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Teaching Modern Greek to Classicists: Taking Advantage of Continuity

1. INTRODUCTION

It is undeniable that Modern Greek is in some way a continuation of Ancient Greek of some 2500 years earlier. Admittedly, there is controversy among linguists, Hellenists, and Greeks themselves as to the extent of "continuity" of the Greek language across time and even what the notion of continuity *could* mean and does mean in practical terms. For instance, is Greek one language across all its history, as Browning (1983: vii) claims, or not, as Hamp (2003: 67) counters? Nonetheless, whatever continuity might mean in the case of Greek, it is clear that there is an overwhelming presence of Ancient Greek vocabulary in the modern language, so that there is a bidirectional relationship between ancient and modern forms of the language. That is, given a particular Ancient Greek word, it is possible to predict what it should look like in Modern Greek, assuming it continues into the modern language; similarly, with a given Modern Greek word, it is possible to determine the Ancient Greek form or forms that are possible starting points for the modern form.

Our position, taken up without ideology or politics behind it, is that the recognition of this shared vocabulary and this bidirectionality of the relationship between modern and ancient forms can be a tool for introducing Classicists to the modern language, and for allowing the student of Modern Greek to gain a foothold in the study of Ancient Greek. This issue has some significance in the United States at least, and maybe elsewhere, since there is often a large gulf between classicists and Neo-Hellenists and thus between the study of Ancient Greek and Modern Greek. This is so even though many Modern Greek language and studies programs are housed within Classics departments. But this issue also has interest and significance for Greeks today, again without reference to ideology or politics, for it encourages one to think about the extent

of Ancient Greek in the modern language. In a certain sense, it is the linguistic analogue to the presence of antiquities in modern cities; it is as inescapable a fact about Modern Greek as the Acropolis is an inescapable fact about the skyline of Athens.

In taking this position, we recognize that there are various intellectual precedents to our view. The value of Modern Greek for the student of the ancient language is affirmed by the many classicists who have studied the modern language and benefitted from the bidirectionality referred to above.[1] Moreover, it was a favorite theme of Albert Thumb, Nicholas Bachtin, George Thomson, and Robert Browning, among other distinguished classicists.

The enthusiasm of such scholars for the modern language was in a general way a reaction against skepticism that some classicists have held towards Modern Greek; Friedrich Nietzsche, for instance, said the following about linguistic decline: "It was subtle of God to speak Greek, and to speak it so poorly." Indeed, the ideology of decline is a part of the history of the study and characterization of the Greek language from the Hellenistic period and the Roman Atticist movement right up to the emergence of *katharevousa* in the 19th century and the resulting diglossia throughout most of the 20th century; for instance, Adamantios Korais, the 18th- and 19th-century leading Greek intellectual, considered the absence of an infinitive in Modern Greek to be "the most frightful vulgarity of our language", and Jakob Phillip Fallmerayer, the 19th-century German historian, said that "Eine Sprache ohne Infinitiv ist nicht viel besser als ein menschlicher Körper ohne Hand". By contrast, George Derwent Thomson, a key 20th century English classicist, remarking on the views of a colleague who said "I started once to learn some Modern Greek, but when I found they use the genitive instead of the dative, I felt affronted and had to give it up," had the following reaction: "This is only an extreme case of that disdain for reality which has done so much to lower the prestige of classical studies."[2]

Accordingly, continuing along the path of such scholars as Thumb, Bachtin, Thomson, and Browning, we outline here a program by which the ancient language can be used as a stepping stone for the learning of Modern Greek, thereby introducing Modern Greek to classicists.

1 We three authors are evidence, living proof as it were, of this affirmation, as we all started in Hellenic studies via the ancient language.

2 See Fallmerayer (1845: 451), Triantafyllidis (1938: 452), Thomson (1951), Joseph (1985: 90), Mackridge (2009: 118).

2. MODERN GREEK FOR CLASSICISTS: A PROGRAMMATIC VIEW

We believe that it is possible to introduce Modern Greek to classicists in a way that is based on exploiting Ancient Greek as much as possible. Thus, in introducing classicist to the modern language, we start with words that can be used without explaining any pronunciation rules concerning Modern Greek spelling or any differences in meaning of these words and thus, without needing to adjust for all the changes in phonology, morphology, and semantics that have occurred between Ancient and Modern Greek. These words can be referred to as *carry-overs* (or "matches" or "matching forms"), and recognizing them allows for an easy and relatively "painless" transition for the classics student from Ancient Greek into Modern Greek.

An example of how Modern Greek can be introduced into teaching of the Ancient language is the dialogue below—the content is certainly less than compelling, as it is constrained by the scope of the *carry-overs*, and the phonological matches are, at least under some interpretations, not exact. In addition, some of the words in the dialogue would require different use of diacritical marks if written according to the Modern Greek orthography, so that it needs to be written in capital letters. Nonetheless, it is a starting point:

(1) A: ΞΕΝΕ! ΜΟΝΟΣ; ΤΟ ΟΝΟΜΑ ΣΟΥ;
Foreigner! Alone? Your name?
B: ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΣ. ΤΟ ΟΝΟΜΑ ΣΟΥ;
Alexander. Your name?
A: ΟΥΡΑΝΙΑ. ΠΟΥ ΜΕΝΕΤΕ, ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΕ;
Ourania. Where do you stay, Alexander?
B: ΠΡΟΣ ΣΑΛΑΜΙΝΑ.
Towards Salamina.
A: ΤΙ ΠΙΝΕΤΕ;
What do you drink?
B: ΜΕΛΙ.
Honey.

The last line of the dialogue can be modified with alternative answers such as the following:

(2) B: ΝΕΚΤΑΡ./ΠΟΛΛΑ ΠΟΤΑ.
Nectar./Many drinks.

Furthermore, there are loanwards which could be used in an introductory lesson to Modern Greek as well, without additional explanations of their meaning and pronunciation. These loanwords can be read correctly even with the knowledge of the Ancient Greek alphabet and are likely to be understood by classicists due to the similarities these words show with words in familiar modern languages of Europe.[3] Therefore, the last line in passage (1) can be replaced with one of the following answers:

(3) B: ΚΟΚΑ ΚΟΛΑ./ΤΣΑΙ./ΣΟΚΟΛΑΤΑ.
Coca cola./Tea./Chocolate.

Additional examples of dialogues consisting of words that can be understood by classicists on the basis of their language skill in Ancient Greek are given in passages (4)–(6):

(4) A: ΤΙ ΝΕΑ;
What is new?
B: ΕΠΕΣΕ ΝΕΚΡΟΣ.
He fell dead (= He died).

(5) A: ΕΠΕΣΕΣ;
You fell?
B: ΜΑΛΙΣΤΑ.
Yes, indeed.

(6) A: ΠΟΥ ΕΠΕΣΕΣ;
Where did you fall?
B: ΚΑΤΩ.
Down.

Of these passages, (1) in particular contains words that are usually taught in Ancient Greek classes and whose Modern Greek meaning and pronunciation show no significant difference with respect to their ancient Greek origins, e.g., the verb forms ΜΕΝΕΤΕ and ΠΙΝΕΤΕ and the noun forms ΜΕΛΙ, ΟΝΟΜΑ and ΞΕΝΕ. Therefore, such words are likely to be recognized by classicist even when used in Modern Greek spoken discourse. Passages (2)–(6), however, also use some readily recognizable verbs, e.g. ΕΠΕΣΕΣ/ΕΠΕΣΕ, but also introduce

3 We realize of course that classicists need not be familiar with modern Western European languages, but in practical terms, it is more likely than not that they will be.

words that may be readily recognizable by classicists even though they do not have phonological and semantic matches in Modern Greek. The word μάλιστα, used in passage (5), has a different meaning in Modern Greek from that in the ancient language (AG 'most' vs. MG 'yes indeed'), but (roughly) the same pronunciation in Ancient and in Modern Greek. Furthermore, the word κάτω 'down' in passage (6) has the same written form in Ancient and in Modern Greek and is therefore likely to be recognized by students of the ancient language, even though its pronunciation in Ancient Greek was different from that in the modern language in terms of the length of the final vowel ω (AG [ō], MG [o]).

These examples show that it is possible to find Ancient Greek words with semantic and phonological matches in the modern language (i.e., the *carry-overs*)—and to arrange them into plausible Modern Greek clauses and even dialogues; such words are not very frequent and in composing plausible Modern Greek clauses and dialogues from the stock of common Ancient/Modern Greek vocabulary, it is difficult to avoid Modern Greek words that display various semantic and phonological differences with regard to their ancient Greek counterparts, as is the case with the words μάλιστα and κάτω. Furthermore, some ancient words that might be useful in the dialogues such as above (e.g., ὕδωρ 'water', οἶνος 'wine') are not used at all in Modern Greek (or are rare, archaic forms) and thus are not useful in this context. Moreover, some Modern Greek words originating from the ancient language are unlikely to be recognized and understood by classicists; for instance, Modern Greek words for water (νερό) and wine (κρασί).[4] And finally, while some loanwords may be understood by classicists, as suggested in passage (3), this is clearly not always the case; for instance, it is unlikely that using the word τσίπουρο 'raki' in passage (1) would be effective.

Therefore, differences between Ancient and Modern Greek have to be introduced at an early stage of teaching Modern Greek to classicists well—as is expected given that Ancient and Modern Greek are two distinct stages of the language—and this phase cannot come much later than the original phase, which focuses on similarities between Modern Greek and its ancient predecessor. Nevertheless, our approach shows classicists that by learning the ancient language, they have also learned some Modern Greek as well. This ought, therefore, to shed a different light for them on the relation between the two phases of the language. Furthermore, our program differs from previous approaches to teaching Modern Greek to classicists (e.g., Laiou 2011, Kavagia 2009). None of these textbooks appear to be aware that such similarities between Ancient and Modern Greek exist and can provide a basis for teaching Modern Greek to classicists.

4 The former word originates from earlier νηρόν (AG νεαρὸν) modifying an understood ὕδωρ, thus 'fresh water', and the latter from κρᾶσις 'mixture'; LKN, s.vv. νερό and κρασί.

In what follows we further explain basic concepts of our approach to teaching Modern Greek to classicists, and provide statistical data in support of it.

3. BASIC CONCEPTS

Many of the basic concepts associated with this approach, although introduced in previous sections, require further discussion and exemplification. We address these concepts in the subsections that follow.

3.1 Carry-overs

The concept of *carry-overs* goes back to Joseph (2009: 369), who observed that some words have remained "more or less intact over the years", examples including ἄνεμος 'wind' and ἄλλος 'other'. This concept contrasts with views that no Ancient Greek words are preserved in the modern language without having undergone significant phonological and/or morphological change (cf. Pappas and Moers 2011: 212), a defensible position, given that the realization of accent has changed in almost all words (see below), but one we do not fully embrace.[5]

Carry-overs are only those Ancient Greek words that that are preserved in Modern Greek and do not contain sounds that underwent significant phonological change; a listing of the sounds that have changed is given in (7), with an indication of their ancient pronunciation where appropriate:[6]

(7) – long vowels
– short υ [ü]
– (long and short) diphthongs
– voiced stops β [b], δ [d], γ [g]
– (voiceless) aspirated stops θ [t^h], χ [k^h], φ [p^h]
– the aspirate [h]
– double (geminate) consonants
– the consonant ρ [r]

5 See also Wilson, Pappas, and Moers (2019: 598–599), Petrounias (1998: xxii), Manolessou (2013).

6 For an overview of phonological developments, see, for instance, Horrocks (2010: 160–163). The consonant ρ is not usually mentioned among the consonants that underwent significant phonological change. See, however, the discussion in Allen (1974: 39), which speaks against the equivalence of this consonant in Ancient and in Modern Greek.

Furthermore, these are words that did not undergo morphological reshaping, as was the case with feminine and masculine nouns of the 3rd declension (e.g., φύλαξ vs. MG φύλακας), with the present stem of many verb (e.g., AG μανθάνω vs. MG μαθαίνω; AG πληρόω vs. MG πληρώνω) etc.[7] As to the meaning, *carry-overs* must have the same meaning in Ancient and in Modern Greek. In this respect we follow etymologies of LKN (*Λεξικό της Κοινής Νεοελληνικής*) and thus, the proposal of Petrounias (2010: 315) who has suggested that these etymologies can be a basis for identifying words that "are equivalent" in Ancient and in Modern Greek. Words with the same meaning in Ancient and in Modern Greek are represented in etymologies of LKN without explicit references to their meaning in Ancient and Modern Greek (see Petrounias 1998: xxii). An example is the etymology of the Modern Greek verb αισθάνομαι, which shows that the verb originates from the corresponding verb (with the written form αἰσθάνομαι) in the ancient language:

(8) [λόγ. < αρχ. *αἰσθάνομαι*]
[learn. < AG *αἰσθάνομαι*]

In addition to suggesting that there is no significant difference in meaning between this verb in Ancient and in Modern Greek, this etymology also indicates that, rather than being directly inherited from Ancient Greek, the verb originates from the learnèd tradition (λόγ.) or *katharevousa*. This is the origin of a significant part of Modern Greek words with the Ancient Greek origin (cf. Petrounias 1998: xxii, Joseph 2009: 369). It is therefore worth stressing that the term *carry-over* can be misleading inasmuch it may seem to imply that the words fulfilling the aforementioned phonological and semantic criteria were inherited directly from Ancient Greek. Thus, a different terminology seems appropriate. We use the (admittedly somewhat cumbersome) term *homophonographoseme* as a synonymous, but more neutral term than *carry-overs*, in reference to words that have (roughly) the same meaning, pronunciation and the written form in Ancient and in Modern Greek regardless of whether they have entered Modern Greek from the learnèd tradition or were inherited directly from the ancient language.

In determining *homophonographosemes*, one also needs to take into account the change of the accent from pitch to stress. An accented word, even if fulfilling all the aforementioned criteria cannot be a true *carry-over* because of the different nature of the accent in Ancient and in Modern Greek. There is the possibility that unaccented words (proclitics or enclitics) are legitimate *carry-overs*, an example being the Modern Greek preposition ἐν 'in'. This word belongs to the Modern Greek learnèd vocabulary and cannot be taken as true

7 See also Joseph (2009: 369).

carry-over in the sense of a word inherited from Ancient Greek—as noted, the term *homophonographoseme* is much more appropriate in such cases. It is, however, one of the lemmas in LKN and is therefore a part of the Modern Greek lexicon. Furthermore, it consists of phonemes that do not seem to have undergone any significant change; at least, they are not usually mentioned among such phonemes.[8] It also needs to be mentioned that the pronunciation of the vowel ε may not have been the same in Ancient Greek as is today. According to Allen (1974: 60), this vowel was in Classical Greek "rather like" the vowel e in English *pet*, whereas Modern Greek ε (also αι) is "anything rather than more open than the vowel of English *pet*". According to Sturtevant (1940: 33, 47), however, ε was a rather close vowel. This is because ε + ε contracts to ει [e:] rather than η [ɛ:], and ει [e:] is also the result of the secondary lengthening of ε. If ε was an open-mid vowel, as is the case in Modern Greek, one would expect the result of all these processes to be η rather than ει. Therefore, if one follows Allen (loc. cit.), unaccented words such as the preposition ἐν are true *carry-overs*, even if adopted from the learnèd tradition. This is not the case, however, if one follows Sturtevant (loc. cit.).

Another potential class of true *carryovers* are words that are regularly accented with the grave accent—provided that they also fulfill the rest of the aforementioned phonological and semantic criteria. According to one interpretation, this accent mark represents the lack of the accent because in an earlier orthographic system, it was used to mark any unaccented syllable (Allen 1974: 115, Tsantsanoglou 2001: 988–989). If this is the case, then a Modern Greek word that may have an exact match in the ancient language is the plural form of the definite article τά, as it is typically accented in Ancient Greek texts with the grave accent and is unaccented in Modern Greek.

This means that owing to the loss of the pitch accent, no Ancient Greek word would have its exact phonological and semantic match in the modern language, with a few potential exceptions. Nonetheless, with regard to accent, the concept of *carry-overs* proves to be useful in practical, pedagogical terms, precisely the focus of the present study (whatever the theoretical interest of such *carry-overs* might be). This is because, according to Allen (1974: 136), the Ancient Greek accent is typically rendered with stress (not the pitch of the ancient accentuation) in pedagogical practice, and this is the case "even in countries where the native language has a tonal system of accentuation (as e.g. in Yugoslavia and Norway)."[9] In other words, the change in the nature of

8 See also footnote 6.

9 For the same view, see Petrounias (2001: 954). Allen's view is oversimplified because it assumes one native language in the former Yugoslavia. It is correct, however, in the respect that in the former Yugoslavia, the tonal accent was not adopted in pronunciation of Ancient Greek. For instance, this was never the case in Slovenia, although some Slovenian dialects retain the pitch accent—which could in principle, for such speakers, make it possible to adopt this accent type in pronunciation of Ancient Greek.

the accent does not mean that words with semantic and phonological matches in Modern Greek (i.e., *carry-overs*) are not a part of the vocabulary learned in Ancient Greek classes. Moreover, in any case, such words will be readily recognizable in their written form.

As a result of these considerations, one needs to distinguish between different classes of *carry-overs*, representing different degrees of strictness regarding adherence to the criteria:

1. Potential examples of *carry-overs* (*homophonographosemes*) in the strictest sense, i.e. Ancient Greek words with phonological and semantic matches in Modern Greek. These are words consisting only of sounds that appear not to have changed, and are written with the consonant letters κ, λ, μ, ν, ξ, π, σ, τ, ψ, without any doubling, as well as with vowels α and ι (or ἀ/ἰ), unless the latter two letters represent long vowels. Furthermore, these words are unaccented in both Ancient and Modern Greek.
2. Accented *carry-overs*, consisting of the same sound true *carry-overs*. The Ancient and the Modern Greek words differ in terms of the nature of the accent. In pronouncing the accent, however, teaching practice is much closer to Modern than to Ancient Greek. Therefore, when learned in a typical Ancient Greek class, these words appear to have direct phonological and semantic matches in Modern Greek. Examples include τί 'what', κατά 'against/according to', μία 'one' (f./sg.), κακά 'bad' (n./pl.).
3. Accented *carry-overs*, including those containing the vowels ε/αι [e] and ο [o]. These words belong to the class of the accented *carry-overs* if one adopts the view that these two vowels had in Ancient Greek roughly the same pronunciation as in the modern language. This view as adopted by Allen (1974: 60) but not by Sturtevant (1940: 33, 47). As already mentioned, the latter argues against the equivalence of the Ancient and Modern Greek ε based on contraction and lengthening facts. His arguments against the view that the pronunciation of ο was roughly the same in Ancient Greek and in the modern language have a similar basis, due to the contraction of ο+ο to ου not ω, and the secondary lengthening of ο to ου rather than ω; if there was no significant difference between the pronunciation of ο in Ancient and in Modern Greek, ω would be the expected outcome in each case in Ancient Greek. If one nonetheless follows Allen (1974: 60), the number of *carry-overs* is significantly increased, and would contain words such as the following:
   - nouns μέλι, ἄνεμος, πόλεμος, ὄνομα, νόμος
   - adjectives/numerals κακός, ἄξιος, πιστός, νέος, ἔνατος
   - inflected verb forms πίνετε, μένετε, ἔπεσε, ἔπινε etc.

3.2 Ethnohomophonographosemes

If it is assumed that apart from the pronunciation of the accent, Ancient Greek is pronounced in modern teaching practice in its authentic form, the pronunciation of all classes of *carry-overs* that were discussed in the previous section roughly corresponds to their Modern Greek pronunciation. This, however, is a significant oversimplification. Although the teaching of Ancient Greek in many countries follows the Erasmian pronunciation, in actuality there are several varieties of the Erasmian pronunciation that show the impact of the phonology of native modern languages and of various, sometimes wrong, perceptions of the authentic Ancient Greek pronunciation (Allen 1974: 125–144, Petrounias 2001: 952). Therefore, the discussion of *carry-overs* needs to take into account their potential interaction with the traditions of the pronunciation of Ancient Greek and thus with potential effects on the teaching of Modern Greek to classicists. In some cases this can mean that the pronunciation of an Ancient Greek word is closer to its pronunciation in Modern Greek in its ancient form. An example is words containing the letters φ and χ or the digraph ου, which are pronounced in many traditions according to their Modern Greek pronunciation, namely [f], [h] and [u] (Petrounias 2001: 952). As a result, the pronunciation of some words may be much closer to Modern than to Ancient Greek. An example is the word φίλος. If φ is pronounced as [f] and if ου is pronounced as [u], the Erasmian pronunciation of φίλος, as well as some of its inflected forms (φίλου, φίλε, φίλους) corresponds to Modern Greek (namely, [fílos], [fílu], [file], [fílus]) much more closely than to the authentic ancient Greek pronunciation ([pʰílos], [pʰílō], [pʰíle], [pʰílōs]). We call these words *ethnohomophonographosemes*.

Other aspects of the Erasmian pronunciation can also have significantly different effects on teaching Modern Greek to classicists. For example, there is the so-called Henninian pronunciation, in which Ancient Greek words are pronounced according to the Latin accentuation rules (see Allen 1974: 135–136, Petrounias 2001: 954). The word ἄνθρωπος in this tradition is accentuated on the penultimate syllable and corresponds to neither Ancient nor Modern Greek accentuation. This pronunciation is used in the Netherlands, in South Africa, in Great Britain and in the Commonwealth (Allen, loc. cit.).[10]

This also means that effects of national traditions of the Erasmian pronunciation on teaching Modern Greek to classicists need to be examined for each of these traditions separately. This issue lies beyond the scope of the present paper and is a subject of a larger project we aim at conducting. The effects

10 It is interesting to observe that the Henninian pronunciation is reflected also in earlier Slovenian literature (namely, in a poem of France Prešeren), which indicates that this pronunciation used to be much more widespread (in the 19th century) than is the case nowadays (Grošelj 1970–1971).

of one of the varieties of the Erasmian pronunciation on teaching of Modern Greek are further discussed below in §4.

3.3 False friends

As was shown in passage (5), some words display phonological properties of *carry-overs* but have a different meaning in Ancient Greek from that in Modern Greek. We use the term "false friends" for these words. An example is the word μάλιστα, which means 'most' in Ancient Greek and 'yes, indeed' in the modern language. Another term for words with phonological properties of *carry-overs* but with a different meaning in Modern Greek from that in the ancient language is *homophonograph*. Furthermore, we use the term false friends for words that have the same written form in Ancient and Modern Greek but different pronunciation and meaning. These words can also be called *homographs*. The same as in the case of *carry-overs*, our analysis is based on the etymologies of LKN; therefore, *false friends* are words that have, according to these etymologies, a different meaning in Ancient Greek from that seen in Modern Greek (cf. Petrounias 1998: xxii); this is the case also with the verb παιδεύω (AG [paideúō] 'bring up, teach', MG [peδévo] 'pester'):

(9) [αρχ. *παιδεύω* 'ανατρέφω, εκπαιδεύω' (η σημερ. σημ. μσν.)]
[AG *παιδεύω* 'bring up, educate' (MG meaning Medieval)]

Examples of both types of *false friends* are given in Table 1.

Table 1: Ancient-Modern Greek false friends

Ancient ←			GREEK	Modern →		
Meaning	Pronunciation	Lower case letters	CAPITAL LETTERS	Lower case letters	Pronunciation	Meaning
foreigner	[bárbaros]	ΒΑΡΒΑΡΟΣ βάρβαρος			[várvaros]	barbarian
marry	[gamō]	γαμῶ	ΓΑΜΩ	γαμώ	[γamó]	f***
private	[ídios]	ἴδιος	ΙΔΙΟΣ	ίδιος	[íðios]	the same
to be a slave	[dōleūō]	ΔΟΥΛΕΥΩ δουλεύω			[δulévo]	work
assembly	[ekklēsía]	ἐκκλησία	ΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑ	εκκλησία	[eklisía]	church
the right moment	[kairós]	ΚΑΙΡΟΣ καιρός			[kerós]	weather, time
beautiful	ΚΑΛΟΣ καλός [kalós]					good
Girl	[kórē]	ΚΟΡΗ κόρη			[kóri]	daughter
Power	ΚΡΑΤΟΣ κράτος [krátos]					state
possession	[ktéma]	κτῆμα	ΚΤΗΜΑ	κτήμα	[ktíma]	estate
More	[māllon]	μᾶλλον	ΜΑΛΛΟΝ	μάλλον	[málon]	probably
Most	ΜΑΛΙΣΤΑ μάλιστα [málista]					indeed
bring up	[paideúō]	ΠΑΙΔΕΥΩ παιδεύω			[peδévo]	pester
denouncer	[sȳkop^{h}ántēs]	ΣΥΚΟΦΑΝΤΗΣ συκοφάντης			[sikofá(n)dis]	slenderer
free time	[sk^{h}olē]	ΣΧΟΛΗ σχολή			[sholí]	school
table	[trápedza]	ΤΡΑΠΕΖΑ τράπεζα			[trápeza]	ban
seosanable	[hōraíos]	ὡραῖος	ΩΡΑΙΟΣ	ωραίος	[oréos]	beautiful

These words show that knowledge of Ancient Greek can cause misunderstanding (or, interference errors) in Modern Greek. Consider, for instance, a passage such as that in (10):

(10) Η τράπεζα είναι πλούσια.
The bank is rich.

In this case, in teaching Modern Greek to classicists, it would need to be stressed that the word τράπεζα in Modern Greek means 'bank' rather than 'table', as was the case in Ancient Greek, and that the verb form είναι is in Modern Greek a finite form (namely the 3rd person singular or plural of the verb 'to be'), rather than the present infinitive of this verb, as was the case in the ancient language.[11]

3.4 Homographosemes

In addition to *carry-overs* and *false friends*, passages (2)–(6) also contain words with the same meaning and written form in Ancient and in Modern Greek but with different pronunciations; an example is the adverb κάτω from passage (6), and additional examples include νομίζω 'think', γράφω 'write', θάνατος 'death', κίνδυνος 'danger', ἄνθρωπος 'man' etc. We call these words *homographosemes*.[12]

In this case, the similarity between the ancient and the modern word is a result of the modern Greek orthographic system (which remains relatively conservative) rather than of the lack of semantic or formal change. Still, such words draw attention to the fact that in addition to different classes of *carry-overs*, which are pronounced, at least in the modern pedagogical practice, in roughly the same way as in Modern Greek, some ancient and modern Greek words are equivalent only in terms of their written forms. More specifically, they are equivalent when written with capital letters, whereas there may be distinctions between the written form of these words in Modern Greek and in ancient texts, when written with lower case letters. For instance, the word ΑΝΘΡΩΠΟΣ is written as ἄνθρωπος in Ancient Greek texts but άνθρωπος in Modern Greek. By using their skills in Ancient Greek, classicists are able to understand such words in Modern Greek written texts, although they may

11 For further details of our approach to teaching Modern Greek to classicists, as well as for additional materials, see the website *Greek Ancient and Modern: A resource for teaching and study of the Greek language in all its phases*, https://u.osu.edu/greek/.

12 Depending on the variety of the Erasmian pronunciation, the pronunciation of some of these words in actual teaching practice may (roughly) correspond to their Modern Greek pronunciation. In this section we focus on words that are *homographosemes* from the perspective of diachronic processes that affected the Greek language.

not be able to pronounce them correctly (or to recognize their Modern Greek spoken forms). Examples are given in passages (11) and (12):

(11) Λέγονται πολλά.
A lot is being said.

(12) Έρχονται ο Πέτρος και η Ελένη.
Peter and Eleni are coming.

Such examples can also be introduced in teaching Modern Greek to classicists from the earliest stages on, at least in their written forms.

4. SOME STATISTICAL DATA

Focusing on teaching the ancient language in Slovenia, this section provides statistical data on the phenomena that are discussed above, that is on different classes of *carry-overs*, *false friends* and *homographosemes*. These data show that none of these types of words are insignificant in learning Ancient Greek. Therefore, it is reasonable to take them into account in teaching Modern Greek to classicists, as is the case in our approach.

The following table shows how Slovenian students of Ancient Greek are taught to pronounce Ancient Greek letters, indicating also that in some aspects, this pronunciation may be much closer to Modern Greek than to its ancient predecessor.

First, the table shows that the pronunciation of the letters representing sounds that appear to have undergone no significant change follows their Ancient Greek pronunciation, thus (roughly) corresponding also to their modern pronunciation. As noted in §3.1, these letters include κ, λ, μ, ν, ξ, π, σ, τ, ψ, as well as α and ι (or ἀ/ἰ) (when they represent short vowels). Furthermore, the table shows important divergences from the authentic Ancient Greek pronunciation. Thus students are not taught to distinguish between the pronunciation of Ancient Greek short and long vowels (note the lack of distinction in the cases of ο and ω, ε and η, as well as long and short ι and υ). Moreover, the letters φ and χ are pronounced as [f], [h] rather than [p^h], [k^h]. Therefore, their pronunciation is much closer to Modern Greek than to its ancient predecessor, as appears to be the case in many varieties of the Erasmian pronunciation (see §3.2). Another such feature is the pronunciation of the digraph ου, which is pronounced as (short) [u] rather than [ō] or [ū], as was the case in Classical Greek (see Babič, loc. cit.). Additional divergences from the authentic Classical Greek pronunciation include the pronunciation of double consonants (which are pronounced as single consonants), as well as the lack of distinction

Table 2: Ancient Greek alphabet in the Slovenian tradition (Babič 1997: 23)

Name of the letter	Letter		Our Pronunciation	Authentic AG Pronunciation
	Capital	Lower-case		
ἄλφα (alfa)	Α	α	a	
βῆτα (beta)	Β	β	b	
γάμμα (gama)	Γ	γ	g	
δέλτα (delta)	Δ	δ	d	
ἐ ψιλόν (epsilon)	Ε	ε	e	(ĕ)
ζῆτα (zeta)	Ζ	ζ	dz	
ἦτα (eta)	Η	η	e	(ē)
θῆτα (theta)	Θ	θ	th	
ἰῶτα (iota)	Ι	ι	i	(ĭ, ī)
κάππα (kappa)	Κ	κ	k	
λάμβδα (lambda)	Λ	λ	l	
μῦ (mi)	Μ	μ	m	
νῦ (ni) ỹ	Ν	ν	n	
ξῖ/ξεῖ (ksi)	Ξ	ξ	ks	
ο μικρόν (omikron)	Ο	ο	o	(ŏ)
πῖ/πεῖ (pi)	Π	π	p	
ῥῶ (ro)	Ρ	ρ	r	
σῖγμα (sigma)	Σ	σ, ς	s	
ταῦ (tau)	Τ	τ	t	
υ ψιλόν (ipsilon)	Υ	υ	y (ü)	(y̆, ȳ)
φῖ/φεῖ (fi)	Φ	φ	f	p^h
χῖ/χεῖ (hi)	Χ	χ	h	k^h
ψῖ/ψεῖ (psi)	Ψ	ψ	ps	
ω μέγα (omega)	Ω	ω	o	ō

between different accent marks.[13] In these cases too, this variety of the Erasmian pronunciation is much closer to the modern than to the authentic Ancient Greek pronunciation. Finally, it is worth noting that students are given no information about the openness of the vowels ο (ω) and ε (αι).

These data suggest that Slovenian students of Ancient Greek are likely to learn words that can be considered as true *carry-overs* (e.g., τὰ), as well as accented *carry-overs* (e.g., μία, κατά, τί); see §3.1. As for the *carry-overs* containing the vowels ε/ο, one needs to take into account that their native language distinguishes between open-mid and close-mid vowels [e] and [o], as well as

13 On this issue, see also footnote 9 above.

that native languages usually have a significant impact on the Erasmian pronunciation of Ancient Greek (see §3.2). This means that students may often pronounce these letters as close-mid rather than as open-mid vowels, and that in teaching Modern Greek, significant attention may need to be given to the correct pronunciation of these vowels.

Furthermore, in learning Ancient Greek vocabulary, students are also likely to learn *ethnohomophonographosemes* (see §3.2). Taking into account the aforementioned letters (and digraphs) whose pronunciation is closer to Modern than to Ancient Greek, this category includes words such as ἀλλά, οὐρανός, φίλος, χώρα etc. As is likely to be the case also in other traditions of the Erasmian pronunciation, Slovenian students may also learn *false friends* (e.g., δουλεύω, παιδεύω) and *homographosemes*. The latter category includes words such as ἄνθρωπος, κίνδυνος—note, however, that words such as οὐρανός or ἀλλά, which may be considered as *homographosemes* is some varieties of the Erasmian pronunciation, are *ethnohomophonographosemes* in the Slovenian tradition.[14]

In the last few decades, Mihevc-Gabrovec (1978) has been the most commonly used textbook for teaching the ancient language in Slovenian schools. Table 3 below below shows that this textbook contains all of the above categories of Ancient Greek words. It is also worth noting that in absolute terms, none of these words, except for those belonging to the category of (potential) true *homophonographosemes*, seem insignificant.

Table 3: Inflected words in Mihevc-Gabrovec (1978)

	Number of words	Learnèd words
True homophonographosemes	0–4	0–3
Accented homophonographosemes	12	2
Accented homophonographosemes with ε/o	105	31
Ethnohomophonographosemes	444	95
Homographosemes	2340	484
False friends	176	1

This table also shows numbers of words that belong in the standard modern language to the learnèd tradition and are characterized in the main lemma of LKN as "learnèd" (λόγιος, log.); an example is the Modern Greek preposition ἐν, discussed already in §3.1:

14 See also footnote 12 above.

(13) εν [en] πρόθ.: (λόγ.)
εν [en] prep.: (learn.)

The table shows that in each of the classes, words belonging to the Modern Greek learned vocabulary are much less frequent than those from the common vocabulary. These data are important to stress because higher relative frequencies of words belonging to the learnèd tradition would mean that *carry-overs* learned in Ancient Greek classes are unlikely to be used in the most common speaking situation (in Modern Greek). This is not the case, however. A number of scholars have observed that a significant part of the most common Modern Greek vocabulary originates from the ancient language (cf. Petrounias 2000: 57, Manolessou 2013). Therefore, it is not surprising that such words are found also in the textbook that is examined here, without being characterized as learnèd in LKN. Examples include:

– (potential) true *carry-overs* (or *homophonographosemes*): τά, ἐν, ἐκ, μέν;
– accented *carry-overs* (*homophonographosemes*), including those with the vowels ο/ε: μία, κακός, κακά, νέος, πίνετε, ἔπινες, ἔπινε, ἔπεσες, ἔπεσε, νόμος, νόμου, νόμους, μικρός, μικρά, μικρῶν, μικρούς etc.;
– *ethnohomophonographosemes*: ἀκούω, ἔχω, πίνω, τρέχω, τρέφω including some of their inflected forms (e.g., ἔχετε, τρέχετε, τρέφετε, ἔτρεφες, ἔτρεφε, ἔτρεχες, ἔτρεχε); aorist forms such as ἔσωσα, ἔσωσε; noun forms ὄνομα, ὀνόματα, ὀνομάτων, ἄλλος, ἄλλα, στόμα, στόματα, σῶμα, σώματα etc.
– *homographosemes*: verb forms θέλω, θέλετε, γράφω, γράφετε, ἔγραφε, ὀνομάζω, ὀνομάζεις, ὀνομάζει, ὀνομάζετε, ὀνομάζομαι, ὀνομάζεται, ὀνομάζονται, ἔλεγες, ἔλεγε, λέγομαι, λέγεται, λέγονται; noun forms θεός, θεοῦ, θεοί, θεῶν, θεούς, ἄνθρωπος, ἀνθρώπου, ἀνθρώπων, ἀνθρώπους, κίνδυνος, κινδύνου, κινδύνους etc.

Furthermore, some of the words in the textbook investigated are *false friends*. These words rarely belong to the learnèd vocabulary of Modern Greek, an observation which further supports the view that avoiding interference errors originating from knowledge of the ancient language is an important part of teaching Modern Greek to classicists.[15] In the textbook examined, *false friends* include both *homophonographs* (e.g., μάλιστα) and *homographs* (e.g., δουλεύω and παιδεύω), and are also mentioned in Table 2 above.

15 The only exception is βλασφημία (AG 'word of evil omen', MG 'blasphemy'), which is a learnèd expression in Modern Greek; see LKN, s.v. βλασφημία.

5. CONCLUSIONS

Our data show that a beginners' textbook of Ancient Greek may contain a few hundred *carry-over* words, their exact number depending on the variety of the Erasmian pronunciation that is adopted in local teaching practice. These words have (rough) phonological and semantic matches in the modern language. Classicists can start learning Modern Greek by using these words, without being told their pronunciation and meaning in Modern Greek. It is true that some of the *carry-overs* are a part of the learnèd Modern Greek vocabulary, which might speak against using the vocabulary, as taught in Ancient Greek class, in Modern Greek. However, other words of this type are highly frequent words in Modern Greek and can be used in plausible Modern Greek sentences, as well as dialogues. This is the advantage of our proposal, which also contrasts with earlier approaches to learning Modern Greek to classicists. Furthermore, this approach shows to students of Ancient Greek that by learning the ancient language, they have also learned a part of Modern Greek and may help in overcoming the idea of language corruption and decline, which continues to characterize classicists' perception of the history of the Greek language (and ancient languages in more general terms).

Due to various differences between Ancient and Modern Greek, classicists are also prone to mistakes; for instance, those concerning the use of *false friends* in Modern Greek, e.g. παιδεύω and μάλιστα. Whereas the phenomenon of *carry-overs* suggests that a part of Modern Greek vocabulary can be introduced without any explaining, avoiding such mistakes needs to be a part of teaching Modern Greek to classicists as well. The example of *false friends*—which are, according to our analysis, much less frequent than *carry-overs*—nonetheless suggests that classicists are likely to have more advantages than disadvantages in learning Modern Greek.

Finally, although we have taken a practical tack in this article, in what is essentially an exercise in applied historical linguistics, the material we have discussed is relevant for a more general issue in the study of language change. That is, one dimension of our approach has to do with the degree of difference in pronunciation, meaning, etc. between Ancient Greek and Modern Greek forms. In this regard, it is interesting to compare our approach to changes in Greek with that of Pappas and Moers (2011). Their study was aimed at testing, based on data from Greek, a claim that there is less change in general in more frequent lexemes. They developed a "scoring" system for measuring degree of change that is different in detail from the way we would do so, but we consider it significant to see that there have been other scholars before us who operated with the same basic idea of distinguishing ways in which different types of change can contribute to making language state X and a later form of X (X')

differ from one another. Our concerns are similar to theirs, but we take more subtle details into consideration and we have different goals, ours being more practical in nature and drawing on theoretical matters, but not concerned with advancing the theory per se. In any case, though, it is pleasing, and telling, to follow in the footsteps of these other scholars in regard to degree of difference between chronologically separated language states.

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ABSTRACT

The ideology of decline is a part of the history of the study and characterization of the Greek language from the Hellenistic period and the Roman Atticist movement right up to the emergence of *katharevousa* in the 19th century and the resulting modern diglossia. It is also clear, however, that there is an overwhelming presence of Ancient Greek vocabulary and forms in the modern language. Our position is that the recognition of such phenomena can provide a tool for introducing classicists to the modern language, a view that has various intellectual predecessors (e.g., Albert Thumb, Nicholas Bachtin, George Thomson, and Robert Browning). We thus propose a model for the teaching of Modern Greek to classicists that starts with words that we refer to as *carry-overs*. These are words that can be used in the modern language without requiring any explanation of pronunciation rules concerning Modern Greek spelling or of differences in meaning in comparison to their ancient predecessors (e.g., κακός 'bad', μικρός 'small', νέος 'new', μέλι 'honey', πίνετε 'you drink'). Our data show that a beginners' textbook of Ancient Greek may contain as many

as a few hundred *carry-over* words, their exact number depending on the variety of the Erasmian pronunciation that is adopted in the teaching practice. However, the teaching of Modern Greek to classicists should also take into account lexical phenomena such as Ancient-Modern Greek false friends, as well as Modern Greek words that correspond to their ancient Greek predecessors only in terms of their written forms and meanings.

Keywords: Ancient Greek, Modern Greek, vocabulary, language teaching, language change

POVZETEK

Kako učiti klasične filologe novo grščino: uporabni vidik jezikovne kontinuitete

Ideja o propadanju jezika je zaznamovala zgodovino in preučevanje grškega jezika vse od helenistične dobe in aticističnega gibanja v cesarski dobi do pojava katarevuse in posledično diglosije v 19. stoletju. A obenem je povsem jasno, da so starogrško besedišče in jezikovne oblike pomemben del modernega jezika. Kar se tiče vprašanja, kako poučevati novo grščino klasične filologe, v članku zavzamemo stališče, da so prav tovrstni jezikovni pojavi lahko primerno izhodišče. Pristop ima vrsto idejnih predhodnikov, med katere sodijo Albert Thumb, Nicholas Bachtin, George Thomson in Robert Browning. Naš predlog je, naj poučevanje novogrškega jezika izhaja iz pojava t.i. prenešenk ali starogrških besed, ki jih je mogoče pravilno uporabiti v novogrškem jeziku brez učenja glasoslovnih in pomenskih razlik med obema jezikovnima fazama. Takšne besede so denimo κακός (slab), μικρός (majhen), νέος (nov), μέλι (med), πίνετε (pijete). Podatki kažejo, da lahko učbenik za učenje starogrškega jezika na začetni stopnji vsebuje nekaj sto tovrstnih besed, njihovo natančno število pa je odvisno od različice Erazmove izgovarjave, ki se uporablja pri pouku stare grščine. Obenem je pri učenju nove grščine treba upoštevati obstoj starogrških besed, ki imajo v novi grščini ti. lažne prijatelje, in novogrških besed, ki se s starogrškimi ustreznicami ujemajo po zgolj pisni obliki in pomenu.

Ključne besede: stara grščina, nova grščina, besedje, učenje jezika, jezikovna sprememba