



Iskra DOBREVA (Sofia)

BALKAN CHANGE IN JUDEO-SPANISH ADLIMITIVES

Abstract: This article examines the replication of the Balkan areal pattern in Judeo-Spanish adlimitives or ‘until’-clauses. Based on examples extracted from original Judeo-Spanish sources composed between 16th and 20th centuries of diverse genres, the replication in Judeo-Spanish *fin ke/asta ke*-clauses of the Balkan pattern of prefixed perfective Indicative verbs (with negator) is traced, instead of the Hispanic prospective subjunctive. The change is analysed based on the contrast between Spanish, Balkan languages and the outcomes of their contact in Judeo-Spanish (as a new-comer to the Balkan Linguistic Area). By transferring to the Balkan area, Judeo-Spanish changed from non-strict to a strict negative concord language and this change affected also the structure of until-clauses. The approach is the division of until-clauses into three subtypes (as identified by Muravyev & Georgieva 2018) and their structure presented in contrast between Spanish (a non-strict negative concord language as the remainder of Ibero-Romance) and strict negative concord (Balkan languages and Judeo-Spanish).

Keywords: Judeo-Spanish; until; adlimitives; negative concord; Balkan linguistic area

REFERENCES

- Arkadiev 2014: Arkadiev, P. Towards an areal typology of prefixal perfectivization. – *Scando-Slavica* 60 (2014), 2, 384-405.
- De Clercq 2013: De Clercq, K. *A Unified Syntax of Negation*. PhD thesis. Ghent: University of Ghent. <<https://biblio.ugent.be/publication/4215769>>.
- Dobreva 2016: Dobreva, I. *Balkanisms in Judeo-Spanish*. PhD thesis. Sofia: Sofia University St. Kliment Ohridski.
- Dobreva 2021: Semantic and syntactic contexts of infinitive replacement in Judeo-Spanish as a result of Balkan areal influence. – *Balkanistica*, 34 (2021), 1-40.
- Georgieva 2012: Георгиева, Н. *Латински език. Синтаксис*. София: Университетско издателство „Св. Климент Охридски“. [Georgieva 2012: Georgieva, N. Latinski ezik. Sintaxis. Sofia: Universitetsko izdatelstvo Sv. Kliment Ohridski.].



Givón 1984: Givón, T. *Syntax: A Functional-typological Introduction*. Vol. 2. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Karttunen 1974: Karttunen, L. *Until*. Paper from the Tenth Regional Meeting of the Linguistics Society 10, Chicago III, 284-297.

Kortmann 1996: Kortmann, B. *Adverbial Subordination: A Typology and History of Adverbial Subordinators Based on European Languages*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Муравьёв 2018: Муравьёв, Н. *Таксис и таксонные формы в языках мира: таксономия и типология*. Москва: Московский Государственный Университет им. М. В. Ломоносова. Диссертация на соискание ученой степени кандидата филологических наук. <https://ilingran.ru/web/ru/theses/muravyev>. [Muravyev, N. *Taxis and Taxonomic Forms in the World's Languages*. PhD dissertation. Moscow: Lomonosov Moscow State University.].<https://ilingran.ru/web/ru/theses/muravyev>.

Muravyev & Georgieva 2018: Muravyev, N. & Georgieva, E. Aspect-negation interaction in Komi and Udmurt non-finite ‘before’/‘until’-clauses. Paper presented at the International Conference ‘Syntax of the World’s Languages 8’, Paris.

Nedjalkov 1998: Nedjalkov, I. Converbs in the languages of Europe. In: J. Van der Auwera, & D. Ó Baoill (Eds.): *Adverbial Constructions in the Languages of Europe*. Berlin, New York: Mouton de Gruyter, 421-456.

Poplack & Levey 2010: Poplack, S. & Levey, S. Contact-induced grammatical change: a cautionary tale. In: P. Auer & J. E. Schmidt (Eds.): *Language and Space. An International Book of Linguistic Variation*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 391-419.

Sevilla Muñoz 2012: Sevilla Muñoz, J. Tanto va el cántaro a la fuente que... encuentra un universal paremiológico? – *Les Cahiers de Framespa*, 10 (2012), [<http://framespa.revues.org/1641>](http://framespa.revues.org/1641).

Stolz & Stolz 1996: Stolz, C. & Stolz, T. Funktionswortentlehnung in Mesoamerika. Spanisch-amerindischer Sprachkontakt (Hispanoindiana II). – *Sprachtypologie und Universalienforschung* 49 (1996), 1, 86-123.

Tarpomanova & Dobreva 2018: Tarpomanova, E. & Dobreva, I. Until(not)-headed clauses in the Balkan languages. In: Latifi, V., Friedman, V., Markovikj, M. (eds.) *Proceedings from the International Conference “Multiculturalism and Language Contact”*, South East European University, Scientific Institute “Max Van der Stoel”. Tetovo: University of Tetovo, 92-109. [<https://drive.google.com/file/d/1q4W_CpBnuJoNRbsDl4M_NrdjOJ-4yxoW/view>](https://drive.google.com/file/d/1q4W_CpBnuJoNRbsDl4M_NrdjOJ-4yxoW/view).

Wexler 1964: Wexler, P. Slavic Influence in the grammatical functions of three Yiddish verbal prefixes. – *Linguistics*, 2 (1964), 7, 83-93.



PRIMARY SOURCES

- Ayala 2017: Ayala, A. *Los sefardíes de Bulgaria: Estudio y edición crítica de la obra “Notas istorikas sovre los djudios de Bulgaria i la komunita de Sofya”* (by M. Tadjer, Sofia 1932). Berlin/Boston: Walter de Gruyter.
- Bardavit 2007: Bardavit, B. *Judeo-Español Atasözlerinde 1850-1950 Arası Çorlu Musevilerinin Günlük Yaşamı*, PhD. İstanbul Üniversitesi <<http://nek.istanbul.edu.tr:4444/ekos/TEZ/42593.pdf>>.
- Benatov et al. 2013: Benatov, L. et al. *Para ke no se olvide*. Sofia: Klub Ladino.
- Bunis 2014: Bunis, D. Linguistic Conservatism versus Linguistic Pragmatism: Judezmo Speakers on ‘Old’ and ‘New’ Language, in Around the Point (ed. by Weiss, Hilel et al.). Newcastle-upon-Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 135-181; article by Nissim Kardozo La Bwena Esperansa 638 [Izmir, 28 July 1887].
- Cantera Ortiz 2004: Cantera Ortiz, J. *Diccionario Akal del Refranero Sefardí*. Madrid: Akal.
- Folkmasa: <<http://folkmasa.org/av/av00lad.htm>> El instituto Maale Adumim para la Dokumentasion del Ladino i su Kultura, dir. Avner Perez, Maale-Adumim, Israel, accessed and consulted 19 September 2020.
- Carmona 1930: Carmona, E. *La Mujer Pasensyoza*, Romanso de la vida aktual. Istanbul. ed. Rekabet Matbaası, Aitor García Moreno & Fco. Javier Pueyo Mena, *Corpus Histórico Judeoespañol* – CORHIJE (CSIC, 2013- online <<http://www.recursos.esfardic.es/corhijelemas>> (accessed: 18 September 2020).
- Lazar 1988: Lazar, M. *Ladino*. Pentateuch: Constantinople 1547. Culver City: Labyrinthos.
- Loria 1903[2020]: Lorya, J. *Dreyfus. Drama en 5 actos i un apoteos*. trancsr. and ed. Borovaya, O., Taube Center for Jewish Studies. Sephardic Studies Project. Stanford University.
- Muñoz Molina 2014: Muñoz Molina, N. *Edición filológica de los diálogos renacentistas de la edición judeoespañola aljamiada del "Séfer Sebet Yehudá" de Belgrado, 1859*. PhD thesis. University of Madrid Complutense. <<https://eprints.ucm.es/id/eprint/25066/>>.
- Néhama 1977: Néhama, J. *Dictionnaire du judéo-espagnol*. Consejo superior de investigaciones científicas. Madrid.
- Ortega & Ortega 1982: Ortega, S. & Ortega, I. *1080 recetas de cocina*. Madrid: Alianza Editorial.
- Sánchez-Pérez 2015: Sánchez-Pérez, M. *Pervivencias del cuento medieval en la tradición sefardí contemporánea* (Semo, Sem Tov (1880) *Un prokseso entresante*. in Ilustra Guerta de Istoria, Vienna.) Revista de poética medieval, 29, 291-310.
- Schlumpf 2015: Schlumpf, S. *Condisionalidad y concesividad en judeoespañol moderno escrito. Teoría y análisis de corpus*. Lausanne: Sociedad Suiza de Estudios Hispánicos.
- Taylor 1965: Taylor, D. *A Study of the Beirut Dialect of Judeo-Spanish as Spoken by One Informant*. MA thesis, University of British Columbia.



**БАЛКАНСКО ЕЗИКОЗНАНИЕ
LINGUISTIQUE BALKANIQUE**

PhD Iskra Dobreva, independent researcher

Postdoctoral researcher (Apr.-Sept. 2020)

Sofia University “St. Kliment Ohridski”

Sofia, Bulgaria

email: iskradobreva2000@yahoo.com

Published on: 20 Dec. 2021



БАЛКАНСКО ЈЗИКОЗНАНИЕ
LINGUISTIQUE BALKANIQUE