo-Spanish, Mahir Saul highlights the impact of clashing ideologies on Jewish languages. These ideologies can derive both from nationalist and non-nationalist deviated roots. Saul argues that progressing Judeo-Spanish in accordance with the Spanish spoken in Iberian Peninsula, which is realized either in a modest or in a very interventionist way, constitutes another "language planning" activity that cannot be interpreted solely as good or bad[36] (Mahir Saul, 2011, personal communications). In this context, David Bunis mentions the anxiety among some Judeo-Spanish speakers basing on the idea that if the alphabet shifted to Latin, Judeo-Spanish will be dead and buried. He highlights that Judeo-Spanish has experienced a serious decline during the past century, the cause of which stemmed from more language threatening factors than a shift in the alphabet: the pressure to assimilate to the dominant language and culture in the nation-states carved out of the Ottoman Empire, centres of immigration in Europe, the Americas and Israel, and the Second World War which destroyed the Judeo-Spanish speaking communities of Greece and Yugoslavia (2011: 34).

4.5. Judeo-Spanish in Making of the Sephardic Identity

Maintenance of Judeo-Spanish in Ottoman lands for over five centuries has received scholarly attention. Angel analyses the causes of the maintenance of Judeo-Spanish from the viewpoint of the Sephardic Jews. According to the writer they preferred to remain "medieval" and linguistically isolated because the Sephardim thought of their

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[36] "Yahudice'nin Iberia Ispanyolcasi yolunda gelistirilmesi de --ya mütevazi ya da çok müdaheleci bir sekilde yapilan--böyle bir baska "planlama" örnegidir. Kendi basina buna iyi veya kötü denemez." (Mahir Saul, personal communications, 2011).

culture superior. Secondly, Angel states that the Sephardim did not see themselves as permanent "citizens" of the Ottoman Empire. He highlights that the converted Jews who returned to Judaism adopted other European languages. Medieval Sephardic Jews were the ones who preferred to keep the language. According to Angel, although the Sephardim were expelled from Spain they never stopped considering themselves as Spanish Jews (2006: 35-36). According to Leon Sciaky, a twentieth-century writer from Salonika, the Sephardim retained their Spanish character in their customs, cooking, social amenities, in their pride, and dignity (as cited in Angel, 2006: 35-36). Angel addes that among the Sephardim the sense of nobility was highly developed. The foundations of this sense derived from the belief that their ancestries descended from aristocracy of Jerusalem that had been exiled to Spain in antiquity. According to the interviews conducted by Proffessor Bornes-Varol, Balat, the old Jewish neighborhood carried crucial importance forming an ambience where Judeo-Spanish was employed loudly and openly without the fear to be heard by non-Jews (2006: 3-9).

According to Benbassa and Rodrigue, the Ottoman model of ethnic organization encouraged the emergence and maintenance of a unique Sephardi identity embedded with cultural heritage and intertwined with Judeo-Spanish, which lasted until the Second World War (2000: 66, 196-197). Malinowski, during the fieldwork she conducted in Turkey in 1980 observes that despite the Jewish commitment to national progress, the complete cultural and linguistic assimilation of the Sephardim is far from a *fait accompli*. The researcher also notes that the sense of group unity and the link between Judeo-Spanish still remains: whoever spoke Spanish is generally thought to be Jewish. Regarding the language death, one of the informants that Malinowski interviewed stated that: "the language will not die as the religion of the Jews will last forever". In addition to this, the same interviewee stated later that their traditions would endure despite language shifts. Malinowski notes during the interviews she conducted among Sephardim of Turkey that the religion and Judeo-Spanish link is no longer as strong as it was before. She assumes that the cease of the

name *djudezmo* among the community*, the name* referring to the Jewish vernacular Judeo-Spanish, also indicates the weakened link of the language with the religion. According to her, naming the Jewish Castilian dialect as *Djudezmo* demonstrated the link of the language with Judaism, referring specifically to the Jewish system of beliefs, and customs (Malinowski, 1982: 13-14).

However, Malinowski states that "Judeo-Spanish speakers in Istanbul hold their language in rather low esteem" referring to the language as 'impure', 'mixed', 'unimportant', 'jargon', 'a stolen language' perceiving it as a 'hybrid' language. Malinowski argues that the reason for the altered perception of Judeo-Spanish language among the Sephardic community of Istanbul stems to two main reasons: firstly, the influence of *Alliance Israélite Universelle* schools established by the nineteenth century in Ottoman lands aiming reforging the links between Sephardim and the Western cultural tradition providing instruction in French; and secondly language attitudes of the Turkish government propagating the use of the national language (1982: 18).

Concerning Judeo-Spanish uses among Sephardic community in Istanbul, the works of Karen Gerson Şarhon, who presently is the director of the Ottoman Turkish Sephardic Cultural and Research Center, are significant. She conducted two case studies on Judeo-Spanish in 1980s, in psychology and applied linguistics disciplines. Recently she has also started an archival work, Ladino Database project, which is based on the similar projects conducted by Michael Studemund-Halévy and Marie Christine Bornes-Varol. Gerson Şarhon states that the aim of the project is to get enough samples of Ladino from the native speakers to archive for future archival use previewing that there will not be any native speakers left[37] (Gerson Şarhon, 2011).

Concerning the language perception and acquisition among the Jews in Turkey, Şarhon argues that in accordance with the special clause in the Lausanne Pact in

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[37] Gerson Şarhon, Karen. (2011). "Judeo-Spanish today as reflected in the Ladino Database Project". Institut Français d'Études Anatoliennes. Sephardi Congress: Jewish Languages and the Spanish Legacy. Istanbul. June 7, 2011.

1923, which defined Jews as Turkish citizens and not as a minority, Turkish slowly started to rise in frequency with the advent compulsory education in Turkish.[38] According to her, behind the Turkish language acquisition, there was greater motivation for assimilating themselves into everyday life of the larger community (1980: 45).

Gerson Şarhon states that the prestige of Judeo-Spanish decreased within the group, yet an increasing awareness among the Jewish community regarding the status of

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[38] Gerson Şarhon according to the study that she conducted covering four generations, mentions the decrease in bilingualism and highlights the increase in monolingualism across the generations. Concerning the role of the French language among the members, Gerson Şarhon in the study she conducted among the Sephardic community in Istanbul concerning Judeo-Spanish speakers, noticies the existence of four different generations regarding language perception: While Generation I studied French starting with primary school perceive 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 dominate the language. It is observed that Generation II members studied some Turkish at school although their education was predominantly in French. French is also observed to be perceived as the maternal language in this group due to the fact that these speakers spoke French only in their families although did did not study it at school. It is observed that all of the Generation III and IV members did not consider French as their maternal language, but Turkish is considered the only primary language as they had their education in Turkish. She emphasizes the role of the alphabet issue in continual decrease of interest in Judeo-Spanish. It is concluded that only Generation I could understand Judeo-Spanish in Hebrew letters, while Generation II could dominate the language if it is written in Latin alphabet. The study that Gerson Şarhon conducted in 1980 presented that the Generation III of that time could only read but not write the language, while about half of the speakers in the fourth generation could neither read nor write in Judeo-Spanish. In this sense, Gerson Şarhon argues that with the easier Latin alphabet and due to the fact that the alphabet in Judeo-Spanish was forgotten, its place was taken over first by French and then by Turkish (Gerson Şarhon, 1980: 46-48).

Regarding the multiglossia among the Sephardic community, Gerson Şarhon mentions that Generation I perceived French as their mother togue talked Judeo-Spanish with old people (older than themselves) who did not know French. While men spoke generally Judeo-Spanish at home, spoke Turkish at work and with their grandchildren, women spoke Judeo-Spanish all day long with everyone except their grandchildren. Generation II women are observed to speak Judeo-Spanish with their parents, and French with their friends (French and Judeo-Spanish), and Turkish to their children. Generation II men spoke Judeo-Spanish with old people, or the ones who did not speak any other language well calling them as "ignorants". Generation III members spoke Turkish. They only spoke Judeo-Spanish with their old parents or when they wanted to speak about secrets that needed to be hidden from their children. Most of the Generation IV members are observed to be non-Judeo-Spanish speakers. Only some of them spoke Judeo-Spanish with their old grandparents who did not speak Turkish very well. Gerson Şarhon highlights that Generation IV members also said that they spoke Judeo-Spanish for fun, imitating the manners and accents of their grandparents speaking Judeo-Spanish (Gerson Şarhon, 1980: 59-60).

Modern Spanish today increased. She addes that Modern Spanish is widely spoken in the world might help increase the status of Judeo-Spanish (1986: 94). However, she believes that *Ladino* is no longer spoken by the younger Sephardim generations, and this causes a discomfort among the older generations in terms of the survival and the maintenance of the Sephardic heritage. Efforts of the older generation members to teach Judeo-Spanish fail due to the pressure of learning other world languages. However, the present situation of Modern Spanish as a widely spoken world language and the interest of the young generation in learning it creates the expectation that at least Judeo-Spanish would be understood by the young members of the community. Concerning the revival of Judeo-Spanish, she argues that none of the members of the speech community that they have interviewed as part of *Ladino Database* project has hope for the revival of Judeo-Spanish, believing that it is not the language in the modern Jewish home anymore. Besides, she states that when they lose the Judeo-Spanish native speakers living in Turkey, the youngest of whom was born around 1945, the survival hopes of the language will end. For this reason, she states that Judeo-Spanish is due to become a language to be studied at Universities as a matter of academic interest.

Concerning the ethnic identity, Gerson Şarhon believes that a few vocabulary that will all be left to younger generations would help to distinguish the ethnic identity of the Jewish community from other communities[39] (Gerson Şarhon, 2011).

However despite this negative position, and the fact that the future of Judeo-Spanish does not appear to be very bright, Bunis highlights that the surviving speakers insist on maintaining a distinctive linguistic identity (Bunis, 2011:34). The latter encouraged this study to ask the reasons for the language maintenance efforts that can be argued to rise after the late seventies. The fifth chapter studies this raised awareness or consciousness starting from the late seventies with special emphasis on language and identity framework. Thus, the fifth chapter will be dedicated to understand the creative writing in Judeo-Spanish that has increased gradually since

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[39] Ibid.

the late seventies as a result of the efforts pionered by some alarmed community members aimed at mobilizing the remaining speech community all over the world for the maintenance of the Jewish language perceiving it as an important key element for the preservation of Sephardic cultural heritage. The following chapter intends to study the role of the Jewish language in Jewish printing and journalism activities, focusing on the role of the Jewish language in preserving and strengthening and even reconstructing the Sephardic identity for the remaining speech community on three ethnic communication platforms composing of *Şalom* newspaper, its monthly supplement *El Amaneser*, and *Ladinokomunita Yahoo Group* online correspondence circle.

CHAPTER V

THE ROLE OF JUDEO-SPANISH IN STRENGHTENING SEPHARDIC IDENTITY THROUGH PRINTING AND JOURNALISTIC ACTIVITIES IN OTTOMAN EMPIRE, AND TURKEY

5.1. Jewish Journalism in the Ottoman Empire and Turkey as a Key Factor in Representing Jewish Identity

Jewish journalism activities in the Ottoman Empire and Turkey can be considered to be the continuation of the printing activities of the manuscripts in Hebrew brought from Iberia.[40] The printing activities of the rabbinic literature in the Ottoman Empire starting from the fifteenth century[41] ensured the Sephardic religious heritage to be transmitted to broad public, which in this sense can be argued to have strengthened the Jewish spiritual existence. As a continuation of the printing activities, Jewish journalism activities that flourished during the Tanzimat Era provided a platform where Jewish secular everyday life could be designed, discussed and consumed by broad public interaction.

Jewish journalism in Ottoman lands is observed to be multilingual, mostly composing of newspapers published in Judeo-Spanish using Rashi script; to a lesser extent in French, partially in Hebrew, and in [Ottoman] Turkish in Hebrew letters (Levy, 2001: 22-23). After the foundation of the Turkish Republic, in addition to the shift of the Hebrew alphabet to Latin, the multilingual features of the Jewish journalism gradually gave way to an increased employment of Turkish. In 1984 the

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[40] Gad Nassi argues that in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Ottoman Jewry constituted a leading role in Jewish spiritual and social life worldwide as they were characterized by a revival of a national consciousness, which was achieved through Jewish printing, and afterwards journalistic activity. The books and journals printed provide great source of insight into the Jewish heritage of Ottoman lands (Nassi, 2001:11).

[41] See Lehmann, B.Matthias. (2005). Ladino Rabbinic Literature and Ottoman Sephardic Culture. Bloomington and Indianapolis:Indiana University Press.

coordinator team of *Şalom* newspaper, the only remaining representative of the Jewish journalism at present, agreed to shift to Turkish completely due to the fact that starting from 1960s, Judeo-Spanish was no more spoken by the vast majority of the Turkish Jewish community. Since 1984, *Şalom* has dedicated a one-page section to Judeo-Spanish section, mostly kept for symbolical reasons as the tradition of publishing the newspaper in Jewish language, for the realization of which conscious effort is taken to be prepared.

Turning back to the period of establishment of Jewish journalism in Ottoman lands, it can be argued that during the Tanzimat Era Judeo-Spanish became the main pillar of Jewish journalism. The reasons for this were both instrumental, and symbolical. The already existing Judeo-Spanish press during 1840s, which mostly emerged aimed at informing its readers about the lives of Jewish communities on other lands, undertook the mission of designing the secular life of the Eastern Jews after the foundation of *Alliance Israélite Universelle* in 1860 on Ottoman lands. Franco-Jewish elite using their social and economic influence, aimed at emancipation of 'Oriental Jewry' through the establishment of *Alliance Israélite Universelle* in Ottoman lands, opening up 183 schools as the main pillar of spreading the ideology. In addition to creating schools, Jewish press became the main medium of spreading the ideology of *Alliance* (Stein, 2000: 12). Besides the schools were opened Jewish press, became the main medium of creation of a middle class capable (Penslar, 2000: 5).

Alliance schools aimed at providing a better socio-economical position to Middle Eastern Jewry mostly resident in Ottoman lands favoring French as both the language of education and culture. They favored the use of French language as well encouraging the learning of local the language(s) of the country. In this sense, despite the fact that the use of the Jewish language was derided while a fluency in French to a lesser extent local language use was encouraged by the press supported by *Alliance Israélite Universelle*, ironically Judeo-Spanish appears to be in the nineteenth

century the main medium of the expression of this regenerating secular life encouraging the Westernization and embourgeoisement of Ottoman Jewry influenced by *Alliance* acting as a tool designed to help the Ottoman Jewry to regain its economic competitiveness (Stein, 2000:13). But, it was instrumentalist; despite the Alliance schools and foreign language education, Borovaya argues that Judeo-Spanish was still used to provide the most audience to spread the secular way of life (Borovaya, 2012:52). In this sense, the existing power of Judeo-Spanish both in religious and communicative domains as well as being the the language of Sephardim that identified them among broad public in Ottoman lands, provided the necessary platform for AIU to spread Franco-Jewish interpretation of Westernization and embourgeoisement of Ottoman Jewry as the main medium of the regenerating secular life.

Stein argues that Jewish journalism in the Tanzimat Era having multilingual features produced a cultural synthesis unique to Ottoman Jewry, which afterwards helped to develop the sense of "Jewishness". By translation of the instructional literature from contemporary French periodicals to Judeo-Spanish, a cultural synthesis was formed composing of French, Ottoman, and Jewish (at least in so far as it has traditionally been defined) components. Stein claims that through the cultural synthesis formed as a unique product of late imperial Ottoman Jewry, "an expression of a form of Jewishness and a form of acculturation unparalleled in Europe" emerged (2000: 9-12) [42]. Understanding the use of the Jewish language as a medium of this expression of Jewishness carries importance in finding the roots of the present literary expression in Judeo-Spanish, as well as distinguishing the present role of the language as a medium to strengthen Sephardic identities.[43]

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[42] For more information on Judeo-Spanish journals, particularly *El Amigo de la Familiya,* which are influenced with the secular life regenerated by the Alliance Israélite Universelle, see Abrevaya Stein, Sarah. (2000). Creating a taste for news: Historicizing Judeo- Spanish periodicals of the Ottoman Empire. *Jewish History*, 14, 9–28.

[43] Similarly as Jewish press in Ottoman lands, in early twentieth century's radical Yiddish
Press was the education and acculturation of Jews unfamiliar with Western culture (Penslar, 2000:6).

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According to Rifat N. Bali the printing and journalistic activity of Jews in the Ottoman Empire and Turkey constitute one of the most important areas where the cultural heritage had been displayed through the use of the Judeo-Spanish and Hebrew languages [Rabbinic literature] as traditional means of communication on all levels, written and spoken. Bali evaluates this cultural heritage as "dimmed" due to the decline of the use of Judeo-Spanish and Hebrew languages by the first half of the twentieth century communicatively. He also states that "neither proper appreciation of that heritage nor the proper integration of our Jewish identity is possible without an in-depth understanding of this prolific activity" (2001: 9).

The Jewish printing and journalism activities can be argued to have constructed the social reality for the broad public considering the power they had. In this sense, the role of the Jewish language in designing the social reality is instrumental considering that Judeo-Spanish provided the most audience. However, it is crucial to understand that the power of the Jewish language was not only quantitative, but also symbolical in terms of the message to be internalized and integrated effectively in Jewish way of life. In this sense, it can be argued that the Jewish language composing of adopting and adapting of the vernacular according to the exigencies of religious and traditional Jewish culture, constitutes an important part of production of Jewish discourse in terms of constructing and consuming the social reality. Although according to the definitions of 'discourse'[44] in social sciences, power does not necessarily derive from language, but language can be used to challenge power[45], however in Jewish case the

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[44] Fairclough defines 'discourse' as meaning-making as an element of the social process, the language associated with a particular social field or practice, and a way of construing aspects of the world associated with a particular social perspective (Faiclough 2009:163).As Wodak & Meyer put, discourses expressing social practice serve particular objectives and therefore they exercise power as they institutionalize and regulate ways of talking, thinking and acting. The bond between the 'reality' and the discourses are reciprocal; the social reality is shaped by discourses and discourses are shaped by social reality as well, constituting both individual and collective conscious, and reality (Wodak & Meyer, 2009: 10, 34-37).

[45] Wodak and Meyer (2009:10) argue that "power does not necessarily derive from language, but language can be used to challenge power, to subvert it, to alter distributions of power in the short and long term".

Jewish language appears as the key element to access to the discourse.[46] In this sense, the discourse that is intended to recontextualize the social reality is given through the Jewish language, which has the unique power to transmit the message in a more internalized way.

Printing and journalistic activity of Jews in the Ottoman Empire and Turkey has served as a tool for the perpetuation of the two domains of Judeo-Spanish: communicative and symbolic. While the communicative domain referred more to the design and expression of the secular life, the symbolic domain referred to the transmittance of the Rabbinic literature including the interpretation and understanding of Judaism[47].

Frankel notes the mentioned power of the discourse, exampling the power of Jewish press in Europe and North America in mid-nineteenth century in creating public, supracommunal and transnational arenas where editors and contributors could exchange information and ideas. Frankel argues that with the influence of the French

[46] Jewish languages are Judaicized forms of the vernacular spoken in the immigrated lands (Wexler, 1981: 99-103,106). The latter meant, transference of the newly vernacular Hebrew codes, culture, experiences, dialect of the proceeding place, loanwords from Hebrew and all Jewish data (Benor, 2009). Wexler highlights that the rise of the development of Jewish vernaculars is the result of the uninterrupted chain of Jewish language shift, which started with the shift from Hebrew to Aramaic in the 6th century B.C. Language shift starts with substratatum elements identified in the successor language, particularly in anthroponyms, later prior to its extinction elemements found from the successor language, and followed by a state of a bilingualism. Jewish vernaculars are linked to each other due to the chain of language shifts occured with migration and social factors. It is crucial to see the continuous creation of Jewish languages composing of adopting and adapting of the vernacular language of the settled lands in the framework of Jewish tradition and culture. A part from the well known Jewish languages Judeo-Spanish, Yiddish, and Judeo-Arabic Braziel mentions that the Jewish vernacular are numerous: *Ladino, Yiddish, Judeo-Arabic, Knaaic* (an extinct language also called Judeo-Slavic), *Zarphatic (*once spoken in France and parts of Germany),*Judeo-Aramaic, Dzhidi* (Judeo-Persian), *Juhuri* (spoken in the Caucaus regions of Azerbaijan, Russia and Israel), *Karaim*(a Turkic Hebrew language with Crimean, Trakai, Lutsk-Halych dialect (spoken by Crimean Karaites and Turkik adherents of the Jewish sect in Crimea, Lithuania, Poland, and the Ukraine), *Krymchak* (Judeo-Crimean Tatar), and *Yevanic* (also called Romaniote and Judeo-Greek) (Braziel, 2008: 17). It can be argued that Modern Hebrew constitutes the continuation of Jewish language creation legacy that is believed to date back to 200 BC.

[47] Judeo-Spanish used to have a religious domain as the language of religious education of broad public, who were not sufficiently fluent to study Torah in Hebrew language. In Talmud Tora schools Meam Loez, the commentary written in Judeo-Spanish in 1730, was widely studied. See Nassi, Gad.(2011). Sovre la Prensa Djudia en Turkia/Segunda Parte: La Mision de una Lingua en Embaraso. *Maguén-Escudo*, 161, 21-30.

Revolution of 1789, suiting to the spirit of the age the Alliance loudly proclaimed its aim to unite the Jews putting emphasis on the press as a key factor in shaping Jewish identity and politics in the modern era. Frankel underlines the remarkable growth rate of Jewish press since 1837 (2000: 31). Borovaia observes that the idea of the periodicals in the Ottoman Empire was imported from Europe as channels for new cultural items, the most of which was the emergence of the secular mass literature in Judeo-Spanish, *Ladino*[48].

Levy argues that "initially the journal was a novelty and oddity which interested a select few, but within a few decades, it had acquired a place for itself in the daily lives of the population, most of whom were reading at least one journal" (2001: 20). He emphasizes the unbreakable bond between journalism and modernization with a specific role on the flourishing of a modern secular life. The journal constituted a major role in emergence and flourishing of mass intellectual life and in the spread of education, general knowledge, and secular literature. Levy states that the most important contribution of the Jewish press was "the rise of public consciousness and political involvement by the masses" (2001: 25).

It is observed that while Jewish printing activities are aimed at both maintenance and spreading of the Jewish spiritual heritage between the fifteenth and seventeenth centuries, starting from the eighteenth century during the Tanzimat Era, influenced by the *Alliance Israélite Universelle*, Jewish journalism appears as the main medium of design and expression of the Jewish secular life becoming an important vehicle of Westernization. According to Stein Jewish journalism activities during Tanzimat Era can be argued to have strengthened the Jewish community perception forming a "modern sense of Ottoman Jewishness" (2000: 9). Judeo-Spanish, during the Tanzimat Era can be argued to have added one more usage to its existing domains

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[48] Borovaia claims that *Ladino* translations or readaptations of western novels sometimes created cultural hybridization; thus argues that through transference of Western type of literature to a non-Western polysysteem, *Ladino* novel should be studied as an integral reconstructed genre, regardless of the origin of the literary works translated (Borovaia, 2002: 264, 265, 280).

acting as a medium, through which the Jewish modern secular life and the social reality has been constructed, discussed and consumed.

5.2. Historical Review of the Journalistic History of Turkish Jewry

Borovaya argues that between 1845 and 1939 approximately three hundred Sephardi periodicals appeared in the Ottoman Empire and its former territories (2012: 24). Avner Levy in his research on Ottoman Turkish Jewish journalism points to 62 journals in total, the number of which can exceed to hundreds. The sixty two journals examined by Levy were published in six languages: One in Ottoman Turkish, five in Turkish, eight in French, forty eight Judeo-Spanish and in one periodical published in four languages as Ottoman Turkish, Judeo-Spanish, Greek, and Bulgarian (Levy, 2001: 26-27).

Avner Levy classifies the journalistic activities of Turkish Jewry in six periods based on the most notable journals: the early experimental period (1842-1871), the period of establishment (1871-1908), the period of flowering (1909-1914), the period of decline (1914-1922), and the final flowering (1948-?). During the early experimental period (1842-1871) six journals were published, two of which were published in Izmir, one of which in Istanbul and the other three were published in Paris, and Salonica in addition to some other unknown journals in number published in Vienna for the benefit of Turkish Jews.

The first private local journal published in the Ottoman Empire was *La Buena Esperansa* edited by Raphael Uziel. It appeared in Izmir during the years 1842/43. In 1845, the journal *Sha'arey Mizrah*, following *La Buena Esperansa*, published in Izmir again by Raphael Uziel. It was a bi-weekly publication, which appeared for about a year only, due to lack of funds. In 1853, the *Ladino* language journal Or Israel appeared in Istanbul edited by Leon Hayim de Castro. The journal was published for about two years. In 1860 *El Manadero*, appeared in Istanbul; established by Yehazkel Gabbay Effendi, and published for nearly seventy years in Judeo-Spanish. In 1864, a *Ladino*-Hebrew journal *El Progreso Israelit* appeared in

Paris for Turkish Jews, as Ezra Benveniste, the founder, was not given permission on Ottoman lands. The journal did not continue publication very long. In that period, like *El Progreso* published in Paris, some other journals appeared in Vienna and Salonica. The ones appeared in Vienna were published by Joseph Calvo and Shem Tov Semo while in Salonica Yehuda Nehema published *El Lunar*, and J.Uziel published *Selanik* (Levy 2001: 15-30). Levy observes that the reason that El Manadero emerges as the only journal that maintained itself in this period stem from the fact that its publisher Yehazkel Gabbay Effendi was a wealty businessman (2001: 15, 16).

During the period of establishment (1871-1908), many journals appeared, the most important of them constitute of the journal *La Buena Esperansa* founded by Aharon Hazan in 1871 in Izmir, and in the following year *El Tyempo* founded by H.Carmona in Izmir. Levy observes that Salonica became an important centre of Jewish journalism. Among the notable journals published in Salonica between 1879 and 1897, La Epoca edited by Bezalel Sa'adiah Halevi, and El Avenir edited by David Yitzhak Florentin can be counted. Levy mentions that during this period for a wide public the journals or newspapers began to play an important role in their daily lives (2001: 16-17).

The period of flowering (1909-1914) defined by Levy, indicates a period of emergence of numerous Jewish journals appeared in Izmir, Jerusalem, Salonica and Istanbul within a year due to the Young Turks revolution and the abolition of censorhip imposed during the reign of Abdül Hamid II. In addition, in this period some Zionist and socialist journals emerged such as Avanti by Albert Benaroya of Salonica, El Imparsyal of K.Sanji, and El Judyo of David Elnecave. In the final years of this period starting with wars broking out in Tripoli and the Balkans, and followed by the First World, the Jewish journals became more localized due the dissolution of the Ottoman Empire. As a result of the new political boundaries, Ottoman Jewry was separated into smaller communities in Bulgaria, Greece, Serbia, and Turkey. However, this new scattered position of the Ottoman Jewry gave rise to the

establishment of new journalistic centers especially in Bulgaria and Serbia, which broke off from the main centers of Salonica and Istanbul (Levy, 2001: 17).

During the period of decline (1914-1922), during the period beginning from the First World War and extending to the foundation of Turkish Republic, the journalism activities of Jews are observed to decrease. For instance, *El Tyempo* and *El Telegrafo* disappeared in the early thirties. Levy notes that due to the new regime, some journals such as *La Boz de Oriente, La Boz de Türkiye, La Tyenda de Yaakov* disappeared gradually. The period of silence (1922-1948) as classified by Levy is the period when the Jewish journals gradually disappeared, leaving Istanbul as the only center with limited journalistic activity (Levy, 2001: 17-18).

Levy calls the period starting with 1948 as the final flowering period, with which Jewish journalism revived due to transition to democratic, multy party dule in Turkey in 1946. After 1946, four journals were initiated: *Şalom, Or Yeuda, Atikva, L'Etoile du Levant*. Due to mass migration of Turkish Jewry to Israel, Jewish journalistic activities decreased again. Some continuation of these journalistic activities is seen to perpetuate in Tel Aviv, such as *La Verdad* as the continuation of *Or Yeuda* of Istanbul. All these events lead Şalom to appear as the only active Jewish journalism left in Turkey (Levy, 2001: 18).

5.2.1.*Şalom*

Şalom newspaper was first published in Istanbul on the Republic Day 29th of October in 1947 by Avram Leyon and İzak Yaeş. Avram Leyon had been the owner of the newspaper and the editor from 1947 to until he fell ill in 1983; *Şalom* newspaper was bought by Gözlem Publishing House in 1984 on behalf of Turkish Jewish community, with great efforts of Naim Güleryüz. For the first two years, Naim Güleryüz took the responsibility to be both coordinator and editor, and then starting from 1986 Silvio Ovadya became the executive editor of Şalom for the next twenty years. In 2009 Ivo Molinas became the executive editor of Şalom.

Throughout the 37 years of time period in which Avram Leyon coordinated Şalom, the newspaper was published weekly. It consisted of 4 pages, and %80 of it was in Judeo-Spanish. After the purchase of the newspaper in 1984 by Gözlem Publishing House, it was agreed to publish the newpspaper in Turkish, and keep only one page in Judeo-Spanish. The number of the pages of the newspaper was increased to 6 to 8 pages in tabloid dimensions. Starting from 1998, page numbers of the newspaper increased again from 12 to 16; the newspaper has been prepared via electronic environment adopting a new design, enabling the paper to be produced with full colour on every page. Starting from 1998 *Panorama*, *Şalomist*, *Çocuk*, *Holokost*, *Şalom Kitap*, and *El Amaneser* have been published as supplements to *Şalom*.

Şalom newspaper has had different characteristics depending on the distinct periods in which it was published. According to the Almanac[49] published by Gözlem Publishing House on Şalom covering its 60 years from 1947 to 2007, Avram Leyon's *Şalom* distinguished from the new *Şalom* that has been published since 1984: Avram Leyon's *Şalom* adopted a more direct, brave and frank language; problems of the community were evaluated, and criticized more out- spokenly, and *Şalom* gave much more room to political news, transmitting them even to headline. The mentioned Almanac representing 60 years of *Şalom* claims that the only feature remained in *Şalom* was the representation of the phrase put under the name of the newspaper title by Avram Leyon: "A lo tuerto tuerto, a lo dereço dereço" [to speak the simple truth; to call a spade a spade].

Şalom has always been published weekly from the first publishment, which starting from the 1990s became a crucial non-positive factor, which could not achieve the delivery the actual and political news to the reader in time, and thus could not compete with the daily newspapers. It is claimed in the Almanac prepared on *Şalom* that starting from 90s the weekly publishing of the newspaper has been the main cause of the insufficient coverage of political news compared to the period of Avram

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[49] For further information, see Levi, M., Yanarocak, S., Barokas, N., Apalaçi, V., Nasi, A., & Russo, M. (2007). *Şalom'da 60 Yıl: 1947-2007*.Istanbul: Gözlem Gazetecilik Basın ve Yayın A.Ş.

Leyon. It is noteworthy at this point that the change in the coverage of political news could be studied in regard to political and social changes of the society, as *Şalom* newspaper has been published also on-line nowadays. Furthermore, with the purchase of the newspaper by Gözlem Publishing House on behalf of Turkish Jewish community, the newspaper claims to be the only representative of the Turkish Jewish press, which may be the cause of the change in language of the newspaper that is argued to be frankier, more direct and brave during the former period. The Almanac on Şalom indirectly argues the socio-political reasons of the change in language, which can be summarized with Tracia events, 20 class millitary service, Wealth Tax, and 6-7 Sepember 1955 events (Levi et al.,2007). Starting from 1984 up to now, more than 100 amateur columnists have worked for Şalom. The columnists have been from different professions.

5.3. The Role of Judeo-Spanish in Preserving and (Re)constructing the Sephardic Identity: Analysis of Ş*alom* Newspaper, Its Supplement E*l Amaneser*, and *Ladinokomunita Yahoo Group*

This chapter is aimed at analyzing the present potential of the Jewish language Judeo-Spanish as a key element to strengthen 'Sephardic identity'[50] of the remaining Judeo-Spanish speech community through the three ethnic communication platforms all employing the Jewish language: one page Judeo-Spanish section of *Şalom* newspaper, its supplement *El Amaneser* and the on-line correspondence circle *Ladinokomunita Yahoo Group*. The study covers evaluation of the role of Judeo-Spanish on the three mentioned platforms covering of a period starting from the early 1980s. The mentioned period of time includes the language shift of *Şalom* to Turkish in 1984 keeping one page in Judeo-Spanish, the establishment of *Ladinokomunita Yahoo Group* in 2000, and the emergence of *El Amaneser* in 2005 as the entirely

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[50] By 'Sephardic identity' mentioned, its hybrid composition is emphasized. 'Sephardic' ethnicity is taken as a dynamic constantly changing and developing unity in the light of the definition of 'ethnicity' by Fishman (1972),which suggests studying which ethnicity is apparent in behaviors of the community members, rather than taking 'ethnicity' as a given standard mere background.

Judeo-Spanish supplement to *Şalom*. On the three ethnic communication platforms selected the present role of Judeo-Spanish in Sephardic identity will be analyzed based on Fishman's two perspectives: the speech community employs the language as a symbolic system of ethno-cultural behavior (as cited in Garcia, Peltz, Schiffman, &Fishman, 2006, p.30); the language is constructed constantly intergenerationally for the maintenance and as well as the legitimization of the cultural boundaries (as cited in Garcia, Peltz, Schiffman, &Fishman, 2006: 31).

Language is considered as a 'filter' by Edwards, who assumes that the reality is perceived differently by languages; claiming that the language you speak will determine the way you think, highlighting the powerful connection between language and identity, summing up the ideas of Sapir and his pupil Whorf (Edwards, 2009:60-63). In the light of Edwards's definition of language as a 'filter' to perceive the reality, and Fishman's perspective mentioned above, according to which the language is employed by the speech community as a symbolic system of ethno-cultural behavior constructed constantly and intergenerationally for the maintenance and the legitimization of the cultural boundaries, the Jewish language creation legacy[51] that is believed to go back to 200 CE can be argued to indicate to a formation of a 'Jewish filter' as a result. The mentioned 'filter' forms the medium of the Jewish discourse, through which the reality is perceived and internalized in accordance with Jewish thought and traditions.

Creation of Jewish languages, the 'Jewish filter' of the vernacular spoken in the settled lands might be considered as an 'existential imperative' in expression of the Jewish way of life in diaspora. Basing on this idea, Judeo-Spanish, the language of Sephardim, is observed to have been perceived by the speech community as the 'Sephardic Jewish filter' corresponding to Jewish perception of reality and way of

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[51] Jewish language creation derives from many reasons composing of migration, socio-economic reasons, and most importantly Jewish language legacy emerges due to the inexistence of Hebrew in the secular everyday life patterns due to the difficulties encountered during the teaching process, and clergy's block to the holy language to be kept untouched maintaining its purity. See Parush and Sternberg 2004 for a detailed study on Jewish language creation legacy.

life following the Expulsion of 1492, responding to distinct multiple domains which have altered and evolved since the fifteenth century. In addition to the religious domain where Judeo-Spanish was employed as the language of religious education of broad public, who were not fluent enough to study Torah in Hebrew language, it can be argued that starting from the Tanzimat Era (1839) Judeo-Spanish is observed to have earned a second domain, with which the language became a medium to form the Jewish modern secular life, and had the power to construct the identity through Jewish journalism and printing activities as well as traditional means of communication on all levels, written and spoken.

Stein highlights that Jewish printing activities starting with 1493 on Ottoman lands including printing of manuscripts in Hebrew brought from Iberia are followed then by journalistic activity in the second half of the nineteenth century that brought manifestation and mechanism of change. Judeo-Spanish became the medium to Jewish journalistic activities, through which the question of 'how Jews ought to live' could be discussed, and the answers of which could be dispersed and consumed (Abrevaya Stein, 2004:16). Rifat N. Bali's evaluation on this issue supports the use of Jewish language as an important element of designing Jewish way of life acting as a medium to form the 'Jewish filter' with which the reality is perceived and internalized accordingly, as well as for other reasons because of which the Jewish language creation legacy has emerged[52]. Bali emphasizes the importance of the printing and Journalistic activities in Jewish languages in making of Jewish identity:

> The printing and journalistic activity of Jews in the Ottoman Empire and Turkey is the main pillar of this all-but-dimmed cultural heritage. In our opinion, neither proper appreciation of that heritage nor the proper integration of our Jewish identity is possible without an in-depth understanding of this prolific activity (Bali, 2001: 9).

Following the continuous decline of Judeo-Spanish and loss of its domains by the first half of the twentieth century[53], an increasing consciousness or awareness

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[52] Ibid.
[53] It can be argued that recognition of Judeo-Spanish has been affected seriously from several events, which as a result caused the language to be perceived negatively. The previous studies show the

towards Judeo-Spanish is observed recently starting from the late 1970s. The mentioned awareness or consciousness towards Judeo-Spanish has become salient through the rise and the encouragement of the literary expression produced on distinct ethnic communication platforms by several Judeo-Spanish speakers composing of both native speakers and the generation raised by them, the youngest of whom was born around 1945[54] . In this sense, Judeo-Spanish in the second half of the twenty-first century appears as the medium of self expression for a speech community that belonges to the Sephardic transnational community mainly comprised by Turkey and Israel, which is highly decreased in the last century composing mostly of non-Judeo-Spanish speakers. In this sense, Judeo-Spanish

gradual process of retreating of Judeo-Spanish from its symbolical and communicative domains and turning into a 'jargon' language. Malinowski observes during the interviews she conducted on Judeo-Spanish speech community in Turkey in 1980s that Sephardim in Istanbul perceived their language negatively naming it as 'impure', 'mixed', 'unimportant', 'jargon', 'a stolen language' perceiving it as a 'hybrid' language, also highlighting that the religion and Judeo-Spanish link is no longer as strong as it has been before. According to Malinowski, the negative perception was planted firstly as a result of the language policies of *Alliance Israélite Universelle* schools established by the nineteenth century in Ottoman lands aiming at reforging the links between Sephardim and the Western cultural tradition providing instruction in French (Malinowski, 1982:18). Ottoman Sephardic community present distinct multilingualism features after the dissolution of the empire. By the beginning of the twentieth century, due to the rise of nationalism in the Balkans, Sephardim had to learn the dominant language of the region (Kushner Bishop, 2004:51). Following the foundation of Turkish Republic in 1923 similarly as in the Balkans, Ottoman Sephardim settled in Anatolia, and Tracia, affected from nationalism and the language attitudes of the Turkish government propagating the use of the national language (Malinowski, 1982:18). Toktaş argues that "speaking in Turkish was considered a sign of loyalty to the ideals of the republic, while speaking *Ladino* was thought to be an obstacle to the Jewry's unification with society and integration with Turkish culture." (Toktaş, 2005:400). In addition to the distinct nationalism effects in Balkans and Anatolia following the dissolution of Ottoman Empire, Judeo-Spanish is observed to suffer from the holocaust in the Balkans as well during the World War II. Lastly, following the foundation of the State of Israel, emphasizing of Hebrew by the Israeli Zionist/nationalist discourse affected the the loss of Judeo-Spanish's status within the Turkish Jewish community (Altabev, 1998:273-279). Concerning the latter, Harris also states that "Zionist efforts favored the total abandonment of Judeo-Spanish" (Harris, 1982:86). According to Altabev, sympathizers of the Israeli Zionist discourse ideology in the Turkish Jewish community also feel that Judeo-Spanish is not only 'a language of exile', but also an artificial Jewish Language (Altabev, 1998: 273-279). The '(re)emerging' effect composing of the consciousness or the awareness observed on Judeo-Spanish since late seventies has to be evaluated in the mentioned conditions.

[54] The information giving the youngest Judeo-Spanish speaker is based on the presentation of Karen Gerson Şarhon. See Gerson Şarhon, Karen. (2011). "Judeo-Spanish today as reflected in the Ladino Database Project". Institut Français d'Études Anatoliennes. Sephardi Congress: Jewish Languages and the Spanish Legacy. Istanbul. June 7, 2011.

emerges in the current century as a Jewish language with limited power and capacity in terms of having a role in social construction of reality for Sephardic Jews. Considering the previous roles adhered to the Jewish language within a historical continuity, it can be argued that the recent role of the Judeo-Spanish on the Sephardic community constitutes of three elements: strengthening of the present Sephardic identities for the Judeo-Spanish speaking community members; (re)constructing of the Sephardic identities in the case of the Judeo-Spanish speaking members that have been disconnected from the community for any reason; and maintenance of the Sephardic cultural heritage through the archival of the literary self expression produced in Judeo-Spanish in the recent years aimed at transmitting it to the next generations.

Following the consciousness or awareness is observed to rise since the late seventies towards the maintenance of Judeo-Spanish by a determined generation of Judeo-Spanish speakers who were alarmed because of the endangered position of the language, several attemps aimed at language maintenance has been made. During that phase, among the most important efforts taken aimed at maintenance of Judeo-Spanish and Sephardic heritage, the establishment of National Authority of Ladino in Israel in 1997 heads.

In this phase, Judeo-Spanish has served as a special 'proxy' that gives access to the past Sephardic everyday life and cultural heritage acting as a medium both to strengthen and '(re)construction' of community identities online through ethnic communication platforms.

5.3.1 Presentation of *Şalom*'s One Page Judeo-Spanish Part, *El Amaneser*, and *Ladinokomunita Yahoo Group*

Şalom newspaper, its supplement *El Amaneser* and the on-line correspondence circle *Ladinokomunita Yahoo Group* are the selected ethnic communication platforms

where the present potential of Judeo-Spanish as a Jewish language to strenghten and (re)construct 'Sephardic identity'[55] will be studied.

5.3.1.1 *Şalom*'s Judeo-Spanish Page

Today Judeo-Spanish expression on Turkish Jewish community newspaper *Şalom* is limited with only one page, for the preparation of which conscious effort is taken. The following paragraphs will describe Judeo-Spanish's retreating from the newspaper, as well as the meaning of the struggle to keep the page:

Şalom weekly newspaper was first published in Istanbul on Republic Day, 29th of October in 1947, by Avram Leyon and İzak Yaeş. Avram Leyon was the owner of the newspaper and the editor from 1947 until he fell ill in 1983. During 37 years of period of time in which Avram Leyon coordinated *Şalom* until the newspaper was bought by Gözlem Publishing House in 1984 on behalf of Turkish Jewish community. During that time, the newspaper was published weekly, and composing of 4 pages, of which language was %80 Judeo-Spanish, and %20 constituted of Turkish. *Şalom* newspaper has been published for many years in Judeo-Spanish in Latin alphabet. Since the Jewish community living in Istanbul at that time knew Judeo-Spanish better than Turkish.

Gerson Şarhon highlights that after the death of Avram Leyon in 1983, "Şalom's existence changed suddenly to reflect a need for the newspaper and a nostalgia for 'the good old days' " (1986: 97).

After the purchase of the newspaper in 1984 by Gözlem Publishing House, it was agreed to publish the newpspaper in Turkish, and keep only one page Judeo-Spanish. Gerson Şarhon mentions that the new *Şalom* achieved to 3000 readers that time. Gerson Şarhon argued in her MA thesis submitted in 1986 that *Şalom* served a few functions for the Sephardic community in Turkey. Firstly, Gerson Şarhon argued that

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[55] By 'Sephardic identity' mentioned, its hybrid composition is emphasized. 'Sephardic' ethnicity is taken as a dynamic constantly changing and developing unity in the light of the definition of 'ethnicity' by Fishman (1972),which suggests studying which ethnicity is apparent in behaviors of the community members, rather than taking 'ethnicity' as a given standard mere background.

Şalom constituted one of the "institutional support" factors that are important for ethnolinguistic vitality of the group as a community newspaper read by many. Secondly, the researcher argued that *Şalom*'s existence strengthened the ethnic group identity by perpetuating the use of Judeo-Spanish in the community, by means of teaching the language especially to young people, getting the youth interested in the language, and showing all community members including the young and the old that Judeo-Spanish can be used to say and write about a variety of different subjects (Gerson Şarhon, 1986: 99-100).

From 1987 to 2003, the mentioned one paged Judeo-Spanish part of the newspaper was coordinated by Salomon Bicerano, who was also the editor of *Şalom*. After 2003, the page dedicated to Judeo-Spanish writings has been coordinated and prepared by Klara Perahya, Dora Niyego, Coya Delevi, and Şeli Gaon. *Şalom* is considered to be unique in the world with its Judeo-Spanish section consisting of one page.

It is observed that conscious effort is taken to maintain the Judeo-Spanish part kept in the newspaper composed of one page. During the interviews conducted in 2011 in Istanbul, Klara Perahya[56], one of the columnists who has coordinated the preparation Judeo-Spanish page of Şalom since late 1980s, describes the efforts taken to keep the page after the purchase of *Şalom* newspaper in1984 by Gözlem Publishing House on behalf of Turkish Jewish community:

> The youth of the community, the youth of that time spoke only Turkish, as a result of 'Citizen Speak Turkish campaign!'. In this sense, they decided to publish Şalom in Turkish. Only one person suggested the idea to keep one page in Judeo-Spanish, as a symbolic element representing what is left from our family language. Salamon Bicerano took the responsibility of preparing the page. When Bicerano got ill, I accepted the responsibility. Now, 4-5 columnists prepare the page every week.

Şeli Gaon[57], another columnist preparing Şalom's Judeo-Spanish page for 15 years emphasized the importance of maintaining the page during the interviews as follows:

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[56] Interview with Klara Perahya, December 2011, Istanbul.
[57] Interview with Şeli Gaon, December 2011, Istanbul.

> When Şalom shifted its language to Turkish completely in 1984, the newspaper turned into a normal one, nothing left belonging to the Jews. The paper published in Turkish completely would not mean anything.

As can be seen here, the columnists perceived having a column in Judeo-Spanish page of *Şalom* as a 'responsibility' that has to be undertaken. It is seen that the columnists recognizes a newspaper as 'Jewish' if it contained texts in the Jewish language which would then mean the paper 'belonged' to the Jews. Texts in Judeo-Spanish appear as an important element to reflect Jewish identity according to the columnists.

Concerning the context of the articles published in the Judeo-Spanish page of *Şalom*, it is observed that the page itself served as a little bulletin giving place to many different contexts from issues regarding Sephardic/World Jewry, politics, actuality, Judaism, and any subject to a lesser degree. During the interviews conducted in Istanbul in 2011 with three of the four columnists preparing the Judeo-Spanish page of *Şalom* the context of their columns were asked. The results of the interviews were as follows:

Klara Perahya mentioned during the interviews that she writes mostly on actuality, and political subjects, as well as reporting the interviews she made herself. Şeli Gaon[58] mentioned during the interviews that firstly she started in *Şalom* writing her childhood memories regarding Sephardic everyday life in *Galata* concerning the neighborhood, the affection, and the friendship there, as well as Sephardic traditions, and religious days like *Hanuka* and *Purim*. She also wrote her childhood memories regarding the everyday life in *Heybeliada*. Şeli Gaon mentioned that nowadays she writes more on actual subjects, but highlights that writing on nostalgia has constituted most of her work and still has to some extent. During the interview, Coya Delevi[59] mentioned that the context of her column is mixed of many subjects, also composing of the contemporary themes like unemployment. She highlighted that she started writing Sephardic everyday life of the past in *Galata*. She mentioned that her

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[58] Interview with Şeli Gaon, December 2011, Istanbul.
[59] Interview with Coya Delevi, December 2011, Istanbul.

column was published with the name "A little girl from *Galata*". A part from *Şalom*'s one page Judeo-Spanish page Delevi also wrote her memories in different platforms: *El Amaneser*, and *Diyalog*, which is an electronical journal published in Izmir. Delevi mentions that presently she only writes her memories on special religious days.

In the light of the interviews conducted with columnists preparing *Şalom*'s Judeo-Spanish page, it is possible to say that Judeo-Spanish context in *Şalom* could reflect contemporary everyday life, world Jewry, world politics, Sephardic Jewry, Judaism and other subjects in the limited sense. Nevertheless, it is observed that memories constitute an important place in texts while reflecting Sephardic Jewish traditions and customs regarding past Sephardic everyday life speaking of both secular and religious domains. Nostalgia constitutes of longing for the past Sephardic life(lives) that indicate a period of time when Jews lived in the same neighborhoods, even in the same apartment buildings, and when grandparents talked in Judeo-Spanish. It is possible to argue that cultivating Judeo-Spanish sounded the past Sephardic life. It is seen that the columnists find the contemporary everyday life lacking of the traditional values that they are taught to remain by their parents and grandparents. Thus, columnists recall the memories regarding past Sephardic life (lives) and narrate them in their columns from time to time to strengthen the Sephardic identities. The fact that the columns are in Judeo-Spanish, the target group is limited with the Judeo-Spanish speakers only, which thus restricts the nostalgia effect to be accessible to the non-Judeo-Spanish speaker youth.

5.3.1.2 *Ladinokomunita Yahoo Group Correspondence Circle*

Ladinokomunita Yahoo Group is not a Turkey origined on-line platform, but a correspondence circle featuring transnational founded by Rachel Bortnick, a Sephardic community member born in Turkey currently living in the United States. However, most of the members are born in Turkey, which makes the online platform eligible for a further study aimed at understanding the role of Judeo-Spanish in

strengthening and (re)constructing Sephardic identitities uniting the Judeo-Spanish speaking members dispersed to all over the world.

Ladinokomunita Yahoo Group[60], is a correspondence circle founded in January 5 2000 by Rachel Amado Bortnick following the conference on Judeo-Spanish orthography in Latin characters organized in Jerusalem in 1999 by *National Authority of Ladino*, which is an Israeli government-supported institution established in 1997 dedicated to preserving and promoting the Sephardic language and cultural heritage (Bortnick, 2004: 3).

The online correspondence circle was established aimed at accomplishing three objectives determined and written on the portal: promoting the use of *Ladino*[Judeo-Spanish]; spreading the use of a standardized method for spelling *Ladino*[Judeo-Spanish] with Roman characters, according to the rules established by the journal *Aki Yerushalayim*; promoting knowledge of Sephardic History and culture. In the correspondence circle, the messages must be written in *Ladino* [Judeo-Spanish], as it is determined on the portal of *Ladinokomunita*. The messages are strictly controlled by the founder and moderator of the group in terms of their accordance with the rules established by the journal *Aki Yerushalayim*.

The topics mainly center around Sephardic culture, Judaism, history, and language. There are also vernacular uses of Judeo-Spanish consisting of usual dialogs regarding travellings, invitations, demands asking for specific information, celebration of birthdays, attendance for inauguration of some events, asking for recipes, invitation of elaboration of a book consisting of old Sephardic recipes, offline arrangements from the friendships made online, seminar announcements regarding Judaism or *Ladino*, presentation of new members to *Ladinokomunita*, celebration of religious days, sharing of polls for creating new words that do not exist in today's Judeo-Spanish, and so on.

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[60] See http://groups.yahoo.com/group/Ladinokomunita/

There are currently 1377 members registered (last accessed August 2nd 2012).

Concerning the member profile, most members are Sephardim originating from Sephardi centres of the Ottoman Empire, while there are also Ashkenazim, non-Jews and descendants of conversos (Bortnick, 2004:10). The members were generally born in Turkey[61], still living in Turkey or immigrated to different parts of the world: Istanbul, Izmir, Edirne, Bursa, Costa Rica, Buenos Aires, Montresal, New York, Tel Aviv, Florida, Texas, Houston, Quebec, Spain, France, Brasil, and many others. The forum also accepts Spanish speaking non-Jews interested in acquiring the Judeo-Spanish language and identity. Concerning Judeo-Spanish knowledge among the registered members, Bortnick highlights that over half of the members qualified their command of Judeo-Spanish as less than good in the questionnaire made in 2001(2004: 10).

Bortnick observes that recalling of the memories regarding past Sephardic everyday life including sayings, proverbs, folktales and more not only keep the language alive but also preserve a treasure for the future. She states that in addition to *Ladinokomunita*'s being a source for archives of the past, writing on the modern topics in the forum is also fostered creation of new vocabulary to Judeo-Spanish mostly barrowed from Modern Spanish. She also claims that on *Ladinokomunita* on-line circle Judeo-Spanish is observed to adapt and develop like a living language as well as arguing that that *Ladinokomunita* has inspired creative writing in Judeo-Spanish (Bortnick, 2004:10). Bortnick analyses the impact of *Ladinokomunita* as a virtual community in an article prepared following the establishment of the on-line circle as follows:

> It is clear that in one and a half years Ladinokomunita has had a tremendous impact, not in reviving Judeo-Spanish for it was not dead, but certainly in reawakening it from its sleep, invigorating it, and bringing its beauty and richness to the attention of the world (Bortnick, 2004:11)

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[61] The information is gathered from the questionnary made on Ladinokomunita members in 2005 that can be accessed via Ladinokomunita Yahoo Group web site. See
http://groups.yahoo.com/group/Ladinokomunita/files/

5.3.1.3. *El Amaneser*

El Amaneser is the monthly supplement to *Şalom,* and it means "the rise, the sunrise".[62] Following the foundation of the Ottoman Turkish Sephardic Cultural Research Center, and Salamon Bicerano's demise, who was in charge of preparing the one page Judeo-Spanish part of *Şalom* newspaper, with the great effort and participation of *Ladinokomunita Yahoo Group* members all over the world, *El Amaneser* is 'rised', as it is embedded in its name. During the interviews in Istanbul, Güler Orgun, coordinator, and editor of *El Amaneser,* who also is the co-moderator of *Ladinokomunita Yahoo Group*, explained the evolution of the idea of publishing the supplement, its progress, details of the writers, and aims of the newspaper as follows:

> The Ottoman Turkish Sephardic Cultural Research Center was founded in 2004. We, as *Ladinokomunita* members were thinking of publishing something. At that time with the demise of Salamon Bicerano, who was preparing the one page Judeo-Spanish part of Şalom, the members of Ladinokomunita were very sorry that the page in Judeo-Spanish will not be prepared anymore. *Ladinokomunita* members started to send numerous writings, and I mentioned this to Karen Şarhon, the director of the Ottoman Turkish Sephardic Cultural Research Center. I said that we should find a way to increase the place given to Judeo-Spanish to two pages. There were such numerous writings coming from Ladinokomunita members that instead of *Şalom*'s Judeo-Spanish part, we decided to publish a sixteen paged supplement to Şalom, which will be entirely in Judeo-Spanish.

> So many people has written and sent their works to us that it seemed as if they were waiting for a platform where they could write! You could never imagine how numerous are the writings sent to us from all over the world. Among them we select and classify in order to publish. We have almost thousand writings waiting to be published. Since the initially decided 16 pages became insufficient, we increased it to 24 pages and now we are trying not to make it 32!

It is observed that *El Amaneser* appears as a second platform triggered by the formation of *Ladinokomunita* Yahoo Group. It can be argued that *El Amaneser* has responded to the need of publishing of the literary expression of the group members

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[62] The definition was made by the columnists of *Şalom* and *El Amaneser* interviewed in Istanbul in 2011.

of *Ladinokomunita*. The emergence of the two platforms shows the capacity and potential of the consciousness or the awareness observed towards Judeo-Spanish since the late seventies.

El Amaneser is first published in the March of 2005 by Ottoman Turkish Sephardic Cultural Research Center. As it is written on the web portal of the center[63], *El Amaneser* is the *Ladino* [Judeo-Spanish] newspaper published by the Center monthly, and it is the second publication of its kind in the world. The other one is *Aki Yerushalayim* that has been published in Israel 3-4 times a year for 30 years (Karen Şarhon, 2012, personal communications). It is stated on the portal of the Ottoman Turkish Sephardic Cultural Research Center[64] that the words of *El Amaneser* arrive at doorsteps as distant as Japan, the United States, Israel, Uruguay, Argentina, and Chile.

It is observed that the supplement constitutes one of the most important developments concerning Judeo-Spanish movement after the foundation of National Authority of *Ladino* in Israel in 1997, the establishment of the online correspondence circle *Ladinokomunita Yahoo Group* in 2000, and foundation of Ottoman Turkish Sephardic Cultural Research Center in 2003. It is possible to say that both *Ladinokomunita* and *El Amaneser* form virtual transnational platforms, where the effects of external sociological conditions, and contact to other cultures and languages accelerating its death are eliminated. Starting from 2005, in its seven years of publishing journey, and the continuance of the literary expression, which has proceeded increasing in numbers, shows that despite the limited number of Judeo-Spanish speakers remaining, *El Amaneser* has proved that the language suffering death can be 'activated' on a virtual transnational platform providing a safe and isolated space uniting the remaining Judeo-Spanish speakers. However, the 'revitalization' effect is observed to be limited for the native and semi-speakers of the language. In addition to this, further studies are needed to observe the

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[63] See http://sephardiccenter.wordpress.com/el-ameneser/
[64] Ibid.

'revitalization' effect outside the platforms, examining the effects on the present lives of the members. Rather than a practical 'revitalization', it can be argued that the emergence of *El Amaneser*, and the intensive literary expression observed in Judeo-Spanish recently constitute the reflection of the conscious effort taken by several remaining Judeo-Spanish speakers that are alarmed due to the highly endangered position of the language to maintain Judeo-Spanish and Sephardic heritage.

El Amaneser appears as an important platform in terms of both maintenance, continuation, as well as archival of the Sephardic cultural heritage through the use of the Jewish language, Judeo-Spanish.

Regarding to the question "Who are the writers?" of *El Amaneser*, Güler Orgun[65] stated during the interviews that most of the articles come from Israil. She adds that the writers from Israil composing of mostly speakers of both Turkish and *Ladino*[Judeo-Spanish] can follow *Şalom*, which is published in Turkish except from the Judeo-Spanish one page part. Orgun notes that the writers that are originally from Thesaloniki or Bulgary and currently living in Israel do not know Turkish. Orgun states that apart from Israel, they have writers from Thesaloniki, Germany, Bulgary, the UK, France, the United States, Argentine, Brazil, Chili, and all over the world. Regarding the language, Orgun states that sometimes they also edit the language too, due to the fact that people cannot remember the grammar and vocabulary very well. Orgun says that they very much encourage people to write what they could write, which is extremely important.

In the light of the information that Orgun gave during the interviews, it is noticed that the emergence of *El Amaneser* as a reflection of Sephardic Jewish literary expression in the twenty-first century, which is entirely produced in Judeo-Spanish can be argued to be the continuation of the Jewish journalism designing the Jewish secular life. However, today rather than suggesting a new way of Jewish life as in the Tanzimat Era, it can be argued that Judeo-Spanish cultivation appears as the main

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[65] Interview with Yusuf Altıntaş, December 2011, Istanbul.

pillar of '(re)constructing' the past Sephardic life, through recalling of the past memories.

5.3.1.4. Concerning the Contextual, and Orthographical Features of All Three and Their Target Group

The articles that appear on *Şalom*'s Judeo-Spanish page focus on distinct subjects almost functioning as a one page bulletin on world politics, current news, news concerning Jews of Turkey as well as the world, and Sephardic everyday life in the past especially on specific religious holidays. The page also contains a part dedicated to Judaism written by Rabbi, which appears in Turkish also in *Şalom*. *Şalom* is accessed by subscription and via web; currentlly it has about 4000 subscriptions.

In comparison to *Şalom*'s Judeo-Spanish part which is published weekly and made up of articles reflecting the ambiance of the day, *El Amaneser* which is published monthly uses a very vast period of time independently from the present. As well as the time issue the supplement addresses to a transnational Sephardic community dispersed to different parts of the world. It is accessed monthly as a supplement to *Şalom*. In this sense, the supplement arrives at every home where *Şalom* is accessed. A part from this, it is also possible to subscribe to only *El Amaneser* monthly. Güler Orgun, the coordinator of *El Amaneser*, stated during the interview that there are about 300 subscribers from all over the world, who are mostly Judeo-Spanish speakers that do not speak Turkish. In addition to this, different from *Şalom* only the older publications of *El Amaneser* are open to on-line access.

El Amaneser has columnists from all over the world writing about distinct issues regarding Sephardic life as distinct from *Şalom*'s Judeo-Spanish part prepared by the columnists living in Istanbul. Articles published in *El Amaneser* while focusing on the news from past and present Sephardic everyday life practices all over the world including cultural, artistic, and culinary features of the communities, history of Sephardic communities, Judaism, and as well as presentations of the cities or towns,

where different communities are settled. Memories, nostalgia, and the past appear as remarkable features of the newspaper in terms of making of Sephardic identities. Apart from this, *El Amaneser* also presents the latest studies realized on Judeo-Spanish and Sephardic culture. Different from *Şalom*'s one page Judeo-Spanish section, the columnists interviewed state that the context of *El Amaneser* does not include politics.

Concerning the language, Judeo-Spanish was employed using Turkish alphabet in *Şalom* from the beginning of the publication of the newspaper. Following the emergence of *El Amaneser* in 2005 employing the orthographical rules determined in Aki Yerushalayim, *Şalom* also adopted the alphabet suggested. Although *El Amaneser* complies with the alphabet system determined in Aki Yerushalayim, it is observed that different dialects of Judeo-Spanish are encouraged without interference (Güler Orgun, 2012, personal communications). Indeed, establishing a standard dialect of Judeo-Spanish is not aimed. In addition to this, *El Amaneser* also dedicates a part where a shema of Hebrew alphabet system is presented. The Latin alphabet use of Judezmo started in Turkey in the beginning of the twentieth century. The Hebrew alphabet system was developed in Iberia including special characters enabling the transcription of Hispanic sounds absent from Hebrew; Jewish manuscripts preserved from medieval Spain were written in the mentioned alphabetic style that is unique to the Jews of Iberia. Following the Expulsion of 1492 until the twentieth century the alphabet was in use among the Sephardim in the Ottoman Empire and North Africa (Bunis, 2011: 24-25). Despite the fact that El Amaneser is composed of articles written in Latin alphabet only, the Hebrew alphabet system is kept, which became known as Rashi letters. Concerning Rashi letters Michael Studemund Halévy argues as follows: " Sephardim refuses to learn Rashi, with which they lose the opportunity to access to their past, and heritage (Halévy, 2011). Dedication of a part composing of the Hebrew alphabet system indicates the mentioned belief aiming at giving the opportunity and the encouragement to access to literary works written in the past employing this alphabet.

Ladinokomunita presents similar features as *El Amaneser* concerning the time and place focused. On the website[66] of the on-line platform the topics of discussion are listed as follows:

> Topics of discussion center around Sephardic culture, history, and language, including: reminiscences of Sephardic life in Turkey, the United States, Rhodes, Salonica, or anywhere else in the world; Jewish holidays, customs, superstitions, foods, quaint sayings and proverbs, differences in vocabulary and pronunciation, origins of certain words, etc.; reports on aspects of Ladino history and literature by researchers and knowledgeable members. This is also a forum to announce programs and conferences relating to Ladino (or other aspects of Sephardic culture), as well as books, dictionaries, Ladino language courses, etc. Members may, in fact, discuss any subject of interest, including current affairs, science, literature, etc.

The on-line platform potentially addresses to all Judeo-Spanish speakers remaining dispersed all over the world. Presently, *Ladinokomunita Yahoo Group* has 1373 members (July 2012). Concerning the alphabet, since its very emergence *Ladinokomunita* has intended to spread the use of a standardized method for spelling *Ladino*[Judeo-Spanish] with Roman characters, according to the rules established by the journal *Aki Yerushalayim* published in Israel since 1979.

The slight differences observed between the three ethnic communication platforms mentioned derive mostly from the time and space that is intended to address. All three seem to be targeting the same group which covers all remaining Judeo-Spanish speakers all over the world. All three seem to have the same message at the target group, which forms an attempt to preserve and (re)construct the Sephardic identities through memories regarding especially Sephardic everyday life practices in the past. The language serves as a medium that gives access to past memories, through which Sephardic identities are attempted to be re-formed, and recalled.

5.3.2.Reading Judeo-Spanish in *Şalom*, *El Amaneser* and *Ladinokomunita Yahoo Group*

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[66] http://groups.yahoo.com/group/Ladinokomunita/

Critical discourse analysis is employed in this study as a way to study the construction of ethnic identities in news media aimed at understanding identity and power relations practices, and the use of language. In this study, particulary selected representations of 'ethnic identity' (Fishman, 1972) in (re)construction of Sephardic identity through the use of the Jewish language Judeo-Spanish is attempted to be analysed.

Judeo-Spanish page of *Şalom* and *El Amaneser*, the entirely Judeo-Spanish supplement of *Şalom,* and *Ladinokomunita Yahoo Group* are analysed to understand the role of the language in community identity construction. This part of the study has progressed through the expert interviews conducted with selected columnists writing Judeo-Spanish in *Şalom, El Amaneser*, and coordinator and editor of *El Amaneser* and co-moderator of *Ladinokomunita Yahoo Group*. Besides, aimed at understanding the religious employment of the language, as well as the highly embedded character of Judeo-Spanish to Sephardic identity, the general secretary of the Chief Rabbinate in Turkey is interviewed, who at the same time has many studies on Judeo-Spanish language as well as having been the song writer to Erensiya Sefaradi music group. The three ethnic platforms are analysed to study the role of Judeo-Spanish in strengthening and (re)constructing Sephardic identities. To meet this aim, in addition to expert interviews, the messages posted to *Ladinokomunita Yahoo Group* on-line platform in twelve years since it was established in 2000 are studied combining the theories on 'centers' and 'homelands' and construction of new hybrid identities through homelands (Weingrod and Levy, 2005), the role of ethnic minority communications in the struggle for cultural survival (Horboken, 2004), and emergence of new hybrid identities through digital platforms (Brinkerhoff , 2009).

Ethnic communication platforms are observed to mobilize the Sephardic community members dispersed to all over the world. The power of the literary expression in Judeo-Spanish on these platforms will be evaluated as a key element in strengthening and (re)constructing of Sephardic identities within five main titles: (1) Language Perception: *Muestra Lingua* [Our Language], (2) Judeo-Spanish as a Jewish filter to

see the world, (3) (Re)construction of Sephardic Identity Through Memories, (4) 'Virtual Space' formation through the use of Judeo-Spanish. (5) Revival or Archival Discussion.

5.3.2.1. Language Perception: *Muestra Lingua* [Our Language]

Muestra lingua means "our language", and it refers to the language of Sephardim. The language has been internalized, which also reflected to the names given: *Judezmo, Yahudice, Jidio, Judio, and Lingua Sefaradit*. Naming the language as m*uestra lingua* can be argued to constitute another variation of this internalization activity. The term *muestra lingua* is used widely on *Şalom*'s one page in Judeo-Spanish, *El Amaneser*, and *Ladinokomunita*, the three ethnic communication platforms that are analysed in this study. Jewish language is observed to form the indispensable component of the Jewish press considering the Jewish printing activities starting from the fifteenth century which is followed by the Jewish journalism activities. In this sense, it can be argued that the cultivation of Jewish language in Jewish press is the part of the discourse formation. The term *muestra lingua* [our language] is the recontextualization of the variations of Castilian and Portuguese dialects spoken in Iberia that enriched in Diaspora with (Ottoman) Turkish, and to a lesser extent barrowed from Greek, Arabic, Hebrew, and French. It is observed that the term *muestra lingua* constitutes a powerful recontextualization of the Iberian dialect spoken by the Sephardic Jews used in strengthening and (re)constructing Sephardic identity on ethnic communication platforms. Columnists are the privileged community members enjoying this activity.

Columnists enjoy the privileged position of recontextualizing the meaning and representations of *muestra lingua* [our language] for community identity. During the interviews conducted in Istanbul in 2011, the interviewees composed of columnists and experts are asked the meaning of *muestra lingua*. The responses revealed that Judeo-Spanish is highly internalized by the interviewees identified strongly with community identity.

Interviewees answered the questions regarding the meaning of *muestra lingua* [our language] to them and the meaning of the reasons of the internalization of the Spanish variant spoken by Sephardic Jews as follows:

Klara Perahya, a columnist of *Şalom*'s one page in Judeo-Spanish, and *El Amaneser*, stated during the interview that "Our Spanish is not like the Spanish spoken in Spain. There is nothing confidential or hidden; the Spanish we [Sephardic Jews] speak is unique to us." Güler Orgun, the coordinator of *El Amaneser* and the co-moderator of *Ladinokomunita* argues that "*Muestra lingua* means Ladino [Judeo-Spanish], which is the language only spoken by the Sephardic community, which is ours' [of Sephardic Jews]." According to Yusuf Altıntaş, the general secretary of the Chief Rabbinate in Turkey, muestra lingua is as follows:

> It is the maternal language; the language of our grandparents, ancestors. Sephardic Jewry has *Ladino*[Judeo-Spanish used in religious domains] and *Judeo-Espanyol*[Judeo-Spanish used in secular domains] in its component. There are many liturgical vocabulary and words from Torah embedded to *Judeo-Espanyol*.[67]

During the interviews Coya Delevi, a columnist of *Şalom* and *El Amaneser* explained the meaning of *muestra lingua* [our language]:

> It is a strange feeling. We[Jews] are constantly decreesing. Throughout history, we [Jews] have been subjected to genocides continuously. They [The Jewish] wished to be always together. We [Sephardic Jews] say *muestro pueblo* [our community]. Our [Sephardic Jewish] community, our nation. We[Jews] internalize the language as well and say "our language". We [Jews] are truehearted to our ancestors.[68]

In the light of the interviews, it is observed that Judeo-Spanish is perceived by the interviewees as the mother tongue that unifies the Sephardic Jews that is also identified very much with Sephardic Jewish past and present. The language maintenance activities should be evaluated in accordance with the latter.

Concerning the maintenance of the structure of *muestra lingua*, on-line correspondence circle *Ladinokomunita* intends to encourage a standard use of Judeo-

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[67] Interview with Yusuf Altıntaş, December 2011, Istanbul.
[68] Interview with Coya Delevi, December 2011, Istanbul.

Spanish, the rules of which are formed and determined on *Aki Yerushalayim*, the Israeli newspaper that has been published in Judeo-Spanish, since 1979. The mentioned rules are also written on the portal of *Ladinokomunita*. To meet the use of a 'standard' Judeo-Spanish, the founder and moderator of *Ladinokomunita* makes great effort to edit the linguistic structure of the messages if needed. Below, Rachel Bortnick (2000), the founder and moderator of *Ladinokomunita* explains how she corrects messages that are not written according to the linguistic structure determined on *Aki Yerushalayim*. In the below message, the language perception addressing *muestra lingua* [our language], and the meaning of the maintenance of the language can also be seen. She mentions in a message posted to *Ladinokomunita* that the linguistic structure that should be obeyed while posting messages to the group:

> Otras vezes troko unos byervos de "espanyol moderno" al "espanyol muestro"! I de ves en kuando si ay un mesaje kurto en Inglez, lo traduizo a muestra lengua, ke la estamos yamando *Ladino*. Asigun ya vesh, muestra korespondensya deve de ser en Ladino! [69]

> [Sometimes I change the words written in Modern Spanish to "our Spanish"! And sometimes if there is a short message sent in English, I translate it into "muestra lengua" " our language", which we call *Ladino*. As you see now, our correspondence circle has to be maintained in Ladino!] (Translated by the author)

Rachel Bortnick, stated in a personal conversation that in Jerusalem in 1999, a congress was organized in the search of a standardized orthographic system for Judeo-Spanish, where many distinct systems were suggested, among which the present orthography used by Modern Spanish was also emphasized by Jacob Hassan. She added that as a result Aki Yerushalayim system was accepted broadly. Bortnick highlighted the importance of Aki Yerushalayim system also in her words "I also think that our [Judeo-Spanish] pronunciation which is different from Modern Spanish and unique to us [Sephardic Jews] is reflected in the easiest and in the most exact way".

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[69] Bortnick, Rachel.(2000). "Saludos de Rachel - i unos byervos sovre la ortografia".February 17, 2000. Ladinokomunita. 24 June. 2012.
http://groups.yahoo.com/group/Ladinokomunita/message/73?threaded=1&l=1

The maintenance of the structure of *muestra lingua* [Judeo-Spanish] is observed to represent the maintenance of Sephardic cultural heritage. It can be argued that through the encouragement of a standardized structural use of the language the effects of other cultures that accelerate the language cohesion are eliminated. In this sense, it may be argued that language cohesion is believed to result in transmitting less or wrong the Sephardic cultural heritage embedded to Judeo-Spanish.

Yusuf Altıntaş, the general secretary of the Chief Rabbinate in Turkey, explained during the interview the meaning of speaking *muestra lingua* [Judeo-Spanish] in broad public composing of non-Jews:

> The situation of 'If I am Jewish, and if I speak a Jewish language to a Jewish, I feel myself Jewish' and 'speaking in a different language to feel ourselves Jewish while in Turkey everyone speaks Turkish' constitutes a psychosocial phenomena. Speaking of those days when Judeo-Spanish was the spoken language for the Sephardic Jews, since the Jew does not know his own language Hebrew unfortunately, speaking Judeo-Spanish meant 'I speak Spanish; I am different from the broad public.'[70]

As Altıntaş puts it clearly, Irvine and Gal also discuss how through linguistic alteration, and code switching self defining against some imagined 'other' is aimed (as cited in Niño-Murcia and Rothman, 2009:17). It might not be wrong to say that, the Jewish language creation and employment corresponding to many other reasons, also caters to the need of self defining against the 'other'. In this sense, it can be argued that *muestra lingua*[Judeo-Spanish] is the expression of the maintenance of cultural boundaries based on Fishman's perspective[71].

Considering the Sephardic multilingualism, the position of French appears as another question to analyze to understand better the meaning of *muestra lingua*. French used to be one of the mother tongues to Sephardim and one of the most influential languages that has ever been for Sephardim since the foundation of *Alliance Israélite*

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[70] Interview with Yusuf Altıntaş, December 2011, Istanbul.

[71] Fishman argues that the speech community employs the language as a symbolic system of ethno-cultural behavior constructed intergenerationally for the maintenance of cultural boundaries, which constantly creates and legitimizes the speech community. Maintenance of the mentioned boundaries appears in a more salient way due to the effects of globalization (as cited in as cited in Garcia, Peltz, Schiffman, &Fishman, 2006:30-35).

Schools starting from 1860 in Ottoman Lands until their integration to Turkish education system with the Unification of Education law (Tevhid-i Tedrisat), which Turkish government passed in 1924[72]. However, the influence of French remained among Sephardim for in societal network and family due to French-Judeo-Spanish diglossic state. Thus, It can be argued that French continued to be a part of Jewish multilingualism for those who studied at Alliance schools, and relatively for the generation raised by them. The influence of French on Sephardim gradually ceased over time. Although French has been in diglossic situation with Judeo-Spanish since the foundation of *Alliance*, which favored French language education, it is observed that *muestra lingua* [our language] only refers to Judeo-Spanish. Despite the fact that French has been among the mother-tongues of Sephardic Jews until recently, which had also implications as Frenchifying of Judeo-Spanish to some extent both grammatically and culturally, French stays out of *muestra lingua* definitions:

During the interview, Yusuf Altıntaş, the general secretary of the Chief Rabbinate in Turkey, stated that "French was not a Jewish language, we call it *fragnol*. French used to be the prestigious language once upon a time; it is the language of our elite." Şeli Gaon, columnist of *Şalom*, stated during the interviews that French might be *muestra lingua* for only a determined generation, for those who were born between 1920 and 1940.[73] Coya Delevi, another columnist of *Şalom* and *El Amaneser*, mentioned during the interviews that French is not *muestra lingua*; at home, in her parents' house although her parents knew French, they used to speak Judeo-Spanish as a sign of respect to her grandparents.[74]

Concerning the perception of French, Güler Orgun, the editor of *El Amaneser* and the co-moderator of *Ladinokomunita* said during the interview as follows:

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[72] For more information on Jewish schools see: Levi, Avner. (1998).*Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'inde Yahudiler* (2nd Ed.). Istanbul: Iletisim Yayınları.
[73] Interview with Yusuf Altıntaş, December 2011, Istanbul.
[74] Interview with Coya Delevi, December 2011, Istanbul.

French is not *muestra lingua*, because it is the language of the French, not ours'. We learned the language of the French. The meaning of French is special; it is my mother tongue, which has a very tragic meaning to me.[75]

Orgun emphasizes the situation of French to Sephardim, which used to be the mother tongue evolved in diglossic situation with Judeo-Spanish and ceased gradually with Judeo-Spanish after 1945-50. Concerning French acquisition, Karen Gerson Şarhon, the director of the Ottoman Turkish Sephardic Cultural Research Center, also emphasized in a personal conversation the importance of French to her mentioning that "It is a very painful feeling to me not to be able to speak in French with my daughter." (Gerson Şarhon, 2011, personal communications).

In the light of the interviews, it is observed that although French is not referred as *muestra lingua*[our language] according to the definitions given by the interviewees, French has been perceived as one of the important elements in making of Sephardic identity for a determined limited generation. Needless to say, more studies should be conducted on French acquisition and perception of Sephardim in Ottoman lands and in Turkey.

According to the interviewees, Judeo-Spanish is the mother tongue, with which cultural boundaries are defined as a respresentative of Sephardic identity. It can be argued that Judeo-Spanish is perceived as the only *muestra lingua*[our language] because of the very hybrid composition of the language corresponding to the Sephardic diasporic history; only Judeo-Spanish witnessed the whole Sephardic history. The below poem posted to *Ladinokomunita* and it shows the very unique position of Judeo-Spanish to Sephardic Jews among the other languages spoken by the community.

Muestro kerido Ladino

dizen ke es noble el kasteyano
e el franses de paris, muy refinado,
dulse es el italiano
e el ebreo, el mas santo

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[75] Interview with Güler Orgun, December 2011, Istanbul.

el grego es muy antiko
el turko es ermozo i djusto
ma denguno es mas riko
de muestro kerido ladino.

fue emprestandose de todas las linguas
enrikesyendose kon sus palavras
palavras ke en el korason se afinkan
palavras en ke yora i riye mi alma.
David Fintz-Altabe
(36037 numbered message posted to Ladinokomunita by Daisy, 2010)
[Our bellowed *Ladino*

Castillian is considered as noble ,
And Parisian French as elegant,
Italian as sweet,
And Hebrew as messianic

Greek is very ancient
Turkish is beautiful and essential
However, none of them is richer than
Our bellowed language *Ladino*[Judeo-Spanish].

It barrowed words from all languages, adopting and adapting them
And enriched itself with the words of other languages,
Those are the words that find a place in the hearts
Through which my soul cries and laughs.
David Fintz-Altabe](translated by the author)

The role of Judeo-Spanish in Sephardic identity expressed here can be explained based on the perspective of Fought (2006), who suggests the idea that not all languages spoken among a multiethnic group represent ethnic identity while a language may have a highly important symbolic value for an ethnic group; the language may be selected for its communicative value in a specific situation.

During the interviews, Yusuf Altıntaş, the general secretary of the Chief Rabbinate in Turkey, defined the ethnicity and the language bond in terms of Judeo-Spanish as follows:

It is true that the Jews became Spanish, and most of them forgot their Hebrew. Since they translated their prayings to Spanish, they continued practicing Judaism in Spanish. But, Spanish itself is not an ethnic language to Sephardic Jews; it has been

Judaicized and adapted. While in Spain, Hebrew and Aramaic vocabulary used to be very influential on the Spanish spoken by the Jews.[76]

Concerning the ethnicity and language link, Fishman argues that language corresponds to the 'ethnic identity' fostered by the same community, and to its interests organized both consciously, and unconsciously. The language and the ethnicity link is generally experienced positively among insiders, which is interpreted among social scientists as a linkage socially conditioned by the insider -"true believer"(Fishman, 2001:154,160). Thus, based on the perspective of Fishman on ethnicity and language link, it can be argued that Judeo-Spanish acts like an 'ethnic' language to Sephardic Jews.

According to Fishman, ethnic identity today is contextually constructed, which is multiple and partial in group identities regarding different social, emotional, cognitive situations of the each member benefiting from diverse languages within the community (as cited in Garcia, Peltz, Schiffman, &Fishman, 2006:34-35). In the poem above, among the languages spoken by the community members Judeo-Spanish is considered as a key element in the emotional self expression. This feature shows the potential and capacity of Judeo-Spanish had over the Sephardic community as an influential language that used to be cultivated in Jewish press with the power of mobilizing the community. Thus, it can be argued that the present literary expression in Judeo-Spanish that has been 'reactivated' since the late seventies bases on the power of the language that still exists for the remaining Judeo-Spanish speech community.

After defining what *muestra lingua* might represent, it is crucial to see by whom it is still recognized as *muestra lingua* [our language]. Hualde and Şaul (2011) contend that due to the nationalist pressures to adopt Turkish, after 1930s Judeo-Spanish gradually continued losing its domains, however until 1960s the vast majority of Sephardic Jews of Istanbul employed Judeo-Spanish at home and in community events. Gerson Şarhon mentions that the youngest native speakers of *Ladino* were

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[76] Interview with Yusuf Altıntaş, December 2011, Istanbul.

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born around 1945; those born after that date, adopted *Ladino*[Judeo-Spanish] as a second language or one of the family languages; thus they did not possess the exact features of the earlier generation native speakers[77] (Gerson Şarhon, 2011). Malinowski states that by 1980 "Turkey remained as the only place in the world where a well-established, relatively homogenous community of Judeo-Spanish speakers can be found" (1982:7). However, Harris argues that today Israel remains as the country with the largest Judeo-Spanish speaking community (as cited in Hualde and Şaul, 2011:90). Hualde and Şaul mentions the present position of Judeo-Spanish in Turkey as follows:

> Today the Jewish community of Istanbul, estimated around 26,000, is mostly Turkish-speaking, although the majority above the age of fifty are also fluent in Judeo-Spanish. (2011: 90).

In this sense the recognition of Judeo-Spanish as *muestra lingua* [our language]finds meaning only in a determined generation for whom Judeo-Spanish used to be part of their lives in diglossic situation with French. The mentioned generation is mostly observed to be composed of native or semi speakers of Judeo-Spanish. Besides, among those who dominate the language it is observed that Judeo-Spanish could also be perceived with negative impression. Şalom newspaper columnists Coya Delevi and coordinator of *El Amaneser*, Şeli Gaon also support this view during the interviews:

> The negative feeling towards Judeo-Spanish is not a new thing. Unfortunately, although in my time it was perceived as a second-class language spoken by uneducated people.

> In fact, we have the fault a little bit, because we did not transmit the language to our children. While I was young, I remember that I used to get angry when my mother in law, rest in peace, used to speak Judeo-Spanish. Today, I reevaluate the situation and say:What kind of stupidness is this? Today, my doughter understands everything in Judeo-Spanish but cannot speak it.[78]

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[77] Gerson Şarhon, Karen. (2011). "Judeo-Spanish today as reflected in the Ladino Database Project". Institut Français d'Études Anatoliennes. Sephardi Congress: Jewish Languages and the Spanish Legacy. Istanbul. June 7, 2011.
[78] Interview with Şeli Gaon, December 2011, Istanbul.

Klara Perahya[79], columnist of *Şalom* and *El Amaneser*, highlighted during the interviews the negative impression that is still present today regarding Judeo-Spanish. In the Sephardi Cogress: Jewish Languages and the Spanish Legacy, organized by L'IFEA in Istanbul in 2011, one of the community members from younger generation mentioned the negative impact of having Judeo-Spanish names stating that "While we were children, we used to change our names to Turkish ones aimed at integrating ourselves better among other children." In the same congress, another member from younger generation explained in a personal conversation how she recognized the Jewish language: "I do not understand why I have to learn Judeo-Spanish. If I were to learn a language, it would be Hebrew, not a diasporic language!"

It is concluded that to see the present perception of Judeo-Spanish by younger generation further research is needed to be conducted on the recognition of Judeo-Spanish preferably by researchers among the community to make the research possible due to the difficulties encountered in accessing to a group of younger generations that would be willing to participate.

Another interviewee, Coya Delevi, mentioned during the interviews that the target group of *El Amaneser* is the community members who can speak Judeo-Spanish. She, however, adds that some members among the younger generation who do not dominate the language intend to read *El Amaneser*. Regarding the fact that the target group of *Şalom*'s Judeo-Spanish page and *El Amaneser* constitutes of a very limited generation composed of Judeo-Spanish speakers only, Delevi mentioned during the interviews that "It is better than never received, but we do not know until when it will continue".[80] The interviews revealed that the interviewees perceived Judeo-Spanish as *muestra lingua* [our language] as a medium to reflect their Sephardic

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[79] Interview with Klara Perahya, December 2011, Istanbul.
[80] Interview with Coya Delevi, December 2011, Istanbul.

heritage, and Jewish community identity among broad public composing of non-Jews.

5.3.2.2. Judeo-Spanish as a Jewish Filter to See the World

Jewish language creation that is believed to date back to 200 BC involved adopting the vernacular language of the newly settled lands paralleling the continuous diasporic history of the Jewish communities, emerged in accordance with the adaptative and survival needs in Diaspora. Everytime the newly adopted vernacular of the settled lands was Judaicized with Jewish thought and traditions. The latter formed the Jewish perspective to perceive the reality in the same vernacular language of the settled lands, but in a more internalized and recontextualized way in accordance with Jewish way of life shaped with Jewish thought. The latter can be argued to have created a Jewish perspective, a 'filter' to see the world.

Edwards assumes that the reality is perceived differently by languages; therefore, the language you speak will determine the way you think, highlighting the powerful connection between language and identity, summing up the ideas of Sapir and his pupil Whorf (2009:60-63). According to Whorf, the structure of a language determines the way by which the speakers of that language view the world, like a filter. In contrast, Wardhaugh mentions that a culture of a people may also find reflection in the language they employ (2010: 230-234).

In the light of the theories of Sapir and Whorf, Edwards highlights that the reality is perceived differently with languages functioning like a filter. With the next message that I quote below, the meaning of Judeo-Spanish 'filter' is defined:

> …Siempre penso ke kuando se traduse el poema o un kuento a ingles, se pierde el sentido, i las palavras en espanyol ke son muy fuertes, i yenas de vista, alegria, un lenguaje ke muz pinta trezoros…" (Sarah, 2009).

> [I always think that when a poem or a short story is translated to English, it loses the meaning, and the words in Spanish are very strong, and full of perspectives, happiness; a language that paints us treasures.] (translated by the author)

Similarly, Yusuf Altıntaş[81] mentioned during the interview that when Judeo-Spanish expressions and idioms are translated to Turkish, if the meaning is understood it is through Turkish not Judeo-Spanish anymore. In this sense, Altıntaş argues that the meaning of the idioms are often lost, and cannot be transferred to another language.

In this sense, it might not be wrong to say that Judeo-Spanish serves as a key to access to a database using a vast time period that includes all the data concerning Sephardic everyday life, culture, and traditions concerning mostly past and present respectively. Thus, Judeo-Spanish acts as an 'ethnic' language based on Fishman's observations on 'ethnicity':

Fishman, interprets 'ethnicity' as a dynamic phenomenon that corresponds to a much wider question which is not answered merely questioning the ethnic background of informant x, but involves fully integrated set of beliefs, views and behaviors, a "way of life" that could be perceived through a knowledge of actual observances regarding all traditional rounds of daily life consisting of actual beliefs, actual friendship patterns, and so on (1972: 179-188). In the light of the 'ethnicity' definition of Fishman a more complex basis in understanding of 'Sephardic ethnicity' and the bond with the Jewish language is achieved.In this sense, the cultural and traditional data that Judeo-Spanish has ever carried is crucial, which actually constitutes what is symbolic and what needs to be maintained.

Crystal mentions the importance of the maintenance of the local languages to community self-confidence: "Local languages are seen to be valuable because they promote community cohesion and vitality, foster pride in a culture, and give a community (and thus a workforce) self-confidence (2000: 31).

The below message posted to Ladinokomunita online platform is assumed to represent the symbolic value dedicated to Judeo-Spanish. Judeo-Spanish is considered in this message posted to the online circle as an indispensable element in

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[81] Interview with Yusuf Altıntaş, December 2011, Istanbul.

preserving and maintenance of Sephardic cultural heritage. It is observed that the potential revival of Judeo-Spanish is linked to religious and cultural heritage as well. In the light of Crystal's perspective, community pride is fostered through Judeo-Spanish :

> Nunka es tadre para aprender la lengua ke está en muestro korasón,el Djudeo Spanyol,no está muriendo,está esperando el dulse despertar,es el Rambam ke vvuelve avlar i ansi tener el orgulyo de dezir ken somos,por lo ke fuimos. (Tirado , 2000).

> [It is never late to learn the language that is in our hearts, el 'Djudeo Spanyol'; it is not dying, it is waiting the charm to reawake, which is the Rambam [Hebrew acronym for "Rabbi Moshe ben Maimon", a preeminent medieval Jewish philosopher] who will reaffirm the origins of our existence speaking us in 'Djudeo Spanyol' proudly.] (translated by the author)

According to the general context of the messages posted regarding the language perception of the members of Ladinokomunita, language maintenance symbolically presented value in preserving cultural heritage:

> Message 1
> Rosina:
>
> Muzotros podemos arrekojar para mantener esta lengua biva. Si solo eskrivimos kada dia uno al otro, entonses, estamos manteniendo, lo ke teniyamos antes. I estamos faziendo lo mizmo ke fizieron muestors tias i tios. yo eskrivia kartas..." (Lascar, 2009)
>
> [R.:
> We can achieve language acquisition and maintain this language alive. If we just write everyday to each other, then it means we are maintaining it, maintaining the thing that we had before. And we are doing the same thing as our aunts and uncles.] (translated by the author)
>
>
> Message 2
>
> "…A mozotros mos
> gusta avlar el ladino, muestros abuelos lo avlavan…" (Montemayor: 2000)
>
> [We like speaking Ladino, our grandparents used to speak it.] (translated by the author)
>
> Message 3

"…Komo de ermozos eskritos esta semana en LK.
Me asento i esto enkantada de todo
lo ke eskriven de las kuatro partes del mundo!
Grasias a E.B. i Rosina i otros,
ke dainda tenemos muchas kozas de
enteres de eskrivir, dar a pensar, ets.
Lo mas importante es ke estamos UZANDO
LADINO KADA DIA! PARA NO OLVIDARLO!
Eskrive komo eskrives ama eskrive!..." (Newell, 2011)

[I am so happy with the beautiful messages posted to Ladinokomunita this week, coming from all over the world! Thanks to E.B. and R. and other, we still have a lot of subjects of interest to write, discuss, and etc. The most important thing is EMPLOYING LADINO EVERY DAY! NOT TO FORGET IT! Write however you write but write!] (translated by the author)

It is seen that for the remaining Judeo-Spanish speech community the maintenance of the language symbolizes also the preservation of Sephardic cultural heritage composing of traditions and experiences. In this sense, Judeo-Spanish is observed to provide a 'space' which permitted the remaining Judeo-Spanish speech community to be reunited. Below the latter is discussed in the light of distinct perspectives of scholars and a poem posted to *Ladinokomunita* mentioning the reunification effect provided through Judoe-Spanish.

Giles and Johnson (1987) argued that language maintenance is a function of ethnic identification (cited in Hidalgo 2009:336). Bourdieu (1991) discusses the symbolic value of the language spoken selectively; the speech community attaches particular meanings to the language spoken (cited in Niño-Murcia and Rothman, 2009:16). The poem posted to Ladinokomunita presents the strong bond between language and community:

Un Raio De Luz

Onde estan akeyos dias
Kuando estavamos kon famiyas
Endjunto todos i unidos
No lonje i separados.

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Moravamos uno al lado del otro
Entrando i saliendo de uno al otro
Ahora estamos leshos i aislados
Enkontrandomoz solo en okaziones.

Es verdad ke moz telefoneamos
I mandamos letras electronikas
Ama bezar i abrasarmoz no puedemos
En las ventanes de laskomputadoras.

Es solo en los 'Echar Lashon' enkontros
I en las klasas de Ladino ke tenemos
Enkontrandomoz i engleneandomoz kon 'Los Muestros'
Ke veo---
UN RAIO DE LUZ
DE LA VIDA KE TENIAMOS.
por Daisy Alalouf Newell (Alalouf Newell, 2000)

[A Ray of Light
Where are those days
When we were together with our families
All together and United
Not seperated.
We used to live together
We used to come and go to our places
Now we are far a way and aislated
Only we meet each other on occasion.
It is true that we call each other by phone
And we send e-mail to each other
But we can not kiss and hug each other
Through the windows of the computers.
We only meet each other in short conversations and
Ladino[Judeo-Spanish] classes where we meet each other and have fun with "Los
Muestros"[82] I see a 'ray of light' in the life that we live.] (translated by the author)

In the above message posted to *Ladinokomunita* it is observed that Judeo-Spanish is
employed as a key element to recall Sephardic memory, in this sense great nostalgia
is observed to be felt towards the Sephardic community perception of the past.
Acquisition and maintenance of Judeo-Spanish corresponded to the nostalgia of the

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[82] Los Muestros means literally "our people". Los Muestros is used to refer to Sephardic community
members, and their way of life. Besides, Los Muestros is the Sephardic Voice, is a multilingual
(French, English and Ladino) cultural magazine which covers the Sephardic world.

Sephardic community perception of the past, which could reflect or not reflect truly the today's subject of Judeo-Spanish maintenance.?Concerning the mentioned nostalgia effect, Denzin suggests that with Postmodernism filter defining the past and present are blurred; a nostalgic longing for the past and deep preoccupation with the 'real' is observed (Denizin, 1994: 184).

The poem above, presents the nostalgia felt towards past, when it is assumed that the Sephardic community was united not aislated like right now. The only connection to that nostalgia mentioned is assumed to be enabled via *Ladino*[Judeo-Spanish] *classes*, which might represent the unity of 'Los Muestros' [Our People], and the unity of the Sephardic community speaking the language of its 'own', which is Judeo-Spanish.

5.3.2.3. (Re)construction of Sephardic Identity through Memories,

Jewish languages are observed to have served a kind of 'ethnic' language having the power to mobilize the Jewish communities producing a sense of "Jewishness".[83] The printing activities and the press is observed to form the main pillar of this activity. Stein (2000:9-12) has observed that Jewish journalism in Tanzimat Era forming a cultural synthesis composing of French, Ottoman, and Jewish elements produced a sense of "Jewishness" that was unique to Ottoman Jewry.

Fishman defines the mechanisms of a Jewish language as both symbolical and communicative. The language that is to be considered as Jewish should be phonologically, morpho-syntactically, lexico-semantically or orthographically different from that of non-Jewish sociocultural networks with a unique function in

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[83] The mentioned feature of providing a cultural and traditional heritage constitutes a common feature among Jewish languages. Yiddish has been suggested as a medium of national unity of the Jews, medium of mass-enlightenment and religious pietism (Fishman, 1965:1-15). Shandler (2004) defines the role of Yiddish for the Jews as a medium to Diaspora nationalism (as opposed to Zionism), and secular ethnicity (as opposed to religion). Modern Hebrew was presented as the new language to define the Jewish identity of the state of Israel as the 'homeland'from which Jews had been exiled eighteen hundred years before. Hebrew was presented not only the language of the Hebrew land but used to distinguish from the old Jewish identity of the Diaspora (Spolsky, 1996:184).

the role of maintenance of a Jewish sociocultural network (cited in Benor, 2010: 95). Benor suggests asking "How do Jews use language?" instead of asking "What is a Jewish language?" focusing on the symbolic role of a Jewish language (2011: 96).The last feature that is mentioned in Fishman's defition of a Jewish language concerning 'the maintenance of a Jewish sociocultural network' explains that Judeo-Spanish has the very unique role of maintaining of the Sephardic sociocultural network. Basing on this assumption that the Jewish language gives the key to access to the Sephardic cultural and traditional database, parts of which can be found in a column in newspaper or in a forum message. Once the Separdic community member, who is also a Judeo-Spanish speaker, accesses to the mentioned database, it is assumed that both self and community identities are formed or reformed through the interaction accomplished.

Judeo-Spanish, following the Expulsion of 1492 has continued its evolution in the settled lands mostly in Ottoman Empire, witnessing the complete diasporic history of Sephardim. Thus, evolved in the newly settled lands being enriched both culturally and by means of vocabulary of the local vernacular languages. Judeo-Spanish, as the mother tongue of Sephardim reflects the whole flourishment of Ottoman Sephardic culture. In this sense, serves as a key element to access to Sephardic cultural and traditional heritage. The cultural synthesis consisting of Ottoman Sephardic elements are coded in Judeo-Spanish. Therefore, Judeo-Spanish sounds and reminds of past Sephardic life in Ottoman Empire and Turkey today. The remaining Judeo-Spanish speakers composing of both native and semi-speakers that are raised by them recall their memories regarding past Sephardic everyday life, and express them in Judeo-Spanish. Although they can translate them into Turkish or another language, expressing the memories in the original sound is observed to strengthen more their Sephardic identities. In the case of Sephardic community members composing of remaining Judeo-Spanish speakers that have been disconnected from the community due to distinct reasons such as marriage, or migration, it is observed that even a (re)construction of Sephardic identities become possible through recalling of

memories and expressing them in Judeo-Spansish or reading the ones written on ethnic communication platforms by newspaper columnists, and other community members.

It is noticed that recalling of memories regarding Sephardic everyday life in the past constitute an important part of the identity formation in terms of strengthening and even (re)constructing of Sephardic identities[84] in the case of the remaining Judeo-Spanish speakers. Through the memories recalled, the reality is observed to be perceived regardless of time and space.The mentioned memories are accessed through the Jewish language Judeo-Spanish on distinct ethnic communication platforms which feature transnational in this era due to migration, or disconnection from the community for other reasons and accessed in any part of the world with the help of information technologies.

In order to theorize identity construction through memories, deductions of Ferguson (2009) are followed that puts perfectly the perception of language and reflections of memories in construction of identity that can be seen below:

Memories constitute of the events presently recollected and relived that we assume that 'belongs' to past, appear as the guarantor of self identity. Everyday life practices of ordinary people make the past real and bring it to life. Ferguson argues that memory refers to events took place in the past, which are recollected in present experience that is here and now. Memory, shaped and perceived presently, and conversely free from the temporal constraint of immediate experience, constitutes both fallible and deceptive data that is 'relived' rather than simply 'recalled'. The mentioned presently recollected and relived events that we assume 'belong' to past, appears as the guarantor of self identity. The author addes that the reasons of

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[84] On ethnic communication platforms which are studied in this study to reveal the role of Judeo-Spanish in (re)constructing of Sephardic identity, the mentioned "Sephardic identity" should be considered as a constructing, evolutioning pattern, which forms a combination of selected memories recalled by the columnists, and community members.

'creating' selected and recollected data belonging to the past relies on the need to determine reference points in the continuity in time permitting to refer to a limited duration and existence in time, which is necessary for the psychic life (Ferguson, 2009: 34-110).

In addition to this, Pierre Nora defines memory as a phenomenon of the present constituted collectively of the practices of everyday life, which serves as a medium tying us to the eternal present (cited in Ferguson, 2009: 110).

Thus, Judeo-Spanish constitutes the very medium to access to the memories regarding past Sephardic everyday life through which a sense of "Jewishness" is produced via Jewish language. However, it should be considered that the mentioned sense of "Jewishness" is recontextualized first by the columnists of *Şalom* and *El Amaneser*, who in this sense pursue a privileged position in this activity based on recalling of selected memories regarding past Sephardic everyday life, and presenting them in a more nostalgic and positive way. And, again the latter is perceived distinctly by the Judeo-Spanish speaking community members accessing to these texts depending on individual experiences.[85] In this sense, considering the recent developments in communication technologies, and globalization, it is crucial

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[85] Regarding community and self identity Ferguson observes that due to the effects of globalization such as new information technologies, techno-industralization of warfare and terrorism, privatization of public resources, the dominance of consumerist values, there has been major changes on the ways of people's everyday life preferences personally and socially. In postmodern theorizing, 'identity' is disconnected from the power of traditions and is shaped more by self-propelling or self-reflexive entity (Ferguson, 2009:vii-ix). Ferguson observes that " 'We' are constituted, in contrast, internally; both as the effortless stream of conscious life that is always 'here' and 'now' and as the recollected past and imagined future of an experiencing subject. 'We' appear with our own past; both an emerging moment of experience and as an image of that moment presserved and projected in time" (Ferguson, 2009:5). In this sense, the perception of 'I' and 'we'may refer to quite different realities, which emerges the need to emphasize things that 'belong' to us with a special possessive such 'my' clothes, 'my'books, 'my' furniture (Ferguson, 2009:5). According to the author self identity is a fiction, which is also a break. Ferguson argues that rather than asking 'Who are we?' in seek of defining self identity, with an emphasis on construction of fictionary reality one should adress to the question of 'Who is having this experience?', claiming that "only fictions have the possibility of being real and everyday life is home of fictions" (Ferguson, 2009: 194).

to mention that the assumed "Sephardic identity" that is recontextualized and (re)constructed through columnists does not necessarily have major role on personal identity formations, which is subjected to change depending on Judeo-Spanish experience of every member. The mentioned change emerges as a result of many factors, among which the cease of Judeo-Spanish as mother tongue, and individual's access to Sephardic community everyday life practices are observed to constitute as the major ones.

Regarding the creation of the 'nostalgia', in the light of works of Ankersmit (2005) Ferguson argues that recalling that past creates a break in memory, and forms a new continuity that emerges because of trauma (Ferguson, 2009: 113-149). Levy argues that the mentioned trauma might have emerged due to shock of war, the destruction of tradition, forced movement of people into unfamiliar and insecure environments (cited in Ferguson, 2009:150). In this sense, it might not be wrong to claim that the present literary expression in Judeo-Spanish on distinct ethnic communication platforms that has increased since the late seventies derives from the fact that the remaining Judeo-Spanish speech community dispersed to all around world but mainly resident in Turkey and in Israel today feel alarmed, and threatened as Judeo-Spanish gradually lost its domains, and native speakers due to distinct socio-political events occurred globally in the last century such as nationalism in the Balkans and afterwards in Turkey following the dissolution of the Ottoman Empire, the Holocaust in the Balkans, foundation of the State of Israel heightening the status of Modern Hebrew in the first years of nation building.

To mention again the perspective of Ferguson (2009: 113-149) arguing that recalling that past creates a break in memory, and forms a new continuity that emerges because of trauma, it might not be wrong to say that the memories that are recontextualized on the ethnic communication platforms are observed to present regardless of the original context. The latter can be argued to form a new reality reconstructed breaking the memory and the original time perception. Ferguson argues "the post traumatic is a world without memory, or rather, for which memory

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has to be invented" (Ferguson, 2009: 160). In this sense, it can be argued that a recontextualized reality had to be invented in terms of a positive identity construction in the case of the remaining Judeo-Spanish speakers. [86]

In addition to this, it should be evaluated that the 'memory' recalled and presented to the access of the Judeo-Spanish speakers of the community via newspaper columns afterwards, is limited with the personal and collective experiences. In this sense, Sephardic identity that is asuumed to be (re)constructed by recalling of memories constitute limitations due to the fact that the memories are selected, and are dependant to personal and collective experiences in terms of both how they are recalled and received as well.

It is possible to say that Judeo-Spanish serves as a 'proxy' that gives access to Sephardic cultural and traditional heritage. The mentioned heritage is accessed through past memories regarding Sephardic everyday life practices. It can be argued that through 'revival' of the memories Sephardic identity is both strengthened and (re)constructed. Judeo-Spanish, which is observed to serve as a medium to access to Sephardic cultural heritage, is referred as *muestra lingua,* which means 'our language'.

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[86] It is crucial to see that Jewish language maintenance was not an issue neither during the language policies of Alliance Israelite Universelle (1860) favoring French language, nor during the nationalism activities in Balkans and Turkey following the dissolution of the Ottoman Empire. It is observed that French language acquisition was perceived as an imperative to westernize and to prosper rather than a shift forming a diglossic situation between Judeo-Spanish and French. Nationalism in the Balkans and in Turkey is observed to cause a harsh effect on Judeo-Spanish, requiring learning of the local languages to integrate to the newly founded republics. In this sense, learning of the local languages was seen another imperative of integration and presenting loyalty to the settled lands.In addition to this, following the foundation of Israel, the status of Modern Hebrew was heightened and a hostile attitude was developed against all Jewish languages as they were perceived as a threat to the evolution of newly revived Hebrew. It is observed that it was in the late seventies when an awareness or a consciousness was developed towards Judeo-Spanish by some alarmed Sephardic community members that took action to maintain the culture and the language. In this sense, the activity based on recalling of memories regarding the past Sephardic life as a part of the recent literary expression in Judeo-Spanish that has increased since the late seventies can be argued to present the need to strengthen and reconstruct in some cases the Sephardic identity that is perceived to be threatened in a globalized world.

In terms of recontextualization of the memories, the columnists enjoy a privileged status. Aimed at understanding the mechanism of this activity, columnists of *Şalom* that prepare the Judeo-Spanish section, and the ones preparing the supplement *El Amaneser* that live in Istanbul are interviewed.

Şeli Gaon, one of the columnists of *Şalom*'s Judeo-Spanish page mentions during the interview that the strong nostalgia effect emerging through past memories regarding Sephardic life experienced accessed via Judeo-Spanish:

> My childhood passed in *Şişhane*, around *Galata* Tower. We were nineteen Jewish neighbours living in the apartment located near *Neve Şalom* Synagogue, only the owner of the apartment was *Levant*. I started writing my column in Judeo-Spanish in *Şalom* newspaper narrating the everyday life memories I had in my childhood. I wrote the neighbourhood, affection, sympathy, and friendship we had. Everyday life practices we had during my childhood have affected me very much that I started writing them years after. I heard that the context of my column was liked very much by readers; it was found very much nostalgic.[87]

The columnist sharing the below thoughts adds that the memories being narrated are not necessarily limited to personal experience when they are shared to broad public, through which memories are linked and increases via access to the ones recorded by other members of the society. The newly accessed memories are transferred to public access when they are recontextualized by the columnists.

A part from her own memories, Gaon also feeds the nostalgia through the memories of other members of the community. The columnist mentions how she feeds the nostalgia during the interviews as follows:

> We have a social formation named Golden Age, which constitutes of having leasure time with community members aging over 60-65 including going out with them to dinner or other places. I am so happy to be with people older than me once or twice a year. When you tell about nostalgical things, they start to share with you the ones they have in their memories with a more eager way. They tell you about their everyday life, from where they used to buy things, the name of the places and so on. I like it so much

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[87] Interview with Şeli Gaon, December 2011, Istanbul.

talking to them. I hope they also feel the same way. After that I write these in my column.[88]

Judeo-Spanish is observed to provide a 'proxy' both to recall, and access to the mentioned memories shared. During the interviews conducted in Istanbul in 2011 Coya Delevi, columnist of Şalom, and El Amaneser, stated this key role the Jewish language still pursues in the eyes of Judeo-Spanish speakers:

> Judeo-Spanish represents to me *Galata*. It is a strange thing. Because, the apartment in *Galata* reminds me of my grandparents. *Galata* means Sepharad. [89]

Tha nostalgia effect mentioned above by Şeli Gaon also can be seen on Ladinokomunita Yahoo Group correspondence circle where remaining Judeo-Spanish speakers share their memories regarding past Sephardic everydaylife that are observed to be selected and presented regardless of time and space forming a positive sense of 'Jewishness' concerning the past. However, as Ferguson argues, the mentioned presently recollected and relived events that we assume 'belong' to past, appears as the guarantor of self identity as reference points in the continuity (Ferguson, 2009: 34-110).

In the light of social constructivism[90] defined by Berger and Luckmann, it might be said that the messages posted by members of Ladinokomumita that consist especially of the individual experiences during their childhood gained with "primary socialization", exclude the reinterpreted perception of community gained with "secondary socialization" defined by Berger and Luckmann. In this sense, the

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[88] See 81.

[89] Interview with Coya Delevi, December 2011, Istanbul.

[90] According to the Social Constructivism theory defined by Berger and Luckmann, basing on the assumption that society and people are mutually created under the effect of each other passing through certain processes, individuals experience two types of socialization throughout their lives, which is primary and secondary. While primary socialization refers to the individual experiences during the childhood aimed toward the internalization of the adult world, secondary socialization process includes the reinterpretation of the selection of different options provided in the objective world of their society by the 'once socialized' individuals always with an option to change depending on the possibility and villing of the individuals (Flecha, Gómez, & Puigvert, 2001: 51-54).

memories that are recalled are recontextualized by the columnists preparing *Şalom* and *El Amaneser*, as well as the community members posting messages to *Ladinokomunita Yahoo group* are presented to the access of other community members composing of Judeo-Spanish speakers. Through the recontextualization of the memories regarding the past Sephardic everyday life may construct a new hybrid constructed perception of the community in the eyes of the remaining Judeo-Spanish speech community. The mentioned new hybrid construction of the community perception can also be argued to be a new continuity that causes a break in memory, which emerged as a result of recalling the past due to (Ferguson 2009:113-149). The trauma mentioned here can be argued to represent the disappearance of Judeo-Spanish in everyday life of Sephardic Jews.

Both Brink-Danan (2010) and Held (2010) highlight the position of Judeo-Spanish as a metalanguage in preserving and reviving Sephardic memory online.It is observed that especially the first years following the foundation of *Ladinokomunita Yahoo Group,* the online correspondence circle constituted a platform where reviving Sephardic memory online became possible.

> …I tengo muchas memorias bivas i alegres de mi chikez i de el amor i kerensio ke avia en mi famiya. Kero apartejer kon todos vosotroz i ansina, amejorar mi *Ladino* tambien…" (Daisy, 2000)

> [I have many happy and vivid memories belonging to my childhood , as well as my memories concerning the love we had in our family to each other. I want to share them with you as well as improving my *Ladino* [Judeo-Spanish] at the same time…](translated by the author)

Below, there is an example of recalling of memories through "senses" in a message posted to *Ladinokomunita Yahoo Group*:

> Es en meldando rekordos de muestra chikes
> ke mos viyene las savores i las golores
> del gizado de muestra kaza.
>
> En este momento dizyendo golores

me vino a mi nariz este rekuerdo:
Yo tengo 3 anyos ...en medyo la kamareta
esta el mangal..ensima esta el tenchere
i mi madre esta gizando lentejas
Komo un filmo me vino ensupito a mi mente
i la golor a mi nariz (De Tamarac, 2009).

[By reading memories regarding our childhood, we recall the tastes and smells of what had been cooked in our home.

Speaking of smells, I sensed the smell of this memory: I am 3 years old…There is a barbecue in the middle of the room…over the barbecue there is a pot ….and my mother is cooking lentils. Like a film it passed through my mind and bringing together the sense of smell coming from it…](translated by the author)

Through the below message posted to Ladinokomunita Yahoo group the role of Judeo-Spanish in recalling of the memories can be seen. Judeo-Spanish is observed to serve as a 'proxy' in this process:

Kerida R.:
Kada vez ke meldo tus letras me traes
rekodros de mi chikez.
Por eksemplo las ropas
ke vistiyamos i komo avia un orden
asigun la edad, la ora del diya, del anyo, el
lugar, i mas. (De Corrientes, 2010)

[Dear R.:

Everytime that I read your sentences, you take me to my childhood memories. For example : the clothes that we used to wear, the clothe selections depending on age, hour of the day, year, place, and so on.] (translated by the author)

Another message encourage members of Ladinokomunita to participate recalling memories:

…Tambien keremos que mos konten kuentikos ke kontavan sus avuelos...” (Monica, 2000)

[…We also want you to tell us the stories that your grandparents used to narrate…]

5.3.2.4. 'Virtual Space' Formation through the Use of Judeo-Spanish

"Judeo-Spanish represents to me *Galata*. It is a strange thing. Because, the apartment in *Galata* reminds me of my grandparents. *Galata* means Sepharad" (Coya Delevi, 2009, personal communications)[91]

Judeo-Spanish, sounds and represents past Sephardic life to the remaining Judeo-Spanish speakers, as Delevi mentioned during the interviews conducted in Istanbul. The power of Judeo-Spanish to recall the past Sephardic life, when Jews lived together in determined neighbourhoods speaking in the Jewish language, today earned a new formation of space that is transnational via information technologies.

Judeo-Spanish representing 'we' [the Sephardic community] perceived as *muestra lingua* [our language] for Judeo-Spanish speech community, provides a virtual space where Judeo-Spanish speakers are reunited, and where the sense of 'we' is constructed and, where the memories regarding past Sephardic everyday life are recalled to strengthen and (re)construct the Sephardic identity in some cases.

Judeo-Spanish, as the language of Sephardim, is observed to pursue presently the power of unification of Sephardic Jews composing of the remaining Judeo-Spanish speakers dispersed to all over the world providing a transnational platform through ethnic communications. Besides, it is seen that based on the related studies conducted by the scholars, Judeo-Spanish has had historically the power of unification of Sephardic community in religious and societal domains through rabbinic literature, *Ladino* [Judeo-Spanish] novels, and newspapers.[92] In this sense,

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[91] Interview with Coya Delevi, December 2011, Istanbul.

[92] Judeo-Spanish from the rough consisted transnational elements as it was formed of distinct variants of Ibero-Romance languages such as Castilian, Portuguese, Aragonese, Leonese combined with barrowings of loanwords from the languages of the people with whom they came into contact following the forced emigration due to Expulsion (Bunis, 2005: 59-60). Díaz-Más highlights that in diaspora the emergence of a transnational Sephardic world helped to eliminate regional differences creating a linguistic community where coexisted a mixture of varied characteristics and distant dialectal forms (Díaz-Más, 1996: 73-74). Brink-Danan (2010) suggests that the transnational "virtual" component of *Ladino* [Judeo-Spanish] dates back to centuries through novels (Borovaya, 2003), newspapers (Stein, 2004), and rabbinic literature (Goldish, 2008; Lehmann, 2005). *La Buena Esperanza*, the first *Ladino* [Judeo-Spanish] newspaper, was published in İzmir in 1842, by Raphael Uziel. Later seventy-five newspapers were published throughout the Judeo-Spanish world. In addition

the three ethnic communication platforms examined in this study composing of *Şalom* newspaper, *El Amaneser*, and *Ladinokomunita Yahoo group*, can be argued to pursue the power of unification of the Judeo-Speech community dispersed to all over the world, but mainly resident in Turkey and in Israel. By unifying the remaining Judeo-Speech community the three ethnic communication platforms form a virtual space where the Sephardic identities are strengthened and even (re)constructed by interaction to these transnational platforms.[93]

Modern electronic media is assumed to provide the unity of ethnic dispersed communities eliminating the isolation through digital platforms. According to Horboken (2004) through ethnic minority media the past and the future of the community is connected interpreted in line with today's requirements, providing a legitimization of the present and promoting a political mobilization of the community (Horboken, 2004: 199-212). According to Brinkerhoff the cyperspaces assemble

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to the periodicals and newspapers a secular *Ladino* [Judeo-Spanish] literature also presented: Many novels, short stories, poetry, and essays were published in Ladino. In Istanbul between 1799 and 1900, 106 of 138 titles were published in Ladino. These publications included translations from the world literature especially from the French, and the Modern Hebrew literature (Angel, 2006: 160). Concerning transnational element in Ottoman Jewish and Turkish Jewish journalistic activities, Levy observes that Jewish journalism presented some trannational elements since nineteenth century following due to the beginning of mass migration of Turkish Jews to overseas at the beginning of the twentieth century. Levy highlights specifically the journals published by the mentioned emigrants in Egypt, Rhodes, the United States, and the State of Israel in terms of transnational element display that could be observed to some extent. Although the mentioned journals were mainly localized referring to their own community, Levy argues that to a lesser extent they also addressed to the Jews who still remained in Turkey (Levy, 2001: 20-22).

[93] In terms of transnational positions of *Şalom* and its supplement *El Amaneser*, it is crucial to mention that while both of them present transnational features, the mentioned feature distinguishes in terms of territory, and language. Due to the fact that *Şalom* is published in Turkish with only one page in Judeo-Spanish, is read by Turkish speaking Jews all over the world. Güler Orgun, the coordinator of *El Amaneser* and co-moderator of *Ladinokomunita yahoo group* stated that as a supplement of *Şalom*, *El Amaneser* refers to a focus group mainly speaking Judeo-Spanish. Additionally, *El Amaneser* is not necessarily followed only by Judeo-Spanish speaking community, but has also a distinguished audience including scholars, non-Jewish individuals with personal interest to Sephardic culture and language, Spanish speakers from Spain and all over the world (Orgun, 2011, personal communications).

diasporans from dispersed countries providing them a safe space to share memories, trauma, new ideas, diaspora experiences, shared needs, and the fate of the homeland; diasporans from dispersed countries with no physical presence find 'presence' with the mentioned webpages (Brinkerhoff , 2009: 29-99).

Robin Cohen highlights that offline Diaspora communities with experience of dispersal from the homeland present traumatic characteristics that are reassured online. Among the reassuring features experienced online that Cohen mentions, a collective memory and myth concerning the homeland, a return movement, strong ethnic group consciousness, a sense of solidarity with co-members of the diaspora community in other countries, and finally idealization of the homeland can be counted (cited in Held, 2010: 90).

The below poem posted to *Ladinokomunita Yahoo Group* in 2000, the same year that the online correspondence circle was founded, presents the mentioned strong ethnic group consciousness mentioning of a 'virtual community' formed through *Ladinokomunita* where Sephardi community will be 'reactivated' and 'reconstructed' through the use of Judeo-Spanish, which is observed to serve as a 'proxy' that gives access to the Sephardic cultural heritage:

Komunidad

A Moshe Shaul ke tuvo la idea
A Rachel Amado Bortnick ke empeso a realizarla
A Matilda Koen-Sarano ke estava aziendo i
ke aze
A todos ke pensan, ke azen, ke avlan

No vemos las karas
Las rizas i yoros
Ni oyemos los gritos
De muestros vizinos.
Ma en muestra
Komunidad virtual
Ya avlamos
La lingua--podemos

Sintir, resoponder,
Demandar, pelear
Konosermos
Los muestros, amigos!

Ta mos trusheron
Los dias muestros
No solo la triste
Dezaparision
De muestros lugares
Reales: sivdades,
Kazales--reales
Komunidades.
Ya mos trusheron
I este lugar:
Un lugar virtual
Para avlar
I rekonstruir
Una vida avlando
Djudeo-espanyol.

Bendicha ke sea
La komunidad
Ke estamos aziendo:
Komunidad
Virtual i real!

Gloria Joyce Ascher" (Ascher, 2000)

[Community

To Moshe Shaul who gave the idea
To Rachel Amado Bortnick who initiated the correspondence circle
To Matilda Koen-Sarrano for what she has been doing and has done
To everybody for having considered the idea, for the efforts and for speaking the language
We do not see faces
Laughs, and cryings
Neither we hear cryings of pain
Coming from our neighbours.
But in our virtual community
We speak in the language
-that we can feel, respond, demand, fight

We know "Our own people", our roots, friends![94]

We can reconstruct
The days that belonged to us
Not only the sad ones that disappeared with
The real places that belonged to us: citties, villages
---real communities.
Now, we can reactivate, reconstruct
In this place; in a virtual place
Where we speak the language
And reconstruct
A life speaking
Djudeo-espanyol (Judeo-Spanish).
God bless the commumity
We are making:
The virtual and real community!
Gloria Joyce Ascher] (translated by the author)

Both Brink-Danan (2010) and Held (2010) highlight the position of Judeo-Spanish as a metalanguage in preserving and reviving Sephardic memory online. Brink-Danan calls the imaginary boundaries provided by *Lainokomunita Yahoo Groups* as "*Ladinoland*". Held suggests that rather than reffering the community as Digital Diaspora, *Digital Home-Land* is a more accurate concept (Held, 2010: 84).

The strong ethnic group consciousness observed among offline Diaspora communities mentioned by Cohen (1997) is also seen clearly in the above poem. In this sense, it is crucial to count that the mentioned poem was posted to the online platform in the same year that Ladinokomunita was founded. It is observed that in the following years such strong expressions concerning 'reconstruction' or 'reactivating' the community decrease gradually, which is reasonable.

Held, in the light of Benedict Anderson's definition of *Imagined Community*, mentions a reconstruction of an imaginary identity based upon a culture represented merely online, which has none or very little connection in today's world. According to Held, *Digital Home-Land* provides a virtual territory where long-lost offline communities, such as Sephardi community, are reconstructed online that could have

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[94] "Los Muestros" refers to "Our people" according to Simone Behar Nemon:
http://24.199.94.163/~mbehar/capecanaveral/Simone-Behar-sephardic-ancestry.html

not existed anywhere else. The role of the language in Sephardi online correspondence circles constitute a meta-linguistic central theme, which is not accidental. Held suggests that the imagined sound of the language connects the members of *Digital Home-Land*, where the forgotten mother tongue is revived (Held, 2010: 84).

As Held (2010) argues, digital platform Ladinokomunita constitutes a place uniting Sephardi community, which could not be established anywhere else. The below message posted to Ladinokomunita in 2000 presents how the online platform served to them. The uniting feature of the platform is emphasized: a place where all Sephardi communities can keep in touch with each other, of whom normally they are not aware of, or how they live Sephardi heritage.

> …Fue una okazion para enkontrarmos kon otros de por aki ke puedeser no savian lo ke estamos aziendo para kontinuar muestra erensia, kultura i lengua.Era una alegria de estar en esta kompania i ver el interes de todos los prezentes.En muchos kavzos es por el 'internet' ke mos enkontrimos i esta avenida avre muchos kaminos para explorar muestro pasado i el avenir.Espero de resevir mas munchas notisias de lo ke esta pasando en el Mundo Sefaradi, i esto dando el website a todos ke kieren…(Daisika, 2000)

> […Ladinokonita has served as an occasion to us, which enabled us to know what we have been doing to perpetuate our heritage, culture and language.
> It has been a great pleasure to be a part of this unity and see the interest of the present communities.
> In many ways, via 'internet' we meet at this platform that enables recognize and explore our past and present.
> I wish receiving much more information regarding the happenings of Sephardi world and also I wish that the website gave to all of you what you expext…](translated by the author)

Rachel Bortnick, the founder and the moderator of *Ladinokomunita Yahoo Group*, mentions that members of the group have always sent her e-mails or posted messages to the group showing their appreciation for the 'home' that is constructed on-line with the words "God bless you as you have constructed us a home" (Rachel Bortnick, personal conversations, 2012).

However, concerning the role of *LadinokomunitaYahoo Group* in (re)constructing Sephardic identity, Bortnick believes that rather than (re)constructing, *Ladinokomunita* has strengthened the Sephardic identity of the members that are not disconnected from community. Bortnick highlights that the mentioned comments are posted by the members who already have Sephardic identity but presently encounters hisself within a place or family that is distant from this identity or who feels that his Sephardic culture and identity are due disappearing and longing for them. Besides, LK has members regardless of their Sephardic origin; there are members raised as catholics, who have or who belive that they Sephardic Jewish ancestry, or who seek their Sephardic identity or who want to construct it. Regarding the role of Ladinokomunita on the mentioned members Bortnick argues as follows during a personal conversation:

> Via LK, these members learn our language and culture. Mostly, these members are more interested in Jewish history in Spain. As well as they feel connected to the Jews of Spain, I think they believe the brotherhood between the Ottoman Sephardic Jews. In this sense, '(re)constructing Sephardic identity' is much more related in the case of these members. (Bortnick, 2012, personal communications).

Coya Delevi, columnist to *Şalom* and *El Amaneser*, stated during the interviews conducted in Istanbul in 2011 that she believed that *Ladinokomunita Yahoo Group* might form reconstruction of the Sephardic community identity for those who have disconnected from the community:

> I appreciate very much *Ladinokomunita*, but I do not think very much that the online circle would have a role in reconstructing a community identity. I have observed that some of the members of *Ladinokomunita* are disconnected from the culture and from our time totally. They want to know and learn again, the vocabulary and so on. But I cannot know to what extent they will continue the culture. I think, the platform has reconstruction effect for the members who have been disconnected from the community. When I am in a synagogue in Istanbul, I can see a community. However, the ones that will continue the culture will be the Sephardic community in Israel, because there are departments in universities there dealing academically and practically with Sephardic culture. They have theaters; they make translations to

Ladino from other languages. If the language and culture will live, those are the ones who will make it true.[95]

Güler Orgun, interpreted the reflections of the digital platform in Sephardic everyday life during the interview as follows:

> If Judeo-Spanish would not be somehow in my life, the bond with past would disappear. We do not have Judeo-Spanish in our everyday life here already. In this sense, I believe *Ladinokomunita* provides a platform where Judeo-Spanish could have a place. *Ladinokomunita* has almost1500 members, but which is interesting is only 30 or something members are active. I know that the members do like to have a look at the messages but they do not participate. I believe 1000 members of the 1500 follow the messages. Concerning its role in constructing everyday life, I do not think Ladinokomunita could be that active. But, we do have messages concerning everyday life we have now including weddings, culinary culture, religious holidays and so on. These kind of messages only contain 1 of 40 messages maybe. Mostly we have messages regarding past memories concerning Sephardic everyday life. [96]

Concerning the reflections of the digital platform Ladinokomunita Yahoo Group to offline everyday life, it is observed that the members of *Ladinokomunita* has encountered many times since 1997: in Israel in 2007, in Turkey in 2008, in Argentine in 2009, and in Spain 2010 (Bortnick, 2010). Ladinokomunita Yahoo Group is observed to have the most influence in Sephardic everydaylife in formation and continuation of *El Amaneser*. In addition to this, the data that has gathered through the digital platform has been sent by the members from all over the world. The platform has been served a place where Sephardi cultural, traditional and linguistical heritage culture could be gathered, which is assumed to provide a great archive not only for the community members but for the researchers. Concerning the reflections of the online platform to present everyday life of the members, Held highlights that if not a revival for offline struggling Sephardi communities might be expected, a new stage of ethnic experience might emerge due to interaction enabled through the online platform (Held, 2010: 84).

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[95] Interview with Coya Delevi, December 2011, Istanbul.
[96] Interview with Güler Orgun, December 2011, Istanbul.

As a result Judeo-Spanish is observed to pursue presently the power of unification of Sephardic Jews composing of Judeo-Spanish speakers dispersed to all over the world providing a transnational platform through ethnic communications. The power of the Jewish language derives from the still on going internalization of the language perceived as the language of Sephardim in the eyes of the remaining Judeo-Spanish speech community that has decreased highly in the last century. Judeo-Spanish cultivation on the ethnic communication platforms provides a virtual space where Judeo-Spanish speakers are reunited, and where the sense of 'we' is constructed and, where the memories regarding past Sephardic everyday life are recalled. As a result of the latter activity, Judeo-Spanish is obserbed to pursue presently the power of strengthening and even (re)constructing the Sephardic identity in some cases.

5.3.2.5. Revival or Archival Discussion

The awareness or conscious that has emerged towards Judeo-Spanish starting from the late seventies has followed by establishment of several institutions, centers and even departments at Universities mainly in Israel, later in Turkey and all over the world aimed at maintenance of Judeo-Spanish as the unique medium of the continuance of the Sepahardic cultural heritage. The creative writing in Judeo-Spanish that has increased gradually since the late seventies is the result of these activities, propogated by some alarmed community members aimed at mobilizing the remaining speech community all over the world.

The recent attempt to maintain the language and culture is practically not competent to revert the language death due to the fact that Judeo-Spanish has gradually lost gradually all of its domains religious and communicative in the last century due to many factors deriving from new word order reshaped in the early twentieth century consisting of nationalism in the Balkans following the dissolution of Ottoman Empire, and afterwards in Turkey, Holocaust in the Balkans, heightening the status of Modern Hebrew with the foundation of the State of Israel in 1948, and dissolution of the community due to the migration to all over the world. Due to all these mentioned factors, the remaining native speakers of Judeo-Spanish speech

community has decreased highly in the last century, the youngest of whom are estimated to be born around 1945. In this sense, reverting of language death does not seem to be realistic by means of Judeo-Spanish to be the home language of the Sephardim ever again regardless of the revival attempts of the language.

The 'slight movement' noticed on Judeo-Spanish after 1980s is evidently linked with language maintenance efforts, which started after one another. It is possible to argue that the emergence of *Aki Yerushalayim* newspaper in Judeo-Spanish in 1979 in Israel constitutes the first serious event concerning the maintenance of Sephardic culture and language. Gözlem Publishing House (Gözlem Kitabevi), the publisher of *Şalom* newspaper since 1984, has great efforts to realize maintenance works composing of both publishing and distributing several studies regarding Sephardic cultural heritage. The foundation of National Authority of Ladino[97] in Israel in 1997 forms one of the most important efforts regarding Sephardic cultural maintenance. The same foundation has published Aki Yerushalayim newspaper since 1998. It is observed that the foundation, National Authority of Ladino, triggered the establishment of many other Sephardic culture and language maintenance efforts. Following the establishment of National Authority of Ladino in 1997 in Israel, *Ladinokomunita Yahoo Group* on-line correspondence circle was established in 2000 aimed at preserving and maintenance of Sephardic culture and Judeo-Spanish.In 2003, Ottoman-Turkish Sephardic Cultural Research Center was founded in Istanbul under the auspices of the Chief Rabbinate of Turkey with the same aim, which included documenting, collecting and archiving the cultural treasury of the Jews of Turkey. In 2005 the center began publishing *El Amaneser.* The same year, the center also partnered with Centropa to document the oral history of Istanbul's Sephardic

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[97] During the interview in Istanbul in 2011, Yusuf Altıntaş, the general secretary of the Chief Rabbinate in Turkey highlighted the mentioned the attempts that have been realized since today aimed at Sephardic cultural maintenance. Altıntaş had proposed in a congress in Israel to establish an Authority of Ladino on behalf of Turkish Jewish Community. Following the event, the institution was established in Israel, in 1997 to preserve Sephardic culture in the name of National Authority of Ladino. For financial reasons the institution was established in Israel, and for the same reasons the institution is about to dissolve nowadays.

community aimed at archiving stories regarding Sephardic life through in-depth interviews, formerly hidden family photos, and videos (Ottoman-Turkish Sephardic Research Center Web Portal). A part from the mentioned efforts, and publishment of many academic works the center has many other studies aimed at transmitting the Sephardic heritage to future generations, that could be followed also on the website of the center.

The maintenance efforts are not limited with those. One of the academics that has spent great effort on maintenance of Judeo-Spanish is Michael Studemund Halévy. Halevy previously conducted a field research in Bulgaria among Sephardic communities between 2009 and 2011 and most importantly wants to conduct a project based on recording voices of the last speakers of Judezmo in Serbia, Bosnia, Bulgaria, and Turkey. The project is previewed to last from 3 to 5 years. Halévy argues that to revert to language death process is possible. Halévy says that his theory on semi-speakers and language death is based on the studies of the famous linguist David Crystal, with whom they worked together the last fifteen years. He addes that for the possible revival project of Judezmo there are enough material to be used: more than 4500 books printed in Judezmo or party in Judezmo, and mostly in Rashi, together with wondeful voice recordings realized in Judezmo from the beginning of the twenteeth century in Vienne, Bosnia, Serbia, and Bulgaria. Halévy suggests that a revival of a dead considered language is possible, as long as there are sufficient material in the mentioned language suffering death. It may be possible to resurrect the language as it was; it is possible for a speech community that has been experiencing language death to revert the process, and to revive the language to its earlier status. Halévy mentions that with the project he will be conducting, he wishes to recreate a new community of Judezmo speakers. He addes that by schools, summer schools, books, and dictionaries, it may be possible to realize the project in ten or twenty years of period. By collecting the most possible amount of grammatical and lexical information, the linguists can serve this material in the use of the potential speech community. Halévy highlights that no linguist can make possible a

language to resurrect, but only the speakers of the language. Halévy also mentions that Sephardim refuses to learn Rashi, with which they loose the opportunity to access to their past, and heritage. The Latin alphabet use of Judezmo started in Vienne, and Turkey in the beginning of the twenteeth century. Halévy believes that the books in Judezmo need to be reprinted; translations works need to be realised to Judeo-Spanish from other languages (Studemund Halévy, 2011)[98].

Unlike Michael S. Halévy, neither Karen Gerson Şarhon, the director of the Ottoman Turkish Sephardic Cultural Research Center nor the general secretary of the Chief Rabbinate of Turkey Yusuf Altıntaş believe that such a revival could possible for Judeo-Spanish. Karen Şarhon, director of the Ottoman Turkish Sephardic Cultural Research Center, mentions during the Sephardi Conference organized by *L'IFEA* in Istanbul in June 2011 about the *Ladino Database Project* basing on the similar projects conducted by Michael Studemund-Halévy and Marie Christine Bornes-Varol. The *Ladino Database Project* started 3 years ago, funded by the U.K. The aim of the project is to get enough samples of *Ladino* from the native speakers to archive for use in the future when previewing that there will not be any native speakers left. Gerson Şarhon is not hopeful about the future of Ladino; mentions that the youngest native speakers of Ladino were born around 1945. She addes that those born after that date, adopted *Ladino* as second language or one of the family languages; lacking the exact features of the earlier generation native speakers[99] (Gerson Şarhon, 2011).

Gerson Şarhon says that when they loose the native speakers of *Ladino* living in Turkey, the youngest of whom were born around 1945, they will not have any *Ladino* native speakers left in the world, which will end the survival hopes of the

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[98] Studemund Halévy, Michael. (2011). "The Semi-Speaker in Language Death (Bulgaria and Rumania)". Institut Français d'Études Anatoliennes.Sephardi Congress: Jewish Languages and the Spanish Legacy. Istanbul. June 7, 2011.

[99] Gerson Şarhon, Karen. (2011). "Judeo-Spanish today as reflected in the Ladino Database Project". Institut Français d'Études Anatoliennes.Sephardi Congress: Jewish Languages and the Spanish Legacy. Istanbul. June 7, 2011.

language. Gerson Şarhon suggests that *Ladino* is due to become a language to be studied at Universities as a matter of academic interest. She argues that there is no hope that Ladino could become the language of the Jewish home in Turkey, again. Gerson Şarhon says that to the younger generations a few vocabulary are all that will be left, which would help to distinguish the ethnic identity of the Jewish community from other communities. Gerson Şarhon believes that the Ladino Database Project realised by the Turkish-Ottoman Sephardic Research Center, will provide valuable data of spoken Ladino[100] (Gerson Şarhon, 2011).

While Gerson Şerhon believes that a few vocabulary are all that will be left to the younger generations, which would help to distinguish the ethnic identity of the Jewish community from other communities[101], Yusuf Altıntaş, the general secretary of the Chief Rabbinate in Turkey stated during the interviews in Istanbul that the mentioned 'slight movement' observed in Judeo-Spanish is crucial in terms of archiving the memories that are revived and revealed in this phase. Altıntaş interpretes the present movement as the one needed for the archival work not to reconstruct or revival.[102]

As Altıntaş put it, due to lack of capacity and competency that Judeo-Spanish pursues presently in the current century, language maintenance efforts dating back to late seventies are aimed at archiving the Sephardic cultural heritage embedded to the Jewish language. The interviews conducted in Istanbul with certain community members that are assumed to enjoy a privileged status in recontextualizing and distributing the current perspective on language maintenance present that the recent literary creation in the Jewish language has been organized to make a contribution to preserve the culture. Supporting of the creative expression in Judeo-Spanish forms a

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[100] Ibid.

[101] Ibid.

[102] Interview with Yusuf Altıntaş, December 2011, Istanbul.

part of the archiving the Sephardic cultural heritage embedded to the Jewish language.

Güler Orgun, editor of *El Amaneser* and co-moderator of *Ladinokomunita Yahoo Group,* mentioned during the interview in Istanbul the efforts taken to maintain the language and culture defining the aim of *El Amaneser* that was first published in 2005:

> Our aim was to maintain the language, which reminded us of our families, our past, not to mention the emotional dimension. There are many works religiously and culturally important that are written in Judeo-Spanish. When the language will die, they will be forgotten eventually. Nobody will understand. ..Our aim was to make a contribution to preserve the culture.[103]

Concerning the mentioned contribution Coya Delevi, columnist of *Şalom* and *El Amaneser*, emphasized during the interviews the importance of the archival works as follows :

> It is a pitty that a language is dying, a culture is disappearing. The culture may be trasmitted if the next generations would transfer the Sephardic heritage via archival works. Now, it is as if we were realizing our duty to archive what we have. However, I do not feel it as a duty, but an imperative demand coming from my heart. I am in love with the language, and Galata, the place where I was raised.[104]

Concerning *Ladinokomunita*, Altıntaş argued during the interviews that the correspondence circle has folkloric features presenting the past in a little bit decorated way. Despite the fact that it is too emotional and far from rationality, the existence of the circle is important in terms of archiving the culture revealed from the nostalgia. Altıntaş mentions that every effort taken concerning archival of the culture has value.

Yusuf Altıntaş believes that most of the work today that has been done is for nostalgia. During the interview, Altıntaş interpreted the re-emerging effect observed

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[103] Interview with Güler Orgun, December 2011, Istanbul.

[104] Interview with Coya Delevi, December 2011, Istanbul.

in Judeo-Spanish as a part of archival process, which he highlighted as extremely important as follows:

> All of the documents we have presently have to be microfilmed; the voices of the older generation have to be recorded to form oral history. All the memories they have concerning the Sephardic culture has to be recorded including how they prepared which meal, what did they used to do after the dinner, and what were the exact expressions that their grandparents used to say?[105]

To sum up, the importance given to maintenance attempts of Judeo-Spanish shows firstly that Judeo-Spanish is still perceived as the language of Sephardim in the eyes of Judeo-Spanish speakers of the certain community members that are alarmed to take an action for the language maintenance. The mentioned members of the community enjoy a privileged status in recontextualizing and distributing the current perspective on language maintenance. It is observed that Judeo-Spanish in this sense represented 'we' forming a sense of 'Jewishness' through the cultivation of the language. Secondly, through the cultivation of Judeo-Spanish the Sephardic cultural heritage embedded to the Jewish language is believed to be archived and maintained for the next generations if they would ask for a sense of Sephardic ethnic identification. In this sense, the archival is crucial in terms of preserving the Sephardic cultural and traditional data that Judeo-Spanish has ever carried.

In addition to all the archival work propogated by the some alarmed community members aimed at Sephardic cultural maintenance, it can still be argued that Judeo-Spanish continues to be perceived as *muestra lingua* [our language] repsenting 'we' in the eyes of the remaining Judeo-Spanish speech community. *Şalom*'s one page Judeo-Spanish part, the entirely Judeo-Spanish supplement *El Amaneser*, and *Ladinokomunita* present that for the Judeo-Spanish speakers of the community the language still serve as a 'proxy' to access to past memories regarding Sephardic everyday life, through which a sense of 'Jewishness' is achieved. More, in three ethnic communication platforms it is clearly seen that to some extent everyday life is

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[105] Interview with Yusuf Altıntaş, December 2011, Istanbul.

still in construction through Judeo-Spanish. Those who have access to this privilege are a very limited group who can still speak and write in Judeo-Spanish composing of both of the native speakers and the generation raised by them, the youngest of which ages 50-55 years. To the mentioned group Judeo-Spanish serves as the key that enables them to survey through past years, memories, and access to everything related to Sephardic culture. In this sense, Judeo-Spanish cultivation enables the remaining speech community to strengthen their Sephardic identities.

Concerning the three ethnic communication platforms studied, it is observed that *Şalom* newspaper's Judeo-Spanish part composing of one page constitute the tradition of publishing the Turkish Jewish newspaper in the traditional Jewish language Judeo-Spanish as Yusuf Altıntaş, the general secretary of the Chief Rabbinate in Turkey argued during the interviews conducted in Istanbul.[106] Both *Ladinokomunita Yaho*o group founded in 2000, and *El Amaneser*, the supplement of *Şalom* started to be published in 2005 serve mostly to the aim of archiving Sephardic cultural heritage embedded to the Jewish language. However, Judeo-Spanish is observed to continue to be a part of everyday life for the remaining Judeo-Speech community to some exten, which is a determined and limited generation who can still dominate the language. Through the Jewish language cultivation the past Sephardic everyday life is recalled via memories. For the mentioned determined and limited Judeo-Spanish speaking members of the community, Judeo-Spanish is observed to serve as a magical key serving as a 'proxy' that gives access to Sephardic cultural and traditional database covering a vast time period, through which Sephardic identities are attempted to be strengthtened and (re)-formed.

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[106] During the interview in 2011 in Istanbul, Yusuf Altıntaş, the general secretary of the Chief Rabbinate in Turkey, interpreted the struggle to preserve the language as follows: "The one page Judeo-Spanish part of *Şalom* is aimed at preserving the tradition of publishing the Turkish Jewish newspaper in the traditional language, while all the news are given in *Şalom* in Turkish language. Some of the news are translated to Judeo-Spanish, a part from that memories are narrated in Judeo-Spanish. One page Judeo-Spanish page of *Şalom* newspaper is not functional in constructing Jewish identity in Turkey, except from the emotional satisfaction dimension"

The data gathered from the participation of all Judeo-Spanish speakers who write in *Şalom*, *El Amaneser* and *Ladinokomunita Yahoo Group* constitute great information for archival attempts and academic studies on Judeo-Spanish.All three ethnic communication platforms examined in this study composing of *Şalom*'s Judeo-Spanish part consisting of one page, its supplement *El Amaneser*, and *Ladinokomunita Yahoo Group* are observed to aim the same intention composing of preserving the Sephardic cultural heritage embedded to the Jewish language, which in this sense is crucial to be maintained and to be archived for the use of future generations.

5.3.2.5.1. The Meaning of the Archival Phase

It is observed that the way understand the great link between the Judeo-Spanish and identity bond in this case relies in understanding the formation of Jewish languages and how they served to Jewish identity. Benor suggests asking "How do Jews use language?" instead of asking "What is a Jewish language?" focusing on the symbolic role of a Jewish language (Benor, 2011: 96).

It is stated by different scholars that around 200 CE Jews started to apply languages rather than Hebrew depending on migration to different geographical areas, due to many reasons among which can be mentioned the cease of oral Hebrew, the difficulties encountered during the teaching process, clergy's block to the holy language to be kept untouched maintaining its purity(Parush and Sternberg, 2004), the later difficulties encountered in terms of updating the language to the new world order, socio-economic reasons herewith the requirement to communicate with the new non-Jewish environment (Timm, 2004), and regaining the dignity of human existence and the need to unite with the "civilized" Western European ideas (Harshav, 1993). Myers (2006) interpretes Jewish diasporic language experience as a colorful journey that consists of mixing, melding, adapting, reframing, and translating their own ''native'' language and the host of vernacular tongue. Benor (2009) highlights that Jews transferred to the newly vernacular Hebrew codes,

culture, experiences, dialect of the proceeding place, loanwords from Hebrew and all Jewish data.

Judeo-Spanish has been used for over five centuries as a medium to Jewish Sephardic cultural, and religious data transference. Concerning the meaning of Judeo-Spanish following the immigration to Ottoman lands, Benbassa and Rodrigue argues as follows:

> The Ottoman model of ethnic organization had favored the preservation of a specific cultural heritage. It had made it possible to strengthen an almost autonomous Judeo-Spanish identity, without a direct or mythified link with the Iberian Peninsula, which had become a distant memory (2000: 196).

Jewish languages are observed to serve as 'ethnic' languages basing on the perspective of Fishman (1972) arguing that 'ethnicity' is a dynamic phenomenon which is not answered merely questioning the ethnic background of informant x, but involves fully integrated set of beliefs, views and behaviors, a "way of life". Fishman, the speech community employs the language as a symbolic system of ethno-cultural behavior that is constructed intergenerationally for the maintenance of cultural boundaries, and constantly creating and legitimizing them as well. According to the researcher, the link between ethnic identity and language, which is not uni-directional, is fostered by globalization becoming more salient in consciousness (as cited in Garcia, Peltz, Schiffman, & Fishman, 2006:30-32).

In this sense, concerning the maintenance and archival works on Judeo-Spanish, it is possible to conclude that the cultural and traditional data that Judeo-Spanish has ever carried is crucial, which actually constitutes what is symbolical and what needs to be archived.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

Undertsanding the role of Judeo-Spanish in Sephardic identity requires a combined study with three distinct levels: historical analysis of the emergence of Jewish languages in terms of motives and uses; theoretical analysis combining distinct perspectives in the framework of defining the bonds of the language with ethnicity and homeland; analysis of sociopolitical events that influenced the role of Judeo-Spanish in making of Sephardic identity.

This study aims to understand the reasons for the awareness or consciousness that has emerged towards Judeo-Spanish starting from the late seventies that was followed by the establishment of several institutions, centers and even departments at Universities mainly in Israel, later in Turkey and all over the world aimed at maintenance of Judeo-Spanish perceiving it as the unique medium of the continuance of the Sepahardic cultural heritage.[107] In this sense, the activity based on recalling of memories regarding the past Sephardic life as a part of the recent literary expression in Judeo-Spanish that has increased since the late seventies can be argued to present the need to strengthen and reconstruct in some cases the Sephardic identity that is

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[107] The reasons of the mentioned awareness has been suggested to be related to different reasons: Modern Spanish for practical reasons as a widely spoken language (Malinowski, 1982: 19), international emphasis on ethnicity (Altabev, 1998: 273-279), the link between ethnic identity and language, which is not uni-directional, fostered by globalization becoming more salient in consciousness (cited in Garcia, Peltz, Schiffman, &Fishman, 2006:.32). Concerning language maintenance efforts, Giles and Johnson (1987) argue that language maintenance constitutes a function of ethnic identification (cited in Hidalgo, 2009: 336). In addition to this Hidalgo emphasizes that language revitalization and reversing language shift efforts are strongly related with the belonging sentiment among a threatened group (Hidalgo, 2009).Bunis highlights that starting from 1960s and 1970s several middle aged members of the speech community have attempted to foster creative writing in Judeo-Spanish with a sense of nostalgia and concern for their endangered communal language defining it as a literary language of ethnic self-expression (Bunis, 2005: 71).Malinowski (1982) argues that the awareness raised towards Judeo-Spanish after 1980s, and the rise of the literary works in Judeo-Spanish.

perceived to be threatened in the globalized world. It is possible to conclude that the creative writing in Judeo-Spanish that has increased gradually since the late seventies is the result of these activities, propogated by some alarmed community members aimed at mobilizing the remaining speech community all over the world for the maintenance and archival of the Sephardic cultural heritage.

To observe the mentioned activity three ethnic communication platforms composed of Judeo-Spanish page of the weekly newspaper *Şalom*, its supplement *El Amaneser* and Ladinokomunita Yahoo Group on-line platform are analysed in terms of their effect in strengthening and reconstructing Sephardic identity (identities) for the remaining Judeo-Spanish speech community dispersed all over the world mainly resident in Turkey and Israel. On the mentioned three platforms, the potential of Judeo-Spanish as a medium to transfer Sephardic cultural and religious data in the (re)construction and preservation Sephardic identity is discussed following the 'ethnic identity' definition of Fishman (1972). The study covers the Judeo-Spanish speech community who mainly reside in Istanbul. The Istanbul community was considered as the *center* emphasized (Weingrod and Levy, 2006), where in Turkey the vast majority reside, although smaller populations live in Izmir, and other smaller groups are located in Adana, Ankara, Antakya, Bursa, Canakkale, Kirklareli (Gültekin-Punsmann, 2008). However, due to the mass migrations in the last century, the study also covers the remaining Judeo-Spanish speaking Turkish Jewry dispersed to all over the world, with the majority residing in Israel. The role of Judeo-Spanish in making of Sephardic identity has to be considered in accordance with the highly decreased population of Judeo-Spanish speaking members all over the world. This sharp decrease is due to the effects of nationalism and Holocaust in Balkans, early republican policies regarding language planning in Turkey, nation-building process in Israel heightening the status of Hebrew, and the constant migration to all over the world during the last century.

Although the Istanbul Sephardic community is the 'center' of the study, considering the migration factor, the study also analysed the transnational reflections that occured interms of observing the '(re)construction of Sephardic identity' through ethnic communication platforms.

To answer the research question that relates to understanding the role of Judeo-Spanish in Sephardic identity, the study used documentary research, and semi-structured expert interviews conducted in Istanbul with some community members that have been active on the maintenance efforts of Judeo-Spanish and Sephardic culture. The findings of the latter were analysed using critical discourse analysis (CDA).

In particular, the expert interviews were conducted in Istanbul with selected columnists, editors, and coordinators of the Judeo-Spanish one-page part of *Şalom,* its supplement *El Amaneser*. The general secretary of the Chief Rabbinate in Turkey is also interviewed with the objective of understanding the religious utilization of the language, as well as the highly embedded character of Judeo-Spanish to Sephardic identity. *Ladinokomunita Yahoo Group* is analyzed through posted messages in Judeo-Spanish in terms of understanding the role of Judeo-Spanish in '(re)construction' of Sephardic identity. In addition to these experts, among which the editor of *El Amaneser* is also co-moderator of Ladinokomunita Yahoo Group, the founder and the moderator of the online platform group living in the United States was contacted as well.

Research results demonstrate that the motives of Jewish language creation legacy constitute the main formulation of the bond between Jewish languages and identity. Following the perspective of Benor (2011:96), the study intended to ask "How do Jews use language?" instead of asking "What is a Jewish language?"[108] focusing on

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[108] In this sense, Jewish language creation legacy that is believed to go back to 200 CE derives from many reasons mainly depending on migration to different geographical areas. Jewish language creation appeared as an imperative due to the difficulties encountered during the teaching process of Hebrew, most importantly clergy's block to the holy language to be kept untouched maintaining its

the instrumental role of the Jewish language. Jewish language creation that is believed to date back to 200 BC involves adopting and adapting the vernacular spoken language of the newly settled lands paralleling the continuous diasporic history of the Jewish communities, which emerged in accordance with the adaptation and survival needs in diaspora. It can be argued that Jewish language creation legacy responded to the need to perceive the world in a more internalized and Judaicized way for the spiritual existence in continuous diaspora conditions. Everytime, the newly adopted vernacular of the settled lands was Judaicized with Jewish thought and traditions also carrying components from the early employed Jewish vernacular(s). In this sense, any Jewish language constructed is a cultural product with a hybrid formulation. The mentioned hybrid formulation produced a Judaicized cultural synthesis that formed the Jewish perspective to perceive the reality in the same vernacular language of the settled lands, but in a more internalized and recontextualized way in accordance with Jewish way of life shaped with Jewish

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purity (Parush and Sternberg, 2004), and the later difficulties encountered in terms of updating the language to the new world order, socio-economic reasons herewith the requirement to communicate with the new non-Jewish environment (Timm, 2004). In this sense, Jewish languages are Judaicized forms of the vernacular spoken in the immigrated lands (Wexler, 1981:99-103,106). The latter meant, transference of the newly vernacular Hebrew codes, culture, experiences, dialect of the proceeding place, loanwords from Hebrew and all Jewish data (Benor, 2009). In addition to this, Wexler highlights that the rise of the development of Jewish vernaculars is the result of the uninterrupted chain of Jewish language shift, which started with the shift from Hebrew to Aramaic in the 6th century B.C. Language shift starts with substratatum elements identified in the successor language, particularly in anthroponyms, later prior to its extinction elemements found from the successor language, and followed by a state of a bilingualism. Jewish vernaculars are linked to each other due to the chain of language shifts occured with migration and social factors. Jewish identity is also shaped resulting from the displacement of the Jewish speakers from their original habitat especially in the cases that lack of acquisition of the newly coterritorial dialect (Wexler, 1981:103-106). Jewish language creation legacy appears as an imperative response to the cease of oral Hebrew. Migration, and the position of Hebrew perceived as the holy tongue constitute the major factors of Jewish language creation. Spolsky addes that Jewish langauges emerged with the aim of both integrating well to the newly settled lands and to spread the Jewish thought to broad public while remaining classical Hebrew learning as the representation of the religious identity (Spolsky, 1996:181,182). However, it is observed that functioning of Jewish languages for the mentioned aims depends on heavily to socio-political ambiance of the settled lands, which might be supportive or not.

thought.[109] The latter can be argued to have created a Jewish perspective, a 'filter' to see the world. Through the mentioned 'filter' formed, Jewish languages are observed to have served a kind of 'ethnic' language with the power to mobilize the Jewish communities producing a sense of "Jewishness".

In Sephardic case, Judeo-Spanish is observed to have flourished as an important key element to Sephardic identity in Ottoman lands due to the unique conditions provided until the dissolution of the empire. In the Judeo-Spanish case Benbassa and Rodrigue argue as follows:

> The Ottoman model of ethnic organization had favored the preservation of a specific cultural heritage. It had made it possible to strengthen an almost autonomous Judeo-Spanish identity, without a direct or mythified link with the Iberian Peninsula, which had become a distant memory." (2000: 196).

However, Judeo-Spanish lost gradually the competency capacity due to a chain of socio-political and global events in the last centuries mainly influenced by the nationalism in Balkans and later in Turkey following the dissolution of the Ottoman Empire.[110] Despite the latter, the recent awareness or consciousness that has

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[109] See footnote 44.

[110] Judeo-Spanish lost gradually the competency capacity mainly disconnection from the Spanish evolving in Iberia, which caused drying up vocabulary, and barrowing too much vocabulary from other languages. The declining is followed by adopting French language with the foundation of Alliance Israélite Schools in 1860 aimed at providing better position socio-economically to Middle Eastern Jewry mostly resident in Ottoman lands. Judeo-Spanish continued to be the mother tongue of Sephardim evolving in diglossia with French language, which became the prestigious language by all means, while Judeo-Spanish was perceived as 'jargon'. The diglossic situation with French also resulted in 'Frenchification' of Judeo-Spanish gramatically and culturally to some extent (Diaz-Más, 1992:85). In this sense, the negative perceptions of Judeo-Spanish among the community as 'jargon' emerged with the influence of Alliance Israélite Universelle schools (Malinowski, 1982). The effect of 'Frenchification' on the perception of Judeo-Spanish was followed by the nationalism in Balkans and later in Turkey after the dissolution of the Ottoman Empire. Judeo-Spanish gradually started losing its doimains in the last century as an already declining and non-competent language that could respond to socio-economic needs of Sephardim. Lastly the decline became official with the the effect of the 'revival' of Modern Hebrew as the official language of the State of Israel founded in 1948. Spolsky highlights that the Zionist movement of the late nineteenth century rejected the multilingual and multi identified Jewish history of Diaspora, favoring one national language to form the national identity which was Modern Hebrew (Spolsky, 1996:184).The heightened status of Hebrew as the official

emerged towards Judeo-Spanish starting from the late seventies present that Judeo-Spanish continues to be internalized representing 'we' and 'Jewishness' in the eyes of the alarmed community members composing of the native and semi-speakers of the remaining Judeo-Spanish speech community who voluntarily undertake the responsibility to mobilize the remaining Judeo-Spanish speech community to cultivate the language and maintain the Sephardic cultural heritage embedded to the Jewish language through foundation of centers, newspapers, online circles, and through columns in newspapers. It is observed that in this phase ethnic communications provide the necessary platform for the mobilization of the remaining Judeo-Spanish community dispersed to all over the world enabling them to reunite regardless of space and time where such a kind of unification can only be enjoyed in today's conditions. In conclusion, the mentioned transnational space provided through the ethnic communication platforms that can be accessed by both transcription and online forms another 'Center' that can be explained through 'homeland' theories of Levy (2006), Weingrod and Levy (2006), and William Safran (2005).

Concerning 'homeland-diaspora' perceptions, Levy argues that homeland-diaspora pair must be conceptualized as "fluid, historically conditioned and even multidirectional" rejecting the 'sun-satellite' model (Levy, 2005: 72). Weingrod and Levy argue that "diaspora" is linked to old/new *Centers*, which represents places, where immigrants and their descendents formerly lived, and towards which they develop positive memories and a personal attachment (Weingrod & Levy, 2006: 711). Diaspora is not only a dispersed community from homeland, but also becomes the '*center*' to diasporans, to which they develop a symbolic sense of belonging both culturally and linguistically (Levy, 2005: 68-86). Both *Centers* and Homelands grow in myth and nostalgia. While returning to the "homeland" includes a moral

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language of the State of Israel in the early years of statehood is indicated by many researchers as a strong reason for the cease of the Jewish languages, including Judeo-Spanish (Edwards, 2010; Altabev, 1998; Spolsky, 1996).

requirement, *Centers* are places where one might visit and enjoy, but do not perceive as places that he/she truly belongs to (Weingrod & Levy, 2006: 711). According to Cohen, 'the community' is perceived distinctly and symbolically by the members and non-members basing on life experiences. Cohen adds that the 'community' is constructed symbolically to be bounded to the individual's identity (2000: 70-74). Thus, it can be argued that all the migrated lands form '*center(s)*' to Sephardic Jews. In addition, it might not be wrong to claim that *Ladinokomunita Yahoo Group* and *El Amaneser* ethnic communication platforms also provide another '*center*' where new trans-national identities are formed.

In the light of Horboken's (2004) assumption arguing that through ethnic minority media the past and the future of the community are connected legitimizing the present, it is observed that both *Ladinokomunita Yahoo Group* and *El Amaneser* form the unity of ethnic dispersed Judeo-Spanish speaking community members to all over the world. This eliminates the isolation and weakens the distinction between communities. The mentioned 'unity' perception is constructed symbolically and is limited with the target group composed of only Judeo-Spanish speakers among the community.

A part from the very slight differences observed between the three ethnic communication platforms, they all address to the same target group which covers all the remaining Judeo-Spanish speakers all over the world, aimed at attempting to preserve and maintain the Sephardic heritage through the use of Judeo-Spanish. In the light of the Ethno linguistic Identity Theory based heavily on Social Identity Theory suggesting that language is the main tool of ethnic maintenance, and the theory of reversing language shift has significant role in understanding the belonging sentiment among a threatened group (Hidalgo, 2009: 333-336). In other words, Judeo-Spanish serves as a medium that gives access to past memories, through which the Sephardic identity is strengthened or (re)constructed.

The expert interviews conducted present the unforseen part of the effect observed on Judeo-Spanish interpreted as 'reawakening interest':

It is possible to conclude that most of the creative writing in Judeo-Spanish that Bunis (2005) observed, aim at making a contribution to the archival of the Sephardic heritage to be transmitted to the next generations. In this sense, Crystal argues that even if the language loses the tool of communication, it continues to survive as an important element fostering individual expression in the form of community or personal identity by forming an archive of the people's spoken linguistic past through which a social history is transferred to generations thanks to words and idioms (2000:34-40).

The 'archival phase' is observed to have started firstly in Israel with the publication of *Aki Yerushalayim*, an entirely Judeo-Spanish newspaper that has been published since 1979. Kushner Bishop argues that Judeo-Spanish, Yiddish and other minority Jewish languages are no longer officially discouraged in Israel as in the early years of the statehood. The researcher mentions that "these languages were considered a threat to Hebrew and to a strong unified Israeli identity" (Kushner Bishop, 2004: 314). Following the emergence of *Aki Yerushalayim*, National Authority of Ladino was founded in Israel in 1997 aimed at preserving and maintaining of Sephardic culture.It is observed that the foundation of National Authority of Ladino might have triggered the establishment of many other Sephardic culture and language maintenance efforts including *Ladinokomunita Yahoo Group* on-line correspondence circle established in 2000, and Ottoman-Turkish Sephardic Cultural Research Center founded in Istanbul under the auspices of the Chief Rabbinate of Turkey in 2003.

Concerning the meaning of the maintenance and archival works, it is concluded that Judeo-Spanish has served as a medium for the transference of Sephardic cultural and traditional values. In this sense, the Sephardic heritage that is present in Judeo-Spanish has to be archived to be transmitted to the next generations considering the

highly endangered position of the language. The recent rising awareness to Judeo-Spanish is believed to be important in archiving the memories recalled in this phase.

During the 37 years period in which Avram Leyon coordinated Şalom, the newspaper was published in 80% Judeo-Spanish until the purchase of the newspaper in 1984 by Gözlem Publishing House, after when it was agreed to publish the newpspaper in Turkish, and keep only one page in Judeo-Spanish. *Şalom* newspaper's Judeo-Spanish part composed of one page, is observed to present the tradition of publishing the Turkish Jewish newspaper in the traditional Jewish language, Judeo-Spanish, as Yusuf Altıntaş argues (Altıntaş, 2011, personal communications). In this sense it can be argued that the meaning of publishing the newspaper in Judeo-Spanish is far from functional, but it is symbolically important in terms of representation of the Sephardic identity. Considering the target group covering of only Judeo-Spanish speakers of the community, the role of the mentioned tradition of publishing the newspaper in Judeo-Spanish in making of Sephardic identity is limited with the number of Judeo-Spanish speakers remaining.

While the continuation of Judeo-Spanish cultivation in *Şalom* is observed to indicate maintenance of the tradition of publishing the Turkish Jewish newspaper in Judeo-Spanish, it can be argued that the other two platforms studied *El Amaneser* and Ladinokomunita Yahoo Group were established undertaking a role that is directly oriented in maintenance of the Sephardic cultural heritage through the use of Judeo-Spanish. However it is observed that the boundaries indicating the differences between the three ethnic communication platforms studied are not determined rigidly. Şalom newspaper's one page Judeo-Spanish part is observed to give place to articles concerning all World Jewry. With this feature *Şalom* also undertakes maintenance of Sephardic cultural heritage especially through childhood memories regarding Sephardic everyday life and culture narrated by the columnists.

One can argue that the existence of all three ethnic communication platforms *Şalom*'s one page Judeo-Spanish part, its supplement *El Amaneser,* and

Ladinokomunita online platform carry importance in strengthening the Sephardic identity that is already present in community members, (re)constructing the Sephardic identity for the members that are disconnected from Sephardic communities, and finally the three platforms are crucial in terms of archiving the culture and traditions revealed from the nostalgia effect emerged, through which transference of the Sephardic heritage to the next generations could be achieved.

In terms of the religious dimension, it is observed that the archival process has already started including translation of the religious texts written in Judeo-Spanish, as well as Hebrew. It is stated that Judaism will not be affected from the cease of Judeo-Spanish, since all the religious books are translated to Turkish already. Yusuf Altıntaş highlights that what will be lost is the Sephardic composition of the Sephardic community, the fact that Judeo-Spanish is no longer the spoken language does not mean that Judaism will be lacking among the younger generation (Altıntaş 2011, personal communications).

It is observed that after Judeo-Spanish lost the communicative and symbolic domains gradually, Sephardic and Jewish identities splitted gradually. Thanks to the archival works that have been done and that are in process, accessing to Sephardic cultural heritage will be possible relatively through the knowledge of Turkish. In this sense, it is observed that Jewish identity will be including Sephardic heritage less relatively. Concerning the ethnic identity, Gerson Şarhon believes that a few vocabulary that will all be left to younger generations would help to distinguish the ethnic identity of the Jewish community from other communities[111] (Gerson Şarhon, 2011).

Wexler argues that ethnic identification shift is not necessarily the result of the language shift. The shift in the language may or may not intertwine with the loss of ethnic identification (Wexler, 1981:99-103,106). In this sense the 'archival' phase is

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[111] Gerson Şarhon, Karen. (2011). "Judeo-Spanish today as reflected in the Ladino Database Project". Institut Français d'Études Anatoliennes.Sephardi Congress: Jewish Languages and the Spanish Legacy. Istanbul. June 7, 2011.

observed to respond to the maintenance of Sephardic 'ethnic' (Fishman 1972) heritage.

Basing on Fishman's (cited in Benor, 2010:95) definition of Jewish language arguing that the language that is to be considered as Jewish should be phonologically, morpho-syntactically, lexico-semantically or orthographically different from that of non-Jewish sociocultural networks with a unique function in the role of maintenance of a Jewish sociocultural network, Judeo-Spanish is observed to have the very unique role of maintaining of the Sephardic sociocultural network. *Şalom*'s Judeo-Spanish one-page part, its supplement *El Amaneser*, and Ladinokomunita Yahoo group serve as platforms where parts of Sephardic cultural and traditional database could be accessed through interaction. Judeo-Spanish gives the key to access to the mentioned Sephardic cultural and traditional database. Those who have access to this privilege are a determined group of Judeo-Spanish speakers that is composed of both of the native speakers and the generation raised by them, the youngest of whom is at the age of 50-55 years.[112] Only to the mentioned group Judeo-Spanish gives 'proxy' to access to mentioned Sephardic cultural and traditional database, which enables them to survey through past years, memories, and everything related to Sephardic culture. Once the Judeo-Spanish speaking Sephardic community member accesses to the mentioned database, both self and community identities are strengthened, or (re)constructed through the interaction accomplished.

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[112] The data regarding the age of the Judeo-Spanish speakers are noted from Karen Gerson Şarhon's presentation in Sephardi congress organized by L'IFEA in 2011. See.
Gerson Şarhon, Karen. (2011). "Judeo-Spanish today as reflected in the Ladino Database Project". Institut Français d'Études Anatoliennes. Sephardi Congress: Jewish Languages and the Spanish Legacy. Istanbul. June 7, 2011.

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APPENDIX

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