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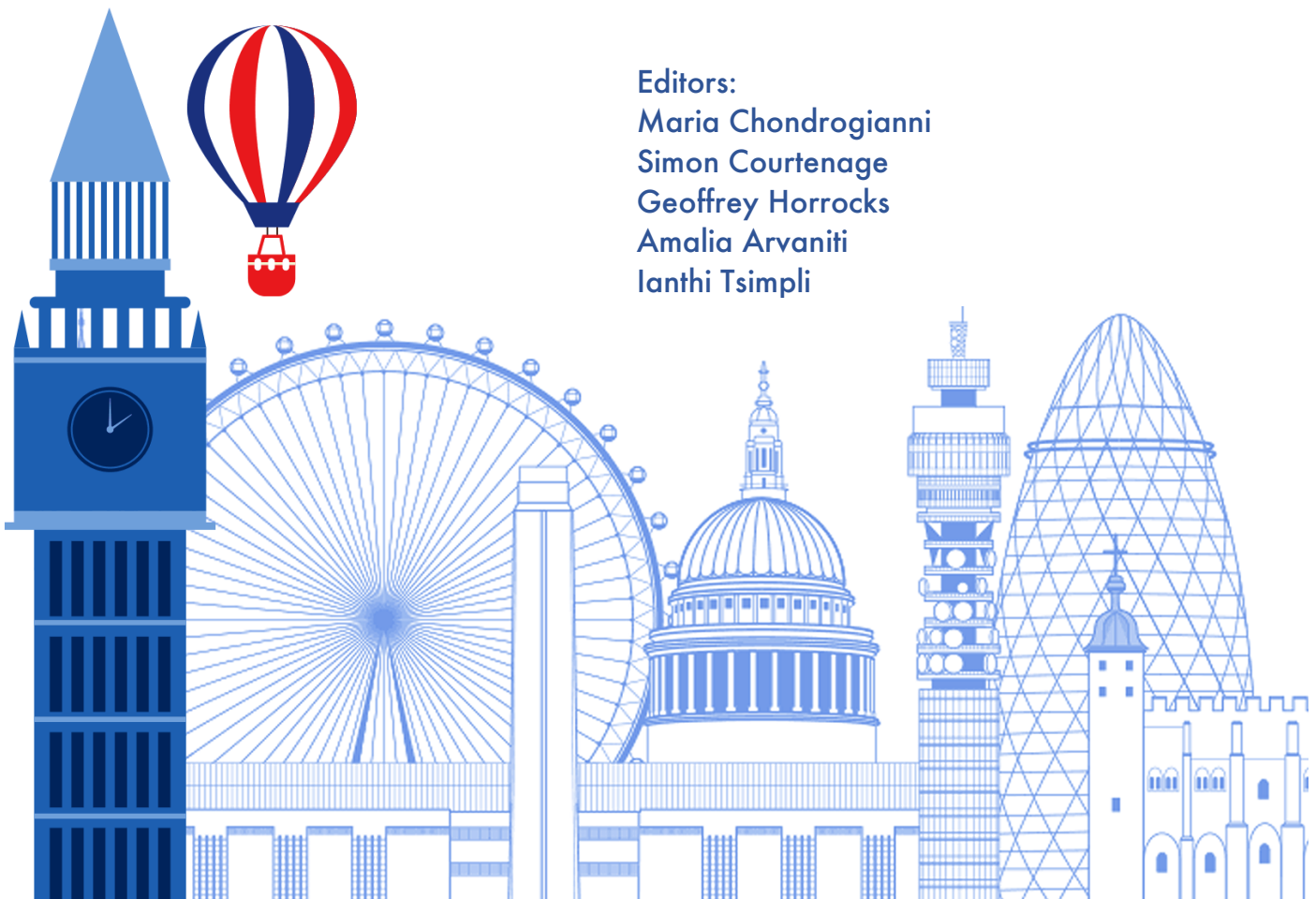
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PROCEEDINGS

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PROCEEDINGS OF THE 13TH INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON GREEK LINGUISTICS

ΠΡΑΚΤΙΚΑ 13ΟΥ ΣΥΝΕΔΡΙΟΥ ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΗΣ ΓΛΩΣΣΟΛΟΓΙΑΣ

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Acknowledgements

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Invited Speakers

Από τον εθνικό στον μετα-εθνικό λόγο: Ανάλυση δεδομένων από μαθητικά γραπτά μεταναστών και προτάσεις γλωσσικής πολιτικής στο πλαίσιο της κριτικής γλωσσικής εκπαίδευσης[1]

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ABSTRACT

Placing our study in the theoretical framework of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), we attempt to investigate the construction of linguistic identities of students of Albanian origin in Greece. Our data come from lyceum immigrant students' essays which refer to their migration experiences (Archakis 2014, 2016, 2018). By taking into consideration the results of our analysis as well as the goals of teaching Greek to immigrant populations in Greece, we present a general framework of proposals regarding a language policy away from the directives of the national discourse.

We begin by discussing two 'competitive' discourses, the national, homogenizing one and the post-national, deconstructing one (Blommaert and Rampton 2011), and the way they influence the construction of immigrant students' linguistic identities. For the systematic investigation of these identities, we employ the *membership categorization device* introduced by Sacks (1992).

We observe that the students in our data employ the category *immigrant people* to which they assign four bound predicates represented in juxtaposition with the category *majority people* and, more specifically, with its bound predicate *knowledge of majority language*. Our findings confirm the dominance of the national, homogenizing discourse and the limited presence of a post-national, deconstructing one that would allow some space and raison d'être for the Albanian language.

Taking into consideration the findings of our analysis and reconsidering the goals of teaching Greek as a second/foreign language to immigrant populations in Greece, we put forward some proposals about language policy. Our proposals are based on the premise that, within critical language education, the main goal is expected to be the delegitimation of the unfair dominance of monolingualism and monoculturalism on bilingual and multilingual immigrant students (see Piller 2016). To this end, and drawing on post-national discourse, we attempt to elaborate on core concepts such as *language*, *language-teaching standards* and *intercultural education*.

Key Words: Critical Discourse Analysis, linguistic identities, language education

1. ΕΙΣΑΓΩΓΗ

Η μελέτη μας κινείται, αρχικά, στο πλαίσιο της κριτικής ανάλυσης του λόγου και διερευνά την οικοδόμηση γλωσσικών ταυτοτήτων από μετανάστες μαθητές αλβανικής καταγωγής στην Ελλάδα. Το υλικό μας αποτελείται από εκθέσεις μεταναστών μαθητών που φοιτούν στο ελληνικό λύκειο. Βασιζόμενοι στα πορίσματα της ανάλυσής μας και εγείροντας το ζήτημα της διδασκαλίας της ελληνικής σε μετανάστες μαθητές στην Ελλάδα, αναζητούμε, στη συνέχεια, ένα γενικό πλαίσιο κριτικής γλωσσικής εκπαίδευσης και γλωσσικής πολιτικής απαλλαγμένο από τις επιβολές του εθνικού λόγου.

2. ΘΕΩΡΗΤΙΚΟ ΠΛΑΙΣΙΟ: ΚΡΙΤΙΚΗ ΑΝΑΛΥΣΗ ΤΟΥ ΛΟΓΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΓΛΩΣΣΙΚΕΣ ΤΑΥΤΟΤΗΤΕΣ

Η κριτική ανάλυση του λόγου έχει στο επίκεντρό της τη μελέτη της αναπαραγωγής, μέσω του λόγου, κοινωνικών ανισοτήτων, στις οποίες περιλαμβάνονται γλωσσικές ανισότητες μεταξύ πλειονοτικών και μεταναστευτικών ομάδων. Για το σκοπό αυτό διερευνά τη σχέση του μακρο-επιπέδου, το οποίο αφορά τους κυρίαρχους λόγους (discourses) (κοινωνικούς, γλωσσικούς,

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εκπαιδευτικούς κ.ά.), με το μικρο-επίπεδο, στο οποίο συγκαταλέγονται οι ποικίλες (γλωσσικές, επικοινωνιακές, σημειολογικές) τοποθετήσεις των ατόμων προς τους λόγους του μακρο-επιπέδου (van Dijk 2008: 85-89). Ζητούμενο, με τα λόγια της Παυλίδου (1999: 201), είναι η «διαλεκτική σχέση μεταξύ μακροδομών και μικροδομών, κοινωνίας και διεπίδρασης, γλώσσας και ομιλίας, θεσμικής και διεπιδραστικής εξουσίας».

Η έννοια του *λόγου* (discourse) –προερχόμενη από την παράδοση του Foucault– έχει δεχθεί ποικίλους προσδιορισμούς. Μπορούμε σε γενικές γραμμές να πούμε ότι αναφέρεται σε ειδικές σημασιακές σχέσεις βάσει των οποίων επιτυγχάνονται, υπό συγκεκριμένη οπτική, αναπαραστάσεις της πραγματικότητας (βλ. Jørgensen and Phillips 2002: 143· Στάμου 2014: 159). Αναφέρεται δηλαδή «σε διαφορετικούς τρόπους δόμησης γνωστικών περιοχών και κοινωνικών πρακτικών» (βλ. Fairclough 1992: 3).

Στο πλαίσιο αυτό, θεωρούμε ότι οι μετανάστες μαθητές του υλικού μας, με τις ποικίλες γλωσσικές και επικοινωνιακές επιλογές τους, καταθέτουν στα γραπτά τους τις τοποθετήσεις τους σε σχέση με διάφορα ζητήματα τα οποία βρίσκονται σε κοινωνική κυκλοφορία. Μέσω των τοποθετήσεων αυτών κατασκευάζουν την ταυτότητα που θέλουν να προβάλουν στη συγκεκριμένη επικοινωνιακή περίσταση (Bucholtz and Hall 2005), δηλαδή κατά τη συγγραφή εκθέσεων στο σχολείο. Θεωρούμε, μ' άλλα λόγια, ότι η ταυτότητα δεν είναι ένα σύνολο στατικών και παγιωμένων εσωτερικών χαρακτηριστικών των ατόμων, αλλά ένα επίτευγμα επιλογών σ' ένα ισχυρό πλαίσιο επιβολών και περιορισμών (βλ. Archakis and Tsakona 2012).

Το ειδικότερο ενδιαφέρον της μελέτης μας περιστρέφεται γύρω από τον τρόπο οικοδόμησης των *γλωσσικών ταυτοτήτων* των μεταναστών μαθητών, δηλαδή γύρω από τις τοποθετήσεις τους σε σχέση με τα **γλωσσικά** πρότυπα και προστάγματα που συναποτελούν τους λόγους (discourses) για τη γλώσσα. Θα διερευνήσουμε δύο 'ανταγωνιστικούς' λόγους: τον εθνικό, ομογενοποιητικό και τον μετα-εθνικό, αποδομητικό και τις θέσεις τους σχετικά με την οργάνωση και την αναπαράσταση της γλωσσικής πραγματικότητας. Θα αναδείξουμε τις τοποθετήσεις των μεταναστών μαθητών προς τις γλωσσικές παραμέτρους των δύο αυτών λόγων, διαπιστώνοντας έτσι τις γλωσσικές ταυτότητες που προκρίνουν.

Για τον εντοπισμό των γλωσσικών ταυτοτήτων που κατασκευάζουν οι μαθητές του υλικού μας, η ανάλυσή μας θα βασιστεί στην εθνομεθοδολογική προσέγγιση της ταυτότητας και, ειδικότερα, στην έννοια του *μηχανισμού κατηγοριοποίησης μέλους* (membership categorization devices) (Sacks 1992· Μακρή-Τσιλιπάκου 2014). Εν συντομία, μπορούμε να αναφέρουμε ότι οι μηχανισμοί αυτοί προσδιορίζονται κοινωνιοπολιτισμικά και συμπεριλαμβάνουν κατηγορίες μελών. Π.χ. ο μηχανισμός κατηγοριοποίησης *επαγγελματίες* περιλαμβάνει τις κατηγορίες των *γιατρών, δικηγόρων, μηχανικών* κλπ. Με καθεμιά από τις κατηγορίες αυτές είναι προσδεμένα διάφορα κατηγορήματα, δηλαδή ειδικά χαρακτηριστικά, συμπεριφορές και δραστηριότητες. Π.χ. οι γιατροί θεραπεύουν αρρώστους, οι δικηγόροι εκπροσωπούν τους πολίτες στα δικαστήρια, οι μηχανικοί κατασκευάζουν οικοδομές κλπ.[2]

Ας συνεχίσουμε όμως τη θεωρητική μας συζήτηση με ειδικότερες παρατηρήσεις για το **μακρο-επίπεδο** και τους δύο 'ανταγωνιστικούς' λόγους.

3. ΕΘΝΙΚΟΣ ΟΜΟΓΕΝΟΠΟΙΗΤΙΚΟΣ ΛΟΓΟΣ

Ο εθνικός ομογενοποιητικός λόγος, με καταβολές στο γερμανικό ρομαντισμό,[3] επιδιώκει να οριοθετήσει το έθνος και να το παρουσιάσει ως μια καθαρή οντότητα, με εσωτερική (γλωσσική και πολιτισμική) συνοχή, η οποία εκτείνεται στα εδαφικά όρια ενός κράτους (βλ. Μοσχονάς 2005: 308· Blommaert 2006).[4] Για τα δυτικά έθνη κράτη-πρότυπα, κεντρικές παραδοχές αποτελούν η καθαρότητα και η αποφυγή της γλωσσικής και πολιτισμικής ποικιλομορφίας. Οι παραδοχές αυτές εδραιώνονται με την ανάπτυξη του έντυπου καπιταλισμού (print capitalism), ο οποίος συμβάλλοντας

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[2] Όπως εύστοχα επισημαίνει η Μακρή-Τσιλιπάκου (2014: 40), ο τρόπος κατηγοριοποίησης «δεν αποτελεί αναγκαστικά αυτοματισμό, αλλά μάλλον επίτευγμα, καθώς τα πρόσωπα μπορεί να υπαχθούν σε μια σειρά από κατηγορίες, με πρόσδεση διαφορετικών κάθε φορά κατηγορημάτων –τα οποία μπορεί να ανήκουν σε περισσότερες από μία κατηγορίες–, και οι κατηγορίες μπορεί να υπαχθούν σε μια σειρά από ομοταξίες, γεγονός που σημαίνει εκάστοτε συγκεκριμένη επιλογή, η οποία και πρέπει να είναι ευεξήγητη ως ορθή/κατάλληλη για τη συγκεκριμένη περίσταση».

[3] Ειδικότερα, για τον τρόπο με τον οποίο η σύνθεση του ορθολογισμού του Locke με τον ρομαντισμό του Herder διαμόρφωσε τις αντιλήψεις για τις εθνικές πρότυπες γλώσσες, βλ. Blommaert 2006: 242.

[4] Ακόμη και πολύγλωσσα κράτη όπως το Βέλγιο ή ο Καναδάς τέμνουν τη χώρα τους σε γλωσσικές επικράτειες συγκεκριμένου τύπου, λ.χ. μονόγλωσσες ή δίγλωσσες (Piller 2016: 34).

δραστικά, σύμφωνα με τον Anderson (1991), στη μαζική παραγωγή κειμένων ίδιας γλώσσας που όλοι μπορούν να διαβάσουν, δίνει τη δυνατότητα στους ανθρώπους να φανταστούν τους εαυτούς τους ως μέλη της ίδιας εθνικής ενότητας (Piller 2001: 261).

Η Καραντζόλα (2016: 46) επικεντρώνοντας την προσοχή της στις εθνικές γλώσσες σημειώνει σχετικά ότι αυτές, ως απότοκα «της πορείας αυτο-συνείδησης» των εθνών, «δεν αναδείχθηκαν εκ του μηδενός. Καταβλήθηκαν εργώδεις προσπάθειες να κωδικοποιηθούν (…)».[5] Και ο Χριστίδης (2004: 72) επεξηγεί ότι «το έθνος-κράτος (…) στο εσωτερικό του φυσικοποιεί τη γλωσσική ομοιογένεια κατατάσσοντας τις αποκλίσεις –άλλες διάλεκτοι, άλλες γλώσσες– στον χώρο της παθολογικής παράβασης. Σε αυτή τη μυθοποίηση[6] βασίζεται, σε μεγάλο ποσοστό, η γλωσσική ιδεολογία του έθνους-κράτους». Ως εκ τούτου, και με διάφορους μηχανισμούς, στους οποίους προεξάρχοντα ρόλο έχει η (γλωσσική) εκπαίδευση και σε ορισμένες περιπτώσεις η νομική (ή και συνταγματική) κατοχύρωση της εθνικής γλώσσας,[7] τα κράτη προωθούν τον εθνικό λόγο της *μονοπολιτισμικής* και *μονογλωσσικής ομοιογένειας* (βλ. Blommaert and Verschueren 1998· Macedo, Δενδρινού και Γούναρη 2010).

4. ΜΕΤΑ-ΕΘΝΙΚΟΣ ΑΠΟΔΟΜΗΤΙΚΟΣ ΛΟΓΟΣ

Προχωρούμε στον μετα-εθνικό αποδομητικό λόγο που επισημαίνει (και επιχειρεί) τον κλονισμό του δυτικού εθνικού οικοδομήματος και την άρση των διαχωριστικών (γλωσσικών και πολιτισμικών) συνοριογραμμών που το προσδιορίζουν. Η παραδοσιακή αντίληψη που θέλει τις γλώσσες και τους πολιτισμούς, ως ομοιογενείς οντότητες με ιστορική συνέχεια, να εκτείνονται στα όρια των εθνικών συνόρων, αμφισβητείται έντονα τόσο σε θεωρητικό όσο και σε εμπειρικό επίπεδο (Heller 2007· Blommaert and Rampton 2011). Το γεγονός και μόνο ότι στα περίπου 200 καταμετρημένα κράτη παγκοσμίως αντιστοιχούν 6 με 7 χιλιάδες προφορικές γλώσσες αρκεί για να ενισχύσει την αμφισβήτηση αυτή (βλ. Ricento 2015: 68).

Εστιάζουμε την προσοχή μας ειδικά στις επιπτώσεις των μεταναστευτικών 'ροών' στους εθνικούς λόγους και τις εθνικές ταυτότητες. Παρατηρούμε ότι, δεδομένης της πλανητικής δικτύωσης μέσω των νέων τεχνολογιών, οι μεταναστευτικοί πληθυσμοί μπορούν να συντηρούν *διεθνικούς δεσμούς* (transnational ties) με τους τόπους καταγωγής τους και τους εκεί συγγενείς τους (βλ. Blackledge and Creese 2009· Blommaert and Rampton 2011). Η επαφή αυτή μπορεί να έχει ως αποτέλεσμα τόσο τη διατήρηση της γλώσσας καταγωγής τους όσο και την αξιοποίηση στοιχείων της στο ύφος και τις ταυτότητες που κατασκευάζουν κάθε φορά (βλ. Stroud and Wee 2012: 37). Έτσι, σύμφωνα με τον Cohen (1997: 175) λ.χ. σε πολλές μεγαλουπόλεις δεν παρατηρούμε πλέον ομοιογενείς εθνικές, πολιτισμικές και γλωσσικές ταυτότητες, αλλά «μια πληθώρα υποεθνικών (subnational) και διεθνικών (transnational) ταυτοτήτων που δεν μπορούν εύκολα να περιληφθούν στο σύστημα του έθνους-κράτους».

5. ΜΕΤΑΝΑΣΤΕΣ ΑΛΒΑΝΙΚΗΣ ΚΑΤΑΓΩΓΗΣ ΣΤΗΝ ΕΛΛΑΔΑ

Στρέφουμε τώρα την προσοχή μας στην ελληνική πραγματικότητα κατά την εικοσαετία 1990-2010. Μετανάστες κυρίως από την Αλβανία και αλλού εισέρευσαν στην Ελλάδα λόγω των έντονων κοινωνικών και οικονομικών μεταβολών στη χώρα τους. Το μεταναστευτικό αυτό ρεύμα «αναστάτωσε» τις κατακτημένες εθνικές οριοθετήσεις και ισορροπίες και «αποσυντόνισε» σε μεγάλο βαθμό τις εκπαιδευτικές πρακτικές (Τσοκαλίδου 2008: 403). Οι μετανάστες συνάντησαν κατά την υποδοχή τους έναν έντονα ξενοφοβικό, εθνικό λόγο. Αυτό μπορεί να πιστοποιηθεί, μεταξύ άλλων, από την πληθώρα αρνητικών στερεοτύπων που διακινήθηκαν –κυρίως τη δεκαετία του '90– στα Μέσα Μαζικής Ενημέρωσης για τους 'Αλβανούς', τα οποία τους παρουσίασαν ως υπονομευτές της εθνικής συνοχής και της οικονομικής ευημερίας, ως ανθρώπους με παραβατική συμπεριφορά και υπεύθυνους για το χαμηλό επίπεδο σπουδών στις σχολικές τάξεις κλπ. (βλ. Gogonas 2010: 72-78).

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[5] Σχετικά με την κωδικοποίηση της πρότυπης κοινής νεοελληνικής, βλ. Ιορδανίδου λ.χ. 1996.
[6] «Οι μύθοι για τη γλώσσα», σημειώνει η Κακριδή (2007: 215), «είναι αυθαίρετοι, στηρίζονται σε δοξασίες ή λανθασμένες επιστημονικές βάσεις αλλά μοιάζουν άτρωτοι στον έλεγχο και ιδιαίτερα ανθεκτικοί στο χρόνο, δεδομένου ότι υπηρετούν ιδιαίτερα διαδεδομένες και πολύ καλά εδραιωμένες ιδεολογικές στάσεις, τις οποίες αναπαράγουν με τη σειρά τους».
[7] Η χρήση της Κοινής Νεοελληνικής 'άνευ ιδιωματισμών και ακροτήτων', καθιερώθηκε στην εκπαίδευση με το νόμο 309/30.04.1976 του Γ. Ράλλη.

Ο ξενοφοβικός αυτός λόγος προέβαλε έντονα την επιθυμία αποκλεισμού τους από το εθνικό σώμα και τα δικαιώματα που η συμμετοχή σ' αυτό συνεπάγεται (βλ. Λιάκος 2005: 101).

6. ΤΑ ΔΕΔΟΜΕΝΑ ΤΗΣ ΑΝΑΛΥΣΗΣ, Η ΣΥΛΛΟΓΗ ΤΟΥΣ ΚΑΙ ΤΟ ΕΡΕΥΝΗΤΙΚΟ ΕΡΩΤΗΜΑ

Στο πλαίσιο του ερευνητικού προγράμματος «Εκπαίδευση αλλοδαπών και παλιννοστούντων μαθητών», το οποίο εκπονήθηκε υπό την αιγίδα του Α.Π.Θ., η ερευνητική ομάδα του Πανεπιστημίου Πατρών[8] επισκέφθηκε 50 περίπου σχολεία της Αττικής και της Πελοποννήσου κατά την περίοδο Απρίλιος – Οκτώβριος 2011. Μοίρασε ερωτηματολόγια με στόχο την ανίχνευση των στάσεων των παλιννοστούντων και αλλοδαπών μαθητών προς τις γλώσσες καταγωγής τους. Επιπλέον, ζητήθηκε από τα παιδιά να μπουν στη θέση ενός μετανάστη φίλου τους και να γράψουν σε μια επιστολή τόσο ό,τι δυσκολεύει τον φίλο τους όσο και ό,τι του αρέσει στο νέο τόπο. Θεωρήσαμε ότι έτσι τα παιδιά θα συνθέσουν κείμενα ταυτότητας (identity texts), σύμφωνα με τον όρο του Cummins (2004), αναφερόμενα σε δικές τους εμπειρίες.

Στην παρούσα μελέτη η προσοχή μας επικεντρώνεται στο υλικό που συγκεντρώσαμε από 8 λύκεια διαφόρων πόλεων της ευρύτερης περιοχής της Πελοποννήσου. Από τα λύκεια αυτά συλλέξαμε 118 εκθέσεις από δίγλωσσους μαθητές ποικίλης καταγωγής. Παραπάνω από τις μισές εκθέσεις, ωστόσο, προέρχονται από μετανάστες αλβανικής καταγωγής (64 εκθέσεις) στις οποίες και εστιάζεται ο αναλυτικός μας φακός. Το 1/3 περίπου από τις διαθέσιμες 64 εκθέσεις μαθητών αλβανικής καταγωγής (δηλαδή 25 εκθέσεις) κάνουν ρητή αναφορά σε ζητήματα που αφορούν τη γλώσσα και την επικοινωνία στον τόπο υποδοχής τους.

Το ερώτημα που θα μας απασχολήσει στην ανάλυση που ακολουθεί αφορά τον τρόπο με τον οποίο οι μαθητές αλβανικής καταγωγής του δείγματός μας προβάλλουν στα γραπτά τους πτυχές της γλωσσικής τους ταυτότητας, όπως αυτές διαμορφώνονται σε σχέση με το γλωσσικό περιεχόμενο του εθνικού και μετα-εθνικού λόγου και πιο συγκεκριμένα σε σχέση με τον ρόλο της ελληνικής γλώσσας στον τόπο υποδοχής.

7. ΑΝΑΛΥΣΗ ΔΕΔΟΜΕΝΩΝ[9]

Μεταβαίνουμε στο **μικρο-επίπεδο** και στις συγκεκριμένες τοποθετήσεις των μεταναστών μαθητών του υλικού μας προς τους δύο λόγους. Η ανάλυσή μας βασίζεται εν πολλοίς στην έννοια του *μηχανισμού κατηγοριοποίησης μέλους*. Στα δεδομένα μας η έννοια αυτή αναφέρεται στους *διαμένοντες πληθυσμούς στην Ελλάδα* και περιλαμβάνει το τυποποιημένο ασύμμετρο σχεσιακό *ζεύγος μετανάστης - πλειονοτικός* (βλ. Sacks 1992· Μακρή-Τσιλιπάκου 2014). Πιο συγκεκριμένα, οι μαθητές ακολουθούν την οδηγία του θέματος που τους έχει δοθεί και αναπαριστούν τους φίλους τους σύμφωνα με τα τυπικά χαρακτηριστικά της κατηγορίας *μετανάστης*. Ως ανθρώπους δηλαδή που έχουν μετακινηθεί από τον τόπο καταγωγής τους αναζητώντας καλύτερες συνθήκες διαβίωσης. Ωστόσο, ενδιαφέρον παρουσιάζουν οι ειδικότερες τοποθετήσεις των μαθητών, οι οποίες εντοπίζονται σε τέσσερα διαφορετικά κατηγορήματα που επιλέγουν να προσδέσουν στην κατηγορία *μετανάστης*.

Η διάκριση των τεσσάρων κατηγορημάτων, όπως βλέπουμε στον πίνακα 1, γίνεται με συσχετιστική, αντιπαραθετική αναφορά στην κατηγορία *πλειονοτικός* και, κυρίως, στο κατηγόρημά της, την *πλειονοτική γλώσσα*. Στα τέσσερα αυτά κατηγορήματα διαπιστώνουμε σημαντικές ποσοτικές διαφοροποιήσεις:

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[8] Η ερευνητική ομάδα του Πανεπιστημίου Πατρών συγκροτήθηκε στο πλαίσιο της δράσης 5.1. του εν λόγω προγράμματος. Η δράση 5.1. είχε τίτλο «Ανίχνευση αναγκών για την ενίσχυση της γλώσσας καταγωγής των παλιννοστούντων και αλλοδαπών μαθητών».
[9] Η ανάλυση που ακολουθεί βασίζεται στο Archakis (2016).

Πίνακας 1: Τα τέσσερα κατηγορήματα που είναι προσδεμένα στην κατηγορία μετανάστης

1ο κατηγόρημα	2ο κατηγόρημα	3ο κατηγόρημα	4ο κατηγόρημα	Σύνολο
Μετανάστες/τριες που *αγνοούν την πλειονοτική γλώσσα* και αδυνατούν να προσαρμοστούν κοινωνικά	Μετανάστες/τριες που αγνοούν την πλειονοτική γλώσσα, αλλά *επιθυμούν να την μάθουν* και να προσαρμοστούν κοινωνικά	Μετανάστες/τριες που *κατορθώνουν να μάθουν την πλειονοτική* γλώσσα και να προσαρμοστούν κοινωνικά	Μετανάστες/τριες που *κατορθώνουν να μάθουν την πλειονοτική* γλώσσα και *χειρίζονται τις διαθέσιμες γλώσσες ως αξιοποιήσιμους πόρους*	
4	5	14	2	25

Ας δούμε όμως αναλυτικότερα το 1ο, 3ο και 4ο κατηγόρημα. Παραλείπουμε το 2ο λόγω περιορισμών χώρου.

1ο κατηγόρημα: Μετανάστες που αγνοούν την πλειονοτική γλώσσα και αδυνατούν να προσαρμοστούν κοινωνικά

1)

Αγαπημένο μου φιλαράκι,[10]

Σου στέλνω αυτό το γράμμα για να σου περιγράψω τις δυσκολίες που αντιμετωπίζω εδώ. Το σιμαντικότερο πρόβλημα νομίζω είναι η γλώσσα που δεν καταλαβαίνω τους άλλους και επίσης η μοναξιά. Όταν δεν ξέρεις να μιλάς και δεν καταλαβαίνεις αυτά που σου λένε είναι απο τα χειρότερα πράγματα. Ακόμα, είχα συνηθίσει να είμαστε μαζί που γελάγαμε και εδώ κάθομαι μόνος και απλά περιμένω να περάσει η μέρα και τιποτα άλλο. Τέλος θα ήθελα να ξέρεις οτι είναι πολύ κακό η μετακόμηση στο εξωτερικό και σου εύχομαι να μην σου τύχει ποτέ. [αγόρι, Β' λυκείου, 17 χρονών]

2)

Αγαπημένο μου φιλαράκι,

Σου γράφω αυτό το γράμμα για να σου πω πως περνάω. Το σχολείο εδώ μου φένεται άλιως γατί δεν ξέρω κανέναν κ΄ μου λείπει το παλιό μου σχολείο η φίλοι μου κ΄ θέλω να μιλίσω σε κάποιον γιατί δεν έχω κανέναν για να μιλίσω γιατί δεν ξέρω την γλώσα για να μιλήσω σε κάποιον όμως στην άρχη ήταν δίσκολα για μένα γιατί δεν μου άρεσε έδω που ήμουνα κ΄είθελα επιγόντος να φύγω να πάω εκεί που ήμουνα στην γειτονία μου κ΄στενοχωριέμαι πολύ γιατί μου λείπουν όλα τα πράγματα που έκανα πρήν έρθω έδω. Σαγαπώ πολύ Με αγάπη Τζίλντα. [κορίτσι, Α' λυκείου, 15 χρονών]

3)

Αγαπημένο μου φιλαράκι,

εδο που ειμε δισκολεφτηκα να προσαρμοστο στην αρχη δεν ειχα παρεα και δεν ηκσερα και ναμιλαο καθολου αφτην την γλοσα τορα προστοπαρον εχοβρι μερικα πεδια τιν οπια ειμαστε αποτιν ειδια χορακαι μπορο και κανο παρεα μαφτους μεχρι να μαθοτιν τοπικη γλοσα δεν μπορο να κανο αλους φιλους για τη δεν μπορονα σηνενοηθο. [αγόρι, Β' λυκείου, 19 χρονών]

Χαρακτηριστική και στις τρεις αυτές εκθέσεις είναι η χρήση του δεικτικού *εδώ* που παραπέμπει στον τόπο μετανάστευσης σε αντίστιξη με το εννοούμενο *εκεί* του τόπου καταγωγής των μεταναστών. Με βάση την αντίστιξη αυτή συγκροτείται η κατηγορία *μετανάστης*. Το πρώτο κατηγόρημά της που διακρίνουμε στις εκθέσεις αυτές, είναι η άγνοια της πλειονοτικής γλώσσας (βλ. *Το σιμαντικότερο πρόβλημα νομίζω είναι η γλώσσα* [έκθεση 1], *δεν ξέρω την γλώσα* [έκθεση 2], *δεν ηκσερα και ναμιλαο καθολου αφτην την γλοσα* [έκθεση 3]). Οι μαθητές αναφέρονται επίσης και στις συνοδευτικές επιπτώσεις του κατηγορήματος αυτού, οι οποίες παρουσιάζονται συσχετιστικά με την έγερση της κατηγορίας *πλειονοτικός*: επισημαίνονται τα σοβαρά προβλήματα στην επικοινωνία των μεταναστών με τους 'άλλους', τους πλειονοτικούς (πρβλ. *δεν καταλαβαίνω τους άλλους, δεν*

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[10] Διατηρούμε την ορθογραφία των πρωτότυπων κειμένων.

καταλαβαίνεις αυτά που σου λένε [έκθεση 1], *δεν ξέρω την γλώσσα για να μιλήσω σε κάποιον* [έκθεση 2]). Επισημαίνεται επίσης η έντονη μοναξιά τους (πρβλ. *κάθομαι μόνος και απλά περιμένω να περάσει η μέρα και τίποτα άλλο* [έκθεση 1]) και η επιθυμία επιστροφής στον τόπο προέλευσης (πρβλ. *κ΄είθελα επιγόντος να φύγω να πάω εκεί που ήμουνα στην γειτονία μου κ΄στενοχωριέμαι πολύ γιατί μου λείπουν όλα τα πράγματα που έκανα πρήν έρθω έδω* [έκθεση 2]).

Η έκθεση (3) έχει ιδιαίτερο ενδιαφέρον διότι ο συγγραφέας είναι μαθητής μεγαλύτερης ηλικίας από την αναμενόμενη στην τάξη που φοιτά (είναι δηλαδή 19 χρονών, ενώ η αναμενόμενη ηλικία στη β' λυκείου κυμαίνεται στα 16 με 17 χρόνια). Αυτό σημαίνει ότι ο συγκεκριμένος μαθητής πιθανότατα έχει μεταναστεύσει πρόσφατα, σε αρκετά μεγάλη ηλικία και, άρα, έχει περιορισμένη ακόμη θητεία στο ελληνικό σχολείο. Το γεγονός αυτό αντανακλάται στις ορθογραφικές αποκλίσεις του, αλλά και στην αδυναμία διαχωρισμού των στοιχείων του λόγου κατά τη γραφική τους αναπαράσταση (πρβλ. *ναμιλαο, εχοβρι, αποτιν, μαθοτιν, μπορονα*). Όπως αναφέρει στην έκθεσή του, η άγνοια της πλειονοτικής γλώσσας έχει ως συνέπεια την κοινωνική απομόνωση του αναπαριστώμενου φίλου του (πρβλ. *δεν μπορο να κανο αλους φιλους*).

3° κατηγόρημα: Μετανάστες που κατορθώνουν να μάθουν την πλειονοτική γλώσσα και να προσαρμοστούν κοινωνικά

4)

Αγαπημένο μου φιλαράκι,
Όταν ήρθα εδώ πέρα αντίκρισα ένα διαφορετικό πολιτισμό, οι άνθρωποι μου φάνηκαν λίγο ψυχροί. Οι γονείς μου αρχικά δυσκολεύτηκαν να βρούν δουλειά αρχικά, και εμένα μου ήταν λίγο δύσκολο να προσαρμοστώ στο σχολείο, οι συμμαθητές μου ήταν λίγο απόμακροι και περίεργοι. Ευτυχώς όμως αγαπημένο μου φιλαράκι δεν μου ήταν και πολύ δύσκολο να μάθω την ελληνική γλώσσα, αλλά σ' αυτό βοήθησαν και οι καθηγητές μου. ήταν πολύ καλλή.

Ίσως στην αρχή να ήταν λίγο δύσκολα, αλλά στην πορεία μπόρεσα να προσαρμοστώ. Όλα έπειτα μου φαινόντουσαν πολύ διαφορετικά. Ένιωσα πως ήμουν στην δική μου πατρίδα, έκανα καινούργιες γνωρίμιες με παιδιά μου ήταν και αυτά από διαφορετικές χώρες και είχαν λίγο πολύ τις ίδιες εμπειρίες με έμενα. Οι φίλοι μου μου φαίρωνται πολύ ωραία και δεν με αντιμετωπίζουν με ρατσισμό. Οι γονείς μου δουλεύουν και παίρνουν και πολύ καλό μισθό. Η ζωή μας εδώ είναι πολύ καλή. Αλλά μου λείπει η πατρίδα μου και οι συγγενείς μου πολύ. [κορίτσι, Β' λυκείου, 16 χρονών]

5)

Αγαπημένο μου φιλαράκι,
όταν ηρθα για πρώτη φορα στην Ελλαδα τα πραγματα ηταν δυσκολα στην αρχη, αλλα με το χρονο εγιναν ευκολα. Κατ' αρχην όταν ηρθα δεν γνωριζα ουτε να μιλαω ουτε να διαβαζω αλλα ουτε να γραφω. Αρχισα να πηγαινω σχολειο μετα από 15 μερες αφοτου ειχα έρθει Ελλαδα. Στο σχολειο αντιμετοπησα πολλες δυσκολιες στην επικοινωνια με τα αλλα παιδια επισης μερικες φορες τα παιδια φεροντουσαν ρατσιστικα απεναντι μου. Μ εκαναν να νιωθω κατωτερη και αυτό με πληγωνε. Στο σπιτι τα πραγματα ηταν λιγο καλυτερα ο πατερας μου προσπαθουσε να μου μαθει εστω και λιγες λεξεις για να λεω καλημερα και "γεια σας" ……..

Μετα από ένα χρονο περιπου ειχα συνηθησει πλεον την δευτερη μου πατριδα ειχα βρει και πολλους φιλους. Ηξερα να γραφω να διαβαζω και να μιλαω απιαστα τα Ελληνικά όλα πλεον μου φαινοντουσαν παρα πολύ ευκολα παρ' ολ αυτά όμως ποτε δεν ξεχναω τις δυσκολες μερες που περασα στην αρχη. Αυτή τη στιγμη μου αρεσει παρα πολύ η Ελλαδα εχω παρα πολλους φιλους που τους αγαπω πολύ στο σχολειο δεν με αντιμετοπιζουν ρατσιστηκα (αν και μερικες φορες ναι) και γι' αυτό ειμαι παρα πολύ χαρουμενη ….

Τελος θα ηθελα να συνεχισω το σχολειο να παω σε ένα πανεπιστημίο και να γινω μια καλη δικηγορος και ολ' αυτά θα ηθελα να τα κανω εδώ στην δευτερη πατριδα μου….!!! [κορίτσι, Β' λυκείου, 18 χρονών]

Το τρίτο κατηγόρημα εντοπίστηκε στις περισσότερες εκθέσεις του υλικού μας και αναφέρεται στην εκμάθηση της πλειονοτικής γλώσσας (πρβλ. *δεν μου ήταν και πολύ δύσκολο να μάθω την ελληνική γλώσσα* [έκθεση 4], *Ηξερα να γραφω να διαβαζω και να μιλαω απιαστα τα Ελληνικά* [έκθεση 5]).

Οι εκθέσεις αυτές παρουσιάζουν μια αρκετά σταθερή δομή: έντονες αρχικές δυσκολίες, γλωσσικές και άλλες, και σταδιακή υπερνίκηση των δυσκολιών αυτών. Οι επικοινωνιακές δυσκολίες ως αρχικό προσδιοριστικό κατηγόρημα των μεταναστών αναδεικνύονται εμφατικά (πρβλ. *οι συμμαθητές μου ήταν λίγο απόμακροι και περίεργοι* [έκθεση 4], *Στο σχολειο αντιμετοπησα πολλες*

δυσκολίες στην επικοινωνία με τα αλλα παιδια επισης μερικες φορες τα παιδια φεροντουσαν ρατσιστικά απεναντι μου. Μ εκαναν να νιωθω κατωτερη και αυτό με πληγωνε [έκθεση 5].

Ωστόσο, η σταδιακή εκμάθηση της πλειονοτικής γλώσσας είναι το νέο κατηγόρημα που προσδένεται στην κατηγορία *μετανάστης*, με συνέπεια την κοινωνική προσαρμογή στο ελληνικό περιβάλλον (πρβλ. *Ένιωσα πως ήμουν στην δική μου πατρίδα* [έκθεση 4], *ειχα συνηθησει πλεον την δευτερη μου πατριδα* [έκθεση 5]). Η εκμάθηση της ελληνικής οδηγεί επίσης στην κοινωνική αποδοχή των μεταναστών μαθητών: σε φιλίες με πλειονοτικούς και στον περιορισμό του ρατσισμού εκ μέρους τους (πρβλ. *Οι φίλοι μου μου φαίρωνται πολύ ωραία και δεν με αντιμετωπίζουν με ρατσισμό.* [έκθεση 4], *εχω παρα πολλους φιλους που τους αγαπω πολύ στο σχολειο δεν με αντιμετοπιζουν ρατσιστηκα (αν και μερικες φορες ναι) και γι' αυτό ειμαι παρα πολύ χαρουμενη* [έκθεση 5])

4º κατηγόρημα: Μετανάστες/τριες που κατορθώνουν να μάθουν την πλειονοτική γλώσσα και χειρίζονται τις διαθέσιμες γλώσσες ως αξιοποιήσιμους πόρους

6)
Αγαπημένο μου φιλαράκι,
Στη αρχη οταν ηρθα εδω στην ελλαδα μου ητανε δυσκολο να μηλησω ελληνικα αλλα με το καιρο και με την βοηθια των φηλων μου εμαθα πολύ καλα να μηλαω. Οταν ξεκινησε το σχολιο μου φενοτανε δισκολο γιατι δεν ηξερα να γραφω. Φιλους εκανα καλους και τωρα ειμαι μια χαρα εδω.
 Αρχισα να δουλεβω γιατι ετσι βοηθαγα οικονομικα τους γονης μου. οταν πηγενα στην Αλβανια μου φενωταν λιγο παραξενα αλλα μετα απο λιγο καιρο συνιθιζα οταν επεστρεφα στην ελλαδα ξεχναγα μερικες λεξεις και μερικες φορες μπορει να τις ελεγα στα Αλβανικα και γελαγαμε ολοι μαζει μερικοι φιλοι μου μου ζητανε να τους μαθενο λιγο Αλβανικα γιατι θελουνε να μαθουνε και αφτοι μερικες λεξεις και οταν τους μαθενο σε μερικους φενετε πολύ δυσκολο οπος και μενα όταν ηρθα εδω στην ελλαδα.
[αγόρι, Α' λυκείου, 15 χρονών]

Στην έκθεση (6) ο αναπαριστώμενος μαθητής εξηγεί, στη δεύτερη παράγραφο, τον τρόπο με τον οποίο αξιοποιεί τις δύο διαθέσιμες σ' αυτόν γλώσσες: Έτσι, όταν πηγαίνει στην Αλβανία χρησιμοποιεί τα αλβανικά, παρά την αρχική δυσκολία λόγω της επίδρασης των ελληνικών. Αντίστροφα, όταν επιστρέφει στην Ελλάδα επιστρατεύει τα ελληνικά. Πρόκειται για την περιγραφή μιας περίπτωσης *καταστασιακής εναλλαγής κώδικα* (situational code switching) (βλ. Wardhaugh 1992: 106). Ωστόσο, η εναλλαγή των γλωσσικών κωδίκων στη συγκεκριμένη έκθεση δεν παρουσιάζεται να γίνεται με τρόπο απόλυτο, αλλά με έντονες γλωσσικές παρεμβολές από τη μία γλώσσα στην άλλη. Επιπλέον, ο μαθητής αναφέρει ότι οι αλβανικές λέξεις που μπορεί να χρησιμοποιήσει στην Ελλάδα προκαλούν το ενδιαφέρον των πλειονοτικών φίλων του. Πρόκειται για την περιγραφή *γλωσσικών περασμάτων* (crossings), σύμφωνα με τους όρους του Rampton (1995), όπου έλληνες ομιλητές επιθυμούν και επιχειρούν να εξοικειωθούν με λέξεις της αλβανικής γλώσσας. Ενδιαφέρον παρουσιάζουν και τα σχόλια γλωσσικής επίγνωσης που καταθέτει ο αναπαριστώμενος μαθητής, επισημαίνοντας ότι οι δυσκολίες που έχουν οι έλληνες φίλοι του με τις αλβανικές λέξεις είναι αντίστοιχες με αυτές που έχουν οι 'Αλβανοί' όταν μαθαίνουν ελληνικά. Η εξοικείωση, ωστόσο, των πλειονοτικών ελληνόφωνων με τις αλβανικές λέξεις και προφορές γίνεται μάλλον στο επίπεδο γλωσσικών χιουμοριστικών παιχνιδιών με τους αλβανόφωνους (πρβλ. *και γελαγαμε ολοι μαζει* [έκθεση 6]). Άλλωστε, το 4º κατηγόρημα εντοπίζεται στις λιγότερες εκθέσεις του υλικού μας.

8. ΤΑ ΣΥΜΠΕΡΑΣΜΑΤΑ ΤΗΣ ΑΝΑΛΥΣΗΣ ΩΣ ΕΝΑΥΣΜΑ ΓΙΑ ΤΗ ΔΙΑΜΟΡΦΩΣΗ ΕΝΟΣ ΠΛΑΙΣΙΟΥ ΚΡΙΤΙΚΗΣ ΓΛΩΣΣΙΚΗΣ ΕΚΠΑΙΔΕΥΣΗΣ

Σύμφωνα με την ανάλυση που προηγήθηκε, καταλήγουμε στο ότι, παρά τις προβλέψεις θεωρητικών όπως οι Blommaert and Rampton (2011) ότι στο σύγχρονο παγκοσμιοποιημένο κόσμο οι εθνικές παραδοχές έχουν υποστεί σημαντικούς κλονισμούς, στην Ελλάδα δεν είναι ευδιάκριτες «υποεθνικές» ή «διεθνικές» γλωσσικές ταυτότητες, όπως τουλάχιστον προκύπτει από την ανάλυση των δεδομένων μας (βλ. Cohen 1997: 175). Η γλωσσική και πολιτισμική «κινητικότητα», «απροσδιοριστία» και «πολλαπλότητα» δεν φαίνεται να έχουν απειλήσει τις παραδοσιακές εθνικές ομογενοποιητικές παραδοχές της «σταθερότητας», των «οριοθετημένων κατηγοριών» και της «τυποποίησης» (βλ. Blommaert and Rampton 2011: 3–4).

Πιο συγκεκριμένα, και συνοψίζοντας τα κύρια σημεία της κριτικής ανάλυσης που ακολουθήσαμε, σημειώνουμε τα εξής: οι μαθητές του υλικού μας χρησιμοποίησαν στα γραπτά τους την κατηγορία *μετανάστης* στην οποία πρόσδεσαν τέσσερα κατηγορήματα τα οποία ανέδειξαν

αντιπαραθετικά με την κατηγορία *πλειονοτικός* και, ειδικότερα, με το κατηγόρημα της πλειονοτικής ελληνικής γλώσσας, δηλαδή με τη γνώση ή την άγνοια της ελληνικής και τις συνέπειες που έχει (η γνώση ή η άγνοιά της) στην επικοινωνία με τους πλειονοτικούς. Το κατηγόρημα της πλειονοτικής ελληνικής εισάγει, στη διαδικασία οικοδόμησης των γλωσσικών ταυτοτήτων, τη γλωσσική ιδεολογική διάσταση του εθνικού ομογενοποιητικού λόγου. Οι μετανάστες μαθητές τοποθετούνται θετικά προς την ελληνική μονογλωσσία, προσβλέποντας στα κοινωνικά οφέλη που επιφέρει η γλωσσική αυτή ταυτότητα και ικανότητα. Κάποια περιθωριακά φαινόμενα γλωσσικών εναλλαγών και περασμάτων απασχολούν τους έφηβους του υλικού μας σε χιουμοριστικές κυρίως περιστάσεις –όπως είδαμε στην έκθεση 6. Η 'συνομιλία' τους με τον μετα-εθνικό αποδομητικό λόγο, που πιθανότατα θα παραχωρούσε χώρο στην αλβανική και λόγο ύπαρξης, είναι πολύ περιορισμένη.

Στο σημείο αυτό, λαμβάνοντας υπόψη τα συμπεράσματα της ανάλυσης που προηγήθηκε, θα εγείρουμε το ζήτημα της διδασκαλίας της ελληνικής ως δεύτερης/ξένης γλώσσας σε μετανάστες μαθητές στην Ελλάδα.[11] Το ενδιαφέρον μας, ωστόσο, δεν θα εντοπιστεί στα συνήθη ζητούμενα της Εφαρμοσμένης Γλωσσολογίας, δηλαδή στα γλωσσικά προβλήματα που αντιμετωπίζουν οι μετανάστες μαθητές (στο σύστημα της γλώσσας, στην ορθογραφία, στην κατανόηση εννοιών κλπ.) σε διαφορετικές ηλικίες και σε σχέση με τα διάφορα επίπεδα γλωσσομάθειας (βλ. Μπέλλα 2007· Χατζηδάκη 2005: 79-80). Η προσοχή μας θα στραφεί στον προσανατολισμό της γλωσσικής πολιτικής στη χώρα μας (βλ. σχετικά Cooper 1989· Καραντζόλα 2016), ειδικά σε σχέση με το ζήτημα της διδασκαλίας της ελληνικής ως δεύτερης/ξένης γλώσσας σε μετανάστες μαθητές (βλ. Σκούρτου 2011). Πιο συγκεκριμένα, και δεδομένου ότι τις τελευταίες δεκαετίες μεταναστευτικοί πληθυσμοί συρρέουν από πολλά μέρη του κόσμου στην Ελλάδα, ο σχεδιασμός γλωσσικής πολιτικής συναρτάται με τις επιλογές της πολιτικής εξουσίας για το αν η κρατική εκπαίδευση επιμείνει στην αρχή της μονοπολιτισμικότητας και της μονογλωσσίας επιδιώκοντας την ομογενοποίηση του πληθυσμού ή αν αρχίσει να συνομιλεί με μετανεωτερικές, μετα-εθνικές απόψεις (βλ. Ανδρουλάκης και Αρχάκης 2012).

Αν και το ελληνικό εκπαιδευτικό περιβάλλον υποδέχτηκε τους μετανάστες μαθητές την εικοσαετία 1990-2010 με ένα «περιτύλιγμα» προοδευτικών νομοθετικών πρωτοβουλιών που αφορούσαν την ίδρυση τάξεων υποδοχής, διαπολιτισμικών σχολείων ακόμη και τη δυνατότητα διδασκαλίας της γλώσσας καταγωγής (Μπουτουλούση 2002: 56), οι εκπαιδευτικές πρακτικές που έκτοτε ακολουθούνται –τουλάχιστον μέχρι το 2011 που εκπονήθηκε η έρευνα–, έχουν ως αποτέλεσμα τον εξοβελισμό των γλωσσών καταγωγής και την αποκλειστική κυριαρχία της ελληνικής ως αντικειμένου διδασκαλίας και ως γλώσσας διδασκαλίας. Το ελληνικό σχολείο, επομένως, θεωρεί ότι στις πολυπολιτισμικές πλέον τάξεις πολύγλωσσων μαθητών, η διδασκαλία της ελληνικής και μόνο επαρκεί (βλ. Μπουτουλούση 2002· Κοιλιάρη 2005· Gogonas 2010).

Σύμφωνα με τις παρατηρήσεις αυτές, το εκπαιδευτικό μοντέλο μέσω του οποίου επιτυγχάνεται η διάδοση και η εδραίωση της ιδεολογίας και της πρακτικής της ελληνικής μονογλωσσίας στους μεταναστευτικούς μαθητικούς πληθυσμούς είναι αυτό της *εκπαίδευσης εμβύθισης* (submersion education, βλ. Baker 1993): οι μετανάστες μαθητές πρέπει να υποστούν αναγκαστικά (ή καλύτερα *καταναγκαστικά*) τη «μέγιστη έκθεση» (maximum exposure), σύμφωνα με τους όρους του Cummins 2005: 127), στη νέα γι' αυτούς γλώσσα ώστε να την κατακτήσουν, ενώ ταυτόχρονα προσπαθούν να μάθουν νέα εκπαιδευτικά περιεχόμενα στη γλώσσα αυτή (Piller 2016: 104). Αποκαλυπτική των κινήτρων της εκπαίδευσης εμβύθισης είναι η ακόλουθη θέση του Cummins (2005: 163):

> [Ο] λόγος που υποστηρίζει ότι τα δίγλωσσα παιδιά πρέπει να αφομοιωθούν και να εγκαταλείψουν την πρώτη τους γλώσσα προκειμένου να πετύχουν στην κοινωνία, δεν είναι μια ουδέτερη επιστημονική δήλωση ενός δεδομένου. Ο λόγος αυτός έρχεται σε αντίθεση με τα σχετικά επιστημονικά δεδομένα και πηγάζει άμεσα από πρότυπα εξουσιαστικών σχέσεων της ευρύτερης κοινωνίας. (…) [Ο]δηγεί [δε] σε τύπους αλληλεπίδρασης δασκάλου – μαθητή που μεταδίδουν στους μαθητές το μήνυμα ότι πρέπει να αφήσουν έξω από την πόρτα του σχολείου τη γλώσσα τους και τον πολιτισμό τους.

Όπως προκύπτει από την ανάλυση των μαθητικών γραπτών του υλικού μας, η εκπαίδευση εμβύθισης δεν δίνει άλλες προοπτικές κατασκευής ταυτοτήτων στους μετανάστες μαθητές παρά

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[11] Με τον όρο *διδασκαλία της ελληνικής ως δεύτερης/ξένης γλώσσας* γίνεται συνήθως αναφορά στη γλωσσική διδασκαλία όσων πληθυσμών επιθυμούν ή καλούνται να μάθουν ελληνικά αλλά για διάφορους λόγους διαφοροποιούνται γλωσσικά από τους αυτόχθονες ελληνικούς (όντας λ.χ. μειονοτικοί, μεταναστευτικοί, διασπορικοί). Εδώ αξίζει να αναφέρουμε ότι υπάρχει αρκετή συζήτηση για το περιεχόμενο και τις τεχνικές λεπτομέρειες που διακρίνουν τους όρους *δεύτερη γλώσσα* και *ξένη γλώσσα* στην οποία δεν θα επεκταθούμε (βλ. Μοσχονάς 2003).

μόνο τη νομιμοποιητική ευθυγράμμισή τους με τον κυρίαρχο εθνικό λόγο (βλ. Castells 2010: 8· βλ. επίσης Archakis and Tsakona 2018), ή, διαφορετικά, την περιθωριοποίηση και τον κοινωνικό αποκλεισμό τους (βλ. Cummins 2005: 163). Το σχετικό απόσπασμα από την έκθεση 5 είναι χαρακτηριστικό της απειλής για περιθωριοποίηση των μαθητών: *Στο σχολειο αντιμετοπησα πολλες δυσκολιες στην επικοινωνια με τα αλλα παιδια επισης μερικες φορες τα παιδια φεροντουσαν ρατσιστικά απεναντι μου. Μ εκαναν να νιωθω κατωτερη και αυτό με πληγωνε.* Αναπόδραστα, η εκπαίδευση εμβύθισης σχετίζεται με την *αφαιρετική διγλωσσία* (subtractive billingualism, βλ. Baker 1993): η εκμάθηση μιας δεύτερης γλώσσας, εν προκειμένω της κυρίαρχης πρότυπης ελληνικής στις συγκεκριμένες εκπαιδευτικές συνθήκες, οδηγεί σταδιακά στην απόλυτη επικράτησή της και στον εξοβελισμό της γλώσσας καταγωγής των μεταναστών μαθητών (βλ. Piller 2016: 124).

Κεντρικός στόχος μιας κριτικής γλωσσικής εκπαίδευσης στην οποία αποσκοπεί η διερεύνηση που ακολουθεί, θα πρέπει να είναι η άρση της άδικης –όπως θα δούμε και στη συνέχεια– επιβολής της μονογλωσσικής και μονοπολιτισμικής ομοιογένειας σε δίγλωσσους και πολύγλωσσους μετανάστες μαθητές (βλ. Piller 2016: 104). Και η αδικία αυτή μπορεί να αντιμετωπιστεί τόσο μέσω της συνειδητοποίησής της από τους ίδιους τους μετανάστες αλλά και από τους πλειονοτικούς συμμαθητές τους όσο και μέσω της αναζήτησης ενός πλαισίου γλωσσικής πολιτικής, απαλλαγμένου από τις επιβολές του εθνικού λόγου.

9. ΚΡΙΤΙΚΗ ΓΛΩΣΣΙΚΗ ΕΚΠΑΙΔΕΥΣΗ ΚΑΙ ΤΟ ΓΛΩΣΣΙΚΟ ΠΡΟΝΟΜΙΟ ΤΩΝ ΠΛΕΙΟΝΟΤΙΚΩΝ ΜΑΘΗΤΩΝ

Η κριτική γλωσσική εκπαίδευση που προτείνουμε, αντλεί από θεωρητικά πλαίσια όπως ο κριτικός γραμματισμός και η κριτική γλωσσική επίγνωση. Οι γλωσσοεκπαιδευτικές αυτές προσεγγίσεις επισημαίνουν τη σημασία της ανίχνευσης και ανάδειξης της κοινωνιογλωσσικής ανισότητας και αδικίας (βλ. Archakis and Tsakona 2012: 125-137 και τις παραπομπές που δίνονται εκεί). Μια τέτοιου τύπου κριτική γλωσσική εκπαίδευση θα έχει ως στόχο την αμφισβήτηση της μονογλωσσικής και μονοπολιτισμικής ομοιογένειας στην εθνική επικράτεια. Θα βασίζεται δε στην αξιοποίηση της θέσης ότι η κοινωνική πραγματικότητα δεν συγκροτείται από 'φυσικές' αλήθειες αλλά από διαφορετικούς -και συχνά αντικρουόμενους- λόγους (discourses) για ποικίλα κοινωνιοπολιτισμικά ζητήματα. Η συνειδητοποίηση ότι ορισμένοι λόγοι, στους οποίους περιλαμβάνονται και οι εθνικοί λόγοι για τη γλώσσα, κατασκευάζονται και διαιωνίζονται ως κυρίαρχοι, ενώ άλλοι λόγοι –όπως εκδοχές του μετα-εθνικού– βάλλονται ή περιθωριοποιούνται, θεωρούμε ότι μπορεί να ευαισθητοποιήσει τους μαθητές σε σχέση με την υποτίμηση που υφίστανται οι μεταναστευτικές γλωσσικές ποικιλίες και πρακτικές από τον εθνικό λόγο (βλ. μεταξύ άλλων Fairclough 1989: 239· Baynham 2002· Lau 2010· Archakis and Tsakona 2012: 125-137· Felipe Fajardo 2015· Κωστούλη 2015· Στάμου κ.ά. 2016).

Στο κριτικό αυτό εκπαιδευτικό πλαίσιο είναι σκόπιμο να αναδεικνύεται και να αποτελεί με διάφορες αφορμές αντικείμενο προβληματισμού *το γλωσσικό προνόμιο των πλειονοτικών μαθητών* που τους παρέχει κύρος και κοινωνικά οφέλη (Piller 2016: 208). Όπως χαρακτηριστικά σημειώνει η Piller (ό.π.), «η γλωσσική δικαιοσύνη δεν μπορεί αποτελεσματικά να προαχθεί χωρίς την κατανόηση του γλωσσικού προνομίου». Πιο συγκεκριμένα, οι μετανάστες μαθητές θα μπορούν να συνειδητοποιήσουν ότι το γλωσσικό προνόμιο δεν ανήκει φυσικά, αυτονόητα και δικαιωματικά στους πλειονοτικούς μαθητές, παρά μόνο όσο είναι κυρίαρχος ο εθνικός λόγος για τη γλώσσα. Εξαιτίας της κυριαρχίας του εθνικού λόγου, οι δικές τους γλώσσες και οι δικοί τους πολιτισμοί δεν έχουν καμία θέση, καμία λειτουργικότητα και, επιπλέον, αξιολογούνται αρνητικά στο πλειονοτικό περιβάλλον (βλ. ό.π.: 191). Ως εκ τούτου, για να καρπωθούν τα απορρέοντα από το γλωσσικό προνόμιο κοινωνικά οφέλη, ο μόνος τρόπος δεν είναι να μάθουν όσο καλύτερα γίνεται τη 'φυσική, εθνική γλώσσα' του τόπου υποδοχής, υιοθετώντας νομιμοποιητικές γλωσσικές ταυτότητες που θα τους δώσουν 'ίσες', υποτίθεται, 'ευκαιρίες' ένταξης (Macedo, Δενδρινού και Γούναρη 2010: 243 κ.ε.). Εναλλακτικά, είναι σκόπιμο να αναζητήσουν και να διεκδικήσουν διαφορετικούς λόγους από τους κυρίαρχους εθνικούς για τη γλώσσα και την κοινωνία.[12] Έτσι, θα μπορέσουν σταδιακά να απενοχοποιηθούν για τα γλωσσικά και πολιτισμικά χαρακτηριστικά τους, αποβάλλοντας τα αισθήματα αυτοϋποτίμησης που

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[12] Σε σχέση με το ζήτημα αυτό, ο Fairclough (2014) εύστοχα σημειώνει τα εξής: «Αν θέλουμε να αλλάξουμε την υπάρχουσα κοινωνική πραγματικότητα με συγκεκριμένους τρόπους προκειμένου να υπερβούμε λάθη και προβλήματα, θα πρέπει να επιχειρήσουμε να αλλάξουμε την επικρατούσα κοινή λογική» (το απόσπασμα αυτό παραθέτει ο Κουτσογιάννης 2015: 16).

τους δημιουργεί το μονογλωσσικό και μονοπολιτισμικό εθνικό περιβάλλον (βλ. Piller 2016: 191· επίσης Freire 1970/2000: 42-69).

Από την άλλη, καλούνται και οι πλειονοτικοί μαθητές να συνειδητοποιήσουν, αναπτύσσοντας τη διαπολιτισμική ικανότητα της ενσυναίσθησης (empathy) (Γκόβαρης και Μανούσου 2015), ότι το 'αυτονόητο' προνόμιο της κατοχής της πλειονοτικής εθνικής γλώσσας που τους χαρακτηρίζει, παράγει ανισότητα και αδικία. Σε αντίθεση δηλαδή με τους μετανάστες συμμαθητές τους, έχουν αδικαιολόγητα το προνόμιο να μην υφίστανται υποτιμητικές διακρίσεις για τη γλώσσα που μιλούν και, επιπλέον, να επιβραβεύονται επειδή τη μιλούν, ενώ έχουν προσπαθήσει πολύ λιγότερο από ό,τι οι μετανάστες συμμαθητές τους (βλ. Piller 2016: 208).

10. ΠΡΟΤΑΣΕΙΣ ΓΛΩΣΣΙΚΗΣ ΠΟΛΙΤΙΚΗΣ ΥΠΟ ΤΟ ΠΡΙΣΜΑ ΤΟΥ ΜΕΤΑ-ΕΘΝΙΚΟΥ ΛΟΓΟΥ

Η προτεινόμενη κριτική γλωσσική εκπαίδευση, εκτός από την ανάδειξη των αδικιών που παράγονται από την κυριαρχία του εθνικού λόγου, είναι σκόπιμο, παράλληλα, να επιχειρήσει τη διαμόρφωση και την προώθηση μιας νέας γλωσσικής πολιτικής, απαλλαγμένης από τις θεσμικές επιβολές του εθνικού λόγου και βασισμένης στην εκ νέου νοηματοδότηση κρίσιμων εκπαιδευτικών εννοιών (βλ. Ανδρουλάκης και Αρχάκης 2012). Προκειμένου να συμβάλουμε, εντελώς προκαταρκτικά και προγραμματικά, στη διαμόρφωση μιας τέτοιας γλωσσικής και εκπαιδευτικής πολιτικής, θα επιχειρήσουμε, υπό το πρίσμα του μετα-εθνικού λόγου, διαφορετικές από τις παραδοσιακές προσεγγίσεις σε κεντρικές έννοιες όπως η *γλώσσα*, το *γλωσσοδιδακτικό πρότυπο* και η *διαπολιτισμική εκπαίδευση*.[13]

10.1. Η έννοια γλώσσα

Όπως ήδη σημειώσαμε, η αντίληψη που θέλει τη γλώσσα, ως ομοιογενή οντότητα με ιστορική συνέχεια, να εκτείνεται εντός μιας εθνικής επικράτειας πλέον αμφισβητείται έντονα (βλ. Blommaert and Rampton 2011). Ο Blommaert (2010: 5) εισηγείται την *κοινωνιογλωσσολογία της κινητικότητας* (sociolinguistics of mobility) που αναδεικνύει το γεγονός ότι η γλώσσα βρίσκεται διαρκώς εν κινήσει (language-in-motion) χωρίς χωροχρονικές δεσμεύσεις. Η προσέγγιση αυτή δεν βλέπει τη γλώσσα ως ένα ιδεατό, αφηρημένο και οριοθετημένο γραμματικό σύστημα, ή, με τα λόγια του Μοσχονά (2010: 58), ως «ένα 'πράγμα' ολικό, μονολογικό και όχι διαλογικό, μη διαβαθμίσιμο, εντελές, ομοιογενές, πλήρες σε κάθε περίσταση». Αντίθετα, την αναζητά σε ποικίλους, κοινωνικά προσδιορισμένους, γλωσσικούς πόρους (resources) που ένας ομιλητής έχει στη διάθεσή του και κατά περίσταση χρησιμοποιεί (Piller 2016: 12). Δεδομένου δε ότι τα τελευταία χρόνια, μεγάλα τμήματα πληθυσμού έχουν μετακινηθεί από πολλά διαφορετικά μέρη του κόσμου προς ποικίλους προορισμούς, διαμορφώνοντας νέους και σύνθετους κοινωνικούς σχηματισμούς, η απρόβλεπτη πολλές φορές αξιοποίηση των διαθέσιμων γλωσσικών πόρων οδηγεί σε φαινόμενα πολλαπλής ποικιλότητας ή *υπερποικιλότητας* (superdiversity) σύμφωνα με τον όρο του Vertovec (2007) (βλ. επίσης Piller 2016: 22).

10.2. Το γλωσσοδιδακτικό πρότυπο διδασκαλίας

Τα κυρίαρχα γλωσσοδιδακτικά παραδείγματα βασίζονται στο πρότυπο του *φυσικού ομιλητή*, στην επιδίωξη δηλαδή της εκμάθησης μιας δεύτερης/ξένης γλώσσας σε επίπεδο φυσικού ομιλητή, υπηρετώντας με αυτόν τον τρόπο την επεκτατική ιδεολογία της μονογλωσσίας (βλ. σχετικά Δελβερούδη 2004: 250· Δενδρινού 2004: 52· Blommaert 2013).

Ωστόσο, σύμφωνα με τον Pennycook (2012: 80-82, 121 κ.ε.), το κύριο πρόβλημα που εντοπίζεται στο γλωσσοδιδακτικό αυτό πρότυπο είναι η –άμεση ή έμμεση– συσχέτισή του με την πρότυπη, εθνική γλώσσα: ο φυσικός ομιλητής είναι αυτός που θεωρητικά γνωρίζει σε απόλυτο βαθμό την πρότυπη εθνική γλώσσα, διότι γεννιέται και αναπτύσσεται γλωσσικά μέσα σ' αυτή. Στη θέση αυτή λανθάνει η άποψη ότι η γλώσσα είναι μία διακριτή και σαφώς προσδιορισμένη οντότητα, η οποία σχετίζεται με το έθνος και τους ανήκοντες σ' αυτό ομιλητές της, ανεξάρτητα από τα

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[13] Στην εργασία αυτή δεν προχωρούμε στην επεξεργασία ή/και στην υπόδειξη ενός δίγλωσσου ή πολύγλωσσου μοντέλου γλωσσικής διδασκαλίας(λ.χ. κάποιας μορφής εμβάπτισης [*immersion*]) διότι συχνά τα μοντέλα αυτά, αν και αφορούν τη συνύπαρξη διαφορετικών γλωσσών, συντηρούν μονογλωσσικές ιδεολογικές θέσεις. Ως εκ τούτου, θεωρούμε σκόπιμο στην παρούσα φάση να επιμείνουμε στις προϋποθέσεις εκείνες που θα διασφαλίσουν, μέσω της αναζήτησης μιας διαφορετικής από την παραδοσιακή γλωσσικής πολιτικής, όχι μόνο τη συνύπαρξη, αλλά και την αλληλεπίδραση των γλωσσών στο εκπαιδευτικό περιβάλλον και όχι μόνο (βλ. Garcia 2009· Garcia and Wei 2014).

χαρακτηριστικά των κοινωνικών τους ομάδων (φύλου, ηλικίας, μόρφωσης, κοινωνικής τάξης), αλλά και των κειμενικών ειδών και των κοινωνικών πρακτικών που εξασκούν (βλ. επίσης Blackledge 2005: 54-55· Ricento 2015: 68).

Θεωρούμε σκόπιμο να αμφισβητήσουμε το εκπαιδευτικό πρότυπο του ιδεατού φυσικού ομιλητή κατά τη διαδικασία εκμάθησης μιας δεύτερης/ξένης γλώσσας και να εισαγάγουμε αυτό του *διαγλωσσικού/διαπολιτισμικού ομιλητή* (βλ. Δενδρινού 2004: 50-1, 53) ή, με τους όρους του Pennycook (2012: 99), το πρότυπο *του ομιλητή που χειρίζεται πολλούς γλωσσικούς πόρους* (resourceful speaker). Στο πλαίσιο αυτό, η γλώσσα δεν θα εκλαμβάνεται ως κλειστό, πλήρως και επακριβώς περιγράψιμο σύστημα, αλλά ως σύνολο διαφορετικών πόρων οι οποίοι τροφοδοτούν υβριδικές/διαγλωσσικές πρακτικές (translanguaging) (βλ. Garcia and Wei 2014· Τσιπλάκου 2015· Tsokalidou 2016). Ο στόχος πλέον *δεν* θα είναι η εκμάθηση μιας εθνικής/επίσημης γλώσσας η οποία εντοπίζεται σε μια «συγκεκριμένη γεωγραφική επικράτεια» που συσχετίζεται με μια «πεπερασμένη πολιτισμική πραγματικότητα» και μια «συγκεκριμένη εθνοτική ομάδα ανθρώπων» (Δενδρινού 2004: 54). Όπως χαρακτηριστικά σημειώνει η Δενδρινού (2004: 50-51), επιδίωξη θα είναι οι μαθητές «να καταστούν υποκείμενα-παραγωγοί νοήματος, χρησιμοποιώντας όλους τους διαθέσιμους σε αυτούς σημειωτικούς τρόπους και μέσα» ώστε «να λειτουργούν στα όρια μεταξύ πολλών γλωσσών [και] να ελίσσονται στα επικοινωνιακά συμβάντα».

10.3. Η διαπολιτισμική εκπαίδευση

Παρά τις δυνατότητες που παρέχονται από τη σχετική νομοθεσία, η εκπαιδευτική πρακτική των διαπολιτισμικών σχολείων στην Ελλάδα «δεν διαφέρει ιδιαίτερα από αυτήν στα σχολεία που δεν είναι χαρακτηρισμένα ως [δ]ιαπολιτισμικά και όπου φοιτά ο μεγαλύτερος αριθμός αλλόγλωσσων μαθητών» (Κοιλιάρη 2005: 124· βλ. και Καραντζόλα 1999).

Ωστόσο, η διαπολιτισμική εκπαίδευση θα πρέπει να εγκαινιάζει έναν «πολιτισμικό διάλογο» που να βασίζεται στην ισοτιμία και την αμοιβαιότητα όλων των μαθητών –των πλειονοτικών μη εξαιρουμένων– παρά και πέρα από τις φυλετικές, εθνικές, κοινωνικές και πολιτισμικές τους διαφορές (Δαμανάκης 2000· βλ. επίσης Banks and Banks 2004· Πιατά 2014). Όπως χαρακτηριστικά επισημαίνει η Τσάκωνα (2014: 213), «διαπολιτισμική εκπαίδευση δεν σημαίνει μια μοναχική πορεία των μεταναστευτικών και μειονοτικών πληθυσμών προς την κυρίαρχη γλώσσα και τον κυρίαρχο πολιτισμό της χώρας υποδοχής», αλλά αφορά «όλους μας ανεξαιρέτως» (ό.π.: 200). Ως εκ τούτου, «η διδασκαλία των γλωσσών καταγωγής [των μεταναστών] είναι σκόπιμο να αποτελεί βασικό κομμάτι των σύγχρονων προγραμμάτων διαπολιτισμικής διδασκαλίας» (ό.π.). Σύμφωνα με την παρατήρηση αυτή, αν οι γλώσσες καταγωγής των μεταναστευτικών πληθυσμών ενταχθούν στο πρόγραμμα σπουδών και των πλειονοτικών μαθητών, θα βγουν από την 'απαγόρευση' στην οποία βρίσκονται σήμερα. Η αφανής διγλωσσία ή πολυγλωσσία πολλών μεταναστών μαθητών (Τσοκαλίδου 2005) θα καταστεί εμφανής και οι γλώσσες τους θα τεθούν σε εκπαιδευτική και κοινωνική κυκλοφορία και μείξη. Το γεγονός αυτό θα δώσει το έναυσμα για τη διαμόρφωση νέων σύνθετων και υβριδικών πολιτισμικών και γλωσσικών ταυτοτήτων και πρακτικών[14] στο πλαίσιο μιας γενικευμένης διαπολιτισμικής εκπαίδευσης που θα παρέχεται σε όλους τους μαθητές που διαμένουν μονιμότερα ή προσωρινά στην ελληνική επικράτεια.

11. ΣΥΜΠΕΡΑΣΜΑΤΑ ΓΙΑ ΤΗ ΔΙΑΜΟΡΦΩΣΗ ΓΛΩΣΣΙΚΗΣ ΠΟΛΙΤΙΚΗΣ ΣΤΟ ΠΛΑΙΣΙΟ ΤΗΣ ΚΡΙΤΙΚΗΣ ΓΛΩΣΣΙΚΗΣ ΕΚΠΑΙΔΕΥΣΗΣ

Στο δεύτερο μέρος της μελέτης μας επιχειρήσαμε μία παρέμβαση στο ζήτημα της ασκούμενης γλωσσικής πολιτικής, διερευνώντας, εντελώς γενικά και προκαταρκτικά, ένα εναλλακτικό πλαίσιο γλωσσικής πολιτικής, με αφορμή το ζήτημα της διδασκαλίας της ελληνικής ως δεύτερης/ξένης γλώσσας σε μετανάστες μαθητές στο ελληνικό σχολείο. Στρέψαμε την προσοχή μας στον μετα-εθνικό λόγο και στον τρόπο που ο λόγος αυτός μπορεί να νοηματοδοτήσει τομείς καίριας σημασίας για τον σχεδιασμό γλωσσικής πολιτικής όπως είναι η γλώσσα, το γλωσσοδιδακτικό πρότυπο και η διαπολιτισμική εκπαίδευση. Αναδείξαμε το γεγονός ότι η διαπολιτισμική εκπαίδευση μπορεί να φέρει στο προσκήνιο τις γλώσσες καταγωγής των μεταναστών μαθητών καθιστώντας τις, μαζί με την

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[14] Σχετικά με την έννοια της *πολιτισμικής υβριδικότητας* (cultural hybridity) σημαντική είναι η συμβολή του Bhabha (1994), ενός από τους βασικότερους εκπροσώπους των μεταποικιακών σπουδών, ο οποίος επισημαίνει ότι η πολιτισμική υβριδικότητα αντιστρατεύεται και υπερβαίνει τις κυρίαρχες 'καθαρές' κατηγοριοποιήσεις που προωθούνται και επιβάλλονται παγκοσμίως από τον δυτικό πολιτισμό.

ελληνική, διαθέσιμους πόρους για τη σύνθεση διαπολιτισμικών νοημάτων και ταυτοτήτων από όλους τους μαθητές. Σ' ένα τέτοιο κοινωνικό και εκπαιδευτικό περιβάλλον ενίσχυσης της διαρκούς αλληλεπίδρασης και αλληλοτροφοδότησης των γλωσσών με πρακτικές διαγλωσσικότητας, η διδασκαλία της γλώσσας μπορεί να αποδεσμευθεί από το γλωσσοδιδακτικό πρότυπο του φυσικού ομιλητή και να υιοθετήσει αυτό του διαγλωσσικού/διαπολιτισμικού ομιλητή.

Το προτεινόμενο πλαίσιο γλωσσικής πολιτικής δεν φιλοδοξούμε να προωθηθεί μέσω της άνωθεν επιβολής από την πολιτεία, αλλά να διαμορφώνεται και να δοκιμάζεται από εκπαιδευτικούς που ενστερνίζονται την κριτική γλωσσική εκπαίδευση,[15] αντιπαραθετικά προς τον εθνικό, ξενοφοβικό λόγο της ελληνικής μονογλωσσίας η οποία προσφέρει αυτονόητα το γλωσσικό προνόμιο στους πλειονοτικούς ομιλητές της εθνικής γλώσσας. Θέτουμε, ως εκ τούτου, το ζήτημα και το ζητούμενο της σταδιακής μετάβασης από τον κυρίαρχο εθνικό λόγο σε κάποια μορφή μετα-εθνικού λόγου που αμφισβητεί τα καθαρόαιμα έθνη, τους καθαρόαιμους πολιτισμούς και τις ομοιογενείς τους γλώσσες, σε μια συγκυρία όπου η ροή μεταναστών και προσφύγων, ως φορέων ποικίλων γλωσσών και πολιτισμών, είναι διαρκής, αντιμέτωπη με την αναζωπύρωση του εθνικισμού και πλέον χωρίς αναγκαστικό στόχο τη μόνιμη εγκατάσταση αλλά (και) την εκ νέου μετακίνηση. Οι κριτικές γλωσσοεκπαιδευτικές μας προτάσεις επιδιώκουν τη μεταβολή ως προς το σχεδιασμό της υπόστασης των γλωσσών της επικράτειας (status planning, βλ. Wardhaugh 1992: 347). Αποσκοπούν, πιο συγκεκριμένα, στην αποδέσμευση των γλωσσών καταγωγής των μεταναστών από τη φυσικοποιημένη απαξίωσή τους, και της πλειονοτικής ελληνικής από το αυτονόητο κύρος της, γεγονός που θα μπορούσε να διευκολύνει τη μεταξύ τους αλληλεπίδραση και μείξη. Στο πλαίσιο αυτό και υπό αυτήν την προοπτική, η έμφαση μπορεί να φύγει από την ελληνική γλώσσα και να εντοπιστεί σ' όλες τις διαθέσιμες γλώσσες που μπορούν να λειτουργήσουν ως γλωσσικοί πόροι για κάθε μαθητή που θέλει να σχεδιάζει και να πραγματώνει δυναμικά, πολυσυλλεκτικά και πολυφωνικά την επικοινωνία του (βλ. Κουτσογιάννης 2014: 17). Ως εκ τούτου, ο όρος *κριτική διδασκαλία της γλώσσας* επαρκεί, και οι ενδιάμεσοι προσδιορισμοί *της ελληνικής ως δεύτερης/ξένης* ίσως περιττεύουν.

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[15] Ο Μαυρέας (2011: 11) παρουσιάζοντας την εξέλιξη της έρευνας στον κλάδο της γλωσσικής πολιτικής και γενικότερα του γλωσσικού σχεδιασμού σημειώνει σχετικά τα εξής: «Περνάμε, επομένως, από μια τεχνοκρατική αντίληψη του γλωσσικού σχεδιασμού, που στοχεύει στη λύση προβλημάτων μέσα από τον εκσυγχρονισμό των κοινωνιών και των γλωσσικών τους συμπεριφορών και συνήθως κατευθύνεται από την κορυφή προς τη βάση, σε μια σύγχρονη προσέγγιση όπου δίνεται έμφαση στο ρόλο των ομιλητών, στις γλωσσικές τους επιλογές, στη διαμόρφωση της ταυτότητάς τους και τη διεκδίκηση των γλωσσικών τους δικαιωμάτων». Βλ. σχετικά και Pennycook (2006: 64-65).

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Medieval and Early Modern Greek: more data, more clarity?

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ABSTRACT

Μετά από μια σύντομη περιγραφή των στόχων και της μεθοδολογίας της υπό έκδοση γραμματικής της μεσαιωνικής και πρώιμης νέας ελληνικής (*The Cambridge Grammar of Medieval and Early Modern Greek*), η παρουσίαση επικεντρώνεται σε ορισμένα μορφολογικά και φωνολογικά φαινόμενα, για τα οποία έχει συσσωρευτεί πλήθος στοιχείων κατά τη διάρκεια του ερευνητικού προγράμματος. Συγκεκριμένα, συζητιούνται: στη μορφολογία του ρήματος το 3ο πρόσωπο του παρατατικού της παθητικής φωνής, το φαινόμενο της κράσης, η κλίση των ουδέτερων ουσιαστικών σε –*ιμο*, η περιφραστική αντωνυμία *(του) λόγου μου*, και οι λέξεις *πιο* και *πια*. Σε πάμπολλες περιπτώσεις το μεγάλο ποσό στοιχείων που έχει συγκεντρωθεί, μας επιτρέπει να χρονολογήσουμε ακριβέστερα τους νεωτερικούς τύπους, να χαρτογραφήσουμε πιο λεπτεμερώς τη γεωγραφική διάδοσή τους, και γενικά να κατανοήσουμε πληρέστερα τα στάδια εξέλιξης σημαντικών γλωσσικών φαινομένων. Πρέπει όμως να ομολογήσουμε ότι ορισμένα ζητήματα που αφορούν την ιστορική εξέλιξη της ελληνικής μένουν άλυτα, διότι δεν διαθέτουμε τα απαραίτητα στοιχεία· δηλ. οι (αναγκαστικά) γραπτές πηγές μας, παρόλο τον όγκο τους και την ποικιλία τους, δεν ρίχνουν φως σε ορισμένες αινιγματικές όψεις της φωνολογικής και της μορφολογικής αλλαγής. Εντούτοις, μπορούμε να πούμε ότι διαθέτουμε τώρα μια κατά πολύ πληρέστερη και λεπτομερέστερη εικόνα της εξέλιξης της «δημώδους» ελληνικής από τον 11ο αιώνα μέχρι τις αρχές του 18ου.

Key Words: historical linguistics, Medieval Greek, morphology, phonology.

1. INTRODUCTION

It is undeniable that, in comparison with the Classical and Hellenistic forms of Greek, and indeed the modern language, the Medieval and Early Modern periods of the language's history have been seriously neglected by scholarship. The fact that a work entitled *An Historical Greek Grammar*, published at the end of the 19th century (Jannaris 1897), can still sometimes be consulted with profit says it all. Of course, in the past the dearth of available linguistic materials partly explained this neglect, alongside other factors such as the low prestige of Medieval Greek. Such general surveys of the history of Greek as existed relied mainly on literary texts, usually in verse, for the medieval and early modern periods, and the relevant editions – and consequently the linguistic data extracted from them – were often unreliable.[1] Much has now changed: editions that meet modern scholarly standards have, in most cases, superseded the texts of previous generations of editors, important lexicographical projects have made significant progress or been completed (Kriaras 1968-, Trapp et al. 1994-2017), the *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae* includes increasing numbers of medieval texts, many more literary texts have been discovered and published, and – most significantly – in the last few decades a wealth of non-literary material has been published and now offers itself for systematic linguistic study.

This is the context in which we undertook the task of producing a comprehensive description and analysis of written vernacular Greek, from ca. 1100 to ca. 1700. We use two "labels" to divide this period: Late Medieval Greek (LMedG) from ca. 1100 to ca. 1500, and Early Modern Greek (EMG) from ca. 1500 to ca. 1700. The chronological limits are approximate: significant quantities of vernacular texts become available only from the 12th century, but we include material from the 11th century when it meets our criteria, and we also relate the picture presented by our late-medieval

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[1] Examples of such general surveys are Browning 1983 (in English) and Tonnet 2003 (in French). Both have been translated into Greek, which is in itself not without significance.

texts to post-classical and early medieval developments, wherever possible. At the other end of our time-frame we include some early 18th-century texts, particularly if they fill gaps in our geographical coverage. Among our goals are: a more precise dating of linguistic phenomena, particularly the earliest appearance of innovative forms; the mapping of variants across the Greek-speaking world; and, when possible, the labelling of variants according to register or type of text. It is worth mentioning that we attach particular importance to non-literary texts such as documents, because they usually have a specific date and provenance; our bibliography of non-literary sources contains around 640 publications.[2] The outcome of more than twelve years' work – *The Cambridge Grammar of Medieval and Early Modern Greek* – is now in press and scheduled for publication by Cambridge University Press in 2018. It will consist of four volumes and will run to more than 2,500 pages. Six researchers – Geoffrey Horrocks, Marjolijne Janssen, Tina Lendari, Io Manolessou, Notis Toufexis, with the present author as director – participated in the project, which was based at the University of Cambridge and funded for the first five years by the Arts and Humanities Research Council; each member of the team had specific responsibilities and all have contributed to the final form of the Grammar. Consequently, this presentation also draws on the work of my colleagues.

The topics I shall discuss are the following:

- Verb morphology: 3 sg. imperfect passive
- Crasis of /u/ + /e/
- The declension of neuter nouns in –ιμο
- The periphrastic pronoun (τοῦ) λόγου μου
- The words πιό and πιά used in analytic comparatives and as temporal adverbs.

2. VERB MORPHOLOGY

Medieval and Early Modern Greek verb morphology is characterized by a great deal of polymorphy, and of course this is still the case (though to a much lesser extent) in Standard Modern Greek (SMG), e.g. έρχονταν – ερχόντανε – ερχόντουσαν, μιλούσαν – μιλούσανε – μίλαγαν – μιλάγανε, είστε – είσαστε etc. In the period covered by the Grammar we often find a huge range of forms filling the same morphological slot; the task is to sort them by date, geographical provenance, register etc. If we take the 3rd person singular of the imperfect passive as an example, we "know" that the development is from AG ἐγράφετο > MG γραφόταν(ε), and we can "explain" the analogical processes that get us from the ancient to the modern form. But of course it's not so simple. Our analysis of our sources has actually identified 34 variants, of which only one is in general use throughout the period, 11 are restricted by date, geographical area or register, while another 22 occur more rarely. The following table sets out these forms, ignoring the fact that the augment may often be omitted.

General	Restricted	Rare
ἐγράφετον	ἐγράφετο	
	ἐγράφετονε	
	ἐγραφέτον	ἐγραφέτο
	ἐγραφέτονε	
		ἐγράφετουν
		ἐγράφετούνα
		ἐγράφεταν
	ἐγράφεντο(ν)	ἐγραφέντον
	ἐγράφεντονε	
	ἐγράφοντο	ἐγράφοντον
		ἐγραφόντον

	ἐγράφουντο(ν)	
	ἐγράφουντονε	
		ἐγράφοτον
		ἐγραφότον
		ἐγράφουτον
		ἐγράφουτονε
		ἐγράφοντάνε
	ἐγράφοτουν	ἐγράφουτουν
	ἐγραφότουν	ἐγραφότουνα
		ἐγραφότουνε
		ἐγράφοτου
		ἐγράφονταν
		ἐγράφουντα(ν)
		ἐγραφόνταν
		ἐγραφόταν
		ἐγραφότανε
		ἐγράφοντου(ν)

The inherited form ἐγράφετο, usually with addition of final –ν, is the only form that is widely used through the whole period from the 12th to the 17th century. Addition of final –ε, ἐγράφετονε, is found in texts from Crete and the Heptanese, but also some Cycladic islands, sometimes with either a secondary stress or stress movement. Forms stressed on the penultimate, (ἐ)γραφέτον, can be found in verse texts, probably for metrical reasons, but sometimes also in prose texts:[3]

> ὣς ὅσον ἐδυνέτον *Dig*. E 486
> ὁποὺ καθέτον Φίλιππος *Alex*. Rim. 192
> καὶ πάλι ἀντρευέτον Zinos, *Vatr.* 141
> ευρισκέτον αρρώστη Voustr., *Chron.* A 32.14; εκαθέτον εις την σκάλαν ibid. 38.11

The form ἐγράφεντον, also with deletion of final –ν, occurs in texts from various areas from the 14th century onwards. Forms in –ουντο(ν) appear from at least the 16th century in texts from southern areas (Crete, Peloponnese, certain Cycladic islands), but also in texts from Chios and elsewhere, and in the grammars of Germano and Portius.

> κείτουντον Aitolos, *Ais. Myth.* 18.4
> ἐλαφρώνουντον Kornaros, *Erot.* I.1758
> ἐκάθουντον Kallioup., *Kaini Diath.* Matth. 15.29
> εὐρίσκουντον (1735, Kimolos, Ramfos 1974: 37, 65.6-7)

The endings −οτου(ν), −ότουν(α) and −ότουνε are found from the 17th century onwards in texts from the Heptanese and the Peloponnese. In northern areas we often find the plural forms used also for the singular:

> ἤρχονταν (1565, Prousa, Patrinelis 1988/89: 1, 47.8)
> τους εφαίνονταν *Chron. Ps.-Doroth.* 233.14
> ἂν ἤρχονταν ξένος Papasynad., *Chron.* I §29.19

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[3] Within each list the examples are arranged in approximate chronological order. Examples from literary works are cited by author's name (if known) and abbreviated title. Examples taken from non-literary texts give (in brackets) the date of the original and place of writing (if known), together with an author-date reference with number of document, page and line. These references are not included in the bibliography to this article, as that would result in an extremely long list, but they will of course be found in the published Grammar. The orthography and accent system of the examples are those of the relevant editor, except that those taken from diplomatic editions have been normalized.

but such forms occasionally occur in other regions too. The SMG endings ⁻όταν and –ότανε first appear in texts from western areas (the Heptanese, Peloponnese, Central Greece), but not before the 17th century:

> ὠνομαζόταν (1683, Gortynia, Yannaropoulou 1972: 95, 322.3)
> εὑρισκότανε (1641, Ithaca, Zapandi 2002b: 233, 190.4)
> ἐβρισκότανε (1682, Kefalonia, Alexopoulou/Vlachou et al. 2009: 263, 241.20)
> νὰ ἑστεκότανε Efthym., *Chron. Gal.* 46.15

It would therefore be difficult to defend a straightforward linear development from an original –ετο to –όταν. Rather, the form which eventually emerges as "standard" is one of a large number of variants in use over a lengthy period, but it first appears in written texts only towards the end of the Early Modern period. The amassing of a large amount of data shows the complexity of the evolution of certain verb endings, with different variants co-occurring in the same text or the same geographical area for centuries. Some of these variants survive, of course, in the modern dialects and such historical data will certainly be of interest to dialectologists. However, I should make it clear that this Grammar does not set out to write the history of the Modern Greek dialects; that would require more and different data, as well as the resolution of thorny theoretical issues.

3. CRASIS

The phenomenon of crasis, as it exists in LMedG and EMG, is frequently misunderstood, mainly because its MedG and MG instantiation is different from that in Ancient Greek. The orthography used by editors may also obscure what is actually happening. Crasis is the coalescence of two adjacent vowels to produce a third, different vowel: in the case of MedG and MG it affects only the vowel sequence /u/ + /e/ within a phonological unit, resulting in /o/. It can occur word-internally, and here the commonest example seems to be the imperative or imperfect ἄκο < ἄκουε:

> καὶ θὲς τὸ νοῦν σου καὶ ἄκο τα καλὰ *Spaneas* V 46 (ms dated ca. 1200)
> ἄκο τὸ τίντα λέγει *Dig.* E 517; ἄκο καὶ τί τοῦ λέγει ibid. 560
> ἄκο ἄλλον σύβαμα *Chron. Toc.* 41
> ἄκο τὸ τίντα σὲ λαλεῖ Falieros, *Ist. On.* 535; ἄκο τί λέγει ibid. 679

In the imperfect, in the sense "he answered to the name", "he was called", it occurs a number of times in the 14th-century manuscript of the *Chronicle of Morea*:

> ὁ Δοῦκας γὰρ τῆς Βενετίας, μισὶρ Ἀρίγος ἄκω *Chron. Mor.* H 335, cf. 1379, 3176, 3539, 3540, 5231, 7866, 8099

In the same text crasis occurs in the present tense 2nd person plural ἀκότε for ἀκούετε:

> ὡς τὸ ἀκῶτε *Chron. Mor.* H 8911

There is one other word where possible evidence for internal crasis has been brought to light (see Andriotis (1956) 3): λόσαι instead of λούεσαι in the *Poulologos*. But it is necessary to hunt for it in the apparatus criticus of the edition by Tsavari, as it occurs in only one manuscript, dating from the second decade of the 16th century:

> λόσαι V, λοῦσαι L, λούεσαι C, Cᵃ, λούγεσαι P (*Poulologos* 147)

However, crasis is mainly found at word boundaries in the following contexts: (1) the weak personal pronoun μοῦ, σοῦ, τοῦ, (2) the relative pronoun or adverb ὁπού/πού, (3) the interrogative adverb ποῦ, in each case followed by a verb with syllabic augment ἐ- or stem beginning with /e/. The phenomenon of crasis is described and discussed by Andriotis (1956) in some detail, though he was unable to date its origin, beyond saying that the first secure attestations are in the *Chronicle of Morea* – the imperfect form ἄκο that we have just seen. We can now add two much earlier attestations of the phenomenon from a 12th-century Latin-Greek glossary (Aerts 1995: 204):

> *po ne oto castro? Po ne strata oto castro?*
> πόναι ὦ{ς} τὸ κάστρο; πόναι στράτα ὠ{ς} τὸ κάστρο;

The next appearance is in the poem *Spaneas*, the manuscript of which is dated late-12th/early-13th century. We then find it in several romances and other vernacular texts dating from the 14th/15th century:

> ὀπόχει κόκκινον *Poulol.* 336
> ὀπόχουν χρείαν μεγάλην *Pol. Tr.* 6736 app. crit. (V)
> εῖπαν την τὸ πόναι *Liv.* V 2770
> καὶ πόναι; [Andr. Palaiol.], *Kallim.* 1110
> ὀπῶβαναν τὲς σκάλες *Chron. Toc.* 100

It also occurs in documents from various areas, from the early 16th century onwards:

> αὐτοῦ ὀπόναι καὶ ὁ δούκας (1508, Ios, Patramani 1989/90: 3, 174.51)
> μὄδειξαν (1513, Corfu, Karaboula/Paparriga-Artemiadi 1998: 9, 28.10)
> τὄχει δίδοντα (1538, Crete, Mavromatis 2006: 434α, 343.6)
> ὀπόγόρασεν (1538, Crete, Mavromatis 1994a: 9 [Θ´], 241.4-5) < ὁποὺ ἐγόρασεν
> τὸ χωράφι ὀπόκράτει (1550, Kefalonia, Vayonakis et al. 2001: 36, 77.27)
> πὄχομεν (1570, Andros, Polemis 1999a: 1, 9.13)

It continues to be found in literary and non-literary texts right to the end of our period and indeed beyond.

> πόναι (1685, Gortynia, Gritsopoulos 1950: 27, 134.6)
> ὀπὄστειλις (1698, Thessaloniki, Katsanis 2012: 7, 65.13)
> τὤκαμε Efthym., *Chron. Gal.* 59.22

In the relevant study Andriotis (1956) collected a considerable amount of evidence for crasis from modern dialects: Epirus, Thessaly, Ithaca, Southern Italy, Kimolos, Corsica, Cyprus, Lesvos, Limnos, Macedonia, Megisti, the Peloponnese (Arcadia, Mani, Messinia), Rhodes, Samos, Skopelos, Sfakia, Tsakonia, and Chios. He also noted its appearance in folk songs and certain 19th- and 20th-century poets.

To sum up, the fast speech phenomenon known as crasis exists, in its Modern Greek form, from at least the 12th century, when it appears in a phrase-book possibly intended for the use of travellers or crusaders. Thereafter, it occurs widely in both literary and non-literary texts; it is especially frequent in Crete, the Cyclades (Andros, Naxos, Santorini, Syros), the Heptanese (Kefalonia, Corfu, Ithaca, Cythera), but is also attested from other areas such as the Peloponnese and Macedonia. Our Grammar database contains 87 examples drawn from texts ranging from the 12th to the early 18th century. In fact that number could be considerably increased since, when a form is frequent in a given text, we normally enter only a couple of representative examples in the database. All the evidence indicates that crasis of /u/ + /e/ is a very common phenomenon in LMedG and EMG. Triantafyllidis even thought it appropriate to mention it in his grammar (1941: 78), though he related it to poetic language and cited examples only from Valaoritis and Gryparis.

4. NOMINAL MORPHOLOGY

In the domain of nominal morphology, I shall comment on an innovative declension of neuter nouns, those in –ιμο, e.g. MG γράψιμο, σπάσιμο, τρέξιμο. The singular form derives from the substantivized use of the neuter of adjectives in –ιμος. Such forms are already found in Ancient Greek (AG) from Homer onwards (Chatzidakis 1934: 164-72), but the nominal suffix –ιμο(ν) becomes productive in the early medieval period, in texts such as Byzantine chronicles (see Psaltes 1913: 286-7 for examples), and many new lexical items are generated from perfective verb stems, e.g. κρίσιμον, δέξιμον, στέψιμον. Initially they are declined as neuter nouns in –ον, but by the 9th century we begin to see alternative forms modelled on the –μα paradigm:

τὰ δεξίματα τῶν βασιλέων *Parastaseis syntomoi* 67.3 (8th/9th c.; 11th-c. ms; ed. Preger)

ὅλα τὰ πλείονα αὐτοῦ μεταστασίματα *De Ceremoniis* 51.14

εἰς τὰ μεταστασίματα Theoph. Cont., *Chronogr.* 430.2 (10th c.; 11th-c. ms; ed. Bekker)

πολλὰ δικασίματα καὶ συνζητήσεις ἐσχηκότες (1080, Athos, Lemerle et al. 1970: 40, 225.8)

In the late medieval period the paradigm becomes even more productive, with a host of new words, including some from non-sigmatic aorists that do not survive in SMG, e.g. ἔλθιμο(ν)/ἔρτιμο(ν). Here are some examples:

ἐὰν οὐδὲν γένεται κράξιμον (ca. 1300, Cyprus, Simon 1973: 61.192)

τὸ μέμψιμον ἔρχετον εἰς ἐμέναν *Chron. Mor.* H 7656

πέσιμον τοῦ Γιοσούμπεκη *Chron. Toc.* 440cap

καὶ τὸ ἔρτιμον τὸ δικό σας ἐχάραμεν το (1481, Crimea, Grasso 1880: 119, 168.4)

τὸ κάτζιμόν σου εἰς τὴν Λευκωσίαν Machairas, *Chron.* V 372.11

ἕνα καλὸν καὶ ἀγαπητικὸν σμίξιμον *Fior* 78.22-3

τὸ ρίξιμον τῶν κακῶν ἔργων Dam. Stoud., *This., Logos* 6, ζ6v.25 (1561)

παρακινούμενοι ἀπὸ τὸ κοιτάξιμον *Thavm. Nikon Metan.* V 36

ὥσπερ σκιάξιμον νὰ τὰ φοβερίζω *Vios Aisop.* K 152.13-14

τὸ φεύξιμο νὰ μάθουσιν Petritsis, *Dig.* O 874

For the genitive singular two alternative forms are in competition, just as for the original neuter nouns in –μα: -ίματος and –ιμάτου, while –ιμου, with or without shift of stress is much rarer. Some examples of the two types:

ἄνευ φταισίματός μας *Chron. Mor.* H 5130

λόγους ὡς δικασίματος *Liv.* α 365, *Liv.* V 333 and *Velis.* χ 411

φοβοῦμαι ἐκ πεσίματος (post 1461-ante 1512, Constantinople?, Lehfeldt 1989: 109.2d)

τοῦ στασίματός σου (17th c., Unknown, Delatte 1924: 10, 79.16)

περὶ κανενοῦ δικασιμάτου *Assizes* B 438.28

τοῦ ριψιμάτου *Assizes* A 47.30

εἰς τὸν καιρὸν τοῦ στεψιμάτου του Machairas, *Chron.* V 320.22-3; μὲ τὰ καρτζὰ τοῦ ραψιμάτου ibid. 540.30

ὀκαζιὸν γκαλεσιμάτου (1601, Crete, Bakker/Van Gemert 1987: 130, 143.15-16)

μὲ μαστοριὰ πολλὴ τοῦ κτισιμάτου Kornaros, *Erot.* III.394

There is insufficient evidence to discuss either regional variation or change over time, mainly because, in the nature of things, genitives for such lexical items do not occur very frequently. There are far more occurrences of the nominative and accusative plural, where the ending –ατα is well established:

γράφει ὁ νοτάριος καὶ τὰ ταξίματα (ca. 1300, Cyprus, SIMON 1973: 63.9)

βαψίματα, ραψίματα *Ptoch.* II 36

εἰς τὰ ἄλλα κρισίματα *Assizes* A 66.16

ὁμοίως καὶ … τὰ κοψίματα Machairas, *Chron.* V 506.31

επήραν και τα γραψίματα Voustr., *Chron.* A 178.13

εἰς τὰ κρυφοκλεψίματα *Fyll. gadar.* 146

τὰ ἀπομονάρια εὐτιασίματά του (1538, Crete, Mavromatis 2009: 703, 546.12)

ἔρχουνταν τα κάτεργα και όλα τα πλευσίματα *Chron. Ps.-Doroth.* 232.21-2

διὰ ἄλλα πολλὰ πταισίματα (1689?, Naxos, Sifoniou-Karapa et al. 1982/83: 868, 1161.30)

εἰς ὅλα τὰ κρισίματα (1695, Syros, Drakakis 1967: 1, 303.52)

τὰ κτισίματα φυσᾶ τα Kornaros, *Erot.* III.126

It is interesting to note that while the paradigm, with genitive singular in –ίματος, survives intact in SMG (while –ιμάτου is the regular form in the dialects), usually denoting the action of a verb, those relatively few lexical items in MedG and EMG that also denoted objects or abstract concepts have fallen out of use: (e.g. πλεύσιμο(ν) "ship", δόσιμο(ν) "gift", κρίσιμο(ν) "court case"). It might be thought that, since MG nouns in –ιμο constitute a "mixed" paradigm that is not found in AG, they are a recent "demotic" development. In fact research shows that these formations go back to at least the 9th century; throughout this time the paradigm has had a wide geographical distribution and has been a productive source of new lexical items.

5. THE PERIPHRASTIC PRONOUN (ΤΟΥ) ΛΟΓΟΥ ΜΟΥ

The periphrastic personal pronoun (τοῦ) λόγου μου/σου/του etc., which is of disputed origin, has a wide distribution in LMedG and EMG texts of all kinds. This pronominal phrase consists of the genitive singular of the noun λόγος followed by the possessive (clitic) pronoun appropriate to the person it refers to. In EMG, that is only from the 16th century, it may be preceded by the definite article τοῦ. It functions as a personal pronoun, which may be the subject or object of a verb, but most often it is governed by a preposition. In Cypriot texts it occurs *only* with the preposition διά/γιά. Examples of these uses:

> δὲν ἔχει τί νὰ κάμη τοῦ λόγου του (1565, Prousa, Patrinelis 1988/89: 1, 47.7) (subject)
> τὸν πάτερ Σωφρόνιο, καὶ ἐλόγου μου Efthym., *Chron. Gal.* 65.10-11 (object)
> νὰ μάθης ἀπὸ λόγου μου τίς καὶ τίνος ὑπάρχω *Velth.* 1244 (after a preposition)
> τὴν ζημίαν τὴν ἐξωδίασεν ὁ καραβοκύρης διὰ λόγου τους *Assizes* A 48.29 (after a
> preposition)

In the oblique cases it sometimes refers back to the subject (i.e. it is used reflexively) or it can resemble an intensive pronoun ("I myself" etc.), e.g.

> λέγοντας τοῦ λόγου του μακαριώτατον (1692, Bucharest, Papastratou 1981: 4, 51.43-
> 4) (reflexive)
> του λόγου σας να το φτιάσετε *Diig. Alex.* K 359.14 (intensive)

In addition, it may function, in the second and third persons, as a politeness strategy, in place of the simple personal pronoun.

The origins and development of the periphrasis have been discussed at some length by Pernot (1923) and Spyridakis (1939), but a number of problems remain unresolved. Spyridakis follows Meyer in tracing the periphrasis back to the phrase εἰς λόγον, "for the sake of, on account of", via διὰ λόγου + gen. He further notes that in post-classical Greek λόγος frequently has a financial sense (= λογαριασμός), in expressions of the type εἰς λόγον τοῦ δεῖνος (e.g., in the New Testament, ἐπιζητῶ τὸν καρπὸν τὸν πλεονάζοντα εἰς λόγον ὑμῶν, "to your account", Philippians IV.17). He argues that since such expressions had the same sense as prepositional phrases involving personal pronouns, there arose new constructions of the type ἀπὸ λόγου μου etc., and later with μετά and διά. Pernot claims that τοῦ λόγου σου presupposes a nominative ὁ λόγος σου, but recognizes that the genitive case indicates that it was originally preceded by a preposition, specifically ἀπό, as Korais had suggested. The first of Pernot's claims is wrong in my view, but the second is more convincing, i.e. the genitive case of λόγου is due to the fact that it originally followed a preposition. But the stages of development are still vague and there is a dearth of evidence in the Medieval period that would support these arguments. It is necessary to prove that the phrase ἀπὸ/διὰ/μετὰ λόγου + gen., existed in the sense of "on the orders of, with the agreement of, or in favour of someone", and then to infer that it was reanalysed as preposition + pronominal phrase consisting of λόγου + clitic pronoun. Other pronouns (εἰς/σέ, μετά, μέ, ἀπό) can then be substituted, so that, for example, ἀπὸ λόγου σου is equivalent to ἀπὸ σένα. At the next stage the phrase on its own (i.e. without a preposition) can function as subject or object of a verb. The later addition of the article τοῦ may be to convey definiteness or on the analogy of the reflexive pronoun phrase τοῦ ἐαυτοῦ μου. (In verse texts it may

perhaps also serve metrical needs.) However, even in the latter part of the EMG period, the pronoun phrase is less widely attested with the definite article than without it.[4]

However, an alternative course of development is suggested by the occurrence of dative λόγῳ in corresponding expressions. Earlier studies (Pernot 1923: 66-7; Spyridakis 1939: 47) proposed a passage in the *Prodromic Poems* as the earliest identified occurrence of the pronominal phrase: καὶ λόγου μου νὰ λέγουσι "ρωμάνισε τὴν πόρταν" *Ptoch. IV* 308, "and they are saying to me: 'bolt the door!'." The pronoun phrase λόγου μου functions as an indirect object ("to me"); however, other mss give λόγῳ μου (H, 14th c.) or λόγου μας (V, 14th-15th c.), and in fact the 1910 edition by Hesseling and Pernot adopts the reading of H. However, in his later article Pernot (1923: 67) suggested that λόγῳ was simply a "correction savante" by the copyist and λόγου μου should be restored. But it is not the only example. We may compare: νὰ σ᾽ ἐνθυμίση λόγῳ μου νὰ μὲ χειραγωγήσης *Ptoch.* (Maiuri) 6 (15th-c. ms) (the meaning is perhaps "on my account, in regard to me"). A dative also occurs twice in a late 13th-century monastic document from Asia Minor: ἔξωθεν γοῦν τούτων ἐκράτησα λόγῳ μου ὥσπερ μερίδιόν τι (1294, Smyrna region, Miklosich/Müller 1860/90: vol. 3: 180, 286.17-18); καὶ τὰ ἅπερ ἐκράτησα λόγῳ μου εἰς μικράν μου περιποίησιν (ibid. 286.32-3). Here the sense is reflexive: "for my own use or benefit, for myself".

It is conceivable, therefore, that in these texts of the 13th to 15th centuries (the verse texts were composed in the 12th c., but the manuscripts are later) λόγῳ represents the original form of the expression. We would then be dealing with an extension of the common use of λόγῳ (and later λόγου) + genitive noun in Byzantine texts, in the sense of "for, with respect to, as" (see Trapp et al. 1994-2017 s.v. λόγος and also Caracausi 1990 for S. Italian examples of both λόγῳ and λόγου + noun, e.g. λόγου τιμήματος, λόγῳ τῆς μονῆς), but now followed by a clitic pronoun. But the evidence for grammaticalization of such forms as periphrastic pronouns is extremely thin. It is noteworthy that the examples with λόγῳ appear to be from areas under Constantinopolitan influence. The λόγου μου etc. forms could be a separate, parallel development, from prepositional phrases such as διὰ λόγου μου. However, although we cannot rule out the possibility that λόγου μου/σου/του developed from λόγῳ by assimilation to the vowel of the singular clitic forms, I think it rather unlikely.

Once the λόγου μου phrase is grammaticalized as a periphrastic pronoun, there is very limited variation. In the *Chronicle of Morea* we find several instances where the vowel /o/ precedes λόγου + clitic pronoun. It is debatable whether this should be regarded as the masculine nominative of the definite article, as some editors have assumed, or as a prothetic vowel, i.e. ὀλόγου (see Pernot 1923: 66 n. 1; see also Spyridakis 1939: 50). In the last of the examples below it is clearly not a nominative:

> εἶχεν καὶ ἐπίκλην ὁ λόγου του, τὸν ἐλέγαν ντὲ Σαλοῦθε *Chron. Mor.* H 1380
> κάστρον ἐποίησε ὁ λόγου του καὶ Πασσαβᾶν τὸ ἐκράξε ibid. 3164
> ἔποικεν κάστρο ὁ λόγου του κ᾽ ἔκραξέ το Γεράκιν ibid. 3166
> διὰ εὐεργεσίαν κι ὁ λόγου του μερίδιν τοῦ πολέμου ibid. 7106
> νὰ τὸ κρατῆ διὰ ὁ λόγου του ἢ ἄλλου νὰ τὸ δώση ibid. 8394

We can also find, much later, a form with prothetic vowel /e/ (but never with the definite article), e.g. ἐβουλήθηκα νὰ ἔλθω καὶ εἰς ἐλόγου σας *Alex. Fyll.* 88.30.[5] A further phonological variant is gemination of /l/: in Cypriot texts, from at least the 16th c., the usual form is διὰ λλόγου (or γιὰ λλόγου), which some editors write as one word: διαλλόγου.

To conclude: the periphrastic pronoun (τοῦ) λόγου μου has a wide distribution throughout the Greek-speaking world (including Cyprus, where it co-exists with alternative expressions such as (ἐ)ξαυτόν μου), and it is found both in literary texts and in documents, for all persons, singular and plural. Here are some examples to illustrate the geographical distribution and the different text-types in which it occurs:

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[4] In the Cretan romance *Erotokritos*, for example, of the 60 occurrences of λόγου μου etc. only five are with τοῦ (and only after μέ, which may suggest that it is inserted for euphonic reasons). In this text (τοῦ) λόγου is only used after prepositions, never as subject or object.

[5] Andriotis 1983 s.v. ἐλόγου μου attributes the initial vowel to the influence of pronouns such as ἐγώ, ἐσὺ and ἐκεῖνος.

Cyprus:
   τὸ λαβάνει διὰ λόγου του *Assizes* B 265.11
   εξεύρε πως ἔμαθα καὶ λαλεῖς πολλά λόγια διὰ λόγου μου! Voustr., *Chron.* A 270.13
   ἡ δική μου πιντώννεται διὰ λλόγου μου καὶ ἡ δική σου παρκατεβαίννει διὰ λλόγου σου *Fior* 136.15-16
   τὴν βασιλείαν ... ὁποὺ ἔναι ʼδηγημένη διαλλόγου σας *Pist. kekoim.* 700
   ποὺ γίνετον γιὰ λλόγου σου, κυρά μου *Cypr. Canz.* 37.7

Crete:
   πολλά ʼπαθα γιὰ λόγου σου Falieros, *Ist. On.* 85
   ὁδιὰ λόγου του (1550, Crete, Manousakas 1970: 5 [Εʹ], 295.11)
   γοργό γοργό ἀπό λόγου μου θες δεις τὴν πεθυμιά σου Chortatsis, *Panor.* I.400
   ὁδιὰ λόγου μου (1616, Crete, Angelomati-Tsoungaraki 1996: 4, 364.4)
   ἐκόπη ἡ γραφή διὰ λόγου τωνε (1622, Crete, Maltezou 1989: 358.16)
   καὶ θέλω μὲ τοῦ λόγου μου τῆ συντροφιά τοῦ γιοῦ μου *Thysia Avr.* 254
   ποιά δένδρη ἥμερα δέχονται ἄλλα φυτὰ εἰς τοῦ λόγου τους Landos, *Geopon.* 148.31-2
   καθένας ἀπὸ λόγου σας εἶστε ἐδεπὰ ἑρθωμένοι Foskolos, *Fort.* Prol. 134

Cyclades:
   διὰ λόγου μου (1583, Andros, Polemis 1999a: 15, 29.6)
   ἔχω μεγάλο παράπονο ἀπὸ λόγου σου (1638, Andros, Polemis 1999b: 9, 32.24)
   γῆ ὅποιος ἄλλος ἤθελε εἶσται διὰ λόγου του (1674, Milos, Imellos 1985/90: 330.13)
   ὑποσχόμεθα διὰ λόγου μας (1685, Naxos, Zerlendis 1918a: 130.32-3)
   ἀπὸ λόγου τζη (1686, Naxos, Sifoniou-Karapa et al. 1982/83: 647, 889.10)
   προσεύχου διὰ τοῦ λόγου μου *Trag. Ag. Dim.* II.55 (Naxos)

Sporades:
   καὶ καμίαν ἔννοιαν μή ἔχοντος τινὰς διὰ λόγου μου (1653, Skyros, Andoniadis 1983: 3, 144.10)

Chios:
   χαρτιὰ ἀπὸ λόγου σου (1644, Chios, Papadopoulos 1987: 24.4)
   αὐθέντης μου γιὰ λόγου σας θὲ μὲ φιλοδωρήση Kondar., *Paides* 292

Heptanese:
   μὴν κλαίγετε δι᾽ ἐμέ, ἀμὴ κλαίγετε διὰ λόγου σας καὶ διὰ τὰ παιδία σας Kartanos, *P&N Diath.* 437.14-15
   νὰ λάβω γραφὴ ἀπὸ λόγου σου (1554, Bologna, Cataldi Palau 2000: 1, 386.9) (author from Corfu)
   ὁδιὰ λόγου του καὶ ὁδιὰ τοὺς ἀδελφούς του (1586, Cythera, Charou-Koronaiou/Drakakis 2010: 65, 51.52)
   νὰ μνέσκη τὸ σπίτι λίμπερο στοῦ λόγου του (1636, Ithaca, Zapandi 2002b: 13, 39.9)
   ὀμπλιγάρεται διὰ λόγου της καὶ διὰ τοὺς ἐρχομένους (1693, Zakynthos, Konomos 1969e: 65.10)

Epiros, Thessaly, Macedonia, Thrace:
   προσκύνησε τὸν ... κύρι Γερόντιον ἀπὸ λόγου μου (15th c., Thrace, Darrouzès 1963: 8, 101.9)
   ἐπάσχισεν διὰ λόγου του καὶ οὐδὲν τὸ ἐδυνήθη *Chron. Toc.* 2035
   ἀπὸ λόγου τους ἔγινεν (16th c., Macedonia?, Lemerle 1988: App. IV C, 237.34)
   ὄχι μόνον τοῦ λόγου σας βλάβετε, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἀδελφούς (1578, Trikala, Sofianos 1992: 6, 236.141)
   οὔτες διὰ λόγουν του οὔτε διὰ τὴν χώραν Papasynad., *Chron.* I §30.97 (with final /n/ added)
   ἂν ἐρωτᾶτε διὰ λόγου μου (1680, Ioannina, Veloudis 1987: 8, 301.5)
   νὰ γένης πατέρας εἰς τοῦ λόγου μου (1696, Ioannina, Michailaris 1976: 4 [Δʹ], 256.6)
   εἰς ἐλόγου μου (1697, Kastoria, Mertzios 1947a: 55, 237.21)

Peloponnese:
   κι ὀρέγεσαι ἀπὸ λόγου σου νὰ τὸ ἔχης καταπιάσει *Chron. Mor.* H 6107

ὁ κατὰ εἷς διὰ λόγου του τοῦ νὰ ἔχη κουγκεστήσει *Chron. Mor.* H 1395 (but with the article in the later ms P: ὁ κάθε εἷς τοῦ λόγου του)
διὰ λόγου μας (1571, Mani, Dokos 1972: 4, 260.29)
ἔγραψε τὸν μπεθερό του καὶ τοῦ λόγου του ἐν τῇ Ἁγίᾳ Προθέσει (1673, Gortynia, Yannaropoulou 1972: 78, 320.2)

Central Greece:
ὁποὺ ἤκουσε διὰ λόγου μας (1654, Karpenisi, Stefanis/Papatriandafyllou-Theodoridi 1992: 7, 82.5)
τὸν πάτερ Σωφρόνιο, καὶ ἐλόγου μου Efthym., *Chron. Gal.* 65.10-11

Asia Minor:
δὲν ἔχει τί νὰ κάμη τοῦ λόγου του (1565, Prousa, Patrinelis 1988/89: 1, 47.7)
ρίξε τοῦ λόγου σου κάτω Kallioup., *Kaini Diath.* Matth. 4.4
ἐγὼ δὲν ἤμου μὲ λόγου σου σύντροφος (1699?, Lvov?, Papastratou 1981: 9, 69.161) (author from Smyrna)
ἀπὸ λόγου μου (1699?, Lvov?, Papastratou 1981: 9, 69.158)

The Balkans:
ἦλθε πρὸς τοῦ λόγου μας (1645, Jassy, Legrand 1903: 5, 10.1)
λέγοντας τοῦ λόγου του μακαριώτατον (1692, Bucharest, Papastratou 1981: 4, 51.43-4)
λάβε ἀπὸ λόγου τους ἕνα βιβλίον (1692, Bucharest, Papastratou 1981: 4, 54.184)

Clearly λόγου + clitic pronoun is a standard feature of EMG and also in wide use in the preceding centuries, though for the moment we can't date it securely earlier than the 14th century. The frequent occurrence of the preposition διά/γιά before the periphrasis, together with the fact that in the Cypriot texts examined *only* this collocation is found, is in my view a possible indication that the phrase διὰ λόγου μου/σου etc. is the starting point for the emergence of the periphrastic pronoun (τοῦ) λόγου μου. But at present there is insufficient evidence to prove it.

6. THE ADVERBS ΠΙΟ AND ΠΙΑ

My final topic is the adverb πιό, used to form analytic comparatives, and the temporal adverb πιά, both of which are supposed to derive, respectively, from the neuter singular and plural forms, πλέον and πλέα, of the comparative adjective πλείων. The process involves first synizesis and shift of stress to the following vowel; it is then necessary to assume a further phonological change involving deletion of /l/, a change not otherwise attested in MedG or EMG. Strictly speaking, the change is from the palatal lateral approximant [ʎ] to [j]. So:

$$\pi\lambda\acute{\epsilon}ον > \pi\lambda\iota\acute{o}(ν) > \pi\iota\acute{o} \quad \text{and} \quad \pi\lambda\acute{\epsilon}α > \pi\lambda\iota\acute{α} > \pi\iota\acute{α}$$

Is it possible to date the final stage, the deletion of the liquid consonant? Evidence for the forms πιό(ν) (or πίον) and πιά is rather scarce in the period covered by the Grammar. These are the instances that have been located so far:

1. πιό(ν)/πίον or πιά, as an adverb meaning "more", either alone or accompanying adjectives or adverbs (i.e. analytic comparison):

τὸν πίον μακρὺν τόπον Machairas, *Chron.* V 14.25-26; τοὺς πιὸν χαμηλοὺς id., *Chron.* O 24.12
πιά ᾽φκολον *Cypr. Canz.* 35.7; πι᾽ ἄσπρην παρὰ χιόνιν ibid. 108.2l; ποὺ τὴν ἀγάπαν πιὸν παρὰ ὀφθαλμόν του ibid. 14.13 (and other examples in this text)
μά ᾽πρεπε πιὸ πρωτύτερα αὐτῆνο νά ᾽θεν κάμης *Alfav.* 11 86
νὰ σηκώση τὸ πιὰ ἀλαφρὸν φόρτωμαν *Vios Aisop.* I 251.26; τὸ πιὰ βαρὺ φόρτωμα ibid. 251.27; ἐπεριπάτειεν πιὰ πρόθυμα παρὰ τοὺς ἄλλους ibid. I 251.36; πὼς εἶναι ἔτοιμος νὰ τοὺς βοηθήσῃ καλλεότερα καὶ πιὰ γλήγορα παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως ibid. 275.17; ηὗρα σας χειρότερους καὶ πιὰ ἀναξιότερους παρὰ ὅλους τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ibid. 280.21-2; πιὰ εὐχαριστημένη ἤθελα εἶσται ibid. 282.36; ἤθελεν φαίνεσθαι καὶ πιὰ δίκαιον ibid. 282.40

We have instances in two Cypriot texts (Machairas and the 16th-century *Canzoniere*), a 17th-century Cretan text (*Alfavitos* 11 – though the sole manuscript may date from the early 18th century),

and Version I of the *Vios Aisopou* (17th century), which has possible indications of a south-eastern provenance.

2. the temporal adverb πίον, πιό(ν) or πιά = "any more":

> δὲν πρέπει πιὸ νὰ φέγγῃς *Anak. Konst.* 60
> οὐδὲν ἐχρῶστεν πεῖον τίποτες *Assizes* A 166.29-30
> δὲν ἔχουν πίον καμίαν ζωήν Machairas, *Chron.* V 184.7-8; καὶ ᾽ποῖκαν ὅρκον πίον ibid. 134.11; πῶς ν᾽ ἀποθαρήσωμεν πίον νὰ μείνωμεν ibid. 352.8-9; ἀφ᾽ ὃν τὸν ἐπῆραν πγιὸν δὲν ἐγέλασεν ἀπὸ τὴν πικρίαν του id., *Chron.* O 678.17-18
> και εδώκαν όρδινον μέσον τους ότι πίον να μεν αφήσουν τον αποστολέν Voustr., *Chron.* B 51.15; ότι πίον ζωήν δεν είχαν ibid. B 134.7; να μεν αφήσουν πίον τινάν ibid. A 210.10
> δὲν σώννω πιὸν να ζήσω *Cypr. Canz.* 5.4; τόπον δὲν ἔχω πιὸν νὰ μὲ πληγώσῃς ibid. 10.3 etc. (frequent in this text)
> νὰ μὴν ἔχου πιὰ (1688, Andros, Polemis 2001: 8, 107.10)

Again the examples are predominantly from Cyprus: the *Assizes*, the Chronicles of Machairas and Voustronios, the *Canzoniere*. The famous *Ανακάλημα της Κωνσταντινόπολης* is preserved in a 15th-century manuscript of unknown provenance, but Cyprus (or the Dodecanese) has been proposed. Finally, we have a late 17th-century example in a document from Andros. Interestingly, in these two sets of examples there appears to be no functional distinction between the forms with /a/ and those with /o/.

There is another related word where the same sound change might be expected to occur: the "hyper-comparative" πλεώτερος > πλιότερος > πιότερος. It occurs in the Cypriot *Canzoniere*:

> τώρα δὲν ἀξαννοίομαι πιότερα νὰ μιλήσω *Cypr. Canz.* 132.13

where πιότερα is either adverbial or a neuter plural adjective. A further example can be found in the edition of the Cretan pastoral comedy *Panoria*:

> χίλιες φορές και πιότερες Chortatsis, *Panor.* IV.84

– except that it's a phantom. The manuscripts actually have πλιότερες (N), πλιοτερες (A), πληοτερες (D). The moral is: never trust an editor, not even one of the calibre of Emmanouil Kriaras. (I intend no disrespect to the memory of that great scholar.)

So there is no definite Cretan evidence for forms without the liquid consonant before the 18th century. In fact in EMG Cretan texts the initial plosive is sometimes voiced – μπλιό, μπλιά – and from the late 16th century a functional distinction is made between the comparative form πλιά or μπλιά and the adverb πλιό or μπλιό:

> πλιὰ φτηνό (1574, Crete, Angelomati-Tsoungaraki 2007: 150.26)
> τὰ πλιὰ ἀληθινὰ κομφίνια (1598, Crete, Bakker/Van Gemert 1987: 32, 51.14)
> τὸ παιδί, τὸ πλιὰ ἀκριβὸ ποὺ νά ᾽χει *Thysia Avr.* 649
> τὴ μπλέα εὐχολότερη στράτα (1614, Crete, Iliakis 2008: 236, 224.17)
>
> βλέπεσε, μὴν τὶς κάμῃς πλιό Chortatsis, *Katz.* I.30
> τί στέκομέστα πλιὸν *Pist. voskos* V 2.128
> παράγραφες δὲν ἔχω μπλιὸ στὸ νοῦ μου *Stathis* I.293
> na mi pleroni bglio tivoci / νὰ μὴ πλερώνη μπλιὸ τίβοτσι (1661, Crete, Mavromatis 1986: 10, 105.103)

But to return to the problem: how, when and where does πλιό become πιό and πλιά become πιά? On the basis of the evidence already cited, it seems that the forms without /l/ appear in written texts from Cyprus from the 15th century onwards. The change must be seen as a simplification of the palatalized consonant cluster, for ease of pronunciation, although no Greek parallels can be adduced. (The awkwardness of the cluster was resolved in other areas by anaptyxis: the insertion of a vowel between /p/ and /l/, to give πιλιό and πουλιό in certain Heptanesian idioms.) One might

be tempted to conjecture that πιὸ was influenced by Italian *più.* The problem with this theory is that πιὸ appears in Cypriot texts *before* there was significant contact with Italian speakers, while it is absent, or very marginal, in those areas where contact with Italian was most marked, i.e. Crete and the Heptanese. So we can safely rule it out.

As we have seen, there is some limited evidence that the Cypriot development spreads westwards to the Dodecanese, Crete and Andros by the end of the 17th century, but the data are so sparse that we cannot be categorical. Incidentally, Modern Cypriot has the forms πκιό(ν) and πκιά, with the expected phonological development, while in some parts of Crete πιό, πιά (Kafkalas 1995) and μπιό (Xanthinakis 2009) occur, as well as the inherited (μ)πλιό and (μ)πλιά. Eventually the forms πιο and πια become standard in Modern Greek, but when? They are not found in any dictionaries or grammars of Greek (Meursius, Ducange, Somavera, Vlachos, Portius, Romanos etc.) before the 19th century, in fact not until the Lexicon of Skarlatos Vyzantios, first published in 1835.[6] In the first edition (repeated in the 2nd and 3rd editions of 1857 and 1874) we find the following entry:

> Πλέον (προφ. κοιν. ῾Πλειὸ, καὶ χυδ. Πειὸ καὶ Πειὰ); and in the 2nd and 3rd editions: Πλειότερον (προφέρεται κοινῶς Πειότερο᾽).

The lexicographer makes a distinction between the written forms and the common (κοινῶς) or "vulgar" (χυδαίως) pronunciation.[7] The historical linguist normally has access only to written forms. But it would be reasonable to assume in this case that the "vulgar" forms πιό and πιά were in use well before 1835, and the evidence we might have expected to find, in written texts from the 16th to the 18th century, is unavailable – suppressed as a result of conservative writing practices. Whether there was a gradual spread of the forms πιό and πιά from the south-east (Cyprus, Dodecanese) to the Aegean islands and the mainland, or whether the simplification of the consonant cluster occurred independently in different places at different times, is impossible to know. However, it may be worth noting that the forms πιο and πια have never – it seems –completely thrown off the stigma of vulgarity: increasingly I notice people writing – and saying – πλέον both for the temporal adverb and in comparative expressions. Plus ça change...

6. CONCLUSIONS

This presentation has drawn on material from the *Cambridge Grammar of Medieval and Early Modern Greek*, with some elaboration, in order to shed new light on five topics in phonology and morphology which previous histories of Greek or specific linguistic studies have dealt with incompletely, inaccurately or not at all. Our project has amassed and analysed vastly more data than previous studies and for that reason alone the picture we present should be much fuller, more detailed, and more reliable. But is it also clearer?

Greek verb morphology is notoriously complex. I presented just one example, the 3rd person singular of the imperfect passive, where 34 variants have been identified. Of course they did not all exist synchronically or in the same geographical area, but this amazing range and variety of forms gives the lie to the simplistic picture offered by concise histories. When the SMG forms –όταν and –ότανε appear in the 17th century, they are not the sole forms in use in the regions where they are found. Their eventual "victory" over competing forms is another story, which unfolds until the 20th century – and beyond.

In the case of crasis, we can now be more precise about its first appearance in written texts and our research has located it across a very broad geographical area through the Late Medieval and Early Modern periods. We can confirm that it is a fast speech phenomenon rather than a universal sound change, and indeed it survived in many modern dialects, as Andriotis (1956) documented. My example from noun morphology, neuter nouns in –ιμο, has similarly enabled us to amplify the significance of a feature which had been regarded as rather marginal in the overall

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[6] We can also find the following entry, with a similar depreciative comment, in a grammar published a few years earlier: "On dit encore πλειότερος, vulgairement πιότερος" (Schinas 1829: 36). Schinas, like Skarlatos, was from Constantinople. I am indebted to my colleague Io Manolessou for this and other references, as well as many helpful comments on an earlier draft of this paper.

scheme of things. We can see it as relating to developments in other nominal paradigms, such as the addition of –τα to the plural of neuter nouns, e.g. βάρητα, δάσητα, ἔργατα, προσώπατα, and the competition between alternative genitive singular endings in neuter nouns in –μα.

In these three examples the analysis of a large quantity of data has considerably enlarged the picture and added more detail and nuance to the underlying patterns, though in the example from verb morphology it is complexity rather than clarity that we observe. My final two examples remind us that there are still many historical linguistic problems to be solved. In such cases more data will not help if they are not the right data. There is no reliable evidence for λόγου μου before the 14th century that would enable us to determine whether the periphrastic pronoun derives from the prepositional phrase διὰ λόγου μου or from a dative λόγῳ, or even from a merger of the two. For πιό and πιά we lack evidence for a gradual geographical spread of the sound change, so we can't be sure that that is what happened; with more data from the relevant areas, from the right period, and in an appropriate informal register we might get a clearer view. Finally, in the case of isolated examples of a phenomenon, we should always check the reliability of the edition (editors are not perfect). So it's not just a question of *more* data: it needs to be the right data, data that we can trust, and preferably in a register not too far removed from the spoken language. Despite these obstacles, limitations and caveats, we now have a much clearer picture of the evolution of the Greek vernacular between the 11th century and the beginning of the 18th century.

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Conference papers

The role of lexical and syntactic congruency: an eye-tracking study on L2 gender processing[1]

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ABSTRACT

Η συγκεκριμένη μελέτη ερευνά το βαθμό στον οποίο οι δομές του γραμματικού γένους στη Γ1 επηρεάζουν τον τρόπο που αξιοποιούνται οι δείκτες γένους στη Γ2, όταν οι τελευταίοι μπορούν να επιταχύνουν την προτασιακή επεξεργασία. Τέτοιοι δείκτες στα Ελληνικά είναι το άρθρο ή το επίθετο (σε προ-ονοματική θέση). Τόσο τα Ρωσικά (Γ1) όσο και τα Ελληνικά (Γ2) διαθέτουν τρεις τιμές για το γένος. Παρουσιάζουν, ωστόσο, διαφορές στον τρόπο πραγμάτωσης του γένους, καθώς τα Ρωσικά μαρκάρουν το γένος μέσω κλιτικών μορφημάτων στο ουσιαστικό, ενώ στα Ελληνικά τον αντίστοιχο ρόλο αναλαμβάνει το άρθρο σε συνδυασμό με την κλιτική μορφολογία. Την ίδια στιγμή οι δύο γλώσσες μαρκάρουν το γένος μέσω κλιτικών μορφημάτων στο επίθετο. Διαφορές εντοπίζονται και σε λεξικό επίπεδο καθώς οι δύο γλώσσες δεν αποδίδουν πάντα την ίδια τιμή γένους για το ίδιο ουσιαστικό (π.χ. '*η σημαία*', αρσενικό στα Ρωσικά). Μέσω της μεθόδου καταγραφής της οφθαλμοκίνησης αποτυπώθηκε η δυνατότητα πρόβλεψης του εισερχόμενου γλωσσικού φορτίου κατά τη διαδικασία προτασιακής επεξεργασίας σε πραγματικό χρόνο. 12 ρωσόφωνοι φοιτητές της ελληνικής και 11 μονόγλωσσοι Έλληνες ομιλητές έπρεπε να εστιάσουν σε αντικείμενα στην οθόνη ακολουθώντας οδηγίες που τους δίνονταν προφορικά. Οι ρωσόφωνοι ομιλητές αξιοποίησαν την επικάλυψη των δύο γλωσσών στο συντακτικό και λεξικό επίπεδο, δηλαδή επιτάχυναν την επεξεργασία του εισερχόμενου ουσιαστικού βασιζόμενοι στο γένος του επιθέτου και στις λέξεις που μοιράζονται το ίδιο γένος στις δύο γλώσσες.

Key Words: Γένος, προτασιακή επεξεργασία, Γ2

1. INTRODUCTION

Despite the great deal of studies on gender in Second Language Acquisition (SLA) during the last two decades, research is still far from a conclusive answer with respect to the formal and processing mechanisms involved. Concerning the former, i.e. the formal mechanisms, the question is whether the abstract grammatical features can be transferred to the second language (L2) (Schwartz & Sprouse 1994, 1996; Epstein, Flynn, & Martohardjono 1996; White 1989, 2003; MacWhinney 2008 a.o). Regarding the latter, i.e. the processing mechanisms, the research should be able to estimate the impact of L1-formal features on L2 during real-time processing. A main perspective on this field acknowledges the role of the L1 settings during the real-time parsing in the L2 (Dekydtspotter, Schwartz & Sprouse 2006). On the other side, there are accounts reporting on the L2 speakers' ignorance of the L1 formal settings while in the course of real-time processing in the L2 (Clahsen & Felser, 2006).

In this study, we focus on grammatical gender, which we construe as an abstract formal feature that the L2er gradually integrates in her interlanguage. Under this view, proficiency in L2 requires mastery of all the specific means by which this abstract feature is concretely realized, a task which seems to be largely magnified by the relative properties of the L1 (Franceschina 2001, 2005; Hawkins & Franceschina 2004; McCarthy 2007). However, even in cases where the speakers' L1 manifests fundamental differences with respect to gender realization, these speakers achieve high accuracy ranging from 75% to 90% for gender assignment (Dussias et al. 2013:355, also for overview). This striking observation, besides the implications over the formal debate, that features

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are activated independently of their realization in the L1, suggests that the researcher might look a little further by dissociating gender realization from gender processing in the L2.

Studies targeting the processing mechanisms in the course of different modalities (i.e. production or comprehension) have highlighted the complex nature of abstract features by showing that it may include syntactic (Frenck-Mestre 2002; Sanders & Neville 2003; Hopp 2013), lexical (Soares & Grosjean 1984; Hopp & Lemmerth 2016) and semantic (Weber-Fox, Davis & Guadraro 2003) representations. In other words, the interaction between the components shaping the abstract feature and the way or the degree in which the L2er accesses these components seems to form a fruitful ground of investigation. An important aspect of this interaction is tightly related to the specific limitations imposed by the task that is undertaken by the L2er. The addition of aging effects on the exploitation of new abstract features in the L2, the working memory limitations and even the different setting of learning (i.e. immersion or formal classroom setting) (for a discussion see Grüter, Lew-Williams & Fernald 2012 and references therein) suffice to outline the puzzling nature of the issue. In this context, the present study aims at providing new data that contribute to the discussion about the extent to which L2ers use their ability to assign gender in order to gain advantages when parsing gender markers.

2. PROCESSING GRAMMATICAL GENDER IN THE L2

From the above discussion we infer that L2 speakers are normally highly accurate in gender assignment. Nevertheless, it is not as clear whether they are able to access this gender information in on-line processing. A structure that allows us to explore the issue is DP in Greek, where gender requires a kind of cohesion among lemmas bearing gender marking. In the example in (1) this cohesion is manifested through inflectional agreement in the concord.

(1)   o$_{DET/masc}$ mavros$_{ADJ/masc}$ fakelos$_{NOUN/masc}$

The native speaker will start establishing cohesion upon the unfolding of the very first lexical item, i.e. the determiner. Several studies (Bates et al. 1996; Dahan et al. 2000; Grosjean et al. 1994; Lew-Williams and Fernald 2007; Wicha et al. 2004) have shown that, regardless of the modality, native speakers of languages instantiating gender use this very first gender cue in the concord as a bias that accelerates processing within the concord. In other words, native speakers use gender markers in order to meet the conditions that will make the upcoming syntactic-lexico-semantic input more anticipated (Kuperberg & Jaeger 2016:33, see also for a discussion of the full array of factors determining predictability).

The question pertaining to L2ers is whether and to what extent they meet the respective conditions to predict the upcoming linguistic load. Shifting from gender assignment to predictive processing seems to be in principle a more demanding task that is attributed to limitations of real-time exploitation of available recourses. To capture this shift, an appropriate experimental methodology is required. While, traditionally, the majority of the tasks used off-line methods to investigate gender assignment (Alarcón 2011; McCarthy 2008; Montrul et al. 2008; White et al. 2004, a.o), comprehension or production of spoken language requires advanced on-line techniques. These techniques, i.e. ERP studies or visual-world eye tracking, signal a pronounced shift from studies that focus on a relatively relaxed parser to those studies exploring an exhaustively speeded one. The latter body of studies has brought to light qualitative measurements of real-time language processing allowing for psycholinguistic insights in the sense that the mechanism in question is distinguished from measures recording behavioral performance (e.g. grammatical judgements) (for a discussion see Meulman et al. 2014).

A large body of these studies shows that the extent to which the L1 and the L2 overlap with respect to the realization of gender is a critical factor. This is highlighted by the fact that in ERP studies L2ers show native-like patterns of sensitivity to gender agreement violations when their L1 grammar instantiates gender (Sabourin & Stowe 2008; Foucart & Frenck-Mestre 2011). Congruency of this kind between L1 and L2 has also been found to facilitate L2ers at predicting upcoming linguistic input by using gender cues as a reliable means to raise probability. These L2ers fixate on target items predictively (i.e. upon the offset of the gender cue) in visual-world eye tracking showing an efficiency comparable to that performed by natives (Dussias et al. 2013; Grüter et al. 2012; Hopp 2013; Hopp & Lemmerth 2016). On the other hand, an incongruent setting between L1 and L2 is

supposed to result in operative grammars in the interlanguage of the L2 (Keating 2009; Gillon Dowens et al. 2010). That is to say that L2ers' performance is subject to proficiency and the specific structure in question (for a discussion see Grüter et al. 2012; Hopp & Lemmerth 2016).

However, a clear-cut distinction on the basis of the (mis)matching gender distinctions between the L1 and the L2 would be a simplistic one. In a recent study, Hopp & Lemmerth (2016) review a number of studies in gender in SLA in which a different picture emerged (e.g. Alemán Bañón et al. 2014; Hopp 2013; Tokowicz & MacWhinney 2005; Meulman et al. 2014; Loerts 2012). For instance, participants in the above studies performed at ceiling when processing gender markers, even though this performance could not be rooted to L1. Yet, there are studies reporting no facilitative effects from prenominal cues even in cases in which late bilinguals or advanced learners were immersed for a prolonged period in the L2 (Guillelmon and Grosjean 2001; Lew-Williams & Fernald 2010). Hopp & Lemmerth (2016) concluded that the role of the L1 may vary in many aspects and suggested a refinement of the scope and the levels at which the L1 interferes with L2 during real-time processing. In this perspective, they focused on the lexical and the syntactic level by altering the degree of congruency between the two languages (L1 and L2) in question. They reported asymmetries between the two levels which, in part, are related to the level of proficiency in the L2. L2ers with high-intermediate level of proficiency in the L2 were sensitive to the congruent underlying syntactic setting (between L1 and L2), something resulting in predictive fixations upon target items. This performance was maintained even in the incongruent lexical condition, i.e. for nouns that do not share the same gender between the two languages. When turning to incongruent syntactic setting, lexical congruency was shown to be important, as predictability was higher only in the case of lexically congruent nouns.

In the same spirit, the present study attempts to investigate the question of whether and to what extent the non-native speaker relies on the L1 (Russian) when the latter is in partial overlap with the L2 (Greek) with respect to the means of gender realization. We actually explore gender within the processing domain because we want to measure real-time performance when L2ers encounter gender markers (i.e. articles, adjectival inflection). Do the L2 learners use gender markers as a cue that enriches predictability? And if so, do they perform better when these markers are realized in their L1? Does the lexical or syntactic level of realization interact with the way the L2ers use the gender cues to predict upcoming lexical input? Do they have an equal impact on L2 speakers? To address these questions, we employed a visual-world eye tracking paradigm as a means to follow the participants' parsing routines with respect to gender markers in Greek.

3. GRAMMATICAL GENDER IN GREEK AND RUSSIAN

Greek and Russian are quite similar in how they encode the category of gender in their inflectional system (see, among many others, Mackridge 1985; Holton et al. 2012 for Greek and Cubberley 2002; Timberlake; 2004; Wade 2011 for Russian). Both languages exhibit a three-way distinction, classifying nouns into three gender categories: masculine, feminine and neuter. With respect to nouns denoting inanimate objects, the classification is to a great extent arbitrary; as a result, all three gender values may be assigned to a noun with an inanimate referent:

(2) a. *Greek*
      fákelos   'envelope.MASC'
      efimeríða   'newspaper.FEM'
      vivlío   'book.NEUT'

    b. *Russian*
      stol   'table.MASC'
      kárta   'map.FEM'
      móre   'sea.NEUT'

Due to the arbitrary character of gender assignment, inanimate nouns with the same referents in Greek and Russian may either agree in their gender values (e.g. *efimeríða – gazéta* 'newspaper.FEM') or not (e.g. *trapézi* (NEUT) vs. *stol* (MASC) 'table'). In other words, gender may be either *lexically congruent* or *lexically incongruent* in the two languages.

Another common property shared by Greek and Russian is that they both mark gender on adjectives via inflectional endings, as exemplified in (3):

(3)   a.   *Greek*

mikr-ó	vivlío	cf.	mikr-í	bála
small-NEUT	book.NEUT		small-FEM	ball.FEM

          b.   *Russian*

málenʲk-aja	kníga	cf.	málenʲk-ij	stol
small-FEM	book.FEM		small-MASC	table.MASC

On the contrary, the two languages differ in that in Greek gender is also manifested on articles (e.g. *o fákelos* 'the.MASC envelope.MASC'; *i efimeríða* 'the.FEM newspaper.FEM'; *to vivlío* 'the.NEUT book.NEUT'), while Russian does not use articles and hence gender marking is limited to adjectives and –partially– nouns. Thus, on the one hand, Greek and Russian are *structurally* –and, more precisely, *syntactically*– *congruent* in that they both encode gender distinctions on adjectival endings, while, on the other hand, they are *syntactically incongruent* in that Greek DPs include an additional source of gender information, i.e. the pre-nominal article (4a), which is absent from Russian (4b).

(4)   a.   *Greek*

to	mikr-ó	vivlío
the.NEUT	small-NEUT	book.NEUT

'the small book'

          b.   *Russian*

-	málenʲk-aja	kníga
	small-FEM	book.FEM

'the/a small book' (depending on the context)

4. RESEARCH HYPOTHESES

Taking into account the theoretical and experimental background presented above along with the grammatical profile of the two languages under investigation, we make the following assumptions: First, gender processing is expected to be facilitated in syntactic structures that are common between the two languages. In particular, we predict that L2 speakers will rely more on adjectives than on determiners when seeking information about the gender value of a neighboring noun (Hypothesis 1). Second, L2 speakers are expected to have an easier access to the gender specification of nouns that have the same gender value in L1 (Hypothesis 2). Simply put, the research hypothesis we advance is that L2 speakers perform better with respect to gender processing in syntactically and/or lexically congruent environments.

5. THE PRESENT STUDY

Participants. In order to address the above-mentioned hypotheses, we recruited 12 Russian speakers of Greek L2 (mean age: 23.9 years; sd = 7.9 years; 10 women) and 11 Greek monolingual controls of matching age. The L2 participants (10 B2-level and 2 C1-level) were first exposed to Greek after puberty (mean age: 22.1 years; sd = 7.1 years) with a minimum of 19-month immersion.

Materials and methods. We monitored eye-movements during a visual-world paradigm in which short clauses were aurally presented in Greek (5a–d):

(5)   a.   *Kíta pú íne o ble fákelos*.
                'Look at where the little blue envelope is.'

          b.   *Kíta pú íne to mikró ble maxéri*.
                'Look at where the little blue knife is.'

          c.   *Kíta pú ipárxi mikrí ble efimeríða*.
                'Look at the little blue newspaper.'

d.   *Kíta pú ipárxi mikrí ble simea.*
     'Look at the little blue flag.'

Each clause started with the verb *kíta* 'look (imperative)', followed by a subordinate clause with a noun referring to the targeted object.[2] The noun in question had either the same (5a,c) or a different (5b,d) gender value in participants' L1. Furthermore, although in all cases it was accompanied by the adjective *ble*, in half of them it was preceded by a definite article (5a–b), whereas in the other half it was preceded by the adjective *mikrós/-í/-ó* 'little'.

Together with each sentence, we presented four pictures, as exemplified in Picture 1: the target (*knife*), a competitor one, which in L1 shared the same gender with the Greek target word (in this example, *sun* is neuter in Russian, as is *knife* in Greek), a non-competitor one, which had a different gender value in participants' L1 (as is *sock*, which is masculine in Russian but feminine in Greek) and a filler one, which was depicted with a different color or size (depending on condition), thus diverting participants' look away from it, since the semantic content of the included adjective was contradictory (e.g. in the sentences with the adjective *ble* 'blue' the filler was red in color).
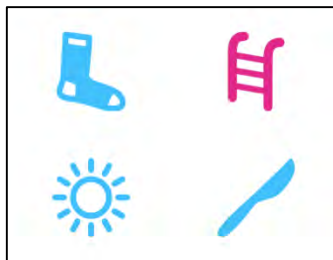
Figure 1: Example of the pictures displayed in the visual-world paradigm

There were a total of 60 experimental sentence-picture items, equally distributed across the following four conditions:

(6)   *Experimental conditions*
   a. *Lexically congruent and syntactically incongruent condition* (Cong-Art, Xa). 15 sentences, in which the target noun had the same gender value in L1 and was preceded by an article.
   b. *Lexically and syntactically incongruent condition* (Incong-Art, Xb). 15 sentences, in which the target noun had a different gender value in L1 and was preceded by an article.
   c. *Lexically and syntactically congruent condition* (Cong-Adj, Xc). 15 sentences, in which the target noun had the same gender value in L1 and was preceded by an adjective.
   d. *Lexically incongruent and syntactically congruent condition* (Incong-Adj, Xd). 15 sentences, in which the target noun had a different gender value in L1 and was preceded by an adjective.

The auditory experimental items were recorded by a female native Greek speaker at a slow rate, while special care was taken to keep the audio stimuli at a flat intonation with no prosodic cues favoring specific items. The pictures used were culled from free internet sources.

The four crossed conditions (Cong-Art, Incong-Art, Cong-Adj, Incong-Adj) were counterbalanced across participants, who never encountered the same item more than once. In addition, the position of the pictures was also counterbalanced across items. There were no filler items.

Procedure. One individual session was held for each participant. Consent forms were signed prior to the administration of the experimental task. Participants were comfortably seated at a distance of approximately 60-70 cm from a Tobii T120 eye-tracking 17" screen monitor (1280x1024 resolution) and received general instructions on the procedure to follow (e.g. limited head-motion). Light and sound conditions in the environment were carefully controlled. Auditory and visual stimuli were presented using movie type elements through Tobii Studio software. Fixation duration was

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[2] All nouns (60 in total; 20 for each gender) referred to inanimate objects and were of medium and high frequency (according to the Subtlex-GR corpus; http://www.bcbl.eu/subtlex-gr/).

recorded by the Tobii Eye Tracker applying a fixation filter to raw eye movement data (Velocity-threshold fixation identification algorithm (I-VT); threshold of 35 degrees/second).

Each session started with a regular 5-point calibration process, followed by the written instructions and the main experiment, during which participants were asked to look as fast as possible at the object suggested by the voice. Audio-visual stimuli were simultaneously projected across items. The total duration of the administration was approximately 10 minutes.

Data analysis. To detect the effect of our independent variables (i.e. L1, lexical/syntactic environment) on the online processing of gender features, we registered fixation duration sum in two preselected Areas of Interest (AOIs), the target and the competitor pictures. We measured the duration of fixations on these two AOIs within a 1000 ms time window starting 200 ms after the offset of the gender cue (i.e. either the article or the inflectional suffix of the adjective) and ending immediately before the onset of the target noun. For example, in the sentence *kíta pú íne o ble fákelos* 'look at where the blue envelope is', the timeframe we collected data from roughly includes the pronunciation of the adjective *ble* and the pause after it. During this timeframe, the participants had already perceived the gender cue provided by the article *o* but had not heard yet any part of the target noun *fákelos*. Thus, the only information they could rely on for the identification of the target object was the gender value.

The statistical analysis of the results was conducted in IBM SPSS 24.

6. RESULTS

Overall, as suggested by One-Way Anova (by Group) conducted, both L2ers and native speakers make use of predictive gender cues in order to identify an upcoming noun (for target looks: $F_{(1,46)}$=.889; p=.348; for competitor looks: $F_{(1,46)}$=.092; p=.763). Moreover, as illustrated in Figure 2, during the time window in question, the total duration of fixations on the target object is significantly higher compared to the duration of fixations on the competitor.
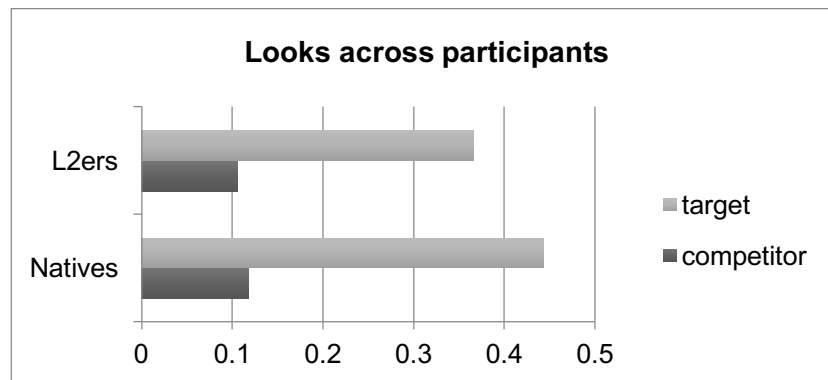
Figure 2: Total duration of fixations across participants

Thus, no Group effect is found in the data of our sample. We provide some possible explanations for this rather unexpected result in the next section.

For now, we will zoom in on the performance of the L2ers, in order to examine whether and to what extent their looks are regulated by the syntactic and lexical condition. A 2X2 mixed design Anova with factors Congruency (congruent vs. incongruent) as a within subject variable and Syntactic Type (Adjective vs. Determiner) as a between subject variable indicated that both main effects and their interaction were significant: Adj vs. Det: $F_{(1,11)}$=10.661, p=.008; Congruency: $F_{(1,11)}$=31.991, p<.001; Interaction: $F_{(1,11)}$=25.208, p<.001). Subsequent t-tests showed that looks to the target were not significantly regulated by congruency in the Determiner condition ($t_{(11)}$=-1.272; p=.230), but they were in the Adjective condition ($t_{(11)}$=-5.879; p<.001); similarly, looks to the target for the congruent conditions, were more for Adjectives than for Determiners ($t_{(11)}$=5.718; p<.001), while no significant differences were revealed for looks to the target in the incongruent conditions ($t_{(11)}$=.602; p=.559). We next present each of the factors examined separately, for ease of exposure.

Starting with the examination of syntactic congruency (Figure 3), looks to the target picture revealed a significant effect of Determiner vs. Adjective condition ($F_{(1,46)}$=11.107; p=.002), according

to which L2ers perform significantly better when they draw gender information from the adjective rather than from the article ($t_{(90)}$=4.097; p < .001). This finding is in line with Hypothesis 1, according to which L2ers are expected to encounter more difficulties in the processing of articles due to their absence in Russian. On the other hand, no effect was evidenced for the competitor looks ($F_{(1,46)}$=730; p=.397).
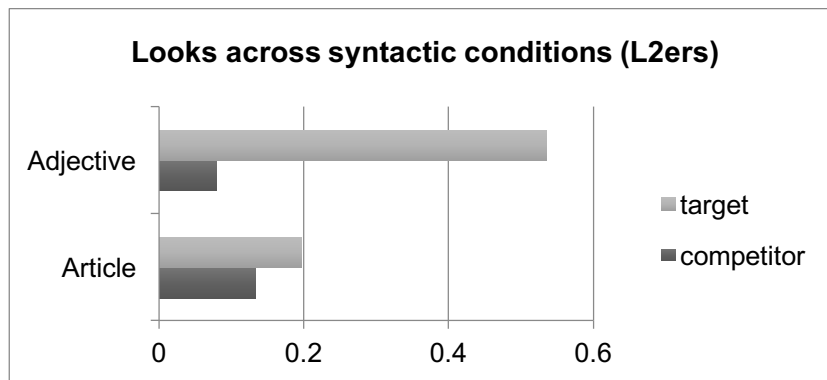
Figure 3: Total duration of fixations for L2ers across the two syntactic conditions (Adjective vs. Article)

A similar picture is found when looking at lexical congruency, which revealed a significant Congruency effect for the looks to the target picture ($F_{(1,46)}$=9.687; p=.003). As predicted in Hypothesis 2 (and illustrated in Figure 4), L2ers can easier predict the upcoming noun when its gender values in Greek and Russian are the same (target: $t_{(90)}$=4.023; p < .001). Again no effects were found for the looks to the competitor picture ($F_{(1,46)}$=.018; p=.895).
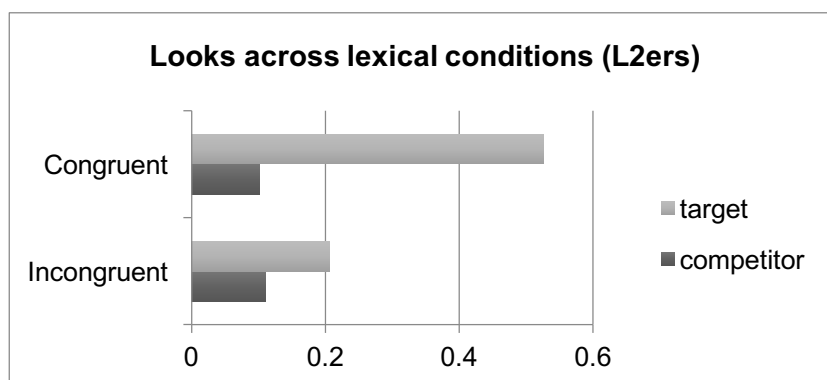
Figure 4: Total duration of fixations for L2ers across the two lexical conditions (Congruent vs. Incongruent)

7. DISCUSSION

Within generative framework, nouns are argued to bear interpretable features with which they are intrinsically marked (Chomsky 1995; Carstens 2000; Bernstein 1993; Franceschina 2005). These features accompany the noun when entering numeration and serve as a Goal to value the uninterpretable features of D (Probe). Gender agreement is the concept that encompasses the above function by the postulation of a check-and-delete process during which the uninterpretable feature on D is deleted while the interpretable feature of the noun remains active[3]. Analysis of the different approaches on the nature of functional categories participating in the above functions is beyond the scope of this study. However, critical for the specific pair of languages in our study is that D is realized in Greek but not in Russian. Could this incongruence, at the surface level, lead to attenuation of the prediction ability in the case of our L2 speakers?

Any approach that would be based on the results of this study should be cautious in relation to some key points presented in the previous section. In specific, we are aware of an important and, at the same time, unexpected result concerning the natives' performance. Unlike the predictions, the Determiner does not exert any effect on the parser as the controls do not accelerate upon its

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[3] The noun will remain active by serving as a Goal for other Probes before its Case feature is checked (Chomsky 1998, 1999, 2001).

unfolding. Instead, the natives in our study seem to rely primarily on the gender cues encountered upon the offset of the adjective. This result makes the investigation of the role of the L1 quite challenging as the two sources shaping the interlanguage, namely Russian and Greek, seem to have additive effects. To our sense, it is plausible that this result is owed to the current stage of the analysis; the natives' results in this paper come from a proportional –to our experimental group- body of evidence (i.e. from 11 native speakers). We are confident[4] that this tendency will change by the integration of the main body of data. However, if this initial sample gives an accurate picture of natives' linguistic behavior, we wish to suggest that this prominence of the adjective as a gender marker is related to the semantic load that is also assigned to the adjective. A co-activation of the representational make-up of the word could enhance visibility of the gender cue in the case of adjectives.

Turning to the L2ers, several approaches (e.g. Grüter, Rohde & Schafer 2016; Kuperger & Jaeger 2016) have considered the probabilistic estimation of upcoming linguistic input as an ability that can be influenced by many factors such as task demands, ageing or cognitive profile. By acknowledging that the natives' data are premature at the moment, we maintain that an attenuation of this ability in the case of our Russian speakers could be seen as a by-product of processing constraints that pertain to the structural differences between L1 and L2. In concrete, while the number of features undergoing overt agreement can reduce lexical search space (Bates et al. 1996; Guillelmon & Grosjean 2000; Grosjean et al. 1994) the absence of phonological realization of D in Russian has a negative effect on predictive reading as there is no probe-goal relation established between D and N with respect to gender features. Hence, the L2ers in our study do not gain from underlying processes on D when processing its features (i.e. valued articles) due to the respective absence of overt agreement in Russian. Moreover, the absence of a phonetically realized D in Russian is accompanied by syncretism in noun inflection (for an overview of Russian noun inflection see Müller 2004). Assuming that the L2 (i.e. Greek) instantiates syncretism within and across inflection classes, we have a fruitful ground that could result in attenuation of predictive performance on the basis of agreement between D and N in Greek. It is plausible that advanced learners of Greek are aware of the fact that inflection of a noun in Greek is not invariably a reliable source of gender classification[5]. Hence, the postnominal suffixes in Greek cannot compensate for the anticipated superficial parsing of the article. This is confirmed by the fact that the adjective, on the other hand, triggers a well-established agreement with the noun across lexical congruence due to influence from the L1. In line with Hopp and Lemmerth (2016) who report similar results, we suggest that further research is needed to investigate the role of syntactic congruency when contrasted to the role of an L1 in which gender markers (i.e. pre or postnominal cues) are activated in predictive reading.

Finally, an interaction between syntactic & lexical congruency was revealed: while the L2ers relied on adjectives to fixate predictively irrespective of the lexical (mis)matching of gender between Russian and Greek, in the article conditions lexical congruency was a prerequisite for the emergence of predictive reading. Given that Russian and Greek employ different gender exponents, these results support the general claim that predictive gender assignment in L2 processing does not stem from form-based similarities betweem L1 and L2, but from shared lexical gender nodes (see Hopp & Lemmerth 2016 and references therein).

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[4] This confidence is justified only on the basis of evidence provided by several studies mentioned in this article. To our knowledge there are no studies of this kind (i.e. comparing gender markers in real-time processing) for Greek.

[5] E.g. genitive and accusative of masculine inflection classes ending in /as/ or /is/ share the same suffix with feminine nouns, i.e. kanon-a$_{MASC.GEN/ACC}$ koron-a$_{FEM.NOM/ACC}$. Syncretism is pronounced in plural where the majority of masculine and feminine inflection classes share the same suffixes across cases.

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Stress in Greek? A Re-Evaluation of Ancient Greek Accentual Typology

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ABSTRACT

It is well known that Greek underwent a major change in its accentual typology from the Classical to the post-Classical period, shifting from a pitch-accent system to the stress accent still attested by the modern language. On the other hand, different attempts to identify some kind of stress element in Ancient Greek – either connected to the accent or independent from it – have so far been controversial. Consequently, in Greek historical linguistics it is usually assumed that segmental sound changes typically associated with stress were unlikely or impossible. Proposed sound laws that pointed to the position of the accent as a conditioning factor have accordingly been rejected. However, cross-linguistic research on accent typology has largely surpassed the simplistic dichotomy between 'pitch' and 'stress', presenting instead a much more nuanced picture in which intermediate types are quite possible. In addition, I show that several accent-driven sound changes must be accepted already for pre-Classical Greek. On the strength of this evidence, I propose that the role of accent in Ancient Greek historical phonology should be reconsidered.

Key Words: Ancient Greek; accent; typology; sound change.

1. INTRODUCTION

The question whether Ancient Greek (AGr) possessed some kind of stress (or 'intensive', 'dynamic') accent, and which was its relation with the pitch (or 'melodic', or less correctly 'tone') accent, is not a new one. Since a definitively satisfying answer has eluded generations of scholars, to raise the question again might seem at once worthwhile and over-ambitious. Rather, the goal of this paper is more modestly to try to rephrase the question from a different perspective, in the hope of providing a useful starting point for future research on the issue. While most recent attempts at finding an intensive rhythm in Ancient Greek were almost exclusively based on discussion of metrical evidence, I am going to focus on the evidence provided by (segmental) sound changes associated with the position of the accent. I am also going to emphasise the elements of continuity between the earlier and later chronological stages (i.e., between Proto-Indo-European and Modern Greek), as a key to understanding the Classical state of affairs.

2. ACCENT TYPOLOGY FROM PROTO-GREEK TO MODERN GREEK: THE *COMMUNIS OPINIO*

2.1 From Proto-Indo-European to Proto-Greek

Ancient Greek has traditionally been one of the main bases for the reconstruction of the accentual system of Proto-Indo-European (PIE), together with Vedic Sanskrit, Balto-Slavic, Germanic (preserving indirect evidence for the position of the accent via the effects of Verner's Law), and to a lesser degree other IE subfamilies[1]. From this comparative evidence, the PIE accent is reconstructed as free (meaning that it could fall on any syllable of a word) and, because of its freedom, distinctive. Much less certain is the reconstruction of its phonetic realisation. Based on the Vedic-Greek concordance (to which Balto-Slavic could be added), PIE accent was usually

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[1] There is growing evidence that the PIE mobile accent was preserved until later than traditionally thought in families such as Italic (Vine 2012). Traces of the PIE accent in Hittite are investigated by Kloekhorst 2014.

inferred to be a 'musical' one. This view is still confidently endorsed by most specialists[2], while others take a more sceptical stance. Clackson (2007: 75-78), for example, observes that in absence of an agreed diachronic typology of accentual change it is difficult to judge whether a pitch-accent phase must have preceded a stress-accent one, or if both traits could have coexisted. A period of stress-accent in PIE could help explain the quantitative ablaut *e* : Ø, which seems to have been originally linked with the presence vs. absence of accent[3], before the rise of accented *o*- and zero-grades in the later stages of the proto-language; but the relationship between ablaut and accent in PIE is notoriously difficult to interpret[4]. A more cautious assessment of our current knowledge about PIE accent would be that «we can reconstruct a position of accentual prominence in a PIE word, but we cannot securely know how that prominence was achieved» (Clackson 2007: 78).

2.2 Classical Greek

AGr shows remarkable continuity with the reconstructable PIE accent in retaining its distinctiveness and freedom, but it also innovates in several crucial respects. The laws of limitation arose in the prehistory of Greek, limiting the freedom of the accent to the last three syllables, and vowel contractions created a phonological opposition between acute and circumflex intonation in final syllables[5], leading to such minimal pairs as οἴκοι 'at home' : οἶκοι 'homes', or φώς 'man' : φῶς 'light'. Other changes were the generalization of default recessive accentuation, and several specific accent shifts (such as Wheeler's Law), sometimes confined to single dialects. Apart from these important changes, the agreement between AGr and other languages preserving (traces of) the PIE accent, especially Vedic, shows that the position of the accent in inherited words has often «remained the same from late Indo-European until the Hellenistic period» (Probert 2006: 26)[6].

At least for Classical times up to the Hellenistic age, there can be few doubts that «the most salient perceptual correlate of ancient Greek accent – what the Greeks themselves 'heard' – was pitch» (Gunkel 2014: 8), as proved by the descriptions in grammatical sources (Plato *Crat.* 399a, *Phaedr.* 268d; Arist. *Rhet.* 1403b; Dion. Thr. 6.15-7.2; Dion. Hal. *Comp. Verb.* 41.5-7, etc.), the terminology largely borrowed from music (τάσις, τόνος, προσῳδία, ἁρμονία), and by surviving musical notation[7]. Comparison with the related Vedic accent, clearly described in terms of pitch in the native Indian tradition, further reinforces this reconstruction. On the other hand, there are no extant ancient descriptions of a stress accent (Sturtevant 1977: 102), and its existence is usually refuted by modern scholars on the basis of both metrical and phonological considerations (see §3.2 below).

2.3 Post-Classical and Modern Greek

As is well known, the major innovation characterising the accentual system of Medieval and Modern Greek (MoGr) is the switch to a stress accent, or more precisely the loss of contrastive intonation on accented syllables, while the *position* of the accent is still largely the same as in AGr[8]. Pitch (technically defined as a function of fundamental frequency or F0) is still involved in the *phonetic* realization of the MoGr accent, together with stronger intensity and longer duration with respect to unaccented syllables. According to Arvaniti (2000, 2007: 39-54), the acoustic correlates of stress in MoGr include increased duration, greater amplitude, and a more peripheral quality of

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[2] See e.g. Fortson 2010: 68, Beekes and De Vaan 2011: 155, Byrd 2015: 34. Lubotsky's (1988) proposal that PIE was a tone language, with the position of accent directly correlated with obstruent voicing, remains so far isolated.

[3] In the words of Beekes and De Vaan (2011: 177), «an unaccented morpheme either lost or never acquired the vowel *e».

[4] Byrd (2015: 38) explains zero-grade as a synchronic process of accent-conditioned syncope, and at the same time maintains that PIE accent was realised as pitch.

[5] Circumflex intonation most likely first arose from contractions in final syllables after the loss of intervocalic laryngeals (PIE *bʰoréh2es > Proto-Greek *pʰoráas > AGr φοράς); see Jasanoff 2004.

[6] Kim (2002) makes a case for the continuity between the accent system reconstructed for PIE and that of Attic-Ionic Greek.

[7] On the bases for the reconstruction of AGr pitch accent see Allen 1987: 116-124; on the linguistic use of musical terms see Ciancaglini 1999.

[8] Cf. Probert 2006: 26.

vowels; syllables that are both stressed and accented[9] add a (not necessarily rising) pitch movement. Some recent research (Vogel *et al.* 2016) suggests that, contrary to previous studies (e.g. Botinis 1989), pitch might even be the main acoustic correlate of lexical prominence ('stress') in MoGr, with duration being the main correlate of prominence at the sentence level ('focus').

3. STRESS IN ANCIENT GREEK?

3.1 Recent Theories

In the last few decades, at least three different theories have tried to locate some kind of rhythmical prominence unrecognised by the traditional description of AGr accent (§2.2 above). Two of these theories assume that this prominence was realized by stress.

3.1.1 Stress Independent from Accent

Allen (1973: 274-334, 1987: 131-139) proposed a stress prominence independent from the pitch accent in order to account for metrical phenomena, such as Porson's Law, which in his opinion were not easily explicable in a purely quantitative framework. According to Allen, the native metre of a language would likely have been based on a pattern already existing in the natural rhythm of that language. Allen finds that certain syllables of words are preferentially associated with the strong positions of the verse, and infers that these syllables must have possessed some kind of phonetic prominence, which he identifies with stress.
The rules for locating stress are laid down by Allen (1987: 135f.) as follows:

> «1. A stress-matrix is constituted by (a) one heavy, or (b) two light syllables.
> 2. Words (or word-like sequences) longer than a matrix have internal contrasts of stress/non-stress.
> 3. If the final syllable is heavy, it is stressed.
> 4. If the final syllable is light, the next preceding matrix is stressed; except that in words of form -˘ ˘ ˘ the final disyllabic matrix may be stressed.»

3.1.2 Rhythmical Prominence Distinct from Accent

In their study of AGr prosody, Devine and Stephens (1984, 1994: 85-156) proposed, like Allen, a rhythmical prominence independent from the pitch accent, but unlike him suggested that the rhythm of AGr was not intensive but quantitative. They pointed out a major issue with Allen's theory in the fact that a double accent system (pitch *and* stress) coexisting in the same language would be typologically unparalleled, and impossible to reconcile with the known historical development of Greek: «diachronically, Greek is moving from pitch to stress implementation of accent with the position of the accent remaining unchanged, so that a transitional stage with a double accent is precluded» (Devine and Stephens 1984: 30). In fact, they denied the existence of any stress element in AGr, classifying it among languages with a 'pure pitch accent' (see §3.2.1 below). Their own foot-based analysis recognises in the prosodic system of AGr an iambic rhythm, where heavy syllables are prominent and light syllables non-prominent.

3.1.3 Stress as Correlate of Accent

More recently, David (2006: 52-95) proposed an elaboration of Allen's accent theory, which differs from the latter by linking the position of stress to the pitch accent. David interprets the description of the AGr τόνος βαρύς ('grave accent') in some ancient sources (especially Dion. Hal. *Comp.* 40.17ff.) not as lack of accent but as a different kind of accent, opposed to the τόνος ὀξύς ('acute accent'); he identifies the βαρύς with the *svarita* of Indian tradition, an automatic down-glide following the high pitch. Under this theory, the rhythmical prominence is dependent on the position of the pitch accent, but not necessarily coincident with it: in the case of a circumflex and of an acute followed by a light syllable (or by no syllable at all), the locations of pitch a ccent and stress prominence coincide; a heavy syllable following an acute-accented syllable is stressed with falling pitch, for in this case the down-glide would have been more relevant to AGr speakers.
David's (2006: 86) practical rules for accentuation are:

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[9] «Accented syllables are the most common type of stressed syllable in Greek (since in most melodies all content words are accented until the focused item is reached)» (Arvaniti 2007: 53).

«1. Circumflex: stress strongly in relation to unmarked syllables in the word with a rise, a break, and a heavy fall in pitch.

2. Grave: leave unstressed, or lightly stressed in relation to unmarked syllables with a slight rise in pitch.

3. Acute: examine the following syllable; if it is a) heavy, or prepausal, stress the following syllable heavily with falling pitch; b) light, or non-existent, stress the acute itself sharply with rising pitch, or with a full contonation if the acute syllable is closed.»

3.2. Stress on the Accented Syllable

Among the approaches outlined in §§3.1, especially Allen's and David's theories have met with scepticism; they are susceptible to charges of circular reasoning (constructing theories to fit the very metrical phenomena they set out to explain) and of ignoring or distorting ancient testimonia[10]. Another important objection is that the stress accent of MoGr is systematically derived from the *pitch* accent of the Classical language, not from these hypothetical stress patterns; one would then be forced to admit, quite uneconomically, that such patterns disappeared without trace. Given these difficulties, it could be worthwhile to revisit the old, now generally abandoned idea that the pitch accent of AGr was accompanied by some element of stress *on the same syllable*.

Traditionally, the idea of stress accent in AGr was rejected on the argument that this language did not show the conditioned sound changes typical of stress-accent languages, such as Latin, German, English, or even the later stages of Greek itself. In fact, the opposite is also true: a number of promising sound laws have often been rejected on the basis of this *a priori* typological argument, even though they were otherwise well-founded and showed good explanatory potential (see e.g. §3.2.2.2 below). Another traditional argument comes from metrics: the general consensus is that the accent of AGr played no role in poetic metre, which was based on quantitative patterns, and that the placement of word-accents in verse was random. This is usually taken to imply that the accent did not possess an intensive quality, since a strong stress accent would presumably have interfered with a metrical rhythm not based on it[11].

3.2.1 Typological Plausibility

First of all, it should be stressed that the coexistence of pitch and intensity as correlates of the accent would be typologically unremarkable. The idea of a perfect dichotomy between 'pitch- accent' and 'stress-accent' languages is surpassed in current phonological theory (Gordon 2011: 928). The distinction between the two fundamental types has indeed a phonetic basis, inasmuch

«stress accent differs phonetically from non-stress accent in that it uses to a greater extent material other than pitch» (Beckman 1986: 9), such as increased intensity and/or duration. Languages traditionally labelled as 'pitch-accent', however, do not constitute a single, coherent prosodic type (Hyman 2009: 213), but show mixed 'stress' and 'tone' properties[12]. Ladd (2008), for instance, argues that the presence of stress or non-stress accent, and that of lexically specified pitch are two independent typological parameters, which can be variously combined. AGr surely had lexically specified pitch (i.e. an opposition between acute and circumflex intonation, cf. the minimal pairs in §2.2), while its position regarding the other parameter is less clear.

Among mixed types, Devine and Stephens (1994: 206-215) distinguish between 'pure tonal accent' (exemplified by Japanese) and 'pitch-differentiated stress' (found in modern Swedish, Serbo-Croatian and Lithuanian). In the former, pitch alone is the phonetic correlate of accent, while the latter are stress-accent languages in which «the pitch component of the stress is differentiated into two distinctive accents». According to Devine and Stephens, AGr was a language of the 'Japanese' type, since like Japanese its rhythmical organisation is independent of the accent, while comparison with the 'Swedish' type is hindered by a lack of positive evidence for «a significant element of stress in the Greek pitch-accent». More cautiously, Probert (2006: 57) «feel(s) that there

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[10] For a summary and critical evaluation of these theories, see Abritta 2014.

[11] Recent and ongoing research by Abritta (2015) challenges the notion that verse composition disregarded word accents, exploring the possibility that pitch patterns were consciously employed by poets.

[12] For detailed discussion of the problem, see also Van der Hulst 2011.

is not sufficient evidence to decide between these possibilities», observing that complete absence of stress elements cannot be inferred from the silence of ancient grammarians, who quite naturally would have singled out pitch as the distinctive feature in both types of language.

3.2.2 Evidence from Sound Change

The last systematic refutation of AGr sound laws attributed to the effects of a stress accent is now more than a century old (Ehrlich 1912: 117-153). While many of such laws proposed by Neogrammarian historical linguists in the late 19th and early 20th century were doubtlessly untenable[13], others have since been (re)discovered; in my opinion, then, the matter must be regarded as still (or again) open. In the following paragraphs, I am going to briefly examine some of the most plausible accent-based sound laws proposed in the last decades for AGr.

3.2.2.1 Syncope

Syncope of short, unaccented vowels is among the most typical correlates of a stress accent[14]. Szemerényi (1964) collected a good number of cases of syncope at various stages in the history of AGr, and underlined the implications of his study for the understanding of the Greek and PIE accent. Unlike in stress-accent languages, syncope in Greek appears restricted to short, non-low vowels in a favorable syllabic environment (/VC1_C2V, with C1 a sonorant in 73.7% of cases); it is important that the syncopated vowel is always unaccented in 65.8% of cases, mostly unaccented in others. High frequency of affected forms also seems to be a factor. Among widely accepted cases of syncope are ἤλυθον > ἦλθον 'I came', πυκινός > πυκνός 'close, thick', οἴομαι > οἶμαι 'I think', ἔσεται > ἔσται 'will be' (3 sg.), τί ποτε > τίπτε 'whatever?'. While other etymological reconstructions offered by Szemerényi are more contentious, he has shown that accent did play a role in the sporadic – but not utterly infrequent – phenomenon of AGr syncope.

3.2.2.2 Liquid-Sibilant Clusters

By the so-called First Compensatory Lengthening (CL), /s/ weakened to /h/ near a resonant and then assimilated either to a preceding vowel (in most AGr dialects), or to the resonant itself (in North and East Aeolic): e.g. Proto-Gr. *esmí 'I am' > Att.-Ion. εἰμί, Lesb. ἔμμι. After the liquids /r/ and /l/, however, /s/ is sometimes preserved. Wackernagel (1888) saw that the distribution was not random, but depended on the accent: the sibilant was only preserved when the word accent immediately preceded. This is especially evident with pairs of etymologically related words:

- PIE *kórseh2 > κόρση 'temple, side of the head' : PIE *korséh2 > κουρά 'cropping of hair'
- PIE *h1órsos > ὄρρος (Att.) 'rump' : PIE *h1orséh2 > οὐρά 'tail',
- PIE *Hwérseh2, > ἔρση 'dew' : PIE *Hworséye/o- οὐρέω 'to urinate'

Wackernagel's insight, contested at the time of its appearance, has lately gained increasing acceptance. As recently argued by Batisti (2017), this theory is still the best explanation for the data, with only minor adjustments needed to account for the somehow different behaviour of *- Ls- in s-aorist stems, where paradigmatic analogy plays a role. The chronology of this change is uncertain, as it is more generally for the First CL. It must predate the earliest alphabetic records, but it could be post-Mycenaean[15]. It is, in any event, an inner-Greek phenomenon.

3.2.2.3 Laryngeal Breaking

The so-called laryngeal breaking (LB), or Francis-Normier Law (Francis 1970; Normier 1977, 1980), describes an unexpected behaviour of the high vowels /i/, /u/ followed by laryngeals *H2/3 in some IE languages including Greek. While the general rule predicts that any *-VH- sequence should become *-V̄- with laryngeal loss and compensatory lengthening, according to LB /i/ and /u/ gave *-yā- , *-wā- and *-yō- , *-wō- when followed by the second and third laryngeal respectively. Olsen

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(2009) restricted the scope of the law to originally unaccented syllables, observing that accented *-*íH2,3-*, *-*úH2,3-* seem to follow the fate of other *-VH-* sequences, becoming *- *ī-ī* , *-*ūī* - :

- PIE *díh2no-* > δῖνος 'whirling' : PIE *dih2tó-* > ζᾱτός (→ ζητέω 'to seek')
- PIE *píh3dʰi* > πῖθι 'drink!' : PIE *gʷih3wó-* > ζωός 'alive'
- PIE *bʰúh2mm* - > φῦμα 'growth' : PIE *duh2ró-* > δᾱρός 'long'
- PIE *yúh3smeh2* > ζῡῦμη 'yeast' : PIE *yuh3smó-* > ζωμός 'broth'

The rule must be very old, predating the earliest attestations of Greek, though not of PIE age: similar developments are present in Armenian and Tocharian, but not in other IE subfamilies.

3.2.2.4 Vocalization of 'Long Resonants'

In some IE languages, the vocalisation of what were traditionally referred to as 'long resonants' (now understood as resonants followed by a laryngeal, i.e. *CRHC* sequences) shows a double outcome depending on accent placement in the proto-language. This rule is now accepted for Latin, were it is sometimes known as the '*palma*-rule' (on which see now Höfler 2017):

- PIE *pln h2meh2* > Italic *palamā* (cf. Greek παλάμη!) > Lat. *palma* 'palm' : PIE *ǵnn h1tó-* > Lat. *(g)nātus* 'born, son'

A very similar development took place in Greek (see Rico 2000 for a survey of previous research):

- PIE *dʰm̄ h2to-* > θάνατος 'death' : PIE *dʰm̄ h2tó-* > θνητός 'mortal'

Another parallel to the '*palma*-rule' has been found by Olsen (1999) in Armenian, a language very close to Greek in IE phylogeny[16]; Woodhouse (2015: 268) thinks that this is another common Graeco-Armenian development, pointing to «a period of close areal proximity», and connects it to laryngeal breaking, airing the possibility that «Francis' Law is essentially a special case of [the treatment of] *CRHC*» (*ibid.*, 266).

3.2.2.5 Stop Voicing after Syllabic Nasals

Olsen (1989), after describing a similar rule in Armenian[17], suggested that PIE voiceless stops show up as voiced in Greek after the outcome of an accented syllabic nasal. This sound law was recently rediscovered by Van Beek (2017), who provided further potential AGr evidence. This rule would have the advantage of providing an IE etymology for the verbal root βλαβ- of βλάπτω, ἐβλάβην 'to hinder, harm' (originally a nasal present *mln̄ gʷe/o-* < *mln̄ kʷe/o-* from PIE *melkʷ-/*mln kʷ-* ; cf. Sanskrit *marc-*, 'to harm, injure') and the word δεκάδ-, 'group of ten' Vedic. *daśát-*, 'id.' < *deḱm̄ -t-*, and especially the possibility of deriving the suffix -άδ- (in e.g. νιφάδες, 'snowflakes') from the individualising PIE suffix *-nt-* (seen in Anatolian plurals in -*nt*-). Notwithstanding the etymological problems it could help solving, this sound law must for the time being be considered even more tentative than LB. As a possible addition to the number of well- known Graeco-Armenian isoglosses, it should be considered of post-PIE but still very archaic age.

3.2.3. Preliminary Conclusions

With the exception of some cases of syncope, all the changes discussed in the foregoing section took place in the *pre*history of Greek; some of them (§§3.2.2.3-5) could be shared with, or paralleled in, other IE languages, especially closely-related Armenian, but they all postdate the fragmentation of PIE; others (§3.2.2.2) are ancient but clearly *einzelsprachlich*.

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[16] According to Woodhouse (2015: 265), the Arm. accented reflex is CaRC (kałin < *kałn? 'acorn' < PIE *gwln īh2-no- = AGr βάλανος), the unaccented one CaraC (čanač'em 'I know' < PIE *ǵnh3-sk-i-é/ó-, cf. AGr γιγνώσκω), and not the other way around as per the communis opinio.
[17] In Armenian, *-nt- has a double reflex: -nd- immediately after a stressed vowel, -n- everywhere else (Olsen 1989: 234). Cf. Arm. and 'field, countryside' < PIE *h2ént-o- (Skt. ánta- 'end, limit, boundary') vs. Arm. beren 'they carry' < PIE *bhéronti.

4. THE EVOLUTION TO MODERN GREEK

4.1 First Signs of a Stress Accent

The first unmistakable signs of a shift to stress accent are relatively late. Systematic vowel syncope in unaccented syllables, different from the restricted phenomenon discussed in §3.2.2.1, is never found to the extent typical of stress-accent languages[18]. Syncope in Attic inscriptions is frequent only in given phono-morphological contexts, and «chiefly during the Roman period» (Threatte 1980: 395-406)[19].

Some peculiarities in the metrical practice of Imperial age authors writing in quantitative metres, such as Babrius (2nd c. AD) and Nonnus (5th c. AD), have also been attributed to the effects of the accent. The actual shift to new stress-based metres was first accomplished by Christian writers such as Gregory of Nazianzus (4th c. AD)[20]. In musical practice, an increasing mismatch between pitch accent and musical notation is also discernible through time (Devine and Stephens 1994: 220-223).

4.2 Loss of Contrastive Vowel Length

The incipient loss of contrastive vowel length (CVL) is suggested by the confusion of long and short vowels in spelling (e.g. ὀμνύο for ὀμνύω, βαπτιζώμεθα for ind. -όμεθα); such mistakes are frequent in Attic inscriptions from the 2nd century AD (Threatte 1980: 385-387), and occur even earlier in the Hellenistic Koine, especially in private documents by less educated speakers (Horrocks 2010: 118).

Metrical evidence for the loss of CVL comes from false quantities in verse, where etymologically short vowels are found occupying long positions and *vice versa* (e.g. εἴκοσι scanned as ˘ ˘ ‾ in *IG* II/2 12701.14, 3rd c. AD). As Threatte (1980: 386) notes, these confusions show «no discernible relationship» with the accent, at least in Attica, suggesting that they are not necessarily due to a change in accent quality *per se*[21].

4.3 The Direction of Change

The above two changes are usually seen as interrelated; however, the direction of the change can be interpreted in opposite ways[22].

If the change in the nature of the accent was earlier than the loss of CVL , a stronger stress would have produced phonetic lengthening of accented short vowels and shortening of unaccented long vowels, leading to a collapse of the old quantitative rhythmical pattern.

On the other hand, loss of CVL could have led to a change in accent typology by removing bimoraic syllables, and with it the basis for contrasting acute (rising) and circumflex (rising-falling) intonation. Assuming that «the rise in pitch had always been associated secondarily with at least some increase in amplitude, the final result would have been a single type of word accent characterized by both a rise in pitch and an increase in volume, but with the latter now placed in sharper focus by the loss of contrastiveness in the former» (Horrocks 2010: 118).

Devine and Stephens (1994: 215-223) argue that the evidence supports the former scenario, in which case the stress character of the accent would be an innovation; the latter possibility is compatible with the hypothesis of a pre-existing stress element, even though it does not guarantee for its antiquity.

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[18] The high-vowel deletion and mid-vowel raising in unstressed syllables typical of Northern MoGr dialects must be dated after the 12th c. AD and are probably unconnected to previous phenomena (Horrocks 2010: 404-406).

[19] Weakening and syncope of unaccented vowels appear much earlier in the Thessalian dialect; this is usually taken as the sign of an early shift to a stress accent (Chadwick 1992, Horrocks 2010: 34; but see Méndez Dosuna 2007: 367-377).

[20] Cf. Allen 1987: 130f.

[21] See Devine-Stephens 1994: 218-220 for a different analysis of metrical evidence.

[22] Cf. Devine-Stephens 1994: 216.

5. CONCLUSIONS AND QUESTIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

At the two chronological extremes of the history of Greek, the safest reconstruction for PIE accent is pitch prominence (probably not yet contrastive) possibly reinforced by intensive features, while MoGr has a stress accent, with (non-contrastive) pitch still phonetically present in some non-negligible measure. Thus, it is reasonable to infer that if a phonetic element of intensity existed in AGr, we should expect to find it in the accented syllable.

In fact, we have seen that several sound changes of Proto-Greek or Common Greek date appear to be conditioned by the position of the accent; it cannot be maintained, then, that the AGr accent had no effect at all on the phonology. However, it is far from clear that those changes could only be caused by the intensity ('stress') element of the accent, and not by pitch itself; more systematic research into cross-linguistic parallels is needed.

On the other hand, a relatively strong stress element, even if subphonemic, must have interfered with quantitative metrics if it was in principle independent of metrical rhythm. Theories such as Allen's try to reconcile these factors by positing a stress independent of the accent, fundamentally (and *a priori*) coincident with metrical prominence. If stress was instead connected with the accented syllable, it must have been relatively weak.

The most likely scenario to account for all the above evidence seems to be the following: AGr had an accent with contrastive pitch accompanied by a relatively light, non-contrastive stress element, which was not strong enough to interfere with poetic metre (based on syllable weight, which *was* distinctive), but strong enough to act as a conditioning factor in sound change (although quite less extensively than in true stress-accent languages), and to act as an embryo of the stress-accent system that finally prevailed in MoGr. It seems likely that in Proto-Greek the stress element was actually stronger, as suggested by the sound changes reviewed in §3.2.2, which are mostly prehistorical[23], and that it became weaker at a later time, as hinted at by the scarcity of accent-induced sound changes in the Classical era, apart from sporadic syncope, and excluding individual dialects such as Thessalian. It is possible that this relative loss in stress intensity was due to the rise of circumflex intonation making pitch contrastive; conversely, stress intensity became stronger again in the post-Classical era, when contrastive pitch was being lost.

It goes without saying that a diachronic reconstruction like the one presented above is very tentative, and should only be considered a starting point for further research. A model for research on this issue can be found in a recent study by Adamik (2013) that tackles the other Classical language, Latin, from a similar perspective. Adamik's fresh discussion of the diachronic evolution of accent quality in Latin proves two important methodological points:

1)   Sound changes testify that stress intensity oscillated through time in a non-linear fashion, being stronger in Pre-Classical Latin and strongest in Post-Classical Latin, while it appears to have been negligible in the Classical era[24].

2)   Typological arguments should be treated with caution and checked against reliable, up-to-date phonetic descriptions of the alleged parallels (in the case of Latin, fixed stress-accent in Finnish, Hungarian and Czech).

It would be possible, in my opinion desirable, to apply this same methodology to the study of Greek – both as a contribution to a cross-linguistic diachronic typology of accentual change (see §2.1 above), and to provide scholars of Greek historical phonology with a conceptual toolkit more up-to-date and nuanced than the over-simplifying labels of 'stress-accent' or 'pitch-accent language'.

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[23] Or even dating from a hypothetical period of common Graeco-Armenian development (see §3.2.3). In fact, most of our positive evidence for AGr pitch accent dates from the Classical period or later; it should not be used to draw categorical inferences about the nature of the accent several centuries earlier, much less to judge which phonological processes could or could not be influenced by that accent.

[24] Adamik (2013: 21) even suggests that Classical Latin may have been a language with «eine Art Pitch-Akzent oder Tonhöhenakzent». At any rate, he acknowledges that Latin would not have been a pitch-accent language in the usual sense of possessing contrastive pitch, since unlike AGr it did not contrast different intonations.

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Number in Pontic Greek spoken in Georgia

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ABSTRACT

Το άρθρο αυτό παρουσιάζει μια εμπειρική μελέτη για τη γραμματική κατηγορία του αριθμού στα Ποντιακά που ομιλούνται από την Ποντιακή κοινότητα της Γεωργίας. Εστιάζει την προσοχή περισσότερο στο σχηματισμό του ονοματικού μονήματος «πληθυντικός» και στην απόδειξή του μέσω του μορφολογικού αναλυτή (Morphological Analyser), που δημιουργήθηκε με βάση Finite State Technology για το ονοματικό σύστημα της Ποντιακής και περιλαμβάνει κανόνες σχετικές με την κλίση και το σχηματισμό του πληθυντικού αριθμού. Η αφαρμογή δημιουργήθηκε από την Ι. Λομπζανίτζε και βασίζεται στις πληροφορίες για τα Ποντιακά της Γεωργίας, όπως αυτά αποδεικνύονται στο έργο της Σ. Μπερικασβίλι *Μορφολογική ανάλυση της Ποντιακής της Γεωργίας*.

Η μελέτη βασίζεται σε σώμα προφορικού λόγου, συγκεντρωμένο με επιτόπια έρευνα, σε διαφορετικές χρονικές περιόδους, στην Ποντιακή κοινότητα της Γεωργίας (όσο στη Γεωργία, τόσο και στην Ελλάδα). Οι καταγραφές πραγματοποιήθηκαν από τους Ε. Κοτανίδη, Σ. Μπερικασβίλι και Σ. Σκοπετέα στα πλαίσια του ερευνητικού προγράμματος *Η επίδραση των τρεχούμενων μετασχηματιστικών διαδικασιών στη γλώσσα και την εθνική ταυτότητα, η περίπτωση των Ελλήνων: Ουρούμ και Πόντιων της Γεωργίας,* στο Πανεπιστήμιο του Μπίλεφελντ της Γερμανίας. Ολόκληρο το υλικό με interlinear glosses είναι διαθέσιμο από το γλωσσικό αρχείο TLA, Max Planck Institute.

Στην παρούσα έρευνα εξετάζεται: (α) δήλωση της γραμματικής κατηγορίας του αριθμού στα ονόματα και ονοματικές φράσεις, με ιδιαίτερη εμφάση στο συγκρητισμό της ονομαστικής με την αιτιατική και μεταπλασμό του γένους στον πληθυντικό αριθμό, (β) συμφωνία στον αριθμό στην ονοματική φράση που εξαρτάται όχι μόνο από την κατηγορία του γένους, αλλά και από τη σημασιολογική διάκριση σε άψυχα και έμψυχα (ανθρώπινα και μη-ανθρώπινα) ουσιαστικά, (γ) ιδιαίτερο σχηματιστικό στοιχείο πληθυντικού: *-αντ* της Ποντιακής, (δ) ένδειξη του πληθυντικού σε ονόματα όταν ο αριθμός ή ποσότητα εκφράζεται με τη βοήθεια αριθμητικών ονομάτων, καθώς και (ε) δήλωση του πληθυντικού στις δάνειες λέξεις που είναι ενσωματωμένες στο κλιτικό σύστημα της Ποντιακής από διάφορες δότριες γλώσσες (Τουρκικά, Ρωσικά, Γεωργιανά).

Key Words: Number, Pontic Greek, Morphological Analyser.

1. INTRODUCTION

The aim of the paper is to present the data in domain of grammatical number of an understudied endangered variety of Pontic Greek (PNT), as currently spoken by Pontic-speaking community of Georgia. The research is based on the Pontic Dialectical Corpus compiled in 2013 - 2016 at Bielefeld University within the framework of the project: *The impact of current transformational processes on language and ethnic identity: Urum and Pontic Greeks in Georgia,* funded by the Volkswagen Foundation. The corpus includes 435 media files of spontaneous and semi-spontaneous speech recorded in Georgia and Greece. In whole 57 native-speaking informants have been recorded, the average word count per speaker is 935 words, approximately the whole corpus contains 53 295 words. Data were collected during different fieldwork periods (2005, 2014-2016) in Pontic speaking community of Georgia by Stavros Skopeteas, Evgenia Kotanidi and Svetlana Berikashvili. All the data have been glossed by Svetlana Berikashvili and are available via the TLA archive of the Max Planck Institute for Psycholinguistics (Nijmegen, Netherlands)[1] to the research community.

The discussed topics on grammatical number cover such issues as: a) number values and the forms of marking the number, including different inflectional classes (IC) and marking of the noun

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phrase (NP); b) the cases of case syncretism and the alteration of the gender in plural, based on animacy distinction; c) existence of peculiar PNT number formatives, like collective suffix *-and*; d) agreement in number in noun phrases; as well as e) marking the number in loan nouns integrated into the inflectional system of PNT from different Source Languages (SL), namely, Turkish, Russian and Georgian. On the results of the conducted research the morphological analyser based on Finite state approach[2], especially, its nominal paradigm with so called closed classes has been developed by Irina Lobzhanidze for Pontic Greek as spoken by Pontic-speaking community of Georgia.

The paper is structured as follows: Section 1 is an introductory part. Section 2 discusses number values and marking the number in noun. It includes 2 sub-sections for realization of grammatical number in native and borrowed nouns. Section 3 provides discussion on marking the NP for number, while Section 4 analyses issues concerning the computational processing of PNT data with regards to the realization of grammatical number in nouns. Section 5 summarizes the main findings and the outcomes of the implemented research.

2. MARKING THE NUMBER IN NOUNS

In PNT as spoken in Georgia, number is a nominal category, as in most Indo-European languages (see Corbett 2001: 816–817 for nominal and verbal number, and Corbett 2000: 243–264 for more extensive discussion on verbal number). Number is marked on the verb as well, but it is nominal number which is expressed on the verb, and not a verbal one, as it indicates the number of subjects and not the number of events. Subsequently, it is expressed by agreement with subject noun phrase. The opposition of number values is singular and plural. Despite the fact that PNT is known for the conservative traits and the preservation of several properties of Ancient and Medieval Greek, it has not retained the dual number value, which was characteristic to Ancient Greek (AG). Thus, number values of Pontic are the same as in Standard Modern Greek (SMG).

2.1 Marking the number in native nouns

Plural number is morphologically marked on nouns in PNT. The inflectional classes for Pontic nouns can be defined in the same way as for SMG. They are based on two principles: (a) systematic diversity of allomorphic stems and (b) different inflectional formatives, proposed by Ralli (2000: 201–228, 2012: 118–122) for SMG declension classification. In Pontic the main difference is the existence of inflectionally active animacy category, which causes the further division of classes in two sub-classes one for animate [+human] and another for animate [-human] and inanimate nouns. Thus, the first three classes: IC1, IC2 and IC3, which include masculine (IC1 *-os,* IC2 *-as, -is, -es, -us*) and feminine (IC3 *-i, -a, -e, -u*) nouns are subdivided to two sub-classes based on the animacy distinction. IC4 includes feminine inanimate nouns ending in *-i,-si, -ksi, -psi,* while the last four classes: IC5, IC6, IC7 and IC8 have neuter nouns with the endings *-on, -ion*; *-in; -os; -man, -(s)imon* and *-s* respectively. Comparing two systems, the peculiarities of inflectional classes in PNT spoken in Georgia are as follows: (a) some different phonological realization of inflectional formatives, (b) syncretism of the core grammatical cases in plural, (c) inflectionally active animacy category and (d) neuterization of gender in plural characteristic to some nouns (Berikashvili 2017: 36-37).

The plural formation in all these classes differs in inflection and stem formation. Generally, as it is observed in other languages "these two devises, inflection and stem formation may occur separately or together" (Corbett 2001: 827). In PNT as spoken in Georgia the number marking in nouns reflects binary distinction, namely (a) in a subset of nouns inflectional markers are added directly to the basic inflectional stem (IC1, IC5, IC6 and IC7), i.e. inflection occurs separately, while (b) in a subset of nouns inflectional markers are added to allomorphic stems (IC2, IC3, IC4 and IC8), inflection occurs together with the stem formation. Thus showing that two different patterns coexist in PNT.

With regards to the stem formations, the possibilities in Pontic are as follows:
(a) Both stems for singular and plural equal to the basic inflectional stem (IC1, IC5, IC6 and IC7);
(b) Basic inflectional stem for plural, stem with additional vowel for singular, cf. allomorphic stems *martira – martir* 'witness' (IC2, IC3 and IC4);

(c) Basic inflectional stem for singular, stem with -*ð*- epenthesis for plural, realized as -*að*-, -*ið*-,
-*uð*-, for instance allomorphic stems: *maθiti – maθitað* 'pupil' (IC2, IC3);

(d) Basic inflectional stem for singular, stem with final -*t* for plural, and SG.GEN, cf.
allomorphic stems: *loman – lomat* 'clothes' (IC8).

It should be mentioned also that inflections are sensitive to number, there are different formatives for singular and plural. The formatives of plural marking according to inflectional classes reflect the following scheme, see Table 1:

Table 1 Plural markers in nouns

	IC1, IC2 [+human]	IC1 [-human], inanimate
NOM	*-i*	*-us*
GEN	*-(i)on*	*-on*
ACC	*-us*	*-us*

	IC4, inanimate
NOM	*-is*
GEN	*-(i)on*
ACC	*-is*

	IC5, IC8	IC6, IC7
NOM	*-a*	*-ia / -ä*
GEN	*-(i)on*	*-(i)on*
ACC	*-a*	*-ia / -ä*

As it can be observed from plural formatives, it is often difficult and in some cases even impossible to deduce the inflectional class of a given word by its plural form (see for the same situation in other PNT variety Janse 2002: 216).The plural formation is also complicated by the inflectionally active animacy distinction of nouns, which triggers case syncretism in plural. It applies to all animate [-human] and inanimate nouns of masculine and feminine gender, see Table 2:

Table 2 Case syncretism of [-human] and inanimate nouns in PL

		M.		F.
	-os	*-as*	*-i*	*-a*
NOM	*γámus* 'marriage'	*mínas* 'month'	*vreshás* 'rain'	*kosáras* 'hen'
ACC	*γámus*	*mínas*	*vreshás*	*kosáras*

Whereas in the corresponding [+human] nouns in masculine gender there are different formatives for nominative and accusative, while those of feminine gender have formative -*es* for both core cases, see (3)

Table 3 Case syncretism of [+human] nouns in PL[3]

		M.		F.
	-os	*-as*	*-i*	*-a*
NOM	*ánθropi* 'person'	*ándres* 'man'	*aðelfáðes* 'sister	*θäatéres* 'daughter'
ACC	*anθrópus*	*ándras*	*aðelfáðes*	*θäatéres*

As it can be observed case syncretism in feminine nouns is distinguished by the use of formatives, -*es* (initial formative of nominative case) is used with human nouns, and -*as* (initial formative of accusative case) with non-human ones.

One peculiar plural marker characteristic only to PNT is -*and,* which according to different opinions (see Papadopoulos 1955: 48–49, Tombaidis 1988: 46–47, Revithiadou and Spyropoulos 2012: 60–62), is (a) an unmarked expression of plurality, (b) has a negative connotation, (c) is a

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[3] Tables 2 and 3 adapted from Berikashvili (2017: 35-36).

collective affix. In Pontic Greek as spoken in Georgia this suffix mostly has a collective meaning and is associated with animate entities, more frequently with the masculine, see (1)

(1)

érxundan	*i*	*turkánd*
come:PRS./IPFV.PST.3.PL	DEF:M./F.PL.NOM	Turk:M.PL.NGEN
'Turks are/were coming'.		

[Berikashvili 2016: PNT-TRA-SN-00000-B25]

Plural formation is also complicated by the fact, that "some masculine or feminine words referring to non-humans have a neuter plural" (Janse 2002: 216), something that is observed in all Pontic varieties and shall be discussed below (see section 4).

2.2 Marking the number in loan-nouns

Pontic Greek spoken in Georgia is known for conduct-induced changes, as it always have been in different multilingual environment. On the initial stage (19th century) when one can talk about original settlements in Georgia, Pontic Greeks were mostly bilingual in Russian, in the 20th century, during the internal migration to the urban centres, the influence of Georgian is evident (though not on the level of the bilingualism). After the emigration to Greece (beginning from the 90ies, 20th century) the significant impact is also that from SG and Pontic multidialectal environment. Besides it preserves a lot of Turkish borrowings and constructions which come from the diachronic stage and are already integrated into the understudied variety of PNT.

The interesting issue is what happens with loan-nouns while forming plural. Generally, PNT as spoken in Georgia has a tendency to integrate loan words into patterns of the Recipient Language (RL) (for the integration of loan words into the patterns of Pontic see Berikashvili 2016: 255–276). Assignment to the inflectional class is dependent also upon a phonological form of the loan's ending. The most productive inflectional classes are IC6 for neuters and IC3 for feminines, masculine nouns are rarely borrowed those that are denote mostly human entities and are distributed among IC2 (more frequent option for Turkish loans) and IC1 (more freq uent option for Russian loans) (for the assignment of loan words to inflectional classes consult Berikashvili 2017: 110-111).

The point of interest is the plural formation in loans, are they fully integrated into the patterns of the RL or are there some additional constraints involved. The criteria for the integration of the loans in plural formation can be defined as follows: (a) the use of the same formatives as for the native words, (b) following the same patterns of the IC, (c) neuterization of the gender and (d) case syncretism of the core grammatical cases. See Table 4, 5 and 6 for the instances of loan nouns attested in plural in the corpus:

Table 4 Loan nouns of Russian origin attested in PL

Attested form in PL	IC	Attested form in PL	IC
abicha 'custom' (select. borrowing)	IC6	*padruges, padrukaðes* 'friend'	IC3
atnashenias 'relation'	IC3	*pakryshkas* 'tyre'	IC3
balonia 'tank'	IC6	*pensianer* 'pensioner' (select. borr.)	IC1 or IC2
barashkas 'lamb'	IC3	*poxoronia, poxoronja* 'funerals'	IC6
bileta 'ticket'	IC5	*prablemas* 'problem'	IC3
bulionä 'bouillon'	IC6	*pratsenta* 'percent'	IC5
chashkas 'cup'	IC3	*praznika, praznikä* 'fest'	IC5, IC6
diplomä 'diploma'	IC6	*prikazia* 'order'	IC6
elementä 'element'	IC6	*prirodas* 'nature'	IC3
evroremontä 'euro-repairs'	IC6	*radiona* 'radio'	IC5
famílias 'surname'	IC3	*restorania, restarania* 'restaurant'	IC6
fruktä 'fruits' (select. borrowing)	IC6	*salfetkas* 'napkin'	IC3
gazetä 'newspaper'	IC6	*semiaðas* 'family'	IC3
ɣarmonia, karmonia 'accordion'	IC6	*shashlykia* 'shish kebab'	IC6
*kafetas, kafetopa.*DIM 'candy'	IC3, IC5DIM	*silyotkas* 'herring'	IC3
kambanias 'company'	IC3	*sménas* 'shift'	IC3
kantsertä 'concert'	IC6	*stishókia.*DIM 'poem'	IC6
kartofä, kartofia 'potato'	IC6	*stolä, stolia* 'table'	IC6

kerasinkas 'oil stove'	IC3	*sutkas* 'day and night'	IC3
kilometra 'kilometer'	IC5	*tradítsias* 'tradition'	IC3
klasia 'class'	IC6	*tsitrusä* 'citrus' (selective borrowing)	IC6
kultures 'culture'	IC3	*tunelia* 'tunnel'	IC6
kursä 'course'	IC6	*udopstvas* 'comfort'	IC3
maskas 'mask'	IC3	*votkas* 'vodka'	IC3
muzikas 'music'	IC3	*visilkas* 'deportation'	IC3
muzikants, musikandas 'musician'	IC1	*yolkas* 'Christmas tree'	IC3
natsionalnostia 'nationality'	IC6	*zelenia* 'green'	IC6
natsias 'nation'	IC3	*zhertvas* 'secrifice'	IC3

Table 5 Loan nouns of Turkish origin attested in PL

Attested form in PL	IC	Attested form in PL	IC
adatä, adatia 'tradition'	IC6	*karaúlia, ɣaraúlia* 'guard'	IC6
axulia 'mind'	IC6	*mesháðas, meshánaðas, mesháðes* 'forest'	IC3
axuliðes 'clever'	IC2	*mejvaðas* 'fruit'	IC3
bríndzha 'rice'	IC6	*mezäðas* 'food'	IC3
chairä, chairia 'pasture'	IC6	*ormania* 'forest'	IC6
chántas, tsantas 'bag'	IC3	*pachiðes* 'sister'	IC3
chichäkia 'flower'	IC6	*paraðas* 'money'	IC3
chixritas 'dragonfly'	IC3	*peshkiria* 'towel'	IC6
chochuɣa 'child'	IC5	*tartania* 'hole'	IC6
chumbushia 'humorous rhyme'	IC6	*tartia* 'sorrow'	IC6
donɣuzia 'pig'	IC6	*teshakia* 'mattress'	IC6
dzhaxal 'young'	IC2	*tolmales* 'dolma'	IC3
ɣaríðes 'woman'	IC3	*tsopani* 'shepherd'	IC1
jerɣánia 'blancket'	IC6	*ziaratä, ziaratia* 'fest'	IC6
ɣurbánia 'sacrifice'	IC6	*zurnáðas* 'zurna'	IC3
kalachía 'conversation'	IC6		

Table 6 Loan nouns of Georgian origin attested in PL

Attested form in PL	IC	Attested form in PL	IC
churchxelas 'churchkhela'	IC3	*lobias* 'haricot beans'	IC3
chuxaðas 'chokha'	IC3	*keipia* 'revelry'	IC6
laria 'lari'	IC6		

As it can be observed from the data all loans are adapted to the patterns of the RL, i.e. they follow the same declension rules and are integrated in the same inflectional classes. The same formatives are used in formation of plural (except of those of IC4, IC7 and IC8, as no such instances are attested), however the use of the peculiar PNT suffix -*and* is rare with loans, there was only one example attested with this ending, *muzikants, muzikandas* 'musician' and even this example can be explained in different ways, as there is no direct evidence of its singular form and the form of the SL *muzikant* already includes ending *ant*. There are also some instances, when only plural form is borrowed, see (2a and b)

(2) a.

t=emétera	*ta*	***frúktä***	*[…]*
DEF:N.PL.NGEN=POSS.1.PL:N.PL	DEF:N.PL.NGEN	fruits:N.PL.NGEN_{Russian}	

'our fruits […]'

[Skopeteas and Berikashvili 2016: PNT-TXT-VL-00000-B21]

b.

pensianér	*ímes*
pensioner:M.PL.NOM_{Russian}	be:1.PL

'We are pensioners'

[Kotanidi et al. 2016: PNT-TXT-VL-00000-A06]

Thus there is a selective borrowing of the plural form, without parallel borrowing of the base form (see Elšik 2007: 278 for selective borrowings in other languages). Selective borrowing

complicates deduction of the singular form of the noun and IC in which it is integrated. Luckily, such examples are rare.

The neuterization of the gender in plural (see section 4) and case syncretism of core cases is characteristic to loan-nouns as well, see Table 7 for the examples

Table 7 Case syncretism with loan nouns in PL

	[+human]	[-human]	inanimates
NOM.	*ɣaríðes*TURKISH	*barashkas*RUSSIAN	*churchxelas*GEORGIAN
ACC.	*ɣaríðes*TURKISH	*barashkas*RUSSIAN	*churchxelas*GEORGIAN

Subsequently, the loan-nouns are fully integrated into patterns of PNT and show the similar inflection and number formation as native nouns.

3. MARKING OF THE NOUN PHRASE FOR NUMBER

Marking of the NP for number, is usually expressed by the agreement within the noun phrase, or by marking on the noun itself. The number agreement within the noun phrase is common in the various types of attributive modifier: adjectives, demonstrative pronouns, articles. In PNT article in NPs depends on morphological and semantic properties of controller, i.e. on gender, number and animacy of the head-noun. In singular gender distinction is well-defined, while plural has joint forms for masculine and feminine and depends on animacy hierarchy. Even in the cases when controller nouns within NP are expressed by [-human] and inanimate nouns and as a result show gender alternation in plural, targets agree with them with respect to the number agreement, see (3)

(3)

ta	*mikrá*	*ta*	*kosáras*
DEF:N.PL.NGEN	small:**N.PL**.NGEN	DEF:**N.PL**.NGEN	hen:**F.PL**.NGEN
tráninane	*ke*	*óvazane*	
grow:IPFV.PST:3.PL	and	lay_eggs:IPFV.PST:3.PL	

'Small hens grew up and laid eggs'

[Berikashvili 2016: PNT-TXT-VL-00000-B23]

Generally, there are two forms of gender alternation in plural, one for NPs, where the phenomenon reflects the reanalysis of the grammatical gender of the determiner and another for the nouns, where the gender of noun and morphological formatives are changed (see Berikashvili 2017: 30-32 for the discussion).

Agreement in number is observed also in the case of loan-nouns used as controllers, see (4)

(4)

éxi	*émorfa*	*mesháðas*
have:3.SG	beautiful:N.PL.NGEN	forest:F.PL.NGEN TURKISH

'It has beautiful forests'

[Kotanidi et al. 2016: PNT-TXT-VL-00000-B04]

There are also instances of some nouns that show parallel use of two plurals, one with reanalysis only of the grammatical gender of the determiner within NP, and another for the reanalysis of both determiner's and noun's gender. Thus, for the noun *pólemos* 'war', the only one possibility of PL stated by Papadopoulos (1960: 210) is *ta polémus,* while in PNT as spoken in Georgia, another possibility is attested, see (5)

(5)

étane	*ta*	*polémata*
be:PST:3.PL	DEF:N.PL.NGEN	war:N.PL.NGEN

'There were wars'

[Kotanidi et al. 2016: PNT-TXT-AN-00000-A05]

Two plurals for one noun are attested also in the case of loan-nouns, see (6a and b)

(6) a.

epéɣname	*ja*	*ta*	***mandarínia***
go:IPFV.PST:1.PL	for	DEF:N.PL.NGEN	mandarin:N.PL.NGEN

'We were going for mandarins'

[Kotanidi et al. 2016: PNT-TXT-VL-00000-C04]

b.

íxamen	*vɣálame*	*chái*	***mandarínas***
have:PST:1.PL	take_out:PST:1.PL	tea:N.SG.NGEN	mandarin:F.PL.NGEN

'We had tea, mandarins'

[Kotanidi et al. 2016: PNT-TXT-VL-00000-C14]

In the case of adjective quantifier *polís* 'many' used as attributive modifier within NP, there is a diversity in number marking, thus when controller is expressed by nouns denoting animate or inanimate entities, the number agreement exists, see (7a and b)

(7) a.

aðaká	***polí***	***arθróp***	*étanen*
here	many:M./F.PL.BNOM	person:M.PL.NOM	be:PST:3.PL

'A lot of people were here'

[Kotanidi et al. 2016: PNT-TXT-LG-00000-A04]

b.

s=o	*xoríon*	***polá***	***forás***	*em*
LOC=DEF:N.SG.NGEN	village:N.SG.NGEN	many:N.PL.NGEN	time:F.PL.NGEN	be:PST:1.SG

'I have been a lot of times in the village'

[Kotanidi et al. 2016: PNT-TXT-MR-00000-B06]

Nevertheless in the case when controller is expressed by collective noun, number is marked only on target, i.e. quantifier and not noun, which remains singular, see (8)

(8)

polá	***laós***	*írθen*
many:N.PL.NGEN	people:M.SG.NOM	come:PFV.PST:3.SG
aðaká	*s=ti*	*georgía*
here	LOC=DEF:F.SG.ACC	Georgia:F.SG.NGEN

'A lot of people came here to Georgia'

[Kotanidi et al. 2016: PNT-TXT-AN-00000-A02]

In the case of numeral used as attributive modifier, the number is marked on the noun, except of the cases with declinable numerals: *ðío* 'two', *tría* 'three', *tésera* 'four'. Thus, for instance the numeral *ðío* 'two' that in comparison with SMG is declinable in Pontic, has one joint form for masculine and feminine nouns, and one for neuters. In PNT as spoken in Georgia, besides that *ðío* 'two' already includes more than one item in its lexical meaning, it can be marked for plurality as well, and parallel to the plural forms *ðío – ðii – ðios* that are attested in other varieties of Pontic, there is also form *ðía* attested in PNT spoken in Georgia, see (9) for the example

(9)

ðía	*aðélfia*	*kátsan*	*s=o*
two	brother:N.PL.NGEN	sit:PFV.PST:3.PL	LOC=DEF:N.SG.NGEN
vapór	*éfiɣan*	*s=in*	*eláðan*
boat:N.SG.NGEN	go:PFV.PST:3.PL	LOC=DEFT:F.SG.ACC	Greece:F.SG.ACC

'Two brothers sat in boat and went to Greece'

[Berikashvili 2016: PNT-TXT-AN-2-000-B25]

To sum up, the noun phrase is usually expressed by the number agreement within the NP, even in the cases of gender alternation in plural, the only case of mismatches is when the controller is expressed by collective noun.

4. ISSUES CONCERNING THE COMPUTATIONAL PROCESSING OF PONTIC GREEK DATA WITH REGARDS TO THE REALISATION OF GRAMMATICAL NUMBER

There are a lot of the Natural Language Processing (NLP) systems used for treating languages with non-concatenative type of morphology like Pontic. One of the most famous approaches to the

morphological analysis of such kind of languages is a finite state technology as described by Beesley and Karttunen (2003) and used for the description of Early Modern Greek language by Lampropoulos et al. (2007). Finite state technology is used in morphological processing, semantics and discourse modelling. So, the Morphological Analyzer for Pontic Greek has been developed using finite-state technology, especially, xfst and lexc. The system covers the full inflectional paradigm and is able to do both analysis and generation. The morphotactics is encoded in lexicons and alternation rules - in regular expressions. It supports utf8 character coding which is important for the implementation of the Greek language.

From the linguistic point of view the work is based primarily on Svetlana Berikashvili's *Morphological Aspects of Pontic Greek spoken in Georgia* (Berikashvili 2017) and Papadopoulos' *Historical Grammar of Pontic Dialect* (Papadopoulos 1955). So, the linguistic description of PNT is based on four main aspects:

- Quantity of morphes/slots to be described;
- Internal changes between or within morphes/slots;
- Linguistic theory used for reference, and;
- Of course, Type of dictionary(ies) used.

The morphological transducer developed on the basis of Xerox Finite State Tools (Xfst) has the following structure:
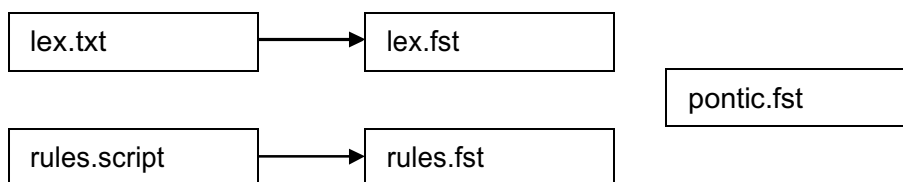
Figure 1: The morphological transducer

The mentioned structure includes 12 PoS Lexicons for Nouns, Adjectives, Numerals, Pronouns, Articles etc. The lexicon data are processed in accordance with the appropriate alternation rules. The morphological analyzer consists of the mentioned lexicons and alternation rules. It allows us to distinguish the appropriate lemma and morphological categories. This resource evaluated against texts from the already mentioned corpus is used for tokenizing, lemmatizing and tagging.

So, for an example we will present a finite state approach to a part of the Pontic Greek morphology, especially, with focus on the nominal morphology bearing in mind that once a solution for the nominal morphology is represented however, it can be extended to cover other word classes in a language like adjectives, pronouns etc. Nominal Pattern of Pontic Greek is characterized by bound morphemes used to show their grammatical function, especially, its structure consists of stem and affix reflecting gender, number and case. So, a simplified Finite State Transducer (FST) model of nominal paradigm is as follows:
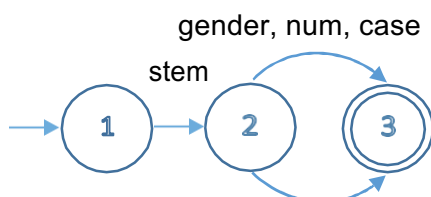
Figure 2: FST model of nominal paradigm

The nominal paradigm is subdivided into eight major classes differing between each other by gender and some sub-classes based on the difference between formation of number (for instance, case syncretism in plural dependent upon animacy distinction). The main problem of Pontic Greek nominal morphology is displacement of stress in Genitive case for nouns consisting of three syllables. For such instances we have added special stress triggers, which allow us to provide the above-mentioned displacement for the following rules:

define R1 [á -> a, é -> e, ó -> o, í -> i, ú -> u || %^S _ ?* [%^SR | %^SR1]] ;
define R2 [a -> á, e -> é, o -> ó, i -> í, u -> ú || ?* %^S3 _ ?* %^SR] ;

After the implementation of rules triggers are removed both from surface and lexical levels.

5. CONCLUSIONS

The results regarding number in PNT as spoken by Pontic-speaking community of Georgia can be presented as follows: (1) the opposition of number values is singular and plural; (2) number is a nominal category; (3) plural number is morphologically marked on nominals and verbs; (4) inflections are sensitive to number; (5) the number marking in nouns reflects binary distinction: inflection may occur separately or together with stem formation; (6) the formatives of plural marking in nouns show four possibilities, which are distributed in different inflectional classes; (7) there is inflectionally active animacy category, which triggers case syncretism of core grammatical cases in plural and neuterization of gender in plural; (8) neuterization of gender shows two possibilities: one for the NPs with the reanalysis of determiner's gender and another for the nouns, where the gender o f noun and morphological formatives are changed; (9) the noun phrase is usually expressed by number agreement within the NP, even in the cases of gender alternation in plural, the only case of mismatches is when the controller is expressed by collective no un

All these issues and mismatches were taken into account while producing morphological analyser of Pontic.

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Object metaphor in "Journeying. Russia" by Nikos Kazantzakis

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ABSTRACT

The article analyses the peculiarities of convenient metaphor in "Journeying. Russia" by Nikos Kazantzakis.

The metaphor as a comparison and a collation of two concepts belonging to different spheres of human knowledge and experience is widely appreciated as universal way of research, codification and categorization of the reality. Convenient or dead metaphor (the corresponding Russian term is *language metaphor*) reflects stable and conventional logical connections, as well as thinking peculiarities of a language community.

The present article analyses the peculiarities of the convenient metaphor of "Journeying. Russia" by virtue of the semantics of lexical items used in the metaphor. Thus, the object of analysis are the metaphorical shifts based on lexemes of object semantics, their function in the text and their relation to context.

It is hoped that the results of the analysis reveal the distinctive types of metaphorical shifts in "Journeying. Russia", their role in Nikos Kazantzakis' individual style and conceptual system.
Key words: metaphor, semantics, categories of metaphor, «Ταξιδεύοντας. Ρουσία».

Ο όρος *μεταφορά,* η χρήση του οποίου ανάγεται στην αρχαία ελληνική ρητορική, τον 20° αιώνα ξεπέρασε τα όρια της ποιητικής και ρητορικής. Σήμερα η μεταφορά αναγνωρίζεται πλατιά ως μια ιδιαίτερη μορφή σκέψης και αποτελεί αντικείμενο μελέτης της φιλοσοφίας, της φιλολογίας, της ψυχολογίας, της κοινωνιολογίας και πολλών άλλων επιστημονικών κλάδων (Stern 2000: 11)

Η σύγχρονη γλωσσολογία αναγνωρίζει τη μεταφορά ως απαραίτητο εργαλείο της ανθρώπινης σκέψης καθώς επίσης και εργαλείο εξερεύνησής της μέσω της γλώσσας (Lakoff, Johnson 2003: 4).

Η πρώτη μελέτη του φαινομένου της μεταφοράς ανάγεται στον Αριστοτέλη που αντιμετωπίζει τη μεταφορά ως υπόρρητη σύγκριση βασισμένη σε ομοιότητες των δύο φαινομένων. Βάσει αυτής της αντίληψης η μεταφορά είναι σχήμα λόγου, διακοσμητικό στοιχείο της κυριολεκτικής γλώσσας κι επομένως αποτελεί απαραίτητο μέρος του ποιητικού λόγου.

Αυτή η άποψη επικρατεί μέχρι τα μέσα του $20^{ου}$ αιώνα. Η ανάπτυξη της ψυχολογίας όμως διευρύνει σημαντικά τη σφαίρα χρήσης της μεταφοράς και τη μετατοπίζει κάπως από καθαρά λογοτεχνικό πεδίο στο πεδίο της ανθρώπινης σκέψης.

«Επανάσταση» στις επιστημονικές μελέτες της μεταφοράς προκάλεσε η θεωρία της εννοιακής μεταφοράς των Lakoff και Johnson (Fludernik 2011: 6). Η μελέτη των Lakoff και Johnson χαρακτηρίζει τη μεταφορά ως ιδιαίτερο τρόπο που δομεί τις συλλογιστικές διαδικασίες και επιδρά στην κοινωνική συμπεριφορά του ανθρώπου (Lakoff, Johnson 2003: 7). Έτσι η έμφαση στη μελέτη του φαινομένου της μεταφοράς μετακινείται από το γλωσσικό στο γνωσιακό επίπεδο. Η μεταφορά αντιμετωπίζεται πια ως απαραίτητο φαινόμενο της ανθρώπινης σκέψης και της καθημερινής ομιλούμενης γλώσσας. Αυτή η μετακίνηση από τη σφαίρα του προσωπικού ύφους στη σφαίρα της γνώσης και της σκέψης καθιστά τη μεταφορά πολύτιμο εργαλείο εξερεύνησης της γλωσσικής εικόνας του κόσμου.

Στη σύγχρονη γλωσσολογία η μεταφορά παραμένει να είναι μια πολυσύνθετη και πολυδιάστατη έννοια. Αναλόγως με την υπό μελέτη υπόσταση της μεταφοράς αυτός ο όρος μπορεί να σημαίνει είτε σχήματα λόγου που ανήκουν στο ύφος ενός συγκεκριμένου συγγραφέα ή ποιητή (ποιητική μεταφορά, poetic metaphor) είτε αφηρημένες έννοιες που συνδέονται άμεσα με την ανθρώπινη σκέψη και έχουν μόνο έμμεση σχέση με τη γλώσσα (conceptual/cognitive metaphor).

Η «αριστοτέλεια» μοναδική στο είδος της ποιητική μεταφορά μελετάται συνήθως στο πλαίσιο του αντίστοιχου κειμένου (συνήθως ποιητικού) του οποίου αποτελεί αναπόσπαστο μέρος. Οι

εννοιακές μεταφορές ερευνώνται κατά κανόνα σε όλων των ειδών πεζά και ποιητικά κείμενα με ιδιαίτερη έμφαση στο επιστημονικό λόγο και τη γλώσσα του Τύπου. Και οι δύο παραπάνω προσεγγίσεις δεν παρουσιάζουν πλήρη εικόνα της μεταφοράς. Η παραδοσιακή «κλασική» προσέγγιση αγνοεί τη χρήση της μεταφοράς σε πεζό λόγο, η εννοιακή θεωρία της μεταφοράς με τη σειρά της δεν λαμβάνει σχεδόν καθόλου υπόψη την γλωσσολογική υπόσταση των εννοιακών μεταφορών (Fludernik 2011: 7). Μια πολλά υποσχόμενη «μέση οδός» στην ανάλυση μεταφορικού λόγου σε ένα συγκεκριμένο κείμενο, επομένως, θα μπορούσε να είναι η χρήση της θεωρίας της γλωσσικής μεταφοράς που προτάθηκε από Ρωσίδες γλωσσολόγους Teliya και Sklyarevskaya.

Οι γλωσσικές μεταφορές (ο αντίστοιχος αγγλικός όρος είναι *conventional metaphor*) είναι λεξήματα με μεταφορική σημασία που χρησιμοποιούνται και αποκωδικοποιούνται αυτόματα στη ροή του λόγου. Η γλωσσική μεταφορά αποτελεί απλό και συνηθισμένο σχήμα λόγου, δεν είναι καθόλου αντιληπτή για τον φυσικό ομιλητή στην καθημερινή επικοινωνία και κατά κανόνα εμπεριέχεται στα λεξικά (Teliya 1977: 174). Όπως και η εννοιακή, η γλωσσική μεταφορά αντικατοπτρίζει τα συγκεκριμένα σχήματα σκέψης που ήδη υπάρχουν στη γλώσσα ανεξαρτήτως από τα προσωπικά κίνητρα και ειρμούς του ομιλητή.

Ο μεταφορικός λόγος ενός λογοτεχνικού έργου είναι σύνθετο και πολυεπίπεδο σύμπλεγμα των προσωπικών και των κοινών γλωσσικών στοιχείων. Ενώ οι ποιητικές μεταφορές διαφέρουν από κείμενο σε κείμενο, το σώμα των γλωσσικών μεταφορών είναι κοινό για όλους τους φυσικούς ομιλητές μιας γλώσσας κι έχει πιο άμεση και στενή σύνδεση με τη γλωσσική εικόνα του κόσμου.

Επομένως μπορούμε να συμπεράνουμε πως η ανάλυση της γλωσσικής μεταφοράς σε ένα λογοτεχνικό κείμενο μπορεί να μας αποκαλύψει τα σχήματα σκέψης του συγγραφέα του και να μας βοηθήσει να καταλάβουμε καλύτερα τις απόψεις του για το ό,τι περιγράφει.

Στο πλαίσιο του παρόντος μελετάμε τις γλωσσικές μεταφορές στο «Ταξιδεύοντας. Ρουσία» του Νίκου Καζαντζάκη.

Τα ταξιδογραφήματα του Νίκου Καζαντζάκη κατέχουν σημαντική θέση όχι μόνο στη νεότερη ελληνική αλλά και στην ευρωπαϊκή λογοτεχνία (Σαχίνης 1983: 72). Όπως είναι φυσικό, έχουν άμεση σχέση με τη βιογραφία του Νίκου Καζαντζάκη, αντικατοπτρίζοντας τις εντυπώσεις του από πολλαπλά ταξίδια κυρίως στο εξωτερικό αλλά και στο εσωτερικό της Ελλάδας.

Την περίοδο από το 1920 έως το 1939 ο Καζαντζάκης ως ανταποκριτής μεγάλων αθηναϊκών εφημερίδων ή ως προσκεκλημένος ξένων κυβερνήσεων πραγματοποιεί πολλά ταξίδια σε διάφορες χώρες και περιοχές του κόσμου. Το πρώτο μεγάλο ταξίδι του στάθηκε το ταξίδι στη Ρωσία το 1925. Οι εντυπώσεις και οι παρατηρήσεις του συγγραφέα δημοσιεύονται σε συνέχειες στο αθηναϊκό Τύπο. Αν προσέξουμε τις ημερομηνίες, θα καταλάβουμε πως οι ταξιδιωτικές εντυπώσεις του Νίκου Καζαντζάκη αποτελούν άμεση αντίδραση στα μείζονα γεγονότα της πολιτικής ζωής της (Δημάδης 2015: 272).

Είναι φυσικό πως για την περιγραφή των κρίσιμων φαινομένων που σχετίζονται με την πτώση και ανάδυση καθεστώτων και κυβερνήσεων, καταστροφή και δημιουργία κρατών, ο Καζαντζάκης χρησιμοποιεί και γλωσσικά μέσα. Παρακάτω αναλύουμε ποιο ρόλο παίζει η γλωσσική μεταφορά στην περιγραφή της Ρωσίας στο έργο «Ταξιδεύοντας. Ρουσία».

Βασιζόμαστε στην παραδοσιακή άποψη ότι η μεταφορά είναι ένα σχήμα αποτελούμενο από δύο μέρη (Α-Β), στο οποίο το Α είναι σφαίρα-στόχος και το Β ανήκει στη σφαίρα-προέλευση. Στο λεκτικό επίπεδο η μεταφορική έννοια εκφράζεται είτε με ένα μεμονωμένο λέξημα που δηλώνει τη σφαίρα-προέλευσή της (λ.χ. στο παράδειγμα *αναπνέω τον αγέρα χιονισμένου άγριου **στρατόπεδου*** όπου το λέξημα στρατόπεδο αναφέρεται στη Ρωσία χωρίς να κατονομαστεί), είτε με συνδυασμό λεξημάτων που παρουσιάζουν και οι δύο σφαίρες (όπως στη φράση ***πρόσωπο*** *της Ρουσίας* όπου η Ρωσία παρουσιάζεται ως έμψυχο ον χάρη στη χρήση του λεξήματος *πρόσωπο*).

 Στην ανάλυσή μας περιοριζόμαστε στις λεγόμενες ονομαστικές μεταφορές (nominative metaphors) στις οποίες η σύνδεση των δύο νοητικών σφαίρων εκφράζεται με ουσιαστικό ή ονοματική φράση.

Τα λεξήματα της σφαίρας-προέλευσης και της σφαίρας-στόχου μπορεί να είναι συγκεκριμένα, μπορεί να έχουν και αφηρημένη σημασία, αφού η ανθρώπινη σκέψη προσδίδει την ιδιότητα του πράγματος ακόμα και σε πιο αφηρημένες έννοιες παρουσιάζοντάς τες ως πράγματα (Sklyarevskaya 1993: 87).

Στο κείμενο εντοπίζονται 171 ονοματικές μεταφορές που έχουν κατηγοριοποιηθεί με βάση τη σημασία του λεξήματος Β επειδή η σφαίρα-προέλευση είναι πιο σημαντική για την ανάλυση της μεταφοράς έχοντας πιο άμεση σχέση με τη σκέψη του ανθρώπου και την πρωτύτερη εμπειρία του (Lakoff, Johnson 2003: 20).

Τα αποτελέσματα της σημασιολογικής ανάλυσης των λεξημάτων που αποτελούν τις ονοματικές μεταφορές στο έργο του Νίκου Καζαντζάκη παρουσιάζονται στον παρακάτω πίνακα.

Πίνακας 1 Τύποι και παραδείγματα ονοματικών μεταφορών στο έργο του Νίκου Καζαντζάκη «Ταξιδεύοντας. Ρουσία»

Έμψυχα	Άψυχα
ΑΝΘΡΩΠΟΣ	**ΑΝΤΙΚΕΙΜΕΝΟ**
- ΑΝΤΙΚΕΙΜΕΝΟ-ΑΝΘΡΩΠΟΣ *η Ρουσία ήταν…* **η μάνα** - ΑΝΘΡΩΠΟΣ-ΑΝΘΡΩΠΟΣ *(Λένιν) ο «κόκκινος* **τσάρος**» - ΑΦΗΡΗΜΕΝΗ ΕΝΝΟΙΑ-ΑΝΘΡΩΠΟΣ *το* **πρόσωπο** *της αλήθειας* - ΗΡΩΑΣ[1]-ΑΝΘΡΩΠΟΣ *νέα Ιερουσαλήμ του* **εργάτη** *θεού*	- ΑΝΤΙΚΕΙΜΕΝΟ-ΑΝΤΙΚΕΙΜΕΝΟ *(Μόσχα)* **νέα Ιερουσαλήμ** *του εργάτη θεού* - ΑΝΘΡΩΠΟΣ-ΑΝΤΙΚΕΙΜΕΝΟ *Ο Πούσκιν, ο Γκόγκολ, ο Τολστόι, ο Δοστογιέφσκι, οι μεγάλοι* **άρτοι** - ΑΦΗΡΗΜΕΝΗ ΕΝΝΟΙΑ-ΑΝΤΙΚΕΙΜΕΝΟ **τραπεζαρία**, *έτσι λέω την εξουσία*
ΗΡΩΑΣ	**ΑΦΗΡΗΜΕΝΗ ΕΝΝΟΙΑ**
- ΑΝΤΙΚΕΙΜΕΝΟ-ΗΡΩΑΣ *η Ρουσία είναι η* **γυναίκα της Αποκάλυψης** - ΑΦΗΡΗΜΕΝΗ ΕΝΝΟΙΑ-ΗΡΩΑΣ **Σειρήνες**: *τη θρησκεία, την πατρίδα, την τέχνη* - ΑΝΘΡΩΠΟΣ-ΗΡΩΑΣ *δύο ήταν οι Ρούσοι* **δράκο***ι, που μας είχαν αρπάξει… ο Τολστόι κι ο Ντοστογιέφσκι*	- ΑΝΤΙΚΕΙΜΕΝΟ-ΑΦΗΡΗΜΕΝΗ ΕΝΝΟΙΑ *πολύσπερμο τούτο* **χάος** *– τη Μόσχα* - ΑΦΗΡΗΜΕΝΗ ΕΝΝΟΙΑ-ΑΦΗΡΗΜΕΝΗ ΕΝΝΟΙΑ *η αλήθεια είναι ένας* **συμβιβασμός**
ΖΩΟ	**ΦΥΣΙΚΟ ΦΑΙΝΟΜΕΝΟ**
- ΑΝΘΡΩΠΟΣ-ΖΩΟ *ο μουζίκος* **ζώο** *σκοτεινό και δυνατό* - ΑΦΗΡΗΜΕΝΗ ΕΝΝΟΙΑ-ΖΩΟ **νύχια** *της τυραννίας*	- ΑΝΘΡΩΠΟΣ-ΦΥΣΙΚΟ ΦΑΙΝΟΜΕΝΟ *ο Τρότσκυ* **φλόγα…** *ο Λένιν* **φως** - ΑΦΗΡΗΜΕΝΗ ΕΝΝΟΙΑ-ΦΥΣΙΚΟ ΦΑΙΝΟΜΕΝΟ *κομμουνιστικός* **στρόβιλος**

Η κάθε κατηγορία μεταφορών (ΑΝΘΡΩΠΟΣ-ΑΝΤΙΚΕΙΜΕΝΟ, ΑΝΤΙΚΕΙΜΕΝΟ-ΑΝΤΙΚΕΙΜΕΝΟ κ.ο.κ.) συμπεριλαμβάνει μερικές θεματικές υποκατηγορίες. Π.χ. η κατηγορία μεταφορών τύπου ΑΝΤΙΚΕΙΜΕΝΟ-ΑΝΤΙΚΕΙΜΕΝΟ κατηγοριοποιείται στο εξής σε μεταφορές με σημασία φυσικών αντικειμένων (*βουνό, ήπειρος*), τοποθεσιών (*γη της επαγγελίας, Βαβυλωνία*), χειροποίητων αντικειμένων (εργαλείων, έργων τέχνης: *αλώνι, όπλο, μωσαϊκό*), μη αντιληπτών για άμεση παρατήρηση αντικειμένων (*άτομο, πυρήνας*). Η κάθε κατηγορία αποτελεί ξεχωριστό αντικείμενο γλωσσολογικής ανάλυσης και δεν μπορεί να αναλυθεί λεπτομερώς στο πλαίσιο του παρόντος. Θα περιοριστούμε στο να αναφέρουμε τις πιο σημαντικές και χαρακτηριστικές για το κείμενο του Ν. Καζαντζάκη κατηγορίες ονοματικών μεταφορών, καθώς και να σταθούμε λίγο στο ρόλο τους στο «Ταξιδεύοντας. Ρουσία».

Ο προτεινόμενος τρόπος ανάλυσης επιτρέπει να εκτιμήσουμε τη συχνότητα του συγκεκριμένου τύπου μεταφορών και το ρόλο του στη διαμόρφωση της γλωσσικής εικόνας του κόσμου του συγγραφέα (βλ. πίνακα 2).

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[1] Η κατηγορία ΗΡΩΑΣ έχει σχέση με προφορική και γραπτή λογοτεχνική παράδοση και συμπεριλαμβάνει μυθικούς ήρωες, ήρωες παραμυθιών, επικών και λογοτεχνικών έργων, λαϊκών τραγουδιών, ποιημάτων, καθώς επίσης και πρόσωπα της Αγίας Γραφής.

Πίνακας 2 Ποσοτική εκτίμηση της χρήσης γλωσσικών μεταφορών στο «Ταξιδεύοντας. Ρουσία»

Τύπος μεταφοράς	Αριθμός	Ποσοστό[2]
ΑΝΤΙΚΕΙΜΕΝΟ-ΑΝΤΙΚΕΙΜΕΝΟ	38	22,22%
ΑΦΗΡΗΜΕΝΗ ΕΝΝΟΙΑ-ΑΦΗΡΗΜΕΝΗ ΕΝΝΟΙΑ	24	14,04%
ΑΦΗΡΗΜΕΝΗ ΕΝΝΟΙΑ-ΑΝΤΙΚΕΙΜΕΝΟ	19	11,11%
ΑΦΗΡΗΜΕΝΗ ΕΝΝΟΙΑ-ΑΝΘΡΩΠΟΣ	19	11,11%
ΑΝΘΡΩΠΟΣ-ΗΡΩΑΣ	15	8,77%
ΑΝΤΙΚΕΙΜΕΝΟ-ΑΝΘΡΩΠΟΣ	12	7,02%
ΑΝΘΡΩΠΟΣ-ΑΝΘΡΩΠΟΣ	9	5,26%
ΑΝΘΡΩΠΟΣ-ΑΝΤΙΚΕΙΜΕΝΟ	8	4,68%
ΑΦΗΡΗΜΕΝΗ ΕΝΝΟΙΑ-ΦΥΣΙΚΟ ΦΑΙΝΟΜΕΝΟ	8	4,68%
ΑΦΗΡΗΜΕΝΗ ΕΝΝΟΙΑ-ΗΡΩΑΣ	6	3,51%
ΑΦΗΡΗΜΕΝΗ ΕΝΝΟΙΑ-ΖΩΟ	4	2,34%
ΑΝΘΡΩΠΟΣ-ΦΥΣΙΚΟ ΦΑΙΝΟΜΕΝΟ	3	1,75%
ΑΝΘΡΩΠΟΣ-ΖΩΟ	3	1,75%
ΗΡΩΑΣ-ΑΝΘΡΩΠΟΣ	1	0,58%
ΑΝΤΙΚΕΙΜΕΝΟ-ΗΡΩΑΣ	1	0,58%
ΑΝΤΙΚΕΙΜΕΝΟ-ΑΦΗΡΗΜΕΝΗ ΕΝΝΟΙΑ	1	0,58%
ΣΥΝΟΛΟ	171	100%

Όπως προκύπτει από τον παραπάνω πίνακα, διαίτερα σημαντικές είναι στο κείμενο του «Ταξιδεύοντας. Ρουσία» οι μεταφορές τύπου ΑΝΤΙΚΕΙΜΕΝΟ-ΑΝΤΙΚΕΙΜΕΝΟ που συχνά χρησιμοποιούνται από τον συγγραφέα να περιγράψει τη «νέα» Ρωσία μετά την επανάσταση. Ο Ν. Καζαντζάκης τη βλέπει ως *αλώνι* ή *εργαστήρι* όπου δημιουργείται το μέλλον όλης της ανθρωπότητας. Η Ρωσία διαπερνά μια περίοδο εντατικών πολιτικών, κοινωνικών, πολιτισμικών αλλαγών και αλλεπάλληλων εξωτερικών και εσωτερικών συγκρούσεων. Για να περιγράψει την κατάσταση αυτή, ο συγγραφέας πάλι χρησιμοποιεί τη μεταφορά ταυτίζοντας τη Ρωσία με *στρατόπεδο* στο οποίο οποιοδήποτε κοινωνικό, πολιτικό ή πολιτιστικό φαινόμενο (π.χ. επιστήμη, βιομηχανία, διαφώτιση του λαού, σχολείο κλπ.) μπορεί να είναι *όπλο* στον αγώνα για τη νίκη του νέου πολιτικού καθεστώτος.

Ακόμα πιο αποτελεσματική είναι η μέθοδός μας στην περίπτωση των μεταφορών που έχουν αφηρημένη σημασία. Δεν είναι σπάνιες οι περιπτώσεις που οι αφηρημένες έννοιες στο κείμενο του «Ταξιδεύοντας. Ρουσία» διευκρινίζονται με κάποια λεξήματα με αφηρημένη σημασία (π.χ. *η κομμουνιστική Ιδέα* είναι… *αρμονία* από πολυποίκιλες φωνές, *οι αφηρημένες κλασικές έννοιες*… γίνουνται θερμή, όλο πάθος *εμπειρία* του ανθρώπου) που έχουν στόχο να εξηγήσουν τις αφηρημένες ιδέες μέσω πιο απλών και κατανοητών εντυπώσεων ή αισθημάτων.

Οι μεταφορές με σημασία φυσικού φαινομένου χρησιμοποιούνται κατά κύριο λόγο για να περιγράψουν το χαρακτήρα των αναστατώσεων και αλλαγών στη Ρωσία (*π.χ. η ρούσικη πραγματικότητα… είναι ένας ποταμός,* ξέσπασε *η μπόρα* [επανάσταση]). Επίσης παίζουν σημαντικό ρόλο στην περιγραφή των πολιτικών παραγόντων της πρώιμης σοβιετικής περιόδου (π.χ. *ο Τρότσκυ, η φλεγόμενη έκρηξη, ο Τρότσκυ… είναι η φλόγα, ο Τρότσκυ φλόγα, ο Στάλιν χώμα, ο Λένιν φως*).

Η βασική λειτουργία των ονοματικών μεταφορών με σφαίρα-προέλευση ΑΝΘΡΩΠΟΣ στο «Ταξιδεύοντας. Ρουσία» είναι ο χαρακτηρισμός ολόκληρης της Ρωσίας η οποία περιγράφεται ως

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[2] Οι αριθμοί στρογγυλοποιούνται μέχρι χιλιοστά.

μάνα, μητέρα (**η Ρουσία** ήταν για αυτόν **η μάνα,** βασανισμένη ***Μάμουτσκα* Ρουσία),** άνθρωπος με πρόσωπο (γελαστό **πρόσωπο της Ρουσίας),** καρδιά **(καρδιά μιας** ακαταμέτρητης **χώρας).** Ο ίδιος τύπος μεταφορών προσδίδει ανθρώπινα χαρακτηριστικά όχι μόνο στη χώρα, αλλά και σε διάφορες πόλεις της **(π.χ. το Κρεμλίνο... η καρδιά** της Μόσχας).

Εκτός αυτού, οι μεταφορές με σφαίρα-προέλευση ΑΝΘΡΩΠΟΣ χρησιμοποιούνται στο κείμενο για να χαρακτηρίσουν κάποιο πολιτικό παράγοντα. Ο ρόλος του Λένιν στη ρωσική πολιτική πραγματικότητα περιγράφεται με τις μεταφορές ***τσάρος*** ή ***προφήτης***, ενώ ο Λέων Τρότσκι είναι ο ***πατέρας*** του Κόκκινου στρατού.

Οι μεταφορές με σημασία μυθικών/παραμυθικών/λογοτεχνικών ηρώων παίζουν σπουδαιότατο ρόλο στο «Ταξιδεύοντας. Ρουσία» καθώς περιγράφουν τις εξελίξεις στη Ρωσία ως αποτέλεσμα δράσης κρυφών μυστικών δυνάμεων. Κατά τον Καζαντζάκη, σε διάφορες ιστορικές περιόδους το Πνεύμα λαμβάνει διάφορες μορφές και ονόματα. Έτσι, ο παλιός Θεός διώχτηκε από τη νέα κομμουνιστική Ρωσία, αλλά η θέση του δεν έμεινε άδεια. Οι κομμουνιστές δημιούργησαν μια νέα θρησκεία με έναν άλλο ***Μεσία***, άλλο κόκκινο ***Σωτήρα*** (τον Λένιν), τους ***αποστόλους*** και τους ***προφήτες*** του.

Όπως βλέπουμε, η παραπάνω διαδικασία ανάλυσης της μεταφοράς είναι ένας αποτελεσματικός τρόπος μελέτης του ύφους και του τρόπου σκέψης του συγγραφέα αφού βασίζεται σε αντικειμενικά γλωσσολογικά δεδομένα.

Η ανάλυση της μεταφοράς επιτρέπει να εκτιμήσουμε στατιστικά τη χρήση της μεταφοράς στο κείμενο και να βρούμε τα πιο χαρακτηριστικά για τον συγγραφέα σχήματα σκέψης.

Η ανάλυση επιτρέπει επίσης με καθαρά γλωσσολογικά μέσα να αντιμετωπίσουμε τις πιο χαρακτηριστικές για τον συγγραφέα ιδέες που επαναλαμβάνονται πολλές φορές στο κείμενο ή ακόμα και σε άλλα κείμενα του ίδιου συγγραφέα. Χαρακτηριστικό παράδειγμα για το Νίκο Καζαντζάκη είναι η μεταφορά ΧΩΡΑ-ΜΗΤΕΡΑ). Στο κείμενο του «Ταξιδεύοντας. Ρουσία» οι μεταφορές ως γλωσσολογικό μέσο συχνά χρησιμοποιούνται για την περιγραφή της πολιτικής κατάστασης που παρομοιάζεται από το συγγραφέα με πόλεμο.

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Profiling Greek teachers: Dictionary use

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ABSTRACT

Στο άρθρο αυτό παρουσιάζεται το προφίλ των Ελλήνων εκπαιδευτικών ως προς την χρήση του λεξικού. Συγκεκριμένα, διερευνήθηκε το αν είναι στρατηγικοί χρήστες του λεξικού, αν το χρησιμοποιούν στην τάξη, αν έχουν εκπαιδευτεί ποτέ στην χρήση του και αν είναι σίγουροι όταν το χρησιμοποιούν. Στην έρευνα συμμετείχαν 168 δάσκαλοι και φιλόλογοι της πρωτοβάθμιας και δευτεροβάθμιας δημόσιας ελληνικής εκπαίδευσης συμπληρώνοντας το ερωτηματολόγιο S.I.D.U., στο οποίο προστέθηκαν συμπληρωματικές ερωτήσεις αναφορικά με τη σιγουριά, τις πεποιθήσεις και τις γνώσεις τους για την χρήση του λεξικού. Τα αποτελέσματα έδειξαν ότι παρόλο που οι εκπαιδευτικοί υιοθετούν τις στρατηγικές επιλογής λεξικού και αναζήτησης σε μεγάλο βαθμό και παρουσιάζουν μέτριο βαθμό χρήσης οι στρατηγικές λημματοποίησης και εξοικείωσης με τις περιστάσεις χρήσης του λεξικού, δηλώνουν, παραδόξως, ότι αισθάνονται σίγουροι κατά την χρήση του. Σύμφωνα με τα αποτελέσματα, δεν κρίνεται αναγκαία η εφαρμογή παρεμβατικών προγραμμάτων, αλλά η βελτίωση των στρατηγικών εξοικείωσης με τις περιστάσεις του λεξικού ούτως ώστε να το χρησιμοποιούν στην τάξη.

Λέξεις-κλειδιά: στρατηγικές χρήσεις του λεξικού, στρατηγικός χρήστης λεξικού, Έλληνες εκπαιδευτικοί

1. INTRODUCTION

Dictionary use has been investigated over the last 30 years. Researchers have focused on how dictionary use affects the certain skills such as reading (Bensoussan et al. 1984; Tono 1989; Luppescu & Day 1993; Knight 1994; Miller 1995) and writing (Ard 1982; Christianson 1997; Harvey & Yuill 1997; Chun 2004; Santos 2006; Elola, Rodríguez-García & Winfrey 2008), as well as the vocabulary learning (Fan 2003; Gu 2003; Asgari & Mustapha, 2011). Despite some arguments it is proven that receptive dictionary use helps users perform better in reading comprehension (Tono 1989; Luppescu & Day 1993; Knight 1994) and that productive dictionary use affects positively the writing process (Harvey & Yuill 1997). Further, a lot of researches state that dictionary use facilitates the process of learning new words (Summers 1988; Luppescu and Day 1993; Hulstijn, Hollander & Greidanu 1996) and helps user maintain new vocabulary in long-term memory (Knight, 1994; Chen, 2011).

From another point of view dictionary use is considered as a cognitive strategy (O'Malley & Chamot 1990; Oxford 1990) which "operates directly on incoming information, manipulating it in ways that enhance learning" (O'Malley & Chamot 1990:44) and "enables learners to understand and produce new language by many different means" (Oxford 1990:37). In the same frame of the Language Learning Strategies, Cohen, Oxford and Chi (2001) with a more practical sense categorize dictionary use in reading and writing strategies and in vocabulary learning strategies. Nation (2001) states that dictionary use affects the three basic learning processes: a) reception, b) production and c) vocabulary learning. Few years later, a new approach to effective dictionary use is proposed by Gavriilidou (2011; 2012; 2013) who refers for first time to Dictionary Use Strategies (D.U.S.). The researcher argues that the user should make conscious effort while searching on a dictionary and defines D.U.S. as "techniques used by the effective dictionary user in order to make a successful search in the dictionary". Based on the above characteristics, Χατζηπαπά (2018) adds more information and defines Dictionary Use Strategies as "*technics which the dictionary user adopts consciously, firstly, for efficiently dictionary consultation and, secondly, for self-regulation and autonomy in language learning*".

But how someone can be considered as an effective user? How users can be able to perform successful consultations in order to self-regulate the dictionary use? Researchers have tried to respond to these questions by investigating the behaviours, opinions, ideas, difficulties, reference needs and skills and recently the dictionary usage strategies of the dictionary users. However, fewer

researches have investigated teachers' behaviours, opinions, ideas, reference needs and skills, D.U.S. or the affection of intervention programs.

2. RESEARCH BACKGROUND

2.1 Effective dictionary use

A series of needs is arisen when the user consult the dictionary which have to encounter by activating the appropriate skills. Particularly, Hartmann & James (1998: 116) mention that reference needs are "the circumstances that drive individuals to seek information in reference works such as dictionaries" and reference skills are "the abilities required on the part of the dictionary user to find the information being sought" (Hartmann and James 1998: 117). There are considerable theoretical studies that describe the reference skills that users should develop in order to use the dictionary effectively (Roberts, 1997; Hartmann 1999; Thornbury 2002), some of them classify those skills (Scholfield 1982, 1999; Lew & Galas 2008) by conducting exhaustive lists and categorizes them chronologically.

For first time Gavriilidou (2011; 2012; 2013) refers to Dictionary Use Strategies and not to reference skills which facilitate users' consultations and make them aware of using a dictionary efficiently. The D.U.S. are categorized in four groups according to same characteristics, thus, (a) the awareness strategies lead to a decision to use a dictionary in order to resolve a problem encountered inside or outside the class, (b) selection strategies permit to select an appropriate dictionary type depending on the problem to be solved and guarantee the acquaintance with one's own dictionary, (c) lemmatization strategies help finding the citation form of inflected forms found in the text and (d) look up strategies control and facilitate the localization of the correct part of the entry where different meanings of the same word form are included (Gavriilidou 2014).

It is obvious that users who have not developed the appropriate strategies fall into errors while using the dictionary (Christianson 1997). With the intention to avoid these errors and to ameliorate the way of using a dictionary it is proposed to adopt dictionary use strategies and to integrate them in the educational programs. In that way dictionary culture will be acquired (Anastasiadi-Simeonidi & Mitsiaki, 2009; Gavriilidou 2014; Chadjipapa, Papadopoulou, 2016) and will lead to self-regulation and autonomy during the learning process.

Consequently, teachers have to be proper equipped for integrating D.U.S.s in the class. Hadebe (2004) asserts that "by training teachers to be good users themselves, it is envisaged that they could pass these skills on to students and eventually to society in general".

2.2 Studies on teachers beliefs and knowledge

There are few researches in the international literature that have investigated teachers' beliefs, knowledges, reference needs and skills. Certainly, there is none that investigates which dictionary use strategies teachers adopt. Chi (2003:5) mentions that, "I believe research into the teaching of dictionary use has not yet begun".

Oh (2006) examined Korean English teachers' dictionary use and instruction. The results show that less than 5% of teachers have ever received any kind of instruction on dictionary use.

Miller's (2008) research has investigated 55 teachers who teach English to non-native speakers in Australian language schools and universities. Miller aimed to examine teachers' attitudes and beliefs. The majority of the teachers mentioned that used dictionaries when preparing teaching materials, but few declare that they provided dictionary training in class. Also the results revealed that many of the participants had good dictionary skills and were aware of dictionary use, but few had received training in this topic. The research concludes that the majority of teachers were not prepared in integrating reference skills or D.U.S. in their educational program.

The most recent research is this of Yanto (2016) which investigates the belief and knowledge of 20 EFL teachers in Indonesia. Yanto attempted to determine teachers' profile and used a questionnaire including 37 questions. The questions focus on teachers' belief about dictionary, teachers' view in the value of dictionary for their students and their practices in utilizing dictionaries in classroom activities. The results showed that most teachers use dictionary for writing, followed by reading and then for finding out synonyms. Teachers also, seem to be aware of the dictionary's introduction and some of them believe that provides useful information. Finally, the 30% of the participants mentions that they have never been instructed in dictionary use when they were at

secondary school, but the 40% said that they were taught how to use dictionary during their studies in secondary school.

3. RESEARCH METHOD
3.1. Purpose of the study
The purpose of the study is to profile the Greek teachers as dictionary users. Particularly, the study investigates the dictionary use strategies that Greek teachers adopt and records the dictionary use strategies that they prefer in total and by category. Additionally, it investigates if Greek teachers use dictionary in class, if they have ever been educated over dictionary use strategies and finally, what they believe about their skills when they use a dictionary. By investigating the teachers' beliefs and knowledges about dictionary use and the D.U.S. that they adopt can help to pinpoint their needs. Teachers should be educated over the effective dictionary use in order to cover these needs so as to educate their students to be effective users.

3.2. Participants
168 teachers who were teaching in the Greek primary and secondary school participated in the present study (see Table 1).

Table 1: Sample distribution by educational level

Educational level	Teachers	%
Primary school	98	58,3
Secondary school	70	41,7
Total	168	100,0

The Tables 2-3 present the sample distribution according to gender and teaches' age.

Table 2 Sample distribution by gender

Gender	Teachers	%
Male	38	77,4
Female	130	22,6
Total	168	100,0

Table 3 Sample distribution by age group

Age group	Teachers	%
23-30	64	38%
31-44	67	40%
45-55	36	21%
56-65	1	1%
Total	168	100,0

3.3 Instrumentation
The questionnaire S.I.D.U. is a standardized and reliable self-report instrument and has been elaborated in Greek - also standardized in English (Gavriilidou 2014)- for evaluating the strategic dictionary use. It consists of 36 items with five Likert-scale ("never or almost never true of me" to "always true of me"). The questions are divided into four categories: (a) dictionary awareness strategies (14 questions, 1-14), (b) dictionary selection strategies (7 questions, 15-21), (c) lemmatization strategies (7 questions, 22-28) and (d) look up strategies (8 questions, 29-36) (Gavriilidou, 2013).

S.I.D.U. offers to the present study the ability to evaluate the strategic dictionary use easily, quickly and economically, while helps to profile individuals or groups of users. The method of selection was convenient sampling and the method of administration was electronic.

Teachers were asked to fulfil some extra questions, two of them followed the form of five Likert-scale and asked teachers if they use a dictionary in the class and if they feel confident in using the

dictionary effectively. The last two questions referred to the teachers' knowledge about the strategic dictionary use and focused on their educational training during their studies and during their career. The participants could answer the last two questions by encircling yes or no.

4. RESULTS

The IBM SPSS Statistics version 21.0 was used for the data analysis. Descriptive statistics (frequencies, mean scores and standard deviations) were used to investigate the frequency of dictionary strategy use by the sample. The questions were encoded by assigning specific numbers to each category of the five-level Likert scale, "never or almost never true of me" received the code 1, "generally not true of me" code 2, "somewhat true of me" code 3, "generally true of me" code 4 and "always true of me" the code 5.

The results of the descriptive analysis of the participants' responses are presented in Tables 4 to 8. The average scores for the four categories of the S.I.D.U. were interpreted according to Oxford (1999) who divided frequency of use into three levels: (1) mean from 3.5-5.0 reflects to High Usage〉 (2) mean from 2.5-3.4 reflects to 'Medium Usage〉 and (3) mean from 1.0-2.4 reflects to 'Low Usage〉 of a particular strategy or a group of strategies. These levels were designed to inform students how often they use strategies.

It was found that the strategic dictionary use was ranged to high scores (mean 3.7, see Table 4). Two of the groups -the selection (4,4) and the look up strategies (4,1)- appear to be adopted more frequently by the teachers than the other two groups of strategies -the awareness (2,9) and lemmatization (3,4).

Table 4 Mean Score and standard Deviation of the 4 categories of the dictionary use strategies

Groups	Mean Score	Standard Deviation
Awareness strategies	2,9	0,80
Selection strategies	4,4	0,99
Lemmatization strategies	3,4	0,94
Look up	4,1	0,91
Total	3,7	0,91

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Awareness strategies are the less used among all four categories as the mean scores reveals. Teachers state that they sometimes use a dictionary when they read a text (2,37), when they write a text (2,42) and when they want to find the syntax of a word (2,64). They also declare that they usually use a dictionary to find the meaning of a word (3,33), to find the origin of a word (3,39) and to find the translation of a word (3,35).

Table 5 Frequencies of dictionary awareness strategies' use

Frequency of dictionary awareness strategies						
	Never or almost never true of me %	Usually never true of me %	Some times true of me %	Usually true of me %	Always or almost always true of me %	M.S.
1. I use a dictionary to find the meaning of a word	7,1	14,3	33,3	28,6	16,7	**3,33**
2. I use a dictionary to find the spelling of a word	13,7	26,2	26,8	21,4	11,9	2,92
3. I use a dictionary to find synonyms	10,7	16,1	31,0	24,7	14,9	3,20

4. I use a dictionary to find words with opposite meanings	10,9	21,4	29,2	25,0	12,5	3 ,05
5. I use a dictionary to check how a word is used	14,9	26,2	26,2	23,2	9,5	2 ,86
6. I use a dictionary to find the origin of a word	9,5	17,3	22,0	27,4	23,8	**3 ,39**
7. I use a dictionary to help myself in translation	10,1	18,5	17,3	34,5	19,6	**3 ,35**
8. I use a dictionary to find the syntax of a word	23,8	23,2	25,0	21,4	6,5	**2 ,64**
9. I use a dictionary to find the derivatives of a word	13,7	15,5	33,3	28,0	9,5	3 ,04
10. I use a dictionary to find word families	13,7	19,6	32,0	26,8	8,9	2 ,98
11. I use a dictionary to find the meaning of an expression	14,3	20,8	31,0	22,6	11,3	2 ,96
12. I use a dictionary at home	17,3	15,5	24,4	26,2	20,2	3 ,24
13. I use a dictionary when I read a text	29,8	26,8	35,6	12,5	5,4	**2 ,37**
14. I use a dictionary when I write a text	23,2	36,3	20,2	15,5	4,8	**2 ,42**

On the contrary, selection strategies seem to be on the top of the teachers' preferences as they declare (see Table 6). Most of the strategies have gathered high scores such as questions n_o 18/19/20 where they state that they know what an etymological (4,64), a general (4,67) and a bilingual (4,63) dictionaries are and what they are used for. Finally, the vast majority of the teachers know the reason why they need a dictionary before they buy it (4,37).

Table 6 Frequencies of dictionary selection strategies' use

Frequency of dictionary selection strategies						
	Never or almost never true of me %	Usually never true of me %	Some times true of me %	Usually true of me %	Always or almost always true of me %	M.S.
15 Before I buy a dictionary, I know the reason why I need it	3,0	3,6	8,3	23,8	61,3	4,37
16 Before I buy a dictionary at the bookshop, I glance through it to see what information it provides.	9,5	7,1	10,1	17,3	44,0	4,03
17 I choose a dictionary because it has a lot of entries and a lot of information in each entry.	4,2	11,9	11,3	27,4	45,2	3,98
18 I know what an etymological dictionary is and what it is used for	0,6	1,8	4,1	19,6	73,8	4,64

19 I know what a general dictionary is and what it is used for	0,6	0,6	4,8	19,0	75,0	4,67
20 I know what a bilingual dictionary is and what it is used for	1,2	2,4	2,4	20,2	73,8	4,63
21 I know what a dictionary of technical terms is and what it is used for	1,2	2,4	11,9	20,8	63,7	4,43

Lemmatization strategies are in the third position of teachers' preferences and they ranged to medium scores (see Table 7). The participants of the study declare that before they use their new dictionary they sometimes read the introduction (2,86) and the list of the abbreviations (2,95). On the other hand, when they hear a word that they do not know, they usually consider various spelling possibilities and look it up accordingly (3,75) and when they cannot find a word where they thought they would find it, they usually begin a new search until they find it (2,91).

Table 7 Frequencies of lemmatization strategies' use

Frequency of dictionary lemmatization strategies						
	Never or almost never true of me %	Usually never true of me %	Some times true of me %	Usually true of me %	Always or almost always true of me %	M.S.
22. Before I use my new dictionary, I carefully read the introduction	24,4	17,4	22,2	20,2	16,1	**2,86**
23. Before I use my new dictionary, I carefully study the list of abbreviations	15,5	28,0	20,2	19,0	17,3	**2,95**
24. When I come across an unknown word in a text, I try to think in what form I should look it up in the dictionary	10,7	14,3	23,8	31,0	20,2	3,36
25. When I can't locate a proverb or a set phrase in the entry where I thought I would find it, I begin a new search	6,0	10,7	22,0	33,9	27,4	3,66
26. When I hear a word I don't know, I consider various spelling possibilities and look it up accordingly	5,4	8,9	23,8	29,2	32,7	**3,75**
27. When I can't find a word where I thought I would find it, I begin a new search until I find it	4,2	6,5	19,0	34,5	35,7	**3,91**
28. To see how a word is used in spoken language, I use the usage labels provided in the entry	6,0	16,1	32,1	27,4	18,5	3,36

The look up strategies gather high scores in total as we can see in Table 8. Teachers declare that when they look up a word, they always bear in mind its initial letter and then search where they believe this initial letter is in the dictionary (4,30). When they find the word that they were searching

for, they always return to the text to confirm that the word matches the context (4,34) and before they use a word they found in the dictionary when writing a text, they read all the information on the grammar of that word (conjugation, syntax) to be sure of the correct usage (4,64).

Table 8 Frequencies of look up strategies' use

Frequency of dictionary look up strategies						
	Never or almost never true of me %	Usually never true of me %	Some times true of me %	Usually true of me %	Always or almost always true of me %	M.S.
29. When I look up a word beginning with E, I search in the first quarter pages as E is one of the first letters of the alphabet	3,6	6,5	14,3	24,4	51,2	4,13
30. When I look up a word beginning with L, I open my dictionary in the middle	4,2	6,0	20,2	25,0	44,6	4,00
31. When I look up a word, I bear in mind its initial letter and then search where I believe this initial letter is in the dictionary	1,8	3,0	9,5	35,1	50,6	**4,30**
32. When I look up a word, I simply open the dictionary and see if I am near the specific initial letter	1,2	7,1	17,3	30,4	44,0	4,09
33. When I look up a word, I constantly bear it in my mind during the search	1,8	2,4	13,1	30,4	52,4	4,29
34. When I realize that the word I am looking for has various different meanings, I go through them all one by one, assisted by the example sentences	0,6	4,8	12,5	32,7	49,4	4,26
35. When I find the word that I was searching for, I return to the text to confirm that the word matches the context	0	4,8	10,7	30,4	54,2	**4,34**
36. Before I use a word I found in the dictionary when writing a text, I read all the information on the grammar of that word (conjugation, syntax) to be sure of the correct usage.	2,4	13,1	31,0	25,0	28,6	**4,64**

Finally, the extra questions revealed that the 80% of Greek teachers have never received dictionary use training during their studies and the 94% have never received dictionary use training during their career. The 56% of them mention that they sometimes to usually use a dictionary in the class and the 74% feel sure that they use dictionary efficiently.

5. DISCUSSION

Greek teachers declare that they partly employ dictionary user strategies. They declare that they adopt in high scores selection and lookup strategies; however, they gather medium scores in lemmatization and awareness strategies. The teachers' first choice of the selection strategies implies that they are aware of the types of dictionaries and they are updated dictionary shoppers as they adopt the respective strategies. The second choice of the teachers which is the look up strategies

reveal that their dictionary consultations are most of the times effective, even though they could enhanced their look ups by adopting more often the lemmatization strategies which are in the third position of their preferences. The last category of teachers' preferences is the awareness strategy. The participants statements contains several inconsistencies as they declare that they prefer to use a dictionary for receptive and productive reasons in low scores but they employ the individual strategies such as finding the meaning of a word (receptive use) or finding synonyms/word with opposite meaning (productive use) in higher scores. Thus, we can assume that the Greek teachers are not aware of the various information that a dictionary can provide. They also disregard the relations between the receptive and productive dictionary use and the rest awareness strategies. In addition, it has to be mentioned that the participants, although there is a small distinction between the scores, they prefer to use a dictionary for productive reasons than for receptive a statement which is in contrast with the results of other researches (Tomaszczyk 1979; Béjoint 1981; Scholfield 1982; Nesi, 1987; Γαβριηλίδου, 2002).

It is obvious that the above contradictions are due to the lack of formation in dictionary use during their studies and their career as the results confirms. Another important issue is that the participants declare that they do not use the dictionary in the class. That might reflect to their students' dictionary use attitudes. If the educational environment is not enriched with the dictionary use strategies students will not be aware of the dictionary use techniques and they will not adopt them in their daily life in class and in a more general sense in their lives out of class.

Many researches have showed that the effective dictionary use is reinforced by the intervention programs which they contribute to the development of reference skills or dictionary use strategies (Kipfer 1987; Bishop 2001; Głowacka 2001; Carduner 2003; Chi 2003; Lew & Galas 2008, Gavriilidou 2017). What we recommend is to make teachers knowledgeable of the need to use a dictionary in language learning by themselves and by their students. Thus, teachers should be instructed and trained how to implement dictionary use strategies in class in order to create circumstances for daily dictionary use.

6. CONCLUSION AND FUTURE WORK

The results of our study point that the necessity to foster the acknowledgement of dictionary use is more imperative that integration programs on this matter. It is also considered necessary to make conditional the dictionary use in classroom, as some teachers mention that, although dictionary use has been integrated in second year primary school courses, dictionaries are inefficient and many schools do not provide dictionaries.

Study on strategic dictionary use should be conducted on a larger scale and extended by considering the use of electronic dictionaries, as well. It should be also interesting to compare the dictionary use by teachers and their students to see how the teachers affect students´ behavior in respect.

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The evidential basis of future tense in Greek

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ABSTRACT

Μια βασική διαφορά ανάμεσα στο μέλλοντα και σε άλλες εκφράσεις που αναφέρονται σε μελλοντικό χρόνο είναι ότι η χρήση του μέλλοντα δεν γίνεται μόνο για να εντοπίσει ένα γεγονός σε μεταγενέστερο χρόνο, αλλά κυρίως για να δηλώσει ότι το προτασιακό περιεχόμενο μιας πρότασης που εκφέρεται 'τώρα', θα είναι αληθές σε αυτό το μεταγενέστερο χρόνο (εφεξής 'προσδοκώμενη ερμηνεία' *prospective reading*). Στα ελληνικά οι 'προσδοκώμενες ερμηνείες' αποδίδονται με το *θα* ακολουθούμενο από τον ρηματικό τύπο [+συνοπτικό], [-παρελθόν]. Σύμφωνα με την βιβλιογραφία παρ' όλ' αυτά, (Γιαννακίδου 2009, 2012), η 'προσδοκώμενη ερμηνεία' δεν αποτελεί μέρος της προτασιακής σημασίας του τύπου [+συνοπτικό], [-παρελθόν].

Σε αυτή την εργασία υποστηρίζεται ότι η 'προσδοκώμενη ερμηνεία' σχετίζεται περισσότερο με την αποδεικτικότητα και ενεργοποιείται μόνο όταν ο ομιλητής διαθέτει επαρκή στοιχεία για το πώς θα εξελιχτεί ο κόσμος στο μέλλον. Επιπροσθέτως, η 'προσδοκώμενη ερμηνεία' καθότι δεν αποτελεί μέρος της προτασιακής σημασίας προκύπτει ως μια προτιμώμενη ερμηνεία (*generalised presumption*) με βάση την αρχή της πληροφοριακότητας (I-principle) του Levinson (2000) η οποία ενεργοποιείται λόγω της αμοιβαίας γνώσης των ομιλητών και ακροατών σχετικά με τη χρήση της γλώσσας και αποτελεί συναγωγή προς την καλύτερη δυνατή ερμηνεία.

Υποστηρίζοντας ότι η κατοχή στοιχείων και πληροφοριών από τον ομιλητή είναι αυτό που ενεργοποιεί τις 'προσδοκώμενες ερμηνείες' και άρα το μέλλοντα, ενισχύει τα επιχειρήματα εκείνα που θέλουν, τουλάχιστον για την περίπτωση της ελληνικής, ο μέλλοντας να σχετίζεται περισσότερο με την αποδεικτικότητα - τροπικότητα παρά με την χρονικότητα. Επιπλέον, αυτή η γραμμή ανάλυσης μπορεί να προσφέρει μια εξήγηση για τη μορφολογική ασυμμετρία μεταξύ του παρελθόντος και του μέλλοντος στα ελληνικά υποδηλώνοντας ότι η διαφορά μεταξύ του παρελθόντος και του μη-παρελθόντος είναι χρονική, ενώ η διαφορά μεταξύ μη-παρελθόντος και μέλλοντα σχετίζεται με την τροπικότητα.

Key Words: future tense, modality, evidentiality, implicature.

1. INTRODUCTION

The lack of symmetry between future tense and futurity suggests that the former is not used merely to locate an event at a future time, but critically to encode that the proposition expressed at the utterance time will be true at a subsequent time. Therefore, when communicating, speakers can refer to future events as if they are certainties by the use of the future tense (henceforth FUT). FUT is not a mere expression of futurity or probability but it is an actual 'measurement', an evaluation of how the future will turn out to be based on the state of consciousness of the speaker at the time of the utterance (henceforth U_t). I shall refer to these readings as 'future prospective readings'.

Current research (see Giannakidou 2013, 2014; Giannakidou & Mari 2013, 2014) has shown that FUT constructions are semantically non-veridical assertions conveying partitioned, non-homogenous epistemic states which allow for at least two alternative updates, namely, *p* and *~p*. In other words, at the level of sentence meaning, FUT has the semantics of inquisitive assertions and conveys epistemic possibility (*p/~p*). Nevertheless, at the level of the speaker meaning, this epistemic possibility interpretation is not intended and indeed it is not conveyed. What is actually communicated is not the probability but the certainty of an event (epistemic necessity, *p* only), i.e. a pure future prospective reading.

In this paper, it is argued that prospective readings arise as generalised presumptions (in the spirit of Levinson's 2000 informativeness implicature) from the lack of further specification to the lack of need for it given a mutual knowledge about how language is used. Furthermore, it is suggested that prospective readings are evidential in nature and they are triggered only when the speaker possesses adequate evidence about how the actual world will turn out to be in the future. By putting

forward that evidence is what narrows down the temporal domain and triggers future prospective readings this proposal adds up to the arguments that, at least for Greek, future tense is subsumed under evidentiality. Moreover, this line of analysis may also offer an explanation for the morphological asymmetry between past and future in Greek by suggesting that the difference between past and non-past is one of time whereas the difference between non-past and future is one of evidentiality and/or modality.

2. OUTLINING THE ISSUE

2.1. Future in Greek

Modern Greek forms a periphrastic FUT by employing the particle *tha* (θα=will), usually referred to as the future marker (see Philippaki-Warburton 1994; Rivero 1994 among others) followed by the [+/-perfective], [-past] verb forms. The combination of *tha* with [+perfective], [-past] is used to "express an action which will take place and be completed at a future point in time" (Holton et al. 1997: 227). This type of future is dubbed in traditional terms as the 'simple future'. Alternatively, when *tha* is combined with [-perfective], [-past] "it describes an action which will be taking place in the future either as a habitual event, or as a continuous, progressive one" (Holton et al. 1997: 226). However, unless future-time reference is marked in the context, combinations of *tha* with [-perfective], [-past] are preferably interpreted as epistemic present (Giannakidou 2012), expressing a highly strong possibility and an inference about the state of affairs at the utterance time based on the evidence the speaker has. In these contexts, *tha* constructions do not have the force of a future tense but they can be glossed like 'most probably/possibly' making reference to the utterance time. Giannakidou (2012) and Giannakidou & Mari (2012) also argue that when combined with [-perfective], [-past] *tha* exhibits evidential behaviour and it is very similar to the evidential modal 'prepi' (must). In this sense, *tha* with [-perfective], [-past] is co-operatively used when the speaker lacks direct evidence about the situation in case. In fact, a closer look at the data suggests that only the combination of *tha* and [+perfective], [-past] gives the 'pure' future interpretation while all other *tha* constructions systematically convey epistemic non-future modal readings.

It is therefore safe to argue that *tha* is neither a necessary nor a sufficient condition of future-time reference. *Tha* sentences systematically receive a range of typically modal interpretations and can equally refer to events before or during the utterance time. As a result, it seems natural to argue that identifying tha with a purely temporal operator, i.e. a future tense marker, would not account for the facts (see also Giannakidou & Mari 2012, 2013, 2014; Roussou & Tsangalidis 2010). Future-time reference is available in a wide range of expressions and it is the result of the division of labour between tense, aspect, and lexical semantics. By contrast, future prospective readings are restricted to the combination of *tha* followed by [+perfective], [-past] and they are context-free, i.e. they are assigned neither by the semantics of the construction nor by the linguistic context.

2.2. Future tense vs futurity

It is critical for the discussion that follows to make a fundamental distinction between future tense and futurity in general. As Escandell-Vidal (2010: 219) notes, "futurity can be expressed not only by the grammatically marked future tense, but also by other, competing expressions". Modern Greek is not an exception here since futurity can be conveyed by a range of expressions apart from the future tense i.e. the combination of *tha* and [+perfective], [-past]. All expressions that encode futurity place an event e at a time t_e which follows U_t so that $\{t_e > U_t\}$. By contrast, it will be presumed that future tense apart from mere futurity it crucially conveys future prospective readings. A future prospective reading can be glossed in the following way: a proposition p expressed at U_t will be true at t_e, that is, when the event described in p will actually happen. More accurately, given a set of possible worlds in the future, p will be identified with those possible worlds that will become actual worlds in the future. For instance, consider sentences (1) and (2):

(1)   John might go to school
(2)   John will go to school

In both (1) and (2) we get a future-time interpretation in the sense that the event e described in the proposition p will take place after the utterance time ($e>Ut$). This is equally communicated by the modal sentence in (2) and the future tense in (2). The crucial difference here is that while sentence (1) is open for both p and $\sim p$ (i.e. it also allows for those possible worlds in the future in which John's going to school will not take place), sentence (2) communicates that John's going to school will be actually true in the future and it is not just a possibility (i.e. p only). For the purposes of our analysis readings like that in (2) will be termed 'future prospective readings' and they will be distinguished from expressions encoding mere futurity. In this sense, future prospective readings will include predictions, commissives (promises and threats), and directives (suggestions and commands), (see Escandell-Vidal 2014 for a similar distinction) and they will be identified with future tense which, in the case of Modern Greek, is associated with the use of *tha* with [+perfective], [-past].

2.3. Literature

In current literature (cf. Giannakidou 2009, 2012, 2014; Giannakidou and Mari 2012, 2013, 2014; Tsangalidis 1999), it has been argued that the particle *tha* is not a typical future tense marker. In particular, Giannakidou and Mari (2012, 2013, 2014) propose, among other things, that the particle *tha* is an epistemic modal operator with present (now) perspective. Moreover, the Greek [+perfective], [-past] verb form cannot function as an independent tense (Holton et al. 1997) and hence it is treated as non-deictic time.

In a more up to date version, which specifically deals with the 'predictive future' (i.e. [+perfective], [-past]), Giannakidou and Mari (2014) propose that the assessment made by the speaker contains a truth-conditional component that carves out metaphysical branches into reasonable and non-reasonable futures, with the reasonable ones being such that p is true in them (Mari 2013). With the future being epistemically unknown, and therefore non-veridical, this analysis treats future sentences like inquisitive assertions. Still, the domain of possibilities is restricted, since speakers use their knowledge in order to determine the metaphysical alternatives. More precisely, Giannakidou & Mari (2014) claim that the assessment made by the speaker contains a truth conditional component that carves out metaphysical branches into reasonable and non-reasonable ones, with the reasonable ones being such that p is true there (Mari 2013). Since epistemically, future is unknown, hence non-veridical, as Giannakidou & Mari (2014: 3) note "the speaker's epistemic state at the present time allows for p and not p". This analysis therefore, treats future sentences like inquisitive assertions. Nevertheless, speakers use their knowledge in order to determine the metaphysical alternatives in the future restricting thus the domain of possibilities. In other words, speakers can calculate what would count as a course of events such that p will be true. Following Giannakidou & Mari (2014), this is a 'positive bias' towards p and it is exactly this bias that is responsible for the strength that predictions typically have. It is made clear though that "a bias towards p for the future does not imply commitment of the speaker to p, as is the case of veridical (past, present) assertions" (Giannakidou & Mari 2014: 3).

If this line of analysis is correct, and there is nothing in the semantics of *tha* constructions that functions as a future tense marker, we need to account for the future prospective reading conveyed by the combination of *tha* and the [+perfective], [-past]. In the remaining of the paper, I shall follow Giannakidou (2012) and Giannakidou & Mari (2012, 2013 and 2014) according to which *tha* is not a future tense marker but it is an epistemic necessity modal operator which contributes a modal semantic base. Building on this, it will be maintained that: (a) the future prospective reading is a pragmatic development of the semantic modal base and (b) this prospective reading is evidential in nature and it is triggered only when the speaker possesses adequate evidence about how the actual world will turn out to be in the future. In other words, the future prospective reading in Greek is not part of what is expressed literally in a sentence, but rather fall within what is conversationally suggested by an utterance. More precisely, it will be argued that the future prospective reading of *tha* and PNP sentences is a generalised conversational implicature calculated upon the modal semantic base and triggered by informativeness. Given this, it can be elegantly accounted for by the systematic interaction of the neo-Gricean pragmatic principles of communication in the spirit of Levinson (2000).

3. PRAGMATIC THEORY

Levinson (1987, 1991, 2000) proposes that the classical Gricean maxims of conversation be reduced to three pragmatic principles. Namely, the Q- (Quantity), I- (Informativeness), and M- (Manner) principles. Each of the three principles consists of a speaker's maxim, which specifies what the principle enjoins the speaker to say and a recipient's corollary, which dictates what it allows the addressee to infer. The I-Principle, which is relevant to our discussion, is given below:

Speaker's Maxim: The Maxim of Minimization.

'Say as little as necessary', i.e. produce the minimal linguistic information sufficient to achieve your communicational ends (bearing the Q-principle in mind).

Recipient's corollary: The enrichment rule.

Amplify the informational content of the speaker's utterance, by finding the most specific interpretation, up to what you judge to be the speaker's m-intended point.
Specifically:
>   (a) Assume that stereotypical relations obtain between referents or events, unless (i) this is inconsistent with what is taken for granted; (ii) the speaker has broken the Maxim of Minimization by choosing a prolix expression.
>   (b) Assume the existence of actuality of what a sentence is 'about' if that is consistent with what is taken for granted.
>   (c) Avoid interpretations that multiply entities referred to (assume referential parsimony); specifically, prefer co-referential readings of reduced NP's (pronouns or zero).

The central tenet of the I-principle is that the use of a semantically general expression I-implicates a semantically specific interpretation. More accurately, the implicature engendered by the I-principle is one that accords best with the most stereotypical and explanatory expectation given our knowledge about how language is used.

I-inferences are inferences to more specific interpretations and they are positive in nature. As Levisnon (2000: 119) notes, "the extension of what is implicated is a proper subset of the extension of what is said, the extension being restricted positively". In addition, I-inferences do not refer to something that could have been said but was not said as it is the case with the other neo-Gricean implicatures which are based on scales. The default readings given by the I-principle are inferences from structure and meaning to further presumptive meanings. As Levinson (2000: 22) notes, they are "based not on direct computations about speaker-intention but rather on general expectations about how language is normally used".

4. THE EVIDENTIAL BASIS OF FUTURE

At the risk of redundancy, at this point it is important to recall that *tha* [+perfective], [-past] sentences: (a) never indicate an event overlapping with the time of the utterance, despite containing a [-past] verb form and (b) are semantically non-veridical assertions conveying partitioned, non-homogenous epistemic states which in principle allow for at least two alternative updates, namely, p and $\sim p$. In other words, they are modal expressions with a non-homogeneous semantic base (i.e. there are possible worlds in the modal base where p is not true), (Giannakidou 2013, 2014; Giannakidou & Mari 2013, 2014).

Following a Kratzerian semantics of modality (Kratzer 1981, 1991, 2012), modal expressions combine with a modal base f, which determines the worlds that are accessible and an ordering source g that induces an ordering or a preference on those accessible worlds. In FUT, the modal base includes all the sets of possible worlds and therefore, what is coded in (3) is spelled out in (4):

(3)   i   Meg tha pai sto Cambridge
           the Meg will go to   Cambridge
           'Meg will go to Cambridge'

(4)   Meg will go to Cambridge … Meg will probably go to Cambridge … Meg will not go to Cambridge

Sentence meaning allows for both p and $\sim p$ worlds directly reflecting the fact that the future is inherently unknown and as a result a future event can actually be in all possible states before it actually happens.

However, at the level of communication, when FUT is used this non-homogenous epistemic interpretation is not intended and indeed it is not conveyed. What is intended and is actually communicated is the future prospective reading which universally quantifies over a particular value (a subset) of the modal base, namely, p only. In contrast to the coded content of (3) what the speaker communicates is spelled out in (5):

(5)   Meg is in Cambridge at a time later than U_t

So, sentence (3) encodes (6a) but it communicates (6b), as these are illustrated below:

(6)   a. *Sentence meaning*: Meg will go to Cambridge / Meg will not go to Cambridge (p/¬p)
        b. *Utterance meaning*: Meg will go to Cambridge (p only)

In this picture, the speaker produces the minimal linguistic information that is sufficient to achieve her communicational ends, namely the epistemic modal content, In turn, the addressee enriches this modal content, by finding the most specific interpretation, up to what she judges to be the speaker's m-intended point, namely, the future prospective interpretation. Since the implicated meaning in (6b) is more specific than the coded one in (6a), the future prospective reading enriches what is coded by reshaping the range of possible states of affairs to a narrower range of possible states of affairs and therefore, it is a subset of the extension of what is coded. Hence, the speaker by using FUT intends to convey her certainty that all future worlds will be p worlds and hence there will be an event, not merely the probability of an event in a future time. In this case, there is an ordering of the possible worlds allowed by the modal base with a clear bias towards p worlds only.

The question that rises here is what imposes the ordering on the worlds of the modal base in the case of FUT in Greek. A way forward is to claim that the ordering source is the amount of evidence that the speaker has at U_t about the proposition expressed. Consider the following scenario: Suppose that the speaker S has helped Meg booking her tickets on-line to go to Cambridge next week. If asked by a third person about Meg going out to Cambridge next week S will go for a FUT construction as in (1). The strong evidence possessed by the speaker will in a sense cancel out $\sim p$ future worlds leaving out those worlds which are compatible with p only. Consequently, if the speaker was to take a snapshot of the future at U_t, Meg would be in Cambridge in that particular future time and therefore what is communicated is that the eventuality of Meg being in Cambridge in the future will turn out to be true.

So, the speaker by using FUT intends to convey her certainty that all future worlds will be p worlds based on the evidence possessed by the speaker at U_t. Hence, when a speaker opts for *tha* [+perfective], [-past] she has considerable confidence about the truth of p, as opposed to when she uses a mere possibility modal. What is more, assuming co-operativeness in communication, the speaker, by using FUT, intends the hearer to infer that she has strong evidence that p will be true in the future.

Given an evidentiality scale and assuming that the speaker is co-operative, the use of *tha* [+perfective], [-past] gives rise to an upper bounding pragmatic heuristic (I-principle) according to which the speaker is in a position to go for a strong statement (i.e. future prospective reading). More accurately, the speaker by uttering (3) produces a semantically general modal expression (4), sufficient to achieve her communicational ends. In turn, the addressee enriches the informational content of the speaker's utterance, by finding the most specific interpretation, up to what she judges to be the speaker's communicative point, i.e. (5).

By contrast, if the speaker has weak or no evidence at all, her epistemic state of mind will also allow for $\sim p$ worlds. Therefore, by sharing background assumptions about language use and assuming co-operativeness the speaker will not go for a *tha* [+perfective], [-past] construction but instead she will prefer other epistemic possibility modal expressions as in (7) and (8) below:

(7)   i Meg isos   pai sto Cambridge
  Meg   may/might go to   Cambridge
  'Meg might go to Cambridge'

(8)   i Meg mallon   tha   pai sto Cambridge
  Meg   probably will go to Cambridge
  'Meg will probably go to Cambridge'

In such a context, anyone uttering (3) instead of (7) or (8) would have misled the audience if she did not intend to suggest that only *p*. The inference inducing the future prospective reading relies on the presumption that otherwise we would have been told, given a mutual knowledge about how language is used.

The proposed analysis makes two crucial predictions which are borne out from the data. First, the future prospective reading is context independent. By way of illustration consider (9) and (10):

(9)   i   Meg tha pai sto Cambridge
        the Meg will go to   Cambridge
        'Meg will go to Cambridge'

(10)   i   Meg tha pai sto Cambridge avrio
        the Meg will go to   Cambridge tomorrow
        'Meg will go to Cambridge tomorrow'

A sentence like (9) evokes the same sense of futurity with (10) and they both give rise to the same I-implicated future prospective interpretation. In other words, the prospective reading is not a one off interpretation based on a particular context. Secondly, the future prospective reading, being a pragmatic inference, will be prone to cancellations when inconsistent with the context or with competing inferences.

(11)   i Meg mallon   tha   pai sto Cambridge
  Meg   probably will go to Cambridge
  'Meg will probably go to Cambridge'

(12)   Lene   oti i   Meg tha pai sto Cambridge
  say-3-pl that the Meg will go to Cambridge
  'They say that Meg will go to Cambridge'

(13)   Den ksero   an i   Meg tha pai sto Cambridge
  Not know-1-sg if   the Meg will go to Cambridge
  'I don't know if Meg will go to Cambridge'

The future prospective reading is cancelled with probability modal adverbs like *mallon* (probably), or *isos* (maybe) as in (11), in logophoric contexts like (12) or when embedded in conditionals as in (13). In the above cases, the upper bounding pragmatic heuristic which conveys the prospective reading evaporates and as a result, the sentence meaning which allows for both *p* and *~p* worlds will go through.

The prospective reading is parasitic on and additional to semantic information. It does not just entail what is said but it introduces semantic relations absent from what is said, and in that sense reshapes the proposition expressed. Finally, the prospective reading is the strongest reading and it is a positive one since the implicated proposition does not refer to something that could have been said but was not said.

Finally, this approach also reflects a systematic tendency in language of a Zipfian sort which can be subsumed under the least effort principle. The assumption seems to be that there is no reason to make a stronger statement (say more) if the extra information can be contributed by implicature. In particular the speaker will not say what would be obvious anyway (i.e. more than the sentence meaning) while the addressee implicates that some particular stronger or more informative meaning is intended (i.e. the prospective reading).

5. SUMMING UP

In this paper, it was argued that future tense in Modern Greek has an evidential aspect since it is the evidence possessed by the speaker at U_t which acts as the ordering source on the worlds of the modal base and hence evidence is what narrows down the temporal domain and triggers prospective readings. In addition, it was put forward that in Modern Greek future tense is parasitic on and additional to the semantic content of a modal expression and that tha with PNP sentences are entangled with a strong conversational principle inducing strengthening implicata (I-implicature type). More specifically, the prospective reading arises as an upper bounding implicature and it is more specific and more informative than what is coded.

 If it is correct, this proposal has two major implications for current thinking on future-time reference. In the first place, at least for Modern Greek, future tense can be considered to be a special case of modality with its future reading arising since it is more informative than the epistemic modal one. The idea that future time reference can be modal is not novel; Giannakidou (2009, 2012) and Giannakidou and Mari (2012) also argue that future is a kind of epistemic modality and more specifically that it is related to evidentiality. What is more, in an analysis of the English will within the Default Semantics framework, Jaszczolt (2006) also suggests that the different readings of will can be better explained by a scale of epistemic modality, showing thus that future-time reference can be modal.

Secondly, it appears that the interpretation of future tense is regulated by the division of labour between semantics and pragmatics. The coded content of the traditionally called 'future tense' is non-past, epistemic and makes reference to possible worlds, leaving also the possibility of a future reading open. Nevertheless, what is actually communicated is a non-past, non-present meaning, which is a subset of the meaning of the semantic base. The future interpretation arises as a more specific, temporal interpretation based on the semantic content of what is coded when it is consistent with what the speaker intends to communicate.

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The Pragmatics of Modern Greek Cooking blogs

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ABSTRACT

Στην παρακάτω ανακοίνωση παρουσιάζουμε, στα πλαίσια της επικοινωνίας μέσω ηλεκτρονικού υπολογιστή, μια πραγματολογική ανάλυση δείγματος ελληνικών ιστολογίων που έχουν να κάνουν με τη μαγειρική. Διαχωρίζοντας τα εν λόγω ιστολόγια σε αυτά που επικεντρώνονται στον/την δημιουργό και σε αυτά που επικεντρώνονται στο θέμα (τη μαγειρική), και μέσα από τον τρόπο που παρουσιάζονται οι πληροφορίες από τους/τις δημιουργούς, αλλά και από τα σχόλια των ανγνωστών/στριών εξετάζουμε τα κοινά χαρακτηριστικά που παρουσιάζουν όπως η χρήση ειδικού τεχνικού λεξολιγίου σχετικά με τη μαγειρική, αλλά και ορολογία που συναντάμε στην πλειονότητα των ιστολογίων. Οι οδηγίες συνοδεύονται συχνά από σχετικές φωτογραφίες, και πιο σπάνια από βιντεοσκοπημένες οδηγίες, συνήθως σε ανεπίσημο ύφος. Για να δημιοργηθεί η αίσθηση κοινότητας και να ενθαρρυνθούν οι αναγνώστες να συμμετέχουν στη διαδιδικτυακή συζήτηση, οι δημιουργοί χρησιμοποιούν διάφορα μέσα, που μπορεί να περιλαμβάνουν προσωπικές πληροφορίες ή διαγωνισμούς. Οι εκφράσεις που συνήθως χρησιμοποιούνται είναι λιγότερο άμεσες, και με χαρακτηριστικά ευγένειας , ίσως επειδή η πλειοψηφία των συμμετεχόντων είναι γυναίκες.

Key words: Pragmatics, Computer Mediated Communication, Modern Greek Cooking Blogs

1. INTRODUCTION

The aim of this paper is to explore the pragmatics characteristics of a random sample of Modern Greek (MG) cooking blogs. Cooking blogs, as the majority of blogs, provide examples of discourse within a community, often with a personal component and elevated evaluative characteristics. They consist of 'frequently modified web pages in which dated entries are listed in reverse chronological sequence and which bare a unique technological features' (de Zuniga 2007). Blogs represent a hybrid genre of Computer Mediated Communication (CMC), which mixes elements from various discourse types (Diemer and Frobenius 2013).

Blogs have unique characteristics as a conversation medium, as they allow for the creation of a community, if the author so wishes (by allowing comments to be submitted to their blog), so that readers can provide comments on a particular entry (Herring et al., 2004). Authors might adopt a topic-centred style or an author-centred style (Herring et al 2013), which reflects by analogy the diary-style and filter-style content, as described by Herring (2005).

The Pragmatics of CMC is identified by Herring et al. (2013) as consisting of "three types of phenomena:

1.   classical core pragmatic phenomena (e.g. implicature, presupposition, relevance, speech acts, politeness);
2.   CMC specific phenomena (e.g. emoticons, nicknames, 'Netspeak'; and
3.   CMC genres or modes (blogs, SMS, wikis, chat, among others)"[1].

2. METHODOLOGY

We are exploring classical core pragmatic differences on a corpus of 20 Greek (or Greek and English) cooking related blogs which are both topic- and author-centred.

We explore the similarities and differences of this type of blogs, while we touch upon examples of a hybrid approach, for example between Computer Mediated Communication and more traditional printed magazine- like presentation.

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[1] Herring et al 2013, p.4

We illustrate our analysis with examples from the following cooking blogs: My Little Expat Kitchen; Majeriko; Pandora's Kitchen; Aroma Vanillias; Tante Kiki; Bread and Tea; and Real Family Cooking.

3. AUTHOR-CENTRED BLOGS

Author-centred cooking blogs share with their audience both cooking recipes as well as personal information. The usually single author not only share their recipes with the audience, but also attempt to maintain a personal relationship with them: they often share their news, their thoughts, their holiday pictures, and they give the impression of addressing old friends with a common interest in cooking.

3.1. Aroma Vanillias

Aroma Vanillias is a typical example of an author-centred blog (Pict 1).

Pict 1: Aroma Vanillias: an example of a recipe
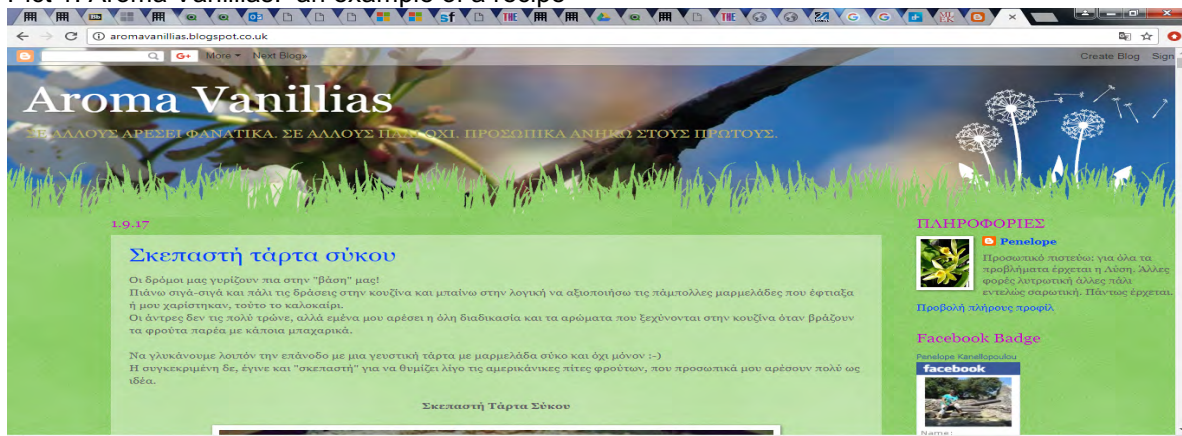
The author uses 1st person singular to describe the execution of a recipe, while she often encourages the community to try the recipe and to react with a comment. Each article usually end with a good wish.

Pict 2: Advice on the execution

The author encourages communication with the readers, and crates a sense of community. The readers who post comments are usually in first name terms with the author. Their comments do not necessarily involve the recipe: they exchange good wishes and praise the author on their achievements.

Pict 3: Aroma Vanillias: example of readers' comments
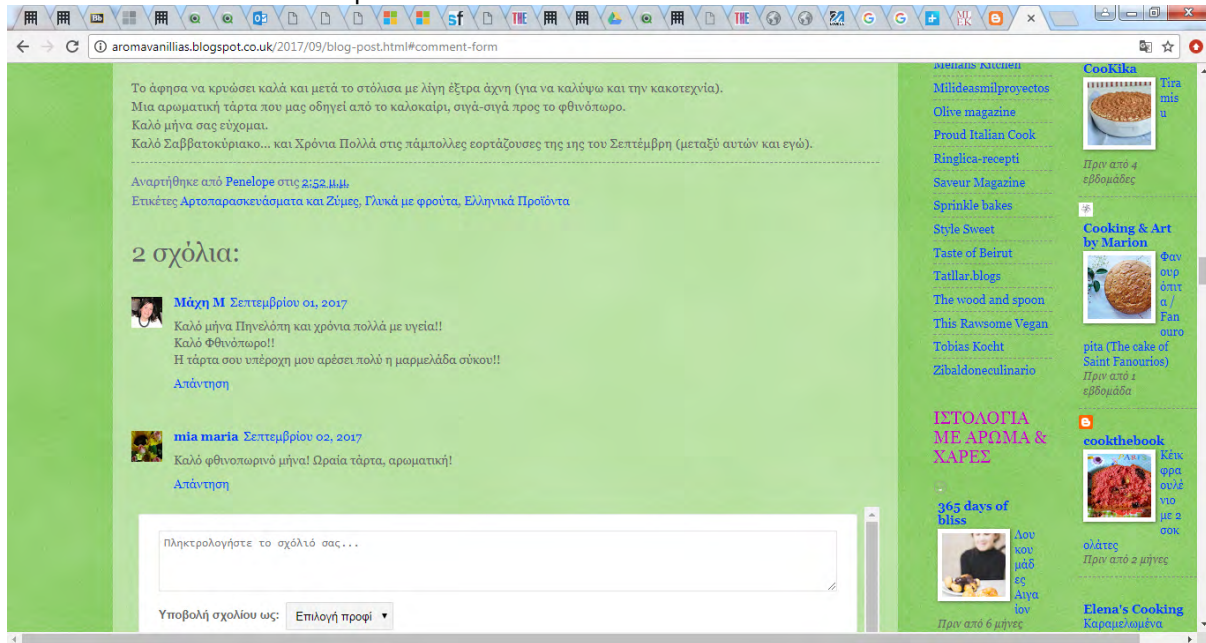
3.2. Tante Kiki

Tante Kiki also combines recipes with personal information (Pict4). For the execution Kiki uses 1st person plural. We note again that personal information is shared to enhance the sense of community among the group.

Pict 4: Tante Kiki: recipe example

The readers who contribute with comments combine often personal comments with the ones on particular recipes.

Pict 5: Tante Kiki: Readers' comments
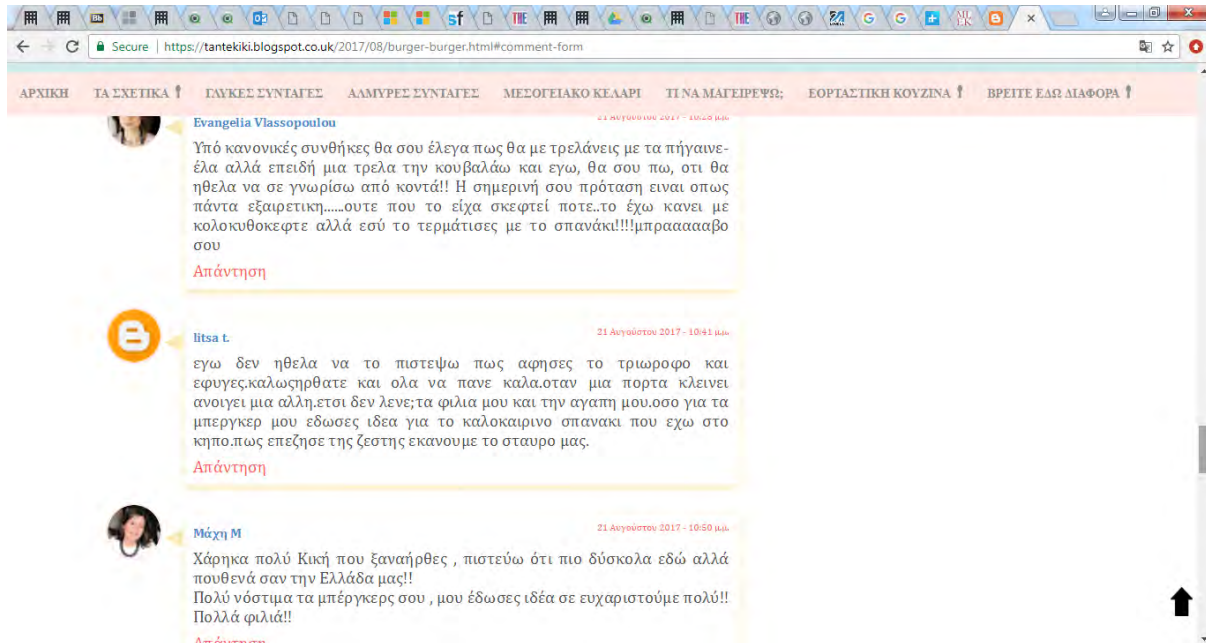
3.3. My Little Expat Kitchen

My little Expat Kitchen is a bilingual cooking blog that the author describes as 'Greek cooking and more'. It has achieved a number of blogging and journalist awards. Personal stories and recipes are accompanied by professional quality pictures which form an essential part of this blog... Each recipe is first presented through a personal story (where first person singular is used). The execution of the recipe follows, presented in second person plural. The author here instructs, rather than describes the process (as is usually the case with topic-centred blogs).

Pict 6: My Little Expat Kitchen: recipe introduction and pictures.
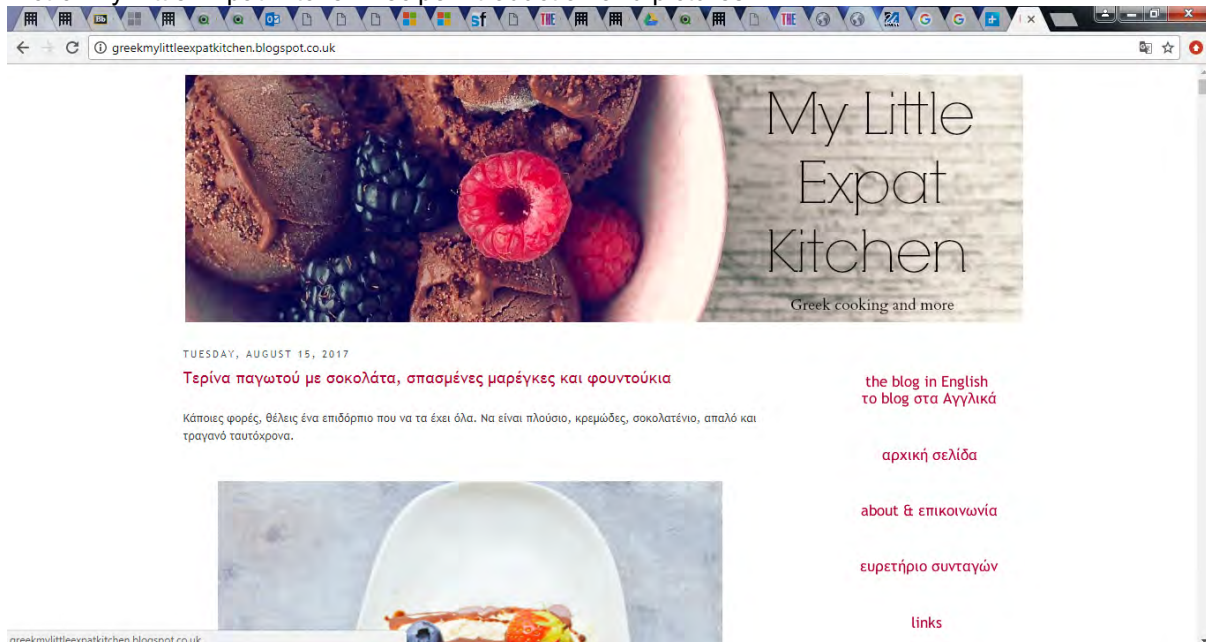
The readers' comments however, are consistent with other author-centred blogs: the communication is informal, many readers use netspeak or are in first name terms with the author, and they comment both on the author's personal information as well as on the recipes.

Pict 7: My Little Expat Kitchen: Readers' comments
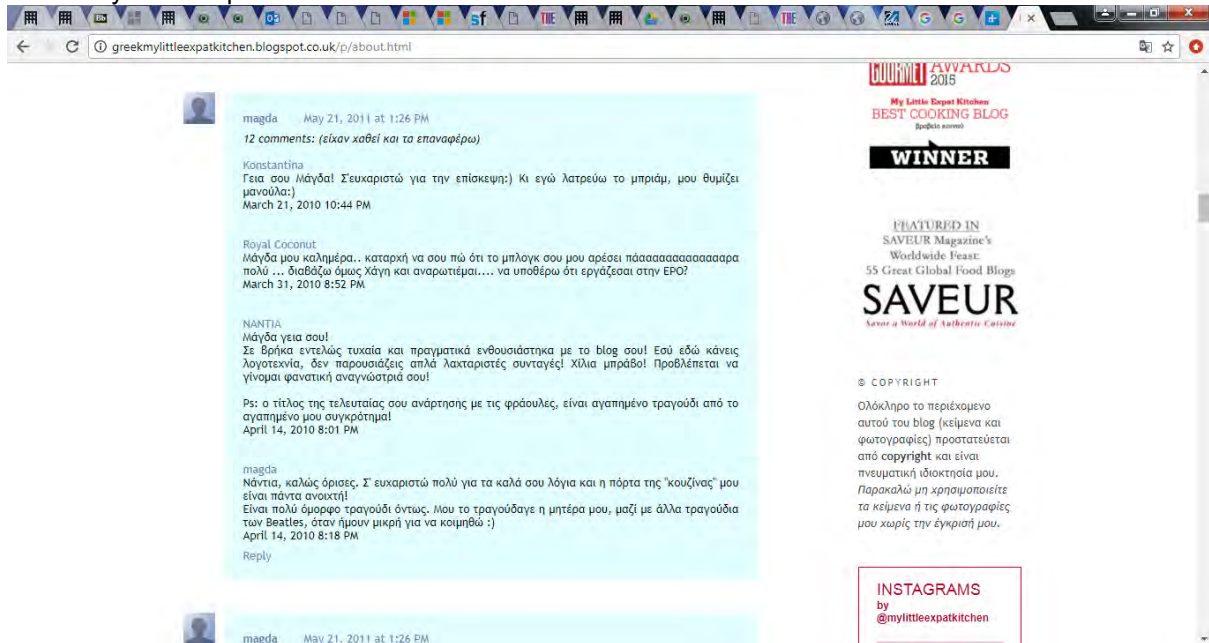
4. TOPIC-FOCUSED GREEK COOKING BLOGS

Topic-focused Greek Cooking Blogs offer posts that focus on the actual recipe. They often involve multiple authors, or are product of team work, they offer minimal personal information, which more often than not is centred in the professional credentials of the author(s).

4.1. Majeriko

Mejeriko offers recipes, as well as the opportunity to showcase pictures from printed bookes or articles and advertise them.

Pict 8: Majeriko
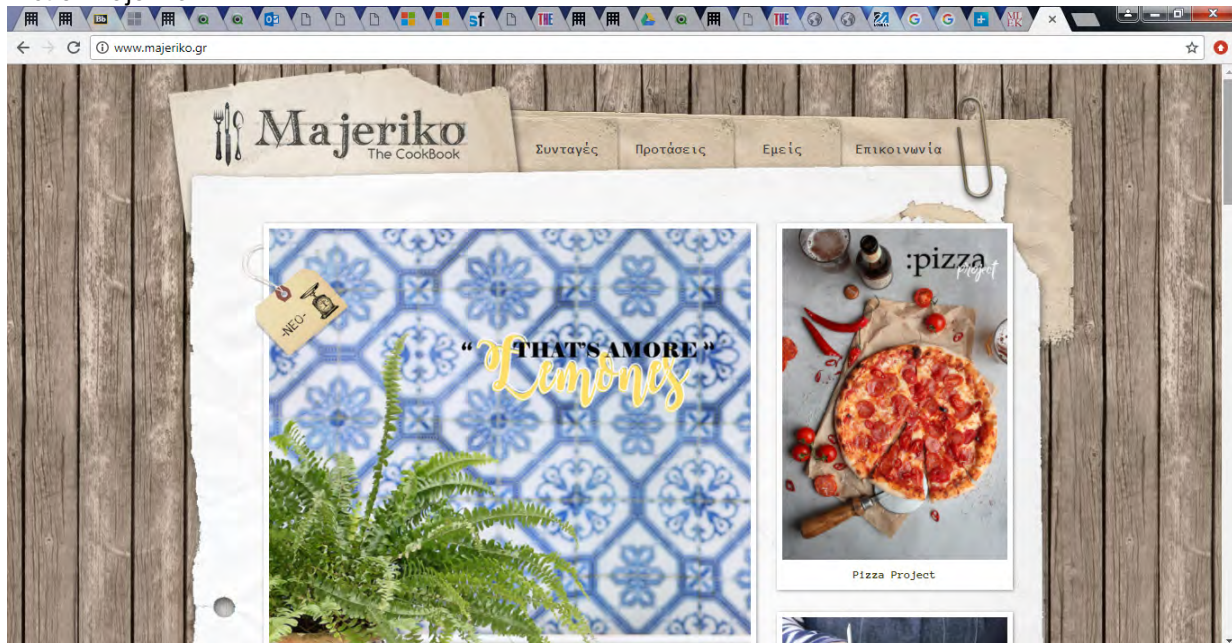
The posts focus on the recipes. However, because multiple authors might offer recipes, they differ in form (sometimes starting with a personal story, others with a series of pictures) and in style (first person execution as well as directives might be used). Comments focus on recipes (sometimes in polite form), the quality and presentation of the recipes, and the professionalism of the authors.

Pict 9: Majeriko: readers' comments
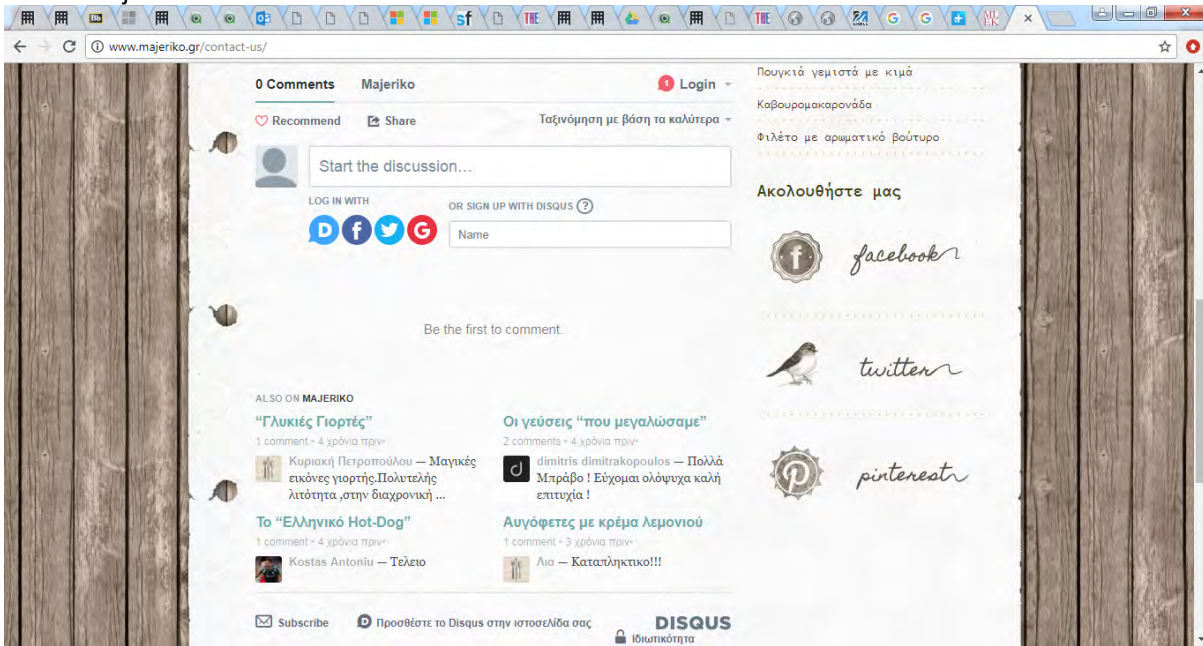
4.2. Real Family Food

Real Family Food focuses on family-oriented, nutritious food, The two authors, a nutritionist and a photographer offer advice on alternative ingredients, in a blog which is social-media friendly.

Pict 10: Real Family recipe example
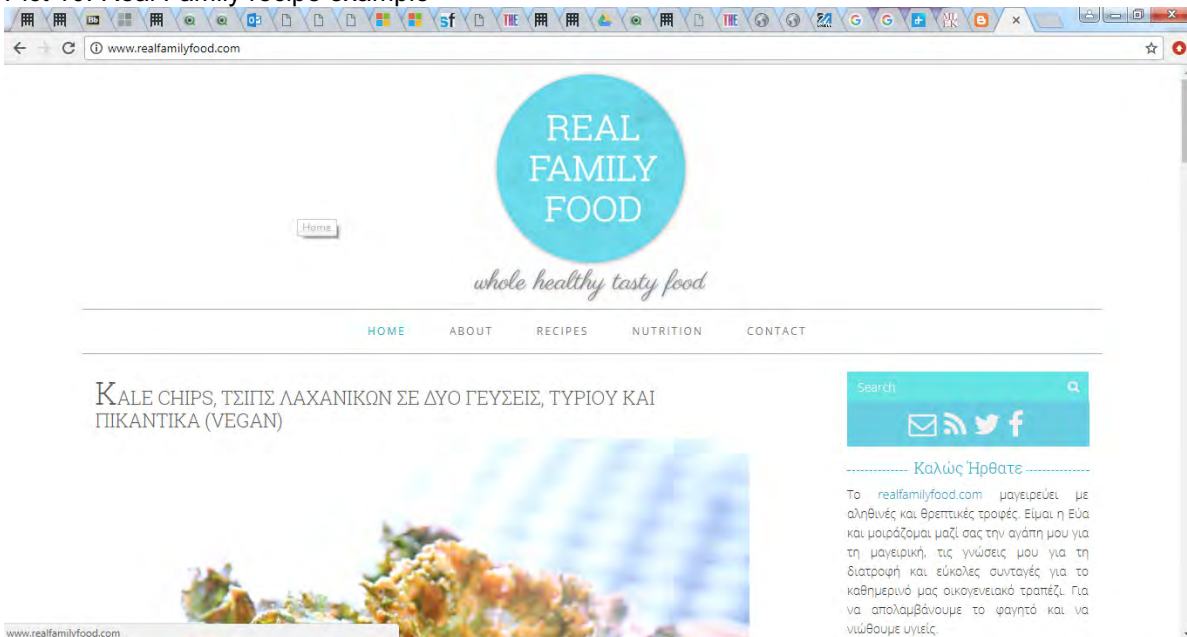
Recipes might be introduced with by story, this however will attempt to relate to the reader, rather than the author (as in Pict.11). The sense of community is enhanced by encouraging readers to exchange recipes, as in Pict. 12.

Pict 11: Real Family Life recipe introduction

Pict 12: Topic- focused blogs- community enhanced by shared recipes
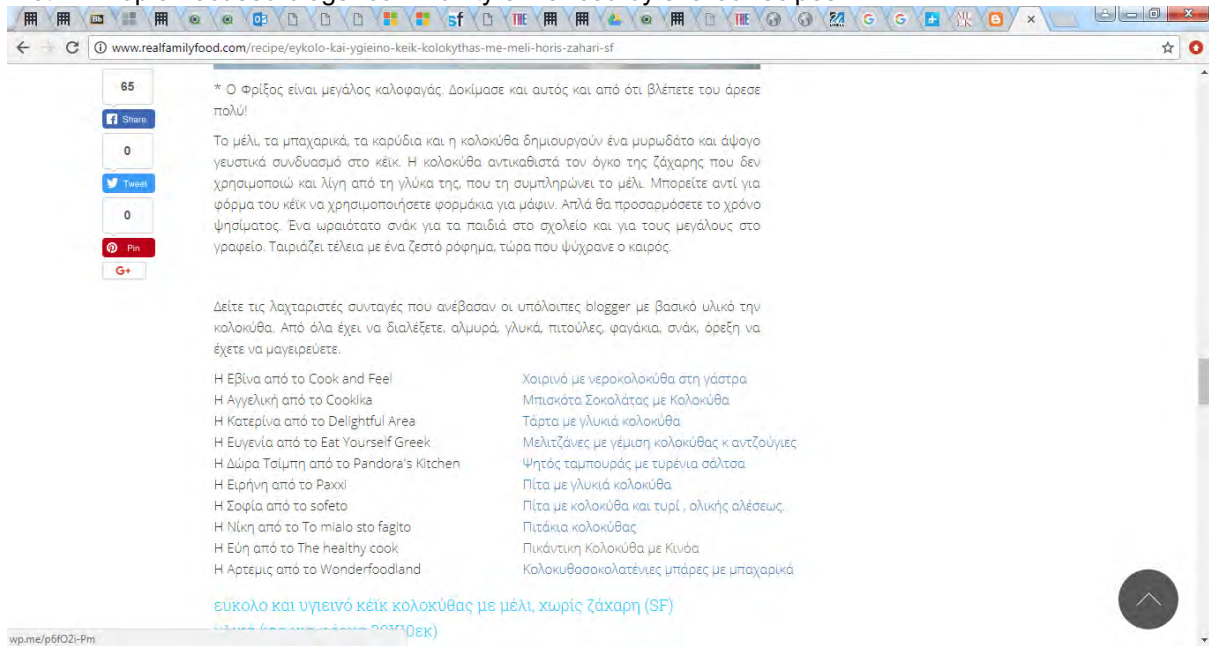
The readers' comments focus on requesting advice on alternative ingredients or execution (Pict13).

Pict 13: Readers' comments from Real Family Food
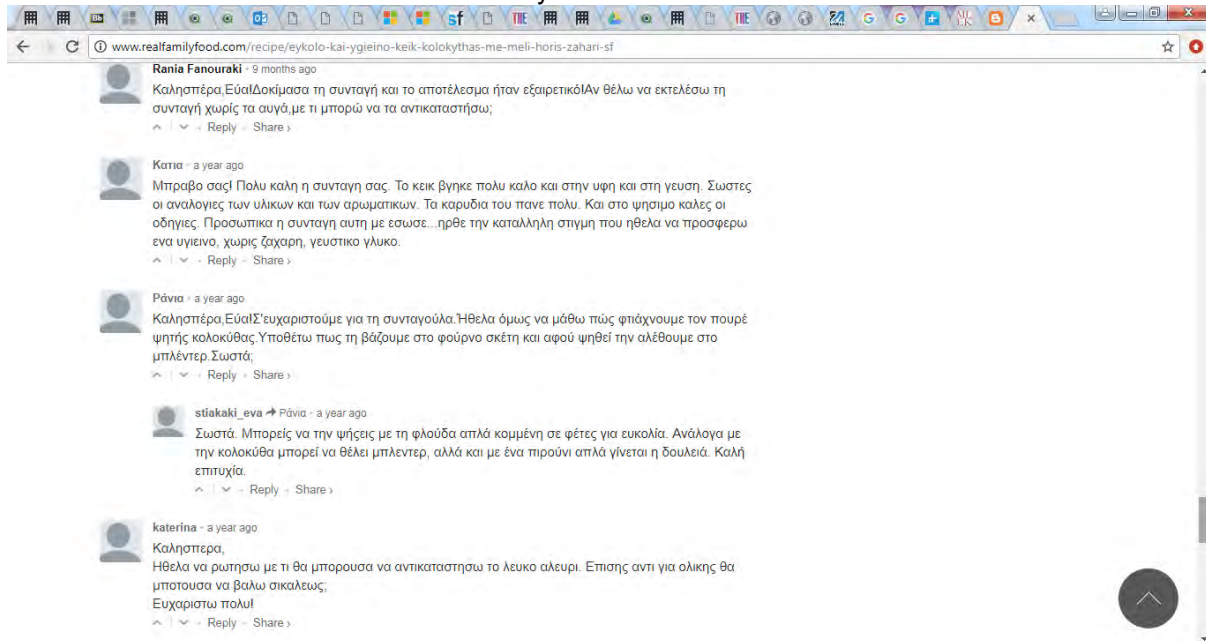
4.3 Other topic-centred blogs

Some topic-centred blogs, such as Pandora's Kitchen (www.pandoraskitchen.gr) might include encyclopaedic information on a recipe or an ingredient and they might not offer the opportunity to post personal comments, hence lacking a sense of community. Others, such as Bread and Tea (www.breadandtea.com) might focus on a particular meal (here breakfast). Posts follow a glossy magazine format, are formally presented and dominated by pictures, promoting the author's professional work on television or the press, offer events' promotions, discounts and competitions (for example Pict14). It is difficult here to identify specific CMC characteristics

Pict 14: Promotion example from Bread and Tea
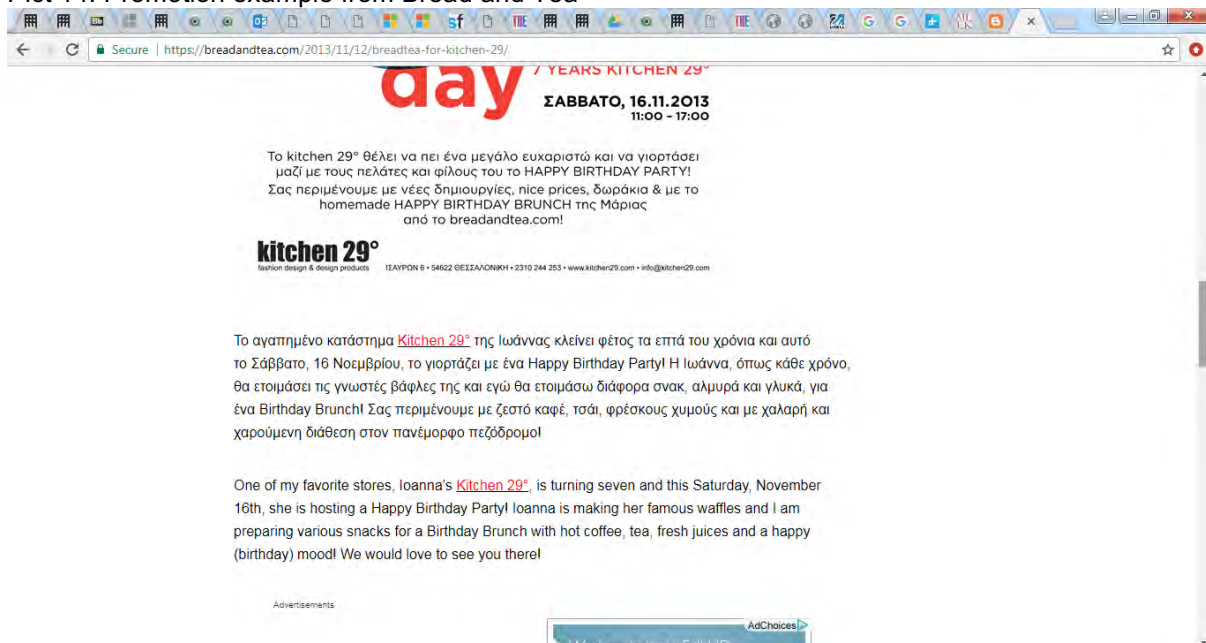
5. SUMMARY FINDINGS

Author- centred cooking blogs include cooking discourse combined with a personal component with increased evaluative characteristics. They reflect the Herring et al. 2005 view of their importance as 'individualistic, intimate forms of self-expression'.

They regularly refer to non-cooking related matters (providing information on personal preferences, family celebrations, travel or cultural and local information), which prompt the readers to react. Moreover, they often avoid direct instructions, preferring to use the first person singular or plural (e.g. Aroma Vanillas, Tante Kiki), which could indicate a less addressee oriented approach; however, such indirect instructions appear more polite. When direct requests are used (e.g. My little Expat Kitchen), they are often followed by 1st person explanations aimed to mitigate the force of the instruction. Often written by women, they use a more indirect and intimate style of interaction (Tanen 1995). Code switching confirms authority and mastery of the subject, with definitions rarely offered.

Topic-centred cooking blogs we considered have in common the use of special technical cooking vocabulary as well as blog specific terminology.

Instructions are often illustrated by pictures (and more rarely in our corpus by videos).

Authors combine descriptions, evaluations and hedges, thus contributing to a perception of informality (results which are consistent with Diemer and Frobenius 2013). CMC specific characteristics, such as non- standard spelling applies, in particular to the audiences' comments. Authors might include CMC specific activities to encourage audience participation, including competitions, or promotion events. Indirect speech acts are used more often, a characteristic of politeness. With the majority of authors/ audience providing comments being female, it can be seen as consistent with Rizzo (2018) who assigns this characteristic to female bloggers who are in general less direct and hence more polite.

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«θέλεις huge sample για να φκάλεις valid statistical results» A conversational analysis of Cypriot Greek - English codeswitching

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ABSTRACT

Ελάχιστες έρευνες υπάρχουν στην Ελληνική βιβλιογραφία που να εξετάζουν το φαινόμενο εναλλαγής κωδίκων με δεδομένα από την Κυπριακή Ελληνική και την Αγγλική που προέρχονται από Ελληνοκύπριους που γεννήθηκαν και μεγάλωσαν στη Κύπρο. Οι περισσότερες από αυτές αφορούν σε δεδομένα γραπτού λόγου και μόνο μία μελέτη μέχρι τώρα εξέτασε το φαινόμενο αυτό με δεδομένα προφορικού λόγου.

Η παρούσα εργασία έχει ως στόχο να εξετάσει το φαινόμενο εναλλαγής κωδίκων μεταξύ Κυπριακής Ελληνικής και Αγγλικής χρησιμοποιώντας δεδομένα από ηχογραφημένες φιλικές συνομιλίες 40 ωρών από Ελληνοκύπριους μεταξύ 10 και 55 ετών. Πιο συγκεκριμένα η εργασία αυτή διερευνά ποια μορφή παίρνει η εναλλαγή κώδικα: εναλλαγή κώδικά ως εισχώρηση (*insertional* codeswitching) ή εναλλαγή κώδικά ως αλληλοδιαδοχή κωδίκων (*alternational codeswitching*) και ποιο είδος εναλλαγής κώδικα παρατηρείται στα δεδομένα: εναλλαγή που σχετίζεται με τη συνομιλία (*discourse-related codeswitching*) ή εναλλαγή που σχετίζεται με τον συμμετέχοντα (*participant-related codeswitching*) (Auer 2009). Για να απαντηθούν τα παραπάνω ερωτήματα χρησιμοποιείται ως ερμηνευτικό μοντέλο η Ανάλυση Συνομιλίας (Conversation Analysis) όπως υιοθετείται από τον Auer (1995, 1998, 2009) και αναλύονται επιλεγμένα αποσπάσματα συνομιλιών.

Το φαινόμενο της εναλλαγής κώδικα απαντάται στις συνομιλίες και ως εναλλαγή που σχετίζεται με τη συνομιλία, όπου η εναλλαγή χρησιμοποιείτε ως επικοινωνιακή στρατηγική, εξυπηρετεί καθαρά την οργάνωση του λόγου και λειτουργεί ως *δείκτης συγκειμενοποίησης* (contextualization cue) αλλά και ως εναλλαγή που σχετίζεται με τον συμμετέχοντα η οποία μας λέει κάτι για τον ομιλητή/την ομιλήτρια, κάποιο χαρακτηριστικό του/της όπως για παράδειγμα την ικανότητα του/της να μιλήσει μία γλώσσα ή την προτίμηση του/της προς αυτή. Επίσης, τα δεδομένα δείχνουν ότι παρατηρείται μόνο εναλλαγή κώδικά ως εισχώρηση όπου Αγγλικές λέξεις ή φράσεις εισάγονται στη γλώσσα χωρίς να επηρεάζεται η γλώσσα επικοινωνίας που είναι η Κυπριακή Ελληνική. Τέλος παρατηρείται ότι το φαινόμενο αυτό (με μία μόνο εξαίρεση) περνά απαρατήρητο και δεν σχολιάζεται καθόλου από τους ομιλητές.

Key Words: Cypriot Greek, English, codeswitching, conversation analysis.

1. PREAMBLE

This paper analyses codeswitching between Cypriot Greek (henceforth CG) and English drawing from a large pool of data: 40 hours of naturally-occurring informal conversations among Greek Cypriots. For the analysis, Auer's (1998) Conversation Analysis (henceforth CA) framework for bilingual data is implemented. In what follows, early work on codeswitching is discussed in order to demonstrate how conversation analysis for bilingual speech differs before I review the few studies that have been conducted on codeswitching practices between CG and English by Greek Cypriots born and raised in Cyprus. The more comprehensive literature on such practices by Greek Cypriots in diaspora is not reviewed due to space limitations.

Almost half a century has passed since Blom and Gumperz's (1972) influential study on codeswitching, which showed that codeswitching is a meaningful practice and not some chaotic and problematic use of more than one linguistic variety in the same sentence, conversation or text. The authors argued for the now well-known distinction between situational and metaphorical codeswitching. In the former, when the speech event changes the language also changes (Blom and Gumperz 1972: 425); however, this is "a somewhat idealised notion, rarely found in practice" (Gardner-Chloros 2009: 59). In metaphorical switching, a switch to another language is not the result of a change in the situation; rather, it is used to change the situation by evoking the connotations of the language switched to (Blom and Gumperz 1972: 425). The concept of metaphorical codeswitching moved the field of codeswitching and bilingualism forward in accounting for "the

messy ways in which bilinguals imported linguistic resources across domain boundaries" (Heller 2007: 12), thus bringing the bilingual speaker to a more central position.

Another distinction that influenced the field is that between 'we-code' and 'they-code', based on the premise that there is a specific social meaning associated with specific languages. In communities where an ethnic group constitutes the minority, their language tends to exhibit the 'we-code' linked with in-group and informal activities, while the language of the majority ('they-code') is related to more formal, out-group activities (Gumperz 1982: 66). A problem with Gumperz's distinction is that it does not take into consideration other kinds of bilingual communities (Woolard 2004: 77) and it assumes unchallenged associations between the 'we-code' and the minority language, and the 'they-code' and the majority language. Later studies have painted a more complex picture of multilingual communities (e.g., Sebba and Wootton 1998; Rampton 1998).

Myers-Scotton criticizes the we-/they-code distinction because it assumes "a stable interpretation for codes in all interactions" (1993: 54); however, in her Markedness Model (henceforth MM), she shares with Gumperz the premise that linguistic varieties are associated with specific social meanings (Myers-Scotton 1993). The theory underlying the MM assumes a notion of markedness related to the linguistic varieties the speakers have at their disposal, and posits that speakers make rational choices regarding which linguistic variety to use by assessing the costs and benefits of these choices (ibid: 110). The model assumes a clear-cut association of a linguistic variety with certain values (ibid: 83); there are unmarked, expected choices and marked, unexpected ones. It has been criticized for extensively relying on external factors to interpret codeswitching rather than on the conversation itself (Li Wei 2002; Auer 1998).

In the following section, the CA framework for bilingual speech is introduced as an alternative to depending on factors external to the conversation to analyse codeswitching.

2. CONVERSATION ANALYSIS FOR ORAL BILIGUAL DISCOURSE

The CA approach studies codeswitching as a conversational event (Auer 1998: 1) without taking for granted any associations between linguistic varieties and social values and specific situations. Auer argues for a sequential approach to the study of codeswitching and for

a level of conversational structure in bilingual speech which is sufficiently autonomous both from grammar (syntax) and from the larger societal and ideological structures to which the languages and their choice for a given interactional episode are related. (1998: 4)

This autonomy, however, is partial because the 'macro' structure is not irrelevant for interpreting codeswitching (ibid); in fact, one of Auer's codeswitching types—participant/competence-related codeswitching—"indexes extra-conversational knowledge" (Auer 1998: 7). Auer argues that while codeswitching serves various conversational functions it also "links up with 'larger' (ethnographically recoverable) facts about [... the participants'] life-world; yet reference to these facts in [... an] analysis is indexed by conversational structure" (ibid: 5). As Li Wei claims, although the CA approach does not deny that codeswitching has social meaning, one should be cautious in "assigning meanings to individual instances of codeswitching simply on the basis on our knowledge of the community's social history" (2002: 167). While such knowledge is essential for understanding codeswitching practices in a community, the study of codeswitching needs to concentrate on "the details of its local production in the emerging conversational context which it both shapes and responds to" (Auer 1998: 1–2; Li Wei 2002). In other words, an analysis of codeswitching must concentrate on the conversational level to see what speakers do with language and how macro-/social-related functions of codeswitching emerge in the interaction. This strictly opposes any approach which assumes a priori that the use of language A has such and such social function and indexes this or that identity without first investigating *how* speakers use language.

2.1. Codeswitching as a contextualization cue

For his conceptual apparatus, Auer utilizes Gumperz's (1982) notion of contextualization cues. He explains that "[c]ontextualization cues are used by speakers in order to enact a context for the interpretation of a particular utterance" (1992: 25). These features do not have a specific meaning; the same cue can have different meanings and functions in different contexts, and its interpretation has to be reached via inferencing (Auer 1995: 123). During language production and interpretation, codeswitching is used alongside or instead of other contextualization cues (ibid).

The inferencing process leads to contextual interpretation in two ways. In the simplest scenario, cues form contrasts can affect meaning-making in an interaction (Auer 1992: 31). Contrasts can be generated through a loud vs. low voice, high vs. low rate of articulation, presence vs. absence of eye contact, or the use of language A vs. language B (ibid). However, not all cues establish contrast. Sometimes altering the direction of a cue's change also changes the interpretation. A change in prosody from low to high makes a difference in how it is interpreted since many contextualization cues have what Auer calls "an inherent meaning base or meaning potential" (ibid: 32). Thus, a cue may both establish a contrast and, by having an inherent meaning potential, limit the number of possible inferences regarding what it might mean (ibid). The basis of this meaning potential can be conventionalized (arbitrary), natural or both. Codeswitching has a purely conventional meaning potential. Either due to the contrast created or the values of the two languages, the switching itself is meaningful but "[w]hat is associated with a particular language in a repertoire is a matter of conventions only and therefore arbitrary" (ibid: 32–33).

2.2. Participant- vs. discourse-related codeswitching
One pair of different kinds of codeswitching in Auer's work concerns the distinction between participant- and discourse-related codeswitching. Discourse- and participant-related codeswitching are not mutually exclusive. Participant-related codeswitching can assume discourse-related meanings and vice-versa (Auer 1998, 2009).

Codeswitching which acts as a contextualization cue for the organization of discourse is called discourse-related codeswitching (Auer 1995: 125). This relates to issues about turn-taking in conversation, holding or giving up the floor of the conversation, repair mechanisms, cohesion and coherence in discourse, emphasizing something, changing the footing of the interaction and so on.

Participant-related codeswitching tells us something about the speaker; a specific contrast between one code and another indexes participant information, e.g. their momentary incompetence in another language for a specific word/phrase, or when a speaker at a specific moment switches and changes the language-of-interaction during an interaction which shows their linguistic competence in or preference for a linguistic variety (Auer 1988: 196). Competence and preference are sometimes interrelated; participants often justify their preferences with claims of incompetence in certain varieties (ibid). It makes sense to be more comfortable in a language that one knows best. Yet, sometimes a language is preferred even though it is outside one's comfort zone due to other reasons such as prestige. Generally, participants' linguistic choices may be
> *bounded to and hint at characteristics of the episode, that is, a speaker may demonstrate that he or she finds it appropriate to use a given language in the present context [...]. Such a more restricted interpretation of participant-related codeswitching invokes or alludes to larger scale 'norms' for the uses of the two languages of the bilingual community.* (Auer 2009: 498)

Thus, participant-related codeswitching demonstrates people's preferences, competences, and whether they view codeswitching practises as appropriate in specific contexts. However, besides giving 'hints' of such information, an analysis focusing solely on the conversational level cannot but be, as stated above, a restricted, surface-level interpretation. Without studying those larger scale 'norms', without having a full understanding of the social meanings the use of a variety has, and without observing participants' behaviour in different constellations of participants or situational settings with different registers, for example, an analyst cannot arrive at a comprehensive interpretation of participant-related codeswitching.

2.3. Insertional vs. alternational codeswitching
Another pair of codeswitching types advocated in Auer's framework concerns insertional code-switching, which "does not have an impact on subsequent language choice, concerns a well-defined unit and is (a consequence of the latter) relatively short" (2009: 506), and alternational codeswitching which involves "a re-negotiation of the language of interaction, concerns a point in interaction and does not allow predicting return into the first language" (ibid). In Author (2015), this distinction is scrutinized and it is shown that Auer's criteria produce conflicting scenarios because they operate at different levels: the syntactic and the conversational (and this is not acknowledged by Auer). Finding it more appropriate to keep the two apart in my work, I argue that on the conversational level the distinction should only be drawn based on whether there is a change of the language-of-

interaction and/or negotiation of it, in which case we witness alternational codeswitching, or the language-of-interaction does not change and is not negotiated in which case there is insertional codeswitching.

2.4. What counts as codeswitching in Auer's framework

Auer defines instances of codeswitching only when the use of another linguistic variety is functional, yet in many cases it is hard to locate functionality. He labels cases of non-functional use of another language where the use of the two languages is the language-of-interaction as language mixing (1999: 315). Language mixing exhibits frequent intra-sentential juxtapositions. Auer (1999) sees codeswitching and language mixing as parts of a continuum.

The existence of the two prototypes and the idea that they form a continuum is well argued for. However, the presence of datasets which deviate from the prototypes (see e.g., Sebba and Wootton 1998; Alfonzetti 1998) indicates that the strict and exclusive definitions that Auer claims for are not always useful. One cannot treat a dataset as a deviation from a prototype. Auer's definition of codeswitching leaves out many cases which, while they are not functional at the conversational level, neither qualify for borrowing status nor present a case of frequent language mixing. A single switch to another language for which local discourse functionality is absent cannot merely be labelled language mixing. Furthermore, it serves no purpose to say that in a given passage some elements are codeswitching because a functionality can convincingly be argued for by the analyst and some bits are language mixing because the analyst fails to identify a function, leaving aside the problem of whether or not the function attributed by the analyst is intended by the speaker and perceived as such by their interlocutor, and whether or not a function is present but the analyst fails to point to it. Finally, cases that qualify as language mixing for Auer can be functional at the conversational level, as he acknowledges (1999: 319).

3. SETTING THE SCENE

The Greek Cypriot community is described as diglossic (Tsiplakou 2006) and its speakers '(discrete) bilectals', i.e. speakers of two varieties 'very closely related […] but discretely different from one another' (Rowe and Grohmann 2013: 20). Standard Modern Greek—which is one of the two official languages of the island along with Standard Turkish—is mainly acquired through schooling and functions as the High variety and CG, the community's native language, is deemed appropriate in informal domains and functions as the Low variety. Recent work, however, has shown practices of codeswitching between the two varieties (e.g., Ioannidou 2009) as well as use of these varieties in unexpected domains e.g., use of CG in education (Sophocleous 2011) and in the media (Pavlou 2004). Moreover, while early work on CG described CG as a geographical continuum (Newton 1972) this has arguably changed as evident in work conducted by Tsiplakou et al. (2006), which argued for variation in CG as best described as a register continuum. Now, while the use of codeswitching between the two varieties and the absence of strict functional differentiation between them may not justify the view of the community as diglossic, the speakers see it as such (Karyolemou (2007). Thus, we can claim that there is 'diglossia in perception and continuum in usage' (ibid: n.p.).

The relationship between Cyprus and the English language dates back to 1878 when the British Empire took over the administration of the island from the Ottoman Turks. The island remained part of the Ottoman Empire until the British annexed Cyprus in 1914. Under the Treaty of Lausanne (1923), the Republic of Turkey gave up its claims on Cyprus and in 1925 it became a Crown colony. It finally gained independence in 1960. Nowadays, English is the first foreign language taught on the island from the first year of state primary schools. It is regarded as a necessary language to be learned by everyone, and it enjoys prestige mainly in professional domains (see McEntee-Atalianis and Pouloukas 2001: 33). Arguably its prestige stems both from the fact that English is nowadays the international language and from Cyprus's colonial past (Author 2015 and Tsiplakou 2009).

Very few studies have investigated the use of English in Cyprus in the form of codeswitching and most of them have done so with written data: two used Computer Mediated Communication data and one used print media data. Tsiplakou (2009) analysed the email communication practices of a group of friends coupled with a quantitative study of attitudes on codeswitching practices, which showed positive attitudes towards codeswitching in email communication. In the email exchanges codeswitching is the general discourse mode of communication and also has local discourse

functions. Tsiplakou shows how Greek is used to convey factual/referential information while English is utilized for expressions of affect and evaluative comments (2009: 378–379). In a later study, Sophocleous and Themistocleous (2014) examined Facebook messages to see how discursive and social identities are performed and indexed through the user's choice of language. CG is generally used for humorous purposes, while SMG is reserved for more formal and serious purposes and for enacting more professional-wise personas. Similar to the results of Tsiplakou (2009), English is related to expressions of affect and evaluative commentary. Finally, Author (2017) studied the use of English in Cypriot Greek print media and showed that use of English is limited (0.66% in magazines, 0.04% in newspapers) and that it can take many forms, for instance headings, quotations and doublets (i.e., a translation or an explanation of a term which is marked by parentheses, quotation marks or both (Mbodj-Pouye and Van den Avenne 2012: 186)). Among the discourse functions it can serve are emphasis, clarification and as an argumentative device. At the same time, it also functions symbolically and indexically (see Author 2017; Androutsopoulos 2012).

Only *one* study examined codeswitching practices of Greek Cypriots in oral discourse, namely Goutsos (2005) with an interest in uncovering its functionality at the discourse/conversation level. He distinguishes language alternation phenomena according to the local vs. global role they play in discourse, with the former having "only a narrow, locally restricted role in the construction of discourse" and the latter "a wider significance for the discourse event in which they occur" (ibid: 190). The data is analysed with reference to Halliday's tri-partite scheme of (meta)-functions. A distinction is made between ideational functions which concern propositional or topical discourse aspects, interpersonal functions concerned with how speakers present themselves and with their relationships in interaction, and sequential functions which concern cases where language alternation is related to the sequential organization of discourse (ibid: 191).[1]

Overall, Goutsos observed that quantitatively English is limited. His data exemplifies local and global phenomena. The former include proper names and borrowings and are limited in number and array of functions (ibid: 193). The global phenomena demonstrate sequential and interpersonal functions. Sequential functions are reported for: alo/alou ('hello'), θencu ('thank you') and pai ('bye'), which function as boundary markers at the beginning and end of a conversation (ibid: 193). While these are bona fide borrowings in CG, Goutsos treats them as instances of 'tag switching'. More extended switches to English have an interpersonal function and predominantly take the form of quotations (ibid: 198–200). Goutsos shows how codeswitching functions as a contextualization cue and has a variety of functions such as being an argumentative device (ibid: 207).

4. THE CURRENT STUDY—METHODOLOGY

The data of this study originates from the author's PhD thesis (Author 2015) and involves 40 hours of informal naturally-occurring conversations among Greek Cypriots aged between 10 and 55, who were all born and raised in Cyprus. The conversations were recorded in the period between 2008 and 2011. Most recordings were conducted in Cyprus (29 recordings) and a few (7 recordings) in the UK by Greek Cypriots temporarily living there for study or work purposes. The 'friend of a friend' sampling procedure was used to find participants willing to record themselves and their friends or acquaintances. The participants chose their interlocutors, the time and place of the recording and the topics of discussion. A detailed description of the data collection process can be found in Author (2015).

The analysis put forward here does not subscribe to an orthodox CA framework, which focuses on a meticulous analysis of pauses, hesitations, out/in breaths, and so on. The focus is on instances of codeswitched material. Any other contextualization cues such as pausing or change in prosody are only discussed if they are relevant to the occurrence of the switch. This is in line with many studies that use a more 'relaxed' version of CA for their data. In fact, in the 1998 volume *Codeswitching in Conversation* edited by Auer, as Auer himself acknowledges, most of the studies "do not subscribe to an orthodox conversation analytic framework" (1998: 2) and later he admits that he has adopted a CA-type approach. Similarly, most of these works (e.g., Moyer 1998; Sebba and Wootton 1998) do not adopt a detailed CA transcription. Auer's framework diverges from other

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[1] Goutsos uses the term *sequential* instead of Halliday's *textual* because he is only interested in "the global segmentational concerns of participants, which constitute only one part of the overall textual concerns in the construction of discourse" (2005: 191)

aspects of orthodox CA as well. The use of background knowledge regarding the context of a particular interaction and knowledge about the participants themselves, the social and cultural setting that a conversation takes place, etc., is utilized in works that use Auer's framework for the analysis of bilingual speech, and explicitly so by Auer himself (1998: 7). In one of his early publications Auer (1984) dismisses use of any background knowledge "which cannot be shown to be used by the conversationalists themselves" (1984: 6), only to subsequently claim that "additional resources (researcher's background knowledge, member's comments made during a recording) can be useful if they are used in a methodologically controlled way" (ibid). Therefore, Auer's framework does not follow CA's strict focus on a particular extract of interaction without taking into consideration information such as the setting of a conversation and who the participants are and what their relation to each other is, which are important factors in the analysis of a specific stretch of talk. What it does not do is to assume a priori that such factors determine or solely explain language choice and use.

Auer's framework has been chosen because it is specifically designed for the study of codeswitching at the conversational level of analysis and interpretation and because the distinction drawn between the different types of codeswitching is highly relevant to this study. However, the way Auer makes use of the terms codeswitching and language mixing is simplified in this study. Use of English which exhibits conversational functions and use of English with no such functions co-exist, sometimes in the same conversation. It is not fruitful to describe each specific English element as either being language mixing or codeswitching. In addition, many cases show English use which is not functional at the conversational level, but at the same time it is not frequent enough to qualify for what Auer calls language mixing. Since the data cannot be approached as cases of a 'middle ground', both cases where use of English is functional at the conversational level and cases in which it is not are considered here to be instances of codeswitching.

5. THE CURRENT STUDY—ANALYSIS OF SELECTED EXTRACTS

The analysis begins with extracts that primarily show *discourse-related codeswitching*. To start with, in examples 1–3, Zina,[2] an IT programmer, teaches her colleagues how to operate a SharePoint application. The application is in Greek and the seminar aims to explain its use; therefore, Zina generally uses Greek terms for SharePoint and the internet. Yet she sometimes switches to English in reference to these terms. The pattern observed is that one language is used in the form of reiterations to clarify what another means, which is an often-cited function of codeswitching (Gumperz 1982; McClure 2001). Such reiterations are usually flagged by metalinguistic commentary. In the first example, Zina struggles to explain the function of 'drag and drop' to her colleagues.

Example 1
```
1 Zina:   to alːo pu mborume na kamume otan pame stin epekserɣasia tis seliðas (3) mborume
2         na to epileksume ʧe otan fani tun to stavruði o ðiplos stavros ʧe pato to klik travo to
3         ʧe perno to alːu ʧe epie pu pano pu ʧino andis na to kamo ðiaɣrafi ʧe na pao poʧi na
4         to prosθeso pao pano tu pato klik travo to//
```
        'The other thing we can do when we edit a page is to choose this and when the small cross appears, i.e., the double cross, I click on it, I drag it, and take it elsewhere, it goes on top of that instead of deleting it, and I go there and add it on top of it, I press, click, I drag it//'
```
5 Elpiniki: //ne drag and drop
```
           '//Yes *drag and drop*'
```
6 Zina:   Drag and drop
```

Zina's effort ends once the English name of the function is offered by Elpiniki (line 5). This an example of 'joint production' or 'collaborative sentences' (Jefferson 1973: 50), where the second speaker offers a completion of the first speaker's otherwise structurally complete utterance. In line 6, Zina's repetition of the English term has a 'taking into account' function (Perrin et al. 2003) and also acknowledges their correctness; it "does affirmation" (Jefferson 1972: 302).

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[2] Pseudonyms are used for all participants to preserve anonymity.

In the following examples, switching to English again takes the form of reiteration where Greek terms are repeated in English. In example 2, Zina first uses the concept of 'governance' in Greek then explains it in English (line 2) and proceeds to use both terms interchangeably (line 3 'politici', line 5 'governance'). In example 3 she explicitly clarifies what the Greek term means in English.

Example 2

    1 Zina: sto xoro tuto arçisame na val:ume kapca pramata opos politices ðilaði na valume
    2   kapco *governance* stin arçi eksekinisame ʧe val:ame e afikame to kozmo na ðulefci
    3   xoris politici pu ek merus mas ʧe iðame oti kapci kamnun pramata eval:an fondo
    4   koch:ino prasino ekamnan ta etsi l:io panairi ʧe θelume na valume kapca kapco
    5   *governance* […]
            'In this space, we started implementing some things like governance, that is we implement some *governance*, at the beginning we started by implementing, eh we left people working without governance from our end and we observed that some people do things, they use red and green colours for their background, they turned it into some kind of funfair and we want to introduce some *governance* […]'

Example 3

    Zina: mboro na kamo ʧe apostoli (.) to apostoli en to *upload* sta el:inika […]
            'I can also upload something; the term upload means to *upload* in Greek […]

Overall, in these extracts codeswitching takes the form of reiteration which mainly has the function of clarification as well as other functions noted for example 2. On top of that, Zina's repetitions also maintain coherence in her discourse (Auer 1998: 7). Besides these discourse-related functions, these extracts also receive a participant/competence-related interpretation—it shows Zina's and the other participants' competence in SharePoint/internet-related terms in both languages, even though one gets the feeling that these people are more familiar with the English terms, regardless of the fact that the software is in Greek. Finally, in relation to the distinction between insertional and alternational codeswitching as implemented in this paper, we note the presence of insertional codeswitching where there is neither change of the language-of-interaction nor negotiation of it.

In another case of discourse-related codeswitching, Orestis explains his obsession with deodorants and perfumes and says that he uses them repeatedly. His friends find this problematic:

Example 4

    1 Marilena: en:a paθis ʧe tipote ɟ afto pu ise alerɟikos se ul:a
            'Something will happen to you that is why you are allergic to everything'
    2 Gerasimos: ise ipervolikos
            'You are acting excessively'
    3 Orestis: hm?
    4 Gerasimos: *you are too much* (.) *you cannot be using*//
    5 Orestis: //ma en ɟa mena pu to kamno en ekatalava
            '//but I do it for me I don't understand'

Again here codeswitching takes the form of reiteration whose function is a "resolution of other-initiated repair" (Curl 2005: 2). Gerasimos' first utterance constitutes a trouble source since Orestis requests a repair in line 3 with a next-turn repair initiator. The repair is given in English (line 4) with no change in prosody, as one may expect. As Zentella notes, "[w]hat monolinguals accomplish by repeating louder and/or slower, or with a change of wording, bilinguals can accomplish by switching languages" (1997: 96). Although Gerasimos' switch is not restricted to reiterating the trouble source, we do not know whether he intended to continue in English since he is interrupted.

Some studies (e.g., Alfonzetti 1998, Gardner-Chloros et al. 2000) distinguish between cases where the direction of the switch is important, i.e., from variety A to B or B to A, and those where the contrast created with codeswitching matters. In the former case, the value associated with the languages in question is important while in the latter it is not. At first glance here there does not seem to be anything specific to using English for the repairing utterance, at least from what is recoverable from the conversation. Gerasimos exploits the contrast created by the codeswitch. However, there is another possible scenario borne out by the fact that in line 5 Orestis interrupts his

friend. According to this scenario, Orestis did hear what Gerasimos said the first time and he is offended by his remark and in line 3 he challenges Gerasimos to justify it. This is exactly what Gerasimos attempts to do in line 4. If this interpretation is correct, then Gerasimos arguably repeats his remark and tries to elaborate on it in English in an effort to sound less offensive by using a non-native language which can make his 'criticism' sound less offensive. In other words, codeswitching acts as a contextualization cue whose interpretation can be reached in both ways explored in section 2.1.

The following extract is from a conversation between Revekka and Aliki. Revekka reports on a conversation she had with her Italian ex-boyfriend, Mauro. Their original conversation was in English. The couple was together when they were studying in the UK. At the time of the recording Revekka had returned to Cyprus, and Mauro to Italy.

Example 5
1 Revekka: estile mu minima arçes tu iuni na mu pi "fefco pao Italia" sta mesa tu iuli lali mu
2 "molis ftaso en:a se pcaso tilefono" al:a kanena simio zois epcase me tilefono sta
3 ɟeneθlia mu (.) θco fores malista epcase me to mesimeri (.) etraɣuðise mu
4 eksanapcase me to apoɟevma *to catch up* taxa ʧe telos tu iuli lali mu "*as soon as you*
5 *come back get in touch*" [she was going abroad] estila tu minima (.) eɣrapse me ʧe
6 simera to proi [this was in mid-August] pu to xarama tu fu eɣrapse mu sto *wall* mu tus
7 stixus kapcu traɣuðɟu ʧe tuto itan eni ksero ti na scefto ʧe spazi mu ta NEVRA mu eʃi
8 toso ʧero pu eksafanizete ʧe ftano sti fasi pu lalo "e ate KANI en vlakas" ʧe ksafnika
9 ksana pale lali mu "*are you gonna wait for me to put my things together*?" ma ti na
10 wait for you? TI na perimeno? ʧe en:a mu pis na rto ITALIA? en:a mu pis na rtis
11 CIPRO? TI? TI akrivos en:a perimeno?
'He sent me a message in early June to tell me "I am leaving for Italy"; in mid-July he told me "as soon as I reach I will call you" but gave no sign of life; he called me on my birthday twice: he called me at noon, he sang to me and he called me again in the afternoon supposedly *to catch up* and at the end of July he told me: "*As soon as you come back get in touch*" [she was going abroad]. I sent him a message to which he never replied, and today very early in the morning [this was in mid-August] he posted on my Facebook wall some song lyrics, and that was it, I don't know what to think, he pissed me off, he's disappeared for so long and I reach a point when I say: "That's ENOUGH he is an idiot" and suddenly he says: "*Are you gonna wait for me to put my things together*?" But why should I *wait for you*? WHAT should I wait for? Are you going to tell me to come to ITALY? Are you coming to CYPRUS? WHAT? WHAT exactly should I be waiting for?'

This extract provides examples of constructed dialogue (see Tannen 2007) in both languages. The use of constructed dialogue serves several discourse functions in both monolingual and multilingual discourse (Archakis and Papazacariou 2008; Sebba and Wooton 1998; Labov 1972). In this extract constructed dialogues are given in CG at the beginning of the narration, but as the conversation develops Revekka switches to English for her conversation with Mauro. Revekka tells her friend how in early June Mauro told her that he was leaving for Italy and that although he promised to stay in touch, he did not. Instead he called her on her birthday towards the end of July. Mauro's words, although originally uttered in English, are reproduced in CG. One can say that his announcement and promise (given in CG) provide the background for this story. The first switch to English is: *to catch up*. The clause is both marked by *taxa* 'supposedly' and by the fact that it is in another language thus creating a contrast with what surrounds it, possibly to show that Revekka has a strong attitude to it. If Mauro had kept in touch, he would not need *to catch up*. That is, the switch to English marks a differentiation between the content of the story and the expression of attitudes towards it (Matras 2009: 121). It also makes the first reference to the original conversation, which was in English. Finally, this phrase may be in English because there is no exact Greek translation.[3]

As the narration continues, Revekka starts delivering Mauro's utterances in English. This creates a contrast between the more background-like information of lines 1–3, which involve his announcements and promises, and the emotional intensity of the narration in lines 4–11, which

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[3] The author thanks a member of the audience at the 13th ICGL for this remark.

involve his requests: a. to catch up, b. to get in touch after her holidays, and c. to wait to 'put his things together'—possibly meaning 'get his act together'— and Revekka's reaction. In other words, the two languages have different discursive functions in this narration.

As the narration unfolds and becomes more intense as time goes by (from early June to the end of July); Mauro's requests are constructed in English not only as an opposition to his earlier promises, but also to distinguish them from the surrounding text. Thus, Revekka marks a change of footing (Goffman 1981) with a change in language and contrasts his words with her reaction and response to them, which is given in CG. Revekka explains in CG that she did get in touch with him but there was no response and expresses her frustration, which is realized both with increased volume and her choice of words. She also uses inner speech displayed here as 'constructed dialogue' ('That's ENOUGH he is an idiot'), which indicates that she reached a point when she realised that she should end this. The inner speech is used to portray her mental state (Sams 2010: 3150). Then he provides his third request upon which she expresses her frustration by constructing a more direct response (she uses 'you' rather than 'him'). In her response, she repeats his request by substituting 'wait for me' with 'wait for you', turning it into a persisting question asking whether there is any reason for this waiting.

One of the functions that local diaphonic repetition (Perrin et al. 2003) has is a 'negative reply function' where speakers show their disagreement with the repeated element. Clearly, Revekka no longer sees the point in waiting for Mauro. By repeating his request and marking it by stating 'but why wait for you', she refutes it (Perrin et al. 2003: 1853). The verb 'wait' is then reiterated two more times in CG. The reiteration—along with repeating 'ti' ('what for') four times—builds up her argument, develops and supports her assessment of her situation, and ultimately emphasizes her frustration: 'wait for what exactly?' The reiteration of 'wait'—in both languages—not only serves to emphasize her point but also to "evoke the hearer's identification with her viewpoint" (Matras 2009: 106).

Overall, constructed dialogue is skilfully used to develop Revekka's narration. It does not matter if the dialogue she reports happened in that way or another; by reproducing 'what was said' she makes the story real, emotional, interesting, vivid and dramatic (Labov 1972; Tannen 2007).

To sum up the analysis so far, discourse-related codeswitching into English takes two forms: reiteration and constructed dialogue. It has a variety of functions such as clarification, to mark a change of footing, to express the narrator's feelings and attitudes and to resolve an other-initiated repair. At the same time, it can also have participant-related implications. Finally, in all extracts shown so far we note the presence of insertional codeswitching.

In what follows, I concentrate on extracts that mainly show *participant-related codeswitching*. In example 6a Orestis talks about a smelly river with his friend Gerasimos.

Example 6a
    1 Geras: taxa i alɟi en pol:a θreptici usia
        'Algae is supposed to be very nutritious'
    2 Orestis: esi prepi na en:oas *photosynthetic microbes in the water* pu tuta
        'You must refer to *photosynthetic microbes in the water*, stuff like that'
    3 Geras: e fito vasika re
        'Eh it is a plant basically, mate'
    4 Orestis: perimene alɟi mbori na pis ʧe to fito pu en opos ʧino pu en mes ti θalas:a opos tus
    5   mikrooryanismus *phytoplankton* leɟete
        'Wait a plant that is in the sea like microorganisms is also algae, it is called *phytoplankton*'
    6 Geras: fitoplaŋgton en:ois
        'You mean phytoplankton'
    7 Orestis: ne ʧino pu les esi *algae* en ʧino taxa etsi oryanizmi pu zun mesa [...]
        'Yes, it is what you say it is; *algae* are supposedly organisms that live inside […]'

Orestis studies biology at an English-speaking university. 'Photosynthetic microbes in the water' (line 2), 'phytoplankton' (line 5) and 'algae' (line 7) are taken from the discourse of his studies. An interesting use of English here concerns the word 'phytoplankton'. This is the only case in this study where English constitutes a trouble source and it is commented upon. Orestis pronounces it similarly to English /faitʰoˈplaxton/ rather than CG /fitoplaŋˈton/. Gerasimos finds this problematic since

phytoplankton is a borrowing from Greek and repairs it by pronouncing the word in CG. Orestis accepts the repair but finds it inconsequential and continues his discussion in line 7.

A few turns later, Orestis continues with his explanations:

Example 6b
    1 Orestis: ma etsi ɟinete pandu pos valis ena *oxygen atom* ena oksiɣono ʧe ðio iðroɣona ʧe
    2   usiastika to iðroɣono en eʃi tin ðinatotita na to ðosi to ilextronio ɟati ena eʃi ara
    3   mirazonde to ʧe mirazete trava tuti ti ðinami en tuti pu kamni usiastika *drive* to *force*
    4   en to *driving force* ɟa na ɟini to *reaction* (.) eʃi al:es usies opos en to θio *sulphate* opos
    5   en to meθanio pu usiastika ksekina pu am:onia to meθanio *NH4* […]
          'But this is how it is done everywhere, as you put one *oxygen atom* one oxygen and two hydrogens, the hydrogen doesn't have the ability to give its electron because it has only one, so they share it and when shared it attracts this force, this is the one that *drive*s the *force*, it is the *driving force* causing the *reaction*. There are other substances like the sulphate, *sulphate*, like the methane that essentially starts from ammonium, the methane, *NH4* […]'

Orestis discourse is 'peppered' with English words and phrases which do not function in the same way as those in examples 1–4. While as with examples 1–4, English takes the form of insertions and the fact that CG is the language-of-interaction is unchallenged, these extracts (examples 5–6), do not exhibit discourse related codeswitching; the only exception being the fact that Orestis repetitions create a less dense discourse for his interlocutor: repetition is a cohesive device tying up his discourse and making it coherent (Tannen 2007: 60). What we note here is participant-related codeswitching which will be fully discussed after example 7 below, which also comes from a student.

Example 7
    1 Electra: prepi na kamis *focus* pa sto *discrimination factor* ʧe na katsis na kamis *analyse*
    2   *econometrically* ta *factors* pu kamnun *affect* to *discrimination* ʧe kata poso tun ta
    3   *factors* anerun t al:a ta *factor* pu en ta *individual characteristic* as pume
          'You have to focus on the *discrimination factor* and concentrate on *analys*ing econometrically the *factors* which *affect* the *discrimination* and see to what extent these *factors* invalidate the other *factor*s which are the *individual characteristic*s'
    4 Kristi: intervjus kamnete?
          'Do you conduct interviews?'
    5 Electra: eɣo en:a valo oti mboris na kamis ʧe intervjus epiði en:a xrisimopiisis *data* pu ta
    6   *databases* al:a evala oti mboro na kamo intervjus ʧe na kamo *combination* (.)
    7   kamnume apla to *main* epiði θelis *huge sample* ɟa na fcalis *valid statistical results* […]
          'I will claim that you can conduct interviews as well, because you will use *data* from the *databases* but I stated that I can conduct interviews and have a *combination* of methods. You simply implement the *main* method because you need a *huge sample* to produce *valid statistical results* […]'

As with Orestis' extract, we note the use of words and phrases related to her studies for which it is hard to find functionality apart from the fact that they provide cues about the participant. In other words, in examples 5–7 codeswitching has participant-related implications. The fact that these people study in an English-speaking university means they are accustomed to and exposed to an English study-related jargon. English is the language of knowledge input and the language they prefer to use when 'reproducing' that knowledge, but this does not involve a change in the language-of-interaction. Even though these extracts show quite frequent switching, the speakers never entirely switch to English. Codeswitching is insertional and not alternational (see section 2.3).

Further, switching to English is not a gap filler (Matras 2009)—as the repetitions of the CG equivalents show, especially in example 6—but displays a preference for using English. That is, in many cases the speakers show that they know the CG equivalents of English words and phrases and, as such, English does not fill any gaps in their lexicon. Instead, by using English elements associated with someone's field of study the speakers "evoke context-specific associations by selecting words that are associated with those contexts" (Matras 2009: 309). This gives them the opportunity "to import the image of that setting directly into the context of the ongoing conversation"

(ibid: 109). Similar observations are made by Backus (2000) for his study of a Turkish immigrant community in Holland. As he explains, there are topics that have been communicated most of the time in a specific language, and are thus identified with that language (2000: 132), hence, when people discuss them they tend to include elements from that language.

Here, switching into English is not conducted for the speaker to semantically produce meaningful discourse; the CG equivalent words/phrases can do the same job. It is not the referential meaning alone that is projected when a word/phrase is used, but also the connotations it has, which depend on what English means for the speakers and the community in general and how the language is evaluated by the speakers. By bringing the flavour of that context into the present moment, and by showing their competence and preference in using English, speakers provide information, i.e., cues about themselves (participant-related codeswitching). Simultaneously, they may (implicitly) evoke what it means for them to belong to a group of people who study and live (albeit temporarily) in the UK, as well as the social meaning that they attribute to using English. Yet, this meaning is not explicitly evoked in the conversations, since English use is uncommented, unchallenged and smoothly integrated into the flow of speech, and it cannot be studied and discussed here if what the researcher has available is only recordings of conversations. Further study of the community by conducting interviews, participant observation, etc. is needed to study the social meaning that codeswitching has for these speakers.

6. Concluding remarks

This paper has discussed CG-English codeswitching practices by Greek Cypriot speakers with reference to Auer's CA framework for bilingual speech. It has been shown that both discourse- and participant-related codeswitching take place. In relation to the former, various discourse functions have been noted such as clarification, establishing comprehension, resolution of other-initiated repair, forming coherent discourse, showing disagreement, a 'taking into account' function and sounding less offensive. In relation to the latter, conversation extracts have been discussed in which the use of English is concerned with discussions of topics that the speakers associate with the English language because they have learned or been exposed to these domains through English. It has also been shown that participant- and discourse-related codeswitching are not mutually exclusive. Further, it has been noted that there is no struggle between the two languages, no sequences of one trying to prevail over the other; CG is the language-of-interaction and codeswitching is of the insertional sort. Finally, in agreement with Goutsos' (2005) study, switching into English is an uncommented, unchallenged and accepted phenomenon among the participants (with the 'phytoplankton case' being the only exception).

Bearing in mind that only one study (Goutsos 2005) examined practices of codeswitching by CG speakers born and raised in Cyprus with data originating from just one family, this work fills a gap in the literature on Greek studies in using a large dataset of 40 hours and showing how codeswitching is used for a variety of discourse and participant-related functions by the speakers. Since this study–similarly to Goutsos (2005)– has concentrated on the conversational/discourse level of analysis, future studies should now focus on uncovering the socio-linguistic implications, social meaning and values that English (in the form of codeswitching) has in Cyprus.

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APPENDIX 1—Transcription conventions

(0.5)	the number in brackets shows the time gap in tenths of a second
(.)	marks a short pause in the talk of less than two-tenths of a second.
//	indicates latching between utterances
[	shows overlap speech
[	
[ ]	shows the onset and the end of overlap speech
word?	a question mark indicates a question
WORD	louder speech compared to the surrounding one
wo::rd	colons indicate that the speaker has stretched the preceding sound or letter.
[words]	transcriber's comments/additions
[…]	show that parts of the conversation are omitted
word	*conversation in English*
""	indicate use of (in)direct speech

For the transcription of Cypriot Greek (CG), the transcription conventions of Arvaniti (2010) are followed. No IPA is used for the English used in the examples cited (unless these are established borrowings) and English is written in italics. A free translation is provided for the analysed extracts.

Addressing adversaries in the Greek Parliament: a corpus-based approach

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ΠΕΡΙΛΗΨΗ

Σύμφωνα με αρκετές μελέτες που αφορούν την οργάνωση του πολιτικού και κοινοβουλευτικού λόγου και κυρίως τη ρητορική της πολιτικής αντιπαράθεσης (Ilie 2001), οι λεκτικές επιθέσεις και οι προσβλητικές για την προσωπικότητα ομιλητριών και ομιλητών επιλογές αποτελούν συνηθισμένη επιλογή στο περικείμενο που δημιουργούν εξαιρετικά ανταγωνιστικά κοινοβουλευτικά συστήματα, όπως το ελληνικό (Tsakona & Popa 2011). Στο πλαίσιο της ανάλυσης του πολιτικού λόγου και των σύγχρονων προσεγγίσεων για την ευγένεια (Brown & Levinson 1987, Watts 1992, Eelen 2001, Harris 2000, Christie 2005, Garcés-Conejos Blitvich 2013), στην παρούσα μελέτη εξετάζουμε πτυχές της πολιτικής αντιπαράθεσης στον ελληνικό κοινοβουλευτικό λόγο. Επικεντρωνόμαστε στην ανάλυση αποσπασμάτων κατά τα οποία οι επικοινωνιακές στρατηγικές αντίπαλων κοινοβουλευτικών ομάδων υπερβαίνουν τις προτιμητέες επιλογές για την πολιτική αντιπαράθεση (Georgalidou 2016). Αναλύουμε, ποσοτικά και ποιοτικά, δεδομένα τα οποία προέρχονται από Πρακτικά Συνεδριάσεων της Ολομέλειας του Ελληνικού Κοινοβουλίου. Το Σώμα Κειμένων των Πρακτικών των Συνεδριάσεων της Ολομέλειας του Ελληνικού Κοινοβουλίου έχει αναπτυχθεί στο Εργαστήριο Πληροφορικής του Τμήματος Μεσογειακών Σπουδών του Πανεπιστημίου Αιγαίου ενώ για τη συγκεκριμένη μελέτη μελετώνται 182 Πρακτικά Συνεδριάσεων του έτους 2014 (7.395.673 λέξεις), 144 Πρακτικά του έτους 2015 (5.435.784 λέξεις) και 202 Πρακτικά του έτους 2016 (7.634.719 λέξεις).

Key Words: Parliamentary discourse, Im/politeness, Aggression

1. INTRODUCTION

Numerous studies on the rhetoric of political combat (Ilie 2001), show that verbal attacks and offensive language choices are rather common in the context of highly competitive parliamentary systems such as the Greek (Tsakona & Popa 2011). In the present study however, the analysis of excerpts of parliamentary discourse addressed to adversaries reveals not just aspects of the organization of rival political encounters but, aggressive and derogatory forms of speech that directly attack the integrity, the gender (Georgalidou 2016) or other aspects of the identities of the addressees. The theoretical issues addressed concern the impoliteness end of the politeness/ politic speech/ impoliteness continuum in the light of extreme cases of conflict in parliamentary discourse (Watts 1992; Christie 2005).

In Brown and Levinson's framework (1987), politeness is defined as a set of linguistic strategies designed to reduce threats to face and maintain communication. By way of contrast, impoliteness should have to do with face-threatening speech acts and the breakdown of communication (Georgalidou 2016). However, recent approaches to im/politeness highlight the essentialist aspect of the above-mentioned definition which perceives meaning as embedded in linguistic devices rather than as constructed by interlocutors in discourse (Arundale 2010; Culpeper 2005; Eelen 2001; Watts 2010). Within both ethnomethodological (Arundale 2010) and social constructionist approaches (Culpeper 2005; Garcés-Conejos Blitvich 2013; Watts 2010) im/politeness is seen as an interactional construct accomplished by participants to discourse via concrete interactional action and reaction. Within this perspective, impoliteness comes about when

the speaker communicates face attack intentionally and/or the hearer ostensibly perceives, therefore constructs, behaviour as intentionally face-attacking (Culpeper 2005, 39).

Watts' (1992) three-part distinction between im/polite and politic discourse, the latter defined as socio-culturally determined behavior designed to maintain a state of equilibrium during on-going processes of verbal interaction (Watts 1992, 50), seems to be applicable to speech events within parliamentary procedures (Christie, 2005). Watts' model, allows for the explanation of how both polite and impolite verbal actions can be constructed as marked, whereas politic speech, i.e. mutually acceptable interactive choices that maintain on-going communication, as unmarked. It also allows for the explanation of how threats to face can be seen not just as acceptable, but as desirable in specific contexts.

As we have discussed elsewhere (Georgalidou 2016), the distinction of politic choices versus impoliteness therefore, can be seen as a distinction between preferred versus dispreferred conversational choices (Pomerantz 1984), with politic choices constructed as preferred, and impoliteness as dispreferred. The analytic question is how, within the context of the interaction, participants contextualize verbal attacks i.e., impoliteness defined as intentionally offensive acts (Culpeper, 2005). Constructions marked as dispreferred define the limits of rival discourse as a politic, therefore unmarked choice within political combat. The breakdown of communication, retrievable in the local context of conversation, can be considered a marker of dispreferred / aggressive communicative choices. Markers of breakdowns due to behavior responded to as unacceptable by immediate recipients, fellow MPs and/or by the House Speaker are shown in the following table:

Table 1 Markers of breakdowns

Speech (or other) acts	translation	Speech (or other) acts	translation
παρακαλώ [θόρυβος]	please [noise]	να ανακαλέσει/ετε να (κλείσει) το μικρόφωνο	(you should) withdraw turn the microphone off
δεν/να μη(ν) γράφεται τίποτα στα πρακτικά	not to be written down in Minutes	θα/να κλείσω το/ σας κλείνω το μικρόφωνο	I will turn the microphone off
ντροπή [κωδωνοκρουσίες]	shame [bell rings]	συμμορφωθείτε [αποχωρεί (από την αίθουσα)]	[you must] conform [leaves the Room]

The analysis of the data is qualitative, informed by conversation analytic, social constructionist and critical approaches to discourse. What is more, this is a corpus-based study (Ädel 2010). The corpus discussed today consists of the Minutes of all Plenary Sessions of the Hellenic Parliament[1] for the years 2014 and 2015. The corpus consists of 182 files for 2014 with a total of 7,395,673 words and 144 text files for 2015 with a total of 5,435,784 words, 26,5% less than in 2014. Each text file corresponds to the Minutes of one Plenary Session. AntConc[2] has been used for the quantitative processing of the language material.

Table 2 Corpus total words

	2014	2015	Variation %
Total Words	7,395,673	5,435,784	-26,5%

In what follows we will examine aggression involving women, aggression involving men only and some preliminary quantitative findings.

2. THE DATA

Our data come from the official proceedings and video-recordings of parliamentary sittings for a period of five years (2012-2017). Today we will focus on the years 2014 and 2015 during which Greek politics have undergone significant overturns due to the raging economic crisis. The subversion of previously powerful political organizations and the coming to power of a left party of communist origin (SYRIZA) in coalition with the newly founded right wing party of the Independent Greeks led to the aggravation of the nevertheless adversarial style preferred by Greek parliamentarians. Despite the fact that aggressive discourse by the extremist right-wing party Golden Dawn can be the subject matter of a study by itself, in this study, qualitative analysis will only focus on aggression constructed by members of mainstream political parties.

In the past five years, marked impoliteness boarding outright aggression (and in the case of GD outright aggression) has been used to attack not only adversarial political ideologies but to discredit the personality of political opponents. Personal attacks during parliamentary sittings have become the dominant style of opposition in contemporary Greek parliamentary discourse. As table 3 shows, attributing insulting or even abusive characterizations to persons instead of assessing political stances and actions has been a common choice during debates in the period under scrutiny, with rates rising by 35,3% in absolute numbers and by 41% proportionately in 2015.

Within this context, the theoretical issues tackled in this study concern aggression as face-threatening communication pertaining to the impoliteness end of the politeness/politic speech/impoliteness continuum (Christie 2005).

3. AGGRESSION INVOLVING WOMEN

In the first example, Rahil Makri (ANEL) mockingly praises PASOK (turn 3) as a response to Christofilopoulou's remark that Greek public administration improved thanks to initiatives taken by her party. Despite the fact that her acclamation is not responded to by the primary female recipient, the House Speaker expresses his sorrow, calls Makri back to order, and directly characterizes her behavior as 'more than funny', impolite and rejectable (turns 4 & 6).

(1) 23/10/2014, Official Proceedings, pages 320 – 322

1. ΠΑΡΑΣΚΕΥΗ ΧΡΙΣΤΟΦΙΛΟΠΟΥΛΟΥ (Υφυπουργός Διοικητικής Μεταρρύθμισης και Ηλεκτρονικής Διακυβέρνησης): Τελειώνω, κύριε Πρόεδρε. Αν υπάρχει ΑΣΕΠ, αν υπάρχουν ΚΕΠ, αν υπάρχει Εθνική Σχολή Δημόσιας Διοίκησης, είναι γιατί πέρασε αυτό που εσείς σήμερα θέλετε να λοιδορείτε και λέγεται Πανελλήνιο Σοσιαλιστικό Κίνημα. Ευχαριστώ πολύ.
2. ΑΣΗΜΙΝΑ ΞΗΡΟΤΥΡΗ-ΑΙΚΑΤΕΡΙΝΑΡΗ: Είναι αυτή απάντηση Υπουργού;
3. ΡΑΧΗΛ ΜΑΚΡΗ: Ζήτω το Πανελλήνιο Σοσιαλιστικό Κίνημα!
4. ΠΡΟΕΔΡΕΥΩΝ (Χρήστος Μαρκογιαννάκης): Κυρία Μακρή, λυπάμαι πάρα πολύ για τη συμπεριφορά σας. Εδώ είναι Κοινοβούλιο. Σας ανακαλώ στην τάξη. Η συμπεριφορά σας είναι πάνω από αστεία.
5. ΡΑΧΗΛ ΜΑΚΡΗ: …(Δεν ακούστηκε)
6. ΠΡΟΕΔΡΕΥΩΝ (Χρήστος Μαρκογιαννάκης): Σας παρακαλώ πάρα πολύ, κυρία Μακρή. Έχετε δώσει επανειλημμένως εξετάσεις και απορρίπτεστε, μου φαίνεται, όσον αφορά την ευγένεια.

In example 2, following a negative comment (turn 1: 'But ANEL have discovered the trick' & 'it's a trick') concerning their parliamentary strategies, ANEL MP Quick declares that they will not allow Sofia Voultepsi (ND) to make them wear a muzzle. After a series of strong protests by two male ANEL MPs, Voultepsi declares that she has not offended them. The responsive comment by her colleague that has not been recorded is followed by a dismissive colloquial expression on her part ('Oh come on') in the 2nd person singular (turn 5). The Greek phrase contains the widely used address term 'μωρέ', the actual meaning of which is 'moron'. Voultepsi's switching to 2nd person singular, basically used in informal contexts in conversations among people who are well acquainted but also in non-friendly talk to mark withdrawal of respect and possibly aggression, together with the address term "moron", triggers Quick's aggressive response in turn 6. Switching to 2nd person singular as well, he orders Voultepsi to use the word 'moron' in her own home. The House Speaker's repeated pleas addressed to Quick in the next turn mark the incident as exceeding acceptable parliamentary conduct.

(2) 9/4/2014, Official Proceedings, pages 50 - 53

1. ΣΟΦΙΑ ΒΟΥΛΤΕΨΗ: Οι Ανεξάρτητοι Έλληνες όμως έχουν βρει το κόλπο, να επιφυλάσσονται στην επιτροπή και να έρχονται εδώ, είτε συμφωνούν είτε δεν συμφωνούν, να μιλά όχι μόνο ο εισηγητής τους αλλά και ο Κοινοβουλευτικός τους Εκπρόσωπος και στο τέλος να λένε «ΝΑΙ». Το δεχόμαστε κι αυτό για τις ανάγκες της συζήτησης και του διαλόγου. Όμως είναι κόλπο. ((omitted discourse))
2. ΤΕΡΕΝΣ-ΣΠΕΝΣΕΡ-ΝΙΚΟΛΑΟΣ ΚΟΥΙΚ: Φίμωτρο δεν θα μας βάλει η κ. Βούλτεψη!
   ((omitted turns, strong protests on the part of ANEL))
3. ΣΟΦΙΑ ΒΟΥΛΤΕΨΗ: Δεν σας προσέβαλα.
4. ΤΕΡΕΝΣ-ΣΠΕΝΣΕΡ-ΝΙΚΟΛΑΟΣ ΚΟΥΙΚ:…(Δεν ακούστηκε)
5. ΣΟΦΙΑ ΒΟΥΛΤΕΨΗ: Έλα μωρέ!
6. ΤΕΡΕΝΣ-ΣΠΕΝΣΕΡ-ΝΙΚΟΛΑΟΣ ΚΟΥΙΚ: Το «μωρέ» σπίτι σου! Είμαι σαφής;
7. ΠΡΟΕΔΡΕΥΩΝ (Γεώργιος Καλαντζής): Σας παρακαλώ, κύριε Κουίκ. Για ποιο λόγο, δηλαδή, να γίνει τώρα αυτό; Έχετε κανένα λόγο; Υπάρχει λόγος;

In example 3, Kegeroglou (PASOK) remarks that the Undersecretary of Employment and Social Welfare, Theano Fotiou (SYRIZA), keeps forgetting things that have been explained to her by him (turn 1). He goes on to suggest that she suffers from Alzheimer's, an illness that induces memory loss to the elderly. His comment is directly contextualized by him as jesting. Nevertheless, the humorous interpretation of the remark is directly contested by Fotiou, who rejects the comment as a hideous insult (turn 2). The House Speaker calls both MPs to order, indirectly dismissing Fotiou's protest as unfounded.

(3) 29/6/2015, Official Proceedings, pages 168-169

1. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙΟΣ ΚΕΓΚΕΡΟΓΛΟΥ: Αλλά έχω εξηγήσει και έχω δώσει τα έγγραφα στην κ. Φωτίου πολλές φορές, όχι μία. Γιατί ξεχνά. Τις έχω πει μάλιστα χαριτολογώντας ότι έχει Αλτσχάιμερ.
2. ΘΕΑΝΩ ΦΩΤΙΟΥ (Αναπληρώτρια Υπουργός Εργασίας, Κοινωνικής Ασφάλισης και Κοινωνικής Αλληλεγγύης): Δεν δέχομαι αστειάκια τέτοιου τύπου. Δεν τα δέχομαι, γιατί αυτό είναι χυδαιότης. Δεν τα δέχομαι.
3. ΠΡΟΕΔΡΕΥΩΝ (Σπυρίδων Λυκούδης): Σας παρακαλώ πάρα πολύ, κύριε συνάδελφε. Κυρία Υπουργέ, σας παρακαλώ.
4. ΘΕΑΝΩ ΦΩΤΙΟΥ (Αναπληρώτρια Υπουργός Εργασίας, Κοινωνικής Ασφάλισης και Κοινωνικής Αλληλεγγύης): Του δίνετε τον χρόνο για να με υβρίζει;

In excerpt 4, Adonis Georgiadis (ND) attacks Zoi Konstantopoulou (SYRIZA), insinuating aberration ("it is absolutely obvious that she needs it ((psychiatric help))"), again activating the stereotype of female incompetence and irrational behavior. In the second part, he attacks Rahil Makri (ANEL) insinuating sexually provocative conduct ("the image of Ms Rahil Makri on the railings was really beyond every expectation"). The phrase "on the railings" has various connotations as it indirectly refers to the Greek idiomatic phrase "the railing of the hooker". Comments on mental well-being and sexually provocative conduct in excerpts 4 and 5 comprise off-record impoliteness (Culpeper 2005) and indirect sexist verbal attacks via humor and irony. The attacks are contextualized as such by the strong reactions of the recipients, other MPs and the temporary breakdown of the procedure (Georgalidou 2016).

(4) Parliament 10/11/2013: Motion of censure on the government of ND, PASOK

Adonis Georgiadis: Ευχαριστώ πολύ κύριε Πρόεδρε (.) Θα ήθελα να ξεκινήσω την ομιλία μου με τα χθεσινά γεγονότα στην ΕΡΤ, και την εικόνα της ε: κυρίας Κωνσταντοπούλου να: καλεί σε βοήθεια. Θέλω και 'γω απ' την πλευρά μου να πιστοποιήσω, έχοντας ζήσει με την κυρία συνάδελφο στη λίστα Λαγκάρντ για περίπου πέντε μήνες, ότι είναι απολύτως προφανές ότι <u>την</u> χρειάζεται και θα πρέπει με κάποιο τρόπο να τη βοηθήσουμε. Επίσης, θα πρέπει να πω ότι η εικόνα της κυρίας Ραχήλ Μακρή πάνω εις τα κ<u>ά</u>γκελα, ήταν πραγματικά πέραν [πάσης προσδοκίας.]
HS: [Παρακαλώ Χ12]
MPs: ((strong protests))

Our last example in this category comes from a well-known debate during which the then Education Undersecretary George Stylios addressed the statement "You are not going to turn me into Kasidiaris" to his female colleague, Liana Kanelli (Official Proceedings 6/11/2014). Ilias

Kasidiaris, from Golden Dawn, had physically assaulted Kanelli in the middle of a political discussion panel on live television (Antenna TV, 7/6/2012). Stylios responds to harsh criticism by his woman counterpart via resorting to an aggressive verbal attack. Reference to the incident of physical violence constitutes bald-on-record impoliteness (Culpeper 2005), as well as a sexist attack against Kanelli. It places full responsibility for the violent act against her on *her*, justifying the attacker (turn 5: "You need Kasidiaris ((i.e. beating up))!"). It also activates sexual stereotypes of dominance/submission (Georgalidou 2016). Kanelli contextualizes the attack as unacceptable by protesting strongly and walking out of the sitting.

(5) 6/11/2014, Official Proceedings, pages 84-89

1. ΓΕΩΡΓΙΟΣ ΣΤΥΛΙΟΣ (Υφυπουργός Παιδείας και Θρησκευμάτων): Η κ. Κανέλλη θέλει να με κάνει Κασιδιάρη, αλλά δεν θα γίνω Κασιδιάρης! Θέλετε Κασιδιάρη, κυρία Κανέλλη, αλλά δεν πρόκειται ο Στύλιος να γίνει Κασιδιάρης! Να το γνωρίζετε αυτό.
2. ΛΙΑΝΑ ΚΑΝΕΛΛΗ: Παρακαλώ;
3. ΓΕΩΡΓΙΟΣ ΣΤΥΛΙΟΣ (Υφυπουργός Παιδείας και Θρησκευμάτων): Θέλετε να με κάνετε Κασιδιάρη, όμως δεν θα γίνω Κασιδιάρης, διότι έχω περάσει τις εξετάσεις αριστεύοντας και διότι δίνω εξετάσεις στον αρτινό λαό και στον ελληνικό λαό κάθε μέρα και δεν με ενδιαφέρει η δική σας η βαθμολογία, η προσωπική.
4. ΛΙΑΝΑ ΚΑΝΕΛΛΗ: Κύριε Πρόεδρε, θα τον επαναφέρετε μετά από αυτό ή όχι;

All in all, verbal attacks launched by women parliamentarians against either women or men political adversaries are considerably more indirect, avoiding personal subversive characterizations and resorting to the activation of presuppositions. They are met by harsh criticism, reprimands and counter-attacks by their male counterparts. As shown in examples 3, 4 and 5, verbal attacks by their male colleagues undermine their gender rather than their political identities, constitute implicit sexist aggression and are contextualized as such by strong protests and the walking out of sittings.

4. MEN ATTACKING MEN

In example 6, Filis (SYRIZA) responds to Geogiadis' (ND) indirect contesting a minister's right to address the parliament (turn 1), addressing him as "you, book-seller" in the 2nd person singular. He orders him to go on selling books, thus questioning his being a competent member of the parliament (turn 2). He invokes the well-known image of Georgiadis promoting book-series at discount prices during live commercials on a private television channel pertaining to the extreme right-wing party LAOS. In turn 3, Georgiadis counter-attacks by addressing Filis as "you, journalist" matching his choice to refer to their previous occupations. They both address each other by means of non-derogatory address terms, which are nevertheless used -and ostensibly perceived- as derogatory forms of address.

(6) 30/3/2015, Official Proceedings, pages 211 - 216

1. ΣΠΥΡΙΔΩΝ-ΑΔΩΝΙΣ ΓΕΩΡΓΙΑΔΗΣ: Ως τι θα μιλήσει ο κ. Κατρούγκαλος;
2. ΝΙΚΟΛΑΟΣ ΦΙΛΗΣ: Εσύ, βιβλιοπώλη, να πουλάς βιβλία!
3. ΣΠΥΡΙΔΩΝ-ΑΔΩΝΙΣ ΓΕΩΡΓΙΑΔΗΣ: Θα πουλάω ό,τι θέλω, δημοσιογράφε!

In example 7, following a series of intense exchanges, Kouroumblis (SYRIZA) refers to Georgiadis (ND) in the 3rd person by means of the pejorative term 'the wretched Mr Georgiadis' (turn 2). He thus provokes strong reactions on Georgiadis part and reference to himself as 'a rude colleague' and to his conduct as violent ('I suffered violence'), as well as pleas to the House Speaker to protect him from the assaults (turns 8 and 10).

(7), Official Proceedings, 23/7/2014, pages 178-183

1. ΣΠΥΡΙΔΩΝ-ΑΔΩΝΙΣ ΓΕΩΡΓΙΑΔΗΣ: Δεν έχετε δικαίωμα να διακόπτετε τον ομιλητή! Δεν το έχετε μάθει τόσα χρόνια εδώ πέρα μέσα;
2. ΠΑΝΑΓΙΩΤΗΣ ΚΟΥΡΟΥΜΠΛΗΣ: Δεν θα γίνεται αυτό που λέει ο κ. Γεωργιάδης, ο άθλιος κ. Γεωργιάδης!
3. ΠΡΟΕΔΡΕΥΟΥΣΑ (Μαρία Κόλλια-Τσαρουχά): Σας παρακαλώ!
4. ΠΑΝΑΓΙΩΤΗΣ ΚΟΥΡΟΥΜΠΛΗΣ: Όχι, θα απαντήσω σε αυτό που είπατε!
5. ΣΠΥΡΙΔΩΝ-ΑΔΩΝΙΣ ΓΕΩΡΓΙΑΔΗΣ: …

6. ΠΑΝΑΓΙΩΤΗΣ ΚΟΥΡΟΥΜΠΛΗΣ:…
7. ΠΡΟΕΔΡΕΥΟΥΣΑ (Μαρία Κόλλια-Τσαρουχά): Κύριε Κουρουμπλή, θα πείτε αυτά που θέλετε μόλις πάρετε τον λόγο, σε λίγο. Δεν γράφεται τίποτα από αυτά σας παρακαλώ.
8. ΣΠΥΡΙΔΩΝ-ΑΔΩΝΙΣ ΓΕΩΡΓΙΑΔΗΣ: Μηδενίστε μου τον χρόνο, κυρία Πρόεδρε. Δεν μπορώ. Εδώ υπέστην βία!
9. ΠΡΟΕΔΡΕΥΟΥΣΑ (Μαρία Κόλλια-Τσαρουχά): Κύριε Γεωργιάδη, συνεχίστε εσείς. Θα υπάρξει ανοχή.
10. ΣΠΥΡΙΔΩΝ-ΑΔΩΝΙΣ ΓΕΩΡΓΙΑΔΗΣ: Υπέστην βία από έναν ανάγωγο συνάδελφο, χωρίς καμία προστασία από το Προεδρείο.

In example 8, Davakis (ND) counter-attacks Flaburaris (SYRIZA) by incongruously switching to the 2nd person singular to nevertheless express his respect towards his interlocutor's old age. Reference to Flaburaris' age also activates presuppositions of incompetence. Even though he evokes the traditional value system of reverence to the elderly, he uses the 2nd person singular and the directly pejorative address term "idiot / imbecile", provoking the reaction of the House Speaker. In turn 3, he addresses Flabouraris by the derogatory term "objectionable", he reminds him that he is partaking a sitting in the Greek Parliament and orders him to be more decorous and decent, insinuating that he is neither.

(8) 27/6/2015, Official Proceedings, pages 330 - 332

1. ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΣ ΦΛΑΜΠΟΥΡΑΡΗΣ (Υπουργός Επικρατείας): … (Δεν ακούστηκε)
2. ΑΘΑΝΑΣΙΟΣ ΔΑΒΑΚΗΣ: Σέβομαι τα χρόνια σου. Σέβομαι την ηλικία σου. Αλλιώς θα σου έλεγα αυτά που σου αξίζουν. Δεν σέβεσαι την ηλικία σου; Σε εμένα θα μιλάς καλύτερα! Ηλίθιε!
3. ΠΡΟΕΔΡΟΣ (Ζωή Κωνσταντοπούλου): Κύριε Δαβάκη, σταματήστε.
4. ΑΘΑΝΑΣΙΟΣ ΔΑΒΑΚΗΣ: Είσαι απαράδεκτος. Να είσαι ευπρεπέστερος και σοβαρότερος. Είσαι στη Βουλή των Ελλήνων.

In example 9, Theodorakis (Potami) makes a statement of facts about all SYRIZA MPs (turn 1). He claims that they had never had proper jobs but had been on their party's payroll, portraying them as incompetent party missionaries. Following his declaration, all SYRIZA MPs stand up and protest strongly. Amidst protests, four MPs escalate conflict by evaluating his statement as 'pathetic' (turn 2), by stating he should be ashamed of himself (turn 2: 'shame on you', turn 4 'you should be ashamed of yourself', turn 7: 'shame') and finally attributing subversive characterizations to him either by 3rd person reference (turn 6: 'the child of in vitro fertilization') or by directly addressing him in the 2nd person (turn 13: 'you were bribed by Simitis your whole life', turn 15: 'Karagiozi'). The House Speaker calls SYRIZA MPs to order repeatedly. In turn 12 however, he acknowledges Theodorakis' insinuations as personal and disdainful and asks him to refrain from references of similar content.

(9) 27/6/ 2015, Official Proceedings, pages 371-382

1. ΣΤΑΥΡΟΣ ΘΕΟΔΩΡΑΚΗΣ (Πρόεδρος του κόμματος Το Ποτάμι): Δεν ζούσατε ποτέ από την εργασία σας. Ζούσατε πάντα από τη μισθοδοσία του κόμματος!
   (Όρθιοι οι Βουλευτές του ΣΥΡΙΖΑ διαμαρτύρονται εντόνως)
2. ΧΡΗΣΤΟΣ ΜΑΝΤΑΣ: Είναι άθλιο αυτό που κάνεις! Ντροπή σου!
3. ΠΡΟΕΔΡΕΥΩΝ (Αλέξιος Μητρόπουλος): Κύριε Μαντά,…
4. ΓΕΩΡΓΙΟΣ ΠΑΝΤΖΑΣ: Τι είναι αυτά που λες; Σαν δεν ντρέπεσαι!
5. ΠΡΟΕΔΡΕΥΩΝ (Αλέξιος Μητρόπουλος): Κύριε Πάντζα,…
6. ΓΕΩΡΓΙΟΣ ΠΑΝΤΖΑΣ: Τι είμαστε; Κλέφτες είμαστε; Ήρθε το παιδί του σωλήνα…
7. ΧΡΗΣΤΟΣ ΜΑΝΤΑΣ: Να ανακαλέσεις! Ντροπή!
8. ΠΡΟΕΔΡΕΥΩΝ (Αλέξιος Μητρόπουλος): Κύριε Μαντά, σας παρακαλώ.
9. ΧΡΗΣΤΟΣ ΜΑΝΤΑΣ: Να ανακαλέσει, κύριε Πρόεδρε!
10. ΠΡΟΕΔΡΕΥΩΝ (Αλέξιος Μητρόπουλος): Κύριε Μαντά, σας παρακαλώ. Κύριε Θεοδωράκη,…
11. ΧΡΗΣΤΟΣ ΜΑΝΤΑΣ: Να ανακαλέσει, κύριε Πρόεδρε! Άντε μπράβο!
    (Έντονες διαμαρτυρίες στην Αίθουσα από την πτέρυγα του ΣΥΡΙΖΑ)
12. ΠΡΟΕΔΡΕΥΩΝ (Αλέξιος Μητρόπουλος): Κύριε Μαντά, σας παρακαλώ! Κύριε Θεοδωράκη, αποφύγετε απαξιωτικές και προσωπικές αναφορές και συνεχίστε. Κύριε Πρόεδρε, συνεχίστε να πάμε ήρεμα.
13. ΚΩΝΣΤΑΝΤΙΝΟΣ ΜΠΑΡΚΑΣ: Μία ζωή τα έπαιρνες από τον Σημίτη
    (…)

14. ΣΤΑΥΡΟΣ ΘΕΟΔΩΡΑΚΗΣ (Πρόεδρος του κόμματος Το Ποτάμι): Υπάρχει μία παρεξήγηση. Θεωρείτε ότι μπορείτε σήμερα να βρίζετε με τους πληρωμένους κονδυλοφόρους σας και να μην παίρνετε απάντηση! (Όρθιοι οι Βουλευτές του ΣΥΡΙΖΑ διαμαρτύρονται εντόνως)
15. ΠΑΥΛΟΣ ΠΟΛΑΚΗΣ: Πού δούλεψες στη ζωή σου; <u>Καραγκιόζη!</u>

Attacks in the final example (10) are triggered by perceived insults to collective ideologies. Karathanasopoulos (member of the Greek Communist Party, henceforth KKE) escalates his attack against Amyras (POTAMI) first stating that his claims (turn 1) and then he, himself, are ridiculous (turn 3) in the 2nd person singular. However, he limits the characterization "ridiculous" to Amyras' opinion concerning communism, refraining from attributing it to his personality in general ('you are ridiculous to think this is what communism is about'). In turn 4 however, aggression is further escalated by Amyras calling Karathanasopoulos a bully in the 2nd person singular and then switching to the formal plural form to call him "a blackguard and a bully". Switching from singular to plural and backwards continuous in the next turns revealing instability in the construction of the speech event as pertaining to the parliamentary frame of formality. Nevertheless, they both preserve aggression by calling each other names. Amyras attributes cowardice and ridicule to all Greek communists (turn 8) to which Karathanasopoulos responds by a colloquial dismissive speech act ('Άντε ρε' / 'You get out of here' turn 9), followed by another KKE MP (turn 12) who, despite the House Speakers pleas for order (turn 10), further escalates aggression by calling Amyras a 'wuss' and 'half a slap' (turn 12).

(10) 19/11/2015, Official Proceedings, pages 295-298

1. ΝΙΚΟΛΑΟΣ ΚΑΡΑΘΑΝΑΣΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ: Αυτό κάνεις κάθε φορά και είναι γελοιότητα!
2. ΠΡΟΕΔΡΕΥΩΝ (Γεώργιος Λαμπρούλης): Κύριε Καραθανασόπουλε…
3. ΝΙΚΟΛΑΟΣ ΚΑΡΑΘΑΝΑΣΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ: <u>Είσαι γελοίος</u> να νομίζεις ότι αυτό είναι ο κομμουνισμός!
4. ΓΕΩΡΓΙΟΣ ΑΜΥΡΑΣ: <u>Εσύ είσαι τραμπούκος</u>. Και <u>εσείς είστε</u> <u>υβριστής και τραμπούκος</u>. Εντάξει;
   (…)
5. ΝΙΚΟΛΑΟΣ ΚΑΡΑΘΑΝΑΣΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ: Εσείς να τα πάρετε πίσω και όχι να συκοφαντείτε τον κομμουνισμό. <u>Είσαι γελοίος!</u>
6. ΓΕΩΡΓΙΟΣ ΑΜΥΡΑΣ: Να πάρετε πίσω τις ύβρεις, κύριε.
7. ΝΙΚΟΛΑΟΣ ΚΑΡΑΘΑΝΑΣΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ: <u>Είσαι γελοίος!</u>
8. ΓΕΩΡΓΙΟΣ ΑΜΥΡΑΣ: Εσείς είστε <u>γελοίος</u>! Είστε ένας <u>δειλός γελοίος</u>! Αυτό είστε! <u>Ή, με άλλα λόγια, είστε ένας Έλληνας κομμουνιστής</u>. Αυτό τα λέει όλα!
9. ΚΩΝΣΤΑΝΤΙΝΟΣ ΣΤΕΡΓΙΟΥ: <u>Άντε ρε</u>, που θα πεις για τους Έλληνες κομμουνιστές!
10. ΠΡΟΕΔΡΕΥΩΝ (Γεώργιος Λαμπρούλης): Σας παρακαλώ!
11. ΓΕΩΡΓΙΟΣ ΑΜΥΡΑΣ: Κυρίες και κύριοι συνάδελφοι επανέρχομαι, λοιπόν και δίνω τα εύσημα εγώ…
12. ΚΩΝΣΤΑΝΤΙΝΟΣ ΣΤΕΡΓΙΟΥ: Άντε μπράβο, <u>βουτυρομπεμπέ</u>! <u>Μισή σφαλιάρα είσαι.</u>

All in all, male MPs, rather than insinuating, quite often attribute offensive characterizations to each other addressing adversaries in the irreverent 2nd person singular, thus further breeching expectations of formality compatible with parliamentary discourse. Opposition strategies of this kind are contextualized as unacceptably aggressive -even within the highly competitive Greek parliament- by strong reactions to them by both political adversaries and the House Speakers.

5. SOME QUANTITATIVE EVIDENCE

As we discussed earlier, occurrence of aggressive markers have risen by 35,3% in absolute numbers and by 41% proportionately in 2015. The following concordance table (Table 3) shows how phrases which serve as markers of aggression are used in the immediate contexts in which they appear. The left column shows the list of the key words/expressions and the second column the years of appearance. The concordance lines have been sorted so that word(s) coming before or after the key words/expressions are included.

Table 3 Concordance table of markers of aggression for the years 2014-2015

Word/ expression	Year			
you-SING	2015	What are	**You-SING talking**	about? You should be..
	2014		**You-SING**	are a terrorist!
shame	2015	What you are doing is pathetic!	**Shame on you-SING**	
	2014	It's	**(her) shame**	She did it (again) yesterday.
retract	2015	You should	**retract-2nd -SING**	that! Shame!
	2014		**Retract-2nd -SING**	immediately.
(Eh) you (ρε)	2015	Who are you	**You-SING**	buddy, that you can
	2014	Shut up -	**You-SING**	
lies	2015	What are you-SING talking about?	**These are lies.**	You are lying.
	2014	These are	**lies.**	
liar - (2ndSING)	2015	You-SING are a	**liar!**	Take it back!
	2014	You-SING are a	**liar**	too!
You are lying	2015	I accuse you-SING of	**lying**	
	2014		**You-SING are lying!**	I know that.
Sit down	2015		**Sit down-2nd-SING,**	fatso
	2014	You do not have the floor.	**Sit down-2nd-SING!**	
Come on	2015		**Come on-2nd-SING,**	you-SING!
	2014		**Come on-2nd-SING.**	It's enough.

Table 4 gives the total frequency of occurrence of singular forms and singular forms in direct control acts and the colloquial address term 'ρε' in the years 2014 and 2015.

Table 4 Total frequency of occurrence of singular forms and singular forms in direct control acts and the colloquial address term 'ρε' in the years 2014 and 2015.

Word, phrase	**Total frequency**			**Frequency in aggressive situations**		**Variation %**
	2014	**2015**		**2014**	**2015**	
Ρε ((eh) you)	28	58		4	44	+1000%
Κάτσε (sit down)	9	20		2	14	+600%
Εσύ (you)	135	130		20	57	+185%

είσαι (you are)	268	262		8	57	+612,5%
Έλα (come)	73	60		7	12	+71,4%
Να ανακαλέσει (repeal, withdraw-singular)	38	61		9	21	+133,3%

Table 5 shows reactions on the part of the House Speakers as well as immediate recipients to offensive discourse.

Table 5 Reactions on the part of the House Speakers as well as immediate recipients to offensive discourse.

Word, phrase	Total frequency		Frequency in aggressive situations		Variation %
	2014	**2015**	**2014**	**2015**	
παρακαλώ (please)	4306	3250	242	265	+9,5%
Να ανακαλέσετε (repeal / withdraw-plural)	49	47	23	21	-9,5%
Να κλείσει (παρακαλώ) το μικρόφωνο/ θα (να) κλείσω/ κλείστε το/ σας κλείνω το μικρόφωνο (Turn the microphone off) (I will turn the microphone off)	14	11	14	11	-21,4%
δεν/να μην/να μη γράφεται τίποτα στα πρακτικά (Not to be written down in Minutes)	17	7	17	7	-58,8%
Ντροπή (shame)	295	249	100	96	-4%
αποχωρεί (από την αίθουσα) [leaves the Room]	26	16	5	8	+60%

Table 6 shows a dramatic increase in the level of noise during sittings in 2015 which further confirms a shift towards unparliamentary conduct and aggression.

Table 6 Noise during sittings in 2015

	Total frequency		Variation %
	2014	**2015**	
[Θόρυβος] [noise]	599	1059	+76,8%

Table 7 shows unparliamentary conduct and aggression by men and women MPs for the year 2015 during which aggression levels exhibit a rising tendency. Men launched 85,1% of the total aggressive verbal attacks against both men and women MPs, whereas women launched 14,9% of the total verbal attacks against their colleagues.

Table 7 Distribution of attacks initiated by men / women in 2015

Year 2015	Men attacking Men	Men attacking Women	Women attacking Men	Women attacking Women
Aggressive attacks	44	19	8	3

Table 8 presents the total use of selected offensive vocabularies by men and women in the years 2014, 2015. Men are shown to be using the 2nd person singular, on-record offensive characterizations and swear words against their fellow MPs, whereas women make marginal use of such vocabularies.

Table 8 Total use of selected offensive vocabularies by men and women in the years 2014, 2015

Selected offensive vocabularies	Men	Women
Moron	21	1
Stupid	7	1
Animal	5	0
(Eh) you-SING	82	4

6. DISCUSSION: EXCEEDING THE LIMITS OF THE EXPECTED

Analysis of excerpts of parliamentary discourse addressed to adversaries reveals not just aspects of the organization of rival political encounters but, aggressive and derogatory forms of speech that directly attack the integrity, the gender or other aspects of the identities of the addressees. Despite the fact that the collapse of formal parliamentary procedures is not always possible within sittings, cases of intense protests, temporary breakdowns and even the walkout of offended parties impede discussions in process. Reactions such as the aforementioned ones, contextualize impoliteness, i.e. the unacceptable use of linguistic forms perceived as abusive that clearly exceed the limits of politic speech in contexts of expected political rivalry.

More specifically, verbal attacks launched by women parliamentarians against either women or men political adversaries avoid personal subversive characterizations (table 8) and resort to the activation of presuppositions. They are met by harsh criticism, reprimands and counter-attacks by their male counterparts. Verbal attacks by their male colleagues on the other hand, undermine their gender rather than their political identities, constitute implicit sexist aggression and are contextualized as such by strong protests and the walking out of sittings.

Male MPs exhibit unparliamentary conduct by launching aggressive verbal attacks (table 7), by attributing offensive characterizations to each other and by using irreverent address-terms such as 'Eh you-SING' (Pε) when addressing adversaries (table 8). They thus, breech expectations of formality compatible with parliamentary discourse. What is more, in 2015, they resorted to aggressive verbal attacks against both men and women MPs, 6 times more often than their women counterparts (table 7). Opposition strategies of this kind are contextualized as unacceptably aggressive -even within the highly competitive Greek parliament- by strong reactions to them by both political adversaries and the House Speakers.

In this context, the analytic approach for the present study was primarily based on the analysis of discourse units as there and then social actions. A combination of interactional and critical frameworks made possible the multidimensional approach to complicated phenomena, such as the distinction between expected rivalry and verbal abuse. Detailed analysis of excerpts of discourse addressed to politicians revealed forms of the political combat that exceed the limits of expected politic choices as well as linguistic items that can serve as markers of aggression and facilitate analysis via corpus linguistics technologies and the statistic processing of findings which, in our case, confirmed a shift towards more aggressive forms of speech in the Greek parliament: rates rising by 35,3% in absolute numbers and by 41% proportionately in 2015.

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Greek Imposters: Verbal and Pronominal Agreement[1]

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ABSTRACT

Στόχος της εργασίας αυτής είναι η διερεύνηση της ρηματικής και αντωνυμικής συμφωνίας στην Ελληνική. Συγκεκριμένα, πραγματεύεται τα λεγόμενα «imposters» στην Ελληνική, δηλαδή ΠροσδΦ οι οποίες χρησιμοποιούνται για να δηλωθεί ο ομιλητής ή ο αποδέκτης (αναφορά σε 1ο ή 2ο πρόσωπο), όπως έχουν οριστεί από τους Collins and Postal (2012).

Ας δούμε τα παρακάτω παραδείγματα:

(1α)   Οι συγγραφείς θα διεκδικήσουμε αυτό το δικαίωμα. (1β)   Οι συγγραφείς θα διεκδικήσουν αυτό το δικαίωμα.

Έχει υποστηριχθεί (βλ. π.χ. Dudley 2014 για την Ισπανική) ότι η αναφορά στον ομιλητή μπορεί να πραγματωθεί με ρηματική συμφωνία είτε 1ου είτε 3ου προσώπου, δηλ. δεν υπάρχει διαφορά στην ερμηνεία μεταξύ προτάσεων με συμφωνία 1ου και 3ου προσώπου. Επιπρόσθετα, ενώ τα imposters σε πληθυντικό αριθμό και οι ΠροσδΦ σε παράταξη με συνδεδεμένο μέρος ένα imposter επιδέχονται και τα δύο είδη αντωνυμικής συμφωνίας (δηλ. 1ου και 3ου προσώπου), προκύπτει ότι η αντωνυμική συμφωνία πρέπει να είναι ίδια με τη ρηματική συμφωνία ως προς την τιμή του χαρακτηριστικού:

(2α)   Οι γονείς θεωρούμε τους εαυτούς μας τυχερούς. (2β)   Οι γονείς θεωρούν τους εαυτούς τους τυχερούς.

Στην παρούσα εργασία παρουσιάζουμε τα αποτελέσματα μιας δοκιμασίας κρίσης γραμματικότητας, η οποία χρησιμοποιήθηκε για τη διερεύνηση των μορφών συμφωνίας των imposters στην Ελληνική. Συγκεκριμένα, χορηγήσαμε ένα ερωτηματολόγιο σε μονόγλωσσους ενήλικες φυσικούς ομιλητές της Ελληνικής και τους ζητήσαμε να βαθμολογήσουν προτάσεις με ΠροσδΦ imposters σε θέση υποκειμένου, βάσει τριβάθμιας κλίμακας. Ο απώτερος σκοπός μας είναι να προσδιορίσουμε τον βαθμό αποδεκτότητας των imposters σε πληθυντικό αριθμό και των δομών σε παράταξη με συνδεδεμένο μέρος ένα imposter στην Ελληνική.

Key Words: Imposters, Greek, verbal agreement, pronominal agreement**.**

1. INTRODUCTION

In this paper we investigate verbal and pronominal agreement in Greek. More specifically, we focus on imposters in Greek, namely 3rd person DPs which are used to refer to the speaker or the addressee (1st or 2nd person reference). Our ultimate goal is to identify the degree of acceptability of plural imposters and coordinate structures with an imposter conjunct in Greek.[2]

The paper is organized as follows: In Section 2 we roughly sketch some basic issues related to imposters, in section 3 we present and discuss the findings of our online questionnaire, in section 4 we briefly compare imposters in Spanish and Greek, and finally, section 5 puts together some concluding remarks about Greek imposters along with some cross-linguistic points.

2. FEATURES OF IMPOSTERS

Imposters have been defined by Collins and Postal (2012: 5) as follows: 'An imposter is a notionally X person DP which is grammatically Y person, X ≠ Y.'

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[2] See Kaltsa et al. (2016) for a study that examines the processing of subject-verb number agreement with coordinate subjects in pre-verbal and post-verbal positions in Greek.

Such DPs have two main characteristics. The first distinctive feature of such a DP is that it gives rise to 3rd person agreement but has 1st or 2nd person reference:

(1a)   Daddy is/*am going to get you an ice cream cone.
(1b)   Is/*Are Madam having a good time?

In (1a) the 3rd person DP 'Daddy' is referring to the speaker, while in (1b) the 3rd person DP 'Madam' is referring to the addressee.

The second characteristic of imposter DPs is that non-singular imposters can antecede both 3rd person and non-3rd person pronominal forms, as shown in (2a) and (2b):

(2a)   The present authors consider themselves / ourselves to have been slandered.
(2b)   Mommy and Daddy are enjoying themselves / ourselves on the beach.

Two other points related to imposters that need to be mentioned here are, first, the distinction made between what has been termed primary vs secondary source of agreement, and second, the distinction between precursors and imposters.

With respect to the former, it has been claimed that an imposter DP has an ultimate antecedent, namely a secondary source of agreement (Collins and Postal 2012). Consider the following example:

(3)   The present authors attempt to defend ourselves / themselves.

In (3), the primary source of agreement, i.e. the immediate antecedent, is the DP 'the present authors' (which is a 3rd person DP), while the secondary source of agreement, i.e. the ultimate antecedent is the invisible DP *AUTHOR*, which is 1st person and denotes the speaker (see Collins and Postal 2012).

With respect to the latter, it has been maintained that precursor structures, i.e. structures with appositive DPs, as in (4a), appear to provide the correct semantics for imposters. Such precursors are parallel in interpretation to imposters. Consider the examples:

(4a)   We, the present writers, disagree with the following points.
(4b)   The present writers disagree with the following points.

The structure in (4a) is a precursor structure, parallel to the imposter structure in (4b). Given the parallelism between precursors and imposters, Collins and Postal (2012) develop an account in which imposters are derived from underlying precursor structures. What is more, according to Collins and Postal (2012), although imposters appear to be identical to non-imposter DPs, their syntactic structures differ considerably.

3. THE CURRENT STUDY

Various research studies have addressed a number of issues related to imposters from a theoretical or an empirical point of view in languages such as English (Collins and Postal 2012; Collins et al 2009), Bangla / Bengali (Das 2011, 2014), Spanish (Dudley 2014; Vásquez Rojas 2014), Albanian (Kallulli 2014), Indonesian (Kaufman 2014), Italian (Servidio 2014), French (Soare 2013, 2014), Romanian (Soare 2013, 2014), Mandarin (Wang 2014), and Icelandic (Wood 2008; Wood and Sigurdsson 2014). Yet, no work has addressed imposters in Greek so far. The current study aims at filling this gap as it investigates verbal and pronominal agreement in plural imposters and coordinate structures with an imposter conjunct in Greek, examining the degree of acceptability of 1st or 3rd person verbal and/or pronominal agreement.

3.1 The grammaticality judgement task

The present study involved a grammaticality judgement task in the form of an online questionnaire (designed and administered via Google Forms) which was completed by 43 participants. All of them were students at the National and Kapodistrian University of Athens, Greece

and were self-reported to be monolingual adult native speakers of Greek. The students were invited to participate through an announcement on E-class.

The questionnaire comprised 36 sentences in random order with respect to imposter conditions. In particular, the following imposter conditions were included:

(i) Plural imposter, 1st vs 3rd person verbal agreement
    (5a)   Οι φοιτητές του Αγγλικού διεκδικούμε δωρεάν συγγράμματα.
    (5b)   Οι φοιτητές του Πολυτεχνείου απαιτούν μεταπτυχιακές σπουδές χωρίς δίδακτρα

(ii) Coordinate DPs with imposter conjuncts (singular + singular), 1st vs 3rd person verbal agreement
    (6a)   Η κυρία Θεοδοσίου και ο υπογράφων θεωρούμε ότι η λύση που δόθηκε είναι άδικη.
    (6b)   Ο κύριος Νικολόπουλος και ο υπογράφων συμφώνησαν να δώσουν κοινή συνέντευξη τύπου.

(iii) Coordinate DPs with imposter conjuncts (singular + plural), 1st vs 3rd person verbal agreement
    (7a)   Ο δήμαρχος και οι δημότες συμμετέχουμε ενεργά στο πρόγραμμα ανακύκλωσης.
    (7b)   Ο δάσκαλος και οι μαθητές της Στ' Δημοτικού θα λάβουν μέρος στο πρόγραμμα Comenius.

(iv) Coordinate DPs with imposter conjuncts (plural + plural), 1st vs 3rd person verbal agreement
    (8a)   Οι διοργανωτές και οι ομιλητές αποφασίσαμε να κάνουμε το επόμενο συνέδριο στην Αγγλία.
    (8b)   Οι καθηγητές και οι φοιτητές διαμαρτύρονται για τις περικοπές στην τριτοβάθμια εκπαίδευση.

(v) Plural imposter, 1st vs 3rd person verbal and pronominal agreement
    (9a)   Οι κάτοχοι πιστωτικών καρτών θα υπερασπιστούμε τα δικαιώματά μας.
    (9b)   Οι αθλητές θα πληρώσουν τα έξοδά τους.

(vi) Coordinate DPs with imposter conjuncts (singular + singular), 1st vs 3rd person verbal and pronominal agreement
    (10a)   Ο κύριος Πετρόπουλος και ο υπογράφων συμφωνούμε να τηρήσουμε τις δεσμεύσεις μας.
    (10b)   Ο πρωθυπουργός και ο Πρόεδρος της Δημοκρατίας συμφώνησαν να ενώσουν τις δυνάμεις τους ενάντια στη διαφθορά.

The participants were provided with explicit instructions. More specifically, they were asked to rate the sentences on a 3-point scale by adopting the following rating – answer correspondence:

    (11a)   The sentence is absolutely fine and it is something I would say.   2
    (11b)   The sentence is kind of odd, but somebody could say it.   1
    (11c)   The sentence is completely wrong. Nobody would say this.   0

Furthermore, informants were directed to focus on the imposter reading of the tested DP by the following prompt: 'All sentences refer to the speaker and are uttered by him/her.' For example, the phrase «οι συγγραφείς» in the sentence «Οι συγγραφείς θα διεκδικήσουν/-ουμε αυτό το δικαίωμα». equals «(Εμείς) θα διεκδικήσουμε αυτό το δικαίωμα». Finally, the subjects were allowed to go back and choose a different answer before the final submission of the questionnaire and there was no timing of the task completion.

3.2 Results and remarks

Figures 1-6 below present our findings in detail for each of the six imposter conditions presented in section 3.1.:
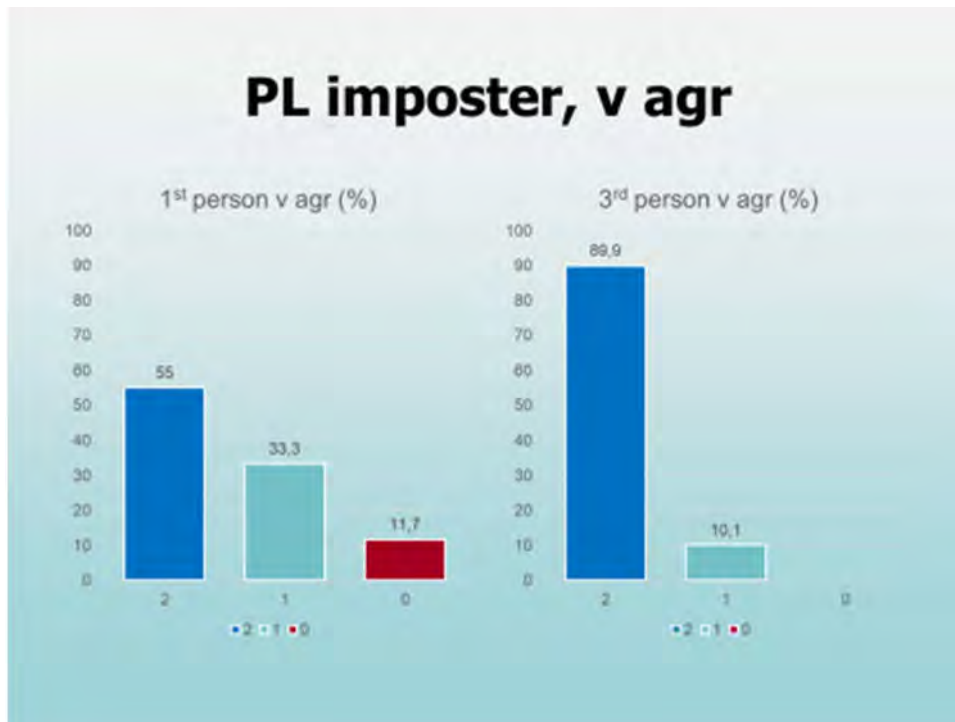
Figure 1: Plural imposter, 1st vs 3rd person verbal agreement
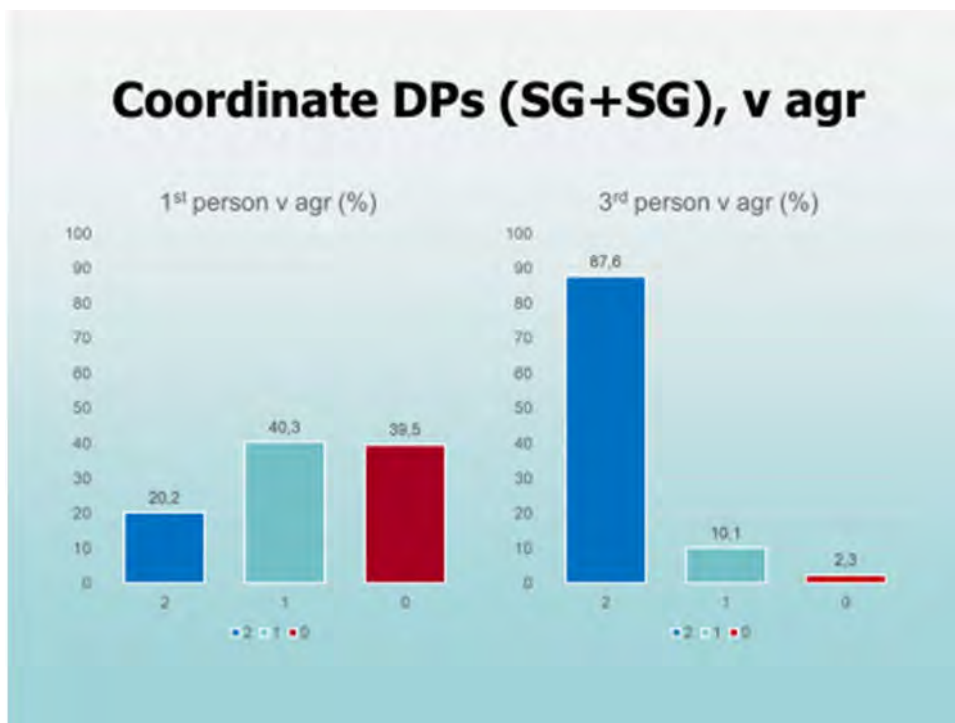
Figure 2: Coordinate DPs with imposter conjuncts (singular + singular), 1st vs 3rd person verbal agreement
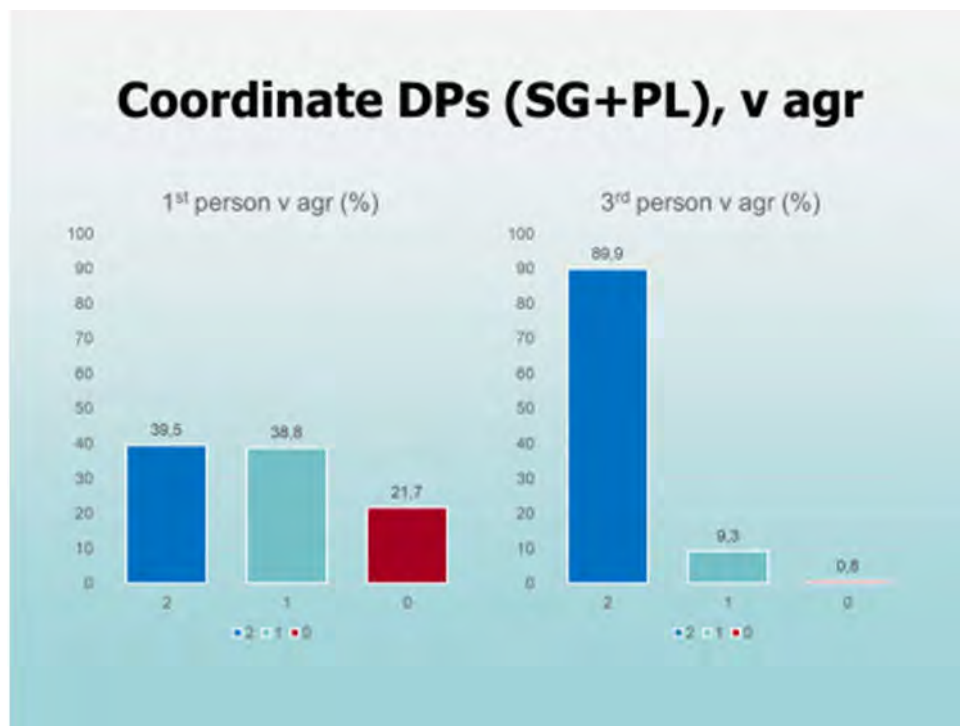
Figure 3: Coordinate DPs with imposter conjuncts (singular + plural), 1st vs 3rd person verbal agreement
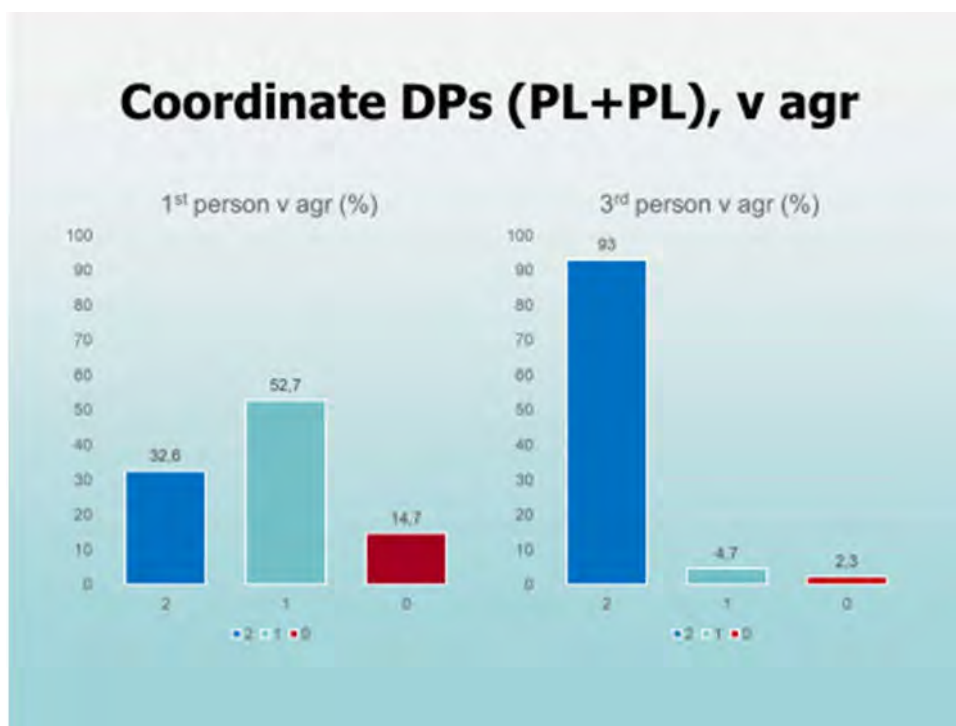
Figure 4: Coordinate DPs with imposter conjuncts (plural + plural), 1st vs 3rd person verbal agreement
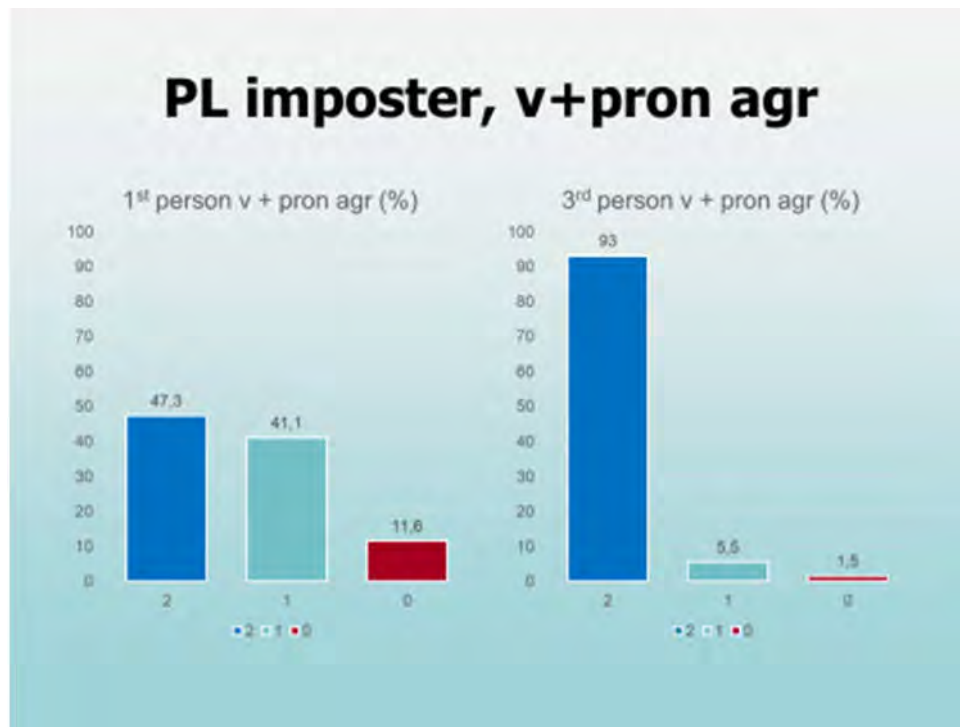
Figure 5: Plural imposter, 1st vs 3rd person verbal and pronominal agreement
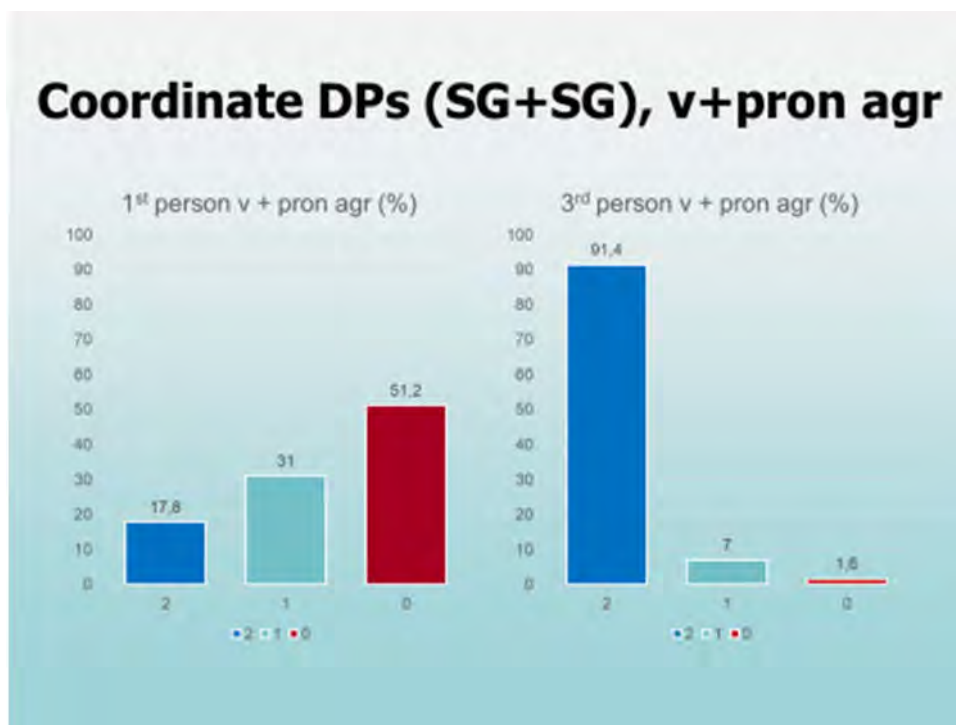
Figure 6: Coordinate DPs with imposter conjuncts (singular + singular), 1st vs 3rd person verbal and pronominal agreement

In view of the figures above, the following main conclusions are in order. First, Greek plural imposters allow 1st person verbal and pronominal agreement. Second, Greek coordinate structures with imposter conjuncts also allow 1st person verbal agreement but to a lesser extent. Third, Greek coordinate structures with imposter conjuncts allow 1st person verbal and pronominal agreement but in this case the (0) rating (i.e. unacceptable) reaches 51.2%.

Furthermore, it emerges from the data that 'Mommy' and 'Daddy' seem to be allowed as imposters in Greek:

(12a)   Ο μπαμπάς και η μαμά αποφασίσαμε να σας πάμε εκδρομή.
(12b)   Ο μπαμπάς θα σου φέρει νερό.

This result makes Greek pattern with English, but not with Spanish where 'Mommy' and 'Daddy' cannot have imposter readings.

The following Table summarizes the imposter situation in Greek.

Table 1 Imposters in Greek

Verbal / pronominal agreement	Singular imposter	Plural imposter	Coordinate DP with imposter conjunct
1st person	*	OK	OK
3rd person	OK	OK	OK

4. SPANISH VS GREEK

For Spanish, three proposals have been put forward to explain the singular/plural asymmetry that we see in imposters (see Dudley 2014 for details).

The first is the left-dislocation analysis according to which if the verbal agreement is 3rd person, *pro* would have 3rd person phi-features, while if the verbal agreement is 1st person, *pro* would have 1st person phi-features. This analysis cannot nevertheless account for the singular/plural asymmetry. The second account is the covert appositive analysis: In sentences where there is 1st person verbal agreement, the agreement would come from the 1st person phi-features on the covert pronoun, while in sentences where the verbal agreement is 3rd person, the agreement would come from 3rd person phi-features on the covert pronoun. However, this analysis does not allow to distinguish between the plural and the singular imposters either.

Finally, according to the clitic doubling analysis proposed by Dudley (2014), plural subject DPs in Spanish are obligatorily doubled by a clitic that incorporates into the verb. With singular imposters, the mechanism behind verbal agreement is traditional subject – verb agreement. Plural subjects, however, are obligatorily doubled by a subject clitic that either agrees with the phi-features on *pro*, with the lexical DP subject, or with the ultimate antecedent of that lexical DP. In other words, in plural imposters, the difference is between agreeing with the 3rd person imposter shell and the 1st person *AUTHOR*.

None of the three analyses presented above can explain the singular/plural asymmetry also attested in imposters in Greek.

It is worth mentioning here that the singular/plural asymmetry with imposters remains largely unresolved cross-linguistically, and accounting for it is a great challenge for future work. Another issue which is not touched upon in the present paper and needs to be addressed is the syntactic analysis of imposter structures in Greek.

5. CONCLUDING REMARKS

In view of the presentation of the results and the brief discussion above, we can put together the following concluding remarks about Greek imposters.

First, plural imposters or coordinate DPs with an imposter conjunct optionally allow both 1st and 3rd person verbal and/or pronominal agreement. For example:

(13a)   Οι φοιτητές του Αγγλικού διεκδικούμε δωρεάν συγγράμματα.
(13b)   Οι φοιτητές του Πολυτεχνείου απαιτούν μεταπτυχιακές σπουδές χωρίς δίδακτρα.

Second, singular imposters allow only 3rd person verbal and/or pronominal agreement, as can be seen in (14):

(14)   Ο μπαμπάς έρχεται / *έρχομαι τώρα.

This 'behaviour' of Greek imposters patterns with imposters in Spanish (see Dudley 2014).

Third, any plural definite DP or coordinate structure of DPs that denote a set of human beings (e.g. οι φοιτητές / ο δάσκαλος και οι μαθητές) that contains the speaker can determine both 1st and 3rd person agreement.

Finally, while plural imposters and coordinate DPs with an imposter conjunct admit both 1st and 3rd person agreement, the pronominal agreement must be identical in feature values to the verbal agreement. For example:

(15)   Οι συγγραφείς θα διεκδικήσουμε τα δικαιώματά μας / *τους.

Before closing this section, it is worth drawing our attention to some cross-linguistic conclusions. On the one hand, plural imposters in Spanish freely allow 1st person or 3rd subject – verb agreement (unlike Italian). On the other, 1st person subject – verb agreement is generally impossible with a plural imposter in French and Romanian[3]. Greek seems to pattern with English and Spanish (i.e. there is 1st and 3rd person agreement of imposter DPs); not with Italian, Romanian and French (where only 3rd person agreement exists, and 1st person agreement is only possible with phrases like 'the undersigned' or 'here present').

Furthermore, according to Das (2011: 40), 'agreement with a secondary source is permissible only in languages with impoverished verbal morphology.' This hypothesis does not seem to be valid in Greek in the light of our data. Greek is morphologically rich; yet, it allows (verbal and) pronominal agreement with a secondary source, i.e. it patterns with English (and Spanish).

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[3] It becomes much better if the subject is modified by the expression 'here present'.

Annotating Greek VMWEs in running text: a piece of cake or looking for a needle in a haystack?

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ABSTRACT

Στο παρόν άρθρο παρουσιάζουμε τα αποτελέσματα εργασιών που αφορούν στην επισημείωση σώματος κειμένων (ΣΚ) της Νέας Ελληνικής με ρηματικές πολυλεκτικές εκφράσεις. Η εργασία εντάσσεται σε μία συντονισμένη προσπάθεια με στόχευση τη δημιουργία δεδομένων εκπαίδευσης και αξιολόγησης σε 19 γλώσσες υπολογιστικών συστημάτων τα οποία θα μπορούν να χρησιμοποιηθούν για την αυτόματη αναγνώριση των συγκεκριμένων δομών σε κείμενα. Το σχήμα επισημείωσης και οι σχετικές προδιαγραφές καλύπτουν όλες τις γλώσσες του εγχειρήματος, εντούτοις, προσαρμόστηκαν κατάλληλα ώστε να ανταποκρίνονται στις ιδιαιτερότητες της ελληνικής. Αφού γίνει σύντομη αναφορά στο γενικότερο πλαίσιο στο οποίο εντάσσεται η παρούσα εργασία, αναφέρουμε προηγούμενες μελέτες που έχουν εκπονηθεί για την ανάλυση των (ρηματικών) πολυλεκτικών στην ελληνική καθώς επίσης και ανάλογες εργασίες επισημείωσης κειμένων. Εν συνεχεία, περιγράφουμε το ΣΚ εστιάζοντας στη μεθοδολογία και το σχήμα επισημείωσης. Η παρούσα μελέτη επικεντρώνεται, εντέλει, στην αξιολόγηση του κειμενικού πόρου και τη συζήτηση των δυσκολιών που συνεπάγεται το εγχείρημα.

Key Words: multi-word expressions, corpus annotation, automatic identification, Shared Task.

1. INTRODUCTION

Multiword Expressions (MWEs) are lexical items characterized by lexical, syntactic, semantic, pragmatic or statistical idiosyncrasies. And although they may be defined on the basis of linguistic criteria, they appear in a variety of configurations and a continuum of compositionality, which ranges from expressions that are analyzable to others that are partially analyzable or ultimately non-analyzable (Nunberg et al. 1994). In this respect, they pose a challenge not only to humans but also to the automatic processing of texts. In recent years, there is a growing interest within the Natural Language Processing (NLP) community in the identification of MWEs and their robust treatment, as this seems to improve the performance of relevant technologies (Nivre and Nilsson, 2004; Arun and Keller, 2005). The paper presents a corpus resource that is manually annotated for verbal MWEs (VMWEs) in Greek. The purpose of the work is twofold: (a) participation in a Shared Task for VMWEs identification and (b) the population of a computational lexicon with VMWEs extracted from naturally occurring text. We will elaborate on the annotation schema, the issues raised during annotation, and the results obtained so far.

2. DEFINITIONS AND SCOPE

MWEs are generally defined as prefabricated sequences of words which constitute a distinct semantic unit or a lexical complex having a compound phonological, lexical, and morphological structure, as for example, in Greek, *τα φόρτωσα στον κόκορα* (ta fortosa ston kokora, "I did not bother") or the classic example in English *to kick the bucket*. MWEs fall in all grammatical categories: nominal, verbal, adjectival, adverbial. VMWEs, in particular, are expressions whose syntactic head in the prototypical form is a verb; they often subsume the function of a single verb predicate. In this sense, the expressions *δίνω απάντηση* (dino apantisi "give an answer"), *κάνω εντύπωση* (kano endiposi "to make an impression"), *κάνω πίσω* (kano piso, "to fall back") and *φέρνω βόλτα* (ferno volta, "to manage") are all considered VMWEs. On the contrary, expressions containing verbs but functioning as adverbials or nominals do not fall in this category:

(1) ο Γιάννης δεν θέλει πολλά <u>πάρε δώσε</u> με την Άννα

    o Gianis den theli pola pare dose me tin Anna

    the- SG.NOM John-SG.NOM not want-3SG many-PL.ACC take-2SG.IMP give2SG.IMP with the-SG.ACC Anna-SG.AC

    lit. John does-not want many take give with Anna

    "John does not want much of a relationship with Anna"

Generally, in MWEs, there is a matter of distinction between idioms/fixed expressions and Light (or Support) Verb Constructions (LVCs) and collocations; each of these categories presents characteristics that need to be taken into account during processing either by humans or machines.

The corpus presented in this paper was developed in the framework of an initiative to create multilingual harmonized Language Resources (LRs), namely annotated corpora and dedicated tools that would serve as a workbench for the automatic detection of VMWEs in running text. The overall annotation effort was conceived of as a Shared Task[1](Agata et al, 2017). Within the NLP community, Shared Tasks (ST) are competitions in which organizers provide datasets, i.e., annotated corpora coupled with common guidelines relevant to a specific NLP-related task. These datasets are appropriately divided into trial, test and evaluation data, and participating research or industrial teams are given access to the data to train their systems. Consequently, evaluation of participating systems is performed on an equal basis, using the same metrics that are also provided by the organizers. The ultimate purpose is the ranking of similar systems against the same data, making, thus, performance results of systems and tools comparable. In this framework, our work was aimed at representing the Greek (EL) language in this multilingual competition.

3. RELATED WORK

Over the past decades, there has been a substantial interest within the linguistic community in the study of MWEs. More precisely, the classification of fixed VMWEs according to morphosyntactic criteria following the Lexicon-Grammar framework (Fotopoulou, 1993a, 1993b, 1997; Mini, 2009; Fotopoulou and Giouli, 2015, 2018) has been extensively elaborated. Moreover, a number of studies focus on the formation, classification and multi-lingual correspondences of LVCs (Fotopoulou 1985; Tsolakis, 1997; Moustaki, 1995; Gavriilidou, 1997; Sfetsiou, 2007; Kyriacopoulou and Sfetsiou, 2002; Thomou, 2006; Fotopoulou et al., 2009; Pantazara et al., 2008; Kyriakopoulou, 2011; Foufi, 2014). Finally, MWEs of various grammatical categories and their properties have also been extensively discussed in Motsiou (1994), Anastassiadis-Symeonidis and Efthymiou (2006), Thomou (2006), Chioti (2010) and Helmi (2011).

From another perspective, the automatic identification of MWEs in texts depends largely on annotated corpus data that can be used for training and evaluation purposes. In this respect, the Universal Dependencies (UD) initiative (Nivre et al, 2017) for constructing harmonized dependency annotated corpora for many languages has proposed guidelines for the annotation of various types of nominal, adjectival, adverbial and verbal MWEs. More recently, initiatives in the form of open competitions or STs have been organized. In this regard, the DiMSUM 2016 ST (Schneider, et al. 2016) challenged participants to label English sentences (tweets, service reviews, and TED talk transcriptions) both with MWEs and supersenses for nouns and verbs. In Greek, a corpus annotated with MWEs (Giouli, 2018) tries to set initial guidelines taking existing typologies into consideration.

4. CORPUS SELECTION, PROCESSING AND ANNOTATION

4.1 Corpus selection and pre-processing

The corpus consists of sentences, paragraphs or full texts extracted manually from the online editions of newspapers (Kathimerini, ΠΡΩΤΟ ΘΕΜΑ, ΤΑ ΝΕΑ, Athens Voice, etc), news portals, news blogs (gova stilleto, tromaktiko, etc.) and wikipedia articles. In an attempt to avoid a bias of the corpus towards a specific register or style, corpus selection criteria were defined as appropriate. Moreover, we opted for texts written in the original rather than translated so as to eliminate the effects of interference that would end up in *translationese*. The overall corpus comprises two sub-corpora: (a) the pilot corpus which was used to elaborate the language-specific guidelines prior to

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[1] https://typo.uni-konstanz.de/parseme/index.php/2-general/142-parseme-shared-task-on-automatic-detection-of-verbal-mwes

annotation proper and (b) the VMWEs corpus proper which was further randomly divided into the test and training sub-corpora for the purposes of the competition. The corpus in numbers and its partitions are presented in Table 1.

Table 1 The MWEs-EL corpus in numbers

	Sentences	Tokens
Pilot	200	4505
Training	5244	142322
Test	3567	83942
Total	9011	230769

To make the dataset usable to the ST participants and prospect users, we pre-processed the raw data at the levels of tokenization, Part-of-Speech (POS)-tagging and lemmatization using a pipeline of NLP tools developed for processing EL data (Papageorgiou et al, 2002). Dependency annotations that are conformant to the Universal Dependencies (UD) framework were also applied to the data using a parser trained on the Greek Dependency Treebank (Papageorgiou and Prokopidis, 2017). According to the specifications set by the ST organizers, the tagset employed is conformant to widely accepted standards (CoNLL-U compliant), whereas the UTF-8 encoding further facilitates interoperability with other resources and tools.

4.2 Annotation methodology

The task of annotation was viewed as a two-stage procedure: (a) identification of VMWE elements in the text and (b) classification in one of the pre-defined categories that make up our annotation scheme (see section 4.3). Annotation was performed in two stages: (a) pilot annotation, and (b) annotation proper. The biggest challenge in the initial phase of the endeavor was the elaboration of the annotation guidelines which should be as universal as possible but would still allow for language-specific categories. This means that the annotation in each language should follow some widely accepted principles and guidelines taking into account the special characteristics of each language. For this reason, a 2-phase pilot annotation was carried out. Initially, pilot annotation phase 1 was aimed at the development and initial testing of the universal guidelines. As a result, common annotation guidelines for 19 languages were defined, whereas an initial GOLD version of the annotated corpus was created.

Next, pilot annotation phase 2 was carried out by two native speakers of the Greek language in view of consolidating the universal guidelines and elaborating the language-specific sections of the annotation scheme. At this stage, the core of the guidelines was partly replicated and language specific examples were provided where needed. To better account for the clarity and completeness of the guidelines, double blind annotation was performed separately by each annotator. At planned intervals, comparisons of the annotated data revealed discrepancies which were extensively discussed and resolved so as to (a) reach a shared understanding of the guidelines, and (b) release the PLATINUM version of the pilot corpus, i.e., a corpus thoroughly checked for mistakes or inconsistencies and fully conformant with the annotation specifications. At this stage, difficult or ambiguous cases were identified and accounted for, whereas the language- specific guidelines and examples were further elaborated. The annotated data of the pilot annotation phase were also employed as the standardized corpus to guide the training of annotators who joined our team at a later stage.

Finally, annotation proper was carried out by four expert annotators - all native speakers of the language with a background in linguistics and varied expertise in MWEs and annotation; each one annotated the data separately by using the FoLiA Linguistic Annotation Tool (FLAT) (van Gompel and Reynaert, 2014). This tool was deemed appropriate because it allows for the annotation of discontinuous elements, nested expressions, etc. Part of the corpus was double- annotated so as to get an estimate of the observed agreement between annotators (inter-annotator agreement). Unfortunately, due to time constraints, validation of annotations was not performed on the final corpus. To ensure, however, a degree of consensus among annotators, extensive discussions took

place in cases of doubt or ambiguity. The outcome was the identification of some difficult cases which were set aside as examples for further reference.

Figure 1: Annotation within FLAT

Annotations were saved in the custom in-house parseme-tsv format in which information about each token is represented in 4 tab-separated columns featuring (i) the position of the token in the sentence or a range of positions (e.g., 1-2) in case of multiword tokens such as contractions[2], (ii) the token surface form, (iii) a flag indicating that the current token is adjacent to the next one (nsp), and (iv) an optional VMWE code composed of the VMWEs consecutive number in the sentence and for the initial VMWE token the category the expression belong to (e.g., 2:ID if a token starts an idiom which is the second VMWE in the current sentence). This format is conformant with existing standards. In case of nested, coordinated or overlapping VMWEs multiple codes are separated with a semicolon. One step further, the final resource is also available in the FOLIA XML-based annotation format, which is suitable for the representation of linguistically annotated language resources (van Gompel and Reynaert, 2014).

4.3 The annotation scheme: application to Greek

The generic annotation scheme defines a 3-level typology of VMWE categories: (a) universal, that is, VMWE classes which are valid for all languages participating in the initiative; these include: idiomatic expressions (IDs) and LVCs; (b) quasi-universal categories, valid for some language groups or languages, but not all, namely, inherently reflexive verbs (IReflVs) and verb - particle constructions (VPCs); and finally, other verbal MWEs, not belonging to any of the previous categories above. In the remaining, we will focus on the annotation scheme that was adopted for annotating the EL data. The annotation scheme that suits the Greek data was - to a large extent - compliant to the "universal" framework, whereas, specific idiosyncrasies of the language were taken into account. More precisely, the following classes of VMWEs were identified:

(i)   IDs, that is, fixed expressions with a non-compositional meaning:

   (2) δαγκώνω τη λαμαρίνα
      dagono ti lamarina
      bite-1SG the panel-SG.ACC
      lit. to-bite the panel
      "to be in love"

(ii)   LVCs, that comprise a light or support verb followed by a predicative noun or a preposition and a predicative noun:

   (3) κάνω βόλτα
      kano volta
      make-1SG walk-SG.ACC
      "to take a walk"

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[2] In the Greek data, the only contracted words that are split consist of the preposition σε and the genitive and accusative forms of the definite article (i.e., στου, στης, στον, στη, στην, στο, στων, στους, στις, στα).

(4) φτάνω σε συμφωνία
    ftano se simfonia
    reach-1SG at agreement-SG.ACC lit. to-reach at agreement
    "to agree"

(iii)   VPCs comprising a verb and a particle. As a matter of fact, *particles* are heterogeneous and multifunctional linguistic items (conjunctions, adverbs, interjections, prepositions). In languages such as English, prepositions or adverbs with little or no meaning are considered as particles which add some meaning to the meaning of the verb they co-occur with (Ramisch, 2012:30). In this respect, the adverb *up* is a particle forming the Verb- Particle Construction *tidy-up* depicted in (5):

(5) The boys tidied up their room

        In the literature, VMWEs of the form Verb+Adverb in Greek have been generally treated as idiomatic expressions in the literature (Gross, 1990, Voyatzi, 2006). To ensure compliance to the generic guidelines, however, we made the distinction between: (a) adverbs that combine with a verb head to form an idiomatic expression, as for example, the adverb *βαρέως* (vareos, "heavily") in the ID *φέρω βαρέως* (fero vareos, "be very sad") that is depicted in (6) below; and (b) adverbs which exhibit most - if not all - of the properties particles in other languages exhibit. The latter have two distinct functions; as adverbs denoting time or location, they are used to modify a verb, as for example: *μπροστά* (brosta, "in front"), *μέσα* (mesa, "inside"), *πάνω* (pano, "up"). In another function, these adverbs are combined with prepositions to form complex prepositions (Klairis and Babiniotis, 2004), as for example *μπροστά από* (brosta apo, "in front of"), *μέσα σε* (mesa se, "in"), *πάνω από* (pano apo, "on, over"). These adverbs are also found to co-occur with verbs forming VMWEs with non-compositional meaning, like *βάζω μπρος* (vazo bros, "start"), *πέφτω μέσα* (pefto mesa, "succeed in foreseeing"), *μπαίνω μέσα* (beno mesa, "be bankrupt"), etc. Given their resemblance with VPCs in other languages, we decided to adopt this class for Greek, and therefore the VMWEs in (7), (8) were assigned the class VPC, as opposed to IDs as the one in (6).

(6) ο προπονητής έφερε βαρέως την εντός έδρας ήττα
    o proponitis efere vareos tin entos edras ita
    lit. the- SG.NOM coach- SG.NOM brought-3SG heavily the-SG.ACC in home defeat-SG.ACC
     "the coach was very sad for the defeat at home"

(7) ο Γιάννης έβαλε μπρος το αυτοκίνητο
    o Gianis evale bros to aftokinito
    lit. the-SG.NOM John- SG.NOM put-3SG forward the-SG.ACC car-SG.ACC
    "John started the car"

(8) ο Γιάννης πέφτει μέσα στις προβλέψεις του
    o Gianis pefti mesa stis provlepsis tu
    lit. the- SG.NOM John- SG.NOM falls-3SG in to-the-SG.ACC forecasts-SG.ACC his-SG.GEN

    "John succeeded in his forecast"

(iv)   Other verbal MWEs (OTH); this class has been devised as a residual category in order to gather the types not belonging to any of the categories above. This class has been assigned to VMWEs that are partly saturated, with coordinated lexicalized head verbs like the one depicted in (9), structures with subordination (10), and fully saturated prototypical phrases (11).
(9) απορώ και εξίσταμαι
    aporo ke eksistame
    lit. question-myself-1sg and be-very-surprised-1sg
    "to be very surprised"

(10) έχω να κάνωecho na kano
   lit. have-1sg to do-1sg
   "to involve"

(11) το έξυπνο πουλί από τη μύτη πιάνεται
   to eksipno puli apo ti miti pianete
   lit. the-SG.NOM clever-SG.NOM from the-SG.ACC nose-SG.ACC is-caught-3SG
   "the clever is fooled"

The annotation guidelines also set the specifications relative to a number of phenomena that are inherent to VMWEs. In this respect, discontinuous elements should be annotated; nested and overlapping VMWEs are also foreseen in the annotation guidelines. Finally, a decision tree was devised to better guide annotators make decisions in difficult and ambiguous cases.

5. RESULTS

The annotation resulted in the identification of circa a total of 2K instances of VMWEs. The number of VMWEs annotated per corpus and category is depicted in Table 2.

Table 2 Annotation results

	Training corpus	Test corpus	Total
ID	515	127	642
LVC	955	336	1291
VPC	32	16	48
OTH	16	21	37
Total	1518	500	2018

In this section, corpus validation is attempted on the basis of the results obtained by measuring the agreement rate between annotators and in terms of systems performance. Inter- annotator agreement (IAA) was measured for the pilot corpus and on a subpart of the training and test corpus. The available IAA results were organized per-VMWE F-score (F_{unit}), estimated Cohens K (K_{unit}), and standard K(K_{cat}) scores. In Table 3 below, *#S*, and *#T* show the number of sentences and tokens in the corpora used for measuring the IAA, respectively. *#A1* and *#A2* refer to the number of VMWE instances annotated by each of the annotators. The results show that a certain degree of agreement has been reached, yet there is room for improvement in view of providing quality training and test data.

Table 3 IAA results

#S	#T	#A1	#A2	Funit	Kunit	Kcat
1383	33964	217	299	0.686	0.632	0.745

Five systems (out of seven participating in the competition) used the EL corpus yielding rather poor results as shown in Table 4. A discussion of the problematic cases that led – to some extent - to these results will be presented in section 6.

Finally, the VMWEs that were identified in the corpus were automatically extracted in view of populating a computational lexicon of Greek with VMWEs (Fotopoulou and Giouli, 2018). This LR is intended for NLP applications. In this regard, naturally occurring VMWEs and their representation is of paramount importance. The initial list was further processed by hand so as to (a) eliminate duplicate entries, and (b) enrich it with variant entries, or semantically related ones. The outcome was a new list with ~900 entries that were automatically imported into the lexicon. Given the pre-processing applied to the texts, each VMWE is coupled with information that was also encoded in the lexicon: lemma, surface structure depicted as POS tags, and the class assigned during annotation. Occurrences of the VMWE that were not annotated imply a literal use of the underlying structure. This information was used to measure the idiomaticity rate. Literal usage was further

checked and encoded. A sample of the list extracted for inclusion to the lexicon is provided in Figure 2.

MWE	major-POS-tag	major-category	n-literal	n-idiomatic	n-total	idiomaticity-rate	example-literal
σηκώνω μπαϊράκι	VERB NOUN	ID	0	2	2	1.0	---
σηκώνω το γάντι	VERB DET NOUN	ID	0	1	1	1.0	---
σημειώνω αύξηση	VERB NOUN	LVC	0	1	1	1.0	---
σημειώνω πτώση	VERB NOUN	LVC	0	1	2	1.0	---
σκάβω ο λάκκος	VERB DET NOUN	ID	1	1	2	0.5	Έσκαβαν τον λάκκο για να βάλουν ;
σκάω μύτη	VERB NOUN	ID	0	1	1	1.0	---
σούρνω ο εξ αμάξης	VERB DET ADP NOUN	ID	0	1	1	1.0	---
σπάω νεύρα	VERB NOUN	ID	0	1	1	1.0	---
σπάω πλάκα	VERB NOUN	ID	0	1	1	1.0	---
σπάω ο κοντέρ	VERB DET NOUN	ID	0	1	1	1.0	---
σπάω ταμείο	VERB NOUN	ID	0	3	3	1.0	---

Figure 2: Sample of the VMWE list

6. DISCUSSION - PROBLEMATIC CASES

VMWEs identification poses challenges due to their characteristics, namely: discontinuity, heterogeneity, and syntactic variability. A number of phenomena, as for example, MWE substitutability, variability, and modifiability, already accounted for in the linguistic literature (Gross, 1982); (Nunberg et al., 1994); (Mel'cuk, 1995) inter alii, were attested in the textual data hampering, thus, the identification and classification process for human annotators and machines alike. In NLP, the term *data sparsity* (also known as *data sparseness*) is used to describe the phenomenon of not observing enough data in a corpus used for training purposes. Therefore, true observations about the distribution and co-occurrence patterns cannot be made and language modeling is not accurate. Despite the relatively big size of our corpus, the number of VMWEs that were identified in the GOLD and PLATINUM versions was rather small. Additionally, inconsistencies between annotators make the data sparsity problem even worse. In the remaining, we will present the problematic cases which gave rise to inconsistent annotations and led to poor identification and classification of VMWEs by the participating systems. Markable extent seemed to be a "pain in the neck" both for human annotators and systems. Only the fixed part of the VMWEs was expected to be annotated. Identification of discontinuous and nested VMWEs was problematic for systems rather than human annotators. On the contrary, confusion as to the extent of a VMWE generally involved LVCs and the inclusion of complex Noun Phrases (NPs) within the markable. For example, the NP *στάση εργασίας* (stasi ergasias, "strike") shown in (12) is an embedded non- compositional NP and should be included in the markable.

> (12) *κάνω στάση εργασίας* kano stasi ergasias
> *lit.* make-1.SG stop-SG.ACC work-SG.GEN
> "to go on strike"

On the contrary, only the verb έχω (echo, "to have") and the noun head αίσθηση (esthisi, "feeling") should be annotated in (13) since the dependent NP *γενική αίσθηση της κατάστασης* (geniki esthisi tis katastasis, "vague feeling of the situation") is non-compositional:

> (13) *έχω τη γενική αίσθηση της κατάστασης*
> echo ti geniki esthisi tis katastasis
> *lit.* have-1.SG the-SG.ACC vague-SG.ACC feeling-SG.ACC the-SG.GEN situation-SG.GEN
> "to have a vague feeling of the situation"

Similarly, overlapping VMWEs seem to be problematic. In (14) two overlapping VMWEs should be identified:

> (14) *η οργάνωση έχει τη βούληση και την ικανότητα*
> i organosi echi ti vulisi ke tin ikanotita na
> *lit.* the-SG.NOM organisation-SG.ACC have-3.SG the-SG.ACC will-SG.ACC and the-SG.ACC ability-SG.ACC
> "the organization has the will and the ability; the organization wants and can "

Moreover, MWE variation and the resulting sparseness of data led to a poor representation of certain phenomena in the training data. The variation attested was lexical, morphological and grammatical. Lexical variation was attested in LVCs and decomposable IDs. In (15b) the noun *σέλφι* ("selfie"), a transliterated form of the English noun *selfie* (denoting a self-portrait photograph typically taken by a smartphone) is used instead of the noun *φωτογραφία* depicted in (15a) to form a near synonymous VMWE:

> (15)
>> a. *βγάζω φωτογραφία*
>>> vgazo fotografia
>>> *lit.* take-1.SG photograph-SG.ACC
>>> "to take a photograph"
>> b. *βγάζω σέλφι*
>>> vgazo selfi
>>> *lit.* take-1.SG shelfie-SG.ACC
>>> "to take a selfie"

In most cases, however, variant LVCs comprise alternating light verbs signaling a formal/informal language use as shown in (16):

> (16) *κάνω*   / *εκπονώ μελέτη*
>> kano   / ekpono meleti
>> *lit.* make-1.SG   / elaborate-1.SG study-SG.ACC
>> "to study"

Grammatical variation often involves subcategorization alternations (i.e. dative alternation) and negative polarity items which are part of the idiomatic expression. For example, the expression *δεν σηκώνω μύγα στο σπαθί μου* (den sikono miga sto spathi mu, "do not tolerate") when used in context is not recognized due to the presence of the negative particle *μην* (min "not") in the subjunctive, in the following example:

> (17) *Τους είδαμε να μην σηκώνουν μύγα στο σπαθί τους*
>> tus idame na min sikonun miga sto spathi tus
>> *lit.* them-PL.ACC saw-1PL.PA to not raise-3PL fly-SG.ACC to-the-SG.ACC sword-SG.ACC their-PL.ACC
>> "we saw that they did not tolerate anything"

Ambiguity and idiomaticity rates are also interconnected. Non-idiomatic or literal occurrences are poorly represented in the corpus as negative instances of VMWEs; as a result, lacking context was a drawback for systems to resolve the ambiguity between the compositional and non-compositional (and therefore, idiomatic) meaning of the expressions in (18) and (19) respectively:

> (18) *βάζω μπροστά τον αριθμό 0030*
>> vazo brosta ton arithmo 0030
>> *lit.* place-1SG in-front the-SG.ACC number-SG.ACC 0030
>> "to place the number 0030 in front"

> (19) *βάζω μπροστά τη μηχανή*
>> vazo brosta ti michani
>> *lit.* put-1SG forward the-SG.ACC machine-SG.ACC
>> "to start the machine"

The distinction between MWEs and metaphors - a relatively unstudied and open question - was also a source of inconsistencies and had certainly an impact on the annotation of texts. As a matter of fact, fixed expressions are fossilized metaphors. There are a few precise tests, other than statistical, which would allow human annotators to resolve this ambiguity reliably; Gross (1982) gives some clues on the reproducibility and predictability of metaphors. In the current version of the annotation, however, no attempt was made to distinguish MWEs from metaphors.

7. CONCLUSIONS AND FUTURE WORK

We have presented an EL corpus manually annotated for VMWEs within a multilingual setting. We have discussed the annotation scheme and its application to Greek data. The corpus is freely available to the NLP and linguistic communities and released under Creative Commons licenses. Annotation of VMWEs in naturally occurring text was proved to be a non-trivial task. To better account for the problematic cases as outlined above, action should be taken along the following lines: (a) further training of the annotators, (b) enhancement of the language-specific guidelines, (c) definition of an adjudication procedure at fixed intervals and after the end of the annotation, and (d) annotation of more data so as to overcome the sparseness issue.

Future work has been planned towards the following axes: (a) enrichment of the corpus so that we overcome the data sparseness problem, (b) inclusion of other text genres and modalities (i.e., user-generated content, more informal texts) in which other types of VMWEs are expected, and (c) further elaboration and/or better customization of the guidelines with respect to the Greek data. Finally, the annotation of other grammatical categories (nouns, adverbs, adjectives) is already under way.

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Greeks as minorities in Ontario, Canada: The role of socio-economic status, attitudes, and motivation in heritage language acquisition and maintenance

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ABSTRACT

Ο αριθμός των μεταναστών στον Καναδά παρουσίασε αύξηση ως αποτέλεσμα μίας σειράς φυσικών καταστροφών, πολέμων, οικονομικής ανάγκης, επιθυμίας για ένα καλύτερο επίπεδο ζωής και άλλων συγκρούσεων, στις οποίες γίνεται μάρτυρας ο πλανήτης. Αυτοί οι μετανάστες θεωρούνται μειονότητες στον Καναδά των οποίων η γλώσσα και η κουλτούρα βρίσκονται διαρκώς υπό τον κίνδυνο της εξαφάνισης. Οι Έλληνες του Οντάριο, στον Καναδά, κατατάσσονται ανάμεσα σε αυτές τις μειονότητες. Πρότερη έρευνα υποδεικνύει ότι εκείνα τα άτομα τα οποία παρακολούθησαν Ελληνικά σχολεία, έχουν Ελληνίδες μητέρες και/ή Έλληνες πατέρες και εμπλέκονται σε δραστηριότητες σε Ελληνικά ιδρύματα/συλλόγους, επιδεικνύουν θετικότερη στάση έναντι της κληρονομιάς της γλώσσας τους και υπεράνω όλων, παρουσιάζουν θετικότερα συναισθήματα έναντι της εθνικής τους ταυτότητας. Η παρούσα εργασία προχωρά σε μία επισκόπηση της Ελληνικής κοινότητας στο Οντάριο. Προσδιορίζει την κληρονομιά της γλώσσας καθώς και άλλα ζητήματα τα οποία έχουν σχέση με αυτήν όπως, διατήρηση της γλώσσας, απώλεια της γλώσσας και μεταβολή της γλώσσας. Κυρίως, αποσκοπεί στην παρουσίαση της επίπτωσης της κοινωνικό-οικονομικής θέσης (εισόδημα, εκπαίδευση και επαγγελματική ασχολία), της αντιμετώπισης και του κινήτρου επί της εκμάθησης και διατήρησης της κληρονομιάς της γλώσσας μεταξύ των μεταναστών της δεύτερης, τρίτης και τέταρτης γενεάς. Τα στοιχεία θα συγκεντρωθούν από άτομα Ελλήνων της πρώτης, δεύτερης και τρίτης γενεάς (15 άτομα ανά γενεά) με την χρήση ενός προσωπικά σχεδιασμένου ερωτηματολογίου έρευνας. Επιπλέον αυτού, θα υποβληθούν ερωτήσεις μέσω συνέντευξης σε ένα μικρό αριθμό ατόμων από διαφορετικές γενεές. Ο σκοπός της συγκέντρωσης στοιχείων είναι να δείξει εάν οι μετανάστες έχουν διαφορετική στάση έναντι της μητρικής/κληρονομικής γλώσσας καθώς και διαφορετικά κίνητρα εξαρτώμενα από την οικονομική τους κατάσταση, και άλλους παράγοντες. Πλέον αυτού, η εργασία ρίχνει φως (φωτίζει) στον ρόλο των γονέων και άλλων πολιτιστικών και εθνικών ιδρυμάτων στην προσφορά βοήθειας στις νεότερες γενεές με σκοπό την διατήρηση και εκμάθηση της γλωσσικής κληρονομιάς τους. Τελευταίο άλλα εξίσου σημαντικό, η μελέτη εξετάζει με ποιο τρόπο η ευφράδεια (ευχέρεια) και η εμπιστοσύνη στην κληρονομιά της γλώσσας οδηγούν (έχουν ως αποτέλεσμα) στην αυτό-εκτίμηση.

Λέξεις κλειδιά: Οι Έλληνες ως μετανάστες, Οι Έλληνες ως μειονότητες, κληρονομική γλώσσα, στάση έναντι της κληρονομικής γλώσσας

1. HISTORY OF IMMIGRATION TO CANADA

"Healthy Climate, Light Taxes, Free Schools, and 160-acre Free Farms." This is how Wildfried Laurier's government attempted selling Canada abroad in 1896 (Brearton, 2016: 3). Through the years, Canada has witnessed different waves of immigrants having one common target in mind: improving their quality of life, establishing more stable residence, and finding better job opportunities. Different people from different countries have found refuge in Canada: Americans establishing farms and factories, African-Americans fleeing persecution, Chinese looking for better jobs, Greeks running away from poor economic situations, and, last but not least, Syrians escaping the civil war (Brearton, 2016). According to Brearton (2016: 1), "Immigration to Canada can generally be characterized by three words: economics, ethnicity and race." As reported by Statistics Canada, it is predicted that by 2031 the number of Canadians belonging to a minority group will exceed 11.4 million (Brearton, 2016: 6).

2. PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

The overall purpose of this research paper is to present an overview of the current linguistic and cultural status of Greek immigrants in Ontario, Canada. It mainly focuses on the individuals' socio-economic status, attitude, and motivation on heritage language acquisition especially among the younger generations (second and third generations). The paper also defines key terms such as minorities, heritage language, heritage language acquisition, heritage language learners, heritage language speakers, socio-economic status, attitude, motivation, language shift, and language maintenance.

3. HISTORY OF GREEK IMMIGRATION TO CANADA

The presence of the Greeks in Canada goes back almost four centuries. It started with the arrival of Yennis Phokas who landed on the Canadian West Coast as a member of the Spanish fleet (Avvoula, 2009; Lloyd, 2011). At the beginning of the 20th century, only 39 people claimed being of Greek origin (Avvoula, 2009; Chimbos, 2013). After 1911, Canada witnessed an influx of Greek immigrants looking for a new life and better job opportunities. According to the 2006 census, 242,685 Greeks lived in Canada distributed between Montreal, Ontario (mainly Toronto) and Quebec. Among these 3, Ontario is home to the majority; 132, 440 Greeks immigrants live there (Chimbos, 2013).

No human being has ever left homeland without any reason. Among the push factors that urged Greeks to leave their motherland and settle in Canada are different wars, political fighting, and economic instability, the war between the Greeks and Turks between 1900 and 1911, and unemployment prevailing in major Greek cities. Throughout the years, thousands of Greeks made Canada their home and formed the Greek community of Canada. Today, they are considered as Christian minority that belongs to the Greek Orthodox Church (Avvoula, 2009).

As a community, Greek Canadians have established many churches, schools (daily and weekly), organizations, community centers, and newspapers (Chimbos, 2013). The three most influential factors in the life of every Greek immigrant in Canada are the family, the church, and the school. Each of these factors contributes in preserving the Greek language, values, customs, traditions, and identities (Chimbos, 2013).

Despite all the hard work Greeks have done for preserving the language, culture, heritage and identity, many Greeks especially members of the first and second generation believe that the current generation of Greeks in Canada are at risk. Many elders of the community admit the fact although their children know the Greek language fluently, their grandchildren are not. In spite of being exposed to Greek at home, in the family, and in the community, members of the current generation learn the language of the majority at school and use it more; as a result, they are "assimilating slowly but surely" (Frangouli-Argyris, 2013: 2). In addition to the language, Frangouli-Argyris (2013) and Chimbos (2013) believe that not attending the Greek Orthodox Church and increase in mixed marriages contribute to the process of assimilation.

4. RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The purpose of this paper is to show the impact of socio-economic status (income, education, and occupation), attitude, and motivation of Greeks living in Ontario, Canada on heritage language acquisition and maintenance especially among second, third and fourth generation immigrants.

The following are the research questions to be answered:
RQ1. What are the consequences of heritage language loss?
RQ2. What are the factors that prevent Greek immigrants in Ontario, Canada from being proficient in their heritage language (Greek)?
RQ3. Which generation group of Greek immigrants in Ontario, Canada are most at risk?

5. HERITAGE LANGUAGE

The term Heritage Language (HL) was first coined and introduced to the linguistic circles in Canada in the mid 1970's after launching the "Ontario Heritage Language Programs" (Montrul, 2010; Kagan & Dillon, 2008; Park, 2013). It mainly refers to the languages brought by immigrants to the

host countries (Park, 2013). Some of the synonyms of the term HL are ethnic language, minority language, ancestral language, third language, non-official language, community language, mother-tongue, and native language (Park, 2013; He, 2010). In its broader sense, Krashen (1998) defines a HL as the language that is usually spoken at home or connected to the heritage culture (in Yu, 2015); however, it has not been acquired completely because of the dominant language of the host society (Kagan & Dillon, 2008).

Two significant terms related to HL are *Heritage Language Learners* and *Heritage Language Speakers*. The first is defined as individuals, mostly bilingual, who have a cultural connection with a language that they have learnt at home before English but do not understand it or speak it fluently (He, 2010, p. 67; Kagan & Dillon, 2008, p. 143). Some of the characteristics of the heritage language learners include: acquisition of the HL before the acquisition of English, limited exposure to the HL outside the home, strong oral skills but limited literacy skills, positive attitudes toward the HL, and studying the HL to connect with the heritage community (Kagan, 2012).

It has been explored in prior study by Nesteruk (2010) that birth order of the immigrant children is very crucial; it has great impact on the children's HL experience. A series of studies by Nesteruk (2010), Montrul (2010), and Brown (2011) indicate that the HL experience of the first-born child is much different from that of the later-born or last born. The first-born has more direct interaction with the parents; hence, they experience more exposure to the HL. Exposure to the host language is initiated after they start school as a result of which they become bilingual in the HL and the dominant language. In fact, as the dominant language becomes stronger, the HL becomes weaker. Naturally, they prefer using English for communication. Nevertheless, the later-born children interact with their siblings more. During those interactions, English is employed for communication and conversation.

Immigrant children's preference and choice of language before schooling and with siblings after schooling indicates that they have started witnessing a language shift (Brown, 2011; Park & Sarkar, 2007) that eventually leads to language loss (Yu, 2015) and assimilation in further generations (Nesteruk, 2010). Valdes (2000) believes that by the fourth generation, all immigrant children will be monolinguals of the host society that is English (in Kagan & Dillon, 2008).

6. FACTORS OF HERITAGE LANGUAGE LOSS

Heritage language loss is defined as the process of losing the community language by focusing on the majority/dominant language (Park, 2013). According to Kouritzin (1999), heritage language loss is the "restricted minority language acquisition in a majority language submersion setting" (p. 11 in Park, 2013: 44).
Some of the factors that lead to HL loss are: peer pressure, parents' choice of language at home, sibling influence, parents' mentality, and absence of parents from home because of work (Brown, 2011; Park, 2013).

As stated by Kipp, Clyne, and Pauwels (1995), in addition to the factors mentioned above, there are 2 major categories that contribute to the process of HL loss. The first category is considered to be on the individual level such as age, gender, place of birth, education, marriage patterns, prior knowledge of the majority language, reason for migration, and length of residency in the host country. The second category is on the group level mainly related to the size and distribution of the ethnic group and the language policy of the host country (Nesteruk, 2010).

7. CONSEQUENCES OF HERITAGE LANGUAGE LOSS

Any decision taken or choice made in life has its consequences. In fact, heritage language loss leads to a long list of consequences most of which are considered to be negative. Some of the major consequences are discussed below.

7.1 Negative Self-Image and Ethnic Identity

Research reveals that immigrants who are proficient in their heritage language feel better towards their ethnic identity and themselves (Bankston & Zhou, 1995 in Yu, 2015). Edwards (1997) and Joseph (2004) believe that one of the most important factors in attaining a strong ethnic identity is language in general and HL in particular (in Yu, 2015). Hecht, Collier, and Ribeau (1993) define ethnic identity as immigrants' socially constructed sense of belonging to an ethnic group with which

they share heritage, language, traditions, religious practices, values, ancestry, and other aspects (in Yu, 2015). It is suggested that the more skilled and capable individuals are in their HL the more positive self-esteem they show. Students who do not have a good command of their HL are usually ashamed of their heritage and culture especially in the presence of their friends (Park, 2013; Yu, 2015).

7.2 Poor Academic Performance
Based on previous research, students who are proficient at their HL and have better self-esteem perform better at school. Their achievement at school is directly related to those 2 factors (Yu, 2015). In addition, Cummins (2001) states that immigrant students show poor academic performance when their HL is rejected by the school community (mainly peers and teachers). In most cases, they lose self-confidence and avoid participation in class (Park, 2013).

7.3 Lack of Communication Between Children and Their Parents
In any immigrant family, the children-parents relationship is at risk when children shift to the language of the majority at home; hence, a large gap exists between them. This gap eventually leads to lack of communication between children and parents. Actually, the more children know their HL the tighter their relation with their family is. The opposite is true as well. The less children know their HL the more negative their attitude towards their ethnic group could be and larger the gap between them and their parents would grow (Park, 2013; Park & Sarkar, 2007).

7.4 Feelings of Discomfort During Home Country Visits
Many immigrant individuals feel bad when they visit their home country where they are in constant communication with native speakers of their HL. This feeling of discomfort could be considered positive and negative. In case of second generation bilingual immigrants, it could be a strong motivation to learn the language better and show better skills during their next visit. However, it could be negative in case of third and fourth generation immigrants. These individuals might refuse visiting their home country and any communication with their relatives for the simplest reason that they do not have a common language (Suarez, 2007).

8. THE STUDY

8.1 Instruments
For the purpose of data collection a self-designed questionnaire was used. It included 45 questions related to age, generation, language skills, and social and cultural activities. The questionnaire was created and posted on SurveyMonkey which is an online survey development and data collection and analysis tool. Different platforms were used for filling out the questionnaire such as posting the link of the questionnaire on social media by a Greek Canadian and an Armenian Canadian living in Ontario and sending it via email to different subjects.

8.2 Subjects
The subjects of the study conducted were 66 Greeks from Ontario, Canada spread over age, gender, occupation, and educational background. They responded without any bias to any age, gender, or generation. Among the 66 subjects that participated in the survey, 18 belonged to the age group 21-25 (27.3%), followed by the age groups 16-20 and 46-50 with 9 subjects in each (13.6%). The age group 76 and older included 1 subject only (1.5%). The subjects came from 3 different generations distributed as follows: 36 from 1st generation, 24 from 2nd generation, and 6 from 3rd generation. Among the 66, there were 29 male (46.8%) and 33 female subjects (53.2%). The majority of the subjects were born in Canada (n=54); some of the subjects who were born outside Canada, came to Canada between the ages 5-10 (n=4).

8.3 Findings

According to the results, 37 subjects admitted Greek being their first language and 27 chose English. In addition, the language spoken by the parents was considered important as well. Forty-three subjects reported that their parents spoke Greek, 15 English, and 7 both. The subjects were also asked what language they used in different situations. Figure 1 gives a clear overview of that.

What language(s) do you speak in the following situations?

Situation	English	Greek
At home, with	34	53
With Siblings	54	22
With	12	61
With other	40	54
With Cousins	57	31
At work	61	7
On social	60	33
At church	39	58
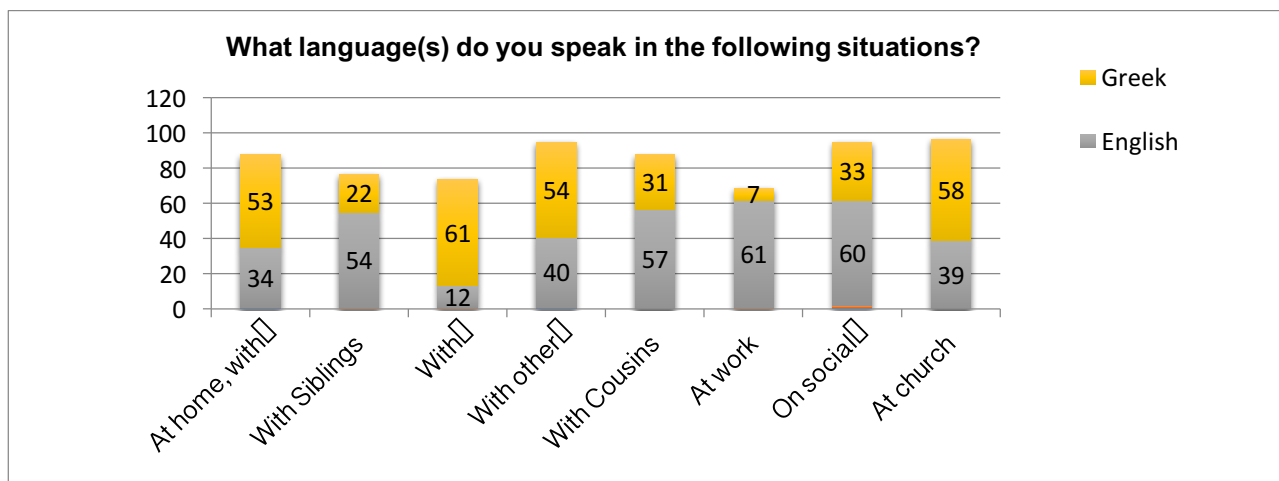
Figure 1: Choice of Language in Different Situations

The responses also show the parents' proficiency in both Greek and English. Among the 66 subjects, 27 reported being excellent at English (40.9%) and 6 reported being poor (9.1%). As opposed to that, 49 subjects admitted being excellent at Greek (74.2%), 13 very good (19.7%) and 4 good (6.1%). None of the subjects admitted being poor at Greek.

The subjects were asked whether they were involved in the everyday Greek activities such as attending religious education and church services, watching Greek TV, and listening to Greek music. Those who attended religious education classes while growing up responded that they attended an average of 3 hours per week (1 hour the least, 6 hours the most). In addition, 50 subjects reported that they still attend Greek Church services/functions, while 15 have answered "no".

Regarding watching Greek-language television while growing up and currently, 47 subjects (72.3%) replied that they watched Greek language TV while growing up; however, only 12 of those (18.2%) watch it currently. As for listening to Greek music, 44 subjects (66.7%) admitted that they listened to Greek music while growing up as opposed to 15 subjects (23.1%) currently. Hence, the number of people who used to watch Greek-language TV and listen to Greek-language radio has decreased. Since reading has always been considered an essential activity in preserving one's language, the subjects were asked whether they read in Greek and what. Among those, the Bible received the highest percentage (51%), followed by reading magazines (50%), novels and short stories (47%) and newspaper (45%).

Another important issue that was raised in the questionnaire was where the Greeks in Canada had learnt Greek. Subjects had 7 different choices. According to the results, 45 subjects learnt Greek at home, 34 subjects in a bilingual education program, 8 subjects at the church, 20 In a Greek-speaking country, 10 in high school in Canada, 4 at the university or community-college level in Canada, and 9 taught themselves.

Sometimes the reason why someone has learnt a language says a lot about them. Different subjects have learnt Greek for different reasons. According to the survey results, 41 subjects (67.2%) informed that Greek helped them communicate with their grandparents and relatives, 30 subjects (49.2%) needed Greek to travel to their heritage culture, 27 subjects (44.3%) reported that they wanted to know more about their ethnic culture, 15 (24.6%) admitted that being bilingual in both English and Greek increased their chance of getting a better career. In addition, 14 subjects (23.0%) wanted an important position in their ethnic community in the future and 16 subjects (26.2%) to watch TV or a movie. It is worth noting that 15 subjects (24.6%) suggested different reasons for learning and improving their skills in Greek such as passing on the Greek language to their kids and

the future generations, being Greek before being Canadian, being proud of their heritage language, and being able to communicate with their mother should they get dementia and only speak Greek.

Although 43 subjects reported that in the future they do not expect to make any professional use of their Greek-language skills, 22 subjects shared that they expect to make use of their Greek language skills in different fields and for different reasons such as providing Greek client service, working in the medical field, using it in their career, working in the hospitality and tourism industry and managing real estate, and many others.

Regarding their reading and speaking skills in English, the majority of the subjects reported being excellent: 77.3% excellent in speaking and 75.8% excellent in speaking. Concerning their language skills in Greek, 61 subjects (92.4%) reported that they could speak, read and write in Greek. When the subjects were required to rate their language skills in Greek, 22 subjects (33.3%) admitted being excellent at speaking while 2 subjects (3.0%) very poor, 18 subjects (27.3%) admitted being excellent at reading while 4 of them (6.1%) very poor, and 14 subjects (21.2%) excellent at writing while only 5 subjects (7.6%) admitted being very poor. As for how often they use Greek, 36 subjects (54.5%) reported that they often speak, 20 subjects (30.3%) often read, and 19 subjects (29.2%) often write Greek. As opposed to that, 1 subject (1.5%) admitted never speaking Greek, 5 subjects (7.6%) reported not reading and 7 subjects (10.8%) reported never writing Greek.

According to the results of the questionnaire, 17 subjects considered their overall proficiency in Greek as excellent, 21 as very good, 17 as good, 6 as fair, and 4 as poor.
It is worth mentioning that the majority of the subjects informed that maintaining and passing the Greek language to the next generation are very important for the survival of the Greek community in Canada (71.9% and 74.2%). Nevertheless, 50.8% of the subjects reported that they felt most comfortable when they were speaking English. The results were different when they were asked which language they identified themselves with. According to the survey, 16 subjects (24.6%) identified themselves with Greek, 20 subjects (30.8%) with English, 1 subject (1.5%) with neither Greek nor English, and 23 subjects (35.4%) with both Greek and English.

In fact, the majority of the subjects (57.1%) reported that while they were growing up their parents had a very supportive attitude towards maintaining their heritage language (Greek). Almost a similar percentage of subjects (50.8%) informed that their parents have always spoken Greek to them. In addition, 60 subjects reported that their parents helped them maintain their heritage language (Greek) all the time and anytime possible. Most parents enrolled their children to Greek schools, bought readers/videos in Greek, visited home country (Greece) regularly, spoke to them in Greek, and were active members of the Greek community.

8.4 Interpretation of Findings

According to the survey conducted, 91.7% of those who are born in Greece consider Greek their first language; whereas, those who are born in Canada show different results. Fifty percent of them consider English their first language and the other 50% consider Greek their first language. In addition, for those who are born in Greece, Greek is the language they feel comfortable with (41.7%) and they identify with (33.3%). On the other side, for those who are born in Canada, English is the language they feel comfortable with (56.6%). Moreover, 35.8% of them identify with both English and Greek.

The results of the survey also reveal that 41.7% of first generation Greek immigrants identify themselves with both Greek and English, 30.4% of second generation with both English and Greek and other 30.4% with English, and 66.7% of third generation Greek immigrants identify themselves with English only. In fact, not a single third generation subject has reported identifying with Greek (0%).

In addition, 48.6% of first generation subjects, 50% of second generation, and 66.7% of third generation subjects feel comfortable while speaking English. Moreover, 64.7% of first generation Greek immigrants consider Greek their first language as opposed to 50% of second and third generation subjects respectively consider English their first language.

The findings of the study highlight that 97.2% of first generation, 87.5% of second generation, and 83.3% of third generation Greek immigrants have reported that they can speak, read, and write Greek. As the results of the survey demonstrate, the majority of the subjects, whether first, second, or third generation Greek immigrants, have reported not reading Greek magazines, newspaper, the Bible, or any novels/short stories.

In addition, 71.4% of the first generation, 54.2% of the second generation, and 83.3% of the third generation subjects do not expect to make any professional use of their Greek language skills is the future. Nevertheless, 69.4% of the first generation, 87.5% of the second generation, and only 50% of the third generation subjects consider passing Greek to the next generation as a very important task and mission.

8.5 Discussion of Findings

The results and data analysis of the survey conducted show the efficacy of the issues raised in the literature of this paper. The percentages reveal that Greek is mainly used within the family sphere, for communication with the elderly in particular especially the grandparents, and at church. Subjects switch to English when speaking with their siblings or other relatives. Outside the family, English is the main language of communication such as at work and social occasions. Actually, English is the only means to participate fully in the dominant community outside home and find better job opportunities.

As time passes by, the gap between Greek immigrants in Ontario, Canada and their culture becomes larger. The percentages of subjects who used to watch Greek language TV and listen to Greek language radio have dropped from 72.3% to 18.2% and 66.7% to 23.1% respectively. Many subjects do not watch or listen due to the fact that they prefer the English movie and English songs since they have a better command of English than the heritage language. This is due to the fact that the majority language, that is English, is the major medium of schooling (Montrul, 2010).

Subjects who are born in Canada are more attached to the Canadian/English culture than to Greek. They consider English their first language, feel more comfortable while speaking English, and even identify with English more. Brown (2011) claims the best way for students at school to attain a feeling of belonging is through learning English and losing the heritage language. Since culture and language are interrelated, HL loss leads to losing cultural aspects as well.

Last but not least, the outcome of the survey conducted confirms and emphasizes a very important issue discussed in the review of literature. The younger the generation, the less fluent they are in Greek and the more comfortable they are with English. The third generation Greek immigrants in Ontario, Canada consider English their first language and they feel more comfortable while speaking English. It is worth mentioning that not a single third generation subject has reported reading any Greek language magazine.

9. RECOMMENDATIONS

For the purpose of saving the Greek language from language shift and language loss and for preserving the Greek identity in a linguistically diverse environment such as Canada few recommendations are suggested. Park (2013) and Park and Sarkar (2007) consider the list below as useful; it is addressed to parents, community leaders, the church, scholars, and educators.
  ➢ Using the HL for communication at home among the family members
  ➢ Positive attitude adopted by parents towards the HL at home
  ➢ Avoiding intermarriages with members from the host society
  ➢ Frequent trips to Greece to facilitate acquisition of Greek
  ➢ Watching TV and reading in Greek

10. CONCLUSION

At the end, it is worth noting that the results of this research study may not apply to every single Greek immigrant living in Ontario, Canada since it includes 66 subjects only. Nevertheless, they should be interpreted as suggestive trends. For instance the fact that only 6 third generation subjects have responded to the questionnaire can be indicative of a potential indifference towards their heritage language, culture and ethnic identity. Actually, Tse (1997) believes that for a heritage language to be maintained it should be promoted by the society and that an ethnic language will be widespread only when both bilingualism and ethnic language proficiency are valued by the host country's (majority) cultures. After all, and as Fishman (1978) believes, "the 'unity' of mankind must be built upon a recognition and acceptance of mankind's diversity" that includes "societal multilingualism" as cited in Kagan (2008: 149).

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Semantic factors of entity name retrieval in Greek aphasia: Evidence from category and size

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ABSTRACT

Τι αποκαλύπτουν τα λάθη της κατονομασίας για την οργάνωση της σημασιολογικής μνήμης; Πώς συσχετίζονται οι οντότητες μέσα από τα μονοπάτια της σκέψης των αφασικών; Η μελέτη των εκδηλώσεων της ανομίας ως χαρακτηριστικού της αφασίας ρίχνει κάποιο φως στα παραπάνω ερωτήματα. Στην παρούσα μελέτη παρουσιάζονται η μέθοδος και τα αποτελέσματα της σχετικής ερευνητικής δουλειάς με βάση τις αποκρίσεις αφασικών ασθενών σε κλινικές δοκιμασίες κατονομασίας.

Στο πλαίσιο αυτής της έρευνας, δημιουργήθηκε ένα Σώμα Κειμένων Οπτικής Κατονομασίας από πενήντα ηχητικά αρχεία στα οποία τριάντα πέντε αφασικοί ασθενείς της Α' Νευρολογικής Κλινικής του Πανεπιστημίου Αθηνών του Αιγινητείου Νοσοκομείου υποβάλλονται στην κλινική δοκιμασία της κατονομασίας των εικόνων. Το Σώμα Κειμένων περιλαμβάνει 4169 Απαντήσεις Αφασικών Ασθενών οι οποίες κατηγοριοποιήθηκαν σύμφωνα με το σχήμα ταξινόμησης που αναπτύχθηκε ειδικά για τον σκοπό αυτό.

Με γνώμονα την Αισθητηριακή/Λειτουργική Θεωρία αλλά και την παρατήρηση των δεδομένων αναπτύχθηκαν υποθέσεις για τον μηχανισμό ανάσυρσης των οντοτήτων από τη σημασιολογική μνήμη των ασθενών. Οι υποθέσεις αυτές επιβεβαιώθηκαν ή απορρίφθηκαν με στατιστική αξιολόγηση. Τα ευρήματα αυτής της έρευνας δείχνουν αν τα λάθη της κατονομασίας είναι τυχαίες υποκαταστάσεις ή αν υπολανθάνουν κάποιες κανονικότητες, αν με άλλα λόγια διακρίνονται κάποιοι μηχανισμοί τους οποίους χρησιμοποιούν οι αφασικοί στην προσπάθεια τους να ανασύρουν μια οντότητα.

Λέξεις-κλειδιά: αφασία, αισθητηριακή/λειτουργική θεωρία

1. INTRODUCTION

Naming is a fundamental aspect of language. Word retrieval, the procedure of transfer from the concept to the spoken word is essential for naming. Naming of a picture involves three major stages. During the first stage, the presemantic stage, the object in the picture needs to be recognized. Next follows the lexical–semantic stage, where a name must be assigned to the object distinguishing it from all other visually and semantically similar items. Finally, during the phonological stage one word form corresponding to the object is assembled and retrieved from memory. Word retrieval is realized from the semantic memory, that is, the kind of memory where the knowledge is represented and organized in our brain. For example, we know that the lemon is yellow and sour. This knowledge is stored in our semantic memory.

On the other hand, word-finding deficit, anomia, is the most common symptom of language dysfunction occurring after brain damage. It is manifested with the disturbance of word retrieval referring to the concepts that once were directly available to the speaker. It is a universal feature of aphasia that cuts across all its diagnostic classifications. In order to understand the word-finding difficulties, we can think of the "tip-of-the-tongue" phenomenon with which all of us we have dealt with in our daily conversation. Aphasic speakers is like they suffer persistently from this problem. This disturbance lead them to substitute the word that they are looking for, with another word or with circumlocutions, they produce paraphasias.

There are plenty of neuropsychological researches that study the organization of semantic memory. The Sensory/Functional theory, one of the most influential explanations of semantic memory has been used in neuropsychology to explain the category-specificity of semantic deficit. It assumes that the identification of living entities differentially depends on visual/perceptual

knowledge, while the ability to recognize nonliving entities depends on functional/associative knowledge. A damage to visual semantic subsystem results in disproportionate deficit of living things while a damage to functional semantic subsystem results in disproportionate deficit of nonliving things. The present research focuses on the study of paraphasias. It is not examined if the aphasic patients finally finds or not the name of the entity but the path they follow during his effort to find it.

In the following research we study how the semantic memory of aphasic patients associates the sought-after word (stimulus) with the finally produced one. We use authentic data of visual confrontation naming tests and draw on a corpus of verbatim intermediate error responses produced by the patients while they search for the elusive word. The final aim is the identification of the semantic factors that may influence entity name retrieval from the semantic memory of aphasic patients.

2. METHOD

Primary data were obtained by the 1st Neurological Clinic of Eginition Hospital in Athens. Fifty audio records were collected from thirty-five aphasic patients who have suffered cerebrovascular accident. There were males and females age ranged from 24 to 79 years, post onset time ranged from one day to three years after stroke. Patients presented all types of aphasias (Wernicke's, anomia, global, Broca's and conduction aphasias).

Subjects underwent the "Boston Naming Test" and the "Snodgrass & Vanderwart" naming test and they were asked to name the pictures as accurately. Pictures are arranged approximately in the order of increasing difficulty. Target names cover a wide range of word frequency. When subjects fail to correctly name a picture, they receive an auditory phonemic cue consisting of the initial sounds of the target word and/or a semantic cue.

The audio records were transcribed and the 'Visual Confrontation Naming Corpus' (VCNC) was developed consisting of 53059 words. A collection of 4169 Aphasic Responses resulted from the annotation of VCNC according to the classification scheme presented below.

The classification scheme of aphasic responses is based on the schemes proposed by Laine & Martin (2006) and Kohn & Goodglass (1985). The multiple error responses to the single target were categorized into five major types. The error types included in this analysis are described in Table 1. We assigned multiple annotations to the responses if more than one error categories could be identified.

Table 1: Error classification system

Type of error	Description	Example
1. Semantic		
a) Single word		
Superordination	Instead of the target name its superordinate category is offered as response	Animal for camel
Subordination	Instead of the target name its subordinate category is offered as response	caretta caretta for turtle
Inclass coordination	Response derived from the same category members	Cow for ox
Contextual association	Various sorts of associative relationships that go across category boundaries	Barrel for wine
b) Definitional circumlocutions	Multiword response with semantic relationship with the target-word	With the big neck for giraffe
2. Perceptual		
Perceptually related	Apparent visual similarity with the target	Beaver for little bear
Perceptually part/whole responses	Part of the target-object	Darts for feather

3. Phonological		
Phonemic relevance	Real word that shares some phonological elements of the target	/elafi/ deer for */elefantas/ elephant*
Phonemic paraphasias	Nonword that the affected units are phonemes	/chtena/ comb for /tena/
Neologistic paraphasias	Nonword that shares more than half the phonemes of the target	/koukouvagia/ owl → /kouloupayia
Abstruse neologisms	Nonword with no identifiable relation to the target	/odondovourtsa/ toothbrush → vasisamou
4. No relationship errors		
Unrelated word	No evident target-response relationship	/pelekanos/ pelican → /papadopoulos/
Deviant circumlocutions	Semantically inappropriate multiword responses referring to attributes not associated with the target	tripod → we draw lines with it
5. Other responses		
Perseveration	Intrusions that appear after some intervening stimuli	gorilla→ frog
Omission	Either the patient remains silent or indicates the inability to name the target	"I know what it is but cannot get it"

3. RESULTS

We turn now to the results of our research. The aim is to examine how the patients retrieve the entity name from their semantic memory. Four research assumptions were formulated and after were tested for their validity prediction using the software package SPSS and the "chi-square test for independence". The research assumptions were checked against the annotated data and were divided into those based on the category (1 & 2) and those based on the size (3 & 4). On the other hand, the aphasic patients' answers were divided based on their content. One way of analysing semantic features is to group them according to their content. In this regard, one of the most frequently examined distinctions is that between Sensory and Non-sensory features. Consider, for example, the concept "dog". A Sensory feature may be has four legs. Non-sensory features may include functional (e.g., is used for hunting), associative (e.g., likes to chase cats) and encyclopaedic features (e.g., may be one of many breeds). The sensory/functional theory, one of the most influential explanations of semantic memory impairment, is based on the distinction between Sensory and Non-sensory semantic features, and has been used to explain the phenomenon of category-specificity in semantic memory.

First of all we examine how entity names based on their category are retrieved. Table 2 shows some examples drawn from our primary data that belong to living entities and are retrieved on the basis of their sensory features. The "giraffe" is retrieved as the animal "with the big neck". "Rhinoceros" as the animal "with its distinctive horn" while the "camel" as the animal which "has two humps". In these cases the patients focus on a morphological feature of the animals that makes them to be differentiated from the others. "Rhinoceros", is also, retrieved as "hippopotamus" and "buffalo". The two animals share visual similarity as referring to their shape, size or their fat. It is a mixture of morphological characteristics. The same applies for the horse that is retrieved as deer.

Table 2: Examples of living entities that are retrieved based on their sensory features

Living entities	Sensory features
	With the **big neck**
	His **nose at the top** **hippopotamus** **buffalo**
	This animal has **two humps** **horse**
	deer

From Graph 1 we observe that the living entities are retrieved both with sensory and functional features. However, the answers that are distinguished by their sensory attributes are attached to the living entities in their majority.

As a result, we create the first assumption that **the retrieval of living entities names from the aphasic patient's semantic memory is based on Sensory features**.

Graph 1: Retrieval of living entities based on Sensory features

Chi-square result: $\chi^2 = 14{,}037$, df= 1, p < 0,001
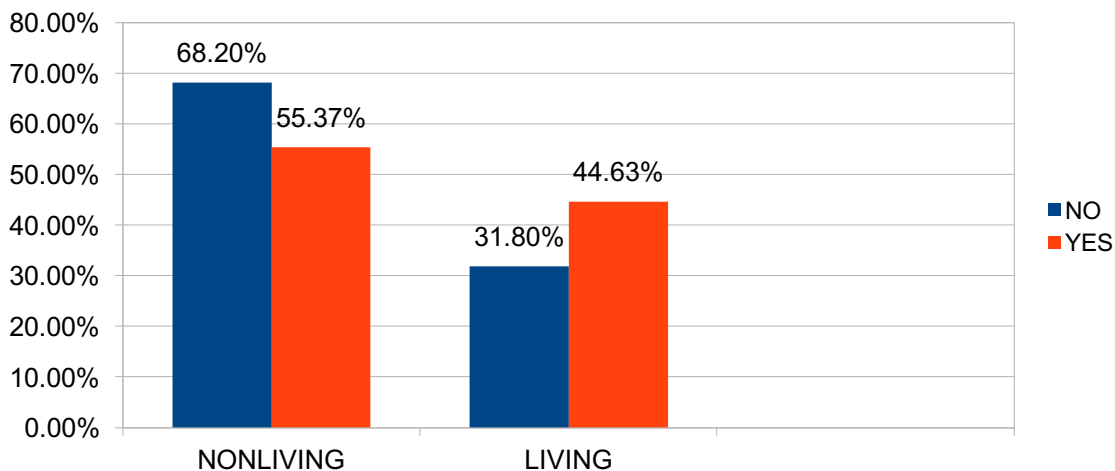
Table 3 shows the entities that are belong to the nonliving category and are retrieved based on their functional features. When the patient confronts with the stimulus "tongs" retrieves the word "beverage" that means we throw the icecube into beverage with the tong. The "bench" is called as "stool", "chair", that is they share the attribute of the "seat". The "barrel" is retrieved as "wine", the patients retrieve the way of its use, that is the barrel is used for storing the wine.

Table 3: Examples of nonliving entities that are retrieved based on their functional features

Nonliving entities	Functional features
	With that **we catch the icecube** **beverage**
	stool **chair** This is **where we sit**
	The doctor uses it for the **auscultatory** **heart**
	wine

From Graph 2 we observe that the nonliving entities are retrieved both with functional and sensory features. However, the answers that are distinguised by their functional attributes are attached in their majority to the nonliving entities.

As a result, we create the second assumption that **the retrieval of nonliving names entities from the aphasic patient's semantic memory is based on Functional features**.

Graph 2: Retrieval of nonliving entities based on Functional features

Chi-square result: $\chi^2 = 65,393$, df= 1, p < 0,001
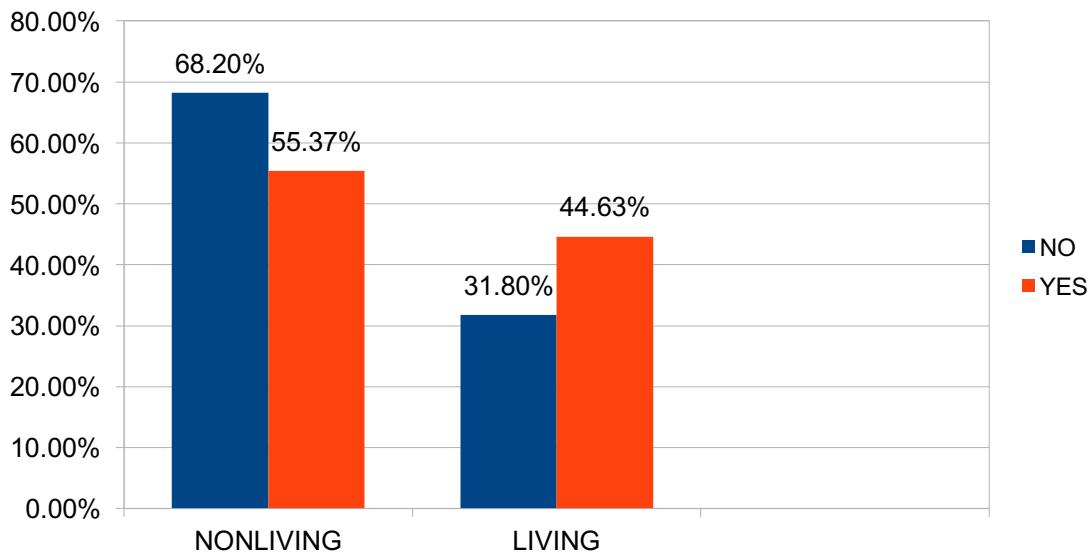
After, we examine how the entity names are retrieved based on their size. So far we have created two patterns that are applied when the differentiation of the entities is based on their category. The entities were separated into living and nonliving and we noticed that living entities are retrieved according to the answers that focus on sensory features while the nonliving entities according to answers that focus on functional features. However, every category allows a further specialization with the addition of the variable of size. Therefore, while living entities are retrieved based on their sensory features, when we add the variable of size, we notice from the Table 3 that the small living entities are retrieved based on their functional features as the nonliving entities. The stimuli "octopus" and "mushroom" are retrieved as edible things. The "snail" and "pelican" are associated with the environment where they live in.

Table 4: Examples of small living entities that are retrieved based on their functional features

Small living entities	**Functional features**
	This is a **classic appetizer**
	It appears with the water, when it rains **It goes out at night**
	There is in **Mykonos**
	I wanted to put it in the food

From Graph 3 we observe that the small living entities names are retrieved both with functional and sensory features. However, the answers that are distinguished by their functional attributes are attached in their majority to the small living entities.

As a result, we create the third assumption that **the retrieval of small living entity names from the aphasic patient's semantic memory is based on functional features**.

Graph 3: Retrieval of small living entities based on Functional features

Chi-square: $\chi^2 = 16,836$, df= 1, p < 0,001
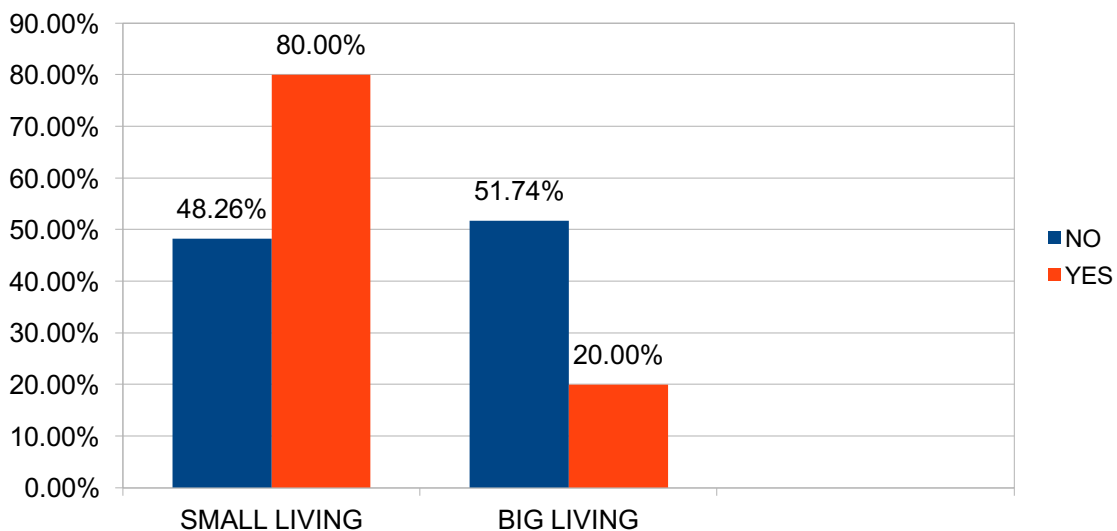
While nonliving entities in their majority are retrieved based on their functional features, when we add the variable of size we observe that the big nonliving entities are not retrieved based on their functional features. There is a tendency to be retrieved as the living entities and more particularly they focus on a morphological feature. Table 5 shows that single words that depict a specific feature of the entities are offered as responses. The "house" is retrieved as a "door" and the "volcano" as "lava".

Table 5: Examples of big nonliving entities that are retrieved based on their sensory features

Big nonliving entities	Sensory features
	door
	lava, crate
	wagon
	propeller

From Graph 4 we observe that the big nonliving entities names are retrieved both with functional and sensory features. However, the answers that are distinguished by their sensory attributes are attached in their majority to the big nonliving entities.

As a result, we create the fourth assumption that **the retrieval of big nonliving entity names from the aphasic patient's semantic memory is based on sensory features**.

Graph 4: Retrieval of big nonliving entities based on Sensory features

Chi-square result: $\chi^2 = 16,836$, df= 1, p < 0,001
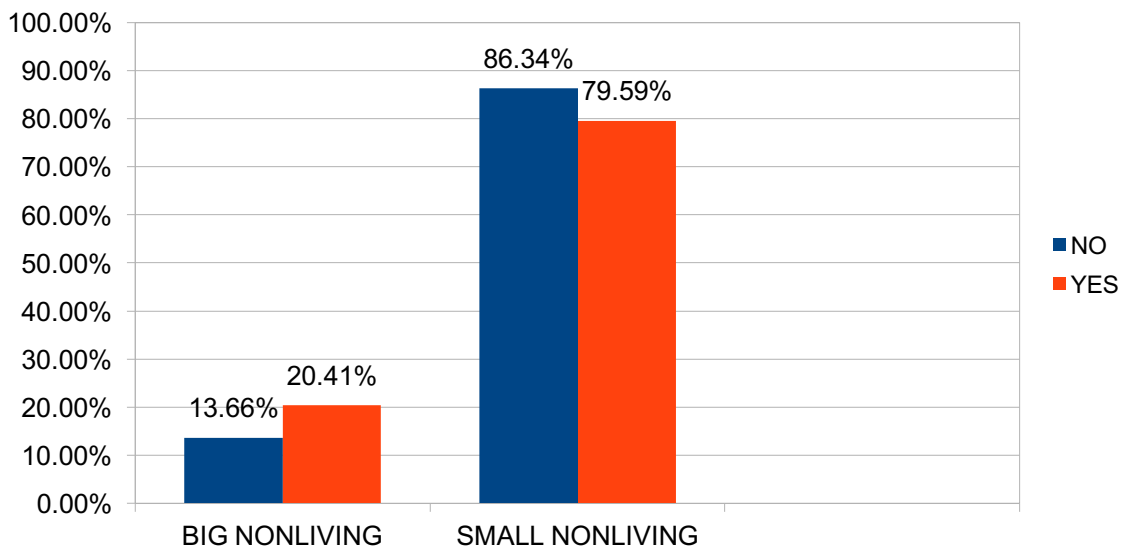
4. CONCLUSION

We turn now to the conclusions of our research. So far, we have noticed two things. The first is that patients looking for the name of an entity they produce paraphasias. Some intermediate verbatim responses that focus on characteristics either sensory or functional. The second one is that entities are divided into those based on their category and those based on their size. The findings indicate that research assumptions based on the category (1st and 2nd) are in accordance with the Sensory/Functional theory, that is, there is a correlation between the modality of information processing and the categories to which each entity belongs. Perceptually, more similarities exist among living than non-living things. As a result, living things are retrieved on the basis of their

sensory features while non-living things are retrieved on the basis of their functional features. Up to this point, our findings align with the bibliography and shed light on the role that semantic memory plays when the aphasic patients try to access the elusive word.

We observe that size plays an important role as regards the mechanism of entity name retrieval. It is interesting that the 3rd and the 4th research assumption have been verified although they are not predicted by the Sensory/Functional theory. According to the 3rd research assumption, associative features such as the environment to which an entity belongs or handling of them as edible things seem to influence the retrieval of small living things. According to the 4th research assumption, there is a particular subset of the sensory features that seems to influence the retrieval of large non-living things. Thus, while the retrieval of small non-living things is based on their functional features, large non-living things are not retrieved on the basis of their functional features as it would be expected; rather sensory features of the large non-living things are raised from the semantic memory of the aphasic patient. Possible hypotheses that explain these findings are (a) small living entities such as "pelican", "octopus" are not distinguished by their distinctive features such as "beak" or "tentacle", therefore, the patients treat them as edible things, (b) big non-living things such as "volcano", "train" or "house" are not treated as functional things that can be somehow handled, therefore the patient looks for characteristic parts of the large non-living entity using both sensory retrieval (volcano → lava) and functional retrieval (house → door), (c) there is no universal mechanism of entity name retrieval based on the category (living-non living) to which an entity belongs.

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Abstract uses of the spatial preposition se in child-adult conversations: Refining the notion of 'cognitive complexity'

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ABSTRACT

Η μελέτη αυτή συμβάλλει στην έρευνα της πολυσημίας των προθέσεων, καταρχήν από τη σκοπιά της γλωσσικής ανάπτυξης αλλά και της γλωσσικής αλλαγής. Αναλύει ειδικότερα τις αφηρημένες χρήσεις της βασικής πρόθεσης σε στο πιο φυσικό είδος λόγου, τις συνομιλίες ενός παιδιού ηλικίας 1;8 έως 4;0 ετών με ενήλικες, πάντα σε συνάρτηση με το γραμματικό και πραγματολογικό περικείμενο. Τα αποτελέσματα αναδεικνύουν τρία διαφορετικά πεδία χρήσεων που έχουν συσχετιστεί και στην προγενέστερη βιβλιογραφία με δείκτες που δηλώνουν προορισμό/στόχο: συγκεκριμένα, χρήσεις που εντάσσονται στο κοινωνικό πεδίο (δραστηριότητα που στοχεύει σε έμψυχη οντότητα), στο νοητικό πεδίο (ειδικότερα νοερή κίνηση των συνομιλητών προς χρονικό ορόσημο ή ένα θέμα αναφοράς) και τέλος μη κυριολεκτική κίνηση/τοποθεσία προς/σε φυσικό, κυριολεκτικό ορόσημο. Οι κοινωνικές και νοητικές χρήσεις αναλύονται ως μεταφορικές επεκτάσεις των κυριολεκτικών σημασιών του σε, με τις κοινωνικές να προηγούνται αναπτυξιακά καθώς και σε συχνότητα. Αντίθετα, η μη κυριολεκτική κίνηση/τοποθεσία αναλύεται ως μετωνυμική επέκταση της κυριολεκτικής σημασίας. Τα ευρήματα συζητούνται ως προς τη θεωρία της γλωσσικής κατάκτησης αλλά και της σημασιολογικής αλλαγής, παρότι ότι οι δύο πορείες δεν ταυτίζονται αναγκαστικά και πλήρως. Υποστηρίζουμε ότι η ανάπτυξη από τοπικές σε πιο αφηρημένες χρήσεις στην παιδική γλώσσα καθοδηγείται εν μέρει από καθολικές γνωσιακές παραμέτρους, όπως η αφαιρετικότητα της μεταφορικής επέκτασης ή η συντόμευση της διαδικασίας αναφοράς που επιτρέπει η μετωνυμία. Σημαντικό ρόλο διαδραματίζουν όμως επίσης σημασιολογικά δεδομένα της κάθε γλώσσας, όπως η συμπερίληψη της «Δοτικής» σημασίας στο σε στα ελληνικά. Το εύρημα ότι η οντογενετική ανάπτυξη δεν προσδιορίζεται μόνο από τη γνωσιακή περιπλοκότητα των σημασιών αλλά και από εξωγλωσσικούς παράγοντες συμβάλλει στην ακριβέστερη περιγραφή της, αλλά την καθιστά λιγότερο προβλέψιμη και αναμενόμενα διαφορετική από την ιστορική εξέλιξη.

Keywords: spatial prepositions, language acquisition, polysemy, non-literality

1. INTRODUCTION

The polysemy of spatial prepositions is well recognized, with research focusing upon its patterns and the motivations for their development (e.g. Tyler and Evans 2003, Rice and Kabata 2007). One issue raised is whether the development of polysemy patterns is primarily determined by universal cognitive factors, above all metaphoric extensions, so that a prototypical spatial meaning leaves its remnants in all abstract ones, or instead the extensions are less unidirectional and more complex as they are also notably affected by factors related to use. Empirical data is widely deemed utterly essential for resolving such issues, particularly data from converging sources, including corpora; Rice (2003) moreover stresses the value of child-adult conversations, which we exploit in our research.

Yet, acquisition research on abstract uses of spatial prepositions is limited, rather unexpectedly given extensive research on their spatial uses as well as on polysemy and non-literal language more generally. Very few studies trace the development of such uses, in fact largely in English and also in the context of research on prepositions more generally (e.g. Tomasello 1987; Bloom, Tacket and Lahey 1984; Morgenstern and Sakali 2009 on English and French). Their findings can be summarized as follows: a) Abstract uses emerge very early, even if slightly later at times than spatial ones. b) They involve various meanings, which emerge gradually and are originally tied

to particular constructions. c) Development is characterized by notable individual differences, with some signs of cross-linguistic ones as well. Individual differences have been mostly ascribed to family ways of life and speaking (see Rice 2003). Cross-linguistic differences have been seen as the result of language structure, as has been indeed widely supported for spatial uses of such prepositions and particles (see e.g. Bowerman 1996 on the latter). More specifically, Morgenstern and Sakali (2009) found prepositions in early child speech bearing more often a concrete spatial meaning in English relative to an abstract one in French. They ascribed this to typological differences in the coding of basic spatial notions by prepositions/particles in English but verbs in French.

Issues regarding ontogenetic change partly align with those of historical change, even though the two paths of development have been found to differ at least in part (see e.g. Morgenstern and Sakali, 2009, also Slobin 2004 on differences and Diessel 2007 on parallels). Acquisition research has also recognized the role of conceptual determinants, above all metaphoric extension, in line with research on semantic change. However, it has at the same time pointed out the strong effect of use-related factors (in line with research on historical change such as Bybee 2003). Such factors supposedly explain findings like idiosyncratic paths of development as well as early emergence of abstract uses in child speech, whenever such uses are frequent in the input and also code meanings difficult to express by other means. However, at this point of research, such general claims about determinants need to be sharpened, for one, in regard to the relative weight and interaction of such factors but also, as Rice (2003) points out, in regard to their definition and specification.

In our research we have investigated abstract uses of the two basic Greek spatial prepositions *se* "in/at" and *apo* "from"[1] in early child-adult conversations, but we here present data only on *se* for reasons of space. Our primary aim is to describe the acquisition path and discuss its determinants. Yet, our data can also contribute to the description of *se's* polysemy, even if it is not necessarily typical of adult to adult registers. Because the data is drawn from the most natural of all registers, it can reveal which constructions are experientially basic and frequent, thus also possibly contributing to issues regarding the evolution of polysemy. Available descriptions of *se* are largely sketchy (see above all Bortone's 2010 history of Greek prepositions, also Skopeteas 1999). Corpus data is available only for spatial uses of *se* in early child speech (see Alexaki, Kambanaros and Terzi 2009 and for systematic analyses of its meanings Katis and Nikiforidou 2017 as well as Katis, Poulimenou, Katsibraki and Manoli 2016). The analyses of its meanings confirmed the widely held assumption that *se* serves as an allative and a locative; they further showed that the allative is slightly earlier developmentally and twice as frequent.

2. METHOD AND DATA ANALYSES

We traced the abstract uses of *se* in 60 hours of conversations of a girl with her family in the age span of 1;8 to 4 years. This is the same corpus analyzed for spatial uses of *se* by the child by Katis et al. (2016) (also see Katis and Nikiforidou, 2017). However, we now analyzed both child and child-directed speech (CS and CDS respectively). To begin with, we described all constructions requiring *se*, although the *s-* phonetic element is originally often missing in child speech. Katis and Nikiforidou (2017) argued this to be a phonological problem caused by the very frequent combining of *se* with the definite article (e.g. *to*) which results in an *st-* consonantal cluster (e.g *sto kouti* "in the box,* also see many examples below*). However, as is typical of phonological development (see e.g. Vihman, 1996), *se* is not always missing but simultaneously produced at times as early as 1;9, thus supporting our decision to analyze all such constructions. Given a gradient of abstraction, we then took as abstract all constructions not coding a physical translocation of an entity to a spatial area or its location in it. We also described the meanings of *se* by taking into account its constructional and pragmatic/discourse context, in accord with claims that such contexts are highly important for deriving the meaning of a preposition (see e.g. Sinha and Kuteva 1995). This was also dictated by findings that children originally restrict types of meanings to particular constructions (e.g. Tomasello, 1987).

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[1] In their abstract uses they take on more varied glosses, including "to" and "on" in the case of *se*.

3. RESULTS

In an extensive total of 5531 constructions requiring *se*, 6% in child speech and 19% in the input turned out to be abstract uses. We categorized them into different types, partly drawing upon previous research on allative markers (Rice and Kabata 2007, Georgakopoulos 2011). More specifically, we recognized three major categories, that we call Social Target, Mental Target and Non-literal Location/Motion, describing a few remaining types as Other. Figure 1 shows the relative frequencies of these categories (including subcategories that we discuss below).
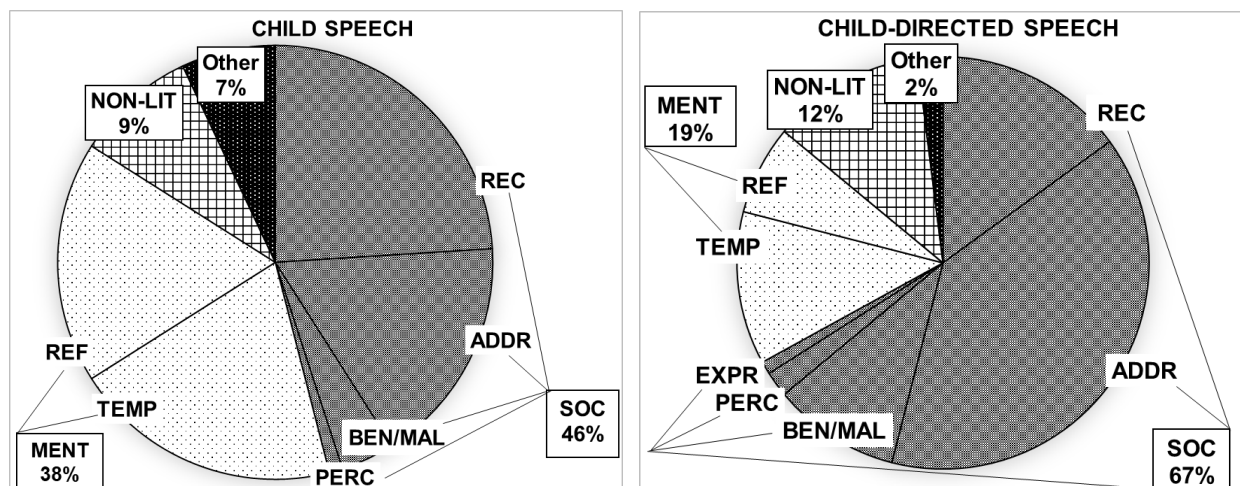
Figure 2. Relative frequencies of the categories of abstract uses of *se*: Social Target (SOC), Mental Target (MENT), Non-literal location montion (NON-LIT) and their subcategories.

Social Target uses are the most predominant at 46% and 67% of the total for CS and CDS respectively. Across languages, they have been seen as coding an animate being's transferring or doing something to an animate target (see Rice and Kabata 2007). In our data, this target is typically human but also an animal or an inanimate entity treated as animate by the child (typically a doll). Moreover, Social uses have been seen as metaphoric extensions of the allative, highlighting the endpoint of the source-path-goal schema. Their abstractness lies in this endpoint being an animate entity rather than a spatial area. We further recognized five subtypes, that we call Recipient (REC), Addressee, (ADDR), Beneficiary/Maleficiary (BEN/MAL), Perceiver (PERC) and Experiencer (EXPR).

More specifically, Recipient involves transferring of a concrete entity. These are overwhelmingly *dhino* "give" constructions (example 1) at 81% and 75% of the total in CS and CDS respectively; we also find verbs like *stelno* "send" (example 2).

(1) Dhose   ta   klidhia   ston   papu   [CDS 1;11 yrs]
    Give-2S-IMPR the   keys   to-the   grandad
    Give grandad the keys.

(2) Dhe   tha   to   stilo   sti   mama   tu   [CS 3;8 yrs]
    Not   will it   send-1S-NPS to-the   mum   his
    I will not send it to his mum.

Addressee also codes transferring but of a more abstract "object", words. Here, *leo* "say/tell" predicates (example 3) are by far more frequent in roughly 8 of 10 cases in both CS and CDS. Less often, semantically richer predicates like *eksigho* "explain" (example 4), *tilefono* "telephone" and i*posxome* "promise" are also used.

(3) Pes   to   sto   baba   [CDS 1;11 yrs]
    Say-2S-IMPR   it   to-the dad
    Tell dad.

(4)   Eksighise   stis   adhelfules   [CDS 3;1 yrs]
       Explain-2S-IMPR   to-the   sisters
       Explain to your sisters.

      Beneficiary/Maleficiary uses code activities. Moreover, they invite inferences as to the intention of the agent as well as the effect of his acting upon a target. These inferences evoke psychological states, which are moreover seen as either positive or negative ethically and emotionally (examples 5-7). Most often we find the semantically bleached verb *kano* "do" (examples 5 and 7), but also its combining with a noun complement to form more complex lexemes like *kano masaz* "massage" (example 6), finally semantically richer verbs like *maghirevo* "cook" (example 7).

(5)   Pote   Gheorghia afto   pu   ekanes   stin   Anna   [CDS 1;11 yrs]
       Never   Georgia   this   that   do-2S-PS to-the   Anna
       Georgia, don't ever do this to Anna again!

(6)   Dhen   kanete   sti   mama   ligho   masaz   [CDS 2;11 yrs]
       Not   do-2P-NPS   to-the   mum   little   massage
       Why don't you give mum a massage?

(7)   Maghirepses   sti   mama   patatules   [CDS 1;11 yrs]
       Cook-2S-PS   to-the   mum   potatoes
       Did you cook potatoes for mum?

While Recipient and Addressee instantiate roles with fixed and predictable semantic interpretations with respect to the relevant verb frames and are thus clearly part of the argument structure of the verb, the interpretation in Beneficiary/Maleficiary uses is more context-dependent. In our data, it depends upon elements of the immediate context such as the subject/agent "wicked woman" in example (8) or the speech act of scolding in example (5) earlier.

(8)   Ti   pai   na   kani   sti   Chionati
       What   go-3S-NPS   to   do-3S-NPS   to-the   Snowhite
       i   kakurgha   [CDS 2;1yrs]
       the   wicked- woman
       What is this wicked woman going to do to Snowhite?

      Perceiver constructions code the transferring of an image rather than an object, always with the verb *dhixno* "show" (example 9).

(9)   Dhixno   ena   theatro   sta   pedhia   [CS 3;8 yrs]
       Show-1S-NPS   a   play   to-the   children
       I am showing a play to the children.

      Finally, Experiencer constructions conceptualize an emotion as targeting an animate being, in our data always with the verb *aresi se* "like" (example 10).

(10)   Ti   aresi   stis   ghates   [CDS 2;5 yrs]
       What   like-3S-NPS to-the   cats
       What do the cats like?

      As seen in Figure 1 earlier, Perceiver and Experiencer are the least frequent of the Social Target uses, followed by Beneficiary/Maleficiary uses at 4% in CS and 10% in CDS. The most frequent is Recipient in CS at 24% but Addressee in CDS at 39%. The age at which the different Social Target uses first emerge is shown in Table 1 (which includes additional uses we discuss below). Recipient and Addressee appear in CDS from the earliest recordings at 1;8,

Beneficiary/Maleficiary along with Perceiver one month later at 1;9 years, but Experiencer only at 2;5. However, in CS they emerge with some delay relative to CDS, with Recipient one month later, Addressee three and Beneficiary/Maleficiary four months, merely a single instance of Perceiver quite late at 3;4 years and none of Experiencer.

Table 1. Age of first appearance for major types of abstract uses of *se*

Age	Child-directed speech (CDS)	Child speech (CS)
1;8	Social Target (REC) Social Target (ADDR) Non-literal motion/location	
1;9	Social Target (BEN/MAL) Social Target (PERC) Mental Target (TEMP MOMENT) Mental Target (TEMP INTERVAL)	Social Target (REC)
1;11	Mental Target (REF)	Social Target (ADDR)
2;0		Social Target (BEN/MAL)
2;1		Non-literal motion/location
2;2	Non-literal location/motion (PERC PATH)	Mental Target (TEMP MOMENT)
2;5	Social Target (EXPR)	
2;11		Mental Target (REF)
3;0		Mental Target (TEMP INTERVAL)
3;2		Non-literal motion/location (PERC PATH)
3;4		Social Target (PERC)

The polysemy of *se* in the social domain is motivated by well-recognized metaphors that relate to allative meanings cross-linguistically. We may thus think of Recipient as one basic meaning of *se* (and of allatives in general) and more precisely as the first abstract extension of spatial allative *se*. Following Goldberg's analysis of ditransitive meanings (1995: 148-151), we further recognize metaphorical recipients of different types. The Addressee is licensed by the CONDUIT metaphor (Reddy 1979 whereby communication is metaphorically conceptualized as traveling across to the listener). The Beneficiary/Maleficiary type is licensed by another metaphor, whereby actions intentionally directed at another person are conceptualized as entities transferred to that person. The Perceiver is licensed by the metaphor according to which perceptions are conceptualized as entities moving towards the perceiver and perception occurs upon "reception". Finally, the Experiencer meaning is based on the metaphorical conception of an emotive stance as targeting a human being.

Mental Target uses involve pointing by the discourse participants to a timepoint or a topic of reference. They are more abstract than Social uses because the target of motion is always a mentally envisaged space rather than a concrete being, but also because they involve fictive motion on the part of the speakers (rather than motion of an external entity). They also appear to be metaphoric extensions of the allative, although we argue below that some of the relevant instances may also be analyzed as extensions of the basic locative meaning of se. We distinguish such uses into Temporal (TEMP) and Reference (REF) ones.

Temporals appear in two versions. What we call Moment uses inform about plans for activities and thus point deictically to a future time relative to the moment of speech (example 11*).

(11) Tha   pas   volta   me   ton   papou   se   ligho   [CDS 1;9 yrs]
      Will   go-2S-NPS   walk   with   the   grandad   in   little
      You are going for a walk with grandad in a little while.

Interval uses also point to an event at a moment other than that of speech, but in the context of a complex of events experienced in the past. The highlighted event is placed at the initial or more often the final point of this complex, often implicitly being a story or a life episode (example 12).

(12) Ti   epathe   o   likos   sto   telos   [CDS 2;0 yrs]
     What   happen-3S-PS   the   wolf   in-the   end
     What happened to the wolf in the end?

Because Interval uses also envisage a period with some duration, we may see them as additionally involving a metaphoric extension of the locative. Overall however, Temporal uses consist largely of the Moment variety in roughly two thirds of cases for both child and adults. Though both varieties emerge at 1;9 for adults, this occurs later for the child with Moment at 2;2 years and Interval as late as 3 years.

Reference uses code the domain in which or the background against which an event or situation is set (see e.g. Radden 1989). They often refer to an aspect pertaining to reality, like pretending (example 13*)* but not only (example 14).

(13) Sta   psemata   to   kaname   [CS 3;1 yrs]
     In-the   lies   it   do-1P-PS
     We only did this in pretend.

(14) Dhen   exume   sto   numero   su   [CDS 3;8 yrs]
     Not   have-1P-NPS   in-the   size
     We don't have any in your size.

When they refer to domains like a dream or a film which last in time, they resemble temporals. However, they do not highlight a timepoint within this domain with a temporal phrase like "at the end", but instead the nature of the domain (example 15).

(15) Itane   se   ena   ergho   pu   idha   ston   ipno   mu
     Be-3S-PS   in   a   film   that see-1S-PS   in-the   sleep   my
     [CDS 2;11 yrs]
     It was in a film that I saw in my dream.

Reference uses always seem metaphoric extensions of the locative as well. They also appear rather late in child speech at 2;11 years relative to 1;11 in the input, in fact even later and rarely in the more abstract uses.

Non-Literal Motion/Location is the least frequent of the three major types of abstract uses at 9% of the total in CS and 12% in CDS. It involves concrete typically inanimate targets/locations, but non-literal motion or location. The most frequent and early correspond in part to what have previously been called abstract locatives. In our data they code events, activities or states involving technological tools, i.e. books, telephones, recorders, cassettes and television (examples 16 and 17).

(16) Pion   exume   stin   kaseta   [CDS 1;9 yrs]
     Whom   have-1P-NPS   on-the   cassette
     Whom have on the cassette?

(17) Milaghan   sto   mikrofono   [CS 3;8 yrs]
     Talk-3P-PS   to-the   microphone
     They were talking to the microphone.

In fact, such constructions seem reduced versions of literal descriptions of a situation in its full details; in example (17) people were talking to other people via a microphone and not in essence to the microphone itself. Their non-literality thus lies in metonymy (see e.g. Langacker 2009) and not metaphor as in the abstract uses discussed so far. In fact, their missing elements seem easily recovered given abundant daily experience with such tools in modern societies (as opposed to pre-technological ones). They appear in the input from the very start, but only at 2;1 for the child, in fact later than the three Social types but shortly before Mental Space ones and more particularly of the

Temporal Moment variety. A second variety of Non-Literal Motion/Location has been previously recognized as Perceptual Path (PERC PATH in Table 1), overwhelmingly a visual path but also auditory (examples 18-19).

(18) To   idha   stin   tileorasi   [CS 2;5 yrs]
      It   see-1S-PS   on-the   TV
      I saw it on TV.

(19) Akughete   sto   maghnitofono   [CDS 3;4 yrs]
      Hear-3S-PS-PSV   *on-the* *recorder*
      It is heard on the recorder.

Though emerging at 2;2 years in CDS, this variety appears less often and later in CS at 3;2, with auditory path more specifically only in CDS.
Constructions described as Other include: a) the idiomatic exclamative in example (20), which seems to function as an unanalyzed whole often as an interjection of surprise/wonder, b) a mental judgment (example 21).

(20) A   sto   kalo   ti   ine   afto   [CS 2;11 yrs]
      Go-2S-IMPR   to-the   good   what   be-3S-PS   this
      Oh gosh! What is this?

(21) Dhe   xorai   stin   Eva   [CS 2;2 yrs]
      Not   fit-3S-NPS on-the   Eva
      It doesn't fit on Eva.

4. DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

We summarize our most important findings as follows: a) Non-spatial uses are noted from the earliest recordings at 1;8 years in the input along with spatial ones (both locative and allative). In child speech, they emerge immediately after at 1;9 years, when spatial uses also come to include locatives besides allatives. This early appearance is in accord with previous findings that spatial uses need not clearly precede non-spatial ones (see Rice 2003 above all). b) Yet, abstract uses are notably more limited than spatial ones. They may be more frequent in other registers, especially higher ones, but we have no corresponding data. We only have indications of register variation in the study of *eis*, the historical predecessor of *se*, with abstract uses found more frequently in texts of rhetoric and medicine as opposed to historical narratives and comedy conversations (Georgakopoulos 2011). c) As expected, the child's uses are more restricted relative to those in her input. They also involve a somewhat narrower range of meanings, for instance no complex Addressee predicates like "explain" or Experiencer constructions. In fact, as our data made abundantly clear, the identification of the senses undertaken by the preposition depends not only upon the verbal predicate but also its complements (hence our classification of e.g. *rixno xomata* 'throw soil/mud" in the recipient category), demonstrating the importance of lexical constructions in verbal polysemy (cf. Boas 2013, etc.) d) Moreover, the meanings we identified tend to appear in particular constructions, especially in early child speech; this is seen above all in Recipient "give" and Addressee "say/tell" constructions but also Temporal "in the end" ones. This finding supports previous claims on the piecemeal nature of development (Tomasello 1987). e) Finally, the various types of uses emerge with a delay in child speech relative to the input, either only slight or quite notable.
      Can the details of the developmental path sharpen assumptions about which factors determine it? Once again, the frequent confounding of such determinants hardly allows for unequivocal conclusions. For instance, Beneficiary/Maleficiary uses may emerge later for three reasons: their meaning may be contextually derived, they are less frequent in the input and also signal psychological states besides concrete activities. Therefore, we can only make a modest claim: The much discussed variable of input frequency has no mechanistic effects upon the child. This is best

seen in the fact that Addressee constructions are the most frequent for adults who use them to incite the child to talk in order to serve the research purposes, but they do not seem so useful to the child.

However, our analysis of the data allows insights as to how to sharpen the vague notion of cognitive complexity. We implicitly recognized two of its dimensions: conceptual and processing factors. For one, we assumed different degrees of conceptual complexity on the basis of at least the following: a) whether the elements coded, e.g. targets/locations, entities and their motion are perceptually concrete or abstract (and metaphorically construed), b) whether such elements are physical activities (as in Recipient uses) or psychological states as well (as in Beneficiary/Maleficiary uses), c) whether the motion involved is not simply abstract but also fictive motion of the speakers rather than of external entities. In line with previous research, we also recognized two types of metaphors, i.e. extensions of the allative and the locative, as well as the role of metonymy (as in the case of non-literal motion/location). In fact, all metaphoric uses in our data are extensions of the allative, with some additionally being extensions of the locative. Moreover, developmentally uses involving only allative metaphors are earlier and more frequent than those involving locative metaphors as well. This may strengthen previous claims that metaphors of motion are more accessible relative to those of static spaces (see Selimis and Katis 2006 on metaphors construing time as a moving entity relative to a static space in child narratives). The relatively early emergence of abstract allatives and their pervasiveness, as opposed to locatives, also suggests the centrality and robustness of this meaning in the polysemous category of *se*. We also recognized degrees of metaphoric construal, with the Recipient use being the least abstract and more directly derived from the spatial allative, but other Social Target uses being extensions of the Recipient. Finally, we spoke indirectly of cognitive processing, more particularly of how easily or not we can derive the meaning of a construction. More particularly, interpretations of Beneficiary/Maleficiary constructions seem demanding, as they are largely contextually based and not simply a function of the verb's argument structure. We further suggest that inferences are easier with the metonymic abstract locatives, where missing elements are strongly implied given abundant transactions with technological tools like telephones in modern societies.

We end with some thoughts on what our data suggest regarding the historical development of *se's* polysemy. For one, our analyses of the constructional and pragmatic/discourse contexts of *se* allows assumptions as to what may have motivated the conventionalization of certain constructions in contemporary Greek. The metonymic abstract locatives may have resulted from repeated experiences with and talk about technological tools in modern societies (as opposed to pre-technological ones). We also found the more frequent of the Beneficiary/Maleficiary constructions, those with the neutral verb *kano* "do", often in pragmatic acts of scolding. This may explain why they seem to have become conventionalized in adult discourse as malefactive. Secondly, we found discordances between ontogenetic and historical development. This is most obvious with the Recipient: while a late historical addition to the functions of *eis*, once incorporated into the allative marker in the input language, it may be expected to be the most frequent and earliest function for the child since transferring objects is a typical daily activity. Such discordances are only to be expected, given various determinants of development, which may moreover interact in complex ways. More generally, such interaction leaves the path of development less predetermined than originally thought (see e.g. Sweetser 1992) in both acquisition and history (in accord with claims e.g. by Rice 2003 and Rice and Kabata 2007). It thus also suggests divergences (even if small) in the structure of polysemous categories, like *se* in this case, between adult and child language.

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Acoustic characteristics of Greek fricatives: a comparison between adult and child speech

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ABSTRACT

Η μελέτη των ελληνικών τριβόμενων ήχων αποτελεί μία περιοχή που δεν έχει μελετηθεί ιδιαίτερα από τους ερευνητές. Μέχρι τώρα η έρευνα έχει επικεντρωθεί κυρίως στις χρονικές παραμέτρους, την μελέτη του [s] και την παραγωγή τριβόμενων από ενήλικες ομιλητές (Fourakis 1986; Nicolaidis 2002; Nirgianaki, Chaida & Fourakis 2009; Nirgianaki 2014; Panagopoulos 1991), αλλά δεν έχει γίνει σχετική έρευνα στις παραγωγές παιδιών. Η παρούσα μελέτη επικεντρώνεται στη σύγκριση της παραγωγής τριβόμενων από παιδιά και ενήλικες και των δύο φύλων. Συνολικά, 60 ομιλητές ηχογραφήθηκαν, 20 ενήλικες άντρες και 20 γυναίκες, ηλικίας 18-50 ετών και 20 παιδιά, 10 αγόρια και 10 κορίτσια, ηλικίας 8-10 ετών. Οι ομιλητές ηχογραφήθηκαν κατά την παραγωγή μίας φράσης που περιείχε μία πραγματική δισύλλαβη ΣΦΣΦ λέξη, όπου το Σ1 ήταν τριβόμενο. Όλοι οι πιθανοί συνδυασμοί τριβόμενων-φωνηέντων ηχογραφήθηκαν σε τονισμένες και άτονες συλλαβές. Στόχος της παρούσας εργασίας είναι η περιγραφή και σύγκριση των ακουστικών χαρακτηριστικών των ελληνικών τριβόμενων που παράγονται από ενηλικές και παιδιά και των δύο φύλων.

Λέξεις Κλειδιά: ελληνικά τριβόμενα, διαφορές φύλου-ηλικίας

1. INTRODUCTION

Fricative sounds are produced when a turbulent airstream comes out of the vocal tract (Shadle 2010), while turbulence in the airstream is created when two articulators approach each other causing an obstruction in the airflow (Shadle 1990). Fricatives are characterized by a large degree of inter- and intra-speaker variation (Shadle 2012; Nartey 1982).

Researchers studying fricative acoustic characteristics, focus mainly on the study of their local and global acoustic cues. In the current study, the local properties of spectral peak location, first four spectral moments (centre of gravity, standard deviation, skewness and kurtosis), and fricative duration have been examined. The first moment, spectral mean, refers to the average energy concentration. The second, spectral variance, refers to the range of energy concentration. Skewness (the third moment) indicates symmetry or asymmetry of energy distribution and kurtosis indicates the peakedness of distribution. The study of spectral peak location and the first four spectral moments has been employed by many researchers targeting to discriminate the characteristics of different fricative places of articulation (e.g. Forrest, Weismer, Milenkovic, & Dougall 1988; Jongman, Wayland, & Wong 2000). Speaker gender (e.g. Hughes & Halle 1956) and age (e.g. Fox & Nissen 2003) have been found to cause fricative variation, even though researchers do not always agree on the extent to which this happens.

The study of Greek fricatives is interesting for a variety of reasons, as it is an area that not many researchers have dealt with (e.g. Themistocleous, Savva and Aristodemou 2016; Nirgianaki 2014). Greek fricatives are produced in many different places of articulation, a fact that can contribute to the cross-linguistic study of fricative production. Acoustic analyses of child fricative productions, just like child speech in general, is also an area neglected by researchers. The current study can provide a documentation of Greek fricative characteristics uttered by children and adults, while the current data and findings could be employed by speech scientists for the creation of speech software.

2. METHODOLOGY

2.1 Participants

Sixty speakers, 20 males, 20 females, 10 boys and 10 girls participated in the research that was conducted for the project "SpeakGreek" (http://speakgreek.web.auth.gr/wp/language/en/). The age of the adults was between 18 and 50 years old and children participants were aged between 8 and 10 years old. The adults were equally divided into three age subgroups, 18-30, 30-40 and 40-50 years old. They all were native speakers of Greek, coming from different areas of Greece, while no regional accent could be detected in their speech. All of them, or the parents of the children who participated in the study, signed a consent form and were informed that their recording would be anonymously used for academic research only, as well as that they could withdraw at any point.

2.2 Speech Material

The corpus comprised the eight Greek fricatives, /f/, /v/, /θ/, /ð/, /s/, /z/, /x/, /ɣ/ and the two fricative allophones [ç], [ʝ]. Each phoneme was recorded in the carrier phrase /'leʝe …… pa'du/ ("Say …. everywhere") in word initial position, combined with the five vowels /i/, /e/, /a/, /o/, /u/, in both stressed and unstressed syllables (e.g. /'ðese/, /'zisi/). The fricatives /x/ and /ɣ/ were followed by the vowels /a/, /o/ and /u/, while their allophones [ç] and [ʝ] were followed by the vowels /i/ and /e/. Mainly two-syllable real words were employed, but if this was not possible, three-syllable real words or non-words were recorded with the desired fricative-vowel combination. A total of 60 participants were recorded, 20 males, 20 females and 20 children -10 boys and 10 girls-. Adult participants repeated each token five times (400 tokens) and children participants three times (240 tokens).

2.3 Recording Procedure

The recordings were conducted in two sessions of one hour and a half for each participant, using a Sennheiser ME66/K6 Microphone in Aristotle University of Thessaloniki, School of English, Phonetics Laboratory. Participants had to read the sentences that were presented to them as visual prompts and were simultaneously recorded using the ProRec program (http://www.phon.ucl.ac.uk/resource/prorec/). All recordings were sampled at 44100Hz.

2.4 Acoustic analysis

The PRRAT program (version 5.4.05) (Boersma & Weenink 2011), together with the EasyAlign phonetic alignment tool, as it was adapted according to Goldman's (2011) guidelines for the Greek language and the project SpeakGreek, were employed for the acoustic analysis. Fricative segmentation was conducted according to Jongman et al. (2000). Fricative onset was defined on the spectrogram at the beginning of high frequency energy and/or the increased zero crossings of the sound wave. For voiceless fricatives, the offset was defined at the onset of vowel periodicity and/or the beginning of the vowel pitch. The offset of voiced fricatives was defined at the point where vowel periodicity begun and fricative frequency was at low levels.

3. RESULTS

It needs to be stated that the current findings are part of a larger study on Greek fricatives, but in the current paper, only the findings regarding age and gender variability on absolute duration and spectral properties will be presented. Thus, the statistical analyses that will be reported here are part of a six-way ANOVA conducted on absolute duration, normalized duration, RMS amplitude, spectral peak location, spectral mean, spectral variance, spectral skewness and spectral kurtosis, while the independent variables were voicing (voiced – voiceless fricative), stress (stressed – unstressed syllable), gender (male – female speaker), age group (child – adult speaker), fricative place of articulation (labiodental, dental, alveolar, palatal, velar) and vowel context (/i, e, a, o, u/).

3.1 Fricative Duration

Absolute fricative duration can indicate whether differences in the motor control between adults and children can lead to temporal variation during fricative articulation. Overall, adults uttered significantly shorter fricatives (118.7ms for voiceless and 87.79ms for voiced fricatives as opposed to 138.9ms for voiceless and 99.1ms for voiced fricatives from child participants), a finding similar to

Fox and Nissen (2005) that can be explained on the basis of the longer duration needed for the completion of the articulatory gesture by children (Smith & Zelaznik 2004). The statistically significant Age Group x Place of Articulation interaction (p<0.0001), revealed different durational patterns between adults and children and except for the velar fricatives, where no significant difference was detected. In all other fricative categories, child durations were significantly longer (appendix 1a). Additionally, the significant Voicing x Age Group x Place of Articulation interaction (p<0.0001) indicated that the factor of voicing affected fricative production duration differently in the two age groups, as for instance, in the voiceless condition, /f/ was the longest fricative (123.2ms) for adults and /ç/ (145.3ms) for children, while in the voiced condition, /z/ was the longest (95.25ms) production for adults and /ʝ/ (112ms) for children (figures 1 and 2) (appendix 1b). Current findings can be explained on the basis of the different motor control exercised by the two age groups (Eguchi & Hirsh 1969; Green, Moore, & Reilly 2002). Speaker gender was not found to have a significant effect on fricative duration.
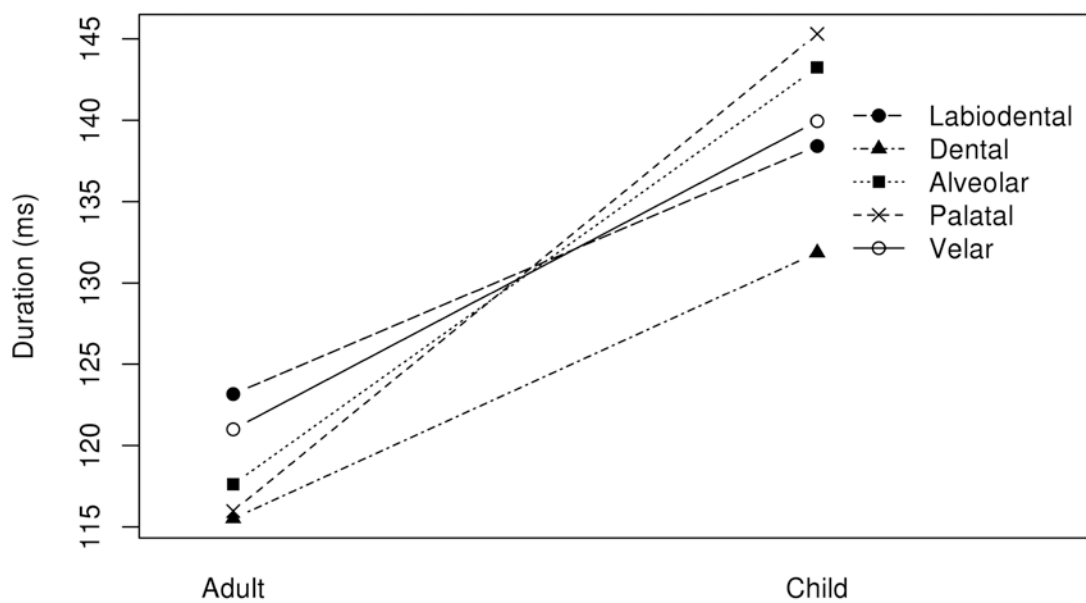
Figure 1: Duration of voiceless fricatives produced by the two age groups.
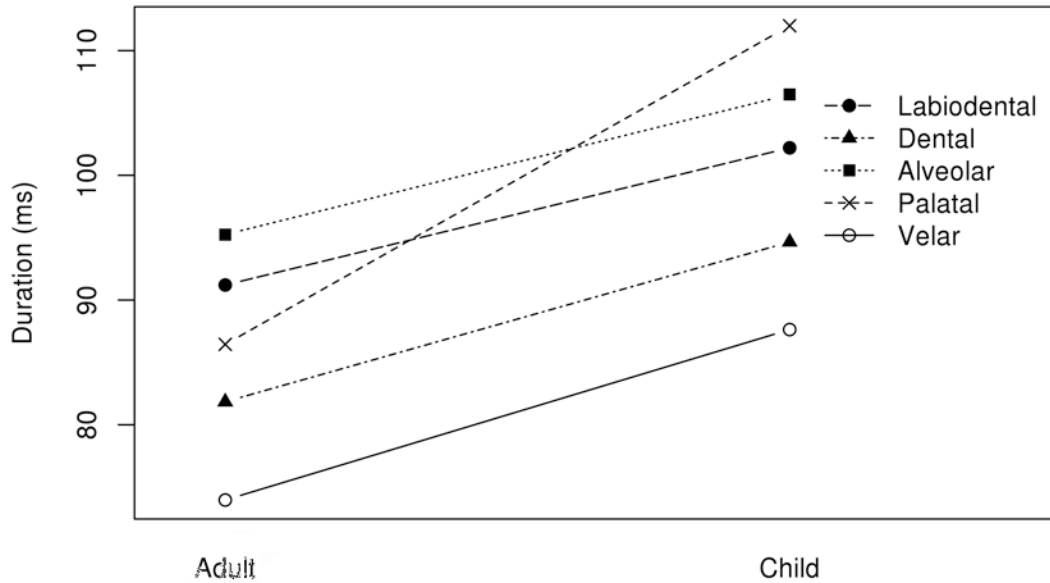
Figure 2: Duration of voiced fricatives produced by the two age groups.

3.2 Spectral Peak Location

Age was not found to affect spectral peak location values significantly. Nissen (2003), Nittrouer (1995), and Smith & McLean-Muse (1986) reported significant differences between children and adults, but it needs to be stated that in those studies, the age of the participants was much younger than that in the current study. Spectral peak location values are affected by the size of the cavity formed after fricative constriction (Nissen 2003). For Nissen (2003), the cavity formed by adults is larger and as a result, lower spectral peaks can be noticed. Given that in his study, with children aged between 3 and 5 years old, older children had lower peaks, it could be argued that physiologically, there are not many similarities between the child participants of the two studies. As a main effect of gender was not reported as well, the argument by Hughes and Halle (1956) that spectral peak can be affected by other factors as well, sounds plausible.

3.3 Spectral mean

Mean fricative values are affected by the size of the cavity in front of fricative constriction and the fricative constriction itself, as they increase in bigger cavities (Nittrouer 1995). Similar to Nittrouer (1995), female mean values of all participants were higher (3295Hz) than those of males (2915Hz) and adult values were higher (3207Hz) than those of children (2807Hz) (also in Nittrouer et al. 1989). A clear picture on gender and age differences was provided by the three way Age group x Place of articulation x Gender interaction (p<0.001). Statistically significant (p<0.0001) differences between boys and girls, as well as women and men were detected in the mean values of the alveolar category only. Interestingly enough, the significant distinctions were purely gender-related as the values between adults and children of the same sex were not significant (appendix 2).

3.4 Variance

Children were found to have lower variance than adults (figure 2), in all fricative places of articulation, as the significant Age Group x Place of Articulation interaction (p<0.0001) indicated (appendix 3). No gender significance was detected.
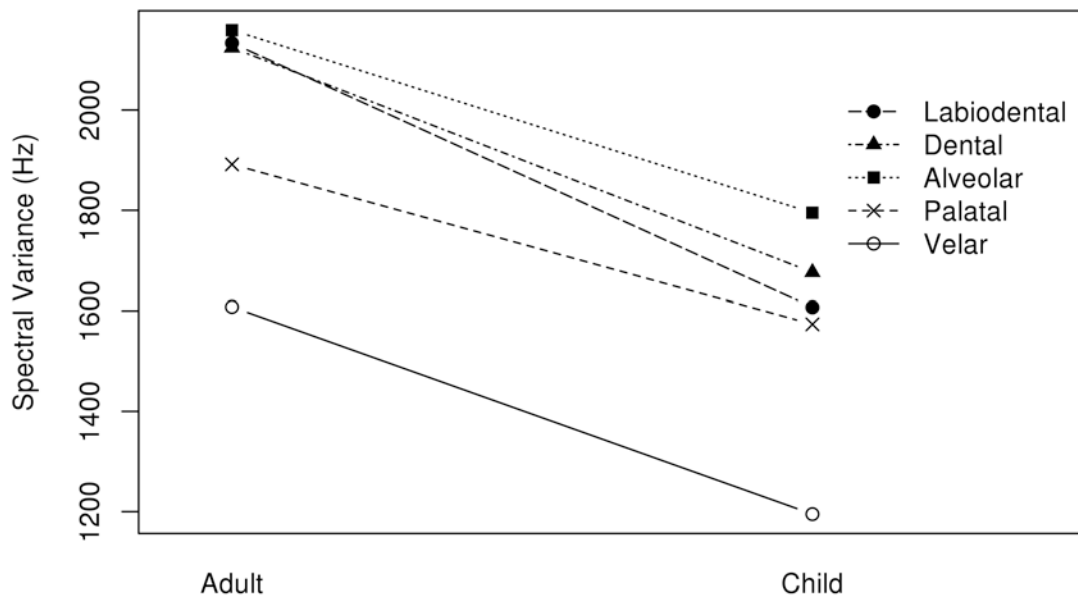
Figure 3: Variance values according to age group and place of articulation

3.5 Skewness and kurtosis

No significant effects of age were detected in skewness and kurtosis statistical analyses. Fox and Nissen (2005), have reported lower skewness values for younger children than those of the current study, but they also reported that skewness values were increased in the utterances of the older children among their participants. Similarly, Nittrouer (1995) also reported lower values for younger children. Regarding kurtosis, insignificant results have also been reported by Nittrouer (1995), Fox and Nissen (2005), and Nissen (2003). Similarly no gender variation was detected.

4. DISCUSSION

The current study examined age and gender related variation in the production of Greek fricatives. Regarding duration, it seems to be the case that physiological differences (Disner 1980) and the slower rate of child speech (Smith 2010) lead children to the production of longer utterances, with palatals and alveolars being the ones with the most pronounced differences. Similar findings have been reported by Fox and Nissen (2005) in a study of children aged between 6 and 14. Walsh and Smith (2002) in their study regarding the movement trajectories of child speech organs, found that even at the age of 14, child gestures last longer than those of adults. Thus, speech motor control immaturity could be claimed to cause temporal differences, as children need more time to cover articulatory distances (Smith 2010).

While mainly anatomical characteristics have been claimed to affect mean values, the current findings tend to favor alternative explanations involving articulatory characteristics that alter the vocal tract dimensions, such as lip rounding (Hughes & Halle, 1956; Nittrouer, Studdert-Kennedy, & McGowan 1989), place, degree of constriction or teeth height (Nittrouer 1995), while it seems that an articulatory study would be more appropriate to explain such findings (Nittrouer 1995). For Nissen (2003) who also found significant gender differences between boys and girls aged 3, 4, and 5, as boys' utterances of /f/, /θ/, /s/ and /ʃ / had higher mean values than girls', those differences could only be attributed to developmental differences, given that there are no anatomical differences

among the children (Nissen 2003). Articulatory differences could also explain gender variation, as if it was a matter of physiological differences, more fricative categories would have been affected.

The lower variance values of child participants indicate that there is a bigger variation in adult frequencies compared to children. Similar effects have not been reported in similar studies (e.g. Nissen 2003; Nissen and Fox 2005), but in earlier studies, variance measurements were not included in the statistical analyses and as a result, there is no evidence from past research.

No significant differences in the skewness values between children and adults were detected. Even though other researchers have reported lower values for children (e.g. Nissen & Fox 2005; Nissen 2003; Nittrouer 1995), still a direct comparison between those findings and the current ones cannot be made, given that the age groups of the child participants are different and the fact that those studies focused on the comparison between /s/ and /ʃ/. No differences between the two age groups were detected in kurtosis values as well, a finding that Nittrouer (1995) explained by stating that spectral peakedness is similar for all age groups.

5. CONCLUSION

Overall, the current study indicated that there are some differences in the articulation of Greek fricatives between adults and children aged between 8 and 10 years old. Those differences are detected in duration, mean and variance values of fricative sounds, while no significant differences were detected for spectral peak, skewness and kurtosis. Additionally, gender related differences were detected in the mean values of the alveolar category, both for the adult and the child group.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1
Absolute duration measurements

Appendix 1a: Durational measurements according to age group and place of articulation

age group	place of articulation	n	mean	median	sd
Adult	Labiodental	3982	107.1	110	27.45
Adult	Dental	4294	99.05	100	27.6
Adult	Alveolar	4387	107.4	110	25.07
Adult	Palatal	1593	101.3	100	28.6
Adult	Velar	1793	105.4	110	31.45
Child	Labiodental	1349	119.9	120	33.96
Child	Dental	1499	112.5	110	34.16
Child	Alveolar	1211	130.6	130	35.05
Child	Palatal	481	129	120	36.05
Child	Velar	778	111.8	110	38.37

Appendix 1b: Durational measurements according to voicing, age group and place of articulation

voicing	age group	place of articulation	n	mean	median	sd
Voiceless	Adult	Labiodental	1975	123.2	120	21.32
Voiceless	Adult	Dental	2195	115.5	110	23.46
Voiceless	Adult	Alveolar	2388	117.6	120	24.74
Voiceless	Adult	Palatal	799	116	110	25.74
Voiceless	Adult	Velar	1197	121	120	23.44
Voiceless	Child	Labiodental	659	138.4	140	28.4
Voiceless	Child	Dental	721	131.9	130	29.85
Voiceless	Child	Alveolar	794	143.2	140	30.51
Voiceless	Child	Palatal	245	145.3	140	30.28
Voiceless	Child	Velar	360	139.9	140	28.72
Voiced	Adult	Labiodental	2007	91.21	90	23.26
Voiced	Adult	Dental	2099	81.84	80	20.08
Voiced	Adult	Alveolar	1999	95.25	90	19.38
Voiced	Adult	Palatal	794	86.45	80	23.18
Voiced	Adult	Velar	596	73.97	70	19.88
Voiced	Child	Labiodental	690	102.2	100	29.06
Voiced	Child	Dental	778	94.65	90	27.53
Voiced	Child	Alveolar	417	106.5	100	30.18
Voiced	Child	Palatal	236	112	110	33.68
Voiced	Child	Velar	418	87.63	80	27.62

Appendix 2
Mean measurements
Appendix 2: Mean measurements according to gender, age group and fricative place of articulation

gender	age group	place of articulation	n	mean	median	sd
Male	Adult	Labiodental	1999	2604	1525	2438
Male	Adult	Dental	2095	2755	2030	2432
Male	Adult	Alveolar	2197	4214	4724	1756
Male	Adult	Palatal	797	2640	2958	1936
Male	Adult	Velar	598	1748	1596	836.4
Male	Child	Labiodental	689	1950	549.6	2172
Male	Child	Dental	782	2357	1449	2224
Male	Child	Alveolar	791	3910	4250	1971
Male	Child	Palatal	244	2744	3153	2040
Male	Child	Velar	389	1323	996	1009
Female	Adult	Labiodental	1983	2876	1579	2702
Female	Adult	Dental	2199	2878	1633	2706
Female	Adult	Alveolar	2190	5477	5985	2059
Female	Adult	Palatal	796	3108	3200	2327
Female	Adult	Velar	1195	1320	960	1103
Female	Child	Labiodental	660	2609	1234	2747
Female	Child	Dental	717	2808	709.4	2917
Female	Child	Alveolar	420	6005	6366	1912
Female	Child	Palatal	237	3072	4107	2272
Female	Child	Velar	389	1233	1012	927.1

Appendix 3
Variance measurements

Appendix 3: Variance measurements according to age group and fricative place of articulation

age group	place of articulation	n	mean	median	sd
Adult	Labiodental	3982	2134	1998	1343
Adult	Dental	4294	2124	2170	1316
Adult	Alveolar	4387	2159	2080	741.8
Adult	Palatal	1593	1892	2004	809
Adult	Velar	1793	1608	1634	945.2
Child	Labiodental	1349	1607	1298	1325
Child	Dental	1499	1676	1444	1237
Child	Alveolar	1211	1795	1771	710.8
Child	Palatal	481	1574	1419	750.3
Child	Velar	778	1195	1062	815

Experimental evidence on genericity and universal quantification in Greek and English

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ABSTRACT

Οι γενικευτικές προτάσεις (π.χ. «οι τίγρεις έχουν ρίγες», «οι πάπιες γεννούν αυγά») εκφράζουν γενικεύσεις που μοιάζουν παραπλήσιες με αυτές που εκφράζονται μέσω προτάσεων με καθολικούς ποσοδείκτες (π.χ. «όλες οι τίγρεις έχουν ρίγες», «όλες οι πάπιες γεννούν αυγά»), αλλά διαφέρουν από αυτές στο ότι οι γενικευτικές προτάσεις επιτρέπουν εξαιρέσεις (π.χ. τίγρεις με αλφισμό ή αρσενικές πάπιες που δεν γεννούν αυγά) και στο ότι αφορούν κατά κύριο λόγο χαρακτηριστικές και ουσιώδεις ιδιότητες του εν λόγω είδους. Πρόσφατα, ψυχολογικές ερευνητικές εργασίες που προτείνουν την θεωρία του generic-as-default παρουσίασαν δεδομένα, με βάση τα οποία περιέγραψαν μία τάση των ομιλητών να παρερμηνεύουν προτάσεις με καθολικούς ποσοδείκτες και να τις ερμηνεύουν σαν να ήταν γενικευτικές. Σύμφωνα με αυτή τη θεωρία, αυτή η τάση οδηγεί τους ομιλητές στο να δέχονται αυτές τις προτάσεις ως αληθινές ενώ θα έπρεπε να τις απορρίπτουν γιατί είναι εσφαλμένες. Σε πρόσφατη εργασία μας (Lazaridou-Chatzigoga, Stockall, & Katsos, to appear) παρουσιάσαμε τα αποτελέσματα δύο πειραμάτων στα Αγγλικά και τα Ελληνικά, στα οποία μελετήσαμε τη σχέση των συμφραζομένων (context) και του περιορισμού πεδίου των ποσοδεικτών (quantifier domain restriction) ως πιθανών εξηγήσεων αυτής της τάσης. Τα αποτελέσματά μας έδειξαν ότι ο περιορισμός πεδίου των ποσοδεικτών είναι μία σημαντική εναλλακτική εξήγηση μεγάλου μέρους της εν λόγω συμπεριφοράς. Εδώ παρουσιάζουμε κάποια δεδομένα που δεν έχουν δημοσιευτεί προηγουμένως, τα οποία αφορούν σε επιπλέον πειραματικές συνθήκες στα Ελληνικά με τους ποσοδείκτες *κάθε* και *ο κάθε*. Ενώ η μεγαλύτερη έρευνα εστίασε στη σύγκριση γενικευτικών και καθολικών γενικεύσεων σε διαφορετικά συμφραζόμενα, εδώ μας ενδιαφέρει περισσότερο το πώς διαφαίνεται η διαφορά του *κάθε* και του *ο κάθε* στα δεδομένα μας.

Key Words: context; generalisation; genericity; quantification

1. INTRODUCTION

Generalisations in natural language are expressed via two distinct ways: generic and quantificational. Generic generalisations make general claims about kinds of entities and are usually about a characteristic property of a kind, as in (1)-(2), while quantificational generalisations are expressed in quantitative, statistical terms, as in (3)-(4).

(1) Οι   πάπιες είναι   πτηνά.
    the   ducks are   birds
    'Ducks are birds.'

(2) Οι   πάπιες γεννούν   αυγά.
    the   ducks lay   eggs
    'Ducks lay eggs.'

(3) Μερικές   πάπιες είναι   πολύχρωμες.
    some   ducks are   colourful
    'Some ducks are colourful.'

(4) Όλες   οι   πάπιες έχουν αδιάβροχα   φτερά.
    all   the   ducks have waterproof   wings

'All ducks have waterproof wings.'

Generic generalisations seem very close to universally quantified generalisations with quantifiers like 'all' English or *όλοι οι* 'lit. all the' in Greek, but it has been shown since the seventies that genericity does not equal universal quantification (Lawler, 1972; Dahl, 1975; Carlson, 1977). On the one hand, it would be too weak a claim, as generic generalisations express generalisations about characteristic/essential/principled properties (Krifka et al. 1995; Gelman 2003; Prasada and Dillingham 2006), while universal generalisations can also be about accidental properties. On the other hand, it would be too strong a claim, as generic generalisations tolerate exceptions while universal generalisations do not. For (2) for instance to be true, male, baby and infertile ducks are allowed as exceptions to the generalization made, while for (4) to be true the set of ducks must be a subset of the set of things that have waterproof wings and no exceptions are allowed. Most discussions that compare genericity to universal quantification have focused on English and on the differences and similarities between a bare plural generic statement like 'tigers have stripes' and the corresponding universal statement as in 'all tigers have stripes'.

The expression of both genericity and quantification differs across languages. With respect to genericity, different languages employ different morphosyntax to express generic meaning (Longobardi, 1994, 2001; Chierchia, 1998; Behrens, 2005; Farkas and deSwart, 2007). With respect to quantifiers, languages also differ in the inventory of quantifiers they have (Bach et al., 1995; Matthewson, 2001; Keenan and Paperno, 2012). We will focus here on how genericity and universal quantification are expressed in Greek and compare these to English, when necessary.

Greek patterns with Romance languages (and differs from Germanic languages) in that genericity in the nominal domain is typically expressed via a definite plural (see Marmaridou-Protopapa, 1984; Roussou and Tsimpli, 1994; Giannakidou and Stavrou, 1999; Lazaridou-Chatzigoga, 2009a; Giannakidou, 2012), while bare plurals are generally disallowed:

(5) Οι   τίγρεις έχουν ρίγες.
    the   tigers have   stripes
    'Tigers have stripes.'
(6) *Τίγρεις   έχουν ρίγες.
     tigers   have stripes

It is important to note that the statement in (5) is potentially ambiguous between a generic interpretation ('tigers have stripes') and an anaphoric (definite) interpretation with the meaning 'the (familiar and contextually unique) tigers have stripes'. This is a case where one form (definite plural) maps to two meanings (generic and anaphoric), which is not the case in English, where one meaning is expressed via a bare plural (generic) and the other one via a definite plural (anaphoric).

The literature on universal quantification in Greek is not as extent as in other languages (see though Giannakidou, 1999, 2004, 2012; Tsili, 2001; Lazaridou-Chatzigoga, 2009b, 2012, 2015; Margariti, 2014). Greek has three universal quantifiers: *όλοι οι* 'lit. all the', *κάθε* 'every/each' and *o κάθε* 'lit. the every/each'.[1] *Όλοι οι* is a universal quantifier, while *κάθε* and *o κάθε* are universal distributive quantifiers.

Discussing *όλοι οι* first, we should note that it always contains the definite article and it cannot appear with a bare nominal, that is, without the definite article, as we see in (7)-(8). That is, even though *όλοι οι* 'lit. all the' contains the definite article, this quantifier behaves like the English quantifier 'all' and not like 'all the'. This means that *όλοι οι* can be used both to refer to all children in general, as in (7), or it can be contextually restricted to a specific set of children introduced in the

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[1] We are not discussing here *όλος* in the singular, which can also have the meaning of *whole*, as in (i). When it means *whole,* the definite article can also precede *όλος* as in (ii).
i.   Η   Δάφνη έφαγε όλο   το   γλυκό.
        the   Daphni *ate* *all*   *the* *dessert*
        'Daphni ate all the dessert/the whole dessert.'
ii.   Το   όλο   έργο   θα   πάρει χρόνια.
        the   whole project FUT   take   years
        'The whole project will take years.'

context, as in (9), where the quantifier is restricted to the set of the contextually available children. Reflecting this, I will be glossing *όλοι οι* as 'all' for the remainder of the paper.

(7) Όλα   τα   παιδιά   αγαπάνε   τα   ζώα.
    all   the   children love   the   animals
    'All children love animals.'
(8) *Όλα   παιδιά   αγαπάνε   τα   ζώα.
    all   children   love   the   animals
(9) Όλα   τα   παιδιά   χαμογελούσαν.
    all   the   children were.smiling
    'All the children were smiling,'

With respect to the universal distributive quantifiers *κάθε* and *ο κάθε,* there has been some theoretical work, but no empirical work except for the experiments to be discussed here. We will summarise the theoretical discussion - for more detailed discussion of the differences between *κάθε* and *ο κάθε,* see Giannakidou 2004 and subsequent refinements in her work with Etxeberria (e.g. Etxeberria and Giannakidou 2010) and Lazaridou-Chatzigoga (2009b, 2012, 2015).

Two syntactic analyses of *ο κάθε* have been proposed in the literature: a) according to Giannakidou (2004), *ο κάθε* involves embedding of the quantifier *κάθε* under the definite determiner. The result is a complex determiner, where D incorporates into Q-det; b) according to Lazaridou-Chatzigoga (2009b), the definite determiner involved is analysed as the canonical definite determiner in Greek and the NP combines first with *κάθε* and the resulting QP combines with the definite determiner.

With respect to their semantics, both *κάθε* and *ο κάθε* have been argued to be strong quantifiers in the sense of Milsark (1977). Based on their non-compatibility with collective predicates like *μαζεύομαι* 'gather', Lazaridou-Chatzigoga (2012) has argued that both *κάθε* and *ο κάθε* involve *strong distributivity* (in the sense of Beghelli and Stowell 1997), in contrast to *όλοι οι* that involves *pseudodistributivity.* A further refinement with respect to these quantifiers has been proposed, according to which *κάθε* involves partial distribution of an event, while *ο κάθε* involves total distribution of an event (in the sense of Tunstall, 1998). Thus, by and large, *κάθε* behaves like *every* in English, while *ο κάθε* behaves like *each.* In terms of quantifier domain restriction, *κάθε* can be contextually restricted, but does not require domain restriction. As a consequence, *κάθε* can be used both in generic as well as in episodic sentences, similarly to English *every* (see Beghelli and Stowell 1997). (10) can be construed as a claim about cats in general, whereas (11) is a claim about a particular set of children.

(10)   Κάθε   γάτα έχει   τέσσερα   πόδια.
         kathe cat   has   four   legs
         'Every cat has four legs.'
(11)   Κάθε   παιδί ζωγράφισε   μια   αλεπού.
         kathe child drew   a   fox
         'Every/each child drew a fox.'

In contrast, *ο κάθε* cannot be construed generically and behaves by and large like 'each'*,* in that it can only be used if there is a specific set of things the speaker distributes over (Anagnostopoulou, 1994 was the first author to suggest that *ο κάθε* intuitively corresponds to English *each*). Thus, (12) must be construed as a claim about a particular set of cats that is familiar in the discourse. (13) is similar to (11) in that it refers to a contextually salient set of children, with the difference being that in (11) partial distribution is allowed (some of the relevant children drawing a fox together), while in (13) total distribution is required (each one of the relevant children drawing a fox on their own). On the basis of this, *κάθε* is characterised as a *slack distributor,* while *ο κάθε* is called a *rigid distributor* (Lazaridou-Chatzigoga, 2015).

(12)   Η   κάθε   γάτα έχει   τέσσερα   πόδια.
         the   kathe cat   has   four   legs
         'Each cat has four legs.'

(13)　　　Το　　κάθε　παιδί　ζωγράφισε　　μια　　αλεπού.
　　　　　　the　　kathe　child　drew　　　　a　　　fox
　　　　　　'Each child drew a fox.'

2. BACKGROUND AND OVERVIEW OF THE STUDY

The background against which the English and Greek study were designed deals with bigger picture issues that have to do with the nature of generic generalisations and their differences from universally quantified generalisations (for an overview see Lazaridou-Chatzigoga, Katsos, & Stockall, 2015). More specifically, they concern a postulated generic bias (generic overgeneralisation effect) that has been proposed within the generics-as-default literature (Leslie, 2007, 2008; Gelman, 2010). This bias has been argued to affect participants' behaviour when they judge generalisations: participants seem to accept universal generalisations as true even though they should reject them. This behaviour is attributed to an error they commit because they rely on the corresponding true generic.

One alternative explanation for the attested behavior we pursued in our work is that people do not commit an error of interpretation due to an underlying bias but that they restrict the domain of quantification to a relevant subset. Furthermore, we argued that variation within and across languages can elucidate the issue. We addressed the effect of context on generic and universally quantified generalisations empirically (for the English data and part of the Greek data see Lazaridou-Chatzigoga, Stockall, & Katsos, to appear). In this paper, we report previously unpublished additional conditions in the Greek experiment.

To illustrate the postulated generic overgeneralisation effect, in Leslie et al.'s (2011) experiment 1, participants performed a truth-value judgement task on sentences that were presented in one of three forms: generic, universal ('all'), or existential ('some'). The authors report that adults sometimes judge universal statements about characteristic properties such as 'all tigers have stripes' and 'all ducks lay eggs' as true, despite knowing that they are truth-conditionally false. The authors claim that the reason for this 'error' is the fact that participants relied on the corresponding generic statements ('tigers have stripes', 'ducks lay eggs'), which are true since generic statements allow for exceptions. Acceptance of majority characteristic statements like 'all tigers have stripes' was at 78% and acceptance of minority characteristic statements like 'all ducks lay eggs' at 51%. With subsequent experiments they ruled out the following alternative explanations: (a) ignorance, that is, people not knowing the facts, (b) subkind interpretation, that is, people interpreting the statements with reference to subkinds of the relevant kind, and (c) quantifier domain restriction, that is, people interpreting a statement like 'all ducks lay eggs' as applying only to a relevant subset of ducks, namely the mature fertile female ducks. Thus, they argued to have found a robust generic overgeneralisation effect, that is, a strong bias for the generic. We argued that in fact quantifier domain restriction is a viable alternative explanation for much of the generic overgeneralisation effect.

In the present study, we addressed quantifier domain restriction as an explanation for the attested behaviour building on a design used by Lazaridou-Chatzigoga and Stockall (2013). We chose to focus on quantifier domain restriction because it is a pervasive phenomenon affecting quantifiers and their interpretation within a context and is routinely invoked in quantification (von Fintel, 1994). According to quantifier domain restriction, the domain of a universal quantifier like 'all' can be restricted to a salient set. For the case at hand, 'all tigers have stripes' could be restricted to all *normal* tigers and 'all ducks lay eggs' could be restricted to all mature fertile female ducks and thus be judged as true. Furthermore, listeners are known to be pragmatically charitable (Grice, 1975), thus they will try to employ an interpretation that would render the statement true.

We hypothesised that if we could show that the amount of generic overgeneralisation behaviour can be altered by carefully manipulating different levels of contextual information preceding the critical utterance, we would have evidence that the observed tendency to accept universally quantified statements as true can be largely explained through independently motivated mechanisms.

Rather than contexts that provided population information, which were used by Leslie et al. (2011) and only had a moderate effect on participant behaviour, we decided to use three different levels of contexts. We furthermore narrowed our investigation to majority characteristic statements

('tigers have stripes') because of the design we adopted, leaving minority characteristic statements ('ducks lay eggs') for future investigation.

We manipulated two factors: context and determiner. With respect to context, we used three different levels: a) neutral, where the information in the context does not interact with the truth value of the critical statement; b) contradictory, where exceptions that should rule out a universally quantified statement are made salient, and c) supportive, where a paraphrase of the critical property is given, which makes its generality salient. The neutral context served as a baseline measure, while the contradictory and the supportive contexts made the relevant domain for quantifier domain restriction salient. The implicit restriction to 'all normal' individuals was made explicit by either making some abnormal individuals salient (contradictory) or by affirming that the relevant individuals had the property in question, i.e. that they were normal individuals (supportive). With respect to determiner, we used universal quantifiers with different sensitivity to quantifier domain restriction. In English, we used 'all', 'all the' and 'each'. In Greek, we used *όλοι οι* 'all', *κάθε* 'every/each' and *ο κάθε* 'each'. In contrast to English, in Greek we only have one quantifier that requires quantifier domain restriction and two that allow it, but do not require it. More specifically, quantifier domain restriction is less likely if the universal quantifiers used do not require linking with a set under discussion, as is the case with *όλοι οι* 'all' and *κάθε* 'every/each' in contrast to *ο κάθε* 'each', which has to be interpreted as D(iscourse)-linked in the sense of Pesetsky (1987).

The generic bias has been further related to claims that generics are the default way to generalise which is linked to the unmarked nature of generics (Leslie, 2008). We argued that without a clear and robust definition of markedness and a systematic examination of the form of generics alongside quantification and definiteness cross-linguistically, the appeal to unmarkedness and hence to defaultness for generics is impossible to evaluate. As discussed above, a definite plural is the most frequent nominal for generics in Greek. Superficially, we observe that the unmarkedness claim for generics does not hold in its simplest form as comparing *οι τίγρεις έχουν ρίγες* ('tigers have stripes') to *κάθε τίγρη έχει ρίγες* ('every tiger has stripes') or to *μερικές τίγρεις έχουν ρίγες* ('some tigers have stripes') shows that the generic statement is not less marked than a quantified statement in Greek. Compared to English, we expected lower acceptance in Greek "generics" due to the previously discussed ambiguity. The target response only differs in the contradictory context, where the generic interpretation should be 'true' and the anaphoric 'false'. By manipulating the levels of context, we additionally addressed an observed strong preference for the generic interpretation when the context is ambiguous, which has been found for Spanish (Ionin and Montrul, 2010), a language that is similar to Greek in this respect.

With respect to universals, we predicted that if the attested behaviour is largely due to quantifier domain restriction, which is a phenomenon that affects quantifiers in general, then we should expect to see variable behaviour depending on the quantifier used. There are two quantifiers in the Greek experiment that are associated with optional domain restriction (*όλοι οι, κάθε*) and one that associated with obligatory domain restriction (*ο κάθε).*

In the neutral condition, we expected that participants are not necessarily biased towards a generic interpretation when they interpret universal quantifiers, but that they might accept the universal statements based on the following alternative explanations, which we discussed at length elsewhere (Lazaridou-Chatzigoga, Stockall, & Katsos, 2017): a) subkind interpretation, b) ignorance and c) quantifier domain restriction. Furthermore, we expected responses to be different depending on the sensitivity of the quantifier to quantifier domain restriction, as we identified it as possibly the biggest alternative explanation. The neutral context served to provide a baseline measure for the three universal quantifiers. We expected mostly 'true' responses for all quantifiers in the neutral condition because there was no evidence in the context that the statements are not about normal individuals. Thus, participants might accept a universal statement with *όλοι οι* for the following reasons: (a) because they do not restrict the quantifier or because they restrict it to 'normal' individuals, (b) they employ a subkind interpretation, that is, they interpret it as applying to subkinds of tigers like the Bengal tiger, the Siberian tiger, etc., or (c) they are ignorant of the non-generality of the statement, that is, they might not know of the existence of albino tigers. A participant might accept the statement with *κάθε* for any of the above reasons too. For *ο κάθε,* quantifier domain restriction is obligatory, while ignorance might still play a role. Subkind interpretation is not expected with *ο κάθε* given that it cannot receive a generic interpretation (see the discussion above).

In the contradictory and supportive condition, we expected that acceptance should be reduced after the contradictory context across the board, since the option to restrict the quantifier has been

made salient and available, and that acceptance should be increased after the supportive context, where the relevant property has been affirmed of some individuals. As discussed above, *ο κάθε* has to necessarily get domain restricted, so we expected low acceptance for this quantifier in the contradictory context. *Όλοι οι* and *κάθε* could still trigger higher acceptance in this condition due to the subkind interpretation, but not because of ignorance, as this has been manipulated in the context.

3. THE EXPERIMENT

3.1. Method: participants and procedure

120 volunteers (29 male, 91 female; aged 19-71; mean age 33.7; SD 13.85) participated in the experiment over the Internet. Participants were recruited through mailing lists, University contacts of the researchers and word of mouth. All spoke Greek as their first language. The study was presented in the online platform Qualtrics. Each trial consisted of three displays. In the first display participants read a background context, in the second display they read a statement and in the third display they were asked to judge whether they agreed with the statement they just read. Their response was recorded by selecting keyboard keys ('A' for yes and 'K' for no).

3.2. Materials

Participants were presented with 84 statements, including 48 fillers presented in a randomised order. There were only minor differences between the English and the Greek study. The 12 experimental items consisted of majority characteristic statements like *οι τίγρεις έχουν ρίγες* 'tigers have stripes' and *τα άλογα έχουν τέσσερα πόδια* 'horses have four legs'. The experimental items were generic or universally quantified statements. We included 24 control items, 12 definitional statements like *τα μυρμήγκια είναι έντομα* 'ants are insects' and 12 false generalisations like *τα βιβλία έχουν μαλακό εξώφυλλο* 'books are paperbacks', which provided baseline measures and helped (semi)-counterbalance the percentage of expected 'true'/'false' responses. The control items always appeared in the generic form to make sure that people would not accept all or reject all generic generalisations. Given the potential ambiguity in Greek between a generic and an anaphoric reading of a definite plural, the contexts for the false generalisations were modified in order to bias participants towards a generic interpretation of the following statement (whereas in English that was not necessary). Fillers served to ensure the percentage of expected 'true'/'false' responses were similar. The definitional and false generalisations, as well as the fillers, were preceded by a context that did not vary across conditions. All the contexts and items were normed beforehand by Greek native speakers, who did not take part in the experiment.

The two conditions we manipulated for the majority characteristic items were:
    a.   determiner type:
            generic (definite plural), *όλοι οι* 'all', *κάθε* 'every/each', *ο κάθε* 'each'
    b.   context type: neutral/contradictory/supportive

Here are some examples of each context type:

(14)
    a. **neutral context**: Ο Ιππικός Όμιλος και Σταύλος Σαραντικού στην καρδιά του Ηρακλείου φιλοξενεί πέντε άλογα, που είναι καλά εκπαιδευμένα και προσφέρουν απολαυστικές βόλτες.
    b. **contradictory context**: Ο Ιππικός Όμιλος και Σταύλος Σαραντικού στην καρδιά του Ηρακλείου έχει πέντε άλογα, που είχαν ατυχήματα και έχασαν τα οπίσθια άκρα τους.
    c. **supportive context:** Ο Ιππικός Όμιλος και Σταύλος Σαραντικού στην καρδιά του Ηρακλείου έχει πέντε άλογα, που είναι έτοιμα να προσφέρουν στους επισκέπτες βόλτες πάνω στα υγιή άκρα τους.

Given the four determiners (generic/*όλοι οι/κάθε/ο κάθε*) we created 4 lists with 3 sublists each that varied with respect to the pairing of the items with context type, which gave us 12 lists in total. There were 10 participants in each sublist, who were assigned randomly to a list. Here is a sample of a trial of a statement in the *όλοι οι* condition after a neutral context:

(15)
DISPLAY 1:
Background:
Ο Ιππικός Όμιλος και Σταύλος Σαραντικού στην καρδιά του Ηρακλείου φιλοξενεί πέντε άλογα, που είναι καλά εκπαιδευμένα και προσφέρουν απολαυστικές βόλτες.
DISPLAY 2:
Statement: *Όλα τα άλογα έχουν τέσσερα πόδια.* 'All horses have four legs.'
DISPLAY 3:
[In Greek:] Do you agree with the statement?
    YES (A)   NO (K)

3.3. Results

The final model used included 101 participants. Nine participants were excluded as they responded correctly to fewer than 10 out of the 12 definitional items.

Table 1 summarises the proportion of 'true' responses to the TVJ question for the test items in each condition. We report proportion of 'true' responses rather than the actual number of responses to facilitate comparison with Leslie et al.'s (2011) results and the English results.

Table 9 Mean Proportion (SE) of 'true' responses as a function of context and determiner type

context determiner	neutral Mean (SE)	contradictory	supportive
GEN (οι 'the')	92.24 (2.49)	76.72 (3.94)	95.69 (1.89)
όλοι οι 'all'	70.54 (4.33)	51.79 (4.74)	78.57 (3.89)
κάθε 'every/each'	80.55 (3.83)	46.29 (4.82)	82.41 (3.68)
ο κάθε 'each'	70.37 (4.41)	48.15 (4.83)	75 (4.19)

As we see above, generics were accepted in higher rates overall than universals, as expected given that the truth of a generic does not depend on the context and we had chosen items that were true in generic form. Both in the neutral and the supportive condition generics were judged as true at very high rates (92% and 96% respectively). Acceptance of generics was lower in the contradictory condition, at 77%. With universals, the picture is more complicated. In the neutral condition, two of the universals (*όλοι οι, ο κάθε*) were accepted in similar rates (71% for *όλοι οι,* 70% for *ο κάθε*), while *κάθε* was accepted in higher rates than the other two universals (81%). In the supportive condition, acceptances were higher than in the neutral condition for all quantifiers: *όλοι οι*-statements were accepted 79% of the time, *κάθε*-statements 82% of the time and *ο κάθε*-statements 75% of the time. Acceptance rates in the contradictory condition for universals were overall lower than for generics, as expected. Universals after a contradictory context yielded fewer acceptances overall: *όλοι οι*-statements were accepted 52% of the time, *κάθε*-statements 46% of the time and *ο κάθε*-statements 48% of the time.

Regarding our control items, across participants, definitional statements were accepted 96% of the time and false generalisations were accepted 7% of the time. The contexts for false generalisations were different from the English ones (where acceptances were at 31%), as the context in Greek was biased towards a generic interpretation (in order to rule out the specific interpretation of the statement). This might have made other subkinds of the relevant kind more salient and so rejecting the statement was facilitated for Greek participants. This might have influenced the results overall too.

For the statistical analysis, we used the R environment (R Core Team, 2012) and the lme4 package (Bates et al., 2015) to perform a generalised mixed-effects linear analysis of the relationship between determiner and context on the yes/no response, specifying a binomial family. Responses were treated as a dummy coded categorical variable and were modelled with glmer. First, we fitted a full model with determiner type and context type as fixed effects (with an interaction term) and with random intercepts for subjects and items. We performed a likelihood ratio test of the full model with an interaction term against a model without the interaction term and the comparison proved non-

significant (χ^2(6) = 5.8586, p = .439). Thus, including an interaction term did not improve model fit, so we used the model without the interaction term for all subsequent analyses/comparisons.

We then fitted versions of the model without interaction, in which a single effect was removed and we compared the reduced model to the model without interaction. To test the main effect of context, we removed context. A likelihood ratio test of the model without interaction against the model without context proved highly significant (χ^2(2) = 129.94, p < .001). Thus, we concluded that there was a main effect of context. To test the main effect of determiner, we removed determiner. A likelihood ratio test of the model without interaction against the model without determiner proved highly significant (χ^2(3) = 32.829, p < .001). Thus, we concluded that there was a main effect of determiner.

In a second planned analysis, we looked at planned comparisons between the different universal quantifiers. We built a model without the generics that included only *όλοι οι, κάθε* and *ο κάθε. Όλοι οι* in the neutral context differed significantly from *όλοι οι* in the contradictory context (p < .001), but not from *όλοι οι* in the supportive context (p = .087). *Κάθε* in the neutral context differed significantly from *κάθε* in the contradictory context (p < .001), but not from *κάθε* in the neutral context (p = .711). *Ο κάθε* in the neutral context differed significantly from *ο κάθε* in the contradictory context (p < .001), but not from *ο κάθε* in the supportive context (p = .365). We then looked at effects related to each level of context. There were no significant differences in any of the comparisons between *όλοι οι* and *κάθε* and between *όλοι οι* and *ο κάθε* (all ps > .05). Finally, we compared *κάθε* and *ο κάθε* at each context level: there were no significant differences between them in any of the conditions (all ps > .05).

To repeat our predictions laid out above, we expected mostly 'true' responses for all quantifiers in the neutral condition because there was no evidence in the context that the statements are not about normal individuals. In the contradictory condition, we expected that across the board acceptance would be reduced, given that the option to restrict the quantifier has been made salient and available, As discussed above, *ο κάθε* has to necessarily get domain restricted, so we expected low acceptance for this quantifier in the contradictory context. *Όλοι οι* and *κάθε* could still trigger higher acceptance in this condition due to the subkind interpretation, but not because of ignorance. In the supportive context, we expected that across the board acceptance would be increased, given that the relevant property has been affirmed of some individuals. Furthermore, we expected to see variable behaviour in all conditions as a function of the quantifier used, given that *όλοι οι* and *κάθε* are associated with optional domain restriction, while *ο κάθε* with obligatory domain restriction.

On the surface, we do get many 'true' responses to universal quantifiers. In the neutral context, we observe high acceptance for all quantifiers, as expected. Nevertheless, we obtain the predicted decrease in acceptances in the contradictory context. In order to appreciate the relative effect of context on acceptance rates, we subtracted the average means of the contradictory condition from the average means of the neutral condition, as well as the average means of the supportive condition from the average means of the neutral. Acceptance rates in the neutral condition are plotted with the baseline condition as 0. Negative values mean fewer acceptances and positive values mean more acceptances. We interpreted the rates obtained as the relative effect of context on acceptance rates plotted in figure 1 below. We were expecting a stepwise decrease in acceptances in the contradictory condition moving gradually from generics to *όλοι οι,* then *κάθε,* and then *ο κάθε.* Related to *ο κάθε,* we had predicted low acceptance in the contradictory condition given that it necessarily has to be domain restricted. Instead of the stepwise decrease we saw in the English data (Lazaridou-Chatzigoga, Stockall, & Katsos, to appear), we observe in the plot below that the picture in Greek is more complicated and that the universal quantifiers used do not show the anticipated pattern across the board.
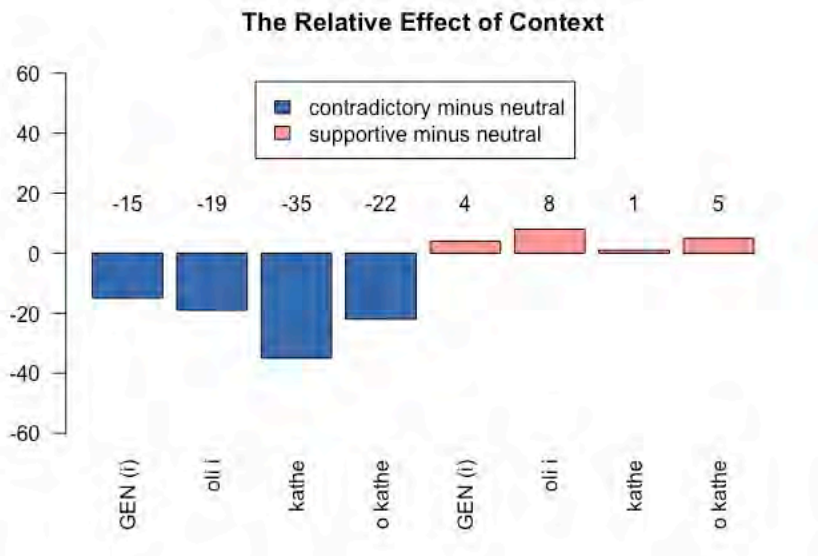
Figure 1: The Relative Effect of Context

We also note that adding explicit information supporting the statement (our supportive condition) hardly mattered, as acceptance rates did not rise significantly. Acceptance rates in the neutral condition were already relatively high, possibly due to the fact that no exceptions had been made salient and because participants are known to be pragmatically charitable (Grice, 1975), thus they would attempt to find an interpretation that would lead them to accept the statement instead of rejecting it.

Looking at the different universal quantifiers, in the neutral condition, we observe that *κάθε* is accepted more that *όλοι οι,* even though the difference did not reach statistical significance. This could be attributed to the fact that *όλοι οι* is not as atypical as 'all' because of the lack of the difference between 'all' and 'all the'. In the contradictory condition, despite our predictions laid out above, where we had predicted a bigger difference for *ο κάθε* compared to the other two universal quantifiers, we see that the biggest decrease in acceptances in the contradictory condition is seen for *κάθε*, which is only optionally domain restricted. This finding might be attributed to a preference for *κάθε* to get domain restricted, a fact that deserves further investigation in future research. Acceptance rates for *ο κάθε* in the contradictory condition are also higher than expected. This finding could be possibly related to a subkind interpretation. Even though we argued above that subkind interpretation is not expected with *ο κάθε* given that it cannot receive a generic interpretation, a closer investigation of *ο κάθε* shows that in the presence of some pragmatic licensing, *ο κάθε* could receive a subkind (taxonomic) interpretation. This can be seen in the statement below, which is part of an article that has introduced different subspecies of dinosaurs beforehand and then uses *ο κάθε δεινόσαυρος* to refer to each subspecies:

(16)   Η νέα έκθεση παρουσιάζει με συναρπαστικό τρόπο πληροφορίες για τον τόπο όπου ανακαλύφθηκε ο κάθε δεινόσαυρος, την περίοδο που έζησε, τα ανατομικά γνωρίσματα και τις ιδιαιτερότητές τους.
'The new exhibition provides information in a fascinating way about the place, where each (kind of) dinosaur was discovered, the period they lived in, the anatomical characteristics and their peculiarities.'

Furthermore, looking at the effect on generics, there is another interesting finding. In Greek, in the contradictory context, there is an additional possible interpretation, which justifies rejecting the statement if you interpret it as specific (the statement is potentially ambiguous between a generic and an anaphoric interpretation) – thus, we see less acceptances in this condition in Greek (77%) than in English (87%). That means that potentially only 23% of the responses in Greek may have been interpreted as specific. We can interpret this finding as a strong preference for the generic

interpretation over the specific after the contradictory context, while the context allows for both interpretations – consistent with similar results in Spanish (Ionin and Montrul, 2010). It might be though that participants are opting for the interpretation that would make the statement 'true' due to a general bias to accept rather than reject attested in the literature. Because of the uniform design across English and Greek we adopted in this study, we were unable to include statements with definite plurals that would be false on the generic interpretation and true on the specific interpretation, but this is part of work in progress (Lazaridou-Chatzigoga and Alexiadou, in progress).

4. CONCLUSION

In this experiment we addressed the relevance of quantifier domain restriction for the postulated generic bias. We broadened the investigation of generic and universal generalisations to languages other than English, in this case, to Greek. This cross-linguistic investigation can clarify the language-specific and language-general features of generics and universals and help us understand how people process generalisations. This paper focused on the interpretation of universal distributive quantifiers *κάθε* and *ο κάθε* in our data. The findings reveal interesting differences between them, which deserve further experimental investigation. This study further highlighted the need for more systematic and detailed work in the area of generalisations, as it is important to address the nominal system in the language under investigation more broadly when one studies generalisations, as the interplay of genericity, quantification and definiteness (specificity) seems to have repercussions for the availability of certain interpretations.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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Argument structure alternations in Modern Greek nominalizations: An extension

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ABSTRACT

Οι ονοματοποιήσεις στην Κοινή Νέα Ελληνική (ΚΝΕ) έχουν πρόσφατα αναλυθεί στο πλαίσιο της Κατανεμημένης Μορφολογίας. Οι ονοματοποιήσεις παρουσιάζουν ενδιαφέρον, καθώς εμφανίζουν διττή συμπεριφορά: συνδυάζουν στοιχεία από τον ονοματικό και τον ρηματικό τομέα. Αυτό μπορεί να εξηγηθεί εάν θεωρήσουμε ότι οι ονοματοποιήσεις απαρτίζονται από δύο διακριτά επίπεδα / υποδένδρα, ένα αποκλειστικά ρηματικό και ένα αποκλειστικά ρηματικό, τα οποία δεν αλληλο-εμπλέκονται (βλ. Panagiotidis 2015). Ο βασικός στόχος αυτής της εργασίας είναι να εξετάσει τις ρηματικές κεφαλές που εμπλέκονται στις εναλλαγές ορισματικής δομής στις ονοματοποιήσεις της ΚΝΕ, βασισμένος σε προηγούμενα ευρήματα σχετικά με τις ονοματοποιήσεις, εστιάζοντας κατά κύριο λόγο στην κεφαλή της Φωνής, η οποία θεωρώ ότι είναι υπεύθυνη για συγκεκριμένες ερμηνείες ρηματικής εναλλαγής. Ειδικότερα, θα αναφερθώ σε συγκεκριμένες ονοματοποιήσεις που αφορούν δράστες, όργανα και ενέργειες και αφορούν την ορισματική δομή και τις εναλλαγές ορισματικής δομής. Με την ανάλυσή αυτή, επεκτείνω προηγούμενα ευρήματα σχετικά με τις ονοματοποιήσεις στην ΚΝΕ και την άποψη που έχουμε για τη ρηματική λειτουργική δομή που εμπεριέχουν πριν τη διαδικασία ονοματοποίησης.

Key words: εναλλαγές ορισματικής δομής, ρίζες, ονοματοποίηση, Φωνή

1. INTRODUCTION

Nominalizations have constituted an issue of interest in morphosyntactic approaches ever since the early years of transformational-generative syntax (see amongst others Lees (1960) and Chomsky (1970)). The reason nominalizations are interesting as constructions is that they combine both verbal and nominal properties. More specifically, they can be modified by adverbs (1), they license argument structure (2) and manifest argument structure alternations (3). In languages like Modern Greek, they can also be inflected (4), be modified by adjectives (5), and project Determiner Phrases (DPs) (6).

1. to spasimo   tis portas   ksafnika   tromakse   tin Eli
      the breaking.NOM   the door.GEN suddenly   scare.3SG.PAST.PERF the Eli.ACC
      'The door's breaking suddenly scared Eli.'

2. to mirazma   ton ðoron   sta peðja   apo ton Ajo Vasili
      the sharing.NOM   the gift.GEN.PL   to-the child.ACC   by the Santa Claus.ACC
      'The sharing of the gifts to the children by Santa Claus'

3. to spasimo   tis portas   [apo ton listi /   me ton aera]
      the breaking.NOM   the door.GEN [by the thief.ACC /   with the wind.ACC]
      'The door's breaking by the thief / with the air'

4. to spasimo /   tu spasimatos   tis portas
      the breaking.NOM /   the breaking.GEN   the door.GEN
      'The door's breaking / of the door's breaking'

5. to ksafniko   spasimo   tis portas
      the sudden.NOM   breaking.NOM   the door.GEN
      'The door's sudden breaking'

6. Ena /   to /   kapjo   spasimo   tis portas
    one.NOM /   the.NOM / some.NOM   breaking.NOM   the door.GEN
    'A / the / some breaking of the door'

Modern Greek (MG) nominalizations have recently been analyzed within the framework of Distributed Morphology by Alexiadou (2001, 2009), Angelopoulos (2012), Michelioudakis & Angelopoulos (2013) and Angelopoulos & Michelioudakis (2015). According to their analyses, this ambiguous behavior of nominalizations is due to the fact that a series of verbal heads are embedded under a nominalizing head and a series of nominal functional projections. Panagiotidis (2015) offers an alternative account of the nominalizations' behavior using the concept of a SWITCH, i.e. a special head responsible for rendering a verbal subtree nominal.

Concerning the architecture of the grammatical component, I will adopt the Minimalist Program (Chomsky 1993, 1995 *et sequitur*). In minimalism, the grammatical component is schematically represented as an 'inverted' Y or T as follows in the figure below:
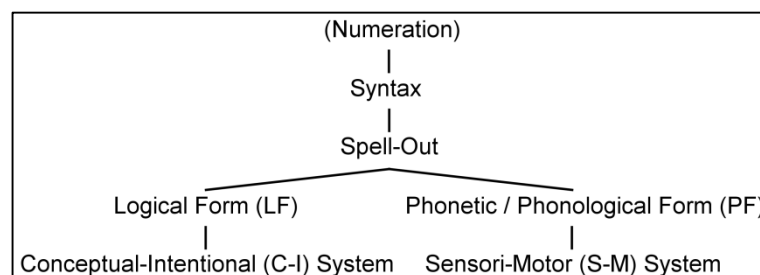
Figure 1: The Inverted Y / T Grammar Model of the Minimalist Program

The grammatical component can be further enriched, if we adopt the approach of Distributed Morphology (see Embick & Noyer's (2007) overview and Embick (2015) for an introduction and the references therein). In Distributed Morphology, the grammatical component has access to different kinds of lists containing different kinds of information in different steps of the derivation: syntax has access to Syntactic Terminals (roots and functional morphemes), morphology, which is the branch from Spell-Out to PF, has access to the Vocabulary (where the realization of roots and functional morphemes takes place), whereas LF and the C-I System have access to information contained in the Encyclopedia.

One of the main issues we must tackle concerning nominalizations is how the categorial label is assigned, as they seem to belong to two different categories. Baker (2003) and Panagiotidis (2015) mention that the most common system for defining category in the model of Government and Binding (1981, 1982 *et sequitur*) was the so-called 'Amherst System', introduced by Chomsky (1970). This system used a combination of two main features (Verb and Noun) and two feature values (positive and negative), yielding four possible cases: [+V, +N] for adjectives and adverbs, [+V, -N] for verbs, [-V, +N] for nouns and [-V, -N] for prepositions. In the Minimalist Program, the notion of category is "split" into different classes of features, but is still considered information contained in the Lexicon (see Adger (2006, 2010) and Adger & Svenonius (2011) for discussion).

On the contrary, in frameworks like Distributed Morphology or Borer's (2003a, 2003b *et sequitur*) exoskeletal model, where the main building blocks are roots or listemes and are not inherently categorized, special (functional) heads are used during the syntactic derivation, for a root to obtain a category. Roots need to be categorized, since they cannot surface bare, as category conditions their phonological exponence, and morphological and syntactic behavior; see the Categorization Assumption by Embick & Marantz (2008: 6) in (7) and Borer's comment on roots / listemes (2005a: 30) in (8):

7. ***Categorization Assumption:*** *Roots cannot appear without being categorized; Roots are categorized by combining with category-defining functional heads […]*

8. *[…]* <u>*no grammatical information is otherwise associated with the relevant encyclopedic listemes, and specifically, that they are not marked for syntactic category, that they do not specify syntactic or*</u>

Based on the aforementioned assumptions, our main goal should be to examine how many functional heads are involved in nominalizations and how they contribute to the licensing of argument structure and argument structure alternations. In the following sections, I will adopt the generalizations mentioned in Panagiotidis (2015: 37)[1] that mixed projections, nominalizations included, can be partitioned into two categorially uniform subtrees such that one is embedded as a constituent of the other and that mixed projections externally behave as nominal constituents.[2]

In the following sections, I will assume that mainly two verbal heads are involved in MG nominalizations before they are nominalized: a verbalizer (*v*), responsible for categorization and the licensing of the internal argument, and a Voice head, responsible for the licensing of the external argument and its interpretation (for further information on Voice and its different flavors, see Alexiadou, Anagnostopoulou & Schäfer (2015). A third head is assumed to be involved in English -*er* nominalizations by Alexiadou & Schäfer (2008, 2010), namely Aspect, to differentiate between agentive readings and instrumental readings. I will adapt their proposal accordingly when it comes to MG nominalizations, as the MG nominalizer -*tis* yields both agentive and instrumental readings but supports argument structure in both, something that Alexiadou & Schäfer (2008, 2010) either disallow or consider a rare possibility.

2. AGENTIVE AND INSTRUMENTAL MG NOMINALIZATIONS

The main nominalizer used to create agentive or instrumental nominalizations based on verbalized roots is -*tis* (see Alexiadou (2001, 2009) and Angelopoulos (2012) for discussion). The nominalizer -*tis* can either support no argument structure as in (9) or support an internal argument, be it incorporated (for a definition of incorporation see Baker (1988)) or as a genitive DP, as in (9) and (10) respectively:

9. *Stif-tis*
    squeeze-er.NOM
    'squeezer'

10. *Lemon-o-stif-tis*
    lemon-squeeze-er.NOM
    'lemon-squeezer'

11. *Stif-tis*   (ton)   *lemonion /*   *lemoniou*
    'squeeze-er   (ART)   lemon.GEN.PL /   lemon.GEN'
    'squeezer of lemon'

Alexiadou & Schäfer (2008, 2010) analyze the equivalent agentive / instrumental nominalizing element in English, namely -*er*, and claim that the two readings, i.e. the agentive / episodic and the instrumental / dispositional, must be disambiguated by a verbal functional head, namely Aspect, before the nominalization takes place. Their claim is that the difference between the two readings is that in the former (episodic) the nominalizer can act as an Agent and license an internal argument, whereas in the latter, the nominalizer refers to instruments and does not license an internal argument or rarely does so.

Nominalizations with -*tis*, as in (9)-(11), can have both readings, the agentive and the instrumental one, and internal arguments can be licensed by both. If this is indeed the case, we could maintain the Aspect head in MG just to differentiate between the two meanings, but dispose of the limitation concerning the licensing of internal arguments. With the merger of the Aspect head, the structure of -*tis* nominalizations that license internal arguments as genitive DPs would be as follows:

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[1] Panagiotidis (2015) references Bresnan (1997), Malouf (2000) and Borsley & Kornfilt (2000) for discussion on the behavior of nominalizations as mixed projections.
[2] For an alternative definition of this behavior see the *Functional Nominalization Thesis* by Kornfilt & Whitman (2011: 1298).

12. [DP [*n* -tis [*Aspect* [+episodic] [*Voice* [+active] [*v* Ø [√kov][DP …grapton]]]]]]
O Janis   ine   meɣalos   koftis   ɣrapton
the Giannis.NOM   be.3SG   big.NOM   cutter.NOM   exam-paper.GEN.PL
'Giannis is a big cutter of exam papers'

13. [DP [*n* -tis [*Aspect* [+dispositional] [*Voice* [+active] [*v* Ø [√kov] [DP …tu sirmatos]]]]]]
Kaθos erxese,   fere   ton kofti   tu sirmatos
As come.2SG   bring.IMP.2SG   the cutter.ACC   (the) wire.GEN
'As (pro = you) come, bring the cutter of the wire'

When it comes to cases where the internal argument is incorporated, I side with the analyses offered by Angelopoulos (2012), Ntelitheos (2012), Michelioudakis & Angelopoulos (2013) and Angelopoulos & Michelioudakis (2015). According to their analyses, incorporation of the internal argument is triggered as a last resort option, in order to avoid ungrammaticality, as the internal argument does not project enough nominal layers that would allow it to surface independently (another line of analysis is the one followed in Barrie (2011) where incorporation is thought to be triggered for labelling reasons). The structure of -*tis* nominalizations with the internal argument incorporated is as follows:

14. [DP [*n* -tis [Aspect [+episodic] [Voice [+active] [*v* Ø [√kov][*n* grapt-]]]]]]
O Janis   ine   meɣalos   ɣraptokoftis
the Giannis.NOM   be.3SG   big.NOM   exam-paper-cutter.NOM
'Giannis is a big exam-paper cutter'

15. [DP [*n* -tis [*Aspect* [+dispositional] [*Voice* [+active] [*v* Ø [√kov] [*n* sirm(at)-]]]]]]
Kaθos erxese,   fere   ton sirmatokofti
As come.2SG   bring.IMP.2SG   the wire-cutter.ACC
'As (pro = you) come, bring the wire-cutter'

Thus far, I have shown that MG -*tis* nominalizations project three verbal heads before the nominalizing one: (i) the *v* head which is responsible for categorization and the licensing of the internal argument, (ii) the [+Active] Voice head which is responsible for the reading of agentivity / cause, and (iii) the Aspect head which is responsible for differentiating between the reading of an agent and an instrument in -*tis* nominalizations.

3. ACTION-DENOTING NOMINALIZATIONS

Let us next consider the analysis of action-denoting nominalizations, with the combination of the verbalizers mentioned in Panagiotidis, Spyropoulos & Revithiadou (2013) and Spyropoulos, Revithiadou & Panagiotidis (2015), namely -*ev-, -iz-, -(i)az-, -on-, -ar-* και -*en-*, with the three main nominalizers for action denoting nominalizations, mentioned in Alexiadou (2001, 2009) και Angelopoulos (2012), namely -*m-, -sim-* and -*s-*. It is noteworthy that not all verbalizer-nominalizer combinations are equally productive and I will analyze only some of the possible combinations that manifest argument structure and argument structure alternations. More specifically, I will investigate the active-passive alternation, the unaccusative alternation, the (dispositional) middle alternation, as well as instances of reflexive and reciprocal readings in action-denoting nominalizations.

3.1. Active-passive alternation

Alexiadou (2009) and Bruening (2013), amongst other, have claimed that action-denoting nominalization constructions behave like passives. Nonetheless, MG manifests a series of ambiguous nominalizations, where the ambiguity can be resolved if we claim that the Voice head can have either a [+active] or a [+passive] value. Alexiadou, Anagnostopoulou & Schäfer (2015) offer some criteria to recognize an implicit external argument based on Bhatt & Pancheva (2006). Expanding on the different categories of roots offered in Alexiadou, Anagnostopoulou & Schäfer (2006a, 2006b), I claim that in MG action-denoting nominalizations, when semantically opaque roots are involved (i.e. roots where there is no available information on whether a change of state takes

place or not and, if so, how this change is caused), there arises an ambiguity between two readings, with the genitive DP following the nominalization being considered the agent or the theme of the action:

16. to laikarizma   tu Niku   epi misi ora
    the liking.NOM   the Nick.GEN for half.ACC hour.ACC
    'Nikos' liking persistently for half an hour.'

This ambiguity can be resolved if an external argument is realized as a *by*-phrase or when further contextual information exists:

17. To prosfato   laikarizma   tu Niku   apo ti Stela […]
    the recent.NOM   liking.NOM   the Nikos.GEN   by the Stela.ACC
    'The recent liking of Spyros by Stela […]'

18. ta laikarizmata   tu Niku   ja na   apospasi   ti Maria
    the likings.NOM   the Nick.GEN in-order-to distract.3SG   the Maria.ACC
    'Nikos' liking consciously when Maria speaks.'

Whereas the example in (16) is ambiguous, the information in (17) and (18), namely an external argument and adjunct control, can help us disambiguate between the two readings: in (17) 'Nikos' undergoes the said liking and Stella is the agent, whereas 'Nikos' is the agent in (18).

19. [DP [n -isma [Voice [+active / +passive] [v -ar- [√laik-][DP tu niku]]]]]

The structure of the two examples is almost identical and is given in (19), with the sole difference being in the value of the Voice head: in the [+active] case the genitive DP 'tu Niku' is the agent of the liking, whereas in the [+passive] case the genitive DP 'tu Niku' is the patient of the liking process.

3.2 Unaccusative alternation

Some roots encode the encyclopedic information that they involve a change of state and this is the reason that they can undergo the unaccusative alternation in the verbal domain. I claim that this behavior can be extended to nominalizations as well. See example (20):

20. to liosimo   tis karamelas
    the melting.NOM   the caramel.GEN
    'the caramel's melting'

The construction in (20) can either mean that the caramel melted by itself, without an external agent involved, or that some agent was the reason the caramel melted. Given more contextual information we can reinforce one of the two readings and cancel the other (as in the active-passive alternation we saw earlier):

21. to liosimo   tis karamelas   prosektika   (min kai)
    the melting.NOM   the caramel.GEN   carefully   (not-to burn.SBJV.3SG)
    'the caramel's melting carefully (so that it doesn't burn)'

22. to liosimo   tis karamelas   me to iðiko   flojistro
    the melting.NOM   the caramel.GEN   with the special.NOM blow-torch.NOM
    'the caramel's melting with the special blow-torch'

By expanding the analysis given in Alexiadou, Anagnostopoulou & Schäfer (2015) for the verbal domain, I claim that in example (20), where an unaccusative reading is possible, the value of the Voice head is [+expletive non-active]. This Voice specification covers instances where an external argument is licensed, but is not considered an agent (an idea based on Schäfer (2008)). The structure of (20) would be as follows:

23.   [DP [n -simo [Voice [+active / +expl. non-active] [v -on- [√li-][DP tis karamelas]]]]]

In (23), as was the case in (19), the only difference between the two readings can be attributed to the value of the Voice head. If it is [+active], then an implicit external argument reading arises, while if it is [+expletive non-active], the change of state is considered to be caused without an external cause.

3.3. Dispositional middle alternation
In addition to the aforementioned Voice values in the verbal domain Alexiadou, Anagnostopoulou & Schäfer (2015) also posit a [+middle] Voice value. Following Lekakou (2005 *et sequitur*), I claim that MG dispositional middles ascribe a dispositional property to their understood object / internal argument and, in this respect, they behave like generic passives, disallowing specific external arguments as in (24):

24.   O Olimbos   ðiskola   skarfalonete   (*apo ti Maria)
         the Olympus.NOM   difficultly   climb.3SG.N-ACT   (by the Maria.ACC)
         'Olympus is climbed difficultly (by Maria)'

A dispositional middle interpretation in nominalizations is evident in copular constructions. For example, in (25) the genitive which is the complement of the nominalization is assigned dispositional properties whereas the implicit external argument has a generic reading.

25.   to skarfaloma   tu Olimbu   ine ðiskolo
         the climbing.NOM   the Olympus.GEN   be.3SG difficult.NOM
         'The Olympus' climbing is difficult.'

The dispositional middle reading is achieved via a [+dispositional middle] head value and the structure is as follows in (26):

26.   [DP [n -ma [Voice [+dispositional middle] [v -on- [√skarfal-][DP tu Olimbu]]]]]

27.   to skarfaloma   tu Olimbu   apo ti Maria   ine ðiskolo,
         jati   espase   to poði   tis
         the climbing.NOM   the Olympus.GEN   by the Maria.ACC   be.3SG difficult.NOM
         because break.3SG.PAST.PERF   the leg.ACC   clitic.FEM.SG.GEN
         'The Olympus' climbing by Maria is difficult, because she broke her leg.'

If a specific *by*-phrase is used, as in (27), the dispositional middle reading is no longer an option. In this case, we can assume that the Voice head has a [+active] value.

3.4. Reflexive and reciprocal readings in MG action-denoting nominalizations
Alexiadou & Schäfer (2013), Alexiadou (2014), Alexiadou, Anagnostopoulou & Schäfer (2015) and Spathas, Alexiadou & Schäfer (2015) claim that *auto- / afto-* in the verbal domain denotes a reflexive reading. They adopt the distinction between Naturally Reflexive Verbs (NRVs) and Naturally Disjoint Verbs (NDVs). In NRVs the entity causing an action (i.e. the Initiator) and the entity undergoing it (i.e. the Endpoint) are expected to coincide, while in NDVs the Initiator and the Endpoint are expected to be distinct. As Kemmer (1993) mentions, one of the most prominent classes of NRVs are the ones that denote grooming and personal care, and this is the reason I chose to refer to instances of roots involving grooming. When a NRV is nominalized, an ambiguity arises as to whether it has a passive or a reflexive reading, as in (28), but the reflexive reading seems to be the main reading as long as no other *by*-phrase is licensed:

28.   to ksirizma   tu Jani
         the shaving.NOM   the Giannis.GEN
         'Giannis' shaving'

The nominalization in (28) can be used both in (29), with a transitive reading, and in (30), with a reflexive reading.

29. to ksirizma   tu Jani   apo ton maθiti   tu Samara
     the shaving.NOM   the Giannis.GEN   by the apprentice.ACC the Samaras.GEN
     'Giannis shaving by Samaras' apprentice'

30. Ine   to proto   ksirizma   tu Jani   xoris voiθia
     be.3SG   the first.NOM   shaving.NOM   the Giannis.GEN   without help.ACC
     'This is Giannis' first shaving without any help'

As expected, contrary to the nominalized NRVs, nominalized NDVs do not yield a reflexive meaning, e.g. in (31). Hence, *auto- / afto-* must be used, in order to render the nominalization reflexive in (32), when this is the desirable reading:

31. i tapinosi   tu Jani
     the humiliation.NOM   the Giannis.GEN
     'Giannis' humiliation'

32. i aftotapinosi   tu Jani
     the self-humiliation.NOM   the Giannis.GEN
     'Giannis' self-humiliation'

Based on the analyses I mentioned, in the case of NDVs, we should consider *auto- / afto-* an overt [+reflexive middle] Voice element, responsible for rendering a transitive / disjoint verbal root reflexive. I expand this analysis to MG nominalizations, claiming that in reflexive NDV nominalizations, the structure is as follows in (33):

33. [DP [n -si [Voice [+reflexive middle] [v -on- [√tapin-][DP tu Jani]]]]]

Finally, when it comes to reciprocals, Dimitriadis (2008a, 2008b) mentions some cases of verbs that can be interpreted as (symmetric) reciprocals when they do not have an active Voice specification and two or more entities are involved, e.g.

34. o Janis   ce i Maria   filiunde
     the Giannis.NOM   and the Maria.NOM   kiss.3PL.NON-ACT
     'Giannis and Maria kiss'

35. ta peðja   filiunde
     the child.NOM.PL   kiss.3PL.NON-ACT
     'the children kiss'

Alexiadou (2014) and Spathas, Alexiadou & Schäfer (2015) mention that when a predicate denotes a non-symmetric action (due to its semantic / encyclopedic properties) it can have a reciprocal reading if it is marked with a non-active (namely middle) Voice via the prefix *alilo-*, as long as it involves multiple entities / DPs or a plural DP. I claim that this behavior of non-symmetric predicates can extend to nominalizations, with *alilo-* having the same properties in nominalizations, as it does in the verbal domain. For example, (36) might be ambiguous and allow for a *by*-phrase in its non-reciprocal reading, but *alilo-* in (37) excludes this reading, yielding only the reciprocal one and disallowing *by*-phrases referring to another agent:

36. to sproksimo   tu Taci   ce tis Marias   (apo ton listi)
     the pushing.NOM   the Takis.GEN   and the Maria.GEN   by the burglar.ACC
     'Takis' and Maria's pushing (by the burglar).'

37. to alilosproksimo   tu Taci   ce tis Marias   (*apo ton listi)
   the each other-pushing.NOM   the Takis.GEN and the Maria.GEN   by the burglar.ACC
   'Takis and Maria's each pushing each other (by the burglar).'

The Voice element *alilo-* can also be combined with NRVs and yield a reciprocal reading, when multiple DPs (38) or a plural DP (39) are present, overriding the semantics of the root:

38. to aliloxtenizma   tis Katerinas   ce tis Marias
   the each other-combing.NOM   the Katerina.GEN   and the Maria.GEN
   'Katerina and Maria's combing each other.'

39. to aliloxtenizma   ton koritsion
   the each other-combing.NOM   the girl.GEN.PL
   'The girls' combing each other.'

Reflexives and reciprocals help us better understand the contribution of the Voice head, as they constitute cases where the [+middle] specification has an overt exponence with predictable semantic properties.

4. CONCLUSIONS

As I have shown in the previous sections of this paper, Voice is important head in licensing different kinds of argument structure alternations in MG nominalizations and the locus of the overt reflexive (*auto- / afto-*) and reciprocal (*alilo-*) elements. More specifically I claim that the value of the Voice head can be:

i.   [+Active] in agentive / instrumental nominalizations and action-denoting nominalizations, when we can deduce such a value contextually, through a *by*-phrase or agentivity markers,
ii. [+Passive] when there is no *by*-phrase or an agentivity marker available i.e. no external argument is licensed,
iii. [+Middle] either when a copular construction with a nominalization has a generic meaning and constitutes a statement on a property of the object/internal argument or when *afto-* or *alilo-* is present, yielding a reflexive or reciprocal reading respectively. I called the former kind of middle value [+dispositional middle] and the latter [+reflexive / + reciprocal middle] for reasons of clarity.
iv. [+Expletive non-Active] in nominalizations that denote an action involving a change of state root in the anticausative version of it.

The overview of the argument structure alternations in MG I presents in the preceding sections can offer us a better understanding of the functional makeup and behavior of action-denoting nominalizations. This contribution is useful both for other MG constructions and cross-linguistic research and I hope that the data I offered can further stimulate research on diachronic and cross-linguistic differences pertaining to nominalization strategies and the nature and number of the functional heads nominalizations involve.

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Non-factive pu? [1]

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ABSTRACT

This paper argues for a uniform semantic account of complementizer *pu* ('that') in line with Christidis' (1982,1986) account of definiteness. Two previously understudied sets of data, namely the occurrence of *pu*-clauses as complements of negative particles like *siga* (NEG, lit. slowly) and in wishes, seemingly challenge the standard proposals that *pu* ('that') is a factive complementizer. I propose that we can maintain a uniform definite semantics for *pu*, which interacts with different elements in the context: in sentential complements of negative particles the *pu*-proposition is discourse linked whereas in wishes its combination with the subjunctive results in a counterfactual meaning.

Key Words: complementizers, factivity, definiteness, wishes

1. INTRODUCTION

The aim of this paper is to explore the properties of the element *pu* ('that') by focusing on two environments where it appears to be non-factive (1) and propose a uniform semantics with factive *pu* ('that') based on definiteness.

(1)   a. Sigha pu tha ton   fovitho!
            Slowly that FUT him.CL fear.1SG
            'I won't fear him!'
    b. (Ba) pu   na   fas   tin ghlosa su!
            PCL that SBJ eat.2SG the tongue your
            'Nah, bite your tongue!'

I show that *ad hoc* pragmatic principles are not necessary to explain the data in (1-a) (contra Nicholas 2005) and I do so by maintaining Christidis' (1982, 1986) original idea that *pu* ('that') is definite. On a par with definites in the nominal domain, a non-factive sentential *pu*-complement is discourse linked whereas *pu*-wishes pick the endpoint of a set of counterfactual propositional alternatives introduced by subjunctive mood and/or focus. The alternative denoted by *pu* ('that') is parallel to the maximal individual denoted by a definite nominal description.

Section 2 introduces some core properties of the sentences introduced by *pu* ('that'). Section 3 introduces non-factive *pu*-complements (§3.1) and the previously unnoticed *pu*-wishes (§3.1). Section 4 sketches a uniform account for *pu* ('that') clauses based on the semantics of definiteness and section 5 concludes.

2. BACKGROUND ON *PU* ('THAT') – CLAUSES

Greek has several complementizers that participate in a wide-array of extensively studied constructions: the Subjunctive complementizer *na* (Agouraki 1991; Tsoulas 1993; Roussou 2000; a.o.), the negative complementizers *min* and *mipos* (Makri 2013, 2016a, 2016b; Roussou 2015), the declarative complementizers *oti* (Roussou 2000, 2019)*, pos* (Makri & Tsoulas 2015) and *pu* (Christidis 1982, 1986; Nicholas 1999, 2005; Roussou 1994, 2000, 2006, 2019; Varlokosta 1994

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a.o.) and the interrogative complementizer *an* (Roussou 2010). This paper only focuses on the element *pu* ('that').

Apart from sentential complements (2) *pu* ('that') may introduce restrictive relative clauses (3) and concessive clauses (4).

(2) Cherome   pu tu   arese to   dhoro
    Remember.1SG that him.CL like the gift
    'I am glad he liked the gift.'

(3) o   anthropos pu   me   cheretise…
    the man   that me.CL greet
    'the man that greeted me…'

(4) ke   pu   ton   parakalas ti   kataferes?
    And that him.CL beg.2SG   what achieve.2SG
    'Even though you have been begging him, what did you achieve?'

It has been standardly assumed that *pu* ('that') is associated with a factive presupposition because the proposition of a sentential complement introduced by *pu* ('that') is obligatorily construed as true in contrast to the sentence introduced by *oti* ('that'). In (5-a) the content of the embedded proposition is not presupposed as true hence one can assert that the opposite holds without triggering a contradiction. This cannot happen if the embedded complement is introduced by *pu* ('that'), regardless the matrix predicate is negated (5-c) or not (5-b). The factive presupposition has been proposed to derive from the definiteness of *pu* (Christidis 1982, 1986; Roussou 1994, 2006, 2010; Roussou & Roberts 2001; a.o.). Accounts of *pu* ('that') as definite can also explain the incompatibility of *pu ('that')* with determiners: whereas clauses introduced by *oti* can be selected by the definite determiner *to* (the.NEUT), *pu*-clauses are incompatible with determiners (6). If *pu* ('that') is already definite it is expected to 'compete' and never co-occur with the (definite) determiner.

(5) a. Akuse **oti** o   Janis fevghi sto   eksoteriko. Ala   telika   ekinos aplos
       hear   that the John leave to.the abroad   but   actually he   merely
       metakomizi stin   Athina.
       move   to.the Athens
       'S/he heard that John is leaving abroad. But, actually, he is merely moving to Athens.'
    b. Akuse **pu** o   Janis fevghi sto   eksoteriko. #Ala telika   ekinos aplos
       hear   that the John leave to.the abroad   but   actually he   merely
       metakomizi stin   Athina.
       move   to.the Athens
       'S/he heard that John is leaving abroad. #But, actually, he is merely moving to Athens.'
    c. Dhen akuse **pu** o   Janis fevghi sto   eksoteriko. #Ala telika   ekinos aplos
       NEG hear   that the John leave to.the abroad   but   actually he   merely
       metakomizi stin   Athina.
       move   to.the Athens
       'S/he didn't hear that John is leaving abroad. #But, actually, he is merely moving to Athens.'

(6) a. Dhen mu   arese katholu **to oti**   o   Janis efighe   aproidhopiita
       NEG me.CL like at.all   the that the John left.3SG without.notice
       'I didn't like that John left without notice.'
    b. Dhen mu   arese katholu **(*to) pu** o   Janis efighe   aproidhopiita
       NEG me.CL like at.all   the that the John left.3SG without.notice
       'I didn't like that John left without notice.'

Finally, *pu* clauses never appear in constructions with *na*, which are usually trated as the equivalent of the Subjunctive, unless they are relative clauses. [2] Whereas the sentential complement (7-a) and the sentential subject (7-b) are strongly ungrammatical, the relative clause in (8) is not. If we compare (7-b) to (6-b) it is clear that the ungrammaticality stems from the presence of the Subjunctive particle.

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[2] Henceforth I will gloss *na* as SBJ (Subjunctive) and I will simply refer to it as the Subjunctive particle.

Whether the relativizer *pu* ('that') (8) is the same element as the complementizer *pu* ('that') (7), falls beyond the scope of this paper (for relevant discussion see Roussou 1994, Angelopoulos 2015). However, it should be noted that independent evidence also suggests that the *pu* ('that') in relative clauses is also definite (cf. Roussou 1994, Alexopoulou 2007).

(7)   a. *cherome   pu   na…
          Be.happy   that SBJ
          'I am happy that/to'
      b. *mu aresi   pu   na…
          me like   that SBJ
          'I like that.. '
(8)   Psachno mia gramatea pu   na   milai   aglika
          Seek.1SG a   secretary that SBJ speak.3SG English
          'I am looking for a secretary that speaks English.'

To sum up, *pu* ('that') can function as a declarative complementizer or a relativizer. Sentential complements introduced by *pu* ('that') are associated with a factive presupposition that stems from its definiteness. Even though both the relativizer and the complementizer *pu* ('that') are definite only the former seems to be compatible with the Subjunctive.

3. NON-FACTIVE *PU*-CLAUSES

In the next sections I will present two sets of data that *pu* ('that') does not seem to carry a factive presupposition and *prima facie* challenge standard analyses.

3.1. Non-factive *pu*-sentential complements

As shown in §2.1 a proposition introduced by *pu* ('that') is true regardless the matrix predicate is negated or not, entailing or not. However, the factive presupposition *pu* ('that') seems to disappear when the *pu* clause follows phrases like *sopa* ('shut up') or *sigha* (lit. 'slowly'). In that case the proposition introduced by *pu* ('that') is not entailed or presupposed. Compare (9-a) and (10-a) to (9-b) and (10-b) respectively: a continuation that contradicts the proposition introduced by *pu* ('that') is infelicitous if *pu* ('that') is embedded under an emotive verb (9-b) or follows particles like those in (1--b) but not if it is embedded under *sopa* ('shut up') or follows *sigha* (lit. 'slowly'). The availability of these construction does not depend on tense: sentences in (9) are in future tense, sentences in (10) in present tense, and we could still turn either of them in past tense and get the same effect.

(9)   a. *(Sopa)   pu   tha pao egho eki. Dhen pao me   tipota!
          shut.up.IMP that FUT go I   there NEG go with   anything
          'I won't go there. Under no circumstances am I going there!'
      b. Lipame   pu   tha pao egho eki. #Dhen pao me   tipota!
          be.sorry   that FUT go I   there NEG   go with   anything
          'I am sorry I am going there. #Under no circumstances am I going there!'
(10) a. Sigha   pu   ine leromeno.Pentakatharo ine.
          slowly   that is   dirty   super.clean   is
          'It isn't dirty. It is spotless.'
      b. Sighnomi/ Na/ Oriste pu ine leromeno. #Pentakatharo   ine.
          sorry   here here   that is   dirty   super.clean   is
          'I am sorry that/Look it is dirty. #It is spotless.'

Nicholas (2005) was the first to discuss these constructions in the linguistic literature. He proposes a pragmatic account of these *pu* ('that') constructions, where the illocutionary effect of *pu* ('that') is argued to be "emotive and denegatory", comparable to English Rude Negators (e.g. *the hell I will*). The semantics of this class, and even whether it denies or affirms its referent, is to a large extent motivated by implicature, and by the strength (appropriateness) of the invective introducing it. For that purpose, he coins a new conversational maxim ("Thoman Rule" = "Agents do not undertake actions they have contempt for, if they can help it") and introduces an implicature calculus

based on the speaker's stance towards the content of the *pu*-proposition, the tense of the clause [+/- future] and whether the realization of the embedded proposition is controlled by the speaker. Such an analysis is highly problematic for two reasons: Firstly, the "Thoman Rule" does not seem to apply to any other construction, so it lacks generality – it is an *ad hoc* theoretical tool that does not seem to apply to implicature calculation in any other construction. Secondly, it overgenrates and makes wrong predictions for constructions where it is asserted that the speaker contempts the embedded complement, like in (11) and (12). Therefore, the meaning of *pu* ('that') is not dependent on speakers' emotions at all.

(11)   Sixenome   pu   prepi panta   na   ghinome egho o   kakos
         Detest   that   must   always SBJ become I   the bad
         'I hate that I must always be the bad guy.'
(12)   Sixenome pu   tha   ghino   pali   kakos.
         Detest   that   will   become again bad
         'I hate that I will be the bad guy again.'

       In this section, I will pursue a different direction: I will show that we can dispense with all these *ad hoc* principles, if we merely maintain Christidis's (1982) original idea that *pu* ('that') expresses definiteness. *Pu* ('that') on a par with nominal definite descriptions may presuppose existence, which in the sentential domain surfaces as factivity, or introduce discourse linking, which is the case for the non-factive *pu*-clauses discussed in this section.

       When the complementizer *pu* ('that') follows *sigha* (slowly), it can interchange with the expletive negative complementizer *min* ('NEG')[3]. The variant with *pu* ('that') is felicitous only in (13-a) not in (13-b); the difference between the two is that in (13-a) *pu* ('that') introduces a sentence already present in the discourse, whereas in (13-b) a new one. This replicates the pattern found in nominal definites; compare (13-a) and (13-b) to (14-a) and (14-b) respectively.

(13)   <u>Context</u>: *We expect a guest and the mother (Speaker A) wants to make sure that her son (Speaker B) welcomes the guest cordially. The boy finds the instructions overly formal and objects.*
      A: Molis erthi,   na   tu   pis   kalosirthes ke   na   ton   filisis stavrota.
         when come.3SG SBJ him.CL say.2SG welcome and SBJ him.CL kiss crosswise
      A: 'As soon as he comes, tell him "welcome" and kiss him on both cheeks.'
    a. B: Sigha   min/ pu   tha   ton   filiso stavrota.
         slowly   NEG that FUT   him.CL   kiss.1SG   crosswise
      B: 'Hell I kiss him on both cheeks.'
    b. B': Sigha   min/ (#pu tha)   tu   filiso ke to cheri.
         slowly   NEG that FUT   him.CL   kiss.1SG and   the   hand
      B': 'Hell I kiss his hand.'

(14)   <u>Context</u>: *Our friend George is buying a new car and he is considering the available options.*
      A: O Jorghos skeftete na   aghorasi mia BMW i   mia   Mercedes.
         the George   thinks   SBJ buy   a   BMW or a   Mercedes
         George is thinking of buying a BMW or a Mercedes.
    a. B: As aghorasi mia/   tin   Mercedes kalitera.
         let buy   a.INDEF the.DEF Mercedes better
         'He 'd better buy a/the Mercedes.'
    b. B: As aghorasi mia/   #tin   Ferrari   kalitera.
         let buy   a.INDEF the.DEF Ferrari   better
         'He 'd better buy a/#the Ferrari.'

So, if *pu* ('that') in these constructions does not function as a negator, the question that arises is what does. I would like to propose that the rejection of the previous assertion from the common

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[3] The ungrammaticality of strong NPIs in these clauses introduced by *min* (NEG) indicates that *min* (NEG) is expletive and not real negation in those contexts. For reasons of space and relevance to the point in question I will not discuss the issue further.

ground comes from elements in the matrix clause like *sigha* (lit. 'slowly'), *ante* (go), *sopa* ('shut up'), etc. Notice that the same effect, namely rejection of a proposition from the common ground, is present even in the absence of a *pu* ('that') clause. The assertion of speaker A is rejected by speaker B in (15), exactly like sentences (9)-(13), even though a *pu*-clause is not used. This clearly shows that the 'negative' component of the meaning in the B-utterances does not come from the use of *pu* ('that').

(15)   A: Tha erthi to   telos tu   kosmu!
           FUT come the end   the world
        A: 'The end of the world is coming!'
    a. B: Sopa/ Ante   kale! (Vlakies!)
            shut.up go   dear   nonsense
        B: 'Stop talking like that! This is nonsense.'
    b. B': Sigha pja   (Tipota dhe tha   ghini.)
            slowly anymore nothing NEG FUT happen
        B': 'Calm down! Nothing will happen!'

In sum, in this section I showed that, even in contexts where *pu* ('that') does not carry a factive presupposition, it behaves like definite nominals in the sense that the embedded proposition needs to be already introduced in the discourse (for an analysis of English factive complements as definites cf. Kastner 2015 a.o.).

3.2. *Pu*-wishes

A second set of data that *prima facie* challenge an analysis of *pu* ('that') as a factive complementizer is its occurrence in wishes (16)-(17)[4]. *Pu*-wishes are by definition counterfactual, in the sense that the proposition is not true in the real world, hence it follows that *pu* ('that') in those constructions is not introducing factivity. On the other hand, the *pu*-clause does not seem to be discourse linked or embedded either: (16)-(17) are felicitous even if the common ground does not include any discussion for god's actions or thunders respectively.

(16)   eftihos vrethike aftos o   kalos anthropos pu   o   theos na   tu   to
        Luckily find.PSV this   the good man   that the god   SBJ CL.3SG CL.3SG

        antapodosi kai   me   voithise
        repay   and me   help
        'Fortunately, this man appeared and helped me, may god repay him!'

(17)   Pu   na   pesi keravnos na   kapsi olus osus ipan tetja psemata!
        that SBJ fall   thunder SBJ burn all   those said such lies
        'May thunder falls and burns all those who sad such lies!'

Another striking difference between wishes introduced by *pu* ('that') and other sentential complements introduced by this complementizer is that Subjunctive is grammatical, even obligatory in the former. As we saw in §2, subjunctive is compatible with *pu* ('that') in relative clauses, like (19). However, in contrast to *pu* ('that') in relative clauses, *pu* ('that') in wishes cannot alternate with the relative pronoun *o opios, i opia, to opio* ('who'). One could still try to maintain a relative clause analysis and justify the unavailability of the alternation due to some restriction imposed by the covert relative clause head, however, *pu*-wishes do not seem to syntactically pattern with relative clauses either.

(18)   Ton ahrio!   pu   na   pesi keravnos na   ton kapsi!
        The scoundrel that SBJ fall   thunder SBJ him   burn

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[4] The term *wish* in this paper refers both to blessings (16) and curses (17). Intuitively, it seems to me that the use of this construction for curses is more productive than for blessings, however this preliminary research does not suggest any structural difference between the two. I leave to future investigation whether curses with *pu* ('that') are indeed more productive if compared to blessings and, if so, what is the reason behind that.

'The scoundrel! If only a thunder falls and burns him!'

(19) Psaxno enan gramatea pu   na   milai   aglika.
      Search a   secretary that SBJ speak   english
      'I am looking for a secretary that speaks English.'

(20) Psaxno enan gramatea pu/ o   opios na   milai   aglika.
      Search a   secretary that/ DET who   SBJ speak   english
      'I am looking for a secretary that speaks English.'

(21) Ton ahrio!   Pu/ [*ton opio] na   pesi keravnos na   ton kapsi.
      The scoundrel that/ [DETwho] SBJ fall thunder SBJ him burn
      'The scoundrel! If only a thunder falls and burns him!'

For example, they do not present hallmark properties of *wh*-movement (Chomsky 1977) like observing the complex noun phrase constraint (CNPC). Notice that, even in the absence of the complex noun phrase, the clause that involves extraction of a *wh*-phrase out of a weak island is degraded (23-b). The fact that (23-a) is not degraded indicates that the clause does not involve *wh*-movement hence *pu* ('that') is base generated and the construction is not a relative clause.

(22) Context: *Maria wrongly accuses Bill that he was the one who stole my wallet. I confront him but, in the end, I find out that he was innocent all along.*
      a. (Ton   dismiro!) Pu na   min akugha pote ton isxirismo tis Marias oti itan
         the   poor   that SBJ NEG listen ever the claim.N   the Mary   that was
         o   kleftis.
         the thief
         '(The poor guy!) I wish I never listened to Mary's claim that he was the thief.'
      b. *Pjos$_i$ na   min   akughes pote ton isxirismo tis Marias oti t$_i$ itan o
         who   SBJ NEG listen   ever the claim.N   the Mary   that   was the
         kleftis?
         thief
         'Who$_i$ you should have never listened to Mary's claim that t$_i$ was a thief?'

(23) Context: *Maria wrongly accuses Bill that he was the one who stole my wallet. I confront him but in the end I find out that he was innocent all along.*
      a. (Ton   dismiro!) Pu na   min akugha pote oti isxirizotan i Maria   oti itan
         the   poor   that SBJ NEG listen ever that claim.V   the Mary   that was
         o   kleftis.
         the thief
         '(The poor guy!) I wish I never heard that Mary claimed that he was the thief.'
      b. ?Pjos$_i$ na   min   akughes pote oti isxirizotan i Maria   oti t$_i$ itan o
         who   SBJ NEG listen   ever the claim   the Mary   that   was the
         kleftis?
         thief
         'Who$_i$ you should have never listened that Mary claimed that he$_i$ was a thief?'

Having now established that *pu*-wishes are not relative clauses and that they also involve the complementizer *pu* ('that') we can now further examine its meaning. In some environments *pu* ('that') can be interchanged with *makari*,('may, if only'), which also introduces wishes, or the additive particle *ke* (and), which, in combination with the subjunctive, is used as a concessive marker and yields counterfactuality. Even though, all of these particles may be omitted, the use of the subjunctive is obligatory. This indicates that the *wish* component is introduced by the Subjunctive and not *pu* ('that'). Therefore, the Subjunctive particle introduces a modal base consisting of (counterfactual) propositional alternatives, namely a set of propositions that describe worlds non-identical to the real world. These propositions are ordered[5] and the role of *pu* ('that') is to pick the endpoint of that scale.

(24) Dhen alazi   gnomi pu/ makari/ ke/ ø   *(na) ton   parakalas ores.

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[5] One could argue that it is the focus operator that triggers the generation of the alternatives and that the subjunctive merely imposes an ordering on them. For ease of exposition, but without truly commiting to it, I will assign both meanings to the Subjunctive.

NEG   change opinion that   may.PCL and   SBJ him   beg   hours
  'He doesn't change his mind even if you beg him for hours.'

In (24) the set of the propositional alternatives is P and its elements are ordered – the presence of the quantificational element makes the ordering quite straightforward:

P = <you beg him for 0', you beg him for 1'',…, you beg him for 2'',…, you beg him for 1', …, you beg him for 2',…, you beg him for one hour, **you beg him for hours**>

The set of these alternatives might seem less intuitive when a quantificational element is not involved, and sometimes that set might be a singleton set as in (25-a). In (25-a) the contextually salient propositional alternatives is P'={answer the phone, not answer the phone} but one of them corresponds to the real world. Hence, the contextually salient set of the counterfactual propositional alternatives is the singleton set P given in (25-a). On the other hand, the set in (25-b) contains more than one proposition and any element further right on the scale encompasses the previous one(s)[6]. This is evident by the order of the *pu*-wishes in utterances where they are stacked one another (26); and especially in clauses with quantificational scales (27). Each additional *pu*-clause extends the endpoint of the scale. Any 'scrambling' of the *pu*-clauses so that their order does not correspond to the scale renders the scale infelicitous (compare (26-b) and (27-b) to (26-a) and (27-a) respectively).

(25)   Context: *I regret answering a phone call.*
         a. Apantisa   pu   na   min   apantusa.
            answered that SBJ NEG   answered.
            'I answered but I wish I didn't.'
            P={I did not answer}
         b. Apantisa   pu   na   mu   kovotan to   heri   kalitera
            answered that SBJ me   cut   the hand   better
            'I answered but I 'd rather had my hand cut.
             P=<I did not answer the call, I had my hand cut>

(26)   Context: *I regret answering a phone call.*
         P=<I did not answer, I completely disappeared from earth>
         a. Apantisa   pu   na   min   apantusa, pu   na   mu kovotan to   heri
            answered that SBJ NEG   answered that SBJ me   cut   the hand
            'I answered but I wish I didn't, I wish my hand was cut before I did.'
         b.#?Apantisa, pu na   mu kovotan to   heri   pu   na   min   apantusa,
            answer that   SBJ me   cut   the hand   that SBJ NEG   answer
            #'I answered but I wish I didn't I wish my hand was cut before I did.'

(27)   P=<You beg for hours,…, you beg for days,…you beg for months>
         a. pu   na   ton   parakalas ores, pu   na   ton parakalas meres pu   na   ton
            that SBJ him beg   hours, that SBJ him beg   days, that SBJ him
            parakalas mines   dhen prokite na   alaksi   ghnomi.
            beg   months NEG   going.to SBJ change opinion
            'Even if you beg him for hours, even if you beg him for days, even if you beg him for months he will not change his mind..'
         b. #pu   na   ton   parakalas ores, pu   na   ton parakalas mines pu na   ton
            that SBJ him beg   hours, that SBJ him beg   months, that SBJ him
            parakalas meres dhen prokite na   alaksi   ghnomi.
            beg   days   NEG   going.to SBJ change opinion
            'Even if you beg him for hours, even if you beg him for days, even if you beg him for months he will not change his mind..'

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[6] In this preliminary analysis of *pu*-wishes I have not determined the ordering source of the alternatives. A prominent solution could be that the subjunctive introduces a *desirability* ordering, however at this point I am not committing to that or any other alternative.

In sum, in *pu*-wishes the wish component, namely the ordered set of counterfactual alternatives, is introduced by the subjunctive particle. The role of *pu* ('that') is to mark the proposition as the extreme point of that scale.

4. SUMMARY: A uniform definite semantic account for *pu* ('that')

In the previous section, I showed that two non-factive occurrences of *pu* bear properties that are reminiscent of properties of definites. Contra to previous proposals (Nicholas 1999, 2005) I proposed that we can maintain a uniform semantic proposal of *pu* ('that') as definite. In the case of 'rude negators' what actually rejects the sentence is the particle/verb preceding the *pu*-clause: the role of *pu* is to mark that the proposition following the 'negator' is one that has already been introduced in the discourse. On the other hand, *pu* ('that') in wishes marks the proposition as the endpoint of the scale of the counterfactual propositional alternatives that are triggered in the presence of the subjunctive particle *na* (SBJ) in the construction. Based on the proposals above, these irrealis uses of *pu* ('that') can actually be used to corroborate the proposal that *pu* ('that') is definite. Not only is the factivity presupposition parallel to the existence presupposition of nominal definites, but also *pu* ('that') marks a proposition as already introduced in the discourse or it refers to the most extreme point of a scale. The parallels between *pu*-clauses and definite determiners are summarized in Table 1 below.[7]

Table 10 Correspondence between definite nominals and clauses introduced by *pu* ('that').

Definite Nominal Description	*Pu*-clauses
Existence Presupposition	Factivity Presupposition
Discourse Linking	Reference to previously asserted propositions
Maximal individual/Supremum	Endpoint of the scale of alternatives

5. CONCLUSIONS

In this paper I studied two understudied constructions with the complementizer *pu* ('that') that seem to challenge the standard assumption that *pu* ('that') is factive. I argued that these two *prima facie* challenging data can still be accommodated and even provide novel evidence for an analysis of *pu* ('that') as a definite complementizer. These different constructions replicate different aspects of definite (nominal) descriptions: factivity is the sentential equivalent of the existence presupposition of definites, the *pu*-clause in negative interjections marks discourse linking as definites do in some contexts, and *pu* ('that') in wishes introduces maximality in a contextually provided set of counterfactual alternatives. Under the proposed line of analysis, a broader set of data can be accommodated without the postulation of additional theoretical machinery.

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[7] An anonymous reviewer points out that what all environments have in common is 'individual reference', i.e. a single proposition (in the sense of de Cuba, C. and Ürögdi, B. 2010 and Haegeman, L. and Ürögdi, B. 2010): a) because it is selected by the relevant class of predicates (factive) complements, or b) because it is embedded under certain element which trigger the reversal of the truth value (sigha/sopa) – in this case the certainty remains, or c) because *pu* selects a single proposition at the end scale. The dissociation of factivity from presupposition as reference to a single proposition is appealing given the parallel with the Russellian analysis of definites as asserting existence and uniqueness, however, such a step seems problematic or at least requires further elaboration for two reasons: Firstly, it inherits the problems of the Russellian analysis of definites. Secondly, according to Haegeman, L. and Ürögdi, B. (2010), a Referential CP in itself does not constitute a speech act and cannot be used as an utterance. *Pu* wishes can be used as utterances; therefore, it is not straightforward how the RCP analysis extends to this data. I leave to future research elaborating on this issue.

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Pseudo-Turkish loanwords in Greek phonological jokes

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ABSTRACT

Η παρούσα εργασία πραγματεύεται τη χιουμοριστική χρήση των τουρκικών δανείων σε γρίφους-ανέκδοτα της Νέας Ελληνικής του τύπου «Πώς λέγεται Χ στα τουρκικά;», όπου Χ μία ελληνική λέξη, σύναψη ή φράση. Η απάντηση-χιουμοριστική ατάκα αποτελείται από μία αλληλουχία λέξεων (ψευδο-)τουρκικής προέλευσης, που δήθεν μιμούνται τους ήχους της τουρκικής γλώσσας. Με βάση μία συλλογή περίπου 270 ανεκδότων αναλύεται η δομή, οι λεξιλογικές επιλογές, το θεματικό περιεχόμενο, τα χαρακτηριστικά και η πηγή του γλωσσικού χιούμορ αυτών των νεολογικών κατασκευών. Υποστηρίζεται ότι βρίσκονται στο μεταίχμιο μεταξύ φωνολογικού και υφολογικού χιούμορ, με τη στρατηγική αξιοποίηση λεξημάτων της χαμηλής ποικιλίας της Νέας Ελληνικής.

Key Words*: Turkisms, phonological jokes, register humor, bilingual folklore*

1. INTRODUCTION

The present paper aims to examine the humoristic use of (pseudo-)Turkish loanwords in riddle-like jokes of Modern Greek. In this type of two-line jokes, the answer to the formulaic question "What's X called in Turkish?" (whereby X is a Greek word, collocation or phrase) is a concatenation of words of (pseudo-)Turkish origin purportedly providing the Turkish equivalent of X. The form, the structure, the content and the source of humor of these wordplay creations are discussed based on the General Theory of Verbal Humor (Attardo & Raskin, 1991) and the humor contexts proposed by Oring (2008). The analysis of their characteristics in relation to the linguistic and extra-linguistic knowledge required for the appreciation of their humoristic value provides insights into the exploitation of the stylistic discrepancy between Greek and Turkish equivalents for humoristic purposes. The use of (pseudo-)Turkish loanwords and sounds imitating the Turkish language sheds light to the sociolinguistic status of these items in Greek vocabulary, revealing their versatility in terms of stylistic and humoristic effects.

The paper is structured as follows: Starting with the theoretical background, jokes and aspects of humor are defined. Following a brief overview of the relevant literature, the data of the study is presented. The jokes under question are then analyzed through supporting examples in terms of their form, structure, word selection, content and subject matter. The contexts in which humor operates are discussed and the source of humor is investigated. In conclusion, the relevance of the study is highlighted and suggestions for further research are put forward.

2. THEORETICAL BACKGROUND / DEFINITIONS

Within the framework of the General Theory of Verbal Humor developed by Raskin and Attardo (1991, pp. 166-167), humor is based on incongruity, i.e. the opposition between two incompatible cognitive schemata recalled to the mind of the listener/reader, which fully or partly overlap in a single joke-carrying text (Attardo, 2001, pp. 82-83).

When incongruity originates in the clash between two registers, *register humor* is the case. Registers are defined as language varieties associated with a given situation, role, or social aspect of the speakers' experience (Attardo, 1994, p. 230). Stylistic humor, a term proposed by Attardo (1994, p. 230), can be generated by mixing different varieties or by replacing the expected variety with an unexpected one (Archakis, Lampropoulou, Tsakona, & Tsami, 2014, pp. 48-49).

In verbal humor, as opposed to referential humor, incongruity is primarily detected in the form of the text; it derives from the "surface" realization of the text. Jokes are defined as short texts

produced to evoke laughter. Verbal jokes, contrary to referential ones, are not only based on the meaning of the elements of the text, but also on its phonological realization. Specifically in phonological jokes, words or phonemes of one language imitate or parody the sounds of another language (Muñoz-Basols, 2014).

3. RELEVANT LITERATURE

The first to analyze the lexical content and the humorous effect of jokes consisting of Greek words and phrases accompanied by their pseudo-Turkish equivalents was K. Kazazis (1973). His data, seventy seven jokes, was first published between 1960-1962 in the Athenian weekly magazine "O Tachydromos" under the title "Turkish lessons". Mackridge (2014) refers to these jokes when investigating Greeks' attitudes to Turkish features in their language. Tsitsipis (1989) approaches them from an ethnographical point of view as an instance of modern Greek linguistic play.

Muñoz Basols (2012) specializing in phonological humor, collected and analyzed samples of phonological jokes in thirty languages, confirming the widespread nature of this phenomenon. In the case of Modern Greek, Tsakona's studies (2003, 2004, 2009) analyze humor in various contexts. As for register humor, Canakis (1994, 2008) studied register clashes involving older forms of the language in humorous writings by Elena Akrita, and Georgakopoulou (2000) examined the relevance of sociolect choices in Greek comedies of the 1960s.

4. DATA

The type of jokes under question was first documented in Modern Greek in the early 1960s. They have not ceased to circulate by word of mouth and through the internet. Some old ones are being recycled, while new ones are being created. This study is based on a collection of approximately 270 jokes in their written form retrieved from previous studies (Kazazis, 1973; Mackridge, 2014) but mainly found on the internet[1]. Most jokes are (re-)posted anonymously or by users with nicknames, with an exception of a folklorist who collected a whole series of jokes created by a group of friends in his region in Peloponnese. To mention a popular example:

[1]   Q: *Πώς λέγεται η χειροβομβίδα στα τουρκικά;*[2] /Pós léyete i xirovomvída sta turkiká?/ 'What's a hand grenade called in Turkish?'
   A: *μπαρούτ κιοφτέ* /barút kiofté/ 'gun powder meatball'
- μπαρούτ(ι) /barút(i)/ 'gun powder' < Tr. barut *reborrowed word from Hell. Gr. πυρίτις > Modern Greek πυρίτιδα
- κεφτέ(ς) – [popular/widely known dialectal[3]] κιοφτέ(ς) /kefté(s) - kiofté(s)/ 'meatball'
   Alternative equivalents: a) *μπουμ κεφτέ* /búm kefté/ b) *σαματά κεφτέ* /samatá kefté/
- μπουμ 'boom' (onomatopoeic word for explosion) // σαματά(ς) 'hullabaloo, fuss' < Tr. şamata

A broad phonemic transcription of Greek lexemes and phrases in slashes (/), a literal translation into English in single quotation marks (''), as well as information on the usage or meaning of the individual constituents in squared brackets ([ ]) are provided for each example.

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[1] The jokes were retrieved from the following websites [last accessed on 02.07.2017]: https://goo.gl/MxNU21, https://goo.gl/pq1pf8,   https://goo.gl/9Y5gZc,   https://goo.gl/AwUjsP,   https://goo.gl/TJnNZq, https://goo.gl/JINvXv,   https://goo.gl/jSnZUY,   https://goo.gl/X4rJXU,   https://goo.gl/bHJe6b, https://goo.gl/f2D3dE,   https://goo.gl/D6Q9a5,   https://goo.gl/ojBxDa,   https://goo.gl/PWmfNB, https://goo.gl/1oKXhu, https://goo.gl/Rj2uVK
[2] The word order in Modern Greek is quite freely variable. Hence the reverse *Πώς λέγεται στα τουρκικά Χ*; /Pós léyete sta turkiká X?/ is grammatical, and the alternative *Πώς λένε οι Τούρκοι Χ;* /Pós léne i Túrki X? 'How do Turks call X?' is also documented.
[3] The usage labels and the etymological information are retrieved from the dictionaries used in (Malikouti, 2015) for the comparative examination of the lexicographical labels used for Turkish loanwords in three Modern Greek dictionaries.

5. FORM / STRUCTURE

Greek jokes with pseudo-Turkish words bear the two principal features of phonological jokes, according to Muñoz-Basols, Adrjan and David (2013, p. 164): a) a question-answer format, where the question makes reference to a particular language or culture, Turkish in our case; and b) a sequence of sounds within the answer that attempts to reproduce the language mentioned in the question. In this case, Greek, the language of the telling of the joke, is labeled as L_A, and Turkish is labeled L_B as the imitated language.

In macro-structural terms, the jokes consist of a wh- question, typically "What's X called in Turkish?". This question is not a real one; it is the original questioner who provides the answer, when, as is typically the case, the listener has not heard the joke before (Sherzer, 1985, p. 216). In their written form, the jokes are also presented as pseudo-glossaries solemnly entitled as bilingual Turkish-Greek dictionaries. The same title is borne by the cartoon[4] in figure 1. The "dictionary" is captioned as follows: "Papandreou and Erdoğan even signed an agreement on the publication of a modern Greek-Turkish dictionary".

Figure 2 - Cartoon by KYR, reproduced by permission of the comic artist and Kastaniotis Publications

In micro-structural terms, the pseudo-Turkish equivalent is always written in the Greek alphabet. Variants of the same Greek word or expression are found in different websites, whereby one of the constituents varies [1] or the word order is reversed [2, 8]. The words used in the glosses are not only Turkish loanwords but also originally Greek words (occasionally loanwords from other languages) [3] or even native Turkish lexemes familiar to Greek speakers (*yunan* 'Greek' [4], *güzel* 'beautiful')[5]. Native Greek words mostly appear truncated or modified to sound Turkish, or vaguely foreign, through the removal of inflectional endings. The elimination of inflectional endings from Turkish loanwords often results in forms identical to the Turkish equivalent before their adaptation to the Greek grammatical system.

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[4] Glosses from this cartoon are not included into the analyzed data unless they are found in other sources.

[5] It is remarkable that more originally Turkish content words (αβοκάτ < avukat 'lawyer', ναμάζ < namaz 'prayer') and grammatical structures (e.g. conjunction βε – ve 'and', the plural suffix –lEr) are documented in the creations provided by Kazazis (1973), dating back to the 1960s. Familiarity with the Turkish language was then greater among Greeks of Asia Minor refugee background and inhabitants of regions incorporated into the Greek state at a relatively late date. Kazazis' remark that these "Turkoid" creations were "more or less 'in' jokes to be relished by Turkomaths rather than by the average Greek" (1981, p. 395) is refuted by the continuity, high productivity and inexhaustible creativity still documented in these jokes.

[2]   *η Λίμνη των Κύκνων* /i límni ton kíknon/ 'Swan Lake'
       =[6] *παπί χαβούζ – χαβούζ παπί* /papí havúz - papí havúz/
- παπί /papí/ 'duckling'
- χαβούζ(α) /havúz(a)/ [ironic] 'dirty water basin, cesspit'

[3]   *τηλεδιάσκεψη* /tileδiáskepsi/ 'teleconference' loan translation [teleconference
       1953, téléconférence 1974]
= *παρτούζ τελεφόν* /partúz telefón/ 'orgy telephone'
- παρτούζ(α) /partúz(a)/ [*taboo word] 'orgy, sexual group activity'
- τελεφόν: internationalism for Gr. τηλέφωνο /tiléfono/ 'telephone'

[4]   *«Ωδή σε μια Ελληνική Υδρία» του Τζων Κητς* 'John Keats' "Ode to a Grecian
       Urn"' (1819)
= *Γιουνάν μαστραπά αμανέ* /yunán mastrapá amané/ 'Greek pitcher amanes'
- γιουνάν /junán/ < Tr. Yunan 'Greek'
- μαστραπά(ς) /mastrapá(s)/ [popular, widely known dialectal] 'pannikin, pitcher for
wine or   water' < Tr. maşrapa
- αμανέ(ς) /amané(s)/ 'plaintive Oriental-style song (including the refrain aman aman!
     'mercy! Alas!'

The absence of any morphosyntactical connection and the loose semantic relation between the constituents allude to a concatenation of words often figuratively associated to the "headword". It is worth mentioning that even if the glosses correspond to the actual constituents of the Turkish equivalents [5], they are considered ungrammatical in Turkish, as they lack the linking element, the essential compound marker [-(s)I].

[5]   *ψυγείο* /psijío/ 'refrigerator' Tr. buz dolabı
       = *μπουζ ντουλάπ* /buz duláp/
- μπούζ(ι) /búz(i)/ 'gelid' [expressive, familiar, spoken] < Tr. buz
- ντουλάπ(ι) /duláp(i)/ 'cupboard, cabinet, closet' < Tr. dolap

6. CONTENT / MEANING

To investigate the subject matter of the jokes, I assigned a set of labels based on the categories proposed by Muñoz-Basols (2013, p. 166). The subject matter of the jokes is roughly equally distributed between individuals (33.33%), objects (31.01%) and a miscellaneous category including places (10.47%), phrases (8.14%), actions, phenomena and abstract notions (17.05%). The topics of reference, expanding across a wide range of personal, social, political and cultural issues, include: sexuality, politics, professions, current events, social types and practices, military, financial and kinship terms, technology and clothing items, vehicles, etc. The time span of objects of reference covers almost two centuries, from John Keats' poem "Ode to a Grecian Urn" written in 1819 [4], to recently popular acronyms such as *ΕΝΦΙΑ* /énfia/ 'unified property ownership tax' [6].

[6]   *ΕΝΦΙΑ* /énfia/ acronym for Ενιαίος Φόρος Ιδιοκτησίας Ακινήτων 'unified
       property ownership tax'
       = *τσαρδί χαράτς* /tsarδí xaráts/ 'hut tax'
- τσαρδί < back formation τσαρδάκι [familiar, popular] 'hut, pad, digs'
- χαράτσ(ι) /xaráts(i)/ [spoken, popular] 'Ottoman poll tax, heavy and usually unfair
tax/fine imposed by the state'

It is remarkable that some pseudo-Turkisms (or even words of non-Turkish origin) are systematically used in more than one glosses based on their semantic characteristics, e.g. *ντουλάπ* /duláp/ for [+closed] [+rectangular] (see ex. 5), *σακάτ* /sakát/ for [+disability], *βαπόρ / παπόρ* /vapor / papór/ for [+vessel], *χανούμ* /xanúm/ for [+female], *παρά* /pará/ for [+monetary], *κεφτέ - κιοφτέ* /kefté - kiofté/ for [+round] [+explosion] (see ex. 1), *σιρόπ* /siróp/ for [+liquid] [7], *τσογλάν* [tsoɣlán]

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[6] For the sake of brevity, the symbol of equality will be used henceforth instead of repeating the question.

for [+child] [+young] [+disrespectful/contemptible/mischievous], *τσουτσού(ν)* /tsutsú(n)/ for [+male genital organ] [7]. The loose semantic relation between the concatenated words in the glosses and the meaning of the headword is instantiated by the fact that in some cases the same Turkish equivalents are provided for two different "lemmas" [8]: *μπουνταλά χαλκά* /budalá xalká/ for *βέρα* /véra/ 'wedding ring' and *παντρεμένος* /pandreménos/ 'married man', *τζερτζελέ μαραφέτ* /tzertzelé marafét/ for *ραδιόφωνο* /raðiófono/ 'radio' and *φωτοβολίδες* /fotovolídes/ 'flare, skyrocket'.

[7]   *σπέρμα* /spérma/ 'sperm'
        = *τσουτσού σιρόπ* /tsutsú siróp/, *τσουτσού καϊμάκ* /tsutsú kaimák/,
        τσουτσού σογιού /tsutsú soyú/
- τσουτσού(νι) [slang, informal] 'willy'
- σιρόπ(ι) /siróp(i)/ 'syrup'
- καϊμάκ(ι) /kaimák(i)/ 'clotted cream'
- σογιού < su(yu) 'water' second constituent of Turkish compound nouns denoting liquids, juices (e.g. *portakal suyu* 'orange juice', *maden suyu* 'mineral water')

[8]   *χήρα* /xíra/ 'widow' + *γεροντοκόρη* /yerondokóri/ [disparaging] 'spinster, old maid'
        = *τσουτσού αχ-βαχ γιοκ / αχ-βαχ τσουτσού γιοκ*
- αχ-βαχ /ax vax/ onomatopoeic exclamation of pain, despair, longing
- γιοκ /yok/ emphatic negation in familiar speech, with a humorous undertone, denoting lack, absence or non-existence

7. ANALYSIS OF HUMOR

In terms of humor analysis, I'll touch upon the General Theory of Verbal Humor by Raskin and Attardo (1991) and the humor contexts proposed by Oring (2008) with reference to the jokes. The General Theory of Verbal Humor analyzes humorous texts in terms of six Knowledge Resources:

a) Script Opposition accounts for the two opposite overlapping scripts offering incongruous interpretations of the text. Multiple levels of incongruity operate in the case of jokes with pseudo-Turkisms. The set-up question creates expectations that the lexical or phrasal item will be translated into Turkish (Attardo, 2001, p. 89; Tsakona, 2003, p. 317). In joke-telling the locutor does not expect an answer beyond the listener's silence or avowed ignorance (Attardo & Chabanne, 1992, pp. 166-167). Similarly to riddle sequences and contrary to conversational wh- questions, the answer is provided by the questioner (Bird, 2011, p. 270). Although it is known that the joke-teller does not speak Turkish, he/she unexpectedly provides an answer. The answer is "abnormal", implausible or even impossible, based on phonological and semantic characteristics of its components. In their form as glossaries, these jokes do not contain neutral, standard, formal lexemes as expected from dictionary entries but popular, familiar, spoken words. Humor is triggered by the register clash between instances of high and low variety. Serious topics of the cultural/political realm are contrasted with words marked as vulgar, old-fashioned, provincial or rural (Mackridge, 2014, p. 178). In Kazazis' words (Kazazis, 1973, p. 394) humor derives from "the discrepancy between the semantically (and sometimes stylistically) elevated Greek items and the relatively low stylistic status of their pseudo-Turkish 'glosses'".

b) The second knowledge resource accounts for the way in which the two scripts in the joke are brought together. The most common logical mechanism in pseudo-Turkish riddle-like jokes is metaphor. The source of humor is the link established between two seemingly disparate concepts, e.g. a teleconference with an orgy [3]. In Coulson's (2001) terms, humor largely relies on shifting from one frame to another whilst processing a funny text, in the example above from the working environment to sexuality. Disparaging metaphors are far more frequent and more humorous than uplifting metaphors, e.g. a relatively high-status item, such as a hand grenade, is compared with a relatively low-status item like a meatball (Mio & Graesser, 1991, p. 96).

c) Situation accounts for the context, the general setting, characters and activity of the joke. In this case, the main endeavor consists in imitating the sounds of the Turkish language by using words which purportedly represent the translation of a Greek lexical or phrasal item.

d) The Target identifies what is often called the butt of the joke. In some jokes referring to persons, institutions, social types and practices are satirized. Generally speaking, from the strategy

employed to ridicule these targets it can be inferred that the jokes also poke fun at the linguistic code per se. The implication that words considered in Greek as folksy, rural or pejorative are used in Turkish as standard terms indirectly attacks the Turkish language and by extension the Turkish people (Kazazis, 1973, p. 395; Mackridge, 2014, p. 178).

e) Narrative strategy is similar to the notion of genre or kinds of humor. The jokes under question are circulated orally in the format of riddles and in written form alternatively as pseudo-Greek-Turkish glossaries. They are recited in informal contexts, among friends, and have appeared in written form in comic strips, satirical and humoristic columns of the daily Press. As they are considered by some speakers as racist or disparaging, they may be avoided in non-intimate settings.

f) Language refers to the actual phonetic, lexical, morphosyntactic, and pragmatic choices that make up the humorous utterance. In this case humor is constructed through two main strategies: register contrast and imitation of the sounds of the Turkish language (see section 5).

Elliott Oring (2008) posits four contexts for the operation of humor, namely the cultural, the social, the individual and the comparative. The last one accounts for similar traditions of humor in various linguocultural communities. Instances of this type of phonological jokes are found in Greek (L_A) for languages (L_B) such as Arabic, Japanese, English, Italian, Spanish, and Russian. M. Stajnova (1964, p. 185) refers to such humoristic pseudo-Turkisms created in Bulgarian, e.g. *paratrooper = čadăr asker* 'umbrella soldier', whose equivalent in Greek would be equally humorous: *τσαντίρ ασκέρ* /tsadír asker/ 'tent soldier'. Muñoz-Basols, Adrjan and David (2013, p. 180) underline the characteristic and predictable tendency "to parody a particular linguistic group or community of speakers that is geographically close".

The cultural context refers to the cultural knowledge, concepts, values, and attitudes necessary to understand a humorous expression. The jokes under question heavily rely on linguistic and extra-linguistic knowledge shared between the joke-teller and the audience. Vocabulary knowledge and a familiarity with both the high and low varieties of Modern Greek along with the connotations and undertones borne by single lexical items are prerequisites for the appreciation of this kind of humor. Decoding some jokes would be almost impossible for someone who has no world knowledge (about global artistic production and popular culture) but also detailed knowledge of social and cultural information specific to the Greek context: Greek religious and political figures, food names, films, TV programs and songs and culturally determined concepts such as *κουκουλοφόροι* /kukulofóri/ 'masked/hooded young men' and *σώγαμπρος* /sóγambros/ 'husband who lives with his in-laws'.

The individual context accounts for preferences and age considerations. To elicit metapragmatic comments on these jokes, online questionnaires were used. Two thirds of the informants confirmed that these jokes circulate among children. They also admitted finding them less funny and less fascinating than in their childhood. The jokes are referred to as "invented Turkish expressions", "arbitrary paraphrased interpretations" "humorous Greek neology". Two main stances were detected: Some speakers find them whimsical, witty, ingenious, products of creative imagination, and a way of expression, particularly enjoying the wordplay. On the contrary, other speakers consider them boring, tasteless, infelicitous, old-fashioned and coarse. They view them as ridiculing the Turkish language thus reproducing a stereotype, otherising Turkish people.

8. CONCLUSIONS AND FURTHER RESEARCH

The present paper aimed to descriptively approach riddle-like jokes involving pseudo-Turkish equivalents of Greek lexical and phrasal items. A collection of 270 "definitions" was analyzed in terms of their structure and word choices, meaning and content, source of humor and context of reproduction.

It can be argued that the jokes under question are on the borderline between phonological and register humor. These ad hoc creations for humoristic purposes are meant to represent Turkish equivalents, purported translations of Greek lemmas. This is achieved through the use of Turkish (loan)words or even lexemes of non-Turkish origin morphophonologically modified so as to imitate or parody the Turkish language. At the same time humor is triggered by the mixing of registers or the use of unexpected linguistic varieties.

This type of jokes has represented a persistent piece of bilingual folklore for more than half a century, and features creative aspects of linguistic play, documenting the productivity and wide spectrum of stylistic and sociolinguistic functions of Turkish loanwords in Modern Greek. By revisiting

this kind of Greek jokes based on a larger collection of them and analyzing them in the light of General Theory of Verbal Humor by Raskin and Attardo (1991) and the humor contexts proposed by Oring (2008) the present article aspires to contribute to the research of bilingual and register humor, as well as to the investigation of relevant aspects of Turkisms in the context of Modern Greek vocabulary.

The overview of this type of jokes inevitably covered only some aspects of their characteristics. An audience-oriented approach would require more thorough investigation of the contexts of production, the parameters of reception and appreciation of humor. The topic should be examined more closely through the concept of metapragmatic stereotypes determining the creation and reception of humor. Analyzing features of verbal and non-verbal performance of these jokes could contribute to the understanding of their function and interpretation in diverse sociocultural contexts. A careful consideration of the historical and cultural underpinnings of these instances of linguistic jocularity would advance the research on the shared cultural capital between Greeks and Turks.

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Reaching an Endpoint: Verbal Root Telicity and Motion Event Encoding in Homeric Greek

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ABSTRACT

Έχοντας ως βάση το θεωρητικό πλαίσιο του Talmy (Talmy 1985, 2000), το παρόν άρθρο στοχεύει στο να φωτίσει την κωδικοποίηση γεγονότων μεταφορικής κίνησης στα Ομηρικά ελληνικά, δείχνοντας το ρόλο που διαδραματίζει η λεξική όψη (*Aktionsart*), κυρίωςτο τέλειο ποιόν ενεργείας, ως εγγενές σημασιολογικό χαρακτηριστικό αναφερόμενο στη λεξική ρίζα. Αυτή η μελέτη, βασιζόμενη σε μία κειμενική ανάλυση της Ιλιάδας και της Οδύσσειας, εξετάζει το πώς τα ρήματα κινήσεως στα Ομηρικά ελληνικά μπορούν να συνεπάγονται την άφιξη του Figure (δηλαδή του κινούμενου αντικειμένου) στο Ground (δηλαδή στο αντικείμενο αναφοράς) ανάλογα με την τέλεια λεξική όψη. Συγκεκριμένα, η ανάλυση λαμβάνει υπόψη τα ομηρικά ρήματα για το "τρέχω", δηλαδή τα ατελή ρήματα *θέω* και *τρέχω* και το τέλειο *ἔδραμον* (αόριστος), καθώς και τα συνυπάρχοντα με αυτά χωρικά μόρια, που μπορούν τόσο να δηλώνουν μια κατεύθυνση ή να είναι περισσότεροπροσανατολισμένα προς έναν προορισμό (π.χ. *ἐπί* 'σε, προς', *ἐς/εἰς* 'σε, προς'), όσο και να μη δηλώνουν μια κατεύθυνση ή να είναι λιγότερο προσανατολισμένα προς έναν προορισμό (π.χ. *περί* 'γύρω', *παρά* 'κοντά'). Τα ομηρικά δεδομένα αποκαλύπτουν μια σημαντική διακύμανση εντός της κατανομής καθώς και σε σχέση με τις σημασιολογικέςαξίεςτων εν λόγω μορίων, που οφείλεται στην εγγενήατέλεια ή τελειότητα των λεξικών ριζών. Η ανάλυση των ευρύτερων αφηγηματικών πλαισίων του λόγου δείχνει πράγματι ότι το τέλειο *ἔδραμον* αναφέρεται σε γεγονότα κίνησης που συνεπάγονται την άφιξη του Figure στο Ground ακόμα και ότανεμφανίζεται με μόριαπου δε δηλώνουν κατεύθυνση. Αντίθετα, τα ατελή ρήματα *θέω* και *τρέχω* αναφέρονται σε γεγονότα κίνησης τα οποία δε συνεπάγονταιτην άφιξη του Figure στο Ground ακόμα και όταν εμφανίζονται μαζί με μόρια που δηλώνουν κατεύθυνση.

Key Words: Motion events, Verbal Telicity, Spatial Particles, Homeric Greek.

1. INTRODUCTION

Space represents one of the most important cognitive domains within human experience. Connected to space, motion can be linguistically encoded by world languages in different ways. From a cognitive as well as a typological perspective, how languages express motion is one of the most investigated linguistic topics of the latest decades. The seminal studies of Talmy (1985, 2000) have over time provided a broadly-accepted theory of motion events. This theory allows us to classify languages typologically depending on the encoding strategy of such events. According to Talmy's Motion event schema, a translational (complex) Motion event includes a set of several semantic components, which are Figure, Motion, Ground, Path, and Manner. In a Motion event an object (Figure) moves (Motion) with respect to a reference object/frame (Ground), following a certain path (Path) and, eventually, in a certain manner (Manner). The world languages differ in the way they usually encode such semantic components and, in particular, the Path, which represents the core element of the event, expressing the relationship between Figure and Ground. Talmy's typology distinguishes between two linguistic types, namely *verb-framed* (or *v-framed*) and *satellite-framed* (or *s-framed*). This classification depends on whether the Path component is encoded in the main motion verb root or outside the verb root, in the so-called 'satellite' constituent, such as the Particles (Ps). For example, it is possible to compare two sentences from, respectively, v-framed Spanish and s-framed English: Sp. *El perro **entró** en el jardín corriendo* (literally "the dog entered the garden running") vs. Eng. The dog ran **into** the garden. In the first sentence, the Path is expressed by the main verb *entrar* "to enter", which conveys two semantic components, i.e. Motion+Path, while Manner is conveyed by the gerund *corriendo* "running" (Path is in the verb). On the contrary, in English the main verb *run* conveys Motion+Manner (it is one of the so-called *manner-of-motion* verbs), while the Path is expressed by a satellite element, i.e. the P *into* (Path is outside the verb)*.

Working with Talmy's theory, many researchers have explored motion event encoding of several languages for about the last three decades, mostly through native speakers' elicited data. In the light of the principle of linguistic uniformitarianism, any generalization about current languages are potentially as valid as for languages of the past (and future), therefore motion events studies are also focused on ancient languages.

Taking into account Ancient Greek, it is generally classified as a s-framed language, as well as the other oldest Indo-European languages (see Talmy 1985; Imbert 2010). In particular, Homeric Greek (HG) had indeed a rich set of spatial Ps working as Path-encoding satellites. As regards their semantics, Ps can be both directional, i.e. more goal-oriented (such as ἐπί "to, towards", ἐς/εἰς "into, to") and non-directional, i.e. locative or less goal-oriented (such as περί "around", παρά "beside").[1]

The present paper aims to shed light on a rather neglected issue in motion event studies, i.e. the role that lexical aspect (*Aktionsart*), namely telicity as a semantic feature of verbal roots, plays in the Homeric encoding strategy of motion events. Telicity refers to the most important feature that allows us to establish lexical aspect. Telicity can be described as an aspectual property which designates events or actions entailing a natural or intended endpoint (Depraetere 1995; Vendler 1967). Although such semantic feature has not been excluded at all in the studies on motion events, it has been mostly related to the syntactic level or to the whole event (see, among others, Aske 1989). However, based on diachronic morphological evidences, telicity has recently been re-evaluated as an verbal inherent semantic property playing a fundamental role within the verbal system of the most ancient Indo-European languages, such as HG and Vedic Sanskrit (Bartolotta, 2016a; 2016b). With particular regard to Homeric motion verbs, εἶμι "go" [–telic] and βαίνω "go; come" [+telic] turn out to be compatible with the entailment of the arrival of the Figure to the Ground according to their inherent (a)telicity, rather than being in a deictic opposition, i.e. "go" *vs.* "come" (see Bartolotta 2017). Moving from these assumptions, the present paper is built on the textual analysis of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, in order to investigate the distribution of three motion verbs which, due to their aspectual complementarity, constitute the Homeric suppletive paradigm of the manner-of-motion verb *run*, as well as their co-occurring spatial Ps as Path-encoding satellite elements.[2] As it will be shown, data reveal a non-random distribution and relationship between the motion verbs and their co-occurring spatial Ps, depending on the inherent (a)telicity of the verbal root.

The paper is structured as follows: details of the sample of analysis will be provided in Section 2, focusing on the etymology and the suppletive relationship between the motion verbs at issue (2.1.), as well as on their co-occurring spatial Ps (2.2.); textual data will be shown and discussed in detail in Section 3, focusing on the role played by verbal (a)telicity in the significant variation within the distribution of motion verbs and spatial Ps (3.1.), as well as on the entailment of the arrival of the Figure to an endpoint. Conclusions are drawn in Section 4.

2. SAMPLE OF THE TEXTUAL ANALYSIS

The textual analysis of the Homeric poems takes into account, on the one hand, the atelic verbs θέω and τρέχω [–telic] and the telic (aorist) ἔδραμον [+telic], and, on the other hand, the distribution of both directional and non-directional co-occurring spatial Ps.

2.1. θέω, τρέχω, ἔδραμον: etymology, suppletivism, and semantics

The Homeric suppletive paradigm for *run* is composed by three verbs, i.e. θέω, τρέχω, and ἔδραμον (see Table 1). Etymologically, θέω and τρέχω trace back to respectively the Indo-European

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[1] The term *locative* here refers to both stative (such as ἐν "in") and non-stative Ps (such as διά "through"), which do not prototypically entail an endpoint. Sometimes the difference between directional vs. non-directional Ps is not always clear, due to the polysemic nature of Ps.

[2] The online *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae* (TLG 2000) was used in order to create a digital corpus of the HG texts. Other bibliographical tools are the critical editions of the Homeric poems by Mazon (1957-61) and Monro and Allen (1978), the translations by Murray (1946, 1946-47), the Greek dictionary *Liddell-Scott-Jones* (LSJ 2011), the Greek etymological dictionaries by Frisk (1960-72), and Chantraine (1968-80), as well as the lexicon by Snell (1955-2010). With regard to Indo-European, the reference dictionaries are Pokorny (1959) and Rix (2001).

root *d^hew-"to run" and *d^hreg^h- "to run", characterized as [–telic], while the radical aorist ἔδραμον traces back to the zero grade *$dṛm$- of the Indo-European root *$drem$- "to run (to)", characterized as [+telic] (Pokorny 1959; Rix 2001).

Table 1: The Homeric suppletive paradigm for *run*

Homeric verbs	Indo-Euoropean Roots	Inherent (a)telicity
θέω	< *d^hew-"to run"	[–telic]
τρέχω	< *d^hreg^h- "to run"	[–telic]
ἔδραμον	< *$dṛm$-/$drem$- "to run (to)"	[+telic]

There is a suppletive distribution between θέω and ἔδραμον, based on their mutual aspectual (*Aktionsart*) complementarity, so that the first exclusively occurs as present stem (no aorist stem is attested), whereas the latter exclusively occurs as aorist stem and, in the -o- grade root *$drom$-, as perfect stem, e.g. δέδρομα (Chantraine 1968-80; Snell 1955-2010). This particular suppletive distribution of the stems within the paradigm, and the aspectual (i.e. grammatical aspect) or tense opposition between present and aorist, far from being random, is instead due to the inherent lexical aspect of the verbal root.[3] The verb τρέχω is less recurring than the other two verbs for *run*, and already exhibits a full paradigm in HG, although the sigmatic aorist (θρέξασκον) is a secondary form compared to the present stem (Drinka 1995).[4]

Semantically, the three manner-of-motion verbs express the concept of running with legs, related to animated beings, as well as the idea of a fast and fluid movement of inanimate beings.

2.2. Path encoding elements: directional and non-directional spatial Ps

The Ps included in the sample are those shown in Table 2, which are, on the one hand, directional (i.e. ἐπί "to", ἀνά "upwards", and κατά "downwards") and, on the other hand, non-directional (i.e. διά "through", ὑπό "under", ἀπό "from", ἐκ "out", ἐν "in", ὑπέρ "over", πρό "forth", παρά "beside", περί "around", ἀμφί(ς) "around", μετά "between", σύν "with").[5]

Table 2: Directional and non-directional spatial Ps co-occurring with θέω, τρέχω, and ἔδραμον

Directional Ps	Non-directional Ps
ἐπί "to" ἀνά "upwards" κατά "downwards"	διά "through"; ὑπό "under"; ἀπό "from"; ἐκ "out"; ἐν "in"; ὑπέρ "over"; πρό "forth"; παρά "beside"; περί "around"; ἀμφί(ς) "around"; μετά "between"; σύν "with";

With the term *P* are here denoted several linguistic items sharing particular morphosyntactic features, since they can occur in different functions, i.e. as adpositions (mostly prepositions), as

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[3] With regard to the later development of grammatical aspect compared to lexical aspect in the Indo-European verbal system see, among others, García Ramón (2002: 133-134) and Bartolotta (2016a: 16-20) and references therein.
[4] After Homer, τρέχω gradually replaced θέω, establishing the more common suppletive opposition τρέχω/ἔδραμον. According to Chantaine (1968-80), τρέχω could formerly mean "turn" (see τροχός "wheel"). In light of this statement, Létoublon (1985: 181) hypothesizes that τρέχω could be excluded from the ancient paradigm (θέω/ἔδραμον) and that the semantic change from "turn" to "run" could come through the acceptation of "turn to the finish line (in a race)".
[5] For space reasons, Ps are here presented with only one meaning. Those few (3x) cases of multipreverbation, i.e. ὑπεκπροθέω, are here excluded (see Imbert 2010 for discussion). Despite its own basically comitative meaning "with", σύν is included in the sample since it appears to be related to motion events (as discussed in 3.2.).

preverbs (in agglutinated form or in the so-called tmesis) and, residually, as free adverbs.[6] Due to the relatively free word order of the early Indo-European languages, such as HG, Homeric Ps originally started as multifunctional adverbial items with a free position within the sentence. During the centuries, they underwent a gradual diachronic process of grammaticalization, moving from autonomous lexical to bounded forms. The morphosyntactic behavior of Ps became more regular when they were bound to a verb according to a mutual semantic compatibility, so that Ps gradually became preverbs.[7] In addition to the reduction of their syntactic autonomy, this process could also involve a semantic change of Ps from a concrete spatial to a more abstract metaphorical meaning (see Hopper and Traugott 1993; Pompei 2014: 267). For all these reasons, the morphosyntactic status/function of Ps (i.e. adverbial, preverbal, tmetic, and prepositional) can often be quite ambiguous, and only the analysis of the semantic-syntactic context can shed light on it. Due to its own typical linguistic stratification, which synchronically provides traces of successive diachronic phases of P grammaticalization, HG turns out to be a rather interesting object of study, despite its literary and quite artificial nature.

3. TEXTUAL DATA AND DISCUSSION

After an overview of the Homeric distribution of the motion verbs and their co-occurring Ps at issue, in this section a selection of the most significant examples are presented and discussed in order to show the role played by verbal telicity on motion event encoding in HG.

3.1. Homeric distribution of θέω, τρέχω, ἔδραμον

Table 3 provides an overview of the Homeric distribution of the three verbs for *run*, taking into account the difference between occurrences as absolute forms (without any Path-encoding satellite) and occurrences with spatial Ps (both directional and non-directional) as Path-encoding satellites.[8]

Table 3: Homeric distribution of θέω, τρέχω, ἔδραμον as absolute forms *vs.* with co-occurring Ps

Homeric Verbs	Absolute forms	With directional and non-directional Ps	Total
θέω [–telic]	50x	30x	80x
τρέχω [–telic]	2x	4x	6x
ἔδραμον [+telic]	–	33x	33x

Table 3 shows first interesting data, especially focusing on the opposition between θέω and ἔδραμον (τρέχω is much less representative occurring 7x times only). The telic verb ἔδραμον never occurs as absolute form but always with spatial Ps, whereas the atelic verb θέω occurs as absolute form more frequently than with spatial Ps. These results reveal a higher semantic compatibility of the atelic verb θέω (and, to a lesser extent, τρέχω) with expressing an atelic motion event which does not require any Path-encoding element (Ps), as shown in (1)-(2).

(1) Ἕκτορ, νῦν σὺ μὲν ὧδε **θέεις** ἀκίχητα διώκων,
      ἵππους Αἰακίδαο δαΐφρονος·
    "Hector, now you **run** thus, chasing something unattainable, the horses of the wise son of Aeacus" (*Il.* 17. 75-76)
(2) οἳ δ' ὀτὲ μὲν **θρέξασκον** ἐπισταμένοισι πόδεσσιν
     ῥεῖα μάλ'
    "Sometimes they (the dancers) **ran** with cunning feet very lightly" (*Il.* 18. 599-600)

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[6] Adpositions still had a quite free position in HG, although prepositions are much more common than postposition, and they became the common usage in Classical Greek (Luraghi 2003: 81).
[7] Similarly, Ps became prepositions when bound to a noun.
[8] Since the present paper is focused on Ps, are here excluded those few (6x) occurrences in which Path is conveyed by other linguistic elements, such as adverbs and nominal case-markers (see Author 2017a for details about these specific occurrences).

Besides the information of Manner+Motion expressed by both θέω in (1) and τρέχω in (2), there is no Path information conveyed in both examples.[9] On the contrary, lacking occurrences in the absolute forms of the telic verb ἔδραμον shows a higher semantic compatibility with a telic motion event which entails a Path-encoding element, as shown in (3).

(3) τὼ μὲν **ἐπεδραμέτην**, ὃ δ' ἄρ' ἔστη δοῦπον ἀκούσας·
    "The two (heroes) **ran towards** (him), and he stood as he heard a sound" (*Il*. 10.354)

Besides the information of Manner+Motion expressed by ἔδραμον, in (3) the Path is conveyed by ἐπ(ί) which co-occurs as an agglutinated preverb. As it can also be inferred by the larger narrative context (see *Il*. 10.376-377), the two heroes reach their enemy (see Section 3.2. for the discussion about the entailment of the arrival of the figure to an endpoint).
As illustrated in Table 4, Homeric data also show a significant variation within the distribution of directional and non-directional Ps according to the verbal (a)telicity.

Table 4: Homeric distribution of directional *vs.* non-directional Ps

Homeric Verbs	Directional Ps	Non-directional Ps	Total
θέω [–telic]	12x	18x	30x
τρέχω [–telic]	3x	1x	4x
ἔδραμον [+telic]	20x	13x	33x

Although all three verbs at issue occur with both directional and non-directional Ps, Table 4 shows that the atelic verb θέω mostly occurs with non-directional Ps, while the telic verb ἔδραμον mostly occurs with directional Ps.

3.2. Verbal telicity and the entailing of the arrival of the Figure to the endpoint
Taking into account the analysis of the larger semantic-syntactic narrative context, Table 5 provides the distribution of the arrival of the Figure to the endpoint within the motion events described by θέω, τρέχω, ἔδραμον and their co-occurring spatial Ps.

Table 5: Homeric distribution of the arrival of the Figure to the endpoint

Homeric Verbs	Arrival with directional Ps	No arrival with directional Ps	Arrival with non-directional Ps	No arrival with non-directional Ps	Total
θέω [–telic]	– (1x)	11x	– (2x)	16x	30x
τρέχω [–telic]	–	3x	1x	–	4x
ἔδραμον [+telic]	20x	–	8x	5x	33x

Data in Table 5 reveal a non-random distribution of the arrivals of the Figure to the endpoint which depends on the verbal telicity. Although an atelic verb could be 'telicized' by means of a co-occurring P, e.g. *go* [–telic] *vs. go out* [+telic] (see among others Brinton 1988; Pompei 2014), the motion events expressed by the atelic verbs θέω and τρέχω never entail the arrival of the Figure when they occur with non-directional Ps, nor even when they occur with directional Ps, which are the most semantically compatible with the idea of an arrival to an endpoint. In fact, even when θέω

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[9] In (2) the phrases ἐπισταμένοισι πόδεσσιν "with cunning feet" and ῥεῖα μάλ' "very lightly" are additional elements conveying Manner.

and τρέχω occur with directional Ps, such Ps mostly show a non-directional (i.e. locative) rather than a directional meaning, as in (4)-(5).[10]

(4) αἳ δ' [...] ἄκρον **ἐπ'** ἀνθερίκων καρπὸν **θέον**, οὐδὲ κατέκλων·
"They (the horses) [...] **ran on top of** the ripened corn and do not broke (it)" (*Il.* 20.226-227)

(5) καρφαλέον δέ οἱ ἀσπὶς **ἐπιθρέξαντος** ἄϋσεν
ἔγχεος.
"His shield rang sharply as the spear **ran upon** (it)" (*Il.* 13.409-410)

In both examples, the same directional P ἐπί, which co-occurs as a preposition in (4) and as a preverb in (5), conveys an information of Path, referring to the surface which the Figure (respectively, the horses and the spear) is moving on, without any entailment of an arrival to an endpoint.[11]

Conversely, the motion events expressed by the telic verb ἔδραμον always entail the arrival of the Figure when the verb occurs with directional Ps, due to their prototypical semantic compatibility with telic verbs (see example in (3)). Interestingly enough, ἔδραμον frequently (8x out of 13x) entails the arrival of the Figure even when it occurs with non-directional Ps, as in (6).

(6) [...] ἄλλοι δὲ **περίδραμον** υἶες Ἀχαιῶν [...]
οὐδ' ἄρα οἵ τις ἀνουτητί γε παρέστη.
"[...] And the other sons of Achaeans **ran around** (Hector's body) [...] and nobody stood
beside without hitting (him)" (*Il.* 22. 369-371)

In (6) the non-directional P περί, which co-occurs as an agglutinated preverb, conveys an information of Path, referring to a movement around something. Despite the non-directional meaning of the P, the verb περίδραμον does entail the arrival of the Figure (Acheans): as shown by the adverb ἀνουτητί "without hitting", there is a physical contact between Acheans and Hector's body. In addition, the telic verb ἔδραμον also entails the arrival of the figure even when occurring with σύν "with", which does not have a spatial meaning, as in (7).

(7) τὼ δ' αὖτις ξιφέεσσι **συνέδραμον**. ἔνθα Λύκων μέν
ἱπποκόμου κόρυθος φάλον ἤλασεν
"Again the two (heroes) **ran towards** (each other) with the swords. Then Lyco hit the horn
of the helm with horse-hair crest" (*Il.* 16. 337-338)

Despite the non-spatial, namely comitative, meaning of the P σύν "with", the verb συνέδραμον in (7) entails the arrival of the Figure (Lyco). In fact, as the verb ἤλασεν "he hit" shows, there is a physical contact between the two heroes.

Finally, as shown in (3)-(4), the same directional P ἐπί occurs as a preposition (+ noun) with the atelic verb θέω and as an agglutinated preverb with the telic verb ἔδραμον. Far from being random, this variation of the morphosyntactic status (function) of spatial Ps turns out to be extended to the whole sample of analysis. Due to their mutual semantic compatibility with telic verbs, the directional Ps show a stronger morphosyntactic cohesion with ἔδραμον, since they almost always co-occur as agglutinated preverbs, also revealing a quite advanced degree of grammaticalization. On the contrary, the same directional Ps always occur as prepositions with θέω, thus revealing less morphosyntactic cohesion with the verb and a less advanced degree of grammaticalization (see Author 2017b for further details).

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[10] The 3 occurrences of θέω in brackets (in Table 5) express an arrival because of the co-occurring telic verb βαίνω "go; come" within the same motion construction βῆ δὲ θέειν "(s)he went; set out to go", which is made of the aorist indicative (βῆ) of βαίνω and the infinitive (θέειν) of θέω.
[11] In (5) the spear grazes the shield of Idomeneus, then reaches another hero (Hypsenor).

4. CONCLUSIONS

The textual analysis of *Iliad* and *Odyssey* has shown a non-random distribution of the three Homeric verbs for *run* and their co-occurring spatial Ps as Path-encoding satellites, revealing that verbal telicity plays a strong role in the Homeric encoding strategy of motion events. This aspectual feature (i.e. telicity) turns out to be responsible for a significant variation of the spatial Ps' semantic values, as well as for the entailment of the arrival of the Figure to an endpoint. In particular, due to the inherent telicity of the verbal root, the motion events described by ἔδραμον express the arrival of the Figure to the endpoint, even when the verb occurs with prototypically non-directional Ps, which are the less semantically compatible with the idea of reaching an endpoint. Conversely, due to their own inherent atelicity, the motion events described by θέω and τρέχω do not express any arrival of the Figure to the endpoint, even when the verbs occur with prototypically directional Ps.

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Vox pops in the Greek TV news bulletins

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ABSTRACT

Vox pop είναι ένα σύντομο συνομιλιακό συμβάν καταγεγραμμένο στον δρόμο που περιέχει μια γνώμη η οποία διατυπώνεται ως απάντηση σε ερώτηση δημοσιογράφου για ένα σοβαρό ή αμφιλεγόμενο ζήτημα. Οι «καθημερινοί άνθρωποι» που απαντούν φιλμάρονται από κοντινή απόσταση ενώ οι απαντήσεις τους συχνά περικόπτονται στο μοντάζ. Τα vox pops δεν αποτελούν αντιπροσωπευτικό δείγμα των απόψεων της πλειονότητας των πολιτών, αποτελούν όμως ένα χρήσιμο έναυσμα για να πυροδοτηθεί μια τηλεοπτική συζήτηση ή για να δοθεί σε ένα τηλεοπτικό ρεπορτάζ το άρωμα της κοινής γνώμης. Το άρθρο αυτό παρουσιάζει την εν εξελίξει έρευνά μας ενός σώματος από στιγμιότυπα vox pops που εκμαιεύτηκαν με ερωτήσεις μερικής άγνοιας από ρεπόρτερ τηλεοπτικών ειδήσεων. Οι ερωτήσεις αυτές κάποτε ακούγονται, συνήθως όμως κόβονται στο μοντάζ ως μη απαραίτητες. Το υλικό μας περιλαμβάνει προσωπικές εμπειρίες και γνώμες «απλών πολιτών» για δύο σημαντικά γεγονότα που έλαβαν χώρα το καλοκαίρι του 2015 στην Ελλάδα: την ειρηνική πολιτική διαμαρτυρία («ΜΕΝΟΥΜΕ ΕΥΡΩΠΗ») εναντίον μιας πιθανής εξόδου της χώρας (Grexit) από την Οικονομική και Νομισματική Ένωση της Ευρώπης, και την επιβολή μέτρων από την κυβέρνηση για τον έλεγχο των κεφαλαίων (capital controls). Δεδομένου ότι τα vox pops είναι απροσχεδίαστες, σύντομες (ή συντετμημένες) αποκρίσεις σε ερωτήσεις για κρίσιμα κοινωνικά ζητήματα, τις εξετάζουμε: αφενός ως ιδιότυπα δεύτερα μέλη γειτνιαστικών ζευγών και αφετέρου ως προσλεκτικές πράξεις (γεγονοτικές αποφάνσεις ή γνώμες, αποδόσεις νοητικών καταστάσεων, υποδείξεις, προβλέψεις κτλ) που αποκαλύπτουν στάσεις των πολιτών απέναντι στα ανωτέρω ζητήματα. Επιπλέον, μελετούμε τις διαφορές των δύο συνόλων vox pops, που οφείλονται στα διαφορετικά πολιτικοοικονομικά συμφραζόμενά τους.

Key Words: vox pops, adjacency pairs, illocutionary acts

1. INTRODUCTION

Television news and newspaper stories represent citizens in five different ways (Lewis et al. 2004: 156): a. *references to / reports on public opinion polls or surveys*; b. *inferences to public opinion* (claims about public opinion made by the journalists without any reference to empirical evidence); c. *vox pops* (snapshots of opinion recorded in the street in answer to a question about a light-hearted or controversial issue)*,* d. *information about demonstrators, protesters* or *other forms of citizen activism* (references to various forms of collective citizen action)*,* and e. *the "some people say" category* (broadly expressed opinion without reference to empirical evidence)*.*

Among them vox pop is the second biggest category of reference to public opinion. According to Beckers et al. (2016: 1): "A vox pop can be defined as an apparently randomly chosen, ordinary individual with no affiliation, expert knowledge or exclusive information, who is interviewed by journalists and gives a personal statement in a news item". Vox pop is a kind of incomplete interviewing –an 'interview fragment' as Montgomery calls it (2007: 177)-, but the use of the opinions of 'ordinary' members of the public adds a useful dimension to the coverage of a topic that might otherwise be limited to a straight bulletin report or a studio discussion among officials or experts (McLeish 2005: 102). The responding 'ordinary people' are shot in close-up ('over the shoulder shot') and cut together in a montage to suit different editorial viewpoints, depending on the editing.

This paper presents our ongoing study of a corpus consisted of two thematic sub-corpora of vox pops elicited mainly by *wh*-questions of TV news reporters, sometimes heard by the television audience but usually cut off in the montage as non-necessary. The material comprises 'ordinary' citizens' experiences and opinions on two crucial events that took place in the summer of 2015 in Greece, namely: the MENOUME EVROPI ('we stay in Europe') peaceful political protest against a potential Grexit, and the imposition of capital control measures by the Greek government.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW AND RESEARCH QUESTIONS

Previous research on vox pops in television news studied this type of '(wo)man in the street' interviews from several aspects, focusing mainly on the *subject positions* that 'common people' take up to give a relevant, ideologically identifiable response on a much-debated issue, on the *attitudes* adopted by ordinary people, when they narrate their experiences or express their opinions on the issue under consideration, on the specific *functions* operated by vox pops in the television reports, and, finally, on the *(non)representability* and *substitutability* of the vox pops (Ekström and Tolson 2017). Vox pops are not to be confused with other citizen sources (such as event participants or eye witnesses) and/or means that television journalists have at their disposal (such as opinion polls, statistics, etc) to display public opinion in the news, being *not* a device intended to indicate the direction or weight of public opinion, as BBC guidelines underscore:

> "Vox pops do not even remotely indicate wider public opinion. Their value to programmes is to allow different sides of an issue in question to be expressed through the voices of the man and woman in the street. But the context should always make it clear that they are an expression of one side of an argument, not an indication of the weight of opinion on either side of it." (BBC, 2001)

Lewis et al. (2005: 74-86) classify vox pops in three categories concerning the subject positions that (wo)men-in-the-street pick out to express their opinions: first, they are positioned as self-interested members of society, they speak as consumers rather than as citizens, they respond to political news by talking about how it affects their personal lives, incapable to consider the long-term consequences of actions or the broader community's concerns; second, they make comments on popular culture, expressing substantive opinions about celebrities and television personas or speaking as experts on sports, and, third, they put forward their thoughts about politics as politically active subjects, very often in the form of emotional reactions to political events or leaders.

Furthermore, some researchers (Lewis et al. 2005: 70; Beckers et al. 2016: 3) find that people-in-the-street adopt two completely different attitudes, when they respond to reporters' questions about public issues: either they tell their personal experience relating to critical socio-political and financial problems or they make opinion oriented statements. In the first case, vox pops operate as "tools to provide mood, background, emotions and light commentary, without adding to the central narrative of a news story" (Lewis et al., 2005 op. cit.), while, in the second case, they play a more substantial role as a representation of public opinion. They bring discussions of politics and public affairs into everyday life.

As concerns the functions which vox pops perform in the context of a TV report or investigation, some studies say that they are an easy way to represent public opinion in the news and create the impression that views of members of the public are directly and transparently communicated to the public (Brookes et al. 2004: 66; Lewis et al. 2005: 70-1), while other studies explain their popularity by the fact that they make the news recognizable and accessible for viewers (Panti and Husslage 2009).

Finally, most of the studies of vox pops underline their non-representability as empirical evidence for the public opinion. It is not important in a vox pop interview who is speaking; any other person can easily replace the interviewee, since (s)he does not possess any exclusive information (Bosch 2014: 219; Beckers and Harder 2016: 911; Beckers et al. 2016:1). Vox pops can never be anything more than "the opinions of some of the people we spoke to today". This is because gathering material out on the streets for an afternoon magazine programme will almost certainly over-represent shoppers, tourists and the unemployed, and be low on businessmen, motorists, night-shift workers and farmers. Since the interviewing is done at a specific time and generally at a single site, the sample is not really even random –it is merely unstructured and no one can tell what the views obtained actually represent (McLeish 2005: 102). Besides, many researchers emphasize the non-substitutability of vox pop interviews in relation to other forms of citizen sources (Rudin and Ibbotson 2002: 130). In a TV news story vox pops cannot replace eye witnesses and event participants or opinion polls, statistics and other systematic evidence.

But even if vox pops are only randomly selected samples of public opinion without representative value, they consitute valuable resources of spontaneous reactions of citizens on

critical political and social problems. Thus, vox pop interviews can be recognized as minimal speech events with repeated adjacency pairs (question-answer/response) whose second parts are determined by the participant role of the citizens as incidental interviewees. At the same time, vox pops can be considered to perform illocutionary acts that uncover characteristic attitudes towards much-debated issues of a society. These overlooked aspects of vox pops are going to be the focal point of our study.

Accordingly, we will attempt to answer the following questions:
a. What are the form and the function (the completion status) of vox pops as second parts of adjacency pairs,
b. What are the illocutionary points of vox pops, which, placed in the context of the previously mentioned interviews, obviously reveal specific intentions and attitudes towards controversial political and financial issues, and
c. What are the differences between the two sets of vox pops in relation to a. and b. levels of analysis.

3 DATA AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This paper presents our ongoing study of two thematic sub-corpora of vox pops elicited by *wh*-questions of TV news reporters, sometimes heard by the television audience but usually cut off in the montage as redundant. The material consists of 'ordinary' citizens' personal experiences and judgments on two crucial events taken place in the summer of 2015 in Greece, namely: the MENOUME EVROPI ('we stay in Europe') non-violent political protestation against a potential Grexit, and the imposition of capital control measures by the Greek Government (28 June and 1, 2 and 6 July 2015). In particular, our study focuses on a large number of responses from various TV news programs: a) the MENOUME EVROPI vox pops comprise responses from *Star* (17), *Mega* (4), *Euronews* (5), *Alphanews* (5) and *Skai* (3) TV channels (19, 22 and 23 June 2015) and b) the capital control measures vox pops contain responses from *Mega* (20), *Star* (15) and *Antenna* (17) TV channels (28 June 2015; 1, 2 and 6 July 2015).

Given that vox pops are short responses (three to seven seconds long) to interrogative questions about debatable public issues, we study their linguistic manifestation with analytical tools drawn from Conversation Analysis and Speech Act Theory. Concerning the first level of analysis, we intend to examine whether vox pops are real answers to reporters' questions, straightforward opinions and mentions to "B-events", that is «events about which the recipient (…) has unique or privileged knowledge» (Clayman and Heritage 2004: 102), or handy responses -usually without coherent meaning. The second level of analysis is a necessary complement to the analysis of vox pops in terms of the turn taking system in a news interview, since vox pops are usually presented in TV news bulletins as separate, meaningful utterances. In this respect, we have to examine, on the one hand, the illocutionary force of vox pops (assertion, prediction, suggestion etc.) (Mey 1993; Geis 1995) and, on the other hand, their propositional content, which denotes the subject positions and the ideological preferences of the citizens in relation to issues raised by the reporter's questions (op. cit. Lewis et al. 2005).

4 RESULTS

4.1 Vox pops as second parts of adjacency pairs
Vox pops never appear at the beginning of a news story. Typically, the topic of the story is first introduced by the anchor of a TV bulletin, who frames the subject area and provides basic information and a preview of the story. Then, the reporter or the correspondent provides further information, introduces the interviews, and seeks out the voices of the man and woman in the street (Lancien 1995).

The part of a vox pop that is never heard by viewers, the interviewer's question, is the most important part of this kind of adjacency pairs (question/answer), because the grammatical form of a question sets a frame for the consequent answer. This question is expected to be reasonably direct and straightforward so that the people being questioned will have an instant and clear response. Also, the question needs to be open so that it can't be answered with a simple *yes* or *no*.

Given that the reporters' questions are mostly cut off in the montage as non necessary, we scrutinized the types of citizens' responses and we concluded that vox pops in our two sub-corpora give answers to *wh*-questions mainly, but sometimes to *yes/no* questions (contrary to good

journalistic practices) and rarely to unidentifiable questions. On the other side, vox pops as responses to reporters' questions display three basic conversational characteristics: first, they are two-fold multi-sentences or clauses comprising a factual component, usually referring to personal experiences and emotions (in ex.(1) the speaker feels pity for his miserable financial situation), and an opinion component, usually providing an explanation for the issue under consideration (in ex.(2) the protester argues that the government's failure to keep its promises accounts for the financial crisis of the country) (cf. Lewis et al. 2005; Beckers et al. 2016),

(1) Πολίτης: Όχι, δεν την πήρα την σύνταξή μου. Πώς να την πάρω; Καταντήσαμε ζητιάνοι, όλοι. Μετά από 37 χρόνια υπερεσία. (MEGA 1.7.2015)

(1´) Male citizen: No, I didn't get my pension. How could I get it? We have all ended up begging. After 37 years of service.

(2) Διαδηλωτής: Μετά από 40 χρόνια εργασία να πάω στα μηχανήματα και να πάρω 60 ευρώ. Για ποιο λόγο; Δεν είμαι Έλληνας; Δεν είμαι πολίτης; Δε δούλεψα; Γιατί μας κοροϊδεύουνε; Αν δε μπορούνε να ανταποκριθούνε σ' αυτά που υποσχέθηκαν, να παραιτηθούν και να φύγουνε. (EURONEWS 23.6.2015)

(2´) Male demonstrator: Get paid 60 euros, after 40 years of working in the machines? What for? Am I not Greek? Am I not a citizen? Haven't I worked? Why do they laugh in our faces? If they cannot do what they promised, they should resign and leave.

second, they contain scattered metalinguistic expressions that make comments on the respondents' talk itself or they mirror the form and the content of the previous question -in ex.(3) the interviewee refers to the turn-taking system of the conversation, while indicating the end of his contribution

(3) Πολίτης: 11.33´ και δεν έχουνε μπει τα χρήματα μέσα. Αντικειμενικά στο ερώτημά σας απαντώ. Δεν ξέρω αν θέλετε κάτι άλλο να σας πω. (MEGA 1.7.2015)

(3´) Male citizen: It is 11.33´ and they haven't deposited the money. I try to answer your questions objectively. I don't know what more you want me to say.

and, third, they insert interpersonal markers, addressing the reporter and indirectly asking from him/her to share the respondent's (bad) situation –in ex.(4) the female citizen uses a vocative expression in its diminutive form ('my lad'), actually a discourse marker, to make the reporter feel compassion for her financial deadlock.

(4) Πολίτης (γυναίκα): Τι να πούμε, παιδάκι μου; Ρεζιλίκια! Ρεζιλίκια! Μας ξεφτιλίσανε πια! Συνταξιούχοι, δουλέψαμε τόσα χρόνια, να πάρουμε ένα φράγκο, που δεν έχουμε τίποτα, και δε βλέπετε τι τι γίνεται; (STAR 1.7.2015)

(4´) Female citizen: What can we say, my lad? Ridiculous stuff! Ridiculous! They have humiliated us! Pensioners, worked for so many years to get a little bit of money, we who have nothing, and can't you see what is happening?

The above three conversational characteristics determine vox pops as turns responding to triggering journalistic questions in both sub-corpora but in differentiated distributions across them. The MENOUME EVROPI sub-corpus comprises vox pops which mainly express socio-political opinions about a serious public and national issue that has a great impact on the lives of all Greek citizens. On the contrary, the capital control measures sub-corpus contains many vox pops referring to unpleasant personal experiences related to the financial crisis of Greece, and uses conversational markers to enforce cohesion between the two parts of the adjacency pair (question/answer), while building a strong emotional bond between the two participants.

As concerns our first hypothesis, whether vox pops are satisfactory answers to reporters' questions or hasty responses that neither provide concrete information nor confirm the information displayed by the question, the answer is not so easy, because it is doubtful whether a vox pop has been completed or cut off in the montage. There are only a few examples in the two sub-corpora,

where the reporter, being apparently not satisfied by the first answer, asks a second question to elicit a clearer or fuller answer.

4.2 Vox pops as illocutionary acts

Given that vox pops are typically interview fragments, it is necessary for the vox pops to be completed in just a few sentences or clauses. The illocutionary points of these sentences are fairly predictable, because vox pops normally express either personal experiences or opinions about controversial public issues. Personal experience means to recount facts but also to refer to emotions or to ascribe mental states to someone, while opinion statement means to express thoughts or beliefs, to evaluate, to make suggestions and requests for confirmation. In this respect, vox pops are expected to perform three kinds of illocutionary acts unequally distributed: assertions, directives and expressives.

Indeed, vox pops in our two sub-corpora perform the following illocutionary acts:
a. assertions of facts connected to personal (mostly unpleasant) experiences of citizens due to the problem under consideration or in relation to that problem, as in the following example,

(5) Πολίτης: Δούλεψ' ο πατέρας μου, δούλεψα εγώ 30 χρόνια κι αναγκαστικά μ' αυτά τα λεφτά ταΐζουμε και τα παιδιά μας. (MEGA 1.7.2015)

(5´) Male citizen: My father worked, I've worked for 30 years and we also have to feed our kids with this money.

b. assertions of opinions, usually strict political judgments or hasty evaluations characterized by generality and vagueness, based on ill-defined evidence and, consequently, least convincing statements of belief. For instance, in ex.(6) the supposed causal relation between the reason ('our responsibility') and the effect ('a tragic situation') is a weak argument, since its premises are not empirically verifiable.

(6) Πολίτης: Η κατάσταση είναι τραγική. Και σ' αυτό είμαστε υπεύθυνοι <u>και</u> εμείς. Γι' αυτούς που ψηφίσαμε, την τελευταία φορά. (STAR 2.7.2015)

(6´) Male citizen: It is a tragic situation. And we are to blame for that <u>too</u>. For whom we voted for, last time.

b1 assessives, that is evaluations of political actions and stances expressed through 'loaded words' (hyperbolic adjectives/adverbs, melodramatic metaphors etc)

(7) Πολίτης: Όταν σου λέει ότι για μια βδομάδα θα 'ναι κλειστές όλες οι τράπεζες, τι περιμένεις να κάνεις; Άλλος δεν έχει πληρωθεί, άλλος δεν έχει να ψωνίσει μεθαύριο. Είναι ντροπή τους και αίσχος τους αυτά που κάνουνε. Την/την απάντηση θα ντη δώσει ο λαός. (ANT1 29.6.2015)

(7´) Male citizen: When they say that the banks will be closed for a week, what do you expect us to do? A guy has not been paid; another one doesn't have money to go shopping the day after. They should be ashamed for what they do. The answer will come from the people.

b2 ascriptions of mental states /emotions, that is projections of supposed thoughts, volitions, intentions or feelings on (wo)men in power

(8) Πολίτης (γυναίκα): Δεινοπαθήσαμε μια ζωή, να ταχτοποιηθούμε για τα γηρατειά μας και ιδού το αποτέλεσμα. Ιδού τι ταλαιπωρία, δεν σκέφτονται ανήμποροι άνθρωποι, που κάθονται από τις 3 το πρωί εδωπέρα, προκειμένου να έχουνε μια σειρά, να πάρουν αυτά τα φτωχά 120, τα οποία δε φτάνουνε ούτε να πάρεις τα πρώτα φάρμακα (Star 1.7.2015)

(8´) Female citizen: We have suffered for a lifetime, to settle down during our old age and the end result is this. This is hardship! They don't think that helpless people sit here since 3 o'clock in the morning to get in queue, to get that poor 120, which is not enough even for the first medicine.

(9) Διαδηλωτής: Μας έφερε η αγωνία που έχουμε για το/για το θέμα της Ευρώπης, αν θα μείνουμε στην Ευρώπη, για τα παιδιά μας (ALPHA 23.6.2015)

(9´) Male demonstrator: We came here because of our agony about the/ the issue with Europe, if we stay in Europe, for our kids.

b3 predictions of (un)pleasant consequences of the socio-political issues under discussion

(10) Διαδηλωτής: Αν δεν ερ/δεν έρθει ο ρεαλισμός στη χώρα μας, δεν θα σωθούμε. (STAR 19.6.2015)

(10´) Male demonstrator: If realism does not come to our country, we will not be saved.

(11) Πολίτης: Θα στρώσουν (…) Θα γυρίσει ο τροχός. Πάλι καλά θα πάμε.(STAR 2.7.2015)

(11´) Male citizen: It will be alright (…) The wheel will turn. It will be fine again.

b4 proposals to overcome the difficulties coming from the (bad) political or financial condition that the society has to cope with

(12) Διαδηλώτρια: Και βοήθεια και από την αντιπολίτευση αλλά κι η ίδια η κυβέρνηση να κάτσει να συνεννοηθεί. (ALPHA 23.6.2015)

(12´) Female demonstrator: Help from the opposition party too, but the government itself must sit down and discuss.

c. directives, that is requests for confirmation (actually, unanswered questions, kind of rhetorical questions, denoting a personal impasse and asking for compassion)

(13) Πολίτης: Πώς θα πάρομε τα υλικά; Με τι λεφτά θα πάρομε τα υλικά; Αφού στην τράπεζα δεν μπορούμε να εισπράξομε λεφτά. Τι θα γίνει; Πα να πει, να κλείσομε. (MEGA 20.7.2015)

(13) Male citizen: How will we buy the materials? With what money will we buy the materials? Since in the bank we cannot get money? What will happen? This means, to close down.

d. expressives, that is speech acts voicing strong feelings about a critical socio-political situation

(14) Διαδηλωτής: Όταν όλες οι χώρες θέλουν να μπουν στην ευρωζώνη, μια Ελλάδα να ζητά να βγει από την ευρωζώνη! (STAR 23.6.2015)
(14´) Male demonstrator: A tiny Greece asking to get out of the Eurozone, when all other countries want to get in the Eurozone!

5. DISCUSSION

We studied vox pops as randomly selected samples of public opinion in two different socio-political contexts: (a) the MENOUME EVROPI ('we stay in Europe') peaceful protest of active citizens who gathered to protest against a potential Grexit, and (b) the capital control measures imposed by the Greek government and their impact on ordinary people who try to come to terms with the new difficult situation. In both thematic sub-corpora vox pop interviews are recognized as speech events with repeated adjacency pairs (question-answer/response), comprising a variety of speech acts.

Conversation analysis of both sub-corpora confirms that there is an open, usually unheard, question on the part of the reporter preceding every vox pop. The answers of the people contain either a factual or an opinion component or both. Compared to the MENOUME EVROPI corpus the Capital Controls corpus contains more interpersonal markers, metalinguistic markers or address to the reporter, due to the strong personal involvement of the respondents in the financial crisis caused by the austerity measures. As concerns the completion status of the answers of respondents aired in TV reports, we have to say that, though a definite conclusion is debatable, a difference between the two sub-corpora can be evidenced: the MENOUME EVROPI vox pops tend to be complete

compared to the Capital Controls vox pops, because in the former case the answers are concise and straightforward, while in the latter case the anger and the despair of the people push them to express their personal experiences or their views in elliptical clauses or incomplete syntactic structures.

In terms of their illocutionary force, both sub-corpora are characterized by speech acts asserting personal experience or opinion on critical political and financial issues. However, the MENOUME EVROPI corpus, if compared with the other corpus, contains more assertions of opinion in the form of negative evaluations of political actions or decisions, as the above mentioned protest is held by an anti-government initiative. On the contrary, the Capital Controls corpus, compared to the MENOUME EVROPI corpus, contains more ascriptions of mental states to politicians or predictions of an unpleasant future for the people, and more expressive speech acts voicing strong feelings about the critical socio-political situation.

6. CONCLUSION

Vox pops in broadcast news offer valuable material for the analysis of public opinion in critical sociopolitical situations. Studying vox pops (elicited by TV reporters under different circumstances) as second parts of adjacency pairs and illocutionary acts, we touched upon certain hitherto unexplored aspects of this form of public communication. We described the form and the function of vox pops as either satisfactory answers or not thorough but passionate responds. Furthermore, we examined in detail the illocutionary acts performed by vox pops. The main conclusion of our study so far is that, despite the common grammatical and textual features recognized in both thematic sub-corpora, characteristic differences remain in terms of their manifestation in each corpus, reflecting thereby the impact of the ever-changing political/financial environment on citizens' speech. This conclusion gives support to the above mentioned finding "that people-in-the-street adopt two completely different attitudes, when they respond to reporters' questions about public issues". In other words, they opt for one of two completely different subject positions: either they answer as politically conscious citizens, making statements based on truthful evidence and logical argumentation, or they tell stories focusing on private interests and personal dramas.

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A Diachronic Analysis of The Form of the Greek Perfect and its Associated Uses: Arguing for a Complex Verbal Aspect.

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ABSTRACT

Η εργασία αυτή θα αρχίσει με μια επισκόπηση των ποικίλων μορφών, συμπεριλαμβανομένων των σύνθετων και περιφραστικών μορφών του ελληνικού Παρακείμενου παράλληλα με το εύρος των χρήσεων τους όπως παρατηρούνται καθ' όλη την ιστορία της γλώσσας, τοποθετώντας ταυτόχρονα αυτές τις μορφές και χρήσεις σε μία ιστορική πορεία. Η μορφολογία του Παρακείμενου θα συγκριθεί με εκείνη του Ενεστώτα και του Αορίστου, προκειμένου να καθοριστεί ότι το ποιόν του ρηματικού θέματός του είναι συνοπτικό ώστε να ταιριάζει με τον Αόριστο και να αντιτάσσεται στον Ενεστώτα. Έπειτα, ο αναδιπλασιασμός του θέματος του σύνθετου Παρακείμενου θα καταδειχθεί ότι παραγάγει μη συνοπτικό ποιόν, αντίθετα με το ποιόν του λεξικού του θέματος. Αυτό το μη συνοπτικό ποιόν ταιριάζει με τον Ενεστώτα και αντιτίθεται στον Αόριστο. Στη συνέχεια θα παρασχεθεί μια επισκόπηση σχετικά με τον επαναδιπλασιασμό ως διαδικασία, τοποθετώντας τον αναδιπλασιασμό του ελληνικού σύνθετου Παρακείμενου μέσα σε αυτή τη διαδικασία. Θα δοθεί ιδιαίτερη προσοχή στις ιδιαιτερότητες του επαναδιπλασιασμού στην ελληνική γλώσσα. Εν τέλει, θα εξηγηθεί το σύνθετο ρηματικό ποιόν για τον ελληνικό Παρακείμενο, υποδεικνύοντας ότι η δράση που ανήκει στο λεξικό θέμα είναι συνοπτική, ενώ η μη συνοπτικότητα που παραγάγεται από τον αναδιπλασιασμό τού θέματος ανήκει στην κατάσταση που λογικά ακολουθεί τη δράση. Το σύνθετο λεξικό ποιόν που αναλύεται για το σύνθετο Παρακείμενο θα αντικατοπτρίζει αυτό του νεοελληνικού περιφραστικού Παρακειμένου. Το σύνθετο μοντέλο ρηματικού ποιόντος που περιγράφεται για τον ελληνικό Παρακείμενο προτείνεται για τη διαγλωσσική ανάλυση του Παρακείμενου.

Key Words: Perfect, Aspect, Diachronic, Reduplication.

1. INTRODUCTION

The idea of relating verbal aspect as a linguistic category to the Greek verbal system is not a new endeavour. Several scholars have made contributions in this regard; however, the issue of the Greek synthetic Perfect tense-form remains debated. In the recent literature, the understanding of the Greek verb system in light of the linguistic category of verbal aspect has provided greater clarity to the nature and usage of the Present, Imperfect, and Aorist tense-forms. The scholars who paved this path are to be commended for an achievement and an improvement over the previous *Aktionsart* understanding of the Greek verb system prevalent in the late 1800's and early 1900's. While a greater clarity emerged regarding the Present, Imperfect, and Aorist tense-forms, the same level of clarity has not emerged for the Perfect tense- form, as the recent literature presents a wide range of disagreement over the definition and explanation of the verbal aspect for the Perfect tense-form. Due to this observation, the verbal aspect for the Perfect tense-form remains an unresolved area. The disagreement between the scholars is due in part to the specific element each scholar focused upon as the verbal aspect of the Perfect tense-form, in part to their respective decisions as to what belongs to *Aktionsart* categories, and in part to decisions regarding temporal reference.

For the Present and Imperfect tense-forms, the scholars are largely agreed that these are imperfective, where imperfectivity refers to the idea that the speaker or writer perceives of the action in such a way as to present the action partially, rather than in its complete entirety. For the Aorist tense-form, the scholars are largely agreed that this form is perfective, where perfectivity refers to the idea that the speaker or writer perceives of the action in such a way as to present the action as a complete whole. When addressing the Perfect, the scholars part ways by presenting the Perfect tense- form in a variety of ways. Among scholars who view verbal aspect as a property belonging to

subjective choice of the speaker or author and unrelated to temporal matters, the Perfect is presented as either "perfective," "stative," or "imperfective."

[1] "Perfective" refers to viewing the situation as a complete whole, "stative" refers to viewing the situation as a state of the subject, and "imperfective" refers to viewing the situation as ongoing. The main problem all three of these analyses have besides being incompatible is being able to explain the full diachronic range of Perfect tense usage.[2] The problems with these views are more substantial than can be addressed in an article length treatment, but a summary is provided here. Porter explains the state of the Perfect as belonging to the subject in such a way that the event is not in view. While this understanding explains many Homeric Perfects, and many New Testament Perfects, it does not account for how eventive readings arose in later Greek, nor why nearly all of the later Perfects are eventive. This understanding also does not explain why the Perfect changes its emphasis so much more than does the Aorist or Present. When defining "stative" as aspectual, where aspect is semantic, and therefore uncancellable, this view fails to explain how this stative component is most noticeably absent in later usage. Fanning explains the core meaning of the Perfect as perfective, but relocates stative readings to *Aktionsart*. This understanding of *Aktionsart* seems to allow a component into the *Aktionsart* category that behaves differently than the typical ones. Here, "stative" is not a kind of action, or manner of action, such as "iterative," or "progressive." It is also unclear that if stativity is an *Aktionsart* as claimed, how this stativity is connected to lexis, since the stative sense is broadly seen across the Perfect category. Campbell understands the Perfect to be imperfective much like the Present tense. This is mainly because of both tense-forms sharing close proximity in discourse contexts. It is unclear why this proximity points to similarity of aspectual properties. He translates Perfects in a similar way to Present progressives, indicating that he connects imperfectivity to the event itself, but this presents a more proximate view to the action than does a Present. A clear connection of verbal aspect discussion to the specific morphemes in the Perfect tense-form is underrepresented in all three works. In other circles where verbal aspect is understood through analysing the portion of time that is in view, the Perfect is often regarded as an "anterior," where the reference time occurs after the event, or it is considered as "extended-now," where the reference time includes the earlier event time through to the time of the following state[3]. The main problem with these analyses is that they are temporal definitions rather than aspectual[4]. They point out what is in view, rather than how the author or speaker is viewing the situation.

For most of the analyses mentioned above, scholars typically voice a preference for the synchronic study of the Perfect tense-form, within either the specific time-frame of the New Testament, The Classical Period of the Greek Language, or a larger block of time extending from the Classical Period through to the early Byzantine Period[5]. What synchronic methods effectively do is to remove the fuller timespan of the development of the Greek Perfect tense-form from the analysis, so that these methods can analyse a verb without the interference of language change[6]. However, the portion of timespan eliminated by these methods has the potential to shed light on the verbal aspect of the Perfect tense-form. Once the fuller timespan is analysed through a diachronic perspective, the effects of grammaticalization upon the Perfect tense-form can be studied.

Two noteworthy trends that affect the Perfect tense-form are the development of perfectives and reduplication. The semantic shift that takes place for the synthetic Perfect, where the tense-form

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[1] Fanning presents the verbal aspect of the Perfect tense-form as perfective. Fanning (1990) 119-120. Porter (1989, 1993) 259, and McKay (1994) 31, present the aspect of the Perfect tense-form as stative. Campbell (2007) 186, presents the aspect of the Perfect tense-form as imperfective.

[2] These deficiencies are treated at length in the first two dissertation chapters in James E. Sedlacek (forthcoming) 38-50, 59-63, 65-109.

[3] These are regarded by some scholars as a member of the "tense" category, rather than the "aspect" category. Reichenbach (1947) 287-298, develops the pieces to construct anteriority. Klein (1994) 29, develops this in relation to the Perfect. Johnson (1981) 152, applies this to the verbal aspect discussion. McCoard (1978) 123, develops "extended-now" theory. Von Stechow (1999) 88, provides further development of these ideas.

[4] Temporal definitions are not incorrect, they simply do not explain the aspectual properties of the Perfect. The temporal properties should be compatible with the aspectual ones, but they are a separate entity.

[5] Although temporally broader, the last division of time incorporates the time where the synthetic Perfect was most productive in the language history, roughly 500 BCE to 500 CE, and this division of time is treated in the same manner as the other synchronic periods.

[6] Synchronic approaches are particularly useful for lexicography and determining primary usage for an item.

transitions from intransitive to transitive, belongs to the cline of the development of perfectives[7], and the grammaticalization of the reduplicant onto the stem, where the reduplicant acquired a grammatical meaning belongs to the development of imperfectives, as will be shown shortly. Together, these two trends in the development of the language point to a complex verbal aspect for the Greek synthetic Perfect tense-form that is quite different from the analyses mentioned earlier, yet this complex aspect is also faithful to the general definition of verbal aspect provided by the linguistic scholars, where verbal aspect is a subjective portrayal of a situation, and to the grammars, where the Perfect is portrayed as depicting an event and a state following that event[8]. After an overview of the forms of the Greek Perfect, this paper will address semantic shift and reduplication as grammaticalization processes. The linguistic explanation of the Perfect should be able to account for the observed shift in meaning over time, and not only its function in one particular phase of the language.

2. FORMS

The forms of the Greek Perfect are various, and a few representative forms are illustrated in Table 1 for comparison.

Table 1: List of Perfect Forms

Classical Greek		
οἶδα	reduplication	Laryngeal doubling producing vowel diphthong[9]
γέγραπται	reduplication	Consonant plus standardised vowel, or "Ce" type
ἠγαπημένοι	reduplication	Vowel lengthening
ἀκηκόασιν	reduplication	Attic Reduplication
Modern Greek		
ἔχω λύσει	auxiliation	Present + Aorist infinitive
είμαι δεμένος	auxiliation	Present + Aorist participle[10]

The first four forms are observed throughout the Classical, Post-Classical and Early Byzantine Periods. The main difference between the older forms have to do with reduplication type and particular phonological processes of reduplication. The last two types are representative of the situation in Modern Greek, or Neohellenic. The main difference between Modern forms is the difference between resultant states that accept a direct object and general states of the subject[11].

3. USAGE

Several uses for the Greek Perfect have been explained in various resources. Some of these uses were highly apparent during specific periods of the Greek language, while other uses were observed occurring over several periods of the language. The meaning of a simple state without reference to an action is proposed for the earliest Greek Perfect[12]. Perfects of this type contain stativity, but also this state has contextual effects that appear ongoing, thus it has imperfectivity here as well. The meaning of resultative is also given to some Perfects[13]. This is where a state is the focus, but a prior action is implied. For these Perfects stativity is apparent, but actional properties are evoked as the reason for that state. These actional properties are usually seen as past completed events, so perfectivity relates to those actional properties. The meaning of anterior is given to some Perfects. This is where a complete action is the focus, but a following state is implied. For these

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[7] Bybee, Perkins, and Pagliuca (1994) 171.
[8] Caragounis (2014) often points out how many recent linguistic descriptions run afoul of the description of the Perfect tense in the historical grammars.
[9] This analysis was developed in an earlier paper, Sedlacek (2016) 206-220.
[10] Haspelmath (1992) 219, labels this form as a new resultative to oppose the other anterior periphrastic 'have' perfect.
[11] Caragounis (2006), 156.
[12] See Friedrich (1974), S16.
[13] Also see Friedrich (1974), S16.

Perfects stativity is still apparent, but a greater focus is on the event that caused that state. The simple past tense meaning is also given for some later Perfects[14]. Here the focus is not on a state, but on the actional properties alone. These actional properties are seen as complete, so perfectivity is the aspect. Figure 1 places these uses roughly into chronological perspective.

Figure 1: Timeline of the Key Changes of the Greek Perfect.
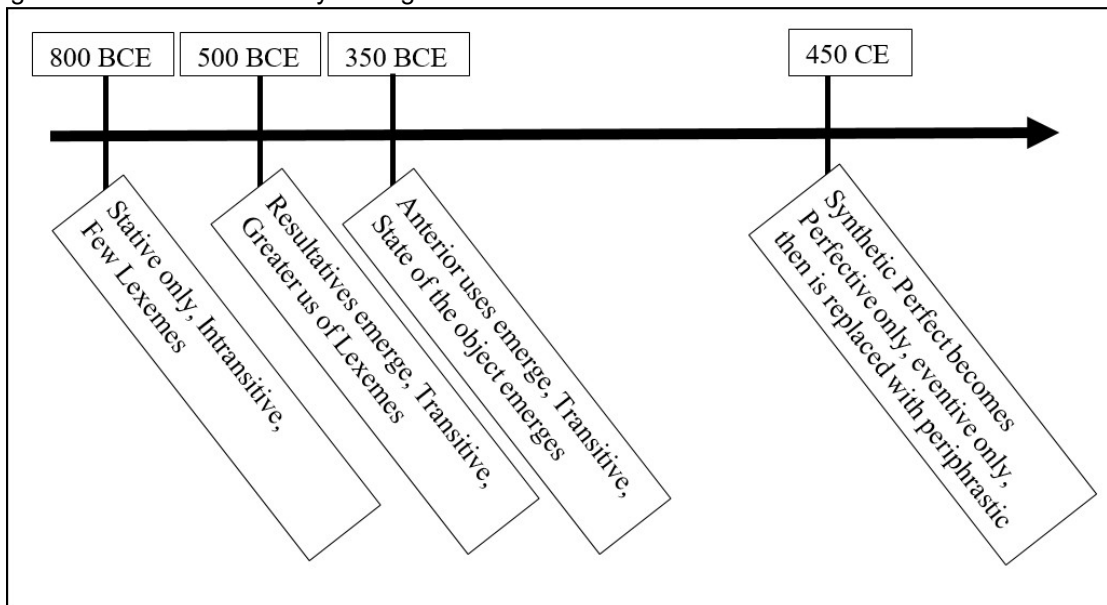
Next, the aspectual effects are mapped out for the prevalent uses. What is seen by viewing the Perfect diachronically is that the meaning possibilities include state, imperfective, action, and perfective.

Figure 2: Grouping of Aspect along with Matters of Action and State
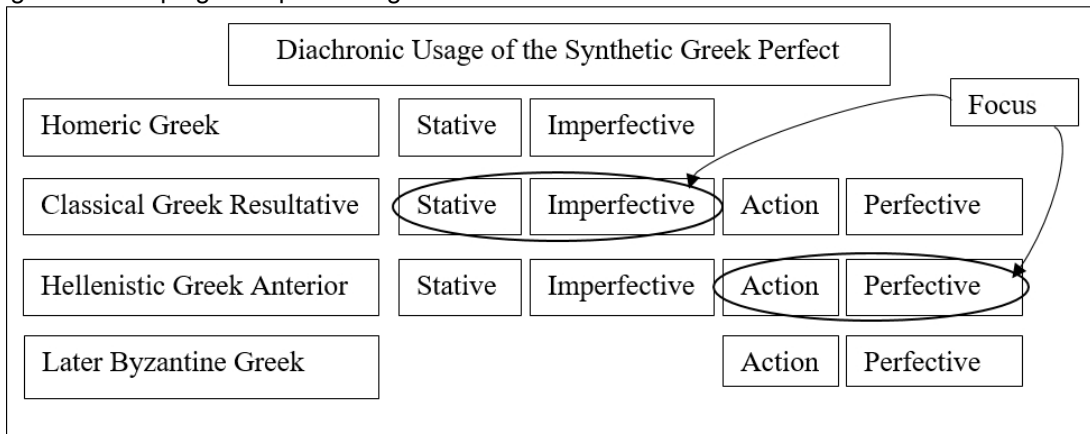
Once this collection of properties is mapped out in Figure 2, it seems apparent that the one that has the potential to explain the others is the one for the Classical and Hellenistic Greek Periods, which incorporates both aspects[15]. The logic is that when a form has the components that allow both a stative and an eventive reading, then it is also possible that it can be used for either one of those two readings in different settings or in different time periods.

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[14] Friedrich (1974), S19, discusses these, but labels these as rare, since he is focused on earlier Greek.

[15] This chart represents the trend and does not cover all the contrary examples to each period. Examples, though rare, of all three usages can be found in the earlier periods. Caragounis (2014) 151-154, provides several examples of Perfects behaving like the third type in the Classical Period.

4. STEM MORPHOLOGY

Table 2 will display some Perfect tense-forms next to Aorist and Present tense- forms that match them in their respective position in their paradigms. The purpose of this will be to focus on the formation of the lexical stem for each tense-form and compare forms to each other. This will address what aspect is associated with the lexical stem of the Perfect. These four lexemes were chosen for stem formation variety, while at the same time avoiding lexemes that were either defective or those that had phonological reduction processes that hid their morphological differences. The same form for each lexeme was chosen for ease of comparison[16]. The stem is underlined for the ease of the reader. Any preceding part of the verb not underlined belongs either to reduplication or augmentation, and the following parts not underlined belong to the endings or other affixes to the stem. This underlined portion will not include infixes thought to belong to lexical matters or to valency. The result will be to show how the Perfect stem is closely related to the Aorist stem and not closely related to the Present stem.

At first glance, the main difference to be observed is that the Present stem has a different pattern in its stem vowel or consonant spelling than the Aorist stem. This difference between the Present and Aorist is commonly pointed out as the main aspectual division. The point of Table 2 is to show that the Perfect consistently mirrors the Aorist stem spellings, while at the same time opposing the Present even though the mode and the formation types vary.

Table 2: Comparison of Stem Morphemes.

φανερο- (reveal)	Present	Aorist	Perfect
2pl Active Indicative	φανερο<u>ῦ</u>τε	ἐ<u>φανερώ</u>σατε	πε<u>φανερώ</u>κατε
Active Infinitive	<u>φανερο</u>ῦν	<u>φανερῶ</u>σαι	πε<u>φανερω</u>κέναι
Masc Gen S Act Ptcp	<u>φανερο</u>ῦντος	<u>φανερώ</u>σαντος	πε<u>φανερω</u>κότος

ἑυρισκ- (find)	Present	Aorist	Perfect
2pl Active Indicative	εὑ<u>ρίσκ</u>ετε	εὑ<u>ρήσ</u>ατε	ηὑ<u>ρήκ</u>ατε
Active Infinitive	εὑ<u>ρίσκ</u>ειν	εὑ<u>ρῆ</u>σαι	ηὑ<u>ρη</u>κέναι
Masc Gen S Act Ptcp	εὑ<u>ρίσκ</u>οντος	εὑ<u>ρήσ</u>αντος	ηὑ<u>ρη</u>κότος

ἱστ- (stand)	Present	Aorist	Perfect
2pl Active Indicative	ἵ<u>στα</u>τε	ἐ<u>στήσ</u>ατε	ἑ<u>στήκ</u>ατε
Active Infinitive	ἱ<u>στά</u>ναι	<u>στῆσ</u>αι	ἑ<u>στη</u>κέναι
Masc Gen S Act Ptcp	ἱ<u>στά</u>ντος	<u>στήσ</u>αντος	ἑ<u>στη</u>κότος

τασσ- (arrange/order)	Present	Aorist	Perfect
2pl Active Indicative	τά<u>σσ</u>ετε	ἐ<u>τάξ</u>ατε	τε<u>τάχ</u>ατε
Active Infinitive	τά<u>σσ</u>ειν	<u>τάξ</u>αι	τε<u>ταχ</u>έναι
Masc Gen S Act Ptcp	τά<u>σσ</u>οντος	<u>τάξ</u>αντος	τε<u>ταχ</u>ότος

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[16] This refers to maintaining the same position in the paradigm for each verb.

In the first set, the Present tense-form is spelled with ου diphthong, where the contract vowel ο is visible before the υ vowel[17]. The Perfect and the Aorist mirror each other by providing an ω vowel in both forms. In the second set, the middle stem vowel of Present tense-form is spelled with an ι. The Perfect and Aorist mirror each other by providing an η vowel in both forms, opposing the ι in the Present[18]. In the third set, the Present tense-form stem is spelled with an α vowel before the endings. Again, the Perfect and Aorist mirror each other by spelling the stem with an η vowel. In the fourth set, the stem has a consonantal spelling change instead of a vowel spelling change. Here, the double -σσ- is opposed by a guttural, -χ- consonant. Again, the Perfect mirrors the Aorist and opposes the Present, but the spelling is disguised in the Aorist since the -χσ- combines into the letter -ξ- due to phonological processes. The Perfect stem mirrors the Aorist consistently across the examples shown here[19].

Since verbal aspect is thought to be marked by the stem formation of each verb, rather than by the verbal endings or other morphemes in the word, this observation suggests that the verbal aspect for any lexeme in the Aorist should be different from the aspect of that same lexeme in the Present yet be the same as the aspect of the lexeme in the Perfect, since it shares the same phonemes[20]. The observation that the Perfect shares the aspect of the Aorist in its lexical core accounts for the situations where the Perfect tense-form is used for a past action much like the Aorist is used. This mirroring alone does not account for why the Perfect tense-form often is used to indicate a present-like state, although on the other hand, an Aorist can be used to indicate such a state[21]. The fact that so many Perfects are used to point to a state may be a reason why the morphological connection to the Aorist has often been overlooked or downplayed. This connection between the lexical core of both the Perfect and Aorist simply reflects that the action referred to by the Perfect mirrors that of the Aorist in that they both view the action perfectively.

Aspectually, the action in both the Perfect and Aorist are understood to be whole, entire, or complete. This is main idea of the perfective, which opposes the imperfective or incomplete action. This is no surprise that aspect coming from the lexical core should be the same for both the Perfect and Aorist. A question emerges at this point. If the lexical core of the Perfect points to complete action, possibly a past action, then from where in the verb does the present-like state come, that is observed in so many Perfects? That leads the analysis to the reduplicant in front of the verbal stem.

5. REDUPLICATION

Reduplication refers to the copying of the initial portions of the verb, called the reduplicant, which is then added back onto the stem[22]. Reduplication is observed across languages and corresponds with a variety of lexical or grammatical meanings. Scholars who study these effects over time, and cross-linguistically have pointed out a relationship between the type of reduplication and its likely meaning. Reduplication occurs in a variety of patterns across languages. The first of these is total reduplication where the full stem of the word is copied, producing the complete verbal

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[17] The Imperfect is not displayed here, but it mirrors the Present each time.

[18] The -σκ- morpheme is an added infix to the Present only and is thought to provide lexical information to the stem, so the fact that the Aorist and Perfect do not share this morpheme is unrelated to aspect and therefore not analysed here.

[19] Examples do exist that do not clearly show this mirroring, but most of them are cases where all three forms have the same vowels, thus opposition with the Present is difficult to show, but mirroring still exists between Perfect and Aorist. Cases also exist where none of the three forms mirror each other in a clear way, but for these forms the Perfects and Aorists are provided from different stems, such as 1st Aorist coupled with 2nd Perfect or vice versa. Space does not permit a discussion of these here, but it is sufficient to point out that the Perfect and Aorist in those cases, although not identical in stem spelling, form themselves according patterns that mirror the same aspect in spite of different spellings.

[20] Friedrich eliminates the augment and the endings from belonging to aspect, leaving the stem. Friedrich (1974). Campbell (2007) describes the connection of aspect with the stem, while countering some assumptions, 175. For a connection of aspect to root lexical features, see Bartolotta (2009) 508-509

[21] McKay (1981) 316-322.

[22] Phonological "copying" is the term used more generally for this process, although see Inkelas and Zoll (2005) for an alternate theory based on morphological processes as opposed to phonological processes.

stem two times. This type is the source for the other types under discussion[23]. Next is "CVC" reduplication where the first syllable of the stem is copied and then added to the original stem. Next is "CV" reduplication, where only the first consonant and vowel are copied and then added to the original stem[24]. Next is "Ce" reduplication where only the first consonant is copied from the stem, and a vowel standardized for the form is added to that consonant, and then the combination is added to the original stem. The difference between "CV" and "Ce" reduplication is that under "CV" reduplication, the vowel will be different for each lexeme based on its unique vowel after the first consonant, and that under "Ce" reduplication, the vowel is the same for every verb of that follows the pattern. Finally, "C" reduplication is observed, where only the first consonant is added to the stem without an intervening vowel. These are posited along a cline, where the lexical meaning declines as the reduplicant material decreases, and the grammaticalized meaning increases generally according to the degree of fusion of the reduplicant onto the stem[25]. Figure 3 illustrates the cline.

Figure 3: Types of Reduplication Syllables Displayed on a Timeline.
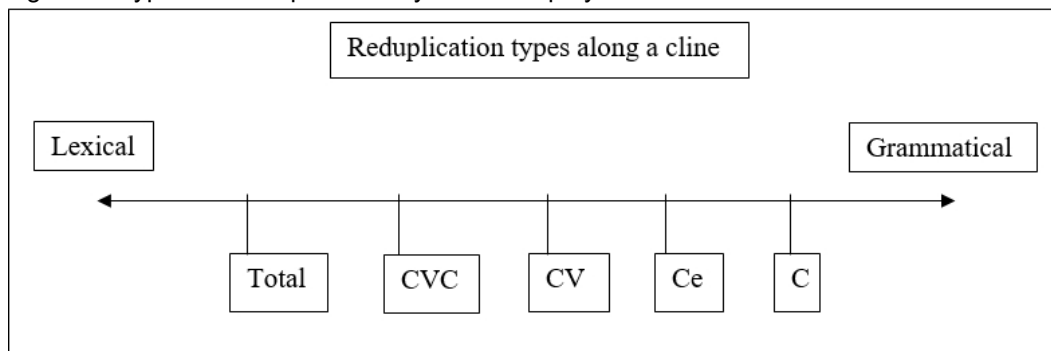
This cline for the meaning of verbs with reduplication includes verbs with continuative, frequentive, intensive, iterative, habitual, stative, and imperfective meanings. This cline has a particular order where verbs that exhibit greater material in the reduplicant favour interpretations that duplicate the lexical meaning, and verbs that exhibit less material in the reduplicant favour interpretations closer to the general grammatical category of imperfectivity. Frequentive verbs typically occur at the beginning of this cline exhibiting total reduplication[26]. Total reduplication can include intensive, frequentive, continuative, and iterative lexemes[27]. Verbs exhibiting partial reduplication typically lend themselves to intransitive interpretations[28]. The endpoint of this cline is imperfectivity[29]. Figure 4 illustrates the findings from the literature.

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[23] Bybee, Perkins, and Pagliuca (1994) 167.

[24] Rubino (2005) discusses CVC, CV, and C reduplication, 12.

[25] Bybee (1985) 36, emphasizes this relationship.

[26] Bybee, Perkins, and Pagliuca (1994) 166.

[27] Frampton (2009) 42, includes iteratives. Bybee, Perkins, and Pagliuca (1994) 167, include the frequentive, continuative, and iterative lexemes.

[28] Bybee, Perkins, and Pagliuca (1994) 171.

[29] Bybee, Perkins, and Pagliuca (1994) 171.

Figure 4: Types of Reduplication Functions Displayed on a Timeline.
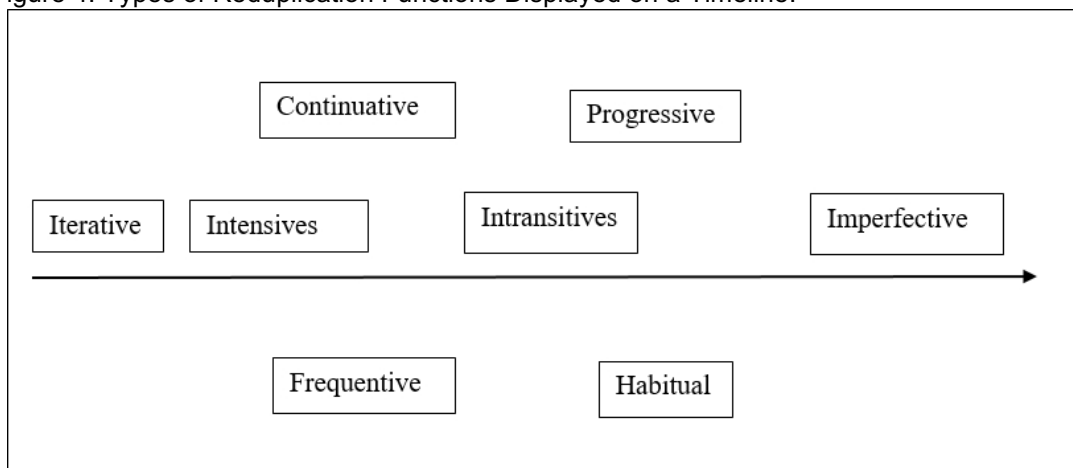
This cline of development of reduplication from iteratives to imperfectives mirrors the cline of the development of imperfectives from lexical items discussed more generally[30]. This mirroring occurs in both direction of both clines and the details along the clines. Bybee, Perkins, and Pagliuca show how the grammatical category of imperfective develops from certain lexical items. In that analysis, they show how two paths were shown by the data moving from iterativity to imperfectivity[31]. These two paths are predicted by lexical selection. Figure 5 illustrates the two paths.

Figure 5: Types of Imperfective Functions Displayed on a Timeline.
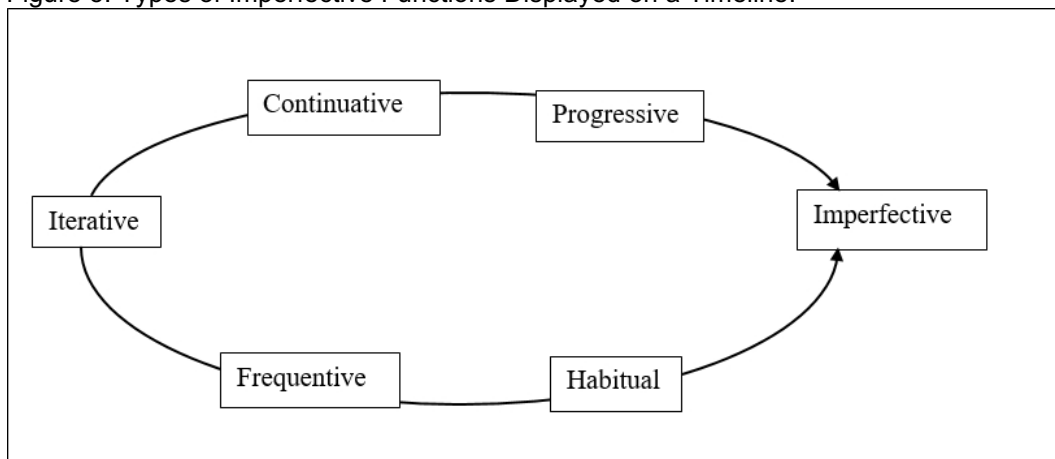
For the Greek synthetic Perfect, the most productive method of reduplication copies the first phoneme of the stem and repeats that sound while inserting the ε vowel between the reduplicating consonant and the stem. Other forms of Greek reduplication involve vowel initial stems where the vowel is simply lengthened, and a few examples "VC" reduplication where the initial vowel and its first consonant is copied and then added to the original stem. Zukoff (2014) provides an analysis of "VC" reduplication that combines the effect of laryngeals to "Ce" reduplication that explains the phenomenon of "VC" reduplication[32]. Basically "VC" reduplication is a result of "Ce" reduplication when "C" is a laryngeal or is preceded by one. Greek Perfect reduplication is located on the cline of reduplication near the end of the process of the reduplicant reducing onto the stem. This suggests that the reduplicant of the Perfect contains a highly grammaticalized meaning rather than a lexical meaning. Among the salient meanings argued for the Perfect, stative, intransitive, and intensive occur early in the history of the reduplicated Perfect[33]. This suggests that this point is the starting point in the cline for "Ce" reduplication of the Greek Perfect. As it moves from stative or intensive, it

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[30] Drinka (1998) 126, presents a similar flowchart.

[31] Bybee, Perkins, and Pagliuca (1994) 139-142, 165-166

[32] Zukoff (2014) 266-275.

[33] For a treatment on Stative Perfects, see Porter (1989). For a treatment on early intensives, see Curtius (1880), particularly 375. For a treatment on intransitivity through valency reduction, see Crellin (2012).

is expected to move toward general imperfectivity. Since reduplication as a process mirrors imperfectivity as a process, I suggest that this is where the reduplicant for the vast majority of reduplicated Perfects belongs[34]. The reduplicant of the Classical, Hellenistic, and New Testament Greek Perfect is imperfective. This is consistent with its placement on both the cline of reduplication and on that of imperfectives.

6. PUTTING THE PIECES TOGETHER

These leads me to the decision that the Perfect has both perfective and imperfective verbal aspect. At first glance, it might appear that I have argued in two different directions for the verbal aspect of the Greek Perfect, yielding two incompatible results. This is not the case however, because I have been careful to note where the imperfectivity and perfectivity resides in the Perfect tense-form. The reduplicant is imperfective and applies that aspect onto the state belonging to the Perfect, whether the contextually relevant state is that of the subject, or of the subject and object. The lexical core is perfective and applies that aspect onto the action which led to the state[35]. This means that the Greek synthetic Perfect tense-form contains two aspects specifically related to two different parts of the verbal process. The complex aspect of the Perfect opposes the Aorist in that the Aorist views events or states the same way, as perfective. This complex aspect of the Perfect likewise opposes the Present in that the Present views events or states alike, imperfectively. This also accounts for the similarity of the Perfect to the Aorist when referencing complete events in the later periods of the Greek language, and the similarity of the Perfect to the Present when referencing states.

I have decided to call the aspect for the Perfect tense-form, a "complex aspect," because not only do both aspects come together in the Perfect tense-form, but they each point to a different part of the verbal process, one to the event and the other to the state. Figure 6 illustrates the aspect for the Greek Perfect tense-form.

Figure 6: Components of the Complex Aspect of the Greek Perfect
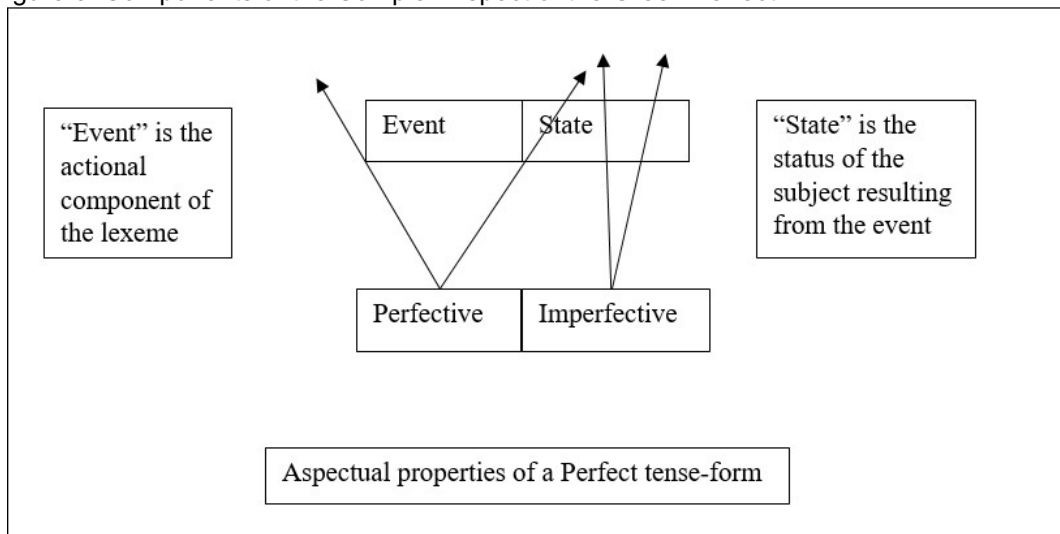
In this diagram, the perfective lexical core points to the event and has a complete perspective on it, so that the whole event is referenced. The imperfective reduplicant provides a partial view of the resulting state, so that the state can be viewed as enduring through time following the event. The endpoints of the state are not necessarily in view using the imperfective aspect, although they may be suggested by deixis or adverbs. Some examples will illustrate complex aspect.

(1)   καὶ ταῦτα λέγω ὡς οὐχ ὑγιές τι Κρατιστόλου καὶ Πολυξένου πρὸς σὲ
         εἰρηκότων[36],

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[34] This is not stated in Bybee, Perkins, and Pagliuca (1994) but the data for this mirroring is evident in this work.
[35] This is consistent with the lexeme being an action lexeme.
[36] Burnet (1903) Plato Epistulae 310c.

However, I do not say this as though what Cratistolus and Polyxenus <u>have told</u> you is to be trusted;[37]

In example (1) Plato is responding to accusations from Dionysius that he has been running a slander campaign against him. Here, εἰρηκότων refers more to the event of speech rather than to its continued complications. The malicious content of the speech is more the matter of concern to both author and recipient. The author may have used a Perfect here rather than the Aorist to highlight the responsibility of both speakers for the social effects of their speech, and to eliminate himself from taking blame for the words of others. This event of speech is viewed as perfective in summary by the author, and any resulting state is viewed as imperfective, or as ongoing causing the need for him to write back to Dionysius.

(2)   τούτων δὴ γεγονότων καὶ ἐχόντων οὕτω, σχεδὸν κατὰ τὴν ἐμὴν δόξαν <u>ηὑρήκαμεν</u> ὃ σὺ ἐπέστειλας, ὅπως δεῖ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἡμᾶς ἔχειν.[38]
So now that this has occurred, and things are in this state, <u>we have</u> pretty well <u>found</u> an answer, as I think, to the question how we ought to behave towards each other.[39]

In example (2) Plato is still responding to Dionysius attempting to resolve their shattered relationship. The Perfect, ηὑρήκαμεν, focuses more on the event rather than the state here, as Plato has just concluded his defence and reached a solution. The event of finding is viewed perfectively as a complete event in summary view.
Any status resulting from this discovery is viewed as imperfective since its endpoint is not in view.

(3)   Rom 1:1 Παῦλος δοῦλος Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ, κλητὸς ἀπόστολος <u>ἀφωρισμένος</u> εἰς εὐαγγέλιον θεοῦ,
Paul, a slave of Christ Jesus, called an apostle, <u>having been set apart</u> for the Gospel of God.

In example (3) the status of Paul is described using a Perfect tense. Here, it is clear that even though some event might be logically understood for this state, the main focus is the status of the grammatical subject. In the stative understanding, Paul is not presenting either endpoint of this state, but simply that it exists at the time of writing. It is ongoing both before and after the time of writing without an endpoint in view. It is best to see this state as imperfective, where the author's perspective sees only a portion of that state. If one should deduce a logical event which led to this state as relevant to this text, that event would be viewed perfectively, where the author's perspective sees the entire event, in summary fashion, without developing a sense of ongoing action.

(4)   1 Cor 13:11 ὅτε ἤμην νήπιος, ἐλάλουν ὡς νήπιος, ἐφρόνουν ὡς νήπιος, ἐλογιζόμην ὡς νήπιος· ὅτε γέγονα ἀνήρ, <u>κατήργηκα</u> τὰ τοῦ νηπίου.
When I was a toddler, I was speaking like a toddler, I was thinking like a toddler, I was reasoning like a toddler; [but] when I have become a man, I <u>have abolished</u> the ways of a toddler.

In example (4) the emphasis of κατήργηκα is more upon the event rather than the state. The moment of transition between toddler and adult is in view because of the preceding phrase "when I have become a man." The point of the passage is contrasting immaturity with maturity. The helping verb "have" does not add much to either phrase as the same meaning is understood from "[but] when I became a man, I abolished the ways of the toddler."[40] This also helps to see the perfective nature of the event. Here the event of transition between childhood and adulthood is the event that is in view, and it is viewed perfectively. Any resultant state that might be understood as maturity

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[37] Goold (1929) 403.
[38] Burnet (1903) Plato Epistulae 313c.
[39] Goold (1929) 413.
[40] Consider that the KJV, RSV, NAB, NASB, NET, CSBO, NIV, and NLT all translate both Perfects here as simple perfectives.

should be understood as imperfective as no endpoint for this maturity is in view. However, the emphasis is upon the event, here and not on continued maturity.

The idea of complex aspect for the synthetic Perfect should not be a surprise, because the modern languages mirror this complex aspect in their periphrastic Perfects, where the auxiliary verb contains the imperfective and stative force, and the lexical verb is a perfective action. A short discussion of periphrastic perfects will demonstrate the viability for complex aspect. Once Greek moved to the periphrastic Perfect, the auxiliary verb replaced the reduplication of the synthetic Perfect, and the Aorist tense mirrored the lexical core of the synthetic Perfect. The Modern Greek Perfect is comprised of an imperfective auxiliary verb followed by an Aorist participle or infinitive[41]. Here it is informative that the Aorist is used in the Modern Greek Perfect construction. Something must be similar between the Aorist and core of the synthetic Perfect. Although auxiliation is a different process than reduplication, both are grammaticalization processes and both are parallel to each other in that the first lexeme of an auxiliation construction is usually a state that is seen as enduring over time like the state of the reduplicant, and both the auxiliary verb and the reduplicant are then collocated with perfective lexemes to form Perfects. Scholars understanding the Greek synthetic Perfect to have only one verbal aspect are at a difficulty to explain why a one-aspect form would be comparable to the Modern form, since the Modern varieties are clearly comprised of two aspects. A better solution is to view the Greek synthetic Perfect as having two aspects as well, because it contains recognisably two distinct components. Figure 7 illustrates the areas of compatibility between the Modern Language Perfects and the Ancient Greek synthetic Perfect tense-form.

Figure 7: Parallel Nature of the Modern Language Perfects and the Ancient Greek Perfect.
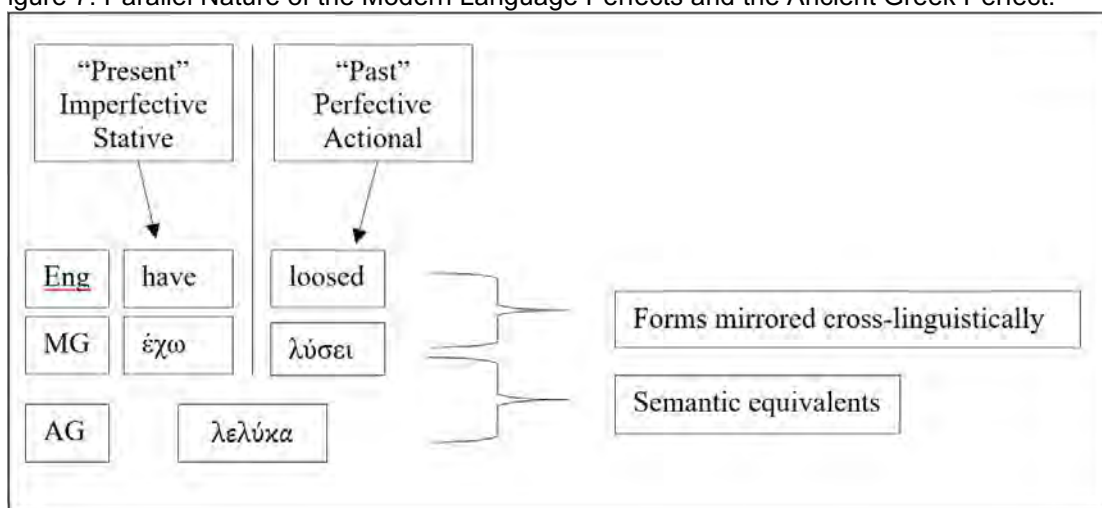
7. CONCLUSION

This paper has argued for the Greek synthetic Perfect belonging to two separate clines noticed in grammaticalization, that of the development of perfectives, and that of reduplication as it mirrors the cline of development of imperfectives. The form of the Greek synthetic Perfect is located near the end of both clines. For the developments of perfectives, this is evidenced by its disuse as a form without further development and for imperfectives this is evidenced by its reduplicant type, which is Ce, showing a nearly full reduction onto the stem. This location on both clines suggests that both perfectivity and imperfectivity are highly grammaticalized components for the Greek synthetic Perfect. The cross-linguistic mirroring of these two aspects in the Modern language periphrastic perfects suggests that this complex aspect was also the situation for the earlier synthetic Perfects. The idea the Perfect contains complex aspect is different from the single aspect views which have difficulty explaining the range of meanings over a diachronic timespan, in that it explains both the early Homeric Perfects through to the late Byzantine Perfects. Complex aspect likewise helps explain why the Perfect changes so much more than other tense-forms that have a single aspect. This understanding is different from the traditional definition in that it connects the verbal aspect

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[41] Holton, Mackridge, Phillipaki-Warburton (2012), 132

discussion to the definition. The traditional definition that a Perfect is used whenever a present state results from a past action is both temporal and pragmatic, and leaves out the aspectual component. Complex aspect explains how authorial portrayal fits regarding both events and states, yet does not attempt to override or contradict the traditional understanding. It recognises that the temporal features might not always apparent, but the aspectual properties will. That being said, the author might have only the state or only the event in view and not both, but whenever the event is in view, it will be perfective based on the perfective core of the lexeme, and whenever the state is in view it will be imperfective based on the value of the reduplicant. A suggestion for further research is to analyse the Perfect tense-forms cross-linguistically to see whether a complex aspect is suitable for the Perfects of other languages.

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Locatives and their metaphorical conceptualization in multi-word constructions retrieved from a corpus search

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ABSTRACT

Στην παρούσα εργασία εξετάζονται πολυλεκτικά φραστικά σχήματα (multi-word constructions) της Νέας Ελληνικής. Τα πολυλεκτικά αυτά φραστικά σχήματα διαμορφώθηκαν έπειτα από ανάλυση γλωσσικών δεδομένων που ανασύρθηκαν από μια έρευνα σε Ηλεκτρονικό Σώμα Κειμένων και περιέχουν στον σχηματισμό τους ένα από τα τοπικά επιρρήματα, *κοντά, μακριά, ψηλά, χαμηλά, πάνω, κάτω*. Η ανάλυση της χρήσης των φραστικών σχημάτων έδειξε ότι έχουν κυρίως μεταφορική σημασία και ότι η μεταφορική αυτή σημασία δομείται με συστηματικό τρόπο από βασικά εικονιστικά σχήματα (image schemata) και εννοιακές μεταφορές (conceptual metaphors).

Key-words: corpus study, image schema metaphor, Modern Greek, locatives

1. INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND OF THE PRESENT STUDY

This study focuses on multi-word constructions formed with a locative and their metaphorical conceptualization. Specifically, the metaphorical conceptualization of language data retrieved from a corpus search and of their corresponding multi-word constructions is discussed in the light of Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT).

As far as the background of the present study is concerned, we must firstly consider the terms multi-word units (Phraseology theory) and multi-word constructions (Construction Grammar Theory). The term multi-word unit is widely used in the literature (Moon, 1997; Granger, 1998; Mel´čuk, 1998; Granger and Paquot, 2008). A multi-word unit is a vocabulary item which consists of a sequence of two or more lexical items that for reasons of semantics, lexico-grammar or pragmatics is regarded as a holistic unit (Moon, 1998). Another linguistic theory concerned with multi-word units, though in a different terminology, is Construction Grammar theory (Fillmore et al, 1988; Goldberg, 2006; Croft, 2007). In Construction Grammar theory multi-word units are constructions. "A construction is a syntactic configuration, sometimes with one or more substantive items and sometimes not. A construction has its own semantic interpretation and sometimes its own pragmatic meaning" (Croft and Cruse, 2004: 247).

Most multi-word units instantiate constructions that are not completely fixed. More specifically, there are multi-word units that happen to be instantiations of more schematic lexical patterns. These multi-word units have open variables which can be filled productively by a range of lexical items syntactically and semantically appropriate for the slot (Croft and Cruse, 2004; Croft, 2007). For example, the utterance:

(1)   Ta aγorja δen exun matja ja tipote   alo
        Boys   don't have eyes for anything else

is an instantiation of the schematic construction with a noun phrase open slot:

    Exo   matja (mono) ja [NP]
    Have-INF eyes (only) for [NP]
    To desire exclusively [NP]

A corpus study[1] was carried out for studying multi-word unit realizations in authentic language data. The aim of the corpus study was to compile a list of schematic constructions instantiated by multi-word units of the Modern Greek language, in order to analyze and systematize their properties and functions. The theoretical background for extracting language data from an electronic corpus, the Hellenic National Corpus[2] (HNC), and for analyzing such phraseological sets as schematic lexical units in depth was provided by Construction Grammar theory (Fillmore et al., 1988; Goldberg, 1995; Croft and Cruse, 2004; Goldberg, 2006; Croft 2007), as presented in brief above.

As far as the present study is concerned, the examination of the schematic constructions which have arisen from the corpus search has shown regularities concerning figurative language. It has already been mentioned (Deignan, 2005), that analyzing naturally occurring data may reveal potentially significant patterns not otherwise noticed. In this study, I will try to delineate a regularity observed in the multi-word constructions under investigation. This study focuses on multi-word constructions formed with a locative, konda (near), makria (away), psila (high), xamila (low), pano (up) and kato (down). More specifically, these lexemes conceptualize LOCATION in their prototypical meaning. However, in most of the multi-word constructions formed with these lexemes, the LOCATION conceptualization is absent and this yields metaphorical extensions of meaning. Multi-word constructions containing a locative are mainly metaphorically structured. The metaphorical extensions of meaning attributed to the multi-word constructions can be further grouped according to the image schema metaphor realized by each multi-word construction. Such a grouping has shown that the same lexemes potentially instantiate more than one schemas; for example, konda-makria instantiate four different image schemas. On the other hand, different lexemes, psila-xamila and pano-kato, instantiate the same image-schema and for that reason they are grouped together.

In the following section, I will turn to Conceptual Metaphor Theory (Lakoff 1993). In the field of CMT the notion of image schema is widely discussed. Image schema and image schema metaphors will help us discuss the multi-word units formed with a locative. In section 3 multi-word constructions formed with a locative are discussed according to the image schema metaphor they instantiate.

2. IMAGE SCHEMA AND CONCEPTUAL METAPHOR THEORY

As it was previously mentioned, in this section image schema and image schema metaphor will be discussed in the light of CMT. Within the Cognitive Linguistics tradition, meaning is equated with conceptualization. One of the central notions in the way that the human mind conceptualizes the world is that of the image schema. The notion of a schema as a fixed template for ordering specific information joins with the notion of an image as a representation of specific patterns capable of being rendered schematically (Oakley, 2007). Therefore, "an image schema is a condensed redescription of perceptual experience for the purpose of mapping spatial structure onto conceptual structure" (Oakley, 2007: 215). According to Johnson (1987 in Cienski, 2007: 178), an image schema is "a recurring, dynamic pattern of our perceptual interactions and motor programs that gives coherence and structure to our experience". Image schemas are imaginative and operate as organizing structures of experience at the level of bodily perception and movement. They exist across all perceptual modalities, visual, auditory, kinesthetic and tactile (Gibbs & Colston, 2006). Among the most important image schemas are the following: CONTAINER, PATH, CENTRE – PERIPHERY, FULL – EMPTY, PART – WHOLE, ITERATION, BALANCE, etc. (Johnson, 1987, in Oakley, 2007: 217). Many image schemas, as can be seen, have topological characteristics. For example, going to the library fits the SOURCE-PATH-GOAL image schema (the library exists as the end point to a path) and the CONTAINER image schema (it has an inside and an outside capable of containing people and objects) among others (Oakley, 2007). It is clear that image schemas are not limited to spatial relations.

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[2] HNC contains 47.000.000 words of written texts from several media (books, periodicals, newspapers etc.), which belong to different genres (articles, essays, literary works, reports, biographies etc.) and various topics (economy, medicine, leisure, art, human sciences etc.). Found at www.ilsp.gr .

Within the Conceptual Metaphor theory framework, it is argued that humans conceptualize many abstract domains metaphorically in terms of domains of knowledge that are relatively concrete or well-understood. Metaphors may be based on both knowledge (of concepts) and image. In the former kind of metaphors, conceptual elements of knowledge (what is a traveler, a destination in the case of a JOURNEY conceptual domain) get mapped from a source to a target. In the latter kind of metaphors, conceptual elements of image schemas get mapped from source to target. Image schema metaphors map relatively little from source to target (Kövecses, 2010: 42-43). To put it in another way, basic physical experiences give rise to image schemas and the image-schemas structure many of our abstract concepts metaphorically (Kövecses, 2010). For example, a metaphorical extension of the IN-OUT image schema is found in *I am out of money*, while a metaphorical extension of the MOTION images schema is found in *He just went crazy* example.

Related to the notion of image schema metaphor is the notion of orientational metaphors. Orientational metaphors have to do with basic human spatial orientations, such as up-down, center-periphery (Kövecses 2010). Orientational metaphors give an [abstract] concept a spatial orientation and have arisen from our physical and cultural experience (Lakoff and Johnson 1980).

The theory discussed in this section suggests that image schemas are pervasive patterns of conceptualization found in literal and metaphorical language data. Image schema metaphors, being skeletal in mapping from source to target, may be activated together with other conceptual metaphors. This issue will be further discussed in the next section.

3. LOCATIVES IN MULTI-WORD CONSTRUCTIONS: THE CORPUS STUDY

As it was previously mentioned, a corpus study was carried out in order to investigate multi-word constructions of Modern Greek. The results returned by the corpus were manually inspected for multi-word units. The formation of the multi-word constructions out of the examples found in the corpus was made in a manual way as well.

The above description pertains to the overall corpus search. As far as the present study is concerned, we will focus on six lexemes (konda-makria, psila-xamila and pano-kato) and the multi-word constructions containing one of them. The multi-word constructions under investigation have arisen through the corpus search and the overall inspection on the language data retrieved from the corpus search.

To be more specific, the above lexemes conceptualize LOCATION in their prototypical meaning. For example:
(2)   O Momo zi stin taratsa enos uranoksisti ke apo eki vlepi ton kozmo apo psila
          Momo lives in the terrace of a skyscraper and from there he sees the world from high
However, in most of the multi-word constructions formed with these lexemes, the LOCATION conceptualization is absent and this yields metaphorical extensions of meaning.
(3)   mja kondra pu anevase to politiko θermometro psila
          An argument which raised the political thermometer high
The analysis of the corpus data has shown that the multi-word constructions containing a locative are mainly metaphorically structured. More specifically, the analysis of the corpus data has shown that most of the multi-word constructions (78) formed with a locative are metaphorically conceptualized according to a few regular image schema metaphors. In the next subsections, what the data analysis has shown will be discussed. To help the reader understand, multi-word constructions are grouped according to the image schema metaphor they instantiate. Additionally, each image schema metaphor and the multi-word constructions instantiating it will be seen separately.

3.1. KONDA-MAKRIA multi-word constructions
The manual inspection of the examples containing a KONDA-MAKRIA multi-word construction has shown that the same lexemes instantiate more than one schemas; more specifically, *konda-makria* instantiate four different image schema metaphors, which will be seen in detail.

3.1.1. INVOLVEMENT IS CLOSENESS-LACK OF INVOLVEMENT IS DISTANCE image schema metaphor

Many multi-word constructions instantiate the INVOLVEMENT IS CLOSENESS-LACK OF INVOLVEMENT IS DISTANCE (Kövecses 2010) imageschema metaphor. Let's consider the examples:

(4)   iδame ta δiskola   apo konda
         We saw the difficult from near (we got involved into a difficult situation)
Multi-word construction: [VP] apo konda (from near)

(5)   Itan ekini I axari δulja   pu γinete makria apo tus provolis
         It was that inelegant work that is done away from the spotlights (without being published)
Multi-word construction: [VP] makria apo ta fota tis δimosiotitas (away from the lights of publicity), apo tus provolis (from the spotlights)

(6)   Mipos enioθe kalitera makria apo ta vlemata ton Amerikanon;
         (he) may felt better away from the looks of the Americans
Multi-word construction: [VP] makria apo ta matja, ta vlemata, ta aftja (away from the eyes, the looks, the ears (happening secretly)

(7)   θa tin andimetopisume me ta komata makria
         We will face it   with the parties away
Multi-word construction: makria apo (away from) [NP] OR me (with) [NP] makria (away)

(8)   Kratai makria apo ti lisi   ton OHE
         (he) holds away from the solution United Nations (UN)
Multi-word construction: Krato (hold) [NP1] makria apo (away from) [NP2]

(9)   Makria apo mena kaθe tetja skepsi!
         Away from me   every such thought!
Multi-word construction: Makria apo (away from) [NP human] [NP]! (Functioning as a wish)

The above multi-word constructions and the examples instantiating them suggest that an image schema metaphor is realized. In this particular metaphor *konda* conceptualizes the involvement into an action, while *makria* conceptualizes the lack of involvement.

3.1.2. AFFECTION IS CLOSENESS-NO EMOTION IS DISTANCE image schema metaphor

According to Kövecses (2010), the notion of love seems to be based on the image schematic property (among others) of closeness (*He is close to his grandmother*). In the same root, Athanasiadou (2014) in her discussion of the conceptualization of the state of no emotion, she proposes the EMOTIONAL DISTANCE IS PHYSICAL DISTANCE metaphor for vocabulary like *apomakros* (distant), *aplisiastos* (upapproachable), *apostasiopiimenos* (detached). Let's consider our examples:

(10)   o aθlitizmos ferni tus anθropus pjo konda
         Sports   bring people closer
Multi-word construction: Ferni (brings) [NP] konda (close)

(11)   konda stus sismopathis   vriskonde i proskopi
         Close to the earthquake victims are the scouts
Multi-word construction: Ime, stekome, erxome konda se (be, stand, come close to) [NP human]

(12)   … tu anθropu pu vriskete   makria apo to Θeo
            Of the human who stands away from God
Multi-word construction: Ime, vriskome makria apo (be, stand away from) [NP]

(13)   na sas kratiso makria apo tus filus sas, to γlendi
         To keep you away from   your friends, the fiesta
Multi-word construction: Krato (keep) [NP1] makria apo (away from) [NP2]

The above multi-word constructions and the examples instantiating them suggest that an image schema metaphor is realized. In this particular metaphor *konda* conceptualizes positive emotions; people loving each other are physically close to each other, while *makria* conceptualizes a state of NO EMOTION; if emotions are absent, people are physically away from each other.

3.1.3. SIMILARITY IS CLOSENESS- NON SIMILARITY IS DISTANCE image schema metaphor

A conceptual pattern that maps SIMILAR onto CLOSE is found across languages (Grady 2007). In Greek, this pattern is revealed through the language data collected. Consider the examples:

(14)   to viotiko epipeδo tis Evropis   ine konda se afto ton IPA
            The standard of living of Europe is close to that of USA
Multi-word construction: Konda se (close to) [NP]
(15)   o xoros ston paγo vriskete makria apo tetjes tasis
            Dancing on ice   stands away from such trends
Multi-word construction: Makria apo (away from) [NP]
In the above examples, the *konda se* [NP] and *makria apo* [NP] multi-word constructions indicate that the *konda-makria* image-schema extends metaphorically and is associated with the concept of SIMILARITY; an entity similar to another entity is perceived as spatially close to it.

3.1.4. RECENT IS (spatially) CLOSE –LATE IS DISTANT image schema metaphor
        The image schema metaphor discussed in this subsection takes place in the TIME domain. In related literature, it is argued that the TIME domain is mapped onto the SPACE domain, in other words, we think of time in terms of space (Lakoff and Johnson 1980). Times are things, locations. The present time is at the same location as a canonical observer. One thing is moving, the other is stationary; the stationary entity is the deictic center (Lakoff, 1993: 217). Consider the examples:
(16)   … konda sti liksi   tis θitias tu …
            Close to the end of his tenure
Multi-word construction: Konda se (close to) [NP time]
(17)   xaθikan   konda konda   apo tin iδja arostja
            They were lost close close (= almost at the same time) in virtue of the same disease
Multi-word construction: Konda konda (close close= almost at the same time)
(18)   I δimotikes ekloγes vriskonde makria
            Municipal elections stand away
Multi-word construction: [NP] ine, vriskete makria (be, stand away = happen later)
In the above examples and the corresponding multi-word constructions the recent event is conceptualized as close spatially, while an event that it will take a long time to happen is conceptualized as spatially away.

3.2. PSILA-XAMILA and PANO-KATO multi-word constructions
        The manual inspection of the examples containing a PSILA-XAMILA multi-word construction has shown again that the same lexemes instantiate more than one schemas; more specifically, *psila-xamila* instantiate four different image schema metaphors, which will be seen in detail. As far as the examples containing a PANO-KATO multi-word construction are concerned, the manual inspection has shown that the two image schema metaphors instantiated are the same as the ones of PSILA-XAMILA. For that reason, the multi-word constructions in question are grouped together with the PSILA – XAMILA multi-word constructions according to the image schema metaphor they instantiate.

3.2.1. MORAL IS HIGH (psila) - AMORAL IS LOW (xamila) image schema metaphor
        According to Lakoff (1996: 251) 'conceptualizing morality as uprightness invites the stereotype of a moral person as standing tall and straight and upright'. Upward orientation tends to go together with positive evaluation (virtue is up), while downward orientation with a negative one (laск of virtue is down) (Kövecses, 2010: 40). To illustrate these features, consider the examples:
(19)   I δikeosini steki psila
            Justice   stands high
Multi-word construction: Steko (stand) psila (high) OR exo (have) [NP] psila (high)
(20)   Ine anagi   na pesete toso xamila?
            Is there any need to fall that low?
Multi-word construction: [NP human] pefti (falls), kateveni (goes) xamila (low) (=he used to be moral and now he is amoral)
        It is obvious that in the above examples moral is conceptualized as standing at a high position, while unethical is conceptualized as standing at a low position.

3.2.2. GOOD, POSITIVE EMOTIONS ARE HIGH (psila) - BAD, NEGATIVE EMOTIONS ARE LOW (xamila) image schema metaphor

According to (Kövecses, 2000), good things in general are metaphorically UP, while bad things are DOWN. As far as the emotions are concerned, sadness is conceptualized as being down. Consider the examples:

(21)   I metanastes θa perpatisun me to kefali psila
            The refugees will walk   with the head high

Multi-word construction: [VP] me to kefali psila (with the head high= feeling proud)

(22)   I Eθniki xtes   kitaze xamila
            The national (team) yesterday was looking low

Multi-word construction: Kitazo xamila (to look low = feeling defeated)

In a similar way, the multi-word constructions in examples (21) and (22), illustrate that the feeling of proud is conceptualized by raising the head high, while the feeling of defeat by keeping the head and the look low.

3.2.3. MORE IS HIGH, UP (psila, pano) - LESS IS LOW, DOWN (xamila, kato) image schema metaphor

The mapping of quantity onto spatial orientations arises directly from our experience (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980; Kövecses, 2010); there is experiential correlation between QUANTITY and HEIGHT. Grady (2007: 192) calls primary metaphors the patterns which map fundamental perceptual concepts onto equally fundamental but not directly perceptual ones, e.g. UP onto DOMINANT, DOWN onto SAD, HEAVY onto DIFFICULT. Consider the examples:

(23)   kratondas etsi tis   times psila
            Keeping that way prices high

Multi-word construction: Krato, διatiro (keep) [NP] psila, se psila epipeδa (high, at high levels)

(24)   mja kondra pu anevase to politiko θermometro psila
            A fight that raised   the political thermometer high

Multi-word construction: [NP] anevazi (raises) to θermometro psila (the thermometer high)

(25)   Eprepe na plironi ke apo pano
            He should pay   'and from up' (= moreover)

Multi-word construction: [VP] ke apo pano (and from up= moreover)

(26)   I peδia xriazete pano apo ola emfasi stin piotita
            Education needs 'up from all' (=more than anything else) emphasis on quality

Multi-word unit: Pano apo ola (up from all = more than anything else) [VP]

(27)   I paraγoγikotita pefti se poli xamila epipeδa
            Productivity   falls at very low levels

Multi-word construction: [NP] ine, vriskete (is, stands), [VP] xamila, se xamila epipeδa (low, at low levels)

(28)   pende pano, pende kato (five up, five down = five more or less)

Multi-word construction: [NP] pano (up), [NP] kato (down) (= more or less)

The above examples illustrate that the concept of QUANTITY (more or less) is understood in terms of verticality (high, up or low, down). This happens because in our everyday experience we understand changes in quantity in terms of changes in verticality (Kövecses, 2010).

3.2.4. IMPORTANT, GOOD, SUCCESS IS UP (psila, pano) - UNIMPORTANT, BAD, NO SUCCESS IS DOWN (xamila, kato) image schema metaphor

Many multi-word constructions instantiate the IMPORTANT, GOOD, SUCCESS IS UP (psila, pano) - UNIMPORTANT, BAD, NO SUCCESS IS DOWN (xamila, kato) image schema metaphor, as is seen in the examples:

(29)   to epimaxo θema ine psila stin atzenda tis politikis epikerotitas
            The issue in question is high in the agenda of the political things

Multi-word unit: [NP] ine (is) psila stin atzenda (high in the agenda)

(30)   I omaδes na skarfalosun ena vima pjo psila
            The teams will climb   a step higher

Multi-word unit: Aneveno, skarfalono (climb) ena skalopati, ena vima (a step) pjo psila (higher)

(31)   I kritiki kuzina stoxevi psila
            Cretan cuisine targets high

Multi-word unit: Stoxevo, kitao, vlepo psila (target, look high)

(32)   ta laθi   katevazun pjo xamila to derbi
         Mistakes put lower (= relegate) the derby

Multi-word unit: Vazo, katevazo [NP] xamila (=relegate)

(33)   ksekinisame apo poli xamila ja na ftasume os eδo
         We started from very low   to arrive here

Multi-word unit: Ksekino, arxizo apo ta xamila (to start from the low = create something important from the very beginning)

(34)   akoma ki an kani laθos δen to vazi kato
         even if he is wrong   he doesn't 'put it down' (= quit)

Multi-word unit: δen to vazo kato (don't put it down = quit)

Following the GOOD IS UP – BAD IS DOWN and HIGH STATUS IS UP – LOW STATUS IS DOWN conceptual metaphors mentioned by Lakoff and Johnson (1980), the above multi-word constructions and the corresponding examples illustrate that the human mind conceptualizes the important and success as being at a high position, while the unimportant and the unsuccessful being at a position low.

4. CONCLUDING REMARKS

Our bottom-up study, from language data extracted from a corpus to the conceptual material underlying the data, has shown a regularity concerning multi-word units containing a locative. More specifically, multi-word constructions containing a locative are mainly and regularly metaphorically structured. Their metaphorical conceptualization is related to image schema metaphors (orientational metaphors). Image schema metaphors seem to be instantiated in a bipolar way.

The corpus study has also shown that the same lexemes potentially instantiate more than one image schemas. To be more specific, KONDA-MAKRIA instantiate four (4) image schemas: INVOLVEMENT IS CLOSENESS–LACK OF INOVLVEMENT IS DISTANCE, AFFECTION IS CLOSENESS –NO EMOTION IS DISTANCE, SIMILARITY IS CLOSENESS–NON SIMILARITY IS DISTANCE and RECENT IS CLOSE-LATE IS DISTANT. Additionally, PSILA-XAMILA instantiate two (2) image schemas: MORAL IS HIGH-AMORAL IS LOW and GOOD, POSITIVE EMOTIONS ARE HIGH-BAD, NEGATIVE EMOTIONS ARE LOW. Finally, PSILA-XAMILA together with PANO-KATO instantiate two (2) schemas: MORE IS UP-LESS IS DOWN and IMPORTANT, GOOD, SUCCESS IS UP-UNIMPORTANT, BAD, NO SUCCESS IS DOWN.

The corpus study has also shown that it happens to be the case that the same multi-word construction may instantiate more than one image schema metaphor. For example, the *krato [NP1] makria apo [NP2]* multi-word construction may instantiate the INVOLVEMENT image schema or the AFFECTION image schema. In addition, this study lends further support to the claim that image schemas, as organizing structures of experience, extend metaphorically and structure other abstract conceptual categories.

We conclude this section by noting that such an approach helps grouping unrelated multi-word constructions under the schema they instantiate. Such an organization could prove useful for educational or other purposes. For example, the teaching of multi-word constructions should take into consideration which metaphor is instantiated and multi-word construction instantiating the same metaphor should be taught together.

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Middle voice in Hellenistic Greek: A pilot study into the Gospel of Matthew

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ABSTRACT

Στο άρθρο αυτό διατυπώνουμε μερικές σκέψεις (προτάσεις) σχετικά με τη μέση φωνή στην ελληνική της μετακλασικής περιόδου, ιδιαίτερα του πρώτου μεταχριστιανικού αιώνα. Η βάση δεδομένων πάνω στην οποία στηρίζεται η έρευνα αποτελείται από όλες τις εμφανίσεις μέσων ρηματικών τύπων στο ευαγγέλιο του Ματθαίου, καταταγμένων με βάση τα χαρακτηριστικά χρόνου, όψης και τροπικότητας. Ο στόχος της μελέτης είναι διπλός. Αφενός να εξεταστεί η σημασιολογία του μέσου κλιτικού παραδείγματος συγκριτικά με άλλους δείκτες μεσότητας, και συγκεκριμένα τα προσφύματα -η-/-θη- του αοριστικού και μελλοντικού κλιτικού συστήματος. Αφετέρου, να ελεγχθεί η επάρκεια της μέσου κλιτικού συστήματος για τη δήλωση και διαφοροποίηση της ρηματικής διάθεσης σε σχέση με την πιθανότητα ύπαρξης, για την υπό εξέταση περίοδο, κάποιας διαδικασίας λεξικοποίησης των ρηματικών τύπων σε ορισμένες διατυπώσεις ή πάγιες εκφράσεις.

Ως προς το πρώτο σκέλος, εντοπίσαμε σχέση συμπληρωματικής κατανομής δύο ειδών δεικτών μεταξύ των ρηματικών λεξιμάτων, εκτός από σπάνιες εξαιρέσεις που μπορούν ωστόσο να εξηγηθούν. Οι δύο δείκτες μέσης φωνής δεν συσχετίζονται με τους αντίστοιχους τύπους διάθεσης. Οι τύποι με προσφύματα απαντούν σε παθητικές ή αναιτιακές δομές, ενώ οι μέσοι κλιτικοί τύποι είναι χαρακτηριστικοί μεταβατικών δομών με ερμηνεία κτητική ή χαριστική, αν και οι φράσεις όπου η μέση μορφολογία έχει αντιχαριστική ερμηνεία δεν απαντούν συχνά στο κόρπους μας. Οι μέσοι μορφολογικά αόριστοι και μέλλοντες αντιστοιχούν κατά πλειοψηφία σε αποθετικά ρήματα. Αυτό σημαίνει ότι οι μέσοι αυτοί κλιτικοί τύποι είναι λεξικοποιημένοι και δεν είναι πλέον ερμηνεύσιμοι ως προς τη διάθεση. Οι μόνοι παραγωγικοί δείκτες διάθεσης είναι τα προσφύματα -η-/-θη- στα συστήματα αορίστου και μέλλοντος. Ακόμα και στους ενεστωτικούς τύπους – κι έτσι ερχόμαστε στο δεύτερο σκέλος – πολλά ρήματα με μέση κλίση είναι αποθετικά. Υπάρχουν βέβαια περιπτώσεις μέσων κτητικών αλλά είναι σπάνιες. Η συχνότερη χρήση ενεστωτικών τύπων μέσης κλίσης απαντά σε παθητικές και αναιτιακές δομές.

Τα βασικά αποτελέσματα της ανάλυσής μας συνοψίζονται στα εξής. Στα ελληνικά της Καινής Διαθήκης, των οποίων το ευαγγέλιο του Ματθαίου αποτελεί χαρακτηριστικό παράδειγμα, οι παραγωγικοί δείκτες της μέσης φωνής είναι δύο : τα προσφύματα -η-/-θη- του αοριστικού και μελλοντικού κλιτικού παραδείγματος και η μέση κλίση στον ενεστώτα. Από λειτουργική άποψη, η μέση φωνή περιορίζεται στη δήλωση της παθητικής και αναιτιακής διάθεσης, ενώ η κτητική και χαριστική χρήσεις της έχουν πάψει να είναι παραγωγικές την εποχή εκείνη.

1. INTRODUCTION

This paper deals with the middle voice in Hellenistic Greek and focuses on the Gospel of Matthew. All verb forms that occur in this text and exhibit middle markers were collected using the search tools available on the website of the PROIEL project (www.syntacticus.org). The verb forms considered for the research belong to all tenses/aspects and moods. The relevant middle markers are (i) the middle inflection for all tense-aspectual stems, and (ii) the suffixes -η-/-θη- for the future and the aorist stems. Once all forms had been collected amounting to a total of 979 tokens, I analysed them according to their functional, i.e. diathetical values (cf. Kulikov 2010).

The aim of this research is to provide corpus-based data for reconsidering the voice system in Hellenistic Greek and its changes with respect to Classical Greek. Some scholars argue for the maintenance of the system of three voices of the Classical language, namely active vs. middle vs. passive, in the New Testament (from now on NT) as well (cf. Moulton and Turner 1963: 158-160; Blass, Debrunner and Funk 1961: 161). A different view is suggested by Jannaris (1897: §1478) and

Horrocks (2010: 138), who mention the progressive replacement of middle aorists by passive ones as a feature of Hellenistic Greek.

The general issue of middle voice has received much attention by scholars interested in Ancient Greek, but most studies concern Homeric and Classical Greek. Moreover, they either focus on single tense/aspectual systems (e.g. the aorist in Benedetti 2005, 2006; the aorist and the future in Allan 2003; Tronci 2014), or deal with the category of middle voice in general terms (cf. Risselada 1987; Bakker 1994; Alexiadou and Doron 2012; Kulikov 2013; Benedetti 2017). As far as Biblical studies are concerned, more attention has been paid to the category of aspect than to that of voice, as evidenced by the papers collected in Runge and Fresch (2016) devoted to various aspects of the verb in Biblical Greek. In this book, the sole paper dedicated to the issue of voice is Aubrey's (2016) study, which deals with voice in general terms and does not account for the distribution of voice markers in the language of the Bible.

My study tries to fill this gap, by investigating all the relevant forms in the Gospel of Matthew. This is the starting point for a larger research investigation, which will concern the other three Gospels and texts of the NT. The structure of the paper is as follows. Section 2 is devoted to analysis of the data, which are distinguished according to the different tense/aspectual systems: the present in Section 2.1, the aorist in Section 2.2, the future in Section 2.3, and the perfect in Section 2.4. In Section 3 I will give some conclusions and suggestions for further research.

2. ANALYSIS OF DATA

In this Section, I provide both quantitative and qualitative data concerning the distribution of the verb forms which feature middle markers in the Gospel of Matthew. Table 1 shows the number of occurrences of middle-marked forms for each tense, i.e. present, imperfect, aorist, future, perfect and pluperfect, and mood, i.e. indicative, subjunctive, optative, participle, infinitive and imperative. As for the aorist and the future tenses, two different types of middle forms were distinguished, namely the forms marked by the suffixes -η-/-θη- (suffixed aorists/futures) and the forms marked by middle inflection (middle-inflected aorists/futures). Instances of the two types are the aorists ἠγέρθη 'he got up' vs. ἠρνήσατο 'he refused', and the futures ἐγερθήσονται 'they will get up' vs. ἀπολοῦνται 'they will die'. In the future, both forms exhibit middle inflection, but middle inflection is not relevant as a voice marker in the suffixed futures.

Table 11. Occurrences of middle forms in the Gospel of Matthew

	Indicative	Subjunctive	Optative	Imperative	Infinitive	Participle	TOTAL
Present	118	4	0	25	12	99	258
Imperfect	25						25
Suff. Aorist	122	36	0	21	29	108	316
M.-i. Aorist	64	36	0	8	9	28	145
Suff. Future	80		0	0	0	0	80
M.-i. Future	92		0	0	0	0	92
Perfect	15	0	0	0	0	47	62
Pluperfect	1						1
TOTAL	517	76	0	54	50	282	**979**

Some quantitative data confirm the consensus concerning the changes which occurred in the verbal system of Hellenistic Greek, namely (i) the loss of the optative, which was replaced by the subjunctive and the indicative, depending on its function (cf. Horrocks 2010: 102-103), and (ii) the decline in use of the perfect, which fell together with the aorist formally and functionally (cf. Horrocks 2010: 130-132). On the contrary, the data concerning aorist and future stems are not in line with the scholarly consensus and require an explanation.

As far as the aorist is concerned, scholars remark that the suffixed forms increased in number in Hellenistic Greek and replaced the middle-inflected forms (cf. Horrocks 2010: 103). This remark also applies to the NT Greek, according to Blass, Debrunner and Funk (1961: 161). My data, however, provide evidence of the persistence of the middle-inflected aorists as well. Even though the suffixed aorists amount to more than twice the middle-inflected aorists, there are nonetheless 145 occurrences of the latter in the Gospel of Matthew, with a ratio of 1 middle-inflected aorist to 2 suffixed aorists in the indicative.

Let us now look at the future forms. According to scholars, synthetic futures declined in use in Hellenistic Greek and were replaced by periphrases with μέλλω and θέλω plus infinitive (Markopoulos 2009: 46-47; Horrocks 2010: 130). In the Gospel of Matthew, I counted 172 occurrences of the future, which indeed does not appear to indicate a decline in use. The relationship between suffixed and middle-inflected futures is slightly in favour of the latter: 80 to 92 tokens, respectively.

In what follows, I will investigate the relationship between middle markers and middle functions for every tense/aspectual system.

2.1. The present system

The present system is constituted by two tenses, the present and the imperfect, which are both aspectually imperfective. The present stem is inflected in all moods, whereas the imperfect stem is only inflected in the indicative. As Table 1 shows, the ratio between imperfect and present forms in the Gospel of Matthew is 1:10 (25 tokens of the imperfect against 258 tokens of the present). By taking into account only the finite forms (indicative, subjunctive, optative, and imperative), the ratio is 1:6 (147 tokens of the present against 25 tokens of the imperfect).

Let us begin with the finite forms. They mostly belong to the class of deponent or *media tantum* verbs, namely verbs which are exclusively inflected in the middle voice in all stems of the paradigm (cf. Lavidas and Papangeli 2007; Ladewig 2010; Grestenberger 2014; Campbell 2015). More precisely, 17/25 occurrences of the imperfect and 81/147 occurrences of the present belong to the class of deponent verbs. Some examples are βούλομαι 'I want', γίγνομαι 'I become', δέχομαι 'I receive', δύναμαι 'I am able to', ἔρχομαι 'I come', κεῖμαι 'I lie'. In these verbs, the middle inflection does not display any functional value, because it is not oppositive. Some changes from *media tantum* to *activa tantum* and vice versa throughout the history of the Greek language have been noticed by scholars. Lavidas and Papangeli (2007: 112) remark that "[n]ot all deponents display stable behaviour through the different stages of Greek. In many cases, the deponent verbs have changed to actives, and, in other cases, they have attracted other verbs from the class of actives". An example is given by the verb θαμβέω 'I am astounded', which is an *activum tantum* in Homeric and Classical Greek and became a *medium tantum* in Post-Classical Greek. The verb is attested in the Gospel of Mark and does not occur in that of Matthew.

Let us now turn to the non-deponent middle forms. They are fewer in number than the deponent middles and some of them are lexicalised middles, namely middle forms which are semantically autonomous with respect to the corresponding active forms, because either the active forms are attested in Classical Greek and disappear in Hellenistic Greek, or they still exist in Hellenistic Greek, while displaying a very different meaning with respect to the corresponding middles. An example of the first type is provided by the verb πορεύω 'I carry' which is inflected as both a middle and an active in Classical Greek and occurs exclusively as a middle in the NT. The middle forms of πορεύω prevail in Classical Greek as well, but some examples of the voice opposition can be found, however. Let us look at the following passages in Euripides' *Rhesus*: καὶ πῶς πρὸς Ἴδης ὀργάδας **πορεύεται**; (v. 282) 'how is it that he comes to Ida's meadows?' vs. ἐπεί σε χρόνῳ Πιερὶς μάτηρ ὅ τε καλλιγέφυρος ποταμὸς **πορεύει** Στρύμων (v. 348-351) 'since late in time your Pierian mother and Strymon, river with fair bridges'. The verb πορεύομαι is exclusively inflected in the middle voice in the NT. It takes the middle inflection in the present stem, e.g. τότε **πορεύεται** (Mt.12.45) 'then he goes'[1], and the suffix -θη- in the aorist stem, e.g. καὶ ἐπιθεὶς τὰς χεῖρας αὐτοῖς **ἐπορεύθη** ἐκεῖθεν (Mt.19.15) 'he laid his hands on them, and departed from there'.

The case of the middles which are semantically distinct from the corresponding actives is illustrated by the verbs φαίνομαι 'I appear' vs. φαίνω 'I show' (see Benedetti 2012 on perception verbs in Ancient Greek) and ἀπόλλυμαι 'I die' vs. ἀπόλλυμι 'I kill'. Both verbs are exclusively attested as middles in the Gospel of Matthew (φαίνεται in Mt.2.19 and ἀπολλύμεθα in Mt.8.25), but occur as actives in the Gospel of John (φαίνει in Jn.1.5 and ἀπολλύει in Jn.12.25).

Most of the oppositive middles in the NT are intransitive, more precisely unaccusative. This means that the subject of the middle verb corresponds both semantically and syntactically to the direct object of the active verb. See the pair (i) νεκροὺς **ἐγείρετε** (Mt.10.8) 'raise the dead' vs (ii) νεκροὶ **ἐγείρονται** (Mt.11.5) 'the dead are raised up'. Evidence for this use of the middle is also

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[1] English translations of the NT are taken from the World English Bible, available on the website of the Perseus Project (http://www.perseus.tufts.edu), with some adjustments.

provided by Homeric and Classical language (cf., *inter alia*, Allan 2003; Benedetti 2005; Alexiadou and Doron 2012; Kulikov and Lavidas 2013).

Oppositive middles can also occur in passive constructions. This use is well attested in Homeric and Classical language (see the references just cited). In the Gospel of Matthew, there are a few examples of plain passives, e.g. καὶ **ἐβαπτίζοντο** ἐν τῷ Ἰορδάνῃ ποταμῷ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ (Mt.3.6) 'they were baptized by him in the Jordan'. When the agent is omitted, the passive clause can also be interpreted as an impersonal one, e.g. ὥσπερ οὖν **συλλέγεται** τὰ ζιζάνια καὶ πυρὶ **κατακαίεται**, οὕτως ἔσται ἐν τῇ συντελείᾳ τοῦ αἰῶνος (Mt.13.40) 'as therefore the darnel is gathered up and burned with fire; so will it be at the end of this age'.

Other occurrences of oppositive middles are ambiguous between a passive and an unaccusative reading, e.g. γενομένης δὲ θλίψεως ἢ διωγμοῦ διὰ τὸν λόγον εὐθὺς **σκανδαλίζεται** (Mt.13.21) 'when oppression or persecution arises because of the word, immediately he stumbles'.

Besides the passive and the unaccusative, oppositive middles also occur in biargumental clauses, e.g. οὐ γὰρ **νίπτονται** τὰς χεῖρας ὅταν ἄρτον ἐσθίωσιν (Mt.15.2) 'they don't wash their hands when they eat bread'. This is an example of the so-called possessive middle, namely the middle morphology that codifies the inalienable relationship between the subject (possessor) and the direct object (possessee/body part). In the Gospel of Matthew this type is very rare.

Let us now turn to the non-finite moods (infinitive and participle). Middle infinitives amount to 13 occurrences and are deponent (e.g. ἔρχεσθαι, προσεύχεσθαι), passive (καταπατεῖσθαι, καλύπτεσθαι, καλεῖσθαι, κατηγορεῖσθαι), and unaccusative (ἐκπλήσσεσθαι, καταποντίζεσθαι, λυπεῖσθαι). The occurrence of παραδίδοσθαι in Mt.17.23 is ambiguous between a passive and a reflexive reading: μέλλει ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου **παραδίδοσθαι** εἰς χεῖρας ἀνθρώπων 'the Son of Man is about to be delivered up / to deliver himself into the hands of men'.

The middle participles amount to 100 tokens. They are mostly deponent, e.g. δαιμονιζόμενος (6x), δεχόμενος (3x), δυνάμενος (3x), ἡγούμενος (1x), ἐργαζόμενος (1x), ἐρχόμενος (9x), καθήμενος (11x), κείμενος (1x), πορευόμενος (3x), προσευχόμενος (2x). Among the oppositive middle participles, there are passives, e.g. λεγόμενος (13x) βαλλόμενος (1x), and unaccusatives, e.g. λυπούμενος (2x).

Summing up, many verbs exhibit middle inflection in the present and imperfect stems, but they are mostly deponent verbs. Among the non-deponent verbs, the middle inflection is mainly a marker of unaccusative and passive voices. The occurrence of middle inflection in transitive clauses (e.g. benefactive or possessive middle) is very rare.

2.2. The aorist system

Two different morphemes code the middle-passive voice in the aorist system of the NT: on the one hand, the middle inflection, which is combined with sigmatic and thematic stems, e.g. ἠρνησά-μην 'I refused' from the verb ἀρνέομαι and ἐγενό-μην 'I became' from the verb γίνομαι; on the other hand, the suffixes -η-/-θη-, which occur between the verbal root and the active inflection, e.g. ἐφοβή-θη-ν 'I was afraid' from the verb φοβέω. The two types are called "middle aorist" and "passive aorist" (cf. Kühner and Gerth 1898: 100-129; Schwyzer 1990: 756-764; Rijksbaron 2002: 134-163). There is a complementary distribution between the two types in the Gospel of Matthew: the lexical items which exhibit middle inflection do not exhibit the suffixes -η-/-θη-, and vice versa. On the contrary, in Homeric and Classical Greek there are some verbs which were inflected as both middle and passive aorists, e.g. ἐκοψάμην 'I beat myself' vs. ἐκόπην 'I was beaten' (see Tronci 2011 for more details).

Table 1 summarizes the number of aorist forms attested in the Gospel of Matthew: there are 316 occurrences of passive aorists and 145 occurrences of middle aorists. The ratio between the two types is more or less 2:1. Looking at the lexical items that are inflected as either middle or passive aorists, we can see that the verbal lexemes which designate the key concepts of the "new" Christian religion occur as passive aorists, e.g. **ἠγέρθη** ἀπὸ τῶν νεκρῶν (Mt.14.2) 'he is risen from the dead' and οἱ Φαρισαῖοι […] **ἐσκανδαλίσθησαν** (Mt.15.12) 'the Pharisees were offended'.

Middle aorists mainly belong to the class of *media tantum* verbs, e.g. ἥψατο, ἠρνήσατο, ἐγένετο, δέξηται, ἐπεσκέψασθέ, ἠργάσατο, κτήσησθε, προσηύξατο, ὠρχήσατο, or are lexicalised middles, e.g. ᾐτήσατο, ἀπήγξατο, ἀπεκρίνατο, ἀπόληται, ἤρξατο, ἠσφαλίσαντο, γεύσωνται, διεστείλατο, ἐπελάθοντο. The lexicalised meaning of these verbs is evidenced by two facts: (i) they are not coupled with actives, and (ii) they do not display any middle meaning and syntactically behave like actives, e.g. μὴ μεριμνᾶτε τῇ ψυχῇ ὑμῶν τί φάγητε, μηδὲ τῷ σώματι ὑμῶν τί **ἐνδύσησθε** (Mt.6.25) 'don't be anxious for your life: what you will eat, nor yet for your body, what you will wear'.

Two reflexive markers seem to co-occur in this clause, namely the middle morphology in the verb ἐνδύσησθε and the subject-referring pronoun in the NP τῷ σώματι ὑμῶν. We can assume that either reflexive markers are redundant, or reflexivity is expressed by the pronominal strategy and middle morphology is lexicalised. Conversely, there are instances of reflexive middle aorists in the Koiné as well as in Classical Greek. In Diodorus' *Historical Library* (I sec. BC) we can read: (i) τὸνδ' Ἀρβάκην **ἐνδύσαντες** τὴν βασιλικὴν στολὴν προσηγόρευσαν βασιλέα (2.27.3) 'clothing Arbaces in the royal garb they saluted him as king'; (ii) καὶ τὴν βασιλικὴν **ἐνδυσάμενος** ἐσθῆτα ἐκάθισεν ἐπὶ τὸν θρόνον (17.116.3) 'he went to the royal chair and put on the royal dress'.

The non-deponent and non-lexicalised middles occur in transitive clauses and have possessive and benefactive meanings, e.g. (i) λαβὼν ὕδωρ **ἀπενίψατο** τὰς χεῖρας ἀπέναντι τοῦ ὄχλου (Mt.27.24) 'he took water, and washed his hands before the multitude', (ii) σταυρώσαντες δὲ αὐτὸν **διεμερίσαντο** τὰ ἱμάτια αὐτοῦ βαλόντες κλῆρον (Mt.27.35) 'when they had crucified him, they divided his clothing among them, casting lots'.

Let us now turn to the passive aorists. All the 316 occurrences of passive aorists are marked by the suffix -θη-, with the exception of 18 tokens, which are marked by the suffix -η-. The latter are ἀπεστάλην (1x), ἀπεστράφην (1x), ἐπεστράφην (1x), ἐσπάρην (4x), ἐστράφην (4x), ἐφάνην (6x), ἐχάρην (1x). They are inherited from Classical Greek and are not productive. They occur in both passive and unaccusative clauses, e.g. (i) οὐκ **ἀπεστάλην** εἰ μὴ εἰς τὰ πρόβατα τὰ ἀπολωλότα οἴκου Ἰσραήλ (Mt.15.24) 'I wasn't sent to anyone but the lost sheep of the house of Israel', (ii) τότε **ἐφάνη** καὶ τὰ ζιζάνια (Mt.13.26) 'then the darnel appeared also'.

The aorists with -θη- are very productive in the NT, mostly in the indicative and participle moods. They occur in both passive and unaccusative clauses, like the aorists with -η-. In passive clauses, the expression of agency is rare: (a) ὑπό plus genitive occurs in: πάντα μοι **παρεδόθη** ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρός μου (Mt.11.27) 'all things have been delivered to me by my Father'; (b) ἀπό plus genitive occurs in: καὶ **ἐδικαιώθη** ἡ σοφία ἀπὸ τῶν ἔργων αὐτῆς (Mt.11.19) 'but wisdom is proved right by her deeds'; (c) the passive without an agent occurs in: καὶ **ἠνέχθη** ἡ κεφαλὴ αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ πίνακι καὶ **ἐδόθη** τῷ κορασίῳ (Mt.14.11) 'his head was brought on a platter, and given to the young lady'. The passive aorists with -θη- mostly occur in unaccusative clauses, e.g. καὶ ἰδοὺ τὸ καταπέτασμα τοῦ ναοῦ **ἐσχίσθη** ἄνωθεν ἕως κάτω εἰς δύο, καὶ ἡ γῆ **ἐσείσθη**, καὶ αἱ πέτραι **ἐσχίσθησαν**, καὶ τὰ μνημεῖα **ἀνεῴχθησαν** καὶ πολλὰ σώματα τῶν κεκοιμημένων ἁγίων **ἠγέρθησαν** (Mt.27.51-52) 'behold, the veil of the temple was torn in two from the top to the bottom. The earth quaked and the rocks were split. The tombs were opened, and many bodies of the saints who had fallen asleep were raised'.

Pairs such as the following in (i)-(ii) and (iii)-(iv) show that the most productive strategy for expressing voice opposition is the suffixal one in the aorist system of the NT: (i) καὶ ἐπετίμησεν αὐτῷ ὁ Ἰησοῦς, καὶ ἐξῆλθεν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τὸ δαιμόνιον, καὶ **ἐθεραπεύθη** ὁ παῖς ἀπὸ τῆς ὥρας ἐκείνης (Mt.17.18) 'Jesus rebuked him, the demon went out of him, and the boy was cured from that hour', (ii) καὶ ἐξέβαλεν τὰ πνεύματα λόγῳ, καὶ πάντας τοὺς κακῶς ἔχοντας **ἐθεράπευσεν** (Mt.8.16) 'he cast out the spirits with a word, and healed all who were sick'; (iii) τότε **ἠγέρθησαν** πᾶσαι αἱ παρθένοι ἐκεῖναι καὶ ἐκόσμησαν τὰς λαμπάδας ἑαυτῶν (Mt.25.7) 'then all those virgins arose, and trimmed their lamps', (iv) καὶ προσελθόντες **ἤγειραν** αὐτὸν λέγοντες, κύριε, σῶσον, ἀπολλύμεθα (Mt.8.25) 'they came to him, and woke him up, saying, «Save us, Lord! We are dying!»'.

The same verbal item can occur in subsequent clauses which only differ from one another in the diathesis. This narrative procedure allows the author to create some variation in the text and to prevent repetitions, e.g. (i) Ἰακὼβ δὲ **ἐγέννησεν** τὸν Ἰωσὴφ τὸν ἄνδρα Μαρίας, ἐξ ἧς **ἐγεννήθη** Ἰησοῦς ὁ λεγόμενος Χριστός (Mt.1.16) 'Jacob became the father of Joseph, the husband of Mary, from whom was born Jesus, who is called Christ'; (ii) εἰσὶν γὰρ εὐνοῦχοι οἵτινες ἐκ κοιλίας μητρὸς ἐγεννήθησαν οὕτως, καὶ εἰσὶν εὐνοῦχοι οἵτινες **εὐνουχίσθησαν** ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων, καὶ εἰσὶν εὐνοῦχοι οἵτινες **εὐνούχισαν** ἑαυτοὺς διὰ τὴν βασιλείαν τῶν οὐρανῶν (Mt.19.12) 'for there are eunuchs who were born that way from their mother's womb, and there are eunuchs who were made eunuchs by men; and there are eunuchs who made themselves eunuchs for the Kingdom of Heaven's sake'.

Summing up, the middle and the passive aorists show a different lexical distribution to each other. They also occur in different syntactic structures and display different meanings. Passive aorists are found in passive and unaccusative clauses and are productive. Middle aorists, instead, are lexicalised middles and are not productive. They are mostly found in deponent verbs.

Further evidence is thus provided that (i) the unique marker of the middle/passive voice is the suffix -θη- and (ii) the inflection is not productive as a voice marker in the aorist system of Hellenistic

Greek. Middle inflection continues to exist as a residual marker in deponent verbs and lexicalised middles.

2.3. The future system

The middle/passive voice is expressed by two different morphemes in the future system as well. These morphemes are (i) the suffixes -η-/-θη-, e.g. σκανδαλισθήσομαι 'I will take offence', and (ii) the middle inflection, e.g. ἀπαρνήσομαι 'I will deny'. Like the aorists, I call "middle futures" the middle-inflected futures and "passive futures" the suffixed futures (cf. references cited above). The two classes of middle-referring futures are similar to those of the aorist, with the exception of the inflections combined with the suffixes -η-/-θη-. Inflection is active in the aorist and middle in the future. Even though passive futures are middle-inflected like middle futures, inflection is not a voice marker in passive futures, because voice is coded by the suffixes -η-/-θη-.

According to scholars, the synthetic futures declined in use in Hellenistic Greek and were replaced by the periphrases with μέλλω 'I am going to' and θέλω 'I want' plus infinitive (cf. Horrocks 2010: 117,130; Markopoulos 2009: 46-47). In the NT as well as in the Septuagint, synthetic futures, especially passive futures, are productive, whilst periphrases are rare and exhibit a modal meaning and not a temporal one (cf. Thackeray 1909: 238; Magnien 1912: 375; Blass, Debrunner and Funk 1961: 161; Evans 2001: 227-229). In my database, the total number of futures (172 tokens) falls between the 143 tokens of the presents/imperfects and the 186 tokens of the aorists (I only consider the indicative because the futures are only inflected in the indicative in the Gospel of Matthew). This data confirms the idea of the productivity of synthetic futures, especially the passive ones.

Passive futures amount to 80 tokens. Among them, there are verbs which express the key notions of the new Christian religion, such as ἐγερθήσομαι, κηρυχθήσομαι, σκανδαλισθήσομαι, here in (i)-(iii): (i) καὶ ἀποκτενοῦσιν αὐτόν, καὶ τῇ τρίτῃ ἡμέρᾳ **ἐγερθήσεται** (Mt.17.23) 'and they will kill him, and the third day he will be raised up'; (ii) καὶ **κηρυχθήσεται** τοῦτο τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τῆς βασιλείας ἐν ὅλῃ τῇ οἰκουμένῃ εἰς μαρτύριον πᾶσιν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν, καὶ τότε ἥξει τὸ τέλος (Mt.24.14) 'this gospel of the kingdom will be preached in the whole world for a testimony to all the nations, and then the end will come'; (iii) πάντες ὑμεῖς **σκανδαλισθήσεσθε** ἐν ἐμοὶ ἐν τῇ νυκτὶ ταύτῃ (Mt.26.31) 'all of you will be made to stumble because of me tonight'.

The passive futures, as well as the passive aorists, occur in both passive and unaccusative clauses, e.g. (i) ζητεῖτε δὲ πρῶτον τὴν βασιλείαν καὶ τὴν δικαιοσύνην αὐτοῦ, καὶ ταῦτα πάντα **προστεθήσεται** ὑμῖν (Mt.6.33) 'but seek first God's Kingdom, and his righteousness; and all these things will be given to you as well'; (ii) ἐὰν μόνον ἅψωμαι τοῦ ἱματίου αὐτοῦ **σωθήσομαι** (Mt.9.21) 'if I just touch his garment, I will be made well'. In most cases, it is very difficult to determine the exact syntactic configuration of the clause, because the agent is rarely expressed with futures in passive clauses. This is presumably due to the semantic orientation of the future-referring forms towards the indeterminacy of non-factuality and volition. An example is provided by the beginnings of the Sermon on the Mount: μακάριοι οἱ πενθοῦντες, ὅτι αὐτοὶ **παρακληθήσονται**. […] / μακάριοι οἱ πεινῶντες καὶ διψῶντες τὴν δικαιοσύνην, ὅτι αὐτοὶ **χορτασθήσονται**. / μακάριοι οἱ ἐλεήμονες, ὅτι αὐτοὶ **ἐλεηθήσονται** (Mt.5.4,6-7) 'blessed are those who mourn, for they shall be comforted. Blessed are those who hunger and thirst after righteousness, for they shall be filled. Blessed are the merciful, for they shall obtain mercy'.

There is another aspect which is worth mentioning briefly. It concerns the interpretation of some passive futures as either personal or impersonal passives. Let us look at the following two occurrences of the verb ἀρθήσεται, which is used personally in: **ἀρθήσεται** ἀφ' ὑμῶν ἡ βασιλεία τοῦ θεοῦ (Mt.21.43) 'the Kingdom of God will be taken away from you', and impersonally in: ὅστις δὲ οὐκ ἔχει, καὶ ὃ ἔχει **ἀρθήσεται** ἀπ' αὐτοῦ (Mt.13.12) 'but whoever doesn't have, from him will be taken away even that which he has'. The syntactic alternation between personal and impersonal passives can also serve the purpose of creating some variation in subsequent and parallel clauses, as in: ἐν ᾧ γὰρ κρίματι κρίνετε **κριθήσεσθε**, καὶ ἐν ᾧ μέτρῳ μετρεῖτε **μετρηθήσεται** ὑμῖν (Mt.7.2) 'for with whatever judgment you judge, you will be judged; and with whatever measure you measure, it will be measured to you'.

There are instances in the Gospel of Matthew which allow us to argue for a reflexive interpretation of some passive futures. The verbs ταπεινωθήσεται and ὑψωθήσεται, which occur in: ὅστις δὲ ὑψώσει ἑαυτὸν **ταπεινωθήσεται**, καὶ ὅστις ταπεινώσει ἑαυτὸν **ὑψωθήσεται** (Mt.23.12) 'whoever will exalt himself will be humbled, and whoever will humble himself will be exalted', can be

interpreted as either passives (without agent) 'they will be humbled' / 'they will be exalted' as in the given translation, or reflexives 'they will humble themselves' / 'they will exalt themselves'. The passive reading is more likely than the reflexive one, because it is consistent with the syntax and the semantics of most passive futures. The reflexive reading is possible, however. This is consistent with the co-occurrence of the pronominal reflexives in the same context. It goes without saying that the two readings, while being both meaningful, imply some relevant differences for the Christian message.

Let us now turn to the middle futures. They amount to 92 tokens. Among the lexical types, the most frequent are ἔσομαι (40x), ἐλεύσομαι and its compounds (8x), ὄψομαι (7x), λήμψομαι (5x), ἀπαρνήσομαι (3x), πεσοῦμαι (3x), γενήσομαι (2x), ζήσομαι (2x), τέξεται (2x). They are all either *media tantum* verbs, e.g. γίνομαι, or *media tantum* futures, e.g. ὄψομαι from ὁράω. *Media tantum* futures are futures exclusively inflected in the middle, which correspond to active presents and aorists. For instance, the future πεσοῦμαι 'I will fall down' corresponds to the present πίπτω 'I fall down' and the aorist ἔπεσον 'I fell down'. On the issue of *media tantum* futures, I refer to Wackernagel (1920: 134-135), Magni (1995), Rijksbaron (2002: 156-158), and Tronci (2017).

The middle futures that are not *media tantum* can be lexicalised, cf. ἀναστήσομαι 'I will resurge' in the Gospels of Mark and Luke with respect to ἀναστήσονται 'they will stand up' in Mt.12.41 and ἀναστήσει 'he will raise up' in Mt.22.24. This state of affairs evidences the loss of functional meaning of the middle inflection. Further evidence is provided by pairs such as the following (i)-(ii), in which the voice opposition is marked by the suffix -θη-, while inflection is middle in both transitive and passive clauses: (i) μήποτε ἴδωσιν τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς καὶ τοῖς ὠσὶν ἀκούσωσιν καὶ τῇ καρδίᾳ συνῶσιν καὶ ἐπιστρέψωσιν, καὶ **ἰάσομαι** αὐτούς (Mt.13.15) 'or else perhaps they might perceive with their eyes, hear with their ears, understand with their heart, and should turn again; and I would heal them'; (ii) ἀλλὰ μόνον εἰπὲ λόγῳ, καὶ **ἰαθήσεται** ὁ παῖς μου (Mt.8.8) 'just say the word, and my servant will be healed'.

In summary, my data provide evidence for the functional decline of the middle inflection as a voice marker in the system of future of NT Greek. Middle futures do occur in the Gospel of Matthew, but they have lost their functional values. They do not code any middle meaning and are comparable to active forms. Middle/passive meanings are exclusively expressed by the suffixed futures, which are demonstrated to be productive in Hellenistic Greek.

2.4. The perfect system

The perfect system includes the perfect and the pluperfect. In the Gospel of Matthew, 63 tokens are attested: 15 perfect indicatives, 1 pluperfect indicative, and 47 perfect participles. The indicatives are all inflected in the third person singular: γέγραπται (9x), δέδοται (3x), βέβληται (1x), ἐγήγερται (1x), ἡτοίμασται (1x), τεθεμελίωτο (1x). They are mostly passive and exhibit both resultative and processual meanings, e.g. (i) ὁ δὲ ἀποκριθεὶς εἶπεν· ὅτι ὑμῖν **δέδοται** γνῶναι τὰ μυστήρια τῆς βασιλείας τῶν οὐρανῶν, ἐκείνοις δὲ οὐ **δέδοται** (Mt.13.11) 'he answered them, «To you it is given to know the mysteries of the Kingdom of Heaven, but it is not given to them»'; (ii) τὸ μὲν ποτήριόν μου πίεσθε, τὸ δὲ καθίσαι ἐκ δεξιῶν μου καὶ ἐξ εὐωνύμων, οὐκ ἔστιν ἐμὸν τοῦτο δοῦναι, ἀλλ' οἷς **ἡτοίμασται** ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρός μου (Mt.20.23) 'you will indeed drink my cup, but to sit on my right hand and on my left hand is not mine to give; but it is for whom it has been prepared by my Father»'.

The resultative semantics of the perfect is evident in periphrases composed by the perfect participles and the verb εἰμί, inflected in the present or the future. Here are two examples with the future: δώσω σοι τὰς κλεῖδας τῆς βασιλείας τῶν οὐρανῶν, καὶ ὃ ἐὰν δήσῃς ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς **ἔσται δεδεμένον** ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς, καὶ ὃ ἐὰν λύσῃς ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς **ἔσται λελυμένον** ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς (Mt.16.19) 'I will give to you the keys of the Kingdom of Heaven, and whatever you bind on earth will be bound in heaven; and whatever you loose on earth will be loosed in heaven'.

I do not dwell on the issue of the semantics of the perfect and I refer the reader to the discussion in Crellin (2016: 430-457) and Runge (2016: 458-485). To conclude this brief section, I remark that middle-inflected perfects are mainly passive, as regards diathesis, and resultative, as regards aspect.

3. CONCLUDING REMARKS AND FURTHER RESEARCH

The focus of this paper has been twofold. On the one hand, I analysed all middle-referring forms attested in the Gospel of Matthew in terms of (i) types of markers (middle inflection vs. suffixes

-η-/-θη-) and (ii) functional distribution (which middles are deponent? Which are oppositive? Are the oppositive middles passive, unaccusative or transitive?). On the other hand, I suggested reconsidering the general issue of middle voice in Greek, by distinguishing the different tenses/aspects and the different moods.

Major results concern the future and the aorist systems. In both of them, there are two middle-referring forms, marked by the suffixes -η-/-θη- and by middle inflection, respectively. The suffixed forms are productive in both systems, while the middle-inflected forms are not comparable in quantitative terms. There are as many tokens of middle-inflected futures as of passive futures, whilst passive aorists are twice as frequent as middle-inflected aorists. This difference in number is not significant for the functional analysis, because middle-inflected futures are mostly deponent or lexicalised verbs.

The present and aorist stems provide some occurrences of benefactive and possessive middles, which are, nevertheless, very rare in the database. This scarcity can be explained by invoking two changes, which concern both verbal and nominal syntax from Classical to Hellenistic Greek. The first change concerns the middle voice, which lost some of its functions. Evidence for this is given by both the aorist/future systems, where the suffixed forms replaced the middle ones in the domain of passive/unaccusative voice, and the present system, where the middle forms reduced their functional uses to the passive/unaccusative one. The second change concerns the increase in pronouns and the fact that pronominal strategies prevailed over possessive and benefactive middles in expressing relationships of possession and interest (on the general issue of the increase in pronouns in Hellenistic Greek, cf. George 2010: 276 and Horrocks 2010: 107,116). The two changes paralleled each other. In Mt.6.17 σὺ δὲ νηστεύων **ἄλειψαί σου** τὴν κεφαλὴν καὶ τὸ πρόσωπόν **σου** **νίψαι** 'but you, when you fast, anoint your head, and wash your face', the co-occurrence of the middle voice in the verb and the subject-referring pronoun in the NP can be explained by presuming the loss of the possessive meaning in the middle imperatives.

Further research will be conducted to analyse the other three Gospels, and the NT in its entirety. Some differences may emerge between the synoptic Gospels and John, as well as between the "Classicist" Luke, on the one hand, and Matthew and Mark, on the other.

Finally, I wish to say a few words on the relevance of quantitative data for research on ancient languages. I think that bare quantitative data are of limited value for linguistic research. Their relevance must be evaluated by taking into account the similarities and the differences concerning the distribution of the forms in the texts, as well as the syntactic and semantic relationships of every form with the others within the system of the language[2].

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Η χρήση των κλητικών προσφωνήσεων στις επαγγελματικές συνδιαλλαγές

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ABSTRACT

This study aims at investigating vocatives in Greek face-to-face service encounters. Creating intimacy and solidarity seems to be an important aspect of such encounters: interactants do not focus solely on the transaction involved, but also attempt to establish a friendly atmosphere, despite the short duration of the interaction. On the other hand, creating social distance is not totally absent from service encounters. In general, relevant research has shown that different sociocultural communities develop specific preferences when it comes to the use of vocatives. The proposed analysis exploits McCarthy and O'Keeffe's (2003) categorization of vocative functions as well as Raevaara and Sorjonen's (2006) model for the organization of service encounters. Our findings suggest that vocatives contribute to the construction of intimacy and solidarity among interactants rather than the maintenance of social distance. We argue that this is directly related to (a) the kinds of vocatives attested in the data examined (e.g. endearments and familiarizers, first names and diminutives); (b) their position usually at the beginning of service encounters; and (c) the degree of intimacy already established or attempted to be constructed among interactants.

Λέξεις-κλειδιά: επαγγελματικές συνδιαλλαγές, κλητικές προσφωνήσεις, ευγένεια, οικειότητα

1. ΕΙΣΑΓΩΓΗ

Στόχος της παρούσας μελέτης[1] είναι η διερεύνηση των κλητικών προσφωνήσεων (*vocatives*, στο εξής ΚΠ) σε επαγγελματικές συνδιαλλαγές (*service encounters*, στο εξής ΕΣ) από τα ελληνικά. Πρόσφατες έρευνες σε ΕΣ δείχνουν ότι οι συμμετέχοντες/ουσες δεν επικεντρώνουν το ενδιαφέρον τους αποκλειστικά στη μεταξύ τους συνδιαλλαγή και στα παρεχόμενα αγαθά ή υπηρεσίες, αλλά επιδιώκουν τη συνεργασία και τη δημιουργία μιας κοινωνικής σχέσης. Αυτό διαπιστώνεται μολονότι οι ΕΣ συνήθως διαρκούν λίγο και μπορεί να φέρνουν σε επαφή ανθρώπους που δεν γνωρίζονται καθόλου μεταξύ τους ή/και δεν προβλέπεται να ξανασυναντηθούν. Έτσι, οι συμμετέχοντες/ουσες επιστρατεύουν στρατηγικές θετικής ή αρνητικής ευγένειας (Brown and Levinson 1978/1987) ανάλογα αφενός με το τι επιδιώκουν στην εκάστοτε ΕΣ και αφετέρου με ευρύτερα διαδεδομένες πρακτικές στην κοινότητα στην οποία ανήκουν.

Ο αριθμός των ερευνών ειδικά για τη χρήση των ΚΠ στις ΕΣ είναι, στον βαθμό που γνωρίζουμε, μάλλον περιορισμένος. Ωστόσο, τα σχετικά ευρήματα είναι ενδιαφέροντα, καθώς φέρνουν στην επιφάνεια τις διαφορές στη χρήση των ΚΠ από τη μια γλωσσοπολιτισμική κοινότητα στην άλλη, καθώς και τον σημαντικό ρόλο του περικειμένου (π.χ. πρόσωπο με πρόσωπο ή διαδικτυακές ΕΣ) για τη χρήση αυτή. Για παράδειγμα, στην ίδια κοινότητα, σε πρόσωπο με πρόσωπο ΕΣ μπορεί να προτιμώνται ΚΠ που κατασκευάζουν κοινωνική απόσταση, ενώ σε διαδικτυακές ΕΣ να προτιμώνται τύποι προσφώνησης που δείχνουν οικειότητα, αντισταθμίζοντας τη φυσική απόσταση μεταξύ των συνομιλητών/τριών (Placencia 2015). Ή μια συγκεκριμένη κοινότητα μπορεί στις πρόσωπο με πρόσωπο ΕΣ να χρησιμοποιεί μικρότερη ποικιλία ΚΠ, οι οποίες μάλιστα κατασκευάζουν κοινωνική απόσταση δίνοντας στις ΕΣ «τυπικό» χαρακτήρα, ενώ σε αντίστοιχες

περιστάσεις μια άλλη κοινότητα να προκρίνει τη χρήση πολλών και διαφορετικών ΚΠ που κατασκευάζουν οικειότητα και φιλική ατμόσφαιρα (Félix-Brasdefer 2015). Διαπιστώνονται δηλαδή διαφορές και προτιμήσεις που τροφοδοτούν τη σχετική έρευνα, με στόχο τη χαρτογράφηση των ιδιαιτεροτήτων που εμφανίζει κάθε γλωσσοπολιτισμική κοινότητα όσον αφορά τη χρήση των τύπων προσφώνησης γενικά και των ΚΠ ειδικότερα.

Στο πλαίσιο αυτό, θα υποστηρίξουμε ότι οι ΚΠ σε ελληνικές πρόσωπο με πρόσωπο ΕΣ χρησιμοποιούνται κυρίως για τη δημιουργία οικειότητας μεταξύ των συμμετεχόντων/ουσών και πολύ λιγότερο για την κατασκευή κοινωνικής απόστασης. Αυτό οφείλεται, κατά την ερμηνεία μας, (α) στα είδη των ΚΠ που απαντούν στις ΕΣ και το σημασιολογικό/πραγματολογικό τους περιεχόμενο· (β) στη θέση τους κυρίως στην αρχή των ΕΣ, όπου οι συμμετέχοντες/ουσες προσπαθούν να δημιουργήσουν ή να επιβεβαιώσουν τη μεταξύ τους κοινωνική σχέση· και (γ) στον βαθμό οικειότητας που υπάρχει ήδη ή που επιδιώκεται μεταξύ τους. Γι' αυτό αξιοποιούμε αφενός την κατηγοριοποίηση των McCarthy and O'Keeffe (2003) για τις λειτουργίες των ΚΠ και αφετέρου το μοντέλο που αναφέρουν οι Haakana and Sorjonen (2011: 1290, αντλώντας από Raevaara and Sorjonen 2006) για τη δομή των ΕΣ.

Έτσι, ξεκινάμε με τον ορισμό και τις λειτουργίες των ΚΠ (ενότητα 2) και συνεχίζουμε με τα χαρακτηριστικά των ΕΣ ως κειμενικού είδους και τις στρατηγικές ευγένειας που εντοπίζονται σε αυτές (ενότητα 3). Η ενότητα (4) αφορά την προηγούμενη έρευνα για τις ΕΣ στα ελληνικά και η (5) αναφέρεται στα υπό εξέταση δεδομένα. Η ανάλυσή μας περιλαμβάνεται στην ενότητα (6) και τα συμπεράσματα στην ενότητα (7).

2. ΟΙ ΚΛΗΤΙΚΕΣ ΠΡΟΣΦΩΝΗΣΕΙΣ ΚΑΙ ΟΙ ΛΕΙΤΟΥΡΓΙΕΣ ΤΟΥΣ

Οι ΚΠ λειτουργούν ως *κοινωνική δείξη*, συνδέονται δηλαδή άμεσα με τις κοινωνικές ταυτότητες και σχέσεις των συνομιλητών/τριών (Levinson 1979: 206· Jucker and Taavitsainen 2003: 1-3· Norrby κ.ά. 2015: 122-123· Placencia 2015: 37-38). Φαίνεται μάλιστα να έχουν μελετηθεί λιγότερο από άλλες μορφές κοινωνικής δείξης, ενδεχομένως διότι περιλαμβάνουν ποικίλα κοινά και κύρια ονόματα και αποτελούν συντακτικά «ελεύθερους» τύπους, των οποίων η θέση και η σημασία έχει μάλλον υποτιμηθεί σε σχέση με άλλα μέρη του λόγου (McCarthy and O'Keeffe 2003: 183).

Στις ΚΠ ανήκουν εκφράσεις στοργής (π.χ. *μωρό μου, αγάπη μου*), όροι που δηλώνουν συγγένεια (π.χ. *μαμά, θείε*) ή οικειότητα (π.χ. *παιδιά, φιλενάδα*), κύρια ονόματα, τα υποκοριστικά τους και οι τίτλοι που μπορεί να τα συνοδεύουν (π.χ. *Ελένη, Γιαννάκη, κυρία Παπαδοπούλου, κύριε Τάσο*· βλ. Biber κ.ά. 1999: 1108-1110). Οι ΚΠ φαίνεται να εμφανίζονται σε ποικιλία περικειμένων, όπου επιτελούν διαφορετικές πραγματολογικές λειτουργίες. Αυτές προσδιορίζονται με βάση τη λειτουργία που επιτελεί στον λόγο το εκφώνημα ή η συνομιλιακή συνεισφορά που περιέχει την εκάστοτε ΚΠ, οπότε η ΚΠ συνεισφέρει στη λειτουργία αυτή (McCarthy and O'Keeffe 2003: 159). Οι ίδιοι προτείνουν τη διάκριση ανάμεσα σε *οργανωτικές* και *διαπροσωπικές* χρήσεις των ΚΠ (βλ. επίσης Tsakona 2014: 40-43):

Οργανωτικές χρήσεις
1. Διαχείριση των συνομιλιακών συνεισφορών (turn management· π.χ. επιλογή του/της επόμενου/ης ομιλητή/τριας)·
2. Διαχείριση του θέματος (topic management· π.χ. εισαγωγή, συνέχιση, αλλαγή, ολοκλήρωση ή σύνοψη ενός θέματος)·
3. Κλήση (summons· ευθείες προσφωνήσεις με στόχο την προσέλκυση της προσοχής του/της συνομιλητή/τριας).

Διαπροσωπικές χρήσεις
4. Αστεϊσμός (badinage· χιουμοριστικές ή ειρωνικές συνεισφορές με στόχο την ενίσχυση της οικειότητας ή της αλληλεγγύης)·
5. Μετριασμός (mitigators· περιορίζουν την απειλή, την πρόκληση, τον ανταγωνισμό, την προσβολή ή την επιβολή που μπορεί να ενέχει η συνεισφορά)·
6. Σχεσιακή (relational) χρήση (δημιουργία ή διατήρηση των κοινωνικών σχέσεων μέσα από κομπλιμέντα, θετικές αξιολογήσεις, χαιρετισμούς, προσφορές, ευχαριστίες ή φατικά εκφωνήματα).

Οι λειτουργίες αυτές καταδεικνύουν τη στενή συνάφεια ανάμεσα στις ΚΠ και την έκφραση της ευγένειας, είτε θετικής είτε αρνητικής.

Δεδομένου λοιπόν ότι οι ΚΠ επιτελούν ποικίλες λειτουργίες ανάλογα με το περικείμενο στο οποίο απαντούν, εδώ θα εστιάσουμε την προσοχή μας στο τι γίνεται στις πρόσωπο με πρόσωπο ΕΣ και θα δείξουμε ότι εκεί οι ΚΠ χρησιμοποιούνται κατά κύριο λόγο για την κατασκευή ή την επιβεβαίωση σχέσεων οικειότητας και συνεργασίας μεταξύ των συμμετεχόντων/ουσών. Στην επόμενη ενότητα αναφερόμαστε στο κειμενικό είδος των ΕΣ και τα φαινόμενα ευγένειας που απαντούν σε αυτό.

3. ΟΙ ΕΠΑΓΓΕΛΜΑΤΙΚΕΣ ΣΥΝΔΙΑΛΛΑΓΕΣ ΚΑΙ Η ΚΑΤΑΣΚΕΥΗ ΤΗΣ ΟΙΚΕΙΟΤΗΤΑΣ

Στη βιβλιογραφία επισημαίνεται ότι οι ΕΣ έχουν πρωτίστως διεκπεραιωτικό και εργαλειακό χαρακτήρα, καθώς ο/η πελάτης/ισσα και ο/η υπάλληλος συνεργάζονται για ένα σύντομο χρονικό διάστημα για την επιτέλεση συγκεκριμένων πράξεων (π.χ. αίτημα και παροχή αγαθών ή υπηρεσιών· βλ. μεταξύ άλλων Downey Bartlett 2005: 308). Η μεταξύ τους συνεργασία αποκτά έτσι μια ορισμένη και τελικά συμβατικοποιημένη δομή. Η δομή αυτή έχει αποτυπωθεί σε πολλά μοντέλα (βλ. μεταξύ άλλων Antonopoulou 2001· Downey Bartlett 2005· Traverso 2006· Félix-Brasdefer 2015· Leelaharattanarak 2015), εκ των οποίων εδώ επιλέγουμε ένα από τα πιο συνοπτικά, αυτό που αναφέρουν οι Haakana and Sorjonen (2011: 1290, αντλώντας από Raevaara and Sorjonen 2006). Σύμφωνα με το μοντέλο αυτό, οι ΕΣ αποτελούνται από (1) χαιρετισμούς, (2) τον λόγο επίσκεψης (αίτημα) και την απάντηση σε αυτόν, (3) την πληρωμή, και (4) ευχαριστίες και αποχαιρετισμούς.

Παρά την έμφαση που δίνεται στον διεκπεραιωτικό χαρακτήρα των ΕΣ, συχνά η σχετική έρευνα αφορά την κοινωνική/διεπιδραστική διάστασή τους. Υποστηρίζεται μάλιστα ότι η προσπάθεια για δημιουργία μιας πιο προσωπικής σχέσης μεταξύ των συμμετεχόντων/ουσών ωφελεί και τις δύο πλευρές, αφού οι μεν υπάλληλοι ενδέχεται να αποκτήσουν πιο μόνιμους/ες πελάτες/ισσες, οι δε πελάτες/ισσες να τύχουν καλύτερης ή ταχύτερης εξυπηρέτησης. Έτσι, οι περισσότερες έρευνες για τις ΕΣ από τους χώρους της πραγματολογίας και της κοινωνιογλωσσολογίας φέρνουν στο προσκήνιο ποικίλες στρατηγικές θετικής ευγένειας, όπως είναι οι χαιρετισμοί, οι μη τυπικές ΚΠ, οι συζητήσεις που δεν σχετίζονται άμεσα με την εκάστοτε συνδιαλλαγή (π.χ. για τον καιρό, την οικογένεια, την υγεία, την πολιτική ή προσωπικά θέματα), το χιούμορ, το καθημερινό λεξιλόγιο και οι αντίστοιχοι τύποι προσφώνησης, τα σύντομα εκφωνήματα που προϋποθέτουν κοινές γνώσεις και εμπειρίες κλπ. (βλ. μεταξύ άλλων Kuiper and Flindall 2000· Antonopoulou 2001· Placencia 2004· Haakana and Sorjonen 2011· Τσάκωνα 2014· Félix-Brasdefer 2015).

Παρ' όλα αυτά, οι στρατηγικές αρνητικής ευγένειας δεν απουσιάζουν εντελώς από τις ΕΣ, όπως είναι η έκφραση *παρακαλώ*, τα έμμεσα ή μετριασμένα αιτήματα, ο πληθυντικός της τυπικότητας, οι τύποι προσφώνησης που δείχνουν επισημότητα/τυπικότητα κλπ. (Bayyurt and Bayraktaroğlu 2001· Kerbrat-Orecchioni 2006· Traverso 2006· Σηφιανού και Τζάννε 2014· Τσάκωνα 2014).

Στην επόμενη ενότητα, εστιάζουμε την προσοχή μας στις στρατηγικές ευγένειας σε ελληνικές ΕΣ, όπως αυτές καταγράφονται στην ως τώρα σχετική βιβλιογραφία.

4. Η ΕΡΕΥΝΑ ΓΙΑ ΤΙΣ ΕΠΑΓΓΕΛΜΑΤΙΚΕΣ ΣΥΝΔΑΛΛΑΓΕΣ ΣΤΑ ΕΛΛΛΗΝΙΚΑ

Η έρευνα για τις ΕΣ στα ελληνικά καταγράφει ένα ευρύ φάσμα γλωσσικών μέσων που σχετίζονται με τις δύο διαστάσεις της ευγένειας (θετική και αρνητική) εξετάζοντας αποκλειστικά (ως τώρα) πρόσωπο με πρόσωπο ΕΣ. Έτσι, η Antonopoulou (2001) περιγράφει μια ποικιλία κυρίαρχων –κατά την ανάλυσή της– στρατηγικών θετικής ευγένειας, όπως τα υποκοριστικά, τα ευθέα ή ελλειπτικά αιτήματα, το χιούμορ, η εναλλαγή κωδίκων, τα φατικά εκφωνήματα, η ανταλλαγή προσωπικών πληροφοριών, οι τύποι προσφώνησης που δείχνουν οικειότητα και οι εγκλειστικές αντωνυμίες (inclusive pronouns).

Πιο πρόσφατα, οι Σηφιανού και Τζάννε (2014) επικεντρώνονται στην κατασκευή κοινωνικής απόστασης στις ΕΣ με τη μορφή του πληθυντικού τυπικότητας. Επισημαίνουν, ωστόσο, ότι υπάρχουν διαφορές ανάλογα με το είδος του καταστήματος όπου λαμβάνει χώρα κάθε ΕΣ: σε μικρά συνοικιακά καταστήματα, οι ΕΣ μπορεί να είναι πιο οικείες και λιγότερο τυπικές από ό,τι σε καταστήματα μεγάλων αλυσίδων ή πολυεθνικών επιχειρήσεων, καθώς στα τελευταία οι υπάλληλοι ενδέχεται να εκπαιδεύονται ώστε να ακολουθούν συγκεκριμένα σενάρια τα οποία συνήθως

προκρίνουν την τυπικότητα σε βάρος της οικειότητας. Αντίθετα, σε συνοικιακά καταστήματα, οι υπάλληλοι συχνά αποσκοπούν σε μια πιο προσωπική σχέση με τον/την πελάτη/ισσα, με την ελπίδα ότι θα εξελιχθεί και σε μακρόχρονη επαγγελματική σχέση.

Στρατηγικές θετικής και αρνητικής ευγένειας καταγράφονται στα δεδομένα της Τσάκωνα (2014, Tsakona 2016), όπου όμως οι πρώτες εμφανίζουν σαφώς μεγαλύτερη συχνότητα και ποικιλία από τις δεύτερες.

Ακόμη πιο κοντά στα ερευνητικά ζητούμενα της παρούσας μελέτης είναι και η παλιότερη μελέτη της Petrits (1990), η οποία εξετάζει ΚΠ, πληθυντικό τυπικότητας και τους συνδυασμούς τους σε δεδομένα από την κεντρική αγορά της Αθήνας. Η ερευνήτρια μάλιστα λαμβάνει υπόψη της κοινωνικές παραμέτρους όπως είναι η ηλικία, το φύλο και η (προβαλλόμενη και εικαζόμενη) κοινωνική θέση των συμμετεχόντων/ουσών. Ειδικότερα, η Petrits εντοπίζει μεγάλη ποικιλία ΚΠ, όπως *κύριε (μου), κύριε Γιώργο, (καλέ) κυρία (μου), δεσποινίς, παιδιά, κορίτσι (μου), κούκλα (μου), γιαγιά, θεία, μάνα μου, κοπελιά, καλέ, μαντάμ, αγόρι μου, μωρέ παιδάκι μου,* ακόμη και χιουμοριστικές ή προσβλητικές ΚΠ όπως *γέρο κατεργάρη, βλάχο* και *απατεώνα.* Οι ΚΠ αυτές χρησιμοποιούνται για να προσελκύσουν την προσοχή των πελατών/ισσών και να τους/τις πείσουν να αγοράσουν, για να μετριάσουν απειλητικές πράξεις (π.χ. αιτήματα, διαφωνίες, εκφωνήματα που δηλώνουν κριτική ή άρνηση για εξυπηρέτηση) και για να διατηρήσουν την επαφή ή την επικοινωνία με τον/την πελάτη/ισσα. Η Petrits επισημαίνει ότι οι εκφράσεις που δείχνουν οικειότητα (βλ. θετική ευγένεια) είναι πολύ περισσότερες από εκείνες που δείχνουν απόσταση ή ιεραρχία (βλ. αρνητική ευγένεια), γεγονός που φαίνεται να συνδέεται με την ίδια την περίσταση: σε αγορές όπως η κεντρική της Αθήνας, ο ανταγωνισμός μεταξύ των πωλητών/τριών να προσελκύσουν πελάτες/ισσες οδηγεί περισσότερο σε στρατηγικές που θα δημιουργήσουν ένα φιλικό, οικείο κλίμα με αυτούς/ές.

Συνοψίζοντας, οι στρατηγικές θετικής ευγένειας δείχνουν να κυριαρχούν στις ΕΣ από τα ελληνικά, τουλάχιστον με βάση τις ως τώρα έρευνες, χωρίς ωστόσο να απουσιάζουν αυτές της αρνητικής ευγένειας. Στη συνέχεια, θα δείξουμε ότι η τάση αυτή επιβεβαιώνεται και από τις ΚΠ που εντοπίστηκαν στα δεδομένα μας.

5. ΤΑ ΔΕΔΟΜΕΝΑ ΤΗΣ ΕΡΕΥΝΑΣ

Η έρευνά μας βασίζεται σε 205 ηχογραφημένες πρόσωπο με πρόσωπο ΕΣ από διαφορετικές περιοχές της Ελλάδας. Η καταγραφή έγινε από τον Μάρτιο μέχρι τον Μάιο του 2011 και από τον Οκτώβριο του 2011 έως τον Ιανουάριο του 2012 από φοιτητές/τριες που εργάστηκαν ως ερευνητές/τριες χρησιμοποιώντας τα κινητά τους τηλέφωνα για την ηχογράφηση (πρβλ. Shively 2011: 1823) και συλλέγοντας ταυτόχρονα σε σχετικό έντυπο πληροφορίες σχετικά με το όνομα του καταστήματος, την τοποθεσία του και τα κοινωνικά χαρακτηριστικά των συμμετεχόντων/ουσών (ηλικία, φύλο και βαθμός οικειότητας· βλ. επίσης Sifianou 2013· Σηφιανού και Τζάννε 2014· Τσάκωνα 2014, Tsakona 2016).

Στο σύνολο των 205 ΕΣ μόνο 24 περιείχαν ΚΠ (11,70%). Συνολικά εντοπίσαμε 50 ΚΠ, που σημαίνει ότι η χρήση τους δεν είναι ιδιαίτερα συχνή σε τέτοιες περιστάσεις (βλ. επίσης Placencia κ.ά. 2015). Αυτό μπορεί να οφείλεται στο γεγονός ότι σε συνομιλίες μεταξύ μόνο δύο ατόμων (όπως είναι συνήθως οι ΕΣ) δεν είναι απαραίτητη η χρήση ΚΠ για να επιλέξουμε τον/την επόμενο/η συνομιλητή/τρια ή για να προσελκύσουμε την προσοχή του/της (βλ. μεταξύ άλλων Butler κ.ά. 2011: 339). Επιπλέον, δεδομένου ότι η ελληνική διαθέτει και πληθυντικό τυπικότητας ή την έλλειψή του ως μέσα κοινωνικής δείξης, οι ΚΠ δεν είναι το μόνο μέσο κοινωνικής δείξης που μπορούν να επιστρατεύσουν οι συνομιλητές/τριες. Όλα αυτά, κατά την εκτίμησή μας, καθιστούν την έρευνα των ΚΠ ιδιαίτερα ενδιαφέρουσα, εφόσον οι συνομιλητές/τριες καταφεύγουν σε αυτές χωρίς να είναι «υποχρεωμένοι/ες» να το κάνουν.

Στη συνέχεια, εξετάζουμε τα είδη των ΚΠ που εντοπίσαμε στα δεδομένα μας, τη θέση τους στις ΕΣ και το πώς συνδέονται με την οικειότητα μεταξύ των συνομιλητών/τριών με βάση τις πληροφορίες που καταγράφουν οι ερευνητές/τριες (βλ. παραπάνω). Ακολουθεί η ποιοτική ανάλυση των οργανωτικών και διαπροσωπικών λειτουργιών των ΚΠ στα δεδομένα μας. Λόγω του περιορισμένου δείγματος που δεν μας επιτρέπει γενικεύσεις βάσει στατιστικών μετρήσεων, κοινωνικές παράμετροι όπως η ηλικία και το φύλο των συμμετεχόντων/ουσών θα ληφθούν υπόψη μόνο όπου βοηθούν την ποιοτική ανάλυση των δεδομένων.

6. ΑΝΑΛΥΣΗ ΤΩΝ ΔΕΔΟΜΕΝΩΝ

Κατά την ανάλυσή μας, πρώτα αναφερόμαστε στα είδη των ΚΠ που εντοπίσαμε στα δεδομένα μας, στη σημασία τους (αν έχουν) που μπορεί να επηρεάζει την πραγματολογική τους λειτουργία, και στη θέση τους στις ΕΣ (ενότητα 6.1). Στη συνέχεια, αναλύουμε συγκεκριμένα αποσπάσματα που αποτυπώνουν τη θέση και τη λειτουργία των ΚΠ με μεγαλύτερη ακρίβεια. Γι' αυτό αξιοποιούμε την κατηγοριοποίηση των λειτουργιών των ΚΠ που προτείνεται από τους McCarthy and O'Keeffe (2003) και το μοντέλο που αναφέρουν οι Haakana and Sorjonen (2011: 1290, αντλώντας από Raevaara and Sorjonen 2006) για την περιγραφή της δομής των ΕΣ (ενότητα 6.2).

6.1. Κατηγοριοποίηση των κλητικών προσφωνήσεων

Πρώτος στόχος της ανάλυσής μας είναι η κατηγοριοποίηση των ΚΠ η οποία παρουσιάζεται στον Πίνακα (1), μαζί με τη συχνότητα εμφάνισης κάθε κατηγορίας στα δεδομένα μας:

Πίνακας 1: Κατηγορίες, παραδείγματα και συχνότητα των ΚΠ στα δεδομένα

Κατηγορία ΚΠ	Παραδείγματα ΚΠ	Συχνότητα
ΚΠ οικειότητας και στοργής	*κορίτσια, γλυκιά μου, αγόρι μου, κορίτσι μου, αγάπη μου, ρε παιδιά, ρε παιδί μου, κοπέλα, κούκλα μου, χαρά μου, φίλε μου*	20 (40%)
Μικρά ονόματα	*Κατερίνα, Ελένη μου*	18 (36%)
Τίτλος+μικρό όνομα	*κύριε Τάσο*	10 (20%)
Τιμητικοί τίτλοι	*αγαπητή κυρία*	2 (4%)
Σύνολο		50 (100%)

Το μεγαλύτερο μέρος των ΚΠ δείχνουν ή επιχειρούν να κατασκευάσουν οικειότητα και αλληλεγγύη μεταξύ των συνομιλητών/τριών, όπως φαίνεται από το άθροισμα των ΚΠ οικειότητας και στοργής και των μικρών ονομάτων (76%). Η ΚΠ «τίτλος+μικρό όνομα» αποτελεί μεικτή περίπτωση, καθώς συνδυάζει κοινωνική απόσταση/ιεραρχία (τίτλος) και ήδη υπάρχουσα οικειότητα (μικρό όνομα). Τα δεδομένα μας δείχνουν ότι χρησιμοποιούνται είτε μεταξύ μεσήλικων συνομιλητών/τριών είτε όταν νεότεροι/ες ομιλητές/τριες απευθύνονται σε μεγαλύτερους/ες. Η χρήση ΚΠ όπως *κύριε/α* είναι σπάνια και, εν προκειμένω (βλ. *αγαπητή κυρία*), προέρχεται από έναν μεσήλικα καταστηματάρχη που απευθύνεται σε μεσήλικα πελάτισσα επιχειρώντας να κατασκευάσει μια σχέση οικειότητας, μολονότι δεν γνωρίζονται από πριν.

Συνοψίζοντας, τα δεδομένα μας συνάδουν με προηγούμενες έρευνες που υποστηρίζουν την υπερίσχυση των στρατηγικών θετικής ευγένειας σε ΕΣ από τα ελληνικά. Οι ΚΠ που δηλώνουν αρνητική ευγένεια είναι περιορισμένες και, επιπλέον, συνδυάζουν οικειότητα και απόσταση ταυτόχρονα (πρβλ. Fernández-Amaya κ.ά. 2014).

Το επόμενο ερευνητικό μας ερώτημα αφορά τη θέση των ΚΠ στις ΕΣ, δηλαδή το στάδιο των ΕΣ όπου εμφανίζονται οι ΚΠ, όπως δείχνει ο Πίνακας (2):

Πίνακας 2: Οι θέσεις των ΚΠ στις ΕΣ και η συχνότητά τους

Θέση των ΚΠ	Συχνότητα
Χαιρετισμοί	21 (42%)
Λόγος επίσκεψης (αίτημα) και απάντηση σε αυτόν	20 (40%)
Πληρωμή	2 (4%)
Ευχαριστίες και αποχαιρετισμοί	7 (14%)
Σύνολο	50 (100%)

Οι ΚΠ τείνουν να απαντούν στην αρχή των ΕΣ και όχι τόσο στο τέλος τους (βλ. επίσης Placencia κ.ά. 2015). Αυτό θεωρούμε ότι δείχνει την προσπάθεια των συνομιλητών/τριών να επιβεβαιώσουν την ήδη υπάρχουσα σχέση οικειότητας ή να δημιουργήσουν μια καινούργια κατά τη διάρκεια των αρχικών χαιρετισμών, του αιτήματος και της ικανοποίησής του. Όταν η ΕΣ πλησιάζει ή φτάνει στο τέλος της οι ΚΠ μειώνονται σημαντικά (18%).

Με βάση τις πληροφορίες των ερευνητών/τριών για τον βαθμό οικειότητας μεταξύ των συμμετεχόντων/ουσών, επιβεβαιώνουμε ότι οι ΚΠ χρησιμοποιούνται ως επί το πλείστον μεταξύ ανθρώπων που γνωρίζονται, και λιγότερο μεταξύ αγνώστων (που όμως προσπαθούν να φτιάξουν ένα φιλικό κλίμα), όπως φαίνεται στον Πίνακα (3):

Πίνακας 3: Η χρήση των ΚΠ από ομιλητές/τριες που γνωρίζονται ή δεν γνωρίζονται μεταξύ τους

Οικειότητα ή κοινωνική απόσταση	Συχνότητα
ΚΠ μεταξύ ομιλητών/τριών που γνωρίζονται λιγότερο ή περισσότερο μεταξύ τους	29 (58%)
ΚΠ μεταξύ ομιλητών/τριών που δεν γνωρίζονται μεταξύ τους	21 (42%)
Σύνολο	100 (100%)

Στην επόμενη ενότητα, θα εξετάσουμε λεπτομερέστερα τους πραγματολογικούς στόχους που υπηρετούνται από τη χρήση των ΚΠ, όπως αυτοί αναδύονται από το εκάστοτε συγ/περικείμενο. Βασιζόμενες στην κατηγοριοποίηση των McCarthy and O'Keeffe (2003· βλ. ενότητα 2) για τις λειτουργίες των ΚΠ, θα δείξουμε ότι μόνο δύο από τις λειτουργίες της κατηγοριοποίησης αυτής δεν εμφανίζονται στα δεδομένα μας: η *κλήση* και ο *αστεϊσμός*. Επιπλέον, η ανάλυσή μας φέρνει στο προσκήνιο την πολυλειτουργικότητα των ΚΠ, καθώς και το γεγονός ότι όσες ΚΠ εμφανίζονται στα στάδια αρχικών και τελικών χαιρετισμών έχουν σαφή σχεσιακή λειτουργία, ενώ όσες απαντούν σε μεσαία στάδια (αίτημα, ικανοποίησή του και πληρωμή) εμφανίζουν ποικιλία λειτουργιών.

6.2. Οι λειτουργίες των κλητικών προσφωνήσεων
6.2.1. Κλητικές προσφωνήσεις στους χαιρετισμούς
Οι ΚΠ (εδώ σημειώνονται με έντονη γραμματοσειρά) επιστρατεύονται στην αρχή των ΕΣ, ιδιαίτερα από συμμετέχοντες/ουσες που γνωρίζονται καλά μεταξύ τους (παράδειγμα 1), αλλά ενίοτε και από συμμετέχοντες/ουσες που προσπαθούν να κατασκευάσουν ένα κλίμα οικειότητας ενώ δεν γνωρίζονται (παράδειγμα 2):

(1)
1	Π(ελάτισσα) 1 (Μαρία):	Γεια σας **κυρία Ελένη**! Γεια σου **Κατερίνα**!
2	Υ(πάλληλος) 1 (Κατερίνα):	Γεια σου **Χριστίνα**!
3	Υ2 (Ελένη):	Τι κάνεις;
4	Π1:	Καλά μια χαρά.
5	Π2 (Χριστίνα):	Γεια σας, καλή χρονιά **Κατερίνα μου**, ό,τι επιθυμείς!
6	Υ1:	Ευχαριστώ πολύ.
7	Υ2:	Γεια σου **Χριστίνα**! Καλή χρονιά!
8	Υ1:	Γεια σας **κυρία Μαρία**! Επίσης!
9	Υ2:	**Χριστίνα μου** καλά είσαι; Έλα να σε φιλήσω. Καλή χρονιά, χρόνια πολλά με υγεία!
10	Π1:	Καλή χρονιά να έχουμε με υγεία! Ευχαριστώ πολύ.

(2)
1	Υ:	Γεια σας **κορίτσια**!
2	Π1:	Γεια σας!
3	Π2:	Γεια σας!

Στο παράδειγμα (1) η (μητέρα) Μαρία και η (κόρη) Χριστίνα ως πελάτισσες χαιρετούν την Ελένη και την Κατερίνα (επίσης μητέρα και κόρη αντίστοιχα) που θα τις εξυπηρετήσουν. Χρησιμοποιούν τα μικρά τους ονόματα (με ή χωρίς κτητική αντωνυμία· βλ. συνομιλιακές συνεισφορές 1, 2, 5, 7, 9), ενώ οι μητέρες αποκαλούνται μεταξύ τους με «κυρία+μικρό όνομα» (συνομιλιακές συνεισφορές 1, 8). Η μεταξύ τους οικειότητα φαίνεται όχι μόνο από τις ΚΠ αλλά και από τα φιλιά που ανταλλάσσουν (συνομιλιακή συνεισφορά 9). Στο παράδειγμα (2), η πωλήτρια χαιρετάει δύο υποψήφιες πελάτισσες που δεν γνωρίζει από πριν και αυτές απαντούν χρησιμοποιώντας πληθυντικό τυπικότητας.

Επομένως, οι ΚΠ που συνοδεύουν χαιρετισμούς έχουν καθαρά σχεσιακή λειτουργία.

6.2.2. Κλητικές προσφωνήσεις στο αίτημα, την απάντηση σε αυτό και την πληρωμή
Όπως και στην προηγούμενη ενότητα, έτσι και εδώ η ΚΠ μπορεί να έχει σχεσιακή λειτουργία όπως στο παράδειγμα (3), όπου εμφανίζεται στην πρόσκληση για τη διατύπωση του αιτήματος:

(3)
| 1 | Υ: Ναι **κούκλα μου**. |
| 2 | Π: Θέλω κλωστές. |

Η πωλήτρια απευθύνεται σε μια νεότερη πελάτισσα προσπαθώντας να κατασκευάσει οικειότητα μεταξύ τους, αν και δεν γνωρίζονται από πριν.

Στο παράδειγμα (4), η ΚΠ εντάσσεται στη συνεισφορά που δηλώνει ανταπόκριση στο αίτημα, πάλι με στόχο μια πιο φιλική ΕΣ:

(4)
| 1 | Π: Θα μπορούσα να δω ένα ρολόι; |
| 2 | Υ: Ναι ναι **αγάπη μου**. |

Οι ΚΠ μπορεί άλλοτε να χρησιμοποιηθούν για να μετριάσουν ένα αίτημα, όπως στο ακόλουθο απόσπασμα:

(5)
1	Υ1 (άνδρας): Ναι τα έχει τα λεφτά του.
2	Π: Έχει; Πόσο;
3	Υ1: Τα έχει τα λεφτά του. Έχει κοντά στο 2,85.
4	Π: Αμμμ είναι ακριβούτσικα.
5	Υ1: Ναι ναι. Μπορούμε να δούμε κι άλλα. Κανάτες είχαμε φέρει για το γηροκομείο πλαστικές, τι άλλο φέραμε, πιο φθηνό κύπελλο δεν έχουμε;
6	Π: Κάτι πιο φθηνό **ρε παιδιά**.
7	Υ2 (γυναίκα): Έχει.

Εδώ ένα ζευγάρι ιδιοκτητών καταστήματος προσπαθούν να εξυπηρετήσουν μια πελάτισσα που ψάχνει φθηνά άθραυστα ποτήρια για ένα γηροκομείο. Στην προσπάθειά τους να βρουν την καλύτερη δυνατή λύση, η πελάτισσα ζητάει μια φθηνότερη από την αρχικά προταθείσα λύση με έμμεσο τρόπο και ελλειπτική συνεισφορά (συνομιλιακή συνεισφορά 6), άρα μετριάζοντας το αίτημά της. Η ΚΠ *ρε παιδιά* μετριάζει περαιτέρω το αίτημα της πελάτισσας για κατανόηση και βοήθεια λόγω οικονομικής στενότητας. Ας σημειωθεί δε ότι οι συμμετέχοντες/ουσες δεν γνωρίζονται από πριν, οπότε η οικειότητα της ΚΠ μπορεί να δηλώνει και αναγνώριση της αλληλεγγύης που προσπαθούν να δείξουν οι ιδιοκτήτες του καταστήματος.

Οι ΚΠ μπορεί να συνεισφέρουν και στη διαχείριση του θέματος στις ΕΣ, όπως δείχνει το ακόλουθο παράδειγμα:

(6)
1	Π: **Κύριε Τάσο** γεια σας, τι κάνετε;
2	Υ: Γεια σας! Καλά.
3	Π: Έχετε μαλακή ή σκληρή φέτα;
4	Υ: Ε όπως την προηγούμενη φορά.
5	Π: Ε βάλτε τρία τέταρτα και ξαναπαίρνουμε. Αυτό είναι από Θήβα;
6	Υ: Όχι από Τρίκαλα.
7	Π: Ε άμα αφήσουμε τις ντομάτες στο σπίτι θα κοκκινίσουν;
8	Υ: Ε μες στο σπίτι είναι καλύτερα με το καλοριφέρ.
9	Π: Πολύ κρύο έχει το μαγαζί.
10	Υ: Ναι πολύ, δεν το έχει πιάσει καθόλου ο ήλιος.
11	Π: Σπανάκι;
12	Υ: Ε από το Σάββατο. Δώδεκα εξήντα.
13	Π: Ορίστε **κύριε Τάσο**. Καλό μεσημέρι, καλή ξεκούραση!
14	Υ: Να είστε καλά!

Η πελάτισσα χρησιμοποιεί ένα μεικτό τύπο ΚΠ, που δηλώνει δηλαδή κοινωνική απόσταση και οικειότητα ταυτόχρονα. Πέρα από αυτή τη σχεσιακή λειτουργία στο πλαίσιο των (απο)χαιρετισμών, η πρώτη ΚΠ ξεκινά τη διεπίδραση (συνομιλιακή συνεισφορά 1) και η δεύτερη τερματίζει τη συνδιαλλαγή πριν το πέρασμα στον αποχαιρετισμό (συνομιλιακή συνεισφορά 13). Και στις δύο

περιπτώσεις δηλαδή, οι ΚΠ σηματοδοτούν και κάνουν ομαλότερες τις μεταβάσεις από ένα στάδιο σε ένα άλλο στο πλαίσιο των αντίστοιχων συνεισφορών (βλ. επίσης Placencia κ.ά. 2015: 564).

Μια ακόμη ΚΠ με πολλαπλές λειτουργίες έχουμε στο παράδειγμα (7), το οποίο αποτελεί τη συνέχεια του παραδείγματος (1):

(7)

    1   Π1: Καλή χρονιά να έχουμε με υγεία! Ευχαριστώ πολύ. **Κυρία Ελένη** θα ήθελα ένα ντοσιεδάκι με διαφάνειες.

Εδώ μια από τις πελάτισσες ολοκληρώνει το στάδιο των χαιρετισμών, εκφέρει ένα μετριασμένο αίτημα (χάρη στο δυνητικό *θα ήθελα* και το υποκοριστικό *ντοσιεδάκι*) και ταυτόχρονα επιλέγει ποια θα την εξυπηρετήσει. Η συγκεκριμένη μάλιστα ΚΠ συνδυάζει τυπικότητα (*κυρία*) και οικειότητα (*Ελένη*). Επομένως, αυτή η ΚΠ επιτελεί 4 λειτουργίες: επιλέγει την επόμενη ομιλήτρια (διαχείριση των συνομιλιακών συνεισφορών), συμβάλλει στη μετάβαση από τους χαιρετισμούς στο αίτημα (διαχείριση θέματος), μετριάζει την επιβολή του αιτήματος και ενισχύει την οικειότητα (λόγω της μορφής της).

Συνοψίζοντας, τα μεσαία στάδια των ΕΣ τείνουν να περιέχουν ΚΠ που επιτελούν διάφορες λειτουργίες, ενίοτε ταυτόχρονα. Εν προκειμένω, έχουν σχεσιακή λειτουργία (παραδείγματα 3-7), μετριάζουν απειλητικές πράξεις (παραδείγματα 5, 7), συμβάλλουν στη διαχείριση του θέματος (παραδείγματα 6-7) και των συνομιλιακών συνεισφορών (παράδειγμα 7).

6.2.3. *Κλητικές προσφωνήσεις στις ευχαριστίες και τους αποχαιρετισμούς*

ΚΠ εμφανίζονται και όταν οι ομιλητές/τριες που γνωρίζονται μεταξύ τους ολοκληρώνουν τη συνδιαλλαγή τους:

(8)

    1   Υ: Ορίστε όλα μαζί.
    2   Π: Σας ευχαριστώ.
    3   Υ: Κι εγώ **γλυκιά μου**.

Η υπάλληλος δίνει τα ψώνια στην πελάτισσα (συνομιλιακή συνεισφορά 1), η οποία την ευχαριστεί χρησιμοποιώντας πληθυντικό τυπικότητας (συνομιλιακή συνεισφορά 2) λόγω του νεαρότερου της ηλικίας της. Η υπάλληλος ευχαριστεί και αυτή χρησιμοποιώντας μια ΚΠ που δείχνει αυξημένη οικειότητα, ολοκληρώνοντας έτσι την ΕΣ.

Βλέπουμε λοιπόν πως στα δεδομένα μας οι ΚΠ που εμφανίζονται στο τελικό στάδιο έχουν σχεσιακή λειτουργία, όπως και εκείνες του αρχικού σταδίου.

7. ΣΥΜΠΕΡΑΣΜΑΤΑ

Η ανάλυση των δεδομένων μας δείχνει ότι, μολονότι οι ΚΠ δεν είναι συχνές στις ΕΣ που είχαμε στη διάθεσή μας, αυτές συνδέονται κατεξοχήν με τις στρατηγικές θετικής ευγένειας, αφού συνήθως χρησιμοποιούνται για να κατασκευάσουν μια σχέση οικειότητας με κάποιον/α άγνωστο/η συνομιλητή/τρια ή για να επιβεβαιώσουν την ήδη υπάρχουσα οικειότητα. Είναι επομένως εύλογο οι ΚΠ να απαντούν πιο συχνά στην αρχή των ΕΣ και λιγότερο προς το τέλος τους. Επιπλέον, τα είδη των ΚΠ και το σημασιολογικό τους περιεχόμενο (όπου υπάρχει) συνάδουν με τον γενικότερο προσανατολισμό των ελλήνων/ίδων ομιλητών/τριών περισσότερο προς τη θετική ευγένεια (Sifianou 1992· Tzanne 2001), καθώς και με τη συχνή χρήση στρατηγικών θετικής ευγένειας ειδικά στις ΕΣ (Petrits 1990· Antonopoulou 2001· Τσάκωνα 2014, Tsakona 2016).

Η παρούσα μελέτη έρχεται να συμπληρώσει την ήδη υπάρχουσα έρευνα σχετικά με την κοινωνιογλωσσική ποικιλότητα των τύπων προσφώνησης στις ΕΣ. Ο τύπος του καταστήματος φαίνεται να επηρεάζει την επιλογή ΚΠ και ενδεχομένως τη λειτουργία τους. Η Petrits (1990· βλ. ενότητα 4) εντόπισε περισσότερες τυπικές ΚΠ από εμάς, καθώς και προσβλητικές ή χιουμοριστικές ΚΠ, που απουσίαζαν τελείως από τα δικά μας δεδομένα. Οι διαφορετικές συνθήκες στις αγορές (όπως η κεντρική της Αθήνας, από όπου η Petrits αντλεί τα δεδομένα της) σε σχέση με τα καταστήματα φαίνεται να είναι σημαντικές. Αφενός οι προβαλλόμενες διαφορές στο κοινωνικό κύρος

μεταξύ πωλητών/τριών και πελατών/ισσών τροφοδοτούν στις αγορές τη χρήση τυπικών ΚΠ και αφετέρου ο εντονότερος ανταγωνισμός, αλλά και η οικειότητα μεταξύ των συνομιλητών/τριών στους χώρους αυτούς οδηγούν στη χρήση προσβλητικών ή χιουμοριστικών ΚΠ. Ένα μεγαλύτερο δείγμα θα μας επέτρεπε επίσης να εξετάσουμε πιο συστηματικά πώς κοινωνικές παράμετροι όπως η ηλικία, το φύλο, η εθνοτική καταγωγή, η ήδη υπάρχουσα σχέση, το είδος του καταστήματος (π.χ. συνοικιακό, αλυσίδα) και τα αστικά ή μη περιβάλλοντα επηρεάζουν τις επιλογές των ομιλητών/τριών όσον αφορά τις ΚΠ.

Από τις έξι λειτουργίες των ΚΠ που εντοπίζονται από τους McCarthy and O'Keeffe (2003) μόνο τέσσερις εμφανίζονται στα δεδομένα μας. Η σχεσιακή λειτουργία δείχνει να είναι η πιο σημαντική, αφού αφορά όλες τις ΚΠ: όπως είδαμε στην ενότητα (2), οι ΚΠ εξ ορισμού συνιστούν κοινωνική δείξη, αφού κατασκευάζουν γλωσσικά τις κοινωνικές σχέσεις και ταυτότητες των συνομιλητών/τριών. Οι ΚΠ χρησιμοποιούνται στις ΕΣ και για τον μετριασμό απειλητικών πράξεων και τη διαχείριση του θέματος ή των συνομιλιακών συνεισφορών. Φαίνεται επίσης ότι περισσότερες από μια λειτουργίες μπορεί να επιτελούνται από μία και μοναδική ΚΠ, δηλαδή οι ΚΠ μπορεί να είναι πολυλειτουργικές. Ωστόσο, στα δεδομένα μας, σε αντίθεση με αυτά των McCarthy and O'Keeffe (2003), οι ΚΠ δεν χρησιμοποιούνται ως κλήσεις ή για αστεϊσμό: οι ομιλητές/τριες δεν χρησιμοποιούν ΚΠ για να προσελκύσουν την προσοχή του/της συνομιλητή/τριάς τους, ενώ τείνουν να διατηρούν έναν σοβαρό τόνο στις ΕΣ. Επιπλέον, διαπιστώνεται ένας συσχετισμός μεταξύ της θέσης και της λειτουργίας των ΚΠ: όσες έχουν κυρίως σχεσιακή λειτουργία βρίσκονται στους χαιρετισμούς και τους αποχαιρετισμούς, δηλαδή στο αρχικό και το τελικό στάδιο των ΕΣ· όσες όμως βρίσκονται στα μεσαία στάδια (του αιτήματος, της ικανοποίησής του και της πληρωμής) μπορεί να επιτελούν οποιαδήποτε λειτουργία ή έναν συνδυασμό τους. Αυτές οι τάσεις θα μπορούσαν να επιβεβαιωθούν ή να διαψευστούν σε ένα εκτενέστερο σώμα δεδομένων.

Τελικά, μολονότι η θετική ευγένεια (εδώ υπό τη μορφή οικείων ΚΠ) θεωρείται στη σχετική έρευνα σημαντική για τις ΕΣ, οι ΚΠ δεν είναι προφανώς οι μόνοι τύποι προσφώνησης που χρησιμοποιούνται στις περιστάσεις αυτές. Θα ήταν σκόπιμο να εξεταστούν, για παράδειγμα, σε σχέση με τη χρήση του πληθυντικού τυπικότητας, καθώς και σε σχέση με στρατηγικές ευγένειας και διεπιδραστικές πρακτικές που μεταδίδονται στο πλαίσιο της επαγγελματικής εκπαίδευσης που μπορεί να λαμβάνουν οι εργαζόμενοι/ες σε ορισμένα καταστήματα.

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Χρονικά επιρρήματα ως στοιχεία αρνητικής και θετικής πολικότητας

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ABSTRACT

In this paper we discuss the syntactic and semantic behaviour of the adverbs *pia*, *molis*, *idi* and *akomi*, which have traditionally been considered temporal, but since the late 1990's their aspectual meaning has also been underlined. Examining further their interesting idiosyncratic characteristics, we illustrate their distributional restrictions with negation, tense and aspect, we investigate the temporal information they carry and we show that *akomi* is a Negative Polarity Item (NPI), *molis* and *idi* are Positive Polarity Items (PPI) and, contrary to what has been proposed, *pia* is not an NPI. Furthermore, *akomi*, *molis* and *idi* refer to a time that precedes the reference time and thus they don't appear in a sentence with future tense, whereas *pia* refers to a time that follows the reference time and therefore it is excluded from a sentence in past tense. According to this, *idi* and *akomi* are in complementary distribution, since both are aspectual, they set time boundaries to the verb and change the presuppositions of the sentence, but the former is a PPI, while the latter an NPI.

Key Words: temporal adverbs, negative and positive polarity items

1. ΕΙΣΑΓΩΓΗ

Στο παρόν άρθρο εξετάζουμε τη σημασιο-συντακτική συμπεριφορά των επιρρημάτων *πια*, *μόλις*, *ήδη* και *ακόμη*, τα οποία στις περιγραφικές γραμματικές (βλ. ενδεικτικά, Τριανταφυλλίδης (1993: 378), Holton, Mackridge και Φιλιππάκη-Warbourton (1999: 341-342), Κλαίρης & Μπαμπινιώτης (2005: 796)[1] χαρακτηρίζονται ως χρονικά, ενώ σε σύγχρονες αναλύσεις έχει επισημανθεί και ο αποψιακός τους χαρακτήρας (Alexiadou 1997). Ωστόσο, μια πιο προσεκτική μελέτη φανερώνει ότι παρουσιάζουν ενδιαφέρουσες ιδιοσυγκρασιακές ιδιότητες που δεν σχετίζονται αποκλειστικά με τον χρονικό-αποψιακό χαρακτηρισμό που τους αποδίδεται. Από αυτές τις ιδιότητες, στη μελέτη μας: α) εξετάζουμε τους περιορισμούς κατανομής τους σχετικά με την παρουσία Άρνησης και τη συμπεριφορά τους ως Στοιχείων Αρνητικής ή Θετικής Πολικότητας, β) ελέγχουμε τους περιορισμούς αναφορικά με τον ρηματικό χρόνο και την άποψη, γ) ερευνούμε το είδος της χρονικής πληροφορίας (προτερόχρονο, σύγχρονο, υστερόχρονο) που φέρουν και δ) παρουσιάζουμε δεδομένα που οδηγούν στην περαιτέρω κατανόηση της σημασίας τους.

2. ΘΕΩΡΗΤΙΚΟ ΠΛΑΙΣΙΟ: ΣΤΟΙΧΕΙΑ ΑΡΝΗΤΙΚΗΣ ΚΑΙ ΘΕΤΙΚΗΣ ΠΟΛΙΚΟΤΗΤΑΣ

Στο πλαίσιο της Γενετικής Γραμματικής έχει επισημανθεί ήδη από τον Klima (1964) ότι συγκεκριμένα γλωσσικά στοιχεία, όπως το *anyone*, χρειάζονται ένα αρνητικό περιβάλλον για να νομιμοποιηθούν στην πρόταση, ενώ από τον Baker (1970) έχει υπογραμμιστεί η ασυμβατότητα γλωσσικών στοιχείων, όπως το *someone*, με αρνητικά περιβάλλοντα. Από τότε, μια σειρά συντακτικών, σημασιολογικών και πραγματολογικών αναλύσεων (βλ. ενδεικτικά Horn (1972), Fauconnier (1975), Linebarger (1980), Hoeksema (2010), Szabolcsi (2004), Horn και Kato (2000), Giannakidou (2011)) έχουν προταθεί με δύο κυρίως στόχους: α) την ενοποίηση των περιβαλλόντων που νομιμοποιούν τα Στοιχεία Αρνητικής Πολικότητας σε μία φυσική τάξη και β) την περιγραφή του

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[1] Ο Τζάρτζανος (1991: 226, 228) δεν ταξινομεί τα επιρρήματα, αναφέρεται, ωστόσο, σε σημασίες του *ακόμη* και του *μόλις*.

μηχανισμού που νομιμοποιεί τα στοιχεία αυτά, και ειδικότερα του μηχανισμού που νομιμοποιεί τα στοιχεία τόσο Αρνητικής όσο και Θετικής Πολικότητας, όπως το *anyone* και το *someone* αντίστοιχα. Στην παρούσα μελέτη δεν θα υπεισέλθουμε σε λεπτομερή παρουσίαση των ανωτέρω απόψεων[2]. Ωστόσο, για τις ανάγκες της ανάλυσης που ακολουθεί, θα περιοριστούμε στη σύνοψη ορισμένων βασικών σημείων που έχουν υιοθετηθεί στη διεθνή βιβλιογραφία:

1) Στοιχεία Αρνητικής Πολικότητας (ΣΑΠ) καλούνται εκείνες οι λέξεις των οποίων η νομιμοποίηση εξαρτάται από περιβάλλοντα που είτε είναι επιδραστικά (Klima 1964), είτε ομαδοποιούνται κάτω από τον όρο «καθοδικώς επαγωγικά» (*downward entailment*) (Ladusaw 1979) ή συνδέονται με την αληθειακότητα της πρότασης (Giannakidou 1997) (1):

(1) α. Did you see anyone?   β. * I saw anyone
     γ. Είδες κανέναν;   δ. * Είδα κανέναν.

2) Στοιχεία Θετικής Πολικότητας (ΣΘΠ) ονομάζονται εκείνες οι λέξεις οι οποίες είναι απαγορευτικές σε περιβάλλοντα ενδοπροτασικής άρνησης και, εφόσον συνυπάρξουν με ενδοπροτασική άρνηση, βρίσκονται εκτός της εμβέλειάς της (Spector 2014) (2):

(2) α. * I didn't see someone.   * not > some
     β. – Why is John unhappy?
        – Because he didn't see someone.   some > not

Ένα επιπλέον χαρακτηριστικό των ΣΘΠ είναι ότι συνοδεύονται από έναν διορθωτικό μηχανισμό, γίνονται, δηλαδή, αποδεκτά σε περιβάλλον άρνησης, εφόσον η άρνηση βρίσκεται στην εμβέλεια ενός άλλου επιδραστικού τελεστή, καθοδικής επαγωγής ή μη αληθειακού[3] (3):

(3) If you don't understand something, ask!   Conditional > not > some

3. Η ΠΟΛΙΚΟΤΗΤΑ ΤΩΝ ΧΡΟΝΙΚΩΝ ΕΠΙΡΡΗΜΑΤΩΝ

3.1. Η πολικότητα του *πια*

Για το επίρρημα *πια* έχει αναφερθεί (Alexiadou (1997: 97, 123, υπ. 7)),σε παραλληλισμό με το *ακόμη*, ότι συμπεριφέρεται ως ΣΑΠ, καθώς εμφανίζεται σε αρνητικές προτάσεις (4α) αλλά όχι σε προτάσεις χωρίς ενδοπροτασική άρνηση (4β):

(4) α. Δεν τον θέλω πια.
     β. * Τον είδα πια.

Ωστόσο, τα δεδομένα στο (5) οδηγούν στο συμπέρασμα ότι το πια δεν αποτελεί ΣΑΠ:

(5) α. Τον αγαπάει πια. Επιτέλους!
     β. Τον αγαπούσε πια, όταν παντρευτήκανε. Δεν ήταν γάμος από προξενιό.
     γ. Βρήκε πια τον άνθρωπό του.
     δ. Θα τον ξεχάσω πια, τον απαράδεκτο!
     ε. Από αύριο θα τρώω πια μόνο λαχανικά και φρούτα.

3.2. Η πολικότητα του *μόλις*

Υπογραμμίζουμε αρχικά ότι εξετάζουμε το επίρρημα *μόλις* (6α) και όχι τον σύνδεσμο (6β):

(6) α. – Πόση ώρα περίμενες;   – Μόλις μπήκα.
     β. Μόλις (≈όταν) μπήκα, τον είδα ξαπλωμένο να βλέπει τηλεόραση.

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[2] Για την Ελληνική, παραπέμπουμε στις διατριβές των Veloudis (1982), Giannakidou (1997) και Κλειδή (2008) και σε κατοπινές αναλύσεις τους για μια αναλυτική παρουσίαση του διεθνούς προβληματισμού.
[3] Για την ερμηνεία του διορθωτικού μηχανισμού, βλ. Progovac (2000) και Szabolcsi (2004).

Αναφορικά με την πολικότητα, προτείνουμε ότι το χρονικό επίρρημα *μόλις* είναι ΣΘΠ για τους εξής λόγους:

α) Εμφανίζεται σε προτάσεις χωρίς ενδοπροτασική άρνηση (7α), αποκλείεται σε προτάσεις με ενδοπροτασική άρνηση (7β), αλλά και σε αντιπροσθετικές (*antiadditive*) προτάσεις ή (κατά την Giannakidou 1997) σε αναληθειακές (7γ):

(7)   α. Μόλις μπήκα.
       β. * Μόλις δεν τον είδα.
       γ. * Απέρριψε την πρότασή του, χωρίς μόλις να την ακούσει.

β) Σε προτάσεις με ενδοπροτασική άρνηση έχει εμβέλεια εκτός της άρνησης (8):

(8)   – Είναι αδιάβαστος. Δεν πρόκειται να απαντήσει.
       – Είσαι προκατειλημμένη.
       – Ορίστε. Μόλις δεν απάντησε την πιο εύκολη ερώτηση. (Μόλις > [ΔΕΝ…])

γ) Γίνεται αποδεκτό εντός ενδοπροτασικής άρνησης, αν προσθέσουμε έναν επιδραστικό τελεστή με εμβέλεια επί της άρνησης (9), λειτουργεί, δηλαδή, ο διορθωτικός μηχανισμός στον οποίο αναφερθήκαμε (βλ. ενότητα 2).

(9)   α. *Αν δεν* τις έχει βγάλει μόλις από το φούρνο, μη μου τη φέρεις την τυρόπιττα.
       β. *Όλοι όσοι δεν* εξυπηρετήθηκαν μόλις, ας περιμένουν, θα ξανασερβίρουμε.
       γ. Κάνεις *σαν να μην* έμαθες μόλις κάτι ευχάριστο. Δεν σε καταλαβαίνω!
       δ. *Ίσως να μην* κατάλαβε μόλις τι του είπες κατάμουτρα!
       ε. *Αν δεν* κατάλαβες μόλις τι σου είπα, είναι δικό σου λάθος.

δ) Σε γενικευτικές προτάσεις προσθέτει ως ΣΘΠ αναφορικότητα (*referentiality*) και αυτομάτως η πρόταση χάνει τη γενικευτική της ερμηνεία (10):

(10) α. Οι ελέφαντες τρώνε φιστίκια.   *[+/- γενικευτικό]*
       β. Οι ελέφαντες μόλις τρώνε φιστίκια.   *[- γενικευτικό]*

3.3. Η πολικότητα του *ήδη*

Ως προς την πολικότητα του *ήδη*, υποστηρίζουμε ότι επίσης εμφανίζει τη συντακτική συμπεριφορά ενός ΣΘΠ. Πιο συγκεκριμένα:

α) Εμφανίζεται σε προτάσεις χωρίς ενδοπροτασική άρνηση (11α), αποκλείεται σε προτάσεις με ενδοπροτασική άρνηση (11β), αλλά και σε αντιπροσθετικές ή αναληθειακές (11γ) προτάσεις:

(11) α. Έφτασε ήδη.
       β. * Δεν έφυγε ήδη.
       γ. * Απέρριψε την πρότασή του, χωρίς να την έχει ήδη ακούσει.

β) Σε προτάσεις με ενδοπροτασική άρνηση, έχει εμβέλεια εκτός της άρνησης (12):

(12) – Δεν θα απαντήσει καμία ερώτηση, θα δεις.
       – Είσαι προκατειλημμένη.
       – Ορίστε! Δεν απάντησε ήδη. (ΗΔΗ > [ΔΕΝ…])

γ) Γίνεται αποδεκτό εντός ενδοπροτασικής άρνησης, αν προσθέσουμε έναν επιδραστικό τελεστή με εμβέλεια επί της άρνησης (13):

(13) α. *Αν δεν* τις έχει ήδη βγάλει από το φούρνο, μη μου τη φέρεις την τυρόπιττα.
       β. *Όλοι όσοι δεν* έχουν ήδη φάει, ας περιμένουν, γιατί θα ξανασερβίρουμε.
       γ. Κάνεις *σαν να μην* έμαθες ήδη την αλήθεια. Δεν σε καταλαβαίνω!
       δ. *Ίσως να μην* έχει ήδη καταλάβει τι παίζεται πίσω από την πλάτη του!
       ε. *Αν δεν* ξέρεις ήδη την αλήθεια, είναι δικό σου λάθος.

δ) Σε γενικευτικές προτάσεις προσθέτει ως ΣΘΠ αναφορικότητα και συνεπώς η πρόταση χάνει τη γενικευτική της ερμηνεία (14):

(14) α. Οι ελέφαντες μετακινούνται στα ανατολικά της σαβάνας.   *[+/-γενικευτικό]*
       β. Οι ελέφαντες μετακινούνται ήδη στα ανατολικά της σαβάνας.   *[-γενικευτικό]*

3.4. Η πολικότητα του *ακόμη*

Αναφορικά με το *ακόμη*, πρέπει να διακρίνουμε το χρονικό από το ποσοτικό επίρρημα. Στο (15), το πρώτο (15α) προσδιορίζει την ενέργεια του ρήματος, ενώ το δεύτερο (15β) την ποσότητα της ΟΦ. Κατά συνέπεια, υπάρχουν περιβάλλοντα, όπως το (15γ), με ενδογενή δισημία:

(15) α. Θέλει ακόμη καφέ, δεν άλλαξε γνώμη.
       β. Θέλει ακόμη δύο καφέδες, δεν του έφτασε ο ένας.
       γ. Θέλει ακόμη έναν καφέ.

Η δεύτερη διάκριση που οφείλουμε να κάνουμε ως προς τη σημασία του επιρρήματος, όπως έχει ήδη επισημανθεί (Alexiadou 1997: 94-96), είναι ανάμεσα στο ζεύγος του (16):

(16) α. Κοιμάται ακόμη, μην τον ενοχλήσεις.
       β. Δεν κοιμάται ακόμη, έλα να του μιλήσεις.

Στην πρώτη περίπτωση, η οποία στην Αγγλική μεταφράζεται ως *still*, δηλώνεται ότι μια ενέργεια έχει ήδη ξεκινήσει και την ώρα της εκφώνησης συνεχίζεται, ενώ στη δεύτερη, η οποία στην Αγγλική μεταφράζεται ως *yet*, δηλώνεται ότι μια ενέργεια την ώρα της εκφώνησης δεν έχει ακόμη ξεκινήσει.

Στην παρούσα μελέτη αναλύουμε το *ακόμη (=yet)*. Ως προς τη σχέση του με την Άρνηση, προτείνουμε, όπως και η Alexiadou (1997), ότι πρόκειται για ΣΑΠ, για τους εξής λόγους:

α) Εμφανίζεται σε προτάσεις με ενδοπροτασική άρνηση (17α) καθώς και σε αντιπροσθετικές ή σε αναληθειακές προτάσεις (17β):

(17) α. Δεν ήρθε ακόμη.
       β. Το απέρριψε χωρίς να το έχει δει ακόμη.

β) Είναι αντιγραμματική η παρουσία του σε περιβάλλοντα χωρίς ενδοπροτασική άρνηση, καθώς και σε μη αληθειακά περιβάλλοντα (18):

(18) α. * Ήρθε ακόμη.
       β. * Ήρθε ακόμη;
       γ. * Ίσως έρθει ακόμη.
       δ. * Οποιοσδήποτε ψήφισε ακόμη, έχει 30 περίπου λεπτά στη διάθεσή του.

Από τα ανωτέρω συμπεραίνουμε ότι η Φράση Άρνησης παίζει καθοριστικό ρόλο για τη νομιμοποίηση του *ακόμη (=yet)*. Το *ακόμη* είναι ένα ΣΑΠ, ένας αρνητικός ποσοδείκτης, και συμπεριφέρεται όπως το ΚΑΝΕΙΣ (*=nobody*), όχι όπως το κανείς (*=anyone*) (βλ. πίνακα 1):

Πίνακας 1: Η κατανομή του ακόμη

ακόμη	ΚΑΝΕΙΣ (nobody)	κανείς (anyone)
Δεν ήρθε ακόμη.	Δεν ήρθε ΚΑΝΕΙΣ.	Δεν ήρθε κανείς.
*Ήρθε ακόμη;	* Ήρθε ΚΑΝΕΙΣ;	Ήρθε κανείς;

4. ΠΕΡΙΟΡΙΣΜΟΙ ΩΣ ΠΡΟΣ ΤΟΝ ΧΡΟΝΟ ΚΑΙ ΤΗΝ ΑΠΟΨΗ

Εξετάζοντας τη συμπεριφορά των επιρρημάτων σε σχέση με τους περιορισμούς ως προς τον ρηματικό χρόνο και την άποψη παρατηρούμε τα εξής:

1) Αναφορικά με το *πια*, παρά την επισήμανση (Alexiadou (1997: 97, 123, υπ. 7)) ότι υπόκειται σε περιορισμούς ως προς την άποψη (19), υποστηρίζουμε ότι το *πια* δεν είναι ευαίσθητο στον χρόνο και την άποψη (20):

  (19) * Δεν έφυγε πια.

  (20) α. Δεν τον αγαπώ πια.
      β. Δεν τον αγαπούσε πια, όταν τον παντρεύτηκε.
      γ. Της έκανε τόσα πολλά, που δεν του ξαναμίλησε πια.
      δ. Δεν θα τον νταντέψω ποτέ πια, αν ξανάρθει.
      ε. Αν πάρει αυτή τη δουλειά, θα δουλεύει πια κάτω από καλύτερες συνθήκες.
      στ. Ο Γιάννης έχει μάθει πια πώς να αντιδρά σε τέτοιες καταστάσεις.
      ζ. Ο Γιάννης είχε μάθει πια πώς να αντιδρά σε τέτοιες καταστάσεις.
      η. Ο Γιάννης, όταν ενηλικιωθεί, θα έχει μάθει πια πώς να αντιδρά σε τέτοιες καταστάσεις.
      θ. * Τον αγάπησε πια. / * Δεν τον αγάπησε πια.

  2) Για το *μόλις* οι εν λόγω κατηγορίες δεν αποτελούν περιοριστικούς όρους (21):

  (21) α. Φεύγει μόλις.
      β. Έφευγε μόλις, όταν πήγα σπίτι του.
      γ. Έφυγε μόλις. Κρίμα που δεν τον πρόλαβες.
      δ. Έχω μόλις μαγειρέψει. Μείνε να φάμε μαζί.
      ε. Είχε μόλις φύγει, όταν πήγα να τον δω.
      στ. Μόλις θα περπατάει, όταν θα επιστρέψει ο πατέρας του από το εξωτερικό.
      ζ. Μόλις θα έχει βγάλει δόντια, όταν θα επιστρέψει ο πατέρας του από το εξωτερικό.
      η. * Μόλις θα μιλήσει, όταν θα επιστρέψει ο πατέρας του από το εξωτερικό.

  3) Το χρονικό επίρρημα *ήδη* δεν εμφανίζει επίσης ανάλογους περιορισμούς (22):

  (22) α. Διαβάζει ήδη. Μη τον πιέζεις.
      β. Διάβαζε ήδη, όταν μπήκα στο σπίτι.
      γ. Διάβασα ήδη. Σταμάτα να με πιέζεις.
      δ. Έχει ήδη διαβάσει. Μη του πεις τίποτα.
      ε. Είχε ήδη διαβάσει, όταν έφτασα σπίτι.
      στ. Θα διαβάζει ήδη τώρα.
      ζ. Θα έχει ήδη διαβάσει, όταν θα έρθεις να τον πάρεις.
      η. * Θα διαβάσει ήδη, όταν θα έρθεις.

  4) Τέλος, το ίδιο ισχύει και για το χρονικό επίρρημα *ακόμη* (23):

  (23) α. Δεν έρχεται ακόμη. Είναι σπίτι.
      β. Δεν ήρθε ακόμη. Είναι σπίτι.
      γ. Δεν μαγείρευε ακόμη, όταν παντρεύτηκε.
      δ. Δεν έχει μαγειρέψει ακόμη.
      ε. Δεν είχε μαγειρέψει ακόμη, όταν φτάσαμε.
      στ. Δεν θα έχει μαγειρέψει ακόμη, όταν θα φτάσουμε.
      ζ. Δεν θα τραγουδάει ακόμη, αν πάμε στις 9.00. Ξεκινάει στις 10.00.
      η.* Δεν θα τραγουδήσει ακόμη, όταν φτάσουμε.

  Τα αντιγραμματικά παραδείγματα ερμηνεύονται στην αμέσως επόμενη ενότητα.

5. Η ΣΗΜΑΣΙΑ ΤΩΝ ΕΠΙΡΡΗΜΑΤΩΝ

5.1. Η περίπτωση του *πια*
      Η αντιγραμματικότητα του (20θ) ερμηνεύεται αν εστιάσουμε στη χρονική πληροφορία που φέρει το *πια*. Παρατηρούμε ότι δηλώνει το υστερόχρονο σε σχέση με ένα σημείο αναφοράς που οριοθετείται είτε από τον χρόνο εκφώνησης είτε από έναν χρονικό προσδιορισμό ή προϋποτίθεται

από τον ομιλητή. Με άλλα λόγια, η διαφορά ανάμεσα στις προτάσεις στο (24) είναι ότι η δεύτερη δηλώνει ότι από ένα σημείο και μετά «η Μαρία δεν αγαπάει τον Γιάννη».

(24) α. Η Μαρία δεν αγαπάει τον Γιάννη.
β. (Αφού την πρόδωσε τόσες φορές…) Η Μαρία δεν αγαπάει τον Γιάννη πια.

Γι' αυτόν τον λόγο, άλλωστε, υπάρχει ασυμβατότητα του *πια* σε περιβάλλοντα που δηλώνουν ξεκάθαρα το προτερόχρονο, όπως ο απλός αόριστος στο (25α). Ωστόσο, αυτή αίρεται, εφόσον οριστεί ένα σημείο αναφοράς, από το οποίο έπεται χρονικά η πρόταση με το *πια* και ερμηνεύεται ως υστερόχρονο (25β,γ):

(25) α. * Δεν τον απάτησε πια. / * Τον εκτίμησε πια.
β. Αφού τον παντρεύτηκε, δεν τον απάτησε (ποτέ) πια.
γ. Μετά τον γάμο τους τον εκτίμησε πια.

Τέλος, ως προς τη σημασία του επιρρήματος, συνάγεται από τα δεδομένα ότι η παρουσία του στην πρόταση δημιουργεί έντονα περιβάλλον προϋποθέσεων. Στα ζεύγη των προτάσεων στο (26) είναι ξεκάθαρη η διαφορά ότι με το *πια* προϋποτίθεται ότι πριν ίσχυε το αντίθετο.

(26) α. Δεν τον αγαπάει.
β. Δεν τον αγαπάει πια. (ενώ πριν τον αγαπούσε)
γ. Τον αγαπάει.
δ. Τον αγαπάει πια. (ενώ πριν δεν τον αγαπούσε)

Γι' αυτόν τον λόγο, η ερμηνεία του χρονικού συμπληρώματος *«όπως και πριν»* είναι αντιγραμματική με το *πια* (27):

(27) α. Δεν τον αγαπάει, όπως και πριν (δεν τον αγαπούσε).
β. * Δεν τον αγαπάει πια, όπως και πριν (δεν τον αγαπούσε).

5.2. Η περίπτωση του *μόλις*

Η αντιγραμματικότητα του (21η) σχετίζεται επίσης με τη χρονική πληροφορία που φέρει το *μόλις*. Το εν λόγω επίρρημα δηλώνει το άμεσα προτερόχρονο, φέρνει δηλαδή την ενέργεια του ρήματος αμέσως πριν τον χρόνο αναφοράς. Ως χρόνος αναφοράς εκλαμβάνεται είτε ο χρόνος εκφώνησης (28α) είτε ο χρόνος αναφοράς που δηλώνεται επιρρηματικά (28β,γ):

(28) α. Μόλις μπήκα.
β. Όταν ήρθα, είχε μόλις κλείσει το τηλέφωνο.
γ. Όταν θα έρθεις, θα έχω μόλις πλύνει τα πιάτα.

Κατά συνέπεια, δεν είναι συμβατό σε ένα περιβάλλον, το οποίο δηλώνει το υστερόχρονο, γεγονός που ερμηνεύει την αντιγραμματικότητα της παρουσίας του με απλό μέλλοντα (29):

(29) Όταν θα έρθεις, θα σου πω (*μόλις) όλη την αλήθεια.

5.3. Η περίπτωση του *ήδη*

Για την περίπτωση του *ήδη*, υποστηρίζουμε ότι το επίρρημα οριοθετεί χρονικά την ενέργεια του ρήματος. Για τον λόγο αυτό συνεξετάζεται με το ποιόν ενεργείας του ρήματος. Ακολουθώντας την κατηγοριοποίηση της Μόζερ (2009: 50-52) για την Ελληνική, παρατηρούμε ότι:
α) σε καταστασιακά ρήματα (ξέρω, έχω, αγαπώ κλπ.), που εγγενώς δεν έχουν χρονικό όριο, δηλώνει την ολοκλήρωση της ενέργειας (30):

(30) α. Ξέρει ήδη αγγλικά.
β. Την πιστεύει ήδη.

β) στην περίπτωση των δραστηριοτήτων (τρέχω, περπατάω, κολυμπάω κλπ.), που επίσης δεν έχουν εγγενώς χρονικό όριο, ορίζει την αρχή ή την ολοκλήρωση της ενέργειας, ανάλογα με την άποψη του ρηματικού χρόνου (31):

(31) <u>Αρχή (μη συνοπτική άποψη)</u>   <u>Ολοκλήρωση (συνοπτική άποψη)</u>
Τρέχει ήδη.   Έτρεξε ήδη.
Έτρεχε ήδη, όταν μπήκα στο γήπεδο.
Θα τρέχει ήδη, όταν θα φτάσεις στο γήπεδο.

γ) στα συμβάντα (βρίσκω, χάνω κλπ.), με εγγενές χρονικό όριο, υπογραμμίζει και επιβεβαιώνει το χρονικό όριό τους, την ολοκλήρωσή τους (32):

(32) α. Βρήκα ήδη τα κλειδιά μου.
     β. Έχασα ήδη τα λεφτά μου στο χρηματιστήριο.

δ) αναφορικά με τις επιτεύξεις (ζωγραφίζω πίνακα, χτίζω σπίτι κλπ.), επίσης με εγγενές χρονικό όριο, συμπεριφέρεται όπως στην περίπτωση των δραστηριοτήτων (ίσως επειδή και οι δύο κατηγορίες έχουν φάσεις), ορίζει, δηλαδή, την αρχή ή την ολοκλήρωση της ενέργειας, ανάλογα με την άποψη του ρηματικού χρόνου (33):

(33)   <u>Αρχή (μη συνοπτική άποψη)</u>   <u>Ολοκλήρωση (συνοπτική άποψη)</u>
Ζωγραφίζει ήδη έναν πίνακα.   Ζωγράφισε ήδη έναν πίνακα.
Ζωγράφιζε ήδη έναν πίνακα, όταν τον γνώρισα.
Θα ζωγραφίζει ήδη έναν πίνακα, όταν θα φτάσεις σπίτι.

Σύμφωνα με όσα υποστηρίζουμε, προβλέπουμε αλλά και επιβεβαιώνονται τα εξής:

α) Το *ήδη*, ορίζοντας ή ενισχύοντας χρονικά όρια σε μία ενέργεια, αποκλείεται από προτάσεις που δηλώνουν το συνεχές, το σύνηθες ή το γενικευτικό (34):

(34)   α. Για τα επόμενα δέκα χρόνια θα χτίζει (*ήδη) ένα σπίτι.   *συνεχές*
       β. Στις διακοπές του έχανε (*ήδη) τα κλειδιά του.   *σύνηθες*
       γ. Οι ελέφαντες τρώνε (*ήδη) φιστίκια.   *γενικευτικό*

β) Η αρχή ή ολοκλήρωση της ενέργειας οφείλει να είναι προτερόχρονη από έναν χρόνο αναφοράς (35):

(35)   α. Πριν έρθει ο πατέρας του, ο Γιάννης είχε (ήδη) φύγει.   *Προτερόχρονο*
       β. Ο Γιάννης έφυγε (*ήδη), αφού είδε τον πατέρα του.   *Υστερόχρονο*
       γ. Ο Γιάννης έγραφε (*ήδη), καθώς του μιλούσα.   *σύγχρονο*

Κατά συνέπεια, επιστρέφοντας στην αντιγραμματικότητα του (22η), ο απλός μέλλοντας, όταν δηλώνει το υστερόχρονο (36), αποτελεί απαγορευτικό περιβάλλον για το εν λόγω επίρρημα:
(36)   α. Ο Γιάννης θα διαβάσει, όταν έρθεις.
       β. * Ο Γιάννης θα διαβάσει ήδη, όταν έρθεις.

Ενδιαφέρον παρουσιάζει, ωστόσο, το γεγονός κατά το οποίο αν κατασκευάσουμε μια επικοινωνιακή κατάσταση με τον απλό μέλλοντα να δηλώνει το προτερόχρονο, τότε το *ήδη* γίνεται αποδεκτό (37):

(37) Ο Πέτρος διαμαρτύρεται για τους απλήρωτους λογαριασμούς του σπιτιού στη γυναίκα του
     και φοβάται ότι θα τους κόψουν το ρεύμα και το τηλέφωνο. Τότε, η σύζυγός του τού λέει:
     – Μη φωνάζεις. Αύριο, θα πληρώσω ήδη τη ΔΕΗ!

Επιπλέον, υποστηρίζουμε ότι πραγματολογικά το *ήδη* αφήνει ένα υπονόημα, που αίρει τις προϋποθέσεις του συνομιλητή (38):

(38) Τον τελευταίο καιρό ο μικρός γιος δεν διαβάζει και ο πατέρας του γυρίζοντας από τη δουλειά τον μαλώνει συνεχώς. Σήμερα, για μια ακόμη φορά, μπαίνει μέσα θυμωμένος και τον ρωτάει:
– Τι έκανες σήμερα, παιδί μου;
– Διάβασα τα μαθήματά μου ήδη, μπαμπά.

Αν όμως δεν υπάρχουν αυτές οι προϋποθέσεις, ο ίδιος διάλογος είναι μη αποδεκτός (39):

(39) Τι έκανες σήμερα, παιδί μου;
– Διάβασα τα μαθήματά μου, μπαμπά.
Διάβασα τα μαθήματά μου ήδη, μπαμπά.

5.4. Η περίπτωση του *ακόμη*

Για την περίπτωση του *ακόμη*, την οποία εξετάζουμε επίσης ως προς το ποιόν ενεργείας του ρήματος, υποστηρίζουμε και εδώ ότι το εν λόγω επίρρημα οριοθετεί χρονικά την ενέργεια του ρήματος. Πιο συγκεκριμένα (σύμφωνα με την Μόζερ 2009: 50-52):
α) σε καταστασιακά ρήματα (ξέρω, έχω, αγαπώ κλπ.), που εγγενώς δεν έχουν χρονικό όριο, δηλώνει τη μη ολοκλήρωση της ενέργειας (40):

(40) α. Δεν ξέρει ακόμη αγγλικά.
β. Δεν την πιστεύει ακόμη.

β) στην περίπτωση των δραστηριοτήτων (τρέχω, περπατάω, κολυμπάω κλπ.), που επίσης δεν έχουν εγγενές χρονικό όριο, την αρχή της ενέργειας (41):

(41) α. Δεν τρέχει ακόμη.
β. Δεν έτρεχε ακόμη, όταν μπήκα στο γήπεδο.
γ. Δεν θα τρέχει ακόμη, όταν θα φτάσεις στο γήπεδο.
δ. Δεν έτρεξε ακόμη.

γ) στα συμβάντα (βρίσκω, χάνω κλπ.), που εγγενώς έχουν χρονικό όριο, αίρει την ολοκλήρωσή τους (42):

(42) α. Δεν βρήκα ακόμη τα κλειδιά μου.
β. Δεν έχασα ακόμη πολλά λεφτά.

δ) αναφορικά με τις επιτεύξεις (ζωγραφίζω πίνακα, χτίζω σπίτι κλπ.), που επίσης έχουν εγγενώς χρονικό όριο, συμπεριφέρεται όπως στην περίπτωση των δραστηριοτήτων (προφανώς επειδή και οι δύο κατηγορίες έχουν φάσεις), ορίζει δηλαδή την αρχή ή τη μη ολοκλήρωση της ενέργειας, ανάλογα με την άποψη του ρηματικού χρόνου (43):

(43) <u>Αρχή (μη συνοπτική άποψη)[4]</u>   <u>Μη ολοκλήρωση (συνοπτική άποψη)</u>

Δεν κτίζει ακόμη σπίτι.   Δεν έκτισε ακόμη σπίτι.
Δεν έκτιζε ακόμη σπίτι, όταν τον γνώρισα.
Δεν θα κτίζει ακόμη σπίτι, όταν θα παντρευτείτε.

Σύμφωνα με όσα υποστηρίζουμε, προβλέπουμε αλλά και επιβεβαιώνονται εδώ τα εξής:
α) Το *ακόμη*, ορίζοντας ή ενισχύοντας χρονικά όρια σε μία ενέργεια, αποκλείεται σε προτάσεις που δηλώνουν το συνεχές, το σύνηθες ή το γενικευτικό[5] (44):

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[4] Αφήνουμε εδώ ανοικτό το ενδεχόμενο οριοθέτησης της αρχής λόγω της ύπαρξης Άρνησης.
[5] Το παράδειγμα μπορεί να θεωρηθεί πραγματολογικά αποδεκτό ως πιθανή πραγματοποίηση στο μέλλον.

(44)   α. Για τα επόμενα δέκα χρόνια δεν θα χτίζει (*ακόμη) ένα σπίτι.   *συνεχές*
     β. Στις διακοπές του δεν έχανε (*ακόμη) τα κλειδιά του.   *σύνηθες*
     γ. Οι ελέφαντες δεν τρώνε (*ακόμη) κρέας.   *γενικευτικό*

    β) Η αρχή ή η μη ολοκλήρωση της ενέργειας οφείλει να είναι προτερόχρονη από έναν χρόνο αναφοράς (45):

(45) α. Όταν ήρθε ο Πέτρος, ο Γιάννης δεν είχε (ακόμη) φύγει.   *Προτερόχρονο*
    β. Ο Γιάννης δεν έφυγε (*ακόμη), αφού είδε τον πατέρα του.   *Υστερόχρονο*
    γ. Ο Γιάννης δεν έγραφε (*ακόμη), καθώς του μιλούσα.   *σύγχρονο*

Κατά συνέπεια, ερμηνεύοντας στην αντιγραμματικότητα του (23η), ο απλός μέλλοντας, όταν δηλώνει το υστερόχρονο (46), αποτελεί απαγορευτικό περιβάλλον για το εν λόγω επίρρημα:

(46) α. Ο Γιάννης δεν θα διαβάσει μετά την εκδρομή.
    β. * Ο Γιάννης δεν θα διαβάσει ακόμη μετά την εκδρομή.

    Αν, όμως, κατασκευάσουμε μια επικοινωνιακή κατάσταση στην οποία ο απλός μέλλοντας δηλώνει το προτερόχρονο, τότε το *ακόμη* γίνεται αποδεκτό (47):

(47) Είμαστε σε μια ταβέρνα και πρόκειται να φύγουμε σύντομα. Η Μαρία θέλει να πάει στην
    τουαλέτα και μην ξέροντας πότε θα φύγουμε αναρωτιέται αν προλαβαίνει. Τότε, της λέμε:
    – Πήγαινε! Δεν θα φύγουμε ακόμη.

    Επιπροσθέτως, η σημασία του επιρρήματος δημιουργεί έντονα περιβάλλον προϋποθέσεων, εισάγοντας την πιθανότητα άρσης της κατάστασης στο μέλλον (48):

(48) Δεν του μιλάει ακόμη (~ Σε λίγο διάστημα όμως, ίσως του μιλήσει).

Αν όμως η πιθανότητα να αλλάξει αυτή η κατάσταση στο μέλλον αποκλείεται, τότε η χρήση του *ακόμη* είναι μη αποδεκτή (49):

(49) Μετά την ανακοίνωση των βάσεων εισαγωγής στο Πανεπιστήμιο, ρωτάει ο θείος:
    – Πώς πήγε ο Γιάννης;
    – Δεν πέρασε (#ακόμη).

6. ΣΥΜΠΕΡΑΣΜΑΤΑ

    Συνοψίζοντας, για τα επιρρήματα καταλήγουμε στα εξής συμπεράσματα, τα οποία αποτυπώνονται συγκεντρωτικά στον πίνακα (2): α) Ως προς την πολικότητα, το *πια* δεν αποτελεί ΣΑΠ, το *ακόμη* είναι ΣΑΠ, ενώ τα *μόλις* και *ήδη* αποτελούν ΣΘΠ. β) Ως προς τον χρόνο και την άποψη, δεν παρουσιάζουν περιορισμούς. γ) Αναφορικά με τη χρονική τους σημασία, το *μόλις*, το *ήδη* και το *ακόμη* δηλώνουν το προτερόχρονο και συνεπώς δεν γίνονται αποδεκτά σε προτάσεις με απλό μέλλοντα, όπου δηλώνεται το υστερόχρονο, ενώ το *πια* δηλώνει το υστερόχρονο και αποκλείεται σε προτάσεις με αόριστο. δ) Τα επιρρήματα *πια, ήδη* και *ακόμη* εισάγουν υπονοήματα. ε) Το *ήδη* και το *ακόμη* φαίνεται να βρίσκονται σε συμπληρωματική κατανομή, καθώς και τα δύο οριοθετούν χρονικά την ενέργεια του ρήματος, φέρουν αποψιακά χαρακτηριστικά, δηλώνουν το προτερόχρονο, αίρουν προϋποθέσεις, αλλά διαφέρουν ως προς την πολικότητά τους.

Πίνακας 2: Συγκεντρωτικός πίνακας των ιδιοτήτων των χρονικών επιρρημάτων

ΙΔΙΟΤΗΤΕΣ	ΠΙΑ	ΜΟΛΙΣ	ΗΔΗ	ΑΚΟΜΗ *(=YET)*
Πολικότητα	όχι	ναι - θετική	ναι - θετική	ναι - αρνητική
Περιορισμοί σε Χρόνο και Άποψη	όχι	όχι	όχι	όχι
Χρόνος	υστερόχρονο	άμεσα προτερόχρονο	προτερόχρονο	προτερόχρονο
Υπονόημα	ναι	?	ναι	ναι

Είναι σαφές ότι, για να αποκομίσει κανείς μια πιο ολοκληρωμένη εικόνα, θα πρέπει να ελεγχθεί τόσο η κατανομή τους σε δευτερεύουσες προτάσεις και σε περιβάλλοντα με εξωπροτασική άρνηση, όσο και η περαιτέρω η εμβέλειά τους και η συνεμφάνισή τους με άλλα στοιχεία πολικότητας, όπως επίσης και η θέση τους στην προτασική δομή.

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Variation in the Vowel System of Mišótika Cappadocian: Findings from Two Refugee Villages in Greece

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ABSTRACT

Η παρούσα έρευνα έρχεται να αναδείξει τις αλλαγές που φαίνεται να έχει υποστεί το φωνηεντικό σύστημα των Μιστιώτικων, που αποτελεί γλωσσική ποικιλία της Καππαδοκικής διαλέκτου. Ουσιαστικά, η μελέτη εστιάζει στη σύγκριση του γλωσσικού συστήματος που χρησιμοποιούν φυσικοί ομιλητές της Μιστιώτικης ποικιλίας, οι οποίοι όμως διαμένουν σε δύο διαφορετικές Καππαδοκικές κοινότητες στον Ελλαδικό χώρο. Στόχος μας αποτελεί να προσδιορίσουμε και να ερμηνεύσουμε τη μορφή που έχει πάρει το φωνηεντικό σύστημα της Καππαδοκικής ποικιλίας στις μέρες μας, καθώς και να αναλύσουμε τις διαφορές μεταξύ των ομιλητών από την κάθε περιοχή, λαμβάνοντας υπόψη τους μηχανισμούς γλωσσικής επαφής και αλλαγής, καθώς και τις κοινωνικές παραμέτρους που φαίνεται να επηρεάζουν τη διαμόρφωση του διαλεκτικού συστήματος.

Η μελέτη βασίζεται στην ανάλυση ηχογραφήσεων φυσικού διαλεκτικού λόγου ομιλητών της διαλέκτου που κατοικούν στα χωριά Νέο Αγιονέρι (νομός Κιλκίς) και Ξηροχώρι (νομός Θεσσαλονίκης). Αν κι αυτά τα χωριά βρίσκονται αρκετά κοντά το ένα στο άλλο παρουσιάζουν δύο βασικές διαφορές, οι συνέπειες των οποίων φαίνεται να αντανακλώνται στον τρόπο ομιλίας των διαλεκτόφωνων. Η πρώτη διαφορά εστιάζει στο είδος του πληθυσμού που διαμένει στο κάθε χωριό. Πιο αναλυτικά, το Νέο Αγιονέρι αποτελεί ένα ομοιογενές πληθυσμιακά χωριό, σε αντίθεση με το Ξηροχώρι που είναι μεικτό, καθώς κατοικούν σε αυτό και διαλεκτόφωνοι άλλων νεοελληνικών διαλέκτων εκτός από Μιστιώτες. Η δεύτερη βασική διαφορά έχει να κάνει με τη στάση των ομιλητών απέναντι στη χρήση της διαλέκτου. Αυτό που διαπιστώθηκε είναι ότι οι ομιλητές από το Νέο Αγιονέρι είναι πιο δεκτικοί στη χρήση της διαλέκτου σε καθημερινή βάση, ενώ αντίθετα οι πληροφορητές από το Ξηροχώρι παρουσιάζουν μια πιο διστακτική και συχνά αρνητική στάση, φέρνοντας στο φως τις συνέπειες του κοινωνικού στιγματισμού και της γλωσσικής φθοράς που έχει υποστεί το διαλεκτικό σύστημα μετά την εγκατάσταση των Καππαδόκων προσφύγων στην Ελλάδα (1924).

Μέσα από τα αποτελέσματα της έρευνας αποδεικνύεται ότι η μορφή που έχει πάρει το φωνηεντικό σύστημα στις μέρες μας αποκλίνει σημαντικά από το παλαιότερο γλωσσικό σύστημα της διαλέκτου. Παράλληλα φανερώνονται διαφορές μεταξύ του τρόπου ομιλίας των πληροφορητών του ίδιου γλωσσικού συστήματος, εξαιτίας της ύπαρξης επαφής κάτω από διαφορετικές κοινωνιογλωσσικές συνθήκες.

Key Words: Mišótika, vowel system, linguistic change, sociolinguistic parameters.

1. INTRODUCTION

The present study[1] examines the vowel system of contemporary Mišótika, the variety of Cappadocian Greek originally spoken in Misti. The aim of this research is to present the linguistic changes that the vowel system of Mišótika has undergone, concentrating on the speech of elderly informants in two villages in present-day Northern Greece. Another goal is to analyse the distribution of the vowels in the vowel spectrum and to determine their phonological status. In particular, we want to compare the speech of native speakers from the two Cappadocian refugee communities and analyse the differences between the two, taking into consideration mechanisms of language contact and linguistic change and also the social parameters that influence the dialectal system.

This paper is structured in six parts. Section 2 contains some basic information about the historical and linguistic background of Cappadocian Greek and the variety of Misti. In section 3 we present the methodology used to approach the dialectal system. In section 4 we showcase the results of speech analysis and in section 5 the interpretation of the vowel distribution. Finally, in section 6 we detail the primary conclusions of the present research.

2. HISTORICAL AND LINGUISTIC BACKGROUND

Cappadocian was spoken until 1924 in what is now the Central Anatolian Region of present-day Turkey. It is a linguistic variety of Greek origin which had been in contact with Turkish for almost nine centuries after the invasion of the Seljuks in the 11th century and the conquest of Byzantine Asia Minor by the Ottoman Turks in the 14th century. The result of this contact is apparent in the Cappadocian lexicon, phonology, morphology and syntax, although the exact impact varies among the different subdialects according to the nature and duration of the contact situation.[2]

One of the Cappadocian villages was Misti, which was considered a homogeneous town without close contact with Muslim groups according to Dawkins (1916: 19). In 1924, the Cappadocians were forced to leave their homeland as part of the population exchange between Greece and Turkey. The inhabitants of Misti, estimated at around 400 families, were scattered all over Greece and settled in over twenty different villages and towns (homogeneous and mixed).

More specifically, Cappadocians settled either in homogeneous villages with other Cappadocian speakers or in villages with other Greek dialect speakers (locals or/and refugees) or in big cities like Athens and Thessaloniki. As a consequence, the descendants of the Cappadocian refugees have been in contact with different varieties of Greek during the last hundred years, under different conditions, which complicates the study of their speech, as there are several different versions of contact for the same linguistic system.

Moreover, we can perfectly well appreciate the pressure that the Cappadocians felt from the locals with whom they were in contact after the population exchange, and the severe stigma that any Turkish characteristics carried for many decades, not just in the language but in other aspects of social behaviour as well. One of the results of this stigmatization is to be found in the linguistic system of the variety, as the refugees were trying to hide the use of Cappadocian, as well as to accommodate as quickly as possible to the new linguistic environments. The social stigmatization and in some cases the attrition process of the dialect complicate the study of Mišótika to a very high degree.

As far as the vowel system of the Mišótika dialect is concerned, we have to point out that according to Dawkins, who conducted fieldwork in Cappadocia in the years 1909-1911, the Cappadocian vowel system, including the dialect of Misti, consisted of eight vowels, aligning it with the vowel system of Turkish.
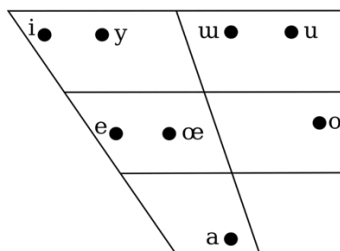
Figure 3: The older Cappadocian vowel system

The vowels [y, œ, ɯ] appeared mainly in Turkish loans, e.g. *karı* 'woman' > [kaˈrɯ], *tütün* 'tobacco' > [tyˈtyn], whereas their presence in Greek words is rare, if not unattested, e.g. σκυλιού > [ʃciˈʎu] > [ʃcyˈʎy], τουτούτ' > [tyˈtyt], ήκουσεν > [ˈiksen] > [ˈyksen] (Janse 2009: 40f, 2018: §6.1.1).[3]

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[2] Cf. Dawkins (1916); Janse (2002, 2009, 2018); Karatsareas (2011).

[3] The very scanty evidence does not allow any speculations about the exact conditions under which [i] or [u] could change to [y] in certain environments. The examples quoted are isolated even in the respective dialects from which they were taken.

3. METHODOLOGY

The present study is based on recordings of elderly native speakers of Mišótika from Neo Agioneri in the prefecture of Kilkis and from Xirohori in the prefecture of Thessaloniki. Although these villages are very close to one another (the distance between them is less than 10 kilometres), they present two major differences. Neo Agioneri is a homogeneous village with Cappadocian speakers, whereas Xirohori is a mixed village, inhabited not only by Cappadocians but also by other Greek-dialect speakers. Another distinctive characteristic of the two villages is the attitude of the inhabitants towards Mišótika. It seems that speakers from Neo Agioneri are more receptive to the use of the dialect. The elderly speakers from Xirohori, by contrast, present an overtly negative attitude, perhaps reflecting the consequences of the social stigmatization their dialect has undergone after the population exchange of the 1920s.

The data for the present research were recorded using ethnographic methods of data collection. The fieldwork was conducted by a trained member of the community, who is a bilingual native speaker of Mišótika and Standard Modern Greek (SMG). The informants were recorded in pairs for more than one hour, producing casual speech.

The transcription of the recordings was also made by bilingual speakers of Mišótika and Standard Modern Greek. The transcription was only orthographic in Greek at first stage, since not being trained linguists, the transcribers could not transcribe the recordings according to the International Phonetic Alphabet. We should mention, however, that we asked our transcribers to use capital letters instead of small print, whenever they heard a sound that they could not identify as an SMG vowel. We followed this method hoping that our transcribers would identify vowels that are part of the Mišótika vowel system but do not exist in SMG. We thought that such a method was an efficient way to approach the linguistic system of Mišótika, as best we could. Nevertheless, it is important to say that we do not take their suggestions for granted, but as a preliminary hypothesis to be evaluated.

The transcribers used five small and five capital letters, theoretically identifying ten different vowels. The five vowels transcribed with small letters {ı, ε, α, o, ou} were identified as being similar to the five vowels of the SMG, viz. /i, e, a, o, u/. The five vowels transcribed with capital letters {I, E, A, O, OY} were identified as being different from the SMG vowels. Formant analysis helped us to find the realization area of these particular sounds and compare them with the five vowels of SMG, as well as with descriptions in the existing literature. More specifically, we wanted to investigate whether any of these sounds coincide with the vowels mentioned by Dawkins (1916) and others, and verify whether these vowels as identified by the transcribers are indeed realized as distinct vowels.

We examined eight elderly male speakers (70+ years old) from Neo Agioneri and Xirohori, four from each village. 1.000 tokens were collected from each informant, totalling 8.000 tokens. PRAAT (Boersma & Weenink 2013) was used for the transcription, annotation and formant analysis of the data[4]. The results of the formant analysis were normalized, following the Watt & Fabricius normalization method[5], with the help of NORM (The Vowel Normalization and Plotting Suite, Thomas & Kendall 2007), a web-based interface to the **vowels** R package, which is designed to aid phoneticians in manipulating, normalizing, and plotting vowel formant data.

4. RESULTS

In this section, we present the results provided by the measurements of the study on the speech of the speakers of Mišótika from the two different refugee villages and discuss the distribution

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[4] We have to stress that we assigned the ten different vowels with small and capital letters to their Latin symbols during the data processing, i.e. the {ı, ε, α, o, ou} were transcribed as {i, e, a, o, u} and the capital {I, E, A, O, OY} as {I, E, A, O, U} respectively. This was necessary because the software NORM could analyse the sounds which are codified only with Latin symbols. Therefore, the codification of the sounds with Latin letters will be followed in the whole presentation of the results below.

[5] The Watt & Fabricius normalization method loses individual differences related to the physiological articulation system of every speaker, while at the same time it retains the systematic differences between the vowel systems of the informants.

of the vowels in the vowel spectrum. The following charts are divided according to the two informant groups and exhibit the realization of the vowels in the speech of the eight native speakers of Mišótika.

4.1. The speakers from Neo Agioneri

The analysis of the speech of informants from the speech community of Neo Agioneri highlighted the distribution of the vowels according to the F1 and F2 values. In Figure 2, we can see the charts of stressed and unstressed vowels of speakers and then the table of the F1 and F2 values with the number of detected sounds.

Before we present the result of the analysis, we would like to explain very briefly, what the following charts actually show. In particular, the vertical axis refers to the normalized F1 value, which is a measurement that indicates the position of the tongue in relation to the high/low axis. The horizontal axis refers to the normalized F2 value, which shows the position of the tongue in the mouth in relation to the front/back axis. Each point on the chart with a letter next to it refers to the value of F1 and F2 of each particular vowel, and the ellipsis around it presents the area that the majority of realizations of each vowel occupy in the vowel spectrum. The ellipses are derived from the statistical algorithm that calculates the 1.5 standard deviations of the values in the x- and the y-axis. This covers approximately 74% of the instances.
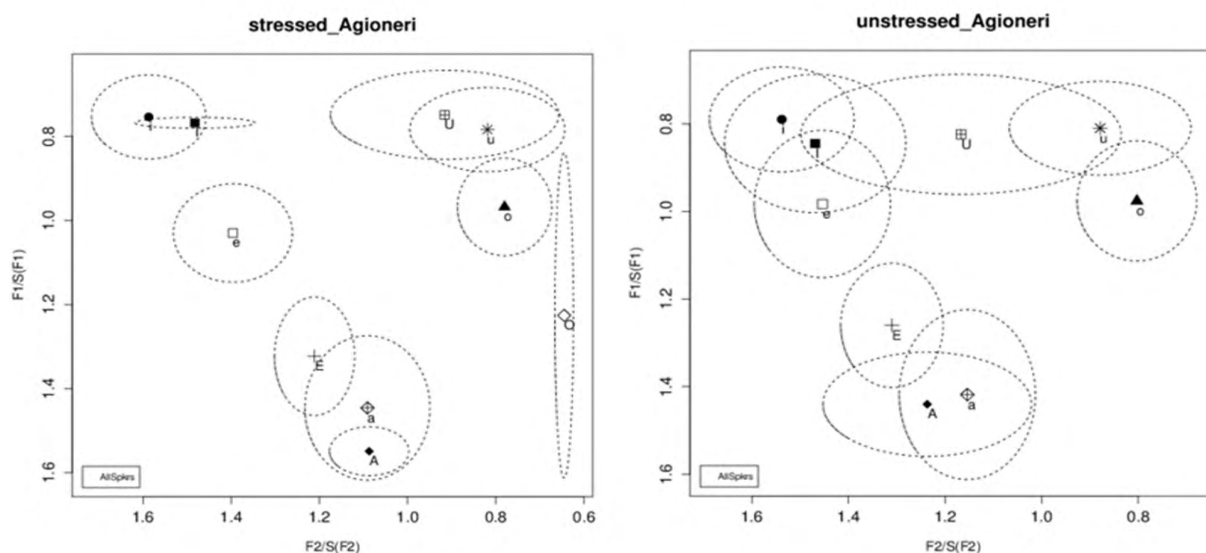

Figure 2: The stressed and unstressed vowels from Neo Agioneri

Figure 2 shows the distribution of the five vowels [i, e, a, o, u] which are similar to the vowels of SMG. The stressed vowels are clearly distinct from each other (apart from [o] and [u] which present a partial overlap), and the unstressed vowels also present a partial overlap, between [i] and [e] as well as between [o] and [u], as is usually the case in the vowel systems of Modern Greek and its dialects (see, among many others, Fourakis et al. 1999; Sfakianaki 2002).

Apart from the five vowels that exist in SMG, our transcribers identified five more vowels using capital letters {I, E, A, O, U}. At this point, we would like to reiterate that we do not take the above identifications for granted, but try to evaluate their indications. These five other vowels appear in infrequent to very infrequent instances, as can be seen in Table 1.

Table 12 The F1 and F2 values of the vowels from Neo Agioneri

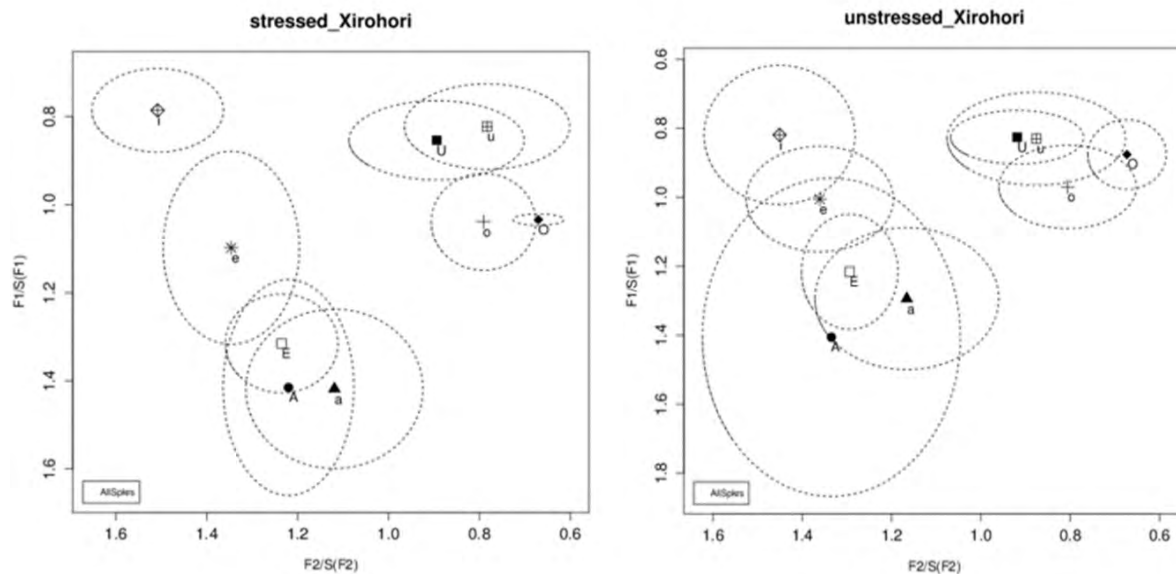| Stressed				Unstressed			
Vowel	F1	F2	Records found	Vowel	F1	F2	Records found
[i]	0.754	1.587	307	[i]	0.790	1.538	543
{I}	0.768	1.482	2	{I}	0.845	1.469	5
[e]	1.030	1.396	220	[e]	0.983	1.454	312
{E}	1.323	1.211	58	{E}	1.260	1.310	46
[a]	1.446	1.091	334	[a]	1.418	1.154	928
{A}	1.549	1.087	3	{A}	1.440	1.237	7
[o]	0.968	0.780	219	[o]	0.976	0.803	224
{O}	1.226	0.645	2	{O}	-	-	-
[u]	0.784	0.819	115	[u]	0.810	0.879	343
{U}	0.749	0.916	14	{U}	0.824	1.167	12

The sound that our transcribers transcribe with capital {A} appears only ten times altogether in the speech of the informants from Neo Agioneri: three times as a stressed and seven times as an unstressed vowel. Capital {O} appears only twice as a stressed vowel, and capital {I} is identified only seven times: twice as a stressed and five times as an unstressed vowel. Conversely, capital {U} appears frequently in fourteen stressed and twelve unstressed tokens respectively. As for the distribution of {I, A, O, U}, we note that that capital {I} is realized as a high front vowel, {A} as a low front vowel, {U} as a high vowel with a tendency for a less back realization and {O} as a really back vowel.

However, what is particularly interesting is the distribution of the vowel transcribed with capital {E}. This vowel is identified much more frequently than the other vowels with capital letters. In particular, we find it in 58 tokens as a stressed and in 46 as an unstressed vowel. Based on the charts (Figure 2), we observe that capital {E} is realized between [e] and [a] according to both F1 and F2 values, which means that it is a vowel lower than [e] and more front than [a]. Finally, it seems that its distribution is quite similar in both charts.

4.2. The speakers from Xirohori

The results provided by the study of the speech of males from Xirohori indicate that there are some remarkable deviations from the vowel system of speakers from Neo Agioneri. More specifically, we discovered that there are some differences in the distribution of the five vowels [i, e, a, o, u], with typical examples the less low realization of [a] and the close distance between [i] and [e]. Nevertheless, the stressed vowels are distinct from each other once again, and the unstressed

vowels are closer to each other, with many more overlaps between [i] and [e], as well as between [o] and [u], as can be seen in Figure 3. Also, the [e] and [a] vowel realization seems to be very close to each other, something we have not seen in the spectrums of the informants from Neo Agioneri.

Figure 3: The stressed and unstressed vowels from Xirohori

As to the sounds transcribed with capital letters, it seems that capital {I} is not realized by the speakers from Xirohori at all. Capital {A} is found only twenty-two times altogether: ten times as a stressed and twelve times as an unstressed vowel, as can be seen in table 2. Its distribution presents an extended overlap between [e], [a] and capital {E} as well, especially in the chart of stressed vowels. Capital {O} appears only four times: twice as a stressed and twice as an unstressed vowel respectively, and it is realized in a high and back position.

Table 2 The F1 and F2 values of the vowels from Xirohori

	Stressed				Unstressed		
Vowel	F1	F2	Records found	Vowel	F1	F2	Records found
[i]	0.786	1.508	260	[i]	0.819	1.451	510
[e]	1.098	1.346	226	[e]	1.005	1.361	302
{E}	1.315	1.235	51	{E}	1.216	1.294	46
[a]	1.418	1.119	310	[a]	1.294	1.166	874
{A}	1.415	1.220	10	{A}	1.406	1.335	12
[o]	1.039	0.791	229	[o]	0.970	0.806	205
{O}	1.034	0.670	2	{O}	0.876	0.673	2
[u]	0.823	0.783	88	[u]	0.830	0.876	268
{U}	0.854	0.894	27	{U}	0.826	0.919	7

In addition, the vowel transcribed as capital {U} is realized as a high vowel and in a clearly back position. As we can see, its distribution is detected within the realization area of [u], especially in the chart of unstressed vowels, which means that it is not realized differently from [u] vowel, something that it is not observed by the speakers from Neo Agioneri. Also in the chart of unstressed vowels, a partial overlap between the back vowels is detected, something that is realized among the front vowels as well.

Looking at the distribution of the capital vowel {E} in the vowel spectrum, it seems that it is realized by the speakers from Xirohori in a position similar to the speakers from Neo Agioneri, which is lower than [e] and more front than [a], and at a similar percentage rate as well: 51 tokens in stressed and 46 tokens in unstressed position. It is clear that this vowel is different from the five vowels found in SMG and is used much more frequently than the other vowels transcribed with capital letters. Overall, the results of the present investigation demonstrate a clear numerical distinction between vowels that exist in SMG and vowels that do not.

5. DISCUSSION

To summarize the distribution of the vowels that the transcribers, as native speakers of the dialect, identified with capital letters, it is essential to discuss the cases individually. Firstly, we have seen that capital {O} appears quite infrequently, as we found only two tokens in the speech of the informants from Neo Agioneri and four tokens in the speech of the males from Xirohori. This vowel is realized as a really back [o] in both groups of speakers. Nevertheless, this sound does not seem to coincide with the rounded open-mid front vowel [œ] identified by Dawkins as a "modified" (1916: 39) and "soft" vowel (1916: 41). Therefore, the very few instances and the inconsistencies of their F1 and F2 values do not allow us to accept our transcribers' identification of {O} as a distinct sound.

As for capital {A}, we also have very few tokens and most of them in the speech of the inhabitants from Xirohori. This vowel is realized as a really low [a], although it is produced within the realization area of [a] in any case. In the speech of the informants from Xirohori, its distribution presents an extended overlap between [e], [a] and capital {E}, with the existence of some divergent realizations of capital {A} especially in the chart of unstressed vowels. Similarly, this sound does not seem to coincide with any of the older Cappadocian vowels. The fact that this vowel did not exist in the older Cappadocian system, combined with its low frequency, does not allow us to accept it as a distinct sound in the Mišótika vowel system.

Nevertheless, in order to investigate the divergent realizations of capital {A}, we studied the environments in which {A} appears in the speech of the informants of both villages. In particular, we noticed that it is frequently detected as a variant of capital {E}, as the transcriber in the same structures sometimes indicates the detected sound with capital {A} and other times with capital {E}, as in the following examples:

1) ντΕρΕ - ντΑρΑ ([dæ'ræ] "now")
2) κΕλΕρια - κΑλΑρια ([kʰæ'lærja] "rock-cut chamber, storehouse")

Consequently, the high vowel described with capital {I} can be identified as referring to the older Cappadocian vowel [y], a high front rounded [i], according to the F1 and F2 values. However, this vowel seems to be in the process of elimination, as [y] appears in very small numbers (only 7 times) in the speech of the informants from Neo Agioneri, whereas it is not realized at all in the speech of those from Xirohori.

On the other hand, our data show that the vowel transcribed with capital {E} presents a different pattern. First of all, it is not realized as the older Cappadocian [+round, +front] [œ], but as a [-round, +front] [æ]. Moreover, this [æ] vowel seems to appear systematically in the speech of both villages and in both stress conditions. More specifically, when we studied the environments in which [æ] appears, we noticed that it is realized mainly in the ultimate stressed syllable of disyllabic words, i.e. in the stressed syllable of an iambic foot. Sometimes, it is also found in the unstressed syllable of an iambic foot, but on the condition that the same vowel [æ] appears in the stressed syllable of the same foot as well, probably as a result of regressive vowel harmony, as we can see in the examples below[6]:

3) [de'ræ] or [dæ'ræ] < Medieval Greek εδάρε "now"
4) [te'mær] or [tæ'mær] < Ancient Greek ἡμέτερος "our"
5) [se'vær] or [sæ'vær] < Turkish sever "time"

It seems that its realisation in the unstressed position is not obligatory, but optional and only in the metrical environment previously described. What may be inferred from the absolute numbers and percentages, is that the vowel [æ] is either in the process of high reduction and possible loss or in the first stages of its appearance. We have to stress that in one of our previous studies (Vassalou et al. 2017), we concluded that it should be in the first stages of its appearance.

This new variant [æ] is found in particular lexical items and assumed an additional part in the vowel system, i.e. as a variant of /e/ in very specific phonological/phonetic contexts, but it still has a small percentage of appearance, viz. less than 25%. The fact that this sound is found at the same rate by the speakers of both villages is something that reinforces the conclusion that the vowel has a place in the vowel system of Mišótika and displays a systematic distribution of appearance.

Finally, as for the high vowel transcribed with capital {U} this could easily refer to the older Cappadocian vowel [ɯ], a high back unrounded [u], according to the F1 and F2 values. However, it seems that this vowel is also in the process of extinction, as it has low percentages of appearances.

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[6] It should be noted that this type of harmony (regressive) is different from the progressive vowel harmony found in Turkish and other Altaic languages, which applies to suffixes (see Archangeli & Pulleyblank 2007 on different types of harmony). The progressive vowel harmony of the Turkish type is found in Cappadocian as well (Janse 2009: 39f, 2018: §6.2.1.4.1). For other examples of regressive vowel harmony, traditionally called regressive vowel assimilation, in Cappadocian see Dawkins (1916: 64f.) and Janse (2018: §6.2.1.4).

Especially in the charts of unstressed, there is a difference in the realization of {U} between the speakers of the two villages. In the chart from Neo Agioneri, the vowel has a tendency for a less back realization, while in Xirohori all its realizations are produced within the realization area of [u]. Examining our data, we studied the environments in which [ɯ] appears and we noticed that it is detected in specific environments presenting a quite similar behaviour to that of the [æ] vowel. In particular, it appears mainly in the ultimate stressed syllable of disyllabic or polysyllabic words, i.e. in the stressed syllable of an iambic foot. Sometimes, it is also found in the unstressed syllable of an iambic foot, but with the precondition that the same vowel [ɯ] is realized in the stressed syllable of the same foot as well, something we have observed in both cases in the appearance of the [æ] vowel, as we can see in the examples below:

6) [tɯ'ndɯr] or [tu'ndur] < Turkish *tandur* "clay oven"
7) [pa'mbɯr] or [pa'mbur] < Turkish *vapur*, dialectal *papur* "steamer"

According to our data, we observed that in the same structures there were times when the detected sound is realized with [ɯ] and others with [u], something that justifies the existence of overlapping between the two sounds in the vowel spectrums. What may be inferred is that the realization of the older Cappadocian [ɯ] vowel is often optional, and it seems to be assimilated with [u], because of the language contact with SMG, since the settlement of the Cappadocian refugees in Greece.

6. CONCLUDING REMARKS

Wrapping up the previous discussion, we hope to have shown that our data indicate that the vowel systems of the speakers from the two Cappadocian refugee communities diverge from the older system described by Dawkins (1916, figure 1). In particular, the speech of both speech communities provides evidence for the existence of a new variant of the phonological unit /e/, i.e. the [-round, +front] vowel [æ], which seems to appear systematically in the vowel system of Mišótika as a variant of /e/. Furthermore, this new variant appears in very specific metrical contexts, specifically as the stressed – and sometimes as the unstressed – vowel of an iambic foot in disyllabic words. At the same time, the three vowels reported by Dawkins which do not exist in SMG are either lost (like the mid back rounded [œ] and the high front rounded [y]) or at the very last stage of elimination (like the high back unrounded [ɯ]).

If the only changes that appeared within Mišotika were the loss – or the process of assimilation – of the three Turkish vowels, we would speak for a process of attrition. However, the existence of the new variant [æ], which does not exist in SMG and appears quite systematically, leads us to the conclusion that the above two phenomena can easily be interpreted as a levelling process towards a new koine[7], as Mišótika has been in contact with SMG and other Greek varieties since the population exchange of the 1920s. Something we also argued in a previous paper of ours (Vassalou et. al. 2017).

Furthermore, we have evidence that there are differences between the two Cappadocian speech communities. In particular, it seems that the vowel system of the inhabitants of both villages diverges from the older one described by Dawkins and at the same time Xirohori seems to be one step ahead in the process of linguistic change, since 1) the high back unrounded [ɯ] seems to be assimilated with the [u] vowel, and 2) the high front rounded [y] is totally lost.

We believe that these differences between the speakers from the two villages are due to the contact situations existing in each one and to the different attitudes of the speakers towards the dialect. As it was noted during the ethnographic study, Xirohori is a mixed village, since not only Cappadocians but also other Greek-dialect speakers live there, whereas Neo Agioneri is a homogeneous village. In addition, the inhabitants of Xirohori are not as receptive to the use of the dialect (since they present an overtly negative attitude), as opposed to the inhabitants from Neo Agioneri. Both of these features seem to play a fundamental role in the speech of the informants.

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[7] The koineization process has resulted in the creation of a new variety, which includes mixed features from the mutually comprehensive linguistic systems that have been in contact (see, among many others, Trudgill 1986: 107; Hinskens 1992: 15; Kerswill 2002: 669).

To conclude, Mišótika in not a dead variety, at least among elderly speakers. There are people who use it and recognize it as a distinct system as opposed to SMG. Nevertheless, the variety that native speakers use is not identical with the variety that Dawkins described a century ago, with changes that indicate a levelling process. Finally, there are differences, in relation to the vowel system, between the two speech communities of the same dialectal system, differences that are the result of contact under different sociolinguistic conditions.

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Loss of Optative (and -μι-Verbs) Re-examined With a Glance at Paradigm Repair

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ABSTRACT

Οι περισσοτεροι ερευνητές θέλοντας να εξηγήσουν την απώλεια της ευκτικής θεωρούν υπεύθυνες κυρίως τις συντακτικές αδυναμίες της και εκείνες τις λειτουργίες της που είχαν ανταγωνίστριες όπως την υποτακτική ή διάφορες περιφράσεις οι οποίες μπορούσαν να την αντικαταστήσουν. Η ευκτική αρχίζει να εξαφανίζεται στον 4ο π.Χ. αιώνα, αλλά οι συγκεκριμένες και διαφοροποιημένες χρήσεις της δεν εγκαταλείφθηκαν ταυτόχρονα. Στην Καινή Διαθήκη βρίσκουμε λίγα παραδείγματα – πρόκειται κυρίως για τριτοπρόσωπες ευχές. Κατά τη γνώμη μου λείπει, στις μέχρι σήμερα προσεγγίσεις, όχι μόνον η μορφολογική, αλλά και η φωνητική πλευρά του ζητήματος.

Στη συμβολή μου εξετάζω τρεις πρόσθετους παράγοντες: 1) ανάμιξη ενεστωτικών και παρελθοντικών καταλήξεων ως συνέπεια μορφολογικής „επισκευής": παραπέμπω σε παράλληλα μικτά παραδείγματα στην ελληνική και σε άλλες γλώσσες, 2) κοινά χαρακτηριστικά των ρημάτων σε –μι και της ευκτικής που συνέβαλαν στην εξασθένηση και των δυο και τελικά στην αποφυγή τους. Το ότι στην αττική τα ρήματα σε –μι ολοένα υποχωρούσαν επηρέασε και τις ευκτικές σε –μι. Οι ομιλητές άρχισαν να την αντιλαμβάνονται σαν κλειστή, ήδη πεπαλαιωμένη κατηγορία. Επίσης, η διπλή κατάληξη -σι και στον ενικό και στον πληθυντικό του ενεστώτα ήταν πιθανόν να παραξένευε τους μεταγενέστερους. Επειδή η μεσοπαθητική φωνή της αθέματης συζυγίας (όπως και της ευκτικής) ήταν πιο ομαλή και ο τόνος ήταν στην προτελευταία συλλαβή, η χρήση της δεν περιοριζόταν τόσο νωρίς. Και 3) φωνητικές αλλαγές που κατέστησαν ορισμένες καταλήξεις δυσπρόφερτες ή που προξένησαν αρκετές ενοχλητικές ομηχίες. Ο άλλος τύπος της ευκτικής σε   -ίην -αίην -είην -οίην έγινε γλωσσοδέτης. Και η ποικιλία των πλάγιων τύπων ήταν ασυνήθιστη. Αποδίδω ένα ρόλο-κλειδί στα ρήματα με το πρόσφυμα ´-νυμι των οποίων μερικά πρόσωπα του ενεστώτα, μετά την αλλαγή οι > υ, μπορούσαν να εκληφθούν σαν ψευδο-ευκτική: *δείκνοιμι αντί του ορθού δεικνύοιμι κατά τα δάκνοιμι κάμνοιμι τέμνοιμι ἐλαύνοιμι πλύνοιμι.

Στην ανακοίνωσή μου έδειξα επίσης με ποιές αναδιοργανώσεις και αναμορφώσεις αντιδρούσε η ζωντανή γλώσσα στα προβλήματα των ρημάτων σε ´-νυμι και τί μεταβολές υπέστησαν τα ενεστωτικά θέματά τους για να συμμορφωθούν στις μορφολογικές και φωνολογικές ανάγκες των μεταγενέστερων φάσεων της ελληνικής. Λόγω περιορισμένου χώρου παραλείπονται οι σχετικοί παράγραφοι στα παρόντα Πρακτικά.

Ελπίζω να έχω δείξει τη σημασία δημιουργίας πιο ενιαίων ρηματικών παραδειγμάτων σε όλες τις εγκλίσεις, διαθέσεις και φωνές αφού ένα σύστημα που στην αφετηρία του ήταν διαφανές και εύληπτο, στο πέρασμα χρόνου και μετά από φωνητικές αλλαγές έχει γίνει πολύπλοκο, αδιαφανές και δύσκολο - όχι μόνον στην εκμάθηση για ξένους, αλλά και στην απόκτηση από ομιλητές της μητρικής γλώσσας. Ενώ η ευκτική δεν πέτυχε να ξεπεράσει τις πολλαπλές της αδυναμίες, μεγάλο μέρος των ρημάτων σε –μι κατόρθωσε, με διάφορους τρόπους, να μετασχηματιστεί σε θεματικά.

Key Words: historical morphology, optative, μι-verbs, disambiguation

1. INTRODUCTION

Most accounts, like the ones by Meillet (1920; 286 ff.), Schwyzer (1939/ 79; II, 337f.) and Debrunner-Scherer (1969; 17ff.) exclusively attribute the loss of the optative to syntactic weaknesses and functions that had competitors (subjunctive, periphrases) which supplanted them. Perhaps a two-mood-opposition is universally more manageable, as suggested by Sallwürk (1868;

3ff.).   W. Schmid (1893; V, 593) stated that the optative began disappearing in the fourth century BC. The New Testament has but remainders, mostly 3rd person wish-formulas. [1]

In my opinion, the explanations provided hitherto are incomplete; focus should be shifted to morphology and phonology too. I want to examine three additional factors: 1) the strange mixing of secondary and primary endings paralled by mixed paradigms in Greek and other languages; 2) the common features of μι-verbs and the optative which resulted in their weakening, so that eventually, both disappeared. I attribute a key role to the ´-(ν)υμι/-(ν)ύω verbs. For comparison the decline or spread of Indo-European mi-verbs in cognate languages will be shortly examined; 3) sound changes making endings hard to pronounce, which moreover produced in some of them a confusing homophony or near-homophony. It is hoped that these considerations will show a time correspondence between the decline of the optative, of μι-verbs and phonological developments... Beyond these factors there will also be 4) a look at what became of μι-verbs, mainly those with the –νυ- infix in postclassical and modern Greek.

2. OPTATIVE: MIXED ENDINGS, PATTERN WEAKNESSES AND REPAIR

The subjunctives were more uniform, a regular modification of the indicative, and probably easier to acquire. Did the optative formally belong to to past tenses like subjunctives or conditionals derived from them in other languages? Even in classical Greek the optative was   morphologically strange because most persons of its active present seem to have primary endings although historically this is true only of the 1st person in -μι, whereas the present mediopassive is formed with secondary endings of the preterite without augment. Save for –μι the endings were secondary but this was no longer felt – see Meier-Brügger (1979; II, 54): synchronically, -μεν -τε were no longer recognizable as primary or secondary, and the -οις -οι resembled primary endings too. The 3rd plural active ´-οιεν looks more like a strange preterite and its –εν rather resembles a 3rd singular; the variants of the contract verbs -οίην -ῴην are related to those of εἰμί εἴην, and the   aorist passive. As Schwyzer (1975; 796) states φιλοίην contains the /i/ twice, on analogy of δοίην (δίδωμι). The -ίην paradigm has endings of the past, similar to root aorists and passive aorists. All optatives contain the characteristic /i/. In -μι -οις ... /-σαιμι -σαιες / -είην -είης ... etc. the i-sound was no longer heard as such but was absorbed by surrounding sounds after the change in pronunciat-ion. Perhaps the Koine preference of the aorist opt. δῴην instead of δοίην /dýên/ has to do with distinguishing it from the athematic aorist opt. δύην of ἔδυν (δύω -ομαι) which – certainly not by chance was marked as rare (in brackets in Zinsmeisters grammar) or avoided (empty field in the grammar of Kaegi).

The changes of conditional clauses and statements that once contained optatives + ἄν (irreality, potentiality) cannot be discussed here; but it should be said that the particle ἄν after verbs did not survive whereas after certain dependent clause markers and before verbs it does. Undoubtedly the aorists and the new preterites in -α etc. followed by ἄν tended to become more difficult to pronounce, and could sound ambiguous. E.g. ἔπαυσα ἄν, with a weak tone on the particle and pronounced quickly, easily became ἔπαυσαν. In addition, the final Ny of ἄν was no longer stable. Preterites like προεῖχαν (P. Grenf. II 41, 46 AD) first appeared in papyri of the 1st c. AD, but probably occurred earlier in the spoken language.

Root verbs with monosyllabic stems like δίδωμι δω- δο- τίθημι θη- θε- ἵημι ἡ- ἑ- ἵστημι στη- στα- φημί φη- φα- and root aorists like ἔγνων always form the singular of their optative with   -ίη-ν, and never with -(ι)μι *θεῖμι *δοῖμι *φαῖμί *γνοῖμι, or a predecessor *-(ι)α/*-(ι)ν, although the plural can have the short morpheme -ι- or the longer -ιη-: διδοῖμεν διδοίημεν τιθεῖεν τιθείησαν. [2] The longer

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[1] In a survey by Calboli (2011/12; 23f.) on recent research on the moods of Greek and Latin verbs, hardly any contributions to the aspects dealt with in the present paper are found. The old discussion on   whether there is a genuine link between the optative's secondary endings and the preterite indicative seems to becontinuing. Furthermore Watkins is cited with a statement according to which an original 1st person sg. of the pres. optative of the middle voice (!) had been used to form the 1st person sg.of the active voice. Watkins' text is not accessible at the moment.

[2] Eustathius Comm. in Odyss. I, 128 calls δοίην a metaplasm of δοῖμι, but did this ever exist? Εῖμι with its thematic optative ἴοιμι ἴοι is an exception. Schwyzer (op.cit.; 674, 677) points to the former stages *ἴη, ἰείη and εἴη; the latter was abandoned because of an embarassing homophony with εἴη of εἰμί. Attic ἰοίην looks like a blend of ἰείην and ἴοιμι. On the other hand, εἰμί no longer kept its thematic optative variant ἔοις ἔοι (Homeric). Despite its not being a root verb, the aorist optative of ἔχω, σχοίην, is preferred to σχοῖμι; ´- σχοιμι however occurs in compounds.

present stems like δείκνυμι κεράννυμι have the thematic form δεικνύοιμι κεραννύοιμι with the -μι at a distance of one syllable compared to the indicative and of two syllables from the original verb stem.

Εἴην ποιοίην became tongue-twisters and could not persist. According to Hatzidakis (1892; 334) two or more successive identical vowels (including those and diphthongs having become identical through sound change) were „simplified" into one. So, in Koine, λειφθείη εἴη eventually no longer differed from λειφθῇ ῇ. Much confusion arose between the frequent verbs εἰμί (subj., opt., pret.) and εἶμι, and, after psilosis, with ἥμι. And later on the 1st -είην and 3rd –είη of the active optative paradigm became hard to distinguish, in case the 3rd person, like the passive aorist -(θ)η, could take a Ny ephelkystikon quite early, perhaps even earlier than the attested ἀνενεώθη-ν from Attaleia (V-VI AD, Grégoire No. 309). In Attic the perfects in -α and -κα formed their optatives with -(κ)οιμι, like the present. SCHWYZER (op. Cit.; 795) informs us about a previous stage like ἐδηδοκοίη (Cratinus) and ἐκπεφευγοίην (Sophokles). These again were modernized versions of the still older *πεφύγjην *πεφύξην. And the thematic optatives mentioned δεικνύοιμι δεικνύοι ῥηγνυοίμην ῥηγνύοιτο were more recent formations than ῥηγνῦμεν < *ῥηγνύιμεν, ῥηγνῦτο < *ῥηγνύιτο; such forms are rarely found in Herodotus. It must have been difficult to keep ῥηγνῦμεν apart from the Ionic 3rd pers. pl. indicative ῥηγνῦσιν or the 1st pl. mediopassive *ῥηγνύμεθα with a long y from its indicative counterpart *ῥηγνύμεθα with a short y. So the old pattern became increasingly obscure.

Originally, the 1st person active of noncontracted verbs had -οιν or –οια which sounded nearly like the Attic 3rd plural in ´-οιεν, cf. a Delphic inscription 3rd pl. παρέχοιν. Through patchwork -ν or -α were replaced by -μι from athematic verbs; Meillet (1927; 46) thought of Homeric subjunctives like φέρωμι (not athematic verbs directly) as a model. From Elis Schwyzer (op. cit.; I, 663) cites ἀποτίνοιαν - more clearly secondary. Πέμψειαν εἴποιεν λέγοιεν κάμψαιεν > /kámpsen/ were plurals, while κάμψειεν – in drama even before consonants – was a singular, same as κάμψειε or κάμψαι, a choice of variants not between dialects, but in Attic. In other moods and tenses the distinction between singular and plural is more clearly marked. Jannaris (1897; 204) ment- ions modified 3rd pl. act. presents ἐκλείχοισαν or aorists εἴποισαν ποιήσαισαν. These all demonstrate the antipathy to ´–οιεν ´–σαιεν (> *- σεν); -σαν compares with Koine ἐλέγοσαν, in Attic first in ἦσαν εἴησαν ἔθεσαν ἐπεπαιδεύκεσαν ἐκόπησαν. [3]

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[3] The optative repair recalls how other ambiguities were avoided, like *ἔδον of the aorist 1st sg. = and still Doric 3rd Pl of δίδωμι by ἔδωκα and ἔδοσαν, a model for later 3rd pl. ἐλέγοσαν = ἔλεγον, avoiding homonymy with 1st sg. Ἔλεγον. In the modern Greek dialect of Lesbos, according to Anagnostou (1903, 30-42) there is another quite unexpected example of a partial redesign of the preterite of normal verbs : the morpheme of the 1st sg. active preterite is -ουμ which looks like the classical -ον in northern pronunciation and with my instead of ny: -ομ. To explain this my as a nasalized sound like in French bon or nom seems rather far-fetched, but not entirely impossible, cf. ἔλ'νουμ for ancient ἔλυον (modern ἔλυνα), φούσουμ = φούσουν for ancient ἐφύσων, κούνουμ κούνεις κούνει κ'νούσαμη for ancient ἐκίνουν ἐκίνεις etc. Rather, it is the 1st sg. mediopassive preterite -όμ(ουν) < -όμην. It exists besides the expected -α. Perhaps its „introduction" did not proceed unchecked: final /-n/being unstable, possibly the difference from the 3rd pl. -αν was not marked enough. The frequent preterite of ‚to be', ἦμ' < ἤμου(ν) < ἤμην replacing ἦν and not so much felt like a middle, may have helped the development. Although this -ουμ as such does not differ from the mediopassive preterite, confusion is prevented by accent and morpheme details: ἔλ'νουμ vs. λύνουμ common modern Greek ἔλυνα λυνόμουν, παίδηγουμ vs. πιδεύγουμ, ἀγάπουμ vs. ἀγαπιώμ' for ancient ἠγάπων ἠγαπώμην common mod. Gr. αγαπούσα αγαπιόμουν, κούνουμ ancient ἐκίνουν modern κουνούσα vs. κνιώμ' ancient ἐκινούμην common mod. Gr. κουνιόμουν with a curious by-form κνιώμ ·ταν with –ταν of the 3rd sg.; here a connection with the dialect preterite of είμαι ἦμ' or ἦμ ·ταν is obvious. This intrusion of the 3rd sg. with -αν in use for several preterite persons in various degrees may be explained as underlining the difference between κνιώμ' ancient ἐκινούμην common mod. Gr. κουνιόμουν vs. κνιώμη ancient κινοῦμαι common mod. Gr. κουνιέμαι. In late Koine, instable final Ny could make the first and third persons sg. of the (formally) active endings -(θ)ην -(θ)ης -(θ)η -(θ)ημεν -(θ)ητε -(θ)ησαν homophonous. Modern Standard „chose" the perfect active -κα for the 1st sg., and the κ- morpheme gradually took over the whole paradigm. The initial stage with the change in the 1st sg. only is still preserved on Karpathos, cf. Minas (2012, 66). On Kalymnos the initial stage and the standard endings for all six persons exist side by side, cf. Drakos (1983, 59). In the Calabrian dialect of Southern Italy the solution was to add an -α to the ´-(θ)ην >´-(θ)ηνα of the 1st sg. which is a past morpheme of active 1st sg. of past tenses and moreover protects the weak Ny, e.g. ἐκλείστηνα. But in the neighbouring Apulian dialect mediopassive endings were introduced into the paradigm, e.g. ἐκλείστημο, cf. Karanastasis (1988, 175). It is to be explained as < *ἐκλείστημον < *ἐκλείσθήμην. However the 1st pl. ἐκλείσθημεν also became ἐκλείστημο in Apulia, and this is why this ´-ημο was transformed to -ημόστο written -imòsto on the website „gricoinrete". The 1st and 2nd pl. have the same number of syllables in many modern dialects, and so the 2nd pl. appears as -ησόστο (-isòsto). As a result of morphological change, the paradigm of the variety displayed on the website mentioned looks like this:

Mainly in epic, poetic and dialect -μι verbs, as has been said, could drop their –σι in the 3rd pers. sg. indicative. We will not have to look long for the reverse. So Homer has 1st and 3rd sg. act. subjunctives like ἔησι = ἔῃ ᾖ, φέρῃσι = φέρῃ, ἐθέλωμι = ἐθέλω, an epic innovation, says Chantraine (1958, 461f.). Schwyzer (op. cit.; I 661) agrees with Wackernagel that the 1 pers. subj. ἐθέλωμι might have followed the preclassic subj. ἐθέλησι (written ἐθέλησι) < *ἐθέλητι on the analogy of the athematic τίθημι: τίθησι. Here -μι distinguishes between indicative and subjunctive, the long ω of the 1st person alone was ambiguous. In Homer's Iliad 10, 346 there is a form where the -σι is added to a root aorist optative of ἔφθην: παραφθαίη-σι - unless it stands for a subj. -ήῃσι. The 3rd pers sg. resembles the relation δείκνυσι = epic δείκνυ. Here one cannot help recalling Meillet's statement on the 1st pers. sg. optative of thematic verbs as borrowed from the Homeric subj. in   -ωμι. [4]Such epic and dialectal forms (or exceptional ones some of which may not have been   inherited, widespread or were even artificial) may hint to attempts to reconcile thematic and athematic verb patterns falling apart, or to approach indicatives and subjunctives when there had similar functions. They may show the attempts of speakers, authors or copyists to „tackle" synchronic inconsistency.

3. FATES OF FIRST PERSON ENDINGS –MI/-M IN INDO-EUROPEAN

The optative's decline must be considered in the context of μι-Verbs. Szemerényi (1990; 248) reconstructs IE primary endings with -mi or -ô in the first person active sg. and secondary endings with -m. The -mi or -ô dichotomy seems to start from the pronoun variants *egō/*egōmi. Once -mi is reduced to -m, problems occur. Mi, once a frequent present morpheme in Indoeuropean, has long been on the retreat. Latin sum survived, but the other –m of first persons active belonging to subjunctives e.g. sim maneam capiam essem facerem monuerim, future e.g. audiam, preterite eram amabam, were secondary endings; therefore primary –m was dropped.

The Slavic languages underwent several modifications of the –mi/-ō 1st pers. sg. morph-eme inherited from Indo-European, cf. Olander (2015; 303ff.). Old Church Slavonic had still four athematic verbs (equivalents of ‚give', know', ‚have', ‚be'). The morpheme's final vowel had disappeared by the 12th c. AD. The 1st pers. sg. of the numerous thematic verbs ended in –ǫ. This was not, according to H. Bichlmeier, the successor of simple IE –ō, but an *–ōm, i.e. with the –m of the secondary endings for statements about past and non-reality, corresponding to ancient Greek –n in ἔλεγο-ν. It may have been added for greater clarity, or perhaps to protect the vowel from being deleted, cf. in spoken German „ich red < ich rede". In Polish thematic a-verbs changed over to the –m(i)-class: czytam wspinam. Whereas -mi of the present has shrunk to –m, the secondary –m of the majority of thematic verbs has evaporated to the nasal timbre of –ǫ and later to –ę, in Russian however to simple –u. -M becomes difficult if it sounds the same for the preterite, a process similar to that in Latin; Polish presents like wiem czytam are distinguished from their preterites by an infix: masculine czytałem wiedziałem and, respectively, feminine czytałam wiedziałam.

´-στημο ´-στης ´-στη -στιμόστο -στισόστο ´-στησαν (written ´-stimo ´-stis ´-sti -stimòsto -stisòsto ´-stisan), and the change left three of the inherited forms unaffected whereas the other three were transformed and bear a mediopassive morpheme. On the other hand, even the common modern 3rd pl. preterite mediopassive (λέγ)-ονταν can be analysed as combining the classical(ἐλέγ)-οντο with active endings like those of the older postclassical preterite (ἔλεγ-)αν and the classical aorists (ἔμειν-)αν or ἔκλεισ-)αν.

Where a 3rd person perfect mediopassive pl. was unpronounceable a periphrasis took over: γεγραμμένοι εἰσί. Repair techniques" are widespread: In Italian, the old preterite   1st sg. temeva < lat. time- bam was no longer distinguished from the 3rd sg. temeva < lat. timebat and was thus altered to temevo by applying the -o of the present! And in Latin sum/som es est evolved into Spanish soy *es es: disambiguation came from the second person of the future eris: soy eres es. German replaces subjunctive I forms by subjunctive II if homophonous with the indicative and creates a mixed paradigm.

[4] In the case of the present optative and the -μι verbs the endings thus became the same except the 3rd pl.. Galen ed. Kühn (1829, XVIII, 473) has a strange ἄν φαίηται < φημί instead of the regular φαίη. The middle is rare and poetic, and if ever formed, it should be φαῖτο (cf. ἱσταῖτο), a mixture of φαίη x *φαῖτο x *φῆται (cf. ἱστῆται); this unique (?) formation obviously combines the optative and the subjunctive. An aorist active optative εὑροίη = εὕροι in Hippocrates reminds us of φιλοίη; whether artificial or not, this curious   formation looks less strange if we think of the proportions εὑρεῖν: φιλεῖν, εὕρηκα: πεφίληκα, and εὑρημένος: πεφιλημένος or of εὗρον: ἔσχον and σχοίη: εὑροίη. The final-syllable accent of some second aorist forms obviously favoured later subjunctives like εὑρῶ εὑρῇς > βρῶ. βρῇς.

Germanic relics are, according to Braune (1987; 303-306) ich bin < bim/I am. Old High German still had root verbs tom tuom > tuon > modern tue, gām > gān/ gēm > gēn > modern gehe, and some weak verbs like salbôm habēm; at a time when obligatory personal pronouns were not yet generalized, confusions with at least the 1ˢᵗ pers. pres. subj. could not be ruled out. However under different circumstances, the successor oft he 1ˢᵗ pers. pres. indic. In -m(i) > -n was, in West Alamanic and Middle Frankish, able to conquer 1ˢᵗ persons pres. indic. of other verb classes in Middle High German (Paul 1969; 198), and spread to all verbs in modern Rhenanian and Luxembourgish.

This goes even further than the conversion of thematic denominal (later contract) verbs to athematic ones that is known in ancient Aeolic. That such a change took place very early has been shown by Hajnal (2001; 151) who cites an equivalent of *πόνηται *πόνημαι instead of the inherited πονέεται πονέομαι on a Mycenian tablet. Dahl (2014; 395) points to a different fate of mi-Verbs in Indo-Iranian where the athematic and the athematic type were „fused into one" (with –mi surviving).

4. DEVELOPMENT, PARTICULAR FEATURES AND PROBLEMS OF GREEK MI-VERBS

Μι -verbs had been diminishing since primitive and classical Greek. The important root verbs εἰμί and εἶμι already had thematic variants for their preterites in Homer. Κυνέω, φθίνω, ἐλινύω, κτείνω are said by Schwyzer (1975; I, 697) to have been transformed from the -μι type before written tradition; κτείνυμι < *κτάνυμι, κτιννυμι continued to be used. Τανύω τάνυμαι reveals a half transition, but later the present stem expands to other tenses. At a later stage, the active present stem variant –(ν)νύω of the ´-(ν)νυμι type appears earlier and more frequently than the mediopassive -(ν)νύομαι besides -´(ν)νυμαι in Ptolemaic papyri, Mayser (1906; 452) and the NT (Blass; 1984, 67).

Several athematic forms could feel thematic. Δίδομεν yielded > δίδω, τίθετε τίθω, ἐδίδους ἐδίδου > διδόω διδῶ, ἐτίθεις τιθέω τιθῶ, ἐπίμπρα > πιμπράω πιμπρῶ so in Xenophon. The -´ννυμι vowel stems show early transition to -ννύω; however Schwyzer (op. cit. 698) warns that dictionar-ies claimed such forms based on IE 3ʳᵈ pers. pl. *-nnuwonti > -ννύουσι still athematic; he identifies Homeric [ἐ]ζεύγνυον (pret. 3ʳᵈ pers. pl. Iliad) as prior to his [ἐ]ζεύγνυσαν. But Homer also used real thematic forms. A starting point will have been subjunctives of -μι verbs. Given similar indicatives and subjunctives of ω-verbs such a pattern-transfer was logical. From classical to Koine and late Greek we find that active athematic forms are more often transformed to thematic ones - or just their present stem is avoided as in the New Testament -, if compared to mediopassive ones: no doubt these differed less from the –ω -verbs and were thus less difficult. But whereas in ´-υμι   ´-υμαι, ´-ημι ´-αμαι/´-εμαι,-´ωμι ´-ομαι the accent was mainly on the stem syllable this was no longer the case with the mixed pattern of thematic –ύω and athematic ´-υμαι; this discrepant coexistence lasted some centuries, but with the disappearance of the -μι-inflection the verbs concerned   returned to identical stems for both voices.

Phonetic change separated the athematic and thematic endings which had been nearly uniform. It became difficult to recognize the same functions in the pattern -ω *-εσι/-εις *-ετι/-ει ... -οντι/Attic -ουσι and its athematic counterpart -μι -σι -τι... -ντι; so the Attic 3ʳᵈ sg. did not stay like the 2ⁿᵈ sg, but turned -τι- in -σι. This however meant a strange similarity with the Attic 3ʳᵈ pl. in -σι -ουσι. Quite early it might have puzzled speakers and even more learners that εἶσι was the 3ʳᵈ sg of εἶμι, but εἰσί the 3ʳᵈ pl. of εἰμί. Again the 2nd sg. εἶ of these two basic verbs was the same, and that, in compounds, ἄπεισι was either the 3ʳᵈ sg. of ἄπειμι ‚go away' but also the 3ʳᵈ pl. of ἄπειμι ‚to be absent'. Some plurals resembled the sg. even more, as Herodotus' προτίθεισι for προτιθέασι, or sg. ῥήγνυσι pl. ῥηγνῦσι; δίδωσι, sounded like a thematic subjunctive from new δίδω indicative δίδουσι. Liddell and Scott s.v. δίδωμι mention a variant of the 3ʳᵈ pl. παραδίδωσι in an older edition of Josephus' Antiquities 10.4.1, demonstrating the problematic -σι for the 3ʳᵈ pers. of singular and plural.

Therefore, it comes as no surprise that Psaltis (1913; 241) found the sg. φησί πρόσεισι used instead of the pl. φασί προσίασι in Byzantine texts. Moreover the athematic -ασι (διδόασι τιθέασι ἱστᾶσι ῥηγνύασι) looked like the -ασι of the perfect. Even in dialects that did not change -τι of the 3ʳᵈ sg. into -σι, this morpheme could be dropped, so Schwyzer (op. cit.; I 659) draws attent-ion to Hesiodus' δείκνυ for δείκνυσι etc. which, still athematic, came closer to the thematic inflex-ion. Such a form was problematic in pre-classical and epic Greek as it was indistinguishable from the unaugmented preterite.[5] Kühner and Blass (1890; 183) mention sideforms helping to create a more

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[5] When the iota adscriptum (or subscriptum) was no longer articulated, the 3ʳᵈ pers. act. of the   present and aorist subj. διδῷ δῷ, sounding like the 1ˢᵗ person forms, became inconvenient. There had been dialectal and

uniform plural like διδόαμεν διδόατε on the model of διδόασι, however similar to some perfect endings. Such levelling is found in all periods. The ancient perfect and optative share the mixture of primary and secondary endings. Active πέποιθα -ες -ε -αμεν -ατε -ασι πεπαίδευκα etc. have secondary endings, but the mediopassive primary ones. The Koine variant πεπαίδευκαν better suits the rest of the paradigm.

Linguistic change can always run both ways. So IE bhérô Greek φέρω has an Old Indian equivalent bhárāmi, which Schwyzer (op. cit.; I 660) categorized as more recent. Δίδημι ζέννυμι and others established themselves next to the inherited δέω ζέω. Ῥήσσω arises instead of ῥήγνυμι, conversely πλέγνυμι for πλέκω. In Aeolic many commonly contracted verbs are athematic like φίλημμι.

Dahl (2014, 396) calls the athematic verbs „a fossilized, closed morphological class". This is by and large correct for the mainstream Greek, but maybe not for Aeolic and cognate dialects. Furthermore we will see that the μι-verbs (and their thematic successors) made a few conquests in the realm of inherited thematic verbs outside Attic, like Homeric δίδημι, but even later in Koine. Although it is difficult to verify it on the basis of written tradition. Some of these variants may have been part of the spoken language. It must be repeated that most linguistic movements can run into two directions. Normally, the direction supported by phonetics and linguistic economy will be   stronger; the reverse movement then comes more as a hypercorrection. But backlashes are   facilitated by different environmental conditions, especially at the periphery of a language area. Dahl rightly states that the coinage of new verbs with special derivational suffixes is restricted to the thematic class.

Koine was mainly Attic, but many modern phenomena emerge in dialects first, especially in Boeotian and Thessalian, where -ai- in verbal endings frequently turned into Eta and probably soon into -i, in other words for many speakers outside Attica it became increasingly difficult to distinguish active -μι and mediopassive -μαι; in Korinna we read μέμφομη. Can we assume that η was already pronounced /i/? The „Kleine Pauly" (1979; III, col. 300) informs us, that the preserved copies of her works have been adapted to the writing usage of about 250 BC. On the other hand, we find χρήσαιμαι ἔσται for χρήσαιμι ἐστί in the Zenon Papyri of 253 BC. (Strohschein 1941; 183). At least enclitic ἐστι was, in such an environment, like the future ἔσται. The process repeated itself in northern Modern Greek where λέγομαι became /léγumi/.

Let us now look at the relationship between active -μι and mediopassive -μαι -μην. In Koine, final Ny became instable. Convincing accounts with early examples of its gradual loss are given by Meyer (1896; 398ff.) and by Dieterich (1898; 88ff.). [6]As elsewhere, Greek *εἶμι (no longer enclitic εἰμί) was the last verb to keep -μι, and under influence of 2nd pl. ἐστέ felt as middle *ἔσθε the future ἔσομαι and suppletive aorist ἐγενόμην was transformed to a middle present: εἶμαι.The preterite ἤμην /imin/, first in Euripides and the Septuaginta, was not far from the old εἰμί (especially when enclitic εἰμι). From later Koine until modern dialects we observe a tendency to add Ny nearly everywhere: in analogy with 3rd pers. past active like ἔλεγε[ν εἶπε[ν ἐλέγετο[ν *ἐλέγεσο[ν the latter ones in line with the 1st pers. mediopassive ἐλεγόμην. Moulton's Notes (1901, 38) contain some ἦν = ἦ 3rd pers. pres. subj. of εἶναι. And added to the present 1st pers. mediopass., as in Pontic; it becomes εἶμαι-ν, cf. βλέπετε-ν in the same dialect. The 3rd pers. mediopass. κῖτεν = κεῖται-ν is read in an inscription of a Jewish catacomb in Rome ed. Müller & Bees (1919; 160). The opposite, the   dropping of final Ny as recorded by Moulton (op. cit.; 38) in περιῆ = περιῆι or ἀνέβη = ἀνέβην, or βλέπομεν > modern Greek βλέπουμε, took place as well. With some certainty -όμην -οίμην could already, at least regionally, lose their Ny. Mayser (op. cit.; 192) offers an early example from P. Lond. I p 41,115

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epic non-contracted forms like δώει δώῃ δώῃ (Liddell and Scott s.v., Blass 1984; 69) or even δοῖ (from the thematic present indicative διδοῖς or the subj. δουλοῖς). In Koine, thanks to their component /i/, they were more easily identified as 3rd persons. Δώῃ now was like the optative δώῃ, often replacing δοίη   (= δύει, δύῃ); this was not too problematic as sometimes both moods were interchangeable. The long-term solution δώσῃ δώσωμεν δώσω made its appearance in the New Testament, too.

[6] For Joseph (2016) „the loss of final n at least began... during the late Hellenistic and ear[l]y Byzantine periods". Threatte (1995; 636) mentions an imperative aor. οἰκτίρο_ from the end of the VI BC, which has parallels in the speech of the Scythian in Aristophanes, Thesmophoriazusae 1195 κάρισο_ = χάρισον (imperative active instead of the middle); we can suppose that the missing final Ny were not restricted to „barbarous" speakers. Meyer suggests its very weak articulation in the everyday language even in classical times. In Mayser's Grammar (1907; 193) one finds many omissions in Ptolemaic papyri – even before vowels: τὴν ὑπάρχουσα ἡμῖν οἰκίαν (3rd c BC).

ἐκομισάμη<ν> τά, but ἐκομισάμην τό in line 126! Concerning mediopassive preterites and optatives an early substandard variant *ἤμη of εἰμί, -όμη, -οίμη without -n should be postulated. About 1200 AD we read παρήμη in a document from Southern Italy, cf. Minas (1994; 61). In Calabria ἤμην became /ímmo(n)/ with optional Ny, adapted to ἦσο /íso/ ἦτο(ν), the pre- cursors of modern ἤμουν /ímoun/ /ísoun/. Doric ἤμᾱν /e:mân/ became ἔμα in Tsakonian, according to Kostakis (1986; 287). Minas (op. cit.; 62,123) cites 12th century documents from South Italy φαίνομαι-ν, but ἐμοιρασάμη_. Such forms, according to the same author (2002; 162), still occur in the Karpathos dialect: εβρεχούμη_ besides more modern εχιονίτζουμη_ or ελούννομουν (ancient ἐλουόμην). Several islands have -όμου. The ancient ´-ετο and medieval ´-εσο >´-ουσου are like-wise preserved on Kalymnos without Ny, and the 1st pers. mediopassive -όμου loses its -n to create more uniformity. From Naxos Markou (1980; passim) records mediopassive endings of the preterite varying between ´-ομου (also in pausa) and ´-ομουν, with a tendency of dropping -n 3rd pl. act. αλλάζου_ήλλαζα_; on Crete pres. κράζουν often becomes κράζου_ .

Certainly, most forms of the main optative with -oi- did not yet sound like the subjunctive. Most important is the change omikron iota to ypsilon, in Boeotian after 250 BC, from 160 BC on in Egypt and after 200 AD in Attic, but Hellenistic centres were probably more important for the further development. Examples like Κοίβων 374/3 BC, ἀνύγω Pap. 245/4 BC, ἀργυροπροίμνω 272/1 BC, σοί (= σύ) 254 BC) are found in the works of Teodorsson (1977: 110,140), Mayser-Schmoll (1970; 89), Schwyzer (op. cit.; I 233) Karvounis. (2008; 31ff., 59ff.). Strohschein (1941; 222ff.) interpretes such cases as proving early change and contradicts late dates in Greece herself against early occurrences in Egypt.

There is one more reason that will have been very detrimental to the optative: the numerous ´-νυμι verbs. Thematic forms of this category started spreading from an early date. However athematic and thematic forms co-existed over a long time span. So once /-oi-/ had switched to /-y-/, part of the present active of frequent verbs as δείκνυμι -υς -υμεν -υτε κεράννυμι etc. etc. sounded like an optative *δείκνοιμι *-οις *-οιμεν *-οιτε. Other indicatives resembled optatives like δουλοῖς -οῖ cf. φρονοῖμι -οῖς. As we know, the correct optative was δεικνύοιμι -ύοις...– it tended to become *δεικνοῖμι, pronounced *δεικνῦμι etc. in spoken language according to the rule cited earlier, and suggest a contract verb like *δεικνῶ, like medieval and dial. ὀμνῶ. Moreover, the endings of the 2nd and 3rd indic. act. δεικνύεις -ει and the subjunctive δεικνύῃς -ύῃ sounded at first like that of an optative in -οίη e.g. ὀκνοίη τυραννοίη, and later tended to be contracted to *δεικνεῖς, cf. ὀμνῶ Dieterich (1898; 222), ἀπολλεῖ Interpret. Pollucis 418. With instable ny, contracted *δεικνοῖμι got close to mediopass. (δεικνυοίμην >) *δεικνοίμην, like regular μισοῖμι and μισοῖμην, one reason to prefer μισοίην? Even some other verbs in -ύω like λύεις λύει ἑλκύεις μεθύητε ἴσχυεν recalled optatives. Vice versa, optatives of αὐξάνοιμι κρίνοιτε exhibited similarity with´-ν)νυμι/(ν)νύω verbs, particularly after de-gemination, τέμνοιμι e.g. with ὄμνυμι. It would be a speculation to ask if the greater frequency of aorist optatives in postclassical authors might have to do with this new disturbing ambiguity of the /y/ sound.

5. CONCLUSION

I wanted to demonstrate the importance of building more consistent paradigms, especially when endings become opaque or ambiguous. The degree to which speakers feel a need for differentiating or rely on the context varies individually and regionally. The more divergent a paradigm appears synchronically, compared to the most frequent ending patterns, the more vulnerable it seems. I hope that I was able to show that optatives and μι-verbs, in addition to early weak- nesses, became entirely unwieldy and inconvenient by later sound changes; for the optative there were alternatives to replace it. Late Hellenistic speakers may have found its usage literate and half-obsolete, similar to the passé simple in modern French; In Greek, the athematic stems of the present and preterite paradigms were gradually reduced, abolished or transformed; indispensable and frequent μι-verbs integrated successfully into the thematic inflection; the different steps of this process can be observed from Proto-Greek until the end of the first millenium AD. Apart from by-forms like ἀνοίγω = ἀνοίγνυμι and ῥήσσω = ῥήγνυμι or slight modifications δεικνύω = δείκνυμι, one of the earliest examples in which the stem end is redesigned more radically, is στρώνω Testam. Salom. 5.8 (p. 23.5) init. saec. III AD[7]

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[7] G.W.H. Lampe, A Patristic Greek Lexicon s.v.

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Σημασιοσυντακτική Προσέγγιση των Ονομάτων που δηλώνουν Χρώμα στα Νέα Ελληνικά

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ABSTRACT

This paper aims at the investigation of the syntactic and semantic criteria that help us predict the grammatical category to which a color term belongs. The research has been conducted in the framework of my PhD thesis entitled: *"Grammar of names denoting color in Modern Greek. Theory and application in lexicography and teaching Modern Greek as a second/foreign language"*.

At first, I study simple sentences (subject - verb - complement) and make a grouping of color terms based on the structures in which they appear, for example: *Αυτό το χρώμα είναι το Χ χρώμα vs. Αυτό το χρώμα είναι Χ χρώμα* ("This color is the color X" vs. "This color is the X color"). These structures allow us to clearly isolate two subcategories in the broader category of color denominations, general names and modifiers. First I study the two subclasses, highlighting their properties, and then I examine in details the subclass of general color names through structures that lead to further classifications, of both nouns and adjectives.

Λέξεις κλειδιά: χρωματικοί όροι, σημασιολογικό πεδίο των χρωμάτων, σημασιοσυντακτικά χαρακτηριστικά, τάξεις αντικειμένων

1. ΕΙΣΑΓΩΓΗ

Η παρούσα πρόταση έχει ως στόχο την αναζήτηση σημασιοσυντακτικών κριτηρίων που μας βοηθούν να προβλέψουμε τη γραμματική κατηγορία στην οποία ανήκει ένα όνομα που δηλώνει χρώμα (στο εξής ΟΔΧ). Η έρευνα έχει πραγματοποιηθεί στο πλαίσιο της διδακτορικής μου διατριβής με τίτλο *"Η γραμματική των ονομάτων που δηλώνουν χρώμα στη νέα ελληνική. Θεωρία και εφαρμογή στη λεξικογραφία και τη διδασκαλία της νέας ελληνικής ως δεύτερης/ξένης γλώσσας"*.

Αρχικά, μελετώνται απλές προτάσεις (υποκείμενο – ρήμα – συμπλήρωμα) και γίνεται μια ομαδοποίηση των ονομάτων που δηλώνουν χρώμα με βάση τις δομές στις οποίες εμφανίζονται, για παράδειγμα: *Αυτό το χρώμα είναι το Χ χρώμα vs. Αυτό το χρώμα είναι Χ χρώμα*. Οι δομές αυτές μας επιτρέπουν να απομονώσουμε δύο υποκατηγορίες στην ευρύτερη κατηγορία των ονομάτων που δηλώνουν χρώμα, τα γενικά ΟΔΧ και τα τροποποιητικά ΟΔΧ. Παρουσιάζουμε πρώτα τις υποκατηγορίες αυτές, αναδεικνύοντας τις ιδιότητές τους και, έπειτα, εξετάζουμε πιο αναλυτικά την υποκατηγορία των γενικών ΟΔΧ μέσα από δομές που οδηγούν σε περαιτέρω ταξινομήσεις, τόσο των ουσιαστικών όσο και των επιθέτων.

2. ΘΕΩΡΗΤΙΚΟ ΠΛΑΙΣΙΟ

Οι αρχές και το θεωρητικό εργαλείο που επιλέγουμε για την ανάλυσή μας είναι οι τάξεις αντικειμένων. Και αυτό γιατί πρόκειται για ένα πολυδιάστατο μοντέλο που λαμβάνει υπόψη τόσο την παραδειγματική όσο και τη συνταγματική διάσταση των λέξεων, στηρίζεται στις χρήσεις της γλώσσας και, όπως αναφέρει η Γαβριηλίδου (2000), διευκολύνει την έρευνα για την εύρεση του βασικού λεξιλογίου της γλώσσας μας ή για την κατάρτιση θεματικού λεξιλογίου, και μπορεί να βοηθήσει στο να εστιάσουμε σε λέξεις που είναι περισσότερο πυρηνικές, αφού φέρουν μεγαλύτερο λειτουργικό φορτίο από άλλες και είναι, κατά συνέπεια, πιο σημαντικές για τη γλώσσα σε σύγκριση με κάποιες άλλες (π.χ. *κόκκινο – βερμιγιόν*).

Οι τάξεις αντικειμένων (Gross 1994· Γαβριηλίδου 2001, 2002) αποτελούν σημασιολογικά και συντακτικά ομοιογενή σύνολα ουσιαστικών, που προκύπτουν από τη συστηματική μελέτη των κατηγορημάτων και των ορισμάτων τους. Στο θεωρητικό αυτό πλαίσιο βασική μονάδα ανάλυσης δεν είναι η λέξη αλλά η απλή πρόταση (υποκείμενο – ρήμα – συμπλήρωμα), που αποτελείται από ένα κατηγόρημα και τα ορίσματά του.

Τα κατηγορήματα μπορούν να έχουν ρηματική, ονοματική ή επιθετική μορφή (π.χ. κουράζομαι, κούραση, κουρασμένος). Ένα στάδιο της περιγραφής των λεξικών μονάδων είναι η

αναζήτηση των ειδικών επιθέτων (adjectifs appropriés) κάθε τάξης, που είναι επίθετα χαρακτηριστικά των ουσιαστικών της κάθε ομοιογενούς σημασιολογικής ομάδας.

Έτσι, ο κατάλογος των ειδικών επιθέτων της τάξης ΧΡΩΜΑ περιλαμβάνει επίθετα όπως τα βαθύς ('βαθύ κόκκινο'), εκτυφλωτικός ('εκτυφλωτικό κόκκινο'), σκούρος ('σκούρο πράσινο'), έντονος ('έντονο κίτρινο'), κτλ. Καταγράφονται κατ' αυτόν τον τρόπο όλοι οι δυνατοί συνταγματικοί συνδυασμοί μεταξύ ουσιαστικών και επιθέτων, είτε είναι ελεύθεροι, είτε υπόκεινται σε περιορισμούς συνεμφάνισης συγκεκριμένων επιθέτων και ουσιαστικών. Τέλος, αναζητούνται όλες οι παγιωμένες εκφράσεις που περιλαμβάνουν ουσιαστικά της τάξης που κάθε φορά μελετάται π.χ. για το ΧΡΩΜΑ: *κάνω μαύρα μάτια να δω κάποιον/ δίνω το πράσινο φως/ ξεπερνάω την κόκκινη γραμμή/ Όλοι με χρυσά βελούδα, ποιος τα βόσκει τα γαϊδούρια;/ Ό,τι γράφει η μοίρα μελανό, ο ήλιος δεν τ' ασπρίζει,* κτλ., προκειμένου να διαχωρίσουμε τις κυριολεκτικές από τις μη κυριολεκτικές χρήσεις των ουσιαστικών.

Κατά συνέπεια, το μοντέλο των τάξεων αντικειμένων περιγράφει κάθε γλωσσικό στοιχείο σε στενή σχέση με άλλα γλωσσικά στοιχεία με τα οποία συνυπάρχει σε φράσεις: τα ουσιαστικά περιγράφονται σε συνάρτηση με τα ρήματα που τα επιλέγουν ως αντικείμενα ή υποκείμενα, τα ρήματα εμφανίζονται σε στενή σχέση με τη φύση των ουσιαστικών που επιλέγονται ως υποκείμενα ή αντικείμενά τους, τα επίθετα σε συνδυασμό με τα ουσιαστικά που προσδιορίζουν. Δημιουργείται έτσι ένα είδος λεξικού του οποίου τα λήμματα δεν είναι μεμονωμένες λέξεις (ρήματα, ουσιαστικά ή επίθετα), αλλά φράσεις που ταξινομούνται με βάση ορισμένες σημασιοσυντακτικές ιδιότητές τους.

3. ΤΑΞΙΝΟΜΗΣΗ ΤΩΝ ΟΝΟΜΑΤΩΝ ΠΟΥ ΔΗΛΩΝΟΥΝ ΧΡΩΜΑ (ΟΔΧ)

3.1. Βασικές κατηγορίες

Με σημασιοσυντακτικά κριτήρια, τα ΟΔΧ ταξινομούνται σε δύο βασικές κατηγορίες[1]: Τα γενικά και τα τροποποιητικά ΟΔΧ. Εντός των δύο αυτών κατηγοριών μπορούμε να διακρίνουμε υποκατηγορίες που προκύπτουν με βάση τις σημασιολογικές τους διαφοροποιήσεις. Πιο αναλυτικά:

Α) τα **γενικά ΟΔΧ** ($ΟΔΧ_{γεν}$) επιτελούν ταξινομικές διακρίσεις εντός της γενικής κατηγορίας ΧΡΩΜΑ. Με βάση τα σημασιολογικά τους χαρακτηριστικά, αυτά διακρίνονται σε πρωτογενή και μη πρωτογενή:

i) τα πρωτογενή $ΟΔΧ_{γεν}$ αντιστοιχούν στους βασικούς[2] χρωματικούς όρους και έχουν πολύ συχνή χρήση (*κόκκινο, άσπρο*)·

ii) τα μη πρωτογενή $ΟΔΧ_{γεν}$ αριθμητικά είναι πολύ περισσότερα αλλά η συχνότητά τους είναι πολύ μικρότερη από αυτή των πρωτογενών. Μπορούν να θεωρηθούν περιθωριακά λόγω της πιο περιορισμένης (άλλοτε σπάνιας), παρωχημένης ή ειδικής χρήσης τους. Αυτά τα $ΟΔΧ_{γεν}$ ορίζονται με βάση ένα ή δύο άλλα απλά $ΟΔΧ_{γεν}$. Τα μη πρωτογενή υποδιαιρούνται περαιτέρω στα αυτόνομα και τα μετωνυμικά:

α) τα αυτόνομα (ή άμεσα) $ΟΔΧ_{γεν}$ που χρησιμοποιούνται πάντα για να δηλώσουν ένα χρώμα (*μπορντό, θαλασσί, καστανό ακαζού*)

β) τα μετωνυμικά (ή έμμεσα) $ΟΔΧ_{γεν}$ αντλούνται από άλλα θεματικά πεδία (*λεβάντα, ωκεανός, φρούτα του δάσους*).[3]

Β) τα **τροποποιητικά ΟΔΧ** ($ΟΔΧ_{τροπ}$) δίνουν πληροφορίες αναφορικά με τη φωτεινότητα, τον κορεσμό, τη λάμψη κτλ. ενός συγκεκριμένου χρώματος ή τροποποιούν τη σημασία ενός $ΟΔΧ_{γεν}$ χαρακτηρίζοντάς το σε σχέση με ένα άλλο $ΟΔΧ_{γεν}$. Αυτά υποδιαιρούνται σε τρεις κατηγορίες: τα άμεσα τροποποιητικά, τα προσεγγιστικά και τα έμμεσα τροποποιητικά.

i) Τα άμεσα τροποποιητικά τροποποιούν το $ΟΔΧ_{γεν}$ αναφορικά με τη φωτεινότητα, τον κορεσμό, τη λάμψη κτλ. του, π.χ. *ανοιχτό, σκούρο*·

ii) Τα προσεγγιστικά σχηματίζονται με επιθηματοποίηση σε μια βάση $ΟΔΧ_{γεν}$ και δεν προσδιορίζουν μια συγκεκριμένη απόχρωση αλλά μετριάζουν ως ένα βαθμό το χρώμα της βάσης π.χ. *κοκκινωπό*·

iii) Τα έμμεσα τροποποιητικά, καθώς διαθέτουν το σημασιολογικό χαρακτηριστικό [-χρώμα], κάνουν κάποια υποκειμενική εκτίμηση για το $ΟΔΧ_{γεν}$ που τροποποιούν, π.χ. *εκτυφλωτικό, υπέροχο* κτλ.

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[1] Για την ταξινόμηση των ΟΔΧ στηριχτήκαμε στη λογική της ταξινόμησης του Molinier (2001, 2006) που αφορά τα χρωματικά επίθετα της γαλλικής.
[2] Βλ. Berlin and Kay (1969).
[3] Για πιο αναλυτική περιγραφή βλ. Αλεξανδρή (2014: 139-141).

Η ταξινόμηση των ΟΔΧ με σημασιολογικά κριτήρια απεικονίζεται στο σχήμα που ακολουθεί:
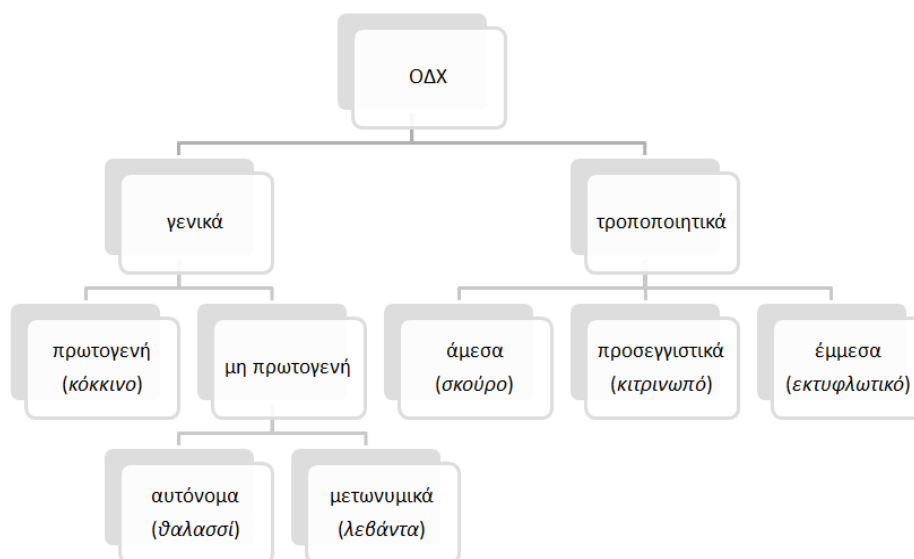
Σχήμα 1: Σημασιολογική ταξινόμηση των ΟΔΧ

Η διάκριση των δύο βασικών κατηγοριών επιθέτων γίνεται αρχικά με βάση τις δομές:

(1)   α. *Αυτό το χρώμα είναι το X χρώμα*
        β. *Αυτό το χρώμα είναι X χρώμα*

Τα ΟΔΧ$_{γεν}$ δεν εμφανίζονται στην κατηγορηματική δομή *Αυτό το χρώμα είναι X χρώμα*. Απαντούν μόνο στην κατηγορηματική δομή *Αυτό το χρώμα είναι το X χρώμα*:

(2)   *Αυτό το χρώμα είναι το (μπλε + κόκκινο + …) χρώμα*
        Αυτό το χρώμα είναι (μπλε + κόκκινο + …) χρώμα

Αντίστροφα, τα ΟΔΧ$_{τροπ}$ εμφανίζονται στην κατηγορηματική δομή *Αυτό το χρώμα είναι X χρώμα* και όχι στη δομή *Αυτό το χρώμα είναι το X χρώμα*, εκτός από τις περιπτώσεις όπου εμφανίζεται μπροστά από κάποιον περιοριστικό προσδιορισμό (π.χ. *Αυτό το χρώμα είναι το φωτεινό χρώμα που σου έλεγα*). Επομένως, τα επίθετα *φωτεινό, σκούρο, ανοιχτό, ζωντανό, απαλό* κτλ. είναι ΟΔΧ$_{τροπ}$:

(3)   *Αυτό το χρώμα είναι (φωτεινό + σκούρο + ανοιχτό + ζωντανό + …) χρώμα*
        Αυτό το χρώμα είναι το (φωτεινό + σκούρο + ζωντανό + …) χρώμα

Τα ΟΔΧ$_{γεν}$ στις παραπάνω δομές (1-3) δεν μπορούν να έχουν θέση κατηγορουμένου. Η πρώτη λειτουργία τους, με βάση αυτόν τον συντακτικό περιορισμό, είναι να κάνουν ταξινομικές διακρίσεις στη γενική κατηγορία του χρώματος. Αντίθετα, τα ΟΔΧ$_{τροπ}$ έχουν θέση κατηγορουμένου σε αυτή τη δομή.

Επομένως, η δομή *Αυτό το χρώμα είναι το X χρώμα* μάς επιτρέπει να ορίσουμε χονδρικά έναν κατάλογο των στοιχείων που αναγνωρίζονται ως ΟΔΧ$_{γεν}$, ενώ η δομή *Αυτό το χρώμα είναι X χρώμα* μάς επιτρέπει να ορίσουμε τον κατάλογο όλων των ΟΔΧ$_{τροπ}$.

3.2. Υποκατηγοριοποίηση των ΟΔΧ$_{γεν}$ με βάση τη γραμματική κατηγορία

Σε δεύτερη φάση, κάνουμε περαιτέρω διακρίσεις εντός της κατηγορίας των ΟΔΧ$_{γεν}$, με τη χρήση των δομών:

(4)   *Αυτό το χρώμα είναι το X χρώμα*
        Αυτό το χρώμα είναι το χρώμα X

Η υπόθεσή μας είναι ότι στη συγκεκριμένη δομή η χρήση των χρωματικών όρων επηρεάζεται από τη γραμματική κατηγορία τους. Επομένως, προβλέπουμε ότι, αν το ΟΔΧ απαντά αποκλειστικά στη γραμματική κατηγορία ουσιαστικό (όπως γίνεται με τα μετωνυμικά ΟΔΧ$_{γεν}$, π.χ. *βανίλια, φρούτα του δάσους*), τοποθετείται μόνο μετά το προσδιοριζόμενο ουσιαστικό. Αντίθετα, αν το ΟΔΧ$_{γεν}$ εμφανίζεται και στη γραμματική κατηγορία επίθετο και στην κατηγορία ουσιαστικό (π.χ. επίθετο *κόκκινος-η-ο* & ουσιαστικό *κόκκινο*), μπορεί είτε να προταχθεί σε σχέση με το προσδιοριζόμενο ουσιαστικό είτε να τοποθετηθεί μετά από αυτό:

(5)   *Αυτό το χρώμα είναι το (μπλε + κόκκινο + πράσινο + …) χρώμα*
      Αυτό το χρώμα είναι το χρώμα (μπλε + κόκκινο + πράσινο + …)
    *Αυτό το χρώμα είναι το (φρούτα του δάσους + βανίλια + …) χρώμα
    Αυτό το χρώμα είναι το χρώμα (φρούτα του δάσους + βανίλια + …)

Με αφορμή την παραπάνω δομή (*Αυτό το χρώμα είναι το χρώμα Χ*), όταν δηλαδή το ΟΔΧ εμφανίζεται και στις δύο γραμματικές κατηγορίες, μας απασχόλησε έντονα αν μπορούμε να προβλέψουμε τη γραμματική κατηγορία των ΟΔΧ με κάποιο συντακτικό κριτήριο. Για να αποδείξουμε σε ποια γραμματική κατηγορία ανήκει το ΟΔΧ, ακολουθούμε το συλλογισμό του Riemsdijk (1998) αναφορικά με την αρχή της *έλξης των κατηγοριακών χαρακτηριστικών* (categorial feature magnetism) και, ειδικότερα, το *αξίωμα της κατηγοριακής ταυτότητας* (categorial identity thesis). Με βάση το αξίωμα αυτό, σε μια διερυμένη προβολή η οποία αποκτά το κατηγοριακό χαρακτηριστικό από την κεφαλή, όλα τα στοιχεία της θα πρέπει κατηγοριακά να είναι ίδια. Για παράδειγμα, αν η κεφαλή είναι ρήμα, ό,τι προβάλλει προς τα πάνω σε λειτουργική κατηγορία και προς τα κάτω σε λεξική κατηγορία, θα πρέπει να είναι ρηματικό στοιχείο. Είναι σημαντικό να επισημάνουμε ότι η ιεραρχία αυτή είναι σταθερή και δεν μπορεί να αντιστραφεί.

Στη δομή 'το χρώμα κόκκινο', θεωρούμε τη λέξη 'χρώμα' ημιλεξική κατηγορία (semi-lexical category), τη λέξη 'κόκκινο' λεξική, ενώ ολόκληρη η ονοματική φράση χαρακτηρίζεται ποιοτική (qualificational noun phrase), κατά τον Riemsdijk. Παρόλο που, εκ πρώτης ματιάς, θα μπορούσαμε να θεωρήσουμε ότι πρόκειται για μια ονοματική φράση με ένα μεταονοματικό κλιτό επίθετο (*κόκκινος-η-ο*), αυτό δεν φαίνεται να ισχύει. Εξάλλου, τα επίθετα στη νέα ελληνική εμφανίζονται προονοματικά.[4] Η υπόθεσή μας, λοιπόν, είναι ότι ο όρος 'κόκκινο' κατηγοριακά ανήκει στα ουσιαστικά. Πράγματι, ξεκινάμε από το ημιλεξικό στοιχείο ('χρώμα'), το οποίο αναμφισβήτητα ανήκει στα ουσιαστικά, και με βάση το αξίωμα της κατηγοριακής ταυτότητας, καταλήγουμε στο συμπέρασμα ότι το λεξικό στοιχείο της ονοματικής φράσης ('κόκκινο'), που αποτελεί την κεφαλή, ανήκει και αυτό υποχρεωτικά στην κατηγορία των ουσιαστικών.

Παρατηρούμε, ακόμη, ότι η δομή που εξετάζουμε μπορεί να συγκριθεί με ονοματικές φράσεις όπως οι ακόλουθες:

(6)   *το βουνό Όλυμπος*
      ο κινηματογράφος Έσπερος

Πράγματι, η ονοματική φράση 'το χρώμα κόκκινο' μοιράζεται κάποιες ιδιότητες με τις παραπάνω φράσεις, οι οποίες συνοψίζονται στις εξής:
α) Δεν είναι αποδεκτή η επανάληψη του άρθρου μεταονοματικά:

(7)   *ο ποταμός Αξιός*
    το χρώμα κόκκινο

Ασφαλώς υπάρχει και η δομή *ο ποταμός ο Αξιός* ή *το χρώμα το κόκκινο*, πρόκειται όμως για άλλη δομή, παραθετική.
β) Δεν είναι αποδεκτές παρενθετικές φράσεις μεταξύ των δύο μερών της ονοματικής φράσης, όπως στο παράδειγμα (8):

(8)   **το χρώμα, που αγόρασε χθες, κόκκινο*
      *το βουνό, όπως βλέπετε, Όλυμπος

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[4] Υπάρχουν, βέβαια, και μεταονοματικά, θα πρέπει όμως υποχρεωτικά να υπάρχει επανάληψη του άρθρου.

Το γεγονός ότι δεν είναι αποδεκτά τα παραδείγματα αυτά οφείλεται στον γενικό κανόνα ότι οι παρενθετικές φράσεις μπορούν να εμφανιστούν μόνο σε μέγιστες προβολές (maximal phrases, Riemsdijk ό.π.).

γ) Τέλος, η έμφαση στις φράσεις αυτές, όσον αφορά τον επιτονισμό, δίνεται στο δεύτερο ονοματικό μέρος τους, αφού αυτό αποτελεί την (λεξική) κεφαλή.

Σύμφωνα με τη Σταύρου (1995: 266), ένα επιπλέον χαρακτηριστικό της κατηγορίας αυτής είναι ότι το πρώτο όνομα (ημιλεξικό) μπορεί να παραλειφθεί και τότε το άρθρο που απομένει μπορεί να διατηρήσει τα μορφοσυντακτικά χαρακτηριστικά του παραλειπόμενου συμπληρώματός του (*θα ταξιδέψω με το Δημητρούλα*), βοηθώντας έτσι μαζί με τη γνώση του κόσμου στην ανάκτηση του παραλειπόμενου ονόματος, ή να τα αλλάξει κατά το δεύτερο όνομα (*θα ταξιδέψω με τη Δημητρούλα*). Όσον αφορά τα ΟΔΧ, φαίνεται να προτιμάται η συμφωνία του λεξικού στοιχείου με το άρθρο (9α), εκτός από τα μετωνυμικά ΟΔΧ$_{γεν}$, όπου το άρθρο που απομένει διατηρεί τα μορφοσυντακτικά χαρακτηριστικά του παραλειπόμενου συμπληρώματος *χρώμα*, πιθανόν για την αποφυγή σύγχυσης της σημασίας του με το μη χρωματικό ουσιαστικό (9β):

(9)   α. *το χρώμα ώχρα - η ώχρα/ *το ώχρα*
        β. *το χρώμα Μύκονος - ?η Μύκονος / το Μύκονος*
            το χρώμα βανίλια - ?η βανίλια/ το βανίλια

Με βάση τον παραπάνω συλλογισμό, λοιπόν, αποκλείεται η λέξη *κόκκινο* στη δομή αυτή να λειτουργεί ως επίθετο, πρβλ. *το σχήμα κύκλος*. Το όνομα που αποτελεί την κεφαλή της ονοματικής φράσης δίπλα στο ουσιαστικό 'χρώμα' ανήκει στην κατηγορία των ουσιαστικών, όπου μπορούν να εμφανιστούν ΟΔΧ$_{γεν}$ όλων των μορφολογικών κατηγοριών, με βάση την ταξινόμηση που προτείναμε στο Αλεξανδρή (2014: 47):

(10)   *το χρώμα κόκκινο/ ωκεανός/ βανίλια/ κίτρινο Van Gogh/ μαύρο πίσσα* κ.ο.κ.

3.3. Τα ΟΔΧ σε άλλες δομές

3.3.1. Δομές με το ρήμα 'έχω'

Εκτός από τις δομές με το ρήμα 'είμαι', οι χρωματικοί όροι εμφανίζονται και σε δομές με το ρήμα 'έχω'. Θα εξετάσουμε τις δομές:

(11) O^0 *έχει Χ χρώμα*
        O^0 *έχει ένα Χ χρώμα*

Στην πρώτη δομή, έχουν τη δυνατότητα να εμφανιστούν όλα τα ΟΔΧ που ανήκουν στην κατηγορία των επιθέτων[5], όπως φαίνεται στο παράδειγμα (12):

(12)   α. *Αυτό το φόρεμα έχει (μπλε + κόκκινο + άσπρο + …) χρώμα*
        β. *Αυτό το φόρεμα έχει (ανοιχτό + σκούρο + …) χρώμα*
        γ. *Αυτό το φόρεμα έχει (κοκκινωπό + κιτρινωπό + …) χρώμα*
        δ. *Αυτό το φόρεμα έχει (εκτυφλωτικό + εκπληκτικό + …) χρώμα*

Στη δομή με το αόριστο άρθρο επίσης μπορούν να εμφανιστούν όλα τα παραπάνω ΟΔΧ, ωστόσο όσον αφορά τα ΟΔΧ$_{γεν}$ υπάρχει ένας σημαντικός σημασιολογικός περιορισμός. Ας δούμε τα παραδείγματα:

(13)   α. *Αυτό το φόρεμα έχει ένα (μπλε + κόκκινο + άσπρο + …) χρώμα*
        β. *Αυτό το φόρεμα έχει ένα (ανοιχτό + σκούρο + …) χρώμα*
        γ. *Αυτό το φόρεμα έχει ένα (κοκκινωπό + κιτρινωπό + …) χρώμα*
        δ. *Αυτό το φόρεμα έχει ένα (εκτυφλωτικό + εκπληκτικό + …) χρώμα*

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[5] Στις δομές αυτές δεν μπορούν να εμφανιστούν τα μετωνυμικά ΟΔΧ, γιατί ανήκουν στη γραμματική κατηγορία των ουσιαστικών (βλ. 3.2).

Στο παράδειγμα (13α) το ΟΔΧ δεν δηλώνει το χρώμα που αντιστοιχεί στον γενικό χρωματικό όρο που συμμετέχει στη δομή αλλά αναφέρεται αφηρημένα σε μία απόχρωση που σχετίζεται με το χρώμα αυτό. Η φράση 'ένα κόκκινο' σημαίνει 'ένα χρώμα που ανήκει στο χρωματικό φάσμα του κόκκινου' ή, αλλιώς, 'μια απόχρωση του κόκκινου'. Δεν κατονομάζει, με άλλα λόγια, το πρωτοτυπικό χρώμα που συνδέεται με τον όρο αυτό.

Παράλληλα, έχουμε (λιγότερο συχνές) δομές που παρουσιάζουν την ίδια ιδιαιτερότητα, μόνο που εδώ η δομή (14α) είναι τουλάχιστον αμφίβολης γραμματικότητας:

(14)   α. ?*Αυτό το φόρεμα έχει ένα χρώμα που είναι (μπλε + κόκκινο + …)
        β. Αυτό το φόρεμα έχει ένα χρώμα που είναι (ανοιχτό + σκούρο + …)
        γ. Αυτό το φόρεμα έχει ένα χρώμα που είναι (κοκκινωπό + κιτρινωπό + …)
        δ. Αυτό το φόρεμα έχει ένα χρώμα που είναι (εκτυφλωτικό + εκπληκτικό + …)

Παρατηρούμε, έτσι, ότι οι αποδεκτές φράσεις της δομής O^0 έχει ένα Χ χρώμα είναι αυτές των οποίων το επίθετο μπορεί να εμφανίζεται σε μια αναφορική σχέση με το Ο=χρώμα και μόνο εκεί. Θεωρούμε ότι τα ΟΔΧ$_{τροπ}$ (τόσο οι άμεσοι όσο και οι έμμεσοι τροποποιητές) εισάγονται με αναφορικοποίηση στη δομή αυτή και το γεγονός ότι τα ΟΔΧ$_{γεν}$ δεν είναι εύκολα αποδεκτά στην ίδια δομή οφείλεται στο ότι δεν μπορούν να εμφανίζονται στη σχέση όπου θα είναι συμπληρώματα του Ο=χρώμα. Υποστηρίζουμε λοιπόν ότι οι φράσεις (13β-δ) παράγονται από τις φράσεις (14β-δ) με διαγραφή του αναφορικού[6], ώστε οι φράσεις (15α-γ)[7] να είναι και αυτές το προϊόν των βασικών φράσεων μέσω αναφορικοποίησης (Molinier 2001, 2006):

(15)   α. Αυτό το φόρεμα έχει ένα συγκεκριμένο χρώμα. ?Αυτό το χρώμα είναι (μπλε + κόκκινο + πράσινο + …)
        β. Αυτό το φόρεμα έχει ένα συγκεκριμένο χρώμα. Αυτό το χρώμα είναι (ανοιχτό + σκούρο + απαλό + …)
        γ. Αυτό το φόρεμα έχει ένα συγκεκριμένο χρώμα. Αυτό το χρώμα είναι (εκτυφλωτικό + εκπληκτικό + υπέροχο + …)

Αν δεχτούμε την παραγωγή που προτείναμε για τις φράσεις (13β) και (13δ), θεωρούμε ότι η μειωμένη γραμματικότητα της φράσης (15α) συνδέεται με τη μειωμένη γραμματικότητα της φράσης που προέρχεται από την αναφορική (14α). Ωστόσο, η φράση είναι αποδεκτή αν προστεθεί το οριστικό άρθρο, οπότε αλλάζει γραμματική κατηγορία (Ε->Ο):

(16)   Αυτό το φόρεμα έχει ένα συγκεκριμένο χρώμα. Αυτό το χρώμα είναι το (μπλε + κόκκινο + πράσινο + …)

Επίσης, παρατηρούμε ότι οι παραπάνω αμφίβολης γραμματικότητας φράσεις γίνονται γραμματικά αποδεκτές αν τους προστεθεί ένα ΟΔΧ$_{τροπ}$, όπως εκτυφλωτικό, υπέροχο κτλ.:

(17)   α. Αυτό το φόρεμα έχει ένα εκτυφλωτικό (μπλε + κόκκινο + …) χρώμα
        β. Αυτό το φόρεμα έχει ένα χρώμα που είναι εκτυφλωτικό (μπλε + κόκκινο + …)
        γ. Αυτό το φόρεμα έχει ένα συγκεκριμένο χρώμα. ?Αυτό το χρώμα είναι εκτυφλωτικό (μπλε + κόκκινο + πράσινο + …)

Οι προτάσεις (17α-β) παρουσιάζουν μια ανάλογη δομή με αυτή των προτάσεων (13δ, 14δ και 15γ). Στις προτάσεις αυτές το επίθετο εκτυφλωτικό προστίθεται στην ΟΦ = (μπλε + κόκκινο + πράσινο + …) χρώμα με τον ίδιο τρόπο που προστίθεται στο Ο = χρώμα στην (14γ). Οι παραπάνω προτάσεις εμφανίζονται και συνδυαστικά:

(18)   α. Αυτό το φόρεμα έχει ένα (μπλε + κόκκινο + πράσινο + …) χρώμα που είναι εκτυφλωτικό

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[6] Αυτή η διαδικασία συνίσταται στη διαγραφή της αναφορικής αντωνυμίας και του ρήματος έχει.
[7] Στη συγκεκριμένη δομή, δεν εμφανίζονται τα προσεγγιστικά, λόγω της ασυμβατότητας της σημασίας τους με την έννοια 'συγκεκριμένο'.

β. Αυτό το φόρεμα έχει ένα συγκεκριμένο (μπλε + κόκκινο + πράσινο + …) χρώμα.
Αυτό το (μπλε + κόκκινο + πράσινο + …) χρώμα είναι εκτυφλωτικό

3.3.2. Άλλες δομές με το ρήμα 'είμαι'
Άλλες δομές με το ρήμα 'είμαι' είναι οι ακόλουθες:

(19)   *O^0 είναι Χ χρώματος*
         O^0 είναι ενός Χ χρώματος

Κατά τον ίδιο τρόπο, τα ΟΔΧ$_{γεν}$[8] εμφανίζονται στη δομή *O^0 είναι Χ χρώματος*, ενώ στη δομή *O^0 είναι ενός Χ χρώματος* παρουσιάζουν τον σημασιολογικό περιορισμό που αναφέραμε στο παράδειγμα (13α):

(20)   *Αυτό το φόρεμα είναι (μπλε + κόκκινου + πράσινου + …) χρώματος*
         Αυτό το φόρεμα είναι ενός (μπλε + κόκκινου + πράσινου + …) χρώματος

Τα άμεσα ΟΔΧ$_{τροπ}$ εμφανίζονται επίσης στη δομή *O^0 είναι Χ χρώματος*, δεν συμβαίνει όμως το ίδιο για τα έμμεσα ΟΔΧ$_{τροπ}$:

(21)   *Αυτό το φόρεμα είναι (ανοιχτού + σκούρου + έντονου + …) χρώματος*
         *Αυτό το φόρεμα είναι (εκτυφλωτικού + υπέροχου + …) χρώματος

Θεωρούμε ότι η δομή *O^0 είναι Χ χρώματος*, αντίθετα με τη δομή *O^0 είναι ενός Χ χρώματος*, είναι απλή, βασική. Το ΟΔΧ σε αυτή τη δομή είναι άμεσα συνδεδεμένο με το O^0 και το 'είναι χρώματος' λειτουργεί ως επιβοηθητικό ρήμα. Συνεπώς, στη δομή αυτή γίνονται αποδεκτά μόνο επίθετα που έχουν το σημασιολογικό χαρακτηριστικό [+χρώμα]. Εξάλλου, σε πολλές περιπτώσεις μπορούμε, χωρίς να αλλάξει η σημασία, να αντικαταστήσουμε το 'είναι' με το 'είναι Χ χρώματος' σε φράσεις όπως:

(22)   *Αυτό το φόρεμα είναι (μπλε + κόκκινο + πράσινο) = Αυτό το φόρεμα είναι (μπλε +*
         κόκκινου + πράσινου) χρώματος
         Αυτό το φόρεμα είναι (ανοιχτό + σκούρο + έντονο) = Αυτό το φόρεμα είναι (ανοιχτού
         + σκούρου + έντονου) χρώματος[9]

3.3.3. Μετωνυμικά ΟΔΧ$_{γεν}$
Όσον αφορά τα μετωνυμικά ΟΔΧ$_{γεν}$, καθώς ανήκουν στην κατηγορία των ουσιαστικών, δεν εμφανίζουν συμφωνία με το πυρηνικό στοιχείο και, όπως διαπιστώσαμε πιο πάνω, εμφανίζονται μεταονοματικά. Εκτός από τις απλές δομές (23α), παρουσιάζονται και σε πιο σύνθετες δομές, με την προσθήκη του ημιλεξικού 'χρώμα' (23β) και σε εμπρόθετες φράσεις (23γ):

(23)   *α. έβαψε τους τοίχους μανόλια/ πασχαλιά/ Αιγαίο*
         β. έβαψε τους τοίχους χρώμα μανόλια/ χρώμα πασχαλιά/ χρώμα Αιγαίο
         γ. έβαψε τους τοίχους σε χρώμα μανόλια/ σε χρώμα πασχαλιά/ σε χρώμα Αιγαίο

Στις περιπτώσεις αυτές, που το ΟΔΧ$_{γεν}$ λειτουργεί ως ουσιαστικό, υπάρχει η δυνατότητα να τροποποιηθεί ο χρωματικός όρος με ένα ΟΔΧ$_{τροπ}$ όπως ανοιχτό, σκούρο, ματ κτλ. Θα μπορούσαμε να υποστηρίξουμε ότι σημασία του ΟΔΧ$_{τροπ}$ σε τέτοιες δομές είναι ανάλογη με αυτή ενός επιρρήματος (πρβλ. Fábregas 2002):[10]

(24)   *έβαψε τους τοίχους μανόλια ανοιχτό*
         έβαψε τους τοίχους χρώμα μανόλια ανοιχτό

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[8] Οι αντίστοιχες δομές των μετωνυμικών ΟΔΧ είναι:
    Αυτό το φόρεμα είναι χρώματος (βανίλια + ωκεανός + μέντα + …)
    *Αυτό το φόρεμα είναι ενός χρώματος (βανίλια + ωκεανός + μέντα + …)
[9] Βλ. και κτητικά σύνθετα: *ανοιχτόχρωμο, σκουρόχρωμο* αλλά **εκτυφλωτικόχρωμο, *υπεροχόχρωμο*.
[10] Πρβλ. το επίρρημα στη φράση: *έντονα κίτρινο χρώμα*.

έβαψε τους τοίχους σε χρώμα μανόλια ανοιχτό

3.4. Συμφωνία ΟΔΧγεν - ΟΔΧτροπ

Ένα άλλο ζήτημα που μας απασχόλησε στις δομές όπου τα ΟΔΧγεν λειτουργούν ως ουσιαστικά είναι η έλλειψη συμφωνίας τους με τα ΟΔΧτροπ. Πράγματι, τα ΟΔΧτροπ φαίνεται να μην συμφωνούν με το ΟΔΧγεν, που αποτελεί τον δεύτερο όρο αυτής της ποιοτικής ονοματικής φράσης, κατά τον Riemsdijk (1998), παρά με τον πρώτο όρο, το ημιλεξικό στοιχείο 'χρώμα':

(25)   *έβαψε τους τοίχους (χρώμα) μανόλια ανοιχτό/ ?ανοιχτή/ *ανοιχτούς*

Το χαρακτηριστικό αυτό πιθανόν να συνδέεται και με μια άλλη χαρακτηριστική ιδιότητα της δομής που εξετάζουμε (παραδείγματα 5 και 25). Κατά τη Σταύρου (1995: 261), στη δομή αυτή το δεύτερο όνομα της ποιοτικής ονοματικής φράσης αποτελεί μνεία και συνδέεται με το αμετάβλητο του ονόματος, με άλλα λόγια την 'ακλισία' του. Παρατηρούμε ότι ανεξάρτητα από την πτώση που φέρει το ημιλεξικό στοιχείο, το λεξικό στοιχείο μένει γενικά άκλιτο:

(26)   *το χρώμα κόκκινο/ λεβάντα/ Μύκονος*
         οι αποχρώσεις του χρώματος κόκκινο/ λεβάντα/ Μύκονος

Η αμετάβλητη μορφή του ονόματος είναι η ονομαστική, όπως φαίνεται στα παραδείγματα (26). Η Σταύρου (ό.π.) θεωρεί πως η επιλογή της ονομαστικής από το λεξικό στοιχείο (δεύτερο όνομα) παραπέμπει άμεσα στη λειτουργία του ονομάζειν. Ως στοιχεία μνείας-ανάκλησης της ονομασίας, τα ονόματα αυτά εμφανίζονται σε ονομαστική και δεν φαίνεται να είναι τυχαίο ότι στις περισσότερες περιπτώσεις το δεύτερο όνομα μπορεί να αποτελέσει μέρος της παράφρασης που περιέχει το 'ονομάζεται': *αυτό το χρώμα ονομάζεται λεβάντα/ ωκεανός*.

Επομένως, προκύπτει ότι για όλες τις παραπάνω περιπτώσεις των μετωνυμικών ΟΔΧ, το χρώμα ως εννοιακή κατηγορία είναι πιο κοντά στο ουσιαστικό από ό,τι στο επίθετο, αφού πρόκειται για μια κατηγορία στην οποία ανήκει το προσδιοριζόμενο ουσιαστικό και όχι για μια ιδιότητά του.

4. ΣΥΜΠΕΡΑΣΜΑΤΑ

Συμπερασματικά, θεωρούμε ότι τα ΟΔΧ λεξικά μπορεί να είναι άλλοτε επίθετα άλλοτε ουσιαστικά, κάποιες φορές ίσως και επίθετα και ουσιαστικά, που δεν πληρούν όλες τις ιδιότητες των δύο κατηγοριών και ενεργοποιούνται από το εκάστοτε γλωσσικό περιβάλλον που καθορίζει αν συμπεριφέρονται με τρόπο που τείνει προς τη μια ή την άλλη κατηγορία. Εξάλλου, υπάρχει και ένα ζήτημα οικονομίας της γλώσσας. Το νοητικό λεξιλόγιο οφείλει να είναι όσο το δυνατό πιο οικονομικό και να μην περιλαμβάνει περιττές πληροφορίες ή δεδομένα που δεν μπορούν να προκύψουν από γενικές αρχές. Το να ονομάζουμε επίθετα οποιαδήποτε ουσιαστικά (ακόμα και κύρια, π.χ. Van Gogh) χρησιμοποιούνται για να προσδιορίσουν ουσιαστικά, οδηγεί σε μία αύξηση των εγγραφών του νοητικού λεξιλογίου των φυσικών ομιλητών. Από τη στιγμή που γνωρίζουμε πως εξ ορισμού ένα ουσιαστικό μπορεί, κάτω από ειδικές συνθήκες, να προσδιορίσει ένα άλλο ουσιαστικό (π.χ. *ο συγγραφέας αδελφός του*) δεν έχει νόημα να υποθέτουμε ότι η χρήση ενός ουσιαστικού ως 'επιθετικού προσδιορισμού' (με την παραδοσιακή έννοια) συνεπάγεται το ότι είναι επίθετο. Αυτό θα σήμαινε ότι κάθε ουσιαστικό είναι και ένα εν δυνάμει επίθετο, πράγμα που προφανώς δεν ισχύει.

Στόχος μας στην έρευνα αυτή ήταν να προβλέψουμε πότε ένα ΟΔΧ ανήκει στην κατηγορία των επιθέτων ή των ουσιαστικών. Για να εκπληρώσουμε τον στόχο μας χρησιμοποιήσαμε κριτήρια σημασιοσυντακτικά, όπως τη διάκριση σε γενικά ΟΔΧ και τροποποιητικά, σημασιολογικά όπως τη μετωνυμική χρήση κάποιων χρωματικών όρων, και συντακτικά όπως τη θέση τους.

Έτσι, με σημασιοσυντακτικά κριτήρια τα διακρίνουμε σε δύο κατηγορίες, τα ΟΔΧγεν και ΟΔΧτροπ. Με σημασιολογικά κριτήρια διακρίνουμε τα γενικά ΟΔΧ σε πρωτογενή, αυτόνομα μη πρωτογενή και μετωνυμικά μη πρωτογενή, ενώ τα ΟΔΧτροπ σε άμεσα και έμμεσα τροποποιητικά, και προσεγγιστικά. Στη συνέχεια, χρησιμοποιώντας το συντακτικό κριτήριο της θέσης τους, προκύπτει ότι τα πρωτογενή και τα αυτόνομα μη πρωτογενή ΟΔΧγεν εμφανίζονται είτε προονοματικά είτε μεταονοματικά· στην πρώτη περίπτωση έχουν θέση επιθέτου, ενώ στη δεύτερη ουσιαστικού.

Αντίθετα, τα μετωνυμικά μη πρωτογενή ΟΔΧ_γεν εμφανίζονται πάντα μεταονοματικά, αφού ανήκουν στην κατηγορία των ουσιαστικών. Τέλος, τα ΟΔΧ_τροπ ανήκουν πάντα στην κατηγορία των επιθέτων[11].

Κλείνοντας, παραθέτουμε το παρακάτω σχήμα, όπου απεικονίζονται όλες οι κατηγοριοποιήσεις που προέκυψαν από την παρούσα έρευνα με βάση τα κριτήρια που επιλέξαμε:
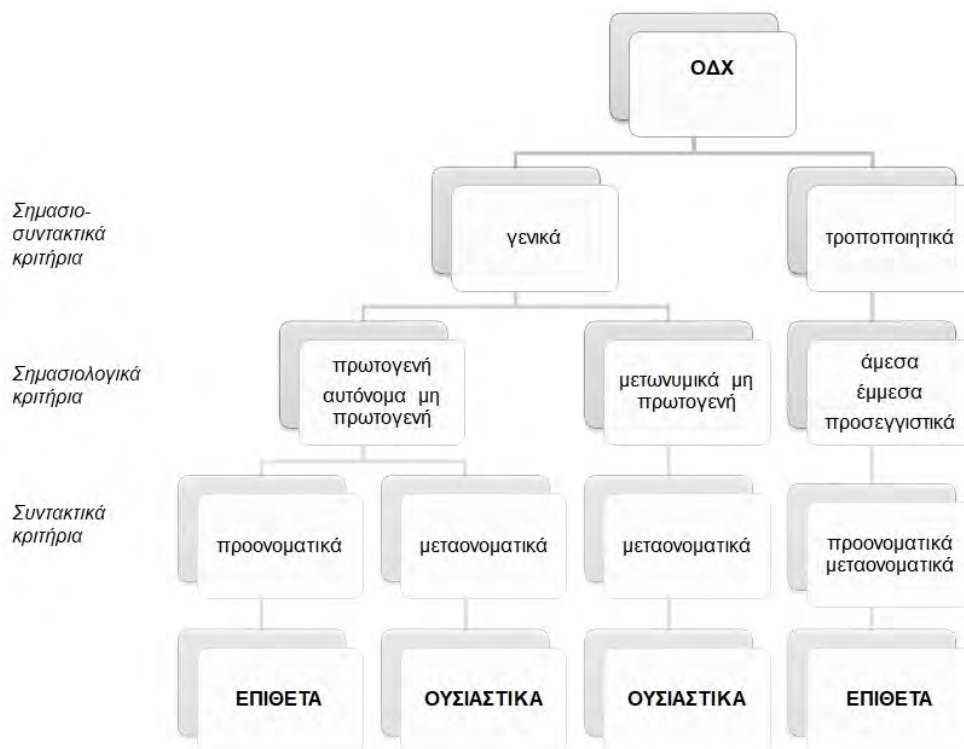
Σχήμα 2: Ταξινόμηση των ονομάτων που δηλώνουν χρώμα με σημασιοσυντακτικά κριτήρια

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[11] Εκτός από παραδείγματα, όπως: *φοράει σκούρα, του πάνε τα ανοιχτά* κτλ., όπου υπάρχει έλλειψη του ουσιαστικού *ρούχα*.

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Η χρήση του γλωσσοδέτη ως εργαλείου ανάπτυξης του προφορικού λόγου μέσα από εναλλακτικές μορφές αξιολόγησης παιδιών προσχολικής ηλικίας

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ABSTRACT

The aim of this study is to investigate prescholer's skills to express tongue twisters, to reproduce them, to evaluate themselves based on their own reproductions and to assess their peers. Initially, the importance of using tongue twisters and alternative forms of assessment in preschool education is presented. This is necessary for the comprehension of the theoretical as well as the research context of this study. Following this, the methodology and the Plan of Alternative Forms of Assessment in Early Childhood (SEMAPI) designed to conduct the research is outlined.

The experiential approach of this study is composed of two parts: two pilot researches and a main one: In the first pilot four preschoolers who have not received the teaching of tongue twisters are involved and in the second pilot another experimental group of four preschoolers, who have received the teaching of tongue twisters, are, also, involved. The main study was conducted with twelve preschoolers, The main survey was conducted with twelve (12) preschoolers of a kindergarten class of Alexandroupolis region, who did not participate in the two pilots.

As is clear from the findings of the above research, experience and engagement of students with tongue twisters helps to reach out them more easily and to express them. It also appeared that the familiarity and confidence in the experienced condition during articulation helps them to participate and try. The self-assessment and peer-assessment proved particularly useful procedures for each pupil.

Key Words: tongue twisters, alternative assessment, pupils, kindergarten

1. ΕΙΣΑΓΩΓΗ

Η χρήση του γλωσσοδέτη στην προσχολική εκπαίδευση κρίνεται ιδιαίτερα σημαντική αφού το παιδί κατανοεί τη διάσπαση της γλώσσας σε συστατικά μέρη, την παραγωγή δύσκολων φωνημάτων και διφθόγγων αλλά και τη σύνθεση των λέξεων. Οι γλωσσοδέτες είναι δημοφιλή γλωσσικά παιχνίδια που χρησιμοποιούνται κυρίως για να βοηθήσουν τα παιδιά να αναπτύξουν καθαρή άρθρωση και να εξασκηθούν στην προφορά των δύσκολων λέξεων (Giannikopoulou 1998; Hortiati 1986). Επίσης, ορίζονται και ως στιχουργικά παιχνίδια ή μικρά κομμάτια της λαϊκής λογοτεχνίας πολύ αγαπητά στα παιδιά αλλά και στους μεγάλους. Η απαγγελία είναι αρκετά δύσκολη, αλλά ως άσκηση είναι άριστη για τη σωστή άρθρωση και προφορά. Μπορούν, επίσης, να χρησιμοποιηθούν για να βελτιώσουν και να εμπλουτίσουν τον προφορικό λόγο του παιδιού ή ακόμη και στη διδασκαλία γλωσσικών δραστηριοτήτων. Οι γλωσσοδέτες συμβάλλουν στη φωνητική ανάπτυξη και παραγωγή αλλά αργότερα και στην απόκτηση φωνολογικής επίγνωσης, δεδομένου ότι η επανάληψη/παρήχηση των δύσκολων μορφοφωνολογικών μονάδων τονίζει τη φωνολογική αντίληψη και παραγωγή (Bradley & Bryant 1991; Goswami & Bryant 1991). Παίρνουν συνήθως τη μορφή σύντομων δίστιχων ή τετράστιχων κειμένων με μια ολοκληρωμένη έννοια στην οποία ορισμένοι ήχοι, οι συνδυασμοί τους και η ρίμα εμφανίζονται κατ 'επανάληψη.

Επαναλαμβανόμενοι στίχοι, ήχοι και άλλες φωνολογικές δομές εμφανίζονται συχνά σε μη υπαρκτές λέξεις. Στα ελληνικά, οι γλωσσοδέτες εμφανίζονται ως επαναλαμβανόμενες ακολουθίες σε πραγματικές και μη πραγματικές σύνθετες λέξεις. Δύο αντιπροσωπευτικά παραδείγματα από γλωσσοδέτες στην ελληνική είναι τα εξής:

Α) Άσπρη πέτρα ξέξασπρη κι από τον ήλιο ξεξασπρότερη

Β) Ο παπάς ο παχύς έφαγε παχιά φακή. Γιατί παπά παχύ έφαγες παχιά φακή;

Στο πρώτο παράδειγμα δύο συμφωνικές συστάδες /**σπρ**/ και /**ξ**/ εμφανίζονται επαναλαμβανόμενα στο γλωσσοδέτη. Το φώνημα /**σ**/ είναι 'προβληματικό' στα ελληνικά, υπό την έννοια ότι έχουν προταθεί πολλές αναλύσεις για να απεικονίσουν τη θεωρητική ουσία του φωνήματος (Drachman 1989; Fudge 1969; Selkirk 1982). Η χρησιμότητα διδασκαλίας του γλωσσοδέτη στο πρώτο παράδειγμα είναι ότι η θέση του /**σ**/ σε ποικίλους συνδυασμούς ή ο ίδιος ο γλωσσοδέτης στο σύνολό του μπορεί να βοηθήσει τα παιδιά να τον αντιληφθούν με ακρίβεια, να παράγουν και να αναπαράγουν το φώνημα /**σ**/. Στο δεύτερο παράδειγμα παρατηρείται η επανάληψη των φωνημάτων /**π**/ και /**χ**/. Πιο συγκεκριμένα, το /π/, ένα χειλικό σύμφωνο και το /**χ**/, ένα δύσκολο σύμφωνο λόγω της υπερωικής του φύσης, συνυπάρχουν στο γλωσσοδέτη. Υποθέτουμε ότι η κίνηση της γλώσσας από μία χειλική σε μία υπερωική θέση προκαλεί αυτό το συστροφικό αποτέλεσμα της γλώσσας. Ωστόσο, ο γλωσσοδέτης στοχεύει στο να βοηθήσει το παιδί να ξεπεράσει αυτό το πρόβλημα της κίνησης της γλώσσας (Tzakosta & Sfiraki 2015).

Ωστόσο, παρόλο που οι γλωσσοδέτες είναι πασίγνωστα γλωσσικά παιχνίδια, υπάρχουν ελάχιστες έρευνες για τη σημασία τους στη λεξιλογική και τη μορφοφωνολογική ανάπτυξη. Οι μελέτες FMRI έχουν αποδείξει ότι οι γλωσσοδέτες έχουν σημαντική επιρροή στη φωνολογική επεξεργασία, αποθήκευση (Corley et al. 2011; Keller et al. 2003) και παραγωγή (Kupin 1982). Χαρακτηριστικά αναφέρουν ότι οι γλωσσοδέτες «*είναι δύσκολο να επεξεργαστούν γιατί μπερδεύουν όχι μόνο τη γλώσσα αλλά και το μυαλό*» (Keller et al. 2003:200). Επίσης, οι γλωσσοδέτες φαίνεται να επηρεάζουν τη φωνολογική δραστηριοποίηση στην ανάγνωση προτάσεων και στην κατανόηση κειμένου καθώς και η επανάληψη φωνημάτων φαίνεται να επιδρά στην κατανομή λαθών (McCutchen et al. 1991; McCutchen & Perfetti 1982; Hanson et al. 1991˙).

2. ΜΕΘΟΔΟΛΟΓΙΑ

Γενικός σκοπός της παρούσας έρευνας είναι να μελετήσει τις δεξιότητες μαθητών νηπιαγωγείου να εκφέρουν και να αναπαράγουν γλωσσοδέτες, να αυτοαξιολογούνται με βάση τις προσωπικές τους αναπαραγωγές και να αλληλοαξιολογούνται. Οι επιμέρους σκοποί της έρευνας είναι να εξετάσει τις δεξιότητες μαθητών νηπιαγωγείου ηλικίας 5-6 ετών:
α) να αναπαράγουν γλωσσοδέτες,
β) να αξιολογούν τις δικές τους αναπαραγωγές, γλωσσοδετών ως προς το αποτέλεσμα και ως προς τη διαδικασία (να αυτοαξιολογούνται),
γ) να αξιολογούν τις αναπαραγωγές των συμμαθητών τους και να διατυπώνουν την αξιολογική κρίση τους ως προς το αποτέλεσμα και ως προς τη διαδικασία (αλληλοαξιολόγηση),
δ) να αποδέχονται την αξιολόγηση των συμμαθητών τους αναφορικά με τις αναπαραγωγές τους (αλληλοαξιολόγηση).

Πραγματοποιήθηκαν δύο πιλοτικές και μία κύρια έρευνα. Το δείγμα της κύριας έρευνας, που πραγματοποιήθηκε στις 18 Απριλίου 2016, αποτέλεσαν 12 μαθητές μιας τάξης νηπιαγωγείου. Από αυτούς 6 ήταν κορίτσια και 6 αγόρια, όλα νήπια από ιδιωτικό νηπιαγωγείο της Αλεξανδρούπολης. Οι δραστηριότητες, που υλοποιήθηκαν κατά τη διάρκεια της έρευνας μαγνητοφωνήθηκαν όχι μόνο για την εξαγωγή συμπερασμάτων αλλά προκειμένου να υπάρχουν στοιχεία για την ακρίβεια και την αντικειμενικότητα των αποτελεσμάτων της έρευνας. Στη συνέχεια, πραγματοποιήθηκε η ποιοτική ανάλυσή των αποτελεσμάτων. Επεξεργάστηκαν οι απαντήσεις των μαθητών, αναλύθηκαν και ερμηνεύτηκαν με βάση τους σκοπούς της έρευνας.

2.1 Μέσα συλλογής δεδομένων
Για τις ανάγκες της έρευνας κατασκευάστηκε το Σχέδιο Εναλλακτικών Μορφών Αξιολόγησης στην Προσχολική Ηλικία (ΣΕΜΑΠΗ) που αποτελείται από:
1. <u>Τρεις γλωσσοδέτες</u> : οι γλωσσοδέτες επιλέγονται βάσει της αναγνωρισιμότητάς τους από τους μαθητές καθώς και των εύκολων ή δύσκολων φωνημάτων που περιέχουν. Η δυσκολία τεκμηριώνεται με βάση σχετικές έρευνες.
1ος Γλωσσοδέτης: «*κουκουβά κουκουβά κουκουβάγια με κουβά, κουκουβά κουκουβά κουκουνάρια κουβαλά*»
2ος Γλωσσοδέτης: «*μια πάπια μα ποια πάπια, μια πάπια με παπιά*»,
3ος Γλωσσοδέτης: «*ο τζίτζιρας, ο μίτζιρας, ο τζιτζιμιτζιχότζιρας*»

Ο 1^{ος} γλωσσοδέτης είναι άγνωστος για τους μαθητές, εφόσον επινοήθηκε για τις ανάγκες της έρευνας και εύκολος εφόσον το ρινικό και κλειστό /κ/ που επαναλαμβάνεται είναι ήχος που απαντά συστηματικά στην προγλωσσική περίοδο και από τα πρώτα φωνήματα των παιδιών σε όλες τις γλώσσες (Κατή 1992:120). Ο 2^{ος} γλωσσοδέτης είναι γνωστός στα παιδιά, ύστερα από διδακτική παρέμβαση, αλλά δύσκολος λόγω του συνδυασμού του /π/, ενός χειλικού συμφώνου και του /χ/ ενός δύσκολου συμφώνου λόγω της υπερωικής του φύσης. Η κίνηση, δηλαδή, της γλώσσας από μία χειλική σε μία υπερωική θέση προκαλεί αυτό το συστροφικό αποτέλεσμα της γλώσσας (Tzakosta & Sfiraki 2015). Τέλος, ο 3^{ος} γλωσσοδέτης, γνωστός κι αυτός στους μαθητές λόγω προηγούμενης διδακτικής παρέμβασης, θεωρείται δύσκολος αφού το δίψηφο σύμφωνο /τζ/ τόσο στη φωνολογική ανάπτυξη όσο και στη διαδικασία άρθρωσης των παιδιών παρουσιάζει προβλήματα (Γαβριηλίδου 2003:85).

2. <u>Τρεις (3) δραστηριότητες</u>: η πρώτη δραστηριότητα αφορά στην αφήγηση μιας ιστορίας, σ' ένα παιχνίδι ρόλων και στην εκφορά του 1^{ου} γλωσσοδέτη από τους μαθητές. Η δεύτερη δραστηριότητα υλοποιείται μέσα από την προβολή εικονόλεξου και εκφορά του 2^{ου} γλωσσοδέτη καθώς και ηχητικό απόσπασμα και εκφορά του 3^{ου} γλωσσοδέτη. Η τρίτη δραστηριότητα σχετίζεται με τη ζωγραφική απεικόνιση των δύσκολων σημείων του πιο δύσκολου γλωσσοδέτη από τα παιδιά καθώς και περιγραφική αξιολόγηση του κάθε μαθητή.

3. <u>Αυτοαξιολόγηση-Ερωτήσεις αυτό-αξιολόγησης</u>: Η νηπιαγωγός ρωτά το κάθε παιδί όπως *α) αν είπε σωστά το γλωσσοδέτη, β) γιατί, πιστεύει, πως δεν το είπε σωστά, γ) τι τον δυσκόλεψε; δ) γιατί χρειάστηκε δεύτερη ή τρίτη προσπάθεια;*

4. <u>Αλληλοαξιολόγηση-Ερωτήσεις αλληλοξιολόγησης</u>: η νηπιαγωγός ρωτά τον συμμαθητή του κάθε παιδιού: *α) αν το είπε σωστά ο φίλος του; β) πού πιστεύει ότι έκανε λάθος;*

5. <u>Πρωτόκολλο αυτοαξιολόγησης μαθητών</u>: τα παιδιά καλούνται κατά τη διάρκεια της πρώτης δραστηριότητας να αξιολογήσουν τον εαυτό τους στην εκφορά του γλωσσοδέτη, τις προσπάθειες που χρειάστηκαν για να τον αναπαράγουν και να τις σημειώσουν σε συγκεκριμένο πίνακα.

6. <u>Πρωτόκολλο αξιολόγησης εκπαιδευτικού</u>: η νηπιαγωγός καθ' όλη τη διάρκεια της εκάστοτε συνεδρίας λειτουργεί ως ερευνήτρια αξιολογώντας τις προσπάθειες του κάθε μαθητή στην κάθε δραστηριότητα σημειώνοντας τις ατομικές προσπάθειες του κάθε παιδιού σε δικό της πίνακα.

7. <u>Ζωγραφιές των παιδιών</u>: η νηπιαγωγός ρωτά το κάθε παιδί ποιος γλωσσοδέτης του φάνηκε πιο δύσκολος. Στη συνέχεια, ζητά από το κάθε παιδί να απεικονίσει τη δυσκολία εκφοράς του γλωσσοδέτη θέτοντάς του την ερώτηση: «Πού σε δυσκόλεψε ο συγκεκριμένος γλωσσοδέτης;». Ζωγραφίζοντας το παιδί προσπαθεί να αναπαραστήσει κάποια πνευματική εικόνα, χαράζει διάφορες γραμμές, πειραματίζεται με διάφορα εργαλεία γραφής, εκφράζεται και δημιουργεί ελεύθερα. Μέσα από τις ζωγραφιές των παιδιών διαφαίνονται τα δύσκολα σημεία του εκάστοτε γλωσσοδέτη, που πιθανόν να δυσκολεύεται να εκφράσει στον προφορικό λόγο και που αφορούν τόσο την οικειότητα με αυτόν όσο και τη δυσκολία των φωνημάτων που περιέχει.

2.2 Διαδικασία χορήγησης του ΣΕΜΑΠΗ

Η 1^{η} δραστηριότητα ξεκινά με την νηπιαγωγό να αφηγείται στους μαθητές μία ιστορία, στην οποία περιλαμβάνεται ο γλωσσοδέτης *κουκουβά κουκουβά κουκουβάγια με κουβά, κουκουβά κουκουβά κουκουνάρια κουβαλά*. Η νηπιαγωγός ζητά από τους μαθητές να αναπαράγουν το συγκεκριμένο γλωσσοδέτη μπαίνοντας σε ρόλο. Κατά τη διαδικασία αυτή ο κάθε μαθητής αυτό-αξιολογείται καταγράφοντας τις προσπάθειες, που καταβάλλει για να πει σωστά το γλωσσοδέτη, στον πίνακα αυτό-αξιολόγησης των μαθητών.

Αν ο μαθητής α) πει σωστά το γλωσσοδέτη με την πρώτη φορά και αυτό-αξιολογηθεί θετικά σημειώνει την προσπάθεια του στον πίνακα. Αν ο μαθητής β) δεν πει σωστά το γλωσσοδέτη με την πρώτη φορά και κατανοήσει την αποτυχημένη προσπάθειά του, η νηπιαγωγός συμφωνεί με την κρίση του και του ζητά, αν θέλει να ξαναπροσπαθήσει. Στην περίπτωση αυτή η νηπιαγωγός λέει άλλη μία φορά το γλωσσοδέτη για να βοηθήσει τον μαθητή. Αν ο μαθητής γ) δεν πει σωστά το γλωσσοδέτη με την πρώτη φορά και αξιολογήσει τον εαυτό του θετικά, η νηπιαγωγός δεν απορρίπτει την κρίση του αλλά του βάζει να ακούσει το ηχογραφημένο απόσπασμα της προσπάθειάς του για να αυτό-αξιολογήσει ο ίδιος ο μαθητής πάλι την προσπάθειά του και όχι η νηπιαγωγός αυτή τη φορά.

Στο σημείο αυτό να τονισθεί, ότι ο ρόλος της νηπιαγωγού δεν είναι επιδοκιμαστικός ή αποδοκιμαστικός στην αξιολογική κρίση του κάθε μαθητή αλλά στόχος είναι να καταγράψει τις δεξιότητες των παιδιών να αυτό-αξιολογούνται στην εκάστοτε προσπάθεια να αξιολογούν τη διαδικασία και το αποτέλεσμα. Η παραπάνω διαδικασία αναπαραγωγής του γλωσσοδέτη είναι ίδια για τον κάθε μαθητή που συμμετέχει στην έρευνα. Τέλος, να σημειωθεί ότι κατά την παραπάνω

διαδικασία και η νηπιαγωγός καταγράφει στο δικό της πίνακα παρατήρησης τις προσπάθειες του κάθε παιδιού αναφορικά με τη συμμετοχή του παιδιού στη διαδικασία αυτό-αξιολόγησης.

Στη 2η δραστηριότητα η νηπιαγωγός ,συγκεντρώνει τα παιδιά στα τραπέζια εργασίας ανά δυάδες. Ο κάθε μαθητής επιλέγει όποιο συμμαθητή του θέλει για την υλοποίηση της δραστηριότητας. Στον πρώτο μαθητή από την πρώτη δυάδα συμμαθητών η νηπιαγωγός δείχνει ένα εικονόλεξο προκειμένου ο μαθητής να το διαβάσει και να μαντέψει ποιο γλωσσοδέτη απεικονίζει. Αν τελικά τον πει σωστά θα επιβεβαιωθεί και μέσα από το ηχογραφημένο απόσπασμα:

«μια πάπια μα ποια πάπια, μια πάπια με παπιά»

[mia 'papça, ma pça 'papça, mia 'papça me 'papçá]

Ο μαθητής ηχογραφείται και αφού πει το γλωσσοδέτη, η νηπιαγωγός τον ρωτά αν τον είπε σωστά. Η νηπιαγωγός ζητά από τον μαθητή να αξιολογήσει την προσπάθειά του. Στο σημείο αυτό, πιθανολογείται να προκύψουν τρεις διαφορετικές περιπτώσεις:

α) στην περίπτωση που η νηπιαγωγός διαπιστώσει πως ο μαθητής δεν τον είπε σωστά και ο μαθητής ισχυριστεί το ίδιο και αξιολογήσει αρνητικά την προσπάθειά του, τον ρωτάει ποιο σημείο του γλωσσοδέτη τον δυσκόλεψε ή τι νομίζει πως φταίει που δεν τον είπε σωστά. Μετά την απάντηση του μαθητή (αυτό-αξιολόγηση), ζητείται και η γνώμη του συμμαθητή του για να αξιολογήσει τη συγκεκριμένη προσπάθεια και να κάνει τις παρατηρήσεις του (αλληλοαξιολόγηση),

β) στην περίπτωση, όμως, που η νηπιαγωγός διαπιστώσει πως ο μαθητής δεν είπε σωστά το γλωσσοδέτη και ο μαθητής ισχυριστεί το αντίθετο και αξιολογήσει θετικά την προσπάθειά του, τότε η νηπιαγωγός επαναλαμβάνει την ηχογραφημένη προσπάθεια του μαθητή, προκειμένου να ακούσει τι είπε κι αν αυτό που είπε αντιστοιχεί με το ορθό. Μετά ζητείται και η γνώμη του συμμαθητή του για να αξιολογήσει τη συγκεκριμένη προσπάθεια και να κάνει τις παρατηρήσεις του (αλληλοαξιολόγηση).

γ) στην περίπτωση που η νηπιαγωγός διαπιστώσει πως ο μαθητής πει σωστά το γλωσσοδέτη και ο μαθητής αξιολογήσει την προσπάθειά του θετικά καθώς και ο συμμαθητής του, τότε συνεχίζεται η δραστηριότητα με τον επόμενο γλωσσοδέτη. Η διαδικασία αυτή της δεύτερης δραστηριότητας ακολουθείται ίδια για όλους τους μαθητές, που αλληλοαξιολογούνται σε ζευγάρια.

Η νηπιαγωγός συνεχίζει με τους ίδιους μαθητές σε ζευγάρια, οι οποίοι καλούνται να ακούσουν ένα ηχογραφημένο απόσπασμα με το γλωσσοδέτη *ο τζίτζιρας, ο μίτζιρας, ο τζιτζιμιτζιχότζιρας* και να τον επαναλάβουν. Ο μαθητής ηχογραφείται, και πάλι, και αφού τον πει, η νηπιαγωγός τον ρωτά αν τον είπε σωστά. Η νηπιαγωγός ζητά από τον μαθητή να αξιολογήσει την προσπάθειά του. Ακολουθείται και πάλι η διαδικασία των τριών παραπάνω περιπτώσεων. Ο πρώτος μαθητής τώρα λειτουργεί ως παρατηρητής του δεύτερου και αξιολογεί τις δύο προσπάθειες του συμμαθητή του. Σκοπός της δραστηριότητας είναι να αναδειχθούν οι επισημάνσεις (θετικές ή αρνητικές) τόσο του μαθητή όσο και του συμμαθητή-φίλου κατά τη διαδικασία των δύο εναλλακτικών μορφών αξιολόγησης, οι συμμαθητές να λειτουργήσουν υποστηρικτικά και να επιτευχθεί συνεργατική μάθηση μέσα από την αξιολόγηση. Ο ρόλος της νηπιαγωγού στη συγκεκριμένη δραστηριότητα είναι συντονιστικός και παρεμβαίνει με ερωτήσεις σε περίπτωση που διαπιστώσει λάθος, χωρίς όμως να κρίνει τις προσπάθειες του κάθε μαθητή αξιολογικά.

Τέλος, κατά τη διάρκεια της 3ης δραστηριότητας, μοιράζονται στους μαθητές που συμμετείχαν στις δύο προηγούμενες δραστηριότητες ένα λευκό φύλλο και ξυλομπογιές. Η νηπιαγωγός ζητά από τα παιδιά να ζωγραφίσουν τον πιο δύσκολο γλωσσοδέτη θέτοντάς τους την ερώτηση: *πού σας φάνηκε δύσκολος ο γλωσσοδέτης;* Μετά την ολοκλήρωση της κάθε ζωγραφιάς ζητείται από το παιδί να κάνει τις δικές του παρατηρήσεις για το τι ζωγράφισε. Τα σχόλια του κάθε μαθητή ηχογραφούνται προκειμένου στη συνέχεια να απομαγνητοφωνηθούν για την εξαγωγή των αποτελεσμάτων.

3. Η ΕΡΕΥΝΑ

3.1 Οι πιλοτικές έρευνες

Η πρώτη πιλοτική έρευνα υλοποιήθηκε με τη βοήθεια τεσσάρων μαθητών ενός Ιδιωτικού Νηπιαγωγείου της Αλεξανδρούπολης. Πιο συγκεκριμένα, συμμετείχαν τρία αγόρια και ένα κορίτσι. Η νηπιαγωγός συμμετείχε για να συντονίζει τη συζήτηση. Η πρώτη πιλοτική έρευνα είχε αρκετές δυσκολίες στη διεξαγωγή της και γι' αυτό το λόγο κρίθηκε σημαντικό να υλοποιηθεί δεύτερη πιλοτική έρευνα. Στη δεύτερη πιλοτική έρευνα συμμετείχαν τέσσερις (4) μαθητές Δημόσιου Νηπιαγωγείου Αλεξανδρούπολης, δύο (2) κορίτσια και δύο (2) αγόρια και αφού ελήφθησαν υπόψη οι δυσκολίες που προέκυψαν από την πρώτη πιλοτική, η δεύτερη υλοποιήθηκε κάτω από άλλες παραμέτρους.

4. ΑΠΟΤΕΛΕΣΜΑΤΑ

4.1 Αποτελέσματα πρώτης πιλοτικής έρευνας

Τα πορίσματα που προέκυψαν από την πρώτη πιλοτική έρευνα είναι τα εξής: α) λόγω του ότι δεν υπήρξε προηγούμενη διδακτική παρέμβαση οι μαθητές δυσκολεύτηκαν πολύ να συμμετέχουν στη διαδικασία, β) η επιλογή των παιδιών έγινε τυχαία χωρίς υπάρχει οικειότητα μεταξύ τους, γ) η περιορισμένη οικειότητα της νηπιαγωγού με τα παιδιά δεν βοήθησε τα ίδια τα παιδιά στο να νιώσουν οικεία και ασφαλή, αντίθετα ένιωσαν συστολή και διστακτικότητα στην εκφορά του γλωσσοδέτη.

4.2 Αποτελέσματα δεύτερης πιλοτικής έρευνας

Η δεύτερη πιλοτική εφαρμόστηκε σε τάξη της οποίας οι μαθητές γνώριζαν ήδη τη νηπιαγωγό. Οι μαθητές, επίσης, είχαν προηγούμενες εμπειρίες με γλωσσοδέτες και είχαν πολύ καλές φιλικές σχέσεις μεταξύ τους. Οι διαδικασίες των δραστηριοτήτων, της αυτοαξιολόγησης και αλληλο-αξιολόγησης πραγματοποιήθηκαν και δεν απαιτήθηκαν άλλες τροποποιήσεις για την κυρίως έρευνα.

Κατά τη διαδικασία της πρώτης δραστηριότητας, παρατηρήθηκε ότι τα παιδιά δυσκολεύτηκαν να απομνημονεύσουν τον άγνωστο γι' αυτούς γλωσσοδέτη *κουκουβά κουκουβά κουκουβάγια με κουβά, κουκουβά κουκουβά κουκουνάρια κουβαλά.* Η αυτοαξιολόγηση στην παρούσα δραστηριότητα φάνηκε να λειτουργεί και να βοηθά το παιδί να αναγνωρίζει το λάθος του.
Μιχάλης: *Κουκουβά κουκουβά κουκουβάγια κουβαλά, κουκουβά κουκουβά κουκουνάρια κουβαλά.*
Νηπιαγωγός: *Το είπες σωστά;*
Μιχάλης: *Όχι.*
Παρότι, όμως, το κάθε παιδί κάνει την αυτοαξιολόγησή του μετά την εκφορά του γλωσσοδέτη, ωστόσο, όταν παρεμβαίνει ο συμμαθητής του για να παρατηρήσει το λάθος αρνείται την κριτική:
Έλενα: *Κουκουβά κουκουβά κουκουβάγια με κουτιά, κουκουβά κουκουβά κουκουνάρες κουβαλά.*
Νηπιαγωγός: *Ωραία. Το είπες σωστά;*
Έλενα: *Ναι*
Χαραλαμπία: *Εγώ παρατήρησα κάτι. Ότι στον κουβά είπε κουτιά*
Έλενα: *Τι λες; Κουβά είπα.*

Στη δεύτερη δραστηριότητα, τα παιδιά γνωρίζουν ήδη από πιο μπροστά τους γλωσσοδέτες *μια πάπια μα ποια πάπια, μια πάπια με παπιά και ο τζίτζιρας ο μίτζιρας ο τζιτζιμιτζιχότζιρας.* Στην εκφορά του πρώτου γλωσσοδέτη τρία από τα τέσσερα παιδιά δυσκολεύονται στο ίδιο σημείο. Χρησιμοποιούν στη θέση της λέξης *ποια* τη λέξη *τι* γιατί, πιθανόν, τους διευκολύνει:
Χαραλαμπία: *Μία πάπια, μα τι πάπια…όχι. Μία πάπια, μα μία πάπια….*
Νηπιαγωγός: *Το είπες σωστά;*
Χαραλαμπία: *Όχι.*
Νηπιαγωγός: *Έλενα, το είπε σωστά η Χαραλαμπία;*
Έλενα: *Όχι. Είπε: «τι πάπια»*
Χαραλαμπία: *Να το ξαναπώ;*
Νηπιαγωγός: *Να το πεις άλλη μία φορά.*
Χαραλαμπία: *Μία πάπια, μα… Εδώ είναι το δύσκολο.*
Η δυσκολία που προκύπτει στο σημείο αυτό αναγνωρίζεται από τα παιδιά και τεκμηριώνεται.

Τέλος, η απεικόνιση των δύσκολων σημείων του γλωσσοδέτη παρουσιάζει αρκετό ενδιαφέρον. Το σημείο αυτό που ζωγράφισε το κάθε παιδί συμπίπτει με την αυτοαξιολόγησή του. Πιο συγκεκριμένα, ο Μιχάλης ζωγράφισε ένα ερωτηματικό και μία πάπια υποδηλώνοντας ότι τη λέξη «ποια» την αντικατέστησε με τη λέξη «τι» προκειμένου να τον εκφέρει σωστά. Η ίδια απεικόνιση δημιουργείται και από τον Σάββα, ο οποίος δυσκολεύτηκε στον ίδιο γλωσσοδέτη και στο ίδιο σημείο με τον Μιχάλη.
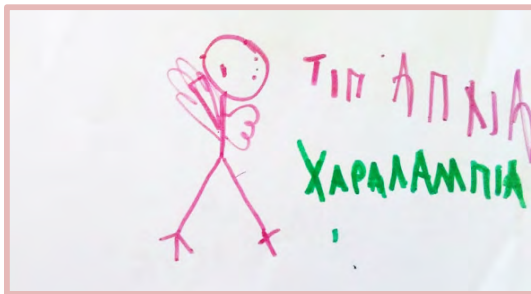
Εικόνα 1

Εικόνα 2

Η Χαραλαμπία αποδίδει το δύσκολο σημείο του γλωσσοδέτη *μια πάπια μα ποια πάπια, μια πάπια με παπιά* με λεκτική απεικόνιση και χωρίς τη χρήση του ερωτηματικού. Αξίζει να σημειωθεί, πως και οι τρεις μαθητές δεν ζωγραφίζουν τη λέξη που τους δυσκολεύει, δηλαδή τη λέξη *ποια* αλλά τη λέξη που χρησιμοποιούν στη θέση της. Τέλος, η Έλενα διαφοροποιείται από τους υπόλοιπους ζωγραφίζοντας τον πρώτο γλωσσοδέτη χωρίς όμως κάποια λεκτική απεικόνιση. Στην ερώτηση της νηπιαγωγού, ποιο είναι το σημείο που σε δυσκόλεψε στο συγκεκριμένο γλωσσοδέτη, απάντησε ότι είναι ο «κουβάς» που τον αντικατέστησε με τη λέξη *κουτιά* και η λέξη *κουκουνάρια*.

Εικόνα 3

Εικόνα 4

4.3 Αποτελέσματα κύριας έρευνας

Οι άξονες που στήριξαν τη μελέτη του περιεχομένου ήταν οι αρχικοί σκοποί που τέθηκαν. Συνεπώς το υλικό μελετήθηκε προκειμένου να δοθούν απαντήσεις στα εξής:

Α) Η δεξιότητα των παιδιών να αναπαράγουν γλωσσοδέτες: Η πρώτη δραστηριότητα στην κυρίως έρευνα έδειξε πως δυσκόλεψε τα παιδιά γιατί δεν μπορούσαν να απομνημονεύσουν το γλωσσοδέτη για να τον εκφέρουν. Ήταν, δηλαδή, αναγκαία, η συνεχής παρέμβαση της νηπιαγωγού και η επανάληψη του για κάθε παιδί. Δεν φαίνεται, επίσης, να δυσκολεύει τα παιδιά κάποιο φώνημα από το γλωσσοδέτη *κουκουβά κουκουβά κουκουβάγια με κουβά, κουκουβά κουκουβά κουκουνάρια κουβαλά»* αλλά το μόνο ανασταλτικό στοιχείο είναι ότι δεν είναι οικείος γλωσσοδέτης. Ίσως αν προϋπήρχε διδακτική παρέμβαση και τα παιδιά εξοικειώνονταν στο άκουσμα αλλά και στην εκφορά του, τότε θα μπορούσε να είχε αποφευχθεί η συνεχής επανάληψη του.

Στη δεύτερη δραστηριότητα, δεν δυσκόλεψε τα παιδιά καθόλου ο γλωσσοδέτης *μια πάπια μα ποια πάπια, μια πάπια με παπιά*. Μία μόνο μαθήτρια χρησιμοποίησε τη λέξη *τι* στη θέση της λέξης *ποια*, κάτι που προέκυψε και από τη δεύτερη πιλοτική έρευνα. Ο 3ος γλωσσοδέτης δυσκόλεψε τους μαθητές ως προς την απόδοση της σύνθετης λέξης *τζιτζιμιτζιχότζιρας*.

Β) Η δεξιότητα των παιδιών να αξιολογούν τις αναπαραγωγές τους (να αυτοαξιολογούνται): Από την επεξεργασία των δεδομένων της απομαγνητοφώνησης, φαίνεται ότι τα παιδιά αξιολογούν τον εαυτό τους θετικά ακόμη κι αν αλλάζουν τη σειρά των λέξεων μέσα στο γλωσσοδέτη

Στέλλα*: κουκουβά κουκουβά κουβαλά κουβά, κουκουβά κουκουβά κουκουνάρια με κουβά.*
Νηπιαγωγός*: Το είπες σωστά;*
Στέλλα*: Ναι.*

Επίσης φαίνεται να αξιολογούν τον εαυτό τους θετικά όταν αφαιρούν μία λέξη ή όταν προσθέτουν κάποια άλλη

Θανάσης*: Κουκουβά κουκουβά κουκουβάγια κουκουβά κουκουβά κουκουνάρια κουβαλά.»*
Νηπιαγωγός*: Το είπες σωστά;*
Θανάσης*: Ναι.*

Γιώτα: *Κουκουβά κουκουβά κουκουβά κουκουβάγια με κουβά, κουκουβά κουκουβά κουκουνάρια κουβαλά.*
Νηπιαγωγός: *Το είπες σωστά;*
Γιώτα: *Ναι.*

Η αυτοαξιολόγηση του κάθε μαθητή στην αναπαραγωγή των γλωσσοδετών φάνηκε και μέσα από τη ζωγραφική τους απεικόνιση, όπου αναδύθηκαν κυρίως τα πιο δύσκολα σημεία του κάθε γλωσσοδέτη. Η Χριστιάνα ζωγράφισε το τζίτζικα και ισχυρίστηκε ότι τη δυσκόλεψε το γράμμα «μ» γιατί μπέρδευε το μίτζιρα με τον μέρμηγκα. Η Βασιλεία απεικόνισε το τζίτζικα και τη δυσκόλεψε το δίψηφο σύμφωνο «τζ», όπως ισχυρίστηκε τόσο στην περιγραφική αξιολόγηση της ζωγραφιάς της όσο και στην αυτοαξιολόγησή της κατά τη διάρκεια της δεύτερης δραστηριότητας.
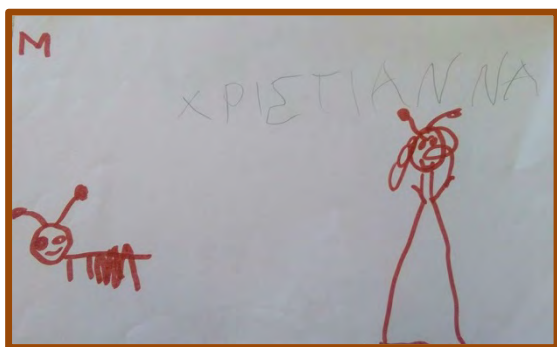
Εικόνα 5
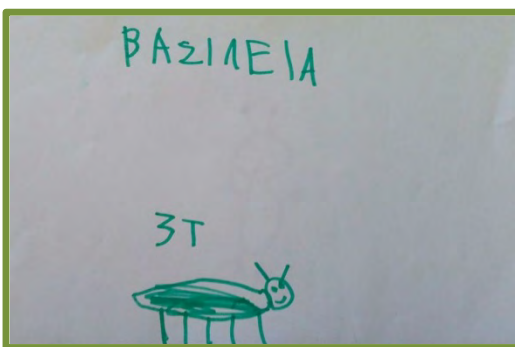
Εικόνα 6

Η Στέλλα στον παρακάτω διάλογο αιτιολογεί την επιλογή της ζωγραφιάς της:
Νηπιαγωγός: *Στέλλα, τι όμορφη ζωγραφιά! Θα μου πεις τι ζωγράφισες εδώ;*
Στέλλα: *Τις κουκουβάγιες με τον κουβά.*
Νηπιαγωγός: *Αυτός ο γλωσσοδέτης σε δυσκόλεψε πιο πολύ;*
Στέλλα: *Ναι.*
Νηπιαγωγός: *Γιατί;*
Στέλλα: *Έχει το «κ». Και της μαμάς μου το όνομα αρχίζει από «κ». Κάτια.*
Νηπιαγωγός: *Της μαμάς σου το όνομα μπορείς να το πεις, όμως. Ο γλωσσοδέτης με την κουκουβάγια γιατί σε δυσκολεύει;*
Στέλλα: *Τον άκουσα πρώτη φορά.*

Γ) Η δεξιότητα των παιδιών να αξιολογούν τις αναπαραγωγές των συμμαθητών τους και να διατυπώνουν την άποψή τους: όλοι οι μαθητές που συμμετείχαν στην έρευνα αξιολογούσαν αντικειμενικά τις αναπαραγωγές των συμμαθητών τους. Διέκριναν, πολλές φορές, τα σημεία στα οποία ο συμμαθητής τους δυσκολευόταν και επισήμαναν το λάθος με τρόπο χιουμοριστικό, ευγενικό και όχι επικριτικό.
Νηπιαγωγός: *Θανάση, θέλεις να μου πεις το γλωσσοδέτη;*
Θανάσης: *Μια πάπια μα ποια πάπια, μα πάπια με παπιά.*
Νηπιαγωγός: *Το είπε καλά ο φίλος σας;*
Δήμος: *Όχι πολύ.*
Νηπιαγωγός: *Τι δεν είπε σωστά;*
Δήμος: *Είπε «μα» και όχι «μια».*

Δ) Η δεξιότητα των παιδιών να αποδέχονται την αξιολόγηση των συμμαθητών τους αναφορικά με τις αναπαραγωγές τους (αλληλοαξιολόγηση): Στην κυρίως έρευνα, όσο αφορά στην αλληλοαξιολόγηση, τα παιδιά, στο σύνολό τους, δεν φάνηκε να ενοχλούνται από την κριτική του συμμαθητή του γιατί η αυτό-αξιολόγησή τους συνέπιπτε με την αξιολόγηση του συμμαθητή τους.

5. ΠΕΡΙΟΡΙΣΜΟΊ - ΣΥΜΠΕΡΆΣΜΑΤΑ – ΜΕΛΛΟΝΤΙΚΉ ΈΡΕΥΝΑ

Η μέθοδος που χρησιμοποιήθηκε προϋπέθετε την ανάπτυξη σχέσεων αμοιβαίας εμπιστοσύνης και αποδοχής, οι οποίες εκτός από τις εγγενείς δυσκολίες που παρουσιάζουν, παρατείνουν την χρονική διάρκεια της έρευνας. Ο μικρός, επίσης, αριθμός των συμμετεχόντων του δείγματος χαρακτηρίζεται από περιορισμένες δυνατότητες γενίκευσης και σύγκρισης, γι' αυτό και τα αποτελέσματα σε καμία περίπτωση δεν οδηγούν σε γενικευμένα και ασφαλή συμπεράσματα αλλά

σε μία γνωριμία και προσέγγιση του θέματος καθώς και στη συλλογή βοηθητικού υλικού για τη διεξαγωγή περαιτέρω έρευνας.

Ανακεφαλαιώνοντας, από την παρούσα έρευνα φάνηκε ότι η εμπειρία και εμπλοκή των μαθητών με γλωσσοδέτες τα βοηθά να τους προσεγγίζουν ευκολότερα και να επιχειρούν να τους εκφέρουν. Επίσης, η οικειότητα και η εμπιστοσύνη μέσα στη συνθήκη που βιώνουν κατά την εκφορά, τα βοηθά να συμμετέχουν και να προσπαθούν. Πιο αναλυτικά, τα αποτελέσματα της έρευνας έδειξαν ότι οι μαθητές αναπαράγουν δυσκολότερα άγνωστους γλωσσοδέτες ακόμη κι αν περιέχουν φωνήματα που δεν δυσκολεύουν στην αναπαραγωγή. Επίσης, η σύνθετη λέξη όσο και το συριστικό φώνημα /τζ/ δυσχεραίνουν την αναπαραγωγή και αλλάζουν τα μορφοφωνολογικά χαρακτηριστικά της λέξης, όπως προκύπτει μέσα από την αυτό-αξιολόγηση των μαθητών αλλά και την περιγραφική αξιολόγηση των ζωγραφιών τους. Για τη δυσκολία παραγωγής σύνθετων λέξεων οι Tzakosta & Manola (2012) μας λένε ότι «*τα παιδιά προσχολικής ηλικίας εμφανίζουν υψηλότερα ποσοστά λαθών σε σχέση με τα παιδιά σχολικής ηλικίας*».

Όσο αφορά στην αυτοαξιολόγησή τους, διαπιστώθηκε ότι μπορούν να αυτοαξιολογούνται αναφορικά με τις δυσκολίες τους και να τροποποιούν την αναπαραγωγή τους, εάν εντοπίσουν λάθη. Με τον τρόπο αυτό και σύμφωνα με πρόσφατη έρευνα, η διαδικασία αυτή βοηθά τους μαθητές να δουν τη χρησιμότητα της αυτοαξιολόγησης (Panadero 2011). Ανάλογα συμπεράσματα προέκυψαν και από τη διαδικασία της αλληλοαξιολόγησης, όπου οι μαθητές αξιολογούσαν δίκαια και αντικειμενικά τις αναπαραγωγές των συμμαθητών τους, υπήρξε συνεργασία και αναδείχθηκαν τόσο οι αδυναμίες όσο και τα δυνατά σημεία των συμμαθητών τους.

Επίσης, τα αποτελέσματα της παρούσας έρευνας υπογραμμίζουν τη χρησιμότητα των οργανωμένων καθημερινών δραστηριοτήτων του προγράμματος όσον αφορά την ανάπτυξη της γλώσσας. Ειδικά, για την προσχολική εκπαίδευση θεωρώ ότι ο εμπλουτισμός και η βελτίωση των δραστηριοτήτων που στοχεύουν στην ανάπτυξη της γλώσσας πρέπει να είναι υποχρεωτικά. Τέλος, η παιδαγωγική, η διδακτική και η μαθησιακή αξία του γλωσσοδέτη είναι αναμφισβήτητη, υπό την έννοια ότι η τελευταία αποτελεί συμπαγές συστατικό της γλώσσας προσφέροντας τη δυνατότητα στον μαθητή από τη μία να κατανοήσει τις εσωτερικές δομές των λέξεων, να αποκτήσει μηχανισμούς σχηματισμού λέξεων και να συμβάλει στην ανάπτυξη του λεξιλογίου. Από την άλλη, στον εκπαιδευτικό δίνει τη δυνατότητα να διδάξει διάφορα γλωσσικά θέματα με παιγνιώδη τρόπο. Ως εκ τούτου, η φύση του γλωσσοδέτη τον καθιστά ιδανικό εργαλείο για τη διδασκαλία της μητρικής γλώσσας σε παιδιά προσχολικής και πρώτης σχολικής ηλικίας.

Αναφορικά με τις εναλλακτικές μορφές αξιολόγησης, αυτές προϋποθέτουν καλές σχέσεις μεταξύ των παιδιών αλλά βοηθούν συγχρόνως στην ενδυνάμωσή τους. Τέλος, τόσο η αυτό-αξιολόγηση όσο και η αλληλοαξιολόγηση προτάσσουν την συνυπευθυνότητα και την συμμετοχή του μαθητή στη διαδικασία της αξιολόγησης και της μάθησής του ενώ παράλληλα δίνουν ρόλο υποστηρικτή και όχι ελεγκτή στον εκπαιδευτικό. Ένα, στοιχείο της έρευνας, που θα μπορούσε ίσως να αποτελέσει κίνητρο για περαιτέρω έρευνα, είναι η προσθήκη νέων λέξεων από τα παιδιά σε δύσκολα σημεία του γλωσσοδέτη, κάτι το οποίο θα έχει ιδιαίτερο ενδιαφέρον.

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Η επίδραση των Greeklish στις αναγνωστικές και ορθογραφικές δεξιότητες των Ελλήνων μαθητών: Μια μελέτη με χρήση eye tracker

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ABSTRACT

This paper examines the effect of "Greeklish", the transliteration attitudes widely used in Digital Mediated Communication (DMC). Greeklish, namely the representation of the Greek script in Latin, is considered to place in "danger" the Greek language per se. Various researchers have already explored participants' attitudes in using Greeklish, the reason of using it and the potential impact of Greeklish type on students' language skills.

The goal of this research is to study whether the use of Greeklish would influence reading and writing skills of students' attending 6th grade of primary school and those of 1st - 3rd of high school who had either rich or poor lexical representations, according to the Lexical Quality Hypothesis of Perfetti & Hart (2002). Individual - difference measures were completed by the participants in order to characterize their quality of lexical representations for Greek language. Moreover, eye tracker experiment sessions have been applied individually to study participants' eye movements during reading and writing both in Greek and Greeklish for comparing them against the quality of their lexical representations.

Key Words: Greeklish, eye tracker, λεξικές αναπαραστάσεις

1. ΕΙΣΑΓΩΓΗ

Το άρθρο αποτελεί τμήμα μιας συνολικής έρευνας που διεξάγεται για διδακτορική διατριβή και εστιάζεται στην Ψηφιακά Διαμεσολαβημένη Επικοινωνία (Digitally Mediated Communication – DMC) (Κουτσογιάννης, 2012), ευρέως γνωστή ως new language, digital language, net speak, cyberspeak (Crystal, 2010). Συγκεκριμένα, ασχολείται με τον κώδικα Greeklish και τις πιθανές επιπτώσεις που μπορεί να έχει η χρήση του στη γλωσσική επίγνωση των μαθητών της τελευταίας τάξης του Δημοτικού και των τριών τάξεων του Γυμνασίου.

Ορισμένα από τα χαρακτηριστικά του κώδικα γραφής που χρησιμοποιείται στην DMC είναι οι περικοπές και οι συντμήσεις λέξεων, η χρήση μη τυπικής ορθογραφίας και σύνταξης (Androutsopoulos, 2011; Farina & Liddy, 2011), ενώ παρατηρείται έντονη χρήση της λατινικής γραφής (διγραφία) κυρίως στις μη λατινογενείς γλώσσες (Tseliga, 2007; Androutsopoulos, 2009). Στη χώρα μας, η χρήση της λατινοελληνικής γραφής ή των Greeklish, όπως είναι ευρέως γνωστά, έχει απασχολήσει ιδιαίτερα την ελληνική κοινωνία, προσελκύοντας και το ενδιαφέρον της επιστημονικής κοινότητας ως πρακτική γραμματισμού.

Βασικό χαρακτηριστικό του κώδικα είναι η ορθογραφική ποικιλία του (Androutsopoulos, 2009), με αποτέλεσμα να χαρακτηρίζεται από «…έλλειψη συστηματικότητας και …ετερογένεια» (Androutsopoulos, 2009: 229,230). Οι σχετικές έρευνες καταδεικνύουν, ωστόσο, ότι παρά τις όποιες γενικεύσεις και τις όποιες ατομικές επιλογές μεταγραφής που μπορεί να παρατηρηθούν, οι χρήστες του κώδικα παρουσιάζουν μια συστηματικότητα στην επιλογή μεταγραφής τους (Androutsopoulos, 2009; Ανδρέου, 2015). Έτσι, προκύπτουν οι τρεις βασικοί τύποι μεταγραφής: η φωνητική, η ορθογραφική – με την τελευταία να διακρίνεται σε οπτική και θεσιακή ή πληκτρολογίου – και η μεικτή (Androutsopoulos, 2009; Panteli & Maragoudakis, 2011; Lees et al., 2017).

Η ταχύτητα γραφής, η συνήθεια χρήσης του κώδικα, η αντιγραφή και η αναπαραγωγή του επικοινωνιακού κώδικα των ομηλίκων, η ευκολία του κώδικα λόγω ύπαρξης διαφορετικών τύπων

μεταγραμματισμών και της δυνατότητας μη τήρησης της ορθογραφίας (Tseliga, 2007; Μουστάκα κ.ά., 2009· Ρίτσου, 2012· Αποστολάκη, 2015· Lees et al., 2017) έρχονται να προστεθούν στους λόγους χρήσης των Greeklish. Η χρήση του κώδικα φαίνεται να καθορίζεται τόσο από το φύλο – τα Greeklish χρησιμοποιούνται συνήθως από αγόρια (Lees et al., 2017:59) – την ηλικία, την ιδιότητα και την οικειότητα που έχει ο πομπός με το δέκτη όσο και από το επικοινωνιακό πλαίσιο κατά το οποίο λαμβάνει χώρα η επικοινωνία (επίσημο ή ανεπίσημο) (Tseliga, 2007: 133; Ρίτσου, 2012:58· Μαλλιαρού, 2014: 51. Αποστολάκη, 2015:46).

Η πλειονότητα των συμμετεχόντων σε έρευνες, αν και χρήστες του κώδικα, εκφράζει τον προβληματισμό της σχετικά με τις αρνητικές επιδράσεις των Greeklish και των συντμήσεών τους στην ελληνική γλώσσα, εκτιμώντας ότι το φαινόμενο θα λάβει επεκτατικές διαστάσεις. (Tseliga, 2007; Μουστάκα, κ.α., 2009· Ρίτσου, 2012· Μουράτογλου, 2014· Αποστολάκη, 2015). Ο παραπάνω προβληματισμός επιβεβαιώνεται από την έρευνα των Μουστάκα κ.ά. (2009:11), σύμφωνα με τα αποτελέσματα της οποίας ο κώδικας έχει άμεση σχέση με τα ορθογραφικά λάθη που παρατηρούνται στον επίσημο γραπτό λόγο μαθητών ηλικίας 13-21 ετών. Ανάλογα είναι τα συμπεράσματα που προκύπτουν και από πρόσφατες σχετικές έρευνες (Μαλλιαρού, 2014:53· Μουράτογλου, 2014:88· Αποστολάκη, 2015:47), ενώ στον αντίποδα βρίσκονται τα συμπεράσματα της έρευνας που πραγματοποίησε η Kavvadia (2014).

Πρόκειται για κώδικα αναγνωστικά δύσκολο -για άτομα που δεν τον χρησιμοποιούν ευρέως- τόσο λόγω της μεταγραφής όσο και λόγω της έλλειψης τονικών σημείων (Μουράτολγου, 2014:88; Lees et al., 2017), ενώ χαρακτηρίζεται ως ιδιαίτερα εύκολος από όσους έχουν εξοικειωθεί με τη χρήση του (Ρίτσου, 2012· Μαλλιαρού, 2014). Ωστόσο, η δυσκολία ανάγνωσης φαίνεται να εξαρτάται και από τον τρόπο μεταγραφής, καθώς η φωνητική μεταγραφή αναγιγνώσκεται ταχύτερα από την ορθογραφική -οπτική ή θεσιακή (Dimitropoulou et al., 2011:14-15). Ακόμα και η θέση (θέμα ή κατάληξη της λέξης) του μεταγραμμένου γραφήματος φαίνεται πώς επηρεάζει την ταχύτητα ανάγνωσης, ενώ οι αναγνώστες αναγνωρίζουν γρηγορότερα λέξεις που είναι γραμμένες με τον ελληνικό κώδικα γραφής σε σχέση με τον κώδικα Greeklish (Marinis et al., 2005:9). Γενικότερα, η ανάγνωση της λατινικής γραφής σε γλώσσες που δεν την χρησιμοποιούν στο ορθογραφικό τους σύστημα φαίνεται να αυξάνει το γνωσιακό φορτίο των χρηστών σε σημαντικό βαθμό σε σύγκριση με την ανάγνωση στη δεύτερη ξένη γλώσσα ή τη μητρική (Rao et al., 2013).

Αν και τα πορίσματα των προαναφερθεισών ερευνών κρίνονται ιδιαίτερα σημαντικά, δε δίνουν σαφή στοιχεία για τυχόν επίδραση της χρήσης των Greeklish στη γλωσσική επίγνωση των χρηστών, καθώς μελετούν είτε στάσεις και απόψεις είτε ερευνούν μονομερώς τις ορθογραφικές ή αναγνωστικές δεξιότητες των συμμετεχόντων. Ωστόσο, η σημασία της αλληλεπίδρασης των επιπέδων της γλωσσικής επίγνωσης είναι ευρέως αναγνωρισμένη και συνάδει με την υπόθεση της "ποιότητας των λεξικών αναπαραστάσεων" των Perfetti & Hart (2001; 2002), δηλαδή των γνώσεων που απαρτίζουν το νοητικό λεξικό του ατόμου και αφορούν τόσο το σημασιολογικό και συντακτικό περιεχόμενο, όσο και τη μορφή (γραμματικές ιδιότητες, φωνολογικό και ορθογραφικό περιεχόμενο) και τον τρόπο που αυτές οι ιδιότητες συνδέονται μεταξύ τους και αλληλοεπηρεάζονται (Perfetti & Hart, 2001, 2002; Perfetti, 2007). Επομένως, η επάρκεια γνώσεων του ατόμου σε κάθε ένα από τα τέσσερα βασικά συστατικά στοιχεία της ταυτότητας μιας λέξης - ορθογραφία, φωνολογία, γραμματική (μορφοσύνταξη), σημασία - αλλά και ο τρόπος που αυτές οι γνώσεις συνδέονται μεταξύ τους βοηθούν το άτομο στη διαμόρφωση υψηλής ποιότητας λεξικών αναπαραστάσεων (Perfetti, 2007:360).

2. ΣΚΟΠΟΣ ΤΗΣ ΕΡΕΥΝΑΣ

Βάσει των παραπάνω, ο στόχος της έρευνας είναι διττός, καθώς επιχειρεί να διερευνήσει, συνδυάζοντας «σύγχρονες μεθόδους παρατήρησης» (synchronous observation methods), όπως η καταγραφή των οφθαλμικών κινήσεων (eye tracker) και «έμμεσες ερευνητικές μεθόδους» (indirect research methods) (Leijten & Van Waes, 2013:361), όπως η καταγραφή των δεδομένων που εισάγει ο χρήστης από το πληκτρολόγιο (Keystrokes logging): α) σχέσεις που πιθανώς υπάρχουν ανάμεσα στη χρήση του κώδικα Greeklish και στη γλωσσική επίγνωση των μαθητών τόσο σε χαμηλού (ανάγνωση, ορθογραφία) όσο και σε υψηλού επιπέδου γλωσσικές δεξιότητες (αναγνωστική κατανόηση, παραγωγή γραπτού λόγου), ανεξάρτητα από το αν οι μαθητές χρησιμοποιούν τον κώδικα στη γραπτή τους επικοινωνία (π.χ. στα κοινωνικά δίκτυα ή σε εφαρμογές instant messaging

όπως: viber, FB Messenger) και β) την πιθανή επιβάρυνση του γνωσιακού φορτίου των μαθητών την ώρα που χρησιμοποιούν τον κώδικα.

3. ΜΕΘΟΔΟΛΟΓΙΑ

Για τις ανάγκες της έρευνας επιλέχθηκε η μεικτή μέθοδος προσέγγισης (Mixed Method Approach) και ερευνητικού σχεδιασμού (Mixed Method Research Design ή MMR), η οποία δίνει στον ερευνητή τη δυνατότητα "να συγκεντρώσει και να αναλύσει δεδομένα, να ενοποιήσει τα αποτελέσματα και να οδηγηθεί σε συμπεράσματα, χρησιμοποιώντας τόσο ποιοτικές όσο και ποσοτικές προσεγγίσεις (approaches) ή μεθόδους (methods) σε μια έρευνα" (Tashakkori & Creswell, 2007:2). Ειδικότερα, υιοθετείται ο «Ακολουθιακός Εγκολπωμένος Σχεδιασμός» (Sequential Embedded Design), ο οποίος χαρακτηρίζεται από δύο φάσεις συλλογής δεδομένων, ίσης βαρύτητας για την έρευνα (QUAL ---> QUAN). Στόχος τους πρώτου μέρους της έρευνας υπήρξε η συγκέντρωση ποιοτικών δεδομένων τα οποία στην παρούσα φάση χρησιμοποιούνται για τον εντοπισμό και χαρακτηρισμό των προφίλ των μαθητών βάσει της ποιότητας των λεξικών τους αναπαραστάσεων (Perfetti & Hart, 2002; Perfetti, 2007). Αναφορικά με τη δεύτερη φάση της έρευνας, δηλαδή τη συγκέντρωση των ποσοτικών δεδομένων, επιλέχθηκε και υλοποιήθηκε ο πειραματικός σχεδιασμός (experimental design), καθώς κρίθηκε ως ο πλέον κατάλληλος. Σε αυτή τη φάση αξιοποιήθηκαν η καταγραφή των οφθαλμικών κινήσεων και των δεδομένων που εισάγει ο χρήστης από το πληκτρολόγιο, μέθοδοι οι οποίες δίνουν τη δυνατότητα στον ερευνητή "να συγκεντρώσει πληροφορίες για τις γνωσιακές διεργασίες σε πραγματικό χρόνο... και να εξαγάγει συμπεράσματα για τις γνωσιακές λειτουργίες αναλύοντας τις διαδικασίες ή τα παραγόμενα αποτελέσματα" (Leijten & Van Waes, 2013:361).

4. ΔΕΙΓΜΑ ΕΡΕΥΝΑΣ

Η μέθοδος δειγματοληψίας που ακολουθήθηκε και στις δύο φάσεις της έρευνας είναι αυτή του δείγματος μη πιθανοτήτων, ευρέως γνωστή ως δείγμα σκοπιμότητας (Cohen et al., 2009:163), καθώς υποκείμενα της έρευνας αποτέλεσαν μαθητές οι οποίοι κατά το σχολικό έτος 2017-2018 φοιτούσαν σε μια από τις ακόλουθες τάξεις: Στ΄ Δημοτικού, Α΄, Β΄, Γ΄ Γυμνασίου σχολείων του νομού Αττικής. Η δειγματοληπτική στρατηγική που χρησιμοποιήθηκε για την επιλογή του τελικού δείγματος της έρευνας είναι αυτή του δείγματος ευκολίας (convenience sample) (Αβούρης κ.ά., 2015:318), αφού από το αρχικό δείγμα συμμετείχαν στην έρευνα μόνο οι μαθητές των οποίων οι κηδεμόνες είχαν υπογράψει το "Δελτίο Συγκατάθεσης Γονέα". Ο αποκλεισμός από την έρευνα των μαθητών με διαγνωσμένες ειδικές εκπαιδευτικές ανάγκες κρίθηκε απαραίτητος, καθώς σύμφωνα με τη βιβλιογραφία οι οφθαλμικές κινήσεις των μαθητών με δυσλεξία ή άλλες αναγνωστικές δυσκολίες παρουσιάζουν διαφοροποιήσεις σε σχέση με εκείνες των μαθητών τυπικής ανάπτυξης (Benfatto et al., 2016), στοιχείο που θα επηρέαζε τη δεύτερη φάση της έρευνας.

4.1. Πρώτη φάση της έρευνας: γλωσσικές δοκιμασίες
Επιδίωξή μας στην πρώτη φάση της έρευνας ήταν ο χαρακτηρισμός των προφίλ των υποκειμένων της έρευνας βάσει της ποιότητας των λεξικών τους αναπαραστάσεων, η οποία μπορεί να προκύψει μόνο μέσα από την αποτίμηση των παραγόντων που τις αποτελούν και τον τρόπο που αυτοί εμπλέκονται (Gomez et al., 2016). Συγκεκριμένα υποθέσαμε ότι τόσο λόγω της σχέσης και της αλληλεπίδρασης των επιπέδων της γλωσσικής επίγνωσης, όσο και λόγω της σχέσης που υπάρχει ανάμεσα στην ανάγνωση και στην ορθογραφία, ο χαρακτηρισμός των λεξικών αναπαραστάσεων των υποκειμένων της έρευνας ως "υψηλής ή χαμηλής ποιότητας" δεν θα ήταν αρκετός. Θεωρήσαμε, επομένως, ότι η ανάλυση των δεδομένων που θα συγκεντρωθούν από τη χορήγηση γλωσσικών δοκιμασιών θα μας δώσει ακριβή στοιχεία αναφορικά με την επάρκεια γνώσεων των υποκειμένων σε καθένα από τους τέσσερις βασικούς τομείς της λεξικής ποιότητας: φωνολογία, ορθογραφία, γραμματική (μορφοσύνταξη) και σημασιολογία προκειμένου να εντοπίσουμε και να χαρακτηρίσουμε με περισσότερη ακρίβεια τα προφίλ των μαθητών. Τυχόν ελλείμματα σε κάποιον ή κάποιους από τους παραπάνω τομείς θα είχε αρνητική επίδραση τόσο σε χαμηλού επιπέδου δεξιότητες όσο και σε υψηλού επιπέδου δεξιότητες.

Ο μικρός αριθμός και το οικονομικό κόστος των σταθμισμένων γλωσσικών τεστ αλλά και η ανάγκη ύπαρξης ευελιξίας (Μουζάκη, 2010˙ Τζιβινίκου, 2015) μας οδήγησε στην απόφαση κατασκευής πειραματικών, γραπτών γλωσσικών δοκιμασιών προκειμένου να αξιολογήσουμε την

ποιότητα των λεξικών αναπαραστάσεων των υποκειμένων της παρούσας έρευνας. Για τη δημιουργία των πειραματικών δοκιμασιών αξιοποιήσαμε τα σώματα κειμένων (εφεξής ΣΚ) εφαρμόζοντας τη μεθοδολογία σωμάτων κειμένων (corpus linguistics methodology) (Γούτσος & Φραγκάκη, 2015). Τα μεθοδολογικά εργαλεία που χρησιμοποιήθηκαν για την άντληση των πληροφοριών των ΣΚ είναι οι κατάλογοι συχνότητας λέξεων (word frequency lists) και οι λέξεις - κλειδιά (Keywords).

Ειδικότερα, δημιουργήθηκε το ειδικό ΣΚ Γλώσσα, αφενός λόγω της έλλειψης ψυχογλωσσολογικών πόρων κατάλληλων για την ηλικιακή ομάδα του δείγματος της έρευνας και αφετέρου λόγω της ανάγκης «χρήσης γλωσσικού υλικού οικείου στους μαθητές, κυρίως μέσα από τα σχολικά τους αναγνώσματα… άρα τη συμπερίληψη λέξεων από τη διδακτέα ή διδαχθείσα ύλη του σχολείου» (Μουζάκη, 2010). Το ΣΚ Γλώσσας περιέχει τα κείμενα των σχολικών εγχειριδίων Γλώσσας μαθητή των Ε' και Στ΄ τάξεων Δημοτικού και των Α΄, Β΄ και Γ΄ τάξεων Γυμνασίου, εγχειρίδια των οποίων η διδασκαλία είναι υποχρεωτική στην πρωτοβάθμια και δευτεροβάθμια εκπαίδευση και αντιπροσωπεύουν μια ευρεία ποικιλία κειμενικών ειδών τόσο προφορικού, όσο και γραπτού λόγου.

Τα σχολικά εγχειρίδια ανακτήθηκαν σε ψηφιακή μορφή από τον ιστότοπο του [Ψηφιακού Σχολείου](#) όπου βρίσκονται αναρτημένες οι πιο πρόσφατες εκδόσεις τους. Στη συνέχεια προχωρήσαμε στη δημιουργία καταλόγων εμφάνισης συχνοτήτων λέξεων και υπολογισμού του δείκτη σημαντικότητας αυτών, αξιοποιώντας τα δεδομένα του ΣΚ Γλώσσα. Πρόκειται για μεθοδολογικά εργαλεία η χρήση των οποίων συνιστάται τόσο για τη διδασκαλία, όσο και για την αξιολόγηση του γραμματισμού των μαθητών, καθώς αναγνωρίζεται η παιδαγωγική διάσταση των κειμένων που χρησιμοποιούνται σε αυτά σε σχέση με τα αντίστοιχα των κοινών σωμάτων κειμένων (Toriida, 2016).

Τα δεδομένα που προέκυψαν από το ΣΚ Γλώσσα αξιοποιήθηκαν για τη δημιουργία λίστας λέξεων και ψευδολέξεων, η οποία χρησιμοποιείται ευρύτατα για την αποτίμηση της αναγνωστικής ευχέρειας σε επίπεδο λέξης (Protopapas et al., 2006; Μουζάκη κ.ά., 2008. Sarris & Dimakos, 2015). Ωστόσο, λαμβάνοντας υπόψη μας τη συνθετότητα της γλωσσικής επίγνωσης και των λεξικών αναπαραστάσεων, προχωρήσαμε εκτός από την αποτίμηση της αναγνωστικής ευχέρειας και στην αποτίμηση των υπόλοιπων παραγόντων και συγκεκριμένα: α) της ορθογραφικής δεξιότητας των υποκειμένων με χρήση σταθμισμένης δοκιμασίας καθ' υπαγόρευσης λέξεων (Μουζάκη κ.ά., 2010), β) της αναγνωστικής κατανόησης, αξιοποιώντας τη τεχνική συμπλήρωσης κειμένων σταθερών διαστημάτων (cloze test), η οποία ενδείκνυται για την αξιολόγηση της αναγνωστικής κατανόησης τόσο σε επίπεδο πρότασης, όσο και σε επίπεδο κειμένου (Gellert & Elbro, 2013), γ) της αποτίμησης του λεξιλογίου μέσα από την παραγωγή γραπτού λόγου, δοκιμασίας αποκλίνουσας, πολύπλοκης και σύνθετης που αντικατοπτρίζει την ανάπτυξη των επιπέδων γλωσσικής επίγνωσης των μαθητών και την ποιότητα των λεξικών τους αναπαραστάσεων, καλώντας τα υποκείμενα να "μεταφράσουν τις ιδέες τους σε γραπτό κώδικα μέσω γνωσιακών και μεταγνωσιακών διαδικασιών" (Ξάνθη, 2017:4).

Οι προαναφερθείσες δοκιμασίες χορηγήθηκαν, αφού εφαρμόστηκαν πιλοτικά, κατά την περίοδο Απριλίου – Μαΐου 2018 σε συνολικά 355 μαθητές πρωτοβάθμιας και δευτεροβάθμιας εκπαίδευσης στο πλαίσιο της πραγματοποίησης της πρώτης φάσης της έρευνας της διατριβής. Η κατανομή του συνολικού δείγματος έχει ως εξής: Πρωτοβάθμια Εκπαίδευση: Στ΄ τάξη: 110 μαθητές, Δευτεροβάθμια Εκπαίδευση: Α΄ γυμνασίου: 124 μαθητές, Β΄ Γυμνασίου: 78 μαθητές, Γ΄ Γυμνασίου 43 μαθητές.

4.2. Ταξινόμηση και ανάλυση δεδομένων της πρώτης φάσης της έρευνας

Η ηλικία, η τάξη φοίτησης και το φύλο των υποκειμένων της έρευνας ορίζονται ως ανεξάρτητες μεταβλητές, ενώ οι επιδόσεις των υποκειμένων στην κάθε γλωσσική δοκιμασία αποτελούν τις εξαρτημένες μεταβλητές της έρευνας. Λαμβάνοντας υπόψη μας έρευνες που υποστηρίζουν την ύπαρξη επιδράσεων στο γραμματισμό και κυρίως στις υψηλού επιπέδου γλωσσικές δεξιότητες όπως η αναγνωστική κατανόηση (Baron, 2015; Wolf, 2016), λόγω της διαρκώς αυξανόμενης χρήσης ψηφιακών συσκευών, ορίσαμε την ηλικία πρώτης απόκτησης ψηφιακών συσκευών, το χρόνο ενασχόλησης με αυτές αλλά και το χρόνο ενασχόλησης με το διαδίκτυο ως μεταβλητές ελέγχου.

Στην παρούσα φάση πραγματοποιείται η επεξεργασία των δεδομένων που συγκεντρώθηκαν κατά την πρώτη φάση της έρευνας (χορήγηση γλωσσικών δοκιμασιών σε μαθητές). Ο χαρακτηρισμός της επίδοσης των μαθητών σε κάθε γλωσσική δοκιμασία είναι ποιοτικός με χρήση κλίμακας διαβαθμισμένων κριτηρίων (ρούμπρικα). Θεωρήσαμε, επομένως, την «Πολυπαραγοντική Μέθοδο Ανάλυσης» (Latent Class Analysis (LCA)), η οποία ανήκει στα «Μοντέλα Δομικών Εξισώσεων» (Structural Equation Models - SEM) ως την πλέον κατάλληλη (Oberski, 2016). Η LCA

χαρακτηρίζεται ως προσωποκεντρική προσέγγιση (Person-centered approach) και η χρήση της συστήνεται ιδιαίτερα σε εκπαιδευτικές έρευνες, καθώς δίνει τη δυνατότητα στον ερευνητή να εστιάσει στις σχέσεις και στην αλληλεπίδραση που υπάρχουν ανάμεσα στα χαρακτηριστικά, δηλαδή τις μεταβλητές (κυρίως κατηγορικές: δίτιμες ή διχοτομικές), του κάθε υποκειμένου, αξιοποιώντας με αυτό τον τρόπο την ετερογένεια που χαρακτηρίζει τα υποκείμενα των εκπαιδευτικών ερευνών (Oberski, 2016; Hickendorff et al., 2017).

4.3. Δεύτερη φάση της έρευνας: καταγραφή οφθαλμικών κινήσεων και δεδομένων που εισάγονται από το πληκτρολόγιο

Η συγκέντρωση των δεδομένων στη δεύτερη φάση της έρευνας πραγματοποιήθηκε σε πραγματικό χρόνο με α) καταγραφή των οφθαλμικών κινήσεων με τη χρήση συστήματος παρακολούθησης βλέμματος (eye tracking) και β) καταγραφή των δεδομένων που εισάγονται από το πληκτρολόγιο (keystroke logging). Απώτερος στόχος υπήρξε η διερεύνηση ερευνητικών ερωτημάτων που αφορούν στην πιθανή ύπαρξη σχέσεων ανάμεσα στην ποιότητα των λεξικών αναπαραστάσεων των μαθητών και τη χρήση των Greeklish, αλλά και της πιθανής αύξησης του γνωσιακού φορτίου των μαθητών όταν καλούνται να επεξεργαστούν, είτε μέσω της ανάγνωσης, είτε μέσω της γραφής, τον κώδικα Greeklish.

Ειδικότερα, η καταγραφή των οφθαλμικών κινήσεων των μαθητών πραγματοποιήθηκε στο HUBIC Lab του Ινστιτούτου Επεξεργασίας Λόγου (ΙΕΛ) της Αθήνας με χρήση του διοπτρικού eye tracker Tobii TX300 με ρυθμό δειγματοληψίας (sampling rate) 300Hz και ακρίβεια καταγραφής (accuracy) 0.4^{o}, ο οποίος είναι κατάλληλος για έρευνες ανάγνωσης και κορομετρίας (pupilometry) καθώς δύναται να καταγράψει τις οφθαλμικές κινήσεις των υποκειμένων, επιτρέποντας παράλληλα την ελευθερία κινήσεων του κεφαλιού με αποτέλεσμα το πείραμα να προσομοιάζει σε πραγματικές συνθήκες ανάγνωσης.   Οι γλωσσικές δοκιμασίες παρουσιάστηκαν σε οθόνη 23΄΄ με ανάλυση 1920x1080, ενώ για την επεξεργασία και ανάλυση των δεδομένων χρησιμοποιείται το πρόγραμμα Tobii Studio. Αναφορικά με την καταγραφή και ανάλυση των δεδομένων που εισάγουν οι χρήστες από το πληκτρολόγιο αυτή πραγματοποιήθηκε με το δωρεάν ερευνητικό λογισμικό Inputlog (Leijten & Van Waes, 2013). Το εν λόγω λογισμικό υποστηρίζει την ελληνική γλώσσα και, κατόπιν ενεργοποίησης της σχετικής επιλογής, λειτουργεί παράλληλα με τον eye tracker, δίνοντας στον ερευνητή τη δυνατότητα να καταγράφει τα δεδομένα που εισάγει ο χρήστης από το πληκτρολόγιο παράλληλα με την καταγραφή των οφθαλμικών του κινήσεων. Για τη δοκιμασία σύγχρονης επικοινωνίας των συμμετεχόντων χρησιμοποιήθηκε η εφαρμογή instant messaging *messenger* του facebook. Στην παρούσα φάση πραγματοποιείται η ανάλυση των δεδομένων που συγκεντρώθηκαν κατά την περίοδο Μαΐου – Ιουλίου 2018, δηλαδή η επισημείωση των δεδομένων οφθαλμοκίνησης και πληκτρολόγησης, τα οποία προέρχονται από συνολικά 46 υποκείμενα εκ των οποίων: 8 φοιτούσαν στη Στ΄ Δημοτικού, 13 στην Α΄ Γυμνασίου, 11 στη Β΄ Γυμνασίου και 14 στη Γ΄ Γυμνασίου.

Ο σχεδιασμός που επιλέχθηκε είναι αυτός της μελέτης εξαρτημένων δειγμάτων (within-subjects), καθώς δεν επιτρέπει στη διαφορετικότητα των συμμετεχόντων να επιδράσει στα αποτελέσματα του πειράματος (Αβούρης κ.ά., 2015). Η τριγωνοποίηση της μεθόδου πραγματοποιήθηκε με χρήση της επιλεγμένης αναδρομικής ανάκλησης (selective cued retrospective) κατά την οποία ο ερευνητής παρουσιάζει στο υποκείμενο της έρευνας τμήματα των gaze replays τα οποία έχουν καταγραφεί κατά τη διάρκεια της πειραματικής διαδικασίας και θεωρεί ότι χρήζουν περαιτέρω συζήτησης / ανάλυσης (Holmqvist et al., 2011; Bojko, 2013).

Το πείραμα αποτελούνταν συνολικά από 3 δοκιμασίες: μια δοκιμασία κατονομασίας λέξεων (naming task) και συγκεκριμένα ανάγνωσης λέξεων και ψευδολέξεων γραμμένων με ελληνικό κώδικα ή/και με κώδικα Greeklish, μια δοκιμασία ανάγνωσης προτάσεων καθώς και μικρής έκτασης κειμένων που αφορούσαν σε καθημερινές καταστάσεις και είχαν γραφεί με ελληνικό κώδικα γραφής ή Greeklish προκειμένου να μελετηθεί η φυσική διαδικασία ανάγνωσης κατά την οποία τα υποκείμενα καλούνται να αναγνώσουν κείμενα ή προτάσεις και όχι μεμονωμένες λέξεις (Cop et al., 2015). Τα κείμενα αποτέλεσαν την αφόρμηση για την έναρξη της τρίτης δοκιμασίας, αυτής της σύγχρονης επικοινωνίας, όπου το υποκείμενο κλήθηκε να επικοινωνήσει με χρήση του FB Messenger με την ερευνήτρια ή κάποιο άλλο υποκείμενο, δοκιμασία στην οποία αξιοποιήθηκε το λογισμικό Inputlog.

Οι λέξεις της πρώτης δοκιμασίας, αυτής της κατονομασίας λέξεων, οι προτάσεις αλλά και κάποιες φράσεις των κειμένων της δεύτερης δοκιμασίας ορίστηκαν ως περιοχές ενδιαφέροντος (Areas Of Interest -AOIs) προκειμένου να προχωρήσουμε στην ανάλυσή τους αξιοποιώντας τις

δυνατότητες μετρήσεων που παρέχονται από το λογισμικό Tobii Studio. Για τη διερεύνηση των ερευνητικών ερωτημάτων της διατριβής χρησιμοποιήθηκαν μετρήσεις οι οποίες αφορούν στις αυτοματοποιημένες διεργασίες ανάγνωσης, ευρέως γνωστές ως χαμηλού επιπέδου διεργασίες, όπως αυτή της αποκωδικοποίησης μιας λέξης (Rayner et al., 2012; Conklin & Pellicer-Sanchez, 2016). Πρόκειται για τις μετρήσεις θέσης ματιών, όπως η διάρκεια της πρώτης εστίασης (first fixation duration), η διάρκεια της μίας και μοναδικής εστίασης (signle fixation duration), η διάρκεια της πρώτης ανάγνωσης (gaze duration / first pass time) και η πιθανότητα προσπέρασης μια λέξης (likelihood of skipping), αλλά και μετρήσεις οι οποίες αντικατοπτρίζουν γνωσιακές διεργασίες υψηλού επιπέδου, όπως η σημασιολογική ανάλυση των λέξεων και η ενσωμάτωση αυτών στο περικείμενο. Μετρήσεις που αναφέρονται στην παλινδρομική κίνηση των οφθαλμών σε τμήμα που έχει ήδη εστιαστεί ή στην ανάγνωση του κειμένου ανήκουν σε αυτή την κατηγορία: χρόνος δεύτερης ανάγνωσης (second pass reading time), συνολικός χρόνος ανάγνωσης (total reading time), συνολικός αριθμός εστιάσεων (fixation count ή total number of fixations) (Rayner et al., 2012; Conklin & Pellicer-Sanchez, 2016). Αναφορικά με τη διερεύνηση του ερωτήματος που αφορά στην αύξηση του γνωσιακού φορτίου, όπως αυτό αντικατοπτρίζεται από την αύξηση της διαμέτρου της κόρης του ματιού (pupil dilation), η οποία σε αυτές τις περιπτώσεις μπορεί να είναι και μικρότερη τους ενός χιλιοστού ενώ η μέγιστη διαστολή είναι της τάξη των πέντε χιλιοστών (Schmidtke, 2017:3), χρησιμοποιήθηκε η σχετική μέτρηση. Παράλληλα, ακολουθήθηκαν βασικές σχεδιαστικές αρχές της κορομετρίας (pupillometry) όπως η διατήρηση σταθερού φωτισμού κατά τη διάρκεια εκτέλεσης του πειράματος, η παρουσίαση των λέξεων / προτάσεων / κειμένων των δοκιμασιών στο κέντρο της οθόνης, η καταγραφή επιπέδων αναφοράς της διαμέτρου της κόρης του ματιού πριν την πραγματοποίηση της πειραματικής διαδικασίας (baselines) αλλά και πραγματοποίηση διαλειμμάτων τόσο ανάμεσα στις λέξεις της κάθε δοκιμασίας με την παρουσίαση λευκής οθόνης για διάστημα 2.000 ms, όσο και ανάμεσα στις δοκιμασίες (Holmqvist et al., 2011; Schmidtke, 2017).

Αναφορικά με την επιλογή των λέξεων που συμπεριλήφθηκαν στη δοκιμασία των μεμονωμένων λέξεων και εκείνων που συμπεριλήφθηκαν στις προτάσεις και στα κείμενα μικρής έκτασης λάβαμε υπόψη μας τις ακόλουθες μεταβλητές προκειμένου να πραγματοποιηθούν οι απαιτούμενες συγκρίσεις: η συχνότητα εμφάνισης της λέξης-στόχου, ο αριθμός των χαρακτήρων της, η γραμματική της κατηγορία, η ορθογραφική της διαφάνεια, η μορφολογία της, μεταβλητές οι οποίες επηρεάζουν μετρήσεις όπως για παράδειγμα η διάρκεια και το πλήθος των εστιάσεων (Rayner et al.:14, 2015; Clifton et al., 2016:5; Conklin & Pellicer, 2016:462; Cook & Wei, 2017:34).

Ειδικότερα, έχει παρατηρηθεί ότι η συχνότητα εμφάνισης μιας λέξης επιδρά τόσο στη χρονική διάρκεια, όσο και στο πλήθος των εστιάσεων (Clifton et al., 2016:5; Conklin & Pellicer-Sanchez, 2016:462), γι' αυτό επιλέξαμε λέξεις τόσο υψηλής, όσο και μεσαίας συχνότητας από το ΣΚ Γλώσσα. Επιπροσθέτως, ο αριθμός και η διάρκεια των εστιάσεων επηρεάζεται από τον αριθμό χαρακτήρων της λέξης- για λέξεις μέχρι 6 χαρακτήρες απαιτείται μία μόνο εστίαση, ενώ απαιτούνται περισσότερες εστιάσεις για τις λέξεις που αποτελούνται από περισσότερους από 7 χαρακτήρες (Rayner et al. 2015:14). Παράλληλα, το οπτικό εύρος του αναγνώστη εκτείνεται μέχρι τους 7 χαρακτήρες, επομένως προτείνεται η λέξη-στόχος να μην είναι μικρότερη των 5 χαρακτήρων (Cook & Wei, 2017:34). Κρίναμε, επομένως, σκόπιμο να επιλέξουμε από κάθε συχνότητα (υψηλή, μεσαία) λέξεις που να αποτελούνται από α) 5-6 γράμματα και β) περισσότερα από 7 γράμματα. Ειδικότερα, όσον αφορά στην πρώτη περίπτωση επιλέχθηκαν λήμματα/ τύποι λημμάτων με 6 χαρακτήρες προκειμένου να ελαττώσουμε, όσο είναι δυνατόν επιδράσεις που οφείλονται στο οπτικό εύρος των αναγνωστών. Αναφορικά με το πλήθος των χαρακτήρων της δεύτερης περίπτωσης επιλέχθηκαν λήμματα/ τύποι λημμάτων τα οποία είχαν 7 έως 12 χαρακτήρες.

Αναφορικά με την ορθογραφική διαφάνεια, αυτή δε θεωρήθηκε επιλήψιμη μεταβλητή, καθώς η ανάγνωση της ελληνικής γλώσσας, σε αντίθεση με τη γραφή, χαρακτηρίζεται από αρκετά μεγάλη κανονικότητα (Πρωτόπαπας, 2010). Μάλιστα, παρά την αριθμητική υπεροχή των γραφημάτων έναντι των φθόγγων "η μετατροπή των γραφημάτων σε φθόγγους είναι σε γενικές γραμμές προβλέψιμη" (Πρωτόπαπας, 2010:80), ενώ ακόμα και οι σύνθετες περιπτώσεις όπως για παράδειγμα αυτές των γραφημάτων <ει> και <οι> δεν δυσκολεύουν τους φυσικούς ομιλητές της γλώσσας αφού "όλοι γνωρίζουμε τις λέξεις και πώς προφέρονται και... εύκολα παραβλέπουμε τη συνθετότητα της γραφοφωνημικής μετατροπής" (Πρωτόπαπας, 2010:81). Ένα ακόμα στοιχείο που λάβαμε υπόψη μας είναι ότι οι οφθαλμικές κινήσεις επηρεάζονται από τη μορφολογία της λέξης, όπως απέδειξε η έρευνα των Hyona et al. (2016), ειδικά σε γλώσσες που χαρακτηρίζονται από πλούσια μορφολογία όπως η ελληνική γλώσσα (Ράλλη, 2014).

Ανάλογα είναι τα συμπεράσματα σχετικών ερευνών αναφορικά με τη γραμματική κατηγορία της λέξης-στόχου. Συγκεκριμένα, αναφέρεται ότι η γραμματική κατηγορία επηρεάζει την ανάγνωσή της και κατ' επέκταση μπορεί να επιδράσει στις μετρήσεις των εξαρτημένων μεταβλητών (word - class effects) (Marinis et al., 2005; Kyparissiadis et al., 2017). Μάλιστα, έρευνες έχουν δείξει ότι κατά την αναγνώριση ρημάτων και ουσιαστικών ενεργοποιούνται διαφορετικά νευρωνικά δίκτυα (Yudes et al., 2016).

Επιπλέον, λαμβάνοντας υπόψη μας τόσο τα αποτελέσματα παλαιότερων και σύγχρονων ερευνών αναφορικά με τους μεταγραφικούς τύπους του κώδικα Greeklish, όσο και τα βασικό χαρακτηριστικό του κώδικα το οποίο είναι "η...έλλειψη συστηματικότητας και... η ετερογένεια" (Androutsopoulos, 2009:229, 230), θεωρήσαμε σκόπιμο για λόγους εγκυρότητας να συγκεντρώσουμε δείγμα μεταγραφών σε κώδικα Greeklish με στόχο να συμπεριλάβουμε τα δεδομένα στην πειραματική διαδικασία. Ειδικότερα, ζητήσαμε από 71 μαθητές (αγόρια και κορίτσια), οι οποίοι τον Απρίλιο του 2018 φοιτούσαν σε μία από τις τρεις τάξεις του Γυμνασίου (Α΄ έως και Γ΄) αστικής περιοχής και δήλωσαν ότι χρησιμοποιούν τον κώδικα Greeklish (πάντα ή μερικές φορές) είτε στα social media, είτε σε εφαρμογές instant messaging, είτε σε fora online gaming, να μεταγράψουν σε κώδικα Greeklish τις λέξεις και τις προτάσεις που θα συμπεριλαμβάνονταν στην πειραματική διαδικασία με τον eye tracker, χρησιμοποιώντας το προσωπικό τους στυλ μεταγραφής. Οι προτάσεις που εκφωνήθηκαν στους μαθητές, είτε προέρχονταν από πραγματικές συνομιλίες και αναρτήσεις στα κοινωνικά δίκτυα όπως το facebook είτε είχαν κατασκευαστεί. Για την κατασκευή τους λάβαμε υπόψη μας τόσο παλαιότερα (Thurlow & Brown, 2003), όσο και σύγχρονα ερευνητικά αποτελέσματα (Καππάτου, 2012) αναφορικά με τους θεματικούς άξονες επικοινωνίας σε DMC (ενδεικτικά αναφέρουμε: καθημερινότητα / ελεύθερος χρόνος, σύγχρονη κοινωνική πραγματικότητα, διαπροσωπικές σχέσεις, εκπαίδευση). Τέλος, οι μαθητές ενεπλάκησαν σε μια επικοινωνιακή προσομοίωση (Τσοπάνογλου, 2010), καθώς, δίνοντάς τους κινητά τηλέφωνα και τάμπλετ (σε δυάδες ή τριάδες) τους ζητήσαμε να επικοινωνήσουν μεταξύ τους, χρησιμοποιώντας την αγαπημένη τους εφαρμογή instant messaging, προσποιούμενοι ότι βρίσκονταν σε διαφορετικό χώρο από τη σχολική αίθουσα. Οι μαθητές αφέθηκαν ελεύθεροι να αυτοσχεδιάσουν και να αποφασίσουν το περιεχόμενο της επικοινωνίας τους.

5. ΠΡΩΤΕΣ ΠΑΡΑΤΗΡΗΣΕΙΣ – ΠΡΟΟΠΤΙΚΕΣ

Αναλύοντας τα δεδομένα που συγκεντρώθηκαν από την προαναφερθείσα περιορισμένης έκτασης έρευνα, παρατηρήσαμε ότι η πλειοψηφία των χρηστών δεν χρησιμοποιεί μόνο έναν τύπο μεταγραφής, παρατήρηση που συνάδει με τα αποτελέσματα πρότερων ερευνών (Androutsopoulos, 2009; Lees et al., 2017). Ειδικότερα, μόνο ένας από το σύνολο των μαθητών που συμμετείχαν στην έρευνα χρησιμοποίησε αποκλειστικά την ορθογραφική μεταγραφή (οπτική και πληκτρολογίου), ενώ κανένας μαθητής δε χρησιμοποίησε αποκλειστικά τη φωνητική μεταγραφή. Επίσης, μόλις το 1/3 του δείγματος χρησιμοποίησε αποκλειστικά ορθογραφική μεταγραφή στις ομάδες των φωνηέντων, των «δίψηφων» φωνηέντων και των συνδυασμών, ενώ κανένας μαθητής δε χρησιμοποίησε αποκλειστικά τη φωνητική μεταγραφή σε αυτές τις ομάδες. Από το συνολικό δείγμα μικρός είναι ο αριθμός των μαθητών (24) οι οποίοι χρησιμοποιούν σταθερά τον ορθογραφικό τύπο μεταγραφής (οπτικό ή πληκτρολογίου) του <u> (<u> / <y>) στους συνδυασμούς (<αυ>, <ευ>) και στο "δίψηφο" φωνήεν <ου> που τον περιέχουν.

Η πλειοψηφία των μαθητών τείνει να παραλείπει το δεύτερο σύμφωνο σε λέξεις όπως *ψιλοκομμένος, εισπράττω, εκατομμυρίων*. Δεν μπορούμε να ισχυριστούμε με βεβαιότητα ότι οι μαθητές αυτοί γνωρίζουν ή όχι την ορθογραφημένη γραφή των παραπάνω λέξεων προκειμένου να ισχυριστούμε ότι η παράλειψη $2^{ου}$ συμφώνου είναι σύνηθες φαινόμενο κατά τη μεταγραφή σε Greeklish, ωστόσο η τακτική αυτή παρατηρήθηκε σε 15 μαθητές οι οποίοι χρησιμοποιούν αποκλειστικά την ορθογραφική μεταγραφή στις ομάδες των φωνηέντων και των δίψηφων φωνηέντων. Αναλύοντας τα δεδομένα των 15 μαθητών, παρατηρήσαμε ότι οι μαθητές αυτοί μεταγράφουν τις λέξεις / προτάσεις τηρώντας την ορθογραφία. Επίσης, παραλείψεις γραμμάτων παρατηρήθηκαν και στα δεδομένα που συγκεντρώθηκαν από τη $2^η$ δοκιμασία αυτής της προσομοίωσης επικοινωνίας.

Πάντως τόσο από τα δεδομένα που έχουν συγκεντρωθεί, παρατηρείται ότι οι μαθητές του δείγματος δεν χρησιμοποιούν αποκλειστικά τον κώδικα Greeklish κατά την ψηφιακή τους

επικοινωνία, αλλά παρατηρείται, είτε χρήση αποκλειστικά του ελληνικού κώδικα γραφής είτε η εναλλαγή ανάμεσα στους δύο κώδικες χωρίς να υπάρχει σταθερή χρήση του ενός εκ των δύο.

Αναφορικά με το γλωσσικό προφίλ των υποκειμένων της έρευνας, δεν υπάρχει ακόμα σαφής εικόνα, καθώς, στην παρούσα φάση πραγματοποιείται η επεξεργασία των δεδομένων των επιμέρους γλωσσικών δοκιμασιών. Έχει, ωστόσο, ολοκληρωθεί η επεξεργασία των δεδομένων που αφορούν στο προφίλ χρήσης Greeklish. Σύμφωνα με αυτά από το συνολικό δείγμα των 355 υποκειμένων: 71 δε χρησιμοποιούν Greeklish, 139 τα χρησιμοποιούν σπάνια, 92 κάνουν μέτρια χρήση, 34 τα χρησιμοποιούν πολύ συχνά. Τέλος, 19 υποκείμενα δεν εμπίπτουν σε καμία από τις προαναφερθείσες κατηγορίες, καθώς στις ερωτήσεις που αφορούν στη χρήση του κώδικα στα ψηφιακά μέσα εντοπίστηκαν, ανάλογα με το μέσο, όλες οι προτεινόμενες απαντήσεις χρήσης Greeklish, δηλαδή ποτέ, μερικές φορές, πάντα. Από τα προαναφερθέντα, παρατηρούμε μια φθίνουσα πορεία στη χρήση του κώδικα, ίσως, λόγω της ευρύτητας χρήσης smartphones και σχετικών εφαρμογών instant messaging, οι οποίες υποστηρίζουν την ελληνική γλώσσα.

Κάποιες πρώιμες παρατηρήσεις μπορούν να γίνουν αναφορικά με τα δεδομένα της πειραματικής διαδικασίες (eye tracker και Inputlog). Για παράδειγμα, τα υποκείμενα ανεξάρτητα από τον αν είναι χρήστες ή όχι Greeklish χρειάστηκαν λιγότερο χρόνο να αναγνώσουν λέξεις με ελληνικό κώδικα γραφής. Οι λέξεις που αποτελούνται από πέντε έως έξι χαρακτήρες αναγιγνώσκονται γρηγορότερα όταν έχουν μεταγραφεί φωνητικά, ενώ για τις μεγαλύτερες λέξεις η ορθογραφική οπτική μεταγραφή φαίνεται ότι αναγιγνώσκεται γρηγορότερα. Ενδιαφέρον είναι ότι οι μη χρήστες Greeklish αναγιγνώσκουν γρηγορότερα τις φωνητικά μεταγραμμένες λέξεις, ενώ οι χρήστες Greeklish τις ορθογραφικά οπτικά μεταγραμμένες. Όπως ήταν αναμενόμενο, η ύπαρξη λέξης με ελληνικό κώδικα γραφής σε κείμενο που είναι γραμμένο με κώδικα Greeklish δεν επανεστιάζεται, δηλαδή δεν προβληματίζει τον αναγνώστη προκειμένου να χρειαστεί να γυρίσει σε αυτήν και να την αναγνώσει ξανά, ενώ ανάλογα είναι τα αποτελέσματα και στην αντίστροφη περίπτωση (κείμενο γραμμένο στο σύνολό του με ελληνικούς χαρακτήρες και ύπαρξη κάποιων Greeklish λέξεων). Τέλος, παρατηρώντας τους τύπους μεταγραφής των ελληνικών γραφημάτων που δεν αντιστοιχούν σε γραφήματα του λατινικού αλφαβήτου, διαπιστώσαμε ότι τα ελληνικά γραφήματα <θ> και <ξ> αναγιγνώσκονται γρηγορότερα σε σχέση με τις αντίστοιχες φωνητικές και ορθογραφικές μεταγραφές τους σε κώδικα Greeklish, ενώ μας προκάλεσε εντύπωση το γεγονός ότι η φωνητική μεταγραφή <ps> του γραφήματος <ψ> αναγιγνώσκεται γρηγορότερα από το ελληνικό γράφημα <ψ> στις λέξεις που ξεκινούν με αυτά.

Καταλήγοντας, η παρούσα έρευνα θα μπορούσε να εγείρει το ενδιαφέρον μελέτης των πρακτικών ψηφιακού γραμματισμού παιδιών και εφήβων με χρήση σύγχρονων μεθόδων όπως αυτής των οφθαλμικών κινήσεων και της καταγραφής των keystrokes, καθώς εισάγει μια καινούρια μέθοδο μελέτης των χαμηλού και υψηλού επιπέδου γλωσσικών δεξιοτήτων που αφορούν τόσο την ανάγνωση, όσο και τη γραφή. Αν και η μελέτη αυτή δεν επιχειρεί να αναλύσει και να ασχοληθεί με θέματα κοινωνιογλωσσολογίας, τα αποτελέσματά της, ωστόσο, θα μπορούσαν να εγείρουν το ενδιαφέρον όσων επιθυμούν να ασχοληθούν με τις γλωσσικές στάσεις και τα στερεότυπα που αναπτύσσονται αναφορικά με τη γλωσσική εξέλιξη που παρατηρείται λόγω της αύξησης των πρακτικών ψηφιακού γραμματισμού των νέων, απόρροια της αυξημένης χρήσης του διαδικτύου αλλά και των ψηφιακών μέσων. Προσδοκία μας είναι ότι τα αποτελέσματα της έρευνας θα βοηθήσουν στην εξαγωγή κάποιων πρώτων, μη γενικεύσιμων ίσως συμπερασμάτων, αναφορικά με τη διγραφία και τη σχέση που μπορεί να έχει αυτή με το γραμματισμό και το γνωσιακό φορτίο των χρηστών.

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Εναλλακτική αξιοποίηση της έννοιας της οντολογίας στη σημασιοσυντακτική κωδικοποίηση μίας φυσικής γλώσσας για αυτόματη επεξεργασία της - Παραδείγματα από τη Νέα Ελληνική Γλώσσα

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ABSTRACT

The Modern Greek Language (MGL) is an inflectional language, thus the interdependence of morphology, syntax and semantics is inherent and precisely included as information conveyed directly or indirectly, on the one hand, by the syntactic role that each word fulfils in the sentence syntactic structure and, on the other, by the way sentences are joined to one another.

In the present paper, we will present the syntactic-semantic mechanisms which led us to the introduction of an alternative definition of ontology into the semantic study of the method we have already proposed for MGL processing. The syntactic-semantic production rules of dominant semantic combinations of words proposed here can be exploited, according to their syntactic role in the sentence, in language processing attaining 100% accuracy. This alternative ontology, which can be partitioned and composed accordingly, is based on an essential semantic property of nouns that we have defined as semantic category. More precisely, the semantic category exploiting the distributional properties of nouns pinpoints a key semantic feature or set of semantic features that can be used to group nouns into the same clusters. Semantic categories are themselves hierarchically organized yielding an ontology which is not based on concepts but clusters of semantic features. This makes the whole ontology flexible, able to accommodate and classify seemingly unrelated concepts, yet functioning as subject or object to the same or semantically related verbs, i.e. synonyms, antonyms, hyponyms etc. In this way, syntactic-semantic rules can be easily written and adjusted to suit particular instances.

Key Words: NLP, semantics, ontology, grammars.

1. ΒΑΣΙΚΕΣ ΑΡΧΈΣ, ΕΝΝΟΙΕΣ ΚΑΙ ΟΡΙΣΜΟΙ ΜΙΑΣ ΕΚΔΟΧΗΣ ΕΠΕΞΕΡΓΑΣΙΑΣ ΤΗΣ ΝΕΟΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΗΣ ΓΛΩΣΣΑΣ

Είναι γνωστό ότι η επεξεργασία φυσικής γλώσσας (ΕΦΓ) έγκειται στην ανάλυση του κειμένου της, η οποία προϋποθέτει τη συντακτική του ανάλυση ή την τεχνολόγησή του, κατά τη διάρκεια της οποίας κάθε πρότασή του «απογραμμικοποιείται», δηλαδή από τις λέξεις της πρότασης εξάγεται μία δενδροειδής δομή. Αυτή η δομή περιγράφει τον συντακτικό ρόλο κάθε λέξης της πρότασης. Η δυνατότητα ή μη εξαγωγής της δενδροειδούς δομής επιβεβαιώνει αν η πρόταση ανήκει ή όχι στη γλώσσα. Στη διαδικασία αυτή τον κεντρικό ρόλο τον παίζει η γραμματική, η οποία είναι ένα σχήμα που περιγράφει τα χαρακτηριστικά των προτάσεων της γλώσσας. Στην περιγραφή των φυσικών γλωσσών οι γραμματικές Chomsky, καθώς και διάφορες τροποποιήσεις και επαυξήσεις που οφείλονται στον Chomsky ή σε άλλους ερευνητές παρουσίασαν κάποιες ανεπάρκειες. Πρέπει όμως να σημειώσομε ότι η ανεπάρκεια αυτή παρατηρήθηκε και καταγράφηκε κυρίως στην περίπτωση της αγγλικής γλώσσας (ΑΓ), η οποία διαφέρει σημαντικά από τη νεοελληνική γλώσσα (ΝΕΓ) και από άποψη πληροφοριακού περιεχομένου των λέξεων (γένη, πτώσεις, κλπ.). Οι ανεπάρκειες αυτές για την ΑΓ εντοπίζονται κυρίως στο ότι στις προταθείσες γραμματικές δεν ενσωματώνονται, σε ανάλογο βαθμό, μορφολογικές και κυρίως σημασιολογικές πληροφορίες, οι οποίες ως γνωστόν είναι αλληλοεξαρτώμενες με αυτές της σύνταξης. Επίσης στο ότι το μοντέλο τους δεν είναι γενικό,

«καθολικό», για όλη τη γλώσσα για την οποία σχεδιάστηκαν, αλλά προτείνονται τόσες περιπτώσεις όσες για κάθε περίπτωση πρότασης ξεχωριστά. Χαρακτηριστικό παράδειγμα είναι οι γραμματικές ενοποίησης (Shieber, 2003), όπου γίνεται μία προσπάθεια ενσωμάτωσης μορφολογικών και σημασιολογικών πληροφοριών. Τα μοντέλα που προτάθηκαν είναι δύσκολα στην υλοποίηση εξαιτίας της πολυπλοκότητας του σχεδιασμού τους, η οποία επιδεινώνεται καθώς δεν προβλέπεται, και πάλι, ένα καθολικό μοντέλο που να καλύπτει όλες τις περιπτώσεις. Για την ΕΦΓ έχουν προταθεί και άλλα μοντέλα που χρησιμοποιούν πιθανότητες.

Οι δομολειτουργικές διεργασίες της ΝΕΓ περιγράφονται ως αλγόριθμοι. Έτσι, μελετώντας, ταξινομώντας, κωδικοποιώντας τα γλωσσολογικά της δεδομένα και αρχειοθετώντας τα κατάλληλα σε βάσεις δεδομένων, μπορούμε να προσεγγίσουμε την επεξεργασία της ΝΕΓ αναλυτικά και με στόχους ακρίβειας 100% (Μπαλτζής, 1993· Baldzis et al., 2002· Baldzis et al., 2005).

Στη μη κλιτή ή ημίκλιτη ΑΓ, οι πληροφορίες που φέρουν οι λέξεις στην πρόταση σχετικά με τον συντακτικό τους ρόλο καθορίζεται από τη θέση τους (πρβλ. SVO), ενώ στην κλιτή ΝΕΓ από τις πτώσεις τους. Η παρατήρηση αυτή οδηγεί στο συμπέρασμα ότι οι κανόνες φρασεοδομής[1] των γραμματικών της ιεραρχίας Chomsky δεν μπορούν να εκφράσουν επαρκώς[2] τη συντακτική δομή των προτάσεων της ΝΕΓ. Επισημαίνουμε επίσης το πόσο σημαντική είναι η παθητική φωνή για την ΑΓ, αφού είναι η μοναδική δυνατότητα που έχει να αντιστρέψει τη θέση υποκειμένου και αντικειμένου, χωρίς να αλλάξει το νόημα της πρότασης, εισάγοντας το ποιητικό αίτιο, μία πρακτική η οποία στη ΝΕΓ δεν είναι διαδεδομένη (Μπαλτζής, 1993· Baldzis, 1998· Baldzis et al., 2002).

Η διατύπωση λοιπόν γραμματικής που παράγει τις συντακτικές δομές[3] των προτάσεων της ΝΕΓ συνεπάγεται την παραγωγή ή τη δυνατότητα επεξεργασίας των συνταγματικών αξόνων τους, καθώς και του ορισμού και της ποικιλίας των παραδειγματικών αξόνων σε κάθε περίπτωση. Έτσι, οδηγηθήκαμε στη διατύπωση των μητροειδών γραμματικών (μ. γραμματικών)[4] – χαρακτηριστικοί εκθέτες (χ.ε.) (Μπαλτζής, 1993· Μπαλτζής, 1995· Baldzis, 1998), μίας τροποποιημένης εκδοχής των γραμματικών Chomsky. Η τροποποίηση δεν αφορά τους τύπους των γραμματικών οι οποίοι παραμένουν ως έχουν, αλλά τους κανόνες παραγωγής, οι οποίοι είναι κανόνες συντακτικής δομής και όχι φρασεοδομής, και τους ομαδοποιούν σε μήτρες συντακτικών κανόνων, οι οποίες παράγουν συντακτικές δομές συνήθων και εύχρηστων προτάσεων της ΝΕΓ. Οι μ. γραμματικές παράγουν μία ενδιάμεση γλώσσα, τη γλώσσα των συντακτικών κατηγοριών ή γλώσσα βάση της ΝΕΓ, η οποία προσομοιάζει με τη ΝΕΓ ως προς τη συντακτική δομή της. Το πλεονέκτημα είναι ότι είναι απαλλαγμένη από γραμματικούς τύπους και έννοιες και μελετάται εύκολα η συντακτική συμπεριφορά της αφού είναι μία τυπική γλώσσα που εύκολα προγραμματίζεται (Μπαλτζής, 1993· Μπαλτζής, 1995· Baldzis, 1998). Με ανάλογο τρόπο ορίσαμε τις επεκτάσεις των μ. γραμματικών, τις σπονδυλωτές μητροειδείς γραμματικές (σ.μ. γραμματικές)-χ.ε.[5] (Μπαλτζής, 1997) για την

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[1] Οι κανόνες φρασεοδομής των γραμματικών της Ιεραρχίας Chomsky, που είναι η βάση όλων των επεκτάσεων ή επαυξήσεων αυτών, εκφράζουν τη συντακτική δομή των προτάσεων της ΑΓ.

[2] Π.χ. η πρόταση «η γάτα τρώει τον ποντικό» στη ΝΕΓ μπορεί να διατυπωθεί διατηρώντας το ίδιο νόημα με 6 διαφορετικούς τρόπους. Στην ΑΓ όμως «the cat eats the mouse» διατυπώνεται μόνο με έναν τρόπο. Η «the mouse eats the cat», η μοναδική επιτρεπτή αλλαγή λέξεων, σημαίνει κάτι τελείως διαφορετικό.

[3] Οι συντακτικές κατηγορίες της ΝΕΓ που συνθέτουν τους συνταγματικούς άξονες είναι τα σημεία όπου εντοπίζεται η αλληλεξάρτηση της σύνταξης, της μορφολογίας και της σημασιολογίας, που είναι και το αντικείμενο της εν γένει μελέτης και έρευνάς μας για αυτόματη επεξεργασία της ΝΕΓ.

[4] Στο προτεινόμενο τροποποιημένο σχήμα $G = (V_{NT}, V_T, P, S)$, P: είναι το πεπερασμένο σύνολο μητρών συντακτικών κανόνων, και όχι φρασεοδομής, επιπλέον V_T: είναι το πεπερασμένο σύνολο των συντακτικών κατηγοριών της ΝΕΓ και όχι λέξεις της (βλ. π.χ. 2.2). Π.χ. οι συντακτικές δομές ή συνταγματικοί άξονες των απλών προτάσεων παράγονται από τη μ.γραμματική $G_1=(V_{NT1},V_{T1},P_1,S)$, όπου $P_1=\{p_{11},p_{12}\}$ με p_{11} παράγει τη συντακτική δομή: <υποκειμενο><κατηγορηματικο_ρημα> και p_{12} παράγει τη συντακτική δομή: <υποκειμενο> <συνδετικο_ρημ><κατηγορουμενο>. Με ανάλογο τρόπο οι G_2,G_3 και G_4 παράγουν αντίστοιχα τις συντακτικές δομές των σύνθετων, των επαυξημένων και των σύνθετων και επαυξημένων προτάσεων της ΝΕΓ.

[5] Ονομάζουμε σπονδυλωτή μητροειδή γραμματική (σ.μ. γραμματική) τη $G_\Sigma = (V_{N\Sigma}, V_{T\Sigma}, P_\Sigma, S)$, στην οποία εξ ορισμού καταγράφονται και κατονομάζονται οι μήτρες κανόνων που παράγουν (1) τις (απλές) εύχρηστες συντακτικές δομές της γλώσσας και (2) τις (σύνθετες) συντακτικές δομές της γλώσσας που είναι εύχρηστες συντακτικές δομές σωμάτων κειμένων της ΝΕΓ. Σημειώνουμε ότι με τις σ.μ. γραμματικές: (1) δεν αυξάνονται και δεν διατυπώνονται πολυπλοκότερες μήτρες κανόνων παραγωγής συντακτικών δομών, με αποτέλεσμα κάθε παραγόμενη σύνθετη συντακτική δομή της γλώσσας να αναγνωρίζεται ευκολότερα αφού οι κανόνες αυτοί εντοπίζονται άμεσα με τους χ.ε., όπως ακριβώς και στις μ. γραμματικές, αποφεύγοντας τις δαπανηρές μεθόδους εντοπισμού τους με διαδοχικές δοκιμές κανόνων του συνόλου P και (2) ισχύει και στις σ.μ. γραμματικές η ιεραρχία τροποποιημένης εκδοχής των γραμματικών της ιεραρχίας Chomsky.

παραγωγή και αναγνώριση συνήθων και εύχρηστων συντακτικών δομών σωμάτων κειμένων της ΝΕΓ - στο εξής κειμενοποιημένες συντακτικές δομές προτάσεων[6] της ΝΕΓ. Με τον τρόπο αυτόν προσεγγίζομε από πάνω προς τα κάτω[7] τη μελέτη της συντακτικής δομής των σωμάτων κειμένων σε αντίθεση με την ετικετοποίηση που αποτελεί την αντίστοιχη προσέγγιση από κάτω προς τα επάνω[8] (Jurafsky and Martin, 2008). Οι προτάσεις που παράγονται από τις μ. γραμματικές και τις σ.μ. γραμματικές είναι ακέραιες και στην κανονική σειρά των όρων τους, προς αποφυγή ορισμού διφορούμενων γραμματικών. Οι αποκλίσεις από την κανονική σειρά των όρων καθώς και ο χειρισμός των ελλειπτικών προτάσεων προσεγγίζονται με μετασχηματιστικούς κανόνες. Σε κάθε συντακτική δομή της ΝΕΓ ή συντακτική δομή βάθους αντιστοιχεί ένας μεγάλος αριθμός ποικίλων αντίστοιχων δομών επιφανείας (κειμενοποιημένων ή μη) αποδεκτών προτάσεων της ΝΕΓ. Η αντιστοίχιση αυτή υλοποιείται με τη βοήθεια του Βασικού Νεοελληνικού Πολυλεξικού (ΒΝΠ) και των αλγορίθμων που το συνοδεύουν και που έχομε εισαγάγει (Μπαλτζής, 1993· Baldzis et al., 2001· Baldzis et al., 2002· Baldzis et al., 2005). Δηλαδή, η σύνδεση των συνταγματικών αξόνων με τη μορφολογία και τη σημασιολογία στην πραγματικότητα γίνεται με ένα σύστημα Ηλεκτρονικών Υπολογιστικών Λεξικών της ΝΕΓ και των αλγορίθμων τους και αποτελείται από:

1. Το Βασικό Νεοελληνικό Λεξικό (ΒΝΛ), το οποίο περιέχει τις λέξεις, σε αλφαβητική σειρά – περίπου 7.000 λήμματα, μεταξύ των οποίων τουλάχιστον 200 πολύσημες λέξεις – τις οποίες το προτεινόμενο σύστημά μας αναγνωρίζει και επεξεργάζεται. Στα υπάρχοντα λήμματα είναι καταχωρισμένα αντιπροσωπευτικά δείγματα όλων των κλιτών και άκλιτων μερών του λόγου. Το ΒΝΛ εύκολα συντηρείται και μπορεί να επεκταθεί στον χειρισμό 60.000 και πλέον λημμάτων.

2. Το Νεοελληνικό Μορφολογικό Υπολογιστικό Λεξικό (ΝΜορφΥπΛ) (Μπαλτζής, 1993· Μπαλτζής et al., 2006· Baldzis et al., 2002· Baldzis et al., 2005), το οποίο περιέχει τα λήμματα του ΒΝΛ και ελέγχει όλα τα είδη της μορφολογικής πληροφορίας, μπορεί:

- να παράγει και να αναγνωρίζει: 3000 ουσιαστικά, 1600 επίθετα, 2100 ρήματα και τις αντίστοιχες μετοχές τους, 50 αντωνυμίες και 250 μη κλιτές λέξεις, καθώς και να επεκταθεί στον χειρισμό 60.000 και πλέον λημμάτων. Λαμβάνοντας υπόψη ότι κάθε ουσιαστικό έχει 8 διακριτούς κλιτούς τύπους, κάθε επίθετο έχει 120, κάθε ρήμα έχει 76 κλπ., το σύστημά μας αναγνωρίζει συνολικά 1.000.000 κλιτούς τύπους κατά προσέγγιση και με ακρίβεια 100%,
- να χειρίζεται περιφραστικούς αλλά και πολλαπλούς τύπους και να ελέγχει μορφολογικές αμφισημίες, έτσι ώστε να αποδίδει με σαφήνεια και ακρίβεια τις οποιεσδήποτε πληροφορίες και
- να είναι εύκολα επεκτάσιμο και ευκολοσυντήρητο.

3. Το Νεοελληνικό Συντακτικό Υπολογιστικό Λεξικό (ΝΣυνΥπΛ) (Μπαλτζής, 1993· Μπαλτζής, 1995· Μπαλτζής, 1997· Baldzis et al., 2005), το οποίο ελέγχει τις συμφωνίες των μορφολογικών τύπων των λέξεων της πρότασης ανάλογα με τον συντακτικό ρόλο τους στην πρόταση· τέλος,

4. Το Νεοελληνικό Σημασιολογικό Υπολογιστικό Λεξικό (ΝΣημΥπΛ) (Μπαλτζής, 1993· Μπαλτζής et al., 2015· Baldzis, 1999· Baldzis et al., 2005· Baldzis et al., 2007), το οποίο αποτελείται από το Λογικό Υπολογιστικό Λεξικό των Βασικών Εννοιών (ΛΥπΛΒΕ) και το Υπολογιστικό Λεξικό των Συμφραζομένων της ΝΕΓ (ΥπΛΣΝΓ).

Αναλυτικότερα, η αντιμετώπιση του προβλήματος της σημασιολογικής διάστασης για την επεξεργασία της ΝΕΓ αποτέλεσε το πιο ιδιαίτερο κομμάτι της έρευνάς μας, διότι δεν υπήρχαν καταγεγραμμένοι σημασιολογικοί κανόνες ώστε να μελετηθούν και να αποτελέσουν τη βάση για τη μοντελοποίηση αυτής της γλωσσολογικής διάστασης. Δηλαδή με πεπερασμένου πλήθους σχέσεις να μπορεί να περιγραφεί το σύνολο των δεσποζόντων σημασιολογικών συνδυασμών των εννοιών των λέξεων ως προς τον συντακτικό τους ρόλο και την άμεση σύνδεσή τους κάθε φορά με τους παραδειγματικούς άξονες των συνταγματικών αξόνων. Έτσι, εισαγάγαμε πεπερασμένου πλήθους κανόνες, τους σημασιοσυντακτικούς κανόνες, οι οποίοι περιγράφονται με τη βοήθεια των σημασιολογικών κατηγοριών (σ.κ.) και συνδέουν τη σημασιολογία με τη σύνταξη, δηλαδή, περιγράφουν τους αποδεκτούς δεσπόζοντες συνδυασμούς των εννοιών των λέξεων ανάλογα με τον συντακτικό τους ρόλο κάθε φορά. Οι κανόνες αυτοί διαχωρίζονται από τους σημασιολογικούς κανόνες που περιγράφουν κανόνες-μηχανισμούς που εντοπίζουν τις λέξεις που συνδέονται μεταξύ τους με μια σημασιολογική σχέση, π.χ. τα συνώνυμα ή τα αντώνυμα ενός ρήματος ή ενός επιθέτου, τα συνώνυμα ενός ουσιαστικού, κλπ. Επιπλέον, σημειώνουμε την ανάγκη οι λέξεις που αναγνωρίζει το σύστημά μας, δηλαδή «ο Θησαυρός» μας (*Λεξικό της Κοινής Νεοελληνικής-ΛΚΝ, Λεξικό της Νέας*

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[6] Οι οποίες είναι συντακτικές δομές ακεραίων κύριων και δευτερευουσών προτάσεων.

[7] Από τις παραγόμενες κειμενοποιημένες συντακτικές δομές προκύπτουν τα σώματα κειμένων.

[8] Από τα σώματα κειμένων εξάγονται οι παραγόμενες συντακτικές δομές.

Ελληνικής Γλώσσας-ΛΝΕΓ), να αναταξινομηθούν κωδικοποιημένες κατά αυστηρή αλληλουχία των εννοιών τους με προδιαγραφές «Λογικού Λεξικού». Έτσι, για την ταξινόμηση αυτή ακολουθήσαμε εκείνη του Αντιλεξικού (Βοσταντζόγλου, 1962) διακρίνοντας αφενός επίπεδα κωδικοποίησης αφετέρου εμπλουτίζοντάς το όπου χρειαζόταν. Σημειώνομε ότι η ταξινόμηση αυτή αποτελεί ένα μέρος της σημασιολογικής βάσης του συστήματός μας (Μπαλτζής, 1993· Μπαλτζής et al., 2015· Baldzis, 1999· Baldzis et al., 2001· Baldzis et al., 2002· Baldzis et al., 2007).

Το πρώτο επίπεδο αυτής της ταξινόμησης διαιρεί τον κόσμο σε 21 Κατηγορίες Ευρύτερων Ενοτήτων Εννοιών/Κεφαλαίων (ΚΕΕΕ/Κ), καθεμία από τις οποίες αναφέρεται σε μία διαφορετική διάσταση της ανθρώπινης πραγματικότητας (Μπαλτζής 1993· Μπαλτζής et al., 2015· Baldzis, 1999· Baldzis et al., 2005· Baldzis et al., 2007). Καθεμία από τις ΚΕΕΕ/Κ υποδιαιρείται σε Έννοιες/Κεφάλαια (Ε/Κ). Κάθε Ε/Κ αποτελεί μία διακριτή έννοια της κάθε ΚΕΕΕ/Κ στην οποία ανήκει. Μία Ε/Κ μπορεί να είναι αντίθετη ή συμπληρωματική με μία άλλη Ε/Κ της ίδιας ΚΕΕΕ/Κ. Το πλήθος των Ε/Κ είναι 1500. Οι Ε/Κ αποτελούν το δεύτερο επίπεδο αυτής της ενότητας της σημασιολογικής βάσης του συστήματός μας. Καθεμία από τις 1.500 Ε/Κ περιλαμβάνει λέξεις – ταξινομημένες βάσει του μέρους του λόγου όπου ανήκουν, ιδιωτισμούς και κοινές φράσεις, που εννοιολογικά ανήκουν στην ίδια σημασιολογική περιοχή. Τα μέρη του λόγου, τα παραγγέλματα, οι φράσεις και οι ιδιωτισμοί είναι το τρίτο επίπεδο αυτής της ενότητας του συστήματός μας, το οποίο ονομάζομε Παραγράφους. Έτσι, κάθε Ε/Κ έχει τόσες Παραγράφους όσες είναι οι κλιτές και οι άκλιτες λέξεις, τα παραγγέλματα, οι φράσεις και οι ιδιωτισμοί που συναντώνται στη γλώσσα με την ίδια γενική έννοια. Σημειώνομε ότι με τον όρο «γενική έννοια» αναφερόμαστε σε λέξεις που μπορεί να είναι συνώνυμες ή αντώνυμες με τη γενικότερη ή ειδικότερη έννοια του όρου.

Πίνακας 1. Δείγμα σημασιολογικής κωδικοποίησης λέξης του ΒΝΠ

α/α	Λέξη	ΚΕΕΕ/Κ→	Ε/Κ→	Παράγραφος→	Επιμέρους Έννοια
α/α.	άνθρωπος 14 . 0543 . κ1.1 .α/αλ	ΟΡΓΑΝΙΚΗ ΥΛΗ 14	Άνθρωπος 0543	ουσιαστικό κ1.1	α/αλ α/αλ

Πίνακας 2. Δείγμα κωδικοποίησης των πολύσημων λέξεων του ΒΝΠ, οι οποίες ανήκουν σε τόσες διαφορετικές Ε/Κ όσες είναι και οι αντίστοιχες έννοιές τους

ΒΝΛ	ΛΥπΛΒΕ	
	ΚΕΕΕ/Κ . Ε/Κ . Παράγραφος . ΕΕ (α/α λέξης) και οι αντίστοιχοι κωδικοί	
α/α. μελετάω-ώ	ΝΟΥΣ . Μάθηση . ρήμα . (α/α λέξης)	≡ 15 . 0828 . κ2. α/αλ
	ΝΟΥΣ . Εξέταση .αμετάβατο ρήμα . (α/α λέξης)	≡ 15 . 0845 . κ3. α/αλ
	ΝΟΥΣ . Μνεία . αμετάβατο ρήμα . (α/α λέξης)	≡ 15 . 0918 . κ3. α/αλ
	ΒΟΥΛΗΣΗ . Σκοπός . αμετάβατο ρήμα . (α/α λέξης)	≡ 16 . 1010 . κ3. α/αλ

Πίνακας 3. Δείγμα κωδικοποίησης των δεδομένων του ΝΣημΥπΛ, ειδικότερα των στοιχείων του ΥπΛΣΝΓ, με παραδείγματα τις σ.κ. <διδασκαλος>, <πολεμιστης> και <συγγραφεας> να είναι υπώνυμα της σ.κ. <ανθρωπος> αλλά να ανήκουν σε διαφορετικά υποδένδρα. Σημειώνομε ότι η σ.κ. <ανθρωπος> είναι υπώνυμο της σ.κ. <ανθρωπιν_ον>

ΒΝΛ	ΝΣημΥπΛ		ΥπΛΣΝΓ
	ΛΥπΛΒΕ		σ.κ.
	ΚΕΕΕ/Κ . Ε/Κ . Παράγραφος . ΕΕ (α/α λέξης) και οι αντίστοιχοι κωδικοί		σ.κ.
α/α. άνθρωπος	ΟΡΓΑΝΙΚΗ ΥΛΗ . Άνθρωπος . ουσιαστικό . α/α λέξης	≡ 14 . 0543 . κ1.1 . α/αλ	<ανθρωπος>
α/α. δάσκαλος	ΝΟΥΣ . Διδάσκαλος . ουσιαστικό . α/α λέξης	≡ 15 . 0831 . κ1.2 . α/αλ	<διδασκαλος>
α/α. στρατιώτης	ΔΡΑΣΗ . Πολεμιστής . ουσιαστικό . α/α λέξης	≡ 15 . 0831 . κ1.2 . α/αλ	<πολεμιστης>
α/α. συγγραφέας	ΝΟΥΣ . Συγγραφέας . ουσιαστικό . α/α λέξης	≡ 15 . 0956 . κ1.1 . α/αλ	<συγγραφεας>

Τέλος, σε κάθε Παράγραφο σχηματίζονται ομάδες σημασιολογικά συγγενών λέξεων βάσει της σχέσης των συνωνύμου ή αντωνύμου. Αυτές οι ομάδες ονομάζονται Επιμέρους Έννοιες (ΕΕ) και συνθέτουν το τέταρτο επίπεδο αυτής της ενότητας της σημασιολογικής βάσης του συστήματός μας. Αντιμετωπίσαμε ακόμα και το δυσεπίλυτο πρόβλημα της πολυσημίας (βλ. πιν. 1 & 2).

Οι κωδικοποιήσεις που προέκυψαν (βλ. πιν. 2 & 3) αποτέλεσαν το περιεχόμενο του ΛΥπΛΒΕ. Αντίστοιχα, το περιεχόμενο του ΥπΛΣΝΓ είναι η καταχώρηση για κάθε λέξη του ΒΝΛ της αντίστοιχης σημασιολογικής κατηγορίας, βάσει της οποίας, ανάλογα με το μέρος του λόγου όπου ανήκει η λέξη μπορεί να συνδυαστεί με άλλες λέξεις και με συγκεκριμένους συντακτικούς ρόλους κάθε φορά (βλ. πιν. 2 & 3). Οι επιτρεπτοί αυτοί συνδυασμοί συνθέτουν τους αντίστοιχους σημασιοσυντακτικούς κανόνες. Ο ορισμός και η ταξινόμηση των σ.κ. ορίζουν την εναλλακτική οντολογία, η οποία είναι το

αντικείμενο της παρούσας μελέτης.

2. ΟΡΙΣΜΟΣ ΤΩΝ ΣΗΜΑΣΙΟΛΟΓΙΚΩΝ ΚΑΤΗΓΟΡΙΩΝ ΤΗΣ ΝΕΓ ΚΑΙ ΤΩΝ ΔΕΝΔΡΟΕΙΔΩΝ ΔΟΜΩΝ ΤΟΥΣ ΩΣ ΒΑΣΗ ΤΟΥ ΟΡΙΣΜΟΥ ΤΗΣ ΕΝΑΛΛΑΚΤΙΚΗΣ ΕΝΝΟΙΑΣ ΤΗΣ ΟΝΤΟΛΟΓΊΑΣ ΣΤΗΝ ΕΠΕΞΕΡΓΑΣΙΑ ΤΗΣ ΝΕΓ – ΠΑΡΑΔΕΙΓΜΑΤΑ

2.1 Βασικές έννοιες και ορισμοί

Είναι γνωστό ότι το ρήμα περιγράφει την ενέργεια στην πρόταση και καθορίζει τη συντακτική δομή και τις λέξεις της πρότασης. Δηλαδή, ο συνταγματικός άξονας που εισάγει ορίζει κάθε φορά τους αντίστοιχους σε κάθε συντακτική κατηγορία παραδειγματικούς άξονες. Σημειώνεται ότι με τις μ. γραμματικές και τους χ.ε. και με τις σ.μ. γραμματικές και τους χ.ε., παράγεται και τεχνολογείται αντίστοιχα το σύνολο των εύχρηστων συντακτικών δομών των ακέραιων και κύριων συντακτικών δομών (βάθους) της ΝΕΓ και το σύνολο των εύχρηστων συντακτικών δομών των κύριων και δευτερευουσών προτάσεων καθώς και της εν γένει κειμενοποίησής τους.

Στόχος μας είναι να ορίσουμε, τυποποιώντας, κωδικοποιώντας και ταξινομώντας, τα κοινά σημασιολογικά χαρακτηριστικά που υπαγορεύονται από τα ρήματα ώστε οι λέξεις, κυρίως ουσιαστικά, που αναγνωρίζει το ΒΝΠ, τα οποία συναρμόζονται και ανήκουν στους παραδειγματικούς άξονες των αντίστοιχων κύριων συντακτικών κατηγοριών τους, να ομαδοποιούνται για περαιτέρω μηχανική αξιοποίηση. Οι κωδικοποιήσεις αυτές επιβάλλεται να έχουν μια γενική και προτυποποιημένη μορφή ώστε να είναι αποτελεσματικά αξιοποιήσιμες στον αυτόματο χειρισμό τους. Αυτά τα κοινά σημασιολογικά χαρακτηριστικά ορίζουν τις σ.κ., όπως έχουμε προαναφέρει. Οι σ.κ. ομαδοποιούν και κωδικοποιούν περαιτέρω τις λέξεις του Πολυλεξικού μας, δημιουργώντας το Υπολογιστικό Λεξικό των Συμφραζομένων της ΝΕΓ (ΥπΛΣΝΓ). Με τις σ.κ. συνθέτομε τους πεπερασμένου πλήθους σημασιοσυντακτικούς κανόνες, με τους οποίους παράγονται και αναγνωρίζονται οι δεσπόζοντες σημασιολογικοί συνδυασμοί των λέξεων ως προς τους συντακτικούς ρόλους τους κάθε φορά.

Για να επιτευχθεί η γενική και προτυποποιημένη μορφή των σ.κ. μελετήσαμε παράλληλα: (1) τις δομές των συνταγματικών αξόνων σε ένα ικανό δείγμα ρημάτων, μεταβατικών, αμετάβατων, μεταβατικών και αμετάβατων, τριτοπρόσωπων, βοηθητικών, πολύσημων και σύνθετων με πρώτο συνθετικό προθήματα, των συνωνύμων, παρασυνωνύμων και των αντωνύμων τους, που δημιουργούσαν αντίστοιχα απλές και επαυξημένες προτασιακές δομές[9] και (2) τα βασικά σημασιολογικά χαρακτηριστικά μεγάλου δείγματος ουσιαστικών, τα οποία ανήκουν κάθε φορά στον ίδιο παραδειγματικό άξονα - ως υποκείμενα ή άμεσα, έμμεσα αντικείμενα, όχι απαραίτητα συνωνύμων ή αντωνύμων, που υπαγορεύεται από το δείγμα των υπό μελέτη ρημάτων. Έτσι, πέρα από τη σημασιολογική ταξινόμηση των λέξεων βάσει της δομής του Αντιλεξικού, οδηγηθήκαμε: (1) στη σημασιολογική κατηγοριοποίηση των λέξεων για τη γενική και προτυποποιημένη οργάνωση των σημασιοσυντακτικών σχέσεων μέσα σε προτασιακές δομές και κατά συνέπεια, (2) στον ολοκληρωμένο ορισμό της σημασιολογικής βάσης του συστήματός μας (Βοσταντζόγλου,1962· Kümel,1979· Μπαλτζής,1993· Baldzis, 1998· Baldzis, 1999· Baldzis et al., 2007).

Εξ ορισμού, οι σ.κ. ομαδοποιούν ουσιαστικά, τα οποία μπορούν: (1) να ανήκουν (α) στην ίδια παράγραφο, ακόμα και διαφορετικών Ε/Κ, με κοινά σημασιολογικά χαρακτηριστικά, (β) στον ίδιο παραδειγματικό άξονα, ενός συνταγματικού άξονα ρήματος και (2) να εναλλάσσονται αποδεκτά, δηλαδή να εναλλάσσονται ως υποκείμενα ή αντικείμενα, άμεσα ή έμμεσα, (α) στο ίδιο ρήμα, (β) σε συνώνυμά του ή ακόμα και (γ) σε αντώνυμά του ή συχνά και (δ) σε παρασυνώνυμά τους και (3) σε σύνθετά τους με ανάλογες σημασίες. Κάθε σ.κ. συμβολίζεται με λέξεις ελληνικές άτονες και πεζά γράμματα μέσα σε ζευγάρι γωνιασμένων αγκυλών <…> ή σύζευξη λέξεων που περιγράφουν τα κοινά σημασιολογικά χαρακτηριστικά των λέξεων που ομαδοποιούν (Μπαλτζής, 1993· Μπαλτζής et al., 2015· Baldzis, 1999) (βλ. πιν. 3, 5, 6 & 7).

Ως προς τις σχέσεις μεταξύ των σ.κ. με άμεση επίπτωση στην αποτελεσματικότερη αυτόματη αξιοποίηση των σημασιοσυντακτικών κανόνων παρατηρούμε: (1) τα σημασιολογικά χαρακτηριστικά κάποιων ομάδων λέξεων μπορεί να μην είναι ξένα μεταξύ τους αλλά να σχετίζονται με κριτήρια υπερωνύμων και υπωνύμων. Δηλαδή, οι αντίστοιχες σ.κ. τους σχετίζονται ανάλογα και ανήκουν στην ίδια διαδρομή της ίδιας δενδροειδούς δομής σημασιολογικών κατηγοριών (δ.δ.σ.κ.). Έτσι επεκτείνεται ή περιορίζεται το εύρος των σημασιών και το πλήθος των λέξεων στους παραδειγματικούς άξονες ανάλογα με την κάθε περίπτωση, (2) τα σημασιολογικά χαρακτηριστικά

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[9] που καλύπτουν μεγάλο εύρος αντιπροσωπευτικών δεσποζόντων σημασιολογικών συνδυασμών λέξεων

κάποιων ομάδων λέξεων μπορεί να είναι ξένα μεταξύ τους, δηλαδή να μην σχετίζονται με κριτήρια υπερωνύμων και υπωνύμων. Με άλλα λόγια, οι αντίστοιχες σ.κ. τους ή ανήκουν σε διαφορετικά υποδένδρα σ.κ. του ίδιου δένδρου σ.κ. ή ανήκουν σε διαφορετικά δένδρα σ.κ., (3) ορίζομε τη σύνθετη σημασιολογική κατηγορία (σ.σ.κ.) επεκτείνοντας την έννοια της σ.κ., ως την ομαδοποίηση σ.κ., υπωνύμων σ.κ., που ανήκουν στο ίδιο υποδένδρο σ.κ. ή διαφορετικά υποδένδρα σ.κ. με επιπλέον κοινό σημασιολογικό χαρακτηριστικό και (4) ορίζομε ως κόμβους-ρίζες υποδένδρων σ.κ. πρώτου επιπέδου τις διαφορετικές ιδιότητες που μπορεί να έχει η έννοια μιας λέξης ή η αντίστοιχη χαρακτηριστική σημασιολογική ιδιότητά της, για παράδειγμα η λέξη άνθρωπος μπορεί να έχει 18 διαφορετικές ιδιότητες ή 18 κόμβους-ρίζες η σ.κ. <ανθρωπιν_ον> στην οποία ανήκει (βλ. πιν. 4).

Για παράδειγμα, ως υποκείμενα του *γράφω* μπορεί να είναι λέξεις που ανήκουν σε υπώνυμες σ.κ. της σ.κ. <ανθρωπιν_ον> και ανήκουν σε διαφορετικά υποδένδρα σ.κ. της όπως: <ατομο_νεαρης_ηλικιας>, <ατομο_μεγαλης_ηλικιας>, <διαμεν_ον_στην_πολη>, <επαγγελματιας_ενδυματος>, <εχ_ον_περιουσια_κυριοτητα>, κλπ. με ένα επιπλέον κοινό σημασιολογικό χαρακτηριστικό, την ικανότητα γραφής και ανάγνωσης. Τότε εισάγεται μία νέα σ.σ.κ.:<ανθρωπιν_ον_με_ικανοτητα_γραφης_αναγνωσης> που τις ομαδοποιεί. Έτσι έχομε τους αναδρομικούς κανόνες:

Πίνακας 4. Κόμβοι-Ρίζες υποδένδρων σ.κ., πρώτου επιπέδου, που διέπουν την έννοια της λέξης «άνθρωπος», με χαρακτηριστική σημασιολογική ιδιότητα ανθρώπινο ον ή σ.κ. <ανθρωπιν_ον>

Κόμβοι-Ρίζες υποδένδρων σ.κ. της έννοιας της λέξης «άνθρωπος»			
1	1.0 ΑΝΘΡΩΠΟΣ	10	1.9 ΠΟΛΕΜΙΚΕΣ ΥΠΗΡΕΣΙΕΣ
2	1.1 ΑΝΘΡΩΠΟΥ ΥΠΟΣΤΑΣΗ	11	1.10 ΔΙΑΝΟΗΤΙΚΗ ΕΡΓΑΣΙΑ
3	1.2 ΑΝΤΙΚΟΙΝΩΝΙΚΗ ΣΥΜΠΕΡΙΦΟΡΑ	12	1.11 ΘΡΗΣΚΕΙΑ
4	1.3 ΔΕΚΤΗΣ ΕΚΠΑΙΔΕΥΣΗΣ	13	1.12 ΑΘΛΗΤΙΣΜΟΣ
5	1.4 ΣΥΓΓΕΝΗΣ	14	1.13 ΝΟΜΙΚΗ ΔΙΑΦΟΡΑ
6	1.5 ΚΑΤΟΙΚΟΣ	15	1.14 ΥΠΗΡΕΣΙΕΣ ΔΙΑΜΕΣΟΛΑΒΗΣΗΣ
7	1.6 ΠΑΡΟΧΕΑΣ ΥΠΗΡΕΣΙΩΝ ΓΕΩΡΓΙΑΣ-ΚΤΗΝΟΤΡΟΦΙΑΣ	16	1.15 ΠΑΡΟΧΗ
8	1.7 ΕΜΠΟΡΙΟ – ΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΟ ΕΠΑΓΓΕΛΜΑ	17	1.16 ΚΥΡΙΑΡΧΙΑ – ΙΔΙΟΚΤΗΣΙΑ
9	1.8 ΥΠΑΛΛΗΛΟΣ	18	1.17 Ο ΠΑΡΑΛΑΜΒΑΝΩΝ - ΔΙΔΩΝ ΑΚΙΝΗΤΟ

3.1**<ανθρωπιν_ον_με_ικανοτητα_γραφης_αναγνωσης>** ::= …<ατομο_νεαρης_ηλικιας> | … | <ατομο_μεγαλης_ηλικιας> |…| <ατομο_με_αρνητικη_συμπεριφορα> | … | <διδασκομενος> | … | <εχ_ον_συγγενεια> | … | <διαμεν_ον_στην_πολη> | … | **<παροχεας_υπηρεσιων_ανθρωπιν_ον>**| … | <εχ_ον_περιουσια_κυριοτητα> | …

3.2 **<παροχεας_υπηρεσιων_ανθρωπιν_ον>** ::= … | <παροχεας_υπηρεσιων_εκπαιδευσης> | … | <παροχεας_υπηρεσιων_ενημερωσης> | … | <παροχεας_υπηρεσιων_πολιτισμου> | <παροχεας_υπηρεσιων_διακυβερνησης> | … | <παροχεας_νομικων_υπηρεσιων> | … | <παροχεας_υπηρεσιων_υγειας> | … | <παροχεας_υπηρεσιων_φυλαξης> | <παροχεας_υπηρεσιων_γεωργιας_κτηνοτροφιας> | …

Συμπερασματικά, πολλές φορές ως υποκείμενα ενός ρήματος μπορεί να γίνουν αποδεκτά και σύνολα ουσιαστικών που η βασική σημασιολογική ιδιότητά τους διευρύνεται ή προς τα επάνω (γενικότερη) ή προς τα κάτω (ειδικότερη), με αντίστοιχες σ.κ. και να είναι υπερώνυμη ή υπώνυμη της ήδη υπάρχουσας, κ.ο.κ. Έτσι δημιουργείται μία δ.δ.σ.κ., για μία ομάδα ρημάτων συνωνύμων, αντωνύμων ή και συνθέτων με ανάλογες σημασίες. Κάθε ρήμα εισάγει τον δικό του συνταγματικό άξονα υπαγορεύοντας αντίστοιχους παραδειγματικούς άξονες με σημασιολογικώς συμβατά σύνολα ουσιαστικών ως υποκείμενα και αντικείμενά του. Για να διατυπώσομε πεπερασμένου πλήθους γενικευμένους σημασιοσυντακτικούς κανόνες για αποτελεσματική μηχανική επεξεργασία, μελετήσαμε ένα αντιπροσωπευτικό δείγμα ρημάτων ως προς τις δομές που εισάγουν και το ευρύ φάσμα των εννοιών τους, πέραν των ρημάτων[10] της μορφολογικής διάστασης.

Στην παρούσα εργασία θα παρουσιάσομε τα αποτελέσματα της μελέτης που προέκυψαν από την τυποποίηση και κωδικοποίηση αντιπροσωπευτικών δειγμάτων ρημάτων και της ταξινόμησης και

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[10] Για την αποτελεσματική μορφολογική μηχανική επεξεργασία του μελετήθηκε, τυποποιήθηκε και κωδικοποιήθηκε ένα αντιπροσωπευτικό δείγμα 201 ρημάτων, βάσει των οποίων κλίνονται όλα τα ρήματα της ΝΕΓ (Μπαλτζής et al., 2006· Baldzis et al., 2005).

κωδικοποίησης μόνο των συναρμοζουσών αντιπροσωπευτικών ομάδων δείγματος ουσιαστικών (που λειτουργούν ως υποκείμενα και αντικείμενά τους) και που μας οδήγησαν στον ορισμό μίας εναλλακτικής αξιοποίησης της έννοιας της οντολογίας. Πρόκειται για μία τμηματικοποιημένη οντολογία που ορίζεται κατά περίπτωση βάσει των ειδικών σημασιολογικών ιδιοτήτων που υπαγορεύει το κάθε ρήμα για τα υποκείμενα και αντικείμενά του, προσαρμόζοντάς την ανάλογα ακόμα και με σύνθεση επιμέρους τμημάτων της. Έτσι, η ταξινόμηση αυτή των δενδροειδών δομών των κοινών σημασιολογικών χαρακτηριστικών των λέξεων και των των επεκτάσεών τους, σε συνδυασμό με την ταξινόμηση των λέξεων σε Ε/Κ και Παραγράφους, προσδίδει στο σύστημά μας μία πλήρη, αποτελεσματική, ευέλικτη και ευκολοσυντήρητη σημασιολογική βάση. Με τη βοήθεια της βάσης αυτής, μπορούμε να ορίσομε το πεπερασμένο σύστημα των σημασιοσυντακτικών κανόνων μας. Διότι αφενός τα ρήματα είναι πεπερασμένα, αφετέρου η ποικιλία των ουσιαστικών σε κάθε περίπτωση είναι ελέγξιμη, για να περιγράφομε τους δεσπόζοντες σημασιολογικούς συνδυασμούς των εννοιών των λέξεων, κατά συνέπεια τις δεσπόζουσες σημασιοσυντακτικές δομές της ΝΕΓ.

Πίνακας 5. Δείγμα ορισμού Σημασιολογικών Κατηγοριών με τους κωδικούς τους και Λέξεων ή Σύζευξης Λέξεων που αντιστοιχούν στην ίδια σκ με τους αντίστοιχους κωδικούς τους. Στη δεξιά στήλη όσες σ.κ. είναι με έντονα Γράμματα μόνο αυτές στον πίνακά μας αντικαθίστανται από τα υπώνυμά τους. Η Σύζευξη Λέξεων είναι με έντονα γράμματα διότι στο επόμενο επίπεδο μετατρέπεται σε Σημασιολογική Κατηγορία και αναλύεται περαιτέρω.

Αναδρομικοί κανόνες παραγωγής ή αντικατάστασης ορισμού των σ.κ. και κωδικοποίησή τους				
1.0	<εμψυχ_ον>	::=	1.1 1.2 1.3 1.4 1.5 1.6	**<ανθρωπιν_ον>** | <ζω_ον> | <πετειν_ον> | <ψαρι_ον> | <εντομ_ον> | <ερπετ_ον>
1.1.0	<ανθρωπιν_ον>	::=	1.1.1 1.1.2 1.1.3 1.1.4 1.1.5 1.1.6 1.1.7 1.1.8 1.1.9 1.1.10 1.1.11 1.1.12 1.1.13 1.1.14 1.1.15 1.1.16 1.1.17 1.1.18	<ανθρωπιν_υποσταση> | **<παροχεας_υπηρεσιων_ανθρωπιν_ον>** | <ατομο_με_αρνητικη_συμπεριφορα> | <διδασκομενος> | <εχ_ον_συγγενεια> | <κατοικ_ον> | <παροχ_αγροκτηνοτροφικων_υπηρεσιων> | <ασκ_ον_εμποριο_ελευθερο_επαγγελμα> | <εχ_ον_υπαλληλικη_σχεση> | <παροχεας_πολεμικων_υπηρεσιων> | <ασκ_ον_διανοητικη_εργασια> | <υπηρετ_ον_θρησκεια> | <υπηρετ_ον_αθλητισμο> | <εχ_ον_νομικη_διαφορα> | <παροχεας_υπηρεσιων_διαμεσολαβησης> | <παροχεας> | <εχ_ον_κυριαρχια_κατεχων_ιδιοκτησια> | <παραλαμβαν_ον_διδ_ον_ακινητο>
1.1.2.0	<παροχεας_υπηρεσιων_ανθρωπιν_ον>	::=	1.1.2.1 1.1.2.2 1.1.2.3 1.1.2.4 1.1.2.5 1.1.2.6 1.1.2.7 1.1.2.8	**<παροχεας_υπηρεσιων_εκπαιδευσης>** | <παροχεας_υπηρεσιων_ενημερωσης> | <παροχεας_υπηρεσιων_πολιτισμου> | <παροχεας_υπηρεσιων_διακυβερνησης> | <παροχεας_νομικων_υπηρεσιων> | <παροχεας_υπηρεσιων_υγειας> | <παροχεας_υπηρεσιων_φυλαξης> | <παροχεας_υπηρεσιων_γεωργ_κτηνοτροφι>
1.1.2.1.0	<παροχεας_υπηρεσιων_εκπαιδευσης>	::=	1.1.2.1.1	**< διδασκ_ον>**
1.1.2.1.1.0	<διδασκ_ον>	→ → →		**διδακτικό προσωπικό** (15.0831.κ1.19.1) εκπαιδευτικός (15.0831.κ1.19.3) | παιδαγωγός (15.0831.κ1.6.1) |
1.1.2.1.1.1.0	<διδακτικο_προσωπικο>	::=	1.1.2.1.1.1.1 1.1.2.1.1.1.2 1.1.2.1.1.1.3 1.1.2.1.1.1.4	**<διδακτικο_προσωπικο_προσχολικης>** | **<διδακτικο_προσωπικο_α_βαθμιας>** | **<διδακτικο_προσωπικο_β_βαθμιας>** | **<διδακτικο_προσωπικο_γ_βαθμιας>**

Πίνακας 6: Η συνέχεια του κλάδου του δένδρου του προηγούμενου πίνακα και η κατάληξή του σε λέξεις.

Κανόνες παραγωγής σ.κ. , Λέξεις που οι σ.κ. ομαδοποιούν και κωδικοποιήσεις τους		
1.1.2.1.1.1.1.0	<διδακτικο_ προσωπικο_προσχολικης>	→ νηπιαγωγός (15.0831.κ1.6.2) . . .
1.1.2.1.1.1.2.0	<διδακτικο_ προσωπικο_α_βαθμιας>	→ δασκάλα (15.0831.κ1.2.2) | … → δάσκαλος (15.0831.κ1.1.2) |
1.1.2.1.1.1.3.0	<διδακτικο_ προσωπικο_β_βαθμιας>	→ γυμνασιάρχης (15.0831.κ1.18.2) | → γυμναστής (20.1413.κ1.11.1) | → καθηγητής (15.0831.κ1.15.1) | → . . . → φυσικός (13.0399.κ1.13.9) | → χημικός (13.0404.κ1.9.1) | …
1.2.2.1.1.1.4.0	<διδακτικο_ προσωπικο_γ_βαθμιας>	→ αναπληρωτής καθηγητή(15.0831.κ1.15.10) | → διδάκτορας (15.0831.κ1.15.6) | → . . . → λέκτορας (15.0831.κ1.15.5) | → ομότιμος καθηγητής (15.0831.κ1.17.1) | → πρύτανης (15.0831.κ1.18.5)

2.2 Παραδείγματα κωδικοποίησης σημασιοσυντακτικών κανόνων

Το ρήμα *γράφω* βρέθηκε στο επίκεντρο της μελέτης μας ως ενδεικτικό παράδειγμα αντιπροσωπευτικού ρήματος αφού: (1) είναι πολύσημο με 20[11] διαφορετικές σημασίες στη ΝΕΓ (Βοσταντζόγλου, 1962· *ΛΚΝ· ΛΝΕΓ*), (2) συναντάται ως μεταβατικό και αμετάβατο ή ως και τα δύο μαζί, ως τριτοπρόσωπο καθώς επίσης ως ενεργητικό και μεσοπαθητικό, και (3) δημιουργεί με τα συνώνυμα και τα αντώνυμα, αν υπάρχουν, σε καθεμία από τις 20 διαφορετικές σημασίες του και τα σύνθετα με πρώτο συνθετικό πρόθημα και δεύτερο συνθετικό το *γράφω* και σε καθένα από αυτά και πάλι τα συνώνυμα και αντώνυμά τους ένα μεγάλο και αντιπροσωπευτικό δείγμα. Έτσι εισάγονται και μελετώνται διαφορετικοί συνταγματικοί και παραδειγματικοί άξονες αντίστοιχα, με συνέπεια να διατυπώνονται αντιπροσωπευτικά σύνολα σ.κ. και σημασιοσυντακτικών κανόνων, οι ιδιότητες των οποίων επιβεβαιώνουν την ανάγκη ορισμού της τμηματικοποιημένης οντολογίας για την αποτελεσματική επεξεργασία της.

Παράδειγμα: Δίνονται τα αμετάβατα ρήματα:

1. *γράφω* (15.0955.κ3.1.15.vv) με την έννοια του *συγγράφω*,
2. *συγγράφω* (15.0955.κ3.1.1) και
3. *μελετώ* (15.0828.κ3.3.1) με την έννοια του *διαβάζω προσεκτικά ενδεχομένως για να αποστηθίσω*.

Τα δύο πρώτα, *γράφω* και *συγγράφω*, είναι συνώνυμα και ομόρριζα εκ των οποίων το δεύτερο ρήμα είναι σύνθετο με πρώτο συνθετικό το πρόθημα *συν* και δεύτερο συνθετικό το *γράφω*. Το τρίτο ρήμα, *μελετώ*, εννοιολογικά είναι ξένο με τα δύο συνώνυμα, όμως ο παραδειγματικός τους άξονας <υποκειμενο> ταυτίζεται. Έστω οι προτάσεις:

- ✓ *Ο πατέρας γράφει / συγγράφει.*
- ✓ *Ο πατέρας / η μαθήτρια μελετάει.*

Και οι τέσσερεις προτάσεις παραπάνω είναι δομές επιφάνειας της ίδιας συντακτικής δομής βάθους: <υποκειμενο><κατηγορηματικο_ρημα> ή ab (απλή πρόταση) και προκύπτουν από την ίδια μήτρα συντακτικών κανόνων: $P_{1,1} = \{S \rightarrow AB, A \rightarrow a, B \rightarrow b\}$ με χ.ε.: κ = 0, i =-, j =-, i =-, κ =-, ρ_1 = 1, ρ_2 = 0, λ =-, i =-, j =-, i =-, λ =-.

Παρατηρούμε ότι και το *μελετώ* του παραδείγματος δέχεται ως υποκείμενα λέξεις που ανήκουν στην ίδια σ.κ., δηλαδή τη σ.σκ. <ανθρωπιν_ον_με_ικανοτητα_γραφης_αναγνωσης> (βλπ πιν. 7).

<ανθρωπιν_ον_με_ικανοτητα_γραφης_αναγνωσης> ::= …
   <παροχεας_υπηρεσιων_ανθρωπιν_ον> | … (βλπ αναδρομικούς κανόνες 3.2)
<παροχεας_υπηρεσιων_ανθρωπιν_ον> ::= … **<παροχεας_υπηρεσιων_υγειας>** | … |
   < παροχεας_υπηρεσιων_γεωργιας_κτηνοτροφιας>|…
<παροχεας_υπηρεσιων_υγειας> ::= …**<θεραπ_ον>** | … | <νοσηλευ_ον_περιθαλπ_ον> … | … |
   <επιστημ_ον_υγειας>
<θεραπ_ον> ::= … | αιματολόγος (14.0709.κ1.4.13.vv) | … | ακτινολόγος (14.0709.κ1.4.14.vv) | … |
   αναισθησιολόγος (14.0709.κ1.4.16.vv) | … | ιατροδικαστής (14.0709.κ1.1.43.να) | … | ιατροδικαστίνα
   (14.0709.κ1.1.43.νθ) | …
<επιστημ_ον_υγειας> ::= … | αιματολόγος (15.0820.κ1.28.40.vv) | … |
   ακτινολόγος (15.0820.κ1.28.41.vv) | … | αναισθησιολόγος (15.0820.κ1.28.43.vv) | … |
   ιατροδικαστής (15.0820.κ1.28.28.vνα) | … | ιατροδικαστίνα (15.0820.κ1.28.28.vνθ) | …
<παροχεας_υπηρεσιων_γεωργιας_κτηνοτροφιας>::= … **<ασκ_ον_γεωργια>** | … |

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[11] Στην ΑΓ το ρήμα γράφω έχει μόλις 10 διαφορετικές σημασίες.

<ασκ_ον_κτηνοτροφια> | …
<ασκ_ον_γεωργια>::= … | αγρότης (14.0536.κ1.12.5.να) | … | **<ασκ_ον_γεωργια_σιτου>** | … |
  <ασκ_ον_γεωργια_αμπελου> | … |<ασκ_ον_γεωργια_ελαιας> | …
<ασκ_ον_γεωργια_σιτου> ::= … | σιτοκαλλιεργητής (14.0509.κ1.14.2.να) | σιτοκαλλιεργήτρια
  (14.0509.κ1.14.2.νθ) | … | σιτοπαραγωγός (14.0509.κ1.14.3) | … | θεριστής (14.0540.κ1.16.6.να) | … |
  αλωνιστής (14.0540.κ1.16.8.να) | …
<ασκ_ον_γεωργια_αμπελου> ::= … αμπελουργός (14.0515.κ1.9.6) | … |
  σταφιδοκαλλιεργητής (14.0515.κ1.9.8.ννα) | … | τρυγητής (14.0540.κ1.16.5.να) | … | τρυγήτρια
  (14.0540.κ1.16.5.νθ1.ντπ1) | τρυγήτρα (14.0540.κ1.16.5.νθ2.ντπ2) | …

Η σ.σ.κ. <ανθρωπιν_ον_με_ικανοτητα_γραφης_αναγνωσης> συνθέτει σύμφωνα με τις προδιαγραφές του υποκειμένου του ρήματος *γράφω* υποδένδρα σ.κ. των κόμβων υποδένδρων που διέπουν τη λέξη «άνθρωπος», με χαρακτηριστική σημασιολογική ιδιότητα ανθρώπινο ον ή σ.κ. <ανθρωπιν_ον> και έχουν επιπλέον την ικανότητα γραφής και ανάγνωσης (βλ. πιν. 7), η οποία ορίζεται όπως στον πίνακα 5 παραπάνω. Δηλαδή:

1. Οι **σ**ημασιολογικοί **κ**ανόνες:
- **σκ_συνωνυμα**(15.0955.κ3.1.15.νν) = 15.0955.κ3.1.1[12]
- **σκ_αντωνυμα** γράφω(15.0955.κ3.1.15.νν) = **ΔΕΝ ΥΠΑΡΧΟΥΝ**

2. Οι **σ**ημασιο**σ**υντακτικοί **κ**ανόνες:
- **σσκ_υποκειμενο**(15.0955.κ3.1.15.νν) = <ανθρωπιν_ον_με_ικανοτητα_γραφης_αναγνωσης>,
- **σσκ_υποκειμενο**(15.0955.κ3.1.1) = <ανθρωπιν_ον_με_ικανοτητα_γραφης_αναγνωσης> ή
- **σσκ_υποκειμενο**(**σκ_συνώνυμα**(15.0955.κ3.1.15.νν)) =
  <ανθρωπιν_ον_με_ικανοτητα_γραφης_αναγνωσης> και
- **σσκ_υποκειμενο(**15.0828.κ3.3.1)[13] = <ανθρωπιν_ον_με_ικανοτητα_γραφης_αναγνωσης>.

    Με το παραπάνω ενδεικτικό παράδειγμα έννοιας του ρήματος *γράφω* καθώς και των κατά περίπτωση συνωνύμων - αντωνύμων του, γίνεται κατανοητή η ανάγκη εισαγωγής της τμηματικοποιημένης εναλλακτικής οντολογίας για αποτελεσματικότερο σχεδιασμό και υλοποίηση των σημασιοσυντακτικών κανόνων της ΝΕΓ.

    Η δυνατότητα σύνθεσης της πολύκλιτης ΝΕΓ σε όλα τα γλωσσολογικά επίπεδά της, κυρίως στο σημασιολογικό, το οποίο μας ενδιαφέρει σε αυτή τη μελέτη, δίνει τη δυνατότητα έκφρασης απλών ή σύνθετων νοημάτων με αποκλίσεις διαφόρων βαθμών που απαιτεί λεπτούς και επαναλαμβανόμενους σημασιολογικούς χειρισμούς για αποτελεσματική μηχανική επεξεργασία. Οι χειρισμοί αυτοί αφορούν στα βασικά σημασιολογικά χαρακτηριστικά που υπαγορεύονται κάθε φορά από την ενέργεια (ρήμα) που περιγράφεται στον συνταγματικό άξονα και συναρμόζει σύνολα λέξεων που αντιστοιχούν στους παραδειγματικούς άξονες των κυρίων συντακτικών κατηγοριών του και μπορούν να εναλλάσσονται αποδεκτά σε κάθε άξονα με αποτελεσματικές μηχανικές διαδικασίες αναγνώρισης ή παραγωγής τους. Αυτά τα βασικά σημασιολογικά χαρακτηριστικά ταυτίζονται με τις (σημασιολογικές) ιδιότητες του συνταγματικού άξονα, κάθε φορά με όλες τις λέξεις του εκάστοτε παραδειγματικού άξονα, που αντιστοιχούν στις κύριες συντακτικές κατηγορίες. Οι ιδιότητες αυτές ορίζουν τις σ.κ., με τη βοήθεια των οποίων συντίθενται οι σημασιοσυντακτικοί κανόνες. Οι σ.κ. ταξινομούνται σε δενδροειδείς δομές, σε ξένα ή όχι μεταξύ τους δένδρα, πάντα με σχέσεις υπερωνύμων-υπωνύμων με δυνατότητες τμηματικοποιημένης εφαρμογής και σύνθεσης κατά περίπτωση. Αυτές οι σ.κ. ορίζουν την τμηματικοποιημένη εναλλακτική οντολογία.

3. ΣΥΓΚΡΙΣΗ ΜΕ ΤΙΣ ΥΠΑΡΧΟΥΣΕΣ ΟΝΤΟΛΟΓΙΕΣ

    Οι ξένοι ερευνητές προσπαθώντας να αναπαραστήσουν το σημασιολογικό περιεχόμενο των φυσικών γλωσσών αρχικά στράφηκαν στις λογικές γλώσσες. Στη συνέχεια, κατανοώντας τη βαθιά αλληλεπίδραση σύνταξης και σημασιολογίας ενσωμάτωσαν τη σημασιολογική πληροφορία στους γραμματικούς κανόνες είτε με τον μηχανισμό λ-calculus είτε με τις γραμματικές ενοποίησης. Η ενσωμάτωση όμως μεγάλου όγκου πληροφορίας στους αλγορίθμους τούς κατέστησε πολύπλοκους και αργούς. Έτσι, ο μεγαλύτερος όγκος πληροφορίας μεταφέρθηκε στο λεξικό, στο οποίο οι λέξεις ομαδοποιήθηκαν βάσει κοινών τους χαρακτηριστικών είτε αυτά αφορούσαν τη σύνταξή τους είτε τη σημασιολογία τους και βάσει του μηχανισμού κληρονόμησης χαρακτηριστικών (inheritance) αποφεύχθηκε η επανάληψη της καταγεγραμμένης πληροφορίας.

    Έτσι εμφανίστηκε για πρώτη φορά η πρακτική σημασιολογικής ταξινόμησης των λέξεων βάσει των εννοιών τους στα συστήματα σημασιολογικής επεξεργασίας, η οποία έπαιρνε διάφορες μορφές

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[12] 15.0955.κ3.1.15.νν είναι κωδικός του *γράφω* και 15.0955.κ3.1.1 είναι κωδικός τού *συγγράφω*
[13] 15.0828.κ3.3.1 είναι κωδικός τού *μελετώ*

όπως αυτή του θησαυρού, της ταξονομίας, του γλωσσικού δικτύου κλπ. Πρόσφατα, ο πιο διαδεδομένος τρόπος αναπαράστασης του σημασιολογικού περιεχομένου των λέξεων υπήρξαν τα λεκτικά δίκτυα, τα γνωστά Wordnets, Σε αυτά τα δίκτυα οι έννοιες των λέξεων ταξινομούνταν σε σημασιολογικές ομάδες (δίκτυα) συνώνυμων εννοιών και μετέπειτα τα δίκτυα αυτά οργανώνονταν σε ιεραρχικές δομές βάσει σημασιολογικών σχέσεων π.χ. υπερωνυμία, υπωνυμία, μερωνυμία κλπ. Στη συνέχεια, η ανάγκη δημιουργίας κοινού μοντέλου σημασιολογικής αναπαράστασης για όλες τις ευρωπαϊκές γλώσσες οδήγησε στη σύζευξη των λεκτικών δικτύων με οντολογίες έτσι ώστε να δημιουργηθεί ένα ανώτερο, καθαρά εννοιολογικό, επίπεδο ανεξάρτητο από λέξεις, στο οποίο θα ήταν προσαρτημένα τα δίκτυα λέξεων κάθε γλώσσας και το οποίο θα επέτρεπε τη μετάφραση μίας λέξης από τη μία γλώσσα στην άλλη, π.χ. οι οντολογίες Pangloss (Hovy and Knight,1993), EuroWordNet (Vossen, 1999) και SIMPLE (PAROLE 2000). Όμως ενώ τα λεκτικά δίκτυα απέδιδαν τις παραδειγματικές σχέσεις μεταξύ των λέξεων, δεν προσέφεραν καμιά πληροφορία για τον συσχετισμό των λέξεων στον συνταγματικό άξονα. Όπως όμως είναι γνωστό, οι λέξεις δέχονται επιρροές και από το συγκειμενικό περιβάλλον με κυρίαρχη επιρροή εκείνη του ρήματος (Hanks and Pustejovfsky, 2005). Έτσι η αναγνώριση της ακριβούς έννοιας μίας λέξης υποβοηθείται εάν γνωρίζομε τη συντακτική της θέση στο κείμενο, τον θεματικό της ρόλο[14], τους επιλογικούς περιορισμούς που ασκεί ή υφίσταται ή γενικότερα την κατανομή της στο κείμενο (distributional theory[15]). Τούτων δοθέντων, τα πιο πρόσφατα συστήματα σημασιολογικής επεξεργασίας συνδυάζουν τη χρήση των ευρέως διαδεδομένων πια λεκτικών δικτύων (wordnets) με πληροφορία για τη συντακτική θέση των λέξεων, των θεματικών τους ρόλων και των συμφράσεών τους.

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[14] Η τελευταία πληροφορία είναι απαραίτητη, καθώς τα υποκείμενα/αντικείμενα επιφανειακής δομής δεν συμπίπτουν με τα υποκείμενα/αντικείμενα βαθείας δομής.
[15] Σύμφωνα με τη θεωρία κατανομής, οι λέξεις που βρίσκονται σε παρόμοια περιβάλλοντα μοιράζονται κοινές σημασιολογικές ιδιότητες.

Πίνακας 7. Διασύνδεση την λέξεων του ΒΝΛ και των καταχωρημένων αντίστοιχων σημασιολογικών πληροφοριών στα λεξικά του ΝΣημΥΠΛ. Για παράδειγμα, οι αντίστοιχες σημασιολογικές πληροφορίες της περιγραμμένης λέξης "αντάρτης" του ΒΝΛ με α/α1= ΚΒ1 είναι καταχωρημένες ως κωδικοί στο ΛΥπΒΕ με α/α2 = ΚΛ27 και αντίστοιχα με τον ίδιο κωδικό α/α2 = ΚΛ27 ως σκ, σσκ και κόμβοι ρίζες στο ΛΥπΛΣΝΓ

ΒΝΛ		ΛΥπΛΒΕ			ΝΣημΥπΛ — ΛΥπΛΣΝΓ			Σύνθεση της σσκ <ανθρωπιν_ον_με_ικανοτητα_γραφης_αναγνωσης>	
α/α1	ΒΝΛ	α/α2	α/α1	Κωδικοί Λέξεων του ΒΝΛ	α/α2	α/α1	σκ	σσκ	Κόμβοι-Ρίζες των υποδένδρων σκ που συνθέτουν τη σσκ
ΚΒ1	αντάρτης	ΚΛ1	ΚΒ17	02.0019.κ1.3.4	ΚΛ1	ΚΒ17	<ανι_ον_συγγενης>	<ανθρωπιν_ον_με_ικανοτητα_γραφης_αναγνωσης>	<εχ_ον_συγγενεια>
ΚΒ2	αρχισυντάκτης	ΚΛ2	ΚΒ4	02.0020.κ1.12.4.φ2	ΚΛ2	ΚΒ4	<κατι_ον_συγγενης>	<ανθρωπιν_ον_με_ικανοτητα_γραφης_αναγνωσης>	<εχ_ον_συγγενεια>
ΚΒ3	βουλευτής	ΚΛ3	ΚΒ26	13.0491.κ1.3.1.να	ΚΛ3	ΚΒ26	<πυροπροστασια>	<ανθρωπιν_ον_με_ικανοτητα_γραφης_αναγνωσης>	<παροχεας_υπηρεσιων_φυλαξης>
ΚΒ4	γιος	ΚΛ4	ΚΒ21	14.0504.κ1.31.15	ΚΛ4	ΚΒ21	<διαπραττ_ον_φονο>	<ανθρωπιν_ον_με_ικανοτητα_γραφης_αναγνωσης>	<ατομο_με_αρνητικη_συμπεριφορα>
ΚΒ5	δασκάλα	ΚΛ5	ΚΒ18	14.0707.κ1.4.2.νθ	ΚΛ5	ΚΒ18	<νοσηλευ_ον_περιβαλτ_ον>	<ανθρωπιν_ον_με_ικανοτητα_γραφης_αναγνωσης>	<παροχεας_υπηρεσιων_υγειας>
ΚΒ6	δικηγόρος	ΚΛ6	ΚΒ16	14.0743.κ1.29.5	ΚΛ6	ΚΒ16	<σσκ_ον_μουσικη>	<ανθρωπιν_ον_με_ικανοτητα_γραφης_αναγνωσης>	<παροχεας_υπηρεσιων_πολιτισμου>
ΚΒ7	διοικητής	ΚΛ7	ΚΒ14	15.0828.κ1.3.1.νθ	ΚΛ7	ΚΒ14	<διδασκομενος_α_βαθμιδας>	<ανθρωπιν_ον_με_ικανοτητα_γραφης_αναγνωσης>	<διδασκομενος>
ΚΒ8	δραματουργός	ΚΛ8	ΚΒ15	15.0828.κ1.3.1.νθ	ΚΛ8	ΚΒ15	<διδασκομενος_β_βαθμιδας>	<ανθρωπιν_ον_με_ικανοτητα_γραφης_αναγνωσης>	<διδασκομενος>
ΚΒ9	ιστοριοδίφης	ΚΛ9	ΚΒ5	15.0831.κ1.2.2	ΚΛ9	ΚΒ5	<διδακτικο_προσωπικο_α_βαθμιας>	<ανθρωπιν_ον_με_ικανοτητα_γραφης_αναγνωσης>	<παροχεας_υπηρεσιων_εκπαιδευσης>
ΚΒ10	κατάσκοπος	ΚΛ10	ΚΒ12	15.0832.κ1.1.6	ΚΛ10	ΚΒ12	<διδασκομενος_α_βαθμιδας>	<ανθρωπιν_ον_με_ικανοτητα_γραφης_αναγνωσης>	<διδασκομενος>
ΚΒ11	λαθρέμπορος	ΚΛ11	ΚΒ13	15.0832.κ1.1.6	ΚΛ11	ΚΒ13	<διδασκομενος_β_βαθμιδας>	<ανθρωπιν_ον_με_ικανοτητα_γραφης_αναγνωσης>	<διδασκομενος>
ΚΒ12	μαθήτρια	ΚΛ12	ΚΒ19	15.0843.κ1.7.11.νθ	ΚΛ12	ΚΒ19	<νοσηλευ_ον_περιβαλτ_ον>	<ανθρωπιν_ον_με_ικανοτητα_γραφης_αναγνωσης>	<παροχεας_υπηρεσιων_υγειας>
ΚΒ13	μαθήτρια	ΚΛ13	ΚΒ30	15.0904.κ1.17.17.νθ	ΚΛ13	ΚΒ30	<σσκ_ον_ζωγραφικη>	<ανθρωπιν_ον_με_ικανοτητα_γραφης_αναγνωσης>	<παροχεας_υπηρεσιων_πολιτισμου>
ΚΒ14	μαθήτρια	ΚΛ14	ΚΒ20	15.0906.κ1.25.4.να	ΚΛ14	ΚΒ20	<σσκ_ον_γλυπτικη>	<ανθρωπιν_ον_με_ικανοτητα_γραφης_αναγνωσης>	<παροχεας_υπηρεσιων_πολιτισμου>
ΚΒ15	μαθήτρια	ΚΛ15	ΚΒ10	15.0920.κ1.19.7	ΚΛ15	ΚΒ10	<διαπραττ_ον_προδοσια>	<ανθρωπιν_ον_με_ικανοτητα_γραφης_αναγνωσης>	<ατομο_με_αρνητικη_συμπεριφορα>
ΚΒ16	μουσικός	ΚΛ16	ΚΒ8	15.0956.κ1.3.12	ΚΛ16	ΚΒ8	<συγγραφ_ον_θεατρικα_εργα>	<ανθρωπιν_ον_με_ικανοτητα_γραφης_αναγνωσης>	<παροχεας_υπηρεσιων_πολιτισμου>
ΚΒ17	μπατμάς	ΚΛ17	ΚΒ9	15.0956.κ1.6.3.να	ΚΛ17	ΚΒ9	<συγγραφ_ον_πεζο_λογο>	<ανθρωπιν_ον_με_ικανοτητα_γραφης_αναγνωσης>	<παροχεας_υπηρεσιων_πολιτισμου>
ΚΒ18	νοσοκόμα	ΚΛ18	ΚΒ2	15.0962.κ1.6.5.να.νθ	ΚΛ18	ΚΒ2	<συγγραφεας_εντυπων>	<ανθρωπιν_ον_με_ικανοτητα_γραφης_αναγνωσης>	<παροχεας_υπηρεσιων_ενημερωσης>
ΚΒ19	νοσοκόμα	ΚΛ19	ΚΒ27	15.0964.κ1.32.2)	ΚΛ19	ΚΒ27	<συγγραφ_ον_εμμετρο_λογο>	<ανθρωπιν_ον_με_ικανοτητα_γραφης_αναγνωσης>	<παροχεας_υπηρεσιων_πολιτισμου>
ΚΒ20	ξυλογλύπτης	ΚΛ20	ΚΒ24	15.0968.κ1.7.2	ΚΛ20	ΚΒ24	<θεατρικος_καλλιτεχνης>	<ανθρωπιν_ον_με_ικανοτητα_γραφης_αναγνωσης>	<παροχεας_υπηρεσιων_πολιτισμου>
ΚΒ21	παιδοκτόνος	ΚΛ21	ΚΒ25	15.0968.κ1.7.2	ΚΛ21	ΚΒ25	<κινηματογραφικος_καλλιτεχνης>	<ανθρωπιν_ον_με_ικανοτητα_γραφης_αναγνωσης>	<παροχεας_υπηρεσιων_πολιτισμου>
ΚΒ22	πάρεδρος	ΚΛ22	ΚΒ29	16.1018.κ1.7.1	ΚΛ22	ΚΒ29	<παρεχ_ον_νομικη_συμβουλη>	<ανθρωπιν_ον_με_ικανοτητα_γραφης_αναγνωσης>	<παροχεας_νομικων_υπηρεσιων>
ΚΒ23	προϊσταμένη	ΚΛ23	ΚΒ7	16.1020.κ1.20.1.να	ΚΛ23	ΚΒ7	<μελος_κυβερνωσας_ιεραρχιας>	<ανθρωπιν_ον_με_ικανοτητα_γραφης_αναγνωσης>	<παροχεας_υπηρεσιων_διακυβερνησης>
ΚΒ24	πρωταγωνίστρια	ΚΛ24	ΚΒ23	16.1026.κ1.1.1.νθ	ΚΛ24	ΚΒ23	<μελος_διοικητικης_ιεραρχιας>	<ανθρωπιν_ον_με_ικανοτητα_γραφης_αναγνωσης>	<παροχεας_υπηρεσιων_διακυβερνησης>
ΚΒ25	πρωταγωνίστρια	ΚΛ25	Κ3	16.10308.κ1.9.1	ΚΛ25	Κ3	<συμμετεχ_ον_στην_πολιτικη>	<ανθρωπιν_ον_με_ικανοτητα_γραφης_αναγνωσης>	<παροχεας_υπηρεσιων_διακυβερνησης>
ΚΒ26	πυροσβέστης	ΚΛ26	ΚΒ31	16.1040.κ1.7.3.να	ΚΛ26	ΚΒ31	<τραγικος_καταστρεφης>	<ανθρωπιν_ον_με_ικανοτητα_γραφης_αναγνωσης>	<ατομο_με_αρνητικη_συμπεριφορα>
ΚΒ27	στιχουργός	ΚΛ27	ΚΒ1	16.1045.κ1.28.5.να	ΚΛ27	ΚΒ1	<προσκαλ_ον_ταραχες>	<ανθρωπιν_ον_με_ικανοτητα_γραφης_αναγνωσης>	<ατομο_με_αρνητικη_συμπεριφορα>
ΚΒ28	σύζυγος	ΚΛ28	ΚΒ32	17.1098.κ1.16.3.ππ2	ΚΛ28	ΚΒ32	<γενικι_φυλακη>	<ανθρωπιν_ον_με_ικανοτητα_γραφης_αναγνωσης>	<παροχεας_υπηρεσιων_φυλαξης>
ΚΒ29	σύμβουλος	ΚΛ29	ΚΒ11	18.1229.κ1.7.1.νππ	ΚΛ29	ΚΒ11	<δραστης_οικονομικού_εγκληματος>	<ανθρωπιν_ον_με_ικανοτητα_γραφης_αναγνωσης>	<ατομο_με_αρνητικη_συμπεριφορα>
ΚΒ30	σχεδιάστρια	ΚΛ30	ΚΒ28	19.1347.κ1.1.1	ΚΛ30	ΚΒ28	<συγγενης_εξ_αγχιστειας>	<ανθρωπιν_ον_με_ικανοτητα_γραφης_αναγνωσης>	<εχων_συγγενεια>
ΚΒ31	τραγουδιστής	ΚΛ31	ΚΒ22	20.1450.κ1.11.3	ΚΛ31	ΚΒ22	<εντεταλμενος_απονομη_δικαιοσυνης>	<ανθρωπιν_ον_με_ικανοτητα_γραφης_αναγνωσης>	<παροχεας_νομικων_υπηρεσιων>
ΚΒ32	φύλακας	ΚΛ32	ΚΒ6	20.1454.κ1.1.1.να	ΚΛ32	ΚΒ6	<υπερασπιστ_ον>	<ανθρωπιν_ον_με_ικανοτητα_γραφης_αναγνωσης>	<παροχεας_νομικων_υπηρεσιων>

Αυτό επιτυγχάνεται είτε χρησιμοποιώντας λεξικά με καταγεγραμμένη αυτή την πληροφορία π.χ. Framenet (Rodman and Baker, 2009), είτε εφαρμόζοντας διαδοχικά συντακτικούς και σημασιολογικούς αναλυτές (Ge and Mooney, 2009· Ferrer, 2010) είτε χρησιμοποιώντας σώματα κειμένων που φέρουν πληροφορία για τη μορφολογία, τη σύνταξη, τη σημασιολογία των λέξεων, καθώς και για τους θεματικούς τους ρόλους, π.χ. Semcore (Miller et al., 1993), ATR General English Treebank (Black et al., 1996) και Probank (Palmer et al., 2005) είτε τέλος, πηγές παραθέσεων (collocation resources) που καταγράφουν τις τάσεις λέξεων να συνεμφανίζονται με άλλες π.χ. the Word Sketch Engine, JustTheWord, The British National Corpus Collocations. Η πλειοψηφία πάντως των συστημάτων που επιχειρούν σημασιολογική ανάλυση της γλώσσας αξιοποιούν ταυτόχρονα: (1) συντακτική πληροφορία με τη μορφή συντακτικών όρων, επιλογικών προτιμήσεων κλπ. (2) σημασιολογική με τη μορφή σημασιολογικών ομάδων στις οποίες ανήκει μία λέξη και τους σημασιολογικούς / θεματικούς ρόλους που προσδίδει (Dang and Palmer, 2005· Pradhan et al., 2005), (3) πληροφορία για τις συγκείμενες λέξεις, όπως παραθέσεις και πληροφορία κατανομής (Specia et al., 2007· Cheung and Penn, 2012) και (4) γενικότερα εγκυκλοπαιδική γνώση προερχόμενη είτε από ενσωμάτωση οντολογιών (Finch et al., 2006) είτε από χρήση σωμάτων κειμένων στο διαδίκτυο, τα οποία φέρουν πληροφορία εγκυκλοπαιδικής φύσεως δομημένη σε διακριτά επιστημονικά πεδία, π.χ. Wikipedia (Ponzetto and Navigli, 2010). Μέσα σε όλο αυτό το πλαίσιο, ο παρών τρόπος σημασιολογικής επεξεργασίας της ΝΕΓ παρουσιάζει ομοιότητες και αποκλίσεις. Η βασική ομοιότητα αφορά την ταξινόμηση των λέξεων σε σημασιολογικές ομάδες. Η σημασιολογική ταξινόμηση των εννοιών σε ΚΕΕ/Κ, σε Ε/Κ και Παραγράφους βασίστηκε σε μοντέλο ταξινόμησης προσαρμοσμένου θησαυρού και μόνο στο καταληκτικό επίπεδο, αυτό των επιμέρους εννοιών, οι έννοιες οργανώνονται σε δίκτυα συνώνυμων ή αντώνυμων λέξεων, τα οποία υλοποιούνται με τους σημασιολογικούς κανόνες. Έτσι, η σημασιολογική αυτή ταξινόμηση συνδυάζει τα πλεονεκτήματα ενός προσαρμοσμένου θησαυρού[16] και τα πλεονεκτήματα ενός εναλλακτικού λεκτικού δικτύου[17]. Επιπλέον, η έλλειψη συσχετισμού των λέξεων στον συνταγματικό άξονα στα λεκτικά δίκτυα κατέστησε αναγκαίο τον εμπλουτισμό του υπάρχοντος προσαρμοσμένου θησαυρού με έναν νέο τρόπο σημασιολογικής ταξινόμησης που να ομαδοποιεί τις λέξεις που ανήκουν στο ίδιο μέρος του λόγου και που μπορούν να αντικαταστήσουν η μία την άλλη σε συνταγματικές σχέσεις. Έτσι γεννήθηκε η σ.κ. που αναφέρεται σε μία εγγενή χαρακτηριστική σημασιολογική ιδιότητα που μας επιτρέπει να ομαδοποιούμε ουσιαστικά, δηλαδή λέξεις που ανήκουν στην παράγραφο «ουσιαστικά (κ1)» της ίδιας Ε/Κ ή διαφορετικών Ε/Κ και να καταλάβουν την ίδια συντακτική θέση ως υποκείμενα ή αντικείμενα, καθώς παρουσιάζουν τις ίδιες ιδιότητες κατανομής στο κείμενο. Επίσης, οι σ.κ. μπορούν και αυτές να δομηθούν ιεραρχικά βάσει σχέσεων υπερωνυμίας και υπωνυμίας ώστε να αποτελέσουν στην πραγματικότητα ένα ιεραρχικά δομημένο εννοιολογικό δίκτυο με χρήση του μηχανισμού της κληρονόμησης. Το τελικό αποτέλεσμα είναι ένα μοντέλο που συνδυάζει τα πλεονεκτήματα ενός θησαυρού για την κωδικοποίηση των σημασιών των λέξεων και την ευελιξία μίας ιεραρχικής και δικτυακής δομής που προσομοιάζει σε αυτή μιας οντολογίας, τα μέλη της οποίας μπορούν να λειτουργήσουν ως μεταβλητές σε σημασιοσυντακτικούς κανόνες.

Η ουσιώδης διαφορά μεταξύ αυτής της γλωσσολογικής οντολογίας και μιας κλασικής οντολογίας είναι πως κάθε οντολογική κλάση (κόμβος στη δενδροειδή δομή) δεν αντιστοιχεί σε μία έννοια ή ένα σύνολο συνώνυμων εννοιών όπως στο WordNet αλλά σε μία σημασιολογική ιδιότητα ή σε ένα συνδυασμό σημασιολογικών ιδιοτήτων στις σ.σ.κ. Αυτό καθιστά την οντολογία πολύ πιο

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[16] Κατά τον McHale (1998), από τα βασικά πλεονεκτήματα ενός θησαυρού έναντι ενός γλωσσικού δικτύου είναι μία πιο ρηχή σημασιολογική ταξινόμηση σταθερού βάθους που αποδεικνύεται πιο αποτελεσματική για την υπολογιστική διάκριση ή συσχέτιση εννοιών. Επιπλέον, ένας θησαυρός συσχετίζει εννοιολογικά λέξεις που ανήκουν σε διαφορετικά μέρη του λόγου δίνοντας έτσι μία ευρύτερη και πληρέστερη αναπαράσταση εννοιολογικών περιοχών. Πολλές φορές μία έννοια πραγματώνεται με λέξεις που ανήκουν σε διαφορετικά μέρη του λόγου από γλώσσα σε γλώσσα. Τέλος, σε έναν θησαυρό περιλαμβάνονται και ιδιωτισμοί.

[17] Να σημειωθεί πως αν και τα λεκτικά δίκτυα έχουν αποτελέσει το κατεξοχήν μέσο αναπαράστασης του σημασιολογικού περιεχομένου των λέξεων και έχουν χρησιμοποιηθεί από την πλειοψηφία των συστημάτων, δεν έχουν λείψει και οι προσπάθειες χρησιμοποίησης θησαυρών και μάλιστα με συγκρίσιμα αποτελέσματα (McHale, 1998· Kennedy and Szpakowicz, 2008). Επιπλέον, συχνές είναι οι επικρίσεις των ερευνητών για τους περιορισμούς των λεκτικών δικτύων που συνοψίζονται στην υπερδιάκριση των σημασιών των λέξεων, πράγμα που καθιστά δύσκολη και για τον ανθρώπινο αναλυτή την επιλογή της σωστής σημασίας (Rada and Moldovan 2001), καθώς επίσης και στην έλλειψη συσχετισμού των λέξεων στον συνταγματικό άξονα, ένα σημαντικό μειονέκτημα δεδομένου ότι η πληροφορία που προέρχεται από τους επιλεκτικούς περιορισμούς που θέτουν οι λέξεις είναι απαραίτητη για οποιαδήποτε υπολογιστική εργασία (Bentivogli and Pianta, 2004).

μικρή, άρα και πιο διαχειρίσιμη (εφόσον το πλήθος των χαρακτηριστικών είναι πολύ μικρότερο του πλήθους των εννοιών των καταγεγραμμένων λέξεων), αλλά με ευρύτερο φάσμα καθώς κάθε σημασιολογική ιδιότητα ανασύρει πλήθος εννοιών που ανήκουν σε τελείως διαφορετικές Ε/Κ. Επιπλέον, η τμηματικοποίηση που επιφέρει η χρήση σύνθετων κατηγοριών καθιστά την οντολογία εύκολα επεκτάσιμη και ευέλικτη, καθώς με τον τρόπο αυτόν μπορούν να συνδυαστούν έννοιες που ανήκουν σε διαφορετικές δ.δ.σ.κ. Τέλος, επιτρέπει την ευκολότερη διαχείριση του ιεραρχικού μοντέλου στα ανώτερα επίπεδα του[18].

Εν κατακλείδι, η σ.κ. εμπεριέχει και συνοψίζει ταυτόχρονα σημασιολογική πληροφορία (θησαυρός και δίκτυα σε καταληκτικό επίπεδο), συντακτική πληροφορία και πληροφορία κατανομής (οντολογία[19] σημασιολογικών δομών) σε έναν ενιαίο φορμαλισμό. Επίσης, η ιεραρχική ταξινόμηση των σ.κ. και σ.σ.κ καθιστά τη γλωσσολογική οντολογία μικρή, ελέγξιμη, ευέλικτη και εύκολα επεκτάσιμη καθιστώντας τους αλγορίθμους του συστήματος απλούς και αποτελεσματικούς, καθώς έχουν να διαχειριστούν έναν πολύ μικρότερο αριθμό κόμβων σε σχέση με μια οντολογία που οι έννοιές της αναφέρονται στις έννοιες των λέξεων που αναγνωρίζει το σύστημα.

4. ΣΥΜΠΕΡΑΣΜΑΤΑ

Το παρόν σημασιολογικό μοντέλο που παρουσιάζεται στην εργασία, ως μέρος μίας μεθόδου που προτείναμε για την επεξεργασία της ΝΕΓ, βασίστηκε όπως και όλη η προταθείσα μέθοδος:
1. στην ιδιαιτερότητα της ΝΕΓ έναντι της ΑΓ ως πολύκλιτης αλλά και με τη δυναμική της σύνθεσης, που τη χαρακτηρίζει σε όλες τις γλωσσολογικές διαστάσεις της.
2. στη μελέτη, ταξινόμηση και περιγραφή με αλγορίθμους των κανόνων της ΝΕΓ, άρα και των μηχανισμών που είναι καλώς ορισμένοι και με σαφήνεια διατυπωμένοι,
3. στη μελέτη, ταξινόμηση, κωδικοποίηση και κατάλληλη αρχειοθέτηση των γλωσσολογικών δεδομένων σε βάσεις δεδομένων και
4. στον συνδυασμό των προτερημάτων ενός προσαρμοσμένου θησαυρού, ενός εναλλακτικού γλωσσολογικού δικτύου και μίας εναλλακτικής τμηματικοποιημένης γλωσσολογικής οντολογίας σε έναν ενιαίο φορμαλισμό που επιχειρεί να συνδυάσει και να συνοψίσει ταυτόχρονα σημασιολογική πληροφορία, συντακτική πληροφορία και πληροφορία κατανομής αξιοποιώντας όλα τα παραπάνω χαρακτηριστικά.

Αναλυτικότερα, η εισαγωγή των μ. γραμματικών - παράγουν συντακτικές δομές της ΝΕΓ - και η επέκτασή τους σε σ.μ. γραμματικές - παράγουν συντακτικές δομές σωμάτων κειμένων της ΝΕΓ- είναι τροποποιημένη εκδοχή των γραμματικών της ιεραρχίας Chomsky. Η τροποποίηση έγκειται στο ότι ομαδοποιεί τους κανόνες παραγωγής σε μήτρες κανόνων συντακτικής δομής της ΝΕΓ και όχι φρασεοδομής. Οι γραμματικές αυτές παράγουν τις συνήθεις και εύχρηστες συντακτικές δομές προτάσεων και σωμάτων κειμένων της ΝΕΓ, αφού οι λέξεις της φυσικής γλώσσας αυτές αντικαταστάθηκαν από το πεπερασμένο σύνολο των συντακτικών κατηγοριών της ΝΕΓ. Έτσι προέκυψε η Γλώσσα των Συντακτικών Κατηγοριών της ΝΕΓ (Γλώσσα Βάση της ΝΕΓ), μία ενδιάμεση τυπική γλώσσα, που προσομοιάζει με τη ΝΕΓ ως προς τη συντακτική δομή της, με το πλεονέκτημα ότι: (1) είναι απαλλαγμένη από γραμματικούς τύπους και έννοιες και (2) μελετάται εύκολα η συντακτική συμπεριφορά της ως τυπική γλώσσα που εύκολα προγραμματίζεται. Με τον τρόπο αυτόν, προέκυψε όλη η ποικιλία των συνήθων εύχρηστων συνταγματικών αξόνων που αντιστοιχούσαν αφενός στις συντακτικές δομές βάθους προτάσεων και σωμάτων κειμένων της ΝΕΓ, αφετέρου από αυτές προέκυψε απεριόριστο σύνολο δομών επιφάνειας προτάσεων και σωμάτων κειμένων της ΝΕΓ, δηλαδή προτάσεις και σώματα κειμένων της. Συνεπώς, δεν χρειαζόταν σε αυτή τη φάση να ανατρέξομε σε σώματα κειμένων για να εντοπίσομε συντακτικούς κανόνες παραγωγής συντακτικών δομών της ΝΕΓ. Σημειώνομε ότι οποιαδήποτε απόκλιση από την κανονική σειρά των λέξεων μίας πρότασης ή ακόμα και οι ελλειπτικές προτάσεις αφορούν μετασχηματισμούς και είναι για περαιτέρω μελέτη και έρευνα.

Οι συνταγματικοί άξονες, που μπορούσαμε να τους παραγάγομε και να τους αναγνωρίσομε πλέον μηχανικά και αποτελεσματικά, περιέχουν τα σημεία, δηλαδή τις συντακτικές κατηγορίες με

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[18] Να σημειωθεί πως και στο ανώτερο μέρος της Οντολογίας του EuroWordNet δεν έχουμε έννοιες αλλά σύνολα σημασιολογικών χαρακτηριστικών για την καλύτερη απόδοση του νοήματος των εννοιών, την ευκολότερη ταξινόμησή τους και μείωση του αριθμού των κορυφαίων κόμβων στη δενδροειδή δομή.

[19] Να σημειωθεί πως ο όρος *οντολογία* χρησιμοποιείται με την ευρύτερη έννοια του όρου που περιλαμβάνει και τις ταξονομίες (is-a taxonomy).

τους αντίστοιχους παραδειγματικούς άξονες που εισάγουν, όπου συναντώνται η σύνταξη με τη μορφολογία και τη σημασιολογία. Το ΒΝΠ είναι ένα σύστημα Ηλεκτρονικών Υπολογιστικών Λεξικών της ΝΕΓ που περιέχει κατάλληλα ταξινομημένα, κωδικοποιημένα και αρχειοθετημένα τα γλωσσολογικά δεδομένα της ΝΕΓ και οι αλγόριθμοι που το συνοδεύουν είναι αλγοριθμοποιημένοι οι κανόνες της ΝΕΓ που μετατρέπουν τις συντακτικές δομές βάθους σε αποδεκτές δομές επιφανείας κάθε φορά.

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Η σημασιολογική διαφάνεια στα επιθηματοποιημένα ρήματα της κοινής νεοελληνικής μέσα από μια μεταγλωσσική δοκιμασία βαθμολόγησης

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ABSTRACT

In this paper we investigated the effects of certain extra-linguistic and linguistic factors on semantic transparency, dealing with denominal suffixed verbs in Standard Modern Greek. Ninety-six AUTh students, native speakers of Greek aged from 18 to 25, participated in a semantic relatedness rating task for 308 word pairs; each pair comprised a (pseudo)suffixed verb and its (putative) noun base. As far as participants are concerned, we found a significant effect of faculty type (theoretical/practical), but no effect of sex. Regarding the lexical items, lemma and word frequency of both the suffixed verb and the noun base positively affects only semantically transparent pairs. Moreover, morphological family size of the verb has a significant positive effect only on semitransparent pairs. On the other hand, no difference was found among individual verb-forming suffixes. The dissociation of semantically transparent pairs along with the significantly greater standard deviations of semitransparent pairs point rather to a dual route account of semantic transparency, without necessarily excluding a continuous/graded account.

Key Words: Semantic transparency, suffixation, denominal verbs, metalinguistic rating task.

1. ΕΙΣΑΓΩΓΗ

Η σημασιολογική διαφάνεια (ΣΔ) είναι μια έκφανση της αρχής της συνθετικότητας, κατά την οποία η σημασία μιας γλωσσικής κατασκευής συσχετίζεται με τη δομή και τις σημασίες των επιμέρους συστατικών της. Ειδικότερα, στο επίπεδο της κατασκευαστικής μορφολογίας, η ΣΔ ορίζεται ως ο βαθμός συνθετικότητας της σημασίας μιας κατασκευασμένης λέξης (ΚΛ), δηλαδή ο βαθμός στον οποίο η σημασία μιας ΚΛ αποδίδεται στη μορφολογική της δομή και στις σημασίες των συστατικών της μορφημάτων (Rainer, Dressler, Gardani & Luschützky 2014: 6-12). Η ΣΔ χαρακτηρίζει τη μαρτυρημένη σημασία μιας ΚΛ και εκφράζει τη σχέση ανάμεσα σε ένα περισσότερο τυπικό κομμάτι της σημασίας (προβλεπτή σημασία, «σκελετός») και σε ένα περισσότερο εγκυκλοπαιδικό κομμάτι της (συμβατική σημασία, «σώμα») (Corbin 1987/1991· Lieber 2004).

Στην ανακοίνωση αυτή, διερευνούμε τη σχέση της ΣΔ με ορισμένες εξωγλωσσικές και γλωσσικές παραμέτρους, όσον αφορά τα μετονοματικά επιθηματοποιημένα ρήματα της κοινής νεοελληνικής (ΚΝΕ), μέσω μιας μη χρονομετρικής γραπτής δοκιμασίας βαθμολόγησης της ΣΔ.[191] Καταρχάς, παρουσιάζουμε τη μεθοδολογία (πληθυσμός και δείγμα, δοκιμασία βαθμολόγησης, λειτουργικοί ορισμοί). Στη συνέχεια, αναλύουμε τα δεδομένα για τους συμμετέχοντες, εστιάζοντας στις παραμέτρους του φύλου και της σχολής φοίτησης. Ακολουθεί η ανάλυση των δεδομένων για τα ζεύγη των ρημάτων και των ουσιαστικών-βάσεων (ΟΒ). Ειδικότερα, εξετάζουμε τη ΣΔ σε σχέση με την τυπική απόκλιση (ΤΑ) και την εξοικείωση· τη συχνότητα λέξης (Σλεξ) και τη συχνότητα λήμματος (Σλημμ) του ρήματος και του ΟΒ· το μέγεθος μορφολογικής οικογένειας (ΜΜΟικ) του ρήματος και του ΟΒ· τα επιμέρους κατασκευαστικά επιθήματα των ρημάτων (*-ίζω, -(ι)άζω, -εύω, - ώνω, - αίνω, -άρω*). Τα κύρια ευρήματα συνοψίζονται στον επίλογο.

2. ΜΕΘΟΔΟΛΟΓΙΑ

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[191] Η παρούσα ανακοίνωση εμπίπτει στην υπό εκπόνηση διδακτορική μου διατριβή, με θέμα τη μορφολογική επεξεργασία των παράγωγων λέξεων στη νέα ελληνική. Για τη συνεργασία ευχαριστώ θερμά τα μέλη της τριμελούς συμβουλευτικής επιτροπής: την επιβλέπουσα αναπληρώτρια καθηγήτρια Δέσποινα Παπαδοπούλου, την ομότιμη καθηγήτρια Άννα Αναστασιάδη-Συμεωνίδη και την καθηγήτρια Ιάνθη-Μαρία Τσιμπλή.

2.1. Πληθυσμός και δείγμα

Ως αντικειμενικός πληθυσμός-στόχος της έρευνας ορίζονται οι νεαροί ενήλικες, τυπικοί φυσικοί ομιλητές της ΚΝΕ, με υψηλό μορφωτικό επίπεδο (φοιτητές τριτοβάθμιας πανεπιστημιακής εκπαίδευσης). Ο υπό μελέτη πληθυσμός αποτελείται από φοιτητές του ΑΠΘ, ηλικίας 18-25 ετών. Το δειγματοληπτικό πλαίσιο συνιστούν φοιτητές τριών θεωρητικών σχολών (Θεολογική Σχολή, Φιλοσοφική Σχολή, Σχολή Νομικών Οικονομικών και Πολιτικών Επιστημών) και τριών πρακτικών σχολών (Σχολή Θετικών Επιστημών, Πολυτεχνική Σχολή, Σχολή Επιστημών Υγείας). Από κάθε σχολή επιλέχθηκαν τυχαία 16 άτομα, 8 άντρες και 8 γυναίκες. Προέκυψε έτσι ένα δείγμα 96 συμμετεχόντων, από τους οποίους 48 είναι άντρες και 48 γυναίκες, ενώ παράλληλα 48 είναι φοιτητές θεωρητικών σχολών και 48 φοιτητές πρακτικών σχολών. Με αυτόν τον τρόπο, αφενός αποφεύγεται η υπερεκπροσώπηση φοιτητριών θεωρητικών σχολών, στην οποία οδηγεί η συνήθης πρακτική της βολικής δειγματοληψίας (Baayen 2014: 101), αφετέρου το φύλο και ο τύπος της σχολής φοίτησης αποσυνδέονται ως μεταβλητές του δείγματος, ώστε να εξεταστούν ως παράμετροι του πληθυσμού.

2.2. Δοκιμασία βαθμολόγησης

Οι συμμετέχοντες πήραν μέρος εθελοντικά σε μια μη χρονομετρική, γραπτή δοκιμασία βαθμολόγησης της ΣΔ. Συγκεκριμένα, τους δόθηκε ένας κατάλογος με ζεύγη λέξεων και τους ζητήθηκε να βαθμολογήσουν τη σημασιολογική σχέση των μελών κάθε ζεύγους σε μια επτάβαθμη κλίμακα τύπου Likert, όπου το 1 αντιστοιχεί σε εντελώς άσχετες σημασίες και το 7 σε πολύ σχετικές σημασίες (Gonnerman, Seidenberg & Andersen 2007: 328-329· Orfanidou, Davis & Marslen-Wilson 2011· Xu & Taft 2015). Στις οδηγίες, τονίστηκε ότι η μορφική (ορθογραφική, ακουστική) ομοιότητα δεν πρέπει να επηρεάσει τη βαθμολόγηση. Επιπλέον, ενθαρρύνθηκε η αξιοποίηση όλου του εύρους της κλίμακας. Σε περίπτωση άγνοιας, ζητήθηκε να μην υπάρξουν τυχαίες απαντήσεις, αλλά να σημειωθεί η ένδειξη ΔΓ («ΔΕ ΓΝΩΡΙΖΩ»). Ακόμη, δόθηκαν 3 ενδεικτικά παραδείγματα βαθμολόγησης. Η δοκιμασία πραγματοποιήθηκε το χειμερινό εξάμηνο του ακαδημαϊκού έτους 2016-2017, σε διάφορους χώρους του ΑΠΘ.

Χρησιμοποιήθηκαν 308 ζεύγη λέξεων. Κάθε ζεύγος αποτελούνταν από ένα τρισύλλαβο επιθηματοποιημένο ή ψευδοεπιθηματοποιημένο ρήμα και ένα δισύλλαβο ουσιαστικό (το ΟΒ ή ένα υποτιθέμενο ΟΒ). Με κριτήρια τη σημασία και την ετυμολογία των λέξεων (ΛΚΝ 1998) και με βάση τη διαίσθηση του ερευνητή, τα ζεύγη χωρίστηκαν στις εξής κατηγορίες: (α) επιθηματοποιημένο ρήμα με ετυμολογικά ομόρριζο ουσιαστικό (i) σημασιολογικά διαφανές π.χ. *ζεσταίνω/ζέστη*, (ii) σημασιολογικά ημιδιαφανές π.χ. *μυρίζω/μύρο*, (iii) σημασιολογικά αδιαφανές π.χ. *σκοτώνω/σκότος*· (β) ψευδοεπιθηματοποιημένο ρήμα με σημασιολογικά και ετυμολογικά άσχετο ουσιαστικό π.χ. *μπαλώνω/μπάλα*· (γ) επιθηματοποιημένο ρήμα με σημασιολογικά και ετυμολογικά άσχετο ουσιαστικό αντί για ομόρριζο ουσιαστικό π.χ. *πιστεύω/πίστα* αντί για *πιστεύω/πίστη*.

Κατασκευάστηκαν δύο διαφορετικοί κατάλογοι, με 154 ζεύγη ο καθένας. Τα ζεύγη μοιράστηκαν έτσι, ώστε η αναλογία των ζευγών κάθε κατηγορίας να είναι περίπου ίδια στους δύο καταλόγους. Από κάθε σχολή, οι μισοί άντρες και οι μισές γυναίκες συμπλήρωσαν τον κατάλογο 1 και οι υπόλοιποι μισοί τον κατάλογο 2. Έτσι, κάθε κατάλογος δόθηκε σε 48 συμμετέχοντες, 24 άντρες και 24 γυναίκες, 24 φοιτητές θεωρητικών σχολών και 24 φοιτητές πρακτικών σχολών. Επιπλέον, προκειμένου να εξαλειφθούν οι επιδράσεις σειράς και μεταφοράς (Christensen 2007: 345-347), η σειρά των ζευγών κάθε καταλόγου τυχαιοποιήθηκε 48 φορές, με τη χρήση του online εργαλείου Random.org (2017), ώστε σε κάθε συμμετέχοντα να αντιστοιχεί μία μοναδική εκδοχή του καταλόγου.[192]

2.3. Λειτουργικοί ορισμοί

Από λειτουργική σκοπιά, η παράμετρος της ΣΔ στην ψυχογλωσσολογική έρευνα έχει αντιμετωπιστεί ως: (α) δίτιμη ποιοτική μεταβλητή (σημασιολογικά διαφανής / αδιαφανής συνθήκη) (Marslen-Wilson, Tyler, Waksler & Older 1994)· (β) ποιοτική μεταβλητή με περισσότερες από δύο τιμές λ.χ. τρεις (σημασιολογικά διαφανής / ημιδιαφανής / αδιαφανής συνθήκη) (Gonnerman, Seidenberg & Andersen 2007) ή τέσσερις (σημασιολογικά διαφανής / ενδιάμεση / απομακρυσμένη / αδιαφανής συνθήκη) (Plaut & Gonnerman 2000)· (γ) ποσοτική συνεχής μεταβλητή (Xu & Taft

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[192] Ανάμεσα στους δύο καταλόγους δε βρέθηκαν στατιστικά σημαντικές διαφορές των συμμετεχόντων ως προς τη βαθμολόγηση της ΣΔ, την ΤΑ στη βαθμολόγηση της ΣΔ, την εξοικείωση με τα ζεύγη λέξεων, την ηλικία, το έτος σπουδών. Επιπλέον, και οι δύο κατάλογοι χαρακτηρίζονται από αξιοπιστία εσωτερικής συνέπειας (κατάλογος 1 Cronbach's α=0,780, N=154· κατάλογος 2 Cronbach's α=0,962, N=154).

2015). Λαμβάνοντας υπόψη την κριτική για τη διχοτόμηση των ποσοτικών μεταβλητών, που εστιάζει στις ακραίες περιπτώσεις παραγκωνίζοντας το φάσμα των ενδιάμεσων περιπτώσεων (Hay & Baayen 2005· Baayen 2014: 99), στις αναλύσεις που ακολουθούν[193] η ΣΔ αντιμετωπίζεται είτε ως ποσοτική συνεχής μεταβλητή με τιμές από 1 ως 7 (Xu & Taft 2015), είτε ως ποιοτική μεταβλητή σε τακτική κλίμακα με τρεις τιμές: (α) σημασιολογικά αδιαφανή (σ.α.) ζεύγη, με μέση τιμή (ΜΤ) ΣΔ από 1,00 ως 2,99· (β) σημασιολογικά ημιδιαφανή (σ.η.) ζεύγη, με ΜΤ ΣΔ από 3,00 ως 4,99· (γ) σημασιολογικά διαφανή (σ.δ.) ζεύγη, με ΜΤ ΣΔ από 5,00 ως 7,00 (Gonnerman, Seidenberg & Andersen 2007: 329).

Για τη μέτρηση της εξοικείωσης αξιοποιήθηκε η ένδειξη ΔΓ (Marslen-Wilson et al. 1994: 12). Συγκεκριμένα, η εξοικείωση αντιμετωπίζεται ως ποσοτική μεταβλητή και ορίζεται ως: (α) ο αριθμός των γνωστών ζευγών (με MAX=154) για κάθε συμμετέχοντα· (β) ο αριθμός των απαντήσεων, πλην των ΔΓ (με MAX=48) για κάθε ζεύγος λέξεων.

Οι συχνότητες (Σλεξ, Σλημμ) αντλήθηκαν από τον ΕΘΕΓ (2017) με βάση τον αριθμό εμφανίσεων. Η συχνότητα αντιμετωπίζεται ως ποσοτική μεταβλητή.

Το ΜΜΟικ είναι μια μορφή συχνότητας τύπου και αναφέρεται στον αριθμό των μελών μιας μορφολογικής οικογένειας (ΜΟικ), δηλαδή του συνόλου των ομόρριζων παράγωγων και σύνθετων ΚΛ (Schreuder & Baayen 1997). Έχει βρεθεί ότι το μεγάλο ΜΜΟικ διευκολύνει την επεξεργασία των μελών της ΜΟικ και ότι η επίδραση του ΜΜΟικ είναι ανεξάρτητη από την επίδραση της συχνότητας της βάσης (Ford, Davis & Marslen-Wilson 2010· Xu & Taft 2015). Επιπλέον, φαίνεται ότι μόνο οι ΚΛ της ΜΟικ που έχουν κάποια σημασιολογική σχέση επιδρούν θετικά (Schreuder & Baayen 1997· Diependaele, Grainger & Sandra 2012: 319). Η επίδραση του ΜΜΟικ τοποθετείται στην κεντρική επεξεργασία και κατά κανόνα ερμηνεύεται ως ανατροφοδότηση από το σημασιολογικό στο μορφολογικό επίπεδο και όχι ως φαινόμενο μορφολογικής επεξεργασίας (Schreuder & Baayen 1997· Ford, Davis & Marslen-Wilson 2010· Xu & Taft 2015).[194] Για κάθε ΟΒ υπολογίσαμε το ΜΜΟικ, καταμετρώντας τις ομόρριζες παράγωγες και σύνθετες ΚΛ με κάποια σημασιολογική σχέση, χωρίς να συνυπολογίζεται το ΟΒ. Παρόμοια υπολογίσαμε το ΜΜΟικ για κάθε ρήμα, συνυπολογίζοντας το ΟΒ αλλά όχι το συγκεκριμένο ρήμα. Λ.χ. στο σ.α. ζεύγος *οργώνω/οργή*, το *οργώνω* έχει ΜΜΟικ 2 (*ανόργωτος, όργωμα*), ενώ το *οργή* έχει ΜΜΟικ 6 (*εξοργίζω, εξόργιση, εξοργιστικός, οργίζομαι, οργίλος, οργισμένος*). Στο σ.δ. ζεύγος *μοιχεύω/μοιχός*, το *μοιχεύω* έχει ΜΜΟικ 3 (*μοιχαλίδα, μοιχεία, μοιχός*), όπως και το *μοιχός* (*μοιχαλίδα, μοιχεία, μοιχεύω*). Οι υπολογισμοί έγιναν με βάση το ΛΚΝ (1998). Το ΜΜΟικ αντιμετωπίζεται ως ποσοτική μεταβλητή.

Το κατασκευαστικό επίθημα αντιμετωπίζεται ως ποιοτική μεταβλητή με 6 τιμές (*-ίζω, -(ι)άζω, -εύω, -ώνω, -αίνω, -άρω*).

3. ΑΝΑΛΥΣΕΙΣ ΚΑΙ ΑΠΟΤΕΛΕΣΜΑΤΑ ΓΙΑ ΤΟΥΣ ΣΥΜΜΕΤΕΧΟΝΤΕΣ

Για κάθε συμμετέχοντα υπολογίστηκε η μέση βαθμολόγηση της ΣΔ, η ΤΑ στη βαθμολόγηση της ΣΔ και η εξοικείωση με τα ζεύγη. Επιπλέον, ως ποσοτικές μεταβλητές εξετάζονται η ηλικία και το έτος σπουδών, ενώ ως δίτιμες ποιοτικές μεταβλητές το φύλο (άντρας, γυναίκα) και ο τύπος της σχολής φοίτησης (θεωρητική, πρακτική). Οι αναλύσεις γίνονται στο σύνολο των συμμετεχόντων (N=96).

Δε βρέθηκε στατιστικά σημαντική συσχέτιση μεταξύ της μέσης βαθμολόγησης της ΣΔ των συμμετεχόντων και της ΤΑ (r=0,048, p=0,645>0,05· r_s=-0,070, p=0,496>0,05), της εξοικείωσης (r=0,107, p=0,301>0,05· r_s=0,104, p=0,312>0,05), της ηλικίας (r=0,104, p=0,315>0,05· r_s=0,144, p=0,162>0,05), του έτους σπουδών (r=0,060, p=0,563>0,05· r_s=0,103, p=0,320>0,05).

Ως προς το φύλο, δε βρέθηκαν στατιστικά σημαντικές διαφορές μεταξύ αντρών και γυναικών στη μέση βαθμολόγηση της ΣΔ (άντρες M=4,5921, SD=0,55850· γυναίκες M=4,5671, SD=0,54842· t(94)=0,221, p=0,825>0,05), στην ΤΑ (άντρες M=2,3309, SD=0,29668· γυναίκες M=2,3868, SD=0,23000· t(94)=-1,032, p=0,305>0,05), στην εξοικείωση (άντρες M=144,73, SD=7,304· γυναίκες M=143,81, SD=9,043· t(94)=0,546, p=0,586>0,05).

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[193] Όλοι οι επόμενοι στατιστικοί έλεγχοι, παραμετρικοί και μη, είναι δίπλευροι με επίπεδο σημαντικότητας 95% (α=0,05). Οι αναλύσεις έγιναν με το στατιστικό πακέτο IBM SPSS 24.

[194] Η επίδραση του ΜΜΟικ μπορεί να τοποθετηθεί και σε ένα επίπεδο μορφοσημασιολογικής επεξεργασίας (Diependaele, Grainger & Sandra 2012) ή σε ένα υπερλεξικό μορφολογικό επίπεδο (Βόγκα 2015).

Ως προς τη σχολή φοίτησης, βρέθηκε στατιστικά σημαντική διαφορά στη μέση βαθμολόγηση της ΣΔ μεταξύ συμμετεχόντων θεωρητικών σχολών (M=4,7117, SD=0,54584) και πρακτικών σχολών (M=4,4475, SD=0,52861), t(94)=2,409, p=0,018<0,05, Cohen's d=0,50.[195] Η μέση βαθμολόγηση της ΣΔ είναι υψηλότερη για τους συμμετέχοντες θεωρητικών σχολών. Δε βρέθηκε στατιστικά σημαντική διαφορά στην ΤΑ (θεωρητικές σχολές M=2,3479, SD=0,25912· πρακτικές σχολές M=2,3699, SD=0,27408· t(94)=-0,403, p=0,688>0,05). Βρέθηκε τάση για στατιστικά σημαντική διαφορά στην εξοικείωση (θεωρητικές σχολές M=145,88, SD=8,386· πρακτικές σχολές M=142,67, SD=7,744· t(94)=1,947, p=0,054>0,05). Ο αντίστοιχος απαραμετρικός έλεγχος Mann- Whitney έδειξε στατιστικά σημαντική διαφορά στην εξοικείωση, με τους συμμετέχοντες θεωρητικών σχολών να έχουν υψηλότερη βαθμολογία (θεωρητικές σχολές Mdn=149, mean rank 55· πρακτικές σχολές Mdn=143, mean rank 42· U=840, p=0,022<0,05, r=0,23).

Μια 2 Χ 2 παραγοντική ανάλυση διακύμανσης με παράγοντες το φύλο και τη σχολή φοίτησης και εξαρτημένη μεταβλητή τη μέση βαθμολόγηση της ΣΔ δεν έδειξε στατιστικά σημαντική αλληλεπίδραση των δύο παραγόντων, F(1, 92)=1,221, p=0,272>0,05. Παράλληλα, επιβεβαίωσε τη στατιστικά σημαντική επίδραση της σχολής φοίτησης στη μέση βαθμολόγηση της ΣΔ (θεωρητικές σχολές M=4,7117, SD=0,54584· πρακτικές σχολές M=4,4475, SD=0,52861· F(1, 92)=5,757, p=0,018<0,05, η_p^2=0,059) και την απουσία στατιστικά σημαντικής επίδρασης του φύλου (άντρες M=4,5921, SD=0,55850· γυναίκες M=4,5671, SD=0,54842· F(1, 92)=0,052, p=0,821>0,05).

Συνεπώς, η παράμετρος του φύλου δεν επηρεάζει τις κρίσεις των συμμετεχόντων για τη ΣΔ των ζευγών. Το αντίθετο ισχύει για την παράμετρο της σχολής φοίτησης. Συγκεκριμένα, οι φοιτητές των θεωρητικών σχολών τείνουν να βαθμολογούν υψηλότερα τη ΣΔ από τους φοιτητές των πρακτικών σχολών. Μπορούμε να πούμε ότι οι φοιτητές των θεωρητικών σχολών υπερεκτιμούν τη ΣΔ, σε σχέση με τους φοιτητές των πρακτικών σχολών, και το αντίστροφο. Ίσως οι πρώτοι βλέπουν κάποιες σημασιολογικές σχέσεις που είναι «αόρατες» για τους δεύτερους. Επιπλέον, οι φοιτητές θεωρητικών σχολών φαίνεται να είναι περισσότερο εξοικειωμένοι με τα ζεύγη της δοκιμασίας. Οι παραπάνω διαφορές πιθανόν οφείλονται στην εκτενέστερη και εντατικότερη επαφή των φοιτητών θεωρητικών σχολών με την αρχαία ελληνική γλώσσα και την ετυμολογία, σε επίπεδο ακαδημαϊκών σπουδών αλλά και σε επίπεδο δευτεροβάθμιας εκπαίδευσης, αφού οι φοιτητές των θεωρητικών σχολών προέρχονται κατά κανόνα από μαθητές θεωρητικής κατεύθυνσης.

4. ΑΝΑΛΥΣΕΙΣ ΚΑΙ ΑΠΟΤΕΛΕΣΜΑΤΑ ΓΙΑ ΤΑ ΖΕΥΓΗ ΛΕΞΕΩΝ

4.1. ΣΔ και εξοικείωση

Για κάθε ζεύγος υπολογίστηκε η μέση βαθμολόγηση της ΣΔ και η εξοικείωση. Οι αναλύσεις γίνονται στο σύνολο των ζευγών (Ν=308, σ.α.=74, σ.η.=83, σ.δ.=151).

Η συσχέτιση ΣΔ και εξοικείωσης είναι συνολικά στατιστικά σημαντική και θετική (r=0,232, p=0,000<0,05· r_s=0,276, p=0,000<0,05). Η συσχέτιση ΣΔ και εξοικείωσης δεν είναι στατιστικά σημαντική για τα σ.α. ζεύγη (r=-0,200, p=0,087>0,05· r_s=-0,226, p=0,053>0,05), ούτε για τα σ.η. ζεύγη (r=-0,121, p=0,276>0,05· r_s=-0,066, p=0,552>0,05), είναι όμως σημαντική και θετική για τα σ.δ. ζεύγη (r=0,501, p=0,000<0,05· r_s=0,558, p=0,000<0,05).

Η ανάλυση διακύμανσης με παράγοντα τη ΣΔ και εξαρτημένη μεταβλητή την εξοικείωση[196] είναι στατιστικά σημαντική: σ.α. M=43,70, SD=7,398· σ.η. M=43,36, SD=5,948· σ.δ. M=46,47, SD=3,149· F(2, 305)=12,249, p=0,000<0,05, η_p^2=0,074. Οι post hoc έλεγχοι Tukey HSD, Scheffe, Bonferroni έδειξαν στατιστικά σημαντική διαφορά για τα σ.δ. ζεύγη με τα σ.α. ζεύγη και τα σ.η. ζεύγη (σ.δ.≠σ.α., σ.δ.≠σ.η.), αλλά όχι για τα σ.α. ζεύγη με τα σ.η. ζεύγη (σ.α.=σ.η.). Η στατιστική σημαντικότητα της διαφοράς επιβεβαιώθηκε και με τον αντίστοιχο απαραμετρικό έλεγχο Kruskal Wallis (KW), H(2)=22,739, p=0,000<0,05, mean rank σ.α.=149,03, σ.η.=120,95, σ.δ.=175,62.

Παρατηρούμε ότι η ΣΔ τείνει να αυξάνει με την αύξηση της εξοικείωσης και ότι η εξοικείωση είναι μεγαλύτερη στα σ.δ. ζεύγη από ό,τι στα σ.α. και σ.η. ζεύγη. Θα μπορούσαμε να υποθέσουμε ότι η βαθμολόγηση της ΣΔ επηρεάζεται από την εξοικείωση, με την έννοια ότι οι συμμετέχοντες τείνουν να βαθμολογούν ως περισσότερο σ.δ. τα ζεύγη με τα οποία είναι περισσότερο εξοικειωμένοι. Εξάλλου, και η υποκειμενική βαθμολόγηση της συχνότητας φαίνεται να είναι ευαίσθητη στη σημασία (Schreuder & Baayen 1997: 132).

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[195] Όσον αφορά το μέγεθος της επίδρασης, ακολουθούμε τον Cohen (1988).

[196] Η ανάλυση διακύμανσης οδηγεί σε συμπεράσματα όχι μόνο αιτιακής αλλά και συσχετιστικής φύσεως.

4.2. Εξοικείωση και ΤΑ

Για κάθε ζεύγος υπολογίστηκε η εξοικείωση και η ΤΑ στη βαθμολόγηση της ΣΔ. Οι αναλύσεις γίνονται στο σύνολο των ζευγών (βλ. 4.1).

Η συσχέτιση εξοικείωσης και ΤΑ είναι συνολικά στατιστικά σημαντική και αρνητική (r=-0,274, p=0,000<0,05· r_s=-0,408, p=0,000<0,05). Η συσχέτιση εξοικείωσης και ΤΑ δεν είναι στατιστικά σημαντική για τα σ.α. ζεύγη (r=-0,144, p=0,222>0,05· r_s=-0,135, p=0,252>0,05), ούτε για τα σ.η. ζεύγη (r=0,067, p=0,550>0,05· r_s=-0,081, p=0,466>0,05), είναι όμως σημαντική και αρνητική για τα σ.δ. ζεύγη (r=-0,456, p=0,000<0,05· r_s=-0,563, p=0,000<0,05).

Παρατηρούμε ότι η ΤΑ τείνει να μειώνεται με την αύξηση της εξοικείωσης. Μεγαλύτερη εξοικείωση συνεπάγεται μικρότερη ΤΑ, ιδιαίτερα για τα σ.δ. ζεύγη. Δηλαδή, οι συμμετέχοντες συμφωνούν περισσότερο στη βαθμολόγηση της ΣΔ για τα ζεύγη με τα οποία είναι περισσότερο εξοικειωμένοι, και μάλιστα όταν αυτά είναι σ.δ.
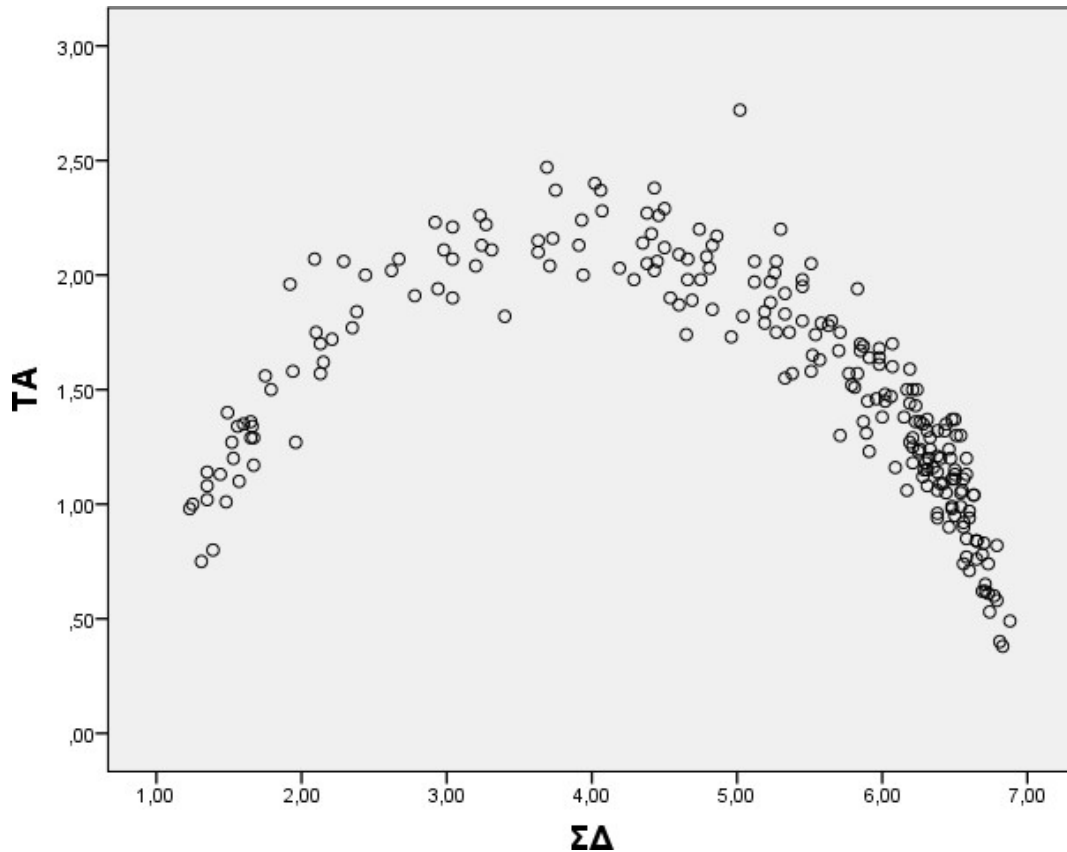
4.3. ΣΔ και ΤΑ

Για κάθε ζεύγος υπολογίστηκε η μέση βαθμολόγηση της ΣΔ και η ΤΑ στη βαθμολόγηση της ΣΔ. Οι αναλύσεις γίνονται σε 232 ζεύγη (σ.α.=41, σ.η.=48, σ.δ.=143), αφού απομακρύνθηκαν τα ζεύγη με εξοικείωση χαμηλότερη του 85% και τα σ.α. ζεύγη με επιθηματοποιημένο ρήμα και άσχετο ουσιαστικό (π.χ. *πιστεύω/πίστα,* βλ. 2.2). Στα σ.α. ζεύγη δε γίνεται διάκριση ανάμεσα σε ετυμολογικά επιθηματοποιημένα ρήματα (π.χ. *σκοτώνω/σκότος*) και μη ετυμολογικά ψευδοεπιθηματοποιημένα ρήματα (π.χ. *μπαλώνω/μπάλα*) (Rastle & Davis 2003).

Η συσχέτιση ΣΔ και ΤΑ είναι συνολικά στατιστικά σημαντική (r=-0,388, p=0,000<0,05· r_s=-0,622, p=0,000<0,05). Για τα σ.α. ζεύγη, η συσχέτιση ΣΔ και ΤΑ είναι στατιστικά σημαντική και θετική (r=0,906, p=0,000<0,05· r_s=0,914, p=0,000<0,05). Για τα σ.η. ζεύγη, η συσχέτιση είναι στατιστικά σημαντική μόνο στον έλεγχο μη γραμμικής συσχέτισης Spearman (r=-0,240, p=0,101>0,05· r_s=-0,290, p=0,046<0,05). Για τα σ.δ. ζεύγη, η συσχέτιση είναι στατιστικά σημαντική και αρνητική (r=-0,902, p=0,000<0,05· r_s=-0,925, p=0,000<0,05).

Η ανάλυση διακύμανσης με παράγοντα τη ΣΔ και εξαρτημένη μεταβλητή την ΤΑ είναι στατιστικά σημαντική: σ.α. M=1,4944, SD=0,40221· σ.η. M=2,1033, SD=0,16916· σ.δ. M=1,3099, SD=0,41470· F(2, 229)=80,375, p=0,000<0,05, $η^2$=0,412. Οι post hoc έλεγχοι Tukey HSD, Scheffe, Bonferroni έδειξαν στατιστικά σημαντική διαφορά ανάμεσα στις MT και των τριών επιπέδων της ΣΔ (σ.α.≠σ.η., σ.η.≠σ.δ., σ.α.≠σ.δ.). Η στατιστική σημαντικότητα της διαφοράς επιβεβαιώθηκε και με τον έλεγχο KW, H(2)=98,144, p=0,000<0,05, mean rank σ.α.=113,85, σ.η.=200,07, σ.δ.=89,21.

Παρατηρούμε ότι τα σ.δ. ζεύγη παρουσιάζουν κατά MT τη μικρότερη ΤΑ, τα σ.α. ζεύγη λίγο μεγαλύτερη ΤΑ από τα σ.δ., ενώ τα σ.η. ζεύγη πολύ μεγαλύτερη ΤΑ από τις άλλες δύο κατηγορίες ζευγών. Επιπλέον, η ΤΑ τείνει να αυξάνει όσο πλησιάζουμε προς το μέσο της κλίμακας και να μειώνεται όσο πλησιάζουμε προς τα δύο άκρα (Σχήμα 1). Δηλαδή, οι συμμετέχοντες συμφωνούν περισσότερο στη βαθμολόγηση της ΣΔ για τα περισσότερο ακραία ζεύγη (σ.α., σ.δ.) και λιγότερο για τα ενδιάμεσα (σ.η.).

Η «ασυμφωνία» των συμμετεχόντων στη βαθμολόγηση των σ.η. ζευγών, όπως αυτή αντανακλάται στη μεγάλη ΤΑ, φαίνεται να συνάδει με μια προσέγγιση διπλής διαδρομής, όπου οι ΚΛ αντιμετωπίζονται είτε αποσυνθετικά ως σ.δ., είτε ολιστικά ως σ.α. (Marslen-Wilson et al. 1994). Δηλαδή, άλλοι συμμετέχοντες αντιμετωπίζουν τις σ.η. ΚΛ ως σ.α. και άλλοι ως σ.δ., με αποτέλεσμα τη μεγάλη ΤΑ. Από την άλλη, η μεγάλη ΤΑ των σ.η. ζευγών θα μπορούσε να είναι αποτέλεσμα διαφορετικών στρατηγικών ποσοτικοποίησης της ΣΔ από τους συμμετέχοντες, με βάση τη δεδομένη κλίμακα βαθμολόγησης. Δηλαδή, οι συμμετέχοντες συμφωνούν ως προς τα άκρα του συνεχούς της ΣΔ, αλλά αξιοποιούν με διαφορετικό τρόπο τις ενδιάμεσες βαθμίδες της κλίμακας. Έτσι, δεν αποκλείεται μια κατανεμημένη συνδετιστική προσέγγιση, όπου η ΣΔ είναι διαβαθμισμένη (Gonnerman, Seidenberg & Andersen 2007).

Σχήμα 1: Συσχέτιση ΣΔ και ΤΑ για τα ζεύγη λέξεων

4.4. Συχνότητα

Για κάθε ζεύγος υπολογίστηκε η μέση βαθμολόγηση της ΣΔ. Για κάθε ρήμα και για κάθε ΟΒ αντλήθηκε η συχνότητα από τον ΕΘΕΓ (2017). Οι αναλύσεις γίνονται σε 232 ζεύγη (βλ. 4.3).

Σλημμ ρήματος: Δε βρέθηκε συνολικά στατιστικά σημαντική συσχέτιση ανάμεσα στη ΣΔ των ζευγών και στη Σλημμ των ρημάτων (r=-0,095, p=0,148>0,05· r_s=0,040, p=0,544>0,05). Επίσης, η συσχέτιση ΣΔ και Σλημμ ρήματος δεν είναι στατιστικά σημαντική για τα σ.α. ζεύγη (r=-0,082, p=0,610>0,05· r_s=0,054, p=0,739>0,05), ούτε για τα σ.η. ζεύγη (r=0,206, p=0,160>0,05· r_s=-0,027, p=0,854>0,05), είναι όμως σημαντική και θετική για τα σ.δ. ζεύγη (r=0,195, p=0,020<0,05· r_s=0,363, p=0,000<0,05). Για τα σ.δ ζεύγη, η ΣΔ τείνει να αυξάνει, καθώς αυξάνει η Σλημμ ρήματος.

Η ανάλυση διακύμανσης με παράγοντα τη ΣΔ και εξαρτημένη μεταβλητή τη Σλημμ ρήματος δεν είναι στατιστικά σημαντική: σ.α. M=1888,90, SD=5809,592· σ.η. M=794,46, SD=2251,153· σ.δ. M=647,55, SD=2559,902· F(2, 229)=2,261, p=0,107>0,05. Αντίθετα, ο έλεγχος KW έδειξε στατιστική σημαντικότητα, H(2)=6,527, p=0,038<0,05, mean rank σ.α.=140,60, σ.η.=108,59, σ.δ.=112,24. Τα σ.α. ρήματα φαίνεται να έχουν μεγαλύτερη μέση Σλημμ από τα σ.η., σ.δ.

Σλημμ ΟΒ: Δε βρέθηκε συνολικά στατιστικά σημαντική συσχέτιση ανάμεσα στη ΣΔ των ζευγών και στη Σλημμ των ΟΒ (r=-0,010, p=0,876>0,05· r_s=0,023, p=0,733>0,05). Επίσης, η συσχέτιση ΣΔ και Σλημμ ΟΒ δεν είναι στατιστικά σημαντική για τα σ.α. ζεύγη (r=0,092, p=0,568>0,05· r_s=0,062, p=0,698>0,05), ούτε για τα σ.η. ζεύγη (r=-0,037, p=0,802>0,05· r_s=0,009, p=0,952>0,05). Για τα σ.δ. ζεύγη, παρατηρείται στατιστική σημαντικότητα μόνο στον έλεγχο Spearman (r=-0,033, p=0,692>0,05· r_s=0,219, p=0,009<0,05). Η Σλημμ ΟΒ φαίνεται να συσχετίζεται θετικά με τη ΣΔ μόνο για τα σ.δ. ζεύγη.

Η ανάλυση διακύμανσης με παράγοντα τη ΣΔ και εξαρτημένη μεταβλητή τη Σλημμ ΟΒ δεν είναι στατιστικά σημαντική: σ.α. M=2353,51, SD=5998,345· σ.η. M=3361,58, SD=7302,269· σ.δ. M=2501,69, SD=7846,632· F(2, 229)=0,280, p=0,756>0,05. Το ίδιο ισχύει και για τον έλεγχο KW, H(2)=1,441, p=0,487>0,05, mean rank σ.α.=121,87, σ.η.=124,23, σ.δ.=112,37. Δεν υπάρχουν διαφορές στη μέση Σλημμ ΟΒ ανάμεσα στα σ.α., σ.η., σ.δ. ζεύγη.

Σλεξ ρήματος: Δε βρέθηκε συνολικά στατιστικά σημαντική συσχέτιση ανάμεσα στη ΣΔ των ζευγών και στη Σλεξ των ρημάτων (r=-0,123, p=0,061>0,05· r_s=0,039, p=0,550>0,05). Επίσης, η συσχέτιση ΣΔ και Σλεξ ρήματος δεν είναι στατιστικά σημαντική για τα σ.α. ζεύγη (r=0,011, p=0,947>0,05· r_s=0,158, p=0,322>0,05), ούτε για τα σ.η. ζεύγη (r=0,174, p=0,236>0,05· r_s=-0,037, p=0,805>0,05), είναι όμως σημαντική και θετική για τα σ.δ. ζεύγη (r=0,225, p=0,007<0,05· r_s=0,312, p=0,000<0,05). Παρόμοια με τη συσχέτιση ΣΔ και Σλημμ ρήματος (βλ. παραπάνω), η ΣΔ τείνει να αυξάνει καθώς αυξάνει η Σλεξ ρήματος, μόνο για τα σ.δ. ζεύγη.

Η ανάλυση διακύμανσης με παράγοντα τη ΣΔ και εξαρτημένη μεταβλητή τη Σλεξ ρήματος δεν είναι στατιστικά σημαντική: σ.α. M=277,66, SD=1642,924· σ.η. M=9,65, SD=38,738· σ.δ. M=5,41, SD=20,146· F(2, 229)=2,630, p=0,074>0,05. Το ίδιο ισχύει και για τον έλεγχο KW, H(2)=3,104, p=0,212>0,05, mean rank σ.α.=131,71, σ.η.=113,88, σ.δ.=113,02. Δεν υπάρχουν διαφορές στη μέση Σλεξ ρήματος ανάμεσα στα σ.α., σ.η., σ.δ. ζεύγη.

Σλεξ ΟΒ: Δε βρέθηκε συνολικά στατιστικά σημαντική συσχέτιση ανάμεσα στη ΣΔ των ζευγών και στη Σλεξ των ΟΒ (r=0,024, p=0,719>0,05· r_s=0,025, p=0,703>0,05). Επίσης, η συσχέτιση ΣΔ και Σλεξ ΟΒ δεν είναι στατιστικά σημαντική για τα σ.α. ζεύγη (r=0,068, p=0,674>0,05· r_s=0,053, p=0,743>0,05), ούτε για τα σ.η. ζεύγη (r=-0,075, p=0,615>0,05· r_s=-0,126, p=0,395>0,05). Για τα σ.δ. ζεύγη, παρατηρείται στατιστική σημαντικότητα μόνο στον έλεγχο Spearman (r=0,083, p=0,322>0,05· r_s=0,213, p=0,011<0,05). Παρόμοια με τη συσχέτιση ΣΔ και Σλημμ ΟΒ (βλ. παραπάνω), η Σλεξ ΟΒ φαίνεται να συσχετίζεται θετικά με τη ΣΔ μόνο για τα σ.δ. ζεύγη.

Η ανάλυση διακύμανσης με παράγοντα τη ΣΔ και εξαρτημένη μεταβλητή τη Σλεξ ΟΒ δεν είναι στατιστικά σημαντική: σ.α. M=712,66, SD=1174,295· σ.η. M=1288,75, SD=3679,922· σ.δ. M=950,42, SD=2434,871· F(2, 229)=0,570, p=0,566>0,05. Το ίδιο ισχύει και για τον έλεγχο KW, H(2)=0,879, p=0,644>0,05, mean rank σ.α.=124,73, σ.η.=117,75, σ.δ.=113,72. Δεν υπάρχουν διαφορές στη μέση Σλεξ ΟΒ ανάμεσα στα σ.α., σ.η., σ.δ. ζεύγη.

Βλέπουμε ότι οι επιδράσεις συχνότητας στη ΣΔ εντοπίζονται στα σ.δ. ζεύγη, αλλά όχι στα σ.η. και σ.α. ζεύγη. Το ίδιο παρατηρείται και στη σχέση ΣΔ και εξοικείωσης (βλ. 4.1). Όταν η σχέση ρήματος και ΟΒ είναι σ.δ., η μεγαλύτερη εξοικείωση και η μεγαλύτερη συχνότητα αυξάνουν τη βαθμολόγηση της ΣΔ. Όταν η σχέση ρήματος και ΟΒ δεν είναι σ.δ. (σ.α., σ.η.), η εξοικείωση ή η συχνότητα δεν επιδρούν στη βαθμολόγηση. Η διαφοροποίηση αυτή μεταξύ σ.δ. ρημάτων αφενός και σ.α., σ.η. ρημάτων αφετέρου θα μπορούσε να αντανακλά μια διαφοροποίηση σε επίπεδο λεξικής αναπαράστασης, λ.χ. μορφολογικά αποσυνθετική αναπαράσταση μόνο για τα σ.δ. ρήματα (Marslen-Wilson et al. 1994) ή διαφορετικού βαθμού ισχύος σημασιολογικές συνδέσεις μεταξύ των αναπαραστάσεων των σ.α., σ.η. και σ.δ. ρημάτων και των αναπαραστάσεων των ΟΒ (Taft 2015· Xu & Taft 2015).

Επίσης, οι επιδράσεις συχνότητας αφορούν τόσο τη Σλημμ όσο και τη Σλεξ, παρατήρηση που συμφωνεί με χρονομετρικά δεδομένα για άλλες γλώσσες. Έχει υποστηριχθεί ότι η Σλεξ επιδρά σε πρώιμα στάδια της λεξικής αναγνώρισης (περιφερειακή επεξεργασία) (Schreuder & Baayen 1997) ενώ η συχνότητα λήμματος επιδρά σε πιο όψιμα στάδια (κεντρική επεξεργασία) (Caramazza, Laudanna & Romani 1988), αλλά και το αντίστροφο (Taft 1979, 2004). Στην παρούσα μεταγλωσσική δοκιμασία, από τη σύγκριση των συντελεστών συσχέτισης, προκύπτει ότι οι επιδράσεις Σλημμ και Σλεξ είναι ίδιου βαθμού.

Ακόμη, φαίνεται ότι στη ΣΔ επιδρά θετικά και η συχνότητα του σ.δ. επιθηματοποιημένου ρήματος και η συχνότητα του ΟΒ (Burani & Caramazza 1987). Είναι γνωστό ότι η υψηλή συχνότητα της βάσης διευκολύνει την online αναγνώριση μιας σ.δ. ΚΛ, συνηγορώντας υπέρ της μορφολογικής αποσύνθεσης (Hay & Baayen 2005· Ford, Davis & Marslen-Wilson 2010· Xu & Taft 2015), ενώ η υψηλή συχνότητα μιας ΚΛ ευνοεί την ολιστική αναπαράσταση/πρόσβαση (Hay & Baayen 2005). Στην περίπτωσή μας, η υψηλή συχνότητα της ΚΛ ευνοεί τη ΣΔ για τα σ.δ. ρήματα. Αυτό πιθανόν οφείλεται στη μεταγλωσσική φύση της δοκιμασίας. Δηλαδή, οι συχνόχρηστες λεξικές αναπαραστάσεις των ΚΛ είναι πιο ισχυρές, ώστε στην ασύνειδη επεξεργασία ευνοούν την ολιστική πρόσβαση, ενώ μεταγλωσσικά ευνοούν τον εντοπισμό της σημασιολογικής σχέσης με τη βάση τους. Οι χαμηλής συχνότητας λεξικές αναπαραστάσεις των ΚΛ είναι πιο ασθενείς, ώστε στην ασύνειδη επεξεργασία κινητοποιείται ο μηχανισμός της μορφολογικής αποσύνθεσης, ενώ μεταγλωσσικά δυσχεραίνεται ο εντοπισμός της σημασιολογικής σχέσης με τη βάση τους.

4.5. ΜΜΟικ

Για κάθε ζεύγος υπολογίστηκε η μέση βαθμολόγηση της ΣΔ. Για κάθε ρήμα και για κάθε ΟΒ υπολογίστηκε το ΜΜΟικ. Οι αναλύσεις γίνονται με 232 ζεύγη (βλ. 4.3).

ΜΜΟικ ρήματος: Βρέθηκε συνολικά στατιστικά σημαντική θετική συσχέτιση ανάμεσα στη ΣΔ των ζευγών και στο ΜΜΟικ των ρημάτων μόνο στον έλεγχο Spearman (r=0,122, p=0,063>0,05· r_s=0,149, p=0,023<0,05). Ειδικότερα, η συσχέτιση ΣΔ και ΜΜΟικ ρήματος δεν είναι στατιστικά σημαντική για τα σ.α. ζεύγη (r=0,302, p=0,055>0,05· r_s=0,234, p=0,140>0,05) και για τα σ.δ. ζεύγη (r=0,112, p=0,182>0,05· r_s=0,144, p=0,086>0,05), είναι όμως στατιστικά σημαντική και θετική για τα σ.η. ζεύγη (r=0,297, p=0,040<0,05· r_s=0,365, p=0,011<0,05). Το ΜΜΟικ ρήματος τείνει να επιδρά στη ΣΔ, ιδιαίτερα για τα σ.η. ζεύγη.

Η ανάλυση διακύμανσης με παράγοντα τη ΣΔ και εξαρτημένη μεταβλητή το ΜΜΟικ ρήματος δεν είναι στατιστικά σημαντική: σ.α. M=13,56, SD=19,702· σ.η. M=23,08, SD=26,016· σ.δ. M=20,82, SD=31,985· $F_{(2,\ 229)}$=1,339, p=0,264>0,05. Αντίθετα, ο έλεγχος KW έδειξε στατιστική σημαντικότητα, H(2)=7,203, p=0,027<0,05, mean rank σ.α.=92,67, σ.η.=129,59, σ.δ.=118,94. Τα σ.α. ρήματα τείνουν να έχουν μικρότερο ΜΜΟικ από τα σ.η., σ.δ.

ΜΜΟικ ΟΒ: Δε βρέθηκε συνολικά στατιστικά σημαντική συσχέτιση ανάμεσα στη ΣΔ των ζευγών και στο ΜΜΟικ των ΟΒ (r=0,033, p=0,615>0,05· r_s=0,055, p=0,405>0,05). Για τα σ.α. ζεύγη, βρέθηκε στατιστικά σημαντική συσχέτιση μόνο στον έλεγχο Spearman (r=0,298, p=0,059>0,05· r_s=0,329, p=0,036<0,05). Δε βρέθηκε στατιστικά σημαντική συσχέτιση για τα σ.η. ζεύγη (r=-0,046, p=0,755>0,05· r_s=0,087, p=0,556>0,05), ούτε για τα σ.δ. ζεύγη (r=0,113, p=0,179>0,05· r_s=0,147, p=0,080>0,05). Το ΜΜΟικ ΟΒ τείνει να επιδρά μόνο για τα σ.α. ζεύγη.

Η ανάλυση διακύμανσης με παράγοντα τη ΣΔ και εξαρτημένη μεταβλητή το ΜΜΟικ ΟΒ δεν είναι στατιστικά σημαντική: σ.α. M=16,93, SD=22,213· σ.η. M=31,15, SD=36,189· σ.δ. M=20,87, SD=31,964· $F_{(2,\ 229)}$=2,647, p=0,073>0,05. Αντίθετα, ο έλεγχος KW έδειξε στατιστική σημαντικότητα, H(2)=7,673, p=0,022<0,05, mean rank σ.α.=101,20, σ.η.=138,66, σ.δ.=113,45. Τα ουσιαστικά τείνουν να έχουν κατά MT το μικρότερο ΜΜΟικ στα σ.α. ζεύγη και το μεγαλύτερο στα σ.η. ζεύγη.

Παρατηρούμε ότι το ΜΜΟικ ρήματος δεν επιδρά στα σ.α. και στα σ.δ. ζεύγη, ενώ επιδρά θετικά στα σ.η. ζεύγη. Υποθέτουμε ότι, όταν η σημασιολογική σχέση μεταξύ ρήματος και ουσιαστικού είναι ανυπόστατη (σ.α.) ή ξεκάθαρη (σ.δ.), οι συμμετέχοντες δε χρειάζεται να αξιοποιήσουν το ΜΜΟικ κατά τη βαθμολόγηση. Όταν η σημασιολογική σχέση ρήματος και ουσιαστικού είναι υπαρκτή αλλά ασθενής (σ.η.), οι συμμετέχοντες αξιοποιούν το ΜΜΟικ, ώστε βαθμολογούν ως περισσότερο σχετικά τα σ.η. ζεύγη με μεγαλύτερο ΜΜΟικ. Από την άλλη, το ΜΜΟικ ΟΒ τείνει να επιδρά στα σ.α. ζεύγη. Όταν ένα υποτιθέμενο ΟΒ έχει μεγάλο ΜΜΟικ, είναι πιθανό να παρασύρει τους συμμετέχοντες, ώστε να βαθμολογήσουν ως περισσότερο σχετικό το αντίστοιχο ρήμα. Το ΜΜΟικ ΟΒ, σε αντίθεση με το ΜΜΟικ ρήματος, δεν επηρεάζει τα σ.η. ζεύγη. Αυτό ενδεχομένως να σημαίνει ότι οι συμμετέχοντες εστιάζουν την προσοχή τους περισσότερο στο ρήμα (το οποίο είναι και το πρώτο μέλος του ζεύγους) παρά στο ουσιαστικό. Για τα σ.δ. ζεύγη, το ΜΜΟικ ΟΒ ταυτίζεται με το ΜΜΟικ του ρήματος και δεν επιδρά στη ΣΔ.

4.6. Κατασκευαστικό επίθημα

Για κάθε ζεύγος υπολογίστηκε η μέση βαθμολόγηση της ΣΔ. Τα ζεύγη εντάχθηκαν σε 6 συνθήκες, αντίστοιχες με τα επιμέρους κατασκευαστικά επιθήματα (-ίζω=46, -(ι)άζω=47, -εύω=26, -ώνω=66, -αίνω=23, -άρω=24). Οι αναλύσεις γίνονται σε 232 ζεύγη (βλ. 4.3).

Ο έλεγχος ανεξαρτησίας μεταξύ του επιθήματος και της ΣΔ (σ.α., σ.η., σ.δ.) δεν είναι στατιστικά σημαντικός, χ^2(10)=12,893, p=0,230>0,05. Οι δύο μεταβλητές είναι ανεξάρτητες.

Η ανάλυση διακύμανσης με παράγοντα το επίθημα και εξαρτημένη μεταβλητή τη ΣΔ δεν είναι στατιστικά σημαντική: -ίζω M=4,9207, SD=1,77118· -(ι)άζω M=4,6370, SD=1,95138· -εύω M=5,3535, SD=1,35992· -ώνω M=4,8170, SD=1,66301· -αίνω M=5,2961, SD=1,67886· -άρω M=5,5029, SD=1,45391· $F_{(5,\ 226)}$=1,380, p=0,233>0,05. Το ίδιο ισχύει και για τον έλεγχο KW, H(5)=6,843, p=0,233>0,05, mean rank -ίζω=116,50, -(ι)άζω=107,21, -εύω=130,67, -ώνω=105,65, -αίνω=129,24, -άρω=136,96. Δεν υπάρχει επίδραση του επιθήματος στη ΣΔ.

Παρά τις διαφορές μεταξύ των επιθημάτων λ.χ. ως προς τη συχνότητα ή την παραγωγικότητα (Efthymiou, Fragaki & Markos 2012), το επίθημα δεν επηρεάζει τον βαθμό της ΣΔ.

5. ΕΠΙΛΟΓΟΣ

Συνοψίζοντας, εξετάσαμε την παράμετρο της ΣΔ σε σχέση με διάφορες εξωγλωσσικές και γλωσσικές παραμέτρους στα (ψευδο-)επιθηματοποιημένα ρήματα της ΚΝΕ, αντλώντας δεδομένα από ένα δείγμα 96 τυπικών φυσικών ομιλητών, φοιτητών του ΑΠΘ, ηλικίας 18-25 ετών, με μια μεταγλωσσική δοκιμασία βαθμολόγησης της σημασιολογικής σχέσης για 308 ζεύγη λέξεων (ρήμα/ΟΒ).

Όσον αφορά τους συμμετέχοντες, βρέθηκε επίδραση της σχολής φοίτησης, με τους φοιτητές θεωρητικών σχολών να έχουν υψηλότερη ΜΤ βαθμολόγησης της ΣΔ και εξοικείωσης με τα ζεύγη, σε σχέση με τους φοιτητές πρακτικών σχολών. Υποθέτουμε ότι οι πρώτοι αντιλαμβάνονται ορισμένες σημασιολογικές σχέσεις που οι δεύτεροι δεν παρατηρούν. Αντίθετα, δε βρέθηκε επίδραση του φύλου ούτε αλληλεπίδραση φύλου και σχολής φοίτησης.

Όσον αφορά τα ζεύγη λέξεων, βρέθηκε ότι ο βαθμός εξοικείωσης επιδρά θετικά στη ΣΔ και αρνητικά στην ΤΑ, ιδιαίτερα για τα σ.δ. ζεύγη. Επίσης, βρέθηκε στατιστικά σημαντική συσχέτιση ΣΔ και ΤΑ, με την ΤΑ να αυξάνει όσο πλησιάζουμε στο κέντρο της κλίμακας της ΣΔ. Επιδράσεις συχνότητας βρέθηκαν μόνο για τα σ.δ. ζεύγη. Θετική είναι η επίδραση τόσο της συχνότητας του ρήματος όσο και του ΟΒ, ενώ η επίδραση αφορά τόσο τη Σλημμ όσο και τη Σλεξ. Η διαφοροποίηση των σ.δ. ζευγών από τα σ.α. και σ.η. ζεύγη ενδεχομένως αντανακλά μια διαφοροποίηση στη λεξική αναπαράσταση λ.χ. μορφολογικά αποσυνθετική αναπαράσταση για τις σ.δ. ΚΛ ή ισχυρές σημασιολογικές συνδέσεις μεταξύ του λήμματος της ΚΛ και του λήμματος της βάσης. Το ΜΜΟικ του ρήματος επιδρά μόνο στα σ.η. ζεύγη, που σημαίνει ότι το ΜΜΟικ επιστρατεύεται, όταν η σημασιολογική σχέση του ρήματος με το ΟΒ δεν είναι σαφής. Στα σ.α. ζεύγη, που εύλογα έχουν μικρότερο ΜΜΟικ (ρήματος, ΟΒ), επιδρά θετικά το ΜΜΟικ του υποτιθέμενου ΟΒ, που «ξεγελά» τους συμμετέχοντες ώστε να υποθέσουν μια σημασιολογική σχέση ανάμεσα σε δύο σημασιολογικά ή και ετυμολογικά άσχετες λέξεις. Το κατασκευαστικό επίθημα (-ίζω, -(ι)άζω, -εύω, -ώνω, -αίνω, -άρω) δεν επιδρά στη ΣΔ.

Εν κατακλείδι, οι μεγάλες ΤΑ για τα σ.η. ζεύγη και η διαφοροποίηση των σ.δ. ζευγών από τα σ.α. και σ.η. ζεύγη ως προς τις επιδράσεις εξοικείωσης, συχνότητας και ΜΜΟικ προκρίνουν μια θεώρηση διπλής διαδρομής της ΣΔ, χωρίς ωστόσο να αποκλείουν εντελώς την υπόθεση της συνέχειας/διαβάθμισης, λόγω του μεταγλωσσικού χαρακτήρα της συγκεκριμένης δοκιμασίας. Χρονομετρικά πειράματα που ελαχιστοποιούν τη συνειδητή επεξεργασία των ερεθισμάτων θα μπορούσαν να ρίξουν περισσότερο φως σε αυτό το ζήτημα.

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Η μονολεκτική κατάρα ως παράδειγμα σημασιολογικής αλλαγής. Το εθνογραφικό παράδειγμα τ' Απεράθου Νάξου

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ABSTRACT

This paper examines the functions of a specific kind of curse utterance, *the one-word curse* (e.g. *κακοθάνατε!* = may you die in a horrible way!), based on the ethnographic paradigm of Aperathou, Naxos (Cyclades). According to our survey, which was based on a corpus of related utterances and metalinguistic comments all gathered from written and internet sources, oral interviews and ethnographic survey in Aperathou and in Athens, *one-word curses'* frequent usage blunts their stigmatized, malicious (curse-related) meanings, therefore placing them in the dialect's semantic pool of *swear* words (positive and negative evaluative words). Such an observation accords with a specific semantic-pragmatic process (desemanticization), where curse meanings co-exist or they are being replaced with expressive meanings that convey the speaker's subjective belief, state, or attitude towards what is generally said (subjectification).

Key Words: λέξη-ταμπού, μονολεκτική κατάρα, υβριστικός λόγος.

1. ΕΙΣΑΓΩΓΗ

Η κατάρα αποτελεί μια διαχρονική και διατοπική έκφανση της συλλογικής συμπεριφοράς του ανθρώπου. Ως είδος λόγου δεν μελετήθηκε επαρκώς από τη γλωσσολογική επιστήμη, παρά μόνο από τα μέσα του προηγούμενου αιώνα, οπότε και άρχισε να δίνεται έμφαση στη μελέτη επιμέρους εκφάνσεων του υβριστικού λόγου, υποκατηγορία του οποίου είναι και η κατάρα (Hughes 1991: 2-3; Ljung 2011: 3-4). Στον ελλαδικό χώρο, το ερευνητικό ενδιαφέρον για τις κατάρες ήταν φιλολογικό [Κακριδής 2000 (1929)], κυρίως λαογραφικό (ενδεικτικά Κυριακίδης 1923; Λουκάτος 1992; Σκαρτσής 1999) και λιγότερο γλωσσολογικό (Ανδριώτης 1933). Ωστόσο, τα τελευταία χρόνια άρχισε να δίνεται έμφαση στην κατανόηση της φύσης και της λειτουργίας της με βάση το θεωρητικό πλαίσιο και τα εργαλεία της σύγχρονης λαογραφίας, της κοινωνικής ανθρωπολογίας και της εθνογραφίας της επικοινωνίας (Αυδίκος 2013; Γιαννούλη 2014; Ξεφτέρη 2014, 2017α, 2017β, 2018).

2. ΣΚΟΠΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΜΕΘΟΔΟΛΟΓΙΑ ΕΡΕΥΝΑΣ

Στόχος του άρθρου είναι η παρουσίαση των αποτελεσμάτων έρευνας η οποία αφορά την προσέγγιση της κατάρας ως επικοινωνιακής και συμβολικής πράξης με βάση το εθνογραφικό παράδειγμα του χωριού Απεράθου Νάξου. Πιο συγκεκριμένα, θα επιχειρηθεί η περιγραφή και η προκαταρκτική εξέταση των σταδίων μιας εν εξελίξει σημασιολογικής και πραγματολογικής αλλαγής η οποία αφορά τις μονολεκτικές κατάρες, οι οποίες φαίνεται να χάνουν το στιγματισμένο (καταραστικό) φορτίο τους, λειτουργώντας περισσότερο ως φιλικές προσφωνήσεις, ως κολακευτικοί χαρακτηρισμοί και ως υβριστικές λέξεις.

Το υλικό προέρχεται από εθνογραφική έρευνα η οποία βρίσκεται σε εξέλιξη και πραγματοποιείται στην Αθήνα και στ' Απεράθου Νάξου. Η υπό μελέτη ομάδα περιλαμβάνει 32 πληροφορητές (16 γυναίκες και 16 άντρες, με μέσο όρο ηλικίας τα 70 έτη), εκ των οποίων οι 14 είναι μόνιμοι κάτοικοι τ' Απεράθου, ενώ οι υπόλοιποι 18 είναι πρώτης και δεύτερης γενεάς Απεραθίτες που μένουν μόνιμα στην Αθήνα. Η έρευνα βασίζεται στη συμμετοχική παρατήρηση, καθώς επίσης στην πραγματοποίηση άτυπων και ημιδομημένων συνεντεύξεων. Υποστηρίζεται επίσης από γραπτές και ηλεκτρονικές πηγές. Πιο συγκεκριμένα, πραγματοποιήθηκε αποδελτίωση χειρογράφων της ψηφιακής βιβλιοθήκης «Πέργαμος» του Ε.Κ.Π.Α., του Κ.Ε.Ν.Δ.Ι. και του Κ.Ε.Ε.Λ. της Ακαδημίας Αθηνών, καθώς και βιβλίων και μελετών με θεματικό κέντρο τ' Απεράθου Νάξου. Τέλος,

πραγματοποιήθηκε καταγραφή και αποδελτίωση καταραστικών εκφωνημάτων όπως αυτά απαντούν από απεραθίτες χρήστες στα μέσα κοινωνικής δικτύωσης. Το ως άνω προφορικό, γραπτό και ηλεκτρονικό υλικό, καθώς και τα μεταγλωσσικά σχόλια των πληροφορητών συγκροτήθηκαν σε ενιαίο αρχείο το οποίο και αποτέλεσε τη βάση για την ανάλυση.

3. Η ΚΑΤΑΡΑ Ως ΓΛΩΣΣΙΚΗ ΠΡΑΞΗ

Η κατάρα αποτελεί ένα είδος υβριστικού λόγου το οποίο σχετίζεται με την επίκληση ενός προσώπου προς οντότητες που ανήκουν στον χώρο του υπερφυσικού ή του υπερβατικού και λειτουργούν ως μεσολαβητές και εγγυητές του δικαίου για μια βλάβη που υπέστη το πρόσωπο αυτό και ως τιμωροί του ατόμου που την προκάλεσε. Χαρακτηρίζεται από ένα τελετουργικό τυπικό το οποίο είναι καθορισμένο, αναγνωρισμένο και αποδεκτό από την κοινότητα: εξαρτάται από συγκεκριμένες χωροχρονικές παραμέτρους, συνδυάζει γλωσσικά, παραγλωσσικά και εξωγλωσσικά στοιχεία και επιτελείται από εξουσιοδοτημένα άτομα τα οποία, ως γνώστες χειρισμού φράσεων και λέξεων-ταμπού, έχουν εξουσία πάνω στο αντικείμενο που δηλώνεται μέσω αυτών, συνεπώς νομιμοποιούνται να προκαλέσουν μια νέα κατάσταση πραγμάτων (Κυριακίδης 1923: 108, 110-112; Montagu 1967: 35-52, 57-59; Hughes 1991: 11, 2006: xv-xvii, xx, 114-115; Jay 1992: 2, 4, 75, 2000: 157, 190-195; Λουκάτος 1992: 106-108, 113-114; Arnovick 1999: 75-79, 82-83; Bourdieu 1999: 33-34; Σκαρτσής 1999: 23-29, 183-186; Χρηστίδης 2009: 53, 58; Ljung 2011: 31, 108).

Ως εκφώνηση η κατάρα κινείται στη σφαίρα του μαγικού και του οριακού, συνεπώς ο λόγος ως εκφώνημα θεωρείται μαγικός, έχοντας τη δυνατότητα να επηρεάσει την πορεία των πραγμάτων. Η πράξη της εκφώνησης ταυτίζεται με την πραγματοποίηση αυτής της πράξης, συνεπώς χαρακτηρίζεται από επιτελεστικότητα (Κυριακίδης 1923: 108, 111; Montagu 1967: 8, 35-52; Hughes 1991: 4, 7-9, 2006: xvi-xvii, 115; Jay 1992: 2, 2000: 193, 195; Λουκάτος 1992: 107; Σκαρτσής 1999: 23-26, 183-185; Arnovick 1999: 78, 82-83). Υπό αυτό το σκεπτικό, η κατάρα συνιστά μια *προσλεκτική πράξη* η οποία ταυτίζεται με την έκφραση της επικοινωνιακής πρόθεσης του ομιλητή, στοχεύει στην αναγνώριση και κατανόηση αυτής της πρόθεσης από την πλευρά του αποδέκτη, ενώ έχει συμβατική ισχύ η οποία καθορίζεται τόσο από τις εκάστοτε περιστάσεις επικοινωνίας όσο και από το γενικότερο σύστημα κοινωνικών και πολιτισμικών συμβάσεων της κοινότητας (Austin 1962: 105; Searle 1971: 39-42, 46; Levinson 1983: 237, 243-245).

Με την εκκοσμίκευση της κοινωνίας και την εξέλιξη της θρησκευτικής αντίληψης, η κατάρα υπέστη αλλαγές. Η θεία δίκη αντικαταστάθηκε από την καταδίκη και την αποδοκιμασία του προσώπου που καταριέται, με αποτέλεσμα τη δημιουργία μιας νέας λεκτικής δύναμης. Σε συγχρονικό δε επίπεδο, ο καταραστικός λόγος φαίνεται πως έχει μεταφερθεί από τον χώρο του ιερού και του μεταφυσικού σε έναν χώρο συμβατικό και καθημερινό. Ουσιαστικά, παρατηρείται μια σημασιολογική κίνηση από τη δήλωση στην ύβρη, καθώς επίσης και μια πραγματολογική αλλαγή από τη θρησκευτική – τελετουργική γλωσσική πράξη της κατάρας στον εκκοσμικευμένο, εκφραστικό υβριστικό λόγο (Montagu 1967: 48, 59; Hughes 1991: 4, 7, 256, 2006: 115; Jay 1992: 75; Arnovick 1999: 73-76, 86-92; Σκαρτσής 1999: 25).

4. Ο ΚΑΤΑΡΑΣΤΙΚΟΣ ΛΟΓΟΣ ΣΤ' ΑΠΕΡΑΘΟΥ ΝΑΞΟΥ

Η κατάρα στ' Απεράθου της Νάξου αντανακλά την επίδραση των βασικών συστατικών που γενικότερα περιγράφουν και ορίζουν τις επικοινωνιακές πράξεις. Πρόκειται για ένα κειμενικό είδος το οποίο άλλοτε απαντά αυτοτελώς και άλλοτε εγκιβωτίζεται σε άλλα είδη του προφορικού πολιτισμού της Νάξου (παραδόσεις, επωδές, τραγούδια κ.λπ.). Συνιστά αναπόσπαστο τμήμα της προφορικής επικοινωνίας των Απεραθιτών, το οποίο σχετίζεται με το ευρύτερο εξωγλωσσικό περιβάλλον, τις κοινωνικοπολιτισμικές νόρμες αλλά και τις ανταλλακτικές και συγκρουσιακές σχέσεις των μελών της έσω-ομάδας. Μάλιστα, τα μέλη της έξω-ομάδας, οι υπόλοιποι Ναξιώτες, αναγνωρίζουν ότι ο καταραστικός λόγος αποτελεί πολιτισμικό χαρακτηριστικό της απεραθίτικης κοινότητας αλλά και υφολογικό στοιχείο του τοπικού ιδιώματος. Η κατάρα απαντά επίσης σε γραπτά κείμενα (π.χ., σε νοταριακά έγγραφα), αλλά και στον ψηφιακό λόγο απεραθιτών χρηστών των μέσων κοινωνικής δικτύωσης (Γιαννούλη 2014; Ξεφτέρη 2017α, 2017β, 2018).

4.1 Η απεραθίτικη περιφραστική κατάρα

Η απεραθίτικη κατάρα εμφανίζει επιμέρους διαστάσεις, λειτουργίες και χρήσεις, η βασικότερη εκ των οποίων αφορά το ύφος επιτέλεσής της και τον συνακόλουθο προσλεκτικό της στόχο. Η μορφή και η κειμενική της οργάνωση παίζουν καθοριστικό ρόλο σε ό,τι αφορά την παραγωγή και την πρόσληψη της συνολικής σημασίας κατά την επικοινωνία. Παρατηρείται μια ποικιλία δεικτών οι οποίοι, σε συνάρτηση με τις παραμέτρους που γενικότερα ορίζουν τις επικοινωνιακές πράξεις, επιτρέπουν στον αποδέκτη (ή στο ακροατήριο) να αποκλείσει την πιθανότητα λανθασμένης πρόσληψης της προσλεκτικής ισχύος του εκφωνήματος: α) ο συνδυασμός του ρηματικού τρόπου (υποτακτικής) με επιφωνήματα (*άλι/αλλοί, ε/αι, ω, άμποτε*) και επιρρήματα (*που*) (1α-ι), β) η χρήση της υποτακτικής (*να/ας* + ρήμα) (1ια-ιβ), γ) το σχήμα *και πο' ν'* (= και που να) + παρατατικός (1ιγ), δ) η χρήση της προστακτικής (1ιδ) και ε) ποικίλα ελλειπτικά σχήματα (1ιε) (Ξεφτέρη 2017α: 941-947, 2018: 109-112; πρβ. Ljung 2011: 31-32, 108-110).

(1)   α.   *Άλι που να* μου *φέρου'* dη gακιά σου φωνή![1]
         β.   *Άλι που να καβαλικεύγεις* το μελίδακα και *να μη φτάνου'* da πόδια σου κάτω!
         γ.   *Ε που* να σου *χτυπήσει* κόρπος!
         δ.   *Αι που να σόρθει* το μορικάτο σου, κι είδα δε λες!;[2]
         ε.   *Ω που να μη λύσεις!*
         στ.   *Ω που να βουβαθεί* το στόμα τζη, μα ακόμα θα μιλεί, δε bάβγει;!
         ζ.   *Που* να σε *κάψει* η φωθιά!
         η.   *Που* να σε *κάψει* το κρομμύδι!
         θ.   Μα πού διάηκες, *που να* σε *πάει* βούργα, και δε do 'ξερα;!
         ι.   *Άμποτε* τέσσερις *να* σε *πάουσι*.[3]
         ια.   Η αβανιά *να 'ναι* μες στη μέση dου!
         ιβ.   *Ας μη ξαναφάς!*
         ιγ.   *Και πο' ν' είχες* μια φόλα!
         ιδ.   *Θώριε, Θεέ.*[4]
         ιε.   *Άμανος*! (< που να μείνεις δίχως μάνα)

Πρωτοτυπικά, το προτασιακό περιεχόμενο ενός καταραστικού εκφωνήματος είναι στιγματισμένο και οξύ, κατονομάζοντας έτσι μια *σοβαρή κάταρα* (1α, γ, ε, ζ, ι, ιβ, ιδ), προσλεκτικός στόχος της οποίας είναι η δήλωση της πρόθεσης του πομπού να επηρεάσει τη μοίρα του αποδέκτη, η απόδοση δικαιοσύνης και η διακήρυξη της τιμωρίας που θα επέλθει σε αυτόν λόγω της βλάβης που του προκάλεσε. Σε πολλές περιπτώσεις, ωστόσο, το περιεχόμενο του εκφωνήματος είναι εκφραστικό και βιωματικό, και προσλαμβάνεται από τους μετέχοντες ως μια *καλοπροαίρετη, αστεία ή αθώα κάταρα*, προσλεκτικός στόχος της οποίας είναι η έκφραση των συναισθημάτων και των στάσεων του πομπού, η ψυχολογική του εκτόνωση (1β, δ, στ, η, θ, ια, ιγ, ιε), το λογοπαίγνιο (1θ), η αποφυγή ή ο μετριασμός μιας σοβαρής κατάρας (1η, ιγ) κ.λπ. (Γιαννούλη 2014: 179-203; Ξεφτέρη 2017α: 932-950, 2017β: 167-168, 2018: 109-112; πρβ. Ljung 2011: 30, 108-110).

4.2 Η απεραθίτικη μονολεκτική κατάρα

Η μονολεκτική κατάρα αποτελεί ένα ελλειπτικό καταραστικό σχήμα, το οποίο πραγματώνεται με παράγωγα επίθετα με το πρόθημα α-, αλλά και σύνθετα επίθετα ή μετοχές παθητικού παρακειμένου απλών ή σύνθετων ρημάτων που δηλώνουν κάποια πάθηση ή βλάβη. Τα παραπάνω έχουν διττή σημασία: δηλώνουν είτε τη βλάβη που έχει υποστεί το πρόσωπο στο οποίο αναφέρεται το επίθετο ή η μετοχή (περιγραφική-αναφορική σημασία) [2α(i), β(i)] είτε τη βλάβη που καταριέται ο ομιλητής να πάθει το πρόσωπο στο οποίο αναφέρεται το επίθετο ή η μετοχή (εκφραστική-συγκινησιακή σημασία) [2α(ii), β(ii)]. Το ίδιο φαινόμενο απαντά και με ορισμένα ουσιαστικά τα οποία άλλες φορές δηλώνουν μια νόσο, μια βλάβη, τον φορέα, το μέσο ή το αντικείμενο που σχετίζεται με

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[1] Τα παραδείγματα ή τα παραθέματα για τα οποία δεν υπάρχει παραπομπή σε συγκεκριμένη γραπτή πηγή αποτελούν τμήμα του εθνογραφικού υλικού που συγκεντρώθηκε για την έρευνα.
[2] Ι.Λ.Ν.Ε., Κ.Ε.Ν.Δ.Ι., χφ. 561, σ. 469-470 (Απείρανθος Νάξου, Δ. Ζευγώλη, 1935).
[3] Ψηφιακή Βιβλιοθήκη «Πέργαμος», χφ. 368, σ. 44 (Απείρανθος Νάξου Κυκλάδων, Ε. Μακροπούλου, 1968).
[4] Ι.Λ.Ν.Ε., Κ.Ε.Ν.Δ.Ι., χφ. 561, σ. 174 (Απείρανθος Νάξου, Δ. Ζευγώλη, 1935).

μια βλάβη [2γ(i)], και άλλες φορές χρησιμοποιούνται ως κατάρες [2γ(ii)] (Ανδριώτης 1933: 193-195, 218-219; Οικονομίδης 1952: 234-235, 244, 255-256).[5]

(2)   α.   *αέραστος, -η, -ο*:
                i.   αυτός, -ή, -ό που πέθανε πρόωρα.
                ii. αυτός, -ή, -ό που μακάρι να πεθάνει πρόωρα.
        β.   *ανελαβοκεδημένος, -η, -ο*:
                i.   αυτός, -ή, -ό που κάηκε από αστραπή.
                ii. αυτός, -ή, -ό που μακάρι να καεί από αστραπή.
        γ.   *σάβανο, το*:
                i.   το νεκρικό σεντόνι | ό,τι καλύπτει κάποιον που θεωρείται ή είναι νεκρός.
                ii. αυτό (για ένδυμα) που μακάρι να το φορέσει κάποιος που θα είναι νεκρός.

Έχουν διατυπωθεί διάφορες απόψεις σε ό,τι αφορά την καταραστική σημασία αυτών των λέξεων. Κατ' άλλους, η έννοια της κατάρας δεν σχετίζεται με την ίδια τη λέξη (ότι είναι δηλαδή πολύσημη), αλλά με την ψυχική διάθεση (τονική και ψυχική ένταση) των συνομιλητών (Χατζιδάκις 1916: 233; Σκαρτσής 1999: 199). Σε ό,τι αφορά τις παθητικές μετοχές σημειώνεται ότι η αρχική παθητική τους σημασία επεκτάθηκε έτσι ώστε να δηλώνεται ότι το πρόσωπο στο οποίο αναφέρεται είναι άξιο να πάθει αυτό που λέει η μετοχή [π.χ., *αφορισμένος* (= ο άξιος αφορισμού)], ενώ βαθμιαία, λόγω ψυχολογικής πρόληψης, συμπεριλήφθηκε και η έννοια της κατάρας (π.χ., «Αυτός ο *αναθεματισμένος* τα κάνει αυτά», πρβ. «Που ανάθεμά τον!») [Τζάρτζανος 1989 (1928): 343-344]. Κατ' άλλους, η καταραστική σημασία αυτών των λέξεων οφείλεται στο γεγονός ότι οι ίδιες λέξεις απαντούν σε περιφραστικές κατάρες στις οποίες σηματοδοτείται αυτή η έννοια από συγκεκριμένες ρηματικές δομές (π.χ., «Να είσαι…», «Να σε δω…» κ.λπ.). Τέτοιου είδους δομές μπορούν εύκολα να παραλειφθούν λόγω της ψυχολογικής έντασης του προσώπου που εκφέρει την κατάρα. Έχοντας πια αυτόνομη παρουσία, οι λέξεις αυτές συμπυκνώνουν την καταραστική σημασία που πρωτοτυπικά θα εκφραζόταν μέσα στα πλαίσια της συγκεκριμένης ρηματικής δομής, έχοντας διαγράψει την εξής σημασιοσυντακτική πορεία (γραμματικοποίηση): «Αδικοσκοτωμένο να σε δω!» → «Αδικοσκοτωμένο!» → ο αδικοσκοτωμένος → «Αδικοσκοτωμένε!» (= που να αδικοσκοτωθείς!) (Κυριακίδης 1923: 117; Ανδριώτης 1933: 220-222; πρβ. Ljung 2011: 21, 108).

Πράγματι, και στο δικό μας εθνογραφικό παράδειγμα απαντούν τέτοιου είδους ρηματικές δομές, πυρήνας των οποίων είναι ένα λέξημα το οποίο δηλώνει κάποιο είδος νόσου, βλάβης ή παθήματος που υφίσταται ένα πρόσωπο (3α, β). Οι συγκεκριμένες παράγωγες και σύνθετες λέξεις χαρακτηρίζονται από σημασιολογική αδιαφάνεια, καθώς η σημασία δεν προκύπτει από τα επιμέρους συστατικά τους. Για παράδειγμα, στο (3α) η λέξη *κακοθάνατος* δεν αναφέρεται σε ένα συγκεκριμένο είδος θανάτου (τον κακό), αλλά στο πρόσωπο εκείνο που έχει υποστεί ένα σοβαρό ατύχημα και είναι βαριά τραυματισμένο, ετοιμοθάνατο ή νεκρό (δεδομένα που συνιστούν έναν *κακό* θάνατο). Χωρίς να μας δίνεται κάποια περικειμενική ή μεταγλωσσική ένδειξη για το εάν έχουν αποκτήσει καταραστική σημασία, τα λεξήματα αυτά φέρουν αρνητικό σημασιολογικό φορτίο, καθώς ανήκουν σε εκφωνήματα που είναι υφολογικά μαρκαρισμένα και σχετίζονται με συναισθηματικές πτυχές της γλωσσικής επικοινωνίας. Η λειτουργία τους είναι κατά βάση περιγραφική-αναφορική, δηλώνουν δηλαδή μια (αρνητικής έκφανσης) αντικειμενική κατάσταση, ενώ συμβάλλουν ως νέα πληροφορία στη συγκρότηση της πληροφοριακής δομής του καταραστικού εκφωνήματος, του οποίου η λειτουργία είναι προθετική και συνολικά προκαλεί λεκτική διέγερση (Μότσιου 1994: 142-143; Καμηλάκη et al. 2016: 7-8).

(3)   α.   Που να σε φέρουνε *κακοθάνατο*!
        β.   Που να πας *αδικοθάνατος*!

Ένα πολύ μεγάλο ποσοστό αυτών των λέξεων, ωστόσο, απαντά ως συμπλήρωμα σε περιφραστικές κατάρες. Σύμφωνα δε με τα ερμηνευτικά σχόλια που παρατίθενται στις γραπτές πηγές αλλά και τα μεταγλωσσικά σχόλια των πληροφορητών, το περιεχόμενό τους είναι καταραστικό, συνιστώντας πυκνώσεις αντίστοιχων περιφραστικών καταραστικών εκφωνημάτων. Οι λέξεις αυτές άλλοτε προηγούνται (4α, ε) και άλλοτε έπονται (4β-δ, στ-η) της περιφραστικής κατάρας,

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[5] Το φαινόμενο αυτό απαντά σε πολλές νεοελληνικές διαλέκτους, στη Μεσαιωνική αλλά και την Αρχαία Ελληνική (βλ. σχετικά Ανδριώτης 1933: 193-195, 221-222).

ενώ το θεματικό τους περιεχόμενο είναι το ίδιο (4β-δ), συναφές (4α) ή τελείως διαφορετικό (4ε-η) από αυτό του υπόλοιπου εκφωνήματος. Λειτουργούν ως προσφωνήσεις (4α-γ, ε, στ, η), ως επιβεβαιώσεις της προηγηθείσας περιφραστικής κατάρας (4γ) και ως ονοματικές αναφορές (4δ, ζ), συνιστώντας μια δεδομένη (4α-δ) ή μια νέα (4ε-η) πληροφορία.

(4) α. Μουρέ, *αδικοθάνατε*, που να κακοθανατίσεις [...].[6]
     β. Που να πάρουν οι διαόλοι τη ψυχή σου, *διαολόψυχη*.[7]
     γ. Που να πεσ' αστροπελέκι απάνω σου και να σε κεδήσει. *Αστροπελεκοκεδημένο*![8]
     δ. Ω που ν' αφροκοπήσει κι' ευτός *αφροκοπισμένος*.[9]
     ε. Ω *κακοθάνατη*, που να σε φαν' οι θανατούλες.
     στ. Άλι που να 'ναι οι διαόλοι μες στα δυο σου μάτια... *καμοχείλη*!
     ζ. Που να μη βρεθή παιδί στα θάνατά dου *του χιλιαναθεμένου*.[10]
     η. Που να μη χαρείς τη μάνα σου, *καμοσώθη, καμοχείλη, καμοδαύλη*!

Οι λέξεις αυτές δεν περιγράφουν ένα γεγονός ή μια κατάσταση, αλλά εκφράζουν τη βούληση του ομιλητή να προκληθεί ένα γεγονός ή μια κατάσταση (μια μορφή βλάβης) στον αποδέκτη. Η σημασία τους, ωστόσο, δεν κινείται πάντα μέσα στα πλαίσια του κυριολεκτικού, του πραγματικού ή του εφικτού, αλλά έχει και μεταφορικές συσχετίσεις και εικονοποιητικούς παραλληλισμούς (Jay 1992: 12; Ljung 2011: 14-18; Καμηλάκη et al. 2016: 34-36). Για παράδειγμα, στο (4δ) η λέξη *αφροκοπισμένος* δηλώνει το πρόσωπο εκείνο που καταριέται ο ομιλητής να αφρίσει όπως η θάλασσα, δηλαδή να πάθει επιληπτική κρίση. Λόγω της σημασιολογικής τους επέκτασης (επιδείνωσης ουσιαστικά) οι λέξεις αυτές συνιστούν *δυσφημισμούς* (Jay 1992: 1-15; Καμηλάκη et al. 2016: 14-15), και πιο συγκεκριμένα *μονολεκτικές κατάρες* οι οποίες λειτουργούν ως επιτατικοί δείκτες προσλεκτικής ισχύος. Πολλές φορές μάλιστα, παρατηρείται η συσσώρευσή τους μέσα στο εκφώνημα, η οποία εντείνει το καταραστικό φορτίο, ενώ αποτελεί σαφή ένδειξη ότι επικοινωνιακός στόχος του ομιλητή είναι η νομή της μοίρας του αντιπάλου του, η τιμωρία του με κάθε τρόπο και με κάθε μέσο. Για παράδειγμα, στο (4η) οι μονολεκτικές κατάρες αναλύονται ως εξής: «Που να μη χαρείς τη μάνα σου, *να σου καούν τα σωθικά, να σου καούν τα χείλη* (να βιώσεις δηλαδή μια ανείπωτη συμφορά), *να καείς σαν τον δαυλό*».

Οι μονολεκτικές κατάρες φέρουν τα χαρακτηριστικά των λέξεων-ταμπού. Κινούνται σε θεματικές περιοχές οι οποίες κοινωνικοπολιτισμικά έχουν καθοριστεί ως μολυσμένες, στιγματισμένες και απαγορευμένες, συνεπώς περιορίζονται σε μια συγκεκριμένη γλωσσική πράξη (την κατάρα) όπου ο αποδέκτης της τοποθετείται (ή απειλείται να τοποθετηθεί) εκτός των ορίων της έσω-ομάδας. Πιο συγκεκριμένα, το σημασιολογικό τους περιεχόμενο εντάσσεται σε ένα συνεχές στο ένα άκρο του οποίου απαντούν λέξεις που σχετίζονται με το «ιερό», τη θρησκεία και το υπερφυσικό, το δίπολο «θεός-διάβολος» και το στάτους του ατόμου ως προς αυτό, και στο άλλο άκρο λέξεις που αφορούν το στάτους του ατόμου ως προς το «ανίερο» και το χυδαίο, τα γεννητικά όργανα, τη γενετήσια πράξη, τα περιττώματα, τις ασθένειες, τον θάνατο, τα ζώα, τα κοινωνικά στερεότυπα κ.λπ. (Hughes 1991: 3-5, 10-11, 2006: xviii-xix; Jay 2000: 153, 194-197; Ljung 2011: 5-8, 35-44, 132-137; Καμηλάκη et al. 2016: 3, 12-13). Συχνός, επίσης, είναι ο συνδυασμός θεματικών κατηγοριών (Ljung 2011: 36-37, 132). Για παράδειγμα, τα συστατικά μέρη της λέξης *διαολοβύζα* συνδυάζουν τις θεματικές κατηγορίες του «ιερού» (δίπολο «θεός-διάβολος») και του «ανίερου» (γενετήσια ζώνη, γεννητικά όργανα).[11]

Η αυτόνομη παρουσία καταραστικών λέξεων καταγράφεται σε μικρότερο βαθμό σε εκφωνήματα όπως: «Ω *διαολόψυχε*!», «Ω το *χιλιαναθεμένο*!», «Βρε *κακοθάνατε* και *αδικοσκοτωμένε*!», «Ω το *βισσίτη*! Ω το *βισσίτη*! Τον *αναθεμένο*, το *βισσίτη*!!» κ.λπ., τα οποία συνιστούν γλωσσικές πράξεις (βλ. επίσης 4γ; Ljung 2011: 30). Η στιγματισμένη (καταραστική) τους σημασία αναγνωρίζεται τόσο από τον αποδέκτη όσο και από το πιθανό ακροατήριο, όπως φαίνεται και στο ακόλουθο σχόλιο ενός πληροφορητή μας:

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[6] Οικονομίδης (1952: 258).

[7] Ι.Λ.Ν.Ε., Κ.Ε.Ν.Δ.Ι., χφ. 444, σ. 126 (Απείρανθος Νάξου, Δ. Ζευγώλη, 1926).

[8] Ι.Λ.Ν.Ε., Κ.Ε.Ν.Δ.Ι., χφ. 571, σ. 111 (Απείρανθος Νάξου, Δ. Ζευγώλη, 1936-1937).

[9] Ι.Λ.Ν.Ε., Κ.Ε.Ν.Δ.Ι., χφ. 440 σ. 103 (Απείρανθος Νάξου, Δ. Ζευγώλη, 1925).

[10] Ι.Λ.Ν.Ε., Κ.Ε.Ν.Δ.Ι., χφ. 571, σ. 721 (Απείρανθος Νάξου, Δ. Ζευγώλη, 1936-1937).

[11] Σχετικά με τη θέση του μαστού ως μέρους του ανθρώπινου σώματος που σχετίζεται με τη γενετήσια ζώνη και λειτουργία, βλ. Καμηλάκη et al. (2016: 72).

(5) Επά οι αθρώποι σκοτώνουδάνε απάνω στσοι κάταρες. Να πκιαστούν στα χέρια, να σκοτωθού 'ια τη gάταρα. «*Κακοθάνατε! Κακοθάνατε, αδικοφονεμένε! Κακοθάνατε!*». *Να σε φέρου' gαι καλά κακοθάνατο.*

Σε πολλές περιπτώσεις, οι μονολεκτικές κατάρες απαντούν σε εκφωνήματα τα οποία δεν συνιστούν κατά τα άλλα κατάρες αλλά κάποιο άλλο είδος γλωσσικής πράξης. Ο προσδιορισμός τους ως τέτοιων βρίσκεται σε συνάρτηση με το φυσικό και ψυχολογικό περιβάλλον της εκφώνησης, την προθετικότητα του ομιλητή, το είδος της σχέσης των μετεχόντων στην επικοινωνία, το ύφος της εκφοράς, αλλά και τις γενικότερες νόρμες διάδρασης και ερμηνείας της απεραθίτικης κοινότητας. Για παράδειγμα, στο (6) η λέξη *αέραστος* λειτουργεί ως κατάρα («Για κοίταξέ το, *που να μη γεράσει*, πώς με πειράζει»), σημειώνεται όμως ότι η ίδια λέξη μπορεί να χρησιμοποιηθεί για να εκφραστεί όχι μόνο η οργή, η κακία και η τιμωρητική διάθεση του ομιλητή, αλλά η ήπια αποδοκιμασία, η οικειότητα, η αγάπη, ακόμα και η υπερηφάνεια του για το πρόσωπο στο οποίο αναφέρεται.

(6) Ια ξάνοιξε τ' *αέραστο* πως με πιλαθιάζει.[12]

Σε κάθε περίπτωση, προσλεκτικός στόχος αυτών των λεξημάτων είναι η εμφατική επικοινώνηση των βιωμάτων, των αντιλήψεων, των συναισθημάτων και των στάσεων των ομιλητών απέναντι σε ένα άτομο, ένα γεγονός ή μια κατάσταση, και η ψυχολογική τους εκτόνωση και κάθαρση, η οποία προκύπτει από την απελευθέρωση λεκτικής ενέργειας. Συνεπώς, η σημασία τους δεν είναι περιγραφική-αναφορική, αλλά εκφραστική, συγκινησιακή και συνυποδηλωτική, καθώς προστίθενται σε αυτήν ιδιαίτερες σημασιολογικές αποχρώσεις που προκαλούν λεκτική διέγερση. Λαμβάνοντας δε υπόψη τις θεματικές κατηγορίες και τις κοινωνικοπολιτισμικές τους συσχετίσεις (Γιαννούλη 2014; Ξεφτέρη 2014, 2017α), τα λεξήματα αυτά λειτουργούν ως ενδείκτες που συνδέουν το εκάστοτε μήνυμα με το καταστασιακό και πολιτισμικό του πλαίσιο, κατασκευάζοντας εντέλει ταυτότητες που στοχεύουν στη συνοχή της έσω-ομάδας (βλ. ενδεικτικά 8α; πρβ. Jay 1992: 10-11, 2000: 11; Μότσιου 1994: 140 κ.εξ.; Ljung 2011: 21-23; Καμηλάκη et al. 2016: 7-10).

Αυτό που είναι ενδιαφέρον είναι ότι, με βάση τις γραπτές πηγές, οι οποίες χρονολογούνται ήδη από τις αρχές του προηγούμενου αιώνα (1925 και εντεύθεν), το εθνογραφικό μας υλικό και τα μεταγλωσσικά σχόλια των πληροφορητών, οι μονολεκτικές κατάρες φαίνεται πως ακολουθούν ένα μοτίβο σημασιολογικής και πραγματολογικής αλλαγής, το οποίο απαντά επίσης και στις περιφραστικές κατάρες: αποφορτίζονται (αποχρωματίζονται) σημασιολογικά.[13] Πιο συγκεκριμένα, οι λέξεις αυτές εντάσσονται σε εκφωνήματα επικοινωνιακός στόχος των οποίων είναι η έκφραση της οικειότητας (7α, β), του θαυμασμού (7β-στ), της έκπληξης (7ζ, η), της απορίας (7θ, ι), της αποδοκιμασίας (με όλες τις επιμέρους διαβαθμίσεις της) (7ια-ιστ), της ειρωνείας (7ιζ), της απειλής (7ιη), της εντολής-προσταγής (7ιγ, ιθ, κ), του αστεϊσμού (7ι, κα) κ.λπ. του ομιλητή προς το πρόσωπο στο οποίο απευθύνεται ή αναφέρεται. Για παράδειγμα, στο (7β) η λέξη *daboύρα* αποτελεί δείκτη θετικής ευγένειας: ο ομιλητής προσφωνεί τη συνομιλήτριά του *daboύρα*, έχοντας βεβαιωθεί για την οικεία και φιλική της διάθεση (αποτελεί μέλος της έσω-ομάδας). Σ' αυτή την περίπτωση, το στιγματισμένο φορτίο της λέξης *daboύρα* (= που να daβουριαστείς) αντιστρέφεται σε θετικό, σε μια χαϊδευτική και φιλική προσφώνηση (= κούκλα μου) (σημασιολογική μεταβολή επί τα βελτίω). Η προσφώνηση στοχεύει στην προσέλκυση της προσοχής της συνομιλήτριας, στη διαμόρφωση ενός κλίματος οικειότητας, φιλικότητας και αλληλεγγύης, στη μείωση της κοινωνικής απόστασης και εντέλει στην ενίσχυση των δεσμών συνοχής της έσω-ομάδας (βλ. επίσης 8α; πρβ. Jay 1992: 8, 13; Καμηλάκη et al. 2016: 10-11, 22, 39).

(7) α. Ια φαντάσου τη μες στη σάλα, να τση φέρνει τυραθότυρα και σύκα η Σ... του Φ... και να τση λέει «Μουρέ, φάε δα μια 'υχιά, *daboύρα*».
β. Ω *daboύρα*, τίνος είσαι *daboύρα*;
γ. Για δες ο *dabουρόσκυλος*, η εξυπνάδα dου!
δ. Είναι τούτη μια *διαολοβύζα*! Αποτσιπωμένη!
ε. Ω το *βαλογδαρμένο* έξυπνο πούναι![14]

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[12] Ι.Λ.Ν.Ε., Κ.Ε.Ν.Δ.Ι., χφ. 440, σ. 28 (Απείρανθος Νάξου, Δ. Ζευγώλη, 1925).
[13] Κάτι αντίστοιχο παρατηρεί και η Μουστάκη στο Φιλώτι της Νάξου (2011: 47).
[14] Ι.Λ.Ν.Ε., Κ.Ε.Ν.Δ.Ι., χφ. 440, σ. 161 (Απείρανθος Νάξου, Δ. Ζευγώλη, 1925).

στ. Ω *διαολοβύζη* κι είντα δε λες; Και πού τα βρίσκεις ευτά bου λες;![15]

ζ. Ω το *φωθιοκεδημένο* ιδά 'καμε!!

η. Για 'ε ένας *κακοθάνατος* που φάνηκε!

θ. Μουρέ μ' *αδικοσκοτωμένε*, μα ιδά 'χεις πάλι;!

ι. Βρε *χιλιαναθεμένοι*, απ' το Βειραιά και πάνω τα ξέρουσιν ευτά που λέμε μεις επά;!

ια. Καυχιέται ο *κακοθάνατος* πως έχει 'εμάτο το σπίτι dου με σκατολοήματα…

ιβ. Βρε τη *σκυλοαυλισμένη*, πώς κάμει ετσά;

ιγ. Μωρέ σώπα, *κακοπεσμένε*!

ιδ. Ω, ιδά 'πε πάλι το *φαουσασμένο* dου στόμα!

ιε. Η *πισσίτα*, η παλιοϋναίκα!

ιστ. Ο *σκατόψυχος*, ο παλιάθρωπος!

ιζ. Ω η *daboύρα* κι' εφτή ωμορφοπάρετζη πουνε;[16]

ιη. Α! μωρή *dabουρορώα* και λες το και δε θα σε πιάσω![17]

ιθ. *Καμοχείλη, κακοθάνατε*, μωρ' έλα πα, *καμοχείλη*!

κ. Έλα *διαολοβύζη* να φας κι' απέκιο φεύγεις πάλι.[18]

κα. Ω *πισσίτη*!! Ω *χιλιαναθεμένε*!!

Οι λέξεις αυτές αποτελούν αξιολογικούς χαρακτηρισμούς οι οποίοι προσδίδουν θετικές (7α-στ, ι, ιγ, ιθ, κα) ή αρνητικές[19] (7ζ, θ, ια, ιβ, ιδ-ιη, κ) ιδιότητες στο πρόσωπο στο οποίο αναφέρονται, σύμφωνα με τις αντιλήψεις της κοινότητας για το πώς αξιολογούνται συγκεκριμένες συμπεριφορές. Λειτουργούν: α) ως προσφωνήσεις που απευθύνονται προς ένα πρόσωπο που είναι παρόν και έχει συμβάλει στην επικοινωνία με λόγια ή πράξεις (7α, β, στ, θ, ι, ιγ, ιη-κα), β) ως προσφωνήσεις που αναφέρονται σε ένα πρόσωπο, η παρουσία ή η συμβολή του οποίου προϋποτίθεται περικειμενικά (7ιε, ιστ), γ) ως κατηγορηματικές δηλώσεις απόδοσης ενός αξιολογικού χαρακτηρισμού (7δ), δ) ως ονοματικές αναφορές (7γ, ε, ζ, ια, ιβ, ιζ) και ε) ως γεμίσματα (slot fillers) που έχουν ως στόχο την απόδοση έμφασης στην αξιολόγηση του ομιλητή (7ιδ). Επίσης, σε κάποιες περιπτώσεις φαίνεται πως κάποιες λέξεις ουδετεροποιούνται, κατονομάζοντας ένα πρόσωπο του οποίου δεν είναι γνωστή η ταυτότητα (δεικτική λειτουργία) (7η). Συνεπώς, η λειτουργία τους είναι συμπληρωματική, εισαγωγική, παρενθετική και σχολιαστική (εμφατική) στο κυρίως μήνυμα του εκφωνήματος, συνεπώς δεν επικοινωνούν αντικειμενικές πληροφορίες σε ό,τι αφορά το προτασιακό του περιεχόμενο, αλλά αμιγώς κοινωνικές και εκφραστικές σημασίες (αντιλήψεις, συναισθήματα, στάσεις) (Jay 1992: 7-8, 2000: 193; Ljung 2011: 20-23, 30-34, 124-128).

Το μεγαλύτερο ποσοστό από τις καταγεγραμμένες μονολεκτικές κατάρες αποτελεί αναπόσπαστο τμήμα του επικοινωνιακού ρεπερτορίου των μελών της απεραθίτικης κοινότητας,[20] συγκροτώντας πια μια δεξαμενή υβριστικού λόγου. Οι λέξεις αυτές διατηρούν το στάτους τους ως λέξεων-ταμπού, ωστόσο ο βαθμός προσβλητικότητάς τους φαίνεται πως ατονεί. Βέβαια, πολλοί πληροφορητές σχολίασαν ότι κάποιες από αυτές τις λέξεις (π.χ., *αδικοθάνατος, αδικοσκοτωμένος, αδικοβλημωμένος, αδικοφονεμένος, κακόφωνος* κ.λπ.) εξακολουθούν να έχουν κυρίως καταραστικό φορτίο, ενώ κάποιες άλλες (π.χ., *κακοθάνατος, καμοσώθης, καμοχείλης, πισσίτης, φωθιοκαμένος,*

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[15] Ι.Λ.Ν.Ε., Κ.Ε.Ν.Δ.Ι., χφ. 447, σ. 348 (Απείρανθος Νάξου, Δ. Ζευγώλη, 1926-1928).

[16] Ι.Λ.Ν.Ε., Κ.Ε.Ν.Δ.Ι., χφ. 440, σ. 272 (Απείρανθος Νάξου, Δ. Ζευγώλη, 1925).

[17] Ι.Λ.Ν.Ε., Κ.Ε.Ν.Δ.Ι., χφ. 561, σ. 398 (Απείρανθος Νάξου, Δ. Ζευγώλη, 1935).

[18] Ι.Λ.Ν.Ε., Κ.Ε.Ν.Δ.Ι., χφ. 447, σ. 347 (Απείρανθος Νάξου, Δ. Ζευγώλη, 1926-1928).

[19] Στην περίπτωση αυτή, θα μπορούσαν να χαρακτηριστούν ως υποτιμητικοί, μειωτικοί ή προσβλητικοί όροι, ως επίθετα/προσωνύμια (epithets) (Jay 1992: 7-8, 2000: 193; Ljung 2011: 32-34, 125).

[20] Όπως διαπιστώθηκε από τις συνεντεύξεις, ένας μικρός αριθμός από τις καταγεγραμμένες μονολεκτικές κατάρες ήταν άγνωστος στους πληροφορητές σε ό,τι αφορά τη σημασία και τη χρήση τους (π.χ., *αγελοβαρημένος, λουβιασμένος, dabουρόρχης, ρεψόσκωτος* κ.λπ.). Παρόλο που η καταραστική τους σημασία είναι παρωχημένη, οι λέξεις αυτές συνιστούν έναν δείκτη σχετικά με την εξέλιξη των ηθών και των στάσεων της απεραθίτικης κοινότητας απέναντι στις δυνάμεις που διατηρούν, αλλάζουν ή απειλούν τη ζωή σε όλες της τις εκφάνσεις (Hughes 1991: 11; Ljung 2011: 109; Καμηλάκη et al. 2016: 3). Είναι ενδιαφέρον επίσης ότι, ενώ κάποιες μονολεκτικές κατάρες έχουν ατονήσει ως προς τη χρήση τους (π.χ., *ανελαβισμένος, λαδοπαημένος, λοιμικιασμένος* κ.λπ.), η περιφραστική τους πραγμάτωση διατηρείται (π.χ., «Που να σε φάει η *ανελαβή*», «Άλι που να σε πάει *λάδι*», «Που να τονε κόψει η *λοιμική*»).

χιλιαναθεμένος κ.λπ.) φέρουν υπολείμματα της καταραστικής τους σημασίας, τα οποία μπορούν να επηρεάσουν την κατανόηση της προσλεκτικής ισχύος του εκφωνήματος:

(8) α. Με θωρεί λοιπόν η Μ... [...] Εκείνη λοιπόν γεννήθηκε στο χωριό, που η Μ... (η μητέρα της) ήτονε απ' τη Βάρο, γιατ' ήτονε επά δασκάλα, και εξάνοιε λοιπόν όρτσα λαπάδα να πει μερικές απεραθίτικες λέξεις. Μου λέει λοιπόν μες στο πούλμα: «Ω *κακοθάνατε, μα 'πα είσαι;*» Αυτή λοιπόν η γυναίκα εκείνη τη στιγμή δε μου το 'πε με την έννοια της κατάρας. Εμένα δε μού 'ρεσε όμως... Δε μού 'ρεσε. [...] Εκείνη, ο συλλοϊσμός τση προφανώς ήτονε ότι *να πω κάτι δα απεραθίτικο κι εώ, να φανώ δα κι εώ στον Απεραθίτη Απεραθίτισσα.* Κι επειδή λοιπόν ήξερε τη λέξη *κακοθάνατος* πως κυριαρχεί στο χωριό, χωρίς να καταλάβει, ασυναίσθητα, χωρίς να καταλάβει οτί 'ναι μια λέξη που δεν ηχεί ευχάριστα στ' αυτιά τ' αλλονού κι ότι είναι μια κατάρα, μέ 'πε *κακοθάνατο*, όπου δε μού 'ρεσε καθόλου βέβαια.
     β. Δε το λένε για κατάρα, αλλά δεν είναι και καλό να πεις, ας πούμε: «*Καμοχείλη*», «Ω *dαβουρόσκυλε*», ας πούμε. Δεν είναι κατάρα, αλλά δεν είναι πάλι και όμορφο το *καμοχείλη.* Ε «*dαβουρόσκυλος*» το πάει… Αλλά *καμοχείλης* είναι… δε ξέρω… σα να 'χει μέσα κατάρα το *καμοχείλης*... Το *καμοχείλης* είναι καμός, που να καεί τ' αχείλι τζη, ας πούμε...

Σε αυτή την περίπτωση, η πρόσληψή τους ως καταραστικών ή υβριστικών λέξεων βρίσκεται σε συνάρτηση με το φυσικό, καταστασιακό και ψυχολογικό περιβάλλον της εκφώνησης, όπως αυτά στοιχειοθετούνται από τους μετέχοντες στην επικοινωνία. Ουσιαστικά, οι μετέχοντες ορίζουν το ύφος της επιτέλεσης (ανεπίσημο, οικείο, αστείο, σοβαρό, καταραστικό, εχθρικό, υβριστικό, ειρωνικό, επικριτικό κ.λπ.) και κάνουν τις αντίστοιχες επιλογές σε ό,τι αφορά το κανάλι επικοινωνίας, τη μορφή του μηνύματος, αλλά και τα παραγλωσσικά (επιτονικά σχήματα) και εξωγλωσσικά στοιχεία (κινήσεις σώματος, χειρονομίες) που θα το συνοδεύσουν. Όλα τα παραπάνω βρίσκονται σε συνάρτηση με το συγκείμενο, το θέμα, τις επικοινωνιακές προθέσεις των μετεχόντων, την ατομική και εθνοτική τους ταυτότητα, τη στάση τους απέναντι στις διαδραστικές συνήθειες και την κοσμοθεωρία της έσω-ομάδας, το κοινωνικό τους στάτους και, κυρίως, το είδος της σχέσης (σχετικής ισχύος και κοινωνικής απόστασης) που υπάρχει ανάμεσά τους (Jay 1992: 9-10, 12-13, 2000: 148-149; Ljung 2011: 4-5; Γιαννούλη 2014: 201; Καμηλάκη et al. 2016: 9, 23-27):

(9) α. – *Καμοσώθη, αδικοβληωμένε...* Κάτι κάταρες που τσ' εκάνανε οι... Και dω' βαιδιώ' τα λέανε οι περισσότερες μανάδες που ήτονε... δεν ήτανε φρόνιμα. Ελαφριά πράματα ειν' αυτά.
         – Όχι, δεν είναι καθόλου ελαφρύ! Άμα το πεις στ' αστείο, είναι ελαφρύ. Αλλά άμα dο πεις με το νου σου, δεν είναι...
     β. Άμα dω τώρα 'ω μια ωραία κοπέλα, θα τση πω: «Ω *κακοθάνατη*, καλή που 'σαι». Αλλά έχει άλλη έννοια το ένα *κακοθάνατη* απ' το άλλο. Ενώ άμα τσακωθούνε δύο, θα πει η μια τσ' αλλονής: «Μωρή *κακοθάνατη*!» Εκεί 'ναι κατάρα.
     γ. Και είχανε και ένα άλλο. Ήθε' να πούνε: «Ω το *κακοθάνατο* καλό που 'ναι». Είναι αυτό το ξεχωριστό που έχουν. Ή θα πει, ας πούμε: «Ω *καμόχειλα*!», θα πει, «καλή που 'σαι». Αυτό όμως είναι μια κατάρα χωρίς να το καταλαβαίνει, δε dο λέει δηλαδή να καταραστεί, όμως είναι κατάρα. [...] Δεν είναι ότι το λέει 'ια να πει, να καταραστεί. Το λέει σαν αστείο, αλλά ειν' αυτή η προφορά (ενν. το επιτονικό σχήμα) που θα πει.
     δ. *Dαβουρόσκυλος…* Είναι ανάμεσα… Αυτό είναι σα καλαβουριστική βρισιά. Είναι καλαβουριστική βρισιά, όχι με κακία. Δεν είν' ωραίο που το λέει κανείς, 'ιατί bορεί να πει κανείς «μάτι μη dο πκιάσει» και να μη dο πει, αλλά το 'χου', τα λένε τα παλιά.
     ε. «Ω, ο *dαβούρης* καλός που 'ναι», θα πούνε, ας πούμε, κάτι τέθοιο ετσά 'ια 'δε πάει, όχι, δεν είναι κατάρα. Ετσά το λένε, σα κοπλιμέδα. Τα κοπλιμέδα ήτονε δα, ήτον' ευτά τα παλιά χρόνια. Σα που θα σε δούνε τώρα και θα πούνε: «Ω μάτι μη dη πιάσει μια gοπέλα», τότες ελέανε ευτά 'ια 'ε τα ζαβά.

Ενδεικτικό της μείωσης του βαθμού προσβλητικότητας των λέξεων αυτών είναι η τάση των ομιλητών να επιλέγουν αντίστοιχα περιφραστικά εκφωνήματα, προκειμένου να εκφέρουν μια κατάρα:

(10) α. «Ω καλή που 'ν' η *daboύρα*», δε do λέανε, ας πούμε, σα gάταρα, αλλά άμαν ήθελε
        bεις: «Άλι που να dabουριαστείς», ήτονε κάταρα.
     β. Διαφορετικά θα πει, άμα λες, να το πούμε, φιλοφρόνηση, θα πεις: «Ω το
        καμοχείλικο», ενώ άμα bεις κατάρα, θα πει: «Ω που να καεί τ' αχείλι του».

Αν υποθέταμε ότι υπάρχει ένα συνεχές υβριστικού λεξιλογίου, στο ένα άκρο του οποίου τοποθετούνται λέξεις με αυξημένο βαθμό προσβλητικότητας (καταραστικές) και στο άλλο άκρο λέξεις με μειωμένο βαθμό προσβλητικότητας (υβριστικές), οι μονολεκτικές κατάρες φαίνεται πως μετακινούνται προς τις υβριστικές λέξεις, οι οποίες έχουν ασφαλώς επιμέρους διαβαθμίσεις ως προς την προσλεκτική τους ισχύ (Jay 2000: 153, 155, 190; Ljung 2011: 8-9; Καμηλάκη et al. 2016: 13-14). Η σημασία τους δεν είναι περιγραφική-αναφορική ούτε κυριολεκτική, καθώς στο μεγαλύτερο ποσοστό τους αφορούν καταστάσεις που σχετίζονται με το ανέφικτο και το πρακτικά αδύνατο (Hughes 2006: xvii-xviii). Η σημασία τους ωστόσο δεν είναι ούτε μεταφορική, αλλά κατεξοχήν συνυποδηλωτική και εκφραστική, αντανακλώντας την ψυχική διάθεση του ομιλητή μέσα στο πλαίσιο των ανταλλακτικών και συγκρουσιακών του σχέσεων με τα άλλα μέλη της κοινότητας. Συνεπώς, λειτουργούν βιωματικά ως πραγματολογικοί ενδείκτες της υποκειμενικής στάσης του ομιλητή απέναντι στο εκφώνημά του, αλλά και ως δείκτες οικειότητας και αλληλεγγύης (πρβ. Jay 1992: 10, 2000: 11; Ljung 2011: 14-18, 21-23; Καμηλάκη et al. 2016: 13).

Το ενδιαφέρον είναι ότι οι λέξεις αυτές είναι μαρκαρισμένες ως προς αυτή τη σημασία, πράγμα που επιτρέπει την εναλλαγή τους με άλλες λέξεις οι οποίες, παρόλο που δεν είναι συνώνυμες ως προς την περιγραφική-αναφορική τους σημασία, είναι συνώνυμες ως προς το συγκινησιακό τους φορτίο και το εκφραστικό τους νόημα, είναι δηλαδή υφολογικά ισοδύναμες (Ljung 2011: 13-14). Για παράδειγμα, η έκφραση θαυμασμού για την ομορφιά, την εξυπνάδα και τη συμπεριφορά μιας κοπέλας ή ενός νέου μπορεί να πραγματωθεί με μια ποικιλία λέξεων (υπό μορφή προσφώνησης ή αναφοράς) που έχουν την ίδια ακριβώς λειτουργία:

(11) α. Ω που να σο 'ρθει κόρπος, *κακοθάνατη*, καλή που 'σαι!
     β. Ω καλή που 'ν' η *daboύρα*!
     γ. Ω καλή που 'ν' η *dabουροβύζα*!
     δ. Ω η *bαλοφαωμένη* κι ίδα δεν ηξέρει!
     ε. Ω το *daboύρικο*, καλό που 'ναι το κοπελουδάκι ευτό!
     στ. Ε το *dablοσκοτωμένο* καλό που 'ναι!
     ζ. Ω καλός που 'ναι ο *dabουρόσκυλος*!
     η. Ω όμορφος που 'ναι ο *κακοπεσμένος*!
     θ. Ω ο *καμοδαύλης* ωραίος που 'ναι!

Τέλος, οι λέξεις αυτές συνεχίζουν να διατηρούν τα φορμουλαϊκά τους χαρακτηριστικά, συνιστούν δηλαδή παγιωμένες λέξεις οι οποίες παρουσιάζουν: α) σημασιολογική αδιαφάνεια (π.χ., η εκφραστική-συνυποδηλωτική σημασία των σύνθετων λέξεων δεν προκύπτει από τη σημασία των επιμέρους συστατικών τους), β) περιορισμούς στη συντακτική τους ποικιλία (με βάση το υλικό μας, φαίνεται πως οι λέξεις αυτές δεν δέχονται προσδιοριστικά) και γ) περιορισμούς στη συμφραστική τους ποικιλία (δεν παρουσιάζουν σχέσεις συνωνυμίας αλλά σχέσεις υφολογικής ισοδυναμίας) (Hughes 2006: xix; Ljung 2011: 18-19).

5. ΣΥΜΠΕΡΑΣΜΑΤΑ
Με βάση τις παραπάνω προκαταρκτικές παρατηρήσεις, οι μονολεκτικές κατάρες φαίνεται πως υφίστανται σημασιολογική άμβλυνση και εξελίσσονται σε υβριστικές λέξεις (θετικού ή αρνητικού φορτίου). Παρόλο που διατηρούν τα μορφοσυντακτικά χαρακτηριστικά που παραπέμπουν στις αντίστοιχες περιφραστικές κατάρες, δεν αποτελούν πάντα πυκνώσεις ή ελλειπτικά σχήματα αυτών. Ο βαθμός προσβλητικότητάς τους έχει μειωθεί, ενώ ο βαθμός καταλληλότητάς τους έχει αυξηθεί, έχοντας σε κάθε περίπτωση βιωματικές, διαπροσωπικές και εκφραστικές σημασίες. Αυτό οφείλεται στο γεγονός ότι έχουν ενταχθεί πλήρως στο επικοινωνιακό ρεπερτόριο των ομιλητών. Η χρήση τους, δηλαδή, αφορά ένα ευρύτερο φάσμα περιστάσεων επικοινωνίας, οι οποίες, σε συνάρτηση και με τις υπόλοιπες παραμέτρους που ορίζουν τις επικοινωνιακές πράξεις, αποφορτίζουν τις λέξεις από τις στιγματισμένες τους συνδηλώσεις (Jay 1992: 14-15, 2000: 148-149; Καμηλάκη et al. 2016: 26-27). Αυτό σχετίζεται γενικότερα με τις κοινωνικά διαμορφωμένες διαθέσεις της γλωσσικής έξης (habitus) της απεραθίτικης κοινότητας, οι οποίες ως τάσεις και νόρμες διαμορφώνουν ένα ορισμένο πλαίσιο

αντίληψης το οποίο αναπαράγεται ασυνείδητα από τα μέλη της, τα οποία στη συνέχεια κατευθύνονται προς συγκεκριμένες γλωσσικές επιλογές (Bourdieu 1999: 50; Μουστάκη 2011: 47; Αυδίκος 2013: 215-221; Γιαννούλη 2014: 166, 198-201; Ξεφτέρη 2017α: 949-950, 2018: 119-120). Υπό αυτό το σκεπτικό, η ευρεία και συχνή χρήση τους τις καθιστά έναν αποτελεσματικό μηχανισμό απόδοσης έμφασης (σε συνδυασμό επίσης με σχετικά παραγλωσσικά και εξωγλωσσικά στοιχεία), τις μετασχηματίζει σε υφολογικό στοιχείο του τοπικού ιδιώματος και εν γένει στοιχείο ταυτότητας, και τις μεταφέρει σε ένα λιγότερο στιγματισμένο τμήμα του συνεχούς υβριστικού λόγου της κοινότητας. Το φαινόμενο αυτό φαίνεται πως απαντά ήδη από τις αρχές του προηγούμενου αιώνα (με βάση τις γραπτές πηγές και τα σχόλια των πληροφορητών) και είναι ακόμη σε εξέλιξη, καθώς παρουσιάζει διαβαθμίσεις και δεν αποκλείει την παράλληλη χρήση παλαιότερων (αμιγώς καταραστικών) και νεότερων σημασιών. Σε κάθε περίπτωση ωστόσο, παρατηρείται ένας προσανατολισμός προς τα έσω, ο οποίος ενισχύει σε μεγαλύτερο βαθμό την οπτική γωνία του ομιλητή απέναντι στο εκφώνημά του (subjectification) (Traugott 1995: 32-35, 46-47, 49; Μότσιου 1994: 142; Arnovick 1999: 89, 93; Ljung 2011: 20-21). Κάτι τέτοιο θα μπορούσε να αποτελεί ένδειξη για μια εν εξελίξει σημασιολογική και πραγματολογική αλλαγή, η οποία ωστόσο θα πρέπει να επιβεβαιωθεί με μια διαχρονική και συστηματική μελέτη του φαινομένου, η οποία θα βασίζεται σε ακόμη παλαιότερες γραπτές πηγές, όπως είναι τα νοταριακά έγγραφα και τα κείμενα εκκλησιαστικού αφορισμού, όπου η κατάρα συνιστά βασικό στοιχείο της ρητορικής τους δομής.

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Επίδραση του μηχανισμού της παραγωγής στην ερμηνεία: Εμπειρικά δεδομένα από χρωματικά παράγωγα της Νέας Ελληνικής

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ABSTRACT

This paper examines for the first time the semantic impact of the derivation mechanism on derivative words with basic colors in Modern Greek. The Berlin & Kay' s (1969) experiment was used to conduct the study, according to which, each language contains basic color categories, and for each color term there is a central value.

We attempted to (a) experimentally explore the semantic effect of the prefix *kata-* (eg, fully red) and the suffix *-opos* (eg, reddish) on interpretation; as well as to (b) find out whether color nouns differ from affixed nominalizations. As far as the prefix kata- is concerned, which is considered to be intensive (see, for example, Gavriilidou 2013), we would expect this derivate mechanism to create colors that are closer to the central value. On the other hand, as regards -opos, we can assume that this mechanism creates colors that deviate from the central value based on the color spectrum.

The results of the empirical research have shown that the speaker's estimation on derivative colors differs from that for the basic colors. More specifically, the derivative colors with the prefix kata- are located in darker hues compared with the respective basic colors, while those with the suffix -opos are presented in brighter shades of the color spectrum. This phenomenon may well be attributed to psychological parameters related to *value* or *saturation* of colours.

Λέξεις-κλειδιά: μορφολογία της Νέας Ελληνικής, παραγωγή, επίταση, πείραμα Berlin-Kay.

1. ΕΙΣΑΓΩΓΗ

Μία από τις μορφολογικές διαδικασίες, πέρα από την κλίση και τη σύνθεση, αποτελεί και η παραγωγή (derivation), δηλαδή η διαδικασία σχηματισμού νέων λέξεων, συνήθως με το συνδυασμό θεμάτων και παραγωγικών προσφυμάτων (Selkirk 1982, Ράλλη 2005: 138, Booij 2007: 51, Ξυδόπουλος 2008: 177, Lieber 2009: 33, Ralli 2013, Lieber & Štekauer 2014).[1] Τα παραγωγικά προθήματα και τα παραγωγικά επιθήματα είναι δυνατόν να είναι φορείς σημασίας και να τροποποιούν τη σημασία των θεμάτων στα οποία προστίθενται, χωρίς να αλλάζει η γραμματική κατηγορία.

Κατά τις τελευταίες δεκαετίες, το ζήτημα της σημασιολογικής επίδρασης των προσφυμάτων που προστίθενται σε βασικούς χρωματικούς όρους –και κυρίως εκείνων που έχουν επιτατική σημασία- έχει απασχολήσει τη βιβλιογραφία (βλ. ενδεικτικά Steinvall 2002, Kennedy & McNally 2005, 2010, Anderson 2011, Alexiadou 2013, Γαβριηλίδου 2013). Σε ό, τι αφορά στο πρόθημα *κατα-*, η Γαβριηλίδου (2013: 77) επισημαίνει ότι αυτό συχνά συνδυάζεται με χρωματικούς όρους (π.χ. *κατακίτρινο*) και ότι το παράγωγο χρώμα πλησιάζει τον πρωτοτυπικό πυρήνα της βάσης. Η ίδια κάνει λόγο για την ποιοτική παράμετρο (π.χ. απόχρωση, φωτεινότητα κλπ), σε αντίθεση με την ποσοτική, η οποία, όπως υποστηρίζεται, ισχύει για το πρόθημα *ολο-*.[2] Έτσι, θα περιμέναμε ο παραγωγικός αυτός μηχανισμός (*κατα-*) να δημιουργεί χρώματα τα οποία βρίσκονται πιο κοντά στην κεντρική τιμή. Αντίθετα, το επίθημα *–ωπός*, όπως προκύπτει μέσα από λεξικά της Νέας Ελληνικής (βλ. Μπαμπινιώτης 2002, Χρηστικό Λεξικό της Νεοελληνικής Γλώσσας, Τριανταφυλλίδης[3]), δηλώνει

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[1] Τα όρια μεταξύ σύνθεσης και παραγωγής δεν είναι πάντοτε ευδιάκριτα (βλ. Scalise 1984, Lieber 1992, Amiot 2005, Bauer 2005, Booij 2005, Ralli 2010, Olsen 2014). Παρ' όλα αυτά, με το ζήτημα αυτό δε θα ασχοληθούμε στην παρούσα έρευνα και θα θεωρήσουμε τα μελετώμενα γλωσσικά στοιχεία (*κατα-, -ωπός*) ως προσφύματα.

[2] Βλ. επίσης Kennedy & McNally (2010).

[3] http://www.komvos.edu.gr/dictionaries/dictonline/DictOnLineTri.htm

παραλλαγή του χρώματος ή έχει υποκοριστική σημασία και μπορούμε να κάνουμε την υπόθεση ότι ο μηχανισμός αυτός δημιουργεί χρώματα που αποκλίνουν από την κεντρική τιμή, με βάση το χρωματικό φάσμα.

Στόχος της παρούσας έρευνας είναι να εξεταστεί εάν και κατά πόσο η αντίληψη των εθελοντών για τα βασικά χρώματα διαφέρει από εκείνη που έχουν για τα παράγωγα χρώματα. Ειδικότερα, να υπολογιστεί με απόλυτη αριθμητική ακρίβεια το πώς λειτουργεί α) ένα παραγωγικό πρόθημα (*κατα-*), που σύμφωνα με τη βιβλιογραφία δεν επιφέρει αλλαγή στη βάση στην οποία προσκολλάται, πλησιάζοντας τον πρωτοτυπικό πυρήνα του χρώματος, και β) ένα επίθημα (*-ωπός*), το οποίο θεωρείται πως επιφέρει απόκλιση από την κεντρική τιμή του εκάστοτε χρώματος.

Η πρωτοτυπία της μελέτης αυτής έγκειται στο γεγονός ότι για πρώτη φορά με εργαλείο ένα εξωγλωσσικό συνεχές (χρωματικό φάσμα) μπορούμε να ελέγξουμε εμπειρικά τη βασική διαίσθηση που επικρατεί στη βιβλιογραφία για τα παράγωγα χρώματα και τη σημασιολογική επίδραση των συγκεκριμένων προσφυμάτων (*κατα-, -ωπός*) στην ερμηνεία, έχοντας μέσω στατιστικής επεξεργασίας των δεδομένων μια μετρήσιμη πλέον εκδοχή της σημασίας.

2. ΘΕΩΡΗΤΙΚΟ ΥΠΟΒΑΘΡΟ

2.1. Η περίπτωση του προθήματος κατα-
Σε ό,τι αφορά στο πρόθημα *κατα-*, στο Λεξικό του Μπαμπινιώτη (2002) θεωρείται ως α΄ συνθετικό λέξεων και δηλώνει «ότι κάτι γίνεται, συμβαίνει ή υπάρχει με ιδιαίτερα έντονο τρόπο, σε μεγάλο βαθμό ή εκδηλώνεται με επίταση». Το Χρηστικό Λεξικό της Νεοελληνικής Γλώσσας παραθέτει και εκείνο ως πρώτη σημασία του προθήματος αυτού την επίταση (π.χ. *κατακόκκινος*). Ο Τριανταφυλλίδης[4] θεωρεί το *κατα-* ως πρόθημα, το οποίο «επιτείνει την έννοια της πρωτότυπης λέξης» και «δηλώνει ότι γίνεται ή ισχύει σε μεγάλο βαθμό αυτό που εκφράζει η πρωτότυπη λέξη» (π.χ. *καταγάλανος*). Οι Delveroudi & Vassilaki (1999), Ralli (2001), Συμεωνίδης (1984), Ευθυμίου (2002), Γαβριηλίδου & Ευθυμίου (2003) και Γαβριηλίδου (2010, 2013) το κατατάσσουν, επίσης, ανάμεσα στα επιτατικά προθήματα, όπως το *αρχι-, υπερ-, μακρο-, μεγα-, ολο-, θεο-, παν-, παρα-, πολύ-*. Μάλιστα, η Γαβριηλίδου (2013: 77) επισημαίνει ότι όταν το *κατα-* συνδυάζεται με χρωματικούς όρους τότε το παράγωγο χρώμα πλησιάζει την κεντρική τιμή τού εκάστοτε χρώματος, ενώ όπως υποστηρίζουν και οι Kennedy & McNally (2010) υπάρχει ένα ανώτατο όριο το οποίο συμπίπτει με την απόλυτη ταύτιση με την κεντρική τιμή του χρώματος.[5]

Μέσα από το Σώμα Ελληνικών Κειμένων (ΣΕΚ)[6] επιβεβαιώνεται η επιτατική σημασία του προθήματος *κατα-*, σε συνδυασμό με βασικά χρώματα. Ορισμένα παραδείγματα είναι τα εξής: «όταν άκουσε τα λόγια του, έγινε *κατακόκκινος* από τον θυμό», «με πρόσωπο συνήθως *κατακόκκινο* από την οινοποσία», «με την φανταχτερή του *κατακόκκινη* πανοπλία», «βρίσκεται μέσα σ΄ ένα *καταπράσινο* δάσος από έλατα», «τον *καταπράσινο* κήπο που την περιβάλλει», «για να μπορεί να βλέπει ένα *καταπράσινο* λιβάδι που απλώνεται», «κι ένα θεόρατο *κατακίτρινο* ήλιο», «ο *καταγάλανος* ουρανός προμηνούσε ζεστή ημέρα», «η θάλασσα *καταγάλανη* γέμισε ψαροπούλια». Όπως παρατηρούμε από τα παραδείγματα, τα παράγωγα χρώματα με το πρόθημα *κατα-*, συνήθως συνοδεύονται από επίθετα όπως «φανταχτερός», «θεόρατος», τα οποία δηλώνουν και αυτά επίταση.

2.2. Η περίπτωση του επιθήματος –ωπός
Στο λεξικό του Μπαμπινιώτη (2002) το επίθημα *–ωπός* αναφέρεται ως παραγωγικό επίθημα επιθέτων, το οποίο όταν προστίθεται στη βάση «έχει υποκοριστική σημασία», όπως *κοκκινωπός* (*λίγο κόκκινος*), *γκριζωπός*. Το Χρηστικό Λεξικό της Νεοελληνικής Γλώσσας παραθέτει το επίθημα *–ωπός* ως απόχρωση ενός χρώματος (π.χ. *κιτρινωπός*), κάτι το οποίο παραπέμπει σε μια ποιοτική

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[4] http://www.komvos.edu.gr/dictionaries/dictonline/DictOnLineTri.htm
[5] Οι Γαβριηλίδου (2013: 77) και Kennedy & McNally (2010) τονίζουν την ποιοτική διάσταση (*hue, saturation, brighttness*) των χρωματικών όρων σε συνδυασμό με τα στοιχεία που φέρουν επιτατικοποιητική λειτουργία. Η Romero (2001: 1) τονίζει ότι η επίταση σχετίζεται με την ποσότητα, ενώ ο Szende (1999) αναφέρεται στην έννοια της «αξιολόγησης» (evaluation), επισημαίνοντας πως η επίταση αξιολογεί και εκφράζει τη συναισθηματική στάση του ομιλητή. Λαμβάνοντας υπόψη τις παραπάνω προσεγγίσεις, θα λέγαμε πως στο πείραμά μας, ως προς το πρόθημα *κατα-*, αυτό που ενδιαφέρει είναι περισσότερο η ποσοτική εκτίμηση της επίτασης, εφόσον από τα δεδομένα αυτό που προκύπτει είναι μια μετρήσιμη εκδοχή της σημασιολογικής επίδρασης που ασκεί το πρόθημα αυτό στο θέμα (στην προκειμένη περίπτωση στον βασικό χρωματικό όρο).
[6] Γούτσος (2003).

διάκριση του παράγωγου χρώματος (βλ. Kennedy & McNally 2010, Γαβριηλίδου 2013). Ο Τριανταφυλλίδης αναφέρει πως το επίθημα *–ωπός* συχνά χρησιμοποιείται «σε επίθετα που δηλώνουν χρώμα και δηλώνει παραλλαγή του χρώματος της πρωτότυπης λέξης: *(γκρίζος) γκριζωπός, (κόκκινος) κοκκινωπός, (πράσινος) πρασινωπός*».

Μέσα από το ΣΕΚ μπορούμε να δούμε ότι το επίθημα *–ωπός,* συνδυαζόμενο με βασικά χρώματα, χρησιμοποιείται για να δηλώσει παραλλαγή ενός χρώματος. Ορισμένα παραδείγματα είναι τα εξής: «το πάτωμα στις βεράντες έχει το *κοκκινωπό* των κεραμικών πλακιδίων», «τα ντουβάρια με την *κοκκινωπή* πέτρα», «η συνάντηση φωτίζεται από το *κιτρινωπό* φως των λαμπατέρ», «ο κυρίαρχος χρωματισμός είναι απαλός και γλυκός *κιτρινωπός*», «έχει διαβάσει τα χαραγμένα στο μάλλον *γαλαζωπό* και εντελώς άφθαρτο μάρμαρο», «βλέπει ένα φάρο ή, μάλλον βλέπει τη *γαλαζωπή* αντανάκλαση των τρεμάμενων φώτων ενός φάρου». Έτσι, στα παραπάνω παραδείγματα, το επίθημα *–ωπός* συνδυαζόμενο με το χρωματικό όρο (π.χ. *γαλαζωπός),* δηλώνει κάτι που μοιάζει με το πρωτοτυπικό *γαλάζιο*, χωρίς, όμως να πλησιάζει τον πυρήνα αυτού, αλλά να απομακρύνεται από τη βάση.

3. ΜΕΘΟΔΟΛΟΓΙΑ ΤΗΣ ΕΡΕΥΝΑΣ

Οι Berlin & Kay (1969) στην έρευνά τους τονίζουν ότι υπάρχουν «σημασιολογικά καθολικά» (semantic universals) στον τομέα του λεξιλογίου των χρωμάτων (βλ. Kay & Kempton 1984, Gilbert et al. 2006). Οι ίδιοι, βασιζόμενοι στα πειράματα που έκαναν σε φυσικούς ομιλητές είκοσι γλωσσών που ανήκουν σε διαφορετικές γλωσσικές οικογένειες, υποστηρίζουν ότι κάθε γλώσσα διαθέτει από δύο έως έντεκα βασικούς χρωματικούς όρους. Ως προς την Νέα Ελληνική, οι Androulaki et al. (2006) θεωρούν ότι η συγκεκριμένη γλώσσα διαθέτει δώδεκα βασικούς όρους χρωμάτων, περιλαμβάνοντας ανάμεσα σε αυτούς και το *γαλάζιο.* Στην παρούσα έρευνα χρησιμοποιήθηκε για πρώτη φορά το φάσμα χρωμάτων των Berlin & Kay (1969) (Πίνακας 1), προκειμένου να ελεγχθεί εμπειρικά η επίδραση που ασκεί η δομή των παράγωγων λέξεων στην ερμηνεία. Το φάσμα αυτό περιέχει 330 χρωματικές κυψέλες, εκ των οποίων οι 320 αντιπροσωπεύουν 40 διαφορετικές αποχρώσεις. Καθεμία από τις αποχρώσεις αυτές διαιρείται περαιτέρω σε 8 διαφορετικά επίπεδα φωτεινότητας (*Munsell value*). Οι υπόλοιπες κυψέλες, οι οποίες δε χρησιμοποιήθηκαν στην πειραματική διαδικασία, αντιπροσωπεύουν το *λευκό*, το *μαύρο* και τα επτά επίπεδα του *γκρι*. Για τις ανάγκες της συγκεκριμένης μελέτης σχεδιάστηκαν δύο πειράματα, κατά τα οποία χρησιμοποιήθηκε το δεύτερο στάδιο συλλογής των δεδομένων, στο οποίο ζητείται από τους συμμετέχοντες να βρουν τη χαρακτηριστική εκδοχή των βασικών χρωμάτων (Berlin & Kay 1969: 5)[7].

Πίνακας 1. Το φάσμα των χρωμάτων Munsell
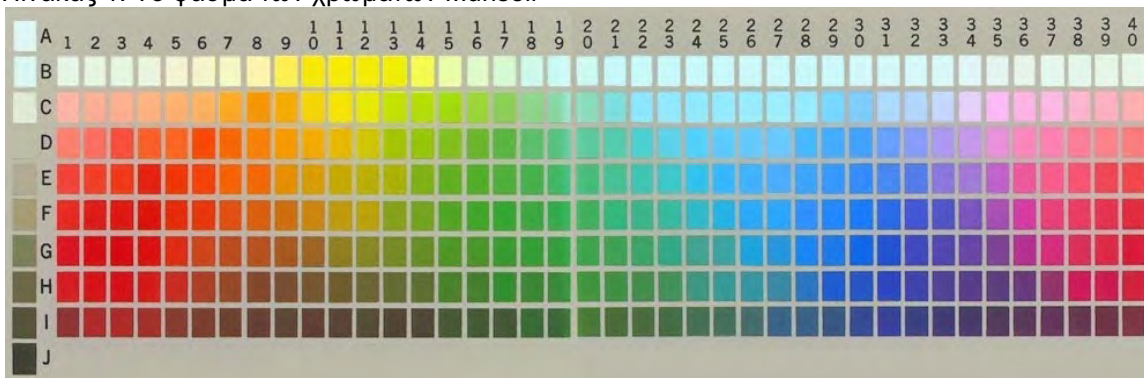
Στο πείραμα 1 δόθηκε στους συμμετέχοντες το φάσμα Munsell και τους ζητήθηκε να εντοπίσουν χωριστά τη χαρακτηριστική εκδοχή των ακόλουθων χρωμάτων: *κόκκινο, πράσινο, κίτρινο, γαλάζιο, γαλανό.*[8] Οι συγκεκριμένοι χρωματικοί όροι επιλέχθηκαν προκειμένου να

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[7] Το υλικό για τη διεξαγωγή του πειράματος των Berlin και Kay βρίσκεται στην ακόλουθη ιστοσελίδα: http://www.icsi.berkeley.edu/wcs/

[8] Το *γαλάζιο* θεωρούμε πως δεν αποτελεί βασικό χρωματικό όρο στη Νέα Ελληνική, βλ. Σερακιώτη & Μαρκόπουλος (2013: 3), Serakioti (2015). Παρ' όλα αυτά, συμπεριλαμβάνεται στο ερωτηματολόγιο διότι χρησιμοποιείται στο ζεύγος παραγώγων *καταγάλανος - γαλαζωπός*.

χρησιμοποιηθούν στη δημιουργία παράγωγων λέξεων στην άσκηση 2.[9] Έτσι, το πρώτο πείραμα χρησιμοποιήθηκε για τη δημιουργία ενός πλαισίου αναφοράς, προκειμένου να ερμηνευτούν τα δεδομένα του δεύτερου πειράματος.

Στο πείραμα 2, πέρα από το πείραμα των Berlin και Kay, ζητήθηκε από τα υποκείμενα της έρευνας να εντοπίσουν τη χαρακτηριστική εκδοχή σε τέσσερα παράγωγα με το πρόθημα *κατα-* και σε τέσσερα με το επίθημα *–ωπός* πάνω το φάσμα Munsell.[10] Σκοπός του πειράματος αυτού είναι να ελεγχθεί αν η αντίληψη των ομιλητών για τα παράγωγα χρώματα διαφέρει από εκείνη που έχουν για τη βάση του εκάστοτε χρώματος και να μελετηθούν οι σημασιολογικές διεργασίες που επιτελούνται μέσω της παραγωγής σε παράγωγα με τα βασικά χρώματα.[11]

Για να αποφευχθεί η επίδραση που έχει η σειρά με την οποία παρουσιάζονται τα χρώματα, χρησιμοποιήθηκε σε κάθε πείραμα διαφορετική σειρά για κάθε ομιλητή, ούτως ώστε να εναλλάσσονται τα στοιχεία των δύο πειραμάτων.

Για την καταχώρηση των δεδομένων, την ομαδοποίηση και τη στατιστική τους επεξεργασία δημιουργήθηκαν πίνακες, οι οποίοι περιλαμβάνουν τον αύξοντα αριθμό του ομιλητή, το φύλο, το χρώμα και τις αντίστοιχες τιμές για την τοποθέτησή του στον οριζόντιο και κάθετο άξονα του χρωματικού φάσματος.[12] Επιπλέον, σε κάθε άξονα υπολογίστηκε ο *μέσος όρος* των τιμών για την αποτύπωση της κεντρικής τιμής κάθε χρώματος, καθώς και η *τυπική απόκλιση*, προκειμένου να ερευνηθεί κατά πόσον το σύνολο των τιμών επικεντρώνεται σε ένα σημείο ή έχει μεγάλη διασπορά γύρω από την *κεντρική* τιμή. Ακόμα, υπολογίστηκε *το διάστημα εμπιστοσύνης* στην κάθετη και οριζόντια τοποθέτηση, για να δηλωθεί η μέγιστη πιθανότητα σφάλματος (0,05). Επίσης, αφαιρέθηκαν από το δείγμα οι *αποκλίνουσες τιμές* στον άξονα x και y, δηλαδή οι τιμές, που απέχουν από το μέσο όρο δύο φορές περισσότερο ή λιγότερο από μια τυπική απόκλιση (x'±2×s) και υπολογίστηκε εκ νέου ο μέσος όρος και η τυπική απόκλιση.

Οι εθελοντές της έρευνας ήταν 60 φυσικοί ομιλητές της Ελληνικής, 30 άντρες και 30 γυναίκες, ηλικίας 18-45 ετών, ποικίλων κοινωνικών τάξεων, οι οποίοι δεν είχαν πρόβλημα αχρωματοψίας ή δυσχρωματοψίας (βλ. Damasio 1985, Rizzo et al. 1993).

4. ΤΑ ΑΠΟΤΕΛΕΣΜΑΤΑ ΤΗΣ ΕΡΕΥΝΑΣ

4.1. Πείραμα 1

Σε ό,τι αφορά στο πείραμα 1 του ερωτηματολογίου, τα αποτελέσματα από την έρευνα έδειξαν πως η αντίληψη των εθελοντών για το *κόκκινο, πράσινο, κίτρινο, γαλάζιο* και *γαλανό* βρίσκεται σε συγκεκριμένες περιοχές του φάσματος, επιβεβαιώνοντας τη θεώρηση των Berlin και Kay (1969) σχετικά με την ύπαρξη καθολικότητας των χρωματικών όρων. Οι περισσότερες αποκλίνουσες τιμές στον κάθετο και οριζόντιο άξονα παρατηρούνται στο *κίτρινο*, ενώ μεγαλύτερη διασπορά εμφανίζεται στο *γαλανό* (Πίνακας 2α, 2β).

Πίνακας 2α. Μέση τιμή βασικών χρωμάτων στη Νέα Ελληνική

|		κόκκινο	πράσινο	κίτρινο	γαλάζιο	γαλανό
μέση τιμή	x	3,41	16,82	11,88	26,7	26,82
	y	5,25	5,55	1	3,2	2,79
εμπιστοσύνη	x	0,2	0,25	0,35	0,53	0,57
	y	0,18	0,25	0	0,26	0,26
τ. απόκλιση	x	0,73	0,97	1,25	2,03	2,21
	y	0,66	0,95	0	0,98	1
αρ. ομιλητών		51	56	49	56	57

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[9] Από το πείραμα 1 αποκλείστηκαν το *μπλε*, το *καφέ*, το *μωβ* και το *ροζ*, εφόσον τα προσφύματα *κατα-* και *–ωπός* δεν είναι δυνατόν να συνδυαστούν με τις βάσεις αυτές.

[10] Στο πείραμα 2 δε ζητήθηκαν χρωματικά παράγωγα όπως *κατάξανθος*, διότι πραγματολογικοί παράγοντες θα επηρέαζαν την ερμηνεία. Για παράδειγμα, το *ξανθός* χρησιμοποιείται σε συνάψεις όπως *ξανθά μαλλιά* και αυτό θα μπορούσε να αποπροσανατολίσει την κρίση των ομιλητών. Σημειωτέον πως το *ξανθό* δεν το θεωρούμε ως βασικό χρωματικό όρο, δεδομένου ότι παραβιάζει τα κριτήρια των Berlin και Kay (1969: 6-7).

[11] Για το ερωτηματολόγιο των πειραμάτων βλ. Παράρτημα.

[12] Για την ευκολότερη επεξεργασία των δεδομένων και τους αριθμητικούς υπολογισμούς, ως προς την κάθετη τοποθέτηση στο φάσμα (βλ. Πίνακας 1), χρησιμοποιήθηκαν αριθμοί αντί για γράμματα (A=0, B=1, C=2, D=3, E=4, F=5, G=6, H=7, I=8).

Πίνακας 2β. Γραφηματική απεικόνιση βασικών χρωμάτων στη Νέα Ελληνική
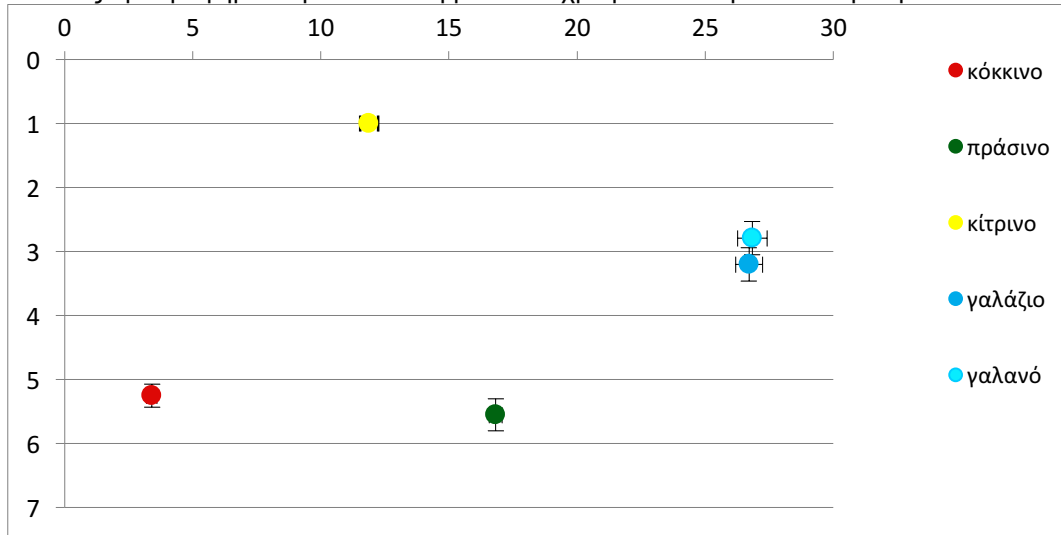
4.2. Πείραμα 2

Καταρχάς, τα δεδομένα από το πείραμα των Berlin & Kay (1969) δείχνουν πως για κάθε χρώμα (ανά γλώσσα) υπάρχει μια κεντρική τιμή. Το ερώτημα, λοιπόν, που προκύπτει είναι το πώς λειτουργεί ένας παραγωγικός μηχανισμός ο οποίος ενισχύει την ένταση των χαρακτηριστικών, όπως το *κατα-,* και πώς ένας μηχανισμός ο οποίος δηλώνει παραλλαγή του χρώματος ή έχει υποκοριστική σημασία, όπως το *–ωπός.*

Σε ό,τι αφορά στο πρόθημα *κατα-* (*κατακόκκινο, καταπράσινο, κατακίτρινο, καταγάλανο*), λαμβάνοντας υπόψη το ότι θεωρείται ως «η πιο έντονη εκδοχή του χρώματος x» και πως συνδυαζόμενο με τα βασικά χρώματα πλησιάζει τον πρωτοτυπικό πυρήνα αυτών (βλ. Kennedy & McNally 2010, Γαβριηλίδου 2013), θα περιμέναμε ο παραγωγικός αυτός μηχανισμός να δημιουργεί χρώματα τα οποία βρίσκονται πιο κοντά στην κεντρική τιμή.

Παρ' όλα αυτά, τα αποτελέσματα από το πείραμα 2 του ερωτηματολογίου που δόθηκε στους συμμετέχοντες στην έρευνα έδειξαν ότι το πρόθημα *κατα-* δεν πλησιάζει ή δεν ταυτίζεται με τον πυρήνα των βασικών χρωμάτων, αλλά παρουσιάζει απόκλιση από την κεντρική τιμή του κάθε χρώματος και τείνει σε πιο σκούρες αποχρώσεις (βλ. Πίνακας 3α, 3β). Έτσι, στον Πίνακα 3β μπορούμε με ευκρίνεια να παρατηρήσουμε πως σε κάθε περίπτωση παρουσιάζεται μετατόπιση των τιμών του παράγωγου χρώματος ως προς τον άξονα y, σε σχέση με τις τιμές του αντίστοιχου βασικού χρώματος, οδηγώντας σε μια μετακίνηση προς τις πιο σκούρες αποχρώσεις.

Μεγαλύτερη απόκλιση παρουσιάζει το παράγωγο *κατακόκκινο* σε σχέση με την κεντρική τιμή του (*κόκκινο*), ενώ μικρή μετατόπιση ως προς τον άξονα x εμφανίζεται στο *καταγάλανο*. Ακόμα, το *κατακίτρινο* (11.57, 1) σχεδόν συμπίπτει με την κεντρική τιμή (*κίτρινο*). Αυτό, όμως, έχει να κάνει με τη μηδενική τυπική απόκλιση του *κίτρινου* και του *κατακίτρινου* ως προς τον άξονα y (Πίνακας 3α). Ίσως με βάση το χρωματικό φάσμα υπάρχουν λιγότερες επιλογές (κυψέλες) για το *κίτρινο* και, κατ' επέκταση, *κατακίτρινο*, από ό, τι π.χ. για το *πράσινο*. Πάντως, και σε αυτό το πείραμα, όπως και στο πείραμα 2, τα δεδομένα δείχνουν συστηματικές και συνεκτικές τάσεις.

Πίνακας 3α. Μέση τιμή των βασικών χρωμάτων και των αντίστοιχων παράγωγων με το πρόθημα *κατα-* στη Νέα Ελληνική

		κόκκινο	πράσινο	κίτρινο	γαλανό	κατα-κόκκινο	κατα-πράσινο	κατα-κίτρινο	κατα-γάλανο
μέση τιμή	x	3,41	16,82	11,82	26,82	3,38	16,93	11,57	25,8
	y	5,25	5,55	1	2,79	5,52	5,94	1	3
εμπιστοσύνη	x	0,2	0,25	0,36	0,57	0,16	0,27	0,38	0,57
	y	0,18	0,25	0	0,26	0,22	0,33	0	0,26
τ. απόκλιση	x	0,73	0,97	1,3	2,21	0,57	1,01	1,35	2,15
	y	0,66	0,95	0	1	0,79	1,22	0	0,97
αρ. ομιλητών		53	56	50	58	50	54	49	54

Πίνακας 3β. Γραφηματική απεικόνιση των βασικών χρωμάτων και των αντίστοιχων παράγωγων με το πρόθημα *κατα-* στη Νέα Ελληνική
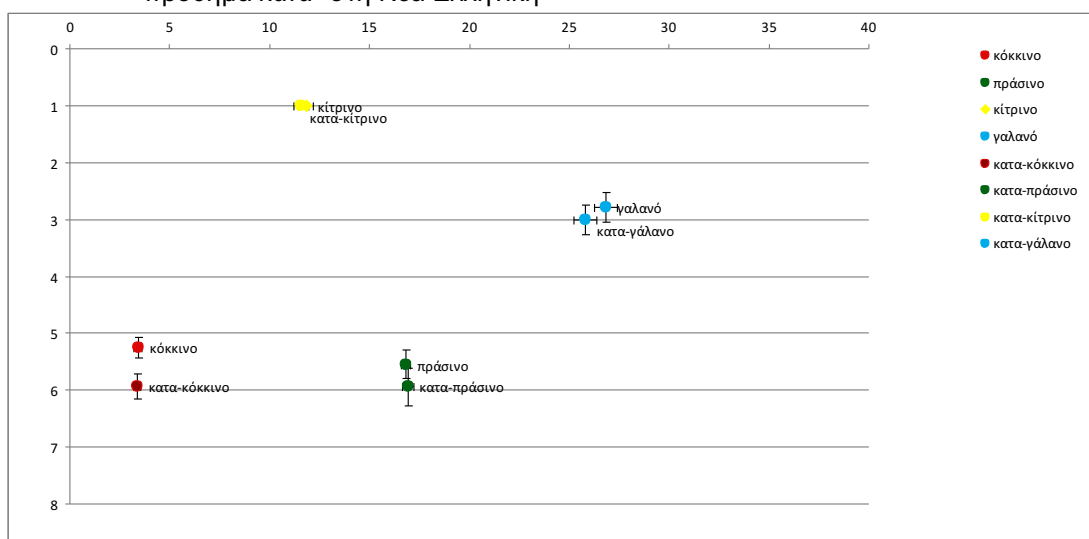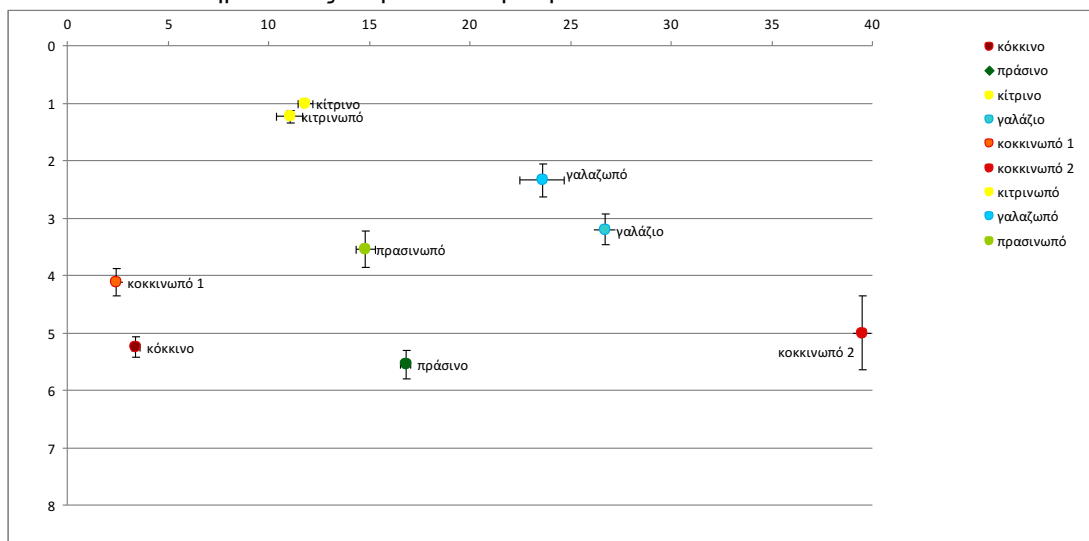

Ως προς το –*ωπός*, θα περιμέναμε ότι ο μηχανισμός αυτός δημιουργεί χρώματα που αποκλίνουν από την κεντρική τιμή, με βάση το χρωματικό φάσμα. Σε αντίθεση με το πρόθημα *κατα-*, το οποίο οδηγεί σε μια πιο σκούρα απόχρωση του χρώματος με το οποίο συνδυάζεται, τα αποτελέσματα για το –*ωπός* έδειξαν ότι αυτό τείνει σε πιο φωτεινές αποχρώσεις, πέρα από τη μεγάλη διασπορά, την οποία είχαμε προβλέψει, προσθέτοντας έτσι μια δεύτερη ιδιότητα στο επίθημα αυτό (βλ. Πίνακας 4α, 4β). Συγκεκριμένα, με βάση τον πίνακα 4α, μεγαλύτερη τυπική απόκλιση εμφανίζεται στο *πρασινωπό* (1.81, 1.21) και το *γαλαζωπό* (4.19, 1.1), δηλαδή σε παράγωγα με βασικά χρώματα τα οποία ήδη παρουσιάζουν μεγάλη διασπορά, όπως το *πράσινο* (0.97, 0.95) και το *γαλάζιο* (2.03, 0.98), αντίστοιχα. Το *πρασινωπό*, με μέση τιμή (14.83, 3.54), αποκλίνει από το *πράσινο* (16.82, 5.55), τείνοντας σε μια πιο φωτεινή απόχρωση του βασικού χρώματος, εμφανίζοντας τη μεγαλύτερη μετατόπιση, σε σχέση με τα υπόλοιπα παράγωγα χρώματα με το επίθημα -*ωπός*. Όμοια, το *γαλαζωπό*, το οποίο εντοπίζεται στο (23.61, 2.34), αποτελεί μια πιο φωτεινή απόχρωση του *γαλάζιου* (26.7, 3.2). Το *κιτρινωπό* (11.06, 1.23) δε φαίνεται να έχει μεγάλη απόκλιση από το πρωτοτυπικό *κίτρινο* (11.82, 1), πιθανόν εξαιτίας της μικρής τυπικής απόκλισης των δύο αυτών χρωμάτων ως προς τον άξονα y και των περιορισμένων επιλογών τους πάνω στο χρωματικό φάσμα.

Πίνακας 4α. Μέση τιμή των βασικών χρωμάτων και των αντίστοιχων παράγωγων με το επίθημα -*ωπός* στη Νέα Ελληνική

		κόκκινο	πράσινο	κίτρινο	γαλάζιο	κοκκινωπό 1	κοκκινωπό 2	πρασινωπό	κιτρινωπό	γαλαζωπό
μέση τιμή	x	3,41	16,82	11,82	26,7	2,44	39,5	14,83	11,06	23,61
	y	5,25	5,55	1	3,2	4,12	5	3,54	1,23	2,34
εμπιστοσύνη	x	0,2	0,25	0,36	0,53	0,31	0,44	0,48	0,64	1,1
	y	0,18	0,25	0	0,26	0,24	0,65	0,32	0,11	0,29
τ. απόκλιση	x	0,73	0,97	1,3	2,03	1,05	0,71	1,81	2,39	4,19
	y	0,66	0,95	0	0,98	0,79	1,05	1,21	0,42	1,1
αρ. ομιλητών		53	56	50	56	43	10	54	53	56

Πίνακας 4β. Γραφηματική απεικόνιση των βασικών χρωμάτων και των αντίστοιχων παράγωγων με το επίθημα -ωπός στη Νέα Ελληνική[13]

κίτρινο
κιτρινωπό
γαλαζωπό
ηρασινωπό
γαλάζιο
κοκκινωπό 1
κόκκινο
πράσινο
κοκκινωπό 2

κόκκινο
πράσινο
κίτρινο
γαλάζιο
κοκκινωπό 1
κοκκινωπό 2
κιτρινωπό
γαλαζωπό
πρασινωπό

Επομένως, από τα δεδομένα του πειράματος προκύπτει πως η υπόθεσή μας, ότι το πρόθημα *κατα-* βρίσκεται πιο κοντά στην κεντρική τιμή και στην πρωτοτυπική εκδοχή του αντίστοιχου βασικού χρώματος, διαψεύδεται. Αντίθετα, το πρόθημα αυτό αποκλίνει από την κεντρική τιμή και μάλιστα τείνει σε πιο σκούρες αποχρώσεις των αντίστοιχων βασικών χρωμάτων. Μη αναμενόμενα αποτελέσματα εμφανίζονται και για το επίθημα *–ωπός*, το οποίο, πέρα από την επιβεβαίωση της υπόθεσής μας, ότι δηλαδή δημιουργεί χρώματα που αποκλίνουν από την κεντρική τιμή, οδηγεί και σε πιο φωτεινές αποχρώσεις. Αξιοσημείωτο είναι το ότι και στην περίπτωση του *κατα-*, αλλά και σε εκείνη του *–ωπός*, εμφανίζονται συνεκτικές τάσεις, με εξαίρεση το *κίτρινο*. Αυτή η συστηματικότητα του φαινομένου πιθανότατα υποδηλώνει ότι δεν πρόκειται για μια τυχαία απόκλιση.

Επιχειρώντας να δώσουμε κάποια εξήγηση στο φαινόμενο αυτό, σκόπιμο θα ήταν, αρχικά, να γίνει διευκρίνιση των όρων "value" και "intensity" ή "saturation". Συγκεκριμένα, και οι δύο όροι αποτελούν ιδιότητες ενός χρώματος. Το "value" αναφέρεται στη *φωτεινότητα* (*lightness*) ή *σκοτεινότητα* (*darkness*) ενός χρώματος, ενώ το "intensity" ή "saturation" έχει να κάνει με το πόσο έντονο είναι ένα χρώμα (βλ. Berlin & Kay 1969, MacLaury 1997, Wooten & Miller 1997, Kingdom 2011). Σε ό,τι αφορά στη φωτεινότητα, στο χρωματικό μοντέλο Munsell εκτείνεται από το 0 ως το 10, καθώς το άσπρο βρίσκεται στο ένα άκρο του συνεχούς, το μαύρο στο άλλο και το γκρι ανάμεσά τους, με κλιμάκωση από το φωτεινό στο σκοτεινό, αντίστοιχα. Αντίθετα, ο όρος "intensity" ή "saturation" αναφέρεται στην κλιμάκωση από το *αμυδρό* (*dullness*) στο *έντονο* (*brightness*).

Στη συγκεκριμένη περίπτωση τα χρώματα με το πρόθημα *κατα-* αποκλίνουν από τα αντίστοιχα βασικά χρώματα ως προς τη *φωτεινότητα* (*value*) και όχι ως προς την *ένταση* (*intensity ή saturation*), όπως θα περιμέναμε να συμβαίνει με ένα πρόθημα που θεωρείται ότι δημιουργεί μια πιο έντονη εκδοχή του χρώματος x. Σε ό, τι αφορά τα χρώματα με το επίθημα *–ωπός*, δεν παρουσιάζεται απόκλιση ως προς την *αμυδρότητα* (*dullness*), αλλά ως προς την *σκοτεινότητα* (*darkness*). Το θέμα αυτό πιθανόν να σχετίζεται με ψυχολογικές παραμέτρους, ενώ χρειάζεται μεγαλύτερη διερεύνηση σε ό,τι αφορά στους μηχανισμούς που δημιουργούν την αντίληψη αυτή.

5. ΣΥΜΠΕΡΑΣΜΑΤΑ

Τα αποτελέσματα της έρευνας έδειξαν ότι η αντίληψη των ομιλητών για τα παράγωγα χρώματα διαφέρει από εκείνη που έχουν για τα αντίστοιχα βασικά χρώματα. Σε ό,τι αφορά στα χρωματικά παράγωγα με το πρόθημα *κατα-,* η υπόθεση ότι το συγκεκριμένο πρόθημα βρίσκεται πιο κοντά στην κεντρική τιμή και στην πρωτοτυπική εκδοχή του αντίστοιχου βασικού χρώματος, διαψεύδεται.

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[13] Όπως παρατηρούμε στον πίνακα 4β, το *κοκκινωπό* εντοπίζεται σε δύο περιοχές του φάσματος. Συγκεκριμένα, έχουμε δύο κεντρικές τιμές, ενώ και οι δύο υπο-ομάδες ομιλητών αποτελούν δύο διαφορετικά φαινόμενα. Πάντως, και σε αυτήν την περίπτωση, το *κοκκινωπό 1* και το *κοκκινωπό 2* παρουσιάζουν απόκλιση από το βασικό χρώμα (*κόκκινο*) και μετατόπιση σε πιο φωτεινές αποχρώσεις αυτού.

Αντίθετα, το πρόθημα αυτό όταν προστίθεται στη βάση δημιουργεί απόκλιση από την κεντρική τιμή και μάλιστα τάση σε πιο σκούρες αποχρώσεις των αντίστοιχων βασικών χρωμάτων. Έτσι, έχουμε απόκλιση ως προς τη *φωτεινότητα* (*value*) και όχι ως προς την *ένταση* (*intensity* ή *saturation*) όπως θα περιμέναμε να συμβαίνει με έναν μηχανισμό που επιτείνει την ένταση των χαρακτηριστικών. Ως προς το επίθημα –ωπός, πέρα από την επιβεβαίωση της υπόθεσής μας, ότι δημιουργεί χρώματα που αποκλίνουν από την κεντρική τιμή, οδηγεί και σε πιο φωτεινές αποχρώσεις των αντίστοιχων βασικών χρωμάτων. Στην περίπτωση αυτή παρατηρείται απόκλιση ως προς την *σκοτεινότητα* (*darkness*) και όχι ως προς την *αμυδρότητα* (*dullness*). Γενικότερα, η σημασιολογική επίδραση των προσφυμάτων στις βάσεις των χρωμάτων όπου αυτά προσκολλώνται και η τροποποιητική τους λειτουργία είναι ένα ζήτημα εξαιρετικά ενδιαφέρον, το οποίο χρήζει περαιτέρω διερεύνησης και διεπιστημονικής προσέγγισης.

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ΠΑΡΑΡΤΗΜΑ

Ερωτηματολόγιο

1. **Να βρεθεί η χαρακτηριστική εκδοχή των παρακάτω βασικών χρωμάτων στο φάσμα:**
   κόκκινο
   πράσινο
   κίτρινο
   γαλάζιο
   γαλανό

2. Να βρεθεί η χαρακτηριστική εκδοχή στα παρακάτω παράγωγα με τα βασικά χρώματα:

α) κατακόκκινο
   καταπράσινο
   κατακίτρινο
   καταγάλανο

β) κοκκινωπό
   πρασινωπό
   κιτρινωπό
   γαλαζωπό

Η έννοια της πολυτροπικότητας στην ελληνική ως δεύτερη/ ξένη γλώσσα: μια ερευνητική εφαρμογή από τη διδασκαλία του ελληνικού ακαδημαϊκού λόγου

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ABSTRACT

In this paper we argue about the integration of multimodality theory in an academic discourse curriculum of Greek as L2. We present a selection of ethnographic data collected during an action research with adult non-native speakers of Greek in an academic context. Qualitative analysis of classroom data reveals the staged introduction of foreign students to the theory of multimodality via genres of popular science, as they originally appear in the Sunday press and the internet. Once the process of meaning making is decoded by overt teaching, students are collaboratively involved in less guided practices of multimodal analysis of texts in L2. These texts, which belong to various academic and non-academic genres, are chosen, analyzed and presented by students themselves, according to the principle of situated learning. Critical analysis of oral and written texts in the target language reveals non-native speakers' awareness of the multimodal characteristics of speech within the academic variety. Finally, immersion into academic discourse through transformative practice aims at symbolic competence in L2 in compliance with communicative, genre and general academic competence.

Λέξεις-κλειδιά: πολυτροπικότητα, πολυγραμματισμοί, κριτικός γραμματισμός

1. ΕΙΣΑΓΩΓΉ

«Προσπαθώ να βελτιώσω τα ελληνικά μου με μαθήματα, Έλληνες φίλους, διάβασμα, αλλά δεν θέλω να μένω κλεισμένος στο σπίτι ψάχνοντας σημασίες λέξεων ή με δουλειές ασκήσεων». (σπουδαστής 1) «Θα ήθελα μαθήματα με τα οποία θα μπορούσα να καταλαβαίνω εφημερίδες και τις εκπομπές της τηλεόρασης. Ενδιαφέρομαι για την τρέχουσα κατάσταση της Ελλάδας». (σπουδάστρια 2) «Θα προτιμούσα να μην υπάρχουν διδακτικά βιβλία, αλλά να συμβουλευόμαστε εφημερίδες και κείμενα από το διαδίκτυο ως ερεθίσματα για συζήτηση». (σπουδάστρια 3)

Τα παραπάνω αποσπάσματα προέρχονται από αφηγήσεις γραμματισμού αλλοδαπών ενηλίκων σπουδαστών της ελληνικής ως δεύτερης/ ξένης γλώσσας (Γ2) εν είδει ποιοτικής ανάλυσης αναγκών στο ξεκίνημα ενός από τα προγράμματα σπουδών του Σχολείου Νέας Ελληνικής Γλώσσας του Α.Π.Θ. Πρόκειται για το μάθημα «Ακαδημαϊκός λόγος στα Νέα Ελληνικά» που αφορά τη διδασκαλία γλώσσας για ειδικούς σκοπούς σε σπουδαστές προχωρημένης ελληνομάθειας.

Από τις παραπάνω αφηγήσεις γραμματισμού προκύπτουν τρία βασικά στοιχεία για τον σχεδιασμό ενός γλωσσικού προγράμματος σπουδών: α) απόρριψη παραδοσιακών διδακτικών πρακτικών ως προς την εκμάθηση λεξιλογίου και την εξάσκηση σε γραμματικοσυντακτικές δομές β) τοποθετημένη διδασκαλία στη σύγχρονη ελληνική πραγματικότητα και γ) συμμετοχική και ενδεχομένως κριτική διδασκαλία με αφορμή κείμενα του τύπου και του διαδικτύου. Οι ιδεολογικές αυτές παραδοχές προσιδιάζουν στις παιδαγωγικές προσεγγίσεις των κειμενικών ειδών και των πολυγραμματισμών, θεωρητικό υπόβαθρο ενός προγράμματος σπουδών, από την εφαρμογή του οποίου προέρχονται τα δεδομένα της έρευνας. Ένα τέτοιο πρόγραμμα λαμβάνει υπόψη τις ταυτότητες των υποκειμένων, που όπως έχουμε δείξει αλλού (Takouda & Koutsogiannis υπό δημ.), βρίσκονται σε συνεχή διαπραγμάτευση κατά τη διδασκαλία, γεγονός που επηρεάζει τις διαδικασίες σχεδιασμού, επανασχεδιασμού και μάθησης εν τέλει.

2. ΘΕΩΡΗΤΙΚΌ ΠΛΑΊΣΙΟ

2.1. Η παιδαγωγική των κειμενικών ειδών

Η Συστημική Λειτουργική Γλωσσολογία (ΣΛΓ) προσεγγίζει τη γλώσσα ως «κοινωνική σημειωτική» (Halliday 1978) παρέχοντας ένα σύνολο αρχών για τη διερεύνηση του νοήματος στα διάφορα είδη κειμένων (genres). Η γλώσσα αντιμετωπίζεται ως σύστημα κειμενικών ειδών με στόχο την επίτευξη κοινωνικών σκοπών. Τα κειμενικά είδη εξετάζονται ενταγμένα στο κοινωνικό και πολιτισμικό τους συγκείμενο. Η ειδολογική ικανότητα (Berkenkotter & Huckin 1995), η ικανότητα δηλαδή να βλέπει κανείς τα κείμενα ως δομικά σχήματα στην υπηρεσία κοινωνικών σκοπών και να ανταποκρίνεται σε αυτά με κατάλληλο τρόπο, θεωρήθηκε βαρύνουσας σημασίας για την κατάκτηση του γραμματισμού τόσο στη μητρική όσο και στη δεύτερη γλώσσα (Hyland 2004). Συνεπώς, η ειδολογική ικανότητα δεν αναιρεί, αλλά ενισχύει την επικοινωνιακή ικανότητα (Hymes 1972), καθώς καθοδηγεί τους χρήστες της Γ2 στους τρόπους με τους οποίους μπορούν να επιτύχουν καλύτερα τους επικοινωνιακούς τους σκοπούς, συνδέοντας συστηματικά τη γλώσσα-στόχο με το κοινωνικό και πολιτισμικό της συγκείμενο.

Μια επιμέρους εκδοχή γλωσσικής διδασκαλίας βασισμένης στα κειμενικά είδη προέρχεται από τη μακρά παράδοση της Γλώσσας για Ειδικούς Σκοπούς (ΓΕΣ) που εστιάζει κυρίως σε ακαδημαϊκά περιβάλλοντα διδασκαλίας της γλώσσας σε μη φυσικούς ομιλητές. Η συνεισφορά της ΓΕΣ υπήρξε η συστηματική ρητορική ανάλυση ακαδημαϊκών και επαγγελματικών κειμενικών ειδών με άξονα τις κοινότητες λόγου (Swales 1990) όπου τα τελευταία παράγονται και λειτουργούν. Την παράδοση αυτή ακολουθήσαμε κατά τον σχεδιασμό του προγράμματος σπουδών (ΠΣ) σε αποικίες (Bhatia 2004) αμιγώς ακαδημαϊκών, εκλαϊκευτικών επιστημονικών ειδών και περιφερειακών κειμενικών ειδών με κοινή θεματική, αλλά διακριτούς κοινωνικούς και επικοινωνιακούς σκοπούς. Έχουμε παρουσιάσει αναλυτικά τον σχεδιασμό ενός ΠΣ ακαδημαϊκών γραμματισμών για τη διδασκαλία της ελληνικής ως Γ2 σε άλλο σημείο (author 2017) και δεν θα επανέλθουμε εδώ για λόγους οικονομίας. Θα σταθούμε περισσότερο στις επιδράσεις από την παιδαγωγική των πολυγραμματισμών και στην αξιοποίηση της έννοιας της πολυτροπικότητας στη γλωσσική διδασκαλία.

2.2. Η παιδαγωγική των πολυγραμματισμών

Στα τέλη του προηγούμενου και στις αρχές του τωρινού αιώνα, τα δεδομένα από τη νέα επικοινωνιακή, επιστημολογική και εργασιακή τάξη πραγμάτων (Street 2004) σε συνδυασμό με έρευνες που ανέδειξαν πληθώρα εξωσχολικών πρακτικών γραμματισμού (Gee 2004), είχαν ως αποτέλεσμα τη μετατόπιση της εστίασης από τον παραδοσιακό αλφαβητικό ή αναγνωριστικό γραμματισμό (Hasan 2006) στους αναδυόμενους πολλαπλούς γραμματισμούς της ψηφιακής εποχής. Η μετατόπιση αυτή αποτυπώθηκε στην εκπαιδευτική πράξη μέσω του μοντέλου των πολυγραμματισμών, μια συνδυαστικής εκδοχής της κοινωνικο-σημειωτικής προσέγγισης της γλώσσας, της εθνογραφίας του γραμματισμού και της κριτικής παιδαγωγικής (Cope & Kalantzis 2000).

Χωρίς να αποποιούνται την έννοια του κειμενικού είδους, οι εισηγητές του μοντέλου επιδιώκουν να προσδώσουν κριτική διάσταση στην ειδολογικά προσανατολισμένη διδασκαλία, προτείνοντας μια παιδαγωγική προσέγγιση που προετοιμάζει τους μαθητές ως σύγχρονους «πολίτες του κόσμου». Τέσσερα βασικά στάδια της διδασκαλίας σε κυκλικό σχηματισμό έχουν περιγραφεί ως οι «γνωσιακές διεργασίες της Νέας Μάθησης» (Kalantzis & Cope 2013): *τοποθετημένη πρακτική, ανοιχτή διδασκαλία, κριτική ανάλυση* κειμενικών ειδών και *μετασχηματισμένη πρακτική* σε διαφορετικά επικοινωνιακά και κοινωνικά περιβάλλοντα. Αξιοποιώντας τη σύγχρονη λογική του σχεδιασμού (Kress 2010) η προσέγγιση των πολυγραμματισμών αντιμετωπίζει τη μάθηση ως μια σύνθετη και δημιουργική διαδικασία που αφορμάται από τα διαθέσιμα σχέδια των μαθητών για να καταλήξει, όχι σε πιστή αναπαραγωγή, αλλά σε ανασχεδισμό των διαθέσιμων πόρων, λαμβάνοντας υπόψη αφενός τη δημιουργική πρωτοβουλία των κοινωνικών πρωταγωνιστών και αφετέρου την εκάστοτε κοινωνικο-πολιτισμική και ιστορική συγκυρία. Ετσι τα υποκείμενα της μάθησης θεωρούνται ενεργοί συμμέτοχοι στη διαδικασία αναπλαισίωσης της γνώσης και όχι παθητικοί αντιγραφείς προκατασκευασμένων νοημάτων. Αυτό σημαίνει ότι τα άτομα αναδεικνύονται «ως πραγματικοί *δημιουργοί* νοήματος και όχι ως απλοί *διαχειριστές* υπαρχουσών συμβάσεων» (Παπαδημητρίου 2010: 21).

Προϋπόθεση των πολυγραμματισμών είναι η κατάκτηση της πολυτροπικότητας, το πώς δηλαδή γλωσσικοί και άλλοι σημειωτικοί πόροι (οπτικοί, ακουστικοί, κινητικοί) αλληλεπιδρούν μεταξύ τους προκειμένου να οικοδομήσουν διαφορετικά είδη νοήματος. Οι εισηγητές του όρου

«πολυτροπικότητα» Kress και van Leeuwen ήδη από το 1996 μίλησαν για μια «γραμματική του οπτικού σχεδιασμού» παρέχοντας την απαραίτητη μεταγλώσσα στην παιδαγωγική προσέγγιση των πολυγραμματισμών. Από τότε η έννοια της πολυτροπικότητας αποτελεί στοιχείο πολλών αναλυτικών προγραμμάτων ανά τον κόσμο και πρόσφατα και στην Ελλάδα όσον αφορά τη διδασκαλία της μητρικής γλώσσας (βλ. «Γλώσσα Πολύτροπη»: http://politropi.greek-language.gr).

Στη διδασκαλία της ελληνικής ως Γ2, ωστόσο, δεν έχει δοθεί ανάλογη έμφαση στην κριτική ανάγνωση του νοήματος ως αποτέλεσμα συνδυασμού και άλλων σημειωτικών πόρων πέρα από τον λεκτικό, όπου εστιάζει παραδοσιακά η διδασκαλία του συστήματος και της «ορθής χρήσης» της γλώσσας. Ακόμη και σε καινοτόμες προτάσεις κριτικού γραμματισμού για τη διδασκαλία της ελληνικής ως Γ2 (βλ. Αρχάκης & Τσάκωνα 2011), δεν διαθέτουμε επαρκή δεδομένα από τη διδακτική πράξη που να διερευνούν την εφαρμογή των μοντέλων κριτικού γραμματισμού και πολυγραμματισμών στη γλώσσα-στόχο από μη φυσικούς ομιλητές της ελληνικής. Το κενό αυτό επιχειρεί να καλύψει η παρούσα έρευνα με την εθνογραφική ανάλυση της εφαρμογής της πολυτροπικής θεωρίας από αλλοδαπούς σπουδαστές της ελληνικής γλώσσας σε ένα ΠΣ ακαδημαϊκών γραμματισμών.

3. ΜΕΘΟΔΟΛΟΓΙΚΆ ΕΡΓΑΛΕΊΑ

Για την ανάλυση του σχολικού λόγου έχουμε επιλέξει τον «ρόμβο της γλωσσικής εκπαίδευσης» (Κουτσογιάννης 2012), ένα συνδυαστικό μοντέλο που αξιοποιεί τις παραδόσεις της κοινωνικής σημειωτικής, της εθνογραφίας του γραμματισμού και της κριτικής ανάλυσης του λόγου. Οι τέσσερις αιχμές του ρόμβου αντιστοιχούν σε τέσσερις μεταβλητές ανάγνωσης του παιδαγωγικού λόγου: α) γνώσεις για τον κόσμο, αξίες, στάσεις και ιδεολογίες που μεταδίδονται από το ΠΣ, το μαθησιακό υλικό και τις συζητήσεις στην τάξη β) γραμματισμούς γ) γνώσεις για τη γλώσσα και τη σημείωση και δ) διδακτικές πρακτικές (ρητές, υπόρρητες ή συνδυαστικές). Στο κέντρο του σχήματος τοποθετούνται οι ταυτότητες των κοινωνικών πρωταγωνιστών, που διαμορφώνουν αλλά και διαμορφώνονται από τις επιλογές σε κάθε μία από τις μεταβλητές, γεγονός που προσδίδει δυναμική στο μοντέλο και σύνδεση με την κοινωνική εμπειρία της μάθησης.

Ειδικότερα όσον αφορά τις γνώσεις για τη σημείωση που μεταδίδονται και κατακτώνται κατά τη διδακτική πράξη, αξιοποιούμε, ως βασικό εργαλείο πολυτροπικής ανάλυσης των κειμένων, τη «γραμματική του οπτικού σχεδιασμού» των Kress και van Leeuwen ([1996] 2006) και ειδικότερα τα κεφάλαια που αναφέρονται στον ρόλο της σύνθεσης, του χρώματος και της τρίτης διάστασης ως συμπληρωματικών σημειωτικών πόρων με τον λεκτικό στην απόδοση του νοήματος.

Αξιοποιούμε ακόμη τη θεώρηση της διδασκαλίας ως μακροκειμενικού είδους από την παράδοση της ΣΛΓ, σύμφωνα με την οποία κάθε ολοκληρωμένη ενότητα διδασκαλίας αποτελείται από επιμέρους κειμενικές πραγματώσεις – διδακτικά συμβάντα που ξεδιπλώνονται διαδοχικά και στοχεύουν στη «λογογένεση» (Christie 2002). Ξεκινάμε δηλαδή από το μακροκείμενο του ΠΣ που διακρίνεται σε τρία επιμέρους μακροκειμενικά είδη, όσα και οι θεματικές ενότητες – αποικίες κειμενικών ειδών. Κάθε ενότητα αποτελείται από επιμέρους δραστηριότητες που αντιστοιχούν, σε αδρές γραμμές, στα στάδια του μοντέλου των πολυγραμματισμών: εισαγωγική δραστηριότητα με έρευνα στο διαδίκτυο (τοποθετημένη πρακτική), κείμενο/α για συγκριτική επεξεργασία», (ανοιχτή διδασκαλία και συγκριτική ανάλυση κειμενικών ειδών), «κριτική πλαισίωση και δράση» (κριτική και μετασχηματισμένη πρακτική). Κάθε στάδιο συγκροτείται από αλυσίδα διδακτικών και διαδικαστικών συμβάντων, τα οποία συνιστούν τη βασική μονάδα ανάλυσης του σχολικού λόγου.

Στα ποιοτικά δεδομένα που έχουμε συλλέξει για μια όσο το δυνατό πληρέστερη καταγραφή των διδακτικών συμβάντων περιλαμβάνονται ηχογραφήσεις, φωτογραφίες από τη διάδραση στην τάξη, αναλυτικές σημειώσεις πεδίου από δύο εξωτερικές παρατηρήτριες, αλλά και γραπτές εργασίες των σπουδαστών, διαφάνειες παρουσίασης, αφηγήσεις γραμματισμού και συνεντεύξεις αξιολόγησης της διδακτικής παρέμβασης.

Στο παρόν άρθρο επιλέγουμε ενδεικτικά διδακτικά συμβάντα και από τις τρεις θεματικές ενότητες – μακροκείμενα του ΠΣ προκειμένου να δείξουμε πώς από την εισαγωγή της έννοιας της πολυτροπικότητας αρχικά από τη διδάσκουσα με μετωπική διδασκαλία, περνάμε σταδιακά στην εφαρμογή της πολυτροπικής θεωρίας από τους σπουδαστές μέσω της ομαδοσυνεργατικής μεθόδου. Διερευνούμε, τέλος, την επίγνωση της θεωρίας μέσα από δραστηριότητες μετασχηματισμένης πρακτικής και εμβύθισης σε πολυτροπικό λόγο για την ανάπτυξη συμβολικής ικανότητας (Kramsch 2006) στη γλώσσα-στόχο.

4. ΑΝΆΛΥΣΗ ΣΧΟΛΙΚΟΎ ΛΌΓΟΥ

4.1. Εισαγωγή στην έννοια της πολυτροπικότητας

Στο πρώτο μακροκείμενο του ΠΣ επιχειρείται εισαγωγή στον ακαδημαϊκό λόγο μέσω της πολυτροπικής ανάλυσης κειμενικών ειδών εκλαϊκευμένης επιστήμης. Το πρώτο κείμενο στη θεματική ενότητα «Υγεία και οικονομική κρίση» είναι ένα άρθρο από το περιοδικό "Βήμα Science" που εξετάζεται συγκριτικά στην έντυπη και στην ψηφιακή εκδοχή του. Το άρθρο παρουσιάζει έρευνα της καρδιολογικής κλινικής του νοσοκομείου «Ελπίς», η οποία συνδέει την οικονομική κρίση με τα αυξημένα ποσοστά εμφράγματος του μυοκαρδίου στον γυναικείο πληθυσμό. Σε επίπεδο μακροκειμένου, το άρθρο λειτουργεί ως αφόρμηση για το πέρασμα σε αμιγώς ακαδημαϊκά είδη, π.χ. στην περίληψη της ίδιας έρευνας όπως είχε δημοσιευτεί στο βιβλίο περιλήψεων καρδιολογικού συνεδρίου λίγους μήνες νωρίτερα. Στο πρώτο αυτό στάδιο επιχειρείται μια βιωματική εισαγωγή στην έννοια της πολυτροπικότητας σε συνάρτηση με την έννοια των κειμενικών ειδών. Για τον λόγο αυτόν, η διδάσκουσα φέρνει στην τάξη το έντυπο της κυριακάτικης εφημερίδας δείχνοντας την εικόνα του άρθρου στους σπουδαστές, ενώ παράλληλα τους προτρέπει να βρουν στο διαδίκτυο την ηλεκτρονική δημοσίευση για συγκριτική προβολή.

Τα τρία αποσπάσματα διδακτικής διεπίδρασης που ακολουθούν είναι ενδεικτικά της πολυτροπικής ανάλυσης που επιχειρείται σε δύο συναφή κειμενικά είδη, την έντυπη και την ηλεκτρονική δημοσίευση εκλαϊκευτικού επιστημονικού άρθρου.

απόσπασμα 1 (1ο μάθημα: 2.18.03 - 2.19.07)
Δ. Δείτε, γι' αυτό σας το δείχνω έτσι, για να δείτε την <u>εικόνα</u>. Δεν θ' ασχοληθούμε μόνο με λέξεις, θ' ασχοληθούμε και με ει<u>κό</u>νες σ' αυτό το μάθημα. Βλέπουμε ότι πιάνει όλη τη σελίδα.=
Σ1. Και επομένως όταν ανοίγουμε το φύλλο, πρώτα βλέπουμε αυτό το:/
Δ. Αυτό. Το μάτι μας πάει εδώ.=
Σ1. Όχι αυτό που κρατάμε στο: [στα χέρια μας.
Δ. Σκεφτείτε λοιπόν] μια φυσική κίνηση όταν διαβάζω ή όταν ανοίγω, (*μιμείται την κίνηση)* το <u>μάτι</u> μου θα πέσει εδώ. Άρα αυτή είναι σελίδα της <u>έμφασης</u>   στην εφημερίδα, σωστά; (*οι σπουδαστές γνέφουν θετικά)* Εκτός αν είμαστε σε αραβική χώρα, (*γέλιο από τους σπουδαστές)* στην αραβική χώρα, ίσως θα πάμε έτσι, ε; (*ξεφυλλίζει με την αντίστροφη φορά)* Από εδώ προς τα 'δώ. Αλλά και πάλι, <u>ποια</u> θα είναι η σελίδα της έμφασης; Αυτή↑ ή αυτή; (*δείχνει πρώτα την δεξιά μετά την αριστερή σελίδα)*
Σ1. ((Αυτή.)) (*γνέφει θετικά για την αριστερή σελίδα)*
Δ. Αυτή εδώ. <u>Ακριβώς</u>. Άρα οι νόμοι είναι ίδιοι, αλλά μπορεί να υπάρχει μια μικρή διαφορά στην τοπικότητα.(...)

απόσπασμα 2 (1ο μάθημα: 2.19.09 - 2.20.15)
Δ. Ωραία, δεν μας απασχολήσει άλλο αυτό, πάμε τώρα στο δεύτερο κύριο
   θέμα. (.) Παρατηρούμε κάποια διαφορά στην εικόνα με το προηγούμενο κύριο θέμα;
Σ2. Πιο μεγάλη.
Δ. Πιο μεγάλη.
Σ2. Πιο χρωματιστή.
Δ. [ ] Χρώματα;
Σ4. Κόκκινο.
Δ. Το θέμα μας, θυμάστε ποιο είναι;
Σ1. Κρίση.
Δ. Η κρίση (.) ραγίζει καρδιές, καρδιά και κρίση, καρδιολογία και κρίση, κάτι τέτοιο. Γιατί διάλεξε το κόκκινο χρώμα;
Σ2. Είναι το χρώμα της αγάπης.
Δ. Ναι↑
Σ5. Το χρώμα της καρδιάς.
Σ6. Του αίματος.
Δ. Του αίματος, ε;
Σ1. Του κινδύνου;
Δ. Του κινδύνου, πάρα πολύ ωραία. Άρα κατευθείαν έχει δημιουργήσει στο μυαλό μας όλους αυτούς τους συνειρμούς.

απόσπασμα 3 (1ο μάθημα: 2.45.25 - 2.46.08)
>   **Δ.** Υποψιάζομαι ότι θα διαβάσω το ίδιο άρθρο. Σε τι περιβάλλον όμως, παιδιά; **Σ2.**
>   Ηλεκτρονικό.
>   **Δ.** Τι διαφορές έχει το ηλεκτρονικό περιβάλλον από το:: (.) κανονικό; Της
>   εφημερίδας εννοώ.
>   **Σ1.** Κινούμενες εικόνες.
>   **Δ.** Κάτι κινείται εδώ, ε; Βλέπετε αυτή τη διαφήμιση που αναβοσβήνει και
>   μπαίνει και βγαίνει; Τι διαφημίζει; (…)
>   **Σ1.** Ε::: ασφάλεια.
>   **Δ.** Ασφάλεια, [ναι.
>   **Σ3.** Υγεία.]
>   **Δ.** Υγεία «Άλφα», υγεία για όλους, (.) από αυτό τον οργανισμό, ε;

Στο απόσπασμα 1 η διδάσκουσα (Δ) επιχειρεί να εκμαιεύσει με βιωματικό τρόπο τη θέση έμφασης στο δισέλιδο της εφημερίδας. Αναφέρεται στον σημειωτικό ρόλο της σύνθεσης (Kress & van Leeuwen 2006) χωρίς να χρησιμοποιεί ειδική μεταγλώσσα, αλλά μιμούμενη την κίνηση των χεριών και του ματιού όταν ανοίγει κανείς μια εφημερίδα. Αν και η πρώτη σπουδάστρια (Σ1) γρήγορα μπαίνει στο νόημα και διεκδικεί τον λόγο για να συμπληρώσει τη φράση της διδάσκουσας, εκείνη δεν την αφήνει να ολοκληρώσει τη φράση της, αλλά συνεχίζει με μια εκτενή μονολογική συνεισφορά για τις διαφορετικές θέσεις έμφασης στον δυτικό και στον αραβικό κόσμο. Το επιβεβαιωτικό της ανάλυσης ερώτημα που απευθύνει στο τέλος απαντάται μάλλον απρόθυμα από την ίδια σπουδάστρια, η οποία αυτή τη φορά δεν διεκδικεί τον λόγο. Η διδάσκουσα συμφωνεί εμφατικά και συνεχίζει γενικεύοντας και ανακεφαλαιώνοντας τη σημειωτική αξία της σύνθεσης.

Στο επόμενο, διαδοχικό, απόσπασμα (απόσπ. 2) παρατηρούμε μια σημαντική διαφορά στην εναλλαγή των συνεισφορών. Έξι συνολικά σπουδαστές παίρνουν μέρος στον καταιγισμό ιδεών που αφορά τη χρήση του χρώματος στην κεντρική εικόνα του άρθρου και ειδικότερα στον συμβολισμό του κόκκινου χρώματος σε σχέση με το θέμα. Η διδάσκουσα αναλαμβάνει ρόλο ενορχηστρώτριας της δραστηριότητας, θέτοντας τα ερωτήματα, παρέχοντας ανατροφοδότηση στις ιδέες των σπουδαστών και συνοψίζοντας τη σημειωτική αξία του κόκκινου χρώματος. Φαίνεται ότι ύστερα από τη βιωματική εισαγωγή στην έννοια της πολυτροπικότητας, οι σπουδαστές βρίσκουν ενδιαφέροντα και διαχειρίσιμο τον προβληματισμό για τον ρόλο του χρώματος, ενός από τους πλέον σημαντικούς και προφανείς σημειωτικούς πόρους. Η διδάσκουσα από την πλευρά της χαλαρώνει τη «σκαλωσιά»[1] της ανάλυσης, κρατώντας ωστόσο για τον εαυτό τον ρόλο της ενορχηστρώτριας.

Τον ίδιο ρόλο διατηρεί και στη συνέχεια (απόσπ. 3), όταν η συζήτηση αφορά πλέον τη σύγκριση ηλεκτρονικής και έντυπης δημοσίευσης ως προς έναν ακόμη σημειωτικό πόρο. Πρόκειται για την τρίτη διάσταση (Kress & van Leeuwen 2006) της κινούμενης διαφήμισης σε θέση έμφασης στην ηλεκτρονική σελίδα, χαρακτηριστικό των ψηφιακών μέσων ενημέρωσης. Οι σπουδαστές φαίνονται εξοικειωμένοι με τη σύμβαση αυτή και εύκολα κάνουν τη σύνδεση της διαφήμισης με το περιεχόμενο του άρθρου. Φυσική συνέχεια της διεπίδρασης, που όμως δεν παρουσιάζεται εδώ για λόγους συντομίας, είναι η σύγκριση στη θέση και στο είδος των διαφημίσεων μεταξύ έντυπης και ηλεκτρονικής δημοσίευσης με προεκτάσεις κριτικού γραμματισμού, όσον αφορά τα διαφημιζόμενα προϊόντα και το κοινό στο οποίο απευθύνονται. Από τις διαφημίσεις στο δεξί κάτω τεταρτημόριο της έντυπης σελίδας (τυπική θέση έμφασης κατά τη «γραμματική του οπτικού σχεδιασμού») έχουμε περάσει στις εμβόλιμες κινούμενες διαφημίσεις της ψηφιακής εποχής, με εναλλασσόμενο περιεχόμενο, ανάλογα με τα ενδιαφέροντα και την αγοραστική συμπεριφορά των χρηστών.

4.2. Εφαρμογή πολυτροπικής ανάλυσης από τους σπουδαστές

Είναι γεγονός ότι το κειμενικό είδος της διαφήμισης αποτελεί πρόσφορο έδαφος για πολυτροπική ανάλυση, καθώς οι διαφημιστές αξιοποιούν στο μέγιστο τους σημειωτικούς τρόπους για τη μετάδοση του επιθυμητού μηνύματος. Έτσι, όταν στο ξεκίνημα του δεύτερου μακροκειμένου με τίτλο «Νέες μορφές οικογένειας» οι σπουδαστές εμπλέκονται σε δραστηριότητες τοποθετημένης

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[1] Με τη μεταφορά της σκαλωσιάς αποδίδουμε τον όρο «scaffolding» που προέρχεται από την παιδαγωγική των κειμενικών ειδών και ειδικότερα από τη σχολή της ΣΛΓ (Macken-Horarik 2002). Ο όρος αναφέρεται στην κυκλική πορεία της διδασκαλίας για την αποδόμηση και σταδιακή αναπαραγωγή των κειμενικών ειδών με κλιμακούμενη υποβοήθηση από τον/τη διδάσκοντα/-ουσα.

πρακτικής, τους ζητείται δηλαδή να αναζητήσουν ομαδικά στο διαδίκτυο εικόνες και σχετικά κείμενα, η διαφήμιση αποτελεί το συχνότερα εμφανιζόμενο κειμενικό είδος. Η παρουσίαση που θα αναλύσουμε αφορά την εικόνα μιας τυπικής πυρηνικής οικογένειας σε ιταλική διαφήμιση μπισκότων, η οποία σχολιάζεται από την ομάδα που την επέλεξε ως εξής:

απόσπασμα 4 (5ο μάθημα: 1.57.12 - 1.58.27)
    Αυ<u>τό</u> είναι το σωστό μοντέλο της οικογένειας (*γέλιο από τους σπουδαστές*). Ε: ναι. Τι μπορώ να πω. Ναι. Εχουμε στην Ιταλία τα μπισκότα "Mulino Bianco", και είναι πολύ νόστιμα, αλλά η διαφήμιση είναι <u>φοβερή</u>. Και υπάρχουν <u>πάντα</u> αυτές οι οικογένειες, όπως είπα, με πατέρα, μητέρα που συνήθως είναι είκοσι πέντε χρονών με παιδιά δέκα χρονών (*γέλιο από τους σπουδαστές*). Ναι, δεν τους αρέσει- δεν τους αρέσουν τα μαθηματικά (*γέλιο*). Ε: και υπάρχει πάντα αυτή η οικογένεια με δύο παιδιά, κορίτσι και αγόρι, βεβαίως, ναι. Και: στην Ιταλία λέμε η οικογένεια "Mulino Bianco" και είναι: ειρωνική πρόταση. Σημαίνει ότι είναι μια πολύ παραδοσιακή πολύ: βαρετή μορφή οικογένειας.

Στο αιχμηρό σχόλιο της εικοσάχρονης φοιτήτριας από την Ιταλία, ενδιαφέρον παρουσιάζει ο χαρακτηρισμός της παραδοσιακής ως «βαρετής μορφής οικογένειας», στο τέλος. Παρόλο που δεν έχουν χρησιμοποιηθεί μεταγλώσσα ούτε λεπτομέρειες πολυτροπικής ανάλυσης της εικόνας (π.χ. συμμετρία στη σύνθεση, χρώματα, φωτισμός, άνυσμα κλπ.), το μήνυμα της ομιλήτριας είναι σαφές: δεν πείθεται από τα μαθηματικά, καθώς οι ηλικίες γονιών και παιδιών δεν ταιριάζουν– ούτε από την διάχυτη ευτυχία και αισιοδοξία της εικόνας. Αντίθετα, θεωρεί την διαφήμιση «φοβερή» και την οικογένεια «βαρετή» σε ένα σχόλιο κριτικού γραμματισμού, που εν πολλοίς είναι ζητούμενο στη γλωσσική διδασκαλία, πόσο μάλλον από ενήλικες σπουδαστές της Γ2 (Αρχάκης & Τσάκωνα 2011). Το γέλιο που προκαλείται στην τάξη σε διάφορα σημεία του ειρωνικού σχολίου, δείχνει ότι οι υπόλοιποι σπουδαστές επιδοκιμάζουν τη χρήση του χιούμορ ως μέσου άσκησης κριτικής. Όσον αφορά τις διδακτικές πρακτικές που απορρέουν από το συγκεκριμένο απόσπασμα, παρατηρούμε ότι σε σχέση με τα προηγούμενα (βλ. αποσπ. 1-3), η διδάσκουσα δεν παρεμβαίνει και ότι τα μέλη των ομάδων έχουν τον πρώτο λόγο στην παρουσίαση των διαδικτυακών τους αναζητήσεων. Από μετωπική με τη μορφή ερωταποκρίσεων, η διδασκαλία γίνεται ομαδοσυνεργατική και ανακαλυπτική για τους σπουδαστές.

    Από το τρίτο μακροκείμενο με τίτλο «Πόλη και αστικό περιβάλλον» προέρχεται το επόμενο δείγμα πολυτροπικής ανάλυσης αμιγώς ακαδημαϊκού λόγου. Κεντρική δραστηριότητα στη συγκεκριμένη ενότητα αποτελεί η προβολή και ο κριτικός σχολιασμός μαγνητοσκοπημένων εισηγήσεων από το διαδίκτυο. Πρόκειται για την ιστοσελίδα του επιστημονικού συμποσίου «Ποια Ελλάδα;» που διοργάνωσε το Αριστοτέλειο Πανεπιστήμιο σε συνεργασία με τον Δήμο Θεσσαλονίκης σε μια κίνηση εκλαΐκευσης και προβολής της τοπικής έρευνας προς το κοινό της πόλης. Προβλήθηκαν επιλεγμένες εισηγήσεις στην τάξη, με κριτήριο επιλογής τη χρήση πολλαπλών σημειωτικών πόρων (π.χ. γραφήματα, φωτογραφίες, βίντεο κλπ.), που σε συνδυασμό με τον προφορικό λόγο και τη γλώσσα σώματος του εκάστοτε ομιλητή, καθιστούν τον ακαδημαϊκό λόγο περισσότερο ή λιγότερο προσιτό στο ευρύ κοινό. Την προβολή και τις αναλύσεις στην τάξη ακολούθησε ένα στάδιο μετασχηματισμένης πρακτικής: ζητήθηκε από τους σπουδαστές να σχολιάσουν σε κείμενο δοκιμιακού τύπου την αποτελεσματικότητα ομιλητή/τριας της επιλογής τους ως προς τη μετάδοση επιστημονικών δεδομένων, συγκρίνοντας δύο συναφή κειμενικά είδη: την προφορική εισήγηση και το άρθρο στα ηλεκτρονικά πρακτικά του συμποσίου.

    Το παρακάτω απόσπασμα προέρχεται από ατομική, γραπτή παραγωγή σπουδάστριας και αναφέρεται στην αποτελεσματικότητα μιας εκ των προφορικών παρουσιάσεων.

απόσπασμα 5
    Η χρήση των γραφικών στοιχείων αποτελεί αναμφισβήτητα το πιο αποτελεσματικό μέσο για την μετάδοση του μηνύματος του ομιλητή. Για να εξηγήσει το επιχείρημά του πιο καθαρά, ο κύριος Παπαδόπουλος χρησιμοποιεί διαγράμματα και σχήματα. Η επιλογή των σχημάτων είναι κατάλληλη για ένα ακροατήριο μη ειδικών: η προφορική παρουσίαση συμπεριλαμβάνει μόνο τα διαγράμματα που είναι ευνόητα για ένα κοινό μετρίου επιπέδου μόρφωσης και χωρίς ειδικές γνώσεις στην αρχιτεκτονική, στην μηχανολογία κλπ. [ ] Εν περιλήψει, μπορούμε να πούμε πως ο ομιλητής κατάφερε να επιλέξει τον κατάλληλο τρόπο για να παρουσιάσει πολύπλοκα επιστημονικά θέματα σε ένα γενικό κοινό, μέσω της πετυχημένης χρήσης της ρητορικής, της γλώσσας του σώματος και των γραφικών στοιχείων.

Η παραγωγή υψηλού επιπέδου δοκιμίων στο τέλος ενός προγράμματος διδασκαλίας ακαδημαϊκού λόγου στην ελληνική ως Γ2 αποτελεί ένδειξη επίτευξης των μαθησιακών στόχων, τουλάχιστον όσον αφορά τους ακαδημαϊκούς γραμματισμούς. Εκείνο που μας ενδιαφέρει ειδικότερα ως προς την πολυτροπική θεωρία, είναι ότι οι σημειωτικοί πόροι που έχουν χρησιμοποιηθεί από τον ομιλητή αξιολογούνται από τη σπουδάστρια σε σχέση με την αποτελεσματικότητά τους αναφορικά με το κοινό στο οποίο απευθύνονται: «ένα κοινό μετρίου επιπέδου μόρφωσης χωρίς ειδικές γνώσεις». Ολοκληρώνοντας το κείμενό της με σχόλιο για την «πετυχημένη χρήση της ρητορικής, της γλώσσας του σώματος και των γραφικών στοιχείων», η συντάκτριά του αποδεικνύει κατάκτηση της έννοιας της πολυτροπικότητας, δικαιώνοντας την προσθήκη του προθήματος *πολυ-* στους στοχούμενους γραμματισμούς του ΠΣ (Τακούδα 2017).

4.3. Κριτική ρητορική επίγνωση και εμβύθιση

Η σύνθετη δραστηριότητα συγκριτικής ανάλυσης αμιγώς ακαδημαϊκού λόγου σε αυθεντικά περιβάλλοντα χρήσης, δηλαδή μέσω βιντεοσκοπημένων εισηγήσεων και ηλεκτρονικών πρακτικών επιστημονικού συμποσίου, αποτέλεσε αφορμή για μια απροσχεδίαστη δράση μετασχηματισμένης πρακτικής με την οποία ολοκληρώθηκε η διδακτική εφαρμογή. Αποφασίστηκε από κοινού μεταξύ διδάσκουσας και σπουδαστών να οργανώσουν ένα «επιστημονικό συνέδριο» της τάξης, ανοιχτό στους σπουδαστές του Σχολείου Νέας Ελληνικής Γλώσσας, τους καθηγητές και τους υπεύθυνους των ακαδημαϊκών υποτροφιών. Στόχος αυτής της απαιτητικής δραστηριότητας προσομοίωσης ήταν η εμβύθιση των αλλοδαπών σπουδαστών –φοιτητών στην πλειοψηφία τους στις χώρες καταγωγής τους– στις πρακτικές του ελληνικού ακαδημαϊκού λόγου.

Από ένα από τα πολλά διαδικαστικά συμβάντα για την οργάνωση του συνεδρίου, προέρχεται το απόσπασμα της διεπίδρασης που ακολουθεί, όπου η συζήτηση απηχεί τον προβληματισμό για το αν είναι υποχρεωτική η χρήση διαφανειών παρουσίασης από τους ομιλητές.

απόσπασμα 6 (15ο μάθημα: 00.27.27 - 00.29.25)
   Δ. Και η γνώμη σου↑ προσωπικά↑ ποια είναι;
   Σ7. Νομίζω είναι- ότι είναι καλά να χρησιμοποιείς ε: (.) πίνακες και τα άλλα αν
      (.) <u>έχεις</u> να δείξεις, αλλά είναι πολύ παράξενο ότι στην Γερμανία <u>πρέπει</u> να κάνεις όλο με το power point και <u>όχι</u> με άλλοις ε- άλλοις μέθοδους.
   Δ. Μχμ. Με άλλες μεθόδους, ε;
   Σ7. Σημαίνει ότι δεν σκέφτονται αρκε<u>τά</u>, έχουν ένα σχήμα
   Δ. Μχμ↑
   Σ7. =ένα σύστημα που ακολουθούν.
   Δ. Μχμ. Και πολλές φορές ο υπολογιστής μάς προσφέρει πρότυπα, που είναι σχεδόν έτοιμα όλα. Δηλαδή πρέπει μόνο να συμπληρώσουμε εμείς μερικές λέξεις. [ ]
   Σ8. Στη Χαϊδελβέργη, στην ιατρική και στη βιολογία: ναι. Είναι <u>σωστό</u>. Γιατί είναι πιο δύσκολο να παρακολουθούσεις- να παρακολουθείς αν δεν έχεις power point στη βιολογία, δεν είναι: τόσο εύκολο.
   Δ. Αυτό που λέει η Μίνα είναι επίσης μία άλλη διάσταση. Μήπως έχει σχέση και με το αντικείμενο; Με την επιστήμη;
   **Σ8.** Ναι: Νομίζω.
   Δ. Γιατί ένας φιλόσοφος/
   Σ8. Δεν <u>ταιριάζει</u> στη φιλοσοφία αυτός ο τρόπος, νομίζω.

Το συμβάν θα μπορούσε να σχολιαστεί και υπό το πρίσμα του ψηφιακού γραμματισμού των νέων με κριτικές προεκτάσεις (Κουτσογιάννης 2011), θα παραβλέψουμε όμως αυτή τη διάσταση, καθώς δεν εμπίπτει στους σκοπούς του παρόντος άρθρου. Όσον αφορά την έννοια της πολυτροπικότητας, στο ερώτημα για τον ρόλο των διαφανειών στις ακαδημαϊκές παρουσιάσεις, παρατηρούμε κριτική ρητορική επίγνωση (Fairclough 2003) των συμβάσεων του κειμενικού είδους από τους δύο σπουδαστές (Σ7 και Σ8) που παίρνουν μέρος στη διεπίδραση. Για τον πρώτο σπουδαστή (Σ7) η χρήση πινάκων κλπ. με τον υποχρεωτικό, όπως εμφατικά τονίζει, τρόπο που γίνεται στα πανεπιστήμια της Γερμανίας, μπορεί να είναι περιοριστική και να οδηγεί σε μηχανιστική αναπαραγωγή των προτύπων παρουσίασης και κατ' επέκταση της σκέψης. Η διδάσκουσα συμφωνεί και επεκτείνει το επιχείρημα, για να δώσει στη συνέχεια τον λόγο στη σπουδάστρια (Σ8) η οποία προσθέτει μια επιπλέον διάσταση κριτικής: το ίδιο το επιστημονικό αντικείμενο υπαγορεύει τη χρήση των σημειωτικών τρόπων, καθώς άλλες είναι οι ανάγκες σημειωτικής υποστήριξης στις

θετικές και άλλες στις θεωρητικές επιστήμες[2], με αποτέλεσμα να μην ταιριάζουν απόλυτα τα πρότυπα παρουσίασης των μεν στις δε.

Ολοκληρώνουμε την ανάλυση με ένα δείγμα βιωματικής εφαρμογής της έννοιας της πολυτροπικότητας ως αποτέλεσμα εμβύθισης των σπουδαστών σε υπόρρητες πρακτικές ακαδημαϊκού γραμματισμού (Τακούδα & Παπαευθυμίου 2017). Μια από τις ομάδες που κλήθηκαν να συντάξουν τα «περιφερειακά» είδη του συνεδρίου, δηλαδή το πρόγραμμα των ανακοινώσεων, την πρόσκληση και το δελτίο τύπου, κατασκεύασε και έστειλε την πρόσκληση στους σπουδαστές των άλλων τάξεων με τη μορφή σαΐτας (βλ. εικ. 1). Θεωρούμε ότι η ιδέα αυτή, αν και δεν υπακούει στις συμβάσεις του κειμενικού είδους «πρόσκληση σε συνέδριο», αποτελεί μια δημιουργική εφαρμογή μετασχηματισμένης πρακτικής, κατάλληλη για το κοινό στο οποίο απευθύνεται. Το χρώμα, ο γραφισμός, το άνυσμα (Kress & van Leeuwen 2006), αλλά κυρίως η κίνηση στο πέταγμα της πρόσκλησης-σαΐτας από τάξη σε τάξη συνιστούν αξιοποίηση πολλαπλών σημειωτικών τρόπων για τη μετάδοση του μηνύματος και εφαρμογή της πολυτροπικής θεωρίας στην πράξη.
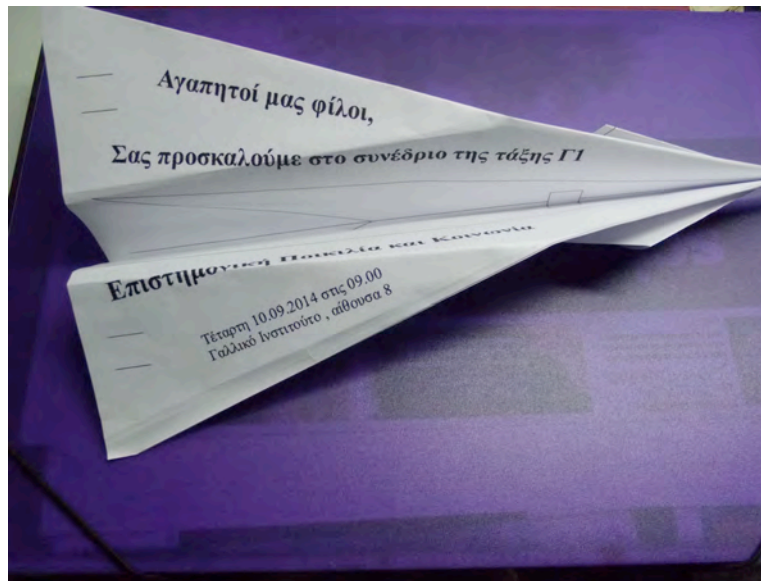
Εικόνα 1: Η πρόσκληση-σαΐτα για το συνέδριο της τάξης

5. ΣΥΜΠΕΡΆΣΜΑΤΑ ΚΑΙ ΣΥΖΉΤΗΣΗ

Από την ανάλυση των συμβάντων πολυγραμματισμών στη διδασκαλία της ελληνικής ως Γ2, προκύπτει κατ' αρχάς ότι η επίγνωση της πολυτροπικότητας από τους σπουδαστές είναι συνάρτηση των διδακτικών πρακτικών που ακολουθούνται. Η ανοιχτή διδασκαλία στο ξεκίνημα του μακροκειμένου, εξυπηρετεί την εισαγωγή στη θεωρία και τη μετάδοση της σχετικής μεταγλώσσας. Με το παραδοσιακό διδακτικό σχήμα Ερώτηση-Απάντηση-Αξιολόγηση/ Ανατροφοδότηση, η διδάσκουσα προσπαθεί να κινητοποιήσει αρχικά το ενδιαφέρον των ενηλίκων σπουδαστών χτίζοντας μια «σκαλωσιά» πολυτροπικής ανάλυσης των κειμενικών ειδών. Ακολουθώντας τη λογική του σχεδιασμού από το οικείο στο νέο (Kress 2010), χρησιμοποιεί ως αφόρμηση διαθέσιμα σχέδια στους μη φυσικούς ομιλητές, οι οποίοι ήδη από το επίπεδο των μέσων, είναι εξοικειωμένοι με το κειμενικό είδος του εκλαϊκευτικού άρθρου στη διδασκαλία της Γ2. Οι μονολεκτικές συνεισφορές των συμμετεχόντων στα στάδια καταιγισμού ιδεών και ερωταποκρίσεων υποδεικνύουν κίνητρο συμμετοχής και κάποια κριτική υποψία, χωρίς ωστόσο να οδηγούν ακόμη σε βεβαιότητα κατάκτησης των σχετικών γραμματισμών.

Στην πορεία της διδασκαλίας, η διδάσκουσα χαλαρώνει τη σκαλωσιά με την ανάθεση δραστηριοτήτων έρευνας και παρουσίασης, οι οποίες συνιστούν πρακτικές ομαδοσυνεργατικής και ανακαλυπτικής μάθησης. Η επιλογή του κειμενικού είδους στις ομαδικές παρουσιάσεις είναι ελεύθερη, αλλά όχι τυχαία. Η διαφήμιση είναι το κατεξοχήν είδος που προσφέρεται για αναλύσεις οπτικού γραμματισμού, λόγω της αξιοποίησης πολλαπλών σημειωτικών πόρων –κάποιες φορές

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[2] Βλ. και Halliday & Martin (2004) για τις διαφορές στον ακαδημαϊκό λόγο μεταξύ θετικών και θεωρητικών επιστημών.

μάλιστα αντιφατικών μεταξύ τους (Kress & van Leeuwen 2006). Επιπλέον, λόγω της παρουσίας του σε όλα τα μέσα επικοινωνίας, το κειμενικό είδος της διαφήμισης ανήκει στα άμεσα διαθέσιμα σχέδια των υποκειμένων ενός γλωσσικού μαθήματος, ανεξαρτήτως επιπέδου, εθνικότητας, ηλικίας ή γλώσσας-στόχου. Είναι λογικό, επομένως, οι σπουδαστές να προβαίνουν στη σημειωτική ανάλυση διαφημίσεων κατά τις πρώτες διαδικτυακές τους αναζητήσεις.

Η διαδικασία του σχεδιασμού είναι μια δυναμική διαδικασία που εμπεριέχει αναζήτηση πηγών, επιλογή, ανάλυση και σύνθεση και για τον λόγο αυτόν συνιστά διαδικασία μάθησης (Kalantzis & Cope 2013). Παρατηρήσαμε λοιπόν ότι σύμφωνα με τους όρους της «μάθησης μέσω σχεδιασμού» (ό.π.), η διαπραγμάτευση της γνώσης στο στάδιο των παρουσιάσεων, έχει και η ίδια πολυτροπικά χαρακτηριστικά. Τα μέλη των ομάδων προβάλλουν τις εικόνες των διαφημίσεων που έχουν επιλέξει προκειμένου να μιλήσουν για τις διάφορες μορφές οικογένειας, δομούν επιχειρήματα με βάση τους σημειωτικούς κώδικες (κυρίως τον οπτικό) και χρησιμοποιούν ενίοτε χιούμορ και ειρωνία στον λόγο τους, στοιχεία που προσδίδουν μια διάσταση κριτικού γραμματισμού στις αναλύσεις.

Διερευνώντας περαιτέρω την επίγνωση της έννοιας της πολυτροπικότητας και της δυναμικής της στην κατασκευή επιχειρηματολογικού λόγου, οδηγηθήκαμε στην απαιτητική δραστηριότητα σύγκρισης αμιγώς ακαδημαϊκών κειμενικών ειδών, όπως η επιστημονική εισήγηση και το άρθρο στα πρακτικά συνεδρίου. Αν και υπάρχουν διαφορές στον βαθμό επίγνωσης μεταξύ των υποκειμένων, το απόσπασμα δοκιμιακού λόγου που εξετάσαμε (βλ. απόσπ. 5), αποτελεί δείγμα ρητορικής επίγνωσης των σημειωτικών τρόπων, λόγω της αναγωγής των επιλογών του ρήτορα στο αντικείμενο, στον επικοινωνιακό σκοπό και στο κοινό στο οποίο απευθύνεται ο επιστήμονας-ομιλητής.

Παραφράζοντας τον όρο «κριτική γλωσσική επίγνωση» του Fairclough (2003), μπορούμε να μιλήσουμε για *κριτική ρητορική επίγνωση* των συμβάσεων του είδους της επιστημονικής εισήγησης, που συνιστά ένα κατεξοχήν πολυτροπικό είδος στις μέρες μας. Η συζήτηση για το αν και σε ποιο βαθμό είναι απαραίτητη η χρήση των λογισμικών παρουσίασης με γραφικά και πίνακες από τους επιστήμονες έχει διαστάσεις κριτικού ακαδημαϊκού και ψηφιακού γραμματισμού (Κουτσογιάννης 2011). Όταν ζητήθηκε η προσωπική τους γνώμη, δύο από τους σπουδαστές διατύπωσαν επιφυλάξεις ως προς τον μανιερισμό των προτύπων παρουσίασης και την καταλληλότητα του μέσου για θεωρητικές επιστήμες, όπως η φιλοσοφία. Το γεγονός ότι η συζήτηση δεν διενεργήθηκε στο πλαίσιο ενός προσχεδιασμένου διδακτικού συμβάντος, αλλά σε ένα διαδικαστικό συμβάν σχεδιασμού του «συνεδρίου της τάξης» υποδεικνύει ότι διαπραγμάτευση της γνώσης, με κριτικές – ενίοτε– συνιστώσες, μπορεί να προκύπτει και από υπόρρητες πρακτικές εμβύθισης σε αυθεντικά επικοινωνιακά περιβάλλοντα.

Καταλήγοντας, θεωρούμε ότι η εμβύθιση των σπουδαστών στην παραγωγή ακαδημαϊκού λόγου με τη μορφή επιστημονικών εισηγήσεων τούς ώθησε στο να πάρουν αποφάσεις ακαδημαϊκών πολυγραμματισμών, από το ποια μορφή θα έχουν οι εισηγήσεις τους μέχρι το πώς θα επικοινωνήσουν την προσπάθειά τους σε πραγματικό κοινό εκτός τάξης. Υποστηρίζουμε ότι ο συνδυασμός ρητών και υπόρρητων διδακτικών πρακτικών στη διάρκεια της διδακτικής παρέμβασης και η προοδευτική αυτονόμηση των υποκειμένων σε συνθήκες ανακαλυπτικής μάθησης συνέβαλαν στην κλιμάκωση της στοχοθεσίας από απλή εφαρμογή πολυτροπικών αναλύσεων σε επίγνωση της έννοιας της πολυτρικότητας ως εγγενούς χαρακτηριστικού των κειμενικών ειδών. Με τον τρόπο αυτόν, πέρα από την επικοινωνιακή (Hymes 1972), τη γενική ακαδημαϊκή (Cummins 1999) και την ειδολογική ικανότητα (Berkenkotter & Huckin 1995), ενισχύεται επίσης η συμβολική ικανότητα (Kramsch 2006) στη Γ2, η ευχέρεια δηλαδή των ατόμων να κινούνται κριτικά μεταξύ γλωσσών και σημειωτικών συστημάτων και να εναλλάσσουν κώδικες επικοινωνίας για την αποτελεσματικότερη δημιουργία νοήματος σε πολύγλωσσα και πολυπολιτισμικά περιβάλλοντα

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Η κατάκτηση των ελληνικών Κειμενικών Δεικτών από αλλόφωνους μαθητές

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ABSTRACT

Cohesion in written texts is acquired with high difficulty by non-native speakers of Greek, as the error-analysis in the Greek Learner Corpus (GLC) has shown. An aspect of textual *cohesion*, *conjunction*, (Halliday & Hasan, 1976), is realized through the *discourse markers* (DMs). DMs play a *cognitive* role in the management of complex meanings and a communicative role while guiding the receiver towards the interpretation of the message. In the survey that has been done in order to compare the acquisition of the Greek DMs in written texts of L2-speaking and Greek-speaking students, the results revealed no significant quantitative differences between the two groups in the use of DMs, but rather qualitative differences. 90 non-native students (NNS) of intermediate and upper intermediate level, attending Greek courses at elementary school during the school year 2012-2013 and 94 native students (NS) fourth, fifth and sixth graders of the Greek Elementary Education System during the school year 2016-2017 participated in the survey. The total data consisted of 184 texts of the genre *story-narration* (NNS: 90, NS: 94), were transcribed, digitized and analyzed with UAM Corpus Tool (version 3.3f). Moreover, the results showed a persistent difficulty for both groups to acquire literal conventions such as punctuation. Concerning the comparison of the two groups, a striking symmetry in the classification of the categories based on the frequency of use (1. Addition 2. Time 3. Contrast 4. Causality 5. Speaker's stance 6. Conversational DMs) can be observed, as well as in the distribution of the meanings of *και* (= and), which are quite identical across the two groups. An important outcome of the survey was that NS used a greater variety of DMs, especially in the categories of Addition and Time. Besides, NS used more DMs of the Speaker's stance, which constitutes a quite demanding and sophisticated class. On the other hand, NNS used more DMs of Addition, especially of the Greek *και* (= and) which expresses the simplest relationship and constitutes an elementary skill. The two populations differ qualitatively as far as the appropriateness of the DMs' use is concerned. Several indicative language activities are suggested for the instructive "treatment" of the non-native use of the Greek DMs by the NNS, based on the approaches of *data-driven learning* and *implicit learning*, as well.

Key Words: Cohesion, Discourse Markers, L2-Acquisition

1. ΕΙΣΑΓΩΓΗ

Η *συνοχή* στο λόγο δύσκολα μπορεί να προσδιοριστεί και να μετρηθεί με ακρίβεια. Είναι, ωστόσο, το φαινόμενο που έχει τη δύναμη να ξεχωρίζει ένα κείμενο από ένα μη-κείμενο. Η κειμενική *συνοχή* είναι κάτι πέρα και από την κατανόηση, είναι αυτό που κάνει τα λόγια μας «να βγάζουν νόημα». Έτσι, οι προτάσεις στο παράδειγμα:

(1.i) *Η Μαρία έφυγε. Ο Γιάννης αρρώστησε.*

είναι κατανοητές, αλλά μοιάζουν να μην έχουν *συνοχή* μεταξύ τους. Στο παράδειγμα όμως:

(1.ii) *Η Μαρία έφυγε. Άρα, ο Γιάννης αρρώστησε.*

το *Άρα* αναδεικνύει τη σχέση προκείμενης-συμπεράσματος που υπάρχει μεταξύ των δύο προτάσεων. Με τον τρόπο αυτό, οργανώνεται καλύτερα η σκέψη του πομπού και διευκολύνεται ο αποδέκτης στην ερμηνεία του μηνύματος, ιδίως στην περίπτωση που αγνοεί τις ιδιαίτερες συνθήκες της περίστασης.

Η *γνωσιακή* και η *επικοινωνιακή*, λοιπόν, υποθέτουμε ότι είναι οι δυο όψεις της *συνοχής*. Η εν λόγω έρευνα ασχολείται με τη *συνδετικότητα* και, ειδικότερα, με τους *κειμενικούς δείκτες* (ΚΔ), οι οποίοι αποτελούν ένα σχετικά αδιερεύνητο πεδίο για τα ελληνικά δεδομένα. Οι ΚΔ μπορεί να προέρχονται από διαφορετικές γραμματικές κατηγορίες (μόρια, επιρρήματα, σύνδεσμοι, φράσεις) και παράλληλα να διαδραματίζουν διαφορετικούς ρόλους. Είναι δυνατό να συναντήσουμε, για παράδειγμα, έναν σύνδεσμο που λειτουργεί και ως ΚΔ, χωρίς να είναι πάντα ευδιάκριτη η διαφορά:

(2.i) Η Μαρία είναι ευχάριστη αλλά αναξιόπιστη. (σύνδεσμος)
(2.ii) – Στο είπα ότι η Μαρία είναι αναξιόπιστη.
– Αλλά να μου φερθεί τόσο άσχημα… (ΚΔ που εισάγει μια δυσάρεστη έκπληξη)

Και φυσικά μπορούμε να εντοπίσουμε έναν ΚΔ με δύο ή και περισσότερες λειτουργίες, όπως στο παράδειγμα:

(3.i) Πήρε το πτυχίο της, έκανε και την πρακτική της. Ήρθε η ώρα, λοιπόν, να βρει και μια δουλειά. (ΚΔ που δηλώνει το συμπέρασμα)
(3.ii) Λοιπόν… Σήμερα θα περάσουμε στο κεφάλαιο της Γαλλικής Επανάστασης. (ΚΔ που εισάγει στο λόγο, λειτουργεί και ως γέμισμα/τακτική καθυστέρησης)

Από τις παραπάνω περιπτώσεις, γίνεται σαφής ο κειμενικός ρόλος των ΚΔ, η αρμοδιότητά τους δηλαδή να αποσαφηνίζουν τα μηνύματα, ενώ θα λέγαμε πως το πραγματολογικό τους φορτίο είναι εκείνο που, ενδεχομένως, ευθύνεται για τη διαρκή εξέλιξή τους στο χρόνο.

Πέρα από την «ιδιόρρυθμη προσωπικότητά» τους, το ερευνητικό ενδιαφέρον γύρω από τους ΚΔ αυξάνεται όταν συνδυάζεται με την κατάκτηση της Γ2, και μάλιστα της ελληνικής. Όπως μαρτυρούν και τα αποτελέσματα των κατατακτήριων τεστ «Ας μιλήσουμε Ελληνικά», που διενεργήθηκαν από τους συνεργάτες της Δράσης 1 στο πλαίσιο του προγράμματος Εκπαίδευση αλλοδαπών & παλιννοστούντων μαθητών[1], οι επιδόσεις των αλλόφωνων μαθητών του δείγματός μας στην παραγωγή γραπτού λόγου ήταν χαμηλότερες απ' ό,τι στις υπόλοιπες δεξιότητες (κατανόηση προφορικού λόγου, κατανόηση γραπτού λόγου, γραμματική). Με μια πρώτη ματιά στα κείμενα των μαθητών, δίνεται η αίσθηση ότι υστερούν ως προς τη *συνοχή*. Εύκολα μπορεί κανείς να παρατηρήσει κείμενα χωρίς ΚΔ, με στοιχειώδη χρήση ΚΔ, με καταχρηστική παρουσία ΚΔ, με ακατάλληλη έως και λανθασμένη χρήση ΚΔ, με ΚΔ αμφιλεγόμενων λειτουργιών, με συνδετικά στοιχεία αμφιλεγόμενα ως προς την κατάταξή τους.

Κύριος στόχος του παρόντος εγχειρήματος είναι να διερευνήσει με απτά επιστημονικά στοιχεία τα διαθέσιμα δεδομένα και να ελέγξει αν υπάρχουν αποκλίσεις και συγκλίσεις στην κατάκτηση των ελληνικών ΚΔ από αλβανόφωνους μαθητές και από μαθητές της ομάδας ελέγχου.

Στο δεύτερο μέρος, θα παρουσιαστεί με συντομία το θεωρητικό πλαίσιο γύρω από την κειμενική *συνοχή*, τη *συνδετικότητα* και τους ΚΔ, καθώς και οι θεωρητικές παραδοχές της παρούσας εργασίας. Στο τρίτο μέρος, θα αναφερθούμε στη μεθοδολογία, τους συμμετέχοντες, το υλικό, τη διαδικασία και την κωδικοποίηση των δεδομένων. Το τέταρτο μέρος περιλαμβάνει τα κυριότερα αποτελέσματα της έρευνας. Τέλος, το πέμπτο μέρος περιλαμβάνει τη συζήτηση των ευρημάτων, την εξαγωγή συμπερασμάτων και ολοκληρώνεται με μια ενδεικτική διδακτική πρόταση.

2. ΚΕΙΜΕΝΙΚΟΙ ΔΕΙΚΤΕΣ

2.1. Ορισμοί και θεωρητικές αναλύσεις

Καθοριστικά στην οριοθέτηση της δυσδιάκριτης κατηγορίας των ΚΔ υπήρξαν τα κλασικά συγγράμματα *Cohesion in English* των M.A.K. Halliday & Ruqaiya Hasan (1976) και *Discourse Markers* της Deborah Schiffrin (1988).

Ξεκινώντας από το έργο των Halliday & Hasan (1976: 4), παρατηρούμε πως βασική είναι η έννοια της *συνοχής* (cohesion), την οποία ορίζουν ως «*οι σημασιολογικές σχέσεις που υπάρχουν σε ένα κείμενο και το ορίζουν ως κείμενο. Η συνοχή εμφανίζεται όταν η ερμηνεία ενός στοιχείου στο λόγο εξαρτάται από την ερμηνεία κάποιου άλλου στοιχείου*»[2]. Η κειμενικότητα (texture), η ιδιότητα δηλαδή των κειμένων, αποτελεί μια σημασιολογική κατηγορία που οφείλει την ύπαρξή της στη

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[1] http://www.diapolis.auth.gr/diapolis_files/drasi1/paradotea/1.1.2-AP_1.pdf
[2] Όλες οι μεταφράσεις των αποσπασμάτων είναι δικές μας.

συνοχή. Οι σχέσεις *συνοχής* είναι η *αναφορά* (reference), η *υποκατάσταση* (substitution), η *έλλειψη* (ellipsis), η *συνδετικότητα* (conjunction) και η *λεξική συνοχή* (lexical cohesion), ενώ πραγματώνονται μέσω των *συνοχικών*[3] δεσμών (cohesive ties), που αποτελούν ζεύγη συνοχικά συσχετιζόμενων αντικειμένων. Από αυτές, τις τρεις πρώτες (*αναφορά, υποκατάσταση, έλλειψη*) τις εντάσσουν στη *γραμματική συνοχή*, ενώ τη *συνδετικότητα* σε μια ενδιάμεση κατηγορία μεταξύ *γραμματικής* και *λεξικής συνοχής*, διευκρινίζοντας πως πρόκειται για μια διάκριση που είναι θέμα βαθμού.

Περνώντας στην κατηγορία που εμπίπτει ειδικότερα στο θέμα της συγκεκριμένης εργασίας, στη *συνδετικότητα*, θα αναλύσουμε τα χαρακτηριστικά και τις υποκατηγορίες της σε σχέση ακόμη με την αξιοποίησή τους στην ανάγνωση των δεδομένων. Με την απαραίτητη σύσταση ότι οι *συνδετικές σχέσεις* δεν είναι λογικές αλλά κειμενικές, οι Halliday & Hasan (1976: 242-3) καταρτίζουν έναν πίνακα με δυο βασικές κατηγορίες, τις *εξωτερικές σχέσεις* (external relations), που συνδέουν γεγονότα με όρους *εμπειρικής* (experiential) και *διαπροσωπικής* (interpersonal) λειτουργίας της γλώσσας, όπου ο ομιλητής είναι απλός παρατηρητής της πραγματικότητας και τις *εσωτερικές σχέσεις* (internal relations) που συνδέουν γλωσσικά γεγονότα με όρους *διαπροσωπικής* (interpersonal) λειτουργίας της γλώσσας, όπου δηλώνεται η παρέμβαση του ομιλητή στα τεκταινόμενα (Αρχάκης 1996: 19).

Στις κατηγορίες αυτές εντάσσεται η ειδικότερη κατηγοριοποίηση σε σχέσεις *προσθήκης* (additive), *αντίθεσης* (adversative), *αιτίας* (causal) και *χρόνου* (temporal) με λεπτότερες υποκατηγορίες, οι οποίες υιοθετήθηκαν για την ταξινόμηση των ΚΔ που εντοπίστηκαν στο διαθέσιμο δείγμα κειμένων. Τον δρόμο για μια πιο πραγματολογική σύλληψη της κατηγορίας αυτής ανοίγει δειλά-δειλά η προσπάθεια διεύρυνσής της με μια ομάδα στοιχείων της αγγλικής γλώσσας[4], που οι Halliday & Hasan αποκαλούν *συνεχιστές* (continuatives). Τα στοιχεία αυτά δεν κατατάσσονται στις υποκατηγορίες της *προσθήκης*, της *αντίθεσης*, του *χρόνου* και της *αιτίας*, στις οποίες διακρίνονται τα κλασικά *συνδετικά στοιχεία*, αλλά τους αποδίδεται ένας ρόλος ανάδειξης λεπτών και σύνθετων σχέσεων κατά τη διαδικασία της επικοινωνίας. Δεν εντάσσονται σε μία γραμματική κατηγορία και έχουν διακριτή επιτόνιση από το κείμενο που τους πλαισιώνει.

Στο έδαφος αυτό γονιμοποιείται ο ορισμός της Schiffrin για τους *κειμενικούς δείκτες* (discourse markers) ως «*διαδοχικά εξαρτημένα στοιχεία που πλαισιώνουν ενότητες λόγου*» (1988: 31). Σε αντίθεση με τους Halliday & Hasan, η Schiffrin επιλέγει μια *μινιμαλιστική προσέγγιση* των ΚΔ, η οποία λαμβάνει υπόψη την αναφορική τους σημασία, προκρίνοντας το ρόλο που διαδραματίζουν οι πραγματολογικές αρχές στα εκάστοτε συμφραζόμενα. Με αυτή την παραδοχή ορίζει πέντε *επίπεδα λόγου* (planes of talk) στα οποία λειτουργούν οι ΚΔ, την *πληροφοριακή κατάσταση* (information state), το *πλαίσιο συμμετοχής* (participation framework), την *αναπαραστατική δομή* (ideational structure), τη *δομή δραστηριότητας* (action structure) και τη *δομή εναλλαγής* (exchange structure). Ανάλογα, λοιπόν, με το *επίπεδο* ή τα *επίπεδα λόγου* στα οποία λειτουργεί ο ΚΔ, επιλέγει μία από τις διαθέσιμες κοινωνικές ή εκφραστικές σημασίες και την εκθέτει. Θα λέγαμε ότι για τη Schiffrin, οι ΚΔ δίνουν οδηγίες για την ερμηνεία των ενοτήτων του λόγου που πλαισιώνουν, έχουν πρωτίστως πραγματολογική υπόσταση, καθώς «στο πλαίσιο της πραγματολογίας η χρήση της γλώσσας σημασιοδοτείται στη βάση πτυχών και όψεων της επικοινωνίας (π.χ. προθέσεις και στόχοι των συνομιλούντων ατόμων, οι μεταξύ τους σχέσεις, οι γνώσεις και οι υποθέσεις τους για τον κόσμο, και ιδιαίτερα αυτά που θεωρούν ότι είναι αμοιβαία γνωστά)»[5]. Μετά τις απαραίτητες διευκρινίσεις για τη φύση τους, επιχειρεί τον προσδιορισμό τεσσάρων κριτηρίων τα οποία πρέπει να πληροί μια έκφραση για να ενταχθεί στην κατηγορία των ΚΔ:

-*να αποσπάται συντακτικά από μια πρόταση*
-*να χρησιμοποιείται, συνήθως, στην αρχική θέση ενός εκφωνήματος*
-*να έχει ένα εύρος επιτονικών σχημάτων*
-*να μπορεί να λειτουργεί σε τοπικό και γενικό επίπεδο λόγου, αλλά και στα παραπάνω επίπεδα που αναφέραμε, γεγονός που σημαίνει ότι ή δεν πρέπει να έχουν καθόλου σημασία ή αυτή να είναι ασαφής ή ανακλαστική*[6] (*της γλώσσας ή του ομιλητή*).» (Schiffrin 1988: 328).

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[3] Χρησιμοποιούμε το επίθετο *συνοχικός* (<*συνοχή*) για να αποφευχθεί η σύγχυση με το *συνεκτικός* (<*συνεκτικότητα*).

[4] *now* (= τώρα), *of course* (= βέβαια, φυσικά), *well* (λοιπόν), *anyway* (λοιπόν, τελοσπάντων), *surely* (= βέβαια), *after all* (= μετά από όλα αυτά, παρ' όλα αυτά)

[5] http://www.greek-language.gr/greekLang/modern_greek/tools/lexica/glossology/show.html?id=129

[6] Ο όρος *ανακλαστικός* αναφέρεται στην «*ικανότητα των φυσικών γλωσσών να γυρίζουν πίσω στον εαυτό τους: να αναφέρονται σ' αυτόν και να τον περιγράφουν*» (Αρχάκης, 1996: 153).

2.2. Θεωρητικό πλαίσιο της παρούσας έρευνας

Μέσα από μια θεωρητική σύζευξη των δυο προαναφερόμενων κλασικών έργων των Halliday & Hasan και Schiffrin, προέκυψε ο εξής ορισμός: *οι ΚΔ είναι διαδοχικά εξαρτημένα στοιχεία που πλαισιώνουν ενότητες λόγου, εκφράζοντας τις υποκείμενες σχέσεις που τις διέπουν και δίνοντας οδηγίες για την ερμηνεία τους. Τους ξεχωρίζουμε από τα παρακάτω χαρακτηριστικά:*

- *Δεν αποτελούν ενιαία γραμματική κατηγορία.*
- *Αποσπώνται συντακτικά από μια πρόταση.*
- *Χρησιμοποιούνται, συνήθως, στην αρχική θέση ενός εκφωνήματος.*
- *Έχουν ένα εύρος επιτονικών σχημάτων.*
- *Μπορούν να λειτουργούν σε τοπικό και γενικό επίπεδο λόγου, αλλά και στα επίπεδα λόγου (όπως τα ορίζει η Schiffrin ό.π: 328), γεγονός που σημαίνει ότι ή δεν πρέπει να έχουν καθόλου σημασία ή αυτή να είναι ασαφής ή ανακλαστική (της γλώσσας ή του ομιλητή).*

Ωστόσο, πρέπει να σημειωθεί ότι οι θεωρητικές αρχές χρησιμοποιήθηκαν με μια σχετική ευελιξία, λόγω της ιδιαιτερότητας του γραπτού υλικού το οποίο αναλύθηκε. Πρόκειται για γραπτά κείμενα τα οποία στερούνται επιτονικών ενδείξεων, ενώ η στίξη είτε απουσιάζει παντελώς είτε χρησιμοποιείται με ασυνέπεια έως και λανθασμένα. Έτσι, παρόλο που είναι αποδεκτή η παραδοχή της Schiffrin (1988: 9, 61) ότι τα *συνδετικά στοιχεία* δεν παράγουν *συνοχή* (όπως οι σύνδεσμοι) αλλά την επιδεικνύουν, συμπεριλάβαμε στην ανάλυση όλους τους παρατακτικούς συνδέσμους ως πιθανούς ΚΔ, λόγω και του ότι μοιράζονται με τους ΚΔ την ιδιότητα της προαιρετικότητας (βλέπε *αποσπώνται συντακτικά από την πρόταση*).

Ακόμη, πρέπει να ληφθεί υπόψη ότι οι μαθητές του δείγματός μας χρησιμοποίησαν ΚΔ που λειτουργούν κυρίως σε επίπεδο *αναπαραστατικής δομής*, με κάποιες εξαιρέσεις που επεκτείνουν τη λειτουργία τους σε επίπεδο *δομής δραστηριότητας* και *πλαισίου συμμετοχής*. Οι επιλογές τους αυτές προφανώς σχετίζονται με το γεγονός ότι τα κείμενα που παρήγαγαν ανήκουν στο κειμενικό είδος *αφήγηση ιστορίας.* Λόγω της φύσης, λοιπόν, των κειμένων που είχαμε στη διάθεσή μας, κρίναμε ότι οι κατηγορίες των Halliday & Hasan, συμπληρωμένες από τις κατηγορίες *ΚΔ, στάση του ομιλητή* και *διαλογικοί ΚΔ,* εξυπηρετούν με οικονομικότερο τρόπο τους στόχους της ανάλυσης.

3. ΜΕΘΟΔΟΛΟΓΙΑ

3.1. Συμμετέχοντες

Οι βασικοί συμμετέχοντες στην έρευνα είναι 90 αλλόφωνοι μαθητές (49 αγόρια και 41 κορίτσια) που φοιτούσαν σε τάξεις υποδοχής, φροντιστηριακά τμήματα αλλά και σε μεικτές τάξεις κατά το σχολικό έτος 2012-2013. Είχαν τακτική φοίτηση στη Β΄, Γ΄, Δ΄, Ε΄ και ΣΤ΄ τάξη του δημοτικού. Ο μέσος όρος ηλικίας τους ήταν τα 10,11 έτη, της παραμονής τους στην Ελλάδα τα 7,30 χρόνια, ενώ η ηλικία πρώτης έκθεσης στην ελληνική γλώσσα ήταν κατά μέσο όρο τα 1,79 χρόνια (0-12 έτη).

Η πλειοψηφία του δείγματος (44 μαθητές, 48,88%) κατατάχτηκε, με βάση τα διαγνωστικά τεστ ελληνομάθειας «Ας μιλήσουμε Ελληνικά Ι, ΙΙ & ΙΙΙ»[7], στο επίπεδο ελληνομάθειας Β1, οι 19 από αυτούς στο επίπεδο Α2, οι 5 στο επίπεδο Α1 και μόλις 3 στο επίπεδο Β2. Ιδιαίτερη σημασία έχει να αναφέρουμε ότι το δείγμα μας αποτελείται από 30 μαθητές των οποίων η επίδοση στην παραγωγή των υπό εξέταση γραπτών κειμένων ήταν 5-7/10, 30 μαθητές με σκορ 7-8,30/10 και 30 μαθητές με βαθμολογία 8,30-10/10.

Προκειμένου να υπάρχει ένα μέτρο σύγκρισης των αποτελεσμάτων των ΜΦΟ, χρησιμοποιήθηκε ως ομάδα ελέγχου ένα σύνολο 94 φυσικών ομιλητών της ελληνικής (43 αγόρια και 51 κορίτσια), όλοι μαθητές της Δ΄, Ε΄ και ΣΤ΄ τάξης του Δημοτικού. Ο μέσος όρος ηλικίας τους ήταν τα 11,3 έτη.

3.2. Υλικό

Τα δεδομένα της παρούσας εργασίας ουσιαστικά αποτελούνται από τη *γραπτή αφήγηση* της ιστορίας ενός επεισοδίου από το animated cartoon *Simon's Cat*. Συγκεκριμένα, έχουμε για τους ΜΦΟ 90 κείμενα και για τους ΦΟ 94.

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[7] http://www.diapolis.auth.gr/eclass/mod/folder/view.php?id=457

3.3. Διαδικασία

Αρχικά, προβλήθηκε το βίντεο *Icecapade - Simon's Cat* διάρκειας 00:01:35, 2 φορές (https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Dzz6lUsF19g&t=11s). Στη συνέχεια, ζητήθηκε από τους μαθητές να αφηγηθούν την ιστορία κατά τη διάρκεια μιας διδακτικής ώρας (45 λεπτά). Ακολούθησε η συγκέντρωση των γραπτών και η καταχώριση των μεταγλωσσικών δεδομένων σε φύλλο εργασίας excel (η κατάταξη των ΜΦΟ στα επίπεδα γλωσσομάθειας έγινε από τους συνεργάτες της Δράσης 1 μέσω της χορήγησης των διαγνωστικών τεστ «Ας μιλήσουμε Ελληνικά»). Το δείγμα μεταγράφηκε σε ηλεκτρονική μορφή (διατηρώντας την ορθογραφία και τη στίξη) και, τέλος, αναλύθηκε με το λογισμικό UAM Corpus Tool (version 3.3f).

3.4. Κωδικοποίηση δεδομένων

Κάθε κείμενο καταχωρίστηκε στο excel με μια τιμή για τις εξής μεταβλητές:

1. τεύχος τεστ, II ή III
2. εκπαιδευτική βαθμίδα
3. φύλο
4. ηλικία
5. τάξη
6. τύπος τάξης (μεικτή, φροντιστηριακή, τάξη υποδοχής)
7. χώρα γέννησης
8. χώρα καταγωγής
9. χρόνος παραμονής στην Ελλάδα
10. ηλικία πρώτης άφιξης στην Ελλάδα
11. χρόνια φοίτησης στο ελληνικό εκπαιδευτικό σύστημα
12. χρόνια φοίτησης σε εκπαιδευτικό σύστημα άλλης χώρας
13. βαθμολογία Α΄ Μέρους του τεστ (Κατανόηση προφορικού λόγου)
14. βαθμολογία Β΄ Μέρους του τεστ (Κατανόηση γραπτού λόγου)
15. βαθμολογία Γ΄ Μέρους του τεστ (Γραμματική)
16. βαθμολογία Δ΄ Μέρους του τεστ (Παραγωγή γραπτού λόγου)
17. συνολική βαθμολογία στο τεστ
18. επίπεδο ελληνομάθειας

Κάθε κείμενο αναλύθηκε με το UAM Corpus Tool για τις εξής μεταβλητές:

1. αριθμός λέξεων
2. αριθμός Κειμενικών Δεικτών
3. τύποι ΚΔ και αριθμός εμφάνισής τους
4. σημασίες των ΚΔ που εμφανίζονται στο κάθε κείμενο

4. ΑΠΟΤΕΛΕΣΜΑΤΑ

Με μια πρώτη ματιά, η σύγκριση των συγκεντρωτικών αποτελεσμάτων των δύο ομάδων (ΜΦΟ και ΦΟ) αναδεικνύει κάποια ενδιαφέροντα ευρήματα. Σε ό,τι αφορά το ποσοστό των ΚΔ στο σύνολο των λέξεων (ΜΦΟ 12,25% και ΦΟ 8,96%) παρατηρούμε υψηλότερο ποσοστό από την ομάδα των αλλόφωνων. Διαφοροποιήσεις, ωστόσο, μεταξύ των αλλόφωνων μαθητών και της ομάδας ελέγχου εντοπίζονται και ως προς την ποικιλία των ΚΔ που χρησιμοποιήθηκαν. Συγκεκριμένα, οι ΦΟ παρήγαγαν 81 τύπους ΚΔ σε 94 κείμενα, με ποσοστό διαφορετικών ΚΔ 9,15%, και 20 υποκατηγορίες. Οι ΜΦΟ, απ' την άλλη, παρήγαγαν 54 τύπους ΚΔ σε 90 κείμενα, με ποσοστό διαφορετικών ΚΔ 5,37%, και 17 υποκατηγορίες.

Τα αποτελέσματα και στις δύο ομάδες συμμετεχόντων είναι παρόμοια ως προς τις κατηγορίες των ΚΔ που χρησιμοποιήθηκαν. Οι κατηγορίες των ΚΔ κατά σειρά συχνότητας είναι: προσθήκη, χρόνος, αντίθεση, αιτιακότητα, στάση ομιλητή, διαλογικοί. Η μόνη αξιοσημείωτη διαφορά είναι ότι το συντριπτικά υψηλό ποσοστό χρήσης των ΚΔ προσθήκης από τους ΜΦΟ (37,91%) είναι αισθητά χαμηλότερο στους ΦΟ (27,34%), γεγονός που σημαίνει υψηλότερα ποσοστά χρήσης των υπόλοιπων κατηγοριών από τους ΦΟ. Παρόμοια εικόνα παρουσιάζει και η κατάταξη των 10 πιο συχνόχρηστων ΚΔ με πρώτο το *και* προσθήκης (ΜΦΟ 37,81% και ΦΟ 26,89%), ενώ το *και* αντικαθίσταται στους ΦΟ με άλλους ΚΔ. Τέλος, αναλογία παρουσιάζει η κατανομή των σημασιών

του *και* μεταξύ των δύο ομάδων, με πρώτη τη σημασία της προσθήκης (ΜΦΟ 66,90% και ΦΟ 58,62%), δεύτερη τη σημασία της αιτιακότητας (ΜΦΟ 24,47% και ΦΟ 28,32%) και τελευταία αυτή του χρόνου (ΜΦΟ 8,62% και ΦΟ 13,05%).

Οι δυο πληθυσμοί διαφέρουν, ωστόσο, ως προς την καταλληλότητα της χρήσης κάποιων ΚΔ. Συγκεκριμένα, το δείγμα των ΜΦΟ παρουσίασε συχνά κατάχρηση του ΚΔ *και* και, όπως στο παρακάτω παράδειγμα:

είρθε μια μικρί γατούλα __και__ προσπαθούνε να το πιάσουνε το ψαρεί __και__ η γάτουλά η μίκρι ητάνε πιο έξιπνι πιγένι δίπλα από το αγύστρι __και__ σικόνι την μπετονιά __και__ βαζί το χερί του __και__ το πέρνι το ψάρι __και__ η αλι γάτα ίθελε να το πιάσι __και__ γλίστραγε δεν μπορούσε να πίγενι να πάρει το ψάρι __και__ η γατούλα πίρε το ψαρεί __και__ έφυγε μαζί με το ψαρή __και__ η μεγάλι γάτα έμινε με το στόμα ανικτό __και__ λέημε τον εαφτό της νά το κόλομικρό μου το πίρε το ψάρή __κι__ εγό εμίνα λίπίμένει!

Παρατηρήθηκε επίσης συστηματική απουσία σημείων στίξης από τους αλλόφωνους μαθητές:

Μία φορά κι εναν καίρο ηταν μια γατα που ηταν ενας που ψάρευε και η γατα ειχαι δει εναν ψαρι και ηθελε να τω φαι ομως μετα μπηκε μέσσα στην λημνη μετα η γατα τρωμαξε και εδιξε στων ψάρα το ψαρι ομως ο ψαρας δεν εδινε σιμαδια βγηκε το ψαρί μετα πειρε αυτο που εκανε ο ψάρας και μετα καθωτανε μεσσα στην λιμνη.

Τέλος, σε αρκετά γραπτά των ΜΦΟ εντοπίζουμε στοιχεία προφορικότητας:

Μετα απο λιγα λεπτα ηρθε μια παλι μικρι γατα εσπασε των παγω και πηρε το ψαρι απο το παγω, πως το πηρε; ευαλε το χερι μεσα η μεγαλι γατα στεναχοριθηκε.

Θα λέγαμε ότι η παρουσία αυτών των περιπτώσεων στο συνολικό μας δείγμα, αποτελεί ένδειξη για τα χαρακτηριστικά της διαγλώσσας των παιδιών αυτών και φωτίζουν τις δυσκολίες που αντιμετωπίζουν στην κατάκτηση των ΚΔ.

5. ΣΥΖΗΤΗΣΗ-ΣΥΜΠΕΡΑΣΜΑΤΑ-ΠΡΟΤΑΣΕΙΣ

Θα θέλαμε, κατ' αρχάς, να επισημάνουμε ότι η μεγάλη συχνότητα χρήσης των ΚΔ προσθήκης περιλαμβάνει μεγάλο μέρος ΚΔ που έχουν την έννοια της χρονικής αλληλουχίας, της προσθήκης, δηλαδή, των συμβάντων. Αν αυτό προστεθεί στο υψηλό ποσοστό χρήσης των ΚΔ που δηλώνουν ξεκάθαρα τον χρόνο, αντιλαμβανόμαστε ότι έχουμε μια σαφέστατη κυριαρχία των σχέσεων αυτών. Έτσι, θα λέγαμε ότι στην *αφήγηση ιστορίας*, οι μαθητές προσπαθούν να αποδώσουν ολοκληρωμένα το συγκεκριμένο περιεχόμενο του βίντεο με κυρίως χρονικές σχέσεις. Το γεγονός αυτό συμφωνεί και με τα δεδομένα της Kormos (2011), στα οποία όλοι οι ομιλητές του δείγματός της (ΦΟ και ΜΦΟ), όταν έπρεπε να αφηγηθούν μια προκαθορισμένη ιστορία με εικόνες, χρησιμοποίησαν περισσότερο χρονικές σχέσεις από ό,τι όταν τους ζητήθηκε να επινοήσουν μια ιστορία. Θα λέγαμε, επομένως, ότι ο τύπος της *ημιελεύθερης γραπτής παραγωγής* φαίνεται να σχετίζεται με την κυριαρχία των *χρονικών ΚΔ*, κάτι που φυσικά είναι αναμενόμενο και επιβεβαιώνει τα ευρήματα της Τσιαμούρη (2014).

Το πιο συμμετρικό, ωστόσο, σημείο της εργασίας είναι τα αποτελέσματα των δυο ομάδων με κριτήριο τη μητρική γλώσσα. Συγκεκριμένα, η κατάταξη των κατηγοριών με βάση τη συχνότητα χρήσης (1. προσθήκη 2. χρόνος 3. αντίθεση 4. αιτιακότητα 5. στάση του ομιλητή 6. διαλογικοί ΚΔ) και η κατανομή των σημασιών του *και*, όπως παρουσιάστηκε παραπάνω, παρουσιάζουν σημαντικές ομοιότητες. Το εύρημα αυτό, ωστόσο, δεν πρέπει, κατά τη γνώμη μας, να ερμηνευτεί ως απόλυτη σύγκλιση των δύο ομάδων σε σχέση με τη χρήση των ΚΔ, διότι –όπως έχει ήδη αναφερθεί– ένα κείμενο αντλεί τη *συνοχική* του ισχύ και από άλλους πόρους. Επίσης, η υψηλή συχνότητα χρήσης ενός ΚΔ δε σημαίνει απαραίτητα και εύστοχη χρήση. Απεναντίας, η καταχρηστική επανάληψη ΚΔ μπορεί να δημιουργήσει προβλήματα στη *συνοχή* και στην κατανόηση – ακόμα – του κειμένου.

Αν ακόμη προσέξουμε τις κατηγορίες των ΚΔ, θα μπορούσαμε να ισχυριστούμε ότι μας θυμίζουν σαφώς επιρρηματικές κατηγορίες, ενώ στη συντριπτική πλειοψηφία τους είναι παρατακτικοί σύνδεσμοι και επιρρηματικοί προσδιορισμοί. Οι παρατηρήσεις αυτές συνηγορούν στο συμπέρασμα ότι οι ΚΔ παίζουν ένα σημαντικό επικοινωνιακό ρόλο, καθώς βοηθούν τον αποδέκτη να αποκωδικοποιεί ευκολότερα σύνθετα νοήματα.

Φυσικά, εκεί που συγκεντρώνεται περισσότερο το ενδιαφέρον μας είναι οι εμφανείς δείκτες απόκλισης των ΦΟ από τους ΜΦΟ. Ένας σημαντικός δείκτης διαφοροποίησης έχει να κάνει με τη μεγαλύτερη ποικιλία, από πλευράς των ΦΟ, στη χρήση των ΚΔ συνολικά, γεγονός που επιβεβαιώνει το εύρημα των τριών μόλις τύπων ΚΔ στα δεδομένα των Hellermann & Vergun (2007), αλλά και τα ανάλογα ευρήματα της Gilquin (2008). Αντίστοιχα, οι ΦΟ χρησιμοποιούν μεγαλύτερο εύρος ΚΔ και ειδικότερα, στις κατηγορίες της προσθήκης και του χρόνου, που είναι οι συχνότερες και για τις δυο ομάδες. Άρα, οι αλλόφωνοι μαθητές υστερούν των ελληνόφωνων ως προς το εύρος των ΚΔ που αξιοποιούν αλλά και ως προς την ποιότητά τους. Οι μεν πρώτοι κάνουν μεγαλύτερη χρήση της προσθήκης, και μάλιστα του *και*, η οποία είναι η απλούστερη σχέση και συνιστά μια στοιχειώδη ικανότητα. Παρόμοιες ενδείξεις στα δεδομένα της, η Mohamed-Saydina (2010) τις αποδίδει στις επιρροές που ασκεί ο πολιτισμός της χώρας καταγωγής και ο γραμματισμός στη Γ1. Οι δεύτεροι, από την άλλη, χρησιμοποιούν περισσότερους ΚΔ της στάσης του ομιλητή, οι οποίοι συνθέτουν μια κατηγορία αρκετά απαιτητική και εξεζητημένη. Τα αποτελέσματα αυτά συμφωνούν με την έρευνα του Buysse (2010), ο οποίος βρίσκει μετά βίας χρήση των λεγόμενων διαπροσωπικών ΚΔ, αλλά και με εκείνη της Χριστοφίδου (1996), η οποία βρίσκει επίσης χαμηλά ποσοστά χρήσης των ΚΔ της στάσης του ομιλητή από ΜΦΟ και γι' αυτό προτείνει να διδάσκονται τελευταίοι ή έστω παθητικά.

Αδιαμφισβήτητο συμπέρασμα και της παρούσας έρευνας αποτελεί η μη φυσική χρήση των ΚΔ και των δεικτών κειμενικής συνοχής, γενικότερα, από τους ΜΦΟ. Εκτός από την παρεμβολή της μητρικής γλώσσας, την οποία δεν είμαστε σε θέση να ελέγξουμε στην εργασία αυτή, μεγάλο μέρος της επιστημονικής κοινότητας (Müller 2005, Buysse 2010, Hellermann & Vergun 2007) αποδίδει τη διαφορά σε σχέση με τους ΦΟ στον υφολογικό στιγματισμό κάποιων συνοχικών στοιχείων και στην επακόλουθη απουσία τους από τη συστηματική διδασκαλία και τα εγχειρίδια. Ακόμη, η μη επαρκής επαφή των ομιλητών μιας ξένης γλώσσας με ΦΟ θεωρείται αρνητικός παράγοντας για την επιτυχή κατάκτηση του φαινομένου της *κειμενικής δείξης*.

Συνοψίζοντας, είμαστε σε θέση να προβούμε σε κάποια βασικά συμπεράσματα. Αρχικά, μπορούμε να ισχυριστούμε ότι οι αλλόφωνοι ομιλητές του δείγματός μας, όπως προέκυψε και από τη βαθμολογία τους στα κατατακτήρια τεστ, υστερούν στην παραγωγή γραπτού λόγου σε σχέση με τις άλλες δεξιότητες (Tzevelekou et al. 2013). Επίσης, έχουμε ενδείξεις για μη φυσική χρήση των ΚΔ. Τα ευρήματα αυτά ενισχύονται και από την ανάλυση λαθών του Ελληνικού Σώματος Κειμένων Μαθητών (εφεξής) ΕΣΚΕΙΜΑΘ (Τάντος *et al.* 2013α και Τάντος *et al.* 2013β), στο οποίο περιλαμβάνονται και τα κείμενα των συμμετεχόντων της παρούσας έρευνας. Τα αποτελέσματα, μάλιστα, από τις αναλύσεις αυτές ανέδειξαν πρόβλημα των ΜΦΟ, συγκεκριμένα, στην κειμενική *συνοχή*.

Για τη διδακτική «θεραπεία» της μη φυσικής χρήσης των ΚΔ, πολύ ενδιαφέρουσα πρόταση αποτελεί η αξιοποίηση του ΕΣΚΕΙΜΑΘ, που βασίζεται στις γραπτές παραγωγές των κατατακτήριων τεστ «Ας μιλήσουμε Ελληνικά I, II & III» από ΜΦΟ που φοιτούσαν σε τάξεις υποδοχής. Πρόκειται για τη γλωσσοδιδακτική προσέγγιση μάθηση μέσω δεδομένων (data driven learning), σύμφωνα με την οποία ο μαθητής μετατρέπεται σε ερευνητή, ανακαλύπτοντας μόνος του τη γλωσσική χρήση.

Εν προκειμένω, για την κειμενική *συνοχή*, υπάρχουν σχετικές δραστηριότητες των Αλεξοπούλου *et al.* 2014, οι οποίες είναι ενταγμένες σε ευρύτερα σχέδια διδασκαλίας που υπάρχουν σε μορφή παρουσίασης (power point) στον ιστότοπο του «Διάπολις»[8]. Στην εικόνα 1 παρατίθεται τμήμα διδακτικού σεναρίου που απευθύνεται σε μαθητές των ΤΥ, αλλά και των μεικτών τάξεων, ηλικίας 9 και 10 ετών, οι οποίοι φοιτούν στην Γ΄ και Δ΄ Δημοτικού.

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[8] http://www.diapolis.auth.gr/diapolis_files/drasi1/paradotea/1.5.4.pdf

Εικόνα 1. Διαφάνειες από το σενάριο «Ταξίδια»

Το θέμα του σεναρίου είναι τα ταξίδια, κυρίως, σε χώρες προέλευσης μεταναστών και προσφύγων. Στην ενότητα για την Αλβανία, οι μαθητές καλούνται να γράψουν στο ημερολόγιό τους για την επίσκεψή τους στη χώρα αυτή, αφού πρώτα διορθώσουν αντίστοιχα αυθεντικά κείμενα μαθητών. Παράλληλα, τους παρέχεται ανατροφοδότηση με τα διορθωμένα κείμενα ως προς τους δείκτες συνοχής, αλλά και ως προς τα χαρακτηριστικά του συγκεκριμένου κειμενικού είδους.

Αν δεχτούμε τη διπλή υπόσταση του φαινομένου της κειμενικής *συνοχής – γνωσιακή* και *επικοινωνιακή* (βλέπε Εισαγωγή) –, θα λέγαμε πως είναι επιτακτική ανάγκη για περαιτέρω διερεύνηση και ενσωμάτωσή του στη διδασκαλία της ελληνικής ως Γ2. Αν αναλογιστούμε τις συνέπειες από την έλλειψη συνοχής στο λόγο ενός ΜΦΟ, θα καταλήγαμε στο ότι αυτή δημιουργεί πολλαπλά προβλήματα: Από το ενδεχόμενο να «μη βγάζουν νόημα» τα λόγια του ως την άμεση αναγνώρισή του ως μη φυσικού ομιλητή. Είναι μάλλον γεγονός ότι η απουσία πραγματολογικής επίγνωσης μπορεί άμεσα να θέσει κάποιον «εκτός τόπου και χρόνου». Κάτι ανάλογο ισχύει, ωστόσο, και για τους φυσικούς ομιλητές, οι οποίοι δεν έχουν διδαχτεί επαρκώς το φαινόμενο της κειμενικής δείξης, γεγονός που μπορεί να δυσχεράνει την ικανοποιητική ένταξή τους σε ακαδημαϊκά περιβάλλοντα.

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Ἡ γλώσσα τῶν «Ἐγχειριδίων Ρητορικῆς» κατὰ τοὺς χρόνους τῆς τουρκοκρατίας (16ος - μέσα 18ου αἰώνα)

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study is to identify and describe the most representative linguistic tendancies and selections followed among the «Rhetorical Essays» that were written during the ottoman occupation in Greece (especially during the 16th and the middle of the 18th century). This period of Greek literature, known as post-byzantine literature, precedes the Greek movement of Enlightment and has its own characteristics inspired by the «Religious humanism» and the recovery of the classical heritage. Many famous Scholars, such as Theophilos Korydalleus (1570-1645), Anastasios Papavassilopoulos (ci.1670-ci.1750), Gerassimos Palladas (ci.1630-1714) etc. follow, in their «Rhetorical Essays», the previous archaistic rhetorical tradition. They also imitate steadily their linguistic exemplars which date back to ancient Greece. Many writers are priests and therefore express in their works the Orthodox Christian ethic in combination to the typical language of the ecclesiastical ceremonies and tradition. The expressions of many of the writers obtained an upper level education were influenced by the Aristotelism, which prevailed the upper educational system of this period (probably restricted in the few centers existed in the occupied domain). Many of them, such as Alexander Mavrocordatos (1673-1709), articulated the Phanariote ideology based on their solid education.

Some other Scholars have become receptive to the influence of the Venetian culture due to the venetian occupacy in many areas of the Greek domain (Crete, Ionian islands etc.; i.e. Vincentios Damodos, 1700-1754).

Finally, the popularization of other writings beyond religious matters gave directions to more simple forms of language closer to the common (simpliest) Greek language, mainly spoken (i.e. Franciscos Scoufos, 1644-1697). The intention of the authors by the means of their ardent texts was to lead their countrymen to the national awareness and the assertion of their rights.

As a matter of fact, the whole issue is also connected to the sociolinguistics as well as to the history of the Education in Greece during a very significant period of time on account of its role for the preparation of the national Revolution of 1821.

Λέξεις κλειδιά: Ἐγχειρίδια Ρητορικῆς, Θρησκευτικὸς ἀνθρωπισμός, Ἕλληνες λόγιοι, μεταβυζαντινὴ φιλολογία.

Στὴν παρούσα ἀνακοίνωση καταγράφονται οἱ πιὸ ἀντιπροσωπευτικὲς τάσεις γλωσσικῶν ἐπιλογῶν στὰ «Ἐγχειρίδια Ρητορικῆς» κατὰ τὴν τουρκοκρατία. Προηγουμένως διερευνῶνται τὰ βασικὰ χαρακτηριστικὰ τῶν ἔργων, μὲ παραδείγματα μορφο-συντακτικά, ὀρθογραφικὰ καὶ λεξιλογικά, καὶ διατυπώνονται ὁρισμένες γενικὲς παρατηρήσεις ἀπὸ αὐτὲς τὶς ἐπιλογές.

Γιὰ λόγους μεθοδολογικοὺς ἡ ἀναφορὰ περιορίζεται στοὺς δυόμισι αἰῶνες τῆς τουρκοκρατίας, δηλαδὴ ἀπὸ τὸν 16ο μέχρι καὶ τὰ μέσα τοῦ 18ου, διότι ἡ παραγωγὴ σχετικῶν ἔργων αὐτὴ τὴν περίοδο ἀπηχεῖ συγκεκριμένες προτιμήσεις καὶ γενικὰ ἐντάσσεται στὴ λεγόμενη μεταβυζαντινὴ γραμματεία, ποὺ προηγεῖται τῆς περιόδου τοῦ νεοελληνικοῦ διαφωτισμοῦ.

Εἶναι βέβαιο ὅτι ἡ συγγραφὴ «Ἐγχειριδίων Ρητορικῆς» αὐτὴ τὴν περίοδο συνδέεται μὲ τὴ διαδικασία παίδευσης τῶν Ἑλλήνων (Εὐαγγελίδης 1936· Σκαρβέλη-Νικολοπούλου 1993: 89-149) κάτω ἀπὸ συνθῆκες ἰδιάζουσες[1], σὲ χρόνο καὶ τόπο ποὺ κυμαίνεται ἀπὸ τὴν ἀνάληψη μεμονωμένων

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[1] Ἡ παιδεία καὶ ἡ λογιοσύνη κάθε συγγραφέα παίζει πρωτεύοντα ρόλο στὴ γλωσσικὴ διατύπωση. Τὸ γεγονὸς ἐπίσης ὅτι ἡ πλειονότητα τῶν συγγραφέων ἦταν ἱερωμένοι εἶναι καθοριστικὸ γιὰ τὶς ἐπιλογές τους. Ἄς θυμηθοῦμε ὅτι οἱ ὑπόδουλοι ἦταν ὀργανωμένοι σὲ μιλέτια, δηλ. ἔθνη, μὲ βάση ὄχι τὴ γλώσσα ἀλλὰ τὴ θρησκεία

μορφωτικῶν πρωτοβουλιῶν ἕως τὴν ὀργανωμένη θεσμικὰ λειτουργία ἐκπαιδευτηρίων, ἀναγνωρισμένων ἀπὸ τὸν κατακτητή. Ἔτσι, στὶς τελευταῖες αὐτὲς περιπτώσεις, τὰ «Ἐγχειρίδια» Ρητορικῆς ἐπέχουν θέση διδακτικῶν βοηθημάτων γιὰ τὴ διεξαγωγὴ τοῦ μαθήματος τῆς Ρητορικῆς σὲ ἕναν ἀνώτερο κύκλο σπουδῶν.

A´. Ὁρισμὸς καὶ γενικὰ χαρακτηριστικὰ τῶν «Ἐγχειριδίων Ρητορικῆς».

Πρόκειται γιὰ κείμενα συνήθως ἐκτενή, τὰ ὁποῖα συνοψίζουν ὅλους τοὺς κανόνες τῆς ρητορικῆς τέχνης, διαθέτοντας συστηματικότητα καὶ ἐπιστημονικότητα.

Συγκεκριμένα, τὰ βιβλία αὐτὰ ὀργανώνουν τὴν ὕλη τῆς ρητορικῆς[2] ἀκολουθώντας, κατὰ κανόνα, τὴν ἀρχαία ἑλληνικὴ καὶ λατινικὴ ρητορικὴ παράδοση, ὅπως αὐτὴ ἐπιβίωσε μέσω τῆς βυζαντινῆς μεσαιωνικῆς διαδρομῆς της. Θέματα τὰ ὁποῖα διεξέρχονται τὰ «Ἐγχειρίδια» εἶναι τὰ τρία εἴδη τῆς ρητορικῆς, συμβουλευτικό, δικανικὸ καὶ ἐπιδεικτικό[3], ἡ διαίρεση τοῦ ρητορικοῦ λόγου σὲ Βιβλία, δηλαδὴ μεγάλες θεματικὲς ἑνότητες, ἡ ὁποία ἀκολουθεῖ τὴν καθιερωμένη διάκριση ἀπὸ τὸν Κικέρωνα σὲ συγκεκριμένες κατηγορίες[4]. Ἐπίσης, στὰ «Ἐγχειρίδια» αὐτὰ γίνεται ἡ συνήθης διάταξη τῶν μερῶν τοῦ ρητορικοῦ λόγου[5], ἐνῶ θίγεται καὶ μία πληθώρα ἄλλων θεμάτων, ὅπως εἶναι τὰ σχήματα λόγου, τὰ μέσα πειθοῦς, ἡ σύνταξη νουθεσίας, παραμυθίας, παραινέσεως, διδαχῶν κ.λπ.

B´. Ἱστορικὸ ὑπόβαθρο καὶ πνευματικὸ κλίμα.

Στὴν τουρκοκρατία βέβαια ἡ ἀνάπτυξη τῆς ρητορικῆς τέχνης ἔγινε κυρίως στὸ πλαίσιο τῶν ἀναγκῶν τοῦ ἐκκλησιαστικοῦ κηρύγματος (Κούρκουλας 1957, 1964: 323-340· Καραθανάσης 1972: 137-179· Γεδεὼν 1887-1888: 186-188, 192-196, 198-203), ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς διδακτικῆς πρακτικῆς, ἀνοργάνωτης κατὰ τοὺς πρώτους αἰῶνες καὶ πιὸ συστηματικῆς στὴ συνέχεια.

Εἰδικότερα, οἱ δύο πρῶτοι αἰῶνες τῆς τουρκοκρατίας χαρακτηρίζονται ἀπὸ τὴν ἐπιβράδυνση τῆς πνευματικῆς ἀνάπτυξης μέσα σὲ κλίμα ἀνελευθερίας καὶ διώξεων (Βακαλόπουλος 2000α: 102-170). Στὴ συνέχεια ὅμως, ἀπὸ τὸν 17ο αἰ. καὶ ἑξῆς, μὲ τὴν ἀνεκτικότερη ἀντιμετώπιση τῶν ὑποδούλων ἐκ μέρους τοῦ Τούρκου κατακτητῆ, ἀρχίζει μία περίοδος σχετικῆς πνευματικῆς ἄνθησης, ἡ ὁποία βρίσκει τὴν ἔκφρασή της κυρίως στὸ κίνημα τοῦ *θρησκευτικοῦ ἀνθρωπισμοῦ*. Αὐτὸ θὰ προετοιμάσει τὸ ἔδαφος γιὰ τὴν ἀφύπνιση τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ποὺ μέσα ἀπὸ τὴ δράση καὶ τὸ συγγραφικὸ ἔργο κορυφαίων ἐκπροσώπων θὰ ὁδηγήσει στὸ ἰδεολογικὸ ρεῦμα τοῦ *νεοελληνικοῦ διαφωτισμοῦ* (Δημαρᾶς 1998· Henderson 1994: 7-21· Γεδεὼν 1999: 49-56). Μὲ δεδομένο αὐτὸ τὸ ἱστορικὸ καὶ πνευματικὸ ὑπόβαθρο, μπορεῖ νὰ γίνει κατανοητὸς ὁ σκοπὸς συγγραφῆς τῶν «Ἐγχειριδίων», ἀλλὰ καὶ ζητήματα ποὺ ἀφοροῦν τὴ γλώσσα τους.

Γ´. Γλωσσικὲς τάσεις.

Ἐν συνεχείᾳ καταγράφονται οἱ κυριότερες, κατὰ τὴ γνώμη μου, τάσεις ποὺ χαρακτηρίζουν τὴ γλῶσσα τῶν «Ἐγχειριδίων». Κατ' ἀρχήν, ἡ γλωσσικὴ μορφὴ ποὺ ἐμφανίζεται στὰ «Ἐγχειρίδια» Ρητορικῆς δὲν συνδέεται ἁπλῶς μὲ τὸ γνωστὸ δίπολο δημώδης ἢ λόγια ἐγγραμματοσύνη, ἀλλὰ μὲ

τους, ὁ δὲ οἰκουμενικὸς πατριάρχης ἐθεωρεῖτο ὡς ὁ ἐγγυητὴς τῆς νομιμοφροσύνης τῶν ὀρθοδόξων πληθυσμῶν. «Οἱ διακυμάνσεις τῆς γλώσσας τοῦ Πατριαρχείου ὀφείλονται ἀφενὸς στὶς διαφορὲς μορφωτικοῦ ἐπιπέδου τῶν ἱεραρχῶν του καὶ ἀφετέρου στὶς περιστάσεις ποὺ ὑπαγόρευαν τὴ χρήση ἀρχαΐζουσας ἢ ἁπλοελληνικῆς. Ἡ μεγάλη, ὥστόσο, προσφορὰ τῆς Ἐκκλησίας στὴν πνευματικὴ ἐπιβίωση τοῦ ὑπόδουλου ἔθνους ἔγκειται στὴ διαφύλαξη τῆς λόγιας παράδοσης» (Παρχαρίδου 2010: 209).

[2] Πολλὰ ἐπιμέρους ζητήματα ποὺ θεμελιώνουν θεωρητικῶς τὴ ρητορικὴ καὶ συνιστοῦν τὴν ὕλη αὐτῆς ἐτέθησαν ἀπὸ τὸν Ἀριστοτέλη, ὅπως ἐπὶ παραδείγματι ὁ ὅρος *πίστις*, ποὺ συνοψίζει τὰ μέσα πειθοῦς, ἄτεχνα καὶ ἔντεχνα, οἱ *τόποι*, γνωστοὶ ὡς τρόποι κατασκευῆς ἐπιχειρημάτων, οἱ *ρητορικοὶ συλλογισμοί*, οἱ σκοποὶ τοῦ λόγου, τὰ ρητορικὰ *ἤθη* καὶ τὰ ρητορικὰ *πάθη* κ.λπ.

[3] Ἡ διάκριση αὐτὴ γινόταν μὲ κριτήρια τὸ περιεχόμενο τοῦ ρητορικοῦ λόγου, τὸν σκοπὸ συντάξεώς του καὶ τοὺς ἀποδέκτες αὐτοῦ. Πρόκειται γιὰ τὸ συμβουλευτικὸ εἶδος, ποὺ ἀπευθύνεται στὸν πολίτη προτρέποντας ἢ ἀποτρέποντάς τον γιὰ κάτι· τὸ δικανικό, ποὺ ἀπευθυνόμενο στοὺς δικαστὲς πραγματεύεται τὴν κατηγορία ἢ ἀπολογία γιὰ μιὰ πράξη· καὶ τὸ ἐπιδεικτικό, ποὺ ἀσχολεῖται μὲ τὸν ἔπαινο καὶ ψόγο γιὰ κάτι ὠφέλιμο ἢ αἰσχρὸ (βλ. Ἀριστοτέλους, *Τέχνη Ρητορική*, 1, 1358a-b).

[4] *εὕρεσις* (inventio), *τάξις* (dispositio), *ὕφος* (elocutio), *μνήμη* (memoria) καὶ *ἐκφορὰ* (pronuntiatio) (Κικέρων, *De Partitione oratoria*, §5, 9, 16, 25, 26).

[5] Περιλαμβάνει τὸ *προοίμιο*, τὴν *πρόταση* ἢ *πρόθεση*, τὴ *διαίρεση*, τὴ *διήγηση*, τὶς *ἀποδείξεις* ἢ *πίστεις* καὶ τὸν *ἐπίλογο*.

πιὸ σύνθετες διαδικασίες, ποὺ ἀπορρέουν ἀπὸ τὶς δεδομένες ἱστορικὲς καὶ κοινωνικὲς συνθῆκες. Σημειωτέον ὅτι τὴ γλώσσα τοῦ πεζοῦ λόγου σὲ ὅλες της τὶς ἐκφάνσεις τὴν καθόριζαν οἱ ἐκκλησιαστικοὶ ταγοὶ καὶ ἀργότερα καὶ οἱ Φαναριῶτες, δηλαδὴ τὰ κυρίαρχα ἡγετικὰ στρώματα (Ἱστορία Ἑλληνικοῦ Ἔθνους 2009: 303).

α΄. Μία πρώτη γενικὴ τάση ἦταν ἡ ἀττικίζουσα γλώσσα, ποὺ προσιδίαζε πρὸς ἐκείνη τῶν βυζαντινῶν Πατέρων τοῦ 4ου αἰ. (Tonnet 1995: 98-101). Ἡ τάση αὐτὴ ἐξηγεῖται ἀπὸ τὸ γεγονὸς ὅτι οἱ ἱερωμένοι ἐκπρόσωποί της ἦταν οἱ πλέον μορφωμένοι μεταξὺ τῶν ὑποδούλων, ἀσκοῦσαν τὴ γλώσσα αὐτὴ στὶς ἱερὲς ἀκολουθίες καὶ τὴ μελετοῦσαν στὰ διάφορα, θεολογικὰ κυρίως, ἀναγνώσματά τους. Ἐξάλλου, σὲ πολλὲς περιπτώσεις εἶχαν σπουδάσει αὐτὴ τὴ γλωσσικὴ μορφὴ σὲ ἀνώτατα ἱδρύματα τῆς ἀλλοδαπῆς (Browning 2008: 119-120), ὅπως στὴν Πάδοβα, τὴ Ρώμη, τὴ Βιέννη κ.ἀ. Καὶ βεβαίως ἐξέφραζαν ἕναν συντηρητισμὸ[6] καὶ μία προσκόλληση στὴν παράδοση ἐν γένει, γλωσσικὴ ἢ ἄλλη, εὔκολα ἑρμηνεύσιμη ἀπὸ τὶς συνθῆκες πολιτικῆς ἀνελευθερίας.

Ἐπίσης, ἡ ἀκαδημαϊκὴ - διδακτικὴ χρησιμότητα τῶν «Ἐγχειριδίων» ἐξηγεῖ γιατί πολλὰ ἀπὸ αὐτὰ ἔχουν γραφεῖ στὴν κλασικὴ ἀττικὴ διάλεκτο, ποὺ κυριαρχοῦσε στὴν ἀνώτερη ἐκπαίδευση. Ὁ μιμητισμὸς ἐκ μέρους τῶν συγγραφέων ἀφορᾶ ὄχι μόνο τὴ γλώσσα τῶν πατερικῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν προτύπων, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὴ τῶν παραδοσιακῶν ἐγχειριδίων ρητορικῆς, ὅπως τοῦ Ἑρμογένη, τοῦ Σωπάτρου, τὰ «Προγυμνάσματα» τοῦ Ἀφθονίου κ.ἄ. Σὲ αὐτὲς τὶς περιπτώσεις, οἱ ἐπιρροὲς εἶναι τόσο ἔντονες, ὥστε ἡ ἰδιόλεκτος τῶν συγγραφέων ὑποχωρεῖ, γιὰ νὰ ἀναδειχθεῖ ἡ γλώσσα τῶν προτύπων ἐγχειριδίων. Συνεπῶς τὰ «Ἐγχειρίδια» τῆς τουρκοκρατίας γίνονται τὸ ὄχημα τῆς διάσωσης πιὸ παραδοσιακῶν γλωσσικῶν μορφῶν, ἀφοῦ ἐνδιαφέρονται κυρίως γιὰ τὴ διδασκαλία τῶν πηγῶν τους.

β΄. Ἡ περίπτωση τοῦ Θεόφιλου Κορυδαλλέα (1570-1645) εἶναι χαρακτηριστική[7]. Τὸ «Ἐγχειρίδιό»[8] του εἶναι ἔντονα ἐπηρεασμένο ἀπὸ τὴν κλασικὴ ἀττικὴ διάλεκτο, διαθέτει ὕφος σοβαρό, στιβαρὸ καὶ χαρακτηρίζεται ἀπὸ ἀφαιρετικότητα. Ὁ ἴδιος ὑπῆρξε πρωτεργάτης τοῦ λεγόμενου νεοαριστοτελισμοῦ (Μαραζόπουλος 2007), σύμφωνα μὲ τὸν ὁποῖο ἡ φιλοσοφία διαχωρίζεται πλέον ἀπὸ τὴ θεολογία, παύει νὰ εἶναι θεραπαινίδα της, ὅπως γινόταν δεκτὸ κατ᾽ ἐξοχὴν στὴ δυτικὴ μεσαιωνικὴ παράδοση, καὶ ἀντλεῖ ἀπὸ τὰ ἀριστοτελικὰ ἔργα ἔμπνευση, δομὴ καὶ συστηματικότητα. Ἡ τάση αὐτὴ συνιστᾶ γνώρισμα τοῦ λεγόμενου «κορυδαλισμοῦ» (Ψημμένος 1988: 174-177), ὁ ὁποῖος χαρακτηρίζει τὶς ἰδεολογικὲς –ἀκόμη καὶ ἐκφραστικὲς ἢ ὑφολογικὲς– προτιμήσεις μετὰ τὴν ἐποχὴ τοῦ Κορυδαλλέα.

Ἐνδεικτικὰ γλωσσικὰ παραδείγματα στὸ ἔργο του ἀποτελοῦν τύποι τῆς ἀττικῆς διαλέκτου, ὅπως διάφορες μορφὲς τῶν ἀπαρεμφάτων, π.χ. ἀναμνῆσαι (σελ. 172), διαλαβεῖν τοῦ ἀορίστου β΄ (σελ. 171), ἐπινενοηκέναι, μὲ τὸν ἀναδιπλασιασμὸ τοῦ παρακειμένου (σελ. 147), τὰ ρηματικὰ ἐπίθετα σὲ -τέος καὶ -τὸς μαζὶ μὲ ἀπρόσωπη σύνταξη, π.χ. πειρατέον τοὺς ἀκροατὰς διαθέσθαι (σελ. 173), ρηματικοὶ τύποι ἀρχαΐζοντες, ὅπως ὁ ἀόρ. β΄ ὑπήνεγκεν (σελ. 170), ἡ εὐκτικὴ ἀνασκοπήσαιμεν (σελ. 158), μετοχές, ὅπως προτεθὲν (σελ. 170), συμφυὲν (σελ. 157), διάφορα ἐπιρρήματα, ὅπως ἀριδήλως, οὐσιωδῶς (σελ. 147) κ.ἄ.

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[6] «...ἡ ἑλληνικὴ γλώσσα διδάσκεται μὲ τὴν ἐκκλησιαστική της μορφή, ἀλλὰ μὲ τὴν ἀρχαία γραμματική της· γι᾽ αὐτὸ μὲ τὴ λέξη ἑλληνικὴ ἐννοεῖται ἡ ἀρχαία κατ᾽ ἀντίθεση πρὸς τὴ ᾽᾽ρωμαίικη᾽᾽, ποὺ χρησιμοποιεῖται γιὰ νὰ δηλωθῆ ἡ δημοτική, ἡ νέα ἑλληνική» (Βακαλόπουλος 2000: 310).

[7] Δίδαξε ἀνὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ κυρίως διακρίθηκε γιὰ τὴ διεύθυνση τῆς Πατριαρχικῆς Ἀκαδημίας στὴν Κωνσταντινούπολη, τὴν ὁποία ἀναδιοργάνωσε καὶ ἀνέδειξε σὲ ἐπίπεδο πανεπιστημιακό. Τὸ πρόγραμμα μαθημάτων τὸ ὁποῖο συγκρότησε ἀποτέλεσε τὸ πρότυπο πολλῶν ἄλλων ἐκπαιδευτηρίων ποὺ λειτούργησαν στὸ ἑξῆς. Στὸ πλαίσιο τοῦ «κορυδαλισμοῦ», ὅπως χαρακτηρίζεται ἡ πνευματικὴ τάση τὴν ὁποία εἰσήγαγε, μὲ στοιχεῖα σχολαστικισμοῦ, μὲ συστηματικὸ ὑπομνηματιστικὸ ἔργο, μὲ ἐπιρροὲς ἀπὸ τὸν Ἀριστοτέλη κ.λπ., ἀποτέλεσε ὁρόσημο γιὰ τὴν πνευματικὴ παραγωγὴ τῶν λογίων τῆς τουρκοκρατίας. Ὑπῆρξαν λόγιοι ποὺ ἀκολούθησαν τὸν κορυδαλισμὸ ἐπὶ πολλὰ χρόνια μετὰ τὸν θάνατο τοῦ Κορυδαλλέα, ἐνῶ ἄλλοι ποὺ ἀπομακρύνθηκαν ἀπὸ αὐτόν.

[8] Τοῦ σοφωτάτου κυρίου Θεοφίλου Κορυδαλλέως, τοῦ διὰ τοῦ θείου καὶ μοναχικοῦ σχήματος Θεοδοσίου μετονομασθέντος, Ἔκθεσις περὶ ἐπιστολικῶν τύπων, ἐν ᾗ προσετέθησαν καὶ Ἀφθονίου Προγυμνάσματα, καὶ ἑτέρα Ἔκθεσις περὶ Ρητορικῆς τοῦ αὐτοῦ κυρίου Θεοφίλου, ἐκδοθεῖσα σπουδῇ καὶ ἐπιμελείᾳ Ἀμβροσίου ἱερομονάχου τοῦ Παμπέρεως. Ἐν Ἄλλῃ τῆς Σαξονίας, ἐν τῇ τυπογραφίᾳ τοῦ Βάερ, ͵αψξη΄ [= 1768].

γ΄. Στὴν ἴδια κατηγορία ἀνήκει καὶ ἡ περίπτωση τοῦ λογίου πατριάρχη Ἀλεξανδρείας Γερασίμου Παλλαδᾶ (†1714). Ἡ ὀγκώδης Ῥητορικὴ τοῦ μὲ τίτλο: «Ἔκθεσις τῆς ἀπάσης Ῥητορικῆς τέχνης»[9], τῆς ὁποίας τὴν κριτικὴ ἔκδοση ἑτοιμάζω, κινεῖται σὲ ἀνάλογη τάση μὲ αὐτὴ τοῦ Θεόφιλου Κορυδαλλέα. Χρησιμοποιεῖ ἀττικίζουσα γλωσσικὴ μορφή, ἀλλὰ εἶναι πιὸ σύνθετη ὡς πρὸς τὶς μορφο-συντακτικὲς δομές, μὲ λόγο μακροπερίοδο, ἀρκετὰ ἐξεζητημένο λεξιλόγιο καὶ ἐμφανῶς ἀριστοτελικὴ ὁρολογία (Χατζόγλου-Μπαλτᾶ 2006: 323-328). Χρησιμοποιοῦνται ἐπίσης πολλὰ σχήματα λόγου, ὅπως τὸ ὑπερβατό, π.χ. *θαυμάσιον ὁ ῥήτωρ τὸ τῆς μεθόδου ἀποφαίνεσθαι χρήσιμον* (Χατζόγλου-Μπαλτᾶ 2008: 47) · ἡ μεταφορά, π.χ. *ἀναγκαιότερον ... ἐπιπλέειν τὸν λόγον* (Χατζόγλου-Μπαλτᾶ 2008: 47)· ἡ ἀντονομασία, ὅπως στὴν περίπτωση ποὺ χρησιμοποιεῖται ἡ φράση *αἱ ἀκοαὶ τῶν προσεχόντων* (Χατζόγλου-Μπαλτᾶ 2008: 47) ἀντὶ *οἱ προσέχοντες* (Χατζόγλου-Μπαλτᾶ 2008: 47)· ἡ παρομοίωση, π.χ. *ὥσπερ ἡ ἰατρικὴ εὐσημότατον παρέλιπεν ἀποτέλεσμα, τὴν ὑγίειαν,...τῷ <αὐτῷ> τρόπῳ καὶ ἡ ῥητορική* (Χατζόγλου-Μπαλτᾶ 2008: 49) κ.ἄ. Ὁ ἴδιος συγγραφέας ἐν τῇ ῥύμῃ τοῦ λόγου του ὑπεραμύνεται τοῦ ζήλου ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀρχαίων ῥητορικῶν προτύπων καὶ τὸν χαρακτηρίζει ὡς «ἀκατηγόρητον μίμησιν», προκειμένου ὁ ῥήτορας νὰ διαμορφώσει ῥωμαλέο λόγο καὶ ῥητορικὴ δεινότητα.

δ΄. Οἱ ἀριστοτελικὲς καταβολὲς πολλῶν συγγραφέων, ποὺ συνδέονταν μὲ τὸ πατριαρχικὸ περιβάλλον τῆς Κωνσταντινούπολης, ὅπου ἡ προτίμηση πρὸς τὸν ἀριστοτελισμὸ διέτρεχε τὶς ἐπὶ μέρους ἐπιλογὲς στὰ διάφορα διδακτικὰ ἀντικείμενα, ἐξηγεῖ γενικῶς τὴ συχνὴ χρήση τῆς ἀριστοτελικῆς ὁρολογίας. Ἐκτὸς ἀπὸ τὴν περίπτωση τοῦ Θεόφιλου Κορυδαλλέα ἄλλο ἀξιόλογο παράδειγμα ἀποτελεῖ τὸ ἔργο τοῦ Φαναριώτη Ἀλεξάνδρου Μαυροκορδάτου τοῦ ἐξ ἀπορρήτων (1673-1709), τὸ ὁποῖο ἐπιγράφεται: «Σύνοψις Τέχνης Ῥητορικῆς κατὰ πεῦσιν καὶ ἀπόκρισιν»[10]. Ἡ γλώσσα τοῦ –ἀνέκδοτου μέχρι σήμερα αὐτοῦ– κειμένου εἶναι ἀκραιφνῶς ἀττικίζουσα, ἐνῶ χαρακτηριστικὰ τῆς ἀριστοτελικῆς ὁρολογίας του ἀποτελοῦν οἱ λεξιλογικὲς περιπτώσεις: *εὐμάθεια, ἐξάλλαξις, σχῆμα, σολοικισμός, μίμησις, συμβεβηκός, ὑπόκρισις* (Χατζόγλου-Μπαλτᾶ 2008: 61-69) κ.ἄ.

ε΄. Τὴν ἴδια ἐποχή, ὁ Ἀναστάσιος Παπαβασιλόπουλος (περ. 1670-περ. 1750) στὸ ἀνέκδοτο ἔργο του «Λευχειμονοῦσα Ῥητορικὴ»[11] (Χατζῆς 2002: 67-95) ἀκολουθεῖ συγκεκριμένο λατινικὸ πρότυπο[12]. Τὸ βιβλίο του χωρίζεται σὲ δύο μέρη, ὅπου στὸ μὲν πρῶτο περιλαμβάνει γενικὰ στοιχεῖα Ῥητορικῆς, ἐνῶ στὸ δεύτερο «Προγυμνάσματα» εἰλημμένα ἀπὸ τὸν Ἀφθόνιο. Ὅλο τὸ ἔργο ἔχει τὴ μορφὴ ἐρωταποκρίσεων. Τὸ γεγονὸς ὅτι ἀποτελεῖ μετάφραση ἑνὸς λατινικοῦ προτύπου[13] δὲν ἐπηρεάζει τὴ γλωσσικὴ ἐπιλογὴ τοῦ συγγραφέα, ὁ ὁποῖος ἀκολουθεῖ ὁμοίως τὴ συνήθη ἀττικίζουσα γλώσσα ἀνάλογων ἐπιστημονικῶν ἐγχειριδίων.

στ΄. Ἡ κηρυγματικὴ στοχοθεσία, καὶ μάλιστα ἡ ἠθικοπλαστικὴ προσέγγιση θεμάτων σὲ δημώδη ἑλληνικὴ γλώσσα, συνιστᾶ ἐπίσης μία –ἂν καὶ ἀπὸ τὶς ἐλάχιστες– γλωσσικὲς ἐπιλογὲς τῶν θεωρητικῶν τῆς μεταβυζαντινῆς Ῥητορικῆς. Κατὰ τὸν καθηγητὴ Τζέφρυ Χόρροκς, «Ἡ κοινὴ γλώσσα...εἶναι τὸ βασικὸ γραπτὸ ὕφος, οἰκεῖο ἀκόμη καὶ στοὺς μέτρια μορφωμένους σὲ ὅλες τὶς ἑλληνόφωνες περιοχὲς - μία ποικιλία ποὺ ἀντικατοπτρίζει μὲ διακριτικὸ τρόπο πολλὲς ἀπὸ τὶς ἀλλαγὲς στὴν ὁμιλούμενη ἑλληνική» (Χόρροκς 2014: 589).

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[9] Τὸ βιβλίο φέρει τὸν τίτλο: Γερασίμου πατριάρχου Ἀλεξανδρείας *Ἔκθεσις τῆς ἀπάσης Ῥητορικῆς Τέχνης, ἀφιερωθεῖσα τῷ Θεῷ καὶ Κυρίῳ ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ.*

[10] *Τοῦ σοφωτάτου Ἀλεξάνδρου Μαυροκορδάτου Σύνοψις Τέχνης Ῥητορικῆς κατὰ πεῦσιν καὶ ἀπόκρισιν.*

[11] *Λευχειμονοῦσα ῥητορική, εἴτουν Ἀφθονίου Προγυμνάσματα ἐκ τῆς λατίνου ἀνθολογηθέντα φωνῆς καὶ ἐν Ἑλληνικῇ διαλέκτῳ ὑποστρωθέντα, σπουδῇ καὶ πόνῳ Ἀναστασίου παπᾶ Βασιλοπούλου τοῦ ἐξ Ἰωαννίνων, ἐν τῇ κωμοπόλει Τυρνάβῳ τῆς Θεσσαλίας διατρίβοντος, χάριν τῶν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ διδασκομένων πρωτοπείρων μαθητῶν.*

[12] Τὸ πρωτότυπο ἔργο ἔχει ἀποδοθεῖ ἀπὸ τὸν ἰησουίτη Francisco Pomey καὶ φέρει τὸν τίτλο: *Canditatus Rhetoricae seu Aphtonii Progymnasmata in meliorem formam usumque redacta,* auctore P. Francisco Pomey- Lugduni, A.Molin, 1661 (Χατζῆς 2002: 74-76).

[13] Εἶναι βέβαιο ὅτι ἡ λατινικὴ ῥητορικὴ παράδοση ἀπηχεῖται γενικὰ στὰ βιβλία ῥητορικῆς τῆς μεταβυζαντινῆς περιόδου· καὶ αὐτή, ὅμως, ἐμπεριέχει τὴν ἑλληνικὴ ἐπίδραση, ἀφοῦ ἀνάγεται στὸν Κικέρωνα, τοῦ ὁποίου ἡ θεωρητικὴ συγκρότηση ἐρείδεται στὸν Ἀριστοτέλη καὶ τὴ μεταγενέστερη ἑλληνόφωνη γραμματεία. Διαπρεπεῖς ῥήτορες τῆς Δύσης, ποὺ θεωρεῖται ὅτι ἄσκησαν ἀξιοσημείωτη ἐπίδραση στὸ ἔργο τῶν Ἑλλήνων τῶν μεταβυζαντινῶν χρόνων, εἶναι ὁ Paolo Segneri (1624-1694), ὁ Bossuet (1627-1704), ὁ Bardaloue (1632-1706), ὁ Massillon (1663-1752) κ.ἄ. Γιὰ τὶς ἐπιδράσεις τῶν ξενόγλωσσων ἔργων ποὺ μεταφράστηκαν ἢ παραφράστηκαν ἀπὸ τοὺς Ἕλληνες συγγραφεῖς βλ. Σφοίνη 2003: 120-121, 124.

Ἔτσι, μία περίπτωση –σπάνια ὡστόσο– δημώδους γλώσσας σὲ ρητορικὸ «Ἐγχειρίδιο» ἀποτυπώνεται στὴν «Τέχνη Ῥητορικῆς»[14] τοῦ Φραγκίσκου Σκούφου (1644-1697). Τὸ βιβλίο εἶναι γραμμένο στὴν «ἀπλοελληνική», ὅπως τὴν ἀποκαλοῦσαν τότε, ἀλλὰ διαθέτει καὶ ἐπιρροὲς ἀπὸ τὸ κρητικὸ ἰδίωμα λόγω τῆς καταγωγῆς τοῦ συγγραφέα.

Ὁ Σκούφος, μολονότι κατέχει ἐπαρκῶς τὴν ἀρχαιοελληνικὴ γραμματεία, ἂν κρίνει κανεὶς ἀπὸ τὰ ἄφθονα παραδείγματα (Χατζόγλου 2016: 499-506) ποὺ κομίζει, δίνει προτεραιότητα στὸν ἐθνικὸ καὶ θρησκευτικὸ προσανατολισμὸ τοῦ πονήματός του. Ἄλλωστε εἶναι ἕνας ἐκπρόσωπος τοῦ ἐκκλησιαστικοῦ δημοτικισμοῦ[15], στὸ πλαίσιο τοῦ ὁποίου ἡ λαϊκὴ γλώσσα ἐπιλέγεται σκόπιμα πρὸς ὠφέλεια τῶν πολλῶν.

Βεβαίως, ὁ συγγραφέας ἔδρασε σὲ λατινοκρατούμενα περιβάλλοντα μετὰ τὴν ἄλωση τῆς Κρήτης τὸ 1669, δηλαδὴ στὴν Ἰταλία καὶ τὰ Ἑπτάνησα. Ὡστόσο εἶχε ἐπίγνωση ὅτι ὅσα γράφει ἀφοροῦν ἕνα χειμαζόμενο ὑπόδουλο Γένος. Γι᾽ αὐτὸ ἐξηγεῖ στὸν «Πρόλογο» γιατὶ ἀποτέλεσε προτεραιότητα ἡ ἐπιλογὴ τῆς δημώδους γλώσσας στὸ ἔργο του. Ἀναφέρει χαρακτηριστικά: «Λοιπὸν μὲ τοιοῦτο τέλος ἀποφάσισα, ὦ Ἀναγνῶστα μου φιλάνθρωπε, νὰ συνθέσω τὸ βιβλίον τοῦτο· καὶ διὰ νὰ γενῇ κοινὴ καὶ εἰς ὅλους ἁπλῶς ἡ ὠφέλεια, ἠθέλησα νὰ μιλήσω καὶ μὲ κοινὴν γλώσσαν, ἐπιθυμῶντας νὰ τὸ δεχθοῦν ὄχι μόνον ἡ ἀγκάλαις τῶν σοφῶν καὶ ἐναρέτων, ἀμὴ καὶ ἐκείναις τῶν ἁπλουστέρων ἀνθρώπων»[16].

Ἐνδεικτικῶς ἀναφέρονται ἐδῶ ὁρισμένα παραδείγματα τῆς γλωσσικῆς ἔκφρασης τοῦ Σκούφου: τὸ ἄρθρο τοῦ θηλυκοῦ γένους στὴν ὀνομαστικὴ πληθυντικοῦ ἡ (ἦτα μὲ δασεία καὶ ὑπογεγραμμένη), π.χ. ἡ Τέχναις (σελ. 1), ὅπου ἡ κατάληξη τῆς ὀνομαστικῆς -αις εἶναι μὲ -αι· ἡ αἰτιατικὴ πληθυντικοῦ ταῖς μηχαναῖς, μὲ αι καὶ περισπωμένη (σελ. 11), ἀντὶ τὰς μηχανάς, ἡ συνίζηση, ὅπως στὸ ἐπίρρημα βαθιὰ (σελ. 5), οἱ ρηματικοὶ τύποι τοῦ γ΄ πληθυντικοῦ μὲ κατάληξη -οῦν: συγχίζουν, ἀλλὰ καὶ -ουσι: παρακαλοῦσι (σελ. 4)· ἡ αὔξηση τοῦ ἀορίστου πρὶν ἀπὸ τὴν πρόθεση, π.χ. ἐσύνθεσε (σελ. 3) κ.ἄ.

ζ΄. Βεβαίως, καὶ στὴν περίπτωση κατὰ τὴν ὁποία τὰ θεωρητικὰ «Ἐγχειρίδια Ῥητορικῆς» γράφτηκαν σὲ βενετοκρατούμενο περιβάλλον, εἶναι σαφὲς ὅτι συνδέονται ὁμοίως μὲ τὴ διδακτικὴ πρακτική, μὲ τὶς κλασσικιστικὲς καταβολὲς τοῦ γνωστικοῦ ἀντικειμένου, μὲ πιθανὲς σπουδὲς τῶν συγγραφέων σὲ δυτικὰ μορφωτικὰ κέντρα. Οἱ περιπτώσεις αὐτὲς ἀντικατοπτρίζουν τὸ ρεῦμα τῆς πνευματικῆς ἀναγέννησης ποὺ σημειώθηκε, συνηθέστατα, στὸν ἑλλαδικὸ χῶρο ὑπὸ τὸ καθεστὼς τῶν ἐπιρροῶν τῶν λατίνων ἐπικυρίαρχων.

Μάλιστα οἱ συγγραφεῖς τῶν ἔργων αὐτῶν ὄχι μόνο δὲν ἀπεμπόλησαν τὴν πολιτιστική τους ταυτότητα, ἀλλὰ ἐγκεντρίζοντας σὲ αὐτὴ νέα στοιχεῖα, παρήγαγαν ὑποδειγματικὰ μορφωτικὰ ἔργα. Ἐδῶ ἰσχύει γενικὰ ἡ διαπίστωση τοῦ καθηγητῆ Henri Tonnet ὅτι «συγκροτήθηκε βάσει τῆς ἑλληνικῆς ποὺ μιλιόταν στὴν Κρήτη ἀπὸ τὰ μέσα τοῦ 15ου αἰ. ὡς τὸν 17ο αἰ. ... μία πρότυπη γραπτὴ δημώδης γλώσσα, ποὺ διατηρήθηκε στὰ Ἰόνια νησιὰ καὶ συνέβαλε ... στὴ διαμόρφωση τῆς λογοτεχνικῆς δημοτικῆς γλώσσας» (Tonnet 1995: 100-101)· ὅμως, τὴν ἐποχὴ ποὺ ἐξετάζουμε, εἰδικὰ στὰ διδακτικὰ ἐγχειρίδια, προτιμᾶται ἀκόμη ἡ λόγια γλώσσα.

η΄. Τέλος, ὑπάρχει καὶ ἡ περίπτωση λογίων ποὺ κινοῦνται στὸ μέσον μεταξὺ τῆς δημώδους καὶ τῆς ἀττικίζουσας γλωσσικῆς μορφῆς, ὅπως εἶναι αὐτὴ τοῦ Βικεντίου Δαμωδοῦ (1700-1754), κορυφαίου ρήτορα τῆς μεταβυζαντινῆς περιόδου. Τὸ ἔργο του ἐπιγράφεται: «Τέχνη Ῥητορικὴ κοινῇ φράσει»[17]. Ἡ γλώσσα του εἶναι προσεγμένη, ἐπιμελημένη ἀλλὰ ὄχι ἀρχαΐζουσα, ἀφοῦ μέλημά του

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[14] *Τέχνη Ῥητορικῆς Φραγκίσκου Ἱερέως τοῦ Σκούφου Κρητὸς τοῦ ἐκ Κυδωνίας, Φιλοσοφίας καὶ Ἱερᾶς Θεολογίας Διδασκάλου, τῇ Μητρὶ καὶ Παρθένῳ γονυπετῶς ἀφιερωθεῖσα*, Arte di Retorica di Francesco Scuffi Dottor Teologo, e di Monsig. Illustriss. E Reu. Marc᾽ Antonio Barbarigo Arciuescouo di Corfù Vicario Generale, Ἐνετίῃσι, παρὰ Μιχαὴλ Ἀγγέλῳ τῷ Βαρβωνίῳ ͵αχπα΄. Con Licenza de᾽ Superiori, et privilegio.

[15] Ὁ καθηγητὴς Κωνσταντίνος Κασίνης ἀναλύοντας τὸ γλωσσικὸ ρεῦμα τοῦ ἐκκλησιαστικοῦ δημοτικισμοῦ κατὰ τὴν τουρκοκρατία, τονίζει γιὰ τὴ συγκεκριμένη «Ῥητορική», ὅτι «ἀποτελεῖ τομὴ στὴν ἐξέλιξη τῆς ἑλληνικῆς ρητορικῆς...» καὶ ὅτι «σπουδαία εἶναι ἡ συνειδητὴ χρήση τῆς ἀπλῆς δημώδους γλώσσας, ποὺ εἶχε στόχο ὄχι μόνο τοὺς ὀλίγους εἰδικοὺς καὶ τοὺς ἐπίδοξους ἐκκλησιαστικοὺς ρήτορες, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς πολλοὺς» (Κασίνης 2011: 96).

[16] Φρ. Σκούφου, *Τέχνη Ῥητορικῆς*, (εἰσαγωγικὴ ἐπιστολή), σ. 8.

[17] *Ἐπίτομος Λογικὴ κατ᾽ Ἀριστοτέλην καὶ Τέχνη Ῥητορικὴ κοινῇ φράσει συντεθεῖσαι παρὰ τοῦ σοφωτάτου Κυρίου Βικεντίου Δαμωδοῦ Κεφαληνιέως*, νῦν πρῶτον τύποις ἐκδοθεῖσαι. Ἀναλώμασι μὲν τοῦ τιμιωτάτου Κυρίου Πολυζώη Σπύρου τοῦ ἐξ Ἀργυροκάστρου, προτροπῇ δὲ καὶ ἐπιδιορθώσει Γεωργίου ἱερέως Φατζέα

ἦταν νὰ γίνει κατανοητή, εἰ δυνατόν, ἀπὸ ὅλο τὸ ἀκροατήριό του[18]. Ἔτσι, τὸ θεωρητικὸ ἐγχειρίδιο ποὺ συνέγραψε ὑπόκειται στοὺς κανόνες τῆς προφορικῆς ὁμιλητικῆς πρακτικῆς. Στὴν πραγματικότητα χρησιμοποιεῖ ἕναν ἐνδιάμεσο γλωσσικὸ τύπο, πολὺ πιὸ ἁπλὸ ἀπὸ τὴν ἀρχαϊκὴ γλώσσα, ἀλλὰ ἀκόμη μὲ ἀρκετὰ λόγια στοιχεῖα[19].

Ἀπὸ λεξιλογικῆς ἀπόψεως ἐνδιαφέροντα παραδείγματα εἶναι οἱ δημωδέστεροι τύποι: *ἀλησμονᾷς* (σελ. 198), *ἀρχινᾷ* (σελ. 197), *νουθετᾷ* (σελ. 198), *ἠμπορεῖ* (σελ. 196), *νὰ φιλιώσῃ* (σελ. 197), *νὰ γένῃ* (σελ. 194), *συσταίνομεν* (σελ. 196), *κανένα πρᾶγμα* (σελ. 199), *ἰξεύρωντας* (σελ. 201), *ὥντας* (σελ. 305), *εὔμορφα λόγια* (σελ. 304), *μίλημα* (σελ. 305) κ.ἄ.

Ἀπὸ τὴν περίπτωση τοῦ Δαμωδοῦ συνάγεται ὅτι ἡ λόγια ἐπιλογὴ τῆς γλώσσας γιὰ τὰ διδακτικὰ «Ἐγχειρίδια» ὑπαγορεύτηκε ἀπὸ ἱστορικὲς καὶ κοινωνικὲς συνθῆκες. Δηλαδὴ ἡ ἀνάγκη γιὰ ἀνώτερη θεωρητικὴ κατάρτιση ἔτσι ὅπως τὴν ὀργάνωνε ἡ κρατούσα ἐκκλησία τῶν τουρκοκρατούμενων περιοχῶν, ὅπου ἡ ἀμάθεια τῆς πλειοψηφίας ἐπέτρεπε στοὺς λίγους μόνο νὰ ἔχουν μορφωτικὲς ἀξιώσεις, ὁδηγοῦσε στὴ λόγια γλώσσα. Ἀντιθέτως, ὅπου ἔπνεε ἀέρας μεγαλύτερης ἐλευθερίας καὶ ἡ μόρφωση ἀφοροῦσε περισσότερους, τότε καὶ τὰ διδακτικὰ ἐγχειρίδια στρέφονταν σὲ πιὸ ἀνειμένες γλωσσικὲς μορφές, προσαρμοζόμενα στὶς ἀξιώσεις τῶν πολλῶν[20].

Δ΄. Συμπεράσματα.

Ἐν κατακλεῖδι λοιπὸν διαπιστώνουμε, ὅτι τὰ περισσότερα «Ἐγχειρίδια Ρητορικῆς» ἔχουν γραφεῖ στὴν ἀρχαιοπρεπὴ γλώσσα, ποὺ κυριαρχοῦσε στὴν ἀνώτερη ἐκπαίδευση. Τὰ βιβλία αὐτὰ ἐξ ὁρισμοῦ διέθεταν ἐπιστημονικὸ ὕφος καὶ ἐπιτηδευμένο λεξιλόγιο, διότι ἀποτύπωναν ἕνα ἰδανικὸ γλωσσικὸ πρότυπο στὸ ὁποῖο, κατὰ τὴν ἀντίληψη τῆς ἐποχῆς, ἔπρεπε νὰ μυηθοῦν οἱ σπουδαστές.

Ἡ λεγόμενη «ἀνωτέρα» παιδεία, δηλαδὴ αὐτὴ τῶν φιλοσοφικῶν μαθημάτων, –ἀκολουθώντας μία μακραίωνη παράδοση– εἶχε ἐντάξει στὸ πρόγραμμά της τὴ διδασκαλία τῆς Ρητορικῆς σὲ ἕνα πολὺ ὑψηλὸ ἐπίπεδο. Στὸ πλαίσιο αὐτὸ τὰ «Ἐγχειρίδια» καθίστανται πλέον βιβλία γιὰ τοὺς λίγους, τουλάχιστον μέχρι τὰ μέσα τοῦ 18ου αἰώνα, ὁπότε ἡ παιδεία ἄρχισε σταδιακὰ νὰ ἁπλώνεται σὲ εὐρύτερα λαϊκὰ στρώματα.

Σημειωτέον ὅτι οἱ συγγραφεῖς θεωροῦσαν τοὺς ἑαυτούς τους –ὅπως καὶ ἦταν σὲ μεγάλο βαθμό– θεματοφύλακες καὶ συνεχιστὲς μιᾶς βαρύνουσας πολιτιστικῆς κληρονομιᾶς, συγγραφικῆς καὶ ὄχι μόνον. Ἔτσι, τὰ βιβλία αὐτὰ γίνονται –σκόπιμα ἢ ὑπόρρητα– τὸ ὄχημα διατήρησης τῆς πατρώας γλώσσας καὶ θρησκείας καὶ ἄρα τῆς διάσωσης μιᾶς ἐπαπειλούμενης ἐθνικῆς συνείδησης.

Ἐπιπλέον, ἡ δημώδης τάση ποὺ παρατηρεῖται κάποιες φορές, κινεῖται στὸ πλαίσιο τοῦ ἐκκλησιαστικοῦ δημοτικισμοῦ, ποὺ ὅμως ἦταν περισσότερο συνήθης κατὰ τὴν ἐκφώνηση ἢ συγγραφὴ τῶν διδαχῶν καὶ τῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν κηρυγμάτων καὶ λιγότερο τῶν διδακτικῶν βοηθημάτων.

Τέλος, ὑπάρχουν καὶ οἱ λόγιοι ποὺ γαλουχήθηκαν πνευματικὰ μέσα σὲ βενετοκρατούμενα πολιτισμικὰ περιβάλλοντα, γεγονὸς ποὺ ἐξηγεῖ τὴν εὐρύτητα καὶ τῶν γλωσσικῶν ἐπιρροῶν τους.

Συνοψίζοντας, θὰ λέγαμε ὅτι ἀπὸ τὴν πραγμάτευση τῶν ἐπιμέρους θεμάτων ἀνακύπτουν ζητήματα κοινωνιο-γλωσσολογικά, ζητήματα ποὺ σχετίζονται μὲ τὴν ἱστορία τῆς ἐκπαίδευσης καὶ ἀκόμη μὲ τοὺς ἰδεολογικοὺς προσανατολισμοὺς καὶ τὶς προτεραιότητες τῶν συγγραφέων κατὰ τὴν τουρκοκρατία. Ὅλα αὐτὰ μποροῦν νὰ ἐνταχθοῦν στὸ ἐρευνητικὸ πεδίο τῆς γλωσσολογίας καὶ νὰ

τοῦ Κυθηρέως. Ἐνετίησι, ͵αψνθ΄ [= 1759], Παρὰ Ἀντωνίῳ τῷ Τζαπάττα. CON LICENZA DE᾽ SUPERIORI, E PRIVILEGIO.

[18] Στὸ Προοίμιο τοῦ ἔργου παρουσιάζεται ἀκριβῶς ἡ ἀνάγκη νὰ ὠφεληθοῦν οἱ πολλοὶ χάρη στὴν ἁπλὴ καὶ κατανοητὴ γλώσσα: «...δὲν ἔχω ἄλλο τέλος εἰς τὸ παρὸν βιβλίον, ὁποῦ ἐβάλθηκα νὰ συνθέσω, παρὰ τὴν κοινὴν ὠφέλειαν ἐκείνων τῶν φιλομαθῶν... Ἐγὼ λοιπὸν ἐσύνθεσα τὸ βιβλίον εἰς τὴν ἁπλὴν γλώσσαν... Ἐπειδὴ πάλιν ἐνόμισα ἀπρεπὲς νὰ παραδειγματίσω ὅσα διδάσκω, μὲ ἐδικαῖς μου ἰδέαις, διὰ τοῦτο φέρνω εἰς τὸ μέσον σχεδὸν ὅλα τὰ παραδείγματα ἀπὸ ταῖς διδαχαῖς τοῦ Διδασκάλου Μηνιάτη, ὥντας καὶ αὐταῖς γραμμέναις εἰς τὴν κοινὴν διάλεκτον» (Δαμωδὸς 1759: 3-4).

[19] «Ἡ γλώσσα του βασίζεται στὸ σύγχρονο ἰδίωμα τοῦ τόπου του, ποὺ εἶναι ἀκόμα ἀδιαμόρφωτο καὶ δύσκολα μπορεῖ νὰ ἀνταποκριθεῖ στὶς ἀνάγκες τῆς θεωρητικῆς γραμματείας...Ὁ νέος δρόμος ποὺ ἄνοιξε ὁ Δαμωδὸς εἶναι ἡ χρήση τῆς ἁπλοελληνικῆς ὡς γλώσσας ἐπιστημονικῆς, ἱκανῆς νὰ ἐκφράσῃ ἔννοιες ἀφηρημένες σὲ ἔργα φιλοσοφικὰ» (Μπόμπου-Σταμάτη 1998: 374-376).

[20] «Πολὺ συχνὰ τὸ ἔναυσμα γιὰ νὰ χρησιμοποιηθεῖ κατανοητὴ γλώσσα...προερχόταν ἀπὸ ἔξω...ἦταν καὶ πάλι θέμα ζήτησης καὶ προσφορᾶς» (Eideneier 2006: 148).

διερευνηθοῦν περαιτέρω, στὸν βαθμὸ ποὺ οἱ γλωσσολόγοι ἐρευνητὲς θὰ στραφοῦν γιὰ νὰ μελετήσουν διεξοδικὰ αὐτὴ τὴν ὄχι καὶ τόσο προσπελάσιμη περιοχή.

ΠΗΓὲΣ

Ἀλεξάνδρου Μαυροκορδάτου, *Σύνοψις Τέχνης Ῥητορικῆς κατὰ πεῦσιν καὶ ἀπόκρισιν*.

Ἀριστοτέλους, *Τέχνη Ῥητορική*.

Γερασίμου πατριάρχου Ἀλεξανδρείας *Ἔκθεσις τῆς ἁπάσης Ῥητορικῆς Τέχνης*, ἀφιερωθεῖσα τῷ Θεῷ καὶ Κυρίῳ ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ.

Ἐπίτομος Λογικὴ κατ' Ἀριστοτέλην καὶ Τέχνη Ῥητορικὴ κοινῇ φράσει συντεθεῖσαι παρὰ τοῦ σοφωτάτου Κυρίου Βικεντίου Δαμωδοῦ Κεφαληνιέως, νῦν πρῶτον τύποις ἐκδοθεῖσαι. Ἀναλώμασι μὲν τοῦ τιμιωτάτου Κυρίου Πολυζώη Σπύρου τοῦ ἐξ Ἀργυροκάστρου, προτροπῇ δὲ καὶ ἐπιδιορθώσει Γεωργίου ἱερέως Φατζέα τοῦ Κυθηρέως. Ἐνετῆσι, ͵αψνθ´ [= 1759], Παρὰ Ἀντωνίῳ τῷ Τζαπάττα. CON LICENZA DE' SUPERIORI, E PRIVILEGIO.

Θεοφίλου Κορυδαλλέως, τοῦ διὰ τοῦ θείου καὶ μοναχικοῦ σχήματος Θεοδοσίου μετονομασθέντος, Ἔκθεσις περὶ ἐπιστολικῶν τύπων, ἐν ᾗ προσετέθησαν καὶ Ἀφθονίου Προγυμνάσματα, καὶ ἑτέρα Ἔκθεσις περὶ Ῥητορικῆς τοῦ αὐτοῦ κυρίου Θεοφίλου, ἐκδοθεῖσα σπουδῇ καὶ ἐπιμελείᾳ Ἀμβροσίου ἱερομονάχου τοῦ Παμπέρεως. Ἐν Ἄλλῃ τῆς Σαξονίας, ἐν τῇ τυπογραφίᾳ τοῦ Βάερ, ͵αψξη´ [= 1768].

Κικέρων, *De Partitione Oratoria*.

Λευχειμονοῦσα ῥητορική, εἴτουν Ἀφθονίου Προγυμνάσματα ἐκ τῆς λατίνου ἀνθολογηθέντα φωνῆς καὶ ἐν Ἑλληνικῇ διαλέκτῳ ὑποστρωθέντα, σπουδῇ καὶ πόνῳ Ἀναστασίου παπᾶ Βασιλοπούλου τοῦ ἐξ Ἰωαννίνων, ἐν τῇ κωμοπόλει Τυρνάβῳ τῆς Θετταλίας διατρίβοντος, χάριν τῶν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ διδασκομένων πρωτοπείρων μαθητῶν.

Pomey Fr. (1661) *Canditatus Rhetoricae seu Aphtonii Progymnasmata in meliorem formam usumque redacta*. Lugduni: A.Molin.

Τέχνη Ῥητορικῆς Φραγκίσκου Ἱερέως τοῦ Σκούφου Κρητὸς τοῦ ἐκ Κυδωνίας, Φιλοσοφίας καὶ Ἱερᾶς Θεολογίας Διδασκάλου, τῇ Μητρὶ καὶ Παρθένῳ γονυπετῶς ἀφιερωθεῖσα, Arte di Retorica di Francesco Scuffi Dottor Teologo, e di Monsig. Illustriss. E Reu. Marc' Antonio Barbarigo Arciuescouo di Corfù Vicario Generale, Ἐνετήῃσι, παρὰ Μιχαὴλ Ἀγγέλῳ τῷ Βαρβωνίῳ ͵αχπα´. Con Licenza de' Superiori, et privilegio.

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Workshop papers

Workshop: Discourses of Aggression and Violence in Greek Digital Communication

Hate speech in online reactions to news articles in Cyprus and Greece[1]

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ΠΕΡΙΛΗΨΗ

Ένα από τα κεντρικά θέματα στις συζητήσεις που αφορούν στο λόγο μίσους είναι ο βαθμός στον οποίο το κριτήριο της ρητής παρακίνησης σε βία και ενθάρρυνσης των διακρίσεων είναι ικανό να οριοθετήσει όλες τις περιπτώσεις που εμπίπτουν στο αντίστοιχο νομικό πλαίσιο. Το χρηματοδοτούμενο από την Ευρωπαϊκή Ένωση έργο C.O.N.T.A.C.T., μέσα από την ανάλυση σχολίων από αναγνώστες διαδικτυακών πυλών ειδησεογραφίας σε άρθρα για το μεταναστευτικό και την κοινότητα ΛΟΑΤΚΙ, συμπέρανε πως και η έμμεση επιδοκιμασία των διακρίσεων φέρει συχνά συγκρίσιμα αποτελέσματα με το υπό δίωξη λεκτικό μίσος. Στο ίδιο πλαίσιο, η παρούσα μελέτη παραθέτει τα αποτελέσματα της ανωτέρω έρευνας σε Ελλάδα και Κύπρο, συγκρίνοντας την ύπαρξη ξενοφοβικών και ομοφοβικών τάσεων στα δεδομένα που αναλύθηκαν και εξετάζοντας, χρησιμοποιώντας μεθόδους ποιοτικής ανάλυσης, τη χρήση μεταφορών, υποτιμητικών εκφράσεων, σαρκασμών και την επικοινωνία στερεοτύπων σχετικά με τις μειονότητες υπό συζήτηση. Με βάση την παρούσα ανάλυση, επισημαίνεται η έκδηλη παρουσία ξενοφοβικών τάσεων στα ελληνικά σχόλια σε σχέση με τα σχόλια από Κύπρο, και η αναστροφή αυτής της τάσης στο πλαίσιο της ομοφοβίας, με τα κυπριακά σχόλια να επικοινωνούν μια οριακά μεγαλύτερη εχθρικότητα όσον αφορά την κοινότητα ΛΟΑΤΚΙ. Παράλληλα, υπογραμμίζεται η έμμεση επικοινωνία ξενοφοβικών και ομοφοβικών απόψεων, όπως αυτή προέκυψε και στα αντίστοιχα σώματα κειμένων άλλων ευρωπαϊκών χωρών, και γίνεται σύντομη αναφορά σε σχόλια που θα μπορούσαν να θεωρηθούν ακόμα και υπό δίωξη με βάση το κριτήριο παρακίνησης σε βία.

Λέξεις Κλειδιά: κριτική ανάλυση λόγου, ρητορική μίσους, διαδικτυακά σχόλια, Ελλάδα και Κύπρος

1. INTRODUCTION

Several recent events, such the ongoing migration crisis in the Mediterranean or the legalisation of same sex civil unions across a number of western countries, have brought to the global limelight discussions surrounding the notion of hate speech and the extent to which it should be regulated by law. A central issue affecting these discussions seems to be the elusiveness of the very notion of hate speech itself, which lacks a harmonised definition across different discursive settings. This is true even in its prototypical legal setting, since different countries have varying thresholds for what actually constitutes prosecutable hate speech (cf. Boromisza-Habashi 2013, Brown 2015). In addition to this, even if one takes on board the simplified view that some piece of discourse legally qualifies as hate speech if it incites to violence and discrimination towards some identifiable minority group (cf. Brown 2015), the very existence of hate speech laws in the first place can be seen to have affected the ways in which people opt to communicate discriminatory attitudes, often concealing them behind seemingly harmless statements. Yet, as the long tradition of research on discriminatory discourse within the field of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) reveals (cf. van Dijk 1987, 1991; Reisigl and Wodak 2001; Baker et al. 2008; Khosravinik 2010; Kopytowska 2015; Musolff 2017), even such camouflaged messages could be taken to contribute to the maintenance

and strengthening of minority-oriented discriminatory attitudes and, by extension, lead to hate crime too.

Against this background, the research carried under the auspices of the recently concluded EU-funded C.O.N.T.A.C.T. project (cf. Assimakopoulos et al. 2017), which included an investigation of how online comments that are posted in reaction to articles in local news portals can help reveal the commenters' attitudes toward migrant and LGBTIQ minorities across multiple EU countries, showed that even the indirect communication of a negative attitude towards a minority can lead to discrimination and prospectively also violence against minorities. Indeed, most of the comments that were classified as discriminatory in our data communicated discriminatory dispositions in a covert way, often resorting to multiple indirect discursive strategies to this effect. This, alongside the fact that researchers of language and ideology do not have any legal jurisdiction to flag a statement as hate speech, it was concluded by the C.O.N.T.A.C.T. consortium that it is, at least for the purposes of scholarly CDA work, safer to distinguish between *hard hate speech*, which would comprise talk that is prohibited in line with a particular country's relevant legislation, and *soft hate speech*, which might not, at face value, appear to be prosecutable, but still raises serious concerns in terms of intolerance and discrimination.

This paper, which contrasts some of the results obtained for Cyprus[2] and Greece within the same project, aims to provide further support for the claim that even indirectly expressed discriminatory attitudes are a form of hate speech that should be taken into account when tackling the issue. To this end, we will start off by outlining the methodological approach taken by the teams that annotated the collected data in for each country, before presenting a quantitative analysis of the results obtained through this process. Then, after situating the trends revealed by the quantitative analysis within the socio-historical context of Cyprus and Greece, we will turn to qualitatively evaluate a sample of the analysed comments that showcase the ways in which the expression of a negative disposition through the use of metaphor, derogatory expressions, sarcasm and stereotyping can be taken to indirectly communicate a discriminatory attitude that should ultimately be characterised as (soft) hate speech. In closing, we will present some examples which, at face value at least, could be interpreted as falling under the incitement to violence criterion, as a means of indirectly challenging the effectiveness with which local news portals monitor hate speech within their comments sections.

2. METHODOLOGY

While certainly illuminating in its own right, most traditional CDA research on discrimination has focused mainly on the expression of discriminatory (and predominantly racist and/or fascist) attitudes in either newspeak and public political discourse or (personal) experience narratives. Yet, the rapidly increasing prevalence of publicly available social media talk and other related forms of computer-mediated communication that can be used to express or counter discriminatory attitudes have recently enabled the proliferation of the relevant ideologically-charged talk beyond such more or less institutionalised settings, with various members of the general public commonly engaging in it too (cf. Erjavec and Kovačič 2012). In this respect, the present paper forms part of a developing body of literature which deals specifically with the ways in which ideologically-charged language use in the Web 2.0 can be seen to construct or perpetuate the underlying attitude of the general public towards particular minorities. This is a premise that follows directly from the fundamental CDA assumption (cf. Fairclough 1995; van Dijk 1991), that language use is a social process, which is ultimately conditioned by (non-linguistic) aspects of society and in itself conditions social relationships, especially with respect to power, too. This premise, in combination with the observation that posts made online in reaction to current affairs are typically spontaneous and abundant with intense emotional content and expression (cf. Yus 2011, Baider and Constantinou 2017a), has been shown to provide a fertile ground for the identification of the ways in which discriminatory attitudes are conceptualised by the general public (cf. Musolff 2017).

It was this rationale that led those partners carrying out research under the auspices of the C.O.N.T.A.C.T. project to focus the most significant part of its data analysis on online comments that

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[2] Throughout this paper we will be using '*Cyprus*' and '*Cypriots*' to refer to the Republic of Cyprus and the inhabitants of the mainly Orthodox part of the island of Cyprus. The data has been restricted to news portals in Greek for Greece and in Greek and English for Cyprus.

were posted in reaction to articles in local news portals. In the context of Cyprus and Greece, the methodology used by the two teams that collected and annotated the data in the first place[3] has been outlined in detail in Assimakopoulos et al. (2017: Chapter 2). In brief, after identifying keywords related to migration (e.g. '*migrant*', '*refugee*', '*foreigner*', etc.) and LGBTIQ issues (e.g. '*gay*', '*lesbian*' '*trans*', etc.), the participating teams collected all local news stories including these keywords that were published online over two 3-month periods (April-June 2015 and December 2015-February 2016). After this initial step, which was facilitated by the use of the Europe Media Monitor web-crawler (http://emm.newsbrief.eu/), each partner's original dataset was systematically narrowed down to allow for the manual collection of a sample of comments associated with each article that would in turn allow for a more nuanced annotation and further qualitative analysis. This resulted in the compilation of balanced[4] corpora of news portal user comments in reaction to news reports related to migration and LGBTIQ issues, one for each participating partner country of the C.O.N.T.A.C.T. consortium. Then, each team manually classified all collected comments in terms of polarity, flagging comments that were deemed as carrying a negative disposition towards the minorities under question, as well as comments that were imbued with a positive attitude towards them. Finally, the different discursive strategies used for the expression of the two identified stances were further teased apart, by taking note of not only the linguistic forms (e.g. derogatory terms, metaphors, etc.) identified on the surface of the relevant comments, but also the pragmatic functions (e.g. stereotyping, sarcasm, etc.) embedded within them.

Having briefly outlined the methodology used across the consortium, as well as the pitfalls that present themselves when the legal notion of hate speech enters the discussion of discriminatory discourse in the previous section, we are now ready to move on to a more thorough investigation of the data submitted by the Cypriot and Greek annotation teams. To this end, in the following section, we will show how the quantitative analysis of the polarity annotation results can provide some insight regarding the relevant discriminatory tendencies in Cyprus and Greece, while situating them in the socio-political context of the two countries.

3. QUANTITATIVE ANALYSIS: IDENTIFYING TRENDS

As can be seen in Table 1 below, the results of the annotation of the collected comments suggest a predominance of negative attitudes, when compared to positive ones, across the board. However, a closer look reveals an interesting contrast between the two national settings. In the case of Greece, a significantly higher proportion of negative comments was identified in the context of migration, both in relation to the corresponding data for Cyprus and the Greek data pertaining to the LGBTIQ corpus. However, in the Cypriot data, this pattern seems to be reversed, with homophobia/transphobia presenting itself as the main discriminatory attitude – and to a (marginally) higher degree than its equivalent in the Greek data.

Table 13 Results of comments polarity evaluation

Polarity evaluation	Migration corpus		LGBTIQ corpus	
	Cyprus	Greece	Cyprus	Greece
Negative	27.8%	**67.3%**	**48.4%**	**44.5%**
Positive	19.1%	11.5%	25.5%	28%
Neutral/irrelevant	**53.1%**	21.2%	26.1%	27.5%

In line with the Discourse-Historical Approach to CDA (cf. Reisigl 2018), we believe that the observed trends can be accounted for by considering the specific circumstances of the period in which this collected data was originally produced as well as the broader social and historical context of the two countries under question.

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[3] Comments were collected and annotated by the University of Cyprus for the Cypriot data and by the NGO Human League for Human Rights (HLHR) for the Greek data. Please refer to the national websites on reportinghate.eu for details.
[4] Each national corpus included comments amounting to 5,000-6,000 words per keyword over the designated 6-month period. Overall, the 8 keywords that returned the most articles in the domain of migration in the original search, alongside the 6 most prevailing ones in the LGBTIQ domain, where used to identify the articles whose comments would then be incorporated in the corpus.

Starting off with what appears to be a marked xenophobic attitude in Greece, it could be taken to follow from the fact that the country has been much more directly affected by the ongoing migration crisis than Cyprus. This, in conjunction with the current economic crisis that has plagued Greece over the past few years, seems to have generated the widely-held, albeit clearly misled, belief that the state cannot afford to – and thus should not – spend money on refugees (cf. Αγγελίδης 2017). Even though the Republic of Cyprus has not known an influx of refugees in this instance, the corresponding, but far less prominent negative sentiment towards migrants in the Cypriot context could also be situated socially and historically. For one, most of the news stories related to refugees and migrants were reproduced in the Cypriot media from Greek news portal and therefore reactions were influenced by the ways stories were presented in their original form. Then, Greek-Cypriots have also experienced the arrival of thousands of migrants from the East and into Greece, especially in relation to what happened in 1974 with the de facto split of the island[5].

Turning to the stronger disapproval of the LGBTIQ community in the Cypriot comments, both the conservative traits which characterize the Cypriot society towards sexuality in particular (cf. Baider 2018; Kouta and Tolma 2008) and its strong religious affiliation to the Orthodox Church (Cyprus is the second most religious country in the EU; cf. Stavrou Karayianni 2012) could help account for the patterns observed in relation to both the Greek data and the Cypriot data on migration. After all, as Kouta and Tolma (2008: 30) observe, in Cyprus "attitudes and beliefs about sexuality reflect traditional collectivist values" with strong taboos influencing beliefs and "differences in gender roles in relation to sexuality […] also prevailing" even among the youth. That said, a socio-historical perspective could also provide another explanation as to why homophobic attitudes are more prominent, even if marginally so, in the Cypriot rather than in the Greek data. This would have to do with the visibility of the LGBTIQ community in the two settings, and more specifically the gay pride parade, which was only organized in 2014 for the first time in Cyprus, and therefore right before the sample of data analysed was produced, whereas in Greece it has a much longer tradition, dating back to 2005. This hypothesis can be further corroborated by the evaluation of the relevant comments, according to which, articles containing the keyword "*ΛΟΑΤ*" (LGBT) and referring to organised LGBT communities appeared to trigger a much stronger hostility than any other keyword related to either homophobia/transphobia or xenophobia in the Cypriot context.

4. QUALITATIVE ANALYSIS: ATTRIBUTING IDEOLOGIES

Several studies in CDA have shown that the study of recurrent linguistic choices and specific discursive tactics can be particularly useful for understanding the strategies used to construct the in-groups and out-groups within a community (cf. Baker et al. 2008; Kopytowska 2015; Musolff 2017). Given our overall aim of showing how the indirect communication of discriminatory attitudes should also be taken into account in discussions of hate speech, we will now turn to the qualitative analysis of some representative examples from the two corpora, which reveal how Othering processes can be taken to lead to discrimination, and eventually to the marginalisation of the two minority groups in the two countries. More specifically, we will show how the negative dispositions towards the minorities at hand present themselves on the basis of the referential strategies used by the respective commenters as well as the exploitation of existing stereotypes. Adopting a CDA perpective, these processes lead to a reinforcement, in the general public, of conscious or subliminal fears related to the Other (in our case the migrant and the LGBTIQ communities), which in turn encourage the development of socio-cultural practices and interpersonal relations affecting minority groups on the basis of negative tropes.

Among the relevant referential strategies, metaphors have been singled out the most in studies focused on the representation of minorities, since "understanding the systematic nature of metaphor choices" allows us to also understand how "*entire belief systems are conceived and communicated*" (Charteris-Black 2005: 3, our italics; cf. also Musolff 2015; Baider 2017). That is because metaphors signal the underlying conceptual frame of their producer, i.e. the set of assumptions typically made in categorising members of a minority or any person belonging (or appearing as belonging) to that group, which in turn leads to the conceptualisation of metaphors as creating or confirming

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[5] In both the Greek and the Cypriot contexts, several negative comments had a religious undertone, so it seems that the differences between the (predominantly) Christian Orthodox faith of the in-group and the Muslim one in the out-group also plays an important role in this setting.

stereotypes. As the following examples show, metaphors were also widespread in our data, in both the xenophobic setting, where the influx of migrants and refugees is characterised as an *invasion* (examples 1 and 2), and the homophobic one, where the LGBTIQ community is thought to engage in *animal*, *abnormal* or *sick/sinful* behaviour (examples 3, 4 and 5 respectively).

1. *Είναι βλακεία οι επιχειρήσεις διάσωσης, επειδή η Ευρώπη επικυρώνει και ενισχύει την <u>εισβολή</u> που δέχεται από την υποσαχάρια Αφρική…*
   'These rescue missions are stupid, because through them Europe validates and reinforces its <u>invasion</u> by [people from] Sub-Saharan Africa.
   (*Proto Thema*, Greece - 5 May 2015)

2. *Τι κρίμα! Δεν λυπάμαι, ούτε βέβαια χαίρομαι, αδιαφορώ, με νοιάζει περισσότερο να σταματήσει αυτή η <u>εισβολή</u> ασιατών στην πατρίδα μου.*
   'What a shame! I don't feel sorry, nor glad of course; I am just indifferent. What I am more concerned with is for this <u>invasion</u> of my homeland by Asians to stop.'
   (*To Vima*, Greece - 29 Jan 2016)

3. *Αυτα ειναι τα καλα της βρομο-Ευρώπης ...τολαχιστω η Ρωσια και η Σερβία αντιστέκεται ακομα στην παρακμή και πτώση του ανθρώπου <u>στο επίπεδο του ζώου.</u>*
   'This is the progress of filthy-Europe... At least Russia and Serbia still resist the decay and decadence of man <u>to the level of an animal</u>.'
   (*Sigmalive*, Cyprus - 6 May 2015)

4. *Την πουστοπαρέλαση τους μόνο εγω την βλέπω ώς διαφήμιση της <u>ανωμαλίας</u> και τρόπος να προσελκύσουν τους νέους*
   'Am I the only one who sees this faggot-parade as an advertisement of <u>abnormality</u> and a way to attract the youth?'
   (*Sigmalive*, Cyprus - 28 May 2015)

5. Poustares ke lesvies <u>arostia tis kinonias</u> mono me fotia tha sothite o <u>theos na sas kapsi</u>!
   Faggots and lesbians, you are the <u>sickness of society</u>. Only fire can save you<u>, may God burn you</u>!
   (*Sigmalive*, Cyprus - June 6 2015)

Having corroborated to some extent the widely documented relevance of metaphor as a vehicle for the indirect communication of discriminatory attitudes, we can now turn to see some further strategies that can be used to the same effect, as these can be identified in our data. On the basis of the discussion of the quantitative analysis above, and due to space restrictions, we will have to focus only on the presence of xenophobic attitudes in the Greek corpus of negative comments and homophobic ones in the Cypriot one, while only focusing on a few representative indirect strategies identified in the data analysis.

4.1. Xenophobic attitudes in the Greek data

When it comes to the indirect communication of xenophobic attitudes in the Greek corpus, a discursive tactic that is widely used is that of blindly generalising across the refugee population, and thus enforcing certain experiences into stereotypes about it:

6. λυπαμαι αλλα εμεις τρεμουμε οταν περναμε απο εκει....κατι περιεργοι τυποι που απλωνονται καταμεσης και δεν τους ενδιαφερει...καθε καρυδιας κακοποιος .....κανατε την ελλαδα σκουπιδαριο....
   'I'm sorry, but it's us who dread passing by there.... They are some strange fellows who stretch out in the middle of the street and don't care [about anything]. All sorts of criminals.... You've turned Greece into a junkyard...'
   (*Proto Thema*, Greece - 31 Dec 2015)

7. ΑΠΟ ΟΠΟΥ ΠΕΡΝΑΝΕ ΚΑΝΟΥΝ ΚΑΤΑΣΤΡΟΦΕΣ ΑΦΗΝΟΥΝ ΒΡΩΜΑ ΚΑΙ ΔΥΣΟΔΙΑ.....

'WHEREVER THEY PASS BY, THEY BRING DESTRUCTION, THEY LEAVE FILTH AND STENCH....'

(*To Vima*, Greece - 11 Dec 2015)

While in (6) the commenter uses the explicit derogatory terms '*criminals*' and '*junk*' to refer to refugees, s/he also alludes to the feelings of insecurity that the presence of groups of refugees may bring to the locals, reinforcing the widely held fear among Greeks that refugees are typically dangerous (cf Αγγελίδης 2017). The same applies to (7), where the commenter exclaims (in capital letters) that all refugees are not only dangerous, but also dirty and disease-ridden, echoing a belief that has often been vocalized by parents protesting the enrolment of asylum-seeking students to local schools for reasons of hygiene (cf. Παπαματθαίου και Κλώντζα 2017).

Along similar lines, sarcasm is also often used not only for the enforcement but also the perpetuation of stereotypical beliefs among the Greeks regarding the same refugee groups. Consider the following examples:

8. Και πρώτη γλώσσα Αραβικά! Και Σαρία! Και ΙΣΙΣ! Και τζαμιά πολλά! Και τζιχαντιστές! Και ανατινάξεις! Και κομμένα χεράκια ποδαράκια! Επιτέλους πρόοδος!
   'And Arabic to become first language! And the Sharia! And ISIS! And many mosques! And jihadists! And explosions! And mutilated hands and legs! Progress is finally here!'

   (*Ta Nea*, Greece - 15 May 2015)

9. Γρήγορα παιδιά μη τους χάσουμε και τους πάρει η Ιταλία, τρεχάτε να προλάβουμε εμείς!
   'Quick guys! Let's not lose them to Italy. Hurry, so that we catch them!'

   (*Proto Thema*, Greece - 7 June 2015)

At face value, the comment made in (8), which was made in response to an article reporting on a proposed bill in relation to second generation migrants, has a particularly positive undertone, as it mimics the talk of someone who is looking forward to some particularly exciting prospect; an impression supported by the consecutive use of short exclamatory phrases, each introduced by the coordinating conjunction '*and*'. However, the prediction that the new bill will have such destructive consequences as '*explosions*' or '*mutilated hands and legs*' clearly shows that the commenter says that '*progress is finally here*' in a mocking manner, while at the same time reinforcing the stereotypical view in the West that Muslims, and especially Arabs, are inextricably linked to violence and terrorism (cf. Saifuddin and Matthes 2016). Similarly, the commenter who produced (9) mimics the talk of someone urging his/her peers to hurry up for something exciting. Given, however, that the article under which this comment was posted reported on a rescue mission in the Mediterranean to which Greece did not take part, (9) can be straightforwardly interpreted as sarcastic and building on the widely held assumption among Greeks that there are already far too many migrants in Greece (cf. Καιρίδης 2016).

4.2. Homophobic attitudes in the Cypriot data

Turning to homophobia/transphobia, as we saw above, almost half of the comments analysed in the Cypriot LGBTIQ corpus were deemed negative by the annotators; yet, there were very few cases of comments revealing a purely transphobic attitude, so we will focus our present discussion to examples that showcase a negative disposition towards minorities singled out in terms of their members' sexual orientation, especially when this is homosexual.

In this vein, the main attitudes identified towards the homosexual community in Cyprus surrounded around contempt, disgust and anger. As the following examples showcase, these attitudes are correspondingly conveyed in this setting too through the usage of derogatory referentials (as in the case of '*faggot-parade*' or '*faggots*' in examples 4 and 5 above) and stereotyping with reference to: (i) effeminate behaviour which is threatening virility, i.e. the social order in Cyprus (example 9), (ii) disease which is a threat for society at large (example 10), and (iii) treason in the sense of befriending the political enemy who threatens the nation as such (example 11):

10. *Pou nastamatisete na kamnete pasarellan je na sas ten proklitiki tote ena paretisun je I parapanw to ksilo ospou thoroumen arseniko me tsenta en ksilies pou theli*

'You should stop doing your catwalk and being provocative. Then those who beat you up will stop doing so. Whenever we see a male with a handbag, he needs to be beaten.'

(Sigmalive, Cyprus - 29 May 2015)*

11. *Πολλοί λένε ότι γεννιουντε έτσι κ δεν γίνεται να αλλαξουν, ο δολοφόνος γενιέται δολοφόνος; ο παιδόφιλος γενιέται παιδόφιλος; κ ο πούστης γενιέται πούστης; όχι αλλά στην πορεία γίνονται και οι 3 "διαφορετικότητες" χρήζουν ιατρικής και ψυχολογικής περίθαλψης. είναι και οι 3 ανωμαλίες της φύσης και της διαταραχής του εγκεφάλου τους*
'Many people say that they are born this way and they cannot change. Is the killer born a killer? Is the paedophile born a paedophile? And is the faggot born a faggot? No, but all 3 "diversions" take place while growing up and they call for medical and psychological care. All 3 are abnormalities of nature and disorders of their brain.'

(Sigmalive, Cyprus - 29 May 2015)*

12. *Δεν γνωριζετε τι συμβαινει καποιοι. Η λεγομενη ΛΟΑΤ κοινοτητα ειναι πρωτοπορος της λεγομενης επαναπροσεγγισης με τους Τ/ Κ και τους Τουρκους*
'Some of you don't know what is going on. The so-called LGBT community is a frontrunner in the so-called rapprochement with the Turkish Cypriots and the Turks.'

(Sigmalive, Cyprus - 6 June 2015)*

In (10), the stereotype of the effeminate gay man allows the commenter to justify violence against gay men on the grounds of gender expression. In this way, this comment can be taken to enforce masculine hegemonic values and behaviours, as these are understood under the qualities of virility. In (11), the commenter does not only directly associate homosexuality with paedophilia in a pernicious parallelism expressed through the use of symmetric linguistic structures ('*is the x born an x*'), but goes so far as to extend the link that is often alluded to in anti-gay discourse, so that it also includes murderous dispositions. In this way, after downplaying the scientifically established fact that homosexuality is not a choice that can just be changed, s/he bunches together all three groups into an amalgam of nature's abnormalities that should be medically treated as mental disorders. Finally, in (12) the use of the adjective '*so-called*' to qualify the LGBT community questions the existence of this community and, by extension, its rights. In addition, the use of this adjective can also be seen as an allusion to the prefix '*pseudo-*', which, in the Cypriot context, is politically-charged, as the northern, occupied part of the island is referred to as fake, i.e. a '*pseudo-state*', in all official texts, as well as everyday conversations. This, alongside the direct association, in this comment, of the LGBT community with the movement that advocates the reconciliation of both parts of the island could be seen as carrying the cognitive implication that LGBT individuals are the enemy within the nation, and are thus traitors.

5. CONCLUDING REMARKS

Despite being a term that was originally meant to be used in legal contexts, hate speech is increasingly being perceived as a complex and contested social construct, which is nonetheless notoriously difficult to uniformly define. In this paper, through an analysis of online comments in reaction to news articles related to the migrant and LGBTIQ communities in Cyprus and Greece, we have shown that the relevant speech can go beyond the direct incitement to violence and discrimination. An array of stereotyping and stigmatisation processes may also have comparative consequences, since by spreading contempt and disgust in relation to a particular minority it effectively encourages, or at least welcomes, its potential elimination from society.

That being said, and even though the main aim of this paper was to showcase how discriminatory attitudes can be effectively communicated indirectly, there were still some cases, both in the Cypriot (see example 9 above) and the Greek contexts, albeit predominantly in the latter, which could be interpreted as directly fulfilling the incitement to violence criterion to varying degrees. Without officially committing to such an interpretation ourselves, we will let you, the reader, draw your own conclusions on the basis of the following examples:

13. *Θα μας κουβαληθούν κι εδώ. Αφήστε τους να σκυλοπνιγούνε....*
They [migrants] will be shlepped here too. Let them drown like dogs....

14. *Εκτέλεση με σάπια ένεση. Ξυπνήστε μην δέχεστε άλλο την προπαγάνδα για δήθεν πρόσφυγες!!! Αντίδραση παντού να σωθεί η χώρα*
Execute them with a rotten injection. Wake up, don't accept the propaganda about supposed migrants anymore!!! Let's all react everywhere to save the country'
<div align="right">(*newsbeast.gr*, Greece - 10 Feb 2016)</div>

15. *Εκτέλεση στον τοίχο της Καισαριανής όλων των λαθροχολεριασμένων και κυρίως των βρωμοπόδαρων αριστερών πιθηκίων, που τους υπερασπίζονται!*
Put all them illegal, cholera-ridden [migrants] and, above all, all them stinky-feet left-wing monkeys that defend them against the wall at Kaisariani, and execute them!'
<div align="right">(*Proto Thema*, Greece - 7 Jan 2016)</div>

Again, situating these comments in the socio-political context in which they were produced, one could potentially identify a reason why the Greek dataset had many more such comments than the Cypriot one. Looking at the discourse and acts of the far-right political parties in the two countries, it is evident that both the talk and behaviour adopted by ELAM, the Cypriot far-right political party, is much milder than those of their Greek counterpart, Golden Dawn (cf. Baider and Constantinou 2017b). However, this constitutes an altogether different research project; one that would certainly be worthwhile pursuing in the future.

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Workshop: Evaluative Morphology in Greek

Evaluative Reduplication in Modern Greek: A Case of "Expletive Overwriting"

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ABSTRACT

Η Ολική Αναδίπλωση (ΟΑ), με την έννοια των Stolz et al. 2011, χρησιμοποιείται στα Νέα Ελληνικά (ΝΕ) για την έκφραση θετικών ή ουδέτερων νοημάτων (βλ. π.χ. *άσπρος άσπρος, λέγε λέγε, κομμάτι κομμάτι*). Από την άλλη μεριά, αναδιπλωτικές δομές που δεν εντάσσονται στο σχήμα της ΟΑ (και που θα χαρακτηριστούν ως περιπτώσεις μη-πρωτοτυπικής αναδίπλωσης), όπως οι δομές αντήχησης (*echo-word constructions*, π.χ. *παπάς ξεπαπάς, Βέφες Μέφες*) σχετίζονται περισσότερο με την έκφραση αρνητικών συναισθημάτων και στάσεων, όπως αδιαφορία, απόρριψη, ειρωνία, περιφρόνηση, αγανάκτηση κτλ. Με βάση αυτά τα δεδομένα, έχει υποστηριχθεί ότι η ΟΑ στα ΝΕ μπορεί να θεωρηθεί περίπτωση αξιολογικής έκφρασης μόνο περιθωριακά. Από την άλλη πλευρά, η μη-πρωτοτυπική αναδίπλωση στα ΝΕ χρησιμοποιεί μια σειρά από μηχανισμούς που εμπλέκουν τη (μορφο)φωνολογική αλλοίωση της βάσης – όπως συχνά συμβαίνει με τους εκφραστικούς / αξιολογικούς μηχανισμούς.

Η ανακοίνωση εξετάζει αναδιπλωτικές δομές του τύπου *X (και) Y-x* (όπου Y = ρίζα που ανήκει στο περιθωριακό λεξιλόγιο της ΝΕ και x = τα παραγωγικά επιθήματα που εμφανίζονται στο X), σε παραδείγματα όπως *πιτσίνια σκατίνια, σαδιστής και σκατιστής, Ποζίδης και παπαρίδης, σατανιστές και μαλακιστές*. Εξετάζονται οι μορφολογικές ιδιότητες των περιπτώσεων αυτών και υποστηρίζεται ο συσχετισμός τους με την εκφραστικότητα.

Key Words: reduplication, pejorative, expressive, slang

1. INTRODUCTION

Evaluative language seems to be a rich, yet blurred area of linguistics, in both a terminological and a practical sense. On the one hand, a large number of different terms have been proposed in the relevant literature for linguistic elements used for the expression of evaluation and emotion. From Jakobson's (1960) and Stankiewicz' (1960) "expressive" or "affective function of language" to Scalise's (1986) "Evaluative Morphology" and Zwicky & Pullum's (1987) "Expressive Morphology" as well as in Ochs & Schieffelin's (1989) "affect", there are elements in common that could be said to form a category, i.e. a type of language. On the other hand, as Ochs & Schieffelin (1989: 22) claim, "(a)ffect permeates the entire linguistic system", which boils down to the fact that almost any kind of linguistic element may potentially be expressive or evaluative (see, e.g., Stankiewicz 1960; Cruse 1986 and Ochs & Schieffelin 1989 for a list)[1].

For our purposes, it suffices to say that expressive or evaluative mechanisms are those used for the expression of feelings, personality traits and/or attitudes of the speaker. These can be expressed along with the main message (as a by-effect) or they can be the core /the purpose of the message themselves. In any case, however, they are typically distinguished from the grammatical means of conveying the message. As assumed in the theories of Expressive and Evaluative Morphology by Zwicky & Pullum (1987) and Scalise (1986) respectively, the mechanisms in question exhibit a number of formal and functional properties that run contrary to those of grammatical categories and rules, and, in this sense, they are "extra-grammatical". Southern (2005: 52)

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[1] A good example of such case is the plural in Modern Greek, which, despite its status as a typical grammatical category, can have only evaluative meaning, under certain circumstances. For instance, the plural in (i) below expresses annoyance or deprecation, although it refers to only one actual PhD thesis:

(i)   *Me   ta   ðiðaktorik-a efajes   ti   zoi su*
       'With the PhD-PL   eat.PST.2SG the life yours'
       "With the Phd(s), you wasted your life"

emphasizes the fact that expressive devices, although different from grammatical rules, are rule-based and conventional to some degree, hence he proposes the term "meta-grammatical". Still, Zwicky & Pullum (1987: 333-4) contend that the regularity of such mechanisms cannot be taken as an example of language regularity (grammar) in general, perhaps implying that it lacks systematicity and universality/ generality of the type that natural languages exhibit.

Typical expressive categories in the above sense include various grammar "outcasts": ideophones, language games and word-play with a cryptic function (such as English *Pig Latin*, Modern Greek (MG) *koracistika* and *poðana* etc.), swear words, attitudinal markers and expletive infixation (e.g. Am. Eng. *fan-fuckin-tastic*, McCarthy 1982) are some of them. From the field of reduplication, the Yiddish-originating *schm-* reduplication in American English has also been considered a typical case of expressive morphology (e.g. *variables schmariables*, Zwicky & Pullum 1987: 330). Regarding reduplication in MG, Kallergi & Konstantinidou (2018) discuss a range of similar patterns, all involving distortive reduplication: ideophones with phonological variation (e.g. *daba-duba* 'sound of loud, repetitive and annoying action'), fixed expressions involving non-words (e.g. *tsatra-patra* "in a hasty, careless manner"), as well as reduplication with fixed segments (e.g. *krisi ksekrisi, oli vjenun* 'crisis PREF-crisis, all go.out.3PL' "despite the crisis, everybody goes out"; *jatri, parajatri* 'doctors *para*-doctors' "doctors and the like"), reduplication with root overwriting (*pitsiɲa skat-iɲa* '*pitsinia* shit-DER' "*pitsinia* and such (bad) crisps") and, most centrally, echo-reduplication with /m/, which is widely-spread across languages (e.g. *Vefes, Mefes, ðe ea pçanane tipote!* 'Vefa-PL ECHO not FUT catch.3SG.IPFV.PST nothing' "Vefa and such chefs would not count at all!"). As suggested by the examples above, expressive patterns are particularly inclined to convey humorous and pejorative meanings.

This paper focuses on one of the above constructions, reduplication with root overwriting or, what we may call, expletive overwriting of the *X (ce) Y-x* type (where *ce* 'and', *Y* a taboo root and *x* the derivational morphemes appearing in X), instantiated by *pitsiɲa skat-iɲa* above, as well as *satanistes ce malacistes* 'satanists and asshole-ists' "Satanists and such crap". Our aim will be particularly to present the formal and functional characteristics of a phenomenon that has not been discussed in the Greek linguistic literature and also seems to be missing from the international literature, thus raising the question whether it is attested as such in other languages. We will show exactly how this type of reduplication is expressive, directing focus on its comparison to a more typical type of reduplication, total reduplication or the universal *X X* type (e.g. MG *aspros aspros* 'white white' "very white"). The comparison between what is considered a prototype of reduplication (*X X*) and a marginal reduplicative mechanism overall (*X (ce) Y-x*) reveals a connection between non-prototypicality and expressivity. It seems, that is, that the more we move away from formal norms, the closer we get to the essence of expressive/evaluative language. This is done in the interesting realm of reduplication, which has a Janus face between grammatical and expressive functions, between grammar and style or, more strictly, between grammar and "non-grammar".

The paper is structured as follows: section 2 discusses the notion of prototype with respect to reduplication, which becomes relevant to a view of expletive overwriting as non-prototypical reduplication. Section 3 analyzes the data from a formal point of view, shedding light into the terms "expletive" and "overwriting". In section 4 we engage to the comparison between total reduplication (TR henceforth) and expletive overwriting (EO henceforth) against the criteria set by Zwicky & Pullum (1987) as characteristic features of Expressive Morphology. Section 5 presents the conclusions that we may draw regarding certain factors relating to evaluative reduplication in MG and more generally.

2. PROTOTYPICAL VERSUS NON-PROTOTYPICAL REDUPLICATION

As mentioned above, MG exhibits reduplication that corresponds to a cross-linguistically attested pattern, that of *Total Reduplication* (TR, see Rubino 2005; Stolz et al. 2011 for TR worldwide and Nakas 1996; Kallergi 2015a for MG). The term *total reduplication* refers to the fact that the reappearance of a lexical unit (meaningful element), such as in *komati komati* 'piece piece' "piece by piece", is, as Stolz et al. (2011: 42) put it:
- full, not partial (in quantitative terms)
- exact, i.e. not containing variations of the same word
- contiguous, i.e. not interrupted by other elements
- continuous, i.e. not disrupting the reduplicating element itself, and
- simple, i.e. not adding material

More specifically, the totality criterion is distinguished from the exactness criterion, since there are cases of total but inexact reduplication (e.g. Tamil *Citampara-tukku Kitampara-tukku* 'Chidambara-DAT Kidampara-DAT', Stolz et al. 2011: 47). Also, total and exact reduplication may not be contiguous, as in the example of "syntactic doubling" in Fongbe (Inkelas & Zoll 2005: 5): *sí(sɔ)~sí wɛ Kɔkù sísɔ* 'tremble it.is Koku tremble' "It is tremble that Koku did". Continuity, finally, is essential in two senses; first, the replica should not disrupt the phonological chain of the reduplicating unit (as in West Tarangan *tapuran > ta-R-pù-Ran*, Nelson 2005: 154 in Stolz et al. 2011: 52); second, as is assumed in the literature and experimentally confirmed in Kallergi (2015a) for MG, *total reduplication* always occurs within the same breath unit.

Contrary to earlier focus on Partial Reduplication, as a more typical instance of reduplication due to its grammatical uses in various languages, recent research shows that TR is a more widespread pattern (e.g. Stolz et al. 2011 discuss TR within Europe, which had been so far considered a "reduplicationless" area, cf. Rubino 2005). Stolz et al. (2011) take one step further to claim that TR is the most prototypical kind of reduplication as well. Revisiting the theory of prototypes by Melçuk (1996), they argue that the above features and their combination make TR easier for the human mind to process, hence more cognitively appealing or salient. For example, the complexity effected by added material in *X schm-x* reduplication or the discontinuity of the Fongbe example above are assumed to add cognitive effort. In other words, XX reduplication is the canonical or unmarked case of reduplication (See Stolz 2018).

In this light, any kind of reappearance of a lexical unit that may be considered reduplication (i.e. that conforms to at least some of the criteria set above), but falls short in one or more of them, can be considered a case of non-prototypical or marginal reduplication. Such case is EO: In *pitsiɲa skatiɲa*, reduplication is partial and inexact, in that the lexical root has to be replaced by another lexical root, but the derivational morpheme has to stay intact. Also, it may occur within one breath unit (i.e. it may be continuous), but it may be interrupted by a specific element, the conjunction *ce* 'and'.

To return to the issue of expressivity, reduplication seems to be a fuzzy area. Partial reduplication, which is non-prototypical in the above sense, is famous for certain purely grammatical functions, such as plurality and change of lexical category (e.g. Rubino 2005). As mentioned above, grammatical categories may occasionally (and secondarily) become expressive in some languages. Total reduplication, in turn, may have grammatical functions, such as distributivity (meaning 'X by X' and so on). However, due to its form, it is sometimes very close to pragmatic repetition for emphasis and other pragmatic functions (insistence, hesitation etc.). Still, as shown in Kallergi (2015b) for MG, its status as an exclusive category of expressives cannot be confirmed. EO, on the other hand, will be shown to fulfill most of the criteria set for expressive morphology (section 2 below). Other marginal reduplicative patterns that involve morphophonological distortion also seem to exhibit functions relating to evaluative language, almost all comprising a set of negative meanings (scorn, indifference, pejoration etc.). Thus, it seems to be the distortion in these types of reduplication that plays an important part in the role of EO as an expressive mechanism. In other words, the inexactness and complexity of reduplication in EO bears an immediate connection to its evaluative character.

3. "EXPLETIVE OVERWRITING": DATA AND FORMAL CHARACTERISTICS

The case of reduplication under study is instantiated by the following examples, all drawn from internet blogs:
(1)   *Για ανθρώπους όμως που ξέρουν   να φάνε,   αυτή η τροφή και*
    for people   but   who know.3PL to eat.3PL this the food   and
    παρόμοιες   σαν αυτήν όπως παριζ-άκια   και αρχιδ-άκια,   είναι
    similar.FEM.PL like her   such.as salami-DIM.PL and testicle-DIM.PL be.3PL
    σκατά τροφή. [2]
    shit   food
    "But for people who know how to eat, this food and others like it, such as salamis and such crap, is shitty food."

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(2)   A: *Πιο σαδιστής κι από Μπαρτζώκαυλο.*
       B: <u>*Σαδ-ιστής και σκατ-ιστής. Αυτός τη*</u>   *γλίτωσε επειδή πήρε*
              sad-ist   and shit-ist   he   DEF.ART.FEM got.away because   took earth
       «καμμένη γη».[3]
       burnt earth
       "<u>Sadist schmadist</u>. He got away with it because he received scorched earth/a burnt field."

(3)   *Τι <u>Κουτσιανικούλης και παπαρ-ούλης;</u>   Θες   φορ;*
       what Kutsianikulis and testicle-DIM.MASC want.2SG (center) for(ward)
       Πάρε τον Κρέσπο...[4]
       take   the Crespo
       "What <u>Kutsianikulis and bullshit</u> are you talking about? Do you want a "center   for"?
Take Crespo…"

(4)   *[...] <u>σαταν-ιστές και «μαλακιστές»,</u>   ΚΑΤΩ ΤΑ ΧΕΡΙΑ ΑΠΟ ΤΗΝ ΟΡΘΟΔΟΞΗ*
       satan-ist.PL and asshole-ist.PL down   the hands from the   orthodox
       ΕΚΚΛΗΣΙΑ! [5]
       church
       "<u>Satanists and assholes like this</u>, put off your hands from the Orthodox   Church!"

      In all the examples above, a specific pattern is observed: a word X is connected with *ce* 'and'
to another word that sounds as a bad replica of X. The replica consists of a root or stem that belongs
to slang vocabulary (*malak-as* 'asshole-MSC.SG', *skat-a* 'shit-NT.PL', *arçið-ja* 'testicles-NT.PL', etc.)
and the derivational affixes (typically, diminutive ones) that appear in X. The inflectional affixes that
follow the derivational ones are also in line with those appearing in X. In other words, the replica X-
z agrees with X as far as its "ending" is concerned. The root selected may also (though not
necessarily) share the same number of syllables as the root of word X (e.g., *sa-di-stis – skat-is-tis*,
sa-ta-ni-stis – ma-la-ci-stis). In this way, an echoing effect is produced.
      This case resembles what is known as *Melodic Overwriting* or *fixed segmentism* of a
morphological type (Alderete et al. 1999), typically represented by echo-word constructions with [m]
or other phonemes, as well as by schm- reduplication. It has been discussed in the field of
reduplication, since it involves incomplete copying (partial reduplication), whereby the root of a base
is overwritten by another root, leaving the derivational morphemes of the copy to rhyme with those
of the base, e.g., Kannada *kannu ginnu* 'eye ECHO' "eyes and so forth" (Keane 2005: 240).
      The MG case, exemplified by (1)-(5), cannot be regarded as "fixed segmentism", in that the
overwriting root is not a fixed (and, typically, semantically empty) element, but belongs to an
inventory of roots forming swear words, taboo words or insulting vocabulary in general. That is, the
replica is a neologism or a non-word, exactly as in typical Melodic Overwriting. However, the
overwriting material is different every time, as long as it is part of insulting vocabulary.
      Still, the MG case involves a fixed position in the segmental string of the replica (i.e. the onset)
as the target of replacement. As Inkelas and Zoll put it, "initial onset replacement, as in *fancy-
shmancy*, is the most common type of case discussed in the literature" (2005: 42, emphasis
original).
      Besides melodic overwriting and fixed segmentism, the case at hand seems to relate to
expletive infixation. This term has been used by Zwicky & Pullum (1987) for instances such as Am.
Eng. *abso-bloody-lutely* and *fan-fuckin-tastic*. On the one hand, *abso-bloody-lutely* involves the
insertion of material within the phonological string of *absolutely* (infixation). On the other hand, the
insertion concerns an *expletive*, i.e. an exclamatory word or expression, typically of obscene
vocabulary, which does not add to the meaning or grammar of the word, but increases the evaluative
load of the whole expression. The MG case discussed here concerns exactly this type of vocabulary,
since all the roots encountered in the examples above serve as typical expletives in MG. However,
in the Greek case the expletives cannot be infixed. They are used to overwrite the root of the original
word, after this is spelled out once, i.e. in reduplication, just as in melodic overwriting. Thus, similarly

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to a possible pair like *bloody absolutely!* and *abso-bloody-lutely*, MG exhibits both a more analytic construction, where the original word (the topic) is quoted and commented by an expletive (e.g. *Satanistes ce malacies!* "Satanists and bullshit!") and a more compact (and perhaps powerful) solution, such as that whereby the expletive overwrites the root of the topic word (*Satanistes ce malacistes* 'Satanists and asshol-ists' "Satanists and bullshit like this").

It is important to note that reduplication is not a necessary condition for this construction, but still it is a powerful ingredient. There are cases of overwriting for evaluative purposes that do not need reduplication. If, for example, one wishes to comment that a man by the surname *Janudis* is silly, he or she may replace the root of the surname *Jan-* with the root of the word *xaz-os* ('silly-M.SG.NOM') and produce the neologism *Xaz-udis* ('silly-derivational morpheme denoting surname' "Mr. Silly"). In such cases, reduplication is not necessary. However, during conversation, it is more likely that the commentator needs to repeat the word upon which he or she lays a comment, thus, using a *X z-x* construction, whereby X is in fact quoted from the words of the previous interlocutor. In many of the examples attested, the original word (the one that undergoes EO) is used by another interlocutor, often immediately before it appears within the EO construction (see, e.g., 2 and 3).

According to Rozhanskiy (2015: 1002), although reduplication is known to express the pejorative in various languages, it is hard to attest examples of exact TR (*X X*) with pejorative meaning, whereby this meaning comes from the reduplication and not from the pejorative meaning of the X word itself. By contrast, he argues, there are many examples of "inexact" reduplication with pejorative meaning (among which schm-reduplication and patterns involving distortion) (ibid.). "Such distortion", he continues, "is known as one of the best ways to achieve a pejorative effect"(Rozhanskiy 2015: 1003). Also, as shown by Yip (1997) and others, rhyme effects (as in poetry) require similar but non-identical structures (e.g. *rhyme-time* is more effective than *rhyme-rhyme*). Thus, it seems that reduplication (or the repetition of the original word) supports the overwriting process (in making it more powerful rhetorically) and vice versa: overwriting leads to distortion, which is the key element for the pejorative effect.

4. EXPLETIVE OVERWITING vs. TOTAL REDUPLICATION AGAINST THE CRITERIA SET FOR EXPRESSIVE MORPHOLOGY (Zwicky & Pullum 1987)

In this section, we will discuss EO with reference to the criteria set by Zwicky & Pullum (1987) for Expressive Morphology, in comparison to the most prototypical reduplicative phenomenon in MG, that of TR.

According to Zwicky & Pullum (1987), the phenomenon of Expressive Morphology is distinct from plain morphology in that it exhibits all or most of the following characteristics: 1) pragmatic effect, 2) promiscuity with word classes, 3) imperfect control 4) alternative outputs, 5) interspeaker variation and 6) special syntax. They also make reference to particular social functions of play languages as another feature that distinguishes them from ordinary languages (1987: 333). To these criteria, we added optionality as yet another important trait, following Ochs & Schieffelin (1989) who argue that, since expressive language is a medium for the expression of speakers' personality, it can only be optional.

4.1. Pragmatic Effect and Social Function

EO is used to express a range of negative emotions or attitudes of the speaker towards X, such as pejoration, irony, annoyance, indifference or direct rejection of X. Some of the psychological effects appearing with the use of EO are also encountered with the use of garden-variety repetition: e.g. annoyance in MG can be expressed by the quotation of X and its repetition along the *X ce X* 'X and X' pattern, which otherwise denotes long duration (see Kakridi-Ferrari 1998: 199, 203):

(5)   *ase mas more!   i   rosia   ce   i   rosia! […]*
           let   us   INTERJ the.FEM Russia and the.FEM Russia
           Give us a break! "Russia this" and "Russia that"!

As in the examples of EO above (1-3), the repetition of the word *rosia* in (5) somehow presupposes its use by another interlocutor in the preceding discourse. Thus, very similarly to what has been called *stylistic* or *pragmatically motivated repetition* (e.g. Stolz et al. 2011: 57, 90,138), EO

is mostly bound to the discourse and on-line needs of speakers for the expression of attitudes and emotions.

Moreover, like pragmatic repetition, EO does not produce expressions with semantic (descriptive) content, which can later acquire a fixed meaning. Unlike TR, such as *siɣa siɣa* 'slowly slowly' "very slowly", which may have representatives in the permanent lexicon, instances of EO or repetition with a quotative function in general can only appear as *hapax legomena*. Note that the use of TR may also have pragmatic connotations and effects, such as the irony expressed by *merici merici* 'some some' "some people (whom I do not wish to name overtly)" or the positive evaluation often expressed by the use of reduplicated adjectives, such as *zesto zesto* 'warm warm' "(pleasantly) very warm" (see Kallergi 2015a: 310, 314-5). However, the primary use of TR is not to add pragmatic load (see also Kallergi 2015b: 884-888).

With respect to social function, EO seems to be bound to highly informal contexts, thus it would not be tolerated in formal, serious texts, such as news broadcasts or parliament speech. It is also confined to oral speech (it is documented in writing mostly in texts which imitate oral language, such as internet blogs). More importantly, EO is used in conversation (verbal interaction) and for particular goals, such as rejection. Thus, it is more like a rhetorical strategy, restricted to specific social settings. In contrast, TR is not restricted to informal, intimate situations but may appear in more formal texts, such as TV news or parliament speech. It can be used by almost anybody, without correlating to particular social groups (e.g. bloggers or slang users).

4.2. Promiscuity with word classes

Unlike typical derivational rules that have specific input categories, mechanisms of Expressive Morphology are considered promiscuous in applying to various or all the lexical categories of a language. Such applicability is not observed with EO, but this seems to be part and parcel with its nature and particular functions: taboo and slang names that feed the process (lending the roots that overwrite the root of the target word) are often nouns and adjectives, hence it seems easier to get nouns and adjectives as outputs. Also, the negative attitudes expressed by the EO construction are usually targeted towards concepts or people, hence the predominance of categories with naming or qualifying functions, such as nouns and adjectives.

TR seems to be more "open" to word classes, in a quantitative sense: almost all major lexical categories (content words) may participate in the process. Yet, as discussed in Kallergi (2015a: 111-156), half of the four major types of TR in MG (the distributive and the intensive) correlate with specific word classes for semantic and morphosyntactic reasons. Thus, neither EO nor TR can be considered genuinely flexible with word classes as typical mechanisms of Expressive Morphology.

4.3. Imperfect Control

According to Zwicky & Pullum (1987: 337), some speakers "do not have productive control" of some evaluative strategies, hence they are not so good at using them. This criterion seems to correlate with the criterion of social function discussed in 4.1.; since certain groups of language users may use certain evaluative strategies for certain social functions, other groups may not be familiar with those strategies. This observation better applies to strategies with a cryptic function, such as language-games (e.g. *koracistika* in MG).

In the case of EO, speakers who avoid slang vocabulary are unlikely to use EO as well. However, whether these speakers have good control of the strategy or not cannot be stated with certainty or be easily proven.

At least, in contrast to TR, EO does not seem available to children. This must be a by-effect of the fact that children are unlikely to the slang vocabulary relating to the EO construction. Otherwise, children seem prone to imitate and distort words for fun, thus the use of EO with "milder" vocabulary or of similar patterns by children cannot be excluded.

Regarding non-native speakers, both EO and TR are unlikely to be used, but TR is probably much easier to acquire, considering its universal status, whereas the specific pattern of EO is probably restricted to MG. Still, EO and relating strategies of repetition or overwriting seem to be easier to access than totally artificial mechanisms like language games.

4.4. Alternative Outputs

This criterion refers to the possibility of speakers to produce different outputs by applying the same rule of Expressive Morphology (Zwicky & Pullum 1987: 337): e.g. by infixing *goddam* in a word like *Kalamazoo*, both *Kala-goddam-mazoo* and *Kalama-goddam-zoo* are possible (ibid.).

An analogous effect with EO has not so far been observed. The pattern under discussion here seems to have a more or less robust structure and there are no alternative positions for the overwriting process (it occurs at the onset of the replica and it only concerns the root of the target word, see section 3).

However, as mentioned above, EO is, among others, a means of producing neologisms by choosing roots from an inventory of slang/taboo vocabulary. In this sense, the same rule is applied (*X x-z* where *x* a slang root), but the outputs are as various as the roots belonging to the inventory of slang/taboo vocabulary of the speaker. EO seems to fulfill this criterion by nature.

In contrast, TR does not exhibit instantiations of the same rule with different effects. Reduplicative expressions that have the same content but differences in form, such as *leksi leksi* 'word word' "word by word" and *leksi pros leksi* 'word to word' "word by word" are in fact the opposite: instantiations of different rules (or constructions) with the same effect (here, the meaning of distributivity).

4.5. Interspeaker Variation

Variation among speakers with respect to the use of an evaluative strategy does not only concern their ability to produce relevant outputs and the actual form of these outputs, but also the circumstances under which they use it. Zwicky & Pullum (1987: 336) emphasize the variation observed with respect to acceptability judgments, i.e. the fact that speakers might disagree on whether, e.g. *dis-fuckin-covery* or *di-fuckin-scovery* is the more correct form of expletive infixation. However, this brings us back to the criteria discussed in 4.3 and 4.4. Variation, ultimately, is to be seen as an effect of the fact that, as Lyons (1977: 51) put it, the use of an evaluative strategy "co-varies with characteristics of the speaker". Speakers may have favourite and less favourite expletives and these may vary on occasion (e.g., the specific period in speaker's life).

TR exhibits speaker variation as well. Speakers may vary less with respect to acceptability judgments, but more with respect to the preference and the frequency of use of a certain TR type in their idiolect.

Also, as Cruse (1986: 272) argues, "expressive meaning […] is valid only for the utterer, at the time and place of utterance". In this sense, EO is non-displaceable from on-line discourse, hence, it is highly unlikely for EO constructions to appear in indirect speech, in a way similar to (6):

(6)   *Ecinos   mu ipe/apandise oti saðistis ce skat-istis.*
          that.MSC me said/replied   that sadist   and shit-ist
          *He replied that sadist scmadist.

Obviously, such expressions lack the necessary amount of propositional or descriptive meaning to be used by other speakers as pieces of information. Instead, they function as interjections.

In contrast, TR expressions (of all types) can be used in indirect speech[6]. For instance,

(7)   *Ecinos   mu ipe/apandise oti siɣa siɣa   proxorame.*
          that.MSC me said/replied   that slowly slowly go.on.3PL.PR
          He said/replied that little by little we are moving on.

The difference between (6) and (7) can, of course, be attributed to the different syntactic status of the two reduplicative expressions. This is discussed immediately below.

4.6. Special syntax

Zwicky & Pullum (1987: 338) discuss the extraordinary syntactic properties of *schm-*reduplication, concluding that expressive morphology exhibits structural irregularities and/or restrictions that plain morphology does not. In particular, schm- reduplicative expressions cannot be used in all syntactic positions that a "normal" noun phrase can (ibid.):

(8)   *Let's not talk about Kalamazoo Schmalamazoo.

This seems to be an effect of the status of the expression as an exclamation (see 4.5 above), however, it seems to be a special restriction of schm-reduplication.

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[6] For an arguable exception, see Kallergi (2015b: 893).

The MG case exhibits more syntactic possibilities, as EO expressions can fill various complement positions. For instance, they can be objects, as in (9):

(9)   *Troi sineçia   parizacia   ce   arxið-acia.*
        eat all.the.time salami.DIM.PL and testicle-DIM.PL
        "He eats salamis and such crap all the time."

However, the replica cannot count as an independent (conjuncted) syntactic unit. For example, the word *arxið-acia* cannot be independently modified, as in (10):

(10)   *Troi polla parizacia   ce   arxið-acia/   * parizacia   ce   polla*
        eat many salami.DIM.PL and testicle-DIM.PL/ salami.DIM.PL and many
        arxið-acia
        testicle-DIM.PL
        "He eats a lot of salamis and such crap/ *salamis and a lot of crap."

Similar restrictions concern TR expressions as well. Generally, the parts of a TR expression cannot function independently. Additionally, in most TR functions the output works as an adverb, restricting the input word from functioning as a "normal" member of its class. For example, the verb *trekse* in (11) is confined to the singular only:

(11)   *trekse   trekse   / *trekste   trekste,   iðrosate*
        run.2SG.IMP run.2SG.IMP   run.2PL.IMP run.2PL.IMP sweat.3PL.PST
        By running all the time, you sweated.

In some cases, the inability of a word to function as a typical member of a class within TR constructions is the result of language change processes (grammaticalization/ lexicalization). Thus, the syntactic idiosyncracies of TR may not be fully comparable to those of schm- reduplication and EO.

4.7. Optionality

Both EO and TR are chosen freely by speakers, in the sense that i) they are not imposed by the grammatical system of MG (like categories such as number or agreement) and ii) they can always be substituted by another option (a different grammatical or lexical construction) for the expression of the same or similar meaning/ function. One such option was mentioned for EO in section 3.

4.8. Summary

The results of the comparison of EO to typical expressive strategies, as well as to TR as an expressive mechanism, are presented in the table below.

Table 1 EO and TR against criteria for expressive morphology (drawn from Zwicky & Pullum 1987)

Construction type	EO	TR
Pragmatic effect	+	+
Social function	+	-
Promiscuity with word classes	(+)	(+)
Imperfect control	+	-
Alternative outputs	+	-
Interspeaker variation	+	(+)
Special syntax	+	+
Optionality	+	+

The parentheses imply that, with respect to a given criterion, EO or TR may seem to give positive evidence, but this occurs either to a lesser degree (based on certain conditions) or for different reasons than the ones considered for typical expressive strategies. Still, the comparison points to the status of the EO construction as a good example of an evaluative mechanism in MG.

On the other hand, TR proves to be ambiguous and a less good example of an expressive strategy. This is a by-effect of the fact that TR is much more pervasive, it retains some connection to grammar and it is not bound to style and discourse

5. CONCLUSION

Expletive overwriting (EO) is among the evaluative/expressive morphosyntactic devices of MG for the expression of the pejorative. In contrast to TR, which is the most typical reduplicative pattern and may be located between Grammar and Style, EO is clearly a restricted and special phenomenon that exhibits almost all of the characteristic features of Expressive Morphology (a là Zwicky & Pullum 1987). In this sense, it is purely stylistic and meta-grammatical.

EO may also be considered a pattern of non-prototypical reduplication. Its non-prototypicality stems from its syntactic nature (reinforced by the frequent appearance of the conjuction *ce* 'and' between its constituents) and the non-identity between those constituents. These characteristics have been shown to correlate with the pejorative effect of the construction: on the one hand, the *X and X* pattern of repetition in discourse has negative connotations; on the other hand, the *X z-x* pattern of Melodic Overwriting (where *z* a slang root and *x* the derivational affixes of X) has powerful rhetorical effects. EO seems to combine these patterns for maximal effect. In other words, evaluative reduplication in MG has to be a marginal, non-prototypical kind of reduplication.

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Workshop: Greek as a Minority and as a Majority Language in Heritage Contexts: Theoretical, Experimental, and Sociolinguistic Perspectives

Processing gender agreement in Heritage Greek: an attraction study

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ABSTRACT

Ελέγξαμε την επεξεργασία λαθών στη συμφωνία γραμματικού γένους μεταξύ σύνθετης ΟΦ (Ονοματικής Φράσης) και α) κατηγορούμενου ή β) κλιτικού σε ενήλικες φυσικούς/-ές ομιλητές/-ριες της Ελληνικής, μονόγλωσσους/-ες και δίγλωσσους/-ες κατά την κατανόηση σε πραγματικό χρόνο. Για τους/τις δίγλωσσους/-ες ομιλητές/-ριες, τα ερωτήματα ήταν α) αν ακολουθούν την ίδια στρατηγική με τους/τις μονόγλωσους/-ες κατά την ανάκτηση της πληροφορίας του γένους από τη μνήμη εργασίας, και β) αν εμφανίζουν ευαισθησία στην αντιγραμματικότητα κατά την προτασική επεξεργασία, δεδομένου του μειωμένου γλωσσικού εισερχόμενου στα Ελληνικά λόγω της διαμονής τους στη Γερμανία (δεύτερη γενιά Ελλήνων μεταναστών/-ριων γεννημένοι/-ες και μεγαλωμένοι/-ες στο Βερολίνο). 104 συμμετέχοντες (52 δίγλωσσοι) έλαβαν μέρος σε χρονομετρικά πειράματα αυτορρυθμιζόμενης ακρόασης προτάσεων (self-paced listening), και σε δραστηριότητες κατηγοριοποίησης γένους και εκμαίευσης συμφωνίας. Τα αποτελέσματα δείχνουν ότι οι δίγλωσσοι/-ες, εμφάνισαν την ίδια στρατηγική με τους μονόγλωσσους στο κατηγορούμενο αλλά, χρειάστηκαν περισσότερο χρόνο για να τη χρησιμοποιήσουν (τελευταίο τμήμα της πρότασης), και ότι είχαν μικρότερη ευαισθησία στην αντιγραμματικότητα στα θηλυκά. Τα ευρήματα αυτά στους δίγλωσσους, συνδέονται με δυσκολίες στην αντιστοίχιση των μορφολογικών πληροφοριών του γένους με τα αφηρημένα συντακτικά χαρακτηριστικά της συμφωνίας στη μαρκαρισμένη τιμή (θηλυκό γένος). Στα ουδέτερα (μη μαρκαρισμένη τιμή), οι δίγλωσσοι αντέδρασαν ένα τμήμα μετά το κρίσιμο τμήμα της πρότασης, όπως και οι φυσικοί/-ες ομιλητές/-ριες. Στη δομή με τα κλιτικά, οι διαφορές στους δίγλωσσους δεν ήταν στατιστικά σημαντικές. Η συμφωνία γένους στα κλιτικά φαίνεται να είναι περισσότερο προβληματική συγκριτικά με τη συμφωνία γένους στο κατηγορούμενο για τους/τις δίγλωσσους/-ες κατά την ασύνειδη γλωσσική επεξεργασία αλλά όχι στην δραστηριότητα εκμαίευσης της συμφωνίας. Ερμηνεύουμε τη δυσκολία αυτή με άξονα το κόστος επεξεργασίας: στα κλιτικά, οι συμμετέχοντες πρέπει να ανακτήσουν πραγματολογικά το αντικείμενο αναφοράς (antecedent) που φέρει και τη μορφοσυντακτική πληροφορία του γένους. Αντίθετα στο κατηγορούμενο η ανάκτηση του γένους είναι σημασιολογικού τύπου. Αυτή η ερμηνεία ενισχύεται από το γεγονός ότι και η ομάδα των μονόγλωσσων αντέδρασε μετά το κρίσιμο τμήμα στη δομή των κλιτικών.

1. INTRODUCTION

The study of agreement errors in comprehension can reveal how speakers license grammatical relations in real-time. Although agreement violations have been widely explored within monolingual populations and across different languages (e.g. Slioussar and Malko 2016; Tucker et al. 2015; Wagers et al. 2009), little is known so far about the online comprehension of agreement in *heritage speakers*, namely, early bilinguals whose native language is a minority language and differs from the dominant language in the society. Heritage speakers are bilinguals who are exposed to their native (minority) language from birth and sequentially or simultaneously to the language of their host country (majority language) (Scontras et al. 2015). In this study, we test how heritage speakers process gender errors in their native language so that we better describe the strategy underpinning the morphosyntactic computation of gender agreement in this group of individuals. We use the experimental paradigm of *agreement attraction (*agreement errors due to intervening constituent(s) between the head noun and the agreement target*)* as a way to investigate the abilities of heritage speakers to weigh cues and retrieve structures from memory.

It has been shown by means of off-line comprehension and production tasks that gender agreement is vulnerable in certain groups of heritage speakers. In particular, there are studies which found variability on gender agreement (e.g. Montrul, Foote, and Perpiñán 2008). However, in languages with rich inflectional morphology, heritage speakers perform well or on par with the

baseline at high or advanced to high levels of proficiency in the heritage language (Scontras, Fuchs, and Polinsky 2018).

Most studies have focused on gender agreement within the Determiner Phrase (DP). However, less is known about gender agreement outside the DP, as in pronouns or adjectival predicates, and its processing by heritage populations. Osch et al. (2014) explored gender at the interfaces in the production of Spanish Heritage Speakers in the Netherlands. Their results show that the heritage group performed better in adjectival predication than in pronominal reference. They argue that their results support the Interface Hypothesis (IH) (Sorace 2011) which predicts that the external interfaces (between syntax and other cognitive components) are more vulnerable compared to the internal ones (between syntax and semantics).

In monolingual sentence comprehension, studies have shown that comprehenders fleetingly accept agreement violations or they show facilitatory reaction times in self-paced reading or eye-tracking experiments (e.g. Wagers et al. 2009) when the feature value of the agreement target matches the feature value of a local intervening phrase (attractor) in an ungrammatical sentence. According to the Retrieval Account (Lewis and Vasishth 2005; Wagers et al. 2009) attraction errors are attributed to faulty cue retrieval due to interference from the attractor. In order for agreement to be satisfied, certain features of the head should be stored in memory and retrieved at the target. Due to memory limitations it is hard to retrieve the features of the head noun when there is interference from the attractor; the cues on the attractor might offer a partial match to the target in an ungrammatical sentence and thus, cue misretrieval might occur.

To date, only few studies have explored the way early bilinguals retrieve structures from memory and whether they are subject to retrieval interference in the same way as monolinguals by means of offline measures. These studies revealed that early bilinguals use the same strategy as monolinguals (Scontras et al. 2018 and Lago et al. 2018 for heritage speakers, Veenstra et al. 2018 for bilingual children). In this study we further address this topic by employing a more sensitive task to better capture agreement computations in their progress. We also test a less-investigated structure, namely gender attraction at the nominal rather than the verbal domain. Finally, the two different structures test the role of agreement target in modulating attraction as well as the IH in sentence comprehension by heritage speakers.

2. GENDER AGREEMENT IN GREEK

Greek gender exhibits a three-way distinction of masculine, feminine, and neuter and it is morphologically marked on nouns, determiners, attributive and predicate adjectives, strong and clitic pronouns. Greek distinguishes 8 Declension classes but the distinction is not based on animacy or gender (Alexiadou, 2004). Feminine is the most marked and overspecified value and neuter is the least marked and underspecified value in inanimate nouns (Tsimpli & Hulk 2013; Anagnostopoulou 2017). Additionally, gender/gender agreement, number and case interact in Greek leading to syncretism; with respect to case syncretism, masculine is the least case ambiguous value, both on nouns and the agreeing elements: *o kipos* (nominative) - *ton kipo* (accusative) (*"the garden"*), feminine is case-ambiguous on the nouns but the agreeing elements on the Determiner solve the ambiguity: *i avli* (nominative) - *tin avli* (accusative) *("the yard"),* and neuter is the most ambiguous value without disambiguation: *to parko* (nominative) - *to parko* (accusative) *("the park"*). The same distinction holds in plural as well. Neuter is the learner's default (Tsimpli & Hulk 2013) and it is acquired early by L1-children (around age 3) (Marinis 2003). What is more, L2-children exhibit difficulties in production only at the early stages of acquisition[1] and comprehension of gender within the DP is intact (Vasič et al. 2012).

3. THE CURRENT STUDY

In this study, we seek to explore heritage speakers' performance on gender agreement by using offline and online measures. We look at both adjectival predication and pronominal reference to test the Interface Hypothesis following the predictions by Osch et al. (2014). We further aim to

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[1] Due to space limitations it is impossible to cite all theoretical, acquisition, and psycholinguistic studies on Greek gender but see the most recent PhD dissertation on gender by Tzovara (2017) for a quite extensive literature review of the findings.

investigate the role of interference in heritage speakers and the way they retrieve structures from memory by using the experimental paradigm of attraction in comprehension.

4. METHOD
4.1. Participants

104 participants completed our tasks. 52 of them were Greek Heritage Speakers (HSs) (mean age = 21.6, age-range = 19-27, 33 females). There were born and raised in Berlin and had acquired Greek from birth and sequentially or simultaneously German (age of onset to Greek = 0, mean age of onset to German 1.7, range = 0-4). 26 had received higher education in German universities in Berlin or were university students at the time of testing. 43 had received bilingual education in the majority language/German as well as the minority one/Greek (mean years of bilingual education = 7), mainly throughout primary school in which half of the courses were in Greek. At higher levels of education they switched to typical German schools (mean years of monolingual German education = 6.8). Additionally, the heritage speakers' parents had the same origins with the control group, which is crucial due to the type/quality of Greek input they provided their children with. The participants self-rated their Greek and German proficiency on 1-10 scale based on 4 skills: reading, writing, listening and speaking. We averaged their ratings to obtain an overall measure of language proficiency[2]. The average in Greek was 71% (range = 35-95) and in German 92% (range = 68-100). With respect to the current use of each language the averages were 46.4% in Greek (range = 10-78) and 53.6% in German (range 10-95). None of the participants had ever relocated to Greece but most of them visit Greece at least once per year and they used to do so during their childhood too.

The control group consisted 52 Native Speakers[3] (NSs) from Greece (mean age = 23.2, age-range = 18-33). They were born and raised in Greece, they have never lived abroad and both of their parents were Greek and born and raised in Greece. 29 of them had graduated from Greek universities in Thessaloniki or were university students at the time of testing.

4.2. Materials

Baseline tasks: the knowledge of the gender of each head of the main experiments as well as gender agreement were tested by means of a gender assignment task and a gender elicitation task respectively. The gender assignment task measured accuracy and reaction times (RTs). The task included 72 nouns; 24 for each head-noun. Masculine nouns were also included for reasons of balance, although they were not tested in the attraction experiment. The elicitation task targeted the elicitation of gender agreement at the two structures under investigation, adjectival predication and pronominal reference, and there were 18 items by structure (6 by gender). In adjectival predication, all nouns were inanimate and in object clitics half of the nouns were animate.

Attraction experiments: We included feminine and neuter head nouns to test potential markedness effects of the attractor; thus, we used the most-marked and the least marked value. We did the same manipulations in both Experiments (see examples in (1) and (2)). We manipulated the grammaticality of the sentence (grammatical, ungrammatical), and the attractor (match, mismatch) for each head noun (feminine or neuter). Only grammatical sentences were recorded in a sound booth by a female native speaker of Greek for all experimental trials and a male native speaker for the comprehension questions. The ungrammatical versions were created through splicing out the agreement target and replacing it with the target from a grammatical sentence (Marinis 2010).

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[2] Self-ratings are considered a reliable measure of language proficiency (see Lago et al. 2018 and references therein).

[3] We acknowledge that both groups are native speakers of Greek. As for the control group in Greece, they do not use/are not exposed to any other language on a daily basis, their proficiency in English or other languages is below the intermediate level and their knowledge of any other language is the outcome of L2 learning/instruction. Additionally, they have never lived abroad.

(1)   EXPERIMENT 1 – PAST-PARTICIPLES (ADJECTIVAL PREDICATION)
        <u>Feminine head nouns</u>
        Ótan o jánis bice stin kuzina vrice…   ...páno sto trapezi tis kuzinas.

Grammatical match	*ti*	*ja*	*tin*	*scizméni.*$_{FEM}$
Ungrammatical	*ti*	*ja*	*tin*	**scizméno.*$_{NEUT}$
Grammatical	*ti*	*ja*	*to*	*scizméni.*$_{FEM}$
Ungrammatical	*ti*	*ja*	*to*	**scizméno.*$_{NEUT}$

"When John went into the kitchen, he found the recipe.$_{FEM}$ for the pizza.$_{FEM}$/for the bread.$_{NEUT}$ torn.$_{FEM}$/*$_{NEUT}$ on the kitchen table".
<u>Neuter head nouns</u>
        Ótan o jánis bice stin kuzina vrice…   ...páno sto trapezi tis

Grammatical match	*to*	*ja*	*to*	*leroméno.*$_{NEUT}$
Ungrammatical	*to*	*ja*	*to*	**leroméni.*$_{FEM}$
Grammatical	*to*	*ja ti súpa.*$_{FEM}$		*leroméno.*$_{NEUT}$
Ungrammatical	*to*	*ja ti súpa.*$_{FEM}$		**leroméni.*$_{FEM}$

"When John went into the kitchen, he found the spoon.$_{NEUT}$ for the dessert.$_{NEUT}$/for the soup.$_{FEM}$ stained.$_{NEUT}$/*$_{FEM}$ on the kitchen table".

(2)   Experiment 2 – object-clitics (pronominal reference)
        <u>Feminine head nouns</u>
        Ótan o jánis bice stin kuzina épsahne...   ...páno sto trapezi tis

Grammatical match	*ti*	*ja*	*tin*	*ce ti.*$_{FEM}$ *vrice*
Ungrammatical	*ti*	*ja*	*tin*	*ce *to.*$_{NEUT}$ *vrice*
Grammatical	*ti*	*ja*	*to*	*ce ti.*$_{FEM}$ *vrice*
Ungrammatical	*ti*	*ja*	*to*	*ce *to.*$_{NEUT}$ *vrice*

"When John went into the kitchen, he was looking for the recipe.$_{FEM}$ for the pizza.$_{FEM}$/for the bread.$_{NEUT}$ and (he) found it.$_{FEM}$/*$_{NEUT}$ on the kitchen table".

<u>Neuter head nouns</u>
        Ótan o jánis bice stin kuzina épsahne...   ...páno sto trapezi tis kuzinas.

Grammatical match	*to*	*ja*	*to*	*ce to.*$_{NEUT}$ *vrice*
Ungrammatical	*to*	*ja*	*to*	*ce *ti.*$_{FEM}$ *vrice*
Grammatical	*to*	*ja ti súpa.*$_{FEM}$		*ce to.*$_{NEUT}$ *vrice*
Ungrammatical	*to*	*ja ti súpa.*$_{FEM}$		*ce *ti.*$_{FEM}$ *vrice*

"When John went into the kitchen, he was looking for the spoon.$_{NEUT}$ for the desert.$_{NEUT}$/for the soup.$_{FEM}$ and (he) found it.$_{NEUT}$/*$_{FEM}$ on the kitchen table".

Both head-nouns and attractors were inanimate nouns controlled for length and frequency. In each experiment, there were 24 items for feminine and 24 items for neuter heads (6 by condition in each head). There were 48 fillers and all trials were followed by a yes or no comprehension question.

4.3. Procedure and Analysis

The participants completed the two attraction experiments in different sessions in a counter-balanced order with a two-weak break in between. The tasks on gender agreement and assignment were completed at the end of the second session. We used a self-paced listening task (Ferreira et al. 1996; Marinis 2010) in the attraction experiments.

At the self-paced listening task, participants listened to the sentences on a laptop via headphones. In each trial, they listened to a sentence region by region by pressing a button on the button box. To proceed to the comprehension question, participants had to press the button. To indicate their answer to the comprehension question, they had to press yes/no buttons. Participants received feedback on their accuracy in each trial. There were 10 practice trials. All participants received a fee for their participation. They also signed written consent forms which were written in Greek for the NSs and in German for the HSs.

The data analysis was conducted in R (R Development Core Team 2017) using linear mixed effects models. Random intercepts and slopes were included and sum contrasts were used.

In the self-paced listening task, we set a 75% criterion of accuracy in the filler sentences for subjects and in the experimental sentences for items to ensure that the analyses include only participants who performed the task proficiently as well as non defective items. Thus, in Experiment 1, 2 HSs and 2 Items were removed and in Experiment 2, 4 HSs, 1 NS and 3 items were removed. Residual RTs were calculated by subtracting the duration of each region (sound file) from the Raw RTs (Ferreira et al. 1996). Extreme values below 150ms and above 4,500ms were excluded from the analysis. Values below or above 2.5 SD from each participant's mean by condition and by group were treated as outliers and deleted. Overall, the data cleaning did not affect more than 15% of the datasets (Ratcliff 1993). The fixed effects were Grammaticality, Attractor, and Order of item presentation as well as their interactions[4] for each head noun (see the examples in (1) and (2)). NSs and HSs were analyzed separately in each head noun and we modeled Group as a factor (NSs/HSs) when the two groups showed different profiles.

4.4. Predictions

Participants were expected to show longer Reaction Times (RTs) in the ungrammatical match condition compared to the grammatical match condition if they are sensitive to the ungrammaticality (see examples in (1) and (2)). Participants were expected to show shorter RTs in the ungrammatical mismatch condition compared to the ungrammatical match if attraction occurs (see examples (1) and (2)).

5. RESULTS
5.1. Baseline tasks

Gender assignment. Participants performed at ceiling (Table 1). Both groups show knowledge of gender assignment and no significant differences were detected in accuracy between the two groups ($p > .05$). In the residual log transformed RTs, feminine nouns showed shorter RTs compared to the grand mean ($\hat{\beta}$ = -0.077; SE = 0.033; t = -2.30; p = .024), and there was no difference of the HSs' mean compared to the grand mean ($\hat{\beta}$ = -0.030; SE = 0.027; t = -1.13; p = .260).

Table 1 Accuracy rates and mean RTs in the gender assignment task. Standard Deviation (SD) in parenthesis.

	masculine	feminine	neuter
ACCURACY			
Heritage	99 (8.4)	100 (4.0)	98 (13.4)
Native	100 (5.6)	100 (2.8)	99 (7.2)
RTs			
Heritage	449 (204)	417 (187)	454 (196)
Native	469 (212)	426 (192)	487 (218)

Gender agreement. No significant differences were detected (p > 0.05) (Table 2).

Table 2 Accuracy rates in the gender agreement task. SD in parenthesis.

	masculine	feminine	neuter
Adjectival Predicates			
Heritage Speakers	100 (0)	87 (13.2)	99 (9.1)
Native Speakers	100 (0)	100 (0)	100 (0)

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[4] We modeled Order of item presentation, following previous studies on agreement attraction in comprehension (Tucker et al. 2015: 12; Reifegerste et al. 2016), since a) it is a well-known predictor in these tasks, and b) the effects of grammaticality/other experimental manipulations can diminish over time (Tucker et al. 2015:12). Due to space limitations we will not report the effects of this factor in this paper.

Object-clitics			
Heritage Speakers	98 (11.6)	99 (13.7)	96 (18.3)
Native Speakers	100 (0)	98 (12.7)	97 (16.6)

5.2. Experiment 1

Accuracy. In the comprehension questions, HSs' mean was 88% (*SD* = 33, *range* = 62-100) in feminine nouns, and 93% (*SD* = 26, *range* = 63-100) in neuter nouns, and NSs' mean was 97% (*SD* = 18, *range* = 83-100) in feminine nouns, and 98% (*SD* = 16, *range* = 86-100) in neuter nouns. There were no differences by Condition (*p* > 0.5) within each group. However, HSs were significantly less accurate in both head nouns as the analysis with Group showed; ($\hat{\beta}$ = -1.533; *SE* = 0.259; *z* = -5.92; *p* < .001) in feminine nouns, and ($\hat{\beta}$ = -1.320; *SE* = 0.309; *z* = -4.272; *p* < .001) in neuter nouns.

Reaction times. The reaction time analysis of the log transformed residual RTs did not reveal significant differences of Grammaticality or Attractor in the regions before the critical one (fifth region) (Figure 1). On that region, there was a main effect of grammaticality for NSs in feminine heads ($\hat{\beta}$ = 0.150; *SE* = 0.065; *t* = 2.30; *p* = .023) indicating that RTs in the ungrammatical sentences were longer than in the grammatical sentences. Grammaticality interacted with Attractor ($\hat{\beta}$ = -0.336; *SE* = 0.132; *t* = -2.54; *p* = .012), showing attraction; shorter RTs in the ungrammatical mismatch condition compared to the ungrammatical match condition. Post-hoc pairwise comparisons produced similar results: ungrammatical match vs. ungrammatical mismatch ($\hat{\beta}$ = -0.352; *SE* = 0.089; *t* = -3.95; *p* < .001). In the post-critical region, NSs exhibited grammaticality effects ($\hat{\beta}$ = 0.234; *SE* = 0.063; *t* = 3.714; *p* < .001). HSs exhibited attraction effects only in the last region of the sentence ($\hat{\beta}$ = -0.342; *SE* = 0.164; *t* = -2.08; *p* = .04) and they lack grammaticality effects (*p* > .05). Post-hoc pairwise comparisons produced similar results: ungrammatical match vs. ungrammatical mismatch ($\hat{\beta}$ = -0.245; *SE* = 0.106; *t* = -2.32; *p* = .021). The model with Group (NSs/HSs) revealed that the two groups did not differ with respect to attraction (Grammaticality x Attractor x Group) in any of the two regions (critical region and last region), ($\hat{\beta}$ = 0.296; *SE* = 0.161; *t* = 1.842; *p* = .066 and $\hat{\beta}$ = -0.314; *SE* = 0.188; *t* = -1.67; *p* = .095 respectively). Crucially, the two groups differed with respect to grammaticality in the post-critical region ($\hat{\beta}$ = -0.179; *SE* = 0.071; *t* = -2.53; *p* = .012). Additionally, there was a main effect of group in all regions, indicating that HSs had significantly shorter RTs (*p* < 0.001).

In neuter heads, the two groups did not show significant effects on the critical region (*p* > .05). In the post-critical region both groups exhibited grammaticality effects (NSs: $\hat{\beta}$ = 0.234, *SE* = 0.052; *t* = 4.53; *p* < .001, HSs: $\hat{\beta}$ = 0.231, *SE* = 0.057; *t* = 4.06; *p* < .001). In the analysis with Group, there was no difference between the two groups with respect to grammaticality ($\hat{\beta}$ = -0.031, *SE* = 0.069; *t* = -0.45; *p* = .654), but there was a main effect of Group ($\hat{\beta}$ = -0.323, *SE* = 0.077; *t* = -4.19; *p* < .001), indicating that HSs had significantly shorter RTs.

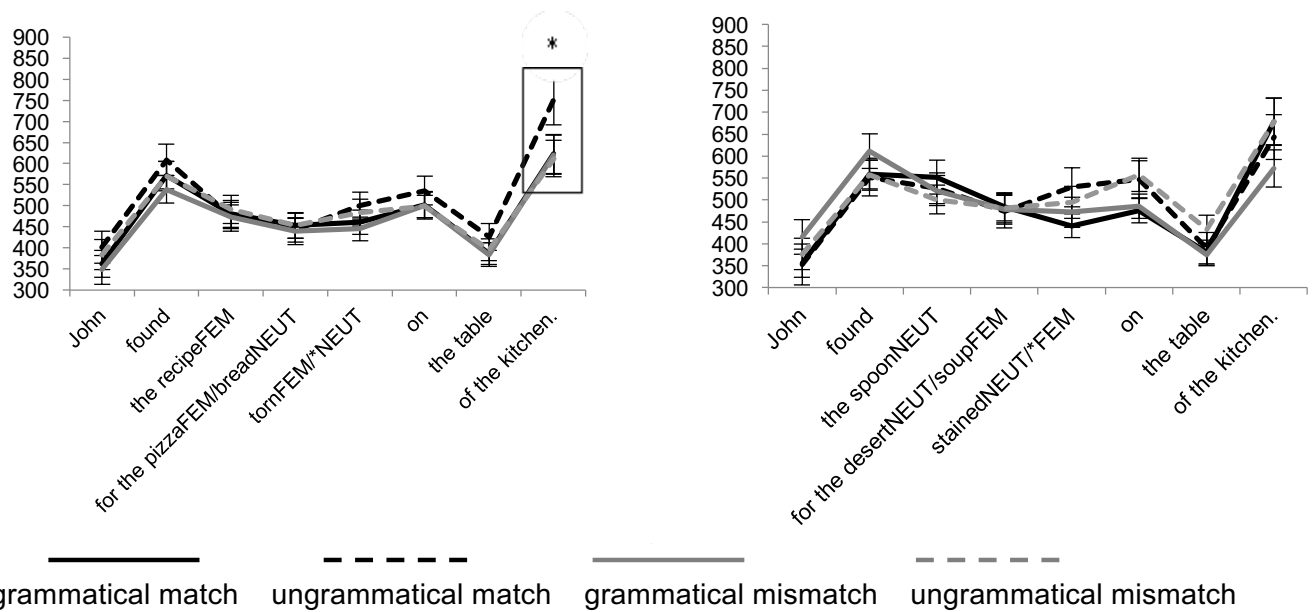grammatical match   ungrammatical match   grammatical mismatch   ungrammatical mismatch
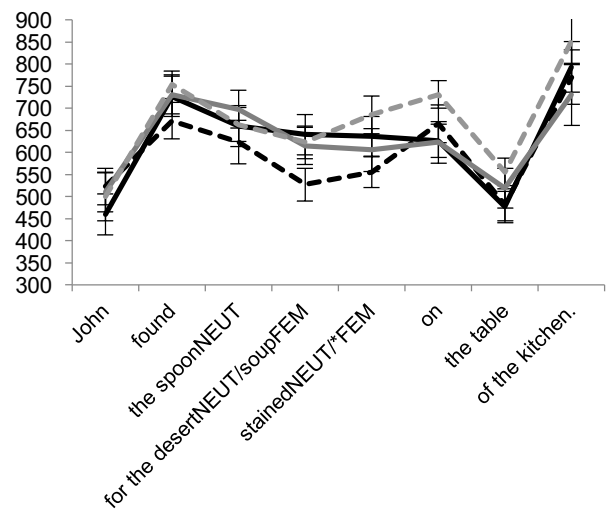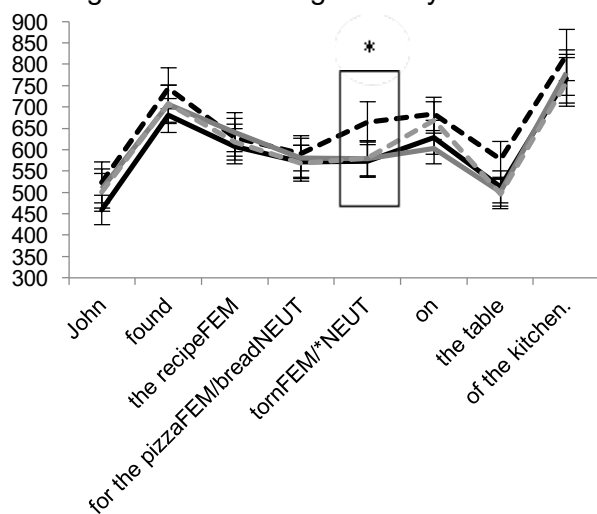
Figure 1. Mean Reaction Times (*y-axis*) by Region (*x-axis*) by Condition in Experiment 1. Error bars represent Confidence Intervals (CIs).The critical region is the past-participle *torn.* **Upper left**: feminine heads Native Speakers, **Upper right**: neuter heads Native Speakers, **Bottom left:** feminine heads Heritage Speakers, **Bottom right**: neuter heads Heritage Speakers. Stars indicate interactions between Grammaticality and Attractor.

5.3. Experiment 2

Accuracy. In the comprehension questions, HSs' mean was 91% (*SD* = 28, *range* = 65-100) in feminine nouns, and 93% (*SD* = 26, *range* = 68-100) in neuter nouns, and NSs' mean was 96% (*SD* = 19, *range* = 82-100) in feminine nouns, and 97% (*SD* = 18, *range* = 86-100) in neuter nouns. There were no differences by Condition (*p* > 0.5) within each group. However, HSs were significantly less accurate in both head nouns as the analysis with Group showed; ($\hat{\beta}$ = -0.795; *SE* = 0.318; *z* = -2.50; *p* = .013) in feminine nouns, and ($\hat{\beta}$ = -0.966; *SE* = 0.221; *z* = -4.359; *p* < .001) in neuter nouns.

Reaction times. The critical region (fifth region) (Figure 2) as well as the pre-critical regions did not show significant differences of Grammaticality or Attractor (p > .05). In the post-critical region, NSs exhibited an interaction of Grammaticality with Attractor ($\hat{\beta}$ = -0.371; *SE* = 0.115; *t* = -3.24; *p* = .002) with feminine heads, indicating attraction, in line with Experiment 1; post-hoc pairwise comparison produced similar results: shorter RTs in the ungrammatical mismatch condition compared to the ungrammatical match condition ($\hat{\beta}$ = -0.227; *SE* = 0.086; *t* = -2.63; *p* = .01). HSs did not exhibit attraction effects ($\hat{\beta}$ = -0.001; *SE* = 0.133; *t* = -0.009; *p* = .99). The model with Group (NSs/HSs) revealed that the two groups differed with respect to attraction (Grammaticality x Attractor x Group), ($\hat{\beta}$ = 0.455; *SE* = 0.158; *t* = 1.88; *p* = .004) and there was a main effect of Group ($\hat{\beta}$ = -0.327, *SE* = 0.077; *t* = -4.26; *p* < .001), indicating that HSs had significantly shorter RTs. In neuter heads, the two groups did not reveal significant differences (*p* > .05).

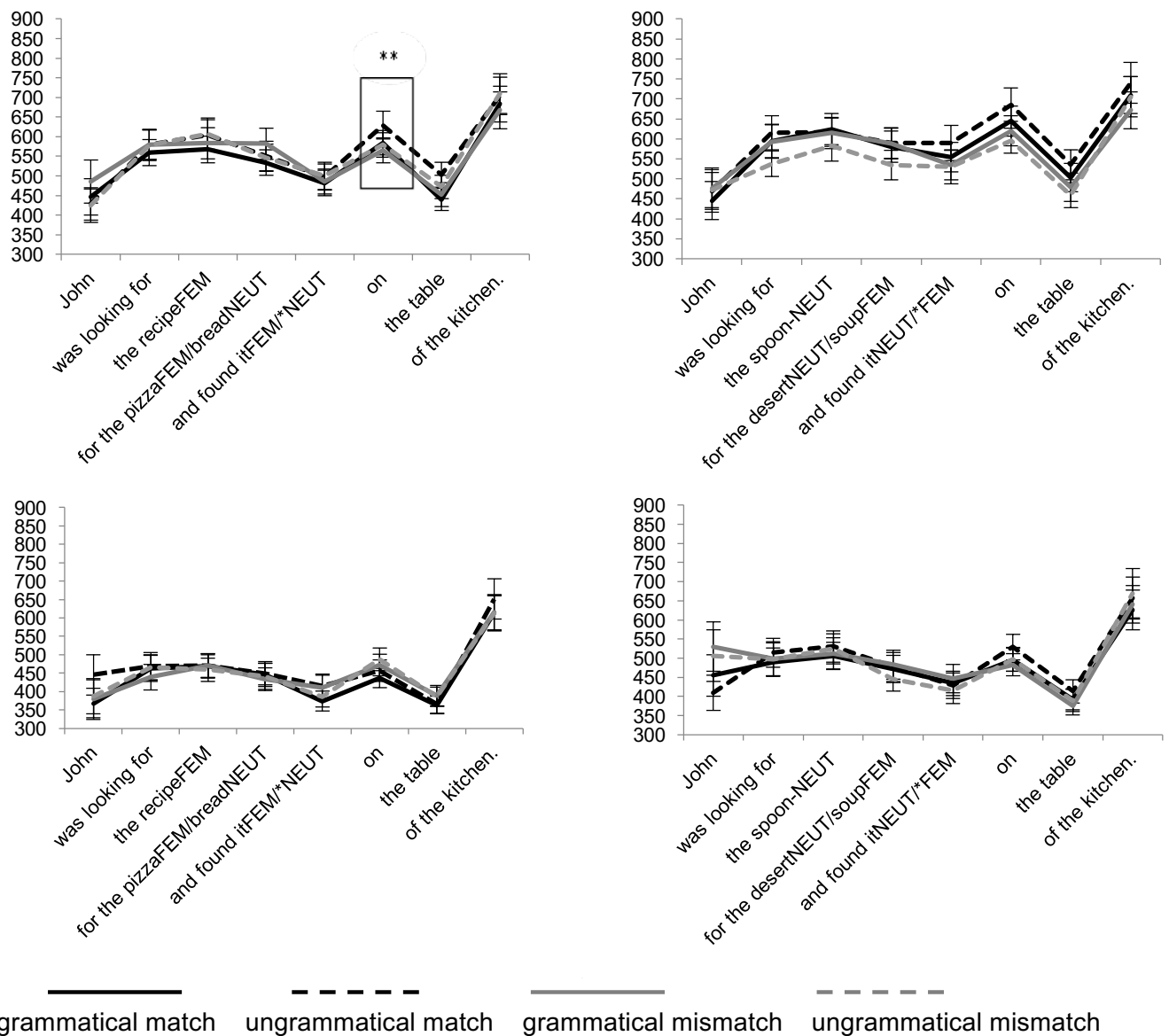grammatical match   ungrammatical match   grammatical mismatch   ungrammatical mismatch

Figure 2. Mean Reaction Times (*y-axis*) by Region (*x-axis*) by Condition in Experiment 2. Error bars represent Confidence Intervals (Cis). The critical region is the past-participle *torn.* **Upper left**: feminine heads Native Speakers, **Upper right**: neuter heads Native Speakers, **Bottom left:** feminine heads Heritage Speakers, **Bottom right**: neuter heads Heritage Speakers. Stars indicate interactions between Grammaticality and Attractor.

6. DISCUSSION

The baseline tasks revealed that the two groups pattern alike with respect to gender assignment and gender agreement both in adjectival predication and object-clitics. The attraction experiments aimed to explore the implicit knowledge of gender agreement rules in the heritage group and the way HSs weigh cues to assign grammatical relations.

Experiment 1 shows that both HSs and NSs employ the same retrieval strategy in feminine head nouns. However, the HSs employed the strategy during wrap-up, when the final interpretation of the sentence has been reached (last region of the sentence), while NSs exhibited attraction effects at the critical region (the predicate/agreement target). Thus, we argue that this finding is attributed to difficulties at the level of morphosyntax in HSs. The fact that they exhibited attraction effects only at the last region, was the outcome of difficulties in realizing that a sentence is ungrammatical across-the-board, even in the control conditions where there is no competition with the gender value of the attractor. Note that HSs significantly differed from NSs with respect to grammaticality in the post-critical region. This is perhaps related to the process of mapping explicit

morphological cues to abstract agreement features, a stage in agreement which precedes the stage of retrieval (Lago et al. 2018). We claim that this can delay or attenuate agreement attraction[5]. Interestingly, this inhibition by HSs occurred with feminine gender, which is considered to be marked and more specified compared to neuter. This is in line with the previous literature in Greek which shows that feminine is the most vulnerable gender value across different groups of individuals; L1 and L2 children, L2 adult learners. With respect to neuters, HSs performed on par with the baseline group showing grammaticality effects. It seems that case underspecification / defaultness of (multiple) neuter NPs causes disruptions at the point of the agreement target, and perhaps this is why neuter heads exhibited grammaticality effects only post-critically (Experiment 1) or no effects at all (Experiment 2) in both groups. In Experiment 2, NSs exhibited attraction with feminine nouns in line with Experiment 1. This reveals that attraction is present in clitic targets as well. Unlike NSs, HSs did not show attraction in Experiment 2 and they were not sensitive to any effect at all, confirming Osch et al. (2014) and the IH; in clitics, HSs had to store and retrieve the antecedent of the clitic target. Thus, this structure was cognitively more demanding to them during and this is perhaps why they did not show longer RTs in the (control) ungrammatical condition.

An additional finding was that HSs had significantly shorter RTs than NSs in all regions. This effect is consistent across all trials; the experimental ones, the fillers, as well as the practice trials which did not contain ungrammatical sentences. Given that the effect occurs across all trials it is unlikely to stem from the experimental manipulations of grammaticality. Rather, given that HSs were faster but significantly less accurate in the comprehension questions in both Experiments, the effect perhaps reveals that the two groups followed different strategies throughout the task, where speed compensates HSs for accuracy.

Overall, the results suggest that HSs employ the same retrieval strategy as monolinguals and with the same features. While retrieval can be applied similarly as a memory mechanism, the morphosyntactic mapping of certain (overspecified) features (e.g. feminine) as well as gender agreement in more cognitively demanding structures (at the interface between syntax and pragmatics) are more fragile in processing and might delay or attenuate attraction due to the lack of a strong difference between the grammatical match and the ungrammatical match (control) conditions.

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[5] Note that we claim that the feature mapping can be vulnerable in daily communication, and in general, in tasks which use incremental measures and not ask for an explicit judgment without time constraints. This is why we found difficulties online but not offline (gender agreement task).

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Workshop: Το λόγιο/μη λόγιο στην ελληνική γλώσσα: προτάσεις και προοπτικές

The learned register in Contemporary Modern Greek: Tendencies in synchrony and the role of morphological change (analogy, borrowing, grammaticalization)

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ABSTRACT

Το χαρακτηριστικό [+/-λόγιο] στη σύγχρονη Νέα Ελληνική καθορίζεται με βάση το ετυμολογικό κριτήριο με την έννοια της απόκλισης/περιφερειακότητας και της απολιθωματικότητας και πρωτίστως με βάση το χρηστικό κριτήριο με την έννοια της εκπροσώπησης του υψηλού/τυπικού επιπέδου, παρόλο που δεν μπορεί να εξισωθεί πλήρως αλλά μόνο υπωνυμικά με αυτό. Προέρχεται από την ιδιότυπη διγλωσσία της ελληνικής ως φυσική και τεχνητή διαδικασία. Καθορίζεται με βάση ένα μη στατικό και ευέλικτο συνεχές με δύο ζώνες, τη λόγια και τη μη λόγια, που συναντιούνται στην επικαλυπτική κατανομή της νόρμας. Το λόγιο επίπεδο δεν είναι «νεκρό» αλλά μερικώς λειτουργικό, κυρίως ως αναλογικό πρότυπο στη μορφολογία και στην παικτική νεολογία. Έχει υψηλή χρηστικότητα, αναπτύσσει εξειδικευμένη λειτουργία στη γλώσσα και συνιστά άλλοτε ποικιλία και άλλοτε αναγκαστική επιλογή. Επίσης, άλλοτε προσαρμόζεται στη δημοτική ή αλλάζει βάσει διαδικασιών επικαιροποίησης ή παρετυμολογίας και άλλοτε αναζωπυρώνεται. Επομένως, εφόσον παρατηρείται απενοχοποίηση στη χρήση της λόγιας ποικιλίας και αποσύνδεση από το γλωσσικό ζήτημα, η σύγχρονη ΝΕ είναι ένα απόλυτο κράμα στοιχείων της δημοτικής και του φυσικού ή τεχνητού λόγιου στοιχείου, που αποσκοπεί στην αποτύπωση υφολογικών επιλογών, πραγματολογικών λειτουργιών αλλά και ιδεολογίας. Επίσης, η χρηστική διάκριση [+/- λόγιο] δεν συνδέεται μόνο με τεμαχιακές αλλά και με διαδικασιακές αντιστοιχίσεις τόσο σε συγχρονικό επίπεδο όσο και σε διαχρονικό επίπεδο.

Παράλληλα, η γλωσσική αλλαγή εξυπηρετεί σε μεγάλο βαθμό στην ελληνική τη χρηστική διάσταση [+/-λόγιο], καθώς η αναλογική βάση διασπάται συχνά στον εαυτό της, που περιορίζεται στη λόγια ζώνη, και στον νέο αναλογικό τύπο, που εκπροσωπεί τη μη λόγια ζώνη. Επίσης, συγκεκριμένες διαδικασίες μορφολογικής αλλαγής οδηγούν στην παραγωγικότητα σε συγκεκριμένη ζώνη. Ειδικότερα, η αναλογική μορφολογική αλλαγή (αναλογική επέκταση, αναλογική εξομάλυνση, παρετυμολογία, σύμφυρση) με εξαίρεση την υπερδιόρθωση οδηγεί σε σχηματισμό τύπων στη μη λόγια ζώνη, ο εσωτερικός δανεισμός επιθημάτων από την ΑΕ εξυπηρετεί τη λόγια ζώνη, ενώ ο εξωτερικός δανεισμός επιθημάτων τη μη λόγια ζώνη. Φαίνεται, δηλαδή, ότι η ελληνική γλώσσα δανείζεται προσφύματα για να τροφοδοτήσει πέρα από τον καθημερινό λόγο τη μη λόγια ζώνη με τη μορφή του μη επίσημου, μειωτικού/ειρωνικού, παικτικού, προσβλητικού, διαλεκτικού κτλ. και να δώσει πολλαπλές δυνατότητες κατονομασίας με ποικίλες συνυποδηλώσεις. Επίσης, η προσφυματικοποίηση με τη μορφή της επιτατικοποίησης/μειωτικοποίησης τροφοδοτεί τη μη λόγια ζώνη, ενώ με τη μορφή σχηματισμού προσφυματοειδών ιδιότητας τη λόγια ζώνη.

Τέλος, η επικρατέστερη φορά χρηστικής λειτουργίας της μορφολογικής αλλαγής είναι προς τη μη λόγια ζώνη, διότι η ΑΕ μέχρι και σήμερα λειτουργεί ως η βασική κοιτίδα λογιότητας, ακόμα και στα λατινογενή επιθήματα μέσω δυτικών γλωσσών, τα οποία στις ευρωπαϊκές γλώσσες συνυπολογίζονται ως τεμάχια κυρίως στη λόγια ζώνη.

Key Words: learned register, etymology, morphological change, affixal borrowing, affixization.

1. INTRODUCTION[1]

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[1] This paper is a short version of a Greek article adapted to foreign readers. Abbreviations: ACC = Accusative, AG = Ancient Greek, CMG = Contemporary Modern Greek, DAT = Dative, Det = Determiner, GEN = Genitive, INF = Infinitive, MEG = Medieval Greek, MG = Modern Greek, NOM = Nominative, SUBJ = Subjunctive. MG

The distinction between learned and non-learned/colloquial/vernacular register is prevalent in a variety of academic work. However, as documented in the literature, the use of this criterion does not correspond to a systematic theoretical framework; rather it is usually empirical, descriptive or circumstantial and is mainly related to etymological criteria. Furthermore, research in lexicography is usually limited to marking certain elements as learned[2] or to the collection of archaic lexical units[3] while scientific terminology as part of the learned register has only been fragmentarily studied (see the ELETO website).[4] Regarding metalinguistic tools, only hints at certain features of the learned level are recorded in the Grammars[5] by Holton, Mackridge and Philippaki-Warburton (1999), Kleris and Babiniotis (2005) and Chatzisavvidis and Chatzisavvidou (2013).

As a result, approximately forty years after the establishment of Demotic (see footnote 11), it is necessary to redefine the learned register, which in some cases can be understood as variation and in other cases as a compulsion version without competitive variety. Along this background, the paper focuses on shedding more light on both the tendencies of the learned register in CMG and the role of morphological change in register variation with an emphasis on three case studies based on analogy, affixal borrowing and grammaticalization.

2. THE LEARNED REGISTER IN CONTEMPORARY MODERN GREEK: DEFINITION AND INTERPETATION

The learned register includes the inherited segments, structures and processes from former periods of the Greek language, mainly AG, on all levels of linguistic analysis, as well as lexicon that are used mainly in the high/formal register. A first attempt at a systematic cross-level classification in phonology, morphology, semantics, syntax and vocabulary was made by Anastassiadis-Symeonidis and Fliatouras (2004, 2018) and Anastassiadis- Symeonidis (2015)[6] as shown in the table below:

Table 1: Classification of the learned register of CMG

	Non-learned	**Learned**
(A) Phonology		
(a) Consonant clusters	**ft**oxós 'poor'	**pt**oxós 'poor' (cf. **pt**oxokomio 'poorhouse')
(b) Stress	asf**á**lias (GEN) 'of safety'	asfal**í**as (GEN) 'of safety' (cf. zoni asfal**í**as 'safe belt')
(c) Final -n (ACC)	usía 'substance'	usía**n** 'substance' (cf. kat' usia**n** 'essentially')
(d) Foreshortening	klironom**iá**[7] 'heritage'	klironom**ía** 'heritage' (cf. foros klironom**ías** 'inheritance tax')
(e) Phonological processes	**ant**iliako 'sunblock'	**anθ**ellinas 'anti-Greek'[8]
(B) Morphology		
(a) Allomorphy	**pali**-os 'old'	**pale**-os 'old' (cf. **Pal**ea Διαθiki 'Old Testament')
(b) Word Construction	**miso-fegaro** 'half-moon'	**imi-selinos** 'half-moon'

(c) Fossilized elements	**(s)ta** ekato 'percentage' (ACC)	**tis** ekato 'percentage' (DAT)[9]
(C) Syntax		
(a) Prepositions	stin poli (< **se tin** poli) 'in town'	**en ti** poli 'in town' (in Christmas carols)
(b) Word order	i apófasi **apo kinú** (Det-Noun-Prepositional Phrase) 'mutual decision'	i **apó kinú** apófasi (Det-Prepositional Phrase-Noun) 'mutual decision'
(c) Infinitive	**to na** kapnizeis 'to smoke' (SUBJ)	to kapniz-**in** 'to smoke' (INF)
(D) Lexicon		
(a) Words	**kokalo** 'bone'	**osto** 'bone'
(b) Phrases	**apo tin peδiki ilikia** 'since childhood'	**eks apalon onixon** 'since childhood'

The learned register derives from natural diachronic inheritance, mainly through the language of administration, high oral/written registers, the scientific register and the language of church as language variation (see also Karantzola & Fliatouras in press), as well as the standardization of AG. The latter led to the re-introduction of learned elements, mainly in terminology internationalisms[10] (Anastassiadis-Symeonidis 1994), e.g. MG *osteoarθritiδa* < English *osteoarthritis* < AG *ostoun* 'bone' + *arthron* 'connection' + *-itis* 'suffix for diseases', and the artificial revival of elements as an outcome of the "Language Question", mainly as katharevousa fossils[11] (see Papanastassiou 2010). In CMG a creative blending of learned and non-learned items is attested leading to semantic, pragmatic and stylistic distinction (see Setatos 1992, 2011; Charalambakis 1999; Fliatouras 2018b). In parallel, a gradual removal from ideology-based selection of types (standardized AG or Demotic) is detectable since speakers feel freer to handle the variation due to "usage exculpation" and the language system seems to organize the competition to some extent (see also Fliatouras et al. in press). As a result, the initial language dichotomy/schizzoglossia tends to develop into a register variation, which can be analyzed in the context of pragmatics and sociolinguistics, given that the usability of learned items is genre-orientated and specified by social parameters such as age, proficiency in AG etc.

Furthermore, learnedness is defined by etymology, mainly in terms of inheritance, grammatical or lexical deviation/peripherality and fossilization, and basically by register, in terms of representation of the high/formal register (see Anastassiadis-Symeonidis and Fliatouras 2004, 2018b; Kamilaki 2009), e.g. *ikia* (learned) vs *spiti* (non-learned) 'house', *patir* (learned) vs *pateras* (non-learned) 'father'.[12] However, inheritance cannot be the primary criterion used to determine learnedness,[13] as it is a necessary condition but not a sufficient one in itself, e.g. the word *Θeos* 'God' is inherited from AG but it is not learned in MG, and in many cases the etymological connection between the inherited learned type and the altered non-learned equivalent becomes lost due to phonological and semantic shift, e.g. *nimfi* 'nymph' (learned) vs *nifi* 'bride' (non-learned). Phonological, morphological and semantic markedness is responsible for deviation, e.g. learnedness percolates from the inflectional ending *-os* in *Elaδ-osGEN* 'of Greece' (vs non-learned *Elaδ-as*)[14] or from stress in *KerkírasGEN* 'of

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[9] In AG dative was a case which was used to indicate the manner or the tool with which something happened. It also served as an indirect object to the main verb.

[10] Internationalisms are words which occur at the same time in many different languages through the process of borrowing.

[11] The "Language Question" was a linguistic, political and social issue regarding the linguistic variant that should become the official language of the Greek state. There were two parties; the first one supported the Greek vernacular as it was spoken by the majority of people in continental Greece ('Dimotiki') and the second one claimed that the official language should be a cultivated variant that did not include any "vulgar" expressions and adopted AG syntax and morphology as a sign of grandeur ('Katharevousa'). The issue was finally resolved in 1976, when Demotic Greek acquired official language status under law. We should note, though, that the learned level is not totally based on Katharevousa, as is usually mentioned in the literature, since a thorough statistical text-based research of lexical evolution is not available.

[12] The peripheral word *patir* is fully inherited from AG, whereas the morphologically changed form *pateras* (< AG *patir*) is not learned in MG.

[13] Inheritance cannot be a synchronic criterion but only a diachronic and metalinguistic one.

[14] The ending *-as* indicates that the noun is inflected according to the patterns of the vernacular, while the ending *-os* imitates AG inflection.

Corfu' (vs non-learned *Kérkiras*). Most learned items display some semantic/pragmatic/stylistic specialization, since they develop a more metaphoric, intensive or metonymic meaning, are semantically ameliorated representing 'higher' or 'more prestigious' notions of science, trade or religion and can be found in 'politically correct' utterances, e.g. *paleos* (learned) means 'unforgettable, gorgeous, valuable' whereas *palios* (non-learned) means 'useless', *piperies FlorínisGEN* (learned) is used as a brand name and refers to a specific kind of pepper from Florina (toponym) in comparison to *piperies FlórinasGEN* (non-learned) which refers to all peppers from Florina, *ikos* (learned) 'house' (vs non-learned *spiti* 'house') refers to buildings with prestigious or specialized function, such as *ekδotikos ikos* 'publishing house', etc. (see Fliatouras 2018b, Fliatouras et al. in press). Fossilization usually leads to unrecognizability since the elements are not connected to naturally identified lexemes. For example, Fliatouras et al. (in preparation) has shown by the means of a psycholinguistic test that most people are unsuccessful at opening the door when the sign uses the learned types *elksate/oθisate* 'pull/push' (cf. non-learned *travikste/sprokste* 'pull/push'). In other words, the learned register comprises the fossilized[15] remnants of AG, perceptible to a greater or lesser degree as peripheral types, formally and/or semantically marked (Anastassiadis-Symeonidis & Fliatouras 2004, 2018), e.g. *aγon* (learned) vs *aγonas* (norm) 'match', *estali* (learned) vs *stalθike* (norm) 'was sent', *uδis* (learned) vs *kanis* (norm) 'nobody'. On the other hand, the criterion of high/formal register representation cannot always be compatible with learnedness, e.g. the learned word *kefalísGEN*[16] 'of head' is used in the colloquial phrase *travai ta malia tis kefalís tu* 'pulls hair from his head', or the insertion of the formal announcement *Parakalo na…* 'you are kindly requested' is not learned (cf. the equivalent learned phrase *Parakalisθe opos…*). As a result, the learned register in CMG is distinct and idiosyncratic. It derives from historical, philological and ideological reasons and comprises both the etymological criterion in terms of archaicity and essentially the usage criterion in terms of hyponymic representation of the high/formal register.

As far as usability is concerned, nowadays the learned register occurs mainly in the administrative/legal vocabulary, in inscriptions/names/signs, in place/street names and surnames, in terminology, in academic vocabulary, in official military terminology, in church language, in commercial language (mainly in titles, brands), in announcements, e.g. o katoθi ipoγeγramenos 'the undersigned' (in applications), par' Ario Paγo 'in the Supreme Court' (title of lawyers), oθisate/elksate 'push/pull' (in door signs), Δukisis Plakentias 'duchess of Plakentia' (toponym), aiθales 'evergreen' (terminology), Xristos Anesti 'Christ is risen' (ecclesiastic phrase used at Easter), alt, tis i? 'halt, who are you?' (military phrase), anθos aravositu 'corn flour' (brand name), iserxete ston staθmo tu Plateos 'arrives at the station of Platy' (announcement in trains). Moreover, the learned level is not completely "dead", but is still functional, as it is productive in learned sources (terminology, etc.), e.g. siriaki θira 'serial port', in playful neologisms (see also Kamilaki 2012; Fliatouras & Koukos in press), e.g. γiaurtoskorδion instead of tzatziki 'tzatziki', in morphology, in the form of analogical patterns and/or orthographic rules (see also Papanastassiou 2008; Fliatouras 2018a), e.g. anθ-elinas 'anti-Greek' (cf. the +/-learned anti-), and following diaphasic markers of reformulation (see Anastassiadis-Symeonidis forthcoming), e.g. γia na to po arxeoprepos 'to say it like in AG'. In other words, after the establishment of Demotic Greek, the learned register has segued from the frame of the natural creativity into the sphere of analogicality (see also Martzoukou et al. in press) and occasionally into a regulatory form of neo-Katharevousa (see Petrounias 1984).

Usually, no learned variant is an absolute equivalent of the non-learned, on the language system and/or register level, e.g. *lefkos* 'white' (learned) is not deployed in all the uses of *aspros* 'white' (non-learned). The competitiveness between the learned/non-learned morphological and lexical segments and the consequent variation is extensive (see Fliatouras et al. in press for a plethora of examples), e.g. *ikos* (learned) vs spiti (non-learned) 'house' (cf. *Lefkos Ikos* 'White House' vs *aspro spiti* 'white house'), *θira* (learned) vs *porta* (non-learned) 'door' (cf. *θira 7* 'gate 7 of a stadium' vs *porta 7* 'a door with number 7'). Apart from the total and fossilized remnants of AG, there are many learned elements that do not have competitive selection and this is what seems to keep the learned element strong in the Greek language (see Fliatouras 2018b), as for instance in:

- Multi-word compounds: *Nekra Θalasa* vs **Nekri Θalasa* 'Dead Sea'
- Allomorphs: *siδiro-δromos* vs **siδero-δromos* 'railway'

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[15] See Coffey (2013).
[16] It is a loan from Cretan dialect but in synchrony it is misconnected with the AG *kefalí*.

- Substantivized words by conversion or ellipsis: *nekra (taxitita)* vs *?nekri (taxitita)* 'neutral gear'
- Verb types: *parenevi* vs *?parenevike* 'intervened'
- Affixes (inflectional and derivational): *stroma θalass-isGEN* vs[17] **stroma θalass-asGEN* 'sea mattress'
- Fixed phrases/collocations: *eγine tis kolaseos* vs[18] **eγine tis kolasis* 'there were fireworks' (about fierce disagreement)

On the other hand, a tendency of change in (non-)learned elements either as a natural procedure or as a result of language and at times political ideology may also be observed. For instance, many learned elements tend to be analogically expanded in the Demotic, e.g. *Καθαρα Δeftera → Καθari Δeftera* 'Ash Monday', and, inversely, many non-learned elements often lead to hypercorrection (see Krimpas in press), e.g. *apopiume ton efθinon mu* 'I abdicate my responsibilities' (Object GEN = AG syntax) instead of *apopiume tis efθines mu* (Object ACC = MG syntax). Furthermore, the learned items are prone to change, especially when they are not recognizable and transparent, such as the phrases connected to church tradition, either via folk etymology, e.g. *Γis Μαδiam* 'Land of Midian' > *Γis Mariam* [*Mary*], or via synchronic updating, e.g. *prin alektora fonise* (Subject ACC - INF = AG syntax) > *prin alektor fonisi* 'before a cock crows' (Subject NOM - Verb = MG syntax). There are some regulatory movements identified, however, which still try to standardize artificial learned or non-learned types. In any case, language decides on the final integration, e.g. the learned-based translation of *internet* as *διαδiktio* is more successful in comparison to the translation of *fax* as *tileomiotipo* and units like *ieri exetasi* 'inquisition' (non-learned) or *takse-osGEN* 'class' (learned) are mannered.[19]

Finally, the degree of learnedness is defined by a non-static continuum, which comprises two flexible zones, the learned one and the non-learned one. These zones intersect in the overlapping distribution of the intermediate norm. Every element is prototypically integrated into the learned or non-learned zone, but the degree of learnedness can differ from item to item as well as among speakers on the basis of sociolinguistic parameters, such as proficiency in Ancient Greek, age etc. (see Fliatouras & Kambakis-Vougiouklis in press). For example, the suffix *pan-/pant-* 'pan-' prototypically falls into the learned category but it can be found in norm or even in non-learned words, e.g. *Pant-anassa* 'queen of all' as an epithet of Mary (learned), *pan-ellinies* 'panhellenic' (norm) and *pan(t)-ermos* 'very lonely' (non-learned). Furthermore, such a hypothesis is confirmed by the cases of register amalgamation/change and the luck of non-learned competitors (see Anastassiadis-Symeonidis & Fliatouras 2004, 2018a). The continuum of learnedness could be represented as follows:
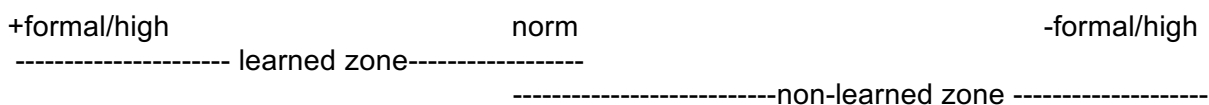
+formal/high   norm   -formal/high
----------------------- learned zone------------------
                                             --------------------------non-learned zone --------------------

Figure 1: Continuum of learnedness by Anastassiadis-Symeonidis and Fliatouras (2004, 2018)

3. THE RELATION BETWEEN MORPHOLOGICAL CHANGE AND LEARNED REGISTER

Anastassiadis-Symeonidis and Fliatouras (2004) have argued that the distinction [+/-learned] not only has a segmental or lexical effect but there is also a systematic connection with specific processes, e.g. folk etymology with non-learnedness and hyper-correction with learnedness. In fact, if we investigate the issue holistically at the level of morphological neology, we will observe that the morphological change displays a systematic connection with the evolution of register variation in the Greek language. With regard to the above, we will investigate three case studies, namely the association of the learned register with analogical change (3.1), affixal borrowing (3.2) and affixization (3.3).

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[17] The ending *-as* indicates that the noun is inflected according to the patterns of the vernacular, while the ending *-is* imitates AG inflection.
[18] See above.
[19] Cf. the learned *iera exetasi* (*-a* is AG inflection) and the non-learned *taksi-s* (*-s* is MG inflection) respectively.

3.1. Analogical change

Analogy-oriented morphological change includes two categories, systemic and non-systemic change (see inter alia McMahon 1994; Fertig 2013, Fliatouras 2018a for Greek). Systemic change involves the analogical extension, i.e. the absorption or reformation of one class by another, e.g. AG *pate:r* (NOM)*, patros* (GEN)*, patera* (ACC) of third nominal declension > MEG *pateras, patera, patera* 'father' following the pattern of first nominal declension,[20] and analogical labelling, i.e. the equation of types of the same paradigm, e.g. AG *θalassa* (NOM), *θalasse:s* (GEN), *θalassan* (ACC) > MEG *θalassa, θalassas, θalassa* 'sea' following the pattern of accusative. Non-systemic change involves re-analysis, i.e. the restructuring resulting in the formation of new items, e.g. MEG *pater-a* (ACC) is re-analyzed to *patera-* which works as an analogical pattern (see above), folk etymology, i.e. the change of form and meaning due to misconnection for reasons of transparency, e.g. MEG *eɣoklima* (vine of the goat) > MG *aɣioklima* (holly vine) 'honeysuckle', and blending, i.e. the amalgamation of words, e.g. MG *tarazo* 'agitate' + *kuno* 'move' > *tarakuno* 'shake'.

Taking into account that one of the basic tendencies of the analogy formulated for the first time by Kurilowitz (1949) is that older types often take on a new role in language, we will find that in the overwhelming majority the analogy-oriented morphological change in Greek systematically leads to:

(a) New types used in norm or non-learned zone, such as in cases of folk etymology and blending.

(b) A split of the analogic base to itself, which passes into the learned zone, and to the new analogue type representing the non-learned or norm zone. The split is based on a type *X(base) → X(base)learned + Y(analogical type)norm/non-learned*.

Sampling examples of the above case of exaptation in language change (see Fertig 2013, Norde & van de Velde 2016) are as follows (see Fliatouras 2018a, b for more cases and examples):

Table 2: Examples of register split

	learned zone	non-learned zone
Stem labelling of the AG first nominal declension:	*stroma θalassis*GEN 'sea mattress'	*alati tis θalassas*GEN 'sea salt'
Stem extension from the AG first nominal declension to the third nominal declension:	*onoma patros*GEN[21] 'name of father'	*onoma tu patera*GEN 'name of father'
Inflectional extension in adjectives:	*iera exetasi* 'inquisition'	*ieri mera*[22] 'holly day'
Stem extension in verbs:	*paralasso* 'change'	*paralazo* 'change'
Gender change:[23]	*votani*FEM 'herb'	*votani*NEU[24] 'herb'
Folk etymology:	*Niriiδα* 'nereid'	*neraiδα*[25] 'fairy'

3.2. Affixal borrowing

There are three main types of affixal borrowing identified:
- Internal borrowing, e.g. renaissance of pre-existing affixes (Petrounias 1984), such as of the AG *-illion* 'diminutive', e.g. *δasillio* 'small forest'
- Re-borrowing (mainly in terminology), e.g. borrowing of AG or Greek-originated affixes through foreign languages especially in terminology (see Anastassiadis-Symeonidis 1997, 2013), such as the suffix *-asi* '-ase' in biochemistry by the means of reanalysis of the Greek word *diastasi* 'diastasis' (Anastassiadis-Symeonidis & Fliatouras 2015)

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[20] The AG declension follows Greek Grammars (see Oikonomou 1971).
[21] It is found mostly in ID cards.
[22] *Iera/ieri* means 'holly'. The inflection ending *-a* is learned.
[23] See Anastassiadis-Symeonidis and Cheila-Markopoulou (2003).
[24] The feminine gender is AG, whereas the neuter gender is MG.
[25] Due to misconnection with *nero* 'water'.

- External borrowing, e.g. borrowing of foreign language affixes, mainly Turkish (Kyranoudis 2001), Latin/Venetian (Petrounias 1984, Filos 2008) and Western European (Anastassiadis-Symeonidis 1994) (see Table 4).

A tendency observed in the Greek language affixal borrowing is that internal loans and re-borrowings represent the learned zone, while external loans percolate to the non-learned zone. It is indicative that many academic works point out the link between the borrowing of an affix and its use at the non-learned level (see Fliatouras 2018a for references). This is due to:

(a) The natural and artificial diachronically-driven substratum of the Greek language, which feeds synchrony with segments from earlier stages,

(b) The standardization of AG resulting in the split of language into learned and colloquial/ vernacular, and

(c) The type of Turkish and Italian-Venetian loans, the overwhelming majority of which are of folk origin and daily use (see inter alia Browning 2008: 130-132).

The register specialization results in the use of loan affixes in the non-learned zone and their combination mostly with non-learned derivational bases. The criteria to determine the non-learnedness of loan affixes are semantic-pragmatic (irony, pejoration/reduction, peripheral vocabulary, playful neology, low prestige, etc.). It seems that the tendency of the non-learned zone to accept foreign language affixes is recorded in the "DNA of the Greek language". Specifically, we observe that most loan affixes from all periods, even the Latin-originated ones, are inserted or percolated to the norm or non-learned zone. In fact, the Greek language has two main peculiarities that distinguish it from the other European ones:

(a) Latin-based suffixes (both Latin and Italian- or Venetian-mediated) represent the non-learned zone in contrast to the other European languages where they are basically used at the learned zone. For example, the property suffix -atos (< Latin -atus) can only be used in norm, e.g. afros 'foam' > afratos 'plump', and recently mostly in colloquial words, e.g. fraga 'money, dough' > fragatos 'in the money' (slang), whereas in English the etymologically corresponding verbal suffix -ate is used only in the norm or learned zone, e.g. acetate 'a salt or ester of acetic acid'.[26]

(b) Intercultural borrowing of eastern and western suffixes conforms to a "central merging direction" of register specialization in the non-learned zone. For example, all profession loan suffixes,[27] such as the English -man, e.g. kava 'wine store' > kava-man 'wine store worker', the Turkish -tzis, e.g. taxi 'taxi' > taxi-dzis 'taxi driver', the Italian/Venetian -aδoros, e.g. pitsa 'pizza' > pits-aδoros 'pizza deliverer', and the Latin -arius, e.g. perama 'traversal' > peramat-aris[28] 'ferry-man' are non-learned. As examples, the following samples are provided in the table below (see Fliatouras 2018a for more examples and references):

Table 2: Affixal borrowing and register specialization

Turkish:	-(a/i)tzis, -iliki,-is/ia/i, kara-, -lis[29]
Italian/Venetian:	-ianos, -atsa, -aria, -antza, -aδa, -aro, -aδoros, -iera, -ezos, -ila, -ieris, -isios, -istas, -oni, -(i)ozos, -ura, -esa[30]
French:	-e, -eri[31]
English:	-ing, -man[32]
Persian:	-istan
Slavic:	-itsa
Latin:	-(i)aris, -arios, -ari, -ario, -atos, -ina, -ukla, -ula[33]

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[26] See https://www.etymonline.com/search?q=acetate (20/3/2019).

[27] See Anastassiadis-Symeonidis (2017).
[28] MG -(i)aris derives etymologically from Latin -arius.
[29] See Kyranoudis (2001).
[30] See Petrounias (1984).
[31] See Anastassiadis-Symeonidis (1994).
[32] See Anastassiadis-Symeonidis (1994).
[33] See Filos (2008), Anastassiadis-Symeonidis & Chatzopoulou (2009).

3.3. Affixization

Three of the most basic and more systematic cases of affixization[34] displaying a different degree of syntagmatic (by category) and paradigmatic (within the category) morphological grammaticalization are connected to the framework of evaluative morphology:

(a) Intensification: the conversion of words/stems usually with positive meaning into intensifiers (see Gavriilidou 2013), such as *Θeos* 'God' > affixoid *θeo-*, e.g. *θeo-gomena* 'super-chik' (Anastassiadis-Symeonidis 2008).

(b) Pejoration/Reduction: the conversion of adjectival and nominal stems usually with negative meaning into diminutives/pejoratives (see Efthymiou 2015), such as *aγuros* 'unripe' > affixoid *aγuro-*, e.g. *aγuro-xipno* 'half-awake', and *vlaxos* 'hick' > affixoid *vlaxo-*, e.g. *vlaxobarok* 'bad type of barock'.

(c) Property: the formulation of deverbal affixoids/affixes denoting a profession, human or machine action (see Anastassiadis-Symeonidis 1986; Giannoulopoulou 2000), e.g. the affixoid -*komos* 'who carries' in *noso-komos* 'nurse' related to AG *komizo* 'carry' and the affix -*oδis* 'property' in *petr-oδis* 'stony' which derives from the AE verb *ozo*: 'smell' (Anastassiadis-Syméonidis 2003).

In this case, there is a systematic relationship between usability and morphological change. Specifically, intensification and reduction are connected to the production of affixoids in the non-learned zone (see Gavriilidou 2013; Efthymiou 2015, 2018), whereas property is connected to the production of affixoids and affixes in the norm or learned zone (see Anastassiadis-Symeonidis 1986; Ralli 2005). In the first case, the non-learned elements are more productive in the periphery, e.g. in slang, in offensive vocabulary,[35] in dialects,[36] or they are followed by a sarcastic/playful tone or style. In the latter case, the inheritance from AG usually includes them in the learned elements. Once again, as in the case 3.2, inheritance from "standard" AG leads to the assumption of a high register and language prestige.

Sampling examples are the following (see Fliatouras 2018a for more cases, examples and references):

Table 3: The non-learned and learned affixoids/affixes

(1)	Non-learned
(A)	Pejoratives
(a)	Prefixoids/Prefixes
(i)	Adjectival: *aγuro-* (< *aγuros* 'unripe'), *kara-* (< Turkish *kara* 'black'), *kodo-* (< *kodos* 'short'), *kako-* (< *kakos* 'bad'), *kutso-* (< *kutsos* 'lame'), *kufo-* (< *kufos* 'deaf'), *mikro-* (< *mikros* 'small'), *miso-* (< *misos* 'half'), *psilo-* (< *psilos* 'thin' < AG *psilos* 'bare'), *palio-* (< *palios* 'old'), *psefto-* (< *pseftis* 'lier')
(ii)	Nominal: *vlaxo-* (< *vlaxos* 'hick'), *vromo-* (< *vroma* 'dirt'), *γuruno-* (< *γuruni* 'pig'), *γifto-* (< *γiftos* 'gypsy'), *γineko-* (< *γineka* 'woman'), *kopro-* (< *kopros* 'feces'), *kolo-* (< *kolos* 'ass'), *kuraδo-* (< *kuraδa* 'turd')
(b)	Suffixoids: -*pulo* (< Latin *pullus* 'chick')
(B)	Intensifiers:
(a)	Prefixoids/Prefixes
(i)	Adjectival: *akrivo-* (< *akrivos* 'expensive'), *vaθi-* (< *vaθis* 'deep'), *kalo-* (< *kalos* 'good'), *olo-* (< *olos* 'total'), *fresko-* (< *freskos* 'fresh')
(ii)	Nominal: *vrodo-* (< *vrodi* 'thunder'), *γaiδuro-* (< *γaiδuri* 'donkey'), *γiγado-* (< *γiγadas* 'giant'), *θeo-* (< *θeos* 'God')
(b)	Suffixoids: -*mana* (< *mana* 'mother')
(2)	Learned: -*loγos* (< *leγo* 'talk'), -*foros* (< *fero* 'have, bear'), -*komos* (< *komizo* 'carry'), -*skopos* (< *skopo* 'examine'), -*nomos* (< *nemo* 'distribute').

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[34] Affixization is the re-analysis of words/stems into affixoids/affixes via grammaticalization processes (see Bader 1962).

[35] See Xydopoulos (2007).

[36] See Ralli (forthcoming).

4. CONCLUSIONS

Based on the three case studies discussed, some basic conclusions can be drawn about the systematicity in the utility of the [+/-learned] feature in Greek.

Firstly, the two criteria that determine learnedness are that of etymology in terms of deviation/peripherality and fossilization and basically that of usage in terms of representation of the high/formal register. It should be noted, though, that the etymological criterion is compulsory but not sufficient and the learned items cannot equalize completely but only prototypically with the high/formal register. The learned register comes from the natural development and the peculiar diachronic bilinguality of Greek (Demotic 'popular language' and Katharevousa 'archaic, pure language') as an artificial process due to standardization of AG. It is determined by the means of a non-static and flexible continuum with two zones, the learned and the non-learned one, which intersect in the overlapping distribution of the norm. It is not "dead" but partly functional in CMG, mainly as an analogical pattern in morphology and playful neology. It has a high degree of usability, it develops a specialized function in the language and is sometimes a variety and sometimes a compulsory choice. Moreover, it is sometimes adapted to Demotic or changes based on morphological updating or folk etymology processes and sometimes is revived via hypercorrection. Therefore, if there is a devotion to the use of the word variety and gradual disconnection from the "Language Question", CMG should be seen as a combination of non-learned and natural/artificial learned elements, which aims at imprinting stylistic choices, pragmatic use and ideology.

Furthermore, the [+/-learned] usage is not only associated with segmental but also with procedural mappings on both a diachronic and synchronic level. Morphological change in Greek serves the utilitarian distinction [+/-learned] to a great extent, since the analogical base is often split into itself, which is limited to the learned zone, and to the new analogue type, representing the non-learned zone. Furthermore, specific morphological change processes lead to productivity in a particular zone: (a) analogy-driven morphological change (extension, labelling, folk etymology, blending) leads to (non-)learned competitive variation via exaptation, (b) internal borrowing of affixes from AG serves the learned zone, while external borrowing of affixes serves the non-learned zone, and (c) affixization feeds into the non-learned zone in the form of intensification/pejoration and into the learned zone in the form of property affixoids/affixes. It seems that the Greek language borrows affixes to feed beyond the everyday speech in the non-learned area in the form of non-official, ironic, playful, insulting, dialectal, etc., and gives multiple possibilities of naming through a variety of competition. In general, the most prevalent use of morphological change is to the non-learned area because AG still functions as the basic cradle of learnedness, even in cases of Latin-originated loan affixes through Western languages.

Finally, the observations made here open the research path to seek answers to some fundamental questions, which only intuitively in this research have an affirmative answer:

• Is language change in Greek systematically associated with [+/-learned] if we think that phonological, syntactic, semantic and lexical change can have a similar function of register split?

• Is the Greek very sensitive to pragmatic distinctions because it makes a creative use of the past? And is this feature, among other things, a lever for language change?

• Can we deploy this useful variation in education, i.e. can we use it for the better learning of both MG and AG?

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The V&V Bar As A Statistical Tool Of Measuring Learnedness In Contemporary Modern Greek

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ABSTRACT

Η σύγχρονη Νέα Ελληνική διαθέτει το ετυμολογικό/πραγματολογικό χαρακτηριστικό [+/-λόγιο], το οποίο σύμφωνα με τους Αναστασιάδη-Συμεωνίδη και Συγγραφέα2 (2004, 2018) εκπροσωπεί όλα τα γλωσσικά επίπεδα (φωνολογία, φωνολογία, σύνταξη και σημασιολογία), καθώς και το λεξιλόγιο, και καθορίζεται με βάση ένα συνεχές με δύο ευέλικτες ζώνες, τη λόγια και τη μη λόγια, που συναντιούνται στην επικαλυπτική κατανομή της νόρμας, με περιπτωσιολογική ένταξη των τεμαχίων και των παραγώγων τους σε σχέση με γλωσσικά, χρηστικά και κοινωνιογλωσσικά κριτήρια. Η παραπάνω θεωρητική επισήμανση θα μπορούσε να ελεγχθεί από μια σειρά πειραμάτων μέτρησης του βαθμού λογιότητας με βάση ένα μη κατευθυντικό μεθοδολογικό εργαλείο υψηλής ευαισθησίας και μαθηματικότητας.

Η παραδοσιακή κλίμακα Likert δεν επαρκεί για τη μέτρηση των συνεχών κυρίως λόγω ανεπαρκειών στον σχεδιασμό και στη μαθηματική επεξεργασία των δεδομένων. Πιο ενδεδειγμένη μέθοδος αναδεικνύεται η ράβδος V&V bar, διότι, εκτός των διαδικαστικών προτερημάτων και της λεπτομερούς κατανομής, επιτρέπει βάσει μαθηματικών μοντέλων, όπως των παραβολών και της καμπύλης του Gauss, σε συνάρτηση με τις αποκλίσεις και τις πυκνώσεις των απαντήσεων, την εξαγωγή ακριβέστερων αποτελεσμάτων. Επίσης, ως ανατροφοδοτικός μηχανισμός οδηγεί στον ακριβή καθορισμό της ζώνης λειτουργίας τεμαχίων και διαδικασιών και κατ' επέκταση της λόγιας και της μη λόγιας ζώνης, καθώς και της νόρμας. Η προαναφερθείσα διαδικασία εκκινεί από ένα διαγνωστικό πείραμα, που θα κατευθύνει την περαιτέρω έρευνα του θέματος, και από τα πρώτα ενδεικτικά αποτελέσματα της χρήσης του μεθοδολογικού εργαλείου V&V bar.

Key Words: learned register, V&V bar.

1. INTRODUCTION

The main issue this paper addresses is that of the Vougiouklis and Vougiouklis bar (V&V bar henceforth) as a new statistical tool of measuring, among others, the grade of learnedness in Contemporary Modern Greek (CMG henceforth). First, there is a detailed presentation of the tool and some of its advantages as compared and contrasted with similar tools widely used such as Likert scales and other types of bar. This is followed by an application of the V&V bar as a case study so as to measure the grade of learnedness of linguistic elements (segments, words and phrases). The grade of learnedness is defined on a continuum based on the results of a questionnaire, which was implemented to Democritus University students. Our ultimate goal is to argue that the V&V bar will prove to be the most appropriate tool we have at our disposal when we want to identify gradings on continuums. Argumentation is derived from both the innate philosophical and strictly mathematically oriented method and from the results of the first application of the questionnaire and their preliminary codification.

2. SCALES AND BARS AS STATISTICAL TOOLS

The use of mathematical models in linguistic research reached its peak in the mid-20th century with Zellig Harris, whose main purpose, as mentioned in Lentin (2002), was to establish linguistics as a product of mathematical analysis of linguistic data. Harris' students include, among others, N. Chomsky, the founder of Transformational Generative Grammar, and M. Gross (1972), who developed the theory of mathematical models in linguistics.

Nowadays either direct or indirect correlation to a mathematical model is a prerequisite in almost all linguistic fields because the structures used in linguistics can possibly be more comprehensible and easily adapted through the use of mathematical models. Moreover, the mathematicalization of the problems leads to comparability and comprehensibility of the results. Depicting a research theme or phenomenon with numbers, is the simplest and most recognizable way of reading the results. Moreover, the fact that mathematics offers reliability, creates security and wider acceptance. Likert scales are mathematical models very widely used in almost every empirical research, including linguistic, especially with filling in of questionnaires.

2.1. Likert scale

The main stages of an empirical research are considered to be the following three: (a) design, (b) implementation, and (c) processing of the results. Main tools in an empirical research include *the questionnaire,* where Likert scales are normally and widely used.

In the stages of design and implementation, the scaling of a variable depends on both its nature and the judgment of the researcher (Zadeh 1975). Likert scales are often used to measure respondents' attitudes by asking the extent to which they agree or disagree with a particular question or statement. A typical scale might be *"strongly disagree, disagree, neither agree nor disagree, agree, completely agree"*. The Likert scales are characterized by necessary elements-rules which normally identify such scales, that is, they start from the absolute negative and end up to the absolute positive, or vice versa. However, the most serious problem constitutes the discrimination of the limits of the actual partition. This problem of discrimination of the different categories is not at all an easy process and could often be frustrating both for the researcher and the participants. More specifically, during the stage of the questionnaire design there might be inherently certain issues to be dealt with, such as:

- The range of the scale is not standard, and it is the researcher who needs to decide on the number of the subdivisions. There might be cases when researchers, trying to overcome certain problems, such as greater concentration of the answers in the middle of the scale, choose a scale with no medium choice such as a 4/point scale "sure, almost sure, not so sure, no sure at all", narrowing down the options of the interviewees, excluding an alternative they might have preferred and depriving them of the possibility to explore other parameters. Clearly it is the kind of research that will always dictate the type of scale to be used, however if the researcher wants to investigate some other parameters s/he had not provided for well in advance investigating some aspects from a different point of view, s/he will have to re-apply the test with a different scale. In this case, though, s/he will have to begin the process of familiarization of her/his subjects with the new categorization again. In this case, though, he will have to begin the process of familiarization of his subjects with the new categorization. Consequently, in every case, the problem is the establishment and evaluation of the 'unit'.

- The difficulty of refining the difference between different subdivisions and making them clear to the participants, especially to less sophisticated ones. It concerns verbal distinction and this is not at all an easy process, as many researchers report that it takes their subjects more time to comprehend what each subdivision represents on their scale, asking for extra explanations and examples, rather than accomplish the actual test. Such a problem involves a number of different factors including social and psychological. For example, the difference between 'good' and 'quite good' is not the same for every culture and even for each of us. Also, the options "*absolutely sure, sure, between sure and unsure, rather unsure, absolutely unsure*" and "*always or almost always true of me - generally true of me -generally not true of me- never or almost never true of me*" are not easily explained or defined, before conducting a questionnaire, especially with younger and/or unsophisticated participants. Additionally, it is possible that a participant might perceive the difference in one question but not in another, i.e. they are asked to adapt themselves to the specific type of categorization in every single question. Such a process might affect the reliability of the specific results, or, even worse, it might yield misleading outcomes. Such a situation, apart from being completely unpleasant and frustrating might question even the reliability of the actual test, as mentioned above. Humorously talking, the researcher might have to employ an extra parameter, that of the reliability of the answers in order to test whether the participants' familiarization with the type of the questions affects their responses.

In the stage of processing the results, the researcher that has used a type of Likert scale, e.g. 5-point scale, will only have one possibility of processing, the one he decided to establish when he initially designed the questionnaire. Such a decision, though, might deprive her/him of the possibility to explore other parameters which might come up in the process, or even try different subdivisions for either a more accurate estimation or in order to make his/her results comparable with somebody else's who has used a different scale, as mentioned above.

Therefore, if one needs to have comparable results, he should re-apply the research using the same questionnaire, with the same participants, but a different scale. The shortcomings of this are: (a) the practical issue of having the same participants, on a specific day, which is very hard to do, and (b) even if the same participants are gathered, some of them, or all, might remember some or all of the questions and therefore there will not be spontaneous answers, on top of fatigue from the repetition of the same questions, resulting in waste of time and effort.

2.2 Bars

In order to eliminate these shortcomings of Likert scales, many researchers including Gu and Hu (2003), **Nietfeld et al. (2005),** Cao and Nietfeld (2005), and more recently Lu and Bialystok (2013) have tried another type of mathematical model, that of the bar, using different scales such as the 10, 20 and 100-point scales. Nevertheless, we observe that none of them has used an actual continuum in the strictly mathematical sense, since partitions, however detailed, are used. The real sense of a continuum is the complete absence of any partition. This shortcoming has come to remedy the V&V bar.

More specifically, in order to address the problems of the scales, Author1 and Vougiouklis (2008) proposed the replacement of the scales with the 'bar' which facilitates both the subjects to provide answers, as well as researchers with the processing of the results. Here, however, the suggested bar has nothing to do with the bars suggested by other researchers mentioned above. The V&V bar is inspired by the theory of fuzzy sets (Zadeh 1965) and may open a window for further research on the field of science and linguistics:

"*When filling in any questionnaire, it is proposed to replace any scale with a continuum, that is, a bar called Vougiouklis & Vougiouklis bar (V&V bar). 0 is on the left end of the bar and 1 is on the right:*

0 ━━━━━━━━━━━━━━━━━━━━━━ 1

The respondents, instead of checking a point on a Likert scale, are asked to intersect the bar vertically, on the point which they consider to express their spontaneous reaction to that question".

Lygeros (2009: 1) refers to the advantages of the bar:

"*The innovation of the Vougiouklis & Vougiouklis bar (V&V bar) in replacing the scale from the bar has deep roots in the controversy between continuous and discrete. The tool they propose is not an extra addition to the mass of tools ... the V&V bar tries to overcome, in an artistic mathematical way, the methodological problems of simplification that are created by a model such as the Likert scale .... With the bar, it is easy to apply all the techniques of various distributions like Bernoulli, Poisson and Gauss the bar can also act as a tool for controlling the possibilities of all forms of scales*".

Markos (2017) also emphasizes the obvious advantage of the V&V bar, that the researcher will not have to decide about the parameters in advance nor to clarify fine differences between subdivisions. In this way, the continuous data can be transformed into a form comparable to that of the categorized data allowing analyses identical to those done with questionnaires using conventional scales, even more so with a variety of partitions.

Furthermore, the participants, when asked to answer, do not need any special instruction, and do not need to distinguish the inconspicuous differences between two subdivisions on the scale. The psychological factor plays a very important role because the participants will intersect the bar [01] with a vertical line, based primarily on their intuition, which, at that particular moment, determines the most accurate point. The bar gives the possibility of fuzzy attitude, since it basically calls for a map on linear segment [0,1] instead of a 0 or 1 answer. To make things comparable, this process can be represented as the effort of a car to go up or down (a) an inclined level, i.e. the bar, or (b) a

flight of stairs, i.e. the Likert scale. Similarly, it can be compared to a person's using a wheelchair effort to get on a plane using a ramp, rather than a flight of stairs.

Consequently, when it is necessary to choose from a list such as "*very good, good, fairly good, almost good, not really good, not good, not good enough, rather bad, not very bad*", etc. -of course there are even more options- we cannot be sure that we will be able to explain the extremely subtle differences between escalations and make them completely distinguished from other similar choices making them in this way comprehensible to all our participants of different ages, genders, and linguistic, cultural, religious beliefs. However, using a continuum, the V&V bar, instead of a predefined discrete, it is each individual who will decide where exactly to intersect the bar at a specific moment, without any subjective language explanations. Because, one could argue that through explanations, we might impose, involuntarily or voluntarily our own perceptions on the participants, something that is both wrong and undesirable.

The first pilot applications of the bar revealed certain inconsistencies, for which colleagues suggested solutions: (a) it was observed that the length of the bar was not strictly decided in advance; instead, it was left to the researcher's judgment. Such freedom, though, eliminated comparability between researches using bars of different length, and (b) even more so, if the length was kept too short, then the subject's freedom of choice is limited, because they do not have enough space to make their choices. In order to tackle these two inconsistencies, it was suggested that the length of the bar should be kept 100mm in every application of the bar.

$$0 \; \rule{6cm}{0.4pt} \; 1$$

Figure 1: The 100mm bar

Nevertheless, in consequent pilot studies, three more inconsistencies were identified: (a) the average participants are over-familiarized with the widely used decimal system, that is to say, with the length of the ten centimeter bar, and (b) they are most likely to have certain schemata in their minds of scales of three, four, ten, or even twelve partitions in mind, since these are the ones widely used in western dominant decimal system. So, they were 'programmed' to move comfortably on a 10cm bar and cut it in the predetermined spaces they had in their minds. In other words, they subconsciously divide the bar into ten equal parts and act as if it worked on a Likert scale. The final inconsistency concerns comments that the 10cm bar was far too long and difficult to handle on the average A4 sheets of paper normally used in handouts.

The suggested answer to this problem was the use of the *golden ratio,* as suggested by ancient Greeks. It is defined to be *the segment x such that for a given length a to have a/x=x/(a-x).* So, in the case of the ten centimeter bar, this is represented as 100 / x = x / (100-x) and the solution of this equation is x≈62.0 mm as shown in the following figure:

$$0 \; \rule{5cm}{0.4pt} \; 1$$

Figure 2: The 62mm V&V bar

In this way we avoided the rather awkward 100mm bar and all the preconceptions of decimal system establishing an original length, never used before, and activating the advantages of the continuum of V&V bar, more specifically those of the continuum.

To sum up the V&V bar is aiming to overcome, in a skillful mathematical way, methodological shortcomings of simplification created by a model such as the Likert scale. Even more so, working on a continuum is a realistic simulation of human choice and consequently more natural. This because the continuum is a common feature of all natural magnitudes, e.g. sound, and it is humans who cut every continuum into discrete units. Consequently, in the case of the bar, the participants are given the initiative to make a completely free choice rather go for pre-determined ones. Needless to say their choices are infinite as any point on the continuum may represent their options the specific moment.

Now we come to the final stage, that of the processing the result obtained using the V&V bar. The procedure to be followed is exactly the same as the one followed with any Likert scale. That is to say, we can divide the bar in as many equal spaces as we wish. One could ask: "why should we go through the bar procedure then"? The answer is that our bar gives a potential for different types of processing not provided by the Likert scales, i.e. multiple processing. For example, let us suppose

that the researcher finds out that the given answers follow the Gauss distribution and wishes to 'correct' this tendency.

We have analogous classes using the Gauss distribution which are as follows (Vougiouklis & Author1 2011) in mm:

for 3 classes with limit values   0 – 27 – 35 – 62
for 4 classes with limit values   0 – 25 – 31 – 37 – 62
for 5 classes with limit values   0 – 24 – 29 – 33 – 38 – 62
for 6 classes with limit values   0 – 22 – 27 – 31 – 35 – 40 – 62
for 7 classes with limit values   0 – 21.5 – 26.0 – 29.5 – 32.5 – 36.0 – 40.5 – 62.

The case we set now as the main point of our paper, is the following: We suppose that the researcher consider that the answers are decreasing, say, for example, for psychological reasons, from the left to the right side of the segment [0,1]. One of the models to represent the situation is the decreasing parabola $x=1-y^2$. In order to correct (normalize) the results we can divide the continuum [01] into equal-area spaces according to the above decreasing parabola distribution. This can be done by dividing the segment [0, 62] in equal-area spaces as follows:

For the **increasing low parabola**, in its canonical form: $x=y^2$, we have the following segments, in mm:

for 3 classes with limit values   0 – 43 – 54 – 62
for 4 classes with limit values   0 – 39 – 49 – 56 – 62
for 5 classes with limit values   0 – 36 – 46 – 52 – 58 – 62
for 6 classes with limit values   0 – 34 – 43 – 49 – 54 – 58 – 62
for 7 classes with limit values   0 – 32 – 41 – 47 – 51 – 55 – 59 – 62.

A second case is the **increasing upper parabola** which is represented by $1-y=(1-x)^2$. Then we divide the segment [0, 62] in equal-area spaces as follows, in mm:

for 3 classes with limit values   0 – 32 – 48 – 62
for 4 classes with limit values   0 – 27 – 40 – 51 – 62
for 5 classes with limit values   0 – 24 – 35 – 45 – 54 – 62
for 6 classes with limit values   0 – 22 – 32 – 40 – 48 – 55 – 62
for 7 classes with limit values   0 – 20 – 30 – 37 – 44 – 50 – 56 – 62.

The corresponding decreasing cases are symmetric, to line x=31, therefore the results are symmetric. More precisely we have the cases:

For the **decreasing low parabola**, in its canonical form: $y=(1-x)^2$, we have the following segments, in mm:

for 3 classes with limit values   0 – 8 – 19 – 62
for 4 classes with limit values   0 – 6 – 13 – 23 – 62
for 5 classes with limit values   0 – 4 – 10 – 16 – 26 – 62
for 6 classes with limit values   0 – 4 – 8 – 13 – 19 – 28 – 62
for 7 classes with limit values   0 – 3 – 7 – 11 – 15 – 21 – 30 – 62.

A second case is the **decreasing upper parabola** which is represented by $1-y=x^2$, we have the following segments, in mm:

for 3 classes with limit values   0 – 14 – 30 – 62
for 4 classes with limit values   0 – 11 – 22 – 35 – 62
for 5 classes with limit values   0 – 8 – 17 – 27 – 38 – 62
for 6 classes with limit values   0 – 7 – 14 – 22 – 30 – 40 – 62
for 7 classes with limit values   0 – 6 – 12 – 18 – 25 – 32 – 42 – 62.

3. CASE STUDY: DEGREE OF LEARNEDNESS IN CONTEMPORARY MODERN GREEK

V&V bar has been very successfully applied quite a few times in empirical researches.[1] Nevertheless, the possibility of mapping on a continuum comprises, on the one hand, a real challenge for statistical analysis and on the other a necessity for linguists. This is true even in the marginal case of three-grade categorizations on a continuum where two of the grades pinpoint the two poles of the continuum and the third is somewhere in between, closer to or further from one of the two poles. Such a case is the distinction of the characteristic [+/-learned] in CMG[2] in Anastassiadis-Symeonidis and Author2 (2004) where it is suggested a map on the [0,1] continuum, whose two poles are pinpointed by [+learned] and [-learned], while the norm, the unmarked [+/-learned] variety, lies somewhere in the space in between. Furthermore, according to Anastassiadis-Symeonidis and Author2 (2018), the learnedness continuum as a hyponym of the formal/high register functions on flexible zones (+learned, -learned) with overlapping distribution in the norm and the learnedness degree differs on a case by case basis per segment and per derivative of the segment:

+formal   norm   -formal

---------------------------learned zone---------------------------

                                        ------------------------non-learned zone----------------------
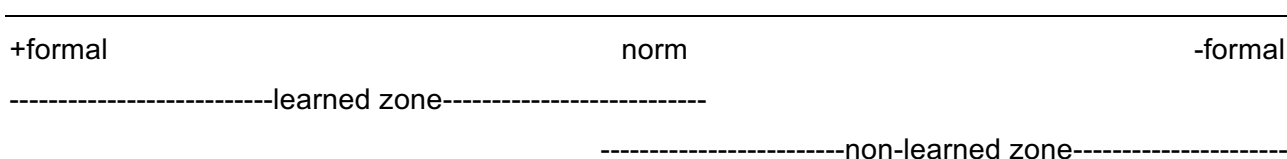
Figure 3: Continuum of learnedness by Anastassiadis-Symeonidis and Author2 (2018)

Hence, we thought it would be of great interest to investigate whether and to what extent the V&V bar might prove to work more effectively than other methods previously used in measuring learnedness. The participants were forty students from the Department of Greek Philology and forty from different departments not language oriented, all at the first year of their studies at Democritus University of Thrace. They were asked to fill in a questionnaire of fifty phrases with learned elements by cutting the V&V bar at the point they thought the learnedness of each specific element lay on the continuum.[3] The specific bar represents the learned zone -that is to say from the learned register to the norm.

0———————————————————1

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[1] See, among others, Mathioudakis and Author1 (2010), Author1 (2012, 2013, 2016), Author1, Karakos et al. (2013), Author1, Makoumari et al. (2013), Author1 and Mamoukari (2016 a, b; 2017), Markos (2017).
[2] The learned register includes the inherited segments, structures and processes from former periods of the Greek language on all levels of linguistic analysis (Phonology, Morphology, Semantics, Syntax and Pragmatics) as well as vocabulary, that are used mainly in the high/formal register. Therefore, learnedness is determined by etymology, mainly in the sense of natural or artificial inheritance and deviation/peripherality/ fossilization, and essentially by register, in the sense of representation of the high/formal register (see Anastassiadis-Symeonidis & Author2 2004, 2018), e.g. *ikia* 'house' (learned) vs *spiti* 'house' (non-learned). In many cases the learned items are not connected to non-learned equivalent variety or they seem to develop a specialized meaning or pragmatic use in contrast to their non-learned competitors (for more information and references see also Setatos 1992; Charalampakis 1999; Kamilaki 2009; Papanastassiou 2010; Anastassiadis-Symeonidis 2015; Author2 forthcoming).
[3] It must be clarified that the term *learned* was used while presenting the questionnaire as it was expected that all our participants were bound to be familiar with the term which is mentioned quite a few times in school handbooks. It was only pointed out that the term *learnedness* refers to grammatical deviations representing the formal register (see inter alia Chatzisavvidis & Chatzisavvidou 2013).

Figure 4: The V&V learned zone

The fifty target learned elements of our questionnaire aim to equally represent the most productive noun categories in phonology, morphology and vocabulary as well as various semantic/pragmatic criteria such as irony, humor[4], etc., and, to a certain extent, various speech acts (see Anastassiadis-Symeonidis & Author2 2004, 2018; Kamilaki 2009; Anastassiadis-Symeonidis 2015). In certain cases there were included competitive examples mainly at grammar and to a lesser extent at usage, as well as examples that are representative of more than one categories. It should be noted that the specific experiment was rather diagnostic, based on general examples, decontextualised from any pragmatic context so as to identify the function trends that further research will be channeled to. The learned categories examined via convenient sampling are the following (the targets are in brackets and the learned markers/items are in bold type):

- Consonant clusters: *Δen θelo na vreθo se (**pt**oxokomio)* 'I do not want to be in a (poorhouse)'
- Stress: *Ime fititis tu (Δimokrit**í**u Panepistim**í**u) Θrakis* 'I am a student of the (Democritus University) of Thrace'
- Adjectives/Substantivized adjectives:
  (a) Plural genitive: *I δieta tu (asθen**us**) ine ipoxreotiki* 'The diet of the (patient) is compulsory'
  (b) Feminine ending in -*α*: *Θa erθis tin (Kaθar**a**) Δeftera;* 'Will you come on (Pure) Monday?'
- Nouns:
  (a) Singular genitive: *Θa aγoraso ena stroma (θalass**is**)* 'I will buy a sea (mattress)'
  (b) Obsolete dative: *Ine γnosto (**tis pasi**) oti ine kalos* 'It is known to (everybody) that he is good'
  (c) Vocative: *Kirie (**Kaθiγita**), sas efxaristo* 'Thank you, (Professor)'
- Stem allomorphs:
  (a) Compounding: *Ine (**pasi**fanes) oti se aγapai* 'It is (crystal) clear that (s)he loves you'
  (b) Derivation: *Θa to peraso sto (**ear**ino) eksamino* 'I will pass it in (spring) term'
  (c) Reduplication: *Afti i γrami ine (te**θ**lasmeni)* 'This line is a (crooked) line'
- Affixes/Affixoids: *Aftos ine (imi**θ**eos)* 'He is a (demi)-god'
- Words: *(**Anekaθen**) su arese aftos* 'You have (always) liked him'
- Phrases: *(**Ek ton on uk anef!**)* '(sine qua non)'.

Judging from the results, the V&V bar seems to be the most effective method to manage the arrangement of the elements on a continuum, and in the specific occasion of the learned elements in accordance with the learnedness degree, for at least two obvious reasons:

(a) It is a unique methodological tool as it is so 'sensitive' to predict the (minor) differentiations in the answers per learnedness category as well as per example. These (minor) differentiations might not always be statistically significant yet they might be of vital importance from an interpretative point of view, at a theoretical level. This means that the V&V bar can lead to the most efficient arrangement of the elements, procedures and isolated examples on the continuum, and to some more 'philological' discussion between competitive elements and those which belong to the same category, the adjacent and the outlying ones. See for example the statistical results of the sampling examples (see above) with emphasis on the order of classification on the continuum (first column):

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[4] Following the modern methodology requirements and to ensure the reliability of the research, certain distractors, i.e. non-learned items, were also used.

Table 1: Questionnaire results[5]

	Phrase	Mean	SD
1	**Ek ton on uk anef!**	53.10	14.91
5	Ine γnosto **tis pasi** oti ine kalos	45.09	16.25
11	Ine **pasi**fanes oti se aγapai	42.55	17.50
15	**Anekaθen** su arese aftos	40.20	12.94
16	Afti i grammi ine **te**θlasmeni	39.76	15.89
22	Δen θelo na vreθo se **pt**oxokomio	36.44	17.36
23	Θa to peraso sto **ear**ino eksamino	36.18	14.25
24	Ime fititis tu Δimokrit*í*u Panepistim*í*u Θrakis	36.00	15.51
27	I δieta tu *asθenus* ine ipoxreotiki	34.43	15.00
30	Kirie **Kaθiγita**, sas efxaristo	33.03	17.21
36	Θa aγoraso ena stroma θalass**is**	27.38	14.46
39	Θa erθis tin Kaθar**a** Δeftera;	25.00	15.09
42	Aftos ine **imi**θeos	22.54	15.50

(b) It reinforces and/or breaks new grounds for reconsideration and more accurate description of the [+/-learned] characteristic. For example, it creates conditions for the definition/ redefinition with mathematical accuracy of the remarkable points on the continuum, not on the basis of linear criteria but of the results of the test themselves. In other words, the V&V bar functions as a feedback mechanism because, based on the results, it can accurately define the norm point, which traditionally has been arbitrarily placed in the middle of the continuum. In this way it is easy to define the accurate zone of function of the learned and non-earned zones overall as well as the minor categories and segments.

In this way, by conducting specialized experiments with a good number of examples for each item, e.g. the item *pan*-, taking into consideration all the factors that define the degree of learnedness, and calculating the deviation degree depending on the points of concentration of the answers, we can define the learnedness zone of the specific item on the continuum in a mathematical way, e.g. the Gauss distribution. Then, the learnedness zones of the items belonging to the same (sub)category will lead to the calculation of the learnedness zone of the whole (sub)category while, finally, the learnedness zones of the hyperonym categories (morphology, syntax, phonology, semantics and vocabulary) will lead to the calculation of the norm zone and the learnedness zone.

4. CONCLUSIONS

It is no doubt that there is still a long way towards the complete study of the factors that might affect the learnedness degree of CMG. Even more so, research begins with the choice of an efficient methodological tool and from the design and implementation of a diagnostic experiment to direct the research. The traditional Likert scales are not effective enough for measuring continuums mainly because of inadequate design and insufficient mathematical processing of the results. The V&V bar proves to be more appropriate than Likert scales because, apart from the obvious advantages concerning the procedure of implementation of the test and the detailed distribution it offers, it yields most accurate results based on mathematical models depending on deviation and concentration of the individual answers and is more sensitive, too. As far as the degree of learnedness is concerned, it blazes a trail for an extended philological analysis of the results that will compare types, categories and competitors.

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[5] The first column represents the order of classification on the continuum of the fifty items in the questionnaire, the second column represents the phrase of the questionnaire (the learned marker/item is in bold type), the third column represents the average point of the participants' cutting of the continuum while the fourth column represents the standard deviation.

Furthemore, a more assiduous and closer study of the results of the specific questionnaire per hyperonym and per hyponym categories as well as per each individual element with emphasis on the deviations follows (see Author2 & Author1 forthcoming). This is done because the target is to organize and classify the two groups of criteria that define the learnedness degree, the etymological criterion in the sense of grammatical deviation/peripherality as well as fossilization, and the usage in the sense of representation of high/formal register, sequence and pragmatic use. For example, Author2 and Author1 (forthcoming) find that the usage criterion seems to outmatch the other, that a good level in Ancient Greek favours the learnedness intuition, and that factors such as lexicalization, iconicity, spelling, pragmatic use, etc. might affect the learnedness degree. Moreover, it is vital to conduct more specialized experiments per category including more criteria such as gender.

To conclude, the creative coupling of theory and practice through the V&V bar is expected to lead to the feedback interpretation of the results with research emphasis on the accurate definition of the learnedness zone on the continuum of learnedness and function zone of the segments as well as learnedness categories. The contribution of the V&V bar might be invaluable as it offers multiple processing of the answers of the questionnaire, e.g. the Gauss distribution and the parabola.

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Η διάκριση +/-λόγιο στη διδασκαλία της μορφολογίας του παθητικού παρατατικού των ρημάτων σε -ώ, -είς

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ABSTRACT

In this study we are dealing with the +learned and -learned morphological variation of the passive imperfect in Modern Greek. The prolonged diglossia in the history of Greek has contributed to the preservation of certain learned elements mainly at a phonological and morphological level, alongside those that have a colloquial origin in the Greek system. The lack of any large-scale sociolinguistic research that would show the distribution of +learned and -learned variants across speakers of differing social and educational background or across registers, coupled with the lack of a large and reliable corpus of spoken and written Greek, have left it up to the compilers of grammars to decide which variants to include and in what order. In our study we took into consideration previous researches and current grammatical descriptions of Modern Greek. In order to examine the user's choices, we conducted a small-scale research in Web corpora and attempted to describe the patterns of use, which prove to be highly systematic and explainable in functional terms. Based on these findings, we propose a grammatical description and teaching approaches of the variation in question.

Λέξεις-κλειδιά: μορφολογική ποικιλία, +/- λόγιο, τυποποίηση, σώματα κειμένων

1. ΕΙΣΑΓΩΓΗ

Στο πλαίσιο της κοινωνιογλωσσολογικής θεώρησης της ποικιλίας (variation)[1] η επάρκεια των προτάσεων γραμματικής διδασκαλίας εξαρτάται, κατά κύριο λόγο, από την επάρκεια της περιγραφής του ρόλου των ενδογλωσσικών και εξωγλωσσικών παραγόντων, άρα από το εύρος και την εγκυρότητα μελετών βασισμένων σε έρευνα σωμάτων κειμένων. Λαμβάνοντας υπόψη τους περιορισμούς που προκύπτουν από την έλλειψη τέτοιων μελετών για τη νέα ελληνική, γεγονός που συναρτάται –άμεσα ή έμμεσα– με τη ρευστότητα της διαδικασίας τυποποίησης (standardization), επιχειρείται στην παρούσα εργασία α) μέσω της επεξεργασίας δεδομένων από παλαιότερες έρευνες και μελέτες, σε συνδυασμό με δεδομένα από σύγχρονη έρευνα σε σώματα κειμένων του Διαδικτύου, να ανιχνευθούν οι κανονικότητες της γλωσσικής πρακτικής όσον αφορά τον σχηματισμό του παθητικού παρατατικού των ρημάτων σε -ώ, -είς, με βασική τη διάκριση +/-λόγιο (γ´ ενικό και γ´ πληθυντικό πρόσωπο, π.χ. εθεωρείτο/θεωρούνταν, εθεωρούντο/θεωρούνταν), και β) να προταθεί ένα διάγραμμα διδασκαλίας που να συναρτάται με τις μεθόδους και τους τρόπους αναπαράστασης των συνθηκών επικοινωνίας εντός του γλωσσικού μαθήματος, ώστε να μπορούν οι διδασκόμενοι να διακρίνουν τα περιβάλλοντα χρήσης των μορφολογικών παραλλαγών.

2. ΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΙΚΕΣ ΠΕΡΙΓΡΑΦΕΣ

Στη (σχολική) *Γραμματική Ε´ και Στ´ Δημοτικού* η κλίση του παθητικού παρατατικού των ρημάτων σε -ούμαι ανάγεται στο παράδειγμα

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[1] Βλ., μεταξύ άλλων, Eckert & Rickford (Eds) (2001). Στον χώρο της γαλλόφωνης κοινωνιογλωσσολογίας, βλ. ενδεικτικά Boutet & Gadet (2004), όπου η ποικιλία, ως θεμελιώδης ιδιότητα της γλωσσικής πρακτικής, υποστηρίζεται ότι πρέπει να έχει κυρίαρχη θέση στη γλωσσική διδασκαλία: «Cette conception [de variation] permet de changer de regard, de posture à l'endroit de la représentation commune de la langue française et, partant, de la langue des élèves. En effet, elle a des implications qui ne sont pas triviales en matière éducative. Adopter un point de vue sociolinguistique implique de ne pas considérer la variation comme une scorie des discours ou comme une manifestation de compétence linguistique limitée de la part des locuteurs, mais comme une propriété fondamentale de l'exercice du langage».

[θεωρούμουν], [θεωρούσουν], θεωρούνταν(ε), [θεωρούμασταν], [θεωρούσασταν], θεωρούνταν(ε)

όπου οι αγκύλες δηλώνουν σπάνια εμφάνιση. Οι τύποι σε -είτο και -ούντο απουσιάζουν, παρά το γεγονός ότι στο βιβλίο της Γλώσσας Ε΄ Δημοτικού, γ΄ τεύχος, σ. 51, δίνεται σε πίνακα ο παρατατικός του *θεωρούμαι* μόνο στο γ΄ ενικό και γ΄ πληθυντικό πρόσωπο: εθεωρείτο/θεωρούνταν, εθεωρούντο/θεωρούνταν, με την επισήμανση ότι «ακολουθεί μια κλίση που θυμίζει την αρχαία κλίση, γι' αυτό και την ονομάζουμε *λόγια*». Η αναγωγή στα «αρχαία ελληνικά» φαίνεται ότι προκρίνεται για να αποφευχθεί η αναφορά στο διγλωσσικό παρελθόν, που μπορεί να μην είναι κατανοητή από τους μαθητές.

Η σύγχρονη σχολική γραμματική μπορεί να βασίζεται στις αρχές τυποποίησης της παλαιότερης σχολικής Γραμματικής (Τριανταφυλλίδη) αλλά περιγράφει μια γλωσσική πραγματικότητα που διαφοροποιείται σε αρκετά σημεία. Στη συγκεκριμένη υπό μελέτη περίπτωση του παθητικού παρατατικού το κλιτικό παράδειγμα εντάσσεται στις κατηγορίες κλίσης με ένδειξη χαμηλής συχνότητας χρήσης του α΄ και β΄ προσώπου, ενώ στη Γραμματική Τριανταφυλλίδη είναι περιθωριακό και παρατίθεται μόνο σε σημείωση, με την ένδειξη «αρχαϊκή κλίση παθητικής φωνής»:

στερούμουν, στερούσουν, στερούνταν, στερούμαστε, στερούσαστε, στερούνταν

Στη (σχολική) *Γραμματική Α΄, Β΄, Γ΄ Γυμνασίου* περιλαμβάνεται το κλιτικό παράδειγμα:

θεωρούμουν, θεωρούσουν, θεωρούνταν(ε), θεωρούμασταν/-τε, θεωρούσασταν/-τε, θεωρούνταν(ε)

Στο σχόλιο που ακολουθεί αναμειγνύονται χαρακτηρισμοί που αφορούν τη συχνότητα χρήσης με χαρακτηρισμούς που αφορούν το ύφος (οικείο, λαϊκό, τυπικό): «Ο παρατατικός δεν είναι πολύ συνηθισμένος στον λόγο. Παρουσιάζει σπάνια και δεύτερους τύπους. Οι τύποι του γ΄ ενικού και πληθυντικού σε -ούντανε χρησιμοποιούνται σε οικείο ύφος. Οι τύποι του α΄ και β΄ πλ. σε -ούμαστε και -ούσαστε είναι σπάνιοι και χρησιμοποιούνται κυρίως από ομιλητές προερχόμενους από τη νότια Ελλάδα. Τέλος, οι τύποι του α΄ και β΄ ενικού σε -ούμουνα, -ούσουνα αντίστοιχα χρησιμοποιούνται σε οικείο και λαϊκό ύφος. Σε πολύ τυπικό ύφος χρησιμοποιούνται και ο τύπος *εθεωρείτο* για το γ΄ ενικό και *εθεωρούντο* για το γ΄ πληθυντικό πρόσωπο».

Στη *Γραμματική Holton – Mackridge – Φιλιππάκη* σχολιάζεται σε σημείωση ότι στο γ΄ ενικό και πληθυντικό υπάρχουν και εναλλακτικοί λόγιοι τύποι σε -είτο και -ούντο, με ή χωρίς αύξηση, π.χ. *(ε)θεωρείτο, (ε)θεωρούντο*, ενώ οι τύποι του α΄ προσώπου *θεωρούμουν, θεωρούμασταν* και του β΄ προσώπου *θεωρούσουν, θεωρούσασταν* τίθενται σε παρένθεση ως σπάνιοι.

Στη *Γραμματική Κλαίρη – Μπαμπινιώτη* περιλαμβάνεται η κλίση -ούμουν(α), ούσουν(α), -ούνταν, -ούμασταν/-ούμαστε, -ούσασταν/-ούσαστε, -ούνταν(ε), με τη σημείωση ότι πολλοί ομιλητές προτιμούν, ιδίως στον γραπτό λόγο, λόγιους τύπους, όπως *εθεωρείσο, εθεωρείτο, εθεωρείσθε* κτλ.

Η εικόνα που προκύπτει από τη συνοπτική αναφορά σε σχολικές και μη σχολικές γλωσσολογικές γραμματικές είναι συγκεχυμένη. Ο χρήστης της γλώσσας καλείται να λύσει τον γρίφο ποιοι είναι οι πλέον διαδεδομένοι τύποι και ποιοι οι εναλλακτικοί και σε ποιο υφολογικό επίπεδο. Το ότι τέσσερις σύγχρονες γραμματικές περιγραφές διαφέρουν τόσο πολύ μεταξύ τους στην περιγραφή ενός τρόπου κλίσης αποδεικνύει ότι απουσιάζει η αποτύπωση της *γλωσσικής πρακτικής*.[2]

3. ΕΡΕΥΝΕΣ ΚΑΙ ΜΕΛΕΤΕΣ

Τα λόγια στοιχεία στη νέα ελληνική ορίζονται συνήθως με βάση το ετυμολογικό κριτήριο (αρχαία ελληνικά μέσω της καθαρεύουσας) και το χρηστικό κριτήριο (περίσταση επικοινωνίας, είδος κειμένου), χωρίς όμως να υπάρχει συστηματική καταγραφή, όπως παρατηρούν οι Αναστασιάδη-Συμεωνίδη & Φλιάτουρας (2004). Στην παρούσα μελέτη εστιάζουμε στην ενδεικτική καταγραφή της κλίσης του παθητικού παρατατικού των ρημάτων σε -ώ, -είς ως φαινομένου μορφολογικής ποικιλίας όπου εντάσσεται και η διάκριση +/-λόγιο, ώστε να αναδειχθούν τα βασικά ζητήματα ορισμού, στο πλαίσιο της τυποποίησης της νέας ελληνικής, και να προταθούν λειτουργικοί τρόποι ένταξης στη γλωσσική διδασκαλία.

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[2] Από τα σύγχρονα νεοελληνικά λεξικά μόνο το *Λεξικό της κοινής νεοελληνικής* παραπέμπει σε κλιτικά παραδείγματα σε Παράρτημα, όπου αναφέρεται για τον παθητικό παρατατικό των ρημάτων σε -ώ, -είς το σχήμα -ούμουν, -ούσουν, -ούνταν, -ούμαστν, -ούσασταν, -ούνταν. Για τις διαφορές ως προς την καταγραφή της μορφολογικής ποικιλίας στα λεξικά βλ. Ιορδανίδου (2007).

3.1. Προηγούμενες έρευνες

Στην έρευνα της Χειλά-Μαρκοπούλου (1984) εξετάστηκε η μορφολογική ποικιλία του παρατατικού της παθητικής φωνής των ρημάτων σε -ούμαι με βάση ερωτηματολόγια όπου δίνονταν προτάσεις που έπρεπε να συμπληρωθούν με τύπους του παρατατικού. Το δείγμα αποτέλεσαν ομιλητές της περιοχής της Αθήνας στις ηλικιακές ομάδες 30-45 χρονών και 16-18 χρονών, με κριτήριο ότι οι ενήλικες είχαν διαπαιδαγωγηθεί με τη γραμματική της καθαρεύουσας ενώ οι νέοι με τη γραμματική της δημοτικής. Βασικό συμπέρασμα της μελέτης είναι ότι η κλίση του παρατατικού για τη συγκεκριμένη κατηγορία ρημάτων βρίσκεται σε εξελικτική φάση, με διαφαινόμενη τάση επικράτησης της κλίσης σε -ιόμουν, π.χ. *ασχολιόμουν, περιποιόμουν*. Η προτίμηση αυτή υποστηρίζεται ότι υπαγορεύεται από συστηματικούς λόγους, τόσο σε συγχρονικό όσο και σε διαχρονικό επίπεδο. Για τα λογιότερα ρήματα αυτής της κατηγορίας, π.χ. *θεωρούμαι*, η κατάσταση θεωρήθηκε ότι παραμένει ρευστή.

Στο Iordanidou (1994) εξετάστηκε η μορφολογική ποικιλία του παρατατικού της παθητικής φωνής με βάση α) απομαγνητοφωνημένο προφορικό λόγο ομιλητών που ζουν στην Αθήνα και ανήκουν σε τρεις ηλικιακές ομάδες: 20-34 χρονών, 35-54 χρονών και 55- χρονών, β) ερωτηματολόγια όπου δίνονταν προτάσεις που έπρεπε να συμπληρωθούν με τύπους του παρατατικού, γ) λογοτεχνικά κείμενα και δ) επιστημονικά και δημοσιογραφικά κείμενα. Το συμπέρασμα ειδικά για την κλίση του παρατατικού των ρημάτων σε -ούμαι είναι ότι εμφανίζεται στον προφορικό λόγο ισχυρή τάση επικράτησης του παραδείγματος σε -ιόμουν(α), ενώ σε επιστημονικά και δημοσιογραφικά κείμενα χρησιμοποιούνται παράλληλα οι λόγιοι τύποι του τρίτου προσώπου σε -είτο και -ούντο.

Από την έρευνα των Μωυσιάδη & Κατσούδα (2010) στο Διαδίκτυο[3] και στη βάση δεδομένων του Εθνικού Θησαυρού της Ελληνικής Γλώσσας (ΕΘΕΓ) προκύπτουν τα εξής: Το ληκτικό τέρμα -είτο φαίνεται ότι είναι αποσυνδεδεμένο από την αποκλειστικά λόγια χρήση. Ικανοποιεί την οριζόντια συμμετρία του θεματικού φωνήεντος μεταξύ ενεστώτα και παρατατικού (π.χ. στερείται – (ε)στερείτο). Τα μεταπλασμένα μορφήματα -iomun, -iosun, -iotan επικρατούν στα ήδη μεταπλασμένα ρήματα (π.χ. αρν-ιόταν, στενοχωρ-ιόταν, κρατ-ιόταν), καθώς και στις ειδικές περιπτώσεις των ρημάτων με φωνήεν [i] πριν από το τέρμα (π.χ. προσποιόταν, χρησιμοποιόταν), αλλά αντιμετωπίζουν τον δισταγμό των ομιλητών στα λογιότερα ρήματα, που είναι και τα περισσότερα της κατηγορίας (π.χ. *τοποθετ-ιόταν, *διοικ-ιόταν, *αποτελ-ιόταν, *στερ-ιόταν). Το ληκτικό τέρμα -ούνταν (π.χ. παρατηρούνταν) φαίνεται ότι στη συνείδηση πολλών είναι χαρακτηρισμένο ως επίθημα πληθυντικού αριθμού, πράγμα που προξενεί την ενοχλητική σύμπτωση με το γ΄ πληθυντικό. Το ληκτικό τέρμα -ούταν (π.χ. παρατηρούταν) φαίνεται να έχει μεγάλη δυναμική στον προφορικό λόγο, συνδέεται αποκλειστικά με τον ενικό αριθμό και επιτυγχάνει την κάθετη συμμετρία του θεματικού φωνήεντος στον παρατατικό (βλ. ενδεικτική καταγραφή εμφανίσεων στον Πίνακα 1 του Παραρτήματος της παρούσας εργασίας). Το συμπέρασμα της μελέτης των Μωυσιάδη & Κατσούδα είναι ότι «Οι σύγχρονες γραμματικές, προκειμένου να αποτυπώσουν την τρέχουσα γλωσσική κατάσταση, θα πρέπει να καταχωρίζουν και τα τέσσερα ληκτικά τέρματα: -ούνταν, -είτο, -ιόταν, -ούταν, πιθανώς κατά συχνότητα εμφανίσεως. Είναι επίσης αναγκαίο να περιέχουν παραδείγματα κειμενικής ή συμφραστικής χρήσης, αντλημένα από τον πραγματικό λόγο και από τα σώματα κειμένων».

3.2. Σύγχρονη διαδικτυακή έρευνα

Προκειμένου να ελεγχθούν με σύγχρονα δεδομένα (2017) τα ευρήματα των ερευνών που προαναφέρθηκαν, πραγματοποιήθηκε αναζήτηση στο Διαδίκτυο[4]. Βασικά ευρήματα:

Παρατηρείται χαμηλή συχνότητα εμφάνισης -λόγιων τύπων α΄ και β΄ ενικού και πληθυντικού προσώπου: *-ούμουν, -ούσουν, -ούμαστε/-ούμασταν, -ούσαστε/-ούσασταν*. Οι +λόγιοι τύποι *-ούμην, -είσο* κτλ. είναι σχεδόν απόντες, ενώ στο γ΄ πρόσωπο οι +λόγιοι τύποι *-είτο* και *-ούντο* παρουσιάζουν

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[3] Για κριτικό σχολιασμό της βιβλιογραφίας σχετικά με την αξιοποίηση των διαδικτυακών πηγών ως σωμάτων κειμένων βλ. ενδεικτικά Kilgariff και Grefenstette (2003), όπου τονίζεται με έμφαση: «We could parse the web. Web searches could be specified in terms of lemmas, constituents (e.g. noun phrase) and grammatical relations rather than strings. The way would be open for further anatomizing of web text types and domains. Thesauruses and lexicons could be developed directly from the web. And all for a multiplicity of languages. The web contains enormous quantities of text, in lots of languages and language types, on a vast array of topics. Our take on the web is that it is a fabulous linguists' playground».

[4] Για την εύρεση της συχνότητας από τα εργαλεία αναζήτησης του «Google» ενεργοποιείται από τα «Εργαλεία» η επιλογή «αυτολεξεί» και εντοπίζεται από την τελευταία σελίδα αποτελεσμάτων ο συνολικός αριθμός μοναδικών εμφανίσεων.

αξιοσημείωτη συχνότητα εμφάνισης, παράλληλα με τους -λόγιους σε -ούνταν. Συνήθως χρησιμοποιείται το γ΄ πρόσωπο.[5] Στο σημείο αυτό πρέπει να επισημανθεί ότι οι γραμματικές περιγραφές (με εξαίρεση τη Γραμματική Κλαίρη – Μπαμπινιώτη) αναφέρουν σπάνια χρήση του α΄ και β΄ προσώπου.

Όπως φαίνεται στον Πίνακα 1 του Παραρτήματος της παρούσας εργασίας, διακρίνονται τρεις κατηγορίες ρημάτων σε -ούμαι:

α) *-ούμαι* χωρίς παράλληλη κλίση σε *-ιέμαι*, π.χ. *θεωρούμαι.* Στην κατηγορία αυτή τα στοιχεία του Google δίνουν για το γ΄ ενικό κλίση σε -είτο, -ούνταν και -ούταν.

β) *-ούμαι* με παράλληλη κλίση σε *-ιέμαι*, π.χ. *ασχολούμαι.* Στην κατηγορία αυτή τα στοιχεία του Google δίνουν για το γ΄ ενικό κλίση σε -είτο, -ούνταν, -ιόταν και -ούταν και

γ) *-[i] ούμαι*, π.χ. *χρησιμοποιούμαι.* Στην κατηγορία αυτή τα στοιχεία του Google δίνουν για το γ΄ ενικό κλίση σε -είτο, -ούνταν, -ιόταν και -ούταν.

4. ΔΙΔΑΚΤΙΚΕΣ ΠΡΟΤΑΣΕΙΣ

Ο κλιτικός τύπος του γ΄ ενικού σε -ούταν, που δεν περιλαμβάνεται στις γραμματικές περιγραφές αλλά φαίνεται να εμφανίζεται σε αρκετά υψηλή συχνότητα, παρουσιάζει το εξής πρόβλημα: για ορισμένα ρήματα σε -ούμαι η συχνότητα πέφτει πολύ χαμηλά, π.χ. *ειδοποιούταν, προειδοποιούταν, συνειδητοποιούταν, ενεργοποιούταν, κατακρατούταν, παρακρατούταν.* Το γεγονός αυτό δυσκολεύει σημαντικά τη γραμματική αποτύπωση, ιδιαίτερα σε επίπεδο παιδαγωγικής (σχολικής) γραμματικής, οπότε προτείνεται απλώς να επισημανθεί σε σημείωση και με την ένδειξη «σε ανεπίσημο ύφος, για ορισμένα ρήματα της κατηγορίας σε -ούμαι». Επομένως, προτείνεται να περιληφθούν οι τρεις κατηγορίες ρημάτων σε -ούμαι που αναφέρθηκαν στο προηγούμενο κεφάλαιο:

α) *-ούμαι* χωρίς παράλληλη κλίση σε *-ιέμαι*, π.χ. *θεωρούμαι*, μόνο στο γ΄ ενικό: -είτο (λόγιος σχηματισμός, επίσημο ύφος) και -ούνταν και γ΄ πληθυντικό: -ούντο (επίσημο ύφος) και -ούνταν.

β) *-ούμαι* με παράλληλη κλίση σε *-ιέμαι*, π.χ. *ασχολούμαι.* Στην κατηγορία αυτή σχηματίζεται ο παρατατικός σε *-ιόμουν* (όπως στο κλιτικό παράδειγμα *αγαπιέμαι, αγαπιόμουν[α]*). Για το γ΄ ενικό παρατίθενται επίσης οι τύποι -είτο (λόγιος σχηματισμός, επίσημο ύφος) και -ούνταν και για το γ΄ πληθυντικό οι τύποι -ούντο (λόγιος σχηματισμός, επίσημο ύφος) και -ούνταν.

γ) *-[i] ούμαι*, π.χ. *χρησιμοποιούμαι.* Στην κατηγορία αυτή σχηματίζεται ο παρατατικός σε –*ιόμουν*, όπως στην κατηγορία (β). Στο γ΄ ενικό παρατίθενται επίσης οι τύποι -είτο (λόγιος σχηματισμός, επίσημο ύφος) και -ούνταν και για το γ΄ πληθυντικό οι τύποι -ούντο (λόγιος σχηματισμός, επίσημο ύφος) και -ούνταν.

Δεδομένης της πολυπλοκότητας του φαινομένου και της σχετικά χαμηλής συχνότητας χρήσης του παθητικού παρατατικού των ρημάτων σε -ώ, -είς στη νέα ελληνική, προτείνεται απλή αναφορά στα γλωσσικά εγχειρίδια του δημοτικού μόνο στην Ε΄ και στην Στ΄ τάξη, όπου υπάρχουν και άλλες αναφορές σε λόγιους σχηματισμούς, όπως του παθητικού αορίστου. Γενικά ενδείκνυται να ενταχθεί η διδασκαλία της μορφολογικής ποικιλίας στο πλαίσιο της επεξεργασίας και παραγωγής κειμενικών ειδών με παράλληλη υφολογική σήμανση.

Σε πιο προχωρημένο επίπεδο, στη δευτεροβάθμια εκπαίδευση, συνιστάται να εφαρμοστούν διδακτικά σενάρια με αξιοποίηση των ηλεκτρονικών λεξικών και των σωμάτων κειμένων, όπως το προτεινόμενο στην Πύλη για την Ελληνική Γλώσσα *Σενάριο διδακτικής προσέγγισης ρημάτων με λόγια κλιτική μορφολογία* για τα ρήματα που παράγονται από τη βάση *-άγω* (http://www.greek-language.gr/greekLang/files/document/cbt/7.logia_v.pdf). Οι μαθητές καλούνται να πραγματοποιήσουν αναζήτηση στο περιβάλλον Σύνθετης Αναζήτησης του *Λεξικού της κοινής νεοελληνικής* με σκοπό τη δημιουργία αρχείου με τη λίστα των ρημάτων που σχηματίζονται με τη βάση *-άγω* και κατόπιν ερευνούν στα Σώματα Κειμένων της Πύλης για παραδείγματα. Σκοπός της διαδικασίας είναι να οδηγηθούν σε κάποιον τελικό «κανόνα» για τη διαφορά στη σημασία των συνοπτικών και μη συνοπτικών τύπων και, όπως χαρακτηριστικά αναφέρεται στις οδηγίες για την

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[5] Εν προκειμένω έχει ενδιαφέρον η συσχέτιση με τη λόγια μορφολογία του παθητικού αορίστου. Αν δεν εισαγάγουμε το κριτήριο της καθιέρωσης μέσω της χρήσης, δεν είναι δυνατόν να εξηγήσουμε γιατί έχει επικρατήσει το *συνελήφθη*, ενώ χρησιμοποιείται το *παραλήφθηκε*, γιατί το *συμπλέκομαι* δεν εμφανίζει παρά μόνο *συνεπλάκη-συνεπλάκησαν* και το *εκρήγνυμαι* μόνο *εξερράγη*, γιατί *η απεργία ανεστάλη* αλλά *το δέμα στάλθηκε.* Πιθανότατα η ισχύς της επιβίωσης λόγιων σχηματισμών να εξαρτάται από την παρουσία τους σε συγκεκριμένο γλωσσικό περιβάλλον όπου κυριαρχούσε η καθαρεύουσα (π.χ. ειδησεογραφία) και την απουσία τους από τις καθημερινές λεκτικές ανταλλαγές (ανεπίσημο ύφος).

υλοποίηση του σεναρίου, «να εκλογικεύσουν την ιδιορρυθμία που παρουσιάζουν στον σχηματισμό των κλιτικών τους τύπων τα ρήματα της Ν.Ε. που σχηματίζονται με τη βάση -άγω». Όσον αφορά την κλίση του παθητικού παρατατικού των ρημάτων σε -ώ, -είς, με αναγωγή στις κλιτικές κατηγορίες στο *Λεξικό της κοινής νεοελληνικής*, μπορούν να καταγραφούν τα ρήματα, να χωριστούν στις τρεις υποκατηγορίες που προτείνονται στην παρούσα εργασία και να πραγματοποιηθεί αναζήτηση στα Σώματα Κειμένων της Πύλης για παραδείγματα χρήσης.

5. ΣΥΜΠΕΡΑΣΜΑΤΑ

Η αναφορά σε γραμματικές περιγραφές της σύγχρονης ελληνικής ανέδειξε την ετερογένεια που προκύπτει από την απουσία των δεδομένων της γλωσσικής πρακτικής, γεγονός που επισημαίνεται με έμφαση και στη σχετική μελέτη των Μωυσιάδη & Κατσούδα (2010). Δεδομένου ότι η ετερογένεια αυτή δημιουργεί σημαντικό πρόβλημα τόσο στη γλωσσική πρακτική όσο και στη διδασκαλία, η πρότασή μας συνίσταται στην αξιοποίηση των διαδικτυακών πηγών ως σωμάτων κειμένων για να εντοπιστούν οι κανονικότητες της γλωσσικής χρήσης και να αποτυπωθούν λειτουργικά. Σε επίπεδο διδασκαλίας η μορφολογική ποικιλία, και ειδικότερα η ποικιλία +/-λόγιο, συνιστάται να ενταχθεί στο πλαίσιο της επεξεργασίας και παραγωγής κειμενικών ειδών με παράλληλη υφολογική σήμανση. Συνοπτικά, η παρούσα μελέτη επιδιώκει να συνεισφέρει στην προσέγγιση του φαινομένου της μορφολογικής ποικιλίας τόσο από την πλευρά της Κοινωνιογλωσσολογίας όσο και από την πλευρά της Εφαρμοσμένης Γλωσσολογίας – Διδασκαλίας της γλώσσας, με αιχμή τη διερεύνηση της δυνατότητας αξιοποίησης των διαδικτυακών πηγών ως σωμάτων κειμένων.

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ΠΑΡΑΡΤΗΜΑ

Πίνακας 14: Εμφανίσεις στο Διαδίκτυο: έρευνα 2017 και έρευνα Μωυσιάδη – Κατσούδα 2010

(αυτός) -ούνταν	(αυτός) -είτο	(αυτός) -ούταν	(αυτός) -ιόταν
αποτελούνταν 2017: 18% 2010: 36%	**αποτελείτο** 2017: 43% 2010: 54%	**αποτελούταν** 2017: 26% 2010: 10%	**αποτελιόταν** 2017: 13% 2010: 0%
ασχολούνταν 2017: 17%	**ασχολείτο** 2017: 27%	**ασχολούταν** 2017: 26%	**ασχολιόταν** 2017: 30%
θεωρούνταν 2017: 14% 2010: 55%	**εθεωρείτο** 2017: 27% 2010: 21% **θεωρείτο** 2017: 22% 2010: 17%	**θεωρούταν** 2017: 28% 2010: 6%	**θεωριόταν** 2017: 9% 2010: 1%
χρησιμοποιούνταν 2017: 12% 2010: 25%	**εχρησιμοποιείτο** 2017: 27% 2010: 40% **χρησιμοποιείτο** 2017: 14%	**χρησιμοποιούταν** 2017: 26% 2010: 33%	**χρησιμοποιόταν** 2017: 21% 2010: 2%

«Ο σχιζοφρενής δολοφόνος με το πριόνι»: Λόγιες λέξεις-ταμπού και ψυχική νόσος

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ABSTRACT

Learned elements in Standard Modern Greek (SMG), defined in terms of linguistic usage, are marginal in frequency with respect to the prevalent norm, prototypically occur in formal written contexts and usually coexist with a [-learned] semantic equivalent in stylistic distribution. Learned taboo vocabulary, more specifically, as a hyponym to the above mentioned register-variety, falls under the category of *orthophemisms* (Cameron & Kulick 2003: 29) that function as a mechanism of linguistic correctness, denoting "forbidden" areas in a more distanced and less expressively charged manner than their dysphemistic counterparts.

Given that lexical items describing psychiatric disorders form a highly stigmatized taboo field and taking into consideration that the very conceptualization of illness is linguistically mediated, the aim of this paper is to examine the various extra-medical semantic features and everyday sociopragmatic functions of learned psychiatric orthophemisms in SMG as an idiosyncratic case of learned taboo vocabulary. Within the theoretical premises of Critical Discourse Analysis and adopting a corpus linguistics methodology, orthophemistic terms will be approached as indexes that establish links between linguistic signs and social meanings with respect to the construction of psychological health in SMG across a variety of text-types.

Λέξεις-κλειδιά: λόγιο χρηστικό επίπεδο, λέξεις-ταμπού, γλωσσική ορθότητα, ψυχική νόσος

1. ΕΙΣΑΓΩΓΗ

Τα λόγια στοιχεία της σύγχρονης Νέας Ελληνικής (στο εξής: ΝΕ) αποτελούν ετερόκλητο πεδίο, το οποίο περιλαμβάνει τα κληρονομημένα τεμάχια, δομές και διαδικασίες από παλαιότερες φάσεις της ελληνικής γλώσσας. Ως συγχρονικό κατάλοιπο ενός μακραίωνου διγλωσσικού παρελθόντος αποτελούν το κατασταλαγμα της συνύπαρξης δύο γλωσσικών παραδόσεων με διακριτή προέλευση και διαφοροποιημένες χρήσεις. Σαράντα και πλέον χρόνια μετά τη γλωσσοεκπαιδευτική μεταρρύθμιση του 1976 και έχοντας αποφορτιστεί από τις εξωγλωσσικές και ιδεολογικοπολιτικές παρασυνδέσεις που έφεραν ως «νόμιμος» κληρονόμος της καθαρεύουσας, ορίζονται πλέον με βάση πρωτίστως χρηστικά κριτήρια. Υπό αυτή την οπτική, το λόγιο χρηστικό επίπεδο λειτουργεί ως «υπώνυμο» του τυπικού/επίσημου, εμφανίζει χαμηλή συχνότητα χρήσης σε σχέση με τη νόρμα της ΝΕ, συχνά συνυπάρχει με [-λόγιο] σημασιολογικό ισοδύναμο σε υφολογική κατανομή (π.χ. *χθες-χτες, ασθενούς-ασθενή, υπεγράφη-υπογράφτηκε, μετά χαράς-με χαρά* κ.ο.κ.) και ενεργοποιείται πρωτοτυπικά στον δημόσιο γραπτό λόγο των απαιτητικών κειμενικών ειδών (βλ., μεταξύ άλλων, Ιορδανίδου 1999, 2002· Αναστασιάδη-Συμεωνίδη και Φλιάτουρας 2004, 2018, υπό έκδ.· Καμηλάκη 2009· Σετάτος 2011).

Δεδομένου ότι το εύρος των λόγιων τύπων της ΝΕ είναι διάχυτο και αφορά όλα τα επίπεδα γλωσσικής ανάλυσης (φωνολογία, μορφολογία, σημασιολογία, σύνταξη, πραγματολογία) και το λεξιλόγιο, γίνεται λόγος για ένα συνεχές λογιότητας (Αναστασιάδη-Συμεωνίδη & Φλιάτουρας υπό έκδ.), το οποίο λειτουργεί σε ευέλικτες ζώνες (λόγια και μη λόγια) με επικαλυπτική κατανομή στην ενδιάμεση νόρμα[1], με τον βαθμό λογιότητας να διαφέρει περιπτωσιολογικά ανά τεμάχιο και ανά ομιλητή και να εξαρτάται από κοινωνιογλωσσικούς (και εν μέρει ψυχογλωσσολογικούς) παράγοντες, προσέγγιση που επιτρέπει τη χρηστική ευλυγισία (π.χ. εμφάνιση του *αριστερά* σε όλα τα χρηστικά

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[1] Στη ζώνη της επικαλυπτικής κατανομής της νόρμας τοποθετούνται οι υφολογικά αμαρκάριστοι τύποι, που χρησιμοποιούνται σε όλα τα χρηστικά επίπεδα και το μοναδικό κριτήριο που τους εντάσσει στο λόγιο είναι το ετυμολογικό, λ.χ. *αριστερά, νεκρά* (*ταχύτητα*)*, ερυθρά* ('εξανθηματικό μεταδοτικό νόσημα').

επίπεδα, του *κρέμα νυκτός* ή ρηματικών τύπων όπως *ενεπλάκησαν* και *εξερράγη* στο λόγιο και στη νόρμα κ.λπ.).

Μεταξύ άλλων λειτουργιών, το λόγιο τυπικό αποτελεί διαχρονικά την πρωτοτυπική γλωσσική τράπεζα άντλησης λεξιλογικών στοιχείων και σχηματιστικών προτύπων για τα ειδικά λεξιλόγια των επιστημονικών κλάδων (Αναστασιάδη-Συμεωνίδη 2015), είτε για την απόδοση λεξημάτων της διεθνούς ορολογίας (βλ. ενδεικτικά Φλιάτουρας και Κοκκίνη 2017), είτε για τη δημιουργία νεολογισμών (βλ. ενδεικτικά Αναστασιάδη-Συμεωνίδη 1986· Χριστοφίδου 2017). Σε αυτό το πλαίσιο, στην παρούσα εργασία διερευνάται η χρήση λόγιων όρων προερχόμενων από τον χώρο της Ψυχιατρικής για τη δήλωση της ψυχικής νόσου στο γενικό λεξιλόγιο της ΝΕ.

Πρόκειται για ένα πεδίο ιδιαίτερα φορτισμένο με εξωγλωσσικό (ψυχολογικό, κοινωνικο-πολιτισμικό, ιδεολογικό) νόημα, το οποίο εντάσσεται στην ευρύτερη περιοχή των λέξεων-ταμπού λόγω του «στίγματος» που συνεπάγεται η ψυχική νόσος για τους φορείς της, ιδίως από εκείνο το σημείο-τομή στην ιστορία της ανθρωπότητας που η «τρέλα» έπαψε να συνιστά αδιαφοροποίητη κατηγορία και «ιατρικοποιήθηκε» μέσα από την ανάπτυξη επιστημών όπως η Ψυχολογία και η Ψυχιατρική[2]. Έκτοτε, το θεωρούμενο ως «υγιές» κοινωνικό σώμα άρχισε προοδευτικά να κατασκευάζει μια συμπαγή θεωρία για το στίγμα, προκειμένου να εξηγήσει την κατωτερότητά του και τους κινδύνους που εγκυμονεί (Goffman 2001: 67), με αποτέλεσμα οι σχετικοί με την ψυχική νόσο όροι να αρχίσουν να μεταπηδούν από το κλινικό στο γενικό λεξιλόγιο και να χρησιμοποιούνται κατά κόρον και από μη ειδικούς σε θέματα ψυχιατρικής ομιλητές και ομιλήτριες, σε μια απόπειρα περιχαράκωσης των «υγιών» και ετεροποίησης «των ασθενών». Η τάση αυτή διευρύνθηκε από τη στιγμή που κατά τον 20ο αιώνα, υπό την επίδραση της θεωρίας του Freud, η ψυχανάλυση και οι διάφορες εκλαϊκευμένες εκδοχές της απέκτησαν τεράστια διάχυση στο ευρύ κοινό, απηχώντας απόψεις περί ψυχικής υγείας που βρίσκονταν σε κοινωνική κυκλοφορία.

Και στη νεοελληνική γλωσσική κοινότητα, αντιλήψεις και στερεότυπα για την ψυχική νόσο παρατίθενται σε ένα ευρύ φάσμα κειμενικών ειδών, που κυμαίνονται από τις στήλες εβδομαδιαίων περιοδικών ποικίλης ύλης (π.χ. «Ψυχώ» (Marie Claire), «Έρωτας και Ψυχολογία» (Elle)), μέχρι τον νομικό λόγο, όπου, κατά τον Μυλωνόπουλο (2014: 683), όλη η σχετική χρησιμοποιούμενη ορολογία από το 1862 μέχρι το 1996 «φέρει ένα έντονα αρνητικό φορτίο, το οποίο απηχεί το κοινωνικό και το πολιτισμικό περιβάλλον σχεδόν ενός αιώνα, που θεωρούσε επικίνδυνο τον άνθρωπο με ψυχικά προβλήματα και τον έθετε στο περιθώριο της κοινωνίας», με το στίγμα της ψυχικής ασθένειας να μην περιορίζεται μόνο στο άτομο που πάσχει αλλά να επεκτείνεται και σε όσους σχετίζονται με αυτό, δηλαδή την οικογένεια του πάσχοντα, τους επαγγελματίες ψυχικής υγείας και τους θεσμούς παροχής ψυχιατρικών και ψυχολογικών υπηρεσιών.

Λαμβάνοντας υπόψη ότι η κοινωνική κατασκευή της ψυχικής νόσου διαμεσολαβείται από τη γλώσσα (Fleischman 1999: 11), στόχος της παρούσας μελέτης είναι να συμβάλει στη σημασιολογική και κοινωνιογλωσσολογική προσέγγιση της λειτουργίας των λόγιων λέξεων-ταμπού για την ψυχική νόσο στον εξωιατρικό, καθημερινό λόγο των ομιλητών/ομιλητριών της ΝΕ ως ενδεικτών (indexes) που εγκαθιδρύουν συνδέσεις ανάμεσα σε γλωσσικά σημεία και κοινωνικά νοήματα (Eckert 2008: 455). Το υιοθετούμενο ερμηνευτικό πλαίσιο είναι αυτό της Κριτικής Ανάλυσης Λόγου, η οποία συνδυάζει τη μικρο-ανάλυση των κειμένων με τη μακρο-ανάλυση των κοινωνικών δομών και των σχέσεων εξουσίας με τις οποίες εμπλέκονται τα κείμενα, προκειμένου τελικά να αναδείξει τη γλώσσα ως πηγή κοινωνικά προσδιορισμένων νοημάτων, αλλά και ως συγκροτητικό παράγοντα της κοινωνίας, που δεν αντικατοπτρίζει απλώς τις υφιστάμενες κοινωνικές δομές, αλλά τις παγιώνει ή τις αναπαράγει (Fairclough 1992).

Η συγκεκριμένη προσέγγιση του ψυχιατρικού λεξιλογίου εντάσσεται στην ευρύτερη τάση της γλωσσικής επιστήμης κατά τα τελευταία χρόνια να πραγματοποιεί θεωρητικό και ερευνητικό άνοιγμα προς μια σειρά από επιστημονικά πεδία που βρίσκονται εκτός του αντικειμένου μιας παραδοσιακά εννοιολογούμενης ανθρωπιστικής επιστήμης (λ.χ. επιστήμη των υπολογιστών, εγκληματολογία, νευροεπιστήμες, γενετική), προκειμένου να ανταποκριθεί στις σύνθετες απαιτήσεις μιας υβριδικής, διαρκώς μεταβαλλόμενης πραγματικότητας (Levinson & Evans 2010). Προς αυτή την κατεύθυνση, ο διεπιστημονικός χώρος των ιατροανθρωπιστικών επιστημών (medical humanities) διερευνά

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[2] Όπως επισημαίνει ο Foucault (2004), το κρίσιμο σημείο σε αυτή τη μετάβαση υπήρξε η αντιμετώπιση των «τρελών» όχι πλέον ως φορέων ιερής γνώσης, αλλά ως κοινωνικά απόβλητων, διαδικασία που είχε ξεκινήσει ήδη την εποχή του Διαφωτισμού, όταν η αποθέωση της λογικής εξοβέλισε όλους τους άλλους λόγους (discourses) και ιδιαίτερα τη μη-λογική. Κατά τη διάρκεια του 17ου και του 18ου αι. αρχίζουν να ενεργοποιούνται και δομές διαχωρισμού των ψυχικά ασθενών (νοσοκομεία, άσυλα, θεραπευτήρια κ.λπ.).

παραμέτρους όπως η εννοιολόγηση της υγείας και της ασθένειας σε διαφορετικά πολιτισμικά και κοινωνικά συμφραζόμενα, οι αντιλήψεις περί «κανονικότητας» και «φυσιολογικότητας», η γλωσσική και ψυχοκοινωνική αλληλεπίδραση μεταξύ γιατρού και ασθενή, ο ρόλος της αφήγησης και της μεταφοράς στα σχετικά πεδία κ.λπ. (Γούτσος 2014: 1, βλ. και Fleischman 2001; Hunt & Carter 2012).

2. ΟΙ ΛΟΓΙΕΣ ΛΕΞΕΙΣ-ΤΑΜΠΟΥ ΓΙΑ ΤΗΝ ΨΥΧΙΚΗ ΝΟΣΟ: ΟΡΙΣΜΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΤΑΞΙΝΟΜΗΣΗ

Με τον όρο λέξεις-ταμπού (taboo words) περιγράφονται λέξεις και φράσεις διαφορετικών θεματικών πεδίων (π.χ. γενετήσια λειτουργία, σεξουαλική κουλτούρα, απεκκριτικές διαδικασίες, ασθένεια, θάνατος, ευπαθείς κοινωνικές ομάδες κ.ο.κ.), η χρήση των οποίων προκαλεί ψυχική αναστάτωση ή κοινωνική αμηχανία, καθώς παραπέμπουν καταδηλωτικά σε ένα θέμα θεωρούμενο ως ταμπού για μια συγκεκριμένη κοινωνία σε μια δεδομένη χωροχρονική συγκυρία (Cameron & Kulick 2003: 32). Με βάση την ταξινόμηση των Allan & Burridge (2006), οι λέξεις-ταμπού μπορούν να διακριθούν περαιτέρω σε τρεις κατηγορίες: 1) τους *δυσφημισμούς* (dysphemisms), οι οποίοι συνιστούν αναφανδόν απορριπτικές ή προσβλητικές λέξεις ή φράσεις, που αντικαθιστούν μια ουδέτερη ή εύσημη λέξη με στόχο να προκαλέσουν ή να προσβάλουν, π.χ. *κώλος, μπουρδέλο, χέζω,* 2) τους *ευφημισμούς* (euphemisms), με τους οποίους μια χυδαία ή επώδυνη έννοια εκφράζεται με μια «ευγενική» και εν πολλοίς «στρογγυλεμένη» λέξη, π.χ. (για τα παραπάνω παραδείγματα) *πισινός, σπίτι, κάνω κακά* και 3) τους *ορθοφημισμούς* (orthophemisms) (Cameron & Kulick 2003: 29), πιο ευθείες, κυριολεκτικές ή ουδέτερες εκφράσεις, οι οποίες δεν είναι μελιστάλακτες ή αναφανδόν ευγενικές (ευφημιστικές), ούτε όμως ωμές ή προσβλητικές (δυσφημιστικές), π.χ. (αντιστοίχως) *οπίσθια, οίκος ανοχής, αφοδεύω.* Οι ορθοφημισμοί συνιστούν τυπικά πιο επίσημη επιλογή σε σχέση με τον αντίστοιχο ευφημισμό, που είναι πιο οικείος, μεταφορικός και έμμεσος (Allan & Burridge 2006: 33).Τα όρια ανάμεσα στις κατηγορίες 2 και 3 δεν είναι πάντοτε ευδιάκριτα, καθώς και οι δύο περιλαμβάνουν τύπους που λειτουργούν στο πλαίσιο της γλωσσικής ορθότητας, σε αντίθεση με τους δυσφημισμούς που κρίνονται ως μη προτιμώμενοι (non preferable), απρεπείς ή ακατάλληλοι. Επίσης, δεν είναι απαραίτητο ότι όλα τα παραδείγματα λέξεων-ταμπού έχουν τριμερή κατανομή, καθώς μπορεί να εμφανίζεται ως εναλλακτικός προς τον δυσφημιστικό μόνο ένας προτιμώμενος τύπος (π.χ. *τραβέλι* vs *παρενδυσιακός*).

Σχήμα 1: Κατηγοριοποίηση των λέξεων-ταμπού
(Καμηλάκη et al. 2015: 18)
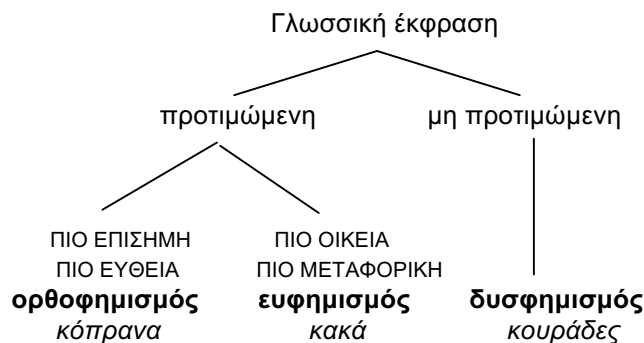
Οι λόγιες λέξεις-ταμπού για την ψυχική νόσο εντάσσονται στην κατηγορία των προτιμώμενων (preferable) ορθοφημισμών, καθώς ανήκουν στην ειδική ορολογία κλάδων όπως η Ψυχολογία και η Ψυχιατρική και συνυπάρχουν με στατιστικά συχνότερους μη λόγιους δυσφημισμούς, όπως *τρελός, παλαβός, μουρλός, ζουρλός, ψυχάκιας, psycho* κ.ά.

3. ΓΛΩΣΣΙΚΟ ΥΛΙΚΟ ΚΑΙ ΜΕΘΟΔΟΛΟΓΙΑ ΕΡΕΥΝΑΣ

Από τους διάφορους λόγιους ορθοφημισμούς που συγκροτούν το σημασιολογικό πεδίο της ψυχικής νόσου στη ΝΕ, για τις ανάγκες της παρούσας εργασίας, κατόπιν σχετικής στατιστικής διερεύνησης, επιλέχθηκαν δέκα επίθετα που προέρχονται από το ειδικό λεξιλόγιο της Ψυχιατρικής, στο οποίο χρησιμοποιούνται ως αναλυτικά εργαλεία ταυτοποίησης και διάγνωσης συγκεκριμένων συνδρόμων, χρησιμοποιούνται όμως συχνά με σημασιολογική διεύρυνση και στο γενικό λεξιλόγιο. Τα επίθετα αυτά είναι τα εξής: *νευρωτικός/-ή/-ό, παρανοϊκός/-ή/-ό, παράφρων/-ον, σχιζοφρενής/-*

ές,υστερικός/-ή/-ό, ψυχαναγκαστικός/-ή/-ό, ψυχασθενής/-ές, ψυχοπαθής/-ές, ψυχοπαθολογικός/-ή/-ό και *ψυχωτικός/-ή/-ό.* Δεν συμπεριλήφθηκαν πιο εξειδικευμένοι λόγιοι ορθοφημισμοί με χαμηλή συχνότητα χρήσης στο γενικό λεξιλόγιο, όπως *μανιοκαταθλιπτικός/-ή/-ό, παραληρηματικός/-ή/-ό, σχιζοειδής/-ές* κ.ά., ούτε και όροι που είναι παρωχημένοι και αντιπροσωπευτικοί παλαιότερων, αναχρονιστικών θεωρήσεων της ψυχικής νόσου, όπως *φρενοβλαβής/-ές* και *φρενοπαθής/-ές*[3].

Για τη μελέτη των λόγιων ψυχιατρικών λέξεων-ταμπού αφενός γίνεται επισκόπηση της λεξικογραφικής ύλης τριών έγκριτων λεξικών της ΝΕ, του *Λεξικού της Κοινής Νεοελληνικής* (1998, στο εξής ΛΚΝ), του *Λεξικού της Νέας Ελληνικής Γλώσσας* (1998, στο εξής ΛΝΕΓ) και του *Χρηστικού Λεξικού της Νεοελληνικής Γλώσσας* (2014, στο εξής ΧΛΝΓ). Αφετέρου, δεδομένου ότι «η γλωσσική διαίσθηση για το τι πραγματικά λέγεται σε μια γλώσσα πρέπει να αποτιμάται με βάση μαρτυρημένα γλωσσικά δεδομένα, δηλαδή το τι έχει ειπωθεί ή γραφτεί, όπως μας το προσφέρουν οι συλλογές γλωσσικού υλικού» (Γούτσος 2014: 5), παράλληλα αξιοποιήθηκαν: α) το Σώμα Ελληνικών Κειμένων (ΣΕΚ) του Πανεπιστημίου Αθηνών, το οποίο περιλαμβάνει 30 εκατ. λέξεις από ένα πλήθος προφορικών και γραπτών κειμένων (προφορικές συνομιλίες, ειδήσεις, άρθρα γνώμης, λογοτεχνία, νόμοι-διοίκηση κ.ά.), β) το σώμα κειμένων Greek Web 2014, που είναι διαθέσιμο μέσω του προγράμματος αναζήτησης Sketch Engine (βλ. Kilgarriff et al. 2004) και αποτελείται από 100 εκατ. λέξεις αντλημένες από κείμενα διαθέσιμα στο διαδίκτυο (παρά το γεγονός ότι το συγκεκριμένο εργαλείο δεν επιτρέπει τη διεξαγωγή εξειδικευμένων αναλύσεων, π.χ. ανά κειμενικά είδη, ο μεγάλος όγκος της πληροφορίας το καθιστά πολύτιμο πόρο εξόρυξης γλωσσικών δεδομένων για τη ΝΕ), και γ) το διαδίκτυο ως σώμα κειμένων (web as corpus, Kilgarriff and Grefenstette 2003).

Σύμφωνα με τις αρχές της Γλωσσολογίας Σωμάτων Κειμένων αξιοποιούνται στατιστικά εργαλεία όπως η συχνότητα των υπό εξέταση ορθοφημισμών, το λεξιλογικό τους προφίλ με βάση τις λεξικές τους συνάψεις (collocations), δηλαδή τις λέξεις με τις οποίες συνεμφανίζονται με στατιστικά σημαντική συχνότητα, και οι συμφραστικοί πίνακες (concordances) χρήσης των επιθέτων σε διάφορα κειμενικά είδη. Σημειώνεται προκαταρκτικά ότι η αναφορά σε μια συγκεκριμένη λέξη προς ανάλυση περιλαμβάνει όλες τις εμφανίσεις της που συναποτελούν το αντίστοιχο λήμμα (π.χ. η αναφορά στη λέξη *σχιζοφρενής* περιλαμβάνει όλους τους κλιτικούς τύπους του παραδείγματος, λ.χ. *σχιζοφρενούς, σχιζοφρενών, σχιζοφρενή* κ.ο.κ.).

4. ΠΑΡΟΥΣΙΑΣΗ ΚΑΙ ΑΝΑΛΥΣΗ ΔΕΔΟΜΕΝΩΝ

4.1. Λόγιοι ορθοφημισμοί για την ψυχική νόσο στα λεξικά

Συγκρίνοντας τη λημματογράφηση των λόγιων ψυχιατρικών όρων στα τρία υπό εξέταση λεξικά, παρατηρεί κανείς ότι στο ΛΚΝ και το ΛΝΕΓ δεν διαφοροποιούνται πάντοτε σε υπολήμματα η ψυχιατρική από την κοινολεκτική σημασία (με εξαίρεση τα *ψυχασθενής, ψυχοπαθής, σχιζοφρενής* στο ΛΚΝ και τη σύμφραση *ψυχαναγκαστική νεύρωση* στο ΛΝΕΓ). Αντίθετα, στο ΧΛΝΓ χρησιμοποιείται το χρηστικό σημάδι (label) «ψυχιατρ.» για την ειδική ορολογία, που συνήθως παρατίθεται ως πρώτη σημασία, με την κοινολεκτική να υπολημματοποιείται στη συνέχεια, π.χ.: [ΧΛΝΓ] *νευρωτικός*: 1. ΨΥΧΙΑΤΡ. 'που πάσχει από νεύρωση', 'που σχετίζεται με αυτή τη διαταραχή', 2. κατ' επέκταση, προφ. 'νευρικός, ευερέθιστος'. Ωστόσο, η αρχή αυτή δεν τηρείται απαρέγκλιτα, καθώς π.χ. για το επίθετο *ψυχωτικός* παρατίθεται μόνο η εξειδικευμένη ψυχιατρική σημασία και για το *παράφρων* μόνο η κοινολεκτική 'τρελός, παρανοϊκός'.

Ένα γενικότερο ζήτημα αφορά τη λεξικογραφική πρακτική της χρήσης συνωνύμων, όπως *τρελός, παλαβός, παράλογος* κ.λπ., στα ερμηνεύματα, η οποία μπορεί να προκαλέσει σύγχυση στον χρήστη του λεξικού (πβ. Atkins & Rundell 2008: 421), αν αυτά δε συνοδεύονται με την προσθήκη των κατάλληλων πληροφοριών λ.χ. για τη στάση του ομιλητή, τις συνυποδηλώσεις, το επίπεδο ύφους, τις σχέσεις οικειότητας κ.ά., πολλώ δε μάλλον σε ένα πεδίο τόσο ευαίσθητο και ρευστό, όσο η ψυχική νόσος.

Ακόμη, παρά το γεγονός ότι και τα τρία λεξικά επιχειρούν να παραμείνουν κατά το δυνατόν προσηλωμένα στον κλινικό, ψυχιατρικό ορισμό των λεξημάτων και να κινηθούν εντός του πλαισίου της γλωσσικής ορθότητας, οι διάφοροι *λόγοι* (discourses) για την ψυχική υγεία επηρεάζουν σε τέτοιο

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[3] Ο παρωχημένος όρος *φρενοβλαβής/-ές* εμφανίζεται ως δηλωτικός της ψυχικής και διανοητικής νόσου στο πρώτο στην ιστορία του ελληνικού κράτους νομοθέτημα για την ψυχιατρική περίθαλψη, τον Ν. ΨΜΒ/1862 (ΦΕΚ 28 της 19.5.1862) με τον χαρακτηριστικό τίτλο «Περί συστάσεως Φρενοκομείων», στον οποίο συχνά ταυτίζεται με την επικινδυνότητα, π.χ. βλ. άρθρ. 13: «όταν η *φρενοβλάβεια* αυτών μπορεί να εκθέσει σε κίνδυνο τη δημόσια τάξη ή την προσωπική ασφάλεια των πολιτών»· πβ. άρθρο 9, παρ. 3, κ.ά. (Μυλωνόπουλος 2014: 683).

βαθμό την ίδια την πρόσληψη των πρακτικών που την περιβάλλουν, ώστε δεν αποφεύγονται ενίοτε και στερεοτυπικές αναπαραστάσεις: π.χ. στο ΛΝΕΓ ως *ψυχοπαθής* αναφέρεται «αυτός που λόγω διαταραχής του ψυχικού του κόσμου συμπεριφέρεται με βίαιο τρόπο»· ωστόσο, σε αντίθεση με τη σχετική προκατάληψη σε ευρεία κοινωνική κυκλοφορία, η βίαιη συμπεριφορά και η ροπή προς την εγκληματικότητα δεν αποτελεί αναγκαστικά σύμπτωμα κάθε μορφής ψυχοπάθειας. Άλλες φορές δε γίνεται εύστοχη χρήση καθιερωμένων κλινικών όρων ([ΛΝΕΓ] *φρενοβλαβής*: «αυτός που πάσχει από *παράνοια,* από βλάβη των διανοητικών του λειτουργιών»· ωστόσο, η *παράνοια* αποτελεί κλινικό όρο, που σηματοδοτεί μια έμμονη ψευδή πεποίθηση, η οποία χαρακτηρίζεται από παραισθήσεις, παραλήρημα μεγαλείου ή μανία) ή δεν αποτυπώνεται όλο το φάσμα των συγχρονικών τους χρήσεων (π.χ. κατά το ΛΚΝ ο όρος *ψυχαναγκαστικός* προσδιορίζει πράξη ή διαδικασία «που επιβάλλει ψυχολογικό καταναγκασμό», χωρίς να συμπεριλαμβάνεται η απόδοση σε πρόσωπο/έμψυχο, χρήση ευρέως διαδεδομένη, λ.χ. «Πώς καταλαβαίνεις αν κάποιος είναι *ψυχαναγκαστικός;*»[4]). Τελικά, λαμβάνοντας υπόψη την έλλειψη στήριξης των εν λόγω λεξικών σε εκτεταμένα σώματα κειμένων, αυτό που περιγράφεται στους ορισμούς είναι η αντίληψη για το πώς χρησιμοποιούνται οι σχετικές λέξεις σύμφωνα με τη διαίσθηση του λεξικογράφου και όχι το πώς οι ίδιοι οι ομιλητές/-ήτριες της ΝΕ τις χρησιμοποιούν, εφόσον σπανίως παρατίθενται αυθεντικά παραδείγματα, ούτε έχει προηγηθεί έρευνα μεταγλωσσικών στάσεων των χρηστών απέναντι σε αυτούς τους εκφραστικά φορτισμένους όρους.

4.2. Λόγιοι ορθοφημισμοί για την ψυχική νόσο στα Ηλεκτρονικά Σώματα Κειμένων (ΗΣΚ)

Με δεδομένα τα ζητήματα που επισημάνθηκαν σε ό,τι αφορά τη λεξικογραφική αποτύπωση των λόγιων όρων για την ψυχική υγεία στα νεοελληνικά λεξικά, ιδιαίτερα διαφωτιστική αναδεικνύεται η αναζήτηση των δέκα υπό εξέταση επιθέτων στα δύο ΗΣΚ που αξιοποιήθηκαν. Ο πίνακας 2 συνοψίζει τις συχνότητες εμφάνισής τους.

Πίνακας 2. Συχνότητα λόγιων ορθοφημισμών στα σώματα κειμένων

Λόγιο επίθετο (λήμμα)	Συχνότητα (Greek Web 2014)	Ποσοστό (ανά εκατομμύριο)	Συχνότητα (Σ.Ε.Κ.)	Ποσοστό ‰
νευρωτικός	1.894	1.00	33	0.00111
παρανοϊκός	6.968	3.60	52	0.00176
παράφρων	567	0,29	22	0.0006
σχιζοφρενής	1.818	0,93	43	0.00145
υστερικός	4.231	2,16	65	0.00220
ψυχασθενής	1.280	0,70	17	0.0005
ψυχαναγκαστικός	1.482	0,80	13	0.0004
ψυχοπαθής	2.955	1,51	17	0.0005
ψυχοπαθολογικός	884	0,45	15	0.0005
ψυχωτικός	1.784	0,90	13	0.0004
Σύνολο	23.863		290	

Όπως είναι αναμενόμενο για το λόγιο χρηστικό επίπεδο εν γένει, οι παραπάνω ορθοφημισμοί έχουν περιθωριακή παρουσία στη ΝΕ, συγκριτικά π.χ. με το [-λόγιο] *τρελός/-ή/-ό,* με 55.434 εμφανίσεις στο Greek Web 2014 και 655 εμφανίσεις στο ΣΕΚ. Οι δύο πρώτες λέξεις σε συχνότητα συμπίπτουν στα δύο ΗΣΚ, με διαφορά μόνο ως προς τη σειρά: *παρανοϊκός, υστερικός* στο Greek Web 2014, *υστερικός, παρανοϊκός* στο ΣΕΚ. Ενδιαφέρον έχει ότι ο γενικευτικός (generic) όρος *ψυχασθενής,* που, σύμφωνα με το *Λεξ.* Κουμανούδη, απαντά από το 1895, εμφανίζει μικρότερη συχνότητα, γεγονός που, ενδεχομένως, οφείλεται στην ετυμολογική του διαφάνεια η οποία τον καθιστά ιδιαίτερα στιγματιστικό σε σχέση με τους υπόλοιπους, πιο εξειδικευμένους όρους. Σε κάθε περίπτωση, πάντως, η συστηματική χρήση των συγκεκριμένων όρων στον εξωιατρικό λόγο αναδεικνύει τη διείσδυση του ειδικού λεξιλογίου της Ψυχιατρικής στην καθημερινή επικοινωνία των ομιλητών της ΝΕ. Μεταξύ αυτών, οι *παρανοϊκός* και *σχιζοφρενής,* με σχετικά αυξημένη συχνότητα και στα δύο corpora, καθώς και το σπανιότερο *παράφρων,* αποτυπώνουν την ευρέως διαδεδομένη σύνδεση της παράλληλης δυσλειτουργίας ψυχικών και διανοητικών λειτουργιών (πβ. *φρενοβλαβής,*

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[4] Βλ. https://boro.gr/46623/psyxanagkasmoi-ti-symvainei-otan-o-anthrwpos-akoloythei-mono-th-logikh/ (5.3.2018).

φρενική νόσος, φρενοπάθεια κ.ά.). Τα επίθετα *νευρωτικός* και *υστερικός* εντάσσονται στην ιδιαίτερα επιδραστική φροϋδική παράδοση, ενώ τα υπόλοιπα με α΄ συνθετικό την *ψυχή* θεματοποιούν πιο εστιασμένα το ζήτημα της ψυχοπαθολογίας.

Διαφωτιστικότερες πληροφορίες για την επιμέρους συμπεριφορά του κάθε λόγιου επιθέτου προκύπτουν μέσα από τη διερεύνηση του λεξιλογικού του προφίλ και των συμφραστικών πινάκων που εξάγονται χρησιμοποιώντας το αντίστοιχο εργαλείο του Sketch Engine.

Μια πρώτη παρατήρηση αφορά το γεγονός ότι ορισμένα από τα υπό εξέταση επίθετα αποδίδονται περισσότερο σε συμπεριφορές, πρακτικές ή καταστάσεις και λιγότερο σε άτομα, π.χ. για το επίθετο *νευρωτικός* συνηθέστερες είναι οι λεξιλογικές συνάψεις *νευρωτική συμπεριφορά* (63 εμφανίσεις), *~ σύμπτωμα* (44), *~ διαταραχή* (28), ενώ σπανιότερα απαντά η σύμφραση *νευρωτικό άτομο* (34). Το ίδιο ισχύει και για τους όρους *ψυχαναγκαστικός* (*~ συμπεριφορά* (125 εμφανίσεις), *~ διαταραχή* (103), *~ πράξη* (33), *~ εμμονή* (31), *~ νεύρωση* (19), *~ προσωπικότητα* (14), έναντι *~ άτομο* (16)), *ψυχοπαθολογικός* (*~ κατάσταση* (100), *~ σύμπτωμα* (40), *~ προσωπικότητα* (40), *~ συμπεριφορά* (31), *~ διαταραχή* (28), *~ φαινόμενο* (20)) και *ψυχωτικός* (*~ σύμπτωμα* (154), *~ διαταραχή* (145), *~ επεισόδιο* (134), *~ συμπεριφορά* (32) έναντι *ψυχωτικό άτομο* (24)). Π.χ.:

(1) Είναι ένας τύπος που θα μπορούσε να βρει εύκολα ερωτικό σύντροφο, αν η *νευρωτική* εμμονή του με τη μαλακία δεν τον είχε καταδικάσει σε μία σεξουαλική απομόνωση. (grekamag.gr)
(2) Ήταν πολύ υγιής και αθλητικός και μετά εμφάνισε *ψυχαναγκαστική* συμπεριφορά και τικ. (medmelon.gr)
(3) Καμία μητέρα δεν θέλει το κακό του παιδιού της (προφανώς εξαιρούνται οι *ψυχοπαθολογικές* περιπτώσεις). (womannow.gr)
(4) Κανείς δε μπορούσε να εισβάλει στον *ψυχωτικό* μου χαρακτήρα. (ΣΕΚ)

Αντίθετα, κυρίως σε έμψυχες οντότητες αποδίδονται τα επίθετα *ψυχασθενής* (*~ δολοφόνος* (22 εμφανίσεις), *~ εγκληματίας* (13), *~ ηγέτης* (15)), *παρανοϊκός* (*~ δολοφόνος* (90), *~ δικτάτορας* (56), *~ εγκληματίας* (29)) και *σχιζοφρενής* (*~ δολοφόνος* (185), *~ ασθενής* (29)*,* με ιδιαίτερα δημοφιλή τη σύμφραση *σχιζοφρενής δολοφόνος με το πριόνι* (41 εμφανίσεις), μετάφραση (ανειμένη, ομολογουμένως) της γνωστής αμερικανικής ταινίας τρόμου «The Texas chainsaw massacre» (1974). Συχνά τα επίθετα αυτά συνδέονται με γνωστές ιστορικές προσωπικότητες (παράδειγμα 5), πρόσωπα της επικαιρότητας (παράδειγμα 6) ή σχετίζονται με το επιστημονικό δαιμόνιο (παράδειγμα 7) ή την καλλιτεχνική ευφυΐα (παράδειγμα 8), π.χ.:

(5) Η Άρεντ διαπίστωσε ότι ο Άιχμαν δεν ήταν από την αρχή ένας κακός και σκληρός εγκληματίας ή ένας *παρανοϊκός* δολοφόνος. (nissides.gr)
(6) Ο *ψυχασθενής* τεχνοκράτης Στουρνάρας πρέπει να πάψει να ταλανίζει με την παρουσία του την πολιτική ζωή της χώρας. (styx.gr)
(7) Η προσωπικότητα του Kahn αποτέλεσε το μοντέλο για τον *ημιπαράφρονα σχιζοφρενή* κρυφοναζιστή επιστήμονα Dr Strangelove... (thearkanproject.com)
(8) Το όνομα της μπάντας BlackKeys προήλθε από έναν *σχιζοφρενή* καλλιτέχνη ονόματι Alfred McMoore. (soundarts.gr)

Όλοι οι παραπάνω όροι λειτουργούν συχνά και ως ουσιαστικοποιημένα επίθετα, τα οποία αποδίδονται απευθείας ως ταμπέλες (labels) σε συγκεκριμένα άτομα:
(9) Ενές Καντέρ: Φρικιαστικός *ψυχοπαθής* ο Ερντογάν.[5]
(10) Σάλος στην Αλβανία: Εφημερίδα υποστηρίζει ότι ο ΕντιΡάμα είναι...*σχιζοφρενής*![6]
(11) Οι fans των Smiths είναι *νευρωτικοί,* λένε οι ερευνητές του Facebook.[7]
(12) [...] μια κατάρρευση που παραλίγο να φέρει κατά λάθος ο *ψυχωτικός* ΓΑΠ [...]. (netnews.gr)

Η ουσιαστικοποιημένη χρήση των επιθέτων καθιστά ορατή μια σημαντική διαφοροποίηση της λειτουργίας των λόγιων ορθοφημισμών κατά το πέρασμά τους από το κλινικό στο γενικό λεξιλόγιο:

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[5] Βλ. http://www.kathimerini.gr/950853/article/epikairothta/kosmos/enes-kanter-frikiastikos-yyxopa8hs-o-erntogan (5.5.2018).
[6] Βλ. http://www.sport-fm.gr/article/salos-stin-albania-efimerida-upostirizei-oti-o-edi-rama-einai-sxizo-frenis/3473628 (23.4.2018).
[7] Βλ. https://straightonmusic.com/2018/03/oi-fans-twn-smiths-einai-neyrwtikoi-lene-ereynhtes-toy-facebook/ (23.4.2018).

στον ψυχιατρικό και τον ευρύτερο ακαδημαϊκό λόγο, οι υπό εξέταση ψυχιατρικοί όροι χρησιμοποιούνται είτε ως επιθετικοί προσδιορισμοί ουσιαστικών όπως *προσωπικότητα, σύμπτωμα, συμπεριφορά, διαταραχή* κ.λπ., είτε ως ουσιαστικά (π.χ. *παράνοια, σχιζοφρένεια, ψύχωση* κ.λπ.), δεδομένου ότι η ονοματοποίηση αποτελεί θεμελιώδες χαρακτηριστικό του επιστημονικού λόγου (Halliday & Martin 2004) - και ειδικά στο πεδίο της ασθένειας ισοδυναμεί με τη μετατροπή μιας διαδικασίας σε «μια στατική κατάσταση που επιβάλλεται στο άτομο» ως εξωτερικός δρων (Fleischman 1999: 8). Αντίθετα, δεν αποδίδονται ποτέ ως ταμπέλες (labels) στους φορείς τους (π.χ. *ο παρανοϊκός, ο σχιζοφρενής, ο ψυχωτικός*), διότι στην ιατρική δεοντολογία και ηθική ο/η ασθενής δεν επιτρέπεται να ταυτιστεί με το νόσημα ή να ταυτοποιηθεί με βάση αυτό (βλ. ενδεικτικά ICD-10 (2008)). Ακόμη κι αν η χρήση των όρων παραπέμπει σε αυτόν/αυτή, προτιμώνται γλωσσικώς ορθές περιφράσεις του τύπου *ασθενής με συμπτώματα παράνοιας, άτομο με σχιζοειδή διαταραχή* κ.λπ. Σε αντιδιαστολή προς αυτή την κατά το δυνατόν αποστασιοποιημένη και προστατευτική για το πρόσωπο (face) του πάσχοντος εννοιολόγηση των ψυχικών νοσημάτων ως ξεχωριστών οντοτήτων στον ψυχιατρικό λόγο (πβ. Fleischman 2001: 490), στην εξωιατρική χρήση τους τα υπό εξέταση επίθετα αποδίδονται ελεύθερα ως κατηγορίες ταυτότητας για τον χαρακτηρισμό ατόμων, συμπεριφορών και καταστάσεων που κρίνονται από τον/την ομιλητή/ομιλήτρια ότι αποκλίνουν από το θεωρούμενο ως «κανονικό-φυσιολογικό», κατηγοριοποιώντας τελικά όχι το αντικείμενο ή φαινόμενο προς διάγνωση και θεραπεία, αλλά το ίδιο το φέρον υποκείμενο ως ψυχικά αποκλίνον. Σε αυτή τους τη χρήση, οι λόγιοι ψυχιατρικοί ορθοφημισμοί θεματοποιούν την προσωπική εμπειρία και τον κοινωνικό αντίκτυπο της «κατάληψης» του ατόμου από τις «ανεξιχνίαστες» και «σκοτεινές» δυνάμεις της ψυχικής νόσου, απηχώντας, κατά την άποψή μας, παλαιότερες, προεπιστημονικές εννοιολογήσεις τις ψυχικής νόσου ως θεϊκής μανίας, επίσκεψης από πνεύματα και υπερφυσικές δυνάμεις κ.ο.κ.

Μια δεύτερη παρατήρηση που εξάγεται από την εξέταση του λεξιλογικού προφίλ των υπό εξέταση όρων είναι ότι παρουσιάζουν μεταξύ τους υψηλό ποσοστό συνεμφάνισης: π.χ. το επίθετο *παρανοϊκός* συνεμφανίζεται 20 φορές με το *σχιζοφρενής* και 10 φορές με το *ψυχοπαθής*, το *νευρωτικός* 17 φορές με το *ψυχωτικός* και 14 φορές με το *υστερικός* κ.ο.κ. Π.χ.:

(13) Ο δικαστής Τέρι Φόρεστ είπε ότι πείστηκε πως ο κατηγορούμενος είναι «*παρανοϊκός σχιζοφρενής*» και δεν ήξερε ότι αυτό που έκανε ήταν λάθος.
(14) Ο Hitchcock παρουσιάζει έναν Hitchcock *νευρωτικό, ψυχωτικό,* απίστευτα εγωπαθή.

Οι παραπάνω ψυχιατρικοί όροι, όταν χρησιμοποιούνται σε ιατρικά συμφραζόμενα, αντιστοιχούν σε διακεκριμένα διαγνωστικά σύνδρομα, με πολλές φορές διαφορετικά ή και ασυμβίβαστα κλινικά συμπτώματα. Η συμπαράθεσή τους σε εξωιατρικά κειμενικά είδη, υπό την επιρροή της αρνητικής σημασιολογικής τους προσωδίας (semantic prosody), δηλαδή της εξάπλωσης των αρνητικών εκφραστικών συνδηλώσεων πέρα από τα όρια μιας μόνης λέξης σε όλα τα θεματικά συναφή λεξήματα (Tognini-Bonelli 2001: 111), επιπεδώνει και ουδετεροποιεί αυτές τις διαφορές: π.χ. οι όροι *νευρωτικός* και *ψυχωτικός* αντιστοιχούν σε διαφοροποιημένες ψυχικές διαταραχές, η συνδυαστική απόδοσή τους όμως στον Hitchcock (παράδειγμα 14) περισσότερο δίνει έμφαση επιτατικά στην αποκλίνουσα σκηνοθετική ματιά, παρά επιβεβαιώνει κάποια ιατρική συμπτωματολογία.

Αντιστοίχως, και το επίθετο *υστερικός* στην κοινολεκτική του χρήση απομακρύνεται από τον κλινικό του ορισμό «Υστερία ή Διαταραχή Μετατροπής»[8] (με συμπτώματα όπως η μυϊκή αδυναμία, η πάρεση, η δυσαρθρία, η αστάθεια βάδισης, η τύφλωση κ.ο.κ.), και περιγράφει περισσότερο την ένταση και την ακρότητα μιας παραληρηματικής συμπεριφοράς, λ.χ. *υστερική κραυγή* (199 εμφανίσεις), ~ *γέλιο* (67), ~ *τσιρίδα* (18), ~ *ξέσπασμα* (18). Η αρχική του σημασία διασώζεται κατά τη στερεοτυπική του σύνδεση με το γυναικείο φύλο (~ *μαμά* (17), ~ *γεροντοκόρη* (10)), π.χ.:

(15) Το τελικό αποτέλεσμα βέβαια θυμίζει περισσότερο *υστερική* νοικοκυρά στα πρόθυρα εμμηνόπαυσης. (press-bank.gr)
(16) Οι γυναίκες προτιμούν να δείξουν τον θυμό τους με τρόπους, που μόνο ειρωνικούς χαρακτηρισμούς επιφέρουν (στρίγγλα, μέγαιρα, *υστερική, νευρωτική* κ.λπ.). (selftherapy.gr)

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[8] Βλ. https://kalimeristherapist.com (23..3.2018).

Με βάση τα παραπάνω, κεντρικό σημασιολογικό χαρακτηριστικό των υπό εξέταση λόγιων επιθέτων είναι η συχνή απόσχισή τους από το κλινικό-αναφορικό τους περιεχόμενο και η σημασιολογική τους επέκταση σε πρόσωπα, καταστάσεις και φαινόμενα με «συναφείς» (ο όρος σε διασταλτική ερμηνεία) ποιότητες και χαρακτηριστικά, με αποτέλεσμα να μετατρέπονται σε κοινό νόμισμα στην καθημερινή επικοινωνία, που δεν αποδίδεται απαραιτήτως σε άτομα των οποίων η διαταραχή έχει πιστοποιηθεί με ιατρική γνωμάτευση. Χαρακτηριστικό είναι σχετικά το σχόλιο που παρατίθεται στο selftherapy.gr: «Αν και η χρήση της έννοιας 'νευρωτικός' βρίσκεται στην καθημερινή μας ζωή, η ψυχολογική διάσταση της νεύρωσης είναι εντελώς διαφορετική». Μάλιστα, η αρνητική σημασιολογική τους προσωδία συμπαρασύρει την εφαρμογή τους και σε μεταφορικές χρήσεις που καλύπτουν ένα ευρύ φάσμα σημασιών, με κοινή συνισταμένη την έκφραση δυσφορίας και αποδοκιμασίας προς συμπεριφορές ή πρακτικές που κρίνονται από τον ομιλητή/την ομιλήτρια ως παράλογες, ανορθολογικές, προβληματικές, μη αναμενόμενες κ.λπ. Έτσι, τελικά, λόγω του αρνητικού υφολογικού τους μαρκαρίσματος, οι λόγιοι ψυχιατρικοί όροι λειτουργούν ως δείκτες στάσης και αξιολόγησης, π.χ.:

(17) Η «εισφορά αλληλεγγύης» και οι νέοι συντελεστές φορολόγησης, η μείωση του αφορολόγητου ορίου στα 8.000 […],αποτελούν *παρανοϊκά* μέτρα…[9]
(18) Εδώ και 30 χρόνια, το *σχιζοφρενές* σύστημα ξεφουρνίζει γενιές αγραμμάτων [...].[10]
(19) Η ελευθερία ενός λαού, ενός κράτους, είναι βλέπετε θέμα ανάλυσης των *παράφρονων* λογικών. (ΣΕΚ)

Το συγκεκριμένο εύρημα ενισχύεται και από τη διερεύνηση της κατανομής των επιθέτων στα διάφορα κειμενικά είδη, πληροφορία που μπορούμε να εξαγάγουμε μέσω του σχετικού φίλτρου αναζήτησης στο ΣΕΚ (βλ. γράφημα 3). Όπως προκύπτει, οι λόγιοι ορθοφημισμοί εμφανίζονται περισσότερο σε ενημερωτικά κείμενα (37%) και άρθρα γνώμης (23%), γεγονός που αναδεικνύει τη σχολιαστική/αξιολογική τους λειτουργία στον δημοσιογραφικό λόγο (Γούτσος και Φραγκάκη 2014: 122), και δευτερευόντως σε ακαδημαϊκά κείμενα (17%), όπως είναι αναμενόμενο, και στη λογοτεχνία (17%) για τη μυθοπλαστική κατασκευή ψυχικώς αποκλινόντων χαρακτήρων. Στην αποτίμηση της παρουσίας τους στα υπόλοιπα κειμενικά είδη θα πρέπει να ληφθεί υπόψη και η παράμετρος της αντιπροσώπευσης των συγκεκριμένων ειδών στο ΣΕΚ (λ.χ. το μικρό ποσοστό εμφάνισης των υπό εξέταση επιθέτων στον προφορικό λόγο ενδέχεται να σχετίζεται περισσότερο με τη σύσταση του ΣΕΚ, γεγονός που δε μας επιτρέπει την περαιτέρω διερεύνηση του συγκεκριμένου πεδίου).

Γράφημα 3: Η κατανομή των λόγιων ορθοφημισμών ανά κειμενικό είδος (ΣΕΚ)
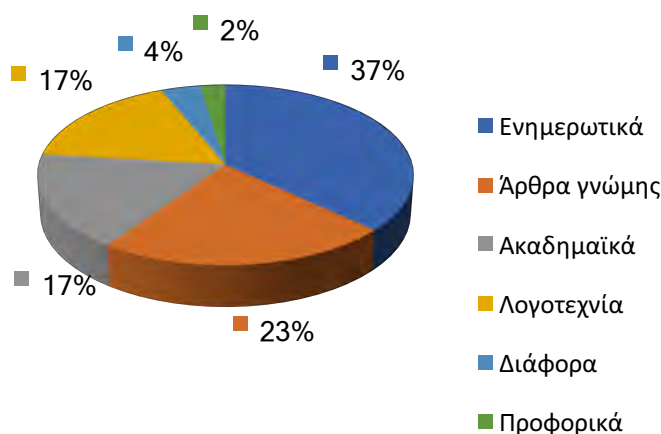
4. ΣΥΜΠΕΡΑΣΜΑΤΑ ΚΑΙ ΠΡΟΟΠΤΙΚΕΣ

Οι λόγιοι ορθοφημισμοί για την ψυχική νόσο, αν και πληρούν τα βασικά χαρακτηριστικά του λόγιου επιπέδου ως ποικιλίας με βάση την επικοινωνιακή περίσταση (λόγια σχηματιστικά πρότυπα, περιθωριακή συχνότητα, συνύπαρξη με μη λόγιο περιγραφικό συνώνυμο), διαφοροποιούνται από

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[9] Βλ. http://www.logiosermis.net/2011/06/blog-post_4277.html#.WwflX-6FPcs (22.4.2018).
[10] Βλ. http://www.kathimerini.gr/39571/opinion/epikairothta/politikh/ta-paidia-toy-papagaloy-poion-eixan-patera (23.3.2018).

αυτό κατά το ότι στην κοινολεκτική, εξωιατρική τους χρήση δεν περιορίζονται στον επίσημο λόγο, αλλά εμφανίζονται σε ένα ευρύ φάσμα κειμενικών ειδών, που κυμαίνεται από τα άρθρα γνώμης και την ειδησεογραφία, μέχρι τη λογοτεχνία, τις προφορικές συνομιλίες ή τα υβριδικά κείμενα των μέσων κοινωνικής δικτύωσης – διαφοροποιούμενοι υπό αυτή την έννοια λόγω ευρείας διάχυσης και από τα ειδικά λεξιλόγια άλλων επιστημονικών κλάδων, όπως π.χ. η Βιολογία ή η Φυσική.

Και ως υποείδος λέξεων-ταμπού, βρίσκονται σε αντίθεση με άλλες κατηγορίες λόγιων «απαγορευμένων» λεξημάτων (π.χ. *αιδοίο, συνουσία, αφόδευση* κ.λπ., βλ. Καμηλάκη υπό έκδ.), τα οποία στη δημόσια σφαίρα λειτουργούν στο πλαίσιο της γλωσσική ορθότητας και εκφράζουν ευπρέπεια, ευγένεια ή και καθωσπρεπισμό, μετριάζοντας την προσβλητική ισχύ των εννοιών-ταμπού χάρη στην αποστασιοποίηση και την περιορισμένη εκφραστική εμπλοκή που εξασφαλίζει η ετυμολογική αδιαφάνεια του λόγιου τυπικού, σε συνδυασμό με την πρωτοτυπική του χρήση σε τυπικές περιστάσεις. Αντίθετα, οι λόγιοι ψυχιατρικοί όροι, κατά την απόσπασή τους από την ειδική ορολογία και το πέρασμά τους στο γενικό λεξιλόγιο αυξάνουν το εκφραστικό τους περιεχόμενο και λόγω της έντονα αρνητικής σημασιολογικής τους προσωδίας μετατρέπονται τελικά σε *δυσφημιστικούς ορθοφημισμούς* (Καμηλάκη et al. 2015: 22), που αποδίδονται κατά το δοκούν, για να στιγματίσουν άτομα και συμπεριφορές.

Κατ' επέκταση, η συντελούμενη μείωση του αναφορικού περιεχομένου ρευστοποιεί τα όρια των διαγνωστικών κατηγοριών, καθώς δεν είναι σαφές ποιου τύπου εκδηλώσεις ή πρακτικές – και σε ποια ένταση ή βαθμό – καθιστούν κάποιον *παρανοϊκό, σχιζοφρενή, ψυχωτικό* κ.λπ. Αυτό που απηχεί περισσότερο η χρήση τους είναι οι υποκειμενικές τοποθετήσεις και αξιολογικές στάσεις για το τι συνιστά «υγιή» και «κανονική» συμπεριφορά. Η ακρίβεια ως προς το κλινικό νόημα ενδίδει στην ανάγκη να περιγραφεί η έκπληξη που προκαλεί η μη συμμόρφωση κάποιου/-ας προς τις καθιερωμένες κοινωνικές συμβάσεις και πρακτικές. Προφανώς, η διάχυση αυτή του νοήματος οφείλεται στην αντίληψη ότι η τρέλα σε μεγαλύτερη ή μικρότερη δόση είναι εγγενές χαρακτηριστικό όλων των ανθρώπων – εξού και η παροιμία *η τρέλα δεν πάει στα βουνά*[11]. Ωστόσο, εύλογα προκύπτει το ερώτημα κατά πόσον αυτή η ανειμένη χρήση και η αναφορική ασάφεια διαιωνίζουν στερεότυπα για την ψυχική νόσο και συμβάλλουν στον περαιτέρω στιγματισμό της σε επίπεδο κοινωνικών αξιολογήσεων και στάσεων. Γιατί τελικά, σε αντιδιαστολή προς την παθολογική πτυχή της ψυχικής νόσου (αυτό που οι ειδικοί διαγιγνώσκουν και θεραπεύουν), οι εξωιατρικοί ψυχιατρικοί ορθοφημισμοί αντανακλούν μια (αρνητική) κοινωνική και πολιτισμική της εννοιολόγηση (αυτό που κοινωνικά εκτιμάται ως ψυχική νόσος), διάκριση που συνάδει με παρεμφερή ευρήματα για την ασθένεια γενικότερα (για σχετική βιβλιογραφία βλ. Lascaratou 2007; Γούτσος 2014).

Συνοψίζοντας, η συγκεκριμένη έρευνα επεσήμανε ορισμένους από τους τρόπους με τους οποίους το λόγιο επίπεδο συμβάλλει στην κατανόηση της ψυχικής νόσου στη ΝΕ, στενότερα ως απόκλιση από τη θεωρούμενη ως κανονική/προσδοκώμενη συμπεριφορά, ως υπερβολής, παραλογισμού ή επικινδυνότητας, και ευρύτερα/μεταφορικά ως αδιανόητης ή ασύμβατης με την κοσμοθεωρία του ομιλητή/της ομιλήτριας επιλογής ή πρακτικής. Έχοντας κατά νου την απόφανση του Halliday (1998/2005: 329) ότι «στη γραμματική διαμορφώνεται ο κόσμος μας», η γλωσσική ανάλυση που προηγήθηκε επιχείρησε να αναδείξει τις εναλλακτικές εννοιολογικές συλλήψεις της ψυχικής νόσου όπως αποτυπώνονται στην ποικιλία των λόγιων ψυχιατρικών ορθοφημισμών και το κοινωνιογλωσσικό υπόβαθρο των αντιλήψεων που συνοδεύουν τη διεύρυνση της χρήσης των κλινικών όρων στο γενικό λεξιλόγιο. Προφανώς, πρόκειται για προκαταρκτική μελέτη, της οποίας τα ευρήματα περιορίζονται στα συγκεκριμένα γλωσσικά στοιχεία που επιλέχθηκαν. Απαραίτητος είναι ο εμπλουτισμός της με περισσότερα δεδομένα, η συστηματικότερη στατιστική ανάλυση, καθώς και η συμπλήρωσή της με εθνογραφικές προσεγγίσεις, προκειμένου να αναδειχθεί το πώς οι ίδιοι οι ομιλητές (υγιείς και ασθενείς) αντιλαμβάνονται την έννοια της ψυχικής νόσου. Το όφελος που προκύπτει από τέτοιες προσεγγίσεις έχει να κάνει με την κατανόηση ότι οι οντότητες που σχετίζονται με το πεδίο αυτό αποτελούν σε τελική ανάλυση, όπως επισημαίνει η Fleischman (2001: 490), «κατασκευές – κατά πρώτο λόγο των διαγνωστικών διαδικασιών της ιατρικής και τελικά της γλώσσας», με τις όποιες προεκτάσεις έχει η συνειδητοποίηση αυτή για τη μεταγλωσσική ενημερότητα με στόχο τον αποστιγματισμό της ψυχικής νόσου, αλλά και για την αναπροσαρμογή των προληπτικών και θεραπευτικών ψυχολογικών/ψυχιατρικών παρεμβάσεων προς όφελος των ανθρώπινων υποκειμένων.

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[11] Χαρακτηριστικό είναι και σχετικό σχόλιο στο λ. *τρέλα* του ΛΝΕΓ: «Η έννοια του παραλογισμού στα λόγια και στις πράξεις είναι καθημερινό φαινόμενο στις ανθρώπινες σχέσεις, που έχει βρει τη δήλωσή του στη γλώσσα με ποικιλία λέξεων και φράσεων».

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Workshop: «Τρισχιλιετής πλην εφθαρμένη»: Ιδεολογίες και λόγοι σχετικά με την ελληνική γλώσσα στην εποχή της κρίσης

Γλωσσική αρχαιολατρία: μια σύγχρονη μυθολογία

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ABSTRACT

Although several decades have passed since linguistics was founded as a science in Greece there is a vast amount of linguistic amateurism, testifying ignorance, questioning or even devaluating linguistics. Language archaeophilia is such a phenomenon. It is a peculiar, Greek-centered parasite kind of science which formulates unfounded linguistic views on various language issues relating mainly to ancient Greek and its relationship to modern Greek.

This paper presents aspects of language archaeophilia as a phenomenon through the collection, ranking and critical analysis of language related views as they have been written in books, articles, readers' letters and texts published on the Internet and social media. Specifically, it analyzes material published from 1982 to 2017. The research revealed the manifestations of language archaeophilia concerning (a) the roots of the Greek language, (b) the origin of the Greek alphabet, (c) the pronunciation of the ancient Greek language, (d) the etymology, (e) prejudices about writing and spelling and (f) a series of language myths, e.g. for the uniqueness and superiority of Greek in various aspects. Language archaeophilia is also connected to the "attacks" which the authors of the elementary school's grammar book received in 2012 with the non-existent accusation that they have abolished some letters and that they are preparing the ground for the use of phonetic writing.

Key Words: γλώσσα, ελληνική, γραφή, μύθοι

1. ΕΙΣΑΓΩΓΗ

Μολονότι έχουν περάσει αρκετές δεκαετίες από τότε που θεμελιώθηκε η επιστήμη της γλωσσολογίας στην Ελλάδα από τον Γεώργιο Χατζιδάκι (1848-1941),[1] στη χώρα μας ακόμη και σήμερα παρατηρούνται –και μάλιστα τα τελευταία χρόνια βρίσκονται σε έξαρση– διάφορα φαινόμενα γλωσσικού ερασιτεχνισμού, που μαρτυρούν άγνοια, αμφισβήτηση ή και απαξίωση βασικών γλωσσολογικών διδαγμάτων. Ένα από τα φαινόμενα αυτά είναι η γλωσσική αρχαιολατρία, μια περίπτωση σύγχρονης μυθολογίας. Η αρχαιολατρία ως προς την ελληνική γλώσσα δεν είναι βέβαια μόνο σημερινό φαινόμενο. Εδώ όμως μας ενδιαφέρει κάτι ειδικότερο, η γλωσσική «αρχαιολατρία». Τα εισαγωγικά χρησιμοποιούνται στην προκειμένη περίπτωση για να αντιμετωπιστεί κάπως η ασάφεια του όρου. Πώς νοείται λοιπόν η αρχαιολατρία ως προς την ελληνική γλώσσα; Θα μπορούσαμε να δώσουμε τον εξής ορισμό: Πρόκειται για μια ιδιόμορφη ελληνοκεντρική παραεπιστήμη που έχει διαμορφωθεί τις τελευταίες δεκαετίες και –συγκεκριμένα– για τη διατύπωση αβάσιμων γλωσσολογικά απόψεων σχετικά με διάφορα γλωσσικά θέματα. Πρωταγωνιστικό ρόλο στη συγκρότηση αυτής της παραεπιστήμης έχουν παίξει συγκεκριμένοι εκδότες, που εδώ και χρόνια καλλιεργούν συστηματικά την παραπληροφόρηση του κοινού όχι μόνο με βιβλία και περιοδικά που εκδίδουν, αλλά και με εκπομπές που παρουσιάζουν σε μικρούς τηλεοπτικούς σταθμούς.[2]

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[1] Το έργο του Γεωργίου Χατζιδάκι έχει παρουσιάσει ο Γεώργιος Μπαμπινιώτης (1994: 55-75).

[2] Σχετικές πληροφορίες δίνει ο Παντελής Μπουκάλας (2005). Επίσης, βλ. Καραμπελιάς (2005α, 2005β), Ξυροτύρης (2005), Ρακκάς (2005), Σχίζας (2005), Τάχος (2005) και Φανός (2005α, 2005β). Ας προστεθεί πάντως ότι, όπως επισημαίνουν ως προς τα γλωσσικά οι Sampanis και Karantzola (2018: 183), η ψευδοεπιστημονική παράδοση στις ελληνικές δημοσιεύσεις ανάγεται τουλάχιστον στο 1912, τότε που ο Ιάκωβος Θωμόπουλος διατύπωσε τη θεωρία περί ενός αρχέγονου ελληνικού –«πελασγικού», όπως το ονόμασε– γλωσσικού υποστρώματος.

2. ΜΟΡΦΕΣ ΤΟΥ ΦΑΙΝΟΜΕΝΟΥ

2.1. Σχετικά με την καταγωγή της ελληνικής

Βασική έκφανση της εν Ελλάδι γλωσσικής αρχαιολατρίας αποτελεί η άρνηση της ινδοευρωπαϊκής καταγωγής της ελληνικής γλώσσας. Ας δούμε όμως πρώτα τι διδάσκει σχετικά η γλωσσολογία: Με δεδομένο ότι μεταξύ διαφόρων γλωσσών παρατηρούνται πολλές ομοιότητες ως προς τη δομή και το λεξιλόγιό τους,[3] οι γλωσσολόγοι δέχονται τη γενετική συγγένεια των γλωσσών όπου ανήκουν οι τύποι αυτοί και την προέλευσή τους από μια κοινή πρωτογλώσσα, τη λεγόμενη ινδοευρωπαϊκή.[4] Οι «αρχαιολάτρες» από την πλευρά τους, έχοντας μια στρεβλή αντίληψη περί γλωσσικής καθαρότητας,[5] είτε δεν αρνούνται τη συγγένεια των ινδοευρωπαϊκών γλωσσών αλλά θεωρούν τις υπόλοιπες ινδοευρωπαϊκές γλώσσες θυγατρικές της ελληνικής είτε θεωρούν ότι τα παρατηρούμενα κοινά στοιχεία μεταξύ των εν λόγω γλωσσών οφείλονται σε δανεισμό από την ελληνική. Στην πρώτη περίπτωση όμως η μέθοδος της επανασύνθεσης που ακολουθούν οι ειδικοί στην ιστορική και συγκριτική γλωσσολογία δεν οδηγεί στο συμπέρασμα ότι η ελληνική αποτελεί τη μητέρα γλώσσα. Αλλά και στη δεύτερη περίπτωση οι αρχαιολάτρες δεν έχουν δίκιο: Το είδος των κοινών στοιχείων μεταξύ των γλωσσών είναι τέτοιο, ώστε δεν στέκει γλωσσολογικά ο ισχυρισμός ότι οι άλλες γλώσσες τα έχουν δανειστεί από την ελληνική. Λέξεις όπως αντωνυμίες και αριθμοί, αλλά και στοιχεία όπως προθήματα και επιθήματα, καθώς και κλιτικά μορφήματα κ.λπ., οδηγούν στο συμπέρασμα της γενετικής συγγένειας των γλωσσών[6] και της προέλευσής τους από μια πρωτογλώσσα, που συμβατικά αποκαλούμε ινδοευρωπαϊκή. Με γλωσσολογικούς όρους, κρίνεται αστήρικτος ο ισχυρισμός ότι έγινε δανεισμός των στοιχείων αυτών από την ελληνική. Αλλά και να ήταν βάσιμος ο ισχυρισμός περί δανεισμού, γιατί να θεωρείται αυτονόητο ότι οι ινδοευρωπαϊκές γλώσσες δέχτηκαν την επίδραση της ελληνικής και όχι λ.χ. της αρχαίας ινδικής; Γιατί να είναι δεδομένο ότι η φορά της επίδρασης είναι πάντα από την ελληνική προς τις άλλες γλώσσες;

Στο ίδιο πλαίσιο, της προβολής αντιεπιστημονικών ισχυρισμών για θέματα καταγωγής της ελληνικής και άλλων γλωσσών, εντάσσονται πάμπολλα δημοσιεύματα προερχόμενα από τους προαναφερθέντες παραεπιστημονικούς κύκλους. Χαρακτηριστικό παράδειγμα είναι το βιβλίο ενός οικονομολόγου σύμφωνα με το οποίο τα αγγλικά είναι ελληνική διάλεκτος. Στον πρόλογό του ο συγγραφέας αφηγείται το εξής περιστατικό από την παιδική του ηλικία (Θεοφανίδης 2004: 7): Μόλις είχε επιστρέψει στο σπίτι από το πρώτο μάθημα αγγλικών και ανέφερε στη μητέρα του τα αγγλικά *I am, I have* και *I can*. Και εκείνη, χωρίς να γνωρίζει αγγλικά, κατάλαβε ότι πρόκειται για τα *είμαι, έχω* και *κάνω*. Ωστόσο, η εντύπωση που έχει ένας απλός ομιλητής για την ετυμολογική σύνδεση μεταξύ λέξεων δεν μπορεί να θεωρηθεί απόδειξη ή ένδειξη ότι οι λέξεις πράγματι αλληλοσυνδέονται ετυμολογικά.[7] Ο λόγος είναι ότι μπορεί απλώς να εμφανίζουν ορισμένους κοινούς φθόγγους, χωρίς αυτό να σημαίνει ότι η μία προήλθε από την άλλη. Και, αντίθετα, υπάρχουν τύποι που συνδέονται μεταξύ τους, λ.χ. το αρχαίο *εἷς* και το σημερινό *ένας*, αλλά, αν αναφέρουμε σε έναν ομιλητή χωρίς γνώσεις αρχαίων τον πρώτο τύπο, αποκλείεται να τον συσχετίσει με τον δεύτερο. Το θέμα δηλαδή είναι μεθοδολογικό. Μακάρι να ήταν τόσο εύκολο εγχείρημα η ετυμολόγηση μιας λέξης. Τότε θα γινόμασταν όλοι ετυμόλογοι, χωρίς γνωστικά εφόδια, χωρίς γλωσσολογική μέθοδο, με μόνο ίσως όπλο τη διαίσθηση, αν όχι τη φαντασία.[8]

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[3] Για παράδειγμα, το αρχαιοελληνικό *δίδωμι* συνδέεται με το αρχαίο ινδικό *dadami*. Ομοίως, το *πατήρ* της αρχαίας ελληνικής με το *pater* της λατινικής, το *pitar* της αρχαίας ινδικής, το αρχαίο γερμανικό *fater* κ.ά., το αρχαίο *δύο* με το λατινικό *duo*, το γαλλικό *deux*, το ρωσικό *dva* κ.ά., το αρχαίο *άλλος* με το λατινικό *alius* κ.ά.

[4] Ως προς την ινδοευρωπαϊκή καταγωγή της ελληνικής, πολλές πηγές μπορεί κανείς να βρει στο Μπαμπινιώτης (1985α) και στο Beekes (2004). Άλλα προτεινόμενα βιβλία για την ινδοευρωπαϊκή ομογλωσσία: Gamkrelidze και Ivanov (1995), Mallory (1999) και Renfrew (1987). Επίσης, την ινδοευρωπαϊκή θεωρία συνοψίζει ο Θεόδωρος Γιαννόπουλος (2012: 35-65).

[5] Όπως αναφέρει ο Γιώργος Παπαναστασίου (2006: 433), με την άρνηση της ινδοευρωπαϊκής προέλευσης της ελληνικής συναρτάται –στη νεότερη εκδοχή του– ο πανάρχαιος μύθος της αυτοχθονίας των Ελλήνων.

[6] Ο R. S. P. Beekes (2004: 50) επισημαίνει: «Οι αντωνυμίες [...] (π.χ. εγώ, εσύ, αυτός· αγγλ. *I, you, this, that*) αποτελούν πράγματι ένα καλό επιχείρημα. Λέξεις αυτού του είδους δεν αποτελούν εύκολα αντικείμενο δανεισμού, και γι' αυτό τυχόν ομοιότητες μας οδηγούν στο συμπέρασμα ότι υπάρχει γλωσσική συγγένεια».

[7] Άλλωστε, *I can* δεν σημαίνει «κάνω».

[8] Συναφώς, για τη γλωσσική μυθολογία που αφορά την ινδοευρωπαϊκή γλωσσολογία, βλ. και τα εξαιρετικά άρθρα του Θεόδωρου Μωυσιάδη (2007α, 2007β, 2007γ). Επίσης, βλ. Αργυρόπουλος (2016α: 17-21).

2.2. Σχετικά με την προέλευση του ελληνικού αλφαβήτου

Άλλο μεγάλο γλωσσικό θέμα γύρω από το οποίο οι αρχαιολάτρες έχουν διατυπώσει αντιεπιστημονικούς ισχυρισμούς είναι η προέλευση του ελληνικού αλφαβήτου. Σύμφωνα με τους γλωσσολόγους, οι Έλληνες γύρω στο 1450-1200 π.Χ. χρησιμοποιούσαν τη Γραμμική Β΄, ένα ατελές συλλαβογραφικό σύστημα γραφής. Σε αυτό δεν υπήρχαν σύμβολα που να αντιπροσωπεύουν τα φωνήεντα. Απεναντίας, ένα συλλαβόγραμμα μπορούσε να αντιστοιχεί σε μια σειρά από συλλαβές, πράγμα που προκαλούσε δυσχέρειες στην ανάγνωση. Προκειμένου να δηλώσουν τους φωνηεντικούς φθόγγους της γλώσσας τους, οι Έλληνες δανείστηκαν ορισμένα σύμβολα από τη γραφή των Φοινίκων και δημιούργησαν ένα αλφαβητικό σύστημα γραφής. Ο Robert Henry Robins (1989: 28) μάλιστα κάνει λόγο για «το πρώτο γλωσσολογικό επίτευγμα στην Ελλάδα, μέρος ουσιαστικά της "εφαρμοσμένης γλωσσολογίας" (για να χρησιμοποιήσουμε νεότερη ορολογία)». Η στρεβλή αντίληψη που προαναφέρθηκε, για την καθαρότητα της γλώσσας, ωθεί τους αρχαιολάτρες στο να αρνούνται τη βορειοσημιτική/ φοινικική προέλευση του ελληνικού αλφαβήτου. Δεν μπορούν όμως να αναιρέσουν τα στοιχεία που την αποδεικνύουν.[9] Το κυριότερο από αυτά είναι η (μη ελληνική) ονομασία –και η ακλισία[10]– των γραμμάτων. Τα ονόματα *ἄλφα, βῆτα, γάμμα* κ.λπ. δεν ετυμολογούνται από την ελληνική, δεν σημαίνουν τίποτε και δεν κλίνονται στη γλώσσα μας. Άλλα στοιχεία είναι: η μορφή των γραμμάτων, η σειρά τους και η κατεύθυνση της γραφής,[11] τα γραφόμενα από τον Ηρόδοτο (5, 58, 1-2),[12] αλλά και μια επιγραφή από την Τέω της Μικράς Ασίας, των μέσων του 5ου π.Χ. αιώνα.[13]

Αναρίθμητα είναι τα αντιεπιστημονικά κείμενα που έχουν δημοσιευθεί από τους λεγόμενους ελληνοκεντρικούς στην προσπάθειά τους να αναιρέσουν τη φοινικική προέλευση του ελληνικού αλφαβήτου. Για παράδειγμα, μια αρχαιολάτρισσα φιλόλογος επικαλείται το εξώφυλλο ενός γαλλικού περιοδικού στο οποίο επισημαίνεται η ελληνική προέλευση του αλφαβήτου που χρησιμοποιείται στη γαλλική.[14] Ωστόσο, οι Γάλλοι αναφέρονται στην καταγωγή του λατινικού και όχι του ελληνικού αλφαβήτου. Εφόσον, σύμφωνα με την κοινώς αποδεκτή θέση της γλωσσολογίας, το λατινικό αλφάβητο αποτελεί εξέλιξη του δυτικού ελληνικού-χαλκιδικού, δηλαδή του αλφαβήτου που μετέφεραν οι Χαλκιδείς στη νότια Ιταλία, δικαιολογημένα γράφουν ότι οφείλουν στην Ελλάδα –μεταξύ άλλων– και το αλφάβητο. Πάντως, αυτό που μας απασχολεί εδώ είναι ότι κάνουν λόγο για το λατινικό αλφάβητο, όχι για το ελληνικό. Είναι αξιοσημείωτη η παραπλανητική σύγχυση δύο θεμάτων διαφορετικών μεταξύ τους. Παρομοίως, οι ελληνοκεντρικοί συγχέουν την προέλευση του ελληνικού αλφαβήτου από το φοινικικό με την προέλευση του ίδιου του φοινικικού αλφαβήτου. Για παράδειγμα, επικαλούνται συνεχώς ένα χωρίο του Διόδωρου Σικελιώτη (5, 74, 1),[15] που όμως απλώς

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[9] Από τις υπεράφθονες βιβλιογραφικές πηγές που υπάρχουν για τη φοινικική προέλευση του αλφαβήτου ας παρατεθούν ενδεικτικά οι ακόλουθες: Diringer (1948), Naveh (1982), Sampson (1985) και Σιγάλας (1974).

[10] Έχει υποστηριχθεί ότι η ακλισία των γραμμάτων δεν αποτελεί στοιχείο που αποκλείει την ελληνική προέλευσή τους, αφού άκλιτα –αλλά ελληνικά– είναι λ.χ. και τα απόλυτα αριθμητικά από το πέντε μέχρι το εννέα. Σύμφωνα μάλιστα με το *Μέγα Ετυμολογικόν,* λεξικό του 11ου αιώνα, το *ἄλφα* προέρχεται από το *ἄλφω* (= ευρίσκω) ως το πρώτο ευρεθέν. Αν όμως ισχύει κάτι τέτοιο, δεν δικαιολογείται η ακλισία του σε μια γλώσσα με κλιτά ουσιαστικά, όπως η ελληνική. Απεναντίας, το άκλιτο *πέντε* λ.χ. ετυμολογείται άριστα από την ελληνική και είναι άμεσα κληρονομημένο από την πρωτογλώσσα. Η ακλισία δεν αποτελεί αποδεικτικό στοιχείο, από την άποψη ότι δεν είναι αιτία επαρκής για να χαρακτηρίσουμε μια λέξη δάνεια, εφόσον υπάρχουν και μερικά αντιπαραδείγματα. Αντιθέτως, η ακλισία είναι συνέπεια της προέλευσης. Δηλαδή, ακόμα κι αν δεν μπορούμε να πούμε «είναι άκλιτη, άρα είναι δάνεια», σίγουρα μπορούμε να πούμε «είναι δάνεια, γι' αυτό είναι άκλιτη».

[11] Στις πρώτες επιγραφές επικρατεί η φορά *ἐπὶ τὰ λαιά,* δηλαδή εκ δεξιών προς τα αριστερά, όπως στο φοινικικό σύστημα γραφής.

[12] Ηροδ. 5, 58, 1-2: *Οἱ δὲ Φοίνικες οὗτοι οἱ σὺν Κάδμῳ ἀπικόμενοι, τῶν ἦσαν οἱ Γεφυραῖοι, ἄλλα τε πολλὰ οἰκήσαντες ταύτην τὴν χώρην ἐσήγαγον διδασκάλια ἐς τοὺς Ἕλληνας καὶ δὴ καὶ γράμματα, οὐκ ἐόντα πρὶν Ἕλλησι ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκέειν, πρῶτα μὲν τοῖσι καὶ ἅπαντες χρέωνται Φοίνικες. Μετὰ δὲ χρόνου προβαίνοντος ἅμα τῇ φωνῇ μετέβαλλον καὶ τὸν ῥυθμὸν τῶν γραμμάτων. Περιοίκεον δὲ σφέας τὰ πολλὰ τῶν χώρων τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον Ἑλλήνων Ἴωνες, οἳ παραλαβόντες διδαχῇ παρὰ τῶν Φοινίκων τὰ γράμματα, μεταρρυθμίσαντες σφέων ὀλίγα ἐχρέωντο, χρεώμενοι δὲ ἐφάτισαν, ὥσπερ καὶ τὸ δίκαιον ἔφερε, ἐσαγαγόντων Φοινίκων ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα, Φοινίκια κεκλῆσθαι.*

[13] Ὃς ἂν τὰς στήλας : ἐν ᾗσιν ἡ παρὴ : γέγραπται : ἢ κατάξῃ : ἢ φοινίκια : ἐκκόψῃ : ἢ ἀφανέας : ποιήσῃ : κεῖνον ἀπόλλυσθαι : καὶ αὐτὸν : καὶ γένος. (Schwyzer 710.B.37)

[14] Πρόκειται για την Άννα Τζιροπούλου-Ευσταθίου (2003: 86).

[15] Διοδ. Σικ. 5, 74, 1: *Ταῖς δὲ Μούσαις δοθῆναι παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς τὴν τῶν γραμμάτων εὕρεσιν καὶ τὴν τῶν ἐπῶν σύνθεσιν τὴν προσαγορευομένην ποιητικήν. Πρὸς δὲ τοὺς λέγοντας, ὅτι Σύροι μὲν εὑρεταὶ τῶν γραμμάτων εἰσί, παρὰ δὲ τούτων Φοίνικες μαθόντες τοῖς Ἕλλησι παραδεδώκασιν, οὗτοι δ' εἰσὶν οἱ μετὰ Κάδμου πλεύσαντες*

επιβεβαιώνει την κρατούσα επιστημονική άποψη, σύμφωνα με την οποία δεν είναι οι Φοίνικες επινοητές του συστήματος γραφής που χρησιμοποιούσαν στην αρχαιότητα.[16]

2.3. Σχετικά με την αρχαία προφορά

Ένα ακόμη θέμα που θα μας απασχολήσει είναι η απροθυμία των αρχαιολατρών να δεχτούν ότι η προφορά της αρχαίας ελληνικής ήταν πολύ διαφορετική από τη σύγχρονη. Από γλωσσολογική άποψη, δεν είναι δυνατόν μια γλώσσα, εν προκειμένω η ελληνική στη μακραίωνη ιστορία της, να μεταβάλλεται σε επίπεδο σημασιολογικό, συντακτικό κτλ. και ως δια μαγείας να μη σημειώνει μεταβολές μόνο στην προφορά. Κι όμως στους λεγόμενους ελληνοκεντρικούς κύκλους υποστηρίζεται ότι η σημερινή προφορά είναι όμοια με την αρχαία. Μπορεί να αναρωτηθεί κανείς γιατί είναι σε μερικούς τόσο δύσκολο να δεχτούν ότι μια γλώσσα μεταβάλλεται και σε επίπεδο προφοράς. Βασικό ρόλο πρέπει να παίζει το γεγονός ότι είμαστε εξοικειωμένοι με τη σύγχρονη προφορά και έτσι είναι φυσικό να μας ξενίζει η αρχαία, όπως την πληροφορούμαστε από τους γλωσσολόγους. Μερικοί όμως αρνούνται ό,τι διδάσκει γι' αυτό το θέμα η γλωσσολογία και γιατί προηγουμένως έχουν δεχτεί ότι η ελληνική γλώσσα είναι τέλεια, ανώτερη από τις άλλες, θεόσταλτη, ιερή κτλ. κτλ. Όποιος έχει τέτοιες αντιλήψεις μάλλον δεν αναμένεται να αναγνωρίζει ότι οι γλώσσες μεταβάλλονται. Πάντως, για την αρχαία προφορά βασιζόμαστε σε διάφορα στοιχεία.[17] Ενδεικτικά είναι τα ακόλουθα δύο: Πρώτον, η ποικιλία των συμβόλων που απεικονίζουν τον φθόγγο [i] στη νέα ελληνική –όχι μόνο <ι>, αλλά και <η>, <υ>, <ει> κτλ.– δηλώνει ότι το καθένα από αυτά σε ένα πρώιμο στάδιο στην αρχαιότητα αντιπροσώπευε διαφορετική προφορά. Δεύτερον, διάφορα γραμματικά φαινόμενα της αρχαίας ελληνικής, όπως η κράση, η συγχώνευση του ληκτικού φωνήεντος ή διφθόγγου μιας λέξης με το αρκτικό φωνήεν ή δίφθογγο της επόμενης, δείχνουν διαφορές στην προφορά.[18]

Σχετικά με την αρχαία προφορά, η αρθρογραφία που προέρχεται από τους γνωστούς παραεπιστημονικούς κύκλους μάλλον δεν είναι τόσο πλούσια. Για να πάρει όμως κανείς μια γεύση, ας αναφέρω και εδώ ένα παράδειγμα: Κάποιος έχει ισχυριστεί ότι η ποικιλία των <η>, <υ> κτλ. στη γραφή υπάρχει όχι γιατί αντανακλά μια διαφορετική αρχαία προφορά, αλλά για να διακριθούν τα ομόηχα.[19] Το συγκεκριμένο επιχείρημα όμως είναι άτοπο. Αρκεί να σκεφτεί κανείς ότι αυτή η ποικιλία δεν απαντά μόνο στα ομόηχα, αλλά και εκεί που δεν χρειάζεται η μία λέξη να διακριθεί από την άλλη. Ας σκεφτούμε λ.χ. το <υ> στη λέξη *θόρυβος* ή το <αι> στη λέξη *αίμα*.[20]

2.4. Παρετυμολογίες

Άλλο μεγάλο θέμα είναι η ετυμολογία, η αναζήτηση της αρχικής μορφής και σημασίας των λέξεων, σύμφωνα με έγκυρες μεθόδους δεκτές από τη γλωσσική επιστήμη, την ιστορικοσυγκριτική γλωσσολογία.[21] Χαρακτηριστικό της γλωσσικής αρχαιολατρίας είναι η ροπή προς την παρετυμολογία για ιδεολογικούς λόγους. Παραδείγματα αποτελούν η εμπειρική ετυμολόγηση από την ελληνική λέξεων που είναι δάνειες –λ.χ. *κεφτές* δήθεν από το *κοπτός,* ενώ είναι τουρκικό δάνειο με απώτερη περσική καταγωγή– ή η ανακάλυψη ελληνικών γλωσσικών στοιχείων σε γλώσσες άλλων ηπείρων. Ζητούμενο στην τελευταία περίπτωση είναι να φανεί ότι οι Έλληνες στην αρχαιότητα είχαν πάει παντού, γι' αυτό και ανακαλύπτονται ελληνικές γλωσσικές επιδράσεις ακόμη και στη Χαβάη ή τη Νέα Ζηλανδία. Είναι κι αυτός ένας μύθος: μια γλώσσα που «γονιμοποιεί» τον «ευρωπαϊκό» και «παγκόσμιο λόγο»,[22] αλλά δεν περιλαμβάνει δάνεια – τουλάχιστον δεν γίνεται λόγος γι' αυτά. Έλλειψη επιστημονικής μεθόδου εκ μέρους των λεγόμενων αρχαιολατρών δείχνει και

εἰς τὴν Εὐρώπην, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τοὺς Ἕλληνας τὰ γράμματα Φοινίκεια προσαγορεύειν, φασὶ τοὺς Φοίνικας οὐκ ἐξ ἀρχῆς εὑρεῖν, ἀλλὰ τοὺς τύπους τῶν γραμμάτων μεταθεῖναι μόνον, καὶ τῇ τε γραφῇ ταύτῃ τοὺς πλείστους τῶν ἀνθρώπων χρήσασθαι καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τυχεῖν τῆς προειρημένης προσηγορίας.

[16] Για τους ισχυρισμούς των ελληνοκεντρικών ως προς την προέλευση του ελληνικού αλφαβήτου βλ. περισσότερα στο Αργυρόπουλος (2016α: 21-23).

[17] Βλ. και Allen (2000), Μπαμπινιώτης (1985β: 29-39), Tonnet (1995: 19-23) και Πετρούνιας (2001α, 2001β, 2001γ).

[18] Π.χ., αν θεωρήσουμε ότι το αρχαίο *καὶ* προφερόταν όπως σήμερα, δεν μπορούν να ερμηνευθούν τα *κἀγώ, κἀκεῖνος* από τη συνεκφορά των *καὶ ἐγώ, καὶ ἐκεῖνος* αντίστοιχα – έναντι μάλιστα των νεοελληνικών *κι εγώ, κι εκείνος.*

[19] Βλ. Κρασανάκης (2002).

[20] Για την αρχαιολατρία ως προς την αρχαία προφορά βλ. περισσότερα στο Αργυρόπουλος (2016α: 23-27).

[21] Βλ. σχετικά το εισαγωγικό εγχειρίδιο του Θεόδωρου Μωυσιάδη (2005).

[22] Βλ. Τζιροπούλου-Ευσταθίου (1995, 2003).

η ετυμολογική ερμηνεία ενός νεοελληνικού τύπου χωρίς να λαμβάνεται υπόψη η μεσαιωνική ελληνική ή η αλεξανδρινή κοινή, σαν να υπάρχει μόνο η αρχαία των κλασικών χρόνων πριν από τη νέα ελληνική. Στην ετυμολόγηση και τη συνακόλουθη ορθογράφηση του *αλλιώς* λ.χ. δεν πρέπει να αγνοηθεί ο μεσαιωνικός τύπος *αλλέως*. Το *αλλιώς* προέρχεται από το μεσαιωνικό *αλλέως* με συνίζηση, που μπορεί να αποδοθεί με τον απλούστερο δυνατό τρόπο, δηλ. με <ι> (<αλλιώς>). Το <οι> είναι αβάσιμο ετυμολογικά, γιατί το σημερινό *αλλιώς* δεν προέρχεται από το αρχαίο *αλλοίως.* Ως εκ τούτου, η γραφή <αλλιώς> είναι δικαιολογημένη.[23] Οι ετυμολογίες που υποστηρίζονται σε αρχαιολατρικά έντυπα αντανακλούν –αρκετές φορές– το προεπιστημονικό στάδιο της ετυμολόγησης.[24] Απεναντίας, σήμερα γνωρίζουμε ότι η νέα ελληνική προέρχεται –μέσω της μεσαιωνικής– από την αλεξανδρινή κοινή, που βασίστηκε στην αττική διάλεκτο της αρχαίας.

2.5. Άλλοι γλωσσικοί μύθοι

Η γλωσσική αρχαιολατρία απλώνεται και σε μια σειρά από άλλους γλωσσικούς μύθους.[25] Θα αναφέρω μερικά παραδείγματα: Υποστηρίζεται ότι η ελληνική είναι η μοναδική γλώσσα με αιτιώδη και όχι συμβατική σχέση σημασίας και μορφής των λέξεων. Και στην ελληνική όμως η σχέση αυτή είναι συμβατική. Το ελληνικό *τρία* λ.χ. δεν έχει τίποτε το αιτιώδες έναντι του αντίστοιχου κινεζικού τύπου. Αλλά και σύνθετες λέξεις όπως *ενθουσιασμός* δεν αποδεικνύουν κάποια ιδιαιτερότητα της ελληνικής ως προς το συζητούμενο θέμα. Αν πάρουμε ξεχωριστά το καθένα από τα συνθετικά, και πάλι θα διαπιστώσουμε ότι δεν υπάρχει αιτιώδης σχέση σημασίας και μορφής. Άλλωστε, σύνθετες λέξεις δεν έχει μόνο η ελληνική. Οι λεγόμενοι ελληνοκεντρικοί προσπαθούν να επιχειρηματολογήσουν με επιστημονικοφανή τρόπο. Το οξύμωρο είναι ότι χρησιμοποιούν τη γλωσσολογία για να απαντήσουν –υποτίθεται– στη γλωσσολογία. Άλλοι μύθοι αφορούν την απόδοση μαγικών ιδιοτήτων στην ελληνική γλώσσα. Υποστηρίζεται λ.χ., στο πλαίσιο της λεγόμενης λεξαριθμικής θεωρίας, ότι η αντιστοιχία γραμμάτων και αριθμών στη γλώσσα μας δεν είναι τυχαία,[26] ότι η ελληνική έχει μαθηματική δομή ή ότι είναι η μόνη γλώσσα την οποία καταλαβαίνουν οι ηλεκτρονικοί υπολογιστές. Δεν θα είχα αντίρρηση να τα δεχτώ όλα αυτά, αρκεί κάποιος να μου εξηγήσει πώς είναι δυνατόν να συμβαίνουν και γιατί να ισχύουν ειδικά για την ελληνική. Όσοι υποστηρίζουν τέτοιες απόψεις –κανείς από αυτούς βέβαια δεν είναι γλωσσολόγος– θα άξιζε να ερωτηθούν από ποιον, κατά τη γνώμη τους, δημιουργήθηκε η ελληνική γλώσσα, από ανθρώπους ή κάτι άλλο.

3. Η ΠΕΡΙΠΤΩΣΗ ΤΟΥ ΠΕΡΙΟΔΙΚΟΥ *ΔΑΥΛΟΣ*

Το ενδιαφέρον μου επικεντρώθηκε σε ένα από τα πιο γνωστά αρχαιολατρικά περιοδικά, τον *Δαυλό.*[27] Το συγκεκριμένο περιοδικό ήταν μηνιαίο και εκδόθηκε σε δύο φάσεις. Η πρώτη διήρκεσε από τον Ιανουάριο του 1979 έως τον Δεκέμβριο του 1980, ενώ η δεύτερη από τον Ιανουάριο του 1982 έως τον Δεκέμβριο του 2008. Το σύνολο των δημοσιευμάτων συνιστά ασύλληπτο όγκο υλικού και έτσι έπρεπε να περιοριστώ σε ένα τμήμα του, κάνοντας μια επιλογή. Αποφάσισα λοιπόν να ασχοληθώ με κείμενα ενός συγκεκριμένου είδους, με τις επιστολές αναγνωστών του *Δαυλού*. Οι επιστολές που αφορούν θέματα γλώσσας έχουν προφανές ερευνητικό ενδιαφέρον για τον γλωσσολόγο, αφού δείχνουν γλωσσικές στάσεις, προκαταλήψεις κτλ. Για παράδειγμα, ο συντάκτης μιας επιστολής, μολονότι παραδέχεται ότι δεν ασχολείται επαγγελματικά με γλωσσολογικά θέματα, δηλώνει ότι ήταν και είναι «υποστηρικτής της εκπληκτικά δομημένης όσο και απέραντα όμορφης Ελληνικής γλώσσας» (Σπυριδάκης 1992). Επίσης, ένας άλλος επιστολογράφος αποφαίνεται ότι: «Όλοι οι ειδικοί έχουν άγνοιαν της πραγματικότητος της παρούσης Ελληνικής και κατ' επέκτασιν της αρχαίας» (Αρκάς 1998) – η λαϊκιστική εχθρότητα κατά των ειδικών είναι ένα μοτίβο στους εν λόγω κύκλους.

Δύο βασικά ερωτήματα έθεσα εξαρχής: Πρώτον, πόσες είναι οι επιστολές για θέματα γλώσσας και, δεύτερον, ποιες είναι οι ιδιότητες των επιστολογράφων.

Μέτρησα 1696 επιστολές (περίοδος 1982-2008). Από αυτές οι 465 αφορούν τη γλώσσα.

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[23] Βλ. Μπαμπινιώτης (1997α) και –ως απάντηση στο Τζιροπούλου-Ευσταθίου (1997)– Μπαμπινιώτης (1997β). Και –γενικότερα– για θέματα γραφής και ορθογραφίας και κριτική αβάσιμων ισχυρισμών βλ. Αργυρόπουλος (2015, 2016α: 31-35, 2016β).

[24] Βλ. περισσότερα στο Αργυρόπουλος (2016α: 27-31).

[25] Βλ. Αργυρόπουλος (2016α: 35-39).

[26] Π.χ.: Η ΧΕΛΙΔΩΝ = 1507 = ΠΑΡΟΝ ΤΟ ΕΑΡ

[27] Για το ιδεολογικό υπόβαθρό του βλ. Καραμπελιάς (2005α, 2005β).
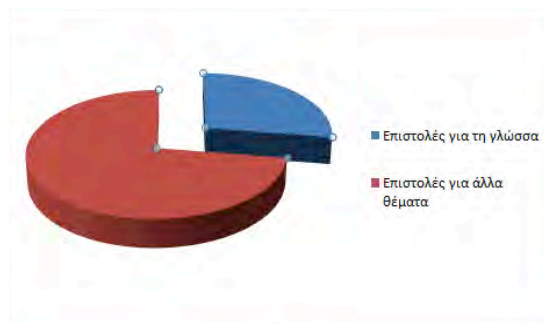
Εικόνα 4: Θεματολογία επιστολών

Ως προς τις ιδιότητες των επιστολογράφων, διαπιστώθηκαν τα εξής: Από το σύνολο των επιστολών καμία δεν υπογράφεται από γλωσσολόγο-αναγνώστη του περιοδικού, ενώ 16 έχουν συνταχθεί από φιλολόγους – 9 διαφορετικούς. Άλλες ιδιότητες, ενδεικτικά: γιατροί, αξιωματικοί, νομικοί, πολιτικοί μηχανικοί, φοιτητές και μαθητές.

Σχετικά με την επιμέρους θεματολογία των επιστολών, από τις 465 που έχουν γλωσσικό ενδιαφέρον οι 360 αφορούν μόνο τη γλώσσα, οι 89 (και) τη γραφή-το αλφάβητο, ενώ οι 16 τη λογοτεχνία.

Αναγόμενοι στο σήμερα, διαπιστώνουμε ότι δημοσιεύονται αναρίθμητα κείμενα που απηχούν το πνεύμα του *Δαυλού*. Για παράδειγμα, ένας καρδιοχειρουργός σε επιστολή του δημοσιευμένη σε πολιτική εφημερίδα (Τόλης 2016) ισχυρίστηκε ότι η δοτική και το απαρέμφατο της ρωσικής γλώσσας οφείλονται σε δανεισμό από την ελληνική. Επίσης, σε δεύτερη επιστολή του στην ίδια εφημερίδα (Τόλης 2017) διατύπωσε κι άλλους ισχυρισμούς, όπως ότι η δοτική και το απαρέμφατο της λατινικής προέρχονται από την ελληνική και ότι η ελληνική είναι η μητέρα της ρωσικής, χωρίς φυσικά να παραπέμψει σε γλωσσολογικές πηγές.[28] Κυρίως όμως στον αχανή κυβερνοχώρο μπορεί κανείς να δει κείμενα που περιλαμβάνουν μύθους σχετικά με την ελληνική γλώσσα. Το αρχείο του *Δαυλού* αποκαλύπτει ότι το συγκεκριμένο περιοδικό ήταν η μήτρα των πιο γνωστών γλωσσικών μύθων, που διαδίδονται πλέον και μέσω διαδικτύου.
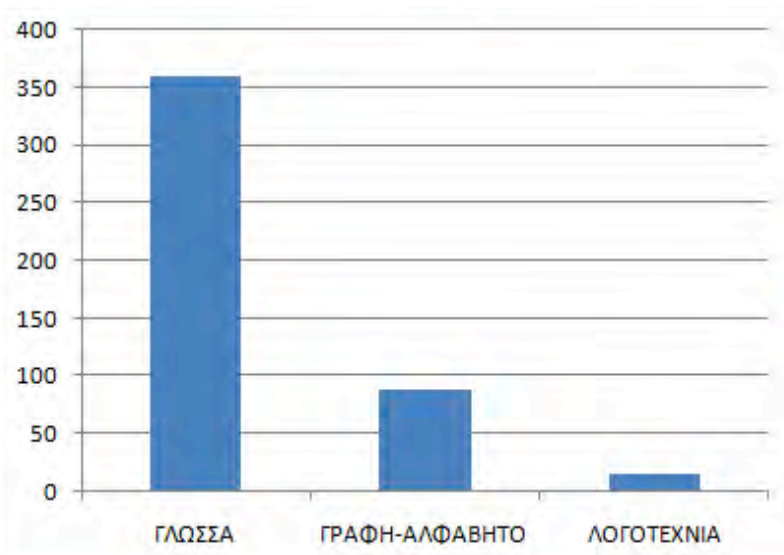
Εικόνα 2: Επιμέρους θεματολογία επιστολών

4. ΑΙΤΙΑ, ΣΥΝΕΠΕΙΕΣ ΚΑΙ ΤΡΟΠΟΙ ΑΝΤΙΜΕΤΩΠΙΣΗΣ ΤΟΥ ΦΑΙΝΟΜΕΝΟΥ

Τα αίτια της γλωσσικής αρχαιολατρίας είναι διάφορα. Σε γενικές γραμμές, πρόκειται για την άγνοια βασικών διδαγμάτων της γλωσσολογίας και τον ιδεολογικό φανατισμό. Οι αρχαιολάτρες

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[28] Βλ. και Αργυρόπουλος (2016γ, 2017).

έχουν ιδεολογικά κίνητρα. Αν είχαν επιστημονικό ενδιαφέρον για τη γλώσσα, τότε θα τους απασχολούσαν και άλλα θέματα, όπως η κατάκτηση της μητρικής γλώσσας από το παιδί ή η εκμάθηση ξένων γλωσσών, και όχι μόνο αυτά που έχουν ιδεολογικές προεκτάσεις. Και, αν είχαν αγνή και άδολη αγάπη για τον αρχαιοελληνικό πολιτισμό, τότε θα έγραφαν λ.χ. κείμενα για παραστάσεις αρχαίου δράματος που παρακολουθούν (αν βέβαια παρακολουθούν), για τις εντυπώσεις τους ή τα συναισθήματά τους. Άλλα θέματα όμως τους απασχολούν, όπως η αναίρεση των ανθελληνικών –υποτίθεται– διδαγμάτων της γλωσσολογίας. Δυστυχώς, σπανίζει το γνήσιο ενδιαφέρον για τον αρχαιοελληνικό πολιτισμό, ενώ σπάνια η αρχαιολατρία συμβαδίζει με την ουσιαστική αρχαιογνωσία. Παίζει ρόλο βέβαια και η γνωστή αντίληψη ότι, επειδή χρησιμοποιούμε τη γλώσσα, μπορούμε να εκφέρουμε έγκυρη γνώμη για τα γλωσσικά, έστω και χωρίς γνώσεις γλωσσολογίας. Επιπλέον, η έμφαση που δίνεται μέσω του εκπαιδευτικού συστήματος στη στείρα αποστήθιση και όχι στην καλλιέργεια κριτικής σκέψης ίσως ερμηνεύει την ευκολία με την οποία μερικοί πέφτουν θύματα παραπληροφόρησης, φανατίζονται και αναπαράγουν διάφορα ψεύδη, όπως ότι οι γλωσσολόγοι υποστηρίζουν ανθελληνικές θεωρίες.

Οι αρνητικές συνέπειες του φαινομένου που εξετάζουμε είναι ποικίλες. Εκατοντάδες βιβλία και περιοδικά και αρκετές τηλεοπτικές εκπομπές που προέρχονται από τους εν λόγω παραεπιστημονικούς κύκλους διαποτίζουν τη νεοελληνική κοινωνία με δηλητήριο. Πόσες εκατοντάδες ή και χιλιάδες άνθρωποι όχι μόνο αγνοούν πώς λειτουργεί και μεταβάλλεται η γλώσσα, αλλά και επηρεασμένοι από παραγλωσσολογικές πηγές ενημέρωσης, όπως λ.χ. από περιοδικά, τηλεοπτικές εκπομπές και ιστότοπους αρχαιολατρικού περιεχομένου, φανατίζονται και βάλλουν κατά ανύπαρκτων εχθρών! Επικρατεί ο πολεμικός λόγος, κατασκευάζονται εχθροί (οι γλωσσολόγοι, που απεργάζονται το κακό του έθνους!) και τελικά γίνεται αποπροσανατολισμός από τα πραγματικά προβλήματα της γλώσσας και της εκπαίδευσης. Ολόκληρα βιβλία έχουν γραφεί με σκοπό την κατάρριψη των δήθεν ανθελληνικών θεωριών που προωθούν οι γλωσσολόγοι. Πόσοι αρχαιολάτρες όμως έχουν προβληματιστεί λ.χ. για την ανάγκη να ασκείται ο μαθητής στην κατανόηση νεοελληνικών κειμένων, να καλλιεργείται η κριτική σκέψη στο ελληνικό σχολείο και να αποφεύγεται η στείρα αποστήθιση;

Καταλήγοντας, για την αντιμετώπιση του εν λόγω φαινομένου είναι αναγκαίο να διαδοθούν τα διδάγματα της γλωσσολογίας. Αυτό μπορεί να επιτευχθεί με δημοσίευση εκλαϊκευμένων γλωσσολογικών κειμένων, με ενημέρωση των εκπαιδευτικών, με άσκηση των μαθητών και των φοιτητών στο να διακρίνουν τις έγκυρες πληροφορίες για τη γλώσσα από τους γλωσσικούς μύθους, καθώς και με άλλους τρόπους. Ειδικά στο διαδίκτυο πολύ χρήσιμο θα ήταν να αναρτηθούν σε κάποια ιστοσελίδα σύντομες και εύληπτες απαντήσεις σε γλωσσικούς μύθους, οι οποίες να διαβάζονται και να αναδημοσιεύονται εύκολα, με σκοπό την ενημέρωση του κοινού. Προπάντων όμως πρέπει να γίνει δουλειά από μικρή ηλικία, γιατί κατά βάθος η μη υιοθέτηση γλωσσικών μύθων είναι θέμα παιδείας και όχι μόνο γλωσσολογικής ενημέρωσης. Το ζητούμενο είναι να έχουμε εμβολιαστεί με κριτική σκέψη από μικροί, για να μην πέφτουμε θύματα παραπληροφόρησης. Ας εμπιστευόμαστε τους ειδικούς και ας μην απαξιώνουμε τη γλωσσολογική γνώση. Η ελληνική είναι μια γλώσσα με μακραίωνη παράδοση. Σε αυτήν έχουν γραφτεί αθάνατα έργα του παγκόσμιου πολιτισμού. Ας μην ασχολούμαστε με μαγικές ή άλλες περίεργες ιδιότητες που δήθεν έχει. Φίλη η φιλοπατρία μας, φιλτάτη δε η αλήθεια.

5. ΣΥΜΠΕΡΑΣΜΑΤΑ

Από την ανάλυση που έγινε προκύπτουν τα εξής βασικά συμπεράσματα για τους λεγόμενους αρχαιολάτρες ή ελληνοκεντρικούς, τη θεωρία και την πρακτική τους: Ενδιαφέρονται μόνο για γλωσσικά θέματα που έχουν ιδεολογικές προεκτάσεις και έτσι δείχνουν ότι έχουν μια στενή, περιορισμένη αντίληψη για το τι είναι γλώσσα. Κατά κανόνα, δεν κατέχουν τις απαιτούμενες γνώσεις για το πώς λειτουργεί και μεταβάλλεται η γλώσσα, καθώς και για πολλά άλλα θέματα γλωσσικού ενδιαφέροντος και έτσι προβάλλουν ισχυρισμούς που δεν έχουν επιστημονική –και, συγκεκριμένα, γλωσσολογική– βάση. Κι όταν όμως δεν αγνοούν βασικά διδάγματα της γλωσσικής επιστήμης, τα αμφισβητούν ή και τα απαξιώνουν. Ακόμη, εχθρεύονται –συχνά μάλιστα με λαϊκίστικο τρόπο– τους ειδικούς, δηλαδή τους γλωσσολόγους, και τους αποδίδουν βαρύτατες αλλά ασύστατες κατηγορίες οι οποίες, όπως είναι φυσικό, έχουν κι αυτές ιδεολογικό χαρακτήρα. Τελικά, οι αρχαιολάτρες ή ελληνοκεντρικοί κατά την ενασχόλησή τους με θέματα γλώσσας υποτάσσουν την επιστήμη στην ιδεολογία τους και αρθρώνουν έναν δημόσιο λόγο για τη γλώσσα ερήμην της γλωσσολογίας.

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Η πρόσληψη των Greeklish στην εκπαίδευση υπό το πρίσμα των παγκόσμιων εξελίξεων στη γραπτή επικοινωνία

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ABSTRACT

Greeklish is a technologically constructed hybrid writing mode which deviates from the principles and rules of standard Greek orthography (see Tseliga 2007). Since Greek orthography is taught and transmitted through education as a national and cultural symbol of Greek identity, the usage of Greeklish has caused an intense public debate in Greek society (see Koutsogiannis & Mitsikopoulou 2007). In this paper we aim to investigate the perception and usage of Greeklish in Greek primary education where the pupils are introduced to the written language. To this aim, a questionnaire-based survey has been employed to identify the attitudes of primary school teachers, pupils and their parents towards Greeklish. Furthermore, a more specific objective of our research is to identify whether the usage of Greeklish in digital media by our informants affects their perception and attitudes towards them.

Λέξεις Κλειδιά: Greeklish, στάσεις, Πρωτοβάθμια εκπαίδευση

1. ΕΙΣΑΓΩΓΗ

Στην εργασία αυτή διερευνούμε τον τρόπο πρόσληψης και τη χρήση των Greeklish στο πλαίσιο της πρωτοβάθμιας εκπαίδευσης μέσω της οποίας οι μαθητές εισάγονται στον γραπτό λόγο. Στόχος μας είναι να μελετήσουμε τις στάσεις εκπαιδευτικών δημοτικού, μαθητών της Στ´ τάξης και των γονέων τους απέναντι στα Greeklish. Ειδικότερα, διερευνούμε αν τα Greeklish θεωρούνται παράγοντας ανορθογραφίας και απειλή για τη νεοελληνική ορθογραφία. Ελέγχουμε δε την πρόσληψη των Greeklish σε συνάρτηση με το αν οι πληροφορητές μας γράφουν σε Greeklish στα ποικίλα μέσα των νέων τεχνολογιών.

Αρχικά κάνουμε σύντομη αναφορά στη διάδοση της νεοελληνικής ορθογραφίας διαμέσου του θεσμού της εκπαίδευσης ως στοιχείου της εθνικής ταυτότητας. Στη συνέχεια, στην Ενότητα 2, αντιπαραβάλλουμε την επίσημη ορθογραφία με τα Greeklish, τα οποία φέρουν το στίγμα των σύγχρονων τεχνολογικών εξελίξεων. Στην Ενότητα 3 διατυπώνουμε τα ερευνητικά μας ερωτήματα και περιγράφουμε το δείγμα μας, ενώ στην Ενότητα 4 παρουσιάζουμε τα ποσοτικά δεδομένα από την ανάλυση των αποτελεσμάτων του ερωτηματολογίου ορθογραφικών στάσεων που χρησιμοποιήσαμε. Η εργασία μας ολοκληρώνεται με τη συζήτηση των στάσεων που εξέφρασαν οι πληροφορητές για τα Greeklish.

2. ΚΟΙΝΗ ΝΕΑ ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΗ ΚΑΙ ΓΡΑΦΗ

2.1 Η νεοελληνική ορθογραφία στην εκπαίδευση και η χρήση των Greeklish στα ψηφιακά μέσα επικοινωνίας

Το ελληνικό κράτος ευθυγραμμιζόμενο με τα δυτικά πρότυπα της νεωτερικής εποχής επιχείρησε να κατασκευάσει την εθνική του ταυτότητα στα πλαίσια του εθνικού λόγου (discourse, βλ. Fairclough 2003) ο οποίος στηρίζεται στη θέση «μία γλώσσα, ένα έθνος-κράτος» (βλ. σχετικά Piller 2001: 261). Σ' αυτή τη διαδικασία εθνικής κατασκευής, χρονικό σημείο αναφοράς για τη σύγχρονη ελληνική ιστορία μπορεί να θεωρηθεί η γλωσσική και εκπαιδευτική μεταρρύθμιση του 1976. Με τη μεταρρύθμιση έληξε τυπικά το γλωσσικό ζήτημα και έπαψε η πόλωση ανάμεσα στην καθαρεύουσα και τη δημοτική για το ποια είναι καταλληλότερη να υποστηρίξει τον ρόλο της μιας 'ενιαίας' και κοινής γλώσσας του ελληνικού κράτους. Τότε, η δημοτική, η οποία ονομάζεται πλέον «Κοινή Νέα Ελληνική» (εφεξής ΚΝΕ), κέρδισε τη γλωσσική διαμάχη και αναγνωρίστηκε

συνταγματικά σε επίσημη γλώσσα (βλ. μεταξύ άλλων Κακριδή-Φερράρι 2008). Δηλαδή, από τότε μέχρι σήμερα, ως επικράτεια της εθνικής ή αλλιώς 'καθεστωτικής' ΚΝΕ ορίζεται η επικράτεια του ίδιου του κράτους (βλ. Μοσχονάς 2005: 308).

Για να επιτελέσει η ΚΝΕ τη λειτουργία της εθνικής γλώσσας, προωθήθηκε η τυποποίησή της σε πρότυπη γραπτή γλώσσα η οποία αναπαριστάνεται γραφηματικά με το αρχαιοελληνικής προέλευσης ελληνικό αλφάβητο. Στα πλαίσια δε της μεταρρύθμισης, καθιερώθηκαν οι συγκεκριμένες συμβάσεις που ρυθμίζουν τη χρήση του αλφαβήτου για τη γραφή της ΚΝΕ (βλ. Κακριδή-Φερράρι 2008:369). Δηλαδή, ρυθμίστηκε η «νεοελληνική ορθογραφία», της οποίας ο χαρακτήρας είναι ιστορικός, καθώς η γραφή των λέξεων ακολουθεί εν πολλοίς την ετυμολογία τους από τα αρχαία ελληνικά (βλ. Παπαναστασίου 2008: 159, 183). Την ορθογραφία της ΚΝΕ διδάσκει και διαδίδει η εκπαίδευση η οποία και την καθιερώνει κοινωνικά ως τον μοναδικό «ορθό» τρόπο γραπτής αναπαράστασης της εθνικής γλώσσας (βλ. ενδεικτικά Μοσχονάς 2013). Έτσι, η ορθογραφία συνομιλεί με τον εθνικό λόγο και το ελληνικό αλφάβητο παύει να είναι απλώς και μόνον ένα σύστημα γραφής και αναδεικνύεται στις συνειδήσεις των χρηστών ως ένα εθνικό και πολιτισμικό σύμβολο. Η ιστορικότητα δε της ορθογραφίας εκλαμβάνεται ως ένα από τα στοιχεία της ελληνικής εθνικής ταυτότητας (πρβλ. Αναστασιάδη-Συμεωνίδη & Voga 2010). Με δυο λόγια, ισχυροί θεσμοί όπως η εκπαίδευση, έχοντας ως στόχο τη διαμόρφωση της εθνικής ταυτότητας, διαδίδουν τον εθνικό λόγο (βλ. Αβδελά 1997) και συμβάλλουν στην πρόσληψη του έθνους, της ελληνικής γλώσσας και του ελληνικού συστήματος γραφής ως στοιχείων ενωμένων με 'εγγενείς' και άρρηκτους δεσμούς.

Σχετικά πρόσφατα, ως απόρροια της διάδοσης και της ευρείας χρήσης του διαδικτύου σε όλες τις σφαίρες της ανθρώπινης δραστηριότητας στην ελληνική κοινωνία, προέκυψε ο υβριδικός κώδικας γραφής «Greeklish» (βλ. Androutsopoulos 2009). Τα Greeklish μελετώνται στο γενικότερο πλαίσιο της λεγόμενης *Διαμεσολαβημένης Επικοινωνίας μέσω Υπολογιστή* (Computer-Mediated Communication). Στη διαδικτυακή επικοινωνία παρατηρείται γενικότερα η λατινοποίηση της γραφής γλωσσών που δε χρησιμοποιούν, στην πρότυπη γραπτή εκδοχή τους, το λατινικό αλφάβητο. Παρά το γεγονός ότι με την καθιέρωση του συστήματος κωδικοποίησης Unicode υποστηρίζεται πλέον η αναπαράσταση πολλών συστημάτων γραφής, μεταξύ των οποίων και του ελληνικού αλφαβητικού συστήματος, η χρήση λατινικών χαρακτήρων συνεχίζει να παρατηρείται σε ψηφιακά κείμενα ελληνόφωνων χρηστών του διαδικτύου (βλ. Androutsopoulos 2009).

Μελέτες σχετικές με τα Greeklish εξετάζουν το φαινόμενο ως αποτέλεσμα της διάδοσης του διαδικτύου και της κυριαρχίας της αγγλικής γλώσσας στο πλαίσιο της παγκοσμιοποίησης (βλ. Tseliga 2007· Spilioti 2009). Η τάση των τοπικών κοινωνιών να υιοθετούν παγκόσμια πρότυπα του διαδικτύου, επιδιώκοντας παράλληλα τη διαφύλαξη στοιχείων της γλωσσικής και πολιτισμικής τους ιδιαιτερότητας, οδηγεί σε υβριδικές συνθέσεις (βλ. Koutsogiannis & Mitsikopoulou 2007 και τις εκεί αναφορές). Τα Greeklish, ως γραφική αναπαράσταση της ελληνικής γλώσσας με το λατινικό αλφάβητο, μπορούν να θεωρηθούν μια τέτοιου τύπου υβριδική σύνθεση. Άλλωστε, ο εγγενής και άρρηκτος δεσμός μεταξύ του έθνους-κράτους, της μίας εθνικής του γλώσσας και του 'αρχέγονου' συστήματος γραφής της τίθεται υπό αμφισβήτηση σε πλαίσια όπως αυτό της μετανεωτερικότητας (βλ. ενδεικτικά Pennycook 2006· Park & Wee 2017). Έτσι, εδώ τα συστήματα γραφής, όπως για παράδειγμα το ελληνικό και το λατινικό, δεν ταυτίζονται με μια συγκεκριμένη εθνική γλώσσα. Αντίθετα, αποτελούν σημειωτικούς πόρους από τους οποίους οι χρήστες αντλούν στοιχεία ανάλογα με τις επικοινωνιακές περιστάσεις, τους συμμετέχοντες στην επικοινωνία καθώς και τον επικοινωνιακό τους στόχο (βλ. Lees, Politis & Koutsogiannis 2017· βλ. επίσης Blommaert & Rampton 2011).

Συνεπώς, τα Greeklish μπορούν να θεωρηθούν κοινωνική πρακτική που διαμορφώνεται από τη συνάντηση παγκόσμιων προτύπων γραπτής επικοινωνίας με βάση το λατινικό αλφάβητο με τα τοπικά γλωσσικά πρότυπα της ελληνικής κοινωνίας (βλ. σχετικά Koutsogiannis & Mitsikopoulou 2007 και τις εκεί αναφορές). Με άλλα λόγια, σ' αυτό το ρευστό, μετανεωτερικό τοπίο μετάβασης από τον εθνικό στον μετα-εθνικό λόγο (βλ. Archakis 2016), τα Greeklish αποκαλύπτουν τη δυνατότητα διγραφίας (digraphia) της ελληνικής γλώσσας στα ψηφιακά μέσα (βλ. Tseliga 2007· Androutsopoulos 2009) και, ως εκ τούτου, εγείρουν ζητήματα αποδέσμευσης της ελληνικής γλώσσας από την αδιαπραγμάτευτη συσχέτισή της με ένα μόνο αλφάβητο, αυτό της αρχαιοελληνικής προέλευσης.

2.2 Η έρευνα για τα Greeklish

Όπως αναδεικνύουν πρόσφατες κοινωνιογλωσσολογικές μελέτες, ο υβριδικός τρόπος γραφής Greeklish επιλέγεται, ως επί το πλείστον, από νεαρά σε ηλικία άτομα καθώς τους παρέχει τη δυνατότητα να αποκλίνουν από τις κανονιστικές αρχές που διέπουν τον γραπτό λόγο, κυρίως σε

ανεπίσημες περιστάσεις επικοινωνίας (βλ. Koutsogiannis & Mitsikopoulou 2007· Tseliga 2007). Σε σχέση και με όσα αναφέραμε στην προηγούμενη ενότητα, έχει διαπιστωθεί ότι οι συντάκτες των ψηφιακών κειμένων γράφουν σε Greeklish, κυρίως, όταν χρησιμοποιούν λεξιλόγιο μη ελληνικής προέλευσης και ειδικότερα λεξιλόγιο της αγγλικής (βλ. Tseliga 2007· Spilioti 2009). Η δεδομένη δε κυριαρχία της αγγλικής γλώσσας στο διαδίκτυο, οδηγεί τους μελετητές στην ερμηνεία ότι η γραφή με Greeklish δείχνει την ευελιξία και τη γλωσσική δημιουργικότητα των χρηστών στην προσπάθειά τους να ανταποκριθούν στους γλωσσικούς περιορισμούς και στις απαιτήσεις των παγκόσμιων και τοπικών δικτύων επικοινωνίας (Tseliga 2007: 137).

Ειδικότερα, η χρήση των Greeklish από μαθητές εφηβικής ηλικίας συνδέεται με τη μετάβασή τους από τον παραδοσιακό σχολικό γραμματισμό στον γραμματισμό των Νέων Τεχνολογιών και στη χρήση της αγγλικής γλώσσας (βλ. Κουτσογιάννης 2012: 888). Τα Greeklish, δηλαδή, συγκαταλέγονται στις ψηφιακές πρακτικές γραμματισμού των εφήβων οι οποίοι τα χρησιμοποιούν για να κατασκευάζουν τη νεανική τους ταυτότητα στα ψηφιακά μέσα (βλ. Koutsogiannis 2015). Φαίνεται μάλιστα ότι οι έφηβοι γράφοντας με Greeklish εξοικονομούν χρόνο και νοιώθουν ασφάλεια καθώς έχουν τη δυνατότητα να μην ακολουθούν τους ορθογραφικούς κανόνες της νεοελληνικής. Αντίθετα, σε ό,τι αφορά τους καθηγητές - φιλολόγους, στην πλειονότητά τους, συνδέουν την παρατηρούμενη ανορθογραφία των μαθητών με τη χρήση των Greeklish (βλ. Μουστάκα, Παυλίτσα, Νταγκούλη & Μπράτιτσης 2010). Παρομοίως, ορισμένοι γονείς εκφράζουν την ανησυχία ότι η χρήση των Greeklish απομακρύνει τα παιδιά από την 'ορθή' γραφή της νεοελληνικής γλώσσας (βλ. Koutsogiannis 2015).

Είναι σαφές ότι η διάδοση των Greeklish έχει προκαλέσει στην ελληνική κοινωνία ποικίλες αντιδράσεις οι οποίες μάλιστα αποτυπώνονται σε δημοσιεύματα του τύπου. Πολλά από αυτά εντοπίζονται το 2001, όταν η ανακοίνωση της Ακαδημίας Αθηνών κατά των Greeklish πυροδότησε έναν έντονο δημόσιο διάλογο. Η ανάλυση των σχετικών δημοσιευμάτων (βλ. Koutsogiannis & Mitsikopoulou 2007) ανέδειξε ότι στα περισσότερα από αυτά η άποψη που κυριαρχεί είναι ότι τα Greeklish απειλούν τη νεοελληνική ορθογραφία. Η απειλή αυτή σχετίζεται με πιθανή 'λατινοποίηση' της γραφής η οποία μπορεί να οδηγήσει στην υπονόμευση της εθνικής γλώσσας, ακόμη και της καθαρότητας της εθνικής ταυτότητας.

3. ΤΑ ΣΤΟΙΧΕΙΑ ΤΗΣ ΕΡΕΥΝΑΣ ΜΑΣ

Στο πλαίσιο της γενικότερης συζήτησης για τα Greeklish που είδαμε παραπάνω, στην εργασία αυτή διερευνούμε τις στάσεις εκπαιδευτικών δημοτικού, μαθητών της Στ' τάξης και των γονέων τους απέναντι στα Greeklish. Με τον όρο *στάσεις* (attitudes) ακολουθώντας τον ορισμό του Allport 1935 (όπως προσαρμόζεται για τη μελέτη στάσεων απέναντι σε γλωσσικά φαινόμενα από την Κακριδή-Φερράρι 2007), αναφερόμαστε σε *«μια εσωτερική νοητική κατάσταση ετοιμότητας, που οργανώνεται από την εμπειρία και ασκεί ρυθμιστική και δυναμική επίδραση στην αντίδραση του ατόμου απέναντι σε όλα όσα σχετίζονται με το γλωσσικό φαινόμενο»*.

Ειδικότερα, διερευνούμε αν οι συγκεκριμένες ομάδες του πληθυσμού θεωρούν τα Greeklish παράγοντα ανορθογραφίας και απειλή για τη νεοελληνική ορθογραφία. Στο πλαίσιο αυτό θέτουμε το ερώτημα ποια από τις τρεις ομάδες του δείγματος (μαθητές, εκπαιδευτικοί, γονείς) δηλώνει ότι γράφει σε Greeklish στα μέσα των νέων τεχνολογιών (e-mail, μέσα κοινωνικής δικτύωσης ή γραπτή επικοινωνία μέσω κινητού). Απώτερος στόχος μας είναι να ελέγξουμε αν και σε ποιο βαθμό η χρήση των Greeklish από τους εκπαιδευτικούς, τους γονείς και τους μαθητές επηρεάζει τις στάσεις τους απέναντι στα Greeklish.

Η έρευνά μας πραγματοποιήθηκε σε 8 δημοτικά σχολεία της Πάτρας μέσω ενός ερωτηματολογίου ορθογραφικών στάσεων που συντάξαμε (βλ. Τζωρτζάτου, Αρχάκης, Ιορδανίδου & Ξυδόπουλος 2017). Το δείγμα μας περιλαμβάνει 71 εκπαιδευτικούς, 143 μαθητές της Στ' τάξης και 113 γονείς των μαθητών. Για να ελέγξουμε αν οι μαθητές του δείγματος γνωρίζουν τι είναι τα Greeklish και αν, ως εκ τούτου, είναι σε θέση να εκφράσουν στάσεις απέναντι σ' αυτά, θέσαμε το ερώτημα *«Γνωρίζεις τι είναι τα Greeklish; <u>Αν ναι</u>, δώσε ένα παράδειγμα σε Greeklish»*. Από τις απαντήσεις επιβεβαιώθηκε ότι το 86% των μαθητών (n=122) γνωρίζει τα Greeklish και ξέρει να γράφει σε αυτά· για την αξιοπιστία της έρευνας αποκλείσαμε τις απαντήσεις των υπολοίπων μαθητών. Τα αποτελέσματα που θα παρουσιάσουμε παρακάτω αφορούν το σύνολο των εκπαιδευτικών (n=71) και των γονέων (n=113) του δείγματος, αλλά τους 122 από τους 143 μαθητές.

Πιο συγκεκριμένα, η ανάλυσή μας βασίζεται σε δύο ερευνητικά ερωτήματα. Με το πρώτο ερώτημα, διερευνούμε τις στάσεις των πληροφορητών σχετικά με τα Greeklish ως παράγοντα

ανορθογραφίας και ως απειλή για τη νεοελληνική ορθογραφία. Με το δεύτερο, διερευνούμε αν και κατά πόσο η χρήση των Greeklish από τους εκπαιδευτικούς, τους γονείς και τους μαθητές του δείγματός μας επηρεάζει τις στάσεις τους απέναντι σ' αυτά.

4. ΑΝΑΛΥΣΗ

4.1 Τα Greeklish ως παράγοντας ανορθογραφίας και ως απειλή για τη νεοελληνική ορθογραφία

Το πρώτο ερευνητικό μας ερώτημα το διερευνούμε με δύο ερωτήσεις. Με την πρώτη ερώτηση εξετάζουμε τις στάσεις των εκπαιδευτικών, των γονέων και των μαθητών σχετικά με το αν η χρήση των Greeklish οδηγεί το άτομο στην ανορθογραφία. Με τη δεύτερη ερώτηση εξετάζουμε αν και σε ποιο βαθμό οι τρεις ομάδες θεωρούν τα Greeklish απειλή για τη νεοελληνική ορθογραφία. Με τις δύο αυτές ερωτήσεις ουσιαστικά διερευνούμε αν η πρόσληψη των Greeklish συνδέεται με τον φόβο της απομάκρυνσης από την καθιερωμένη 'εικόνα' των λέξεων. Λαμβάνοντας υπόψη μας ότι η 'εικόνα' των λέξεων διαμορφώνεται τόσο από τη γραφηματική αναπαράσταση μέσω του ελληνικού αλφαβήτου όσο και από την τήρηση των ορθογραφικών κανόνων, διερευνούμε αν η ανορθογραφία που μπορεί να εντοπίζεται στα Greeklish εκλαμβάνεται ως απειλή για τη νεοελληνική ορθογραφία.

Παρακάτω, στο Ραβδόγραμμα 1 παρουσιάζουμε τις απαντήσεις των τριών ομάδων στην ερώτηση αν η χρήση των Greeklish καθιστά το άτομο ανορθόγραφο.

Ραβδόγραμμα1: Η χρήση των Greeklish καθιστά το άτομο ανορθόγραφο;
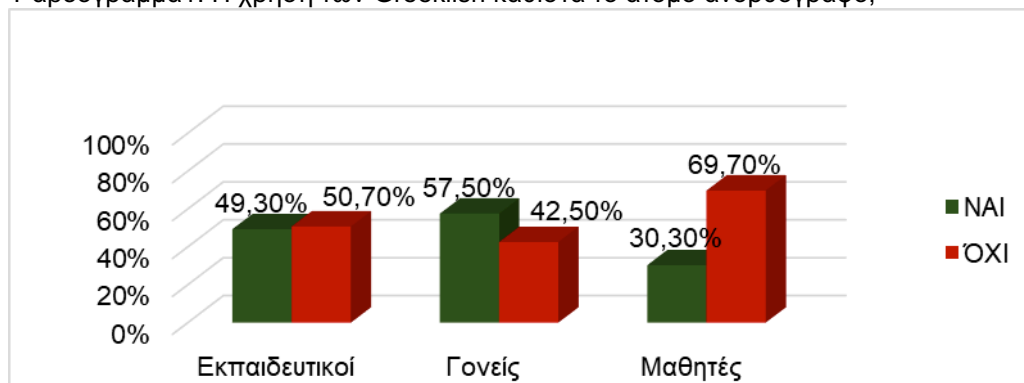
Όπως προκύπτει από το Ραβδόγραμμα 1, οι εκπαιδευτικοί δεν φαίνεται να έχουν σαφώς διαμορφωμένη άποψη καθώς οι απαντήσεις τους είναι μοιρασμένες. Περίπου το 50% των εκπαιδευτικών συνδέει την παραγωγή ορθογραφικών λαθών με τη χρήση των Greeklish. Όσον αφορά τους γονείς, το 57,50% θεωρεί ότι η χρήση των Greeklish οδηγεί το άτομο στην ανορθογραφία. Αντίθετα, σχεδόν το 70% των μαθητών απαντά ότι η χρήση των Greeklish δεν καθιστά το άτομο ανορθόγραφο, ενώ το υπόλοιπο 30,30% των μαθητών φαίνεται να συμφωνεί με τη στάση των ενηλίκων. Το Chi-square test έδειξε ότι οι απαντήσεις των μαθητών διαφέρουν με στατιστικώς σημαντικό τρόπο τόσο από τις απαντήσεις των εκπαιδευτικών ($χ^2$ (1) = 6,90, p=0,009 <0,05) όσο και από αυτές των γονέων ($χ^2$ (1)= 17,66, p=0,0001 <0,05).

Στη συνέχεια, στο Ραβδόγραμμα 2 παρουσιάζουμε τις απαντήσεις των τριών ομάδων στην ερώτηση αν τα Greeklish είναι απειλή για τη νεοελληνική ορθογραφία που διδάσκεται στο σχολείο.

Ραβδόγραμμα 2: Είναι τα Greeklish απειλή για τη νεοελληνική ορθογραφία;
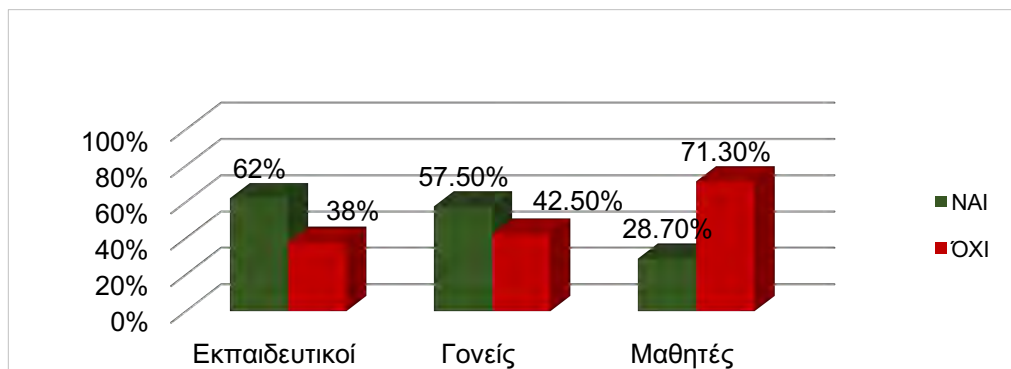
Όπως προκύπτει από το Ραβδόγραμμα 2, το 62% των εκπαιδευτικών θεωρεί ότι τα Greeklish απειλούν τη νεοελληνική ορθογραφία. Την ίδια άποψη εκφράζει και το 57,50% των γονέων. Αντίθετα, η πλειονότητα των μαθητών δεν θεωρεί ότι τα Greeklish απειλούν τη νεοελληνική ορθογραφία· σε αντίθεση με το 28,70% των μαθητών που τα θεωρεί απειλή. Το Chi-square test έδειξε ότι οι απαντήσεις των μαθητών και πάλι διαφέρουν με στατιστικώς σημαντικό τρόπο από τις απαντήσεις των εκπαιδευτικών ($χ^2$ (1)=20,56, p=0,0001 <0,05) και των γονέων ($χ^2$ (1)= 19,95, p=0,0001< 0,05).

4.2. Η χρήση των Greeklish από τους εκπαιδευτικούς, τους γονείς και τους μαθητές και οι στάσεις τους απέναντι σ' αυτά

Όπως είδαμε στα Ραβδογράμματα 1 και 2, η πλειονότητα των εκπαιδευτικών και των γονέων προσλαμβάνει τα Greeklish ως παράγοντα ανορθογραφίας και ως απειλή για τη νεοελληνική ορθογραφία. Ωστόσο, η πλειονότητα των μαθητών του δείγματός μας φαίνεται να διαφωνεί με τις απόψεις των εκπαιδευτικών και γονέων.

Λαμβάνοντας υπόψη μας τα παραπάνω, ας περάσουμε τώρα στη διερεύνηση του ερωτήματος αν η πρόσληψη των Greeklish συνδέεται, σε κάποιο βαθμό τουλάχιστον, με το αν οι πληροφορητές μας γράφουν ή όχι σε Greeklish στα ψηφιακά τους κείμενα. Έτσι, αρχικά με την ερώτηση: *Γράφετε σε Greeklish;* διερευνούμε τη δηλωμένη χρήση των Greeklish από τους εκπαιδευτικούς, τους γονείς και τους μαθητές, ενώ διακρίνουμε τα άτομα της καθεμιάς ομάδας σε αυτά που γράφουν σε Greeklish και σε εκείνα που δεν γράφουν. Με βάση τη διάκριση αυτή, εξετάζουμε τις στάσεις τους για τα Greeklish ως παράγοντα ανορθογραφίας και ως απειλή ανάλογα με τη δήλωσή τους για τη χρήση ή μη των Greeklish. Συνεπώς, ελέγχουμε αν η θετική ή αρνητική στάση των τριών ομάδων απέναντι στα Greeklish συναρτάται με το αν και κατά πόσο οι πληροφορητές μας χρησιμοποιούν Greeklish.

Στο Ραβδόγραμμα 3 παρακάτω παρουσιάζουμε τις απαντήσεις των τριών ομάδων στην ερώτηση αν γράφουν σε Greeklish στα e-mail, τα μέσα κοινωνικής δικτύωσης ή στο κινητό τηλέφωνο.

Ραβδόγραμμα 3: Γράφετε σε Greeklish στα e-mail, τα μέσα κοινωνικής δικτύωσης ή στο κινητό;[1]

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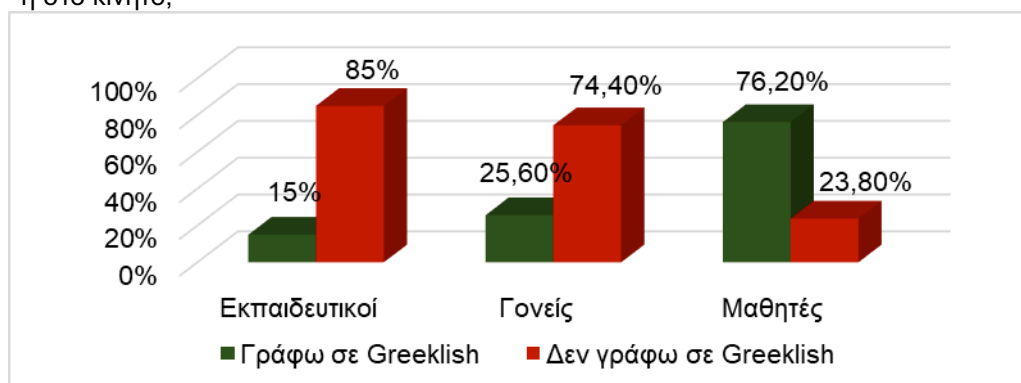
[1] Από το σύνολο των εκπαιδευτικών του δείγματός μας (N=71) απάντησαν στην συγκεκριμένη ερώτηση οι 60, επίσης από το σύνολο των γονέων (N=113) απάντησαν οι 90, ενώ από το σύνολο των μαθητών που μελετούμε (N=122) απάντησαν και οι 122.

Όπως προκύπτει από το Ραβδόγραμμα 3, ένα ιδιαίτερα περιορισμένο ποσοστό εκπαιδευτικών (15%) δηλώνει ότι γράφει σε Greeklish στα ψηφιακά μέσα επικοινωνίας. Επίσης, μόνο το 25,60% των γονέων χρησιμοποιεί Greeklish. Αντίθετα, το 76,20% των μαθητών απαντά ότι χρησιμοποιεί Greeklish. Το Chi-square test έδειξε ότι το ποσοστό των μαθητών που γράφουν σε Greeklish διαφέρει με στατιστικώς σημαντικό τρόπο από αυτό των εκπαιδευτικών ($χ^2$(1)= 61,20, p=0,0001) και των γονέων ($χ^2$ (1)= 53,68, p=0,0001).

Ας εξετάσουμε τώρα τις στάσεις των τριών ομάδων για τα Greeklish ως παράγοντα ανορθογραφίας και ως απειλή σε σχέση με το αν γράφουν ή όχι σε Greeklish στα μέσα των νέων τεχνολογιών. Ξεκινάμε με την πρώτη ερώτηση και την ομάδα των εκπαιδευτικών. Στο Ραβδόγραμμα 4 παρουσιάζουμε τις απαντήσεις των εκπαιδευτικών στην ερώτηση αν τα Greeklish καθιστούν το άτομο ανορθόγραφο σε συνάρτηση με το αν χρησιμοποιούν ή όχι τα Greeklish.


Ραβδόγραμμα 4: Οι στάσεις των Εκπαιδευτικών για τα Greeklish ως παράγοντα ανορθογραφίας σε συνάρτηση με τη χρήση των Greeklish
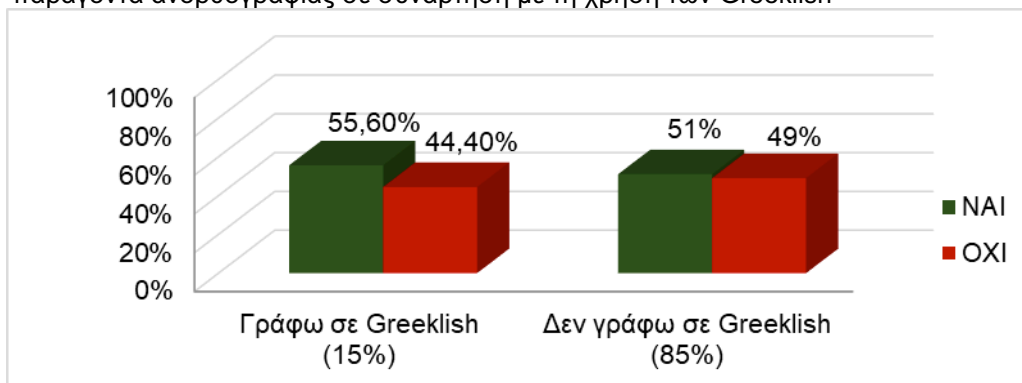
Όπως προκύπτει από το Ραβδόγραμμα 4, από το 15% των εκπαιδευτικών που γράφουν σε Greeklish (βλ. Ραβδόγραμμα 3), το 55,60% θεωρεί ότι ο υβριδικός κώδικας γραφής Greeklish οδηγεί το άτομο στην ανορθογραφία. Όσον αφορά το 85% των εκπαιδευτικών που δεν χρησιμοποιούν Greeklish (βλ. Ραβδόγραμμα 3), αυτό φαίνεται διχασμένο για το αν η χρήση τους οδηγεί στην ανορθογραφία, καθώς οι απαντήσεις τους είναι σχεδόν μοιρασμένες. Το Chi-square test έδειξε ότι οι απαντήσεις των εκπαιδευτικών δεν διαφέρουν με στατιστικώς σημαντικό τρόπο ανάλογα με το αν γράφουν ή όχι σε Greeklish ($χ^2$ (1) =0,06, p=0,800).

Στη συνέχεια, στο Ραβδόγραμμα 5 παρουσιάζουμε τις απαντήσεις των εκπαιδευτικών στην ερώτηση αν τα Greeklish είναι απειλή για τη νεοελληνική ορθογραφία που διδάσκεται στο σχολείο σε συνάρτηση με το αν χρησιμοποιούν ή όχι τα Greeklish.

Ραβδόγραμμα 5: Οι στάσεις των Εκπαιδευτικών για τα Greeklish ως απειλή σε συνάρτηση με τη χρήση των Greeklish
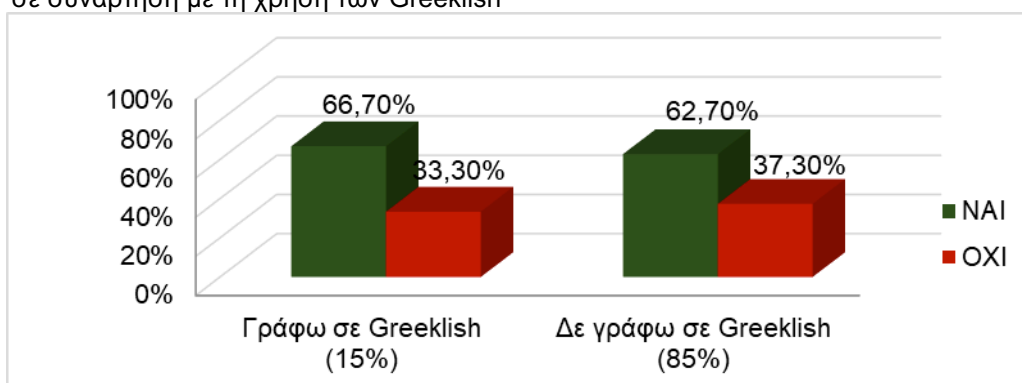
Όπως προκύπτει από το Ραβδόγραμμα 5, από το 15% των εκπαιδευτικών που γράφουν σε Greeklish (βλ. Ραβδόγραμμα 3), το 66,70% θεωρεί ότι συνιστούν απειλή για τη νεοελληνική ορθογραφία. Παρομοίως, από το 85% των εκπαιδευτικών που δεν χρησιμοποιούν Greeklish (βλ. Ραβδόγραμμα 3), το 62,70% φαίνεται να τα προσλαμβάνει ως απειλή. Το Chi-square test έδειξε ότι οι απαντήσεις των εκπαιδευτικών δεν διαφέρουν με στατιστικώς σημαντικό τρόπο ανάλογα με το αν γράφουν ή όχι σε Greeklish ($χ^2$ (1) = 0,05, p=0,822).

Παρακάτω, στο Ραβδόγραμμα 6 παρουσιάζουμε τις απαντήσεις των γονέων στην ερώτηση αν τα Greeklish καθιστούν το άτομο ανορθόγραφο σε συνάρτηση με το αν χρησιμοποιούν ή όχι τα Greeklish.

Ραβδόγραμμα 6: Οι στάσεις των Γονέων για τα Greeklish ως παράγοντα ανορθογραφίας σε συνάρτηση με τη χρήση των Greeklish

Όπως προκύπτει από το Ραβδόγραμμα 6, από το 25,60% των γονέων που γράφουν σε Greeklish (βλ. Ραβδόγραμμα 3), το 60,90% δεν θεωρεί ότι η χρήση τους επηρεάζει αρνητικά την ορθογραφική ικανότητα του ατόμου. Ωστόσο, από το 74,40% των γονέων που δεν γράφουν σε Greeklish (βλ. Ραβδόγραμμα 3), το 68,70% θεωρεί ότι τα Greeklish συνεπάγονται ανορθογραφία. Το Chi-square test έδειξε ότι οι απαντήσεις των γονέων διαφοροποιούνται με στατιστικώς σημαντικό τρόπο ανάλογα με το αν γράφουν ή όχι σε Greeklish (χ^2 (1) =6,28, p=0,012).

Στο Ραβδόγραμμα 7 παρουσιάζουμε τις απαντήσεις των γονέων στην ερώτηση αν τα Greeklish είναι απειλή για τη νεοελληνική ορθογραφία που διδάσκεται στο σχολείο σε συνάρτηση με το αν χρησιμοποιούν ή όχι τα Greeklish.
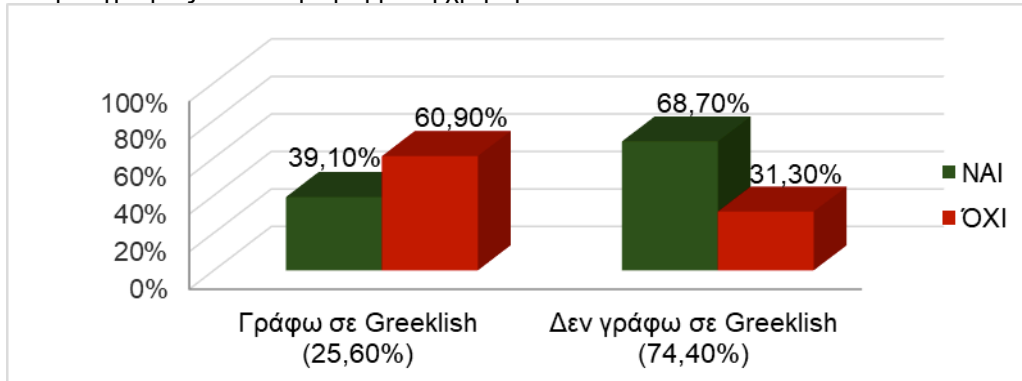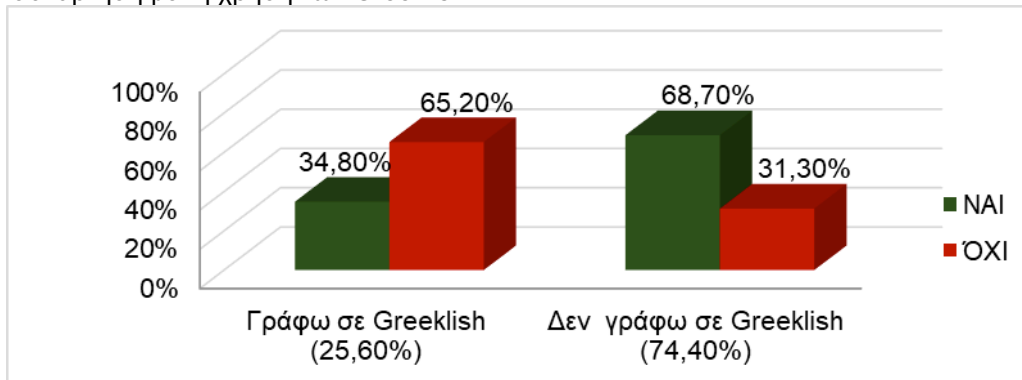
Ραβδόγραμμα 7: Οι στάσεις των Γονέων για τα Greeklish ως απειλή σε συνάρτηση με τη χρήση των Greeklish

Όπως προκύπτει από το Ραβδόγραμμα 7, από το 25,60% των γονέων που γράφουν σε Greeklish (βλ. Ραβδόγραμμα 3), το 65,20% δεν θεωρεί ότι συνιστούν απειλή για τη νεοελληνική ορθογραφία. Αντίθετα, από το 74,40% των γονέων που δεν γράφουν σε Greeklish (βλ. Ραβδόγραμμα 3), το 68,70% εκδηλώνει αρνητική στάση, καθώς απαντά ότι τα Greeklish απειλούν τη νεοελληνική ορθογραφία. Το Chi-square test έδειξε ότι οι απαντήσεις των γονέων διαφοροποιούνται με στατιστικώς σημαντικό τρόπο ανάλογα με το αν γράφουν ή όχι σε Greeklish (χ^2 (1) =8,19, p=0,004).

Παρακάτω, στο Ραβδόγραμμα 8 παρουσιάζουμε τις απαντήσεις των μαθητών στην ερώτηση αν τα Greeklish καθιστούν το άτομο ανορθόγραφο σε συνάρτηση με το αν χρησιμοποιούν ή όχι τα Greeklish.

Ραβδόγραμμα 8: Οι στάσεις των Μαθητών για τα Greeklish
ως παράγοντα ανορθογραφίας σε συνάρτηση με τη χρήση των Greeklish

Όπως προκύπτει από το Ραβδόγραμμα 8, από το 76,20% των μαθητών που γράφουν σε Greeklish (βλ. Ραβδόγραμμα 3), το 76,30% απαντά ότι η χρήση τους δεν καθιστά το άτομο ανορθόγραφο. Το 23,80% των μαθητών που δεν γράφει σε Greeklish (βλ. Ραβδόγραμμα 3) δείχνει γενικότερα διχασμένο για το αν η χρήση τους οδηγεί ή όχι στην ανορθογραφία. Το Chi-square test έδειξε ότι οι απαντήσεις των μαθητών διαφοροποιούνται με στατιστικώς σημαντικό τρόπο ανάλογα με το αν γράφουν ή όχι σε Greeklish (χ^2 (1) =8,24, p=0,004).

Τέλος, στο Ραβδόγραμμα 9 παρουσιάζουμε τις απαντήσεις των μαθητών στην ερώτηση αν τα Greeklish είναι απειλή για τη νεοελληνική ορθογραφία που διδάσκεται στο σχολείο σε συνάρτηση με το αν χρησιμοποιούν ή όχι τα Greeklish.
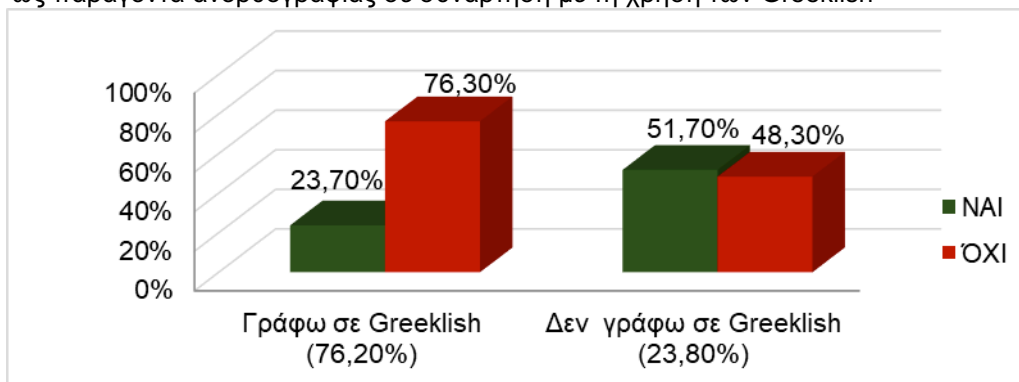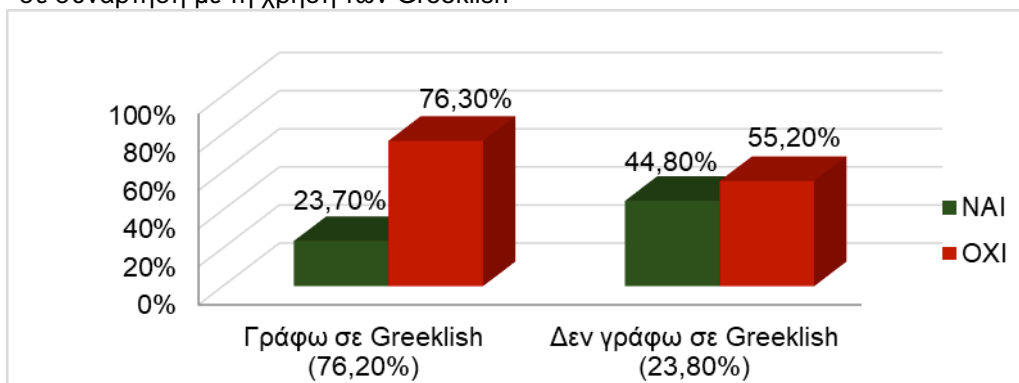
Ραβδόγραμμα 9: Οι στάσεις των Μαθητών για τα Greeklish ως απειλή
σε συνάρτηση με τη χρήση των Greeklish

Όπως προκύπτει από το Ραβδόγραμμα 9, από το 76,20% των μαθητών που γράφουν σε Greeklish (βλ. Ραβδόγραμμα 3), το 76,30% απαντά ότι τα Greeklish δεν είναι απειλή. Παρομοίως, από το 23,80% των μαθητών που δεν χρησιμοποιούν Greeklish (βλ. Ραβδόγραμμα 3), το 55,20% δεν τα θεωρεί απειλή. Το Chi-square test έδειξε ότι οι απαντήσεις των μαθητών διαφοροποιούνται με στατιστικώς σημαντικό τρόπο ανάλογα με το αν γράφουν ή όχι σε Greeklish (χ^2 (1) =4,84, p=0,028).

5. ΣΥΖΗΤΗΣΗ

Σύμφωνα με την ποσοτική ανάλυση που είδαμε στην ενότητα 4.1, οι εκπαιδευτικοί του δείγματος δείχνουν διχασμένοι για το αν τα Greeklish οδηγούν το άτομο στην ανορθογραφία (Ραβδόγραμμα 1). Σχεδόν το 50% των εκπαιδευτικών διάκειται αρνητικά προς τα Greeklish, καθώς φαίνεται να αποδίδει γενικά την ανορθογραφία στην ασυμβατότητα ανάμεσα στα Greeklish και στην καθιερωμένη νεοελληνική ορθογραφία (βλ. επίσης Μουστάκα κ.ά. 2010). Την ίδια στιγμή, περίπου το υπόλοιπο 50% των εκπαιδευτικών φαίνεται να μην συνδέει τα Greeklish με την ανορθογραφία.

Ίσως οι τελευταίοι να αποδίδουν την ανορθογραφία περισσότερο στην ιστορικότητα και τις κανονιστικές αρχές της νεοελληνικής ορθογραφίας παρά στη χρήση των νέων κωδίκων γραφής της ψηφιακής επικοινωνίας. Πιο αρνητικοί παρουσιάζονται οι γονείς, αφού πάνω από το 57% συνδέει τα Greeklish με την ανορθογραφία (βλ. επίσης Koutsogiannis 2015). Εντούτοις, ένα σημαντικό ποσοστό γονέων δεν φαίνεται να προσλαμβάνει τα Greeklish ως παράγοντα ανορθογραφίας (Ραβδόγραμμα 1).

Συνεπείς στην αρνητική τους στάση, οι περισσότεροι γονείς του δείγματος εκφράζουν την άποψη ότι τα Greeklish απειλούν την επίσημη ορθογραφία της νεοελληνικής γλώσσας (Ραβδόγραμμα 2). Ακόμα πιο αρνητικοί εμφανίζονται οι εκπαιδευτικοί, αφού το 62% τα θεωρεί απειλή. Η πρόσληψη των Greeklish από τους γονείς και τους εκπαιδευτικούς ως απειλής ίσως αποκαλύπτει ότι στις συνειδήσεις των περισσότερων από αυτούς τα Greeklish υπονομεύουν την καθαρότητα της εθνικής γλώσσας και ταυτότητας (βλ. Koutsogiannis & Mitsikopoulou 2007).

Με βάση τα παραπάνω, θα μπορούσαμε να ισχυριστούμε ότι για την πλειονότητα των γονέων και των εκπαιδευτικών του δείγματος η απειλή απέναντι στη νεοελληνική ορθογραφία φαίνεται να συνίσταται τόσο στη χρήση των λατινικών χαρακτήρων των Greeklish όσο και στην ανορθογραφία, στοιχεία που αλλοιώνουν την καθιερωμένη ελληνοπρεπή 'εικόνα' των λέξεων. Δηλαδή η παραγωγή ορθογραφικών λαθών, υπό την επιρροή της μη αυστηρής κανονιστικότητας των Greeklish, προσλαμβάνεται ως απειλή, καθώς απομακρύνει την ελληνική γλώσσα από την αυστηρή κανονιστικότητα της γραφής της που παραδοσιακά συνδέεται με την ετυμολογία.

Σε αντίθεση με την αρνητική στάση της πλειονότητας των εκπαιδευτικών και των γονέων, οι μαθητές, οι οποίοι μεγαλώνουν στην εποχή των νέων τεχνολογιών, φαίνεται να έχουν θετική στάση απέναντι στα Greeklish. Οι απαντήσεις τους, που είδαμε στην ενότητα 4.1, δείχνουν ότι η πλειονότητα των μαθητών του δείγματος δεν προσλαμβάνει τα Greeklish ως παράγοντα ανορθογραφίας ούτε τα αντιλαμβάνεται ως απειλή (Ραβδογράμματα 1 και 2). Η διαφορετική στάση των εκπαιδευτικών και των γονέων απέναντι στα Greeklish συγκριτικά με αυτή των μαθητών θεωρούμε ότι ερμηνεύεται, μεταξύ άλλων, από το πόσο διαδεδομένη είναι η χρήση των Greeklish στην καθεμιά ομάδα του δείγματός μας.

Έτσι, σύμφωνα με τις απαντήσεις των εκπαιδευτικών στην ερώτηση αν γράφουν σε Greeklish, ένα ιδιαίτερα μικρό ποσοστό εκπαιδευτικών δηλώνει ότι τα χρησιμοποιεί στα ψηφιακά του κείμενα (Ραβδόγραμμα 3). Παρότι θα αναμέναμε το μικρό αυτό ποσοστό εκπαιδευτικών να τηρήσει μια πιο μετριοπαθή στάση, αφού γράφει σε Greeklish, κάτι τέτοιο δεν συμβαίνει. Δηλαδή, υπάρχει ασυνέπεια ανάμεσα στην επιλογή τους να γράφουν σε Greeklish και στη στάση που εκφράζουν γι' αυτά. Οι εκπαιδευτικοί που χρησιμοποιούν τα Greeklish δείχνουν να τα εκλαμβάνουν ως έναν 'απαξιωμένο' κώδικα γραφής. Την ίδια στάση εκφράζει και η πλειοψηφία των εκπαιδευτικών που δεν γράφουν σε Greeklish (Ραβδογράμματα 4 και 5). Βάσει των παραπάνω, θα μπορούσαμε να πούμε ότι εκπαιδευτικοί προβάλλουν απρόθυμοι να εξοικειωθούν με τα νέα παγκόσμια πρότυπα ψηφιακής επικοινωνίας. Η απροθυμία τους αυτή ίσως ερμηνεύεται από τον ιδιαίτερο ρόλο τους στο ελληνικό εκπαιδευτικό σύστημα όπου διδάσκουν την ελληνική γλώσσα και τη γραφή της στις οποίες και βασίζεται η οικοδόμηση της εθνικής ταυτότητας (βλ. και ενότητα 2.1). Έτσι, η πλειονότητα των εκπαιδευτικών φαίνεται να κατασκευάζει μια πιο συντηρητική γλωσσική και επαγγελματική ταυτότητα για την οποία έννοιες όπως «έθνος-κράτος», «γλώσσα», καθώς και «σύστημα γραφής» συνδέονται μεταξύ τους με εγγενείς και άρρηκτους δεσμούς (βλ. ενδεικτικά Piller 2001˙ Park & Wee 2017). Ωστόσο, ορισμένοι εκπαιδευτικοί (πρβλ. Ραβδογράμματα 4 και 5) φαίνεται να διαφωνούν με την πρόσληψη των Greeklish ως παράγοντα ανορθογραφίας και ως απειλής. Κανείς θα μπορούσε να υποθέσει ότι οι εκπαιδευτικοί αυτοί διερευνούν και επεξεργάζονται εκ νέου τη σχέση γλώσσας και γραφής στο πλαίσιο της ψηφιακής επικοινωνίας και της μετανεωτερικότητας (βλ. Koutsogiannis & Mitsikopoulou 2007 και τις εκεί αναφορές˙ βλ. επίσης ενδεικτικά Pennycook 2006˙ Park & Wee 2017).

Αντίθετα από τους εκπαιδευτικούς, από την ανάλυσή μας προκύπτει ότι για τους γονείς του δείγματος η χρήση των Greeklish στα ψηφιακά μέσα αποτελεί παράγοντα που επιδρά στις στάσεις τους. Οι γονείς που γράφουν σε Greeklish στα ψηφιακά τους κείμενα είναι αυτοί που τελικά διαφωνούν με την πρόσληψη των Greeklish ως παράγοντα ανορθογραφίας και ως απειλής. Από την άλλη μεριά, το μεγαλύτερο ποσοστό γονέων που δεν χρησιμοποιούν Greeklish φαίνεται να τα απαξιώνει (Ραβδογράμματα 6 και 7). Η ποσοτική δε υπεροχή των γονέων που δεν γράφουν σε Greeklish προφανώς αποτελεί σημαντικό παράγοντα ως προς τη γενικότερη αρνητική στάση που παρουσιάζουν. Το γεγονός αυτό ίσως δείχνει ότι οι περισσότεροι γονείς προτιμούν να κατασκευάζουν την ταυτότητα του 'παραδοσιακά' εγγράμματου ενήλικα ο οποίος επιλέγει να ευθυγραμμίζεται με τις επίσημες συμβάσεις του γραπτού λόγου.

Η επίδραση της χρήσης των Greeklish στις στάσεις των ατόμων φωτίζεται πιο καθαρά στην ομάδα των μαθητών. Η διαφωνία της πλειονότητας των μαθητών με το ότι τα Greeklish συνεπάγονται ανορθογραφία και απειλή φαίνεται να επαληθεύεται από τη δήλωση των περισσότερων από αυτούς ότι γράφουν σε Greeklish. Οι περισσότεροι μαθητές και, ειδικότερα, όσοι γράφουν σε Greeklish είναι αυτοί που δεν τα προσλαμβάνουν ως παράγοντα ανορθογραφίας και ως απειλή (Ραβδογράμματα 8 και 9). Γράφοντας σε Greeklish και εκφράζοντας θετική στάση, οι μαθητές προβάλλουν μια μετανεωτερική υβριδική ταυτότητα και πρακτική γραμματισμού. Δηλαδή, οι μαθητές δείχνουν να προσαρμόζονται γλωσσικά στις απαιτήσεις των δικτύων επικοινωνίας όπου γλωσσικά και πολιτισμικά στοιχεία της ελληνικής κοινωνίας διεπιδρούν με τα παγκόσμια (βλ. ενδεικτικά Κουτσογιάννης 2012. Koutsogiannis 2015). Ίσως για τους μαθητές, οι οποίοι διαμορφώνουν τη γλωσσική και κοινωνική τους ταυτότητα στην εποχή των νέων τεχνολογιών, τα συστήματα γραφής, όπως το ελληνικό και το λατινικό, να αποτελούν τελικά σημειωτικούς πόρους από τους οποίους αντλούν στοιχεία ανάλογα με τις περιστάσεις επικοινωνίας, τους συμμετέχοντες στην περίσταση και τον επικοινωνιακό τους στόχο.(βλ. σχετικά Lees et al. 2017). Με δυο λόγια, οι περισσότεροι μαθητές θα μπορούσαν να θεωρηθούν ως οι φορείς μετανεωτερικών υβριδικών πρακτικών για τις οποίες ο δεσμός της γλώσσας με τη γραφή δεν είναι εθνικά προκαθορισμένος (βλ. ενδεικτικά Blommaert & Rampton 2011. Park & Wee 2017).

6. ΣΥΜΠΕΡΑΣΜΑ

Όπως είδαμε στην ενότητα 4.1, οι εκπαιδευτικοί και οι γονείς του δείγματος στην πλειονότητά τους υιοθετούν την άποψη ότι τα Greeklish συνιστούν ανορθογραφία και απειλή για τη νεοελληνική ορθογραφία. Το μεγαλύτερο ποσοστό εκπαιδευτικών και γονέων επιβεβαιώνει την αρνητική του στάση, καθώς δηλώνει ότι δεν γράφει σε Greeklish, ενώ φαίνεται να προβάλλει την ταυτότητα του 'θεματοφύλακα' της εθνικής ορθογραφίας (βλ. ενότητα 4.2). Από την άλλη μεριά, η πλειονότητα των μαθητών του δείγματος δείχνει συντονισμένη με τις νέες πρακτικές γραφής στη ψηφιακή επικοινωνία, δηλώνοντας ότι χρησιμοποιεί Greeklish.

Συνεπώς, καταλήγουμε ότι για τους μαθητές, οι οποίοι, κατά τον Prensky 2001, θα μπορούσαν να χαρακτηριστούν ως «ψηφιακοί ιθαγενείς» σε αντίθεση με τους εκπαιδευτικούς και τους γονείς που μοιάζουν «ψηφιακοί μετανάστες», τα Greeklish δε συνιστούν απειλή για την εθνική ορθογραφία. Για πολλούς από τους μαθητές, σε συγκεκριμένα ψηφιακά περιβάλλοντα και περιστάσεις επικοινωνίας, η εθνική γλώσσα είναι δυνατό να αποτυπωθεί γραπτά και με άλλο σύστημα γραφής πέραν του αρχαιοελληνικού.

ΒΙΒΛΙΟΓΡΑΦΙΑ

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Παραγλωσσολογικοί παράγοντες και μηχανισμοί αξιολόγησης της γλωσσικής χρήσης: κατηγοριοποίηση και κριτική επισκόπηση

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ABSTRACT

The main purpose of this paper is to present the results of a research concerning a growing body of ideologically charged speech on the web which expresses negative evaluative attitudes towards the use of Greek by native speakers and, in general, promotes the assessment of non-standard varieties of the Greek language from an ideological, rather than scientifically/linguistically informed, viewpoint. The research tool used in the present study was Critical Discourse Analysis and specifically the CDA model of Fairclough (2014). Given that these texts rely on ideologically founded values and opinions, since they classify languages in terms of superior and inferior linguistic codes, the core aim of the research was to identify the discourses (paralinguistic, linguicist, i.e. indicative of linguistic racism) that have been recontextualized in these texts and to interpret the authors' choice to exploit these specific discourses in their texts. Furthermore, another aim of this paper is to present the loci realizing the discourses that comprise these texts. These loci concern on the one hand the universal properties of language as a biological, social and communicative tool and on the other hand commonly held beliefs and recurrent themes in such ideological discourses, namely, the beauty, the authenticity, the sacredness, and the purity of specific language codes.

Λέξεις κλειδιά: παραγλωσσολογία, κριτική ανάλυση λόγου, λόγοι, γλωσσική ιδεολογία.

1. ΘΕΜΑΤΙΚΟΣ ΑΞΟΝΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΣΤΟΧΟΣ ΤΟΥ ΑΡΘΡΟΥ

Η γλωσσική χρήση του κάθε μέλους μιας γλωσσική κοινότητας (δηλαδή οι γλωσσικές επιλογές των ομιλητών, η αξιοποίηση από την πλευρά τους του γλωσσικού συστήματος) ως ενδείκτης κοινωνικών ταυτοτήτων υπόκειται σε κριτική προσπέλαση και αξιολόγηση από άλλους ομιλητές ως προς την αποτελεσματικότητά της με κριτήρια σε μεγάλο βαθμό υποκειμενικά. Φορείς της αξιολόγησης δεν είναι αποκλειστικά οι εξειδικευμένοι επιστήμονες που μελετούν συγκεκριμένες πτυχές της γλώσσας ως βιολογικής, κοινωνικής, επικοινωνιακής οντότητας, η οποία συνδέεται με θέματα γνωσιακά, ψυχολογικά, νευρολογικά, ιστορικά, με άλλα λόγια οι γλωσσολόγοι διαφόρων ειδικοτήτων. Είναι, επιπλέον, και κάποιοι εκπαιδευτικοί ή επιστήμονες άλλων κλάδων, που σχετίζονται άμεσα, έμμεσα ή ελάχιστα με τη γλώσσα και τη γλωσσική χρήση, και, γενικότερα, άτομα που δείχνουν ιδιαίτερο ενδιαφέρον για γλωσσικά ζητήματα χωρίς η ενασχόλησή τους με τη γλώσσα να είναι επαγγελματική αλλά ερασιτεχνική (Χαραλαμπάκης 2002). Πεδίο άσκησης της γλωσσικής κριτικής, της αξιολόγησης της γλωσσικής χρήσης και των γλωσσικών επιλογών των ομιλητών, είναι σε μεγάλο βαθμό τα μέσα ενημέρωσης (τηλεοπτικές εκπομπές, στήλες σε συγκεκριμένες εφημερίδες, επιστολές αναγνωστών σε εφημερίδες) και τα μέσα κοινωνικής δικτύωσης.

Στόχος του παρόντος άρθρου είναι η μελέτη, η ανάλυση και η ερμηνεία των κειμένων αξιολόγησης και κριτικής επισκόπησης της γλωσσικής χρήσης των ομιλητών της νέας ελληνικής γλώσσας τα οποία αναρτώνται στα μέσα κοινωνικής δικτύωσης, με κύρια επιδίωξη την ανάδειξη συγκεκριμένων πτυχών και χαρακτηριστικών τους: τέτοια χαρακτηριστικά είναι ο βαθμός στρέβλωσης της επικοινωνιακής πραγματικότητας, η οποία περιγράφεται και αναλύεται από τον επιστημονικό - γλωσσολογικό λόγο και, επιπρόσθετα, το ιδεολογικό υπόβαθρο και η αξιακή αφετηρία των συγκεκριμένων δράσεων γλωσσική κριτικής.

2. ΘΕΩΡΗΤΙΚΟ ΥΠΟΒΑΘΡΟ ΤΗΣ ΜΕΛΕΤΗΣ

Η ανάλυση και η ερμηνεία των αναρτήσεων στο διαδίκτυο που αφορούν την αξιολόγηση της γλωσσικής χρήσης των ομιλητών οι οποίοι έχουν κατακτήσει την ελληνική ως πρώτη γλώσσα και χρησιμοποιούν την πρότυπη νέα ελληνική στηρίζεται σε συγκεκριμένες αντιλήψεις και θεωρητικές παραδοχές, οι οποίες είναι κυρίαρχες ή ευρέως αποδεκτές στο επιστημονικό πεδίο της θεωρητικής γλωσσολογίας, της εφαρμοσμένης γλωσσολογίας και της κοινωνιογλωσσολογίας. Οι θεωρητικές παραδοχές αυτές αναλύονται στις ακόλουθες υποενότητες.

2.1. Τυποποίηση της νέας ελληνικής

Η διαδικασία της γλωσσικής τυποποίησης (language standardization) αποτελεί μια συνεχή διαδικασία, η οποία μόνο πρόσκαιρα θα μπορούσε να θεωρηθεί ολοκληρωμένη, λόγω του φαινομένου της γλωσσικής αλλαγής. Η νέα ελληνική γλώσσα μετά την επίσημη λύση του γλωσσικού ζητήματος το 1976 έχει τεθεί σε διαδικασία τυποποίησης αφενός μέσω της συγγραφής των σχολικών γραμματικών και λεξικών, αντίστοιχων εγχειριδίων αναφοράς και οδηγών γλωσσικής χρήσης και αφετέρου μέσω των πολλών συζητήσεων σε επιστημονικούς φορείς με αντικείμενο συγκεκριμένες πτυχές της.

Ωστόσο, αυτό που παρατηρείται είναι η διαφωνία μεταξύ των ειδικών για συγκεκριμένες διαστάσεις της τυποποίησης της νέας ελληνικής με κυριότερη την ένταξη ορισμένων λόγιων τύπων και δομών στο κλιτικό σύστημα της πρότυπης νέας ελληνικής. Η διαφωνία αυτή αναδεικνύει σε μεγάλο βαθμό και τις έντονες διαφορές που υφίστανται ως προς την αξιολόγηση της γλωσσικής χρήσης μεταξύ ειδικών και μη ειδικών επιστημόνων αλλά και ανάμεσα στους ειδικούς επιστήμονες, όπως και ανάμεσα στους μη ειδικούς. Η διαφωνία αυτή συνδέεται σε μεγάλο βαθμό με ζητήματα γλωσσικής ιδεολογίας, τα οποία δημιουργήθηκαν, αναπτύχθηκαν και αναζωπυρώθηκαν πολλές φορές τόσο κατά τη διάρκεια του γλωσσικού ζητήματος όσο και μετά τη λήξη του (Coulmas 2005).

2.2. Παραγλωσσολογία: διασάφηση του όρου και ορίζουσες

Όπως προαναφέρθηκε στην πρώτη ενότητα της παρούσας μελέτης, με τη γλωσσική χρήση ασχολούνται αφενός οι γλωσσολόγοι (θεωρητικοί γλωσσολόγοι, κοινωνιογλωσσολόγοι), οι οποίοι μελετούν την γλωσσική πλήρωση / επιτέλεση (linguistic performance), περιγράφουν τις γλωσσικές επιλογές των ομιλητών και διερευνούν τη συχνότητα εμφάνισης κάθε επιλογής σε δεδομένα είδη λόγου και επικοινωνιακές περιστάσεις σε διαφορετικές χρονικές περιόδους, και αφετέρου εκπαιδευτικοί, επιστήμονες των οποίων η εξειδίκευση δεν συνδέεται με τη γλώσσα και άτομα τα οποία επιδεικνύουν ιδιαίτερο ενδιαφέρον για τη γλώσσα. Οι τελευταίοι μπορούν να ταξινομηθούν σε δύο κατηγορίες:

1. η πρώτη κατηγορία αφορά τα άτομα που ασχολούνται με τα ζητήματα της γλώσσας και της γλωσσικής χρήσης και μελετούν προσεκτικά τις απόψεις των ειδικών επιστημόνων, των γλωσσολόγων, διαβάζουν την εξειδικευμένη επιστημονική βιβλιογραφία και οι απόψεις που συνάγουν στηρίζονται στις έρευνες και στη δημοσιευμένη επιστημονική δραστηριότητα των εκπροσώπων των σχετικών με τα γλωσσικά ζητήματα επιστημονικών κλάδων,
2. η δεύτερη κατηγορία περιλαμβάνει τα άτομα που ενδιαφέρονται για τη γλώσσα, τη γλωσσική χρήση και για θέματα ευρύτερου γλωσσολογικού ενδιαφέροντος, χωρίς, ωστόσο, να δείχνουν ενδιαφέρον για τις έρευνες, τις μελέτες και τις αντιλήψεις των ειδικών επιστημόνων, αλλά δημιουργούν και αναπαράγουν γλωσσικούς μύθους, αντιεπιστημονικές απόψεις και αντιλήψεις που δεν ευθυγραμμίζονται με τις κυρίαρχές και τις επικρατούσες γλωσσολογικές θεωρίες.

Από τις δύο αυτές κατηγορίες, η δεύτερη κατηγορία υπηρετεί την παραγλωσσολογία, αναπαράγει παραγλωσσολογικές απόψεις και αποτελεί το αντικείμενο έρευνας της παρούσας μελέτης. Η δεύτερη κατηγορία των ενδιαφερομένων για τα γλωσσικά ζητήματα και για τη γλωσσική χρήση, οι εκπρόσωποι της παραγλωσσολογίας, είναι δυνατό να ταξινομηθούν σε τρεις επιμέρους υποκατηγορίες με βάση τις απόψεις των Παναγιωτίδη (2013) και Canagarajiah & Ben Said (2011). Οι υποκατηγορίες αυτές είναι οι ακόλουθες:

i. οι εκπρόσωποι της ψευδογλωσσολογίας, οι οποίοι πρεσβεύουν και διατυπώνουν ανυπόστατες από επιστημονική σκοπιά απόψεις, οι οποίες είναι ασύμβατες με τη γλωσσική επιστήμη (π.χ. γλώσσες που προέρχονται από εξωγήινους πληθυσμούς, αλφάβητα με κοσμικό ή συμπαντικό χαρακτήρα, γλώσσες που τέθηκαν σε ψηφοφορία με αντικείμενο τον

επίσημο γλωσσικό κώδικα των Ηνωμένων Πολιτειών και με διαφορά μιας ψήφου δεν ορίστηκαν η επίσημη γλώσσα του κράτους αυτού),

ii. οι εκπρόσωποι ρυθμιστικών αντιλήψεων για τη γλωσσική ορθότητα με κριτήρια υποκειμενικά, φιλολογικά αλλά μη γλωσσολογικά,

iii. οι εκπρόσωποι του γλωσσικού ρατσισμού (linguicism), οι οποίοι για ιδεολογικούς λόγους και με αξιακά κριτήρια εκφράζουν αντιλήψεις για την ανωτερότητα συγκεκριμένων γλωσσικών ποικιλιών και για την κατωτερότητα άλλων με κριτήρια αισθητικού χαρακτήρα και άκρως υποκειμενικά και αμφισβητούμενα.

2.3. Γλωσσική ιδεολογία: παράμετροι και χαρακτηριστικά

Η γλωσσική ιδεολογία συνιστά βασικό παράγοντα που επηρεάζει τη γλωσσική κριτική, τη γλωσσική χρήση και την αξιολόγηση των γλωσσικών επιλογών των ομιλητών. Με τον όρο ιδεολογία νοούνται οι συνειδητές ή υποσυνείδητες απόψεις, αντιλήψεις, ιδέες, αξίες, νοοτροπία βάσει των οποίων οι γλώσσες διακρίνονται σε ανώτερες και κατώτερες, επαρκείς και ανεπαρκείς, χαρακτηρίζονται από μεγαλύτερο ή μικρότερο κύρος και, αντίστοιχα, οι ομιλητές τους σε ανώτερους κοινωνικά ή μορφωτικά και σε κατώτερους ομιλητές. Η διάκριση αυτή γίνεται με κριτήρια μορφικά και με αυτόν τον τρόπο παραβιάζεται η αρχή του σχετικισμού των γλωσσών, η οποία υφίσταται παράλληλα με αυτή των καθολικών γλωσσικών χαρακτηριστικών, και σύμφωνα με αυτή οι επικοινωνιακές λειτουργίες δηλώνονται διαφορετικά και πραγματώνονται με διαφορετικά μέσα σε κάθε γλώσσα (language relativism). Η γλωσσική ιδεολογία πραγματώνεται σημειωτικά και διατυπώνεται γλωσσικά μέσω των αντίστοιχων λόγων (discourses) και των τόπων (loci) οι οποίοι τους αναδεικνύουν (Canagarajiah & Ben Said 2011).

Στην παρούσα μελέτη, με τον όρο «λόγος» αναφερόμαστε βάσει των ορισμών των Fairclough (2014) και Canagarajiah & Ben Said (2011) στους σημειωτικούς τρόπους αναπαράστασης και κατασκευής δεδομένων πτυχών και διαστάσεων της πραγματικότητας στο πλαίσιο συγκεκριμένων πεδίων (επιστημονικό, κοινωνικό, πολιτικό, δημοσιογραφικό) ή στο πλαίσιο ενός συνόλου ατόμων που μοιράζονται τις ίδιες αντιλήψεις ή αναφέρονται σε δεδομένη ιστορική περίοδο (φιλελεύθερων, σοσιαλιστών, νεωτερικών, μετανεωτερικών). Βάσει ειδικότερων ορισμών, λόγος είναι το σύνολο των αντιλήψεων που εκφράζονται ή έχουν εκφραστεί για συγκεκριμένο ζήτημα ή θέμα, οι οποίες έχουν πολιτικοκοινωνικές και αξιακές συνυποδηλώσεις.

Επιπρόσθετα, η γλωσσική ιδεολογία και οι γλωσσικοί λόγοι συνδέονται άμεσα ή έμμεσα με ζητήματα γλωσσικού ηγεμονισμού (language hegemonism). Συγκεκριμένα, με τον όρο γλωσσικός ηγεμονισμός εννοείται η υιοθέτηση συγκεκριμένων απόψεων του γλωσσικού ρατσισμού από μεγάλο τμήμα μιας κοινωνίας, ακόμη και από ομιλητές των ποικιλιών που απαξιώνονται από τον γλωσσικό ρατσισμό. Επίσης, με τον ίδιο όρο δηλώνεται και η αποδοχή μιας ποικιλίας ως επίσημης γλώσσας μιας πολιτείας χωρίς συγκεκριμένα, σαφή και ευρύτερα αποδεκτά κριτήρια.

Επομένως, στο πλαίσιο της παρούσας μελέτης, βασικό στόχο αποτελεί η διερεύνηση του επιστημονικού, του αντιεπιστημονικού, του ιδεολογικού και των άλλων λόγων οι οποίοι έχουν αναπλαισιωθεί στις διαδικτυακές αναρτήσεις των αποκαλούμενων στο άρθρο αυτό εκπροσώπων της παραγλωσσολογίας.

3. ΜΕΘΟΔΟΛΟΓΙΑ ΔΙΕΡΕΥΝΗΣΗΣ ΤΩΝ ΔΙΑΔΙΚΤΥΑΚΩΝ ΚΕΙΜΕΝΩΝ ΓΛΩΣΣΙΚΗΣ ΚΡΙΤΙΚΗΣ

Όπως προαναφέρθηκε στις ενότητες 1 και 2 της παρούσας μελέτης, βασικός στόχος του άρθρου είναι η διερεύνηση της διαλογότητας (interdiscursivity) των κειμένων που έχουν αναρτηθεί σε συγκεκριμένους διαδικτυακούς ιστότοπους με θέμα τη γλωσσική κριτική και την επισκόπηση των γλωσσικών επιλογών των ομιλητών. Με άλλα λόγια, στο άρθρο αυτό διερευνώνται οι λόγοι (discourses) και οι αντίστοιχοι τόποι που έχουν αναπλαισιωθεί στα κείμενα αυτά και μέσω αυτών προάγεται ο γλωσσικός ρατσισμός (linguicism), η διάκριση μεταξύ των γλωσσικών ποικιλιών σε ανώτερες και κατώτερες βάσει της γλωσσικής ιδεολογίας των συγγραφέων των συγκεκριμένων κειμένων. Οι διαδικτυακοί ιστότοποι που αποτέλεσαν αντικείμενο της παρούσας μελέτης είναι αφενός κλειστές ομάδες οι οποίες πραγματοποιούν δημοσιεύσεις σε μέσα κοινωνικής δικτύωσης και οι αναρτήσεις των μελών της αναφέρονται σε γλωσσικά ζητήματα, όπως και σε θέματα γλωσσικής χρήσης, και αφετέρου λαθοθηρικοί ιστότοποι του διαδικτύου.

Εφόσον το θέμα της μελέτης συνδέεται με τη γλωσσική ιδεολογία και με τους λόγους μέσω των οποίων αυτή πραγματώνεται σημειωτικά, ως αποτελεσματικότερη μέθοδος ανάλυσης και ερμηνείας των διαδικτυακών κειμένων γλωσσικής κριτικής θεωρήθηκε από τους ερευνητές και

συγγραφείς του παρόντος άρθρου η κριτική ανάλυση λόγου (critical discourse analysis) βάσει του προτύπου του Fairclough (2014).

Η επιλογή του συγκεκριμένου εργαλείου πραγματοποιήθηκε λόγω του ότι η κριτική ανάλυση λόγου συνιστά εργαλείο κατανόησης και ερμηνείας κειμένων που συνδέονται με ζητήματα εξουσίας, κοινωνικής δύναμης και ηγεμονισμού με στόχο την αποκατάσταση της δικαιοσύνης και της ισότητας και την εξάλειψη των φαινομένων κοινωνικής αδικίας. Δεδομένου ότι βάσει των όσων αναλύθηκαν στην ενότητα 2.3. της παρούσας μελέτης η αποδοχή των λόγιων ποικιλιών ως ανώτερων, επισημότερων, πιο επεξεργασμένων, πιο εκλεπτυσμένων θα μπορούσε να συνιστά μία μορφή γλωσσικού ηγεμονισμού, η κριτική ανάλυση λόγου κρίθηκε αποτελεσματικό εργαλείο επεξεργασίας και ερμηνείας των διαδικτυακών κειμένων γλωσσικής κριτικής. Επιπρόσθετα, η σαφής περιγραφή του περιεχομένου των λόγων και των τόπων στο πλαίσιο της κριτικής ανάλυσης λόγου και του προτύπου του Fairclough (2014) καθιστά χρήσιμη την αξιοποίηση της συγκεκριμένης ερευνητικής διαδικασίας.

3.1. Περιγραφή της ερευνητικής διαδικασίας

Συγκεκριμένα, μέσω της επεξεργασίας και της κριτικής ανάλυσης των διαδικτυακών κειμένων αξιολόγησης της γλωσσικής χρήσης που κινούνται στο πλαίσιο της παραγλωσσολογίας, τα οποία διέπονται από ιδεολογικό υπόβαθρο και χαρακτήρα, έγινε απόπειρα εντοπισμού των λόγων που έχουν αναπλαισιωθεί στα κείμενα αυτά: του παραεπιστημονικού / παραγλωσσολογικού (είτε προέρχεται από γλωσσικούς μύθους είτε από συγγενείς επιστήμες, όπως η φιλολογία, αλλά διαστρεβλώνει τις κυρίαρχες και εμπεδωμένες απόψεις της γλωσσικής επιστήμης) και του γλωσσο-ρατσιστικού. Η ανάλυση του παραγλωσσολογικού λόγου σε συγκεκριμένους τόπους πραγματοποιήθηκε μέσω της διερεύνησης κατά πόσο οι απόψεις και οι ιδέες των διαδικτυακών αναρτήσεων παραβιάζουν συγκεκριμένα καθολικά χαρακτηριστικά της γλώσσας (universal language properties) ως βιολογικού μηχανισμού, κοινωνικής οντότητας και επικοινωνιακού μορφώματος (τα καθολικά χαρακτηριστικά αυτά αφορούν κάθε γλώσσα και κάθε ποικιλία). Τα χαρακτηριστικά αυτά είναι τα ακόλουθα:

i. Διαρθρωτικότητα σε επίπεδα γλωσσικής ανάλυσης (modularity),
ii. Αυθαίρετο του γλωσσικού σημείου και των κανόνων σχηματισμού των δομών (arbitrariness),
iii. Παραγωγικότητα (productivity),
iv. Διακριτότητα (discreteness),
v. Συστατικότητα (constituency),
vi. Καταστασιακότητα, κατανόηση της γλωσσικής παραγωγής και πρόσληψης σε δεδομένο περιβάλλον (reliance on context),
vii. Ποικιλία (variety).

Όσον αφορά τον ρυθμιστικό λόγο, ο οποίος θα μπορούσε να θεωρηθεί τμήμα του παραγλωσσολογικού / παραεπιστημονικού σε σχέση με τη μέθοδο επεξεργασίας της γλώσσας, αυτός αναλύεται μέσω της απόπειρας να διαπιστωθεί κατά πόσο γίνεται αναφορά στις έννοιες της γλωσσικής λογικής και στο δόγμα σταθεροποίησης της πρότυπης γλώσσας και αποφυγής της γλωσσικής φθοράς (doctrine of the necessity of guarding the language(s) against corruption).

Η ανάλυση, τέλος, του ιδεολογικού λόγου των κειμένων επιχειρήθηκε μέσω της ανίχνευσης των τόπων που συνδέονται με τον ιδεολογικό λόγο βάσει των θεωριών του Coulmas (2005) και των Canagarajiah & Ben Said (2011). Οι τόποι αυτοί είναι οι εξής: ο τόπος της γλωσσικής ωραιότητας (beauty), ο τόπος της καθαρότητας (purity), ο τόπος της ιερότητας (sacredness), ο τόπος της αξιοκρατίας (meritocracy), ο τόπος του γραπτού λόγου (graphicentrism), ο τόπος του ρεαλισμού (realism / pragmatism), ο τόπος του εθνισμού (nationism) και ο τόπος της αυθεντικότητας (authenticity).

4. ΑΠΟΤΕΛΕΣΜΑΤΑ ΤΗΣ ΕΠΕΞΕΡΓΑΣΙΑΣ ΤΟΥ ΔΙΑΔΙΚΤΥΑΚΟΥ ΥΛΙΚΟΥ

Από τη μελέτη και την ερμηνεία των αναρτήσεων των εκπροσώπων της παραγλωσσολογίας στους διαδικτυακούς ιστότοπους όπου φιλοξενούνται οι απόψεις τους μέσω της κριτικής ανάλυσης λόγου, οι ερευνητικές υποθέσεις οι οποίες περιγράφηκαν στην ενότητα 3.1. της παρούσας μελέτης επιβεβαιώθηκαν σε μεγάλο βαθμό. Με άλλα λόγια, στα κείμενα αυτά απουσιάζει σχεδόν παντελώς ο επιστημονικός λόγος και κυριαρχεί ο παραγλωσσολογικός, ο οποίος στηρίζεται σε αυθαίρετες υποκειμενικές απόψεις για τη γλώσσα και διαστρεβλώνει καθολικές ιδιότητές της, οι οποίες έχουν

αναλυθεί από τη γλωσσική επιστήμη, όπως αναφέρθηκε στις ενότητες 2.1. και 3.1. του παρόντος άρθρου. Επίσης, παρατηρούνται σε αξιοσημείωτο βαθμό στοιχεία του γλωσσο – ρατσιστικού λόγου, βάσει του οποίου οι γλώσσες ιεραρχούνται σε ανώτερες και κατώτερες με βάση μορφικά κριτήρια. Η ανάλυση των αποτελεσμάτων πραγματοποιείται στις ακόλουθες υποενότητας του άρθρου.

4.1. Ο παραγλωσσολογικός λόγος των διαδικτυακών κειμένων

Τα αποτελέσματα, λοιπόν, της κριτικής ανάλυσης του περιεχομένου των διαδικτυακών κειμένων αναδεικνύουν την εγγενή ύπαρξη του παραγλωσσολογικού λόγου στα κείμενα αυτά όσον αφορά το πεδίο ανάλυσης, δηλαδή τη γλώσσα ως κοινωνικό, βιολογικό και επικοινωνιακό μόρφωμα. Συγκεκριμένα, από τις επτά καθολικές ιδιότητες της γλώσσας βάσει της θεωρίας των Fasold & Connor Linton (2006) οι τέσσερις δεν γίνονται αποδεκτές ή στρεβλώνονται συστηματικά στα κείμενα που μελετήθηκαν:

1. Μη αποδοχή της ιδιότητας της παραγωγικότητας στη γλώσσα σε όλα τα επίπεδα της γλωσσικής ανάλυσης (μορφολογικό, συντακτικό), η οποία εμφανίζεται μέσω της απόρριψης των νέων λέξεων και δομών, οι οποίες δημιουργήθηκαν με τους μηχανισμούς του αναλογικού μετασχηματισμού, της επανανάλυσης, του οπισθοχωρητικού σχηματισμού, της σύμφυρσης και άλλων αντίστοιχων. Αυτό το στοιχείο συνεπάγεται, επίσης, τη μη αποδοχή της διαδικασίας της γλωσσικής μεταβολής. Ακολουθούν χαρακτηριστικά αποσπάσματα από τα κείμενα που μελετήθηκαν:
   - *«Αποδοκιμάζεται η προτίμηση του φλύαρου «μαζί με» αντί για το πιο λιτό «με»»,*
   - *«Καταδικάζεται η γενική πληθυντικού χρονών»,*
   - *«το ουσιαστικό λάθος δεν μπορεί να χρησιμοποιείται ως επιθετικός προσδιορισμός: π.χ. λάθος άποψη»,*
   - *«να αποφεύγουμε την κατάχρηση δημιουργίας ουσιαστικών σε –ποίηση: π.χ. ελαχιστοποίηση, ανωτατοποίηση»,*
   - *«πριν από την έναρξη είναι το σωστό και όχι πριν την έναρξη»,*
   - *«είναι λανθασμένα τα εξής: ανημέρωτος, τίθονται, μεγέθυνση, Οκτώμβριος, υποθάλπτω, παρεισφρύω, ακατανόμαστος, από ανέκαθεν»,*
   - *«τα ρήματα διαρρέω και λειτουργών είναι αμετάβατα»,*
   - *«όχι αυτού καθ' αυτού, αυτοί καθ' αυτοί»,*
   - *«όχι πιο καλύτερος»,*
   - *«είναι λάθη: το περίπολο, η γεμιστήρα, η τελαμώνα, η ζωστήρα»,*
   - *«παρευρίσκομαι και όχι παραβρίσκομαι»,*
   - *«καταδικάζονται οι νεολογισμοί»,*
   - *«είναι λάθος νοηματικό η φράση «λίγα έως πολλά περισσότερα κιλά λόγω της ευφορίας των ημερών»,*
   - *«ορισμένα ουσιαστικά, όπως η συμπεριφορά, η πρακτική, η λογική δεν έχουν πληθυντικό».*

2. Μη αποδοχή του αυθαίρετου χαρακτήρα του γλωσσικού σημείου, δηλαδή της σχέσης συμβατικότητας (και όχι αιτιότητας) μεταξύ του σημαίνοντος και του σημαινομένου, όπως και της συμβατικότητας που διέπει την επιλογή των στοιχείων και των κανόνων που συνθέτουν συγκεκριμένο γλωσσικό σύστημα. Η μη αποδοχή του αυθαίρετου χαρακτήρα του γλωσσικού σημείου συνεπάγεται και τη μη παραδοχή της δυνατότητας αλλαγής της σημασίας συγκεκριμένης μορφής, δομής ή τύπου στην ιστορική τους πορεία λόγω της αιτιώδους σχέσης μορφής και σημασίας βάσει λογικών αρχών. Η μη αποδοχή των στοιχείων αυτών αναδεικνύεται μέσω των ακόλουθων αντιλήψεων:
   - *«η περιοχή είναι σεισμογόνος, καθώς προκαλεί τους σεισμούς, και όχι σεισμογενής»,*
   - *«οι άντρες νυμφεύονται και δεν παντρεύονται»,*
   - *«είναι λανθασμένος ο τύπος χειρούργος, γιατί το –ούργος είναι κακόσημο»,*
   - *«Το απλώς σημαίνει μόνο, ενώ το απλά με απλό τρόπο»,*
   - *«Έχει στα χέρια της το μέιλ. Πώς είναι δυνατό να έχει στα χέρια τα ένα ηλεκτρονικό μήνυμα;»,*
   - *«τα πάνω και κάτω στη δημοτική είναι τοπικά επιρρήματα και, επομένως, δεν μπορούν να δηλώσουν το επί της καθαρεύουσας σε περιπτώσεις, όπως «μίλησε πάνω στο θέμα»»*
   - *«τα τεκταινόμενα δηλώνουν μηχανορραφίες και, έτσι, είναι λανθασμένο το ερμήνευμα διαδραματιζόμενα στη φράση τα τεκταινόμενα της πολιτικής ζωής»,*
   - *«το βιβλίο του πραγματεύεται και όχι διαπραγματεύεται το θέμα των κοινωνικών θεσμών».*

3. Μη αποδοχή της γλωσσικής ποικιλίας (γεωγραφική, κοινωνική, υφολογική) σε όλη την έκτασή της. Χαρακτηριστικά είναι τα ακόλουθα αποσπάσματα:

- *«ό τύπος έμπορας είναι πιο λαϊκός και χρησιμοποιείται κατά κανόνα από μη εγγράμματους ανθρώπους, όπως π.χ. και τα «οι εμπόροι» και «οι ανθρώποι»».*

4. Μη αποδοχή της γλωσσικής καταστασιακότητας, δηλαδή της κατανόησης των γλωσσικών εκφωνημάτων σε συγκεκριμένο συγκείμενο και περικείμενο. Ακολουθεί ένα χαρακτηριστικό απόσπασμα από τα διαδικτυακά κείμενα που μελετήθηκαν στο πλαίσιο της παρούσας έρευνας:

- *«το αρνητικό μόριο πρέπει να είναι δεν και όχι δε, καθώς τα συμφραζόμενα δεν βοηθούν αποτελεσματικά πολλές φορές».*

4.2. Ο ρυθμιστικός λόγος των διαδικτυακών κειμένων

Ο ρυθμιστικός λόγος των ιδεολογικά προσανατολισμένων κειμένων που αναρτήθηκαν στο διαδίκτυο αναδεικνύεται από δύο βασικούς τόπους, οι οποίοι υφίστανται στα συγκεκριμένα κείμενα: τον τόπο της ασαφώς προσδιορισμένης λογικής και τον τόπο της μη αποδοχής της γλωσσικής αλλαγής, ο οποίος συνδέεται άρρηκτα με τον τόπο της ανάγκης διαφύλαξης της γλώσσας από τη φθορά. Παραδείγματα για τον κάθε τόπο δίνονται στις ακόλουθες παραγράφους.

1. Ο κοινός τόπος της λογικής:

- *«Είναι λάθος νοηματικό η φράση «με λίγα έως πολλά περισσότερα κιλά λόγω της ευφορίας των ημερών». Η σωστή έκφραση θα ήταν «με λίγα έως περισσότερα κιλά επιπλέον από την ευφορία των ημερών». Δεν είναι δυνατό γραμματικά να συνυπάρχουν δίπλα – δίπλα ο θετικός και ο συγκριτικός βαθμός του πολλά. Η δόκιμη έκφραση είναι «πολύ περισσότερα»»,*

- *«Το σωστό είναι στη μία, αφού η ώρα είναι μία, όχι δύο ή τρεις. Είναι μονόδρομος, τι δεν καταλαβαίνετε;»,*

- *«Δεν είναι δόκιμη η φράση «τίθενται στη διάθεση του κοινού». Το διάθεση δεν αντιπροσωπεύει δράση αλλά κατάσταση. Καλύτερο θα ήταν τίθενται σε κυκλοφορία»,*

- *«Ασχέτως με το πώς το χρησιμοποιούμε εν τη ρύμη του λόγου, εκστομίζω σημαίνει βγάζω κάτι από το στόμα μου και ξεστομίζω αφαιρώ το στόμα»,*

- *«Ευχαριστούμε όλους όσους μας συμπαραστάθηκαν είναι το σωστό, γιατί το υποκείμενο είναι σε ονομαστική».*

2. Ο τόπος της απόρριψης της γλωσσικής αλλαγής λόγω της ανάγκης διαφύλαξης της γλώσσας από τη φθορά:

- *«Αρκούμαστε στην ανάδειξη του σφάλματος, ώστε να αποφεύγονται οι επαναλήψεις στο μέλλον»,*

- *«στηλιτεύουμε την ανορθογραφία»,*

- *«Ορισμένοι προσπαθούν να δικαιολογήσουν κάθε «κοτσάνα» που μπορεί να ακουστεί στα ραδιόφωνα και στην τηλεόραση. Ορισμένες αβλεψίες είναι εξόφθαλμες»,*

- *«Δεν υπάρχουν πολλές ορθοφωνίες. Μία είναι η ορθοφωνία και αφορά την πρότυπη προφορά της νέας ελληνικής»,*

- *«Στην αντίπερα όχθη από εμάς ανήκουν όσο αβασάνιστα δέχονται ως τελικά σωστό οτιδήποτε χρησιμοποιείται ευρέως»,*

- *«Υπάρχουν σήμερα φιλόλογοι που υποστηρίζουν το «ο ψήφος», «οι ανθρώποι», «ο άμμος», «οι δασκάλοι» κλπ; Αυτά δεν είναι εξέλιξη, είναι καταστροφή της γλώσσας μας. Φτάνει που την κουτσούρεψαν καταργώντας το πολυτονικό. Η γλώσσα μας αργοπεθαίνει. Κρίμα για τις επόμενες γενιές»,*

- *«Δυστυχώς ματαιοπονούμε! Η ζημιά έχει γίνει και έχει ριζώσει! Μου προξενεί στενοχώρια να βλέπω να κυριαρχεί η ισοπεδωτική τάση μεταβολής όλων των ρημάτων σε μεταβατικά και όλβων των συνηρημένων σε –άω, όπως το παρακαλάτε. Και να βρίσκει η τάση αυτή της ισοπέδωσης τόσο πιστούς οπαδούς»,*

- *«Η γλωσσική έρευαν μπορεί να εξηγεί τους μηχανισμούς των παρεκκλίσεων από την εκάστοτε νόρμα, αλλά δεν πρέπει να τους προβάλλει προς μίμηση»,*

- *«Τα λάθη που προέρχονται από αδιάβαστους πρέπει αν διορθώνονται άμεσα και να μην έχουν δυνατότητα αποδοχής και διάδοσης ούτε υπεράσπισης από εγγράμματους Δον Κιχώτες. Δεν χρειάζεται ούτε ανεκτικότητα ούτε υπεράσπιση των λαθών. Όσοι επιθυμούν ας μη διορθώνουν τα παιδιά τους στο σπίτι τους. αλλά να μη μας επιβάλουν εμάς την αμάθεια κάποιων»,*

- *«Δεν σημαίνει ότι θα πρέπει να αποδεχτούμε την αλλαγή της γλώσσας ή την άγνοια της ορθογραφίας ως φυσικό φαινόμενο»,*
- *«Να του μάθεις του παιδιού αυτό που έμαθες κι εσύ. Αν το έμαθες επετίθεντο, θα το μάθεις έτσι και στο παιδί σου. Όλα τα άλλα δεν είναι ελληνικά. Δεν θα πάθει τίποτε το παιδί, αν μερικά ρηματάκια μάθει να τα κλίνει, όπως κι εσύ. Φτάνει πια με τα μαλλιαρά ελληνικά»,*
- *«Διαρρέουν τα μυστικά; Απορώ πώς υιοθετείται ένας τέτοιος τύπος χωρίς επιφυλάξεις»,*
- *«Είναι άλλο ως επιστήμων να εντοπίζεις τη θεωρητική πιθανότητα ένα λάθος να μετεξελιχθεί πιθανώς στο μέλλον σε νόρμα και άλλο θριαμβευτικά να το βαφτίζεις σπέρμα γλωσσικής εξέλιξης εν τη γενέσει του και να το σιγοντάρεις»,*
- *«Εμείς που διδαχθήκαμε την καθαρεύουσα θα θέλαμε η γλώσσα να παραμείνει, όπως την ξέρουμε και να μην υφίσταται τη γνωστή κακομεταχείριση»,*
- *«η γλωσσική ισοπέδωση οδηγεί στον σκοταδισμό»,*
- *«Αλλαγές στη γλώσσα συμβαίνουν και θα συμβαίνουν πάντα. Ας συμβεί, όμως, και καμιά προς το καλύτερο».*

4.3. Ο λόγος του γλωσσικού ρατσισμού

Όπως ήταν αναμενόμενο, σε κείμενα με έντονο γλωσσο - ιδεολογικό χαρακτήρα ο λόγος του αποκαλούμενου γλωσσικού ρατσισμού (linguicism) και οι αντίστοιχοι τόποι έχουν έντονη παρουσία. Από τους πιθανούς τόπους που περιγράφηκαν στην ενότητα 3.1., στα διαδικτυακά κείμενα που μελετήθηκαν εντοπίζονται ο τόπος ο σχετικός με τη γλωσσική ομορφιά, ο τόπος της γλωσσικής ιερότητας, οι τόποι της καθαρότητας και της αυθεντικότητας και ο τόπος της αξιοκρατίας. Χαρακτηριστικά παραδείγματα για τον κάθε τόπο δίνονται στις επόμενες παραγράφους.

1. Ο τόπος της γλωσσικής ομορφιάς, ο οποίος συνδέεται με μια γενικότερη προσέγγιση των γλωσσικών τύπων, δομών και ποικιλιών με αισθητικά κριτήρια, αναδεικνύεται μέσω των ακόλουθων χαρακτηριστικών παραδειγμάτων:
   - *«Αυτό είναι το κωμικοτραγικό αποτέλεσμα που προκύπτει, όταν κάποιος δεν ξέρει ότι τύποι , όπως «αυτή καθ' αυτή» προέρχονται από το «αυτή καθ' αυτήν» και είναι αποτέλεσμα της σόλοικης φαντασίας του»,*
   - *«ο τύπος «Μονακού» είναι τερατώδης»,*
   - *«Και εμένα μου ξεφεύγουν κακοφωνίες, αλλά συνειδητοποιώ ότι είναι τέτοιες»,*
   - *«το συνάξω και τα αντίστοιχα είναι αποτρόπαια»,*
   - *«πέρα από τη γραμματική, τους κανόνες και τους τύπους υπάρχει η αρμονία. Ποτέ στη γλώσσα μας δεν προφέραμε κάτι χωρίς αρμονία στον ήχο, καθώς η λέξη κλίνεται κατά την αρμονία του ήχου της».*
2. Για τον τόπο της γλωσσικής ιερότητας, ο οποίος συνδέεται με την παρομοίωση της γλώσσας με εξ αίματος συγγενείς ή με υπέρτατες παραδοσιακές αξίες και θεσμούς ενός έθνους, δίνονται χαρακτηριστικά παραδείγματα:
   - *«ίσως μάθει κάποιος με τη βοήθεια του φιλολόγου τη μητέρα γλώσσα και φθάσει σε σημείο να γράφει το ζητείτε ως «αιτείτε»»,*
   - *«άμα ήμουν υπουργός Παιδείας θα ενέτασσα στο μάθημα της νέας ελληνικής γλώσσας μια φορά την εβδομάδα τα θεϊκά ελληνικά του Χορν, για ν' ακούσουν τα παιδιά πώς είναι τα σωστά ελληνικά. Υπάρχουν κανόνες που πρέπει να γίνονται σεβαστοί»,*
   - *«Το κράζω σήμερα σημαίνει πολλά, αλλά στη μητέρα γλώσσα ακούμε και το «τον επινίκιον ύμνον άδοντα, βοώντα, κεκραγότα…»».*
3. Οι τόποι της καθαρότητας και της αυθεντικότητας:
   - *«Ό,τι ακούγεται λόγιο είναι καλύτερο από τους αντίστοιχους νεότερους τύπους, οι οποίοι θα πρέπει να αντικατασταθούν»,*
   - *«Για τις λέξεις παρκάρω, τρακάρω κλπ υπάρχουν οι αντίστοιχες ελληνικές λέξεις σταθμεύω, συγκρούομαι και, έτσι, όλοι συνεννοούνται χωρίς αυθαίρετες παραδοχές»,*
   - *«Τα εν, εις, εκ, συν, προς, προ κτλ έγιναν με, σε, για, από. Τα πρώτα δεν διδάσκονται»,*
   - *«Κακώς χρησιμοποιούνται λέξεις, όπως νεολαίος, πισωγύρισμα, αντιπαλότητα αφού είναι αδόκιμες»,*
   - *«Η νέα ελληνική διατηρεί αναλλοίωτες τουλάχιστον δύο χιλιάδες αρχαϊστικές φράσεις, όπως εν πάση περιπτώσει, είθισται, κοινή συναινέσει, αβρόχοις τοις ποσί, εκ προοιμίου, τοις μετρητοίς, αφενός, αφετέρου, εξαιτίας, χάρμα ιδέσθαι, ούτω καθεξής κλπ»,*

- *«Να αποφεύγουμε τις ξένες λέξεις, όταν υπάρχουν αντίστοιχες ελληνικές: διακινδυνεύω και όχι ρισκάρω, συναρμολογώ και όχι μοντάρω, χρηματοδότης και όχι σπόνσορας, συνάντηση και όχι μίτινγκ, κύρος και όχι πρεστίζ, ψύχραιμος και όχι κουλ, εικόνα και όχι ίματζ κλπ»,*
- *«θορυβώδης, ενστικτώδης και όχι ενστικτώδικος»,*
- *«αποφεύγουμε τα ερμηνεύματα αγγλικών λέξεων που οι αντίστοιχες ελληνικές έχουν άλλη σημασία (φανταστικός σημαίνει δημιούργημα της φαντασίας και όχι καταπληκτικός), όπως αποφεύγουμε και τους αγγλισμούς (κάνω λάθος και όχι είμαι λάθος, απευθείας μετάδοση και όχι ζωντανή, δώσε μου το πιάτο και όχι πέρασέ μου το)»,*
- *«επισπεύδω / επιταχύνω το πρόγραμμα / το θέμα και όχι το τρέχω».*
4. Ο τόπος της προτίμησης του γραπτού από τον προφορικό λόγο:
- *«Αφού γράφεται, πρέπει να προφέρεται».*
5. Ο τόπος της αξιοκρατίας, σύμφωνα με τον οποίο οι ομιλητές της «ανώτερης» ποικιλίας, της «ορθής» ποικιλίας είναι καλύτεροι ως μορφωμένοι, διαβασμένοι και αξίζουν να έχουν μεγαλύτερες δυνατότητες επαγγελματικής και κοινωνικής ανόδου, αναδεικνύεται από τα ακόλουθα αποσπάσματα του διαδικτυακού λόγου:
- *«Δεν είναι δυνατόν άνθρωπος με στοιχειώδες επίπεδο εγγραμματισμού να πει «το λεωφορείο των τρεις», δεν μπορεί και τέτοιο να βγει από το έρκος των οδόντων του. Όποιος το λέει πρέπει απλά να ξαναδιαβάσει»,*
- *«Δεν θα ξεχάσω αυτά που έμαθα, επειδή είτε πολλοί όσοι λέτε το λάθος. Δε θα μας βγάλετε τρελούς»,*
- *«Δεν θα ξεχάσουμε αυτά που ξέρουμε, επειδή κάποιους δεν τους βολεύει ούτε θα αλλάξουμε τη γραμματική»,*
- *«Θεωρώ παντελώς αγράμματους εκείνους που επιμένουν στα λάθη που έκαναν οι παλαιότεροι αγράμματοι, επειδή έτσι έμαθαν»,*
- *«Κάποτε πρέπει να σταματήσει η αδιαφορία μερικών να διορθώσουν τα λάθη τους. όλοι κάνουμε λάθη, αλλά διαφέρουμε στο κατά πόσο ενδιαφερόμαστε να τα διορθώσουμε»,*
- *«Οι περισσότεροι δεν είμαστε γλωσσολόγοι, όμως διαβάζαμε και λίγο στο σχολείο»,*
- *«Οι μισοί δημοσιογράφοι είναι αγράμματοι»,*
- *«Όποιος χρησιμοποιεί το λήγω ως μεταβατικό είναι συγχυσμένος ασύντακτος!»,*
- *«Γλωσσικοί τύποι, όπως οι ανθρώποι, αναδεικνύουν την ελλιπή μόρφωση αυτού που το είπε. Υπήρχε περίπτωση αν το πει κάποιος μορφωμένος;»,*
- *«Υπάρχουν άτομα, που γράφουν σε αυτό το σάιτ, που έχουν μεταπτυχιακά και διδακτορικά, μπορεί άλλου γνωστικού αντικειμένου, όμως διαθέτουν κρίση και κοινό νου. Και δεν νιώθουν μειονεκτικά ούτε δέος απέναντι σε επιστήμονες του αντικειμένου, όταν αυτοί λένε αμφίβολα επιχειρήματα και μπουρδολογίες ή στερούνται βασικών γνώσεων του δημοτικού σχολείου»,*
- *«Ε, λοιπόν, όχι! Ό,τι και να λένε οι γλωσσολόγοι και οι κοινωνιογλωσσολόγοι, όλοι οι φυσικοί ομιλητές δεν είναι το ίδιο. Υπάρχουν αυτοί που μελέτησαν κάποτε με μόχθο. Είναι πολύ εύκολο να οριστεί ποιος είναι εγγράμματος και ποιος όχι. Δεν θα βάλουμε στο ίδιο τσουβάλι όλους τους ομιλητές αναγνωρίζοντάς τους το ίδιο αισθητήριο, την ίδια ρητορική δεινότητα και την αυτή αντιληπτικότητα. Όποιος λέει εκρήχτηκε δεν κάθισε ποτέ να διαβάσει και να μάθει το εξερράγη. Και το τρελό είναι πως, όταν υποδείξεις σε έναν αγράμματο το λάθος του, το παραδέχεται και κατεβάζει με ντροπή το κεφάλι του, φτάσαμε στο σημείο να ακούμε από αντικειμενικά εγγράμματους θεωρίες ότι το εκρήχτηκε είναι απλώς απόκλιση από τη νόρμα και δεν είναι άμεσα στηλιτεύσιμο λάθος. Τα λάθη που προέρχονται από αδιάβαστους πρέπει να διορθώνονται άμεσα και να μην υπάρχει δυνατότητα διάδοσής τους. ούτε υπεράσπισής τους από εγγράμματους»,*
- *«Όποιος λέει εκρήχτηκε, απλώς εξερράγη ο εγκέφαλός του. Ούτε κανένας που ήταν μαθητής επιμελής στα νιάτα του και εμπέδωσε τους κανόνες της γραμματικής, τους χώνεψε, θα πει ποτέ πιο χειρότερος»,*
- *«Δεν χρειάζεται να ακούμε τους αδιάβαστους, που δεν είχαν διαβάσει, όταν έπρεπε και ξεστομίζουν ό,τι θέλουν ως ενήλικες. Δεν έχει παγιωθεί. Όποιος λέει «πιο χειρότερο» δεν ξέρει τον γραμματικό μηχανισμό σύγκρισης. Τον σεβόμαστε ως άνθρωπο, αλλά δεν μιλάει και σωστά».*

5. ΣΥΜΠΕΡΑΣΜΑΤΑ

Όπως φάνηκε από την ανάλυση των αποτελεσμάτων της έρευνας, βασικό χαρακτηριστικό των κειμένων που αναρτώνται στο διαδίκτυο με αντικείμενο την αξιολόγηση της γλωσσικής χρήσης και κινούνται στον χώρο της παραγλωσσολογίας είναι ο ιδεολογικός τους χαρακτήρας. Κύρια χαρακτηριστικά τους, τα οποία επισημάνθηκαν, είναι τα ακόλουθα:

i.   Δεν ευθυγραμμίζονται με τις σύγχρονες θεωρίες της γλωσσολογίας ούτε υιοθετούν τις κυρίαρχες αντιλήψεις στον χώρο της γλωσσικής επιστήμης. Αντίθετα, χρησιμοποιούν μη επιστημονικό λόγο, έντονα υποκειμενικό και πολλές φορές συναισθηματικό.

ii. Στο λόγο τους ανιχνεύονται στοιχεία γλωσσικού ρατσισμού, ο οποίος είναι φανερός από την απόπειρα των εκπροσώπων της παραγλωσσολογίας να στιγματίσουν συγκεκριμένες γλωσσικές ποικιλίες ή διτυπίες όσο και τους ομιλητές τους.

iii. Ο ιδεολογικός τους λόγος περισσότερο φαίνεται επηρεασμένος από τις αντιθέσεις του γλωσσικού ζητήματος, καθώς γίνεται συχνά αναφορά στην καθαρεύουσα, τη δημοτική, τις παλαιότερες γραμματικές, τους λόγιους και τους μη λόγιους τύπους και δεν φαίνεται επηρεασμένος από ιδεολογικές αποχρώσεις του λόγου για τα γλωσσικά ζητήματα, για θέματα γλωσσικού εθνισμού και επεκτατισμού, οι οποίες διαφοροποιούνται στη μετανεωτερική εποχή σε σχέση με τη νεωτερική. Δεν παρατηρείται στα συγκεκριμένα κείμενα, για παράδειγμα, απόρριψη των ξένων λέξεων λόγω της «ισοπεδωτικής γλωσσικά και πολιτισμικά παγκοσμιοποίησης», όπως συμβαίνει σε άλλες περιπτώσεις του μετανεωτερικού ιδεολογικού λόγου σε σχέση με γλωσσικά ζητήματα σε αντίθεση με τον νεωτερικό λόγο, στο πλαίσιο του οποίου τα γλωσσικά ζητήματα κινούνταν στον άξονα του έθνους – κράτους (Harris 2011).

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Poster Presentations

Οι συνοπτικοί παρελθοντικοί τύποι στην Ελληνική ως δεύτερη γλώσσα: Η περίπτωση των ομαλών και μη ομαλών τύπων

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ABSTRACT

The present survey aims to study the morphological acquisition of the perfective past tense by the beginners who are studying Greek as a second language. Based on the results of the survey, it is observed that the students recognized the past tense and performed better on irregular than regular verbs. This differentiation leads us to the conclusion that a dual system of language processing has appeared. According to this system, the production of regular types is based on the application of a basic rule, while irregular types are stored in the mental Lexicon (Pinker 1991). It has also been observed that the perfective past tense tends to be learned in the long run and not immediately after it has been taught.

Key Words: the perfective past tense, second language acquisition, dual system

1. ΕΙΣΑΓΩΓΗ

Η νοητική επεξεργασία κατά τη μορφολογική κατάκτηση των λέξεων στη δεύτερη γλώσσα (στο εξής Γ2) έχει απασχολήσει αρκετά τη γλωσσολογική έρευνα. Η παρούσα έρευνα στοχεύει να εξετάσει τη μορφολογική κατάκτηση των συνοπτικών παρελθοντικών τύπων από τους μαθητές της Ελληνικής ως Γ2 και να αναλύσει βάσει συγκεκριμένων ερμηνευτικών μοντέλων τη νοητική επεξεργασία του ομαλού και ανώμαλου παραδείγματος.

Το πρώτο μοντέλο, που υποστηρίζεται από την ομάδα των συνδετιστών, αναφέρεται σε ένα *μονό σύστημα* επεξεργασίας (single mechanism/system) και είναι υπεύθυνο για την παραγωγή των ομαλών και ανώμαλων παραδειγμάτων, καθώς και οι δύο τύποι αποθηκεύονται και επεξεργάζονται στο ίδιο σύστημα, χωρίς να είναι απαραίτητα ξεχωριστή η αναπαράσταση των κανόνων που αφορούν την κατάκτηση τους (Rumelhard & McClelland 1987). Το δεύτερο μοντέλο αναφέρεται σε ένα *διπλό σύστημα* επεξεργασίας (dual system) (Pinker & Prince 1994; Clashen 1999), σύμφωνα με το οποίο, οι ανώμαλοι τύποι προέρχονται από τη συνειρμική μνήμη και το *λεξικό* και οι ομαλοί προκύπτουν ως αποτέλεσμα εφαρμογής κανόνα (Pinker 1991). Για παράδειγμα, τύποι όπως *τρώω - έφαγα* αποθηκεύονται στο *λεξικό*, ενώ τύποι όπως *γράφω – έγραψα* υπόκεινται σε βασικούς κανόνες σχηματισμού. Επίσης, έχει παρατηρηθεί, ότι οι μαθητές της Γ2, συγκριτικά με τους φυσικούς ομιλητές, κατά τη μορφολογική σύνθεση των λέξεων, βασίζονται περισσότερο στη λεξική μνήμη και σε συνειρμικές γενικεύσεις παρά στην αξιοποίηση ενός βασικού κανόνα (Ullman 2004) και ως εκ τούτου η γραμματική ικανότητα των μαθητών δεν είναι ίδια με αυτή των φυσικών ομιλητών, χωρίς ωστόσο να απουσιάζουν και οι απόψεις που υποστηρίζουν το αντίθετο (Hopp 2010).

Για την Ελληνική ως Γ2, αντίστοιχες έρευνες, ερμηνεύοντας τον τρόπο επεξεργασίας των συνοπτικών παρελθοντικών τύπων, τείνουν να υποστηρίζουν ένα *διπλό σύστημα* επεξεργασίας, με τους μαθητές μεσαίου και προχωρημένου επιπέδου, σε αντίστοιχες έρευνες, να σημειώνουν καλύτερες επιδόσεις στους ομαλούς από ό,τι στους ανώμαλους τύπους (Agathopoulou & Papadopoulou 2009; Clashen, Martzoukou & Stavrakaki 2010). Ωστόσο, έχει παρατηρηθεί ότι οι ανώμαλοι τύποι ίσως να μην είναι απολύτως αποθηκευμένοι στο *λεξικό* και ενδεχομένως να μην επαληθεύεται απολύτως το μοντέλο του *διπλού* συστήματος, το οποίο προβλέπει την εξ ολοκλήρου αποθήκευση των ανώμαλων τύπων στο *λεξικό* (Agathopoulou & Papadopoulou 2009).

2. ΜΕΘΟΔΟΛΟΓΙΑ

2.1 Ερευνητική υπόθεση

Με βάση τα δύο προτεινόμενα από την έρευνα μοντέλα επεξεργασίας, η παρούσα έρευνα έρχεται να εξετάσει την πιθανότητα εμφάνισης ενός από αυτών κατά τη νοητική επεξεργασία των ομαλών και ανώμαλων παραδειγμάτων. Έτσι, υποθέτουμε ότι: (α) Εάν ισχύει το μοντέλο του *μονού συστήματος* δεν θα υπάρξει διαφοροποίηση στην παραγωγή των ομαλών και ανώμαλων τύπων, καθώς όπως προβλέπει το συγκεκριμένο μοντέλο η επεξεργασία των δύο παραδειγμάτων πραγματώνεται από το ίδιο σύστημα. (β) Εάν ισχύει το μοντέλο του *διπλού συστήματος* τότε αναμένουμε διαφοροποίηση στους ομαλούς και ανώμαλους τύπους. Σε περίπτωση μάλιστα που εμφανιστεί διαφοροποίηση μεταξύ των δύο παραδειγμάτων, αναμένουμε οι μαθητές να έχουν καλύτερες επιδόσεις στους ανώμαλους σε σχέση με τους ομαλούς στο τεστ πριν τη διδασκαλία του φαινομένου, καθώς υποθέτουμε πως εφόσον οι μαθητές δεν είχαν διδαχθεί τη μορφολογική σύνθεση του αορίστου θα αναζητήσουν τους συνοπτικούς παρελθοντικούς τύπους μόνο στο *λεξικό*. Αντίθετα στα τεστ μετά τη διδασκαλία, υποθέτουμε ότι θα προκύψουν καλύτερες επιδόσεις στους ομαλούς τύπους έναντι των ανώμαλων καθώς θα έχουν διδαχτεί τον σχηματισμό τους μέσω ρητής διδασκαλίας και ίσως είναι πιο εύκολα νοητικά να εφαρμόσουν ένα γενικό κανόνα από ό,τι να ανακαλέσουν ένα στοιχείο από το *λεξικό*. Στο ίδιο πλαίσιο, σε αντίστοιχες έρευνες (Agathopoulou & Papadopoulou 2009), έχει υποστηριχθεί ότι ένδειξη εμφάνισης του *διπλού συστήματος* θα αποτελούσε η υπερερφαρμογή ενός βασικού μορφήματος ομαλού (π.χ. μόρφημα /s/: πληρώνω- πλήρω-σ-α) σε σχέση με τη μορφολογική σύνθεση ενός ανώμαλου τύπου (π.χ. τρώω - έφαγα).

2.2. Συμμετέχοντες

Οι συμμετέχοντες της έρευνας αποτελούνταν από 13 ενήλικες μαθητές, άνδρες και γυναίκες, διαφορετικής καταγωγής, ηλικίας 18-50, επιπέδου Α2. Η επιλογή του συγκεκριμένου επιπέδου έγινε με στόχο να εξεταστεί πώς επεξεργάζονται το γραμματικό φαινόμενο μαθητές που έρχονται για πρώτη φορά σε επαφή με αυτό. Οι μαθητές, επίσης, διδάσκονταν την Ελληνική σε περιβάλλον δεύτερης γλώσσας, στην Ελλάδα, και συγκεκριμένα στη Διδασκαλείο Νέας Ελληνικής Γλώσσας του Πανεπιστημίου Αθηνών, όπου και πραγματοποιήθηκε η έρευνα.

2.3. Διαδικασία – Ερευνητικά τεστ

Αρχικά, μοιράστηκε στους μαθητές ερωτηματολόγιο με στόχο να αποσαφηνιστεί το προφίλ τους (ηλικία, φύλλο, χρόνο παραμονής) και στη συνέχεια τρία τεστ, ένα πριν τη διδασκαλία (pretest/ δύο εβδομάδες πριν) και δύο μετά τη διδασκαλία του φαινομένου (posttest 1/ δυο εβδομάδες μετά, posttest 2/ τρεις μήνες μετά), με στόχο να μετρηθεί ο βαθμός εμπέδωσης και αφομοίωσης του φαινομένου σε βάθος χρόνου. Η δομή των ασκήσεων ήταν διαφορετική ανά τεστ. Το pretest[1] αποτελούνταν από 30 προτάσεις συμπλήρωσης κενού, εκ των οποίων οι 24 περιείχαν ισοσταθμισμένα τύπους ομαλών και ανώμαλων ρημάτων. Τα υπόλοιπα 6 παραδείγματα λειτούργησαν ως παραπλανητές και περιείχαν τύπους μέλλοντα και ουσιαστικά πληθυντικού αριθμού[2]. Επίσης, χρησιμοποιήθηκαν εικόνες, με στόχο να βοηθήσουν σε λεξιλογικό επίπεδο τους μαθητές. Η δομή του πρώτου τεστ ήταν η εξής:

> Κάθε βράδυ η μαμά **διαβάζει** στα παιδιά ένα παραμύθι.
> Χτες το βράδυ (ξαφνικά) η μαμά δεν _____ στα παιδιά ένα παραμύθι.

Χρησιμοποιήθηκαν σε όλα τα παραδείγματα το επίρρημα *ξαφνικα* ως δείκτης συνοπτικού, στοιχείο που έχουν χρησιμοποιήσει και σε αντίστοιχη έρευνά τους οι Varlokosta & Koutsoubari (2006), και η άρνηση *δεν* ως επαναλαμβανόμενη δομή, με στόχο να μειώσει τον βαθμό δυσκολίας. Η δομή του posttest 1 δεν διαφέρει σημαντικά από το pretest. Η μόνη διαφορά είναι στο ότι δεν υπάρχουν πλέον εικόνες καθώς θεωρούμε ότι είναι σε θέση να κατανοήσουν το λεξιλόγιο. Η μη διαφοροποίηση των δύο τεστ έγινε με στόχο να μετρηθούν ακριβώς οι επιδόσεις των μαθητών στα ίδια παραδείγματα, με κριτήριο τη διδασκαλία ή μη του φαινομένου. Από την άλλη το posttest 2

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[1] Η δομή του πρώτου τεστ βασίστηκε στο ερευνητικό τεστ *Perfective Past Tense Test* (PPTT) των Varlokosta & Koutsoubari (2006).

[2] Ο μέλλοντας ως παραπλανητής χρησιμοποιήθηκε ώστε οι μαθητές να μην αντιληφθούν τη χρονική βαθμίδα που εξετάζεται, ενώ ο πληθυντικός αριθμός ως διαφορετικός τύπος από τον ρηματικό.

διέφερε σημαντικά από τα υπόλοιπα. Οι μαθητές κλήθηκαν να βάλουν το ρήμα της παρένθεσης στον σωστό τύπο. Πλέον δεν υπάρχει το επίρρημα *ξαφνικά* ως δείκτης σχηματισμού συνοπτικού τύπου, ενώ δεν παρουσιάζονται αρνητικές δομές σε όλα τα παραδείγματα, για παράδειγμα.:

Χτες το παιδί δεν _____ (έρχομαι) στο σπίτι στις 5.00.

Τέλος, η επιλογή των ρημάτων που χρησιμοποιήθηκαν στην έρευνα βασίστηκε στην κατηγοριοποίηση της Ράλλη (2005), με βάση την αλλομορφία, όπως παρατηρούμε και στον πίνακα (Varlokosta & Nerantzini 2015). Η πρώτη και η τέταρτη κατηγορία περιλαμβάνουν ρήματα χωρίς αλλομορφία και ρήματα με συστηματική αλλομορφία και έτσι θεωρούνται ως κατηγορίες ομαλών, ενώ η δεύτερη και η τρίτη κατηγορία περιλαμβάνουν ρήματα με μη συστηματική αλλομορφία και υποκατάσταση θέματος και θεωρούνται ως κατηγορίες ανώμαλων.

Πίνακας 1 Κατηγοριοποίηση ρημάτων συνοπτικού παρελθοντικού (Ράλλη 2005)

Κατηγορία	Ρήματα (με)	Παράδειγμα
Α	χωρίς αλλομορφία (η αλλομοφία δικαιολογείται φωνολογικά)	γráf-o – éγrap-s-a, aníγ-o – ánik-s-a
Β	μη συστηματική αλλομορφία	féνγ-o – é-fiγ-a, νγén-o – νγík-a
Γ	υποκατάσταση θέματος	tró-o – é-faγ-a, vlép-o – íδ-a
Δ	συστηματική αλλομορφία	ksipná-o – ksípni-s-a, kal-ó – kále-s-a

2.4 Ανάλυση δεδομένων

Η ανάλυση των δεδομένων βασίστηκε σε τρία στάδια. Στο πρώτο στάδιο οι απαντήσεις των μαθητών διακρίθηκαν σε δύο κατηγορίες: α) στην κατηγορία του παρωχημένου (περιέχονται όλοι οι παρελθοντικοί τύποι, συνοπτικοί και μη συνοπτική) και β) στην κατηγορία του μη παρωχημένου (περιλαμβάνονται όλοι οι μη παρελθοντικοί τύποι). Στο δεύτερο στάδιο, η κατηγορία του παρωχημένου αναλύθηκε σε τύπους αορίστου και παρατατικού. Στο συγκεκριμένο στάδιο προέκυψε μία τρίτη υποκατηγορία αυτή του υβριδίου, που περιείχε τύπους που εμφάνιζαν αύξηση (–ε ή ως παραλλαγή –η), η οποία αφενός δεν λειτουργούσε ως φορέας τόνου και αφετέρου εμφανιζόταν σε μη συνοπτικούς μη παρελθοντικούς τύπους (ενεστώτας) (*εγράφει, *ηφτάνει). Στο τρίτο και τελευταίο στάδιο αξιολογήθηκαν μόνο οι τύποι του αορίστου ως σωστοί ή λανθασμένοι. Κατά την ανάλυση του αορίστου δεν θεωρήθηκαν ως λάθος: α) η μη ορθή χρήση προσώπου (συμφωνία υποκειμένου - ρήματος) και β) οι ανορθόγραφοι τύποι.

Και στα τρία στάδια η αξιολόγηση των τύπων έγινε με βάση: α) τον κανόνα τονισμού (τρισυλλαβία) – αύξηση, β) το θέμα του συνοπτικού παρελθοντικού και γ) τις αντίστοιχες καταλήξεις. Η εκπλήρωση ενός ή περισσότερου κριτηρίου κρίθηκε ικανή να εντάξει τον τύπο στην αντίστοιχη κατηγορία, ακόμα και εάν ο τύπος δεν ήταν γραμματικά ορθός. Έτσι, για παράδειγμα, η παραγωγή *έγρασε* αντί *έγραψε* εντάσσεται στη κατηγορία του παρωχημένου, και στη συνέχεια του αορίστου, καθώς εκπληρώνει το κριτήριο της αύξησης και της κατάληξης, παρόλο που ως τύπος δεν είναι γραμματικά ορθός[3]. Τέλος, για την ανάλυση των δεδομένων αξιοποιήθηκε το λογισμικό πρόγραμμα στατικής ανάλυσης SPSS και συγκεκριμένα το στατιστικό πρόγραμμα $χ^2$ (pearsons).

3. ΑΠΟΤΕΛΕΣΜΑΤΑ

Σε όλα τα τεστ οι μαθητές σημείωσαν περισσότερους παρωχημένους από ό,τι μη παρωχημένους τύπους (Πίνακας 2), με τη διαφορά τους να κρίνεται στατιστικά σημαντική τόσο στο pretest ($χ^2$ (1) = 10,922, p. 0,001, p <0,05) όσο και στα δύο posttest ($χ^2$ (1) = 212,376, p. 0,000, p <0,05 και $χ^2$ (1) = 243,753, p. 0,000, p <0,05 αντίστοιχα). Επίσης, και στα τρία τεστ οι μαθητές σημείωσαν περισσότερους τύπους αορίστου από ό,τι παρατατικού, με τη διαφορά να κρίνεται στατιστικά σημαντική τόσο στο pretest ($χ^2$ (1) = 64,157, p. 0,000, p <0,05) όσο και στα δύο posttest ($χ^2$ (1) = 238,722, p. 0,000, p <0,05 και $χ^2$ (1) = 256,113, p. 0,000, p <0,05 αντίστοιχα). Κατά την ανάλυση του αορίστου, σημειώθηκαν και στα τρία περισσότερες σωστές από ό,τι λανθασμένες απαντήσεις.

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[3] Στο ίδιο πλαίσιο λογικής δεν εκλήφθηκαν ως λανθασμένες οι ανορθόγραφες παραγωγές.

Πίνακας 2 Ανάλυση παρωχημένου και μη παρωχημένου

	Παρωχημένο – Μη παρωχημένο			Ανάλυση Παρωχημένου		
	Παρωχημένο	**Μη παρωχημένο**	**Καμία απάντηση**	**Παρατατικός**	**Αόριστος**	**Υβρίδιο**
pretest	**58,66%** (183/312)	40,06% (125/312)	1,28% (4/312)	15,85% (29/183)	**71,04%** (130/183)	13,11% (24/183)
posttest 1	**91%** (284/312)	8,7% (27/312)	0,3% (1/312)	3,87% (11/284)	**95,07%** (270/284)	1,06% (3/284)
posttest 2	**93,27%** (291/312)	5,45% (17/ 312)	1,28% (4/312)	3,1% (9/291)	**96,9%** (282/291)	0% (0/291)

Αναλύοντας τα ομαλά και ανώμαλα παραδείγματα (Πίνακας 3), παρατηρούμε ότι και στα τρία τεστ οι μαθητές σημείωσαν καλύτερες επιδόσεις στους ανώμαλους τύπους, με τη διαφορά να κρίνεται στατιστικά σημαντική μόνο στα δύο τεστ μετά τη διδασκαλία (pretest: $χ^2$ (1) = 2,960, p. 0,085, p >0,05, posttest 1: $χ^2$ (1) = 10,556, p. 0,001, p <0,05, posttest 2: $χ^2$ (1) = 18,478, p. 0,000, p <0,05). Τέλος, κατά τη σύγκριση των τριών τεστ, παρατηρείται ότι δεν υπάρχει αισθητή διαφοροποίηση στις επιδόσεις των μαθητών πριν τη διδασκαλία (60%) και αμέσως μετά τη διδασκαλία του φαινομένου (59,63%). Αντίθετα, οι επιδόσεις των μαθητών βελτιώνονται σημαντικά μεταξύ του posttest 1 (59,63%) και του posttest 2 (80,14%) με τη διαφορά τους να κρίνεται στατιστικά σημαντική ($χ^2$ (1) = 10,917, p. 0,000, p <0,05).

Πίνακας 3 Ανάλυση συνοπτικού παρελθοντικού (αόριστος)

	Σωστό	**Λάθος**	**Ομαλά**	**Ανώμαλα**
pre test	**60%** (78/130)	40% (52/130)	46,15% (36/78)	53,85% (42/78)
posttest 1	**59,63%** (161/270)	40,37% (109/270)	42,24% (68/161)	57,76% (93/161)
posttest 2	**80,14%** (226/282)	19,86% (56/282)	42,92% (97/226)	57,08% (129/226)

4. ΣΥΖΗΤΗΣΗ ΕΠΙ ΤΩΝ ΑΠΟΤΕΛΕΣΜΑΤΩΝ

Σύμφωνα με τα αποτελέσματα της έρευνας, οι μαθητές σχημάτισαν περισσότερους παρωχημένους από ό,τι μη παρωχημένους τύπους. Το στοιχείο αυτό αποδεικνύει ότι οι μαθητές αντιλήφθηκαν, βάσει περικειμένου, τη σωστή χρονική βαθμίδα και προσπάθησαν να σχηματίσουν τον τύπο σε παρελθοντικό χρόνο. Τα αποτελέσματα, μάλιστα, έδειξαν ότι όχι μόνο αποπειράθηκαν να σχηματίσουν παρωχημένο τύπο, αλλά προσπάθησαν να σχηματίσουν τύπους αορίστου, στοιχείο που απορρέει από τη χρήση περισσότερων τύπων συνοπτικών παρελθοντικών (αόριστος) έναντι μη συνοπτικών παρελθοντικών (παρατατικός). Αυτή η τάση των μαθητών μπορεί να δικαιολογηθεί από την παρουσία του επιρρήματος *ξαφνικά* ως δείκτη συνοπτικού, αλλά κυρίως λόγω του ότι δεν έχει προηγηθεί η διδασκαλία του παρατατικού και επομένως, δεν αποτελεί εναλλακτική επιλογή. Οι λιγοστές απαντήσεις, ωστόσο, παρατατικού μπορεί να θεωρούνται αποκλειστικά ως αποτέλεσμα έκθεσης στο περιβάλλον εκμάθησης.

Ένα επιπλέον στοιχείο της έρευνας αποτελεί η διαφορά των επιδόσεων των μαθητών στους ομαλούς και ανώμαλους τύπους. Πριν τη διδασκαλία του φαινομένου οι μαθητές είχαν καλύτερες επιδόσεις στους ανώμαλους και επομένως η υπόθεσή μας επαληθεύεται πλήρως, μίας και δεν έχουν διδαχτεί κάποιο κανόνα μορφολογικού σχηματισμού. Αντίθετα, μετά τη διδασκαλία αναμέναμε καλύτερες επιδόσεις στους ομαλούς, λόγω ρητής διδασκαλίας του κανόνα, όμως κάτι αντίστοιχο δεν επαληθεύεται, καθώς οι μαθητές σημείωσαν καλύτερες επιδόσεις στους ανώμαλους τύπους.

Αυτό μπορεί να οφείλεται στο γεγονός ότι οι μαθητές δεν έχουν αφομοιώσει ακόμα τον βασικό κανόνα σχηματισμού του αορίστου. Ίσως θεωρούν, επίσης, ως ευκολότερη νοητική διεργασία την ανάκληση ενός στοιχείου από το *λεξικό*, υπό τη μορφή φόρμουλας, όπως συμβαίνει στην περίπτωση

των ανώμαλων, από ό,τι την εφαρμογή ενός μη αφομοιωμένου ακόμη κανόνα. Πάντως, η διαφοροποίηση μεταξύ των ομαλών και των ανώμαλων παραδειγμάτων μας επιτρέπει να επαληθεύσουμε την εμφάνιση ενός *διπλού συστήματος* επεξεργασίας, κατά το οποίο οι ανώμαλοι τύποι προέρχονται από το *λεξικό* και ομαλοί τύποι είναι αποτέλεσμα εφαρμογής κανόνα. Τέλος, παρατηρούμε ότι δεν υπήρξε διαφοροποίηση στις επιδόσεις των μαθητών πριν και αμέσως μετά τη διδασκαλία του φαινομένου, με αποτέλεσμα να θεωρούμε ότι σε αυτό το στάδιο δεν υπάρχει αφομοίωσή του. Ωστόσο, οι επιδόσεις των μαθητών είναι πολύ υψηλές στο τελευταίο τεστ (posttest 2) και επομένως συμπεραίνουμε ότι το φαινόμενο τείνει να αφομοιώνεται σε βάθος χρόνου.

5. ΣΥΜΠΕΡΑΣΜΑΤΑ

Στην παρούσα έρευνα εξετάστηκε η μορφολογική κατάκτηση των συνοπτικών παρελθοντικών τύπων της Ελληνικής ως Γ2, από μαθητές αρχάριου επιπέδου. Βάσει των αποτελεσμάτων, κρίναμε ότι οι μαθητές έχουν κατανοήσει τη χρονική βαθμίδα του παρελθοντικού και είναι σε θέση να σχηματίσουν περισσότερους τύπους συνοπτικού παρελθοντικού έναντι μη συνοπτικών παρελθοντικών. Αναλύοντας τους τύπους του συνοπτικού παρελθοντικού, η διαφοροποίηση των επιδόσεων που προέκυψε μεταξύ του ομαλού και ανώμαλου παραδείγματος μας επιτρέπει να υποστηρίξουμε την εμφάνιση ενός *διπλού συστήματος* επεξεργασίας. Επιπλέον, παρατηρήσαμε ότι το φαινόμενο τείνει να αφομοιώνεται σε βάθος χρόνου και όχι αμέσως μετά τη διδασκαλία του. Τέλος, θεωρούμε αναγκαία μελλοντική ψυχογλωσσική και νευρογλωσσική έρευνα προκειμένου να διαθέτουμε μία ακόμη σαφέστερη εικόνα για τη νοητική επεξεργασία των συνοπτικών παρελθοντικών τύπων από τους μαθητές της Ελληνικής ως Γ2.

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Investigating Anglicization in Modern Greek: Building a Web-based Corpus[1]

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ABSTRACT

Σήμερα η επιρροή της αγγλικής στη Νέα Ελληνική (ΝΕ) είναι εμφανής λόγω της παγκοσμιοποίησης αλλά και της τεχνολογικής ανάπτυξης. Οι επιρροές της αγγλικής στη ΝΕ αφορούν άμεσα δάνεια, π.χ. κομπιούτερ < *Αγγλ*. computer, σημασιολογικά δάνεια, π.χ. ποντίκι < *Αγγλ*. mouse αλλά και μεταφραστικά δάνεια, π.χ. ουρανοξύστης < *Αγγλ*. skyscraper. Τα τελευταία χρόνια, ωστόσο, παρατηρούνται δομές στη ΝΕ που φαίνεται να αποτελούν λέξη προς λέξη μετάφραση των αντίστοιχων δομών της αγγλικής, όπως για παράδειγμα η έκφραση *κλαίω πάνω από το χυμένο γάλα*, η οποία φαίνεται να μεταφράζει κατά λέξη την αντίστοιχη έκφραση των αγγλικών, *cry over spilt milk*. Σε προηγούμενες έρευνες επιχείρησα να εξετάσω την ύπαρξη τέτοιων δομών στα ΝΕ κυρίως μέσω του διαδικτύου, καθώς τα υπάρχοντα σώματα κειμένων για τη ΝΕ, ο Εθνικός Θησαυρός Ελληνικής Γλώσσας (ΕΘΕΓ) και το Σώμα Ελληνικών Κειμένων (ΣΕΚ) φαίνεται ότι δεν διαθέτουν μεγάλο βαθμό αντιπροσωπευτικότητας σε ό,τι αφορά τα κείμενα υπογλώσσας, όπως για παράδειγμα τη γλώσσα των νέων ή τη γλώσσα του διαδικτύου.

Στόχος μου είναι να δημιουργήσω ένα παραμετροποιημένο σώμα κειμένων για τη ΝΕ, το οποίο θα μου επιτρέψει να καταλήξω σε ασφαλέστερα συμπεράσματα για την ύπαρξη δομών που φαίνεται να μεταφράζουν κατά λέξη δομές της αγγλικής. Αυτό το σώμα κειμένων θα το δημιουργήσω μέσω της πλατφόρμας Sketch Engine και θα βασίζεται κυρίως στο διαδίκτυο και θα περιλαμβάνει δεδομένα από τις αρχές της δεκαετίας του 1990 έως σήμερα. Μετά τη δημιουργία του διαδικτυακού και παραμετροποιημένου σώματος κειμένων για τη ΝΕ, θα συλλέξω σημαντικές πληροφορίες για τις υπό εξέταση δομές, όπως τη συχνότητα εμφάνισης του κάθε στοιχείου, την περίοδο όπου το κάθε στοιχείο εμφανίστηκε στη ΝΕ κ.ά.

Key Words: Anglicisms, loan translation, web-based corpus.

1. INTRODUCTION

Nowadays English constitutes a global language of communication (Crystal, 2003) and it is widely used by speakers all around the globe allowing non-native speakers of different linguistic communities to communicate and interact (Hjavard, 2004:76). The presence of English is strong in almost all aspects of everyday life, in domains such as technology, politics, international commerce, the mass media, the Internet and social networks, as well as the entertainment industry (Crystal, 2003: 29-30; Dor, 2004:100-106; Hjavard, 2004: 78; Phillipson, 1992: 59).

Influences of English, widely known as *Anglicisms*, are attested in many European languages (see for example McLaughlin, 2013; Walsh, 2014) and in Modern Greek (MG) too. The investigation of Anglicisms in MG though, is not always easy, since the existent MG corpora do not seem to be sufficient. In this work, I propose the design and construction of a customised corpus of MG texts, through the platform Sketch Engine. The corpus will be based mainly on the Internet and will facilitate a more detailed investigation regarding Anglicisms in MG. However, this study is a preliminary presentation of the subject under consideration and thus, does not offer an extensive analysis of the data.

In the following section, I will refer briefly to the phenomenon of Anglicization in MG, in section 3, I will present the followed methodology, referring to the existent MG corpora and the platform

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Sketch Engine, through which I intend to build the web-based corpus, and finally, in section 4, I discuss some upcoming prospects and expectations regarding the research of Anglicisms in MG.

2. ANGLICISMS IN MG

The term *Anglicism* covers phenomena pointing to the Anglicization of the recipient language, that are attested not only on the lexical level, but in all linguistic levels, such as phonology, morphology and syntax (Görlach, 2003:33-34; Gottlieb: 2005:163). Thus, Anglicisms can not only be regarded as concrete loanwords, but also calques, semantic loanwords, hybrids, phraseological units etc. (Pulcini *et al.*,2012: 5).

English today is widespread in the Greek society and it is present in many aspects of the everyday life, such as technology, the Internet and social networking, entertainment and fashion (Anastasiadi-Simeonidi, 1994: 133-137; Mackridge, 1990: 432-433; Xydopoulos & Papadopoulou, 2018). Regarding the lexical level of MG, Anglicisms can be loanwords (see example in (1)), semantic loans (see example in (2)) and loan translations (see example in (3)):

(1)   kobiúter, to < *Engl.* computer
(2)   podíki, to < *Engl.* mouse
(3)   ouranoksístis < *Engl.* skyscraper

In previous works (Papadopoulou & Xydopoulos, to appear, among others), I focused on Anglicisms found in the phraseological and the morphosyntactic levels of MG. More specifically, I examined phraseological units[2] and morphosyntactic structures that belong to the category of loan translations, since they seem to be word-by-word translations of the equivalent English structures. The examples in (4) and (5) below present newly imported phraseological units in MG that seem to be calques of the equivalent English ones:

(4)   **kléo   páno   apó   to   ximéno   gála**
        cry   over   from   the   spilt   milk
        'cry over spilt milk'

(5)   **pouláei   san   zestó   psomí**
        sell3SG   like   hot   bun
        'it sells like hot buns'

In particular, the expression in (4) *kléo páno apó to ximéno gála*, seems to be a translation of the English expression *cry over spilt milk* and it is used instead of the MG expression *δe boró na káno típota gia na alákso tin katástasi* 'I cannot do anything to change the situation'. Accordingly, the expression in (5) *pouláei san zestó psomí* is possibly a translation of the English expression *it sells like hot buns* and it is used instead of the MG expression *éxei megáli zítisi* '(sth) is in high demand'.

Regarding morphosyntactic patterns, there are attested, mostly during the past decade, new cases of periphrastic adverbs, formed by the prepositional phrase (PP) *me órous* 'in terms' and a noun phrase (NP) in the genitive, that seems to calque the equivalent English structure *in terms of + NP*. These structures are used instead of the one-word adverbs, that are the indigenous adverbial structures of MG:

(6)   **me   órous   aksioprépias** (instead of the one-word adverb *aksioprepós* 'decently')
        in   terms   dignity
        'in terms of dignity'

Also, a recent phenomenon in MG is the appearance of pre-modified NPs. Unlike the indigenous MG structure, where the modifier is in a post nominal position (Petrounias, 2007:351;

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[2] Phraseological units are fixed expressions with polylexemic structure, with semantic and syntactic stability. They can be, among others, collocations, idioms, catch phrases and proverbs (Fiedler, 2012:241; Pulcini *et al.*,2012: 13).

Xydopoulos, 2003: 11), prenominal NPs are found in MG nowadays. The pre-modifier, that is usually an uninflected loanword of English origin, is found in the pre-nominal position, calquing the equivalent structure of the English NPs:

(7)   **i   rok   skiní** (instead of *i skiní rok* 'the stage rock')
       the rock stage
       'the rock stage'

3. METHODOLOGY

As long as the collection of my sample is concerned, I collected, mostly manually, the phraseological units and the morphosyntactic patterns under examination, mainly through the television, the Press and the Internet, including among others, social media accounts, blogs and online gaming, as well as everyday communication. I checked their appearance in the MG dictionaries, such as the Dictionary of Standard Modern Greek[3] and the Dictionary of Modern Greek Language (Babiniotis, 2012), where they are not listed as lemmas. Their appearance, though, in the search engine Google was helpful to get preliminary results and natural examples of use for the structures under consideration.

In addition, I wasn't able to localise these expressions and patterns in the existent MG corpora, i.e. the *Hellenic National Corpus*[4] and the *Corpus of Greek texts*[5], since they cover a limited number of texts and text genres. More specifically, the Hellenic National Corpus numbers 47 million words, whereas the Corpus of Greek Texts numbers 30 million words. Also, there is an absence of web and oral data as well as of sublanguage texts, as for example the language of the young people or the language of the social media (Goutsos & Fragaki, 2015: 48-54). There is indeed, a need for the construction of a large corpus[6] of MG texts that will be based mainly on the Internet, in order to be able to localise and examine the newly imported anglicised expressions and patterns.

In this work, I propose and present the first steps of the construction of a large web-based corpus of MG texts, through the platform Sketch Engine[7]. Sketch Engine is a corpus tool, that can take as an input a corpus of any language, and then generates, among other things, word sketches for the words of that language. A word-sketch is an automatic corpus derived summary that describes the grammatical as well as the collocational behaviour of a word (Kilgarriff *et al.*, 2010).

When creating a web-based corpus for the very first time, the name and the language of the corpus needs to be chosen. During the construction of the corpus, its input can be defined either by seed words, i.e. keywords and phrases that describe the topic, by URLs, i.e. a list of web pages to download or by website, i.e. a website to obtain up to 2000 documents. As a first attempt to create a small corpus in order to identify the existence of the newly imported expression *min klais páno apó to ximéno gala* 'don't cry over spilt milk', I chose three seed words that represent the expression in order to find possible relevant documents. The seed words that I put in the system were *klais*$_{2SG}$ 'cry', *ximéno* 'spilt' and *gála* 'milk'. Sketch Engine detects all the relevant web pages including the given seed words and creates a list. By giving the order for downloading, the system downloads the web pages and the corpus is ready to use. The figure (1) below represents the concordance, i.e. the word in its context, of the word *gála* 'milk'. As the figure shows, the expression *min kles páno apó to ximéno gála* 'don't cry over spilt milk' is found several times, and consists an indication that it has entered the vocabulary of MG and it is widely used.

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[3] Available in http://www.greek-language.gr/greekLang/modern_greek/tools/lexica/triantafyllides.
[4] Available in http://hnc.ilsp.gr.
[5] Available in http://www.sek.edu.gr.
[6] Regarding the characteristics and the functions of a corpus, see among others, Baker, 2009 and McEnery & Hardie, 2012.
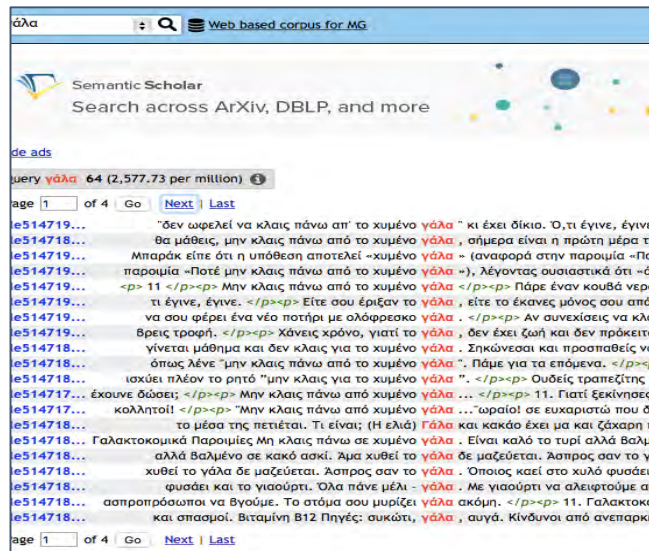[7] Available in https://www.sketchengine.eu.

Figure 5: The concordance of the word *gála* 'milk'.

4. DISCUSSION

So far, I have discussed some newly imported Anglicisms, that belong to the category of phraseological units and morphosyntactic patterns. They seem to be word-by-word translations from English and they have entered the MG vocabulary fairly recently. These patterns are found mainly in the language of young people and in sublanguage texts. In previous works, I collected such patterns mainly through the Internet. However, their analysis was not sufficient since the already existing MG corpora are not fully representative not covering a large number of texts and text genres.

In this work, I propose the construction of a customised web-based corpus of MG texts, through the platform Sketch Engine, to get significant and more accurate results regarding the data under consideration. As a first step, I created a small corpus in order to examine if the localisation of a specific expression is possible and get its concordances. As a next step, and via Sketch Engine, I aim to build the extended web-based corpus in its entirety, by downloading a large number of elements taken from the web. The web-based corpus will cover the period from the 1990's to the present day, and will include different kind of texts and text genres, i.e. formal or informal texts such as from newspapers, blogs, webpages and social networks. The texts will cover a variety of subjects too, such as sports, fashion, lifestyle, as well as texts from different periods of time.

Once I will have built the corpus of MG texts I will be able to provide accurate results concerning the data under consideration and draw safer conclusions regarding Anglicisation in MG. More specifically, the intention is to obtain statistical information, by extracting qualitative and quantitative results regarding the patterns under consideration. In addition, I aim to look into the actual period of time when Anglicisms first appeared in MG, and finally, I wish to compare the frequency of appearance and use of the calqued expressions and structures compared to the indigenous MG ones.

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Η χιουμοριστική κατασκευή του «Άλλου» στον ελληνικό και τουρκικό τύπο: Οι γελοιογραφίες του 1955, 1974, 1999

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ABSTRACT

National stereotypes are based on the textual and semiotic construction and reproduction of the image of the "other". Cartoons, thanks to their multimodality, are often used by the printed and the electronic Press for this purpose. In the present study, we examine cartoons depicting and commenting on major events, namely, the September 1955 riots, the 1974 Turkish invasion of Cyprus, the 1999 destructive earthquakes in Turkey and Greece. We analyze the construction of the "other" and the creation of national stereotypes, drawing on the General Theory of Verbal Humor and Critical Discourse Analysis. The aim of the paper is to investigate the function of humor in political cartoons as a means for shaping fundamental contrasts which construct the image of the 'Turk' in the Greek press and of the 'Greek' in the Turkish press. We also show how such constructions change according to the ever-changing dynamics in political contexts.

Key words: Critical Discourse Analysis, political cartoons, the construction of "otherness"

1. ΕΙΣΑΓΩΓΗ

Οι ελληνοτουρκικές σχέσεις, μετά από τη μακρά, εν πολλοίς συγκρουσιακή, συμβίωση των δύο λαών, πέρασαν φάσεις αμοιβαίας εχθρότητας και συμφιλίωσης. Η συνύπαρξη, ιδιαίτερα σε περιόδους έντασης, δημιούργησε την ανάγκη στερεοτύπων που δαιμονοποιούν τον εκάστοτε «άλλο» και διαμορφώνουν την εθνική αξιολόγηση. Ένας από τους μηχανισμούς που επιστρατεύονται γι' αυτόν τον σκοπό είναι η πολιτική γελοιογραφία, η οποία με την πολυτροπικότητα και το χιούμορ της είναι ενδεικτική διπολικών αξιολογήσεων καλού / κακού των υποτιθέμενων εθνικών χαρακτηριστικών. Το ερώτημα που τίθεται σε αυτή τη μελέτη αφορά τα μέσα με τα οποία η γελοιογραφία συμβάλλει στη διαμόρφωση των κυρίαρχων αντιλήψεων για τον εθνικά «άλλο». Τα δεδομένα προέρχονται από περιόδους σύγκρουσης: τα «Σεπτεμβριανά» το 1955 και την εισβολή της Τουρκίας στην Κύπρο το 1974. Επίσης, σε αντιδιαστολή με τις παραπάνω περιόδους, από μια περίοδο χαμηλής έντασης μετά τους διαδοχικούς σεισμούς στην Τουρκία και στην Ελλάδα, το 1999. Η ανάλυση προσδιορίζει τα γλωσσικά και τα εικαστικά μέσα που διαθέτει η πολιτική γελοιογραφία για τη χιουμοριστική κατασκευή των εθνικών αξιολογήσεων, καθώς και τη δυναμική μεταβολή του περιεχομένου τους σε συνάρτηση με την ιστορική και πολιτική συγκυρία.

2. ΘΕΩΡΗΤΙΚΟ ΠΛΑΙΣΙΟ

Η ανάλυση εντάσσεται στο πλαίσιο της Κριτικής Ανάλυσης Λόγου (van Dijk 1998, Στάμου 2014) (Εφ' εξής ΚΑΛ) και της Γενικής Θεωρίας για το Γλωσσικό Χιούμορ (Attardo 2001) (Εφ' εξής ΓΘΓΧ). Προσεγγίζουμε τη γλώσσα της πολιτικής γελοιογραφίας ως μέσο για την κατασκευή και αναπαραγωγή στερεότυπων και την παγίωση κοινωνικών σχέσεων (Φραγκάκη 2010: 347).

Η ΓΘΓΧ αναλύει το χιούμορ με βάση έξι παραμέτρους: τη γνωστική αντίθεση (την αντίθεση ανάμεσα στα δύο αντικρουόμενα σχήματα πραγματικότητας-προσδοκίας), τον λογικό μηχανισμό (τον τρόπο που συνδυάζονται τα παραπάνω σχήματα), την κατάσταση (τις συνθήκες, πρόσωπα, καταστάσεις, που εμφανίζονται στο κείμενο), τον στόχο (τα πρόσωπα ή τις ομάδες που αναφέρονται στο κείμενο), την κειμενική στρατηγική (τους τρόπους με τους οποίους διαρθρώνεται το κείμενο) και τη γλώσσα (τον τρόπο με τον οποίο πραγματώνεται το χιουμοριστικό κείμενο) (Attardo 1994: 222-226, Τσάκωνα 2004: 56-60).

Με βάση τους παραπάνω άξονες, εξετάζουμε το πολιτικό χιούμορ στο πλαίσιο της πολιτικής γελοιογραφίας η οποία στοχεύει στην ανάδειξη διεθνικών ασυμβατοτήτων και ενισχύει την εθνική κατασκευή του υπέρτερου εαυτού έναντι που ελλειμματικού άλλου. Σε αυτήν αλληλοεπιδρούν οι γνωστικές αντιθέσεις και οι ταυτοτικές κατασκευές του εθνικά άλλου ως του στόχου του χιουμοριστικού αποτελέσματος. Η χιουμοριστική απεικόνιση συνεργάζεται με τον γλωσσικό κώδικα (Τσάκωνα 2013: 47) και συντελεί τόσο γλωσσικά όσο και εικαστικά στη λειτουργία του χιούμορ ως μέσου διαμόρφωσης αντιλήψεων και στάσεων στο πλαίσιο της πολιτικής διαδικασίας.

Στο πλαίσιο της ανάλυσης του van Dijk για την εκατέρωθεν αξιολόγηση των κοινωνικών ή εθνοτικών ομάδων με βάση το ιδεολογικό τετράγωνο (van Dijk 1998: 33), κατατάσσουμε τις στρατηγικές οργάνωσης του λόγου αλλά και των αναπαραστάσεων της έξω- και ένδο-ομάδας σε τέσσερα επίπεδα: α) έμφαση στα θετικά χαρακτηριστικά / πράξεις της έσω ομάδας, β) έμφαση στα αρνητικά χαρακτηριστικά / πράξεις της έξω ομάδας και γ) μετριάζονται τα αρνητικά χαρακτηριστικά / πράξεις της έσω ομάδας, ενώ δ) εντείνονται τα αρνητικά χαρακτηριστικά / πράξεις της έξω ομάδας (van Dijk, 1998: 33, 21-63; Φραγκάκη 2010: 33-34, 351-352). Παρατηρούμε πως υπάρχει μία διπολική και ενίοτε έντονα απαξιωτική αντιμετώπιση της έξω- από την ένδο-ομάδα. Ο εκάστοτε «άλλος» αποκτά χαρακτηριστικά τα οποία βρίσκονται στον αντίποδα του αξιακού ενδο-κοινοτικού κώδικα. Στην περίπτωση της πολιτικής γελοιογραφίας, το χιούμορ λειτουργεί ως μηχανισμός υπόρρητης αξιολόγησης επιτρέποντας την αποφυγή άμεσα απαξιωτικών προσδιορισμών και μεταθέτοντας την πληροφορία στο επίπεδο των προϋποθέσεων και του υπονοήματος. Σε αυτό το πλαίσιο εξετάζονται γελοιογραφίες στον ελληνικό και τουρκικό τύπο πέντε δεκαετιών, και συγκεκριμένα της περιόδου 1955-1999.

3. ΤΑ ΔΕΔΟΜΕΝΑ

Σε αυτή τη μελέτη εξετάζονται αντιπαραθετικά, υπό το πρίσμα της ΚΑΛ, πολιτικές γελοιογραφίες που δημοσιεύτηκαν στον Ελληνικό και Τουρκικό τύπο στη διάρκεια περιόδων έντονων πολιτικών αντιπαραθέσεων, αλλά και συνεργατικότητας.

Οι γελοιογραφίες επιλέχτηκαν από ένα σώμα 288 γελοιογραφιών που απεικονίζουν τον εθνικά άλλο στον ελληνικό και τούρκικο τύπο. Το υλικό εντοπίστηκε στην Κεντρική Βιβλιοθήκη του Πανεπιστημίου της Κωνσταντινούπολης, στην Κρατική Βιβλιοθήκη Beyazit και στα αρχεία της Βιβλιοθήκης της Βουλής των Ελλήνων. Το σώμα των γελοιογραφιών αντλήθηκε από εφημερίδες μεγάλης κυκλοφορίας του ελληνικού τύπου, όπως Τα Νέα, Το Βήμα, η Καθημερινή και η Απογευματινή και από αντίστοιχες του τούρκικου τύπου, όπως οι εφημερίδες Cumhuriyet, Hürriyet, Milliyet, Tercüman και Türkiye. Από αυτές τις εφημερίδες επιλέχθηκαν έξι γελοιογραφίες που περιέχουν τόσο οπτικό όσο και γλωσσικό μήνυμα. Οι γελοιογραφίες αυτές είναι χαρακτηριστικές για τις ελληνοτουρκικές σχέσεις των περιόδων 1955, 1974 και 1999.

4. ΑΝΑΛΥΣΗ

4.1.1955 - Τα Σεπτεμβριανά
Από τα τελευταία χρόνια της Οθωμανικής Αυτοκρατορίας ξεκίνησε μια συστηματική προσπάθεια τουρκοποίησης του πληθυσμού με στόχο τη δημιουργία του Τουρκικού έθνους-κράτους. Αυτό είχε ως συνέπεια την καταπίεση και κάθε μορφή δίωξης προς τις μειονότητες. Η ελληνική μειονότητα της Τουρκίας ήρθε αντιμέτωπη, κατά περιόδους, με αποστολές των ανδρών στα τάγματα εργασίας, εκτοπισμούς από τις περιοχές που ζούσε, ανταλλαγή πληθυσμών, γλωσσική καταπίεση και εξοντωτικούς φόρους κεφαλαίου.

Σε αυτό το πλαίσιο, στα πρώτα χρόνια της δεκαετίας του '50 ο αγώνας των Ελληνοκυπρίων για ένωση με την Ελλάδα πυροδότησε αντιδράσεις στην Τουρκία κατά των μειονοτικών πληθυσμών ελληνικής καταγωγής. Στον τύπο γράφονταν εμπρηστικά ανθελληνικά άρθρα και η τουρκική κυβέρνηση πιεζόταν να αναλάβει δράση για να ματαιώσει την ένωση. Στις 29 Αυγούστου ξεκίνησε η διάσκεψη του Λονδίνου ανάμεσα στη Μ. Βρετανία, την Τουρκία και την Ελλάδα. Στη διάσκεψη συμμετείχαν οι υπουργοί εξωτερικών της Ελλάδας Στέφανος Στεφανόπουλος, της Τουρκίας Fatin Rüştü Zorlu και της Αγγλίας Harold Macmillan. Ο Macmillan παρουσίασε ένα σχέδιο «αυτοδιοίκησης» υπό τον έλεγχο της Αγγλίας, της Ελλάδας και της Τουρκίας. Οι ελληνικές θέσεις υποστήριζαν σθεναρά την αυτοδιάθεση, ενώ ο Τούρκος υπουργός εξωτερικών πρότεινε είτε να συνεχιστεί το αποικιακό καθεστώς ή το νησί να επιστρέψει στην Τουρκία (Güven 2005: 164). Τα μεσάνυχτα της 5ης προς 6ης Σεπτεμβρίου όμως σημειώθηκε έκρηξη στον κήπο του τουρκικού προξενείου Θεσσαλονίκης, η οποία

προξένησε μικρές ζημιές στο σπίτι που γεννήθηκε ο Kemal Atatürk, η πλέον ηγετική φυσιογνωμία του τουρκικού έθνους, το οποίο βρίσκεται δίπλα στο προξενείο.

Η είδηση μεταδόθηκε στις 13:00 από το κρατικό ραδιόφωνο της Τουρκίας και μετά η εφημερίδα İstanbul Ekspres, την αναπαρήγαγε (Demirer 1995: 74-76). Στη συνέχεια ξεκίνησαν διαδηλώσεις διαμαρτυρίας στο Ταξίμ (Güven 2005: 13). Οι διαδηλώσεις αυτές γρήγορα μετατράπηκαν σε επιθέσεις και λεηλασίες με κύριο στόχο την ελληνική μειονότητα και συνεχίστηκαν μέχρι το μεσημέρι της 7ης Σεπτεμβρίου, οπότε και κηρύχτηκε στρατιωτικός νόμος, με αποτέλεσμα οι συμμορίες των πλιατσικολόγων να διαλυθούν και η κατάσταση να ηρεμήσει.

Τους γελοιογράφους στον τουρκικό και τον ελληνικό τύπο εκείνης της περιόδου απασχόλησαν έντονα τα τεκταινόμενα στην Κύπρο, η διάσκεψη του Λονδίνου και τα Σεπτεμβριανά, αν και τα τελευταία εμφανίζονται μόνο στις ελληνικές γελοιογραφίες. Οι γελοιογραφίες επιλέχθηκαν με κριτήριο να αναδείξουν το κλίμα που υπήρχε τότε και την αναπαραγωγή του μέσα από τα σκίτσα των γελοιογράφων, την εικαστική απεικόνιση των πρωταγωνιστών και τις γλωσσικές τους πράξεις. Στις γελοιογραφίες ο «άλλος» κατασκευάζεται τόσο εικαστικά όσο και γλωσσικά. Εκτός από την εικόνα, τα γλωσσικά μέσα της πολιτικής γελοιογραφίας χρησιμοποιούνται για να ενισχύσουν τα κυρίαρχα στερεότυπα. Επίσης, συντελούν στην αξιολόγηση η οποία παράγεται γνωσιακά (και) από την επίλυση της ασυμβατότητας μέσα στο πλαίσιο που δημιουργεί η μακραίωνη συγκρουσιακή συνύπαρξη των δύο εθνοτήτων. Όπως θα συζητήσουμε παρακάτω, η κριτική προσέγγιση των κειμένων των υπό εξέταση γελοιογραφιών αναδεικνύει τη λειτουργία του χιούμορ ως έμμεσου τρόπου κατασκευής των θεμελιωδών αξιακών αντιθέσεων ανάμεσα στον εαυτό και τον εκάστοτε «άλλο» και τη συνεισφορά του στη δημιουργία του *ιδεολογικού τετράγωνου*.

Asrî Donkişot!...

18 Αυγούστου 1955, *Tercüman*

Έλληνας: ***Θέλω την Θράκη, θέλω την Κύπρο!...***
Βενιζέλος: ***Η ψυχή του Βενιζέλου... Άιντε βρε, δείξε ότι είσαι γιος του πατέρα σου!***

Εικαστικά, ο Έλληνας απεικονίζεται ως σύγχρονος, αλλά παράλληλα παρωχημένος, Δον Κιχώτης. Αν και η γελοιογραφία αφορά γεγονότα του 20ου αιώνα, η ενδυμασία του Έλληνα δημιουργεί μία εικόνα αναχρονισμού, φαινόμενο που παρατηρείται σχεδόν σε όλες τις γελοιογραφίες που μελετήσαμε. Επιπρόσθετα, ο Έλληνας αποτυπώνεται ως ανόητος και αιθεροβάμων, καθώς, όπως και ο Δον Κιχώτης, αδυνατεί να αντιληφθεί πως ο σκοπός του είναι μάταιος και πως η εικόνα του είναι φαιδρή. Εκπροσωπεί το πνεύμα του Βενιζέλου, πρεσβευτή της Μεγάλης Ιδέας. Ο Έλληνας εμφανίζεται σαν η κύρια δύναμη επίθεσης σε αντίθεση με τους Ελληνοκύπριους που είτε μέσω της ΕΟΚΑ[1], στο κάτω δεξί μέρος της εικόνας, είτε μέσω του Μακαρίου[2], στο βάθος της εικόνας, εμφανίζονται πολιτικά ασήμαντοι, καθώς καταλαμβάνουν ελάχιστο χώρο στην απεικόνιση. Ο ελληνικός τύπος έχει βοηθητική θέση στην απεικόνιση ως άλλος Σάντσο Πάντσα, δηλαδή, ως συμπαραστάτης του Έλληνα 'Δον Κιχώτη'. Στην αριστερή πλευρά της εικόνας, ο ανεμόμυλος που δέχεται την επίθεση έχει στο κέντρο των φτερών του την τούρκικη σημαία.

Γλωσσικά, η ελληνική πλευρά αποτυπώνεται ως διπρόσωπη. Ο Έλληνας έχει χαρτιά στο καλάθι του που γράφουν *«dostluk dostluk»* (φιλία, φιλία), ενώ από την άλλη, με μια σειρά άμεσων και έμμεσων κατευθυντικών γλωσσικών πράξεων, εμφανίζεται να απαιτεί λέγοντας *«Θέλω την Θράκη, θέλω την Κύπρο»*. Με αυτόν τον τρόπο, ο γελοιογράφος κατασκευάζει την ελληνική επιθετικότητα. Ως πνεύμα ο Βενιζέλος κατασκευάζεται να υποκινεί την ελληνική επιθετική συμπεριφορά απευθύνοντας επίσης, κατευθυντικές γλωσσικές πράξεις προς τους Έλληνες: *«Δείξε τους ότι είσαι ο γιος του πατέρα σου»*. Ο ελληνικός τύπος απεικονίζεται να μεταφέρει έντυπα στο ταγάρι του τα οποία γράφουν *«iftira, iftira»* (συκοφαντία, συκοφαντία).

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[1] Εθνική Οργάνωσης Κυπρίων Αγωνιστών
[2] Αρχιεπίσκοπος της αυτοκέφαλης ορθόδοξης Εκκλησίας της Κύπρου και αργότερα ο πρώτος πρόεδρος της Κυπριακής Δημοκρατίας

Γνωσιακά, οι αντιθέσεις προκύπτουν από την αντίφαση μεταξύ της προσφοράς φιλίας και της επιθετικότητας του εικονιζόμενου Έλληνα. Επίσης, υποδηλώνεται η ανεπαρκής αντίληψη της πραγματικότητας μέσω της προσωποποίησής του ως Δον Κιχώτη. Από την άλλη μεριά, ο ανεμόμυλος αποτελεί αλληγορική απεικόνιση τόσο της δύναμης της Τουρκίας όσο και της ματαιότητας της ελληνικής επιθετικότητας.

Η γελοιογραφία τονίζει τα αρνητικά χαρακτηριστικά/πράξεις της έξω-ομάδας (Έλληνες) και αναδεικνύει τα θετικά χαρακτηριστικά/πράξεις της ένδο-ομάδας (Τούρκοι) (van Dijk, 1998: 21-63). Συνολικά, το κείμενο, μέσω της εικόνας και του λόγου, κατασκευάζει την έντονη διπολικότητα των εθνικών ταυτοτήτων ταυτίζοντας τον «άλλο» με αρνητικά χαρακτηριστικά και συμπεριφορές.

17 Σεπτεμβρίου 1955, *Τα Νέα*

Εικαστικά, η Κωνσταντινούπολη μετά τις λεηλασίες της 6^{ης} και 7^{ης} Σεπτεμβρίου τοποθετείται στο φόντο της απεικόνισης να καίγεται. Οι Τούρκοι κρατούν στα χέρια τους όσα κατάφεραν να κλέψουν και μαζί με τους Άγγλους διασκεδάζουν. Η γιορτή αυτή έχει φόντο μία φλεγόμενη εκκλησία. Ο πρωθυπουργός της Αγγλίας Eden είναι τόσο χαρούμενος από τη νίκη που χορεύει χασαποσέρβικο κρατώντας στο χέρι του ένα ντέφι. Οι Τούρκοι που χορεύουν μαζί του απεικονίζονται ως άξεστοι και κλέφτες. Ο Macmillan συμμετέχει ενεργά στη γιορτή παίζοντας ζουρνά. Ο Menderes, ο τούρκος πρωθυπουργός, εμφανίζεται να παρακολουθεί το γλέντι καπνίζοντας άνετα τον ναργιλέ του.

Γλωσσικά, κατασκευάζεται μία αντιστροφή εθνοτικών ταυτοτήτων, η οποία πραγματώνεται μέσω των προσφωνήσεων. Ο μεν Eden προσφωνείται με την τιμητική οθωμανική προσφώνηση *«πασάς»* ενώ ο Menderes αποκαλείται *«λόρδος»* σε αναλογία με τον βρετανικό τίτλο τιμής. Επιπλέον, η λέξη «*πασάς*» έχει δυο σημασίες στην ελληνική γλώσσα. Η πρώτη είναι ο ανώτατος τίτλος Οθωμανού αξιωματούχου, πολιτικού ή στρατιωτικού, ενώ η δεύτερη, η προσφώνηση αγαπημένου προσώπου. Στη συγκεκριμένη γελοιογραφία η προσφώνηση απευθύνεται από τον Τούρκο προς τον Άγγλο. Ο γελοιογράφος εκμεταλλεύεται έτσι την αμφισημία του όρου κατασκευάζοντας γλωσσικά τη φιλική σχέση και τη συνεργασία ανάμεσα στους Άγγλους και τους Τούρκους. Μέσω της εκφραστικής γλωσσικής πράξης που απευθύνει ο Eden προς τον Menderes, δηλαδή «*άφεριμ*» (εύγε), πραγματώνεται η επιβράβευση για την κατάληξη των γεγονότων.

Γνωσιακά, το χιούμορ και η ειρωνεία κατασκευάζονται και με τα δύο μέσα της γελοιογραφίας, εικόνα και λόγο. Βάση τους αποτελεί η αντιστροφή των προσφωνήσεων. Οι Άγγλοι αποκτούν τούρκικα χαρακτηριστικά, αφού μιλάνε τουρκικά, χορεύουν χασαποσέρβικο και παίζουν ζουρνά. Η ανακατασκευή των εθνικών στερεότυπων ενισχύεται τόσο από την αντιστροφή των τίτλων προσφώνησης όσο και των στερεοτυπικών απεικονήσεων. Μέσα από αυτά τα στοιχεία ο γελοιογράφος σχολιάζει τη σχέση Τουρκίας και Αγγλίας, καθώς σύμφωνα με αυτόν φαίνεται να ασκούν κοινή εξωτερική πολιτική, η οποία στρέφεται κατά των Ελλήνων.

4.2.1974- Εισβολή στην Κύπρο

Τον Αύγουστο του 1960 ιδρύθηκε το ανεξάρτητο κράτος της Κύπρου υπό ελληνοκυπριακή προεδρία και τουρκοκυπριακή αντιπροεδρία. Τόσο ο ελληνοκύπριος πρόεδρος, όσο και ο τουρκοκύπριος αντιπρόεδρος είχαν εκλεγεί από τις κοινότητες που ανήκαν. Και οι δύο είχαν δικαίωμα άσκησης βέτο για θέματα που αφορούσαν την εξωτερική πολιτική, την εθνική άμυνα, καθώς και την εσωτερική διακυβέρνηση του νησιού (Βερέμης 2005: 152). Στη συνέχεια, η κυβέρνηση του Μακαρίου επιδίωξε την αναθεώρηση του συντάγματος με στόχο τον περιορισμό των δικαιωμάτων της τουρκική κοινότητας. Στην κίνηση αυτή η τούρκικη κυβέρνηση του Ινϊονϋ απάντησε στέλνοντας εναέριες δυνάμεις στην Κύπρο το 1964. Το επεισόδιο έληξε με την παρέμβαση των ΗΠΑ. (Zürcher 2004: 354-355).

Η κατάσταση επιδεινώθηκε εκ νέου το 1967, όταν η Χούντα των Συνταγματαρχών της Ελλάδας ενθάρρυνε τους Κύπριους εθνικιστές να επιδιώξουν την ένωση του νησιού με την υπόλοιπη Ελλάδα. Η υποκίνηση αυτή φαίνεται να βρήκε σφοδρή αντίδραση από τους Τούρκους, οι οποίοι μετέφεραν

έντονα τη δυσαρέσκειά τους στην τότε κυβέρνηση της Ελλάδας. Η Χούντα, εκτιμώντας πως η κατάσταση θα εκτροχιαζόταν και θα ξεσπούσε πόλεμος, υποχώρησε (Zürcher 2004: 354-355). Τον Νοέμβριο του 1973 ο ταξίαρχος Ιωαννίδης ανέτρεψε την κυβέρνηση Παπαδόπουλου αναλαμβάνοντας ο ίδιος τη διακυβέρνηση της χώρας και έστειλε στην Κύπρο κρυφά τον κύπριο αξιωματικό του ελληνικού στρατού Γεώργιο Γρίβα με σκοπό την ίδρυση μίας ένοπλης ομάδας που ονομάστηκε Εθνική Οργάνωσις Κυπρίων Αγωνιστών Β΄ (ΕΟΚΑ-Β΄). Η ομάδα αυτή είχε ως αποστολή την ένοπλη δράση για τη δημιουργία των προϋποθέσεων που θα οδηγούσαν στην ένωση της Κύπρου με την Ελλάδα, καθώς και την ανατροπή της κυβέρνησης Μακαρίου.

Ο Μακάριος εναντιώθηκε στην κίνηση αυτή και ζήτησε την απομάκρυνση της ΕΟΚΑ-Β από την Κύπρο. Ως απάντηση, η ελληνική κυβέρνηση διενήργησε πραξικόπημα εναντίον του στις 15 Ιουλίου 1974 (Fırat 2012: 170-172). Το πραξικόπημα αυτό έδωσε άλλοθι στις τούρκικες στρατιωτικές δυνάμεις για να κάνουν απόβαση στο νησί (Kızılyürek 2002: 280). Ο τότε πρωθυπουργός της Τουρκίας Bülent Ecevit άδραξε την ευκαιρία και προχώρησε σε στρατιωτική απόβαση στις 20 Ιουλίου (Zürcher 2004: 354-355). Τις δύο πρώτες μέρες οι Τούρκοι κατάφεραν να εξασφαλίσουν μόνο το 7% του νησιού.

Η διεθνής κοινότητα αποδοκίμασε τις ενέργειες της Ελλάδας και η Αγγλία υπογράμμισε πως έχουν διαταραχθεί οι ισορροπίες στην Κύπρο. Αυτό ήταν εξαιρετικά θετικό για τους Τούρκους, οι οποίοι πλέον είχαν τη στήριξη της κοινής γνώμης, αν εξαιρέσουμε την ουδέτερη στάση των ΗΠΑ (Fırat 2012: 174-186). Την ίδια μέρα συνεδρίασε ο ΟΗΕ ο οποίος υπέδειξε με ψήφισμα του (υπ' αριθμό 353) στα δύο μέρη να διακόψουν κάθε στρατιωτική ενέργεια. Η Ελλάδα γνωστοποίησε ότι αρνείται την ανακωχή.

Στην Ελλάδα, η Χούντα, υπό το βάρος των γεγονότων, αποφάσισε να παραδώσει τη διακυβέρνηση στους πολιτικούς. Έτσι, την κυβέρνηση του ελληνικού κράτους ανέλαβε ο Κωνσταντίνος Καραμανλής (Fırat 2012:174-186). Στις 25 Ιουλίου ξεκίνησαν οι διαπραγματεύσεις μεταξύ των μερών στη Γενεύη. Στη διάσκεψη αυτή συμμετείχαν ο υπουργός εξωτερικών της Τουρκίας, της Ελλάδας και της Αγγλίας. Το Πρωτόκολλο της Γενεύης ικανοποιούσε το μεγαλύτερο ποσοστό των αιτημάτων της Τουρκίας. (Fırat 2012: 174-186).

Στις 12 Αυγούστου ξεκίνησε η δεύτερη Διάσκεψη της Γενεύης. Σε αυτή τη διάσκεψη ο υπουργούς εξωτερικών της Τουρκίας Güneş έκανε μια πρόταση. Στο άκουσμα της πρότασης αυτής οι Κληρίδης και Μαύρος ζήτησαν προθεσμία 36 ωρών, ώστε να απαντήσουν. Ο Güneş απέρριψε το αίτημα τους σκεπτόμενος πως η ελληνική πλευρά θέλει μόνο να κερδίσει χρόνο, ώστε να αντιδράσει κατάλληλα. Έτσι, έστειλε στην Άγκυρα το μήνυμα για να ξεκινήσει η δεύτερη επιχείρηση τούρκικης απόβασης στο νησί (Fırat 2012: 174-186).

Στις 14 Αυγούστου 1974 ξεκίνησε η δεύτερη τούρκικη εισβολή στην Κύπρο. Αυτό το γεγονός ήταν που έστρεψε τη διεθνή κοινότητα εναντίον των Τούρκων (Fırat 2012: 174-186).

Όπως ήταν φυσικό τα γεγονότα της Κύπρου αποτέλεσαν το κύριο θέμα στον ελληνικό και τούρκικο τύπο. Οι πολιτικές γελοιογραφίες δεν θα μπορούσαν να απουσιάζουν και μάλιστα πολλές από αυτές βρέθηκαν στα πρωτοσέλιδα των εφημερίδων της εποχής. Η θεματολογία των γελοιογραφιών αυτής της περιόδου και από τις δύο πλευρές, στοχεύει στην ανάδειξη των κλασικών στερεοτύπων για τον «άλλο». Επίσης, είναι φανερή η προσπάθεια υποβάθμισης και γελοιοποίησης του «αντιπάλου» και ταυτόχρονα η καταγραφή της «δικής μας» ανωτερότητας. Οι γελοιογραφίες αυτής της περιόδου είναι σαφές ότι αποτελούν μέρος του μηχανισμού προπαγάνδας της κάθε πλευράς. Οι γελοιογραφίες που επιλέχθηκαν έχουν ως κριτήριο να αναδείξουν αυτόν ακριβώς τον μηχανισμό προπαγάνδας και την αναπαραγωγή του μέσα από τα σκίτσα των γελοιογράφων.

9 Αυγούστου 1974, *Milliyet*

-Γράψε φίλε, οι Τούρκοι μας βασανίζουν πολύ... Βιάζουν τις γυναίκες μας! Α αυτοί; Αυτοί είναι οι Τούρκοι που λιάζονται... Τους αρέσει πολύ έτσι να ξαπλώνουν στον ήλιο τεμπέλικα... Κοίτα βοήθησα μια Τουρκάλα για να γεννήσει!... Τώρα κόβω τον ομφάλιο λώρο του μωρού... Όχι όχι... Δεν χρειάζεται φωτογραφία, γράψε εσύ αυτά που λέω.

Εικαστικά, η ελληνική πλευρά κατασκευάζεται ως βάρβαρη και άγρια. Μια μερίδα ξένων δημοσιογράφων παρουσιάζονται ως αναξιόπιστοι, γιατί ενώ είναι μάρτυρες μίας απίστευτης αγριότητας, επιλέγουν να ακούνε, να πιστεύουν και να μεταφέρουν στον κόσμο μία πλαστή και ωραιοποιημένη πραγματικότητα. Ο Έλληνας φαντάρος απευθυνόμενος στον δημοσιογράφο κρατάει από τον λαιμό ένα βρέφος που μόλις έσφαξε και δείχνει προς τους νεκρούς Τούρκους, μεταξύ αυτών και τη δολοφονημένη μητέρα του νεογέννητου βρέφους.

Γλωσσικά, το κείμενο που συνοδεύει τη γελοιογραφία έρχεται σε πλήρη αντίθεση με την εικόνα: οι Τούρκοι δεν είναι νεκροί αλλά τεμπέληδες που κάνουν ηλιοθεραπεία. Ο Έλληνας στρατιώτης όχι μόνο δεν αποτυπώνεται ως δολοφόνος, αλλά φαίνεται πρόθυμος να ξεγεννήσει τη μητέρα και να κόψει τον ομφάλιο λώρο του μωρού, να βοηθήσει δηλαδή στη γέννηση του. Επίσης, υπαγορεύει στον δημοσιογράφο τι να γράψει. Ο δημοσιογράφος, αντί να στηριχθεί στα όσα βλέπει, καταγράφει όσα ακούει από τον φαντάρο.

Γνωσιακά, η αντίθεση που προκαλεί το χιούμορ προκύπτει από την εξαπάτηση του δημοσιογράφου από τον Έλληνα. Ο δημοσιογράφος δεν στηρίζεται στα όσα ο ίδιος βλέπει αλλά αντίθετα καταγράφει όσα του υπαγορεύονται από τον Έλληνα στρατιώτη. Η ένδο-ομάδα θυματοποιείται ενώ η έξω-ομάδα στοχοποιείται ως ψεύτες και αλαζόνες.

6 Αυγούστου 1974, *Το Βήμα*

Οι Τούρκοι παραδίαζουν την ακεχειρία
Του Βαγγέλη Παυλίδη

Εικαστικά, ο Τούρκος απεικονίζεται ως «μπουνταλάς», χοντρός, με μουστάκι και μεγάλη μύτη. Φοράει φέσι και κρατάει ένα ματωμένο μαχαίρι. Σκιαγραφείται ως ένα άτομο που δεν τηρεί τις συμφωνίες και είναι αναλφάβετο. Το μαχαίρι του στάζει αίμα και παράλληλα είναι ζωσμένος με σφαίρες, έχει πάνω του όπλο, χειροβομβίδα και μαχαίρι και μας παραπέμπει στο στερεότυπο του πολεμοχαρή Τούρκου που σκοτώνει άκριτα και χωρίς δεύτερη σκέψη. Κατασκευάζεται, ως εκ τούτου, το δίπολο της διαχρονικής επιθετικότητας του Τούρκου έναντι των Ελλήνων και υπαινικτικά των Ελλήνων ως των θυμάτων αυτής της επιθετικότητας.

Γλωσσικά, το μοναδικό πρόσωπο της απεικόνισης δηλώνει ότι δεν είναι σε θέση να διαβάσει το κείμενο που κρατάει στο χέρι του. Κατασκευάζει άρα το εθνικό στερεότυπο του αναλφάβετου Τούρκου. Επιπλέον, το κείμενο είναι γραμμένο στα οθωμανικά, που ως αλφάβητο αντικαταστάθηκε το 1928 από το λατινικό, και μαζί με το φέσι που φοράει, υποδηλώνει την καθήλωση του Τούρκου στην οθωμανική περίοδο και, κατά συνέπεια, την αδυναμία του να προσαρμοστεί στα δεδομένα του σύγχρονου διεθνούς δικαίου.

Γνωσιακά, χιούμορ παράγει η απεικόνιση του «μπουνταλά» εθνικά «άλλου», εικόνα την οποία στοχοποιεί τόσο ο γελοιογράφος όσο και ο/η αναγνώστης/τρια βιώνοντας ένα αίσθημα ανωτερότητας απέναντι στους Τούρκους.

4.3.1999- Σεισμοί στην Τουρκία και στην Ελλάδα [3]

Το δεύτερο μισό του 1999 οι ελληνοτουρκικές σχέσεις φαίνεται να μπαίνουν σε τροχιά εξομάλυνσης. Και οι δύο πλευρές ακολουθούν χαμηλούς τόνους στις μεταξύ τους σχέσεις και προσπαθούν να διατηρήσουν μία μετριοπαθή στάση. Εκείνη την περίοδο αναπτύχθηκε και μια ιδιαίτερη σχέση συνεργασίας και προσωπικής φιλίας ανάμεσα στους τότε υπουργούς εξωτερικών, Γεώργιο Παπανδρέου και İsmail Cem.

Σε αυτό το πολιτικό πλαίσιο, στις 17 Αυγούστου 1999 στην περιοχή İzmit (Νικομήδεια), έγινε σεισμός 7.4 της κλίμακας R. με αποτέλεσμα να τραυματιστούν 43.953 άτομα και να χάσουν τις ζωές τους άλλα 17.479 (Özmen 2000: 5-7). Τις πρώτες μέρες μετά τον σεισμό στην Τουρκία οι κάτοικοι των σεισμόπληκτων περιοχών δεν βρήκαν επαρκή στήριξη από το κράτος. Επικρατούσε ένα χάος και δεν υπήρχε συντονισμός. Αντιθέτως οι «ξένοι» ήταν εκεί αμέσως. Οι «αιώνιοι εχθροί» του επίσημου λαϊκίστικου λόγου χείρα βοηθείας (Atay 1999: 95-97). Τότε έγιναν κάποια περιστατικά εναντίον της «ξένης» βοήθειας που δυσαρέστησαν τον λαό, όπως οι δηλώσεις του υπουργού υγείας Osman Durmuş, μέλους του εθνικιστικού κόμματος, ο οποίος χαρακτηριστικά είχε δηλώσει «Οι αληθινοί Τούρκοι δεν χρειάζονται το αίμα ενός ξένου». Οι δηλώσεις του υπουργού προκάλεσαν οργή στον κόσμο και κατακρίθηκαν από τα ΜΜΕ (Zürcher 2004: 387).

Η ελληνική κυβέρνηση έστειλε άμεσα ανθρωπιστική βοήθεια. Οι εικόνες που διέρρευσαν στον Τύπο και απεικόνιζαν Έλληνες και Τούρκους να προσπαθούν από κοινού να βρουν επιζώντες στα συντρίμμια είχε τεράστια απήχηση στην κοινή γνώμη (Παναγιώτου 2005: 115).

Μετά από λίγες μέρες, στις 7 Σεπτεμβρίου 1999 έγινε σεισμός στην Αθήνα της κλίμακας των 5.9 R. Το αποτέλεσμα του σεισμού ήταν να τραυματιστούν περισσότερα από 2.000 άτομα, 143 να χάσουν τη ζωή τους και περισσότεροι από 100.000 να μείνουν άστεγοι (Tselentis & Zahradnik 2000: 1143–1160). Η τουρκική ομάδα διάσωσης (Akut) ήταν η πρώτη που έφτασε στην Αθήνα για βοήθεια μετά τον σεισμό.

Σε αυτή την περίοδο, ο Τύπος μέσω της γελοιογραφίας παρουσιάζει μια τελείως διαφορετική κατάσταση σε σχέση με τις προηγούμενες περιόδους που εξετάσαμε. Οι γελοιογράφοι γκρεμίζουν τα στερεότυπα και χτίζουν μια διαφορετική εικόνα για τον «άλλο». Η κριτική μέσω του χιούμορ δεν έχει στόχο τον παραδοσιακό εχθρό πλέον, αλλά μέλη της εσωτερικής ομάδας και φτάνει ακόμα και στην κριτική της εξουσίας. Οι γελοιογραφίες που επιλέχθηκαν έχουν ως κριτήριο να αναδείξουν την αναστροφή του στόχου του χιούμορ κατά τη συγκεκριμένη περίοδο.

15 Σεπτεμβρίου 1999, *Cumhuriyet*

Ωχ βρε! Γίναμε ελεύθεροι σαν τα πουλιά όταν πετάξαμε τα άχρηστα πράγματα!»
Στα βιβλία διαβάζουμε τους τίτλους ***Προδότης Έλληνας, βάρβαρος Τούρκος, σφαγή, εχθρός, φόβος, κίτρινη φυλή, πρόστυχο Βυζάντιο».***
Στο κείμενο που συνοδεύει την γελοιογραφία διαβάζουμε ότι ***«Η ελληνοτουρκική φιλία θα αποτυπωθεί και στα σχολικά βιβλία, αφού και οι δυο χώρες θα αφαιρέσουν τις προσβλητικές λέξεις που αναγράφονται σε αυτά για τους Έλληνες ή τους Τούρκους αντίστοιχα.»***

Εικαστικά, στη γελοιογραφία παρατηρούνται μαθητές από την Τουρκία και την Ελλάδα, να αφήνουν πίσω τους τα σχολικά εγχειρίδια και να ανυψώνονται απαλλαγμένοι από τα στερεότυπα αιώνων για τον «κακό άλλο». Είναι εμφανές το κλίμα συμφιλίωσης καθώς τα παιδιά «πετάνε» κρατώντας το ένα το χέρι του άλλου. Το μόνο σημείο που δηλώνει τη διαφορετική εθνικότητα είναι οι σημαίες που υπάρχουν επάνω στις σχολικές τσάντες τους και κανένα από τα συνήθη στερεότυπα προηγούμενων απεικονίσεων.

Γλωσσικά, η γελοιογραφία αναφέρεται και ασκεί κριτική στο εκπαιδευτικό σύστημα των δύο χωρών, καθώς του αποδίδει την καλλιέργεια αρνητικών στερεοτυπικών εικόνων. Τα σχολικά εγχειρίδια απεικονίζονται γεμάτα με όλα τα γνωστά στερεότυπα αιώνων για τον «άλλο»: «Προδότης

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[3] Οι γελοιογραφίες δημοσιεύτηκαν μετά τους σεισμούς και αφού είχε σταλεί βοήθεια από και προς τις δύο χώρες.

Έλληνας, βάρβαρος Τούρκος, σφαγή, εχθρός, φόβος, κίτρινη φυλή, πρόστυχο Βυζάντιο». Αντίθετα, τα παιδιά, ελληνόπουλα και τουρκόπουλα, εμφανίζονται σαν ισότιμοι φίλοι που αφήνουν πίσω τους το παρελθόν. Αυτό αναδεικνύεται γλωσσικά, με τη χρήση του α΄ πληθυντικού προσώπου «hafifledik» (απαλλαχτήκαμε, γίναμε ελεύθεροι).

Γνωσιακά, η γελοιογραφία καυτηριάζει τα συντηρητικά εκπαιδευτικά συστήματα των δύο χωρών και τα αρνητικά στερεότυπα που προβάλλουν. Η υπέρβαση της βαρύτητας και, κατά συνέπεια, η «πτήση» των παιδιών έχει τη μεταφορική έννοια της υπέρβασης των στερεοτύπων, καθώς τα παιδιά «ξεφορτώνονται» τα οπισθοδρομικά σχολικά εγχειρίδια και σχηματίζουν μια δική τους πιο ρεαλιστική εικόνα για τον «άλλο». Τέλος, αξίζει να σημειωθεί πως η γελοιογραφία δημοσιεύθηκε μετά τους σεισμούς και αφού είχε σταλεί βοήθεια από και προς τις δύο χώρες.

15 Σεπτεμβρίου 1999, *Τα Νέα*

Του Δημήτρη Χαντζόπουλου

Εικαστικά, απεικονίζονται ο Τούρκος και ο Έλληνας διασώστες να κάθονται μαζί πάνω σε χαλάσματα. Τα χαρακτηριστικά τους είναι σχεδόν όμοια και το μόνο που προδίδει τη διαφορετική τους εθνικότητα είναι το αρχικά των σωμάτων στα οποία ανήκουν, στις μπλούζες τους: «AKUT» για τον Τούρκο και «ΕΜΑΚ» για τον Έλληνα αντίστοιχα.

Γλωσσικά, οι διασώστες εύχονται και αντεύχονται να μην ξαναδούν ο ένας τον άλλο. Τα θετικά συναισθήματα είναι έκδηλα και εκφράζονται με τις προσφωνήσεις *«αγαπημένε μου φίλε», «μονάκριβε μου γείτονα»*.

Γνωσιακά, η ασυμβατότητα προκύπτει από την αντίθεση ανάμεσα στις γλωσσικές προσφωνήσεις και τις γλωσσικές πράξεις. Οι δύο αγαπημένοι φίλοι δηλώνουν ότι δε θέλουν να συναντηθούν ξανά. Σε επίπεδο απεικόνισης, δεν επιλέγονται οι στερεοτυπικές μορφές, αλλά δύο φιγούρες σχεδόν όμοιες, με τις οποίες φαίνεται να πραγματοποιείται υπέρβαση των αρνητικών εθνοτικών στερεότυπων του «μπουνταλά», του «πονηρού», του «απατεώνα» και του «βάρβαρου» που κυριαρχούν στην εκατέρωθεν απεικόνιση του «άλλου».

5. ΣΥΖΗΤΗΣΗ / ΣΥΜΠΕΡΑΣΜΑΤΑ

Οι Ελληνοτουρκικές σχέσεις μέσα από μια μακριά περίοδο συγκρουσιακής συνύπαρξης, έχουν αναδείξει μια σειρά από εθνικά/εθνοτικά στερεότυπα, όπως αυτά παρουσιάζονται μέσα από τον κυρίαρχο πολιτικό και δημοσιογραφικό λόγο. Η χιουμοριστική παρουσίαση και η πολυτροπικότητα της πολιτικής γελοιογραφίας αποτελεί ένα «βαρόμετρο» που καταδεικνύει τις περιόδους έντασης ή συνεργασίας, διαμορφώνει την αξιολόγηση του «καλού» και του «κακού», επισημαίνει τα υποτιθέμενα εθνικά χαρακτηριστικά και συνεπώς συνδιαμορφώνει τις κυρίαρχες αντιλήψεις για τον εθνικά «άλλο».

Σε αυτό το πλαίσιο, εξετάσαμε επιλεγμένες πολιτικές γελοιογραφίες από τρεις διαφορετικές περιόδους, που δημοσιεύτηκαν στον τούρκικο και ελληνικό τύπο. Επιχειρήσαμε να απαντήσουμε στα ερωτήματα που αφορούν τα γλωσσικά και τα εικαστικά μέσα με τα οποία κατασκευάζονται χιουμοριστικά οι εθνικές αξιολογήσεις, καθώς και το γνωστικό τους υπόβαθρο. Επίσης, εξετάσαμε την μεταβολή του περιεχομένου τους ανάλογα με την ιστορική συγκυρία. Στην εξέταση των δεδομένων τα εργαλεία μας ήταν η ΓΘΓΧ και η ΚΑΛ, η οποία αναδεικνύει στρατηγικές κατασκευής ταυτοτήτων, σε συνδυασμό με το ιδεολογικό τετράγωνο του van Dijk, το οποίο αποτελεί εργαλείο προσέγγισης των αμοιβαίων αξιολογήσεων που ακολουθούν αντίπαλες κοινωνικές ομάδες.

Τόσο οι γελοιογραφίες από τα γεγονότα του 1955 όσο και του 1974 αναφέρονται σε περιόδους έντονης αντιπαράθεσης μεταξύ της Ελλάδας και της Τουρκίας. Έχουν ορατές ομοιότητες καθώς κρίνεται αναγκαία, για προπαγανδιστικούς λόγους, η ενίσχυση και η αναπαραγωγή των στερεοτύπων της ανωτερότητας της ένδο-ομάδας, καθώς και η υποβάθμιση και γελοιοποίηση του εθνικά «άλλου».

Οι τούρκικες γελοιογραφίες του 1955 και 1974 έχουν διττό χαρακτήρα: από τη μια ανυψώνουν την έσω ομάδα και από την άλλη υποβαθμίζουν την εικόνα του «άλλου». Σε αυτές, προβάλλονται οι ήττες των Ελλήνων και η αποτυχία της Μεγάλης Ιδέας. Ο Έλληνας παρουσιάζεται ως αναξιόπιστος

και αποτυχημένος σε συνδυασμό με την εικαστική κατασκευή του ως άσχημου, με μεγάλη μύτη και την παραδοσιακή του φορεσιά. Εθελοτυφλεί και φαίνεται φοβισμένος και απελπισμένος μπροστά στη δύναμη των Τούρκων. Αντίθετα, οι Τούρκοι κατασκευάζονται ως γενναίοι πολεμιστές, γεμάτοι θάρρος που δε διστάζουν να υπερασπιστούν τα κεκτημένα τους. Επίσης, τονίζεται η ισχύς και η οξυδέρκεια τους στην άσκηση της εξωτερικής πολιτικής (Σακλιτζά υπό έκδοση). Οι πολιτικές γελοιογραφίες που παρουσιάστηκαν στον τούρκικο τύπο το 1955 δεν ασκούν καμία κριτική στην πολιτική εξουσία και τη διπλωματία της χώρας τους. Αποκλειστικός αντίπαλος και στόχος της κριτικής τους είναι ο «άλλος», ο Έλληνας. Αξιοσημείωτο είναι όμως το γεγονός, ότι, μετά τα Σεπτεμβριανά, αποσιωπάται κάθε αναφορά στα θλιβερά γεγονότα των καταστροφών και των βανδαλισμών που σημειώθηκαν. Επίσης, αποσιωπώνται οι τούρκικες βιαιότητες στην Κύπρο, καθώς και λάθη τακτικής.

Στις ελληνικές γελοιογραφίες αντίστοιχα, οι Τούρκοι κατασκευάζονται άσχημοι, χοντροί με μουστάκι, μεγάλη μύτη και φοράνε φέσι. Παρουσιάζονται αδιάλλακτοι και ύπουλοι καθώς κάνουν άτυπες συμφωνίες με τους Άγγλους. Μετά τα Σεπτεμβριανά, τονίζεται η «βάρβαρη» και άγρια πλευρά τους, καθώς παρουσιάζονται σαν αιματοβαμμένοι καταστροφείς και βίαιοι πλιατσικολόγοι που δεν νιώθουν τύψεις για τα πεπραγμένα τους. Οι Άγγλοι παρουσιάζονται ως φίλοι των Τούρκων καθώς γιορτάζουν μαζί τους. Στις γελοιογραφίες αυτής της περιόδου, αποσιωπώνται βαρβαρότητες που διαπράχθηκαν από την ελληνική πλευρά και αντίστοιχα, λάθη τακτικής.

Η τρίτη περίοδος έρχεται σε πλήρη αντίθεση με τις δύο προηγούμενες. Οι σεισμοί που συνέβησαν διαδοχικά στις δύο χώρες και η εκατέρωθεν βοήθεια σταμάτησαν την ανάγκη για υποβάθμιση του αντιπάλου. Η μεταστροφή του κλίματος που αποπνέουν οι γελοιογραφίες είναι φανερή και από τις δυο πλευρές. Οι γελοιογραφίες που δημοσιεύτηκαν στον ελληνικό και τον τούρκικο τύπο, δε διαφέρουν ουσιαστικά μεταξύ τους, καθώς το εθνικό στερεότυπο απουσιάζει. Στις γελοιογραφίες μπορούμε να διακρίνουμε τον Έλληνα από τον Τούρκο μόνο από τη γλώσσα ή από κάποιο σήμα στα ρούχα του που προδίδει την καταγωγή του. Και στις δύο πλευρές κυριαρχεί το αίσθημα φιλίας και αλληλεγγύης. Επιπλέον, δεν υπάρχει αρνητική αξιολόγηση για τον «άλλο». Αυτά που πλέον αξιολογούνται αρνητικά είναι τα κακώς κείμενα των δύο χωρών, έστω κι αν προέρχονται από την ένδο-ομάδα. Έμμεση κριτική δέχονται και θεσμοί με βαθιές ρίζες, όπως το εκπαιδευτικό σύστημα των δυο χωρών. Για πρώτη φορά, σε αυτή την περίοδο, εμφανίζεται στις τούρκικες γελοιογραφίες η διάθεση αυτοκριτικής της ένδο-ομάδας που απουσίαζε από τις γελοιογραφίες των άλλων περιόδων που μελετήθηκαν.

Στην πολιτική γελοιογραφία, εκτός από την εικόνα, τα γλωσσικά μέσα, είτε αποδίδουν ευθύ λόγο στα εικονιζόμενα πρόσωπα είτε αποτελούν σχολιασμό. Σε κάθε περίπτωση, εμπεριέχουν άμεσες και έμμεσες αξιολογήσεις που ενισχύουν τα κυρίαρχα στερεότυπα. Επίσης, επιτελούν τη λειτουργία της αξιολόγησης ενεργώντας συμπληρωματικά ως προς το πολυτροπικό σύντομο αφηγηματικό κείμενο. Η διαχρονική σύγκρουση των δυο λαών, η εικαστική τους απεικόνιση και οι γλωσσικές τους πράξεις δημιουργούν το πλαίσιο της επίλυσης της ασυμβατότητας ώστε να προκύψει γνωσιακά η αξιολόγηση. Συνεπώς, με την κριτική προσέγγιση των κειμένων, αναδεικνύεται η λειτουργία του χιούμορ ως έμμεσου τρόπου απόδοσης των κυρίαρχων αξιακών αντιθέσεων μεταξύ του «εαυτού» και του «άλλου» και η λειτουργία της γελοιογραφίας ως του βαρόμετρου των έξω- αλλά και των ένδο-ομαδικών αντιθέσεων.

Επίσης, αναδεικνύεται η συνεισφορά του χιούμορ στη δημιουργία του ιδεολογικού τετράγωνου (van Dijk 1998). Τα ευρήματα από τις αναλύσεις μας, επιβεβαιώνουν τη διάταξη των αξιολογήσεων με βάση το ιδεολογικό τετράγωνο· η ένδο-ομάδα αξιολογείται θετικά ενώ η έξω-ομάδα αρνητικά. Τονίζονται τα προτερήματα, ενώ απουσιάζουν ή μετριάζονται τα αρνητικά χαρακτηριστικά της ένδο-ομάδας, και το εντελώς αντίθετο συμβαίνει για την έξω-ομάδα, με αποτέλεσμα να επιβεβαιώνονται οι κυρίαρχες αξιολογήσεις που βρίσκονται σε κυκλοφορία στις δύο χώρες σε διαφορετικές ιστορικές και πολιτικές περιόδους.

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