Published in: Linguistic Contact, Continuity and Change in the Genesis of Modern Hebrew
ed. by Edit Doron, Malka Rappaport Hovav, Yael Reshef, and Moshe Taube,
257-285. Amsterdam: John Benjamins (2019).

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Can there be language continuity in language contact?

Brian D. Joseph
The Ohio State University

The paper argues that contact-induced change is no more unusual or "inorganic" than any sort of language change, and that it does not affect the basic continuity that language transmission across generations ensures. Language continuity depends on an unbroken line of transmission, which may be preserved not only in cases of system-internal changes, but also in changes induced by language contact, even in creoles and mixed languages. The paper illustrates these points by examining three cases of language contact: Judezmo (Judeo-Spanish spoken by Jewish communities in the Balkans before World War II); the Constantinople Judeo-Greek dialect of the 16th century; the diglossia in 19th century Greece between Demotic and Katharevousa.

1. Introduction

The issue of continuity across time is a vexing one that presents numerous analytic challenges and difficulties in a number of areas of scholarly concern, including both language and culture. At the same time, however, it represents a key element in investigating what change over time can mean for linguistic and cultural systems. There are both theoretical and empirical dimensions to this issue, and I intend here to address them through the examination of several case studies that bear on the question of what continuity means in general and what it means for language and for linguistic change. My focus is primarily linguistic but some of the case studies involve matters of culture as well.

First, regarding definition, if a language is passed down from generation to generation over a long stretch of time, we talk about continuity. But it needs to be asked just what that continuity really involves, and moreover, why it is important, why we should care.

One reason for the importance of establishing continuity in transmission is that it is essential to understanding language change. This is how the question of

https://doi.org/10.1075/la.256.10jos

continuity becomes theoretical in nature, as it has consequences for the construction of a framework for interpreting and thus understanding change in particular systems.

In particular, the only way we know that an element, a linguistic feature *x* of some sort, in Stage *n* of a language and a seemingly corresponding element *x′* in a later Stage *n* + *m* reveals a linguistic change is if we can establish that there is an unbroken line of transmission from *x* to *x′*, from *n* to *n* + *m*; only at that point can we say that *x changed into x′*, as opposed to simply being *replaced by x′*. This latter represents a different kind of diachronic relationship; the former can be schematized as in Figure 1:

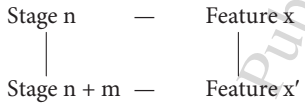

Figure 1.

To exemplify this, it is instructive to a compare the first line of the *Hymn* of the Old English poet Caedmon, c. 660AD, the oldest known Old English text, with its modern translation:

(1) Nū wē sculon herian heofon-rīces Weard
now we should.1PL praise.INF heaven-kingdom.GEN guardian
'Now we should praise the guardian of the kingdom of heaven'

From a consideration of these Old English words, which constitute several linguistic features involving pronunciation, form, and meaning, and a comparison of them with their modern counterparts, we can say that *nū* has turned into *now* and *wē* into *we* only because there is an unbroken line of transmission from Old English of 660 to Modern English.[1] However, what about *Weard* and *guardian*? Has *Weard* turned into *guardian* in the same way that *nū* has turned into *now*? The answer would have to be no: while *guardian* seems to occupy at least some of the same semantic space in later English as *Weard* did in Old English, it has an entirely different line of descent, entering English from French in the 13th century (cf. Old French

1. We have to grant a bit of leeway here regarding dialects, and let Caedmon's Old English stand in for the Old English that fed into the variety that led to the form of modern English depicted here. Such assumptions are a necessary adjustment in order to be able to make any progress in examining language change, given the spotty nature of textual attestation in all known linguistic traditions.

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g(u)arden, modern *gardien* 'custodian, keeper).[2] Thus the form of the word *Weard* has not turned into *guardian*; rather *guardian* started its own line of descent when it came into the language, and *Weard* continued on its way, giving modern *ward* 'someone who is protected' (thus with a semantic shift, but that is a different story[3]).

Thus, continuity depends on transmission. And it becomes evident that there is a key cultural dimension to continuity too, so that establishing continuity can be culturally significant, and thus not just of scientific relevance as it is in historical linguistics.

What does transmission mean with regard to language? It is well known how language is transmitted: children start with essentially a *tabula rasa* as far as particular languages are concerned but somehow they have the capacity to learn a language from ambient linguistic noise around them. It is important to emphasize "linguistic noise" here because the noise that allows for language transmission has to be distinguished from other kinds of noises that children in their language-learning modality are somehow able to tune out. That is, the language learner has to figure out how to discern the words from the noise, at the very least. The linguistically relevant noise is that which is generated by speakers older than the language-learning children, typically adult caretakers – parents, grandparents, aunts, uncles and the like – but it can also come from older siblings. And of course it is a two-way channel, in that language-learners learn also by engaging in the act of producing, not just listening. But the process seems to start with material produced by already-competent speakers being available to children as language learners.

As a point of information, one can wonder whether children's capacity to make sense of and to codify the linguistic noise around them into a language reflects a language-specific set of skills and cognitive structures or instead depends on a set of general cognitive skills that are used for other kinds of learning too. That question, as important and interesting as it is in principle, is actually irrelevant to the concerns addressed here regarding continuity. Suffice it to say that the existence of such a capacity is not in doubt, which makes questions about its nature of no concern here, even if many details about its nature and functioning are still the basis for lively debates.

What is highly relevant, in the context of a concern for continuity, about the learning of language by children is a fact recognized by the great French historical

2. Modern English *warden* has the semantics of the Old English word but, while ultimately related to *ward*, according to the Oxford English Dictionary (s.v.), it is actually a borrowing from Old French *wardein*, a variant of *guarden* from north-eastern French.

3. According to the Oxford English Dictionary (s.v.), the semantic shift was likely the result of its use in the expression *(to be) in ward* '(to be) in the guardianship (of someone)'. Thus even this form has a more circuitous continuity than might appear at first glance.

linguist of the late 19th and early 20th century, Antoine Meillet. He observed that a scenario of this sort for inter-generational transmission, which is essential for continuity of transmission, somewhat paradoxically necessarily depends on a discontinuity, namely the gap between the language-learner, representing the language-learning generation, and the speakers providing the model upon which the learning takes place, the generators of the linguistic noise referred to above (see Meillet 1904–5: 6–7 and 1929: 74–5, and the discussion in Joseph & Janda 2003: 74–75).

This discontinuity has been recognized also by others, e.g. generativists, who in emphasizing that one has to look to abstract grammars as the basis for a language synchronically also emphasize that grammars per se are not transmitted from generation to generation; rather, a grammar (Grammar$_2$ in Figure 2) is created – reconstituted, as it were – by child language learners basing themselves on the output (Output$_1$ below) that they hear, as produced by the competent speakers around them, output generated by the grammars of those speakers (Grammar$_1$, below). Diagrams such as the following can be found in the ~~generative~~ literature (see, e.g., Andersen 1973); the numbers refer to the successive generations and "X" between the grammars and outputs of the different generations is meant to indicate that there is no direct "lateral" connection to be recognized, but rather only an indirect connection mediated between the output of generation 1 and the grammar of generation 2:

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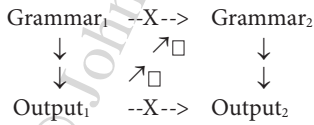

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Figure 2.

We have then something oxymoronic in nature, a curiosity to be sure, namely that continuity in language depends on a discontinuity. Thus, somewhat ironically, in "true" continuous language transmission there is an inherent break in the transmission, the "weak" point, but the essential point, being the older-generation-to-younger-generation transmission.

This is actually rather like other types of cultural transmission, where, for instance, an apprentice is specifically taught a trade, a style, whatever, from an older master practitioner. For instance, the Rogan-style painting of Gujarat (India), illustrated below,[4] is practiced only in the village of Nirona and the techniques it requires have been passed down from generation to generation for several hundred

4. This is my own photo, from a visit to Nirona on November 8, 2015.

years; the painter shown here learned from an older master and will pass the methods on to a younger student in his time.

In a similar way, one can point to the handing down of religious practices across generations, including religiously oriented language, as seen with Biblical Hebrew and the prayers and rituals associated with Judaism. And key in this particular traditional transmission is the handing down of the Torah, where there is both a manuscript tradition and an oral tradition, and cross-validation between the two. In fact, continuity and transmission are vital to Judaism, and while this is perhaps true for all religions, they seem to occupy a special place in Judaic practice, in one form in particular. In their 2012 book *Jews and Words*, Amos Oz and Fania Oz-Salzberger state (p. 1):

> Jewish continuity has always hinged on uttered and written words, on an expanding maze of interpretations, debates, and disagreements, and on a unique human rapport. In synagogue, at school, and most of all in the home, it has always involved two or three generations deep in conversation. Ours is not a bloodline but a textline.

They develop the "text" theme further, ultimately saying (pp. 1–3):

> There is a tangible sense in which Abraham and Sarah, Rabban Yohanan, Glikl of Hameln, and the present authors all belong to the same family tree. Such continuity has recently been disputed: there was no such thing as a "Jewish nation," we are told, before modern ideologues deviously dreamed it up. Well, we disagree. Not because we are nationalists. One purpose of this book is to reclaim our ancestry, but another is to explain what kind of ancestry, in our view, is worth the effort of reclaiming.

> We are not about stones, clans, or chromosomes. You don't have to be an archeologist, an anthropologist, or a geneticist to trace and substantiate the Jewish continuum. You don't have to be an observant Jew. You don't have to be a Jew. Or, for that matter, an anti-Semite. All you have to be is a reader. … Can we claim a biological pedigree dating, say, to Roman-era Galilean Jews? We doubt it. So much blood of both converts and enemies, of emblematic Khazars and Cossacks, might be flowing in our veins. On the other hand, geneticists today seem to tell us that some of our genes have been on the ride with us for a while. …
>
> There *is* a lineage. Our annals *can* be gauged, our history told. But our "scale of a different measurement" is made of words.

There are differences, to be sure, between language transmission and cultural transmission, whether artistic or religious. Language transmission simply occurs, in the typical case, whereas transmitting a style of painting or a means of prayer or legal interpretation is done consciously and deliberately and may require a particular aptitude or even a particular attitude on the part of the learner (and the mentor); moreover, it can even be delayed deliberately and nonmaliciously, whereas delaying language transmission requires the cruel and immoral step of separating a child from all human interaction.

Still, the similarities probably outweigh the differences, and, it can be noted that maintaining a home language in the face of an external dominant language can require deliberate attention to teaching and learning in order to be successful.

Another way of characterizing continuity of transmission is what can be called "direct lineal descent". This is the unbroken line that we see in tree diagrams of language families, what connects one stage of a language to a later stage, and that to a yet later stage, and so on.

Here is such a tree for the Indo-European family:[5]

5. This particular Indo-European family tree diagram is taken from the world-wide web (URL http://clubweb.interbaun.com/~mward/gmc/ie_langs.html), but originated with the *American Heritage Dictionary* (Houghton Mifflin Publishers, first edition 1969).

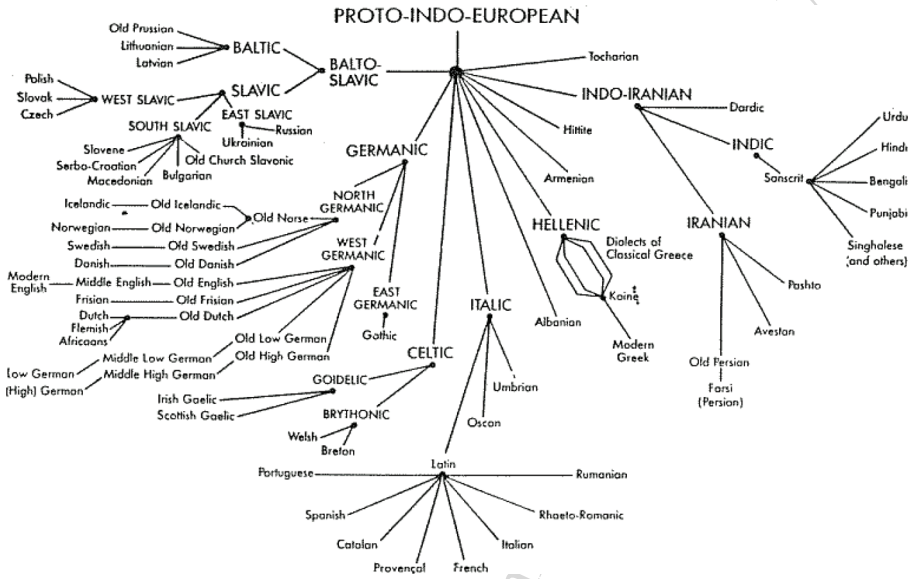

Figure 3.

A specific line of descent that led to English would look like this:

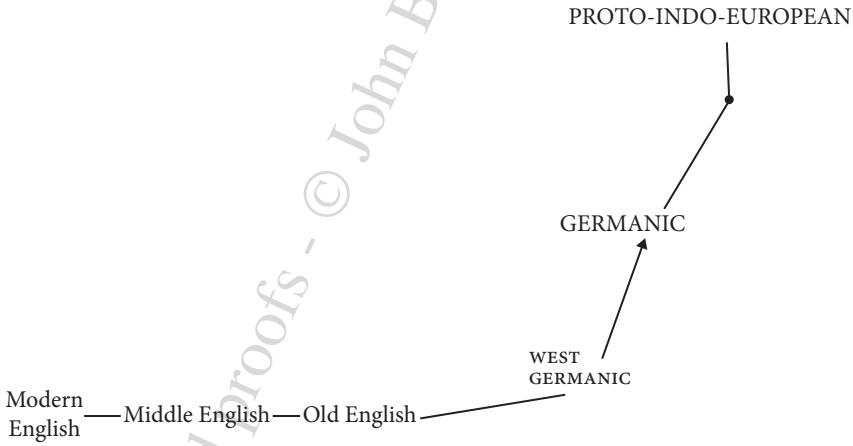

Figure 4.

We know that in the course of direct lineal descent, change can happen, as the earlier examples from Caedmon's Old English to the modern language indicated.

I should emphasize, as an aside, but an important clarificatory one, that I do not subscribe to the view that shift happens only in the inter-generational gap;

that is, for all the fact that inter-generational transmission offers the possibility for child-initiated innovations to enter a language, that is not the only source. That is, adults can innovate too. I argued (1992; see also 2011) that this was the case for the change in present-day English involving modal *have to*, signaling obligation, in which an innovative gerundial form in *-ing* has emerged with a root form in *-f-* as opposed to the older form in *-v-*; that is, an innovative gerundial form *hafing to* ([hæfiŋ tu]) has developed for some speakers, as in *Hafing to be home before midnight, Cinderella left the ball hurriedly* (versus the older form *Having to be home* …). This innovative, but still nonstandard, form *hafing* can be explained as an analogical development (see also Joseph 2001). That is, the original allomorphy between [hæv] and [hæf], with the *-f-* form being regular due to devoicing before the voiceless *t-* of infinitival *to* and the *-v-* form occurring before a vowel such as the *-i-* of the *-ing* suffix, i.e. *have to* [hæftu] ~ *having to* [hæviŋ tu], was reduced/resolved in favor of the *hæf* allomorph, a type of analogical leveling. The result was the extension of *hæf* into the gerundial form, giving *hafing to* [hæfiŋ tu] in place of the older *having to* ([hæviŋ tu]).

This innovation seems to be found mostly in present-day English, at least in the United States and at least in Ohio, where I have heard it often in the past two decades; it is hard to tell if this is a late 20th century innovation or one that occurs earlier but I leave that question open for now.[6]

But the key point here is that it is heard in the mouths of adults and children; thus, one would have to ask whether it is the case that all the adults who say it innovated it as children and never had this nonstandard form corrected out of their usage? Or, might it be the case, I argued, that adults are as likely to be able to succumb to language-internal pressures as children, and maybe more so, since adults have a greater knowledge of more words and more connections among words and related forms than children do, and thus more basis for analogy, but also more exposure to different dialects, more contacts with different speakers. It should be noted too, that as adults get older, they may face retrieval issues with particular forms, and thus need to create forms on the spot, a situation in which analogy can play a key role. An adult, therefore, can be argued to be more likely to succumb to analogical pressures than children, despite the fact that one sees evidence of analogical innovation in child language, forms such as *foots* or *goed* (for adult *feet*, *went*).

A development like *hafing to* can be considered to be a system-internal change; it is the result of "pressures", namely the existence of allomorphy between *haf-* and

6. A search for "hafing to", based on spelling alone, that was done via Google (most recently on 20 April 2018) yields a few scattered instances in the 19th and early 20th centuries, in places other than the United States. Such examples, if they in fact reflect a pronunciation with [f], do not affect the status of the claim that this is an internal analogical development within English.

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have (*having to ~ have to* (= [hæftu]) and essentially reflects an activation of certain cognitive processes having to do with the establishment of relations between and among forms and how speakers react to or resolve such relations.

Other kinds of system-internal changes are typically associated with physiological processes, i.e. co-articulation, as in the case of sound change.

It is important to recognize that languages change for a variety of reasons, not just system-internal ones as in *hafing to*. There can also be system-external factors at work in bringing about linguistic change. System-external changes are typically associated with contact between speakers and with "borrowing", construed in a broad sense to encompass any sort of contact-induced change.

Internally motivated changes are often considered "organic" – note Henning Andersen's 1973 term "evolutive change", for an indication of that view. Moreover, no one seems to worry with such system-internal changes about whether they affect continuity between different stages of a language. There are predictable debates as to when one stage ends and the next begins, as with drawing boundaries between Old English and Middle English, or between Middle English and Modern English, or as to when there are a sufficient number of differences in one variety to warrant declaring two distinct speech communities, two distinct dialects or languages. But the question of continuity seems not to arise in the context of system-internal changes, as they are simply expected to occur in a language over periods of time.

Externally motivated changes, by contrast, are often viewed as somehow "inorganic", creating odd and unusual constructs that engender heated controversies over whether there are "mixed languages", those in which the "grammatical subsystems … cannot all be traced back to a single source language" (Thomason 2001: 196–197). There is debate, for instance, as to whether Cappadocian – which was historically Greek but underwent significant changes under heavy influence from Turkish – is (still) a Greek dialect or has instead become a separate Greek-derived language, or has passed over into being a variety of Turkish (if such is even theoretically possible). The same sort of concern arises with pidgins and especially creoles, as extreme cases of the effects of language contact, where the question is what sort of connection they have with the languages that fed into their creation. One view, that of Thomason and Kaufman (1988: 10–12), holds that creoles (and possibly a case like Cappadocian Greek) may show the results of a radical break in the speech community, and that such a social break correlates with a linguistic break so that creoles represent a "re-rooting" of a branch of a family tree. A similar flash point in debates over continuity and change can be identified in Modern Hebrew. In that case, the issue lies in what the effects have been of language contact in the form of the particular blend of Central and Eastern European languages with the historical base of Biblical Hebrew that define the modern language. Moreover,

similar questions have been asked about another Jewish language, namely Yiddish with respect to German and other languages that have influenced Yiddish.

Not being in an informed enough position with regard to Hebrew and Yiddish, I pass over here the questions they raise, and instead approach the general question from a perspective where I am on more solid ground, in terms of my knowledge base. Thus, I turn to the Balkans and to Greek and see what light they can shed on the question of continuity in the face of language contact. I ultimately argue here that the "organic"–"inorganic" distinction is a false one, and that therefore some, if not all, of the concerns about continuity in the face of contact-induced change are misguided.

Moreover, my view is that language contact should be considered to be an inherently social phenomenon, and therefore, given that all languages exist in social space and are defined by social interactions among speakers, contact-induced change is no more unusual or "inorganic" than any sort of language change, even if it comes as an "overlay" after a child's initial language-learning experiences; it does not affect the basic continuity that the language transmission across generations ensures. Moreover, given that all innovations need to go through a stage of propagation across at least a subset of the speakers within a speech community before there is real change in the speech community's system, the only difference between internally motivated and externally motivated change lies in where an innovation comes from in the first place.

There are thus substantive issues concerning continuity whenever one is concerned with change due to language contact. I turn at this point, therefore, to some case studies that illustrate these issues, basing my discussion first on two Jewish languages, modern Judezmo (Judeo-Spanish) of the Balkans and 16th century Judeo-Greek (Jewish Greek) of Constantinople, and then turning from Jewish Greek to Modern Greek.

2. Case study #1: Judezmo

Judezmo, also known as Judeo-Spanish, is the linguistic form brought by Spanish-speaking Jews to various parts of Europe and northern Africa due to forced relocations caused by their expulsion from Iberia in the Spanish Inquisition of the late 15th century. Some of these Sephardic Jews settled in Southeastern Europe and took up residence in various parts of the Balkans.[7] In the Balkans, prior to the coming of these Spanish Jews, there was already in place an interesting language

7. As a personal aside, I note that Sephardic is my own Jewish heritage on my father's side, though from Portugal through western Europe to England and Canada and ultimately the US.

contact situation. In particular, in the Balkans were located languages from several different branches of the Indo-European family, specifically Albanian, Greek, Indic (via Romani), Romance (via, e.g. Romanian and Aromanian), and Slavic (via Macedonian and Bulgarian),[8] that through extensive and intensive language contact came during the Ottoman era (roughly 14th century to the 19th century) to share a large number of structural and lexical characteristics. As a result, they show convergence on numerous points of grammar and vocabulary. These languages are said to form a Sprachbund, a grouping of geographically connected languages that converge on a large number of linguistic features. For the most part, these convergent features, known as "Balkanisms", can be shown to derive not from the starting point, genealogically speaking, that is common to these languages, namely Proto-Indo-European, but rather from contact among their speakers. As a result, the Balkan languages provide valuable lessons for anyone interested in language contact.

What is interesting about Judezmo is that even though it was something of a latecomer to the Balkans, it took on a number of typical Balkan features; it is not entirely Balkan in the way that a language like Macedonian is, but it has some real differences when compared to Iberian Spanish, divergences that are more in accord with what is found in co-territorial Balkan languages. A list of the Balkan features found in various sources on Judezmo, considered from a synchronic typological perspective, includes the following, from different linguistic components:[9]

– like Albanian, Balkan Slavic, and Balkan Romance (Feuillet 1986), but unlike other (European) Spanish varieties, some Balkan varieties of Judezmo (e.g. Bucharest Judezmo (Sala 1971)) have a hissing/hushing opposition in their obstruents and have multiple affricates, specifically at least two members of the set *c ć č* (i.e. [ts tś tʃ]). In particular, such varieties have voiceless *c č* and voiced *dz dž*, showing the hissing/hushing opposition in its affricates and the presence of specific affricates, *c dz dž*, not found elsewhere in the Spanish of Europe (*č* being well attested in non-Balkan varieties of Spanish)

8. I am excluding mention here of some Slavic and Romance languages, e.g. Serbian or Istro-Romanian, that while in the Balkans and thus languages of the Balkans, do not participate fully in the contact-induced innovations characteristic of Balkan languages. On this distinction between "languages of the Balkans", a geographic designation, and "Balkan languages", referring to the Balkan Sprachbund, see Friedman and Joseph (to appear 2019: Chapter 1, §2).

9. See Friedman & Joseph (to appear 2019) for details on the Balkan Sprachbund more generally, including Judezmo, and Friedman & Joseph (2014) for discussion of Judezmo as a Balkan language. With some of these features, as in the case of the affricates, we must reckon with a varied history for the elements involved; still, it is the typological comparison with other varieties of Spanish and other Balkan languages that is most telling here, not the specifics of the history of each feature.

– like Turkish, some speakers in the Judezmo of Istanbul seem to have developed a way of marking evidentiality (source of information) and in particular by using the pluperfect as a calque on the Turkish unwitnessed past in *-miş* (a distinction renderable in English only with adverbials like *apparently*):[10]

(2) Kuando esta-v-an e l' Amérika, les *av-iy-a*
when be-IMPF-3PL in the America them. DAT have-IMPF-3PL
entra-do ladrón
enter-PST.PTCP thief
'When they were in America [i.e., absent], a thief (apparently) broke into their house.'

– like all of the languages of the Balkans, but especially Albanian, Greek, and Macedonian, Judezmo shows an expansion of the use of finite verbal forms (marked for person and number) in complementation.[11] In particular, some uses of its subjunctive mirror Balkan clauses with a subordinating marker (SM) exactly, and do not occur in the same form as in Iberian Spanish or North African Judezmo; a case in point is in modal questions, where Balkan Judezmo can have an ungoverned subjunctive, introduced by just the SM *ke*, just like Greek modal marker *na* with a finite verb and unlike Peninsular Spanish, which requires a governing verb, such as *quieres* 'you want' to license the subjunctive for expressing a meaning like 'When might we come to get you?':

(3) a. kwando *ke* te *vengamoz* a tom-ar? (Balkan Judezmo)
when SM you.ACC we.come to take-INF
vs.
b. Cuándo quieres que vengamos a recog-er-te? (Peninsular Spanish)
when you.want that we.come to take-INF-you
cf. delete
c. Póte *na 'rθúme* na se párume? (Greek)
when SM we.come SM you.ACC we.take
'When might we come to get you?'

10. This example comes from Varol 2001 and though it is cited elsewhere in the literature, e.g. Friedman (2003); Friedman & Joseph (2014); and Slobin (2016), there is reason to believe – and I thank an anonymous, but clearly well-informed reviewer for this important corrective – that it may be an idiolectal phenomenon and not a feature that ever was or is now widespread within the Istanbul Judezmo community. Still, even if produced by a single speaker, and even if a one-off, nonce phenomenon, it shows how the effects of contact with Turkish can affect the production of Judezmo by some speakers.

11. For most of the languages, the expansion of finite complementation goes together with a reduction in or elimination of the use of infinitive; Balkan Judezmo does preserve the Ibero-Romance infinitive (as discussed in Joseph 1983: Chapter 8), so the focus here is on innovative uses of finite complementation in ways that mirror other Balkan structures.

– Balkan Judezmo shows a considerable number of colloquial discourse-based vocabulary items borrowed from neighboring Balkan languages, including:

(4) a. widespread Balkan discourse markers found in Judezmo (cf. Crews 1935; Bunis 1999): *bre* 'hey you' (unceremonious term of address); *ayde* 'c'mon!', *na* 'here (it is); here ya go!', *aman* 'oh my; mercy!'

b. widespread Balkan taboo expressions: *asiktar* 'scram; go to hell' (from Turkish, actually stronger in force)

– Judezmo shows several Turkish bound derivational morphemes, such as the qualitative or concrete suffix *-lik*, e.g. *hanukalik* 'Chanukah present' or the locale suffix *-hane*, e.g. *perrana* 'kennel' (literally, "dog-place", *perro* + *-(h)ana*).

Putting all these features, and others, together, one has to admit that Judezmo differs considerably from Iberian Spanish. At the same time, it does have some characteristically Spanish features, such as the 'personal *a*', by which the preposition *a* marks personal direct objects, as is found in Iberian Spanish, e.g., Judezmo *lo kero* ***a*** *paðre* 'I love (my) father' just like Iberian *lo vio* ***a*** *Juan* 'I saw John'.[12]

So, it is fair to ask if Judezmo is still "a variety of Spanish" in the light of the differences. It may well be, but how does one tell? There does not seem to be an easy way to quantify differences such that one could point to a threshold that divides "variety of Spanish" from "new language". Most quantitative measures focus on basic vocabulary or phonological divergence (e.g., as measured by Levenshtein distance[13]), which really just give measures of a small sector of the whole language. Since contact in the Balkans has led to convergence among languages in all components of grammar and lexis, it is not clear what insight would emerge from focusing on one small part of the overall grammar.

Moreover, from the point of view of continuity, the language-versus-dialect question is not necessarily the most significant one, since linguistic differentiation can be consistent with continuity. As Figures 3 and 4 above show, one can still have straight-line continuity of descent down to individual languages even with differentiation of higher nodes into several distinct branches and ultimately several distinct languages.

Thus, perhaps all we can do is judge impressionistically as to degree of divergence and assess continuity on the basis of what we know about the social continuity. And, in any case, speaking impressionistically, and in the absence of any

12. Personal *a* does occur elsewhere across Romance (in Portuguese, Catalan, Sardinian, southern Italian), so it may not be characteristic of Spanish per se.

13. "Levenshtein distance" measures the difference between the phonological shape of morphemes segment-by-segment, based on what operations (change, deletion, addition) it takes to map from one to the other.

clear indication that there was a break in the social structure of Jews in the Balkans after the 16th century (and before the Holocaust), even with the radical relocation occasioned by the Inquisition, it seems reasonable to say that Judezmo is simply a continued but admittedly altered form of (Iberian) Spanish, and is not the result of a radical break in transmission; it is still recognizably Spanish in terms of lexicon, morphology, phonology and syntax, but it is not identical with Iberian Spanish. It may be a separate language and not a dialect but there is still a straight line on a tree, reflecting direct lineal descent, from Ibero-Romance to 15th century Spanish to Judezmo in the Balkans.

From the point of view of continuity, what contributes to making this just a changed form of Iberian Spanish is really that there is nothing unusual about the contact situation that Jewish Spanish underwent in the Balkans; that is, the sort of contact that led to Judezmo being quasi-Balkan is really the same sort of intense bilingualism that gave the same kinds of results found in other languages in the Balkans. The chronology of the entry of Judezmo into the Balkans means that the other languages had longer to interact with one another, and that may in part explain why Judezmo is not fully Balkan in all its characteristics, e.g. with respect to its maintenance of the Spanish infinitive (see footnote 11). Moreover, there is no evidence of massive language shift from Judezmo to other languages; for the most part, the Jews of the Balkans lived in clusters with other Jews and while they learned the languages of the peoples they interacted with, they did not forswear Judezmo, or Judaism, for that matter, which also served to connect them to other Jews and keep them distinct from the other Balkan speech communities. Largely on social grounds, then, but with no counterevidence on a linguistic dimension, a conclusion of continuity between Iberian Spanish and Judezmo is well warranted.

3. Case study #2: Judeo-Greek of Ottoman Constantinople

The next case study has its focus on a variety of a language that does not change through contact whereas another variety does, and it asks how to judge the resulting difference between the varieties to see if some threshold has been crossed that means the two varieties are no longer simply respectively altered forms of a common starting point, in the way they were before the one variety underwent contact influence. It is in some ways, therefore, like the Judezmo case in §2, but as if one were looking at it from the Iberian Spanish point of view. The case in question is that of Judeo-Greek of Constantinople as revealed in a 1547 Bible translation, details on which are given below.

Here the issue is that the Jewish language, Judeo-Greek, appears to be the conservative variety and does not change, except in one way (by contact, as it happens),

while the rest of Greek moves in an entirely different direction due to contact. The questions to ponder are whether the conservative variety and the innovative variety are different enough to warrant treating them as distinct and no longer relatable on the same direct line of descent, but also whether it is fair to continue to view them as related lines of descent from a common starting point or if instead there has been a break in the transmission so that they should not be considered related.

This case-study[14] starts with mention of one type of spread of a linguistic innovation by which a feature spreads into discontinuous urban areas, what has been called the "gravity model", a venerable idea in traditional dialectology more recently associated with the work of Peter Trudgill (e.g., Chambers & Trudgill 1980). In this model for spread, an innovation that begins in an urban center spreads by "hopping" from one urban center to another, from larger ones to successively smaller ones (hence following "gravity", in a sense), and not necessarily taking in all the speakers within the newly affected areas. Eventually, as the sphere of influence of each urban area is extended in its domain, taking in a greater and greater amount of once-nonurban areas, the innovation spreads to the spaces between the urban centers so that eventually entire regions are affected. Talk here of a feature "hopping" is really just anthropomorphizing a process that actually involves a greater degree of contact between speakers across urban centers through business, trade, incidental travel, and the like.

This model can be schematized in this way:

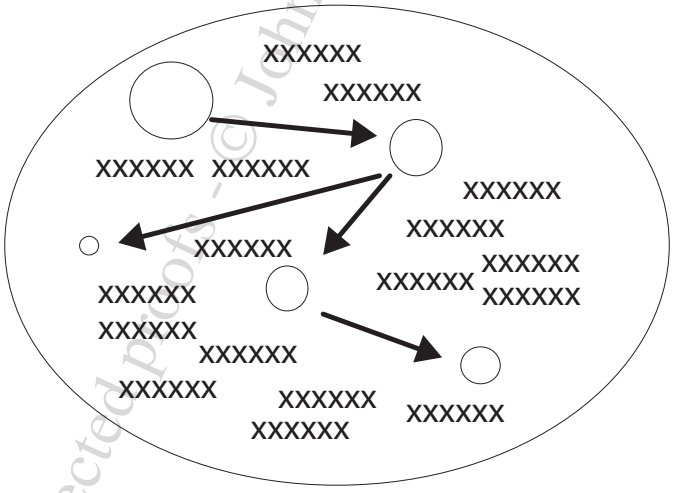

Figure 5. "Gravity" model [O = urban center, xxxx = intervening nonurban areas, arrows indicate path of spread]

14. I draw heavily here on the account in Joseph (2000), the source also of Figure 5.

This model can be applied to the spread within Greek of the eventually pan-Balkan innovation by which infinitival complementation at one stage of the language was replaced by finite complementation in the Medieval period.

In the account given in Joseph (1983) of the origin of this feature in the Balkans, the focus was on northern Greece in the Medieval period, roughly 1000–1600, and the original locus of the change was posited to be a multi-lingual urban center such as Thessaloniki. It was in such a place that speakers of languages like Greek, Slavic, and Albanian would have come in sustained and close contact with one another on a daily basis, providing opportunities for the effects of language shift, imperfect learning, and inter-speaker accommodation, as well as exposure to new variants, all of which could have contributed to this innovation and to convergence among these languages in general. This is the exact social context for contact that Thomason and Kaufman (1988) have pointed to as essential to the development of a Sprachbund, namely with the relevant speech communities each maintaining their own linguistic identity in spite of the extensive and intimate contact, and thus some members of the groups of necessity being bi- or multi-lingual.

Still, whatever the locus may have been for the original innovative use of finite replacements in place of infinitives or for the impetus that propelled it into the various languages of the Balkans, it is crucial to recognize that it had to spread within each language. This spread within Greek then provides an illustration within the Balkans of the type of spread envisioned by the Gravity Model. The point of origination for the innovative use of finite complementation can be posited to be the area in and around Thessaloniki, in the central region of Balkans.

Subsequently, there was robust spread of this innovation to other parts of the Greek-speaking world: for instance, outlying areas with urban centers, e.g. Cyprus and Venice, the latter of which is described by Clogg (1992: 16) as having "a large Greek community [and being] … an important centre of Greek commercial, religious and cultural activity" during the period of Ottoman rule in Greece, would have been affected by the replacement of the infinitive to the fullest degree. This innovation would have spread from Thessaloniki, the largest city at that time in the territory that is now Greece, to Athens, which was not then the urban center it is today but in the medieval period was perhaps the second largest city in Greece, and the site of an orthodox metropolitan see, and thence on to other sizable cities such as Argos (in the Peloponnesos) and Candia (i.e., Heraklion, in Crete), which were both on major medieval sea-trade routes, as were also Venice, Thessaloniki, and Argos-Nepaktos (Nafpaktos), and then to the intervening, more rural, areas, some of which had orthodox metropolitan sees, e.g. Larissa and Ioannina. Significantly, there was less robust spread to peripheral areas without major urban centers,

especially the Greek settlements along the Black Sea coast and in Southern Italy, where even to this day one can find somewhat systematic traces of infinitival usage.[15]

Especially interesting is the situation in the largest of Greek cities at the time, namely Constantinople. For the most part, Constantinople Greek, at least in its colloquial variety in medieval times, seems not to have been particularly different from other northern dialects of Greek spoken at that time, and this holds as well for the use of the infinitive, which, by the 1400s, would have been highly restricted and limited to a few contexts, most notably in a future tense formation with *thelō* 'want' as an auxiliary verb. This situation is in keeping with the Gravity Model of spread of the finite-clause infinitive-replacement innovation. Moreover, with the coming of the Ottoman Turks in the 14th and 15th centuries many Greeks left Constantinople for Venice, and that exodus would have provided another path for the spread of the innovation.

In this context, a 1547 translation of the Pentateuch (the first five books of the Old Testament), that was done in Constantinople by a Greek-speaking Jew, writing it in Hebrew characters, is of particular interest.[16] The translation was made for educational purposes for the local Jewish community, which at that time included a long-standing community of Greek-speaking so-called Romaniote Jews with ties to Judaism of the Hellenistic era, and more recent Judezmo-speaking arrivals from Spain who came in the wake of the expulsion of Jews in the late 15th century. The text has both a translation from the Hebrew original into Greek,[17] and a translation into Ladino (the religious form of Judezmo) and was intended for didactic use as

15. See Sitaridou (2014) on the infinitive in present-day Pontic Greek and Baldissera (2013, 2015) on the Greek of southern Italy.

16. I have benefitted enormously in this section from the comments made by the evidently quite learned reviewer mentioned in footnote 10, and the bibliographic references suggested by this individual, especially Krivoruchko (2008, 2014), who gives a lot of interesting detail about the production of this text. Although I surely am guilty in the end of displaying what Krivoruchko (2014) terms "misplaced knowledge", I have tried to adjust my original thinking on this subject (as seen in Joseph 2000) in the light of this more recent scholarship. Nonetheless, there are some aspects of my earlier interpretation that I stand by, for reasons explained herein, in part because they still strike me as reasonable and moreover, if they have any validity – and scholarly disputation is the coin of the realm in the academic world after all – they help to make my more general point here about matters of continuity.

17. In Hesseling's assessment, this translation was from the original Hebrew, not from the earlier Greek version, the *Septuagint*. Fernández Marcos (2000: 20) argues that even in ancient times there was "a high proportion of Greek-speaking Jews who did not know the original language of their own scriptures", thus necessitating educational aids. Nonetheless, Fernández Marcos (2000: 185) argues that there was a "chain of Jewish translations into Greek, which culminates in the Constantinople Pentateuch".

an aid for the teaching of Biblical Hebrew. As Krivoruchko (2014: 167) puts it, "the very format of the B[iblical]J[udaeo-]G[reek] translations attests to their purpose as accompanying and facilitating the understanding of the Hebrew original".

Early studies of this work, e.g. Belléli (1890) and Hesseling (1897), argue that it seems to reflect 16th-century colloquial spoken Greek of Constantinople, and more recently, Fernández Marcos (2000: 186) affirms that assessment. This view is suggested in part by the marking of some fine phonetic detail that is characteristic of the spoken language. For instance, the word for 'one' is spelled in such a way as to be transliterated <mnja>, thus indicating a pronunciation [mj̃á] (with a nasalized glide) for what canonically, and earlier, would have been [mía] or [mjá]; the nasalization on the glide is the result of adjacency to the nasal onset and is a pronunciation found still in current usage in some dialects (Thumb 1964: 29). The spelling with *mnj* thus reflects not only the accent shift found in the colloquial Greek pronunciation of this word but also a detail of colloquial phonetics;[18] such facts suggest a keen ear on the part of the translator for what speakers of the time were actually saying. There are other phonetic details that point in the same direction, as discussed by Fernández Marcos (2000: 181–182), though according to Krivoruchko (2014), the case may be overstated.

Nonetheless, there seem to be some interesting characteristics about the Greek in the text that warrant some attention. In what follows, I discuss some of these, drawing largely on Joseph (2000), tempered in part by Krivoruchko's (2014) critique of my interpretations contained therein.

In particular, despite the somewhat colloquial character to the Greek used in the translation, infinitives occur in this text to a greater extent and with a wider range of uses than would be expected for Greek in that period, i.e., in the 16th century. These uses include nominalized infinitives as the object of prepositions, as in (5a), infinitives in a complement to perception verbs, as in (5b), a future formation with *thelei*, as in (5c), and an entirely novel, but for this text very frequent, use in a rendering of a Hebraism, specifically the repeated verb in an expression like "And God spoke, saying …", as in (5d):

(5) a. estraphēn apo tou derei (Gen. 14.17)
returned.3SG from DEF.ART.GEN slay.INF
'He returned from the slaying …'

b. eidien ton aggelo tou kuriou stekei (Num. 22.31)
saw.3SG the-angel of-the-lord stand.INF
'He saw the angel of the lord standing'

18. I thank Julian Mendez Dosuna for important insights he provided into the phonetics of this word (though he is absolved of any blame for the points I might make based on them).

c. de thelei empodithei (Gen. 11.6)
not will.3SG prevent. INF.PASS
'It will not be prevented'

d. esuntuxen met' ekeinon o theos tou eipei
conversed with him.ACC the-god.NOM DEF.ART.GEN say.INF
'God spoke with him saying …' (literally: "spoke … to say") (Gen. 17.3)

Except for the Hebraism, these particular uses themselves of infinitives are not surprising in the overall historical context of Greek, but the important observation here is that they are unusual for colloquial Greek of the 16th century. For instance, the use of the genitive singular of the definite article, *tou*, as a generalized complementizer-like, and thus clausal-nominalizing, element was quite common in early Post-Classical Greek, especially in the Hellenistic period, but it was not so common later on, and is actually somewhat unusual occurring as late as the 16th century. Similarly, the use of such an infinitival nominalization headed by the definite article – the so-called "articular infinitive" – as the complement of a preposition was common in New Testament Greek (Blass-Debrunner 1961) but is quite rare in the Medieval period (Joseph 1983: 59). Finally, the infinitive in a future formation in (5c)[19] is unusual not as to the particular combination it shows, since occurrence in the future tense formation with *thelō* 'want; will' as an auxiliary verb is by far the most common use of the infinitive in most of Medieval Greek; rather, it is unusual in that it is the only such example found in this long text and is thus conspicuous by its sparse attestation in the text as opposed to the abundant attestation in practically every other Medieval Greek text.[20]

Thus, it seems that overall, as far as this translation is concerned, the infinitival usage in the text is somewhat conservative in nature compared to the rest of colloquial Greek of the period. Thus, some explanation is needed for the indications provided by this text of conservative usage of the infinitive into the 16th century.

It has been suggested, e.g. by Krivoruchko (2014: 164) that the infinitives in at least some of the uses in (5) represent "a Hebraizing tendency". She argues, for instance, that *stekei* in (5b), is simply a third person singular present form, based on the "original (Hebrew) meaning and real (Hebrew-dependent) morphology". She could well be right in this case, but of the ten instances of the verb *stek-* 'stand' in the translation corresponding to Hebrew *niṣ·ṣāḇ*, as in (5b), a specified nominative

19. This one instance is found in the Breslau exemplar of this translation; see Hesseling (1897: lv, n. 3).

20. See Joseph (1990: Chapter 4), Pappas & Joseph (2002); and Markopoulos (2009) on the WANT-based futures of Medieval Greek; Friedman and Joseph (to appear 2019: Chapter 6, §2.4.1) has discussion of the wider Balkan distribution of the WANT-based future.

subject occurs with seven of them, and no overt subject in one, while the remaining two of them – both (5b) and the equivalent phrase in *Num.* 22:23 – occur with an accusative noun (*ton aggelo* 'the angel') as the notional subject; these last two instances, thus, may reflect a different syntax, for which an infinitive, perhaps echoing earlier usage, could be justified.[21] As for the clearly Hebraic, but Hellenically innovative usage in (5d), if this is not a reflection of a still living infinitive, one has to wonder where the Greek form could have come from; it is not a simple third person singular present, but rather would seem to correspond to an aoristic subjunctive form, which, however, is syntactically inappropriate for Greek after *tou*. Therefore, some syntactically suitable Greek resource must have been drawn on, and in a context without a specified subject, that resource would be an infinitive, i.e. a verbal form without person and number marking for a subject. Moreover, besides these particular uses of an infinitive that are at odds with what would otherwise be expected for Greek, one still has to reckon here with the sparsity, i.e. relative absence, of the *thelō*-future usage, a sparsity that is at odds with contemporary Greek usage elsewhere.

Thus, with some hesitancy, the evidence of this text can be taken more or less at face value regarding the infinitive, both in terms of synchronically uncommon usage and the absence of synchronically common usage. This result would suggest that Constantinople was a peripheral area with regard to the spread of the innovative finite-clause replacement for the infinitive. This interpretation, however, is counter to the gravity model as applied to the spread of the loss of the infinitive, given the preeminence of Constantinople as a leading Greek urban center in that period. Thus, this discrepancy too demands an explanation.

A solution to these dilemmas can be found in a social fact about the translation and the translator. The translation into Greek was made by a member of the Jewish Greek community of Constantinople, someone who apparently spoke Greek natively but was not particularly schooled in nor with any particular knowledge of Classical Greek and of the Greek literary, and Biblical, tradition. The fact that he used Hebrew characters to write the text is an indication of his greater degree of comfort, and perhaps exclusively so, with the Hebraic tradition than with the Greek tradition.

It can be hypothesized, therefore, that the Jewish Greek speech of Constantinople was distinguished from the Greek of Orthodox Christians and that the differences in infinitival usage evident here are a function of the text reflecting an apparently

21. Admittedly, if the translation really was word-for-word throughout, which is certainly the general mode, but not followed in all instances, we might not expect the translator act as if he were, in Krivoruchko's words (2014: 164), "under … pressure to produce a syntactically correct Greek text".

more conservative Jewish Constantinople Greek as opposed to the more innovative and more mainstream Orthodox Christian Constantinople Greek. While building a case to definitively prove this hypothesis would require a much deeper study, there are several suggestive points to note which provide support for it.

First, some features of infinitival use in the Constantinople Pentateuch translation echo New Testament Greek usage. As noted above, the use of *tou* as a generalized subordinator and its use as a nominalizer with the infinitive when the object of prepositions, both found in this text, are also quite common constructions in New Testament Greek. But there are other indicators too of New Testament Greek usage. For instance, the use of the imperfect of 'be' plus a present participle for a past progressive, as in (6a), is reminiscent of the habitual construction of New Testament Greek that is made up of those very pieces, e.g. *ēn didaskōn* 'he-was (in the habit-of) teaching' (discussed in Björck 1940). Such is the case too with the infinitive of purpose with subordinating *tou*, as in (6b), for that parallels the Greek of the New Testament, where the infinitive of purpose is common only after verbs of motion, after *didonai* 'to give', and after *apostellō* 'to send' (as Blass-Debrunner 1961: 197 describe it); interestingly, it is precisely *apostellō* as the controlling verb that occurs in this 1547 example, making the link in usage that much stronger.

(6) a. ta nera ēton pgainonta (Gen. 8.5)
the waters were.3PL going.NOM.PL.ACT.PTCP
'The waters were decreasing …'

b. apesteile ton o theos tou doulepsei (Gen. 3.23)
sent.3PL him.ACC the god.NOM DEF.ART.GEN work.INF
'God sent him off to work (the land)'

These constructions, therefore, and the very specific nature of the parallelism, e.g. as to the usage with the verb *apostellō* itself, provide direct evidence of a link between Constantinople Judeo-Greek and the primarily Judeo-Greek of the early Christian era.

From the point of view of continuity, a key question needs to be asked, even recognizing that the focus here has been on just one linguistic feature, namely the infinitive – a pervasive one to be sure that ramifies throughout the language in several ways, but nonetheless just one feature. In particular, which variety of Greek shows greater continuity with earlier Greek, i.e. with Hellenistic Greek of the New Testament era? Is it Constantinople Judeo-Greek with its preservation of infinitival usage or Christian Constantinople Greek and non-Constantinople Greek with their contact-induced divergence from earlier Greek?

This question admittedly is hard to answer. On the one hand, Judeo-Greek appears to be closer to earlier Greek in certain respects concerning infinitival usage than Christian Greek. Thus, in terms of specific features that match between the earlier

state and the later state, as one way of "measuring" continuity, Judeo-Greek would "win". On the other hand, one could argue that non-Jewish or non-Constantinople Greek simply shows the natural effects of a language contact that was intense, but still ordinary as far as the Balkans are concerned. In that sense, there was never a break in transmission, and non-Jewish or non-Constantinople Greek would indeed show continuity, having a changed form to be sure, but a naturally evolving one. So perhaps the real issue here is whether it matters to decide between the two. That is, the answer to the first question is to be sought in this last one: it probably does not matter and maybe is not even a well-formed or cogent question to be asking in the first place. Despite all that is written here, perhaps we should not worry about degree of continuity or even about continuity at all. Rather, we should worry about understanding particular changes and larger trends in change and its counterpart, stability, and move toward worrying about which social circumstances can lead to change and which can promote stability.

And indeed, "social circumstances" are crucial, because there is an important typological parallel to the example of Constantinople Judeo-Greek with greater infinitival use. And it is an appropriate one as it brings the two case-studies examined here together. Bringing them together is interesting because in a sense from the Jewish language angle, Judezmo and Judeo-Greek offer opposite situations – Judeo-Greek is the variety that did not change in a certain way under conditions of contact while Judezmo is the variety that has changed under contact.

That is, as noted in §2 (see especially footnote 11), modern-day Judezmo, as reported on in early 20th century sources and as verified in my own fieldwork with speakers from Thessaloniki in the late 20th century, has continued to have an infinitive at least throughout the 20th century, in a perhaps surprisingly non-Balkan way. This is so despite the fact that its speakers are (now, at least) bilingual in Standard Greek, a language lacking an infinitive altogether, and are (now, at least) in constant contact with monolingual speakers of Standard Greek, which is, after all, essentially Orthodox Christian Greek.

Moreover, the fact that the early Spanish starting point for Judezmo had an infinitive (as modern Spanish continues to) is no guarantee in and of itself that the infinitive would persist, as languages can change to eliminate infinitives, just as the rest of Greek and other Balkan languages did, and as even as other Romance languages have done. Rohlfs 1958 reports that Italian dialects in the south of Italy have considerably reduced infinitival usage compared to the rest of Italian, presumably because of sustained contact with Southern Italy Greek, which admittedly has an infinitive to a greater degree than the rest of Greek but much less so than a "standard" Romance language.

What connects 16th century Judeo-Greek of Constantinople and Judezmo of the Balkans of the 20th century is that for them, religion can be seen as a highly

relevant socio-linguistic factor that explains their infinitival usage vis-à-vis their respective socially dominant co-territorial languages. In particular, as Wexler (1981: 102n.5) has noted, it is often claimed that Jewish languages in general tend to be conservative, [22] and Fernández Marcos (2000: 184) talks of "the conservatism of the Jews in the Epiros region". Indeed, the segregation of Jewish communities and the connection among Jewish speakers that religion offers would certainly have created situations in which Jewish speakers might well have less access to linguistic innovations found in the usage of coterritorial non-Jewish speakers. In that case, it should not at all be unexpected to find archaic Greek usage in Constantinople Judeo-Greek compared to the rest of Greek and to find archaic Romance usage in Balkan Judeo-Spanish compared to Greek and the Balkan languages more generally. These Jewish speech communities would have been somewhat isolated from the mainstream, being religiously separated, even if – of necessity – they interacted in that mainstream.

What also connects the two situations is that in each case, contact was involved, changing Judezmo vis-à-vis (conservative) Iberian Spanish and changing the rest of Greek vis-à-vis (conservative) Judeo-Greek. From the point of view of continuity, it can simply be assumed that in the absence of any great social disruption to the communities involved, change by contact is nothing more than ordinary, just something that happens under certain social conditions, and in that sense, is "organic" and "evolutive" in its own right.

4. Case study #3: Greek diglossia

The mention in the previous section of a possible concern with degree of continuity, as if it were a measurable entity, means that another case study involving Greek, namely the emergence of diglossia in the sense of Ferguson (1959), becomes particularly relevant. This is all the more so if a break in transmission is key to dismissing continuity, as that pertains to the Greek diglossia case. Moreover, this case study reveals that there can be different ways of judging continuity.

The situation in question is what Ferguson gave as a paradigm case of diglossia, the coexistence of two (often related) codes, one a higher often codified register and one lower vernacular register, that complement each other functionally, serving distinct societal functions. In the case of Greek in modern times, even though there is a long history of a functional complementarity between different registers of the

22. Wexler makes it clear that he does not believe this is always so. Krivoruchko (2014: 170) doubts that claims of conservatism are real.

language, the situation became socially and politically entrenched through the War of Independence from the Ottoman Empire in the 1820s.[23]

In the aftermath of the war, with the creation of the Greek nation-state in the 1820s, by way of wanting to signal a connection between the new modern Hellenic Republic and ancient Greece, a connection which after all had captured the attention of the western European Romantic movement (witness Lord Byron's going to Greece to fight in said War of Independence), the Greek elites sought to establish a national language. Their thinking was that every nation needs a national language and that one could build national unity through a common national language. This perhaps was a mistaken notion, but it represented a powerful one that even today many politicians and nonlinguists have come to embrace, in nation after nation. Moreover, they wanted to express continuity with ancient Greece through that national language.

One way to do that would be essentially to reach back and build a bridge, as it were, to Ancient Greek, re-creating Ancient Greek in a somewhat modernized form as the national language. Another way would be to take as the national language the organically and evolutively changed form of Ancient Greek, the result of centuries of traceable alterations of Ancient Greek as it was handed down in a direct lineal fashion, generation by generation.

The former approach is what prevailed in the form of the creation of *katharevousa* (the "purifying (language)"), the consciously archaizing high variety of Greek that for decades in the 19th and well past the middle of the 20th century was the official language of Greece, the language of government proclamations, of governmental business (laws, Parliamentary proceedings, courts, licenses, and the like), of most levels of education including higher education, and of similar sorts of official affairs. This was a variety of Greek that looked ancient in many respects morphologically but, interestingly, was pronounced in a mostly modern manner and in many ways was syntactically modern. By contrast, the latter approach led to the so-called *ðimotiki* (the "demotic (i.e. popular, of-the-people) (language)"), a variety of Greek reflecting the vernacular, the form of the language that speakers used on an everyday basis in all nongovernment-related functions, i.e. talking to family and friends, on informal occasions, and the like. It is the Greek that developed along one direct line of descent from ancient Greek (Attic-Ionic dialect) into the Hellenistic Koine, and thence through Medieval Greek to the modern era.

The differences between these two varieties are not inconsiderable and range over various levels of analysis; for instance, *katharevousa* has a dative case that *ðimotiki* lacks, and routinely has multiple stop clusters, e.g. [pt], where *ðimotiki*

23. See Mackridge (2009) on the emergence of the modern diglossic situation in Greece, and Brown (2011) for some further insights.

has dissimilated the stops into a fricative-plus-stop cluster, e.g. [ft]. There is one difference, however, that pertains to the infinitive and thus deserves mention here. In particular, *katharevousa* appropriated an early Medieval Greek form of the future that had an inflected form of the verb *thelō* 'want' serving as a future auxiliary plus an infinitival form of the main verb, e.g. *thelō graphēi* (<θέλω γράφη>, in Greek orthography, pronounced [θelo γrafi]) 'I will write', whereas *ðimotiki* has the organically evolved form of that early Medieval construction, *θa yráfo* (< *the na grafō* (with a reduced invariant form of the auxiliary and the main verb marked with the subordinator *na*) < *thelei na grafō* (with a full form of an invariant (impersonal) auxiliary) < *thelō na grafō* (with a full form of a personal, inflected form of the auxiliary) < *thelō grafein* (the basis for the *katharevousa* future *thelō graphēi*, the orthographic differences being insignificant in this regard).[24] Moreover, the infinitive occurs in *katharevousa* in nominalizations with the definite article, not unlike the usage illustrated in (5a), though not with prepositions; an example is in the once-ubiquitous[25] sign (in transliteration) *apagoreuetai to kapnizein* 'smoking is forbidden' (literally "is-forbidden the smoke.INF").

It can be argued that both infinitive-ful katharevousa, with its bridge by-passing Medieval, Byzantine, and Koine Greek on the way back to something that approximates Classical Greek,[26] and infinitive-less *ðimotiki* are legitimate ways of establishing a connection to the past, which the ideology of the era demanded, but such a connection does not necessarily demonstrate continuity in the sense advocated here of an unbroken chain of transmission. That is, the *katharevousa* mode of forging a connection is, in a very real sense, showing only artificial continuity, the result of a brute force approach, so to speak, to establishing a link to the past, whereas the *ðimotiki* mode reflects natural linguistic continuity, even if in a more changed form, thus recognizing the inevitability of change.

As has been emphasized here, change in itself does not alter continuity; rather, change is a natural outgrowth of continuous linguistic transmission through an unbroken line of descent, even if that change, again as emphasized here, is due to

24. See footnote 18 for references on the Greek future; note that although the accounts in Pappas & Joseph (2002) and Markopoulos (2009) differ on some details, the general outlines in each of the emergence of the *θa*-future in modern *ðimotiki* are quite similar.

25. In the middle of the 20th century, and into the early 1970s; in 1976, when *ðimotiki* was declared the official variety of the language, supplanting *katharevousa*, such signs began to disappear, being replaced by, for instance, signs with deverbal nouns, e.g. *apagoreuetai to kapnisma*, where *kapnisma* is a fully inflectable noun (e.g. with genitive singular *kapnismatos*).

26. I say "approximate" because, for instance, Classical Greek did not have a future tense formation with the verb *thelō* the way that *katharevousa* does and had far greater infinitival use than *katharevousa*.

language contact and thus motivated in a system-external manner. In this view, then, *katharevousa* offers only a false continuity whereas *ðimotiki* offers a true continuity.

However, it must be pointed out that in some ways, the *katharevousa* false continuity, due to the more obvious similarities it offers, might be more salient to speakers, who in a certain sense are the ultimate judges and arbiters of what matters in language. One can look at extreme cases like the following, taking the form from Italiot Greek – Greek as spoken even to this day in southern Italy – as representative of what a standard Modern Greek *ðimotiki* form could have been, as it is a directly evolved form of the Ancient Greek source cited here:[27]

Ancient Greek *ophthalm-(ós)*
/ \
Italiot Grk *astarm-(í)* 'eye' vs. Kath. *ofθalm-(ós)*

As it happens, *astarm-* is the result of regular sound changes from Ancient Greek *ophthalm-* and actually, the *katharevousa* form should have dotted lines connecting it to the ancient form, as it is a re-introduction of *ophthalm-(ós)* and not a directly evolved form.

As a linguist, I personally am captivated by looking to the "organic" evolutive sort of continuity that *ðimotiki* represents, as it connects directly with my interest in language change. But I can appreciate the power for speakers of what obvious similarities like *ophthalmós*/*ofθalmós*, especially in orthographic form, <οφθαλμός>, given the stability in the Greek alphabet over millennia, can symbolize and stand for, as well as the ideological force and even empowerment under the right conditions that such artificially forged similarities can offer to speakers in terms of signaling identity, here national identity, as well as ethnicity and group membership (here "Greekness", whatever that may be or mean).

That is, in order to see the connection to the past, *astarmí* requires a certain degree of "unpacking" to get to its ancestor *ophthalmós*, unpacking that is far from obvious to all but the linguist, whereas *ofθalmós* requires almost no calculations at all.

5. Concluding remarks

By way of conclusion, a look at the Star of David might offer a parallel to the Greek diglossia situation and the symbolic value of *katharevousa*. The Star of David is a powerful contemporary symbol of Jewish identity and Judaism, of the land of Israel,

27. The actual form for 'eye' in *ðimotiki* is *máti*, from *ommátion*, from *op-ma-t-ion, where *op- is a variant of the *ophth-* root seen here.

and of the modern nation of Israel, and it has ancient roots, to be sure. Some have claimed, however, that it is an 18th century re-appropriation of an ancient symbol that did not originally signal Jewishness. Whatever the truth here may be, it is sufficient to note here that repurposed symbols can still nonetheless be powerful symbols, as the case of Modern Greek shows through the link to the past via *katharevousa*. In a sense, it is not a matter of validity but of value. That is, continuity is both an issue and also a non-issue in certain respects just as the distinction between change that is contact-induced and change that is noncontact-induced is somewhat artificial, perhaps something of a non-issue too.

Thus, to answer the question asked overtly in the title, yes there can be continuity in language contact; the views of Thomason & Kaufman (1988) in thinking that if the social circumstances are right, any kind of linguistic feature can be borrowed mean that language change through language contact is normal, organic, and even evolutive in its own right, and does not break continuity. What could make for a break in continuity, however, is a social break in the speech community, a disruption in the usual path of transmission. In what cases that model would apply is a question for another paper.

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