Reactivation of (*en+*)gerundio as Judeo-Greek feature in Judeo-Spanish

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Summary

The paper deals with the contact between Judeo-Spanish and Judeo-Greek. It regards Judeo-Greek as the main source for the reactivation and increase in frequency of the converbs: *en*+gerund and gerund alone in Judeo-Spanish. The change is regarded as the overall restructuring and redistribution of Judeo-Spanish non-finites, after it joined the Balkan Linguistic Area and aligned to the predominant areal pattern whereby the infinitive is dispreferred. The analysis is based on data taken from original texts composed in late XIXth and early XXth centuries by Sephardic authors from various Balkan towns, transcribed and edited by recognized contemporary Judeo-Spanish researchers.

Key words: Converbs, non-finites, language contact, Judeo-Spanish, Balkan languages

1. Introduction

The present paper aims to shed light over prepositional and non-prepositional gerunds in their function as converbs in Judeo-Spanish and regard them as a product of language contact and interaction mainly between Judeo-Spanish (hereinafter ´JSp´) and Judeo-Greek (hereinafter ´JGr´). Within the overall contact of JSp with Balkan languages, the most salient is the contact between JSp and JGr. JSp interacted with JGr both within and outside Jewish communities. Outside, as Sephardic Jews communicated daily with the other ethnic groups of the Ottoman society, and at an internal level, within Jewish communities, as Sephardic Jews joined Romaniotes (speaking JGr), Francos (speaking Judeo-Italian) and other Jews in the Ottoman territory who speaking various other languages. The contact between JSp and Greek was carried out by a double channel of interaction, as part of communication and linguistic exchange within and outside Jewish communities of Ottoman Empire.

In order to study JSp converbs and their outstanding reactivation in Balkan environment, a brief contrast with Modern and Medieval Spanish is performed, as well as contrast with converbs in Greek and Turkish, notwithstanding the specific factors of development of Judezmo in the Ottoman period. JSp was formed at an intense contact with several languages spoken by local Jews, both within and outside the Jewish communities.

The chosen approach to JSp converbs presents them as a contact change, especially as a result of contact with Greek and, in particular, JGr. By joining the Balkan Linguistic Area around the end of the XVth century, JSp transformed its non-finite system and adapted it to the Balkan non-finite pattern. During its extra-Iberian development, JSp expanded the use of gerunds and decreased the use of infinitives, thus aligning its non-finite system with the Balkan one, where infinitives are dispreferred and almost absent.

It is a well attested in typology that Balkan infinitives tend to be replaced by finite forms and by other non-finites (Tsangalidis 2011, Joseph 1983).

2. Non-finites

As noted by Ylikoski (2003) non-finite verbal forms, such as infinitives, converbs, participia and action nominals are characterized by their ability to easily switch from nominal to verbal fields and vice-versa[1], as well as to get grammaticalized and lexicalized. Basing his observations on previous works dedicated to converbs and non-finites, such as Nedjalkov (1998), Ylikoski (2003: 228) classifies non-finites according to their syntactic functions, as follows: action nominals have any function of nouns; participles have the functions of attributes (+adjectival predicates), converbs function as adverbial modifiers and adjuncts (optional or free adverbials) and infinitives as arguments (i.e. as subjects, objects and obligatory adverbials. Moreover, boundaries between non-finites are not strict and they easily acquire their neighbors functions. Thus, infinitives may take over the functions of action nominals and converbs, which in turn may take those of participles, while action nominals may assume the functions of infinitives and so on. As shown in the table below, Ylikoski (2003) positions infinitives between action nominals and converbs, the latter between infinitives and participia, which in turn are located between converbs and action nominals. This opaque borders allow non-finites to easily assume each others functions, as shown in the following table by Ylikoski (2003:228):

Non-finite verb form:	infinitive	converb	participle	action nominal
Syntactic function:	**argument** (= subject, object, obligatory adverbial)	**(free) adverbial** (= adjunct)	**attribute** (+ adjectival predicate)	— (those of nouns)
"New word-class":	—	—	**adjective**	**noun**
Direction of lexicalization (in the broad sense that comprises the development of grammatical words):	noun, adverb	adverb, adposition, conjunction	adjective ($\rightarrow$ noun)	noun

Table 4. The four main types of non-finite verb forms, their syntactic functions and "new word-classes" (revision of Table 3)

Table 1: non-finites and their functions, as given by Ylikoski (2003: 228)

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[1] In ancient and some modern linguistic traditions non-finites are referred to as ´medial´ or ´in-between´ forms (i.e. It. gerundio ´modo mediano´, Gr. participles ´metoché´) referring to their possession of both nominal and verbal features.

The above table is reinterpreted in the chart below, where ACT, INF, PRT and CNV stay for action nominals, infinitives, participles and converbs, respectively:
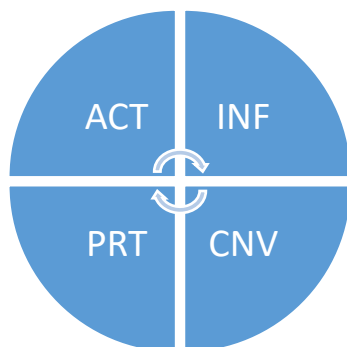
Scheme 1. Non-finites in circular chart. The transformations may occur both in clockwise (as shown above) or anticlockwise directions.

Across languages non-finites may vary in their number and forms. Some languages have more converbs (like Altaic and Uralic), others use more action nominals or infinitive, etc. This variation is also part of diachronical development of individual languages, as well as when contact with another language occurs. Therefore, non-finites may acquire each others functions over time or as a result of contact.

3. Converbs: definition and main characteristics

Converbs are non-finite verb forms which indicate adverbial subordination (Haspelmath 1995). They as typical to Altaic and Uralic languages. According to the classification by Nedjalkov (1998), converbs are divided into taxis and non-taxis, the first express temporal relations between the main and accompanying actions, i.e. simultaneity, immediate anteriority or immediate posteriority to the main action; and the later are adjuncts and express manner, cause, instrument in respect to the main action.

As other non-finites, converbs are a category very susceptible to diachronical and contact-induced change.

In Romance languages, converbs are mainly associated with gerunds. However, gerunds are not the only option applied in converbial constructions. In cross-linguistic perspective, and in particular in Ibero-Romance and Balkan languages, a series of competing forms exist, such as gerunds, infinitives and their prepositioned versions. In terms of converbs, a contrast between Spanish and JSp exists, whereby Spanish uses gerunds and infinitives in converbial constructions, while JSp tended to disprefer infinitives and strengthened its gerunds as converbs. This contrast is regarded here as a result of Balkan contact impact over JSp, especially JGr over JSp. This view is supported by the closeness of JSp and Modern Greek converbs.

By the XVth century when JSp separated from the Ibero-Romance continuum, Medieval Spanish used both gerunds and infinitives accompanying the main verbs to express simultaneity. Several competing forms are attested in Old Spanish texts, for

instance: *En passar, oyo voces. A passar oyo voces. En passando oyo voces. Passando, oyo voces. Quando passava, oyo voces.,* are few of the forms to say: ´By passing, she/he heard voices´. Modern Spanish is not less diverse: *Al pasar, oyó voces. Pasando oyó voces. Cuando pasaba, oyó voces. Nada más pasar oyó voces. Después de pasar oyó voces,* etc. As shown by Pato (2014), well the XVth century, all the competing forms were use indistinctively to express simultaneity and immediate anteriority in Medieval Spanish. The distinction took place between the XVI and XVII centuries, when *en*+gerundio began to express immediate anteriority and *gerundio* alone used to express mainly simultaneity. Later, *en*+gerund decayed and was replaced by *al*+infinitive, while simultaneity beside gerunds, is expressed by finite subordinate clauses in Modern Spanish. Thus, as summarized by Nedjalkov (1998:429-430), Modern Spanish has one non-strict converb (gerund) expressing both taxis (relative temporal) and non-taxis (adjunct) functions and one strict (al+infinitive) converb expressing only the function of immediate anteriority. In similar vein, Modern Greek γερούνδιο may be used to express both adverbial and taxis (simultaneity) as well as non-taxis.

The diversity and distinctiveness of forms in JSp between simultaneity and immediate anteriority (and adverbial functions (cause, manner, etc.)) preserves the diachronical stage of Spanish prior to the XVth century. Both prepositional and non-prepositional gerunds and infinitives are applied.

The diachronical development of (en+)gerund in JSp reveals Greek and Turkish influence, beside French and Italian influences which acted on basis of the Medieval Spanish inheritance. Greek gerunds *-οντας/-ώντας* were a recent (Later Byzantine) development, where Romance influence is relevant. However, they are internal Greek development out of the active participles, similar to Slavic, Baltic and Romance languages (Manolessou 2005:259). The parallels between the Romance and Modern Greek gerunds both in their diachronical stages and phonological form are relevant and sufficient enough to demonstrate that the gerund use as converb is a parallel and contact development. Moreover, during the Later Byzantine period, the influence of Turkish began and increased over the Ottoman period and contributed for the stability and increased the use of converbs in Greek, which repercuted in JSp. Within Jewish communities, contact took place between Greek as spoken by Romaniotes and Spanish as spoken by Sephardic Jews between XVth and XXth centuries. Outside Jewish communities, most Sephardic speakers used both Turkish and Greek, whose influence is well expressed in converbs. Greek and JSp converbs strengthened and well maintained thanks to Turkish contact support.

However, three and a half centuries later, in JSp texts from late XIXth or early XXth centuries, the preference to gerunds is clear, while in Spanish *al*+infinitive established as the main competitor, beside other newer combinations where also the infinitive is involved.

4. The contact between JSp and Balkan languages

Contact between JSp and the Balkan languages occurred at two levels: internal level within the Jewish communities and outside of them. This is relevant to note, as Sephardic Jews joined their counterparts from the Byzantine territories recently occupied by the Ottoman Turks. Local Jews were speaking mainly Judeo-Greek and Judeo-Italian. In Balkan mainland and further north there were Jews who were speaking

Balkan Slavic languages, as well as Ashkenazi and Hungarian Jews who were new comers and established in Danube forts and ports, as well as in the main trade centers all over the Balkans. On the other hand, outside the Jewish communities, Sephardic population also interacted with the local ethnic groups who were speaking the main Balkan languages, as well as Turkish and Italian as spoken by Venice and other Italian traders and sailors. Therefore, contact of JSp with Greek and Italian was produced both within and outside Jewish communities, consequently, their influence over JSp is rather strong. This is well illustrated on the increased and stable use of gerunds in JSp where Spanish applies infinitives. This reactivation of JSp converbs is regarded as a Balkan contact change, more specifically, as resulting from the contact with JGr.

Greek replaced infinitive by finite forms, as well as action nominal and in parallel developed its converb. In turn, Albanian, Aromanian, Macedonian and Bulgarian strengthened their action nominals (beside other finite strategies) and began to use them in a taxis function to indicate simultaneity or immediate precedence of the main action. In respect to the high frequency of action nominals and their use as taxis converbs in the above languages, Friedman and Joseph point out the following (chapter 7):

> ... while the replacement of the infinitive by a finite verb occurred all across the Balkans (and see §7.7.2.1.3), other means of infinitival replacement are conceivable, in particular the use of fully nominal forms. (Friedman & Joseph (forthcoming).

and the same authors also note that:

> These uses are not necessarily replacements for older infinitival constructions, though there is an infinitival construction in Greek that is functionally parallel (see §7.7.2.3.1) and one can note the Aromanian long infinitives here. Still, these examples show that the verbal nouns can function in ways that mirror infinitival uses in other languages, e.g. western Romance (e.g. Spanish *al salir* 'on leaving') or German (e.g. *beim Schreiben* 'upon writing'). Friedman & Joseph (forthcoming).

However, what led to the influence of Greek over JSp is precisely the use of gerunds, as the remainder Balkan languages failed to develop their gerunds in a taxis function (to show simultaneity or immediate anteriority). Taxis and non-taxis converbs have been throughly described by Kortmann (1998) and Nedjalkov (1998), beside many others. In his cross-linguistic analysis, Nedjalkov pointed out the specific features of Bulgarian and Albanian converbs, as well as those of Greek and Italian and their differences from Spanish converbs. Thus Nedjalkov (1998) noted that Greek converbs (-οντας/ώντας) resemble much more closely Romance converbs, especially Italian and Spanish gerunds (-ndo), as they may be used both as adverbs and attributes (as they originate from participles and retained their participle use Nedjalkov (1998: 424). Their subject may also be different, while Balkan Slavic converbs differ from the Greek ones, as they may be used only as adverbs and are only same-subject to the main verb. This may shed some light on why Bulgarian and Macedonian are characterized by the high use of action nominals to express taxis, especially simultaneity and immediate anteriority, while Greek uses gerunds.

Moreover, the prepositions take part in the structure of French converbs (en+participle -ant), but also in Albanian (duke + participle -r), therefore, JSp converbs retaining their Medieval prepositional form (en + gerund -ndo) in the Balkans is not surprising. As Nedjalkov (1998) explains, adpositions were first used as emphasis to the adverbial functions of converbs, but later they closely bonded to the gerund and specialized in the function of simultaneity (e.g. French gérondiff which is equivalent to non-taxis converbs expressing always simultaneity and bearing the meaning of cause, manner,

and other adjunct meanings), while le participe présent adopted taxis functions and is able to express simultaneity and anteriority to the main action. In this respect JSp converbs do not follow the French distribution of meanings, several contrast may be found if carefully compared, but it will suffice to note that unlike French en+gérondiff which may express simultaneiry, JSp *en*+gerund may carry out immediate anteriority, which is an Old Spanish feature and it was maintained in Balkan environment. According to the analysis by Nedjalkov, French, Spanish and Greek have two converbs, one of them expressing simultaneity and the other both simultaneity and anteriority. Other European (Italian, English, German) and Balkan languages are mono-converb (Alb. duke+part., Bulg. -jki, Rum. -(i)nt) and it is a mixed converb of contextual simultaneity, but unable to express anteriority (Nedjalkov, 1998: 432).

While regarding the converbs in the Balkan linguistic area, Turkish should be taken into consideration, as it owns a full range of taxis and non-taxis converbs, their number reaching tens and hundreds, if taken in their details.Turkish being an Altaic language possess a series of morphologically marked of specialized and context converbs.

Nedjalkov further noticed that if a language of two converbs moves to an area with one converb, then it tends to lose its anteriority converb, like for instance Hungarian and Czech within the Central European area where the predominant is the German mono-converb pattern (Nedjalkov 1998: 437).

5. Balkan non-finites

Ancient Greek had the full range of participles and infinitives, but did not possess converbs. Compared to other European and Indo-European languages, Greek ´geroundio´ developed much later out of active participles. Beside being an internal Greek development (Manolessou 2005), it may also be regarded as an external influence to Greek, in particular, Romance and Italian. It is also relevant to note that its development is parallel with the loss of infinitive, which tended to be replaced by finite verbal forms headed by ´να´, but other non-finites were also affected.

The other Balkan languages also tended to replace their infinitives by finite forms headed by the analogous conjunctions të (Alb.), să (Rom.) and da/да (Bulg.), but as these languages have different genealogically inherited non-finite systems, they also redistributed their non-finites in a different way, after losing their infinitives. Therefore, Balkan non-finite system may be presented as in the following chart:
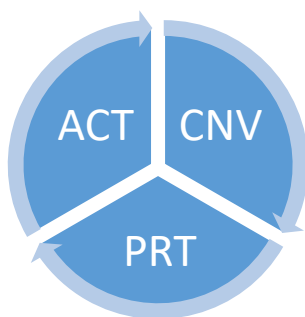

Scheme 2 Balkan non-finite system

Infinitives are absent from the above chart, as they have been extremely narrowed in Balkan languages and they have been replaced by finite or other non-finite forms.

However, when JSp moved to the Balkans it did not lose, but on the contrary maintained and strengthened its converbs (en+gerund and gerund alone). This was due to Greek influence, as Modern Greek also has two converbs. Turkish with its Altaic numerous and specialized converbs also influenced the whole Balkan area. The influence of Turkish to JSp was particularly strong, as JSp joined the area when Turkish influence over the Balkan area was at its epitome and remained strong in the forthcoming centuries.

By joining the Balkan Linguistic Area, JSp restructured its non-finite system and adapted it according to the Balkan areal pattern. This restructuring may be simplified and presented by reusing the above two charts:
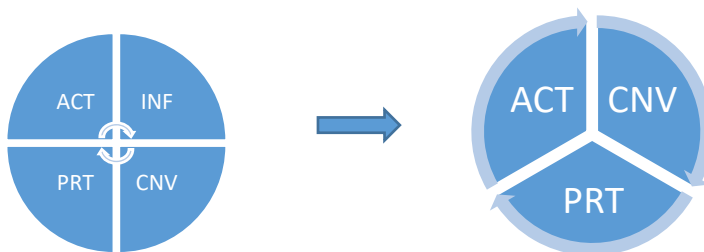
Scheme 3. JSp non-finites restructuring according to the Balkan pattern

Despite the fact that JSp did not lose its infinitive, initial steps of this loss are found. Infinitive replacement by finite subjunctive or other non-finite forms are observed in JSp. Moreover, these initial stages parallel with the ones observed in Balkan languages. JSp tends to replace its infinitive by finite subjunctive forms in same-subject purpose clauses[2]. Purpose infinitives were the first to be replaced by finite forms in all Balkan languages (Sandfeld (1930: 175-176), Assenova 2002: 169, 196-198), In a similar vein JSp same-subject purpose headed by *para que* and manner/absence clauses headed by *sin que* often apply subjunctive. In these same-subject clauses Spanish applies infinitive: e.g. *Vengo para llamarte.* 'I am coming to call you'), in contrast to JSp: *Vengo para que the yame*. or Sp. *Salió sin despedirse//*JSp. *Salio sin ke se dispidiera*. This change is found in Bulgarian medieval texts (see footnote 2) and the above change is also usual in JSp from the XIXth and XXth centuries. It represents JSp alignment to the Balkan pattern. The other change found in JSp infinitive are its replacement by participles, the preference to converbs (both prepositional and non-prepositional gerunds) and the increased insertion of a void preposition ´de´ before infinitives.

As JSp accessed the Balkan Linguistic Area at a rather advanced stage of its formation, especially in terms of infinitive (and the resulting overall restructuring of the whole non-finite micro-system) in Balkan languages), this change may be regarded as the interaction of a language (with null or insignificant previous contact) accessing to an

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[2] Purpose infinitives were the first to be preceded by the conjunction 'da' and replaced by finite verbal forms in Old Bulgarian texts, as pointed out by Assenova (2002:169, 196-198) and Koneski (1996:177).

already formed linguistic area (the Balkan Sprachbund). When JSp joined the Balkan area, apart from the above-mentioned replacement of infinitive by *que*+subjunctive forms observed in few specific cases, the following changes took place in its non-finite system:

-        replacement of infinitives by participles:

(1)   JSp *Kale etcho*/Spanish
             ´Sp´: *Hay que hacerlo.*
             ´It should be done´

-        the insertion of void preposition *de* or conjunction *que* or both before JSp infinitive. This phenomenon is a well-known and broadly studied Hispanic feature (´deísmo´ or ´dequeísmo´) found in several Spanish varieties, also found in JSp. It has most often been described as a purely Hispanic, Ibero-Romance and Romance feature in JSp, however, a modest attempt has been made to approach its Balkan-contact nature in Dobreva (forthcoming 2019).

(2)   JSp *Se determinaron de embezarme sus lingua* /
             Sp *Decidieron enseñarme su idioma*.
             They made an attempt to teach me their language.´

(3)   JSp. *Ma súbito se estremeció de sentir una ɣoź de esclamación muy fuerte*.
             Sp *De repente se estremeció al sentir una voz.*
             ´Suddenly, he trembled by hearing a loud voice.´

(4)   JSp. *No cudiáš de salvar a mi padre*./
             Sp *No te importa salvar a mi padre*.
             ´You did not care of saving my father.´

The above examples differ JSp and Sp, which, unlike other Romance languages, does not apply the preposition *de* before the infinitive in the above cases.

-        replacement of infinitive by converbs (en+gerund or gerunds alone)

(5)   JSp *En passando sintieron musika*.
             Sp *Al pasar oyeron musica*.
             'While passing by, they heard music.'

The overall trend in Balkan languages is to replace the infinitive by finite forms headed by the conjunctions νɑ, da, să, të in Greek, Balkan Slavic, Balkan Romance and Albanian, respectively. This replacement led to the restructuring of the whole non-finite system in Balkan languages. However, Balkan languages used different strategies to ´compensate´ this loss. Thus, in parallel to the loss of infinitive, Greek developed its gerund out of the present participle. The other Balkan languages, like Bulgarian and Albanian developed and increased the use of action nominals (which are quite frequently used both in formal and informal speech), but did not develop their converbs so much as Greek. In Modern Bulgarian the gerund form ´deeprichastie´ ending at ´-

yki´ is not very common, its use is quite restricted to more formal language, unlike other Slavic languages which have two types of ´deeprichastiya´ effectively carrying out the functions of converbs). Therefore, Bulgarian developed secondary action nominals, which are quite active in popular speech and they assumed the functions of old supines and infinitives. By their form, the action nominals in Modern Bulgarian are not direct successors of Old Bulgarian supines, they represent secondary formations, ending at ´-ne´, which is of a neuter gender, equivalent to the Greek action nominals ending at ´-ma/-mo´. Therefore, the contrast between non-finite systems of Greek and other Balkan languages is the frequency and active use of converbs, which allows us to regard the rise in use and overall reinforcement of gerunds in JSp mainly as Greek influence, notwithstanding Turkish and Italian.

As described by Ylikoski (2003:198), infinitives and converbs may share the functions of obligatory and optional adverbials, the latter ones defined by Nedjalkov (1998:) as specialized (non-taxis) converbs, while the former defined as taxis, non-specialized or chronological converbs, as they represent the relation between the main and the embedded actions as coinciding or concomitant in time, following or preceding each other, etc. Many non-European languages have a vast range of specialized converbs and many distinguish between taxis and non-taxis converbs by having available different forms for specialized converbs (performing the functions of purpose, manner, cause, condition and many other types of adjuncts), while taxis converbs and infinitives perform obligatory adverbial functions.

The Balkan contact change in JSp non-finites is produced in taxis converbs. JSp not only did continue to use the Medieval Spanish forms *en*+gerundio or gerundio alone to express temporal relations between the main and subordinate actions, but also increased gerunds´ frequency, upto establishing them as a norm. Thus, JSp gerunds (both the prepositioned *en*+gerund and non-prepositioned gerund alone) normally preceding the main verb, are applied for expressing immediate anteriority and simultaneity. The use of taxis converbs (gerunds alone or the prepositioned version en+gerund) clearly distanced JSp from Sp and approximated it to JGr. Spanish prefers infinitives for taxis (simultaneity or immediate anteriority in respect to the main verb): mainly *al*+infinitive, but also other formations involving the infinitive, as enumerated below in item 7.

6. Reactivation of JSp (en+)gerunds from Hispanic and Romance perspectives

The maintenance in JSp of Medieval Spanish *en*+gerund is regarded by the majority of JSp researchers, as a French influence, although they admit its Ibero-Romance nature: "Aunque el gerundio preposicional es conocido también en español y en portugués, su uso en judeoespañol se atribuye a influjo francés" (Schmid/Burki (2000: 154). Without ruling out the above observation, it should be reminded that French influence began at a much later stage in the extra-Iberian development of JSp. Indeed French contributed to the reinforcement of JSp (*en*+)gerundio. However, purely Hispanic, Ibero-Romance and Romance perspectives fail to render the complete picture of the reinforcement of JSp gerunds. The present paper proposes the Balkan view in order to amplify the picture. Hispanic approaches to JSp render valuable linguistic contributions, suach as, García Moreno (2004) and Berenguer (2016) who point out that in their analysis of JSp texts from the XVIIIth century, when the French influence is still absent or minimal, the

prepositional gerunds account for approximately 2.5% out of the total number of gerunds encountered in the texts, 11 and 13, respectively, (Berenguer 2016: 273). This number is slightly smaller than the one reported by Muñío Valverde (1995: 121) about Medieval Spanish. While a century later, in a corpus Mem Tet formed of JSp press texts between 1880 and 1930, the rate of en+gerund increased to 20% of the total number of JSp gerunds (Berenguer 2016:273). Indeed, in this period Sephardic press and culture was strongly influenced by French culture and style (Borovaya 2012). However, this is also valid for the whole Balkan area.

7. The competing converbs in Medieval Spanish

Beside several finite verbal forms, Medieval Spanish had several competing non-finite structures to express both taxis (simultaneity or immediate anteriority to the main verb) or adjunct functions (manner, instrument, purpose, condition, etc.) without specific distinction or specialization, i.e. gerunds alone, en+gerund, en+infinitive, al+infinitive, después+infinitive, among many others. Pato (2014) makes a detailed corpus analysis and elaborated diachronical discussion on how Medieval Spanish *en*+gerund gained momentum during the XVI and XVIIth centuries and then retroceded and gave floor to other newer (XIX-XXth centuries) infinitive structures functioning as taxis, like *nada más*+infinitive and *después de*+infinitive, which are frequent in Spanish nowadays.

As pointed out by Pato (2014:835) by the end of the XVth century, there was no clear distinction between gerundio and en+gerundio to express simultaneity or immediate anteriority in respect to the main action (taxis) and non-taxis (adjunct) functions (manner, instrument, cause, etc.). *En*+gerund specialsed in immediate anteriority in the XVI and XVII centuries explains Pato with reference to several Hispanic researcher, for instance Muñío Valverde (1995: 119). This is the period of highest frequency in use of both en+gerund and gerunds and later on the overall use of gerunds decreased in Spanish and new non-finite forms took over the functions of immediate anteriority, namely the above mentioned infinitives headed by *al, después de, nada más.*

8. Examples of JSp converbs

Unlike their decay in Spanish, JSp continued to use both prepositional and non-prepositional gerunds without clear distinction of their taxis and non-taxis functions, therefore, preserving the stage of XVth century Spanish.

(6)   *En apareciendo* el ministro se trabaron todos atrás con grande respecto.
        ´When the minister appeared all stepped away with a high respect.´

(7)   *Hablando* el raḅí estas palabras, se alzó él de la banqueta onde estaba él asentado.
        ´After saying these words, he stood-up from the bank where he has been sitting.´

(8)   Su amargura y su rabia se alivianaron algo *en deǰando* la caśa del rico.
        ´His bitterness was somehow aleviated when he left the house of the rich.´

(9)   Y él, tomando un poco de riflo, dijo:
         ´And by taking a little bit of air, he said:´

The above examples show immediate anteriority.

(10)   Ansí se contentaba con sus buenas esperanzas *teniéndola*s como seguras.
         ´Thus he was happy with his expectations by considering them as sure to happen.´ (simultaneity, cause)

(11)   Se manea por sus lados, aprobando de recobrar fuerza.
         ´He moved to his sides trying to recover his force.´

(12)   Salió del portal del palacio perdiendo pacencia.
         ´He went out of the palace by losing his temper.´

The above two examples specify the way the action is performed; the main and the embedded actions are simultaneous.

(13)   ...y mos maraviímos sabiendo que no hay nada de culpa en tu venerable padre.
         ´... and we have all been amazed by knowing that his venerable father was not guilty at all´. (cause)

More rarely, infinitives (al+infinitive and *en*+infinitive) are also found in JSp, although their use is rather restricted, due to Balkan contact pressure towards overall dispreference of infinitives:

(14) A Ribcá la hermośa le cayen las lágrimas al dećir estas últimas palabras.
´The tears were falling from Ribka´s eyes while saying these last words.´

(15) En degoyarlo al chiko yo tuve tres satisfaksiones.
     ´By strangling the child I have got three revenges.´

In order to obtain a more precise picture of the restructuring of JSp non-finite system and their redistribution of functions as a result of Balkan contact, the use of action nominals should be also be studied. It will allow to see whether (after JS got separated from the Ibero-Romance continuum) JSp action nominals increased, as had their equivalents in Greek and other Balkan languages, but this is left out of the scope of the present paper.

The increased use of converbs in JSp led to the grammaticalization of the gerund form ´siendo´ of the verb *ser* ´to be´. This as an expected development, as, cross-linguistically, converbs are able to generate prepositions and conjunctions (Ylikoski 2003). The gerund form *siendo* evolved into a causal preposition ´as, because of ´ and *siendo que* began to function as causal complementizer, but further discussion is left out of the scope of the present paper. An illustrative example follows:

(16)   despúes que pensó un poco, caminó él adelantre, siendo por este camino es el más cercano para la caśa de su padre.

´After thinking a while, he moved further, as this way was the shorter to his father´s house´.

9. Conclusions

JSp (en+)gerundio are well rooted JSp converbs. They have been present in JSp all over its extra-Iberian development and continue to be actively used in Modern Ladino. The claim that (en+)gerunds are a mere French influence is a one-sided and narrow interpretation, the preference of (en+)gerund in converbial constructions reflects the balkanization of JSp. In the specific case of JSp converbs, the main sources of external influences are Greek and Turkish, beside Italian and other Romances, based on Medieval Spanish inheritance.

Converbs are beneficial example to demonstrate Greek influence over JSp. Greek γερούνδιο ending at -οντας/-ώντας was a recent development in Greek and helped JSp gerunds to reactivate. The converbs illustrate a clear contrast between Spanish and Judeo-Spanish. Spanish tends to prefer infinitive forms in the taxis function of immediate anteriority (*al, después de, nada más*+inf.), while JSp dispreferred infinitives (in line with the predominant Balkan pattern) and frequentized the use of gerunds as converbs (*llegando/en llegando*). This use was supported by French influence at late XIXth and early XXth centuries.

By joining the Balkan linguistic area, JSp aligned with the overall Balkan pattern of replacing the infinitive by a finite and other non-finite forms, like gerunds or deverbative nouns. Even if preserved, JSp infinitives tend to be often preceded by the void preposition ´de´, Ibero-Romance phenomenon known as ´deísmo´ and ´dequeísmo´, which also stregthened in JSp as part of its alignment to the Balkan areal non-finite pattern.

Summing up, it may be noticed that rather than archaism, the resulting use of prepositional and non-prepositional gerunds as converbs in JSp is an outcome of contact influence from several languages, mainly Greek, but also Italian and Turkish.

As noticed by Van Coetsem (2001) and Lucas (2012) transfer of structures from source language (SL) to recipient language (RL) is an unconscious process taking place in the mind of bilingual or multilingual individuals and when the same individuals speak the RL among each other, the new or the newly reactivated structures gradually establish in RL and end-up becoming the norm. This process is clearly illustrated by the contact-induced changes produced in Judeo-Spanish all over its development within the Balkan Linguistic Area. Sephardic Jews who established in the Ottoman Empire were multilinguals, i.e. apart from Spanish, they would normally speak Greek and Turkish, as well as Italian, among others. Moreover, these languages were applied not only at an external social level, i.e. in public places, like markets, palaces and administration, but also at an internal level within the Jewish communities, i.e. Romaniote and Sephardic communities. Therefore, contact exchange with Greek and Italian was produced not only between Jews and non-Jews, but between Spanish-speaking, Italian and Greek-speaking Jews. Thus, Judezmo was formed on basis of pre-Classic Spanish (XVth century) in contact with Greek and Italian of the same period, notwithstanding Turkish. Out of several competing options in XV-XVIth c. Spanish, those options prevailed in JSp which also existed in Italian and Greek (and also in the other Balkan languages, as by the XVI century the Balkan Sprachbund has already been formed). Therefore, JSp

came into contact with all the languages participating in the Balkan Sprachbund, and this may explain why it acquired those Balkanisms which already existed in all the Balkan languages. Such examples are the diminutive suffix -iko and the use of independent subjunctive in deliberative questions: *koalo ke aga?* τι να κανο? ´what should I do?´, in contrast to Spanish which prefers the diminutive *-ito/ita* and the infinitive in the same deliberative questions: *¿qué puedo hacer?*

In a very simplified and reduced scale, the mechanism of contact-induced grammatical change may be described as the following: if a grammatical structure A is available in RL no matter if as a marginal and rare option, but it exists as active grammatical structure in the SL, then this structure A gets reactivated and reinforced in RL thanks to the contact with SL. If no exact analogue exists in the grammatical inventory of RL, then the language contact subjects try to find the closest resembling structure and align it to the respective form in SL. If in RL exist several competing options, and SL actively applies one of the competing options, then contact contributes for the selection and preference to those options which coincide by function and possibly by phonological composition, the latter being relevant for the choice of language contact subjects.

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