



The Emergence of Distinction: Style as a Factor in (Slavic) Language Change

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Languages, nations and standardization in Slavia: so similar and yet so different
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Motivation for this presentation

- The symposium asks us to consider “*The intricate nexus of language standardization, national identities, and statehood is complex worldwide and often entails explosive political potential*” – processes which are “*often historically situated in the nineteenth century.*”
- This presentation tries to look at the other end of the diachronic spectrum and ask how far back we can trace the beginnings of standardization-like phenomena.
- How can we detect first efforts to effect group formation through conscious engineering of language?
- Working hypothesis is that “style” is a harbinger of standardization.
- We will look at 4 case studies.

Working hypothesis

Standardization-like interventions have been present long before the 19th c. My working hypothesis is that we can borrow a notion from archaeology, “style,” retrofitting it to reflect language (rather than material culture), and identify it in the historical record of languages.

Working assumptions

- Cladistic (family-tree) representations introduce biological metaphors into the reconstruction process. Language propagation is not the same as DNA propagation.
- Sociolinguistic approaches focus correctly on social nature of transmission. However, while soc-ling considers status (e.g., H, L prestige), cross-pollination (e.g., language contact), it fails to consider agency.
- Style functions not just a prestige marker but can be a group identifier. The latter has been less considered, especially regarding group *agency* in fashioning language.
- Hence the claim of proto-standardization.

Isochrestic style in archaeology

- Sackett 1977 “The Meaning of Style in Archaeology”: Variations in artifact production where multiple equally functional alternatives exist, representing choices that do not directly impact an objects practical utility.
 - “Just as any artifact has an active voice which connotes function, so it has a passive voice which connotes style. In this latter case we are viewing it not as an actor in a variety of roles but instead as a signpost or banner advertising the arena in which the roles are being performed. Stated in archaeological perspective, the artifact is in this instance being regarded in terms of its diagnostic value for specifying a particular historical context-that is, space-time locus-in the stream of culture history.”
- Isochrestic < neo-Greek *iso-* ‘same’ + *xrēstós* ‘service, use’: style as an ordering principle of production in contrast to status-marking (think of Labov’s r-drop L vs. r-retention H). in archaeology denoting a specific style of tool-making reflecting consistent choices among available options within a particular cultural context.
- Translating Sackett back into historical linguistics: some changes serve the *function* of language (communication), some changes serve *identification* (time, place, group).

Case study 1: Founder-population dialect distribution with no discernable stylistic function: Leskien II verbs (-*nq̣ti* vs. -*nyti*)

- Standard-language comparanda: OCS *(za)sъxnq̣ti*, *(za)sъxnetъ*; Uk *soxnuti*, *soxne*; Sk *(vy)schnúť*, *(vy)schne*; Sn *sahniti*, *sahne*; BCMS *sahnuti*, *sahne*

“Rather than proceeding from the assumption that the -*nq̣*- type was replaced by -*ni*-, the author demonstrates that it is reasonable to depart from a Common Slavic dialect differences -*nq̣*- // -*ny*- (< Early Common Slavic innovative *< -*nū-n*- // archaic *-*nū*-), which probably had its origin in the period before the Slavic Migrations. This variation was transported with the Slavs who colonized the Western South Slavic and West Slavic territories in the 400-700s and in turn gave rise to sociolinguistic competition between the alternatives in the following centuries” (Andersen 1999: 47)

Discussion: the variants are variant reinterpretations of a syllable with spread nasalization [nũ] > [nun] (innovative) vs. [nū] (archaic).

Interim comment on “sociolinguistic competition”

- I think Andersen here is referring to the commonplace notion that two variants can develop differential prestige marking, one variant winning out in a community.
- This garden-variety H-L distinction is probably endemic to change: language is a social phenomenon, ergo, all change is “sociolinguistic”.
- The choice of one variant over the other may or may not have been imbued with “group-forming” meaning. At first, however, they were merely variants carried with different groups of migrants.

Andersen 1999 (cont.)

Six regional and local patterns. Categories with variant forms are underscored.

	(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)	(e)	(f)
Inf.	<u>-ni-</u>	<u>-ni-</u>	<u>-ni-</u>	<u>-ni-</u>	<u>-ni-</u>	<u>-ni-</u>
<i>l</i> -form	<u>-ni-</u>	<u>-ni-</u>	<u>-ni-</u>	<u>-ni-</u>	<u>-ni-</u>	<u>-ni-</u>
Pres.	<u>-n-e-</u>	<u>-n-e-</u>	<u>-n-e-</u>	<u>-n-i-</u>	<u>-n-i-</u>	<u>-n-i-</u>
Impv.	<u>-n-i-</u>	<u>-n-i-</u>	<u>-n-i-</u>	<u>-n-i-</u>	<u>-n-i-</u>	<u>-n-i-</u>
P. p. p.	<u>-ń-en-</u>	<u>-ni-t-</u>	<u>-nu-t-</u>	<u>-ń-en-</u>	<u>-ni-t-</u>	<u>-nu-t-</u>

The approximate geographical distribution of these conjugational patterns can be defined as in (4).

- (4) Pattern (a): Slovenia and western Istria;
 pattern (b): Gorski Kotar and Žumberak in historically mixed čakavian-štokavian-kajkavian dialects;
 pattern (c): Lika, Senj, Dalmatia, western Bosnia, štokavian dialects in Posavina, most of Podravina, Srem, Bačka, Baranja, Banat;
 patterns (d)–(f): štokavianized parts of old kajkavian and čakavian areas in Gorski Kotar, on Dugi Otok, in Posavina, and Slavonska Požega.

To this could be added (op. MLG):

(g)
 -no-
 -no-
 -ne-
 -ni-
 -not-

pattern (g): Prekmurje,
 Pannonian Slovene,
 Međimurski Kajkavian

Andersen 1999 (cont.)

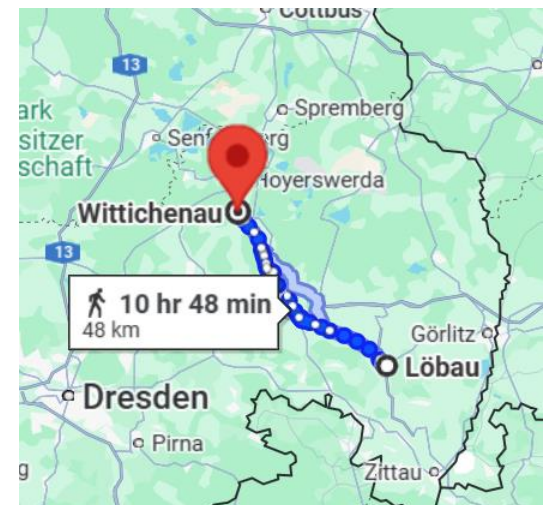
The isogloss also cuts across Silesian dialects N Cz Sil. *-nu-* vs. S Cz Sil. *-ny-*:

In the Czech part of Upper Silesia there is a **-ny-* // **-nq-* isogloss that sets off the dialects around Jablunkov (P Jabłonków), in the upper Olše valley (P *Olza*, a right tributary of the upper Oder River), from the more northerly areas downstream. The northern dialects have *-nu-* forms (e.g., *sta-nu-ć*, *sta-nu-l* 'become', *zamk-nu-ć*, *zamk-nu-l*, *zamk-nu-t-y* 'shut, lock'), but south of the isogloss, which cuts across the Olše about 5 km up-river from Třinec, Class II verbs have forms with *-ny-*, e.g., *zamk-ny-ć*, *zamk-ny-l*, *zamk-ny-t-y* (beside *zamk-ň-ûn-y*); cf. Bělič 1972: 113; Basara 1975: 14, map 1 (*kf'itnuć*, *kf'itnyć*).



And NW Upper Sorbian dialect (1500s Catholic **-ny-*, Protestant **-nq-*; 1700-1800s all → *-nu-*):

Upper Sorbian has an old dialect difference involving verbs in **-ny-* // **-nq-*. The northwestern (Catholic) Wittichenauer dialect has *-ny-* forms from the earliest attestations in the 1500s on. The dialects of the (Protestant) Bautzen and Löbau areas, by contrast, have *-nu-* forms in the 1500s and 1600s, but in texts from the 1700–1800s *-nu-* forms gradually completely yield to *-ny-* forms. This apparent morphic change, which generalizes *-ny-* spellings, probably to some extent was facilitated by the development of vowel reduction, which made the spellings with *-ny-*, which remain phonetically and phonemically motivated in the conservative northwestern dialects to this day, equally compatible with the more widespread pronunciation of the type [*hasnć*] both where this developed from *hasnyć* and where it developed from *hasnuć* extinguish: cf. Schuster-Šewc 1978: 447.



Andersen: founder populations, dialect leveling

The central proposition of this study, following the thrust of Andersen 1996, is that migrations redistributed earlier Proto-Slavic dialects, resulting in founder populations in a mosaic pattern throughout “today’s” Slavic-speaking territories. These founder dialects were obscured by later dialect leveling, i.e., “sociolinguistic” change, but traces of them can be found in relic parts of the lexicon, toponyms.

Case study 2: Jekavian/tertiary jotation in Štokavian as a style marker, an ongoing process

- 1) *lě* > *le* (*lěpòta* ‚Schönheit‘),
ně > *ne* (*němačkī* ‚deutsch‘);
- 2) *tě* > *će* (*ćèrati* ‚treiben‘),
dě > *de* (*děvōjka* ‚Mädchen‘);
- 3) *sě* > *še* (*śěme* ‚Same‘),
zě > *že* (*izēdēm* ‚ich esse auf‘),
čě > *će* (*ćèpanica* ‚Scheit‘);
- 4) *pě* > *pļe* (*pļěvām* ‚ich singe‘),
bě > *bļe* (*bļěži* ‚flieh [Imp.]‘),
vě > *vļe* (*vļětār* ‚Wind‘),
mě > *mļe* (*mļěra* ‚Mass‘).

Non-jotated forms

ljepota
njemački
tjerati
djevojka
sjeme
izjedem
cjepanica
pjevam
bježi
vjetar
mjera

Some or all these jotations are found in Eastern Herzegovinian and Montenegrin



Ivić, Pavle. 1958. *Die serbokroatischen Dialekte – ihre Struktur und Entwicklung. Erster Band: Allgemeines und die štokavische Dialektgruppe*: 138. The Hague: Mouton.

The change organically

The new jotation looks like a further round of assimilation to a following /j/, for which reason it is referred to as the “third jotation” (*treća jotacija*) for Slavists, though, confusingly, *sekundarno jotovanje* ‘secondary jotation’ in the context of talking about BCMS:

First (Common Slavic): *medjǎ ‘boundary’ > BCMS *međa*, Sn *meja*, Uk *meža*, Sk *medza*

Second (Common Štokavian) *sǫdъje ‘dishes’ > BCMS *(po)suđe*

Third (dialectal Štokavian): *djevojka* ‘girl’ > *đevojka*

The change typologically

- 1) *lě* > *ļe* (*ļepòta* ‚Schönheit‘),
ně > *ņe* (*ņemačkī* ‚deutsch‘);
- 2) *tě* > *će* (*ćèrati* ‚treiben‘),
dě > *de* (*dèvōjka* ‚Mädchen‘);
- 3) *sě* > *še* (*šème* ‚Same‘),
zě > *že* (*ìzedēm* ‚ich esse auf‘),
cě > *ce* (*ćèpanica* ‚Scheit‘);
- 4) *pě* > *pļe* (*pļèvām* ‚ich singe‘),
bě > *bļe* (*bļèži* ‚flieh [Imp.]‘),
vě > *vļe* (*vļètar* ‚Wind‘),
mě > *mļe* (*mļèra* ‚Mass‘).

Dynamic hierarchy: Most to least likely to occur based on phonological environment:

1 > 2 > 3 > 4

The change sociolinguistically

- 1) *lě* > *ļe* (*ļepòta* ‚Schönheit‘),
ně > *ņe* (*ņèmačkī* ‚deutsch‘);
- 2) *tě* > *će* (*ćèrati* ‚treiben‘),
dě > *đe* (*đèvōjka* ‚Mädchen‘);
- 3) *sě* > *še* (*šème* ‚Same‘),
zě > *že* (*ìžedēm* ‚ich esse auf‘),
čě > *če* (*ćèpanica* ‚Scheit‘);
- 4) *pě* > *pļe* (*pļèvām* ‚ich singe‘),
bě > *bļe* (*bļèži* ‚flieh [Imp.]‘),
vě > *vļe* (*vļètar* ‚Wind‘),
mě > *mļe* (*mļèra* ‚Mass‘).

Ivić (loc. cit.):

Those listed under (2) occur in most of the (E. Herzegovinian) dialect but not in the Dubrovnik area and in several the dialects of Bosnian Herzegovinian Catholics and Muslims [...]

I.e., the use of the innovation is linked to group identity. It is reinforced or deprecated based on group belonging.

Demotic Montenegrin

NE BAČAJTE SMEĆE OĐE
IMATE KONTEJNERE

- NE BAČAJTE SMEĆE OĐE
IMATE KONTEJNERE
- Standard Bosnian/Croatian:
Ne bacajte smeće ovdje, imate
kontejnere

Perast, Montenegro, July 2022
(📷 mlg)

Secondary jotation as a style marker in Montenegro

Secondary jotation as a style marker (a style choice)

- Post-Yugoslav Montenegrin standard has reintroduced the change into its orthography.
- Typically, though not always, today's Montenegrin patriots use secondary jotation in speech and writing.
- Secondary jotation deprecated by Serbian patriots (including Montenegrin citizens who subscribe to *Srpski svet* ideology) and others, evaluating it as a sign of cultural backwardness.
- Speakers have it organically in spontaneous speech, but suppress it in formal settings, writing, depending on how they wish to present themselves.
- Empirically: secondary jotovanje used in print in *Pobjeda* to a limited extent (Tyran 2022)



Why is Montenegrin secondary jotation *style* and not just soc-ling variation?

- To echo Coupland's thought a few slides back, this use of a linguistic variant is a conscious stylistic choice: users choose it in spoken and written style in all registers (i.e., including written communication in the national paper of record, *Pobjeda*) to mark their group identity, national aspirations, and attendant worldview.
- This choice draws a line of distinction, observable in speech and writing, between two ideological groups.
- This is an example of “exaptation”: an otherwise drift-like change (vs archaism) that has become used for a new purpose: marking *group distinction*.

Case study III: Subordinating conjunctions in Prekmurje (style as regional identity marker)

Until the Second World War, Prekmurje Slovene (which had its own written tradition), distinguished (roughly) between factive and other subordinate clauses with differential conjunctions (examples from a Prekmurje grammar of 1942):

Factive:

*Pravo mi je, **ka** mi zavszeza zavüpa.*

‘He told me that he completely trusts me.’

Note: *da* is possible, but less preferred.

Non-factive:

*Zavêszta **da** szkoro ozdрави ga je neszkoncsno razveszelíla.*

‘The notion that he would soon recover pleased him to no end.’

Note: *ka* is possible, but less preferred.

Standard Slovene lacks this contrast

*Rekel mi je, **da** mi popolnoma zaupa.*

‘He told me that he completely trusts me.’

*Misel, **da** bo kmalu okreval, ga je neskončno razveselila.*

‘The notion that he would soon recover pleased him to no end.’

Today's Prekmurje Slovene lacks the contrast

- From the second half of the twentieth century onward, Prekmurje Slovene has lost the contrast. Only *ka* subordinators are possible in all contexts!
- Why?

Making sense of the change

- Sociolinguistic context has changed.
- 1919. Following World War I, Prekmurje is annexed to Slovenia.
- late 1930s — early 1940s. Hungarian authorities attempt to reclaim Prekmurje, propagate “Vend” nationality and design new standard version of Prekmurje Slovene (Pavel’s unpublished *Vend nyelvtan*, completed in 1942)
- Post-WWII: Prekmurje Slovene used in everyday speech, Protestant liturgy (minority church in otherwise Catholic Prekmurje), subset of local writing for local consumption.
- From 1919–present standard Slovene introduced into schools, code-switching always present, but literacy in standard Slovene nearly 100% by twenty-first century.
- Lost of contrast could have gone either way. Why wasn’t *da* generalized to comport with standard?
- Because *ka* is a style marker, lacking the factive-non-factive contrast. It now means: “I’m speaking the code Prekmurje Slovene (not the code standard Slovene)”

Case study IV: mining the past – rhotacism as a medieval style marker

- An early South Slavic phonological change is $\check{z} > r$, commonly labeled “rhotacism”:

'(C)V \check{z} V- > '(C)VrV-

Examples:

*mòže(tъ) > Sn, CR, Bo dial *more* ‘can.3SG’, Cr (Istria)

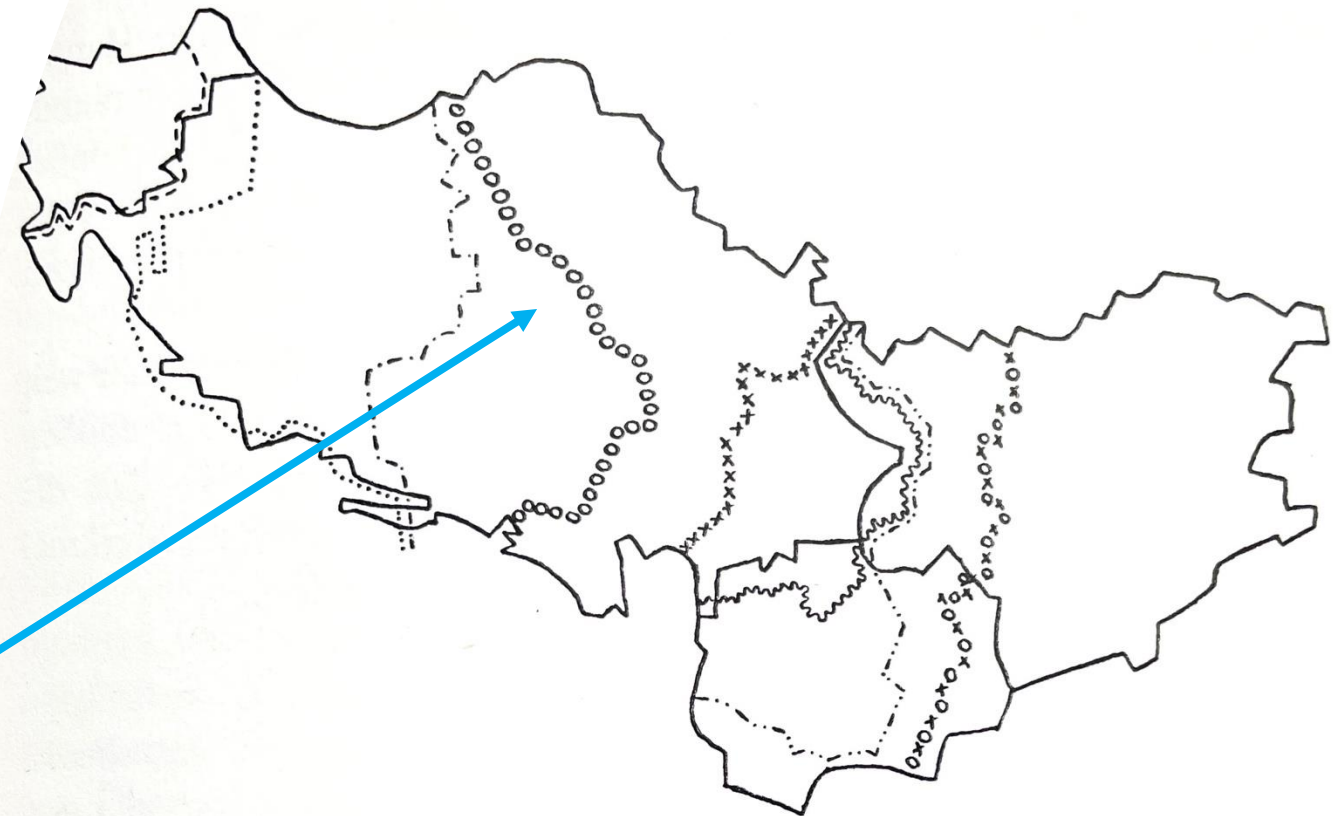
*dožene(tъ) > *dorene* ‘drives.3SG’

*te/ě-že ‘then-FOC’ > *tere* ‘also’ (occurs 2x in Freising Folia, ca 1000 AD), just as in modern Slovene *ter* ‘and, as well as’, Cr *tako-dje-že ‘so-same-FOC’ > *takóđer* ‘also’

The isogloss appears in Ivić 1958: 31

Ivić, Pavle. 1958. *Die serbokroatischen Dialekte – ihre Struktur und Entwicklung. Erster Band: Allgemeines und die štokavische Dialektgruppe*. The Hague: Mouton.

The innovation implicitly occurs west of the line composed of circles, i.e., Slovene, Kajkavian, Čakavian, and western Štokavian (today's Croatian, Bosnian).



- Nationale Grenzen
- Westlich der Linie - - - *zg', *zd' > ž (oder ž)
- „ „ „ *d' > j (in der Mehrheit der Beispiele)
- „ „ „ - - - *sk', *st' sind nicht identisch mit št
- „ „ „ **oooooooooooo** **že > re im Präsens more 'kann'**
- „ „ „ **xxxxxxxxxxxx** werden quantitative Gegensätze bei den Vokalen bewahrt
- „ „ „ ~~~~~ ž und ȝ sind zusammengefallen

However, the phonological change occurred in *all* South Slavic

Bulgarian *dori, duri* ‘up to’ < *do-žei* (noted by Vondrák 1924: 460)

It shows up fossilized in Romanian, presumably borrowed from Bulgarian:

“*porni* nije od *porinḡti* nego je *pognati* = *pornati* (14. v.), kako se vidi iz *porni oile* ‘tjerati ovce’, *Mihai porni cete spre a lua in goană pe dugman* ‘Mihalj je poslao cete da u potjeri zauzmu neprijatelja’. Odatle *porneală*” (Skok I: 575)’ (quoted from Skok’s *Etimologijski rječnik* with broader discussion found in Greenberg 1999: 64ff).

Vondrák, W. 1924. *Vergleichende slavische Grammatik, I. Band. Lautlehre und Stammbildungslehre*. Gottingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht.

Greenberg, Marc L. 1999. Multiple causation in the spread and reversal of a sound change: rhotacism in South Slavic. *Slovenski jezik / Slovene linguistic studies*: 63–76.

r prevails, productive in Slovene and other W. South Slavic dialects

0.2 The distribution of the change is restricted to a small number of lexical items and categories, as sketched here:²

0.2.1 The present tense of the verb *moči* 'to be able': *morem*, *moreš*, *more*, as well as prefixed forms *pomoč/ći* : *pomore* 'to help', *premoč/ći* : *premore* 'to overcome'; the form *morda* 'perhaps' (< **može da*). The area of this change includes Sn, Ča, Kaj as well as Što Ikavian, most of Ijekavian and W-Ekavian, including the environs of Novi Pazar.

0.2.1 In Sn and Cr/Bs/Srb in the verb *morati* : *moram*, *moraš*, *mora* 'to be obligated, must', apparently a derivative of *moč/ći*.

0.2.3 Complementizers and adverbs built with the enclitic particle *-že*, e.g., Sn *kakor* (< **kako-ž(e)*) 'as', *kdor* (< **kъdo-ž(e)*) 'who, whoever'; *vendar* (< **vem-da-ž(e)*) 'however'; it appears in Što in the form *jer* 'because'.

0.2.4 Time expressions in some Sn dialects, e.g., *nocôr* 'tonight' (Istria), *nicor* 'idem' (Styria).

0.2.5 The adv. *bore* 'pitifully, poorly', presumably built from the vocative of *bog* 'God', cf. *boremi* 'my God!'; the adj. derived from this, *boren* 'poor'. This is found in Sn and Cr dialects.

Greenberg
1999: 64

What's going on here?

r reflexes recede from the East, except in some “stranded,” relic forms (such as *dori, duri*).

Productive formations prevail with the frequent focus and relative marker *že*.



ИЖЕ¹, ѿже, юже pron.

occurring in Ev (incl. Achr Vat ZogrPal Und Kupr Bojan) Psalt (incl. SinN Sluck Eug) SinSluž Kij Euch EuchN Fris Cloz Supr Chil Ilj Ryl FragZogr FragHilf Apost (incl. En Grš Mih) Apoc Parim Gl Tun Služ Vind CanMis Praef Hom Klim Pochv Clem Dim Napis Const Meth Chrabr Naum Bud Sud Nom Bonif Progl Azb Venc VencNik VencTr CanVenc Ludm Bes Nicod Vit VitGlag Ben Zap CMLab CMNov Trin Dijav

If the prepositions precede, the pronoun take the initial *н-* (only rarely without *н-*: *въ иже* Hom, *van Wijk* 109,2, *ѡт ижѣ* Const 7, ms. 1469, Lavrov 48,1); in the textual editions *же* is sometimes written separate from the proper part of the pronoun; the form of nom. masc. is not only *иже* but also *ижь* in Zogr and the latter form appears not only in the Glagolitic ms. itself (16x) but also in the Cyrillic annotations added to the (2x); v. Josef Kurz, *Stsl. ижь*, *Listy filologické* 57, 1930, 22-27 and 61, 1934, 459.

A. Relative pronoun:

1. proper relative pronoun: *který, jenž; who, which, that; который; welcher, der*; — *ὅς, ὅστις, ὅσπερ, ὅσος, οἷος, ὁ; qui*; — in the attributive clauses: *ПОДОБЪНЪ ЕСТЬ ЧЛОВѢКОУ ВИЖДАШТЮ ХРАМИНЪ • ИЖЕ ИСКОПА І ОУГЛАЖЕИ • І ПОЛОЖИ ОСНОВАНЬЕ НА КАМЕНЕ АΝΘΡΩΠΩ ... ὅς ἔσκαψεν L 6,48 Zogr Mar; sim. ИЖЬ СЪЗЪДА ХРАМИНЪ СВОИЖ НА КАМЕНЕ ὅστις ὤκοδόμησεν Mt 7,24 Zogr, иже Mar As Sav Ostr; се отрокъ мои егоже изволихъ • възлюбѣнъи мои • на ѿже благоволити доуша моѣ ὁ παῖς μου ὃν ἠρέτισα, ὁ ἀγαπητός μου ὃν εὐδόκησεν Mt 12,18 Zogr Mar As Ostr, егоже изволихъ ... на немъже Sav; знаменитъ же огню ѿже видѣтὰ δὲ σημεῖα ... ὅπερ εἶδες Supr 23,12; съповѣдати ... трюдъи • аже показа на ориѣна агѡνας, ὅσους ἐδείξατο Supr 301,27; • as the attribute of a noun: прѣвѣститъ • на немъже вѣ мѣстѣ двѣа дъни ѣмειнен ἐν ᾧ ἦν τόπω δύο ἡμέρας J 11,6 Zogr Mar As Sav Vat Ostr Kupr, Supr 313, 19; юмоу же хоштеши богу тѣчыжъ жъри оѡ θέλεις θεῶ, μόνον θῦσον Supr 21, 22; • relative clauses for the Greek constructions with the article: чѣто же видиши сѣчыць • иже естъ въ очесе вратра твоего • а врьвѣна еже естъ въ очесе твоємъ не чюеши τὸ κάρφος τὸ ἐν τῷ ὀφθαλμῷ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ σου, τὴν δὲ δοκὸν τὴν ἐν τῷ ἰδίῳ ὀφθαλμῷ L 6,41 Zogr Mar; вко помѣнъ слово сѣвѣтѣе своѣ • еже имѣ къ авраамю тоῦ λόγου ... τοῦ πρὸς Ἀβραάμ Ps 104,42 Sin Pog Bon Lob Par; •*

Mechanisms

- Other categories – there are few – follow suit, where there is an alternation, *mogu*, *more* is replaced by *mogu*, *može*, *likely* by analogy to prevailing alternation *g – ž*
- Similarly: simplex *žene* ‘drives’ (inf. *gnati*) alternates with prefixed *dorene* ‘drives up to’ – no longer present in Bulgarian, but shows up in borrowings into Romanian

Why is this a candidate for a style marker?

- Productive *-r* vs. productive *-ž(e)* maps almost perfectly onto Roman Catholic vs. Eastern Orthodox geographic realms (a westerly echo of the earlier Jireček line).
- Reasonable to hypothesize that productive sharpened orientation towards confessional identities both as a style of speaking/recitation and as a written style.
- Exaptation: a quotidian phonological change, which became identified with productive grammatical categories, is now used for a further purpose: to mark off group distinctions.

Lisac, Josip. 2003. *Hrvatska dijalektologija 1. Hrvatski dijalekti i govori štokavskog narječja i hrvatski govori torlačkog najrečja*. Zagreb: Golden marketing --Tehnička knjiga.

Karta 6
PREDMIGRACIJSKI RASPORED
SREDNJOJUŽNOSLAVENSKIH NARJEČJA



NARJEČJA

čakavsko

kajkavsko

zapadnoštokavsko

istočnoštokavsko

torlačko

Cf. Jireček line (pre- Slavic)

Matzinger, Joachim. 2012. *Die altbalkanischen Sprachen*. Munich (unpublished MA thesis)

Anhand der Verbreitung latein. gegenüber griech. Inschriften können zwei Kulturräume festgestellt werden. Die "Grenze", die diese beiden Kulturräume (= Schrifträume) trennt, ist die sog. Jireček-Linie, deren Verlauf durch Inschriftenneufunde immer wieder korrigiert wurde/wird → *südl. der JL griechischer Schriftraum, nördl. der JL latein. Schriftraum.*



Conclusion/discussion

- The case to be made for proto-standardization changes are akin to the isochrestic style in archaeology.
- They are like *exaptation*: a functional change yields material that is a reinterpreted as a having group-signaling function.
- In doing historical-comparative work, we should be aware of and attempt to detect such style changes.