

# The spread of the German (?) calque *ansí un ...* (Eng. *such a ...*) in Judeo-Spanish\*

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## Zusammenfassung

In diesem Artikel werden mehrere Beispiele der syntaktischen Konstruktion *ansí un...* analysiert, bei der es sich vermutlich um eine Entlehnung des deutschen Ausdrucks *so ein...* handelt, die ab der zweiten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts in verschiedenen judenspanischen Texten auftaucht. Die ältesten Beispiele zeigen sich in judenspanischen Übersetzungen deutscher Romane, die in Wien veröffentlicht wurden – was bedeuten könnte, dass sie einfache Fälle einer Übersetzung sein könnten, die sich zu eng am Original orientiert. Es finden sich zudem vermehrt Beispiele in sephardischen Texten von außerhalb des deutschsprachigen Raums (Bosnien, Bulgarien etc.), die nicht notwendigerweise Übersetzungen des deutschen Originals sind. Im Folgenden werden all diese Fälle genauer betrachtet und die Verbreitung der syntaktischen Konstruktion *ansí un* in moderner judenspanischer Prosa dargestellt (und erklärt).

## Abstract

In this article we analyze several examples of the syntactic structure *ansí un...* (Eng. *such a...*) apparently calqued from the German expression *so ein...* that can be found in different Judeo-Spanish texts since the second half of 19th Century. Although the eldest examples appeared in Judeo-Spanish translations of German novels, published in Vienna – what suggests that they could be mere cases derived from a kind of translation too attached to the original –, we can also find more examples in Sephardic texts produced outside the German speaking area (Bosnia, Bulgaria, etc.), not being necessarily translations of a German original. Dealing with all these cases, we will try to trace (and explain) the spread of the *ansí un* syntactic structure in modern Judeo-Spanish prose.

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## 0. Introduction

Since the middle of the nineteenth century, some Judeo-Spanish versions of German novels published in Vienna began to show a syntactic construction unknown in Sephardic texts until then.<sup>1</sup> It consists in the use of the adverb *ansí* (Sp. *así*, Eng. *thus*) modifying a noun phrase but, unlike what happens in standard Spanish, it appears always preceding it. That is what we find in the following examples that show various possible structures (*italics* are ours):<sup>2</sup>

### A. *ansí* + N<sup>3</sup>

- [1] ¿Llamateš *ansí uno* y declaró que el treslado de ellos es justo? (*El rabí y el ministro*<sup>4</sup> [1877] 66a);

<sup>1</sup> That is the result of a query in a particular corpus of 750.000 words comprising (in chronological order): *The Ferrara Bible* (1553), apud The Ladino Bible of Ferrara. Ed. by Moshe Lazar. Culver City 1992, hereafter *BF*; the exemplary tales included in the two volumes (Constantinople 1733 and 1746) of the rabbinical commentary *Me'am lo'eš Šemot*, written by Ya'acov Julí and Yišhaac Magriso, respectively, apud García Moreno, Aitor: *Relatos del pueblo ladínán: Me'am lo'eš de Éxodo*. Madrid 2004, hereafter *MŠ1* and *MŠ2*, respectively; the partial edition of Abraham Asá's translation of the Bible (*Séfer Nebiim aḥaronim* [Constantinople 1743]) included in Albarral Albarral, Purificación: *Biblia de Abraham Asá: Los doce profetas menores*. Logroño 2010, hereafter *Asá*; the miscellaneous work of David Moše Attias *La Güerta de Oro* (Livorno 1778), apud the unpublished edition prepared by Ángel Berenguer Amador, hereafter *GO*; Yišhaac Amarillo's book, *Séfer Lel šimurim* (Vienna 1819), apud Romero, Elena: *El libro del buen retajar: textos judeoespañoles de circuncisión*. Madrid 1998, hereafter *LJ*, and Eliézer Papo's *Séfer Mēsec betí* (Sarajevo 1874), edited by Šmid, Katja: *El Séfer Mēsec betí, de Eliézer Papo: Ritos y costumbres sabáticas de los sefardíes de Bosnia*. Madrid 2012, hereafter *Mb*.

<sup>2</sup> Please, consider that this is a non-exhaustive list of examples. The listed examples are presented following the system proposed by Hassán, Jacob M.: *Transcripción normalizada de textos judeoespañoles*. In: *Estudios Sefardíes* 1 (1978), pp. 147–150, with the little corrections exposed in García Moreno, Aitor: *Relatos del pueblo ladínán: Me'am lo'eš de Éxodo*. Madrid 2004, pp. 31–33. Also, we use intervocalic <-r-> and <-rr-> in our edition according to the rules of Spanish normative spelling, independently that originals always show a single *reš*. Last, I would mention with gratitude that those examples corresponding to Judeo-Spanish versions of Marcus Lehmann's novels have been kindly provided to me by my colleagues Beatrice Schmid and Yvette Bürki, who are currently preparing a critical edition of those novels.

<sup>3</sup> According to Borrego Nieto, Julio: *La incidencia del adverbio sobre los sustantivos: el caso de así*. In: *Filología y Lingüística: Estudios ofrecidos a Antonio Quilis*. [Vol. I], Madrid 2006, pp. 399–410: 406, we accept that *ansí* functions – in principle – as a predicative of the noun phrase inside a small clause, and that's why we situate it out of the brackets comprising the noun phrase in the following schematic structures.

<sup>4</sup> Hereafter *RM*, this novel was published in *El Correo de Viena* VIII (Vienna 1877), between numbers 3 and 24. It is the Judeo-Spanish version of Ludwig Philippson's novel *Der Rabbi und der Minister* (2nd Ed. Leipzig 1855).

B. *ansí* + [DET + N]

- [2] Y este título se le dio a él solo en corto tiempo porque supieron los raḥanim de Mainz que dejó un tan grande señorío mundial lo cual a otro no se le da *ansí un título* hasta que no estudia quince años en el Talmud (*Raḥí Elḥanán*<sup>5</sup> [1871] nr. 9: 1a);
- [3] Con maravía miró la princesa al jidió. *Ansí una habla* no oyó may de boca de un ḡevayirḡi (*La salvación*<sup>6</sup> [1874] 24b);
- [4] Mientras abaḡó la tempesta con toda la fuerza. En la Polonia son *ansí unas tempestas* raras emperó mucho más fuertes que en otras partes (*El yerno del rey*<sup>7</sup> [1875] 17b);
- [5] La figura de este roš hacáhal, de este riquísimo señor Mendel, no era según mos parece que uśa nuestro ojó de veer y de encontrar *ansí unos señores* [...] todo al rovéś de que se uśa a veer onde *ansí unos hombres ricos* (RM 18a);
- [6] ¿Qué importancia tiene *ansí una canchelería*, *ansí una sía* y *ansí una meśa* tapada con paño vedre llena de documentos para un pueblo entero?! (RM 33b);
- [7] Prínçipe: – ¡Mucho, muy mucho! Si yo podía llevarme *ansí una persona* a mi patria tenía grande plaćer para mostrarlo a los de mi caśa (*De Pinto de Amsterdam*<sup>8</sup> [1880] 103b);
- [8] ¿Oíteś alguna vez darsar a un jidió reformador? ¡Oh! *Ansí un predicante* no tiene más en su boca que palabras dulces, palabras dulces para los que tienen la fiesta. A *ansí un predicante* no le sale de su boca ninguna palabra de crítica [...].! (*La asolada*<sup>9</sup> [1880] 69c);

<sup>5</sup> Hereafter RE, this novel was published in *El tesoro de la caśa* (Vienna 1871) between numbers 1 and 12. It is the Judeo-Spanish version of Marcus Lehmann's novel *Rabbi Elchanan*, appeared in the weekly German newspaper *Der Israelit* VIII/9–16 (Mainz 1867).

<sup>6</sup> Hereafter *Salv*, this novel was published in *La Güerta de Historia* vol. 1 (Vienna 1874). It is the Judeo-Spanish version of Marcus Lehmann's novel *Die Rettung*, appeared in the German weekly newspaper *Der Israelit* VIII/4–8 (Mainz 1867).

<sup>7</sup> Hereafter YR, this novel was published in *La Política* (Vienna 1875). It is the Judeo-Spanish version of Marcus Lehmann's novel *Des Königs Eidam*, appeared in the German weekly newspaper *Der Israelit* VIII/29–44 (Mainz 1867).

<sup>8</sup> Hereafter P4, this novel was published in *Ilustra Güerta de Historia* vol. 1 (Vienna 1880). It is the Judeo-Spanish version of Marcus Lehmann's novel *De Pinto von Amsterdam*, appeared in the German weekly newspaper *Der Israelit* VIII/20–28 (Mainz 1867).

<sup>9</sup> Hereafter *Asol*, this novel was published in *El Correo de Viena* XI (Vienna 1880). It is the Judeo-Spanish version of Marcus Lehmann's novel *Die Verlassene*, appeared in the German weekly newspaper *Der Israelit* VIII/45–52 (Mainz 1867).

C. *ansí* + [DET + [ADJ + N]]

- [9] ¿cómo vas a\_cargar sobre ti y sobre toda tu casa *ansí un gran pecado?* (*Salv* 20b);
- [10] No dejs de la mano *ansí un precioso geyayir*; *ansí* una hermošura no topas en toda la Polonia (YR 34b);
- [11] Dunque, querido marido, yo empatrono *ansí un preciado diamante*, con el cual te quise haćer un gusto (YR 56a);
- [12] La figura de este roš hacáhal, de este riquísimo señor Mendel, no era según mos parece que uša nuestro ojo de veer y de encontrar *ansí* unos señores [...] todo al rovéš de que se uša a veer onde *ansí unos hombres ricos* (RM 18a);
- [13] Ellos decían: “culpó vuestro padre... que seya él castigado, empero no lo quiten *ansí un canež bonrado*, *ansí un famoso rabí*, de la sía del rašanut (RM 22a);
- [14] El capitán no somportó más las palabras de sus navegueros y con rabia les dijo: – Si otra una vez me habláš *ansí unas palabras enloquecidas*, vos dežo atar con farropias (PA 34b);
- [15] El prete le declaró a Frederike que ella no tiene de menester ningún amyežamiento en la reliuión nueva teniendo a\_lado de ella *ansí un vero cristiano* (*Asol* 84b).

D. *ansí* + [DET + [(ADJ) + [N + SP]]]

- [16] [...] daldes el gustošo avišo de la ġenerošidad de Ester que vos enprešentó *ansí una suma grande de moneda* (YR 60a);
- [17] ¿Qué coša vos sontrujo en vuestro corazón *ansí una enemistidad temeroša contra de vuestros hermanos?* (RM 34a);
- [18] Arrepošadvos, *ansí unas vistas de flamas* se aparecen en los montes de aquí diversas veces, emperó no dañá (PA 9b);
- [19] Yo no tengo – respondió Frederike –, *ansí un rećio caractro*. Yo no empatrono *ansí un alto grado de reliuiosidad*. Empatrónese – le respondió el rabí –, *ansí un caractro* (*Asol* 84b);

E. p + [*ansí* + [DET + [N + [(ADJ)]]]]

- [20] En aquel tiempo no se hacía muchos exámes *con ansí un pecador* y no quiere dicho cuando era ĵidió (*Salv* 21b);

- [21] Ella se pensó: ¿cómo, si yo quero sostener la reliquión de mi padre, debo casarme y vivir *con ansí un jidió*? (YR 14a);
- [22] *En ansí unos caríus* buscaban nuestros antigos ayuda onde el Dio, y ansí lo propio fue aquí (YR 47b);
- [23] [...] cierto que me interesí por estudiar en sus historia y en sus cencias, y no yo sola que topo interese *en ansí un estudio* (YR 52b);
- [24] ¿Cree ella, que una judía que hable *con ansí un coraje* y se moverá ansí como por enjemplo una prinçesa como ella? (YR 56a);
- [25] ¿Seré yo tan mažaloša topar torna a mi padre? ¿y *a ansí un padre* como éste, que es el más grande hombre en Yisrael? (YR 64a);
- [26] A ansí una ĝente ya los podemos tener por seguros que hacen *ansí unas malas hechas* (RM 33a);
- [27] una persona como a vós que entrega a todos su correligionarios *en ansí una desgracia*; una persona como a vós que hiciťes ansí un paso (RM 38a);
- [28] may tiene él visto a su padre *en ansí un grado* altereado (RM 53b–54a);
- [29] ¿Oíteš alguna vez darsar a un jidió reformador? ¡Oh! Ansí un predicante no tiene más en su boca que palabras dulces, palabras dulces para los que tienen la fiesta. ¡*A ansí un predicante* no le sale de su boca ninguna palabra de crítica [...].! (*Asol* 69c);
- [30] El palacio del papa en Roma tiene muchas puertas secretas [...] *Por ansí una puerta secreta* se fue una noche luvioša del meš de marzo Elhanán de su palacio (RE nr. 8: 1b).

Considering especially the structure of *E*, the form *ansí* is suggested to belong to the noun phrase, given its position just after the preposition when the noun phrase functions as object of the preposition. If this is right, we should consider that the form *ansí* – together with the determinative *un, una, unos, unas* – must be understood as a kind of complex determinative being equivalent of other deictic (and ponderative) adjectives like *tal, semejante* that, when preceding the noun, act as determinatives.<sup>10</sup> Unlike them, in the complex form *ansí un*, deictic information is provided by *ansí*, while concordance is ensured by the gender and number motion of *un, -a, -os, -as*.

<sup>10</sup> See Sánchez López, Cristina: Los cuantificadores: clases de cuantificadores y estructuras cuantificativas. In: Gramática Descriptiva de la Lengua Española. Dir. by Ignacio Bosque; Violeta Demonte. Madrid 1999, pp. 1025–1128.

But, what would be the origin of this new use of *ansí*?

## 1. Predecessors and parallels

### 1.1 In Judeo-Spanish

As we said at the beginning, in earlier Judeo-Spanish texts, the adverb *ansí* never appears modifying a noun phrase; it always functions as a verbal complement or as a consecutive connector in the formulations *y ansí* or *que ansí*. Parallel expressions with a deictic and ponderative value usually contain adjectives like *tal*, *tales* – mainly before the noun phrase and functioning many times as a mere determinant of its nucleus.

That is what we can see in the following examples:<sup>11</sup>

- [31] El talmid se encantó de sentir *tales hablas* siendo dito Šim'ón ben Šétah era uno de los tanaím y sabio muy grande según avisi en la hacdamá del libro (MŠ1 34a);
- [32] Siendo vido su bá'al din *tal modo de acometer* y tener corazón a jurar en mentira claro, se tomó mucho šá'ar y se encendió con mucha rabia (MŠ1 286b);
- [33] Todos los que allí estaban presentes se quedaron encantados de sentir *tal milagro* (MŠ1 307a);
- [34] ¿Quién son esta gente que queren hačer *tal coša*? (MŠ2 48b);
- [35] el sabio es cadir de ayoltar *tal naturaleza negra* (GO 16a);
- [36] y *con tales negros pareceres* se quita la gana de hačer el bien (GO 22a);
- [37] pudrimiento de salud y de rretimiento de bolsa de *aquel tal hombre* que tiene la desventura de pelear con eyos (GO 60a);
- [38] – Si *tal coša* hačes, sábeta que conpras muchos enemigos y no te podrás valer (Lš 1b).

Curiously, in the *Séfer Mešec betí* (Sarajevo 1872), we do not document any use of *tal* but within the phrases *en tal de* and *en tal que*, however the equivalent (?) form *semejante* appears as an adverb – not as an adjective – modifying a noun phrase in the same way as *ansí* in examples 1 to 30, both before and after its nucleus.

<sup>11</sup> See note 1 for the list of abbreviations.

- [39] ¡Guay por ellas y guay por sus almas *de unas mujeres semejante* que non tienen temor del Criador y dan a\_comer guáanos a\_la gente de su caśa! (*Mb* 209);
- [40] Y así caścas de carpuz o de melón o de pepino y *semejante cośas* que non son cadir de comer las aves si non las corta, las puede cortar en şabat (*Mb* 269).

## 1.2 In Spanish

As some scholars have aptly shown, in the nineteenth century there was a movement to Hispanicize Judeo-Spanish among Viennese Sephardic intellectuals,<sup>12</sup> so the influence of contemporary Spanish syntactic models must be considered.<sup>13</sup> In the Spanish Royal Academy's *Corpus Diacrónico del Español*, we can find some similar uses of *así un* in Spanish texts before 1850, like:

- [41] e avía ally *así una grant vuelta* e grandes voces que los mandamientos del cónsul non podían ser oydos;<sup>14</sup>
- [42] La otra, con gran sencillez, se anduvo paseando algunas horas, hasta que una hermana le dijo que cómo se paseaba tanto, o *así una palabra*, y ella le dijo que se lo habían mandado;<sup>15</sup>
- [43] No sé, amado Muza, cómo tu valor consiente que *así un tirano*, sin razón ni ley, tenga usurpado el reino de nuestro padre y abuelos, y que tan sin causa me persiga y tenga desterrado de mi reino.<sup>16</sup>

Nevertheless, these examples are too rare in the History of the Spanish language – less than 5 cases among more than 500 examples of *ansí ~ así un, -a*,

<sup>12</sup> See Bunis, David M.: Modernization and the Language Question among Judezmo-Speaking Sephardim of the Ottoman Empire. In: Sephardi and Middle Eastern Jewries: History and Culture in the Modern Era. Ed. by Harvey E. Goldberg. Bloomington/Indianapolis 1996, pp. 226–239: 229; and Quintana Rodríguez, Aldina: Proceso de recastellanización del judesmo. In: Jewish Studies at the turn of the Twentieth Century. Ed. by Judit Targarona Borrás; Ángel Sáenz Badillos. Leiden, Bosto, Köln 1999, pp. 593–602: 595–596.

<sup>13</sup> At least in *RM*, we can find some linguistic features pointing in that direction, like the use of the address pronoun *usted* or the reintroduction of final *-d* in plural imperative verbal forms like *venid* and *asentadros*.

<sup>14</sup> Pero López de Ayala: Traducción de las Décadas de Tito Livio (ca. 1400), apud Wittlin, Curt J. ed. Barcelona 1982, p. 441.

<sup>15</sup> Santa Teresa de Jesús (Teresa de Cepeda y Ahumada): Libro de las fundaciones (1573–1582), apud García de la Concha, Víctor, ed. Madrid 1991, p. 163.

<sup>16</sup> Ginés Pérez de Hita: Guerras civiles de Granada. 1ª parte (1595), apud . Bryant, Shasta M, ed. Newark Delaware 1982, p. 265.

-os, -as – to be taken as the predecessors of the Judeo-Spanish structure. Furthermore, in Spanish texts we have not found any example corresponding to the prepositional structure described above in *E*.

### 1.3 In German

Taking into account that it is in Vienna, a German speaking area, where these examples of *ansí un* appear in Sephardic texts for the first time, and that it is in Judeo-Spanish versions of German texts where this occurs, the possibility of an influence of German syntax seems to us more acceptable.<sup>17</sup>

In fact, the German language permits to express contents as those expressed by *ansí un...* by means of the parallel construction *so ein...* that, furthermore, is placed just after the preposition in examples like those described above in *E*. That is what we find in examples of the type of:

[44] Ich kann nicht mit *so einer* Person zusammenleben (Eng. 'I cannot live with such a person').

However, most of the original German texts translated into Judeo-Spanish in examples 1 to 30 do not show that kind of expression containing the adverb *so* but, if anything, the use of the adjective *solche* in equivalent constructions like:

[45] Ich kann nicht *mit einer solchen* Person zusammenleben (Eng. 'I cannot live with such a person').

Thus, our search in the original German novels<sup>18</sup> gives a somewhat surprising result as we have not found any case of *so ein*, just a couple of *solch ein* – always leading the sentence – as well as other deictic constructions using the demonstrative pronoun *dieser, dieses*.

<sup>17</sup> It is symptomatic to some extent that in other Judeo-Spanish versions of Ludwig Philippson's novel *Der Rabbi und der Minister*, there are no examples of *ansí un*. That is what happens in the romance *El justo salvado*, published in the Sephardic newspaper from Belgrade *Hašalom: Karmí šeli* (1906), between – at least – numbers 1 and 3, the only preserved, and the reason might very well be that this version of the German novel follows an interposed translation into Hebrew entitled *Šadíc venisgab* (Warsaw 1882).

<sup>18</sup> I want to thank my collaborator Taja Stoll for her helpful collaboration in localizing the corresponding passages in the original German novels.



### 1.4 In Yiddish

The influence of Yiddish in Viennese Judeo-Spanish has not been sufficiently studied yet but, in the same way that it is not unusual to find Yiddish words in these Judeo-Spanish versions of German novels – as they would be easily understood by Sephardic readers –, we can suppose that the Sephardic community of Vienna had been in contact with Yiddish spoken by Viennese (Ashkenazi) Jews. If this is right, it is not impossible to think that the Yiddish parallel structure of examples of the type of:

[46] מענטש (א) מיט אזא / איך קענען נישט לעבן מיט אזא (א)  
mentsh (Eng. 'I cannot live with such a person'),<sup>19</sup>

probably together with the German one of *so ein* (and even of the emphatic *solch ein*), would have influenced significantly in the word order of the Judeo-Spanish *ansí un* examples. In any case, this influence would not be due to the translation into Judeo-Spanish of Yiddish versions of these German novels, as we have not found any.<sup>20</sup>

According to all this, we are still far from being able to give a satisfactory answer to the concrete origin of the Judeo-Spanish structure *ansí un*, as a kind of complex determinative preceding the nucleus of the noun phrase it modifies. We might conclude that the *ansí un* innovative construction – understood as a hypothetical calque on the base of the German *so ein/solch ein* structure, fostered as well by the Yiddish parallel *azá (a)*, and not being completely unknown in the history of the Spanish language – would be at that moment enough established in Viennese (spoken?) Judeo-Spanish, as to be used in literary works in many more contexts than the corresponding German parallels. But considering that those examples showed in 1 to 30 are the earliest we have found, this seems difficult to accept.

<sup>19</sup> Prof. David M. Bunis, together with his colleague Prof. Chava Turniansky, expert in Yiddish Literature, in personal communication, tell me that in normal Eastern European Yiddish, the Yiddish version of Eng. *I cannot live with such a person* would be '*Ikh ken nit lebn mit azá mentsh*', and the *azá* form does not usually feature the presence of the indefinite article. Actually, examples of *azá a* – more parallel to the Judeo-Spanish *ansí un* – are extremely rare in Yiddish texts.

<sup>20</sup> That is the result of our search [on February 25, 2013] in the online catalogue of Yiddish books available at <http://archive.org/details/nationalyiddishbookcenter>. Anyway, Prof. Beatrice Schmid, in personal communication, affirms that there were some translations of Lehmann's novels into Yiddish (as well as into a dozen more languages) but none of them were previous to Judeo-Spanish translations.

## 2. Successors: the spread of the construction in Judeo-Spanish

After our previous analysis, unfortunately, the only true thing relating the *ansí un* construction is that the eldest examples correspond to Judeo-Spanish texts from Vienna appeared in the late 70's of the nineteenth century. Examples from other places and not necessarily corresponding to Judeo-Spanish versions of German texts can be found at least one or two decades later in Ruse, Sofia (Bulgaria) and Sarajevo (Bosnia).<sup>21</sup>

- [47] se le asemejó que la sobrina *de ansí una santa y celoša católica* se permitió a mirar con mala ośadía a la persona santa (*Los marranos*<sup>22</sup> [1896], p. 33);
- [48] nunca esperaba *ansí una repuesta* de parte de los “muy temidos” (*Marr* 35);
- [49] En los ojos de Juan se reflectó *ansí un bondo sentimiento de amor y devuamimiento verso María* (*Marr* 52);
- [50] no tienen otro que bendecir al Criador por esto que los haçe gozár de la sublime bondad *de ansí un podestador* (*La Alborada* I/4 [Sarajevo 1901]: 20b–21a);
- [51] y algunos cléricos arribaron hasta ofender la Redacción que recibió *ansí un ubraje* (*La Alborada* I/5 [Sarajevo 1901]: 26a);
- [52] tú sos bastante venturoso de tener *ansí una mujer* que se ganó tanta querencia de tu parte (*La Alborada* I/15 [Sarajevo 1901]: 26a);
- [53] Todo aquel que quiere gozár de *ansí unos avantajos*, se puede suscribir onde los señores afirmados abajo, lo más tadre hasta el 10 april (*Eco Juidaico* I/5 [Sofia 1901]: 40).

<sup>21</sup> The following examples are taken from texts included in the *Mem-Tet Corpus* of modern non-religious Sephardic texts produced between 1880 and 1930 in the Balkans and the Ottoman Empire, developed at the University of Basel (Switzerland) between 2004 and 2008 under the direction of Prof. Beatrice Schmid. For further information, see [http://pages.unibas.ch/sefaradi/tradmod/Compos\\_MemTet\\_esp.pdf](http://pages.unibas.ch/sefaradi/tradmod/Compos_MemTet_esp.pdf) and [http://pages.unibas.ch/sefaradi/tradmod/Siglas\\_Corpus.pdf](http://pages.unibas.ch/sefaradi/tradmod/Siglas_Corpus.pdf).

<sup>22</sup> Hereafter *Marr*, its complete title is *Los marranos: un paso de la vida de los jidiós en España en el 15<sup>to</sup> secl.* Traducido de Ya‘acov ben Hayim. Editado de Mijael Šelomó Biđerano (Rustchuk 1896). It is a Judeo-Spanish version of Phoebus Phillipson’s German novel *Die Marranen* (2nd ed. Leipzig 1855).

Meanwhile, examples from texts corresponding to the Judeo-Spanish South-Eastern variety, from places like Izmir or Istanbul, will be found at the turn of the century. That is what we see in:<sup>23</sup>

- [54] Si otra vez te permetes *ansí unas palabras*, yo te hago atar con cadenas (*Pinto de Amsterdam*<sup>24</sup> [1901], p. 13);
- [55] será difícil de creer *a ansí unas terribles crueldades* (*El prisionero de la Inquisición*<sup>25</sup> [Izmir 1905] nr. 1716, p. 4d);
- [56] si el duque sabía que él tenía *ansí una muy hermosa hija* (*La maldición del judío*, p. 7);
- [57] Este último iñoraba, dunque, que Rigoletto tenía *ansí una hija tan hermosa* (*Mald* 7);
- [58] *Ansí una habla* no oyó may de boca de un ġevayirġi (*Salvación* [Izmir 1913]: 36);
- [59] *Ansí un comperto* no era de ĵusto para un mešared (*El ĵuguetón* IV/14 [Istanbul 1913]: 3);
- [60] Se voltó atrás a\_fin de no hacerse triaquí *por ansí una mujer* (*Meseret* XXV/36 [Izmir 1921]: 3).

According to examples 47–60, in both areas, the *ansí un* construction would have entered first in narrative texts – in most cases Judeo-Spanish translations or adaptations of originals produced in other languages –,<sup>26</sup> and appear later in original Judeo-Spanish texts like those appeared in Sephardic newspapers.

At least in a first moment, the spread could also have been fostered by the existence of similar structures in Serbian and Bulgarian, for instance, where an adjective (although not an adverb) with both deictic and ponderative value is placed before the nucleus of a noun phrase like in:

- [61] Serb. Никада / *Nikada* ['never'] нисам упознао / *nisam upoznao* ['I didn't meet'] таквог / *takvog* ['such a'] човека / *čoveka* ['man'];
- [62] Bulg. Никога / *Nikoga* ['never'] не / *ne* ['not'] съм срещал / *săm sreshtal* ['I met'] такъв / *takŭv* ['such a'] човек / *chovek* ['man'].

<sup>23</sup> I thank my colleague Prof. David M. Bunis for providing me with examples 58–60.

<sup>24</sup> Hereafter *Pinto*, its complete title is *Pinto de Amsterdam: cuento histórico judío. Folletón del "Meseret"* (Izmir 1901). It is another Judeo-Spanish version of Marcus Lehmann's novel *De Pinto von Amsterdam* (see note 8). Actually, this example is parallel to number 14 presented above.

<sup>25</sup> Published in the Sephardic newspaper *La Buena Esperanza* (Izmir), between numbers 1716 and 1718 (June–July 1905).

<sup>26</sup> See Romero, Elena: *La creación literaria en lengua sefardí*. Madrid 1992, pp. 177–194.

### 3. Conclusion

According to the data presented in this contribution, and always taking the small corpus of texts we handle into consideration, we could say that the *ansí un* syntactic innovation shown for the first time in Viennese Judeo-Spanish has spread first to the area of the Balkans – traditionally more exposed to any German influence and with the Danube once again as a route of entry<sup>27</sup>, and later to texts produced in the South-Eastern area of Judeo-Spanish.

This spreading, probably fostered by the existence of similar structures in some Balkan languages like Serbian and Bulgarian, however did not affect the configuration and use of other Judeo-Spanish forms with the same deictic value as the adjectives *tal* and *semejante*, which continued being used. On the contrary, the eruption of the *ansí un* structure even probably increased their use as determinatives as at least this seems to have occurred with *semejante*. But that is another story.

<sup>27</sup> See Quintana Rodríguez, Aldina: Geografía lingüística del judeoespañol: estudio sincrónico y diacrónico. Bern 2006, pp.309–310; and García Moreno, Aitor: Río abajo, tiempo después diferencias léxicas en dos versiones sefardíes danubianas (Viena 1877 y Belgrado 1906) de la novela alemana *Der Rabbi und der Minister*. In: Sefarad an der Donau. Ed. by Michael Studemund-Halevy. Barcelona 2013, pp.205–221: 219.