**The Syntactic Structure of Liturgical Ladino: Construct State Nominals, Multiple Determiners, and Verbless Sentences**

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**Abstract**: In this study, I analyze three syntactic constructions in Liturgical Ladino (LL) that previous authors (Sephiha 1973, 1980, *et passim*; López-Morillas 1990) have superficially labeled as calques. I extend MacSwan's (1999) Minimalist approach to the bilingual language faculty, to LL. In this language, a single computational component has access to two lexicons, one Hebrew, the other Spanish. Lexical items with their formal features from either lexicon may be selected to enter into the syntactic derivation, thereby producing an apparent hybrid syntax.

## 0. Introduction

Liturgical Ladino[1], a language described by Sephiha as a Hebrew-Spanish calque, displays syntactic constructions that are ungrammatical in Spanish, such as verbless sentences (1), construct state nominals (2), and multiple determiners (3).

(1) a. Este Ø el pan dela afriisyon. (Ladino)
this the bread of-the affliction
"This is the bread of affliction."
b. *Este Ø el pan de la aflicción. (Spanish)

(2) a. de presipyo sirvyentes Ø avoda zara. (Ladino)
from beginning servants worship foreign
"From the beginning servants of foreign worship."
b. *de principio servientes Ø alabanza extranjera. (Spanish)

(3) a. Kuanto fue demudada la noçe la esta mas ke todas las noçes. (Ladino)
how-much was changed the night the this more than all the nights
"How greatly changed was this night more than all other nights."
b. *Cuanto fue demudada la noche la esta más que todas las noches. (Spanish)

While these types of constructions have been analyzed by previous scholars (Sephiha 1973, 1980; López-Morillas 1990) as literal translations of Hebrew into Ladino, in this study a different approach is pursued, according to which the calques are instances of a phenomenon similar to bilingual code-switching. I propose, based on MacSwan (1999) that in LL the computational component has access to two different lexicons, Hebrew and Spanish. Calques of

[1] I differentiate Liturgical Ladino (LL) from Judeo-Spanish (JS). LL is the traditional language used for translation of Hebrew sacred texts into Spanish, represented textually in Bible translatoins, commentaries, and haggadahs. JS is the spoken (and written) vernacular.

"Hebrew syntax" are due to the use of Hebrew lexical items, whereas "Spanish syntax" occurs when Spanish lexical items are selected.

Analyzing LL as a "calque language" raises several issues. While calques are often observed in the lexical domain, syntactic calquing is less widely attested. This type of calquing overlaps with another term, "structural borrowing," in which a syntactic construction from a source language is borrowed into a recipient language; i.e, preposition-stranding in some varieties of Canadian French being borrowed from English due to contact. However, extending this concept to explain LL calques is problematic because, as Winford (2003:61-61) notes, "structural change is almost always mediated by lexical transfer." In other words, the so-called calques of LL are not borrowed wholesale from one language into another. Instead, they are syntactic configurations that are allowed to occur due to the use of certain lexical items from either language. King (2001:135-149) demonstrated this type of phenomenon in her study of preposition-stranding, which she analyzes as being due to the borrowing of individual lexical-items, prepositions, along with their syntactic properties (formal features). The features that allow for preposition-stranding in English also allow for it in Prince Edward Island French.

The second problem with viewing the calques of LL as syntactic/structural borrowing is theory-internal and is related to how syntax is modelled within the framework of the Minimalist Program (MP). Within this framework the language faculty is taken to be an invariable system with which humans are biologically endowed; i.e., Universal Grammar. The differences that we find among languages are due to the primary linguistic data to which a child is exposed during the language acquisition process and the setting of parameters. LL calques, and language-mixture in general, can been thought to present a problem for a theory of UG because they appear to be examples of distinct syntactic systems, operating simultaneously. Within the MP, syntax is assumed to be uniform crosslinguistically; distinct syntactic/grammatical systems do not exist. Given that Spanish and Hebrew differ typologically and parametrically, how does syntax (the composition of lingustic structure) work with material from both? My hypothesis is that instances of calques can be reduced to the use of lexical items drawn from two different lexicons with specific formal features that allow for what superficially appears to be syntactic borrowing.

The third problem with the calque language view of LL is that the term suggests that there is a consistent one-to-one correspondence between the two languages involved. If this

were true, then we should expect the same amount of words in the Hebrew text of the haggadah as in the LL. While this is often the case, it does not hold without exception. As is shown below, this inconsistency is explainable under my hypothesis. The calque language view of LL can not explain systematically why some constructions are calqued but not others. One possible explanation under this view might be that the LL still has to be comprehensible to a non-Hebrew speaking audience. Consequently, the syntax of Spanish can not be violated to the point of incomprehensibility. The problem with this is that what is calqued and what is not would be up to the judgement of the individual translator which should result in variation. While minor variation does occur from translation-to-translation, most versions tend to calque the same constructions. Consequently, this is not an adequate explanation.

While it is true that LL was used as a pedagogical tool, this does not negate its validity as an authentic language of interest to modern linguistics. Bunis (1996) gives a historical account of Ladino as an orally-transmitted system of spontaneous translation. He refers to it as primarily an oral tradition and only secondarily textual. Furthermore, this language was acquired as a child, in the context of school-instruction (Kohring 1996). The following analysis of three syntactic constructions in the text of the haggadah shows that LL operates in a manner consistent with our current understanding of the syntax of bilingualism. The format of this paper is as follows: Section 1 presents the methodology and corpus, Section 2 introduces the theoretical framework, a Minimalist approach to code-switching, Section 3 is a formal analysis of the three types of constructions, and Section 4 is the conclusion.

## 1. Methodology and Corpus

### 1.1 The Haggadah

The Haggadah is the liturgical text used in Judaism for the celebration of the feast of Passover. The dating of its authorship is a matter of debate but it is generally given as sometime between 70 to 220 C.E. (Kulp 2005). Many of the rituals described in the text were practiced prior to an order actually being written down and, once compiled, the text was continually added to and amended over the centuries. One necessary assumption that has been made in this study is that all translations to LL are based on the same Hebrew text. Schwarzwald (1996) has pointed out the problems with comparing different Ladino translations of the haggadah. For example, in the two versions he compares, he finds that one consistently has a monophthong where the other

has a diphthong (366). However, since he focuses primarily on lexical and morphophonemic phenomena rather than syntax, the differences he has identified are not important here.

The primary language of the haggadah text is Rabbinic Hebrew. Aramaic also occurs, and can cooccur with Hebrew in the same sentence. While this may have implications for the LL translation, the issue is not explored in this study. The quanity of Aramaic in the text is limited and Aramaic and Hebrew are closely related, so it is not the kind of language-mixture between typologically distinct languages with which this study is concerned. Pérez-Fernández (1997:5) briefly describes the amount of influence from Aramaic on Rabbinic Hebrew as being primarily lexical and morphological.

1.2 Corpus

The Hebrew versions of the relevant constructions are given below:

(4) devar Ø elohim (Construct State Nominal)
word God
"word of God"

(5) **ha**-layla **ha**-zeh (Multiple Determiners)
the-night the-this
"this night"

(6) elohim Ø ba-shamayim (Verbless Sentence)
God in-the-heavens
"God is in the heavens."

A structural description of these constructions is given in Section 3; they were chosen for their typological dissimilarity. They are grammatical in Hebrew, but not in Spanish; the extent to which they are actually attested in the LL varies. Examples of these constructions were collected from a corpus comprised of five different LL translations of the Sephardic haggadah, as given below in Table 1:

| Name of Translator | Year of Publication | Place of Publication |
|---|---|---|
| Jacob Meldula | 1812 | Jerusalem |
| Shelomoh Alkaher | 1946 | Istanbul |
| Nisim Behar | 1962 | Istanbul |
| Isaac Azose, Sarah Benezra, Isaac Maimon | 1995 | Seattle |
| Zelda Ovadia | 2002 | Jerusalem |

Table 1: List of Haggadah Translations

Five translations were chosen in order to determine whether the constructions under consideration were translated in the same manner. This attests to the extent to which LL can be considered a homogeneous linguistic system or not. These particular translations were used because they were easily accessible and all used Roman script for the Ladino, and sometimes the Hebrew, passages. Some minor, non-syntactic, differences were identified, which are discussed in the analysis below. As shown in Table 1, the corpus represents not only diachronic but geographical variation as well. In order to ensure that these constructions are limited to LL and not also present in modern Judeo-Spanish, the same constructions were searched for in the Judeo-Spanish translation of *Le Petit Prince* by Antoine de Saint-Exupéry, originally published in 1946, with the translation published in 2010. The results of this search were negative. Sephiha claims that LL syntax goes back to twelfth- or thirteenth-century Spanish syntax. A search in the *Corpus Diacrónica del Español* (CORDE) was carried out in order to determine whether there are parallels with Old Spanish syntax, which might mean that they were inherited. The results show that a construction similar to the double determiner construction did exist in earlier stages of Spanish[2], but parallels were not found for the other constructions.

## 2. Theoretical Background

### 2.1 The Minimalist Program (MP) and the Modelling of Syntactic Architecture

The Minimalist Program (Chomsky 1995, *et seq.*) is a revised approach to the study of Universal Grammar in generative linguistics. It succeeded what had been known as the Principles and Parameters model. One of the motives behind the revision was to reduce the amount of assumptions that had been made during previous years; i.e., to make the minimal amount of assumptions, following Occam's Razor. It is not necessary to go into all the details of the MP's formulation here, but two important aspects need to be introduced.

First, within the MP, syntax is conceived of as being invariant crosslinguistically. Syntactic variation can be reduced to the setting of parameters, which are now thought of as formal features specified on functional items in the lexicon[3] (Roberts 2007). "Parameter" is a

[2] Double determiners are possible in right-focusing constructions such as the following Modern Spanish, taken from Bernstein (2001): *el libro interesante este*. This Old Spanish example is taken from the "Obra sacada de las crónicas de San Isidro, de Don Lucas, Obispo de Tuy," dated by the CORDE from 1385-1396: *...e havie dado poder e senyoria en <u>la tierra aquella</u> e en toda Castiella a aquel mismo fillo suyo Fernando rey*. However, this is not quite the same as the LL data, where both the adjective and the noun agree in definiteness as shown by the double definite article.

[3] The idea that all parameters are reducible to features on lexical items (LIs) in the lexicon is often referred to as the "Borer-Chomsky Conjecture," since they were the first to make this claim (Roberts & Holmberg 2010:32).

term that describes a point of optionality in Universal Grammar. When superficial differences are identified between two languages, it is due to a different feature present in the lexicon of one of those languages. For example, the most widely studied parameter is the Null Subject (or Pro-Drop) Parameter, is used to describe the fact that certain languages allow a null (phonologically unrealized) pronominal subject in finite clauses, like Spanish, while others do not. Holmberg (2005) claims that this parameter can be reduced to the featural makeup of the Tense node in the lexicon: if it has a referential D-feature, it will allow null subjects. The nature of parameters within Minimalism is a controversial topic even today and they are not the primary concern of this study. However, that syntax (UG) is invariant is important: it allows for the proposal that the "calques" that are observed in LL are nothing other than the syntactic effects of two different lexicons.

The second important aspect of the MP for what follows is how syntax is modelled; i.e., the manner in which syntactic structure is built up. Here I give a brief explanation (cf. Adger 2003), as a background for the analysis of each construction that follows in Section 3. Syntax first proceeds by drawing lexical items from the lexicon (Numeration) and then combining those items (Merge). Lexical items (LI) are bundles of formal features; they can be either function or content words or they can be phonologically unrealized. For example, the word *car* may have the following set of features: [+Noun, -Verb, -Animate, etc.]. Features may be either interpretable (semantically relevant) or uninterpretable (only formally relevant). The uninterpretable features have to be "checked" by an interpretable feature prior to Spell-Out, the point at which the structure built up is sent to the phonological and the semantic interface, known respectively as Phonological Form (PF) and Logical Form (LF). Checking of features is the operation Agree, which takes place via c-command. If uninterpretable features are not checked, the derivation will crash and it cannot be Spelled-Out, which takes place before features reach the interface, as illustrated below in Figure 1.

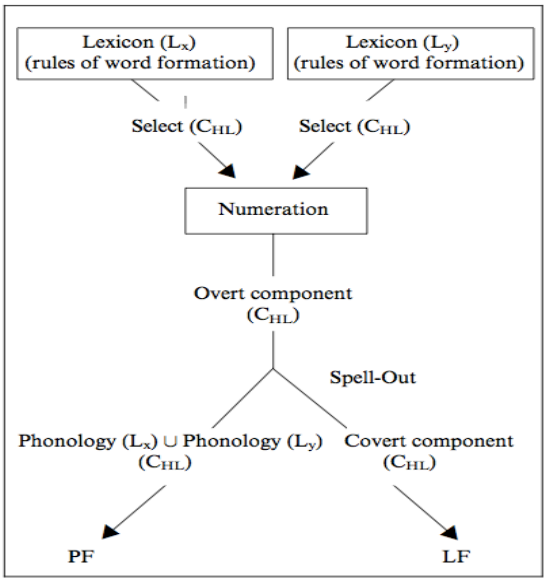
2.2 A Minimalist Model of the Bilingual Language Faculty

In MacSwan's (1999, 2000) study of Spanish and Nahuatl codeswitching, the Minimalist model is applied to explain how speakers switch "between languages." The idea that a bilingual speaker has access to two distinct grammatical systems is problematic from the perspective of UG because grammar/syntax is invariant. The variation that is seen on the surface is due to the lexicon or morphophonology. Do bilingual speakers use one grammar, or two grammars? What

principle determines how two grammars may interact? In order to answer the second question, one must postulate a third bilingual grammar or some kind of control structure. As MacSwan (2000:38) points out, this would violate the spirit of the MP, in which extra assumptions should be made "only if forced to do so by the data." This can be avoided if all speakers have only one syntactic component that may be fed by two lexicons. Importantly, this model of code-switching makes the prediction that all instances of switching can be attributed to formal features on lexical items in either one or the other lexicon. As is demonstrated in Section 3, this prediction holds true for the data taken from LL.

Code-switching can be modelled as syntax proceeding in the usual fashion, but being fed by two different lexicons. A representation of this model taken from MacSwan (2000:52) is reproduced below:

Figure 1: The Bilingual Language Faculty




In Figure 1, structure is built up in the same way as presented in Section 2.1, the only difference being that there are two lexicons from which lexical items may be drawn. In LL, $L_x$ would be Hebrew and $L_y$ would be Spanish. LIs are selected and merged. If all the requirements of feature-checking are met, the derivation converges successfully.

## 3. Extension of the Bilingual Model to LL

In this section each of the three constructions is presented, with parallel instances from each translation. Its presence or absence in earlier phases of Spanish is discussed and a formal

analysis demonstrates how the surface representation is derived from formal features of a lexical item.

3.1 Construct State Nominals (Gesenius 1910:247; Seow 1995:116)

In Hebrew and other Semitic languages, a dependency between one or more nouns, participles, or adjectives can be established via juxtaposition, without any intervening material. The relationship that results between the nouns can be one of possession or modification. Examples of simple Construct State Nominals (CSN) in Biblical Hebrew are provided below, where (7) is comprised of two nouns, (8) is a noun and an adjective, (9) is a participle and a noun:

(7) devar Ø elohim
word God
"word of God"

(8) yefeh Ø toar
handsome form
"handsome in form"

(9) kholem Ø khalom
dreamer.Part dream
"a dreamer of a dream"

The final word in the construct chain is said to be in the Absolute State, while the initial word(s) are in the Construct State, in which it undergoes certain phonological modifications such as loss of stress, weakening, etc. Definiteness is also shared in the CC: the definiteness of the Absolute noun determines the definiteness of the Construct noun.

The CSN is used frequently in Rabbinic Hebrew, though the preposition *shel*, equivalent to English *of*, is also used (Pérez-Fernandez 1997:68). In the LL of the haggadahs used for this study, the CSN does not occur, except for one example which is discussed below. All five translations use the canonical Spanish preposition *de* as seen in (10a-e) and (11a-e):

(10) Amar Ribi El'azar ben Azarya[4]
say.Perf.3S rabbi Elazar son Azaryah

a. Dixo R. Elhazar hijo **de** Azarya (1812)
b. Dişo rebi Elazar ijo **de** Azarya (1946)
c. Dişo Ribi Elazar ijo **de** Azaria (1962)
d. Disho Ribi Elazar ijo **de** Azaria (1995)
e. Disho Ribi Eliezer ijo **de** Azarya (2002)

"Rabbi Elazar, son of Azaryah, said..."

(11) Terakh avi[5] Avraham va'avi Nakhor
Terah father Abraham and-father Nakhor

a. Terah padre de Abraham y padre **de** Nahor (1812)
b. Terah padre de Avraam i padre **de** Nahor (1946)
c. Terah pad're de Avraam i pad're **de** Nahor (1962)
d. Terah padre de Avraam i padre **de** Nahor (1995)
e. Terah padre de Avraam i padre **de** Nahor (2002)

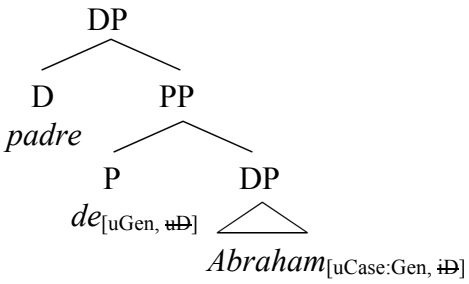
"Terah father of Abraham and father of Nahor"

If the CSN were calqued in the LL we would observe examples such as *hijo Azarya* rather than *hijo de Azarya*, which do not occur. Instead, LL uses the "independent genitive," a prepositional

[4] In examples with multiple lines, the first line is the Hebrew; the second line is a parsing; (a-e) is LL.
[5] The Hebrew nouns *ben* and *avi* are in the construct state. /ben/ has the vowel shortened from /e:/ to /e/; /av/ has an unpredictable construct state form, /avi/, as listed in dictionaries.

phrase (Adger 2003:265), just like Spanish. Based on the model discussed above, this is an instance where the preposition is taken from the Spanish lexicon and enters into the syntactic derivation. In formal terms, the noun has an interpretable [Case:_] feature that is valued as genitive when merged with the preposition which has an uninterpretable [genitive] feature. The preposition also has an uninterpretable D-feature, so it has to merge with an element that has an interpretable D-feature; i.e. the DP[6], *Abraham*. This yields the structure below:

(12)




Importantly, the Spanish noun *padre* (or the null determiner) is also used rather than a Hebrew noun. If the latter were the case, a CSN might be formed, assuming that nouns (determiners) in Hebrew have the required feature makeup.

As previously mentioned, there is a preposition in Hebrew, *shel*, equivalent to Spanish *de*, as in the name of the text: *Hagadah shel pesakh*--*Agada de Pesah*. LL uses the Spanish preposition *de* for both Hebrew CSNs as in (12) and *shel* genitive prepositional phrases as below:

(13)

| | |
|---|---|
| shema shel shakhrit | (Hebrew) |
| Shema of morning | |
| Shema de la manyana (2002)[7] | (LL) |
| "the morning Shema" | |

It appears that LL consistenly draws the prepostion *de* from the Spanish lexicon in constructions of this type. However, if LL has access to two lexicons, it should be able to utilize both the Hebrew and the Spanish preposition in equal fashion. At this point I am unable to offer a complete explanation, but it may be that LL does not access the entire lexicon of each language but rather some items from one and other items from the other.

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[6] Following Abney (1987), the head of a Noun Phrase is actually a Determiner, hence DP. Strictly speaking, it is not the noun that originally has the D- and Gen-features, it is a null determiner. The noun moves to the head of the DP and picks up these features along the way.

[7] For the sake of saving space, when all five versions of the haggadah have the same translation, only one is provided in the examples.

As alluded to above, there is one plausible example of a CSN in the LL text of the haggadah and it is the same in four of the five translations, the exception being the Meldula (1812) version, given in (14b):

(14) mittehillah ovdey avodah zarah (Hebrew)
from-beginning servants worship strange

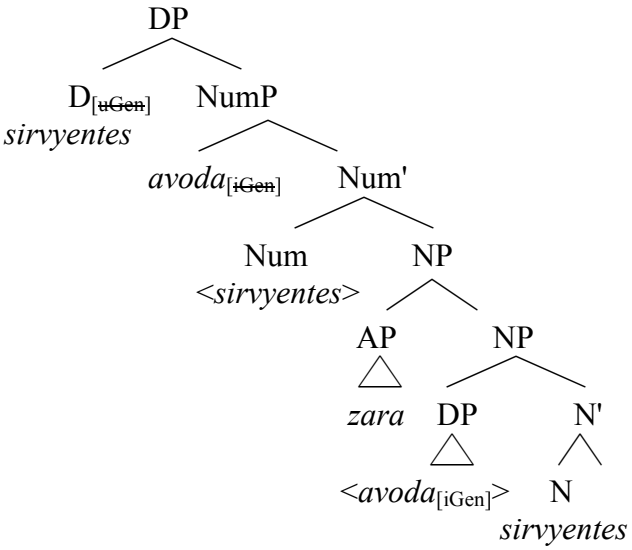
a. de presipyo sirvyentes avoda zara. (1946) (LL)
b. De principio servian nuestros padres idolatria. (1812) (LL)

"From the beginning they were servants of strange worship."

The phrase, "servants of strange worship," refers to idolatry or the worship of a foreign god, which is reflected in the less-literal English translations. The LL in (14a) does not use the Spanish preposition and has two Hebrew words: *avoda zara*. The fact that this is the only example of CSN in the LL and it is composed of two Hebrew words is likely not coincidental.

Previous analyses of Semitic CSNs, such as Ritter (1991), show that DPs are headed by a null determiner with the feature [genitive], not unlike the preposition *shel* as seen above. Ritter labels this null determiner $D_{Gen}$. Following the feature-checking model proposed above we can state that this determiner is present in the lexicon and its feature makeup contains an uninterpretable [genitive] feature. Ritter also demonstrates that DPs are composed of an additional functional projection, the Number Phrase (NumP), which is where a noun moves in order to have its Number features valued. Additionally, quantifiers are overt realizations of the Num head. The presence of this functional projection and the checking of features helps account for the constituent order within a CSN, where the possessed precedes the possessor: the possessor DP moves to NumP where its case feature is valued as [genitive] by $D_{Gen}$. The derivation (14a) is represented below:

(15)




A couple of questions arise given (15). First, why does N move to D? Ritter states that this occurs in order for $D_{Gen}$ to be identified, but this concept may not necessarily be compatible with current MP theory. The second question has to do with morphophonology. As pointed out above, Hebrew words in the construct state undergo various morphophonological changes. In this case, the word that would regularly be in construct state is a Spanish word, *sirvyentes*. This word exists in standard varities of Spanish, though, according to the Real Academia Española, it is spelled as *sirvientes*. The difference is minor and probably attributable to orthography. What should be noted is that the morphophonological process that takes place in Hebrew CSNs does not occur here with the Spanish word. Whatever it is that triggers the change in Hebrew words in construct state does not apply to the Spanish. However, it is also true that some Hebrew nouns do not change their form when in construct state (Seow 1995:117). This suggests that syntax may not be sensitive to this process.

Before ending this section the question of a common inheritance needs to be addressed. The CSN is not used frequently in LL and, to my knowledge, a similar construction never existed in any recorded varieties of Spanish. However, it is not out-of-the-question that it existed in earlier Romance given that it was present in Old French:

(16) le lit son seignor
the bed her husband
"her husband's bed" (*Le Fresne*, Marie de France)

The same construction is also found in Ecclesiastical Latin, specifically in the Vulgate translation of the Bible:

(17) in tribu filiorum Isachar fuit princeps Nathanahel filius Suar
in tribe sons Isachar was.3S prince Nathaniel son Suar
"In the tribe of the sons of Isachar, the prince was Nathaniel son of Suar." (Num. 10:15)

As with the the CSN, the possessed precedes the possessor, but there appears to be no phonological reduction of the first nominal. In Latin, the CSN only occurs when a non-Latin proper name is used as a possessor, while the Old French does not appear to be constrained in this way. The Latin may simply be a choice made on the part of the translator, St. Jerome, to signify a genitive relationship but without attempting to add Latin genitive case-endings to Hebrew names. Though interesting, a comparative analysis of these constructions is left for future work.

3.2 Multiple Determiners/Definiteness Agreement (DA) in DPs

As seen in (18), Hebrew attributive adjectives agree in definiteness with the noun they modify (Seow 1995:72); the noun *yad* has a prefixed definite article, as does its adjective, *gadol*.

(18) **ha**-yyad **ha**-gdolah
the-hand the-great

a. **la** mano **la** grande (1812:8)
b. **la** maravia **la** grande (1946:19)
c. **la** maraviya **la** grande (1962:20)
d. **la** maraviya **la** grande (1995:31)
e. **la** mano **la** grande (2002:22)

The same type of agreement occurs with demonstratives as well, as in (19), which behave syntactically like adjectives rather than determiners (Danon 2008:876).

(19) Ma nishttannah **ha-layla** **ha-zeh** mi-kol ha-leylot?
why different the-night the-this from-all the-nights

a. Quan diferente **ésta noche** masque todas las noches? (1812:3)
b. Kuanto fue demudada **la noçe la esta** mas ke todas las noçes. (1946:6)
c. Kuanto fue demud'ad'a **la noçe la esta**, mas ke tod'as las noçes. (1962:5)
d. Kuanto fue demudada **la noche la esta** mas ke todas las noches. (1995:13)
e. Kuanto fue demudada **la noche esta**, mas ke todas las noches. (2002:10)

"Why is this night different from all other nights?"

DA can be analyzed as any other kind of agreement which takes place under c-command. For example, when a noun and its modifier agree in gender, they are taken to having matching features which are then morphologically realized when checked. In Hebrew, it has been argued that nouns and adjectives have a definiteness feature, which has to be checked upon merging

(Borer 1996, Siloni 1996, Shlonsky 2004). Danon (2008) claims that the definite article is not a head but rather the morphological realization of definiteness. However, there is not consensus in the literature and some maintain that the Hebrew definite article is a head and it takes an AP complement (Sichel 2002).

The Hebrew type of DA is not a property of Spanish. In contrast with what was seen in Section 3.1, this construction is paralleled in three out of five of the LL translations (19b-d), all of which follow the Hebrew pattern: Det + N + Det + Dem/Adj. The two translations that do not follow the Hebrew pattern, (19a,e), are acceptable in Spanish. (19a) is the canonical order of demonstrative adjective preceding a noun while (19e) is an instance of DP-internal movement.

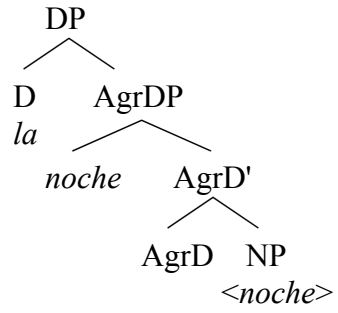
There are several complicating factors that arise in attempting to analyze DA in LL. One of these is that the following assumption must be made:

(20) Given access to two different lexicons, $L_x$ and $L_y$, lexical items drawn from either lexicon will have only those features for which they are specified in the lexicon from which they originate.

No explanation of a construction can be offered that involves attributing non-Spanish formal features to Hebrew LIs and vice versa. This means that the LL examples must be analyzed as either Hebrew DA or an instance of Spanish multiple determiners. The latter option may be optimal, since the only overt material in the construction is Spanish LIs. However, the former option is also viable if there is a null functional head, originating from the Hebrew lexicon, that is involved in DA.

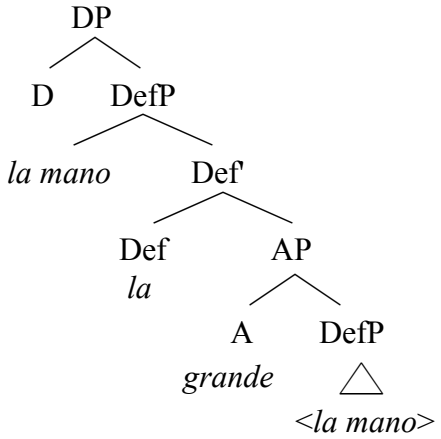
Following this latter option, the feature [definiteness] is assigned by means of an agreement functional head. This has precedent in the AgrO node, object agreement, which Chomsky (1991) posited as responsible for assigning accusative case. An NP moves to SpecAgrO to be assigned accusative case. While AgrO is located in the Verb Phrase, the functional head being proposed for definiteness agreement, which has been proposed by others as well (Borer 1999; Shlonsky 2004), would be located in the DP domain. The posited functional head, which can be abbreviated as AgrD, exists in the Hebrew lexicon but not the Spanish lexicon. As with AgrO, we can assume that an NP moves up to SpecAgrD in order to be valued as definite. Below is the first DP of (19d) under this system:

(21)




A similar analysis is given in Androutsopoulou (1995) for multiple determiners in Greek. She proposes a functional head, Def, specified for the agreement features within the DP. She assumes, as do others (Cinque 1994, Bernstein 2001), that adjectives are merged prenominally and that postnominal orders are the result of movement. D is null and Def is spelled-out as the definite article. Thus, multiple definite articles implies multiple projections of Def within the DP. In order to account for word order, she also allows for DefPs to optionally move to the specifier of a higher Def. This can be applied to LL with the Spanish Def being present, in which case the derivation of (18a) is as below:

(22)

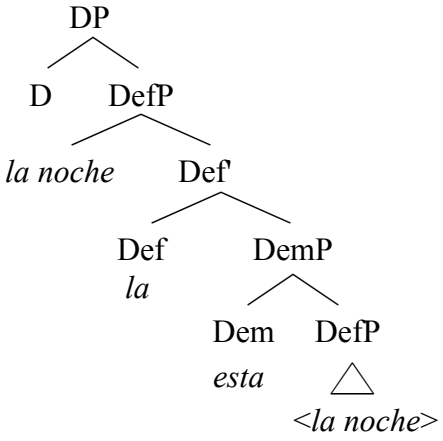



This analysis can also explain (19) if we treat demonstratives as adjectives, in which case the derivation is the same as in (22). However, though Danon (2008:876) does claim that Hebrew demonstratives "have the syntactic behavior of adjectives," this is not necessarily the case in Spanish and since the demonstrative under consideration is taken from the Spanish lexicon, it must behave, in accordance with the assumption in (20), as a Spanish demonstrative.

While demonstratives are generally taken to be determiners and thus D heads, Giusti (1992) claims that, based on word order evidence, determiners and demonstratives are categorically different. Furthermore, demonstratives head another DP-internal functional projection, Dem, which moves to D when no article is present, perhaps to check a definiteness

feature. Adopting this model and combining it with Androutsopoulou's (1995) analysis results in the essentially the same structure, but allows us to dispense with the notion that demonstratives are adjectives. Thus, (19d) can be represented as below:

(23)




Two analyses have been given above: the AgrDP analysis and DefP analysis. Both depend upon the presence of a functional projection and both have their drawbacks. The former is problematic because Agr nodes are generally not appealed to in the MP. Chomsky (1995) shows that the AgrS and AgrO nodes are not necessary, though he does not discuss the DP. Agreement is now modelled as feature-checking via c-command, an approach which presents its own problems for the LL data. With respect to the DefP analysis, the question still remains as to why multiple DefPs can be merged within LL but not within standard Spanish, though examples like the following do exist, both taken from Bernstein (2001:15):

(24) a. el libro interesante este
the book interesting this
"THIS interesting book."
b. ?el libro ese viejo
the book that old
"That book, the old one."

At first glance, (24a) looks similar to (18), if we take *este* to be a determiner. Note, however, that (24a) elicits a focus interpretation while (18) does not. Bernstein analyzes this focus construction as an instance of DP-internal movement, in which the the NP and its modifier scrambles to the left, where it receives main stress. On the other hand, (24b) looks even more like (18), but given the dubious judgements it elicits in speakers, it may not be grammatical.

3.3 Verbless Sentences

A verbless sentence is one in which there is no overt copula, as below:

(25) **Halachma anya** di achalu av'hatana b'ara d'mitsrayim.[8]
the.bread affliction that eat.PERF.3ComPl ancestors in-land of-Israel

a. **Este (es) el pan de aflicion** que comieron nuestros padres en tierra de Egypto. (1812)
b. **Este Ø el pan dela afriisyon** ke komyeron noestros padres en tyera del ayifto. (1946)
c. **Este Ø el pan dela, afriyision**, ke komieron nuestros pad'res en tierra de Ayifto.(1962)
d. **Este es el plan de la afri-sion** ke comieron muestros padres in tierra de Ayifto. (1995)
e. **Este Ø pan de l'afrision**, ke komerion muestros padres en tierra de Ayifto. (2002)

"**This is the bread of affliction** that our fathers ate in the land of Egypt."

In Hebrew, the copula is *hayah*; in Spanish it is *ser* or *estar*. In (25), the matrix clause is composed of two NPs and no copula. Three out of five LL translations also lack the copula (25b,c,e) while (25a) has a copula inserted in parentheses. Verbless sentences may also be adjectival as in (26), which has two verbless adjectival clauses:

(26) **Baruch shennatan** torah le-amo yisrael **baruch hu**.
blessed who-gave torah to-people-his Israel blessed he

a. **Bendito Ø el que dió** Ley a Israel, **Bendito Ø el**. (1812)
b. **Bendiço Ø el ke dyo** ley a su poevlo yisrael, **bindiço Ø el**. (1946)
c. **Bendiço Ø el ke dyo** ley a su puevlo Israel, **bendiço Ø el**. (1962)
d. **Bendicho Ø ke dio** la ley a su puevlo Yisrael, **bendicho Ø El**. (1995)
e. **Bendicho Ø el ke dio** la Ley a su puevlo Israel, **Bendicho Ø El**. (2002)

"Blessed is he who gave the Torah to his people Israel. Blessed is he."

In (26), all five LL translations also lack the copula. Verbless sentences are characteristic of Hebrew (27a), from the Biblical period up to modern-day, and of Semitic languages in general, but in Spanish (27b) it is ungrammatical; the copula is required.

(27) a. Dani Ø more.
Dani teacher
"Dani is a teacher."
b. *Dani Ø profesor.
"Dani is a teacher."

It is also present in Russian, African-American Vernacular English, etc[9]. In verbless sentences, there is no overt tense marker, unless an adverb is present; the word order can be changed without any difference in interpretation (Seow 1995:59; Gesenius 1910:453) [10].

[8] This line is Aramaic.
[9] Verbless sentences do occur in Latin and are also documented in at least one "creolized" variety of Spanish spoken in Caracas, Venezuela (Alvarez 1992). Whether verbless sentences were inherited in LL from Spanish remains an open question; further investigation is needed. Gildersleeve (1895:147) suggests that copula omission was frequent in Latin. It would be a worthwhile to pursue copula variation in Latin, investigating when this property was lost and

Given that verbless sentence constructions (VSC) are ungrammatical in Spanish but not in Hebrew, how do we explain their presence in LL? The first step to answering this question is to determine what licenses VSCs in Hebrew; it is possible that the same element is at work in LL. Benmamoun (2008) argues that while there is no overt verb in these sentences, a Tense node is still projected. One property of VSCs that appears to be shared crosslinguistically is that they only occur in present tense, which traditional grammarians consider to be inferred from the wider discourse context. Using the notion of categorial features, Benmamoun argues that languages may differ as to whether a tense is specified to select a nominal complement or a verbal complement. In Hebrew (28), the present tense is only specified lexically to select a nominal complement; it may select a VP complement but it does not have to. On the other hand, past tense is specified to select a verbal and a nominal complement:

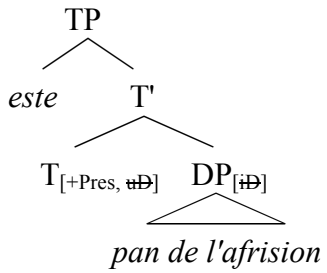
(28) Hebrew: a. Past [+V, +D]
b. Present [+D]

(29) Spanish: a. Past [+V, +D]
b. Present [+V, +D]

In Spanish (29) and languages that do not permit VSCs, both past and present tense are specified for verbal and nominal complements.

With respect to the minimalist model of feature checking, VSCs can be reduced to the presence of a D (nominal) or V (verbal) feature on [+Present] T. In Hebrew, present T need only check its D-feature; past T must check both its D- and V-feature. The structure of the VSC in (25e) is represented below:

(30)




In (30), T has an uninterpretable D-feature that is checked by the interpretable D-feature on the DP, which allows the derivation to converge. If T were [+Past] it would also have a V-feature that needs to be checked, but this is not the case here. As discussed in Section 2, these features

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why it seems to be absent in current varieties of Romance. As for the case of verbless sentences in creolized Spanish spoken in the Venezuelan Caribbean, Alvarez (1992) suggests two sources: 1) it is an internal development or 2) it was adopted in Spanish due to contact. However, the author of that study does not go into any further detail on the matter.

[10] There are two minor differences here: (23d), like the Hebrew, has no subject pronoun in conjunction with the wh-word; this would be ungrammatical in standard Spanish. And (23a) does not translate the pronominal suffix on the noun *amo/pueblo*, which the other versions give as *su*.

are determined in the lexicon. Since LL uses two lexicons, it has access to different Ts. If the Hebrew T [+Present] is selected during numeration, a copula VP will not be needed. However, if a Spanish T [+Present] is selected, a copula VP will be required in order to check the V-feature or the derivation will crash.

This analysis makes the prediction that LL will only display VSC in the present tense, since past tense VSC is ungrammatical in Hebrew. This seems to be contradicted by (19ab), repeated below in (31ab):

(31) a. Quan diferente **ésta noche** masque todas las noches? (1812:3)
how different this night more-than all the nights
b. Kuanto fue demudada la noçe la esta mas ke todas las noçes. (1946)
how-much was changed the night the this more than all the nights
"Why is this night different from all other nights?"

(31a) has no copula while (31b) has an overt past-tense copula. (31a) appears to be an instance of past-tense VSC, which was predicted to be ungrammatical. However, the original Hebrew sentence is in present tense. This can be inferred because the sentence refers to "this night," the night of Passover, when the Haggadah is being recited. What we have in (31b) is a different interpretation of the Hebrew passage being reflected in these LL versions, which would be better translated as "How much was this night changed more than all other nights?" Steiner (2008:166) explains that, due to the ambiguity of the Hebrew, the interpretation of this passage varies from community-to-community. This might be a case where intepretation overrides literalness in order to ensure that readers would understand what is being said. In linguistic terms, (31b) is still LL, but it is without VSC because the Spanish rather than the Hebrew T node was selected.

## 4. Conclusion

Three constructions that have been previously analyzed as calques are actually instances of the possibility in LL to access a Hebrew and a Spanish lexicon. Because lexical items have different featural specifications in each lexicon, syntactic effects will be observed in LL when a Spanish item is selected rather than a Hebrew item, and *vice versa*. Thus, it is not an entire frame-like structure that is being copied from one lexicon into LL with pieces from the other lexicon. Rather it is the use of a single lexical item, such as the Hebrew present Tense node, that allows for apparent Hebrew syntax despite cooccurence with Spanish material.

While I have argued that these constructions are not calques, one way to make this concept amenable to my analysis is to redefine what is meant by "calque." Rather than defining

it as the morpheme-by-morpheme copying of a word or structure from one language into another, we could reformulate it as the copying of a lexical item with all of its formal features (in the Minimalist sense) from language A into language B. This would be the typical case of language contact as in Prince Edward Island French where some prepositions, along with all of their formal features, were copied from the lexicon of English. LL is different because it continually has much greater access to both a Spanish and a Hebrew lexicon, as can be seen by the abundance of Hebrew- and Spanish-like syntactic configurations that are found in the LL translations of the Haggadah. In sum, LL is not a "calque language" but rather a bilingual register restricted to the religious sphere.

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