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Judeo-Provençal in Southern France

1 Brief introduction

Judeo-Provençal is also known as Judeo-Occitan, Judéo-Comtadin, Hébraïco-Comtadin, Hébraïco-Provençal, Shuadit, Chouadit, Chouadite, Chuadit, and Chuadite. It is the Jewish analog of Provençal and is therefore a Romance language. The age of the language is a matter of dispute, as is the case with other Judeo-Romance languages. It was spoken in only four towns in southern France: Avignon, Cavaillon, Caprentras, and l'Isle-sur-Sorgue. A women's prayer book, some poems, and a play are the sources of the medieval language, and transcriptions of Passover songs and theatrical representations are the sources for the modern language. In addition, my own interviews in 1968 with the language's last known speaker, Armand Lunel, provide data (Jochnowitz 1978, 1985). Lunel, who learned the language from his grandparents, not his parents, did not have occasion to converse in it. Judeo-Provençal/Shuadit is now extinct, since Armand Lunel died in 1977.

Sometimes Jewish languages have a name meaning "Jewish," such as Yiddish or Judezmo – from Hebrew *Yehudit* or other forms of *Yehuda*. This is the case with Shuadit, due to a sound change of /y/ to [š]. I use the name Judeo-Provençal for the medieval language and Shuadit for the modern language.

2 Historical background

2.1 Speaker community: Settlement, documentation

Jews had lived in Provence at least as early as the first century CE. They were officially expelled from France in 1306, readmitted in 1315, expelled again in 1322, readmitted in 1359, and expelled in 1394 for a period that lasted until the French Revolution. However, Provence was not yet ruled by the kings of France in 1394. This changed in 1481, and there was pressure to expel the Jews from there as well, which happened in 1498 but was not completely enforced until 1501 (Shapiro 1972).

The city of Avignon in Provence became the residence of the Popes in 1309. Avignon and the neighboring area, the Comtat-Venaissin, belonged to the Holy See and did not become part of France until two years after the French

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Revolution, in 1791. The Jews in the Papal States were not affected by the expulsions from France and Provence. Isolated Jewish communities existed in four towns: Avignon, Carpentras, Cavaillon, and l'Isle-sur-Sorgue. After the last Jews had been expelled from France in 1501, the Papal States became an island with a Jewish minority surrounded by a France without Jews. Life was not easy for the Jews in the Papal States – Avignon and the Comtat-Venaissin. Jews were the victims of violence. In the period after it had abated, they were permitted to live only in restricted areas. "Dans la seconde moitié du XVè siècle, après avoir été un peu partout molestés et pillés par la population chrétienne, ils furent réduits à se cantonner dans une seule rue des localités où ils demeurent,--la carrière des juifs: ainsi, en 1453, à Cavaillon, en 1486 à Carpentras, après une première limitation à deux rues, en 1461" ("In the second half of the 15th century, after having been harassed and robbed almost everywhere by the Christian population, they were forced to restrict themselves to a single street in each of the communities where they lived – the Jewish quarter – thus, in 1453 in Cavaillon, in 1486 in Carpentras, after a previous limitation to two streets in 1461") (Chobaut 1937, vol. I, no. 1, p. 6). Under the circumstances, it was natural for their language to differ from that of their neighbors.

Immigration from North Africa became a major factor after Morocco and Tunisia became independent in 1956 and reached a peak when Algeria became independent in 1962. Algerians (unlike Moroccans and Tunisians) were French citizens before independence, and Algerian Jews left for France in great numbers. Today, Jewish rituals and culture in the Comtat-Venaissin are North African.

2.2 Attestations and sources

When is a language born? In the case of both French and German, the Oaths of Strasbourg, written in 842 and signed by King Louis the German and King Charles the Bald, ruler of West Francia, give us an early, official document in both French and German defining the existence of these two languages. On the other hand, it is impossible to decide when French and Provençal (today generally known as Occitan) split off from each other. There is dispute about whether they split into two or three languages, the third being Franco-Provençal, also known as Arpitan (Jochnowitz 1973).

As for Jewish languages, it is hard to determine whether an early text is written in Judeo-French or Judeo-Provençal, or simply in French or Provençal spelled out in Hebrew characters. David S. Blondheim (1925) discusses in

detail the lexical items common to various Judeo-Romance languages. He is thus agreeing with the point of view behind Max Weinreich's belief that there was a common origin of Judeo-Romance (Weinreich 1980). Menachem Banitt wrote an article arguing that there had never been such a language as Judeo-French and that medieval texts from France in Hebrew characters were simply in French (Banitt 1963). Kirsten Fudeman, in her book analyzing many of these texts, writes, "In this volume I use the term 'Hebraico-French' to refer to Old and Middle French texts written in Hebrew letters" (Fudeman 2010: 5). Her choice of the term "Hebraico-French" suggests that she agrees with Banitt. However, she adds, "To say that the Jews spoke the same language as their non-Jewish neighbors is not to say that they spoke it in an identical way" (Fudeman 2010: 58), thus recognizing that there may have been a Jewish way of speaking Middle French.

Many Jewish languages are characterized by the presence of words of Hebrew, or perhaps Aramaic, origin. Such words are lacking in the Provençal texts written in the Hebrew alphabet in the Middle Ages. The notable exception is the word *goya* meaning "Gentile woman," which is found in the Judeo-Provençal women's prayerbook that is Roth Manuscript 32 (Jochnowitz 1981). Should we say that the appearance of this Hebrew word, in what otherwise was a word-for-word translation into Provençal of the daily prayers, marks the birth of Judeo-Provençal at some unspecified point in the 14th or 15th century? Whatever answer we choose does not answer the question of when the everyday language of Jews in southern France – or in the Roman Empire – started mixing words of Hebrew origin into their everyday speech. We do not have enough evidence to answer this question, which explains why Blondheim and Banitt differ in their responses.

2.3 Phases in historical development

A small number of texts survive from the medieval period, all written in Hebrew characters. There are glosses, the oldest of which is the *Ittur* of Isaac b. Abba Mari of Marseilles, written between 1170 and 1193 (Guttel 1972: 439), the Esther poem analyzed by Susan Milner Silberstein and discussed below, and the prayerbook preserved as Roth Manuscript 32 (Jochnowitz 1981). From the modern period – the 19th and 20th centuries – we have a number of texts representing liturgical language and spoken language, the latter often portrayed in comical ways. I will use the terms "Provençal" and "Judeo-Provençal" when talking about the older texts in the Hebrew alphabet and the term "Shuadit" when discussing the newer texts in Latin characters.

2.3.1 Judeo-Provençal texts in Hebrew letters

Susan Milner Silberstein wrote a detailed analysis of a poem written in 1327 in Hebrew characters, in a language that may or may not have been Judeo-Provençal (Silberstein 1973). The title of her book simply says it is in Provençal. The text is quite hard to read (see Figure 1) for a number of reasons. It is handwritten, and the style of the characters is unfamiliar to contemporary readers. "The script in this text is of the *Sephardic* Type and, more specifically, of the *Sephardic Mashait* style, an elaborate, semi-cursive book hand sometimes called 'rabbinic'" (Silberstein 1973: 72). The spaces occur in unpredictable locations, and the same Hebrew letter is sometimes used for different sounds.

The poem is an original work and only partly reflects the biblical story of Esther. The name Nebuchadnezzar occurs twice in the opening section of this Esther poem, despite the fact that he is nowhere mentioned in the Biblical Book of Esther (Nebuchadnezzar is mentioned in the Book of Chronicles II and in the Book of Daniel, and a different spelling, Nebuchadrezzar, is found in the Books of Jeremiah and Ezekiel). On the first page of the poem, we find two different spellings. On line 6, we find נבוכ דנצר. The word *de* (of) is written as a prefix. There is a space in the middle of the word, perhaps indicating that the author viewed *de* as a preposition. On line 10, we find אנבוקאדנדור. The word *a* (to) is written as a prefix.

The second spelling is an indication that the Provençal change of intervocalic *-d-* to [z] had reached Judeo-Provençal. The writing of prepositions as prefixes shows that the Hebrew language has influenced the conceptions of what word boundaries are. It also suggests an ignorance of the way in which words are spelled in the Latin alphabet.

The spelling דייב for the word for *God* occurs both in the Esther poem and in the women's prayerbook in the Cecil Roth Collection (Jochnowitz 1981). It was probably pronounced [diew].

The title line of the text, written in Hebrew, is translated by Silberstein as opening with the words: "I will begin to write the vernacular [text] composed by Maestre Crescas" (pp. 71–72). The word for "vernacular" is *la'az*, spelled in Hebrew, לעז – the word meaning "foreign language" used by Rashi for his glosses into French. It is possible that *la'az* was a commonly-used word for the local language, whether French or Provençal.

Crescas wrote Esther poems in both Hebrew and Provençal. Silberstein informs us that, in the Hebrew version, there is an acrostic that reads: "The doctor called Israel son of Joseph Caslari, of the family of Yitzhar, who lives in the town of Avignon . . ." (pp. 66–67). The name "Crescas" is not mentioned, but it is probably implied by the words "son of Joseph." Crescas, a surname found

Figure 1: The first page of the original version of the poem (Silberstein 1973: 260), reproduced with the author's permission.

among the Jews of both Catalonia and southern France, means *increase* (cognate with the second syllable of *increase* as well as with the words *crescent* and *crescendo*) and is no doubt a translation of "Joseph" or "son of Joseph" (Encyclopedia Judaica 1972). Puritan minister Increase Mather (1639 – 1723) was probably given his name, because it is the English translation of "Joseph."

We saw above that the second spelling of "Nebuchadnezzar" shows that the [d] had become a [z] in both Provençal and Judeo-Provençal. Nebuchadnezzar is the name of a king in the Bible, and so it is not a word of Romance origin. If we examine the transcription of the Hebrew letters into Latin letters done by Silberstein, we find the words for "season" and "reason" in verses 1 and 2 are transcribed *sazon* and *razon*, which is not surprising when we think of Provençal. It becomes more surprising when we look at the spelling in the Hebrew alphabet, where the [z] sounds are spelled with a ד. Apparently, in Judeo-Provençal, that was the way to spell the sound [z]. The words for "season" and "reason" were never at any time spelled with a *d* in Provençal. Intervocalic *s*, like intervocalic *d*, had become *z*. This merger was not reflected in texts in Latin letters, but did appear in the Esther poem. The independence of Hebrew-letter spelling traditions in this case reminds us of the fact that the prepositions *de* and *a* were written as prefixes, and not separate words, in Crescas' poem. The use of ב in final position for [w], as we saw above, is further evidence that the author was not bound by Provençal orthographic traditions. Final *-d* also became [z] in Judeo-Provençal. This is reflected in a contemporary version of the Passover song *Had Gadya*, in which the first word is pronounced [haz].

In the version of *Had Gadya* sung by Armand Lunel, we hear both [had gadya] and [hay gadya], rather than [haz gadya] (Jochnowitz 1985). Did the song vary in different parts of the Comtat-Venaissin? Were there different family traditions of how to sing it? Further research is needed. In Lunel's sung version, we hear the lines at the opening of the last verse:

Es vengü a kadoš baruš u
K a čaata lu malak amavet
([then] came the Holy One, Blessed be He, Who killed the angel of death)

The words "*kadoš baruš u*" and "*malak amavet*" are of Hebrew origin. This is apparently the only evidence, aside from *goya* in Roth Ms. 32, of Hebrew words in Judeo-Provençal. Of course, we don't know the age of a tradition of singing. Moulinas writes that *Had Gadya* was one of the rituals done in Provençal (Moulinas 1981: 193). Did Moulinas hear a different version without the Hebrew words? Whether he did or not, we have to consider this song an example of Judeo-Provençal, rather than of Provençal. Moulinas does not give us a version of *Had Gadya*, but he expresses

doubt that there ever was a Jewish language spoken in the Comtat-Venaissin. He asks, "Comment imaginer qu'ils aient pu pousser le désir de se distinguer au point de s'imposer un bilinguisme bien inutile, en se servant du dialecte vernaculaire pour leurs contacts incessants avec les chrétiens et d'une langue différente pour les relations intérieures de la communauté juive?" (How could anyone imagine that they could have pursued the desire to maintain their identity to the point of imposing a useless bilingual situation upon themselves, using the local vernacular in their everyday contacts with Christians and a different language for internal relationships within the Jewish community?) (Moulinas 1981: 191).

On the one hand, Moulinas seems unaware that Jewish languages are the rule and not the exception. Furthermore, he does not know about the fact that language is always changing and that regional, professional, cultural, and other groups are always developing their own dialects and sub-dialects. On the other hand, even though the last speaker of Judeo-Provençal, Armand Lunel, lived until 1977, he did not speak the language to anybody. He had learned it from his grandparents, not from his parents. Moulinas could not have come across direct evidence of Shuadit when he wrote his book in 1981.

Moulinas ends his book with a chapter about the disappearance of the culture of the Jews of the Comtat-Venaissin, a process which he says began immediately after the French Revolution. He writes that once Jews were free to move out of the area, and once Jews of different backgrounds were free to move into the area, cultural eradication began to take place (Moulinas 1981: 459).

As the culture changed and there were more contacts with Jews from other areas, new religious rituals were adopted, and old ones became incomprehensible. As Moulinas (1981: 475) explains, "The confusion created by different traditions of liturgical singing and of pronouncing Hebrew should have led to cultural gaps with other Jewish communities." Today, the rituals, traditions, and pronunciations heard in the synagogues in the Comtat-Venaissin are those of the Jews of North Africa, who are now the majority in the Jewish communities there.

2.3.2 Texts in Latin letters

The texts written in Hebrew characters have no Hebrew words – or very few. The texts in Latin characters are filled with words of Hebrew or Aramaic origin. They are typical of Jewish languages, in that they have many borrowings and a unique local pronunciation of Hebrew. The use of an alphabet that is not Hebrew makes it clear that the words of Hebrew etymology are pronounced according to the rules of the local Jewish form of speech.

The play *Harcanot et Barcanot* was written in the 18th century, at least in part, to demonstrate the nature of Shuadit. Armand Lunel, in his introduction to the libretto of his opera *Esther de Carpentras*, tells us that the play was written by someone named Bédarride, "qui s'amusa à écrire une bouffonerie judéo-comtadine" (who enjoyed writing a farce in Shuadit) (Lunel 1926: 17). In other words, he wrote it for fun. Pierre Pansier, in his introduction to the play, spells the author's name Bédarrides and says the manuscript can be found in the Bibliothèque de Carpentras, coté No. 1009 (Pansier 1925: 113). The play not only tells us about the phonology and vocabulary of the language, but reflects the fact that it was considered funny. Regional, ethnic, and other non-standard languages are often considered undignified or comical or both, and this has often been the case with Jewish languages.

Here is an English translation of the French translation at the bottom of the page of the original Shuadit:

> The Rector: Gueneruf (theft)! But what does it mean?
> Barcanot: Would you believe that he doesn't know what a gueneruf is?
> Someone who steals an egg can steal a bull.
> It's true that by ganauta (to steal) I mean
> As if Harcanot took the money of another
> Which he believed his. . .
> Harcanot: A plague on your lung!
> You're telling him . . .
> The Rector: I begin to understand.
> Gueneruf is . . .
> Larcanot [sic] (Should be Barcanot): Yes.
> The Rector: It's when one wants to take
> What is not his; a thief in one word.

Not all non-Provençal words in the play are from Hebrew. Pansier tells us the *haoumoun* (rector) is the "gouverneur (hebr. *haegmôn*)" (1925: 113). According to my research, the word *haegmôn* seems to come from the Greek word *hegemon*, meaning "leader," rather than Hebrew.

The play is filled with words of Hebrew origin. For example (Pansier 1925: 127):

> *Réellement, Harcanot, as dedins ta chadayim*
> *Lou sekel dòu holam.*
> ('Really, Harcanot, you have within your hands the wisdom of the world').

The word *chadayim*, meaning "hands," illustrates the change of Hebrew שׁ to [š], the same change that explains the name *Shuadit* from יהודית. We also see the borrowing *sekel*, meaning "wisdom," and *holam*, meaning "world." Another example of a word derived from Hebrew with a negative meaning is *siccor*, meaning "drunkard" (Pansier 1925: 131).

LOU HAOUMOUN

Le gueneruf! Mais qu'est-ce que ça signifie?

BARCANOT

Lou cresès, lou saup pas de qu'èi un gueneruf!
Un que ganauto un uf, pòu ganauta un buf.
Es emef; moussu, pèr ganauta vole dire,
Coume se Harcanot apavo lo maou d'éu
Que lou cresèsse siéu...

HARCANOT

Lou mau caud sus toun léu!

Ié dabères aqui...

LOU HAOUMOUN

Je commence à comprendre;
Le gueneruf c'est...

BARCANOT

Oui.

LOM HAOUMOUN

C'est lorsque l'on veut prendre
Ce qui n'est pas à soi: un voleur en un mot.

LE RECTEUR

Le gueneruf (*vol*)! Mais qu'est-ce que ça signifie?

BARCANOT

Le croyez-vous, il ne sait pas ce que c'est qu'un gueneruf?
Un qui vole un œuf, peut voler un beuf.
C'est vrai par ganauta (*voler*) je veux dire
Comme si Harcanot prenait l'argent d'un autre
Qu'il croyait sien...

HARCANOT

La peste sur ton poumon!

Tu lui dis là...

LE RECTEUR

Je commence à comprendre.
Le gueneruf c'est...

LARCANOT

Oui.

LE RECTEUR

C'est lorsque l'on veut prendre
Ce qui n'est pas à soi; un voleur en un mot.

Figure 2: Excerpt from Pansier, 1925.

A chain shift took place in Shuadit, reflecting sound changes in Provençal. This can be seen in the transcription of Hebrew letters:

ת,צ,ס, and שׂ all became [θ], which then became [f].[1]
שׂ became [s].
שׁ became [š].

In another chain shift, ד became [z] between vowels and [s] at the end of a word, and ז became [v]. These could have been pull shifts, meaning after a sound change left a gap in the pattern, another sound moved in to fill the gap. Or they could have been push shifts, meaning as one sound began to change, speakers had to alter the sound it was changing to, in order to maintain the distinction.

And so, the Jews of southern France said *emef* rather than *emeθ* ('true') and *Ifrael* rather than *Israel*. They also said *mamver* instead of *mamzer,* meaning "bastard," and *vona* instead of *zona,* meaning "prostitute." Instead of *Talmud*, they said *Talmus*. And, as we have already seen, instead of *Yehudit,* meaning 'Jewish', for the name of their language, they said *Shuadit*.

Sémâ Ifrael, Adonaï Elohenu, Adonaï e'had (Baru'h sem kevod mal'hufo leolam vaed). Véaaouta ef Adonaï Elohe'ha be'houl lebabe'ha uou'houl naphse'ha uou'houl méode'ha, véayu adévarim ahélé asser ano'hi méfave'ha ayom al lebabe'ha, véssinantam lébane'ha, védibarta bam béssioute'ha bébéfe'ha uoule'hte'ha badere'h uoussou'hbe'ha uoukumé'ha; uksartam léof al iade'ha, véayu létotaphof béén e'ha, u'hfaoutan al mévuvof befe'ha ubishare'ha.

Figure 3: Shema from *Archives Juives* 1843: 695.

Sound changes in the Hebrew component of the spoken language also affected the language of prayer. The extent of these changes is generally not evident when we look at the prayers in the original Hebrew, since the spelling does not change. It is somewhat more evident when we read texts in the vernacular spelled with Hebrew characters but, as we saw above, the Esther poem in Judeo-Provençal leaves many questions unanswered. On the other hand, the following transcription of the שמע tells us a great deal.

1 We know that [f] and [θ] are acoustically similar. It is not unusual for there to be confusion or merger of these sounds; such a merger has taken place in certain non-standard varieties of English, where people say *mouf* instead of *mouth*.

This segment of the daily prayers is found in a report on a detailed visit to southern and eastern France that appeared in *Archives Juives* in 1843 (also in Szajkowski 1948: iii). The reporter described the language transcribed into Latin letters as *vicieuse* (defective, faulty), but it is a treasure. It provides evidence that, in 1843, צ, שׂ, ס, and ת were pronounced [f]. The spelling *Véaaouta* confirms the interpretation of the ב in דייב as [w] finally and pre-consonantally, but between vowels as [v], since the word ואהבת is transcribed as *Véaauta*, while the word הדברים is transcribed as *adévarim*. It further documents that ז was pronounced [v], as we see in the spelling *mévuvof* for מזוזות. On the other hand, initial י is spelled *i* and likely pronounced [y] in the word *iade'ha,* Hebrew ידך, and is silent in *Ifrael*, perhaps because a [y] frequently vanishes before the acoustically similar [i]. There is no example of י becoming [š], which is the sound change that gave us the word *Shuadit*, among others.

By 1843, speakers of Shuadit had become less isolated from other Jewish communities. The isolation lasted from 1501 through 1791. The pronunciations we encountered in *Harcanot et Barcanot* survived through 1843, in whole Hebrew as well as in the spoken language. They survive in the Passover song *Had Gadya* but are no longer used in synagogues in the Comtat-Venaissin and Avignon, where new immigrants have moved in from North Africa. These immigrants and their descendants have introduced the interdental fricative [θ] into whole Hebrew to represent the letter ת.

3 Structural information

3.1 Relationship to non-Jewish varieties (isoglosses, related dialects)

Shuadit has words ending in final [p], [t], and [k]. These final consonants lasted into the 20th century in southwestern France (see Jochnowitz 1973: 116), but are not found in the area of the Papal States. Most Shuadit examples are words of Hebrew origin, but there are other words, like [*kat*] ('cat'), of Romance origin. The survival of these final consonants may reflect the expulsion from most of France that was completed in 1501, or it may reflect the role that words of Hebrew origin played in the phonology of Shuadit. It is hard to know when the final consonants disappeared from the varieties of Provençal, since they could have remained in the written language long after they were no longer pronounced, as is the case in contemporary French, in which the word spelled *chat* ('cat') is pronounced [ša].

Final stops are found in the southwestern province of Gascony and the adjacent region of southern Languedoc. When Jews were expelled from southern France, those who fled to the Comtat-Venaissin could have brought their dialects with them.

The word "*juge*" ('judge') was pronounced "*chuche*" (Guttel 1972, vol. 10: 441). The fricative sounds were originally affricates – a change that occurred in most of France. Affricates are unvoiced in a small area in the eastern part of Gascony and in southern Languedoc (Jochnowitz 1973: 111). As was the case with final stops, Jews moving to the Papal States could have brought the unvoiced africates with them. Then the affricates would have become fricatives as part of a major sound change.

We also see in Guttel (1972, vol. 10: 440) that "*plus*" is pronounced "*pius*" in Shuadit. This feature is found in eastern France, in parts of Lorraine and in Champagne (Jochnowitz 1973: 141). Could this pronunciation have been brought south when Jews left northern France in 1394? Perhaps. I did not come across any of these pronunciations in my own explorations.

3.2 Lexicon: Hebrew and Aramaic elements

A few terms refer to language. *Lashon hakodesh* ('language of holiness') is used in many Jewish communities to refer to Hebrew/Aramaic. In Shuadit, it is spelled *lassan akodes* and refers to the Shuadit language, as can be found in the comedy *Harcanot et Barcanot*, the play discussed above, which is a self-conscious attempt at capturing and preserving Shuadit. My informant, Armand Lunel, whom I interviewed in 1968, said his parents used to say "*Daber davar devant lou nar*" ('Say nothing in front of the boy') when they did not want him to understand.[2]

Jewish languages frequently have words referring to negative concepts that are of Hebrew origin. This is part of the tradition of using words of Hebrew origin as euphemisms and dysphemisms (Jochnowitz 2009). In Shuadit, we find [*ganaw*] meaning 'thief' from Hebrew גנב. The final [w] is also found in the Judeo-Italian spoken in Italy's Piedmont province, which is adjacent to France. In all likelihood, this pronunciation was brought by Jews expelled from France. In the play *Harcanot et Barcanot*, the word spelled *gueneruf* is the topic of the comic misunderstanding. The final *-uf* is the Shuadit pronunciation of the Hebrew noun-forming suffix -ות, reflecting the pronunciation [f] for ת. גנבות is one of the Hebrew words for "theft." The letter *r* in the word is a mystery, perhaps reflecting the elongation of *vav* into *resh*, a regional sound change, or perhaps it is simply an illustration of how the Rector misheard the word. Other words derived from גנב occur throughout the play. In *ganaut* (Pansier 1925: 119), the final *–t* is probably silent, and the word was pronounced [*ganaw*] with a final ב pronounced [w], just

2 In Judeo-Piedmontese, *dabra davar* means 'don't speak' according to Bachi (1929: 31).

as we saw in the word דייב meaning "God." The plural, however, is *ganavín*, since the ב is not final and retains its [v] pronunciation.

3.3 Language contact influences

Judeo-Provençal shares with Judeo-Italian and Ladino a negative word that is of Romance origin. In Judeo-Italian and Ladino, the word is *negro* and means 'bad, unfortunate' and does not mean "black," which is *prieto* in Ladino and *nero* in Judeo-Italian. In Judeo-Provençal the word is *nècre*, which is different from the Provençal *negre* for "black." It is also different from the Judeo-Provençal *negre*, meaning "foreigner" or "gentile," and which comes from Hebrew *nokhri*, according to Pierre Pansier (1925: 144). I have my doubts about this etymology, since the vowels do not correspond, and I am not aware of another case where Hebrew [o] is realized as [e] in Judeo-Provençal. Be that as it may, we also find a more familiar word for "gentiles," which is *gouïen*, obviously from Hebrew *goyim* (Pansier: 142).

4 Written and oral traditions

4.1 Writing system

Judeo-Provençal was written in Hebrew characters, with final and pre-consonantal ב representing the sound [w] and intervocal ד representing [z]. Shuadit was written in Latin characters following the spelling traditions of Provençal.

4.2 Literature

There were liturgical poems called *piyyutim*, designed to be sung or chanted during religious observances. A number of these poems in Judeo-Provençal were transcribed by Emperor Dom Pedro II of Brazil (Pedro Alacantara 1891).

5 State of research

Zosa Szajkowki's major work on Shuadit (1948) was written in Yiddish, and no doubt there were scholars in France and elsewhere who did not read it. Now that

there is a French translation of this book by Michel Alessio (Szajkowski 2010), there may be increased interest in the subject. In the United States, Adam Strich has entered the category of scholars who have written about Judeo-Occitan (Provençal) (see, e.g., Strich with Jochnowitz 2015).

5.1 History of documentation

Non-Jews were aware of the existence of Shuadit and wrote works in which Jewish characters speak in this language. It was the custom in Carpentras to read a comic work called *Lou Sermoun di Jusiou* (The Sermon of the Jew) on Ash Wednesday. The work is attributed to Cardinal Jacques Sadolet and was supposedly composed in 1517. Since it is a comic work, written by non-native speakers, the Shuadit we find may not be accurate. Another such work is *Noué Juzioou* (Jewish Christmas carols), one of which is named *Reviho-te, Nanan* (Wake up, Nanan). It is a song in the form of a dialog between a convert from Judaism to Christianity and Nanan (a nickname for Abraham), who decides that he, too, will convert at the end of the song. It is attributed to N. Saboly, who lived from 1615 to 1675.

5.2 Corpora

There were various sets of glosses dating from the early Middle Ages. In addition to *Ittur* (mentioned above in section 2.3), there are "the glosses found in the anonymous *Sefer ha-Shorashim* appended to the *Farhi Bible* Ms. Sassoon no. 368, p. 42–165" (Guttel 1972: 439).

5.3 Issues of general theoretical interest

It would be of great interest to learn when Judeo-Romance varieties became spoken languages. The disagreement between Blondheim and Banitt continues, since there is no hard data concerning the way Jews spoke to each other as Romance languages were evolving.

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