

Language contacts in modern Judeo-Spanish: notes on the concessive and concessive conditional clauses

Abstract: Since the beginning of the Sephardic diaspora in the Ottoman Empire, Judeo-Spanish has been in contact with different languages, both romance and others. The lexical borrowings from these languages are a characteristic element of Judeo-Spanish, especially the Hebraisms of the classical period (until the beginning of the 19th century) and the Gallicisms of the modern period (from the middle of the 19th century onward). The results of these language contacts have seldom been analyzed from a syntactical point of view, a fact that reflects the general lack of detailed studies about Judeo-Spanish syntax. The aim of this paper is to summarize the results of language contacts that can be observed in the concessive and concessive conditional clauses in modern Judeo-Spanish texts, published between 1880 and 1930. First, we see an increase and a diversification of the concessive conjunctions due to the contacts with Western European languages, especially Italian. Second, a linguistic innovation in the concessive conditional clauses reflects the fundamental changes in the language contacts of Judeo-Spanish between the 18th century and the modern period, as well as the modernization of Judeo-Spanish that characterizes its transformation during the last decades of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th centuries.

Keywords: Judeo-Spanish; language contacts; concessive clauses; concessive conditional clauses; conjunctions

1 Introduction

Its considerable number of loanwords is one of the best-known and regularly repeated characteristics of Judeo-Spanish, the language spoken by the descendants of the Jews who were expelled from the Iberian Peninsula at the end of the 15th century and who settled in high number in the Ottoman Empire. However, at least until the 19th century, it's not so much the quantity of loanwords that distinguish Judeo-Spanish from other Spanish varieties, but rather the origin of these lexemes (*cf.* Schmid 2008: 62–64). Hebraisms are mainly used to name concepts related to the Jewish religion, its institutions and its cultural elements (e.g., *bet din* 'rabbinical tribunal', *quehilá* 'synagogue', *tefilá* 'prayer'), and it's also possible to find syntactical influences of Hebrew, first in translations of Hebrew texts to Judeo-Spanish (Hassán 1995: 128). Turkisms generally are related to the civil and military administration

(e.g., *asquier* 'soldier'), the urban and material life (e.g., *meidán* 'public square'), titles (e.g., *chelebi* 'sir') and more abstract concepts (e.g., *tafrá* 'arrogance'). Italianisms can be found in commercial vocabulary due to Italy's dominant role in the commercial activities of the Eastern Mediterranean (e.g., *valuta* 'value', *avocato* 'lawyer'). Finally, loanwords from Greek and Slavic languages also can be found, although in a much lower quantity.

In the 19th century, in the course of the profound transformations that occurred in the Ottoman Empire and also affected the life and language of the Sephardic communities, the importance of the cited contact languages declined. Sociopolitical and cultural changes and innovations produced new linguistic and cultural contacts, which played an important role in the modernization of Judeo-Spanish from the middle of the 19th century onward. Whereas in earlier centuries Hebrew was the most relevant contact language of Judeo-Spanish, in the modern period this influence comes from Western European languages, primarily French and Italian. Thanks to its symbolic function as a language that represents modern life, emancipation and progress, French soon assumed linguistic leadership in the transformation of Judeo-Spanish in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Lexical elements that design inventions of the modern world are the most obvious impact of these recent language contacts, but they can also be found in more grammatical elements of the language, such as conjunctions or the use of verb tenses and moods in certain types of sentences. The syntactical results of these modern language contacts have not been thoroughly analyzed, a fact that reflects the general lack of detailed studies about the Judeo-Spanish syntax and the syntax of complex sentences in particular.

The aim of this study is to look for possible results of the mentioned modern language contacts in a concrete part of the Judeo-Spanish syntax; that is, the concessive and concessive conditional clauses. Therefore, in the following pages, we will first summarize some fundamental aspects about the sociopolitical and historical context of the Ottoman Empire in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. This will help to clarify the circumstances that led to the profound transformations in the life of the Sephardic communities in the Empire, including the linguistic modernization. Later, we will briefly present the corpus of Sephardic texts on which the following analysis is based: the corpus *MemTet* of the University of Basel, Switzerland, with Sephardic texts published between 1880 and 1930. In the second part of the article, we will turn to the concessive and concessive conditional clauses: after some theoretical remarks about these types of sentences, we will show the results of language contacts in this particularly complex and scarcely investigated part of Judeo-Spanish grammar. The article finishes with some concluding remarks.¹

¹ We thank the anonymous reviewers for their careful reading of our manuscript and their helpful comments and suggestions.

2 The Ottoman Empire in the late 19th and early 20th centuries and the modern Judeo-Spanish

This study talks about the written Judeo-Spanish of Sephardic texts published in the Eastern Mediterranean region between 1880 and 1930. These decades represent the Golden Age of the modern Judeo-Spanish text production, which reflects the transformation and modernization of the Sephardic language initiated around 1850. This modernization process is a consequence of broader transformations in the Ottoman Empire during the 19th century: numerous problems of the Empire (weak government, huge and inefficient bureaucracy, corruption, economic difficulties, supply problems, lack of modernization, civil wars, etc.) and a broad discontent in major parts of the society, followed by anti-Semitic riots and social uprisings in several regions, forced the Empire to take measures (cf., e.g., Barnai 1992: 142–151; Faroqhi 2003: 251–255; Veinstein 1993: 364–366). First, the government increased taxes. This was especially problematic for the religious minorities, who were required to pay not only the general taxes but also the additional *jizya* tax in order to maintain some special rights, such as exemption from military service and a high degree of communal autonomy (for example, in religious, educational, administrative and judicial affairs). Second, in the course of the reformation period called *tanzimat* ‘regularization, organization, new order’ (1839–1876), the Empire pushed the modernization and secularization of state facilities such as the political apparatus, infrastructure, medical and educational system and armed forces.² Third, it opened its doors for the first time to Occidental European countries, which took advantage of this new situation and started to influence the Ottoman trade. Despite all efforts, the Ottoman Empire did not succeed in re-establishing public order and a strong centralized government, nor was it capable of stopping the gradual disintegration of the Empire. New nation states emerged in the region (e.g., Greece, Serbia, Macedonia, Bulgaria, Romania), and finally the Ottoman Empire was dissolved with the proclamation of the Republic of Turkey in 1923.

The mentioned transformations also widely affected the Jewish communities of the Ottoman Empire. After many centuries of relative security thanks to the *millet* system that regulated the life of the religious and ethnic minorities in the Empire, the Reform edict *Hatt-i Hümayûn* of 1856 abolished the special *dhimmi* status of the non-Muslims.³ Therefore, they could no longer benefit from special protection through the Ottoman government and were

² Information about the Ottoman reforms in the 19th century and, in general, about the period of modernization and secularization of the Empire can be found in Benbassa and Rodrigue (2004: 173–184), Faroqhi (2003: 275–281), Levy (1992: 98–104), Shaw (1991: 147–187), Veinstein (1993: 366–367) and Weiker (1992: 115–148).

³ Further information about the organization of the Sephardic communities in the Ottoman Empire and about the *millet* system can be found in Levy (1992: 42–70), Shaw (1991: 41–44) and Weiker (1992: 49–74).

more often victims of religious riots. In the whole Eastern Mediterranean region, and especially on the Balkans, anti-Semitic riots increased (cf. Veinstein 1993: 368). In addition, the intensified contacts between the Empire and the Western European countries, whose presence led to an improved status for Christians in the Empire, were disadvantageous for the Jews, who lost many influential positions in the Ottoman administration. These circumstances forced the Jewish elites to seek support outside the Ottoman boundaries. They found it in the Jewish communities of Western Europe, whose influence on the Ottoman Jewry started to drastically intensify, especially through the European schools that were established in many Ottoman towns (cf. Romero 2008a: 178–180). Examples include the Italian schools of the *Società Dante Alighieri*,⁴ the Viennese schools of the Camondo family (cf. De Benmergui 2007) and, most important, the French schools of the *Alliance Israélite Universelle* (AIU).⁵

The AIU was founded in 1860 in Paris by a group of liberal Jewish bourgeois, who wanted to spread the ideas of the Enlightenment (i.e., liberalism, equality, emancipation, reason and secularization) throughout the Jewish world. The AIU opened its first school in the Ottoman Empire in 1862 in Tétouan, Morocco (Benbassa and Rodrigue 2004: 201), followed by many school foundations all around the Empire (kindergartens, primary and secondary schools, vocational schools, etc.). In 1912, all Sephardic communities in the Empire with a thousand or more inhabitants had an AIU school (Benbassa and Rodrigue 2004: 202), and up to 1940, according to Weiker (1992: 198–199), 205 AIU schools were founded in what are now fifteen different countries. For the first time, girls also gained access to the educational system in the Jewish communities of the Empire (Benbassa and Rodrigue 2004: 202). All these AIU schools represented the French school system in Ottoman territory: the educational guidelines and timetables were almost identical to the ones in France and the classes were taught in French, providing strong contrast to the traditional schools of the Ottoman Jewish communities in which Judeo-Spanish was the main language of education. Additionally, Hebrew and local languages like Turkish were taught. In only a few years, the schools of the AIU turned into well-recognized institutions of modern, laical education, and the French language and culture were seen as symbols of emancipation and modernity. The way of life in the Jewish communities was transformed, influenced by the modern lifestyle in Western Europe and especially in France. Although only a limited part of the Jewish society could attend the European schools – and most of them attended the AIU schools only for a

⁴ Cf. <http://www.ladante.it> (accessed 31 October 2016).

⁵ About the *Alliance Israélite Universelle* and the transformation in the educational sector of the Sephardic communities in the 19th century, see Benbassa and Rodrigue (2004: 200–211), JE (s. v. *Alliance Israélite Universelle*), Levy (1992: 112–115), Lévy (1990), Molho (1993), Rodrigue (1990: 71–99; 1993: 7–21), Shaw (1991: 159–166) and Weiker (1992: 193–214).

few years (Benbassa and Rodrigue 2004: 206) –, they had a positive impact on Jewish life in the Ottoman Empire as a whole (e.g., foundation of libraries, social and literary clubs, charity organizations for the poor, orphans and old people). A new Sephardic elite came into being along with a secular, multilingual and multicultural education, very different from the traditional, religious leaders of the Sephardic communities; therefore, it's not surprising that conflicts arose between that traditional, religious elite and the new secular, European-oriented community leaders.

In regard to the language, the importation of modern text genres was of crucial importance. The so-called *géneros adoptados* 'adopted genres' – press, narrative, secular theatre and autographed poetry – quickly became an important medium through which the new ideas and linguistic features spread in the Sephardic communities.⁶ Journalists were especially aware of their influence in the diffusion of national and international news, modern progressive views and topics, as well as lexical and conceptual innovations in their newspapers and journals (cf. Schmid 2008: 69–71). Some of the most important Sephardic journals were founded in the last decades of the 19th century: *La Buena Esperanza* (Smyrna, 1871), *El Tiempo* (Istanbul, 1871), *La Época* (Salonika, 1875), *El Telégrafo* (Istanbul, 1879) and *El Avenir* (Salonika, 1898), among others.⁷ The most splendid years of the Sephardic press in the Ottoman Empire were the ones following the Young Turk Revolution (cf. *Britannica*, s. v. *Young Turks*) against the despotic regime of Sultan Abdul Hamid II in 1908, which led to the restoration of the Ottoman constitution of 1876 and the abolishment of press censorship. In the case of the literary genres,⁸ besides original Sephardic works, many translations to Judeo-Spanish from French authors like Molière (*L'Avare*, *Le Malade imaginaire*,⁹ *Le Médecin malgré lui*, etc.), Victor Hugo (*Les Misérables*), Émile Zola and Alexandre Dumas were published, as well translations from German (e.g., Goethe's famous *Werther*), English (e.g., works from Shakespeare and George Bernard Shaw), Italian (e.g., Goldoni) and Russian (e.g., Tolstoy and Dostoevsky). Without any doubt, the most important cultural and literary, as well as linguistic, influence was the French one. The French language, literature and culture became the new emblems of modern and educated life in the Sephardic communities.

⁶ About the importance of these adopted genres in the Sephardic communities of the Ottoman Empire since the middle of the 19th century, see especially Romero (1992: 177–312; 2007: 191–201; 2008a: 178–186) and Díaz-Mas (2006: 94–212).

⁷ About the Sephardic newspapers and the periodization of the Sephardic press, see Bürki (2012b: 41–47), Gaon (1965) and Hassán (1966).

⁸ Consult Romero (1979 and 2008b) for the Sephardic theatre, and Cimeli (2013: 14–30) as an introduction to the Sephardic narrative literature.

⁹ Schmid and Bürki (2000) offer an edition and linguistic study of the Sephardic version of Molière's *Le Malade imaginaire*.

Before the outlined historical and sociopolitical background, and thanks to the cultural and linguistic innovations, the Judeo-Spanish language was transformed and modernized. Processes of language elaboration characterize the evolution of the Sephardic language during the last decades of the 19th and the first decades of the 20th centuries; its result is known as *modern Judeo-Spanish* or *neo-Judeo-Spanish* (cf. Schmid 2008). These transformations were necessary to react to new needs, both of the Sephardic authors, journalists and publishers and of the readers of the recently introduced text genres. Personal contacts between the Ottoman Jews and their coreligionists in Europe also improved the linguistic elaboration process. Many loanwords from Western European languages were adapted to Judeo-Spanish, sometimes because no equivalent term existed in Judeo-Spanish, but other times in order to substitute another, more traditional expression; for instance, a Hebrew or Turkish word. Some examples of such Occidental loanwords, first of all Gallicisms, are: *angajamiento* < French *engagement* ‘engagement’, *dota* < French / Italian *dote* ‘dowry’, *promenada* < Fr. *promenade* ‘promenade’, *randevú* < Fr. *rendez-vous* ‘appointment’, *vestón* < Fr. *veston* ‘jacket’ (Sánchez 2010: 90); *anvelopes* < Fr. *enveloppes* ‘envelope’, *asansor* < Fr. *ascenseur* ‘elevator’, *camino de fiero* < Fr. *chemin de fer* ‘railway’, *cartier* < Fr. *quartier* ‘district’, *garzón* < Fr. *garçon* ‘boy’, *ovrador* < Fr. *ouvrier* ‘worker’ (Rieder-Zelenko 2014). Additionally, new stylistic, discursive and grammatical elements were adapted from French and Italian; for example, verbal periphrases such as *venir de* + infinitive < Fr. *venir de* + infinitive ‘to have just done something’ and *no mancar de* + infinitive < Fr. *ne pas manquer de* + infinitive ‘to be sure to do something’ (Schmid and Bürki 2000: 158–159) or the relative pronoun *donde* < Fr. *dont*, which is used beside the patrimonial solutions *de su* and *el cual*: “La España traversa en esta hora *una crisis donde la fin* puede ser muy deésastrośa” (Bürki 2012a: 132). Also in the concessive sentences in modern Sephardic texts we can find innovative linguistic elements, as we will comment later. Altogether, these linguistic innovations led not only to the modernization of the Judeo-Spanish language, but also to its occidentalization and re-romanization.

3 The corpus of Sephardic texts *MemTet* (University of Basel, Switzerland)

The following study about concessive clauses in modern Judeo-Spanish is based on the corpus *MemTet* from the University of Basel, Switzerland. This corpus of Sephardic texts was established from 2003 to 2004 within the project “Entre tradición y modernidad: El judeoespañol de Oriente entre 1880 y 1930 [Between tradition and modernity: The Oriental Judeo-Spanish between 1880 and 1930]” under the direction of Prof. Dr. Beatrice Schmid.¹⁰

¹⁰ Further information about the linguistic investigation on Judeo-Spanish at the University of Basel, Switzerland, can be found on: <http://ladino.unibas.ch>. A description of the cited project is available on: <http://ladino.unibas.ch/proyectos/entre-tradicion-y-modernidad>. For more information about the corpus *MemTet*,

The total extension of the corpus is about 522,000 words. All the Sephardic texts included in *MemTet* were published, originally in Hebrew characters (*aljamía*), during the mentioned decades in the following cities in the Oriental Mediterranean region: Cairo, Smyrna, Istanbul, Jerusalem, Ruse (Bulgaria), Salonika, Sarajevo, Sofia and Xanti (Greece). *MemTet* includes both original Sephardic texts and translations from other languages. All the texts refer to non-religious contents and comprise different text genres: literary texts (plays, short stories and novels), humoristic texts, press texts (newspapers and journals), administrative and legal texts, conference texts and lectures, and a series of texts without any clear assignment to any genre, therefore classified as *varia*. In the examples cited in this article, the genres will be apparent from the minuscule included in the references indicated: a = administrative texts, c = conferences, d = lectures (*discursos*), h = humoristic texts, n = narrative texts, p = press texts, t = plays (*teatro*), v = *varia*.

The corpus *MemTet* represents the variety and abundance of the textual production in Judeo-Spanish between 1880 and 1930. These five decades are characterized by many important political, social and cultural transformations in the Ottoman Empire and, consequently, in the life of the Oriental Sephardic Jews (see Section 2). Regarding the language, this half-century reveals the numerous lexical and grammatical innovations that are the result of the elaboration and modernization process initiated in the middle of the 19th century and which transformed the classical Judeo-Spanish into the modern Judeo-Spanish, influenced strongly by the contacts with European languages, above all the French language. Therefore, *MemTet* constitutes a representative corpus that serves to carry out linguistic studies about the Sephardic language in the modern period, the last Golden Age of the Judeo-Spanish language before the start of its decline.¹¹

4 Results of language contacts in the concessive and concessive conditional clauses in modern Judeo-Spanish

4.1 Some general remarks on the meaning of concessives

Generally, concessive clauses are considered one of the most complex types of sentences, both on a formal and on a semantic level. Many different linguistic structures may serve as concessive markers, and most of them show a composed and semantically transparent form. Typical examples in English and Spanish are: *although*, *albeit*, *even though*, *in spite of*,

see: <http://ladino.unibas.ch/proyectos/entre-tradicion-y-modernidad/el-corpus-memtet>. The name of the corpus *MemTet* includes two letters of the Hebrew *alefeto*, *mem* and *tet*, which represent two words of the project's title: *modernidad* 'modernity' and *tradición* 'tradition'.

¹¹ About the reasons for the decline of Judeo-Spanish, see the different publications of Tracy K. Harris (1982; 1985; 1994: 195–265), as well as Benbassa and Rodrigue (2004: 211–239), among others.

despite, regardless, aunque, a pesar de, pese a, si bien (cf. König 1985: 266–269; König 1988: 151–156). In this context, it's worth mentioning that the Romance languages didn't take over the concessive expressions from Latin, but created their own set of concessive markers. From a semantic point of view, the concessive sentences express in their two clauses two facts that normally do not go together or whose causal relationship produces some kind of astonishment. Accordingly, the fact related by the principal clause normally is surprising and unexpected for the audience given the premise stated in the subordinate clause. At the same time, the concessive clauses serve to express the non-realization of a causal relationship between two facts that relate to one another; in other words, that stand in a logical, causal connection (cf. König 1991: 633). Therefore, the concessive meaning of a specific sentence only becomes clear if it activates some general knowledge in the audience, a so-called *presupposition*, which helps to correctly interpret the sentence. For example, the following concessive sentence: "Although John had no money, he went into this expensive restaurant" entails, firstly, the concrete presupposition "If John has no money, he normally does not go into an expensive restaurant" and, secondly, the general presupposition "If one has no money, one normally does not go into an expensive restaurant" (König 1988: 146–147). The concessive sentence gains its specific meaning because it points to such general knowledge about causal relations between two facts: someone has no money; therefore, he/she does not go into an expensive restaurant. This knowledge or presupposition, implicitly present in a concessive sentence, allows the formulation of another, not expected result, which therefore seems surprising: someone has no money; nevertheless, he/she goes into an expensive restaurant (cf. Rivarola 1976: 4–5). According to Di Meola (1998), this is the main difference between causal and concessive relations: whereas the former express both a result and its direct cause, the latter mention a non-operating, thus inefficient fact and a result caused by another, unmentioned circumstance (for example, we may assume that John went into that expensive restaurant because someone had invited him).

As far as Judeo-Spanish is concerned, no studies about concessive clauses existed before the publication of Schlumpf (2015). This fact is only one example illustrating the general lack of broad studies about the morphosyntax of the Sephardic language, in contrast to a considerable series of phonetic and lexical studies. However, it's the morphosyntactical level where we can observe how far linguistic transformations resulting from new sociopolitical and cultural circumstances or from new language contacts can reach, not only in the lexicon, but also in the grammar of a language. Therefore, the analysis of the concessive clauses is an important contribution to the study of the far-reaching modernization processes that characterized the evolution of Judeo-Spanish in the late 19th and early 20th centuries.

In the following analyses, we will first comment on the two concessive conjunctions most frequently used in the corpus *MemTet* (see Section 4.2). One is a patrimonial conjunction of Castilian origin; the other is an innovative form that was introduced to the Sephardic language in the second half of the 19th century as a result of the intensive linguistic and cultural interaction with French and Italian.

Second, in Section 4.3, we will observe an ongoing process of linguistic substitution in the field of the so-called *concessive conditional clauses* (cf. Haspelmath and König 1998; Flamenco García 1999: 3842–3849). From a typological point of view, the concessive conditionals are situated between the conditional and the concessive sentences and have certain characteristics in common with both. Three types of concessive conditionals can be distinguished: *scalar concessive conditionals*, *alternative concessive conditionals* and *universal concessive conditionals*, and all of them share common semantic properties. On the one hand, concessive conditionals can be analyzed as a special type of conditionals (cf. Haspelmath and König 1998: 564–566; König 1985: 264; König 1991: 635; König and Eisenberg 1984: 315): they “exhibit the same combinations of tense and mood also found in ordinary conditionals” and they “express a conditional relationship between a protasis and an apodosis” (Haspelmath and König 1998: 564 and 565). But whereas the conditional subordinate clauses formulate only one condition, in the concessive conditionals the protases relate to a series of conditions. In addition, and again in opposition to the conditional sentences, the concessive conditionals usually entail the positive assertion of the apodosis (consequent), no matter what unfavorable conditions are mentioned in the protasis; therefore, authors like König (1985: 264–265) also call them *irrelevance (concessive) conditionals*. On the other hand, the concessive conditionals also show certain common characteristics with concessive sentences (cf. Haspelmath and König 1998: 566–568 and 576): as in the concessives, the set of conditions activated by the protases of concessive conditionals carries “an implication of incompatibility between two situations. Among the protases related by such conditionals to an apodosis, there is at least one case [...] that is in conflict with the apodosis” (König 1988: 147) or that produces some kind of surprise.

In the case of scalar concessive conditionals, which will be treated in the following analyses of the Sephardic examples, “a series of antecedents is specified by asserting a conditional relationship for an extreme (unlikely) value on a scale. By implication, this relationship can also be assumed to obtain for other values on the same scale. The consequent is asserted to hold under any of the conditions specified by the antecedent” (König 1985: 264). Two English examples are: “Even if we do not get any financial support, we will go ahead with our project” (Haspelmath and König 1998: 563); “Even if you drink just a little, your boss will fire you” (König 1985: 264). From a formal point of view, the scalar concessive conditionals are characterized by their transparent and semantically

compositional structure. In languages with predominantly finite subordination, they are formed using subordinating, frequently conditional conjunctions, in combination with a focus particle which usually precedes, but in some languages can also follow, the conjunction: *even if* in English, *incluso si* and *ni siquiera si* in Spanish, *même si / si même* in French, *se anche / anche se* in Italian, *mesmo que, ainda que y nem que* in Portuguese, *selbst wenn, auch wenn / wenn auch* in German, etc. (cf. Haspelmath and König 1998: 585–586; König 1981; Rodríguez Rosique 2008: 269–341).

4.2 The two main concessive conjunctions of modern Judeo-Spanish: Castilian heritage and modern Romance influence

We will turn now to the analysis of the most common concessive conjunctions used in the Sephardic texts included in the corpus *MemTet*. The total number of concessive sentences found in the corpus is 309, which is limited in comparison with other types of sentences analyzed by Schlumpf (2015) such as the conditionals, with over 1,100 occurrences, and the adversative clauses, with almost 2,500 occurrences. Another striking difference between these types of sentences concerns their most frequent formal markers: whereas both the conditional and the adversative clauses show a single dominant conjunction used in a high percentage of the cases (*si* is used in over 85% of the conditional sentences; *ma* is used in over 65% of the adversatives), the concessive sentences in the modern Judeo-Spanish texts show two predominant markers, which together are used in almost two-thirds of the cases (see table 1).

Concessive markers	Occurrences (percentage) Total of concessive sentences: 309
<i>aunque</i>	92 (29,8%)
<i>malgrado (que)</i>	106 (34,3%)
Other concessive conjunctions	47 (15,2%)
Concessives with infinite verb forms	64 (20,7%)

Table 1. Occurrences of concessive markers found in the corpus *MemTet*

One of the most frequent concessive conjunctions used in the corpus *MemTet* is *aunque* ‘although’, which is also the most common concessive conjunction in Spanish since the 16th century. *Aunque* is the result of the combination of the temporal adverb *aun* < Lat. ADHUC ‘until there, until then’ and the subordinating conjunction *que* (Bartol Hernández 1986: 199). In Medieval Castilian, *que* could express different semantic notions, such as causality, finality, consequence, comparison or concessivity. In the case of concessivity, *que* was

usually combined with a verb in the subjunctive mood. In order to disambiguate the semantics of *que* in any specific sentence, scalar particles like *mal*, *encara* and *aun* started to be used in concessive sentences. In Spanish, only *aun* went through a process of grammaticalization, which led to the creation of the concessive conjunction *aunque*: the scalar element in *aunque* no longer refers to a concrete, temporal content ('extension until a certain point of time'), but rather to a more abstract one ('extension to other elements of the same scale', 'inclusion of elements until a certain point') (cf. Batllori / Sánchez / Suñer 2001; Ibba 2008: 735-736; Pérez Saldanya / Salvador 1995; Rivarola 1976: 45-47). It's this origin that explains why *aunque* still contains a certain notion of scalarity, also visible in some of the Judeo-Spanish examples (e.g., example 4).

In the Judeo-Spanish texts, we have found a total of 92 occurrences (29,8% of the concessive clauses) of the concessive conjunction *aunque*, mostly in narrative, press and dramatic texts. Normally, *aunque* is combined with a conjugated verb form, mostly in the indicative mood, which also reflects the most common combination in Spanish; however, combinations with other verb forms are possible.

- (1) *Aunque* las piramidas *son* hoy arancadas y desregladas, con todo ellas son muy admiradas por los viajeros que vienen cada año de todas las partes del mundo vigitar esta masa colosal.¹² (YERp5,34a-b)¹³

[Although today the pyramids are demolished and ruined, they are nevertheless deeply admired by the travellers who arrive every year from all parts of the world to visit this colossal mass.]¹⁴

- (2) Mucho más se siente dolor cuando se save que estos honrados zinganos de Rumanía gozan de todas las derechadas de la tiera, mientras que los judíos son considerados como ajenos y condenados a sufrir, *aunque* ellos *cumplan* los deveres civiles y militares [...]. (ALVp22,95a)

¹² We use the transcription system of the journal *Sefarad*, published by the *Instituto de Lenguas y Culturas del Mediterráneo y Oriente Próximo* of the *Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas* (CSIC) in Madrid, including some slight modifications. It's a normalized transcription system, which is based on the Spanish orthography and signals particularities that differentiate the Judeo-Spanish from the Spanish phonology with diacritical marks (cf. Schmid 2006: 78–79). All the graphemes represent the same corresponding sounds as in Spanish with *seseo* and *yeísmo*, except for the following: <ć^{e,i}, ś, ź> = [z], <g^{e,i}, j> = [ʒ], <j, š, čh> = [ʃ], <ġ, ġ^{e,i}> = [dʒ], <ś> = [ts], <h> = [h] o [χ], = [b], <v> = [v] o [β], <l̄> = [ll]. The author of this article put all the italics and capital letters that appear in the Judeo-Spanish citations, and the exclamation and interrogation marks were put in accordance with the norms of modern Spanish.

¹³ The whole list of references used to identify the texts included in the corpus *MemTet* can be found under the following link: https://ladino.unibas.ch/fileadmin/ladino/user_upload/redaktion/Siglas_Corpus.pdf. The minuscule of each reference shows the text genre: a = administrative texts, c = conferences, d = lectures (*discursos*), h = humorous texts, n = narrative texts, p = press texts, t = plays (*teatro*), v = *varia*.

¹⁴ The English translations of the Judeo-Spanish citations are from the author of this article and are based, among others, on the following Judeo-Spanish dictionaries: *NehamaDict* and *BunisLex*.

[It's even more painful when it's known that these honorable gypsies from Romania enjoy all the rights of the land, whereas the Jews are considered as foreigners and condemned to suffer, *although* they *fulfill* their civil and military duties (...).]

- (3) Las conferencias que fueron hechas el año pasado delante de vosotros, *aunque en lingua francesa*, fueron entendidas de la mayor parte de los que vinieron a sentirlas. (ESPc,1)

[The conferences that were held last year in front of you, *although in French*, were understood by most of the people who came to listen to them.]

Besides the most frequent form, *aunque* (46 occurrences), we can also find the graphic variant written in two separate words, *aun que* (29 occurrences) or *aun-que* (11 occurrences), which points to the formal composite origin of the conjunction. On the other hand, we find some examples of the monophthongized variant *anque* (6 occurrences), which shows that the form is analyzed as one phonic unit.

- (4) La vista de esta mujer, *aun que* mascada, hizo estremecer a Armando. (BGn3,21)

[The look of this woman, *although* masked, made Armando tremble.]

- (5) Víctor.– Si *anque* tus contos serían justos, la mitad de la dota te quedará intacta. (TSt15,5a)

[Víctor.– *Even if* your stories were right, half of the dowry will stay intact.]

The form *anque* was also used in Old and Medieval Castilian, and nowadays it is common in popular varieties of Spanish both in Latin America and in Spain (DCECH, s. v. *aún*). Both variants mentioned above may be interpreted as individual preferences of the involved authors, editors and publishers; nonetheless, it's interesting to observe the phonic coincidence of *anque* and the Italian conjunction *anche*. It's possible to postulate a certain phonic influence of the Italian language in more recent times, if we consider that *anque* is not used in Sephardic texts prior to the modern Italian influence initiated in the mid-19th century.

Despite its high frequency and in contrast with the modern standard Spanish, not *aunque* but *malgrado (que)* 'despite, in spite of' is the most common concessive conjunction used in modern Sephardic texts. In the corpus *MemTet* we have found a total of 106 occurrences of *malgrado (que)* (34,3% of the concessive clauses), mostly in narrative and press texts published in Salonika. All of them represent the functions of the Castilian phrases *a pesar de (que)* and *pese a (que)*, which almost never appear in the Sephardic texts. As in the case of *a pesar de (que)* and *pese a (que)* in Spanish, *malgrado* also is normally combined with noun phrases (e.g., examples 6 and 7), whereas the combination of *malgrado* with the subordinator *que* and a verb phrase is much less common (e.g., example 8).

- (6) –*Malgrado tu coraje*, tú sos ainda mucho bovo. (NCn,25a)

[–*Despite your courage*, you are still very naive.]

(7) *Malgrado todo* esperan poder salvarlo. (AVp13,3b)

[*Despite everything* they hope to be able to save him.]

(8) *Malgrado que* esto nos *cavsa* muchos desagrados y muchas veces diversos gastos que pesen sobre nuestro presupuesto, nosotros no nos vamos de recibirlos y de testimoniarles nuestra simpatía no solo con palabras, sino también con hechos. (JIDp25,15b)

[*Although* this *causes* a lot of displeasure and many times diverse expenses that strain our budget, we do not hesitate to receive them and to demonstrate our affection not only with words, but also with actions.]

In contrast to *aunque*, *malgrado (que)* is not part of the Spanish concessive connectives. In contrast, in the two most important contact languages of the modern Judeo-Spanish – Italian and French – equivalent forms do exist: *malgrado (che)* in Italian and *malgré (que)* in French. Given that *malgrado (que)* is never used in classical Sephardic texts of the 18th century (cf. García Moreno 2004), we can deduce that the use of *malgrado (que)* is a characteristic element of the neo-Judeo-Spanish of the second half of the 19th and the 20th centuries. Therefore, we can assume that *malgrado (que)* was introduced to the Sephardic language during the processes of linguistic innovation and elaboration, motivated by the sociocultural transformations in the Sephardic communities of the Ottoman Empire and, especially, by the influence of the Western European languages.

With regard to the origin of the neologism *malgrado (que)* in modern Judeo-Spanish, both French and Italian are possible sources. In fact, it's common to adapt French adjectives that end with *-é* through the Spanish suffix *-ado*, as we can see, for example, in *honorado* < Fr. *honoré* or *pasionado* < Fr. *passionné* (cf. Schmid and Bürki 2000: 191). Nevertheless, an Italian origin seems more likely, not especially because of the phonic equivalence of the Italian counterpart, but because most of the occurrences of *malgrado (que)* can be found in texts that were published in Salonika (63 of the 106 occurrences). Since the beginning of the Sephardic diaspora in the Ottoman Empire, Salonika was an important port where contacts with the Italian merchants and, therefore, with the Italian language were more intense than in other parts of the Empire (cf. Barquín López 1994: 165; Schmid 2008: 62 and 64). That's why the Judeo-Spanish variety of Salonika has always been characterized by its clear influence through the Italian language (cf. Bürki 2012b: 325).

Another concessive marker of Italian origin that was introduced to Judeo-Spanish in the modern period is *cuantunque* 'although', which shows 10 occurrences in the corpus *MemTet*. In this case, all the examples are found in texts published in Salonika, mostly in the Sephardic press. Half of them contain a verbal ellipsis in the subordinate clause:

(9) Cuando se parte del mismo principio, *cuantunque* por caminos diferentes, siempre se ariva a la misma fin, al mismo escopo. (NACp5,2b)

[When we start from the same principle, *although* through different ways, we will always reach the same end, the same goal.]

If we look at the few examples in which *malgrado (que)* is followed by a conjugated verb form (10 occurrences), we notice that all of them use the indicative mood, while in Italian, as well as in French, *malgrado (che)* and *malgré (que)* are usually used in combination with the subjunctive mood.¹⁵ The same observation is valid for *cuantunque*. This demonstrates a certain preference of Judeo-Spanish for the indicative mood, which is also the case in some other syntactical constructions that take the subjunctive mood in standard Spanish; for example, the hypothetical and counterfactual conditional clauses introduced by the conjunction *si* (cf. Schlumpf 2015: 196–213), the temporal clauses with *cuando* that formulate a projection into the future (cf. Berenguer Amador 2012: 55; Bürki and Schmid 2006: 36; García Moreno 2004: 325–327; García Moreno 2006: 47) or the relative clauses introduced by *lo que* (García Moreno 2004: 324–325).

Considering the diachronic dimension of the use of *aunque* and *malgrado (que)*, the most important point is the fact that the latter is only found in modern Sephardic texts, whereas the former is also used in Judeo-Spanish texts of earlier epochs. If we only focus on the decades represented in the corpus *MemTet* (1880–1930), we can observe the following (see table 2): in the texts published between 1880 and 1900, more than half of the concessive clauses introduced by one of the two main conjunctions use *aunque* (52,2%); in contrast, in the texts published between 1901 and 1930, it's more common to find concessive sentences using *malgrado (que)* (56,5%). The increase of the percentage corresponding to *malgrado (que)* between the 19th and the 20th century is almost 10%, an additional proof of its character as a neologism: it was introduced to the Judeo-Spanish language in the late 19th century and reaches a considerable diffusion until 1900, but its consolidation goes even further in the 20th century, when its frequency becomes higher than that of the patrimonial Castilian form *aunque*.

	Occurrences of <i>aunque</i> Total: 92 occurrences	Occurrences of <i>malgrado (que)</i> Total: 106 occurrences
1880-1900 Total: 67 occurrences of <i>aunque</i> and <i>malgrado (que)</i>	35 out of 67 = 52,2%	32 out of 67 = 47,8%
1901-1930 Total: 131 occurrences of <i>aunque</i> and <i>malgrado (que)</i>	57 out of 131 = 43,5%	74 out of 131 = 56,5%

¹⁵ See Grevisse and Goosse (1980: 1563–1564 and 1571) and Klare (1958: 62–66 and 138) for French; *GarzantiDiz* (s. v. *malgrado*) and *ZingarelliVoc* (s. v. *malgrado*) for Italian.

Table 2. Frequency of concessive clauses with *aunque* or *malgrado (que)* in Sephardic texts published until 1900 and after 1900

Another indicator for the interpretation of *malgrado (que)* as a neologism of Western European origin can be found when we look at the use of the two conjunctions in the different text genres, especially when we compare its frequency in the press versus in the plays (see table 3).

	Occurrences of concessive clauses with <i>aunque</i> (percentage) Total: 92 occurrences	Occurrences of concessive clauses with <i>malgrado (que)</i> (percentage) Total: 106 occurrences
Administrative texts	—	2 (1,9%)
Conferences	4 (4,4%)	9 (8,5%)
Lectures	5 (5,4%)	3 (2,8%)
Press texts	21 (22,8%)	42 (39,6%)
Narrative texts	44 (47,8%)	43 (40,6%)
Plays	15 (16,3%)	5 (4,7%)
Humoristic texts	—	—
Varia	3 (3,3%)	2 (1,9%)

Table 3. Frequency of concessive clauses with *aunque* or *malgrado (que)* in different text genres¹⁶

In the case of journalistic texts, the percentage of *malgrado (que)* is considerably higher than the one of *aunque*: 39,6% of the occurrences (42 out of 106) of *malgrado (que)* are located in press texts, whereas only 22,8% of the occurrences (21 out of 92) of *aunque* are found in this text genre. The press is a genre that typically helps to introduce and spread linguistic innovations throughout a linguistic community and that, therefore, is generally one of the first text genres to reflect such linguistic innovations. On the contrary, the percentages observed in plays are different: only 4,7% of the occurrences (5 out of 106) of *malgrado (que)* are opposed to 16,3% of the occurrences (15 out of 92) of *aunque*. The language used in the Sephardic theatre is more traditional than the one used in the press; additionally, the theatrical language reflects a more oral and informal register than the written press. It seems, therefore, that at least until 1930 *malgrado (que)* is predominantly a solution of the written, more formal and more elaborate Judeo-Spanish, while *aunque* is used with more regularity in all the different registers and text genres. We can also deduce, finally, that the neologism

¹⁶ The percentages of the different text genres in *MemTet* are as follows: administrative texts (4%), conferences (5%), lectures (6%), narrative texts (34%), press texts (29%), plays (18%), humoristic texts (2%), *varia* (2%).

malgrado (que) entered the Sephardic language through the written and not through the oral language.

In sum, the patrimonial concessive conjunction *aunque*, which Judeo-Spanish inherited from Medieval Castilian, is found in Sephardic texts of different centuries and text genres, whereas the modern Romance neologism *malgrado (que)* only started to be used in the late 19th century and turned into the most common concessive marker in written Judeo-Spanish texts during the first decades of the 20th century. We assume that it was first introduced in written Judeo-Spanish and that it is more typical for formal text genres than for more informal or even colloquial ones. We also remember that *aunque* is commonly used in combination with verb phrases, while *malgrado (que)* normally introduces noun phrases. Therefore, we can conclude that the election of one of the two main concessive conjunctions depends on a series of syntactical, geographical, diachronic, textual and contextual factors and that the introduction and diffusion of *malgrado (que)* reflect the general transformations of the Judeo-Spanish language in the late 19th and early 20th centuries.

4.3 Results of language contacts in the scalar concessive conditionals of modern Judeo-Spanish: Hebrew and French influence

The last part of this study is dedicated to the scalar concessive conditionals in Judeo-Spanish, where the influences of two completely different contact languages can be observed. As explained before, the scalar concessive conditionals in modern Spanish are usually introduced by *incluso si* ‘even if’ or, in negative sentences, by *ni siquiera si* ‘not even if’. Furthermore, *aunque* frequently expresses scalar concessivity, typically combined with subjunctive imperfect or, in substandard varieties, with a conditional verb form. The first observation about the scalar concessive conditionals in the Sephardic texts is surprising: neither of the most canonical Spanish phrases, *incluso si* and *ni siquiera si*, appears in the corpus *MemTet*. On the contrary, the majority of the scalar concessive conditionals in the corpus use loan elements from foreign languages.

On the one hand, the Hebrew loanword *afilú* ‘even if, even though’ (*BunisLex* 263) can be found in the Sephardic texts, not only in the corpus *MemTet* but also in Sephardic texts of the classical period (18th century). *Afilú* did already exist in Rabbinic Hebrew and was, originally, a complex conjunction formed by [Hebrew] / *af* ‘also’ and [Hebrew] / *ilú*, a subordinating conjunction used in counterfactual conditional clauses in Rabbinic and still in contemporary Hebrew. Furthermore, *ilú* is a complex form composed of the conditional conjunction *im*, used generally in factual conditional clauses, and *lu*, used to form counterfactual conditional clauses in Biblical Hebrew (cf. Gesenius 1909: 316, §104.2 and 518, §158.3; Meyer 1989: 303, §88.1 and 402, §122.4). In the Sephardic texts, *afilú* usually appears in combination with a conjunction (*cuando* or *que*) and a conjugated verb.

- (10) *Afilú cuando* se trata de haćinura sémpliche, la madre, que tiene menester de repośo, es ovligada de despertarse cada punto porque el chico está despierto o llora o quiere la teta [...]. (EPp83,211a)

[*Even if* it's an easy illness, the mother, who needs some rest, is obliged to wake up all the time because the child is awake or cries or wants to be nursed (...).]

- (11) Porque el ĵidió..., *afilú que* beve mucho vino, no se embo-boracha nunca... Nunca él no está bo-bo-bo... (MAZt,56a)

[Because the Jew..., *even if* he drinks a lot of wine, does not get dru-unk ever... He is never dru-u-u...]

In Hebrew, the particle [Hebrew] / *afilú* “can have purely conditional value”, whereas “in its concessive function it signals an exceptional circumstance”. Indeed, “it is unusualness of a condition or circumstance that predominates rather than its [purely] concessive aspect” (Pérez Fernández 1999: 241); this is exactly what we can observe in the Judeo-Spanish examples. Further, it is interesting to note that the same Hebrew loanword is also used in Yiddish, the language of the Ashkenazi Jews, in the form of *afile* or *afile ven* (cf. Birnbaum 2011: 109; Haspelmath and König 1998: 596):

Afile ven's regnt *oder* di zun schein, veln mir geyn in droysn.
even if it rains *or* the sun shines will we go in outside
 'Whether it rains or the sun shines, we will go outside.'
 (Example adapted from Haspelmath and König 1998: 596)

As in Judeo-Spanish, the Yiddish form *afile* has maintained its original significance that is found in rabbinical Hebrew; that is, ‘even though, even if’. Therefore, today this particle [Hebrew] / *afilú* / *afile* is a linguistic marker of scalar concessive conditionality used in most parts of the Jewish-speaking world.

However, if we consider again the results obtained in the corpus *MemTet*, we see that *afilú* is not the most frequent marker of scalar concessive conditionals in modern Sephardic texts, but *miśmo si* / *si miśmo*,¹⁷ a calque from the French construction *même si* / *si même*. In more than two-thirds of the occurrences, *miśmo si* / *si miśmo* introduces a verbal phrase with a conjugated verb form in the indicative mood, but some occurrences of the subjunctive mood and conditional verb forms also can be found. Usually, the adverb *miśmo* is located in the first place followed by the conjunction *si* (*miśmo si*), but the opposite case is also possible (*si miśmo*), comparable to French.

¹⁷ Normally, in the original *alamía* texts, *miśmo* is written with the Hebraic letter *žayin*, but it can also be found with *sámej*.

- (12) Yo vo ir con vos, *miśmo si me vaś* a llevar al inferno. (BGn7,21)
[I will go with you, *even if you take* me to hell.]
- (13) Vośotros havlateś dunque mentira, él va tornar y yo lo vo esperar, *miśmo si duviere* pasar la nochada entera a la puerta de la calle. (GUEt9,18a)
[Thus you were lying, he will come back and I will wait for him, *even if I have* to stay the whole night at the door in the street.]
- (14) Sačhel – *Si miśmo* toda tu familia *estaría* hačina, yo no te daría más de un florín. (GUEt5,17b-18a)
[Sačhel – *Even if your entire family were* ill, I wouldn't give you more than one *florín* ('coin').]

Some other, rather exceptional scalar concessive conditional constructions can be found in the Sephardic texts. Normally, they also use the adverbial element *miśmo* (for example, *miśmo que* < Fr. *même que*) and *l* or subjunctive verb forms.

- (15) Del resto, al otro día es Noel y no tenemos escola. *Miśmo que me levanto* un poco tadre, no importa... (HANt,4a)
[Otherwise, the next day is Christmas and there is no school. *Even if I get up* a bit late, it doesn't matter...]
- (16) *Miśmo que me aroguen* mucho y *que se metan* de ĝinollos delante de mí, yo no vo a dar más moneda... (MAZt,49b)
[*Even if they beg* me a lot and *go down* on bended knees in front of me, I will not give more money...]
- (17) Cualunque elevo que se absentá, *fuese miśmo* un medio día, devrá traer una ĵustificación; en el cavśo contrario, él devrá ser apenado, y si la ausencia se repeta frecuentemente, el elevo en cuestión será mandado proviśoriamente o definitivamente de la escola. (ECa,14)
[Whatever pupil stays away, *even if it's* only half a day, has to bring a justification; otherwise, he will be punished, and if the absence is repeated frequently, the pupil in question will be thrown out of school temporarily or definitively.]
- (18) Y como ya lo devéś saver, los ladrones, *sean* ellos los más hábiles, heśitan a hačer sus colpo cuando topan en sus camino enemigos semejantes... (LXn,43)
[And as you already know, the thieves, *even if* they are the most skilled ones, hesitate to carry out their coups when similar enemies get in their way...]

Without any doubt, the Hebrew loanword *afilú* represents the importance of the linguistic and cultural influence of Hebrew during the first centuries of the Sephardic diaspora and constitutes, therefore, a typical element of the classical Judeo-Spanish, maintained in the modern period. Very different are the situation, origin and character of *miśmo si / si miśmo*, which is inexistent in classical Judeo-Spanish texts: it reflects the processes of

elaboration and innovation that affected the Judeo-Spanish language since the middle of the 19th century and above all followed the example of the French language, which was at that time a symbol of progress and modernity. These conclusions can be supported by the quantitative analysis of the occurrences of *afilú* and *miśmo si / si miśmo* in the Sephardic corpus: 15 occurrences of *afilú* are in opposition to 30 occurrences of *miśmo si / si miśmo*. Hence, transformations in the Judeo-Spanish language in the 19th century did not just lead to the introduction of a new marker of scalar concessive conditionality; this new marker, based on a French model, is even more frequently used than the classical loanword of Hebrew origin, *afilú*. This replacement and the rapid diffusion of the French calque constitute only one of many examples of the leading role of the French language in the linguistic modernization of the classical Judeo-Spanish and its transformation into the neo-Judeo-Spanish. In addition, the lesser use of *afilú* demonstrates the tendency of the modern Judeo-Spanish to replace traditional elements of Hebrew and Turkish origin with elements adopted from French and Italian. In this way, the language becomes a crucial medium and a useful indicator of this overall modernization process of the Sephardic communities in the Ottoman Empire.

5 Conclusions

The case of the concessive and concessive conditional sentences in modern Judeo-Spanish shows the importance of taking into account the grammatical elements of a language in the studies of language contacts. Although results of language contacts generally are more numerous on the phonetic and purely lexical levels, they also appear in elements such as the conjunctions, which are crucial linguistic elements for the construction of complex sentences.

Considering the concessive examples found in the corpus *MemTet*, we have observed different results of language contacts of Judeo-Spanish in the modern period. On the one hand, we have observed that in the last decades of the 19th century a new concessive conjunction entered into the Judeo-Spanish paradigm: *malgrado (que)*. This form is of Western European origin, most likely a loanword from Italian, used more frequently in texts that were published in Salonika. This example shows the importance of certain contextual factors such as the place of origin of the texts, which allows us to postulate an Italian rather than a French origin for this loanword. Concerning its functions, *malgrado (que)* not only complements the inventory of concessive conjunctions in Judeo-Spanish, but also diversifies it: whereas the canonical, traditional concessive conjunction *aunque* is generally used in combination with verb phrases, the neologism *malgrado (que)* normally introduces noun phrases and reflects, therefore, the typical standard Spanish constructions with *a pesar de (que)* or *pese a (que)*, which can hardly ever be found in Sephardic texts. Another result of

the contact of Judeo-Spanish and Italian in the modern period is the concessive conjunction *cuantunque*, though this is much less frequent than *malgrado (que)*.

On the other hand, the analysis of the scalar concessive conditionals in the corpus *MemTet* has shown not only the results of various and very different language contacts, but also a partial replacement of the loaned elements between the classical and the modern period. The Hebraism *afilú* is a representative loanword from the formation period of Judeo-Spanish: it is already used in classical Sephardic texts of the 18th century and shows the predominance of the Hebrew culture and language as a point of reference during the first centuries of the Sephardic diaspora in the Ottoman Empire. In contrast, *misímo sí / sí misímo* is a modern calque based on the French *même sí / sí même*, introduced to Judeo-Spanish during the last decades of the 19th century. *Misímo sí / sí misímo* is a perfect example of the modernization period of the Sephardic language since the opening of the communities to the European cultures and languages. French is introduced in the Ottoman Sephardic world as a language that brings along modernity, emancipation and progress; it is taught in the AIU schools, which are crucial elements in the modernization process of the communities; and as a consequence, it turns out to be the most important contact language of Judeo-Spanish toward the end of the 19th century and still during the first decades of the 20th century. Many Gallicisms characterize the elaboration processes that led to the creation of neo-Judeo-Spanish, and although many of them denote objects and concepts related to the modern world, others substitute terms that are considered more traditional, such as Turkish or Hebrew words. That is the case of *misímo sí / sí misímo*: although an equivalent form exists in Judeo-Spanish with the Hebraism *afilú*, the Sephardic authors represented in *MemTet* prefer the more modern form based on the French language.

The transformations observed in the concessive markers of modern Judeo-Spanish are closely linked to the overall modernization that characterizes the history of the Sephardic language at the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th centuries. In particular, the introduction of new text genres and the extensive production of written texts accelerated the process of language elaboration and provided an important impulse for innovations not only in the lexicon, but also in grammatical elements such as conjunctions. This case study about the concessive clauses in modern Judeo-Spanish should be complemented by studies about other types of complex sentences such as the causal, final, comparative or consecutive sentences (for the conditional and adversative sentences, see Schlumpf 2015) in order to show the broad variety of impacts that the different language contacts had throughout the history of Judeo-Spanish.

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