

Adjective-Noun orders in Turkish Judeo-Spanish: a case of conservatism or innovation in the nominal domain?

Alice Corr (University of Birmingham)
Onkar Singh (University of Cambridge)

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1. Introduction

- (1) a Ma eramos **muy tradicionales** sefardís (Turkish JS, BAUKCO-004)
but were.1PL very traditional sephardics
'We were very traditional Sephardic Jews'
- b Son judíos **muy tradicionales** (Spanish)
are.3PL Jews very traditional
'They are very traditional Jews'
- (2) onlar **çok geleneksel** türkler (Turkish)
they very traditional turks
'They are very traditional Turks'

- Judeo-Spanish (Ladino) < Castilian/Spanish < (Central) Ibero-Romance < Romance

Today's questions:

- **RQ1:** How are adjectives distributed adnominally in Turkish Judeo-Spanish?
- **RQ2:** (How) has this changed over time, and vis-à-vis Romance ordering facts?
- **RQ3:** What factors are involved in diachronic change of adjective placement in Turkish Judeo-Spanish?
 - How can Adj-N orders in Turkish Judeo-Spanish be accounted for within a general tendency towards N-Adj orders in southern Romance varieties?
 - Are they a case of contact-induced change from Turkish or conservatism from unsystematic noun movement in old Spanish?

Contributions:

- Novel quantitative and qualitative data of the diachrony of adjective placement in Turkish Judeo-Spanish between C18-C21 years
 - quantitative data confirms predominance of N-Adj in pre-20th century texts
 - prenominal placement = recent (< 100 years) phenomenon
 - proceeds systematically in accordance with adjective hierarchy
- Diachronic change *in statu nascendi*, with (non-absolute) correlations between prenominal adjectives and bilingualism/proficiency in Turkish
 - consistent with hypothesis of contact-induced structural change under influence of Turkish
 - consistent with sociohistoric context of language shift from Judeo-Spanish to Turkish among Sephardim

1.1 Roadmap

1. Introduction
2. Adjective placement in Romance and Turkish
3. Judeo-Spanish in Turkey
4. Methods and sources
5. Adjective placement in contemporary Turkish Judeo-Spanish (**RQ1**)
6. Diachrony of adjective placement C18-C20 (**RQ1, RQ2**)
7. Contact and change in the Judeo-Spanish DP (**RQ3**)
8. Conclusions

2. Adjective placement in Romance and Turkish**2.1 Adjective ordering in modern Spanish/Romance**

- Adnominal ordering of Spanish adjectives (Bosque & Picallo 1996; Demonte 1999; Cinque 2010; Picallo 2012; Bartlett 2013; Fábregas 2017; Sánchez Masià 2017:ch2, i.a.)

- | | | | | | | |
|-----|---|-----|--------------|-----------|-----------|--------------|
| (3) | a | La | mera | mención | (*mera) | [adverbial] |
| | | | the | mere | mention | |
| | b | La | (nueva) | casa | (nueva) | [qualifying] |
| | | | the | new | house | new |
| | c | los | (*italianos) | cuchillos | italianos | [relational] |
| | | | the | | knives | Italian |

→ Postnominal 'default' position (Kanwit & Terán 2020:2)

- Interpretative effects of adnominal ordering:

- | | | | | | | |
|-----|---|---|-------------|------------------|-------------|--|
| (4) | a | Un | (viejo) | amigo | (viejo) | (De Nicolás & Robledo 2018:65, cit. De Nicolás & López 2022:3) |
| | | a | old | friend | old | |
| | | → Prenominal = a long-time friend | | | | |
| | | → Postnominal = a friend of advanced age | | | | |
| | b | Un | (auténtico) | problema | (auténtico) | (based on Sánchez Masià 2017:88ff) |
| | | a | real | problem | real | |
| | | → Prenominal = a serious/big problem | | | | |
| | | → Postnominal = a genuine (i.e. not fake) problem | | | | |
| (5) | | Adj | N | Adj | | (Fábregas 2017:26, based on Cinque 2010) |
| | | <i>reading 1</i> | | <i>reading 1</i> | | |
| | | | | <i>reading 2</i> | | |

Table 1. Hierarchy of direct modification adjectives occurring with object-referring nouns (Giusti 2016, based on De Sutter 1986, Giusti & Oniga 2007)

Demonstrative	Extensional interpretation	<i>hic, iste, ille,</i> (this, that)
Quantifier		<i>aliqui, ullus</i> (some, any)
Numeral		<i>unus, duo, ultimus...</i> (one, two, last)
Anaphoric		<i>idem, ipse</i> (same, self)
Evaluative		<i>bonus, malus, ...</i> (good, bad)
Dimension		<i>longus, latus, ...</i> (long, wide)
Age		<i>nouus, uetus, ...</i> (new, old)
Physical property		<i>aridus, crudus, ...</i> (dry, raw)
Colour		<i>niger, uiridis, ...</i> (black, green)
Origin/agent	Intensional interpretation	<i>Picenus, Claudianus...</i> (Picenian, [by/of] Claudius)
Composition/type		<i>ferreus, epideicticus...</i> ([of iron] epideictic)
Goal/destination		<i>olearius,</i> ([for] oil)

2.2 Adjective ordering in Turkish

- Turkish (< (Western) Oghuz < Common Turkic < Turkic < Altaic)
 - Typological characteristics (morphosyntax): agglutinative morphology (incl. case-marking); head-final; ‘non-configurational’ syntax; unmarked SOV, V-final; pro-drop
- Turkish NP/DP
 - Lacks definite determiner → ‘article-less’ language (cf. NP/DP debate, e.g. Bošković 2008; Bošković & Şener 2014; Köylü 2021)
 - BUT has indefinite determiner *bir* (a) homophonous with, but non-identical to, numeral (b):

- (6) a *çürük bir elma* (Kornfilt 1997:275, cit. Bliss 2004:17)
 rotten ART apple
 ‘A [*bir* = indefinite article] rotten apple’
 b *bir çürük elma*
 one rotten apple
 ‘One [*bir* = numeral] rotten apple’

- demonstrative determiners (a) and ‘determiners used with plural nouns’, e.g. *bazı* ‘some’ (b):

- (7) a *Şu kalem-i bul-du-m* (Underhill 1979:121, cit. Bliss 2004:18)
 this pen-ACC find-PST-1SG
 ‘I found this pen’
 b *Dün bazı çok garip kitap-lar-ı oku-du-m* (Kornfilt 1997:277, cit. Bliss 2004:18)
 yesterday some very strange book-PL-ACC read-PST-1SG
 ‘Yesterday I read some very strange books’

Adjective ordering restrictions (AOR)

- Nominal-internal syntax: obligatory prenominal Adj placement (attributive)

- (8) (şirin) oyuncak (*şirin) (Michelioudakis & Sitaridou 2020:254)
 nice toy
 ‘a/the nice toy’

- Postnominal placement = predicative construction (zero copula)

- (9) a büyük deniz (Romero 2008:144)
 big sea
 'the big sea'
- b deniz büyük (Romero 2008:144)
 sea big
 'the sea is big'

- D-level elements always precede Adjs:

- (10) a (*güzel) **şu** (güzel) bisiklet (Bayırlı 2018:14)
 nice that nice bicycle
 'that nice bike'
- b (*güzel) **Can'ın** (güzel) bisikleti
 nice Can-GEN nice bicycle
 'Can's nice bike'

- (Non-)Configurationality of Adj-N orders w/n DP (Bayırlı 2018):

- (2) a güzel büyük gri kediler (Bayırlı 2018 1-2)
 beautiful big grey cats
 'nice, big, grey cats'
- b güzel gri büyük kediler
 beautiful big grey cats
- c gri güzel büyük kediler
 big beautiful grey cats
- d gri büyük güzel kediler
 big grey beautiful cats
- e gri büyük güzel kediler
 grey beautiful big cats
- f gri güzel büyük kediler
 big beautiful grey cats

- Adjs preceding *bir* (3a-b) must follow AOR (QUALITY>SIZE>SHAPE>COLOUR); for some speakers, AOR holds for Adjs following *bir* (12c-d):

- (3) a güzel **bir** kare masa (Bayırlı 2018:15ff)
 beautiful a square table
- b ?? kare **bir** güzel masa
 square a beautiful table
- c güzel **bir** geniş kırmızı masa
 beautiful a wide red table
- d ?? güzel **bir** kırmızı geniş masa (%)
 beautiful a red wide table

2.3 The DP in diachrony of Romance

- Ever-increasing scholarship regarding the fine-grained functional structure internal to the Determiner Phrase (Abney 1987; Stowell 1989; *et al.*) paralleling that of the CP, IP, and vP.
- Ledgeway (2015): Southern Romance (Ledgeway 2020) varieties are 'strong D-languages' whereby we have N-to-D movement over fixed adjective positions, resulting in a default N.-Adj.

order, as in (4a), often contrasting with northern Romance in which we have lower or absent N movement within the DP in which Adj.-N orders are more readily attested, as in (4b):

- (4) a [DP [D **los** [D' **hombres jóvenes** [NP [N *hombres*]]]]] (Modern Spanish)
 b [DP [D **l's djônes** [NP [N *omes*]]]] (Walloon, Remacle 1952)
 'The young men'

- Ledgeway (2007, 2009) proposes the noun movement internal to the DP that would come to characterise the North-South dichotomy in Romance was unsystematic:

- (5) a Li **spagnoli soldati** (Old Neapolitan, Ledgeway 2009:241)
 the Spanish soldiers
 'The Spanish soldiers'
- b Li **facti vechy** (Old Neapolitan, De Blasi 1986)
 the facts old
 'The old facts'

2.4 Noun movement in old Spanish

- Data from Singh (in prep.) shows noun movement to be systematically high from 13th Spanish onwards, mirroring the pattern that we find in modern Spanish, in (15a)-(c), and unlike the fluctuating patterns attested for old Neapolitan in (14a)-(b):

- (6) a Martin Antolinez **el burgalés complido**
 Martin Antolinez the burgalese accomplished
 'Martín Antolinez, the accomplished man from Burgos'
 (13th c. Spanish, Cantar de Mío Çid, 5)
- b Enformaron bien al rey en **una manera engañosa**
 informed.3PL well DOM=the king in a way deceitful
 'They informed the king in a deceitful manner'
 (14th c. Spanish, Lucanor, p.18)
- c ¡O **vejez virtuosa!** ¡O **virtud enuejecida!**
 oh old.age virtuous oh virtue aged
 'Oh virtuous old age! Oh aged virtue!' (15th century Spanish, *Celestina*, p.38)

3. Judeo-Spanish in Turkey and the Balkans

3.1 Background

- 'Judeo-Spanish' =/= Jewish varieties pre/post 1492
- Judeo-Spanish as Ibero-Ottoman (Papo 2021) *koiné* (Penny 1992; Faingold 1996; Minervini 2002; Quintana 2002, 2006); with *de facto* standardization + diglossia (Quintana 2012)
- Sephardim in Ottoman empire (Harris 1994:34-49)
 - *Millet* (non-Muslim religious community) system in Ottoman empire
 - used by Ottomans to 'give minority religious communities within their Empire limited power to regulate their own affairs, under the overall supremacy of the Ottoman administration' (Aviv 2016)
 - Provided social, administrative and *linguistic* autonomy, esp. in C16-18 (cf. Harris 1994:35ff)
- Multilingualism in Ottoman empire vs. language shift amongst Sephardim from C19 onwards

- Migration in C19/C20 → JS-speaking diaspora
- Turkey: JS monolingualism/dominance → JS L1, Turkish L2 → Turkish L1, JS 'home'
- Turkish influence attested in JS morphosyntax, including nominal domain (e.g. Varol 1992, 2001, 2006, 2008; Romero 2008a, 2008b)

3.2 Implications

- Given that JS develops independently from Spanish after the expulsion of the Jews in 1492, the question that arises is that of what noun movement was like in Old Spanish until the 15th century. Namely, are the Adj.-N orders found in Turkish Judeo-Spanish calques from possible old Spanish Adj.-N orders?
- Given the above, it seems more probable that Turkish would be the source of the striking Adj.-N orders in Turkish Ladino and not old Spanish, given that the latter exhibited systematically high noun movement by the 15th century.

4. Methods and sources

- qualitative and quantitative diachronic investigation of adjective placement in Turkish Judeo-Spanish
- Hand-annotated corpus compiled of textual and audiovisual sources from 18th to 21st century
 - Pre-20th century texts = Meam Loez (1730, author b. Jerusalem, d. Constantinople; written in Salónica); Danon (1888, CORHIJE)
 - Danon (1888) = Adrianópolis/Edirne, periodical
 - Early 20th century texts = Wagner 1914, Levy 1929, Levy 1944 ('oral texts')
 - Wagner (1914) = Istanbul,
 - Levy (1929) = Izmir, recorded in Paris in Aug 1929
 - Levy (1944) = Izmir, recorded in New York City in ?
 - Mid 20th century text = Angin 1949 ('oral text')
 - 21st century sources = audiovisual sources + 1 written text (CoDiAJe)
 - ELA (NYC, 2020)
 - Ladino21 (2017-pres.)
 - VLACH (2014-17)
 - Fieldwork (2022, own)
 - 1 written text (CoDiAJe; sermon, Haleva, cf. VLACH speaker)
- Supplemented by quantitative data: searches of CoDIAJE corpus

5. Adjective placement in contemporary Turkish Judeo-Spanish

→ **RQ1:** How are adjectives distributed adnominally in Judeo-Spanish from Turkey?

5.1 Adj-N tokens in audiovisual data

- | | | | |
|------|---|--|-----------|
| (16) | a | Tuvimos una <u>magnifika</u> guia | DBUIR-002 |
| | | had.1PL a magnificent guide | |
| | | 'We had a wonderful guide' | |
| | b | porke es <u>muy_ermoza</u> lingua | |
| | | because is very beautiful language | |
| | | 'Because it's a very beautiful language' | |

- c la chika **ija** tiene dos hijos
the young daughter has two sons
'My younger daughter has two sons'
- d Mi padre nació en una chika **sivdad** serka de Izmir
my father was born in a small town near Izmir
'My father was born in a small town near Izmir'
- e Málorzamènte, lo ke vyéne vyéžos **persónas**. (IHI-029)
unfortunately the that come.3SG old people
'Unfortunately those that came were old people'
- c Kuando avlan en la moderna **espanyol**
when speak.3PL in the modern Spanish
'When they speak in Modern Spanish'
- (7) a Klara prefera a este profesional **doktor**
Klara prefers DOM this professional doctor
'Klara prefers this professional doctor'
- b Klara prefera a un especial **doktor**
Klara prefers DOM a special doctor
'Klara prefers a particular doctor'

5.2 Previous studies

Romero (2008a, 2008b)

- Turkish to Judeo-Spanish oral translation task ($n=61$ sentences), testing 'differentiating' adjectives ('adjectives that single out the noun from a group, [...] traditionally placed after the noun', 2008a:159)
- Participants = Istanbul Judeo-Spanish speakers ($n=25$), aged 19-95, March-April 2007

- (8) Yeni gelin-ler mutlu (Romero 2008a:159)
new bride-PL happy
'The new brides are happy'
- (9) a las **novias** muevas están orozas (by M84) (N-Adj)
b las **novias** muevas están muy orozas (by F60) (N-Adj)
c las **novias** muevas están orozas (by F58B) (N-Adj)
d las **espozas** muevas están orozas (by F54) (N-Adj)
- e los muevos **kazados** son orozos (by M82) (Adj-N)
f las muevas **novias** está buenas (by F43) (Adj-N)
g muevo **novias** están kontente (by M30) (Adj-N)

Figure 1: Adj placement of Istanbul Judeo-Spanish speakers ages 30 to 60 (Romero 2008a:159)¹

¹ For this particular study, I have analyzed the results of the youngest generation of speakers, ages 30-60, because these informants experienced the greatest linguistic impact from the pro-Turkish campaigns and mass emigrations that occurred in the community during the 1940s and 1950s. Therefore, these informants grew up speaking Turkish as their main language, and using Judeo-Spanish minimally, if at all, inside the home. The 19-25 year old speakers were not included in this study because they were not

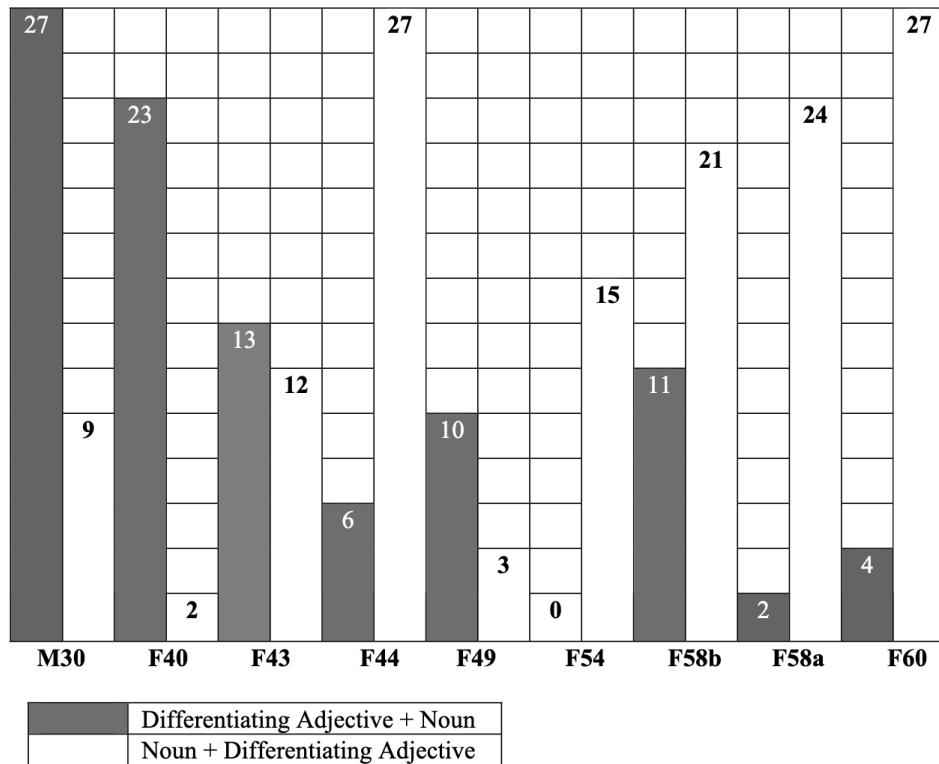
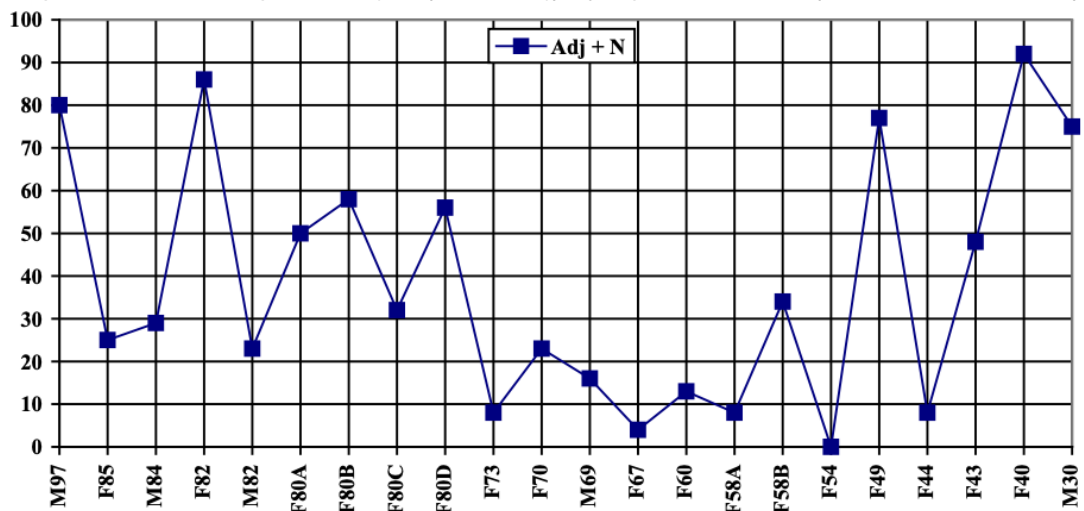


Figure 2. Percentages of Adj-N (vs. N-Adj) by age of speaker (Romero 2008b:143)



able to produce any sentences, and their responses were limited to recognizing Spanish words or rephrasing Spanish sentences in Turkish.' (Romero 2008a:158)

6. Diachrony of adjective placement (18th century to 20th century)

- **RQ1:** How are adjectives distributed adnominally in Judeo-Spanish from Turkey?
- **RQ2:** (How) has this changed over time, and vis-à-vis Romance ordering facts?

6.1 Quantitative data from CoDiAJE

- CoDiAJE (*Corpus diacrónico anotado del judeoespañol*)
 - Multi-genre diachronic corpus (16th-21st centuries) with automatic/semi-automatic PoS-tagging
- Conducted searches of corpus with following variables:
 - a) place of origin = Istanbul, Izmir
 - b) century = XIV, XV, XVI, XVII, XVIII, XIX, XX, XXI
 - c) adnominal adjective placement = [pos="A.*"] [pos="N.*"] (Adj-N) ; [pos="N.*"] [pos="A.*"] (N-Adj)
- Results (data retrieved in Romanized form):
 - Exclusion criteria: Non-lexical Adjs + code-switching tokens (though borrowings included)

Table 2. Quantitative distribution of lexical adjective placement relative to N in CoDiAJE texts from Istanbul and Izmir

	Prenominal placement (Adj-N)		Postnominal placement (N-Adj)		Total	
	Lexical	%	Lexical	%		
XVII (17th)	0	0%	1	100% postnominal	1	100%
XVIII (18th)	124	15.78%	662	84.22% postnominal	786	100%
XX (1910-30)	1	14.29%	6	85.71% postnominal	7	100%
XXI (21st)	6	60%	4	40%	10	100%

→ Pre-1930s: **c.85%** postnominal Adj placement

6.2 Pre-20th century: Me'am Lo'ez (1730) and Danon (1888)

Xuli, Me'am Lo'ez (1730)

- Late Middle Judezmo (Bunis 2013) – c.1650s/c.1728 – c.1790 (Bunis 2013)
- Evaluative (a-c); size (21a-b):

- (20) a algunos **perros** malos
 some dogs bad
 'some bad dogs'
- b es buena **sivdad** para pasar [sic] las ovejas
 is good city to graze.INF the sheep
 'it's a good city for grazing sheep'
- c este **kaveyo** luzio i hermozo
 this hair handsome and handsome

- (10) a 4 perasiot **chikas**
 four parashiyot small
 'four small/short parashiyot [weekly Torah readings]'
- b la hermosura es **aparejo grande** para la avera.
 the beauty is preparation big for the transgression
 'Beauty is a great preparation for transgression'

- c los **dioses estranyos**
 the gods foreign
 'the foreign gods'

→ Consistent with (Modern) Spanish/Romance adjective placement

Pre-20th century: Danon (1888)

- Early Modern Judezmo; Adrianópolis/Edirne, editorial in bimonthly periodical *Yosif-Dá'at / El Progreso* (original text written in rashi)

- (11) a el *aclamado* director de la instrucción *pública*
 the acclaimed director of the instruction public
 'the acclaimed director of public instruction'
- b la *cercana* publicación de esta colección (Adj-N)
 the upcoming publication of this collection
 'the upcoming publication of this collection'
- c nuestro *mañánimo* monarca (Adj-N)
 our magnanimous monarch
 'our magnanimous monarch'
- d nuestros *leedores indulgentes* (N-Adj)
 our readers indulgent
 'our indulgent readers'
- e su *maestađ imperial* (N-Adj)
 his majesty imperial
 'his imperial majesty'

→ Consistent with Romance adjective placement, with tendency towards Adj-N for qualifying adjectives (= diamesic variation also consistent with Romance pattern)

6.2 Early 20th century

- 'Oral texts' from dialectology studies: Wagner (1914), Levy (1929), Levy (1944)
- Early Modern Judezmo of Istanbul (Wagner 1914), Izmir (Levy 1929) and Izmirli immigrants in New York (Levy 1944)

Wagner 1914

- *n*=14 oral texts, recorded in 1910 in Istanbul
- Generalized/default postnominal placement for qualifying adjectives (evaluative (a-b), size (c-d), age (e-f)), relational (23g), incl. Turkish borrowings (h-i):

- (23) a um *mansebo mui ermozo* (N-Adj)
 a youth very handsome
 'a very handsome youth' (NBH-017)
- b una *iža mui lúzia* (N-Adj)
 a daughter very beautiful
 'a very beautiful daughter' (NBH-013)
- d un *kučio largo* (N-Adj)
 a knife long
 'a long knife' (NBH-008)
- e um *merkador nuevo* (N-Adj)
 a merchant new

		‘a new merchant’ (NBH-012)	
f	El gato <i>biezo</i>		(N-Adj)
	the cat old		
g	una sivdad <i>pestifera</i>		(N-Adj)
	a city pestilent		
		‘a plague-infested city’ (NBH-001)	
h	una puerta <i>bellesíz</i>		(N-Adj)
	a door invisible		
		‘an invisible (cf. Turkish <i>belirsiz</i>) door’ (NBH-015)	
i	una mučaca <i>dunia guzeli</i>		(N-Adj)
	a girl world beauty		
		‘a most beautiful girl’ (cf. Turkish <i>dünya güzel-i</i> ‘world beauty-POSS.3SG’) (NBH-009)	

- Prenominal tokens: evaluative (12a) and size (12b) adjectives:

(12) a	komo son <i>mala</i> gente		(Adj-N)
	as are.3PL bad people		
		‘as they are bad people’ (MAO-005)	
b	abía un <i>grande</i> pozo, tapado kon una <i>grande</i> piedra		(Adj-N)
	there.was a big well covered with a big stone		
		‘there was a large well, covered by a large stone’ (NBH-004-4)	

Levy 1929

- **7 texts** (2 from a known speaker; others unknown) from Izmir, recorded in Paris in August 1929

(13) a	el <i>ḫābēr</i> izmirlí		(N-Adj)
	the young.man Izmirli		
		‘the young man from Izmir’	
b	los soldaos <i>gregôs</i>		(N-Adj)
	the soldiers Greek		
		‘the Greek soldiers’	
c	abía un <i>ikiĕr</i> grande		(N-Adj)
	there.was a thief great		
d	un lugar <i>lešo</i>		(N-Adj)
	a place faraway		
		‘a distant place’	
f	una sábana de <i>séda</i> laborađa antika		(N-Adj)
	a sheet of silk old		

Levy 1944

- **6 stories**: ‘textos populares como testimonio del lenguaje conocido y usado por la gente sefardí procedente de Esmirna [Izmir] en Nueva York’ (Levy 1944:84)
 - c. 1940s; recorded in New York from Izmirli Jews (migration dates unknown)
 - language likely reflects earlier JS usage from Turkey²
- Prenominal placement: evaluative (26a-b), dimension (26c):

² Levy (1944:84): ‘los cuentos y anécdotas que trajeron los viejos desde Europa siguen repitiéndose aún entre los jóvenes’.

- (26) a bwen doktor, bwenas komidas (T078) (Adj-N)
 good doctor good food
 b unđjađa ən sus tristes pənsərjos (T080*:91.7-8) (Adj-N)
 buried in her sad thoughts
 c esta kaza era una alta fragua (T080*:92.5) (Adj-N)
 this house was a tall building

- Postnominal placement: evaluative (27a), age (27b), physical property (27c), colour (27d):

- (27) a un lugar muy bueno (N-Adj)
 a place very good
 'a very good place'
 b un gran magazén də ropaz vježas (T080*:92.3) (N-Adj)
 a big store of clothes old
 'a department store selling old clothes'
 c despwés d'aver kitađo las flores sekas (T080*:90.7-8) (N-Adj)
 after of=have.INF removed the flowers dead
 'after having removed the dead flowers'
 d un lustrador də kovre amariyo (T080*:92.10-11) (N-Adj)
 a polisher of copper yellow

- Lexical effects → Romance pattern:

- (14) a la povre Genoveva (T080*:93.4) (Adj-N)
 the poor Genoveva
 'poor Genoveva'
 b una kaza de forme bastante povre (T080*:92.2) (N-Adj)
 a house of form quite poor
 'a poorly constructed house'
 c un vero amigo (Adj-N)
 a true friend
 'a true [degree reading] friend'

6.3 Post 1930s

- Angın 1949: Oral texts recorded in 1948-49 in Çannakale, Izmir, Istanbul (Balat, Kuzguncuk) with Turkish-JS bilinguals of varying proficiency

- Evaluative (*ermozo* 'beautiful'):

- (29) a mozotros keremos kazar dóz ermózas ermanitas (M-44, DoB c. 1905, Çannakale)
 we want marry.INF two beautiful sisters
 'We want to marry two beautiful sisters'
 b el dueño del kortižo aviya dóz ižos muy ermózos i žóvenes
 the ownder of.the kortijo had two sons very handsome and youthful
 'The owner of the *kortijo* had two very handsome and youthful sons'

- Age:

- (15) a el ižo yránde
 the son big
 'the older son'

b el ĭžo ĉiko
the son young
'the younger son'

(31) a mí ĭžo yrán (M-48, DoB 1901, Çannakale)
my son big
'my eldest son'

b mì yrán ĭža
my big daughter
'my eldest daughter'

c mì ĉika ĭža
my small daughter
'my youngest daughter'

- Relational:

(16) a la tersera kláse del óрто ókul (M-48, DoB 1901, Çannakale)
the third class of.the middle school
'the third year of middle school'

b ła priméra skóla
the primary school
'primary school'

c ła skuóla priméra
the school primary
'primary school'

- Lexical effects (*povre*, 'poor') ≠ Romance pattern:

(33) a mozotras somos doz *proves* ermanikas (M-44, DoB c. 1905, Çannakale)
we are two poor sister.DIM.PL
'We are two impoverished sisters'

b os eskuzo de kazar łaz dos ermanas *proves*
you=forgive.1SG of marry.INF the two sisters poor
'I forgive you for marrying the two impoverished sisters'

7. Contact and change in the Judeo-Spanish DP

RQ3: What factors are involved in diachronic change of adjective placement in the Judeo-Spanish of Turkey?

- How can Adj.-N orders in Turkish Judeo-Spanish be accounted for within a general tendency towards N.-Adj. orders in southern Romance varieties?
- Are they a case of contact-induced change from Turkish *or* conservatism from unsystematic noun movement in old Spanish (or internal development)?

7.1 Conservatism vs. contact vs. internal change?

- Pre-20th century diachronic data: decisive results confirming postnominal placement (c.85% N-Adj)
 - Adj-N orders = recent (< 100 years) phenomenon
 - No evidence of unsystematic N movement in previous centuries

- Rules out Old Spanish conservatism hypothesis
- Likelihood of internal change given general tendency towards N-Adj orders in southern Romance varieties?
- Adj ordering across the corpus/time period remains subject to considerable individual/idiolectal and diamesic variation, where variation in adnominal placement shows correspondences with:
 - a) the linguistic profile of individual speakers (such that bilingualism and proficiency in Turkish positively correlates with prenominal orders) and;
 - b) the chronology of sources (incl. real and apparent time);
 - however, these correlations are non-absolute
 - diachronic change *in statu nascendi*?

7.2 Theoretical factors

- (Non-absolute) correlations between prenominal adjectives and bilingualism/proficiency in Turkish = consistent with hypothesis of contact-induced structural change under influence of Turkish
 - Nonce replication (Heine & Kuteva 2005; Backus et al. 2011)?
 - *Grammatical calquing* < grammatical replication (Heine & Kuteva 2003 *et seq.*)?
 - In context of wider nominal variability/change under cross-linguistic influence from Turkey
- Turkish JS adjective placement =/≠ variability or change?
 - Variability as precondition for change ≠ change (Poplack & Levey 2010)
 - Change = difference (qualitative/quantitative) vs. earlier stage ✓
 - Appropriate baseline (like-for-like comparison ? (cf. 'baseline challenge', D'Alessandro et al. 2021)
 - Social embedding (absence of diffusion ≠ change) ??
 - Structural differences in language restriction/obsolescence ≠ change ??
- Under Poplack & Levy (2010), adj placement = (contact-induced) variability
 - Tension between P&L's (2010) criteria/principles and sociohistoric conditions/reality of Judeo-Spanish as 'moribund heritage language' (D'Alessandro et al. 2021)
 - Synchronic variability in contemporary JS – today's JS (vs. earlier stages) is *different* (at individual and community levels)
 - Present-day circumstances do not fit idealized notion of linguistic community... but JS is still here!
- **Diachronic change towards Adj-N proceeds according to adjective hierarchy** (evaluative<size<age<relational)
 - Diachrony of Adj-N placement in corpus:
 - (i) Adj-N word orders first with evaluative Adjs (pre 20th century)
 - (ii) Adj-N word orders with size Adjs (early 20th century onwards)
 - (iii) Adj-N word orders with age and relational Adjs (post 1930s only)
 - (iv) Adj-N-Adj lexical effects ≠ Romance pattern (post 1930s only)
- **Acquisitional cues in favour of Adj.-N orders in the DP**

- From a perspective of linguistic economy in the acquisitional stages of a language, it is plausible that the Turkish pattern prevailed in L2 Ladino speakers post-1930 given the more linguistically economical parameter of no noun movement vs. pre- and post-nominal adjectives in Ladino/Spanish that add parametrical complexities to be acquired.

7.3 Sociohistoric factors

- Dismantling of Ottoman *millet* system (social, administrative and *linguistic* autonomy)
- Gallicization and *mission civilisatrice* of Alliance Israélite Universelle (1860 onwards): policy of *transitional bilingualism* (Romero 2008b:32) towards French as language of (Jewish) culture
 - Extensive French schooling of Jewish population, including girls (formal education previously reserved for male population)
 - Alliance-sponsored denigration and 'cleansing' of JS in popular press (cf. 'Judeo-Fragno' in *El Tiempo* and *La Boz de Oriente*, Romero 2008b:30)
 - Alliance-sponsored campaign (from 1891) promoting acquisition and usage of Turkish amongst Jews to demonstrate allegiance to Ottoman authority (Romero 2008b:33)
- Ottoman/Turkish centralist state-building: Ottomanism (c.1830s onwards) followed by Turkification and rise of Turkish nationalism (late 1800s onwards) + establishment of secular Republic of Turkey (1923)
 - Imperial Reform Edict of 1856: grants equality under the law regardless of religion
 - Ottoman Nationality Law of 1869: creates grants equality in justice, education and government administration to all citizens and noncitizens (e.g. *dhimmis*)
 - Emergence of pro-Turkish nationalist language policies in late 1890s onwards
 - 1894: Ottoman government demands instruction in Turkish to all its non-Muslim citizens, + requires fluency in Turkish to hold a government post
 - 1915: Young Turks demand that language, history, and geography be taught in Turkish by Muslim Turks in all schools of Turkish Republic (becomes law in 1923)
- Official language policy under Atatürk Reforms (1920s/1930s): policy of modernisation (i.e. 'Westernization'), secularisation and nationalism promoting one-nation, one-language unity of Turkish citizens (*Vatandaş Türkçe konuş!* 'Citizens, speak Turkish')
- Rise of anti-Semitism from late 19th century onwards in society (e.g. 1934 Thrace pogroms) and official policy (e.g. denaturalization, imprisonment and forced migration during WW2, incl. to Nazi labour and death camps)

8. Conclusions

- **Adjective-Noun orders in Turkish Judeo-Spanish are contact-induced innovation:** not a case of conservatism from old Spanish, which has been shown to have high noun movement by the 15th century, but instead contact-induced changed from Turkish through post-1930s obligatory L1 acquisition of Turkish.
- **Diatopic and diachronic variation in Judeo-Spanish:** through this paper's the diachronic, empirical, quantitative, and qualitative contributions, we see that Judeo-Spanish is subject to diatopic and diachronic variation, further illuminating our understanding and adding to a growing scholarship regarding this lesser-studied and endangered variety.
- **Adjective placement:** Adnominal adjective placement in Judeo-Spanish is subject to diamesic, diachronic, and diatopic variation but that, in the case of Turkish Judeo-Spanish, the diachrony of (contact-induced) change reflects/follows adjective hierarchy.

- **Socio-historical factors:** the case of adjective-noun orders in Turkish Judeo-Spanish shows us the importance of socio-historical factors in inducing structural changes, in this case, through contact and calquing.

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