

selected
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the **10th**
International
Conference of
Greek
Linguistics

Edited by

Zoe Gavriilidou

Angeliki Efthymiou

Evangelia Thomadaki

Penelope Kambakis-Vougiouklis

Komotini 2012



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Νίκος Μαθιουδάκης
Ελένη Παπαδοπούλου
Ελίνα Χατζηπαπά

■ **Σχεδιασμός εξώφυλλου**

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Δημοκρίτειο Πανεπιστήμιο Θράκης
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στην Κομοτηνή

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MULTIMEDIA BUILDER (MMB) ΑΠΟ ΜΕΛΛΟΝΤΙΚΟΥΣ ΕΚΠΑΙΔΕΥΤΙΚΟΥΣ ΣΤΗΝ ΚΥΠΡΟ
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ΤΑ ΠΥΡΗΝΙΚΑ ΤΟΝΙΚΑ ΥΨΗ ΤΗΣ ΚΥΠΡΙΑΚΗΣ ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΗΣ
- [806-814] **Παρασκευή Θώμου**
ΣΗΜΑΣΙΟΛΟΓΙΚΗ ΑΝΑΛΥΣΗ ΠΕΡΙΠΤΩΣΕΩΝ ΜΕΤΑΦΟΡΑΣ ΧΩΡΙΣ ΚΥΡΙΟΛΕΞΙΑ ΣΕ ΧΡΗΣΗ:
ΕΠΩΜΙΖΟΜΑΙ ΤΙΣ ΕΥΘΥΝΕΣ, ΑΦΥΠΝΙΖΕΙ ΣΥΝΕΙΔΗΣΕΙΣ
- [815-826] **Έλενα Ιωαννίδου**
“ΤΙ ΕΝΝΑ ΚΑΜΟΥΜΕ Η ΤΙ ΘΑ ΚΑΝΟΥΜΕ;”
ΔΙΕΡΕΥΝΩΝΤΑΣ ΤΙΣ ΓΛΩΣΣΙΚΕΣ ΠΡΑΚΤΙΚΕΣ ΤΩΝ ΕΚΠΑΙΔΕΥΤΙΚΩΝ ΣΤΗΝ ΠΡΩΤΟΒΑΘΜΙΑ
ΚΑΙ ΔΕΥΤΕΡΟΒΑΘΜΙΑ ΔΗΜΟΣΙΑ ΕΚΠΑΙΔΕΥΣΗ ΣΤΗΝ ΚΥΠΡΟ
- [827-838] **Μαρία Καμηλάκη**
«ΚΑΙ ΟΙ ΤΟΙΧΟΙ ΕΧΟΥΝ...ΜΙΛΙΑ»: ΚΟΙΝΩΝΙΟΓΛΩΣΣΟΛΟΓΙΚΗ ΠΡΟΣΕΓΓΙΣΗ
ΤΟΥ ΧΙΟΥΜΟΡ ΣΤΟΝ ΓΡΑΠΤΟ, ΑΝΩΝΥΜΟ ΣΥΝΘΗΜΑΤΙΚΟ ΛΟΓΟ
- [839-844] **Χρυσούλα Καραντζή**
ΚΑΤΑΓΡΑΦΕΣ ΠΡΟΦΟΡΙΚΟΥ ΔΙΑΛΕΚΤΙΚΟΥ ΛΟΓΟΥ: ΠΡΟΒΛΗΜΑΤΑ ΚΑΙ ΠΡΟΚΛΗΣΕΙΣ
- [845-852] **Χρήστος Καρβούνης**
Η ΚΟΙΝΩΝΙΚΗ ΔΙΓΛΩΣΣΙΑ ΣΤΗΝ ΙΣΤΟΡΙΑ ΤΗΣ ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΗΣ ΓΛΩΣΣΑΣ
- [853-860] **Γεωργία Κατσούδα**
Η ΕΤΥΜΟΛΟΓΗΣΗ ΣΕ ΔΙΑΛΕΚΤΙΚΑ ΓΛΩΣΣΑΡΙΑ ΚΑΙ ΛΕΞΙΚΑ:
ΠΑΡΑΔΕΙΓΜΑΤΑ ΑΠΟ ΤΟ ΚΥΘΗΡΑΪΚΟ ΙΔΙΩΜΑ
- [861-869] **Μαρία Κολιοπούλου**
ΜΕΤΑΞΥ ΣΥΝΘΕΤΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΦΡΑΣΕΩΝ
- [870-880] **Ευάγγελος Κουρδής**
ΕΝΔΟΓΛΩΣΣΙΚΗ ΜΕΤΑΦΡΑΣΗ ΚΑΤ'ΕΠΙΛΟΓΗΝ;
Η ΠΕΡΙΠΤΩΣΗ ΤΟΥ ΥΠΟΤΙΤΛΙΣΜΟΥ ΔΙΑΛΕΚΤΙΚΩΝ ΣΥΣΤΗΜΑΤΩΝ
ΤΗΣ ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΗΣ ΓΛΩΣΣΑΣ ΣΕ ΤΗΛΕΟΠΤΙΚΑ ΔΙΑΦΗΜΙΣΤΙΚΑ ΜΗΝΥΜΑΤΑ
- [881-889] **Δημήτρης Κουτσογιάννης**
ΛΑΤΙΝΟΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΑ ΚΑΙ ΠΑΓΚΟΣΜΙΟΠΟΙΗΣΗ
- [890-898] **Δώρας Κ. Κυριαζής**
ΤΟ ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΟ ΓΛΩΣΣΙΚΟ ΙΔΙΩΜΑ ΤΗΣ ΑΡΤΑΣ ΑΥΛΩΝΑ
- [899-904] **Irina Lobzhanidze**
ΠΕΡΙ ΠΡΟΒΛΗΜΑΤΩΝ ΤΗΣ ΚΑΤΑΡΤΙΣΗΣ ΤΟΥ ΓΕΩΡΓΙΑΝΟ-ΝΕΟΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΟΥ ΛΕΞΙΚΟΥ
ΤΩΝ ΙΔΙΩΤΙΣΜΩΝ

- [905-918] **Νικόλαος Μαθιουδάκης**
ΠΟΙΗΤΙΚΟΙ ΝΕΟΛΟΓΙΣΜΟΙ ΣΤΗΝ 'ΟΔΥΣΕΙΑ' ΤΟΥ ΝΙΚΟΥ ΚΑΖΑΝΤΖΑΚΗ: ΧΙΛΙΑΔΕΣ
ΑΘΗΣΑΥΡΙΣΤΕΣ ΛΕΞΕΙΣ ΑΝΑΖΗΤΟΥΝ ΤΗΝ ΤΑΥΤΟΤΗΤΑ ΤΟΥΣ
- [919-928] **Νικόλαος Μαθιουδάκης & Λένα Παπαδοπούλου**
ΛΕΞΙΚΟΓΡΑΦΙΚΕΣ ΕΠΙΛΟΓΕΣ ΓΙΑ ΤΗ ΣΥΓΓΡΑΦΗ ΕΝΟΣ ΠΟΙΗΜΑΤΟΣ:
ΕΝΑ ΑΔΗΜΟΣΙΕΥΤΟ ΣΗΜΕΙΩΜΑΤΑΡΙΟ ΤΟΥ ΝΙΚΟΥ ΚΑΖΑΝΤΖΑΚΗ
- [929-939] **Μαριάνθη Μακρή-Τσιλιπάκου**
Η ΑΥΤΟΔΙΟΡΘΩΣΗ/ΕΤΕΡΟΔΙΟΡΘΩΣΗ ΩΣ ΜΕΤΡΟ ΚΟΙΝΩΝΙΟΓΛΩΣΣΙΚΗΣ ΕΠΙΓΝΩΣΗΣ:
Η ΠΕΡΙΠΤΩΣΗ ΤΗΣ ΠΡΟΣΦΩΝΗΣΗΣ/ΑΝΑΦΟΡΑΣ
- [940-949] **Έλενα Μάντζαρη & Άννα Ιορδανίδου**
ΛΕΞΙΚΟΓΡΑΦΙΚΕΣ ΠΡΟΣΕΓΓΙΣΕΙΣ ΣΤΗ ΔΙΑΤΥΠΩΣΗ ΤΩΝ ΟΡΙΣΜΩΝ:
ΕΡΕΥΝΑ ΣΕ ΜΑΘΗΤΕΣ ΤΗΣ Ε΄ ΚΑΙ ΣΤ΄ ΔΗΜΟΤΙΚΟΥ
- [950-959] **Ιώ Μανωλέσσου & Χριστίνα Μπασέα-Μπεζαντάκου**
ΤΑ ΔΙΠΛΑ ΣΥΜΦΩΝΑ ΣΤΙΣ ΝΕΟΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΕΣ ΔΙΑΛΕΚΤΟΥΣ:
ΣΥΓΡΟΝΙΚΗ ΚΑΙ ΔΙΑΧΡΟΝΙΚΗ ΠΡΟΣΕΓΓΙΣΗ
- [960-964] **Ελένη Μότσιου**
ΚΑΤΗΓΟΡΙΕΣ ΠΡΑΓΜΑΤΟΛΟΓΙΚΩΝ ΦΡΑΣΕΟΛΟΓΙΣΜΩΝ
- [965-972] **Άννα Μουτή, Γεώργιος Υψηλάντης & Αντώνης Τσοπάνογλου**
ΕΞΕΤΑΖΟΝΤΑΣ ΤΗ «ΔΙΚΑΙΟΤΗΤΑ» ΣΤΑ ΤΕΣΤ ΠΟΛΛΑΠΛΗΣ ΕΠΙΛΟΓΗΣ
- [973-982] **Γεώργιος Μπατζάκας**
ΜΙΑ ΠΡΩΤΗ ΠΡΟΣΕΓΓΙΣΗ ΤΟΥ ΙΔΙΩΜΑΤΟΣ ΤΟΥ ΙΑΣΜΟΥ ΚΟΜΟΤΗΝΗΣ
- [983-989] **Θεόδωρος Μωυσιάδης**
Η ΑΟΡΙΣΤΗ ΑΝΤΩΝΥΜΙΑ *ΚΑΠΟΙΟΣ*. Ο ΣΧΗΜΑΤΙΣΜΟΣ ΚΑΙ Η ΛΕΙΤΟΥΡΓΙΑ ΤΗΣ
ΣΤΗ ΜΕΣΑΙΩΝΙΚΗ ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΗ
- [990-999] **Θανάσης Νάκας**
ΓΙΑ ΤΟ ΝΕΟΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΟ 'ΓΕΡΟΥΝΔΙΟ' ή 'ΓΕΡΟΥΝΤΙΒΟ' ή 'ΓΕΡΟΥΝΔΙΑΚΟ'
(άλλως πως, «*far from the madding gerund*»!)
- [1000-1010] **Γεωργία Νικολάου**
ΜΟΡΦΟΛΟΓΙΚΗ ΑΝΑΛΥΣΗ ΤΩΝ ΕΠΙΘΕΤΩΝ ΤΗΣ ΝΕΑΣ ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΗΣ
- [1011-1020] **Ελισσάβετ Νουχουτίδου**
ΡΗΜΑΤΑ ΕΞΑΡΤΗΣΗΣ ΚΑΙ ΕΠΙΛΟΓΗ ΣΥΜΠΛΗΡΩΜΑΤΙΚΟΥ ΔΕΙΚΤΗ ΣΤΟ ΜΕΣΟ
ΚΑΙ ΠΡΟΧΩΡΗΜΕΝΟ ΕΠΙΠΕΔΟ ΤΗΣ ΝΕ ΩΣ Γ2
- [1021-1029] **Νικόλαος Ντάγκας**
ΤΟ ΕΠΙΘΗΜΑ -(ι)ΛΙΚΙ ΣΤΗΝ ΚΟΙΝΗ ΝΕΟΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΗ
- [1030-1037] **Μαριάνθη Οικονομάκου**
Ο ΡΗΜΑΤΙΚΟΣ ΤΥΠΟΣ ΣΕ -ΟΝΤΑΣ ΚΑΙ Η ΛΕΙΤΟΥΡΓΙΑ ΤΗΣ ΕΞΕΙΔΙΚΕΥΣΗΣ
- [1038-1046] **Ευγενία Δ. Παγκουρέλια & Μαρία Παπαδοπούλου**
«Ο ΣΚΟΠΟΣ ΑΓΙΑΖΕΙ ΤΑ ΜΕΣΑ;» Η ΠΑΡΟΥΣΙΑ ΤΗΣ ΑΦΗΓΗΣΗΣ ΚΑΙ ΤΗΣ ΠΕΡΙΓΡΑΦΗΣ
ΣΕ ΜΑΘΗΤΙΚΑ ΓΡΑΠΤΑ ΕΠΙΧΕΙΡΗΜΑΤΟΛΟΓΙΑΣ
- [1047-1055] **Νικόλαος Παντελίδης**
ΜΕΣΟΦΩΝΗΝΤΙΚΟ /s/ ΣΤΗΝ ΑΡΧΑΙΑ ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΗ
- [1056-1062] **Ελένη Παπαδοπούλου**
ΓΛΩΣΣΟΓΕΩΓΡΑΦΙΚΗ ΚΑΤΑΝΟΜΗ ΤΩΝ ΙΔΙΩΜΑΤΩΝ ΤΗΣ ΒΙΘΥΝΙΑΣ.
ΑΝΑΛΟΓΙΕΣ ΜΕ ΤΑ ΘΡΑΚΙΚΑ ΙΔΙΩΜΑΤΑ

[1063-1067] Χρήστος Παπαρίζος

ΠΑΡΩΝΥΜΕΣ ΛΕΞΕΙΣ. ΣΥΝΩΝΥΜΙΕΣ ΚΑΙ ΠΑΡΕΤΥΜΟΛΟΓΗΣΕΙΣ
ΤΟ ΠΑΡΑΔΕΙΓΜΑ ΤΟΥ ΣΚΑΠΕΤΩ ΕΝΑΝΤΙ ΤΟΥ ΣΚΑΠΙΑΖΩ ΚΑΙ ΣΚΑΠΟΥΛΑΡΩ

**[1068-1080] Μαρία Παραδιά, Σωτήριος Γκλαβάς, Ναπολέων Σπ. Μήτσης
& Δημήτριος Τζιμώκας**

Η ΘΕΣΗ ΤΟΥ ΛΕΞΙΛΟΓΙΟΥ ΣΤΟ ΜΑΘΗΜΑ ΤΗΣ ΝΕΟΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΗΣ ΓΛΩΣΣΑΣ ΓΥΜΝΑΣΙΟΥ
ΣΗΜΕΡΑ: ΔΙΕΡΕΥΝΗΣΗ ΔΙΔΑΚΤΙΚΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΑΞΙΟΛΟΓΙΚΩΝ ΠΡΑΚΤΙΚΩΝ

[1081-1089] Anastasia Petrova & Χριστίνα Μάρκου

Η ΓΝΩΣΤΙΚΗ ΟΥΣΙΑ ΤΗΣ ΥΠΑΡΚΤΙΚΟΤΗΤΑΣ ΚΑΙ Η ΓΛΩΣΣΙΚΗ ΕΚΦΡΑΣΗ ΤΗΣ
ΣΤΗΝ ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΗ ΚΑΙ ΣΤΗ ΒΟΥΛΓΑΡΙΚΗ («ΕΙΜΑΙ» ΚΑΙ «ΕΧΩ»)

[1090-1099] Παρασκευή Σαββίδου

ΜΕΤΡΙΑΣΜΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΕΠΙΤΑΣΗ ΜΕ ΤΗ ΧΡΗΣΗ ΤΩΝ ΜΟΡΦΗΜΑΤΩΝ ΨΙΛΟ- ΚΑΙ ΘΕΟ-:
ΑΝΑΛΥΣΗ ΣΕ ΣΩΜΑΤΑ ΚΕΙΜΕΝΩΝ

[1100-1109] Ειρήνη Σανουδάκη & Σπυριδούλα Βαρλοκώστα

ΑΝΑΦΟΡΙΚΗ ΔΕΣΜΕΥΣΗ ΣΤΑ ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΑ: Η ΣΗΜΑΣΙΑ ΤΗΣ ΕΠΙΛΟΓΗΣ ΔΟΚΙΜΑΣΙΑΣ

[1110-1127] Ιωάννης Ε. Σαριδάκης

Η ΠΑΡΕΜΒΟΛΗ ΚΑΙ Η ΤΥΠΟΠΟΙΗΣΗ ΣΤΗ ΜΕΤΑΦΡΑΣΗ ΕΙΔΙΚΩΝ ΕΠΙΣΤΗΜΟΝΙΚΩΝ
ΚΕΙΜΕΝΩΝ: ΠΡΟΣ ΕΝΑ ΠΙΘΑΝΟΛΟΓΙΚΟ ΠΕΡΙΓΡΑΦΙΚΟ-ΕΡΜΗΝΕΥΤΙΚΟ ΜΟΝΤΕΛΟ
ΤΗΣ ΜΕΤΑΦΡΑΣΤΙΚΗΣ ΕΠΙΤΕΛΕΣΗΣ ΣΤΑ ΕΙΔΙΚΑ ΚΕΙΜΕΝΑ

[1128-1137] Μαρία Σηφianού & Αγγελική Τζάννε

ΑΝΤΙΛΗΨΕΙΣ ΓΙΑ ΤΗΝ ΕΥΓΕΝΕΙΑ ΚΑΙ ΤΗΝ ΑΓΕΝΕΙΑ ΣΤΗΝ ΕΛΛΑΔΑ

[1138-1145] Δήμητρα Σιταρένιου & Ασπασία Χατζηδάκη

Ο ΜΗΧΑΝΙΣΜΟΣ ΤΗΣ ΔΙΟΡΘΩΣΗΣ ΣΤΗ ΣΥΝΟΜΙΛΙΑ ΚΑΤΑ ΤΗΝ ΕΝΑΛΛΑΓΗ ΚΩΔΙΚΩΝ
ΑΠΟ ΔΙΓΛΩΣΣΟΥΣ ΜΑΘΗΤΕΣ ΠΡΟΣΧΟΛΙΚΗΣ ΗΛΙΚΙΑΣ

[1146-1154] Αναστασία Γ. Στάμου & Ελένη Γρίβα

Ο ΤΡΟΠΟΣ ΕΚΦΟΡΑΣ ΤΗΣ ΓΡΑΠΤΟΤΗΤΑΣ ΣΤΑ ΚΕΙΜΕΝΑ ΚΥΠΡΙΩΝ ΜΑΘΗΤΩΝ/ΤΡΙΩΝ
ΤΟΥ ΔΗΜΟΤΙΚΟΥ: ΠΟΙΟΤΙΚΗ ΑΝΑΛΥΣΗ

[1155-1163] Γεωργία Στύλου

ΔΟΜΙΚΗ ΜΕΤΑΦΟΡΑ ΣΕ ΔΙΓΛΩΣΣΟΥΣ ΜΑΘΗΤΕΣ: Η ΠΕΡΙΠΤΩΣΗ ΤΗΣ ΣΥΝΘΕΣΗΣ

[1164-1169] Αναστάσιος Τσαγγαλίδης

ΡΗΜΑΤΙΚΕΣ ΚΑΤΗΓΟΡΙΕΣ ΓΙΑ ΤΗΝ ΠΕΡΙΓΡΑΦΗ ΤΗΣ ΝΕΑΣ ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΗΣ:
ΧΡΟΝΟΙ, ΕΓΚΛΙΣΕΙΣ ΚΑΙ ΤΙ ΑΛΛΟ;

[1170-1178] Βίλλυ Τσάκωνα

«ΕΧΟΥΜΕ ΓΙΝΕΙ ΕΝΑ ΑΠΕΡΑΝΤΟ ΦΡΕΝΟΚΟΜΕΙΟ»: ΛΟΓΟΠΑΙΓΝΙΑ
ΣΤΟ ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΟ ΚΟΙΝΟΒΟΥΛΙΟ

[1179-1189] Αγγελική Τσόκογλου & Σύλα Κλειδή

ΣΧΕΤΙΚΑ ΜΕ ΤΙΣ ΦΑΣΕΙΣ ΚΑΙ ΤΗΝ ΚΛΗΡΟΔΟΤΗΣΗ ΤΩΝ Φ-ΧΑΡΑΚΤΗΡΙΣΤΙΚΩΝ
ΣΤΗΝ ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΗ

[1190-1196] Συμεών Τσολακίδης & Άννα Χατζηπαναγιωτίδη

ΔΙΔΙΑΛΕΚΤΙΣΜΟΣ, Γ2 ΚΑΙ ΓΛΩΣΣΙΚΑ ΛΑΘΗ: ΜΕΛΕΤΗ ΠΕΡΙΠΤΩΣΗΣ
ΣΕ ΕΝΑ ΣΧΟΛΕΙΟ ΤΗΣ ΚΥΠΡΟΥ

[1197-1206] Γεωργία Φραγκάκη

Η ΙΔΙΟΛΕΚΤΟΣ ΤΩΝ ΚΥΒΕΡΝΗΤΙΚΩΝ ΕΚΠΡΟΣΩΠΩΝ: ΠΡΟΚΑΤΑΡΚΤΙΚΕΣ ΠΑΡΑΤΗΡΗΣΕΙΣ
ΣΤΟ ΚΕΙΜΕΝΙΚΟ ΕΙΔΟΣ ΤΗΣ ΕΝΗΜΕΡΩΣΗΣ ΣΥΝΤΑΚΤΩΝ

[1207-1214] Σωφρόνης Χατζησαββίδης & Αθανασία Φίλιου

Η ΠΟΛΥΤΡΟΠΙΚΟΤΗΤΑ ΣΤΟΝ ΗΜΕΡΗΣΙΟ ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΟ ΤΥΠΟ: ΣΥΓΚΡΙΤΙΚΗ ΔΙΕΡΕΥΝΗΣΗ ΤΟΥ ΒΑΘΜΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΤΩΝ ΧΑΡΑΚΤΗΡΙΣΤΙΚΩΝ ΤΗΣ

[1215-1227] Κατερίνα Χατζοπούλου

Η ΔΕΥΤΕΡΗ ΑΡΝΗΣΗ ΤΗΣ ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΗΣ: ΤΟ ΜΗ ΩΣ ΠΟΛΙΚΟ ΣΤΟΙΧΕΙΟ ΣΤΗΝ ΔΙΑΧΡΟΝΙΑ

[1228-1234] Χάιδω Χρίστου

ΓΛΩΣΣΙΚΗ ΣΥΡΡΙΚΝΩΣΗ ΣΤΟ ΠΕΔΙΟ ΤΟΥ ΑΡΧΑΪΚΟΥ ΛΕΞΙΛΟΓΙΟΥ ΤΩΝ ΙΔΙΩΜΑΤΩΝ ΤΟΥ ΜΑΛΙ ΓΙΑΝΙΣΟΛ ΚΑΙ ΤΗΣ ΓΙΑΛΤΑΣ ΤΗΣ ΚΡΙΜΑΙΟΑΖΟΦΙΚΗΣ ΔΙΑΛΕΚΤΟΥ

[1235-1245] Αναστασία Χριστοφίδου

ΠΟΛΥΛΕΚΤΙΚΑ ΣΥΝΘΕΤΑ, ΣΕΙΡΑΪΚΟΙ ΣΧΗΜΑΤΙΣΜΟΙ ΚΑΙ ΥΣΤΕΡΩΝΥΜΙΚΑ ΖΕΥΓΗ. ΣΥΜΒΟΛΗ ΣΤΗΝ ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΗ ΛΕΞΗ

■ Πρόλογος |

Στον τόμο αυτό δημοσιεύονται επιλεγμένες εργασίες που παρουσιάστηκαν είτε ως αυτοτελείς ομιλίες είτε ως αναρτημένες ανακοινώσεις στο 10ο Διεθνές Συνέδριο Ελληνικής Γλωσσολογίας (ΔΣΕΓ), το οποίο πραγματοποιήθηκε στο Δημοκρίτειο Πανεπιστήμιο Θράκης κατά το διάστημα 1-4 Σεπτεμβρίου 2011 και συνδιοργανώθηκε από το Τμήμα Ελληνικής Φιλολογίας, το Τμήμα Γλώσσας, Φιλολογίας και Πολιτισμού Παρευξείνιων Χωρών και το Παιδαγωγικό Τμήμα Δημοτικής Εκπαίδευσης.

Από τις 200 εργασίες που έγιναν αρχικά δεκτές μετά από κρίση για παρουσίαση στο Συνέδριο, υποβλήθηκαν για δημοσίευση 140 περίπου και από αυτές δημοσιεύονται, έπειτα από τη διαδικασία αξιολόγησης των κειμένων, οι 119.

Προτάσσονται στον τόμο τα κείμενα των προσκεκλημένων ομιλητών με αλφαβητική σειρά. Στη συνέχεια παρατίθενται τα άρθρα στην αγγλική γλώσσα και ακολουθούν τα άρθρα στην ελληνική. Τα κείμενα παρατίθενται στον τόμο κατ' αλφαβητική σειρά, και στην περίπτωση περισσότερων του ενός συγγραφέων λαμβάνεται ως βάση το όνομα του πρώτου συγγραφέα. Ο αναγνώστης έχει τη δυνατότητα να κατεβάσει ως αρχείο pdf καθένα κείμενο ξεχωριστά, αλλά και ολόκληρο τον τόμο.

Ως οργανωτική επιτροπή και επιτροπή έκδοσης των πρακτικών του 10ου ΔΣΕΓ θα θέλαμε να ευχαριστήσουμε θερμά όλους όσους συμμετείχαν στο συνέδριο, είτε υπέβαλαν τις εργασίες τους για δημοσίευση στον τόμο αυτόν είτε όχι.

Θα θέλαμε ακόμη να ευχαριστήσουμε ιδιαίτερα τους προσκεκλημένους ομιλητές μας κκ. Jean-Claude Anscombre, Ομότιμο Διευθυντή Έρευνας στο Εθνικό Κέντρο Επιστημονικών Ερευνών (CNRS), Άννα Αναστασιάδη Συμεωνίδη, Καθηγήτρια του Αριστοτελείου Πανεπιστημίου Θεσσαλονίκης, Αναστασία Γιαννακίδου, Καθηγήτρια του Πανεπιστημίου του Σικάγου, Ursula Stephany, Καθηγήτρια του Πανεπιστημίου της Κολωνίας, Igor Mel'cuk, Καθηγητή του Πανεπιστημίου του Μόντρεαλ, Pius Ten Hacken, Καθηγητή του Πανεπιστημίου Swansea, Χριστόφορο Χαραλαμπίκη, Καθηγητή του Εθνικού και Καποδιστριακού Πανεπιστημίου Αθηνών, οι οποίοι με το κύρος και την επιστημονικότητά τους συνεισέφεραν τα μέγιστα στην επιτυχία του συνεδρίου.

Είμαστε, επίσης, ιδιαίτερα ευγνώμονες στους κριτές –εσωτερικούς και εξωτερικούς– που διέθεσαν μέρος του πολύτιμου χρόνου τους για την αξιολόγηση τόσο των περιλήψεων, όσο και των κειμένων που κατατέθηκαν προς δημοσίευση. Η βοήθειά τους ήταν καθοριστική όχι μόνο για την επιλογή των ανακοινώσεων που παρουσιάστηκαν στο συνέδριο, αλλά και για τη διασφάλιση της επιστημονικότητας και της ποιότητας του παρόντος τόμου. Ωστόσο, θα θέλαμε να υπογραμμίσουμε ότι την ευθύνη για την τελική μορφή των άρθρων που περιέχει ο τόμος αυτός φέρουν αποκλειστικά οι συγγραφείς, οι οποίοι είχαν την ευκαιρία να επανεξετάσουν τις υπό έκδοση εργασίες τους μετά τη διαδικασία της αξιολόγησης.

Θα θέλαμε να ευχαριστήσουμε επίσης όλους τους συναδέλφους, εθελοντές φοιτητές

και τα μέλη του διοικητικού προσωπικού του Δημοκρίτειου Πανεπιστημίου Θράκης, που βοήθησαν στη διοργάνωση του συνεδρίου, στην επιτυχή διεξαγωγή του και στην έκδοση των Πρακτικών. Ιδιαίτερως ευχαριστούμε τη διδάσκουσα με σύμβαση του Π.Δ 407 στο Παιδαγωγικό Τμήμα Δημοτικής Εκπαίδευσης-ΔΠΘ κ. Παπαδοπούλου Ελένη, τον διδάκτορα του Τμήματος Ελληνικής Φιλολογίας, κ. Νικόλαο Μαθιουδάκη, καθώς και την υποψήφια διδάκτορα του Τμήματος Ελληνικής Φιλολογίας κ. Ελίνα Χατζηπαπά για την ουσιαστική συμβολή τους στη διαδικασία αξιολόγησης (εκπόνηση καταλόγων με τις υπό κρίση εργασίες, διεκπεραίωση ηλεκτρονικής αλληλογραφίας με συγγραφείς και αξιολογητές), επιμέλειας και μορφοποίησης των πρακτικών.

Τέλος, το 10ο ΔΣΕΓ δεν θα μπορούσε να πραγματοποιηθεί χωρίς την οικονομική ενίσχυση του Δημοκρίτειου Πανεπιστημίου Θράκης, στο οποίο είμαστε ευγνώμονες για την οικονομική του συνεισφορά.

Κομοτηνή Δεκέμβριος 2012

Η Επιτροπή Έκδοσης

Ζωή Γαβριηλίδου
Αγγελική Ευθυμίου
Ευαγγελία Θωμαδάκη
Πηνελόπη Καμπάκη-Βουγιουκλή

■ Introduction |

This volume contains selected papers from the 10th International Conference of Greek Linguistics (ICGL), held at Democritus University of Thrace, Komotini - Greece, (1st – 4th September 2011). The conference was co-organized by the Department of Greek, the Department of Language, Literature and Culture of Black Sea Countries and the Department of Primary Education.

Out of the 200 abstracts approved after the initial reviewing and presented at the Conference (posters included), approximately 140 were submitted and 119 were finally accepted for publication after a peer reviewing process. As Editors of the present volume, we would like to express our warmest thanks to all contributors, whether they submitted a paper for publication in this volume or not.

The volume is organized as follows: The first section contains the contributions of the invited speakers followed by the papers in English and finally by the papers in Greek, all set out in alphabetical order (in case of multiple authors, the name of the first author is taken into account). Readers can download not only single papers but also the entire volume in pdf format.

Special thanks are due to our invited speakers who were kind enough to travel to Komotini and deliver their keynote speeches in various fields of Linguistics, thereby contributing substantially to the success of the conference: Professor Jean-Claude Anscombre, Honorary Research Director at the National Center of Scientific Research (CNRS), Professor Anna Anastasiades-Symeonides, Aristotle University of Thessaloniki, Professor Anastasia Giannakidou, University of Chicago, Professor Ursula Stephany, University of Cologne, Professor Igor Mel'cuk, University of Montreal, Professor Pius Ten Hacken, University of Wales and Professor Christoforos Charalambakis, National University of Athens.

We are also deeply indebted to our reviewers –both internal and external– for devoting much of their precious time to reviewing the abstracts and papers. Their contribution was invaluable not only in the selection of the abstracts but also as a means of safeguarding the scientific quality of the present volume. Nevertheless, it should be pointed out that the responsibility for the final form of each paper lies ultimately with the author(s), as they had the chance to approve their texts after the process of peer reviewing.

We would like to thank all colleagues, volunteer students and administrative staff of Democritus University who contributed in various ways to the success of the conference and the publication of the proceedings. Special mention must be made for Dr. Eleni Papadopoulou, Adjunct Lecturer at the Department of Primary Education, Dr. Nikolaos Mathioudakis (Department of Greek) and Ms. Elina Chadjipapa, PhD student, (Department of Greek) for their assistance in the procedure of evaluation (listing the papers to be reviewed, handling the electronic

correspondence with authors and reviewers) as well as in improving the final layout of the proceedings.

The Conference received financial support from the Democritus University of Thrace, which is hereby gratefully acknowledged.

Komotini, December 2012

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ΠΡΟΣΚΕΚΛΗΜΕΝΟΙ ΚΑΘΗΓΗΤΕΣ |
INVITED SPEAKERS

ΤΟ ΝΕΟΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΟ ΚΛΙΤΙΚΟ ΣΥΣΤΗΜΑ ΤΩΝ ΟΥΣΙΑΣΤΙΚΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΟΙ ΤΑΣΕΙΣ ΤΟΥ¹

Άννα Αναστασιάδη-Συμεωνίδη

Αριστοτέλειο Πανεπιστήμιο Θεσσαλονίκης, Ελλάδα

ansym@lit.auth.gr

ABSTRACT

The aim of this paper is to propose a new morphological classification of the Modern Greek nouns that leads to a deeper understanding of the language system. Our description is based on the theory of Paradigm Function Morphology (Stump 2001), which is an inferential-realizational theory of inflection, and the theoretical model advanced by Bonami & Boyé (2003, 2004, 2006, 2009, 2011). We begin by presenting the existing classifications of Greek nouns and we move on to our own proposal which includes six inflectional classes, and its predictions.

Keywords: paradigm function morphology, thematic space, prototypical inflectional system, disponibility of inflectional classes, vocative, [+/-learned], stem recognisability, economy

1. Εισαγωγή

Πολλοί ερευνητές έχουν ασχοληθεί τόσο από συγχρονική όσο και από διαχρονική σκοπιά με το ζήτημα της περιγραφής και ερμηνείας του συστήματος κλίσης των ουσιαστικών της Νέας Ελληνικής (NE) χρησιμοποιώντας ένα θεωρητικό πλαίσιο είτε με ρητό τρόπο π.χ. Μαλικούτη (1970), Ralli/Ράλλη (1994, 1998, 1999, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003) είτε –το συνηθέστερο– με άρρητο.

Στην ανακοίνωση αυτή, με βάση το θεωρητικό πλαίσιο της Μορφολογίας των Παραδειγματικών Συναρτήσεων (Stump 2001) όπως συμπληρώθηκε από τους Olivier Bonami και Gilles Boyé (2003, 2004, 2006, 2009, 2011), θα επιχειρήσουμε αφενός μια περιγραφή του νεοελληνικού κλιτικού συστήματος των ουσιαστικών και αφετέρου μια ερμηνεία συναφών φαινομένων που αναδεικνύουν τις τάσεις του συστήματος. Για το σκοπό αυτό εξετάσαμε πάνω από 80 000 ουσιαστικά, που είναι λημματογραφημένα στο *Αντίστροφο λεξικό της νέας ελληνικής* (Αναστασιάδη-Συμεωνίδη 2002). Έτσι, σύμφωνα με την ερμηνεία αυτή, το σύστημα μας αποκαλύπτεται σε όλη του την απλότητα παρά τη φαινομενική περιπλοκότητά του, και η περιγραφή επιτυγχάνεται με έναν τρόπο ιδιαίτερα οικονομικό: 6 τάξεις αρκούν για να περιγράψουν το σύνολο των κλιτών ουσιαστικών της NE.

Ο συσχετισμός κλιτικής τάξης και συχνότητας τύπου, ο συσχετισμός θέματος και φαινομένων κλίσης/παράγωγής καθώς και η έννοια του θεματικού κλιτικού χώρου για κάθε θέμα ενός ουσιαστικού επιτρέπουν όχι μόνο την περιγραφή με ανάγλυφο τρόπο του νεοελληνικού συστήματος, αλλά και ποικίλες προβλέψεις όπως το είδος των θεμάτων ενός ουσιαστικού και κατ' επέκταση της κλιτικής τάξης του.

Η εργασία αυτή αποτελείται από 3 μέρη:

- 1) Βιβλιογραφική ανασκόπηση σε Γραμματικές και μονογραφίες του κλιτικού συστήματος του ουσιαστικού
- 2) Παρουσίαση της πρότασής μας
- 3) Συμπεράσματα για το πρωτοτυπικό κλιτικό σύστημα της NE και εφαρμογές.

¹ Ευχαριστώ θερμά τον κ. Olivier Bonami, καθ. στο Παν/μιο Paris IV, που με περισσή ανιδιοτέλεια ανέλαβε να επιμορφώσει μικρή ομάδα ελλήνων γλωσσολόγων στο θεωρητικό πλαίσιο που έχει επιλεγεί στην εργασία αυτή, την κ. Δήμητρα Αλεξανδρίδου, υποψ. διδάκτορα, που προχώρησε με γνώση και υπομονή στον έλεγχο της πρότασης αυτής εφαρμόζοντάς την στο πλήθος των ουσιαστικών της NE καθώς και τη συνάδελφο Ανθή Ρεβυθιάδου για την προσεκτική ανάγνωση του κειμένου.

2. Βιβλιογραφική ανασκόπηση

Θα επιχειρήσουμε με συνοπτικό τρόπο να φωτίσουμε τις αρχές που υιοθετήθηκαν από τα σύγχρονα κείμενα κατά την ταξινόμηση των ουσιαστικών σε κλιτικές τάξεις.² Η κλιτική τάξη (KT) είναι ο μορφολογικός δείκτης της ομάδας των τύπων που περιλαμβάνονται στο κλιτικό παράδειγμα μιας λέξης, παρέχει ταξινόμηση στα ουσιαστικά και μετέχει στο σχηματισμό λέξεων για να εξασφαλίσει το σωστό συνδυασμό θεμάτων και επιθημάτων (Ράλλη 2003: 64, 66).

2.1 Μανόλης Τριανταφυλλίδης (1941)

Η κατηγοριοποίησή του στηρίζεται στις 3 τιμές του γένους: η α' κλίση περιλαμβάνει τα αρσενικά, η β' τα θηλυκά και η γ' τα ουδέτερα. Κάθε κλίση περιλαμβάνει πολλές KT. Ωστόσο δεν υπάρχει πλήρης αντιστοίχιση γένους και KT ούτε προβλεπτότητα. Η κατηγοριοποίηση αυτή εξυπηρετεί μάλλον πρακτικούς λόγους.³

2.2 Mirambel (1959)

Ο Mirambel θεωρεί ότι κάθε κλιτή λέξη αποτελείται από το θέμα (το αμετάβλητο στοιχείο) και την κατάληξη (το μεταβλητό στοιχείο), και ενδεχομένως από ένα επίθημα,⁴ που παρεμβάλλεται ανάμεσα στο θέμα και στην κατάληξη, όπως το -τ- στα ουδέτερα περιττοσύλλαβα π.χ. *μάλαμα/μαλάμα-τ-ος* ή το -δ- στα αρσενικά και θηλυκά περιττοσύλλαβα π.χ. *καβγάς/καγβά-δ-ες*, *κυρά/κυρά-δ-ες*.

Το θέμα διατηρεί σταθερά τη μορφή και το σημασιολογικό του περιεχόμενο. Επισημαίνει ότι ο τόνος (1959: 66) δεν είναι το στοιχείο που προσδιορίζει την KT. Το ονοματικό σύστημα παρουσιάζει την τάση να σταθεροποιήσει τον τόνο σε μια θέση σε όλους τους τύπους του. Ο αρχικός τόνος, αν μετατεθεί, θα μετατεθεί προς τα δεξιά. Η μετακίνηση του τόνου είναι ένα από τα χαρακτηριστικά που διαφοροποιεί την κλίση του ουσιαστικού από του επιθέτου, πβ. *πόλεμος/πολέμου* – *όμορφος/όμορφου*, *γυναίκα/γυναίκων* – *τίμια/τίμιων*. Δηλ. τα ουσιαστικά ξεχωρίζουν από τα άλλα ονοματικά στοιχεία (επίθετα, αριθμητικά) ως προς το ότι κατά την κλίση τους έχουν τόνο άλλοτε σταθερό άλλοτε κινητό. Κατά τον Mirambel (1959: 67) το ονοματικό σύστημα χαρακτηρίζεται από α) την ενότητα του θέματος στο εσωτερικό της λέξης, β) την ενδεχόμενη παρέμβαση επιθημάτων, γ) τη συστηματική μεταβολή των καταλήξεων. Η λόγια κλίση αγνοεί το -δ-, ο τόνος είναι κινητός και οι KT ποικίλλουν κατά τη φύση του θέματος, αν δηλ. είναι φωνηεντικό ή συμφωνικό. Η δημοτική, ενοποιώντας τα θέματά της, ενοποιεί και τις KT της και παρουσιάζει μεγαλύτερη ομοιογένεια στο κλιτικό της σύστημα. Η διάκριση των γενών είναι η γενική αρχή που διέπει την κλίση των ονομάτων στη ΝΕ.

Διακρίνει (1959: 89) την κλίση με 4 όρους, λ.χ. *αδερφός-ού-ό-έ*, την κλίση με 3 όρους, λ.χ. *αδερφοί-ών-ούς*, την κλίση με 2 όρους όπου εμπίπτουν τα περισσότερα ουσιαστικά, λ.χ. *μυαλό-ού*, *πουλί-ού*, *περιστάσεις-σεων*, *λάθος-ους*, *χειμώνες-ων*, *γάλα-τος*, *γάλατα-ων*, *τέρας-τέρατος*, *φαγάδες-ων*. Η ταξινόμησή του στηρίζεται καταρχήν στον αριθμό των διαφορετικών πτώσεων (δίπτωτα/τρίπτωτα/τετράπτωτα), στη συνέχεια στο γένος, στη μεταβολή ή μη του θεματικού φωνήεντος και τέλος στην προσθήκη ή μη επενθετικού συμφώνου. Τέλος, είναι φανερό ότι ο Mirambel

² Δε θα ασχοληθώ με παλαιότερες Γραμματικές όπως ήταν η αρχική μου σκέψη, γιατί περιγράφουν παλαιότερες φάσεις της ελληνικής, π.χ. ο Simon Portius στη Γραμματική του (1638: 15): *ο κλέφτης/του κλέφτου*. Επίσης ο Νικόλαος Σοφιανός (1874) π.χ. διακρίνει 7 KT: στην α' εντάσσονται τα αρσενικά σε -ας, -ης, -ις, -υς λ.χ. *προφήτης*, στη β' εντάσσονται τα θηλυκά σε -α και -η λ.χ. *ημέρα*, στην γ' εντάσσονται αρσενικά και θηλυκά σε -ος π.χ. *λόγος* και ουδέτερα σε -ον, -ί, -ι, π.χ. *ξύλον*, *ψωμί*. Στην δ' εντάσσονται αρσενικά σε -ας (γεν. -ος) π.χ. *άνδρας/ανδρός*, θηλυκά και ουδέτερα σε -α/-ος π.χ. *γυναίκα/γυναίκος*, *ένα/ένος*, στην ε' τάξη εντάσσονται αρσενικά επίθετα σε -ούς π.χ. *απλούς* και θηλυκά σε -ού π.χ. *αλεπού*, στην στ' εντάσσονται αρσενικά σε -ης/-ους π.χ. *Δημοσθένης* και ουδέτερα σε -ος/-ους π.χ. *γένος*. Τέλος στην ζ' εντάσσονται τα ανισοσύλλαβα αρσενικά, θηλυκά και ουδέτερα με γενική σε -ος/-ως π.χ. *Αίας/Αιάτος*, *κακότης/κακότητος*, *φύσις/φύσεως*, *στρώμα/στρώματος*. Σε νεότερες Γραμματικές καταγράφεται η γλωσσική αλλαγή συγκριτικά με την ΑΕ. Το ίδιο και ο Jannaris (1897) και ο Δυοβουνιώτης στη Γραμματική του Μητροφάνους Κριτοπούλου, π.χ. (1924: 108) «Των ονομάτων της πρώτης κλίσεως τα μεν εις ας περατούνται τα δε εις ης οίον ο Αινείας, ο Χρύσης. Τούτων η γενική λήγει εις α ή εις η οίον του Αινεία, του Χρύση, αντί του Αινείου, του Χρύσου». Ευχαριστώ την Ιώ Μανωλέσσου για τη σχετική βιβλιογραφία έντυπη και ηλεκτρονική.

³ Βλ. και Aronoff 1994 και Ράλλη/Ralli 1994, 1998, 1999, 2000, 2003: 64.

⁴ Δεν πρόκειται για επίθημα σύμφωνα με τον αποδεκτό σήμερα ορισμό του επιθήματος, αλλά για ένα στοιχείο χωρίς σημασιολογικό περιεχόμενο. Άλλωστε ο ίδιος το -δ- το ονομάζει αλλού (1959: 67) σχηματιστικό επίθημα.

έχει επηρεαστεί από το δομισμό, πράγμα που έχει ως αποτέλεσμα μια πολύ προσεγμένη περιγραφή του ΝΕ κλιτικού συστήματος, που συνοδεύεται από πάμπολλες εύστοχες παρατηρήσεις.

2.3 Μαλικούτη (1970)

Η Μαλικούτη περιγράφει ενδελεχώς υπό το πρίσμα της μετασχηματιστικής θεωρίας το κλιτικό σύστημα της ΝΕ και επικεντρώνεται στο να παραχθούν με συστηματικότητα συνδυαστικά τόσο στη δημοτική όσο και στην καθαρεύουσα οι διάφοροι κλιτικοί τύποι ενός ουσιαστικού με αναγωγή σε ενιαίο υποκείμενο σύστημα και με τη βοήθεια 21 φωνολογικών κανόνων, 4 κανόνων επανασχηματισμού βάσης και 7 κανόνων επανασχηματισμού καταλήξεων. Αναγνωρίζει 17 σχήματα ονομαστικών βάσεων και παρουσιάζει κατανομή των σχημάτων των καταλήξεων (1970: 89).

Ωστόσο πρόκειται για περιγραφή που ως προς τις επιστημονικές αρχές στηρίζεται σε προηγούμενο μοντέλο του Chomsky και ως προς τη γλώσσα αντικείμενο περιγραφής σε παρωχημένη μορφή της ΝΕ.

2.4 Sotiropoulos (1972)

Ο Sotiropoulos ως προς τη μεθοδολογία της μορφολογικής ανάλυσης ακολουθεί το μοντέλο στοιχείο και διάταξη (1972: 19), δηλ. στηρίζεται στα στοιχεία, τα τεμάχιά τους και την κατανομή τους. Τα ουσιαστικά αποτελούνται από θέματα (stems) και κλιτικά επιθήματα και εξετάζονται οι συνθήκες εμφάνισής τους. Το θέμα αποτελείται από τη βάση ή (στην πιο σύνθετη μορφή) από πρόθημα, βάση και (παραγωγικό) επίθημα (1972: 34), ενώ το κλιτικό επίθημα είτε ακολουθεί τη βάση είτε το (παραγωγικό) επίθημα (1972: 36). Τα ουσιαστικά διαιρούνται σε 3 ΚΤ και σε 8 υποκατηγορίες με βάση τα κλιτικά επιθήματα (1972: 36). Η α' ΚΤ περιλαμβάνει τα αρσενικά, η β' ΚΤ τα θηλυκά και η γ' τα ουδέτερα. Π.χ. η α' ΚΤ στον ενικό διαφοροποιείται από τη β' ΚΤ με βάση τα αλλόμορφα -ς και Ø στην ονομαστική (1972: 37). Στον πληθυντικό τα αλλόμορφα -η και -α της γ' ΚΤ διαφοροποιούνται από το αλλόμορφο -ες των ΚΤ α' και β' (1972: 38).

2.5 Joseph & Philippaki-Warbuton (1987: 122, 152)

Για τους Joseph & Philippaki-Warbuton οι κλιτικές τάξεις καθορίζονται ενμέρει από το ληκτικό στοιχείο του θέματος και ενμέρει από το γένος.

Παρατηρήσεις

Στις σ. 154-155 δίνονται τα κλιτικά παραδείγματα των κυριότερων ομαλών αλλά και ανώμαλων τάξεων. Ωστόσο στα ομαλά κατατάσσεται το *άνθρωπος* και στα ανώμαλα το *γιαγιά*. Για μας ισχύει το ακριβώς αντίθετο.

2.6 Mackridge (1990: 214-220)

Ο Mackridge προτείνει τριμερή διάκριση με βάση τις καταλήξεις.

1. Στην κατηγορία 1 εντάσσει τα ουσιαστικά που έχουν κοινές καταλήξεις στον πληθυντικό, αλλά διαφορετικές στον ενικό ανάλογα με το γένος, αρσενικό ή θηλυκό, π.χ. *φύλακας, κλέφτης – θάλασσα, τέχνη*. Ωστόσο εδώ εντάσσονται και τα ανισοσύλλαβα, π.χ. *παπάς, καφές, καφετζής, παππούς – γιαγιά, αλεπού*, αλλά και τα αρσενικά ή θηλυκά ουσ. με πληθ. σε -είς [-is], π.χ. *συγγραφέας, συγγενής – κυβέρνηση*.
2. Στην κατηγορία 2 εντάσσονται τα ουσιαστικά που σχηματίζουν τη γενική ενικού σε -ου, αρσενικά και ουδέτερα και ορισμένα θηλυκά, π.χ. *άνθρωπος, αγόρι – δωμάτιο*.
3. Στην κατηγορία 3 όλα τα υπόλοιπα, ισοσύλλαβα και ανισοσύλλαβα, π.χ. *έδαφος – όνομα, πλύσιμο, κρέας, φως, παρόν*.

Η ταξινόμηση αυτή, όπου καταβάλλεται προσπάθεια για πληρότητα αλλά και για ταυτόχρονη μείωση των ΚΤ, πέρα από τον υπολειμματικό χαρακτήρα της κατηγορίας 3, δεν έχει προβλεπτικό χαρακτήρα, δηλ. δεν μπορεί να προβλεφθεί ότι ο πληθ. του *τσομπάνης* είναι *τσομπάνηδες* και όχι **τσομπάνες* κατά το *κλέφτες*, αφού και τα δύο εντάσσονται στην κατηγορία 1.

2.7 Θωμαδάκη (1994)

Η θεωρία της Λεξικής Μορφολογίας (ισχυρή εκδοχή της Λεξικιστικής Υπόθεσης) αποτελεί το βασικό θεωρητικό πλαίσιο, το οποίο συμπληρώνεται από προτάσεις του Wurzel στο πλαίσιο του μοντέλου της Φυσικής Μορφολογίας κυρίως όσον αφορά την υπόθεση περί Δομικών Συνθηκών Παραδείγματος (1994: 68). Οι κανόνες κλίσης, παραγωγής και σύνθεσης ανήκουν στον Τομέα Λεξικής Δομής και ακολουθείται η θεωρία των λεξικών επιπέδων στα οποία διαμοιράζονται τα προσφύματα μιας γλώσσας. Ωστόσο η μορφοματική σύλληψη της μορφολογίας (1994: 50), η υιοθέτηση της παρωχημένης θεωρίας των λεξικών επιπέδων, καθώς και το ότι δε λαμβάνονται υπόψη η έννοια του θεματικού χώρου,⁵ ο αριθμός των μελών των ΚΤ, η συχνότητα, η διαθεσιμότητα των ΚΤ, η διάκριση σε κεντρικές/πρωτοτυπικές ΚΤ και μη συνιστούν βασικές επιλογές που διαφοροποιούν ριζικά την πρότασή μας. Ως συνέπεια της περιγραφής αυτής τα ουσιαστικά σε -ος όπως *δρόμος* παρουσιάζονται να αποτελούν αντιπροσωπευτικές περιπτώσεις του ΝΕ κλιτικού συστήματος (1994: 100, 141), ενώ για μας πρόκειται για μη διαθέσιμη ΚΤ.

2.8 Κλαίρης & Μπαμπινιώτης (1996, 2005: 18-22)

Οι Κλαίρης & Μπαμπινιώτης λαμβάνουν ως βασικό κριτήριο το αν το ουσιαστικό είναι δικατάληκτο ή τρικατάληκτο,⁶ στη συνέχεια εξετάζεται το ζήτημα της ισοσυλλαβίας/ανισοσυλλαβίας⁷ και ως τρίτο κριτήριο λαμβάνεται το γένος.

ΟΝΟΜΑΤΑ							
Δικατάληκτα						Τρικατάληκτα	
ισοσύλλαβα			ανισοσύλλαβα			ισοσύλλαβα	
αρσ. <i>ταμίας</i>	θηλ. <i>βρύση</i>	ουδ. <i>ποσό</i>	αρσ. <i>παππούς</i>	θηλ. <i>μαμά</i>	ουδ. <i>σώμα</i>	αρσ. <i>φίλος</i>	θηλ. <i>είσοδος</i>

Παρατηρήσεις

Η ταξινόμηση αυτή πρωτοτυπεί ως προς τα κριτήρια που λαμβάνει υπόψη καθώς και ως προς την ιεράρχησή τους και καταλήγει σε μια συνεπή περιγραφή. Ωστόσο και πάλι χάνεται το ανάγλυφο του συστήματος.

Το μεγαλύτερο πρόβλημα της ταξινόμησης αυτής είναι ότι ουσιαστικά με τα ίδια κλιτικά μορφήματα εντάσσονται σε διαφορετικές τάξεις και ουσιαστικά με διαφορετικά κλιτικά μορφήματα εντάσσονται στην ίδια τάξη, π.χ. το κλιτικό της γενικής -ου βρίσκεται τόσο στα ισοσύλλαβα δικατάληκτα (*ποσό*) όσο και στα τρικατάληκτα (*φίλος*) ή ακόμη τα *ταμίας*, *βρύση* και *ποσό* έχουν διαφορετικά κλιτικά μορφήματα στη γενική ενικού. (Βλ. και Tonnet 2006: 70.)

Στην κατηγορία *ταμίας* εντάσσονται και ουσ. όπως *αποστολέας/αποστολείς*, το οποίο παρουσιάζει μία συλλαβή λιγότερη στον πληθυντικό αριθμό και με βάση τον ορισμό της ανισοσυλλαβίας θα έπρεπε να ενταχθεί στα ανισοσύλλαβα, έστω και αν η επιπλέον συλλαβή εμφανίζεται στον ενικό.

Η κατηγορία τρικατάληκτα περιλαμβάνει τα αρσενικά και θηλυκά ουσιαστικά σε -ος χωρίς να γίνει αναφορά στο ανάγλυφο, ότι δηλ. τα θηλυκά έχουν περιορισμένη συχνότητα τύπου.

2.9 Ράλλη (2003)

Η Ράλλη σε πολλά άρθρα της ασχολείται με το κλιτικό σύστημα της ΝΕ. Ειδικότερα για την κλίση του ουσιαστικού (1994, 2000, 2003: 71 κεξ.) προτείνει 8 ΚΤ:

ΚΤ1 αρσενικά, θηλυκά π.χ. *άνθρωπος*, *ψήφος*

⁵ Η προτεινόμενη θεματική αλλομορφία αφενός έχει περιορισμένη εμβέλεια, γιατί αφορά μόνο ορισμένες κατηγορίες ουσιαστικών, λ.χ. τα ανισοσύλλαβα αρσενικά και θηλυκά ουσιαστικά (1994: 174, 152, 197, 209) και αφετέρου οδηγεί σε διπλή λημματογράφηση στο Σταθερό Λεξικό στην περίπτωση προαιρετικότητας (1994: 183).

⁶ Υιοθετείται η πρόταση του Κουρμούλη (1964).

⁷ Ισοσύλλαβα είναι τα ουσιαστικά των οποίων όλοι οι τύποι εμφανίζουν ίσο αριθμό συλλαβών. Ανισοσύλλαβα είναι τα ουσιαστικά των οποίων ορισμένοι τύποι εμφανίζουν μία συλλαβή παραπάνω (2005: 18).

KT2 αρσενικά π.χ. *μαθητής, φύλακας, κεφτές, παππούς*
 KT3 θηλυκά π.χ. *τύχη, χαρά, αλεπού*
 KT4 θηλυκά π.χ. *πόλη*
 KT5 ουδέτερα π.χ. *βιβλίο*
 KT6 ουδέτερα π.χ. *παιδί*
 KT7 ουδέτερα π.χ. *κράτος*
 KT8 ουδέτερα π.χ. *χώμα*

Ωστόσο ο μεγάλος αριθμός αλλομορφικών κανόνων (κυρίως σε θέματα) που προϋποτίθεται, π.χ. *αγορα-* vs. *αγορ-* vs. *αγορο-* καθώς και το ότι δε λαμβάνεται υπόψη ο αριθμός των μελών των ΚΤ δεν αφήνουν πολλά περιθώρια για προβλέψεις. Επίσης η ΚΤ1 (2003: 75) χαρακτηρίζεται ως η πιο κοινή, ενώ για μας δεν είναι πλέον διαθέσιμη.

2.10 Holton & Mackridge & Φιλιππάκη-Warburton (2004/2007: 42-66)

Οι συγγραφείς υιοθετούν την τριμερή κατηγοριοποίηση κατά γένος και δευτερευόντως στο εσωτερικό κάθε κατηγορίας λαμβάνεται υπόψη η κατάληξη της ονομαστικής ενικού. Έτσι διακρίνονται 8 κατηγορίες αρσενικών, 8 θηλυκών και 6 ουδέτερων (2007: 43).

Η ταξινόμηση αυτή, όπου καταβάλλεται προσπάθεια για πληρότητα αλλά και για ταυτόχρονη μείωση των ΚΤ, αντιμετωπίζει ισοπεδωτικά το συχνό και το μη συχνό, το διαθέσιμο και το μη διαθέσιμο πια, π.χ. τα ουσιαστικά σε *-ος* μπορεί να είναι αρσενικά, θηλυκά ή ουδέτερα (2007: 42), ενώ πρόκειται για κατηγορία μη διαθέσιμη της οποίας τα μέλη διαφέρουν ως προς τη συχνότητα τύπου, αφού τα θηλυκά και τα ουδέτερα έχουν ιδιαίτερα χαμηλή συχνότητα τύπου σε αντίθεση με τα αρσενικά.

2.11 Tonnet (2006: 70-87)

Ο Tonnet προτείνει για τρεις λόγους ένα σύστημα τεσσάρων κλιτικών τάξεων που αναπαράγει ενμέρει τις δομές του ΑΕ κλιτικού συστήματος. Το σύστημα αυτό (2006: 70-71) 1) αναδεικνύει τη συνέχεια της ελληνικής, 2) επιτρέπει την απρόσκοπτη ενσωμάτωση των στοιχείων που η δημοτική δανείστηκε από την καθαρεύουσα, και ιδίως 3) ομαδοποιεί στην ίδια κλιτική τάξη τα ουσιαστικά που έχουν εν μέρει ή ενόλω τα ίδια κλιτικά μορφήματα. Στην α' τάξη ανήκουν τα αρσενικά και θηλυκά ουσιαστικά που σχηματίζουν την ονομαστική/αιτιατική πληθυντικού με το κλιτικό *-ες/-δες*. Στη β' τάξη ανήκουν όσα σχηματίζουν τη γενική ενικού με το κλιτικό *-ου*, π.χ. *φίλος, Τήνος, παιδί, δημαρχείο*. Τα περισσότερα είναι αρσενικά, λίγα και [+λόγια] είναι θηλυκά⁸ και πολλά ουδέτερα. Στην γ' τάξη ανήκουν τα ουδέτερα ουσιαστικά σε *-μα* και σε *-ος* που σχηματίζουν τη γενική ενικού με το κλιτικό *-ος* ή *-ους*, π.χ. *μάθημα, έδαφος*. Τέλος στην δ' τάξη ανήκουν όσα στην ονομαστική/αιτιατική πληθυντικού έχουν το κλιτικό *-εις*. Πρόκειται για μικτή τάξη όπου τα ουσιαστικά στον ενικό κλίνονται όπως τα ουσιαστικά της α' τάξης και στον πληθυντικό όπως τα ουσιαστικά της ΑΕ γ' τάξης, π.χ. *συγγραφέας, κατάσταση, πόλη*.

Θετικό στοιχείο της ταξινόμησης αυτής είναι το ότι γίνεται μνεία της συχνότητας τύπου, λ.χ. ότι η α' τάξη, που περιλαμβάνει τα πρωτόκλιτα και ενμέρει τα τριτόκλιτα της ΑΕ, έχει τα περισσότερα μέλη.

2.12 Kyriacopoulou & Martineau & Yannacopoulou (2006)

Οι συγγραφείς διακρίνουν 887 ΚΤ. Περιγράφονται με πληρότητα και λεπτολογία 64 951 ουσιαστικά.⁹ Ο τόνος υπολογίζεται με ένα σύστημα κανόνων με βάση την τονισμένη συλλαβή στο λημματικό τύπο. Στη φάση που βρίσκεται τώρα το Ηλεκτρονικό Λεξικό των μονολεκτικών ουσιαστικών (Delas) της ΝΕ, που σχεδιάστηκε και αναπτύσσεται από τη μονάδα αυτόματης επεξεργασίας φυσικών γλωσσών (<http://linginfo.frl.auth.gr>) του Εργαστηρίου Μετάφρασης και Επεξεργασίας του Λόγου ΑΠΘ, περιλαμβάνει 64 951 λημματικούς τύπους, που αντιστοιχούν σε 268 645 κλιτούς τύπους. Κάθε λημματικός τύπος συνοδεύεται από έναν κλιτικό κωδικό αριθμό, που αποτελείται από ένα τμήμα

⁸ Για το λόγο αυτό τα θηλυκά εγκαταλείπουν την τάξη αυτή και εντάσσονται στην α' τάξη, όπου αποκτούν [-λόγια] μορφή, λ.χ. *η Τήνος* → *η Τήνο/της Τήνος*.

⁹ Σήμερα αυτό το ηλεκτρονικό λεξικό αυτόματης κλίσης μονολεκτικών ουσιαστικών περιλαμβάνει 181736 ουσιαστικά κοινά και κύρια (ανθρωπωνύμια και τοπωνύμια).

αλφαβητικό (με γράμματα) που προσδιορίζουν τη γραμματική κατηγορία (το μέρος του λόγου), και ένα τμήμα αριθμητικό που αναφέρεται σε έναν κλιτικό πίνακα με τη μορφή καταλόγου κλιτικών διανυσμάτων.

Ωστόσο δεν υπάρχει δυνατότητα προβλεπτότητας ούτε λαμβάνονται υπόψη αριθμητικά δεδομένα για τη διάκριση ανάμεσα σε πρωτοτυπικές ΚΤ και μη.

2.13 Χατζησαββίδης (2009 : 149-173)

Ο Χατζησαββίδης διακρίνει 3 ΚΤ και πολλές υποκατηγορίες με βάση το γένος, την ισοσυλλαβία και τέλος τα ανώμαλα ουσιαστικά. Έτσι η α΄ ΚΤ περιλαμβάνει τα αρσενικά, η β΄ τα θηλυκά και η γ΄ τα ουδέτερα. Ενδιαφέρον παρουσιάζει η φροντίδα για περιγραφή της μορφολογικής ποικιλίας που σχετίζεται με το ύφος και την κατάσταση επικοινωνίας.

2.14 Γενικές παρατηρήσεις

Στις παραπάνω ταξινομήσεις καταβάλλεται προσπάθεια για πληρότητα –σε ποικίλο βαθμό– με σύγχρονη μείωση του αριθμού των τιμών του χαρακτηριστικού της ΚΤ, δηλ. για επαρκή και οικονομική περιγραφή του κλιτικού συστήματος του ουσιαστικού.

Σε όλες τις προτάσεις (με εξαίρεση του Tonnet αλλά χωρίς αριθμητικά δεδομένα και της Χριστοφίδου (2003, βλ. παρακάτω 4.2), η οποία αναφέρεται σε παραγωγικές κλίσεις του ονόματος) δε λαμβάνεται υπόψη ο αριθμός των μελών κάθε ΚΤ, πράγμα σημαντικό, γιατί ο όγκος των μελών σε συνδυασμό με τη συχνότητα χρήσης επηρεάζει το σύστημα και οδηγεί σε αλλαγές που έχουν ως αποτέλεσμα αφενός την αύξηση των μελών των πολυπληθών και διαθέσιμων κλιτικών τάξεων και αφετέρου τη μείωση των μελών των ολιγομελών και μη διαθέσιμων τάξεων.

Αντιμετωπίζονται ισοπεδωτικά το συχνό και το μη συχνό, το διαθέσιμο και το μη διαθέσιμο.

Στη συντριπτική πλειονότητα των προτάσεων, με εξαίρεση τη Γραμματική των Joseph & Philippaki-Warbuton, τη Θωμαδάκη και τη Ράλλη (π.χ. 2003: 70), το φωνήεν πριν το -ς λ.χ. στο *φύλακας* δε θεωρείται τμήμα του θέματος αλλά του κλιτικού μορφήματος, π.χ. *φύλακ-ας*, με αποτέλεσμα να αυξάνει άσκοπα ο αριθμός των κλιτικών μορφημάτων.

3. Η πρότασή μας

3.1 Θεωρητικά

Η θεωρία των παραδειγματικών συναρτήσεων (Paradigm Function Morphology, Stump (2001)) δέχεται ως βασική μονάδα τη λέξη, ενώ το μόρφημα διαδραματίζει δευτερεύοντα ρόλο. Η λέξη συγκεντρώνει στο σώμα της τα μορφήματα, στα οποία προσδίδει συγκεκριμένη έννοια και λειτουργικότητα, και κάθε κλιτή λέξη είναι φορέας μορφοσυντακτικών ιδιοτήτων. Κατά τον Stump (2001: 32-33) τα κλιτικά παραδείγματα παίζουν κεντρικό ρόλο στην κλιτική μορφολογία μιας γλώσσας. Οι μορφολογικές εκφράσεις είναι 3 ειδών: ρίζες (roots), θέματα (stems) και λέξεις (words). Η ρίζα ενός λεξήματος είναι ο ερήμην τύπος του, απαλλαγμένος από κάθε στοιχείο κλίσης. Το θέμα είναι κάθε έκφραση στην οποία δυνάμει μπορούν να προστεθούν κλιτικοί εκθέτες (exponents), δηλ. τα κλιτικά επιθήματα. Ένα λέξημα έχει μόνο μία ρίζα, αλλά μπορεί να έχει πολλαπλά θέματα. Κατά τους Olivier Bonami και Gilles Boyé (2003, 2004, 2006, 2009, 2011), η μορφή του λεξήματος διαφοροποιείται σε θέματα αριθμημένα, τα οποία οργανώνονται σε έναν θεματικό χώρο, συστατικό στοιχείο του λεξήματος, από τα οποία παράγονται όλοι οι κλιτοί και παράγωγοι/σύνθετοι τύποι. Η κατανομή των θεμάτων αυτών διέπεται από ανστηρούς συσχετιστικούς κανόνες. Υπάρχουν 3 βασικά ζητήματα σχετικά με τα θέματα: α) ο τρόπος σχηματισμού του θέματος, β) η επιλογή το θέματος για κάθε γραμματική λέξη και γ) ο συσχετισμός των θεμάτων ενός λεξήματος.

Η υιοθέτηση της έννοιας του θεματικού χώρου έχει ως αποτέλεσμα κάθε κλιτός τύπος να μπορεί να επιλέγει ένα διαφορετικό θέμα, π.χ. όσον αφορά την κλίση του λεξήματος ΨΑΡΑΣ: η ονομαστική προκύπτει από το συσχετισμό του θέματος ΟΘ1¹⁰ *ψαρα-* με το κλιτικό -ς και η ονομαστική

¹⁰ Για να αποφευχθεί η σύγχυση ανάμεσα στα θέματα των διαφόρων θεματικών χώρων, προηγείται το όνομα της γραμματικής κατηγορίας. Έτσι το Ο σημαίνει ουσιαστικό, το οποίο παραλείπεται στη συνέχεια, γιατί όλη η εργασία αφορά τα ουσιαστικά.

πληθυντικού καθώς και το παράγωγο επίθετο¹¹ προκύπτουν από το συσχετισμό του θέματος Θ2β *ψαραδ-* με το κλιτικό *-ες* ή το επίθημα *-ικο(ς)*. Οι παραδειγματικές συναρτήσεις είναι στατικές συνθήκες σωστού σχηματισμού στα κελλιά. Έτσι προκύπτει το ότι τα κλιτικά είναι ίδια για όλα τα μέλη μίας ή πολλών ΚΤ, π.χ. *-ες* για τον πληθυντικό όλων των αρσενικών (εκτός των σε *-ος*) και όχι για άλλα αρσενικά ουσιαστικά *-ες* και για άλλα *-δες*.

Η έννοια του θεματικού χώρου επιτρέπει μεταξύ άλλων (Boyé 2011) αφενός να συλλάβουμε την απόλυτη αμοιβαία προβλεπτότητα ορισμένων τύπων ενός κλιτικού παραδείγματος, στο βαθμό που οι τύποι αυτοί για όλα τα λεξήματα βασίζονται στον ίδιο τύπο θέματος, π.χ. η γενική πληθυντικού για όλα τα αρσενικά βασίζεται στο Θ2 (α ή β) λ.χ. *φυλάκων, ανθρώπων, ψαράδων*, και αφετέρου να περιγράψουμε ενοποιητικά την κλιτική και παραγωγική μορφολογία.

Μια άλλη έννοια της θεωρίας αυτής είναι η έννοια του δέντρου των ιεραρχικών θεματικών εξαρτήσεων (slot dependencies), σύμφωνα με την οποία από ένα κύριο θέμα μπορούν να παραχθούν τα άλλα θέματα, λ.χ. από το θέμα *ψαρα-* παράγεται το θέμα *ψαραδ-*. Υπάρχει σύστημα αμοιβαίων αντιστοιχιών που επιτρέπει να συμπληρώνεται το σύνολο του θεματικού χώρου με βάση κάποιο κυρίαρχο θέμα.

Τέλος θεωρούμε χρήσιμη την έννοια της διαθεσιμότητας (Corbin 1987), που τη μεταφέρουμε από τη Μορφολογία Παραγωγής στην Κλιτική Μορφολογία. Διαθέσιμες διαδικασίες είναι εκείνες όπου οι μη μαρτυρημένες κατασκευασμένες λέξεις, που όμως σέβονται τους γλωσσικούς περιορισμούς, είναι τυχαία κενά. Μη διαθέσιμες είναι οι διαδικασίες που περιγράφουν μόνο μαρτυρημένες κατασκευασμένες λέξεις. Αναλογικά διαθέσιμες είναι οι ΚΤ που ενσωματώνουν νέα μέλη, είτε μέσω της νεολογίας είτε γενικότερα μέσω της γλωσσικής αλλαγής. Η διαθεσιμότητα είναι γλωσσικής φύσης και στηρίζεται στη γλωσσική ικανότητα. Επίσης διαφέρει από τη συχνότητα. Είναι δυνατό μια διαδικασία που δεν έχει υψηλή συχνότητα να είναι διαθέσιμη. Ή και αντίστροφα μια διαδικασία μπορεί να είναι συχνή αλλά όχι διαθέσιμη. Για μας η ΚΤ των αρσενικών σε *-ος* δεν είναι διαθέσιμη, περιλαμβάνει ωστόσο πολλά συχνόχρηστα ουσιαστικά. Χρήσιμες πληροφορίες για τις διαθέσιμες δομές παρέχουν οι παρατηρήσεις για τη δυναμική των γλωσσών σε συγχρονικό επίπεδο και ιδιαίτερα η μελέτη των φαινομένων νεολογίας (βλ. Αναστασιάδη-Συμεωνίδη 1986).

3.2 Κλιτικές τάξεις (ΚΤ)

Με βάση τα κλιτικά μορφήματα που εφαρμόζονται στο θέμα, διακρίνουμε 6 ΚΤ, που δε συμπίπτουν με προηγούμενες κατηγοριοποιήσεις. Οι ΚΤ θα ήταν 7, εάν υπολογίζαμε και τα άκλιτα.

3.2.1 Κλιτικός θεματικός χώρος

	Θέμα 1	Θέμα 2	Θέμα 3	Θέμα 4	συχνότητα τύπου ¹²
	ΟΕ, ΑΕ, ΚΕ	ΓΕ, ΟΠ, ΓΠ, ΑΠ, ΚΠ	ΓΕ	ΚΕ	
ΚΤ 1,2	Θ1	Θ2	Θ3=Θ2	-	46.000
ΚΤ 3	Θ1	Θ2	-	Θ4=Θ2	9.000
ΚΤ 4,5,6	Θ1	Θ2	-	-	27.000

Ο = ονομαστική, Α = αιτιατική, Κ = κλητική, Γ = γενική, Ε = ενικός, Π = πληθυντικός.

3.2.2 Επιλογή του θέματος (X)

Είναι γενικώς αποδεκτό ότι στην κλητική το ουσιαστικό εμφανίζεται στην πρωτοτυπική του μορφή, δηλ. το θέμα εμφανίζεται γυμνό, κάτι που συνταιριάζεται με τη λειτουργία της πτώσης αυτής, όπου το

¹¹ Το παράγωγο επίθετο είναι προϊόν του συσχετιστικού Κανόνα Κατασκευής Λέξεων/Λεξημάτων, που παράγει επίθετα από βάση ουσιαστικό (Corbin 1987). Η θεωρία των Bonami & Boyé συμπληρώνει το θεωρητικό πλαίσιο της Corbin ως εξής: ο κάθε ΚΚΛ πρέπει να δηλώνει ποια θέματα του θεματικού χώρου της βάσης χρησιμοποιεί και ποια θέματα του θεματικού χώρου του παραγόμενου κατασκευάζει, π.χ. *ψάρι* → *ψαρ-ικός* (θέμα *ψαρ-*) αλλά *ψαράς* → *ψαράδικος* (θέμα *ψαραδ-*).

¹² Τα αριθμητικά δεδομένα προέρχονται από το *Αντίστροφο Λεξικό της Νέας Ελληνικής* (2002).

ουσιαστικό «δεν κάνει τίποτε άλλο από το να *καλεί* κάτι με το όνομά του» (Κλαίρης & Μπαμπινιώτης 1996: 50).¹³ Ωστόσο η παρουσία της ΚΤ των ουσιαστικών σε -ος δεν μας επιτρέπει να επιλέξουμε την κλητική, λόγω των τύπων σε -ε, που παρουσιάζουν δηλ. αλλαγή στο θεματικό φωνήεν, π.χ. *φίλε!* Βέβαια ο σχηματισμός της κλητικής της τάξης αυτής δεν είναι ενιαίος, αφού συναντούμε κύρια ονόματα με κλητική σε -ο, δηλ. εναρμονισμένα με τον τρόπο σχηματισμού της κλητικής σε όλες τις υπόλοιπες ΚΤ, π.χ. *Νίκο!* Λόγω της κλητικής σε -ε απορρίφθηκε η κλητική ως η πτώση για την παραγωγή του θέματος 1. Επίσης απορρίφθηκε η ονομαστική, επειδή είναι πιο περίπλοκη από την αιτιατική, αφού στα αρσενικά προστίθεται το -ς. Έτσι τελικά προτείνεται η αιτιατική ως η πτώση που θα μας δώσει το θέμα 1.¹⁴

3.2.3 Παραγωγή των θεμάτων

Τα θέματα παράγονται με 3 τρόπους (Α, Β, Γ):

	Τρόπος Α	Τρόπος Β	Τρόπος Γ
Θέμα 1 (αιτ./εν.)	X+φωνήεν	X+i	X+η ¹⁵
Θέμα 2α	X	X	X
Θέμα 2β	X+φωνήεν+δ/τ	X+j	X+ε

Όπου X = θέμα του λεξήματος
φωνήεν: το φωνήεν του Θέματος 1 και του Θέματος 2β είναι πάντα το ίδιο στο κλιτικό παράδειγμα, δηλ. παραμένει σταθερό. Τα φωνήεντα είναι *α/η/ε/ου/ο*.

Δεν προβλέπονται μηδενικά μορφήματα.

Το Θέμα 2α προέρχεται από το Θέμα 1 μετά την αφαίρεση του τελικού φωνήεντος.

Το Θέμα 2β προέρχεται από το Θέμα 1 με την προσθήκη ενός οδοντικού: -δ- για τα αρσενικά και θηλυκά, και -τ- για τα ουδέτερα.

Από τους 3 τρόπους παραγωγής των θεμάτων, ο Α και ο Β είναι οι πρωτοτυπικοί,¹⁶ ενώ ο Γ είναι λιγότερο πρωτοτυπικός, γιατί αφορά περιορισμένο αριθμό αρσενικών και θηλυκών ουσιαστικών όπως *πρέσβης, πόλη, δύναμη*, αλλά και όλα τα παράγωγα μεταρρηματικά θηλυκά ουσιαστικά σε -ση/-ξη/-ψη.

3.2.4 Εφαρμογή στα ουσιαστικά της ΝΕ

ΚΤ 1: Θέμα 1 *φυλακα, αγροτη, τομεα, ψαρα, μαναβη, παππου, καφε, πρεσβη*

Θέμα 2α *φυλακ, αγροτ, τομε, ψαρ, μαναβ, καφ*¹⁷

Θέμα 2β *ψαραδ, μαναβηδ, παππουδ, καφεδ, πρεσβε*

ΚΤ 2: Θέμα 1 *θαλασσα, αναγκη, μαμα, αλεπου, δυναμη*

Θέμα 2α *θαλασσ, αναγκ, μαμ, αλεπ, δυναμ*

Θέμα 2β *μαμαδ, αλεπουδ, δυναμε*

ΚΤ 3: Θέμα 1 *ανθρωπο*

Θέμα 2α *ανθρωπ*

Θέμα 2β *ανθρωπε*

ΚΤ 4: Θέμα 1 *βουτυρο, χωραφι*

Θέμα 2α *βουτυρ, χωραφ*¹⁸

Θέμα 2β *χωραφj*

¹³ Για μια πρωτότυπη περιγραφή του συντακτικού και πραγματολογικού ρόλου της κλητικής στη ΝΕ βλ. Σταύρου (2009) και για την ΑΕ (Kakarikos 2011).

¹⁴ Ας μη λησμονούμε και το βασικό ρόλο που ιστορικά έπαιξε η αιτιατική στη διαμόρφωση της ΝΕ ονομαστικής.

¹⁵ Ειδικά για την ΚΤ 2 όπου ανήκουν τα θηλυκά ουσιαστικά σε -ση/-ξη/-ψη, προβλέπεται εκτός από το Θ1 σε η π.χ. *φωση* και Θ1β σε ι π.χ. *φωσι*, λ.χ. στο *φωσιολατρικός*. Για το λόγο αυτό το Θ1 σε η είναι στην ουσία Θ1α για την κατηγορία αυτή των θηλυκών ουσιαστικών.

¹⁶ Ο Β τρόπος αφορά μόνο τα ουδέτερα σε -ι.

¹⁷ Το θέμα *καφ*- δεν χρησιμοποιείται στην κλίση αλλά στη σύνθεση, π.χ. *καφόμεπρικο*.

¹⁸ Το θέμα αυτό δε χρησιμοποιείται στην κλίση αλλά στην παραγωγή, π.χ. *χωραφ-άκι*.

ΚΤ 5: Θέμα 1 *πραγμα, περας οζυ*
 Θέμα 2α *οξ*
 Θέμα 2β *πραγματ, περατ, οξε*

ΚΤ 6 Θέμα 1 *εδαφος*
 Θέμα 2α *εδαφ*
 Θέμα 2β

3.3 Πλεονεκτήματα της ανάλυσης αυτής

Η ανάλυση αυτή πλεονεκτεί έναντι των άλλων ως προς τον ενοποιητικό χαρακτήρα της σχετικά με τις μορφολογικές διαδικασίες και ιδίως ως προς τον προβλεπτικό χαρακτήρα της.

3.3.1 Ενοποιημένη περιγραφή των παραγόμενων τύπων (κλιτών, παράγωγων, σύνθετων)

Το θέμα 1 *αγροτ-* παράγει το θέμα 2α *αγροτ-*, που αποτελεί τη βάση του παραγώγου *αγροτ-ιά* (Ευθυμίου 1999), το θέμα 1 *ψαρα-* παράγει το θέμα 2β *ψαραδ-*, που αποτελεί τη βάση του παραγώγου *ψαράδικος*. Το θέμα 1 *καφε-* παράγει το θέμα 2α *καφ-* και 2β *καφεδ-*, που αποτελεί τη βάση για το παράγωγο *καφεδάκι*. Το θέμα 1 *μαναβη-* παράγει το κλιτικό θέμα 2β *μαναβηδ-* και το κλιτικό θέμα 2α *μαναβ-*, που αποτελεί τη βάση του παραγώγου *μαναβικός/μαναβική, η*. Το Θ1α *μεταφραση* παράγει το Θ2α *μεταφρασ-* και το Θ2β *μεταφρασε-*, καθώς και το Θ1β *μεταφρασι*, που αποτελούν βάση παραγώγων και συνθέτων: *μεταφρασ-ούλα, μεταφρασε-ο-λογία, μεταφρασι-ο-λογία*.

Έτσι το ουσιαστικό *ψάρι* δίνει το Θ2α *ψαρ-* που αποτελεί τη βάση πάνω στην οποία με την εφαρμογή του επιθήματος *-ά(ς)* παράγεται το παράγωγο *ψαρά(ς)*, το οποίο έχει ως θέμα 1 τον τύπο *ψαρα-*, ως θέμα 2α τον τύπο *ψαρ-* πάνω στον οποίο με την εφαρμογή του κλιτικού *-ού* παράγεται ο τύπος του θηλυκού *ψαρού*.

→ [[ψαρ-]_{Ουσ} (-ικό(ς))_{Επ.}]_Ε
 [ψάρι] → [[ψαρ-]_{Ουσ} (-ά(ς))_{Επ.}]_{Ε/ Ουσ}
 ↓
 ▼ Θ1 ψαρα-
 Θ2α ψαρ- → ψαρού¹⁹
 Θ2β ψαραδ- → ψαράδικος

3.3.2 Υψηλός βαθμός προβλεπτότητας

1. Πώς προβλέπεται αν ένα ουσιαστικό έχει ένα Θ2α (X) ή ένα Θ2β (X+φωνήεν+δ/τ); (τρόπος Α)²⁰

Τα [+/-λόγια] επιθήματα μαζί με τη βάση τους σχηματίζουν τύπο με Θ2α, ενώ τα [-λόγια] επιθήματα μαζί με τη βάση τους σχηματίζουν τύπο με Θ2β. Κατά γενικό κανόνα οι απλές λέξεις έχουν ένα Θ2α. Ενώ τα προσαρμοσμένα άμεσα δάνεια, που είναι [-λόγια], έχουν ένα Θ2β. Επίσης, αν εξετάσουμε τα επιθήματα καθώς και τα κλιτικά για το σχηματισμό του θηλυκού ως προς το χαρακτηριστικό [+/-λόγιο], παρατηρούμε ότι επιβεβαιώνεται η κατανομή των θεμάτων 2α και 2β.

Επιθήματα	[+/-λόγιο]	[-λόγιο]
-(ι)άτη(ς)	2α	
-(ι)ώτη(ς)	2α	
-ίτη(ς)	2α	
-τη(ς)	2α	
-μα		2β
-ιμο		2β
-ά(ς)		2β
-(α/ι)τζή(ς)		2β

¹⁹ Το σύμβολο (→) χρησιμοποιείται για διαδικασίες παραγωγής και το σύμβολο (→►) για διαδικασίες κλίσης.

²⁰ Βλ. 3.2.3.

-αλή(ς)		2β
-ακλά(ς)		2β
-(ι)άρη(ς)		2β
-ιέρη(ς)		2β
-ούλη(ς)		2β

Για το σχηματισμό του θηλυκού

Επιθήματα/κλιτικά	[+/-λόγιο]	[-λόγιο]
-α	2α	
-ισσα	2α	
-τρια	2α	
-τρα ²¹	2α	
-ιδα	2α	
-αίνα	2α	
-ού ²²		2β

2. Πώς προβλέπεται αν τα ουσιαστικά σε -α/-η έχουν ένα Θ2α (X) ή ένα Θ2β (Xε); (τρόπος Γ)²³
Ένα παράγωγο ουσιαστικό με το επίθημα -ση/-ξη/-ψη έχει κατά κανόνα ένα Θ2β (τρόπος Γ), δηλ. σε -ε. Οι απλές λέξεις όπως *πόλη, δύναμη* είναι ελάχιστες.

Επίθημα	[+/-λόγιο]	[-λόγιο]
-ση/-ξη/-ψη	2β	

3. Πώς προβλέπεται το Θ των παραγώγων σε -ικο;²⁴

Το επίθημα -ικ(ος) εφαρμόζεται σε Θ2α ή Θ2β με κριτήριο τη σταθερότητα του τόνου (βλ. και Θωμαδάκη 1994: 180).

Θ1	Θ2α	Θ2β		Παράγωγα με το Θ2α	Παράγωγα με το Θ2β	Μη γραμματικοί σχηματισμοί
ψαρα	ψαρ	ψαραδ	→		ψαράδ-ικο	*ψάρ-ικο
μαναβη	μαναβ	μαναβηδ	→	μανάβ-ικο		*μαναβίδ-ικο
πεισματαρη	πεισματαρ	πεισματαρηδ	→	πεισματάρ-ικο		*πεισματαρίδ-ικο
γλυκατζη	γλυκατζ	γλυκατζηδ	→		γλυκατζίδ-ικο	*γλυκατζ-ικο
μουστακαλη	μουστακαλ	μουστακαληδ	→		μουστακαλίδ-ικο	*μουστακάλ-ικο
φωνακλα	φωνακλ	φωνακλαδ	→		φωνακλάδ-ικο	*φονάκλ-ικο
ταξιδιαρη	ταξιδιαρ	ταξιδιαρηδ	→	ταξιδιάρ-ικο		*ταξιδιαρίδ-ικο

²¹ Το -τρα αποτελεί το [-λόγιο] τύπο του -τρια, όπως προκύπτει από [-λόγιους] τύπους θεμάτων στα οποία εφαρμόζεται μόνο ο τύπος -τρα, π.χ. *περέτρα – υπηρέτρια, μαζώχτρα, βυζάχτρα*. Όταν το θέμα δεν διαφοροποιείται ως προς το χαρακτηριστικό [+/-λόγιο], το -τρα εμφανίζεται παράλληλα με το θηλ. σε -τρια π.χ. *οδηγήτρια/οδηγήτρα* ή αποκλειστικά ως τύπος θηλυκού στην περίπτωση λογοτεχνικής χρήσης ή συνυποδηλωτικής, συναισθηματικής σημασίας, π.χ. *αρπάχτρα, γλείφτρα, καρδιοκάφτρα, κλέφτρα, μαγεύτρα, πλανεύτρα, ράφτρα*, διάκριση που δεν γίνεται στο αρσενικό σε -της π.χ. *ράφτης*. Ωστόσο ακολουθεί την ίδια επιλογή θέματος με το -τρια.

²² Δηλ. το -ού εφαρμόζεται σε Θ2α (ψαρ-) αλλά μετά τη διαδικασία αυτή σχηματίζει Θ2β (ψαρουδ-).

²³ Βλ. 3.2.3.

²⁴ Πρόκειται για κατασκευή ουσιαστικών μέσω της μετατροπής (βλ. Αναστασιάδη-Συμεωνίδη 1997) όπου βάση είναι το παράγωγο μετονομαστικό επίθετο με το επίθημα -ικο(ς), π.χ. *ψαρά(ς)ουσ.* → *ψαράδικο(ς)*_{επίθετο} → *ψαράδικο*_{ουσιαστικό}

4. Συμπεράσματα

4.1 Συνθετότητα του συστήματος

Υποστηρίζουμε ότι το πρωτοτυπικό σύστημα κλίσης των ουσιαστικών της ΝΕ είναι απλό. Όμως τι ακριβώς σημαίνει «το σύστημα είναι απλό»; Τι εννοείται με τον όρο συνθετότητα ενός κλιτικού συστήματος; Ο βαθμός συνθετότητας μπορεί να μετρηθεί;

Διαισθητικά οι ομιλητές θεωρούν ότι το ονοματικό κλιτικό σύστημα της ΑΕ ήταν πιο σύνθετο από της ΝΕ, που θεωρείται πιο απλό. Ωστόσο η συνθετότητα είναι πολύπλευρη και για τη μέτρησή της απαιτείται ειδική θεωρία. Ο βαθμός συνθετότητας θα μπορούσε να προκύψει από το συνυπολογισμό του μεγέθους του κλιτικού παραδείγματος, τον αριθμό των κλιτικών τύπων κάθε λεξήματος και τη σχέση τους με τον αριθμό των γραμματικών λέξεων που ανήκουν στο ίδιο λέξημα, τον αριθμό και τη δομή των ΚΤ, τον αριθμό των ανώμαλων τύπων, τις σχέσεις προβλεπτότητας ανάμεσα στις γραμματικές λέξεις του ίδιου λεξήματος κτλ. Ωστόσο το ζήτημα αυτό δε θα μας απασχολήσει στη φάση αυτή.

4.2 Πρωτοτυπικό σύστημα κλίσης

Τι περιλαμβάνει το ΝΕ πρωτοτυπικό σύστημα κλίσης των ουσιαστικών;

- 1) Τα δικατάληκτα (έναντι των τρικαταλήκτων)
- 2) Στον ενικό: -ς στην ονομαστική των αρσενικών και στη γενική των θηλυκών. Παντού αλλού ο ίδιος τύπος ονομ./αιτ./κλιτ.
- 3) Στον πληθυντικό:
 - ων: γενική πληθυντικού
 - ες: αρσενικά/θηλυκά ονομ./αιτ./κλιτ.
 - α: ουδέτερα ονομ./αιτ./κλιτ.

ΚΛΙΤΙΚΕΣ ΤΑΣΕΙΣ

	1	2	3	4	5	6
ΟΕ	ς					
ΑΕ						
ΚΕ			ο/ε			
ΓΕ		ς/ως	ου	ου	ος	ους
ΟΠ	ες	ες	οι	α	α	η
ΑΠ	ες	ες	ους	α	α	η
ΚΠ	ες	ες	οι	α	α	η
ΓΠ	ων	ων	ων	ων	ων	ων
ουσιαστικά	13.000	33.000	9.000	20.000	6.000	200

Η πρότασή μας αυτή για το τι ανήκει στο πρωτοτυπικό κλιτικό σύστημα θα ελεγχθεί με επιχειρήματα από έξι χώρους:

- α) από τον τρόπο συμμόρφωσης των δανείων στη ΝΕ,
- β) από τα ληκτικά τεμάχια των νεολογισμών που είναι ουσιαστικά κλιτά,
- γ) από την εσωτερική αλλαγή στο κλιτικό σύστημα, δηλ. τη μετακίνηση μελών από μια ΚΤ σε άλλη,
- δ) από τις προτιμώμενες ΚΤ από τα επιθήματα,
- ε) από τη γλωσσική κατάκτηση και

στ) από την απόκτηση της ΝΕ ως δευτερης/ξένης γλώσσας.

α-β) Η Χριστοφίδου (2003: 114) πολύ σωστά διακρίνει πρότυπα που δεν εμφανίζονται σε δάνεια και νεολογισμούς όπως τα θηλυκά σε -ος και τα ουδέτερα σε -ο,²⁵ -μα και -ος. Θεωρεί παραγωγικές κλίσεις για τα αρσενικά τις καταλήξεις -ας (και δευτερευόντως -ος), για τα θηλυκά τις καταλήξεις -α (και -η) και για τα ουδέτερα τις καταλήξεις -ι (και -ο).

Πράγματι οι νεολογισμοί σε -ο που είναι κλιτά ουδέτερα ουσιαστικά από το Αρχείο νεολογισμών που διαθέτουμε είτε είναι σύνθετα με β' συνθετικό ήδη προϋπάρχον, π.χ. *βιοπορτρέτο*, είτε είναι παράγωγα με προϋπάρχον επίθημα π.χ. *ψυχοτρόνιο*²⁶, *πρεκαριάτο*, *κογκνιταριάτο* (Αναστασιάδη-Συμεωνίδη & Νικολάου 2011). Διαφορετικά επιλέγεται το θέμα σε -ι.

γ) Τα αρσενικά σε -ος εγκαταλείπουν αυτή την ΚΤ τάξη που δεν είναι πια διαθέσιμη και εντάσσονται στην ΚΤ των σε -ας, π.χ. *έμπορος* → *έμπορας*, *μάγειρος* → *μάγειρας*²⁷ (Χριστοφίδου 2003: 112). Τα θηλυκά σε -ος τείνουν να υιοθετήσουν το αρσενικό γένος, π.χ. *ψήφος*, *άμμος* (βλ. Αναστασιάδη-Συμεωνίδη & Μητσιάκη υπό έκδοση) ή παραμένουν θηλυκά αλλά αποβάλλουν το -ς π.χ. *η άμμο*, *η Χιο* ή τέλος μετατρέπονται σε ουδέτερα σε -ο, π.χ. *αλφάβητο*, *ύπαιθρο* (βλ. Αναστασιάδη-Συμεωνίδη & Χειλά-Μαρκοπούλου 2003: 28-29).

δ) Τα επιθήματα συνδυάζονται στα δεξιά τους με κλιτικά του πρωτοτυπικού συστήματος (βλ. και Χριστοφίδου 2003: 105, 113).

ε) Τα παιδιά κατακτούν κατά προτεραιότητα τις παραγωγικότερες καταλήξεις, οι οποίες στην πρότασή μας αντιστοιχούν για τα αρσενικά στην ΚΤ1, για τα θηλυκά στην ΚΤ2 και για τα ουδέτερα στην ΚΤ4 (Χριστοφίδου 2003: 126). Ειδικότερα τα αρσενικά σε -ος (ΚΤ3), κατά τη Χριστοφίδου (2003: 131), ανήκουν σε παραγωγική κλίση με σημάδια υποχώρησης, αν και παρατηρείται αφενός καθυστερημένη κατάκτησή τους και αφετέρου μετακίνηση των μελών της κατηγορίας αυτής προς την παραγωγική ΚΤ1. Το ερώτημά μας είναι πώς ορίζεται η έννοια της παραγωγικότητας προκειμένου για τη συγκεκριμένη ΚΤ; Η πρότασή μας για την ΚΤ των ουσιαστικών σε -ος είναι ότι πρόκειται για κατηγορία μη διαθέσιμη πλέον. Αυτή η αρνητική έκβαση για την άλλοτε κραταιά ΚΤ δεν γίνεται άμεσα αντιληπτή λόγω της υψηλής συχνότητας χρήσης των ουσιαστικών που ανήκουν εδώ.

στ) Σχετικά με τα γραμματικά κλιτικά μορφήματα, δύο είναι οι βασικές παρατηρήσεις που αφορούν το σύνολο του δείγματος από γραπτά αλλοδαπών μαθητών ανεξαρτήτως της πρώτης γλώσσας (Γ1) τους (Αναστασιάδη-Συμεωνίδη, Βλέτση, Μητσιάκη, Μποζονέλος, Χούμα 2010): α) εντοπίζεται υπεργενίκευση του μορφήματος -ες για το σχηματισμό του πληθυντικού σε όλες τις ΚΤ, π.χ. *θρανίες*, *παράθρηες*, *οι τείχες* (αντί *οι τοίχοι*) και β) προστίθεται σε ληκτική θέση το γραμματικό μόρφωμα -α (+ουδέτερο, +πληθυντικός) σε άκλιτες λέξεις, π.χ. *στα τράμα*, πιθανόν για λόγους συμμόρφωσης στην πρωτοτυπική συλλαβή²⁸ της ΝΕ και στο ασημάδευτο γένος. Επίσης ένταξη στην πρωτοτυπική ΚΤ των ουδετέρων σε -ο, π.χ. *στο δάσο* (αντί *στο δάσος*), γιατί τα ουδέτερα σε -ος δεν ανήκουν στο πρωτοτυπικό σύστημα και η ΚΤ τους δεν είναι διαθέσιμη. Άλλωστε είναι τα μόνα που παρουσιάζουν τριπλές μετακινήσεις στον τόνο: *μέγεθος-μεγέθους-μεγεθών* (Ρεβυθιάδου 1999). Ωστόσο ομαλότητα, διαθεσιμότητα και συχνότητα δεν συνιστούν τα αναγκαία κριτήρια για την αναγνώριση του πρωτοτύπου (Legallois & Jacques Francois 2011 : 52).

4.3 Δύο βασικά χαρακτηριστικά

Η ΝΕ διαθέτει 2 βασικά χαρακτηριστικά, όπως διαγράφονται από την ανάλυση που προηγήθηκε: επιζητεί τη σαφή διάκριση των κατηγοριών και την οικονομία.

4.3.1 Σαφής διάκριση κατηγοριών

Η ελληνική είτε στην ΑΕ φάση της είτε στη ΝΕ συγκαταλέγεται μεταξύ των γλωσσών με πλούσιο κλιτικό σύστημα. Ωστόσο μια σημαντική διαφορά ανάμεσα στις δύο είναι ότι η ΝΕ αναζητεί τη σαφή διάκριση των κατηγοριών, λ.χ. ουσιαστικό από επίθετο, ενικός από πληθυντικός, αρσενικό από θηλυκό

²⁵ Τα περισσότερα δάνεια εντάσσονται ως ουδέτερα με την κατάληξη -ι και σπανιότερα με την κατάληξη -ο, π.χ. τουρκικό *meltem* > *μελτέμι* (Χριστοφίδου 2003: 105).

²⁶ Για το επίθημα -όνιο βλ. Αναστασιάδη-Συμεωνίδη 2009.

²⁷ Ωστόσο ο *γείτονας* – πληθ. *γείτονες* αλλά και *γειτόνοι/γειτόνους*. (Ευχαριστώ τη συνάδελφο Μ. Μαργαρίτη-Ρόγκα για την επισημάνση αυτή).

²⁸ Σύμφωνα και Φωνήεν.

αλλά ιδίως αρσενικό και θηλυκό από ουδέτερο.²⁹ Διαβλέπουμε μια τάση της ΝΕ να παίζει με ανοιχτά χαρτιά: διαφοροποιεί σαφώς τα αρσενικά από τα θηλυκά, και τα δύο μαζί από τα ουδέτερα και ιδίως στον πληθυντικό. Πβ. την κοινή κατάληξη αρσενικών και θηλυκών στον πληθυντικό -ες σε αντίθεση με το -α των ουδετέρων, το -δ- στα ανισοσύλλαβα σε αντίθεση με τα ουδέτερα που εμφανίζουν το -τ- π.χ. *μπαμπάδες-μαμάδες* αλλά *χρώματα*, την ταυτότητα του θεματικού φωνήεντος στα αρσενικά και θηλυκά: -α, -η, -ο, -ε και -ού, π.χ. *μπαμπάς/μαμά*, *ναύτης/νύφη*, *άνθρωπος/άμμος*, *μπουφές/νενέ*, *παπούς/αλεπού*, σε αντίθεση με τα ουδέτερα που το θεματικό τους φωνήεν είναι -α, -ι, -ο, π.χ. *στόμα*, *παιδί*, *νερό*.

Η θέση μας αυτή για τη σαφή διάκριση των κατηγοριών υποστηρίζεται τόσο από το γεγονός ότι η κλίση των ουσιαστικών σε -ος δεν είναι πια διαθέσιμη αλλά αποκτά αποκλειστικότητα για τα επίθετα, όσο και από την ευρύτατη εμφάνιση του ταξικού σηματοδότη³⁰ στο τέρμα των λέξεων, ρόλος του οποίου είναι να ενσωματώσει τις λεξικές μονάδες στην τάξη όπου ανήκουν μορφολογικά ή σημασιολογικά, π.χ. *σέξουαλ* → *σεξουαλ-ικός*, *κλότσος* → *κλοτσ-ιά*, *τοπ* → *τοπάκι*. Επίσης το τελικό -ς αποτελεί δείκτη αρσενικότητας και τα λίγα θηλ. ή ουδ. σε -ς προσπαθούν να επιβιώσουν σε ένα αφιλόξενο πλέον γι' αυτά περιβάλλον π.χ. *η ψήφος* → *ο ψήφος* (Αναστασιάδη-Συμεωνίδη & Μητσιάκη υπό έκδοση). Διότι τελικά το τέρμα των λέξεων έχει βαρύνουσα σημασία και συμβάλλει απόλυτα στον καθορισμό της γλώσσας που μιλάμε, πβ. το γαλλοφανές λόγω τερμάτων σύγχρονο περιπαιχτικό κείμενο της ΝΕ:

Μαντμαζέλ, κοινοβουλευτισιόν χοντροκλεινιόν γκαραντί,
χρηματιστίκ, βατοπεδουάρ, ολυμπιάντ, ασφαλιστίκ κασέ
Τώρα, μέσα στο μαιζόν εγκλειστίκ, τρε μπατίρ, καταστασιόν απελπιστίκ

Έτσι ερμηνεύουμε και τη συμμόρφωση των δανείων στο μορφολογικό σύστημα μιας γλώσσας, αφού αρκεί το τέρμα να είναι σύμφωνο με το ΝΕ σύστημα για να είναι ελληνοφανής η λέξη. Επιπλέον επιχείρημα για το σημαντικό ρόλο του τέρματος των λέξεων αντλούμε από την κατευθυντικότητα της συλλαβοποίησης για την ελληνική, που είναι από δεξιά προς τα αριστερά (Karra 1995). Δηλαδή, σε μια ακολουθία φθόγγων αρχίζει ο σχηματισμός της συλλαβικής δομής (πυρήνας και μεγιστοποίηση της έμβωσης) από το τελευταίο δεξιό φωνήεν και συνεχίζεται με το σχηματισμό της επόμενης συλλαβικής δομής προς τα αριστερά.

Επίσης ο ανισοσύλλαβος πληθυντικός, που αποτελεί κανόνα για τη ΝΕ, διαφοροποιείται από τον ενικό με τη μέγιστη εικονικότητα, επειδή ενισχύεται με μία επιπλέον συλλαβή (Mayerthaler 1981 : 23 από Kilani-Schoch 1988 : 99). Ακόμη η ανισοσυλλαβία συμβάλλει στη διατήρηση του θεματικού φωνήεντος και του τόνου. Γενικά τα ισοσύλλαβα ουσιαστικά που διαθέτουμε είτε είναι κληρονομημένα λ.χ. *άνθρωπος*, *χαρά*, είτε είναι κατασκευασμένες λέξεις (παράγωγα, σύνθετα) π.χ. *σφουγγαρόπανο*, *σιδηρόδρομος*. Για μας δεν είναι τυχαίο το ότι στη ΝΕ όλα τα επιθήματα κατασκευής αρσενικών ουσιαστικών που δεν αποτελούν κληρονομία από την ΑΕ όπως είναι το -της σχηματίζουν ανισοσύλλαβο πληθυντικό, π.χ. -άς (*γαλατάς*), -τζής (*παλιατζής*), -λής (*μερακλής*), -άρης/-ιέρης (*βαρκάρης*, *τιμονιέρης*), -ιάρης (*ψειριάρης*), -άκις (*γυαλάκις*).³¹ Αξίζει να σημειωθεί ότι η ανισοσυλλαβία αφορά το αρσενικό και επιτρέπει την εμφανή διάκριση από τον αντίστοιχο τύπο του θηλυκού, π.χ. *ζηλιάρης/ζηλιάρηδες* αλλά *ζηλιάρα/ζηλιάρες*.

Επίσης στις νεότερες κλιτικές τάξεις ο πληθυντικός σχηματίζεται ανισοσύλλαβα π.χ. αρσενικά σε -ές (*καφές*, *καναπές*), σε -ούς (*παπούς*), σε -ης (*μανάβης*) και θηλυκά σε -έ (*νενέ*), σε -ού (*αλεπού*).

Επιπλέον τα νεότερα ουσιαστικά, ακόμη και αν το σύστημα διαθέτει κατάληξη, δημιουργούν ανισοσύλλαβο πληθυντικό, π.χ. αρσ. *φύλακας/φύλακες* (ΑΕ *φύλαξ*), αλλά *μπάρμπα/μπαρμπάδες* και θηλ. *χαρά/χαρές* (ΑΕ *χαρά*) αλλά *μαμά/μαμάδες*.

Τέλος υπάρχουν κληρονομημένα ή λόγια ισοσύλλαβα που δημιουργούν και ανισοσύλλαβο πληθυντικό με [-λόγιο] χαρακτήρα, π.χ. *καθηγητής/καθηγητές* και *καθηγητάδες*, *δεσπότης/δεσπότες* και *δεσποτάδες*, *μάντες/μάντεις* και *μάντηδες*, *Καππαδόκης/Καππαδόκες* και *Καππαδόκηδες* – *αδερφές/αδερφάδες*, *νύφες/νυφάδες* – *άλογα/αλόγατα*, *πρόστιμο/πρόστιμα* και *προστίματα*.³² Δηλ. η κατεύθυνση για το σχηματισμό του πληθυντικού είναι από την ισοσυλλαβία στην ανισοσυλλαβία, γιατί είναι πιο εικονική.

²⁹ Π.χ. στην ΑΕ δεν υπάρχουν ουσιαστικά στα οποία η ανισοσυλλαβία διαφοροποιεί τον ενικό από τον πληθυντικό, δεν είναι συχνά δυνατή η πρόβλεψη του γένους από το κλιτικό μόρφημα. Βλ. και Θωμαδάκη (1994: 138).

³⁰ Βλ. Corbin (1987) και Αναστασιάδη-Συμεωνίδη & Μασούρα (2009).

³¹ Με εξαίρεση το -ίστας, που ίσως αντιγράφει το -ιστής.

³² Κατά τα παράγωγα σε -μο, ενώ εδώ δεν μετέχει το επίθημα -(σ)ιμο, γιατί το -ιμ αποτελεί τεμάχιο του θέματος.

4.3.2 Οικονομία

Το ΝΕ ονομαστικό κλιτικό σύστημα επιζητεί τη σαφή διάκριση των κατηγοριών αλλά με λιτό τρόπο, δηλ. διατηρώντας τις διακρίσεις που θεωρούνται απαραίτητες, λ.χ. ενικός-πληθυντικός, αρσενικό-θηλυκό-ουδέτερο, ορθές-πλάγιες πτώσεις³³ για συντακτικούς λόγους. Άλλες διακρίσεις δε θεωρούνται απαραίτητες και συνεπώς βασιλεύει ο συγκρητισμός. Υπό το πρίσμα αυτό τα αρσενικά σε -ος διαθέτουν περιττή πολυτέλεια διακρίνοντας 4 διαφορετικούς κλιτικούς τύπους στον κάθε αριθμό, χωρίς επιπλέον οι τύποι του πληθυντικού να διαθέτουν και την ανάλογη εικονικότητα. Άρα το σύστημα καταργεί αυτή την κλιτική τάξη, δηλ. δεν δημιουργεί νέες απλές λέξεις σε -ος. Το καλύτερο που μπορεί να κάνει η τάξη αυτή είναι να μειώσει τους τύπους από 4 σε 3: το κατορθώνει με την κλητική ορισμένων κύριων ονομάτων σε -ο (αντί σε -ε)³⁴ ή με τη μετακίνηση του ουσιαστικού στην ΚΤ των σε -ας, π.χ. *ο θύλακας/τους θύλακες* (αντί *ο θύλακος/τους θυλάκους*). Επίσης έτσι ερμηνεύουμε την κατάργηση του τύπου της αιτιατικής σε ορισμένα ιδιώματα, π.χ. *έχεις κολιού;* (Νικήτη Χαλκιδικής) (κοινή ΝΕ *έχεις κολιούς;*). Η κατάργηση είναι απόλυτα σύμφωνη με τις τάσεις του ΝΕ συστήματος. Βέβαια η κατάργηση αυτή δεν είναι άμεσα ορατή, γιατί α) πολλά αρσενικά σε -ος είναι συχνόχρηστα και συνεπώς σε σχέση με τη γνωστική επεξεργασία αφενός είναι βαθιά ριζωμένα και αφετέρου ανακαλούνται γρήγορα,³⁵ και β) κατασκευάζονται νέες λέξεις όχι απλές αλλά παράγωγες με τα επιθήματα λ.χ. -ίσκος, -ισμός, -μός π.χ. *ημετερ-ισμός, εκπασοκισ-μός*, ή σύνθετες με ήδη υπάρχοντα στοιχεία, π.χ. *καναπεδάνθρωπος, ρεμπετολόγος, εικονοφάγος, ποδοσφαιρογράφος*.

Με ποια μέσα επιτυγχάνεται ο λιτός τρόπος, ενώ επιζητείται η σαφής διάκριση των κατηγοριών; Η οικονομία επιτυγχάνεται με τρεις τρόπους:

Α) Αναγνωρισιμότητα του θέματος

Η σταθερότητα στη θέση του τόνου, η διατήρηση του θεματικού φωνήεντος μέσω της ανισοσυλλαβίας στον πληθυντικό,³⁶ η κατάργηση των ενθημάτων³⁷, των μεταπτωτικών βαθμίδων π.χ. *λέγω/λόγος*, όλα αυτά συμβάλλουν στην αναγνωρισιμότητα του θέματος και κατ' επέκταση του λεξιήματος.

Ήδη ο Φιλήντας (1927 : 39) σημειώνει ότι ο περιττοσυλλαβισμός στη ΝΕ προέκυψε από την τάση της ελληνικής να διατηρεί το ίδιο τερματικό θεματικό φωνήεν, δηλ. διατηρείται το θεματικό φωνήεν (ο χαρακτήρας) σε όλο το κλιτικό παράδειγμα, πράγμα που συμβάλλει στη σταθερότητα της μορφής του θέματος και συνεπώς στην αναγνωρισιμότητά του.

Απαιτείται η σταθερότητα της μορφής του θέματος (χωρίς ετεροίωση, χωρίς ενθήματα, χωρίς μετακίνηση του τόνου). Έτσι ερμηνεύουμε το ότι ισοσύλλαβα ουσιαστικά ανέπτυξαν και δεύτερο τρόπο κλίσης [-λόγιο] κατά το πρότυπο των ανισοσυλλάβων (βλ. παραπάνω): *γιαγιά* – *γιαγιές/γιαγιάδες*, *ναύτης* – *ναύτες/ναύτηδες*, *άρχοντας* – *άρχοντες/αρχοντάδες*, *λεβέντης* – *λεβέντες/λεβέντηδες*, *άλογο* – *άλογα/αλόγατα*.

Β) Σταθερότητα του τόνου

Η σταθερότητα του τόνου έχει ως αποτέλεσμα να διατηρείται ο τόνος στην ίδια συλλαβή με το λημματικό τύπο.

Ποιος είναι ο βασικός αλγόριθμος τονισμού για σύστημα λεξικού τονισμού όπως της ΝΕ; Η Ρεβυθιάδου (1999) έχει δώσει πειστικές απαντήσεις.

³³ Στην πραγματικότητα γίνεται ακόμη πιο περιορισμένη διάκριση, αφού διακρίνεται η ονομαστική/αιτιατική/κλητική από τη μια από τη γενική για τα θηλυκά και τα ουδέτερα από την άλλη. Η αιτιατική, που ανήκει στις πλάγιες πτώσεις, δε διακρίνεται πάντα από την ονομαστική. Διακρίνεται στα αρσενικά, όπου διαφοροποιούνται οι ορθές από τις πλάγιες πτώσεις με εξαίρεση την κλητική, που, αν και ορθή πτώση, έχει, εκτός από τα σε -ος, την ίδια μορφή με την αιτιατική ενικού.

³⁴ Στις Γραμματικές δεν υπάρχει συμφωνία στον τρόπο σχηματισμού της κλητικής των ουσ. σε -ος: Τα αρσενικά σε -ος με τόνο στην παραλήγουσα σχηματίζουν κλητική σε -ο, π.χ. *Αλέκο, Νίκο*, αλλά *Αλέξανδρε, Φίλιππε, Στέφανε*, όπως *γέρο* και τα σε -άκος, π.χ. *φιλαράκο* (Holton et al. 2007: 48). Ωστόσο ο Tonnet (2006: 82) παρατηρεί ότι η κλητική είναι ίδια με την αιτιατική στα [-λόγια] βαφτιστικά και στα παροξύτονα οικογενειακά ονόματα, π.χ. *Πάνο, Αλέκο, κύριε Βενιζέλο, Ξαρχάκο*, ενώ *Αλέξανδρε, κύριε Παπαδόπουλε*. Για τους Κλαίρη & Μπαμπινιώτη (1996: 51) τα περισσότερα αρσενικά σε -ος σχηματίζουν την κλητική σε -ε, π.χ. *Θόδωρε*, με εξαίρεση τα δυσύλλαβα, που τη σχηματίζουν σε -ο, π.χ. *Γιώργο*. Για τον Χατζησαββίδη (2009: 153) ο τύπος *Πάυλε* θεωρείται ότι ανήκει στο οικείο ύφος, ενώ στη νόρμα ανήκει ο τύπος *Πάυλο*.

³⁵ Στο γνωστικό επίπεδο η συχνότητα πληροφορεί την εσωτερικευμένη γραμματική των ομιλητών, στο βαθμό που η συχνότητα μιας μονάδας ευνοεί την απομνημόνευσή της, την εγκατάστασή της, αλλά επίσης και την ενδεχόμενη φωνολογική απομείωση, όταν η συχνότητα είναι ιδιαίτερα υψηλή (Legallois & Francois 2011 : 10).

³⁶ Στην ΑΕ το θεματικό φωνήεν μεταβάλλεται συχνά από πτώση σε πτώση.

³⁷ Λ.χ. Στην ΑΕ το ρηματικό θέμα *λαβ-* διακόπτεται από το ένθημα -μ- για το σχηματισμό του ενεστώτα (*λαμβάνω*).

Ο κανόνας για τη ΝΕ είναι ο τόνος να παραμένει σταθερός. Τα ουσιαστικά στα οποία κατεβαίνει ο τόνος είναι κληρονομημένα. Η σταθερότητα του τόνου συμβάλλει στην αναγνωρισιμότητα του θέματος. Ενδιαφέρον παρουσιάζει η παρατήρησή μας ότι δύο βασικά χαρακτηριστικά του ΝΕ κλιτικού συστήματος –ανισοσυλλαβία και σταθερότητα του τόνου– συνδέονται στενά: τα ανισοσύλλαβα διατηρούν σταθερό τον τόνο στη γενική πληθυντικού, π.χ. *μαϊμού/μαϊμούδων*. Ωστόσο από τα δύο χαρακτηριστικά πιο ισχυρό είναι η ανισοσυλλαβία, επειδή η θέση του τόνου περιορίζεται από το νόμο της τρισυλλαβίας: στην περίπτωση *άλογο/άλογα* – *αλόγατα* η ανισοσυλλαβία ισχύει, ενώ ο τόνος μετακινείται λόγω του περιορισμού της τρισυλλαβίας.

Ακόμη η διατήρηση του τόνου στην ίδια συλλαβή καθορίζει την επιλογή του θέματος κατά την κατασκευή των παραγώγων σε –*ικος* (βλ. παραπάνω). Βάση και παράγωγο τονίζονται στην ίδια συλλαβή: π.χ. *ψαρά-/ψαράδ-* → **ψάρ-ικος/ψαράδ-ικος* (επιλέχθηκε το Θ2β) αλλά *μανάβη/μανάβηδ-* → *μανάβ-ικος/*μαναβήδ-ικος* (επιλέχθηκε το Θ2α).

Γ) Ο περιορισμένος αριθμός των κλιτικών μορφημάτων με σαφή λειτουργία στο πρωτοτυπικό σύστημα: –ς δείκτης αρσενικότητας, –ων γενική πληθυντικού, –ες ονομαστική/αιτιατική/κλητική πληθυντικού αρσενικών και θηλυκών και –α ονομαστική/αιτιατική/κλητική πληθυντικού ουδετέρων.

5. Εφαρμογή

Η έρευνα αυτή πέρα από το θεωρητικό ενδιαφέρον της μπορεί να έχει ποικίλες εφαρμογές τόσο στο χώρο της υπολογιστικής γλωσσολογίας, γιατί παρέχει περιγραφή που χαρακτηρίζεται από πληρότητα και οικονομία, όσο και στο χώρο της διδακτικής της ΝΕ ιδίως ως δεύτερης/ξένης γλώσσας, επειδή δεν παρουσιάζονται όλες οι ΚΤ ισοπεδωτικά ισοδύναμες, αλλά λαμβάνονται υπόψη κριτήρια όπως το πρωτοτυπικό μορφολογικό σύστημα κλίσης, η συχνότητα και η διαθεσιμότητα των δομών.

Ένα κλιτικό σύστημα όπως της ΝΕ που έχει 2 βασικά χαρακτηριστικά, τη λιτότητα και τη σαφή διάκριση των κατηγοριών, πρέπει να είναι απλό στη διδασκαλία του, γιατί αφενός λόγω λιτότητας είναι περιορισμένος ο αριθμός των κλιτικών μορφημάτων και του τρόπου κατασκευής των θεμάτων, και αφετέρου λόγω της επιζητούμενης σαφήνειας των κατηγοριών υπεισέρχονται οι σημασιολογικές διακρίσεις, π.χ. ενικός-πληθυντικός, και συνεπώς είναι πιο εύκολη η εκμάθησή του.

Τόσο στις Γραμματικές όσο και στα εγχειρίδια διδασκαλίας της ΝΕ ως μητρικής και ως δεύτερης/ξένης δεν λαμβάνεται ουσιαστική πρόνοια για ανάδειξη της απλότητας του κλιτικού συστήματος της ΝΕ. Λ.χ. η κλιτική τάξη των αρσενικών σε –*ος* διδάσκεται ήδη από τα πρώτα μαθήματα, ενώ δεν αποτελεί πρωτοτυπική τάξη του ΝΕ κλιτικού συστήματος ούτε πρόκειται για διαθέσιμη κλιτική τάξη. Αρκεί η αναμφισβήτητη συχνότητα χρήσης ορισμένων λεξημάτων της ΚΤ3 (αρσενικά ουσιαστικά σε –*ος*) για να δικαιολογηθεί η ισχυρή θέση που κατέχει η κλίση αυτής της ΚΤ στις γραμματικές περιγραφές και στα εγχειρίδια εκμάθησης της ΝΕ (Αναστασιάδη-Συμεωνίδη 2003);

6. Επίλογος

Η περιγραφή αυτή στηρίζεται σε 81.200 μονολεκτικά ουσιαστικά της ΝΕ, που συνιστά τον πιο ενημερωμένο κατάλογο κοινών ουσιαστικών της ΝΕ.

Η ανάλυση αυτή είναι καινοτόμος ως προς τα εξής σημεία:

1. Πρόβλεψη του δεύτερου θέματος από το πρώτο, π.χ. από το Θ1 *πεισματορη-* → το Θ2 *πεισματορηδ-*
2. Ενοποιημένη περιγραφή των ομαλών και ανώμαλων ουσιαστικών.
3. Περιγραφή που λαμβάνει υπόψη τη διαθεσιμότητα των ΚΤ: οι ΚΤ1, ΚΤ2, ΚΤ4 είναι διαθέσιμες, σε αντίθεση με την ΚΤ6 που δεν είναι διαθέσιμη και την ΚΤ 3 όσον αφορά το σχηματισμό απλών (όχι σύνθετων) λεξικών μονάδων.
4. Ενοποιημένη περιγραφή των μορφολογικών διαδικασιών (κλίσης-παραγωγής-σύνθεσης) με την υιοθέτηση της έννοιας του θεματικού χώρου.
5. Ενσωμάτωση του χαρακτηριστικού [+/-λόγιο] στην κλίση των ουσιαστικών.

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SOME INSIGHTS INTO EVIDENTIALITY AND EVIDENTIAL MARKERS IN FRENCH¹

Jean-Claude Anscombre

LDI-CNRS (Paris XIII)

janscombre@ldi.univ-paris13.fr

ABSTRACT

A common approach to evidentiality distinguishes three main subcategories of phenomena: evidentiality by inference, by hearsay and by perception. If elementary cases look quite obvious, the problems arise as soon as we intent to give more accurate definitions. This work is an attempt to answer the following questions, on the bases of examples mainly taken from French.: a) What are the grounds that allow an inference by the speaker? Is it really a logical process that is at work, or rather some commonplace knowledge that thus would approximate inferential reasoning to some kind of hearsay mechanism; b) How does the speaker/utterer get involved in the hearsay process? What are the different positions he can occupy with regard to the source of a hearsay? c) Are there linguistic characteristics which reflects the intervening of a perception?

Keywords: Evidentiality, evidential markers, hearsay, inference, perception, semantics.

0. Introduction

Despite the fact that languages obviously consider that human awareness of truth is fairly relative, it is not until recently that studies have been devoted to the different devices used by languages to express the origin of the information carried by a sentence and/or the various attitudes of a speaker towards this knowledge. If languages are used to provide a wide repertoire of devices for expressing these characteristics, their nature usually varies from one language to another one: verbal, nominal, adverbial, etc. The study of such devices has been termed *evidentiality*², each device being an *evidential marker*, and the way in which different languages provide evidential marking is a general question still to be explored. Since it sometimes deals with the speaker's attitude towards the situation s/he refers to in her/his utterance, as we will see later on, evidentiality is obviously part of modality, more precisely **epistemic modality**³.

A commonly accepted claim - based on the wide amount of data investigated until today - is that languages tend to differentiate three general kinds of evidentiality, which can be classified into **direct evidence** and **indirect evidence**. **Direct evidence**, also labeled **attested** or **perceptual evidence**, involves any knowledge acquired through auditory, gustative, olfactory, tactile and visual senses, i.e. by a sensory mode. The indirect type of evidence is the well-known **reported evidence**, better known as **hearsay evidence**, and the **inferred evidence**. From now on, I will, in short, speak of the **perception** type, of the **hearsay** type, and of the **inference** type. Needless to say, these three types can be divided into subsubclasses, a point which will not be considered here. The three types can be exemplified in:

- (1) John must be in his office, his car is in the parking (inference type).
- (2) I was told that John is in his office (hearsay type).

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² The notion of *evidentiality* as a linguistic information is commonly attributed to Franz Boas in his *Handbook of American Indian Languages* (1911). The term *evidential* was first used by Roman Jakobson in 1957 as a verbal category to be distinguished from grammatical mood.

³ Some scholars like Chafe: 1986, include *belief* among evidentials, as part of the epistemic system, while others like Bybee: 1985 or Willett: 1988, are more reluctant. The crux of the problem lies in whether evidentiality only deals with the marking of the source of the knowledge, or also includes the speaker's attitude towards this knowledge.

(3) I can hear John speaking with Mary in his office (perception type).
Such cases may look quite obvious as for their interpretation, but the problems arise as soon as we intend to give to each of these categories a more accurate definition. This work is an attempt to answer the following questions, among others, in the case of explicit evidential markers:

a) What are the grounds that allow an inference by the speaker, as in (1))? Is it really a logical process that is at work, or rather some commonplace knowledge that thus would approximate inferential reasoning to some kind of hearsay mechanism.

b) How does the speaker/utterer get involved in the hearsay process? What are the different positions he can occupy with regard to the source of a hearsay?

c) In the case of French, on which linguistic grounds can we determine the nature of the evidence, especially in the case of the perception type?

1. The hearsay type

We will start with the hearsay type, which is – or at least seems to be – the more obvious or visible type in Western languages. The base of hearsay is language itself, since we know an important part of the things we know because we have been told about them by some other people. Languages such as English, French or Spanish have a wide variety of devices to qualify a given knowledge as having been acquired through language communication. Some markers refer to a specific source as *à mon avis/in my opinion/a mi parecer*; others refer to some indeterminate linguistic community: *on dit que, comme on dit, they say, as they say, people say*, etc.; *dicen, como dicen, cuentan en la prensa*, etc. Here are a few real examples:

- (4) "...**Les sondages, qui affirment** que Hilary gagnerait haut la main contre Mc Cain, n'ont pas convaincu le gagnant des primaires démocrates..." (*L'Express*, 28 juillet 2008, p. 32).
[The polls, that claim...].
- (5) "...Il est imprudent de mettre, **comme on dit**, tous ses oeufs dans le même panier..." (Gide, *Robert ou l'intérêt général*, III,) [As the saying goes...].
- (6) "...**Dicen que** antes de morir – comentó el croata – se debe plantar un árbol, escribir un libro y tener un hijo..." (A. Pérez-Reverte, *El pintor de batallas*, Alfaguara, Madrid, 2006, p. 215) [They say that...].
- (7) "...Del que te manda, hay que cuidarse siempre. – *Del amo y del mulo, cuanto más lejos más seguro, como dicen en mi pueblo* – añadió Robles..." (L. Silva, *La reina sin espejo*, p. 169) [...as they say in my village...].
- (8) "...It did no good to think back. The mill cannot grind with the water that is past, **as the old people in the mountain used to say**..." (G. Richards, *Red Kill*, 1980, XIV).
- (9) "...**They do say** that a trouble shared is a trouble halved..." (F.Cradock, *Thunder over Castle Rising*, 1980, i).

From now on, I will refer to an indeterminate source of a hearsay as a G-speaker, and will concentrate on the study of such G-speakers in Modern French. I will mainly examine two points: a) How can we claim we are dealing with a G-speaker; b) What is the relation between the G-speaker (the source) and the speaker of the utterance.

We will examine the following French evidential markers: *on dit que* ('they say that'), *comme on dit* ('as they say'), and *dit-on* ('...', it is said, .../somepeople say'). They show the following characteristics:

a) They use the French verb *dire* 'to say', as a verb of saying, which can be seen by the possibility of substitution of *dire* by other verbs of saying:

- (10) *On (dit + affirme (state) + prétend (claim) + raconte (tell) + ...) que...*
- (11) *Comme on (dit + prétend + l'affirme + le raconte + ...), ...*
- (12) *p, (dit-on + prétend-on + affirme-t-on + raconte-t-on + ...).*

b) French *on* can refer to a community of people, but it is not the only possibility, so that we must find out the linguistic properties supporting the claim that a G-speaker is at work in such expressions. Among other properties, the *on* referring to a G-speaker:

(i) Can be combined with adverbials such as *généralement* ('generally'), *communément* ('commonly'), *couramment* ('currently'), *habituellement* ('usually'), etc. :

- (13) *Comme on dit communément*, tout est bien qui finit bien (= 'As they commonly say, all is well that ends well').
- (14) Une crise se prépare, dit-on **généralement** (= 'A crisis is in the wind, it is generally said').

- (15) On dit **généralement** que les fameux OVNIS ne sont que de banals phénomènes atmosphériques (= 'They generally say that the well-known UFOS are just mere atmospheric phenomena').
- (ii) Can be combined with aspectual adverbials such as *toujours* ('always'), *souvent* ('often'), *parfois* ('sometimes'), which are compatibles with an interpretation in terms of indefinite plurality :
- (16) On dit **toujours** qu'il vaut mieux se préparer au pire ('They use to say that ~~the worst~~ is yet to come').
- (17) Les fameux OVNIS ne sont que de banals phénomènes atmosphériques, dit-on **parfois** ('It is sometimes said').
- (18) Comme on dit **souvent**, un bon tiens vaut mieux que deux tu l'auras ('As they often say, better a bird in the hand than two in the bush').
- (iii) Can be combined with a **collective noun**⁴, that is a nominal that refers to a set of several unspecified entities of the same category, and cannot be given a definition in extension. Very common examples of collective nouns would be items like *les milieux autorisés* 'the responsible quarters', and *les milieux bien informés* 'the well informed people', *la presse* 'the newspapers'. We should also mention expressions like *chez les scientifiques* 'among the scientists'. Below some examples:
- (19) On dit **dans les milieux autorisés** qu'une crise se prépare ('in the responsible quarters').
- (20) Comme on dit **chez les scientifiques**, les fameux OVNIS ne sont que de banals phénomènes atmosphériques .
- (21) Le premier ministre serait sur le point de démissionner, dit-on **dans l'entourage du président** ('among the familiars of the president')

We will now aim to determine how does the speaker locates him/herself with respect to the G-speaker, being a G-speaker in a linguistic community, that is a set of real or virtual speakers. The results of our investigation show the following configurations:

a) The speaker S of *on dit que* can be part of the G-speaker involved, but not necessarily. In this respect, *on dit que* is opposed to *on sait que*⁵, which necessarily includes the speaker S, as exemplified in:

- (22) (**On dit + on sait**) qu'il y a un changement climatique en cours, et c'est indiscutable (= 'there is no question about it').
- (23) (**On dit + *on sait**) qu'il y a un changement climatique en cours, mais je suis loin d'être de cet avis (= 'I am far from being of the same opinion').

b) The speaker S of *comme on dit, p* belongs to the community attached to the G-speaker involved, as can be seen in:

- (24) **On dit que** ce n'est pas la mer à boire, (**et je suis bien de cet avis + mais je ne suis pas de cet avis**).
- (25) **Comme on dit**, ce n'est pas la mer à boire, (**et je suis bien de cet avis + *mais je ne suis pas de cet avis**).

c) The speaker of *dit-on* does not belong to the community attached to the G-speaker involved, as can be seen in the following contrasts:

- (26) **On dit** qu'il y a un réchauffement climatique, (et selon moi, on a raison + mais selon moi, on a tort) (= 'In my view, (they are right + they are wrong)').
- (27) Il y a un réchauffement climatique, **dit-on**, (*et selon moi, on a raison + mais selon moi, on a tort).

Moreover, *dit-on* cannot combine with an utterance that asserts some truth shared by the speaker. Hence the following contrasts:

- (28) **On dit** que je sais que Max est à Paris ('They say that I know that Max is in Paris').
- (29) ??Je sais que Max est à Paris, **dit-on**⁶ ('I know that Max is in Paris, some people say').
- (30) Je **saurais** que Max est à Paris, **dit-on** ('I am supposed to know that Max is in Paris, some people say').

Since its pragmasemantic value is not predictable on the base of the usual value of the subject-verb inversion in parentheticals, the evidential marker *dit-on* then appears to be a grammaticalized or even

⁴ See Lecolle : 1998.

⁵ *On dit* means 'they say', but *on sait* does not mean 'they know', but rather 'we know, it is a well known fact'.

⁶ Is possible only if *je sais* is some kind of reported speech, in which case *je* does not refer to the speaker as such.

pragmaticalized sequence. It shows a clear contrast with similar markers like *dis-je*, *dis-tu* and *dit-il* which are usually intended to recall a former utterance⁷.

A quite intriguing case is the combination of *dit-on* with gnomic utterances, especially proverbs or sayings, as in:

- (31) Les apparences sont trompeuses, dit-on ('Appearances can be deceiving, it is said').
- (32) L'avenir appartient à celui qui se lève tôt, dit-on ('The early bird catches the worm, it is said').

A fact that seems to contradict our characterization of *dit-on*, since sayings are normally shared by the whole community of speakers. In fact, utterances like (31) and (32) are meant – at least in French – to advise somebody. They can be interpreted as meaning 'I don't want to interfere, but some people would apply the following principle...'.⁸

A first conclusion is that in addition to the origin of the information, evidential markers currently tell us something about the position of the speaker as regards this information and its origin. In this aspect, evidential markers show similarities with modalities seen as the speaker's attitude toward what is said.

2. The inference type

As with the hearsay type, the inference type is part of indirect evidence. A first point is the definition itself of the word **inference**. We will from now on call **inference** any sequence of operations starting from a set of premises and ending with a set of conclusions. According to the nature of the mechanism ensuring the inference, three types have been usually distinguished⁸: a) the **deductive** one; b) the **inductive** one; c) the **abductive** one. The first type comes under logic, the last two under reasoning. The most obvious case of inference is of course the logical one: from a given state of affairs, one can deduce some specific consequences in virtue of a logical law. As an example, let's examine Pierce's example:

- (33) 1. All the beans from this bag are white
- 2. These beans are from this bag.
- 3. (Then) These beans are white.

Being the mechanism the well-known *modus ponens*: if $p \rightarrow q$ and if p , then q . The inductive reasoning draws generalizations from specific cases, as in Pierce's example:

- (34) 1. These beans are from this bag.
- 2. These beans are white.
- 3. (Then) All the beans from this bag are white.

As for the abductive reasoning, it is based on the following schema:

- (35) 1. All the beans from this bag are white.
- 2. These beans are white.
- 3. (Then) These beans are from this bag.

That is: if $p \rightarrow q$ and q , then p ⁹.

In fact, deductive reasoning should be divided into two subcategories, namely **logical deduction** as in (33), and **plausible deduction**, which is based on arguments, as in:

- (36) 1. When somebody works hard, he is (usually) tired.
- 2. I have been working hard lately.
- 3. (Hence) I am (likely to be) tired.

The point is now to find out on which grounds the inference is made. To clarify the type of problems bound to the notion of evidential inference, I will take an example from Guentcheva: 1986, namely:

- (37) John [must have] left, his luggage is no longer in his room.

The central factual claim is obviously *John's luggage is no longer in his room*, being *John left* the plausible conclusion drawn by inference from the factual claim. The inference itself is a kind of circumstantial inference based upon a rule like [When the luggage of a person is no longer in his room, the person has left the room], which can be considered as an abduction from the gnomic R = [When a

⁷ For analogous facts in English, compare the (somewhat unusual) parenthetical *say I, said he*, etc. and the colloquial expression *Says you!*

⁸ Pierce: 1965.

⁹ Guentcheva: 1994, gives several examples of abductive inference in everyday language, such as *We have been broken into!*

person leaves his room, he takes his own luggage away]. (37) is then to be classified as a plausible deduction, being the problem the linguistic status of R. There are two possibilities: the first one consists in seeing R as an abstract pattern, the second considers R as some sort of virtual utterance belonging to a common knowledge. In this second case, R is not an explicit but rather an underlying causal principle, but can very often be made explicit, as in:

- (38) John [must have] left, his luggage is no longer in his room, and usually, [When a person leaves his room, he takes his own luggage away].

Let's now see a case of induction, as in:

- (39) If you are going to Spain, mind Spanish flies, one bit me last year.

Once again, the inference rests upon a rule, namely [Spanish flies bite], which again is not an explicit but an underlying principle and is called up by the factual claim *one bit me last year*. And once again the problem arises of the status of the rule. Last but not least, there is a very well-known category of such gnomic rules that are clearly related to a virtual speaker, namely the proverbs and other sayings. We tend to use sayings as inferential mechanisms, as exemplified in:

- (40) "...Show him the stuff. Let him make his own mind up. – Okay. May be you're right at that. Seeing is believing, I guess..." (A. Price, *Our man in Camelot*, 1975).

The speaker of (40) is the speaker of the saying, but in no way the origin of it, which is something like some collective wisdom that is depicted as a virtual voice – *as they say, it is said*, etc.

A consequence then of the second possibility is that it approximates the inference type to some kind of hearsay type, since the inferential mechanism is then considered to be due to a virtual speaker that can be made explicit for instance in cases like sayings. A problem of choosing the first possibility is that it makes it difficult to represent the way the inference works in reality. In the case of (38) for instance, the inference should go this way:

- (41) 1. [When a person leaves his room, he takes his own luggage away].
2. John's luggage is no longer in his room.
3. (Then) John left his room (by abduction).

2. is a factual claim and then an utterance and 3. the utterance that is drawn by inference from 1. and 2. But this is possible only and only if 1. is also an utterance. In the first option, it is not so and 1. is an abstract principle, that is a meta-linguistic proposition. (40) then will work only if 1 is said in a way or another to be equivalent to a real utterance.

To conclude the above, we can see the boundaries between the hearsay type and the inference type are not clearly established. As we have seen before, sayings and proverbs belong to the hearsay type but are used in inferential processes. On the other hand, inferential processes usually rest upon common grounds that might be interpreted as having a hearsay nature.

3. The perception type

As said before, the perception type is part of direct evidence, and involves any sensory mode, auditory, gustative, olfactory, tactile and visual senses as well. As quoted by Anderson: 1986. We usually tend to take our perceptions for granted, and see any perception verb as giving rise to an evidential. Unfortunately, things are not that simple, and in most cases the use of a perception verb is ambiguous between a mere predication and an evidential, as exemplified in:

- (42) It looks like gold ('it has the same aspect as gold' + 'it is gold according to my visual perception').

On the other hand, the perception type is primarily a perception type, and its sensory nature is not due to some pragmatic inference. In the following example:

- (43) The door is open.

I know that the door is open because I hear (43) or read it, but it means in no way that we have acquired such knowledge through a perception: (43) *implies* a perception, but does not *mean it*. Perception verbs have not given rise to many studies: from a syntactical point of view, see Willems (1981, 2000) for French; and from a semantic point of view, the *Perceptual Reports* have been analyzed as sentences within the intensional framework of *Situation Semantics* (Barwise: 1981, Perry and Barwise: 1981), and as indefinite descriptions of an event within the extensional framework of (Higginbotham: 1984). As in many other languages, French has perception verbs, about thirty, the more frequent being *apercevoir* (perceive), *contempler* (contemplate), *écouter* (listen), *entendre* (hear),

goûter (taste), *observer* (observe), *regarder* (watch), *sentir* (smell), *voir* (see), etc. The problem in both French and in English is that a perceptual report (*naked infinitive*) like:

- (44) Jean a vu Marie pleurer ('John saw Mary weep').

Is totally ambiguous between a mere predication 'What John saw was Mary weep', where *John saw* is the main predication, and an evidential 'Mary wept, John saw it', where this time *Mary wept* is the main predication. The distinction between true evidential and non-evidential interpretation of a perceptual report is not easy to make, and as far as I know, very few studies have been devoted to find out specific properties related to the evidential interpretation. I will now turn precisely to an indirect way of showing up the presence of a perceptual evidence.

In French, the verb *trouver* 'to find', is very commonly used to express a judgment or an opinion through the construction *je trouve que* 'I find that':

- (45) Je trouve que cette pièce de théâtre est excellente ('I find that this play is excellent').

Such a verb also exists in English, Portuguese and Catalan, but in Spanish for instance, its use is restricted to noun phrases: *La obra de teatro, la encuentro excelente*? *Encuentro excelente la obra de teatro* /**Encuentro que la obra de teatro es excelente*. The verb *trouver* has two interesting characteristics:

a) First, it shares with perception verbs like *voir* 'see' the possibility of a double construction, namely noun phrase and finite clause:

- (46) Je vois Marie impatiente/Je vois que Marie est impatiente ('I see Mary impatient/I see that Mary is impatient')

- (47) Je trouve Marie impatiente/Je trouve que Marie est impatiente ('I find Mary impatient/I find that Mary is impatient').

b) An utterance of *Je trouve que SN + V* is possible only if the speaker has had a **direct experience** of SN¹⁰. Hence the following examples:

- (48) Je n'ai pas vu cette pièce, mais (je crois + *je trouve) qu'elle est excellente.
(I have not seen this play, but (I think + I find) that it is excellent')
- (49) Je n'ai pas goûté ce vin, mais (je pense + *je trouve) qu'il est excellent.
(I have not tasted that wine, but (I think + I find) that it is excellent')
- (50) Je n'ai pas senti ce parfum, mais (j'ai l'impression + *je trouve) qu'il est très frais.
(I have not smelled that perfume, but (I think + I find) that it is very fresh')
- (51) Je n'ai pas encore écouté ce disque, mais (je suis sûr + *je trouve) que l'interprétation est remarquable.
(I have not played that record, but (I am certain + I find) that the interpretation is remarkable')
- (52) Sans avoir touché le tissu, (je parie + *je trouve) qu'il est très doux.
Without touching the fabric, (I bet + I find) that it is smooth

As opposed to:

- (53) J'ai vu cette pièce, et je trouve qu'elle est excellente.
(I saw this play, and I find it is excellent')
- (54) J'ai goûté ce vin, et je trouve qu'il est excellent.
(I tasted this wine, and I find that it is excellent')
- (55) J'ai senti ce parfum, et je trouve qu'il est très frais.
(I smelled this perfume, and I find that it is very fresh')
- (56) J'ai écouté ce disque, et je trouve que l'interprétation est remarquable.
(I played this record, and I find that the interpretation is remarkable')
- (57) J'ai touché le tissu, et je trouve qu'il est très doux.
(I touched the fabric, and I find that it is very smooth').

Hence, the French verb *trouver* provides us a criterion to determine a subclass of perceptual evidentials. Not the whole class, since *trouver* implies that a judgment be possible.

What has been said above has an important consequence on the notion of direct evidence. Consider the following examples (Anscombe: 2010b):

- (58) Je trouve que la mort de César a été horrible.
(I found Caesar's death horrible').
- (59) Je trouve horrible de mourir à vingt ans.
(I find it horrible to die being twenty years old').

¹⁰ Ducrot: 1975.

It is fairly obvious that the speaker cannot have a 'direct experience' of Caesar's death, neither can he have a direct experience of 'dying being twenty years old'. In fact, some common knowledge is considered as taken for granted, and hence is considered as direct experiences. It can be historical knowledge as in (58), or else common places as in (59), which relies upon something like 'One dies when one is old'. Direct evidence appears then to refer to things that are considered as unquestionable facts, based on perceptual facts and on historical facts or commonplaces as well. Further investigations should then examine the linguistic relationship between *hear-say* phenomena and perceptual reports.

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THE GREEK FUTURE: EPISTEMIC MODALITY AND MODAL CONCORD

Anastasia Giannakidou

University of Chicago

giannaki@uchicago.edu

ABSTRACT

*In this paper, I propose an analysis of the Greek so-called ‘future’ particle *tha* (θα) as an epistemic necessity modal operator with present perspective. This analysis renders *tha* similar to the English modal *must*—and as in English, I will argue that we find evidential uses (further studied in Giannakidou and Mari to appear, and shown to hold in both Greek and Italian). The main evidence for the modality of *tha* will be drawn from co-occurrence with modal adverbs which constitutes, I will argue, modal concord in the sense of Huitink (2012). My analysis is similar to Tsangalidis (1999) who argues that the particle *tha* is not a prototypical future tense marker—but differs from Tsangalidis who claims that *tha* is not a modal operator either. The major implications of what I propose here is that the category ‘future’ is modal, at least in Greek, and that the ‘future’ reading is simply forward shifting of the time of the event due to the presence of an adverbial.*

1. The future: tense or modality?

The question of whether the category ‘future tense’ in natural languages is a tense or modality has been central in linguistic semantics, and both answers have been explored (for modal accounts, see Prior, 1967; Bertinetto, 1979; Copley, 2002; Squartini, 2004; Mari, 2009, Klecha 2011; for a defense of the temporal analysis see Kissine 2008). Certainly, the English future word ‘will’ has been known to admit purely modal readings, and is typically characterized in the grammars as a modal verb. We also read, for instance in Palmer (1987), that “it is tempting to refer to the meaning of *will* as probability, alongside possibility and necessity for *may* and *must*. But the word ‘probable’ does not provide a good paraphrase. A better paraphrase is again in terms of conclusion: ‘A reasonable conclusion is that.. (Palmer 1987: 136)’.”

- (1) The French’ll be on holiday this week.
- (2) No doubt, you’ll remember John.

The sentences above with *will* are conjectural rather than temporal, and *will* seems to convey a sort of ‘inferential’, epistemic modality: *given what I know, it is quite likely* or *it is quite plausible*, or in cases of stronger certainty, *it must be the case* that that the French are on holiday this week. The modality is stronger than mere possibility, and ranges from strong probability to weak and classical necessity (Kratzer 1981, 1991). However, *must* and *will* are not equivalent:

- (3) John will be in his office.
- (4) John must be in his office (Palmer 1987: 136).

Must conveys stronger certainty than *will* in the pair above, and it also seems to have an evidential component (see von Stechow and Gillies 2010 and references therein): *all the worlds compatible with the best indirect evidence I have*, are worlds where John is in his office. *Must*, at the same time, unlike *will*, does not necessarily make reference to a time after the utterance time:

- (5) Utterance time, 9 pm: John must have left at 6 pm; #by 10 pm).
- (6) Utterance time, 9 pm: John will have left (#at 6 pm; by 10 pm).

In this paper, I will propose that the Greek future particle *tha* (θα) is, contrary to the traditional grammar label, not a future tense but a modality operator, pretty much like *will* and *must*. The epistemic, non-future, uses of *θα* have been known in the literature since Tzartanos' grammar (1953); they have also been noted in the grammar of Holton et al. (1997), and were studied in more detail in Tsangalidis's seminal work on *tha*. They have also acknowledged in more recent literature e.g. Chiou (2012). I will further show here that the 'future' reading itself is not devoid of epistemic modality either, there are therefore no purely temporal uses of *tha*. Tsangalidis himself reaches the conclusion that *tha* is neither a modal nor a temporal operator, but rather a hybrid, mixed category. The analysis I will propose in this paper treats *tha* as a modal (epistemic) operator, with present—not future—perspective (a position that I adopt from my earlier work (Giannakidou 2009)). In ongoing work, Giannakidou and Mari study the evidential component underlying *tha*, but given space limitations, I will not expand on this here.

The main argument for the modality of *tha* comes from its non-future readings with present and past, and from its interaction with modal adverbials. In the examination of this interaction, we discover that Greek exhibits rich patterns of modal concord, not only with *tha* but also with the other necessity modal *prepi*. I adopt Huitink's 2012 analysis of modal concord as a suitable framework for the analysis of Greek, but we also note a flexibility with both necessity modals in Greek that may be used as an argument for probability based theories of modality such as e.g. Lassiter (2011).

The modal analysis of *tha* has a variety of implications which set up a lively agenda for future research. First, it allows us to move beyond the choice *particle or verb?*, dictated by typological studies (Tsangalidis 1999) and which collapses essentially the semantic category 'modal operator' with the syntactic status of 'modal verb'. Modality is a semantic category that can have various syntactic realizations (Kratzer 1981, 1991, Portner 2009)— verbs, adverbs, morphemes such as *-able*— and as I suggest here also particles. It is misleading to reject the modal analysis of *tha* just because it is not, syntactically, a verb (see a similar point in Roussou and Tsangalidis 2010). Second, the modal analysis of *tha* establishes a correlation between epistemic modality and temporal interpretation, a route that has not been previously taken but which is very promising in allowing a better understanding of the category 'future'.

The paper unfolds as follows. In the next section, I describe the epistemic reading of *tha* in detail, along with the future use. Instrumental to this discussion is the co-occurrence of *tha* with modal adverbs, showing that the modal readings have a gradient force that is stronger than mere possibility, and closer to high probability and necessity. In section 3, I will outline the temporal polarity analysis of Giannakidou 2009 which I will use as the basis for the derivation of the future meaning; in section 4, I further develop the epistemic modal analysis of *tha* and offer a preliminary analysis of the modal concord patterns observed.

2. *Θα*: future, epistemic readings, and co-occurrence with modal adverbs

The Greek verb is obligatorily inflected for tense and aspect, and the particle *tha* is used with all four tense and aspect combinations: perfective non-past (PNP), perfective past (PP), imperfective non-past (INP) and imperfective past (IP). I illustrate the basic temporal/aspectual distinctions below (cf. Mackridge 1985, Holton et al. 1997):

- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>(7) a. graf- -o (INP)
 write.imperf -1sg.nonpast
 'I am writing (right now).'
 'I write (generally).'</p> | <p>b. grap- s- -o (PNP)
 write- perf.1sg.nonpast
 [no English equivalent; * on its own]</p> |
| <p>(8) a. e- graf- -a (IP)
 past- write.imperf. 1sg.past
 'I used to write.'
 'I was writing.'</p> | <p>b. e- grap- s- a (PP)
 past- write- perf.1sg.past
 'I wrote.'</p> |

The basic temporal opposition is between a morphological past, which is usually marked by the prefix *e-* attaching to the verbal stem and specific inflection; and a nonpast which is signaled by the absence of the prefix *e-* (hence the label *nonpast*), and which has its own inflection. The form in (7b)— the PNP— is a dependent form: it is not possible on its own, but only in combination with nonveridical particles (i.e. particles that create a nonveridical domain; Giannakidou 1998, 1999, 2009) such as the subjunctive *na*, *tha*, the optative *as*, *prin* 'before', *an* 'if':

- (9) a. **As** fiji o Janis.
 as leave.PNP.3sg the John
 ‘Let John go.’ (request or permission)
- b. **Na** fiji o Janis.
 na leave.PNP.3sg the John
 ‘Let John go.’ (request or permission)
- c. **Tha** fiji o Janis.
 tha leave.PNP.3sg the John
 ‘John will leave.’ (future)
- d. {**An/Prin**} fiji o Γιάννης....
 If/before leave.PNP.3sg the John
 ‘If/before John goes away....’

As we see in these examples, the combination nonveridical particle plus PNP creates future orientation: the intended event is to be located at an interval starting at the utterance time and stretching through the time afterward. So, future orientation is *not* an exclusive property of *tha*, but typical of the whole class of nonveridical particles and connectives in combination with this particular verbal form, the PNP. We also see that some of the particles function as higher modal or illocutionary force operators (e.g. the optative or the subjunctive), or they directly correspond to C positions as is the case with the connectives.

I will give examples of *tha* with each combination next, but I wanted first to frame the discussion by saying that in *all* combinations, even with the PNP, *θα* is interpreted epistemically. In addition, with PNP, we have the future reading, which is more due to properties of the PNP (Giannakidou 2009). My account differs from Tsangalidis (1999) who claims non-ambiguity and distinguishes between *tha* with PP which gives ‘pure’ epistemic past readings, and *tha* with the PNP which gives ‘pure’ non-epistemic future readings. (Tsangalidis allows the other combinations to be open to both temporal and modal readings). My claim is that there is no ‘pure’ future reading, and that the epistemic reading is always available with *tha* (see also Chiou 2012 for a similar intuition that the epistemic reading is generally available in all cases). It is important to note that Giannakidou and Mari (to appear) reach a similar conclusion for the Italian future suffix too.

Let us now consider in some detail the epistemic meaning of *tha*.

2.1 The epistemic reading of *θα*: co-occurrence with adverbs and the necessity modal

The epistemic reading arises as a ‘pure’ reading—in the sense of lacking future—in combinations of *tha* with imperfective non-past (INP) and perfective past (PP). I describe first the combination of *tha* with nonpast; the reading with the PP is exactly the same, only about a past event.

Consider the sentences below. In the glosses below I will refer to *tha* as FUT:

- (10) a. I Ariadne tha kimate tora.
 the Ariadne FUT sleep.INP.3sg now
 Ariadne must be sleeping now.
- b. I Ariadne tha ine giatros.
 the Ariadne FUT be.3sg doctor
 Ariadne must be a doctor.
- c. I Ariadne tha pezi tora.
 the Ariadne FUT play.INP.3sg now
 Ariadne must be playing now.

I use both stative and non-stative predicates, and as we see, in all cases, the most plausible paraphrase is the one indicated in the translations where I use the verb *must*. The reading is epistemic, inferential: I am considering information I have, and draw an inference based on that information. For example, with regard to (a), I know that Ariadne has the habit of taking a nap at 2pm, I also know that she always sticks to

schedule, and I also know that today has been a regular day. So at 2 pm, I utter the sentence expressing my relative certainty that Ariadne is, *for all I know*, asleep. Likewise, I know also that usually by 6 pm Ariadne is down at the yard playing with her friends. At any time after 6 pm then, I can utter (c) with the same degree of certainty. Finally, (b) expresses an inference that is more based on knowledge plus behavioral evidence: I have witnessed Ariadne expressing opinion on medical matters, she cites medical papers all the time, and similar things, hence I am entitled to conclude (b).

We must note that the certainty about the truth of the proposition is relatively strong, as we will witness below with the use of adverbials. But before we discuss that, it is important to mention that if I have direct evidence of the even happening, I cannot use *tha*. Just like in English, e.g., if I am watching the rain falling, it is quite weak to say “It must be raining”:

- (11) Context: I am watching the rain through the window. I say:
#*Tha vrex!* “It must be raining”.

This seems to suggest a sensitivity to the nature of evidence: if I have direct evidence to the truth of the sentence, *tha* is unacceptable. This sensitivity suggests that the statement with *tha* is weaker than the non-modalized assertion ‘It is raining’ or ‘Ariadne is a doctor’—weaker in the sense of nonveridical (Giannakidou 1998, 1999: not entailing the truth of the sentence in the context). Statements with indirect evidentials are similarly weak (nonveridical), and do not entail the truth of the sentence in the context—see for instance Fallor 2002, Smirnova 2011, and Murray 2012. If direct evidence supports the stronger statement, I am not being a co-operative speaker by choosing a weaker statement.

So, *tha* does convey a strong sense of certainty, it is still however non-veridical and conveys a non-homogeneous epistemic space that allows for the possibility that *not p*, like all modals (Giannakidou 1998, 1999; *pace* con Fintel and Gillies 2010), and nonveridical contexts in general. Now, notice that *tha* is fine with high probability adverbs such as *malon* ‘probably/most likely’, *sigoura* ‘certainly’ and *oposdhipote* ‘definitely’—but is bad with mere possibility adverbs such as *isos* ‘maybe/perhaps’ and *pithanon* ‘possibly’:

- (12) I Ariadne {malon/profanos/sigoura/oposdhipote} *tha* ine jatros.
the Ariadne probably/obviously/certainly/definitely FUTbe.3sg doctor.
Ariadne must {probably/obviously/certainly/definitely} be a doctor.

- (13) I Ariadne {isos/pithanon} **tha* ine jatros.
the Ariadne maybe/possibly FUT be.3sg doctor
Maybe Ariadne is a doctor.

This contrast suggests that the force of the modality of *tha* is stronger than mere possibility, and parallel facts about FUT and the adverbials hold in Italian (Giannakidou and Mari, to appear). Notice also that *tha* is compatible with a range of adverbs from high probability to necessity (*oposdhipote* ‘definitely’ which is the Greek equivalent to ‘necessarily’ in epistemic contexts).¹

The same behavior characterizes the Greek necessity modal *prepi* (the only necessity modal verb in Greek), which combines with the same range of adverbs, *but also with FUT itself*:

¹ The cognates *anagastika* ‘necessarily’ *ipixreotika* ‘obligatorily’ resist epistemic uses in Greek, and are preferred in deontic contexts. The sentence below creates an obligation that Ariadne be a doctor:

- (i) #I Ariadne *prepi anagastika/ipoxreotika* na ine giatros.
Ariadne must necessarily/obligatorily be a doctor.

The # marks the epistemic reading. In a context where an obligation makes sense, the use of *anagastika/ipoxreotika* is fine:

- (ii) Context: Ariadne wants to get a job at the hospital. I say: “In order to apply,
I Ariadne *prepi anagastika/ipoxreotika* na ine giatros.”
Ariadne must necessarily/obligatorily be a doctor

- (14) I Ariadne {malon/#isos} tha prepi na efije.
 Ariadne probably FUT must subj left.PNP.3sg
 ?Ariadne probably must have left.
- (15) I Ariadne (tha) prepi na efije.
 Ariadne FUT must subj left.PNP.3sg
 ?Ariadne probably must have left.
- (16) Ta pedia prepi oposdhipote na ine sto spiti.
 The children must definitely SUBJ be.3pl in-the home
Epistemic necessity: The children must definitely be at home
- (17) Ta pedia **prepiprofanos/endexomenos** na ine sto spiti.
 The children **must obviously/potentially** SUBJ be.3pl in-the home
Epistemic necessity: The children must probably be at home

(All complementation is finite in Greek, and modal verbs take subjunctive *na* complements). *Prepi* is compatible with a range of adverbs above a certain threshold of high probability reaching to necessity. In this, it differs from English where *must* resists modification by adverbs other than strong necessity modals (ex. 14, 15), (though such occurrences are not unattested, as David Lassiter communicated to me)². It seems plausible to say that Greek collapses the Kratzerian distinction between *should* (weak necessity) and *must* (necessity) in the same lexical item (unlike English). Soward counts as necessity seems to be ‘more flexible’ in Greek—a fact that can also be used to support measure function based theories of modality such as e.g. Lassiter 2011, as I will comment briefly at the end of the paper. At any rate, given the co-compatibility of *tha* and *prepi*, we must conclude that they express matching modalities. We can view this as a case of modal concord in the sense of the most recent discussion in Huitink 2012, an idea I develop further in section 4.2.

2.2 FUT plusperfective non-past: future *and* epistemic reading

The combination of FUT and the perfective non-past (PNP) gives the temporal reading:

- (18) O Janis tha ftasi stis 5 pm/avrio. (future)
 The John FUT arrive.PNP.3sg at 5 pm/tomorrow.
 ‘John {will/#must} arrive at {5 pm/tomorrow}.’

A paraphrase with *must* is pretty odd in this case. Notice also that we have the adverbials ‘at 5 pm’ and ‘tomorrow’. Without them, the epistemic reading is free to surface:

- (19) Context: It’s late, the weather is bad, and we know Ariadne is travelling. You worry, and I want to reassure you and say:
 Min anisixis. I Ariadne tha ftasi. (epistemic)
 Not worry.imperative.2sg. the Ariadne FUT arrive.PNP.3sg.
 ‘Don’t worry. Ariadne will arrive.’

² Dan Lassiter offers the following, corpus retrieved, examples with *must possibly* and *must perhaps*:

- (i) The Parish borders the North Downs and is on the edge of a designated Area of Outstanding Natural Beauty. Surrounded by this amazing countryside it offers outstanding views. Just stand at Eastwell Towers and gaze out towards the Wye Crown, *it must possibly be one of the finest views in the South East*.
- (ii) This book is an odyssey, a journey up through the mists of time from the remote past. It explores what *must perhaps be the most fundamental of all questions* - who we are.

In this case, I am expressing a certainty that Ariadne will arrive which I mean to be comforting. This is a reading that we also get with *will*.

The epistemic reading is also prominent with the evidential “*ipan*” ‘they say’:

- (20) *O Janis tha gini kala, ipan.*
the John FUT recover.3sg said.3pl.
‘John will recover, they say.’

Finally, consider the following example (from Holton et al. 1997):

- (18) *Kaθe proi tha sikothi, tha pji to kafedhaki tu, tha dhiavasi tin efimeridha tu, kai kata tis 8.30 tha fiji jia to grafio tu.*
‘Every morning he will get up, drink his coffee, read his newspaper and at approximately 8.30 he will leave for the office.’

This is a series of generic sentences, with no reference to the future—in Greek or in English. So, the ‘future’ reading of *tha*, in the absence of a definite adverbial such as ‘at 5 pm’ is never ‘pure’, never devoid of epistemic modality. I must mention Chiou’s 2012 analysis which agrees with my conclusion above that *tha* always contributes an epistemic modal semantic core, and further argues that “the future interpretations arise as implicatures related to the Levinsonian I- principle. In essence, it is proposed that future-time reference is an I- enriched interpretation of the modal base achieved at the level of communication and depends on pragmatic cues of speaker intentions.” (Chiou 2012: 35). In this account too, we find the future reading being not a semantic contribution of *tha* itself, but due to more general conversational principles.

According to Giannakidou and Mari (to appear), the future reading arises as a temporally specific reading *when the speaker is in possession of direct knowledge*. This typically happens when we have an adverb (future, as here, or past as in the examples next). When the adverb is present, it provides direct evidence about a time, and this time serves to constrain the temporal space for the location of the eventuality denoted by the VP. The future reading is simply the forward narrowing down of the time of the event denoted by the sentence. In other words, the future reading comes as a temporal domain restriction, and the sentence is not merely an assessment, but becomes a prediction (for more discussion and examples see Giannakidou and Mari to appear).

2.3 *Tha* with past: epistemic and conditional

Tha is possible with both perfective and imperfective past. The perfective past (PP) gives rise to an epistemic interpretation, pretty much like the one we saw with the imperfective present. The only difference is that we are now epistemically assessing a past event, just like with combinations of *must* with present perfect in English:

- (19) a. I Ariadne tha kimithike tora.
the Ariadne FUT sleep.PP.3sg now
Ariadne must have fallen asleep by now.
a I Ariadne tha milise xthes.
the Ariadne FUT talk.PP.3sg yesterday
Ariadne must have talked yesterday.

I know Ariadne’s habits, plans etc. So I can infer *now* that at some point prior to now, Ariadne fell asleep. Crucially, I am assessing the sentence at the present time—the utterance time, a fact consistent with the analysis of Giannakidou 2009 outlined in section 3.

Everything we said about the epistemic reading earlier holds fully here, including the adverb uses and co-occurrence with *prepi*:

- (20) I Ariadne (tha) prepi {malon/oposdhipote/*isos} na kimithike tora.
the Ariadne FUT must probably/definitely/maybe subj sleep.PP.3sg now
Ariadne must {?probably/definitely} have slept now.

So again, we have high probability plus modal concord. With *tha* and the imperfective past (IP), on the other hand, a conditional, possibly counterfactual reading arises (Iatridou 2000, Giannakidou 2009; Smirnova 2011b):

- (21) I Ariadne *tha* *efevge* *tora*.
 the Ariadne FUT leave.IP.3sg now
 Ariadne would leave now.

- a. *Ala dhen efije telika.*
 But she didn't actually leave.
 b. *Ke pragmati, ine sto treno.*
 And indeed she is in the train.

The counterfactual reading is an implicature: it is cancellable. But not so with the past perfect:

- (22) I Ariadne *tha* *ixe fiji*
 the Ariadne FUT had left.PERF.past
 Ariadne would have leave left.
 # *Ke pragmati, ine sto treno.* ‘#And indeed she is in the train’

It is reasonable to assume that the counterfactual reading is not a genuine compositional reading—in the sense that it is not derived from the meaning of past and imperfective. Rather, it seems plausible to treat it as an implicature that we get because we are not using the simple past. We can imagine the hearer thinking that if the speaker knew that Ariadne drank the syrop, they would have used the perfective form which is stronger because it conveys completion. They didn't, therefore the speaker must not know that Ariadne drank the syrop, hence the counterfactual inference.

So, to sum up: *tha* behaves like a high-end necessity epistemic modal. The future reading emerges with the verbal dependent form perfective non-past—and is not particular to *tha* in this case (it is also observed with the optative, subjunctive particles etc). I proceed now with the analysis of Giannakidou 2009 which explains precisely this case, and then augment it with a modal component for *tha*.

3. Giannakidou 2009: the dependency of the perfective non-past and the particles as *n*

In Giannakidou 2009 I made two claims which play a central role here in deriving the future reading with the PNP. The first claim was that the Greek PNP cannot make reference to the utterance time, as is usually assumed to happen with apparent present tenses. In other words, Greek nonpast does not function as a present tense. Instead, the PNP denotes an interval whose left boundary is a dependent (Giannakidou 1998), *non-deictic* variable *t*. The presence of such a variable renders an expression ‘polarity’ sensitive, and will limit its distribution:

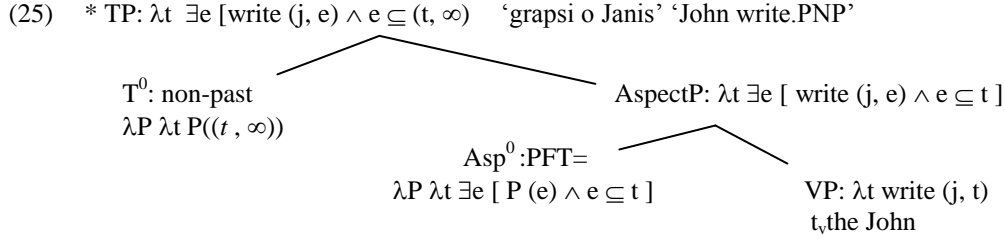
- (23) *Non-deictic variables* (Giannakidou in press: (109))
 A variable *x* is non-deictic iff *x* cannot be interpreted as a free variable.

A non-deictic variable is a semantically and syntactically deficient object (for more on this see Giannakidou and Quer 2012) that *cannot* pick up contextual values by default, like regular variables do. An item containing such a variable will thus depend on another element in the sentence to be valued. I proposed the following semantics for PNP:

- (24) $\llbracket \text{nonpast} \rrbracket = \lambda P \lambda t P((t, \infty))$

This semantics is inspired by Abusch's (2004) analysis of *WOLL* as a substitution operator. According to Abusch, "in the substitution operator, *t* is a bound variable that corresponds to the tense argument of *will*

[which is n , coming from the higher PRES; clarification mine]. For a top-level occurrence of *will*, the effect is to substitute (n, ∞) for n " (Abusch, 2004:39). However, with the Greek nonpast we will not be able to do this substitution because, unlike *will*, which triggers PRES at the top level (Abusch 2004: (48)), the Greek nonpast cannot trigger PRES, and without it, t remains free at the top. But t is a dependent variable, and as such it cannot be left free. In this case, the structure becomes ill-formed:



The interval (t, ∞) lacks temporal orientation, because t is unvalued: it can only be interpreted as a bound or identified variable, and here there is nothing above nonpast to give it a value. The PNP form must therefore rely on another element in the sentence to give a value to t .

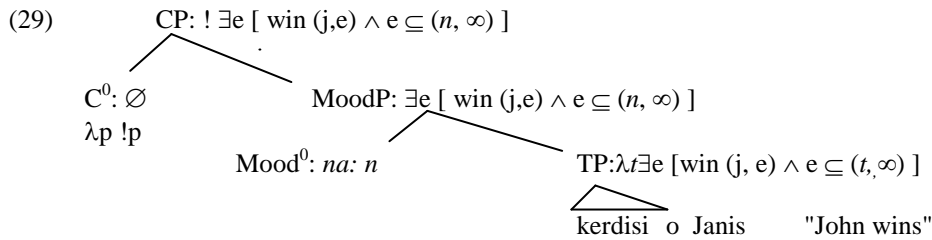
And here comes the second claim I made: given the dependent nature of nonpast it becomes necessary to introduce n in some other node in the clause, higher than TP. This is where the particles enter the picture: they are generated in nodes higher than TP and function as PRES, they provide the utterance time. So, the denotation of *tha* I gave in Giannakidou 2009 was simply n , which after combining with TP gives a value to the dependent variable t of the PNP:

(26) $\llbracket \text{tha} \rrbracket = n$

(27) $\llbracket \text{tha} \rrbracket (\text{TP} (29)) = \lambda t \exists e [\text{write}(j, e) \wedge e \subseteq (t, \infty)] (n) = \exists e [\text{write}(j, e) \wedge e \subseteq (n, \infty)]$

So, *tha* gives us n , so we now have n to identify t and replace it. The event will now be located at the interval that starts at the utterance time and stretches through infinity. This explains the possibility of future for the PNP, while saying that *tha* is NOT a future tense. The result is a future orientation, the event of writing will be located at the interval following n . As I said at the beginning, this happens also with the subjunctive particle and the optative, so the need to have particles is semantically motivated:

(28) $\llbracket \text{na} \rrbracket = n$



Na thus functions as PRES in a subjunctive clause, and this partly explains why *na* and *tha* do not co-occur (Giannakidou 2009, Roussou 2000): one of them would be redundant. Here n is introduced by the Mood head which hosts *na*. In the absence of a modal or adverbial or a question particle, at C^0 we have the operator that gives the illocutionary force of a request or a command: $\lambda p !p$. The optative, I will suppose, is located in C, as the imperative morpheme, and therefore gives the illocutionary force.

In other words, the particles in the Greek clause (and related particles in Balkan languages, I would suppose) ‘expand’ the verbal structure beyond the V itself, and function as PRES. Importantly, the particles are always linked, even in main clauses—since e.g. *na* is under the force operator— with a C position. There is more detailed consideration of all this in Giannakidou 2009 (see also Lekakou and Nilsen 2007 for discussion).

Kratzer posits two conversational backgrounds as arguments of a modal expression— the modal base and the ordering source. (Additional parameters can be set, such as a secondary ordering source, as suggested in von Fintel and Iatridou, or a choice function as in Matthewson et al. 2007). These two arguments derive a number of modal ‘forces’ and ‘flavors’. The modal base f is the factual background, and the ordering source g is a normative background. With FUT, the modal base is epistemic; specifically it is the set of propositions known by an individual, i.e. the speaker in an unembedded context. A proposition p corresponds to a set of worlds, namely, the set of worlds in which it is true. A set of propositions A corresponds to a set of sets of worlds, and its intersection to a set of worlds, namely, the worlds in which all of the propositions of A are true. So, our modal base will be the following, and the relevant individual will be the speaker:

$$(32) \quad \cap f_{\text{epistemic}}(w) = \lambda w'. w' \text{ is compatible with what is known by the speaker in } w$$

Now, the ordering source orders the worlds in the modal base with respect to how well they conform to a given norm or ideal (often sensitive to the context). Modal expressions of necessity like *prepi* and *tha* ‘must’ quantify over those modal base worlds that adhere to the norms in the ordering source as much as possible. The ordering source g , when applied to a world, gives the set of norms of that world, and this set determines a partial order $\leq_g(w)$ on set of possible worlds, as defined below:

$$(33) \quad \text{The ordering } \leq_g(w)$$

For all $u, z \in W$, for any $g(w) \subseteq \wp(\wp(W))$:

$u \leq_{g(w)} z$ iff $\{p: p \in g(w) \text{ and } z \in p\} \subseteq \{p: p \in g(w) \text{ and } u \in p\}$

The ordering states that for any pair of worlds u, z , u is closer to the ideal set by $g(w)$ if the set of propositions true in z is a *subset* of the set of propositions true in u . A necessity modal requires that for all worlds u of the modal base, there is a world v that comes closer to the ideal imposed by the ordering source, and in all worlds z closer than v to the ideal, the proposition p expressed by its complement is true: p is true in all of the most ideal worlds of the modal base. We can simplify this definition by making the so-called ‘limit assumption’, i.e., by assuming that there always are accessible worlds that come closest to the ideal. We can call these worlds $Bestg(w)(\cap f(w))$, following (Portner 2009), or $\max g(w)(\cap f(w))$, following Huitink. We obtain the following lexical entries for *prepi*, *tha* and *must*:

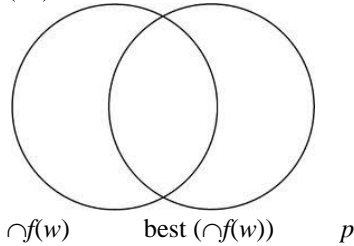
$$(34) \quad \text{For any world } w, \text{ and conversational backgrounds } f, g:$$

$\llbracket \text{prepi/ tha/ MUST} \rrbracket_{w,f,g} = \lambda q \langle st \rangle. \forall w' \in Best_{g(w)}(\cap f(w)): q(w') = 1;$

where $Bestg(w)(X)$ selects the most ideal worlds from X , given the ordering given by $g(w)$

Crucially, only in the *Best* worlds is p true, therefore the universal modal is nonveridical: the modal base is a non-homogenous space containing p and *non- p* worlds, as can be seen in the diagram below:

$$(35)$$



This explains why the modalized sentence even with a necessity modal, is ‘weaker’ than a non-modalized assertion: there are worlds in the modal base $\cap f(w)$ where p is not true, and the actual world may turn out to be one of those worlds. Just to make sure that we appreciate this, consider the following case:

namely that *tha* and *prepi* convey weak necessity, this use of expected. But since it is a combination of the elements we are discussing here, I do not consider it a lexical item itself (nor do von Fintel and Iatridou).

- (36) Context: Ariadne is sneezing, has a fever, watery eyes, etc.
 B: She must have the flu.
 a. *Prepi* na exi gripi.
 must subj have.3sg flu
 b. *Tha* exi gripi.
 must have.3sg flu

The doctor is assessing, and given what he knows (the symptoms, his knowledge of what the symptoms mean, the time of the year, etc) he is entitled to conclude that Ariadne has the flu. In the worlds compatible with his best knowledge/evidence, etc., this is his verdict. However, his modal base allows also for worlds in which Ariadne does not have the flu (*non-p*) but an allergy, or pneumonia. The doctor's judgment may be that these worlds are not the correct basis for forming his current diagnose, they are not best; but they are there in the modal base. The more of those *non-p* worlds the doctor allows, or the more he allows them to influence his judgment, the less certain he becomes. If the doctor wants to exclude *non-p* worlds, he must make the stronger statement without *must/ta/prepi*, that relies on a veridical epistemic space which is homeogenous: *all worlds* compatible with what he considers as the basis for his diagnose are *p* worlds. I summarize the distinction below (for more detailed discussion see my earlier works (Giannakidou 1998, 1999, 2006, 2011):

- (37) *Veridical and nonveridical modal space*
 (i) A modal space (a set of worlds) *W* is veridical with respect to a proposition *p* just in case all worlds in *W* are *p*-worlds. (*Homogeneity*).
 (ii) If there is at least one world in *W* that a *non-p* world, *W* is nonveridical. (*Non-homogenous space*).

All modals come with non-homogeneous, therefore nonveridical spaces (pace von Stechow and Gillies 2010); and do subjunctive selective verbs and indirect evidentials (see also Smirnova 2011). The idea of homogeneous and non-homogeneous modal space has also been expressed in terms of *diversity* in Condoravdi 2002.

This concludes our basic discussion of the modality of *prepi* and *ta*. I must also mention, finally, that there are differences between *ta* and *prepi*, most prominently (a) the fact that *prepi* is also a deontic modal (so it can be associated with a deontic modal base) unlike *ta* which is only epistemic, and (b) that *prepi* is indeed compatible with past tense (*e-prepe*). Temporally, *ta* retains present perspective, and never scopes below past (see also Giannakidou and Mari to appear). I will close now by very briefly addressing the role of the adverbs.

4.2 *Tha* and the role of adverbs: modal concord

Recall the range of adverbs that *ta* and *prepi* combine with. I will only give the example here with *ta*, and gloss it as MUST. I remind the reader that the possibility adverbs are excluded:

- (38) I Ariadne {malon/profanos/sigoura/oposdhipote/*isos/* pithanon} *ta* ine jatros.
 the Ariadne probably/obviously/certainly/definitely/maybe/possibly MUST be.3sg doctor.
 Ariadne must {?probably/obviously/certainly/definitely/} be a doctor.

(There may be slight differences between *ta* and *prepi* when we consider a wider range of adverbials, but this needs to be assessed at a later time, as in these core cases they appear to be similar. A corpus study, for instance, could be valuable). The question is: what is the function of the adverbs? The very fact that they range from weak to classical necessity suggests a flexibility of *ta* that we don't find with *must*—which is odd, or only marginally acceptable with *probably*. The adverb in Greek disambiguates, specifies, the exact force of the modal.

I will capture this disambiguation by following Huitink's (2012) most recent account of modal concord. Huitink argues that the adverbs "fill the ordering source argument slot" of the modal verbs. This means that the phenomenon involves matching, which I find very appealing. The modal *ta* and *prepi* are compatible

with the whole range of necessity meanings, and the adverb requires matching modality. With matching modality, the adverb narrows down the interpretation of the modal. Huitink specifies the meaning of adverbs such as Dutch *verplicht* ‘obligatorily’ and *misschien* ‘perhaps’ in the following way, where P stands for a modal operator that has already combined with a modal base (so P is of type ((s, (st, t)), (st, st))):

- (39) a. $\llbracket \text{verplicht} \rrbracket = \lambda P: P$ is universal. $P(\lambda w \lambda p.p$ is obliged in $w)$
 b. $\llbracket \text{misschien} \rrbracket = \lambda P: P$ is existential. $P(\lambda w \lambda p.p$ is known in $w)$

The idea is that *verplicht* combines with a modal verb, checks whether it has the right quantificational force, and then applies this verb to an ordering source which assigns to each world the set of propositions that are obliged in it.

We can pursue this analysis for Greek facts. The adverbs *oposdhipote* ‘definitely’ and *malon* come with the presupposition that they need to attach to a universal modal. *Tha* is a universal so they can combine with it; but *isos* and *pithanon* ‘possibly’ aren’t universal so the combination fails:

- (40) a. $\llbracket \text{malon/oposdhipote} \rrbracket = \lambda P: P$ is universal. $P(\lambda w \lambda p.p$ is known in $w)$
 b. $\llbracket \text{isos/pithanon} \rrbracket = \lambda P: P$ is existential. $P(\lambda w \lambda p.p$ is known in $w)$

When the argument of the adverb is not a universal, their combination is not defined, and therefore becomes odd. *Malon* and *oposdhipote* both consider known facts, but *malon* is weaker than *oposdhipote* ‘necessarily’ in expressing high probability (or weak necessity), and not classical necessity. Due to space, I cannot work out the details of weak necessity that are relevant here. A way to capture this, though, within the theories of modality I am assuming, is to say that the accessibility relation of *malon* accesses more facts and therefore allows less worlds in the modal base (following Portner’s discussion of deontic *should* and *must* (Portner 2009: chapter 2). This would entail that the adverb affects the accessibility relation directly, not just the ordering source.

For adverbs like *profanos* ‘obviously’, Huitink suggests to consider a stereotypical ordering source (following Kratzer’s human necessity), which will give us a proposition “less certain” than a proposition that is necessary with respect to all epistemically accessible worlds. Bare epistemic MUST would quantify over this latter set. In this way, Huitink claims, MUST OBVIOUSLY expresses a weaker quantification than bare MUST on its own. I believe this holds for the combinations *tha profanos* and *prepi profanos* in Greek too:

- (41) a. I Ariadne tha ine profanos jatros.
 the Ariadne MUST be.3sg obviously doctor.
 b. I Ariadne prepi profanos na ine jatros.
 the Ariadne MUST obviously subj be.3sg doctor.
 Ariadne must obviously be a doctor.
 c. I Ariadne tha prepi profanos na ine jatros.
 the Ariadne MUST MUST obviously subj be.3sg doctor.
 Ariadne must obviously be a doctor.

Notice the three way concord in the c example with *tha*, *prepi* and the adverb. Indeed these statements are weaker than the statements without *profanos*.

I must close this discussion soon, but the last thing I wanted to say is that, I think, the concord phenomena that we observe in Greek may serve to support measurement based approaches to modality like Lassiter 2011. Lassiter proposes a theory of modality where the modal sentences get their truth values by comparing the position of their proposition on a relevant scale to a *threshold* value (determined by context and the lexical semantics of the modal). In this assumption, a rough semantics of MUST will be the following:

- (42) $\llbracket \phi \text{ must be the case} \rrbracket^{M,w,g} = 1$ if and only if $\text{must}(\phi)$ is greater or equal to ϑ_{must}
 (Lassiter 2011: (1.6))

We have here a measure for what counts as MUST—the threshold value ϑ_{must} . This threshold may differ

from one language to another—recall that in English *must* is harder (though not impossible) with *probably*, but in Greek, combinations of *malon* with *prepi* and *tha* are common. So, the threshold for MUST in Greek is lower and includes weak necessity (or high probability).

Modal concord, in this frame, can be restated as specifying subspaces on the measurement scale, a guide of where to look for the numerical value of *tha p*: e.g. on a scale from 0 to 1, with *malon*, we must look at values of high probability, say between .8-.9; with *oposdhipote*, we only look at .99. The adverbs therefore serve as value restrictors, as probability restrictors, which I find a very promising way to think about their role. Another way to rephrase this idea is to say that the adverbs function as degree modifiers (thanks to Dan Lassiter for this suggestion). If modal adverbs are probability degree modifiers, the differences in acceptability as we move down the range of epistemic modals (ordered by strength) become similar to the contrast between *slightly damp/wet/#soaking* or *somewhat large/#enormous* or *totally #ajar/open*. The modal-adverbial relation becomes thus parallel to the degree modifier-adjective relation in establishing permissible and non-permissible combinations that rely on the combinatorial restrictions of the modifiers as they ‘match’ (or do not match) the probability space established by the modal operator. Though I cannot undertake the task of making this promising idea more concrete in the present paper, I hope to be able to do so in future work.

4. Conclusion

I have only scratched the surface, in this paper, of the rich patterns of modal concord in Greek, and on the interaction between necessity modals and temporality in this language. Certainly the facts that I was able to consider here deserve a more thorough and careful examination for a better understanding—and for better appreciating the consequences they may have for the various tools for linguistic modality that have been developed in the past few years, especially for the gradability and concord approaches to modality.

I hope to have conveyed in this paper that the study of Greek necessity modals such as *tha* and *prepi* can teach us valuable lessons about the linguistic realizations of necessity. *Tha*, a traditionally known ‘future’ particle, turns out to have a broad usage as an epistemic modal operator of weak and classical necessity. The future meaning emerges as a particular case of combining *tha* with the verbal dependent form PNP. The gradable (or flexible) modality range of *tha* enabled us to make reference to modal concord and, in the end, to probability measure approaches to modality. Probability measurements have been posited also in the analysis of evidentials—most prominently in the theory of McCready and Ogata 2007 for Japanese evidentials. Most of the examples in that paper are future oriented. This may be an accident, but maybe not. The relation of evidentiality and the future is explored further in Giannakidou and Mari to appear, where the idea of ‘measuring’ the evidence plays a key role.

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PHRASEOLOGY: ITS PLACE IN THE LANGUAGE, IN THE DICTIONARY, AND IN NATURAL LANGUAGE PROCESSING

Igor Mel'čuk

Observatoire de linguistique Sens-Texte
University of Montreal, Canada

igor.melcuk@umontreal.ca

ABSTRACT

The paper introduces the concept of phraseme—that is, non-free, or selectionally constrained, phrase or clause—and characterizes the three major classes of phrasemes: idioms, collocations and clichés (the latter including an important subclass of pragmatemes). A finer classification of phrasemes is elaborated, based on the notions of compositionality of complex linguistic signs and that of the semantic pivot of a meaning. After this, are described the techniques used to represent phrasemes of all types in an Explanatory Combinatorial Dictionary and present three examples illustrating the use of this dictionary for difficult cases of translation involving phrasemes.

You can't BUY TIME or SAVE TIME common idioms
notwithstanding. You can only
SPEND TIME.

Eric Zorn, a columnist for the *Chicago Tribune*

1. Introduction

The expressions printed in small caps in the motto are examples of what is known as phrasemes; phrasemes of a language constitute its phraseology. Linguists agree that phraseology is extremely important for linguistic studies, but, quite unfortunately, they do not agree either on the exact content of the notion 'phraseology' or on the way phraseological expressions should be described and treated in linguistic applications, among others, in lexicography and Natural Language Processing [= NLP]. I will address these two points: Section 2 proposes a rigorous definition of phraseme, a characterization of the major classes of phrasemes and an exhaustive phraseme typology; Section 3 sketches the fundamentals of a lexicographic description of phrasemes, while in Section 4 I consider three examples of difficult cases of automatic translation where the solutions come from the proposed lexicographic description of one of phraseme classes (namely, collocations). Section 5 summarizes the most important points of the paper.

My theoretical framework is Meaning-Text Theory [= MTT]. I have to use certain of its notions and formalisms without explanation. For more on MTT, please consult Mel'čuk 1974, 1981, 1988a: 43-91, 1997 and Kahane 2003a.

Technical terms appear, on their first mention, in Helvetica.

2. Phraseology in the Language

The literature on phraseology is too huge to be reviewed here even cursorily; see, for instance, Cowie and Howarth 1996, and the collections Everaert *et al.* (eds) 1995, Cowie (ed.) 1998, Burger *et al.* (eds) 2007, and Anscombre and Mejri (eds) 2011. I will limit myself to Mel'čuk 1995 (a sketch of a theory of phraseology within the Meaning-Text framework) and the classics Bally 1909 and Weinreich 1969, which have most profoundly influenced my approach to phrasemes.

2.1 Two Main Families of Phrasemes: Lexical and Semantic-Lexical Phrasemes

A phraseological expression is a multiword utterance—that is, a linguistic expression formed by several lexemes syntactically linked in a regular way (in what follows, only multiword utterances are considered, which allows me to omit the modifier *multiword*).¹ The notorious expression *X kicks the bucket* \approx ‘person X dies of natural causes, I being flippant about X’ is syntactically and morphologically structured exactly the same way as all similar phrases of the form “Transitive Verb—DirO:” *kick the ball, hit John, squeeze her hand*, etc. Even the expression *kick the bucket* itself can mean ‘kick the bucket [full of dirty water]’! This expression is special, i.e. phraseological, only because of its “unpredictable” meaning. A phraseological expression, or phraseme, is thus an utterance featuring some unpredictable properties, i.e., a constrained utterance, or an utterance that is not free. Therefore, I begin with a definition of free utterance.

DEFINITION 1: FREE UTTERANCE

|| An utterance **U** is free, or non-constrained, if and only if [= iff] each of its lexical components Lis selected by the speaker strictly for its meaning and in conformity with its linguistic properties but independently of the lexical identity of other lexical components of **U**.

Corollary: Every lexical component of a free utterance **U** can be replaced by any of its (quasi-)synonyms without taking into account any other lexical component of **U**, and this replacement does not affect **U**’s meaning and grammaticality. In the phrase *select the word freely*, you can replace any component with no matter which of its synonyms and the meaning as well grammaticality is preserved: *choose the lexeme without constraint*.

DEFINITION 2: NON-FREE UTTERANCE = PHRASEME

|| An utterance **U** is non free, or constrained(= phraseologized), iff at least one of its lexical components Lis selected by the speaker as a function of the lexical identity of other component(s) of **U**.

In a non-free utterance **U**, at least one Lis selected depending on **U**’s other particular lexemes; such an utterance is called, as I just said, phraseme.

Corollary: In a phraseme, not every lexical component can unrestrictedly be replaced by any of its (quasi-)synonyms without affecting the phraseme’s meaning and grammaticality. In *kick the bucket* \approx ‘die’ you cannot replace any of the components: *boot the bucket* or *kick the pail* do not mean ‘die’.

A phraseme violates the freedom of selection of its lexical components on the paradigmatic axis of speech production, as the speaker is looking (in his mental lexicon) for appropriate lexical units. The selection activity proceeds in two stages:

- First, the speaker constructs his starting meaning; he selects the necessary simpler meanings and unites them into the meaning of his eventual utterance—that is, into its starting Semantic Representation [= SemR].
- Second, the speaker selects lexical units needed to express his starting SemR and unites them into the Deep-Syntactic Representation [= DSyntR] of the utterance.

Accordingly, two cases of violation of lexical selection freedom can be distinguished in the process of constructing an utterance.

The first case. The construction of the starting meaning ‘ σ ’ [= the SemR] of the utterance L(‘ σ ’) is free. To obtain ‘ σ ’, the speaker selects simpler meanings ‘ σ_1 ’, ‘ σ_2 ’, ..., ‘ σ_n ’ and puts them together in conformity with his needs and general rules of his language: the language does not specifically constrain the speaker’s semantic choices. But the lexical components of the utterance L(‘ σ ’) cannot be chosen freely: some or all of them are selected as a function of the others. The violation of the selection freedom takes place in the transition {SemR} \Leftrightarrow {DSyntR} and manifests itself in lexical constraints. Therefore, resulting phrasemes are called lexical (boldface in examples indicates the lexical components selected restrictedly): *kick the bucket*, *pull* [N_Y ’s] *leg* ‘lie [to N_Y] in order to have fun’ or Rus. *na golubom glazu* lit. ‘on a blue eye’ = ‘pretending to act honestly and sincerely’; *The rain is falling in torrents*, *It rains cats and dogs* or Rus. *Dožd’ l’ët kak iz vedral* lit. ‘Rain is pouring as from bucket’ and *prolivnoj dožd’* ‘torrential rain’ are typical lexical phrasemes.

¹ The term utterance is used here to refer to the set of linguistic expressions including (beside words) phrases, clauses and sentences, since a phraseme can be any of the above. I leave aside the phrasemes of the morphological level—that is, the phraseologized combinations of morphs within a wordform: *fight+er* ‘military plane...’ or *for+get*. For this family of phrasemes, or morphophrasemes, see, for instance, Beck and Mel’čuk 2011.

DEFINITION 3: LEXICAL PHRASEME

|| A phraseme is lexical iff its meaning is constructed by the speaker freely, but its lexical components L(all or some) are selected in a constrained way.

The second case. Not only the lexical composition of the phraseme is constrained, but also its meaning. To describe a real-world situation, the Speaker is forced by the language to select the starting meaning 'σ', and he cannot take an equivalent meaning 'σ'' or 'σ''' ('σ' ≡ 'σ'' ≡ 'σ'''). As a result, the utterance L('σ') is constrained semantically **and** lexically. This type of phraseme is thus "doubly" constrained: in the transition {ConceptR} ⇔ {SemR} (by semantic constraints) and then in the transition {SemR} ⇔ {DSyntR} (by lexical constraints). This is a semantic-lexical phraseme. A simple example is the sign *Wet paint*: Russian says in this context *Ostorožno, okrašeno* lit. 'Caution, painted' rather than *Syraya kraska* 'Wet paint' or even *Ostorožno, vykrašeno* (with a different aspect prefix); and in English it would be inappropriate to write on a sign *Caution, freshly painted*, although this is a perfectly grammatical and semantically correct utterance. Here the language prescribes the meaning to express in the given situation and its specific lexical expression.

DEFINITION 4: SEMANTIC-LEXICAL PHRASEME

|| A phraseme is semantic-lexical iff not only all its lexical, but also all the components of its meaning are selected by the Speaker in a constrained way.

In other words, a semantic-lexical phraseme is selected as a whole (just like idioms, see 2.3.1).

Examples: *in other terms/in other words; to make a long story short*; Rus. *inače govorja* lit. 'speaking differently', *koroče govorja* lit. 'speaking shorter' or *čto i trebovalos' dokazat'* 'Q.E.D.' [= Lat. *Quod Erat Demonstrandum*].

Thus, this major partition splits phrasemes into two main families: lexical phrasemes and semantic-lexical phrasemes.

2.2 Compositionality and the Semantic Pivot

To develop a finer typology of phrasemes, the notion of compositionality of linguistic signs is needed. Recall (for instance, Mel'čuk 1982: 40-41) that a linguistic sign *s* is a triplets = ⟨ 's' ; /s/ ; Σ ⟩, where:

's' is the signified, or informational content, most often a linguistic meaning;

/s/ is the signifier, or a physical perceptible signal, most often a string of phonemes (or characters);

Σ is the syntactics, or a set of data specifying the cooccurrence of *s* with other signs.

For instance, the noun AIRCRAFT is represented as a linguistic sign like this:

⟨ 'vehicle designed to fly...' -SG/PL;²/ɛʔrkɹæft/; Σ = noun, countable, Lexical Functions: *land*_(V), *take off*, *crew*, ... ⟩

Simple signs are combined into complex signs by the operation of linguistic union ⊕. For a particular language **L**, this operation is represented as a set of linguistic rules that tell us how signs must be united:

- The signifieds are united by putting the SemR of an argument into the corresponding argumental position of the corresponding predicate; for instance, 'quite(...)' ⊕ 'baby' ⊕ 'sleep(...)' = 'quiet(sleep(baby))'.
- The signifiers are united by juxtaposing the strings of phonemes and applying all necessary morphological operations; for instance, *deploy* ⊕ *re-* ⊕ *-ed* = *redeployed*.
- The syntactics are united by retaining the combinatorial data valid for the resulting complex sign; for instance, *L*_(V) ⊕ *-er*_(N) = *L*-*er*_(N), as in *sing+er*.

These are rather general rules; but the operation ⊕ covers all rules necessary for appropriate combination of signs of **L**, including all syntactic and morphological rules, etc.

DEFINITION 5: COMPOSITIONAL COMPLEX LINGUISTIC SIGN

|| A complex linguistic sign **AB** consisting of the signs **A** and **B** is compositional iff **AB** = **A** ⊕ **B**.

This means that, for the complex sign **AB** = ⟨ 'AB' ; /AB/ ; Σ_{AB} ⟩, its signified 'AB' must be equal to 'A' ⊕ 'B', its signifier /AB/, to /A/ ⊕ /B/ and its syntactics Σ_{AB}, to Σ_A ⊕ Σ_B.

² This notation indicates that the meanings of the grammemes SINGULAR and PLURAL belong to the signified of the stem of the lexeme AIRCRAFT: *This aircraft is...* vs. *These aircraft are...*

From Definition 5 it follows that compositionality is an absolute notion, which does not admit degrees: a complex sign is compositional or not. Compositionality concerns the three components of the sign independently; in this paper I will consider only the compositionality of signifieds, i.e., the semantic compositionality.

A free utterance is necessarily compositional: it is only thanks to this property that linguistic communication is possible. To master language **L** means to have in the brain a sufficient number of simple signs of **L** and the rules of the operation \oplus for **L**.

The selection of lexical units happens on the paradigmatic axis of language while their combination involves the syntagmatic axis. Taking into account the two axes of speech production guarantees that our characterization of phrasemes is exhaustive.

DEFINITION 6: SEMANTIC PIVOT (OF A MEANING)

Let there be meaning ' σ ' that is divided into two parts, ' σ_1 ' and ' σ_2 ' (' σ ' = ' σ_1 ' \oplus ' σ_2 ').

|| The part ' σ_1 ' of meaning ' σ ' is called its semantic pivot iff the other part ' σ_2 ' is a predicate of which ' σ_1 ' is the argument: ' σ ' = ' σ_2 '('' σ_1 '').

The semantic pivot of meaning ' σ ' is logically different from the communicatively dominant component of ' σ ', which is the minimal paraphrase of ' σ ' (Mel'čuk 2001: 29–31). Thus, in the meaning of the phraseme *take a shower* 'wash oneself under a shower' the semantic pivot is 'shower', while the communicatively dominant component is 'wash'. (The semantic pivot will be identified in the examples by shading.) Note that:

- 1) The semantic pivot of a multi-word expression **E** does not have to coincide with the lexical meaning of one of **E**'s components. Thus, in the phrase *private eye* 'private detective' the semantic pivot 'detective' is not lexicalized as such.
- 2) In many cases, the semantic pivot of an expression coincides with its communicatively dominant component, but this is not a reason to confound them.

The notion of semantic pivot will be used to sharpen the typology of phrasemes.

2.3 Major Classes of Phrasemes

Crossing the two dimensions—lexical vs. semantic-lexical constraints and being compositional vs. non-compositional—gives four logically possible major classes of phrasemes:

Nature of constraints \ Compositionality of phrasemes	non-compositional	compositional
lexical	IDIOMS	COLLOCATIONS
semantic-lexical	IMPOSSIBLE CLASS	CLICHÉS

Figure 1 The Three Major Classes of Phrasemes

However, one of these classes—semantic-lexical non-compositional phrasemes—cannot exist: if a non-free (= phraseologized) utterance **U_{phr}** is non-compositional, then it has, by definition, a “holistic” meaning that is associated with **U_{phr}** as a whole; therefore, this meaning cannot be constructed by the speaker for the occasion; therefore, it does not make sense to talk about constrained/non-constrained character of its construction.

As a result, a natural language has just three major classes of phrasemes: idioms, collocations and clichés.

2.3.1 Idioms

DEFINITION 7: IDIOM

|| A lexical phraseme is an idiom iff it is non-compositional.

An idiom is indicated in print by elevated half-brackets: ' ... '.

Examples: '*cheek by jowl*' 'in close association', '*The game is up*' 'your deceit is exposed', '*come to* [**N_X**'s] senses' 'become conscious again', '*put* [**N_Y**] *on the map*' 'make the place Y well-known', '*bull*

session 'long informal talk on a subject by a group of people', *'game of chicken'* 'showdown between two opponents where none is disposed to yield and both lose if they push the conflict to the end' Rus. *'ostat'sja s nosom'* lit. 'remain with nose' \approx 'X gets nothing in a situation where X is supposed to obtain something he wanted', *'sinij čulok'* 'bluestocking', etc.

An idiom can be characterized by the degree of its transparency/opacity: the degree to which its meaning includes the meanings of its components. Three types of idioms can be distinguished in such a way: full idioms, semi-idioms and quasi-idioms. All of them are non-compositional, but the degree of their transparency varies.

DEFINITION 8: FULL IDIOM

|| An idiom **AB** is a full idiom iff its meaning does not include the meaning of any of its lexical components:

‘AB’ $\not\supset$ ‘A’ and ‘AB’ $\not\supset$ ‘B’.

Examples: *'put [N_Y] through its paces'* 'to test Y thoroughly', *'go ballistic'* 'suddenly become veryangry', *'by heart'* 'remembering verbatim', *'bone of contention'* 'reason for quarrels or fights', Rus. *'jabloko razdora'* lit. 'apple of discord' = 'bone of contention', *'delat' nogi'* lit. 'do legs' = 'flee', *'polezt' v butylku'* lit. 'try.to.get into bottle' = 'stubbornly insist on something in a dangerous situation', etc.

DEFINITION 9: SEMI-IDIOM

|| An idiom **AB** is a semi-idiom iff its meaning 1) includes the meaning of one of its lexical components, but not as its semantic pivot, 2) does not include the meaning of the other component and 3) includes an additional meaning '**C**' as its semantic pivot: 'AB' \supset 'A', and 'AB' $\not\supset$ 'B', and 'AB' \supset '**C**'.

Thus, a semi-idiom is semi-transparent (or semi-opaque, depending on whether you are an optimist or a pessimist).

Examples: *'private eye'* 'private detective', *'sea anemone'* 'predatory polyp dwelling in the sea', Rus. *'mozolit' glaza'* lit. 'make.corns.on Y's eyes' = 'be too often or for too long before Y's eyes'.

DEFINITION 10: QUASI-IDIOM (= WEAK IDIOM)

|| An idiom **AB** is a quasi-idiom, or weak idiom iff its meaning 1) includes the meaning of both of its lexical components, neither as the semantic pivot, and 2) includes an additional meaning '**C**' as its semantic pivot:

‘AB’ \supset ‘A’, and ‘AB’ \supset ‘B’, and ‘AB’ \supset '**C**'.

Examples: *'start a family'* '[conceive the first child with one's spouse, [thereby] starting a full-fledged family]';

'barbed wire' '[artifact designed to make obstacles with and constituted by] wire with barbs [fixed on it in small regular intervals]'; *'lightning rod'* '[artifact designed to protect buildings against lightning—a [metallic] rod [fixed at the upper part of the building and grounded]]'.

2.3.2 Collocations

DEFINITION 11: COLLOCATION

|| A lexical phraseme is a collocation iff it is compositional.

Examples: *heavy ACCENT*, Rus. *sil'nyj AKCENT* lit. 'strong accent', Fr. *ACCENT à couper au couteau* lit. 'accent to cut with. the knife'; *soundly ASLEEP*, Rus. *SPAT' glubokim snom* lit. 'asleep with deep sleep'; *ARMED to the teeth*; *fasten* \langle = *buckle up* \rangle *the SEATBELT*, Rus. *zastegnut' PRIVIAZNOJREMEN'* lit. 'button.up seatbelt'; *leap YEAR*, Rus. *visokosnyj GOD* (the adjective VISOKOSNYJ is used only with GOD 'year').

A collocation consists of a base, lexical unit chosen freely by the speaker (shown in *SMALL CAPS*), and of a collocate, lexical unit chosen to express the intended meaning as a function of the base. A collocation is semantically compositional, since its meaning is divisible into two parts such that the first one corresponds to the base and the second to the collocate. The meaning of the base is always the semantic pivot of the collocation. For more on collocations in the Meaning-Text framework, see Mel'čuk 2003a, 2003b and 2004.

This should not be understood as implying that a collocate—taken as such, outside the collocation—necessarily has the meaning it expresses within the collocation. Thus, in the collocation

sit for an exam ‘undergo an exam’, the verb SIT expresses the meaning ‘undergo’; but in an English dictionary, the verb SIT does not have to carry this meaning: ‘undergo’ is not its inherent, but context-imposed signified.

In English, you **make** a decision, and in British English, you can also **take** it. For the same thing, French says **prendre** [= ‘take’] *une décision*, German—*eine Entscheidung treffen/füllen* [= ‘meet/fell’], Russian—**prinjat** [= ‘accept’] *rešenie*, Turkish—*karar vermek* [= ‘give’], Polish—**podjąć** [= ‘take up’] *decyzję*, Serbian—**doneti** [= ‘bring’] *odluku*, and Korean—*gyeoljeongeul haerida/naerida* [= ‘do (take/put down)’]. This clearly shows that boldfaced verbs are selected as a function of the noun meaning ‘decision’. If instead of DÉCISION a French speaker uses CHOIX ‘choice’ (*Jean a pris la décision de rester* lit. ‘Jean has taken the decision to stay’ E*Jean a ... le choix de rester* ‘Jean has ... the choice to stay’), he has to say FAIRE ‘make’ rather than PRENDRE ‘take’: *Jean a fait (*a pris) le choix de rester* ‘Jean has made the choice to stay’.

Collocations are extremely variegated and very numerous in any particular language (in the millions). Two major types are distinguished: standard and non-standard collocations.

Let there be a collocation “Base-**f**-Collocate,” where the collocate expresses the meaning ‘**f**’ as a function of the base: roughly, ‘**f**’(Base) = Collocate.

DEFINITION 12: STANDARD COLLOCATION

|| A collocation “Base-**f**-Collocate” is standard in language **L** iff the meaning ‘**f**’ meets simultaneously the following two conditions:

1. ‘**f**’ is applicable to many different bases and specifies many different collocates.
2. $L_i(\mathbf{f})$ —that is, the lexical units that express ‘**f**’—participate in Deep-Syntactic paraphrasing.

In other words, **L** has many collocations where the relation between the base and the collocate is **f** (here, “many” means at least several dozen or, better, hundreds) and which are actively exploited in DSynt-paraphrases.

Examples: so-called support, or light, verbs, such as those used with ATTACK_(N) in *On Friday, the rebels carried out an ATTACK on the port.* E*On Friday, the port came under the rebels’ ATTACK.* E*The (last) rebels’ ATTACK on the port came on Friday.* E*On Friday, the rebels attacked the port.* Or else intensifiers, as in *The rebels ATTACKED the port from all sides.* E*The rebels launched a large-scale ATTACK on the port.*

DEFINITION 13: NON-STANDARD COLLOCATION

|| A collocation “Base-**f**-Collocate” is non-standard, in language **L** iff the meaning ‘**f**’ is not applicable to many different bases and does not specify many different collocates (in the minimal case, it can apply just to one base and produce just one collocate) and does not participate in the DSynt-paraphrasing.

Examples: *leap YEAR*, where ‘**f**’ = ‘having 366 days’; *black COFFEE*, ‘**f**’ = ‘with no dairy product added’; *LAUGH*in [N_x’s] *sleeve*, ‘**f**’ = ‘trying to hide the fact of...’; *spiked HEELS*, ‘**f**’ = ‘long and thin’; etc.

The meaning ‘**f**’ corresponds to a Lexical Function, see below, 3.2.1.

2.3.3 Clichés

DEFINITION 14: CLICHÉ

|| A semantic-lexical phraseme is a cliché.

Examples: *If you’ve seen one, you’ve seen them all*; *Happy birthday to you!*; *no matter what*; *We all make mistakes*; *Will you marry me?*; etc.

A cliché is a compositional expression used for a complex meaning ‘σ’ that the language prescribes to use instead of an equivalent one ‘σ’’. Thus, in English we ask *What is your name?* and answer *My name is* [N] or *I am* [N]; Russians say *Kak vas zovut?* lit. ‘How do they call you?’ and *Menja zovut* [N] ‘They call me [N]’. The sentences *Kak vaše imja?* and *Ja* [N], the literal renderings of the English expressions, are fully understandable and grammatical, but not quite standard.

A cliché is characterized by its lexical anchor (or anchors), which is the lexeme(s) whose meaning(s) control(s) the use of the cliché: *What is your name?* and *Kak vas zovut?* ‘What do they call you?’ have NAME/IMJA as their anchor. (As we see in *Kak vas zovut?*, a cliché’s lexical anchor does not have to be explicitly present in the cliché.) In a dictionary, clichés are described under their lexical anchors.

The clichés of a language fall into two major subclasses depending on whether the meaning of the cliché under consideration is constrained or not by the extralinguistic situation in which the cliché is felicitously used. If it is the case, we have pragmatically constrained clichés, or pragmatemes; otherwise, the cliché is pragmatically non-constrained.

Pragmatically non-constrained clichés include several subclasses, of which I will mention two:

- Complex proper names, which have just one referent each : *The Old Testament* [**name of the first part of the Bible**], *Farewell to Arms* [**name of a novel by E. Hemmingway**], *The Moonlight Sonata* [**name of a piano sonata by Beethoven**], *City of Lights* [**nickname of Paris**], *Eternal City* [**nickname of Rome**] (Bosredon 2011).

- Proverbs, which state «eternal» truths: *A friend in need is a friend indeed*; *Fortune helps the brave*; *The end justifies the means*. (NB: Not every proverb is a cliché; some of them are not compositional—that is, idioms, such as *Every Jack has his Jill* or *When in Rome, do as the Romans do*.)

Pragmatically constrained clichés can be illustrated by the case of warnings printed on containers of perishable foods. English says *Best before...*, while in Russian, this will be *Srok godnosti...* lit. 'Term of validity...', in Polish, *Najlepiej spożyć...* lit. 'The best [is] to consume...', in French, *À consommer avant...* lit. 'To consume before...', and in German, *Mindestens haltbar bis...* lit. 'At least keepable till...'. All these expressions are fully constrained but compositional—that is, they are clichés. However, this is a particular type of cliché, since they are used only in a particular situation: as an official inscription [**on a container of perishable food fabricated for sale**]. The boldfaced indication in brackets is a pragmatic constraint on this cliché.

Pragmatic constraints are in principle applicable to any type of lexical expression—not only to phrasemes but to lexemes as well; here are examples:

pragmatically constrained

idioms	: <i>Break a leg!</i> 'Good luck!' [to a performer who is going on stage] (<i>I</i>) <i>copy that!</i> 'I understood you' [in a radio communication]
collocations	: <i>Wet paint</i> [on a sign]
clichés	: <i>No parking</i> [on a sign] <i>Enjoy your meal!</i> [to people starting a meal]
lexemes	: <i>Roger!</i> 'I understood you' [in a radio communication] Pol. <i>Smacznego!</i> lit. 'Of tasty!' ≈ 'May your food be tasty!' [to people

starting a meal]

However, among pragmatically constrained lexical expressions, clichés occupy a special place: a crushing majority of pragmatically constrained expressions are clichés. Therefore, it is convenient to give pragmatically constrained clichés a special name: pragmatemes.

DEFINITION 13: PRAGMATEME

|| A pragmatically constrained cliché is a pragmateme.

Examples: *Hold the line!* [**in a telephone conversation**], *Watch your step!* [**on a sign**], *X—all you can eat* [**on a sign in a restaurant**], *Emphasis mine* [**after a quotation in a written text**], *Return to sender* [**on a postal sending**], *Who's there?* [**answering a knock on the door**], *Enjoy your meal!* vs. Fr. *Bon appetit!* lit. 'Good appetite!' [**to people starting a meal**], etc.

Let it be emphasized: such a cliché as *What's your name?* is not a pragmateme: it can be used in any situation; likewise, *on top* [*of* Y], *Sorry to keep you waiting*, *I am in the mood* [*for* Y], *Would you mind* [*Y-ing?*], *It's a proven fact*, etc.

Here are a few Turkish pragmatemes (from Öztürk Kasar 2009: 168-175; they are given in a literal translation):

MARRIAGE

«I wish you both to age together
happily» : *May God allow you to age on the same bolster!* [**a wedding guest to the newlyweds at a marriage ceremony**]

WORK

«I wish you that your work be
successful» : *May this come easily!* [**a passerby to somebody who is working**]

MEDICINE [drug]

«I wish you that this cures you
medicine] : *May this be beneficial!* [**to somebody who is taking a**

SNEEZE

«I wish you everything good»

:*May you live long!* [to a person who sneezes]

SHOWER, BATH, SHAVING

«I wish you everything good»

: *May there be plenty of healths!* [to somebody who has just bathed or shaved]

showered,

SLEEP

«I wish you to sleep well»

: *May God give much comfort!* [to somebody who is going to bed]

Note that in Spanish, in this situation you wish *¡Buenas noches!* 'Good nights!', in Russian—*Spokojnoj noči!* 'Quiet night!', and in Serbian—*Laku noć!* 'Easy night!'

However, the Turkish clichés *May God give strength to your arms and your legs!* and *May your eyes burst!* are not pragmatemes, since they can be used in any circumstances to express the following conceptual content:

THANK

«I thank you for physical efforts
with which you have just helped me»

: *May God give strength to your arms and your legs!*

DAMN

«I damn you»

:*May your eyes burst!*

As noted by A. Polguère (orally), many—perhaps even the majority of—pragmatemes are independent utterances, i.e., sentences. Moreover, their meaning includes most often the meaning 'I' (= 'the Speaker'); therefore, they are non-descriptive lexical units, more precisely signalatives (Mel'čuk 2001: 353-356).

2.5 General Typology of Phrasemes

I can now present all the major subclasses of phrasemes and their taxonomy:

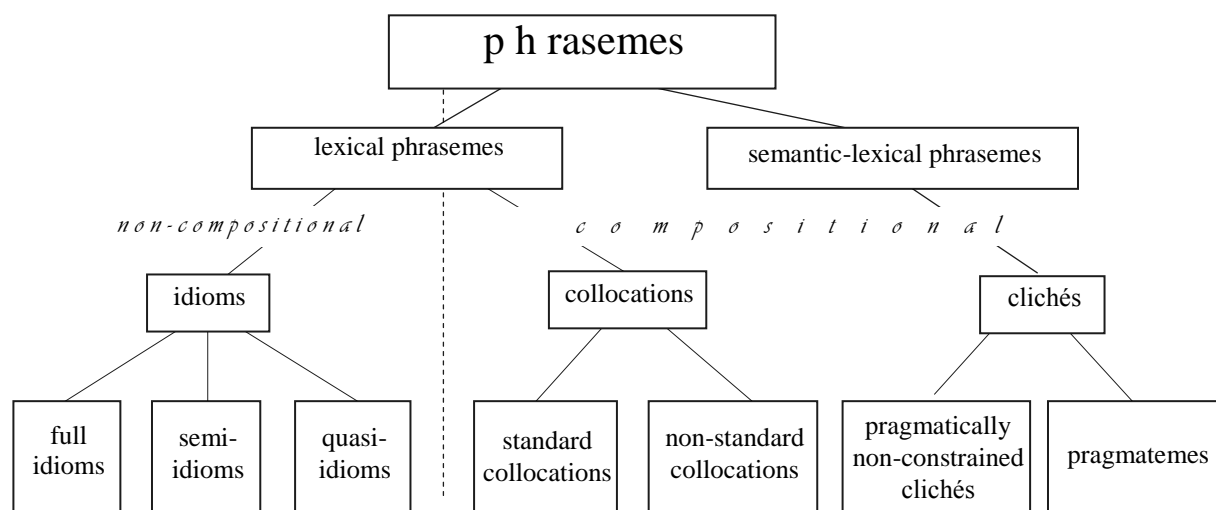


Figure 2 General Typology of Phrasemes

3. Phraseology in the Dictionary

The dictionary considered here is the *Explanatory Combinatorial Dictionary* [= ECD]; its principles, its structure and basic underlying notions are taken for granted (see Mel'čuk 1974, Mel'čuk and Zholkovsky 1984, Mel'čuk 1988b, Mel'čuk et al. 1984–1999, Mel'čuk et al. 1995, Mel'čuk 2006, Mel'čuk and Polguère 2007). I will discuss only the lexicographic presentation of phrasemes.

3.1 Lexicographic presentation of non-compositional phrasemes (idioms)

An idiom is a lexical unit, just as a lexeme is one. Idioms are, then, described in an ECD the same way as lexemes: each has its proper dictionary entry, featuring the same structure as a lexeme entry, with one important difference: since an idiom is a multiword utterance, it is supplied with its Surface-Syntactic structure. Cf.:

'PULL THE WOOL OVER [N_Y's] EYES', full verbal idiom

Definition

X pulls the wool over Y's eyes : 'X tries to deceive Y in order to hide from Y what X is really doing'.

Surface-Syntactic Structure

Government Pattern

$X \leftrightarrow I$	$Y \leftrightarrow II$	
1. N	1. <i>of</i> N	THE ← determ → EYES → attrib → OF N
	2. N's	EYES → possessive → N's
	3. A _(poss) (N)	EYES → determ → A _(poss) (N)

Don't pull the wool over foreigners' eyes! | *He tried to pull the wool over my(John's) eyes.*

The number of idioms in a particular language is probably around 10 000; thus, the English idiom dictionary Cowie *et al.* 1993 contains about 7 000 idiomatic expressions, and the French idiom dictionary Rey and Chantreau 1993, about 9 000; an excellent Russian-English dictionary of idioms (Lubensky 1995) presents some 13 000 idiomatic units.

3.2 Lexicographic presentation of compositional phrasemes (collocations and clichés)

Compositional phrasemes—collocations and clichés—are not lexical units; they do not have their own dictionary articles and are described in the articles of their bases/anchors. For instance, the collocation *ARMED to the teeth* does not have a separate entry, but appears under ARMED; Rus. *vypisat' čeklit*. 'write out a check' = 'draw a check' is given under ČEK; and so forth. The same is true of clichés.

3.2.1 Lexicographic presentation of collocations

The number of collocations in languages of *Standard Average European* type is very high: no less than ten times the number of lexemes, which means millions. Therefore, the lexicographic description of collocations requires a special formal apparatus that would allow for their elegant systematic presentation in the dictionary and, at the same time, facilitate automatic processing. Such an apparatus is the system of **lexical functions** [= LFs]. It is of course impossible to introduce here the notion of LF or offer the reader a detailed review thereof (see Žolkovskij and Mel'čuk 1967, Mel'čuk 1974: 78-109, 1982, 1996, 2003a, b, Kahane 2003b, Kahane and Polguère 2001, Wanner (ed.) 1996). I will limit myself to a few examples of standard and non-standard LFs, used for the description of, respectively, standard and non-standard collocations—in order to show afterwards how LFs can be exploited in NLP.

Standard collocations described by standard LFs

A standard LF **f_{stand}** describes a family of standard collocations where the semantic relation between the base and the collocate is institutionalized in the language; **f_{stand}** specifies this relation simply by its name.

• Verbal Standard LFs

– Support verbs

	RESPONSIBILITY X's ~ concerning Y	CARE X's ~ concerning Y	ACCUSATION X's ~ of Y of Z	AID X's ~ to Y
Oper ₁	<i>carry</i> [ART ~]	<i>give</i> [~ to N _Y]	<i>level</i> [ART ~ at N _Y]	<i>come</i> [to the ~ (→ of N _Y)]
Func ₂	~ <i>includes</i> [N _Y]	~ <i>is aimed</i> [at N _Y]	~ <i>weighs</i> [on N _Y]	~ <i>comes</i> [to N _X from N _X]
Labor ₁₂	————	<i>surround</i> [N _Y with ~]	<i>bring</i> [N _Y under ~]	<i>support</i> [N _Y with N _X 's ~]

– Realization verbs

	PRIZE X's ~ to Y for Z	DOCTOR ~ X of Y	TRAP X's ~ for Y	ASPHALT ~ used by X on Y
Real ₂	<i>win</i> [ART ~]	<i>see</i> [ART ~]	<i>fall</i> [into ART ~]	————
Fact ₂	~ <i>goes</i> [to N _Y]	~ <i>sees</i> [N _Y]	~ <i>catches</i> [N _Y]	~ <i>covers</i> [N _Y]
Labreal ₁₂	[N _Y of ART ~]	————	<i>catch</i> [N _Y with ART ~]	<i>cover</i> [N _Y with ~]

• Adjectival Standard LFs (intensifiers/mitigators)

	WET	DRUNK	BREATHE	ROLE	LAUGHTER
Magn	~ <i>to the bone</i>	<i>dead, stone~, ~ as a skunk//smashed</i> ³	~ <i>heavily</i>	<i>important < crucial < critical</i>	<i>hysterical, side-splitting ~; uncontrollable ~</i>

	WOUND	DRUNK	BREATHE	ROLE	LAUGHTER
AntiMagn	<i>light ~ //scratch</i>	<i>slightly ~ //tipsy</i>	~ <i>lightly</i>	<i>small, secondary ~</i>	<i>muffled ~</i>

Non-standard collocations described by non-standard LFs

A non-standard LF **f_{non-stand}** describes a non-standard collocation where the semantic relation between the base and the collocate is not institutionalized in the language; to specify this relation, **f_{non-stand}** must be described in the same metalanguage as that used for lexicographic definitions:

with no diary products added(COFFEE) : *black* [~]
drinking up the contents of the glass
at one go(DRINK) : [~] *bottoms up*
used too much(EXAMPLE) : *hackneyed* [~]

To illustrate the lexicographic description of collocations, here is a lexical entry for the noun BATTLE1(as in *Fierce battles are raging within 25 miles of Tangkin*):

BATTLE1, noun, countable

Definition

Battle between X and Y for Z: 'Armed confrontation between group X and group Y for Z'.

Government Pattern

X ↔ I	Y ↔ II	Z ↔ III
1. <i>of</i> N 2. N's 3. A _{poss} (N)	1. <i>with</i> N 2. <i>against</i> N	1. <i>for</i> N 2. <i>over</i> N 3. <i>to</i> V _{INF}
4. <i>between</i> N and N		

a battle of Philippino guerrillas/their battle

with (<= *against*) *the Japanese*;

battles between Palestinian factions for (<= *over*) *the border control* (<= *to control the border*)

Lexical Functions

Syn_∩ : *engagement < combat; action; fight; firefight*
V_o_∩ : *battle*_V
S_{1/2} : *combatant; adversary, enemy*
S_{loc} : *battlefield, battleground*

³ The symbol “//” indicates that all LF values that follow it are fused— that is, each one expresses together the meaning of the base and its own; thus *smashed* means ‘very drunk’. Another example: *Magn(fog) = dense, thick//pea-soup*, where *pea-soup* means ‘dense fog’.

Mult	: //hostilities; war
Loc _{in}	: in [~]
Ver	: winning[a winning ~]
AntiVer	: losing
Magn	: pitched; ferocious, fierce, grueling, intense, rude, violent; bloody<murderous [huge losses] <mortal; royal / postposed
AntiMagn	: //skirmish
Oper ₁	: fight [ART ~]; be, be locked, be engaged [in ART ~ →against N _Y]
IncepOper ₁	: engage [ART ~]
ContOper ₁	: continue [ART ~]
FinOper ₁	: stop [ART ~]
CausOper ₁	: send [N _X in ~]
[Magn+Func ₀]	: rages
Func ₁₊₂	: opposes [N _X to N _Y ; N _X and N _Y], pits [N _X against N _Y]
nonFunc ₀	: //guns are silent
IncepFunc ₀	: breaks out
IncepLabor ₁₂	: //engage [N]
Real ₁	: win [ART ~]
AntiReal ₁	: lose [ART ~]
Son	: rumbles
X and Y being individuals in physical contact	: close, hand-to-hand [~]
X and Y being ships	: naval
X and Y being planes	: aerial, air [~] //dogfight
X and Y being of quite unequal forces	: unequal; see-saw [~]
X and Y being of rather equal forces	: tight
more difficult for X	: up-hill [~]
X's first B.	: //baptism of fire
X begins to participate in B.	: joins [the ~]

3.2.2 Clichés

Being compositional, the meaning of a cliché need not be indicated in the dictionary. (Although in a pedagogical dictionary it might be.) What has to be indicated is the conceptual content to which a given cliché corresponds. Thus, for the content «I want you to tell me your name» (a conceptual representation is printed in «Monaco» in double quotes and is underlined), English says *What's your name?*, while in Russian the corresponding expression is *Kak vas zovut?* lit. 'How do they call you?', which has a different meaning—that is, a different semantic representation.

Clichés (including pragmatemes) and pragmatically constrained lexemes are presented in the articles of their anchor(s) in a way similar to the presentation of non-standard LFs, except that instead of the description of their meaning, the dictionary gives a description of their conceptual content. For instance:

PAY _(V)	
«without having to pay»	: free of charge
LATE	
«Even if this is happening later than needed, it is OK»	: Better late than never.
PUBLISH	
«[the text in question] is supposed to be published shortly»	: forthcoming [in a bibliographic reference]
DOG	
«There is an aggressive dog on premises»	: Beware of dog [on a sign]

3.3 New Type of General Dictionary

The proposed lexicographic description of phrasemes entails a new concept of general dictionary. Traditionally, a dictionary is a huge list of words supplied with all types of necessary or useful information. But if the dictionary also has to store and systematically describe all set phrases, which outnumber words at least 10 to 1, it ceases to be a dictionary of words: it becomes a dictionary of phrases or, more precisely, of minimal utterances—that is, utterances that cannot be fully represented in the lexicon in terms of other, smaller utterances and rules for their combinations. The idea that what is actually needed is a dictionary of multiword expressions was put forth in a concise article Becker 1975; coming from a different direction (language teaching), Nattinger 1980 also underscored the necessity of a “phrasal” dictionary. Bogusławski and Wawrzyńczyk 1993 and Bogusławski and Danielewiczowa 2005 constitute an excellent illustration of what such a dictionary should look like: their dictionary includes idioms, collocations and clichés, but also syntactic constructions (for instance, «N_X of N_{(period)Y}»: *book of the year* or *cover girl of the month*). More recently, many dictionaries of idioms and collocations have been published for different languages, but what I am aiming at here is a general dictionary where words and multiword expressions are stored and described together and in parallel. The ECD is intended to be such a dictionary.

4. Phraseology in Natural Language Processing

Idioms and clichés have to be listed in the dictionary, and I have shown how this could be done. From the viewpoint of NLP, they are similar to single words and can be dealt with in the same way as single words are. But the collocations pose a serious problem for automatic processing, in particular for automatic translation, given their number and variety. Lexical Functions offer a reasonable solution.

LFs can be used in NLP—in particular, in automatic translation and text generation—in two ways. On the one hand, LFs ensure correct lexical selection when translating the collocations of the type (English-Russian) *grave illness* ~ *tjažělaja bolezň* lit. ‘heavy illness’, *put* [N_Y] *in danger* ~ *podvergat*’ [N_Y] *opasnosti*_{DAT} lit. ‘submit [N_Y] to danger’ or *takeflight* ~ *obratit’sja v begstvo* lit. ‘turn oneself in flight’. All such “exotic” equivalences are covered by pairs of ECD-type dictionaries; LFs, being linguistically universal, play the role of an interlingua.

On the other hand, LFs underlie paraphrasing at the deep-syntactic level. This paraphrasing is necessary to resolve syntactic mismatches between the input and output sentences S_{source} and S_{target} , such mismatches being extremely frequent in parallel texts. Only paraphrasing can allow a translation system to construct an acceptable deep-syntactic structure for the output sentence S_{target} in the case of a serious mismatch between the vocabulary of S_{target} and its DSyntS, “inherited” from S_{source} . Thus, consider the sentence 0a) and its translations in Russian and French 0b-c):

- (1) a. *She competes internationally.*
- b. Rus. *Ona učastvuet v meždunarodnyx sorevnovanijax*
 ‘She participates in international competitions’.
- c. Fr. *Elle participe à des compétitions internationales* [idem].

The verb meaning ‘[to] compete’ (in the needed sense) does not exist in Russian or French. However, a verb V can always be paraphrased by the deverbal noun $S_0(V)$ and one of its support verbs: $V \Leftrightarrow S_0(V) \leftarrow \Pi - \text{Oper}_i(S_0(V))$. This formula describes all equivalences of the type *compete* \Leftrightarrow *participate in competition(s)*, *trip* \Leftrightarrow *take a trip*, *look* \Leftrightarrow *have a look*, etc.; the noun *competition* has direct equivalents in Russian and French.

For a universal DSynt-paraphrasing system, see Žolkovskij and Mel’čuk 1967, Mel’čuk 1974: 141-176, 1988c, 1992 and 2004, and Miličević 2007; Mel’čuk and Wanner 2006 deals specifically with the problem of syntactic mismatches in machine translation; the use of LFs in text generation is described in Iordanskaja *et al.* 1996 and Lareau and Wanner 2007. The paraphrasing system for Russian has been implemented and tested in a series of computer experiments: Apresjan and Cinman 1998 and 2002.

I will now present three examples of translation that are difficult because of the collocations involved, in order to show how the use of LFs ensures good results.

Example 1: The verb STRIKE

Take the sentence in 0a) and its closest (= most literal) Russian translation in 0b):

- (2) a. *The book thief struck again.*
- b. *Knižnyj vor снова соверšil kražu* lit. ‘Book thief again committed theft’.

It is absolutely out of the question to translate STRIKE in this sentence as UDARJAT' 'strike': the result would be incomprehensible. The correct choice is the collocation *soveršit' kražu* 'commit a theft'. But where and how do we establish the equivalence *strike* \equiv *soveršit' kražu*? In different contexts, the verb STRIKE has lots of other equivalents in Russian:

- (3) a. *The hurricane **struck** the island again.* \equiv
*Uragan snova **obrušilsja** na ostrov* lit. 'Hurricane again fell down on island'.
 b. *The bullet **struck** him in the shoulder.* \equiv
*Pulja **popala** emu v plečo* lit. 'Bullet hit to him in shoulder'.
 c. *A suicide bomber **struck** in the market.* \equiv
*Terrorist-smertnik **podorval sebja** na rynkelit.* 'Suicide bomber exploded himself in market'.

And so forth.

However, if we think of LFs, the answer comes immediately: all the illustrated uses of STRIKE are values of LF Fact_0 : $\text{Fact}_0(L) \approx$ 'perform the action that (the denotation of) L is supposed to perform in conformity with its nature'. A Russian ECD must have:

$\text{Fact}_0(\text{VOR 'thief'})$: *krast'* 'steal', *soveršat' kražu* 'commit a theft'
 $\text{Fact}_0(\text{URAGAN 'hurricane'})$: *obrušit'sja* [na N] 'strike [N]'
 $\text{Fact}_0(\text{PULJA 'bullet'})$: *popast'* 'hit'
 $\text{Fact}_0(\text{TERRORIST-SMERT-})$
 $\text{NIK 'suicide bomber'})$: *podorvat'sebja* 'explode oneself'

An English ECD gives the same indications for the above uses of STRIKE: $\text{Fact}_0(\text{THIEF}) = \textit{strike}$, etc.

Given the regular translation equivalents THIEF \equiv VOR, HURRICANE \equiv URAGAN, etc., the equivalencies between the corresponding values of their Fact_0 are obtained automatically.

Example 2: The French noun APPOINT 'exact sum paid by X to Y for Z such that Y does not have to give X any change' (= *exact change*)

A sign in a French bus shown in (4a) could be translated into Russian as (4b):

- (4) a. *Merci de faire l'appoint* lit. 'Thank you for doing the exact change'.
 b. *Platite za proezd bez sdačit* lit. 'Pay for transportation without change'.

Such an equivalent is produced, using a pair of dictionaries of the ECD type, in five steps.

- *Merci de Y* is a pragmatically constrained lexeme that must be described in a French ECD as a non-standard LF under PRIER 'ask':

«Authorities ask you to Y» : *Merci* [*de V('Y')*_{INF}] [*on a sign*]

- PRIER has a regular Russian equivalent PROSIT' 'ask'.

Under PROSIT', the Russian ECD has the above non-standard LF:

«Authorities ask you to Y» : *V('Y')*_{IMPÉR.2PL} [*on a sign*]

- *Faire* in 0a) is described in the French ECD as Real_1 of APPOINT:

$\text{Real}_1(\text{APPOINT})$: *faire* [*l'~*]

- APPOINT is translated as PLATA BEZ SDAČI lit. 'sum paid by X to Y for Z such that Y does not have to give X any change'.

- $\text{Real}_1(\text{PLATA 'the sum paid'})$: *//platit'* 'pay'

These five steps produce *Platite bez sdači* lit. 'Pay without change'. But Russian also requires the indication of the thing paid for: *platit' začto?* 'pay for what?' – *za proezd* 'for transportation'. This indication can be extracted from general knowledge about the situation in which the relevant utterance is made: if the sign is placed in a public transportation vehicle, you have to add *za proezd*; if it is hung on a ticket office, *zabilet* 'for ticket' is a must; if it is over the counter of a diner, it will read *za obed* 'for lunch'.

There is another way, perhaps even simpler, to establish the equivalence in question; namely, *faire l'appoint* can be described as a non-standard LF of PAYER:

giving the exact sum due, so that

Y does not have to give the change to X: *//faire l'appoint*

The corresponding non-standard LF in Russian is described under PLATIT' 'payer':

PLATIT' 'payer'

giving the exact sum due, so that

Y does not have to give the change to X : *bez sdačit* lit. 'without change'

The equivalence is then obtained in one step. Nevertheless, I wanted to present multiple paths that could lead to the same result.

Example 3: The verb STAB

The Russian sentence in 0a) must be translated into English as 0b):

(5) a. Rus. *Žertve bylo naneseno pjat' noževyx ran* lit. 'To.victim were dealt five knife wounds'.

b. *The victim was stabbed five times.*

Here are the steps necessary to obtain this equivalence:

- Rus. *Nanesti* [*ranu*] = CausFunc₂(RANA 'wound'); *noževaja* [*rana*] = caused by a knife(RANA)
- Eng. [caused by a knife + CausFunc₂(WOUND)] = // [to] *stab*
- A general Deep-Syntactic paraphrasing rule (i stands for a DSynt-actantial relation):

$$V_{\text{support}}(L_1) - i \rightarrow L_1 - \text{ATTR} \rightarrow L_2 \leftrightarrow V_0(L_1) - \text{ATTR} \rightarrow L_2,$$

that is, a modifier L_2 of the noun L_1 in a collocation "Support Verb + N" becomes a modifier of the verb that is semantically equivalent to this collocation; in our case, $\text{FIVE} \leftarrow [\text{STAB WOUND}_{\text{PL}}] \leftrightarrow \text{FIVE} \leftarrow \text{TIME}_{\text{PL}} \leftarrow \text{STAB}_{(\text{V})}$. (*Five times* is a surface lexical realization of the meaning 'five' when applied to a verb.)

5. Conclusions

In my view, the five most important points of this presentation are as follows:

1. Phrasemes constitute a very significant part of the lexicon of any language; therefore, they have to be presented in a formal dictionary (of the ECD type) in a systematic way.
2. A dictionary of the ECD type is the key for the automatic production of high quality texts.
3. Such a dictionary must reserve a place of honor for collocations described in terms of Lexical Functions as well as for all other phrasemes (idioms and clichés).
4. Lexical Functions must be exploited in two major respects: for lexical selection and for deep-syntactic paraphrasing.
5. A paraphrasing system must be part of any reliable NLP system.

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NEOCLASSICAL WORD FORMATION IN ENGLISH AND THE ORGANIZATION OF THE LEXICON

Pius ten Hacken

Swansea University, UK
p.ten-hacken@swansea.ac.uk

ABSTRACT

Neoclassical word formation is a relatively peripheral phenomenon in English and many other languages. Therefore, its peculiarities can offer interesting insights in the nature of word formation. Against the background of Jackendoff's Parallel Architecture, an account of the historical development and basic system of neoclassical word formation is proposed. The central remaining problem is that this system is available for naming new concepts, but not productive in the same sense as syntax is. In order to explain this, it is proposed to introduce a separate word formation component that acts on rather than being part of the lexicon.

1. Introduction

In English and other European languages, neoclassical word formation constitutes a subsystem of the lexicon. Some typical examples are given in (1).

- (1) a. anthropomorphic
- b. hydrophobia
- c. mycophagous

The examples in (1) are typical because they consist of three elements. The final element is easily recognizable as a suffix, whereas the classification of the other two is less straightforward. They are special elements that have their origin in Ancient Greek and appear only in neoclassical word formation. I will call these here *neoclassical formatives* (NCFs). Some less typical cases of neoclassical word formation are the examples in (2).

- (2) a. allomorph
- b. anthropoid
- c. geodesy

The examples in (2) are special in three different ways. In (2a), there is no suffix corresponding to the final element in (1). In (2b), there is only one NCF, the same as the first in (1a). In (2c), the second NCF does not occur in any other combination than with *geo-*.

Neoclassical word formation appears not only in English, but also in other European languages. In languages such as German and French, the system of neoclassical word formation is largely comparable to the corresponding one in English, although the suffixes and sometimes the spelling are adapted. The existence of such corresponding systems makes it often all but impossible to determine in which language a particular word was originally formed. Arguably, this question is of rather limited relevance. If we take the perspective of a speaker of English, whether (1a) was a borrowing from French or a formation in English does not change its place in the mental lexicon. What is important is that it can be analysed on the basis of rules that are part of the English speaker's mental lexicon.

The generalization to other languages is not absolute, however. The situation in Greek is special, because Modern Greek is a descendant of Ancient Greek. As described in detail by Mackridge (2009), there have been various attempts to change the Greek vernacular, which had been influenced by other languages, by taking over and adapting Ancient Greek words and rules. These attempts have interacted with the tendency to borrow terms that had appeared in neoclassical word formation in other languages. For a comparison of Modern Greek and English neoclassical word formation, cf. Petropoulou (2009).

Here, I will only consider neoclassical word formation in English and languages where it behaves similarly.

Neoclassical word formation is interesting because of its marked nature. It is obvious that word formation is not organized around such special phenomena as neoclassical formation, so that any special properties that neoclassical formation exhibits must exploit the nature of existing mechanisms. Therefore, a precise characterization of these properties gives us additional power to distinguish between different analyses of word formation in general.

The rest of this article will be organized as follows. Section 2 gives an overview of the theoretical background assumed here, based on Jackendoff's (2002) Parallel Architecture (PA). Section 3 discusses how neoclassical word formation works. Finally, section 4 addresses the issue of productivity and formulates a proposal how the resulting analysis can be encoded in PA.

2. Lexicon and word formation in the Parallel Architecture

In Jackendoff's PA, the lexicon plays a central role in the formulation of thoughts and the comprehension of linguistic expressions. The components of PA and their connections are illustrated in Fig. 1.

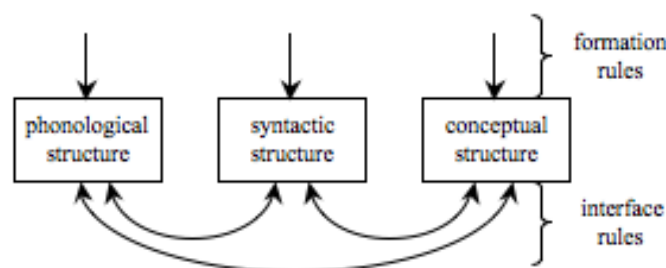


Figure 1 Jackendoff's (2002) Parallel Architecture

In PA, an expression has a phonological, a syntactic, and a conceptual structure. They are parallel in the sense that they are each based on formation rules generating the structure and interface rules mapping between the three structures. This idea is opposed to frameworks where syntactic structure is taken as central, as in Chomsky's (1981) Government and Binding theory, and to frameworks where semantic and phonological structures are the only basic representations, as in Generative Semantics.

One of the advantages of the architecture in Fig. 1 is that it accounts for processing in a highly intuitive way. As described by Jackendoff (2002), the production of an utterance involves the search for appropriate lexical entries that express relevant concepts. Components of the conceptual structure trigger lexical entries that can be used in the formulation. A selection of these entries is then combined to formulate the thought that started the process. In understanding an utterance, the starting point is the phonological structure. In the case of written text, it depends on the reading fluency whether the orthographic representation takes the place of the phonological representation in Fig. 1 or is mapped onto this phonological representation.

Word formation comes into play when a concept does not match any existing lexicon entry. However, there are several other mechanisms that can be used for this purpose instead of word formation. A first alternative is to describe the concept by means of a combination of existing words. This does not normally change the lexicon, but it enables the communication to pursue by using (syntactic) rules and existing entries. Another way to solve the problem is to use an existing lexicon entry in a different sense. It is essential, of course, that the receiver of the message will be able to understand it. Therefore, the selected entry should have a sense that makes the intended concept recognizable, e.g. by metaphoric or metonymic reasoning. A third alternative to word formation is borrowing. In this case, a name from another language is adopted as or (in the case of calques) used as a basis for the formation of a new name. Compared to the alternatives, word formation can be characterized as the only way to solve the naming problem that is at the same time rule-based and extends the lexicon.

Lexical entries are the basic building blocks of the language, stored in the minds of its speakers. In Jackendoff's framework, an example of a simple lexical entry is (3).

- (3) a. <violin>
 b. N_[+Count]
 c. [Thing VIOLIN]

A speaker of English who knows the word *violin* will have something like (3) in their mental lexicon. The information in (3) consists of two parts: first, the contribution this entry makes to each of the three types of structure; and second, the fact that these three pieces of information are linked to each other. In (3a), the phonological information has been replaced by the corresponding orthographic representation for the convenience of printing. (3b) gives some syntactic information. It should be noted that the only way to distinguish *violin* and *car* is by looking at the other representations than syntax. This reflects the insight that they are syntactically indistinguishable. The conceptual information in (3c) only represents the part that can be mapped into linguistic expressions. For other purposes, a picture of a violin stored as a mental image, or a mental image of the sound it produces, would be more suitable. This would then serve as a prototype. Depending on the speaker, the prototype will have more or less detail and will also vary in the details added.

Jackendoff (1997) argues that much of the lexical information stored in a native speaker's mental lexicon consists of units that are larger than individual words. This insight is in line with Wray's (2002) idea of *formulaic language*. PA offers a particularly elegant solution for the encoding of multi-word units. As an example let us consider (4).

- (4) The teacher lost his temper.

The verbal expression used in (4) is usually given in dictionary format as *lose one's temper*. The contributions to the three different representations in PA could be formalized along the lines of (5).

- (5) a. <lose> <temper>
 b. [_S DP_i [_{VP} V [_{DP} D_i N]]]
 c. [INCH [BE ([X], [AT [ANGRY]])]]

In (5a), only the two words that are specific to the expression are given. Other words in (4) find their origin in other lexical entries. In (5b), a syntactic tree is given. Here the coindexation of *one's* with the subject is indicated by the subscripts on D and DP.¹ The meaning of the expression is summarized in (5c), which can be paraphrased as 'X starts being angry'. Although (5) specifies the contribution of the expression to each individual representation and implies that they are linked, a full representation should also give details on which components of the different levels are linked to each other. In (6), this information is added by means of indices.

- (6) a. <lose>_p <temper>_q
 b. [_S DP_i [_{VP} V_p [_{DP} D_i N_q]]]_m
 c. [INCH [BE ([X]_i), [AT [ANGRY]])]]_m

The indices *p* and *q* indicate where in the syntactic structure of (6b) the words in (6a) are located. The indices *i* and *m* link the variable X and the entire expression in (6c) to the corresponding parts of the (6b). As is typical of non-compositional expressions, the syntactic structure takes the role of a hinge between the phonological and conceptual structures in the sense that one set of indices links it to phonological and another to conceptual structures.

The architecture in Fig. 1 can be compared to the Saussurean model of the sign. Whereas Saussure only recognizes a phonological and a conceptual component of the sign, Jackendoff adds a syntactic representation. This solves the problem of encoding function words. An example is *it* in the sense used in (7).

- (7) a. It seems strange to assume this.
 b. It is unlikely that she will come.

¹ Jackendoff does not adopt functional categories and rejects the DP analysis as originally proposed by Abney (1987). However, in my view, the argumentation against the proliferation of functional categories of the type found in Pollock (1989) does not automatically extend to the DP analysis. After all, one of Abney's (1987) arguments is that the phrase *that house* can be replaced by *that* but not by **house*. However, nothing in this paper depends on the choice of D or N as the head of such phrases.

The information stored about *it* in the lexicon can be expressed as in (8).

- (8) a. <it>
b. Det, 3sing., Neuter
c. Ø

Whereas a Saussurean sign does not have a natural place to encode the syntactic information in (8b), it requires a *signifié*, a meaning associated with the form. In PA, there is no claim about each of the three representations having to be filled. For *it*, at least in its use in (7), it is plausible to assume an entry with no conceptual information, as indicated in (8c). However, if we accept both structure in a lexical entry, as in (6b), and empty slots as in (8c), we can also encode formation rules as lexical entries. An example is (9).

- (9) a. Ø
b. [_S DP VP]
c. Ø

What (9) encodes is the rule $S \rightarrow DP VP$, as used in the examples (4) and (7) to combine the grammatical subject with the verb phrase. Given that we have lexical entries such as (3), (6), (8), and (9), we can conclude that the lexicon in Fig. 1 includes both the linking rules and the formation rules. Jackendoff (2002) makes this point in more detail and with different examples. He shows that it is not possible to draw a principled boundary between formation rules and linking rules, by giving examples of various intermediate types of entries.

Fig. 2 does not include an obvious place for word formation. However, if all rules turn out to be lexicon entries, it is tempting to assume that the lexicon contains all of the information a speaker brings to their use of language in formulating and interpreting utterances and written language. This is also the hypothesis Jackendoff (2002) makes. Jackendoff (2010) elaborates this idea for word formation. In ten Hacken (2010), I proposed an alternative. As I hope to demonstrate, the analysis of neoclassical word formation provides an argument for the latter. Before describing the two theoretical options in detail, however, it is worth returning to the data of neoclassical word formation.

3. Neoclassical word formation

As an example for the analysis of neoclassical word formation, let us consider (1a), *anthropomorphic*. There are three questions to be answered about this word, listed in (10).

- (10) a. What are the basic elements of the word?
b. What is the structure of the word?
c. What are the rules involved in the formation of the word?

As we noted at the start, *anthropomorphic* consists of three elements. The final element is the suffix *-ic*. For the other two elements, we can use the data in (11) to determine their form and status.

- (11) a. anthropomorphic
b. philanthropic
c. morphotactic

A first observation regarding (11) is that *anthrop(o)* and *morph(o)* can each appear in first or in second position. Their semantic contribution is so similar that it would be unattractive to argue that *anthropo* in (11a) is not the same element as *anthrop* in (11b). In the same way, *morph* in (11a) is the same element as *morpho* in (11c). Although some dictionaries have separate entries for, for instance, *-phone* and *phono-*, e.g. COED (2011), such an analysis is not usually adopted in linguistic theorizing. The observation that these elements can appear in different positions implies that they are not affixes. At the same time, they are not normal stems. Neither **anthropo* nor **anthrop* can appear as a word in English (for *morph*, cf. further down). As mentioned in section 1, I will call them *neoclassical formatives* (NCFs) here.

A more difficult question concerns the status of the *-o-* at the end of the first element in (11a) and (11c). In general, it seems more attractive to assume that a final vowel is deleted in certain contexts

than that it is inserted. If we assume that *anthropo* and *morpho* are the base forms, we can easily devise a rule eliminating the final *-o* before *-ic* in (11b) and (11a), respectively. It is much harder to account for the putative insertion of *-o* in (11a) and (11c) if we assumed *anthrop* and *morph* as base forms. The first element in (11b) provides further evidence. The full form *philo*, as found in *philosophy*, is elided regularly before the initial vowel of *anthropo*. This means that it is not the second position, but the following vowel that triggers the loss of the *-o*. Therefore, we can answer (10a) such that we have the NCFs *anthropo* and *morpho* and the suffix *-ic*.

Turning now to (10b), we can in general have three possible structures for a form with three basic elements. They are indicated in (12).

- (12) a. [anthropo [_αmorpho -ic]]
 b. [[_βanthropo morpho] -ic]
 c. [anthropo morpho -ic]

The question of which structure is the best depends on the status of the intermediate constituents α in (12a) and β in (12b). Evidence for α or β supports the relevant structure, whereas in the absence of any supporting evidence, (12c) becomes attractive. At first sight, α may be attractive as an intermediate node because *morphic* is a word of English. However, there are two types of evidence against *morphic* as a constituent node of *anthropomorphic*. First of all, *morphic* does not have the right meaning. According to OED (2011), it is most frequent in the expression *morphic resonance*, the influence an entity is supposed to have on facilitating the genesis of similar entities by generating a ‘field’ in which the new entities ‘resonate’. Other meanings the OED gives are ‘of or relating to anatomical shape’ and ‘of or relating to animal or plant morphs’. Moreover, all of these meanings post-date the attestation of *anthropomorphic*. Whereas *anthropomorphic* was attested in 1827, *morphic* was first attested in 1868. This seriously weakens the case for (12a).

The support for (12b) cannot be based on the existence of **anthropomorpho* as a word of English. However, there are a number of words that contain this stem, OED (2011) gives *anthropomorphous* and *anthropomorphism*, and have a related meaning. The argument is reinforced by the observation that similar word families of semantically related words can be found for many other neoclassical formations. This means that (12b) is also more attractive than (12c). Therefore, there are good grounds to adopt (12b) as the structure of *anthropomorphic*.

In order to address (10c), we need to take a closer look at the history of the phenomenon. As Mayr (2004) argues, historical accounts generally take the form of a *narrative*, i.e. a plausible story that takes into account all available evidence. In the case of Mayr, the field is evolutionary biology. Lightfoot (1979) applies the same paradigm to historical linguistics (cf. ten Hacken, 2007: 317–24, for a brief discussion).

In the case of neoclassical word formation, we can distinguish three phases. In the first phase, individual items were borrowed from Greek and Latin. This can be illustrated on the basis of (13).

- | | | | | |
|------|----|------------------|---------------|------|
| (13) | a. | metamorphosis | μεταμόρφωσις | 1533 |
| | b. | anthropomorphous | ἄνθρωπόμορφος | 1753 |
| | c. | morphology | – | 1830 |

In (13), the English word is followed by the corresponding Ancient Greek word (where it exists) and the date of first attestation as given by OED (2011). When *metamorphosis* appeared in English, it was a borrowing from Greek, probably through Latin. Borrowings do not have the structure of the word as in the original language. Thus, whereas German *Kindergarten* is a compound, English *kindergarten* is a simplex noun. There are no English word formation rules that could account for its structure. The peculiarity of neoclassical word formation is that the structure of the borrowed words was reconstructed in the borrowing language.

When *morphology* appeared in English, at first in the field of geology, it could not have been borrowed from Greek, as shown in (13c), because there was no corresponding Greek word. What must have happened is that words such as (13a-b) were reanalysed as complex and *morphology* was formed by the components resulting from the reanalysis. Somewhere around 1800, a system of NCFs came into existence in English. This meant that (13a-b) were reanalysed as containing an NCF *morpho*, which from then on could be used to produce new items such as (13c).

The system of NCFs marks the second stage in the evolution of neoclassical word formation. The actual phenomenon is difficult to observe directly. We would have to determine whether particular word formation rules were part of the linguistic competence of particular speakers. The way we can observe the existence of the system of NCFs is by means of words such as *morphology*, which cannot

have been borrowed. Further evidence for the nature and strength of the system, as opposed to the individual NCFs, comes from the borrowing of NCFs. This phenomenon can be seen in the contrast between *morphology* and *psephology*. The meaning of *psephology* is ‘the statistical study of elections and trends in voting’ (COED, 2011). OED (2011) gives 1952 as the date of the first attestation. An interesting difference between *morphology* and *psephology* is that, whereas *morpho* originated from the reanalysis of borrowed items, as indicated in (13), no such analysis can be assumed for *psepho*. Ancient Greek *πηφός* means ‘pebble’. One of the derived senses develops this into ‘ballot’ (cf. Liddell & Scott, 1925). In 17th century English, we find *psephism* and *psephisma*, but they are only used in specialized contexts relating to ballots in classical Athens. OED (2011) also gives *psephomancy*, which exploits the ‘stone’ sense of the word. None of these are likely origins of *psepho* as used in *psephology*. A much more likely scenario is that someone looking for a learned name for the concept consulted an English-Ancient Greek dictionary to find the relevant stem. In this sense, *psepho* was borrowed into English as an NCF.

This second stage is not the end of the development. A number of words appear to combine NCFs with other lexical elements. Some examples are in (14).

- (14) a. pseudomodern, pseudomedieval
- b. gastropub
- c. webography, kremlinologist

In (14a), the NCF *pseudo* seems to combine with non-neoclassical adjectives. The most plausible analysis is that we do not see the same *pseudo* in (14a) as in, for instance, *pseudonym*. Rather, *pseudo* has developed into a prefix and it is this prefix that we see in (14a). This type of reanalysis of an NCF as an affix is relatively rare and only occurs for individual NCFs, not for large groups of them. A different type of phenomenon is seen in (14b). Here the NCF *gastro* seems to combine with the word *pub*. However, if *gastro* were the NCF in (14b), the meaning of *gastropub* should have ‘stomach’ as a component, cf. *gastritis*. In fact, COED (2011) gives the meaning ‘a pub that specializes in serving high-quality food’. Therefore, *gastro* can be explained much better as a clipping of *gastronomy*.² In (14c), we seem to have NCFs based on non-neoclassical elements. We will come back to these cases later.

In order to explain the neoclassical word formation system, we can choose one of two perspectives. In a diachronic perspective, the questions are how the neoclassical word formation system emerged and how individual NCFs developed. In a synchronic perspective, the central question concerns the nature of the system of neoclassical word formation. These perspectives cannot be separated entirely. In order to study the emergence of the system, we have to know its nature. This is the classical Saussurean argument about the relation between diachronic and synchronic linguistics. Perhaps more controversially, however, I would like to argue that it is also not possible to study the system of neoclassical word formation without knowing its historical development.

The central point here is that in order to come up with an account for the system, we have to decide which data should belong to the scope of the account and which can be excluded. In particular, not all words that contain NCFs belong to the system of neoclassical word formation. There are two other ways a word can contain an NCF. First, it can belong to the third stage of development, illustrated by (14). The borderline in this case depends on a comparison of the analysis as a neoclassical formation and alternative analyses. In (14a), there are good arguments to consider *pseudo-* a prefix. In (14b), an analysis as a clipping is better able to explain the meaning of the word. The best analysis of (14c) depends on how these examples fit with our general theory of neoclassical word formation.

Another type of explanation for the appearance of an NCF that does not depend on neoclassical word formation is that a word was borrowed from Ancient Greek before there was a system of neoclassical word formation. Whereas most words such as (13a-b) were reanalysed in the emergence of the neoclassical word formation system, there are also words that contain unique constituents, e.g. *geodesy* mentioned as (2c). This word was borrowed, but there is no sign that it was reanalysed, because the second element was never used in other words. Therefore, it is not necessary for an account of neoclassical word formation to include such cases as (14a-b) or (2c) in its scope.

For words that belong to the system of neoclassical word formation, I propose that they are formed on the basis of NCFs. An NCF is an element that does not have a syntactic category (cf. Petropoulou & ten Hacken, 2002). As a consequence, it cannot be used in syntax. Therefore, it cannot appear as a word in an expression of the language unless it undergoes an operation that turns the NCF into a word.

² As the ending of a clipping is not visible and there is no semantic distinction, it cannot be determined whether it is the noun *gastronomy*, the adjective *gastronomic*, or indeed the NCF *gastronomo* which has been clipped.

English has a number of word formation processes that do not impose on their input the condition that it has to have a syntactic category. In the case of *anthropomorphic*, the stages in its formation can be summarized as in (15).

- (15) a. anthropo, morpho → anthropomorpho
b. anthropomorpho → anthropomorphic

In (15a), two NCFs are combined into a compound that is itself an NCF. These NCFs do not have a syntactic category. In (15b), a suffix is added to the compound NCF and it becomes an adjective. The adjective is available for insertion into a syntactic structure. The sequence of steps in (15) reflects the structure as discussed above. It does not imply that *anthropomorpho* existed in a temporal sense prior to *anthropomorphic*. An alternative perspective on neoclassical word formation starts from an individual NCF. In (16), a number of different ways in which the NCF *morpho* can be input to neoclassical word formation are illustrated.

- (16) a. morpho → morph
b. morpho → morpheme
c. allo, morpho → allomorpho → allomorph
d. morpho, logo → morphologo → morphology
e. anthropo, morpho → anthropomorpho → anthropomorphic

In (16), only the final element of each line is a word with a syntactic category. All elements before the final arrows are NCFs without syntactic category. Compounding, as illustrated in (16c-e), is typical of neoclassical word formation, but (16a-b) show that it is not necessary. As (16d-e) illustrate, *morpho* can appear as either first or second element in a neoclassical compound. There are many NCFs that can only appear as the first element of a neoclassical compound. Fewer NCFs can appear as second or only element in neoclassical word formation. NCFs such as *bio* and *geo* only appear as first element, even though their meaning is clearly that of a stem. The flexibility of *morpho* is also shown by its possibility to appear in conversions, (16a) and (16c). In conversion, the thematic vowel is lost. This indicates that the thematic vowel has a different status with respect to the NCF than its other constituent phonemes.

At this point, I would like to return to the examples in (14c). The question about these cases is whether they are neoclassical compounds with an unusual first element or words with a different origin that happen to include an element that is used as an NCF in other words. If they are neoclassical compounds, we have to assume that there is a third way NCFs can come into existence, apart from reanalysis of borrowings (as *morpho* from *metamorphosis*) and direct borrowing (as *psepho* in *psephology*). This third way consists of the addition of what in regular NCFs is the thematic vowel to an existing word in English. This would then result in the steps in (17).

- (17) a. web → webo
Kremlin → Kremlino
b. webo, grapho → webographo
Kremlino, logo → Kremlinologo
c. webographo → webography
Kremlinologo → Kremlinologist

Whereas (17b-c) correspond to the regular steps in neoclassical word formation in (15), the step in (17a) is a more contentious assumption. However, we can only decide how attractive this assumption is by comparing it to alternative analyses.

One such alternative is that we are dealing here with suffixation. As illustrated in (14a), the reanalysis of an NCF as an affix is attested for other NCFs. In the examples in (14c), the resulting derivations would involve the suffixes *-ography* and *-ologist*. There are at least two arguments against such an analysis. First, the suffixes have an unusually rich and specific meaning. We find the definitions in (18) for the words in (14c).³

- (18) a. *Webography*: a list of websites that pertain to a given topic.

³ The definition in (18b) is compiled from the OED (2011) definition of *Kremlinologist* ‘such an analyst’ and the one for *Kremlinology*. The OED (2011) gives *webliography* but not *webography*. The definition in (18a) is from the Wikipedia (en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Webography, last modified 21 February 2012).

- b. *Kremlinologist*: an analyst of the Soviet Government, and subsequently the Russian government, and their policies.

If we assume that *-ography* is a suffix, it has to contribute a large part of the meaning of (18a), because *web* only has a very small part in it. Such a distribution of meaning between the components is not so uncommon for compounds. Indeed, Jackendoff (2009) develops his system for expressing the meaning of compounds on the assumption that the relation between the components is produced by a generative system, so that relations of an in principle unlimited complexity can be generated. However, if *-ography* is a suffix, such possibilities are not readily available.

The hypothesis that *-ologist* is a suffix in (18b) has another problem. Here we have a family of words of a type that is familiar from neoclassical word formation. Alongside *Kremlinologist* we have *Kremlinology* and *Kremlinological*. It is not attractive to assume that there are separate suffixes *-ologist*, *-ology*, and *-ological*, because the highly specific meaning of the words they form is very similar. When we try to solve this by analysing *-ologist* into two suffixes, *-olog* and *-ist*, we are in the process of creating a parallel system to neoclassical word formation, with *-olog* taking on the role of a neoclassical stem. Therefore, an analysis of (18) as suffixation rather than NCF formation is not attractive.

Another alternative analysis of (18) is in terms of analogy. For (18a), there is an alternative, *webliography*, which is formally more similar to *bibliography*. Both *webliography* and *webography* are used, although a Google search (16 March 2012) gave a 10:9 preponderance in the number of hits for *webography* over *webliography* (497,000 vs. 447,000). The form of *webliography*, in particular the *-lio-* component, cannot be explained otherwise than by analogy with *bibliography*. By contrast, *webography* is less clearly analogical and can readily be explained along the lines of (17). For *Kremlinologist*, the basis of the putative analogy is less obvious. The formation of *Kremlinology* and *Kremlinological* took place at about the same time. OED (2011) gives dates of first attestation ranging from 1958 to 1961 for the three words. Therefore, the idea of an underlying compound NCF is much more attractive.

In sum, there are good reasons to assume (17) as the analysis of the examples in (14c). This analysis brings them within the scope of neoclassical word formation and assumes that the formation of NCFs on the basis of non-neoclassical elements is a possible origin of new NCFs.

4. Productivity

The notion of productivity has been a central pillar in all frameworks of generative grammar. At a time when the focus of the discussion in American linguistics was the opposition between Post-Bloomfieldian approaches and the emerging generative approach, Chomsky formulated the issue as in (19).

- (19) The central fact to which any significant linguistic theory must address itself is this: a mature speaker can produce a new sentence of his language on the appropriate occasion, and other speakers can understand it immediately. [Chomsky (1964: 7)]

The view in (19) is not entirely new. In fact, Schultink's classical definition of morphological productivity in (20), although formulated without reference to a generative framework, is very much in line with (19).

- (20) Under productivity as a morphological phenomenon, we understand the possibility for language users to create new formations unintentionally and in an in principle not countable number, by means of a morphological procedure that is at the basis of the form-meaning correspondence of some words they know. [Schultink (1961: 113), my translation PtH]⁴

The central properties shared by (19) and (20) are the ideas of an infinite number of new expressions and their regular, unintentional formation. This type of productivity can be expressed in a very natural way in the PA framework of Fig. 1. It leads first of all to syntactic expressions, i.e. expressions that are

⁴ Original Dutch: "Onder produktiviteit als morfologisch fenomeen verstaan we dan de voor taalgebruikers bestaande mogelijkheid door middel van het morfologisch procédé dat aan de vorm-betekenis-correspondentie van sommige hun bekende woorden ten grondslag ligt, onopzettelijk een in principe niet telbaar aantal nieuwe formaties te vormen."

not stored in the lexicon, but constructed on the basis the combination of information in lexical entries. It is not surprising that a school of linguistics taking (19) as its point of departure would concentrate on syntax.

Jackendoff (2002) takes as a point of departure that what constitutes a lexical entry is an empirical question. Each speaker has their own lexicon. As ten Hacken & Panocová (2011) demonstrate, this is entirely compatible with the view that a particular word has a specific meaning in a speech community. However, we have to acknowledge that there are two different routes to becoming a new entry, which we might label ‘performance-based’ and ‘onomasiological’.

Jackendoff assumes that frequently used combinations are stored as entries because retrieval from the lexicon is more efficient than on-line construction from different lexical entries. Someone working at a supermarket till will have a repertoire of frequently used phrases stored in their lexicon, whereas customers may construct them. This does not affect successful communication. Jackendoff (2002) makes the point that this is also the case for productive morphology. In the case of English word formation, we might think of the formation of nouns in *-ability* on the basis of adjectives in *-able* in these terms. This is the performance-based route to lexicalization. Clearly, neoclassical word formation is not productive in this sense. When we characterize the productivity of neoclassical word formation, we can summarize it in the two observations in (21).

- (21) a. Neoclassical word formation is available for naming new concepts.
- b. Neoclassical word formation is not applied unintentionally.

If we want to consider neoclassical word formation productive on the basis of (21a), we need a new concept of productivity, which is compatible with (21b). Corbin’s (1987) analysis of productivity is interesting in this respect. She does not refer to unintentional rule application as in (20) and does not align it with syntactic productivity as in (19). Instead, she distinguishes three interpretations of “productivity”, and explains them as in (22).

- (22) a. *régularité*: predictability of form and meaning of the output
- b. *disponibilité*: availability of a rule for new formations
- c. *rentabilité*: extent to which a rule can be applied to many bases and have many outputs

It is interesting to compare (20) to (22). It is not possible to quantify productivity in Schultink’s sense in terms of (22c) directly, because the crucial point for Schultink is that the number is not finite, not that the number is high. His unintentionality is not adequately covered by (22a), although the two point in the same direction. The crucial difference seems to be that Corbin (1987: 177) goes on to argue that (22b) is the central sense of productivity, whereas Schultink’s definition in (20) imposes additional constraints on the concepts in (22a) and (22c). It is easy to see that (22b) is logically prior to the other two senses of productivity. Whereas (22a) and (22c) target rule application, (22b) is about the existence of a rule. Therefore, Corbin’s sense of productivity is weaker, less restrictive, than Schultink’s.

Corbin’s (22b) is eminently compatible with the scenario of finding a name for a new concept. This is the starting point of the analysis of word formation in Štekauer’s (1998, 2005) onomasiological approach. This scenario differs from performance-based, unintentional lexicalization in the sense that speakers are generally aware of their name-giving activity. This is also what is intended in (21a). Therefore, neoclassical word formation is productive in Corbin’s sense (22b), but not in Schultink’s sense (20). Lexicalization of neoclassical formations takes place according to the onomasiological scenario, not the performance-based one.

Whereas the PA framework accounts for productivity in the sense of (19) and (20) naturally and without further assumptions, the onomasiological route to new entries is not straightforward in Fig. 1. Jackendoff (2010: 34) mentions the issue of what he calls “semiproductivity” as “one of the central issues of linguistic theory for the coming years.” Earlier, Jackendoff (2002, 2009) proposed to account for it by means of redundancy rules that are *emergent*. This means that they are not rules that can be applied to produce new expressions, but only generalizations that facilitate storage and recall of existing expressions. If neoclassical word formation is a set of redundancy rules, each new form is produced by a kind of analogy. Jackendoff (2010: 28-34) proposes to encode semiproductive rules as lexical entries with a special feature that stops them from being applied freely. However, this system is meant also for the analysis of groups of words such as *receive*, *perceive*, *conceive*, etc. Such rules are not available in English and do not apply to items that can be described as complete lexical entries. The crucial difference between **ceive* and **anthropo* is that the latter has a meaning and can be used in new words, whereas the former does not have a meaning and only emerges as a formal component of some

borrowings. The reanalysis step that characterizes neoclassical word formation has not taken place for **ceive*.

A more attractive option is to modify the PA in such a way that it can accommodate the contrast between the different notions of productivity. Therefore, I propose to adopt the architecture in Fig. 2.

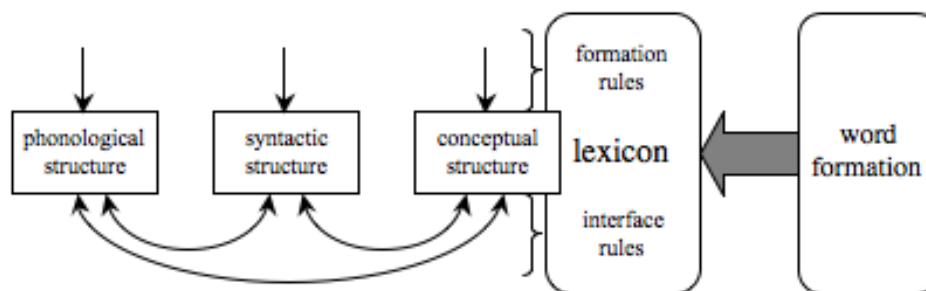


Figure 2 Modified Parallel Architecture

Compared to Jackendoff's version in Fig. 1, the architecture in Fig. 2 distinguishes between the lexicon and the word formation component. This means that productivity in the sense of Chomsky's (19) and Schultink's (20) can be encoded as entries in the lexicon, whereas productivity in the sense of Corbin's (22b) *disponibilité* can be encoded as rules in the word formation component. Where rules are not available for new formations, they are not encoded in either, which corresponds to Jackendoff's (2002, 2009) redundancy rules. In terms of ten Hacken & Panocová's (2011) distinction, the performance-based route to lexicalization involves (only) the lexicon, whereas the onomasiological route (also) involves the word formation component. Neoclassical word formation is a very clear example of a set of rules that belong in the word formation component.

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SELECTING A THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK FITTING ACQUISITION DATA IS NO EASY MATTER

Ursula Stephany
University of Cologne
stephany@uni-koeln.de

Abstract

The question addressed in this paper is how to select an appropriate theoretical framework for describing acquisition data so that the description may contribute to an explanation of the acquisition process. The major current theoretical approaches to language acquisition to be taken into account are the functionalist, usage-based approach founded in cognitive linguistics and the nativist, generative Universal Grammar approach whose basic assumptions concerning human language are diametrically opposed to each other so that their consequences for theories of language acquisition differ in fundamental ways. In comparing the two approaches to language acquisition it will be argued that a constructivist, usage-based approach seems to be more appropriate than a nativist, generativist theoretical framework for explaining the empirical results gained so far in the domain of inflectional development in Greek child language acquisition.

Keywords: Theories of first language acquisition; Usage-Based Theory; Generativist Theory; acquisition of inflectional morphology; acquisition of Greek

1. Introduction: What is science?

As pointed out by Ströker (1987: 86-87) and other philosophers of science, there is no ‘pure’ experience, since experience and its scientific interpretation require a theoretical framework in which such an interpretation can be achieved. A precondition for interpreting empirical data is therefore to ask questions. These must be based on the state of the art in a given scientific domain and will lead to conjectures or hypotheses to be checked empirically. Hypotheses stay valid as long as they have not been empirically refuted. If refuted, new hypotheses must be advanced. The course of science may therefore be considered as a series of conjectures and refutations (Popper 1962). Hypotheses or entire theories cannot be verified, but only falsified. Therefore, it is doubt, rather than truth, which is at the center of scientific endeavor. Most importantly, the method of falsification serves to find and test more efficient scientific theories (Popper 1934/1971) and therefore has a constructive rather than a destructive function.

The two major currently competing theoretical approaches to child language acquisition are the nativist, generativist approach based on Chomsky’s ideas on Universal Grammar and the non-nativist, constructivist, usage-based approach. In section 2 of the paper, these approaches will be briefly compared and in section 3, the comparison will be narrowed down to the single- vs. double-route processing model of inflectional acquisition. In section 4, evidence for the single-route model in the acquisition of Greek nominal and verbal inflection will be provided. We hope to be able to demonstrate that the Usage-Based theoretical framework is not only apt to describe the acquisition data, but that it significantly contributes to our understanding of the acquisitional process.

2. Generativist vs. constructivist approaches to child language acquisition

As far as falsifiability is concerned, it is currently not clear whether the generativist or the constructivist theoretical approach to language acquisition meets this criterion since it has not been discussed in either of the two theories (Tomasello 2004; Ambridge & Lieven 2011: 376).

A precondition for being refutable is that a hypothesis or theory be precisely formulated. This is not the case for the Universal Grammar hypothesis, since more than seven different proposals of UG are found in the literature (Tomasello 2004: 642-643; see also Tomasello 2010: 313). Generativists are not

usually concerned with the falsifiability of the UG hypothesis and simply assume that UG exists or they try “to provide confirmatory evidence for it” (Tomasello 2004: 643). A more fundamental problem with the UG hypothesis is that it is not clear what kind of evidence could refute it (Ambridge & Lieven 2011).

The UG hypothesis has grown more and more abstract in the history of Chomsky’s formal approach to language (Tomasello 2010: 312). According to Chomsky’s more recent publications (Hauser, Chomsky & Fitch 2002: 1569 and Chomsky 2007), the two specifically linguistic computational principles which seem to have survived are recursion and merge. While considering recursion as “the only uniquely human component of the faculty of language,” Hauser, Chomsky & Fitch (2002: 1569) admit “that FLN [faculty of language in the narrow sense, U.S.] may have evolved for reasons other than language, [and that] hence comparative studies might look for evidence of such communication (for example, number, navigation, and social relations).”

Tomasello (2010) considers recursivity as a fundamental principle in the evolution of specifically human cooperative communication, which he shows to be more complex than the intentional communication also found in great apes, the difference being that, in human cooperative communication, there is not only individual intentionality, but in addition shared intentionality. According to Tomasello (2010: 321), “the basic cognitive skill of shared intentionality is recursive mindreading” which “generates joint goals and joint attention.” Recursive mindreading may be paraphrased as “I know that you know that I know that you know” etc. For successful intentional communication, “the communicator needs some kind of cognitive model of how the recipient perceives the signal and acts as a result” (Tomasello 2010: 45).

As far as the evolutionary and cultural-historical processes underlying the development of human cooperative communication and the differentiation of about 6,000 different conventional languages are concerned, Tomasello’s (2010: 11) proposal “basically turns the Chomskian proposal on its head, as the most fundamental aspects of human communication are seen as biological adaptations for cooperation and social interaction in general, whereas the more purely linguistic, including grammatical, dimensions of language are culturally constructed and passed along by individual linguistic communities.”

This view is, of course, also diametrically opposed to Chomsky’s present position. In a lecture given as an Albertus-Magnus-Professor at the University of Cologne in June 2011, Chomsky claimed that “the question whether language exists is basically whether UG exists.” Such a claim seems immune to refutation.

If it seems impossible at present to refute the UG hypothesis, the question arises whether supporting empirical evidence can be found. This is what generativists have been and are being concerned with. Thus, in example (1), the question is about whether the eagle can swim and not whether it can fly. This type of example goes back to the 1980ies when generativists claimed that “structure dependence is the ‘parade case’ of an innate constraint” (Ambridge & Lieven 2011: 300; see also Chomsky 1980).

- (1) Can the eagle that can fly swim? (from Chomsky 2011)

Most importantly, the argument of structure dependence rests on the hypothesis that “questions are generated by movement” (Ambridge & Lieven 2011: 302). Example (1) is thus taken to be derived from example (2a) by taking its hierarchical rather than its linear structure into consideration. Moving the first occurrence of the modal auxiliary *can* to the front would, of course, result in the ungrammatical structure (2c).

- (2) (a) [The eagle that can fly] can swim.
(b) Can [the eagle that can fly] swim?
(c) *Can the eagle that fly can swim?

As early as in 1980, Chomsky claimed that in spite of the fact that children almost never hear relevant evidence such as example (2b), they do not produce structure-dependence errors (example 2c). He concluded from this that structure dependence must be innate.

As demonstrated by Ambridge & Lieven (2011: 300-302), an innate constraint is unnecessary to explain children’s acquisition of *yes/no* questions containing relative clauses. According to the constructivist account, children can construct *yes/no* questions with an embedded relative clause on the basis of constructional templates or schemas such as (3) in which either a simple NP without a relative clause (e.g. *the eagle*) or a complex NP containing a relative clause (e.g. *the eagle that can fly*) may be inserted into the NP slot.

(3) [MOD.AUX] [NP] [V]

The main difference between the generativist and the constructivist approach to the acquisition of *yes/no* questions is that the first rests on the hypothesis that “questions are generated by movement” while the second does not (Ambridge & Lieven 2011: 302). According to the constructivist account, “utterances that are not complete complex *yes/no* questions can still provide evidence with regard to the form of this structure” (Ambridge & Lieven 2011: 302). Thus, the simple NP *the boy* and the complex NP *the boy who is smoking* share the same distribution since the complex NP can be substituted for the simple one in the slot in (4).¹

(4) _____ is crazy. (from Ambridge & Lieven 2011: 300)

If examples such as this one can be multiplied and no empirical evidence can be found for the UG hypothesis, the latter hypothesis must be abandoned on the account of the scientific principles that the data should “constrain the theory” (Karmiloff & Karmiloff-Smith 2001: 142) or that “a theory should make as few assumptions as are necessary to understand the data” (Ambridge & Lieven 2011: 376).

Tomasello (2010: 313) justifies his proposal of abandoning the UG hypothesis by arguing for the learnability of language from the input and accordingly refutes the generativist poverty-of-the-stimulus argument. The poverty-of-the-stimulus argument claims that there is an infinite number of possible hypotheses which are consistent with the child’s linguistic experience, but are linguistically incorrect, so that categories, rules and principles must be innate (Ambridge & Lieven 2011: 371).

What is the theoretical status of principles, rules, and categories? As mentioned above, in Chomsky’s most recent versions of the UG hypothesis, principles have been reduced to the computational operations of recursion and merge. As pointed out by Tomasello (2010), recursion is not specifically linguistic, but a basic cognitive skill of shared intentionality, namely recursive mindreading. The operation “merge” could eventually be compared to Bybee’s “chunking”, one of a few domain-general, i.e. not specifically linguistic, cognitive processes relevant for studying language. According to Bybee (2010: 7), “chunking is the process by which sequences of units that are used together cohere to form more complex units.”

In the generativist framework, linguistic rules are very general “contentless, algebraic” operations for combining linguistic units (Tomasello 2010: 275). Such symbolic rules describe highly productive morphology on the one hand and syntactic generalizations on the other (Bybee 2010: 64, 73). In the constructivist approach, grammatical knowledge, rather than being innate, is taken to emerge “from the categorization of experienced utterances” (Bybee 2010: 78) resulting in a structured list of constructions, i.e. more or less general patterns of usage.

While the generativist account of language structure stresses generality, the constructivist account points to its gradient character. This difference becomes especially clear in the approach to morphology in both accounts. The generativist approach is forced to assume two distinct processing types, namely analogical processes for ‘irregular’ lexical patterns, but symbolic processing in the rules component of the lexicon for ‘regular’ patterns (see Bybee 2010: 73), whereas the constructivist approach argues “for a gradation between unproductive, specific patterns and the most productive, general patterns” (Bybee 2010: 73).

Constructions reach from most abstract or schematic to most concrete or specific ones and represent the most important category of the constructivist approach (Ambridge & Lieven 2011: 127). Tomasello (2010: 296) defines constructions as “essentially prefabricated, meaning-bearing structures for use in certain recurrent communicative situations.” Bybee (2010: 76) stresses that they are “direct pairings of form with meaning [...], often having schematic positions that range over a number of lexical items.” Constructions are therefore directly or indirectly item-based. They may be quite concrete and consist of particular words or phrases (examples 5a) or they may involve abstract patterns of word types (schema 5b). Schemas such as the one for constructing certain English *yes/no* questions represent generalizations constructed on the basis of a number of exemplars. Finally, constructions may consist of a mixture of constant and variable patterns implemented by a number of concrete exemplars (example 5c).²

¹ According to Dąbrowska & Lieven (2005), hierarchical structure is created by “superimposition”, i.e. by elaborating a schematic slot in a construction (see Bybee 2010: 65).

² See also Ambridge & Lieven (2011: 126).

- (5) (a) *ti kanis?* ‘how are you?’ *xronia pola!* ‘(may you live) many years!’
 (b) [MOD.AUX] [NP] [V]
 Exemplars: *can eagles swim?* *will the boy win?* *must Mary leave?* *should the child who left home return?* etc.
 (c) *thelo na V*
 Exemplars: *thelo na fiyo* ‘I want to leave’, *thelo na kimiθo* ‘I want to sleep’, *thelo na fao* ‘I want to eat’, *thelo na diavaso* ‘I want to read’ etc.

While admitting that patterns for the English auxiliary or the English regular Past Tense formation might suggest abstractions in the form of symbolic rules, Bybee (2010: 103) points out that “the availability of a pattern as a model for the analogical formation of novel exemplars of the pattern can provide a much more concrete explanation for generality without resorting to abstractness.”

The fact that, in the constructivist view, even abstract syntactic patterns are taken to be based on classes of similar exemplars of meaning-bearing constructions rather than on contentless algebraic rules, has immediate consequences for the learnability of syntactic structures. While concrete constructions such as those in (5a) can be learned by imitation, abstract constructions must be reconstructed by the child. According to Tomasello (2010: 298), this means that children must recognize patterns of use “across individual learning experiences with different exemplars of the construction”, i.e. they must be able to categorize linguistic experiences. It has been demonstrated that not only 7- to 8-month-old prelinguistic human infants “are able to find patterns in sequentially presented auditory stimuli” (Tomasello 2003: 28), but that this capacity even extends to nonhuman primates when these are presented with tone sequences or visual sequences (Tomasello 2003: 30). In language acquisition, pattern-finding skills must be used not only on the formal but also on the functional side of linguistic utterances (Tomasello 2003: 30-31).

As pointed out by Bybee (2010: 7), “memory for linguistic forms is represented in exemplars, which are built up from tokens of language experience that are deemed to be identical.” Thus, language learners “map similar tokens onto one another to establish exemplars and these exemplars group together to form categories that represent both the fixed and schematic slots in constructions” (Bybee 2010: 26). Consequently, constructions are “surface based and can emerge from the categorization of experienced utterances” (Bybee 2010: 78).

The emergence of constructions is illustrated in (6). Tokens such as (6a) are classified as exemplars such as (6b) resulting in the concrete constructions (6c) so that, finally, the rather abstract construction (6d) emerges. It is important to note that, in contrast to a generative rule, the schema (6d) is indirectly item-based.

- (6) (a) tokens:
thelo na fiyo, thelo na fiyo, thelo na fiyo, etc.
 ‘I want to leave’
prepi na fiyo, prepi na kimiθo, prepi na fao, prepi na diavaso, etc.
 ‘I must leave/sleep/eat/read’
thelo na kimiθo, thelo na fao, thelo na diavaso, etc.
 ‘I want to sleep/eat/read’
 (b) exemplars:
thelo na fiyo, thelo na kimiθo, thelo na fao, thelo na diavaso
prepi na fiyo, prepi na kimiθo, prepi na fao, prepi na diavaso
 (c) concrete constructions:
thelo/prepi na fiyo/kimiθo/fao/diavaso
 (d) more abstract construction:
 MOD.V na V

It has been found that, in the acquisition of constructions, children do indeed start out from very specific points storing experienced exemplars and gradually expanding on these to arrive at more general patterns.³ As pointed out by Bybee (2010: 78), the acquisition process thus consists in the children’s “process of formulating partially schematic constructions on the basis of the specific utterances they have mastered and can use” (Bybee 2010: 78).

³ Tomasello (1992; 2003), Lieven et al. (1997), Dąbrowska & Lieven (2005).

In the usage-based or constructivist model of language, relations between linguistic forms can be formed on various levels, such as the word, phrase or sentence level (Bybee 2010: 22). As far as morphological relations on the word-level are concerned, these “are emergent from relations formed among words due to their semantic and phonetic similarity” (Bybee 2010: 22). Examples (7) and (8) illustrate such morphological relations from Greek verbal and nominal inflection.

- (7) ayorasa PAST:PFV:1S ‘I bought/heard/read/wrote/painted’
 akusa PAST:PFV:1S
 diavasa PAST:PFV:1S
 eyrapsa PAST:PFV:1S
 zoyrafisa PAST:PFV:1S
- (8) anθropos NOM:SG ‘human being/president/Spiros/teacher/list’
 proeδros NOM:SG
 Spiros NOM:SG
 δaskalos NOM:SG
 kataloyos NOM:SG

In both sets of examples, the underlined parts of the forms as well as their grammatical functions are identical so that these word forms become related in a common morphological pattern or schema.

In contrast to the structuralist (and generativist) analytical approach, which considers complex morphological forms to be constructed from a base with units added to the base by a symbolic rule such as (9), the usage-based approach is goal-directed and considers complex forms as wholes or *gestalts* whose internal structure is discovered by relating them to similar morphological forms with similar grammatical function in the language. Packages of such similar form-function pairs constitute schemas and guarantee productivity.

- (9) Engl. $V+ed \rightarrow V_{past}$

As pointed out by Bybee (2010: 23) “one advantage of this approach to morphological analysis is that it does not require that a word be exhaustively analyzed into morphemes.” This especially applies to the description of fusional languages such as Greek where the segmentation of forms may lead to problems. As noted by Matthews (1991), the question whether a form such as *anθropos* should be segmented as in (10a) or (10b) depends on the forms with which it is compared.

- (10) (a) *anθrop-os* vs. *anθrop-u/anθrop-i/anθrop-e*
 (b) *anθropo-s* vs. *anθropo-Ø/anθropo-n*

In a morphologically rich language like Modern Greek, a given inflectional form can enter into several networks of associations as exemplified by examples (11a) and (11b). As will be shown in section 4, the simultaneous membership of forms in the network of nouns ending in *-os* and in that of nouns ending in *-Vs* may lead to a wrong classification of nouns in Greek child language acquisition.

- (11) (a) anθropos NOM:SG (b) anθropos NOM:SG
 proeδros NOM:SG adras NOM:SG
 Spiros NOM:SG papus NOM:SG
 δaskalos NOM:SG kaθijitis NOM:SG
 kataloyos NOM:SG kafes NOM:SG

In order to be able to refute the hypotheses of the generativist or the constructivist approach considerable further work is needed. Ambridge & Lieven (2011: 374) note that if the constructivist account is to be falsifiable, “the processes by which a child moves from more lexically specific to fully abstract constructions” must be addressed in more detail (but see Tomasello 2003). Another issue which must be dealt with is “how children learn to integrate knowledge from different constructions” (Ambridge & Lieven 2011: 374).

Before discussing empirical evidence for the acquisition of Greek nominal and verbal inflection, the two major current theoretical models of the acquisition of inflectional morphology must be considered.

3. The single-route vs. double-route processing model of the acquisition of inflection

While constructivists propose a single-route processing model of the acquisition of inflection, the dual-route model is defended by generativists. As mentioned above, the generativist approach assumes two distinct morphological processing types, analogical processes for ‘irregular’ patterns and symbolic rules for ‘regular’ ones (Bybee 2010: 73). In contrast to this, in the constructivist approach it is accepted that analogical processing also constitutes the basis for creating novel utterances. Productivity is therefore accounted for by analogy rather than by the application of rules (Bybee 2010: 75). Accordingly, constructivists assume that analogy, which operates across stored exemplars of inflected forms (Ambridge & Lieven 2011: 169), is sufficient to account for the acquisition and processing of regular as well as irregular inflection.

The most important difference between the inflectional schemas of the constructivist approach and the general inflectional rules of the generativist theory is that schemas are organizational patterns of categorized items, while symbolic rules act on variables such as Noun or Verb and “are postulated to exist independently of the forms to which they apply” (Ambridge & Lieven 2011: 169; see also Tomasello 2003: 237). Thus, the ideal inflectional rule is a general, ‘default’ rule applying to any member of a given part of speech, with the exception of irregular forms (Ambridge & Lieven 2011: 169). In contrast, inflectional schemas “have no existence independent of the lexical units from which they emerge” (Bybee 2010: 74).

Positing a strict division between regular and irregular inflectional processes poses a major empirical problem for linguistic typology since there are languages like Modern Greek which possess several inflectional patterns in nominal as well as verbal morphology, all reaching from more productive to less productive or even exceptional. Such languages are more adequately described by a continuum of gradient productivity than by a sharp division between productive, ‘regular’ and unproductive, ‘irregular’ forms.

The two theoretical conceptions of inflectional morphology also lead to important differences in their account of acquisition. According to the generative dual-route model, irregular forms, such as the English past tense forms *went*, *saw*, *threw*, are stored in memory in pairs with their stem forms (examples 12a), whereas regular past tense forms, such as *played*, *walked*, *hinted*, are generated by the regular past tense formation rule in (12b).

- (12) (a) *go/went, see/saw, throw/threw*, etc.
(b) *play, walk, hint*, etc.

$$V + ed \rightarrow V_{\text{PAST}}$$

played, walked, hinted, etc.

Regular and irregular inflectional forms are thus taken to be produced by different mechanisms or via different routes (Ambridge & Lieven 2011: 170), namely retrieval from memory and generation by rule, respectively. Generativists assume the distinction between the lexicon, in which words are stored, and the grammar, in which rules operate, to be innate (Ambridge & Lieven 2011: 170). Accordingly, the regular-route mechanism is also taken to be innate. As pointed out by Ambridge & Lieven (2011: 170), this leads to the most problematic assumption that this mechanism “lies dormant for morphological systems and languages that do not have a regular system,” a hypothesis which is theory-driven and cannot in principle be tested empirically.

By contrast, the constructivist single-route model does not assume innate grammatical categories or a lexicon vs. grammar division. Regular as well as irregular forms are taken to be stored in memory and the main force organizing the associate network of grammatical forms is formal and semantic analogy. There is thus no default rule and also “no need for an extra set of blocking mechanisms to keep these abstract rules from applying too widely” (Tomasello 2003: 239). Rather, English past tense formation depends on memory storage and, in case of rare verbs, on input frequency and the corresponding availability of schemas (Ambridge & Lieven 2011: 171).

Although the constructivist schema in (13) may at first glance look similar to the generative rule in (12b), there are two important differences: 1. The rule in (12b) is postulated to exist independently of the forms to which it applies, while the schema (13) remains tied to concrete inflectional forms such as those given in (14) from which it has emerged in language acquisition. 2. The rule in (12b) is source-directed and generates regular English Past forms by adding the suffix *-ed* to the verb stem, while the

schema (13) is goal-directed and describes the form and function of regular Past Tense forms of English verbs.

(13) [[VERB] d] Past Tense (from Bybee 2001: 22)

(14) English regular past forms (from Bybee 2010: 23)

pleid	PAST
spild	PAST
spɔild	PAST
bænd	PAST
ræmd	PAST

While, in the constructivist approach, type and token frequency of inflectional forms play a dominant role in acquisition, in the generativist approach, they do not (Tomasello 2003: 238). Type and token frequency are important for productivity and entrenchment, respectively. The productivity of a schema is a function of “its type frequency in terms of the number of different lexemes with which it has been used” (Tomasello 2003: 238). The more often a given form is experienced or used the more firmly it will be established or “entrenched” in memory. In the generative approach, only the acquisition of irregulars is sensitive to input frequency and phonological and semantic similarity (Tomasello 2003: 238).

Since the single-processing model “can handle the same range of data that is handled in the dual-processing model by two mechanisms” Bybee (2010: 74) puts “the burden of proof” on “those who propose two processing mechanisms rather than one.” Adopting her point of view, I will therefore content myself with presenting evidence for the single-route model in the acquisition of Greek nominal and verbal inflection.

4. Evidence for the single-route model in the acquisition of Greek nominal and verbal inflection

The empirical evidence used for exemplifying the acquisition of Greek morphology comes from the naturally occurring speech of six monolingual Greek children observed between the last part of their second and the last part of their third year or beyond. The data are found in the computerized part of the Corpus Stephany (3 girls, 1 boy) entered in the CHILDES Data Base (CHILDES Project, Carnegie Mellon University, Pittsburgh, NJ, USA, directed by Brian MacWhinney) and in the corpora gathered by Anastasia Christofidou (boy Christos) and by Demetra Katis (girl Anna).

As mentioned above, a two-fold distinction between fully productive ‘regular’ and unproductive ‘irregular’ inflectional structure is inappropriate for the description of Modern Greek inflectional morphology, where several inflectional patterns exhibiting gradient productivity compete in each of the major parts of speech. Furthermore, it is unlikely that children faced with the acquisition of such a rich and complex inflectional system could possibly be able to ‘link’ hypothesized innate lexical default rules to any set of inflected forms. Rather, they will try to come to grips with experienced inflectional items by storing both their form and meaning in memory and gradually systematizing them by grouping formally and semantically similar ones. In this way, morphological development will start from specific lexical items proceeding to item-bound patterns and finally to more abstract schemas comprising larger sets of items.

Detailed analyses of observational data of Greek language acquisition have shown that the categories of Greek inflection and derivation develop piecemeal rather than across-the-board (Stephany 1985, 1997; Stephany & Christofidou 2009; Christofidou & Stephany 2003; Thomadaki & Stephany 2007). No evidence for general rules concerning plural or case formation in the noun or the inflectional categories of mood, aspect, tense, voice, person and number in the verb has been found.

The most important result in the morphologically less rich domain of Greek noun inflection is that number and case distinctions do not develop in unison and across-the-board for all nouns. Thus, in Mairi’s speech from 1;9 to 2;9, number and case develop separately within certain gender classes (Fig. 1). While number distinctions first emerge and develop in neuter nouns, the first case distinction is limited to masculine nouns. A similar pattern is found with Christos (Stephany & Christofidou 2009). There is thus neither a general number nor a general case contrast to be found in the early speech of the two children studied by Stephany & Christofidou (2009). The authors conclude that as long as children only oppose singular and plural forms of neuter nouns, but not of masculine ones, “we do not have

evidence to affirm that they have generalized the number contrast to all nouns” (Stephany & Christofidou 2009: 256). A similar conclusion holds for case distinctions.

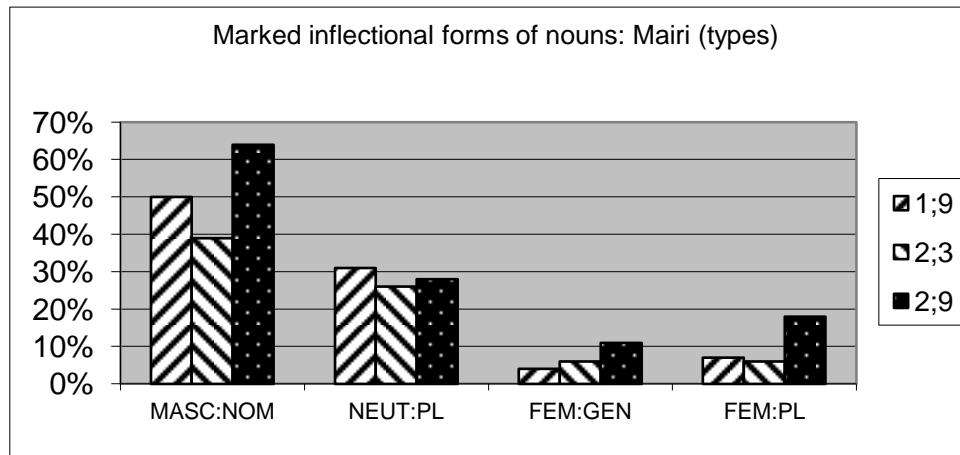


Figure 1 Inflectional development of the Greek noun
(from Stephany & Christofidou 2009: 230)

The inflectional development of diminutives carrying the three most frequently used suffixes *-aki*, *-ula* or *-itsa* in the extensive corpus of Anna’s speech between 1;8 and 3;0 supports the above findings. Tracing the inflectional development of these diminutives Thomadaki & Stephany (2007: 110-112) found that number distinctions emerge before case distinctions and are at first limited to neuter diminutives ending in *-aki*. Within this class of diminutives, the development of number distinctions is item-based. While the noun *peḍaki* ‘child:DIM’ is used in both the singular and plural at 1;8 when it first appears, seven other diminutives ending in *-aki* first emerge in either their singular or plural form and are found in the other number only one to five months later. Since, in Standard Greek, the genitive is not used with diminutives ending in *-aki* (Thomadaki 2008), no case distinction develops in this class of diminutives.

The development of number and case distinctions proceeds differently in the two classes of feminine diminutives ending in *-ula* and *-itsa*. While the unmarked nominative-accusative singular form of diminutives ending in *-ula* is contrasted with both the marked genitive singular and the nominative-accusative plural already by 1;11, the first genitive singular forms of diminutives ending in *-itsa* only occur at 2;9 (Thomadaki & Stephany 2007: 111, table 9).

Further evidence for the development of nominal inflection as “a gradual process of spreading systematicity” (Stephany 1997: 324) comes from the analysis of the early fine-grained observational data of the boy Christos (Stephany & Christofidou 2009). Marked nominative singular forms of masculine nouns ending in *-s* are restricted to certain animate masculine nouns when they first appear shortly before the turn to the second year. Use of these marked forms is subsequently extended to nouns referring to male beings more generally and finally, two months after their first appearance, to inanimate masculine nouns. The overextension **Plutos*, which is found less than two weeks after the first occurrence of a marked masculine, cannot be taken as evidence for the development of a general nominative marking rule for masculine nouns since more general marking of this noun class still has to wait for at least another six weeks. Rather, the non-standard form **Plutos* must be explained as an analogy to form pairs such as *Christos/Christo* ‘Christos’ or *papus/papu* ‘grandfather’.

Our data also give evidence of the role of personal linguistic experience in inflectional development. Different linguistic experience can explain the variation in the development of nominative-singular marking of masculine nouns of the boys Christos and Spiros compared with the girl Mairi. While the boys rely more strongly on synthetic marking, Mairi in many cases combines the nominative form of the definite article with the unmarked form of the noun. This difference can be attributed to the fact that both Christos and Spiros, but not Mairi, must have experienced many examples of the nominative-accusative contrast of their respective first names belonging to the class of masculine nouns (*o Christos/Spiros* vs. *ton Christo/Spiro* but *i Mairi* vs. *ti Mairi*) (Stephany & Christofidou 2009: 240).

There is evidence for early pattern formation in Christos’ data not only in the overgeneralization of the *-s* marker, but also in the way the boy handles the *dhiptota* and *triptota* subclasses of masculine nouns distinguishing two versus three singular case forms. In contrast to the other children studied by Stephany (1997) and Stephany and Christofidou (2009: 246), Christos at first generalizes the *dhiptota*

pattern to all masculine nouns by constructing a single inflectional pattern for all of them. It contains a simple contrast between the marked nominative singular and an unmarked oblique case form covering the accusative as well as the genitive singular of Standard Greek. In his early speech, Christos thus seems to have based pattern formation on examples such as the marked nominative singular forms given in (15a) contrasted with the unmarked oblique forms in (15b). It is only by 2;3.18 that Christos starts to distinguish between two declensional subclasses of masculine nouns by marking animate nouns ending in *-os* by *-u* in the genitive singular (Stephany & Christofidou 2009: 246).

- (15) (a) Christos NOM:SG (b) Christo *OBL:SG
 adras NOM:SG adra OBL:SG
 papu NOM:SG papu OBL:SG
 kaθijiti NOM:SG kaθijiti OBL:SG
 kafes NOM:SG kafe OBL:SG

The fact that inflectional development is gradual rather than a matter of all or nothing is also substantiated by the observation that it may proceed at a different pace in distinct inflectional categories. This may concern onset and speed of verb inflection as compared to noun inflection. Thus, in the data of one girl at 1;11, only 1% of noun tokens occur in an inflectionally marked form such as the plural (Stephany & Christofidou 2009: 254) while, at the same age, she already distinguishes between three moods, two aspects, two tenses and both the first and third person singular and plural of the verb (Stephany & Christofidou 2009: 255; see also Stephany 1985 and 1997).

Due to the rich inflectional morphology of the Greek verb, it is to be expected that massive evidence for the piecemeal character of the emergence of inflectional categories will be found in the development of this grammatical category. A detailed study of verb forms used by Christos at 1;11 and 2;0 shows the lexeme-bound development of the categories of tense, aspect, and mood as well as person and number (Table 1).

Verbs	Inflectional categories							
	IPFV: NONPAST: 3S	IPFV: NONPAST: 3P	IPFV: NONPAST: 1S	PFV: PAST: 3S	PFV: PAST: 3P	PFV: SUBJ: 3S	PFV: SUBJ: 1P	IMP: 2S
<i>kano</i> 'do'	✓					✓		
<i>θelo</i> 'want'	✓		✓					
<i>troo</i> 'eat'	✓	✓						
<i>pezo</i> 'play'		✓					✓	
<i>kaθome</i> 'sit'						✓		✓
<i>pefto</i> 'fall'				✓	✓			

Table 1 Christos' verb forms at 1;11 and 2;0 (adapted from Christofidou & Stephany 2003:119)

In each of these two months, five verbs are used in two forms each. In spite of the fact that three specific combinations of grammatical categories occur with two or even three different verbs, the specific contrasts of forms documented in the boy's speech differ from verb to verb. Although it might be argued that this picture is partially due to lack of data, it would seem presumptuous to claim that the child has generally mastered all of the grammatical categories documented by a single verb or at most three of them. On the other hand, Table (1) clearly shows that verbal inflection has begun to develop since, at 1;11, the boy uses six of his 20 verbs in at least two different forms serving different functions. The same holds for the 23 verbs occurring a month later.

A comparison of Christos' and Mairi's development of verbal inflection towards the end of their second year shows that there may be quite important individual variation in inflectional development. At 1;9, Mairi uses 64 verbs, nearly three times as many as Christos. More than half of these occur in two to seven functionally distinguished forms (Christofidou & Stephany 2003: 110). In spite of this, the productivity of given bundles of inflectional categories varies considerably. Thus, in the imperfective non-past ('present'), the third person singular is used with 19 different verbs while the first person occurs with merely 8 verbs. In the perfective subjunctive, on the other hand, the relation between third and first person singular is reversed: the first person is used with 14 verbs, but the third person with only 5. The first person plural points in the same direction: While it is used with 12 different verbs in the perfective subjunctive, it only occurs with 2 verbs in the imperfective non-past. At this point in development, Mairi accordingly overextends the third person singular to refer to the speaker much more frequently in the indicative than in the subjunctive, in which the first person is more firmly established (Christofidou & Stephany 2003: 107). Person-number categories thus develop differently in

different tense-aspect-mood categories. This is more evidence for their piecemeal (although not necessarily unsystematic) inflectional acquisition.

The same kind of evidence is found in the development of aspect and tense in Greek child language acquisition. Rather than being documented with all or at least most verbs occurring in the children's speech, specific combinations of aspect and tense depend on input frequency as well as the aspectual character or *aktionsart* of verbs (see Stephany 1985, 1997; Christofidou & Stephany 2003: 118). Thus, durative, atelic verbs such as *pezo* 'to play' or *diavazo* 'to read' are most likely to be used in the imperfective non-past, while punctual, telic verbs like *pefto* 'to fall' or *xalao* 'to break' most frequently occur in the perfective subjunctive or the perfective past (Stephany 1985: 116-117).

The kind of evidence which is usually considered to be most convincing for children's systematic or rule-like linguistic behavior are systematic errors such as the overgeneralization of inflectional patterns. This has even led some psycholinguistics to postulating a stage of overgeneralization or regularization in the acquisition of English (Ervin 1964). As far as the inflectional characteristics of early child Greek until the age of 3;0 or even 4;6 are concerned, there is no evidence for U-shaped learning, let alone a stage of overgeneralization or regularization (Stephany 1989; 1997: 323-324). The relatively few overgeneralizations which do occur are based on several inflectional models rather than a single one (Stephany 1997: 324) and are therefore better explained by analogy than general rules.

A few examples of form shift from rarer to more common inflectional patterns are found with both nouns and verbs. Rare neuter nouns ending in *-os* such as *to dasos* 'the wood' in (16a) may be reinterpreted as belonging to the common neuter class ending in *-o* so that their plural is formed according to the *-o/-a* pattern resulting in non-standard *ta *dasa* instead of *ta dasi* in a child's spontaneous speech at 4;6 (Stephany 1997: 222). At 2;5, another girl interprets the form *maimu* 'monkey' in (16b) as the oblique singular of a masculine noun in analogy to nouns such as *papus/papu* 'grandfather' and forms the non-standard nominative **maimus* on this basis (Stephany 1997: 223).

- (16) (a) 4;6 *to dasos* 'the wood' → *ta *dasa* instead of *ta dasi* 'the woods'
 (b) 2;5 *maimu* 'monkey:OBL:SG' → **o maimus* NOM:SG for *i maimu*

Overgeneralization errors in verbal inflection are sometimes based on the more frequent verb stem. Due to "children's extensive use of the subjunctive mood to express deontic meanings, perfective stems of dynamic verbs (especially telic ones) are more frequent and accordingly better known than imperfective ones" (Stephany 1997: 246). This may lead to an analogical derivation of imperfective stems from perfective ones or even to a shift of verbs from the less common second conjugation to the more common first conjugation. An example is the non-standard imperfective non-past form **xaládis* 'you break' for standard *xalás* found in the spontaneous data of a child at 2;3 (example 17). The child's form **xaládis* is based on the frequently occurring perfective subjunctive *xalásis* in *tha xalásis* (FUT.PTL break:PFV:NONPAST:2S) 'you will break' or *na min xalásis* (MOD.PTL MOD.NEG break:PFV:NONPAST:2S) 'you must not break' so that the pair **xaládis/xalásis* represents an analogy to first conjugation form pairs such as *diavazis/diavasis* 'you read:IPFV/PFV:NONPAST:2S' or *zoğrafizis/zoğrafisis* 'you paint:IPFV/PFV:NONPAST:2S' and many others.

- (17) 2;3 **xaládis* for *xalás* (break:IPFV:NONPAST:2S) 'you break'

With the exception of the overuse of certain person-number forms such as the third person singular in reference to the speaker and sometimes even the hearer, overgeneralization errors of verb endings are very rarely found in Stephany's (1985) data of five children until the end of their third year and Katis' (1984) extensive data of children until the end of their fourth year (see also Stephany 1997). All of these can be explained by analogy to more frequent patterns. One of the errors found is the regularization of the irregular form *lene* 'they say' to **lenun* at 2;11 (example 18) in analogy to regular first conjugation verb forms such as *peftun* 'they fall' or *diavazun* 'they read' (Stephany 1997: 251).

- (18) 2;11 **lenun* instead of *lene* 'they say'

In her summary of the inflectional development of Greek child language acquisition until the end of their third or fourth year, Stephany (1997: 323) states that what is most characteristic of Greek children's speech is underdifferentiation of forms and a corresponding overgeneralization of functions rather than incorrect inflectional forms. Examples are overuse of the unmarked singular forms of nouns in contexts where marked case forms occur in Standard Greek or the referential overuse of the third person of the verb mentioned above. Furthermore, due to missing or at least unreliable particle use, the subjunctive mood and the strongly modalized future tense are often merged in early child Greek.

Aspect and tense are also merged, since imperfective indicative forms are typically non-past and perfective ones past (Stephany 1985). After the emergence of marked grammatical forms of nouns “the old forms of nouns ending in the thematic vowel, which are underdifferentiated for case in the child’s system (Stephany 1997[...]: 323), will specialize to fulfill the functions of a specific case form (accusative or oblique) thereby developing into grammatical forms of the adult language (see also Katis 1984; Stephany 1985, 1992)” (Stephany & Christofidou 2009: 256).

It follows from these observations that grammatical development is emergent in Greek language acquisition (Stephany 1992) and, as mentioned above, consists in “a gradual process of spreading systematicity” (Stephany 1997: 324) so that “expression of inflectional categories develops locally” rather than across-the-board (Stephany 1997: 324). Thus, a certain category is at first distinguished with certain stems and stem types and not yet with others. “Since children are more exposed to certain forms of certain types and will also use them more often than others, their experience with inflectional forms will not grow at an equal pace with all forms and stem types” (Stephany 1997: 324). “Over the course of time, grammatical distinctions are generalized and spread out within specific subclasses of lexemes following the same inflectional pattern and beyond. In this view, children are considered to gradually construct the inflectional system of their language, based on the way they hear their caretakers use it” (Stephany & Christofidou 2009: 256-257).

In summary, what has been found in the early development of Greek verbal and nominal inflection is massive evidence for stored exemplars of specific forms expressing bundles of grammatical categories rather than evidence for general symbolic rules. Accordingly, there is no evidence for the dual process model of inflectional acquisition. In addition, large evidence for analogy, let alone general default rules, would predict a great amount of inflectional errors, something which is not found in spontaneous early Greek child data. Interpreted in the framework of the constructivist, usage-based approach to language acquisition, early inflectional development of Greek children shows that their linguistic skills are much less abstract than generativists are likely to assume.

5. Conclusion

In trying to answer the question of how to select a theoretical framework for one’s own empirical linguistic research, it must be pointed out that, to a considerable extent, such a selection depends on what one has been taught during academic education as well as on the advances in the particular academic field. This may lead to a change in one’s theoretical convictions in the course of time.

Thus, my linguistic education in the United States of America including a summer during which I studied phonology and syntax with Chomsky, led me to choose his *Aspects of the Theory of Syntax* model (Chomsky 1965) as a theoretical framework for my doctoral dissertation on the French attributive adjective (Stephany 1970). Because of my ensuing dissatisfaction with the formal and abstract generativist approach to language and its rapidly changing grammatical models, I adopted a cognitively based theoretical framework for my postdoctoral thesis on the development of verbal grammar in Greek first language acquisition (Stephany 1985). Although, several years ago, this study was dismissed as “traditional” by a fervent young generativist, in the meantime, the cognitivist, usage-based approach to language acquisition has proved to perfectly fit its empirical results and also those of further work on Greek language acquisition (e.g. Stephany 1997). In my opinion, there are two reasons for preferring the usage-based approach to the generativist one: (1) it seems more apt to explain what is going on in the process of language acquisition and (2) its adult endpoint, namely the linguistic knowledge of mature speakers, is more realistic. If “the adult endpoint of language acquisition comprises nothing other than a structured inventory of linguistic constructions”, the target of language acquisition is much more child-friendly than believed by generativists (Tomasello 2003: 7) and can be attained without assuming an inborn Universal Grammar.

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ΚΕΙΜΕΝΑ ΣΤΗΝ ΑΓΓΛΙΚΗ
PAPERS IN ENGLISH

DETERMINERS IN ADULT L2 GREEK: WHAT THEY TELL US ABOUT THE LEARNABILITY OF UNINTERPRETABLE FEATURES

Eleni Agathopoulou

Aristotle University of
Thessaloniki, Greece

agatho@enl.auth.gr

Despina Papadopoulou

Aristotle University of
Thessaloniki, Greece

depapa@lit.auth.gr

Ioanna Sismanidou

Aristotle University of
Thessaloniki, Greece

jsismanidou@hotmail.com

ABSTRACT

In Tsimpli and Dimitrakopoulou's (2007) Interpretability Hypothesis (IH), postpubertal L2ers cannot acquire LF-uninterpretable features nonexistent in the L1; no problem is anticipated regarding LF-interpretable features. We tested the IH with Greek definite and indefinite articles in the interlanguage of L1 Slavic, English and Romance adults who had received massive exposure to Greek. Oral data obtained from a picture description and a sentence repetition task offer only partial support to the IH: learners were nonnativelike only in some uses of the definite article where LF-uninterpretable features are involved; moreover they fared better at the definite than at the indefinite article, despite that the latter bears only LF-interpretable features. There were also L1 effects and task effects.

Keywords: Adult L2 Greek, definite/indefinite articles, features, interpretability hypothesis

1. Introduction: General Background to the Study

This study investigates articles in Greek as a second language (L2) acquired at adulthood, within the Universal Grammar (UG) framework of the Minimalist Program (Chomsky 1995). In this framework lexical items in the language faculty consist of bundles of abstract features, such as number, case, gender, animacy etc. Crucially for the present study, some of these features have semantic content and are thus interpretable at the Logical Form (LF), which is the interface between the Computational System and the Conceptual-Intentional System. Other features, however, are not interpretable at LF as they merely serve grammatical operations. For example, the feature [number] is LF-interpretable when it is morphologically realized on nouns, yet it is LF-uninterpretable when it is marked on items of functional categories such as determiners or adjectives; in the latter case the respective morphological marking reflects grammatical agreement between the noun, the determiner and the adjective and is interpretable only at the phonetic form (PF), that is the interface between the Computational System and the Articulatory-Perceptual System. Also, features such as [+/-animacy] marked on pronouns (e.g. he/she/it) or [+/-definiteness] marked on determiners (e.g. a, the) in English, are LF-interpretable.

It is well known that postpubertal learners rarely reach nativelike proficiency, despite massive exposure to L2 input (e.g. Johnson and Newport 1989; DeKeyser 2000). This is often manifested as persistent selective divergence from native grammars (Franceschina 2005). An account offered for this phenomenon is Tsimpli and Dimitrakopoulou's (2007) Interpretability Hypothesis¹ (hereafter IH) suggesting that postpubertal language learners have access to UG principles and LF-interpretable features but lack access to LF-uninterpretable features lacking from the learners' L1². Put differently,

¹ For an earlier formulation of this hypothesis see Tsimpli and Roussou (1991).

² Besides L2 acquisition, the IH has been employed to account for phenomena in L1 acquisition, L1 attrition and Specific Language Impairment (see Tsimpli and Mastropavlou 2007 and references therein).

features related with parameterization are subject to a critical age period (see Lenneberg 1967) and resist resetting (Tsimpli and Dimitrakopoulou op. cit.: 224)³. Also, according to the IH, learners may employ LF-interpretable features to compensate for LF-uninterpretable ones (if the latter lack from their L1) in the acquisition of certain structures. This may result in successful performance but the learners' mental representation of the specific structures is still non-nativelike (and possibly unlike the mental representation of any L1 structure too)⁴.

Other hypotheses, however, propose that there is access both to UG principles as well as to both LF-interpretable and LF-uninterpretable features⁵ in postpuberty (Schwartz and Sprouse 1996) and persistent divergence from the L2 norms may relate to processing problems (Prévost and White 2000) or deficient knowledge of L2 morphology (Lardiere 1998).

Greek articles provide a good testing ground for the IH as we show in the next sections. In the rest of the paper, Section 2 describes the Greek article system and Section 3 overviews previous research on L2 Greek articles and Section 4 outlines our research questions and predictions. In Section 5 we attempt to interpret our results and discuss their theoretical implications. In this final section we also refer to possible limitations of our study and suggestions for future research.

Greek articles provide a good testing ground for the IH as we show in the next sections. In the rest of the paper, Section 2 describes the Greek article system, Section 3 overviews previous research on L2 Greek articles and Section 4 presents the current study. Last in Section 5 we attempt to interpret our results and discuss their theoretical implications. In this final section we also refer to possible limitations of our study and suggestions for future research.

2. Greek Articles⁶

In Greek there is an indefinite and a definite article and both inflect for gender and case; only the definite article inflects for number too. This is shown in Table 1.

INDEFINITE						
	MASCULINE		FEMININE		NEUTER	
	SINGULAR	PLURAL	SINGULAR	PLURAL	SINGULAR	PLURAL
Nominative	enas	Ø	mia	Ø	ena	Ø
Genitive	enos	Ø	mias	Ø	enos	Ø
Accusative	enan	Ø	mia	Ø	ena	Ø
DEFINITE						
Nominative	o	i	i	i	to	ta
Genitive	tu	ton	tis	ton	tu	ton
Accusative	ton	tus	tin	tis	to	ta

Table 1 Greek articles

Given that in Greek there is overt morphological agreement between all members of a Determiner Phrase, both article types carry uninterpretable features such as case, gender and number⁷. The indefinite article always bears interpretable features too. In (1) both the overt indefinite article *ena* and the zero article Ø are [-definite, -specific] while in (2) the indefinite article *mia* is [-definite, +specific].

- (1) *θelo ena sandwich ke Ø biskota*
want-1SG a sandwich and biscuits
'I want a sandwich and biscuits.'
- (2) *iða mia orea kopela*
saw-1SG a beautiful girl.
'I saw a beautiful girl.'

³ A similar view is expressed by the Failed Functional Features Hypothesis (Hawkins and Chan 2007).

⁴ Although this is an important part of the IH, it will not be addressed here.

⁵ For reasons of brevity, in the rest of the paper these features are referred to as just 'interpretable' and 'uninterpretable'.

⁶ This presentation is limited to uses of the Greek articles that relate with our study. The same holds for the description of the learners' L1 article systems (or lack of them) in Section 5.1.

⁷ Except the plural indefinite article, since it lacks morphological realization.

The definite article may also carry the interpretable features [+definite, +specific] as in (3). However, as Tsimpli and Stavrakaki (1999) point out, this article type is also obligatory with proper names, demonstrative pronouns, plural generic nouns in subject position, and complement clauses, as exemplified by (3)-(7), respectively.

- (3) *diavazo *(to) vivlio pu aghorasa hthes*
read-1SG the book that bought-1SG yesterday
'I'm reading the book I bought yesterday.'
- (4) **(i) Zoi efiye*
the Zoi left
'Zoi left.'
- (5) *aftos *(o) andras*
this the man
'This man'
- (6) **(Ta) liontarja ine epikindina zoa*
the lions are dangerous animals
Lions are dangerous animals.
- (7) *den ipe tipota ja *(to) pu tha pame.*
not said-3SG nothing for the where will go-we
'He didn't say anything about where we will go.'

Tsimpli and Stavrakaki (1999) suggest that in contexts like (3)-(7) the Greek definite carries only uninterpretable case, number and gender agreement features without conveying definiteness (or specificity) to its complement.

Last, in object position both massive and singular count nouns can be complements of a zero article in Greek (8).

- (8) *Kaθe proi pino kafe ke diavazo efimerida*
every morning drink-1SG coffee and read-1SG newspaper
'Every morning I drink coffee and read a newspaper.'

3. Previous Research Testing the Interpretability Hypothesis with L2 Greek Articles

The first study on L2 Greek articles that interests us here⁸ is the one by Tsimpli (2003) where the data came from oral interviews with six bilingual speakers of Turkish and Russian. The latter language lacks articles, while in Turkish there is arguably an indefinite article⁹ but not definite ones. The participants in Tsimpli's study had immigrated to Greece at adulthood eight or nine years before the time of the study and had had no prior exposure to Greek. Also, they had all learned Greek without instruction. Results from this study showed that all participants correctly supplied the definite article significantly less (total score: 49%, range: 10%-78%) than the indefinite one (total score: 95%, range: 85%-100%) and half of the participants exhibited ceiling performance on the indefinite article. Given that only the definite article has uninterpretable features, these results were taken as confirmation of the IH. In a subsequent study, Tsimpli and Mastropavlou (2007) compared the data from adults in Tsimpli (2003) against Mavridou's (2003) data from Turkish children. The children had been first exposed to Greek at the age of six years when they started attending a minority primary school in Greece where courses are half in Greek and half in Turkish. The data had been obtained through oral picture-based descriptions. The results showed that those of the children with six years of exposure to Greek performed better than the adults in Tsimpli's (2003) study, and were not significantly worse at the

⁸ Most of the studies discussed in this section also investigated properties of other elements, such as clitics or grammatical agreement between members of determiner phrases. However here we limit the discussion to findings pertaining only to articles.

⁹ There is no agreement as to whether the Turkish word *bir* (=one) is an indefinite article or a numeral. For references see, e.g., Goad and White (2009: 209, fn 1).

definite than at the indefinite article (total scores: 89% and 96% respectively). The discrepancy between the adult and the child data may further corroborate the IH, as it attests to critical period effects on the acquisition of parameterized uninterpretable features.

Dimitrakopoulou, Kalaintzidou, Roussou and Tsimpli (2004) investigated definite articles in data from oral interviews with twenty L2 Greek participants. Each of the participants spoke one, two or three of articleless languages such as Russian, Serbo/Croatian, Turkish and Georgian and had lived in Greece from three to ten years. Again all participants had acquired Greek without instruction. The analysis of results also took into account (a) the participants' age of first exposure to Greek and (b) length of exposure to the language. As found, both of these factors significantly affected the results: those who had arrived in Greece between the ages of nineteen and twenty-three and had been exposed to Greek for ten or more years had the best performance on definite articles (95%). On the other hand, those who had arrived in Greece at a later age (24+) and had resided there for only three or four years had the worst performance (54,6%). Therefore it seems that given enough input, uninterpretable features *are* learnable beyond puberty. Let us point out then that these results seem problematic for the IH as they attest to age effects rather than critical period effects.

Chondrogianni (2008) too probed the validity of the IH with respect to the L2 Greek definite article. The participants were L1 Turkish adults and children residing in Greece. The adults were between nineteen and forty-five years old and had been first exposed to the Greek when they immigrated to the country at ages ranging from twelve to thirty-three years. The children were seven to twelve years old and had had their first contact with the Greek language at kindergarden or primary school, that is when they were five or six years old. Importantly, as time of exposure to a language does not equal size or quality of input, Chondrogianni assessed the participants' level of proficiency in Greek through an independent oral test. The main results, elicited from an oral picture-description test, revealed that child and adult learners with 'high' proficiency in Greek were both very successful in producing the definite article (99.5% and 96.3% respectively) and that the difference between these two groups was not statistically significant. Differences between the two age groups were found only at intermediate levels of Greek proficiency, in favour of the children. This indicates that at some stages of L2 development language acquisition may occur at a faster rate for children but ultimately adult L2 acquirers can catch up. As stated before, Chondrogianni's results apparently disprove the IH as they point to lack of critical period effects on parameterized uninterpretable features.

The take-home point from the above literature review is that results from research on L2 Greek articles are inconclusive as to whether adults can fully acquire uninterpretable features lacking from their L1, which raises doubts about the IH. Therefore the present study aims to further investigate the issue at hand.

4. Research Questions and Predictions

In view of the results from studies previously discussed, our

The main research question was this:

- Given massive exposure to an L2, can postpubertal learners acquire LF-uninterpretable features lacking from their L1?

We predicted the following.

- If the interpretability hypothesis was correct, we expected
 - (a) full mastery of the indefinite but not of the definite article,
 - (b) more problems with the expletive than with the non-expletive uses of the definite article and
 - (c) possible L1 effect, in that speakers of L1s with articles *and* expletive uses of the definite article would fare better than those whose L1 has no expletive articles and even better than those from an articleless L1.
- If, on the other hand, one or more of the above do not occur, there is reason to dispute the IH.

5. The present study

In this section, first we describe the participants, then our tasks and finally we present the results.

5.1 The participants

The participants were 18 adult L2 Greek speakers with an age of first exposure to Greek that ranged from 20 to 38. They had all lived in Greece for a considerable amount of time (minimum: 18 years, maximum: 40 years); 12 of them had completed tertiary education and 6 secondary education. Moreover, about half of them had also received formal instruction in Greek, while the rest had learned the language naturalistically. The participants were separated into three groups according to their L1: Slavic, Germanic and Romance. More details are given in Table2.

GROUPS	NUMBER & L1	YEARS IN GREECE	AGE AT TIME OF TESTING
Slavic	4 Russian, 2 Czech	20.7 (18-30)	46.6 (38-62)
English	6	30.3 (26-40)	56.8 (46-60)
Romance	4 Italian, 2 French	26 (18-33)	55.5 (42-65)

Table 2 Information about the participants

The Slavic group included L1 speakers of Russian or Czech. Like all Slavic languages Russian and Czech lack indefinite or definite articles. In these two languages disambiguation between definite and indefinite reference is effected by word order. As shown by the following examples¹⁰ a noun receives definite interpretation in sentence-initial position and indefinite interpretation in postverbal position (Bongartz 2006).

- Russian
- (9) *Studentka prishla*
student_{NOM} come_{3SG PAST}
'The student came.'
- (10) *Prishla studentka.*
come_{3SG PAST} student_{NOM}
'A student came.'

- Czech
- (11) *Učitelka vidi*
teacher_{NOM} see_{3SG}
'The teacher sees'
- (12) *Vidi učitelka*
see_{3SG} teacher_{NOM}
'A teacher sees.'

As well known, English has both a definite and an indefinite article. However, in English the definite article is generally not used expletively, that is with proper names, demonstrative pronouns, plural generic nouns in subject position, or with complement clauses¹¹. For reasons of economy we refer the reader to the glossed examples (4)-(7) in Section 2 where the discussed cross-linguistic difference is obvious. Unlike its Greek counterpart, the English definite article always bears the interpretable [+definite] feature. Last, in English an indefinite singular count noun must be preceded by the indefinite article, while in the same structure in Greek the use of the article is optional (see example (8) in Section 2).

Romance languages, such as Italian and French, have full articles systems that inflect for gender and number. In French, besides a definite and an indefinite article there is a partitive one. The article systems of these two languages are presented in Tables 3.

¹⁰ The examples in Russian are adapted from Bongartz (2006) and those in Czech from Bongartz (2002:63).

¹¹ Exceptionally, in English the definite article may appear before few geographical names, e.g. the Sudan and generic substantivized adjectives, e.g. the rich and the famous (Longobardi 1994: 631-32). Also it is compulsory before proper names with restrictive modification, e.g., *This is not *(the) Mary I know* and during the Easter of 2000 (Quirk and Greenbaum 1977:78). However, these exceptional uses cannot support a claim for an expletive definite article in English (see Longobardi 1994).

FRENCH						
	<i>indefinite</i>		<i>definite</i>		<i>partitive</i>	
	<i>singular</i>	<i>plural</i>	<i>singular</i>	<i>plural</i>	<i>singular</i>	<i>plural</i>
<i>Masculine</i>	un	des	le	les	du	des
<i>Feminine</i>	une	des	la	les	de la	des
ITALIAN						
<i>Masculine</i>	un/uno	dei/degli	il/lo	i/gli		
<i>Feminine</i>	una	delle	la	le		

Table 3 Articles in French and Italian

Importantly, in both languages the definite article must precede generic plural nouns in subject position (13). Also in Italian a proper noun must be preceded by the definite article if it is premodified by an adjective, or else the definite article is optional (cf. (14) with (15)). On the other hand, in French proper names are canonically not preceded by articles (16).

- (13) *(I) castori costruiscono dighe. Italian
the beavers build dams
*(Les) castors construisent des digues. French
the beavers build part. dams
'Beavers build dams'
- (14) (Il) Gianni mi ha telefonato.
(the) Gianni me has telephoned
'Gianni called me up.'
- (15) *(L') antica Roma
(the) ancient Rome
'Ancient Rome'
- (16) (*Le) Jean m' a téléphoné
Jean me has telephoned
'Jean called me up.'

The above attest to that like in Greek (and unlike in English) the definite articles in Italian and French may bear only uninterpretable features such as gender and number agreement features.

Italian resembles Greek also as to that in object position both massive and singular count nouns complements of a zero article. This is shown by examples (17) and (18) respectively (from Longobardi 1994:613).

- (17) *Bevo sempre vino.*
'I always drink wine.'
- (18) *Mangio patate.*
'I eat/am eating potatoes.'

In French, on the other hand, it seems that bare nouns are generally not acceptable (Longobardi, op. cit.:616, fn 9). For example, in the French equivalents of sentences (17) and (18) the object nouns must be preceded by partitive articles: *Je bois toujours du vin*, *Je mange des pommes de terre*. Table 4 summarizes the main differences and similarities between Greek and the L2 participants' L1s with respect to their article systems.

	ARTICLES	EXPLETIVE ARTICLES
<i>Slavic</i>	-	-
<i>English</i>	+	-
<i>Romance</i>	+	+
<i>Greek</i>	+	+

Table 4 A cross-linguistic comparison of article systems

Also, two native speakers performed the ST task and three the final version of the SR task. Given that their performance in both tasks was perfect we decided not to include these data.

5.2 The tasks

We elicited oral data from a story-telling task and a sentence repetition task (hereafter ST and SR respectively). Both tasks were performed individually in two separate meetings with one of the researchers. In the ST the participants had to narrate a short story for each of eight sequences of pictures¹². The SR consisted of 72 sentences and aimed at testing 6 different conditions for article use. More specifically, we included sentences in which the definite determiner had expletive (specific reference, (19)) and non-expletive (proper name (20), generic reference (21), demonstrative + Def. D (22), Def D. + Comp (23)) uses as well sentences involving the zero determiner (cf. (24) & (25)). For each condition there were 12 sentences, half grammatical and half ungrammatical. Each grammatical sentence differed from its ungrammatical counterpart only regarding the target articles. We give examples of sentences for each condition below. For now let us mention two other important features in the design of this task. Previous research with similar tasks has shown that sentences should long enough to exceed the participants' working memory – otherwise the participants may parrot sentences without understanding their meaning (see references in Vinther 2002:58). Given that sentences of 17 syllables have proved appropriate for advanced L2ers in Erlam (2006), our sentences were 17-22 syllable long, balanced across conditions. This sentence length was decided upon after piloting the task with Greek native speakers. Moreover, the target contexts appeared in middle-sentence position, given the evidence that items in sentence-initial and sentence-final position are more easily recalled (see references in Erlam 2006:477-478). Examples from the SR are presented below where asterisks and parentheses can illustrate both the ungrammatical and grammatical version of each sentence.

Definite article with specific/definite reference

- (19) *den diavasa kanena apo *(ta) vivlia pu aghorasa propersi*
not read-_{1SG} any of (the) books that bought-_{1SG} the year before last
'I didn't read any of the books I bought last year.'

Definite article with proper names

- (20) *Prin tris meres ematha pos *(i) Mary pali pire diazighio*
before three days heard-_{1SG} that (the) Mary again took divorce
'Three days ago I heard that Mary got a divorce again.'

Definite article with generic plural nouns

- (21) *Meriki anthropi lene pos *(i) ghates ine poli aharista zoa*
some people say that (the) cats are very ungrateful animals
'Some people say that cats are very ungrateful animals.'

Definite article with demonstrative pronouns

- (22) *Aghorasan se kali timi afto *(to) spiti epidi itan poli palio*
bought-_{3PL} at good price this (the) house because was very old
'They bought this house at a good price because it was very old.'

Definite article before a complementizer

- (23) *den kani tipote alo apo *(to) na jimnazete sinexia*
not does-_{3SG} nothing other than from (the) to exercise-himself all the time
'He does nothing but exercising himself all the time.'

Zero article

- (24) *Otan itan nea ekane *(ta) taksidia poles fores kathe mina*
when was-_{3SG} young did-_{3SG} (the) trips many times every month
'When she was young she traveled many times per month.'
- (25) *den ine sosto na trome *(ti) zahari se meghales posotites*
not is right to eat (the) sugar in big quantities

¹² The pictures were the same as those used in Dimitrakopoulou et al. (2004). We thank Ianthi-Maria Tsimpli for providing us with these pictures.

'It's not right to eat sugar in big quantities.'

The sentences were randomized in two equal parts, one for each of the meetings between the participants and the researcher. Prior to testing, the sentences had been recorded by a native speaker and stored on a laptop computer. The participants were told they had to listen to sentences and repeat them as fast as possible and that if they thought a sentence was ungrammatical they were expected to repeat what they considered as its grammatical version. Responses (from the ST too) were documented on a digital tape recorder.

5.3 Results

We first present the results from the ST task. The data were analyzed with respect to the three types of articles, hereafter called 'determiners': definite, indefinite and zero. For each determiner, the obligatory contexts were identified and the participants' response was coded. Table 5 illustrates correct performance on each determiner type for all L2 groups.

L2 GROUPS	Definite D.	Indefinite D.	Zero D.
ENGLISH	99 (669/674)	96 (139/145)	99 (191/192)
ROMANCE	97 (455/467)	97 (124/128)	98 (91/93)
SLAVIC	96 (536/559)	86 (74/86)	89 (89/100)

Table 5 Correct performance on the ST task (raw scores in parentheses)

Turning first to the data from the definite determiner, all three groups performed highly accurately, above 90%, which indicates mastery of its use. However, the non-parametric chi-square test showed that the English group significantly outperformed both the Romance ($\chi^2(1)=6.279$, $p=.012$, Cramer's $V=.074$) and the Slavic ($\chi^2(1)=15.661$, $p=.000$, Cramer's $V=.113$) group. Moreover, all participants' errors involve omissions of the definite determiner and never incorrect suppliance, i.e. the use of the indefinite article.

The data from the indefinite determiner point out that the Slavic group exhibits certain difficulties with the use of the indefinite determiner, since it is the only group that performs below 90% on the indefinite determiners. This observation was statistically verified, as the Slavic group achieved a significantly lower score than the English ($\chi^2(1)=4.937$, $p=.026$, Cramer's $V=.147$) and the Romance ($\chi^2(1)=6.339$, $p=.012$, Cramer's $V=.173$) group. Moreover, the use of the indefinite determiners is significantly harder than that of the definite ($\chi^2(1)=14.060$, $p=.000$, Cramer's $V=.148$) determiners for this group. Additionally, the English and the Romance speakers' errors consist of omissions and not substitutions, whereas the Slavic speakers erroneously supplied the definite article in two contexts.

The same pattern is attested in the zero determiner contexts; namely the Slavic group performs significantly lower than the English ($\chi^2(1)=18.323$, $p=.000$, Cramer's $V=.250$) and the Romance ($\chi^2(1)=6.007$, $p=.014$, $\eta^2=.176$, Cramer's $V=.176$) groups and its performance just misses the 90% threshold. Furthermore, the participants' incorrect responses include incorrect suppliance of the definite article.

Next, we turn to the data collected from the SR task. For the present study, the data were coded only with respect to the production of the determiners. Consequently, correct elicitation of the definite or the zero determiner was coded as "1" and incorrect as "0". Table 6 provides the participants' correct performance on the definite and zero determiners for each language group.

L2 GROUPS	Definite Determiner		Zero Determiner	
	grammatical	ungrammatical	grammatical	ungrammatical
ENGLISH	0.87 (0.10)	0.81 (0.10)	0.97 (0.07)	0.67 (0.41)
ROMANCE	0.86 (0.09)	0.85 (0.13)	0.97 (0.07)	0.53 (0.25)
SLAVIC	0.80 (0.12)	0.59 (0.14)	0.83 (0.16)	0.44 (0.25)

Table 6 Correct performance on the SR task (SDs in parentheses)

As shown in Table 6, all L2 groups perform better on the grammatical than the ungrammatical sentences, a finding which is more pronounced in the zero determiner condition. Besides, the Slavic group exhibits the lowest performance in both determiners. We conducted a 2x2 Repeated measures ANOVA with Determiner (definite vs zero determiner) and Grammaticality (grammatical vs.

ungrammatical sentences) as the within-subjects variables and Language (English, Romance and Slavic groups) as the between-subjects variables, in order to test for main effects and interactions. The statistical analyses showed that the main effects of Grammaticality ($F(1,15)=25.272$, $p=.000$, $\eta^2=.628$), Language ($F(2,15)=5.117$, $p=.020$, $\eta^2=.406$) and the interaction between determiner and grammaticality ($F(1,15)=16.377$, $p=.001$, $\eta^2=.522$) were significant. The Bonferroni post-hoc tests applied to detect any language contrasts demonstrated that the Slavic group was significantly less accurate than the English group ($p=.030$) and only marginally less accurate than the Romance group ($p=.067$). Furthermore, paired-samples t-tests indicated that the grammatical sentences were elicited significantly more precisely than the ungrammatical ones in the definite ($t=3.282$, $p=.004$) and the zero ($t=4.847$, $p=.000$) determiner conditions.

A further analysis was run on the data in order to explore whether any differences were attested between the expletive and the non-expletive uses of the definite determiner.

Uses of Def. D.	English	Romance	Slavic
Expletive use			
Specific			
Grammatical	1 (0)	1 (0)	0.78 (0.25)
Ungrammatical	0.83 (0.21)	0.94 (0.14)	0.67 (0.21)
Non expletive uses			
Proper name			
Grammatical	0.97 (0.07)	1 (0)	0.89 (0.14)
Ungrammatical	1 (0)	0.97 (0.07)	0.69 (0.19)
Generic reference			
Grammatical	1 (0)	0.97 (0.07)	0.97 (0.07)
Ungrammatical	1 (0)	1 (0)	0.86 (0.19)
Demonstrative + Def. D.			
Grammatical	0.92 (0.09)	0.81 (0.19)	0.63 (0.2)
Ungrammatical	0.92 (0.09)	0.83 (0.15)	0.64 (0.34)
Def. D. + Comp.			
Grammatical	0.44 (0.39)	0.53 (0.44)	0.14 (0.16)
Ungrammatical	0.31 (0.37)	0.50 (0.49)	0.08 (0.14)

Table 7 Correct performance on expletive and non-expletive uses on the SR task (SDs in parentheses)

The data of Table 7 illustrate that the structures involving the use of the definite determiner with a demonstrative and with a complementizer triggered the most inaccurate responses. A 5x2 Repeated measures ANOVA with Definite determiner (specific, vs proper name vs generic reference vs demonstrative + Def. D vs Def D. + Comp) and Grammaticality (grammatical vs ungrammatical sentences) as the within-subjects variables and Language (English vs Romance vs Slavic groups) as the between-subjects variable was run on the data in order to uncover possible main effects and interactions. The main effects of Definite determiner ($F(4,12)=13.294$, $p=.000$, $\eta^2=.816$), Grammaticality ($F(1,15)=12.646$, $p=.003$, $\eta^2=.457$) and Language: $F(2,15)=8.749$, $p=.003$, $\eta^2=.538$) were statistically significant. Bonferroni post-hoc tests used to test for significant differences among the language groups showed that the Slavic group was significantly less accurate than the English ($p=.010$) and the Romance ($p=.006$) groups. Further Bonferroni post-hoc tests employed to explore the main effect of the Definite determiner indicated that the Definite + Comp condition was significantly less accurate than all other structures ($p=.000$: for all structures with the exception of the structure Demonstrative + Def. D: $p=.001$). Besides, the L2 speakers' performance on the demonstrative + Def. D. condition was significantly lower than that involving a proper name ($p=.012$) and the one in which the definite determiner had generic reference ($p=.004$).

6. Conclusion

The focal aim of this study was to assess the predictions of the IH by comparing three L2 groups' performance on the production of determiners in L2 Greek. The two groups' first language grammaticalizes the feature [definiteness], whereas the Slavic group's first languages (Czech and Russian) do not. Our main research question was whether the Slavic speakers who had been living in Greece for at least 18 years and, therefore, have had massive exposure to Greek, can acquire LF-uninterpretable features lacking from their L1. The findings of the ST task suggest that they can, since

their performance on the production of the definite determiners exceeded the 90% threshold. Moreover, the Slavic group was more accurate on the definite than the indefinite determiner, contrary to the predictions of the IH based on the assumption that the indefinite determiner incorporates interpretable features. In addition to this, the English group performed significantly better than the Romance and the Slavic groups on the definite determiner, which argues against the hypothesis that speakers of L1s with articles *and* expletive uses of the definite article (Romance speakers) would fare better than those whose L1 has no expletive articles (English speakers) and even better than those from an articleless L1 (Slavic speakers). Therefore, the results from the ST task argue against the IH and indicate that interpretable features may also constitute a source of deficits in the second language.

However, the data from the SR task illustrate a somehow different picture. The first issue we want to focus on is the difference between the ST and the SR tasks as far as the L2 groups' correct performance is concerned. In particular, the L2 speakers manifested more difficulties with the determiners in the SR than in the ST task, with these difficulties being more prominent in the Slavic group. Besides, the Slavic group demonstrated lower accuracy on the definite determiner condition than the two other groups. Even though these results from the SR task are in line with the predictions of the IH, it is not clear why the same pattern was not observed in the ST task. One possible explanation for the divergent results in the ST and the SR tasks is the nature of the tasks themselves. The ST task allows the speakers to choose their utterances and avoid structures they feel hesitant about. On the other hand, the SR task is a more demanding task in terms of the resources required from the participant and is supposed to reflect implicit knowledge (Gallimore & Tharp 1981; Weitze et al. 2011). Our data suggest that when automaticity is required, the non native speakers do not exhibit native-like performance; for example, all groups' performance on the SR task is below 90% (at least on the definite condition). Moreover, we maintain that in such demanding conditions the difficulties L2 speakers experience with uninterpretable features that are absent from their L1 appear more pronounced.

A final issue we would like to discuss is the effect of particular constructions on the participants' performance. More specifically, the three groups do not manifest any qualitative differences among each other in the SR task, in the sense that the most problematic structures for all groups are the ones involving the use of the definite determiner with a demonstrative and particularly with a complementizer. In the latter structure, even the English and the Romance groups perform at chance level. Notice that the definite determiner is not allowed to appear in front of a complementizer in the L1 of either group, which may have affected the participants' performance. Besides, Roussou (1991) argues that the category D in Greek may select a CP. It may, hence, be the case that the selection properties of D are not native-like in the L2 speakers of this study. An alternative account of nominalised CPs in Greek has been put forward by Tsimpli & Stavrakaki (1999). According to this explanation, the prepositioning of the definite determiner in nominalised CPs is entailed by the strong morphological requirement of Greek for Case. More specifically, it is argued that the function of the definite D in nominalised clauses is to convert the clause into a DP argument and to carry its case features. The absence of this option in the participants' L1s may have resulted in the attested difficulties with nominalised clauses. +

The inquiry and the implications of these two possibilities are left open for further research.

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RESULT CLAUSES IN ANCIENT GREEK

Irene Appelbaum

University of Montana

Missoula, MT, USA

irene.appelbaum@umontana.edu

ABSTRACT

Result clauses in Ancient Greek are traditionally distinguished in terms of whether they express actual or possible results. After clarifying the sense of possibility being invoked in this distinction, I argue (i) that this notion of possibility functions as a presupposition rather than an assertion of natural result clauses, and (ii) that it cannot be the basis for distinguishing the two clause types, because it is a presupposition of actual result clauses as well. Based on an examination of result clauses in Lysias, I then argue that an alternative account of the relationship between the two clause types deserves further attention.

Keywords: result clauses, Ancient Greek, possibility, presupposition

1. Introduction: Overview of the Traditional Account

In the most general terms, a result clause is a type of subordinate clause which specifies a state or event as the result of a state or event specified in the main clause.¹ In Ancient Greek, result clauses are introduced by the conjunction ὥστε (also: ὥστ', ὥσθ'), *that, so that, as, so as*, and main clauses usually contain an adjectival or adverbial element of degree or kind, such as οὕτως, *so, thus*; τοσοῦτος, *so much, so great*; or τοιοῦτος, *of such a kind*. An example from Plato follows:

- (1) ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν ὅταν σοὶ συγγένωμαι, οὕτω διατίθεμαι ὥστ' ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ μανίαν εἶναι...
When I am in your company I am so affected, that I think it is madness(Euthydemus 306d).²

Grammars of Ancient Greek distinguish two types of result clause: natural result and actual result. While both types conform to the above pattern – a main clause specifying degree or kind, followed by a subordinate clause introduced by ὥστε – they differ formally in terms of whether the verb in the result clause is finite or infinitival. An actual result clause contains a finite verb and a natural result clause has an infinitive verb. Additionally, they differ in terms of how they are negated: actual result clauses are negated with οὐ, and natural result clauses are negated with μή. Examples (2) and (3) are negated examples of result clauses of each type:

- (2) Negated Actual Result Clause
ἐγὼ δὲ οὕτω πολλοῦ ἐδέησα τῶν τετρακοσίων γενέσθαι, ὥστε οὐδὲ τῶν πεντακισχιλίων κατελέγην.
so far was I from being one of the Four Hundred that I was not even included in the list of the Five Thousand (Lysias 30.8).
- (3) Negated Natural Result Clause
οὕτως ῥηκοῦμεν δημοκρατούμενοι ὥστε μήτε εἰς τοὺς ἄλλους ἐξαμαρτάνειν μήτε ὑπὸ τῶν ἄλλων ἀδικεῖσθαι.

¹ I thank John Hay, Joslin Monahan, Tully Thibau and the audience at ICGL10 for helpful questions and discussion.

² Unless otherwise indicated, translations of Lysias are from Lamb (1930); translations for other authors are listed in the References.

*we have lived in **such a way** under democracy **so as neither to err** against others **nor to be wronged** by others* (Lysias 12.5, translation my own).

Correlative to the formal difference between natural and actual result clauses, a functional or semantic difference is traditionally recognized. While an actual result clause is said to assert the result as a factual occurrence, a natural result clause is said to present the result as a possible occurrence. This distinction is made explicit in the following descriptions:

A clause of result with ὥστε stating that something may occur...is regularly expressed with the infinitive (Smyth 1984, sec. 2258).

The infinitive with ὥστε denotes an anticipated or possible result... (Smyth 1984, sec. 2260).

[T]he dependent clause [in a natural result clause] in principle expresses a possible consequence (Rijksbaron 2002, 63).

2. A Closer Look at the Traditional Account

2.1 Possibility as Ability

The sense of "possible" result or consequence being invoked in the above descriptions is not transparent. One interpretation that presents itself is that "possibility" is being used in the sense of "ability". On such an interpretation, possibility makes a claim about conditions on the agent (see Bybee et al. 1994, 177-179). On this reading, the event expressed in a natural result clause is possible in the sense that it is enabled by conditions that pertain to the agent. For example, (4) below, which contains an actual result clause, asserts that, as a consequence of the high level of audacity identified in the introductory clause, they are in fact coming here ready to defend themselves.

- (4) *καὶ εἰς τοσοῦτόν εἰσι τόλμης ἀφιγμένοι ὥσθ' ἤκουσιν ἀπολογησόμενοι*
*and they have carried audacity to **such a pitch that they come here** ready to defend themselves* (Lysias 12.22).

If we now replace the finite verb ἤκουσιν in example (4) with the infinitival form ἤκειν, we obtain a natural result clause. According to the present interpretation of possibility as ability, this result clause asserts that, as a result of the antecedently expressed high level of audacity, they *are able to* come here ready to defend themselves. We might translate this natural-result-clause equivalent of example (4) as: *And they have carried audacity to such a pitch as to be able to come here ready to defend themselves.*

While the interpretation of possibility as ability seems to play a role in some result clauses, it is unlikely to be the main interpretation of possible occurrence in natural result clauses. This is so both because there are many clauses where ability is not relevant to the predicate expressed, and because in cases where ability clearly is part of the intended meaning of natural result clauses, it is usually expressed lexically, with the predicate δύναμαι. Example (5) below is illustrative:

- (5) *οὕτω διετέθημεν οἱ παρόντες ὑπὸ τῶν τούτῳ πεπραγμένων καὶ τῶν λόγων τῶν ἐκείνης...*
ὥστε...μηδένα τῶν παρόντων δύνασθαι φθέγγασθαι...
*all of us present were **so** moved by the deeds done by this man and by her words...so as for no one among us present **to be able** to utter a sound...* (Lysias 32.18, translation my own).

In addition, δύναμαι, is also used to express ability in actual result clauses, as in example (6) below:

- (6) *οὕτω σκαιὸς εἶ καὶ ἀναίσθητος, Αἰσχίνη, ὥστ' οὐ δύνασαι λογίσασθαι ὅτι τῷ μὲν στεφανουμένῳ τὸν αὐτὸν ἔχει ζῆλον ὁ στέφανος...;*
*are you **so** unintelligent and blind, Aeschines, **that you are incapable** of reflecting that a crown is equally gratifying to the person crowned...?* (Demosthenes, *Orations* 18.120).

To summarize: if we understand the central semantic difference between natural and actual result clauses as the difference between *able to do X* and *does X*, we are left without an account of the difference in meaning between natural result clauses containing an additional lexical expression of possibility with δύναμαι, and the more frequent case where ability is expressed formally. Additionally, we are left without an account of the meaning of clauses where ability is not even a candidate explanation of "possible occurrence".

2.2 Possibility as Epistemic Modality

Another interpretation of the sense of possibility implied in the description of natural result clauses as expressing possible as opposed to factual occurrences is that it is a type of epistemic modality. In contrast to the agent-oriented ability discussed above, epistemic possibility is not part of the content of the utterance (see Bybee et al 1994, 179-180). Instead, it makes a claim about the speaker's relation to the content of the utterance - in particular, that the speaker is only partly committed to, or confident of, its truth. The traditional description of natural result clauses as expressing events that "may occur" or that are "possible consequences", suggests that epistemic possibility is indeed the intended interpretation of what is expressed by natural result clauses. However, this is unlikely to be the intended interpretation. For the usual way of expressing such modality in Ancient Greek is with a finite verb in the optative mood and the particle ἄν. Such so-called "potential optative" constructions (see (7) and (8) below) serve precisely the role of weakening the speaker's epistemic commitment to the truth of the proposition.

- (7) πολλοὶ γὰρ ἄν γένοιτο.
*There **might** be many ways* (Plato, *Republic* 449c).
- (8) συνδοκεῖ καὶ ὑμῖν, γένοιντο ἄν ἡμῖν ἐν λόγοις ἰκανὴ διατριβή.
*So if you on your part approve, we **might** pass the time well enough in discourses*
 (Plato, *Symposium* 177d).

2.3 Possibility as Natural Tendency

If it is neither agent-oriented ability nor epistemic modality that is being referenced when natural result clauses are identified as expressing possible rather than actual results, what sense of possibility is intended? What seems to be intended is the claim that natural result clauses express natural tendencies. That is, instead of expressing the claim that an event may have occurred rather than asserting that it did occur, natural result clauses, on this view, express the fact that such an event tends to be the result of the antecedently expressed condition, or that it is what "usually" or, as the name implies, "naturally" results from such conditions.

As Goodwin says:

With the infinitive the result is one which the action of the leading verb tends to produce; with the indicative, one that action does produce (Goodwin 1894, sec. 1450).

The connection between possible result and natural tendency seems, then, to be the following: Given that the action of the leading verb tends to produce, or naturally produces, the result indicated in the result clause, it is possible that it produces that result in the present case as well.

So, as we noted at the beginning of this section, the sense of possibility invoked in the claim that natural result clauses express possibilities, is not the most transparent one. But we have now made this sense of possibility explicit and we can now reformulate the traditional distinction between actual and natural result clauses as follows: *An actual result clause expresses the result as one that in fact occurs or occurred, whereas a natural result clause expresses the result as one that tends to occur.*

Nevertheless, in the next section I argue that this view does not capture the central distinction between natural and actual result clauses.

3. Criticism of the Traditional Account

3.1 The Natural Tendency is a Presupposition

In this section I argue that the traditional view of natural result clauses as expressing possible occurrences or natural tendencies is problematic both because (i) such natural tendencies are not assertions of natural result clauses, but rather are presupposed by them; and (ii) they are presupposed equally by actual result clauses and hence cannot be used to distinguish the two types of clause.

We can show that the relevant natural tendency (or possible occurrence) is a presupposition, by invoking a classic test for identifying the presuppositions of a statement: the constancy-under-negation test. In Levinson's description of the test, we "[s]imply take a sentence, negate it, and see what inferences survive – i.e., are shared by both the positive and negative sentence" (Levinson 1983).

Let us apply this test to the natural result clause in example (9):

- (9) *She was so hungry as to eat the whole pie.*

In this sentence a quasi-causal connection is made between extent of hunger and extent of pie eating, such that an increase in hunger, leads to an increase in amount of pie consumed, and in the limit case, to the consumption of the whole pie. In other words, we may say: as a person's hunger increases, there is a natural tendency for the person to eat more, in the present case, of the pie, and if hunger increases sufficiently, for it to result in the eating of the whole pie.

But if we now negate the sentence:

- (10) *She was not so hungry as to eat the whole pie,*

the quasi-causal connection between an increase in hunger and an increase in pie-eating behavior is maintained. The negated version of the sentence also claims that there is a natural tendency for more pie-eating to occur as one's hunger increases and for the whole pie to be eaten if hunger increases sufficiently. The negated version of the sentence simply denies that a sufficient degree of hunger is present.

The claim that there is a natural tendency for an increase in hunger to result in an increase in amount of pie eaten is an inference that survives the constancy under negation test. It is therefore a presupposition rather than an assertion of the natural result clause expressed in (9) above. And we may say, more generally, that the natural tendencies associated with natural result clauses are presuppositions of such clauses rather than assertions.

It is important to recognize what triggers the presupposition in statements such as the above. It is the form of the statement, and specifically, the formula $\text{o}\tilde{\upsilon}\tau\omega\varsigma X, \tilde{\omega}\sigma\tau\epsilon Y$ (*so X, as to Y*).

We can make this clear by substituting a different result in our example sentence:

- (11) *She was so hungry as to solve all the problems.*

The sentence makes little sense precisely because there is no natural tendency for a high degree of hunger to be associated with a high level of problem-solving ability. Indeed, to the extent that such a sentence does make sense, it is because we posit a context which supplies a plausible connection between the state of being hungry and the act of problem-solving: such as one in which solving all the problems leads to receiving food. The important point here is that it is in virtue of the formula $\text{o}\tilde{\upsilon}\tau\omega\varsigma X, \tilde{\omega}\sigma\tau\epsilon Y$ (*so X, as to Y*) that the sentence requires positing an additional context for it to make sense. In other words, it is in virtue of the form of the statement that a quasi-causal connection, or natural tendency, between hunger and problem-solving ability is assumed.

We can summarize what has been argued so far as follows: (i) the traditional view that natural result clauses express possible results is intended as the claim that natural result clauses express a natural tendency of one event or state to result in another; (ii) this natural tendency is not, however, what natural result clauses express or assert, but something they presuppose; and (iii) this presupposition holds in virtue of the form of such statements - the form $\text{o}\tilde{\upsilon}\tau\omega\varsigma X, \tilde{\omega}\sigma\tau\epsilon Y$ (*so X, as to Y*).

3.2 Actual Result Clauses Have the Same Presupposition

The points summarized above would amount to simply clarifying the traditional view of how natural result clauses differ from actual result clauses were it not for the fact that actual result clauses have the

same form and trigger the same presupposition. It is true that the English gloss of the formula *ὅπως X, ὥστε Y* would be different for an actual result clause (*so X, that Y* instead of *so X, as to Y*) but this makes no difference to the formula's status as a presupposition trigger.

- (12) *Positive: She was so hungry that she ate the whole pie.*
Presupposes that increased hunger naturally tends to produce increased eating.
- (13) *Negative: She was not so hungry that she ate the whole pie.*
Presupposes that increased hunger naturally tends to produce increased eating.

It is here that the problem for the traditional view becomes clear. The difference between natural and actual result clauses cannot be the difference between asserting a possible occurrence and asserting a factual occurrence, as the traditional view maintains, not simply because natural result clauses presuppose rather than assert possible occurrences (in the form of “natural tendencies”), but because actual result clauses have the same presupposition. In other words: this cannot be the basis for the distinction because it does not distinguish them.

4. Towards a Revised View of Natural Result Clauses

4.1 Hypothesis

From what has been said thus far we seem poised to state the difference between natural and actual result clauses in the following terms: While all result clauses presuppose a quasi-causal connection (“natural tendency”) between the event or state identified in the introductory clause and the event or state expressed in the result clause, actual result clauses additionally state that this connection or tendency is realized in the present case, while natural result clauses make no such additional assertion.

The difficulty with this way of putting the distinction, though, is that it suggests that natural result clauses are simply agnostic about whether the expected result is in fact realized, and this is simply too weak an interpretation. For even in traditional descriptions, there is an acknowledgement that a natural result clause may (after all) indicate a factual occurrence. Smyth, for example, says: “The infinitive may therefore denote a fact...” (Smyth 1984, sec. 2258)

Here and elsewhere such claims are tempered by subsequent statements:

The infinitive may therefore denote a fact, but does not explicitly state this to be the case (Smyth 1984, sec. 2258).

[T]he actual occurrence of the result is not stated, and is to be inferred only (Smyth 1984, sec. 2260).

Whether or not the consequence actually came about is not explicitly indicated. (Rijksbaron 2002,63)

In these statements we seem to have the basis for a more nuanced account of the difference between natural and actual result clauses. The difference between the two clause types, according to the present hypothesis is not whether the statement implies that the result is factual, but rather whether this inference is defeasible. That is, the assumption is assumed to be true or factual, but further information might reverse, or defeat this assumption. While we may say:

- (14) *She was hungry enough to eat the whole pie, but she didn't eat the whole pie,*

it is a contradiction to say:

- (15) **She was so hungry she ate the whole pie, but she didn't eat the whole pie.*

On the current interpretation, then, we can say that the difference between the two clauses is whether the result is logically implied (in actual result clauses) or defeasible (in natural result clauses). This interpretation seems to be a way to accommodate the intuition embodied in the traditional view that natural result clauses make a weaker claim than actual result clauses do, while also acknowledging that natural result clauses often imply factual results.

4.2 Textual Investigation

Unfortunately, empirical examination of result clauses in the corpus of Lysias's *Speeches*, did not support the above interpretation. In fact, there was virtually no evidence that natural result clauses were used in cases where it was necessary or desirable to preserve the possibility that the implied result was not the result, in fact. The strongest evidence of this sort would be an example along the lines of (14) above, where subsequent statements force a re-evaluation of the claim that the result, in fact, occurred. But there were no examples of this sort.

Instead, for the most part, the natural result clauses seemed to fall into two classes. In one class of cases, they seemed indistinguishable from correlative actual result clauses. In this class of cases, the use of an infinitive in the result clause did not seem to indicate any possibility that the result was not factual. These examples were relatively few, but include (16) and (17) below.

- (16) *πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφὸν δ' οὕτως ἐνειμάμην ὥστ' ἐκεῖνον πλέον ὁμολογεῖν ἔχειν ἐμοῦ τῶν πατρῶων*
*to my brother I allowed **such** a portion **as made him** acknowledge that he had got a larger share of our patrimony than I had* (Lysias 16.10).
- (17) *οὗτος δὲ ἀπέδειξε δυοῖν δεούσας πεντήκοντα μνᾶς ἀνηλωκένας, ὥστε τοῦτοις λελογίσθαι ὅσον περ ὅλον τὸ ἀνάλωμα αὐτῷ γεγένηται.*
*But the expenditure that he showed was forty-eight minae, **so that the children have been charged** exactly the total of what he has spent* (Lysias 32.27).

In (16) it is conceivable that the amount the speaker gave to his brother, though sufficient to make his brother acknowledge the larger share, did not in fact result in his brother being made to acknowledge the larger share. But the context makes clear that the speaker is referring to an actual event. So the choice of infinitive over finite verb may simply be due to a desire to emphasize the event in the main clause — the speaker's action.

Similarly, in example (17), the speaker is arguing precisely that the event stated in the result clause — the children being charged an amount equal to what the guardian has spent — is indeed a fact. The context here is a lawsuit against a guardian — Diogeiton — who is accused of cheating the children out of their inheritance. In the above passage, the claim is he charged 100% of an expenditure to the children when he was allowed to charge them only 50%. The cost was 48 minae, so he was allowed to charge only 24 minae to the children. However, he entered 48 minae into the ledger: with the result that the children were charged the whole amount. The facts of the case against the guardian are being presented here, as fact.

Examples such as these make it difficult to endorse Goodwin's claim that: "These two constructions [natural and actual result clauses] are essentially distinct in their nature, even when it is indifferent to the general sense which is used in a given case" (Goodwin 1894, sec. 1451).

The second classes of cases is both more numerous and more interesting. In these cases, the event or state in the result clause is distinguished by the fact that it is in some way non-actual. However, the non-actuality in these cases is not a function of epistemic possibility, or probability, but rather of the event specified in the result clause occurring in a counter-factual context, or having a negative subject. In other words, the non-actuality attaches to the event or state itself, not to the statement reporting the event.

An example of a natural result clause occurring in the context of a counterfactual statement is the following:

- (18) *τοιαῦτα γάρ ἐστιν, ὥστ' εἰ καὶ μηδὲν αὐτῷ ἄλλο ἡμάρτητο, διὰ μόνα ταῦτα δίκαιον εἶναι ἀποδοκιμασθῆναι.*
*For the facts are **of such a sort, that even if he had not erred in any other matter, on account of these facts alone, it would be just for him to be rejected*** (Lysias 31.20, translation my own).

Following ὥστ', but before the subordinate result clause, is a protasis of a counterfactual condition signaled by the particle εἰ and the verb ἡμαρτάνω in the indicative (here, the pluperfect). The counterfactual clause assumes that other wrongdoings have in fact been committed, with the implication that the case for rejecting the man is even stronger than it would have been had there been no additional wrongful deeds. But for present purposes what is important is that εἶναι in the phrase δίκαιον εἶναι is in the infinitive, not because the speaker has any doubt about whether there are

currently grounds for rejecting the man, but because the clause is making a claim about the justice of rejecting him in a counterfactual state of affairs - one in which the decision to approve or reject the man is made in the absence of additional wrongdoings. There is no way for this clause to be formulated as an actual result, but not because the state identified in the result clause — it being just to reject the man — is only a possible consequence. On the contrary, it is certain — certain that it is not a consequence, because the antecedent of the clause is counterfactual.

Example (5) above, repeated here as (19) contains a natural result clause with a negative subject:

- (19) οὕτω διετέθημεν πάντες οἱ παρόντες ὑπὸ τῶν τούτῳ πεπραγμένων καὶ τῶν λόγων τῶν ἐκείνης... ὥστε... **μηδένα** τῶν παρόντων **δύνασθαι** φθέγγεσθαι...
*all of us present were **so** moved by the deeds done by this man and by her words,...**so as** **for no** one among us present **to be able** to utter a sound...* (Lysias 32.18, translation my own).

In this case, it is clear from what follows that what is being reported is not merely a possible occurrence:

- (20) ...ἀλλὰ καὶ δακρύνοντας μὴ ἦτον τῶν πεπονθότων ἀπιόντας οἷχεσθαι σιωπῇ.
...we could only weep as sadly as the sufferers, and go our ways in silence (Lysias 32.18)

Yet what is reported is the *absence* of an event— the absence of anyone uttering a word. What seems to be crucial in this case and other cases of this sort, is not so much that a particular individual failed to perform a particular action (for there are many *actual* result clauses of this sort), but that there is no individual specified in definite terms to perform — or even fail to perform — the action. In (19), the subject of the introductory clause is the group of individuals present, but the subject of the result clause is "no one" (*μηδένα*).

It is clear that the examples and analysis provided in this section represent only a preliminary attempt to characterize in positive terms, the different functional yields of natural and actual result clauses in Ancient Greek. Yet I hope enough has been said so as to justify the conclusion that more analysis is needed.

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AN ARTICULATORY STUDY OF WORD-INITIAL STOP GEMINATION IN CYPRIOT GREEK

Spyros Armosti

University of Cyprus

armostis@cantab.net

ΠΕΡΙΛΗΨΗ

Σε γλώσσες που επιτρέπουν άηχα διπλά κλειστά σύμφωνα στην αρχή των λέξεων, η ακουστική διάρκεια της κλειστής φάσης (που αποτελεί την κύρια ένδειξη για το διπλασιασμό των συμφώνων) δεν μπορεί να εντοπιστεί μετά από παύση (δηλ. στην αρχή του εκφωνήματος). Ωστόσο, αρθρωτικά η διάκριση εξακολουθεί να υπάρχει (Kraehenmann και Lahiri 2008), ενδεχομένως με προσωδιακή επιμήκυνση στην αρχή του εκφωνήματος. Η παρούσα έρευνα εξετάζει αν στη θέση αυτή διατηρείται η αρθρωτική διάκριση μεταξύ απλών και διπλών στην κυπριακή ελληνική. Παρουσιάζονται τα αποτελέσματα ηλεκτροπαλτογραφημάτων, που δείχνουν ότι η αρθρωτική διάκριση υφίσταται, αλλά υπόκειται σε περιορισμούς που σχετίζονται με τη θέση του τόνου. Η διάκριση είναι ωστόσο σαφώς ακουστικά αντιληπτή λόγω της μεγαλύτερης διάρκειας της δασύτητας του διπλού κλειστού.

Λέξεις κλειδιά: Κυπριακή ελληνική, διπλά σύμφωνα, αρθρωτική φωνητική.

1. Purpose of the study^{*}

The contrast between geminate and singleton consonants is usually defined in terms of differences in the duration of the consonant. However, for a variety of languages, research on singleton vs. geminate contrasts has suggested that the gemination contrast is not signalled solely by durational differences; rather, the phonetic implementation of gemination may involve additional language-specific acoustic properties such as temporal and non-temporal characteristics of the consonant *per se* as well as its adjacent vowels.

In the literature focusing particularly on the gemination contrast of voiceless stops, the duration of the closure (CD) is considered to be the primary cue to the contrast. For example, Abramson showed that, in Pattani Malay, longer CD was the main phonetic correlate for word-initial geminates both acoustically (Abramson 1998), and perceptually (Abramson 1986). However, phrase-initially, where the silent occlusion of stops is acoustically and perceptually non-detectable, listeners successfully distinguished singleton from geminate stops by relying on two secondary cues, namely, RMS amplitude of the syllable whose onset was the target stop (Abramson 1991), and fundamental frequency of the vowel following the word-initial stop (Abramson 2004). In Cypriot Greek, aspiration functions as a strong acoustic correlate of stop and affricate gemination (cf. e.g. Armosti 2011a and the relevant literature reviewed therein).

In languages that allow word-initial voiceless geminate stops, the acoustic duration of the closure cannot be perceptually detected after a pause (i.e. phrase-initially); thus, if there are no secondary acoustic cues to gemination (such as the above-mentioned acoustic correlates), the contrast can be expected to be acoustically and perceptually neutralised. However, recent studies have shown that, even though the gemination contrast is neutralised acoustically and perceptually (in cases that no significant secondary cues to gemination exist), *articulatorily* the distinction still holds in languages such as Tashlhiyt Berber (Ridouane 2007), Tarifit Berber (Bouarourou *et al.* 2008), and Swiss German (Kraehenmann and Lahiri 2007; 2008). In these articulatory studies, it was shown that word-initial geminates were systematically longer in their articulation than their singleton counterparts, both phrase medially and initially (despite of the fact that in the latter case there was no acoustic difference in duration between singleton and geminate stops). An equally important finding of those studies was that

^{*}I am grateful to Francis Nolan, Elinor Payne, Mary Baltazani, as well as to the anonymous reviewer of this paper for their valuable comments and suggestions.

stops were longer in phrase-initial position than in phrase-medial, a finding that was interpreted as prosodic lengthening (and strengthening in cases whereby it involved more linguopalatal contact).

Payne (2006) also reported that the acoustic and articulatory implementation of gemination in Italian involved longer consonant duration as well as greater linguopalatal contact and the use of different regions of articulators. Based on these findings, Payne (2006) analysed gemination in Italian as a fortitional (i.e. strengthening) process. While fortition characterising the gemination contrast can be considered a phonological process, fortition governed by prosodic factors (such as position in the word or phrase, stress, and intonational focus) can be considered a phonetic process, which is expected to be operative across languages.

Thus, lengthening and strengthening effects of prosodic factors on stops are expected to manifest acoustically and articulatorily in Cypriot Greek also. Furthermore, these phonetic effects may interact with possible strengthening effects that may accompany the phonological contrast of stop gemination. Since in Cypriot Greek, the gemination contrast of voiceless stops is acoustically and perceptually maintained even in absolute initial position because of the presence of long aspiration (which is a strong cue to gemination), it would be interesting to investigate whether the contrast is also articulatorily maintained phrase-initially (as was shown above for other languages).

These aspects of the articulation of CyGr stop gemination are investigated in this paper. In particular, the acoustic durational contrast between singleton and geminate stops is expected to be mirrored at the articulatory level in terms of the length of articulation, even in utterance-initial position. Furthermore, singletons and geminates are expected to differ not only durationally, but also spatially, i.e. in terms of the location, shape, and size of the linguopalatal contact. Finally, both singletons and geminates are expected to be longer and stronger in strong prosodic positions, such as utterance-initial position and when stressed.

2. Method

2.1. Electropalatography (EPG)

To obtain the desired articulatory information, Electropalatography (EPG) was used. EPG is an instrumental technique for recording information about the tongue's contact with the hard palate during speech. In EPG, the subject is required to wear a thin acrylic palate that is uniquely designed to fit the roof of their mouth; the artificial palate is embedded with electrodes, which serve as sensors for tongue contact (see e.g. Hayward 2000). Each time an electrode is contacted by the tongue, a complete electrical circuit is created and the contact is recorded. The EPG records can then be analysed by the researcher in order to trace the contact patterns and infer tongue movements.

The system used was WinEPG (Articulate Instruments Ltd, Edinburgh, UK). In this system, the electropalate contains eight rows of electrodes, six electrodes on the first row (the one behind the front teeth) and eight on each of the other seven rows, making a total of 62 electrodes. These electrodes are spaced between the point behind the top front teeth (where they meet the gum) and the back of the hard palate. Rows 1–4 correspond to the alveolar and post-alveolar region (rows 1–2 correspond roughly to the alveolar region while rows 3–4 to the post-alveolar region), while rows 5–8 correspond to the palatal and velar region.

2.2. Material

The material for the study consisted of four disyllabic words containing a word-initial alveolar stop; each token was a different combination of gemination (SING vs. GEM) and stress (unstressed vs. stressed) as shown in Table 1.

		unstressed	stressed
singleton	token	<τασή> [tɐ'si]	<τάμαν> [tə'mɛn]
	gloss	<i>ground sesame</i>	<i>vow</i>
geminate	token	<τταβάς> [tʰ:v'vɛs]	<ττάβλιν> [tʰ:ɐvlin]
	gloss	<i>stew</i>	<i>backgammon</i>

Table 1 The tokens used in the EPG study.

2.2.1. Carrier Phrase

The carrier phrase used was ‘Come on, tell him ____ and it’s enough’ (<Άτε, πε του ____ τζαι κανεί.> = [ˈɛtɛ pɛ tu ____ t͡ʃɛ kɛˈni]).¹ By using this phrase, the target alveolar stop would be in utterance-medial and intervocalic position. In order to obtain the target stop in utterance-initial position, the same carrier phrase was used, but without its first part preceding the token: ‘____ and it’s enough’ (<____ τζαι κανεί.> = [____ t͡ʃɛ kɛˈni]).

2.3. Speaker

The speaker was YP, a male native speaker of Cypriot Greek from Nicosia, aged 23 at the time of the test. YP reported no speech impairments.

2.4. Procedure

2.4.1. Presentation of material

The test sentences containing the tokens under investigation were presented to the subject on a PC screen, one at the time (filler sentences were also used).

The material was presented in Greek spelling (see §2.2), using unofficial conventions for representing the sounds of Cypriot Greek that do not exist in Standard Greek (cf. Armosti *et al.* this volume). For instance, the caron (ˇ) was used in order to represent post-alveolar sounds (e.g. <ď> symbolises [ʃ]).

The subject was asked to produce each test sentence five times at a normal rate of speech. Thus, 40 repetitions were produced in total (2 levels of gemination × 2 levels of stress × 2 levels of utterance position × 5 repetitions). Time was provided prior to the recording for the subject to become accustomed to the palate.

2.4.2. Recording

The EPG recording took place in the sound-treated booth of the University of Cambridge, using the WinEPG system. The palate was scanned for tongue-to-palate information regarding electrode activation at a sampling interval of 10 ms. At the same time, the audio signal was recorded at 22.05 KHz sampling rate and 16 bit sample width.

2.5. Analysis

The analysis of articulatory data was done with the Articulate Assistant software (version 1.12). The acoustic data analysis was done with the PRAAT speech processing software using annotated text files and PRAAT scripts.

2.5.1. Measurements

Both temporal and spatial properties of the target segments were measured. In particular, the properties measured were the following:

¹ High vowels in word-final position often undergo lenition or deletion in CyGr (cf. Eftychiou 2008). However, in the tokens recorded for this study, the [u] in [tu] was never deleted (something that would have resulted in unwanted concatenation of two [t] sounds).

Temporal properties:

- (i) The articulatory closing duration (Cld) of the stop. Cld was defined as the time interval from the first frame in which linguopalatal contact would occur before the consonant burst, until the first frame that full closure would be attained. In utterance-medial position, the stop was preceded by a vowel, an environment that often resulted in some amount of linguopalatal contact during the preceding vowel (as a coarticulatory effect from the previous consonant), and therefore there was no frame preceding the closing phase of the target stop for which the linguopalatal contact would be zero. In such cases, the onset of the closing phase was defined as the frame between the preceding vowel and the stop's full closure for which linguopalatal contact would be at its minimum.
- (ii) The articulatory seal duration (Sld) of the stop. Sld was defined as the period for which full closure of the stop was attained. Its onset coincided with the offset of the closing phase; the offset of Sld coincided with the acoustic burst observed in the waveform and spectrogram.
- (iii) The articulatory release duration (Rld) of the stop. Rld was defined as the time interval from the burst until the frame for which the linguopalatal contact would reach its minimum.
- (iv) The acoustic duration of the after closure time (ACT) as defined in Armosti (2011a). Here it coincides with aspiration.

Spatial properties:

- (v) The amount of contact measured at the frame with the maximum electrode activation during the seal phase of the stop. It was measured as the percentage of electrodes activated in that frame for two areas:
 - (a) the constriction area for the alveolar stop, defined as the first four rows from the front of the palate (R1–4).
 - (b) the whole palate.
- (vi) The location, size, and shape of the contact. These properties were investigated mainly by visual comparison of the frames at which maximum contact was attained. The contact patterns can provide information about the location of contact on the passive articulator, and also can be suggestive of the involvement of the active articulator (cf. Pandeli 1993, 18–34). Apart from contact patterns, the depth of constriction was taken into account in order to extrapolate tongue configurations (after Payne 2000, 217; 2006, 88; cf. also Eftychiou 2004, 69). For instance, a depth of one row located at the front of the electropalate suggests an apical articulation, while a depth of 3 of 4 rows can be interpreted as an apico-laminal or laminal articulation.

2.5.2. Statistics

Usually, in studies with many subjects, each subject is an experimental unit. In the present study there was only one subject due to the difficulty in finding subjects willing to undergo such a procedure; another equally restricting factor was the financial cost of creating artificial palates. Therefore, the experimental unit cannot be just one subject; instead, the individual repetitions served as the experimental unit, something that inevitably reduces the power of the statistical analysis (Cho and Keating 2001). Therefore, the results of the statistical analysis should not be treated as the basis of definite conclusions or generalisations.

Taking these caveats into account, six analyses of variance (ANOVA) were performed using the SPSS statistical software package. In each test, the dependent variable was one of the following: (i) the duration of the closing phase, (ii) the duration of the seal phase, (iii) the duration of the release phase, (iv) the after closure time (ACT), (v) the percentage of contact at the constriction area, and (vi) the percentage of contact for the whole palate. The two variables involving percentages were first transformed using the rationalised arcsine transformation, so as to become suitable for entering the statistical analysis (see Armosti 2010 for further particulars on this transformation method); all other variables were normalised into z-scores. The independent variables were three: (i) Gemination, with two levels (singleton vs. geminate), (ii) Stress (stressed vs. unstressed), and (iii) Position (utterance-initial vs. utterance-medial).

3. Results

3.1. Temporal parameters

3.1.1. Closing duration

The average closing duration of geminates and singletons was virtually the same (61 ms and 65 ms respectively), and was not affected by Stress. The position in the utterance was the only factor that played a significant role in the length of the closing phase of the stop, as utterance-initially the closing phase was 41 ms longer than utterance-medially [$F(1, 22) = 19.875, p < .0005$]; however, this result must be treated with some caution due to the difference in defining the beginning of the closing movement in the two positions in the utterance (see §2.5.1 above). No interactions were significant.

3.1.2. Seal duration

All three factors exhibited significant main effects on the duration of the seal phase. Geminates had longer Sld than singletons by 42 ms on average. In stressed syllables, Sld was 22 ms longer than in unstressed syllables.

factor	level	<i>M (SD)</i>	difference	significance
Gemination	SING	93 (45.7)	42	$F(1, 22) = 18.612, p < .0005$
	GEM	135 (28.6)		
Position	utterance-medial	85 (32.6)	58	$F(1, 22) = 34.446, p < .0005$
	utterance-initial	143 (28.8)		
Stress	unstressed	103 (48.9)	22	$F(1, 22) = 4.906, p = .037$
	stressed	125 (37.5)		
Gemination × Position				$F(1, 22) = 0.681, p = .418$
Gemination × Stress				$F(1, 22) = 4.984, p = .036$
Position × Stress				$F(1, 22) = 0.07, p = .793$
Gemination × Position × Stress				$F(1, 22) = 0.268, p = .61$

Table 2 Results for seal duration.

Regarding the Position factor, the Sld was on average 58 ms longer utterance-initially than utterance-medially. As shown in

Table 3, geminates had significantly longer Sld in both utterance positions—even though in utterance-initial position Sld is unperceivable.

Position	SING	GEM	difference	significance
utterance-initially	126 ms	160 ms	34 ms	$F(1, 12) = 5.19, p = .042$
utterance-medially	60 ms	111 ms	50 ms	$F(1, 10) = 19.261, p = .001$

Table 3 Comparison of geminate and singleton Sld in the two utterance positions.

The interaction between Gemination and Stress was significant, thus, it was explored further using a simple main effects analysis of the Sld within each level of the Stress factor. The results showed that in unstressed syllables geminates had significantly longer Sld by 64 ms [$F(1, 10) = 22.64, p = .001$]; geminates had longer Sld than singletons in stressed syllables, but this difference (20 ms) was non-significant.

3.1.3. Release duration

In the case of the release phase, Gemination was the only factor that showed significant main effects, with geminates having longer Rld than singletons by 37 ms on average. There was a significant interaction between Gemination and Stress: a simple main effects analysis showed that the distinction in Rld between singletons and geminates was maintained in the unstressed condition² [$F(1, 10) = 33.977, p < .0005$], but not in the stressed condition [$F(1, 12) = 2.577, p = .134$].

3.1.4. After closure time

Gemination was the only factor that showed significant main effects on ACT (as was the case with Rld), with geminates having longer ACT than singletons by 62 ms [$F(1, 22) = 326.343, p < .0005$].

3.2. Spatial parameters

3.2.1. Amount of contact

3.2.1.1 Amount of contact at the constriction area

In the case of the amount of contact at the constriction area (i.e. R1–4), no factor had significant main effects at $\alpha = .05$; however, the Gemination \times Position interaction was significant [$F(1, 22) = 5.066, p = .035$]. A simple main effects analysis showed that the difference in the amount of contact between singletons and geminates was significant only utterance-medially, with geminates activating more electrodes than singletons by 10% on average [$F(1, 10) = 10.809, p = .008$]. In utterance-initial position, the production of singletons activated all electrodes in the constriction area at the frame of maximum contact, whereas the geminate activated only 88% of electrodes; this was an unexpected finding, however, this difference was non-significant [$F(1, 12) = 1.240, p = .287$].

3.2.1.2 Amount of contact for the whole palate

The results for the amount of contact for the whole palate showed significant main effects of the Position factor only [$F(1, 22) = 6.480, p = .018$], with consonants in utterance-initial position having more linguopalatal contact (80%) than consonants in utterance-medial position (71%). This can be regarded as a strengthening effect caused by the position of the consonant in the utterance.

3.2.2. Location, size, and shape of contact

The location, size, and shape of contact are presented graphically using representative palatograms for each combination of the Gemination, Stress, and Position factors. In each case, two palatograms are presented: (i) an average palatogram of the seal phase and (ii) the palatogram at the frame of maximum contact. The palatograms for the seal phase represent the percentage of activation of each electrode over time averaged over all repetitions of the token; this percentage is indicated in the figures both numerically and by shades of grey (the darker the shade, the higher the percentage). The palatogram showing the frame of maximum contact was the one with the largest amount of electrode activation of all frames out of all repetitions of the token. Contact patterns and shapes will be analysed following Pandeli (1993) and Payne (2000; 2006).

² As the anonymous reviewer suggests, the Rld of [t] in [te'ʃi] may shorten due to the onset of approximation for the upcoming [ʃ] —whereas in [tʰ:ɐ'vɛs] the labiodental uses an independent articulation, thus not influencing the Rld of [tʰ:]. This discrepancy may be causing the significant difference in Rld between the unstressed [t] and [tʰ:].

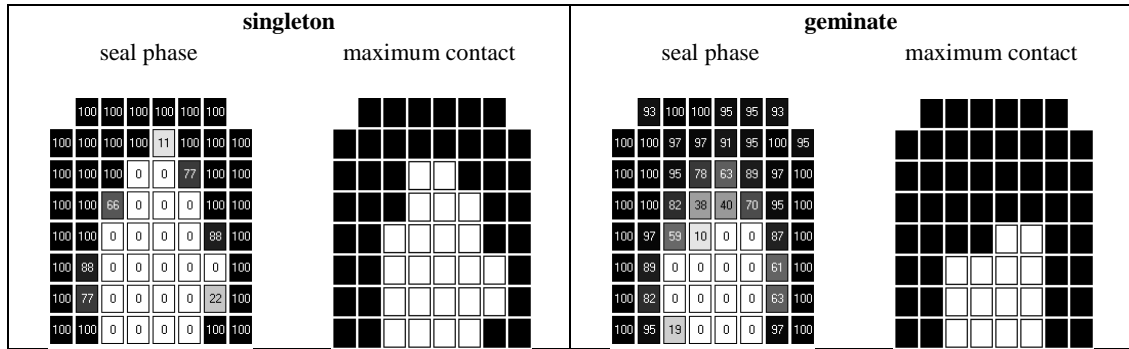


Figure 1 Palatograms of unstressed singletons and geminates utterance-medially.

In the utterance-medial unstressed case shown in

Figure 1, geminates showed more linguopalatal contact than singletons. Regarding the location of contact, for singletons, the main constriction lay along the first two rows (with R1 showing more contact than R2) indicating a possible apical articulation; in the case of geminates, the occlusion occurred at the first four rows, something that could indicate an apico-laminal articulation. The firm contact at the two lateral columns for both singletons and geminates could correspond to a ‘cupped’ (concave) tongue configuration, a shape of contact that is compatible with the apical and apico-laminal interpretation of the contact patterns.

In the utterance-medial stressed case (

Figure 2) both singletons and geminates exhibited slightly more contact when stressed than when unstressed. The stressed singletons showed a somewhat deeper contact than the unstressed singletons, something that could be interpreted as a more laminal contribution to the articulation. Regarding any differences between singletons and geminates, the geminates showed more contact at rows R3 and R4 (as was the case in the unstressed condition). These results are very similar with the findings of Payne (2006, 90–91) regarding word-initial voiceless stops in phrase-medial position.

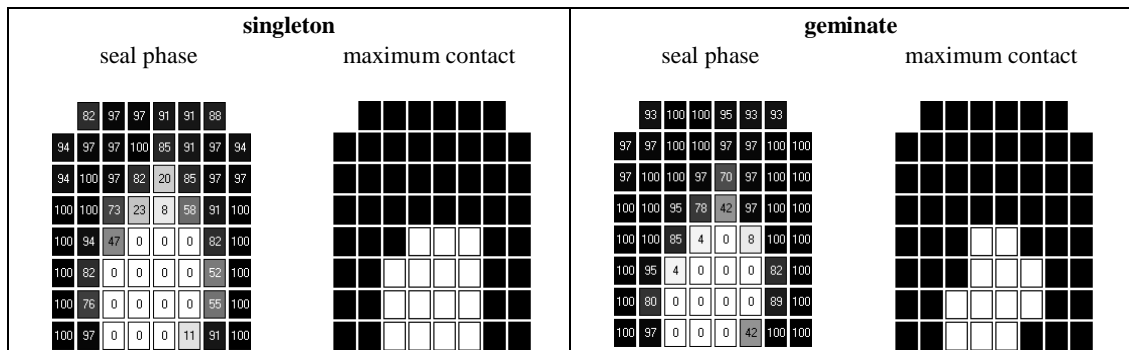


Figure 2 Palatograms of stressed singletons and geminates utterance-medially.

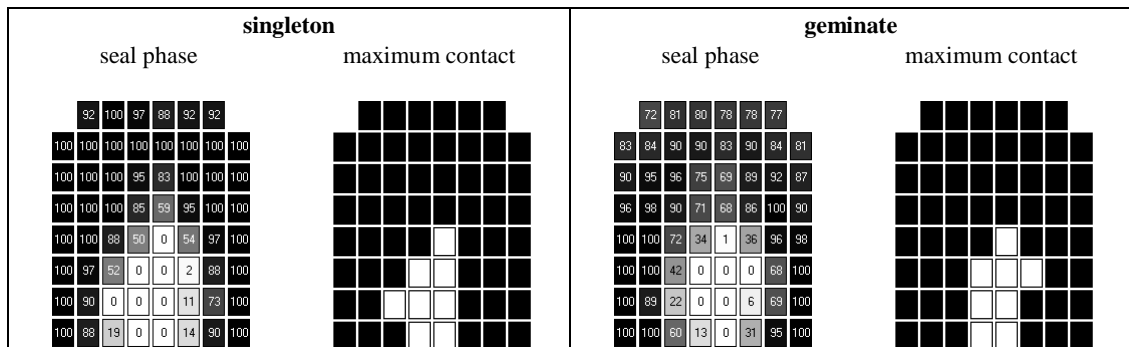


Figure 3 Palatograms of unstressed singletons and geminates utterance-initially.

The difference between the singleton and geminate palatograms in the utterance-initial unstressed case was reduced compared to the utterance-medial case, as shown in

Figure 3. Regarding the size of the contact, considerably more electrodes were activated utterance-initially than utterance-medially especially at the anterior area: for both singletons and geminates, the whole constriction area (R1–4) was completely occluded at the frame of maximum contact (cf. §3.2.1.1), while R5 showed substantial electrode activation (a finding that could be interpreted as a more laminal contribution to the articulation of the consonants in utterance-initial position). These patterns observed in the palatograms of maximum contact were reflected also in the palatograms showing mean electrode activation during the seal phase. This was especially true for the singleton, for which the frame of maximum contact was very similar with the average patterns shown in the seal phase palatogram (arguably due to the short duration of the singleton's seal phase, something that reduced contact pattern variation). In the case of the geminate, the increased length of its seal phase resulted in more variation of contact patterns both within the seal phase and across repetitions. This variation is reflected in the relatively lower average percentages of electrode activation observed in the palatogram of the average seal phase patterns for the geminate. These low percentages should not be interpreted as incomplete constriction in the case of the geminate (actually all tokens exhibited complete constriction), but rather as a reflection of contact pattern variation within and across tokens.

In the case of the utterance-initial stressed consonants, the palatograms shown in

Figure 4 revealed slightly more linguopalatal contact in terms of the size of the contact compared with their unstressed counterparts. The reduced percentage of electrode activation at the anterior area for the geminates was due to a particular repetition that showed no contact in the first two rows, i.e. the articulation was arguably purely laminal. Concerning the location of the contact, singletons and geminates were similar in showing complete occlusion along the first four rows.

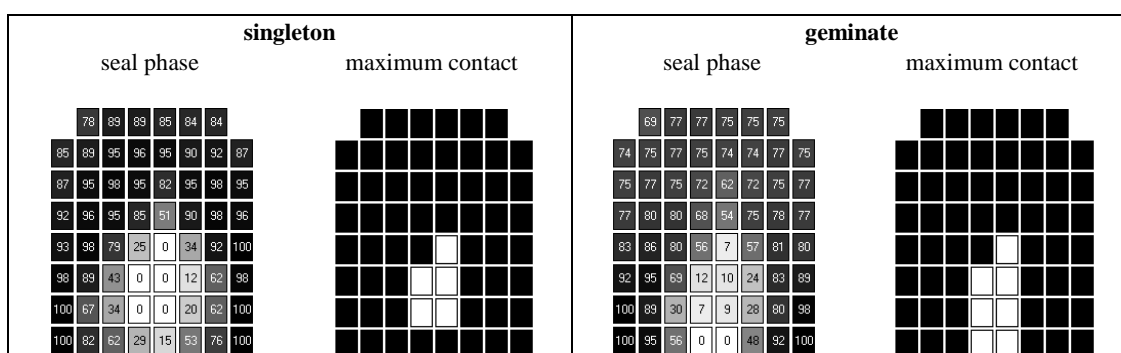


Figure 4 Palatograms of stressed singletons and geminates utterance-initially.

These findings revealed a strengthening effect (i.e. more linguopalatal contact) of the Gemination, Position, and Stress factors: geminates were stronger than singletons, segments in utterance-initial position were stronger than those in utterance-medial position, and stressed segments were stronger than unstressed segments.

3.3. Gemination as a function of both Stress and Position

The comparison between geminates and singletons for each combination of the Position or the Stress factors was very revealing regarding the location and shape of the contact; this comparison would be revealing in the case of the rest of the variables also.

In the case of the utterance-medial unstressed segments, the geminate differed from the singleton with respect to three properties: (i) ACT, with geminates exhibiting 56 ms longer ACT than singletons; (ii) Sld; and (iii) Rld (in the latter two cases the difference was 67 ms).

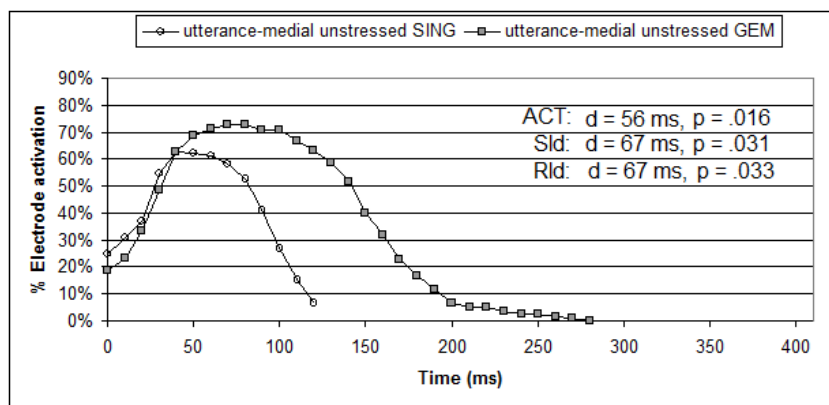


Figure 5 Average distributions of electrode activation over time for the utterance-medial unstressed singleton and geminate.

[Note: The additional information in graphs 5–8 shows the variables for which the difference (d) between the geminate and the singleton is significant in the specific Stress and Position conditions.]

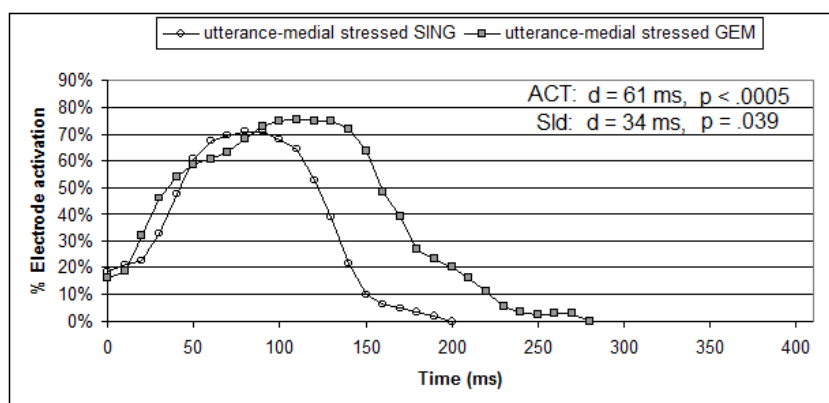


Figure 6: Average distributions of electrode activation over time for the utterance-medial stressed singleton and geminate.

A visual comparison of Figures 5 and 6 immediately reveals a lengthening effect of stress on the utterance-medial singleton (stress increased total articulatory gesture by 67%, Sld by 86%, and Rld by 58%), but not so much on the geminate (total articulatory gesture and Sld were virtually unaffected by stress; stress caused only Cld to increase by 62%). This strengthening of the singleton resulted in a small reduction of its difference from the geminate, as only two properties showed significant differences between the two segments:³(i) ACT, which was longer for the geminate; and (ii) Sld, which was longer for the geminate.

In the case of the unstressed segments in utterance-initial position (Figure 7), both the singleton and the geminate were substantially longer than their utterance-medial counterparts. The geminate remained statistically distinct from the singleton: the same three properties that differentiated it from the singleton in utterance-medial position (ACT, Rld, and Sld) kept the two unstressed segments distinct utterance-initially as well.

³ An additional property that could arguably distinguish geminates from singletons utterance-medially is the acoustic duration of the closure (CD); however, because CD was not possible to measure utterance-initially, it was excluded from the analysis of both positions.

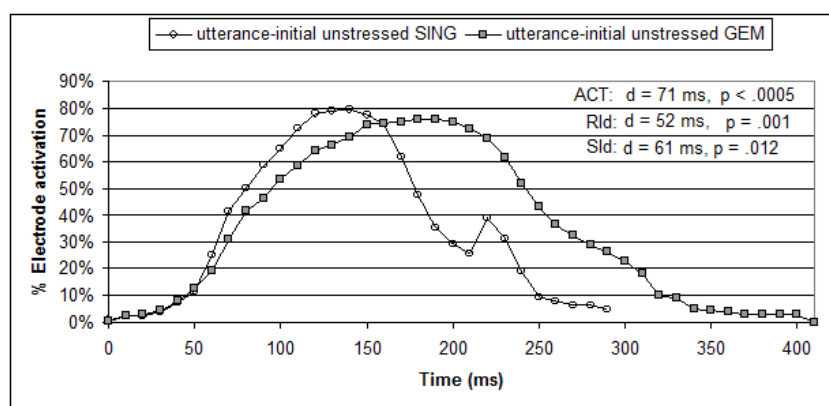


Figure 7: Average distributions of electrode activation over time for the utterance-initial unstressed singleton and geminate.

In the utterance-initial stressed case, the two curves in Figure 8 were very similar. No articulatory property showed any significant difference between the two segments; only the acoustic variable, namely ACT, distinguished geminates from singletons, with geminates exhibiting longer ACT than singletons.

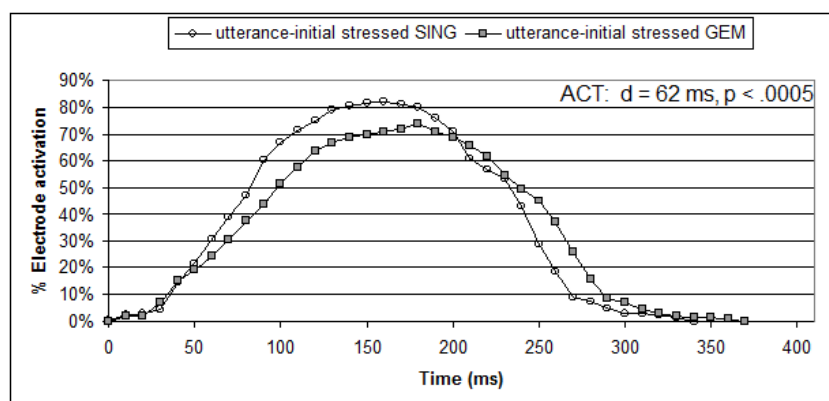


Figure 8: Average distributions of electrode activation over time for the utterance-initial stressed singleton and geminate.

4. Discussion

The present study aimed to investigate the articulatory differences between word-initial singleton and geminate alveolar stops in relation to stress and their position in the utterance. The main hypothesis was that, in utterance-initial position, where the acoustic closure cannot be perceptually detected, the articulation of the geminates would still be distinct from that of singletons. This hypothesis was partially supported by the results of the present study: while in utterance-medial position the articulatory gestures of the two segments were durationally distinct in both stress conditions, in utterance-initial position they were distinct only when unstressed. In other words, in prosodically dominant conditions (i.e. in utterance-initial position and when stressed) the oral articulation of geminates was virtually the same as that of singletons. This finding is peculiar considering that, in Italian for instance, the same prosodic conditions actually enhanced the gemination contrast (Payne 2006). However, Kraehenmann and Lahiri (2008) found that in Swiss German, like in Cypriot Greek, the articulatory difference between geminates and singletons decreased utterance-initially (but, unlike Cypriot Greek, the contrast was never articulatorily neutralised).

This articulatory neutralisation of the singleton vs. geminate contrast in stressed utterance-initial position can be accounted for in terms of the strength of the Stress and Position factors. Consonants in domain-initial position undergo strengthening of their oral articulation, as shown in studies for a number of languages, (see e.g. Cho and Keating 2001 for Korean). Cypriot Greek is no exception

regarding domain-initial strengthening (and lengthening): utterance-initial stops, when compared with utterance-medial stops, exhibited more linguopalatal contact over the whole palate, and longer Cld and Sld. Stress was a second factor that caused strengthening and lengthening effects on stops. Such effects of stress on alveolar stops were also found to occur in Italian (Payne 2006). In the present study, the presence of stress caused a lengthening of the stop's seal duration. The combination of the levels of Position and Stress can be thought to result in lengthening and strengthening of the segments in a somewhat cumulative manner.

This gradient increase in length and strength resulted in the articulatory neutralisation of the gemination contrast observed in the graphs of section 3.3, wherein the segments became articulatorily longer and stronger according to the following order of conditions: utterance-medial unstressed < utterance-medial stressed < utterance-initial unstressed < utterance-initial stressed. In the utterance-medial unstressed case, i.e. the weakest one, the difference between singletons and geminates was maximised. In the utterance-medial stressed case, the singleton lengthened more than the geminate, a fact that reduced the articulatory difference between them (especially at their release phase); however, the difference between the geminate and singleton seal duration was still significant. In the utterance-initial unstressed case, the singleton showed a substantial increase in duration and in the amount of linguopalatal contact; nevertheless, the articulatory difference between the singleton and geminate was not reduced compared with the utterance-medial unstressed case, as the geminate showed a substantial lengthening as well. In the utterance-initial stressed case, i.e. the strongest one, the geminate could not increase in length or strength any further, as approximately 350–400 ms length and 80% amount of contact over the whole palate appear to be the limits of the stop's enhancement by Stress and Position—limits which had already been reached in the utterance-initial unstressed case. The singleton had reached the 80% limit of the amount of contact in the utterance-initial unstressed case, hence it could not strengthen either, but there was room for more lengthening. Thus, the singleton in the utterance-initial stressed case reached the length limit too, and the two segments became articulatorily indistinguishable.

Despite that articulatory neutralisation, the difference between geminates and singletons could be acoustically (and perceptually) maintained in all cases, as the ACT of geminates was always longer than the ACT of singletons. Thus, even though the singleton~geminate contrast was articulatorily marked in most cases by means of oral articulations, the laryngeal articulation of the stops was the only consistent property in maintaining the contrast: after the stop's burst, the glottis was kept spread for longer in the case of the geminate than in the case of the singleton. This finding could be potentially interpreted as an indication that the contrast is not one involving gemination, but rather aspiration. However, since this neutralisation occurred in only one prosodic condition (i.e. in utterance-initial, stressed condition), while in the (admittedly less rare) utterance-medial position the gemination contrast was articulatorily maintained by means of more than one cues (unrelated to aspiration), it cannot be concluded that the contrast is one of aspiration throughout all cases. Besides, when all cues are available in the signal, the duration of the closure is too important an acoustic cue not to be considered central to the contrast (as shown in Armosti 2011a). Furthermore, in the perceptual study of Armosti (2010) it was shown that closure duration is a very important perceptual cue to CyGr gemination. Finally, aspiration as a cue is not incompatible with a gemination analysis, because, as argued by Armosti (2011b), aspiration is shown in many occasions to correlate with phonological weight.

The observation that geminates are not always distinct from singletons in terms of their oral articulation, and that the difference between the two segments is reduced in stronger combinations of Stress and Position, could be interpreted as an indication that the target oral gesture of singletons and geminates is the same, but articulatory undershoot takes place for weaker consonants (i.e. singletons, unstressed consonants, and consonants in utterance-medial position); because the oral gestures for weaker consonants are executed in less time, the contact with the palate can be incomplete, the occlusion (Sld) and release (Rld) shorter. This aspect is worth investigating in the future.

5. Conclusions

The EPG investigation of word-initial geminate and singleton alveolar stops revealed that even in utterance-initial position, where the closure is unperceivable, geminates were still articulatorily longer than singletons. However, this was true only in the unstressed case, as stress and utterance position seem to have enhancing effects on the duration and strength of the consonants.

These enhancing effects of stress and utterance position indicate that there can be some gradience in the binary geminate~singleton contrast, in the sense that the length and strength of the stops are

susceptible to these prosodic factors; a consequence of this gradience is the articulatory neutralisation of the geminate~singleton contrast under the combined influence of stress and utterance position. Nevertheless, the contrast is always preserved acoustically (and perceptually) by means of the duration of the stop's aspiration.

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EARLY L1 GREEK WH-QUESTIONS: SHORT- OR LONG- DISTANCE INTERPRETATION?

Evangelia K. Asproudi

Aristotle University of Thessaloniki, Greece

evangelia.asproudi@gmail.com

ABSTRACT

This paper investigates Greek children's preference for short-/long-distance interpretation of the extracted wh-phrase in ambiguous questions. Crosslinguistic studies show that younger children resort to LD readings; older children, however, demonstrate high SD preference. To examine whether Greek children follow the same pattern, ninety 4-to-7 year-old children participated in similar comprehension tasks. The results revealed similarity to crosslinguistic findings. The younger children displayed high preference for LD interpretations, which started to give its place to SD preference as age increased. This is explained under a memory-based proposal; former proposals linking Theory of Mind and the language faculty prove to be inadequate.

Keywords: wh-questions, comprehension, short-distance, long-distance, Greek, L1

1. Introduction

The aim of this paper is to investigate the comprehension of affirmative wh-questions in Greek by typically developing children. To be more specific, what is explored is preschool-age children's distance preference in the interpretation of the raised wh-element in ambiguous questions. The main goal underlying this exploration is to see whether children's overall performance potentially reveals the operation of economy-based processing.

In order to provide answers to the above questions, reference needs to be made initially to several notions related to wh-movement, such as short- and long- distance interpretation, the Subjacency constraint and islands.

1.1 Short-/Long- Distance Wh-Movement, Subjacency and Islands

Wh-movement refers to interrogative constructions, where a wh-phrase is moved from its original position. When the wh is moved to another position within the same clause, wh-movement is known as *short-distance* (SD); when moved to a position in a different clause, wh-movement is known as *long-distance* (LD). SD and LD movement are respectively exemplified in (1)-(2) and (3)-(4) below:

(1) *Who_i does she love t_i?* (English)

(2) *Wen_i liebt sie t_i?* (German)
whom love-3SG she
'Who does she love?'

(3) *Who_i do you think she loves t_i?* (English)

(4) *Wen_i glaubst du dass sie liebt t_i?* (German)
whom think-2SG you that she love-3SG
'Who do you think she loves?'

In (1) and (2), 'who' and 'wen' move from the object position *t_i* to a fronted position within the same clause. In (3) and (4), however, the fronted wh-elements 'who' and 'wen' originate from the embedded object position *t_i* but have moved LD to the matrix periphery.

Focusing for a while longer on LD movement, central to its formation is the *Subjacency* constraint, which was initially proposed by Chomsky (1977) and reads as follows:

Subjacency Constraint:

The wh-phrase must pass successively through every intermediate SpecCP position before it reaches its final landing site. (Chomsky, 1977)

In later versions of the Minimalist Program, the Subjacency constraint and its cyclicity effects are captured directly by the notion of phase and its accompanying Phase Impenetrability Condition (Chomsky 1998, 1999).

Subjacency may be violated in the presence of *islands*, which are elements that block the LD raising of the wh-phrase to the edge of matrix CP. With regard to English, examples of islands are adverbial clauses ((5)), wh-islands ((6)), factivity ((7)) and negation ((8)):

- | | |
|--|-----------------------|
| (5) <i>Who_i did John cry [after Bill kissed *t_i]?</i> | (from Boeckx, 2008) |
| (6) <i>Why_i do you wonder whether John read the book *t_i?</i> | (from Lasnik, 1999) |
| (7) <i>When_i did you regret that you left *t_i?</i> | (from Roussou, 1992b) |
| (8) <i>Why_i don't you think we can help him *t_i?</i> | (from Rizzi, 1990) |

Let us now see how SD/LD movement and islands apply to Greek.

1.2 Wh-Movement in Greek

Similarly to English, SD and LD wh-extraction in Greek is formed by fronting the wh-phrase to the matrix left periphery. (9) and (10) below exemplify these two types of extraction:

- (9) *Pjon_i ajapai t_i?*
 whom love-3SG
 'Who does she love?'
- (10) *Pjon_i nomizis oti ajapai t_i?*
 whom think-2SG that love-3SG
 'Who do you think she loves?'

Focusing for a while longer on LD movement, it is allowed in the presence of the lexical complementiser 'oti' or 'na', as illustrated in the following examples:

- (10) *Ti_i ipes oti tha dhjivasun t_i ta pedhja?*
 what said-2SG that will read-3PL the children
 'What did you say that the children will read?'
- (11) *Ti_i ipes na dhjivasun t_i ta pedhja?*
 what said-2SG to read-3PL the children
 'What did you tell the children to read?' (from Tsimpli & Dimitrakopoulou, 2007)

As for islands, again on a par with English, adverbial clauses ((12)), wh-elements ((13)), factivity ((14)) and negation ((15)) constitute islands in Greek.

- (12) *Pjon_i efije apo to domatio [xoris na xeretisi *t_i]?* (from Tsimpli, 1998)
 whom left-3SG from the room without to say goodbye-3SG
 * 'Who did s/he leave the room without saying goodbye to?'
- (13) *Pos_i anarotjese ti eftiakse *t_i?* (from Roussou, 1992a)
 how wonder-2SG what fix-3SG
 * 'How do you wonder what s/he fixed?'
- (14) *Ti_i metanjoses pu aghorases *t_i?* (from Roussou, 1992b)
 what regret-2SG that bought-2SG
 * 'What did you regret buying?'

- (15) *Pos_i dhen fotografizis to spiti *t_i?*
 how not photograph-2SG the house
 * ‘How don’t you photograph the house?’

As illustrated in the above examples, the presence of an island blocks a LD interpretation of the raised wh-element.

Having outlined basic notions about wh-movement at a theoretical level, the next section will deal with an overview of crosslinguistic child studies on question comprehension.

2. Child Studies on Question Comprehension

As stated from start, this paper focuses on the investigation of the patterns employed by children during the comprehension of ambiguous wh-questions. Early language studies have shown that when provided with a story context that makes salient both a SD and a LD interpretation of the raised wh, the younger children most often resort to the LD reading; the SD reading is the preferred choice for the older ones. Examples of such studies are those by de Villiers et al. (1990, 2007) and by Abdulkarim et al. (1997), where, in ambiguous questions like (16) and (17) below, the tested children showed preference for a LD over a SD answer:

- (16) *Why did the boy say he took a bath?*
 because his sister asked him – SD answer
because he was dirty – LD answer
- (17) *When did the boy say he hurt himself?*
 in the evening – SD answer
in the afternoon – LD answer

This pattern of responses seems to be rather counter-intuitive. For its explanation, two related accounts have been put forward. According to de Villiers et al. (1990), younger children have not yet mastered all the subcategorization possibilities of verbs. As a result, they are not able to analyze the embedded clause as a complement of the matrix verb (e.g. of ‘say’) but most probably as the real clause in need of an answer; hence, LD interpretations of the fronted wh arise. In a more recent account, de Villiers et al. (2007) proposed that younger children lack a Point of View (PoV) feature projection from a matrix mental or communication verb; due to this lack, they cannot defer transfer of the edge feature to a later phase but can only interpret it locally within the first phase. In other words, the fronted wh-element is linked with the embedded rather than with the matrix verb.

3. The Present Study

3.1 Predictions

In view of previous research, the prediction formulated with regard to Greek children’s comprehension of ambiguous wh-questions was the following:

Prediction:

- a. Preference for LD interpretations in the younger ages
- b. Increasing preference for SD interpretations in the older ages

In other words, the comprehension preference pattern that has been attested crosslinguistically and that has been explained in terms of children’s attempt to interpret movement locally (de Villiers et al., 2007), is expected in the Greek comprehension data as well.

3.2 Participants

The study group consisted of ninety typically developing children aged 4;0 to 7;0. For the analysis of the data, these children were divided into three equivalent subgroups A, B and C. Group A included

thirty children between four and five (mean age range: 4;6), group B thirty children between five and six (mean age range: 5;5) and group C thirty children between six and seven years old (mean age range: 6;7). Group A and B children were in their first and second year in kindergarten respectively, while group C children attended the first grade in primary school.

3.3 Materials and Procedure

The children participated in a task that was designed along the principles of McDaniel et al. (1996) and Crain & Thornton (1998). The task consisted of six short stories that replicated scenarios used in similar studies in other languages (e.g. Roeper & de Villiers, 1992; Thornton & Crain, 1994; de Villiers et al., 1990). All six stories were followed by comprehension questions; with more specific reference to the test questions accompanying each story, these were wh-COMP (2 subject, 2 object, 2 adjunct) questions that were ambiguous between a SD and a LD interpretation, with both choices being grammatical. Given the story context each time, all interpretations were made salient, while there was no issue of bound variable possibility. Finally, to preclude a bias for one interpretation over the other, care was taken to deliver all test questions in as neutral intonation as possible.

Here is a sample of the short stories presented as well as of the test questions set.

1st story (English translation)

The dog has a ball. The cat and the rabbit have to climb up a wall to see who has the ball. The cat tries first: she takes a ladder and tries to climb up the wall but eventually falls down. Then the rabbit tries: she uses the same ladder, climbs up the wall and sees the dog. Then she says: “I can see who has the ball! The dog has it and he is holding it with his legs!”

Experimenter’s question: *Pjos_{ij} t_i emathe oti t_j ehi ti bala?* (subject-COMP)

‘Who_i t_i found out that she has the ball?’ – SD reading

‘Who_i did she find out t_i to have the ball?’ – LD reading

Target answer: *to kuneli* ‘the rabbit’ – SD reading

o skilos ‘the dog’ – LD reading

2nd story (English translation)

The child is eating something. The cat and the rabbit cannot see because the child is in the room. So, they try to find a way to see from the window. The rabbit tries first, but she does not manage to see because the window is too high. Then the cat tries. She jumps very high and says: “I can see what the child is eating! She is eating a tomato and she is eating it with great delight!”

Experimenter’s question: *I jata ti_{ij} idhe t_i oti troi t_j?* (object-COMP)¹

‘Who_i did the cat see t_i to be eating?’ – SD reading

‘What_j did the cat see that the child was eating t_j?’ – LD reading

Target answer: *to pedaki* (‘the little child’) – SD reading

domata (‘tomato’) – LD reading

3rd story (English translation)

Alex likes climbing up trees. One afternoon, he tries to climb up a tree but he fell down. Then he went back home; he took a shower and saw a big bruise on his arm. In the evening he said to his dad: “I got hurt in the afternoon”.

Experimenter’s question: *Pote_{ij} ipe t_i o Alexis ston patera tu oti htipise t_j?* (adjunct-COMP)

‘When_i did Alex say t_i to his dad that he got hurt?’ – SD reading

‘When_i did Alex say to his dad that he got hurt t_j?’ – LD reading

Target answer: *to vradi* (‘in the evening’) – SD reading

to apojevma (‘in the afternoon’) – LD reading

Each child was tested separately in a room next to their classroom. The duration of this task was about 25 minutes. After an explanation of the procedure to follow, each of the six stories was acted out

¹ Unlike subject and adjunct, in object questions the wh-element did not appear sentence-initially. The reason is that in argument questions the aim was to locate the wh-element as close as possible to the two extractions sites available (SD-LD). Thus, in object questions the subject appeared sentence-initially, so as not to intervene later on. Adjunct extraction sites were more easily traceable, so this restriction was not considered for adjunct questions.

with props in front of the child or presented through pictures to her. At the end of each story, the comprehension question was posited, with the aim to see which reading – SD or LD – the child would prefer. In case the child did not respond to a certain test question, this question was repeated once; if no answer was elicited, the procedure proceeded with the presentation of the next story and its accompanying question.

4. Results and Discussion

The main prediction in this paper is that, during the comprehension of ambiguous questions, the younger children will mostly resort to LD readings, while SD readings will start to become more preferred with an increase in age. This prediction is largely confirmed by the obtained results, as illustrated in the following figure:

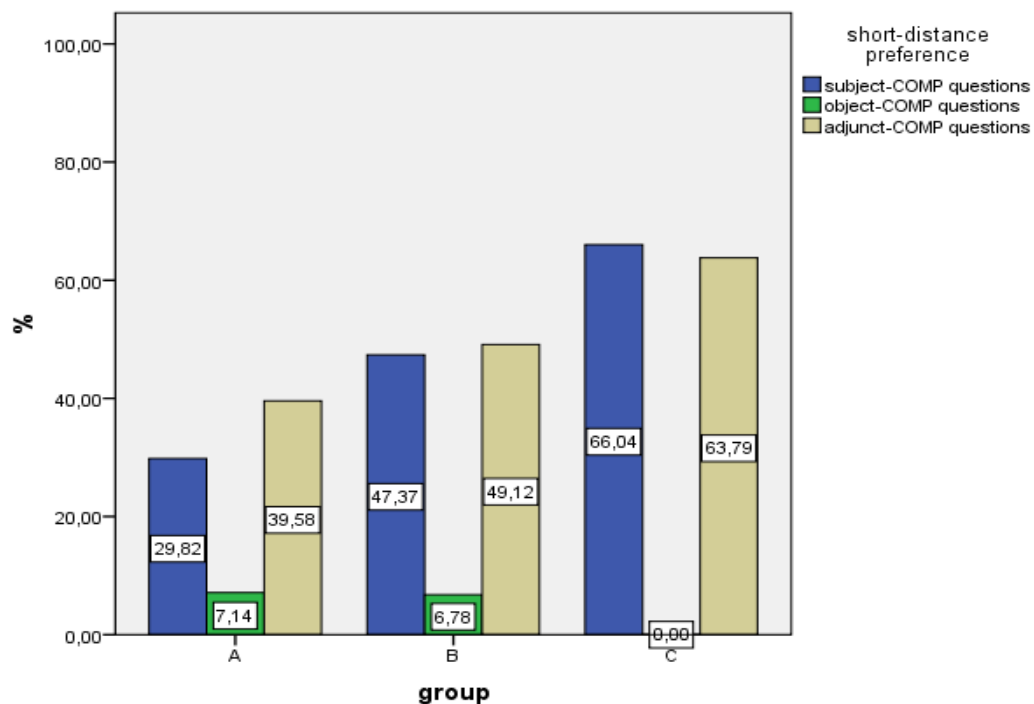


Figure 1 Short-Distance Preference per Extraction Site in Question Comprehension

In subject and adjunct questions, SD interpretations ranged at similar levels - especially within groups B and C - and became increasingly higher with age. As for object questions, SD rates were extremely low in the two younger groups and null in the oldest group, thus contrasting with the corresponding rates in subject and adjunct questions. These observations are also supported statistically. A two-way mixed ANOVA was performed on the results: question type (3) \times group (3). The main within-subject effects of question type [$F(2,174)=48.973$, $p=.000$] and of question type by group interaction [$F(4,174)=3.433$, $p=.01$] were both significant. In addition, the main between-subject effect of group was also found to be significant [$F(2,87)=6.940$, $p=.002$]. Within all three groups, pairwise comparisons revealed significant differences in terms of SD interpretations between object and subject (A: $p=.005$, B: $p=.000$, C: $p=.000$) as well as between object and adjunct questions ($p=.000$), but not between subject and adjunct ones. Between groups, SD reading rates increased significantly between B and C in subject questions (A-C: $p=.001$, B-C: $p=.053$) and gradually across groups in adjunct questions (A-C: $p=.035$). On the contrary, in object questions no significantly different comparisons were attested since SD reading rates remained at very low levels throughout. On the whole, subject questions seem to pattern together with adjunct questions, both of which come in contradistinction with object questions.

As reported in section 2, evidence of children's initial preference for LD over SD interpretations in globally ambiguous questions has also been observed in other early languages, like early English and early Arabic (de Villiers et al., 1990; Abdulkarim et al., 1997; de Villiers et al., 2007). Subject and

adjunct early Greek questions pattern together with wh-interrogatives in other early languages, whereas object ones do not. This ‘deviation’ may be attributed to lexical reasons and, more concretely, to properties of the object-extracted wh-phrase ‘ti’. That is, all object questions employed the wh-word ‘ti’, which carries the [-animacy] feature; on hearing ‘ti’, then, children would immediately build a structural representation of the input string that relates ‘ti’ with the LD inanimate referent rather than with the SD animate one. On this ground, no firm conclusion can be drawn about distance preference in object questions, but only about subject and adjunct questions.

Overall, then, object questions aside, the results of the present study showed that SD interpretation rates were generally low but increased with age. As explained in section 2, the two proposals that have been put forward crosslinguistically in order to account for this rather counter-intuitive pattern were related to an incomplete inventory of verb subcategorization properties (de Villiers et al., 1990) or to a lack of a PoV feature projection (de Villiers et al., 2007). However, these explanations do not seem to be very satisfactory. Given that the PoV feature is assumed to project from mental and communication verbs, it is clear that it is directly related to the Theory of Mind. The Theory of Mind has been found to interact with the faculty of language (e.g. Happé, 1995; Garfield et al., 2001; Brent et al., 2004; Hughes et al., 2005); still, as revealed through studies on mental/language disorders (e.g. autism, Asperger syndrome, agrammatic aphasia), the Theory of Mind and the faculty of language are independent from each other and may stand in a relationship of double dissociation (e.g. Happé, 1991; Smith & Tsimpli, 1995; Tsimpli & Smith, 1998; Varley & Siegal, 2000; Smith et al., 2003). On the basis of all this, it can be argued that the encoding of a PoV feature projection in grammar would need independent justification that would subsequently lead to reduction of the explanatory power of language. Thus, the PoV account is rejected in the present paper over an alternative proposal that may probably be linked to memory considerations.

Specifically, younger children’s LD interpretation preference may be attributed to the fact that due to their limited working memory capacity, children ignore the matrix verb as parenthetical and consider the embedded clause as the one and single question needing an answer. These working memory limitations may reside largely at a semantic level. That is, the greater semantic saliency associated with the embedded activity predicate (e.g. ‘troo’ [=‘eat’]) compared to the matrix perception/communication predicate (‘matheno’ [=‘learn’], ‘vlepo’ [=‘see’], ‘leo’ [=‘tell’]) may trigger the treatment of the matrix verb as parenthetical and of the embedded one as the true question. Therefore, although interpretation is in this sense completed locally, children essentially answer LD to the initial wh-element. Older children with an increased memory will not ignore the matrix verb on semantic saliency grounds and, therefore, they may prefer to link the extracted wh-element with it in an attempt to establish the shortest wh-chain possible (cf. Theophanopoulou-Kontou, 1991).

5. Conclusions

In conclusion, this paper has dealt with the L1 comprehension of ambiguous wh-interrogatives. The results revealed that increase in age goes hand in hand with increase in children’s preference for SD readings of the extracted wh-phrase². As has been explained in the previous section, even younger children’s more prominent resort to LD readings constitutes a local processing strategy for them. On the basis of these observations, more generalised conclusions can be drawn about the fundamental question shaped at the beginning.

It is evident that, on a par with their peers crosslinguistically, Greek children aim to a maximum degree of locality during the comprehension of wh-interrogatives. Preference for locality attests, in turn, for preference for economy-based processing. What is essential to underline here is that this economy-based processing is not triggered exclusively on syntactic grounds. As suggested by the distance preference pattern in object questions and by the role of verb predicate semantic saliency in subject and adjunct questions, semantic factors also seem to affect processing. Thus Jakubowicz’s (2005) Derivational Complexity Hypothesis, according to which less complex derivations are correctly spelled out at the PF interface before more complex ones during language development, can be seriously challenged. Children’s processing ability may have problems not at the level of form (as suggested by Jakubowicz’s Derivational Complexity Hypothesis) but at the level of meaning integration. In other words, economy-based processing in children seems to be constrained by a combination of syntactic and semantic factors.

² Remember that object questions do not follow a similar pattern. Yet, they are excluded from the above generalization on the assumption that their divergent behaviour is largely due to the inherent properties of the questioned wh-element and not to its extraction site.

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PRODUCTION OF THE GREEK RHOTIC IN INITIAL AND INTERVOCALIC POSITION: AN ACOUSTIC AND ELECTROPALATOGRAPHIC STUDY

Mary Baltazani

University of Ioannina, Greece

mbaltaz@cc.uoi.gr

Katerina Nicolaidis

Aristotle University of Thessaloniki, Greece

knicol@enl.auth.gr

ABSTRACT

This paper investigates /r/ production in phrase initial, word initial and intervocalic position. Rhotic production was found to include a vocoid preceding the constriction phase in phrase initial position. Duration, formants, place and degree of constriction, and variability due to position, context, and speaker were examined. Typically the vocoid was longer in duration than the constriction, with formants similar to the transconsonantal vowel, suggesting the production of a vocalic gesture upon which the rhotic is superimposed. Electropalatographic data show an alveolar rhotic, although there is variation in place due to context and variability from fully constricted to more open articulations.

Keywords: Rhotic, prosodic position, phrase-initial, word-initial, intervocalic, Greek, duration, electropalatography

1. Introduction

Rhotics exhibit considerable phonetic variety across languages. Variation has been reported as a function of context, position, speech rate and dialect (Lindau 1985; Inouye 1995; Ladefoged & Maddieson 1996; Recasens & Pallarès 1999; Recasens & Espinosa 2007).

In the Greek literature there is no consensus on the nature of the rhotic. Older phonological descriptions classify it as a trill (Φιλίππακη-Warburton 1992; Nespor 1996). More recent studies describe it as a tap when it is found in intervocalic position (Nicolaidis 2001; Baltazani 2005, 2009) or in initial and intervocalic position (Arvaniti 1999). Experimental studies have reported considerable variability in its acoustic and articulatory characteristics. Both a tap and an approximant realization have been observed (Nicolaidis 2001; Baltazani 2005, 2009) and its place of articulation has been reported to vary across alveolar, retracted alveolar, and postalveolar positions (Nicolaidis 2001; Nicolaidis & Baltazani 2011, (submitted)). Further contextual variation has been detected. While tap productions are typical in initial or intervocalic position, the presence of a vocoid has been documented between the /r/ and the consonant in /Cr/ and /rC/ sequences (Baltazani 2005, 2009; Nicolaidis & Baltazani 2011, (submitted)). Such a realization has also been found in clusters in several Spanish dialects, in Catalan, as well as in French, Finnish, Romanian, Hungarian, and Hamburg German (Navarro Tomás 1918; Rochette 1973; Harms 1976; Jannedy 1994; Bradley & Schmeiser 2003; Bradley 2004; Colantoni & Steele 2005; Recasens & Espinosa 2007; Vago & Gósy 2007; Savu 2012). The production of this more complex articulation in Greek clusters with /r/, which involves a constriction and a vocalic phase, has received different interpretations. Arvaniti (2007) claims that this articulation indicates trill production in clusters while Baltazani (2005, 2009) interprets these findings as evidence for a tap production which involves a vowel-like transition between the consonant and the rhotic. Electropalatographic data reported in Nicolaidis & Baltazani (2011, (submitted)) show that there is typically one constriction present during rhotic production in clusters and sequences in Greek providing evidence of a tap articulation.

The research presented in this paper is part of a bigger project examining /r/ in several prosodic positions including its realisation in /Cr/ and /rC/ sequences (Nicolaidis & Baltazani 2011, (submitted)). The current study investigates the production of /r/ in (a) phrase initial, (b) word initial but phrase medial, and (c) word medial intervocalic position aiming to clarify the effect of prosodic position on the realization of the rhotic. An important question addressed is whether a vocoid is attested in any of these prosodic positions and if so how frequently it is present. We explore the structure of this element by looking into the vocoid's range of duration compared to the constriction phase of the /r/.

Moreover, we consider the vocoid's formant structure to uncover possible effects of the vocalic context. In addition, we examine the effect of context and prosodic position on its articulation. Finally, we attempt to shed more light on the characterization of this segment as a tap vs. a trill.

The remainder of this paper is organized as follows: Section 2 explains our methodology, section 3 presents the acoustic and articulatory results and section 4 offers a discussion of the results.

2. Methodology

2.1 Speech material and speakers

Real words containing an /rV/ sequence (V=/i, e, a, o, u/)¹ in three prosodic positions were recorded: phrase initial (/##rV/), word initial within a phrase (/V1#rV2/) and intervocalic (/V1rV2/). In phrase initial position the test word was uttered in isolation. All other test words were embedded in the carrier phrase [I 'leksɪ _ 'ine a'pli] 'The word _ is simple'. The rhotic found in the /V1#rV2/ condition was preceded by /i/, i.e. the last vowel of the word 'leksɪ' of the carrier phrase, while for the /V1rV2/ condition, V1 was consistently an /a/, resulting in the sequence /arV/. All test words were 2-3 syllables long, stressed on the /rV/ syllable and repeated five times at a comfortable speaking rate by three female (MM, KN, RP) and two male (AT, TP) adult Greek speakers. In total, 375 words were recorded (5 Vs x 3 positions x 5 repetitions x 5 speakers).

2.2. Recording procedure

Simultaneous acoustic and electropalatographic (EPG) data were recorded using the British EPG system marketed by Articulate Instruments. In addition, a separate recording of acoustic data was made on a digital recorder (Marantz PMD 660) with a Røde NT1-A cardioid condenser microphone.

Acoustic data were analysed using PRAAT. We measured the durations of the rhotic constriction phase and of the vocoid, as well as the F1 and F2 formants of the vocoid (in word initial position) and of the V1, V2 vowels to detect possible environment influences on the vocoid. The onset of the constriction phase—together with the onset of the voicebar—was marked at the offset of silence, V1 or vocoid, depending on prosodic position. The offset of constriction was marked at the beginning of the formants for V2 (Figure 1). The beginning and end of the vocoid in phrase initial position was marked at the onset and offset of its formant structure respectively (Figure 2).

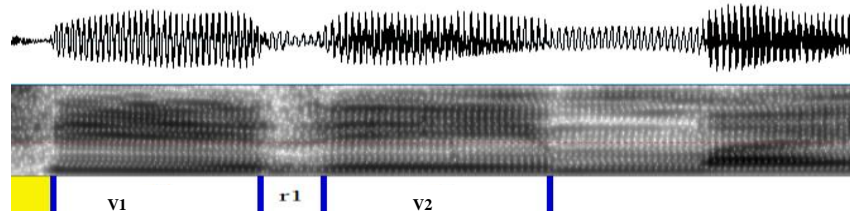


Figure 1 Segmentation criteria for word initial /r/: onset of the constriction was marked at the offset of V1 and offset of constriction at the beginning of the formants for V2. The example sentence here is [I 'leksɪ 'rima 'ine a'pli] (the underlined part is displayed only)

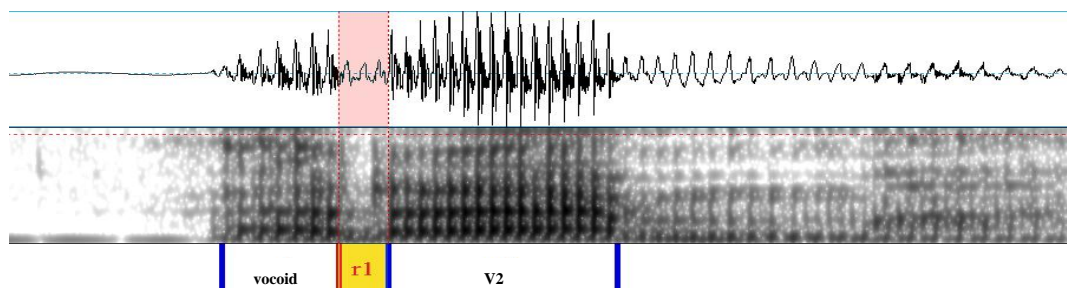


Figure 2 The beginning and end of the vocoid in phrase initial position was marked at the onset and offset of its formant structure respectively. The example here is the word [ˈrema] uttered in isolation

¹ Throughout the paper the /r/ symbol is used for the Greek rhotic for practical reasons. Similarly, the vowels are transcribed as /i, e, a, o, u/. For a description of the quality of the Greek vowels, see Arvaniti (1999, 2007).

Electropalatographic data were analysed using the Articulate Assistant software (version 1.18) which accompanies the British EPG system used in this study. The artificial palate of this system has 62 electrodes on its surface which detect lingual contact with the palate in continuous speech. Electrodes are distributed in eight rows according to particular anatomical landmarks (Figure 3). The front four rows correspond to the alveolar zone and the back four rows to the palatal zone. The alveolar zone is subdivided to the alveolar and postalveolar regions (rows 1 to 2 and 3 to 4 respectively) (Gibbon & Nicolaidis 1999; Recasens et al 1993).

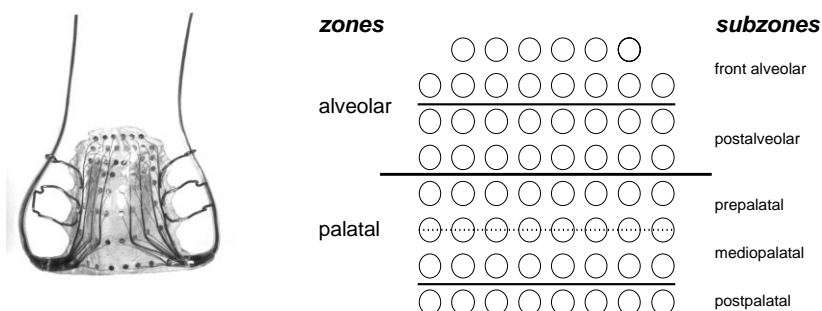


Figure 3 The artificial palate used for the British EPG system marketed by Articulate instruments (left). Schematic representation of electrodes and division of electrodes into zones and subzones (right)

For the articulatory analysis, the first EPG frame of maximum contact/constriction in the four front rows was identified for each rhotic (Figure 4). The four front rows were selected because the place of articulation of the rhotic always occurred in the alveolar zone. The frame of maximum contact typically coincided with the frame of maximum constriction during the rhotic. In the few instances that it did not, the frame of maximum constriction in the alveolar zone was annotated. Following data annotation, the percentage frequency of electrode activation of the entire palate over five repetitions was calculated for the rhotic in each test word (see, e.g., Figure 5).

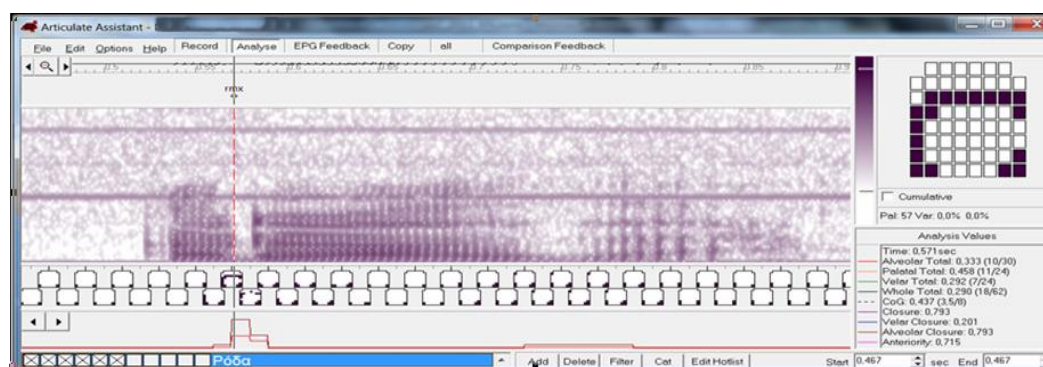


Figure 4 Screen display from Articulate Assistant showing acoustic waveform, spectrogram, EPG palatograms and contact totals display (whole and alveolar totals) for the rhotic in the word [roða] produced in phrase initial position by the female speaker MM. The annotation line corresponds to the first frame of maximum contact/constriction in the alveolar zone. The corresponding palatogram is shown at the top right of the display

3. Results

3.1 Acoustic analysis

The analysis of the acoustic data (and of the articulatory data, section 3.2) clearly showed that the Greek rhotic is produced as a tap and not a trill. In phrase initial position, i.e. when it is preceded by silence and is unaffected by a preceding sound, its production is typically realized with an initial vocoid followed by a single constriction phase (Figures 2, 4). In word initial position within a phrase and in word-medial position, the typical realization is again a tap with a single constriction of short duration. In these positions, the existence of a vocoid was not as easy to determine because of the presence of V1 before the tap: in word initial, phrase medial position the /r/ initial word was preceded by a vowel-

ending word and obviously in intervocalic position the rhotic was placed between two vowels. There is, however, acoustic evidence suggesting the presence of a vocoid even in these positions. A number of tokens in both prosodic positions showed abrupt amplitude and formant changes during V1 like those shown in Figure 5. The top two panels of Figure 5 show the same sequence, [i#ru], which is part of the words /'leksi 'rumi/ 'word rum' pronounced by the same male speaker, TP, in two different repetitions. Note that the panels show different degrees of disjunction between the two words (no disjunction in the top, clear separation in the bottom), something which permits the detection of the vocoid in the acoustic signal with different degrees of clarity.

The top panel shows an increase in amplitude and a discontinuity in formants approximately in the middle of V1. These acoustic events suggest that the vocalic stretch that we labeled 'V1' changes in quality halfway through its duration from the unstressed final [i] of the word /'leksi/ to the vocoid, which is similar in amplitude and formants to the stressed [u] of the word /'rumi/. On the other hand, in the middle panel a pause occurs after the [i], which in turn is followed by a vocoid before the rhotic constriction. Interestingly, the vocalic stretch before the rhotic constriction in the top panel is much longer (over 100ms) than what is expected for an unstressed [i], while in the middle panel [i] lasts less than 60ms. Thus, the middle panel corroborates our analysis of the acoustic events in the top panel.

The bottom panel of Figure 5 shows the sequence [i#re], part of the words /'leksi 'rema/ 'word stream', where the last 1/3 of V1 also shows an abrupt change in amplitude, becoming as loud as the stressed V2. In other words, the acoustic events described above suggest the presence of a vocoid which is adjacent to V1 and to some degree overlaps with it. Although a more in-depth analysis and precise methodology for identifying this vocoid interval in a consistent manner is needed—an issue which we leave open for future investigation—the preliminary evidence provided above indicates that this vocalic gesture is an essential part of the rhotic itself (cf. Blecua 2001 for Peninsular Spanish).

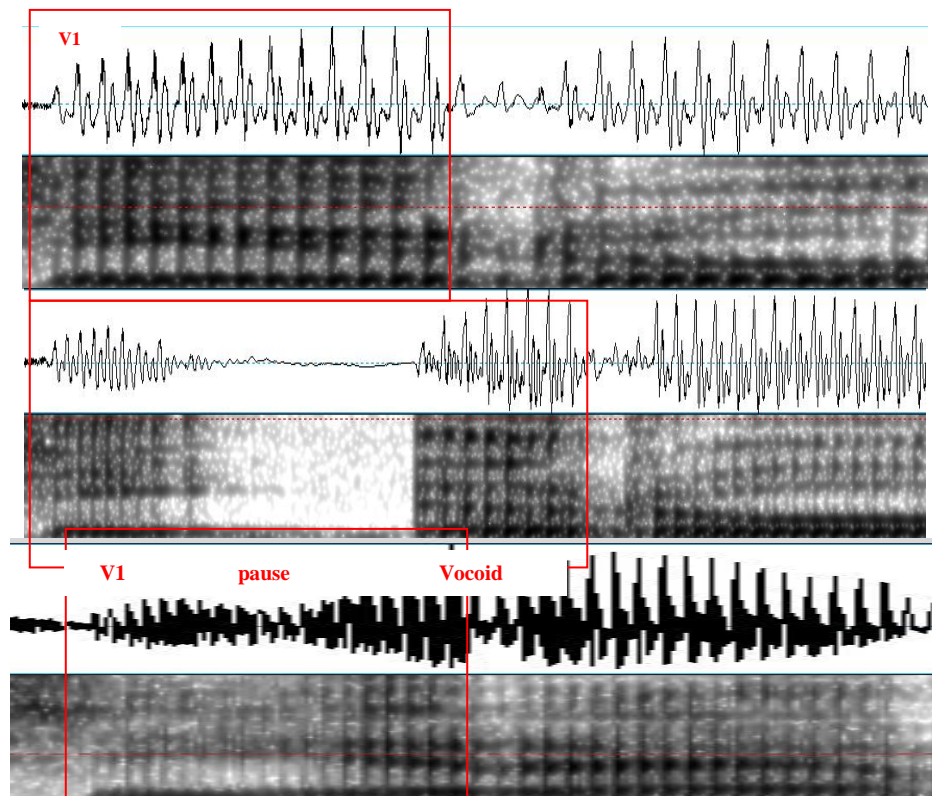


Figure 5 Abrupt formant and intensity discontinuities in V1. The top two panels show the same sequence, [i#ru], which is part of the words /'leksi 'rumi/ 'word rum' pronounced by the same speaker in two different repetitions (please see text for details). The bottom panel shows the sequence [i#re] in /'leksi'rema/ 'word stream'. The last 1/3 of V1 also shows an abrupt change in amplitude, becoming as loud as the stressed V2.

The following two sections present the duration and formants results of the acoustic analysis.

3.1.1 Duration results

The duration of the rhotic was compared across the three prosodic conditions in this experiment. Figure 6 presents the results for the constriction durations across all positions and the vocoid duration in phrase initial position. It should be pointed out that the vocoid duration was only measured in phrase initial position (see section 3.1 for an explanation). The number at the top of each column in Figure 6 gives the average duration in ms.

The results showed that the constriction is longest in word initial within phrase position. No difference was found in the constriction duration between the phrase initial and intervocalic positions². Note, furthermore, that the differences in the duration of the constriction across the three prosodic positions are small, with only a 8.5ms difference between the average longest and shortest duration. When comparing these constriction durations to those in /Cr/ and /rC/ sequences reported in Nicolaidis & Baltazani (2011, (submitted)), the duration in word initial position is comparable to its duration in /rC/ sequences (mean 32ms), while the phrase initial and intervocalic position durations are comparable to the average duration in /Cr/ clusters (24ms).

The vocoid, on the other hand, is considerably longer, being more than double in length compared to the constriction phase in phrase initial position. The vocoid in phrase initial position in this experiment was also found to be longer than in /rC/ and /Cr/ sequences reported in Nicolaidis & Baltazani (2011, (submitted)). These comparisons indicate that the different prosodic positions exert an asymmetric influence on the two components of the rhotic. One possible reason for such asymmetries relates to the articulatory nature of these components. The tap, which has been described as a short ballistic gesture in the literature (Lindau 1985; Ladefoged & Maddieson 1996; Recasens & Pallarès 1999; Recasens & Espinosa 2007), is not as free to lengthen as the vocoid. A comparison across more prosodic positions, including data from /Cr/ and /rC/ sequences, which is discussed in more detail in Baltazani & Nicolaidis (forthcoming), can shed more light on questions like these.

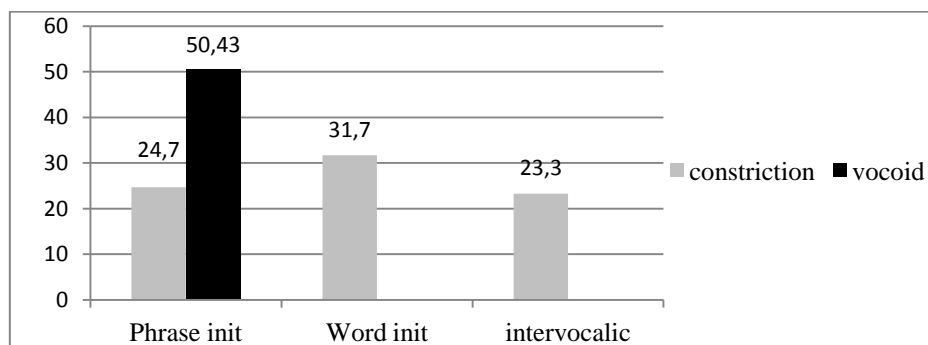


Figure 6 Duration comparison across the three prosodic conditions

3.1.2 Formant results

Measurements of F1 and F2 for the vocoid and the transconsonantal vowel V2, in phrase initial position showed that the formant values of the vocoid in phrase initial position are similar to those of the transconsonantal nuclear vowel, with a tendency to be more centralized than V2.

The four panels in Figure 7 present comparisons of the average formant values for V2 (black line) and the vocoid (grey line) in the F1XF2 vowel space. Centralization tendencies are clearly evident for all speakers for the vocoid.

² Tables with details on durations for all conditions broken down by speaker are given in Appendix B.

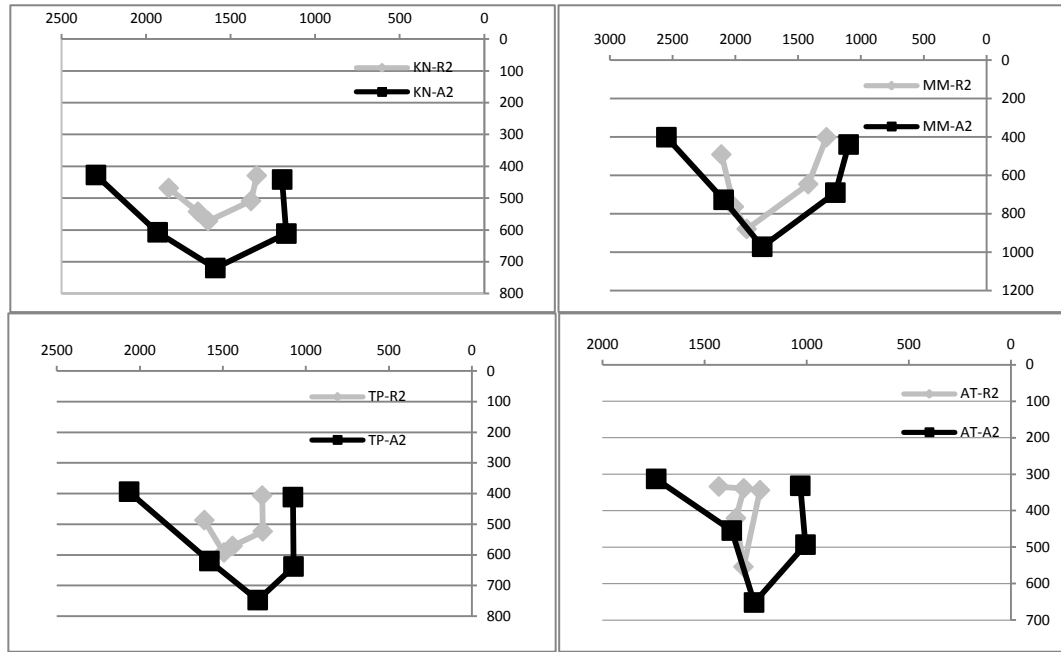


Figure 7 Comparison of V2 (black line) and vocoid (grey line) formant values for four speakers

Variability in the realization of both the vocoid and V2 was found as a function of speaker and of vowel. Figure 8 presents the Euclidean distance between the vocoid and V2 across speakers and vowels. This distance is the square root of the sum of the squares of the difference between the vowel formant frequencies³ and bigger numbers indicate greater distance between the vocoid and V2 formants, hence a greater amount of centralization for the vocoid. The vowel /i/ shows the greatest amount of centralization overall and the vowel /u/ the smallest, but all vowels show variability across speakers. Among speakers, RP shows the smallest amount of centralization for the back vowels /o, u/ and the greatest amount for /e/, but otherwise the most consistent trend is variation.

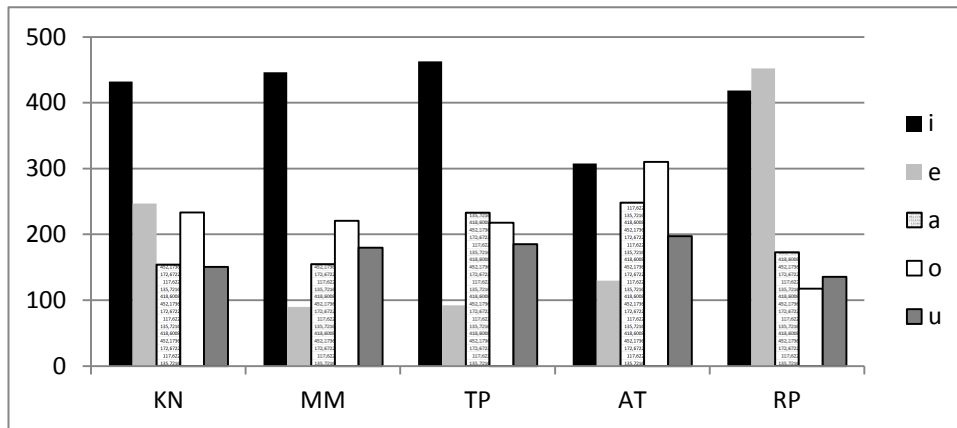


Figure 8 The Euclidean distance between the vocoid and V2 across speakers and vowels

3.2 Articulatory data

The articulatory analysis, consistently with the acoustic analysis, showed that the typical realization of the rhotic involves a single constriction across all three prosodic conditions. The EPG data showed that the articulation of the rhotic varied as a function of the vocalic context, the prosodic position, and the speaker. Variation was evident both in place of articulation and degree of constriction. Figure 9 shows

³ $ED = \sqrt{((F1V1 - F1V2)^2 + (F2V1 - F2V2)^2)}$.

an example of variation in place of articulation due to the following vocalic context. More advanced production is evident in the front vowel contexts /i/, e/. The palatograms show that in the environment of /i/ and /e/ there is a front alveolar production present with contact in the first and/or second row of electrodes. In the remaining vowel contexts, there is a retraction of the place of articulation with presence of contact in the third row of electrodes especially in the context of /o/, u/. The data thus provide evidence of a retracted alveolar or advanced postalveolar articulation in the back vowel contexts.

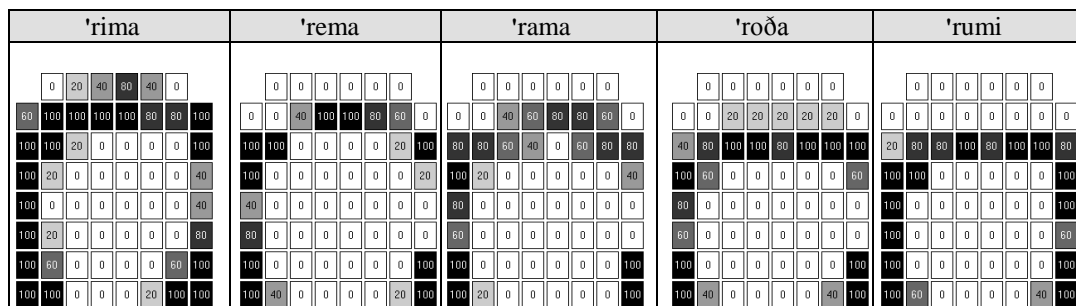


Figure 9 EPG palatograms displaying percentage frequency of electrode activation over five repetitions during the production of the /r/ in phrase initial position in the words (from left to right) /'rima, 'rema, 'rama, 'roða, 'rumi/ by the female speaker MM

In addition, the EPG data showed variation in the degree of constriction of the rhotic. Constriction varied from complete contact, usually across one row of electrodes, to incomplete constriction. Tokens with incomplete constriction ranged from very constricted to very open articulations. An example of complete and incomplete constriction can be seen in Figure 10a, b. In 10b, the very open articulation and the presence of formants throughout the constriction phase of the rhotic indicate the production of an approximant.

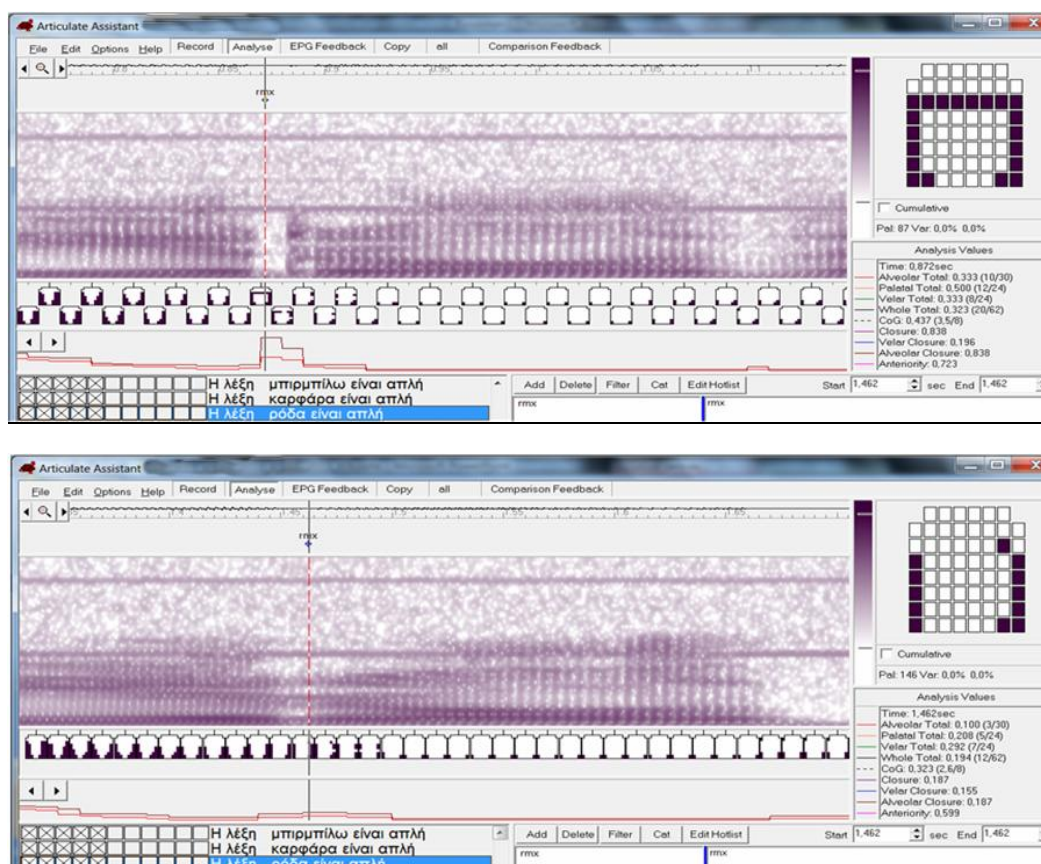


Figure 10 (a, b) Acoustic and electropalatographic data for the rhotic in the word ['roða] in word initial within phrase position. In (a) the rhotic is produced as a tap with complete constriction; in (b) there is incomplete constriction and further acoustic evidence of approximant production

Evidence of an effect of prosodic position on the degree of constriction was found in the data. In particular, more open articulations were observed for the rhotic in word initial within a phrase position compared to the other prosodic positions. A comparison of the data in Figures 9 and 11 for the rhotic in phrase initial and word initial position shows such variation in the degree of constriction.

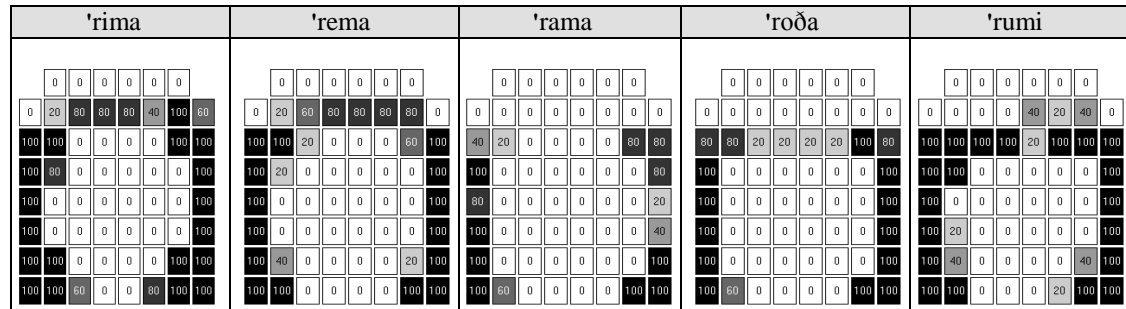


Figure 11 EPG palatograms displaying percentage frequency of electrode activation over five repetitions during the production of the /r/ in word initial within a phrase position in the words (from left to right) /'rima, 'rema, 'rama, 'roða, 'rumi/ by the female speaker MM

Variation in degree of contact, place of articulation and degree of constriction was also evident as a function of speaker. Both within and across speaker variation was observed. Figure 12 presents data from two speakers illustrating such differences in place and degree of constriction. Speaker TP shows overall more advanced and more constricted productions compared to AT. Differences in the amount of contact in the alveolar and palatal zones are also evident.

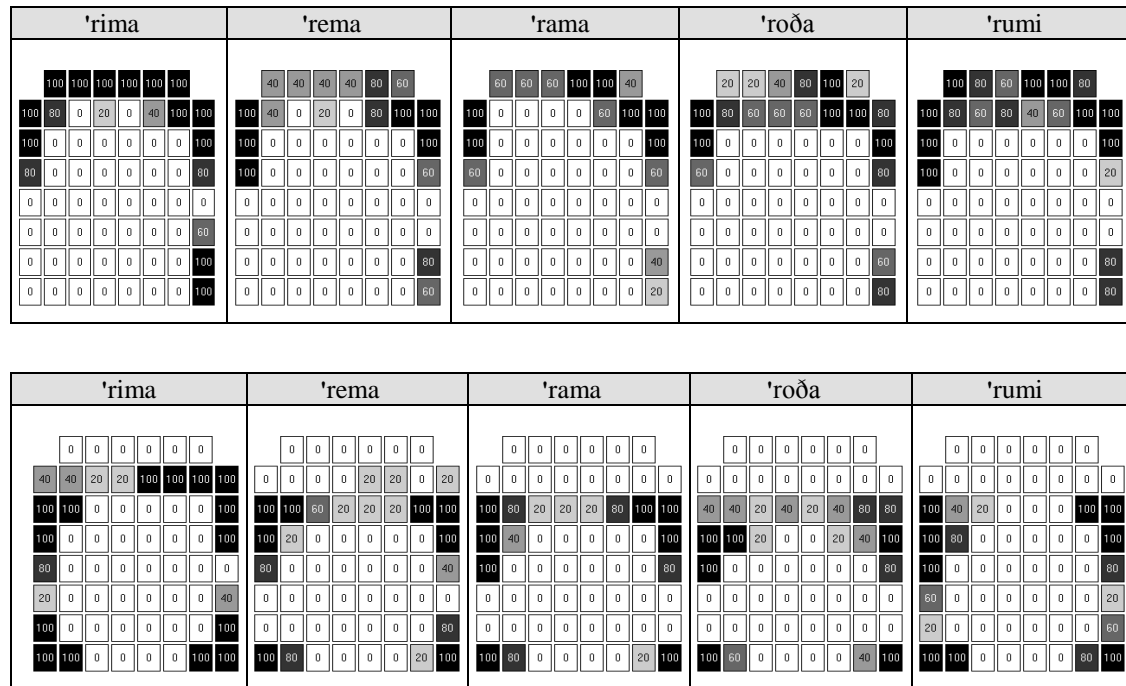


Figure 12 EPG palatograms displaying percentage frequency of electrode activation over five repetitions during the production of the /r/ in phrase initial position in the words (from left to right) /'rima, 'rema, 'rama, 'roða, 'rumi/ for speakers TP (top) and AT (bottom)

The analysis showed that a substantial number of rhotics, 236 out of 375 tokens (63%), were produced with incomplete constriction (Table 1). Both the prosodic position and the speaker influenced production. In particular, more tokens were produced with incomplete closure when the rhotic was in word initial position within a phrase. Speakers KN, AT and RP show considerably more instances of open productions compared to MM and TP; over 80% of tokens for AT and RP and 70% for KN had incomplete closure.

	KN	AT	RP	MM	TP
<i>phrase initial</i>	14	21	21	7	8
<i>word initial</i>	23	25	22	17	11
<i>word medial</i>	18	17	21	8	3
Total	55	63	64	32	22

Table 1 Number of rhotics produced with incomplete constriction in the different prosodic positions by the five speakers

Finally, ten tokens of trill production were found for speaker RP in phrase initial position. Figure 13 illustrates the production of the trill with acoustic and articulatory evidence of two constriction phases and vocoid intervals. The cursor on the spectrogram corresponds to the second constriction phase which is produced with incomplete constriction in the alveolar zone (see palatogram on the top right).

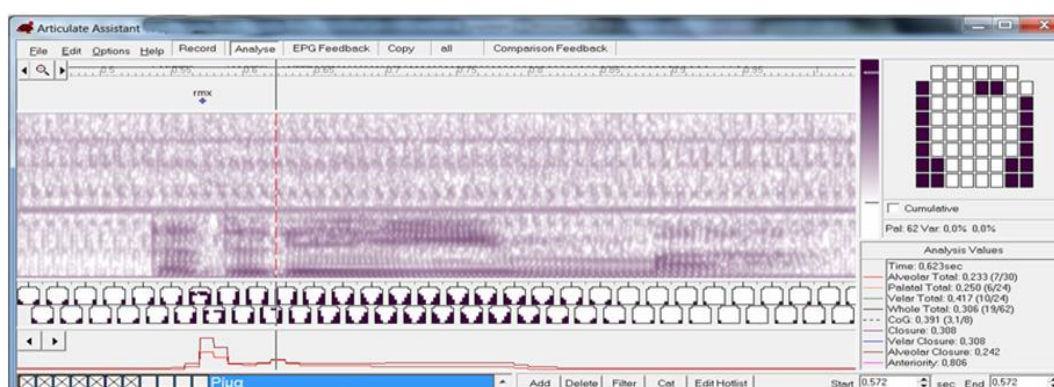


Figure 13 Acoustic and electropalatographic data for the rhotic in the word [rima] in phrase initial position produced by the female speaker RP. Trill production of the rhotic is illustrated

4. Discussion

The acoustic and articulatory data has shown that there is typically just one constriction present during the production of the rhotic, providing clear evidence for a tap rather than a trill in phrase initial, word initial and word medial position. It should be noted that there were a few tokens of trill production in phrase initial position by one speaker. The duration of the constriction phase was short ranging from 23 to 31 ms, similarly to previous findings from several languages (Lindau 1985; Recasens 1991; Recasens & Espinosa 2007). Such extreme brevity of the tap stems from a ballistic gesture whereby the tongue tip is thrown up against the alveolar ridge (cf. Ladefoged 1993: 168).

In addition to the constriction phase, a vocoid was also found in phrase initial position. Such a vocoid has been documented previously to occur in consonantal clusters or sequences with /r/ in several languages (see section 1). Evidence of its presence in phrase initial position suggests that this vocoid is an inherent part of the articulation of the rhotic which is necessary for the upcoming ballistic movement to take place (cf. Romero 1996 and Blecua 2001 for the rhotic in /Cr/ and rC sequences). Some first indications that this vocoid may be present in word initial within a phrase and word medial position, where the rhotic is flanked by vowels, was also provided. Such instances need to be further investigated but provide preliminary evidence that the rhotic is superimposed on a rhotic-specific vowel-to-vowel gesture (cf. Öhman 1966).

The quality of the vocoid depends on the nuclear vowel of the syllable with /r/. In particular, the vocoid shows similar but somewhat centralized frequencies compared to the nuclear vowel. Similar results were obtained in Nicolaidis & Baltazani (submitted) for /rC/ sequences where the vocoid had somewhat more centralized formant values than V1, the homosyllabic vowel in nuclear position. The similarity between the vocoid and the vowel on the other side of the tap constriction, especially for /Cr/ and /rC/ sequences, has been documented for other languages as well, for example, in several Spanish dialects, Catalan, Romanian, and Hungarian (Navarro Tomás 1918; Bradley & Schmeiser 2003; Bradley 2004; Colantoni & Steele 2005; Recasens & Espinosa 2007; Vago & Gósy 2007; Savu 2012). The fact that a similar structure for the tap has been found for phrase initial position in our data, in an environment that does not involve a second consonant, further indicates that the vocoid is part of the

articulation of the rhotic, with the short tap constriction being embedded on a longer vocalic gesture, which it momentarily interrupts (cf. Öhman 1966).

The duration differences found between the vocoid and the constriction further corroborate our interpretation of the rhotic as a tap. Standard descriptions of trills mention equal durations for the vocalic and consonantal intervals of the trill, something which is in accord with their articulatory descriptions as an involuntary trilling which is set in motion by aerodynamic forces (e.g. Recasens 1991). The duration data for phrase initial /r/ show that the vocoid is on average twice as long as the constriction, clear evidence that the Greek rhotic is not a trill.

In addition, variation in the duration of the rhotic (both for the constriction and vocoid intervals) and the formant structure of the vocoid were found due to speaker and prosodic position with an added influence of vowel quality on the formant structure of the vocoid. Smaller differences were found for the constriction than the vocoid, since the articulatory nature of the extremely short ballistic movement necessary for the production of the tap do not leave much freedom for lengthening.

The electropalatographic data provided evidence of variability in the place of articulation of the rhotic and in the degree of constriction as a function of the context, the prosodic position and the speaker. With reference to the place characteristics of the rhotic, it was consistently produced in the alveolar zone but its production ranged from front alveolar to retracted alveolar or postalveolar (cf. Nicolaidis 2001; Nicolaidis & Baltazani 2011, (submitted)). More fronted productions in the environment of the front vowels /i, e/ and more retracted productions in the back vowel environments were evident. Such contextual effects suggest that the tongue tip/blade adapts to the gestures for neighbouring phonetic segments during the production of the rhotic. Similar findings have been reported for taps in other languages (e.g. Recasens & Pallarès 1999; Recasens 1991).

In addition, the degree of constriction ranged from complete contact across one of more rows in the alveolar zone to very open articulations. Evidence that 63% of the tokens were produced with incomplete contact indicated that the rhotic frequently involves approximation of the lingual gesture to the palate (cf. Nicolaidis 2001; Nicolaidis & Baltazani 2011, (submitted)). For these tokens, presence of formant structure during the constriction phase provided further evidence of approximant production (cf. Baltazani 2005, 2009). Across the three prosodic positions examined, more open productions in word initial position within a phrase were found, compared to intervocalic and phrase initial positions, providing evidence of influence of prosodic position on the articulation of the rhotic. Interestingly, these results suggest that the factor regulating the amount of contact in the three prosodic positions is not solely the strength of the boundary since, for instance, more tokens with complete constriction were found intervocalically than in word initial position. This finding together with the variation reported for the duration of the constriction phase and the vocoid in the different prosodic positions (including the /Cr/ and /rC/ sequences examined in Nicolaidis & Baltazani 2011, (submitted)) suggest that more investigation is necessary to account for the spatial and temporal variation present during the production of the rhotic as a function of prosodic position.

Finally, the speaker was also an important source of variation with substantial differences in place of articulation (more fronted productions for some speakers and more retracted for others), constriction degree (more open productions vs more constricted productions) and overall amount of contact.

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Appendix A

The experimental material shown below in A, B, and C corresponds to the prosodic positions explained in the text. The target sequences measured are shown in bold.

A. [r] in intervocalic position, in a carrier sentence.							
	Μαρίκα			ma'rika			'marika'
	μαράκα			ma'raka			'maraka'
Η λέξη	μαρέγκα	είναι απλή	[i 'leksi	ma'rega	'ine a'pli]	'The word	'marega'
	Μαρόκο			ma'roko			'maroko'
	μαρούλι			ma'ruli			'maruli'
B. [r] in phrase initial position.							
<i>Ρίμα</i>	<i>Ρόδα</i>		<i>Ρέμα</i>	<i>Ράμα</i>		<i>Ρούμι</i>	
['rima]	['roða]		['rema]	['rama]		['rumi]	
'Rhyme'	'Wheel'		'stream'	'Stitch'		'Rum'	
C. [r] in word-initial, phrase medial position.							
	ρίμα			'rima			'rima'
	ρόδα			'roða			'roda'
Η λέξη	ρέμα	είναι απλή	[i 'leksi	'rema	'ine a'pli]	'The word	'rema'
	ράμα			'rama			'rama'
	ρούμι			'rumi			'rumi'

Appendix B

Vocoid duration: phrase initial /r/

	/r _i ma/	/r _e ma/	/r _a ma/	/r _o ða/	/r _u mi/	Cross word avg
TA	67,96	71,17	61,42	68,27	57,43	65,25
AP	42,36	42,90	57,71	45,19	55,83	48,80
KN	61,77	64,25	48,00	59,43	45,42	55,77
MM	30,51	36,88	50,58	33,86	38,74	38,11
RP	31,34	47,86	trill	55,43	42,23	44,21
Cross sp avg	46,79	52,61	54,43	52,44	47,93	50,43

Constriction duration: phrase initial /r/

	/r _i ma/	/r _e ma/	/r _a ma/	/r _o ða/	/r _u mi/	Cross word avg
TA	21,09	28,19	24,75	24,32	23,34	24,33
AP	30,43	25,52	27,60	42,57	18,48	28,92
KN	23,95	28,77	21,80	25,67	23,21	24,68
MM	19,35	23,08	17,81	21,37	18,76	20,07
RP	22,73	25,95	21,80	22,28	35,87	25,73
cross sp avg	23,51	26,30	22,75	27,24	23,93	24,75

Constriction duration: word initial /r/

	/r _i ma/	/r _e ma/	/r _a ma/	/r _o ða/	/r _u mi/	Cross word avg
TA	28,97	24,77	32,22	24,24	33,68	28,78
AP	31,09	35,77	39,85	25,49	30,95	32,63
KN	25,76	32,55	37,41	34,47	36,87	33,41
MM	22,25	26,09	29,81	29,16	36,76	28,81
RP	29,48	30,57	52,60	24,59	39,32	35,31
Cross sp avg	27,51	29,95	38,38	27,59	35,52	31,79

Constriction duration: intervocalic /r/

	/ma'r _i ka/	/ma'r _e ga/	/ma'r _a ka/	/ma'r _o ko/	/ma'r _u li/	Cross word avg
TA	25,68	25,94	25,89	29,33	27,09	26,78
AP	31,06	30,56	21,89	23,15	26,51	26,63
KN	23,14	17,83	20,39	16,42	26,95	20,95
MM	17,36	18,31	20,11	22,47	27,49	21,15
RP	21,86	21,04	19,06	19,81	23,78	21,11
Cross sp avg	23,82	22,73	21,47	22,24	26,36	23,32

ON SOME PHONETIC AND PHONOLOGICAL PROPERTIES OF THE GREEK GLIDE

Mary Baltazani

University of Ioannina, Greece
mbaltaz@cc.uoi.gr

Nina Topintzi

Universität Leipzig, Germany
nina.topintzi@uni-leipzig.de

ABSTRACT

This paper presents preliminary results of two experiments investigating acoustic characteristics of the glide in several environments in Greek. We show that the phonological claims of Topintzi&Baltazani (to appear) regarding the phonemic status of both /i/ and the glide /j/ as well as of the existence of two separate palatalization processes (simple vs. extreme) are phonetically supported. In the first experiment, different degrees of curvature in the F2 trajectory and different transition rates distinguish /Vi/ hiatuses from /Vj/ diphthongs. The second experiment supports the distinction between simple and extreme palatalization as signaled by durational and formant differences.

Keywords: Glide, diphthong, hiatus, palatalization, onglide transition, duration, formant trajectory, transition rates

1. Introduction and Aims

Considerable literature has been devoted to understanding the perplexing phonological distribution of the Greek glide because of its propensity to act both as an independent phoneme and as an allophone of /i/ (Mirambel 1959; Koutsoudas 1962; Householder 1964; Kazazis 1968; Setatos 1974; Warburton 1976; Nyman 1981; Malavakis 1984; Nikolopoulos 1985; Deligiorgis 1987; Malikouti-Drachman&Drachman 1990; Rytting 2005; Topintzi&Baltazani (to appear)). All previous analyses, however, have been relying on an impressionistic characterization of this segment, since an analysis of its phonetic nature is still lacking¹.

In this paper, we attempt to understand the nature of the glide by examining its acoustic properties in several environments, invoke new questions and provide insights to segments related to it, such as the palatals². Standard Modern Greek has a palatal glide³, whose phonetic realization depends on the phonetic environment, its position within the syllable, and, according to the acoustic results in this paper, on the morphophonological environment. Roughly speaking, postconsonantly it emerges as a fricative (voiced [j] or voiceless [ç]), but if there's a /l/ or /n/ directly preceding it, it surfaces as palatal lateral [ɭ] or nasal respectively [ɳ]. Postvocally however, it has been impressionistically claimed to surface as a true approximant [j] (references), a fact that we phonetically establish for the first time in the present work. Note that whenever our focus is on phonology and not phonetics, we will be using the shorthand GLIDE or /J/ to refer to all the possible realizations of this segment. The paper is structured as follows: Section 2 addresses phonological issues of the glide and poses questions that the phonetic investigation in §3 and §4 seeks to answer. In particular, §2.1 examines phonological diagnostics that differentiate the glide from the front high vowel. §2.2 summarizes a recent phonological analysis of the postconsonantal glide/onglide (Topintzi&Baltazani (to appear)), also presently adopted. Section 3 presents the first experiment –dealing with the phonetics of postvocalic glides and section 4 presents the second experiment

¹There is only a brief mention in Arvaniti (1999, 2007), where the glide is described as a palatal fricative.

²Note that in the articulatory analysis of Nicolaidis (2003) these segments are described as palatalized velars.

³ This is not true for other dialects. For example, Baltazani&Topintzi (2010) show that Northwestern Greek dialects also exhibit the glide [w].

examining postconsonantal glides. Finally, in section 5 we offer a discussion on the implications for the analysis and understanding of the glide.

2. (Morpho)phonology of the glide

2.1 Glide vs. /i/ diagnostics

Identification of a /V+highvocoid/ sequence as involving an autosegmental [Vj] or a heterosyllabic [V.i] string is not straightforward for native Greek speakers. We offer several diagnostics, however, which facilitate the task. Notably, the fact that [i] and [j] are distinct from one another in the same environment corroborates the idea that both these sounds are phonemic in the language. Diagnostics A-C are useful for the detection of postvocalic glides, while Diagnostic D for the detection of postconsonantal ones. To begin with, consider how the trisyllabic window constraint of Greek stress (restricting the appearance of stress on the final three syllables of a word) enlightens us on glide identification. Forms in (1a) must contain a glide, since otherwise stress would be on the pre-antepenult, which is illicit. For the examples in (1b) though this issue is irrelevant, given that either syllabification respects the trisyllabic window.

(1)	Diagnostic A: Trisyllabic stress window		
	<i>Antepenult</i>	<i>Pre-antepenult</i>	<i>Gloss</i>
(a)	yáj.ða.ros ⁴	*yá.i.ða.ros	“donkey”
	xáj.ðe.ma	*xá.i.ðe.ma	“caressing”
(b)	ne.ráj.ða	ne.rá.i.ða	“fairy”
	psa.ro.káj.ko	psa.ro.ká.i.ko	“fishing boat”

Tokens of the (1b) type thus warrant a different diagnostic. This comes from the so-called enclitic stress (ES) that appears on words normally stressed on the antepenult when followed by a possessive clitic, *mu* “my”, *su* “your”, etc. In such instances, a second, enclitic, stress emerges as illustrated below. We abstract away from the issue of which stress is considered primary and which secondary.

(2)	Diagnostic B: Enclitic stress		
	<i>Enclitic stress</i>	<i>No enclitic stress</i>	<i>Gloss</i>
(a)	án.θro.póz mu	*án.θro.poz mu	“my person”
(b)	psa.ro.ká.i.kó mu	*psa.ro.káj.ko mu	“my fishing boat”
(c)	*ne.rá.i.ða mu	ne.ráj.ða mu	“my fairy”

(2a) exemplifies normal application of ES without the presence of any vocoid. The antepenultimately-stressed [án.θro.pos] receives an additional stress on the ultima once the clitic attaches to it. (2b) shows application of ES which is only possible if we assume that the /V+highvocoid/ sequence is heterosyllabic. (2c) on the other hand demonstrates that an offglide has to be assumed since no-ES appears.

The third diagnostic also employs stress. Under certain types of prefixation, e.g. with [paʎo-] ‘old-’, [θeo-] ‘god-’ or [pan-] ‘all’, among others, stress shifts from its original position and retracts to the antepenult. Once more, if these prefixes attach to words containing vocalic sequences in the right position, we can spot the difference between /i/ and /j/.

(3) Diagnostic C: prefixation		
(a)	[kaíci] “small boat”	pa.ʎo.ká.i.ko *pa.ʎó.kaj.ko “old small boat”
(b)	[xaiváni] ⁵ “jackass”	pa.ʎo.xáj.va.no *pa.ʎo.xa.í.va.no “rotten jackass”

⁴Throughout the paper the /r/ symbol is used for the Greek rhotic instead of the tap for practical reasons. Similarly, the vowels are transcribed as /i, e, a, o, u/. For a description of the quality of the Greek vowels, see Arvaniti (1999, 2007).

⁵ We use the Greek grapheme *iota* *i* here to indicate that either [i] or [j] would be compatible with this example. Of course, once we apply our diagnostics, its true nature becomes clear.

The final diagnostic to consider here applies to postconsonantal positions, thus it differentiates between /i/ and the onglide. As becomes evident through the near-minimal pairs of (4), /i/ and /J/ are contrastive.

- (4) **Diagnostic D:** minimal pairs
- | | | | |
|----------|-----------------|---------|--------------------|
| á.ði.a | “permission” | á.ðja | “empty-FEM-NOM-SG” |
| sci.á.zo | “shade” | scá.zo | “scare” |
| pi.é.ste | “press-2PL-IMP” | pç'este | “drink-2PL-IMP” |
| ó.pi.o | “opium” | ó.pço | “whichever” |

The picture though is not as yet complete. While /i/ and /J/ indeed contrast, there are also cases where they alternate with one another, indicating an allophonic relationship too. A well-known and highly productive alternation of this type arises in the paradigm of neuter nouns ending in *-i*.

- (5) [i]~[j] alternations
- | | | | |
|----------|----------|-----------|-----------|
| pó.ði | “foot” | pó.ðja | “feet” |
| ðo.ká.ri | “girder” | ðo.kár.ja | “girders” |
| má.ti | “eye” | má.tça | “eyes” |

2.2 Summary of Topintzi&Baltazani (to appear)

To account for the observation that /i/-/J/ can both contrast as well as alternate, we adopt a recent analysis in Topintzi&Baltazani(to appear), whereby we suggest that both /i/ and /J/ are phonemes that can neutralize in specific contexts due to morphophonological pressure. In particular, it is claimed that word-internal hiatus is generally admitted in the language (IDENT-IO[±voc] >> *VV⁶). This means that an underlying glide and an underlying high front vowel normally surface intact, as for instance, in [xaj.vá.ni] “jackass” vs. [la.i.kós] “public”. The contrast however is neutralized under the influence of the paradigmatic constraint requiring an identical number of syllables throughout a paradigm (OP-Faith-σ#) and the ranking in (7).

- (6) OP-Faith-σ#: Words in a paradigm have an identical number of syllables (cf. Bat-El 2008)
- (7) *i-J alternation vs. lack thereof*
OP-Faith-σ# >> IDENT-IO[±voc] >> *VV

This explains why hiatus is tolerated throughout the paradigm of nouns ending in <-io>, e.g. ðomátio - ðomatíu “room-NOM.SG.” vs. “room-GEN.SG”, but is resolved in the nouns in <-i>, e.g. ðemáti - ðematçi “sheaf-NOM.SG.” vs. “sheaf-GEN.SG”. While in the former case the number of syllables across the paradigm remains constant and thus hiatus is permitted⁷, the only way to keep the number of syllables identical in the latter example (and simultaneously conform to the language’s phonotactics) is through i-J alternation. For details and the technical aspects of the analysis, see Topintzi&Baltazani (to appear).

The analysis of the glide has welcome extensions for the understanding of Greek palatals in general. For starters, consider the fact that the examples [pó.ði - pó.ðja] “foot - feet” and [ní.çi - ní.ça] “nail - nails” are morphophonologically comparable and thus ought to receive the same account. In addition, notice that the palatal in the NOM.SG. [ní.çi] corresponds to palatalization as velar fronting before a front vowel, whereas the palatal in the NOM.PL. [ní.ça] is more complex, since it should also involve gliding, in analogy to [pó.ðja].

We thus propose that there are two types of phonological palatalization in Greek. The former is termed *simple palatalization* and occurs in underived environments, as in [cípos] “garden”. It can be schematized

⁶ We adopt Nevins’ and Chitoran’s (2008) view that the feature that distinguishes vowels from glides is [+/- vocalic]. Vowels are [+voc], glides are [-voc]. Glides thus can pattern with vowels because they share [-cons] and can pattern with consonants because they share [-voc].

⁷ OP-Faith-σ# would also be satisfied if the paradigm wholly contained a glide, e.g. [ðomatço - ðomatçi], but this would cause unnecessary IDENT-IO [±voc] violations. Of course, one also predicts such paradigms stemming from words with input glides. This prediction is borne out, e.g. [psóno - psónu] “shopping”.

as *Velar+i,e* → *Palatal+i,e*. The second type comes under the name of *extreme palatalization* (cf. Bateman 2007 and references therein) and involves the palatalization of a consonant (either a velar obstruent or *n, l*) before a glide, which subsequently gets to be absorbed by the newly created palatal. Thus, schematically: *Velar/Alveolar+J+V* → *Palatal+V*. We additionally claim that extreme palatalization not only occurs in derived environments, cf. [ní.ça], but also in underived ones, e.g. [çóni] “snow”. Consequently, palatals in Greek – apart from /j/, that is – are always derived and originate from either plain velars (simple palatalization) or from velars + J (extreme palatalization). Notably this analysis accounts for the seemingly phonemic nature of palatals in minimal pairs like [xóni] “sticks in” vs. [çóni] “snow”, [náta] “there they are” vs. [náta] “youth”, among others.

2.3 Experimental questions

The preceding phonological discussion generates a number of interesting questions about the phonetic character of the glide, which, to our knowledge, have not been investigated in Greek. This paper forms part of a bigger project which addresses these issues testing the /i/ vs. /j/ phonemic hypothesis and the distinction among the three palatalization processes outlined above. Here we present results from a subset of the speakers that were recorded and of the measurements that have been planned (see below for details). In §3 we present findings regarding /V+high front vocoid/ sequences (henceforth postvocalic environments) and in §4 /palatal C+V/ sequences (postconsonantal environments).

3. Experiment 1 – postvocalic environment

In postvocalic environments, it is not always clear whether /V+high front vocoid/ sequences are hiatuses (vowel-vowel) or diphthongs (vowel-glide). The diagnostic tests (section 2.1) are moot in words with final or penultimate stress after the /V+high front vocoid/ sequence. As a result of this limitation, we decided to inspect sequences where our diagnostic tests do distinguish between /V+i/ and /V+j/ for acoustic differences between them.

3.1 Methodology

We report preliminary results from four female speakers, AM, SL, VM and PM, who were recorded in a quiet room with a head-mounted microphone directly into the computer, reading the material presented to them in random order on slides on the computer screen, at a comfortable speed. After manual segmentation of the target segments (see below for criteria), durations of palatal segments and their surrounding vocoids (/i/ and /j/), as well as formants of vocoids were automatically obtained using Praat scripts (Boersma & Weenink 2007).

20 words were used (Table 1) in two vocoid (/j/ or /i/), two stress (stressed/unstressed preceding V) and two focus (focussed/unfocussed word) conditions. Table 1 presents the materials: the first two columns show the 10 words that contained a [V+i] sequence and the last two columns the 10 words with a [V+j]⁸ sequence (5 with a stressed and 5 with an unstressed V). The target words were embedded in a sentence (a) without focus [leo ___ ksana] “I say ___ again” and (b) with focus [ipa ___, oxi ___] “I said x, not y”, where y is a word contrasting with x. The resulting corpus contained 160 tokens (4 speakers X 20 words X 2 focus conditions).

⁸No consistent terms are used in the literature for these sequences. From here on, we call tautosyllabic sequences ‘diphthongs’ and heterosyllabic ones ‘hiatuses’.

Stressed [i]	Unstressed [i]	Stressed [j]	Unstressed [j]
táizma “feeding”	aθinaikós “athenian”	xájdema “caressing”	majmú “monkey”
psarokáiko “fishing boat”	mosaikó “mosaic”	nerájða “fairy”	kajmáci “cream”
áipnos “sleepless”	laikós “folksy”	májna “mynah”	majdanós “parsley”
máios “May”	aploikós “simplistic”	korójðo “sucker”	xajváni “jackass”
vúizma “buzzing”	plainí “side”	yájðaros “donkey”	xajmalí “amulet”

Table 1 Material for Experiment 1

According to the cross-linguistic literature the most consistent index for the glide/i distinction is the F2 transition trajectory (Gay 1968; Ren 1986; Aguilar 1999). Fast transitions are interpreted as a diphthong whereas slow ones are interpreted as a hiatus (cf. Chitoran 2002). F2 values for [i] and [j] were automatically measured through a Praat script at 0%, 25%, 50%, 75%, 100% points and the range of the F2 curvature was determined by the difference between the maximum frequency value and the values at the beginning and end points. The rate of F2 change was calculated by dividing the start-max distance in frequency by the corresponding distance in time, and the durations of [i] were compared to those of [j] across stress and focus conditions. Examples illustrating the criteria for segmenting the vowel from the following [j/i] are provided in 3.2.

3.2 Segmentation

The onset and offset of the vocalic sequence were marked at the onset/offset of periodicity next to a stop closure, burst, or noise, or next to frication period, and as the beginning/end of larger period or greater amplitude next to nasals or liquids.

The [V+i] sequences (Figure 1) were the most straightforward to segment, as they typically had two steady states, one for each vowel. In the sequence /ai/ from the word /plainí/ “side” produced by speaker AM, the boundary between the vowel and the following /i/ is marked at the end of the steady state for /a/. The entire transition from the steady state of /a/ to the steady state of /i/ has been included in /i/ so that the curvature in the F2 trajectory could be compared across experimental conditions. Notice also that there is a change in amplitude at the F2 transition onset, a common occurrence in our data. We followed this method for all hiatus tokens.

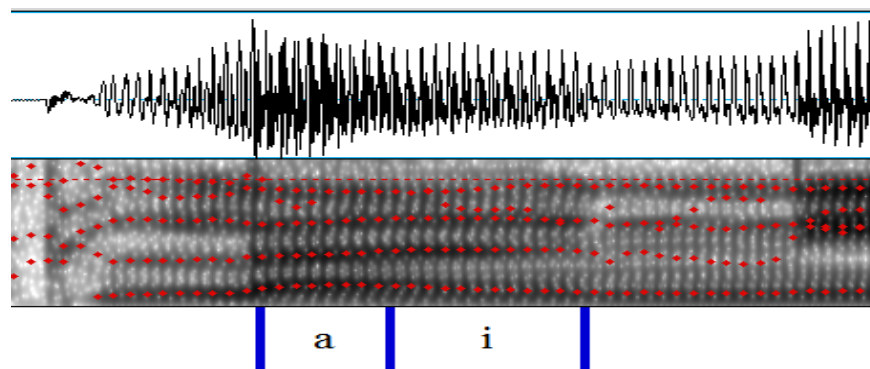


Figure 1 Speaker AM, /plainí/ “side”. There is a clear steady state in both V1 and /i/ in this example and the F2 transition onset from /a/ to /i/ is clear. There is also a change in amplitude at the F2 transition onset

The [V+j] sequences were frequently much more difficult to segment, as the typical structure for diphthongs showed a continuous transition from V to [j] and no steady state was easily discernible, as Figure 2 illustrates. The sequence shown is [aj] from the word [majdanós] “parsley”. We followed criteria used for Chinese diphthongs in Ren (1986) and Romanian in Chitoran (2002), to define the transition onset from V to the [j] as the lowest F2 value at the end of V, before a rise of at least 20 Hz. The change in amplitude in the waveform at the F2 transition onset is visible in this example, as well.

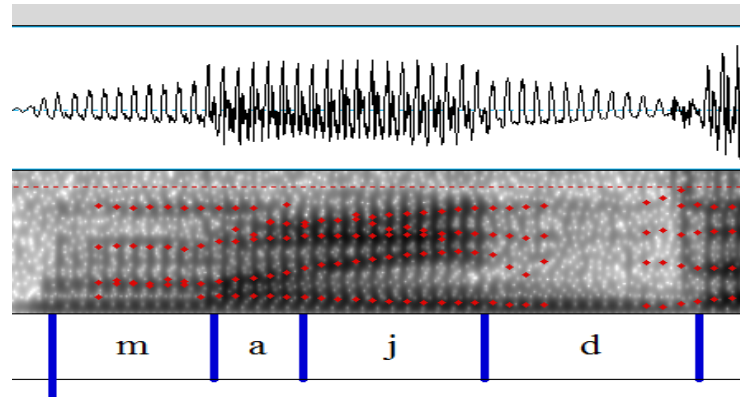


Figure 2 Speaker AM, [majdanós] “parsley”. This example illustrates tokens that were difficult to segment since no clear steady state is discernible

3.3 Results

The results did not show duration differences between hiatuses and diphthongs; they did, however, show differences in F2 transition values. Duration results are presented first.

The duration of [i] and [j] showed variability across speakers, segments and focus conditions. Figure 3 shows representative results of the average durations across tokens for two out of the four speakers analysed, AM (top) and PM (bottom). Stressed [i] and [j] were longer than their unstressed counterpart. Apart from that, no other general trend can be observed to differentiate hiatuses from diphthongs. Notice for example that while focussed and stressed [i] and [j] are longer than unfocussed ones for speaker AM, the same does not hold for speaker PM. Moreover, focussed unstressed [j] is longer than [i] for AM, but the opposite holds for PM. These results, although tentative since they are based on a small number of speakers, suggest that duration cannot safely differentiate between hiatuses and diphthongs.

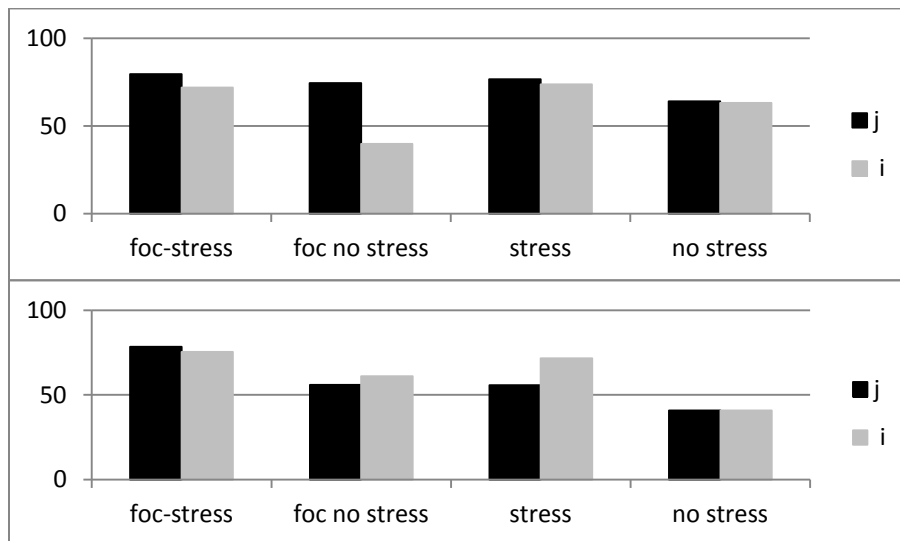


Figure 3 Duration of [i] and [j] in vocalic sequences across stress and focus conditions shown for two of the four speakers, namely AM (top), PM (bottom)

Evidence of a difference between a [Vi] hiatus and a [Vj] diphthong was evident, however, in the F2 comparisons, where, a greater F2 curvature was observed for [j], resulting from a greater difference between the maximum F2 value and the start and end values, as shown in Figure 4. Comparable results were found for the other two speakers. In addition to the greater F2 curvature, much less variability is exhibited in the beginning, max and end point values for [j] than for [i], suggesting less articulatory freedom for the former. Stress and focus did not show a consistent effect on F2.

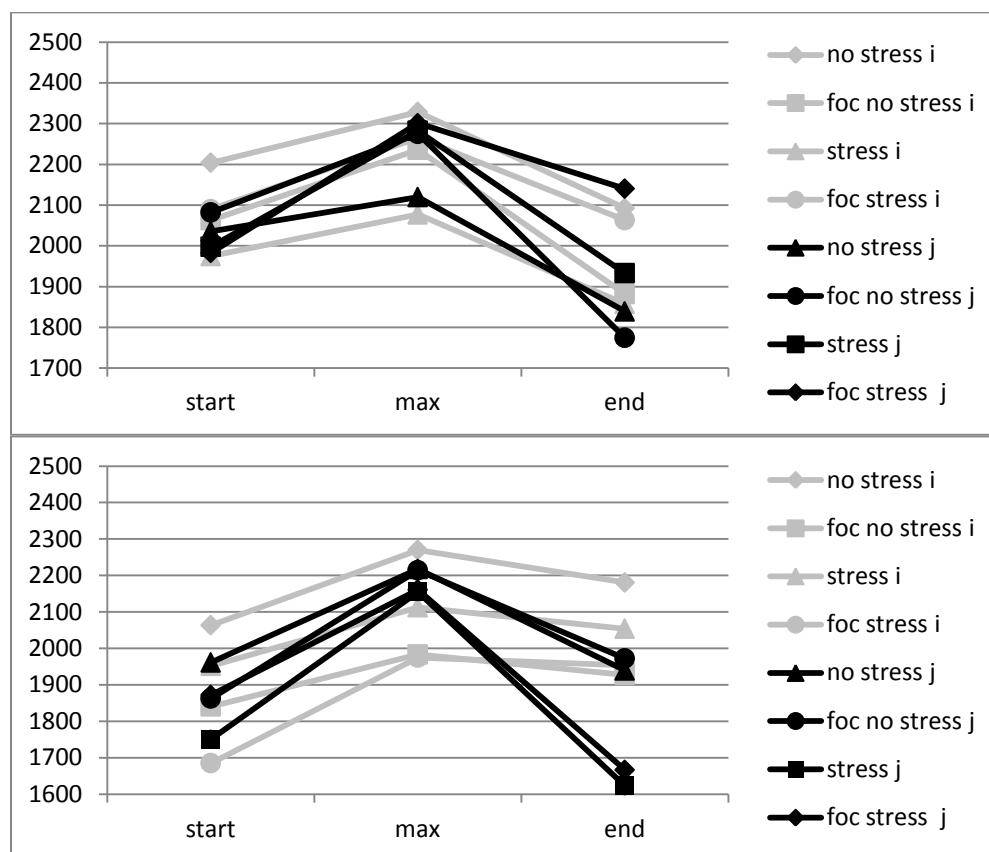


Figure 4 F2 trajectories for hiatus and diphthong for VM (top) AM (bottom)

The rate of F2 change results (Figure 5) revealed that on average, across experimental conditions, transitions from V1 into [j] were faster than those from V1 to [i]. Similar results have been reported in Chitoran (2002). Figure 5 shows representative results for two out of the four speakers analysed, namely, AM (left) and VM (right). Although the general trend for all four speakers analyzed was faster transitions for diphthongs, it was not consistent across all experimental conditions, as can be observed in focus-stressed condition for AM and unstressed condition for VM, and therefore our conclusions are tentative, awaiting confirmation from the analysis of the four additional speakers recorded.

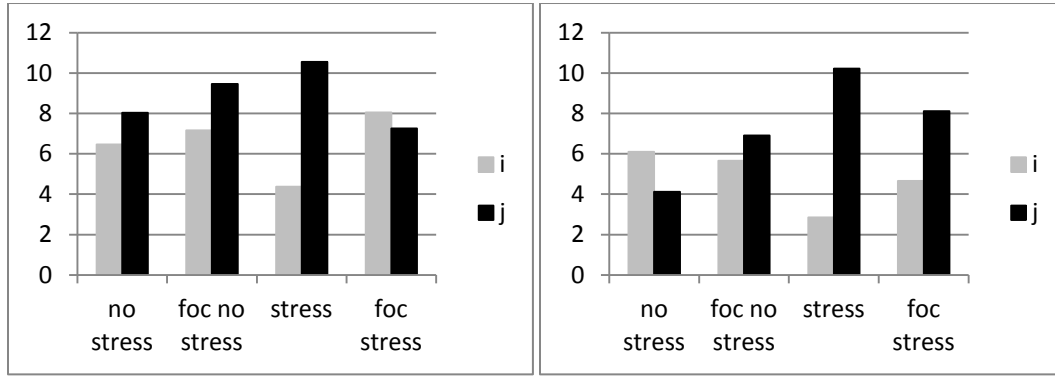


Figure 5 F2 transition rates for hiatuses and diphthongs for AM (left) and VM (right)

4. Experiment 2 – postconsonantal environment

Postconsonantal sequences were investigated for phonetic differences among segments participating in different palatalization processes:

- Simple palatalization: Velar⁹ + /i, e/ → Palatal + /i, e/, that is, a process where the palatalization target does not absorb the palatalization trigger, i.e. *afront*, non-low V, cf. /kípos/ → [cípos] “garden”, /kerós/ → [cerós]
- Extreme palatalization whereby the triggering high glide is absorbed by the resulting palatal consonant:
 - Velar/Alveolar + J+V → Palatal+V in morphologically underived environments, e.g. [çóni] “snow”
 - Velar/Alveolar + J+V → Palatal+V in morphologically derived environments, e.g. [níç+a] “nails”, with a morphological boundary between the palatal and the following vowel, in this case the neuter plural marker

4.1 Methodology

The materials were recorded together with those for postvocalic sequences (section 3). Six categories of target words, one per segment [ç, j, c, ʝ, ɲ, ʎ] were tested across three conditions: Simple pal. (SP), extreme derived (EDP) and extreme underived (EUP).

	SP	EDP	EUP
ç	níç <i>i</i> “nail”	níç <i>a</i> “nails”	çonás “wintry weather”
j	zíj <i>i</i> “weight”	zíj <i>a</i> “weights”	jojó “yo-yo”
c	lúc <i>i</i> “gully”	lúc <i>a</i> “gullies”	cotís “coward”
ʝ	cúj <i>i</i> “jar”	cúj <i>a</i> “jars”	julékas “(name)”
n/ɲ	pçón <i>i</i> “pawn”	pçón <i>a</i> “pawns”	ɲonó “brain”
ʎ	vól <i>i</i> “bullet”	vól <i>a</i> “bullets”	ʎodári “lion”

Table 2 Materials for postconsonantal sequences

⁹ Palatalization does not directly affect labials or coronal obstruents, e.g. [pçáto] “plate”, [ðódja], where both the obstruent and the following glide surface, although it should be pointed out that the glide is strengthened to a fricative. This is unsurprising, since palatalization typically applies to a subset of consonants (cf. Bateman 2007).

Several measurements have been planned (F2 of C, V and C-to-V transitions, duration of C, V and C-to-V transitions, intensity, and center of gravity of consonantal release); in this paper we are reporting on duration of the palatal segments and on F2 of the transitions from the palatal into the following vowel: NíChiosáin & Padgett (2012) report higher F2 for vowels next to palatalized consonants, which predicts differences in F2 for the C-to-V transitions among SP, EDP and EUP, if these three processes involve different degrees of trigger absorption.

4.2 Segmentation

Similar segmentation criteria to those in Experiment 1 were used (see 3.2). Figure 6 shows a representative example, the sequence [ja] contained in the word [cúja] “jars”, produced by speaker PM (N.B: to aid relevant measurements, [j] in the annotation marks transition from the palatal to the beginning of the steady state of the following V). The left boundaries of palatal segments were marked at the end of formant structure of the vowel preceding them and their right boundaries either at the onset of noise or the onset of formant structure of the following vowel. For a full description of this example, see section 4.3.

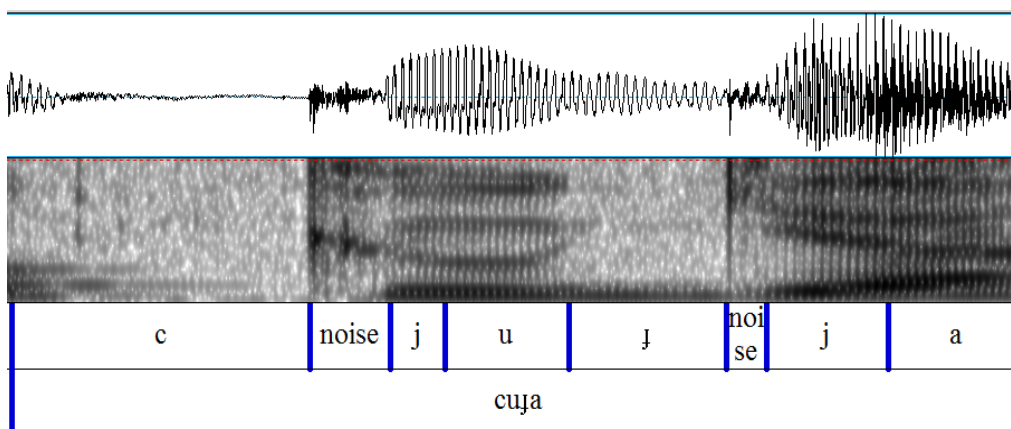


Figure 6 Two instances of extreme palatalization in the word *cúja*, “jars” (underived in [cú]; derived in [ja])

4.3 Results

Our results showed that the three palatalization processes (SP, EDP, EUP) differ in the acoustic parameters of their phonetic realization examined in this paper. Before proceeding with the duration and formant results we first discuss three representative examples.

Figure 6 nicely illustrates many characteristic events in extreme palatalization both at morpheme boundaries, i.e. the sequence [ja], as well as in underived environments, i.e. in [cú]. The effect of the palatal consonants is visible on the vowels on either side of each consonant, showing a high F2 on glide/offglide (whose movement is also visible during the noise of the palatal /c/). Notice however that the downward F2 movement after the /j/ starts from a much higher point, (2345 Hz), compared to that after /c/, (1751 Hz), and similar to the point (2387 Hz) where the downward F2 movement starts during the noise of /c/. Moreover, the rate of F2 change from /c/ to /u/ is much faster than from /j/ to /a/, 8.19 and 14.65 Hz/ms respectively. The transition in /u/ is steeper and much shorter in duration: 26ms in /u/, 57ms in /a/. These phonetic differences were consistently found in our data and suggest that in EDP there is a smaller degree of absorption of the triggering [j] than in EUP. For some of the speakers there were no transitions at all in EUP environments like in Figure 7, which shows the sequence [çɔ] in the word [çonás], something that was never observed in EDP environments (see 4.3.1).

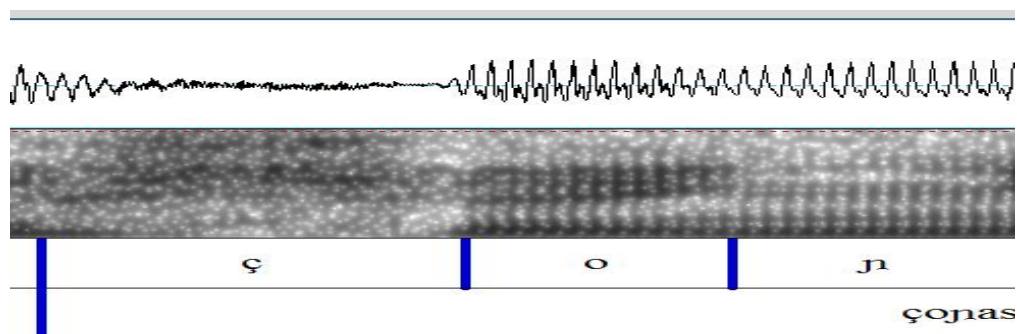


Figure 7 Extreme palatalization in underived environments in the sequence [çɔ] in the word [çopás] “wintry weather”, speaker AM. There are no transitions from the palatal consonant into [ɔ]

Finally, Figure 8 presents an example of simple palatalization. The figure shows the word [cúji], “jar” (cf. Fig 6). The [i] in the sequence [ji] is, as expected, much longer than the [j] transition in the previous examples.

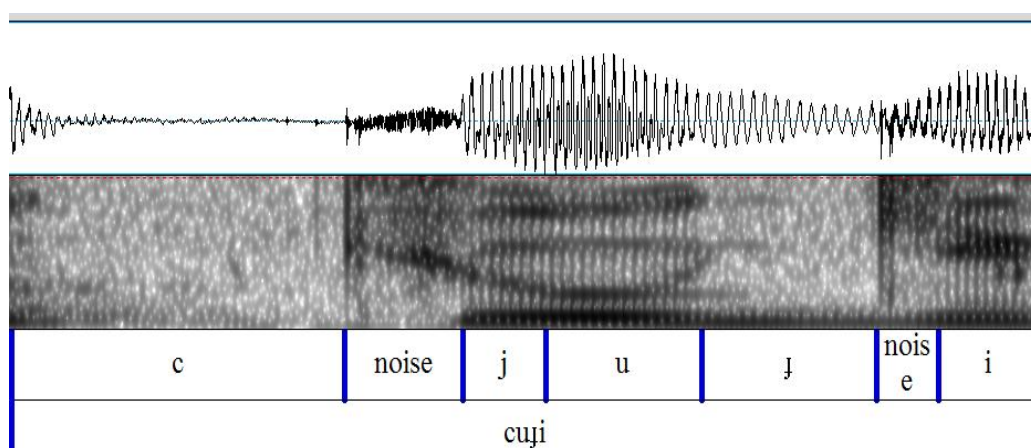


Figure 8 Simple palatalization in the sequence [ji] in the word [cúji], “jar”

In the following two sections, we present duration and formant results.

4.3.1 Duration

Variation in the duration for consonants, vowels and speakers was evident across conditions in our data. Starting with consonant duration, the analysis showed no consistent trend other than variability for the palatal consonants and the low/back vowels following them. In addition to these segments, we also compared the duration of the glide-like transition from the palatal consonant to the following low or back vowel (Figure 9). The six panels in Figure 9 show durations of the glide transition in EDP environments (black) and EUP environments (striped), for [ç, j, c, ʝ, ɲ/n, ʎ/l] in order from top left to bottom right. In order to appreciate the transition length, these durations are also compared with the duration of the full vowel [i] which follows the palatal consonants in SP environments. On average the transition duration in EDP environments (33.25 ms) is almost 50% that of a full vowel [i] in SP (56.75ms) and almost double that of the transition in EUP environments (18.25 ms). Moreover the maximum transition duration in EDP environments is on average 75% the duration of the vowel [i] in SP, in other words, this transition is quite substantial in duration.

The difference in duration between the transitions in EDP and EUP environments is evident in Figure 9. More concretely, the transition in EDP environments was longer than that in EUP ones in all but one environment (for speaker PM after the consonant [j]). For some speakers and palatal segments (e.g. the top

left panel) there was no [j] transition at all evident in extreme palatalization in underived environments. Moreover, the transition in EDP is longer than the full segment [i] in simple palatalization, as can be seen for speaker AM in the panels for j, n/n, ʌ/l and speaker PM in the panel for n/n. These results offer evidence in support of our phonological analysis of the different palatalization processes.

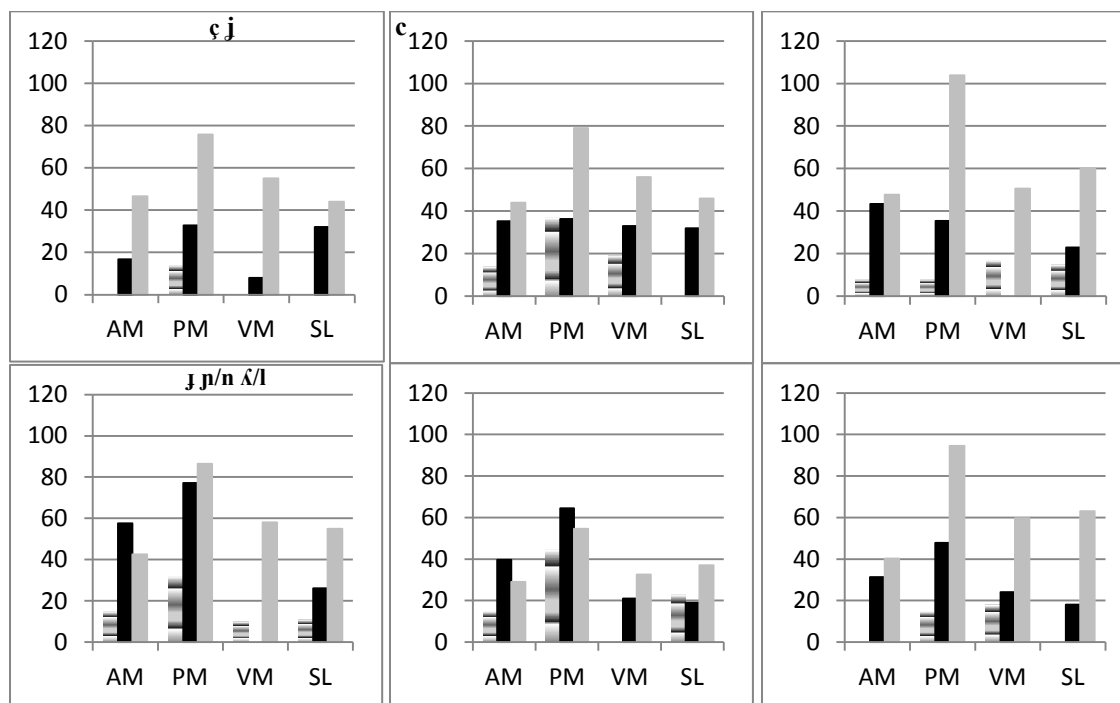


Figure 9 Transition durations across palatalization conditions.SP (grey), EDP (black) and EUP(striped), are shown for [ç, j, c, j, n/n, ʌ/l] in order from top left to bottom right

4.3.2 Formants

More evidence for the differences among palatalization conditions is provided by the formant analysis. In order to make comparisons among the three palatalization processes, we obtained the F1 and F2 values at a point 5ms into the vowel after the palatal consonant (henceforth *transition point*) in all three palatalization conditions, so that the transition from the consonant into the vowel can be captured; any consistent differences in the quality of this transition point, combined with the duration differences reported above, could arguably be ascribed to different degrees of absorption of the palatalizing trigger by the preceding consonant. Figure 10 shows the position of the transition point in the F1XF2 space for each of the three conditions across the different consonantal environments. EDP (black) and EUP (grey) values are compared to each other and also to the corresponding values for [i] in SP¹⁰ (white) so that the position of this transition point can be appreciated in relation to the position of the vowel [i]. To begin with, the space covered by the points in each condition is clearly separated and also the position of the transition points for both EDP and EUP are further back and lower in the F1XF2 space than that for SP, which is expected since the quality of these points is also influenced by the upcoming back and low vowels.

Moreover, the position of the transition point in simple palatalization is much less variable than those in EDP and EUP. Finally, the position of the transition point for EDP is more variable across segments than that for EUP. This last result in combination with the duration results can be tentatively taken as evidence

¹⁰ Values for this point after alveolar segments [l,n] are not shown because they do not participate in simple palatalization.

of the different absorption degree of the palatalization trigger in these processes: the longer duration of the transition in EDP combined with the greater stability of the position of the transition point in the F1XF2 space could be understood as less absorption of the palatalizing trigger, compared to the shorter transition duration and more variable position of the transition point for EUP.

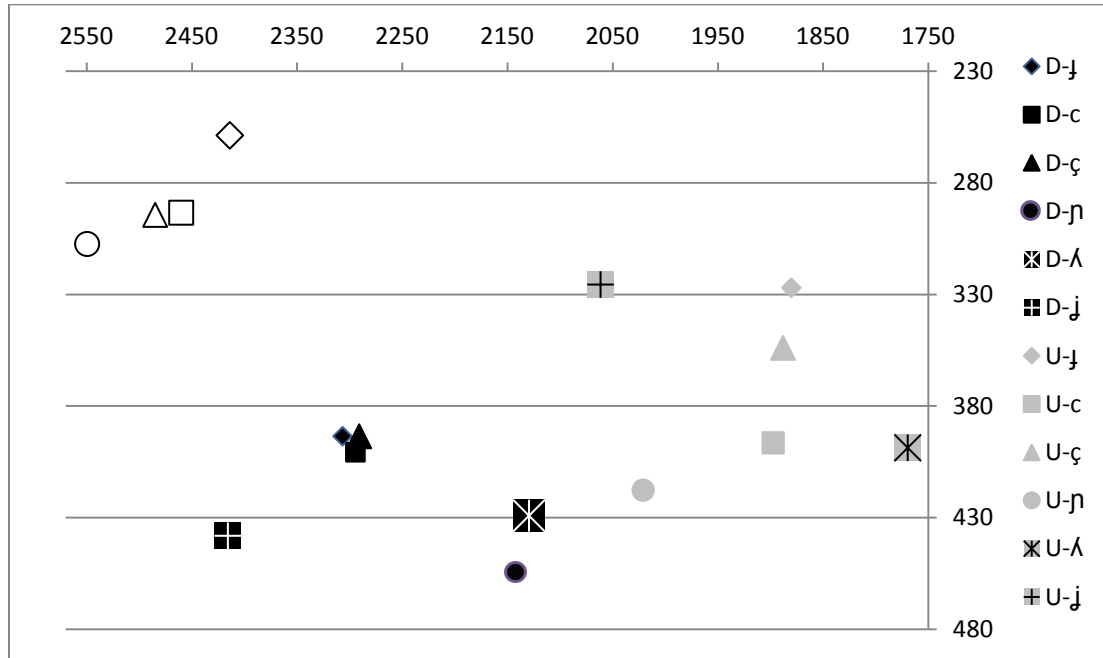


Figure 10 The position of the transition point in the F1XF2 space for each of the three conditions (EDP in black, EUP in grey and SP in white) across the different consonantal environments (see text for details)

5. Discussion

The analysis exposed some phonetic differences between /i/ and /j/ both in post vocalic and in post consonantal environments, giving preliminary support to our claim that these are two separate phonemes in the Greek system. Highlighting the results, the first experiment revealed that the distinction between [V.i] hiatuses and [Vj] sequences is conveyed through a greater curvature in the F2 trajectory for postvocalic [j] than for [i], realized through a longer F2 range for [j] with faster transition rates, a result which has also been reported in Chitoran (2002) for Romanian. No duration differences were detected between hiatuses and diphthongs. More speakers need to be analysed before a safe conclusion can be reached, however such a result should not be surprising, given the difficulty of native speakers to consistently distinguish hiatuses from diphthongs. Another question which needs to be explored, not addressed in this paper, is the position occupied by [j] in [Vj] sequences. We have been calling these sequences ‘diphthongs’ throughout but it is not clear whether they share the nucleus of the syllable with the vowel preceding them or whether their position is more peripheral, in the coda.

Turning to postconsonantal environments, our investigation provided preliminary evidence for a phonetic distinction predicted by our phonological analysis, according to which, simple palatalization, extreme derived palatalization and extreme underived palatalization have different triggers, different targets and different acoustic outcomes. Simple palatalization is triggered by (non-low) vowels, while extreme by the (high) glide; simple palatalization targets only velar consonants, while both

velars (/k, g, x, ɣ/) and alveolars¹¹ (/n, l/) can be extreme palatalization targets; the triggers are left intact after simple palatalization, while they are absorbed after extreme palatalization. The distinction among these processes was signalled both by duration and by formant differences, which we tentatively interpret to suggest that the realization of the glide depends on the phonetic environment, its position within the syllable, and on the morphophonological environment.

Specifically, the transition from the palatal consonant to the following vowel in EDP environments was typically shorter in duration than its counterpart in EUP and also the position of the transition point for EDP was more variable across segments than that for EUP. This last result in combination with the duration results can be tentatively taken as evidence of the different absorption degree of the palatalization trigger in these processes: the longer duration of the transition in EDP combined with the greater stability of the position of the transition point in the F1XF2 space could be understood as less absorption of the palatalizing trigger, compared to the shorter transition duration and more variable position of the transition point for EUP. This conclusion is further supported by the fact that for some of the speakers and tokens there was no transition at all observed in EUP environments (see Figure 7), while a transition was always present in EDP environments. The phonetic differences described above suggest a possible divergence in the articulation among types of palatals which should be further investigated. Since our results here are based on a limited amount of data and a small subset of the acoustic analyses that we have planned, they need to be viewed with caution, and the trends they are revealing must await confirmation from our fuller analysis.

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¹¹Our phonological analysis also covers environments involving all the remaining Greek consonants for which neither simple nor extreme palatalization applies, where the post-consonantal glide turns to a palatal fricative ([ç, j]). Phonetic examination of these environments is planned in future work.

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STYLOMETRIC PROFILING OF THE GREEK LEGAL CORPUS

Georgios Brousalis

University of Athens, Greece

gbrousalis@phil.uoa.gr

Georgios Mikros

University of Athens, Greece

gmikros@isll.uoa.gr

Georgios Markopoulos

University of Athens, Greece

gmarkop@phil.uoa.gr

ABSTRACT

This paper deals with the application of corpus analysis to Greek law texts in order to illustrate their stylometric profile. Due to some vagueness or rigidity elements, these texts are often criticised for constituting an opaque “legalistic” language (Tiersma 1999: 139-41). For the purposes of this study we designed a Greek Legal Corpus which we then juxtaposed to the Hellenic National Corpus¹. Using criteria, such as lexical “richness”, word and sentence length, and part-of-speech frequencies, we look for linguistic features which may affect the precision and comprehensibility of the legal language (Bhatia 2010).

Keywords: corpus processing, stylometry, text classification, legal language, statistical analysis, POS tagging

1. Introduction

The general aim of this research is to study the possibilities of applying corpus analysis to legal texts. We focus especially on the language of Greek legislation and its stylometric profile. After classifying some general properties and lexico-grammatical features of the laws, we create and process a corpus of Greek law texts. Before referring to the process and findings, some useful distinctions should be drawn.

1.1 Definitions

Many terms are used when referring to legal discourse, depending on both the scientific aspect and the corresponding legal system. In this paper, we adapt the following distinctions:

Forensic texts: According to Olsson (2004: 5) any text or item of spoken or written language is potentially a forensic text, provided it is somehow implicated in a legal or criminal context. In this respect, even a parking ticket could become a forensic text. Therefore, the term “forensic” has a much wider sense than what we are interested in.

Language of the Law: As Gibbons suggests (2003: 15) “the language of the law can be broadly divided into two major areas – the codified and mostly written language of legislation and other legal documents, such as contracts [...] and the more spoken, interactive and dynamic language of legal processes [...]”.

Legal language: the formal, formulaic, rigid, “legalistic” language of legal documents, such as statutes, court decisions, contracts, wills, etc., very close to what Tiersma calls “operative legal documents” (1999: 139).

Legislative texts: the written sources of a legal order, which in our case is the Greek legal order.

¹ <http://hnc.ilsp.gr/>

1.2 The Greek legal order

“Legal order” refers to the aggregation of all the written and non-written rules which regulate the external behaviour of the members of a community. With respect to the Greek legal order, the non-written rules correspond to the mores and customs of the Greek community, while the written legal sources constitute a quite complex, but hierarchically organised system of laws.

In particular, the written part of the Greek legal order consists of the so-called “special Law”, i.e. the Greek Constitution, the European Union Law and the International Law, as well as the “typic” and the “substantial” laws, which constitute the “common Law”. In this project we have excluded EU and International Law, because our research interest is restricted to untranslated texts originally redacted in Greek.

2. Properties of the legal language

2.1 The desirable characteristics

Researchers representing different scientific fields and studying different legal systems, conclude that there is a set of properties which legal language should present. Among them, Knapp (1991: 4-10) listed some properties which should be observed in the legal language and notions: accuracy, consistency, discernibility, unemotionality, intelligibility, unambiguity, constancy. Recently, Bhatia (2010: 38) suggested some desirable characteristics of legislative language, which are clarity, precision, unambiguity and all-inclusiveness, defined in terms of comprehensibility, accessibility and transparency. Similarly, Panaretou (2009: 58) has observed a “legal paradox”: the laws must be precise, clear and unambiguous, but, at the same time, general, widely applicable and inclusive. In order to combine the characteristics listed above, the legal texts may result in being either rigid or vague, or rather both.

2.2 Lexico-grammatical features of the laws

The rigidity or the vagueness, which often characterises the language of legislative texts, is usually related to some linguistic properties of these texts, namely the lexical and grammatical choices made by the authors. Tiersma (1999: 203-10) and Panaretou (2009: 75-119) have made a thorough description and classification of such features listed as follows:

- **Technical vocabulary**, e.g. *ενάγων* (= plaintiff); *λιπομαρτυρία* (: the offense of defaulting witness); *ελευθεροκοινωνία* (= pratique); *υπερθεματιστής* (= tenderer); *καταπίστευμα* (= trust); *αναιρεσείων* (= appellant).
- **Archaic, formal, formulaic, unusual words and forms**, e.g. *ανήκεστος βλάβη* (= irreparable damage); *ο κρινόμενος* (<participle> “the judged”); *μονιμοποιητέος* (<verbal adjective> “someone (employee) who must become permanent, the *permanent-able”).
- **Binomials – multinomials**, e.g. *οι διάδικοι ή οι νόμιμοι αντιπρόσωποί τους ή οι δικαστικοί τους πληρεξούσιοι* (= the parties or their legal representatives or their judicial attorneys); *πραγματικά ή νομικά ελαττώματα* (= actual or legal defects); *οι ενέργειες και οι παραλείψεις* (= the actions and the omissions).
- **Impersonal constructions and overuse of passives** (in typic laws), e.g. *κυρώνεται* (“something is ratified”); *απαγορεύεται* (“it is prohibited”); *υποχρεώνεται* (“he/she is obliged”).
- **Preference to nouns instead of verbs & overuse of verbal nouns** (combined with nominalisation) e.g. *διαλειτουργικότητα* (= interoperability), *πραγματοποίηση* (= realisation), *απασχολησιμότητα* (= employability).
- **Modal verbs**: *πρέπει* (“must, shall”, normally expressing deontic necessity), *μπορεί*: (“may, can”, normally expressing deontic possibility, but also expressing epistemic possibility only when describing the facts).
- **Long and complex sentences**
- **Overuse of the conjunctions**: *και, ή, είτε...είτε* (: “and”, “or”, “either...or”), e.g. “Για τους σκοπούς της παρούσας σύμβασης, ο όρος διεθνής μεταφορά σημαίνει οιαδήποτε μεταφορά στην οποία με βάση τη συμφωνία μεταξύ συμβαλλομένων μερών, ο τόπος αναχώρησης και ο τόπος προορισμού, ανεξαρτήτως εάν υπάρχει ή όχι διακοπή της μεταφοράς ή μεταφόρτωση, βρίσκονται είτε εντός των εδαφών δύο συμβαλλομένων κρατών, είτε εντός του εδάφους ενός και μόνον συμβαλλομένου

κράτους...”(N. 3006. K.No.B. 50 (2002): 789).

Our research was based on quantifying some of the above features and using them in order to define the stylometric profile of the Greek Legal Corpus.

3. Corpora and Features

The aim of this study can be summarised in three different but highly related research questions:

1. What is the stylometric profile of the Greek law texts and how can this be compared with the stylometric profile of Greek language corpora?
2. How significant is the impact of each stylometric group in the discrimination of legal texts?
3. Which specific stylometric features related to the legal language could provide reliable genre discrimination?

In order to investigate the abovementioned research questions we used both the Hellenic National Corpus (HNC) and the Greek Legal Corpus (GLC). HNC is currently the biggest written corpus of Modern Greek and consists of many different genres and topics (Hatzigeorgiu et al., 2000)². GLC is a collection of contemporary Greek legislative texts containing:

- the current Greek Constitution
- the codified Civil and Criminal Law

as well as randomly selected balanced samples of

- ‘typic’ laws
- Presidential Decrees
- Ministerial Decrees
- Decentralised Government Acts

The basic descriptive statistics of the two corpora are displayed in the following table (Table 1) :

Corpora	Texts (N)	Average text length	Median	St. Deviation	Minimum text length	Maximum text length
HNC	45.691	755	494	2.374	10	166.576
GLC	1.594	1.224	991	2.284	504	45.333

Table 1: Descriptive statistics for HNC and GLC

Both corpora underwent Part-of-Speech tagging using the Tree Tagger developed by Schmid (1994). The Tree Tagger is a probabilistic tagger, where transition probabilities are estimated using a decision tree and provides better results than HMM- and Trigram taggers. This tagging technique can achieve up to 96% accuracy on the data. The training of the Greek parameter file, used in our study, is based on a 500.000 words tagged corpus. The data have been tagged for all grammatical categories.

In order to define the stylometric profile of the HNC and GLC, we measured six broad sets of stylometric features which contain both lexical and sublexical units. Each set groups a number of variables which function complementary and all together approximate a specific textual construct. Although the listing is not exhaustive, it contains most of the variables that have been employed in modern stylometric research and we consider them as sociolinguistically neutral. All the features used in this study are the following:

Lexical “richness”

- *Yule’s K*: Vocabulary richness index that exhibits stability in different text sizes (Tweedie & Baayen, 1998).

² We acknowledge the fact that the HNC developed by ILSP is not a balanced corpus of Modern Greek with sufficient size to reflect linguistic generalizations. However, the aim of this study was to identify specific properties of the Greek legal language and use them for the stylometric profiling of Greek legal texts.

- *Lexical Density*: The ratio of functional to content words frequencies in the text, also known as *Functional Density* (Miranda & Calle, 2007).
- *% of Hapax- and Dis legomena*: The percentage of words with frequency 1 and 2 in the text segment.
- *Dis-/Hapax- legomena*: The ratio of dis legomena to hapax legomena in the text segment, indicative of authorship style (Hoover, 2003).
- *Relative entropy*: It is defined as the quotient between the entropy of the text and its maximum entropy multiplied by 100. Maximum entropy for a text is calculated if we assume that every word appears with frequency 1 (Oakes, 1998: 62).

Word length

- Average word length (per text) measured in letters.
- Word length distribution: The frequency of words of 1, 2, 3 ... 14 letters long normalized in 1,000 words sample.

Sentence length

- The average sentence length measured in words.
- The standard deviation of the sentence length

Part-of-Speech frequencies

- The frequency of each Part of Speech tag expressed as percentage of the text size.

4. Statistical analysis

In order to examine in detail the way each of the six variable sets relates to the legal genre, we used *Multiple Analysis of Variance* (MANOVA). MANOVA is a multivariate statistical analysis which is specifically designed to analyze the effect of one or more categorical independent variables on two or more continuous dependent variables. Although the problem could be tackled with multiple univariate tests, the overall α -level error (Type I) will be inflated and the probability to reject the null hypothesis when it is true is increased. MANOVA controls against Type I error and offers an omnibus test of significance that takes into account the effect of the independent variable(s) to all the dependent variables simultaneously (Weinfurth, 1995). Furthermore, MANOVA is particularly useful if the dependent variables are conceptually related and there is a moderate intercorrelation between them. Since each variable group contains stylometric variables that attempt to measure the quantitative expression of a specific textual construct, we expect a certain amount of redundancy. MANOVA takes into account this shared common information and tests the effect of the independent variable(s) in a multivariate way (i.e. taking all dependent variables at once). Another reason why a multivariate approach is preferable in our data is that it can detect differences when groups differ on a system of variables (Huberty & Morris, 1989). MANOVA finds a linear composite of the dependent variables that maximizes the separation of the categories that form the independent variable.

A non-significant MANOVA result means that the specific set of dependent variables examined simultaneously do not differ across the categories of the independent variable and no further analysis should be made. A significant MANOVA however indicates that at least one dependent variable differs significantly across the categories of the independent variable. In the relevant literature most researchers perform univariate tests (t tests in our case) with adjusted α level (Bonferroni correction) for each of the dependent variables in order to detect which variable is different between the categories of the independent variable (Hair Jr, Anderson, Tatham, & Black, 1995; Stevens, 2002). This procedure however has been criticized (Bray & Maxwell, 1982; Huberty & Morris, 1989) among others for confusing the univariate with the multivariate research questions. Since genre and language structure interact in complex and multilevel ways we chose to further explore significant MANOVAs with *Discriminant Function Analysis* (DFA). Conducting DFA following a significant multivariate effect allows the researcher to investigate in detail the linear composites of the dependent variables and to determine their structure as well as the weights of each dependent variable (Meyers, Gamst, & Guarino, 2006).

5. Results

5.1 Feature group importance

In our data we performed separated MANOVAs for each one of the six stylometric groups by using the author's gender as the independent variable. The multivariate statistic we calculated was Hotelling T^2 which is the multivariate counterpart of the univariate t statistic. Furthermore, partial η^2 was calculated indicating the percentage of the variance explained by the combined dependent variables. The following histogram displays the importance of each feature group based on η^2 :

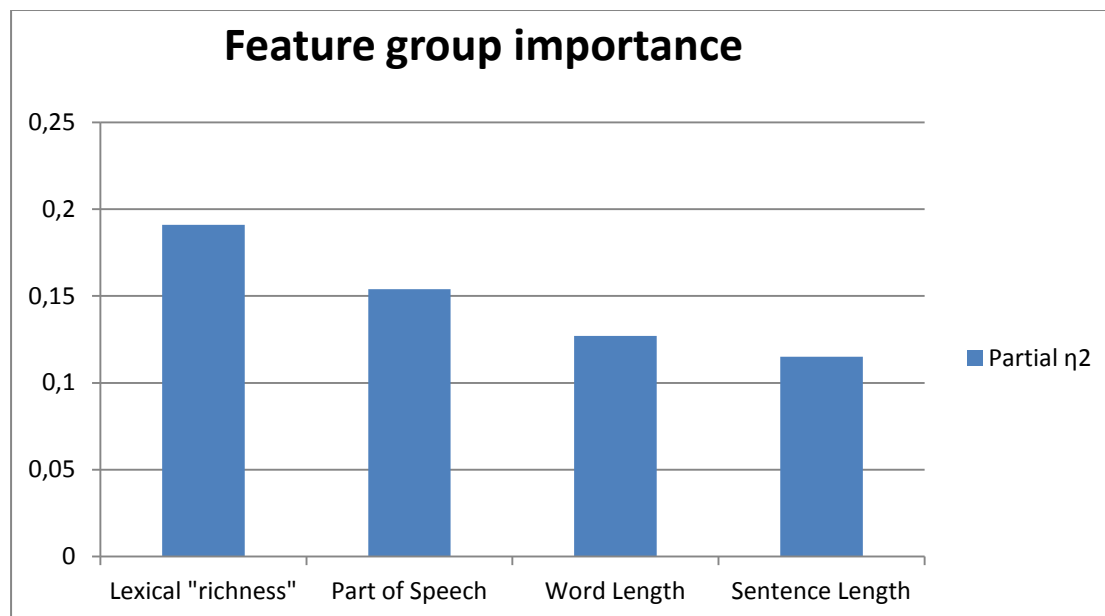


Figure 1 Feature group importance using Partial η^2

All stylometric groups had a multivariate statistically significant effect in the discrimination of the legal texts from the texts belonging to the HNC. The group that accounts for the biggest amount of variance is Lexical 'richness' (19.1%) followed by Part of Speech frequencies (15.4%), Word Length (12.7%) and Sentence Length (11.5%). For each of the four variable groups that Hotelling T^2 was found statistically significant we performed DFA in order to further explore the linear composite structure and to assess each dependent's variable contribution to legal genre discrimination.

5.2 Lexical 'richness' DFA

The Discriminant Function Analysis using Lexical 'richness' variables as independent and text genre as dependent showed that 3 variables exhibit a statistically significant difference between the GLC and the HNC. In order to assess the importance of each variable to the genre discrimination, we examined the factor structure coefficients (absolute values), i.e. the correlations between the variables in the model and the discriminant functions. Depending on the coding of the genre factor, coefficients were positive or negative indicating whether a specific variable relates to the legal genre or the general language. The structure coefficients are displayed in the following histogram:

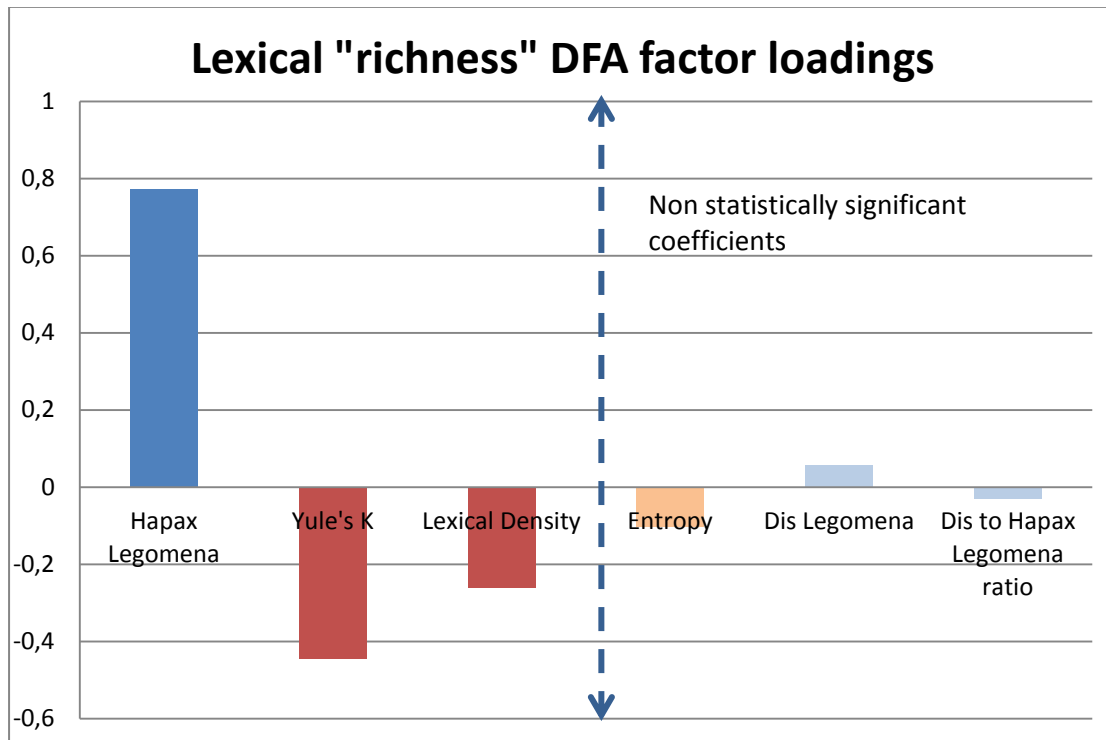


Figure 2 DFA factor loadings using Lexical “richness” features

The inspection of the factor loadings reveals that hapax legomena relate to the general language (positive coefficient) and Yule’s K and Lexical Density relate to the legal language. Yule’s K is a measure of lexical repetition which increases as the vocabulary of the text tend to be formulaic. Indeed, the mean of Yule’s K in HNC is 74.13 while in GLC is 93.38, which means that GLC texts use vocabulary that is repeated frequently. Lexical density is the second variable that can be considered as legal stylistometric index. Legal texts have a mean Lexical Density of 1.39 while HNC has a mean of 1.1. From this we can conclude that the legal texts present higher ratio of content to function words than the texts from general language. This higher ratio can be attributed to the high terminology load that characterizes the specific genre. Interestingly, Yule’s K correlation with the GLC can be utilized further to understand why hapax legomena correlate with HNC. Legal texts have small portion of hapax legomena (24%) compared to the HNC (43%) since their vocabulary is highly repeated resulting in high values of Yule’s K. From this perspective, we can conclude that hapax legomena is not a characteristic stylometric variable of the general language, but their decreased presence can be correlated with the legal genre as an indirect effect of the vocabulary repetition.

5.3 Part of Speech DFA

The DFA using Part of Speech variables as independent and text genre variables as dependent also showed that 3 variables differ significantly between the GLC and the HNC. Using the same analysis, we present the structure coefficients of each variable in the following histogram:

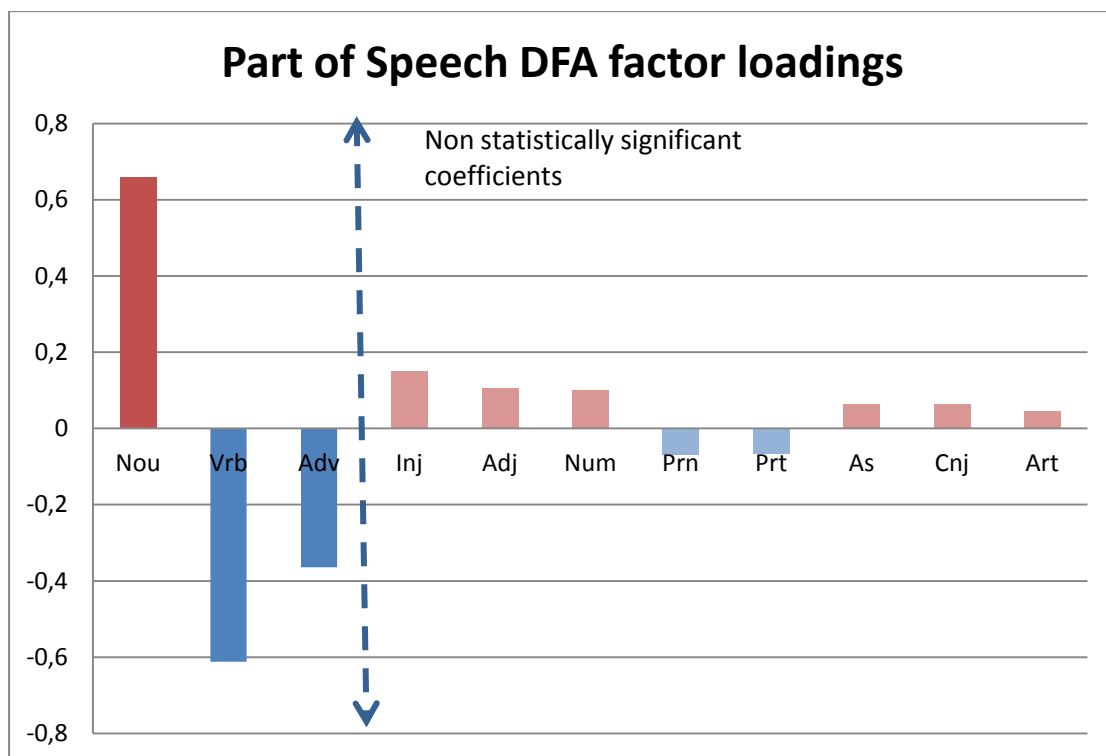


Figure 3 DFA factor loadings using Part of Speech features

The analysis of the factor loadings reveals that the legal texts have a higher frequency of nouns (26.6%) compared to the HNC (21.5%). On the other hand, HNC presents significantly higher percentages of verbs (11.15%) and adverbs (5%) compared to the GLC (8% and 3.8% respectively).

The statistical data correlate closely with some features of the legal language as so far observed. Such features are the preference to nouns instead of verbs plus the overuse of verbal nouns combined with the abundance of impersonal constructions. This deviation could be blamed for the rigidity and vagueness, which legal texts are often criticised for.

5.4 Word Length DFA

The DFA using Word Length variables as independent and text genre variables as dependent showed that 11 variables differ significantly between the GLC and the HNC. We present the structure coefficients of each variable in the following histogram:

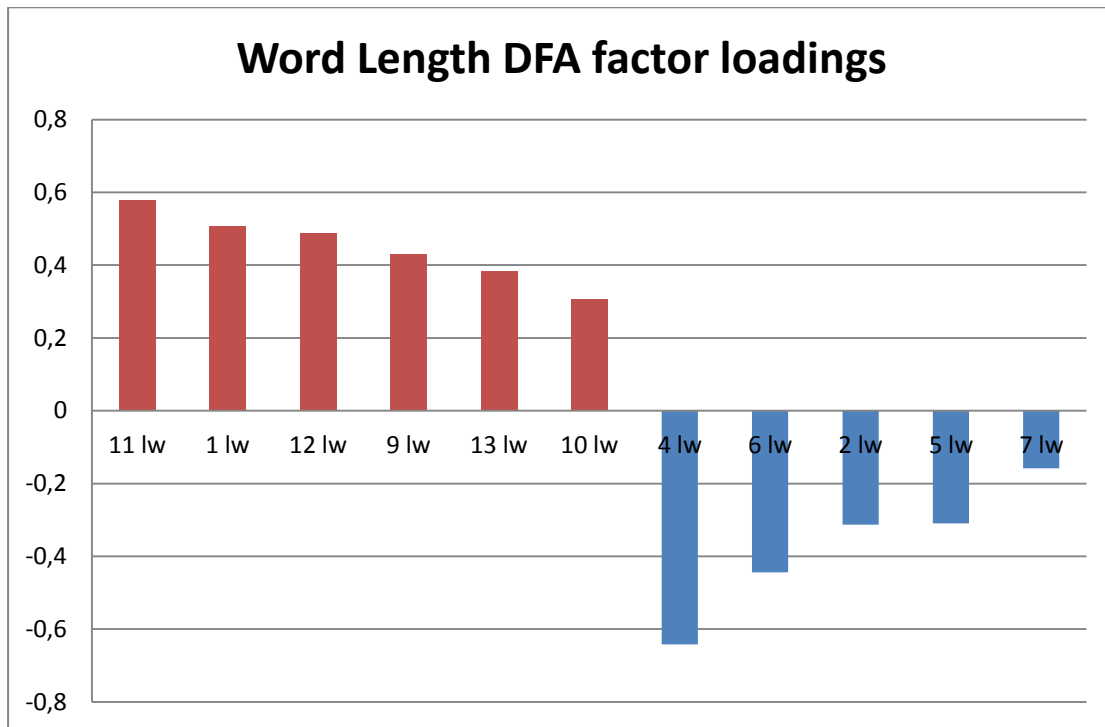


Figure 4 DFA factor loadings using Word Length features

The factor loadings of the word length spectrum reveal a strong correlation between legal genre and word length categories. In our analysis, all words greater than or equal to 9 characters (up to 13 characters) correlate with legal genre. Furthermore, 1 letter words have a higher frequency in legal texts, an observation which could be indirectly linked to the grammatical category of these words, which belongs almost always to articles. Since nouns have a significantly higher frequency in the GLC, we expect that an analogous increase could occur in articles. Another factor which could amplify the importance of one letter words concerns the tokenization rules used in the processing of the corpora. Since we used a simple regular expression tokenizer, we could not disambiguate named entities, acronyms and document structures in the texts. In many legal texts we encountered, for instance, a numbering structure which our tokenizer interpreted as one-letter tokens. The same occurred with abbreviations such as ‘ν.’ which stands for ‘νόμος’ (law) and is used very frequently as a quick reference to previous legislation codes.

5.5 Sentence Length DFA

The DFA with Sentence Length variables as independent and text genre variables as dependent showed that both variables of sentence length (Average Sentence Length and Standard Deviation of Sentence Length) differ significantly between the GLC and the HNC. We present the structure coefficients of each variable in the following histogram:

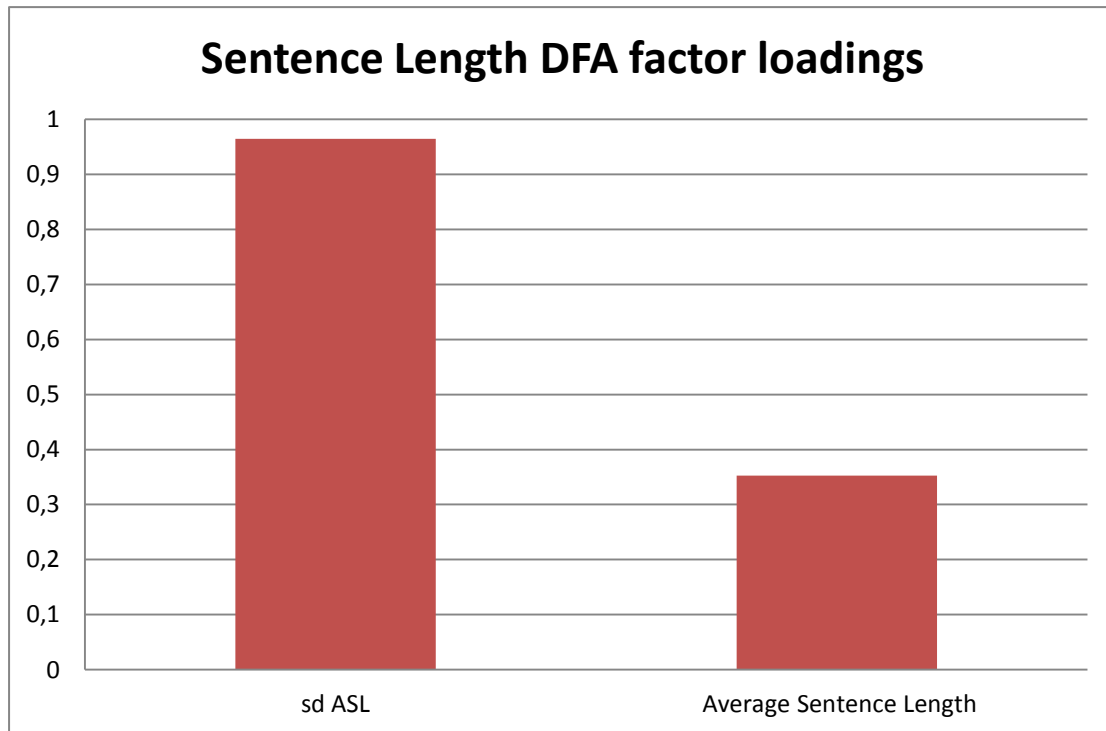


Figure 5: DFA factor loadings using Part of Speech features

Both Average Sentence Length and Standard Deviation of Sentence Length (sd ASL) correlate significantly with legal genre. The sd ASL index exhibits high factor loading, which means that texts belonging to the legal genre contain on average not only bigger sentences but also sentences whose length varies significantly between them.

6. Conclusions

Legal texts have a distinct and highly recognizable stylometric profile. All groups of stylometric measures in the GLC were found to show statistically significant differences with respect to the corpus of the general language (HNC). More specifically, the most distinctive stylometric characteristics of the legal texts are:

- Both, the ratio of content to function words (Lexical Density) and the vocabulary repeatability (Yule's K) are systematically higher in legal texts compared to texts in other genres.
- High frequency of occurrence in a specific grammatical category, i.e. nouns.
- High word length (over 8 characters).
- High sentence length with measurements that span across a wide range (high standard deviation).

The above findings confirm previous theoretical studies of the legal genre and quantify many of the qualitative observations attested there. Namely, factors such as the formulaic language, the preference to nouns and impersonal constructions, the use of technical vocabulary, and the length and complexity of sentences characterising the Greek law texts, all agree with the abovementioned statistics, as well as with the descriptions which relate such features to the lack of precision and transparency of the legal texts.

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líyo: TOWARDS GRAMMATICALIZED VERBAL DIMINUTIVIZATION?¹

Costas Canakis

University of the Aegean, Greece

c.canakis@sa.aegean.gr

ABSTRACT

I argue that líyo has undergone semantic attenuation, losing most of its literal meaning in certain constructions, and has grammaticalized from a lexically independent quantifier to a verbal diminutivizer. Part and parcel of this change is the (inter)subjective interpretation of líyo in certain construction. Motivation for this process is provided by MGr interactional ethos, a factor discussed in universal tendencies in the semantics of diminutives. Moreover, primary evidence on the equivalents of líyo in other Balkan languages suggests that verbal diminutivization with líyo may be an area feature. Therefore, líyo may present us with a case of semantic change motivated by sociopragmatic considerations.

1. Introduction: Setting the Scene

Modern Greek *líyo*, typically rendered as ‘(a) little’, has a number of well-known idiomatic uses beyond the relatively straightforward (1) and (2), where it functions as an adjective and adverb, respectively:

- (1) *évala líyo yála ston kafé su* (but cf. *évala líyo_n/líyo_i záxari_i ston kafé su*).
‘I put a little milk in your coffee’ (but cf. ‘I put a little sugar in your coffee’).
(2) *se íða polí líyo*.
‘I saw very little of you.’

Such uses of *líyo*, exemplified in (3), along with morphologically transparent diminutivization, have been identified as “exhibiting pragmatic force in polite interaction” (Sifianou 1992a: 160, 1992b); specifically, Sifianou argues that they function as positive politeness markers rather than mitigating devices in an attempt to minimize the imposition arising from requests (Sifianou 1992a: 170-172; cf. also Makri-Tsilipakou 2003: 700):

- (3) *mu pjánis líyo to stilo? / mu pjánis to stilo líyo?*
‘Can you grab the pen for me?’

According to Sifianou (1992a), *líyo* here, rather than minimizing the imposition by minimizing the action requested, is rather an informal variant of *parakaló* ‘please’ and can be used instead of or along with it; especially as it is positionally flexible just like *please*. She also mentions that this use of *líyo* is not peculiar to Greek: Brown and Levinson (1987) in Tamil and Malagasy the words for *please* literally mean ‘a little’ (Ibid.: 169; Jurafsky 1996: 558). On the other hand, she suggests that “[t]he Greek *líyo* seems to be more flexible than its English equivalent. It can also collocate with various verbs, and the grammatical constructions within which it can be employed are less restricted” (Sifianou 1992a: 169).

¹ Many thanks are due to Mary Sifianou, Eleni Antonopoulou, and Angeliki Athanasiadou for their help in this paper, earlier versions of which have been presented at graduate seminars at the Universities of Leuven, Aarhus, and Thessaloniki. I have benefited from the insightful comments of these audiences and discussions with colleagues Bert Cornillie, Nicole Delbecque, Marianthi Makri-Tsilipakou, Argiris Archakis, and Kiki Nikiforidou.

Based on these findings regarding examples such as (3), I will argue that *líyo* here serves an unambiguous hedging or diminutivizing function on the verb of request. In this sense, *líyo* in (3) has lost most of its original lexical meaning and has grammaticalized into a marker of verbal diminutivization. Moreover, this function seems to be related to particular contexts, in other words to specific constructions. This is in keeping with Sifianou's (ibid.: 169) claim that in certain contexts *líyo* seems to "ha[ve] lost its literal force and serves strictly politeness purposes."

However, in other instances, exemplified in (4) and (5), *líyo* is ambiguous between a grammaticalized hedge and a *bona fide* adverbial quantifier:

(4) *aníyis líyo tin porta? / aníyis tin pórtá líyo?*

'Can you get the door? / Can you open the door just slightly.'

(5) *éla líyo na se do! / éla na se do líyo!*

Literally: Come over so I can see you, 'Come over to see me!'

Thus, (4) may be construed as a request to open the door a little or a polite request to open the door (irrespective of degree of openness). Along the same lines, (5) may be construed as a request for a brief period of one's time or as a polite request for a visit of indeterminate length. Note that the quantifier interpretation is not available for (3).

On the other hand, *líyo* is also used with a variety of verbs that have nothing to do with requests and in constructions that function mostly as statements, as in (6) through (9) below:

(6) *δulévo líyo*. 'I am working.'

(7) *tróo líyo*. 'I am eating.'

(8) *δjavázo líyo*. 'I am reading/studying.'

(9) *ksirízome líyo*. 'I am shaving.'

In (6) through (9) –where, incidentally, *líyo* is positionally inflexible, in contrast to examples (3-5)– word stress plays a crucial role in disambiguation and, therefore, in interpretation. When main stress is on *líyo*, it functions as an adverbial quantifier and the interpretation is that one works, eats, or reads or little.² On the other hand, when main stress is on the verb, it is interpreted as a hedge, indeed as a verbal diminutivizer comparable to (yet distinct from) the increasingly used prefix *psilo-* (literally 'thin' in the sense of 'a little' or '(s)lightly') as in *psilodulévo* '-work', *psilotróo* '-eat', *psilodjavázo* '-read', or even *psilomalakízome* '-being a jerk/wanker', etc. (cf. Makri-Tsilipakou 2003: 700).³ In (10), where we have an overt object, *líyo* is flexible but the same restrictions regarding stress apply:

(10) *mazévo líyo to spíti. / mazévo to spíti líyo*. 'I am tidying up the house.'

1.1 Summing Up: Aims and Thesis

Sociolinguistic research has so far dealt with *líyo* in the context of diminution and routinely offered cogent interpretive accounts relating to politeness in informal discourse (Sifianou 1992a, 1992b, Badarneh 2010) and gender issues (Makri-Tsilipakou 2003 and the bibliography listed there). Moreover, Jurafsky (1996), in a detailed cross-linguistic treatment of diminutives, has offered further insights on the semantics of diminutive forms, especially mechanisms relating to semantic change, such as bleaching (among others).

However, even the actual examples used in Sifianou (1992a) seem to allow for additional directions as well, namely in terms of grammaticalization and subjectification in the context of certain constructions motivated by Greek "cultural ethos" (cf. Brown and Levinson 1987) which is the main focus of her research. These become more apparent if one considers preliminary evidence from corpus data, as obtained for the purposes of the present analysis, from the CGT and GWAC.⁴

² Note, incidentally, that a quantifier interpretation is not available in (9).

³ Cf. note 12.

⁴ *Corpus of Greek Texts* (see Goutsos 2003) and Sketchengine's *Greek Web as Corpus*.

Specifically, I will show that *liyo* (and related, further diminutivized forms *liyáki* and *liyuláki*) has undergone semantic attenuation (cf. bleaching), losing most if not all of its literal meaning (along with its stress) in certain constructions, and has grammaticalized from a lexically independent quantifier to a verbal diminutivizer. Part and parcel of this change is the subjective interpretation of *liyo* in (6)-(9) above. Moreover, I will investigate whether this process is motivated by Greek interactional ethos and the importance attached to friendly, informal politeness (as argued for in Sifianou 1992a, 1992b), a factor discussed in the context of universal tendencies in the semantics of diminutives (Jurafsky 1996). Indeed, primary evidence from data on the equivalents of *liyo* in other Balkan languages, such as BCMS⁵ and Albanian, suggests that verbal diminutivization with *liyo* may be an area feature. Crucially, then, *liyo* may present us with a case of semantic change motivated by sociopragmatic considerations.

2. On Grammaticalization

Over the last two decades, there has been a boom of functionally geared research on phenomena described by the term *grammaticalization*, credited to Antoine Meillet. Despite differences, such treatments share an understanding of lexical items progressively losing (at least part of) their lexical status and acquiring grammatical or function word status. To quote from Meillet (1912/1926 quoted in Cambell and Janda 2001: 95 in their translation), who has influenced more recent researchers,

[Besides analogy], another process consists in the change of an autonomous word into the role of a grammatical element Th[is]...process...[, involving] the attribution of grammatical character to a formerly independent word...[, is one of] only [two] ways by means of which new grammatical constructs are formed (Meillet 1921/1926: 131).

The ‘grammaticalization’ of certain words creates new forms, introduces categories that did not use to receive linguistic expression, [and] transforms the overall system (Meillet 1912/1926: 133).

Campbell and Janda (2001: 95) note that grammaticalization is seen as typically involving “a concurrent ‘weakening’ of both meaning and phonetic form” and as represented by the overall cline *lexical* > *syntactic* > *morphological*. That is, a lexical item becomes a form word with syntactic function and may end up as a morphological marker, an affix. Grammaticalization is then a change from less to more grammatical status.

In a similar vein, Hopper and Traugott claim that grammaticalization is “the change whereby lexical items and constructions come in certain linguistic contexts to serve grammatical functions and, once grammaticalized, continue to develop new grammatical functions” (2003: xv). They caution the reader that in the first edition of their book, in 1993, they defined grammaticalization as *a process* instead of *a change*. However, as work on grammaticalization “has progressed, it has become clear that the definition of grammaticalization as a process has been misleading. To some it has suggested that grammaticalization is conceived as a force with an impetus of its own independent of language learners and language users. This was never intended” (Ibid.: xv).⁶ They argue that students of grammaticalization encounter data showing that “morphosyntactic changes are replicable across languages and across times; furthermore, they have a very strong tendency to go in the same direction [...]” (Ibid.: xv).

In examples (3-9), and especially (6-9), we see evidence of the weakening of both the semantic content and the phonetic form of *liyo*. Motivation for the grammaticalization of *liyo* as a diminutivizer in such cases seems to be high for, in effect, *liyo* “names” diminution (cf. Jurafsky 1996: 542-543): it stands in a

⁵ Bosnian, Croatian, Montenegrin, Serbian. It usually appears as BCS in the relevant literature.

⁶ Cf. the special issue of *Language Sciences* (2001, vol. 23) devoted to a scrutiny of grammaticalization, especially Campbell and Janda (2001), Campbell (2001), Joseph (2001), Janda (2001), and Newmeyer (2001). Campbell (2001: 113) notes that grammaticalization is derivative and “relies on other processes and mechanisms of linguistic change which are independent of” it. Yet, these criticisms do not question the value of research on this phenomenon but rather claims for a self-contained “grammaticalization theory”. I make no such claims here.

metonymic relationship to it,⁷ similar to the relationship attested for volitional verbs to modals or/and future tense markers documented in the literature for many languages, and for Balkan languages in particular: cf. MGr *thélo ina* ‘want to’ > *thélo na* > *thēna* > *tha* ‘will’ future marker (cf. Joseph 1983, 2001,⁸ Veloudis 2005); BCMS *hoću* ‘want’ > *ću* future marker cf. ‘will’ (cf. Sandfeld 1930).

I would like to argue that *liyo* is grammaticalized in Modern Greek (MGr). Primary evidence suggests that *liyo* has undergone a first round of grammaticalization functioning as a positive politeness marker (predominantly though not exclusively) in requests in informal settings. The function as a verbal hedge or diminutivizer could then be a further, even more general step in this process, whereby use of *liyo* with verbs is progressively generalized and comes to weaken their illocutionary force. This step is motivated by two factors. On the one hand, in MGr diminutive morphology does not extend to verbs. On the other hand, *liyo* is, in effect, a metonymy for diminution and a prime candidate for such a role as an adverbial. In other words, given structural restrictions and sociopragmatic exigencies *liyo* has come to fill a gap – to quote Meillet, again: it has come “to introduce a category that did not use to receive linguistic expression”.⁹

Justification for this claim can also be found in Jurafsky (1996: 541-542), who proposes a universal radial category for the meaning of the diminutive in which ‘small[ness]’ serves as the prototype while many other meanings are extensions from the prototype. He also notes the tendency for “meaning changes from the more informative and specific to the more abstract and vague” (Ibid.: 540), a process variously known as bleaching, generalization, or desemanticization. Moreover, he suggests that the meanings of the diminutive in a particular language will develop diachronically from central to peripheral senses of the category (Ibid.: 543). Specifically, the diminutive may shift from smallness to approximative hedges to metalinguistic hedges, from the physical to the linguistic or textual world (Ibid.: 560), which is what I claim to be the case with *liyo*.

Last, Jurafsky (Ibid.: 541) draws on Traugott and König (1991) who “propose three tendencies for meaning to become more removed from the external world, and more subjective or evaluative”, summarized here as a) external situation → internal situation; b) external/internal situation → textual/metalinguistic situation; and c) external/internal/textual situation → speaker’s subjective belief state. In section (3), I show that subjectification is another relevant way of looking at *liyo*, especially as it correlates strongly with grammaticalization, although it does not entail it (Traugott 2010: 38, Athanasiadou et al. 2006: 5).

3. On (inter)subjectivity and (inter)subjectification

Research on subjectivity and subjectification, and more recently intersubjectivity and intersubjectification (Traugott 2003, 2010, Cuyckens et al. 2010), has mostly developed along with work on grammaticalization. According to Finegan (1995: 1), “*subjectivity* [...] concerns the expression of the self and the representation of a speaker’s (or, more generally, a locutionary agent’s) perspective or point of view in discourse – what has been called a speaker’s imprint. In turn, subjectivisation (or *subjectification*) refers to the structures and strategies that languages evolve in the linguistic realisation of subjectivity or to the relevant processes of linguistic evolution themselves.” He further specifies that subjectivity has to do with the effect of the involvement of a locutionary agent *on the linguistic expression of self*, an effect which is registered in the formal shape of discourse (Ibid.: 1, italics mine).

This view of subjectification aptly describes the use of *liyo* in examples (3-5) above, where the speaker employs it as a positive politeness (solidarity) marker or in (6-10), where it marks speaker attitude towards

⁷ Jurafsky (1996: 555), in his discussion of the diminutive as a radial category, he proposes a mechanism he calls *lambda abstraction* (related to the generalization mechanism) “which takes one predicate in a form and replaces it with a variable” yielding second-order predicates.

⁸ Although Joseph (2001) is critical of grammaticalization as an independent process, I refer to his work here as I make no such claim. On the other hand, cf. Veloudis (2005: 306), who cautions that grammaticalization poses problems which are tacitly or/and arbitrarily solved in other theories.

⁹ Note that the productive prefix *psilo-* tends to be used with a trivializing intention (cf. Makri-Tsilipakou 2003: 700) (cf. Jurafsky’s 1996 *approximative*) and although it may share some of its meaning with *liyo* it cannot be equated with it.

his/her utterance, weakening its force. What is common in both cases is that *liyo* is used to express affect. As MGr verb morphology does not allow for morphological diminutive marking on the verb in the form of an affix, *liyo* is used as a verbal diminutivizer, not unlike the diminutivized nominals *kafedáki*, *neráki*, etc. This use seems to be motivated by MGr cultural ethos as attested in the work of Sifianou (1992a, 1992b).

In more recent research it has been noted that there are two competing notions of subjectivity and subjectification, as developed by Traugott (e.g., 1995, 2003, 2010) and Langacker (e.g., 1990, 2006). Although not incompatible, they have different genealogies and their similarity is probably the result of both scholars having anchored subjectification to grammaticalization (Athanasiadou et al. 2006: 5). However, as work on subjectification has progressed, both authors have increasingly clarified matters. Specifically, Traugott (1995: 31-32) has used the term to refer to “a pragmatic-semantic process whereby ‘meanings become increasingly based in the speaker’s subjective belief state/attitude towards the proposition’, in other words, towards what the speaker is talking about (Traugott 1989: 35).” She concedes that this is a very broad characterization (contrasting with a more narrowly defined process described by Langacker (1990: 17) as “the realignment of some relationship from the objective axis to the subjective axis”). Traugott claims that

Subjectification is evidenced in lexical as well as grammatical change. Examples in the lexical domain include the development of illocutionary speech-act verb meanings from locutionary (and ultimately often non-locutionary) meanings, for example: *agree* (originally ‘be pleasing, suitable’) [...]. ‘Subjectification in grammaticalisation’ is, broadly speaking, the development of *a grammatically identifiable expression of speaker belief or speaker attitude to what is said.*” Traugott (1995: 32, italics mine)

Considering the examples with *liyo* in this light, we can make the following points. Already in (1) we have traces of the process of subjectification of *liyo*. One can ask for a little sugar using the form *liyi*, which expectedly modifies the feminine noun *záxari*, or the neuter form *liyo*. One can even ask for *liyi zaxarítsa* or *liyo_n zaxarítsa_f* diminutivizing the nominal. This violation of, otherwise strictly observed, gender agreement between modifier and nominal is an indication of the more subjective meaning of *liyo* in this construction. Moreover, as it obscures the distinction between adjectival and adverbial *liyo*, it may be argued that in *liyo záxari* we do not have a *bona fide* quantifier, but a quantifier-plus-affect marker. We may, moreover argue that, in this construction, the form *liyo* could modify either the verb or the nominal (indeed, if we stick to its form, then we have to assume that it is an adverbial, syncretically construed as an adjective). This indeterminacy of word class is also indicative of grammaticalization. On the other hand, habitual coding of speaker-attitude or/and affect with *liyo* in examples (3-5) and (6-10) offers further evidence of subjectification, indeed of *intersubjectification*, to which I turn next.

More recently, Traugott (2003, 2010) revisits her work on subjectification, intersubjectification, and their relation to grammaticalization. She defines subjectivity as “the development of expressions the prime semantic or pragmatic meaning of which is to index the speaker’s viewpoint on what she or he is saying or speaking about” and distinguishes it from intersubjectivity, “cases [where] expressions also develop marking attention to the addressee’s self-image” (2010: 29). Her hypothesis is that both of these “involve the reanalysis of pragmatic meaning as coded semantic meanings *in the context of speaker-hearer negotiation of meaning*” (Ibid., italics mine). She further claims that, although subjectification and intersubjectification are independent of grammaticalization, they are linked to it “for reasons relating to the various functions of grammar” (Ibid.).

On this basis, *liyo* in examples (6-10), where it expresses the speaker’s viewpoint about his/her utterance, is an instance of subjectification, whereas examples (3-5) are identifiable instances of intersubjectification, as “the development of the speaker’s attention to addressee self-image” (Ibid.: 60) or as “expressing attention to the hearer’s self” (Cuyckens et al. 2010: 1). In the latter case, the speaker is tending to the addressee’s face needs. While both of these processes arise in the context of the negotiation of meaning between interlocutors, a question that could be asked is whether they are somehow ordered. Traugott (2010: 35-36, cf. also Traugott and Dasher 2002: 225) suggests that the relation of these mechanisms can be schematized as *non-/less subjectivized* > *subjectivized* > *intersubjectivized* and used heuristically. If the above syllogism is correct, then intersubjective uses of *liyo* (3-5) are more likely to have developed from subjective ones (6-10). Last, as I have been arguing for grammaticalization of *liyo*, it is worth noting that, for Traugott (2010: 41), “[i]ntersubjectification intersects less extensively with

grammaticalization. In most languages it is grammaticalized only into some discourse markers and interjections.”

I have shown that *líyo* has a range of uses crucially tied to subjectivity. It is not only used as a quantifier but also habitually employed in coding speaker-attitude, affect, and/or solidarity. I argue that the former is a more objective and the latter a more subjective interpretation linked with an ongoing process of grammaticalization through subjectification of *líyo*. This claim receives serious support given the high degree of productivity of *líyo* in this diminutivizing function in examples (6-10), which is, arguably, linked –if not ultimately traced– to its use in requests. However, it has been repeatedly observed that it is not isolated lexical items that grammaticalize, but rather lexical items in *constructions* (Trousdale and Traugott 2010: 13, Noël 2007), a point to which I turn next.

4. *líyo* Constructions

From the beginning of this paper, I have been talking of non-literal uses of *líyo*. A closer look at its distribution seems to warrant a constructionist approach: there are a number of distinct, yet related, *líyo*-constructions, each a form-and-meaning pairing that could not be attributed to the lexicon without missing out on crucial generalizations regarding linguistic structure (cf. Goldberg 1995, 2006) as well as sociolectal variation. I will attempt to briefly outline an account of subjectification and grammaticalization of *líyo* as crucially linked to specific constructions.¹⁰

According to (Lehmann 1992: 406)¹¹ “grammaticalization does not merely seize a word or morpheme [...] but the whole construction formed by the syntagmatic relations of the elements in question”. Trousdale and Traugott (2010: 13) note that “[d]ifferent models of construction grammar have made it possible to define more explicitly in what kind of construction grammaticalization starts, what semantic-syntactic mismatches arise as a result of gradual decategorialization, and what kinds of alignments are made. These issues rest on the crucial premise that constructions are grammatical primitives, and as such are both the source and outcome of grammaticalization.”

Goldberg (1995: 1), in her seminal work on constructions argues that “[p]articular semantic structures together with their associated formal expressions must be recognized as constructions independent of the lexical items which instantiate them.” This view is based on the assumption that there is no strict division between the lexicon and syntax: although lexical and syntactic constructions differ in internal complexity, they “both pair form with meaning” (Ibid.: 7). Constructionist approaches to language rest on the view that languages are constructed “on the basis of the input together with general cognitive, pragmatic, and processing constraints.” (Goldberg 2006: 3). It is assumed that constructions, i.e., “learned pairings of form with semantic or discourse function,” appear at all levels of grammatical analysis (Ibid.: 5). A linguistic pattern is a construction to the extent that “some aspect of its form or function is not strictly speaking predictable from its component parts or from other constructions recognized to exist”. Moreover, “patterns are stored as constructions even if they are fully predictable as long as they occur with sufficient frequency” (Ibid.: 5). This last point is of particular relevance here, for frequency spells out entrenchment and the *líyo* constructions I have focused on are highly entrenched.

There are several *líyo* constructions as exemplified in (11) below, featuring both fixed, idiomatic expressions (a-f) as well as highly productive constructions (g-h) where a quantifier reading may be unavailable:¹²

- (11) examples of *líyo* constructions
 a. *úte líyo úte polí* ‘more or less, in effect’
 b. *líyo elipse [na]* ‘X got close [to]’
 c. *akóma líyo kai* ‘short of’

¹⁰ Cf. Athanasiadou (2006) for an account of the meanings of English adjectives as based on specific constructions.

¹¹ Quoted in Trousdale and Traugott (2010: 13).

¹² Marianthi Makri-Tsilipakou (p.c.) has suggested to me that *líyo* in these constructions may retain traces of its original meaning. Yet, conceding to this, as I must, does not thwart my claim for diminutivization via attenuation. Jurafsky (1995) has shown that the diminutive is a radial category with smallness in its core and several extensions. Indeed, the prefix *psilo-* seems to instantiate his “approximative” sense (Ibid.: 549), which distinguishes it from *líyo*.

- d. Def.art._i + N_i + copula + *líyos/líyi* ‘X is insufficient/ineffective; s/he leaves something to be desired’
 e. ?*líyo líyo* ‘little by little, slowly, easy’
 f. ? *líyo malákas* ‘kind of a wanker/jerk/idiot’
 cf. *metá esθánθikes líyo malákas ótan su éskase to paramíθi.* (GWAK, 91729)
 Then you-felt a-little wanker when to-you s/he-burst the fairy-tale
 ‘Then you felt like an ass when s/he let the cat out of the bag.’
 g. V dir. + *líyo* (cf. examples (3-5) above)
 h. V [1/3p]+[main stress] + *líyo* (cf. examples (6-10) above)

I will focus on the last two cases here. In (g) I offer a schematic representation of a construction instantiated by examples (3-5). I argue that Sifianou’s (1992a, 1992b) claim for *líyo* as a positive politeness marker is brought to bear in precisely this context, i.e. in directive utterances. This can be thought of a general schema covering a range of well-known forms of requests. On the other hand, (h) is instantiated by examples (6-10) functioning as hedged statements with first or third person verb forms and main stress on the verb. Although *líyo* can be described as a non-quantifying hedge in both cases, its function is different. In (g) it is intersubjective and analogous to *parakaló/please*, as corroborated by its flexible position. In (h) it is subjective and inflexible: it marks speaker attitude/affect towards one’s own utterance. One could hypothesize that (h) is a further development on the basis of (g) which is functionally salient, but more limited. This needs further investigation of a kind that might not be possible, as it requires diachronic comparison of informal conversational data. However, it is worth noting that this development would disagree with Traugott and Dasher’s (2002: 225) heuristic ordering of subjective and intersubjective meanings. Therefore this question remains open. Be that as it may, it is in specific, entrenched constructions that *líyo* has undergone semantic change (attenuation) and grammaticalized as a hedging device.

5. A Balkan all purpose diminutive out of a quantifier?

Primary evidence from Albanian and BCMS suggests that it may be possible to add yet another item to Sandfeld’s (1930) long list of common traits for the Balkan languages.¹³ If this is so, then we can potentially gain new insights into the interaction of cognitive and social factors in language contact situations. Many of the uses of *líyo* in MGr have parallels in Albanian and BCMS as seen in examples (12-14), often word-for-word equivalences (cf. 12 and 13):

- (12) MGr: *éla líyo/liyáki na se ðo , [de]!*
 ALB: *eja pak/një çik të të shof, [pra/de]!*
 BCMS: *dođi malo da te vidim!*
 Come! a-little/a-little that you I-see, [voc.partcl.]!
 ‘Come over [so I can see you a little]?’
- (13) MGr: *éla na se ðo líyo/liyáki, [de]!*
 ALB: *hajde të të shof pak/një çik [pra/de]!*
 BCMS: *dođi da te vidim malo!*
 Come! that you I-see a-little/a-little [voc. Prtcl.]
 ‘Come over [so I can see you a little], will you?’
- (14) MGr: *vále mu líyi/líyo zázari ston kafé.*
 Put! to-me a-little(f.)/a-little sugar (f.) in-the coffee
 ALB: *Më vër pak/një çik sheqer ne kafe.*
 to-me put! a-little sugar in-the coffee
 BCMS: *Stavi mi malo šećera (Gen.) u kafu.*
 Put! to-me a-little sugar in coffee
 ‘Put a little sugar in my coffee.’

¹³ I would like to thank Nesim Kaloshi for his help with the Albanian data.

The most striking similarity is the formal fusion of adjective and adverb (syncretism) in the specific examples for all three languages. According to my bilingual informant, Albanian and Greek, in particular, allow for strikingly similar constructions in many other cases that we shall not get into here. Sifianou's (1992a) observations regarding use of *líyo* as a positive politeness marker seem to extend to Albanian and BCMS where *pak* or/and *një çik* and *malo* appear in constructions schematized in (11g). According to Jurafsky (1996: 535) diminutives are cross-linguistically associated with a number of pragmatic senses, among which he lists affection and metalinguistic hedges. These meanings develop diachronically from central to peripheral senses of the category (Ibid.: 543), from the physical to the linguistic or textual realm (Ibid.: 560), which is what I have shown to be the case with *líyo* (and very likely for the Albanian *pak/një çik* and BCMS *malo*), which a metonymy for diminution (and a radial category of related senses in itself (cf. Lakoff 1987) like most entrenched linguistic expressions). Moreover, cultural ethos has arguably played a role in this development which is anchored to specific constructions.

6. Conclusions and perspectives

I have argued that that *líyo* has undergone semantic attenuation, losing most of its literal meaning (along with its stress) in certain constructions in colloquial use, and has grammaticalized from a quantifier to a metalinguistic hedge (a politeness marker and a verbal diminutivizer, i.e., a hedging device). Part and parcel of this change is the (inter)subjective interpretation of *líyo* in certain constructions. Overall motivation for this process is provided by MGr interactional ethos and the importance attached to friendly, informal politeness, a factor discussed in the context of universal tendencies in the semantics of diminutives. Last, I have shown that data on the equivalents of *líyo* in other Balkan languages, such as BCMS and Albanian, suggest that verbal diminutivization may be an area feature. Crucially, then, *líyo* may present us with a case of semantic change motivated by sociopragmatic considerations.

At this stage, a general search for *líyo* in CGT yields the following results: For 25,929 texts totaling 29,511,849 words frequency of occurrence is 0.0338846949237 % (the commonest word is *kai* 'and' with 918,730 tokens). The frequency for *liyáki* is 0.00664140020505 % and for *liyuláki* 0.000237192864466 %.

A general search for *líyo* in GWAC from a total of 149,067,023 tokens yields a frequency of 75,552 hits. The frequency for *liyáki* is 3,292 and for *liyuláki* 140 hits. This suggests that *líyo* and related forms have an overall high frequency in the language which, in turn, speaks in favor of function word status.

At a future stage, and as MGk corpora become richer (especially as regards codification of text types more or less directly relating to registers), research could benefit from a more thorough look at quantitative distributional information. Special attention should be paid to collocations of specific verbs in what we may call, generically, the *V + líyo construction* in (11h); i.e., which verbs allow/favor a diminutive construal and which do not as well as variations on this general schema. Further investigation and specification of *líyo* constructions is a prerequisite for both a rigorous account of its grammaticalization and for a continuum of (inter)subjectivity. Last, development of richer MGr corpora will allow serious investigation of sociolinguistic/stylistic distribution of *líyo* constructions.

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EFFECTS OF A PROGRAM FOR STIMULATING PHONETIC AND PHONOLOGICAL AWARENESS IN PRESCHOOLERS

Elina Chadjipapa

Democritus University of Thrace, Greece

elinaxp@hotmail.com, elinaxp@helit.duth.gr

ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study is to examine the effect of an integrative program of phonetic and phonological training on the phonetic and phonological awareness of preschool children. The level of phonetic and phonological awareness of 34 children was pre and post-measured with the help of a) an articulation test created for the purposes of the study and b) a screening measure for their phonological development. Between the two measurements the experimental group followed an integrative program of phonetic and phonological training which lasted for five weeks while the control group followed the normal curriculum. The post-measurement showed no significant differences in the phonetic and phonological awareness of the two groups.

Keywords: phonological awareness, phonetic awareness, program, preschool children

1. Introduction

Phonological awareness has gained much attention over the past two decades and a number of definitions have been proposed for the term (Stanovich 1986, Yopp 1988, Tunmer 1991, Blachman, Ball, Black & Tangel 1994, Gough Larson & Yopp 1996, Τάφα 1998, Γιαννικοπούλου & Ομάδα Εργασίας 1999, Παπούλια-Τζελέπη 1997 1999, Πόρποδας 2002, Gavriilidou 2003 *Phonetic awareness and correction for children preschool and early school years. in Greek*). These researches can be classified in the following three major areas: Some of them focus primarily on the contribution of phonological awareness to reading acquisition (Stanovich 1986, O'Connor, Jenkins & Slocum 1995, Παπούλια-Τζελέπη 1997). Others emphasize the diachronic development of childrens' phonological awareness (Olofsson & Lundberg 1983 1985, Stanovich, Cunningham & Cramer 1984). Finally, a third category studies the early phonological development of children (Lundberg, Frost & Petersen 1988, Byrne et al. 1991, Brady, Fowler, Stone & Winbury 1994, QI, O'Connor 2000, Phillips, Clancy-Menchetti & Lonigan 2008). According to Snow, Burns & Griffin (1998: 51), the term 'phonological awareness' refers to a general appreciation of the sounds of speech as distinct from their meaning. When that insight includes an understanding that words can be divided into a sequence of phonemes, this finer-grained sensitivity is termed phonemic awareness. Furthermore, phonological awareness involves the auditory and oral manipulation of sounds.

Children develop the speech ability until preschool age but with different rhythms and ways. However up to the age of five years each child has conquered the complex system of the oral speech in his/her maternal language with a worldwide common process (Slobin 1992). Previous research for Greek language (Κατή 1992, Θωμαδάκη & Μαγούλα 1997, Gavriilidou & Kambakis-Vougiouklis 2011) and for other languages (Stoel-Gammon & Dunn 1985, Ingram 1989) has shown that children's speech development is based on three aspects: a) how a sound is stored in children's brain b) how sounds are articulated by children and c) the rules and the processes that intervene between "a" and "b"(Gavriilidou 2003). How the sound is stored in children's brain is related to their phonological awareness. On the other hand sound articulation is related to phonetic acquisition.

By *phonetic acquisition* we refer to the articulation of sounds. Phonetic acquisition requires the kinesthetic maturation of the articulator muscles but also the awareness of the place of articulation and the manner in which they are articulated (Gavriilidou 2003:74).

It is obvious that if one of the two functions is not completed, children will commit phonological or phonetic errors (Γαβριλίδου 2002). Such errors severely influence children's further development (Βογινδρούκας κ.ά. 2004). On the contrary, the development of language skills contributes to better

school performance and reading or learning difficulty avoidance (Lundberg et al. 1988, Byrne et al. 1991, Ball et al. 1991, Torgesen et al. 1992, Brady et al. 1994, Share 1995).

Phonological awareness, as happens with other decoding skills, is not an intuitive or naturally developed ability, as language skills may be for some children, but rather may require deliberate teaching and practice opportunities (Phillips et al. 2008).

As it has been demonstrated phonetic and phonological awareness can be raised through integrative phonetic-phonological programs held during preschool age (Porpodas 2002) or early school years. These programs should be adjusted in the school's daily practices and should include concise, playful activities which would be attractive for the pupils in order to keep children's attention and interest (Παντελιάδου 2000).

Most of the programs suggest systematic and precise activities for the phonemes, exercises for phonological treatment and exercises that introduce the equivalence between letter (grapheme) and sound (phoneme) which helps children improve their phonological awareness. The most common activities that some programs¹ suggest are related to:

- ✓ blending words at phoneme level,
- ✓ segmenting words at phoneme level,
- ✓ identifying sounds,
- ✓ rhymes,
- ✓ blending words at syllable level,
- ✓ segmenting words at syllable level.
- ✓ alliteration,
- ✓ phoneme detection,
- ✓ sound repetition
- ✓ letter - sound correspondence

Despite the promising findings, however, many questions remain unanswered, and many misconceptions about phonological awareness persist. For example, researchers are looking for ways to determine how much and what type of instruction is necessary and for whom. The purpose of the present study is to examine the effect of an integrative program of phonetic and phonological training on the phonetic and phonological awareness of preschool children

2. Method

2.1 Participants

The sample of our research included 34 children, 13 were boys and 21 were girls. When the investigation started they were all 5 to 6 years old². The children were divided in two groups, the control group (N=17) and the experimental group (N=17). The purpose of this division was to have as equal number of girls and boys as possible. Therefore the control group included 7 boys and 10 girls and the experimental group had 6 boys and 11 girls. Children from both groups were attending in the same kindergarten but in 2 different classes, in a town of the province of Kavala called Eleftheroupoli. All children were Greek native speakers and none of them had serious speech disorders.

2.2 Instrumentation and design

In January all children in both groups were pretested with an articulation test in order to evaluate children's speech level. The articulation test is presented in the paragraph 2.2. After the pre-test, children in the experimental group were daily trained according to a suggested program for 15-20

¹ These programs are suggested from: Adams et al. (1998b), Bryant et al. (1990), David - Dickson (1999), Sharon QI & O'Connor R (2000).

² In Greek pedagogical system, the one year of kindergarten when children are 5 years old is obligatory, although they can attend kindergarten from 4 years old. Thus, children from 5-6 are called preschoolers and children from 4-5 are called "young preschoolers".

minutes. The control group followed the regular school program according to the analytic program of study of the Greek kindergarten (Αναλυτικό πρόγραμμα σπουδών/ ΑΠΣ). The procedure lasted four months and at the end of May both groups were post-tested with the same evaluation test as in pretest.

2.3 Articulation Test

In order to collect information for the articulation level of the participants an articulation test was created.

The articulation test included all seventeen consonants of the Greek language, the allophones from [x], [l], [ɣ], [k]³ and the clusters [vr] [vl] [kr] [kl] [dr] [dz] [tr] [br] [xt] [b] [g] [d]. We chose these Greek clusters because they were included in every day interaction vocabulary at kindergarten. Thus it was easy to depict these every day words with pictures.

Thirty four cards with pictures were used to test the articulation of the sounds at the beginning of a word and thirty four more cards were used to test the same sounds in the middle of the word. The majority of the cards were taken from the pedagogical tool named *Πινακωτή* (Μπεζέ et al. 2002) and some of them from the Goldman and Fristoe test of articulation (Goldman, Fristoe 2000). Children were acquainted to the cards prior to the realization of the articulation test. That helped them to be aware of the vocabulary and concentrate only on the pronunciation of the words.

During the pretest and post-test all children were recorded and the data was saved in digital form.

2.4 Training Program

The training program was constructed according to the five principles suggested in Gavriilidou (2003). These five principles included:

- Errors correction according to functional system of the sounds,
- Correction of one problematic sound at a time,
- Correction through phonological oppositions⁴, always placed in the word,
- Consideration of the phoneme position in word,
- Use of phonological games and enjoyable activities in order to raise awareness and correct problematic sounds.

Moreover, one of the basic criteria of the construction of the training program was the holistic approach of language (Αϊδίνης, 2002), who suggests a teaching model where children come in contact with the written speech in an environment full of literacy. Finally, the training program was created according to the regular preschool program and according to the cross thematic curriculum framework (Διαθεματικό Ενιαίο Πλαίσιο Προγραμμάτων Σπουδών/ ΔΕΠΠΣ) and the analytic program of study (Αναλυτικό πρόγραμμα σπουδών/ ΑΠΣ) of the Greek kindergarten.

In the pretest measure it was observed that preschoolers had difficulties in articulating the following phonemes:

[ð], [r], [ks], [θ], [l]

The phoneme [ð] was articulated as [z]

The [r] as [o]

The [ks], as [ts]

The [θ], as [s] and

The [l] as [j]

Thus the activities of the program focused on these five phonemes. The training program included daily session for 15-20 minutes and lasted for five weeks. Table 1 presents the activities of the program step by step.

³ Respectively their allophones are the [χ] [κ] [j] [c].

⁴ *Oppositions of sounds capable to differentiating the lexical meaning of two words in a particular language are phonological oppositions. They are classified in Multilateral, Bilateral, Isolated and Proportional oppositions (Trubetzkij 1969).*

1 st week	1. The lucky hat: preschoolers sit in a circle one by one and wear a hat. When the music stops the child who wears the hat has to say his/her name and a word starting with the same phoneme. There is a good opportunity to get to know each other as some of them are new in the group.
	2. Learn the articulators: watch them in a mirror and name them
	3. Mustache of pencil : hold a pencil among the nose and the upper lips
	4. Playing with chocolate hazelnut spread: Place the chocolate hazelnut spread in the children's front upper and lower teeth, palate, left and right inside cheek and let them lick it.
	5. The anteater: children try to eat small pieces of fruit etc without using their hands.
2 nd week	6. Vacuum cleaner: Children are divided in two groups. Each child has a straw and tries to put as much pieces of papers in a bowl by inhaling.
	7. Honey street: Without using their hands they try to lick the honey
	8. Learning letters: Children are divided in five groups as much as the problematic phonemes. They are all sited in a circle and the music plays. When the music stops, teacher makes one of the five sounds. The corresponding group should stand up. In a higher level teacher can show cards with the letter instead of making the sound.
	9. The sweeper: Children sweep all kind of things that there are in the classroom starting with the target phonemes or including in the word.
	10. The burning ball: The teacher throws the ball and says a word. The child should find another word starting with the same phoneme and the rest of them count to ten. When he/she founds it throws the ball to another child and the game goes on.
3 rd week	11. [ksaplono][ksopnao]⁵: When the teacher says words starting with: a) [ksi]-/Ξ/ ([ksiDi], [ksino], [ksinome] etc.) they pretend they wake up, b) [ksa] - /Ξα/ ([ksana], [ksanarixno] etc.) they pretend they lay down.
	12. I spy with my little eye: child holds a telescope look at something and says the first sound of the word and the others tries to find it.
	13. Prison breaker syllables: Children say their names by clapping their hands or an instrument (each knot corresponds to a syllable). In the next level they have to do the same but by losing a syllable. The rest of the class tries to find which syllable is missing.
	14. Finger Theater: In the thumb children draw a figure and we place one of the target phonemes. On the other fingers we place the vowels. They make the combinations and they try to find words starting with each of them.
	15. Chinese: The teacher reads poems of the phonemes [r] and [l] from Παμπούδη(1981). Then they try all together to say the poems by replacing the [r] by [l] and vice versa.
4 th week	16. Lingo: Children try to place before each syllable the syllable [ksa] or [ra]
	17. The mischief of [kse]: the teacher tells the story of a writer who was writing on a paper but the letters were unwritten ⁶ . At the end children try to continue with their own pairs of words (eg. gr: κουμπώνω-ξεκουμπώνω en: clasp-unclasp/ gr: χτενίζω-ξεχτενίζω en:comb)
	18. Pantomime: Five groups of children. Each group finds a word starting with the target phoneme. They try to explain the word with pantomime to other groups.
	19. Sound-treasure hunt: When the music stops children try to find things starting or including the phoneme that teacher says as fast as possible.
	20. What's in the basket: Children are divided in the group of [l] and in the group of [r]. There is a basket opposite the two groups which contains things that their words start with [l] and[r]. The group that will manage to collect the most things is the winner.
	21. Memo with Pinakoti: In this game a pair of the same cards is needed. The teacher places the pairs promiscuous on the floor and lets the children watch them for a few minutes. Then, turns the cards upside down and children try to find the pairs (all cards are related to the target phonemes).

⁵ /Ξαπλώνω/ en: lay down -/Ξυπνώ/ en: wake up. The phoneme [ks] corresponds to the Greek letter /Ξ/.

⁶The prefix “un” can be ascribed in Greek as “ξε” for example in English is “written”- “unwritten”, in Greek “γραμμένος”- “ξεγραμμένος”.

5 th week	22. Which letter am I?: All children sat in a circle, place a sticker on their forehead with one of the letters of target phonemes. The letter has been chosen from the others. They are saying words starting with different sounds. When they will say the same sound with that in the sticker they win.
	23. Policemen: The teacher tells a story about the syllable thief and tells some words without one syllable and the children try to find them. Some words in Greek are: <i>κουβάγια</i> instead of <i>κουκουβάγια</i> (en: owl), <i>χανίζω/χαχανίζω</i> (en: yawn), <i>λούδι/λουλούδι</i> (en: flower) etc.
	24. Cross the river: Children step on the rocks which are pictures. They select to step on the pictures that their word start or include the sound that the teacher has said.
	25. Words saying, music playing⁷: The child takes a card. Then tries to find another card which makes rhyme. The teacher can use some of the Pinakoti's card to facilitate the children.
	26. Chain: Two children are the start of the chain. Each one chooses one of the target phonemes and says a word starting with it. The others try to find one word starting with one or another phoneme. When a child finds a word says it out loud and runs to the chain of the sound that has been selected. Finally they count which chain has the most children to find the winner.

Table 1 List of the activities of the 5 weeks program

The program starts with an activity which offers the opportunity to the children to introduce themselves. Furthermore, it contributes to the creation of coherence and conditions of good cooperation between the group members. The rest of the program was covered with various types of activities in order to practice children's phonological and phonetic awareness. The second up to the seventh activity are all practicing and strengthening the articulator muscles and were repeated the second week as well. There were activities for teaching letter-sound correspondence (No 8, 21, and 22). There are also activities included for: identifying sounds (No 9, 10, 12, 15, 18, 19, 20, 26), rhymes (No 25), segmentation in syllable level (No 11, 16, 17), deleting syllables (No 13, 23).

There are some activities which combine two or more types, like teaching letter-sound with creating a syllable (No 14) and teaching letter-sound with identifying sounds (No 24).

Most of the activities are suggested by Giannikopoulou (1999) and Gavriilidou (2003:137-185) and they were adjusted to the daily regular program of a Greek public kindergarten. The activities were chosen with a view to be realized by large groups of children. In our case a whole class was taking place in contrast to most intervention phonological programs for preschoolers. Most of them were created to be applied to individual children or to small groups of children (Phillips et al. 2008). Furthermore, Phillips et al. (2008) mentions that the *majority of the studies have included explicit instructional strategies in which the teacher clearly explains, models, and supports children's initial practice with the tasks*. The present training program was presented to the children as daily game and as a small break from the other activities. Thus, the teacher introduces explicit strategies for the phonological and phonetic awareness.

3. Results

The analysis of the data was realized with the non parametric test Man-Whitney U. According to the statistical analysis there was no statistical significant difference in the articulation efforts between the first and the second measure of the experimental group (Table 2).

⁷The title of this activity in Greek can be: *Κάνω μουσική με την πινακωτή*.

Research Groups		N	Mean	Std. Deviation
s1T	control	17	32,12	2,736
	experimental	17	32,53	1,419
s2T	control	17	32,47	2,035
	experimental	17	33,06	,556

Table 2

As well, there was no statistical significant difference between the control and the experimental group in the second measure.

Research Groups		N	Mean	Std. Deviation
m1T	control	17	32,88	2,736
	experimental	17	33,35	1,539
m2T	control	17	33,06	2,358
	experimental	17	33,76	,562

Table 3

There was only an exception where a slight improvement was occurred in the experimental group between the preprogram measure and the post program measure. It seems that students articulated much better the phonemes and the clusters at the beginning of the word after the intervention program (Table 4 and Figure 1).

Descriptive Statistics

	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Minimum	Maximum
s1T	34	32,32	2,156	23	34
s2T	34	32,76	1,499	27	34
Research Groups	34	1,50	,508	1	2

Table 4

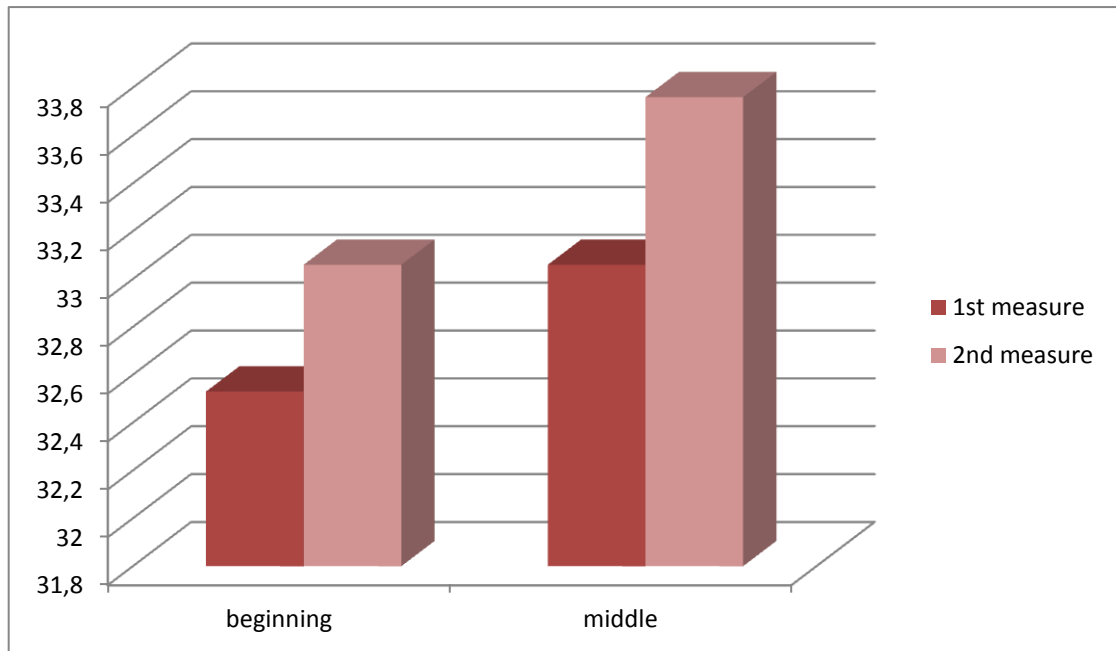


Figure 1 Slight improvement of the experimental group at the first position phoneme and cluster articulation.

4. Discussion

According to the results it is obvious that a training program can affect phonological and phonetic awareness. However, it could be suggested the time extension of the training program considering other training programs such as these of QI, O'Connor (2000) which lasted 10 weeks, Byrne & Barnsley (1991) which lasted 12 weeks and Lundberg et al (1988) which lasted 32 months. That premises the program's enrichment with new activities which should not be daily practiced by children in order to avoid possible undesirable results. Their no constant practice with the program activities may induce positive effects to all levels of phonetic and phonological awareness as they will have more time to absorb the phonetic and phonological skills.

The training program can be flexible and adjusted to the level of the children's phonetic and phonological awareness. The activities are conformed and give the opportunity to the teacher to correct different phonological errors according to the needs of every sample. That renders the training program a useful tool to the teachers. Although, there is no need for particular knowledge of the teacher in order to apply the suggested phonetic-phonological program in the classroom, he/she should be able to recognize the phonetic or the phonological errors. In no case, the program was not created to be a recipe for implementation. The final form that each educational program will take depends on many different factors such as the particular conditions of each school, the student's possibilities, the interests and the priorities of the teachers etc.

Finally, an important parameter that contributed to the no statistical significance of the data analysis could be a consequence of the finite sample. This parameter gives us the motivation to repeat the research and to redefine the results.

5. Perspectives

Due to the lack of statistical significance, this study has to be repeated. Two important parameters that should be considered are the size of the sample and its representativeness. In addition, the duration of the program will be extended as it is suggested above.

In conclusion, our future work will be the enrichment of the GSCC⁸ (Χατζηπαπά 2005). which includes spontaneous speech only. The recordings of the children which were accomplished before and after the intervention program will be added to the extant corpus.

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⁸ GSCC Greek Speaking Child Corpus

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CREATING FREQUENCY-BASED VOCABULARY LISTS FOR L2 LEARNERS

Frieda Charalabopoulou

Institute for Language and
Speech Processing /“Athena”
R.C.

frieda@ilsp.athena-innovation.gr

Maria Gavrilidou

Institute for Language and
Speech Processing /“Athena”
R.C.

maria@ilsp.athena-innovation.gr

ABSTRACT

This paper presents the EU-funded project KELLY (Keywords for Language Learning for Young and Adults alike) for building corpus-informed vocabulary lists for nine languages: Greek, Arabic, Chinese, English, Italian, Norwegian, Polish, Russian and Swedish. The emerging ranked lists were aligned to the six levels of the Common European Framework of the Council of Europe (A1-C2) and grouped to thematic domains. The methodology employed for constructing the lists is described here, while the focus of the paper is on the application of this methodology in what concerns the Greek language.

Keywords: corpus-informed word lists, L2 learners, vocabulary learning, CEFR, flash-cards

1. Introduction

Until recently vocabulary was not considered one of the priority areas in the field of second language (L2) teaching and was mainly viewed as a secondary activity with the emphasis placed on the development of communicative and linguistic (i.e. grammatical) competence. Nowadays, the primary role of vocabulary in Second Language Acquisition has been acknowledged and vocabulary knowledge is considered indispensable and a prerequisite for acquiring the four traditional language skills (i.e. listening, speaking, reading and writing) as well as grammar: knowing the words of the oral or written input the learners are exposed to enables understanding of discourse, while developing the L2 learner's lexical competence fosters language production.

Lexical competence is a crucial aspect in L2 learning given that successful communication in L2 is interwoven with knowing and deploying the right words to convey the message. According to Nation (2001), language comprehension and production is heavily dependent on vocabulary size, with 3.000 word families being a crucial threshold. A systematic and principled approach in order to build and expand the L2 learners' mental lexicon, therefore, results to better language learning. The crucial question, however, is which words to teach at different language levels.

In this paper we present the EU-funded KELLY project (Keywords for Language Learning for Young and Adults alike) as an innovative effort to address the above issue. The goal of the project was to generate corpus-informed word lists for L2 learners in 9 languages: Greek, Arabic, Chinese, English, Italian, Norwegian, Polish, Russian and Swedish. Based on the lists, sets of bilingual language learning flash cards in many different language combinations comprising the above-mentioned languages will eventually be developed and offered as an on-line vocabulary-building tool in the form of digital bilingual flash-cards. The project was multidisciplinary and comprised experts in language engineering, lexicology, corpus processing, CALL and product development. The consortium consisted of the following partners: Institute for Language and Speech Processing/Athena” R.C. (Greece), Stockholm University (Sweden), Adam Mickiewicz University (Poland), Cambridge Lexicography and Language Services (UK), Italian National Research Council (CNR), Keewords AB (Sweden), Lexical Computing Ltd. (UK), Gothenburg University (Sweden), University of Leeds (UK) and University of Oslo (Norway).

The overall procedure adopted to carry out the above tasks is described in the following sections. After a presentation of the global principles and processes governing all nine languages of the project, the paper focusses on the procedure for the compilation of the Greek lists.

2. The notion of wordlist

Wordlists are considered as a compact (and flat) representation of a corpus in computational linguistics or information theory: they lack much of the information resident in a corpus, but through the simple listing of all the words found in the corpus with their corresponding frequencies, we get a glimpse at the profile of the corpus. Domains such as language production, understanding and acquisition are interested in word frequency, as a word's frequency is related to the speed with which it is understood or learned. In lexicography, frequency lists constitute basic material for the construction of the macrostructure of the dictionary, i.e. the decision which words are to be included. In language teaching, word lists are commonly used in the process of syllabus design and of deciding which words should be included in books teaching children to read, in textbooks for non-native learners, in language tests etc.

From a language learning perspective, word lists and flash cards may be considered as powerful vocabulary-building tools in the context of intentional L2 vocabulary study. A substantial body of research indicates that dedicated vocabulary learning (as opposed to incidental) should have its place in the L2 learning and instructional context, as "there is a very large number of studies showing the effectiveness of such learning (i.e. using vocabulary cards) in terms of the amount and speed of learning." (Nation, 1997). Such studies favour using list and word learning (see for example Schmitt & Schmitt, 1995; Waring, 2004; Mondria & Mondria-de Vries, 1994; Nation, 2001), as the use of the above-mentioned tools exhibits good retention rates (Hulstijn, 2001; Nation, 2001) and faster learning gains. Fostering learner autonomy is an additional argument in favour of the use of word lists and flash cards by L2 learners, since using such tools allows them to work on their own at their individualized pace. Schmitt (1997: 215) notes that "One main advantage of flash cards is that they can be taken almost anywhere and studied when one has a free moment. Another that they can be arranged to create logical groupings of the target words." However, it should be noted at this point that the use of such devices requires motivated and disciplined learners, who should also be able to deploy the right metacognitive strategies required for self-monitoring, planning their own learning etc. As Nakata (2008:7) notes: "If they (learners) cannot monitor their learning accurately and plan their review schedule accordingly, they cannot make the most of word cards and may run the risk of inefficient learning, e.g. over-learning (devoting more time than necessary) of easy items or under-learning of hard items".

3. The methodology adopted

The initial goal was to identify for all nine languages the words that have the highest frequency but at the same time are the most useful for L2 learners. The number of words to be included in the final lists was set to 9,000 per language and the method was decided to be corpus-driven as far as possible. The procedure for preparing the list for each language was as follows:

- Identify the corpus (or corpora) to be used
- Perform a frequency count based on the corpus
- Generate a monolingual frequency list
- Use additional resources to enhance the monolingual corpus-informed lists with words considered essential for language learners per language level
- Translate each item into all the other project languages
- Compare lists and identify items for addition or deletion
- Enrich the monolingual lists by adding words as a result of cross-language comparison
- Provide the final bilingual lists, which were then ranked and aligned to the six CEFR levels (A1-C2)

The above steps were common for all languages; however, as in this paper the focus is on the Greek language, the next sections present this common methodology as applied to the development of the Greek KELLY list.

3.1 Corpus identification

The objective of the endeavour dictated the specifications for the corpus to be selected: it should contain general, everyday language and it should be large with a variety of texts, so that it would not be biased towards any particular text type or topic and would not miss basic vocabulary. An additional specification was for all corpora across languages to be, as far as possible, 'comparable'; in this way, all the lists produced would represent the same kind of language. For some of the languages of the project there was a good choice of corpora available, but not all project languages were equally well served. Spoken corpora were only available for a minority of the languages.

A web corpus provides large bulks of data of general language in a variety of topics and genres. This can be created for any language, using methods as presented in Sharoff (2006). These methods of corpus creation result in corpora that serve the purpose of KELLY better than the BNC-type corpora, which typically have large components of newspaper and fiction, while the predominant language features are past tense verbs, third person pronouns and other prototypical written language features. On the other hand, web corpora are more personal, action-based and future-oriented, and they include more present and future tense verbs, first and second person pronouns, i.e. prototypical spoken language features also. According to Ferraresi et al (2008) there is a better match between CEF *can-do* statements and web corpora, than *can-do* statements and BNC-type corpora.

As regards Greek, two different corpora were used in comparison, with the aim to conduct a comparative study of the frequency wordlists extracted from each type. Specifically:

- Greek Web as a Corpus (GkWaC): a random collection of Greek texts over the web of a size of 41 Million Words, produced in 2010.
- The Hellenic National Corpus (HNC, <http://hnc.ilsp.gr>): 50 Million Words, published between 1990 and 2010, consisting of newspapers, magazines, books (fiction & non-fiction) and miscellaneous texts.

3.2 Generation of the Greek frequency list

The differences in corpus constitution are reflected in the wordlists produced. Thus, since the HNC contains samples of written language exclusively (mainly texts from high circulation newspapers, best-selling books etc., with no idiomatic language), the profile that emerges is that of a higher register, whereas daily/informal speech is largely underrepresented. On the other hand, the GkWaC comprises a variety of sources (news, blogs, chats, etc.) and represents mainly the informal register of everyday speech, approximating spoken language. The steps that were taken to generate the monolingual Greek word list are described below:

Step 1

The corpora were processed with the aim to extract the most frequent words, or rather, the most frequent lemmas, i.e. the canonical forms representing all inflected types. In view of this objective, all three corpora were automatically tokenized, tagged and lemmatized with the respective ILSP tools. The process was fully automatic, with no subsequent manual correction.

Step 2

The subsequent phase included the extraction of frequency lists of the so-called *lemgrams*, i.e. the combinations of lemma and part of speech. The inclusion of the grammatical information on the part of speech was considered necessary in order to have the full identity of a word and to differentiate between cases of the type *ασθενής* (noun) and *ασθενής –ής –ές* (adj.).

Step 3

Unwanted items such as foreign words, hyperlinks, proper names, toponyms etc. were filtered out, since they do not constitute material appropriate to be included in vocabulary learning.

Step 4

At this stage, the lists extracted from each corpus were merged in one.

Step 5

The unified list was checked for duplicates and errors in the lemmatizer and tagger output. In the first case, where a lemma was found in both lists with differing frequency, the item originating in GkWac (and its frequency) was selected; this decision was due to the fact that the web corpus, as already discussed, is more suitable for L2 learners. In the second case of erroneous lemma or part of speech assignment by the automatic procedure, manual inspection of the list and correction of errors was deemed necessary.

For Greek, as for all other languages, the 6,000 most frequent *lemgrams* (lemma+part of speech pairs) were selected during this stage; this was the monolingual list, which served as input to the next process. The inclusion specifications for these 6,000 words comprised the following:

- Spelling variants were amalgamated, so that e.g. αυγό and αβγό [egg] were counted as one word for frequency calculations.
- Inflected forms are not included as such in the list, unless an inflected form has a meaning that is not inherent in the base form, or if the specific word does not follow the rule for lemma, e.g. πρόποδες [foot of the mountain], which is a word lacking the singular number, so the lemma is found in the plural.
- Derivational forms, such as adverbs, deverbal nouns etc., were treated as separate lemgrams.
- Affixes, including productive affixes, were not listed as separate entries.
- The most common abbreviations were listed; these were forms of address, weights and measures and the few cases where an abbreviation is the normal way to refer to an item, e.g. DVD.
- Multi-word units were included, when appearing above the set frequency threshold.
- Phrases, idioms, proverbs, quotations were not included.
- Subject-specific vocabulary (terminology) was not included, except for cases where the term has indeed penetrated general language and is commonly used, e.g. some computer terms.
- Dialectal material was not included, given that the target was the production of vocabulary for the teaching of the norm.
- Items marked by register, e.g. very formal, slang or offensive were subject to the frequency rule: if they appeared in the top 6,000 they were included. However, they were marked as such, to be easily removed if need be.
- Beliefs and religions, as well as associated nouns and adjectives were also subject to the frequency rule.
- Toponyms or proper names (names of stars, planets, place names, river names etc., names of imaginary, biblical or mythological creatures, encyclopedic info such as names of wars, treaties, names of ancient peoples, names of organizations, etc. were not included.

3.3 Enhancing the Greek KELLY list with additional resources

In the KELLY project the idea was to build a list from a web-corpus, which would be a corpus of general everyday language consisting of different texts, so that it would not be skewed by topic-specific texts and thus miss any core vocabulary (taking into consideration the language needs of our target group, i.e. L2 learners). Moreover, given that the objective was to build common lists for 9 languages, an additional constraint was that the corpora in the nine languages should be comparable, i.e. represent the same kind of language, which would allow for making connections between them and thus end up with a common word list for all.

Yet, a purely corpus-derived list on its own may have shortcomings, especially when it addresses L2 language learners: including the most frequent words is not enough. Some words may not exhibit high frequency rates, still they may be necessary to know in the context of L2 learning. “For example, such words as pencil, eraser, and blackboard do not occur in the most frequent words of general English, though they are frequent and essential in a classroom context”. (Schmitt, 2000: 83). Therefore, the additional requirement for the KELLY lists was that they should include the most useful words according to the learner’s language level and, furthermore, these should be in alignment with the CEFR-specific domain vocabulary. In order to meet this additional requirement, available educational resources for the target languages were also consulted.

As far as Greek is concerned, at present there are relatively few vocabulary lists available for Modern Greek, which describe modern vocabulary as well as being adapted to different CEFR levels. The available word lists for Modern Greek that were consulted for the project were the following:

- In a publication issued by the Center for the Greek Language (see Efstathiades et al., 2001) an annex is included with a word list addressing L2 learners of levels A and B (beginners and intermediate) as an annex. The authors label the annex as “Indicative vocabulary for levels A & B” without providing any further information. These lists are not corpus-based and the exact number of lemmas is not specified.
- In the curriculum published by the University of Athens for teaching Modern Greek L2 to adults (University of Athens, 1998), a vocabulary list is included as an appendix. The authors state that the list has been created based solely on their intuition and teaching experience and that the vocabulary listed (which they call “representative vocabulary”) complies with the communicative needs and the learning goals specified in the curriculum and relates to particular notions and functions, speech acts and thematic domains. The number of words is not specified.
- A dictionary for Greek as L2 has recently been released as support material within the framework of the EU-funded programme MiNERA - O.P. Education II – “Educational Project for Muslim Children 2005-2008” (for information see <http://www.museduc.gr/en/index.php>). The dictionary (available at <http://www.museduc.gr/docs/gymnasio/Dictionary.pdf>) includes 10,000 lemmas, which emerged by a processing combination of (i) existing dictionaries of Modern Greek addressed to pupils of primary and secondary education in Greece (as representative for the definition of the “basic/core vocabulary”) and (ii) e-corpora, in which school textbooks were also included. No further information about the corpus is provided.

The Greek corpus-based list was enhanced by manually adding words from the above lists. In particular, the added words belonged to the following thematic domains: animals, fruits, vegetables, colours, family relations, clothes, rooms, furniture, means of transport, shops, doctors and weather.

The fact that certain words that are considered necessary for L2 learners (such as *alphabet*, *elbow* or *orange*) were missing from the corpus-based lists and had to be manually added was not surprising: the lists were derived from general language corpora and not domain-specific or pedagogy-oriented texts. Language coursebooks and L2 curricula, on the other hand, are structured and organized on the basis of communicative situations (e.g. at the super market, shopping, going to the doctor etc.) and relevant vocabulary (e.g. fruits, vegetables, clothes, colours etc.) in compliance with the CEFR-specific domain vocabulary. The overall process for building the Greek monolingual list is depicted in Figure 1 below:

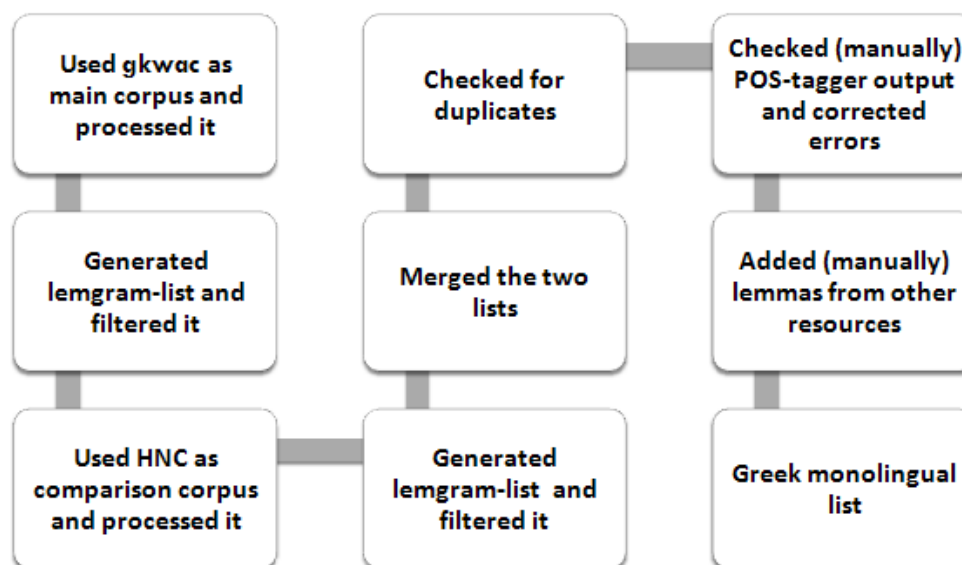


Figure 1 Towards building the Greek monolingual list

3.4 From monolingual to bilingual lists and the KELLY database

The process described above was applied to all other languages and was followed by a cross-language list comparison. The emerging lists were given for translation to all other languages, hence resulting in 72 bilingual lists. Following cross-language comparison, the next step involved handling “back translations” (i.e. words used by translators when translating into a language and not appearing in the monolingual lists of this language) in order to decide which of these should be added to the bilingual lists and which should be deleted or demoted.

The completion of this process rendered the final lists, which consist of approximately 9,000 words per language. These words were ranked according to their frequency range, and were equally distributed to the six CEFR-based language levels (i.e. circa 1,500 words per language level).

The content of the final bilingual lists is hosted by the KELLY database, which contains translation mappings to one or more words in each of the other eight languages. In total, it contains 74,258 lemmas and 423,848 mappings, which renders it an interesting resource that may be accessed and exploited for various research and/or learning purposes. The translations are divided in the following two basic categories:

- (a) Symmetric pairs (*sympairs*): this is a pair of words $\langle a, b \rangle$ of two different languages A and B, such that a translates to b and b translates to a . Table 1 below depicts examples of symmetric pairs across all project languages:

Arabic	Chinese	English	Greek	Italian	Norwegian	Polish	Russian	Swedish
مستشفى	医院	hospital	νοσοκομείο	ospedale	sykehus	Szpital	больница	sjukhus
مكتبة	图书馆	library	βιβλιοθήκη	biblioteca	bibliotek	Biblioteka	библиотека	bibliotek
موسيقى	音乐	music	μουσική	musica	musikk	Muzyka	музыка	music
شمس	太阳	sun	ήλιος	sole	sol	Słońce	солнце	sol
نظرية	理论	theory	θεωρία	teoria	teori	Teoria	теория	teori

Table 1 Example of symmetric pairs

- (b) Non-symmetric pairs (*non-sympairs*): this is the case where in a translation pair $\langle a$ of language A, b of language B, a translates to b but b does not translate to a , although both a and b exist in the respective monolingual lists. For example, in the Greek-English pair the word *μοιράζω* is translated as *distribute*, while in the English-Greek pair the word *distribute* is translated as *διανέμω*. The main reasons for non-sympairs are grouped as follows:

- Linguistic, such as use of different spelling variants, difference in word classes across languages, translators' choices, etc.
- Technical, such as differences in corpus construction, list compilation approaches, lemmatization/normalization problems with resulting difference in item frequency range.
- Cultural differences, which result in the presence or absence of certain vocabulary items.

Apart from the KELLY database, the project will lead to the creation of bilingual flash cards, which in the form of an on-line tool that can be used to enhance vocabulary skills in L2.

4. Summary and outlook

In this paper we have presented the KELLY project and the work carried out towards developing corpus-derived word lists, monolingual and bilingual, for nine languages that may be used and exploited within the L2 teaching and learning framework. We have described in detail the method for the monolingual list creation as regards the Greek language and the steps taken for the creation of the final bilingual lists comprising all nine languages.

The KELLY project constitutes an experiment in using automatic solutions for language learning. In that respect, innovative work has been carried out with respect to the following:

- Innovative methodology was used in order to build frequency-based vocabulary lists from web corpora in nine languages.
- A vocabulary-building tool was created, which may be employed either for self-study purposes or as supplementary material for enhancing vocabulary skills in the context of guided instruction.
- Word lists and flash cards were developed for less widely taught and learned languages and “unusual” language pairs (e.g. Greek-Norwegian, Polish-Italian, Swedish-Arabic etc.).
- A wide spectrum of L2 learners (i.e. young and adults, from beginners to advanced) and learner types was addressed.
- Words were ranked according to the Common European Framework and organized to CEFR-based thematic domains.

Apart from the advantages and innovations, the work carried out within the KELLY project has raised a number of issues which need to be addressed in the future. From a language pedagogy perspective, the crucial question is: how efficient are corpus-informed word lists as pedagogical tools for L2 learning? Is employing purely lexico-statistical approaches to define vocabulary syllabus for L2 learners a safe approach? In other words, can we rely merely on technology and purely objective strategies when it comes to the selection of relevant vocabulary for L2 learners? Even more so, when word lists need to cover the CEFR-related thematic domains and topics?

Future plans for the KELLY outcomes mainly focus on two areas: commercial and linguistic. The commercial dimension involves the creation, sales and marketing of digital bilingual flash cards by the commercial partner of the consortium (Keewords AB). The linguistic part refers to the further exploration of the KELLY database and the evaluation and validation of the KELLY outcomes by the end-users, i.e. actual L2 learners, in order to overcome existing shortcomings and provide a reference tool for vocabulary learning. For less widely used and taught languages (such as Greek) the KELLY lists may prove particularly useful and could be considered, in that respect, a welcome addition.

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THE INTERACTION BETWEEN AFFIXES AND BASES: THE CASE OF THE GREEK VERB SUFFIXES

Chariton Charitonidis
University of Cologne, Germany
charitonidis@uni-koeln.de

ABSTRACT

In the first part of this study the semantics of the Greek verb-deriving suffixes -ízo(o), -én(o), -év(o), -ón(o), -(i)áz(o), and -in(o) are presented. The description is based on an empirical analysis of data extracted from 28 interviews conducted with native speakers of Greek, in Athens, Greece. In the analysis Rochelle's Lieber's (2004) theoretical framework is used. In the second part are presented the properties of an interfering socio-expressive level of meaning, i.e. the 'socio-expressive tier', on the example of -(i)áz(o) verbs. The analysis suggests the coordination of Lieber's denotational structures with the author's socio-expressive structures so that a base can be selected by a particular suffix.

Keywords: verb suffixes, morphological theory, lexical semantics, socio-expressive meaning

1. Introduction

Efthymiou (2011) dealt with the semantics of the verb-forming suffixes -ízo, -(i)ázo, -óno, -évo and -éno in Modern Greek (MG).¹ She used the following labels to describe their meaning: RESULTATIVE (turn into x, make (more) like x; cf. *mavrízo* 'cause to) become black, blacken' (*mávros* 'black')), INCHOATIVE (become x; cf. *skulikíazo* 'be wormy/wormeaten' (*skuliki* 'worm')), ORNATIVE (provide with x; cf. *vutiróno* 'to butter' (*vútiro* 'butter')), LOCATIVE (put in(to) x; cf. *tsepóno* 'to pocket' (*tsépi* 'pocket')), PERFORMATIVE (perform/do/make x; cf. *taksidhévo* 'to travel' (*taksídi* 'travel')), SIMILATIVE (do/make/act in the manner of/like x; cf. *pithikízo* 'imitate ape's behaviour, to ape' (*píthikos* 'ape')), and INSTRUMENTAL (use x; cf. *nixíazo* 'scratch with one's nails' (*níxi* 'nail')). Table 1 summarizes Efthymiou's analysis.

	-ízo	-(i)ázo	-óno	-évo	-éno
RESULTATIVE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
INCHOATIVE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
ORNATIVE	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
LOCATIVE	✓	✓	✓	✓	
PERFORMATIVE	✓	✓		✓	
SIMILATIVE	✓	✓		✓	
INSTRUMENTAL	✓	✓	✓	✓	

Table 1 The semantics of the native Greek verb suffixes [Efthymiou 2011]

As Efthymiou (2011) notes, the meanings of -óno and -éno are more restricted than the meanings of -ízo, -(i)ázo, and -évo, and all suffixes seem to share a common causative/resultative meaning (see Table 1). Accordingly, she proposes the semantic structure CAUSE [x BE y LOC z] for all denominal and deadjectival verbs in MG.

Efthymiou's (2011) analysis revealed many overlaps in the selectional properties of the suffixes, but also in the phonological shape of the bases onto which they attach. For example, both -óno and -évo prefer nominal bases, both -ízo and -(i)ázo prefer nominal and adjectival base stems which end in a consonant, etc.

¹ The suffix -ino was not examined by Efthymiou (2011). Her analysis for the suffix -áro and for the confix -pió is not relevant for this study. The former has a strong preference for nominal bases of non-Greek origin, the latter has an unclear status. Verb forms and endings are given together with the inflectional ending -o in the first person singular – the standard citation form for Greek verbs.

Charitonidis (2011) conducted four language experiments with 28 native speakers of Greek in February 2009, in Athens, Greece. His main goal was to detect the semantic profile of the native Greek verb suffixes *-ízo*, *-éno*, *-évo*, *-óno*, *-(i)ázo*, and *-íno*. The experiments had the form of four interview tasks referring to predictions and evaluations as regards *lexical* knowledge. This means that no context was given together with the tested material.

In the first two tasks were examined the effects of online combination of bases and suffixes under the condition of forcing, irrespective of output restrictions, e.g. blocking, etc. (Plag 1999). The other two tasks referred to existing/established verbs. In the analysis of the elicited data Lieber's (2004, 2007) theoretical framework was used. The comparison of the patterns in created verbs with the patterns in existing/established verbs validated the former.²

The present paper is within the scope of the project "The Integration of Socio-expressive Meaning into Verb Structures" conducted by the author at the University of Cologne, Germany.

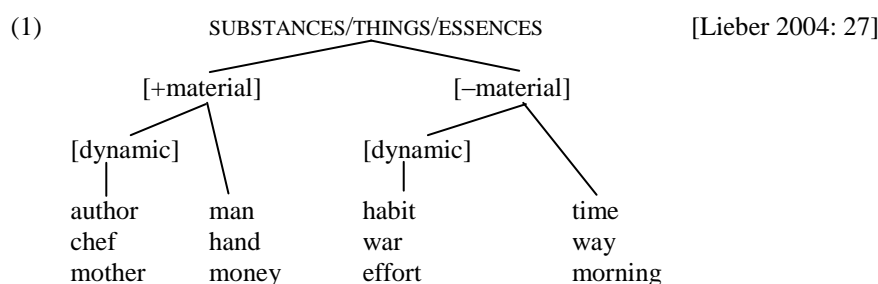
2. Theoretical framework

The great advantage of Lieber's (2004, 2007) model is the efficient handling of transpositional effects between a derivative and its base on a semantic basis. Affixes are regarded as linguistic signs equivalent to the bases onto which they attach (the sign-based hypothesis; see Plag 1999, 2000, Melissaropoulou & Ralli 2010). They operate on bases, while producing a derivative which is allocated to the same set of featural combinations as the bases themselves. According to Lieber (2004: 9–10) there is a fundamental distinction in the lexical semantic representations of lexical items: the Semantic/Grammatical Skeleton (*skeleton*, for short) and the Semantic/Pragmatic Body (*body*, for short). The skeleton seeks to isolate "all and only those aspects of meaning which have consequences for the syntax", while the body is "encyclopedic, holistic, nondecompositional, not composed of primitives, and perhaps only partially formalizable".

Lieber (2004) defines two conceptual categories (major ontological classes) for the skeletons: SUBSTANCES/THINGS/ESSENCES and SITUATIONS. These categories are used as mnemonic labels for different combinations of semantic features, and not as primitives. The very essence of her system is formed by the features [material] and [dynamic]. These features can be positive or negative, whereas in the case of nominal forms, the feature [dynamic] may be totally absent (see (1) below).

As regards the decomposition of the major lexical categories by means of features, Lieber assumes that nouns have at least the feature [material] in their skeleton, verbs and adjectives have the feature [dynamic] without the feature [material], verbs may be [+dynamic], i.e. EVENTS, or [–dynamic], i.e. STATES. Adjectives bear the feature [–dynamic], i.e. they are STATES. In Lieber (2007) the features [+scalar] and [–scalar] for adjectives are introduced, cf. the adjectives *wide* and *pregnant*, respectively.

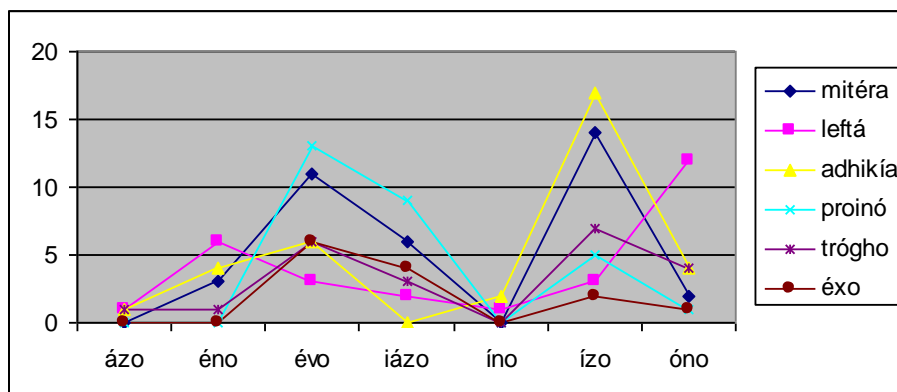
The system of SUBSTANCES/THINGS/ESSENCES is found in (1).



The semantic features presented so far are used as functions which take arguments. Lexical items will always have at least one argument – in the case of nouns at least one argument called "R"-argument (referential argument) – but they may also have more than more argument, see (2) below.

- (2) *leg* [+material ([], [])] (e.g. *the leg of the table*) [Lieber 2004: 25]
fond [–dynamic ([], [])] (e.g. *fond of pickles*)
kiss [+dynamic ([], [])] (e.g. *kiss frogs*)

² The analysis and the results in Charitonidis (2011) are presented in sections 3 and 4, respectively.



Created using Microsoft Excel 2003
Figure 1 Bases and suffixes in interaction

3.2 Evaluation of created derivatives

In the second task the TPs were asked to evaluate three groups of forced verbs with a noun, an adjective, and an adverb, respectively, by using one (best/highly acceptable verb) to six (worst/unacceptable verb) points. The aim of this task was to detect the selectional properties of the suffixes in relation to the lexical category of the base. The averages are given in Table 3.³

N <i>potíri</i> 'glass'	Average	A <i>xlorós</i> 'green', 'unseasoned'	Average	ADV <i>káto</i> 'down'	Average
!potirízo	3.86	!xlorízo	2.96	!katízo	3.93
!potirévo	4.04	!xlorévo	3.50	!katévo	3.82
!potiréno	4.21	!xloréno	2.29	!katéno	3.54
!potiróno	2.39	!xloróno	3.93	!katóno	3.68
!potiriázo	3.64	!xloriázo	3.25	!katiázo	3.57
!potiríno	5.39	!xloríno	4.25	!katíno	4.68
Mean	3.92	Mean	3.36	Mean	3.87

Table 3 Evaluation of created derivatives

3.3 Detection of differences in verb doublets (existing/established verbs)

In the third task 19 existing/established verb pairs with different suffixes and the ending -áo/-ó were presented. All pairs contained one verb in -ízo. The TPs were asked to report whether there was some difference between the members of the pairs and what exactly this difference was. The differences reported were transformed into 16 alternations. The alternations most relevant for the present study are given in Table 4 together with examples.

Alternations	Rival endings	Example verbs	Base
literal/similative (6)	-iázo vs. -ízo	<i>maniázo</i> vs. <i>manízo</i> 'get angry'	<i>manía</i> 'mania', 'fury', 'anger'
semelfactive-simple/ habitual (8)	-ízo vs. -áo/-ó	<i>serghianízo</i> vs. <i>serghianáo</i> 'take so./go for a walk'	<i>serghiani</i> 'walk'
non-intensive/intensive (9)	-áo/-ó vs. -ízo	<i>stúbáo</i> vs. <i>stúbízo</i> 'pestle'	<i>stúbos</i> 'pestle'
non-fullness/fullness (10)	-ízo vs. -iázo	<i>luludhízo</i> vs. <i>luludhiázo</i> 'flower', 'blossom', 'bloom'	<i>luludhi</i> 'flower', 'blossom', 'bloom'

³ In the present study creations are indicated with '!'.

more/less (phonologically) aesthetic/correct (12)	-ízo vs. -iázo	<i>kitrinízo</i> vs. <i>?kitriniázo</i> 'become yellow/pale'	<i>kítrinos</i> 'yellow/pale'
standard/low class- provincial (16)	-ízo vs. -áo/-ó	<i>kutsulízo</i> vs. <i>kutsuláo</i> 'throw droppings', 'dirty with droppings'	<i>kutsuliá</i> 'droppings' (dung of an animal)

Table 4 Alternations in verb doublets

3.4 Emergence of suffix meanings in (near) antonyms (existing/established verbs)

In the fourth task 21 existing/established verbs with different suffixes were presented. The TPs were asked to give the "opposite" or "near opposite" expression for each verb. The rationale behind this task was to arrive at the meaning of the suffixes through the meaning of the opposites. For example, a feature [+dynamic] was assigned to -évo according to the TP response *káno to sostó* 'do the right thing' for *lathévo* 'be at fault' (*láthos* 'error', 'wrong'), etc.

3.5 The suffix features used in the analysis

Table 5 contains the most relevant features used in the analysis of the elicited data. Denotational (DE) features are enclosed in square brackets, and socio-expressive (SE) features in curly brackets. Features 1–4 directly correspond to Lieber's (2004, 2007) DE features and are adopted as such. Features 5–7 are mnemonic labels for extra DE structures emerged from the analysis. Features 8–15 are SE features introduced by the author.

	Feature	Meaning	Example endings	Example verbs
1.	[+dynamic]	Event	-ázo	<i>!leftázo</i> 'make money' (<i>leftá</i> 'money')
2.	[–dynamic]	State	-évo	<i>!mitérévo</i> 'be a mother' (<i>mitéra</i> 'mother')
3.	[+dynamic, +IEPS, +Loc]	Unaccusative/inchoative	-éno	<i>!mitéréno</i> 'become a mother' (<i>mitéra</i> 'mother')
4.	[–dynamic, +Loc]	Location or end of a change of state/end of a transfer	-évo	<i>!proinévo</i> 'be in the morning time' (<i>proινό</i> 'morning')
5.	[+accumulation] ('fullness' in section 3.3)	Accumulation of some referent in the described event/state	-iázo	<i>!lexiázo</i> 'be a materialist', 'want many things' (<i>éxo</i> 'have')
6.	[+habitual] (TP comment)	Habitual action	-áo	<i>serghianáo</i> 'take so./go for a walk' (<i>serghiani</i> 'walk')
7.	[+similative]	Similarity of the behaviour of an individual to that of another individual (usually denoted by the base)	-ízo	<i>!miterízo</i> 'behave like a mother' (<i>mitéra</i> 'mother')
8.	{+aesthetic/correct} (TP comment)	Aesthetic/correct form	-ízo	<i>kitrinízo</i> 'become yellow' (<i>kítrinos</i> 'yellow')
9.	{–aesthetic/correct} (TP comment)	Non-aesthetic/incorrect form	-iázo	<i>?kitriniázo</i> 'become yellow' (<i>kítrinos</i> 'yellow')
10.	{+derisive} (TP comment)	Derisive use	-iázo	<i>?kitriniázo</i> 'become yellow' (<i>kítrinos</i> 'yellow')
11.	{+diminutive}	Small referent	-ízo	<i>!troghízo</i> 'eat a small amount' (<i>trógho</i> 'eat')
12.	{+evaluation} ⁴	Positive evaluation	-évo	<i>taksidhévo</i> 'journey', 'travel' (<i>taksidhi</i> 'journey', 'travel')
13.	{–evaluation}	Negative psychology, pejorative meanings, and negative ethical views	-iázo	<i>!miteríázo</i> 'behave annoyingly like a mother' (<i>mitéra</i> 'mother')

⁴ In Charitonidis (2011) {+evaluation} was assigned only to -évo according to the meaning of existing antonymous verbs (see Charitonidis 2011: 28). More experiments should be made to validate this feature.

14.	{+intensive} (TP comment)	Intense activity	-ízo	<i>serghianízo</i> 'take so./go for a walk' (<i>serghiáni</i> 'walk')
15.	{+low class/provincial}	Low class/provincial form	-áo	<i>kutsuláo</i> 'throw droppings', 'dirty with droppings' (<i>kutsuliá</i> 'droppings')

Table 5 Features for suffixes/endings

4. Results

The repetition of a pattern in at least two interview parts introduces a feature or feature cluster for each suffix. As an exception, special focus is placed on the alternations of section 3.3, which introduces several features. Table 6 summarizes the results of the analysis.

	[+dynamic]	[-dynamic]	[+dynamic, +IEPS, +Loc]	[+dynamic, +simulative]	[+accumulation]	[+habitual]	{+intensive}	{-evaluation}	{+low class/provincial}
-ízo	✓ ^a		✓ ^b	✓ ^c			✓ ^d		
-éno	✓ ^e		✓ ^f						
-évo	✓ ^g	✓ ^h	✓ ⁱ						
-óno	✓ ^j		✓ ^k						
-iázo	✓ ^l		✓ ^m		✓ ⁿ			✓ ^o	
-íno			✓ ^p						
-áo/-ó						✓ ^q			✓ ^r
Sections	^a 3.1, 3.4 ^j 3.1, 3.4	^b 3.1, 3.4 ^k 3.2, 3.4	^c 3.1, 3.3 ^l 3.1, 3.4	^d 3.3 ^m 3.1, 3.4	^e 3.1, 3.4 ⁿ 3.1, 3.3, 3.4	^f 3.1, 3.4 ^g 3.1, 3.4	^h 3.1, 3.4 ^p 3.1, 3.4	ⁱ 3.1, 3.4 ^q 3.3	^r 3.3

Table 6 The meaning of the native Greek verb suffixes and the verb ending -áo/-ó

The features ticked off for -áo/-ó represent only suggestions. The restricted number of the TP reactions and the regional/dialectal character of this ending⁵ do not allow further generalizations.

4.1 The results regarding denotational (DE) meaning

As can be seen in Table 6, the suffixes are not very different from one another. To show this more clearly, I give Lieber's (2004) bipartite structure for the English verb derivatives in -ize and -ify in (see (5)).

- (5) -ize, -ify [Lieber 2004: 82]
 [+dynamic ([_{volitional-i}], [_j])] ; [+dynamic ([_i], [+dynamic, +IEPS ([_j], [+Loc])))] ; <base>

In Table 6 the cluster [+dynamic, +IEPS, +Loc] shows up most often across the different suffixes. This cluster corresponds to the subevent (6), extracted from the structure in (5).

- (6) [+dynamic, +IEPS ([], [+Loc])]

The crucial semantic core [+dynamic, +IEPS ([], [+Loc])] in (6) shows that on the level of DE meaning the suffixes are similar. The pattern [+dynamic] in Table 6 can be regarded as an extension of this core connected with various manipulations of the bipartite structure in (5) – cf. Lieber (2004: 86–88). It should be noticed, however, that simple [+dynamic] is not a preferred option for the suffix -íno which resists manipulations of its causative structure. Suffix -óno has a strong [+Loc] component, i.e. it standardly combines with [+material] themes (see sections 3.1 and 3.2).

⁵ -áo is characteristic of southern – mainly Peloponnesian – dialects. In certain northern Greek dialects, only the -ó variant exists (see also Melissaropoulou 2010).

The feature [+habitual] for *-áo/-ó* in Table 6 is too broad a feature to be integrated in Lieber's system, since its classifying power and hence its contribution to the identification of referents is restricted (see section 2).

The feature [+accumulation] for *-iázo* in Table 6 is represented in Lieber's system through the function [+CI] ('composed of individuals') which accounts for separable similar internal units (see Lieber 2004: 136–139).

The cluster [+dynamic, +similative] for *-ízo* in Table 6 corresponds to the first subevent of (5) whereby the referent of the base shows up in the first slot (see Lieber 2004: 87–88).

Up to this point, Lieber's system properly accommodates the DE content of the Greek verb suffixes. It should be noted, however, that the [–dynamic] and [+dynamic] patterns of *-évo* in Table 6 are the strongest argument against a single, perhaps bipartite, structure like this in (5), because contradictory outermost features are not licensed in Lieber's system.

4.2 The results regarding socio-expressive (SE) meaning

Let us now turn to the SE features of Table 6. The feature {+intensive} is a relational feature which emerged out of the comparison of the suffix *-ízo* with the ending *-áo/-ó* (section 3.3). I assume that the rest of the suffixes relate to this feature as well. According to the analysis in section 5 below, {+intensive} is subsumed under the super-category {+measure} (see Table 7).

{–evaluation} for *-iázo* in Table 6 is a powerful selectional feature. The entities which can occupy the empty slots in structure (5) are nominal [+material, dynamic] agents (the first argument of the first partial structure) or adjectival [–dynamic, +scalar] goals (the [+Loc] argument). However, {–evaluation} cuts across these categorial and structural preferences. It prefers {–evaluation} bases such as the [+material, dynamic] entity *rébelos* 'loafer' in *rebeliázo* 'loaf' or the [–dynamic, –scalar] entity *paráksenos* 'odd' in *parakseniázo* 'grow odd' (see section 6).

In addition, I would like to underscore some selectional patterns emerged from the analysis in section 3.1. *-ízo* is a similative suffix and because of this it prefers entities referring to a social role, such as *mitéra* 'mother'. *-évo* is often used with nominal bases denoting a specific social role, esp. a profession or an office (Efthymiou 2011). This SE preference is capable of changing the [+dynamic] structure of *-évo* into [–dynamic]. *-iázo* conflicts with socio-expressively neutral bases, such as *adhikía*, since it is negatively marked (see Table 2 and Fig. 1).

To conclude, the patterns presented in this section suggest a major interference of the SE level of meaning with Lieber's (2004) DE structures. Both levels of meaning must be addressed in order to account for the selectional properties of the suffixes and hence for productivity.

5. The socio-expressive (SE) tier

In Charitonidis (2011) a group of interfering SE components in the structure of the verb suffixes were detected, e.g. {±evaluation}, {±aesthetic/correct}, {+derisive}, {+diminutive}, etc. (see Table 5). In Table 7 I introduce a set of features which formalize the SE level of meaning – the motivation of the features can be found in Charitonidis (2012).

{+m}	Meaning of measurement/continuation/progress, i.e. size, intenseness, strength etc., of a higher (cf. {+intensive}) or lower (cf. {+diminutive}) degree	{–m}	Invariable SE content
{+s}	Positive stance towards a situation or entity	{–s}	Negative stance towards a situation or entity
{+i}	Estimations and stances explicitly involving the domain of interpersonal relations	{–i}	Estimations and stances that are to a certain degree orthogonal to the domain of interpersonal relations

Table 7 The SE features and their meaning

According to Efthymiou's (2011, submitted) analysis and the results in the previous section, the percolation of the [–learned] feature of *-(i)ázo* to the output verbs and the preference of this suffix for

negatively marked bases, suggest a coordinative structure for the *-(i)ázo* derivatives in which both suffixes and bases are marked negatively.⁶

The SE patterns of *-(i)ázo* detected in Charitonidis (2011) are given in Table 8. '[TP]' refers to a direct TP comment.

SE components (suffix)	SE features (suffix)	Verbs	Bases
{-evaluation}, {+derivative} [TP], {-aesthetic/correct} [TP]	{+m}, {-s}, {i}	? <i>kitriniázo</i> 'become yellow/pale'	<i>kítrinos</i> 'yellow', 'pale'
{-evaluation}	{+m}, {-s}, {i}	! <i>potiriázo</i> 'I fume at/over having washed a lot of drinking glasses'	<i>potíri</i> 'glass'

Table 8 The SE patterns of the Greek verb suffix *-(i)ázo*

In the interviews ?*kitriniázo* was juxtaposed with the existing/established verb *kitrinízo* which did not received negative evaluations. Accordingly, the {-s} feature was assigned to the suffix *-(i)ázo* and not to the body of the ADJ *kítrinos*. The same argument holds for !*potiriázo* which was juxtaposed with creations having the same base but different suffixes.

After considering the interpretations and evaluations of all created and existing verbs in Charitonidis (2011) we arrive at two main SE clusters for the Greek verb suffixes. These are given in (7).

- (7) {+m}{s}{i} default SE matrix for *-ízo, -éno, -évo, -óno, -íno*
 {+m}{-s}{i} default SE matrix for *-(i)ázo*

The SE features in (7) would be ad hoc conceptions, if they could not sufficiently explain the combinatorial properties of the suffixes in existing derivatives and creations. In (8) I give the combinatorial system of these features.

(8) The properties of the SE tier in relation to verb suffixation

- Derivation bases refer to the same set of features as suffixes, i.e. {m},{s}, and {i}.
- Suffixes are compound heads. Their valued features are also heads.
- Underdetermined features are merged regardless of their head role.
- The base arguments are addressed by the features throughout the derivation, i.e. the base arguments are evaluated anew in every derivational step including output.

Up to this point, the atoms of the SE tier and their combinatorial properties were presented. What we now need to validate this system are exemplifying SE operations in existing verbs, neologisms, and creations. This task is accomplished in the next section on the example of *-(i)ázo* verbs.

6. Application

In the analysis to follow I present three cases of derivation which cover an acceptability continuum, i.e. existing/established verbs, fresh neologisms, and forced verbs. In doing so, I assume a tripartite template, in which bases, suffixes, and output verbs refer to the same set of features, i.e. {m},{s}, and {i}.

6.1 Deadjectival [-dynamic, -scalar] verbs in *-(i)ázo*

The deadjectival [-dynamic, -scalar] verbs in *-(i)ázo* found in the Reverse Index of Modern Greek (RIMG) are given in Table 9. As can be seen {+m}{-s}{-i} bases are preferred by *-(i)ázo*.

⁶ In Efthymiou (submitted) the preference of *-(i)ázo* for negatively marked bases is mentioned, together with its capability to place a negative interpretation on derivatives whose bases are not negatively marked, cf. *thróniázo* 'enthroned' (ironically; *thrónos* 'throne'), etc.

Verb		Base		SE cluster (base)
<i>alaliázo</i>	'daze', 'drive sb mad'	<i>álalos</i>	'stunned', 'dazed'	{+m}{-s}{-i}
<i>anapodhiázo</i>	'become cantankerous/ 'crabby'	<i>anápodhos</i>	'cantankerous', 'crabby'	{-m}{-s}{+i}
<i>apagiázo</i>	'offer/find shelter from the weather'	<i>apágio</i>	'lee[ward]'	{-m}{+s}{-i}
<i>blaviázo</i>	'become dark blue'	<i>blávōs</i>	'dark blue'	{+m}{-s}{-i}
<i>kaburiázo</i>	'become/be hunch- backed/hump-backed'	<i>kabúris</i>	'hunch-backed', 'hump-backed'	{+m}{-s}{-i}
<i>kakomiriázo</i>	'become wretched/ miserable', 'have a bad time'	<i>kakomiris</i>	'wretched', 'miserable'	{+m}{-s}{-i}
<i>kluviázo</i>	'get addled', 'grow addled- headed'	<i>klúvios</i>	'addled', 'addled headed'	{+m}{-s}{-i}
<i>ksefreniázo</i>	'become frenzied/furious'	<i>kséfrenos</i>	'frenzied', 'furious'	{+m}{-s}{+i}
<i>ksethoriázo</i>	'fade'	<i>kséthoros</i>	'faded'	{+m}{-s}{-i}
<i>neruliázo</i>	'grow watery', 'grow flabby'	<i>nerulós</i>	'watery', 'flabby'	{+m}{-s}{-i}
<i>parakseniázo</i>	'grow odd'	<i>paráksenos</i>	'odd'	{-m}{-s}{+i}
<i>varvatiázo</i>	'rut', 'be in heat'	<i>varvátos</i>	'virile', 'in heat'	{+m}{+s}{-i}
<i>vathuliázo</i>	'become hollow', 'sag'	<i>vathulós</i>	'hollow'	{+m}{-s}{-i}

Table 9 Existing *-(i)ázo* verbs with an adjectival [–dynamic, –scalar] base [RIMG; approx. 19c.–]

By way of example, the SE structure of *alaliázo* is given in (9).

(9) *álalos* 'stunned', 'dazed' > *alaliázo* 'daze', 'drive sb mad'

<i>álalos</i>	<i>-(i)ázo</i>	<i>alaliázo</i>
{+m}	{+m}	{+m}
{-s}	{-s}	{-s}
{-i}	{i}	{-i}

As can be seen, the features {+m}{-s} in both the base and in the suffix suggest a coordinative structure for *alaliázo*.

In (10) the SE structure of the very fresh neologism *?kitriniázo* is given.

(10) *kítrinos* 'yellow/'pale' > *?kitriniázo* 'become yellow/pale'

<i>kítrinos</i>	<i>-(i)ázo</i>	<i>?kitriniázo</i>
{-m}	{+m}	{+m}
{-s} ✓pref	{-s}	{-s}
{-i} ✓pref	{i}	{-i}

As can be seen in (10), the base *kítrinos* addresses two of the three features in the preferred base structure of the existing verbs (compare *kítrinos* with the verb bases in Table 9). This must be the reason why *?kitriniázo* is for some native speakers of Greek ungrammatical.⁷ As regards the TP interpretation 'become yellow/pale' for *?kitriniázo*, this very fresh neologism is motivated by a degradation of the properties of *kítrinos*, i.e. the referent acquires a hue close to the focal colour YELLOW (cf. Berlin & Kay 1969). It should be noted that the output cluster {+m}{-s}{-i} in *?kitriniázo* is identical with the preferred base cluster in the existing verbs (compare (10) with (9)).

6.2 Denominal [+material, dynamic] verbs in *-(i)ázo*

The denominal [+material, dynamic] verbs in *-(i)ázo* found in RIMG are given in Table 10. As can be seen {+m}{-s}{+i} bases are preferred by *-(i)ázo*.

⁷ In this case the rival form *kitrinízo* having a more neutral meaning is preferred (cf. Table 5).

Verb		Base		SE cluster (base)
<i>bekruliázo</i>	'be on the booze'	<i>bekrís</i>	'drunkard', 'boozier'	{+m}{-s}{i}
<i>kubariázo</i>	'become the best man of sb'	<i>kubáros</i>	'best man'	{-m}{+s}{+i}
<i>lighuriázo</i>	'feel craving for'	<i>lighúra/lighúris</i>	'craving'/'sharp-set'	{+m}{-s}{i}
<i>papardheliázo</i>	'blabber'	<i>papardhélas</i>	'blabbermouth'	{+m}{-s}{+i}
<i>papudhiázo</i>	'wrinkle' – esp. for hands or feet after having been a long time in water	<i>papúdhi</i>	'granddad', 'old man'	{+m}{s}{+i}
<i>rebeliázo</i>	'loaf'	<i>rébelos</i>	'loafer'	{+m}{-s}{+i}

Table 10 Existing *-(i)ázo* verbs with a nominal [+material, dynamic] base [RIMG; approx. 19c.–]

By way of example, the SE structure of *rebeliázo* is given in (11).

- (11) *rébelos* 'loafer' > *rebeliázo* 'loaf'
- | | | |
|----------------|----------------|------------------|
| <i>rébelos</i> | <i>-(i)ázo</i> | <i>rebeliázo</i> |
| {+m} | {+m} | {+m} |
| {-s} | {-s} | {-s} |
| {+i} | {i} | {+i} |

As in the case of *alaliázo* in (9), the features {+m}{-s} in both the base and in the suffix suggest a coordinative structure for *rebeliázo*.

In (12) the SE structure for the creation *!miteriázo* is given.

- (12) *mitéra* 'mother' > *!miteriázo* 'behave annoyingly like a mother'
- | | | |
|---------------|----------------|------------------|
| <i>mitéra</i> | <i>-(i)ázo</i> | <i>miteriázo</i> |
| {-m} | {+m} | {+m} |
| {+s} | {-s} | {-s} |
| {+i} ✓pref | {i} | {+i} |

As can be seen, the base *mitéra* addresses only one of the three features in the preferred base structure of the existing verbs. This must be the reason for the forced character of the creation *!miteriázo* (compare *mitéra* in (12) with the verb bases in Table 10). As regards the TP interpretation 'behave annoyingly like a mother' for *!miteriázo*, the creation is motivated by an intensification of the properties of the mother which leads to a negative stance towards her.⁸ It should be noted that the output cluster {+m}{-s}{+i} in *!miteriázo* is identical with the preferred base-cluster in the existing verbs (compare (12) with (11)).

7. Conclusion

The analysis in this paper suggests (i) a sign-based treatment of affixes, (ii) a vertical preference structure in the semantic structure of the head suffixes which takes into account the semantic make-up of the bases, and (iii) the integration of SE meaning into verb structures. Sections 5 and 6 showed that the formalization of bodily structures by means of SE features is feasible, contrary to Lieber's (2004) assumptions. In the case of the deadjectival and denominal verbs in sections 6.1 and 6.2, respectively, {+m}{-s}{±i} bases are preferred by *-(i)ázo*. The DE clusters [-dynamic, -scalar] for ADJs and [+material, dynamic] for Ns are too general to account for this preference and would over-generate verbs. This is obviously a consequence of their syntactic motivation (see section 2). For example, we have *kluviázo* 'get addled', 'grow addled-headed' derived from the {+m}{-s}{-i} ADJ *klívios* 'addled', 'addled headed' but not **iperoxiázo* having as base the {+m}{+s}{i} ADJ *ipéroxos* 'excellent'. Similarly, we have *rebeliázo* 'loaf' derived from the {+m}{-s}{+i} N *rébelos* 'loafer' but not **ghoitiázo* having as base the {-m}{+s}{+i} N *ghóis/ghóitas* 'charmer'.⁹

To conclude, it seems that we need both a DE and an SE tier in accounting for verb derivation. The DE tier relates to syntax and the identification of referents, whereby the inner-word structure is grossly

⁸ The implicational nature of this pattern should be examined in future research.

⁹ I assign {-m} to *ghóis/ghóitas* because charm cannot be thought of as a scalar or derived property. It should be noted that in Modern Greek the established verb *ghoitévo* 'fascinate' is in everyday use. This verb has no negative connotations.

addressed. The SE tier restricts the syntactically motivated patterns so that bases with a specific semantic composition can be selected by a particular suffix.

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INTONATION, NEGATION AND SCOPE IN GREEK UNIVERSAL QUANTIFIERS AND NPI-UNIVERSALS

Tasos Chatzikonstantinou

University of Chicago

chatzikonst@uchicago.edu

Anastasia Giannakidou

University of Chicago

giannaki@uchicago.edu

Despoina Papadopoulou

Aristotle University of Thessaloniki

depapa@auth.gr

ABSTRACT

*The goal of this study is to test experimentally two hypotheses about NPIs and universal quantifiers in Greek and their scopal interaction with negation. The first hypothesis emerges from the claim that Greek ‘emphatic’ NPIs are NPI-universals that take scope above negation (Giannakidou 1998, 2000, 2006). In this theory, emphasis (i.e. pitch accent) on the NPI functions as morphological marking that distinguishes lexically the NPI-universal from its non-emphatic counterpart which is licensed broadly as an existential quantifier in non-veridical contexts (and is parallel to any). The second hypothesis is that intonation in Greek generally marks wide scope of a quantifier above negation (Giannakidou 1998, 2000, Baltazani 2002). To test these hypotheses we set up a task that requires subjects to map emphatic and non-emphatic intonations onto scenarios with total (wide scope universal) and partial negation (narrow scope universal with respect to negation). We find that subjects uniformly choose the wide scope universal scenario for emphatic NPIs, suggesting indeed a robust association of the NPI-construal with wide scope, as predicted by Giannakidou’s theory. We find, however, more variable judgments with the universal quantifier *oli* ‘all’, suggesting that the second hypothesis, namely that emphatic intonation signals wide scope with respect to negation, is less robust. The difference between our two findings suggests may be taken to reflect a difference between morphological marking and scope marking, which applies at the level of prosody.*

1. Background: emphatic and non-emphatic NPIs in Greek

Greek has two NPI paradigms, distinguished by ‘stress’ (Veloudis 1982, Giannakidou 1997 et seq., Tsimpli and Roussou 1996):

(1)	kanénas/KANÉNAS	‘anyone, anybody/no-one, nobody’
	kanénas N/KANÉNAS N	‘any N/no N’
	típota/TÍPOTA	‘anything/no thing’
	poté/POTE	‘ever/never’
	puthená/PUTHENA	‘anywhere/nowhere’
	kathólu/KATHOLU	‘at all/not at all’

Upper-case letters indicate emphatic accent. *Kanénas* is the masculine, *kamía* is the feminine, *kanéna* is the neuter. Since Veloudis’s original observation, the two paradigms have been treated as distinct because they exhibit systematic differences in distribution, interpretation and overall behavior, a brief summary of which we give below. The accent is not indicative of focus movement for reasons that have been discussed elsewhere (Giannakidou 1997, and 1998, pp. 227–231). Giannakidou 1998, 2000 notes that other quantifiers, e.g. *polí* ‘much’ and *líji* ‘few’ also come in emphatic and non-emphatic variants corresponding to lexical contrasts in English, and suggests to handle the emphatic NPIs as lexically distinct from the non-emphatic ones. Emphatic accent therefore functions as a morphological marking that Greek appears to employ more broadly.

Under negation and antiveridical *without* both paradigms are licensed:

- (2) a. Dhen idhe {típota/TÍPOTA} o Jánis. Greek
not saw anything the John
John didn't see anything.
b. * Idhe {típota/TÍPOTA} o Jánis.
John saw anything.
- (3) xoris na dhi {kanénan/KANÉNAN}.
without subj see.3sg n-person
without having seen anybody.

So, both paradigms— emphatic and non-emphatic— are NPIs and need negation. But the two differ in a number of important respects:

(i) *Fragment answers*

Only the emphatic can give a successful fragment answer:

- (4) - Pjon idjes? “Who did you see?”
- {KANÉNAN/*kanénan}
Nobody/*Anybody.

The ability to answer negatively as a fragment is the hallmark property of NPIs known as *n-words* (Laka 1990; Zannutini 1991, Giannakidou 2006). The emphatic NPI can be used as a negative fragment answer, but the non-emphatic NPI cannot. Giannakidou 1997, 1998, 2000 argues that the fragment NPI is the remnant of an elliptical structure, and “given that the remnants in fragment answers are accented, non-emphatics are excluded because they are not accented. Considering that utterances with non-emphatics typically involve pitch accent on negation, we may argue alternatively that ellipsis excludes non-emphatics because the accented negation itself must be deleted.” (Giannakidou 2000: 469). The negative fragment answer does not entail that the emphatic word is negative, since the structure contains ellipsis that itself contains negation.

(ii) *Licensing in islands*

Another difference between emphatic and non-emphatic NPIs with negation concerns locality. Non-emphatic NPIs, but not emphatic NPIs, are licensed in syntactic islands. The example below illustrates this with a relative clause (but other examples are given in Giannakidou 1998; see also Quer 1993 for a similar observation about Catalan *n-words*):

- (5) Dhen prodhosa mistiká [pu ekséthesan {kanénan/*KANÉNAN}]
betrayed.1st secrets that exposed.3pl n-person
I didn't reveal secrets that exposed anybody.

In this respect, non-emphatics are like *any*, which is also licensed in islands as we see in the translations. Importantly, the inability of KANENAN to be licensed in the island was one of the arguments in Giannakidou that set apart the emphatic NPI from a focus in situ which is typically fine in islands (see also Tsimpli 1995).

(iii) *Long distance licensing*

Given that non-emphatics appear in islands, it is not surprising that they also appear long-distance, again like *any*. Notice too the contrast with the emphatic NPI:

- (6) I Ariadne dhen ípe oti idhe {típota/*TÍPOTA}.
the Ariadne not said.3sg that saw.3sg n-thing
Ariadne didn't say that she saw anything.

The observed locality of the emphatic NPI is again typical of negative concord, and is reminiscent of universal quantifier dependencies, which are also clause-bounded (for Greek, see Farkas and Giannakidou 1996).

(iv) *Strict negative concord, and n-words as strong NPIs*

Greek exhibits *strict* negative concord, i.e. it always requires the presence of negation for the licensing of the emphatic NPI:

- | | | | |
|-----|---|--|-----------|
| (7) | a | KANÉNAS *(dhen) ípe TÍPOTA.
n-person not said.3sg n-thing
Nobody said anything.' | Greek |
| | b | Nikt *(nie) uderzył nigogo.
n-person not hit.3sg n-person
'Nobody hit anybody.' | Polish |
| | c | Balázs *(nem) beszélt senkivel semmiről.
Balázs not spoke.3sg n-person n-thing
'Balázs didn't talk about anything with anybody.' | Hungarian |

Greek, Hungarian, Japanese, Korean, and Slavic languages form a natural class in terms of strict negative concord, and require sentential negation even when more than one n-word occurs in a sentence. It is in this sense that n-words in these languages are strong NPIs: they need negation to be licensed (Giannakidou 1998, 2000), and cannot appear in non-negative nonveridical or downward entailing contexts:

- (8) Píjes {poté/*POTE} sto Parísi?
went.2sg ever in-the Paris
Have you ever been to Paris?
- (9) An dhis tin Eléna {puthená/*PUTHENA}, na tis milísis.
If you see Eléna anywhere, talk to her.
- (10) Pare {kanéna/*KANÉNA} mílo.
take.imp.2sg any apple
Take any apple.
- (11) Borí na írthe {kanénas/*KANÉNAS}
can.1sg subj left.3sg n- komati.
It is possible that anyone/someone came.

The nonemphatic NPI is further licensed in disjunctions, with various modalities, and habitual sentences. With a few exceptions (noted in the literature), these are also licensing contexts for *any*, but the Greek NPI lacks the free choice reading that any may exhibit in some of these contexts, and it is also non-scalar (Giannakidou 1997, 1998, **2009**). In all cases above, the non-emphatic NPI is a narrow scope, non-specific existential.

(v) *No double negation:*

The multiple emphatic NPIs in Greek do not give rise to double negation (Giannakidou 2000, 2006):

- (12) KANÉNAS dhen ípe TÍPOTA.
n-person not said n-thing
Nobody said anything.
It is not the case that nobody said anything.

The sentence does not have a double negative reading, as we would expect under the hypothesis that the n-words are negative (e.g. *Nobody said nothing*).

The strict concord property, locality, and the absence of double negation readings, along with a number of other diagnostics employed in earlier work, lead to the conclusion that Greek emphatics are not negative quantifiers, but rather, universal quantifiers interpreted outside the scope of negation (Giannakidou 1998, 2000). The difference between emphatic and non-emphatic NPIs, then reflects the following two logical structures:

- (13) *Logical representation of general negative statements*

- | | |
|--|--|
| a. $\forall x[P(x) \rightarrow \neg Q(x)]$ | (Universal negation, emphatic NPI) |
| b. $\neg\exists x[P(x) \wedge Q(x)]$ | (Existential negation, non-emphatic NPI) |

The two are of course truth conditionally equivalent, but Greek appears to reflect in the intonation the difference between a 'weak' (existential) dependency and a 'strong' (quantificational) dependency, as suggested by Ladusaw 1994. Space prevents us from going into more details (see the references

cited here for that). For the purposes of our experiments it suffices to note that the negative sentence with the emphatic maps onto the universal above negation structure.

Since Giannakidou's claim, universal NPI n-words have been identified in Korean (Yoon 2008), Japanese (Yoshimura 2007), and one variety of Hungarian n-words (Suranyi 2006). These n-words, crucially, also have emphatic intonation. Puskás 1998 in particular argues for Hungarian that "This stress [i.e., the accent observed in Hungarian n- words] cannot be assimilated with the stress assigned in FP [Focus Phrase] which has strong emphatic or identificational reading. Therefore it cannot be argued that Hungarian negative phrases carry the feature [+f]" (Puskás 1998, p. 199). Szabolcsi (1981, pp. 530–532) also observes that Hungarian n-words, on a par with universal quantifiers, "may not fill the F-position". If these n-words are also universal quantifiers, the fact that the accent is not focus ties in with their semantic function as universals, and supports the argument that the morphological feature of NPI-universal relies on intonational recycling.

(vi) *Negation, intonation, and scope in Greek*

Since we are talking about emphatic NPis scoping above negation, it is relevant to note the following generalization (Giannakidou 1998, pp. 71–73, 2000).

- (14) *The scope-negation generalization*
 In Greek, a pitch-accented quantifier takes wide scope over negation.

This is a general observation about quantifier and negation interaction. Giannakidou (2000: 480–481) offers the following examples:

- (15) I Ana dhen parakolúthise PARAPÁNO apó tría mathímata.
 the Anna not attended.3sg more from three classes
 Anna didn't attend more than three classes.

The English version of this sentence has two possible readings, depending on whether *more than three classes* scopes over negation or not. The first possibility is illustrated in the LF where *more than three classes* has adjoined to IP, and takes wide scope over negation. The second possibility indicates adjunction of *more than three classes* to VP, below negation.

- (16) a. [IP more than three classes₁ Anna didn't [VP attend t₁]]]
 b. [IP Anna didn't [VP more than three classes₁ [VP attend t₁]]]

Under the *a* reading, we know that there were more than three classes from which Anna was absent, and we have no idea how many classes she actually attended. In the *b* reading, on the other hand, with negation taking wide scope, Anna attended no more than three classes, and we don't know how many classes Anna was absent from. Hence, the two readings are true under distinct circumstances.

Now, the Greek sentence, with the accented QP, has only the wide scope QP reading, whereas accent on negation *dhen* permits only the wide scope negation reading. The use of 'accent' here is a bit impressionistic, but see Baltazani 2002 for a more phonologically informed description. So, accent seems to indicate the element taking wide scope.

Given what we have seen so far, we have two hypotheses that can be tested:

- (17) Hypothesis 1: The emphatic NPI hypothesis
 The sentence with emphatic NPI will *always* be interpreted as having the logical structure of a universal above negation. Emphasis is a morphological feature.
- (18) Hypothesis 2: The scope-negation hypothesis
 In Greek, a pitch-accented quantifier takes wide scope over negation and intonation serves to disambiguate.

In the rest of our paper, we describe the experiments we set up to test these hypotheses. Our findings show that the NPI-hypothesis is borne out, but the scope-negation hypothesis is a bit less robust. The difference suggests, as expected, that emphatic intonation functions differently in the two cases. In the NPI, it becomes conventional, it marks lexical association (morphological function), whereas in the quantifiers, emphasis functions as (a relatively systemic) intonational cue for scope disambiguation.

2. Prosody and Quantification

Sentences like (19) can be ambiguous in two ways depending on the scope relation between negation and the quantifier:

- (19) Every woman didn't sleep.
 a. "No woman slept" (every > not) = $\forall x [\text{woman}(x) \rightarrow \neg \text{sleep}(x)]$
 b. "Some woman slept" (not > every) = $\neg \forall x [\text{woman}(x) \rightarrow \text{sleep}(x)]$

The meaning in (a) is generated if *every* is interpreted as taking wide scope over negation whereas the meaning in (b) corresponds to the case where negation scopes over the quantifier. For English, it has been observed (Jackendoff, 1972; Steedman, 1991; Buring 1997) that each interpretation corresponds to a different prosodic structure; thus intonation was associated with the disambiguation of such sentences. In Greek, Baltazani (2002) investigated experimentally the interplay between prosody and quantification by adults conducting both a production and a perception study. In the perception part, the participants listened to sentences like (20) with a prosodic focus either on the negation or on the quantifier:

- (20) Δεν έλυσαν πολλά προβλήματα (= not solved many problems)
neg solved.3p many problems

The design included quantifiers like *πολλά* (=many), *λίγα* (=few) in object position within VO and OV orders. After listening to each sentence, the participants were given a table with 5 answers to choose which one corresponded better to the sentence they had just heard. In the case of (20), the 5 answers referred to *small* or *large* quantities of problems *solved* or *not solved*. The design was based on the hypothesis that sentence (20) under different interpretations refers to different quantity of solved or not solved problems. More specifically, the prediction was that, if negation is focused and takes wide scope, then (20) means «*the problems they solved are not many*», whereas, if the quantifier is focused and takes wide scope, then it means «*the problems they did not solve are not many*». The results showed that for both VO and OV orders, in the case of the upward entailing quantifiers, listeners associated wide scope with prosodic focus.

In the current study we explore how Greek-speaking children interpret emphatically realized NPIs and universal quantifiers in object position. Before describing the experiment we present previous experimental investigations on children's comprehension of sentences that contain negation and quantifiers and on children's ability of using prosodic cues in order to resolve different types of ambiguities.

2.1 Experimental investigations of existentially and universally quantified NPs

Musolino, Crain and Thornton (2000) tested children's comprehension of sentences that included negation and an existential or universal quantifier like (21) and (22):

- (21) Every horse didn't jump over the fence
 (22) The detective didn't find someone/some guys

As it was mentioned above, these sentences can be ambiguous between a wide scope and a narrow scope reading. The authors tested children (3 – 7 years old) in a series of experiments using a Truth Value Judgment Task (TVJT) during which participants see a scenario involving an agent acting as the main character who performs an action with different outcomes (he may fail or succeed) upon a set of objects or a set of other characters. Then they listen to a sentence, in the case of Musolino et al., a semantically ambiguous sentence containing a quantifier and negation like (21) and (22), that comments on the action performed in the scenario. At that point the participant is asked to respond by accepting or rejecting the comment. The benefit from such design is that the responses are associated with a different scope reading for the quantifier in the sentence-comment, which was exactly what Musolino et al. (2000) were investigating. Their results suggested that children showed a preference in resolving scope ambiguities on the basis of overt syntax whereas there was not such an observation for the adults. Musolino et al. coined the term *Isomorphism* for this phenomenon and the main claim made by the authors was that "children have INCOMPLETE rather than ACCURATE knowledge of the adult grammar" (Musolino et al. 2000, p. 2).

However, a different line of research of the same phenomenon suggests that inverse scope readings are in fact available in child grammar and that children differ from the adults in terms of their response strategy to infelicitous statements (Gualmini, 2004, p.8). In a TVJT, Gualmini showed that children accommodate differently sentences with the same truth-value but with different felicity properties with respect to a scenario they saw. Musolino and Lidz (2006) tested children at the age of 5 and reached a similar conclusion by manipulating the contextual conditions in a TVJT. According to the authors, this ability was “masked” in the design of Musolino et al. (2000) due to task-effects and what, in fact, children differ in is: “[...]their command of pragmatic principles associated with the use of quantified statements is much more fragile than that of the adults” (Musolino and Lidz, 2006, p.1).

In the developmental research on NPis, Thornton (1995) used a TVJT to investigate the comprehension of the English existential *any* in relation to the negation by children in the age between 3;6 - 4;11. The results showed that by that age children can generate both $\exists > \neg$ and $\neg > \exists$ readings depending on the surface position of the NPI with respect to the negation. Further evidence on the acquisition of the NPis comes from O’Leary and Crain (1994) who conducted an Elicited Production task (reported in Gualmini / Musolino et al., 2000.) in order to investigate children’s (4;4 -5;4) command of the NPI *any/anything* and the Positive Polarity Items (PPIs) *some/something*. The results showed that in the case of the NPI the children exhibited adult-like awareness of the distributional constraints that govern the licensing of *any*, whereas, according to the data, this conclusion did not apply on the case of *some*.

2.2 Experimental investigations of the use of intonation to resolve scope ambiguities

The experimental data from recent research on children’s ability to resolve ambiguities of different types do not point to a clear conclusion. Choi and Mazuka (2003) tested 3 and 4-years old Korean-speaking children in two tasks: one involved word segmentation ambiguities and the other structural ambiguity. The results showed that children effectively used the prosodic cue on word segmentation but not on the structural ambiguity task. Similar results are reported in Snedeker & Trueswell (2001) who investigated English-speaking, 5-years-old children’s competence with respect to the disambiguation of Prepositional Phrase (PP) attachment relying on prosodic cues. The results based on off-line judgments suggested that children failed to use prosodic information to disambiguate sentences like *tap the frog with the flower* in order to distinguish between a VP-attached instrument meaning or an NP-attached modifier meaning of *with the flower*. Zhou et al. (2011) report that 4 to 5-year-old Mandarin-speaking children did not use stress in order to resolve structural ambiguities that involved the focus particle *zhiyou* “only” whereas adults did. While this result was based on off-line judgment data, Zhou et al. also used an on-line technique (eye tracking), the results of which brought evidence that children did indeed use stress.

Against this skepticism, it seems that there is experimental evidence supporting the view that children use prosodic information effectively in order to resolve different types of ambiguities. Zhou et al.’s in the same paper describe a second experiment where the data showed that children prosodic cues in order to resolve a *speech act* ambiguity in the case *wh*-phrases in Mandarin. Nakassis & Snedeker (2002) explored the degree to which children use prosodic information in the comprehension of ironic statements. Their findings suggested that during comprehension of ironic statements children were as sensitive as the adults to particular prosodic realizations of such statements when uttered within specific type of contexts that triggered non-literal interpretations. Finally, Snedeker & Yuan (2008) in a follow up of Snedeker & Trueswell (2001) investigated the relation between intonation and PP-attachment, this time using an on-line eye-recording method and found evidence that children used the prosodic cues to resolve the structural ambiguity.

3. THE PRESENT EXPERIMENT

In light of the above considerations the primary research question we addressed was the extent to which children associate prosodic focus on a universal quantifier or an emphatic NPI with wide scope reading. This gives the opportunity to investigate how children use prosodic cues in the interpretation of universally quantified structures in Greek and whether the wide scope reading can be attributed to a general effect of the prosodic component or alternatively whether it is a morphological feature of specific lexical items.

The experiment was designed to test children’s comprehension of sentences where an emphatically realized NPI or universal quantifier occurs in a post-negation position in the overt syntax. The

questions that arise are whether children interpret the quantified expressions as taking wide scope over negation and whether this is a general mechanism that applies both in the case of the NPIs and the universal quantifiers. For this reason we compared the emphatic NPI “KANĒNA” with the quantifier “όλα” (=all) located in a post-negation object position.

This study might also add to the discussion about children’s competence in using prosodic cues in order to resolve different types of ambiguities and their ability to access both isomorphic and non-isomorphic interpretations.

3.1 Participants

We tested 18 Greek-speaking children (8 boys and 10 girls) aged from 5;8 to 6;2 (mean 6) years. The children were selected from a primary school in Greece. After the studies of Thornton (1996) on NPIs and O’Leary & Crain (1994) on NPIs and PPIs, both in English, we know that children younger than 6 are competent in the production and comprehension of these lexical categories. However, our reason for testing subjects of age 6 was that the experimental task we engaged the subjects in involved competence in the use of prosodic information. That was an extra task compared to the previous studies in English. Moreover, taking into consideration the mixed results on children’s ability to use prosodic information for resolving semantic/pragmatic ambiguities, we decided to test subjects 1-2 years older than those that Thornton and O’Leary & Crain tested.

3.2 Procedure

We tested the subjects using a TVJT (Crain and Thornton, 1998; Musolino et al. 2000) during which the participants saw a pictorial scenario on a computer screen where an agent was performing an action upon a set of objects (4 or 5 objects) and listened to a sentence that contained an NPI or a universal quantifier. The sentence was a statement relevant to the outcome of the agent’s action and the participants were asked to accept or reject the statement. A third option of “not sure” was also available.

3.3 Materials

The pictorial scenario consisted of cartoon pictures and the sentences - statements were pre-recorded in order to control for uniformity regarding the prosodic realization of the utterances, since this was important for the study. The stories depicted a set of four or five objects (apples, windows, etc.) and an agent who was supposed to perform an action related to the objects. Each pictorial scenario was preceded by an introductory written text that introduced the subjects to the main character and the set of objects that appeared on the screen. It was 1 – 1,5 lines long and it was designed to be as neutral as possible by providing only the necessary context for the interpretation of the scenario. Fig. (1) shows an example of a pictorial scenario:

[introductory text]

*Mary is a cleaning lady. In the morning she opens the windows of the house she is cleaning.
This morning:*



Figure 1

Since this study addresses the question of whether the prosodic focus on universal quantifiers triggers a wide scope interpretation, we used sentences - statements like those in (23) - (25) that differed only in the use of an emphatic NPI or a universal quantifier in an object position.

(23) Δεν άνοιξε ΚΑΝΈΝΑ παράθυρο
neg opened.3s n-thing window
“She didn’t open any window”

(24) Δεν άνοιξε ΌΛΑ τα παράθυρα
neg opened.3s ALL the windows
“She didn’t open all the windows”

(25) ΔΕΝ άνοιξε όλα τα παράθυρα
neg opened.3s all the windows
“She didn’t open all the windows”

The crucial conditions were sentences (23) and (24) that contain an emphatic NPI and an emphatically realized universal quantifier respectively. In each of these sentences, the highest peak of the sentence is aligned with the quantificational expressions. If the prosodic focus is in general associated with wide scope then we should expect that both ΚΑΝΈΝΑ and ΌΛΑ would be assigned a wide scope interpretation. The expectation about the quantifier in (25), which is not in prosodic focus, is to be interpreted under a narrow scope reading that corresponds to the overt syntax of the sentence (Musolino et al., 2000).

The motivation for using the quantificational expressions only in a post-negation position was to minimize the effect of *Isomorphism* that Musolino et al. (2000) observed under a similar design. If ΚΑΝΈΝΑ or ΌΛΑ were preceding the negative marker, the wide scope reading associated with these elements could be attributed to some extent to the surface syntactic position of these elements. By putting ΚΑΝΈΝΑ and ΌΛΑ in a post-negation position, we minimize the association between overt syntax and wide scope. Thus, limiting the effect of overt syntax, we can be more confident that the wide scope interpretation of ΚΑΝΈΝΑ or ΌΛΑ emerges through a covert movement in the LF triggered by the prosodic focus. In this case, the NPI or the universal quantifier moves covertly to a position above the negation and this movement generates the wide scope reading.

We manipulated the cartoon pictures in order to design scenarios where the sentence - statement was true under a narrow scope reading and false under a wide scope reading. We also added scenarios where the sentence was true under the wide scope and false under the narrow scope reading. The task lasted approximately 20-25 minutes and participants were presented with 30 experimental items and 15 fillers in each condition. Each participant received 6 practice trials before the main session.

3.4 Results

Table 1 presents the frequencies for wide, narrow scope answers as well as for “I am not sure” responses.

<i>NPIS</i>	<i>WIDE SCOPE</i>	<i>NARROW SCOPE</i>	<i>NOT SURE</i>	<i>TOTAL</i>
<i>KANENAS</i>	149	1	30	180
<i>OLA</i>	77	36	67	180
<i>óla</i>	10	139	31	180

Table 1 Scope interpretation for NPIs

The results indicate that the children confidently associated prosodic focus with wide scope in the case of ΚΑΝΈΝΑΣ, whereas the wide scope answers were fewer for the case for ΌΛΑ. As expected, children consistently associated the neutrally realized *óla* with narrow scope under negation. The following figure illustrates this set of data in percentages.

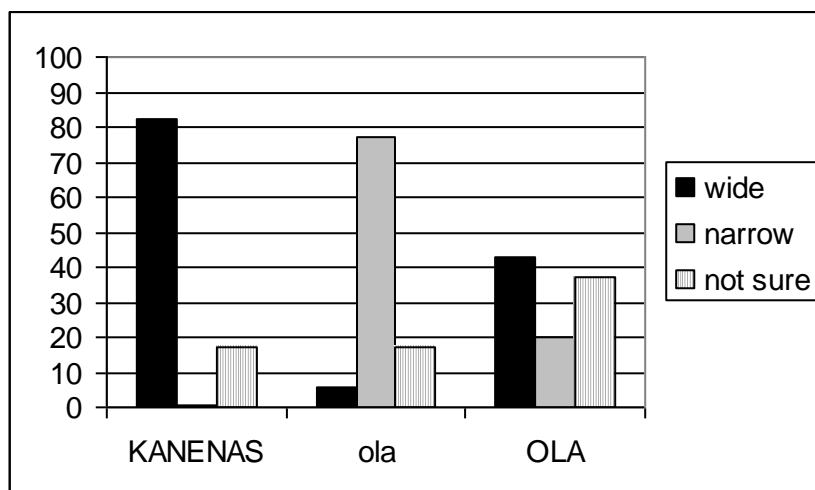


Figure 2 Scope interpretations for NPIs (%)

In order to detect whether the type of the quantifier affected the children's responses we conducted non-parametric correlation analyses, excluding all "not sure" answers. The first analysis in which we compared the responses for *KANENAS* with those for *OLA* showed that the quantifier correlated with the participants' performance ($\chi^2=51.867$, $p=.000$, Cramer's $V=.444$), in that there were significantly more wide responses for *KANENAS* than for *OLA*. Furthermore, there was a significant correlation between quantifier type and scope interpretation when the data from *OLA* and *óla* conditions were analyzed ($\chi^2=109.338$, $p=.000$, Cramer's $V=.646$). This means that *OLA* yielded significantly more wide scope responses than *óla*. Moreover, chi-square tests performed on the data from each quantifier revealed that the wide scope readings significantly outnumbered the narrow responses for both *KANENAS* ($\chi^2=146.027$, $p=.000$) and *OLA* ($\chi^2=14.876$, $p=.000$), whereas the opposite pattern was attested in the case of *óla* ($\chi^2=111.685$, $p=.000$).

4. Conclusion

The results show that intonation did not have the same effect on an emphatic NPI and a pitch accented universal quantifier in Greek. Children showed a strong preference in associating *KANÉNA* with wide scope above negation, therefore we conclude that the emphatic NPI hypothesis is confirmed. Since intonation was not found to have a similar function in the case of *ÓΛΑ*, we assume that emphasis is not associated with wide scope over negation in general. These observations suggest that the association of emphatic intonation with wide scope is a function specific to the emphatic NPIs in Greek as part of the lexical entry. Furthermore, the subjects were sensitive to the prosodic cues conveyed by the NPI and could effectively map intonation to semantics. Interestingly, children appeared to be in position to judge when prosodic emphasis was linked to wide scope and when it was not, which perhaps shows a certain degree of competence in mapping intonation to semantics. This might be considered as evidence to the direction that children are competent users of the prosodic information when it comes to the semantic interpretation.

Concluding, the results showed that the children in the age of 6 systematically interpreted the emphatic NPI *KANÉNA* as a universal quantifier above negation. It can be argued that in the case of the emphatic NPI the association between emphasis and wide scope becomes conventional whereas for the universal quantifier *ÓΛΑ* emphatic intonation was not found to have a similar function.

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BASIC ILLOCUTIONS OF THE MODERN GREEK INDICATIVE

Maria Chondrogianni

University of Westminster

M.N.Chondrogianni@westminster.ac.uk

ABSTRACT

In this paper we propose a pragmatic analysis of the Modern Greek Indicative, following a systematic hierarchical classification of propositional and behavioural basic illocutions (Hengeveld et al. 2007). Morphosyntax, Pragmatics and Phonology allow us to establish each basic illocution in terms of its prosodic contour; the use of segmental markers; grammatical tense restrictions, including number and person restrictions; aspectual restrictions; and the potential answer provided by an addressee to a question, or to a question-like utterance. To that end, we outline prosodic contours in 5 defined intonation patterns and we demonstrate how they apply to Indicative's uses with distinct encoding.

Keywords: Pragmatics, Phonology, intonation patterns, indicative, basic illocutions, grammar

1. Introduction

The aim of this paper is to describe the basic illocutions of Modern Greek (MG) Indicative, which from part of the MG grammatical system. As basic illocutions are expressed by the speaker in various forms, using syntactic, morphological and phonological means, the interface between Pragmatics, Phonology and Morphosyntax is crucial for this work.

Our view is inspired by the framework of Functional Discourse Grammar (FDG, Hengeveld and Mackenzie 2008), a typology based structural functional discourse grammar. Its grammatical component consists of the interpersonal level (Pragmatics), the Representational level (Semantics), the Morphosyntactic level (Morphosyntax) and the Phonological level (Phonology).

According to Hengeveld (2004) 'mood is used in language description as the morphological category that covers the grammatical reflections of a large semantic area, subdivided into illocution and modality' (Hengeveld 2004:1190). Illocution involves identifying sentences as "specific types of speech acts" (ibid) whilst modality "is concerned with the modification of the content of speech acts" (ibid). As this research is not concerned with the modification of the content of the speech acts, semantics (modality) does not form part of it. It is useful to also note that, as far as illocution is concerned, the verb mood, as a morphological category (always according to Hengeveld 2004), "has to be considered together with word order and intonation, as markers of particular sub-divisions". By contrast, "modality is expressed by modal markers only". The formal properties which are considered having an illocutionary impact might also include specific mood markers. Illocutionary differentiation applies to main clauses only, while modality is expressed in both main and subordinate clauses.

Thus, the aim of our research is to provide a systematic *description* of the basic illocutions (with Modern Greek as the natural language of application), as expressed in main clauses, based on their formal characteristics i.e. based on distinct markers that have an illocutionary impact. Markers we consider include the verb mood; the indicative associated negation $\delta\epsilon(v)$; the prosodic contour utterances are expressed in (i.e. the intonation patterns at the level of utterance); number, person and tense where applicable; the addressee's response, where applicable; and any additional segmental markers that apply.

Our primary objective is to identify the relationship between form (i.e. verb mood, prosodic contour) and function (basic illocution); in other words, to present the basic illocutions which form part of a grammatical system and to provide a comprehensive classification of their uses. Moreover, we wanted to apply in MG the basic illocution hierarchy as proposed by Hengeveld et al. (2007).

The term *grammatical mood* is used in this work as the category which includes "all grammatical elements operating on a situation/proposition, that are not directly concerned with situating an event in the actual world, as conceived by the speaker" (Hengeveld 2004). Noonan (1985) defines Indicative as the form that 'mostly resembles declarative main clauses', while Hengeveld (2004) stresses that "they are not one and the same". It is debatable whether one can argue that declarative uses are the typical

uses of the Indicative, since, for example, the Indicative is used just as much in questions, suggesting an Interrogative as well as a Declarative value.

Hengeveld et al. (2007) distinguish basic illocutions into propositional and behavioural uses. Propositional uses are associated with assertive and questioning illocutions; assertive subtypes consist of declarative and mirative uses, whilst questioning subtypes consist of polar and content interrogatives. Behavioural uses involve speech acts that intend to influence or affect the behaviour of the Addressee and/or others. Behavioural (positive and negative) uses include imperative subtypes (orders), hortative subtypes (exhortations), admonitive subtypes (warnings) and supplicative subtypes (requests for permission).

Below we will describe the methodological considerations that underpin this research; the intonation patterns we established and used as a tool to identify the prosodic contour at utterance level; and the characteristics of the MG indicative and its propositional and behavioural basic illocutions.

1.1 Methodological considerations

As part of the first phase of this work, which involved the identification of morphosyntactic tools speakers have at their disposal to express their intention, the MG Indicative mood was established through a series of tests involving morphology; use of particles; negation; clitic placement; and participation to subordination. Following this, the phonological tools speakers have at their disposal to express their intentions were identified: a hypothesis on 5 intonation patterns used was established, which was recursively confirmed using of Praat. Data were collected introspectively; they were, however, verified by an informal group of informers and by mini internet searches. This was followed by a production experiment in studio conditions, which allowed to establish the intonation patterns, as described in section 2 below, which contributed to the identification and analysis of the indicative's propositional and behavioural basic illocutions. The results were classified based on their function and characteristics.

2. Intonation patterns in MG (utterance level)

Levinson (2003) highlights the need for a systematic study of prosody, intonation and stress and emphasises the importance of prosodic features in the study of Pragmatics, an area "hugely understudied".

We considered Arvaniti and Baltazani (2005), as well as their GRTToBI relevant website, who, in describing GRTToBI's Tone Tier state, define three types of tonal events: the *pitch accent*, the *phrase accent*, and the *boundary tones*. In addition, they identify two levels of phrasing: the *intermediate phrase* and the *intonational phrase*. The pitch accent effectively coincides with the stressed syllable of a word in MG (bearing in mind that syllables might be stressed but not accented, stressed and accented or unstressed, as well as that a word might potentially carry two pitch accents). An utterance's intonation pattern is also influenced by a speaker's topicality and focality choices. Such choices, however, when they are made at the discretion of a speaker, for example affected by their psychology, (and, therefore, are not imposed by grammar) cannot be considered as part of the grammatical component; they belong to the Output Level as defined by Functional Discourse Grammar (Hengeveld and Mackenzie 2008).

Our approach is focused on five generic, schematic intonation patterns as one of the criteria for identifying specific illocutions. Intonation Patterns 1, 2, 3 and 4, presented below, are relevant to indicative, while intonation pattern 5 is applicable to subjunctive (curses).

2.1 Intonation Pattern 1 (INT1)

The characteristic of this pattern is its broad focus and a high level of the accented syllable. Its The Fundamental Frequency (FO) characteristics include a heightening of the pitch (starting at the first accented syllable) with a pick at the first post-accented syllable, followed by a small dip and a fall. Its boundary (i.e. the final phrase on the utterance) is low. The nucleus might create variations on this pattern. Moreover, in some cases it can be used interchangeably with INT2 below, when the speaker's focality choices affect the way an utterance is expressed. Figures 1 and 2 below illustrate this pattern.

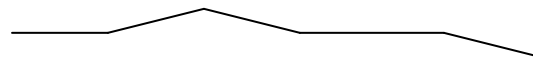


Figure 1 Schematic representation of INT1

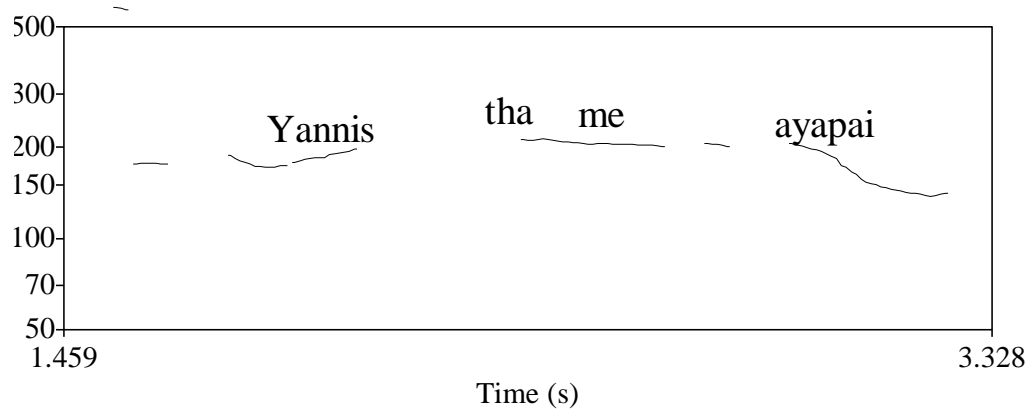
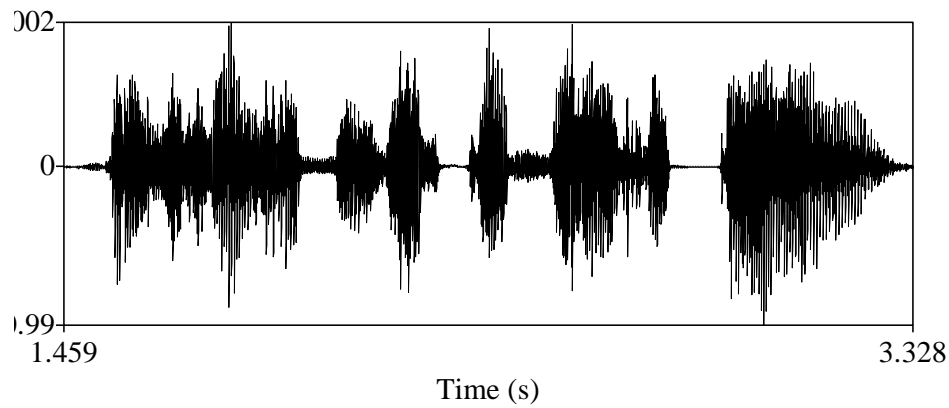


Figure 2 Praat illustration of INT1

2.2 Intonation Pattern 2 (INT2)

Intonation pattern 2 (INT2) is characterised by narrow focus and a rise from low to the accented syllable. Usually it starts with a plateau followed by a rise on the nuclear, and then a fall from the post nuclear syllable onwards. Its boundary is also low. Figures 3 and 4 below illustrate this pattern.

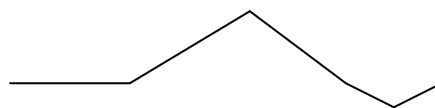


Figure 3 Schematic representation of INT2

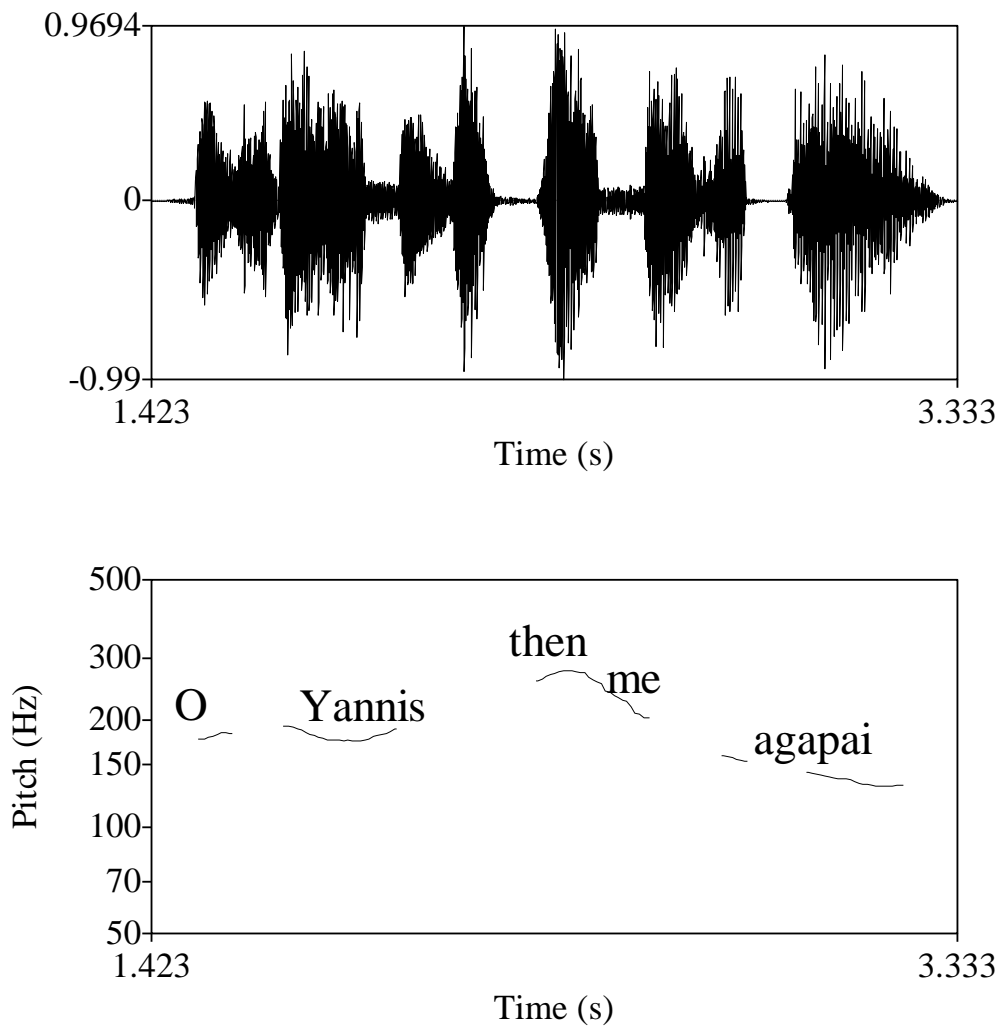


Figure 4 Praat illustration of INT2

2.3 Intonation Pattern 3 (INT3)

This is the typical pattern for content interrogatives (although it use extends to other basic illocutions). It starts high with the first accented syllable, and it starts dropping immediately after, with a potential rise at the end. The boundary is high. Questions are typically expected to finish with a rising intonation. However, the question word itself provides a key to the addressee on how the utterance is to be interpreted, hence a variation with a slightly rising, level, or slightly falling intonation is not unexpected. Figures 5 and 6 below illustrate this pattern.



Figure 5 Schematic representation of INT3

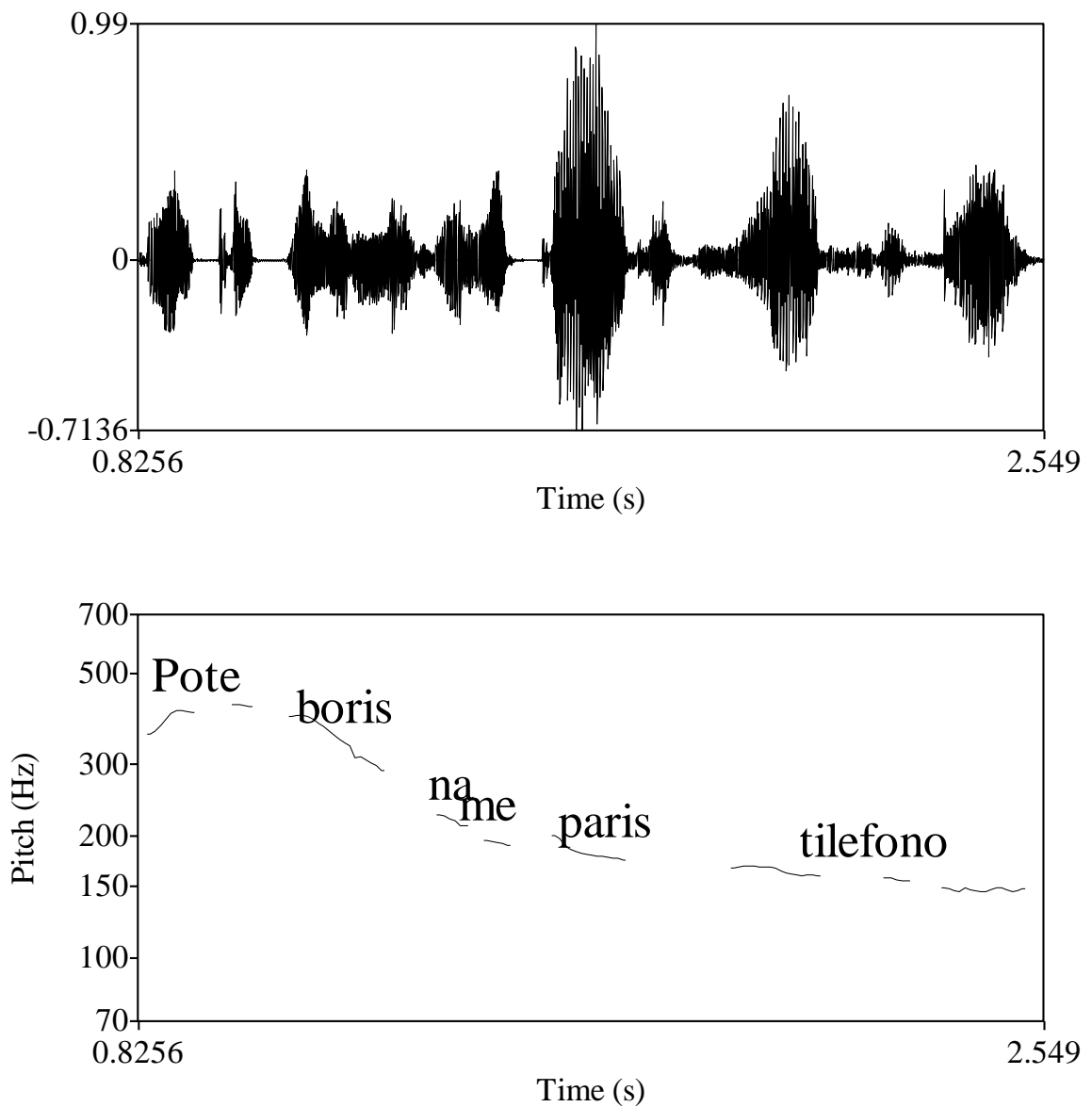


Figure 6 Praat illustration of INT3

2.4 Intonation Pattern 4 (INT4)

This is the typical (but not exclusive) pattern for Polar Interrogatives. The pick is on the last stressed syllable of the final word. Following a gradual fall, we have a low plateau followed by a rise. The boundary is high-low. Figures 7 and 8 illustrate this pattern.



Figure 7 Schematic representation of INT4

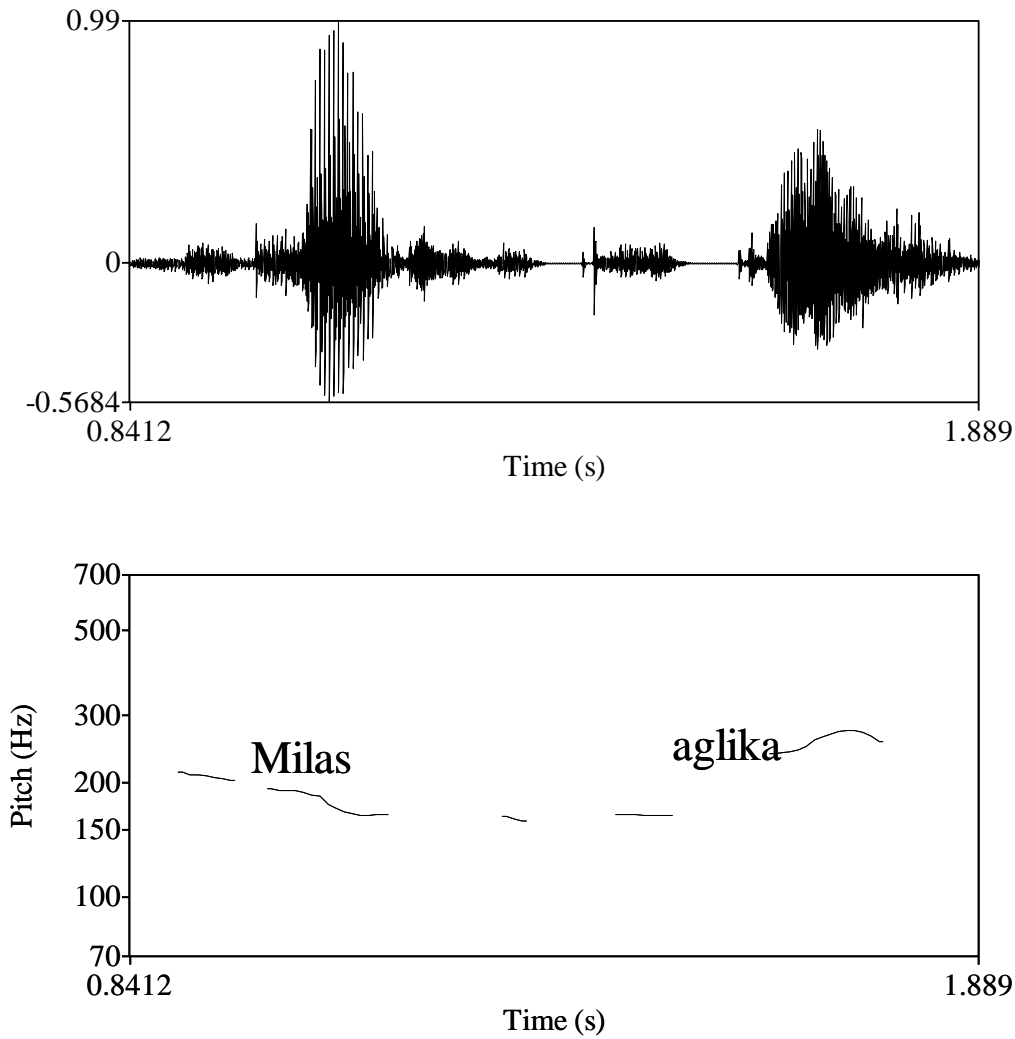


Figure 8 Praat illustration of INT4

3. The Modern Greek Indicative

Indicative in MG is identified by morphology, as a non-imperative form which lacks a typical particle (we note the optional use of the future particle $\theta\alpha$). All indicative negative uses are introduced by the negation $\delta\epsilon\nu$. Although indicative is considered aspect-neutral (Holton et al. 1987), we accept non-independent forms introduced by the negation $\delta\epsilon\nu$ as forming part of the indicative.

Indicative mood is often associated with the Declarative sentence type; however, they are not one and the same. Although Declaratives can only be expressed in indicative, the indicative is deployed for a variety of propositional and behavioural uses. The Declarative sentence type in the indicative is mostly associated with propositional uses.

Below we present propositional and behavioural uses in indicative, as well as uses related to additional segmental marking.

3.1 Assertive uses of the Indicative

The default interpretation of a declarative sentence type across languages is an assertion (Hengeveld et al. 2007). This type of propositional basic illocution, which seems to be universal, aims to provide the addressee with intonation. It is marked by the use of indicative and the intonation INT1 (as defined in

section 2.1 above), in interchangeable use with INT2 (when the speaker opts to focus on a particular element of the utterance. No tense, aspect, person, or number restrictions apply. Example (1) shows an example of an assertion.

- (1) Ο Γιάννης με αγαπάει.

The Yannis me love-3S.PR.IPF.

Yannis loves me.

Negative assertions do not form part of a separate illocution. They are commonly expressed in INT2, with focus been placed on the negation.

- (2) Ο Γιάννης δεν με αγαπάει.

The Yannis NEG me love-3SG.PR.

Yannis does not love me.

Assertions might be emphasised; we then notice a complex interaction between the overall prosodic contour and the emphasis (focus) a speaker might place to a specific constituent in an assertion. There is a lack of specific grammatical strategy in such cases; speakers might emphasize an assertion through lexical means (e.g. using words such as *οπωσδήποτε* ‘definitely’) or through narrow focus on specific clause constituents. Such focal points might be verbal as in (3), nominal, or adverbial.

- (3) **Θα πας** στο γιατρό αύριο.

FUT go-2SG.PRF to-the doctor tomorrow.

You will go to the doctor tomorrow.

Speakers might also express assertions disguised as questions. In these disguised uses of the indicative a question-like intonation is used to achieve a special effect. The fundamental difference between rhetorical questions and interrogatives is that speaker here does not intend to elicit information. Both the speaker and the addressee are aware that no particular response is expected. Often formulaic in nature, assertions in disguise are commonly used to criticise the addressee’s behaviour. (rhetorical questions and contrastive statements). Examples (4) illustrates the potential formulaic nature of an assertion in disguise, while in (5) the speaker criticises the addressee for non-complying with their request. Assertions in disguise are usually expressed in past or future in INT4.

- (4) Πόσες φορές θα σου πω...;

Poses fores tha sou po...

How many times FUT you tell-1SG.PRF

How many times will I tell you...

- (5) Πόσες φορές θα σου πω να κάνεις ησυχία;

Poses fores tha sou po na kanis isihia?

How many times FUT you tell-1SG.PRF SUBJ do-3SG quietness?

How many times will I have to ask you to be quiet?

Assertions might also be disguised as contrastive statements, marked by the use of a tag question, an additional strategy speakers have at their disposal in order to best achieve their intention. The unique character of this basic illocution is based on the use of the 1st person, as well as the fact that the tag-question is used as a compulsory element of the utterance’s structure, as in example(6). INT2 applies to the matrix, and INT4 applies to the tag. Such utterances reflect the speaker’s reaction to something the addressee has said or done. Despite the question-like intonation of the tag, the speaker does not need a positive or negative response from the addressee. If expressed in the 2nd or 3rd person, such utterances express the speaker’s request for the addressee to confirm the propositional content of the matrix (requests for confirmation), as in example (7), where the Speaker expresses an assertion in indicative, and adds the tag *έτσι δεν είναι* (isn’t it). It is interesting to note that in Modern Greek this formulaic tag might be used irrespective of the particular verb used in the matrix, unlike English, for example, where the verb in the tag matches the verb in the matrix. The negative *δεν* (‘den’) is used here for emphasis, rather than as a negation of the matrix. The tag might take various forms.

- (6) Στο έχω πει να πλένεις τα χέρια σου, δεν στο έχω πει;

It have-1SG.PR told SUBJ wash-2S.PR.IPF the hands your, NEG it have told?

I have already told you to wash you hands, haven’t I?

- (7) Θα έρθεις αύριο, έτσι δεν είναι;

FUT come-2SG.PF tomorrow, like that NEG is?

You will come tomorrow, isn’t it (won’t you)?

3.2 Mirative uses of the indicative

When speakers utter an assertion, they intend to share some information with their addressee. When they express admiration, surprise or delight through an utterance, effectively they also share some

information with their addressee. In this type, it is not so much the content of the utterance itself that is being transmitted, but rather the emotional reaction of the speaker with respect to this content. (Hengeveld et al. 2007).

Utterances in this category demonstrate a mixture of declarative properties (sharing of information, i.e. positive reaction) and interrogative properties (content interrogative intonation characteristics). However by contrast to content interrogatives, the speaker does not question a particular part of the utterance and does not expect a response by the addressee which clarifies a particular question-word (apart from a potential reaction of gratitude). An example of a mirative we see in (8).

- (8) Τι ωραίο φόρεμα είναι αυτό!
What beautiful dress be-3SG this!
What a beautiful dress is this!

3.3 Interrogative uses

According to Givon (1989), the goal of a Declarative sentence type utterance is to impart information, whilst the goal of an Interrogative sentence type is to elicit information, either ‘to confirm the identity of an item’ (for WH-questions, or content interrogatives), or ‘to confirm the truth of a proposition’ (for Y/N questions, or polar interrogatives).

Questions in Modern Greek indicative include polar and content interrogatives. Polar interrogatives are differentiated from assertions only by their intonation pattern. According to Mennen and Okalidou (2007), their intonation pattern is ‘low level from the accented syllable; it appears as the nuclear accent before a continuation rise’. In chapter 3 we defined this intonation pattern as INT4.

Content interrogatives are marked by question words such as *ποιός*, (‘pios’, who), *πού* (‘pou’, where), *τι* (‘ti’, what), *γιατί* (‘yiati’, why), *πώς* (‘pos’, how), *πότε* (‘pote’, when) which identify the piece of information the Speaker is missing; it is also possible to question more than one element in a clause. Moreover, MG content interrogatives are marked by intonation, reflecting our intonation pattern INT3. Mackenzie (2009) has published an extensive research on content interrogatives based on a sample of 50 languages.

In this section we compare Interrogative sentence types with Declarative ones to the extent that they use the Indicative.

3.3.1 Polar interrogatives

Polar questions in MG are differentiated from declarative uses by their distinct intonation. The clausal word order is determined by topicality/focality relations. A ‘yes’ (ναι), ‘no’ (όχι), maybe (ίσως) or ‘possibly’ (πιθανόν) answer is expected from the addressee. We believe that answers denoting consent, such as *εντάξει* (OK) refer to behavioural uses, rather than to the confirmation of the propositional content of the utterance, and would be unacceptable to a polar interrogative such as (9). Polar interrogatives are marked by intonation INT4. No other tense, aspect, person, or number restrictions apply. An example of a polar interrogative can be seen in (9). The Praat illustration of this example can be seen in figure 8, section 2.4 above.

- (9) Μιλάς αγγλικά;
Speak-2SG.PR. English?
Do you speak English?

3.3.2 Content interrogatives

Content interrogatives involve the use of question words. The speaker intends to elicit information specifically related to the slot in the sentence currently filled by the question word, questioning the agent, the goal, the time, or the manner, among others. Content interrogatives are marked by the use of a question word, in combination with intonation INT3. No other features’ restrictions apply. In example (10) the speaker seeks additional information regarding the time of the action described. A Praat illustration of this example can be seen in figure 6, section 2.3 above.

- (10) Πότε μπορείς να με πάρεις τηλέφωνο;
When can-2S.PR.IPF.PRT me call-2S.PR.PF phone?
When can you call me on the phone?

3.4 Other propositional uses of the indicative

The secondary basic illocutions described below involve the use of segmental markers, i.e. additional means which offer clues to an addressee on how a particular utterance is to be interpreted. We identify the segmental markers *άραγε*, marking a wondering use, and *ίσως*, denoting uncertainty.

3.4.1 Wondering in indicative

This category involves question-like utterances where the speaker does not necessarily expect an answer from an addressee. Wondering in indicative is marked by the segmental marker *άραγε* (which can also precede a subjunctive, in a fixed position in 1st or 3rd person only) combined with intonation INT4. In indicative its sentence position is not fixed. An example of its use we see in (11).

- (11) *Άραγε βρέχει;*
WND rain-3SG
I wonder, is it raining?

3.4.2 Uncertainty in indicative

Another segmental marker available to the MG speaker when they want to express uncertainty towards the propositional content of a clause involves the use of the particle *ίσως* combined with intonation INT2, with the segmental marker acting as the focal point of the utterance. In indicative it can precede or follow the verb, and can combine with the past, the present (in both its independent and dependent from) and the future (particle *θα*). Its combination with the negation *δε(v)* indicates that even the dependent use falls within the scope of indicative. *Ίσως* can also combine with subjunctive (for a reinforced expression of uncertainty); in that case, though, its position is fixed at the beginning of the sentence. In (12) we can see an example of its use (negative past).

- (12) *Ίσως δεν έφυγε.*
UNC NEG leave-3SG. PS.PRF
Perhaps he left.

3.5 Behavioural uses of the Indicative

The utterances shown below involve uses where the addressee, through a question-like utterance, intends to affect the addressee's behaviour. Behavioural uses of Indicative further strengthen the argument that there is no one-to-one relationship between Indicative Mood and Declarative sentence type. We describe two such distinct uses, namely exhortations in indicative and proffer.

3.5.1 Exhortations in indicative

Examples (13) and (14) below might look like content interrogatives. We ought to take into account, though, that the speaker effectively asks the addressee to change their behaviour, rather than intending to acquire a confirmation of the truth value of the utterance. The speaker expresses effectively an exhortation, the fulfillability of which depends on both the speaker and the addressee. Such utterances occur in the first person plural only. These, in our view, are distinct behavioural uses of polar interrogatives because the speaker is seeking consent for joint action from the addressee. Their intonation INT4 is consistent with other polar interrogative-like uses.

The interpretation of the indicative use in examples (13) and (14) below can be seen as rather controversial, in that the only feature that differentiates it from a polar interrogative is the potential consent response, such as *εντάξει* ('entaksi', OK) that the addressee might provide to the speaker's request, which would not usually follow a non-behavioural use.

- (13) A: *Φεύγουμε;*
Leave-1PL.PR.IPF
Let's go.
B: *Εντάξει.*

- OK
 (14) Πάμε πλατεία;
 Go-PL.PR square?
 Shall we go to the square?

The first person plural use is consistent with expressions of exhortation, (for example uses introduced by *ας* combined with intonation INT1). The verb might be in the past or in the present tense.

3.4.1 Proffer and the use of μήπως

The particle *μήπως* has a series of uses in MG. It can act as a mitigator of the illocutionary force or as a discourse marker (see also Chondrogianni 2011). *Μήπως* is considered by some scholars a subjunctive marker, while others are stating that it can be used as both a subjunctive and an indicative marker (e.g. Babinotis and Clairis 1999). We note, however, that it cannot combine with the subjunctive - associated negation *μη(ν)*, nor with the subjunctive particle *να*. It is negated with the indicative- associated negation *δε(ν)* and can combine with the future particle *θα*. We suggest, therefore, that *μήπως* can only be considered an indicative marker.

In example (15) below, introduced by *μήπως*, the speaker offers the addressee their help in a non-offensive way; they are attempting a change of heart from the addressee, i.e. to get them to accept the help on offer (as there is nothing wrong in doing so), by mitigating the strength of the proposition in the question. This question-like utterance, always in the second person, offers the speaker the opportunity to provide a form of advice, expressed as a mitigated question, in order to change the addressee's behaviour and get their consent for an altered behaviour. The utterance is expressed in intonation INT4.

- (15) Μήπως θέλετε βοήθεια;
 PROF need-2PL.IPF help?
 Perhaps you want some help?

4. Conclusion

In this paper we described the propositional and behavioural uses of the MG indicative. All indicative uses are marked by the optional particle *θα* and the optional negation *δε(ν)*. Propositional uses include: assertions, distinguished by the use of indicative and the use of intonation patterns INT1 or INT2; and assertions in disguise- contrastive statements which include either a compulsory tag (when their intonation involves intonation patterns INT2 for the assertive part and INT4 for the tag). When in the second or third person (excluding *μήπως* uses), the use expresses a request for confirmation.

In addition, propositional uses include miratives of approval, distinguished by the use of the indicative, the use of intonation pattern INT3 and, when compared to content interrogatives, the lack of question word related response from the addressee. Propositional uses also include content interrogatives, distinguished by the use of the indicative, the presence of a question word (such as who, what, when where, how equivalents), the use of intonation pattern INT3 and the expectation that the addressee's response will provide information on the questioned element of the utterance; and polar interrogatives, which are distinguished by the use of Indicative mood, the intonation pattern INT4, and the expectation that a positive or negative response (or a response expressing a degree of certainty or uncertainty) will be provided by the addressee. Secondary basic illocutions include wondering uses, distinguished by the use of Indicative, the segmental marker *άραγε*, and the most common use of 3rd person (also the use of 1st person in deliberative questions).

Behavioural uses include proffer (mitigated questions), expressed in Indicative, introduced by the segmental marker *μήπως*, expressed in INT4, in the 2nd person.

There are two uses in Indicative that are differentiated from the Polar Interrogatives use because of the Addressee's response, namely the Exhortations in Indicative (behavioural use), expressed in the first person plural only, where a response of consent (or lack of) is expected; and the assertions in disguise/rhetorical questions (propositional use), where no response is expected by the addressee.

Table 1 below summarises the basic illocutions in indicative which form part of the grammatical system.

We hope that this work will further support a different approach in the way grammar is taught in a first or second language acquisition setting, extending the focus from morphosyntax to also include pragmatics and phonology.

Uses	Verb Mood	Intonation Pattern	Segmental Marker	Possible Answer	Person	Aspect
Assertions	Ind	INT1/INT2	-	N/A	Any	Any
Mirative Uses –Approval	Ind	INT3	(exclamative)	N/A	Any	Any
Interrogative uses: Content Interrogatives	Ind	INT3	Question word	Element Questioned	Any	Any
Assertions in disguise-rhetorical questions	Ind	INT3 or INT4	-	None expected	Any	Any
Interrogative uses: Polar Interrogatives	Ind	INT4	-	Yes/ No	Any	Any
Exhortations	Ind	INT4	-	Consent	1 st	Perf for Past
Mitigated questions/ Proffer	Ind	INT4	μήπως	Consent	2 nd	Imp
Wondering	Ind	INT4	άραγε	N/A	3 rd (1 st for deliberative)	Any
Assertions in disguise-contrastive statements	Ind	INT2 + INT4 (with tag) INT4 (with μήπως)	Tag question	N/A	1 ^s	Any
Requests for confirmation	Ind	INT2+ INT4	Tag question	Yes/ No	2/3	Any
Uncertainty	Ind	INT1	ίσως	N/A	Any	Any

Table 1 Summary of the characteristics of grammaticalised basic illocutions in indicative

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INCORPORATING CORPUS DATA AND SEMANTIC THEORY IN MODERN GREEK LEXICOGRAPHY: A SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE SELF-MOTION USES OF *ΠΕΤΑΩ*

Thomai Dalpanagioti
University of Athens, Greece
tdalpag@enl.uoa.gr

ABSTRACT

This paper aims to make a contribution towards improving Modern Greek lexicography by drawing attention to the need for empirically-grounded, theoretically-informed and user-friendly entries. Focusing on the network of the self-motion (as opposed to the cause-motion) uses of πετάω (= fly), I first take a look at two dictionary entries pointing out their differences in content and form. To create an accurate semantic picture of the verb, I propose establishing lexical units (LUs) on the basis of a corpus-based, frame-driven, and cognitive-oriented methodology. Therefore, I present a new skeletal structure for the πετάω entry, and offer suggestions for making long entries more user-friendly.

Keywords: word sense disambiguation, lexical unit, corpora, FrameNet, metaphor, metonymy

1. Introduction

The study is motivated by the observation that the treatment of πετάω –a polysemous manner-of-motion verb of high frequency– differs considerably between the two main comprehensive dictionaries of Modern Greek, i.e. *AKN* (1998) and *ANEF* (2005). To clarify the picture, I examine the relevant data available in two electronic corpora of Modern Greek, i.e. the Hellenic National Corpus (HNC) and the Greek Web as Corpus (GkWaC).¹

However, the wealth of semantic, contextual and stylistic evidence gleaned from the corpora is not sufficient for compiling a valuable dictionary entry; rather, a sound theoretical basis is necessary for linguistically justifying meaning discrimination. Promising theoretical perspectives in this respect are frame semantics and the cognitive theory of metaphor and metonymy. In this light, I propose a new skeletal structure for the πετάω entry, which (a) groups corpus-attested (self-motion) uses into sense divisions on the basis of existing frame descriptions in the English FrameNet, and (b) makes them hang together in a motivated and transparent manner by means of metaphor and metonymy.

The paper concludes with the suggestion that Greek dictionaries should integrate guiding devices into the long entries of polysemous headwords, a practice pioneered by English learners' dictionaries.

2. The treatment of πετάω in two comprehensive dictionaries of Modern Greek

A mere glance at the *AKN* and *ANEF* entries for πετάω (see Figure 1) reveals that the two dictionaries differ in the presentation of the two main sense divisions of the verb, i.e. flying and throwing; the self-motion and the cause-motion uses are treated under separate entries in *AKN* but within a single entry in *ANEF*. The scope of the present study is restricted to the self-motion network of the verb, and Table 1 has been drawn to summarize the main information provided by the two dictionaries.

More precisely, the middle column of Table 1 uses English metalanguage to give an overview of the relevant sense divisions in the two entries. Whereas both of them record the motion of winged creatures as the first sense, minor or major differences are spotted between the other senses. For example, motion of aircrafts and passengers forms a single sense in *AKN* but two in *ANEF*, which additionally makes special mention of the use of πετάω with regard to pilots. The last more specialized

¹ On the basis of the form lemmatized in the HNC and the GkWaC, this work uses πετάω as the headword form of the lemma rather than πετώ. On the contrary, existing dictionaries which are not corpus-based lemmatize the abbreviated form (see Figure 1).

senses appear in only one of the two entries, but even when uses are recorded by both dictionaries they may be ordered or labeled differently; in this respect, consider the “be efficient” and “move very quickly” senses.

More confusion is created when we compare the two entries as to the multi-word expressions (MWEs) recorded, the place in which they appear (i.e. under which sense), and the way they are presented (i.e. as subentries or examples, with a definition or a cross-reference). For instance, in *AKN* we find *πέταξε το πουλί* under the first sense with the label «φράση» and with a cross-reference to the *πουλί* entry. By contrast, this MWE appears in *ANEF* in a slightly different form (i.e. *πέταξε το πουλάκι*), and under the metaphorical use of the verb in the context of missed opportunities; in *ANEF* the phrase is defined, exemplified, and highlighted as a subentry.

<i>AKN</i>	<i>ANEF</i>
<p>ΠΕΤΩ¹ [petó] & -άω P10.6α λαϊκότρ. μπ. ΠΕΤΟΥΜΕΝΟΣ² : 1. (για πουλί ή έντομο) κινούμαι στον αέρα με τη βοήθεια των φτερών μου: <i>Ο αετός άνοιξε τα φτερά του και πέταξε ψηλά στον ουρανό</i>, απομακρύνθηκε. Ένα κοπάδι αγριόπαπες πετούσε πάνω από τη λίμνη. Μια πεταλούδα πετούσε απ' άθρος ο' άθρος. ΦΡ <i>πέταξε το πουλί</i>³. ΠΑΡ ΦΡ <i>πετάει ο γάιδαρος</i>⁴; <i>πετάει</i> Ο μύθος του Ίκαρου εκφράζει την πανάγχαση επιθυμία του ανθρώπου να πετάξει. 2. για υπτόμενο μέσο, μηχανή που μπορεί να κινείται στον αέρα, και για άνθρωπο που επιβαίνει σε ένα τέτοιο μέσο: <i>Αεροπλάνα πετούσαν πάνω από την πόλη. Πετούσαμε πάνω από τη θάλασσα. Πετούσαμε πάνω από τα σύννεφα. Πέταξαν με ελικοπτερο στην περιοχή του ναυαγίου</i>. (εδικιά, συνήθ. στον εν. ε) απογειώνομαι: <i>Τι ώρα πετάς; ΦΡ ~ στα ύψη</i>⁵. ~ από (τη) χαρά (μου), <i>χαίρομαι πάρα πολύ. πετάει στα σύννεφα</i>⁶. <i>πετάει κάποιος στον έβδομο ουρανό</i>⁷. 3. (οικ., λαϊκ.) είμαι πολύ καλός, ικανός κτλ., δείχνω, αποδίδω το μέγιστο των δυνατοτήτων μου (πρβ. σφύρα): <i>Πετάει η ομάδα σήμερα</i>. 4. (μτφ.) κινούμαι πολύ γρήγορα: <i>Δεν έτρεχε, πετούσε</i>. 5. υφάνω στην ατμόσφαιρα χαρταετός: <i>Πάμε να πετάξουμε αετός</i>; 6. πετάει, πετάει... για παιδικό παιχνίδι. [έλντο. <i>Πετώ < αχ, πέτομαι μετακλ. με βάση το μέλ. πετσομαι</i>]</p> <p>ΠΕΤΩ² & -άω, -ίμαι P10.6 & ΠΕΤΑΓΟΜΑΙ [petágoɲe] P3β : 1. ρήνω κτ. προς οποιαδήποτε κατεύθυνση, με τη δύναμη των χεριών μου. α. εκοφενδονίζω: <i>Συναγωνίζονταν ποιος θα πετάξει πιο μακριά την πέτρα</i>. εκοφενδονίζω εναντίον: <i>Τον πέταξε μια πέτρα και τον χτύπησε</i>. ρήνω κτ. προς το μέρος άλλου για να το πιάσω: <i>Πετούσαν ο ένας στον άλλον την μπάλα. Μη σκάνοντας πέταξε το μόν από εκεί που είσαι β. δίνω σε κτ. κτ. με τρόπο αγνή, προσβλητικό ή περιφρονητικό: Τον πέταξε ένα κομμάτι γυμν. Οργισμένος τον πέταξε τα λεφτά (στη μοίρη) και έφυγε. ΦΡ ~ το</i></p>	<p>ΠΕΤΩ (κ. -άω) ρ. αμετβ. κ. μετβ. [petós... πέτ-αζει, -ίμαι κ. -άγομαι, -άχτηκα, -α(γ)μένος] & (αμετβ.) 1. (για πτηνά και έντομα) κινούμαι στον αέρα φτερουγίζοντας: η πεταλούδα πετούσε από λουλούδι σε λουλούδι ο αετός πετάει ψηλά οι γάροι πετάνε μες στα κατάρτια (μτφ.) η σκέψη του πέταξε πίσω στην καρδιά ΣΥΝ. φτερουγίζω. ΦΡ. (μτφ.) (α) <i>Πετώ στα σύννεφα</i> (i) είμαι πολύ χαρούμενος: <i>κέρδισε το πρώτο βραβείο και μετά στα σύννεφα</i> (ii) δεν έχω επαφή με την πραγματικότητα, <i>ζω στον κόσμο μου: δεν μπορώ να συνεννοηθώ με αυτό τον άνθρωπο</i>; <i>μετά μόνιμης στα σύννεφα</i> (β) <i>Πετώ απ' τη χαρά μου</i> είμαι πολύ χαρούμενος (γ) <i>Πετούν τα μυαλά μου (στον αέρα)</i> σκέφτομαι ή/και συμπεριφέρομαι με επικολαιότητα, είμαι φανταστικόληκτος (δ) <i>Πετώ η καρδιά μου (για κάποιον / κάτι)</i> λαχταρά (κάτι) αιδ. ψυχή: ~ για σένα / να σε δω (ε) ~Πετάει ο γάιδαρος; ~Πετάει βλ. 1. γάιδαρος 2. (για αεροσκάφη και κάθε συσκευή που κινείται στον αέρα) κινούμαι στον αέρα με μηχανικά μέσα (έλικτες, πτερύγια, μηχανές κ.λπ.) ή χρήση στην ειδική μου κατασκευή: το αεροστάτο πετούσε πάνω από τον χώρο της έκθεσης με τι ταχύτητα πετάει ένα αεροπλάνο τύπου «Μίνγκ», κοίτα πόσο ψηλά πετά ο χαρταετός! 3. (α) (για εκβιάτες υπάλληλων μεταφορικών μέσων ή μηχανών) ταξιδεύω: <i>σέριο πετάμε οικογενειακάς για Λονδίνο</i> ~ με την Ολίμπιακή ~ με πτήση ταχύτερη / με τζάμικο (β) (για πλότους, αεροπόρους) εκτελεί πτήση, κυβερνεί αεροσκάφος: ο πρώτος άνθρωπος που πέταξε πάνω από τον Ατλαντικό 4. (εκφρασ.) κινούμαι με ταχύτητα, κεραιά με πολύ γρήγορο βήμα: <i>δεν έτρεχε αβιάς, πετούσε!</i> ~... εκπετούσαν προς την ουκίαν εκείνων» (Α. Πακοδιαμάντης) <i>μπεκε πρώτος στην πλάτη ευθεία πετώντας προς το τέρμα και τη νίκη</i> 5. (κατ' επέκτ.) ζυγείζω από (κάποιον που με καταδιώκει) ή εξαφανίζομαι από το μέρος στο οποίο βρισκόμουν, δρακετεύω: οι κρατούμενοι πέταζαν χωρίς να τους πάρει κανείς χαμμάρι 6. (μτφ.) χάνομαι: <i>πάει, πέταξε η ευκαιρία!</i> ΦΡ. <i>Πέταξε το πουλάκι χάθηκε η ευκαιρία</i>: τότε που σου το έβγα να μισοτιμής δεν το ήθελες: <i>τώρα είναι αργά, πάει</i>. ~! 7. (μτφ.) προχωρά με επιτυχία, τα καταφέρνω με μεγάλη άνεση και ευκολία: στη συνέντευξη πετούσε, αφού γνώριζε όλα τα θέματα και στ' άλλα μαθήματα είναι καλός, αλλά στην ιστορία πετάει! ΦΡ. (οικ.) <i>Πετάει η ομάδα!</i> για ομάδα ή οικοδομήκοτε σύνολο προσώπων που συνεργάζονται με επιτυχία, που έχουν υψηλή απόδοση επιτυγχάνοντας τους στόχους τους 8. (οικ.) ελέγω έντονα (κατά τρόπο ανεπιθύμητο ή απελασθητό): <i>δεν στράνων καλά τα μαλλιά της, πετάει μια τούφα απ' τα κλόγια</i> <i>δεν μπορώ να βλέπω αυτό το κορμί να πετάει έτσι στον τοίχο!</i> 9. (μετβ.) 8. ρήνω (κάτι), εκτοξεύω σε απόσταση ή με δύναμη: <i>πετούσε πέτρες στη θάλασσα</i> <i>πέταξε από πάνω του τα σκεπάσματα</i></p>

Figure 1 Partial dictionary entries for *πέτω*

<i>AKN</i>		major sense divisions	<i>ANEF</i>	
integrated MWEs	layout		layout	integrated MWEs
- ΦΡ. <i>πέταξε το πουλί</i> - ΠΑΡ. ΦΡ. <i>πετάει ο γάιδαρος; πετάει</i>	1	(for winged creatures) move through the air	1	ΦΡ. (μτφ.) - <i>πέτω στα σύννεφα</i> - <i>πετώ απ' τη χαρά μου</i> - <i>πετούν τα μυαλά μου (στον αέρα)</i> - <i>πετά η καρδιά μου</i> - <i>Πετάει ο γάιδαρος; Πετάει</i>
ΦΡ. - <i>πέτω στα ύψη</i> - <i>πέτω από (τη) χαρά (μου)</i> - <i>πετάει στα σύννεφα</i> - <i>πετάει κάποιος στον έβδομο ουρανό</i>	2	(for aircrafts) move through the air (for passengers) travel by aircraft	2 3a	
	—	(for pilots) operate an aircraft	3β	
(example) <i>πετάει η</i>	3	be efficient	7	ΦΡ. (οικ.) <i>πετάει η</i>

ομάδα	οικ., λαϊκ.		μτφ.	ομάδα
	4 μτφ.	move very quickly	4 εκφραστ.	
	—	(for fugitives) disappear	5 κατ' επέκταση	
	—	(for missed opportunities) disappear	6 μτφ.	ΦΡ. πέταξε το πουλάκι
	—	protrude	8 οικ.	
	5	make a kite rise and float in the air	—	
πετάει, πετάει...	6	a children's game	—	

Table 1 *AKN* vs. *ANEF*: An overall picture of the treatment of *πετάω* in its self-motion uses

On the whole, the entries reviewed seem to complement each other in coverage, and to make different decisions about lumping/ splitting, ordering and labelling the self-motion uses of *πετάω*. In addition, the comparison of the two entries raises the issue of phraseological treatment; differences in the form, location and prominence of MWEs should be related to the fact that they are not as fixed as thought to be, and that computerized language corpora are not used by either of the dictionaries for identifying normal patterns of usage. These observations emphasize the need for a systematic and unified lexicographic treatment of polysemy and phraseology. To this end, I propose determining senses on the basis of corpus data and linguistic theory, and employing user-friendly guiding devices to represent them.

3. An integrated approach to word sense disambiguation

With a view to systematizing the lexicographic task of meaning discrimination, we should first specify the basic unit of description. Following Cruse (1986: 77), I do not use the word as a semantic unit but split it into lexical units (LUs) which constitute “the union of a lexical form and a single sense”; a LU “must be at least one semantic constituent” and “at least one word” (*ibid.*: 24). Keeping in mind that a single set of criteria should be used for identifying LUs irrespective of whether they are single-word or multi-word ones, I now proceed to outline the methodology devised for establishing LUs (see Table 2).

corpus-based	context disambiguates: identification of recurrent patterns of usage in concordances
frame-driven	polysemy = one word → several frames → several LUs
cognitive-oriented	polysemy = a process motivated by metonymy/ metaphor

Table 2 Establishing LUs: An integrated approach to word sense disambiguation

The first step in the process involves observing concordance lines for the target word, clustering them according to their common features, and identifying recurrent (and hence normal) patterns of usage (Moon 1987: 87; Hanks 2004: 246-251; Kilgarriff 2008: 145; Atkins & Rundell 2008: 311-312); that is why the approach is characterized as based upon corpus evidence. However, the clusters of data are not self-explanatory; rather, their analysis and interpretation needs to be driven by linguistic theory.

To this end, I employ frame semantics to decide whether a pattern qualifies for the status of a LU; separate senses generally correspond to different semantic frames (Atkins, Rundell & Sato 2003: 335-337; Atkins 2008: 256-257). In brief,

- a (semantic) frame is a structured background of experience which constitutes a kind of prerequisite for understanding the meaning of a word (Fillmore 1985: 224);
- frame semantics links situation-specific semantic roles, i.e. frame elements (FEs), to their syntactic realizations (Fillmore & Petruck 2003: 359); and
- FrameNet is an online lexical resource for English which is applying frame semantics to corpus data, and is still under development (Ruppenhofer et al. 2010: 5).

Several steps have been taken to investigate the applicability of FrameNet to other languages (German, Spanish, Japanese),² and it is generally argued that English FrameNet frames can be reused for the semantic analysis of other languages (Boas 2005; Burchardt et al. 2009; Subirats 2009). In this light,

² No similar large-scale frame-semantic analysis is currently available for Modern Greek.

the present study on *πετάω* draws on English FrameNet and demonstrates its valuable contribution to the creation of a well-structured entry in Modern Greek.

Lastly, to lend further support to the frame-driven sense distinctions, I consider whether they are motivated by cognitive mechanisms (i.e. metonymy, metaphor) and interrelated by means of a semantic network (Lakoff & Johnson 1980, 1999; Van der Meer 1999; Nikiforidou 1999). This network is organized around the synchronically prototypical sense, from which other senses are naturally derived with varying degrees of relatedness. This approach is also related to Evans's (2005: 41) cognitive-oriented model of "principled polysemy", according to which each sense of a polysemous word must contain additional meaning, and manifest specific collocational patterns and/or grammatical structures. However, the present methodology differs from Evans's (2005) model in two respects: (a) first, as already explained, the meaning criterion is defined in frame-semantic terms as involving additional or different FEs, and (b) second, corpus data determine the process rather than merely exemplify senses.

4. Exploiting available corpora

If we consider the recent observation that "there is still a lack of large reference corpora for languages other than English" (Williams 2008: 258), we can appreciate the significance of the development of a national corpus of Modern Greek (the HNC), and recognize the need to consolidate its use in lexicography. The HNC is a monitor corpus of over 47 million running words of texts written in Greek after 1990, and although it may not be truly comparable to English corpora in terms of size or balance, it can facilitate empirically grounding Modern Greek lexicography.

On account of practical issues that determine corpus research, i.e. availability, representativeness, and dependency on software tools, the present work of compiling a new entry for *πετάω* exploits an additional corpus as a secondary source of data. The GkWaC is larger than the HNC,³ and is accessed through a state-of-the-art query system, the Sketch Engine.⁴ This corpus can complement the HNC in terms of both content and functionality. On the one hand, we can test how well less frequent HNC patterns hold up in a larger Web corpus (Renouf 2007: 43), and on the other hand, the Sketch Engine (unlike the HNC query system) automatically derives lexical profiles, the Word Sketches, which can serve as a starting point for distinguishing senses (Kilgariff et al. 2008: 297; Atkins & Rundell 2008: 110).

ΠΕΤΑΩ GkWaC freq = 17662

object	6274	6.1	subject	1309	3.3	modifier
σκοιπιδι	355	56.63	πεταλούδα	32	34.16	έξω
μπάλα#μπαλάκι	96	44.96	γάδαρος	21	30.55	ψηλά
πέτρα	188	39.56	νάνος	19	28.79	μακριά
φωτοβολίδα	47	39.39	πουλί	39	28.52	πάνω
κάλαθος	26	35.7	αεροσκάφος	21	23.33	κατάμουντρα
σκούφια	20	33.48	αεροπλάνο	18	21.17	χαμηλά
μούτρο	59	33.04	περιστέρι	11	20.92	κάτω
σπόντα	24	32.35	Ελευθερές	5	20.89	βιαστικά
λάσπη	62	31.69	δράστης	12	20.27	όξω
μπουκάλι	69	31.59	Αετός#αετός	5	17.73	μέσα
σύννεφο	67	29.96	γλάρος	6	17.22	χάμω
χαρταετός	24	29.68	πουλάκι	7	17.03	μαζί
γόπα	20	29.17	ελικόπτερο	8	15.75	πέρα
ρούχο	84	27.49	μπάλα#μπαλάκι	6	15.74	απάνω
κοτσάνα	17	27.22	ελέφαντας	6	14.99	επάνω
αέρας	114	27.18	αετός	6	14.62	ελεύθερα
καιάδας	18	26.99	αεροπλάνο#αερόπλανο	5	14.43	γύρω
πάτωμα	47	26.8	μέλισσα	6	13.9	πίσω
ατάκα	35	26.4	σύννεφο	7	12.69	εκεί
τσιγάρο	60	26.17	ερπετό	5	12.44	δίπλα
σπίθα	22	25.8	αμάξι	7	12.41	πού
ουρανός	78	25.6	μυαλό	13	12.0	ολόγυρα
μπάλα	63	25.38	φλόγα	5	10.19	μετά

Figure 2 The GkWaC Word Sketch for *πετάω* – truncated screenshot (May, 2010)

³ The GkWaC contains about 100 million words, and has been constructed by downloading texts from the Internet.

⁴ The Sketch Engine software can load a corpus of any language (with appropriate linguistic mark-up), and offer "word sketches, thesaurally similar words, and 'sketch differences', as well as the more familiar [query] functions" (Kilgariff et al. 2008: 299).

Figure 2 shows a truncated screenshot of the GkWaC Word Sketch for *πετάω*; if these statistically salient collocates are first examined, it is easier to identify separate senses when scanning the HNC sentences. However, Word Sketches should not be taken at face value, because tagging errors are traced; consider, for example, *κάλαθος* in the “object” list and *σύννεφο* in the “subject” list.⁵

5. A new skeletal structure for the self-motion network of *πετάω*

The results of applying the proposed corpus-based, frame-driven, and cognitive-oriented methodology to *πετάω* are summarized in Table 3. The Table presents a coherent account of the self-motion network of *πετάω* in 5 columns. For each LU the 1st column provides one or two corpus-attested sentences which are considered typical illustrative examples of the particular LU; note that the underlines, which indicate the various collocates of *πετάω*, make it abundantly clear that each LU exhibits distinct collocational patterns. The 2nd column specifies the semantic frame evoked by the LU on the basis of the FrameNet descriptions. The 3rd one provides an informal description of the meaning of the LU in English metalanguage. The 4th column employs the cognitive theory of metaphor and metonymy to explain the non-arbitrary relationship between the semantic extensions of *πετάω*; and the last one shows how this motivated semantic network can be reflected in the skeletal structure of a dictionary entry.

Corpus-attested examples	Frame	Sense	Motivation	Structure
- Στο πλάι μας <u>πετούν</u> <u>γλάροι</u> . - Πολεμικά <u>αεροπλάνα</u> <u>πετούν</u> στον ουρανό με βαρύ φορτίο.	[Self_motion] ⁶	move through the air in a controlled manner using aerodynamic forces	core meaning: the primary manner of motion of a bird and an aircraft	1
Κάθε λεπτό 400.000 <u>άνθρωποι</u> <u>πετούν</u> πάνω από την Ευρώπη σε σύνολο 3.500 πτήσεις.	[Ride_vehicle] ⁷	travel by plane	metonymy : CONTENT (passengers) FOR CONTAINER (aircraft)	2a
- Πείτε στον <u>πιλότο</u> , να <u>πετάξει</u> κατ' ευθείαν για το Κάουνας. - Στις Ηνωμένες Πολιτείες, οι <u>πιλότοι</u> που <u>πετούν</u> τα <u>αεροσκάφη</u> του προέδρου επιλέγονται μέσα από ειδικές διαδικασίες.	[Operate_vehicle] ⁸	operate an aircraft	metonymy : CONTROLLER (pilot) FOR CONTROLLED (aircraft)	2b
Στη Χιλή οι <u>αεροπορικές εταιρείες</u> δεν θα <u>πετάζουν</u> το βράδυ της Πρωτοχρονιάς, γιατί οι επιβάτες φοβούνται.	[Operating_a_system] ⁹	provide flight service	metonymy : CONTROLLER (owner: airline company) FOR CONTROLLED (aircraft)	2c
- Τα <u>δόντια</u> μου δεν <u>πετάνε</u> τόσο όταν	[Path_shape] ¹⁰	continue upwards further than the	metonymy : fictive motion	3

⁵ If we examine the hyperlinked concordances, we will see that both *κάλαθος* and *σύννεφο* are objects of PPs.

⁶ FrameNet: “The SELF_MOVER, a living being, moves under its own power in a directed fashion, i.e. along what could be described as a PATH, with no separate vehicle.”

⁷ FrameNet: “In this frame a THEME is moved by a VEHICLE which is not directly under their power. The SOURCE, PATH, GOAL, or AREA of the motion may be indicated. The DISTANCE travelled or the SPEED of motion may also be indicated. A ROUTE or ROAD may be present and the MANNER in which the THEME moves may be given.”

⁸ FrameNet: “The words in this frame describe motion involving a VEHICLE and someone who controls it, the DRIVER. Some words normally allow the VEHICLE to be expressed as a separate constituent.”

⁹ FrameNet: “An OPERATOR manipulates the substructure of a SYSTEM such that the SYSTEM performs the function it was created for.”

¹⁰ FrameNet: “The words in this frame describe the ‘fictive’ motion of a stationary ROAD.”

χαμογελάω. - Το <u>μαλλί</u> του <u>πέταγε</u> σαν λοφίο.		main part of an object	MANNER OF MOTION ALONG THE PATH FOR CONFIGURATION OF THE PATH	
- Το <u>αυτοκίνητο</u> <u>τρέχει</u> , <u>πετά</u> . - Το <u>δολάριο</u> <u>πετά</u> στα ύψη. - <u>Πετάει</u> η ομάδα.	[Change_position_on_ a_scale] ¹¹	increase in speed/ value/ performance	metaphor: MORE IS UP (GOOD IS UP)	4
- <u>Πετάξα</u> από τη χαρά μου. - Λογικό μοιάζει άλλωστε να <u>πετούν</u> <u>στα σύννεφα</u> ύστερα από μια τέτοια επιτυχία.	[Experiencer_focus] ¹²	feel light with happiness	metaphors: EMOTION IS MOTION, HAPPY IS UP	5
- Η <u>ευκαιρία</u> ήταν μεγάλη, αλλά... <u>πέταξε</u> . - Και όταν αποφάσισε να κάνει αλλαγές, <u>το</u> <u>πουλάκι</u> <u>είχε πετάξει</u> .	[Departing] ¹³	used for saying that you have missed the chance to do something	metaphor: GENERIC IS SPECIFIC experiential grounding: image of a bird flying away	6
Δικαίωμα του δημάρχου Ενόγγελου Παπάζογλου, είναι να πιστεύει πως « <u>πετάει ο</u> <u>γάδαρος</u> », όπως δικαίωμά μου είναι να τον αμφισβητώ.	[Likelihood] ¹⁴	used for saying that a belief is irrational	metaphor: GENERIC IS SPECIFIC experiential grounding: donkeys (having no wings) cannot normally fly	7

Table 3 The self-motion network of *πετάω*

Unlike *AKN* and *ANET*, which assign different senses to the use of *πετάω* in the context of winged creatures and aircrafts, I lump them together within the 1st LU because the same frame, [Self_motion], is evoked, and because the manner of motion denoted is primary for both birds and aircrafts; the similarity of the examples in terms of syntactic structure (i.e. + AREA PP) lends further support to this decision. When the corpus examples evoke a set of FEs that differs from the [Self_motion] one evoked prototypically, we are dealing with a separate LU which is associated with the core one via cognitive mechanisms. More precisely, the next three LUs evoke the frames [Ride_vehicle], [Operate_vehicle] and [Operating_a_system], as indicated by the collocate types in subject position, i.e. passenger, pilot and airline company respectively. Unlike *AKN* and *ANET*, the proposed skeletal structure groups these LUs together under sense 2, in order to show that they are all derived from the 1st one through different types of conceptual metonymy. Also note that the 2c use observed in the corpus data is missing from both *AKN* and *ANET*. The next LU evokes the [Path_shape] frame which is used to describe the fictive motion of a stationary ROAD; in this case, the FE ROAD is a body part in protruding position. Although this LU is also related to LU1 by metonymy, it is presented as sense 3 rather than as 2d because it has nothing to do with aircrafts.

¹¹ FrameNet: “This frame consists of words that indicate the change of an ITEM’s position on a scale (the ATTRIBUTE) from a starting point (INITIAL_VALUE) to an end point (FINAL_VALUE). The direction (PATH) of the movement can be indicated as well as the magnitude of the change (DIFFERENCE). The rate of change of the value (SPEED) is optionally indicated.”

¹² FrameNet: “The words in this frame describe an EXPERIENCER’s emotions with respect to some CONTENT. A REASON for the emotion may also be expressed. Although the CONTENT may refer to an actual, current state of affairs, quite often it refers to a general situation which causes the emotion.”

¹³ FrameNet: “An object (the THEME) moves away from a SOURCE. The SOURCE may be expressed or it may be understood from context, but its existence is always implied by the departing word itself.”

¹⁴ FrameNet: “This frame is concerned with the likelihood of a HYPOTHETICAL_EVENT occurring. The HYPOTHETICAL_EVENT is its only core frame element.”

Table 3 arranges senses in a continuum from physical to metonymic to metaphorical motion. The last four LUs are metaphorically motivated by [Self_motion], and evoke the frames [Change_position_on_a_scale], [Experiencer_focus], [Departing] and [Likelihood]. Two points are worth noting in this respect. First, by using semantic frames and conceptual motivation as criteria for clustering corpus examples into LUs, we achieve a coherent treatment of metaphorical uses that are scattered over various places in the entries reviewed; consider senses 4 and 6 in particular. Second, note that in combining semantic and contextual criteria for determining LUs, we should pay particular attention not to elevate mere contextual variations to the status of a LU. Therefore, each one of the MWEs in 4, 5 and 6 (i.e. *πετάει η ομάδα*, *πετάω στα σύννεφα*, *το πουλάκι έχει πετάξει*) is not treated as a stand-alone LU, since it does not evoke a distinct frame. By contrast, the last MWE *πετάει ο γάιδαρος*, which appears under the 1st core sense in both *AKN* and *ANEF*, fulfills the criteria for a separate LU.¹⁵

6. Suggestions for enhancing user-friendliness

A lexicographic analysis along these lines can improve not only the content but also the presentation of the long entries of polysemous headwords.

For example, semantic frames can be used for presenting senses as menus at the top of entries and/or as signposts at the beginning of definitions within entries. The semantic order approach, according to which literal senses precede figurative ones in entries, can help users form a coherent picture of the various uses of a word. User-friendliness can also be achieved by employing a tiered structure for conventional metonymic extensions, by adding usage notes and in particular metaphor boxes, and by foregrounding co-occurrence patterns by means of eye-catching devices (like font and highlighting).

English learners' dictionaries have paved the way for devising such guiding principles to make long entries easier to navigate, and to enhance users' language awareness. For instance, metaphor boxes have been integrated in the *MEDAL* dictionaries (print and electronic; 2002, 2007) (Moon 2004).

7. Concluding remarks

The present study has shown that Modern Greek lexicography can be systematized and modernized in the following ways:

- by combining empirical evidence (i.e. corpus data) with semantic theory, and thus using linguistically-informed judgment for making sense of the evidence rather than creating it;
- by recognizing the importance of establishing LUs in making precise (monolingual) descriptions;
- by drawing on existing frame-semantic resources to enrich current dictionary entries and to accelerate the process of establishing LUs;
- by using the cognitive mechanisms of metaphor and metonymy to make LUs hang together in a motivated and transparent manner.

These guidelines have considerable implications for training lexicographers.

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¹⁵ Note that *πετάει ο γάιδαρος* occurs only twice in the HNC; yet, the presence of *γάιδαρος* at the top of the "subject" list of the GkWaC Word Sketch for *πετάω* (see Figure 2) helps us not to miss this familiar MWE and include it in the present corpus-based analysis.

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EXPLORING THE PRODUCTIVITY OF *-pió* IN MODERN GREEK: A CORPUS BASED STUDY

Angeliki Efthymiou
Democritus University
of Thrace, Greece
aeftym@eled.duth.gr

Georgia Fragaki
Aristotle University
of Thessaloniki, Greece
efraga@phil.uoa.gr

Angelos Markos
Democritus University
of Thrace, Greece
amarkos@eled.duth.gr

ABSTRACT

This is a corpus-based study of the morphological productivity of the Greek verb-forming element -pió, treated here as an affixoid, gradually acquiring a suffixal status. Its productivity is measured in a corpus of 4,143,583 words (a part of the Corpus of Greek Texts) in relation to that of eight Greek verb-forming suffixes studied in Efthymiou et al. (2012). The results suggest that -pió's productivity is similar to that of the moderately productive suffixes -évo and -áro. It is also found to be more productive in written registers, while it presents its highest productivity in opinion articles and its lowest one in literature.

Keywords: corpora, frequency, Modern Greek, morphological productivity, *-pió*, text types, verb-forming elements

1. Introduction

This paper aims at exploring the productivity of the Modern Greek verb-forming element *-pió* in a subcorpus of the Corpus of Greek Texts (CGT), a reference corpus of Greek (see Goutsos 2010). We follow similar research on other languages, investigating frequency and morphological productivity with a corpus-based methodology (e.g. Baayen & Lieber 1991, Baayen 1992, Plag et al. 1999, Gaeta & Ricca 2003). This is part of a larger project studying the productivity of verb-forming elements, based on a large corpus of Modern Greek. Although *-pió*'s morphological status is debatable (i.e. whether it is a suffix or not), in the present study we treat this element as an affixoid moving towards acquiring a suffixal status, an element which is in a process of grammaticalization, becoming a suffix, according to relevant observations in the literature (see Anastassiadis-Symeonidis 1986, Giannouloupoulou 2000). On the basis of this, the morphological productivity of *-pió* is measured here in relation to that of Greek verb-forming suffixes *-áro*, *-éno*, *-évo*, *-íno*, *-ízo*, *-(i)ázo*, *-jázo* and *-óno*, studied in another paper (Efthymiou et al. 2012). This study can offer useful evidence on how productive *-pió* is in relation to the productivity of well-established suffixes. Here, a comprehensive productivity profile of *-pió* is attempted to be drawn by the examination of its productivity across written and spoken texts, as well as its productivity patterns across the five largest text types in the corpus (i.e. literature, news, popularized non-fiction, academic and opinion articles).

In summary, this paper aims at answering the following research questions:

- (a) How productive is *-pió* in relation to the productivity scores of the eight verb-forming suffixes mentioned above?
- (b) Is *-pió* equally productive across spoken and written registers?
- (c) Is *-pió* more productive in certain text types?

The paper is organized as follows. The following section presents the main properties of the element under investigation, while section 3 is dedicated to a brief overview of the relevant literature

on the notion of productivity. In section 4 we explain how the data of this study was selected and outline the methodology used for data analysis. Section 5 describes the results of the research and section 6 discusses and summarizes the findings, along with drawing the implications of the study.

2. The Modern Greek verb-forming element *-pió*: morphological properties and status

In this section we outline the properties of the Modern Greek verb-forming element *-pió*, based on Anastassiadis-Symeonidis' (1986), Giannouloupoulou's (2000), Mela-Athanasopoulou's (2007) and Efthymiou's (2011a) analysis, and discuss its morphological status. For the semantic description of the derived verbs we will use the labels and glosses found in Plag (1999), namely causative/resultative 'cause to become x/turn into x', ornative 'make x go to/in/on something', locative 'make something go to/in/on x', inchoative 'become x', performative 'do x/perform x', similitive 'act or be like x', instrumental 'use x' and stative 'be x' (see also Lieber 2004).

2.1 The structural and semantic properties of *-pió*

Historically, the bound Modern Greek morpheme *-pió* developed from the Ancient Greek verb *poiô* 'to make/do' (cf. Triandafyllidis Dictionary 1998). According to the literature, the verb-forming element *-pió* attaches both to nominal and adjectival bases. Interestingly, the majority of its adjectival bases are relational adjectives in *-ikós*. All *-pió* formations are transitive verbs and their meanings can be described as resultative, locative and ornative, as seen in example 1:

(1)	a.	<i>aplopió</i> 'simplify'	<i>aplós</i> 'simple'
	b.	<i>elaçistopió</i> 'minimize'	<i>elaçistos</i> 'minimal'
	c.	<i>stereopió</i> 'solidify'	<i>stereós</i> 'solid'
	d.	<i>gramatikopió</i> 'grammaticalize'	<i>gramatikós</i> 'grammatical'
	e.	<i>prosopopió</i> 'personify'	<i>prósopo</i> 'person'
	f.	<i>periθoriopió</i> 'marginalize'	<i>periθório</i> 'margin'
	g.	<i>omadopió</i> 'divide into groups'	<i>omáda</i> 'group'
	h.	<i>morfopió</i> 'to form'	<i>morfi</i> 'form'

According to Anastassiadis-Symeonidis (1986), *-pió* is extremely productive in forming neologisms with resultative meaning in Modern Greek and thus it enters in competition with other verb forming processes, like the verbal suffixes *-évo*, *-ízo*, and *-óno*. For example, the neologism *elino-pió* 'to turn into a Greek' has begun to replace the older synonymous parasynthetic verb *eks-elin-ízo* (*Élinas* 'Greek'). More specifically, Anastassiadis-Symeonidis (1986) argues that formation with *-pió* is more productive than parasynthetic verb formation for the following reasons:

a) *-pió* is less sensitive to phonological, morphological and lexical restrictions than Modern Greek verb-forming suffixes,

b) *-pió* formations are more transparent and predictable in meaning than parasynthetic formations (for the semantic description of the Modern Greek parasynthetic formations see Tsakou 2010 and Efthymiou 2011b),

c) *-pió* is more likely to be phonotactically signalled because of the presence of the linking vowel *-o-*. This argument accords with Hay (2000), who argues that consonant-initial suffixes are more productive than vowel-initial ones, because they are more likely to provide phonotactic boundary signals.

In addition, Anastassiadis-Symeonidis' claim about the predictability of *-pió* is in line with Efthymiou (2011a, 2001b), who argues that the meanings of *-pió* verbs are much more restricted than the meanings of Modern Greek parasynthetic or suffixed verbs. As already mentioned, *-pió* verbs are restricted to resultative, ornative and locative meanings, whereas suffixed or parasynthetic verbs can also express other meanings, such as similitive, performative or privative meanings (e.g. *piθicízo* 'to imitate ape's behaviour', *apo-cefal-iz-o* 'to decapitate', *xorévo* 'to dance'). Finally, this observation also accords with Mela-Athanasopoulou (2007), who observes that inchoative meanings are only possible with the passive voice of *-pió* verbs.

2.2 The morphological status of *-pió*

According to several studies (e.g. Anastassiadis-Symeonidis 1986, Giannouloupoulou 2000, Ralli 2005, Dimela 2010), *-pió* is an affixoid, i.e. an element that shares properties both with derivation and compounding.¹ An affixoid is neither a stem nor an affix but is an element that is in process of being grammaticalized, gradually losing its lexical status as a stem and behaving more or less like an affix. The basic arguments found in the literature for treating *-pió* as an affixoid are the following:

a) Its homonymous free form has lost its independent status in Modern Greek. The use of the free form *pió* is restricted to fixed or archaic expressions.

b) There exist a few verbs in which *-pió* is a compound element and combines with prefixes (e.g. *ek-pió* ‘to sell up’, *para-pió* ‘to counterfeit’). Nevertheless, all these forms are [+learned] verbs, which originate from Ancient Greek.

c) The Modern Greek bound element *-pió* expresses more meanings than the homonymous Ancient Greek free form *poiô* ‘to do/make’.

d) A considerable number of Modern Greek *-pió* verbs, which are mostly used in academic terminology, are loan translations of English (or French) suffixed verbs (e.g. *gramatikopió* ‘to grammaticalize’).

e) *-pió* is not phonologically reduced or fused with its base. Furthermore it is phonotactically signalled because of the presence of the linking vowel *-o-*, which is found only in compounding.

Based on the above mentioned phonological, semantic and structural properties, *-pió* can be considered an affixoid, moving towards acquiring a suffixal status but still displaying no phonological attrition (see Anastassiadis-Symeonidis 1986 and Giannouloupoulou 2000 for details). In other terms, if compounding and derivation are thought of as the two poles of a morphological continuum, *-pió* is placed closer to suffixation and can be regarded as a suffix-like element.²

3. Morphological productivity

Morphological productivity is a central issue in the field of derivational morphology, since its measurement can help us describe the current and/or future involvement of a word formation process in the coinage of new words (cf. Bauer 1983: 18, Plag 2003: 44). The relevant literature has studied morphological productivity following different approaches, mainly qualitative or quantitative. This variety of approaches is justified by the different aspects of morphological productivity itself. According to Corbin (1987), productivity can be divided into two distinct phenomena: availability (translation of the French term “disponibilité”, referring to how available a morphological process is to produce new words,) and profitability (translation of the French term “rentabilité”, referring to how exploitable a morphological process is in order to create new words). In this sense, availability is a qualitative notion, since a morphological process is either available or not (Bauer 2001: 205), whereas profitability is a quantitative notion, since it reflects the extent to which a morphological process may be exploited to create new forms (cf. Plag 2006).

Qualitative approaches usually deal with various kinds of restrictions (i.e. structural, pragmatic, psycholinguistic etc.; see e.g. Plag 1999, Rainer 2005) that take part in word formation, while quantitative approaches deal with frequency and probability. As frequently observed, there is an inverse correlation between the number of restrictions and the productivity of a word formation process: the more restrictions apply, the fewer words will be derived (Booij 1977, Lieber 2010). This interrelation of qualitative and quantitative aspects of productivity, which is also observed by Plag (1999: 22), suggests that both quantitative and qualitative approaches have to be taken into consideration when talking about productivity (cf. e.g. Aronoff & Fudeman 2011, Plag 2006).

In this paper we explore the productivity of *-pió* mainly in quantitative terms. In particular, we follow Baayen and his collaborators (e.g. Baayen 1993, Baayen & Lieber 1991), who have proposed quantitative measures of productivity, defined with respect to the frequency of a given word-formation process. This frequency is measured in terms of “type frequency”, i.e. the number of different words that occur with the morphological category of *-pió* (e.g. *nomimopió* ‘to legitimate’, *xrisimopió* ‘to use’

¹ Other terms, which are frequently used by linguists in order to account for these borderline cases, are semi-affixes, affix-like elements, lexical suffixes or confixes (see, among others, Anastassiadis-Symeonidis 1986, Giannouloupoulou 2000, Ralli 2005, Mela-Athanasopoulou 2007).

² On the morphological continuum of compounding and derivation see Dalton-Puffer & Plag (2001), Ralli (2005) and Dimela & Melissaropoulou (2009), among others.

and *dimosiopió* ‘to publish’ are three types of the morphological category *-pió*, and “token frequency”, i.e. the actual number of occurrences within the morphological category of *-pió* in a given text (e.g. *dimosiopió* ‘publish_{1st.pers.sing.pres.}’ and *dimosiopiís* ‘publish_{2nd.pers.sing.pres.}’ count as two occurrences, i.e. tokens, of the morphological category *-pió*).

Baayen and his collaborators (e.g. Baayen 1992, 1993, 2001, cf. also Baayen & Lieber 1991, Baayen & Renouf 1996, Plag et al. 1999) have elaborated a number of distinct and complementary corpus-based statistical measures of productivity, which all rely on the availability of large electronic text corpora. These measures can be operationalized by the concept of vocabulary growth, i.e. how frequently new word types that are formed by a morphological process are encountered when an increasing amount of text is sampled (Baayen 2001). This study relies on two well-known measures of morphological productivity proposed in this probabilistic framework.

One of Baayen’s measures is termed “realized productivity”. It is given by the number of word types V (or the vocabulary size) of a morphological category C , in a corpus of N tokens:

$$V = V(C, N)$$

This measure is also known as “type frequency” or “extent of use” (cf. Baayen 2008a, Plag 2006). According to Bauer (2001), realized productivity is restricted to past achievement (cf. Baayen 2008a) and cannot provide information as to whether a certain morphological process is available or not.

Another measure proposed by Baayen, known as “potential productivity”, relies on the notion of “hapax legomenon”. Hapax legomena (or hapaxes) are the types that occur only once in a corpus. The rate at which a vocabulary grows can be captured by the proportion of hapax legomena to the total number of tokens $N(C)$ of all words with the morphological category C . Thus, potential productivity is given by:

$$P = V(1, C, N) / N(C)$$

According to Baayen and Lieber (1991), this ratio estimates the rate at which new types of a given morphological category are to be expected, given that the size of the sample of relevant observed types equals $N(C)$. This type of productivity, also called “productivity in the narrow sense” (cf. Plag 1999), serves to estimate the rate at which a morphological category enriches the vocabulary. The rate at which new types appear in the corpus can be visualized via a vocabulary growth curve. This curve reports vocabulary size (number of types, V) as a function of sample size (number of tokens, N) and P can be also seen as the slope of the tangent to this curve at N (Baayen 2001: 49-50).

However, potential productivity has been subjected to criticism (Baayen 1993, Bauer 2001) for ignoring type frequency and due to the fact that, since P is itself a function of N , its value depends on the size of the sample of the corpus. It is therefore problematic to compare directly a small subcorpus with a large subcorpus without distortion, due to the substantial differences in the overall sizes of the subcorpora and the substantial differences in V and P (Plag et al. 1999, Baayen 1992, 2008b). Fortunately, there are two ways to overcome this problem (Baayen 2008c: 272-274). The first is to compare the number of types across texts for the same text sizes. For larger texts, a random sample of the same size as the smallest text in the comparison has to be selected. The second way is to resort to models of vocabulary growth, especially developed for this purpose (see Baayen 2001 for an overview of these models).

4. Data and methodology

The data used for the measurement of productivity of *-pió* comes from the Corpus of Greek Texts (CGT), a synchronic and monolingual corpus of Modern Greek, including approximately 28 million words from a variety of spoken and written text types. (For more details on the corpus, see Goutsos 2010). For the aims of this study a subcorpus of the CGT (henceforth CGT4) was created by randomly selecting 4,155,036 words. The measurement of productivity in a corpus smaller than the CGT was considered as more manageable, since CGT is not tagged (e.g. morphologically or for parts of speech) and, consequently, the extraction of the verbs formed by *-pió* could only be done by manual pre-processing. CGT4 was stratified by text type, both spoken (conversation, interviews, news, public speech) and written (information items, law and administration texts, literature, anecdotes, popularized non-fiction texts, news, opinion articles, academic texts, private texts, such as private letters, electronic texts, diary, ephemera and procedural texts etc). All text types found in the CGT are represented in the CGT4, in the same proportion in which they occur in the former. It is also worth noting that all texts contained in the CGT4 are in Standard Modern Greek. Table 1 below presents the number of words and the percentage of the text types in CGT4.

Text type	Number of words	Percentage
Conversation	17,867	0.43
Interview	98,059	2.36
News (spoken)	44,874	1.08
Public speech	296,254	7.13
<i>Spoken (Total)</i>	<i>457,054</i>	<i>11.0</i>
Information items	16,620	0.40
Law and administration	186,145	4.48
Literature	382,263	9.20
Private	13,711	0.33
Popularized non-fiction	1,289,724	31.04
News	677,272	16.30
Other	55,262	1.33
Academic	633,643	15.25
Opinion articles	443,342	10.67
<i>Written (Total)</i>	<i>3,697,982</i>	<i>89.0</i>

Table 1 Size of text types in the CGT4

As can be seen in Table 1, the percentage of spoken data (11% of the corpus) is much lower than the percentage of written data (89% of the corpus). In addition, the percentages of the specific text types differ largely: for example, public speeches occupy approximately two thirds of the spoken corpus, while conversation hardly occupies one half percent out of the total 11% of the spoken corpus.

First, a frequency list of all words in the corpus was made using the wordlist function of Wordsmith Tools 5.0 (Scott 2008). The list was sorted in reverse alphabetical order (so that tokens with the same ending were clustered together) and all verbs formed by *-pió* were then manually identified. It is important to note that we did not search for the participles of *-pió* verbs, excluding thus from the list the (usually rare) periphrastic types of the present perfect and past perfect in the passive voice (*ime* ‘to be’ + past participle). This choice was also theoretically driven, since the inclusion of these periphrastic types in the tense system of Greek is controversial.³

After the compilation of the list, items with a problematic status were removed, following a standard procedure in the literature (see e.g. Plag 1999: 28-29, Plag et al. 1999: 214, Fradin et al. 2008: 38ff.). In particular, all verbs displaying derivational inner cycles, i.e. derived by prefixation (e.g. *apostaðero-pió* ‘to destabilize’) and composition (e.g. *proto-xrisimo-pió* ‘to use for the first time’) were excluded. Items which fall into the category of “base-less derivatives”, as Gaeta and Ricca (2003: 71) call them, were also removed from the lists. For instance, the verb *posostiko-pió* ‘to quantify’ was excluded, since its base **posostiko-* does not exist as such in Greek; this is rather a merging of *posotikós* and *posostó*. In addition, items “semantically opaque but formally analyzable” in terms of Plag et al. (1999: 214), such as *ikano-pió* ‘to satisfy’, which cannot be semantically related to the adjective *ikanós* ‘capable’, or *tropo-pió* ‘to modify’, which cannot be semantically related to the noun *trópos* ‘means’, were also excluded from the final list. Finally, a few verbs in which *-pió* is a compound element, combining with prefixes, such as *ek-pió* ‘to sell up’, *para-pió* ‘to counterfeit’ and *meta-pió* ‘to remake/to alter’, were not included. It is interesting to note that the majority of the types removed from the list were verbs derived by prefixation.

The application of these criteria reduced the number of tokens under study. Details for the number of tokens in the raw data, i.e. the total number of tokens in the corpus before clearing the data, are given in Table 2.

Suffixes	Raw data	Data after clearing		
	Tokens	Tokens	Types	Hapax legomena
<i>-pió</i>	6,195	5,130	132	40

Table 2 Frequencies in raw data and after clearing

³ See, for example, Moser (1994: 140ff.), where it is supported that these structures in Standard Modern Greek are mainly stative predicates, something which means that they are not principally used for tense distinctions.

The tokens selected for the study were manually lemmatized and the number of hapax legomena was counted. The number of types, as well as the number of hapaxes found in the data included in the study, is also shown in Table 2. The selected tokens and types of *-pió*, as well as its hapaxes, were searched in the corpus as a whole, in the written and spoken registers and in each individual text type included in the CGT4. This search can offer valuable information about the relation of the productivity of *-pió* to written and spoken registers and text types.

The substantial differences in the overall size of the subcorpora (see Table 1) prompted us to resort to a family of parametric statistical methods, called Large-Number-of-Rare-Events (LNRE) models (for an overview see Baayen 2001). LNRE models can be used to quantify the relative productivity of two or more morphological processes by looking at their vocabulary growth rate as sample size increases. An LNRE model attempts to estimate the expected number of types (the vocabulary size) both at smaller sample sizes (interpolation) and at larger sample sizes (extrapolation), based on the counts of low frequency types in the corpus (the frequency spectrum). The technique of extrapolation produces the expected values of types for arbitrary values of tokens, larger than the empirical number of tokens. Currently, three major models are available: Generalized Inverse Gauss-Poisson (GIGP; Baayen 2001), finite Zipf-Mandelbrot and Zipf-Mandelbrot (fZM and ZM; Baroni & Evert 2006). These models are implemented in the package zipfR (Baroni & Evert 2006), a tool for lexical statistics in the R language, which is used in this study.

In order to address research question (a), regarding the productivity of *-pió* as compared to that of the eight Greek suffixes, an appropriate LNRE model is first computed and a corresponding growth curve is obtained for the suffix with the highest number of tokens (*-ízo*). Then, this model is used to extrapolate the growth curves of the other suffixes up to the size of *-ízo*. The appropriateness of each model for the data is assessed by a multivariate goodness-of-fit test (Baayen 2001: 118-122). To further assess model fit, the observed frequency spectrum of each suffix and *-pió* is compared with the fitted model predictions. The growth curves are graphed for 100 equally sized intervals and 95% confidence intervals are plotted around the curves. A 95% confidence interval for V gives the range of values that V is most likely to have when calculated for new corpora of the same design and size.

The difference in productivity of *-pió* across spoken and written registers (research question b), is explored in a similar manner to (a). The growth curves of *-pió* are plotted for 40 equally sized intervals up to the number of tokens sampled for it in the written subcorpus, the largest subcorpus of the CGT4. The growth rates P of the vocabulary are calculated for both the largest and the smallest sample size.

The investigation of differences in suffix productivity across different text types (research question c) is only relevant for the five largest text types in the CGT4 (literature, news, popularized non-fiction, academic and opinion articles). For the remaining text types, there are cases where the number of different tokens and types are not sufficient to fit an LNRE model or the model fit is not acceptable. In this context, an appropriate LNRE model is computed for each text type in the interval [1, 15316].

5. Results

The morphological productivity of *-pió* has been measured in relation to that of the eight verb-forming suffixes (*-áro*, *-éno*, *-évo*, *-íno*, *-ízo*, *-(i)ázo*, *-jázo* and *-óno*) studied in Efthymiou et al. (2012). The vocabulary growth curves of *-pió* and the eight suffixes in CGT4 are presented in Figure 1. The figure illustrates how vocabulary size, i.e. the number of types, shown on the vertical axis, increases as one reads through the tokens of the corpus, plotted on the horizontal axis. The number of types plotted corresponds to the expected vocabulary size $E[V(N)]$, i.e. the number of different types one may expect to count on average for a great many different orderings of the text fragments in a given corpus. A finite Zipf Mandelbrot model was fitted for the majority of suffixes, with the exceptions of *-ízo* and *-évo*, where a Generalized Inverse Gauss-Poisson (GIGP) model performed much better.

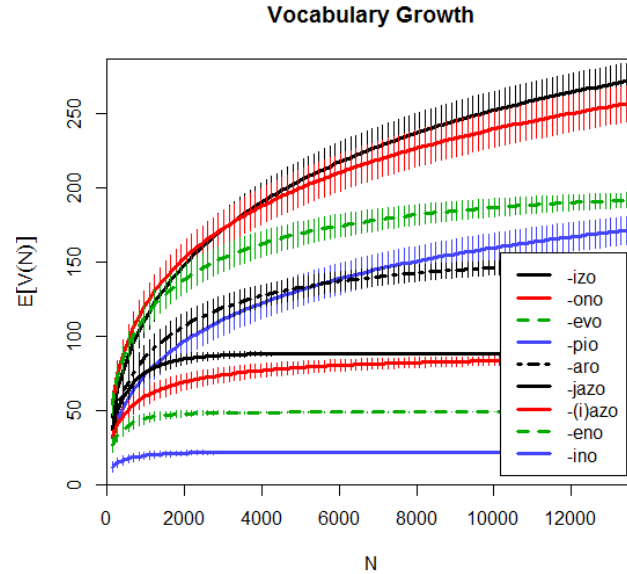


Figure 1 The expected number of types $E[V(N)]$ for *-pió* and the eight suffixes in the CGT4 as a function of the size in tokens N of the suffix *-izo* (with 95% confidence intervals)

The growth curves are plotted for 100 equally sized intervals between 1 and 15316, which stands for the number of tokens sampled for *-izo* in the corpus. Figure 1 also plots 95% confidence intervals around the vocabulary growth curves. By means of the resulting vocabulary growth curves, we can easily compare the productivity of *-pió* and the eight suffixes for a range of different values of corpus sizes N (cf. Plag et al. 1999 for a similar approach to some English affixes). Two curves can be regarded as significantly different, if one is outside the confidence interval of the other.

According to our analysis in Efthymiou et al. (2012), there are three main sets of suffixes: (a) the very productive suffixes (*-izo* and *-óno*), (b) the moderately productive suffixes (*-évo* and *-áro*) and (c) the least productive or unproductive suffixes (*-jazo*, *-(i)ázo*, *-éno* and *-ino*). The vocabulary curve of *-pió* is similar to that of moderately productive suffixes. In particular, *-pió* is less productive than *-izo*, *-óno* and *-évo* and more productive than *-jazo*, *-(i)ázo*, *-éno* and *-ino*. The confidence intervals of *-pió* and *-áro* considerably overlap; thus it is difficult to decide which of the two is the most productive.

The results for *-pió* can be considered reliable, since the overall model fit was found to be satisfactory, when further assessed by comparing the observed frequency spectra of *-pió* with the fitted model predictions. A frequency spectrum is the number of types per frequency class, i.e. how many types occur once, twice and so on (cf. Baayen 2001). Figure 2 demonstrates the observed frequency spectrum and the fitted predictions for *-pió*. As the plot indicates, there are evidently some problems, especially at two, six and nine occurrences. These discrepancies can be attributed to possible violations of the randomness assumption of the models or to insufficient sample size. However, the overall fit appears to be satisfactory.

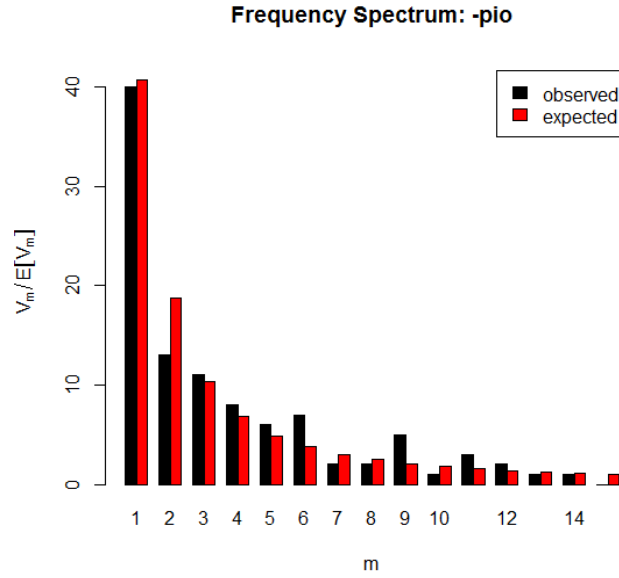


Figure 2 Frequency spectrum for *-pio* alongside predictions of the finite Zipf-Mandelbrot (fZM) model ($\chi^2(3) = 1.44$, $p = 0.742$). The y-axis shows the observed and expected number of types V that occur exactly m times. The plot shows the 15 types with the lowest frequencies.

5.1 Productivity of *-pio* across spoken and written registers

In order to estimate the productivity of *-pio* across the spoken and written registers of the CGT4, we have created the growth curves for 40 equally-sized intervals between 1 and the number of tokens sampled for the suffix in the written subcorpus. According to Figure 3, *-pio* is more productive in written than in spoken registers.

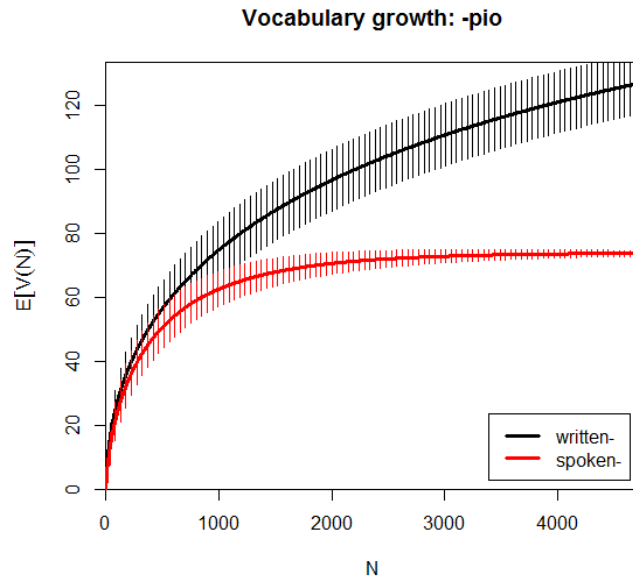


Figure 3 The expected number of types $E[V(N)]$ for *-pio* (calculated by means of the finite Zipf-Mandelbrot (fZM) model) in the written and spoken subcorpora of the CGT4 as a function of the size in tokens N sampled for *-pio* in the written subcorpus (with 95% confidence intervals)

Table 3 shows the potential productivity of *-pio* based on the largest (i.e. written) and the smallest (i.e. spoken) sample size.

Suffix	N(Written)		N(Spoken)	
	Written	Spoken	Written	Spoken
<i>-pio</i>	0.0075	0.0001	0.0559	0.0474

Table 3 Potential productivity of *-pió* across written and spoken registers at different values of *N*

The results are similar with the ones derived from the growth curves: *-pió* is more productive in written than spoken registers, since it presents higher scores in the column “Written” for both points of reference (compare columns “N(Written)” and “N(Spoken)”).

5.2 Productivity of *-pió* across text types

In this section we present a comparison of the contribution of *-pió* to the growth of the vocabulary of the largest written subcorpora in the CGT4, namely literature, news, popularized non-fiction, academic and opinion articles. Figure 3 visualises the growth curves for the five text types. The curves are plotted for 100 equally sized intervals between 1 and 15316, the number of tokens sampled for *-izo* in the corpus. *-pió* tends to yield more types in opinion articles, academic texts and popularized non-fiction, while it is least productive in news and literature. It is also notable that the curve for opinion articles is almost always above the curves for the other text types, which shows the greater potential of *-pió* to form new words in opinion articles.

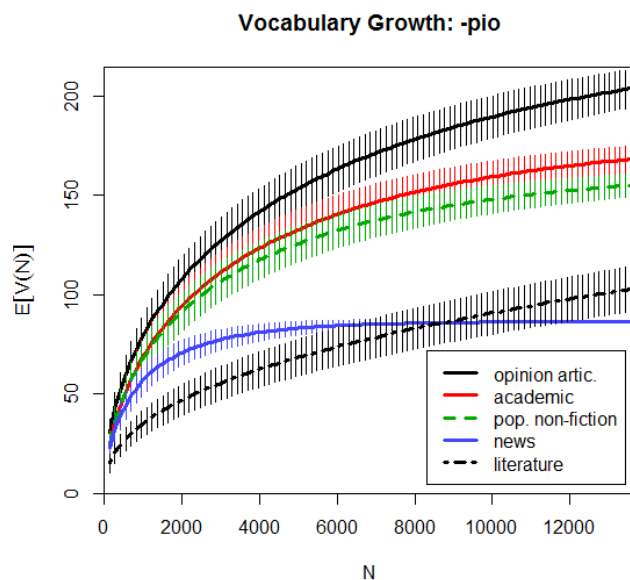


Figure 4 The expected number of types $E[V(N)]$ for *-pió* in each text type as a function of the size in tokens *N* of the suffix *-izo* (with 95% confidence intervals)

Table 4 shows the potential and realized productivity of the five text types in the interval [1, 15316] in ascending order.

Text types	Potential	Realized
Literature	0.0067	73.67
News	0.0051	79.58
Popularized non-fiction	0.0100	128.92
Academic texts	0.0110	134.06
Opinion articles	0.0133	157.75

Table 4 Realized and potential productivity of *-pió* by text type for $N = 15316$

The results are similar with the ones derived from the growth curves: *-pió* is more productive in opinion articles and less productive in literature. Table 4 also confirms the pattern observed in Figure 4, that *-pió* is more productive in the set of text types including opinion articles, academic texts and popularized non-fiction texts than in the set consisting of news and literature.

6. Discussion and conclusions

As shown in the previous section, the affixoid *-pió* has proven to be a moderately productive verb-forming element, which can be considered to belong to the same set of verb-forming elements as the suffixes *-évo* and *-áro*. More specifically, *-pió* is found to be less productive than *-ízo* and *-óno*, which are the most productive Modern Greek suffixes, and more productive than *-jázo*, *-(i)ázo*, *-éno* and *-ino*. In the set of verb-forming elements with moderate productivity *-évo* stands at some remove from the other members, while the relation between *-pió* and *-áro* is complicated. As observed in section 5 (see Figure 1), the confidence intervals of *-pió* and *-áro* considerably overlap and thus it is difficult to decide which is the most productive. Both verb-forming elements present a rather high number of hapaxes in the data (approximately one third of their types are hapax legomena; see Table 2 for *-pió* and Efthymiou et al. 2012 for *-áro*), something which suggests that the probability of finding new words formed by these elements is very high. Apart from their similarities regarding productivity scores and number of hapaxes, *-pió* and *-áro* are both relatively new verb-forming elements in the history of Greek, which seem to enter in competition with older Modern Greek verb-forming suffixes, such as *-évo*, *-ízo* and *-óno* (see e.g. Anastassiadis-Symeonidis 1986; cf. Efthymiou et al. 2012). They are also both related to the introduction of loan words in Greek, following, however, a different path: *-áro* shows preference for non-native bases (e.g. *tsekáro* ‘to check’, base: *tsek* ‘check’), while *-pió* is frequently used in verbs which are loan translations of English (or French) suffixed verbs. This common characteristic of *-pió* and *-áro* can provide an explanation of their relatively high productivity, taking into account that other suffixes like *-ízo*, which were used in order to accommodate foreign loan words, are also very productive (see Anastassiadis-Symeonidis 1994, Ralli 2011).

Moreover, the attempt to refine the findings on the productivity patterns of *-pió* by looking at its productivity across written and spoken registers, on the one hand, and text types, on the other, has also yielded significant results. As was observed, *-pió* is more productive in written than spoken registers, a finding that can be related to the [+learned] character of the verbs it forms. It is worth noting here that the preference of *-pió* for written registers is not divergent, but is rather common; as our study of Greek verb-forming suffixes has indicated (Efthymiou et al. 2012), only two out of eight suffixes were found to be more productive in spoken than written registers. This result seems to confirm the observation found in the literature that written language is lexically richer than spoken language (Plag et al. 1999; cf. Biber et al. 1999: 53).

Although *-pió* and *-áro* are observed to have similar productivity scores, they show mirror image preferences as regards their productivity in spoken and written texts: *-pió* is more productive in written than spoken registers, whereas *-áro* appears to be more productive in spoken texts. As observed in Efthymiou et al. (2012), the high productivity of *-áro* in spoken texts can be related to the [-learned] or [+/-learned] character of its derivatives, which generally belong to everyday vocabulary, used in spoken interaction (e.g. *frenáro* ‘to brake’). In contrast, *-pió* usually forms verbs with a [+learned] character, which are mostly expected in formal or written texts. The observation that two verb-forming elements with similar productivity scores can show opposite preferences in terms of registers suggests that the study of productivity across spoken and written registers can be very useful in drawing a refined picture of verb-forming elements.

Turning to the productivity pattern of *-pió* across text types, it should be noted that the search was only possible for the five largest text types (i.e. literature, popularized non-fiction texts, opinion articles, news and academic texts), because of the relatively small size of the other text types. As observed in section 5 (see Figure 4), it was found that *-pió* tends to yield more types in opinion articles, academic texts and popularized non-fiction, while it is least productive in news and literature. The study of the particular verbs formed by *-pió* in each text type shows that it is more productive in text types containing a large amount of terminology. For instance, opinion articles, in which *-pió* is most productive, contain many terms related to economy, politics or other social issues such as *refstopió* ‘to liquidate’, *iðiotikopió* ‘to privatize’, *pangozmiopió* ‘to globalize’, *anotatopiúme* ‘to become a University, for Polytechnics’. Similarly, academic texts present a high number of academic terms such as *kanonikopió* ‘to normalize’, *lektikopió* ‘to verbalize’, *fisiolojikopió* ‘to naturalize’, *tiçeopió* ‘to make something accidental’. Popularized non-fiction texts have a wide range of terminology related to various aspects of life (e.g. *eðnikopió* ‘to nationalize’, *astikopió* ‘to urbanize’, *adiavroxopió* ‘to make something waterproof’), as well as evaluative vocabulary such as *iroopió* ‘to turn someone into a hero’ and *periðoriopió* ‘to marginalize’. Finally, news and literature abound in everyday vocabulary such as *xrisimopió* ‘to use’, *praymatopió* ‘to realize’. It is worth noting that the majority of the verbs mentioned above are loan translations of English or French suffixed verbs.

Furthermore, the combination of quantitative evidence with qualitative observations (e.g. semantic, syntactic or other properties of verb-forming elements) seems to explain the productivity rankings of the items studied, an assumption also found in the literature (see, for example, Plag 1999). The example of *-pió*, *-évo* and *-áro* is characteristic: although *-pió* is used with only three meanings (instead of seven for *-évo* and *-áro*), it appears that its fewer phonological and morphological constraints, in comparison with *-évo* and *-áro* (see section 2 and Efthymiou et al. 2012), balance out its smaller number of meanings so that it shows similar productivity scores with them.

Finally, we believe that the findings concerning the productivity of *-pió* may offer evidence about its morphological status. In particular, the relatively high productivity of *-pió* could be considered as supporting the view that it has become a suffix in Greek. This suggestion could form a research hypothesis to be explored in a future research e.g. by measuring *-pió*'s productivity in relation to that of other affixoids.

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THE FORM AND DISTRIBUTION OF SOME NEGLECTED MORPHOSYNTACTIC CATEGORIES IN THE HISTORY OF GREEK

Ioannis Fykias

University
of Salzburg, Austria
ioannis.fykias@sbg.ac.at

Christina Katsikadeli

University
of Salzburg, Austria
christina.katsikadeli@sbg.ac.at

ABSTRACT

In the present paper, we focus attention on the realization of the morphosyntactic Case category: Locative, and the Number (and Gender) category: Collective within the nominal and the pronominal paradigms and we examine their distinctive syntactic distribution in some special contexts and domains (e.g. Locative in connection with prepositional constructions, cf. Fykias 1997, 2003) in the course of the history of the Greek language, as well as some distinctive morphological and semantic properties (in the case of Collective). On the basis of widely accepted criteria, it is argued in favor of including these categories to the inventory of morphosyntactic categories of certain phases of Ancient and Modern Greek.

1. Introduction

From a purely typological point of view, *Case* distinctions such as *Locative* and *Comitative*, and *Number* distinctions like *Collective*, are far from unusual in a wide spectrum of languages. On the other hand, the conditions necessary for unanimously recognizing these morphosyntactic distinctions as a genuine part of the inventory of basic grammatical categories of a particular language seem to involve a) the *grammatical tradition* of the language involved (i.e. whether these distinctions have been established as grammatical categories in influential monumental accounts), and b) their *morphological representation*: one of the most prominent criteria seems to be whether the respective categories are realized – in a maximally distinctive fashion – (e.g. as specialized affixes) within the *nominal* paradigm.

In most standard analyses of Modern Greek, the categories mentioned above have not received special attention. One of the reasons for their exclusion from the set of basic grammatical categories is probably the fact that they are not overtly morphologically realized (as distinctive endings) within the nominal paradigm of Modern Greek (in the strict sense of the term), although there is ample evidence for the existence of those distinctions in Early Ancient Greek as well as in some Ancient Greek dialects (cf. Luraghi 2003, Seiler 1959), provided that we are ready to operate with standard heuristic procedures used by descriptive linguistics.

1.1 Locative and Instrumental in Archaic Greek

Within the framework of historical comparative Indo-European linguistics, the *communis opinio* purports that a limited number of forms attested in Classical Greek documents (as in 1 and 2 below) represent genuine instances of continuation of Indo-European Locative case.

- (1) Attic οἶκῳ (Dat.): οἶκοι (Loc. “at home”)

The two forms in (1a) are both morphologically and semantically clearly distinct. The locative formatives also occur mainly in association with some place names (e.g. Ἴσθμοι “on the Isthmos”).

- (2) Relics of earlier (paradigmatic) locative forms ending in -οι and -ει (ποῖ “where”, ἐκεῖ “there”), or respectively instrumental forms ending in -ω, -ᾱ, -ῃ (οὕτως “so”, λάθρα “in secret”, παντὶ “everywhere”). The form ending in -ω also occurs in adverbs that are canonically derived from

adjectives with the addition of -ς, compare κακῶς “badly” (cf. Wackernagel 2009: 371, Lorentzatos 1989, 34-39, Bartonek 2003: 151).

(3) This interpretation has been corroborated by the evidence adduced in connection with the discovery of Mycenaean Linear B tablets. In the Linear B documents, there were identified some dozens of lexical items with the ending -pi, that corresponds to the Homeric -φι. In the Mycenaean, however, this ending has a far more unambiguous function than -φι in Homer. It occurs only as plural ending and has an instrumental meaning. (vs. ἰφι “with force”)

(4) It has been standardly assumed that the case system in Mycenaean Greek consisted of 6 paradigmatic cases (Nom., Gen., Dat.-Loc., Acc., Voc., Instr.-Abl.). This pertains to masculine and feminine nouns in singular (cf. Bartoněk 2003: 160f). Syncretism of dative, locative and instrumental in Ancient Greek is clearly visible from morphology: the endings of the dative case in the various inflectional classes correspond to different endings of all three cases in the other Indo-European languages. The three cases did not merge at the same time: the earliest Greek texts, the Mycenaean tablets (about 1150 BCE), provide evidence for a stage at which the dative and the locative had already merged, but the instrumental was still distinct. (Bartonek 2003: 161-2, Hajnal 2006: 58-62). Later in the history of Greek (i.e. in the historical periods of Classical Greek and Hellenistic Greek) we could claim that there no forms of locative and instrumental attested. But at some point in the stage of Modern Greek we can show that there is a revival of the locative along with some cases.

A key to understanding this development is capturing some parallel developments in the grammatical system which led to a dramatic reorganization in the domain of pronominals. A grammatical phenomenon that has repeatedly been observed in the history of a great number of languages is the remodeling of the *nominal* system under the influence of the *pronominal* system and vice versa. This diachronic process has been documented in the history of many Indo-European languages, among which Greek takes a prominent position, both because of its long history and its documentation (at least as far as some important periods are concerned). The *morphological* dimension of this issue has received much attention in historical and theoretical linguistic studies. The evolution of both nominal and pronominal endings and the development of a separate set of clitic pronouns with distinctive properties belong to the well studied aspects of this issue (Dressler 1966, Seiler 1958). Dressler 1966: 39f offers a diagram outlining the reshaping of the system of personal pronouns of Greek in three successive periods.

(5) distinction full noun-accented pronoun- clitic pronoun

Classical Greek

1P.		2. P.		3. P.	
stressed	unstressed	stressed	unstressed	stressed	unstressed
ἐγώ	--	σύ	--	αὐτός, -ό, -ή	--
ἐμοῦ μου		σοῦ σου		αὐτοῦ, ἧς	αὐτοῦ, ἧς
ἐμοί μοι		σοί σοι		αὐτῷ, ἧ	αὐτῷ, ἧ
ἐμέ με		σέ σε		αὐτόν, -ό, -ήν	αὐτόν, -ο, -ην
ἡμεῖς	--	ὑμεῖς	--	αὐτοί, -ά, αἱ	--
ἡμῶν	ἡμῶν	ὑμῶν	ὑμῶν	αὐτῶν	αὐτῶν
ἡμῖν ἡμῖν		ὑμῖν ὑμῖν		αὐτοῖς, -αῖς	αὐτοῖς, -αῖς
ἡμᾶς ἡμᾶς		ὑμᾶς ὑμᾶς		αὐτούς, -ά, -άς	αὐτούς, -α, -ας

B. Imperial Greek

ἐγώ	--	ἐσύ	--	αὐτός, -ό, -ή	--
ἐμοῦ μου		ἐσοῦ σου		αὐτοῦ, ἧς	του, της
ἐμέν με		ἐσέν σε		αὐτόν, -ό, -ήν	τον, το, την
ἐμεῖς	--	ἐσεῖς	--	αὐτοί, -ά, αἱ	--
ἐμῶν	μῶν	ἐσῶν	σῶν	αὐτῶν	των
ἐμᾶς μας		ἐσᾶς σας		αὐτούς, -ά, -άς	τους, τα, τες

C. Modern Greek

εγώ --	εσύ --	αυτός, -ό, -ή	--
εμένα μου	εσένα σου	αυτού, -ής	του, της
με	σε	αυτόν, -ό, -ήν	τον, το, την
εμείς--	εσείς --	αυτοί, -ά, -ές,	--
εμάς μας	εσάς σας	αυτών	τους
		αυτούς, -ά, -ές	τους, τα, τις/τες

1.2 The case distinctions of Modern Greek

In this paper, we will set out to pinpoint at some rather neglected aspects of the *purely syntactic* behaviour of tonic and *clitic* pronouns. Focussing on their case behaviour in connection with prepositions and adverbs, we compare the system of cases of Modern Greek (MG) with the case system of Ancient Greek (Classical and Hellenistic). Our working hypothesis is that the case system of clitic pronouns began to develop independently from the case system of lexical nouns and tonic pronouns at some very crucial points at some point after the first centuries A.D. One of the crucial parameters seems to involve the distinction: *structural* vs. *oblique* case (stated in moderately descriptive terms).

In Fykias 1995, 1997, there was presented some evidence supporting the existence of *Locative* and *Comitative* as independent abstract cases of MG in the context of complex PPs with locative or comitative meaning. Those cases are not commonly assumed to constitute a natural part of the case system of MG, partly because they are difficult to detect, since they are not canonically realized as morphological cases in nouns and in tonic pronouns. Their distribution is strictly limited to *clitic pronouns* in morphological *Genitive* in the aforementioned contexts. Nevertheless, specific semantic and distributional properties (see 6-9 below) clearly distinguish the cases instantiated in clitics in these special contexts (e.g. πάνω του, μαζί του) from the homonymous *Possessive Genitive* (e.g. το βιβλίο του).

- | | |
|---------------------------------|---|
| (6) a. πάνω τους | upon them |
| b. μαζί τους | together with them |
| c. εναντίον τους | against them |
| (7) a. * πάνω των σπιτιών | upon the houses GEN |
| b. * μαζί των παιδιών | together the children GEN |
| c. εναντίον των παιδιών | against the children GEN |
| (8) a. * πάνω τους των σπιτιών | upon them GEN the houses GEN |
| b. * μαζί τους των παιδιών | together them GEN the children GEN |
| c. (?)εναντίον τους των παιδιών | against them GEN the children GEN |
| d. * μαζί τους με τα παιδιά | together them GEN with the children ACC |
| e. εναντίον του του Γιάννη | against him GEN the Jannis GEN |
| (9) a. το σπίτι του Γιάννη | the house the Jannis GEN |
| b. το σπίτι του | the house him GEN |
| c. (?)το σπίτι του του Γιάννη | the house him GEN the Jannis GEN |

The special semantic or thematic properties of the prepositional constructions are the relevant factor, as far as case behavior or even the mere availability of the clitic are concerned. In Fykias 1997 it was shown, that there are crucial grammaticality differences distinguishing combinations involving instances of the same preposition depending on whether this lexical item has the genuine locative reading or not, as illustrated in sequences like the following in (10):

(10a) *αυτό είναι το άρθρο/θέμα που η καθηγήτρια έκανε μια διάλεξη πάνω του
This is the article/topic that the professor held a lecture on it

(10bi) * αυτό είναι το άρθρο/ βιβλίο που η Μαρία έγραψε μια κριτική πάνω του
this is the article/ book that the Maria wrote a review on it
(theme reading)

(10bii) αυτό είναι το βιβλίο που πάνω του η Μαρία έγραψε μια κριτική/σημείωση
this is the book that the Maria wrote a review/note on it
(locative reading)

The *πάνω* + *Clitic_{gen}* combination is possible only under a strict locative reading of *πάνω* (7bii). There seems to be a close connection between the presence of what can be interpreted as a genuine locative feature in *πάνω*, and the possibility to obtain the sequence *πάνω* + *Clitic_{gen}*. This fact could not be explained, if a general nominal genitive feature were responsible for the case of the clitic. The hypothesis, that the locative nature of the construction is the decisive factor, receives additional support, if we apply standard substitution tests such as the Question-Answer test by employing the specifically locative *πού* - *wh-question*, as in (11).

(11) πού πάνω έγραψε η Μαρία μια κριτική;
πάνω στο βιβλίο (only locative reading possible)

πάνω σε τί έγραψε η Μαρία μια κριτική;
πάνω στο βιβλίο (both readings are possible)

As soon as a locative interpretation is secured, the P + Clitic combination becomes possible. Under consideration of all those facts, one can arrive at a general comprehensive typology of MG prepositions and preposition-like elements which can be subsumed under (9):

(12) General typology of MG Prepositions

Type I Prepositions are prepositions co-occurring either with a full ‘nominal phrase’ or with a “tonic pronoun” realized as morphological accusative but not with clitics. We can divide Type I Prepositions into the following subtypes:

Type Ia: σε (in, at, to), από (from), με (with), για (for)

Type Ib: (privative) χωρίς (without), δίχως (without), έως / ως (up to), μέχρι (up to), ίσαμε (up to), (concessive) παρά (despite, inspite of), κατά (according to)

Type Ic: (temporal) μετά (after), πριν (before), επί (during), κατά (during), κατά (at about)

Type II Prepositions are prepositions co-occurring either with a Prepositional Phrase headed by some Type Ia prepositions (like σε, από and με), which take a full nominal phrase or a tonic pronoun in morphological Accusative as a complement, or with a *Clitic Pronoun* morphologically realized as Genitive (e.g. του, της in a combination like μαζί του (with him or accompanying him)). This *prima facie* exotic alternation is their trade mark, as it were.

Type II a. Locative: (ε)πάνω (upon, on), κάτω (under), μπροστά /εμπρός (in front of), πίσω (behind), μέσα (in, inside), έξω (outside, beyond), ανάμεσα (between), δίπλα (beside), πλάι κοντά (near), μακριά (far away from)

Type II b.

Comitative: μαζί (together with)

Type II c. or rather Type IV

Temporal: (+ από απο) ύστερα, έπειτα, μετά (after), πριν (before)

Manner: σύμφωνα με, ανάλογα με

Type III Prepositions co-occurring either with a full nominal phrase realized as morphological Genitive or a Clitic pronoun also realized as Genitive (e.g. εναντίον του Πέτρου (against Petros-GEN) and also εναντίον του). Apart from εναντίον, ενώπιον, there are less clear cases like κατά (against),

υπέρ (in favour of), μεταξύ (among, between), εξαιτίας (because of), εις βάρος, κατά τη διάρκεια (during).

In Fykias 2003: 656, there was adduced distributional evidence for an additional abstract case, namely *Oblique Accusative* in the context of prepositions assigning morphological Accusative like σε, από but also χωρίς. The distribution of Oblique Accusative is restricted to *tonic pronouns* and lexical nouns.

So the essentials of the analysis proposed can be subsumed as (13a) and (13b):

Assumptions:

(13a) Clitic pronouns cannot manifest all abstract cases available in Modern Greek.

(13b) Lexical nouns and tonic pronouns cannot manifest all abstract cases available in Modern Greek.

Table (14) illustrates a *tentative* sketch of the system of abstract cases in MG as well as their distribution depending on the exact nature of the nominal categories that they are associated with. It is conceived of as an answer to the question of whether the abstract cases under consideration are available or not.

(14)

	Lexical nouns	& tonic pronouns	Clitic pronouns
Structural accusative:	yes		yes
<u>Oblique accusative:</u>	yes		no
Dative:	yes		yes
Possessive:	yes		yes
<u>Partitive:</u>	no		yes
<u>Locative:</u>	no		yes
<u>Comitative:</u>	no		yes

The context of Oblique Accusative

(15)a. πήγα με τον Γιάννη

(15)b. *πήγα με τον

(16)a. πήγα χωρίς τον Γιάννη

(16)b. *πήγα χωρίς τον

(17) a. μετά (από) τον Γιάννη

(17) b. *μετά τον

(17)c. μετά *(από) αυτόν

There has been no convincing explanation of the fact that the configuration: (*morphological*) *Accusative* “*assigning*” *preposition* + *accusative clitic pronoun* is simply not available in MG. The analyses suggested so far fail to account for the fact that the same generalization applies to type Ib and type Ic prepositions as well (see 12). A **clitic-clitic* filter account cannot be the right answer for configurations involving stressed type Ib prepositions like μέχρι, χωρίς, (the trisyllabic!) ίσαμε, έως. On the other hand, there is ample evidence that the **clitic-clitic* filter solution is a far too powerful explanation, as the acceptability of examples like (18) below, involving type II and type III prepositions clearly suggests.

(18) θέλετε τον καφέ μέ ή χωρίς ζάχαρη;
do you like the coffee with or without sugar?

2. Locating diachronic changes and variation

As mentioned above, reliable morphological evidence shows that the case system of clitic pronouns has developed independently from the case system of lexical nouns. The crucial parameter seems to

involve the distinction *structural* vs. *oblique case*, and this distinction enables us to capture significant descriptive generalizations on structural and oblique abstract cases both in the synchrony and in the diachrony of Greek.

Examples with locative quasi prepositional items of New Testament (NT) Greek like ἐπάνω, “upon”, ὀπίσω “behind” and ἐνώπιον “in the sight of” that are still present in MG (in the case of ἐνώπιον in a more formal/learned register of MG) and illustrate that, in NT Greek, there was *no asymmetry* between clitic pronouns on the one hand and lexical nouns and tonic pronouns on the other, as far as case distribution is concerned. Remarkably, we are in the fortunate position to compare the behaviour of the same lexical items in the course of their history and development. Nevertheless, there is a methodological limitation in connection with the second part of the syntagma *preposition + pronominal*: Only in the case of the 1st person singular we can clearly distinguish between tonic pronouns and clitics (in particular ἐμοῦ vs. μου, ἐμοί vs. μοι, and ἐμέ vs. με), as far as AG pronominal data are involved, cf. the following examples (19)

(19a) ὀπίσω + full lexical noun in morphological genitive

(i) 1Ti 5:15 ἤδη γάρ τινες ἐξετράπησαν ὀπίσω τοῦ Σατανᾶ.

“For some (widows) have already turned *away to follow Satan*. (lit. behind Satan)”

(ii) 2Pe 2:10 μάλιστα δὲ τοὺς ὀπίσω σαρκὸς ἐν ἐπιθυμίᾳ μiasμοῦ πορευομένους

“especially *those who satisfy their flesh* (lit. the ones behind the flesh) by indulging in its passions”

(19b) ὀπίσω + tonic pronoun in morphological genitive

(19c) ὀπίσω + clitic pronoun in morphological genitive

(i) Mat 3:11 ὁ δὲ ὀπίσω μου ἐρχόμενος ἰσχυρότερός μου ἐστίν,

“but the one who is coming *after me* is stronger than I am,”

(ii) Mat 4:19 Δεῦτε ὀπίσω μου, καὶ ποιήσω ὑμᾶς ἁλεῖς ἀνθρώπων.

“Come *after Me*, and I will make you fishers of people.”

(20) a. ἐπάνω + full lexical noun in morphological genitive

Mat 5:14 οὐ δύναται πόλις κρυβῆναι ἐπάνω ὄρους κειμένη

“A city located *on a hill* can't be hidden”

b. ἐπάνω + tonic pronoun in morphological genitive

Mat 21:7 καὶ ἐπέθηκαν ἐπ' αὐτῶν τὰ ἱμάτια, καὶ ἐπεκάθισεν ἐπάνω αὐτῶν.

“and did put on them their garments, and set *him* upon them”

Mat 23:18 ὃς δ' ἂν ὁμώσει ἐν τῷ δώρῳ τῷ ἐπάνω αὐτοῦ ὀφείλει:

but whoever may swear by the gift that is upon it--is debtor!

c. ἐπάνω+ clitic pronoun in morphological genitive

LXX 2Sa 1:9 Στήθι δὴ ἐπάνω μου καὶ θανάτωσόν με.

“Stand, I pray thee, *beside me*, and slay me”

In sharp contrast to the MG-pattern in (15-17 above) there is a remarkable parallelism between (21) to the pattern possessive constructions canonically instantiate. Finally, there are prepositions like ἐνώπιον or ἐναντίον which have preserved the same pattern (but at least in the case of ἐναντίον they have changed their meaning) to our times and which essentially behave like a lexical noun cooccurring with possessive genitive.

(21)

Luc 1:15. ἔσται γὰρ μέγας ἐνώπιον Κυρίου,

For he shall be great in the sight of the Lord

Luc 1:17 καὶ αὐτὸς προελεύσεται ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ ἐν πνεύματι καὶ δυνάμει

And he shall go before him in the spirit and power

The following sequences in Mat 3:14 and Luc 1:43 are especially interesting, since they represent some of the very rare known cases of the combination P + accusative Clitic in the history of Greek.

(22)

Mat 3:14 σὺ ἔρχῃ πρὸς με;
comest thou to me (Clitic_{ACC})?

Luc 1:34 εἶπεν δὲ Μαριάμ πρὸς τὸν ἄγγελον
Then said Mary unto the angel

Luc 1.43 ἵνα ἔλθῃ ἡ μήτηρ τοῦ κυρίου μου πρὸς ἐμέ;
that the mother of my Lord should come to me(tonic pronoun_{ACC})?

3. Collective as a morphological and syntactic category of Ancient and Modern Greek

3.1 Ancient Greek

Every student of Ancient Greek is familiar with a rather exotic phenomenon of the Attic dialect, the so-called τὰ ζῷα τρέχει-rule ('the animals are running'), which is very often analyzed in standard grammars as in Smyth 1956: "A neuter plural subject is regarded as a collective and has its verb in the singular: καλὰ ἦν τὰ σφάγια 'the sacrifices were propitious' Xen. A. 4.3.19." with the additional remark: "The neuter plural seems to have been originally in part identical in form with the feminine singular in ā, and to have had a collective meaning". This agreement pattern: subject (neuter plural) + verb (third person singular), was eventually lost. In most of the dialects we have no traces of this pattern. It is preserved most faithfully in Attic Greek, though in the Attic based Koine, it begins to decline, with the result that in the NT and early Christian literature there is considerable variation in its use. Thanks to the progress of Indo-European comparative linguistics it soon became evident, that this usage is not a Greek innovation, since it systematically occurs in Vedic, Avestan and Hittite as well. It is inherited and it reflects the fact that the plural of the neuter does not have the same meaning as the plural of masculine and feminine. Especially important, is Johannes Schmidt's (1889) thesis in his treatise on the plural forms of neuters in Indo-European, regarding the primary relatedness of the neuter plural with certain singular collectives of feminine gender. Wackernagel also adduces a typological argument from languages which make a formal distinction between words for animate and inanimate objects (in Mexicano, for example), only the animate nouns have a plural. (cf. Wackernagel 2009: 136ff). Apart from this most salient rather syntactic feature¹ of collective nouns, it can be shown that they have further traits that are characteristic of this kind of constructions. Among the collective items, we often meet nouns with two plurals like in Hittite (*alpas* 'cloud' *alpes* 'clouds' *alpa* 'cloud-mass') and even in Latin (*locus* 'place' *loci* 'places' *loca* 'places' (Latin / Umbrian Latin *uir* 'man' Latin *uiri* 'men' Umbrian *uiri* 'people')(cf. Clackson 2007 :102). This fact can be illustrated in connection with Greek by means of the following examples:

Nouns with two plurals (cf. Meier-Brügger 2006:116).

Nominative singular	Nominative plural	Collective plural
ἀστήρ 'star'	ἀστέρες	ἄστρα
δεσμός	δεσμοί	δεσμά
ἰός	ιοί	ἰά
κέλευθος	κέλευθοι	κέλευθα
κύκλος 'wheel, circle'	κύκλοι 'circles'	κύκλα 'set of wheels' (of a chariot)
μηρός 'thigh'	μηροί 'thigh-pieces'	μῆρα 'agglomeration of thigh-meat'
οἶκος	οἴκοι	οἴκα-δε
σῖτος		σῖτα
Τάρταρος		Τάρταρα
myc. ka-po=karpós		myc. ka-pa=kárpa
myc. o-no		myc. o-na

¹ Cf. Wackernagel 2009: 139: "The tendency to treat singular nouns with plural meaning as plurals, despite their form, and when, e.g., they are in subject position, to put their verb in the plural (even though this topic really belongs under grammatical agreement). In Greek there are examples already in Homer" and in other poets guided by a *constructio κατά σύνεσιν* principle. Some of the dialects attest in ordinary speech a regular preference for the usage, e.g. Cretan, πόλις, στρατός ('city', 'army') regularly taking a plural verb.

The interpretation of the significance of the original distribution is not always possible. But it appears that what we have called the *-h₂ plural* has more of a collective meaning, and the regular plural has a more distributive meaning; the contrast between these two formations is lexically restricted. Furthermore, it is not difficult to fit a distributive or collective meaning to a certain form according to context, particularly in the case of languages where we only have a restricted corpus (cf. Clackson 2007 :102)

3.2 Collectives in Modern Greek

Is there any justification for assuming collective as a morphosyntactic category: for Modern Greek? If we are ready to categorize as collective constructions that do not fulfill all the criteria but most of the criteria, then we are faced with an interesting situation in Modern Greek. The criterion that is definitely not met is the agreement pattern: subject (preferably neuter plural) + verb (third person singular). For some potential candidates see 22-25 below:

(23)

Nouns occurring only in plural or mainly in a plural form (cf. Triantafyllidis 1991: 224). A great number of common nouns with intrinsically collective meaning: βαφτίσια (baptism ceremony), γένια (beard), γεράματα (old age), εννιάημερα (novena, memorial service held 9 days after a person's death), κάλαντα ((Christmas) carols), λύτρα (ransom), μεσάνυχτα (midnight), μετρητά (cash), παλαμάκια (clapping, applause), παρακάλια (entreaties), παρασκήνια (wings backstage), πεθερικά (in-laws), πρόθυρα (threshold, verge), προικιά (dowry), ρέστα (change), τάρταρα, τρεχάματα (running about, hectic time), χαιρετίσματα (greetings), χαράματα (dawn, daybreak), χειροκροτήματα (clapping, applause) etc.

(24) Words that also belong to this category are a) collective mass nouns par excellence like: ασημικά (silverware), ζυμαρικά (pastry), όσπρια (legumes, pulses), πουλερικά (poultry), χορταρικά (vegetables); b) Words that denote objects which are dual or complex by nature (τα γυαλιά, τα κιάλια) or dvandva compounds like: αμπελοχώραφα (fields and vineyards), γιδοπρόβατα (sheep and goats) , γυναικόπαιδα (women and children) etc.; c) Some nominalized adjectives like: ψιλά (small change), ρηχά (shallows), τα οικονομικά (the economic financial situation), and items meaning denoting reward for some work or task: κόμιστρα (fare, transportation charges), ασφάλιστρα (insurance rate); d) Words denoting a language, like: αρβανίτικα, ελληνικά, κινέζικα etc., cf. Triantafyllidis 1991: 224-5.

(25) Triantafyllidis 1991: 225: a) Names of holidays: Χριστούγεννα,(Christmas), Κούλουμα (Shrove Day feast); b) toponyms²: Σέρρες, Σπέτσες, Ουράλια etc; The name of some cities or towns that is usually a singular may also occur in a plural form: Αθήνα - Αθήνες, Θήβα - Θήβες³.

(26) Nouns with double declension/two plurals:

a) With change of gender in plural: ο πλούτος-τα πλούτη (wealth), ο σανός — τα σανά (hay fodder), ο τάρταρος underworld — τα τάρταρα (the bowels of the earth). The noun νιότη has as plural the form τα νιάτα (that do not have a singular form).

b) With a double gender in plural (the two forms of plural sometimes differ in meaning, cf. Meier-Brügger 2006: 116 on Mycenaean *ka-pa*), namely a plural form in distributive function and a plural form (neuter) in collective function:

ο βάτος οι βάτοι — τα βάτα bramble

ο βράχος οι βράχοι — τα βράχια rock

ο δεσμός οι δεσμοί, bond and with an abstract meaning, δεσμοί φιλίας — τα δεσμά

ο γκρεμνος οι γκρεμνοί — τα γκρεμνά precipice (Triantafyllidis 1991: 257)

ο καπνός οι καπνοί (smoke) — τα καπνά, tobacco

ο λαιμός οι λαιμοί — τα λαιμά for the surface of the neck or the throat and usually for a neck/throat sickness

ο λόγος οι λόγοι — τα λόγια (genitive των λόγων)

ο ναύλος οι ναύλοι fare) — τα ναύλα expenses

² Symeonides 1992: 59 remarks in connection with toponyms based on Greek loans in the language of Albanian speaking Greeks who allot the diminutive suffix -za a new collective meaning, e.g. Βάρκι-ζα, Βελανιδέ-ζα.

³ Toponyms in Pl. like Θήβες occur (mainly) in oblique cases: των Πατρών, των Αθηνών, *οι Αθήνες, *οι Πάτρεις (older forms: Αθήναι, Πάτραι).

The difference reflects a difference in point of view: the singular stresses the nonpersonal collectivity of the group, and the plural stresses the personal individuality within the group.
As a last collective subcategory, it is interesting to note that in MG collective in connection with pronominal categories is also expressed as neuter plural.

- (27) Τα θέλω όλα
I want all things
I want everything

4. Final remarks

Wackernagel (2009: 138) remarks in connection with collective on the possibility for several morphosyntactic constructions and phenomena to recur in the course of the history of a language. “In a sense, the Romance languages regressed to an ancient state of affairs when feminine singulars evolved out of Latin neuter plurals, as in *la voile* ('sail') from Lat. *uela*, or *la joie* ('joy') from Lat. *gaudia*”. In the same vein, Kurylowicz (1964, preface) claims “Such shifts as as iterative>durative ...adverb> ‘concrete case’>grammatical case, collective>plural ... recur constantly and independently in all languages. They represent diachronic universals and must be somehow enrooted, directly or indirectly, in the elementary speech situation.” We are convinced that this possibility of regressing can be utilized in connection with Cases. We believe to have shown that Locative Case in the course of the history of Greek followed a life cycle of a kind, as suggested by Blake 2004 :161f., who notes that “there are some languages, including the Indo-Iranian branch of Indo-European, where the development of ‘new’ case markers is attested”. By about 1150 BCE the dative and the locative had already merged, but the instrumental was still distinct. (Bartonek 2003: 161-2, Hajnal 2006: 58-62). In the historical periods of Classical Greek and Hellenistic Greek there no forms of locative and instrumental attested. But at some point in the stage of MG, there was a revival of the locative in connection with clitic pronouns in the restricted domain of locative prepositional expressions.

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COMPREHENSION IN GREEK-SPEAKING AGRAMMATISM: A CASE STUDY

Valantis Fyndanis

University of Athens &
Technological Educational Institute
of Patras, Greece

valantis.fyndanis@gmail.com

ABSTRACT

This study reports data of a Greek-speaking agrammatic patient on four constrained tasks tapping comprehension of semantically reversible active and passive sentences, subject-verb Agreement, Tense, Aspect, and CP. The results, discussed in light of recent hypotheses, indicate that in agrammatic comprehension—and at least for some patients—canonical and non-canonical sentences may not dissociate and, further, functional categories associated with the verb morphology may be compromised in the face of well-preserved categories located higher in the syntactic hierarchy.

Keywords: agrammatism, comprehension, grammaticality judgment, Agreement, Tense, Aspect, Complementizer Phrase.

1. Introduction

It is well established that agrammatic patients have often difficulties comprehending semantically reversible sentences involving movement of a Determiner Phrase (DP) from its θ -position to a higher one, such as passive sentences, object relative sentences, and object cleft sentences (e.g., Caramazza & Zurif, 1976). Comprehension of reversible sentences requires successful processing of syntactic information, which is assumed to be impaired in agrammatism (e.g., Avrutin, 2006). In contrast, agrammatics are able to successfully comprehend irreversible sentences based on semantic cues. Several accounts have been proposed to capture the syntactic problems agrammatic patients face in the comprehension of reversible sentences. According to the influential Trace Deletion Hypothesis (TDH) (Grodzinsky, 1995), traces that DP movement leaves behind are deleted from the sentence representations of agrammatics, a process which results in their inability to use syntax in order to assign θ -roles to the moved arguments. In such cases, they resort to a cognitive strategy assigning the agent role to the linearly first argument of the sentence. Consequently, in passive sentences with an overt by-phrase, representations with two agents are built up, leading agrammatics to perform at chance on this sentence type.

In line with Caramazza and Zurif's (1976) findings, several researchers report that, unlike movement-derived reversible sentences, "simple" canonical active sentences do not cause comprehension difficulties to agrammatics (for a review, see Grodzinsky, Piñango, Zurif, & Drai, 1999). Recent studies, however, indicate that comprehension of simple active sentences can also be impaired in agrammatism. For instance, structures used to test functional categories such as subject-verb Agreement, Tense, or CP can be affected (e.g., Dickey, Milman, & Thompson, 2008; Stavrakaki & Kouvava, 2003).

A number of accounts have been argued to capture agrammatic comprehension data related to functional categories, although some of them were originally proposed to account for production data. Here I will focus on four of them: (a) Tree Pruning Hypothesis (TPH) (e.g., Friedmann, 2006), (b) Tense Underspecification Hypothesis (TUH) (Wenzlaff & Clahsen, 2004, 2005), (c) Interpretable Features' Impairment Hypothesis (IFIH) (Fyndanis, Varlokosta, & Tsapkini, 2010, 2012; Nanousi, Masterson, Druks, & Atkinson, 2006; Varlokosta, Valeonti, Kakavoulia, Lazaridou, Economou, & Protopapas, 2006), and (d) Distributed Morphology Account (DMA) (Dickey, Milman, & Thompson, 2008; Thompson, Fix, & Gitelman, 2002).

According to the TPH (e.g., Friedmann, 2006), agrammatism arises from a “pruning” of the syntactic tree, usually at the Tense node; categories hosted above the pruning point (e.g., CP) are inaccessible, whereas those located below (e.g., subject-verb Agreement, at least in Hebrew) are intact.

Within the minimalist spirit (e.g., Chomsky, 1995), the TUH (Wenzlaff & Clahsen, 2004, 2005) posits that the selective difficulties of agrammatic speakers with Tense are due to the underspecification of this category within the T/INFL node, in the face of the other well-preserved features hosted within the same node (e.g., Agreement, Mood, in German). This hypothesis, therefore, attributes the Tense deficits in agrammatic comprehension (and production) not to the impaired projection of the syntactic hierarchy, but to morphological/morphosyntactic processes.

Exploiting the minimalist notion of Logical Form (LF)-Interpretability (e.g., Chomsky, 1995, 2001), the IFIH (Fyndanis et al., 2010, 2012; Nanousi et al., 2006; Varlokosta et al., 2006) suggests that, in agrammatism, categories with LF-interpretable features (e.g., Tense, Aspect) are expected to be significantly more impaired than categories with LF-uninterpretable features (e.g., Agreement). Fyndanis et al. (2010, 2012) argue that, given the processing limitations of agrammatics, the dissociation between “interpretable” and “uninterpretable categories” is due to their differential processing demands. “Interpretable categories” are more demanding in terms of processing resources compared to “uninterpretable categories”, since the former require processing and integration of grammatical and extralinguistic/conceptual information; in contrast, “uninterpretable categories” involve processing of grammatical information only.

The DMA (Dickey et al., 2008; Thompson et al., 2002) was based on the patterns of performance Dickey et al.’s (2008) and Thompson et al.’s (2002) patients exhibited, which were consistent with the assumption of Distributed Morphology (Halle & Marantz, 1993; Harley & Noyer, 1999) that the syntactic component operates separately from the morphological component, but that the latter takes the outputs of the former (phrase structures and feature bundles) as input for its computations. In particular, in a study focusing on comprehension, Dickey et al. (2008) reported significantly better performance of English-speaking agrammatic individuals on judgments of CP-related structures, rather than of IP-related ones. According to the authors, the selective comprehension deficit affecting verbal morphology categories in the face of well-preserved higher projections is in line with the above-mentioned assumption of Distributed Morphology. It is suggested, thus, that probably what is genuinely affected in agrammatic individuals is not syntax, but morphological insertion processes (Dickey et al., 2008; see also Thompson et al., 2002).

Only a few published studies have investigated the comprehension of functional categories in Greek-speaking agrammatic aphasia, while only Stavrakaki and Kouvava (2003) and Alexiadou and Stavrakaki (2006) have examined a wide range of functional categories. I will only focus on the comprehension data of these studies, which are of interest here.

Stavrakaki and Kouvava (2003) tested the abilities of two Greek-speaking agrammatic patients to comprehend subject-verb Agreement, Tense, Negation, Mood, and CP using a grammaticality judgment task and a preference test between grammatical and ungrammatical sentences. Regarding CP, they examined both the specifier and head positions. Furthermore, regarding Negation, they tested the comprehension of both negative particles in Greek, *δέν* and *μίν*, which are used in the indicative and subjunctive Mood, respectively. In the grammaticality judgment task, Stavrakaki and Kouvava’s first patient, SC, performed above chance¹ on Agreement, Tense, Negation in indicative Mood, and Spec, CP², and at chance on Mood, Negation in subjunctive Mood and C°. VF, their second patient, performed above chance on all the conditions of the grammaticality judgment task.³ According to the

¹ The characterizations of the performance of Stavrakaki and Kouvava’s (2003) patients in terms of chance performance were not provided by the authors, but they are based on statistical comparisons (by Binomial test) made in the present study.

² Spec, CP was assessed through items testing operator movement in embedded questions and through wh-NP constructions. SC performed above chance on the former and at chance on the latter. Wh-NP constructions, however, also involve a “discourse component” (they are *Discourse-linked*, in terms of Avrutin (2000)), which has been argued to place an extra burden on speakers’ processing system (op. cit.); therefore, the testing of Spec, CP through wh-NP constructions is confounded with this component. In fact, based on these items, SC performed at chance on Spec, CP. Hence, Stavrakaki and Kouvava’s patients’ abilities to handle the Spec, CP position in comprehension can be best assessed based on their performance on the condition testing operator movement in embedded questions.

³ In the grammaticality judgment task, each condition included 20-24 items. On the other hand, the preference test included only 10-12 items per condition, which, in some cases, does not allow to draw firm conclusions about the ability of Stavrakaki and Kouvava’s participants to comprehend the functional categories under consideration. For example, SC performed 8/10 correct on three conditions, namely Neg-*δέν*, Neg-*μίν*, and Mood, which, by a Binomial test, corresponds to chance performance (two sided $p = .109$). It is doubtful, however, if indeed this patient’s ability to comprehend these categories is impaired. In fact, his performance on the Neg-*δέν* condition of

authors, these results indicate that, despite the individual variation observed, both patients show a high degree of grammaticality sensitivity. Strong evidence for this is provided by their high performance on structures involving functional categories located high in the syntactic tree (i.e., embedded object wh-questions).

Alexiadou and Stavrakaki (2006) tested the ability of a Greek-English bilingual individual with Broca's aphasia and mild agrammatism, KS, to judge adverb placement in sentences through a contrastive grammaticality judgment task.⁴ This task included adverbs associated with different functional (and lexical) projections: CP, MoodP, AspectP, NegP, and VP. In Greek, KS's performance was quite high on all types of adverbs. Although the higher the functional projection with which a given adverb was associated, the lower KS's performance was, no significant dissociations were observed between the different adverb types/functional projections. KS's results, therefore, indicate increased grammaticality sensitivity for all the functional projections tested.

Against this background, the goal of this study is two-fold: (a) to contribute new comprehension data aiming at the better understanding of the way Greek-speaking agrammatic aphasia manifests itself in this modality; (b) to relate the data reported here to the comprehension data provided by Stavrakaki and Kouvava (2003), and Alexiadou and Stavrakaki (2006), and discuss them all in light of the above-mentioned theories of agrammatic comprehension. In particular, this study investigates the ability of a Greek-speaking agrammatic patient to comprehend a wide array of syntactic structures and functional categories: reversible canonical and non-canonical sentences, wh-questions/CP, Tense, Aspect, and subject-verb Agreement.

2. Verbal morphology and clause structure in Greek

Greek is a null subject language with rich morphology and relatively free word order (Holton, Mackridge, & Philippaki-Warbuton, 1997). The canonical order in Greek is VSO (e.g., Roussou & Tsimpli, 2006). A number of grammatical (functional) categories are instantiated in the Greek verb morphology, such as Agreement, Tense, Aspect, Voice, and Mood (Holton et al., 1997). Greek does not have infinitives and the only non-finite forms are the gerund and the non-finite form that is used to compose the perfect tenses.

The distinction between imperfective and perfective Aspect shows up in the past tense, in the future tense, and in the *na*-constructions (subjunctive). No aspectual distinction is made in the present tense, as it always uses the imperfective stem.

According to Tsimpli (1990), the likely clause structure for Greek with respect to CP, Agreement Phrase (AgrP), Tense Phrase (TP), and Aspect Phrase (AspectP) is (1) (but see Philippaki-Warbuton, 1998, for a different analysis⁵):

- (1) **CP > (MoodP) > NegP > TP > AgrP > AspectP > VP**

Given the syntactic hierarchy above, the predictions of the five theories discussed in the Introduction for Greek-speaking agrammatic aphasia are summarized in Table 1.

3. Methods

3.1 Participants

A Greek-speaking agrammatic patient, GL, and an age-, gender-, and education-matched control participant, SA, were tested. Details about the diagnosis of agrammatism, demographic and lesion information, and language testing data are given in Fyndanis et al. (2010, 2012).

the grammaticality judgment task, which elicited a % rate similar to that elicited by the preference test (17/20, 85% correct vs. 8/10, 80% correct, respectively), is above chance (by Binomial test, two sided $p = .003$). For this reason, in the present study, only the results of the grammaticality judgment task are reported.

⁴ Alexiadou and Stavrakaki (2006) also examined the production modality (with a constituent ordering task), which, however, is not relevant to the present study.

⁵ For the different predictions the TPH (Friedmann, 2006) would make depending on which of the two alternative analyses is adopted, see Fyndanis (2009: 63-67). Crucially, irrespective of which analysis is adopted, the results of this study lead to the same conclusions with respect to the adequacy of the TPH to capture the agrammatic participant's pattern of performance.

3.2 Experimental investigations

Four tasks were developed overall: a sentence-picture matching task to test comprehension of canonical active and (non-canonical) passive sentences, a sentence-picture matching task to test comprehension of Tense, a sentence grammaticality judgment task to test judgment/comprehension of subject-verb Agreement, Tense, and Aspect, and a picture-pointing task to test comprehension of wh-questions, which involve the CP.

3.2.1 Sentence-picture matching task I: Aim/Design/Procedure

A sentence-picture matching task was developed to investigate whether GL has greater difficulty comprehending sentences with non-canonical argument order (object-subject), compared to sentences with canonical argument order (subject-object). The task included 18 reversible passive sentences and 18 reversible active sentences. The same, two-

TDH	reversible passives < reversible actives
TPH	CP, Tense < Agreement, Aspect
TUH	Tense < Agreement, Aspect
IFIH	Tense, Aspect, CP ⁶ < Agreement
DMA ⁷	Tense, Aspect, Agreement < CP

Table 1 Predictions of the five hypotheses discussed in Section 1 for comprehension in Greek agrammatism.

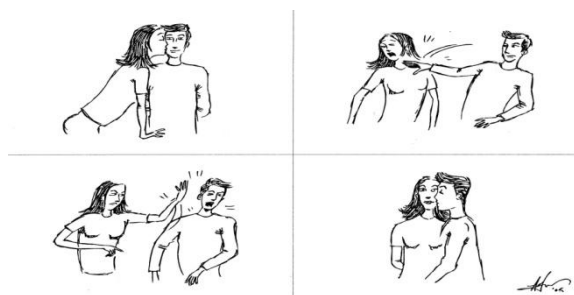


Figure 1 This set of pictures was accompanied by the sentences *To korítsi xastucízi to ayóri* ‘The girl is smacking the boy’ and *To korítsi xastucízete apó to ayóri* ‘The girl is being smacked by the boy’

place verbs were used in both sentence types. Each sentence was accompanied by four pictures including the target picture, a picture with role reversal, and participant and action foils. An example is given in Fig. 1. Participants were auditorily presented with the sentences and required to point to the picture that matched the sentence they heard. The task was administered in two sessions, with at least a five-day interval in between. The block with the actives was administered first (session 1), followed by the block with the passives (session 2). Training to the participants was provided at the beginning of each session. The control participant had ceiling performance on both actives and passives and, thus, his performance will be further ignored.

3.2.2 Sentence-picture matching task II: Aim/Design/Procedure

Another sentence-picture matching task was developed to test comprehension of Tense. This task included 18 active sentences with canonical argument order. Each sentence was accompanied by three randomly ordered black and white line drawings depicting three temporal versions (*past*, *present*,

⁶ Wh-questions, which are used to test CP here, are considered to carry uninterpretable features (Tsimpli & Stavrakaki, 1999: 51).

⁷ The DMA (Dickey et al., 2008; Thompson et al., 2002) would be consistent with impairment in categories associated with the verbal morphology in the face of well-preserved higher projections, such as CP. Other patterns, however, would not necessarily undermine the validity of the DMA. For instance, similar impairments in verbal morphology and CP could be attributed to deficits in both the syntactic and morphological components.

future) of a given event. Participants were asked to point to the drawing that matched the sentence they heard. An example of the past tense condition is given in Fig. 2. Seven sentences were in the past Tense, six in the present, and five in the future. The control participant made no errors and, thus, his performance will be further ignored.

3.2.3 Sentence grammaticality judgment task: Aim/Design/Procedure

The sentence grammaticality judgment task aimed at exploring GL's ability to judge/comprehend subject-verb Agreement, Tense, and Aspect. This task comprised 168 active sentences with canonical argument order, 56 per functional category, of which –in each condition– half were well-formed and half ill-formed. The vast majority of the sentences (150 overall, 50 in each condition) were irreversible. The same 56 verbs (two-place transitive, stressed on the penultimate syllable) were used in all three conditions. Participants were auditorily presented with the sentences, and asked to judge whether they sounded correct or not. The pairs of sentences in (2), (3), and (4) are examples of well-formed and ill-formed sentences in the Agreement, Tense, and Aspect conditions, respectively.

- (2) a. Esí akús musicí. *You_{sg} hear_{2nd.sg} music*. 'You listen to the music'
 *b. Esí épina bíra. *You_{sg} drank_{1st.imperf} beer*. 'You was drinking beer'
- (3) a. Xθés esí éplases kuluráca. *Yesterday you_{sg} shaped_{2nd.sg} scones*.
 *b. Ávrio eyó épsisa brizóles. *Tomorrow I cooked_{1st.sg} steaks*.
- (4) a. Ávrio esí tha mirázis ta ðóra epí mía óra. *Tomorrow you_{sg} will give out_{2nd.sg.imperf} the gifts for an hour*.
 *b. Xθés aftí kúrðisan ta rolója epí dío leptá. *Yesterday they wound_{3rd.pl.perf} the clocks for two minutes*.

In the Agreement condition, of the 28 ill-formed sentences, half violated number Agreement and half violated

person Agreement. All the Agreement values were included as targets (either realized or not) and were relatively evenly distributed between the well-formed and ill-formed sentences.

In the Tense condition, the well-formed sentences were crossed with all target Tense values, while the ill-formed

sentences were only crossed with past and future. The reason for the exclusion of the present Tense from the ill-formed sentences is that sentences with verbs in past or future and with adverbials prototypically associated with present (e.g., *tóra* 'now') can be considered acceptable. Therefore, in order to include the same number of well-formed and ill-formed sentences, as well as the same number of sentences for each target Tense, I used only well-formed sentences for the present Tense and counterbalanced through the ill-formed sentences, which all had past or future as their target Tense and, further, utilized the past vs. future contrast between adverbials and verbs.

Aspect was tested only within indicative (unmarked Mood). Of the 56 sentences in this condition, 28 had the perfective as their target Aspect and 28 the imperfective. The subsets above were crossed yielding a relatively even distribution of the relevant variables (\pm well-formedness, \pm perfectivity) and presented an even distribution between past and future. The present was not included as it does not mark morphologically the distinction between the perfective

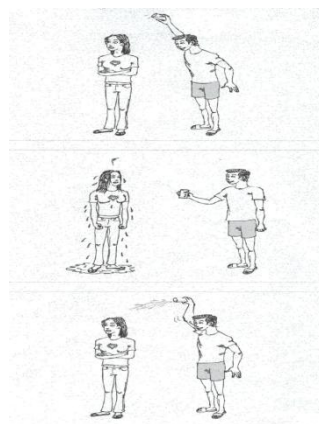


Figure 2 This set of pictures was accompanied by the sentence *To ayóri évrekse to korítsi* 'The boy dumped water on the girl'

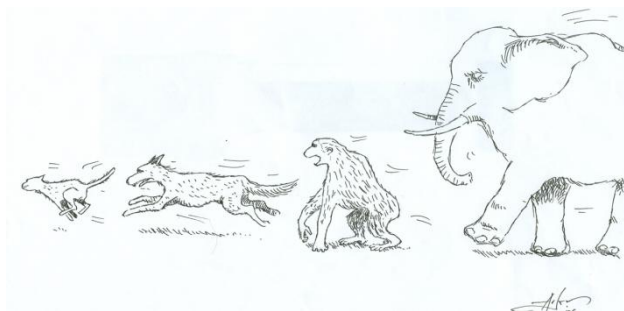


Figure 3 For this picture the following questions were asked (in Greek): *Who is the monkey chasing? Who is the dog chasing? Who is chasing the monkey? Who is the elephant chasing? Who is chasing the cat?*

and imperfective Aspect.

The grammaticality judgment task was divided into four blocks of 42 items. Each block included 14 items testing Agreement, 14 testing Tense, and 14 testing Aspect. In each block the same verb never appeared more than once. The three conditions were mixed and randomized, and the resultant order of items was kept constant for both participants.

More than three consecutive items of the same condition and more than four consecutive well-formed or ill-formed sentences never occurred. The task was administered within four sessions, with at least a five-day interval in between. No session lasted more than 45'.

3.2.4 Picture-pointing task: Aim/Design/Procedure

A picture-pointing task was developed to test comprehension of wh-questions, which involve the CP (at least for object questions). The design and results of this experiment are reported by Fyndanis et al. (2010). However, for the reader's convenience I briefly provide the relevant details. In this task, the participants were presented with four black and white line drawings. Each line drawing depicted a "reversible" action performed by four animate entities (people or animals) (see Fig. 3). Each of the animate entities constituted either one of the agents or one of the themes of the depicted proposition, or even both of them. For each line drawing, five (subject and object) argument questions were read aloud by the experimenter and the participants were asked to point to the person or animal representing the answer to each question. Ten subject and 10 object questions were included overall. This task was administered in two sessions, with a 15-day-interval in between. In each session the participants were presented with two drawings and 10 wh-questions. GL's control participant performed at ceiling, so his performance will be further ignored.

4. Results

4.1 Results from the sentence-picture matching task I

As shown in Table 2, GL performed high on both active and passive sentences (94% correct on both). Certainly, his performance was above chance on the two sentence types. (Given that each trial included four pictures, the chance level for this task is 25%.)

	actives	passives	Total	actives vs. passives	actives vs. chance level (25%)	passives vs. chance level (25%)
GL	17/18 (94%)	17/18 (94%)	34/36 (94%)	$p = 1$	$p = .000$ above chance	$p = .000$ above chance

Table 2 Raw and percent accuracy scores, and comparisons (by Fisher's exact test and Binomial test, using R) for GL in the picture-matching task I.

	Tense comprehension	raw data vs. chance level
GL	10/18 (56%)	$p = .086$ chance

Table 3 Raw and percent accuracy scores, and comparison (by Binomial test, using R) for GL in the sentence-picture matching task II

	T	Agr	Asp	Total	T-Agr	T-Asp	Agr-Asp	T vs. chance	Agr vs. chance	Asp vs. Chance
GL	44/56 (79%)	45/56 (80%)	26/56 (46%)	115/168 (68%)	$p = 1$	$p = .001$	$p = .000$	$p = .000$ ab.chance	$p = .000$ ab.chance	$p = 1.496$ chance
SA	54/56 (96%)	56/56 (100%)	55/56 (98%)	165/168 (98%)	$p = .496$	$p = 1$	$p = 1$	$p = .000$ ab.chance	$p = .000$ ab.chance	$p = .000$ ab.chance

Note: T=Tense, Agr=Agreement, Asp=Aspect

Table 4 Raw and percent accuracy scores, and comparisons (by Fisher's exact test and Binomial test, using R) for GL and his control participant in the sentence grammaticality judgment task

Subject questions	9/10 (90%)	ab. chance ($p = .000$)
Object questions	10/10 (100%)	ab. chance ($p = .000$)
Total	19/20 (95%)	ab. chance ($p = .000$)

Table 5 Raw and percent accuracy scores, and comparisons (by Binomial test, using R) for GL in the picture-pointing task

4.2 Results from the sentence-picture matching task II

GL's correct performance on the sentence-picture matching task II amounted to 56% (Table 3). The comparison (by Binomial test) between his raw data and the chance level for this task (33.3% given that each trial included three pictures) revealed that he had chance performance on the comprehension of Tense.

4.3 Results from the sentence grammaticality judgment task

The results from the grammaticality judgment task are presented in Table 4. Overall, GL performed 68% correct on this task. He performed significantly worse on all three categories than his control participant (by Fisher's exact test; Tense: $p = .008$, Agreement: $p = .001$, Aspect: $p = .000$). Agreement was found to be the best preserved category (80% correct), whereas Aspect was the most severely affected category (46% correct). GL performed significantly lower on Aspect, compared to Tense and Agreement (see Table 4). Likewise, the comparison (by Binomial test) between his raw data and the chance level for this task (50%) revealed that his performance was at chance on Aspect and above chance on Agreement and Tense.

4.4 Results from the picture-pointing task

GL performed at ceiling on the picture-pointing task (Table 5). Thus, no dissociation was observed between subject and object questions. Certainly, the comparison (by Binomial test) between his raw data and the chance level for this task (25% given that each picture depicted four entities) revealed above chance performance ($p = .000$).

5. Discussion

In this study, I investigated the ability of a Greek-speaking agrammatic patient, GL, to comprehend semantically reversible canonical active and non-canonical passive sentences, subject-verb Agreement, Tense, Aspect, and wh-questions/CP, by means of four constrained tasks. No significant dissociation was found between passive and active sentences; GL performed above chance on both conditions. In contrast, he performed at chance on comprehending Tense (Experiment I). Agreement, Tense, and Aspect were found more-or-less impaired in the grammaticality judgment task, as GL performed significantly worse on all three categories compared to his control participant. His deficit, however, with respect to these categories was selective as he performed significantly worse on Aspect (chance performance) compared to Agreement and Tense (above chance). Last, GL had above chance

performance on the comprehension of *wh*-questions. I will first relate GL's data to the comprehension data of the three Greek-speaking agrammatic patients reported by Stavrakaki and Kouvava (2003) and Alexiadou and Stavrakaki (2006). Subsequently, I will discuss these patients' results in light of the relevant theories mentioned in the Introduction.

GL's results do not differ from SC's, Stavrakaki and Kouvava's (2003) first patient, as they both performed above chance on judging Agreement, Tense, and Spec, CP. Unlike GL, however, SC was not tested on Aspect, so it is unknown whether he was unimpaired in this low functional projection. SC's performance is at odds with all the relevant hypotheses mentioned in the Introduction. It is contra the TPH (Friedmann, 2006), as his Spec, CP seems to be well-preserved. It is contra the IFIH (Fyndanis et al., 2010, 2012; Nanousi et al., 2006; Varlokosta et al., 2006) because his performance on Tense is not worse than that on Agreement and, further, his performance on Neg-*ḗn* and Spec, CP (which both bear interpretable features) is above chance. Last, the DMA (Dickey et al., 2008; Thompson et al., 2002) does not appear to be in a position to explain the selective impairment in lexical retrieval/insertion, revealed by the Neg-*mín* – Neg-*ḗn*, and Spec, CP – C° dissociations.

GL's results differ from VF's, the second patient of Stavrakaki and Kouvava (2003), as VF performed above chance on all conditions. This is consistent with the literature that reports that comprehension is not always affected in agrammatic aphasia. Certainly, VF's pattern of performance is contra the TPH, TUH, and IFIH, but in line with the DMA (Dickey et al., 2008; Thompson et al., 2002).

Last, GL's data could not be directly compared with the data of KS, Alexiadou and Stavrakaki's (2006) patient, as the contrastive grammaticality judgment task employed by the authors did not target verbal morphology, as was the case with the present study. An observation that could be made, however, is that, while GL exhibited dissociations between functional projections (e.g., Aspect < Tense, Agreement, in the grammaticality judgment task), no dissociations emerged in KS, who performed above chance on all the projections tested. Her pattern of performance is contra the TPH (Friedmann, 2006), since this hypothesis would expect poor performance on the higher projections in the Greek syntactic tree. KS's comprehension data cannot be discussed in the context of the three other theories the present study is focusing on. This is so because the TUH (Wenzlaff & Clahsen, 2004, 2005) can only make predictions about the aphasic patients' performance on categories directly associated with the verbal morphology, while the IFIH (Fyndanis et al., 2010, 2012; Nanousi et al., 2006; Varlokosta et al., 2006) is relevant only when both categories with interpretable features and categories with uninterpretable features are tested. (Note that this hypothesis predicts better performance on "uninterpretable categories", compared to "interpretable categories". This distinction is not exploited in Alexiadou and Stavrakaki's (2006) study.) Last, the DMA (Dickey et al., 2008; Thompson et al., 2002) is relevant especially for studies testing both syntactic structure building abilities and morphological retrieval/insertion abilities. Alexiadou and Stavrakaki's (2006) study did not focus on the latter.

GL's results show that agrammatic patients can be impaired in the comprehension of canonical sentences –even irreversible–, such as "simple" active sentences that are used to test "demanding" functional categories like Aspect, which does not seem to be consistent with the TDH (Grodzinsky, 1995). Moreover, his results are contra this hypothesis because he performed above chance on reversible passives. This is in line with findings of other studies (e.g., Caramazza, Capasso, Capitani, & Miceli, 2005; Luzzatti, Toraldo, Guasti, Ghirardi, Lorenzi, & Guarnaschelli, 2001), which reveal that only a subgroup of agrammatics exhibits the pattern predicted by the TDH. GL's results are in contrast to the TPH (e.g., Friedmann, 2006), since his comprehension of Aspect, a category located low in the syntactic hierarchy of Greek, was found significantly more impaired than his comprehension of categories that are higher in the syntactic tree, such as Agreement and CP. GL's data do not support the TUH (Wenzlaff & Clahsen, 2004, 2005) because this hypothesis does not predict verbal morphology deficits other than those concerning Tense. GL, however, was impaired also in Aspect. Last, his results only partially support the IFIH (Fyndanis et al., 2010, 2012; Nanousi et al., 2006; Varlokosta et al., 2006), since the predictions of this hypothesis are confirmed only as far as the verbal morphology categories are concerned (Agreement > Aspect/Tense). GL had above chance performance on CP, which is in contrast to the IFIH. Hence, his results indicate that the TPH, TUH, and IFIH cannot be extended to the comprehension modality, at least not for all agrammatics. In contrast, GL's pattern of performance is consistent with the DMA (Dickey et al., 2008; Thompson et al., 2002), since he exhibited a selective deficit in the comprehension of verbal morphology (which affected Aspect) in the face of his well-preserved CP. Thus, in line with Dickey et al. (2008), GL's results show that at least some agrammatics are able to have access to the syntactic tree up to the highest layer and –at the same time– they may have a selective difficulty comprehending morphemes instantiating certain categories. It is likely, therefore, that what is genuinely affected in agrammatics like GL is not syntax, but

morphological insertion processes (Dickey et al., 2008), which is consistent with the DMA's (Halle & Marantz, 1993; Harley & Noyer, 1999) assumptions. On this assumption, in my understanding, in judgment tasks agrammatic patients often fail to retrieve the morpheme or the verb form that corresponds to the target value (which is determined on the basis of an adverbial, e.g. "past tense" on the basis of the adverb *yesterday*). Therefore, they are not able to compare the correct verb form they should have retrieved themselves with the verb form appearing in the experimental sentence, in order to successfully judge the grammaticality of the sentence. It seems plausible, however, that low performance in judgment tasks does not stem only from impaired morphological insertion/verb selection processes, but also from concurrent impaired feature-checking operations, as intact checking operations would block incorrect judgments (see Arabatzi & Edwards, 2002). While this may be the case with grammaticality judgment, one could challenge the view that comprehension deficits as well should be attributed to impaired insertion/retrieval processes. In tasks such as the sentence-picture matching task II of the present study, for example, all the sentences and verb forms/inflections are grammatical/correct; no temporal adverbials are present, thus participants are not required to judge the compatibility between adverbials and verb forms. They only need to correctly interpret the verb form/inflection as to its Tense value. Therefore, no retrieval/insertion processes are involved in this task. It appears, rather, that the poor performance on this task could be attributed to impaired integration processes (e.g., Fyndanis et al., 2010, 2012), that is, integration of strictly linguistic information, namely the Tense value expressed by each verb form/inflection, and information concerning the "reflexes" of this Tense value in the extralinguistic world (as depicted in the pictures).

To summarize, the comprehension results from Greek agrammatism reported and discussed here indicate that not only agrammatic production but also agrammatic comprehension is characterized by variability (e.g., Kolk, 2007). Furthermore, GL's data show that, at least in some agrammatic patients, the ability to project the syntactic hierarchy up to the highest layer (CP) may be preserved at the face of (selective) deficits in handling morphemes instantiating verb related functional categories, which is in line with data from other studies (e.g., Dickey et al., 2008), and compatible with the assumptions of Distributed Morphology (Halle & Marantz, 1993; Harley & Noyer, 1999) that the syntactic component operates separately from the morphological one. Certainly, more agrammatic patients have to be tested, so that the picture regarding the predominant patterns in agrammatic comprehension becomes more complete.

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CONSTRUCTION, VALIDITY AND RELIABILITY OF THE STRATEGY INVENTORY FOR DICTIONARY USE (S.I.D.U)

Zoe Gavriilidou

Democritus University of Thrace, Greece

zoegab@otenet.gr

ABSTRACT

The purpose of the present paper is to examine the construction, validity and reliability of the Strategy Inventory of Dictionary Use (S.I.D.U). S.I.D.U is a 47-item self-report questionnaire which specifies four main areas of interest a) dictionary use awareness skills, b) strategies for dictionary selection and acquaintance with dictionary conventions, c) lemmatization strategies, and finally d) look up strategies. The method of multiple judges was adopted for the control of content validity of the pilot version of S.I.D.U. The test discriminated expert from non expert users in all four categories of strategies ($p < .001$). Internal consistency of the subscales and the overall scale of the S.I.D.U was checked and Cronbach alpha was found .97.

1. Introduction

Research in pedagogical lexicography has been disadvantaged by the lack of a standardized instrument to objectively assess the strategies employed by dictionary users while choosing and using a dictionary. The *Strategy Inventory for Dictionary Use* (S.I.D.U) is a 47-item self report instrument for assessing the reference skills needed for an effective dictionary look-up. The design, construction and content validity of S.I.D.U are presented here. Discriminatory validity between effective and non effective dictionary users was significant. The four subscales of dictionary use awareness, dictionary selection and acquaintance, lemmatization and dictionary search are shown to have good reliability and validity.

2. Construction

2.1 Test specification

The development of the test specification raised the question of how to define the effective dictionary user in order to construct the instruments' items. A functional approach might be to consult all previous literature in detail and try to make a list of the reference skills of the successful dictionary user. This was the method adopted for the construction of S.I.D.U. Fortunately, there is a substantial body of research on the characteristics of good dictionary users or the strategies required for an effective dictionary look-up. Two different kinds of research have been consulted: theoretical or empirical papers presenting detailed descriptions or taxonomies of the reference skills (or strategies) that dictionary users should demonstrate for a successful dictionary search (e.g Béjoint 1981; Scholfield 1999; Scholfield 1982; Bogaards 1994; Roberts 1997; Hartmann 1999; Nesi 1999; Nation 2001; Hartmann and James 2002; Thornbury 2002; Lew and Galas 2008; Prichard 2008) and empirical papers investigating the reference skills, misuse and errors of dictionary users during dictionary look up (Béjoint and Moulin 1987; Maingay and Rundell 1987; Neubach and Cohen 1988; Nuccorini 1992; Nuccorini 1994; Nesi and Meara 1994; Christianson 1997; Harvey and Yuill 1997; Wingate 2004; Elola, Rodríguez-García and Winfrey 2008; Petrylaitė, Vėžytė and Vaškelienė 2008; Gavriilidou 2010, 2011).

Starting with the first category of papers, Bejoint (1981) mainly investigated the reasons for using dictionaries reported by French students and discussed the way in which these students actually used dictionaries. He claimed that two are the basic reference skills during dictionary search: users have to be able to find the lexeme they are looking for, by finding either the right entry or the right subdivision

of an entry. Then they must be able to retrieve the specific piece of information they need (spelling, pronunciation, meaning, etc.).

Scholfield (1982) suggested that effective dictionary use requires a number of steps to be performed correctly, an amount of prior knowledge, e.g. rules of English, dictionary conventions, etc., a constant testing of hypotheses and finally inferencing. According to the author the steps required during looking up a word in a dictionary are seven:

- 1) Locating the unknown word or phrase in a text
- 2) Finding the citation form in case of inflected words
- 3) Searching the unknown word in the alphabetic list
- 4) Searching compound words or idioms by looking up each main element of them and derived forms by looking up the stem entry
- 5) Reducing multiple senses of polysemous words by elimination
- 6) Understanding the definition of the unknown word by integrating it in context
- 7) In case that the desired meaning of the unknown word doesn't exist in the dictionary, inferring of the appropriate meaning based on the list of meanings provided in the entry.

A number of skills such as awareness of dictionary lay-out, alphabetic sequencing or grammatical knowledge are connected with each one of the above mentioned steps. The steps described in Scholfield 1982 are also adopted in Bogaards (1993).

Roberts (1997) claims that efficient dictionary use implies obtaining the expected results, on the one hand, and accomplishing this in the shortest period of time possible. For him, the effective user has to be aware of the various categories of information that can be found in dictionaries, the overall ordering of these categories, dictionary types, and the specific categories of information found in different dictionary types.

Hartmann (1999) formulates recommendations with regard to the reference needs and reference skills of university students of foreign languages and the availability of dictionaries and other kinds of reference works, particularly for the European languages and argues that not much is known about dictionary reference skills themselves.

In her 1999 study, Nesi asserts that 97% of students entering English higher education have no dictionary skills at all and proposes a six-stage taxonomy of reference skills (before the study, before dictionary consultation, locating entry information, interpreting entry information, recording entry information, understanding lexicographical issues). Her detailed taxonomy includes among others reference skills such as knowing what types of dictionary exist, and choosing which dictionary/ies to consult and/or buy, deciding whether dictionary consultation is necessary, deciding on the appropriate form of the look-up item, understanding the structure of the dictionary, finding multi-word units, distinguishing relevant from irrelevant information, knowing lexicographical terminology, knowing of alphabetical sequencing, awareness of dictionary features and lay out, ability to select the correct meaning, etc.

Nation (2001) distinguishes between the steps involved in a successful dictionary search and the personal skills required by effective dictionary users. More precisely he proposes four distinct steps during both receptive and productive use of dictionaries. The receptive use involves a) analysing the context of the unknown word, b) finding the correct entry, c) choosing the right sub-entry, and d) applying the meaning to the original context in order to decide if the search was successful while the productive use includes: a) finding the wanted word form, b) checking the constraints on the use of the word c) finding out about its grammar and d) appropriately treat collocations. The individual skills required include recognising word classes and inflected forms, alphabetising, and understanding the symbols and lay-out conventions of the dictionary.

Thornbury (2002) also presents a list of skills needed for successful dictionary use, which includes recognising features of dictionary layout, understanding the coding and abbreviations used in the entries, discriminating between the different meanings of a word, cross-checking translation equivalents given in bilingual dictionaries, using synonyms, antonyms and other information to find the best word for the intended meaning and finally inferring the spelling of an unfamiliar word after hearing it.

Hartmann and James in their *Dictionary of Lexicography* (2002) suggested that, in order to use dictionaries, users need a) certain skills defined as “the abilities required for finding the information being sought” – and b) specific training. According to them, the most basic skill for using a dictionary is alphabetical sequencing.

Finally, Lew and Gallas (2008) adopt a detailed taxonomy of the dictionary strategies. They classify the reference skills in four classes a) REFERENCE, which includes knowledge of alphabetical

ordering; the ability to use a dictionary for equivalents, definitions, spelling, pronunciation and obtaining grammatical information; locating words using initial letters, b) INFERENCE which includes the ability to establish and interpret parts of speech; the ability to correctly interpret meanings; finding and handling meanings; grammatical awareness, c) UNDERSTANDING DICTIONARY CONVENTIONS which consists of the awareness of dictionary features and layout knowledge of phonetic symbols; knowledge of parts of speech; word formation; derivatives; past forms; countable and uncountable nouns; awareness of idiomatic expressions; awareness of phrasal verbs; pronouns and d) ACQUIRING EXTRA INFORMATION the ability to obtain socio-cultural information.

However, not all dictionary users demonstrate reference skills such the ones described above. Empirical research suggests that even experienced language learners or pupils use the dictionaries ineffectively. For example, Bejoint & Moulin (1987) provided a list of positive and negative strategies and claimed that strategy use depends on the performed task and the learners' profile. Maingay and Rundell (1987) forwarded a detailed classification of students' errors in encoding activities. Neubach and Cohen (1988) reported a series of problems faced by six subjects of different proficiency levels during a dictionary-use-based task in comprehension. The reported problems were the following: 1) reading only the first definition in the monolingual dictionary, 2) encountering a problem with vocabulary in a definition in the monolingual dictionary, 3) encountering a problem with terminology in the monolingual dictionary, 4) encountering problems in alphabetic sequencing – especially internal to the word being sought, 5) not finding the unknown word. These problems clearly demonstrate users' lack of reference skills. Nuccorini (1992) found that her sample, which consisted of students and teachers were able to locate successfully the research items. She notices however that they had problems with the dictionary microstructure. In her 1994 paper, she found that students committed erroneous searches when they had to look up polysemous and homonymic items, derivatives, compounds, idiomatic expressions and phrasal verbs. Nesi & Meara (1994) examined the errors of adult learners who were asked to construct phrases with unknown words that they had looked up and found that users perform superficial searches and tend to pick out familiar elements of the entry which are however irrelevant. Christianson (1997) found that proficiency does not seem to play a role in the sophistication of strategy use. He suggests that successfulness of strategy depends on other factors such as the writing context and the given word or phrase been looked up. A recurrent source of problem was that the subjects did not pay attention to the example sentences. Also a cause of problems was lack of understanding of the grammar information coded in the dictionaries. Harvey & Yuill (1997) studied the use of monolingual pedagogical dictionaries during writing. They found that the majority of dictionary searches were successful. Their sample wasn't acquainted with the dictionary abbreviations, especially the ones indicating grammatical information and faced problems when the entry had many sections, or when the unknown word was a compound or idiom. Wingate's (2004) data revealed "superficial and partial reading of dictionary entries" behaviour which accounted for unsuccessful dictionary look-ups. Elola, Rodríguez-García & Winfrey (2008) studied dictionary use and vocabulary choices during L2 writing and found that her sample face problems with the look up of abstract and domain-specific words, collocations and fixed expressions, lexical items of multiple grammatical categories and discourse markers. Petrylaitė, Vaškelienė, Vėžytė (2008) highlighted the respondents' lack of awareness of the advantages of proper dictionary consultation skills, as well as their overconfidence in some cases in their dictionary skills. Gavrilidou (2010) found that her sample adopts positive look up strategies or strategies for appropriate dictionary selection, but faces problems with lemmatization strategies. Finally, Gavrilidou (2011) studied the receptive dictionary use of Greek university students and reported problems with metaphoric meanings of words, idioms and compounds.

After consulting the relevant literature thoroughly, an exhaustive list including all reference skills cited in the literature was prepared. The reference skills of the total list were then classified in the following four categories: a) dictionary use awareness skills, in other words skills referring to the acquaintance with the situations in which a dictionary can be used, b) strategies for dictionary selection and acquaintance with dictionary conventions. This category includes strategies either for selecting the appropriate dictionary or for using effectively the dictionary conventions as a guidance during dictionary look up, c) lemmatization strategies, in other words strategies for selecting in which entry to look up the information needed, and finally d) look up strategies, for instance strategies employed for selecting effectively the relevant information. Thus S.I.D.U specified four main areas of interest.

2.2 The Pilot Version

The pilot version of the S.I.D.U was a self-report five Likert-scale questionnaire of 52 items. More precisely, 18 questions were assessing the dictionary use awareness, 14 questions were tracing the

strategies for dictionary selection and acquaintance with dictionary conventions, 5 questions were measuring the lemmatization strategies, and finally 15 questions were assessing the look up strategies. The pilot version was checked for its content and discriminatory validity as well as for its reliability. The results are presented in the following part.

3. Content Validity

Content validity is the degree to which elements of an assessment instrument are relevant to and representative of the targeted construct for a particular assessment purpose (Haynes, Richard and Kubany 1995). A widely used and recommended by psychometricians method of measuring content validity is the use of multiple judges (Lawshe 1975; Hambleton and Rogers 1991; Haynes, Richard and Kubany 1995). Every element of an assessment instrument is judged by multiple experts. Lawshe (1975) proposed that each of the experts respond to the following question for each item: "Is the skill or knowledge measured by this item 'essential,' 'useful, but not essential,' or 'not necessary' to the performance of the construct?" According to Lawshe, if more than half the panelists indicate that an item is essential, that item has at least some content validity.

The method of multiple judges was adopted for the measurement of content validity of the pilot version of S.I.D.U. The measurement was carrying out on a panel of 10 experts who judged the relevance and usefulness of each one of the 52 items of S.I.D.U. The 10 judges had to select 1 if they found the specific item essential, 2 if the specific item was 'useful, but not essential,' and 3 if the item was 'not necessary'. Only items which were assessed essential by more than half of the experts were kept. During that phase 5 items were eliminated. Thus the final version of the S.I.D.U consisted of 47 items (16 items assessing dictionary awareness, 12 items tracing strategies for dictionary selection and acquaintance with dictionary conventions, 5 items measuring the lemmatization strategies, and finally 14 items assessing the look up strategies) (see appendix I). The Quantitative indices of content validity of S.I.D.U were supplemented by qualitative feedback by the experts, which included additions and rewordings in four items.

Statistical analyses of data gathered with S.I.D.U included an examination of the reliability of the instrument and its ability to discriminate between effective and ineffective dictionary users.

4. Discriminatory Validity

Discriminatory validity is the ability of a psychometric instrument to show significant differences between subgroups with different characteristics. The ability of S.I.D.U to discriminate the effective from the ineffective dictionary users was checked.

4.1 Sampling

To check S.I.D.U's discriminatory validity, the sample consisted of 30 lexicographers which were considered as the group of expert users. Ineffective users were considered users with no dictionary experience. It was hypothesized that the nature of studies in departments such as the department of Electric Engineering, The Pre-Primary Education Department or the Physical Education Department does not involve frequently students with dictionary use activities. Thus, in order to select the sample of ineffective users, a randomly selected sample of 15 first year students of the Physical Education Department, 15 first year students of the Pre-Primary Education Department, and 15 first-year students of the Electric Engineering Department of the Democritus University of Thrace was interviewed. The interview included five questions tracing previous dictionary experience. It was found that the Physical Education Department students had the least dictionary experience. Consequently, the group of ineffective users consisted of 30 randomly selected first-year students of the Physical Education Department of the Democritus University of Thrace.

4.2 Statistics

In order to test whether the S.I.D.U can discriminate the effective from the ineffective dictionary users a T-test analysis for independent samples was performed. The results showed that in all four categories of strategies the expert users had a significantly higher score (dictionary awareness strategies $t=6,99$,

$p < .001$, dictionary selection and acquaintance with dictionary conventions strategies $t = 8.12$, $p < .001$, lemmatization strategies $t = 6.25$, $p < .001$, and finally look up strategies $t = 6.72$, $p < .001$). Consequently, the S.I.D.U classified effectively the subjects into two categories.

5. Reliability

5.1 Sampling

Reliability is how consistently a test measures what it attempts to measure. To check S.I.D.U's reliability, the sample consisted of 30 high-school pupils aged 12-15 years, 30 lyceum pupils aged 15-18 years, 30 professors at the secondary education and 30 university students of the department of Greek literature of the Democritus University of Thrace (total 120 subjects).

5.2 Statistics

A reliability analysis (Cronbach's alpha) was performed to examine the internal consistency of the S.I.D.U. The Cronbach's A was .97.

6. Conclusions and further investigation

This study allowed us to evaluate the reliability and the discriminatory validity of S.I.D.U which measures the use of strategies proposed in the literature as employed during effective dictionary use and specified the four categories of strategies which optimize the assessment of dictionary use.

The findings of the present study show that S.I.D.U is the first reliable and valid instrument for use in assessing dictionary use. Its discriminatory validity proved to be high.

The major application of S.I.D.U is to assess the dictionary use strategies employed by students or pupils in order to collect reliable data for the design of special curricula for dictionary use training. For ease of interpretation of the results, four subscales are designed in a manner to allow the profiling of dictionary users. It can also be used to assess the improvement in dictionary use as a result of the application of these curricula in specific target groups. Another possible use is for research purposes on pedagogical lexicography.

With its ease of administration and its four subscales, S.I.D.U promises to offer a psychometrically sound measure with which to assess effective dictionary use.

Finally, more testing of a normative sample with S.I.D.U is needed in order to provide reference ranges for its scores when administered to dictionary users and thus be able to offer a standardized version of that self-report questionnaire.

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APPENDIX I: SIDU Greek version

Όνομα (όχι επώνυμο)**Φύλο****Ημερομηνία γέννησης****Τμήμα Φοίτησης**

Το παρόν ερωτηματολόγιο θα χρησιμοποιηθεί για ερευνητικούς σκοπούς και η συμμετοχή σας είναι πολύ σημαντική. Ευχαριστούμε για τη βοήθειά σας.

Παρακαλώ διαβάστε με προσοχή τα παρακάτω ερωτήματα και κυκλώστε το 1, 2, 3, 4, ή 5 ανάλογα με το αν ΙΣΧΥΟΥΝ ΓΙΑ ΣΑΣ ΑΥΤΑ ΠΟΥ ΛΕΕΙ Η ΚΑΘΕ ΕΡΩΤΗΣΗ.

1. Ποτέ ή σχεδόν ποτέ
2. Συνήθως ποτέ
3. Μερικές φορές
4. Συνήθως
5. Πάντα ή σχεδόν πάντα

1. Χρησιμοποιώ ένα λεξικό για να βρω τη σημασία μιας λέξης	1	2	3	4	5
2. Χρησιμοποιώ ένα λεξικό για να βρω την ορθογραφία μιας λέξης	1	2	3	4	5
3. Χρησιμοποιώ ένα λεξικό για να βρω συνώνυμες λέξεις	1	2	3	4	5
4. Χρησιμοποιώ ένα λεξικό για να βρω αντίθετες λέξεις	1	2	3	4	5
5. Χρησιμοποιώ ένα λεξικό για να ελέγξω πώς χρησιμοποιείται η λέξη	1	2	3	4	5
6. Χρησιμοποιώ ένα λεξικό για να βρω την ετυμολογία μιας λέξης	1	2	3	4	5
7. Χρησιμοποιώ ένα λεξικό για να βοηθούμαι στη μετάφραση	1	2	3	4	5
8. Χρησιμοποιώ ένα λεξικό για να βρω τη σύνταξη μιας λέξης	1	2	3	4	5
9. Χρησιμοποιώ ένα λεξικό για να βρω παράγωγα μιας λέξης	1	2	3	4	5
10. Χρησιμοποιώ ένα λεξικό για να βρω οικογένειες λέξεων	1	2	3	4	5
11. Χρησιμοποιώ ένα λεξικό για να βρω τη σημασία μιας έκφρασης	1	2	3	4	5
12. Χρησιμοποιώ λεξικό στο σχολείο	1	2	3	4	5
13. Χρησιμοποιώ λεξικό στο σπίτι	1	2	3	4	5
14. Χρησιμοποιώ ένα λεξικό όταν διαβάζω ένα κείμενο	1	2	3	4	5
15. Χρησιμοποιώ το λεξικό όταν γράφω ένα κείμενο	1	2	3	4	5
16. Χρησιμοποιώ ένα λεξικό όταν κάνω μια άσκηση γραμματικής	1	2	3	4	5

17. Πριν αγοράσω ένα λεξικό, γνωρίζω για ποιους λόγους το χρειάζομαι	1	2	3	4	5
18. Πριν αγοράσω ένα λεξικό στο βιβλιοπωλείο, το φυλλομετρώ για να δω τι πληροφορίες δίνει	1	2	3	4	5
19. Πριν αγοράσω ένα λεξικό, ρωτάω σχετικά μ' αυτό το δάσκαλό μου ή το βιβλιοπώλη	1	2	3	4	5
20. Διαλέγω ένα λεξικό, επειδή έχει πολλά λήμματα και κάθε λήμμα παρέχει πλούσιες πληροφορίες	1	2	3	4	5
21. Γνωρίζω τι είναι ένα ετυμολογικό λεξικό και πού χρησιμεύει	1	2	3	4	5
22. Γνωρίζω τι είναι ερμηνευτικό λεξικό και πού χρησιμεύει	1	2	3	4	5
23. Γνωρίζω τι είναι δίγλωσσο λεξικό και πού χρησιμεύει	1	2	3	4	5
24. Γνωρίζω τι είναι λεξικό ορολογίας και πού χρησιμεύει	1	2	3	4	5
25. Πριν χρησιμοποιήσω το καινούριό μου λεξικό, διαβάζω προσεκτικά την εισαγωγή του	1	2	3	4	5
26. Πριν χρησιμοποιήσω το καινούριό μου λεξικό, μελετώ προσεκτικά τις συντομογραφίες	1	2	3	4	5
27. Πριν χρησιμοποιήσω το καινούριό μου λεξικό, διαβάζω τυχαία λήμματα για να δω τη δομή τους					
28. Γνωρίζω ή καταλαβαίνω όλες τις συντομογραφίες που χρησιμοποιούνται στο λεξικό μου					
29. Όταν συναντώ μια άγνωστη λέξη σε ένα κείμενο, προσπαθώ να σκεφτώ με ποιον τύπο να την αναζητήσω στο λεξικό	1	2	3	4	5
30. Όταν συναντώ μια παροιμία ή μια έκφραση που δεν καταλαβαίνω, ψάχνω για τη σημασία της στο λεξικό στο λήμμα που αντιστοιχεί στο πρώτο ουσιαστικό ή επίθετο της παροιμίας	1	2	3	4	5
31. Όταν δεν βρίσκω μια παροιμία ή μια παγιωμένη έκφραση στο λήμμα που νόμιζα ότι βρισκόταν ξεκινώ μια νέα αναζήτηση	1	2	3	4	5
32. Όταν ακούω μια λέξη που δεν καταλαβαίνω, σκέφτομαι τους πιθανούς τρόπους ορθογραφίας της και την αναζητώ σε διαφορετικά σημεία του λεξικού	1	2	3	4	5
33. Όταν δεν βρίσκω μια λέξη στο σημείο που πιστεύω πως θα βρισκόταν, ξεκινώ νέα αναζήτηση με άλλα κριτήρια έως ότου τη βρω	1	2	3	4	5
34. Αναζητώ ένα κύριο όνομα σε ειδικό πίνακα στο τέλος ή σε κάποιο άλλο σημείο του λεξικού	1	2	3	4	5
35. Για να δω πώς χρησιμοποιείται μια λέξη στο λόγο βοηθούμαι από τις ειδικές συντομογραφίες χρήσης που υπάρχουν στο λήμμα	1	2	3	4	5
36. Όταν αναζητώ μια λέξη που αρχίζει από Ε, ψάχνω στο 1 ^ο τέταρτο των σελίδων του λεξικού, γιατί το Ε είναι από τα πρώτα γράμματα της αλφαβήτας	1	2	3	4	5

37. Όταν αναζητώ μία λέξη από Λ ανοίγω στο μέσο του λεξικού μου	1	2	3	4	5
38. Όταν αναζητώ μια λέξη, έχω στο μυαλό μου από τι αρχίζει η λέξη αυτή και ψάχνω εκεί που νομίζω πως βρίσκονται λέξεις που αρχίζουν από το συγκεκριμένο γράμμα	1	2	3	4	5
39. Όταν αναζητώ μια λέξη, ανοίγω λίγο το λεξικό και ελέγχω αν είμαι κοντά στο ζητούμενο ψηφίο	1	2	3	4	5
40. Όταν αναζητώ μια λέξη, καθοδηγούμαι από τα κεφαλάρια	1	2	3	4	5
41. Ανοίγω το λεξικό και διαβάζω τις λέξεις μόνο όταν είμαι σίγουρος/η πως βρίσκομαι στη σωστή σελίδα	1	2	3	4	5
42. Όταν αναζητώ μια λέξη, την έχω διαρκώς στο μυαλό μου κατά τη διάρκεια της αναζήτησης	1	2	3	4	5
43. Όταν διαπιστώσω ότι η λέξη που αναζητώ έχει πολλές διαφορετικές σημασίες, ελέγχω μία προς μία όλες τις σημασίες βοηθούμενος/η από τα παραδείγματα	1	2	3	4	5
44. Όταν βρω τη λέξη που με ενδιαφέρει επιστρέφω στο κείμενο για να επιβεβαιώσω από τα συμφραζόμενα ότι βρήκα την κατάλληλη σημασία	1	2	3	4	5
45. Πριν χρησιμοποιήσω στο κείμενο που γράφω μια λέξη που βρήκα στο λεξικό αναζητώ όλες τις γραμματικές πληροφορίες (κλίση, σύνταξη) και πληροφορίες χρήσης για να είμαι σίγουρος/η ότι τη χρησιμοποιώ σωστά	1	2	3	4	5
46. Βοηθούμαι από τα συνώνυμα ή τα αντίθετα για να βρω τη σημασία της λέξης που με ενδιαφέρει	1	2	3	4	5
47. Αναζητώ έναν εξειδικευμένο όρο σε ένα λεξικό ορολογίας	1	2	3	4	5

A PROPOSAL FOR A METADATA MODEL FOR LANGUAGE RESOURCES

Maria Gavrilidou

R.C. Athena/ILSP,
Greece

maria@ilsp.athena-innovation.gr

Penny Labropoulou

R.C. Athena/ILSP,
Greece

penny@ilsp.athena-innovation.gr

Stelios Piperidis

R.C. Athena/ILSP,
Greece

spip@ilsp.athena-innovation.gr

ABSTRACT

This paper presents a metadata model for the description of language resources proposed in the framework of the META-SHARE infrastructure, aiming to cover both datasets and tools/technologies used for their processing. It places the model in the overall framework of metadata models, describes the basic principles and features of the model, elaborates on the LR type 'corpora' as an exemplification case and concludes with work to be done in the future for the improvement of the model.

1. Introduction¹

The importance of Language Resources (LRs) for language-related and language-based research and applications is undeniable. Language technology applications, in particular, such as multilingual information extraction, machine translation, automatic document indexing etc., include LRs as critical components. Even language technologies that consist of language independent engines rely on the availability of language-dependent knowledge under the form of LRs for their real-life implementation. It has also been proved that a critical mass of LRs can make advancement in language research possible and quicker (Calzolari, Quochi, and Soria 2011).

Language data collection has started in the 50's with a shift of focus from the native speaker's intuition to the actual use of language. Technological advancements and the advent of the web have moved the attention of researchers to the quick and efficient analysis of huge bulks of data. Digital repositories constitute a valuable tool in the effort of publishing, archiving, discovery and long-term maintenance of huge amounts of digital data (publications, datasets, multimedia files, and even processing tools and services), as they provide the infrastructure for describing and documenting, storing, preserving, and making this information publicly available in an open, user-friendly and trusted way.

META-SHARE (www.meta-share.eu) is an open, integrated, secure and interoperable exchange infrastructure dedicated to LRs; it serves as a marketplace where LRs are documented, uploaded and stored in repositories, catalogued and announced, downloaded, exchanged and discussed, aiming to support a data economy. META-SHARE brings together knowledge about LRs and related objects and processes and fosters their use

- by providing easy, uniform, one-step access to LRs through the aggregation of LR sources into one catalogue,
- by facilitating the LRs search and retrieval processes,
- by facilitating the evaluation of LRs through comparison between similar LRs,
- by encouraging (re-)use and new use of LRs through the monitoring of actual LRs use.

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The adoption of a *uniform metadata schema*, i.e. a common terminology for the external description of LRs, is crucial to the success of the endeavour.

In the context of META-SHARE, the term *metadata* refers to descriptions of LRs, encompassing both *data* (textual, multimodal/multimedia and lexical data, grammars, language models etc.) and *technologies* (tools/services) used for their processing.

2. Design principles for the metadata model

The metadata descriptions constitute the means by which LR producers describe their resources and LR users identify the resources they seek. Thus, the META-SHARE metadata model forms an integral part of the search and retrieval mechanism, with a subset of its elements serving as the access points to the LRs catalogue. In this effort, we have built upon three main building blocks:

- (a) user requirements, collected through a survey conducted in the framework of the project (Federmann et al. 2011),
- (b) the recommendations of the e-IRG report of ESFRI (e-IRG 2009, <http://www.e-irg.eu>), in what concerns purpose of usage, aims and features²,
- (c) a study of widespread metadata models in HLT and LR catalogue descriptions. The schemas and catalogues taken into account include:
 - the Corpus Encoding Standard (CES, <http://www.cs.vassar.edu/CES/>) & its XML version (XCES, <http://www.xces.org/>), which instantiates the EAGLES CES DTDs for linguistic corpora;
 - the Text Encoding Initiative (TEI, <http://www.tei-c.org/index.xml>), which develops and maintains a standard for the representation of digital texts. TEI has most notably provided guidelines for the encoding of machine-readable texts, mainly in the fields of humanities, social sciences and linguistics;
 - the Open Language Archives Community (OLAC, <http://www.language-archives.org/>), which aims at developing best practices for the digital archiving of language resources, and at implementing a network of interoperating repositories and services for hosting and accessing such resources;
 - the Dublin Core Metadata Initiative (DCMI, <http://dublincore.org/>), which, as part of its mission, develops and maintains specifications in support of resource description;
 - the ISLE MetaData Initiative (IMDI, <http://www.mpi.nl/IMDI/>), which is a metadata standard for the description of multi-media and multi-modal language resources;
 - the metadata model proposed by the European National Activities for Basic Language Resources project (ENABLER, <http://www.ilsp.gr/en/infoprojects/meta?view=project&task=show&id=121>);
 - the metadata-related activities of the CLARIN project (Common Language Resources and Technology Infrastructure, <http://www.clarin.eu/external/>), aiming to offer persistent services and provide easy access to language processing resources;
 - the Basic Metadata Description (BAMDES), a minimal metadata set used for harvesting purposes by the Harvesting Day initiative (<http://theharvestingday.eu/>), a routine in which a robot collects metadata descriptions of resources and tools, as published at their websites;
 - the European Language Resources Association (ELRA, <http://www.elra.info/>) resources, namely the ELRA Catalogue (resources distributed by ELRA), the ELRA Universal Catalogue (which comprises information regarding LRs identified all over the world) and the LRE map (a mechanism intended to monitor the use and creation of LRs by collecting information on both existing and newly-created resources);
 - the Linguistic Data Consortium (LDC, <http://www ldc.upenn.edu/>) catalogue of available resources. The LDC supports language-related education, research and technology development by creating and sharing linguistic resources;
 - and last but not least, the ISO 12620 – Data Category Registry (ISocat DCR, (ISO 12620 2009), <http://www.isocat.org/>), which defines widely accepted linguistic concepts, including metadata for the description of language resources.

² For a detailed presentation, cf. (Gavrilidou et al. 2011).

The study of these initiatives revealed that, although general trends can be spotted, there is no consensus as regards LR typology. The various typologies present different views on LR categorisation, and two tendencies have been attested in practice: on the one hand there are well-structured typologies for the classification of resources, and on the other hand there is the trend for free categorisation, whereby the provider declares the type of the resource. The first solution lacks flexibility (some resources might not fit into the predefined types), while the latter lacks uniformity and consistency. Furthermore, diverging uses of terminology hinder interoperability between metadata schemas.

The concept of *resource type* seems to be crucial to all metadata schemas and cataloguing practices, given that it constitutes the basic concept for the organization of language resources and determines a critical subset of elements related to their description. As regards the set of descriptive elements selected by each schema, consensus up to a certain degree is attested. The naming of the elements may vary but fundamental properties of LRs (e.g. identification details, resource name, free-text description) are in general present in all schemas.

From the standards and models surveyed, the DCMI standard is the most widespread metadata initiative, going back to the 90's with the advent of the internet, originating in works of library and archive cataloguing. The DC metadata element set refers to a basic set of 15 elements; refinements to this set have already been made and are documented in the DC Metadata Terms. As for LR typology, DC obviously is not restricted to LRs, and, since it was not built for this specific purpose, its terms are not sufficient for the description of language resources.

Inspired by the advantages and disadvantages of the surveyed standards, the basic principles of the METASHARE model were formulated.

- The semantic discrepancies between the standards dictated the need for **semantic clarity**, i.e. clear articulation of a term's meaning and its relations to other terms.
- The fact that certain standards focus on specific language resource types but do not cover all, led to the formulation of the principle of **expressiveness**, i.e. the ability of the model for successful description of any type of resource.
- The differing tendencies attested as regards granularity led to the principle of **flexibility**, i.e. the possibility for exhaustive but also for minimal descriptions.
- The constant emergence of new types of resources which were not covered by existing standards dictated the principle of **extensibility**, i.e. catering for future extensions, as regards the coverage of more resource types as they become available.
- Given that the metadata descriptions should be usable by other initiatives, the principle of **interoperability** is adhered to, which foresees mappings to widely used schemas (mainly DC, OLAC and ISO-DCR).
- Finally, the need for open metadata available to other initiatives led to the adoption of the principle of **harvestability**, allowing the harvesting of the metadata.

Based on these principles, the META-SHARE metadata model was designed and implemented as described in the following sections.

3. The metadata model essentials

As a general framework, the mechanism adopted for the META-SHARE metadata model is the *component-based* mechanism proposed by the ISO DCR (ISO 12620/2009), according to which semantically coherent elements are grouped together to form components (Broeder et al. 2008). *Elements* are used to encode specific descriptive features of the LRs, while *relations* are used to link together resources that are included in the META-SHARE repository (e.g. raw and annotated resources, a language resource and the tool that has been used to create it etc.), but also satellite resources such as standards used, related documentation etc.

Central to the model is the *LR taxonomy*, which allows us to organize the resources in a more structured way, taking into consideration the specificities of each type.

The set of all the components and elements describing specific LR types and subtypes represent the *profile* of this type. Obviously, certain components include information common to all types of resources (e.g. identification, contact, licensing information etc.) and are, thus, used for all LRs, while others (e.g. components including information on the contents, annotation etc. of a resource), differ

across resource types. The user is presented with proposed profiles for each LR type, which can be used as templates or guidelines for the completion of the metadata description of the resource.

In order to accommodate flexibility, the elements belong to two basic levels of description (stepwise approach):

- an initial level providing the basic elements for the description of a resource (*minimal schema*), and
- a second level with a higher degree of granularity (*maximal schema*), providing detailed information on a resource and covering all stages of LR production and use.

The minimal schema contains those elements considered indispensable for LR description (from the provider's perspective) and identification (from the consumer's perspective). It takes into account the views expressed in the user survey concerning which features are considered sufficient to give a sound "identity" to a resource. LRs producers are asked to fill in at least the minimal schema and, thereafter, enrich the descriptions of their LRs with recommended and optional elements, should they wish to do so.

In addition, the schema specifies the type allowed for all elements³ (e.g. if the values are of type *string*, *number*, *closed set of values* etc.).

4. The META-SHARE ontology

META-SHARE takes a global view on resources, aiming at providing users not only with a catalogue of LRs but also with information that can be used to enhance their exploitation. For instance, research papers that document the production of a resource as well as standards and guidelines are informative for LR users and advisory for prospective LR producers.

In the proposed META-SHARE ontology (Figure 1), a distinction is made between LRs per se and all other related entities, such as reference documents related to the resource (papers, reports, manuals etc.), persons / organizations involved in its creation and use (creators, distributors etc.), related projects and activities (funding projects, activities of usage etc.) and licences (for the distribution of the LRs).

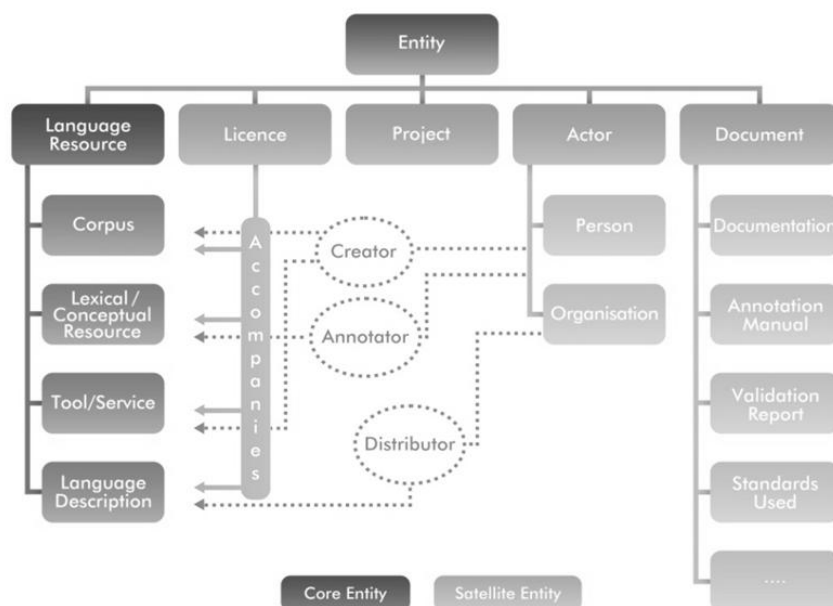


Figure 1 META-SHARE ontology

Thus, the META-SHARE model recognizes the following distinct entities:

- the *resource* itself, i.e. the LR being described, encompassing datasets and technologies,
- the *actor*, further distinguished into *person* and *organization*,
- the *project*,

³ Relations are also implemented as elements.

- the *document*, and
- the *licence*.

From these, however, the main interest of META-SHARE lies in resources, which constitute the central entity to be described; actors, projects, documents etc. are described when the case arises, i.e. when they are linked to a specific resource. Therefore, it is not expected from META-SHARE, for instance, to provide a bibliographical list of all documents that are relevant to the HLT domain, but only those documents that are related to specific resources (e.g. articles describing the creation and/or use of a resource, documentation manuals, annotation guidelines etc.).

Consequently, the META-SHARE metadata model aims at covering only LR per se. For all other entities of the ontology, metadata schemas and formats that have been devised specifically for them (e.g. BibTex for bibliographical references) have been taken into account.

5. Proposed LR taxonomy

The study of existing LR typologies (Gavriliadou et al. 2011) has revealed their diversity, which hampers the request for interoperability and jeopardizes the mandate of META-NET to provide a simple albeit descriptive schema for LR.

To encompass this issue, the META-SHARE LR taxonomy is based on intrinsic criteria, i.e. makes use of elements included in the schema. The proposed classification forms an integral part of the metadata model, whereby the types of LR (attributes and values) belong to the element set itself. A two-level hierarchy, with a coarse "main type" classification and further subclassifying features dependent on each type, is proposed. For the first level, the following four values are suggested for the element *resourceType*:

- *corpus* (including written/text, oral/spoken, multimodal/multimedia corpora)
- *lexical / conceptual resource* (including terminological resources, word lists, semantic lexica, ontologies etc.)
- *tool / service* (including processing tools, applications, web services etc. required for processing data resources)
- *language description* (including grammars, typological databases, courseware etc.).

Depending on the *resourceType* values, the LR types and subsequently the specific profiles (i.e. aggregations of components and elements) are defined.

The second element considered crucial for the description and classification of the resources is the physical medium (element *mediaType*). It is preferred over the written/spoken/multimodal distinction, as it has clearer semantics. Moreover, each medium type enforces for the description of the resources a particular set of features which differs across media.

A resource may consist of parts belonging to different types of media: for instance, a multimodal corpus includes a video part (moving image), an audio part (dialogues) and a text part (subtitles and/or transcription of the dialogues); a multimedia lexicon includes the text part, but may also include a video and/or an audio part; a sign language resource is also a resource with various media types (video, image, text). Similarly, tools can be applied to resources of different media types: e.g. a tool can be used both for video and for audio files. Thus, for each part of the resource, the respective feature set (components and elements) should be used: e.g. for a spoken corpus and its transcriptions, the audio feature set will be used for the audio part and the text feature set for the transcribed part.

The following media type values and combinations are foreseen:

- *text*: used for data resources with only written medium (and modules of audio and multimodal corpora, see below), whether monolingual, comparable or parallel
- *audio* (+ text): the audio feature set will be used for a whole resource or part of a resource that is recorded as an audio file; its transcripts are to be described by the relevant *text* feature set
- *image* (+ text): the *image* feature set is used for photographs, drawings, images of sensorimotor data etc., while the *text* set can be used for the description of its captions
- *video*: moving image (+ text) (+ audio (+ text)): used for multimedia corpora, with *video* for the moving image part, *audio* for the dialogues, and *text* referring to the transcripts of the dialogues and/or subtitles.

Two additional values are introduced in the model, although they are not really distinct media type values: these correspond to numerical text resources (value *textNumerical*) and n-grams (value *ngram*). These are actually subtypes of text resources but they present further descriptive particularities due to their contents: numerical data (e.g. biometrical, geospatial data etc.) for the former and items with

probability measures for the latter. This categorization allows us to better treat them in the metadata model.

Finally, LR users can devise their own LR taxonomy, by browsing through the META-SHARE inventory using any of the metadata elements (and combinations thereof) as classification criteria. Thus, for instance *lingualityType* as an organizing feature can be used to bring together monolingual data resources and monolingual parts of multilingual ones. Similarly, *languageName*, *domain*, *format*, annotation features etc. can be used as different dimensions according to which the catalogue of LRs can be accessed.

6. Contents of the model

The core of the model is the *resourceInfo* component (Figure 2), which contains all the information relevant for the description of a LR. It subsumes components that combine together to provide the full description of a resource.

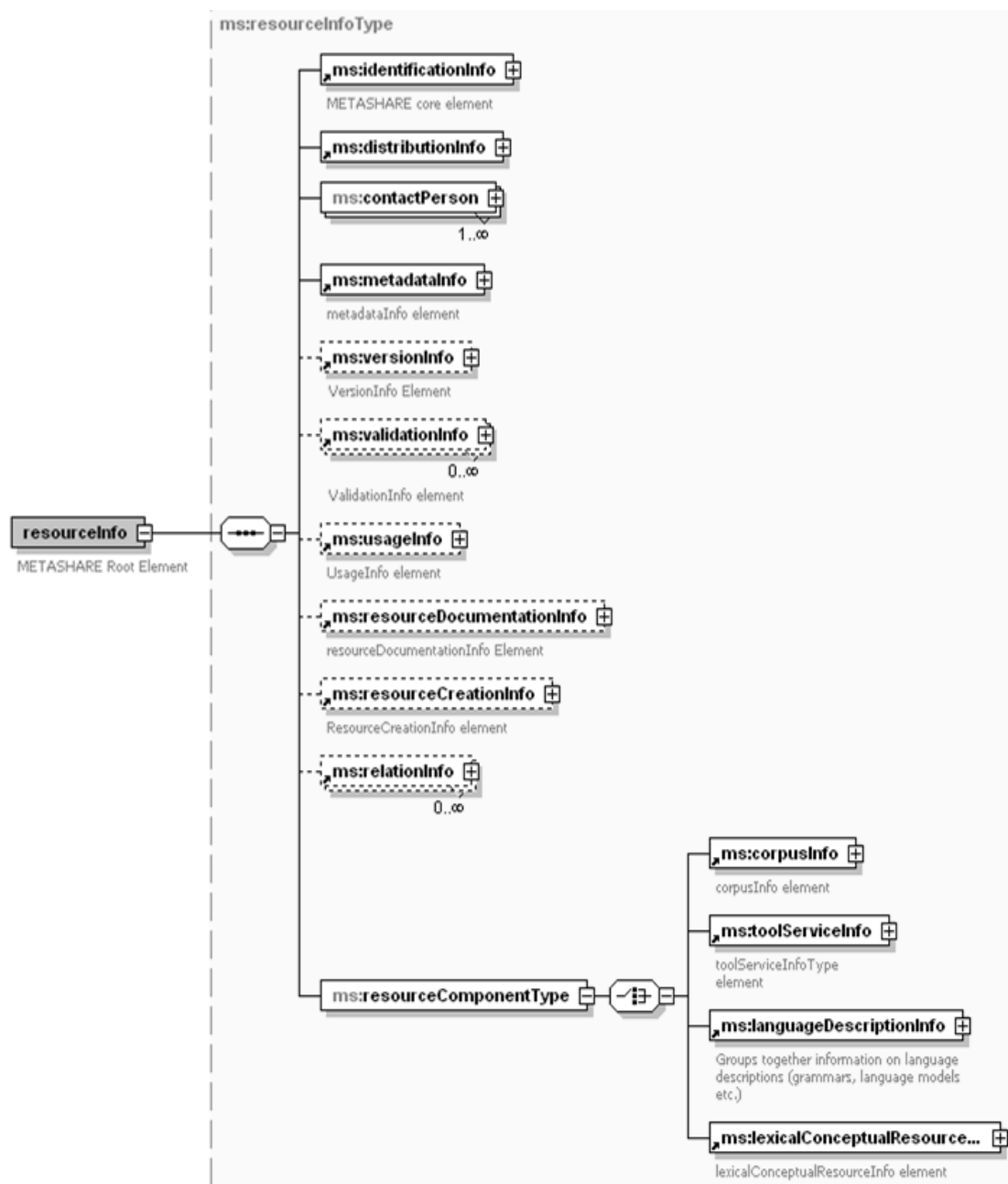


Figure 2 Common components for all LRs and resourceType components

A broad distinction can be made between the "administrative" components, which are common to all LRs, and the resource type- and media type-specific components.

The set of components that are common to all LRs are: *identificationInfo*, *distributionInfo*, *contactPerson*, *metadataInfo*, *versionInfo*, *validationInfo*, *usageInfo*, *resourceDocumentationInfo*, *creationInfo* and *relationInfo*. More specifically:

The *identificationInfo* component includes all elements required to identify the resource, such as the resource full and short names, the META-SHARE id (to be assigned automatically by the system) etc.; the *description* element is obligatorily used for the free text description of the resource contents.

Crucial is the information on the legal issues related to the availability of the resource, specified by the *distributionInfo* component, which provides a description of the terms of availability of the resource and its attached *licenceInfo* component, which gives a description of the licensing conditions under which the resource can be used.

The *contactPerson* component provides information about the person that can be contacted for further information or access to the resource.

The *metadataInfo* is responsible for all information relative to the metadata record creation, such as the catalogue from which the harvesting was made and the date of harvesting (in the case of harvested records) or the creation date and metadata creator (in case of records created from scratch using the META-SHARE metadata editor) etc.

All information relative to versioning and revisions of the resource is included in the *versionInfo* component.

The *validationInfo* component provides at least an indication of the validation status of the resource (with boolean values) and, if the resource has indeed been validated, further details on the validation mode, results etc.

The *usageInfo* component aims at providing information on the foreseen use of a resource (i.e. the application(s) for which it was originally designed) and its actual use (i.e. applications for which it has already been used, projects in which it has been exploited, products and publications having resulted from its use etc.).

The *resourceDocumentationInfo* provides information on publications and documents describing the resource; links to documents over the internet enhances this feature.

The *resourceCreationInfo* and its dependent components group together information regarding the creation of a resource (creation dates, funding information such as funder(s), project name etc.).

Finally, the *relationInfo* component allows the codification of relations that have not been foreseen by the metadata model; the resource providers have the chance to encode the relation type and the related resource.

The LR type-specific components are all located under the *resourceComponentType* component. Similarly, for each LR type, particular medium-dependent components are created to group together sets of features relevant to each LR/media type, given that media types and the recorded information for them differs across LR types; these are again grouped under an *xMediaType* component, where x stands for each of the LR type values (see Figure 3). The *resourceType* and *mediaType* elements encode the two classification axes of the schema, while each of the values of these two elements is associated with the appropriate component. The set of *resourceType* and *mediaType* components includes:

- *corpusInfo*, *lexicalConceptualResourceInfo*, *languageDescriptionInfo*, *toolServiceInfo* encode information specific to each LR type; the values *corpus*, *lexical/conceptualResource*, *languageDescription* and *toolService* are used for the element *resourceType* respectively
- *corpusTextInfo*, *corpusAudioInfo*, *corpusVideoInfo*, *lexicalConceptualResourceTextInfo*, *lexicalConceptualResourceVideoInfo* etc. provide information depending on the media type of each LR type and include the *mediaType* element with the values *text*, *audio*, *video* etc. accordingly.

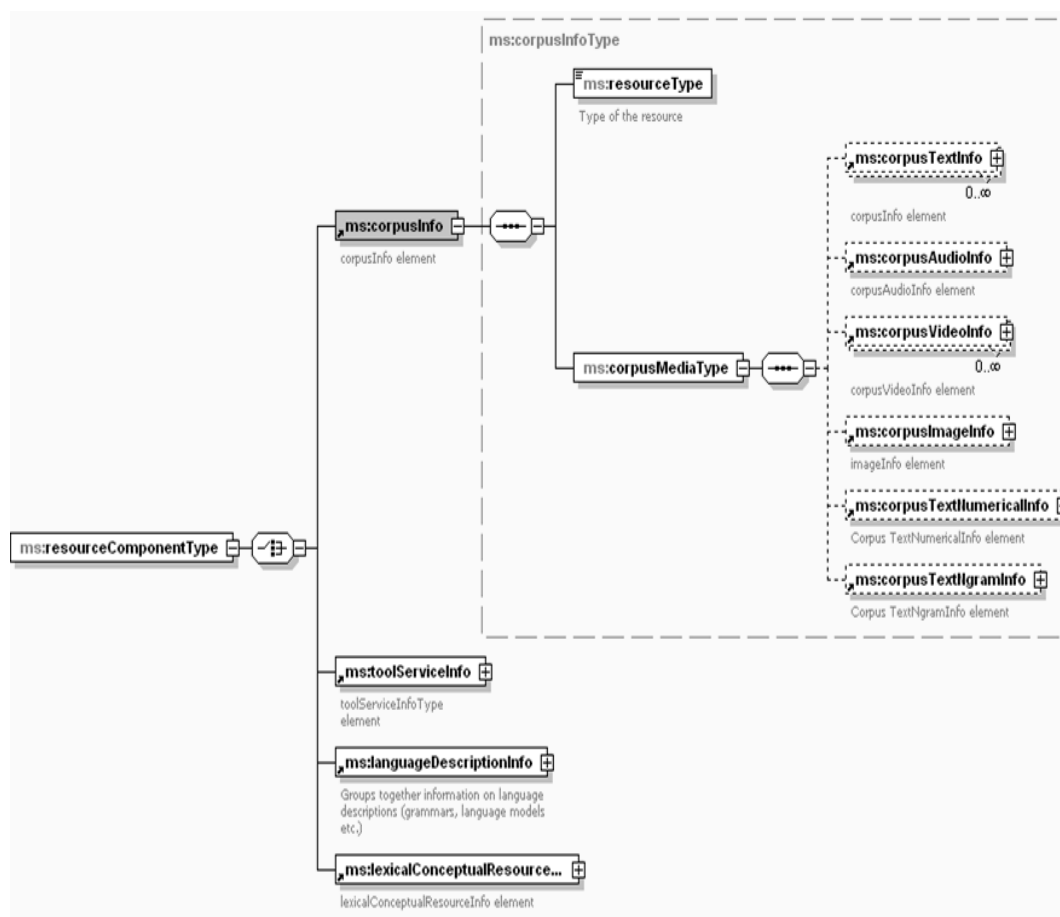


Figure 3 Components for corpora

Broadly speaking, the resource / media type-specific components cover the following types of information:

- contents: it mainly refers to languages covered in the resource, types of content (e.g. for images: drawings, photos, histograms, animations etc.), modalities included (e.g. written / spoken language, gestures, eye movements etc.), etc.
- classificatory information: it includes resource-type subclassification (e.g. subtypes of lexical/conceptual resources, tools/services etc.) as well as classification of the contents of the resource; this can be cross-media (e.g. domains, geographic coverage, time coverage etc.) as well as media-dependent (e.g. text type, audio genre, setting, etc.)
- formatting: file format, character encoding etc.; obviously, this information is more media-type-driven (e.g. different file formats for text, audio and video files)
- information on creation: this is to be distinguished from the *resourceCreationInfo* which is attached to the resource level; at the resource level, it is mainly used to give information on funding but also on anything that concerns the creation of the resource as a whole; at the media-type level, it refers to the creation of the specific resource parts, e.g. the original source, the capture and recording methods (e.g. scanning and web crawling for texts, vs. recording methods for audio files)
- performance: information regarding the performance of the resource; it is resource-type driven, given that the measures and criteria differ across resource types
- operation: information relevant to the operation requirements of the resource (e.g. the hardware and software prerequisites for running a tool/service)
- input and output: these are specific to tools/services; they can be used to provide information on the media type, format, language etc. that the tool/service can take as input and the resulting output
- finally, for multimedia resources, a special component, *linkToOtherMediaInfo*, is provided for linking between the various modules of the resource.

7. Minimal schema

The obligatory components and elements thereof that constitute the minimal schema are presented here below:

- *identificationInfo*: groups together information needed to identify the resource; the obligatory elements are the *resourceName*, the *meta-share id* and the *description*
- *distributionInfo*: groups information on the distribution of the resource; the element *availability* serves as a first indication of the terms of availability of the resource (with values *available*, *available-restrictedUse*, *available-unrestrictedUse*, *notAvailableThroughMetaShare*, *underNegotiation*); in case the resource is available, the component *licenceInfo* provides obligatorily further information regarding the licensing conditions under which the resource can be used (at least the license must be specified)
- *contactPerson*: groups information on the contact person; the only obligatory information is the *surname* and *email* of the person
- *metadataInfo*: groups information on the metadata record itself; the only mandatory element is the *metadataCreationDate*, which encodes the date of creation of the metadata record either from scratch or through harvesting; depending on the way the metadata record has been created (harvesting, editing, uploading etc.) further information can be optionally provided (e.g. metadata creator, original metadata link etc.)
- *resourceComponentType*: as aforesaid, this groups together the various LR-type-dependent components; thus, depending on the type of LR described, one of the following components is obligatory: *corpusInfo* for corpora, *lexicalConceptualResourceInfo* for lexical / conceptual resources etc.

Further obligatory components and elements are specified for each LR type. In general, the mandatory information is restricted to basic information so as not to intimidate metadata creators: size and languages for datasets, subtype for all (obviously with value sets depending on the resource type), level of encoding for language descriptions and so on.

The further characterisation of specific components and elements as "recommended" prompts the resource providers to input richer descriptions of their resources.

8. Corpora

This section presents the metadata schema, using corpora as an exemplary case.

Depending on the *mediaType*, at least one of the following components must appear: *corpusTextInfo*, *corpusAudioInfo*, *corpusVideoInfo*, *corpusImageInfo*, *corpusTextNumericalInfo* and/or *corpusTextNgramInfo* (cf. figure 3). Thus, for text corpora, the user will select to encode a *corpusTextInfo* component. A multimedia/multimodal corpus that includes videos, the transcribed dialogues thereof, the scenario used for the videos and the motion data captured by sensors (e.g. gloves, full-body equipment) and represented in the form of numerical text will require the encoding of a *corpusVideoInfo*, two *corpusTextInfo* and a *corpusTextNumericalInfo* components; the *linkToOtherMediaInfo* will provide the necessary information as to the linking and synchronization between them.

All of these components subsume further obligatory, recommended and optional components. As aforesaid, two types of information are obligatory for all of these components: *language(s)* and *size*. More specifically, as regards languages, *lingualityInfo* groups information regarding the number of languages included in the resource and the relation between them (e.g. monolingual, multilingual parallel corpus etc.), while *languageInfo* groups information respective to the specific languages and, if applicable, language varieties covered by the resource; in the case of languages, the two relevant elements (*languageId* and *languageName*) must conform to the IETF BCP47 standard (<http://www.rfc-editor.org/rfc/bcp/bcp47.txt>). Size information is recorded in the *sizeInfo* component; an effort to standardize the recorded information as far as possible has been made: thus, the *sizeInfo* component includes two elements, namely *sizeUnit* with values taken from an open controlled vocabulary⁴ and

⁴ "Open controlled vocabularies" are an important tool in the META-SHARE model as they bring together the advantages of two competing tendencies in metadata editing: controlled vocabularies allow for the standardization of information by providing a closed set of values from which users can choose but which cannot be easily updated and/or extended; user-added values, on the other hand, give more freedom but quite often the result is a list of similarly expressed values (e.g. *txt*, *TXT*, *text*, *texts*, *textual* etc. as alternatives for *text*). META-SHARE proposes the use of an intermediary tool, where users are provided with a set of predefined values for a given element, but

size, which specifies the size of the resource with regard to the *sizeUnit* measurement in the form of a number.

The *timeCoverageInfo*, *geographicCoverageInfo* and *domainInfo* can be used to provide information on the time, geographic and domain classification of the resource and/or resource parts. Further classification is also provided dependent on the *mediaType*: for the text corpora, *textGenre*, *textType*, *register* etc. are the suggested elements, for the video, *videoGenre* etc.

Creation information is also medium-type dependent: for instance, for audio and video resources (or modules), users can provide information on the recording equipment, the setting, the group of participants, the capturing equipment etc.

Further information can be provided for the *modalities* included in each resource module (in the *modalityInfo* component): so, for instance, for text resources, written vs. spoken language can be specified, while for audiovisual resources one can specify whether gestures, body movements etc. are contained.

The *formatting* information, which is important for the interoperability with tools and services, can also be encoded for each medium-specific part of the resource (e.g. the video part of the resource consists of WAV files, the text part consists of TXT and XML files etc.); character encoding is also included but obviously pertains only to text resources.

Finally, the *annotationInfo* component groups information on the *annotation* of the resource: annotation type, tool, method, process used, standards/best practices adopted etc. For each different type of annotation (e.g. lemmatization, semantic annotation, modality annotation etc.) the component is repeated, thus providing the correct linking between the various annotation details (e.g. which annotation tool has been used for which annotation type, in case of multiple annotation tools used).

9. Conclusions and future work

The current schema has been adopted and utilized for the description of 1,277 resources (datasets and tools), covering a broad variety of languages, resource and media types, available through META-SHARE. The model has been implemented as an XML schema, documented also in the form of a manual with detailed information, including definitions, examples and guidelines for the usage of the whole schema and each element (Desipri et al. 2012). Future work focuses on the completion of the schema as regards both breadth (i.e. coverage of more types) as well as depth (i.e. improvements on the schema based on LR providers' feedback).

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they are also allowed to add their own values (by choosing the "other" value and inputting a new value); a regular checking of the new values will allow the better monitoring of the controlled vocabularies.

PATTERNS OF CODE-ALTERNATION IN THE BILINGUAL IN GREEK AND TURKISH MUSLIM COMMUNITY OF RHODES

Marianthi Georgalidou

University of The Aegean,
Greece

georgalidou@rhodes.aegean.gr

Hasan Kaili

University of The Aegean,
Greece

kaili@rhodes.aegean.gr

Aytac Celtek

University of The Aegean,
Greece

celtek@aegean.gr

ABSTRACT

This paper examines aspects of the linguistic repertoire of the bilingual in Greek and Turkish Muslim community of Rhodes. It is based on research conducted in an ethnographic framework and aims at exploring patterns of code alternation in everyday bilingual conversations among members of the community networks, as well as issues of identity as these can be approached based on the choices speakers of different social and age groups make during interaction. Based on the analysis, it will be shown that, a) aspects of the overall and sequential organization of bilingual conversations point to a micro-macro link between conversational practices and ethnographically documented structures of the community, namely community networks (Gumperz 1982; Milroy and Wei 1995; Georgalidou et al. 2011), and b) code alternation practices reflect not only aspects of the politics and management of the identity of the speakers as members of the same ethnic category, but also broader issues concerning the construction of youth identities as opposed to those of older generations.

1. Introduction

Firstly seen as a marginal social phenomenon, code-alternation has proven a rather universal aspect of the linguistic reality of most speech communities in the world and has become a major issue especially in what is defined as the socio-pragmatic approaches to bilingualism. Either as a consequence of the historical coexistence of dominant and minority ethnic communities and emigration, or even as a phenomenon that is connected to the teaching and use of languages that are defined as “foreign”, the systematic contact of different linguistic systems produces structural and communicative implications that only in the recent years of linguistic studies have been extensively studied. More specifically, in contemporary linguistics, and in particular in the context of the sociolinguistic and pragmatic approaches to actual language use, the study of bilingual conversation has altered the way we approach and evaluate phenomena such as the use of two (or more) languages by participants in the same communicative event, i.e. talk-in-interaction. Firstly seen as a non-systematic and rather problematic phenomenon concerning the communicative competence of bilinguals- or the lack of it- (Gafaranga 2007b), talk in more than one language has now gained a prominent place within socio- and pragmatic approaches to everyday talk (Georgalidou et al. 2010: 316). Prototypically defined as “a relationship of contiguous juxtaposition of semiotic systems, such that the appropriate recipients of the resulting complex sign are in a position to interpret the juxtaposition as such” (Auer 1995: 116), code-alternation has been examined for both the organizational parameters of bilingual talk-in-interaction and its impact on identity construction processes (Wei 1998; Auer 2005).

Based on Auer (1984, 1995), four patterns of conversational code alternation have been proposed that can be further seen as discourse related and participant related alternations. Pattern I concerns switching from code A to code B between utterances or in the same utterance and is considered the discourse related alternation or code alternation as a contextualisation cue (also see Gumperz 1982). Pattern II is considered the language preference related switching that activates the process of language

negotiation which leads to the prevalence of one language over another. Participants switch from code A to code B repeatedly until consensus is reached over the medium of conversation. Pattern III does not always permit the identification of any of the languages used as the base language of the interaction. It is a rather debatable case of alternation as it raises the question of a single bilingual medium as part of the overall organisation of the interaction over the juxtaposition of two distinct linguistic systems. Pattern IV, the intrasentential momentary switching that does not change the language of the interaction, is defined as transfer and is considered a participant related alternation pattern.

Gafaranga (2007), and Torres and Gafaranga (2002) have proposed a revised model of bilingual talk-in-interaction and code alternation patterns that sees alternation as an aspect of the overall organization of bilingual conversation. The more significant contribution of the model to the present discussion is the shift from the entity language to that of medium, be it monolingual or bilingual, as the central unit against which the discussion of code alternation practices can be placed. The shift of attention from the juxtaposition of two languages to the overall conversational organization, and the potential of the bilingual medium of being part of this organization, permits a more synthetic view of code alternation within a continuum of prototypical to less prototypical code alternation patterns (Georgalidou et al. 2010).

Seeing both models as complementary, we analyze conversations recorded during ethnographic research in the bilingual in Greek and Turkish Muslim community of Rhodes within a Conversation Analysis framework (Wei 2005). We examine aspects of the overall and sequential organization of bilingual conversations attempting a micro-macro link between conversational practices and ethnographically documented structures of the community, namely community networks (Gumperz 1982; Milroy and Wei 1995; Georgalidou et al. 2008). Also, we examine issues of identity as these can be approached based on the code alternation choices speakers of different age groups make during interaction.

2. The community

Muslims of Rhodes are Greek citizens of Turkish origin who have lived on Rhodes since 1522. In 1912, during the Italian occupation, and then again after the annexation of Dodecanese islands to Greece in 1947, the community underwent a major shift as far as power distribution is concerned. After being the dominant group during Ottoman times, they acquired the unofficial status of a minority community. Today's estimated population is 2500-3000 people on the island of Rhodes. Muslim students of Turkish origin attend public schools and the Turkish language is mainly used within the community, as it is not formally taught or used in transactions with the Greek-speaking majority neither in formal or informal contexts. As a consequence, in the last 60 years almost the entire Muslim community has shifted from near monolingualism in Turkish to bilingualism in Turkish and Greek.

As far as the linguistic repertoire of the community is concerned, older speakers use a Greek *contact vernacular* based on the local Greek dialect of Rhodes with substantial interference from Turkish. Later generations use a variety of Greek with less interference. This interference is gradually fading away to the near or completely native varieties of younger generations (Georgalidou et al. 2011). There are different proficiency levels in Turkish as well. Most members of the grandparent and parent generation are fluent in a local variety of Turkish, whereas contact with standard Turkish is mainly accomplished through television and occasional visits to Turkey. The local variety of Turkish also exhibits substantial interference from Greek (Kaili et al. 2009).

3. The research

We examine two subgroups of the community, one residing in the city of Rhodes and the other in a suburban settlement a few kilometers away from the city. We use ethnographic data collection procedures which allow us to obtain a realistic picture of patterns of language use and the informal social organization, i.e. networks operating in the community (Gumperz 1982; Milroy and Wei 1995; Georgalidou et al. 2011). Research has been going on for almost ten years. Linguistic data used for the present study were recorded during three family gatherings. They were recorded by one of the family members without the presence of the researchers. The aim was to collect linguistic data that would allow the analysis of code-choice and code-alternation patterns as exhibited by community members

who belong to different networks and age groups. The excerpts analyzed comprise of 31 hours of talk among members of three different families, two residing in the city and one in a suburban settlement.

4. The participants

Examples 1, 4 & 5 comprise of excerpts of conversations among members of two different families in the urban network. In the first family (FAM 1), the speakers belong to the grandparent (two speakers in their mid-sixties) and parent (one male speaker aged 30, the son of the couple) generations. In the second family (FAM 2), the speakers belong to the parent (the father aged 48-50 and the mother aged 45) and the children (one speaker in his early twenties, the son of the couple) generations. All examples involve mother/ wife (M/W)- father/ husband (F/H)- son (S) talk.

Examples 2, 3 & 6 comprise of excerpts of conversations among members of the suburban network who belong to the parent (the mother-M and the father-F, between 40 and 45) and children (three sisters aged 16-D3, 18-D2 and 20-D1, and Ercan, a 15 year old boy, distant relative of the family- FR) generations. They are all members of a close-knit neighborhood community network (FAM 3).

5. The analysis²

We analyze our data within a Conversation Analysis framework in examining the sequential development of interaction. We organize our examples based on the four patterns of code alternation as proposed by Auer (1995, 1998). We also refer to the overall/ medium approach as proposed by Gafaranga (2007). Taking the emic perspective as our point of departure, we attempt a link between the conversational strategies applied by the speakers, the management of the community linguistic resources and issues of identity. More specifically, we discuss the microstructures of code-alternation in connection to aspects of the identity of the speakers, such as their age and social status, as these are locally constructed in interaction.

Pattern I: The prototypical case of discourse organizational alternation. From code A to code B, between utterances or in the same utterance; code-alternation as a contextualisation cue (Gumperz 1982; Auer 1995, 1998).

Example 1 is a prototypical instance of Pattern I discourse organizational code alternation in order to mark a dispreferred sequence. It is part of a conversation conducted during a city family dinner event, the participants being an elderly couple and their 30 year old son (FAM 1, city dwellers). Mother and Son negotiate over the choice of the television program they are going to watch in Greek (turns 1 & 2). The alternation of codes by Mother marks the dispreferred sequence of rejecting the indirect request by her son to switch to a different television channel (turn 02), in turn 03.

Example 1 (FAM 1)

-
- 01 M Ti tha kanun afti?
 02 S Ego pali leo na dume ligo ti ginete ston kozmo.
 →03 M *Dur bakalım bu lahanayı ne açıyor böyle, içine ne dolduracak?*
- 01 M What are they going to do? (watching a magazino on Turkish tv)
 02 S I, on the other hand, say that we'd better see what is going on in the world. (indirectly requesting a switch to a Greek channel to watch the news)
 →03 M *Wait a minute. Let us see why he is opening this cabbage like this, what is he going to stuff it with?*
-

¹ Altogether, we have so far analyzed material based on more than 20 hours of conversations with and among 17 speakers at the urban setting, members of 4 partially overlapping exchange networks and 20 speakers at the suburban setting, all of them members of an overlapping kinship network.

² The English translation of the Greek/ Turkish conversations is only approximate.

Symbols used in the transcription: /: self-repair, //: interruption, (.): pause, ((): extralinguistic information, underlined segments: high pitch, =: latching, [: simultaneous speech, <x>: unintelligible segment

Code-choice in example 2 is also pragmatically relevant as it marks dispreferred sequences. Contrary to example 1, to reject the offer of food by both his host and hostess (turns 03, 04), Ercan uses their preferred language- not his- a choice that functions as redressive action (turns 07, 11). The older daughter of the couple on the other hand, switches to Greek, the overall preferred language by the younger members of the group, to reject her father's request for bread (turns 08, 10). In this example, the use of *same language* by the young guest of the family to mark the dispreferred sequence is in contrast to the choice made in the previous example. However, as opposition and disagreement are not necessarily dispreferred choices in conversations among family members (Kakava 2002), the marking of disagreement and rejection as non-dispreferred sequences by the younger daughter of the couple is done through switching to Greek. Choice of medium also constructs the variable status of the speakers, young guest versus family member.

Example 2- FAM 3

-
- 01 F: Ercan!
 02 FR: Hm?
 03 F: Bak. Şu mezeden acık al. Kokumluk. Dene len dene.
 04 M: Utanma bak utanma.
 05 F: Hani sofrada ekmek?
 06 M: Ekmek nerde?
 →07 FR: *Aka istemiyom ekmek.*
 08 D1: *A signomi exume patates den kani.*
 09 F: Kızım iki dilim kesin ekmek.
 10 D1: *ohi.*
 →11 FR: *Bişey olmaz tamam.*
- 01 F: Ercan!
 02 FR: Hm?
 03 F: Look. Take some of this delicacy. Take a bite. Just try it you.
 04 M: Don't be shy, don't be shy.
 05 F: Where is the bread on the table?
 06 M: Where is the bread?
 →07 FR: *Nop I don't want bread.*
 08 D1: *A, I'm sorry, we are having potatoes, it's not right.*
 09 F: My daughter cut two slices of bread.
 10 D1: *No.*
 →11 FR: *It's ok, no problem.*
-

Though structurally similar to Pattern II medium negotiation switching in terms of the organization of turn-taking and the continuous switching of languages (see example 4 below), example 3 is another instance of Pattern I discourse organizational switching. Mother switches to Greek to mark her disagreement to D2's evaluative rhetoric question as to the insignificance of a small amount of money (turn 08) by echoing D1's contribution in turn 06³. An important aspect of this excerpt is the lack of a base language as its overall organizational scheme (Auer 2000). Speakers of different age groups maintain their preferred languages throughout the episode as Mother's switching to Greek is only momentary, a fact established by the use of the Turkish epistemic copular -Dir at the end of her final contribution (turn 8). Language choice convergence or consensus does not seem to be an issue in this excerpt. Juxtaposition of codes however, is significant per se as the use of Greek in turns 02, 04, 06 & 07 by the younger members of the family does not form departure from Turkish as the established base language of the interaction. Rather, bilingual speakers of younger generation groups maintain Greek (or the bilingual medium as in examples 4 & 6) as their chosen medium, in contrast to speakers of the grandparent and parent generations who exhibit preference for the use of Turkish marked by their choice to initiate conversational episodes in it (examples 2, 3, 4, 6). Divergent language preference patterns form part of identity construction processes as they are means of claiming participation to different age groups and social roles, i.e. young versus old, child versus parent.

³ For a more detailed analysis see Georgalidou et al. 2010: 327-328.

Example 3- FAM 3

- 01 M: Sizde ne kadar eczanede?
 02 D1: *Ena trianda.*
 03 M: Biz ne kadar aldık şimdi?
 04 D1: *Ena peninda.*
 05 M: Sizde daha ucuz yani?
 06 D1: *İkosi lepta.*
 07 D2: *Mono?*
 →08 M: *Eh! İkosi lepta ikosi leptadır.*
- 01 M: How much is it at your pharmacy?
 02 D1: *One thirty.*
 03 M: How much have we bought it now?
 04 D1: *One fifty.*
 05 M: Is it cheaper at you ((your pharmacy)) that is?
 06 D1: *Twenty pence.*
 07 D2: *Only?*
 →08 M: *Eh! Twenty pence is twenty pence.*

Pattern II. From code A to code B repeatedly, until consensus is reached as on the medium of the exchange; the language preference related switching.

Example 4 is part of a young city family conversation (FAM 2, city dwellers). Unlike example 3, it is a typical case of pattern II code alternation in which consensus is sought and finally achieved over the medium of the interaction. Despite the fact that father initiates this conversational episode by means of Turkish, the son, a graduate of a Greek university in his early twenties, finally prevails in the language negotiation process and the father switches to Greek (turn 07). Yet, similarly to example 3, this is another instance of an identity construction process and language politics by an older speaker, who constructs parenthood via exhibiting preference for the we-code of the community. Irrespective of the outcome of the negotiation process, whenever one can be shown to be at work within talk-in-interaction, the contrast between younger and older generations of speakers is still constructed through their divergent choice of medium of talk.

Example 4- FAM 2

- 01 F Orda sivrisinek mi var olan?
 02 S *Ne*
 03 F Git elinne vuruver.
 04 S *Ooh. Fere mia pandofla*
 05 F Gı, elinne vur da, git elini yıkıver. (7'') Hiç sillogodan, hiç geçmiyon mu?
 06 S *An vrune kati, tha mu pun afti.*
 →07 F *Perna ke si pes kalimera, de hanis tipota, afto mu ipe ke o Ali., 'na lei' lei 'kalimera, otan ke me vlepi' lei 'a mu pi, a rti konda mu' lei 'na sizitisume'.*
 08 S *Pios to pe afto?*
 09 F *Aftos, to pedaki 'Thelo' lei 'Etsi na anihti' lei*
 10 S *Pu me xeri ma aftos?*
- 01 F Is this a mosquito over there?
 02 S *Yes*
 03 F Go and hit it with your hand.
 04 S *Ooh. Go get a slipper.*
 05 F Hit it with your hands, then go, wash your hands (7''). Don't you ever stop by the association?
 06 S *If they find out something, they will let me know.*
 →07 F *Just stop by and say "good morning". You have nothing to lose. This is what Ali told me.*
 08 S *Who said this?*
 09 F *Him, this guy, he says 'I want him to open up'.*
 10 S *How come that he knows me?*

Pattern III: Turn internal switching between languages so that no single language can be identified as the base language; keeping language choice open or the choice of a bilingual medium as part of the overall organization of talk (Meeuwis & Blommaert 1998, Auer 2000, Gafaranga 2007).

In example 5, an elderly female member of the community (FAM 1, city dwellers) constructs an extensive narrative contribution (turn 2) by means of the bilingual medium. In this excerpt, the alternation between languages has clear discourse functions. The direction of the switches is irrelevant, but the contiguous juxtaposition of languages contextualizes shifts in topic (a-1), the introduction/continuation of narrative (b- 2/4/8/12), evaluative comments (c- 3/6/7/11), reiteration for emphasis (d- 5/10), as well as different types of semantic contrasts (e- 9/11). The structure of the bilingual medium in this example is indicative of language choice patterns exhibited by older speakers who mostly alternate between codes to organize discourse. Every one of the switches in turn 2 (12 in total) has clear discourse functions. This is not always the case in the mixing modes exhibited by younger speakers (see example 6), which is a preliminary observation that calls for further research.

Example 5- FAM 1

01 S *Ti ekane aftos? Elia evale mesa.*

02 M *Şe ezmesi kodu galiba (.)* Dur bakalım ne kodu. (5') ((1-a)) *Pu les ke* ((2-b)) acık geçti arası kadının, kadıncık ölüverdi genç başınla. ((3-c)) *Pos lipithikame tote.* ((4-b)) Çocukları ufak ufak bıraktı. ((5-d)) *Mikra mikra ta fise orfana ta pedakia i gineka.* ((6-c)) Çocukların şeyini görmedi, mürvetini kadıncık. ((7-c)) *Lipithika para poli gi'afiti ti gineka yiati itan poli kali gineka.* ((8-b)) Sonra adam kaldı; Bedri. ((9-e)) *İtane ki' i siheromeni i mana tis, i yiayia tus.* ((10-d)) Anneanneleri çocukların. O kadın büyüttü o çocukları, ((11-e/c)) *me ton patera mazi. Kalos kakos.* ((12-b)) E sonra kadıncık yaşlıdı da, zaten daha çok yaşlandı sonra bu Selim'i artık, yengeleri mi oluyodu? Yengeleri oluyodu evlatlık aldı, Selma 'anım.

03 F *Ine, afti ine tis miteras tus adelfi ine.*

01 S *What did he do? He has put olives in it.*

02 M She seems to have used some pate (.). Let us see what she has stuffed it with. (5') ((1-a)) *You see* ((2-b)) after a short while, that poor woman died so young. ((3-c)) *How sorry we felt then.* ((4-b)) *She left her children ((and they were)) too young.* ((5-d)) The poor woman left the little children orphans. ((6-c)) The poor woman never saw her children's weddings. ((7-c)) *I was very sad about this woman because she was a very good woman.* ((8-b)) Then, he was left alone, Bedri. ((9-e)) *Her old mother, the children's grandmother was with them as well.* ((10-d)) The children's grandmother. That woman brought them up, ((11-e/c)) *together with the father. Somehow.* ((12-b)) And then, she was already an old woman, she grew older, then this Selim, wasn't she their aunt-in-law? Yes, she was, she adopted him, Selma. ((Selma adopted Selim))

03 F *She is, yes, she is their mother's sister.*

In example 6, the alternation between languages does not always serve discourse functions (Auer 2000). What is more, it is non-consequential on the level of language choice; instead, it results in an "open state of language choice" and can be seen as forming a continuum from discourse functional code-switching into a bilingual mode of interaction. Additionally, while switches by Mother (M) and Father (F) mostly pertain to Pattern IV intrasentential momentary switches that are not consequential for their choice of medium (turns 6, 8 & 11; also see example 3, turn 8), speakers of the children generation seem to have developed different ways of mixing and switching (Auer 2005: 406), that do not always serve the local organization of discourse. The continuous alternation of languages (24 in total, 20 of which done by the younger speakers of the group) mostly creates the effect of a single bilingual medium (Meeuwis and Blommaert 1998; Torras and Gafaranga 2002), which seem to be one of the preferred choices by younger speakers in their interaction with older community members.

Example 6- FAM 3

01 F: Ercan kuru kuru içilmez. Bi tane çatalla azcık yemek //

02 M: Yemek koyem.

03 FR: Aa.. istemiyom, istemiyom. Yidim ben.

- 04 M: Ne Yidin?
 05 FR: Evde *pitsa* yidim//
 06 M: *Pitsayı* kim yapıyo?=
 07 FR: =*Kafe ipia*.
 08 F: Len annem yemek yapmıyo mu? Oluyo mu böyle *pitsa bira, pitsa bira*?
 09 FR: *Ma ksero go! Şey, edo ke mia vdomada pitsa* yiyok.
 All: ((laughing))
 10 FR: *Ihame kolisi sto/ şey st'avga. Tora/ Yani, omeletala, hani şe oluyo/ Ohi omeleta/ Nası? İçine //*
 11 M: *Krepa* mı?
 12 FR: Hayır.
 13 D2: *Me lahanika?* Kabaklan?
 14 FR: *Lukaniko* gibi hani bişe.
 15 D2: *Sucuk?*
 16 FR: Ha *sucuk*
 17 D2: Eee, ondan mı?
 18 FR: Ondan. *Ihame kolisi safto. Kathe ke mia mera sucuk. E: leo, den pai allo, as alaksume.*
- 01 F: Ercan you cannot just drink. With a fork, some food//
 02 M: Shall I serve?
 03 FR: Ah, it's ok, it's ok. I have already eaten.
 04 M: What did you eat?
 05 FR: I ate *pizza* at home//
 06 M: Who made the *pizza*?=
 07 FR: =*I had coffee*.
 08 F: Hey, doesn't your mother cook? What is this *pizza beer, pizza beer*?
 09 FR: *See! Well, for a week now* we have been eating *pizza*.
 All: ((laughing))
 10 FR: *We were stuck/ well to the eegs. Now/ That is, with omelet, that is done/ Not omelet/ What do you call it? That inside ((you put something)) //*
 11 M: Was it *pancake*?
 12 FR: No.
 13 D2: *With vegetables?* With courgette?
 14 FR: Something that looks like *sausage*.
 15 D2: ((Turkish)) *sausage?*
 16 FR: Ya ((Turkish)) *sausage*.
 17 D2: E:, like this one?
 18 FR: Like this one. *We were stuck to that. Every single day ((Turkish)) sausage. E: I said, enough is enough, let us change.*

Pattern IV: Intrasentential momentary switches that do not change the language of the interaction. Participant related transfers (Auer 1995)/ the Medium Repair and the Medium Suspension Pattern (Torrás & Gafaranga 2002).

This is a code-alternation pattern that again raises the question of what counts as code/ medium as far as the language users are concerned. Contrasting cases, as momentary lapses of memory as to what a word is in the language of interaction, and systematic use of discourse markers or lexicon in the “other” language of the bilingual speaker have to be dealt with separately. The former has to do with either (lack of) competence or stylistics, whereas the latter with the potential of a single bilingual medium (Meeuwis and Blommaert 1998), as in the examples 3 (turn 8), 4 (turn 5), and 6 (turns 6, 8 and 11). The conditioning of Pattern IV alternations needs to be tackled both in terms of proportion and sentential structures, as well as in terms of textual structures and discourse functions, a discussion that exceeds the limits of the present study. What can be observed though, based on the examples that have been discussed so far, is that Pattern IV momentary switches that are placed within the boundaries of Turkish morphosyntactic structures are used by older speakers only, at least as far as our data are concerned.

6. Conclusions

Pattern I code-alternation within bilingual conversations has clear discourse functions. The languages of the speaker's repertoires are used to achieve "a contiguous juxtaposition of the semiotic systems" (Auer 1995), that contributes to the organization of discourse. It can be described as the *Discourse Oriented Pattern*. Patterns II, III & IV on the other hand, could be seen as more *Participant Oriented Cases* of code alternation. Pattern II, the negotiation over Medium Selection, is consequential for the overall organization of talk as it determines the medium of talk at least within the duration of a conversational episode. Pattern III is also consequential for the overall organization of talk as it seems to comprise the choice of a bilingual medium. Pattern IV alternations serve as momentary transfers from the medium of the interaction, as they do not alter the medium at least within the limits of a turn or an extended conversational episode. All four patterns often co-occur in longer conversational episodes, involving speakers of different orientations as to the politics of language as well as speakers of variable competences in the languages/ mediums of the interaction. Bilingual conversations seem to be moving along a continuum of prototypical code alternation, in which participants orient to a preference for one language-of-interaction and code-switch in order to organize discourse, towards code alternation of a less prototypical kind, i.e. the selection of a mixed code (Auer 1998, 2000) or a bilingual medium (Gafaranga 2007), in which locally operational discourse functions cannot always be identified (Georgalidou et al. 2010).

As far as the informal community organization and issues of identity are concerned, looking at the overall picture of the excerpts discussed, especially those of families 2 and 3 (FAM 2, FAM 3) in which younger members of the community exhibit their linguistic preferences, it becomes apparent that the alternating use of the community linguistic resources does not only serve discourse organization functions. There is a clear shift between *we* and *they* codes, as Greek and the Bilingual Medium are systematically used to construct youth identities, in contrast to the ones constructed by the adult members of close-knit community networks through consistent use of Turkish. Systematic use of Greek, as well as instances of code mixing, were also found in the discourse of adult speakers in the city networks, a fact that points to the shift towards a more extensive use of Greek in the more open community networks of the city⁴. Still, the generational distribution and the variable structures of Pattern III and IV code alternations are points in question that require further research.

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TAMING – AND NAMING – THE GREEK “SUBJUNCTIVE”

Brian D. Joseph

The Ohio State University

joseph.1@osu.edu

1. Introduction

Linguists tend to want to approach a language on its own terms, so to speak, and find solutions for analytic problems by looking to the language itself. It cannot be denied that this is a valid and highly effective strategy; after all, the speakers of the language generally speaking do not have access to anything but their own language and the resources it provides for analytic decisions. Why then should linguists try to do anything different from that, especially if the goal of linguistic analysis is to develop an account of a language that mirrors native speakers' internalized knowledge, a “grammar”, of their language. Moreover, looking only to language-internal evidence for a particular analysis is certainly a reasonable first step for the analyst to take methodologically; bringing in external evidence, including outcomes of laboratory experiments or even insights from language games or poetic form, is a step that can come after the internal evidence has been assessed, as a type of corroboration for the internally arrived-at account.

Still, linguists also show a healthy interest in language typology and typological/structural comparison between and among different languages. Thus, for all the fact that linguists might like language-internal solutions, it is not at all unusual, and indeed, it is to be expected -- given that linguists do investigate languages on typological grounds -- that a problem in one language can be given illumination by a consideration of another language. Recognizing the value of language typology and typological/structural comparison between and among different languages is thus a suitable complementary approach to looking only to internal evidence.

The particular issue at hand that prompts these methodological musings is a thorny and troublesome problem in the analysis of Modern Greek for which some light from a comparative/typological perspective turns out to be useful.

2. The Problem

The problem in question is the verbal forms in Modern Greek that occur with *na* (and *as*, etc.) that have long been a locus of analytic controversy. The issues are well known, but some background is useful here. The analytic problem is that some of the specific verbal forms – and it is important to emphasize “forms” here since a key facet of the issue is how to deal with the distribution of the forms themselves, not their functions – that are found with *na* can occur independently, while others cannot. Thus, with imperfective aspect present tense forms, as (1a) and (1b) show, forms with or without *na* are possible as well-formed stand-alone utterances, whereas with perfective aspect present tense forms, as (1c) and (1d) show, only the combination with *na* gives an acceptable stand-alone utterance:

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|-----|------------------------------|------------------------|---------------------|-------------------------|
| (1) | a. <i>na</i> γ rafo? | ‘Should I be writing?’ | b. γ rafo | ‘I write; I am writing’ |
| | c. <i>na</i> γ rapso? | ‘Should I write?’ | d. * γ rapso | ‘I write’ |

The analytical situation is complicated by the fact that the perfective forms also co-occur with other controlling elements such as WH-words, as in (2a-b), conditional markers, as in (2c), and some conjunctions, as in (2d), among others:

- | | | | | |
|-----|-------------------------------|---------------------|--------------------------------|-----------------------|
| (2) | a. <i>otan</i> γ rapso | ‘when I write, ...’ | b. <i>opjos</i> γ rapsi | ‘whoever writes, ...’ |
| | c. <i>an</i> γ rapso | ‘if I write, ...’ | d. <i>prin</i> γ rapso | ‘before I write, ...’ |

The generalization about the distribution of these forms therefore can be stated as in (3):

- (3) Modern Greek perfective present forms never stand alone; they must always be introduced by some “controlling” or “determining” element.

Virtually all descriptions and analyses of Greek make this observation, with many noting that there is one main exception to this generalization: the *fiji den fiji* construction, as in (4a), with perhaps also the fixed phrase *opu fiji fiji* as well, as in (6b):

- (4) a. *fiji den fiji* ‘whether he leaves or not’ (literally, “leaves/3SG.PERFVE not leaves/3SG.PERFVE”)
b. *opu fiji fiji* ‘run for your dear life!’ (literally: “wherever run/3SG.PERFVE, run/3SG.PERFVE”)

These are fairly isolated exceptions, with the lexicalized character of *opu fiji fiji* removing it from being much of an analytic concern; the *fiji den fiji* construction, however, does have some degree of productivity (cf. *bi den bi* ‘whether he enters or not’ and similarly constructed examples), and, as such, cannot be totally ignored.

So the facts are clear, but the problem lies in both analytic issues and a terminological one. On the analytic side, the questions are just what grammatical and especially morphological category this perfective present form represents and why it should be restricted as it is, being unable to stand alone and always requiring some supportive element that “selects” for it. On the terminological side, the question is just what to call this form and category.

For a language to have essentially a form that is always subordinated to some other form is not unusual at all from a typological standpoint. Cross-linguistically, this is in fact what is found with “subjunctive” forms in many well-known and well-studied languages, such as the Romance languages. As for the label, as Mackridge (1985: 174) observes: “The term ‘subjunctive’ ... suggests that the clause in which a subjunctive appears is subjoined (i.e. subordinated) to another”, and while he was talking about combinations such as *na yrapso* and not the form *yrapso* itself, the point is clear: “subjunctive” is appropriate if we are dealing with something that is always “subjoined”. This question of labeling therefore intersects with the question of whether Greek has a subjunctive mood, i.e. a verbal category associated with subordination.

Thus there is an analytic, as well as a terminological, dilemma here, in that if there is a category, it should be labeled. That is, we need not only to “tame” the subjunctive beast but also to “name” it.

3. So, Does Modern Greek Have a “Subjunctive”?

The issue is actually further complicated by another related fact. Given that *na* is a major player in the use of this form, though not the exclusive one, we can further ask, as many have – and this is perhaps where the analytic tangle arises -- whether *na* itself, or *na* as one of a set of determining markers, determines this “subjunctive”. As an alternative, one could say that the particular verb form, specifically the perfective present, is itself the reflection of the subjunctive category. These interrelated questions can be summed up as in (5):

- (5) The set of questions at issue here
a. is the combination of *na* (etc.) + Perfective Present (*na yrapso*) a “subjunctive”?, or ...
b. is the Perfective Present itself (*yrapso* alone) a “subjunctive”?, or ...
c. does *na* itself determine a “subjunctive”?, and in any case ...
d. what does “subjunctive” mean here?

In what follows, I stake out my position with regard to each of these questions and then address the analytic and terminological issues that arise from these positions. All are positions that are defensible in and of themselves, so that the combination of them poses a particular framework for addressing the overall issue in Greek morphosyntax of the nature of the *na* forms and the forms with *na*.

To answer (5d) first, I take the position here that “subjunctive” is to be understood only as a morpho-syntactic category, not a functional one; thus subjunctive-like uses are not the issue, though they turn out not to be totally irrelevant. As for (5a), my answer is yes, by virtue of the argument of Veloudis & Philippaki-Warbuton 1983 that the selection of negation marker can be correlated with mood: the negator *den* selects for and thus is an index of indicative mood whereas the negator *min* selects for and thus is an index of a subjunctive, the subjunctive being determined by the combination of verbal forms with *na* and *as*. The relevant distributional facts are shown in (6a-d); note that no matter what position one take on the distribution of the negators, it is simply a fact about Greek that

the imperative mood as such is idiosyncratically (for Modern Greek) not negatable, as shown in (6e), with the unambiguously imperatival form *elate* ‘come/IMPV.PL’.¹

- (6) a. $\text{den } \gamma\text{rafo} / \text{den } \epsilon\gamma\text{rapsa} / \text{den } \theta\alpha \gamma\text{rapso} / *_{\text{min}} \gamma\text{rafo} / *_{\text{min}} \epsilon\gamma\text{rapsa} / *_{\text{min}} \theta\alpha \gamma\text{rafo}$
 b. $\text{na min } \gamma\text{rafo} / \text{na min } \gamma\text{rapso} / \text{na min } \epsilon\gamma\text{rapsa} / *_{\text{min}} \theta\alpha \gamma\text{rapso} / *_{\theta\alpha} \text{min } \gamma\text{rapso}$
 c. $*_{\text{na}} \text{den } \gamma\text{rafo} / *_{\text{na}} \text{den } \gamma\text{rapso} / *_{\text{na}} \text{den } \epsilon\gamma\text{rapsa}$
 d. $\text{as min } \gamma\text{rafo} / \text{as min } \gamma\text{rapso} / \text{as min } \epsilon\gamma\text{rapsa} / *_{\text{as}} \text{den } \gamma\text{rafo} / *_{\text{as}} \text{den } \gamma\text{rapso}$
 e. $*_{\text{den}} \text{eláte} / *_{\text{min}} \text{elate}$ ‘don’t come’ vs. OK: *min erhete!* ‘NOT come/2PL.PRES.PRFVE’

The inability of imperative forms to cooccur with negation means that the fact that negative commands (prohibitions) are expressed with *min* plus a nonimperative form, as shown in (6e), cannot be used as an argument against taking *min* as correlating with subjunctive mood. In this account, *na* is essentially a marker of subjunctive mood and *min* is associated with subjunctive negation. Thus a prohibitive like *min yrapsis* in (6e) in this account must be analyzed as deriving from subjunctive used as a surrogate negative imperative, e.g. *na min yrapsis* ‘you should not write’. Accounting for *min yrapsis* this way would take advantage of the fact that *na* can sometimes be optional, as with *prin* ‘before’:

- (7) a. prin fijos ...
 before leave/2SG.PRES.PRFE
 ‘before you leave ...’
- b. prin na fijos ...
 na
 ‘before you leave ...’

There is, however, one undesirable aspect associated with deriving prohibitive *min yrapsis* from *na min yrapsis*: unlike the optionality of *na* with *prin* shown in (7), there is a difference in politeness and indirectness associated with the surrogate subjunctive prohibition that is not present with the simple prohibitive. That is, *na min yrapsis* is more polite and less direct as a negative command than *min yrapsis* is. It is not clear that simply allowing *na* to be optional in this case can achieve that effect. As it happens, the account advocated below in section 4 for categorizing forms like *yrapsis* can answer this issue without reference to mood categories and thus avoids the problem noted here; this is discussed in greater detail below.

Moving on to (5b), here I take the view that the perfective present is identical morphologically at least in terms of endings with all other (indicative) present forms; so the marking for Perfectivity would have to be the telling indicator, but it seems more to play an aspectual role, at least in all other instantiations. For instance, in the future, the difference between *tha yrapso* 'I will write' and *tha yrafo* 'I will be writing' is not a mood distinction; and, as (6a-b) show, it is negated with *den*, suggesting that it is indicative and not a bearer of subjunctive modality.

As for (5c), *na* can certainly be taken as a marker of subjunctive, but a possible complication that such a view entails is that *na* itself occurs with other tense/aspect forms, as shown in (8), with explanations of the combinations and their traditional name according to most grammars:²

- (8) a. *na ɛyɾafa* ‘I should have been writing’ (*na* + imperfective past tense (“imperfect”))
 b. *na ɛyɾapsa* ‘I should have written’ (*na* + perfective past tense (“aorist”))
 c. *na ixa yɾapsi* ‘I should have written’ (*na* + perfect past tense (“pluperfect”))

The complication here is that under this view, Greek would have not only a *present* subjunctive but also a *past* subjunctive, a *pluperfect* subjunctive, etc. Admittedly, this may not be a serious problem but it does multiply categories simply to sustain the analysis by which *na* is a marker of subjunctive mood. The converse is also problematic: if *na* determines a subjunctive by virtue of combining with the perfective present, what is the status of the other elements that combine with that form, such as *otan* or *an*, seen in (2); here perhaps the position of Barri 1981 is relevant, as he opts for a broader view of what subjunctives can be, via a set of “converters” -- including *otan*, *an*, and *na*, among others -- that select for the Perfective Present. The issue there is that it reduces the matter to a list with no reason for inclusion on the list and no reason even for the existence of such a “list” whose elements have such properties.

¹ I use *elate* here because some imperative forms in the plural are identical to the perfective present form, e.g. *fijete* 'leave/PL'; singular forms are similarly unambiguous and could be used here to make the same point, e.g. neither **den kane* nor **min kane* are possible for 'don't do!'. with the singular imperative *kane* 'do!'.

² See Agouraki 1991 for a review of possible positions on status of *na*.

Thus, no matter how one treats *na* vis-à-vis the subjunctive, problems arise. If *na* is taken to determine the subjunctive, then the forms in (2) would not be subjunctives -- and note that they are negated with *den* (e.g. *an den yrapso* ‘if I don’t write’),³ even though indefinites, as in (2b), and conditionals, as in (2c), are domains where “subjunctive” mood might be expected on cross-linguistic grounds. If, instead, forms like *yrapso* alone determine subjunctive mood, then one has to question what the function of *na* is in (1a) and what the status of the imperfective form in (1a) is; is *na* a complementizer, a subordinating conjunction, or the like, despite its prosodic weakness, i.e. the fact that it never occurs alone and is always unaccented?⁴ Thus, some solutions have focused on particular combinations, making this more a syntactic issue, as with Veloudis and Philippaki-Warbuton 1983, while others, e.g. Barri 1981, have emphasized the role of selection by certain elements, with *na* simply being one of a set, not necessarily a natural class of elements.

4. Light from Hibernia

As suggested in section 1, taking a cross-linguistic view on a problem, especially when the language-internal resources for a solution are exhausted, can be fruitful. I suggest that taming and naming the Greek subjunctive is just such a case. In particular, while I am sympathetic to solutions such as those discussed in section 3, this seems to be a case where we can gain some insight by focusing on the verb *form* itself rather than the elements that combine with it, and then looking to other languages with similarly restricted forms. One especially attractive parallel is to be found in some of the Celtic languages, Welsh and Irish being the best examples.

In particular, in Old Irish (as also in modern Irish and Welsh, but most clearly instantiated in Old Irish), one finds a distinction in verb forms known as “*absolute*” versus “*conjunct*” for simple verbs, i.e. verbs that consist essentially just of the verbal root, and a related distinction known as “*prototonic*” versus “*deuterotonic*” for compound verbs, i.e. verbs that consist of the verbal root augmented with prefixes, which are often called prepositions but can also be referred to as preverbs. This somewhat complicated situation in Old Irish is described as follows in Thurneysen (1946: §542):

In most tenses and moods the person endings have two form, to which the names ‘conjunct’ and ‘absolute’ have been given The conjunct flexion occurs:

1. In all verbal forms compounded with prepositions
2. In simple verbs:
 - (a) after the verbal particles *ro* [marking perfectivity] and *no* [marking certain past tenses];
 - (b) after the conjunctions and particles listed in § 38, 2 under the name of conjunct particles;
 - (c) in the archaic examples where the verb stands at the end of its clause.

The absolute flexion is confined to simple verbs in positions other than the above-mentioned. It alone has relative forms with special endings (§ 566 f.).

Some examples of these forms, showing the differences between absolute and conjunct, are given in (9):

(9)	<i>Absolute:</i>	berid	‘he bears’	<i>Conjunct:</i>	do · beir	‘he brings’
		mórmair	‘we magnify’		ní móram	‘we do not magnify’
		léicit	‘they leave’		co lécet	‘how do they leave?’

As noted above, the distinction between “*deuterotonic*” and “*prototonic*” forms is similar; the terminology refers to the placement of stress in the string of elements making up compound verbs (preverbs plus verbal root), whether it is on the second element in the string (e.g. *beir* and *tibi* in the examples in (10)) or on the first element in that string (e.g. *as* and *con* in the examples in (10)),⁵ but the distribution is just like the absolute/conjunct distinction, as shown in (10):

³ In high-style writings in the archaizing variety *katharevousa* (now largely abandoned but widely used into the mid-to-late 20th century in academic and legalistic contexts), clauses with *an* ‘if’ were negated with *min*, e.g. *an mi sfaló* ‘if I am not mistaken’.

⁴ I draw a distinction between this (subordinating) *na* and the deictic presentational predicate *ná* (always accented) ‘here!’; see Joseph 1981 for discussion.

⁵ There are phonological changes in the preverbs and root associated with being stressed or not; those are irrelevant here but they account for the difference between, e.g., *as* and *e* or *beir* and *pir* in (10). The underlying forms given in (10) are meant just as

(10)	<i>Deuterotonic</i>	as · beir ‘says (stress: as · <u>beir</u>)	<i>Prototonic</i>	ní · epir ‘he does not say’ (stress: ní · <u>epir</u> (= /ní- <u>as</u> -ber/)
		con · tibi ‘mocks (stress: con · <u>tibi</u>)		ní · cuitbi ‘he does not mock’ (stress: ní · <u>cuib</u> i (= /ní- <u>con</u> -tib/)

Importantly for Greek, the conjunct and prototonic forms occur only when there is some supporting/governing element, and they do not stand alone, thus paralleling the restriction on the Greek perfective present forms exactly.

Furthermore, it is not just the use of verb forms in Old Irish that parallels the Greek situation, but there is also a set of so-called “conjunct particles” that must be given attention, for these are particles that require the conjunct and prototonic forms; these include such elements as the negative *ní*, the conditional/concessive *cia* ‘although; even if’, combinations of prepositions fused with the relative pronoun (e.g. *cosa* ‘with whom’), and the interrogative marker *in*, among several others.

Moreover, just as with the few cases (one productive and one unproductive) like *fiji den fiji* where there is no governing particle, so too does that happen occasionally in Old Irish with conjunct and prototonic forms. A somewhat productive use of these otherwise bound forms comes in the so-called “responsive” form, which is a verb form repeated from a question to signal an affirmative response, e.g. *Ní-chumci sòn* ‘Thou canst not (do) that’ ... *Cumcin écin* ‘(Yes), I can indeed!’, where *cumcin* is a dependent form, here prototonic. A more restricted usage is the phenomenon known as Bergin’s Law, described by Thurneysen §513b as follows: “Simple and compound verbs may be placed at the end of their clause; the former then have conjunct flexion (§ 542), the latter prototonic forms”. This is an “archaic feature” by Thurneysen’s reckoning, found, as he says, only “in Irish poetry and in non-metrical ‘rhetorical’ prose”.

I propose, therefore, as solution to the problem of the Modern Greek subjunctive and the behavior of the perfective present forms, that we need to recognize the relevance for Greek of an Irish-like distinction between absolute and conjunct forms. That is, we can extend the value of the traditional Irish distinction outside of Celtic and categorize *yrapsō* as a “conjunct” form. This move has the direct benefit of recognizing overtly this form’s restricted distribution and explains why it is found only with some “supporting” element, i.e. why it cannot stand alone.

This is rather like Barri’s approach, but it focuses on the verb form rather than on the elements that combine with it, though a set of “conjunct particles” for Greek would need to be identified. Interestingly, there is considerable overlap between the types of items that would be on the Greek list and those in the Old Irish set, in that in the respective lists of both languages, there is a negator (Irish *ní*, Greek *min*), a conditional element (Irish *cia*, Greek *an*), and relative-like forms (Irish *cosa* and other prepositional relatives, Greek indefinites like *ópjos* with their similarity to (historically) related relatives such as (*o*) *opíos*), among some others.

Furthermore, this approach solves the dilemma raised by the prohibitive construction of the type *min yrapsis*, discussed above in section 3. In this account, *min* simply becomes one of the conjunct particles, joining *otan* and *opjos* and others, and there is no need to associate it with the more polite negative command introduced by *na*; in that way, no account is needed of the absence of *na* in *min yrapsis* or the difference in politeness between the two forms of negative commands (*na min yrapsis* and *min yrapsis*). It is admittedly an idiosyncratic, and thus unexplained, fact that *min* is used in this way and selects for the conjunct form, but in a sense that is no more idiosyncratic than the fact that imperative forms cannot be negated in Modern Greek; they were negatable in Ancient Greek, for instance.⁶

Moreover, in this approach, there is the side benefit of showing how linguistic typology, in the form of information on an issue in one language can offer illumination on a difficult problem in the analysis of another language. It does mean recognizing absolute/conjunct as a relevant morphological distinction for Greek, but it is one that is needed independently for Irish and Welsh, and thus in a sense is “available” in the universal inventory of categories.

rough indicators of the morphemic make-up of the forms in question and not as a thoroughly worked out analysis of Old Irish morphophonology.

⁶ This account, admittedly, requires that the *min* of *na min yrapsis* and the *min* of *min yrapsis* need to be treated as different, though possibly related, elements. Janda and Joseph 1999, though, have argued for just that position, claiming that these two instantiations of the form *min* are to be separated from one another, even though allied in some ways as part of a morphological “constellation”.

5. Some Drawbacks

The solution proposed here is not without some drawbacks. For instance, the categorization of perfective present forms as “conjunct” does not really explain the facts, but rather puts them in a context where they become understandable; that is, with this labelling, assuming it has some cross-linguistic significance, the Greek form can be aligned with the behavior of “conjunct” forms in general, cross-linguistically. The question of why conjunct forms behave this way is a different analytic issue that cannot be addressed here but must remain a question for further research.

Moreover, the parallel between Greek and Irish proposed here is not exact. The Greek verb forms are not different from ones that occur as “absolute” forms, yet in Irish, the conjunct and absolute forms do differ. Also, Greek has verbs that are compounded with preverbs, as does Irish, some of them even cognate (e.g. Greek *pro* and Irish *ro*), but the behavior of preverbs is very different in the two languages; preverbs in Greek do not select for a conjunct verb form in the way that preverbs in Irish trigger the occurrence of conjunct forms..

Still, what I suggest is compelling about this proposal are three key aspects of it. First, it focuses on the form, not on the function to which the form is put, and in that way offers a basis for the clarity that the concreteness of actual forms and their distribution affords, as opposed to the abstractness sometimes encountered when one tries to categorize various functions as same or different. Second, the Celtic distinction has some of the same quirks that the Greek situation does, in that there are forms that always co-occur with an odd assortment of items that are not really characterizable as a natural class. Finally, there are even a few more or less isolated exceptions to reckon with in each language. For these reasons, I submit, extending the Celtic absolute/conjunct distinction to Greek provides a basis for both taming and naming the Greek subjunctive.⁷

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⁷ There is a final argument for this proposal that involves a somewhat lighthearted appeal to authority. Such an appeal is not always the best sort of argument but it is perhaps worth mentioning here in a footnote, and thus as a secondary source of support. This is especially so since an appeal to this authority is one that is hard to ignore in the Greek context. The scholar who coined the terms “absolute” and “conjunct” for Old Irish was the 19th century German scholar who was the founder of Celtic philology, Johann Kasper Zeuss. While his name was pronounced [zojs], if it is Hellenized, to Ζεϋς, then we can see that we must take it seriously: how many of us can say that a solution we offer to an analytic problem is truly something διόσδοτον!

THE REALISATION OF VOICELESS GREEK VOWELS

Marianna Kaimaki

University of York, UK

marianna.kaimaki@york.ac.uk

ABSTRACT

Previous studies of the acoustic properties of Greek vowels have indicated that they may be voiceless in certain phonological contexts. Researchers (e.g. Dauer, R. M. 1980, Mennen & Okalidou 2006) have suggested that devoicing is restricted to the high vowels /i/ and /u/. I propose that the whole range of vowels can be produced voiceless in the appropriate phonological environment which is utterance-finally after voiceless consonants, under two conditions: (1) the vowel must be unstressed and (2) the intonation contour associated with the word in which the vowel occurs must fall (utterance-final voiceless vowels do not co-occur with rising contours).

1. Introduction

Linguistic studies on the interface of Phonetics/Phonology regarding the acoustic characteristics of Greek vowels are limited and based on data from read speech (see also Nikolaidis 2002, 2003 who investigated spontaneous speech data). Despite the fact that vowels are voiced by nature, some studies report that under certain phonological circumstances (e.g. in an unstressed position) some vowels get lenited or lose some of their characteristics (e.g. from peripheral they become central (Baltazani 2007)). Research so far (e.g. Dauer, R. M. 1980, Charalambopoulos, Alvanoudi, Didaskalou, Lambropoulou, & Poulli, 2003, Mennen & Okalidou 2006) suggests that the vowels which undergo lenition or deletion are /i/ and /u/. We propose that the process of lenition or deletion is not limited to high vowels but that in certain phonological environments all Greek vowels may undergo changes in their distinctive characteristics and more specifically their voicing. Determining the validity of this hypothesis is of linguistic interest as voiceless vowels are typologically rare and are not always implicated with the kind of morphological functions mentioned above. The results of the study then are anticipated to contribute to both understanding the nature of Greek vowels as well as understanding the typology of natural languages.

Preliminary research conducted by the author revealed that voiceless vowels can occur in utterance final position. This phenomenon merits attention as reports of voiceless vowels are rare and usually found in non-Indo-European languages like Japanese (Tsuchida 2001; Vance 2008), South Paiute (Harms 1966) and Comanche (Canonge 1957) as well as in Finno-Ungarian languages like Finnish (Ogden 2001). Pilot research conducted on recorded dialogues which were collected for the purpose of the completion of the author's PhD thesis confirmed the findings reported to date but also revealed some new interesting facts. It was noticed that the same rule that applies for the high vowels /i/ and /u/ can be applied on any of the vowels of Greek (/i, e, a, o, u/) under the following conditions:

- a) the vowel to be utterance final
- b) the utterance to have a final falling pitch and
- c) the consonant to be voiceless.

This finding opens up a series of important questions regarding the realisation of Greek vowels. In this paper I will examine:

- the distribution of voiceless and voiced vowels with relation to the vowel quality and intonation (falling/rising)
- whether the phenomenon of all utterance-final vowels (a, e, i, o, u) being realised as voiceless is a phonetic process which may vary potentially depending on the vowel quality or whether it is a phonological rule with wide distribution and specific locus of application.
- whether the realisation of voiceless vowels is related to the idiolect of the speaker or whether it reflects a wider rule of the language which has not been noticed so far.

As Greek is a language with rich morphophonology at the right end of the word, the possibility of voiceless final vowels not being perceived by listeners is very important as it may lead to misinterpretation of the linguistic message. For example, it could lead to the loss of distinction between the first and third person in the verbal forms of 'έχασα' and 'έχασε'. The findings of this research, then will have important applications in the perception/processing of messages in new technologies (e.g. recorded telephone messages) as well as in developing specialised (oral) materials for teaching Greek.

2. Material and methods

12 native speakers of Greek (6 males and 6 females with ages ranging from 20 to 65) as spoken in the city of Thessaloniki produced utterances which included words containing the vowels /i, e, a, o, u/ in unstressed final positions. The stress pattern as well as the number of syllables and the quality of immediately preceding consonants were controlled for in the stimuli but syllable complexity in the middle or beginning of the word was not considered at this stage. I varied the phonological environment for every vowel so as to cover the variety of Greek consonants. Table 1 shows the experimental data used.

TARGET V	PHONOLOGICAL CONTEXT						
	PLOSIVES		FRICATIVES				
	c, k	p	t	f	θ	s	ς, x
i	'evɛfi άβαφι unpainted	'kenɔsi κένωση void	'ɛsiti άσιτη ungrained	'psɛftiki ψεύτικη fake	'ɛnɔhi ένοχη guilty	'ɛfipi έφιππη on horseback	'ɛvɛθi άβαθη shallow
e	'ɛvɛfɛ άβαφε unpainted(voc)	'ɛfise άφησε let go	'hɛnɛtɛ χάνετε you lose(pl)	'ɛnike ένοικε tenant(voc)	'ɛlɛhɛ έλαχε happened	'ɛlɛpɛ έλειπε was missing	'ɛmɛθɛ άμαθε ignorant(voc)
ɐ	'ɛɣrɛfɛ έγραφα was writing(1st)	'ɛnɔsɛ ένωσα joined(1st sing)	'ɛnɛtɛ άνετα relaxing	'pɛrðikɛ πέρδικα grouse	'ɛvɪhɛ έβηχα was coughing(1st)	'lɛlɛpɛ λαίλαπα great destruction	'ɛniɔθɛ ένιωθα was feeling (1st)
ɔ	'ɛkɛfɔ άκεφο sad	'ɛnisɔ άνισο uneven	'ɛlitɔ άλυτο unsolved	'ɛlikɔ άλικο scarlet	'ɛksɔhɔ έξοχο spectacular	'ɛntipɔ έντυπο typed	'ɛniθɔ άνιθο dill
u	'ɛɣrɛfu άγραφου unwritten(gen)	'ɛvisu άβυσσου abyss(gen)	'ɛnɛtu ένατου ninth(gen)	'ɛðiku άδικου unfair	'isihu ήσυχου quiet(gen)	'ɛsɔpu Αίσωπου Aesop(gen)	'ɛniθu άνιθου dill(gen)
TOTAL	35						

Table 1 Target words

Participants produced these words in 2 carrier sentences controlling for rising and falling pitch; the two carrier sentences used were:

1. Πώς σου είπε η Μαριάννα πως γράφεται το _____ ;

How did Marianna tell you _____ is spelt?

2. Η Μαριάννα μου είπε να πω _____ .

Marianna told me to say _____ .

Carrier sentence 1 was produced once for each phonological context + target vowel giving out 35 stimuli. Carrier sentence 2 was produced twice for each phonological context + target vowel giving out 70 stimuli. The data was randomised (5 randomisations) to avoid any effects that might be brought forward by the order of the stimuli. Each speaker produced 105 target sentences in total plus 114 dummies.

The acoustic characteristics of the vowels were examined (duration, spectral characteristics and pitch characteristics) for all productions in order to determine their phonetic realisation. Finally, I ran regression analysis on the results in order to determine the statistical significance of the results.

3. Results/Discussion

There was considerable variability in the phonetic realisation of final vowels with falling and rising pitch. Final vowels of sentences with final falling intonation were produced as: 1) fully voiced, 2) voiceless, 3) creaky and 4) breathy while final vowels of sentences with final rising intonation were produced as 1) fully voiced, 2) creaky and 3) breathy.

Figures 1 to 8 show spectrograms and waveforms associated with the final syllables of the target words illustrating the phonetic variability encountered in the data. Figures 1 and 2 show examples of fully voiced final vowels produced with final falling (Figure 1) and final rising (Figure 2) intonation. In both figures we can see high energy in the first two formants (F1, F2) and regular glottal pulses in the spectrogram and waveform.

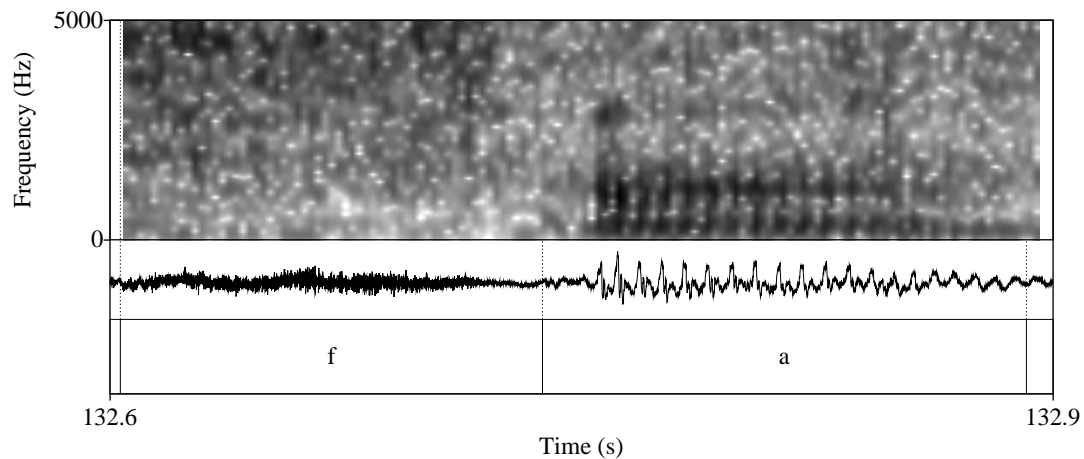


Figure 1 Voiced final falling CV

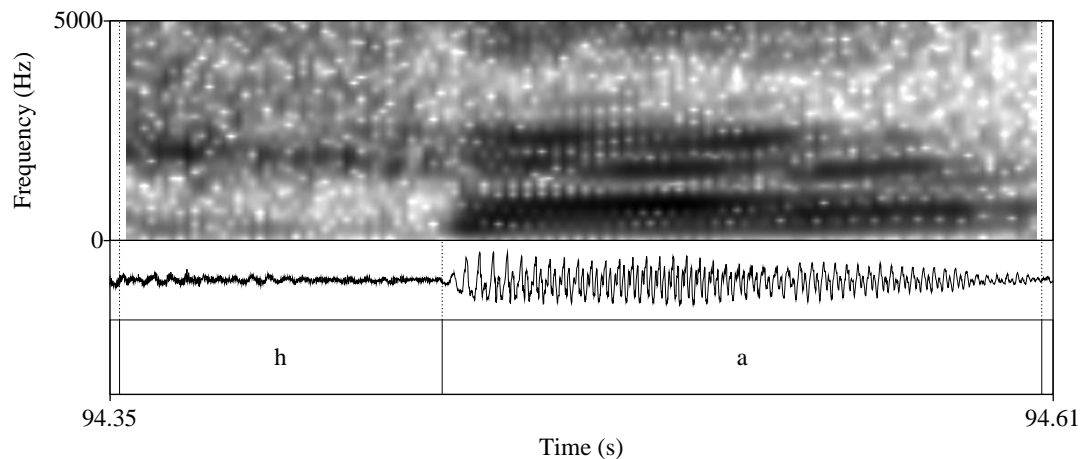


Figure 2 Voiced, final rising CV

Figures 3 and 4 show examples final creaky vowels produced with both falling and rising intonation. In both figures we can see the energy in F1 and F2 fading in and out and the glottal pulses being irregular.

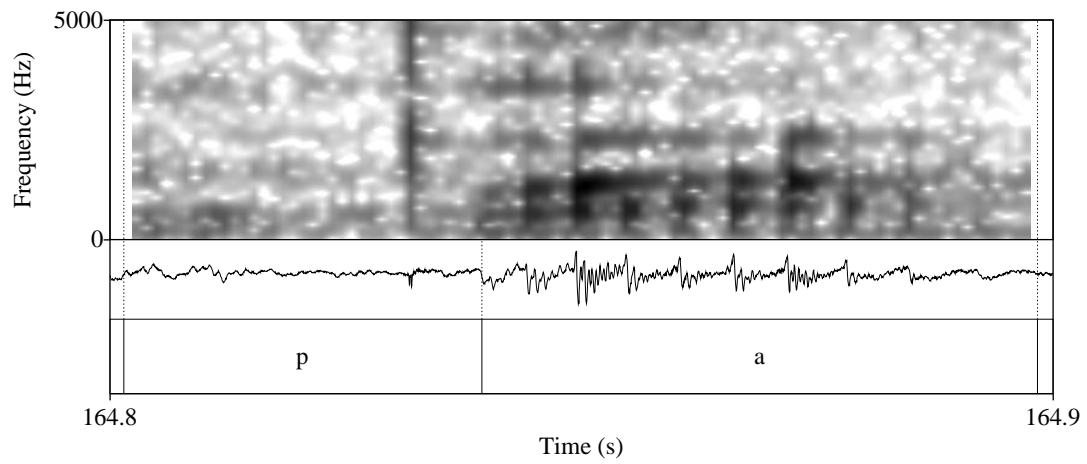


Figure 3 Creaky, final falling CV

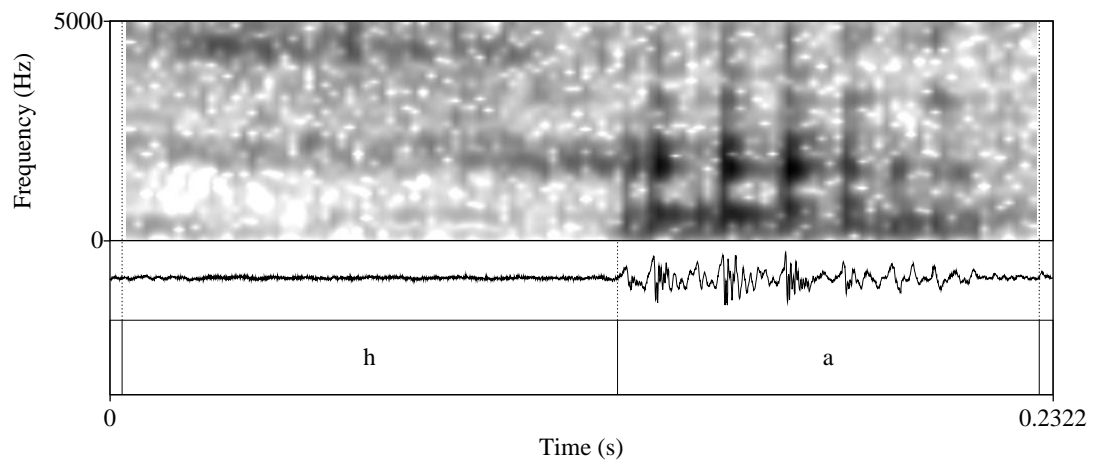


Figure 4 Creaky, final rising CV

Figures 5 and 6 show cases of final vowels produced with breathy voice. We can see there is regular vocal fold vibration which is accompanied by frication giving out the percept of breathy voice.

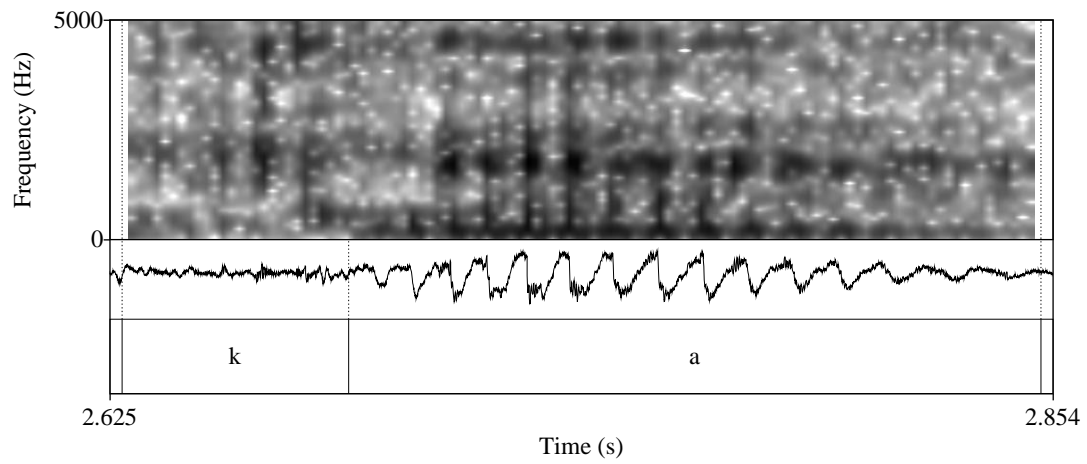


Figure 5 Breathy, final falling CV

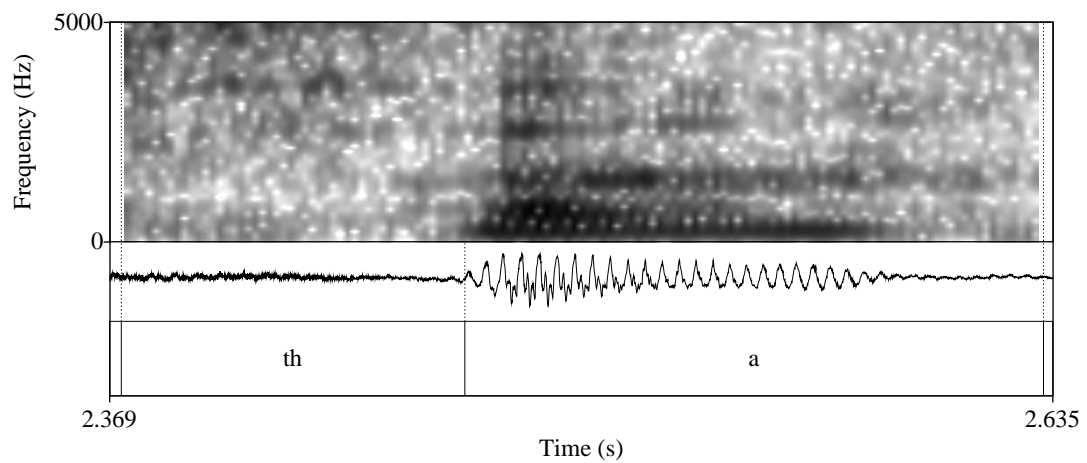


Figure 6 Breathy, final rising CV

Figures 7 and 8 show two examples of final voiceless vowels. In both cases we can see that there is no voice bar associated with the vowels. In figure 7 we can see the onset of the voiceless vowel right after the release of the plosive. There is some energy at the low frequencies but there is no regular vocal fold vibration associated with the vowel.

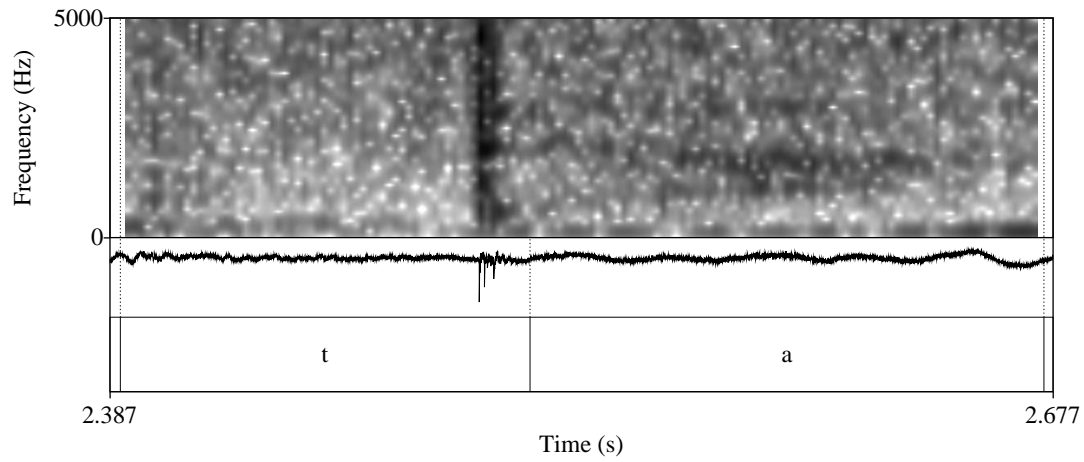


Figure 7 Voiceless V

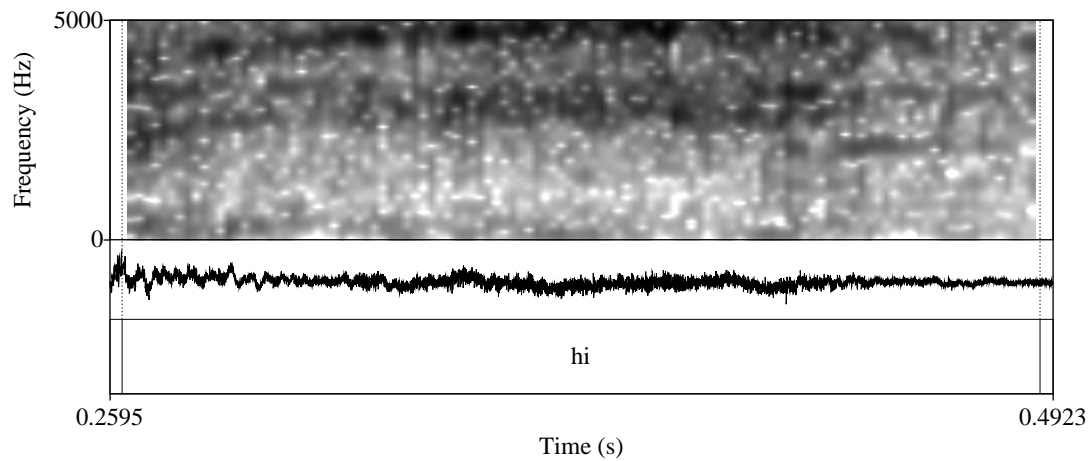


Figure 8 Voiceless V

In figure 8, we can see a high close voiceless vowel, which is produced right after the production of a voiceless palatal fricative. We can see that there is no voicing associated with the vowel but there is more energy concentration in the higher frequencies than for the fricative preceding the vowel.

From the examples presented so far we can see that there is considerable variability in the production of final vowels in terms of their acoustic features. The variability does not **depend** on the prosodic design of the carrier sentence for the fully voiced, breathy and creaky productions of final vowels. The voiceless cases of final vowels though only occur in carrier sentences with final falling intonation, which means that there is an association between final falling intonation and the realisation of vowels as voiceless. This constraint is particularly interesting as one of the reviewers pointed out voiced obstruents are usually associated with low pitch (Bradshaw 1999). Possible explanations for this constraint are examined in section 4.

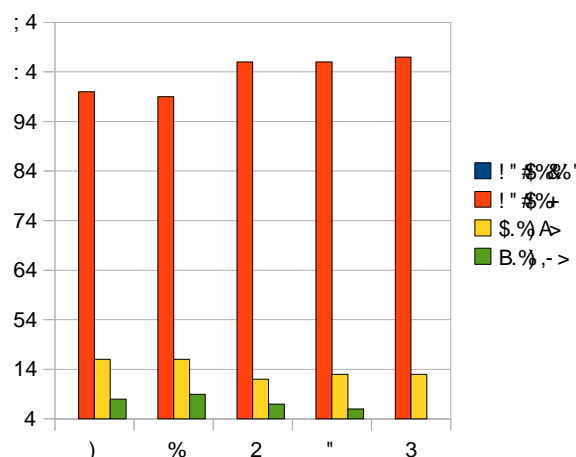


Figure 9 Voice quality of final rising vowels

Figure 9 shows a bar chart showing the distribution of voice quality associated with each kind of final vowel produced with a final rising intonation. As we can see there are no instances of voiceless tokens. /a, e, i, o/ have similar distributions with most their instances being produced fully voiced, with regular vocal fold vibration; creaky voiced instances of final vowels follow in number and there are also some small numbers of breathy voiced instances. Note that /u/ is never found produced with breathy voice in any of the final rising carrier sentences.

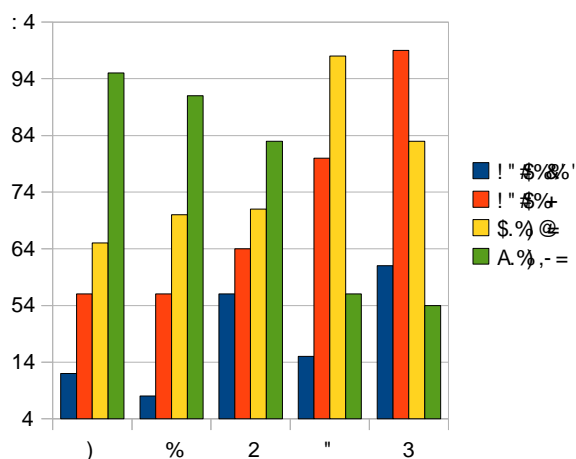


Figure 10 Voice quality of final falling vowels

Figure 10 shows a very different picture in terms of distribution of voice quality which is associated with final vowels produced in final falling carrier sentences. We can distinguish two groups in terms of voice quality distribution; /a, e, i/ and /o, u/. /a, e, i/ all have breathy manifestations for the majority of their productions. Creaky voiced instances of /a, e, i/ are also a big part of the data followed by voiced and voiceless instances. /o, u/ have a very different distribution from /a, e, i/ and partly from one another but the distribution is similar in that the majority of their productions are voiced or creaky with the numbers almost reversed for /o/ and /u/ (more creaky for /o/ more voiced for /u/), and number of instances for breathy and voiceless manifestations are similar but reversed (more breathy than voiceless cases for /o/ and more voiceless than breathy cases for /u/). What is important to note is the fact that the whole set of vowels /a, e, i, o, u/ have voiceless instances and not just the high vowels.

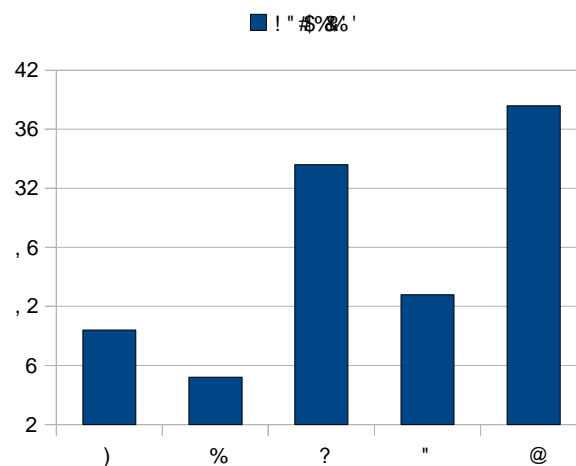


Figure 11 Number of voiceless vowels

The number of voiceless vowels encountered in the data and their distribution as to vowel quality is shown in figure 11. From the bar chart we can see that /i/ and /u/ have the highest number of voiceless instances which agrees with research done so far. It is also clear from the chart though that open and mid vowels have some of their instances produced with no vocal fold vibration as well. In order to check whether there is any relation between the realisation of a vowel as voiceless and its phonological environment a bar chart (figure 12) was created that shows the breakdown of voiceless vowels to preceding consonants.

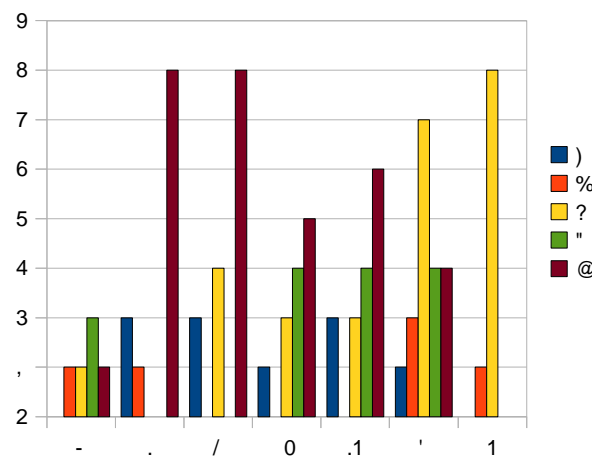


Figure 12 Vowels with individual consonants

From figure 12 we can see that all kinds of consonantal environments examined allow voiceless vowels following them. Overall, the total numbers of voiceless vowels are similar amongst consonants ($p=5$, $t=10$, $k=12$, $f=10$, $th=12$, $s=15$, $h=8$). The manner of articulation of the consonants though seems to play a role in the number of instances of voiceless vowels that occur after a consonant, as there are more voiceless vowels after fricatives ($N=45$) than plosives ($N=27$). Despite fricatives having more voiceless vowels occurring after them, not all fricatives have voiceless instances of the whole set of vowels; only after /s/ all vowels (/a e i o u/) were produced as voiceless. From the data examined so far there is no particular pattern as to the vowel quality of voiceless vowel and the place of articulation of the consonant.

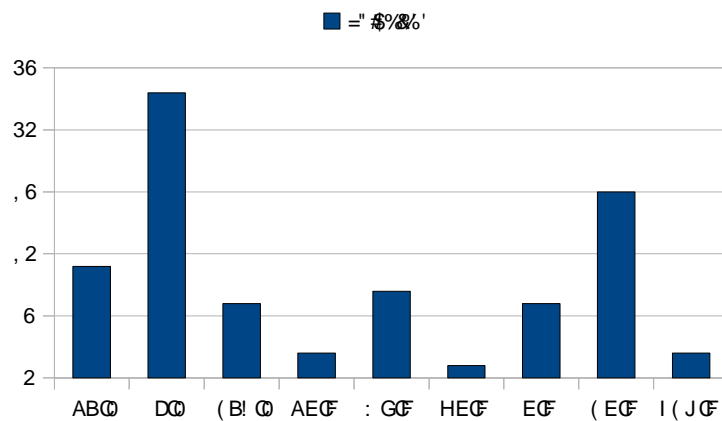


Figure 13 Breakdown of voiceless vowels to speakers

Figure 13 shows a bar chart with the breakdown of voiceless vowels to speakers. As the bar chart shows 9 out of 12 speakers produced voiceless vowels. In terms of sex, more males (n=6) produced voiceless vowels than females (n=3) but individual females produced more voiceless vowels than individual males.

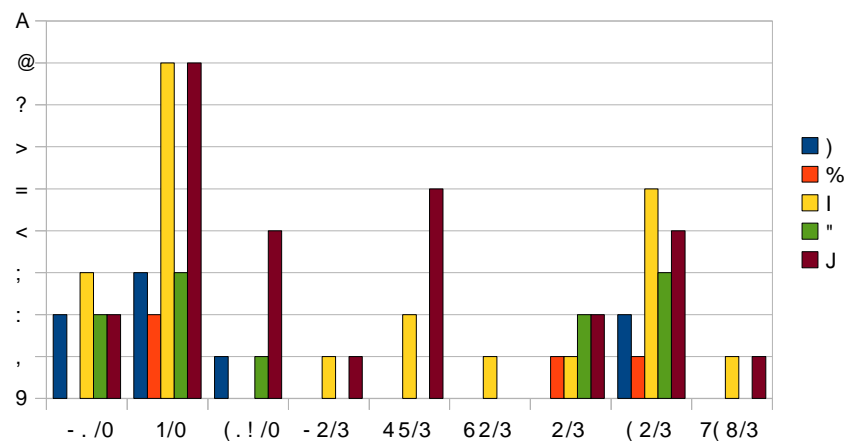


Figure 14 Voiceless vowel distribution in individual speakers

Figure 14 shows a bar chart showing the distribution of voiceless vowels to individual speakers. L (female) and PK (male) are the only speakers who have the whole set produced as voiceless and they are the ones who produce the most voiceless vowels (L=24, PK=15). From the rest of the speakers who do not have the whole set, we can see that there is a pattern as to which vowels they produce voiceless first and which vowels follow. The high close vowels /i, u/ are the first that speakers produce voiceless and only if they have voiceless instances of those vowels do they then extend to the mid and open vowels.

Summary

From the results reported so far we conclude that final rising utterances do not display much variability in the voice quality of the final vowels and they do not display any final voiceless vowels. Final falling utterances on the other hand display considerable variability in the voice quality of final vowels and they display the whole range of voiceless vowels with /i/ and /u/ being the first to get produced voiceless.

Regression analysis was performed to determine whether there is any statistical significance for the results reported. Analysis showed a significant relationship between height and closeness of the vowel and voicelessness [for /i/, $p=0.017$, for /u/, $p=0.0017$] which suggests that the presence of /i/ and /u/ increased the possibility of the vowel of a final falling utterance being produced with no voicing.

Results also showed that voiceless vowels are more likely to appear after voiceless fricatives rather than voiceless plosives and that the distribution of voiceless vowels was not even across all speakers. In terms of usage by sex, more males used voiceless vowels than females but individual females used them more than individual males.

4. Conclusions and perspectives

In this paper we extended the existing research on the production of Greek vowels. Unlike findings reported by research so far, our results showed that all Greek vowels (/a, e, i, o, u/) can be realised as voiceless. Results also showed that there is variability in the realisation of final falling Greek vowels in our data for both rising and falling conditions but the nature of variability is not the same in the two cases. In this section we will endeavour to give an account for this phenomenon and assess the implications for the phonology of the language.

Final vowels in our data were produced with either final falling or rising pitch and their acoustic characteristics varied accordingly. Final vowels produced with falling intonation were found to have four distinct phonetic qualities: 1) fully voiced, 2) voiceless, 3) creaky and 4) breathy. There are at least two potential interpretations for the variability encountered. We can try to account for this variability with reference to the physiology of the vocal tract and the articulatory mechanisms for producing speech. Following this train of thought we could start making claims about how it is not surprising that falling pitch, which is accomplished by slow rate of vocal fold vibration, is accompanied by creaky voice or breathy voice or voicelessness as this could be natural physiological consequence of the vocal folds vibrating slowly or even to stop vibrating altogether. However, our data also showed that final vowels produced with rising intonation were found to have three of those distinct phonetic qualities: 1) fully voiced, 2) creaky and 3) breathy. In this case it would not be possible to try and account for it using a physiological explanation as rising pitch is accomplished by increasing the rate of vocal fold vibrations which would make it harder to explain how we find breathy and creaky voice quality associated with rising pitch. The second possible interpretation would be to account for it phonologically. Following this interpretation we would have two phonological statements; one for rising and one for falling pitch:

1. If a vowel is associated with final falling intonation the range of variability for its production is: fully voiced, creaky, voiceless, breathy.
2. If a vowel is associated with final rising intonation the range of variability for its production is: fully voiced, creaky, breathy.

From the results reported so far we also concluded that final falling utterances display the whole range of voiceless vowels with /i/ and /u/ being the first to get produced voiceless which agrees with the outcome of the regression analysis which showed that there is a significant relationship between height and closeness of the vowel and voicelessness. This result is of considerable importance as it complements research done on the Greek vowels so far by providing new evidence for the presence of voiceless vowels in Greek. One account explaining this phenomenon is that this is a phonetic process which may vary potentially depending on the vowel quality. However, as all vowels can be produced voiceless this cannot be a sufficient explanation for the data. Another hypothesis could be that this is a phonological rule with wide distribution and specific locus of application. The current experiment does not provide us with all the required data that would allow us to make such a generalisation. From the experiment it is clear though that all voiceless consonants seem to allow this process with one condition; the utterance has to have a final falling intonation. Results also showed that voiceless vowels are more likely to appear after voiceless fricatives rather than voiceless plosives which indicates that the phonological context may be an important factor in determining the realisation of the final vowels as voiced or voiceless.

As the experiment involved different individuals and the distribution of voiceless vowels was not even across all speakers, there is also the issue whether the realisation of voiceless vowels is related to

the idiolect of the speaker. In terms of sex, more males used voiceless vowels than females but individual females used them with greater frequency than individual males. In order to determine whether this phenomenon reflects a wider rule of the language, more data (maybe of a different kind) is needed. One reviewer suggested the possibility of the presence of voiceless vowels being a dialectal effect. However, as I mentioned in section 2 all subjects were speakers of the Urban variety of Greek as spoken in Thessaloniki which does not exhibit vowel lenition processes found in Greek northern dialects.

The results of this experiment are of particular importance as final Greek vowels may carry morphosyntactic information. A production of a voiceless vowel, may result in the neutralisation of contrast between e.g. *egrafa* and *egrafe* leading to loss of morphosyntactic information. If the vowels are realised as voiceless but the linguistic message is still perceived nevertheless, then there should be some other factor contributing in the decoding of information. This could be intonation, traces of spectral information of the vowel in the preceding consonant or the overall context.

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THE ACOUSTICS OF POST-NASAL STOP VOICING IN STANDARD MODERN GREEK

Evia Kainada

Technological Educational Institute of Patras

ekainada@teipat.gr

ABSTRACT

This paper reports on a production and a perception experiment investigating post-nasal stop voicing in Greek with two goals: (i) to establish whether the process is categorical, and (ii) to identify the type of effect exercised by prosodic boundary strength on it. It is shown that the phenomenon is categorical, and is influenced categorically by boundary strength (it only occurs within the lowest domain of the prosodic structure). Variation is evident across lexical items, whereby some items undergo voicing more frequently than others. Experimental results are also presented on the acoustics of voiceless and voiced stops of Standard Modern Greek; voiceless stops have shorter closure duration, longer release duration and smaller amplitude within the closure and the release than voiced stops.

1. Introduction

Sandhi phenomena of Standard Modern Greek have gained a substantial amount of interest over the last years, as shown by several impressionistic and acoustic analyses investigating their application (e.g. for acoustic analyses Pelekanou and Arvaniti 2001, Baltazani 2006, Baltazani 2007, Kainada 2007, in press, Tserdanelis 2004, and for impressionistic analyses, Nespor and Vogel 1986, Condoravdi 1990, among many other studies in the area). Research interest on sandhi phenomena is mainly derived from the need to understand two different sides of their nature; first, their acoustic manifestation, and second the regulating factors of their application. This paper addresses both issues; using a perception and a production experiment it examines the acoustics of SV in Greek, compares it to those of voiceless and voiced stops, and investigates prosodic boundary strength effects on its application.

Results show that SV applies categorically, i.e. its acoustic manifestation is clearly divided in voiceless and voiced instances. Perceptually, SV is a very prominent process, since speakers of SMG classify voiceless vs. voiced instances with distinctive ease and high inter-rater agreement. Acoustically, SV instances are similar to those of voiced stops of SMG. Finally, results show that the prosodic structure exercises a categorical effect on SV application in that it is only allowed within the lowest post-lexical domain of the structure, while within that domain the phenomenon is optional and varies in frequency across different lexical items. Importantly, this paper compares, for the first time to my knowledge, the acoustics of voiceless and voiced stops in SMG.

1.1 Phonology and phonetics of post-nasal stop voicing

SV is a process whereby a voiceless stop assimilates in voice to the preceding nasal, as in example (1) from Modern Greek.

(1) τον πατέρα /ton pa'tera/ 'the father' → [toba'tera]¹

This is a phenomenon that has been attested in many languages, such as Modern Greek (Newton 1972), Japanese (Ito & Mester 1986) and others (see Hayes & Stivers 2000). In Modern Greek, the

¹ There is a question as to whether the voiced stop is preceded by a nasal, if the nasal is deleted or if it is retained as prenasalisation. This is not part of the current investigation (but see Arvaniti and Joseph 2000). In the example shown here the nasal is deleted.

phenomenon can be found both lexically and post-lexically. Lexically, it is obligatory and can appear word-initially or word-medially, e.g. ντάμα ('checkers') (which can be produced as either [ˈdama] or [ˈⁿdama], whereby prenasalisation is optional and is influenced by social factors and style, e.g. Arvaniti and Joseph 2004). Post-lexically voicing is optional, and again speakers have the option of prenasalisation (Arvaniti 1999). The present paper only deals with *post-lexical post-nasal stop voicing*.

The phonological/prosodic conditions that allow for the application of SV post-lexically are not clear. Nespor and Vogel (1986) proposed that prosodic structure regulates SV, in the sense that it will occur within a clitic group (henceforth CG), but will be blocked across CGs. In a somewhat circular reasoning, the authors proposed the existence of the CG as a domain of the prosodic hierarchy, on the basis that SV is disallowed across two of those domains. According to this analysis, SV is obligatory within prosodic words, optional within the clitic group, and is blocked across clitic groups ([–cont] → [+voice] / [...[...[+nas]]ω[____]ω[...].]C). Examples (2a) and (2b) (Nespor and Vogel 1986:158-9) show two constructions, whereby in (2a) voicing is allowed, while in (2b) blocked the reason being, according to the authors, that the two words in 2a belong in the same CG, while the two words in 2b are two CGs.

(2a) δεν πειράζει → [ðembi'razi]

(2b) όταν πας → *[ˈotambas]

Malikouti-Drachman and Drachman (1988), on the other hand, refute that SV depends on prosodic constituency and propose that the distribution of its application can be analysed on the basis of syllabification. According to their analysis, SV takes place when the preceding nasal is syllabified with the onset of the syllable containing the stop, while when it is placed as the coda of the preceding syllable SV is not allowed.

Additionally to the above conflicting approaches, there is one overall point of criticism that has emerged in recent research regarding the treatment of sandhi phenomena. It has been shown that not all sandhi phenomena have a categorical outcome, as one would expect from their phonological description (e.g. Arvaniti 2007). For example, an acoustic analysis by Zsiga (1997) showed that vowel hiatus in Igbo is not resolved categorically via complete assimilation, as traditional phonological analyses would have it, but rather has a gradient output. Similarly, Pelekanou and Arvaniti (2001) and Baltazani (2007) have shown that /s/-voicing in SMG is a gradient process while Baltazani (2006) and Kainada (2007, and in press) have shown that vowel hiatus resolution is also a gradient process in SMG. All the above clearly showcase the need to link phonological analyses to acoustic studies, at least in the case of sandhi phenomena. The present paper aims at filling a gap in research by examining the acoustics of SV in SMG, specifically by testing whether SV applies categorically or gradiently and how boundary strength affects its application.

1.2 Phonology and phonetics of voiceless and voiced stops of SMG

Phonologically speaking, Modern Greek employs voiceless and voiced stops (Mirambel 1961, Mackridge 1985, Philippaki-Warbuton 1992, Arvaniti 2007). Voiceless stops are unaspirated (Fourakis 1986b, Botinis, Fourakis & Prinou 1999, Arvaniti 2001, Nicolaidis 2002); voiced stops are fully voiced, i.e. voicing appears well before the burst and continues throughout the closure. While past research has examined the durational characteristics of voiceless stops in Greek (Fourakis 1986a, Arvaniti 2001, Nicolaidis 2001, Nicolaidis 2002) we are lacking studies examining the acoustic characteristics of voiced stops. In a recent study looking at the acquisition of voiced stops by greek children, Kong, Beckman and Edwards (2007) reported that durational and amplitude differences can distinguish between the two categories, but this was based on a single adult speaker². Botinis et al. (1999) showed that closure duration was longer in voiced than voiceless stops and that VOT was longer in voiceless than voiced stops (see also Antoniou et al. (2011) regarding VOT as produced by bilingual speakers). In what follows, the acoustics of voiceless and voiced stops in SMG will be presented and compared, since the two categories will act as baselines against which SV instances are compared in Experiment 2 (§3.2.3).

² Panagopoulos (1974) also investigated voiced stops, but the presentation and methodology used for the acoustic and articulatory measurements makes it somewhat difficult to compare to current experimental acoustic analyses.

2. Experiment 1 – Voiceless and voiced stops

2.1 Method

2.1.1 Participants

Five native speakers (2 male, 3 female) of SMG, all in their twenties, were recorded. Recordings took place in an isolated recording booth at the University of Edinburgh. None of the participants had spent more than one year in the UK.

2.1.2 Materials

Speakers produced sentences containing the voiceless and voiced stops of Modern Greek in five prosodic positions (i.e., the strength of the boundary at the vicinity of which they appeared was gradually stronger, see Appendix A for template of constructing materials and for an example). These boundary conditions will henceforth be referred to as BC1-5, with BC1 having the weakest and BC5 the strongest boundary. In addition to materials for voiceless and voiced stops of SMG this production experiment included materials for SV. Clusters of 'nasal+stop' were placed at the exact same boundary conditions³. Moreover, one extra condition was created specifically for SV, named BC0. Items for this condition can be seen in Table 1. I focus on this final construction since, as we will see in §3.2.1, it is the only condition within which SV takes place. In addition, this is the domain designed to further probe Nespor and Vogel's (1986) analysis (see §1.1), since materials include words like /otan/ and /ðen/.

Particle		Verb
/otan/ 'when'	+	/pace'taris/ 'pack'
/an/ 'if'		/taksi'ðevis/ 'travel'
/ðen/ 'not'		
/min/ 'not'		/kata'jelis/ 'denounce'
/ton/ 'him'		

Table 1 Materials used for the lowest prosodic condition examining SV

Speakers produced a total of 850 instances [voiceless vs. voiced stops: 5 speakers*6 items*5 boundary conditions*2 repetitions = 300 plus for 'nasal+stop' sequences: 5 speakers*8 items*5 boundary conditions*2 repetitions = 300 items plus for BC0 of 'nasal+stop' sequences: 5 speakers*3 items*1 condition*2 repetitions*5 particles = 150].

2.1.3 Acoustic measurements

- A. *Duration of Closure and Release*: release refers to the time taken from the release of the closure to the beginning of vocal fold vibration of the *following* vowel (it, therefore, cannot be equated to VOT).
- B. *Relative Amplitude of Closure and Release*: the amplitude at the mid-point of the closure and release was measured, as shown in Figure 1. Measurements were performed automatically in PRAAT using a minimum pitch value of 100Hz (that is, the resulting window frame over which the analysis for amplitude is performed is 18ms, with 9ms on each side of the point of measurement). These raw measurements were then normalised by subtracting the mid-point amplitude measurement of the pre-boundary vowel from the measurement of the closure and the release:

$$\text{Relative Amplitude} = \text{dB of Closure/Release (midpoint)} - \text{dB of Vowel (midpoint)}$$

³ Notice that while the production experiment for voiceless and voiced stops of SMG includes the design and elicitation of SV instances, these are analysed in §3.2.3, and not in this section.

Given that vowels have higher amplitude than the closure and release of stops, negative values are expected, and lower absolute values indicate higher amplitude (e.g. a value of -8 in comparison to -11 means that the first sound has a higher amplitude than the second).

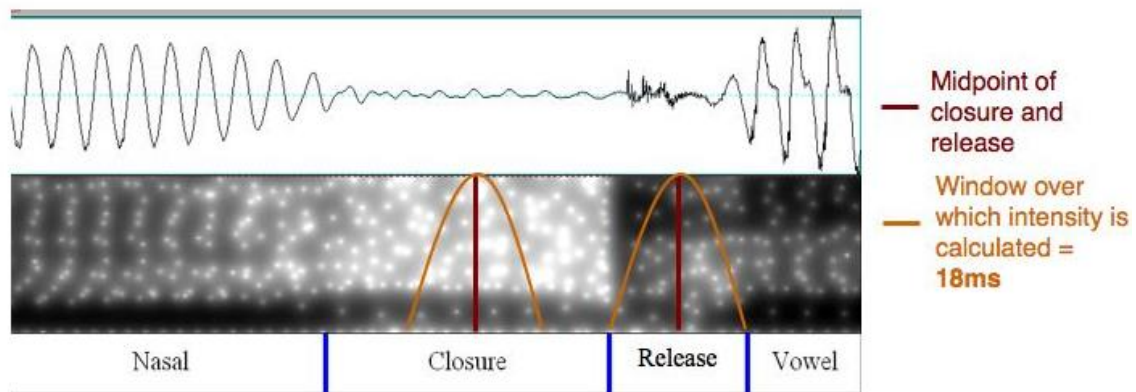


Figure 1 Example of segmentation of closure and release depicting the window for amplitude measurements

2.2 Results

Four Univariate ANOVAs are performed, testing the effect of Stop category (voiceless vs. voiced) on duration of closure, duration of release, relative amplitude of closure and relative amplitude of release. The effect of Stop category is significant in all four ANOVAs (Table 2). The closure of voiceless stops is 20% shorter than that of voiced stops ($F(1,271)=45.521$, $p<.001$) and the duration of the release for voiceless stops is 42% longer than for voiced stops ($F(1,285)=150.290$, $p<.001$). The amplitude of the closure and of the release are significantly lower for voiceless than for voiced stops (82% difference for the closure and 80% for the release ($F(1,247)=563.993$, $p<.001$, and $F(1,258)=295.8$, $p<.001$ respectively⁴). Table 3 shows the results for each place of articulation separately (asterisks indicate a difference between the voiceless and voiced stop).

	Voiceless	Voiced	Significance
Closure duration	51ms	64ms	* $<.001$
Release duration	24ms	14ms	* $<.001$
Closure amplitude	-17dB	-3dB	* $<.001$
Release amplitude	-10dB	-2dB	* $<.001$

Table 2 Mean duration and relative amplitude of voiceless and voiced stops in SMG

	p	t	k	b	d	g
Closure duration	63	44	45	65	70*	58*
Release duration	18	23	23	11*	13*	16*
Closure amplitude	-18	-14	-19	-3*	-2*	-3*
Release amplitude	-9	-10	-12	-1*	-1*	-4*

Table 3 Mean duration and relative amplitude of voiceless and voiced stops in all places of articulation (asterisks indicate statistical difference between voiceless and voiced rendition)

A Binary Logistic Regression analysis tested which of the four variables is the most important predictor for the voiceless-voiced classification. The most important predictors are the duration and

⁴ All boundary conditions have been pooled in these results, which means that mean results stem from a variety of prosodic contexts. For a breakdown of the results in each boundary condition, see Appendix B.

amplitude of the closure, while those of the burst do not significantly contribute to the model. A discriminant analysis showed that by using only the duration and amplitude values of the closure, 98.4% of the data can be correctly classified as voiceless or voiced. While this suggests that the acoustic characteristics of the closure are very important in the voicing distinction, it is not to be taken that they alone contribute to that, since a discriminant analysis testing the predictive power of only the acoustic characteristics of the release showed that 88.1% of the data can still be correctly classified.

2.3 Summary

Experiment 1 showed that the duration and amplitude of voiceless and voiced stops in SMG differ significantly. In terms of their amplitude, as expected, voiced stops have higher values. Interestingly, in terms of their duration, there is an interplay between the duration of the closure and that of the release, whereby the closure is longer for voiced stops than voiceless, and conversely the release longer for voiceless than voiced stops. Finally, the acoustic characteristics of the closure emerged as the most significant factors in distinguishing statistically between the voiceless and voiced categories.

3. Experiment 2 – Perception and acoustics of post-nasal stop voicing

A perception experiment was performed with the goals of (i) investigating the domain within which SV occurs, and (ii) on the basis of speakers' classifications as to which instances of 'nasal+stop' have undergone voicing, to compare their acoustic characteristics to those from voiceless and voiced stops in Experiment 1.

3.1 Methodology

Three raters, native speakers of SMG, classified all items from Experiment 1, i.e. both 'nasal+stop' sequences and phonologically voiceless and voiced stops (baselines). The nasal was located at the end of the word and was followed by a stop at the beginning of the next word. To avoid lexical bias, raters only listened to the syllables preceding and following the word boundary. Each rater heard the same number of items [272 bilabials, 268 palatals/velars and 206 alveolars] with different randomizations across speakers. The experiment was run in PRAAT (Boersma 2001). The raters were asked to listen to the items and decide whether they heard a voiceless or voiced stop⁵. Each rater did the experiment three times – one for each place of articulation.

3.2 Results

3.2.1 Prosodic boundary strength effects on post-nasal stop voicing application

Inter-rater agreement is first quantified using the *kappa statistic*. This statistic evaluates whether agreement has reached an acceptable level (Siegel and Castellan 1988), taking into consideration chance agreement between raters. Its output varies between -1 (no agreement) and 1 (full agreement), therefore expected results should lie between 0 (chance agreement) and 1. The level above which agreement is considered satisfactory is not uniformly agreed upon by researchers but a number above 0.65-0.70 is generally considered adequate for further analyses (personal communication with Dr. J. Carletta, and see Carletta 1996).

The results show very high inter-transcriber agreement for all three places of articulation, specifically $k=0.888$ for alveolars, $k = 0.845$ for bilabials, and $k = 0.901$ for velars], indicating that voicing judgments were easy for raters.

Figure 2 shows how often raters classified a 'nasal+stop' cluster as voiced or voiceless across all boundary conditions. It can be seen that SV is allowed in BC0 and blocked in all other conditions, indicating that the phenomenon is confined within the lowest domain of the hierarchy. Moreover, there

⁵ Four options were actually made available to the speakers; voiced or voiceless with the sub-categorisation of them being preceded by a nasal component. Those were collapsed to only two categories for the purposes of the analyses.

is an approximately 60-40% divide between SV applying vs. not applying, suggesting that the rule is optional. In the following section, its behavior within this domain is examined in detail.

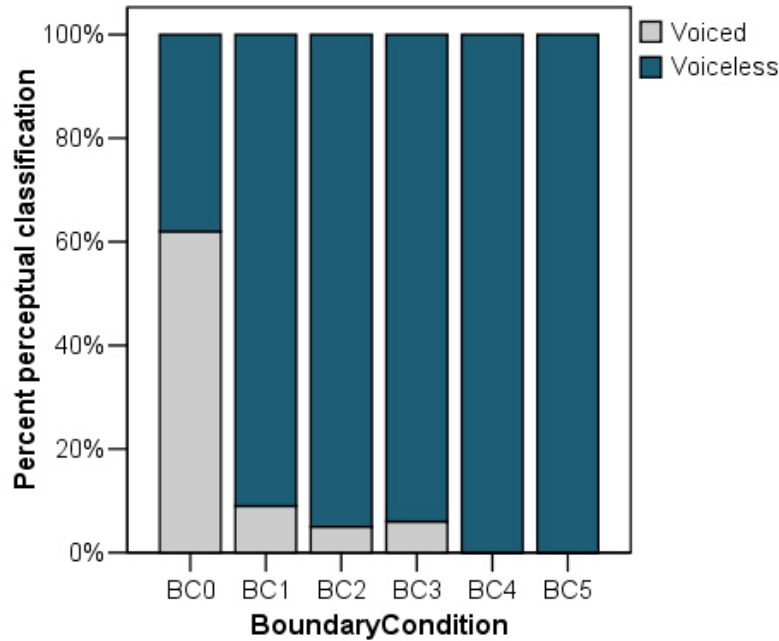


Figure 2 Percentage perceptual classification of ‘nasal+stop’ clusters as voiced or voiceless

3.2.2 Gradience within the same domain

When designing the lowest condition for the perception experiment, the items created entailed a variety of lexical items such as negation and temporal particles, subjunctive particles etc (see Table 1). This was done with the goal of probing potential differences across items within the same domain, and testing different expectations from analyses by Nespor and Vogel (1986) and possibly Malikouti-Drachman and Drachman (1988). For example, /ðen/ and /'otan/ according to Nespor and Vogel (1986) form different CG constructions (although the reasons for that are not clear), generating the hypothesis that the two items should behave differently in our experiment (/’otan/ should never voice and /ðen/ should voice). With respect to Malikouti-Drachman and Drachman’s (1988) analysis we might be able to form a prediction for /ðen/, /ton/ and /min/, in that in terms of syllabification they should not differ. The generated hypothesis would therefore be that all three lexical items should be optionally voiced following similar trends. Table 4 shows the amount of times each item was classified by the raters as voiced or not, broken down by item.

	Voiceless	Voiced	No Agreement
/ðen/ (‘not’) (9430,8)	-	19	5
/ton/ (‘him’) (8677,8)	5	17	5
/tin/ (‘her’) (18625,8)			
/min/ (‘not’) (696,2)	8	11	9
/an/ (‘if’) (2520,1)	12	5	5
/’otan/ (‘when’) (1514,2)	10	3	7

Table 4 Number of times each ‘nasal+stop’ cluster from each lexical item was classified as voiceless or voiced by all raters, and number of times classification did not reach agreement across raters. Numbers in *italic* parentheses show frequency of the lexical type in a million (Protopapas et al in press)

What is notable from Table 4 is that in BC0 there are indeed differences across lexical items in how often they are classified as voiceless and voiced; while the negation particle /ðen/ always undergoes

voicing, the other negation particle /min/ is split almost in half, with many instances of disagreement across raters, and at the other end temporal and subjunctive particles /otan/ and /an/ are classified as voiced only a few times. Interestingly, this variability is gradient; /ðen/ is always voiced, /ton/ follows with many instances of SV, and then /min/ with less SV instances and more instances of no agreement between raters, while /otan/ and /an/ appear to be mostly voiceless. Therefore, the hypothesis on the basis of Nespor and Vogel's (1986) analysis is half-met, in that /otan/ behaves differently to /ðen/ (but is still voiced a few times), while the second hypothesis regarding /ðen/, /min/ and /ton/ is not met at all, since the behavior of the three items differs.

The frequency of each lexical item from Protopapas et al's (in press) corpus is shown in Table 4 in italic parentheses in the first column. The most frequent item (/ðen/) always voices, while the least frequent items (/otan/ and /an/) voice the least frequently, and /ton/ lies in between in terms of both lexical and voicing frequency. However, this interesting pattern does not pertain to /min/, an item that voices often, but which appears the least frequently in the language.

3.2.3 Acoustics of post-nasal stop voicing

Two issues are addressed in this section with respect to SV: (i) the acoustic characteristics of instances of 'nasal+stop' classified as having undergone voicing, and (ii) their comparison to the acoustics of voiceless and voiced stops of SMG, as seen in Experiment 1⁶.

Four Univariate ANOVAs are performed, testing the effect of Stop category (this time instances *classified as* voiceless vs. voiced) on duration of closure, duration of release, relative amplitude of closure and relative amplitude of release. The effect of voicing is significant on all dependent variables (pooling all prosodic conditions: Closure Duration: $F(5, 20) = 5.989$, $p < .01$, Release duration: $F(5, 20) = 6.694$, $p < .01$, Relative Amplitude of Closure: $F(5, 20) = 4.365$, $p < .01$, Relative Amplitude of Release: $F(5, 20) = 4.433$, $p < .01$). This suggests that 'nasal+stop' clusters classified as voiced are statistically different to those classified as voiceless.

Moreover, the same pattern as in §2.2 is replicated (Table 5); the duration of the release of the voiceless items is longer than for the voiced and amplitude is higher for voiced than voiceless renditions both in the closure and the release. However, the duration of the closure of the voiceless items is also longer than that of the voiced, contrary to what was found in §2.2. This mismatch stems from the fact that almost all instances classified as voiced are derived from BC0, the lowest condition. Taking into consideration that boundary strength exercises lengthening effects in the preceding and following syllables and sounds (Fougeron and Keating 1997, Kainada 2010b for SMG), it becomes clear that all instances from BC1-BC5 (which were in their majority voiceless) will have longer closure durations than BC0 (which included in its majority voiced stops). On the basis of post-boundary lengthening being more pronounced in the vicinity of stronger prosodic boundaries, it is therefore expected that BC0 will have shorter durations than BC1-BC5. Given that all of the voiced instances are within BC0, the comparison between voiceless and voiced 'nasal+stop' sequences with respect to the duration of closure is not reliable. To rectify this issue, the difference between voiceless and voiced stops only in BC0 was tested; voiceless stops indeed have shorter closure duration than voiced ones⁷.

	Voiceless	Voiced
Closure duration	43	38
Release duration	24	15
Closure amplitude	-14	-8
Release amplitude	-18	-7

Table 5 Mean duration and amplitude of closure and release for all 'nasal+stop' sequences classified as voiceless and voiced

⁶ Remember that the production of all 'nasal+stop' sequences was performed in Experiment 1 and are analysed here. The reason for that is that first we need to perceptually classify which instances have undergone SV, before examining their acoustics. Therefore, the perception experiment is needed before any acoustic analyses are performed.

⁷ Instances of 'No Agreement' between raters were also investigated and were found to have acoustic characteristics similar to the items classified as voiceless, and statistically different to those of instances classified as voiced. It is not clear why those instances did not reach agreement. A spectrographic analysis was also performed by the author, confirming them visually as voiceless.

3.3 Summary

Experiment 2 showed that SV applies at the lowest domains of the prosodic structure. Importantly, there is variation in SV application within that domain, in that some lexical items are voiced more often than others, and the process appears to be optional. Acoustically, SV instances share the same durational and amplitude characteristics as voiced stops of SMG, and are statistically different to voiceless renditions. All the above show that SV applies categorically and is influenced by prosodic boundary strength in a categorical manner too.

4. Discussion

This paper set out to answer two questions. First, whether SV is categorical and, second, how is SV influenced by boundary strength. Acoustically, SV is categorical, i.e. the duration and amplitude of instances having undergone SV are distinct (both perceptually and statistically) to those of instances that have not undergone voicing. Moreover, SV instances were acoustically similar to voiced stops of SMG, and statistically dissimilar to voiceless stops. This is interesting because much acoustic research on sandhi phenomena in several languages over the past decade reports that such phenomena do not fit in acoustically distinct categories, but vary in a continuum of possible acoustic values. In fact, such findings have led to questioning whether sandhi phenomena are the result of a phonological rule or of coarticulation. The results of this paper clearly indicate that SV in SMG is a categorical process whose application seems to be the result of phonological planning and whose occurrence needs to be explained phonologically and not in terms of coarticulation. With respect to the boundary strength on the application of SV it was shown that SV is influenced categorically by prosodic boundary strength; SV is allowed only within the lowest domains of the prosodic hierarchy.

The second issue addressed concerns the way SV applies within the lowest domains of the prosodic structure. It was shown that frequency of voicing varied across lexical items, with /ðen/ emerging as always voiced, and /otan/ and /an/ being the items with the least amount of voicing. According to Nespor and Vogel's (1986) analysis this can be explained on the basis of different CGs; /otan/ and /an/ form CGs on their own, and therefore SV is blocked across them. However, this does not explain why these items were still classified as voiced in some instances, nor does it explain the phonological or other characteristics of /otan/ and /an/ that force them to form CGs (in comparison to items such as /ðen/ or /ton/). Finally, Nespor and Vogel's (1986) analysis cannot account for the gradient variation found across lexical items, whereby /ðen/ is always voiced, /min/ and /ton/ are sometimes voiced, and /otan/ and /an/ are almost never voiced (especially so for /ðen/ and /min/ which are both negation particles, unstressed, monosyllabic, and followed by the exact same verbs). Malikouti-Drachman and Drachman's (1988) analysis on the basis of syllabification cannot account for the findings either. All particles included in the experiment were followed by the exact same verbs, thus giving rise to the same syllabification conditions. Even if the nasal is optionally attached at the onset of the following syllable or at the coda of the preceding, we need an explanation as to why, for example, negative particles /ðen/ and /min/ behave differently, and why the object-clitic /ton/ is less frequently voiced than the negation particle /ðen/.

One possible explanation for the described variation could be the frequency of the words involved in the overall language. It was shown in §3.2.2 that a correlation could be loosely identified between the frequency of the lexical item in the language and the amount of times it exhibited SV, but this correlation did not pan out for all items under investigation (/min/ did not fit the pattern). This may indicate a process currently in progress in SMG whereby some items (the most frequent ones) undergo SV more often than others, but this is speculative and does not seem to apply to all items investigated. If this is the case, SV in SMG would prove an excellent test bed to test articulatorily how the process evolves, which could give insights into the link between coarticulation and sandhi phenomena.

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APPENDIX A

Example of construction of boundary conditions for Exp.1. The boundary was always placed between an adjective and a noun (see Kainada 2010a for reasons on using these constructions).

BC1 [a'po a'ftin tin **ci'notopi # ko'pela**, to pe'rimenta]

‘From this common girl, I expected it’.

BC2 [me em'fanisi **ci'notopi, # ko'pela** ðen θa vri]

‘With a common appearance, he will not find a girl’.

BC3 [a'fu 'eçis em'fanisi **ci'notopi # ko'pela** ðe θa vris/

‘Since you have a common appearance, you will not find a girl.’

BC4 [a'fu 'eçis ka'ta jeni'ci omolo'jia em'fanisi **ci'notopi # ko'pela** ðe θa vris xo'ris rizi'ci ala'ji]

‘Since everyone agrees that you have a common appearance, you will not find a girl without radical change.’

BC5 ['eçis ka'ta jeni'ci omolo'jia em'fanisi **ci'notopi # ko'pela** ðe θa vris xo'ris rizi'ci ala'ji]

‘Everyone agrees that you have a common appearance. You will not find a girl without radical change.’

APPENDIX B

Voiceless							
	BC1	BC2	BC3	BC4	BC5	Significance	Bonferroni
Duration closure	45	49	52	54	60	.016	1,2<5
Duration release	22	24	24	24	25	-	-
Amplitude closure	-13	-13	-16	-17	-21	<.001	1,2,3,4<5
Amplitude release	-8	-11	-11	-11	-7	-	-

Voiced							
	BC1	BC2	BC3	BC4	BC5	Significance	Bonferroni
Duration closure	56	60	66	70	69	.002	1<4,5
Duration release	13	14	14	13	14	-	
Amplitude closure	-3	-3	-4	-4	-1	<.001	1,2,3,4<5
Amplitude release	-3	-2	-2	-2	-1	.13	1,2,3,4<5

Mean duration and amplitude of closure and release of voiceless and voiced stops in SMG in varying boundary strength conditions [BC1=weakest boundary, BC5=strongest]

THE INTERPRETATION AND PRODUCTION OF ASPECT IN BILINGUAL LEARNERS

Maria Kaltsa
Aristotle University
of Thessaloniki, Greece
mkaltsa@enl.auth.gr

Ianthi-Maria Tsimpli
Aristotle University
of Thessaloniki, Greece
imt@enl.auth.gr

ABSTRACT

This study examines aspect and telicity in the production and comprehension of activity and motion verbs in the Greek of early successive bilingual Albanian-Greek children. In Greek, telicity is compositionally determined by morphological and situation type aspect and by a quantized object (Borer 2005). A telic sentence has an endpoint (DP or PP complement for activity and motion respectively) beyond which the event cannot continue (Depraetere 2007). The results show that the aspectual marking of telicity in activities appears earlier than in motion verbs. Bilingual children rely primarily on verb type differences in coding morphological aspect.

Keywords: aspect, telicity, motion verbs, L2 Greek, early successive bilingualism

1. Introduction

Telicity is a notion that has been used to characterize verbs, predicates and sentences. Vendler's classification of verbs distinguishes between states and activities being atelic from achievements and accomplishments being telic (Vendler 1967, Dowty 1979). Smith (1991) discusses the shift from one situation type (i.e. aspectual verb class) to the other as in *build*, an activity, to *build a house*, an accomplishment. This shift renders the atelic verb into a telic predicate. A sentence is telic if the event is represented as having an endpoint beyond which the event cannot continue (Depraetere 2007). The visibility of the endpoint depends on different factors such as the lexical semantics of a verb (e.g. find, sneeze, explode), the presence of a PP-GOAL which acts as a boundary of the action denoted by the verb (e.g. He drove the car into the garage), contextual knowledge shared by discourse participants (e.g. He sang. *understood as* He sang a song, specific object NPs which provide the natural endpoint to the situation (e.g. drink a glass of wine).

Accordingly, telicity is a notion relevant to the syntax-discourse interface in that it enables the hearer to view the event with or without a natural endpoint. However, the visibility of the endpoint may be established and unambiguously determined within the sentence and prior to pragmatic interpretation through lexical or grammatical means. Alternatively, the endpoint of the event described by the sentence may not be determined at the sentence level but may be inferred from an interaction of linguistic and contextual information. Both options can be available within the same language (Verkuyl 1993, Krifka 1989). For example, the Greek sentence *Zografise ena portreto* ("He painted a portrait") is unambiguously telic in that the portrait is completed while the sentence *Zografize ena portreto* ("He was painting a portrait") leaves open the possibility that the portrait is still not completed (Tsimpli & Papadopoulou 2006)¹. The crucial difference between the two sentences is the perfective/imperfective aspect on the verb form. Since perfectivity makes visible the endpoint of the event (Smith 1991) the presence of the object serves to identify the endpoint with the completion of the object painting event.

¹ The atelic interpretation also arises if there is no object at all with either perfective or imperfective verbs or if the object is a bare indefinite (Tsimpli & Papadopoulou 2006):

- (i) a. Zografize / Zografise
was-painting / painted
"He was painting. / He painted."
- b. Zografize / Zografise portreta.
was-painting / painted portraits
"He was painting / painted portraits."

The imperfective aspect, on the other hand, does not make visible the endpoint of the event and consequently the specific object leaves open the possibility of either identifying the completion point of the portrait or not. Thus, in Greek telicity can be unambiguously defined within the sentence with the combination of perfective aspect and a specific object DP (cf. Mozer 1994; Chila-Markopoulou and Mozer 2001). Furthermore, even when telicity is unambiguously defined within the sentence, in Greek this is the result of a compositional interpretation of the aspectual form and the quantized object or a PP-GOAL, to which we turn immediately.

Zubizarreta & Oh (2007) propose that there is a semantic and syntactic distinction between motion verbs, reflecting argument structure differences. Specifically, whether the motion verb includes an inherent ‘directed motion’ feature or not is linked with the possibility of selecting a PP-PATH/GOAL complement. Accordingly, the bare motion verb ‘to go’ includes a directed motion feature which is expressed through a PP-complement whereas manner-of-motion verbs are divided into the ‘run’ type manner of motion verbs which can take a distance DP complement and the ‘wander’ type which cannot. The directed motion feature is included in the former but not in the latter. Motion verbs in Greek are the focus of our experimental study. Greek and Albanian show an interesting asymmetry in the ambiguity and lack thereof of (a)telic interpretations respectively. Consider the following Greek examples first:

- (1) a. O skilos etrehe ston kipo.
the dog ran.IMP-3S in-the garden
“The dog was running in/towards the garden.
b. O skilos etrekse ston kipo.
the dog ran.PERF.3S in-the garden
“The dog ran into/towards/inside the garden.”

Each of the two sentences in (1a) and (1b) is ambiguous between a telic and an atelic interpretation. Specifically, in (1a) the PP *ston kipo* can be construed as the GOAL argument which depicts the direction of the motion event or as the LOCATIVE modifier of the motion event which, in this case, is neither directional nor measured. In (1b), on the other hand, the ambiguity increases since the telic interpretation in which the PP-GOAL is interpreted as the endpoint of the event is also available. Thus, in (1a) the event is unbounded and therefore atelic while in (1b) the telic interpretation is possible. Despite the ambiguity just described, there is a strong preference for the atelic locative interpretation in (1a) and the telic in (1b). These preferences are associated with the aspectual distinction on the verb form in each case. The imperfective may only denote atelic² events, i.e. location or direction while the perfective form is ambiguous between the two atelic readings and the telic interpretation (cf. Horrocks and Stavrou 2007). Nonetheless, Greek native speakers seem to favor a particular reading with each aspectual form. In previous studies (Tsimpli & Papadopoulou 2009) it was found that Greek monolingual adults prefer to interpret sentences such as (1b) as telic, while sentences such as (1a) as locative.

Albanian has two distinct morphologically simple past “tenses”, the “Imperfect” and “Past Definite” which differ in terms of their (im)perfectivity value (Dalina Kalluli p.c). The morphological and interpretive differences between Past Definite and Imperfect for the activity verb *lexoj* ‘I read’ are illustrated in (2) versus (3).

- (2) Vajza lexoi gazetën.
girl.the read.3s,DP newspaper.the
‘The girl read the newspaper.’

(3) Vajza lexonte gazetën.
girl.the read.3s,IMP newspaper.the
(i) ‘The girl was reading the newspaper.’
(ii) ‘The girl used to read the newspaper.’

The Imperfect may yield either a progressive reading occurring at a time in the past (as rendered in (3i)), or a habitual one (as rendered in (3ii)). Perfective motion verbs followed by a PP do not necessarily yield a telic interpretation (4).

² Notice that imperfective manner-of-motion verbs may denote telic events when they are used to express habituality (cf. Tsimpli & Papadopoulou 2009).

- (4) Vajza vrapoi në dyqan.
 girl.the run.3s,PD to/in/for store
 (i) ‘The girl ran to the store.’ → telic
 (ii) ‘The girl ran in the store.’ → atelic
 (iii) ‘The girl ran for the store.’ → atelic

Imperfective motion verbs always yield atelic interpretations (5):

- (5) a. Vajza (po) vraponte në dyqan.
 girl.the PROG run.3s,IMP in/to/for store
 ‘The girl was running in/to/for the store’
 b. Vajza vraponte në dyqan.
 girl.the run.3s,IMP in/to/for store
 (i) ‘The girl was running in/to/for the store’
 (ii) ‘The girl used to run in/to/for the store’

One difference between Greek and Albanian is in the availability of a progressive marker (‘po’) in Albanian but not in Greek. Thus, the distinction in terms of aspectual features is [+/-perfective] for Greek and [+/-perfective] as well as [+/-progressive] in Albanian.

2. Research Questions

The aim of the study is to investigate the role of the aspectual verb form (Perfective *vs.* Imperfective) in combination with the complements (DPs *vs.* PPs) in the comprehension and production of activity and motion verbs by young successive bilingual learners. Research questions: (1) do early bilingual Albanian-Greek children show the same developmental pattern as monolingual L1 Greek with reference to the expression and perception of telicity? (2) if a delay is attested in bilinguals, does it relate to the motion *vs.* activity predicate distinction? (3) does the L1 aspectual system interfere with the comprehension and production of telicity in L2 Greek?

3. The Study

Two groups of bilingual Albanian-Greek children participated in the study. There were 40 participants in total and were drawn from two state schools in Thessaloniki and a private institution for the teaching of Albanian literacy skills to Albanian children run by an immigrant association³. For each age group there were 20 participants. At the time of testing, the Bil_1 group had a mean age of 7;8 yrs old (Female: 7 & Male: 13) and the Bil_2 group a mean age of 9;1 yrs old (Female: 8 & Male: 12). A linguistic background questionnaire was distributed to the parents/guardians of participants and the information collected is presented on Table 1.

Group	Age at Testing	Home Language	Birth Place	Minimum Length of Exposure to L2 Greek	Bilinguals with Literacy Skills in L1 Albanian
Bilingual_1 (N=20)	7;8 yrs old (7;7-8;9)	Albanian & Greek (N=18) Albanian (N=2)	Greece (N=18) Albania (N=2)	6 yrs	60% (N=12)
Bilingual_2 (N=20)	9;1 yrs old (8;10-10;4)	Albanian & Greek (N=16) Albanian (N=4)	Greece (N=16) Albania (N=4)	7 yrs	70% (N=14)

Table 1 Bilingual Participants Profile

³ We would like to thank the 6th Intercultural Primary School of Eleftherio-Kordelio, the 6th Primary School of Evosmos and the immigrant association Mother Teresa for participating in this study and offering their help for the conduction of the experiments and the selection of information on the learners’ background.

Additionally, four control groups of monolingual speakers of Greek participated in the study; in particular, three monolingual learners groups and an adult group of 20 participants each (Total N of monolinguals: 80). At the time of testing, the monolingual 5-6 yrs old group had a mean age of 5;5 (Female: 25 & Male: 25), the monolingual 6-7 yrs old group a mean age of 6;4 (Female: 27 & Male: 23), the monolingual 7-8 yrs old one a mean age of 7;4 (Female: 26 & Male: 24), and the adult native speakers group a mean age of 36;5 (Female: 27 & Male: 13).

3.1 Aspectual Marking Pre-test

In order to establish that the bilingual participants have acquired the perfective-imperfective distinction regardless of telicity or other factors, we used a sentence completion task designed by Agathopoulou & Papadopoulou (2009)⁴. The participant was given a sentence to complete using the verb provided either in perfective, as in example (6) or in imperfective, as in example (7):

- (6) Hthes o Nikos yirise sto spiti *stis* 8.
Yesterday the Nick return-PERF home at 8 o'clock.
'Yesterday Nick returned home at 8 o'clock.'
- (7) Hthes sto parti tis Elenis o Nikos horeve *sinehia*.
Yesterday s-the party the Helen the Nick dance-IMP continuously.
'Yesterday Nick was dancing continuously at Helen's party.'

There were 32 items and the type of aspect was controlled by time adverbials expressing punctuality (in example (6) *stis* 8) or continuity (in example (7) *sinehia*). The accuracy score for the Bil_1 group was 85.19% and for the Bil_2 group 93.25%. Both scores show an established knowledge of aspectual marking.

3.2 The Comprehension Study

The comprehension experiment examines the understanding of telicity in the bilingual grammar of young successive bilingual learners.

3.2.1 Materials

The comprehension task designed by Kaltsa (in prep.) consisted of 64 short video stimuli. For each verb, we constructed two videos the one presenting a telic/complete event and the other an atelic/ongoing one. Each aspectual verb form [+/- Perfective] was presented with the same pair of videos. There were 18 target verbs (6 intransitive, 6 activity and 6 motion verbs) and 14 filler verbs. The verbs employed in the task in intransitive constructions were *hamogelo* ('smile'), *kimame* ('sleep'), *kleo* ('cry'), *spao* ('break'), *klino* ('close') and *pefto* ('fall'). The activity verbs were *zografizo* ('paint'), *dhiavazo* ('read'), *troo* ('eat'), *pino* ('drink'), *katharizo* ('clean') and *ftiaho* ('make'). The motion verbs were *strifogirizo* ('turn around'), *sernome* ('crawl'), *treho* ('run'), *pidho* ('jump'), *pigeno* ('go') and *horopidho* ('gambol'). An example of sentences with activity VPs employed in the task may be seen in (8) and an example of motion VPs in (9).

- (8) (a) Hthes to koritsi efage ena milo.
yesterday the girl eat-PERF an apple
'Yesterday the girl ate an apple.'
- (b) Hthes to koritsi etroge ena milo.
yesterday the girl eat-IMP an apple
'Yesterday the girl was eating an apple.'
- (9) (a) Hthes to agori etrekse sti kuzina.
yesterday the boy run-PERF to/in the kitchen
'Yesterday the boy ran to the kitchen.'

⁴ The original test (Agathopoulou & Papadopoulou 2009) was designed to be a written sentence completion task. In our study we modified the test so that it was administered in both written and spoken form in order to alleviate the written language burden from the bilingual children tested.

- (b) Hthes to agori etrehe sti kuzina.
 yesterday the boy run-IMP in the kitchen
 'Yesterday the boy was running inside the kitchen.'

In (8a), the perfective activity VP is expected to map onto a telic interpretation, that is a completed event where the goal has been accomplished (the whole apple has been consumed). In the case of the imperfective activity VP (8b), the utterance may only refer to an atelic event during which the goal has not been achieved (the apple remains uneaten). In (9a), the perfective motion VP can be interpreted either as telic or atelic. In order to receive a telic interpretation the PP needs to be interpreted as a goal (directional reading). The local interpretation of the PP, on the other hand, will lead to an atelic reading of the sentence. In the case of the imperfective motion VP (9b), the interpretation of the PP may only be locative and it consequently leads to an overall atelic interpretation.

3.2.2 Procedure

The participants were shown both videos presenting the telic and atelic condition simultaneously and a recorded stimulus sentence followed. The stimulus sentence was morphologically marked either with Perfective or Imperfective aspect and the task for the participant was to match this utterance to one of the two events. The experiment was conducted with the use of a laptop computer with a 15.4" screen. The participants were given the following protocol before starting the experiment: A robot was introduced to the participants on the computer screen. He/she was told that this robot had been learning Greek and the previous day it was watching two kids doing several things. The robot would describe what those kids were doing but it was not really sure how to use Greek accurately so it needed the participant's help. The participant had to watch carefully both videos, listen to what the robot says and point to the video that is best described by the robot's utterance.

3.2.3 Results

The data analysis consisted in counting the preferred matching of perfective aspectual verb forms with a telic or atelic interpretation of the events and imperfective aspectual verb forms with a telic or atelic interpretation. The data was subcategorized per verb type. The mean percentages of aspect-telicity matching per age group are presented in Figures 1 to 4.

Activity and Telicity in L2 Greek

In activity VP constructions, the interaction of aspect (perfective vs. imperfective) and event type (telic vs. atelic) is not significant only for the Bil_1 group data. For the other groups, the interaction between aspect and telicity is significant (Bil_1: 1: $\chi^2=.137$, $df= 1$, $p= .711$; Bil_2: $\chi^2= 10.474$, $df= 1$, $p= .001$; Monol_5-6-yrs-old: $\chi^2= 4.800$, $df= 1$, $p= .028$; Monol_6-7-yrs-old: $\chi^2= 43.982$, $df= 1$, $p= .000$; Monol_7-8-yrs-old: $\chi^2= 108.330$, $df= 1$, $p= .000$; Monol_adults: $\chi^2= 120.000$, $df= 1$, $p= .000$).

Figure 1 presents the mean percentages of perfective activity verbs' interpretation as telic and atelic per group.

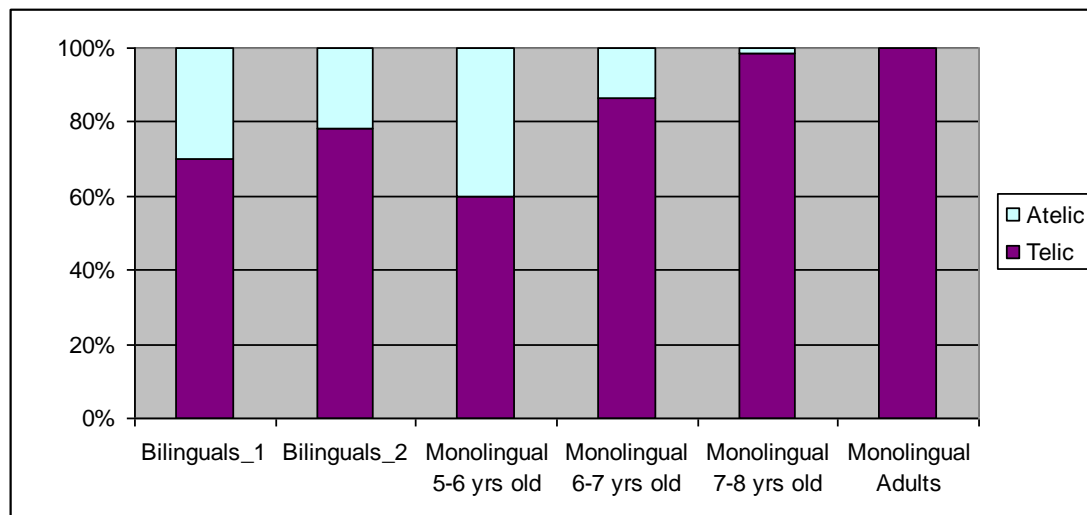


Figure 1 Perfective Activity VPs

The data reported in Figure 1 show that both bilingual groups prefer to match telic events to perfective activity verb forms. This observation was statistically supported by one-way-goodness-of-fit chi-square tests (Bil_1: $\chi^2 = 9.600$, $df = 1$, $p = .002$; Bil_2: $\chi^2 = 19.267$, $df = 1$, $p = .000$). The data of the control groups show that 5-6 yrs old monolingual children have not developed a strong enough preference for the telic interpretation (Monol_5-6-yrs-old: $\chi^2 = 2.400$, $df = 1$, $p = .121$). The rest of the monolingual children along with the adults, though, significantly prefer to match telic events to perfective activity VPs (Monol_6-7-yrs-old: $\chi^2 = 32.267$, $df = 1$, $p = .000$; Monol_7-8-yrs-old: $\chi^2 = 56.067$, $df = 1$, $p = .000$).

Figure 2 presents the mean percentages of imperfective activity verbs' interpretation as telic and atelic per group.

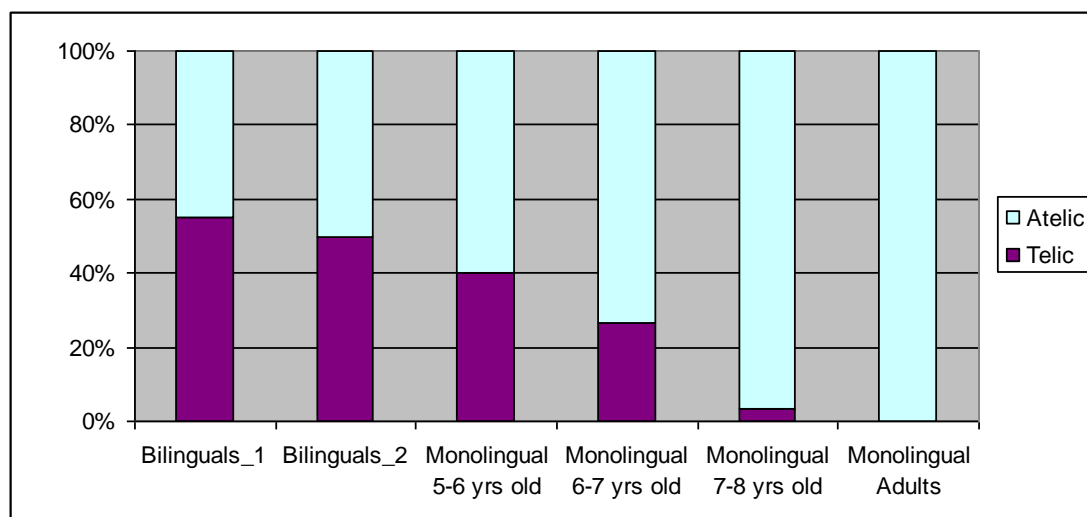


Figure 2 Imperfective Activity VPs

The data reported in Figure 2 show that both bilingual groups along with Monol_5-6 yrs old group remain indeterminate when matching imperfective activity VPs to telic and atelic events. This observation was statistically supported by one-way-goodness-of-fit chi-square tests (Bil_1: $\chi^2 = .600$, $df = 1$, $p = .439$; Bil_2: variable constant; Monol_5-6-yrs-old: $\chi^2 = 2.400$, $df = 1$, $p = .121$). The Monol_6-7 and Monol_7-8 yrs old groups align with the adult preferences (Monol_6-7-yrs-old: $\chi^2 = 13.067$, $df = 1$, $p = .000$; Monol_7-8-yrs-old: $\chi^2 = 52.267$, $df = 1$, $p = .000$).

Turning to the comparison between the two bilingual groups for activity verbs, no significant differences are found in the perfective or in the imperfective condition. Monolingual groups, in

contrast, differ from each other in both aspectual conditions and the oldest group reaches adult performance (Kaltsa in prep.). Comparing each bilingual with each monolingual group it is shown that in the perfective condition Bil_1 aligns with the performance of Monol_5-6 yrs old group and Bil_2 with that of Monol_6-7 yrs old group suggesting a minimum of two years delay in the acquisition of perfective aspectual marking on activity VPs (Bil_1 vs. Monol_5-6-yrs-old: $\chi^2= 1.319$, $df= 1$, $p= .251$; Bil_1 vs. Monol_6-7-yrs-old: $\chi^2= 4.910$, $df= 1$, $p= .027$; Bil_1 vs. Monol_7-8-yrs-old: $\chi^2= 18.072$, $df= 1$, $p= .000$; Bil_1 vs. Monol_adults: $\chi^2= 21.176$, $df= 1$, $p= .000$; Bil_2 vs. Monol_5-6-yrs-old: $\chi^2= 4.728$, $df= 1$, $p= .030$; Bil_2 vs. Monol_6-7-yrs-old: $\chi^2= 1.443$, $df= 1$, $p= .230$; Bil_2 vs. Monol_7-8-yrs-old: $\chi^2= 11.644$, $df= 1$, $p= .001$; Bil_2 vs. Monol_adults: $\chi^2= 14.579$, $df= 1$, $p= .000$).

The same comparison in the imperfective activity verb condition shows that both bilingual groups align with the lack of a strong preference found also in the Monol_5-6 yrs old group. This suggests an further delay in the imperfective activity Vs (Bil_1 vs. Monol_5-6-yrs-old: $\chi^2= 2.707$, $df= 1$, $p= .100$; Bil_1 vs. Monol_6-7-yrs-old: $\chi^2= 9.968$, $df= 1$, $p= .002$; Bil_1 vs. Monol_7-8-yrs-old: $\chi^2= 38.763$, $df= 1$, $p= .000$; Bil_1 vs. Monol_adults: $\chi^2= 45.517$, $df= 1$, $p= .000$; Bil_2 vs. Monol_5-6-yrs-old: $\chi^2= 1.212$, $df= 1$, $p= .271$; Bil_2 vs. Monol_6-7-yrs-old: $\chi^2= 6.910$, $df= 1$, $p= .009$; Bil_2 vs. Monol_7-8-yrs-old: $\chi^2= 33.409$, $df= 1$, $p= .000$; Bil_2 vs. Monol_adults: $\chi^2= 40.000$, $df= 1$, $p= .000$).

Motion and Telicity in L2 Greek

In motion VP constructions, the interaction of aspect (perfective vs. imperfective) and event type (telic vs. atelic) appears quite difficult for young learners, bilingual and monolingual. In particular, no effect of this interaction is found in the performance of Bil_1 and Monol_5-6 yrs old groups (Bil_1: $\chi^2= 1.656$, $df= 1$, $p= .198$; Monol_5-6-yrs-old: $\chi^2=.333$, $df= 1$, $p= .564$). Bil_2, on the other hand, as well as the rest of the monolingual controls show a significant interaction (Bil_2: $\chi^2= 17.638$, $df= 1$, $p= .000$; Monol_6-7-yrs-old: $\chi^2= 20.000$, $df= 1$, $p= .000$; Monol_7-8-yrs-old: $\chi^2= 83.426$, $df= 1$, $p= .000$; Monol_adults: $\chi^2= 112.258$, $df= 1$, $p= .000$).

Figure 3 presents the mean percentages of perfective motion verbs' interpretation as telic and atelic per group.

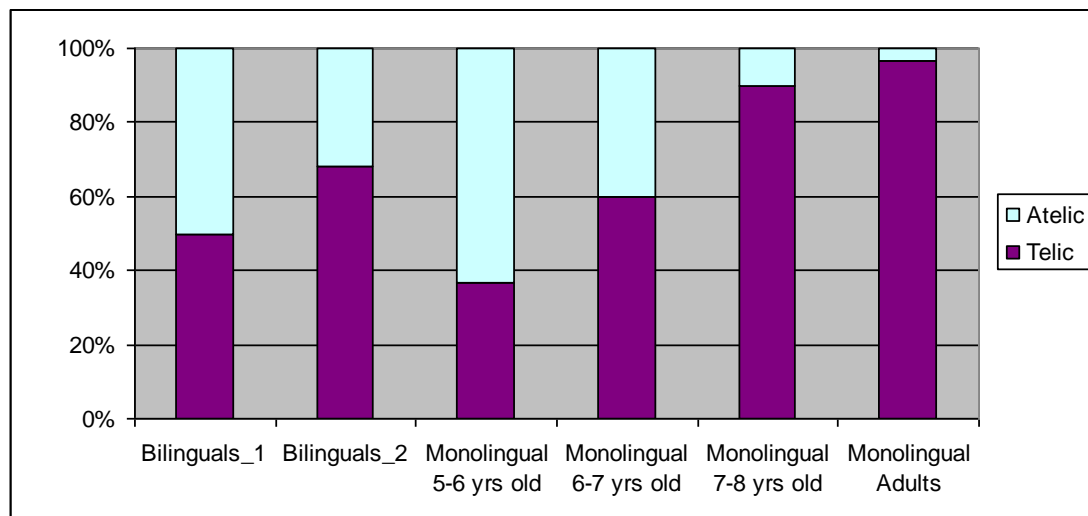


Figure 3 Perfective Motion VPs

Note that the data in Figure 3 differ from those in Figure 1 for activity verbs both for bilinguals and monolinguals. Perfective aspect for motion verbs appears to be problematic for the Bil_1, Monol_5-6 and Monol_6-7 yrs old groups, whereas it is strongly related to a telic event for the older bilinguals and the 7-8 yrs old monolingual children (Bil_2: $\chi^2= 8.067$, $df= 1$, $p= .005$; Monol_7-8-yrs-old: $\chi^2= 38.400$, $df= 1$, $p= .000$; Monol_adults: $\chi^2= 52.267$, $df= 1$, $p= .000$).

Figure 4 presents the mean percentages of imperfective motion verbs' interpretation as telic and atelic per group.

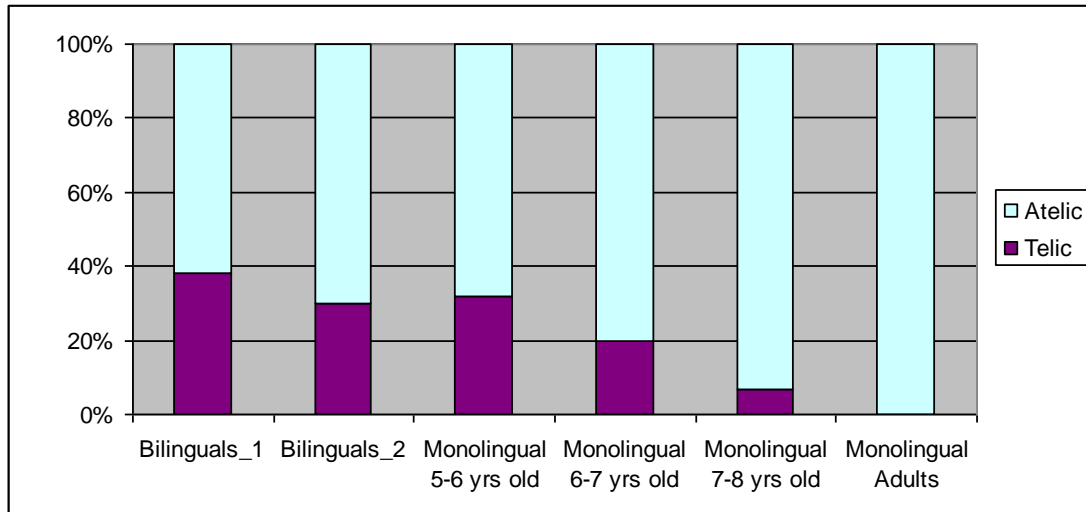


Figure 4 Imperfective Motion VPs

Comparing Figures 2 and 4, we note that imperfective motion events are readily interpreted as atelic while imperfective activities are at chance with respect to telicity. Figure 4 shows that both bilingual and monolingual groups match atelic events to imperfective motion verb forms. This observation was statistically supported by one-way goodness-of-fit chi-square tests (Bil_1: $\chi^2=3.267$, $df=1$, $p=.071$; Bil_2: $\chi^2=9.600$, $df=1$, $p=.002$; Monol_6-7-yrs-old: $\chi^2=21.600$, $df=1$, $p=.000$; Monol_7-8-yrs-old: $\chi^2=45.067$, $df=1$, $p=.000$).

Developmentally, the between bilingual group comparisons for motion verbs show a difference only in perfective aspect (Bil_1 vs. Bil_2: $\chi^2=4.174$, $df=1$, $p=.041$). The comprehension of aspectually marked motion VPs is an area of difficulty for monolingual children as well, who are found to differ from each other but still not attain the adult like preferences for the (a)telic interpretations (Kaltsa in prep.). The comparison between bilingual and monolingual groups reveal that in the perfective aspect condition Bil_1 aligns with the performance of Monol_5-6 yrs as well as Monol_6-7 yrs old groups, while Bil_2 with that of Monol_6-7 yrs old group (Bil_1 vs. Monol_5-6-yrs-old: $\chi^2=2.172$, $df=1$, $p=.141$; Bil_1 vs. Monol_6-7-yrs-old: $\chi^2=1.212$, $df=1$, $p=.271$; Bil_1 vs. Monol_7-8-yrs-old: $\chi^2=22.857$, $df=1$, $p=.000$; Bil_1 vs. Monol_adults: $\chi^2=33.409$, $df=1$, $p=.000$; Bil_2 vs. Monol_5-6-yrs-old: $\chi^2=12.063$, $df=1$, $p=.001$; Bil_2 vs. Monol_6-7-yrs-old: $\chi^2=.906$, $df=1$, $p=.341$; Bil_2 vs. Monol_7-8-yrs-old: $\chi^2=8.539$, $df=1$, $p=.003$; Bil_2 vs. Monol_adults: $\chi^2=16.681$, $df=1$, $p=.000$).

The between bilingual and monolingual group comparisons in the imperfective aspect condition for motion verbs suggest that Bil_1 matches with the preferences of Monol_5-6 yrs old group while Bil_2 with that of Monol_5-6 and Monol_6-7 yrs old groups (Bil_1 vs. Monol_5-6-yrs-old: $\chi^2=.586$, $df=1$, $p=.444$; Bil_1 vs. Monol_6-7-yrs-old: $\chi^2=4.881$, $df=1$, $p=.027$; Bil_1 vs. Monol_7-8-yrs-old: $\chi^2=17.252$, $df=1$, $p=.000$; Bil_1 vs. Monol_adults: $\chi^2=28.454$, $df=1$, $p=.000$; Bil_2 vs. Monol_5-6-yrs-old: $\chi^2=.039$, $df=1$, $p=.843$; Bil_2 vs. Monol_6-7-yrs-old: $\chi^2=1.600$, $df=1$, $p=.206$; Bil_2 vs. Monol_7-8-yrs-old: $\chi^2=10.909$, $df=1$, $p=.001$; Bil_2 vs. Monol_adults: $\chi^2=21.176$, $df=1$, $p=.000$).

To further examine whether activity and motion verbs are treated by bilinguals as different types of constructions in the comprehension of aspect, two-way group-independence chi-square tests were performed. These show that (a) Bil_1 interpret perfective aspect as telic in activity verbs but not in motion ones (Activity vs. Motion: $\chi^2=5.000$, $df=1$, $p=.025$), while Bil_2 do not treat the two verb types differently when they appear in perfective; and (b) in the imperfective condition both groups make a distinction between activity and motion verbs (Bil_1: $\chi^2=3.348$, $df=1$, $p=.067$; Bil_2: $\chi^2=5.000$, $df=1$, $p=.025$).

In the same comparisons, the monolingual data show that (a) the interpretation of perfective activity verbs as telic is more strongly preferred than that of perfective motion ones for all child groups leading to significantly different responses per verb type; and (b) in the imperfective condition no statistically significant difference is found for any group suggesting that the comprehension of imperfective aspect as atelic overrides the syntactic properties of activity and motion VPs. The adult data in the between verb type comparisons present a ceiling effect clearly indicating that the verb type is irrelevant to their preferred readings of (a)telicity (Kaltsa in prep.).

3.3 The Production Study

The production experiment examines the production of telicity in the bilingual grammar of young successive bilingual learners⁵.

3.3.1 Materials and Procedure

The materials designed for the comprehension task were used for the production task as well. The production task was administered one or two months later than the comprehension task. The participants were shown one video at a time presenting either the telic or atelic condition and a test question followed. The test question was not morphologically marked for aspect (10) and it included a time adverbial to indicate past reference. The task for the participant was to describe the event.

- (10) Τι έκανε χθες το παιδί;
 what do-PAST (Perf/Imp) yesterday the child
 ‘What did the child do yesterday?’

3.3.2 Results

The data analysis consisted in (a) filtering out utterances with verbs not morphologically marked as past or inappropriate verbs; (b) counting the preferred use of perfective aspectual verb forms with telic and atelic events; and (c) counting the preferred use of imperfective aspectual verb forms with telic or atelic events. The data was subcategorized per verb type for all conditions. The mean percentages of the aspect/complement-telicity matching per group are presented in Figures 5 to 8.

Activity and Telicity in L2 Greek

In activity events, the interaction of aspect (perfective vs. imperfective) and event type (telic vs. atelic) is significant for all groups (Bil_1: $\chi^2=5.940$, $df=1$, $p=.015$; Bil_2: $\chi^2=14.982$, $df=1$, $p=.000$; Monol_7-8-yrs-old: $\chi^2=4.821$, $df=1$, $p=.028$; Monol_8-9-yrs-old: $\chi^2=48.187$, $df=1$, $p=.000$; Monol_adults: $\chi^2=14.704$, $df=1$, $p=.000$).

Figure 5 presents the mean percentages for the use of perfective and imperfective in describing telic activity events.

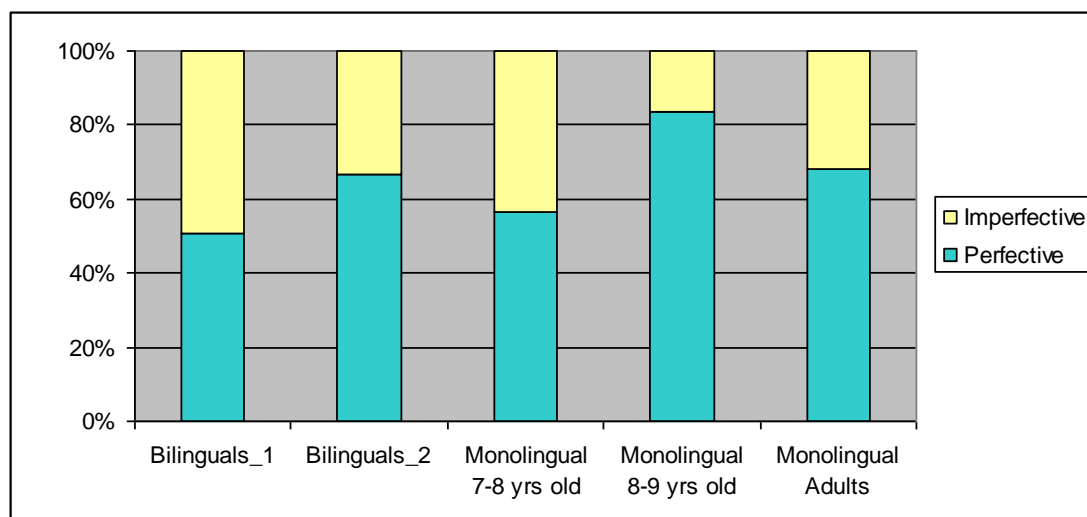


Figure 5 Activity Telic Events

The data reported in Figure 5 show that the older bilingual group uses perfective forms to describe telic events, whereas the younger bilinguals don't show any preference. This observation was statistically supported by one-way-goodness-of-fit chi-square tests (Bil_2: $\chi^2=6.667$, $df=1$, $p=.010$).

⁵ We do not include the results from the 5-6 yr old monolinguals due to space limitations. Nevertheless this group shows no significant results in production of telic and atelic events with respect to aspectual forms used (Kaltsa in prep.)

The data of the control groups show that 7-8 yrs old monolingual children have a similar attitude to Bil_1 group, while older monolingual children and adults clearly prefer using perfective over imperfective aspect (Monol_8-9-yrs-old: $\chi^2 = 26.667$, $df = 1$, $p = .000$; Monol_adults: $\chi^2 = 8.067$, $df = 1$, $p = .005$).

Figure 6 presents the mean for the use of perfective and imperfective in describing atelic activity events.

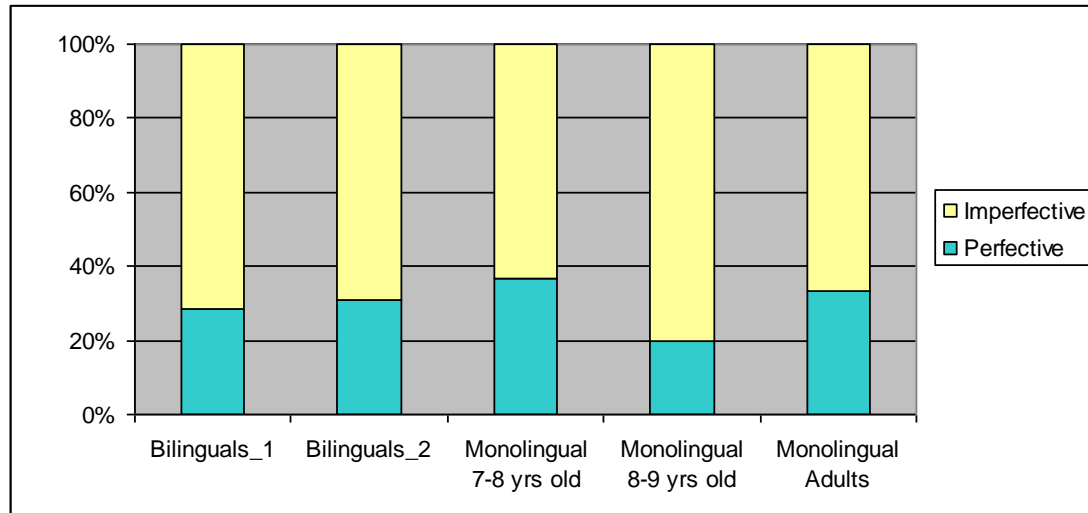


Figure 6 Activity Atelic Events

The data reported in Figure 6 show that both bilinguals and monolinguals strongly prefer to use imperfective to describe atelic events with activity predicates. This observation was statistically supported by one-way-goodness-of-fit chi-square tests (Bil_1: $\chi^2 = 10.286$, $df = 1$, $p = .001$; Bil_2: $\chi^2 = 8.345$, $df = 1$, $p = .004$; Monol_7-8-yrs-old: $\chi^2 = 4.267$, $df = 1$, $p = .039$; Monol_8-9-yrs-old: $\chi^2 = 21.600$, $df = 1$, $p = .000$; Monol_adults: $\chi^2 = 6.667$, $df = 1$, $p = .010$).

Turning to the between bilingual group comparisons for activity verb production the Bil_2 group uses perfective aspect more than the Bil_1 group when describing a telic activity event (Bil_1 vs. Bil_2: $\chi^2 = 3.073$, $df = 1$, $p = .080$). Comparing bilingual with monolingual groups in the telic condition the use of aspect aligns bilingual performance with that of Monol_7-8 yrs old. Moreover, while Bil_1 group performs differently from the older monolingual children and adults, the older bilingual group differs from the older monolingual children but matches the adult performance (Bil_1 vs. Monol_8-9-yrs-old: $\chi^2 = 14.249$, $df = 1$, $p = .000$; Bil_1 vs. Monol_adults: $\chi^2 = 3.779$, $df = 1$, $p = .052$; Bil_2 vs. Monol_8-9-yrs-old: $\chi^2 = 4.444$, $df = 1$, $p = .035$). The groups are not differentiated to each other in the atelic condition.

Motion and Telicity in L2 Greek

In motion events, the interaction of aspect (perfective vs. imperfective) and event type (telic vs. atelic) is significant for both bilinguals and monolinguals (Bil_1: $\chi^2 = 15.267$, $df = 1$, $p = .000$; Bil_2: $\chi^2 = 31.706$, $df = 1$, $p = .000$; Monol_7-8-yrs-old: $\chi^2 = 4.596$, $df = 1$, $p = .032$; Monol_8-9-yrs-old: $\chi^2 = 15.983$, $df = 1$, $p = .000$; Monol_adults: $\chi^2 = 12.117$, $df = 1$, $p = .000$).

Figure 7 presents the mean percentages for the use of perfective and imperfective in describing telic motion events.

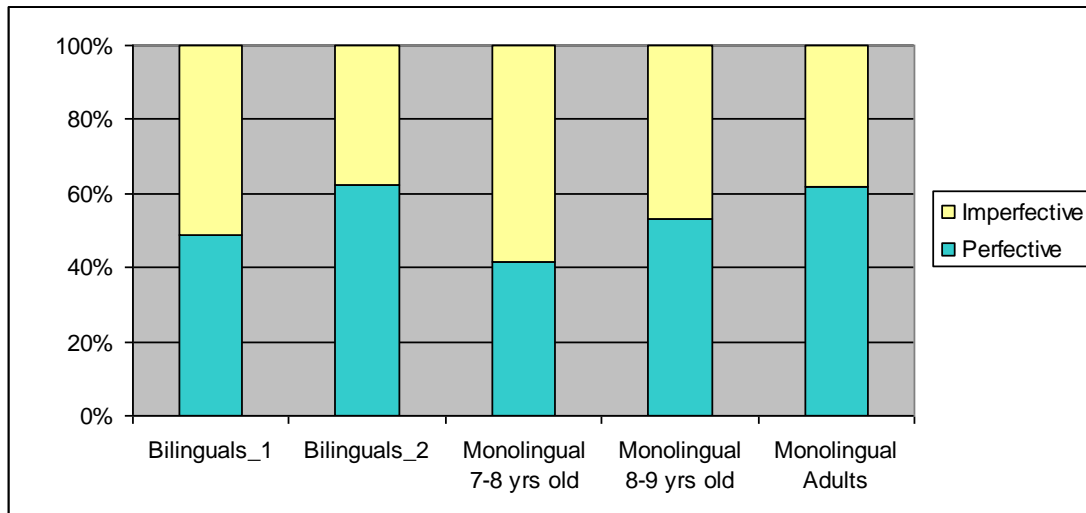


Figure 7 Motion Telic Events

The data reported in Figure 7 show that only the older bilingual group and the adults use perfective verb forms to describe telic motion events. All other groups perform at chance (Bil_2: $\chi^2 = 3.500$, $df = 1$, $p = .061$; Monol_adults: $\chi^2 = 3.267$, $df = 1$, $p = .071$).

Figure 8 presents the mean for the use of perfective and imperfective in describing atelic motion events.

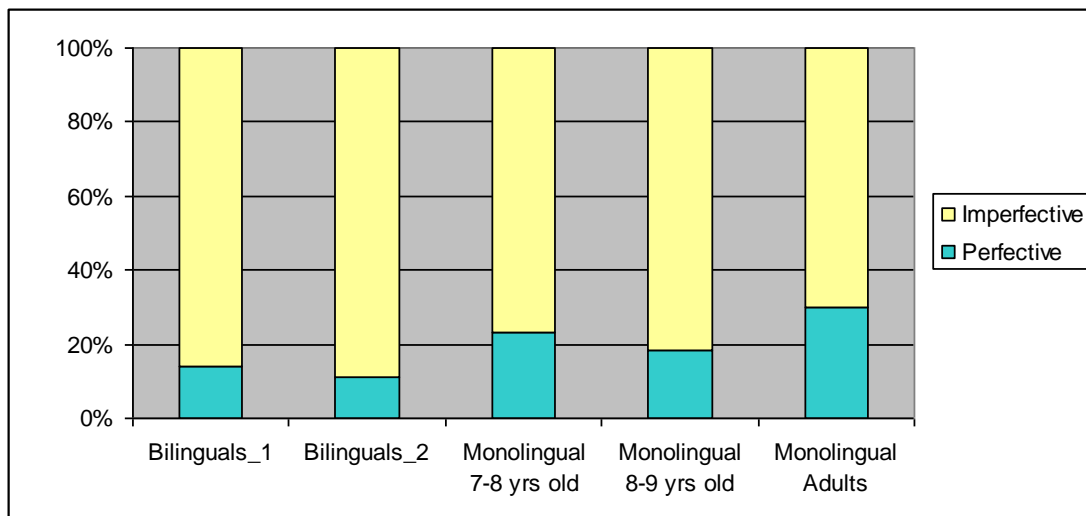


Figure 8 Motion Atelic Events

The data reported in Figure 8 show that all groups significantly prefer to use imperfective with atelic motion events. This observation was statistically supported by one-way-goodness-of-fit chi-square tests (Bil_1: $\chi^2 = 29.491$, $df = 1$, $p = .000$; Bil_2: $\chi^2 = 33.618$, $df = 1$, $p = .000$; Monol_7-8-yrs-old: $\chi^2 = 17.067$, $df = 1$, $p = .000$; Monol_8-9-yrs-old: $\chi^2 = 24.067$, $df = 1$, $p = .000$; Monol_adults: $\chi^2 = 9.600$, $df = 1$, $p = .002$).

Turning to the comparisons between bilingual groups there is no significant difference found. The comparison between bilingual and monolingual groups reveal that in the telic condition the use of perfective aspect is strong only for the Bil_2 group while the other groups perform similarly ($\chi^2 = 5.035$, $df = 1$, $p = .025$). In the atelic condition, both bilingual groups differ from adults on aspect (Bil_1 vs. Monol_adults: $\chi^2 = 4.311$, $df = 1$, $p = .038$; Bil_2 vs. Monol_adults: $\chi^2 = 6.333$, $df = 1$, $p = .012$).

Comparing activity with motion events, (a) Monol_8-9-yr-old children use perfective aspect for telic activities but not for motion ones (Activity vs. Motion: $\chi^2 = 12.478$, $df = 1$, $p = .000$), while the rest of the groups show no difference per verb type; (b) in the atelic condition both bilingual groups use the

imperfective with motion verbs more than with activity ones, while monolinguals show no difference (Bil_1: $\chi^2 = 3.568$, $df = 1$, $p = .059$; Bil_2: $\chi^2 = 6.835$, $df = 1$, $p = .009$).

4. Discussion

The comprehension study shows that bilingual children map perfective aspect onto telic activities and imperfective aspect onto atelic motions. However, perfective motion VPs and imperfective activity VPs remain problematic for bilinguals. These results indicate that bilingual children's choices are mostly driven by the semantics of the verb, i.e. activity and motion while morphological aspect is basically a realisation of lexical aspect. Accordingly, a VP such as 'eat the apple' (accomplishment) is understood differently to a VP such as 'run in the kitchen' (activity) marked with perfective aspect. Turning to the production study, bilingual children seem to have difficulties with aspectual marking in Greek suggesting, as in the comprehension study, a priority of situation type over viewpoint/grammatical aspect.

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SILL REVISITED: CONFIDENCE IN STRATEGY EFFECTIVENESS AND USE OF THE *BAR* IN DATACOLLECTING AND PROCESSING

Penelope Kambaki Vougioukli

Associate Professor of Linguistics

Department of Greek

Democritus University of Thrace

pekavou@helit.duth.gr

ABSTRACT

SILL questionnaire is taken by 110 first year students of Greek in an attempt to reveal and activate potential SILL might have but not identified and investigated so far. The two issues introduced concern (a) users' confidence whether their choice of a specific strategy is effective, and (b) an alternative statistical tool, the bar [01], inspired from the fuzzy theory, instead of Likert scales. The advantages of the bar on the part of the subjects is that they do not need to try to elaborate fine differences between different subdivisions; moreover, they have a completely free choice among infinite points on a line rather than a limited 3...5...9... etc of a Likert scale. The researchers, on the other hand, are given the initiative to decide how many divisions to use in each case and, even more so, to apply a follow-up processing with different subdivisions. Confidence indications reveal that our subjects seem to realise how strategies might but they do not make often use of some they consider important because of lack of instruction and time devoted to the actual application of strategies in classroom environment.

Keywords: strategy, SILL, bar, fuzzy, confidence, alternative, effectiveness

0. Introduction

Language learning strategies have created a great deal of controversy over the years since Rubin and Stern first introduced the concept to the second language literature in 1975, followed closely by Naiman et al. (1978). All those early researchers mainly focused on identifying lists of strategies; however, research on language learning strategies really flowered in the 1980's and early 1990's, the, so to say, 'golden period', during which focus was completely on the good learner's choice of language learning strategy and the factors that affect that choice, moving in this way emphasis to classification. It is then that Rubin (1981) classified strategies according to whether they are direct or indirect and O'Malley et al. (1985) divided them into cognitive, metacognitive or socioaffective categories. In 1990, Rebecca Oxford published her landmark book "Language Learning Strategies: What Every Teacher Should Know" which included the "Strategy Inventory for Language Learning" or "SILL", a questionnaire which has been used continually ever since. Then towards the end of the 90s, Andrew Cohen (1998) produced his book on strategies for learning and using a second language. Nevertheless, not much on strategy instruction was introduced, apart from O'Malley and Chamot's handbook (1990) as well as certain sporadic hints, leaving this important issue suspended and in the discretion of individual teachers, or, even worse, of individual learners.

In the years to follow, there was a loss of interest in language learning strategies, perhaps due to the lack of instruction methodology; however, as it happens with every idea or scientific method, recently an important number of new studies has started to appear and, more interestingly, there is a tendency identified among them concerning a prolific teaching orientation.

1. Research background

1.1 Definitions of learning strategies

O'Malley & Chamot (1990:1) define learning strategies as “the special thoughts or behaviors that individuals use to help them comprehend, learn or retain new information” while Oxford (1999: 518) as “specific actions, behaviours, steps or techniques that students use to improve their own progress in developing skills in a second or foreign language. These strategies can facilitate the internalization, storage, retrieval or use of the new language”. Cohen (1998: 4) maintains that “language learning and language use strategies can be defined as those processes which are consciously selected by learners and which may result in action taken to enhance the learning or use of a second or foreign language, through the storage, retention, recall, and application of information about that language”. More recently, Chamot (2005: 112) claims that “strategies are most often conscious and goal-driven especially in the beginning stages of tackling an unfamiliar language task. Once a learning strategy becomes familiar through repeated use, it may be used with some automaticity”.

The development of those definitions reveals researchers' attitudes towards strategy use instruction and the necessity of its incorporation in school curriculum.

1.2 Methods for identifying learning strategies: collecting and processing the data

Collecting and processing data is a rather tedious however extremely important stage of every scientific research. Chamot (2005: 113) and O'Malley & Chamot (1990: 85) give an exhaustive review on methods and research, including self-report procedures such as interviews, questionnaires, diaries and journals or think-aloud protocols, as well as advantages and drawbacks of each method. Such methods include *interviews*, *diaries* and *journals* where learners write personal observations about experiences they have had during the learning procedure, problems they have encountered and the way(s) they have solved them, or *think-aloud protocols* where learners are asked to perform a language task and then describe the way they completed it. Of course all of the above mentioned methods have their limitations, since learners do not always report truthfully either because they can't recall their thinking or they can't describe it in detail. It is, therefore, advisable to use more than one of the above methods when collecting data for strategy research.

However, the most frequently used method of data collection is through *questionnaires*, that is, by asking students to reflect and report on how they approach certain tasks on how they complete them. Questionnaires may be widely and often used nowadays in every piece of research, however qualities such as versatility, responsibility and simplicity of a questionnaire are crucial. Making full use of all previous research and observations, Oxford (1990) has developed her famous *Strategy Inventory of Language Learning (SILL)* which has ever since been widely used in relevant research worldwide.

Moreover, it is important to consider how the second important stage following that of collecting, namely that of data processing is dealt with. *Strategy Inventory of Language Learning (SILL)* as introduced by Oxford in 1990 has kept its reliability, validity, utility and, consequently, popularity among researchers for more than two decades. What the SILL questionnaire measures is the frequency with which a learner uses *memory*, *cognitive*, *comprehension*, *metacognitive*, *affective* and *socioaffective* language learning strategies, as described by Oxford (1990). More specifically, SILL is used to identify the level of strategy use (low, medium, high) for each strategy class and the statistical tool used to measure this frequency is the 5-grades Likert scale. Over the years almost every research all over the world uses this process in order to achieve comparable results. Nevertheless, I have the feeling that SILL has a lot more potential not yet investigated and identified and the same feeling must have other researchers, too. Hence, with present research I will try to introduce some new issues in my attempt to reveal some of the hidden potential SILL has.

1.3 Factors affecting choice of language learning strategies

Such factors include the *language being learned* (Chamot et al 1987, Politzer 1983), the relation of *language proficiency* with the selection of strategies and frequency of use (Griffiths 2003, Lan & Oxford 2003, Kantaridou 2004, Kazamia 2003), *age* (Peacock & Ho, 2003) and *motivation* (Gardner 1985, Kantaridou 2004, Oxford & Nyikos 1989 and Psaltou-Joycey 2003). There are also other factors such as *learning style*, *culture*, *language teaching methods*, *field of study/career orientation*,

beliefs and task requirements in instructional settings (Oxford & Nyikos 1989, Rubin 1975, Psaltou-Joycey 2008, Gavriilidou & Papanis 2010a & b, Gavriilidou & Psaltou-Joycey 2010).

Gender

As for *gender*, research evidence shows clearly a superiority of females who seem to use overall more strategies than males (Ehrman & Oxford 1989, Lan & Oxford 2003, Lee 2003, Oxford & Nyikos 1989, Peacock & Ho 2003, Politzer 1983, Sheorey 1999). Few studies (Tercanlioglu 2004, Tran 1988) have reported opposite results, while no significant differences in strategy use between the two genders is reported by Griffiths (2003) and Psaltou-Joycey (2008), when examining multinational and multicultural groups.

2. Purpose and rationale

2.1 Confidence

In SILL what the learners are asked to indicate is how often they use a strategy, i.e. frequency. However, I have the feeling that there is another important issue, not normally addressed in linguistic research, which concerns the learners' attitudes towards the specific strategy they claim they use, namely their confidence about the *effectiveness* of each specific strategy and to which extent. This parameter might prove to be very important in the language learning process as confidence is a basic ingredient of learners' strategic competence.

Confidence in association with communication strategies has been investigated by Kambakis-Vougiouklis (1990, 1992, 1995, 2001, 2002), by Intze (2011), Intze and Kambaki-Vougiouklis (2009), Intze & Mathioudakis (2009), Mathioudakis (2009), and Mathioudakis & Kambaki Vougioukli (2010). More specifically, Kambakis Vougiouklis (1990, 1992a, 1992b) asks from her subjects not only to guess pseudowords of Latin and/or Greek origin but also to specify how confident they have guessed right. She claims that successful reading does not simply involve use of processing strategies (in reading) but it might need to be reinforced by readers' *confidence* in the results of their strategy use. She continues emphasizing that confidence in one's strategic competence should play an important role, first in the guessing process, which is instant communication with the author (or the speaker) and then, in the long run, in actual learning from his/her own guesses and experience. The results showed a lot of inconsistencies between accuracy and confidence as well as differences concerning gender, with males overconfident and females more balanced in most cases, yet not in every case. She concludes that learners cannot make the best out of their guessing and continue to learn from guessing because they simply do not trust their guessing; consequently strategies must be taught. Similar results she gets (1995, 2001, 2002) with young learners of Greek from the ex-USSR. Intze (2010) in her work with second language learners' accuracy and confidence of guessing, associates the term with self concept (Shavelson, Hubner & Stanton, 1976) and her work concerns young high school Muslim, Turkish speaking pupils. Again she finds inconsistencies between the two factors and she also concludes that teaching strategy use is very important. Muti (2011) prefers to associate confidence with self-assessment and self-monitoring. Finally, in Mathioudakis (2009), Intze & Mathioudakis (2009) and Mathioudakis & Kambaki Vougioukli (2010), it is investigated the correlation of accuracy and confidence in guessing words from Kazantzakis' 'Odyssey', a very interesting approach of the difficult process of reading literature. The fact is that one cannot find enough references in international bibliography that uses the term confidence in any of the above mentioned perspectives. Nevertheless, as confidence might prove to be very important in every aspect of language learning process, I think that it is worth investigating it together with frequency in SILL questionnaire.

2.1.1 Confidence in SILL questionnaire

When a SILL questionnaire, as well as many other questionnaires, is used there develop some questions normally not tackled, at least to my knowledge. How familiar are the subjects of any research with certain strategies mentioned in the questionnaire? Are they sure they really employ a strategy they claim they do because they think it is effective or do they do so because they have heard the teacher or the peers mentioning it? Although one would assume that when they claim they use a strategy, they most possibly consider it effective, I have many reasons to believe, after a series of applications at different levels, that claiming they use a strategy does not necessarily mean that they

also consider it effective. However, as this has not yet been investigated, I think it is ethical to include it as a parameter and find out. Moreover, asking our subjects to express themselves in an extra, complementary parameter in each question, gives more time to the actual time of procession they have to devote to each question-choice of strategy in SILL and even some of them may finally modify their decision.

2.2 The bar [01]

The second issue introduced in this piece of research is a new statistical tool, that is *the bar* [01], inspired from the fuzzy theory, instead of Likert scales normally and almost catholically used in questionnaires and certainly in SILL.

More specifically, a bar [01], is suggested, where 0 represents the completely negative answer/attitude and 1 the completely positive answer/attitude:

0 _____ 1,

The issue of the bar has been investigated in a monograph by Π. Καμπάκη-Bougiouklí (2009) as well as in a number of papers (Kambaki Vougioukli P. and Vougiouklis Th., 2008; Kambaki Vougioukli et al, 2011 and Vougiouklis Th. and Kambaki Vougioukli P., 2011) in association with both the main stages identified in every piece of research, namely *the filling in of a questionnaire* and *the results processing*.

2.2.1 The filling in process

It concerns both the researcher(s) and the subjects; the former has to be as precise and expressive in what s/he expects from the subjects and the latter have to be able to come up to the researchers' expectations.

In order to elaborate our point let us take the following example from SILL questionnaire using the Likert scale.

How often do you use dictionaries?

Possible answers may be

0 = never, 1 = almost never, 2=sometimes, 3=often, 4=always

The steps to be taken by every subject, consciously or unconsciously, while filling in the questionnaire using the above mentioned Likert scale could be as follows:

(i) Make sure s/he understands the usually fine difference between grades; this process becomes really difficult in a foreign/second language environment where the researcher could be encountered with the issue of insufficient linguistic knowledge, especially with the least sophisticated subjects. Moreover, we may be dealing with subjects who

And

(ii) Make up his/her mind which choice to go for. Not an easy job at all. If the scale has a medium the majority of the subjects will probably go for it. Let alone the fact that quite a few possible choices such as 'quite often' are not included in this specific scale.

Now, let us take *the bar* [01] suggested

0 _____ 1

This time the subject can cut the bar at any point -actually infinite- s/he thinks expresses his/her attitude towards any item, at the specific moment without spending valuable time as to what each different rating means in order to decide.

0//////////1

At this point it is important to clarify that the length of the bar should be kept standard for comparisons. After a lot of applications and a lot of thought, we decided to replace the 10cm long line we had initially chosen and applied quite a few times, with the Golden Ratio of 10, i.e. 6.2. This was

done completely consciously as we found out that subjects are not familiar with this length as they were with 10 and consequently their responses were more spontaneous.

Advantages of the bar as compared to Likert scales in the filling in stage

The main advantage of the bar as compared to the classic scale on the part of the subjects is that they do not need to try and make distinction between different subdivisions, not always clear such as *good*, *quite good* and *good enough*, removing in this way a burden from the researchers who will not spend time and effort to explain fine linguistic differences to their subjects, especially the less sophisticated ones. Even more so such explanations are not necessarily objective and widely accepted. Moreover, the subject is given the initiative to make a completely free choice rather than the pre-decided ones. Actually his/her choices are infinite as any point on the continuum may represent his/her option the specific moment.

2.2.2 Results processing

The processing of the data stage mainly concerns the researcher(s). It is very important for them to have the ability to derive as much information as possible. Collecting data is a demanding process and sometimes it is wasted in only one processing. I strongly believe that there is more valuable information hidden and should be revealed and fully exploited rather left aside.

Advantages of the bar as compared to Likert scales in the results processing

The use of the bar might release some of hidden abilities/possibilities not yet being identified in SILL. More specifically, when using a Likert scale, you must decide in advance how many divisions you will use. By contrast, when using the bar, you do not have to decide from the beginning. Moreover, the same data can be processed using different subdivisions, for a number of reasons including that of comparability with different researches.

To recap, versatility of the bar gives the researchers the initiative to decide how many subdivisions will be finally used rather than the non-flexible pre-decided ones: three, four, five etc of the usual Likert scales. Subsequently, a questionnaire filled-in using a bar could be processed more than once in case the researcher may wish to make it comparable with some other researcher's work where different subdivisions have been used saving in this way time and effort.

2.3 Purpose of present research

With present research an attempt is made to reveal and activate potential a tool like SILL might have and not identified and investigated so far. If the presence of such potential is considerable, perhaps a new series of applications of SILL might follow.

In present research it is investigated:

(1) How frequently our subjects use learning strategies, (2) how confident they feel with each choice/how effective they consider each strategy, (3) what is the correlation between *frequency* and *confidence / effectiveness*, (4) what are gender differences, if any, in both variables as well as their correlations.

3. Method

3.1 Subjects

110 first year students of the Department of Greek in Komotini , equal numbers of males and females, participated. They were all volunteers and they were offered some kind of bonus for participating and filling in the questionnaire carefully and consciously.

3.2 Task(s) / Procedure

Our subjects were instructed to fill in the SILL questionnaire in Greek as well as using the bar instead of the Likert scale. Although the use of the bar was something completely new to them they seemed to understand it straight away. Their attention was also drawn to the fact that not only did they have to

indicate how often they use a strategy but also how confident they feel with each of them, or, in other words, how effective they thought each strategy is. It was this specific moment that students reacted claiming that often use implies effectiveness. They were told that this might be true or not true and anyway it was an issue to be investigated as there are cases when we may use a strategy often but we are not very confident about its value. However, we go on using it either because we are used to it or because there is not another alternative at our disposal. On the other hand, there might be cases when students might wish they knew how to make a better use of a specific strategy they realise might be effective under specific circumstances but they do not know how. They seemed to be satisfied with explanations.

All subjects filled in the complete questionnaires (an example with the two tasks required from the subjects can be found in appendix II).

4. Analysis

As it is one of the first applications of the bar with SILL and in order to make results comparable to previous research, after the test was completed the bar indications were converted into the 5/grade Likert scale normally used in SILL for all those years all over the world. However, one should keep in mind that a lot of more analyses with different degradation can be and will be done in order to observe differences occurring from different conventions.

The statistical analysis was on the SPSS computing package by a professional statistician.

5. Results

5.1 Reliability

The general Cronbach's Alpha was .917 for frequency and .913 for confidence; however, item 3, namely the compensation strategies, appears too low and this affects the total reliability of the test.

Cronbach's Alpha

	Frequency	Confidence
General	.917	.913
Memory	.654	.677
Cognitive	.821	.799
Compensation	.456*	.714
Metacognitive	.733	.714
Affective	.662	.625
Social	.791	.764

It is difficult to assign it to any reason such as problematic translation, or learners' fatigue at this stage as it needs extra investigation, even more so as confidence for compensation strategies is .714, i.e. it does not seem to have the weakness of frequency.

5.2 Results /discussion

In the appendix I at the end, there is a complete exhibition of the results of this research.

As for our research questions as posed in 2.3 above, let us start with Tables 1 and 2 as in the Appendix, which tackle the first three questions namely (1) *how frequently our subjects use learning strategies*, (2) *how confident they feel with each choice*, and (3) *what is the correlation between frequency and confidence / effectiveness*. In tables 1 and 2 there are presented the values of the correlation between the variables, different strategies, which cross among themselves horizontally and vertically. Both single asterisk $p < 0.05$ and double asterisk $p < 0.01$ imply quite safely that the

experimental findings could be valid for the general population-double asterisk indicating higher possibility. Now, let us attempt an interpretation of the results trying to see the correlations between different strategies. For example, let us take memory and cognitive strategies. Do subjects who report high –or low- frequency in one do the same for the other? Here, the answer cannot simply be a ‘yes’ or a ‘no’ but how strong this correlation is. Generally, the correlation indicator takes values from +1 to -1. When it is exactly +1 or -1, then we can call it the perfect correlation between the strategies examined. In our case of memory and cognitive strategies is +.67**, i.e. highly positive and away from +1. This might possibly mean that subjects who report high frequency of use of memory strategies also report high use of cognitive ones. Moreover, this correlation was $p=0.01$, which allows us to generalize quite safely, too. Similar are the results in most cases apart from the correlation between compensation and metacognitive strategies .15, i.e. there not an asterisk and the value indicator is very close to 0, i.e. complete absence of correlation. This inconsistency with compensation strategies, which was also identified in Cronbach’s Alpha and in the rest of our results, needs further investigation. Question (3), now, namely *what is the correlation between frequency and confidence / effectiveness*, as shown in Table 3 (here the correlations are difference rather than analogy): let us take for example males and females with memory strategies. Here there is a statistically significant difference $p=.043$, the Frequency Mean is 2.02 and the Confidence Mean 2.16. This could be interpreted as a tendency among subjects to consider this strategy effective and feel confident with it; nevertheless their use of it is less frequent than their confidence in absolute numbers. Fairly enough, one might comment that still the difference between 2.02 and 2.16 is too small. However, as this result occurs in every strategy, it needs further investigation as it might imply that learners cannot make the best out of each strategy. The only inconsistency is identified with the compensation strategies, as expected from the Cronbach alpha. Furthermore, as this is only a pilot study, it will take some more applications to reach clearer conclusions.

With the final question (4) now, *what are gender differences, if any, in both variables as well as their correlations*, similar observations could be made. In table 6, about frequency, there are some statistically significant differences between males and females in memory, $p=.247$, compensation, $p=.141$, and affective, $p=.228$, with females’ means higher than those of the males. Similarly, in table 7, about confidence, we have memory, $p=.066$, compensation.190 and effective, $p=.113$; again females’ means are higher than those of the males, which implies that females are more aware of the effectiveness of a strategy. Females seem to be more skilful with strategy use than males as found in previous research (e.g. Ehrman & Oxford 1989, Green & Oxford 1995, see 1.3); moreover, they also seem to be more confident than males or at least, they seem to be confident when frequent. This result is compatible with our results with female students (see Kambaki 1992a) but not compatible with ex-USSR children or Muslim, Turkish speaking ones, where males seem to be more confident than females. However, only an indicating rather than a direct comparison can be made as not all variables coincide.

There are a lot of interesting findings one could easily locate by looking at the tables. However, as four were the main points to be addressed here and, anyway, space is limited, the rest must be left for future elaboration.

Apparently, the main conclusion derived from this experiment might be that learners seem to have realised how important the use of strategy in the process of language learning might prove to be –and this is proved by their confidence – but they do not make frequent use for a number of reasons the most important being lack of instruction and lack of time devoted to the actual application of strategies in classroom environment. Other reasons may be unwillingness and lack of time again on the part of the learners. Nevertheless, it is only a pilot study and it will take more applications and more elaboration as it is suggested in 6 below.

6. Teaching implications/ further research

As for the main teaching implication, this might be once again that strategies can and must be taught. This is implied by our subjects’ indication of higher confidence than frequency in memory and cognitive strategies, which, as interpreted above, might be due to the fact that they do not know how to use these strategies, although they seem to be aware of their effectiveness, or at least, to suspect they might be effective. Something that could be done about it, in the future, could be either to have oral or written interviews with our subjects, asking them to elaborate on their choice. Such a procedure requires quick processing of the data, so that the subjects still have the picture of their answers which anyway are spontaneous and due to change; and anyway this type of problems is tackled in every research and cannot have a radical solution as it concerns human attitudes. All in all strategy

instruction, as mentioned in 1.4 above, has not been widely researched, the main reason probably being the longitudinal nature of such research which involves a lot of factors to be controlled.

Moreover, as present research is the first conducted with the specific design, actually a pilot study, the results are not and cannot be completely reliable; however they show a tendency which has to be further investigated with more subjects from different levels and ages. Moreover, it is interesting to apply follow up processing, with different subdivisions and see if there are statistically significant differences of any kind not identified in the original 5/point choice. This is the potential offered by the bar and it has to be exploited thoroughly. Finally and once again, present attempt is not to question the importance and validity of the actual questionnaire, which is undoubted, but to try alternative conventions in order to reveal new potentials, new uses of the SILL or any other questionnaire, a rather ecological action.

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APPENDIX I

	1	2	3	4	5	6
Memory (1)		.67**	.33*	.53**	.45**	.62**
Cognitive (2)	.67**		.36*	.70**	.46**	.66**
Compensation (3)	.33*	.36*		.15	.34*	.53**
Metacognitive(4)	.53**	.70**	.15		.49**	.60**
Affective (5)	.45**	.46**	.34*	.49**		.46**
Socioaffective (6)	.62**	.66**	.53**	.60**	.46**	

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.001$

Table 1 Correlations FREQUENCY OF USE

	1	2	3	4	5	6
Memory (1)		.76**	.39**	.42**	.33*	.55**
Cognitive (2)	.76**		.50**	.59**	.37**	.58**
Compensation (3)	.39**	.50**		.29*	.58**	.43**
Metacognitive(4)	.42**	.59**	.29*		.46**	.51**
Affective (5)	.33*	.37**	.58**	.46**		.32*
Socioaffective(6)	.55**	.58**	.43**	.51**	.32*	

* $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.001$

Table 2 Correlations CONFIDENCE IN STRATEGY EFFECTIVENESS

	F		C		Difference(T-Test)		
	M	SD	M	SD	M	SE	p
Memory	2.02	0.69	2.16	0.72	-.14	.06	.043
Cognitive	2.26	0.81	2.42	0.75	-.15	.07	.038
Compensation	2.07	0.73	2.04	0.87	.02	.09	.818
Metacognitive	2.52	0.73	2.71	0.68	-.19	.06	.013
Affective	1.93	0.81	2.21	0.82	-.28	.09	.024
Socioaffective	2.58	0.99	2.90	0.88	-.32	.08	.006
Total	2.23	0.62	2.41	0.59	-.17	.05	.003

Table 3 Differences FREQUENCY και CONFIDENCE (total, n=50)

	F		C		Difference(T-Test)		
	M	SD	M	SD	M	SE	P
Memory	1.90	0.77	1.98	0.76	-.07	.08	.418
Cognitive	2.18	0.89	2.35	0.84	-.16	.07	.039
Compensation	1.91	0.69	1.88	0.87	.03	.14	.824
Metacognitive	2.56	0.77	2.71	0.66	-.14	.07	.070
Affective	1.79	0.87	2.02	0.63	-.23	.16	.169
Socioaffective	2.60	0.91	2.82	0.78	-.22	.11	.060
Total	2.17	0.65	2.31	0.59	-.13	.07	.054

Table 4 Differences F και C (males, n=25)

	F		C		Difference (T-Test)		
	M	SD	M	SD	M	SE	P
Memory	2.18	0.61	2.35	0.64	-.21	.09	.052
Cognitive	2.33	0.73	2.48	0.65	-.15	.11	.256
Compensation	2.22	0.75	2.20	0.86	.01	.12	.916
Metacognitive	2.47	0.70	2.72	0.72	-.24	.11	.045
Affective	2.07	0.75	2.39	0.94	-.32	.12	.032
Socioaffective	2.56	1.09	2.98	0.98	-.42	.12	.019
Total	2.30	0.59	2.52	0.58	-.21	.09	.030

Table 5 Differences F και C (females, n=25)

	Males		Females		Difference (T-Test)		
	M	SD	M	SD	M	SE	P
Memory	1.90	0.77	2.13	0.61	-.23	.19	.247
Cognitive	2.18	0.89	2.33	0.73	-.15	.23	.515
Compensation	1.91	0.69	2.22	0.75	-.30	.20	.141
Metacognitive	2.56	0.77	2.46	-.71	.09	.21	.641
Affective	1.79	0.87	2.07	0.75	-.28	.23	.228
Socioaffective	2.60	0.91	2.56	1.09	.04	.28	.889
Total	2.17	0.66	2.30	0.59	-.13	.17	.457

Table 6 Differences males – females (F, n=50)

	Males		Females		Difference(T-Test)		
	M	SD	M	SD	M	SE	p
Memory	1.97	0.76	2.35	0.64	-.37	.20	.066
Cognitive	2.35	0.84	2.48	0.65	-.13	.21	.531
Compensation	1.88	0.87	2.20	0.86	-.32	.25	.190
Metacognitive	2.71	0.66	2.72	0.72	-.01	.19	.964
Affective	2.03	0.63	2.39	0.94	-.37	.22	.113
Socioaffective	2.82	0.77	2.98	0.98	-.16	.25	.527
Total	2.31	0.59	2.52	0.58	-.21	.17	.215

Table 7 Differences males-females (C, n=50)

	F		C		Difference (T-Test)		
	M	SD	M	SD	M	SE	p
Memory	1.90	0.77	1.98	0.76	-.07	.08	.418
Cognitive	2.18	0.89	2.35	0.84	-.16	.07	.039
Compensation	1.91	0.69	1.88	0.87	.03	.14	.824

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DATACOLLECTING AND PROCESSING]

Metacognitive	2.56	0.77	2.71	0.66	-.14	.07	.070
Affective	1.79	0.87	2.02	0.63	-.23	.16	.169
Socioaffective	2.60	0.91	2.82	0.78	-.22	.11	.060
Total	2.17	0.65	2.31	0.59	-.13	.07	.054

Table 8 Differences males-females (males, n=25)

	F		C		Difference (T-Test)		
	M	SD	M	SD	M	SE	p
Memory	2.18	0.61	2.35	0.64	-.21	.09	.052
Cognitive	2.33	0.73	2.48	0.65	-.15	.11	.256
Compensation	2.22	0.75	2.20	0.86	.01	.12	.916
Metacognitive	2.47	0.70	2.72	0.72	-.24	.11	.045
Affective	2.07	0.75	2.39	0.94	-.32	.12	.032
Socioaffective	2.56	1.09	2.98	0.98	-.42	.12	.019
Total	2.30	0.59	2.52	0.58	-.21	.09	.030

Table 9 Differences F και C (females, n=25)

APPENDIX II

Examples of the questionnaire given for this specific piece of research. The subjects were instructed how to fill in not only frequency but also confidence/effectiveness for each strategy they claimed they used.

1. Ψάχνω λέξεις στη γλώσσα μου που να μοιάζουν με τις λέξεις της ξένης γλώσσας.

0 _____ 1

0 _____ 1

2. Προσπαθώ να βρω κανόνες στην ξένη γλώσσα.

0 _____ 1

0 _____ 1

3. Προσπαθώ να βρω τη σημασία μιας λέξης χωρίζοντάς την σε μέρη (μορφήματα) των οποίων τη σημασία μπορώ να καταλάβω ή τη γνωρίζω.

0 _____ 1

0 _____ 1

THE TEMPORAL STRUCTURE OF NARRATIVES IN SECOND LANGUAGE ACQUISITION OF GREEK

Vicky Kantzou

University of Athens, Greece
Institute for Language and Speech Processing / R.C. “Athena”
vickykantzou@hotmail.com

ABSTRACT

This paper focuses on the development of narrative skills in the acquisition of Greek as a second language. It investigates the means for expressing two types of temporal relations, sequence and simultaneity. Beginning, intermediate and advanced Albanian learners of L2 Greek were asked to tell a story based on a silent animated film. The analysis revealed that marking of temporal sequence appeared earlier than marking of simultaneity. Beginners relied upon lexical aspect to advance narrative time, at least when their vocabulary allowed them to, while intermediate learners mainly used past perfective verb forms and temporal adverbs. Advanced learners made use of the lexical aspect of eventualities as well as of inflectional morphology. Simultaneity was marked by employing a variety of means, but often ineffectively at both the beginning and the intermediate level.

Keywords: second language acquisition, narrative, temporality

1. Introduction

The expression of temporality by adult second language (L2) learners has attracted a lot of attention in the literature. The relevant research has largely focused on the emergence of verbal morphology of tense and aspect and on factors determining their acquisition (Bardovi-Harlig 2000, Salaberry and Shirai 2002). However, since the '80s a methodological starting point for research has not been morphology, but a conceptual domain like space or time. Within this “function to form” approach, researchers try to identify which sub-components of such domains are expressed at each stage of language acquisition and by what means (von Stutterheim and Klein 1987, Bardovi-Harlig 2000, Starren 2001). This approach has made it possible to gain some insight into the structure of learners’ language systems even before the emergence of morphology. Moreover, it turned researchers’ attention toward discourse, since principles of discourse organization carry a significant part of temporal information (Klein, Dietrich and Noyau 1993).

Previous research has shown that even learners at a beginning level are able to express temporal information. More specifically, before the emergence of morphology, speakers rely on lexical means (adverbs, noun phrases) and the cooperation of their interlocutor to temporally locate an event as well and on discourse principles to express basic temporal relations between events (Klein and Perdue 1997). Gradually morphology emerges and learners’ linguistic repertoire is enriched. Since research on the development of temporality has mainly focused on early and quite advanced levels of L2 acquisition, little is known about temporal organization of texts at intermediate level. Moreover, not much research has been conducted on the temporal organization in L2 Greek at various levels of proficiency.

In this context, this study focuses on the expression of temporal relations in discourse, more particularly oral narrative texts at three levels of L2 competence in Greek: beginning, intermediate and advanced. We focus upon two types of relations between events: sequence, which is the basic temporal relation in narratives, and simultaneity. The more specific questions we raise are:

- At which level of L2 competence are these two temporal relations expressed?
- What are the means used for this purpose?

A narrative, according to some scholars, comprises two information levels, the foreground and the background. There is, however, no consensus on the characteristics attributed to each of them (Hopper 1979, Hopper and Thomson 1980, Reinhart 1984). We here follow Klein and von Stutterheim (1989), who argue that all texts are organized around a central question, which in the case of narratives is

“what happened next?”. Utterances responding directly to this question form the foreground. Utterances answering secondary questions, for example “how did the protagonist feel?”, form the background.

In Klein and von Stutterheim's framework (1989), foregrounded utterances have two basic characteristics. First, they denote eventualities¹ with a time boundary and they entail a change of state. Second, they promote narrative time. More specifically, the reference time of the first event is introduced by an adverb or follows from the situational context. Subsequent utterances are anchored to that event in a relation of temporal sequence (Klein 1995). This is what Klein and von Stutterheim call “the principle of natural order”, according to which the order of events in discourse reflects the order they actually happened. Thus, narrated events are not individually anchored to the *here and now* of the speaker, but one is anchored to the other, forming a referential chain. Speakers are free to anchor their narratives in present, past or even future tense or shift between tenses. However, the anchor tense changes the mental vantage point from where the narrator chooses to “watch” the narrated events, with past being the neutral viewpoint while present or future suggests a more subjective evaluation of events (Tzevelekou and Kantzou 2011). As for tense shifts, Schiffirin (1981) and Wolfson (1982) argue that they are not incidental, but are used to mark discourse units. Moreover, shifts to the so-called “historical present” highlight escalation points of the story.

In Greek the time boundary necessary for advancing narrative time is expressed through perfective aspect, whenever past tense is used. In case the narrative or a passage is anchored to the present tense, time is promoted through lexical aspect, as the perfective/imperfective opposition is unavailable in this tense. More specifically, the inherent completion point of accomplishments and achievements is taken as an anchor point for the next event (Tzevelekou, in print). Moreover, aspectual verbs focus on the beginning or end of an activity. Adverbials of temporal sequence are also used to mark sequence of events. Breaking the principal of natural order in cases of eventualities with inherent completion points requires marking of the temporal relation, through temporal clauses for example.

2. Method

Narratives were elicited from three groups of L2 learners of Greek: beginner ($n=9$), intermediate ($n=15$) and advanced ($n=15$). All learners had Albanian as their L1. The elicitation material was a silent animated film, which describes the adventures of a boy and his dog during a winter day. Narratives were transcribed and divided into propositions, which were further categorized as foreground or background. Foregrounded propositions were coded for lexical aspect, tense, aspectual verbs and adverbs of temporal sequence. Temporal sequence was studied for all foregrounded events in each narrative. Simultaneity, on the other hand, was studied in relation to specific overlapping events of the film (Picture 1). For those learners that made an effort to denote this temporal relation, the means used were coded (e.g. temporal clauses, aspect, adverbials).



Picture 1 Screenshots from the overlapping events of the film

The proficiency level of the L2 learners was determined on the basis of criteria proposed by Varlokosta and Triandafyllidou (2003). These criteria are presented in Table 1².

¹ Following Bach (1981), the word “eventualities” is used as a general term to refer to all types of lexical aspect.

² The proficiency level was determined on the basis of a speech sample larger than the narrative studied here (for details, see Kantzou 2010).

	NOUN PHRASE	VERB PHRASE	CLAUSES
BEGINNING	❖ Lack of genitive morphological marking	❖ Perfective non-past forms in main clauses (subjunctive) ❖ Lack of Past Imperfective	❖ Lack of indirect speech
INTERMEDIATE	❖ Genitive in singular number (occasional production of plural genitive)	❖ Past Imperfective ❖ Present Perfect ❖ Occasional production of Past Perfect	❖ Lack of indirect speech
ADVANCED	❖ Genitive in both singular and plural	❖ Stabilization of Past Perfect ❖ Functional differentiation of verb stems (perfective – imperfective)	❖ Indirect speech ❖ Reason clauses introduced by <i>αφού</i> ('after') ❖ Concessive clauses

Table 1 Criteria for defining L2 proficiency level

3. Results

Table 2 presents the number of propositions and the percentage of foregrounded and backgrounded ones in each group of learners. Beginners produced short narratives, with a statistically significant increase at the intermediate level (Mann-Whitney U test, $p\text{-value}=0,015<0,05$), but not at the advanced level, although a rise in total number of propositions was observed (Mann-Whitney U test, $p\text{-value}=0,539 > 0,05$). The percentage of foregrounded propositions in all groups was higher than that of backgrounded ones.

	Total number of propositions	Foreground	Background
Beginning	222	52,70%	46,85%
Intermediate	768	55,60%	44,40%
Advanced	854	57,85%	42,15%

Table 2 Total number of propositions and percentages of foreground and background propositions

Figure 1 shows the use of tenses in the foregrounded propositions, regardless of the inherent temporal properties of eventualities. Beginners equally used past and non past forms. They also produced a large number of non-past perfective verb forms, imperatives, past participles and other forms that are considered infelicitous choices. Intermediate learners on the other hand came to restrict themselves mainly to past tense. At the same time, present tense and infelicitous verbal choices were reduced. At the advanced level present tense propositions tripled in frequency. However, statistical analysis of these results revealed a significant difference between past and non-past forms only within the intermediate group (Wilcoxon test, $Z=-2,175$, $p\text{-value}=0,030 < 0,05$), but no difference within the advanced group ($Z=-1,264$, $p\text{-value}=0,206 > 0,05$).

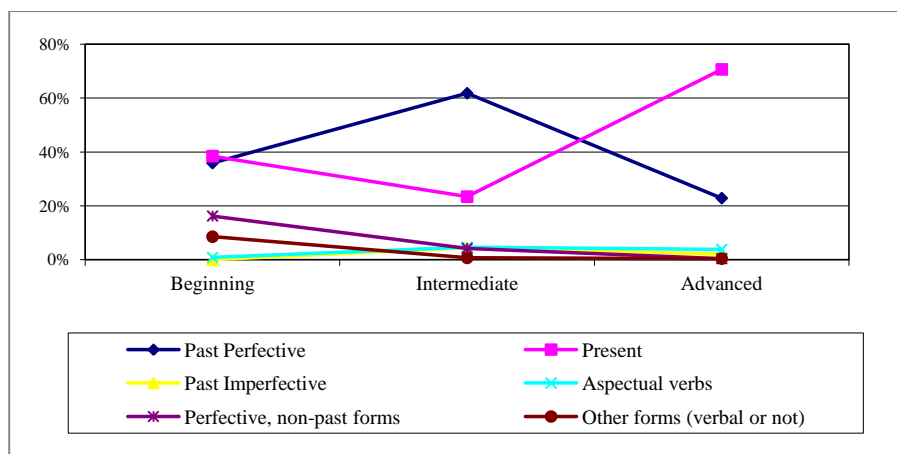


Figure 1 Use of verbal forms in foregrounded propositions

Adverbs of temporal sequence appeared in about 13 and 16% of all propositions in beginning and intermediate learners, but dropped to about 5% at advanced level (Table 3). Statistical analysis confirmed that the group of advanced learners differed significantly from the other two groups (Mann-Whitney U test, Beginning–Intermediate $p\text{-value} = 0,599 > 0,05$, Beginning–Advanced, $p\text{-value} = 0,005 < 0,05$, Intermediate – Advanced $p\text{-value} = 0,002 < 0,05$).

L2 learners	Percentage
Beginning	15,77%
Intermediate	13,28%
Advanced	5,27%

Table 3 Percentage of propositions containing an adverb of temporal sequence

Turning now to each learners' group separately, we will examine in more detail the way they constructed the foreground of their narratives and their attempts to indicate a violation in the "principle of natural order".

3.1 Beginning level

Although it is difficult to claim that there was no functional morphology at the beginning level, it seemed that it was not sufficiently developed to systematically support the advancement of narrative time. As shown in Table 4, beginners did not systematically use perfective aspect (Aorist) in foregrounded propositions. Several verbal forms were used infelicitously (ex. 1–2). Given these difficulties with verbal morphology, other means had to be exploited for temporal relations to be expressed.

	Eventualities <u>with</u> an inherent endpoint	Eventualities <u>without</u> an inherent endpoint
Past Perfective (Aorist)	33,33%	2,57%
Present	27,35%	11,11%
Past Imperfective	0	0
Aspectual verb – Past tense ³	0	0
Aspectual verb – Present tense	0	0,85%
Perfective, non-past forms	15,38%	0,85%
Other forms (verbal or not)	8,56%	

Table 4 Tenses and aspectual verbs in the foregrounded propositions of beginning learners

³ In the case of aspectual verbs, the inherent temporal characteristics refer not to the aspectual verb itself – which is always *telic* – but to the temporal properties of their complements.

- 1) *Μετά ο αφεντικό πάει, πίνει ένα τσάι και &εϋκα &εϋκαριστ ευκαριστημένη xx το σκύλος.*⁴
Then the [dog's] master goes, drinks a cup of tea and happy [: PASSIVE PARTICIPLE] the dog.
- 2) *Το σκύλο πάει [//] πήρε ένα από τα πάτινα και θα βάλει μέσα στο [//] στο πόδι της και φύγει να κάνει πατιναζ ο σκύλος.*
The dog goes [//] took one of the skating shoes and will put [: PERFECTIVE FUTURE] inside her foot and leave [: PERFECTIVE NON-PAST] to skate the dog.

Within the beginning level two phases were identified. In the first phase, learners used very limited grammatical and lexical resources. Narratives were very brief, mainly consisting of backgrounded propositions where high frequency verbs such as *είμαι* ('to be') predominated. The difficulty of constructing chains of sequential events stemmed less from limited morphological and lexical devices denoting time and more from a limited vocabulary for describing the events themselves. In example 3 the proposition *είναι μέσα στο νερό* ('they are in the water') is a state, which takes the place of an event, something like *έπεσε μέσα στα νερό* ('fell in the water'), because the speaker has not yet acquired the verb *πέφτω* ('fall') (or it was not available to her at the time of speaking).

- 3) *Είναι ένα παιδί και θέλει να ## ice [% in english] # και # η σκύλο θέλει και έρθει [?] και δεν μπορεί γιατί δεν έχει παπούτσι. Ε: μετά ## ε: <ο παι> [//] τα παιδιά είναι στο [//] μέσα στο νερό και η σκύλο θέλει να +... to get out [% in english].*
There is a boy and he wants to ## ice [% in english] and the dog wants and come and [he] cannot because he doesn't have a shoe. E: then ## e: <the ch> [//] the children are in the water and the dog wants to +... to get out [% in english].

In the more advanced phase of beginners, vocabulary was enriched and more events were included in the narratives. Although there were some verbal morphological contrasts, tense and aspect morphology was not systematically used to mark temporal relations. Sequence was instead mainly expressed through the inherent completion point of events. Learners were thus able to structure simple narratives consisting of foregrounded events and backgrounded states (ex. 4). However, as in the first phase, there were cases indicating that learners still faced difficulties constructing eventualities with appropriate inherent temporal characteristics (see double underlined proposition in ex. 6 below). Especially in the second phase, adverbs of temporal sequence became very important for learners, since they contributed to clarifying temporal relations (Bardovi-Harlig 2000, 39).

4) Foreground

[b] *και ξυπνήσει το πρωί*
and wake up in the morning
[c] *και κάνει τη γυμναστική το πρωί.*
and exercises in the morning.

[h] *&α εεε πάει στο σπίτι στο [//] μμμμ στο αγκόρι*
(he) goes to the house to [//] to the boy
[i] *και χτυπήσει την πόρτα.*
and knock on the door.

Background

[a] *τόρα ήταν μια [//] ένας σκυλός*
Now there was a dog

[d] *Αλλά ήταν [//] το καιρό ήταν κακό,*
but the weather was bad
[e] *ήταν πολύ κρύο,*
it was very cold
[f] *<το δρόμος xxx> [//] οι δρόμοι ήταν παγωμένοι.*
the road xxx> [//] the roads were frozen
[g] *και αυτό <δεν xxx> [//] δεν μπορεί να περπατεί.*
and he can't walk

⁴ The transcription in the examples has been done in the Greek alphabet, using the symbols proposed in the Childes transcription system (MacWhinney 2012).

[j] *Μετά αυτός πάει έξω*
Then he goes out
[k] *και είδε το δρόμο*
and saw the road

[l] *που &ήτ ήταν παγωμένο.*
that was frozen.

Despite its effectiveness, the beginners' language system was characterized by two significant weaknesses. The first was that lack of systematic aspect marking made it difficult to integrate eventualities without an inherent completion point into the foreground. The second became apparent in cases where learners needed to break the "principle of natural order" to denote temporal relations like simultaneity or anteriority between dynamic events. In fact, none of the first phase beginners marked the case of simultaneity studied here, while two of the second phase made an unsuccessful effort (ex. 4-5).

- 5) *Το αγόρι όταν παίζουν μαζί, το αγόρι έσπασε το πάγο και ε: xx μπει μέσα.*
The boy fall, when [they] play [: PERFECTIVE NON-PAST] together, the boy broke the ice and e: xx fall in.
- 6) *Αλλά μετά το αγόρι πήρες τη πάτινα το σκυλό και συνεχίζει να κάνει μόνο του, αλλά το πάγο δεν ήταν πολύ καλό και το παιδί μπήκε μέσα στο νερό.*
But then the boy took the skating shoe and continues [: PRESENT] to skate alone, but the ice was not very good and the boy went into the water.

3.2 Intermediate level

As mentioned, learners in this group preferred past tense propositions (71.12% of all foregrounded ones), while the present tense was restricted to 24.65% (Table 5). Past and present verb forms were not uniformly distributed among all narratives. The majority of speakers produced past anchored foregrounds. However, three of them anchored their foreground mainly in the present tense (Figure 2).

	Eventualities <u>with</u> an inherent endpoint	Eventualities <u>without</u> an inherent endpoint
Past Perfective	57,61%	4,92%
Present	19,91%	3,51%
Past Imperfective	2,34%	2,11%
Aspectual verb – Past tense	0%	3,98%
Aspectual verb – Present tense	0,47%	0,23%
Perfective, non-past forms	4,22%	0%
Other forms (verbal or not)	0,70%	

Table 5 Tenses and aspectual verbs in the foregrounded propositions of intermediate learners

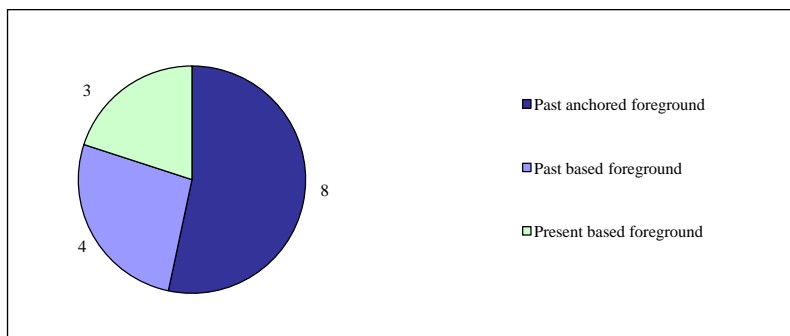


Figure 2 Temporal anchoring of the foreground in the narratives of intermediate learners (n=15)

In the past anchored propositions, temporal sequence was effectively expressed, since the Past Perfective was more systematically used to mark it (ex. 7). In the case of present tense propositions, the inherent completion point of events also advanced narrative time (ex. 8).

- 7) *Μετά ο σκύλο είπε ότι κάνει κρύο και έβαλε τα χέρια του πάνω του και ο άνθρωπος πήγε μέσα και έφερε ρούχα για το σκύλο.*
Then the dog said [: PERFECTIVE PAST] that it was cold and put [: PERFECTIVE PAST] his hands around him and the man went [: PERFECTIVE PAST] inside and brought [: PERFECTIVE PAST] clothes for the dog.
- 8) *Και πάει στην άκρη <της καλ> [//] της σκάλας, βγάζει το κασκόλ του και του το δίνει.*
And [the dog] goes [: PRESENT] to the edge of the ladder, takes off [: PRESENT] his scarf and gives [: PRESENT] it to him.

However, there was evidence in intermediate narratives that learners faced some problems when expressing this temporal relation. Two sources of difficulty were identified. First, verbal morphology of tense and aspect was not fully developed, as the infelicitous uses of the past imperfective and other verb forms indicated in about 9% of all foregrounded propositions (ex. 9-10). Second, learners were not always able to formulate propositions with appropriate to context inherent temporal characteristics. This created vagueness especially in present tense propositions. In example 11 the verb *σκέφτομαι* ('think') seems to stand in the place of a verb with an inherent completion point like *αποφασίζω* ('decide'). The frequent use of aspectual verbs by this group is an indication, in our view, of the effort to integrate eventualities without an inherent completion point into the foreground (ex. 11).

- 9) *και μετά χτύπησε το κουδούνι του αφεντικό και +... [...] και μετά φορούσαν τα ρούχα τους και βγήκανε για βόλτα.*
And then (he) rang its master's doorbell and... and then they were wearing [: PAST IMPERFECTIVE] their clothes and went out for a walk.
- 10) *xx ο άνθρωπος &επε πέφτε κάτω. Μετά ο άνθρωπος πήρε κάτι...*
xx the man fall [: IMPERFECTIVE IMPERATIVE?]. Then the man took something...
- 11) *Ζήτησε βοήθεια από το σκυλάκι, <σκυλάκι εεεε> [/] σκυλάκι εεεε: αρχίζει να γελάει хахаха хахаха xx σκυλάκι, και μετά σκέφτεται, λέω [/] λέω εγώ, να τον βοηθάει, πήρε μια σκάλα...*
He asked the doggy for help, doggy e: [/] doggy e: starts to laugh hahaha hahaha xx doggy, and then [he] thinks, I say, to help him, [he] took a ladder...

As mentioned, intermediate learners made substantial use of adverbs, even though temporal sequence was often simultaneously marked by additional means in the same proposition (e.g. the past perfective) (ex. 12).

- 12) *εε και μετά αυτά που είχε φορέσει ο σκύλος <τα πήρε> [//] τα φόρεσε το αγόρι, και μετά [...] άρχισε αυτό να κάνει σκι . Επίσης εεε μετά νομίζω ότι βούλιαξε ο [//] το αγόρι , βούλιαξε μέσα στο ποτάμι...*
and then the boy took [//] put on those [: the skate shoes] that the dog had put on, and then [...] he started to skate. Moreover, then I think that the boy sank, sank into the river...

One of the major weaknesses of beginners' language system, namely the expression of simultaneity, remained a source of difficulty at the intermediate level. Only half of the learners attempted to mark it, and, in fact, not always successfully, as learners faced difficulties in the lexical encoding of events, the use of Past Imperfective and the lack of specialized temporal conjunctions. In example 13, use of the general conjunction *όταν* ('when') with the light verb *κάνω* ('do'), which does not present an opposition between perfective and imperfective stem, does not make clear whether the activity of skating was completed or not. In example 14, the speaker implicates through the aspectual verb *αρχίζω* ('start') – although not in the appropriate aspect – that the activity of skating may not have been completed (Papafragou 2006), but this implicature is not further developed and the event of the ice breaking is not mentioned.

- 13) *Και μετά γύρισε και μπήκε το παιδί μέσα και όταν [//] όταν έκανε το γύρο του πάγο # ε: άνοιξε [//] με τις παπούτσες άνοιξε μια τρύπα που [//] που μπήκε μέσα.*

And then he [: the dog] returned and the child went on the lake and when he did a round in the lake, he opened a hole with his shoes, into which he fell.

- 14) Μετά ο [/] ο άνθρωπος άρχιζε να κάνει πατινάζ και ο [/] μπήκε μέσα στο νερό γιατί εκεί που πήγε αυτός <ο πάγος δεν ήταν> [/] δεν υπήρχε πολύ πάγο κι αυτός πήγε μέσα στο νερό.

Then the man started [: PAST IMPERFECTIVE] to skate and the [/] went into the water, because where he went <the ice was not> [/] there was not much ice and he went into the water.

3.3 Advanced level

Within the advanced group, individual differences were observed with regard to foreground anchoring (Figure 3). The majority of learners showed a preference for present tense. However, three learners used past tense in the foreground, while two used both present and past tense roughly equally.

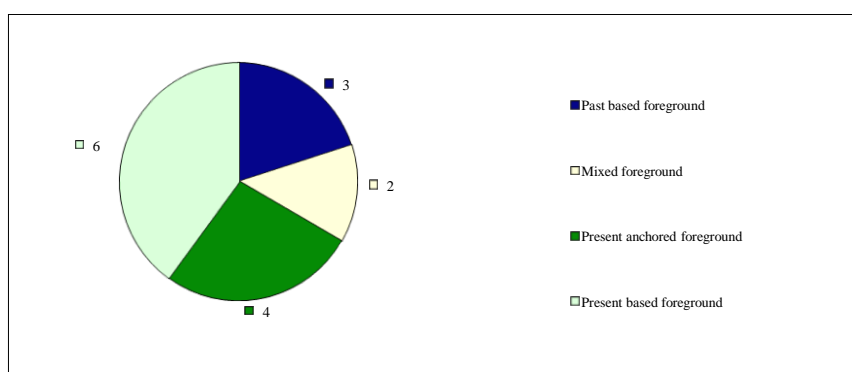


Figure 3 Temporal anchoring of the foreground in the narratives of advanced learners (n=15)

As shown in Table 6, advanced learners effectively moved narrative time forward using either past perfective marking (ex. 15) or the inherent completion point of events in case of present tense anchoring (ex. 16).

	Eventualities <u>with</u> an inherent endpoint	Eventualities <u>without</u> an inherent endpoint
Past Perfective	20,65%	2,23%
Present	63,77%	6,88%
Past Imperfective	0,81%	1,22%
Aspectual verb – Past tense	0,40%	0,40%
Aspectual verb – Present tense	0,61%	2,23%
Perfective, non-past forms	0,40%	0%
Other forms (verbal or not)	0,40%	

Table 6 Tenses and aspectual verbs in the foregrounded propositions of advanced learners

- 15) Πήρε τα πατίνια του το αγοράκι, ντύθηκε και εκείνος ωραία και πήγανε σε μια λιμνούλα που ήταν λίγο πιο πέρα.

The little boy took [: PERFECTIVE PAST] the skating shoes, he also got dressed [: PERFECTIVE PAST] nicely and they went [: PERFECTIVE PAST] to the pond that was just beyond.

- 16) *Μπαίνει μέσα στη λίμνη και ξαφνικά, ενώ χοροπηδούσε εκεί μέσα [...] ο πάγος σπάει και ανοίγεται μια τρύπα, στην οποία πέφτει μέσα το παιδί. Και αρχίζει να φωνάζει τρομαγμένο.*
 He goes [: PRESENT] into the lake and suddenly, while jumping in there [...], the ice breaks [: PRESENT] and a hole is opened [: PRESENT], into which the boy falls [: PRESENT]. And [the boy] starts [: PRESENT] to cry terrified.

Vagueness in temporal sequence was reduced to a minimum. Cases of vagueness mainly regarded present tense propositions in which speakers made infelicitous choices of vocabulary. In example 17, the learner uses the verb *περπατάω* ('walk'), resulting thus in an eventuality without an inherent completion point. The use of a verb like *ανεβαίνω* ('climb') would have removed the vagueness.

- 17) *Παίρνει μια σκάλα που ήτανε σ' ένα δένδρο εκεί και το βάζει, περπατάει πάνω στη σκάλα, βγάζει το κασκόλ του ο σκύλος...*
 It [: the dog] takes a ladder that was at a tree over there and it places it, walks [: PRESENT] on the ladder, the dog takes off its scarf...

Adverbs of temporal sequence were reduced in comparison with intermediate level learners. Moreover, at this level they were used, not only to express a temporal relation, but they also undertake a discourse function, appearing in places of discontinuities in narrative content, like place or character shifts (ex. 18).

- 18) *Και έκανε πατινάζ ο πρώτος σκύλος και γύρισε πάλι πίσω. Μετά # πήρε το παπούτσι στο σκύλο ο αγοράκι.*
 And the first dog skated [: the dog skated first] and came back. Then the boy took the shoe from the dog.

Finally, advanced learners came to mark simultaneity between dynamic eventualities, through various devices: aspectual verbs to implicate that an activity did not end, temporal clauses, imperfective marking and adverbials (see ex. 16 above).

4. Discussion

In summary, temporal sequence between events was marked earlier than simultaneity. Moreover, the particular means used for marking temporal relations differed rather interestingly across the three levels of L2 competence. While beginners relied mainly upon lexical aspect to advance narrative time, at least when their limited vocabulary allowed them to, intermediate learners preferred past perfective verb forms and temporal adverbs. Advanced learners made use of the lexical aspect of eventualities as well as of perfective verbal morphology. However, a breaking in the "principle of natural order", as in the case of simultaneity studied here, could not be expressed at the beginning level and remained a source of difficulty at the intermediate level. Only advanced learners were able to mark this temporal relation, utilizing a variety of means.

What is of particular interest in the described developmental course is the preference for past tense anchoring by intermediate learners. More specifically, beginners frequently shifted between past and non-past verb forms, while the large majority of intermediate learners anchored their narratives in the past with the exception of three speakers. Finally, advanced learners made equal use of past and present tense. The preference of L2 learners for past tense anchoring after the beginning level has been reported in previous studies (Hendriks 1999, Salaberry 2000 and for Greek, Bella 2004-2005). However, this finding is either bypassed (Hendriks 1999) or attributed to the learners perceiving the narration as a classroom task which requires past tense practice (Salaberry 2000). Bella (2004-2005), whose point of interest is indeed the historical present in L2 narratives, suggests that learners who have not been exposed to natural input in the target language do not have the chance to "notice" this function of the present tense and language instruction does not compensate for this fact. To our knowledge, no study has reported the growing preference of advanced learners for present tense anchoring.

We believe that the developmental changes in tense anchoring can be better interpreted if associated with the learners' growing capacities to meet the demands of text production. Oral linguistic communication requires the coordination of different capacities, such as forming grammatical sentences, appropriately linking them, structuring discourse content and adjusting linguistic choices to the communicative situation. At the beginning and intermediate levels, where linguistic performance is

not yet automatised, learners are striving to produce well-structured texts in all of these aspects. However, they cannot attend equally to all these aspects of text production due to cognitive constraints, namely attention limitations (Skehan 1996, Skehan and Foster 1999⁵). It is assumed here that these restrictions direct learners' attention to the construction of sentences or small discourse units, reducing, therefore, attention to the overall hierarchical organization of narrative content as well as to the evaluation of narrated events. As a result, systematic use of the narrative present, as an indicator of a fully developed text macrostructure and an evaluative stylistic shift in narrator's viewpoint, is not expected at lower proficiency levels, but is rather achieved at the advanced level where learners have to some extent automatised language production procedures at a local level.

This explanation may also be pertinent for the relative increased use of adverbs at lower and intermediate levels, even when temporal sequence is marked through other means. These adverbs indicate the learners' need to overmark cohesion at a local level, as a compensation for their inability to attend to the macrostructure of narratives.

It is also worth noting that the methodological approach taken in this study enabled us to detect the growing capacity of learners to construct events with the appropriate to context inherent temporal characteristics. Research on temporal semantics has shown that sentence construction and choice of vocabulary play a crucial role in denoting temporal relations. However, L2 acquisition studies on temporality have mainly focused on whether the type of eventualities determines tense and aspect marking (Bardovi-Harlig 2000, Salaberry and Shirai 2002). In this study we found evidence that constructing the lexical content of sentences has itself a long developmental course in L2 acquisition. Learners' infelicitous choices of vocabulary create vagueness in temporal relations up until the advanced level of proficiency. Thus, it seems that the focused investigation of this parameter of language acquisition is a line of research that can contribute to constructing a more complete picture of how learners express temporal information.

Concluding, adult L2 learners are able to construct the backbone of a narrative even at beginning level, since their cognitive and linguistic/communicative maturity allows them to rely on the inherent temporal properties of eventualities and knowledge about the principles of discourse organisation. However, to unfold all their narrative abilities and to gain control of their text at a global level, they need to develop advanced language skills.

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⁵ Although Skehan and Foster's research concerns learners' performance on tasks in educational practice, we believe that their claims are valid for all communicative tasks in and out of classroom.

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'THERE CAN BE ONLY ONE': THE SINGLE ALLOMORPH SELECTION CONSTRAINT IN GREEK

Athanasios Karasimos
University of Patras, Greece
akarasimos@upatras.gr

ABSTRACT

Interest in the topic of stem allomorphy has been revived in Mark Aronoff's (1994) work. The Central idea of and its later developments (Booij 1997, Pirrelli & Battista 2000a, 2000b, Ralli 2000, 2007, among others) is the notion that the signifiant of a lexeme is not a single phonological representation, but an array of indexed stems. According to Ralli (2000, 2007), stem allomorphy participates in all word formation processes. Additionally, we admit (Karasimos 2008, 2011) that the allomorphic behavior of lexemes hides common patterns. Based on data coming from Greek nominal derivation, the allomorph index of a lexeme is not totally available during word formation. In current research, we suggest that the non-occurrence of all the allomorphs that serve as basis in derived words depends on the constraint of the unique allomorph selection. This constraint is verified by morphological facts and it should be noted that it is applied to all nominal derived words without exception.

Keywords: stem, allomorphy, derivation, compounding, constraints

1. Stem Allomorphy: Introduction

1.1 Stem Allomorphy under the spotlight

Research on stem allomorphy has been revived in Aronoff (1994), whose work has led to novel approaches of inflectional and derivational phenomena in morphological research by Booij (1997), Thornton (1997), Pirrelli & Battista (2000a, 2000b), Ralli (2000, 2007), Stump (2001), Bonami & Boyé (2003), Maiden (2004) among others. Aronoff's main idea also followed by other morphologists is that the signifiant of a lexeme is not a single phonological representation, but an array of indexed stems, which may stand in relations ranging from identity through regular phonological alternation, arbitrary change to full suppletion. (cf. Maiden 2004).

1.2 Definition of Allomorphy and Theoretical Framework

Expanding the definition of Lieber (1982: 27) for allomorphy, what we define as allomoprhs are the different varieties of the same morpheme, which share such lexical information as semantic representation and argument structure, but that differ unpredictably and arbitrarily in their phonological form and in the morphological environments in which they occur (for example κύμα~ κύματ 'wave', παίρν~ πήρ~ παρ 'take'). However, we have to point out that the term is over-used in the literature, since several allomorphs do not qualify for the proper conditions of Lieber's definition.

Ralli (2000, 2007) emphasizes that stem allomorphy is included in the core of morphology and participates in all word formation processes. She suggests that it is one of the basic features for categorizing verbal inflectional classes and nominal inflectional classes.

1.3 The Allomorphic Behavior Principle

Karasimos (2001, 2011) observes that the allomorphic behavior of a morpheme / lexeme is the same in all word formation processes with the unique and systematic exceptions of two specific noun groups that are inflected as the nouns *παιδί* (child) and *τεμπέλης* (lazy_N). These kinds of nominal morphemes participate with new or different allomorphs in derivation and compounding (compared to inflection), since the *παιδί*-type nouns have no allomorphs (e.g. *παιδί* / *παιδι-ά* ‘child / children’ in inflection and the *τεμπέλης*-type nouns participate with a different allomorph than the one(s) used in inflection (e.g. INF *τεμπέλης*: *τεμπελη~ τεμπεληδ* vs. DER/COM *τεμπελ* ‘lazy’).

The morphemes that display allomorphic behavior in word formation processes seem to be depend on their behavior in the process of inflection. The allomorphic behaviour principle determines inflection as the primary field of allomorphic comparison, since most allomorphs ‘were created’ from morphemes reanalysis and from inactive phonological and morphological rules in inflection (see more Karasimos 2011).

(1) i.

κύμα/ κύματ-α	κυματ-ίζω ¹	κυματ-ο-θραύστης
kíma/ kímata	kimat-izo	kimat-o-thrafstis
‘wave’ / ‘waves’	‘to wave’	wavebreaker
καφέ-ς/ καφέδ-ες	καφεδ-άκι	καφεδ-ο-πωλείο
kafé-s/ kafedh-es	kafedh-aki	kafedh-o-polio
‘coffee’ / ‘coffees’	‘small coffee’	‘coffee shop’

ii.

καράβι/ καράβι-α	καραβ-ίσιος	καραβ-ό-σχοινο
karavi/ karavi-a	karav-isios	karavo-o-sxino
‘ship’ / ‘ships’	‘shipborne’	‘headrope’
βάρ-ος/ βάρ-η	βαρ-ίδι	βαρ-ό-μετρο
var-os/ var-i	var-idhi	var-o-metro
‘weight’ / ‘weights’	plumb	barometer
μπακάλη-ς/ μπακάληδ-ες	μπακάλ-ικο	μπακαλ-ό-γατος
bakali-s/ bakalidh-es	bakal-iko	bakal-o-gatos
‘grocer’ / ‘grocers’	‘grocery store’	‘employee in a grocery store’
νταή-ς/ νταήδ-ες	νταηδ-άκος	νταηδ-ό-μαγκας
dai-s/ daidh-es	daidh-akos	daidh-o-magas
‘bully’ / ‘bullies’	‘little bully’	‘bully-and-bloke’

2. Comparing the word formation processes

Comparing the word formation processes of inflection and derivation (and compounding) based on the phenomenon of allomorphy, we can observe several trends among languages. There are languages, like German (2.a), where all the allomorphs of an inflectional paradigm participate in derivation and compounding, while in other languages, such as Dutch and Greek, the above behavior is unlikely to be found.

(2) a. German

Vater ~ Väter	Vaterland	-	Vätersitte
‘father’ – ‘fathers’	‘homeland’		‘ethics of ancestors’
Mutter ~ Mütter	Mutterfreuden	-	Mütterverschickung
‘mother’ – ‘mothers’	‘mother’s joy’		‘mothers’ discharge note’
Buch ~ Bücher	Buchbinder	-	Bücherfolge
‘book’ – ‘books’	‘bookbinder’		‘series of books’

(Lieber 1982)

¹ In these paradigms, I do not separate the inflectional suffixes from the derivational. Also in compounding words, the second component is not separated into their morphemes.

b. Modern Greek

άνθρωπ(ος)	άνθρωπ(οι)	άνθρωπ-ισμ(ός)	ανθρώπ-ιν(ος)
anθrop(os)	anθrop(i)	anθrop-ism(os)	anθrop-in(os)
‘man’	‘men’	‘humanism’	‘human’
αυλή	αυλ(ές)	αυλ-ικ(ός)	αυλ-αία
avli	avl(es)	avl-ik(os)	avl-ea
‘yard’	‘yards’	‘courtier’	‘curtain’
βήμα	βήματ(α)	βηματ-ίζ(ω)	βηματ-άρα
vima	vimat(a)	vimat-iz(o)	vimat-ara
‘step’	‘steps’	‘stride’	‘big step’

However, analyzing data from derivation in Modern Greek, we discover that all the different forms of a morpheme are not fully available during all the word formation processes. For example the noun *βήμα* ‘wave’ displays two allomorphs *βήμα*~ *βήματ* in inflection, it displays only one morpheme form in the process of derivation (*βήματ*~), e.g. *βηματάκι* ‘small step’, *βηματάρα* ‘big step’, *βηματίζω* ‘stride’. The same allomorphic pattern of this noun is observed in the process of compounding, in examples such as *βηματοδότης* ‘pacemaker’, *βηματομέτρηση* ‘step counting’. As it is demonstrated in the following session (3.), such allomorphic behavior is not random and is solely due to a constraint that applies to all nominal and adjectival stems and suffixes.

3. The Single Allomorph Selection Constraint

The process of derivation contains principles and constraints about the categories of stems of derived words that are combined with derivational suffixes. The most common constraint for input-type cases (input constraint) is the number of requirements of a base-stem to be chosen and combined by derivational suffixes. There are a few derivational processes that require even more limited bases. Let's take some examples from German (Riehemann 1998: 54) and Modern Greek:

(3) a. German

essen ‘eat’	essbar ‘eatable’
zahlen ‘pay’	zahlbar ‘payable’
halten ‘hold’	haltbar ‘durable’

b. Modern Greek

ταξί ‘taxi’	ταξιτζής ‘taxi driver’
καφές ‘coffee’	καφετζής ‘coffee shop owner’
τζάμι ‘glass’	τζαμτζής ‘glazier’
σαπούνι ‘soap’	σαπουντζής ‘soapmaker’

Analyzing the above examples from German, the derivational suffix *-bar* is combined only with base-stems that are transitive verbs to form adjectives; a similar case is the corresponding suffix *-baar* from Dutch (Booij 2006: 62), which requires the same context subcategorization. For example, the word *drink-baar* ‘drinkable’ is derived from the transitive verb *drink* ‘drink’. In Modern Greek there are few derivational suffixes which are attached to specific stems, such as the suffix *-τζή(ς)* in (3.b) which combines only with nominal bases and stems. On the other hand there are several suffixes that do not present any combinational constraints with bases, since they can attach to nominal, adjectival and verbal stems (even adverbial bases). In English the suffix *-er* is combined with verbs (*keep* >> *keeper*, *print* >> *printer*) and nouns (*Berlin* >> *Berliner*). The greek verbal derivational suffix *-ε(ω)* combines with nominal stems (*χορ-ός* ‘dance’ >> *χορεύω* ‘dance’) with adjectival stems (*ήμερ-ος* ‘meek’ >> *ημερεύω* ‘tame’) and with adverbial stems (*κοντά* ‘close’ >> *κοντεύω* ‘getting close’).

More specifically, we maintain that the non-appearance of all the allomorphs as bases in derivation is not random, occasional or not independent from the morphological environment in which the allomorphs appear. I have previously suggested (Καρασίμος 2011a, 2011b) that nominal bases of derived words and nominal stems as first constituents of compound words allow the appearance of only

one allomorph due to a constraint that takes place in the input configuration of a derived or compound word; this constraint prevents the appearance of all allomorphs of each morpheme as basis on a nominal derived word. We call this specific limitation of selection **single-allomorph selection constraint**. I have observed that the Greek derived words fall under the restrictions of this constraint and some allomorphs that participate in inflection are excluded. Since the constraints do not usually apply randomly in a language, but for a reason, I point out that the single-allomorph selection constraint ensures unique uniformity among derived words with a common basis through the appearance of only one form of the morpheme-base.

In the present article, I suggest that the non-appearance of all allomorphs as bases in derivation does not depend on the process itself, since the phenomenon appears also in compounding. I believe that in Modern Greek the reasons for the occurrence of single-allomorph selection constraint are independent; the selection of the single-allomorph is neither random and arbitrary, nor unpredictable. In fact, this particular constraint applies mainly for morphological and phonological reasons.

3.1 Optional phonological conditions

Checking carefully the phonological structure of a derived word base, the existence of stems with a final-character consonant is statistically more significant than with a final-character vowel. According to Ralli's inflectional model (2000)², the nouns in Modern Greek that display allomorphs, have an allomorph that ends with a vowel and another one that ends with a consonant (4.b). The inflectional classes with no allomorphs at all have in majority stems with ending of the XC-type³ (4.a). The only and systematic exception is the sixth inflectional class of *καράβι*-type neutral nouns (4.c, see Karasimos 2011a). On the other hand, verbs with systematic allomorphy (5.a, second inflectional class according to Ralli's model (2004)) display a stem with a final-character consonant and a stem with a final-character vowel (X ~ XV); other verbs without systematic allomorphy (5.b, first inflectional class, see above) can have all their allomorphic types with a consonant as a thematic character.

(4) a.	άνθρωπ-ος		
	anθrop-os		‘man’
	δάσ-ος		
	das-os		‘forest’
	μωρ-ό		
	mor-o		‘baby’
b.	πάπα-ς	παπάδ-ες	
	papa-s	papaδ-es	‘priest’ – ‘priests’
	θάλασσα	θάλασσ-ες	
	thalasa	thalasa	‘sea’ – ‘seas’
	κύμα	κύματ-α	
	kima	kimat-a	‘wave’ – ‘waves’
c.	καράβι	καράβι-α	
	karavi	karavi-a	‘ship’ – ‘ships’
	τραπέζι	τραπέζι-α	
	trapezi	trapezi-a	‘table’ – ‘tables’
	μολύβι	μολύβι-α	
	molivi	molivi-a	‘pencil’ – ‘pencils’
(5) a.	αγαπ-ώ	αγάπη-σα	
	agap-o	agapi-sa	‘love’ – ‘loved’
	πηδ-ώ	πήδη-σα	
	pidi-o	pidi-sa	‘jump’ – ‘jumped’

² Ralli (2000) suggests that there are eight inflectional nominal classes in Modern Greek. The first two contain masculine nouns, the third and fourth (include) feminine nouns and the rest neutral nouns.

³ XC-type: any kind of phoneme (X) and a consonant (C).

	αφαιρ-ώ afer-o	αφαίρε-σα afere-sa	‘remove’ – ‘removed’
b.	πλέν-ω plen-o	έ-πλυν-α e-plin-a	‘wash’ – ‘washed’
	ξεχν-ώ ksexn-o	ξεχα-σα ksexa-sa	‘forget’ – ‘forgot’
	ρουφ-ώ ruf-o	ρουφηγ-σα ⁴ rufiy-sa	‘suck’ – ‘sucked’

Structurally, over eighty percent of the derivational suffixes that combine with nouns/ or nominal bases and adjectives/ or adjectival bases start/begin with a vowel. To maintain the optimal syllabic structure CV, the base “should” have a morpheme ending with a consonant (if applicable). Therefore, although it does not form a requirement, the allomorph ending with a consonant is qualified as the only and final choice. For example, the verbal suffix *-ιζ(ω)*, when combined with the lexeme KYMA ‘wave’ which has the allomorphs *κυμα~ κυματ*; the allomorph *κυματ* is joined with the derivational suffix and that way the optimal syllabic structure is achieved. The highly productive subclass of diminutive and augmentative derivational suffixes have all their suffixes starting with vowel, like *-άκι*, *-άρα*, *-ούτσικος*, *-ούκλα-*, *-ούλα*, *-ίτσα* etc, among others.

I have to clarify here that I do not maintain that the derivational suffix selects the proper allomorph of the base/ stem/ root, but that the phonological structure of the suffix justifies the “choice” of the specific stem allomorph. Moreover, there are a few derived words with their optimal syllabic structure violated in the absence of an alternative morpheme (allomorph), as for example the stem *λα(ός)* ‘people’ > *λα-ικ(ος)* ‘folkish’, *μυστήρι(ο)* ‘mystery’ > *μυστηρι-ακ(ος)* ‘mystic’, *ράβ(ω)* ‘sew’ > *ράφ-τη(ς)* ‘tailor’. Therefore, the derivational suffix does not require a specific form of a basis-morpheme, since if that was the case, then this characteristic would constitute a universal property of all suffixes, which is to select the proper form of a basis-morpheme.

3.2 Morphological conditions

All the derived words in Modern Greek have two components, a morpheme –base or a derived stem (non-head position) and a derivational suffix (head position) that applies to the basis. In the non-head position, the morphemes with two or three allomorphs cannot display all the possible forms. Therefore, every allomorph is marked with the context information and the morphological environment to avoid the possibilities of ungrammatical derived words (e.g. **ψυχη-ισμ(ός)* instead of *ψυχ-ισμ(ός)* ‘psychism’, **παίρσιμο/ *πήρσιμο* instead of *πάρσιμο* ‘taking’, **βαθύως* instead of *βαθέως* ‘deeply’. **κονταεύω* instead of **κοντεύω* ‘approach’).

The derivational suffixes “adopt” the same allomorphic behavior as the stems. Therefore, we expect that the suffixes share the same context information and morphological environment with their allomorphs. More specifically, when a derivational suffix, that is going to be combined with a simple or a derived stem, is followed by another derivational suffix, it will be placed in the second level of derivation process in a non-head position and will display only one allomorph. Derived base is called the combination of a stem and a derivational suffix, e.g. [*ανθρώπ-ιν-*] ‘human.NoINF⁵’, [*χορ-εϋ-*] ‘dance_v.NoINF’, [*ομορφ-ότερ-*] ‘more beautiful.NoINF’.

Plag (1999) and Hay & Plag (2004) claim that the basis of a derived word demands a specific allomorph of the derivational suffix; we maintain that this fact can be modified in Modern Greek derivation. More specifically, the basis demands a specific allomorph of derivational suffix *if and only if* the derivational suffix participates in another derivational suffixation process; thus it is obliged to obey the single-allomorph selection constraint. In English, such constraints apply only to specific groups of morphemes or suffixes. On the contrary, in Modern Greek each base selects the proper allomorph of a suffix, if it is any further suffixation (6.a). A similar procedure applies in cases of suffixation in compound words, such as *χορ-ο-πηδηχ-τ-ούλης* ‘gamboler’, *δικτυ-ο-τρομο-κρα-τ-ικ-ός* ‘cyber-terroristic’, *αερ-ο-μαχη-τ-ικ-ο* ‘air-fighter plane’ (6.b).

⁴ The type ‘ρούφηξα’ is created after the phonological rule of dissimilation.

⁵ NoINF = absence of inflectional suffix.

(6) a.	κλαίω kleo 'cry'	κλαι~ κλα kle~ kla 'allomorphs of cry'	DER	κλά-μα/ κλά-ματ-α kla-ma/ kla-mat-a 'crying / cryings'	>>	κλα-ματ-άκι kla-mat-aki 'short crying'
b.	αέρας (αερα~ αερ) + μάχομαι aeras (aera~ aer) + maxome 'air' 'fight'	COM	αερ-ο-μαχη-τη-ς aer-o-maxi-ti-s 'pilot-fighter'			αερ-ο-μαχη-τ-ικ-ο aer-o-maxi-t-ik-o 'air-fighter plane'

No information for the morphological environment of a non-head position is included in languages like German. The allomorphs of/in German are characterized by Lieber (1980) as singular and plural ones; she uses inflectional terms to categorize allomorphy. This characterization is not only morphological concerning the inflectional paradigm, but it is also semantic, because it implies the meaning of the singularity (SINGULAR) and quantity (PLURAL), as it is mentioned by Lieber (2.a). On the contrary, in Modern Greek it is possible for two allomorphs to occur in the same inflectional sub-paradigm, as for e.g. the nouns of IC8 (*βήμα*-type nouns) that 'use' the "plural" allomorph-t (*βήματ-α* 'steps', *κύματ-α* 'waves', *μαθήματ-α* 'lessons') also in the singular genitive (*βήματ-ος* 'of step', *κύματ-ος* 'of wave', *μαθήματ-ος* 'of lesson'). Furthermore, the allomorphs in Modern Greek are characterized by morphological information and do not contain any potentially hidden non-morphological information, such as semantic markedness. Additional morpho-semantic information for a lexeme, such as if it/ that is an Ancient Greek relic, puristic Greek, or a calque, is not attached to its allomorphs, since this information is not helpful for the selection of the proper allomorph in derivation and compounding. According to Booij (1997), the feature [+ CALQUE] in Dutch seems to cause a different behavior in lexemes and the selection of a non-expected allomorph.

3.3 'Counterexamples' of single-allomorph selection constraint

Drachman (2006) gives some examples from Modern Greek, which seem to form exceptions of the single-allomorph selection constraint. He introduces the term 'shared allomorphs' which 'are produced' from a basic form, have an independent status in the word formation processes involved, but are more or less related to each other, so in essence the notion of 'derived from' or 'created from' is no longer necessary.

(7) a.	κρέ-ας/ κρέατ-α kreat-as/ kreat-a 'meat'/'meats'	κρεατ-ερό, κρεατ-ίλα, κρεατ-ινό kreat-ero, kreat-ila, kreat-ino 'fleshy' 'smell-of-the-meat' 'of-meat'
		κρε-ο-πώλης, κρε-ο-φάγος, κρε-ο-κοφ-τήρας kreat-o-polis, kreat-o-fagos, kreat-o-kof-tiras 'butcher' 'meat-eater' 'mincing machine'
		κρεατ-ο-πωλείο, κρεατ-ο-σανίδα, κρεατ-ο-πιτα kreat-o-polio, kreat-o-sanida, kreat-o-pita 'butcher's shop' 'meat-board' 'mince pie'
	αίμ-α/ αίματ-α em-a/ emata 'blood'/'bloods'	αιματ-άκι, αιμάτ-ωμα emat-aki, emat-oma 'hematoma'
		αιμ-ο-σφαίρια, αιμ-ο-δοσία, αιμ-ο-ρραγία em-o-sferia, em-o-dosia, em-o-rajia 'blood capsule' 'blood donation' 'bleeding'
		αιματ-ο-βαμμένος, αιματ-ο-κύλισμα, γλυκ-ο-αίματ-ος emat-o-vamenos, emat-o-kilisma, glyk-o-emat-os 'bloodstained' 'carnage' 'sweet-blood'
b.	(η)μέρα (i)mera	ημερίσιος (*μερίσιος), ημερομίσθιο (*μερομίσθιο) imerisios (*merisios), imeromisθio (*meromisθio) 'daily' 'wage'
		μερόνυχτα

	meronixta	
	‘days and nights’	
(ε)νοίκι(ο)	νοικιάζω, ενοικιαστής (*νοικιαστής), νοικιάρης (*ενοικιάρης)	
(ε)νιcι(ο)	nicjazo, enicjastis (*nicjastis), nicjaris (*enicjaris)	
	‘rentv’ ‘tenant’	‘roomer’
(ο)μιλώ	μίλησε, ομιλητής (*μιλητής)	
(ο)milo	milise, omilitis (*militis)	
	‘spoke’ ‘speaker’	

(Drachman 2006: 14, 19)

The examples in (7a) seems that they seem to be counterexamples of the constraint presented here; however, the truth lies somewhere in the middle. First of all, I have to underline that this constraint has no exceptions of derived words with nominal and adjectival stems. The case of the noun αίμα ‘blood’ with the allomorphs αιμα~ αιματ~ αιμ, Karasimos (2001) has exhibited its peculiar behavior in the process of compounding. The derived words from αίμα ‘blood’ use only the allomorph αιματ~, obeying to the single-allomorph selection constraint. The compound words from αιμα are divided into three groups: (a) compound words with the stem αιματ~ as their second component, (b) compound words with the allomorph αιμ~ as their first component; these words came from French, Ancient Greek or International Greek and (c) compound words with the allomorph αιματ~ as their first component; these words came from English or from Modern Greek. As Ralli & Karasimos (2008, 2009a, 2009b) argue for the bare-stem constraint, the compound words formed in International Greek or by non-native speakers, violate the rules, principles and constraints of the compounding process, as they are created outside of the morphological word formation processes of the Greek language. Regarding the case of the noun κρέας ‘meat’ with the allomorphs κρεα~ κρεατ~ κρε~, its derived words follow the constraint without exceptions, while the word participates in compounding with two allomorphs (κρεατ~ κρε), since it is a word from Ancient Greek with a double inflectional paradigm (see Economou 1971: 85-86); therefore the ‘relic-type allomorph’ κρε~ is used into words that were created in previous phases of Greek. Furthermore, the examples (7b) are in no way allomorphs, as the optional phonological deletion of the initial vowel, by definition, does not constitute a case of allomorphy (see Karasimos 2011a).

Finally, it is necessary to point out that the single-allomorph constraint makes no exception in the whole process of derivation and applies to all nominal and adjectival stems (we except that there will not are also no exceptions in Modern Greek Dialects) and allows us to predict which allomorph is going to be used. In languages, like German (Lieber 1981) the single-allomorph selection constraint does not exist, but we expect that languages with extended allomorphy may display this constraint.

4. Conclusion

The derivational suffix does not force the base of a derived word to participate with the proper allomorph, as this would be a universal feature of all suffixes. The single-allomorph selection constraint applies in Modern Greek, is definitely not a universal constraint, but it may also apply in other allomorphically rich languages. This constraint refers to a morphological phenomenon (allomorphy) which changes are arbitrary and unpredictable; however the constraint is characterized by predictability and regularity. Furthermore, Karasimos (2011a) claims that this constraint provides us important advantages to analyze computationally this phenomenon, to export allomorphic rules and to improve the performance of a parser through predictability of allomorph selection.

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ANNOTATION OF EVENTS IN GREEK CORPORA BASED ON THE MODEL OF TIMEML

Apostolos Kardiasmenos

Kapodistrian University of
Athens, Greece

kardiasm@gmail.com

Stavroula Tsigka

Kapodistrian University of
Athens, Greece

voulaki_ts@hotmail.com

Prokopis Prokopidis

Institute for Language and
Speech Processing/Athena RIC
Greece

prokopis@ilsp.gr

Haris Papageorgiou

Institute for Language and
Speech Processing/Athena RIC,
Greece

xaris@ilsp.gr

ABSTRACT

This paper describes ongoing work for annotation of events in Greek corpora following the specifications of the TimeML standard adapted to the Greek language. We first briefly outline the task of event recognition and the history of related annotation efforts. After that we discuss the tags used in the annotation process for a Greek Event Annotated Corpus and we provide indicative examples from the guidelines.

1. Introduction

Detection and analysis of events and their various realizations in natural language has been examined by philosophers, psychologists and linguists (Vendler, 1967). In computational linguistics and artificial intelligence, event detection is of great interest for developing complex natural language processing applications like narrative understanding, information extraction, automatic summarization and question answering. Large collections of text available today need to be robustly analyzed in order to be searchable from machines and event recognizers are crucial components of textual analytics systems that try to extract information necessary in creating automatic summaries and/or in answering questions like: “Ποιες ήταν οι σπουδαιότερες μάχες που έγιναν τον τελευταίο χρόνο του Β’ Παγκοσμίου Πολέμου; Ποιες τράπεζες κατέρρευσαν το 2011;”

Many different approaches to event detection have been presented in the relevant literature. The ultimate goal of these approaches is the development of applications that automatically extract facts and recognize spatiotemporal relations between them (Παπαγεωργίου κ.α., 2007). Events are usually studied in terms of either their semantic structure or of their spatio-temporal dimension in relevant annotated corpora needed for developing and testing event recognizers. In this paper, we present our effort for the creation of a Greek Event Annotated Corpus (GEAC) based on the model of the Time Markup Language (TimeML, <http://timeml.org>).

2. Annotation schemas for time and events

One of the first efforts for annotation of events, temporal expressions and relations between them is Setzer and Gaizauskas (2001), who developed the Sheffield Temporal Annotation Guidelines. STAG was a scheme that categorized events to be marked up in occurrence, perception, reporting, and aspectual classes. The scheme also included the *relatedToEvent* and *relatedToTime* attributes, which corresponded to references to other events or temporal expressions. A *relType* attribute was used for expressing the nature of the reference and had the following values: BEFORE, AFTER, INCLUDES, IS_INCLUDED and SIMULTANEOUS. The last one was a “cover value” for all types of temporal overlaps. An annotation example according to STAG is the following:

The boy arrived on Thursday.
The boy <event eid="9" class="OCCURRENCE" tense="PAST" relatedToTime="5" relType="IS_INCLUDED">arrived</event> on <timex tid="5">Thursday</timex>.

The Automatic Content Extraction 2005 Evaluation included a detection task for events with specific semantics (Table 1) that had entities and temporal expressions as arguments. ACE events were also annotated for modality, polarity, tense and genericity.

Event type	Subtypes
Life	be -born, marry, divorce, injure, die
Movement	Transport
Transaction	Transfer-ownership, transfer-money
Business	start-org, merge-org, declare-bankruptcy, end-org
Conflict	attack, demonstrate
Personnel	start-position, end-position, nominate, elect
Justice	arrest-jail, release-parole, trial-hearing
Contact	meet, phone-write

Table 1 Event types and example subtypes from the ACE 2005 Evaluation

The designers of the TimeML (Pustejovsky et al., 2003a) integrated and expanded elements from previous efforts and STAG in particular. The main TimeML tags include TIMEX3, EVENT, MAKEINSTANCE and three types of links. The reference corpus for TimeML is TimeBank (Pustejovsky et al., 2003b), a resource that contains 183 news articles with 61K non-punctuation tokens and is available from <http://www.timeml.org>. The latest version (1.2) of TimeBank includes 8K events, 1.4K TIMEX3 tags and 9.6K links. Similar resources for other languages include timebanks for Spanish, Italian, Chinese, Korean and French that range from 10K to 60K tokens. Some of them have been used in shared tasks for the evaluation of automatic multilingual event annotation (Verhagen et al., 2010).

3. A Greek Event Annotated Corpus

The main properties for each TimeML element are described in the following subsections, with particular focus on the EVENT and the MAKEINSTANCE tag. Each description is accompanied by Greek examples that we have collected in order to develop guidelines for the GEAC. In its current version, GEAC contains 41 annotated texts, including news articles, historical narratives and travel documentaries. We drew these documents from online newspaper sites, the Greek Wikipedia and transcripts of TV interviews on historical periods. The total size of the corpus amounts to 31,920 words and it is currently annotated for temporal expressions and events only. The annotation editor we used was Callisto (

Figure 1), a freely available tool from the non-profit organization MITRE. An alternative environment for event and other annotation tasks is the Brandeis Annotation Tool (Verhagen, 2010).

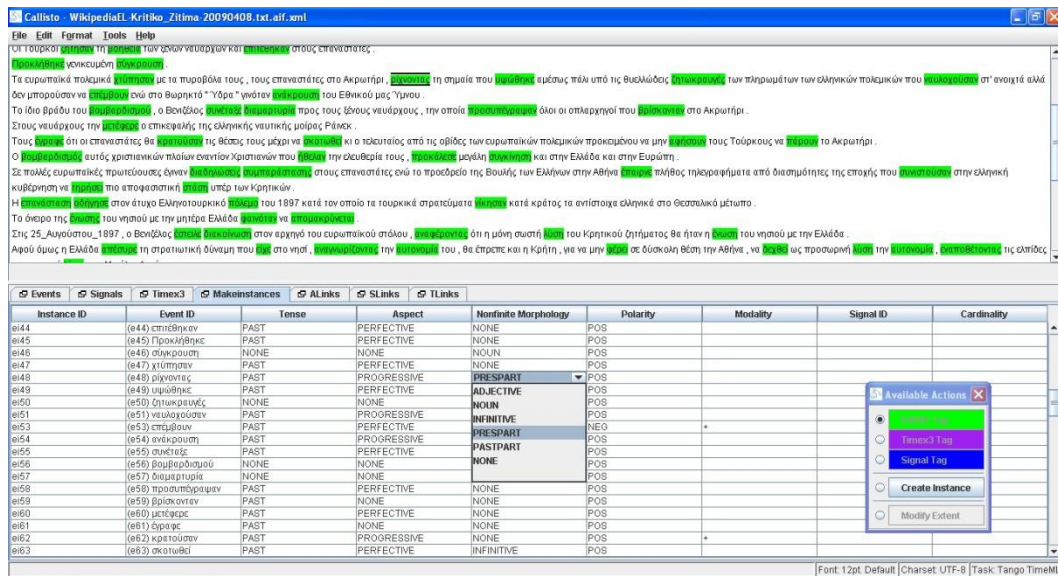


Figure 1 Annotating MAKEINSTANCE tags (Section 3.3) with Callisto, the editor used for the construction of the Greek Event Annotated corpus

3.1. The TIMEX3 tag

Temporal expression annotation is accomplished through the TIMEX3 tag. TIMEX3 markables include dates, times, and durations. The temporal value of these markables appears explicitly in the text or can be defined in relation to another explicit expression, including the document creation time. The next example shows the annotation of an explicit TIMEX3:

Έφυγα από την Γερμανία στις 2 Αυγούστου του 2009.

```
<TIMEX3 tid= 't1' type= 'DATE' value = '2009-08-02' temporalFunction = 'FALSE'>02 Αυγούστου του 2009</TIMEX3>
```

Each TIMEX3 includes a unique identification attribute (tid) which can be used in other tags for reference to this expression. The value attribute is used for normalizing durations (δώδεκα βδομάδες: P12W), times (8:05 της 21ης Φεβρουαρίου 2009: 2009-02-21T08:05:00). The *temporalFunction* attribute has a value FALSE since the expression can be unambiguously evaluated in the text. Other expressions like *χθες* have to be anchored to another expression for their value to be defined. Thus, given the 't1' expression above, the following example should be annotated as follows:

Την επόμενη μέρα έφτασα στην Πάτρα.

```
<TIMEX3 tid= 't2' type= 'DATE' value= '2009-08-03' temporalFunction= 'TRUE' anchorTimeID = 't1' > επόμενη μέρα </TIMEX3>
```

3.2. The EVENT tag

According to TimeML, events are "situations that happen or occur". The term also includes situations that change throughout the text or states that hold true. State events are considered markables if they develop or change in the text, if they are directly related to a specific TIMEX3, or if they are introduced by another event. Expressions that are not annotated include generics not referring to temporally anchored events (*οι κρατούμενοι απαγορεύεται να κρατάνε όπλα, τα αντικείμενα πέφτουν λόγω της βαρύτητας*), verbs introducing generics (*είπε ότι η Γη γυρίζει γύρω από τη Σελήνη*), nominalizations that provide no further information beyond that of their associated verb (*δημοσιεύματα σε εφημερίδες αναφέρουν...*). Events can be punctual or last for a period of time, and they can be realized as verbs (*ο διαιτητής διέκοψε τον αγώνα*), nouns (*η βροχόπτωση προκάλεσε ζημιές*), adjectives (*τα κέρδη ήταν ελαφρά υψηλότερα*), prepositional phrases (*ένας υπάλληλος σε διαθεσιμότητα κατηγορείται ...*) and participles (*η κατεστραμμένη από τη χαλαζόπτωση σοδειά θα αποζημιωθεί*).

Our guidelines contain instructions for typical constructions. If an event is realized as a verbal cluster containing an aspectual and a main verb, both verbs are annotated as individual events. The set of aspectual verbs includes the verbs *αρχίζω, σταματώ, τελειώνω, συνεχίζω, etc.* In the case of events realized as noun phrases, only the head is annotated and any modifiers are excluded from annotation (*παρατήρησαν σημαντική βελτίωση*). In the case of events in prepositional phrases, we annotate the head of the embedded NP (*βρίσκεται από χθες σε διαθεσιμότητα*). For events realized as predicative complements of copula verbs, we annotate only the complement (*ήταν δάσκαλος*). If an event is realized as a nominalization preceded by a support verb (*δημιουργούν εντυπώσεις*), both words are annotated as individual events, which are linked via an IDENTICAL TLINK (see Section 3.4). In the case of causative predicates (*η επίθεση προκάλεσε την οργή των αιγυπτιακών αρχών*), it is often difficult to distinguish the event introduced by the causative predicate from the result event. For constructions with similar predicates (*προκαλώ, οδηγώ σε, προξενώ, επιφέρω*), we annotate three events if the subject is an event itself, and we create a BEFORE TLINK between the subject and the object event.

Each event has to be classified on the basis of its semantic and factual characteristics. The set of classes includes REPORTING, PERCEPTION, ASPECTUAL, I_ACTION, I_STATE, STATE, and OCCURRENCE events. Reporting events (*λέω, εξηγώ, δηλώνω, περιγράφω, διευκρινίζω, ξεκαθαρίζω, διατυπώνω, ανακοινώνω, σχολιάζω*) describe the action of an entity declaring something or providing information about an event, etc:

Ιστορικές πηγές αναφέρουν ότι ο πόλεμος του '40 επηρέαζει και τις σύγχρονες γενιές.
Σχολιάζοντας τα αποτελέσματα εννεαμήνου...
Δήλωσε ο Υπουργός Πολιτισμού.
Παράλληλα η ΕΣΥΕ ανακοίνωσε ότι ο δείκτης όγκου λιανικών πωλήσεων.
Αναφερόμενος στο θέμα, ο «ισχυρός άνδρας» της Ράπιντ μίλησε στην εφημερίδα της Ρουμανίας.
Η Εθνική Τράπεζα είπε ότι τα καθαρά κέρδη αυξήθηκαν 48%.

Perception events (*βλέπω, ακούω, κοιτάω, διακρίνω, παρακολουθώ, παρατηρώ, ατενίζω, θωρώ, ακούω, παρακούω*) are used to describe the physical perception of another event:

Από την άλλη παρατηρήσαμε και πάλι στενότητα στις συνθήκες ρευστότητας.
Το είδατε στην Τουρκία.
Πρώτα να δούμε σε τι κατάσταση θα είναι οι παίκτες.
Η χαρά μου ήταν μεγάλη που άκουσα τη φωνή τους.
Έβλεπα με τα μάτια μου τα άλογα που πέθαιναν από τα χτυπήματα.

Aspectual events focus on different temporal facets of an event introduced by the aspectual event. This class includes initiation (*αρχίζω, ξεκινώ*), reinitiation (*ξαναξεκινώ*), termination (*σταματώ, τερματίζω, διακόπτω, αναβάλλω, ανακαλώ, ματαιώνω*), culmination (*τελειώνω, ολοκληρώνω*) and continuation (*συνεχίζω, εξακολουθώ, επιμένω*) events:

Με υψηλό ρυθμό συνεχίζει να τρέχει η ελληνική οικονομία.
Μετά από δυο μέρες άρχισαν οι ανακρίσεις.

Intensional action events (I-ACTION) include verbs that introduce an argument which must exist in the text and which describes an event or a state, for which we can infer something, given its relation to the I-ACTION verb. For example, the eventual arguments of the first group of sentences below did not necessarily occur.

προσπαθώ, επιχειρώ, αποπειρώμαι, δοκιμάζω
Με την κίνηση αυτή προσπαθεί να αιφνιδιάσει.
Και οπωσδήποτε προσπάθησε να κρατήσει κάποια απόσταση.

ερευνώ, ψάχνω, διερευνώ, εξετάζω
Έψαχναν να μας βρουν για 13 χρόνια
Θα ερευνήσουν την οργανωμένη γενοκτονία χιλιάδων Εβραίων.

καθυστερώ, αναβάλλω, αργοπορώ, επιβραδύνω, χρονοτριβώ, εμποδίζω, αναστέλλω
Τότε όμως καθυστερούσαν να φτάσουν γιατί στη διαδρομή βρίσκονταν οι ενδιαμέσες φυλακές.
Κι έτσι ανέβαλε το ταξίδι.

αποφεύγω, προλαμβάνω, εμποδίζω

Προσπαθούσαν να εμποδίσουν τους στρατιώτες τους από να έχουν σχέσεις με τους ντόπιους.
Ο Υπουργός απέφυγε να απαντήσει στις ερωτήσεις.

ρωτώ, ζητώ, παρακαλώ, προστάζω, διατάζω, παραγγέλλω, πείθω, αιτούμαι, ικετεύω, παροτρύνω, προτρέπω, παρακινώ

Θέλω να σας ζητήσω και γραπτώς να με συγχωρήσετε
Προσφέρθηκε να επισκευάσει το ποδήλατό της

υπόσχομαι, τάζω, προσφέρω, προσφέρομαι, διαβεβαιώνω, βεβαιώνω, προτείνω, προτίθεμαι, συμφωνώ, δέχομαι, αποφασίζω, καθορίζω, επιτρέπω

Η ΟΥΕΦΑ τους επέτρεψε να χρησιμοποιήσει τον αδήλωτο Μπέτε
Μου υποσχέθηκε να γυρίσει νωρίς το βράδυ.

ισχυρίζομαι, προτείνω, υπαινίσσομαι, εισηγούμαι, υποδηλώνω, υποστηρίζω

Ισχυρίστηκαν ότι δεν είχαν μαζί τους τίποτα άλλο αξιόλογο
Πρότεινε στη μαμά μου να πλένει τα πουκάμισα των Γερμανών

The intensional state (I-STATE) class is used for states that refer to alternative or possible worlds where their argument might occur:

πιστεύω, νομίζω, φρονώ, σκέπτομαι, κρίνω, υποψιάζομαι, υποπτεύομαι, αισθάνομαι, νιώθω

Το πιστεύατε ότι θα τις βρείτε ποτέ;
Νόμιζαν πως είχε αποπλεύσει από τη Ρόδο.

θέλω, χρειάζομαι, αρέσει να..., βρίσκω καλό, επιθυμώ, λαχταρώ, ποθώ

Θέλουν να φύγουν από την Αϊτή.
Υπάρχουν οικογένειες που θα ήθελαν να υιοθετήσουν ένα παιδί από την Ασία

ελπίζω, περιμένω, ευελπιστώ, προσδοκώ, αναμένω, φιλοδοξώ, σχεδιάζω

Ο Παπαδόπουλος φιλοδοξεί να πάρει μεταγραφή στην Αγγλία
Ωστε να φτάσει στους «6» και να ελπίζει βάσιμα σε πρόκριση

φοβάμαι, σιχαίνομαι, μισώ, τρέμω, στενοχωριέμαι, ανησυχώ, σκοτίζομαι

Οι αρχές φοβούνται ότι δε θα είναι σε θέση να αντιμετωπίσουν...
Οι συγγενείς του ανησυχούν για την έκβαση της υγείας του

είμαι σε θέση, μπορώ

Το σχολείο δε θα είναι σε θέση να δεχτεί περισσότερους μαθητές την επόμενη χρονιά.

STATE events describe circumstances in which something holds true. We annotate a) states that change in the temporal framework of the text being annotated, b) states that are directly related to a temporal expression c) states that are introduced by an I-ACTION or a REPORTING event and d) states realized by a copula verb and a predicative complement if the state depends on the document creation time. In the example below, the relation of the airplane to the owner company does not change during the temporal framework of the text. Thus it is not annotated as a STATE. On the contrary, the state expressed by *επέβαιναν* changes during the document framework and is to be annotated.

Και οι 125 άνθρωποι που επέβαιναν στο airbus της Quantas σώθηκαν.

In a similar way, the complements of verbs like *είμαι* and *βρίσκομαι* are to be annotated as states since they can be interpreted only in a relation to the document creation time.

Ισχυρές ναυτικές δυνάμεις αποτελούμενες από 15 πολεμικά πλοία βρίσκονται στο λιμάνι του Πειραιά.

The next two examples regard states that are related to a temporal expression and should be connected to these expressions via a TLINK.

Ο Κωνσταντίνος Καραμανλής διετέλεσε Πρωθυπουργός της Ελλάδας για 5 χρόνια.

Έμειναν σε καταυλισμό για αρκετά χρόνια.

Occurrence events are all the other kinds of events describing something that happens or occurs in the world.

Η ΑΕΚ *νίκησε* με 3-0 την Ρόμα.

The classes of the events described above are not uniformly represented in GEAC. Not surprisingly, the occurrence class is the most frequent one, followed by events classified as states (Table 2).

Event class	Percentage
Occurrence	65,15%
State	21,63%
Reporting	3,71%
I-action	3,12%
Aspectual	3,02%
I-state	2,27%
Perception	1,08%

Table 2 Event classes and their distribution in the Greek Event Annotated Corpus

3.3. The MAKEINSTANCE tag

Events in TimeML are distinguished from their realizations. Thus, each EVENT tag is accompanied by at least one MAKEINSTANCE, a tag that is used for the specification of the actual realization of an event. It includes information like the id of the event it refers to, together with attributes concerning tense, aspect, non-finite morphology, polarity, modality, and cardinality.

In most cases, only one MAKEINSTANCE is needed and it is automatically created and associated with a new EVENT tag by the annotation editor. Thus, the human annotator has only to create additional MAKEINSTANCE tags for the second (and more, if needed) instances when an event is associated with two or more temporal expressions:

Η Μαρία δίδαξε τη Δευτέρα και την Τρίτη.
 <MAKEINSTANCE eiid="ei1" eventID="e1" tense="PAST" aspect="NONE"
 pos="VERB"/>
 <MAKEINSTANCE eiid="ei2" eventID="e1" tense="PAST" aspect="NONE"
 pos="VERB"/>

There are also cases, when the human annotator can either create as many MAKEINSTANCE tags as needed or, for large numbers of instances, just one MAKEINSTANCE that includes cardinality information:

Η Μαρία δίδαξε δύο φορές τη Δευτέρα
 Η Μαρία δίδαξε 150 φορές πέρυσι

Tense and aspect attributes of MAKEINSTANCE tags are non-optional. Possible values for tense are PAST, PRESENT, FUTURE, or NONE. Aspect can be assigned values from PROGRESSIVE, PERFECTIVE, PROGRESSIVE_PERFECTIVE, or NONE.

Figure 2 presents some typical annotations for finite verbal types.

Example	Tense	Aspect
Δεν βλέπει να ανεβαίνουν στην κατηγορία	PRESENT	NONE
έχει αναθέσει τη διαχείριση σε τρίτους	PRESENT	PERFECTIVE
Τα στρατεύματα μαζεύονταν γύρω από το νησί	PAST	PROGRESSIVE
Ο ΑΓΕΕΘΑ πρότεινε αύξηση της θητείας	PAST	NONE
Είχαν φύγει πριν να γυρίσω	PAST	PERFECTIVE
Όλοι θα θέλουν δεύτερο και τρίτο	FUTURE	PROGRESSIVE
Εμείς θα κερδίσουμε με τη Ντινάμο	FUTURE	NONE
Θα έχει σχολάσει απ' τη δουλειά του στις 6	FUTURE	PERFECTIVE

Figure 2 Annotation of tense and aspect attributes for finite verbal types

The non-finite morphology attribute is mainly used for non-verbal events and can take the following values: ADJECTIVE, NOUN, PRESPART, PASTPART, or NONE. All finite verbal types are assigned a NONE value, while PRESPART and PASTPART values are reserved for participles like *ερευνώντας* and *διορισμένος*. The polarity attribute depends on whether the event instance is negated or not in the text (*δεν έπλυνε*) and it can either be assigned the implied default value POS, or NEG.

3.4. The LINK tags

When all events and temporal expressions have been annotated in a text, the next step is to define relations between these events (actually MAKEINSTANCES) and temporal expressions using temporal links (TLINK), aspectual links (ALINK) and subordination links (SLINK). Although we have not yet annotated LINKs in GEAC, we provide in this subsection a brief overview of these TimeML tags, together with indicative examples from our guidelines for Greek.

The large majority of the 9615 links in TimeBank 1.2 are TLINKs (6418) followed by 2932 SLINKs, and 265 ALINKs. TLINKs depict the temporal relation between two events, two temporal expressions or between an event and a temporal expression. A *relType* attribute describes explicitly the nature of this relation.

Table 3 presents some of the possible values for the *relType* attribute.

relType	Example	relType	Example
Before	Έφυγε πριν να γυρίσω	Simultaneous	Όσο η Αντιγόνη έπαιζε, η Αρετή διάβαζε
After	Τον συνάντησα μετά τη γέννηση της Βιολέτας	Immediately After	Όλοι οι επιβάτες πέθαναν μόλις ανατινάχθηκε το αεροπλάνο.
Includes	Έφυγε για το χωριό την προηγούμενη Τετάρτη	Begins	Η δικτατορία διήρκεσε από το 1967 μέχρι το 1974
During	Δίδασκε σ' αυτό το σχολείο για 30 χρόνια	Ends	Η δικτατορία διήρκεσε από το 1967 μέχρι το 1974

Table 3 TLINK relation types and examples

ALINKs connect an aspectual event with another event. Table 4 presents possible values for the *relType* attribute of ALINKs, together with indicative examples.

relType	Example
initiates	άρχισε να πουλάει την περιουσία του
culminates	ολοκλήρωσε τη συμφωνία με τους Άραβες
terminates	η Σπίθα σταμάτησε να γαβγίζει
continues	συνέχισε να την ενοχλεί
reinitiates	ξανάρχισαν να παίζουν

Table 4 ALINK relation types and examples

Finally, SLINKs are used for all relations between events in subordination structures (

Table 5). SLINK *relTypes* include the value *modal* for references to a possible world; *evidential* and *neg_evidential* for connections of a reporting or perception event to its argument; *factive* and *counter_factive* in relations that imply something about the veracity of an argument; and *conditional* between verbs in conditional and apodosis clauses.

relType	Example
modal	η λύση αυτή προϋποθέτει το συμβιβασμό των 2 πλευρών
evidential	είπε ότι αγόρασε τα βιβλία
neg_evidential	αρνήθηκε ότι χτύπησε το σκυλάκι
Factive	κατάφεραν να το αποκτήσουν
counter_factive	ματαίωσαν τη συμφωνία
conditional	αν προκριθούν στον τελικό, θα πάρουν και τον τίτλο

Table 5 SLINK relation types and examples

4. Conclusions and Future Work

We have presented an ongoing effort for the creation of a Greek Event Annotated Corpus, which has also been annotated for temporal expressions. The annotation was based on a TimeML annotation scheme adapted to the Greek language. Next steps in this line of research include annotation of temporal, aspectual and subordination links between events and temporal expressions. Prokopidis et al. (2009) have reported on work for the development of a TIMEX recognizer. Based on the annotation effort presented in the current paper, we plan to augment our pipeline of NLP tools with an event recognizer. Besides the temporal aspect of events, we are currently experimenting with the creation of a spatial annotation scheme.

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GENDER ASSIGNMENT AND GENDER AGREEMENT IN CHILD GREEK L2¹

Irini Konta

Aristotle University of Thessaloniki, Greece

ekonta@lit.auth.gr

ABSTRACT

The present study investigates the performance of Turkish-speaking child L2 learners of Greek of different proficiency levels on gender assignment and gender agreement in Greek compared to monolingual controls. Results indicate that performance increases with increased proficiency level, although accuracy levels of even advanced child L2 learners on gender agreement remain relatively low. Furthermore, morpho-phonological cues seem to play a more important role in the gender assignment task, while semantic cues are significant in the gender agreement task, as they affect all participant groups' performance in the latter task.

Keywords: child L2 acquisition, gender assignment, gender agreement, morpho-phonological cues, semantic cues

1. Introduction

Gender acquisition is considered to be particularly difficult for adult L2 learners. According to the Failed Functional Features Hypothesis grammatical gender is impossible to acquire if the L1 does not have grammatical gender (Hawkins and Franceschina 2004). Another group of researchers claims that adult L2 learners can acquire gender, as their performance increases with increased proficiency level, and that they may have the abstract gender representations but experience a mapping problem between abstract features and their surface forms (White et al. 2004). Recently it has been suggested that child L2 acquisition may also differ from L1 acquisition when age of onset of acquisition is later than 4 years (Meisel 2009) or when input is below a certain threshold (Unsworth 2008). It has even been suggested that L2 children may have intact underlying representations but experience mapping problems (Chondrogianni et al. 2011).

Although the difficulty in distinguishing between gender assignment and gender agreement is acknowledged, researchers often use the gender of the determiners in order to tap on gender assignment and the gender of the adjectives in order to tap on gender agreement. There is evidence that both L2 children and adults perform better on determiners than adjectives, as in the latter case they need not only possess the correct gender specifications but also retrieve the correct adjective, which is more cognitively demanding (Montrul and Potowski 2007, Dewaele and Véronique 2001).

The role of linguistic variables on gender acquisition has also been examined, although the picture is not very clear. There are indications that in gender assignment L2 learners rely primarily on morpho-phonological rules based on noun endings (Holmes and de la Bâtie 1999) although according to another study semantic cues also play some role as L2 learners perform better when morpho-phonological and semantic cues coincide (Oliphant 1998). On the other hand, semantic cues (natural gender) have been found to facilitate processing of gender agreement for both native speakers and L2 learners, while morpho-phonological cues had facilitatory effects only for native speakers (Alarcón 2009). Furthermore, studies using error induction procedures have shown that native speakers of Italian and French make more gender agreement errors when there is a discrepancy between natural and grammatical gender (Vigliocco and Franck 2001).

¹ This research was carried out as part of the author's PhD dissertation for which she has received a grant from the State Scholarships Foundation of Greece.

Turning to the two languages relevant to the present study, Turkish is a language without grammatical gender, whereas Greek has a tripartite gender distinction: masculine, feminine, neuter. Grammatical gender in Greek can be, to some extent, computed on the basis of semantic and morpho-phonological properties of nouns (Anastasiadi-Symeonidi and Chila-Markopoulou 2003). More specifically, it has been claimed that certain noun endings are prototypically masculine, feminine or neuter. On the other hand, [+animate] masculine nouns with masculine referents and [+animate] feminine nouns with feminine referents are semantically prototypical, whereas [-animate] masculine and feminine nouns are semantically non-prototypical, while the inverse holds for neuter nouns: [-animate] neuter nouns are semantically prototypical and [+animate] neuter nouns are semantically non-prototypical, as in this case there is a clash between natural and grammatical gender.²

Acquisition studies in L1 (Gavriilidou and Efthymiou 2003) and L2 Greek (Varlokosta 2005) have shown that both Greek preschool children and Turkish children acquiring Greek as an L2 perform better in gender assignment when nouns are prototypical with respect to gender, i.e. when morpho-phonological and semantic cues coincide. Furthermore, Gavriilidou and Efthymiou (2003) claim that preschool children rely primarily on morpho-phonological cues –and only secondarily on semantic cues– when assigning gender to Greek nouns³ as well as that there is gradation of prototypicality even within the prototypical categories⁴. Additionally, studies on gender agreement in L2 Greek indicate that the neuter form of the adjective, which is considered to be the default and the most easily accessible, is usually overgeneralized, although another main type of error attested consists in the phonological matching between nominal and adjectival endings (Agathopoulou et al. 2008). Finally, it should be noted that native speakers of Greek sometimes perform semantic instead of grammatical gender agreement when there is a discrepancy between the two (Chila-Markopoulou 2003).

In this study we examine (a) gender assignment as well as gender agreement in Turkish-speaking child L2 learners of Greek and (b) the role of different linguistic variables (type of ending versus semantic prototypicality) in the two tasks. The question of whether the L2 learners' performance should be attributed to their underlying knowledge or to performance issues is also touched upon.

More specifically, the following research hypotheses have been formulated:

- (a) Native speakers of Greek (NS) will have higher accuracy than child L2 learners of Greek (NNS) on both tasks (Montrul and Potowski 2007).
- (b) NNS' accuracy will increase according to their proficiency level (White et al. 2004).
- (c) If NNS have acquired gender representations, but experience mapping-accessibility problems, they will score higher on gender assignment than gender agreement, which is a cognitively more demanding task (Montrul and Potowski 2007).
- (d) NNS will have higher accuracy on semantically prototypical nouns (Gavriilidou and Efthymiou 2003, Varlokosta 2005).
- (e) There might be a differential effect of the linguistic variables in the two tasks: noun ending might play a more important role in gender assignment (Holmes and de la Bâtie 1999) and semantic prototypicality in gender agreement (Alarcón 2009).

2. Method

2.1 Materials

Two off-line tasks were employed, one to assess gender assignment and one to assess gender agreement. Figure 1 presents an example from the gender assignment task on the left and an example from the gender agreement task on the right. In the gender assignment task, the participants were given pictures accompanied by the nouns depicted on the pictures and were asked to choose the correct definite article for each noun. In the gender agreement task, the participants were presented with two pictures showing the same referent. The two pictures of the referents differed with respect to a specific property, for example size (e.g. a big umbrella and a small umbrella). One of the pictures was circled and the participants had to use an adjective to refer to the circled referent. Both tasks included the same nouns. In particular, 64 nouns with 8 different endings (8X8=64), 3 typically masculine (*-os*, *-as*, *-is*), 2 typically feminine (*-a*, *-i*) and 3 typically neuter (*-o*, *-i*, *-ma*), were used in both tasks. Half the nouns in

² The notion of semantic prototypicality extends beyond that of natural gender, but we leave this aside, since it goes beyond the purpose of the present paper.

³ This claim is partly based on the fact that L1 children often assign feminine gender to neuter nouns ending in *-i*.

⁴ They claim *inter alia* that masculine nouns ending in *-os* are more prototypical than those ending in *-as*, *-is*.

each ending, except ending *-ma*⁵, (4x7=28) were semantically prototypical, i.e. [+human] masculine and feminine nouns and [-animate] neuter nouns, and half were semantically non-prototypical, i.e. [-animate] masculine and feminine nouns and [+human] neuter nouns. All nouns were prototypical in terms of the morphological endings. There are however two endings that could pose additional problems for L2 learners: a) ending *-i* can mark either feminine or neuter nouns, although the ambiguity is resolved by different graphemes (<η> and <ι> respectively) and b) ending *-ma* (neuter) could get confused with ending *-a* (feminine).

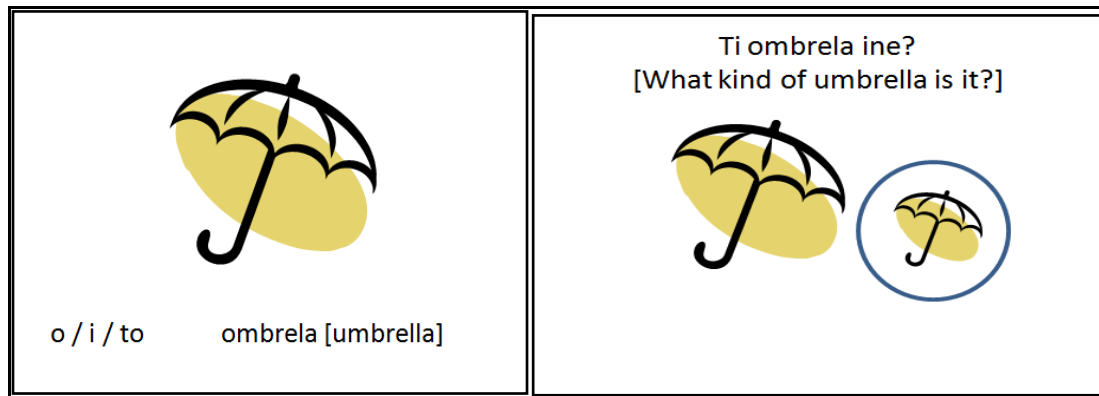


Figure 1 Examples from the gender assignment and the gender agreement task

2.2 Participants

41 native speakers of Greek (NS) and 125 Turkish-speaking learners of Greek (NNS) participated in both tasks. They were all first and second year students (aged 12-14) in four high-schools of rural areas in Western Thrace. Proficiency in Greek was measured by means of a written proficiency test, which was part of the test *Let's Speak Greek III* (Tzevelekou et al. 2003) that has been designed in order to examine Turkish-speaking children's proficiency in L2 Greek. The test was administered to both NS and NNS. NS had a mean of 21 out of a maximum of 24 (SD=2, range=17-24). NNS were divided into four proficiency levels⁶ based on the mean and the SD of the NS group: a) advanced, range 17-24, mean=19, SD=2, n=24, b) high intermediate, range 13-16, mean=15, SD=1, n=28, c) low intermediate, range 9-12, mean=11, SD=1, n=40, d) beginners, range 1-8, mean=6, SD=2, n=33. None of the L2 adolescents had parents who were native speakers of Greek. Their age of onset of acquisition wasn't examined, but Turkish-speaking children growing up in these areas of Greece are usually first exposed to Greek when they enter Primary school.

2.3 Procedure

Participants were examined orally on an individual basis by the author. The slides with the pictures and the nouns were presented on a computer screen in the form of a power-point presentation. The researcher read the questions, which were also written on the slides. The participants' answers were written down by the researcher on an answer sheet. There were three practice trials for the gender assignment task and eleven practice trials for the gender agreement task, in which the participants encountered all the adjectives used in the task. Both tasks were untimed.

⁵ All nouns ending in *-ma* were [-animate], thus semantically prototypical.

⁶ As only part of the original test was administered, NNS could not be classified according to the range of proficiency levels specified for that test. Consequently, we relied on the NS mean score and SD in order to assign them to different proficiency levels, as NNS who score within two SDs of the NS mean are generally considered to be advanced.

2.4 Data Analysis

In the gender assignment task correct responses were scored when the participants selected the correct definite article. In the gender agreement task correct responses were scored when the participants produced an adjective that agreed in gender with the corresponding noun, irrespective of whether it was suitable in terms of meaning and of whether there were any other errors in the form of the adjective. One item⁷ was excluded from the analysis due to inconsistent responses of the NS in both tasks.

Participants received 1 point for each correct response. Each participant's accuracy score, i.e. the sum of correct responses (maximum=63), was calculated for each task. Additionally, the percentage of correct responses of each participant for each ending as well as for prototypical and non-prototypical nouns were also calculated.

In order to test hypotheses (a) and (b), one-way ANOVAs with accuracy score as the dependent variable and group of participants as the independent variable were conducted for each task. When there was a main effect of group, post-hoc Games-Howell comparisons followed up in order to spot the significant differences that existed between groups. All differences reported were significant at $p < .05$ or higher. Hypothesis (c) was tested by means of separate paired-samples t-tests that were conducted for each group of participants and examined whether accuracy scores were higher for the gender assignment than for the gender agreement task. Separate paired-samples t-tests were also used to examine whether the percentage of correct responses of each group of participants was higher for semantically prototypical versus semantically non-prototypical nouns in each task⁸, cf. hypothesis (d). Finally, in order to test for the effect of type of ending on performance on gender assignment and gender agreement, cf. hypothesis (e), separate one-way ANOVAs for each task and each group of participants were conducted with type of ending (*-os* vs *-as* vs *-is* vs *-a* vs *-i*(fem) vs *-o* vs *-i*(neut) vs *-ma*) as the independent variable and percentage of correct responses as the dependent variable. Whenever there was a significant main effect of type of ending, post-hoc Bonferroni comparisons were conducted in order to test for significant differences in accuracy levels between individual endings. Significance level was once again set at $p < .05$.

3. Results

Figure 2 presents accuracy (%) of all groups of participants in both tasks. Native speakers are at ceiling on the gender assignment task, whereas they perform 1% of errors on the gender agreement task. The accuracy levels of NNS of all proficiency levels seem relatively low. Advanced NNS, however, seem to have acquired gender specifications as they perform above 90% on the gender assignment task, but lag behind on the agreement task. Furthermore, all groups of participants have higher accuracy on gender assignment than on gender agreement and there seems to be improvement with increased proficiency for both tasks.

These results were statistically significant. More specifically, there was a main effect of group for both the gender assignment task ($F(4,161)=74.47$, $p=.000$) and the gender agreement task ($F(4,161)=196.83$, $p=.000$). Post-hoc comparisons revealed that in both tasks (a) NS had higher accuracy than all groups of NNS, (b) advanced NNS had higher accuracy than all other groups of NNS, (c) high intermediate and low intermediate NNS had higher accuracy than beginners, but (d) did not significantly differ from each other. It is however important to note that in the gender agreement task the difference between high intermediate and low intermediate NNS was approaching significance ($p=.055$). Finally, all groups of participants performed better on gender assignment than gender agreement ($t(32)=5.89$, $p=.000$, for beginners, $t(39)=11.34$, $p=.000$ for low intermediate, $t(27)=8.14$, $p=.000$ for high intermediate, $t(23)=7.29$, $p=.000$ for advanced NNS, $t(40)=4.02$, $p=.000$ for NS).

⁷ The excluded noun is the masculine noun *τοιχος* "wall", which apparently got confused with the neuter noun *τείχος*, which has a similar meaning.

⁸ Neuter nouns ending in *-ma* were not included in this analysis, as there were not any semantically non-prototypical nouns in that ending.

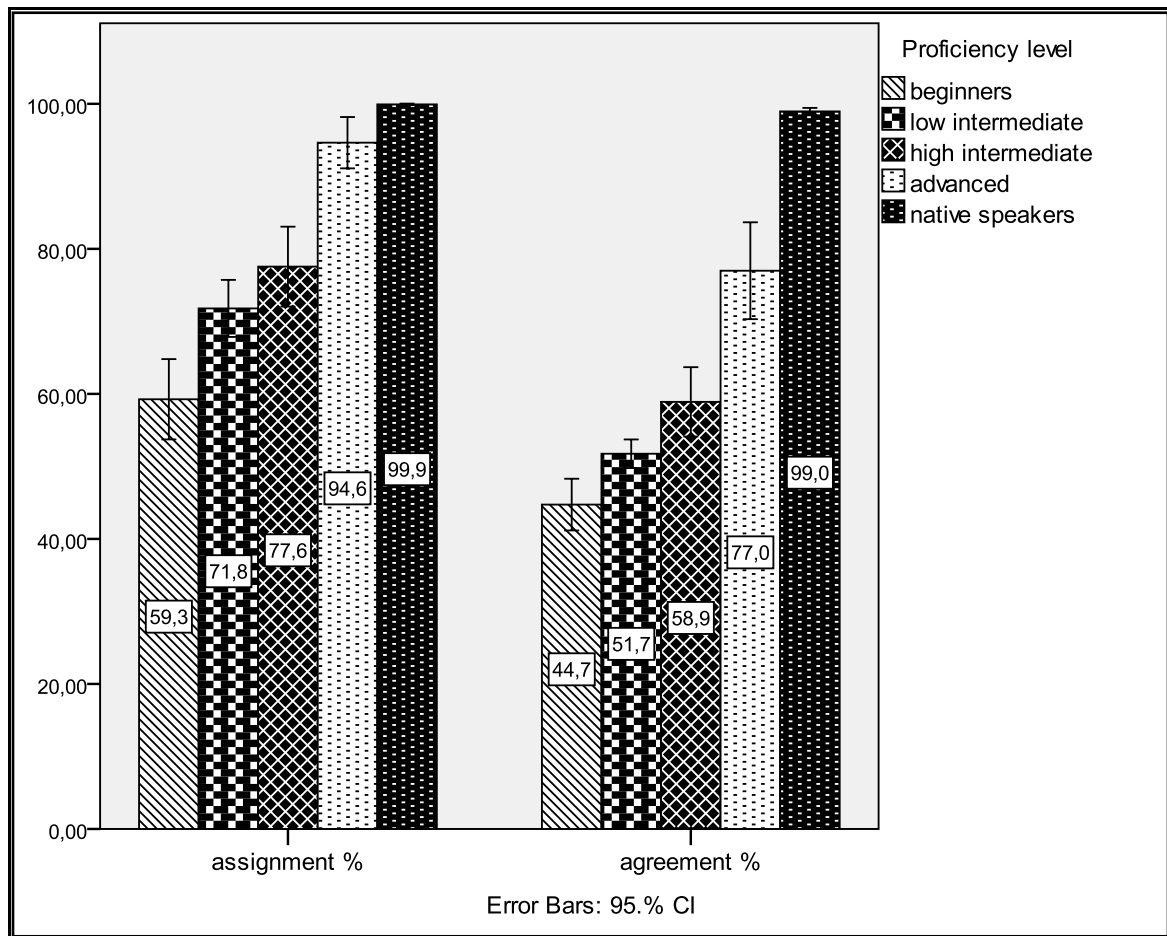


Figure 2 Accuracy (%) on gender assignment and gender agreement

Table 1 presents accuracy of each group of participants on each ending and according to the semantic prototypicality of nouns for the gender assignment task. All groups of NNS seem to perform better on semantically prototypical than on semantically non-prototypical nouns. Additionally, they all seem to obtain their lowest score on words ending in *-ma* and they also seem to perform worse on feminine nouns in *-i* than on feminine nouns in *-a* and worse on neuter nouns in *-i* than on neuter nouns in *-o*.

Statistical analyses revealed that beginners, low intermediate and high intermediate NNS had higher accuracy, i.e. higher percentage of correct responses, on semantically prototypical than on semantically non-prototypical nouns ($t(32)=7.18$, $p=.000$, $t(39)=8.33$, $p=.000$ and $t(27)=6.52$, $p=.000$ respectively). The difference was not significant for NS ($t(40)=0$, $p=1$) and it was only approaching significance for advanced NNS ($t(23)=1.93$, $p=.066$) probably due to ceiling effects. Additionally, there was a main effect of ending for all groups of NNS ($F(4.39,140.52)=6.96$, $p=.000$ for beginners, $F(3.68,143.50)=17.88$, $p=.000$ for low intermediate, $F(4.05,109.40)=4.67$, $p=.002$ for high intermediate, $F(1.67,38.45)=4.73$, $p=.02$ for advanced NNS) but not for NS ($F(7,280)=.85$, $p=.54$).

According to post-hoc analyses, beginners' accuracy was higher on:

- (a) masculine nouns in *-os* than on masculine nouns in *-as* and *-is*,
- (b) feminine nouns in *-a* than on masculine nouns in *-is* and neuter nouns in *-i* and *-ma*,
- (c) feminine nouns in *-i* than on masculine nouns in *-is*.

Low intermediate NNS had higher accuracy on:

- (a) masculine nouns in *-os* than on masculine nouns in *-as* and *-is*, feminine nouns in *-i* and neuter nouns in *-o*, *-i*, *-ma*,

- (b) feminine nouns in *-a* than on masculine nouns in *-is*, feminine nouns in *-i* and neuter nouns in *-i* and *-ma*,
- (c) masculine nouns in *-as* than on masculine nouns in *-is* and neuter nouns in *-ma*,
- (d) feminine nouns in *-i* than on neuter nouns in *-ma* and
- (e) neuter nouns in *-o* than on neuter nouns in *-i* and *-ma*.

High intermediate NNS had higher accuracy on:

- (a) masculine nouns in *-os* than on masculine nouns in *-is* and neuter nouns in *-i*,
- (b) feminine nouns in *-a* than on neuter nouns in *-o* and *-i*.

Unexpectedly, performance on ending *-ma* was not significantly different from performance on any other ending, although accuracy on that ending was particularly low (67%). Advanced NNS had higher accuracy⁹ on:

- (a) masculine nouns in *-os* and feminine nouns in *-a* than on feminine nouns in *-i* and neuter nouns in *-ma*,
- (b) masculine nouns in *-as* and *-is* and neuter nouns in *-o* than on neuter nouns in *-ma*.

It seems thus that all groups of NNS exhibited a similar pattern of performance: they all scored worse on ending *-ma*, although the difference was not always reflected in the statistics, and all groups, except advanced NNS, also scored worse on ending *-is*. Accuracy on neuter and feminine nouns in *-i* was also relatively low.

Gender	Ending	Semantic Prototypicality	Beginners	Low Intermediate	High Intermediate	Advanced	NS
Masc.	<i>-os</i>	Prot.	75 (30)	96 (10)	96 (15)	100 (0)	100 (0)
		Non-prot.	61 (35)	78 (29)	75 (35)	94 (19)	100 (0)
	<i>-as</i>	Prot.	70 (28)	92 (19)	90 (21)	100 (0)	100 (0)
		Non-prot.	42 (29)	65 (40)	66 (33)	93 (25)	100 (0)
	<i>-is</i>	Prot.	53 (35)	73 (32)	81 (27)	99 (5)	100 (0)
		Non-prot.	36 (29)	48 (34)	63 (36)	94 (22)	100 (0)
Fem.	<i>-a</i>	Prot.	86 (23)	97 (8)	97 (8)	100 (0)	100 (0)
		Non-prot.	56 (33)	75 (28)	79 (29)	99 (5)	100 (0)
	<i>-i</i>	Prot.	91 (20)	94 (14)	98 (7)	98 (7)	99 (4)
		Nonprot.	52 (33)	57 (33)	62 (30)	89 (22)	100 (0)
Neut.	<i>-o</i>	Prot.	69 (31)	91 (19)	94 (15)	100 (0)	100 (0)
		Non-prot.	50 (31)	59 (29)	57 (29)	94 (15)	99 (4)
	<i>-i</i>	Prot.	59 (35)	81 (24)	87 (21)	99 (5)	100 (0)
		Non-prot.	48 (36)	48 (29)	61 (31)	92 (22)	100 (0)
	<i>-ma</i>		50 (28)	48 (30)	67 (29)	82 (29)	100 (0)

Table 1 Correct performance in the gender assignment task (%). SDs in parentheses

Table 2 presents accuracy for each participant group on each ending and according to the semantic prototypicality of nouns for the gender agreement task. The NS seem to perform errors almost exclusively on semantically non-prototypical neuter nouns in *-o* and *-i*, i.e. when there is conflict between natural and grammatical gender. All groups of NNS have higher accuracy on semantically prototypical than on semantically non-prototypical nouns and the differences seem bigger than in the gender assignment task, as performance on non-prototypical nouns is extremely low for beginners, low intermediate and high intermediate NNS and remains relatively low even for advanced NNS. Finally, NNS exhibit one of their best scores on nouns ending in *-ma*, contrary to what has been observed in the gender agreement task.

⁹ For advanced NNS, Bonferroni comparisons failed to reveal any significant differences among different endings. For that reason, multiple comparisons without any adjustment (Least Significant Difference) were conducted.

Gender	Ending	Semantic Prototypicality	Beginners	Low Intermediate	High Intermediate	Advanced	NS
Masc.	-os	Prot.	64 (38)	83 (28)	90 (17)	94 (17)	100 (0)
		Non-prot.	18 (26)	22 (26)	27 (31)	65 (41)	100 (0)
	-as	Prot.	64 (29)	84 (22)	91 (14)	95 (16)	100 (0)
		Non-prot.	5 (12)	4 (14)	21 (27)	47 (40)	100 (0)
	-is	Prot.	69 (33)	83 (21)	88 (21)	97 (11)	100 (0)
		Non-prot.	23 (26)	24 (29)	25 (33)	68 (34)	99 (4)
Fem.	-a	Prot.	38 (32)	46 (32)	74 (30)	91 (19)	100 (0)
		Non-prot.	16 (17)	19 (23)	25 (33)	66 (39)	100 (0)
	-i	Prot.	48 (35)	53 (32)	74 (30)	94 (11)	100 (0)
		Non-prot.	14 (19)	11 (19)	16 (28)	54 (42)	99 (4)
Neut.	-o	Prot.	76 (25)	91 (12)	90 (17)	94 (17)	100 (0)
		Non-prot.	29 (28)	29 (24)	35 (23)	64 (37)	91 (16)
	-i	Prot.	70 (27)	80 (24)	85 (23)	92 (16)	100 (0)
		Non-prot.	27 (31)	25 (29)	21 (19)	42 (37)	95 (14)
	-ma	Prot.	75 (21)	83 (20)	85 (22)	84 (17)	100 (2)
		Non-prot.					

Table 2 Correct performance in the gender agreement task (%). SDs in parentheses.

Statistical analyses revealed that all groups of participants had higher accuracy on semantically prototypical than on semantically non-prototypical nouns ($t(32)=9.44$, $p=.000$ for beginners, $t(39)=21.14$, $p=.000$ for low intermediate, $t(27)=17.71$, $p=.000$ for high intermediate, $t(23)=6.75$, $p=.000$ for advanced NNS and $t(40)=4.19$, $p=.000$ for NS). Additionally, there was also a main effect of ending for all groups of participants ($F(3.43,109.82)=19.53$, $p=.000$ for beginners, $F(2.59,101.17)=28.15$, $p=.000$ for low intermediate, $F(3.16,85.25)=13.81$, $p=.000$ for high intermediate, $F(3.22,74.11)=3.26$, $p=.02$ for advanced NNS and $F(7,280)=7.93$, $p=.000$ for NS). Post-hoc comparisons revealed that beginners had higher accuracy on:

- neuter nouns ending in *-ma* than on nouns in any other ending,
- masculine nouns in *-is* than on masculine nouns in *-as* and feminine nouns in *-a*,
- neuter nouns in *-o* than on masculine nouns in *-as* and feminine nouns in *-a* and *-i*,
- neuter nouns in *-i* than on feminine nouns in *-a*.

Low intermediate NNS exhibited higher accuracy on:

- neuter nouns in *-ma* than on nouns in any other ending,
- masculine nouns in *-os* and neuter nouns in *-o* than on masculine nouns in *-as* and feminine nouns in *-a* and *-i*,
- masculine nouns in *-as* and neuter nouns in *-i* than on feminine nouns in *-i*,
- masculine nouns in *-is* than on feminine nouns in *-a* and *-i*.

High intermediate NNS performed better on:

- neuter nouns in *-ma* than on nouns in any other ending,
- masculine nouns in *-os* than on feminine nouns in *-i*,
- neuter nouns in *-o* than on feminine and neuter nouns in *-i*.

Advanced NNS performed better on:

- neuter nouns in *-ma* than on neuter nouns in *-i*,
- masculine nouns in *-is* than on masculine nouns in *-as*.

NS exhibited higher accuracy on masculine nouns in *-os* and *-as* and feminine nouns in *-a* and *-i* than on neuter nouns in *-o*, due to the fact that they scored low on semantically non-prototypical neuter nouns ending in *-o*. It seems thus that there is a common pattern in the performance of all groups of NNS in that they all exhibit their best performance on neuter nouns ending in *-ma*. What is particularly interesting is the fact that this pattern of performance is very different from the pattern exhibited in gender assignment, where NNS obtained low scores on nouns ending in *-ma*.

4. Discussion

Our research hypotheses have been confirmed to a large extent. NS have higher accuracy than NNS on both tasks and NNS' performance improves according to their proficiency level. Furthermore, all groups of participants (even NS) perform better on gender assignment than gender agreement, indicating that some of the problems the NNS face may be related to performance issues. It is evident that all groups of NNS have not acquired the correct gender specifications yet, as their scores on gender assignment are relatively low. Advanced NNS however seem to have acquired the underlying gender representations, as they reach the 90% criterion in the gender assignment task, and seem to be encountering performance issues in the gender agreement task. This finding is not surprising because this latter task is more demanding, as the participants need not only perform gender agreement but also select the appropriate adjective. The finding that L2 children perform better on gender assignment (i.e. determiners) than gender agreement (adjectives) is also corroborated by previous studies (cf. Montrul and Potowski 2007).

Turning to the role of the linguistic variables in the two tasks, there are effects of type of ending and semantic prototypicality for both tasks. More specifically, the type of ending affected all L2 groups' responses in the gender assignment task and all groups' responses (even NS) in the gender agreement task. Furthermore, semantic prototypicality had an impact on all L2 groups' performance except for advanced NNS, for who it only approaches significance, in the gender assignment task and on all groups' performance in the gender agreement task. Moreover, the difference in accuracy between semantically prototypical and semantically non-prototypical nouns that share the same endings is bigger in the gender agreement than in the gender assignment task, as in the former task the NNS' scores on semantically non-prototypical nouns are extremely low. It seems thus at first sight that both morpho-phonological and semantic cues play an important role in both tasks and that their role is more pronounced in the gender agreement task as they have a global effect on all groups' accuracy in the latter task.

Closer inspection reveals a different picture though. The pattern of performance of the NNS with respect to noun endings is completely different in the two tasks. In the gender assignment task all groups of NNS exhibit particularly low scores on neuter nouns ending in *-ma* and relatively low scores on feminine and neuter nouns ending in *-i*, while beginners, low and high intermediate NNS also exhibit particularly low scores on masculine nouns ending in *-is*. In the gender agreement task on the other hand, all groups of NNS exhibit particularly high scores on neuter nouns ending in *-ma*, beginners and low intermediates also exhibit low scores on feminine nouns in *-a* and *-i* and all groups of NNS except high intermediate have low accuracy on masculine nouns in *-as*. Finally, NS perform relatively poorly on neuter nouns in *-o*. The pattern of performance of NNS in the gender assignment task can be explained if we assume that they rely primarily on morpho-phonological rules for assigning gender to unknown nouns. Neuter nouns ending in *-ma* are more opaque with respect to gender, as ending *-a* usually marks feminine nouns, and ending *-i* is not transparent either in oral speech as it can denote either feminine or neuter nouns. Finally, low scores on masculine nouns in *-is* can be accounted for by assuming that NNS got confused by the phoneme [i] of the ending, which, as stated above, marks feminine and neuter nouns. It is important to note that Gavrilidou and Efthymiou (2003) also report that L1 children assigned feminine gender to neuter nouns ending in *-i* to a large extent and also exhibited lower accuracy on masculine nouns ending in *-as* and *-is* than on masculine nouns ending in *-os*. Furthermore, their conclusion that L1 preschool children rely primarily on morpho-phonological cues and only secondarily on semantic cues is partly based on these findings. The performance in the gender agreement task on the other hand cannot be explained if we assume reliance on morpho-phonological rules. Rather, it seems that performance on different type of endings in this task is interrelated with other factors, such as semantic prototypicality and gender. The pattern of performance of NS implies that they performed worse when there was discrepancy between natural and grammatical gender, i.e. on semantically non-prototypical neuter nouns. This finding is not surprising given the fact that there are studies indicating that NS sometimes perform semantic agreement when there is clash between natural and grammatical gender (cf. Vigliocco and Franck 2001, Chila-Markopoulou 2003). The high performance of NNS on neuter nouns in *-ma* can be attributed to the fact that they overgeneralized the neuter form of the adjective for [-animate] nouns, which is reasonable based on the fact that L2 learners of Greek often overgeneralize the neuter form of the adjectives (cf. Agathopoulou et al. 2008, among others). Furthermore, poor performance of low proficiency levels of NNS on feminine nouns in *-a* and *-i* can be accounted for by the problems the L2 learners faced with the feminine form of the adjective. Finally, the NNS' low performance on masculine nouns in *-as* needs to be explained in more detail. One could assume that they rely on morpho-phonological cues, as Gavrilidou and Efthymiou (2003) also noted that L1 children had lower accuracy on masculine nouns

in *-as* and attributed the fact to morpho-phonological factors and more specifically to the thematic vowel *-a* of these nouns which coincides with the feminine ending *-a*. We do not, however, believe that this is the case, as there are no other indications of reliance on morpho-phonological cues in this task. On the contrary, we believe that more idiosyncratic factors may explain this pattern of performance, as 3 out of the 4 semantically non-prototypical nouns in *-as* yielded a color adjective and the neuter form of the color adjectives is most commonly used.

Concluding, it seems that morpho-phonological cues had a major impact in the gender assignment task (importantly, Gavriilidou and Efthymiou 2003 also tested gender assignment), whereas semantic cues played an important role in both tasks but affected the participants' performance more crucially in the gender agreement task. The fact that semantic prototypicality influenced the performance of both NS and NNS in gender agreement indicates that accuracy in that task is related to performance issues. Furthermore, the indications that the neuter form of the adjective, which is the most easily accessible form, is overgeneralized also point to mapping-accessibility problems. The present study thus indicates that some of the L2 children's agreement errors should be attributed to performance issues, although, clearly, more evidence is needed in order to reach such a conclusion.

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ACTIVE vs. NONACTIVE VOICE IN THE GREEK DIACHRONY: REAL OR APPARENT OPTIONALITY IN THE USE OF VOICE MORPHOLOGY?

Nikolaos Lavidas
Aristotle University of
Thessaloniki, Greece
nlavidas@enl.auth.gr

Georgia Fotiadou
Aristotle University of
Thessaloniki, Greece
geofotia@enl.auth.gr

Ianthi Maria Tsimpli
Aristotle University of
Thessaloniki, Greece
imt@enl.auth.gr

ABSTRACT

The aim of our study is to examine the diachronic development of a set of anticausative verbs with respect to the frequency of ACT/NACT (active/nonactive) Voice morphology as well as their participation in causative (transitive) and anticausative structures. We investigate diachronic differences between verbs that synchronically mark anticausative with ACT and other verbs which express anticausative either with ACT or NACT. Significant differences between the verbs are shown in the previous periods with respect to ACT/NACT distribution, while anticausative readings show a similar diachronic development of Voice marking regardless of the Lexical Conceptual Structure (LCS) of the verb class. We propose that this is caused by a change in the features of NACT morphology from a period when syntactic movement (internal Merge) of an internal argument to the subject position needs to be morphologically marked with (NACT) Voice morphology to the stage attested today where syntactic movement does not need to be marked with Voice morphology.

Keywords: Voice morphology, anticausatives, verbs of two forms (“δίτυπιάς”), diachrony

1. Introduction

The aims of our study are to investigate (a) why anticausative readings are primarily expressed with active (ACT) morphology in Modern Greek (MG) verbs, and (b) why, in earlier periods, the active/nonactive (ACT/NACT) alternation was consistent while in MG the relevant alternation appears to be relatively inconsistent. To approach these aims, we will examine the diachronic development of a set of anticausative verbs with respect to the frequency of (a) ACT/NACT Voice morphology and (b) their participation in causative (transitive) and anticausative structures. In this respect, we will search for diachronic differences between verbs that synchronically mark anticausative with ACT exclusively and verbs that express anticausative readings either with ACT or NACT morphology (verbs of two forms, “δίτυπιάς”, according to Theophanopoulou-Kontou 2004).

The outline of the study is as follows: (i) we present the MG classes of anticausatives based on Voice marking and our selection of verbs that either retain the ACT form in both the causative and anticausative version of the alternation or express anticausative either with ACT or NACT. (ii) We examine the frequency of ACT and NACT with these verbs diachronically, the frequency of anticausative interpretations, the transitive uses and the role of the animacy feature on the syntactic subject. (iii) We compare the development of the verbs that are only ACT in MG with the development of the verbs that can have ACT or NACT Voice morphology (*katharise/katharistike* ‘cleaned’). Our proposal will be that ACT spread (from the prototypical use of ACT in unergatives) to all verbs with single-argument representation in the syntactic structure due to or in parallel with a change in the properties of NACT.

1.1 Modern vs. Ancient Greek ACT and NACT uses

With regard to Voice marking, there are three classes of verbs with anticausative readings in MG: (i) verbs that are marked with ACT (*eklise* 'closed-ACT'); (ii) verbs that are marked either with ACT or with NACT (*lerose/lerothike* 'got-dirtied-ACT/NACT'); (iii) verbs that are marked with NACT (*skistike* 'got-torn-NACT').

- (1) *I porta eklise (apo ton aera).*
ART.NOM.SG door:NOM.SG close:ACT.PST.PFV.3SG (by ART.ACC.SG wind:ACC.SG)
'The door was closed (by the wind).'
- (2) *Ta ruha lerosan/lerothikan apo ti boja.*
ART.NOM.PL cloth:NOM.PL get-dirty:ACT/NACT.PST.PFV.3PL by ART.ACC.SG paint:ACC.SG
'The clothes got dirty from the paint.'
- (3) *I simea skistike apo ton aera.*
ART.NOM.SG flag:NOM.SG get-torn:NACT.PST.PFV.3SG by ART.ACC.SG wind:ACC.SG
'The flag got torn by the wind.'

Verbs that denote both internally (*sapise* 'rotted') and externally-caused (*eklise* 'closed', *espase* 'broke') change of state are included in the first class, while externally-caused change of state verbs are included in the second (verbs of two forms/"ditipia" verbs; *katharise* 'cleaned', *tsalakose* 'crumpled', *tripise* 'pierced') and the third class (only NACT; *afksithike* 'increased', *miothike* 'diminished', *skistike* 'got-torn') (Theophanopoulou-Kontou 1983-4, 2004, Tsimpli 1989, 2006, Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou 2004, Roussou 2009, Alexiadou 2010, Manzini, Roussou & Savoia [to appear]). The third class is consistent and diachronically stable in the use of NACT as a transitivity change marker (Lavidas 2009), and will not be examined further in the present study.

The general picture shows that anticausative verbs differ with respect to (i) Voice (only ACT in causative and anticausative vs. optionality in the use of ACT/NACT in the anticausative form¹) and (ii) Lexical Conceptual Structure (LCS) (internally and externally caused change of state verbs in the first class vs. only externally caused change of state verbs in the other classes). On the other hand, the diachronic pattern of both classes is similar, since both started with only NACT for anticausative readings and ACT strengthened later in their development (Lavidas 2009). In this article, we will examine the role of the animacy feature and the presence or absence of a correlation between the spread of ACT in anticausatives and the changes in the distribution of ACT/NACT regardless of readings, the LCS differences, and the frequencies of causative vs. anticausative uses. Diachronic differences which do not necessarily pertain to Voice marking can be observed within verb classes as well: minimal changes in the stem (*vrasso/vratto* – *vrazo* 'boil') are attested, different stems are used in parallel for some period of time with only one surviving eventually (*tēkō* / *tēkomai* – *liono* 'melt'), and, finally and most frequently, prefixed forms of these verbs are attested in earlier periods but are lost now. We exclude prefixed verb forms from our present study and examine different stems separately.

We initially considered the change in the use of NACT morphology as a potential effect of the differences in the LCS of these verbs (one-place predicates vs. two-place predicates; Levin 1993, Levin and Rappaport Hovav 1995, 2005); however, *klino* and *sapizo* both belong to the first class in terms of disallowing NACT morphology although *klino* is an externally-caused change of state verb while *sapizo* an internally-caused one. Evidence for the differences in the LCS can be provided (1) by considering subject animacy: one-place predicates (internally-caused verbs) prefer inanimate subjects regardless of Voice marking while two-place predicates (externally-caused verbs) should show an interaction between Voice morphology and animacy (they should prefer animate subjects when marked ACT) – and (2) by considering the frequency of transitive uses: two-place predicates should be more frequent in transitive uses than one-place predicates.

In AG Voice morphology changes were consistent in that all anticausative classes of MG were marked with NACT² when the structure was anticausative while all causative uses of the same verbs were marked as ACT (even though NACT was allowed in other cases of transitive uses; Table 1)

¹ but only with inanimate subjects ("ditipias" verbs).

² Ancient Greek has a complex nonactive voice system: "middle" (or "mediopassive") endings in all tenses, and additional "passive" suffixes only in the Aorist and Future tense. "Middle"/"mediopassive" endings are not excluded from a passive reading, and "passive" endings can be used with a non-passive reading, i.e. with an anticausative interpretation or even in a transitive construction. Mainly for this reason (cf. also Lavidas 2009: 79), we call "nonactive" all endings that are different from the active endings and are traditionally called "middle" (or "mediopassive") or "passive".

(Lavidas 2009). NACT in AG can be seen as a marker of the internal argument displacement (or derived subject) with no reference to the presence or absence of an external argument.

AG verbs	Voice morphology
a. all three classes of anticausatives	NACT <i>etákēn, etēkhthēn</i> ‘melted’ <i>ekathērámēn, ekathárthēn</i> ‘cleaned’ <i>ēuksēhēn</i> ‘increased’
b. transitives	both ACT and NACT (self-beneficent interpretation) <i>paraskeuázō</i> <i>naûn</i> <i>prepare:ACT.PRS.1SG</i> <i>ship:ACC.SG</i> <i>‘I prepare a ship.’</i> <i>paraskeuázomai</i> <i>naûn</i> <i>prepare:NACT.PRS.1SG</i> <i>ship:ACC.SG</i> <i>‘I prepare a ship for myself.’</i>
c. causatives	only ACT
d. passives	NACT (few instances of ACT)
e. reflexives	NACT

Table 1 Voice morphology in AG³

2. The Data

The verbs examined are: *klino* ‘close’, *stegnono* ‘dry’, *liono* ‘melt’, *sapizo* ‘rot’, *vrazo* ‘boil’ (Voice non-alternating anticausatives/first class). Our aim was to look for similarities and differences between them. We compared these Voice non-alternating verbs with a Voice alternating verb (*katharizo* ‘clean’; second class; it exhibits “ditipia” i.e. both ACT and NACT in MG) to establish differences diachronically. The periods examined are AG, Hellenistic-Roman Greek (HRG), Medieval Greek (MedG) and MG. *Klino* ‘close’ is considered a Voice non-alternating anticausative in MG although we will show that it is different from the other verbs of the first class and more similar to *katharizo* ‘clean’ (which is a “ditipias” verb) in LCS (both synchronically and diachronically) and the related variables (animacy and transitive uses). Hence, the four parameters of our study are: frequency of ACT vs. NACT Voice morphology, Voice marking with anticausative reading, subject animacy, and frequency of transitive uses.

Since our aim is to compare results from different corpora, we decided to base our study on the whole Institute for Language and Speech Processing (hence ILSP) corpus, available on <http://hnc.ilsp.gr>⁴ and the whole Thesaurus Linguae Graecae (TLG) corpus, available on <http://www.tlg.uci.edu/> (written register, mainly formal):

(i) MG: ILSP corpus;

(ii) AG (8BC – 3BC), HRG (3BC – AD4), MedG (mainly AD12 – AD15): TLG online corpus; AD5 – AD11: early medieval texts were also included but only in an attempt to find the earliest appearance of ACT marking in anticausatives (and are not further discussed in the present paper).

Of course, a lot of limitations and methodological difficulties can be met in such studies: for example, the constant updating of both corpora makes searches not completely repeatable; the small number of examples of the targeted interpretations forces us to collect raw data from the TLG and ILSP as a whole, i.e. not to be sensitive to register, geographical location etc, and not to be fully representative of vernacular Greek. Nevertheless, some relevant trends can be observed. Furthermore, we examined sentences with only 3rd person (singular or plural) forms of these verbs (to avoid any possible person effect) and we had to ignore data from the AG period since most of our verbs (with the specific meanings) first appeared in HRG.

³ Cf., among many others, Goodwin 1978 [1894], Kühner & Gerth 1963 [1898-1904], Gildersleeve 1900, Stahl 1907, Smyth 1984 [1920], Meillet & Vendryes 1924, Humbert 1945, Schwyzler 1943 [1942], Schwyzler & Debrunner 1950, Jankuhn 1969, Duhoux 2000², Allan 2003, Luraghi 2010.

⁴ The ILSP corpus seems to be closer to the TLG corpus that contains a variety of registers, most of them (written and) formal.

Verbs	First Attestation
<i>stegnóō/stegnóno</i>	HRG
<i>tēkō</i>	Homeric Greek; ‘melt’, often prefixed <i>eks-</i> , <i>en-</i> , <i>sun-</i>
<i>leiōō/óno</i>	HRG; mainly with the meaning ‘make smooth, be polished, smoothed, pound fine, emulsify’ / Medieval Greek: ‘melt’
<i>sēpō</i>	Homeric; ‘make rotten’
<i>sapízo</i>	MedG; formed on the basis of the AG 3pl Aorist <i>esápēsan</i>
<i>vráso/tto/zo</i>	HRG; meaning ‘shake violently, throw up’ (cf. MG: <i>ksevrázi/ete</i>), and ‘boil’
<i>klíno</i>	AG (<i>kleiō</i>); but most of the examples with a prefix <i>kata-</i> , <i>ek-</i> , <i>apo-</i> , <i>peri-</i> , <i>sun-</i> [we do not include prefixed classes of <i>kleiō</i> in the present data]
<i>katharízo</i>	HRG (we leave the data of <i>kathairō</i> open for future research)

Table 2 Our corpora: dates and limitations

The criteria we used to identify anticausative readings included the presence of PPs or DPs in the dative/genitive (or subordinate clauses) denoting a Cause argument and not an Agent, and the absence of explicit or implicit agentivity on the basis of the context (examples of sentences with anticausative or passive reading are given in 4a and b). Hence, we coded for explicit (PPs, DPs-dative, etc) and implicit (derived from context) cause, Voice morphology, and subject animacy.

(4) a. anticausative reading

katháper kai hai tōn balaneíōn thúrai automátōs
just-as and ART.NOM.PL ART.GEN.PL bath:GEN.PL door:NOM.PL by-themselves
kleíontai
close:NACT.PRS.3PL

‘Just as the doors of the baths close by themselves.’

(Heron Mech., Pneumatica, 1, 39, 16; AD 1)

b. passive reading

kleísthētai tò stómion hōs hupò daktúlōn
close:NACT(PASS).FUT.3SG ART.NOM.SG mouth:NOM.SG as by finger:GEN.PL
tinōn
some:GEN.PL

‘The mouth will be closed as if by some fingers.’

(Galenus Med., De simpl. med. temp. ac fac. xi., 11, 752, 18; AD 2)

Finally, in order to address the question of LCS differences between the two verb classes, we coded for transitive uses of the verbs under discussion (two-place predicates should prefer transitive uses) and subject animacy (animate/inanimate) in the transitive and anticausative uses (two-place predicate should prefer animate subjects with ACT Voice).

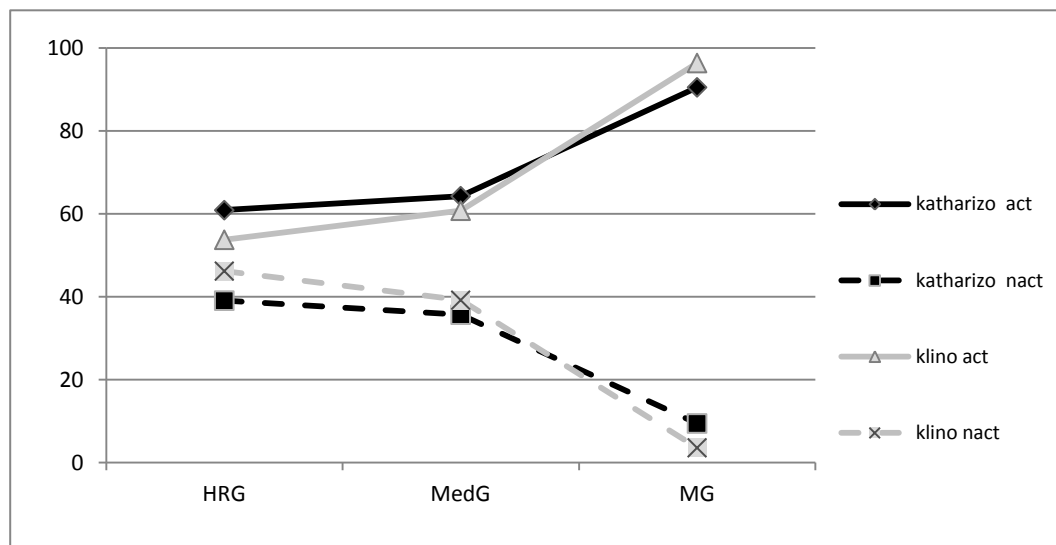
3. Results and Discussion

For ease of exposure, we first analyse data with regard to frequency of ACT and NACT Voice marking and then proceed to the analyses of the other variables tested, i.e. anticausative reading with ACT and NACT verb morphology, animacy of the syntactic subject (both with ACT and NACT verb forms) and, finally, frequency of transitive vs. anticausative readings (with ACT verb forms)⁵.

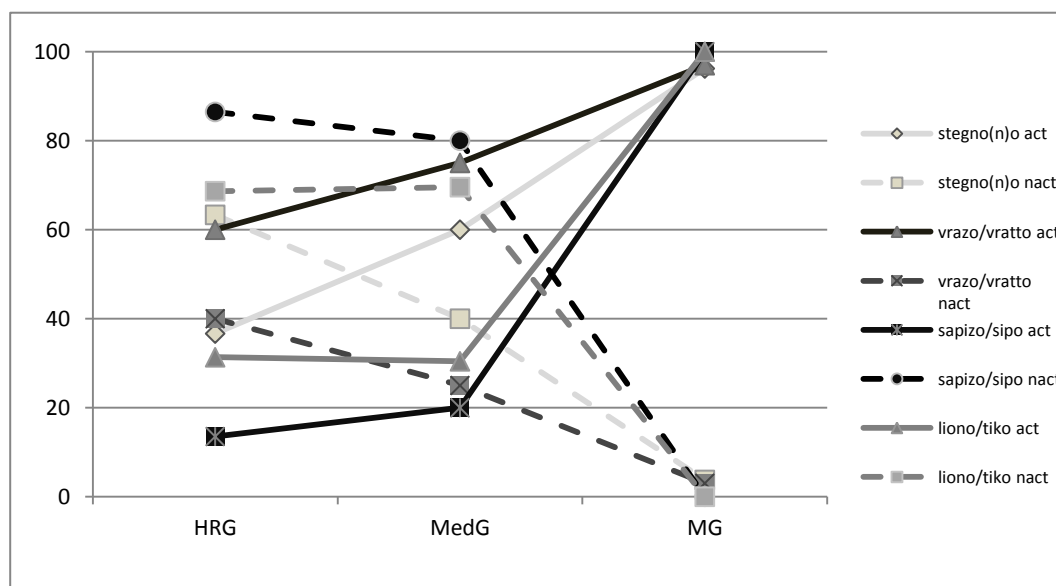
Starting with the distribution of the morphological marking of Voice, the results show that the frequency of ACT Voice morphology increased and NACT decreased throughout the different periods

⁵ When statistical data are provided, MedG corresponds to the period AD12 – AD15 (and not to the Early Medieval subperiod (AD5 – AD11) as well).

examined, as shown in Graphs 1 and 2, although not all of the verbs have the same equal distribution of ACT/NACT⁶:



Graph 1 Diachronic change in the distribution of the ACT vs. NACT Voice morphology (%): the verbs *katharizo* ‘clean’ and *klino* ‘close’

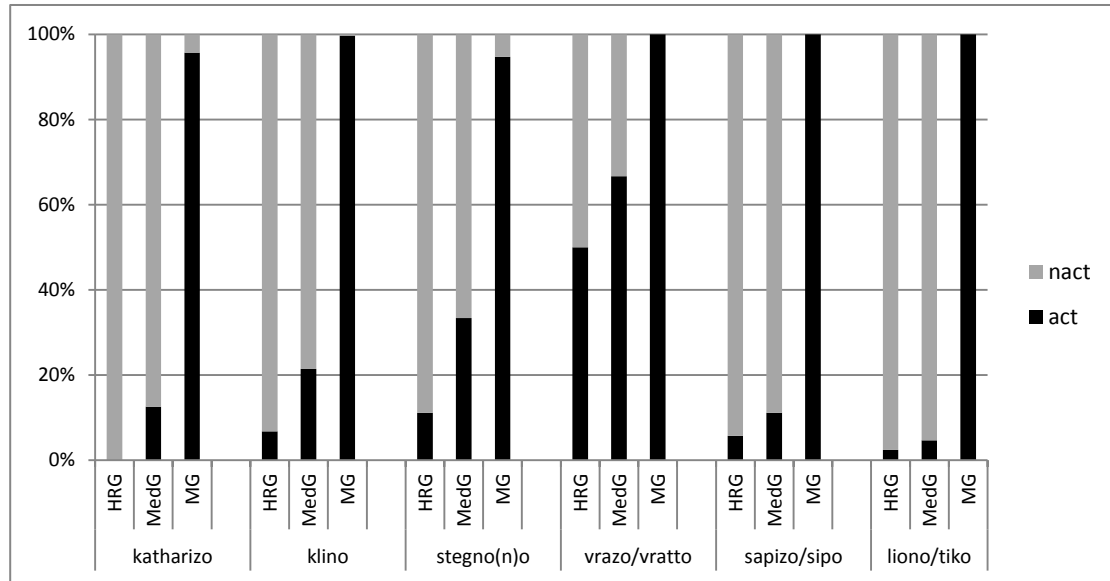


Graph 2 Diachronic change of the distribution of the ACT vs. NACT Voice morphology (%): the verbs *stegno* ‘dry’, *vrazo* ‘boil’ and *sapizo* ‘rot’

All the verbs presented are shown to favour ACT verb marking in MG, though significant differences between the verbs are shown in the previous periods with respect to their distribution. More specifically, *sapizo* and *liono* show a high preference for the NACT over the ACT marking (HRG: $\chi^2=121.786$, $p<.001$ and MedG: $\chi^2=7.200$, $p=.007$; HRG: $\chi^2=72.377$, $p<.01$ and MedG: $\chi^2=14.087$, $p<.001$ respectively). *Stegno* is more like *klino* and *katharizo*: their distribution of (N)ACT uses does not show extreme tendencies in HRG (though *klino* is more used in ACT ($\chi^2=13.535$, $p<.001$), the other two are equally used); all of them present an increase in the use of ACT in MedG ($\chi^2=5.714$, $p=.017$; $\chi^2=4.745$, $p=.029$; $\chi^2=.333$, $p=.564$ respectively), and they are almost exclusively used in ACT in MG ($\chi^2=395.588$, $p<.001$; $\chi^2=3067.404$, $p<.001$; $\chi^2=45.302$, $p<.001$ respectively). *Sapizo* and *liono* are more used in NACT until MedG ($\chi^2=7.200$, $p=.007$; $\chi^2=14.087$, $p<.001$ respectively), but they undergo an

⁶ Due to the differences in the size of the corpora, only relative frequencies are used (i.e., for example, percentage of ACT vs. NACT endings of a verb in a specific period), and not absolute frequencies.

abrupt change in MG and are exclusively used in ACT. *Vrazo* looks like *katharizo* and *klino*, though no significant differences are revealed when non-parametric chi-square tests are conducted, except for MG, where ACT morphology is significantly preferred over the NACT one ($\chi^2=203.848$, $p<.001$).



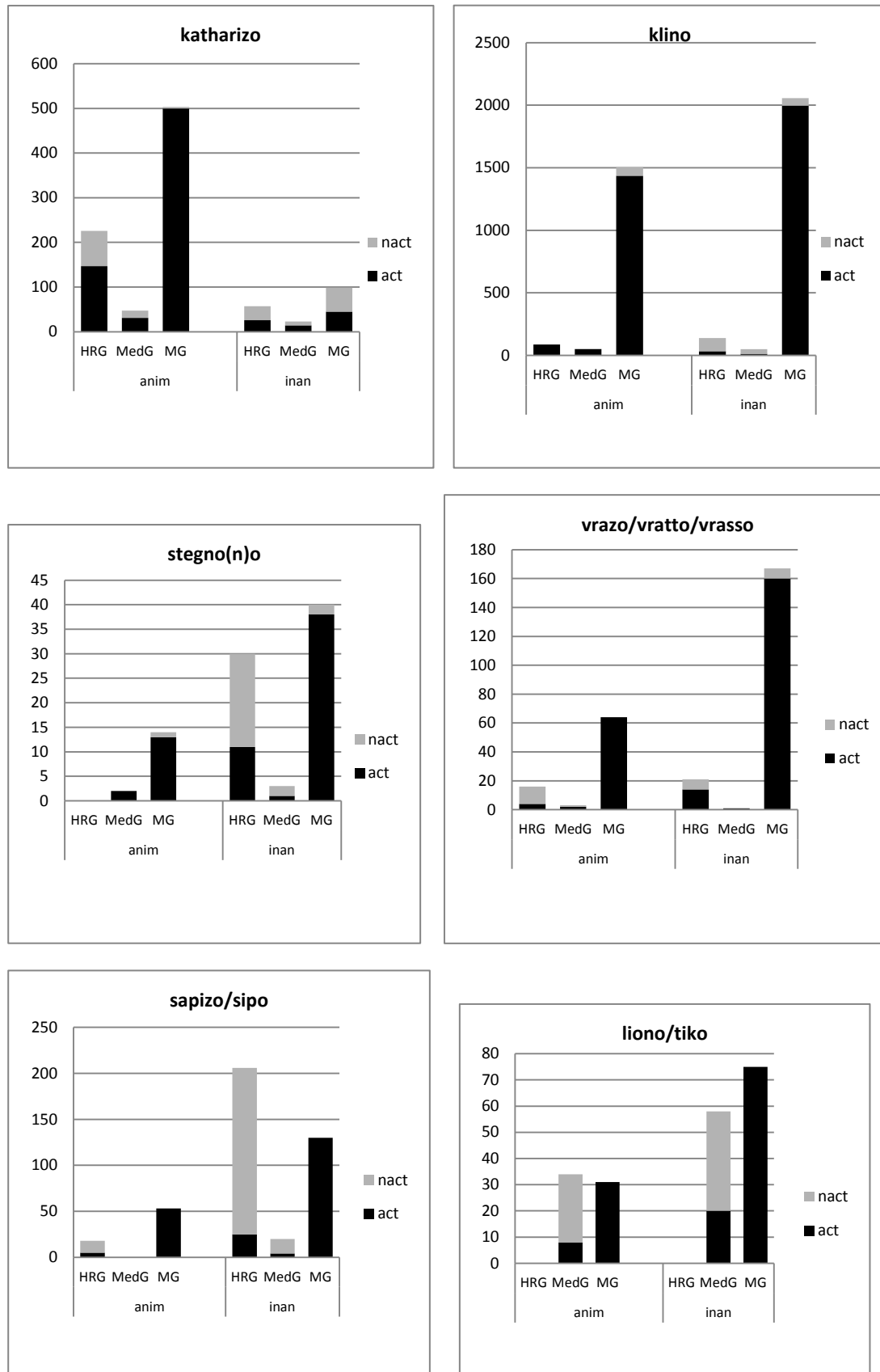
Graph 3 Distribution of the anticausative readings in ACT/NACT Voice morphology diachronically: analyses per verb

The anticausative readings reveal a similar pattern for all verbs examined except for *vrazo*, which is used both in ACT and NACT from the Hellenistic period (ACT:9 vs. NACT:9).⁷ The pattern outlined in the data is that there appears an overwhelming preference for NACT Voice marking in the pre-MG period, totally reversed in MG. More specifically, Pearson chi-square analyses show that from HRG to MedG there is a change (*katharizo*: $\chi^2=5.471$, $p=.019$, $\eta=.240$, Cramer's $V=.019$; *klino*: $\chi^2=4.005$, $p=.045$, $\eta=.215$, Cramer's $V=.045$; *stegno(n)o*: $\chi^2=1.037$, $p=.309$, $\eta=.222$, Cramer's $V=.309$; *vrazo*: $\chi^2=.286$, $p=.593$, $\eta=.117$, Cramer's $V=.593$; *sapizo*: $\chi^2=.838$, $p=.360$, $\eta=.061$, Cramer's $V=.360$; *liono*: $\chi^2=.972$, $p=.324$, $\eta=.050$, Cramer's $V=.324$) which becomes significant only from MedG to MG (*katharizo*: $\chi^2=32.615$, $p<.001$, $\eta=.833$, Cramer's $V<.001$; *klino*: $\chi^2=1.047E3$, $p<.001$, $\eta=.782$, Cramer's $V<.001$; *stegno(n)o*: $\chi^2=11.907$, $p=.001$, $\eta=.539$, Cramer's $V=.001$; *vrazo*: $\chi^2=64.330$, $p<.001$, $\eta=.574$, Cramer's $V<.001$; *sapizo*: $\chi^2=1.678E2$, $p<.001$, $\eta=.937$, Cramer's $V<.001$; *liono*: $\chi^2=1.313E2$, $p<.001$, $\eta=.958$, Cramer's $V<.001$).

One can reasonably wonder whether the change in Voice marking with anticausative structures is a side-effect of another change taking place at the same time. It is also worth looking at the above observation with respect to the distribution of Voice morphology overall per Verb (regardless of readings). In contrast to what we have seen (Graph 2) in relation to the variable frequency of ACT or NACT Voice morphology per verb, all verbs moved from NACT to ACT when used with an anticausative reading, and ACT is almost exclusively preferred with anticausative interpretation in MG.

We now turn to the examination of the distribution of subject animacy with ACT/NACT verb forms: a high frequency of animate subjects, regardless of Voice morphology, is considered evidence for a two-place predicate in terms of LCS (Levin 1993, Levin and Rappaport Hovav 1995, 2005). Even if causativization of a one-place predicate is involved, it is predicted to be less frequent than the basic LCS (intransitive structure).

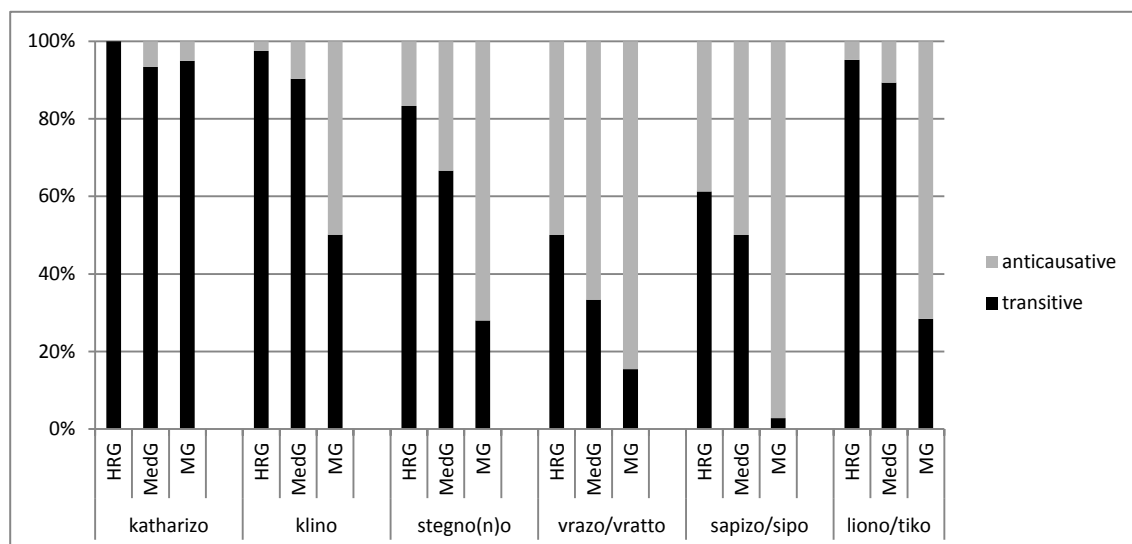
⁷ Cf. (1) a. anticausative reading – active voice morphology
oû hē agápē en emoi brássei
REL.GEN.SG ART.NOM.SG love:NOM.SG in me:DAT.SG boil:ACT.PRS.3SG
lit. '...for whom love boils in me.'
(Acta Thomae 15, 18; AD 3)
b. anticausative reading – nonactive voice morphology
brasthēi mèn tà éndon tou thōrēkos
boil:NACT(PASS).AOR.SUBJ.3SG PRT ART.NOM.PL within ART.GEN.SG chest:GEN.SG
'(If with length of time and much pain) the matters within the chest ferment.'
(Aretaeus Med., De causis et signis acutorum morborum libri duo, 1, 5, 7; AD 2)



Graph 4 Distribution of [+/- animacy] of syntactic subjects with (N)ACT verbs (all readings)

Graph 4 shows that the verb *katharizo* is used more frequently with an animate subject (+anim: 776 vs. -anim: 179), *klino* is frequent with an animate subject but preferred with an inanimate subject (+anim: 1644 vs. -anim: 2244) whereas this is not the case for the remaining verbs examined (*stegnono*, *vrazo*, *sapizo* and *liono*), which are more frequently used with an inanimate subject. We should further notice that *katharizo* with an inanimate subject is the only verb that appears as *ditipias*, i.e. the ACT and NACT forms are equally distributed in all three periods examined (ACT: HRG:26; MedG:14; MG:45 – NACT: HRG: 31; MedG:9; MG:54).

Furthermore, the data reveal that in MG, although equally frequently used with ACT and NACT morphology, *katharizo* with an animate subject is more frequent in ACT than NACT ($\chi^2=491.072$, $p<.001$). This preference for ACT vs. NACT, as already suggested, is not supported when an inanimate subject is present ($\chi^2=.818$, $p=.366$). *Klino* is used in ACT with animate subjects (HRG: 86 vs. 0; MedG: $\chi^2=35.852$, $p<.001$; MG: $\chi^2=1274.057$, $p<.001$) (favouring transitive readings –see below, Graph 5), a tendency that remained throughout the periods examined, while, in the presence of inanimate subjects, we observe a significant change: although in HRG and MedG, NACT morphology was preferred (HRG: $\chi^2=35.507$, $p<.001$; MedG: $\chi^2=10.796$, $p<.001$), in MG the verb is more frequently used in ACT ($\chi^2=1824.000$, $p<.001$). According to our data, *stegnono* was more frequently used in NACT with inanimate subjects, though not significantly so (HRG: $\chi^2=2.133$, $p=.144$; MedG: $\chi^2=.333$, $p=.564$), while it is preferred in ACT in MG ($\chi^2=32.400$, $p<.001$). However, the occurrences are very few throughout the periods examined. In the presence of an animate subject, the verb was (and is) very rarely used, almost exclusively with ACT (HRG: 0 (act) vs. 0 (nact); MedG: 2 (act) vs. 0 (nact); MG: 13 (act) vs. 1 (nact)). *Vrazo*, *sapizo* and *liono* present a similar pattern: in HRG and MedG the verbs were used both in ACT/NACT with animate subjects (although their diachronic frequencies differ) but are used only with ACT in MG (*vrazo*: 64; *sapizo*: 130; *liono*: 31). More specifically, *vrazo* was more frequent with NACT in HRG ($\chi^2=4.000$, $p=.046$) but very rare in MedG (2 (act) vs. 1(nact)), *sapizo* was more frequent with NACT in HRG ($\chi^2=118.136$, $p<.001$) but totally absent in MedG and *liono* was more frequent with NACT in MedG ($\chi^2=9.529$, $p=.002$). In the presence of inanimate subjects, the verbs present a different pattern: in HRG and MedG, *vrazo* was more frequent in ACT, but not significantly so ($\chi^2=2.333$, $p=.127$; only one occurrence in ACT found in MedG), while *sapizo* and *liono* in NACT ($\chi^2=118.136$, $p<.001$ and $\chi^2=7.200$, $p=.007$; found only in MedG: $\chi^2=5.586$, $p=.018$, respectively); in MG all of them are more frequently used in ACT (*vrazo*: $\chi^2=140.174$, *sapizo* (n=130) and *liono* (n=75) found only in ACT).

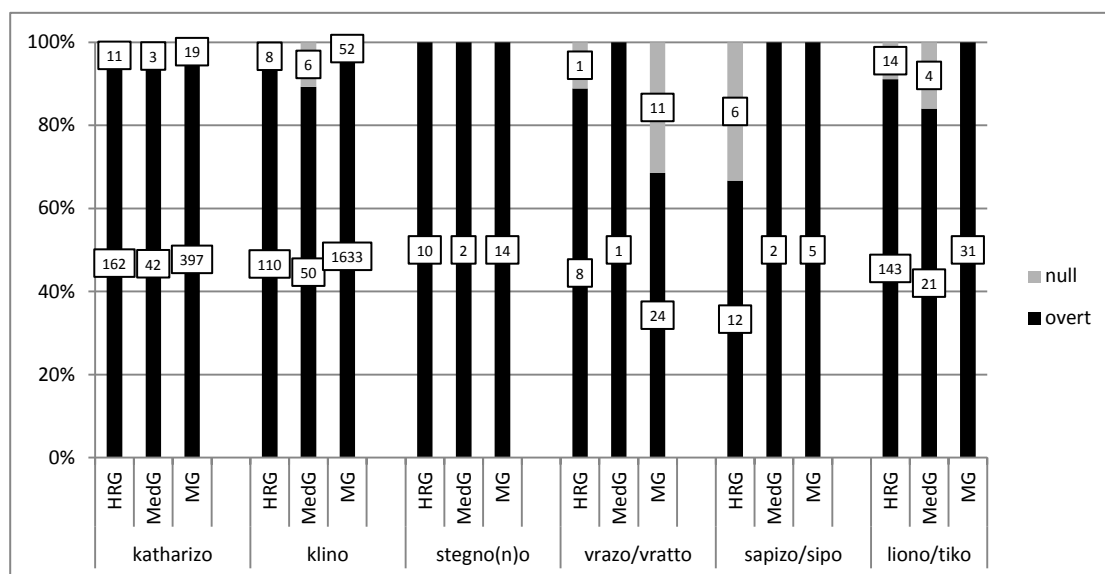


Graph 5 Distribution of anticausative vs. transitive uses with ACT verbs

Diachronically, if we compare (MedG vs. MG) the change of preference in anticausative vs. transitive use with ACT (Graph 5), we observe that this change has occurred from MedG to MG, since statistically significant differences are observed for (almost) all the verbs between these periods (*klino*: $\chi^2=39.399$, $p<.001$, $\eta=.107$, Cramer's $V<.001$; *stegnono*: $\chi^2=2.008$, $p=.156$, $\eta=.195$, Cramer's $V=.156$; *sapizo*: $\chi^2=23.558$, $p<.001$, $\eta=.360$, Cramer's $V<.001$; *liono*: $\chi^2=34.126$, $p<.001$, $\eta=.499$, Cramer's

$V < .001$); *vrazo* underwent this change earlier, from HRG to MedG, though statistically no significant differences are found, due to the small size of the data ($\chi^2 = .286$, $p = .593$, $\eta = .117$, Cramer's $V = .593$); *katharizo*, on the other hand, presents a similar pattern throughout the periods examined. Moreover, the differences between anticausative vs. transitive uses are statistically significant in most of the verbs: in HRG the transitive uses are more frequent with *klino* ($\chi^2 = 109.298$, $p < .001$), *stegnono* ($\chi^2 = 5.333$, $p = .02$) and *liono* ($\chi^2 = 134.552$, $p < .001$) while *katharizo* is exclusively transitive ($n = 173$); *vrazo* and *sapizo* show no statistical differences; in MedG transitive uses remain more frequent in *katharizo* ($\chi^2 = 33.800$, $p < .001$) *klino* ($\chi^2 = 40.323$, $p < .001$) and *liono* ($\chi^2 = 17.286$, $p < .001$), while no significant differences are found in *stegnono*, *vrazo* and *sapizo*. Finally, in MG the reverse pattern is attested: anticausative readings are significantly more frequent in *klino* ($\chi^2 = 40.323$, $p < .001$), *stegnono* ($\chi^2 = 9.680$, $p = .002$), *vrazo* ($\chi^2 = 108.586$, $p < .001$), *sapizo* ($\chi^2 = 158.562$, $p < .001$) and *liono* ($\chi^2 = 20.266$, $p < .001$), while transitive uses remain more frequent only with *katharizo* ($\chi^2 = 354.420$, $p < .001$).

In all, a between-verb analysis yields a significantly different pattern in the verbs *katharizo* and *klino* vs. all the others; *vrazo*, *sapizo* and *liono* show similar tendencies, while *stegnono* differs from *katharizo*, *klino* and *sapizo* but not from MG *liono*. In other words, *klino* and *katharizo* show stability with respect to the readings of ACT verb forms: they are dominantly used as transitives throughout the three periods examined. However, given that *klino* is a very frequent verb in MG, with many metaphorical uses, anticausative readings are also very frequent (antic vs. trans: $\chi^2 = .015$, $p = .904$). *Sapizo*, *liono* and *stegnono* were used transitively in HRG and MedG, while they receive more frequently an anticausative reading in MG. Finally, *vrazo* was equally used with transitive and anticausative readings in HRG, but it favours the anticausative reading since MedG.



Graph 6 Distribution of overt vs. null non-referential objects in transitive structures

With respect to the presence of an overt vs. a null (always, non-referential) object in the transitive uses we should notice that null non-referential objects are very rare in all the periods examined: they appear more frequently only with *sapizo* in HRG (overt: 12 vs. null: 6; $\chi^2 = 2.000$, $p = .157$) and they tend not to exist at all with all verbs but *vrazo* in MG (overt: 24 vs. null: 11; $\chi^2 = 4.829$, $p = .028$). Further statistical analyses are not, however, conducted due to the existence of very limited results in the majority of the verbs.

Overall, diachronically, the verbs examined show variation regardless of class in the distribution of Voice with all interpretations. Moreover, anticausative readings show a similar development of Voice marking (a shift from NACT to ACT) regardless of class. A relationship is also confirmed between subject animacy and transitive uses and LCS and between ACT with transitive or anticausative use and class LCS.

4. Conclusions

The question that arises is how to account for the instability and inconsistency in MG with regard to the first and the second class of anticausative verbs. The first proposal would be that the use of ACT only affected the anticausative reading of one-place predicates *at the LCS* initially (i.e. not *katharizo* ‘clean’ and *klino* ‘close’) and then spread to the other verbs. However, no LCS effect is found when looking at the anticausative reading diachronically. ACT appears to have spread to all verbs with a single argument at the syntactic level and probably on the basis of the (prototypical) use of ACT in unergatives (single argument verbs without argument movement). This implies a change in the properties of NACT morphology as such: NACT has changed from a marker with a double role, that is marking syntactic movement (internal Merge) of an internal argument to the subject position or of marking argument absorption (or blocking or suppression – according to the preferred analysis of detransitivisation) into a marker with a single role, that of argument absorption (subject is interpreted as object and another syntactic argument is absorbed/suppressed/blocked by the NACT morpheme). In MG, movement (internal Merge) is not marked through Voice morphology, while absorption is of a theta-role/argument in AG and of Case (structural) in MG. Accordingly, we would expect verbs of the second class (“ditipias” verbs), that are two-place predicates, to show NACT consistently (and not an ACT/NACT alternation). Most verbs of the second class have been introduced to the language much later (after HGR; *lerono* ‘get dirty’, *tsalakono* ‘crumble’: AD 12). It appears that two-place predicates could follow the ‘rule’ of one-place predicate when the syntactic derivation includes the internal argument only (Borer 2005). That means that ACT/NACT variation is not random: when the implicit argument is to be activated in the parse, then NACT is used, and NACT passives and NACT “anticausatives” share the same derivation. On the other hand, when the implicit argument needs not be activated, then ACT is used. On-going changes in the language show a convergence with verbs of the second class (class of verbs of two forms/“ditipias”) from the other two classes: verbs of the first class begin to be used with NACT Voice as well (*liono*), verbs of the third class begin to be used with ACT Voice as well (*eskise* besides *skistike* and *marane* besides *marathike*; examples 5a, 5b) (Fotiadou 2010, Roussou & Tsimpli 2007):

- (5) a. *I* *zaxari* *lionete* *ja* *na* *jini* *siropi*
 ART.NOM.SG sugar:NOM.SG melt:NACT.PRS.3SG for to become:3SG syrup:NOM
 ‘The sugar is melted to syrup.’
 b. *Ta* *maranes* *ta* *luludia*
 them:ACC.PL wilt:ACT.PST.PFV.2SG ART.ACC.PL flower:ACC.PL
 ‘You made the flowers wilt.’

Needless to say, we have to leave many questions open: for example, what caused the change in the properties of NACT. Possible directions to look for answers for this change are the replacement of structural and lexical case in earlier periods of Greek by structural case alone, or changes in the interaction between lexical and morphological aspect which might have affected the use and function of NACT Voice morphology.

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PHONETIC VOWEL REDUCTION IN STANDARD MODERN GREEK

Angelos Lengeris

Aristotle University of Thessaloniki, Greece

lengeris@enl.auth.gr

ABSTRACT

This study examined phonetic vowel reduction in Standard Modern Greek by comparing the spectral and temporal characteristics of the five Greek vowels spoken by the same speakers in two speaking styles, namely conversational and read speech. Frequencies of the first two formants (F1 and F2) and duration were measured and the Euclidean distance from the centroid of the vowel space was computed for each vowel. Results showed extensive vowel reduction and variability in conversational speech compared to read speech. Across speaking styles, unstressed vowels were shorter and closer to the centre of the vowel space than stressed ones.

Keywords: Greek, phonetic vowel reduction, conversational speech

1. Introduction

Phonetic vowel reduction is a process whereby an intended vowel target is not reached. Reduced vowels are shorter and occupy a more central position in the vowel space compared to non-reduced ones. This gradient subphonemic process, often referred to as vowel undershoot, should not be confused with phonological vowel reduction, an obligatory, categorical substitution of sounds whereby vowel quality distinctions are neutralized in unstressed syllables (e.g. English *photographic* /fəʊtə'græfɪk/ vs. *photography* /fə'tɒgrəfi/). This study provides an in depth examination of phonetic vowel reduction in Greek by investigating the effect of speaking style and stress on the spectral and temporal characteristics of Greek vowels.

Factors that have been found to contribute to phonetic vowel reduction include *rate of speech* (Lindblom, 1963), *stress* (Delattre, 1969), *context* (Lindblom, 1963; Moon & Lindblom, 1994) and *speaking style* (Koopmans-Van Beinum, 1980; Moon & Lindblom, 1994). According to the Hyper-Hypo (H&H) theory (Lindblom, 1990), speech communication involves a balance between the speaker's attempt to minimize articulatory effort (i.e., speaker constraints) and the listener's need to understand what is said (listener constraints); depending on the communicative situation, speech production thus exhibits a wide range of variation along a continuum of hypo- (reduced) to hyper- (non-reduced) speech. Speakers are free to hypo-articulate in ideal listening conditions (e.g. quiet environments) but tend to hyper-articulate in adverse listening conditions (e.g. background noise) or when they think the listener might have difficulty understanding their speech (e.g. when addressing a person with a hearing loss, a child or a non-native speaker).

Despite acknowledging style-induced modifications in the speech signal, most research on vowels has examined CVC syllables, word lists, or short utterances that are read aloud under well-controlled conditions ('laboratory speech'). This choice is motivated by the fact that the use of laboratory speech allows designing and conducting controlled experiments. However, since laboratory speech differs in a highly systematic way from the type of speech speakers use in their everyday life, it remains questionable whether laboratory speech findings can generalize to conversational, spontaneous speech.

Relatively few studies have examined phonetic vowel reduction in conversational speech (Koopmans-Van Beinum, 1980 for Dutch; Deterding, 1997 for English; Harmegnies & Poch-Olivé, 1992 for Spanish), demonstrating shorter vowel durations and 'shrinkage' of the vowel space in conversational speech compared to read speech. Limited research is also available on the acoustic characteristics of Greek vowels. According to Dauer (1980), only high vowels reduce in Greek while unstressed vowels do not change in quality. However, this finding is not confirmed by more recent studies that have begun to explore phonetic vowel reduction in Greek (Baltazani 2006, 2007; Fourakis

et al., 1999) using read speech materials. These studies show an overall reduction of the vowel space in Greek unstressed syllables compared to stressed ones. Nicolaidis (2003) was the first to examine the acoustic characteristics of Greek vowels in spontaneous speech using monologues produced by two Greek male speakers. Her results show extensive variability and overlapping formant distributions especially in the centre of vowel space, resulting in less distinct vowels than previously reported in the Greek literature. The current study extends Nicolaidis' (2003) study in two ways: first, by examining a larger number of speakers and consequently a larger number of vowel tokens and, second, by comparing the spectral and temporal characteristics of Greek vowels in two speaking styles, namely conversational and read speech. The conversational speech materials were drawn from recordings of natural conversations between each participant and the author. Read versions of these conversations were recorded from the same speakers one week after the first recording. That way, identical materials in two speaking styles were elicited, spoken by the same speakers under the same recording conditions. The main goal of this study is therefore to examine the extent of phonetic vowel reduction in Greek, a language with a simple 5-vowel system which does not employ phonological vowel reduction.

2. Method

2.1 Participants

Eight native speakers of Standard Modern Greek, all post-graduate students at University College London, with a mean age of 24 years (range = 22-27 years) participated in the study. Participants reported no speech, language or hearing disorders and none had spent a period of more than one year in the UK at the time of the recordings. In order to avoid extensive variability due to anatomical differences between male and female speakers, only male speakers were recruited.

2.2 Recordings

Speech recordings took place in an anechoic chamber at the University College London with a sampling rate of 44.1 kHz, using a Sony 60ES DAT recorder with a B&K Sound Level Meter Type 2231 fitted with a 4165 microphone cartridge, placed at a distance of 50 cm from the speaker's mouth.

As already mentioned, conversational speech materials were drawn from recordings of natural conversations (semi-directed interviews) between each participant and the author. Each conversation lasted approximately ten minutes. The author chatted with each participant prior to the recording to make him feel relaxed. The conversations revolved around participants' hobbies, studies, etc. Based on speech naturalness and fluency, approximately five minutes were selected from each speaker to be further analyzed.

Conversations were transcribed orthographically by the author after removing repetitions and pauses and the orthographic versions were recorded from the same speakers one week after the first recording. Participants were instructed to read the paragraphs at a comfortable speaking rate as if they were asked to read aloud a passage in the classroom. They were also instructed to read the sentence again if they made a mistake when reading the materials. As a result, identical materials in two speaking styles were recorded by each participant. There was no way to perfectly control for prosodic context since it is impossible for speakers to reproduce the same intonation patterns.

Data were analyzed using the SFS speech analysis software (Huckvale, 2008). Vowels preceded or followed by other vowels were excluded from the analysis. Segmentation was made manually, taking the waveform and the wide-band spectrogram into consideration; each vowel was defined by the beginning and the end of its formant structure. Acoustic measurements of duration and first (F1) and second (F2) formant frequencies were made automatically using SFS scripts, then checked manually and corrected. In case of missing vowels in one speaking style (most commonly in conversational speech), the corresponding vowel in the other style was excluded from the analysis. For purposes of data presentation and statistical analyses, values in Hertz were converted to the auditory Bark scale. The formula proposed by Traunmüller (1990) and given in (1) was used, where Z is frequency in Bark and f is frequency in Hertz:

$$(1) \quad Z = \left[\frac{26.81f}{(1960 + f)} \right] - 0.53$$

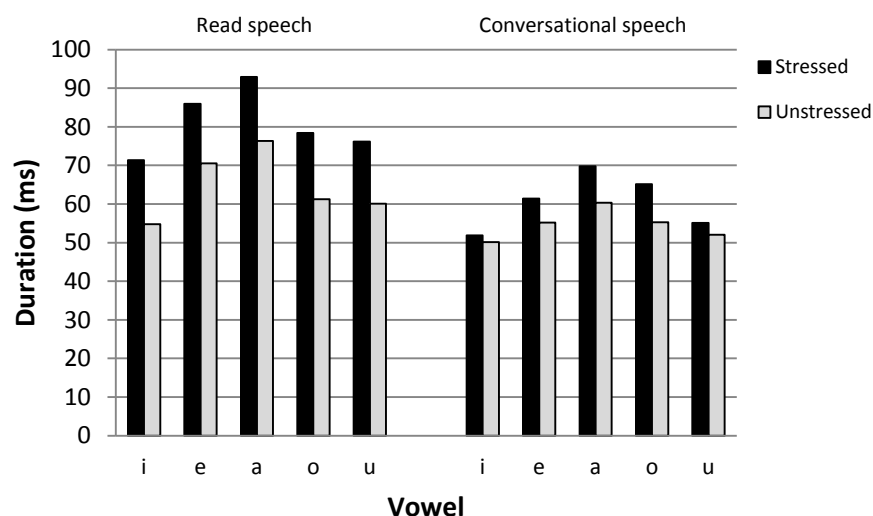


Figure 1 Mean duration (ms) of Greek vowels in read speech (left) and conversational speech (right) in both stress conditions

3. Results

3.1 Effects of speaking style and stress on vowel duration

Figure 1 shows the mean duration of each Greek vowel in read and conversational speech in both stress conditions. As can be seen, Greek vowels were shorter in conversational than in read speech. In addition, across speaking styles, unstressed vowels were shorter than stressed ones. Vowel durations were submitted to a three-way analysis of variance (ANOVA) with Speaking style (read, conversational), Stress (stressed, unstressed) and Vowel (5 levels) as factors. There was a significant main effect of Speaking style [$F(1,3460) = 58.253, p < 0.001$], confirming that Greek vowels were shorter in conversational speech than in read speech and a significant effect of stress [$F(1,3460) = 156.046, p < 0.001$] confirming that unstressed vowels were shorter than stressed ones. There was also a significant main effect of Vowel [$F(4,3460) = 26.946, p < 0.001$]. Pairwise comparisons (Bonferroni adjusted) showed that, across speaking styles and stress conditions, the low central vowel /a/ was produced with the longest duration, the high vowels /i/ and /u/ with the shortest durations and the mid vowels /e/ and /o/ were in between. Similar results are reported in the literature for Greek vowels (e.g. Baltazani, 2006; Fourakis et al. 1999; Nicolaidis, 2003) and other languages (for a review, see Lehiste, 1970). There was also a significant Speaking style \times Stress interaction [$F(1,3460) = 22.54, p < 0.001$], indicating that vowels in read speech were shortened to a larger degree when unstressed than vowels in conversational speech (25% vs. 15% respectively). Finally, a significant Vowel \times Stress interaction [$F(4,3460) = 7.54, p < 0.01$] indicated that not all vowels were shortened to the same degree when unstressed; /a/ was shortened to a larger degree than the mid vowels /e/ and /o/ and the high vowels /i/ and /u/. Mean durations and standard deviations for the five Greek vowels in two speaking styles in both stress conditions are given in Table 1. Focusing on conversational speech materials, vowel durations were found to be somewhat shorter than those reported in Nicolaidis (2003) who provides the following duration values (pooled over stressed and unstressed conditions) for vowels in spontaneous speech): /i/ = 69.1 ms, /e/ = 80.9 ms, /a/ = 85.4 ms, /o/ = 78.4 ms and /u/ = 59.8 ms. One possible explanation is that speech in conversation examined in the current study is less careful and hence faster than speech in monologues examined in Nicolaidis' (2003) study.

Vowel	Read speech		Conversational speech	
	Stressed	Unstressed	Stressed	Unstressed
/i/	71.34 (23.77)	51.83 (17.86)	54.74 (22.76)	50.14 (23.64)
/e/	85.98 (27.48)	61.43 (23.63)	70.53 (22.51)	55.21 (21.64)
/a/	92.94 (29.25)	69.76 (22.63)	76.32 (25.62)	60.32 (19.33)
/o/	78.44 (20.54)	65.16 (18.42)	61.26 (19.24)	55.31 (17.89)
/u/	76.18 (22.94)	55.11 (13.55)	60.09 (10.43)	52.02 (16.65)

Table 1 Mean duration of Greek vowels (ms) and standard deviations in read and conversational speech in both stress conditions

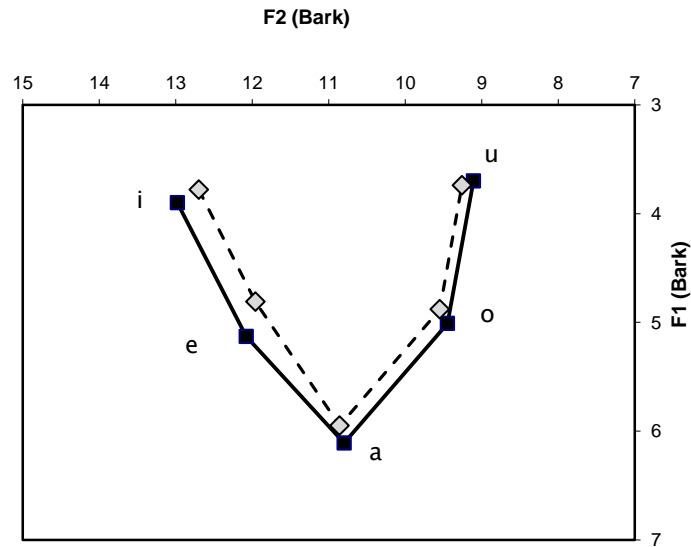


Figure 2 Mean F1 and F2 frequencies (Bark) of Greek vowels spoken in read speech in stressed (black squares) and unstressed position (grey diamonds)

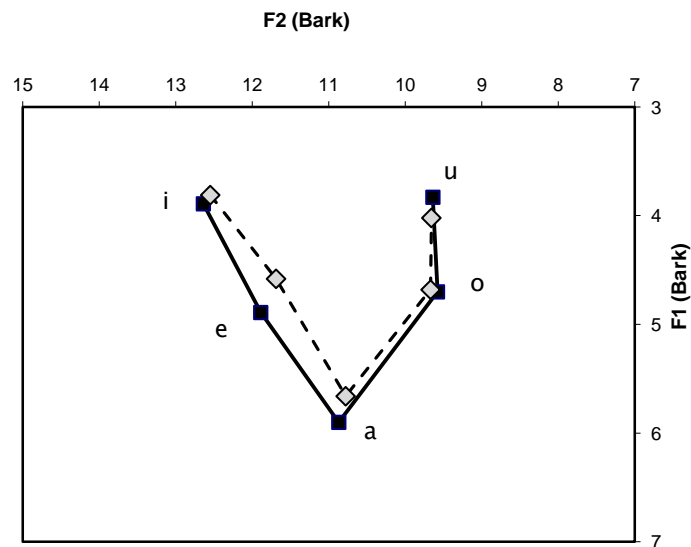


Figure 3 Mean F1 and F2 frequencies (Bark) of Greek vowels spoken in conversational speech in stressed (black squares) and unstressed position (grey diamonds)

3.2 Effects of speaking style and stress on formant frequencies

Mean F1 and F2 frequencies (converted to the Bark scale) of the five Greek vowels in read and conversational speech are plotted in the vowel space in Figures 2 and 3 respectively and are also given in Hz (standard deviations in parentheses) in Table 2. A visual inspection of Figures 2 and 3 reveals that Greek vowels in conversational speech show a tendency towards reduced vowel spaces (i.e., they occupy less peripheral positions) when compared to vowels in read speech. Moreover, across speaking styles, unstressed Greek vowels are reduced towards the centre of the vowel space compared to stressed ones. These results agree with Koopmans-Van Beinum (1980), Deterding (1997) and Harmegnies & Poch-Olivé (1992) who compared vowels in conversational and read speech. The results are also in agreement with Fourakis et al. (1999) and Baltazani (2006, 2007) who found a reduction of the Greek vowel space in unstressed position using read speech materials.

Vowel	Read speech				Conversational speech			
	Stressed		Unstressed		Stressed		Unstressed	
	F1	F2	F1	F2	F1	F2	F1	F2
/i/	385 (71)	1995 (86)	376 (82)	1918 (102)	385 (80)	1895 (97)	376 (86)	1872 (104)
/e/	522 (74)	1742 (82)	489 (96)	1715 (86)	492 (87)	1690 (91)	470 (89)	1643 (95)
/a/	644 (84)	1421 (81)	628 (104)	1450 (90)	609 (93)	1444 (92)	592 (109)	1432 (93)
/o/	502 (86)	1165 (103)	500 (101)	1190 (102)	470 (95)	1179 (112)	471 (102)	1208 (117)
/u/	362 (74)	1102 (118)	372 (83)	1126 (116)	376 (76)	1200 (124)	403 (114)	1206 (119)

Table 2 F1 and F2 frequencies in Hz (standard deviations in parentheses) of Greek vowels in read and conversational speech in both stress conditions

To test these observations statistically, the Euclidean distance for each vowel token was calculated from the *centroid*¹ of each speaker's vowel space. The formula given in (2) was used, where $\overline{F1}$ is the mean of each speaker's F1 values and $\overline{F2}$ is the mean of each speaker's F2 values. The smaller the Euclidean distance, the more centralized a vowel token is.

$$(2) \quad ed = \sqrt{(F1 - \overline{F1})^2 + (F2 - \overline{F2})^2}$$

Table 3 displays the mean Euclidean distance of the five Greek vowels in read and conversational speech in both stress conditions. Euclidean distances were submitted to a three-way ANOVA with Speaking style (read, conversational), Stress (stressed, unstressed) and Vowel (5 levels) as factors. The ANOVA yielded three main effects: of Speaking style [$F(1,3460) = 19.543, p < 0.001$] with vowels in conversational speech being closer to the centroid, of Stress [$F(1,3460) = 9.434, p < 0.01$] with unstressed vowels being closer to the centroid and of Vowel [$F(4,3460) = 322.545, p < 0.001$]. These results confirmed a reduction of the vowel space not only in terms of quantity as shown in section 3.1 but also in terms of quality when moving from (a) conversational to read speech and (b) stressed to unstressed position.

A final point of interest concerns a comparison of variability in F1 and F2 frequencies in conversational and read speech. As can be seen in Table 2, standard deviations of F1 and F2 were consistently larger in conversational speech compared to read speech which, combined with the centralization of F1 and F2 values found in the data, results in less differentiated vowels in conversational speech than in read speech (see Nicolaidis, 2003 for a similar finding concerning Greek vowels in spontaneous speech).

¹ The *centroid* of the vowel space is the grand mean of all formant measurements taken for each speaker.

Vowel	Read speech		Conversational speech	
	Stressed	Unstressed	Stressed	Unstressed
/i/	2.13 (0.53)	2.04 (0.61)	1.91 (0.57)	1.90 (0.61)
/e/	1.09 (0.51)	1.06 (0.57)	1.05 (0.52)	0.97 (0.57)
/a/	1.34 (0.52)	1.23 (0.60)	1.22 (0.58)	1.19 (0.60)
/o/	1.81 (0.73)	1.73 (0.71)	1.82 (0.78)	1.73 (0.79)
/u/	2.62 (1.05)	2.35 (0.85)	2.24 (0.98)	2.10 (0.89)

Table 3 Euclidean distance (Bark) for Greek vowels in read and conversational speech in both stress conditions (standard deviations in parentheses)

4. Discussion

This study examined the spectral and temporal characteristics of Greek vowels in two speaking styles in stressed and unstressed position with the aims of (a) adding to our existing knowledge on the acoustic characteristics of Greek vowels and (b) revealing style-induced differences. The styles under investigation were conversational and read speech (the read version of conversational speech materials). If we consider speaking style as a continuum where conversational speech stands at one end of the continuum and isolated syllables (or words) at the other, the speaking styles to be compared are relatively close to each other. Nonetheless, it was hypothesized that significant differences between these speaking styles in terms of duration, formant frequencies and Euclidean distance of the centroid of the vowel space would be found.

As far as duration is concerned, vowels in conversational speech were significantly shorter compared to vowels in read speech in both stress conditions. In addition, stressed vowels were longer than unstressed ones across speaking styles. Finally, the results confirmed the well-documented phenomenon of low vowels being inherently longer than high vowels (e.g. Lehiste, 1970); across speaking styles and stress conditions, the open central vowel /a/ was found to be the longest vowel, followed by the mid vowels /e/ and /o/, which were in turn followed by the high vowels /i/ and /u/.

In order to test whether vowel space reduced in conversational speech, the Euclidean distance for each vowel token was calculated from the centroid of the vowel space. Vowels in conversational speech were found to occupy a more central position in the vowel space than vowels in read speech with unstressed vowels being closer to the centroid in both speaking styles (Koopmans-Van Beinum, 1980; Deterding, 1997; Harmegnies & Poch-Olivé, 1992). These findings are in agreement with the target-undershoot model (Lindblom, 1963; Moon & Lindblom, 1994) and the H&H theory (Lindblom, 1990). Within this framework, speech production depends on the communicative situation and can vary along a hyper- to hypo- continuum. As previously mentioned, the conversational speech materials for this study were elicited in a sound isolated chamber that ensured ideal speaking and listening conditions. The conversation between the participants and the author was fairly friendly and informal. In this experimental setting, speakers are expected to produce reduced speech in order to economize articulatory effort. The read speech materials for the study were elicited under the same recording conditions. However, the participants read a passage instead of conversing freely and were instructed to read the way they would read aloud a passage in the classroom if the teacher asked them to. In this experimental setting, conversely, speakers are expected to produce less reduced vowels, closer in acoustic quality and quantity to the target values. It is important to mention that vowels in read speech in this study were found to be less peripheral when compared to formant values given for Greek vowels spoken in isolated sentences (e.g. Baltazani, 2006; Fourakis et al., 1999), indicating that these vowels were reduced too but to a lesser degree than vowels in conversational speech. Future research could compare vowels in three speaking styles, namely conversational speech, continuous read speech and words isolated or embedded in a carrier sentence. It would also be interesting to test Greek native speakers' perception (e.g. vowel identification and goodness ratings) of Greek vowels spoken in conversational speech when context (i.e., lexical information) is removed.

In summary, the results of this study provide strong evidence for the existence of phonetic vowel reduction in Greek and demonstrate two ways in which vowels in conversational speech differ from vowels in read speech; conversational speech vowels are shorter in duration and less peripheral in the $F1 \times F2$ vowel space. These findings add to the existing evidence in the literature that read speech (used commonly in speech production experiments) differs in a highly systematic way from the type of speech used in our everyday communication.

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MODAL AND FUTURE PERIPHRASES WITH *EIMAI* IN THE HISTORY OF GREEK AND ITS DIALECTS

Nikos Liosis

Institute of Modern Greek Studies
Aristotle University of Thessaloniki

nikoslios@yaho.gr

ΠΕΡΙΛΗΨΗ

Είναι γνωστό διαγλωσσικά ότι περιφραστικές ρηματικές δομές που σχηματίζονται με τη χρήση ενός βοηθητικού ρήματος με την αρχική σημασία ‘είμαι’ ή ‘γίνομαι’ όχι μόνο εκφράζουν συχνά δεοντική ή επισημική τροπικότητα αλλά και αποκτούν κάποτε (εξειδικευμένες ή μη) μελλοντικές χρήσεις. Με αφετηρία τη διαπίστωση ότι η κοινή νεοελληνική αλλά και πολλές, ιδίως ανατολικές, νεοελληνικές διάλεκτοι διαθέτουν τέτοιες δομές επιχειρείται εδώ η ανίχνευση της παρουσίας και η περιγραφή της σημασιολογικής διαδρομής και γραμματικοποίησής τους σε προγενέστερες φάσεις της ελληνικής με έμφαση στην ύστερη μεσαιωνική περίοδο.

Keywords: copula, obligation, ability, possibility, predestination, scheduled / expected future

1. Introduction: *είμαι* as modal/future marker

Many languages possess structures expressing modality of obligation that are formed with the auxiliary verbs ‘be’ or ‘become’ or with affixes that are derived from these verbs (For a catalogue of such languages, see Bybee, Perkins and Pagliuca, 1994:182-3). For example, both Greek and English have modal periphrases expressing obligation with *be to* and *είμαι να* respectively:

- (1) - *I am to go* to the doctor
- *Είναι να πάω* στο γιατρό

The common semantic basis of the two structures is that “the agent has been set or scheduled to do something by outside forces” and for this reason is obliged to act. The difference between these structures and the equivalent but more frequent deontic constructions with *have to* and *έχω να* is that the latter express a more general sense of obligation, not limited to situations where something has been planned or arranged. In addition, in the cases of *be to* and *είμαι να*, the obligation of the agent is more relaxed or remains open (Bybee, Perkins and Pagliuca, 1994: 184).

How does it happen that the meaning of obligation comes to be expressed by a structure based on a verb whose prototypical meaning involves existence, being, situation? According to the three authors (184), the sense of obligation also comes partly from the infinitival complement; more analytically, the structure with the copula ‘to be’ shows that the agent is linked to an action, the time reference of which may be either past, present or future. Thus the action may be either complete, in which case it may be expressed with a past participle, e.g. *είμαι γραμμένος* / *I am written*, current, in which case it is often expressed by a present participle or a gerund, e.g. *είμαι γράφων* / *I am writing*, or projected, in which case it may be realized with an infinitive, e.g. **είμαι γράφειν* / *I am to write*. The application of this typological schema in Greek means of course that the linking of the agent with a future action also involves a complement clause – expressing purpose or volition – as a syntactic equivalent to the infinitive, e.g. *είμαι (για) να γράφω* (see also footnote 1). In almost all the above examples, *είμαι/be* can be replaced by the possessive auxiliary *έχω/have*. The fact that these are interchangeable is a syntactic indication that ‘be’ can acquire a suggestion of possession. This may also be observed in various other syntactic environments (e.g. with spatial markers, possessive modifiers etc.): if an object ‘is to me’ (also on me, near me, of John, of Mary etc.), then it ‘belongs to me’ (to John, to Mary etc.). And of course there is a close relationship between possession and obligation; if an action belongs to me, I am

under obligation to bring it to completion (For the stages between possession and obligation, see Heine, 1993:42; for obligation in Greek, see Newton and Veloudis, 1980).

Closely linked with the idea of obligation are the concepts of being expected, scheduled or predestined to take place. Crosslinguistically, these meanings too may sometimes be expressed by structures with ‘to be’. Less commonly, ‘to be’ may be used in similar structures that express the modality of ability (For a catalogue of languages which express the abovementioned modalities using the verb ‘to be’, and for a theoretical discussion of the subject, see Bybee, Perkins and Pagliuca, 1994: 186-7 and 249-51).

It is known that future tenses very often develop from structures expressing modalities of obligation or pre-arranging (Bybee, Perkins and Pagliuca, 1994: 258-64), given that both strongly imply the speaker’s intention to carry out an action, and by extension a prediction concerning the realization of this action. Similarly, modality of ability can develop into root possibility, then subsequently intention, and ultimately future (265-6). Thus it is not surprising that typologically the verb ‘to be’ is a common source of future tenses (253).¹

Greek is among the languages that make use of this crosslinguistically widespread means for expressing a fairly broad range of modalities (obligation, predestination, ability, root possibility, epistemic possibility, intention etc.), including future tense. All the above observations underline the high degree of syntactic and semantic flexibility possessed by this verb, and justify its characterization as a highly generalized marker for the expression of modal and temporal distinctions.

2. Corpus - method - aim

Starting from the obvious fact that Modern Greek, both in its standard and (much more so) dialect forms, possesses such verbal constructions with *είμαι*, this paper focuses on earlier stages of the history of the Greek language, from the Classical and Hellenistic periods to approximately 1500 AD or a little later, with particular emphasis on the vernacular literary texts of late medieval period. The sheer amount of material available has consequences both for the method that I follow here, basically qualitative, and for the aim of this paper: I attempt, within the framework of grammaticalization theory, to formulate working hypotheses concerning the origin, function and development of the modal structures with the present tense of the copula *είμαι* that we find in Greek.

3. Analysis of the material

3.1 Classical Greek

The best-known use of *είμαι* in a modal periphrasis in Ancient Greek is found in the already impersonal structure *ἔστι* + infinitive. Indeed, this structure seems to cover a large part of the range of modalities that corresponds to Modern Greek *μπορεί*:

(2) εἴ τις [...] εἶχε [...] οὐλὰς ἐν τῷ σώματι [...] ζῶν, καὶ τεθνεῶτος τὸ σῶμα ἔστιν ἰδεῖν ταῦτα ἔχον

If someone had scars on his body while yet alive, you can see that his body still has them after his death.²

(*Gorgias* (Plato), 524c; 4th c. BC)

In example (2), the original modality of ability gives rise to a meaning of root possibility: the agent is able, and external conditions do permit it. The same stage, or perhaps a step further in the direction of epistemic possibility, appears to be represented in the following example; the general conditions are fulfilled, or the situation described in the proposition may represent the truth:

¹ See also the following predicates which lead together with *είμαι* to the future projection of an action: a) result clauses, in the construction *είμαι ὥστε* (see below, example 4 and footnote 3), b) prepositional phrases, in the constructions *είμαι πρὸς* (*γὰρ*, *σε* etc.) + noun (These structures appear in the Hellenistic and subsequent periods, e.g. [ἦν]ωχλήθην ἰσχυρῶς, νυνὶ δὲ πρὸς τῷ ἀναλαμβάνειν εἰμί ‘I fell gravely ill, but now I am nearing recovery’ (*p.zen.pestm.51* (3); 257 BC), *εἶναι πρὸς σωτηρίαν* ‘he is going to be saved’ (*Spaneas*, O 207) etc.), c) genitive articular infinitives, in the construction **είμαι τὸν γράφειν* (see below example 5).

² The translations are mine (except where indicated otherwise), and are as faithful as possible to the original.

(3) τοιάδε μέντοι τῶν φρενοπλήκτων βουλευμάτων ἔπη τ' ἔστιν ἀκοῦσαι
You may hear such words and thoughts from furious people.

(*Prometheus Bound* (Aeschylus), 1054-5; 5th c. BC)

The frequentative meaning implicit in utterance (3) ('Every time that anyone is furious, they think and speak like that.') highlights the shift of the modal verb towards epistemic modality (see Traugott 1989:43, and especially Βελοῦδης 2010:59, where reference is made to the close relationship between weak epistemic modals, frequentative meaning, and prophetic future).

Two points about the modality of *ἔστι* in Ancient Greek must be borne in mind here. The first is that in precisely these constructions, the accent of the auxiliary moves obligatorily to the penultimate syllable, which is an indication not only that it is increasingly syntactically bound to the following infinitive, but also that it is behaving as a clitic. That these structures are in the early stages of grammaticalization can also be seen from the analogous accent shift observed in periphrastic quantifiers with the 3rd person singular of the auxiliary, e.g. *ἔστιν ὅς* 'someone', *ἔστιν ὅπου* 'somewhere', *ἔστιν ὅτε* 'sometimes' etc., or after some grammatical words (such as *οὐκ*, *καί*, *ἀλλά* etc., e.g. *οὐκ ἔστι* 'it is not', cf. *τοῦτο ἐστί > τοῦτ' ἔστι* 'in other words' etc.). The second point is semantically and syntactically important. I quote the next distich from Sophocles's *Philoctetes* (5th c. BC) together with its English translation (Jebb, 1898:656-7):

(4) ἄρ' ἔστιν ὥστε κἀγγύθεν θεῶν λαβεῖν καὶ βαστάσαι με προσκύσαι θ' ὥσπερ θεόν;

Is there any way that I might have a closer view of it – and handle it, and salute it as divine?

Here Neoptolemos is not wondering about his ability to see or his chances of seeing the bow of Philoctetes, but whether it is allowed, whether he has permission to see it – permission which is given immediately afterwards. Bybee, Perkins and Pagliuca (1994:199) note that the modality of permission is a branch of root possibility. From a syntactic point of view, what is different here is that the auxiliary is combined with a result clause, or rather with the result marker *ὥστε* which is prepositioned before the infinitival complement.³

3.2 Hellenistic Koine and early medieval Greek

A third syntactic possibility, already available in the Hellenistic period, is exemplified by the following example from the Septuagint (3rd-2nd c. BC):

(5) καὶ εἶπεν· ἐὰν κραταιωθῇ Συρία ὑπὲρ ἐμέ, καὶ ἔσεσθέ μοι εἰς σωτηρίαν, καὶ ἐὰν κραταιωθῶσιν υἱοὶ Ἀμμὼν ὑπὲρ σέ, καὶ ἐσόμεθα τοῦ σῶσαί σε

And he said: if Syria becomes stronger than me, then you will (be about to) save me, and if the sons of Ammon become stronger than you, then we will (be about to) save you

(2 Samuel 10.11)

From a morphosyntactic point of view, what is important about the structure *ἐσόμεθα τοῦ σῶσαί σε* (literally: 'we will be of to save you') is that 'be' remains inflected, while the complement has the genitive of purpose of the articular infinitive (see also the parallel expression *ἔσεσθέ μοι εἰς σωτηρίαν* in the preceding line, where in place of the articular infinitive we have as a complement a prepositional phrase showing purpose, too). From the point of view of semantics, it seems that this structure is just a step away from the immediate or expected future. In LSJ this example is included in the entry *εἰμί* for the meaning 'to be about to' (C.2.f), while in the Latin and English translations in the Digital Library of Perseus, the periphrasis is rendered by the futures 'auxiliabor tibi' and 'we will come and help you' respectively. Notwithstanding the fact that the future reading of this structure may be affected by the presence of the synthetic future *ἐσόμεθα*, it is more likely that the structure in question actually conveys the readiness/imminence of the subject to act. Whatever the case, we are dealing with an agreement by the terms of which mutual help is expected or prearranged for the near future in the face of an external threat (for the terms 'immediate' and 'expected/scheduled' and the close relationship between them, as well as with the simple future, see Bybee, Perkins & Pagliuca, 1994:244-7, 249-51).

³ It is not by chance that, as Jebb (1932) observes in his comments on this verse, similar result structures are found with other premodal verbs such as *θέλω* or *δυνατόν (ἐστί)*, e.g. *ἀδύνατον ὑμῖν ὥστε Πρωταγόρου τοῦδε σοφώτερόν τινα ἐλέσθαι* (*Protagoras* (Plato), 338) 'It is impossible for you to choose...'.

A new development in this period is the identification of 3sg. *ἔνι* (alternative form of 3sg. *ἔνεστι*, from the prefixed verb *ἔνειμι* ‘to be in’) with *ἐστί*, resulting in their parallel use (Mandilaras, 1973:77). The two types also coincide in their impersonal uses with the general meaning of ability / root possibility, although the structures with *ἔνι* are rare and relatively late-attested (there are only three examples, all in private papyri from the end of the Hellenistic and beginning of the early Medieval periods):

- (6) ἐπι δὲ οὐκ ἔνι ἀπελθῆν ᾧ τοις τέσ\σαιρες/

Because I can’t (it is impossible for me to) leave with four animals. (?)

(sb.18.13598 (9); 6th–7th c. AD)

See also *bgu.4.1024* (5, 20-1); 360 AD and *p.cair.masp.2.67199*; 520–530 AD. In contrast, the impersonal structures with *ἔστι* are much more common and occur regularly throughout the period in question, e.g. *χιτωνάριον δὲ τῷ παιδαρίῳ οὐκ ἔστιν εὔρεῖν* ‘I can’t find a little tunic for our little child’ (*p.cair.zen.4.59644* (12), mid-3rd c. BC; see also *psi.4.297*; 5th c. AD etc.).⁴

In the material from the papyri I also found an example of the periphrasis *ἦν* (= *ἦ*; subjunctive) + infinitive in an embedded purpose clause with *ἵνα*:

- (11) καὶ οὕτως ὄρμασα<ι> τῷ σὲν ζυγὴν μαχαίρην καλὸν καὶ πρόσοψιν λέων ἔχοντα ἵνα ἦν
εὐζηλότερον γενέσθαι καὶ θαυμάζομεν (leg. θαυμάζωμεν)

And so I decorated your good penknife with a lion’s face, so that it can (in order to) be more enviable and we (can) admire it.

(o.claud.2.279 (5-9); 2nd c. AD)

The important thing here is that, functionally, the structure seems to have been generalized: it is nothing more than a subjunctive / subordination marker (*ἦν γενέσθαι* = *γέννηται*), presumably as a consequence of the falling together of the two forms of the auxiliary (*ἦ* / *ἦν*). The same conclusion is reached by Markopoulos (2009:149-55) regarding the structure *να ἔχω* + infinitive which appears in late Byzantine texts.

3.3 Late Medieval Greek and Modern Greek Dialects

Almost the same syntactic pattern seen in example (5), differing only in that the infinitive (but not its article) has been replaced by a *να*-clause, appears more than a thousand years later in the *Ermoniakos* (14th century). The relatively conservative character of the language of this text is what makes possible a comparison with the equivalent Hellenistic structure. On the level of form, *εἶναι* now appears in place of *ἐστί* (for the development of the morphology of *εἶμι*, see Καψωμένος 1953). At the point which interests us, a disheartened Patroklos conveys to Achilles the wretched image of the battle with the Trojans and, having referred to a long list of dead and wounded, emphasizes the fact of the imminent death of two more heroes:

- (12) ο δε Σίσυφος και Νέστωρ συν γαρ τῷ Λοκρῷ τῷ Αἴᾳ εἶναι γουν του ν’ ἀπεθάνουν [...] και
προς κίνδυνον οι πάντες εἶναι γαρ του να γενώσιν

Sisyphus and Nestor, together with the Locrian Ajax, are about to die, and everyone is about to find themselves in danger.

(*Ermoniakos*, P 245-56)

It is obvious that the two structures with *εἶναι του να* + subjunctive have the meaning of immediate / expected future, although from these particular examples it is not possible to confirm the impersonal syntax of the auxiliary. In the same text we also find two archaic structures of the type *εἶναι* + infinitive; this time the old modality of ability / possibility has been replaced by a meaning of preordained or predestined future similar to that expressed by the Modern Greek structure *μου (σου, του etc.) μέλλει να*:

⁴ For more examples, including one with the future *ἔσται* and two with the optative *εἴη*, see Mayser 1906 (II, 1: 165, 307, 339).

- (13) και το κυρωθέν καθάπαξ ου γαρ είν' αναλυθήναι
And that which has been sealed (by fate) now and forever is not destined to be erased
(B 88-91)

(See also *Ψ* 287, where we find the same structure with the same modality). Ambiguity between possibility and preordained future is found in the works of Sachlikis (14th c.), the earliest representative of Cretan literature (Vitti, 1960):

- (14) μη λυπηθής την πολιτικήν εις όσα και αν κλάψη
ότι ποτέ το κλάμα της δεν είναι να την βλάβη
Don't pity a prostitute, however much she cries
because her tears can never (are never going to) do her any harm
(367-8)

Here the periphrasis with *είναι*, which now takes a subordinate clause (*να* + subjunctive) as a complement, expresses the fact that not only it is impossible for tears to harm the prostitute, but also that this is not destined to happen, which is emphasized by the use of the temporal adverb *ποτέ* (see also *καθάπαξ* in the previous example).

The meaning of imminent / near or preordained / predestined future can be clearly discerned in another poem by Sachlikis, as well as in a number of 14th-15th century sources of Cretan, Cypriot and more generally south-eastern origin, especially when the situation described involves concepts such as fate, death, illness etc. (see also examples 12 and 13): *κι όταν παγαίνουν κι έρχονται και ρωτούν πώς ιστέκει, λέγουν το δια να μάθουσιν αν ένι ν' αποθάνη* 'And when they come and go and ask how he is, they say it to find out whether he is going to die' (*Sachlikis* (Wagner, 1874), 129-30; Crete), *από της πείνας της πολλής όλοι <εί>ναι ν' αποθάνουν* 'Because of the great hunger everyone is going to die' (*Diegesis Apolloniou*, 118; maybe from Cyprus), *λοιπόν, παιδί μου, σαν θωρώ, δεν είναι πλια να φθάσω* 'so, my child, as I see it I am not going to live anymore' (*Rimada Apolloniou*, A 1789; see also A 1784-5, A 407-8), *και λαλούν τον: «είναι να γίνει μέγαν σκάνταλον»* 'And they say to him: "there's going to be a big scandal"' (*Boustronios*, A 125r 5; Cyprus; see also A 125r 11-2, A 24v 9-14, A 92v 5-6), *ουδένας γοιον εμέν δ' είναι να μοιάση* 'there will not be anyone like me' (*Love Poems*, κα' 12; Cyprus; see also ν' 7-8 and ξε' 6-7) etc.

What all the above cases have in common is the fact that the auxiliary is in the third person, appearing in its usual forms *ένι, είναι, είναι(ν)*. In contrast, I have noted only two instances where the auxiliary is declined for person: the first is from the chronicle of Machairas:

- (15) λαλείς πως είσαι να βάλης εις νομήν τον αφέντην μας
You say that you are going to put our master in charge.
(491.28-9; Cyprus, 15th c.)

Dawkins ascribes lexical meaning to the auxiliary: 'you wish to put', but this interpretation finds little support in the preceding theoretical discussion or in the material available from Greek. It is most likely that we are dealing either with immediate or scheduled future, or, at least, with the modality of intention.

The second case, which is also the only example where *είμαι* is combined with the purposive complementizer *ίνα* instead of *να*, is from the *Thanatikon tis Rhodou* by Georgilas (211; circa 1500):

- (16) αμμή εγώ θωρώντα σε είμαι δια ν' αποθάνω
But I, seeing you, deserve to die

However, this structure cannot easily be ascribed future reference.⁵ In fact it is very reminiscent of the equivalent Modern Greek expressions *είναι (για) να τον κλαίνε, είναι να τρελαίνεσαι* etc. where the periphrasis expresses the meaning 'is justified' or 'deserves' (for these expressions and their meanings see LKN, entry *είμαι*).

In texts from the same period (15th – early 16th century) and the same general area (Crete – Cyprus), I have only rarely encountered structures which could be considered to express simple obligation (without the additional meaning of prescheduled future). These are examples 17-20, but in none of

⁵ See also the slightly later (mid-16th century) *αν δεν το κάμω σαν θωρείς, είμαι για να παγώσω* 'If I don't do it as you think right I deserve to freeze' (*Aitolos (Aisopou Mithoi)*, 125 12).

these cases is it possible to exclude a reading from the point of view of ability / root possibility or other modalities:

- (17) Το φυσικόν της αρχοντιάς δεν είναι να κρατήζη
την χρείαν τ' ανθρώπου περιπλιός όντε τη θε ζητήξει
(*Falieros (Istoria kai Oniro)*, 158-60; 15th c.)

The meaning of this couplet, according to van Gemert (1980:147, 187), is that the nobleman, because of his nature, should not (it is not appropriate for him to) refuse help to someone in need, especially if he asks for it.

- (18) δια τρεις αφορμές ένι να φύγωμεν θυμού, μίσου και φάμας
(*Machairas*, 255.11-2; 15th c.)

Dawkins translates (18) as follows: 'There are three ways we may take to avoid wrath, hatred and scandal'. However, as these three ways are not mentioned in the text that follows, I take the meaning to be 'We should avoid (it) for three reasons: wrath, hatred and scandal', in which case the periphrasis has clearly deontic meaning.

Similarly, in the next two examples, hidden behind deontic modality we find the meanings 'it is not right', 'it is not justified', 'does not deserve' (see also 16 above):

- (19) και δεν είναι να τους αποθαρρούμεν. Διати μίαν φοράν ήύραμέν τους δια παράβουλους
And we should not trust them. Because we have once found them to be oath-breakers.
(*Boustronios*, A 108r 5-6; beginning of the 16th c.)

- (20) το λοιπονίν δεν είνε να το θαυμαστή τινάς τούτον το γίνην, ότι αξ αυτόν μου εγίνην
So no-one should be surprised at what happened, because it happened because of me.
(*Machairas*, 251.21-2; 15th c.)

As can be seen from the above examples, all the structures with *είμαι* come from medieval texts that belong to the so-called southern-south-eastern group of dialects. It is characteristic that I could not find even one example of modal use of the present tense of the copula outside this area (e.g. in the *Chronicle of the Morea* or the *Chronicle of the Tocco family of Kefalonia* etc.), with the exception of the archaic infinitive constructions from *Ermoniakos* (examples 12 and 13). Indeed, the relatively frequent appearance of the structures with *είμαι* in the arc Crete-Dodecanese-Cyprus supports the hypothesis that in precisely these areas it is possible to find examples not simply of semantic generalization / reduction (e.g. the use of the copula in place of a modal marker) or decategorization (e.g. the fact that the form used is almost always impersonal) as seen in the above examples, but also cases of phonological reduction of the auxiliary and its coalescence with other grammatical morphemes, for which see below. The fact that all these different aspects of the phenomenon are present shows that the structures in question present an increased degree of grammaticalization, and that we can indeed consider them to be periphrases (for the terminology, see Hopper & Traugott (2003), Bybee, Perkins & Pagliuca (1994), Lehmann, 2002 etc.; for the criteria defining periphrasticity, see Vincent (1987), Bertinetto (1990), Haspelmath (2000) etc.).

In the following examples the auxiliary shows signs of phonological reduction and coalescence with the negative particle:

- (21) «δένα (ed: δεν 'ν' να) βρεθεί και ο Σαπλάνες έχει στο Κολόσσιν κανέναν πράμαν δικόν του»
It will not / is not going to be found that Saplanes has any property of his own at Kolossi.
(*Boustronios*, A 104v 5-6; beginning of the 16th c.)

(See also the same structure in A 130v 9-10; also *νύκταν ημέραν κόβγεις τους και δεν να σε κοζήσουν* '[Death,] you reap day and night and no-one can (is going to) change your mind' (*Georgilas*, 227; circa 1500). In all three examples I think it preferable to reconstruct the complex *δε(ν) εν να > δε(ν)α* with dissimilatory deletion of the first nasal, where *εν* is a common medieval form of the 3rd person singular alongside *έν(ι/αι)* and *είν(ι/αι)* (see Καψωμένος, 1953), rather than to propose a simple future meaning for *να*, the position of which immediately following the negative *δεν* would be in any case problematic. However, the phonological reduction undergone by the auxiliary in this structure cannot really be taken as proof of the grammaticalization of the periphrasis *είναι να* + subjunctive in particular, because in various Modern Greek dialects today, including those in question, we quite

regularly find forms of the negative particle *δένι*, *δέναι* (= *δεν έν(ι/αι)*) (Τζιτζιλής, to appear (a)), so we must conclude that the coalescence of *δεν ένι* is not confined to the periphrases examined here. What these examples show is a general tendency for decharacterization or bleaching of *είναι*. The example given below, however, is a case where the phonological reduction of the auxiliary can indeed be understood as an indication of the grammaticalization of the structure *είναι να* + subjunctive. It comes from Crete:

- (22) Αν απεθάνει η Τάρσια ποιος ένα (ed: *έ' να / έν' <ν>α*) μας γυρεύει
If Tarsia dies, who will interrogate us?

(*Rimada Apolloniou*, A 1213; 15th c.)

The editor of the text takes the meaning of this structure to be simple future (p. 217), and in his comments on the language of the Cypriot Boustronios he adopts the etymology from *(θ)έ(λει)ν να > εν να*, which is the preferred form of the future in Cypriot today, alongside *θεννα*. However, I believe that the degree of phonetic reduction presupposed by this etymology is much greater than that presented in the sources from the southern / south-eastern dialects from this period (see Markopoulos (2009), where it is shown that at least until the 15th century the basic form of the future is *θέλω* + infinitive). Another thing that leads us to reject the interpretation of *εννα* as deriving from the volitional *θέλω* is the large number of periphrases with 'be' in the texts from Cyprus, Crete and the Dodecanese. Taking this into account, the modern futures with *εννα* + subj. in the dialects of Cyprus, e.g. *εν να φάω* 'I will eat' (Χατζηιωάννου, 1999:92) and the Dodecanese, e.g. *εννα χτυπήσεις* 'you will hit' (Παπαχριστοδούλου 1986:181, Rhodes), *γιάαινε κ' εννα 'ρτεί κ' εκείνος* 'Go and he will come with you' (Μηνάς 2002:65, Karpathos) etc. are more plausibly (and more economically) explained as deriving from constructions with the copula rather than the volitional auxiliary. This hypothesis is supported by the existence of futures with 'be' in a number of dialects from Asia Minor, including that of Farasa (Αναστασιάδης, 1976:188-9), e.g. *αρέ ε να νάρτου* 'I'll come soon' (*ε* is a marker of immediate future or obligation⁶ in contrast to the simple future particle *α(ν)*; for the likelihood that *ε* is to be identified with the medieval *εν*, see Τζιτζιλής, to appear (b)), as well as the Cappadocian dialects of Ulagac and Axos (Janse, to appear), e.g. *να έρτομ' δέ 'ναι* 'we won't come' (Ulagac), *να πάμ' δέ 'ναι* 'we won't go' (here *(έ)ναι* is only present in an environment of negation with *δεν*), Propontis Tsakonian, e.g. *μα γράψ' < είμα να γράψου* (Λιόσης 2010) 'I will write', and probably also in the dialect of Silli, for which Κωστάκης (1968:162) gives the form *εννα* (= *θα*). We encounter the same structure in the neighbouring Cyclades, also with the meaning of immediate future, e.g. *να πάου είμαι στο χωριό* 'I'll go soon' (Μάνεσης 1997, 1:307; Mykonos). Here the fact that the copula follows the main verb and is finite, on the model of the simple future as seen in example *να τσι φάς θες* 'I'll beat you' (Μάνεσης 1997, 1:348), excludes the possibility of interference from Standard Modern Greek.

4. Conclusions

In a previous paper (Liosis 2010) I discussed structures of counterfactual modality with the imperfect of *είμαι* in modern Greek dialects, applying the typological division made by Τζιτζιλής (to appear (a)) based on the verb used in each dialect to express this modality. Thus dialects may be divided according to whether they use *ήθελα*, *είχα* or *ήμουν*. In the last category belong, not by chance, Cypriot, Dodecanesian and Cretan, as well as many dialects from Asia Minor (those of Cappadocia, Farasa, Silli, and Propontis Tsakonian). I believe that this picture is confirmed in the light of the data from the medieval texts; the periphrases with the present tense of *είμαι* are generally found in the same areas, are more or less grammaticalized, and cover a broad range of modalities, which theoretically and typologically precede the future (e.g. ability, obligation, possibility), or are later non-future developments (e.g. epistemic modality), or can be described as specialized futures (immediate, scheduled, predestined future). In some cases they have been grammaticalized to the point where they have replaced the simple future.

⁶e.g. *τα ζύα ε να κοπούν σήμουρον* 'the wood must be cut today' (see also the equivalent negative deontic structure from Pontic Greek *κ' έν να γίνεται αέτσ* 'it must not happen like that' (Παπαδόπουλος 1958, 1:288)).

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QUANTIFICATION AND SYNTAX

Anna-Maria Margariti

University of Patras, Greece

annamariamargariti@upatras.gr

margaritianna@yahoo.com

ABSTRACT

In Modern Greek kathe, the lexical paradigm for every, forms expressions with ambiguous interpretations. In this paper we present the different readings kathe phrases give rise to and a way of deriving these different readings through implementing the theory presented in Roussou & Tsimpli (2006) for indefinite phrases. More specifically, it is demonstrated that the different readings attributed to the phrase in question are crucially related to the sentence domain each time the kathe nominal phrase is merged in. When merged and interpreted in dC, the phrase receives a universal distributive “strong” interpretation. When merged in dv, the phrase is bound to receive a “weak”, Free Choice-like interpretation. In dT the phrase may receive either of the above interpretations. Which interpretation the phrase will receive depends on the aspect of the verb and Focus. Focus seems to be related to dC and to the “strong” quantificational reading. I argue that in the case of the ambiguous quantificational expressions in hand the distributive property of kathe interacts with properties of the head of the domain it is merged in and that the relevant readings pertaining to quantification do not involve the Determiner Phrase (DP) as such alone.

Keywords: universal quantification, distributivity, Free Choice, indefinites.

1. Introduction: (In)definites and universal quantification

Since Heim (1982) (in) definites are viewed as variables that should be bound by relevant operators. “Universal” distributive determiner phrases (such as *every*, *each*) have been spared from similar skepticism (unlike collective *all*, cf. Brisson 1998). However, the idea that distributive universal quantification, involving a sorting key and a distributive share (terms by Choe 1985) mainly results from the lexical semantics of the quantifier or determiner of the Quantifier Phrase (QP) or Determiner phrase (DP) which acts as the sorting key has been repeatedly challenged in recent literature.

With the lexical semantics of the “universal” determiners placed under scrutiny, a somewhat different approach rears its head. It has been argued by many that *every* NPs in one way or the other should be treated as similar to other (in)definites, e.g. as variables bound by external operators. The fact that distributivity may ensue with plain plural (in)definites, for example, has been considered as one indication that distribution is not related to a particular determiner forming a DP / QP (Szabolcsi 2010:113):

- (1) (The) six friends watched a movie together and had a glass of wine.

In the above sentence “a glass of wine” is interpreted distributively; we infer that a total of (at least) six glasses of wine were consumed by the six friends, not just one. No overt distributive operator is visible, though.

In this spirit it has been claimed that the lexical semantics of the determiners which form the quantifying DPs or Quantifier Phrases (QPs) are not responsible for the (universal) distributive reading (Szabolcsi 2010, Beghelli & Stowell 1997, Matthewson 2001, among others). The distributive reading is considered to be the result of a sentence-level operator not related to the determiner. All the DP that receives the distributive reading has to do is to merge in the designated syntactic position. In a nutshell, neither the determiner nor the DP are the major culprits; on the contrary, it is a sentence-level operator

that does all the work¹. Evidence for relevant syntactic positioning and the resulting different interpretations comes from Hungarian (e.g. Szabolcsi 1997) and other languages (cf. references for KiLega and Palestinian Arabic in Beghelli and Stowell 1997).

Apart from that, distributivity itself is not viewed as a uniform notion. Different kinds or “degrees” of distributivity have been recognized in the literature. There are a number of differences between strong *every* and stronger *each* - *strong* in Milsark’s (1974) sense, *stronger* as in Ioup’s (1975) hierarchy. According to Heim & Kratzer (1998) *each* is presuppositional, while *every* is not. Tunstall (1998) similarly characterizes *each* as a total distributive; *every* is a partial distributive. According to Beghelli & Stowell (1997) *each* is obligatorily distributive whereas *every* is optionally distributive. Furthermore, as it has been claimed by Schein (1993) and adopted by many semantics researchers ever since (e.g. Kratzer 2003) plurality and any distributivity related to it seem to involve events (Davidson 1967). In this sense again, distributivity is not a matter of the DP alone.

Much of the above discussion and *each-every* distinction have been adopted for relevant Modern Greek paradigms -phrases *kathe* and *o kathe*. Lazaridou-Chatzigoga (2009) and Etxeberria and Giannakidou (2010) distinguish between *kathe* (*every*) vs. *o kathe* (*each*). According to Giannakidou (1998) *kathe* is non-veridical, whereas *o kathe* is veridical. The latter phrase is also attributed an indiscriminative Free Choice (FC) reading (Giannakidou 2012). Considering that Free Choice Items (FCIs) have been regarded as indefinites, this use may be indicative of the indefinite, non-inherently universal nature of the paradigm *kathe* and that is precisely where the main focus of the present paper lies on. I present the different uses of the (*o*) *kathe* DPs and, building on the insights in recent literature discussed, I propose a syntactic analysis for the Greek *kathe* DPs. The phrase’s different distributive readings are attributed to the position the phrase occupies within the sentence and its interaction with (im)perfective aspect and focus.

The discussion is organized as follows: In section 2 we see some facts and core data about the ambiguity of the (*o*) *kathe* DP. In section 3 we review Roussou and Tsimpili’s (2006) proposal on the interpretation of indefinites which we will use as the basis for our analysis. In section 4 we present the data and analysis. In section 5 we conclude.

2. The ambiguity of *kathe* DPs

Modern Greek *kathe* is a distributive determiner (Holton et al. 2007) equivalent to the sorting key (Choe 1985) or distributive-key universal (Gil 1995) *every* determiner.

(*O*) *kathe* DPs are (most commonly) interpreted as universal distributive DPs as in (2, 7). However, when combined with (a certain type) of nominals in particular contexts, they seem to render an FC-*any* interpretation as in (3, 4, 5, 6) below:

- (2) O kathe ipopsifios pire apo ekato evro.
the every candidate receive.past.3sg. from a hundred euro
“Each candidate received a hundred euros.”
- (3) Anighi maghazi o kathe asxetos ke halai tin aghora.
open.pres.3sg. shop every irrelevant and ruin.pres.3sg. the market
“Just any amateur opens a store and ruins the market.”
- (4) Akoma ke o kathe tixeos perastikos tha iksero na su pi ghia tin akropoli.
even and any random passer-by would know.3past.3sg subj. say about acropolis
“Even just any random passer-by would know a few things to say about the Acropolis.”

¹ Szabolcsi (2010) further argues that *every* NPs could be viewed on a par with indefinites on the basis that they both exhibit three common traits: they can be both referentially dependent as they can also be referentially independent. Their distributive scope is clause bounded in both cases. They differ in how the choice function involved in their interpretation is picked (ibid: 105).

Beghelli and Stowell (1997) argue that *every* NP supplies just the domain of quantification and not the universal distributive operator. The latter is not to be found in the determiner’s lexical semantics. It is rather related to a specific position at LF.

Kratzer (2005) puts forth the idea that universal Ds are not inherently universal but agreement markers which participate in a quantificational concord phenomenon similar to negative concord as analyzed in Ladusaw (1994). This idea is also found in Butler (2004) who proposes a feature-based approach for universal quantification.

- (5) Esi bori na min tin skotoses, dhen kseris omos ti bori na katathesi o kathe martiras.
you may subj. not her kill.past.2sg. not know.pres.2sg. what may subj. testify.3sg. any witness
“You may not be the killer, but you can’t be sure what any witness might testify.”
- (6) Tora beni sto dhiadhiktio kathe aniliko ke kani ipoklopes sto Pentagono! # Ine kati poli
sinithismeno.
now get.pres.3sg. in the internet any underage and make.pre.3sg hacking to the Pentagon. Be.
pres.3sg very common.
“Any underage person may nowadays get on the internet and hack the Pentagon. # It is very
common.”
- (7) Kathe aniliko beni sto dhiadhiktio ke kani ipoklopes sto Pentagono. Ine kati poli sinithismeno.
every underage get.pres.3sg. in the internet and make.pre.3sg hacking to the Pentagon. Be.
pres.3sg very common.
“Every underage person gets on the internet and hacks the Pentagon. It is very common.”

The different readings *o kathe* DPs receive are evident in (2, 3, 4, 5), where we encounter an *each* as well as a *just any* and *any* meaning. The different readings *kathe* DPs receive are found in (6, 7). In (4) the item in question is accompanied by words that may be viewed as indicative of the FC indiscriminative reading: *akoma ke* (*even though*), *tixeos* (*random*). The *every* and *each* interpretations anticipated based on the standard view appear only in (2, 7). We observe that in sentences (3-6) where the DP in question receives a Free Choice (FC *any*) interpretation we have a [–perfect(ive)] grammatical aspect on the verb².

Another common trait in sentences (3-6) is that the FCI *kathe*-DP subject is in a postverbal position. Note that the meaning differentiation between (6) and (7) seems to result from the positioning of the subject *kathe* DP in the sentence. The universal distributive reading arises in (7), where the *kathe* DP appears to be in the C domain. In (6), on the other hand, the phrase in question is in a postverbal position in the domain of v, yielding an FC *any* reading. This is not the only difference between the two phrases, however. In (7) the universal strong *kathe* DP seems to carry Focus, whereas in (6) the FCI version does not. Furthermore, if the phrase in question in (6) is pronounced as Focused, its reading becomes strong and universal. Focus seems to be a distinctive feature between the two readings.

The above data clearly indicate that *kathe* DPs receive a Free Choice interpretation³ together with the anticipated universal distributive one (also cf. Margariti 2007). The sections that follow sketch an explanation of the above observations.

3. Background analysis: Roussou & Tsimpli (2006)

Roussou & Tsimpli (2006) in discussing the availability of VSO in Greek and its (relative) unavailability in Italian present a mechanism for deriving the interpretation of subjects (and more loosely all arguments) depending on the domain they occur in.

They divide the clause in three main domains: dC, DT and dv, defined by the heads C, T and V respectively (ibid: 322). The interpretation of a subject indefinite DP varies depending on the domain in which it is merged in. The properties of the head of the domain the DP is each time merged in affect the interpretation of the DP (ibid: 325). They further assume that clitic positions are available in all three domains, forming an iterative ‘clitic-shell’ that appears at the periphery of all domains, adopting a proposal in Manzini & Savoia (2004). In their notation, CL1 and CL2 stand for two clitic positions, roughly corresponding to subject and object clitics, respectively. They propose the following schema

² We have a [–past, –perfect] T specification in (3, 5, 6) and a modal context in (4). According to Roussou & Tsimpli (1996) all verb specifications in Greek but [+past, +perfect] may yield a modal interpretation. This is the case here for (3, 6); we have a modal interpretation, as evident from the English translation. Note that the relation between modality and the [–past, –perfect] specification is in line with Giannakidou’s (2011) claim that [+past, +perfect] is the only true tense in Greek.

³ A few words on what we take Free Choice items (e.g. *whichever*) to be are relevant at this point. Free Choice Items (FCIs) have been argued to be either universal or existential; we opt for the second view and consider FCIs to be existential indefinites in the sense of Heim (1982), following among others Kadmon & Landman (1993), Horn (2000, 2005) and Giannakidou (2001) and Vlachou (2007) for Greek FCIs in particular. If this line of research is on the right track, together with the proposal put forth in Szabolcsi (2010) about the uniformity of *every* expressions with indefinites, we could envisage a unified account for diverse items such as *every*, *any*, *whichever*, and *a*.

for the clause structure, where CL1 and CL2 may be realized by either a clitic or a full DP (their (16), pp. 325):

- (8) [a CL1 – CL2 C [b CL1 – CL2 T [c CL1 – CL2 V]]]

The interpretation of the subject DP is influenced by the properties of the head of the domain it appears in. In dV the event and aspectual properties of the predicate affect the DP. In dT it is the temporal properties of the clause that are relevant, while in dC discourse properties call the shots (ibid: 325).

The theory predicts a number of discrepancies between the three domains, which always pertain to the particular features of the head of each domain.

More specifically, CL1 (“Subject”) and CL2 (“Object”) in dC may alternate in order (SO, OS). Both positions may be lexically realized within this domain. The first in line is the Topic, the second the Focus (following Rizzi 1997).

In dT, CL1 (“Subject”) and CL2 (“Object”) cannot alternate in order. In the presence of a lexicalized CL1, CL2 can only be a clitic. Finally, CL1 and CL2 in Greek can be full argument DPs in dv and alternate in order. Greek allows for a morphological distinction between Nom (S) and Acc (O), primarily due to the full inflection of the definite article at D (while Italian does not have that). Quantification is viewed in connection with the C head and Focus, following previous literature that wants focus in the periphery to be quantificational, in opposition to topic (ibid: 335).

A few words about the general Greek syntax assumed by the two authors and also endorsed by our analysis: For starters, V-to-T movement always takes place. Also, Spec,TP is always projected while preverbal subjects are not always dislocated. The latter assumptions are in pace with Spyropoulos and Revithiadou (2007), contra Philippaki-Warbuton (1987), Tsimpli (1990), Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou (1998), Spyropoulos & Philippaki-Warbuton (2001), Kotzoglou (2005), among others. They also assume that T-to-C movement may also take place - contra Kotzoglou (2005) and Agouraki (2010) (for Standard Greek) for that matter.

An example of their analysis can be found below (ibid: 328, (their 17(a) and 17 (b)):

- (9) (a) [T Estile [CL1 o Petros [CL2 to ghrama [V tv]]]]
sent-3S the Peter the letter
“Peter sent the letter.”
- (10) (b) [C Estile [CL1 o Petros [CL2 [T tv [CL1 [CL2 to ghrama [V tv]]]]]]]10
sent-3S the Peter the letter
“Peter did send the letter. / Did Peter send the letter ?”

4. Analysis of the subject *kathe* DP in relation to dC, dT and dv

Roussou and Tsimpli (2006) examine Greek DPs with the definite article *o*, *i*, *to* and Bare NPs. We will see how their proposal works with the distributive yet ambiguous *kathe* DP in subject position. Before continuing with the analysis, allow us a last observation. In (6, 7) we saw that the readings for the phrase in question alternated according to its pre /postverbal positioning (of the subject). Here allow us to observe that sentences that are perfectly grammatical with a *kathe* DP as a postverbal subject become ungrammatical when we change the tense specification on T from [–past, –perfect] or [+past, – perfect] to [+past, +perfect]. The data below provide us with a more lucid illustration of the [– perfect] vs. [+perfect] differentiation:

- (11) Me enoxli / me enoxlouse / (* me enoxlise) *kathe* pikramenos vradhiatika sto tilefono.
me annoy.pres.imperf.3sg./ me annoy. past.imperf.3sg. /me annoy past.perf.3sg. any
troubled individual on the phone.
“Any troubled individual can / could annoy me on the phone at night.”
- (12) Den thelo na mou tilefoni /(* na mou telefonisi) *kathe* mathitis mes sto vradhi.
Not want. pres.imperf.3sg. to me.gen call. pres.imperf.3sg. / to me.gen. call.perf.3sg. any
student in the night.
“I don’t want any student to call me up in the middle of the night.”

Based on the above data and adopting Roussou and Tsimpli (2006), we make the following predictions regarding the interpretation of the *kathe* DP in relation to the domain in which it is merged:

If the *kathe* DP is merged at dv, we expect its features to be related to the aspect and event properties of the predicate. I propose that this translates into our distributive DP being interpreted as distributive over events. This concept maybe viewed as similar to that of “domain-widening” for FCIs (Kadmon and Landman 1993). It is the FC interpretation for the *kathe* DP, the only possible when it is merged in the dv domain.

In our analysis we take *kathe* to be lexically specified for distributivity. It is the domain in which this distributive feature is expressed that determines whether this distribution will involve a distribution over events (with plural indefinite reading, and a “usual” reading, as we will see) or a choice over events (Free Choice reading) in dv or distribution over individuals, which, in combination with Focus, will render an exhaustive, universal reading in dC.

If the *kathe* DP is merged in dT, an FC interpretation of the DP in question is attainable only if it has a [–past, –perfect] T specification. A [+past, +perfect] Tense specification makes the [+distributive] feature of *kathe* DP over events impossible, as it only allows the predicate to have the interpretation of an accomplished single event. Thus, the [+distributive] feature in this case may only involve the subject. T is widely assumed to have a special relationship with the subject, in general. Except for this, the DP in question may be interpreted both as a universal and as an FC when in dT. We can assume a lower Focus position in this domain as in Belletti (2004), providing the DP with a [+Focus] feature.

If the *kathe* DP is merged in dC, it can receive both interpretations: A universal, if C is [+Foc] and a topicalized FC or plural indefinite one if C is [–Foc] (provided that T is [–past, – perfect].)

Let us now check how the proposed analysis works with our data: We will examine two sentences: one with a T [– past, – perfect] and another one with a T [+past, +perfect] specification. Each one of them facilitates one of the two readings better than the other for reasons other than syntactic. Let us see a T [– past, – perfect] VSO sentence first (transliterations provided only once for easiness of exposure):

- (13) [T Anighi [CL1 *kathe anerghos* [CL2 *maghazi* [V tv]]]
 [T open.3sg. [CL1 any unemployed [CL2 shop [V tv]]]
 “Any unemployed person may open a shop.”
 “Unemployed people tend to open shops.”
- (14) [C Anighi [CL1 *kathe anerghos* [CL2 [T tv [CL1 [CL2 *maghazi* [V tv]]]]]]]
 “Do unemployed people tend to open shops?”
 “Can whichever unemployed person open a shop?”
 “Does every unemployed person open a shop?”
 “Every unemployed person does open a shop.”

In (13) the CL1 subject *kathe* DP is in dv. Only the FC interpretation is available. In (14) V is in C either because it is focused or because C is [+Q], in which case we have a yes-no question. The *kathe* DP in CL1 in dT may be interpreted as an FC. Alternatively, if we assume a low Focus position in the IP domain (for subjects) as in Belletti (2004), then it can have a universal reading. Let us now check a VOS sentence:

- (15) [T Anighi [CL2 *maghazi* [CL1 *kathe anerghos* [V tv]]]
 “Any unemployed person may open a shop.”
 “Unemployed people tend to open shops.”

In Greek dv CL1 and CL2 may alternate in order due to the fact that Greek DPs, primarily due to the definite article, may check both case and agreement features. Again only the FC reading is available. SVO order is next:

- (16) [CL1 *kathe anerghos* [CL2 C [T anighi [CL1 [CL2 *maghazi* [V tv]]]]]
 “Every unemployed person can open a shop.”
 “Whoever is unemployed can open a shop!”

The subject is in dC, C is [+Foc] and the interpretation is universal. If C is [–Foc] then the interpretation of the CL1 DP here is FC, similar to a Free Relative clause in this case.

- (17) [CL1 *kathe anerghos* [CL2 [T anighi [CL1 [CL2 *maghazi* [V tv]]]]]
 “Every / any unemployed person can open a shop.”

The subject is in dT, the object in dv. In this case, the subject may receive both a universal and an FC interpretation. If it is specified as [+Foc] by a low Focus, then it is universal. If not, it is situated in Spec, TP where it receives an FC (or even a generic-like) interpretation. OVS order is to be checked last:

- (18) [CL2 maghazi [CL1 [T anighi [CL1 [CL2 kathe anerghos [V tv]]]]]]
 “As for shops, any unemployed person can open one.”
- (19) [CL2 maghazi anighi] [CL1 kathe anerghos C [...T tv ...[V tv]]]
 “It is a shop that every unemployed person opens.”

In (18) the DP is in dv, so it receives an FC interpretation. In (19) the DP is in CL1 at the second [+Focus] position in dC, receiving a Universal interpretation. In CL2 we have remnant movement of the IP. A bold proposal, this reading remains problematic, though (as OVS in general).

It is now time we turned to the T: [+past, +perfect] specification. VSO order is examined first:

- (20) *[T pire [CL1 kathe paidi [CL2 mila [V tv]]]
 [T take.past.3sg [CL1 every child[CL2 apples[V tv]]]

The CL1 subject *kathe* DP cannot occur in the dv, where only the FC interpretation is available. In other words, no FC interpretation is available when T has a [+past, +perfect] specification because, according to our initial stipulations, we cannot have distribution over events.

- (21) [C Pire [CL1 kathe paidi [CL2 [T tv [CL1 [CL2 mila[V tv]]]]]]]
 “Did every child take apples?”
 “Every child did take apples.”

V is in C either because it is focused or because C is [+Q], in which case we have a yes-no question. The *kathe* DP in CL1 in dT may not be interpreted as an FC for the reason we just saw. If we assume a low Focus position in the IP domain (for subjects) as in Belletti (2004), then it has a universal reading. VOS is examined next:

- (22) *[T Pire [CL2 mila [CL1 kathe paidi [V tv]]]
 (23) [C Pire CL2 mila] [CL1 kathe paidi [T tv [CL1 [CL2 [V tv]]]]]
 “Every child did take apples.”

The FC reading is not available in the above structure. The universal reading could come up if we assume Remnant movement and CL1 is in dC or, alternatively, in dT in the presence of a low Focus. Let us check the SVO sentence now:

- (24) [CL1 kathe paidi [CL2 C [T pire [CL1 [CL2 mila [V tv]]]]]
 “Every child took apples.”
- (25) [CL1 kathe paidi [CL2 [T pire [CL1 [CL2 mila [V tv]]]]]
 “Every child took apples.”

In (24) the subject is in dC, C is [+Foc] and the interpretation is universal. FC is uniformly not permitted. In (23) the subject is in dT, the object in dv. In this case, the subject may receive a universal interpretation, if it is specified as [+Foc] by a low Focus. Finally, the OVS order:

- (26) *[CL2 mila[CL1 [T pire [CL1 [CL2 kathe paidi [V tv]]]]]
 (27) [CL2 mila pire] [CL1 kathe pedi C [...T tv ...[V tv]]]

The DP is in CL1 at the second [+ Focus] position in dC, receiving a Universal interpretation. In CL2 we have remnant movement of the IP (25).

Reviewing findings and discussion of our analysis, adopting Roussou and Tsimplici's (2006) theory, universal quantification rendered by *kathe* DP is connected to the [+ distributive] feature specification of the *kathe* D and the [+Focus] specification of C in the dC or dT (low focus) domain. The [+ distributive] feature of *kathe* in dV interacts with the event and aspectual features of the V in dv. The [+distributive feature] of *kathe* in dT may also interact with tense features of T. The [+distributive feature] of *kathe* in dC can interact with the [+Focus] feature of C giving an exhaustive reading (cf. the

feature specification of identificational Focus as [+exhaustive], [+contrastive] from E. Kiss 1998). This combination renders the universal reading for the DP⁴.

Summarizing, the *kathe* D is always specified as [+distributive]. Distributivity does not equal universal quantification, however. *kathe* DPs may receive either a universal distributive or an FC (existential) or an indefinite reading. An FC *kathe* DP has the features [–Focus, –perfect] whereas a Universal *kathe* has [+Focus, +perfect] or just any of the two. *kathe* Agrees with [+Focus] on C either in the C domain (dC) in SVO structures or in the T domain (dT) in VSO structures, assuming a low Focus position in the IP area as in Belletti (2004).

5. Conclusions

We have tried in the limited space allowed to sketch an account of the different readings *kathe* DPs exhibit in the framework of Roussou and Tsimpili's (2006) explanation of the Greek VSO. We have attributed the different readings *kathe* DPs receive to the positioning of these phrases in different syntactic domains and to the interplay between the features of the different heads and the [+distributive] feature on *kathe*. This is the only point of departure from the proposals in recent literature on *every* (such as Szabolcsi 2010 and the others cited in section 1), as we argue for a D indeed specified for distributivity, carrying a distributive operator in its lexical semantics. However, the *kathe* D does not contribute a universal operator. In line with these proposals, universal quantification remains mainly the area of responsibility of a sentence level operator in the C domain. More over, the existence of a non overt distributive operator heading (*or occupying the Spec of*) a DistP (e.g. for plain (in)definite distributive readings) is not refuted by the present analysis. In line with the basic tenets of the “deconstructing *every*” recent approaches, we have shown that syntactic positioning does play a crucial role in the emergence of the quantificational readings and that Greek *every* exhibits a behavior very close to indefinites. A number of technical and general issues still remain open for future research and clarifications.

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⁴ Among the other issues that the analysis proposed here touches on is the strong preference in Greek for preverbal subjects in transitive constructions and post-verbal subjects in intransitive ones (Laskaratou 1984, 1989), while in subjunctive clauses subjects with neutral intonation can only be postverbal (Spyropoulos and Revithiadou 2007). This may explain why for instance VOS with *take* in (22) is not the most neutral order, while it is with *open* in (15). The fact that the FC *kathe* DP is closely related to a [–past, –perfect] tense specification on T could also be related to a T feature on D, like the *uT* feature on D, which Pesetzky & Torrego (2001) propose as instantiating the nominative case.

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LANGUAGE CONTACT IN THE MIDDLE AGES: RHODES UNDER THE HOSPITALLERS*

Theodore Markopoulos

University of Patras, Greece

theomark@upatras.gr

ΠΕΡΙΛΗΨΗ

Το άρθρο διερευνά την έκταση της γλωσσικής επαφής μεταξύ των ελληνόφωνων και των λατινόφωνων (κυρίως Ιταλών και Γάλλων) στη Ρόδο κατά την διάρκεια της κυριαρχίας των Ιπποτών (1310-1522). Υποστηρίζει ότι οι κοινωνιογλωσσικές συνθήκες που επικρατούσαν εκείνη την περίοδο στην πόλη της Ρόδου ευνοούσαν την γλωσσική επαφή ανάμεσα στους δύο πληθυσμούς και την ανάπτυξη διγλωσσίας / πολυγλωσσίας, ιδιαίτερα στον ελληνόφωνο πληθυσμό, που αποτελούσε και την πλειοψηφία. Επιπλέον, επισημαίνεται η επίδραση της γλωσσικής επαφής στα ελληνικά κείμενα της εποχής που γράφτηκαν στη Ρόδο, όχι μόνο στο λεξιλογικό επίπεδο (κάτι αναμενόμενο), αλλά και στο μορφοσυντακτικό.

1. Introduction

Although the diachronic developments of the Greek language have been the subject of investigation for many decades (or even centuries), there is one aspect of the history of the language whose study remains in its infancy: language contact. The historical study of a language is commonly dominated by a political agenda, and in the case of Greek this was translated into a far-reaching attempt to prove the continuity of the language since ancient times, as well as the paucity of external interference (i.e. language contact) in its shaping throughout the centuries. Fortunately, this politically-motivated perspective has receded recently, and as a result, the study of language contact as an important factor for the history of Greek has been gaining ground, partly as a result of the global rise of such studies in the last three decades.

Nevertheless, systematic investigations into language contact phenomena in Medieval Greek are still rare, possibly due to the fact that this period remains under-represented in the diachronic studies of Greek in general. However, there have been recent attempts to tackle such issues for Late Medieval Greek as well (cf. e.g. Markopoulos, 2010, Μανωλέσσου, 2008, Terkourafi, 2005), which is only to be expected if the sociolinguistic situation of the period (ca. 11th-15th/16th c.) is taken under consideration: This was a time when Greek speakers came into close contact with a variety of other languages, as the political situation in the Greek-speaking world after the capture of Constantinople by the Crusaders in 1204 facilitated language contact between Greek- and Romance-speaking populations, which is the main area of interest of this paper.

One such predominantly Greek-speaking area where the local population came into contact with speakers of Romance varieties is arguably the island of Rhodes, which constitutes the focus of this paper. To be more precise, the aim of the article is:

- a) to illustrate the sociolinguistics of the language contact situation that developed on the island from the 14th c. onwards, and
- b) to look into the possible linguistic outcomes of this situation, by highlighting various possible instances of contact interference while paying close attention to a particular morphosyntactic phenomenon, namely the double marking in the comparatives of the adjectives.

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2. Historical background

Rhodes constituted basically a unique political situation, as it was ruled for two centuries (1310-1522) by the Knights of the Order of St. John, commonly called the Hospitallers, who represented a significant political and military power in the Levant from the 12th c. onwards. After their expulsion from the Holy Lands, the Hospitallers were in search of a new strategic stronghold in the eastern Mediterranean. They managed to acquire such a base on 1310, when they captured Rhodes, and consequently most of the Dodecanese, although they were mostly interested in Rhodes and Kos, keeping for themselves the role of distant overlord for most of the other neighbouring islands. They also possessed a stronghold on Asia Minor (Petrouni / Bodrum), and held Smyrna for a limited period of time.

The Hospitallers managed to hold Rhodes against the Ottoman empire for two centuries, before finally having to abandon it on 1523 after a prolonged siege. Thankfully, they were allowed to take their archives when leaving the island, which are still held in Malta. It is only in the past few years that this huge collection of documents had started to be systematically investigated, and very little has been done concerning: a) the situation of the Greek-speaking population under the Hospitaller rule,¹ and b) the language situation on Rhodes. This paper, as already stated, seeks to address these issues by focusing first on the sociolinguistic situation, and secondly on linguistic features of texts produced on the island, in an attempt to establish the extent of language contact phenomena on Hospitaller Rhodes.

3. Language contact: the sociolinguistic facts

3.1 General remarks

The little that is known with regard to the sociolinguistic aspects of life during the Hospitaller rule concerns the town of Rhodes, the capital of the island. Consequently, the discussion that follows (based mostly on Luttrell, 1982, 1992, 2003, 2007, Borchardt et al., 2007, and Τσιρπανλής, 1991) concerns the town itself, which is the most interesting social environment from a language contact perspective anyway, since it represented the multiethnic, multilingual port-city of the late medieval Mediterranean where contact between various populations must have thrived, at least with respect to specific registers (such as maritime talk). Moreover, settlements of Romance speakers in the Rhodian countryside must have been rather sparse, rendering thus the town as the only or at least the major point of language contact on the island.²

The Knights themselves lived in the *collachium*, a walled area inside the town. It is clear, however, that not only Knights lived in that area, as other Latins and Greeks lived there side-by-side. The town (*burgo*) was populated by Greeks (artisans, traders etc.), which apparently constituted the clear majority of the inhabitants, but an unknown number of Latins also lived there: Italians (Genoese mainly), French, Catalans etc. in a variety of professions, such as traders, notaries, and mercenaries. The well-documented presence of Turks, Armenians and Jews in the town should be noted as well.

The Greeks were in relatively good terms with their Latin overlords, as we can tell from the fact that no open uprising against the Knights has been recorded (only a minor one in Kos, in the early 14th c.). This peaceful co-existence was probably fuelled by the ever threatening presence of the Ottoman empire, as well as by a system of political representation put in favor of the Greeks by 1380 at the latest.

So, all in all, some facilitating factors for language contact between Greeks and Latins in the Hospitaller Rhodes can be isolated: a) They lived side-by-side in the close quarters of the town, and this spatial proximity may well have ended in closer communication between the two parties, b) Various commercial activities involved both parties, c) There was very limited social unrest, which

¹ A. Luttrell, M. Heslop and G. O'Malley are currently working on a project about the countryside of Rhodes during the first century of the Hospitaller rule, which should shed some light on this issue. The publication of the volume coming out of the project is very eagerly anticipated.

² This is a point worth recalling when talking about the influence of this medieval language contact situation in the modern Greek dialect of Rhodes. In other words, absence of interference phenomena in the modern dialect, represented mostly by countryside varieties, is only to be expected given the situation in late medieval Rhodes, and cannot be taken as proof for a supposedly limited influence of language contact in the dialect of Rhodes as a whole.

otherwise could have resulted in a communication “breakdown” between the two linguistic and cultural groups.

3.2 The Latin side

Almost nothing has been done to determine whether language contact between Greeks and Latins had any effect on the Romance languages as spoken (and written) on the island. It is fair to say though that, given the cultural integration of the two groups observed at the latest stages of the Hospitaller rule (cf. further below), Greek interference on Romance varieties of Rhodes seems more than plausible. The topic goes beyond the scope of the paper, but some preliminary remarks are in order here.

First of all, there is ample evidence to suggest that a smaller or larger part of the Latin population residing in the town of Rhodes learned Greek. Pre-eminent among them was the group of notaries working for the Knights: some of them could translate from Latin (or Italian) into Greek or vice versa, as can be seen from 15th c. documents, which are really important in establishing any language contact phenomena on the island (cf. section 3). Moreover, the co-habitation of the town by Greek- and Romance-speakers led inevitably to mixed marriages, whose offspring, being of mixed descent, may well be bi- or multi-lingual. This could only strengthen knowledge of Greek among the Western population of the island.

What about the Knights themselves? It should be borne in mind that the Knights were a multilingual group, with French being the dominant language among them initially, and Italian being also used widely. They had no great scholarly reputation, and apparently were not very eager to pick up Greek: they were unfamiliar with the local language in their majority. On the other hand, there is evidence that at least some of them learned to speak Greek, while Master Juan Fernandez de Heredia was interested both in ancient and in medieval Greek texts (cf. Luttrell, 1960). As expected, knowledge of Greek among the Knights must have widened with the passage of time, as the two dominant groups of the island (Latins and Greeks) overcame many of their cultural differences to create a community with tighter cultural and financial bonds. This is manifested in the rather surprising fact that at the very end of a 16th century manuscript (Montp.S.Medic. 4056), containing among others the poems of the 14th century Cretan poet Sachlikis, the following note is found:

- (1) «Ετελειωθει ο ζαχλικης δια χειρος εμου φρα νοελ δε λα μπρω εκ της ροδων καβαλλαρεις τελος. Ει χηρ μεν η γραμματα σεπτειται ταφω η γραφη δε μενουσα εις χρονους πλιροστατους».
 “Sachlikis was finished by my hand, fra Noel de la Broue, knight from Rhodes. End. The hand that writes decays(?) in the grave but what is written lives forever long”

This Knight, Noel de la Broue, is otherwise unknown to us, as he is not included in the Knights’ catalogues that remain from that period. Nevertheless, this note illustrates the partial cultural osmosis argued for above: at the later stages of the Hospitaller rule, some Knights were not only able to speak Greek, but also interested enough in medieval Greek literature as to copy/write a manuscript containing such works. The fact that the manuscript is full of phonological and syntactic irregularities (Παναγιωτάκης, 1987) does not undermine this conclusion, but simply points out the fact that Noel de la Broue was not a learned man, a scholar in Greek, but must have learned Greek in his everyday-spoken- affairs, providing an example of the results that the multilingualism in town must have brought about.

To sum up, there is solid evidence to argue for bi-/multi-lingualism from the part of Latin speakers on Rhodes, including a –rather modest- number of Knights. The effect of this contact situation on the Romance varieties spoken on the island remains unknown. Multilingualism must have spread with time, as the Latin speakers came closer in cultural terms with the Greek majority of the population. However, it should be stressed that, contrary to the massive shift from Italian - French to Greek that occurred in Crete and Cyprus respectively, no such development can be seen in the case of Rhodes. Apparently, the cultural osmosis between Latins and Greeks did not have the necessary time to give such drastic linguistic results.

3.3 The Greek side

There is plenty of evidence in favour of the idea that a considerable number of Greeks were at least bilingual, i.e. they spoke a Romance language (Italian and/or French) as an L2. It is important to note that this instance of bilingualism must have encompassed various aspects of social life:

i) Household: It is well known that many Greeks made their living as servants in Latin houses. Many of them were slaves imported from other Greek-speaking areas. It is easy to imagine that at least a number of them had a passive familiarity with a Romance language, in order to be able to communicate and perform the daily chores. In this way, they were part of the households, and they had the opportunity to practice their L2 knowledge every day.

ii) Marine life: A lot of Greeks were *marinari*, in other words they were obliged to serve for a length of time in the ships of the Hospitallers. It is more than plausible that they learned some sort of marine language while they served. It is also noteworthy that some Greeks even collaborated with Latins in their maritime activities, and obviously this presupposes an open channel of communication between them. This involvement of Greeks with Western sea-traders is very well exemplified in the interesting case of Michael of Rhodes (cf. Long et al., 2009). Michael was a Greek citizen of Rhodes, and we know of him because he wrote in Italian (Venetian) a manuscript containing a portolan, a treatise on shipbuilding and some personal notes from his travels.³ He ended his career as a galley commander for Venice, a feat that would have been impossible without his solid knowledge of the Italian dialect.

iii) Other professions: Many of the citizens in the *burgo* might also have developed some bilingual skills, depending on whether their profession was of any relevance to the Knights or to the wider Latin community. One such individual was apparently Ayme Cassien, a Greek falconer in the service of the Hospitallers. We hear about him indirectly, through a well-known falconry book written by Jean de Fransières (late 15th c.), *Le livre de fauconnerie*. According to de Fransières, he partly based his own book on a previous similar treatise by Ayme Cassien, who must have written his own work in the early 15th century in French.⁴

The case of Ayme Cassien is reminiscent of the story of Michael of Rhodes: they were both bilinguals, with a solid knowledge of French and Italian, respectively, which helped them make their way into the world. It is not difficult to imagine that the group of bilingual Greek speakers with similar aspirations and professional achievements must have been larger, although it is not easy to determine its exact size.

iv) Another such group, perhaps the most important one from a language contact perspective, consists of the notaries who worked in the service of the Knights. There is evidence of a Greek notary already from the mid-14th century, who was appointed to translate various mandates and court decisions from Latin (or French / Italian) into Greek. It is unfortunate that most of these translated documents have not survived, but the few remaining can shed important light on the written variety of the period. It is obvious that this variety was partly based on the Latin / French “*officialese*”, containing various loanwords and calques. Since the notaries must have also served for the writing down of contracts and agreements among the town-dwellers (at least), the variety they used must have constituted an important part of the ‘norm’, influencing thus other spoken and written varieties.

Greeks were also needed for communication and diplomatic relations between the Knights and the Ottoman rulers. All correspondence was conducted in Greek, and various agreements were translated from Greek into Latin / Romance, providing us with interesting material (cf. further below).

On the whole, there is considerable evidence of multilingualism from the Greek part of the population, on various social channels. The knowledge of Italian and / or French could mean a brighter future for the Greeks of Rhodes, and it is probable that a considerable number of them attempted to take advantage of it.

4. Language contact: linguistic facts

It has been established that multilingualism was enough widespread among the Greek population (particularly in the town of Rhodes) for contact interference phenomena to appear on the Greek variety of the island. Unfortunately, this is not very easy to substantiate, since the extant material is very thin and one has to work with admittedly much less than required in order to draw any solid conclusions. To be more precise, the only literary material surviving from the Hospitaller Rhodes are the writings of E. Limenites (“The plague of Rhodes” and possibly 1-2 other works), and some folk songs originating probably from the Dodecanese. As to the non-literary material, the archive of the Knights (as already

³ His manuscript is interspersed with short prayers in Greek, hence our certainty about his native language and his religion.

⁴ This is not really known, but is very possible since the profile of de Fransières does not match with him speaking Greek; furthermore, it is unlikely that he would have failed to mention the fact that he translated Cassien’s treatise from Greek into French (cf. Wistedt, 1967).

stated) contains mostly documents in Latin, and very few documents in Greek. Still, they constitute our basic source of non-literary material, together with documents related to the diplomatic contacts between the Knights and the Ottoman Turks surviving in the Turkish archives.

The question is, given the sociolinguistic situation described above, what would be the expected result of this case of language contact? Obviously, one can expect a considerable amount of lexical borrowings from Romance languages into Greek, given the partial/full bilingualism of the Greek speakers and the social prestige of the Romance languages on the island. And this is exactly what is found in Limenites, which contains a great number of loanwords, such as: *μπουρνάλα* (sword < It. *pugnale*), *φέστα* (fest, <It. *festa*), *μανιγόρδος* (gravedigger, <It. *manigoldo*) and many more. The same applies to the non-literary documents, where Italian loanwords abound, e.g. *βηζαρίσει* (= notify), used as a translation of the It. *notifichera* (Τσιρπανλής, 1968, B'): it is noteworthy that *βηζαρίσει*, itself a loanword, is given as the Greek equivalent of an Italian word, which illustrates its already established status in the Greek lexicon of the period.

More interestingly, one could also expect some morphosyntactic interference, especially in three different instances: a) in the Greek variety spoken as a second language by Romance speakers (cf. e.g. Thomason, 2001 on interference through shift and the possibility of syntactic transfer even prior to lexical borrowing), b) in translations from Italian / French into Greek, possibly as an effect of the specific genre, and c) in the case of full bilingual Greek speakers, where syntactic calquing might have been an option in certain communicative circumstances.

The second instance is represented in (2) below, an example taken from a document that survives in both an Italian and a Greek version, where the preposition «*από*» is used as an equivalent for the Italian preposition «*de*»: but this equivalence does not hold in this syntactic environment:

(2a) «... και να δίδη πάντοτε μαντάτον από κουρσάρικα κατελάνικα»

(2b) «... e che sempre auisi dele fuste de corsari Catellanj...»

“and to always give notice about Catalan corsair ships”

(Τσιρπανλής, 1968, A' 13)

This semantic correspondence does not hold in this context, though: the Greek preposition, contrary to the Italian one, was not normally used to convey the meaning of ‘reference’, so the example illustrates nicely a case of syntactic interference.

Another possible instance of syntactic interference can arguably be seen in the case of the analytic comparatives of the adjectives. There is some controversy regarding the emergence of the comparative marker ‘*πιο*’ in Greek and whether it is a loanword from the equivalent Italian ‘*piu*’ or whether the whole analytic comparative construction in Greek was built on the Italian model. Jannaris (1897) assumed an Italian origin, although he gave no arguments for this assumption, and no real progress has been made since concerning the issue (cf. Χειλά-Μαρκοπούλου, 1990). Regarding the earliest known examples of this analytic comparative construction, Kriaras’ dictionary gives examples of ‘*πλια/πια* + Adjective (either positive or comparative degree)’ for the formation of the comparative and superlative starting from the late 16th century.⁵

There is some interesting evidence on this construction in the non-literary documents coming from Rhodes. The diplomatic correspondence between the Master Pierre d’Aubusson and the Ottoman rulers contains three instances of the new analytic comparative formation, two of which involve the use of the comparative form of the adjective together with ‘*πια*’, as in (3):

(3) «...διατιν το τέλος τις πραξης αυτις θοροντα υνεη πρμα πια καλιωτερα να τελιοθη μετα τον...»

“because the end of this affair, as we believe, is something that should better end with him... = because we believe this issue should end with his participation”

(Lefort, 1981 / 21, d. 1489)

This example is taken from a document written possibly by a Latin, since it contains not only numerous grammatical and syntactic problems, but also some writing peculiarities that support the theory of a non-native scribe. According to my knowledge, together with the other two similar instances in the same archive (Lefort, 1981: 15, 18), it constitutes the earliest attestation of such construction by a margin of at least a century. Is it coincidental that it occurs in Rhodes during this

⁵ The form ‘*πιο*’ must derive from the earlier attested ‘*πια*’, which in its turn may have derived from the form ‘*πλια*’. It is not clear whether the Italian form ‘*piu*’ constituted the phonological model for the derivation of ‘*πια*’ from ‘*πλια*’. This paper is mostly interested in the syntactic/semantic equivalence of the two constructions, so the phonological issue will be left aside.

period of language contact, when Italian was the dominant Romance language on the island?⁶ It is also telling that all of Kriaras' examples come from Crete or Cyprus, i.e. areas of strong contact situations between Greek and Italian. Note that the literary texts from Rhodes contain two more instances of this construction, the one involving the positive degree of the adjective ("The plague of Rhodes", 123) and the other the comparative degree ("Love songs", 42).

It has been convincingly demonstrated (Heine & Kuteva, 2006) that the development of an analytic comparative construction is very common in situations of language contact across Europe. The double marking of the comparison (i.e. with a comparative marker being added to an adjective in the comparative degree) can be considered as one of the common stages of this development, which eventually wears off. This description fits well with the Greek data, strengthening the plausibility of a language contact account for this construction.

In this scenario, the L2 Greek speakers probably formed this construction, through interference from their L1 (Italian). Their imperfect learning is probably manifested in the double marking of comparison, which was subsequently restricted with the diffusion of the construction in the native Greek population. Obviously, much more evidence is needed in order to argue convincingly for a contact account for this morphosyntactic development in Greek; but it has been shown that the earliest attestations of an analytic comparative construction can be found in the material from Hospitallers' Rhodes, which, given the morphosyntactic and sociolinguistic context of these attestations as explained above, can be supportive of a language contact origin.

On the whole, the evidence for lexical borrowing is solid, while morphosyntactic interference is much more difficult to prove, especially with such a limited material. However, there is evidence of such an effect on a small scale, while large scale effect (for instance, the emergence of a new comparative construction) is also likely, but not certain yet. Further investigation is needed and more examples of such developments are to be found in order to substantiate the case for morphosyntactic interference from Romance languages in the Greek variety spoken in the late medieval (town of) Rhodes.

5. Conclusions

The Hospitaller rule favoured in many ways the development of a multilingual society in the town of Rhodes itself. Therefore, it comes as no surprise that, according to the available sociolinguistic evidence, a situation of rather intense language contact between Greeks and Latins must have developed inside the *burgo* of Rhodes. This assumption is corroborated but only partly by the linguistic record, which is poor, but it still contains evidence that language contact influenced the variety of Greek spoken (and more clearly written) on Rhodes, primarily (but probably not exclusively) on the lexical level. An interesting case of possible morphosyntactic interference has been isolated, namely the emergence of the analytic comparative involving the marker 'pio', but more evidence is needed to argue convincingly for a contact – related development.

By the early 16th century, the cultural osmosis that must have gone a long way on Rhodes was also evident in the use of language on the island. Two inscriptions bear witness to this development: the phrase 'PALI THARO' (=courage again) used as a personal motto by the Knight Jacques de Bourbon in a coat of arms of the late 15th century; and a cannon cast of the early 16th century found with the signature 'ΤΕΩΠΓΙΟΣ ΛΑΜΠΙΑΔΗΣ ΝΤΕ ΡΟΔΩ', with the exceptional mixture of a Romance preposition (NTE – de) with the highly archaizing Greek Dative ending '-ι' in the word 'ΡΟΔΩ'. As always, language contact had some unexpected results.

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⁶ Most of the documents from the Knights' archive dating from the latter half of the 15th century onwards are written in Italian. According to Luttrell (p.c.), most notaries working on Rhodes were imported from Italy.

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AUTOMATIC ACQUISITION OF BILINGUAL LANGUAGE RESOURCES

Nikos Mastropavlos
Institute for Language and
Speech Processing/Athena RIC
nmastr@ilsp.gr

Vassilis Papavassiliou
Institute for Language and
Speech Processing/Athena RIC
vpapa@ilsp.gr

ABSTRACT

This paper discusses methods for automatic acquisition of bilingual corpora from the Web. Given the vast number of documents available online, the Web could be considered an excellent pool for extraction of valuable data for linguistic purposes. Therefore, methods for creating such corpora, especially when targeting less-resourced languages like Greek, can be of great value. Besides presenting a general workflow for constructing collections from the Web, this article describes our work to produce collections of English/Greek comparable documents in the “Political News”, “Technological News”, “Sport News”, and “Renewable Energy” domains and parallel resources in the “Environment” and “Labour Legislation” domains.

1. Introduction

There is a growing literature on using the Web for constructing large comparable and parallel collections. Such resources can be used by linguists studying language use and change (Kilgarriff and Grefenstette, 2003), and at the same time be exploited in applied research fields like machine translation, cross-lingual information retrieval, multilingual information extraction, etc. Moreover, these large collections of raw data can be automatically annotated and used to produce, by means of induction tools, a second order or synthesized derivatives: rich lexica (with morphological, syntactic and lexico-semantic information) and massive bilingual dictionaries (word and multiword based) and transfer grammars.

We adopted two different strategies in order to acquire large-scale collections from which many parallel sentences could be extracted. The first method, used for the “Political News”, “Technological News”, “Sport News”, and “Renewable Energy” domains, employs a focused crawler, i.e. an engine which starts from a few seed URLs and “travels” on the Web to find web pages in the targeted languages and relevant to specific domains (Menczer et al, 2004).

The second approach, used for acquiring parallel resources in the “Environment” and “Labour Legislation” domains, exploits a similar crawler that targets known bilingual web sites and extracts pairs of documents that are likely translations of each other. Both approaches integrate tools for text normalization, language identification, and text classification. Following the crawling process, our system filters stored pages in order to discard duplicates and keep only documents rich in textual information. The implemented components for corpus acquisition are available as web services at <http://nlp.ilsp.gr/soaplab2-axis/>.

The organization of the rest of the paper is as follows: In Section 2, we refer to recent related work. In Section 3, we describe in detail the proposed workflow to construct comparable corpora. A modification of this workflow with the purpose of acquiring parallel data is presented in Section 4. Conclusions and future work are discussed in Section 5.

2. Related Work

Several publications concerning the exploitation of comparable and parallel corpora can be found in the related literature. A framework for exploiting comparable and parallel corpora for generating named entity translation pairs was introduced by Hassan et al. (2007). Tao and Zhai (2005) presented a method for examining frequency correlations of words in different languages in comparable corpora in order to

find mappings between words and achieve cross-lingual information integration. Munteanu (2006) attempted to extract parallel sub-sentential fragments from comparable bilingual corpora using a signal-processing approach for producing training data sets for MT systems.

On the other hand, the number of available publications that address the issue of building such corpora is very limited. A report on different methodologies used to collect small-scale corpora in nine language pairs and various comparability levels was reported by Skadiņa et al. (2010) and the collected corpora were investigated for defining criteria and metrics of comparability. Resnik and Smith (2003) considered the Web as a parallel corpus and proposed a method based on the similarities of the HTML source in order to detect parallel web pages. A similar approach was implemented recently by Esplà-Gomis and Forcada (2010) and was delivered as the open source project called Bitextor¹.

Early approaches were based on readily available resources. Sheridan and Ballerini (1996) introduced an approach for multilingual information retrieval, applying thesaurus-based query-expansion techniques over a collection of documents provided by the Swiss news agency. Braschler and Scäuble (1998) presented a corpus-based approach for building comparable corpora using the TREC CLIR data while Talvensaaari et al. (2007) presented a study which described how a comparable corpus was built from articles by a Swedish news agency and a U.S. newspaper. An initial work on acquiring comparable corpora from the web was reported by Utsuro et al. (2002). They collected articles in Japanese and English from News web sites and attempted to align them based on their publication dates. Ion et al. (2010) presented a customizable application that could be used for building comparable corpora from Wikipedia and the web by merging and organizing different web crawlers. Talvensaaari et al. (2008) used a focused crawling system to produce comparable corpora in the genomics domain in English, Spanish and German languages. Even though our work follows the same methodological approach, two critical differences are: i) less-resourced languages are targeted, which significantly increases the challenge of this task and ii) a number of different topical domains are crawled extensively to produce the final results.

3. Building Comparable Corpora

Based on the assumption that documents in different languages and in a specific narrow domain could be considered comparable, we adopted a strategy consisting of two separate monolingual domain-specific crawls, one for each language. Given that each crawl provides documents relevant to the narrow domain, we believe that several parallel sentences or phrases could be extracted from the final bilingual collection. The workflow for acquiring monolingual domain-specific data is illustrated in figure 1 and each module and required resource of the focused monolingual crawler (FMC) is discussed in the following subsections. FMC is available as web service at <http://nlp.ilsp.gr/soaplab2-axis/> under the name *ilsp_fmc*.

3.1 Construction of Topic Definitions

A critical issue in focused web crawling is the creation of the topic definition, since each web page visited by the crawler should be classified as relevant to the topic or not with respect to this definition. To this end, we adopted a strategy followed by many researchers (Ardö and Golub, 2007; Dorado, 2008), i.e. to use triplets (<term, relevance weight, topic-class>) as the basic entities of the topic definition. The relevance weight is a manually given score, positive or negative; a positive score indicates the relevance of a given term to the topic; a negative score denotes terms that are likely to occur in documents of similar and/or irrelevant domains. For example, the term “biodiversity” is closely related to the “Environment” domain and so has a large positive weight, while the term “heavy metal” could have a low positive weight denoting that this term is a common term in documents about deterioration of the environment, or a negative weight since this term is frequently met in documents about music genres. Topic-classes correspond to possible sub-categories of the target domain. For instance, “labour law and labour relations” and “personnel management and staff remuneration” could be two sub-classes of the “Labour Legislation” domain. By using the topic-classes each document under consideration is not only classified as relevant to the domain or not, but it is further categorized into a specific sub class. Introducing sub classes in a topic definition effectively prevents the bias of the

¹ <http://bitextor.sourceforge.net/>

collection to a specific sub class (i.e. by applying a post-processing task that selects equal amount of documents from each sub class).

Topic definitions can be constructed by manually selecting a representative set of words or multiword expressions. Online resources (e.g. Eurovoc multilingual thesaurus² was employed in our work) provide sets of terms in different languages assigned in specific thematic categories and therefore can greatly assist in this process. Alternatively, a topic definition can be automatically extracted by small topic-specific corpora using tf-idf and term extraction algorithms.

3.2 Construction of Lists of Seed URLs

Similarly, an initial seed URL list for the English language was assembled during the topic definition construction. To expand this list, we employed a custom version of the BootCat toolkit (Baroni and Bernardini, 2004). Using random tuples (i.e. n-combinations of terms) from the terms included in the topic definition, queries were run on the Google search engine and the resulting URLs were added to the seed list.

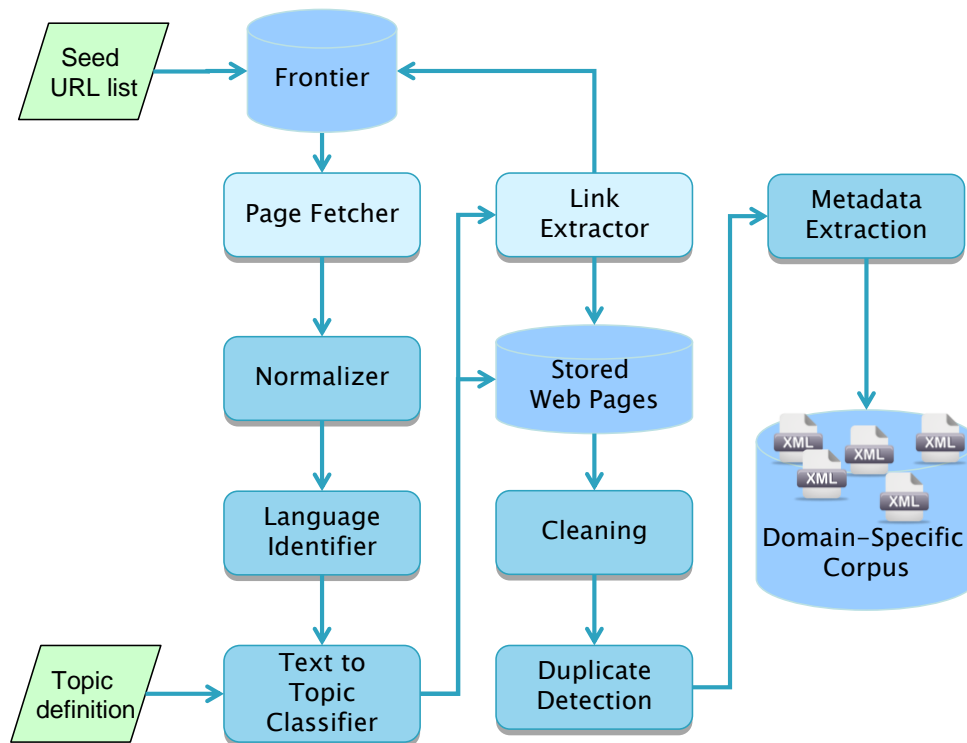


Figure 1 Workflow for acquiring monolingual domain-specific data

3.3 Focused Monolingual Crawling

The focused monolingual crawling is an iterative procedure that includes several steps of processing the content of the visited web pages. The schedule of the FMC is called the Frontier; the list of URLs to be fetched in each iteration. Initially, the Frontier contains the seed URLs. Then, the FMC visits these web pages, extracts their links and estimates a relevance score for each of these links (see subsection 3.3.3 below). Next, the links are sorted according to these scores and the most promising links (i.e. the

² <http://eurovoc.europa.eu/>

links originated from very relevant pages, or contain terms in their surrounding texts) are selected and fill the Frontier for the next iteration.

3.3.1 Text Normalization

The text normalization phase involves detection of the formats and text encodings of the downloaded web pages as well as conversion of these pages into a unified format (plain text) and text encoding (UTF-8).

3.3.2 Language Identification

In the language identification phase, each downloaded web page is analysed and its language is identified. Documents that are not in the target language are then discarded. Lingua:Identify, an open-source and flexible language identifier based on n-grams, is used for this task. Lingua:Identify did not originally support the Greek language; we provided the author of the tool with a small corpus of Greek texts (taken from JRC Acquis) and a new version of the identifier was released and used throughout the subsequent work. In order to remove parts of text that are not in the targeted language, the embedded language identifier applied at paragraph level as well. Any paragraph that is not in the targeted language is annotated paragraph as “out of interest”.

3.3.3 Text Classification

The next process in the proposed pipeline is a text-to-topic classification module. Each crawled, normalized and in-target language web page is compared with the topic definition by exploiting a simple string-matching algorithm. By adopting the method described in (Ardö and Golub, 2007), the score of relevance s for each web page is calculated as follows:

$$s = \sum_{j=1}^4 \sum_{i=1}^N \frac{w_j^l \cdot w_i^t \cdot n_{ij}}{l_j}$$

where N is the number of terms in the topic definition, w_j^l denotes the weight assigned to each location j of the HTML page (i.e. 10 for *title*, 4 for *metadata*, 2 for *keywords* and 1 for *main text*), w_i^t is the weight of term i , n_{ij} denotes the number of occurrences of term i in the location j , and l_j is the number of words in the location j .

The calculated score models the likelihood that the page under consideration contains text relevant to the target domain. Therefore, if the score of relevance is under a predefined threshold, the page is classified as irrelevant and discarded. Otherwise, the page is stored and its links are extracted and added to the list of scheduled to be visited links. The selection of a high threshold, although it ensures that the acquired pages contain rich in-domain content, have proven to sometimes “choke” the crawler since it is often the case that pages which meet this criterion cannot be found without first visiting less relevant web pages. To overcome this shortcoming, we adopted the “tunneling” algorithm according to which the crawler will not give up probing a direction immediately after it encounters an irrelevant page but will continue searching in that direction for a pre-defined number of steps. This allows the focused crawler to travel from one relevant web cluster to another when the gap (number of irrelevant pages) between them is within a limit.

Since it is not feasible to find all the web pages that exist in the Web and are relevant to a specific domain, the recall of the embedded text to topic classifier is not a critical measure. On the contrary, precision is of significant value, since the constructed corpus consists of documents that have categorized as relevant. In order to favor precision we made the classifier stricter by introducing an additional relevance score which is based on the amount of unique terms that exist in the main content of the page.

3.3.4 Boilerplate Removal

Web pages often need to be cleaned from elements that are irrelevant to the content (see figure 2) like navigation links, advertisements, disclaimers, etc. (often called boilerplate). Since we aim to collect comparable corpora useful for linguistic purposes, such parts of the HTML source are usually redundant. Therefore, they were detected and marked as “boilerplate” by employing the Boilerpipe tool (Kohlschütter et al., 2010), which uses a set of shallow text features (link density, number of words in text blocks, etc.) for classifying individual text elements in a web page as boilerplate.

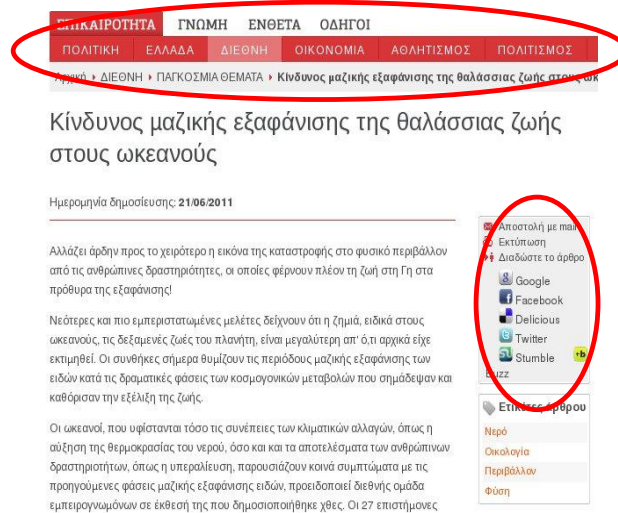


Figure 2 Boilerplate of a web page

3.3.5 Duplicate Detection

In (near) duplicate detection each new candidate document is checked against all other documents appearing in the corpus (i.e. by document similarity measures) before being added to the collection. An efficient algorithm for deduplication, which is implemented as an open source tool, is SpotSigs (Theobald et al., 2008). The algorithm represents each document as a set of spot signatures. A spot signature is a chain of words that follow frequent words as these are attested in a corpus. SpotSigs classifies documents with respect to the cardinality of their set of spot signatures and so significantly reduces the time complexity.

3.3.6 Metadata Extraction

In this task, the HTML source of the stored web pages is scanned and the available metadata (i.e. original URL, keywords, title, etc) are extracted. In addition, the structure of the web page is detected and a special attribute (i.e. title, listitem or heading) is added to each paragraph. Parts of such an XML file are presented in the following example:

```
<?xml version="1.0" encoding="UTF-8"?>
<cesDoc version="0.4" xmlns="http://www.xces.org/schema/2003" xmlns:xlink="http://www.w3.org/1999/xlink"
  xmlns:xsi="http://www.w3.org/2001/XMLSchema-instance">
  <cesHeader version="0.4">
    <fileDesc>
      <titleStm>
        <title>Danube Delta - UNESCO World Heritage Centre</title>
        <respStm>
          <resp>
            <type>Crawling and normalization</type>
            <name>ILSP</name>
          </resp>
        </respStm>
      </fileDesc>
    </cesHeader>
  </cesDoc>
```



```

</titleStmt>
<sourceDesc>
  <biblStruct>
    <monogr>
      <title>Danube Delta - UNESCO World Heritage Centre</title>
      <imprint>
        <format>text/html</format>
        <eAddress>http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/588</eAddress>
      </imprint>
    </monogr>
  </biblStruct>
</sourceDesc>
</fileDesc>
<profileDesc>
  <langUsage>
    <language iso639="en"/>
  </langUsage>
  <textClass>
    <keywords>
      <keyTerm>UNESCO</keyTerm>
      <keyTerm>World Heritage Centre</keyTerm>
    </keywords>
    <domain></domain>
    <subdomain>natural environment</subdomain>
    <subject/>
  </textClass>
  <annotations>
    <annotation>http://sifnos.ilsp.gr/ data/201109/ENV_EN/11213.html</annotation>
  </annotations>
</profileDesc>
</cesHeader>
<text>
  <body>
    <p id="p1" crawlinfo="boilerplate">jump to the content</p>
    <p id="p2" crawlinfo="boilerplate" type="listitem">English</p>
    <p id="p3" crawlinfo="boilerplate" type="listitem">Français</p>
    ...
    <p id="p61" topic="delta;marsh">The waters of the Danube, which flow into the Black Sea, form the largest and best preserved of Europe's deltas. The Danube delta hosts over 300 species of birds as well as 45 freshwater fish species in its numerous lakes and marshes.</p>
    <p id="p62" crawlinfo="ooi-length">Delta du Danube</p>
    <p id="p63" crawlinfo="ooi-lang">Les eaux du Danube se jettent dans la mer Noire en formant le plus vaste et le mieux préservé des deltas européens. Ses innombrables lacs et marais abritent plus de 300 espèces d'oiseaux ainsi que 45 espèces de poissons d'eau douce.</p>
    ...
    <p id="p236" crawlinfo="boilerplate">Not a member yet?</p>
  </body>
</text>
</cesDoc>

```

3.4 Acquired Comparable Corpora

We employed the described workflow for automatic collection of comparable corpora. Texts were collected in the domains of Renewable Energy (RE), Political News (PN), Sport News (SN) and Technological News (TN) and in two languages: English (EN) and Greek (EL). To strengthen the comparability rank of the collected corpora, further sub-categorization was enforced on all domains. Table 1 shows the subclasses selected for each domain. Table 2 illustrates the quantities of the acquired resources in the selected language pairs and domains.

By comparing the number of tokens in EN and EL for each domain, one could observe the great variation of the corresponding ratios (i.e. 0.9/19 << 10.2/25.7 << 13.5/8.8). This occurs due to the fact that the crawler acquires resources in the selected language pairs and domains without taking into account the rank of comparability of the acquired documents. Therefore, the acquired collections include both strongly and weakly comparable documents. A particular tool that identifies

strongly/weakly comparable documents could be used to construct specific collections as subsets of the acquired data.

Domain	Subclasses
RE	Wind power Hydropower Solar energy Biomass Biofuel Geothermal energy
PN	Ireland bailout Google faces competition inquiry Leaving the euro
TN	iPad models, presentations and reviews iPhone models, presentations and reviews Facebook and privacy issues
SN	Football and the Barcelona – Real Madrid match (29/11/2010) Tennis and the ATP World Tour Final between Federer and Nadal Ice hockey and the Vancouver 2010 Winter Olympics tournament

Table 1 Domains and subclasses

Language pairs (L1-L2)	Domain	# of tokens in L1 (Mt)	# of tokens in L2 (Mt)
EN-EL	RE	19	0.9
EN-EL	PN	25	25.8
EN-EL	TN	25.7	10.2
EN-EL	SN	8.8	13.5

Table 2 Quantitative information for acquired comparable data. (figures in Mega tokens (Mt)).

4. Building Parallel Corpora

This section describes the required modifications of the proposed workflow in order to acquire parallel documents from the web. To this end, another component called Focused Bilingual Crawler (FBC) was implemented and is available as web service at <http://nlp.ilsp.gr/soaplab2-axis/> under the name *ilsp_bilingual_crawl*. The first requirement concerns the seed URL list; these lists should consist of links pointing to web pages that are relevant to a predefined domain and originated from multilingual web domains. In general, the construction of such lists is a time-consuming process, which is being performed manually. Then, the crawler starts from an initial URL, and in a spider-like mode finds the links within these pages pointing to pages inside the same web site, visits the new pages and so on.

Following the same processing steps, each web page is normalized and its language is identified as explained in subsections 3.3.1 and 3.3.2 respectively. If the detected language is one among the targeted languages, the web page is further processed by the text-to-topic classifier. Since the document could be in any of the two languages, the topic definition should be bilingual (i.e. the new list of terms is the union of the two corresponding monolingual topic definitions).

To this end, the collected documents are in the targeted languages, originated from the same web site and are relevant to the selected domain. In order to identify pairs of web documents that could be considered as translations of each other, an additional module is required. A well-known tool that meets this need is Bitextor (Esplà-Gomis and Forcada, 2010). For each candidate pair of documents, the relative difference in file size, the relative difference in length of plain text, the edit distance of web page fingerprints constructed on the basis of HTML tags, and the edit distance of the lists of numbers occurred in the documents are examined. If all measures are under the corresponding thresholds, the pair under consideration is considered a pair of parallel documents. Based on the “nature” of the documents and the effectiveness of Bitextor, it is very likely that the resulting pairs consist of parallel documents.

4.1 Acquired Parallel Corpora

In order to examine the effectiveness of the modified workflow in acquiring parallel data from the web, we used it for constructing parallel corpora for the English-Greek language pair, in two domains (“Environment” and “Labour Legislation” as a wide and a narrow one, respectively). Table 3 illustrates the amount of data collected by using the proposed method.

Since the identification of web domains containing pages in the targeted languages and relevant to the selected domains is a time-consuming task and was done manually, only a few web domains were found to be crawled. However, the amount of acquired data was a good start for adapting an SMT system in these domains. In fact, training a baseline SMT system with the collected in-domain data improved the translation quality as reported in (Pecina et al., 2011).

	ENV	LAB
# of web domains	6	4
# of document pairs	147	126
# of tokens	17,033	13,169

Table 3 Quantitative information for acquired parallel data.

5. Conclusions and Perspectives

We have presented a method for acquiring comparable and parallel corpora from the web. Each module of the proposed workflow is detailed in both cases. The components (i.e. FMC and FBC) that have been implemented for these tasks are available as web services at <http://nlp.ilsp.gr/soaplab2-axis/>. By employing these tools, we collected documents in three domains for the English-Greek language pair. Although one of the targeted languages is less-resourced (i.e. Greek), the amount of acquired resources might be a useful collection for extracting a sufficient number of parallel sentences to train/adapt/test an SMT system. In order to verify this assumption, we aim to examine the collected resources and calculate the number of translation equivalents that could be extracted. A next step will be the evaluation of an SMT system adapted to the selected domains by using the web-crawled data.

Future work also concerns the enhancement of each module applied on each separate task. For example, we plan to combine the text-to-topic classifier with the cleaning tool in order to identify parts of texts which are in general domain and discard them.

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L2 GREEK DETERMINER SYSTEM: EVIDENCE FROM TURKISH ADULT LEARNERS

Vasiliki Mavridou

Democritus University of Thrace, Greece

vicky_mav77@yahoo.com

ABSTRACT

This study investigates the status of determiners in L2 Greek of Turkish adult learners in view of the 'Interpretability Hypothesis' (Tsimplici 2003, Tsimplici & Dimitrakopoulou 2007). This hypothesis argues that L2 uninterpretable features, when unavailable in L1, are inaccessible to the L2 learner even in advanced L2 development. Our assumption is that mismatching parametric values between Greek and Turkish with respect to (un)interpretable features on determiners might cause learnability problems. Four groups of learners at different proficiency levels were tested. The results indicate that learners could dissociate different article environments and that optionality in article use is not a permanent problem.

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 Interpretability Theory in L2 grammars

Our analysis is based on the Minimalist Program (Chomsky, 1995, 2005) and on recent theory of L2 development upon the way LF-interpretable and uninterpretable features affect learnability (Tsimplici 2003; Tsimplici & Mastropavlou 2008). Proposals of L2 development (hereon L2A) based on interpretability in correlation with the age factor argue that, if L1 and L2 differ in the values of a particular set of parameters in terms of interpretable and uninterpretable features, or if this set of parameters is absent (not grammaticalised) in the L1, the uninterpretable features will give rise to different developmental patterns even in advanced stages of L2A. This is a version of the 'no access to UG' hypothesis and of the Failed Functional Features Hypothesis (Hawkins & Chan, 1997; Smith & Tsimplici, 1995; Tsimplici & Roussou 1991), namely the Interpretability Hypothesis (Tsimplici 2003; Tsimplici & Dimitrakopoulou 2007). Contrary to 'full access to UG' L2A theories (Lardiere, 1998, 2000; Schwartz & Sprouse, 1996; Haznedar & Schwartz 1997; Vainikka & Young-Scholten, 1996; White, 1989, 2003; a. o.), the Interpretability Hypothesis argues for no access to language particular L2 properties and predicts persistent problems for the L2 learner with respect to L2 parametric values that differ from his L1. And although this is assumed to be the case even in post-critical age L2A, prolonged exposure to L2 input is assumed to lead to progressive targetlike performance. Additionally, given the unavailability of functional features, L2 behaviour is argued to show transfer of L1 parametric values (Tsimplici 1997), optionality/ variability in the use of L2 morphosyntactic elements and also misanalysis of the L2 input, that is, non-target feature specification in terms of production of representations that would diverge both from the L2 native speaker and their L1s (Tsimplici & Mastropavlou 2008).

The present study attempts to provide further evidence for the Interpretability Hypothesis on the basis of L2 behavior in Greek determiners. More specifically, this paper investigates the Greek article system in Turkish adult speakers by focusing on definite and indefinite DPs. With respect to the L2A of D elements in Greek L2, it is assumed that there should be a distinct pattern of development differentiating the definite from the indefinite article, in which pattern the definite article would be more problematic for L2 learners than the indefinite. Our assumption is based on the fact that, Turkish, being the speakers' L1, has mismatching parametric values with Greek with respect to the features of definiteness and specificity on determiners, and this might cause learnability problems. More clearly, it is argued that the specification of LF-interpretable feature of [-definiteness] on the indefinite article, and absence thereof on the definite article, gives rise to a different learnability pattern in Greek L2 grammars. Finally, it is questioned whether the inaccessibility of uninterpretable features leads to a

misanalysis of the definite article in advanced L2 grammars or gives evidence of real variability/optionality in use.

1.2 Features of the learners' L2 (Greek)

Greek is a language with a morphologically rich determiner system, including a definite and an indefinite article, which inflect for case, number and gender. Agreement is always required between the noun (N), any adjectives appearing in the DP and the determiner (D), as shown below:

DEFINITE NP	INDEFINITE NP
O psilos tixos.	Enas psilos tixos.
the-masc.sing.nom high-masc.sing.nom wall-masc.sing.nom	One-masc.sing.nom high-masc.sing.nom wall-masc.sing.nom
'the high wall'	'a high wall'

Table 1 Agreement in definite and indefinite NPs

The morphological paradigm showing formal features (number, gender, case) on Greek articles is presented in Table 2:

	DEFINITE ARTICLE						INDEFINITE ARTICLE					
	MASC.		FEM.		NEUT.		MASC.		FEM.		NEUT.	
CASE	SING.	PL.	SING.	PL.	SING.	PL.	SING.	PL.	SING.	PL.	SING.	PL.
NOM.	o	i	i	i	to	ta	enas	-	mia	-	ena	-
GEN.	tu	ton	tis	ton	tou	ton	enos	-	mias	-	enos	-
ACC.	to(n)	tus	ti(n)	tis	to	ta	ena(n)	-	mia	-	ena	-

Table 2 The definite and the indefinite articles in Greek

There are also cases where zero article (Clairis, Babiniotis 2005) must be used, i.e. no article is needed. Absence of the article in such cases is not considered as omission. Rather, it serves a specific function, that of generic reference. The sentences below illustrate zero, definite and indefinite article use in association to the function served and Table 3 summarizes the referential status of every article type:

- (i) Ipiame Ø krasi ke faghame Ø kreas. – generic reference
'We drank wine and ate meat.'
- (ii) Ipiame to krasi ke faghame to kreas. – specific reference
'We drank the wine and ate the meat.'
- (iii) Ipiame ena krasi ke faghame ena kreas. – un-specific reference
'We drank some wine and ate some meat.'

	REFERENCE		
ARTICLE TYPE	Generic	Specific	Non specific
Definite article	YES	YES	NO
Indefinite article	YES	NO	YES
Zero article	YES	NO	YES

Table 3 The referential status of Greek articles

Moving to an analysis of Greek articles in Minimalist terms, the analysis proposed by Tsimplici and Stavrakaki (1999) is adopted. It has been argued that the definite article differs from the indefinite one in terms of feature-specification, in that, while the definite article hosts uninterpretable features only (case and *phi*-features), the indefinite article is also intrinsically specified/marked for the interpretable feature of [-definiteness] (Karanassios 1992, Tsimplici and Stavrakaki 1999). Table 4 summarizes the properties of articles in Greek based on their respective feature-specification:

Articles	Interpretable features	Uninterpretable features
Definite article	Ø	[case], [agreement]
Indefinite article	[-definite]	[case], [agreement]

Table 4 Properties of articles in Greek

1.3 Features of the learners' L1 (Turkish)

Coming to Turkish, it is argued to lack a D system in that it does not have a determiner system distinguishing between definite and indefinite articles (Kornfilt 1997). In Turkish, specificity and definiteness depend on other factors, such as case, word order, stress and modality (Göksel & Kerslake 2005, Enç 1991, Kornfilt 1997), as shown in the examples below:

CASE

- (i) Aylin şapka sevir. ('Aylin loves hats.') – non-specific reference
hat-NOM
- (ii) Aylin şapkayı sevir. ('Aylin loves the hat.') – specific reference
hat-ACC

WORD ORDER

- (i) Pencereden hırsız kaçmış. ('A burglar/ Burglars escaped from the window.') - non-specific
- (ii) Hırsız pencereden kaçmış. ('The burglar escaped from the window.') - specific

STRESS

- (i) MektupLAR imzalandı. 'Letters were signed.' – non-specific
- (ii) Mektuplar imzalanDI. 'The letters were signed.' – specific

MODALITY

- (i) Bebek süt iç^{er}.
drink-AOR
'Babies drink milk.'/ 'A baby drinks milk.' - generic
'The baby drinks milk.' - non-specific
- (ii) Bebek süt iç^{iyor}.
drink-PROG
'The baby is drinking (some) milk.' - specific
'The baby drinks milk.' - specific

2. PREDICTIONS

As pointed out earlier, this study aims to investigate the L2A of the Greek article system by Turkish native adult learners and our assumptions are based on the Interpretability hypothesis put forward in Section 1. On the basis of (i) the relationship between feature-interpretability and learnability, (ii) the uninterpretable features on the Greek definite article, and (iii) the absence a definite article in the learners' L1, i.e. Turkish, the following predictions are made:

- 1) Definite article omissions in obligatory contexts are expected due to L1 transfer.
- 2) Indefinite article omissions in obligatory contexts are expected to be less than definite article omissions in the respective definite contexts due to the role of interpretability in developing L2 grammars.
- 3) A distinct pattern of development differentiating the two articles, the definite being more problematic for L2 learners than the indefinite, is expected.
- 4) Zero article contexts are expected to be nativelike due to L1 transfer.
- 5) In interchangeable i) definite/ indefinite/ zero article, ii) definite/ zero article and iii) indefinite/zero article contexts, higher rates of zero article use are expected due to L1 transfer.
- 6) In interchangeable definite/ indefinite article contexts, preference to the indefinite article is expected.
- 7) Correct use of all articles is expected to increase with proficiency but not reach nativelike levels due to age constraints.

3. THE STUDY

3.1 Participants

Our data come from forty native Turkish speakers who volunteered to take part in the study. All speakers were, at the time, university students learning Greek as L2 in the Department of Modern Greek Studies in the Istanbul University of Istanbul. No student had any previous knowledge of Greek before entering the specific university, in which both Greek and Turkish are used as means of instruction. For the purposes of our research, the subjects are divided into four groups according to their year of studies (assumed as L2 Greek proficiency level), as is depicted in Table 5:

Subjects (N=40)	L2 Proficiency level
Group 1 (N=13): 1 st year students	1
Group 2 (N=10): 2 nd year students	2
Group 3 (N=3): 3 rd year students	3
Group 4 (N=14): 4 th year students	4

Table 5 Classification of the subjects in terms of L2 proficiency

3.2 Tasks

Data was collected in the period of April–May 2010 and come from spoken production in the form of one-to-one interviews, which were tape-recorded and transcribed by means of the CHILDES program. The interviews consisted of three parts: i) filling-in of and discussion upon a personal questionnaire regarding biographical details relevant to the subjects' exposure to L2, ii) story-telling by means of descriptions of sets of pictures each forming a story that the student had to narrate. Each participant was asked to describe two sets of pictures upon a random selection from a group of eight sets, iii) isolated picture description upon random selection of 12 out of 36 pictures. The interviews lasted 10-15 minutes, depending on the fluency of the participants.

Our study focuses on the errors observed in the spoken production of the Turkish learners with regard to their use of the Greek definite, indefinite and zero articles. Errors are based on obligatory and interchangeable contexts. Thus, a classification of the contexts on which our research was based is shown below:

- i) definite article obligatory contexts
- ii) indefinite article obligatory contexts
- iii) zero article obligatory contexts
- iv) definite, indefinite and zero article interchangeable contexts
- v) definite and zero article interchangeable contexts
- vi) indefinite and zero article interchangeable contexts
- vii) definite and indefinite article interchangeable contexts.

Errors are classified according to one of the three types: i) omission, ii) substitution and iii) overgeneralization. Results are then analyzed comparatively for all groups. The examples below¹ taken from our data illustrate how the learners i) failed to supply the article required (i.e. omission errors), ii) incorrectly substituted one article for another in obligatory contexts (i.e. substitution errors), or iii) overgeneralized one article type in zero article contexts (i.e. overgeneralization errors):

(i) OMISSION ERRORS

a. definite article omission

S1: *(o) idhjos adras ke *(i) ghineka ine sto estiatorio.
 (the) same man and (the) woman are in-the restaurant
 "The same man and the woman are in the restaurant."

(i) b. indefinite article omission

S22: Afti stelni *Ø dhorο *tin mama

¹ Asterisks show problematic contexts, whereas the items in parentheses are not produced by the L2 speaker.

She sends – gift the mum
 “She sends (a) gift (to) (her) mum .”
Correct: Afti stelni ena dhoro stin mama tis.
 she sends a gift to+the mum her
 “She sends a gift to her mum.”

(ii) SUBSTITUTION ERRORS

a. definite article substitution (and omission)

S2: ... stelno *Ø ghrama *ena baba su ke *Ø mama su.
 Send - letter *a dad your and - mum your
Correct: ...stelno (to) ghrama (ston) baba su ke (stin) mama su
 send (the) letter (to-your) daddy and (to-your) mummy
 “I send the letter to your daddy and mummy.”

b. indefinite article substitution

S25: mia ghineka ke *o adras ine mesa (s)to treno.
 a woman and the man are in the train
 “A woman and *the man are in the train.”
Correct: mia ghineka ke enas adras ine mesa sto treno
 a woman and a man are in the train
 “A woman and a man are in the train.”

(iii) OVERGENERALISATION ERRORS

a. overgeneralization of definite article in zero article context

S25: Pai *(se) ena katastima *ton paputsion
 goes to a store of-the shoes
 “He goes to a store of *the shoes”.
Correct: pai se ena katastima Ø paputsion
 goes to a store shoes
 “He goes to a shoe store.”

b. overgeneralization of indefinite article

S2: edho exi *ena pedhja.
 here there-are *a children
 “Here there are *a children.”
Correct: edho exi Ø pedhja.
 here there-are children
 “There are children here.”

(iv) INTERCHANGEABLE CONTEXTS

a. definite/ indefinite article and zero/ definite/ indefinite article interchangeable contexts

o/enas adras pini Ø /ton/ena kafe.
 The/a man drink-3rd.sing Ø /the/a coffee
 “A/The man drinks -/the/a coffee.”

b. zero/ definite/ indefinite article interchangeable context

Aftos dhjavazi Ø/ tin/ mia efimeridha
 He reads Ø /the/a newspaper
 “He is reading -/the/a newspaper.”

4. THE RESULTS - DISCUSSION

In what follows, the results from our research are presented in discussion with the predictions made in Section 2. The results were based on the total number of obligatory and interchangeable contexts for every group of students (see Table 6). Error analysis followed each type of context and statistical analysis was computed to assess the relationship between the groups of students (i.e. year of study/ proficiency level) and their performance.

Subjects	Total NPs	Obligatory contexts			Interchangeable contexts
		Def. art NPs	Indef. art NPs	Zero art. NPs	
1 st year	550	162	63	70	255
2 nd year	368	128	27	40	173
3 rd year	172	45	12	33	82
4 th year	458	166	38	52	202
TOTAL	1548	501 (32,4%)	140 (9%)	195 (12,6%)	712 (46%)

Table 6 Definite, Indefinite, Zero article obligatory and interchangeable contexts

With regard to Prediction 1, according to which definite article omissions in obligatory contexts are assumed to be expected due to L1 transfer, we notice high rates of correct use for all groups (see Figure 1), what accounts for learnability of the definite article to a great extent. The results are significant for all groups at the 0.05 level ($F=14,399^a$, $p<.002$) and there is positive correlation between the groups and their performance (Pearson's $r=0.099$, $p=0.026$).

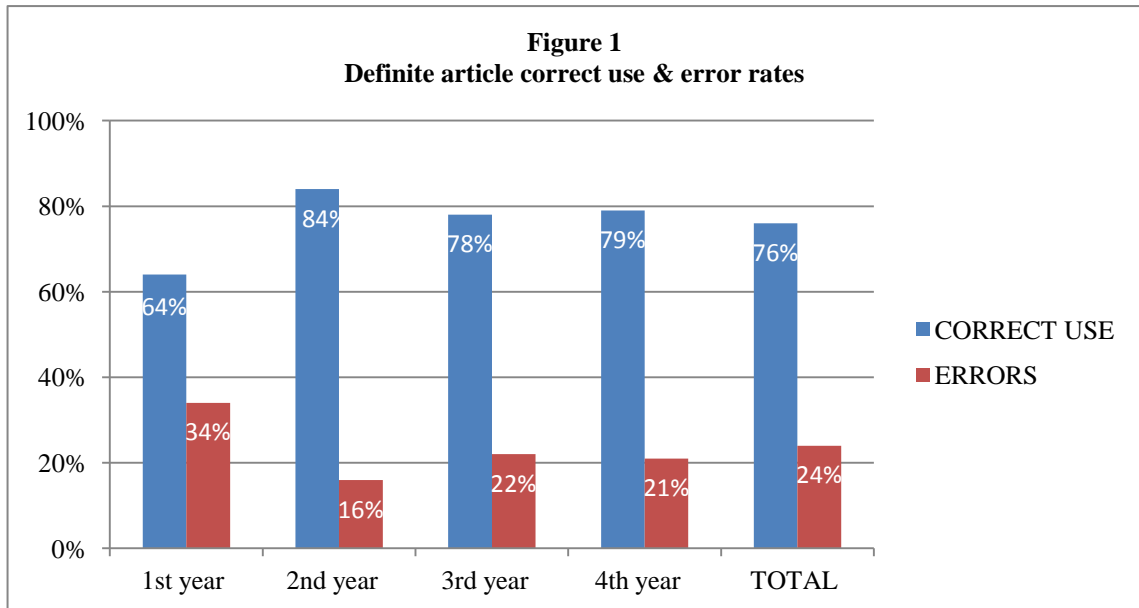


Figure 1 Definite article correct use and error rates in obligatory contexts

Error analysis in the above contexts (see Figure 2) reveals definite article omissions in all groups, which makes Prediction 1 to be confirmed. The results are significant for all groups ($F=29,071$, $p<.000$) and there is positive correlation between the year of study and the errors made in definite article contexts (Pearson's $r=0,198$, $p<.031$).

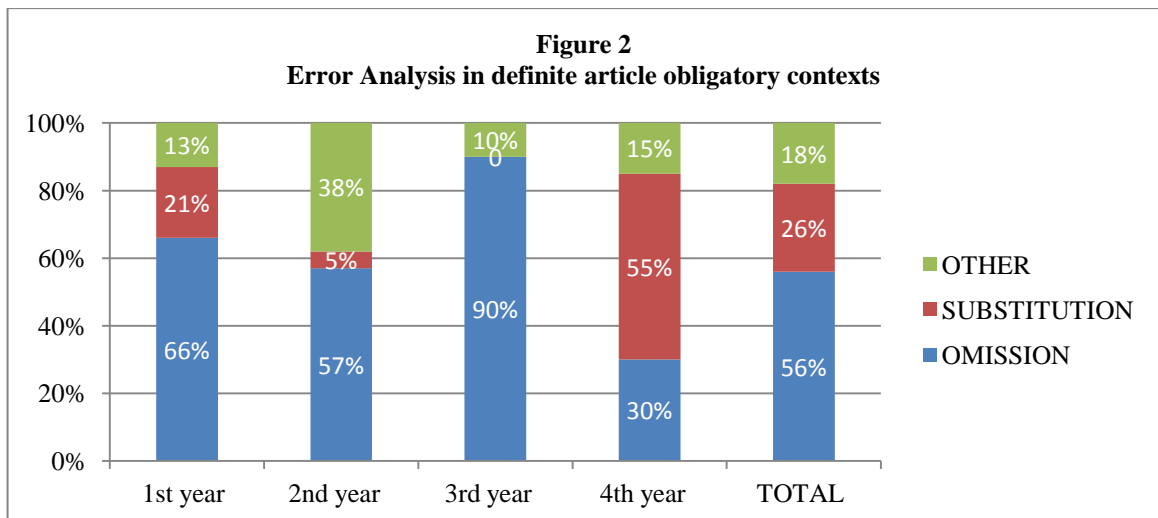


Figure 2 Error analysis in definite article obligatory contexts

Moving to Predictions 2 and 3, we check, first, whether indefinite article omissions are less than definite article ones or not in respective obligatory contexts (Prediction 2), and secondly, whether a distinct pattern of development that differentiates the definite from the indefinite article takes place or not (Prediction 3). Figure 3 below shows that in indefinite article obligatory contexts performance of all groups -with the exception of the 3rd - is slightly better compared to definite contexts, what is in line with our expectations. The results are significant for all groups ($F= 17,182^a$, $p<001$). Moreover the year of study and performance in definite / indefinite article correct use are strongly related and dependent (Pearson's $r = -0,77$, $p < .035$).

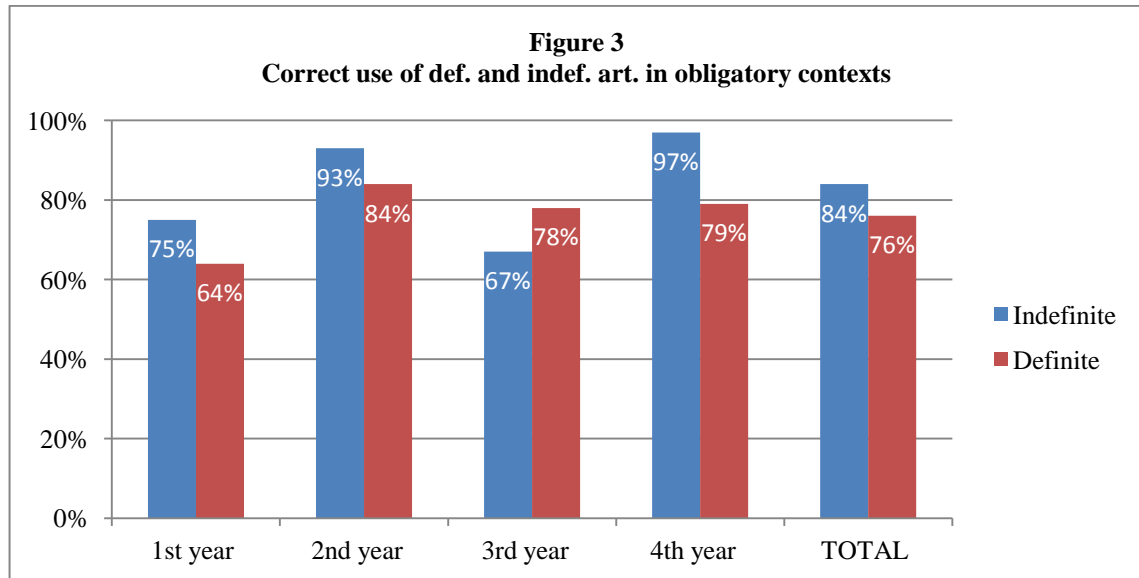


Figure 3 Correct use of definite and indefinite articles in obligatory contexts

With respect to errors (see Figure 4), the results confirm Prediction 2, since all groups omitted definite articles very frequently, whereas indefinite article omissions are observed only in beginners. Therefore, in indefinite contexts native-like performance seems to be achieved with proficiency, what was not the case in definite ones.

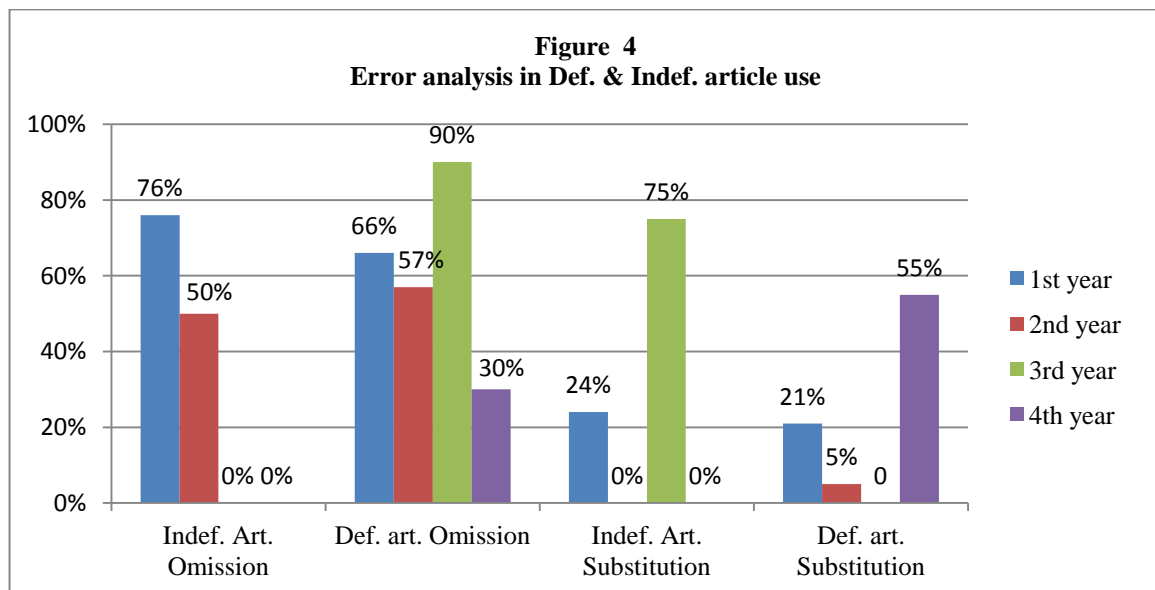


Figure 4 Error analysis in definite and indefinite article obligatory contexts

The results also show that a distinct pattern of development separating the two articles takes place and as such, Prediction 3 is confirmed. However, despite the slight divergence existing in the

development of the two articles, the fact that both are used correctly to a great extent in obligatory contexts shows that definite article development is not that problematic compared to that of the indefinite. Thus, it can be assumed that L2 learners seem to be able to assign the feature of definiteness, existing in their L1, at advanced stages of L2 development. The results are very significant for all groups ($F=46,696^a$, $p<.000$).

Moving to Prediction 4, we should check what the case is in zero article obligatory contexts and whether performance in these contexts is nativelike due to L1 transfer or not. Data from these contexts reveal almost targetlike behaviour for all groups (95%), which goes along to our expectations. Statistical analysis however revealed that the relation between the groups of students (i.e. year of study/ proficiency level) and their performance in these interchangeable contexts is not very strong and the results are not significant, since the correlation coefficient is not very highly significantly different from zero (Pearson's $r=0.062$, $p<0.388$).

At first glance, L1 transfer could account for these results, since Turkish is an articleless language. However, error analysis in these contexts shows overgeneralization of definite (89%) rather than the indefinite (11%) article, which makes L1 transfer accounts sound problematic. Assuming that L1 transfer does play a role in L2A, then it would be expected that students would overgeneralize the indefinite rather than the definite article in these contexts, since in Turkish, lacking itself an indefinite article, the numeral *bir* 'one' is used instead.

Turning now to a discussion of the results in interchangeable contexts (Predictions 5 and 6), we will examine which article students prefer in contexts where one article or the other could be used interchangeably without meaning effects. Figures 5 to 8 below depict schematically the results for all types of interchangeable contexts.

i) Starting with definite/ indefinite/ zero article interchangeable contexts (Figure 5), the results confirm our predictions, since all groups tend to prefer the zero article. Second comes preference to the definite article, although we would expect students to cline to indefinite article use, based both on the feature specification of the two articles in Greek and on the fact that Turkish, as mentioned before, uses the numeral *bir* as an indefinite article. Statistical analysis revealed that the strength of association between the groups of students and their performance in these contexts is not very high and the results are not significant (Pearson's $r=0.041$, $p<0.747$).

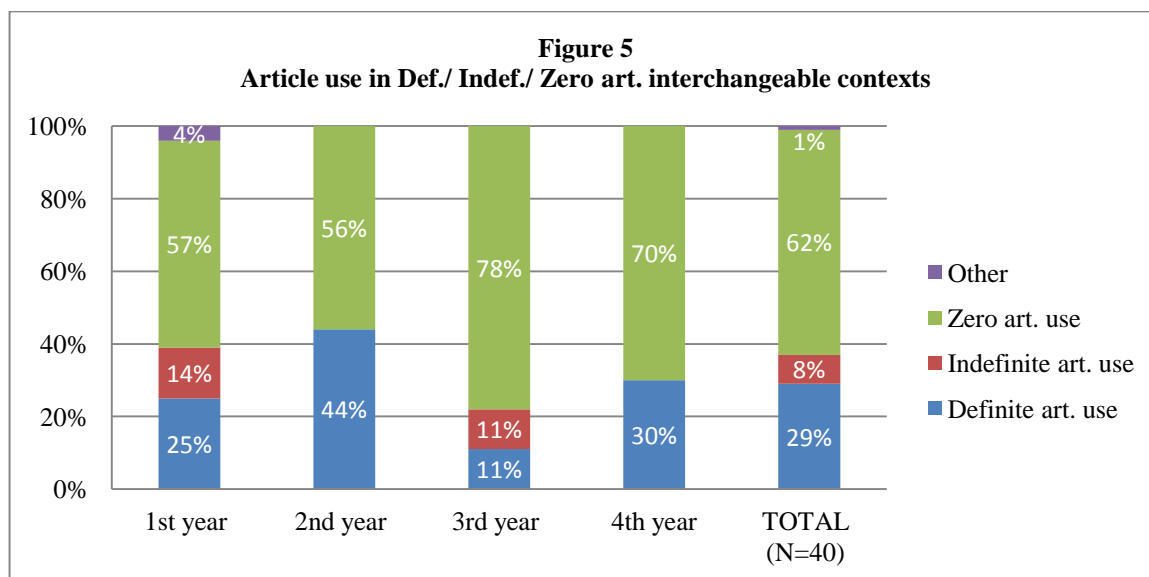


Figure 5 Article distribution in definite/ indefinite/ zero article interchangeable contexts

ii) In interchangeable definite/ zero article contexts (see Figure 6), the results show students' preference to zero article use, not unexpectedly. Both feature-specification and L1 transfer account for the results, although the latter can only partly do so, because there is great intergroup variation. Quite unexpectedly, 2nd year students seem to prefer definite article use and 4th year students show clear optionality in zero and definite article use. This gives precedence to the view that a misanalysis of the definite article does occur in advanced L2 grammars and that L2 learners assign the feature of definiteness (existing in their L1 grammars) to L2 parametric features non-existing in their L1. Statistical analysis revealed that the relationship between the two variables (year of study and

performance in definite/ zero article interchangeable contexts) is not very strong and the results are not significant (Pearson's $r = 0.063$, $p < 0.615$).

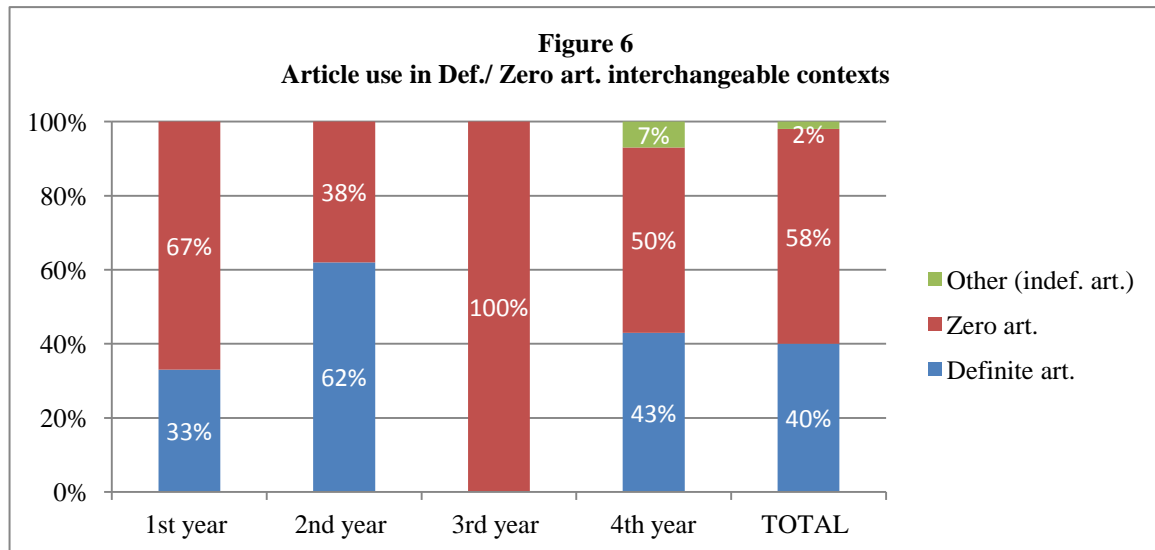


Figure 6 Article distribution in definite/ zero article interchangeable contexts

iii) Article distribution in contexts where indefinite and zero article can be used interchangeably (see Figure 7) shows that all groups tend to show preference to zero article use, what goes along with our predictions. Again the relationship between the groups of students and their performance in indefinite/ zero article interchangeable contexts is not very strong and the results are not significant (Pearson's $r = 0.041$, $p < 0.725$).

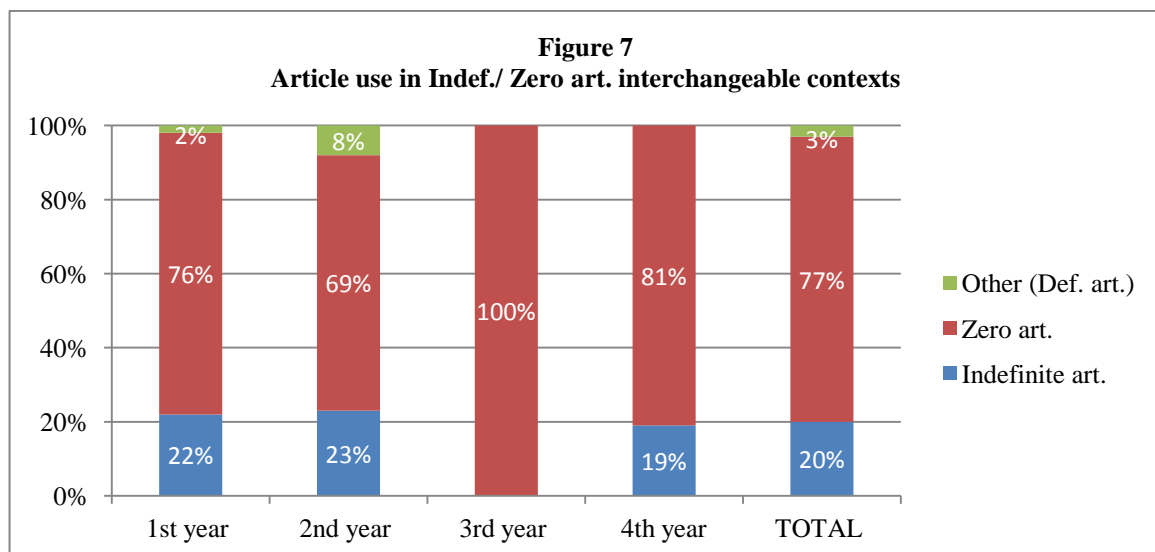


Figure 7 Article distribution in indefinite/ zero article interchangeable contexts

iv) In definite/ indefinite article interchangeable contexts (see Figure 8), most learners tend to use the indefinite rather than the definite article, which is also in line with our expectations. What is also common for all groups in these contexts, is the fact that they all show article omissions (see zero article rates), assumedly, due to L1 transfer. Statistically speaking, the results are not significant (Pearson's $r = 0.005$, $p < 0.932$).

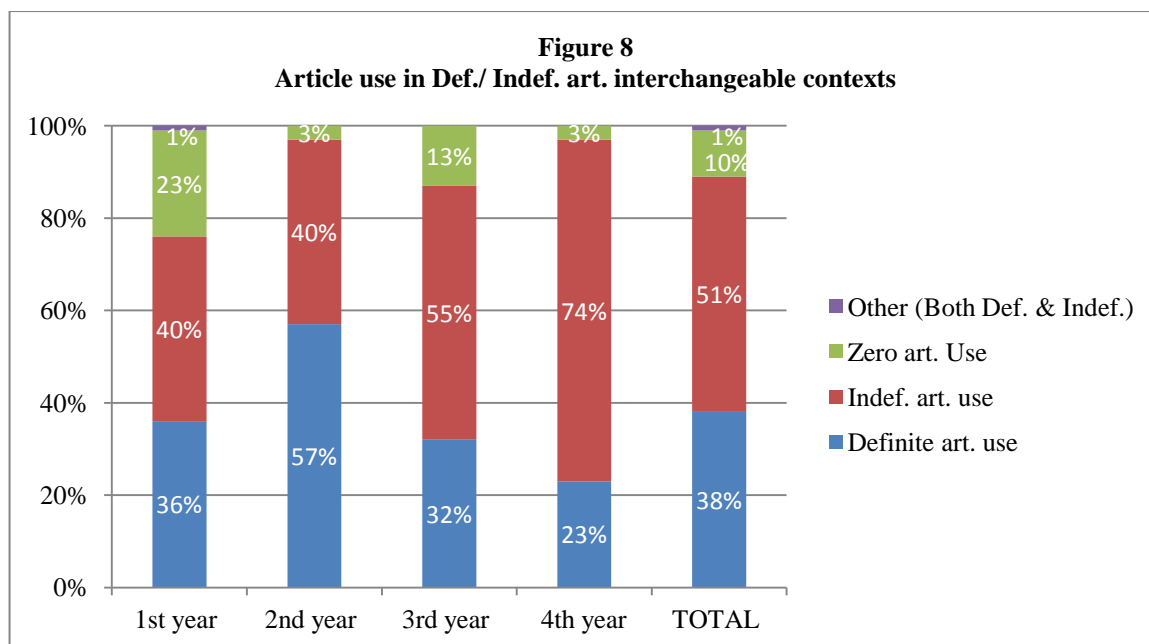


Figure 8 Article distribution in definite/ indefinite article interchangeable contexts

Closing our discussion with Prediction 7 (see Figure 9), it has been assumed that correct use of all articles would increase with proficiency but not reach nativelike levels, due to age constraints. As expected, article use in L2 Greek seems to somehow develop in correlation to L2 proficiency and, as such, Prediction 7 is largely confirmed. Data show that 4th year students outperform all other groups in all article contexts -with the exception of the definite ones, where 2nd year students perform slightly better-. Results also reveal that, with the exception of the 3rd group, proficiency-based development is clearer in definite and indefinite article contexts, whereas in zero article contexts all groups behave almost targetlike. More specifically, definite article development seems to be later compared to that of the indefinite, which in turn is later than that of the zero article. Thus, whereas nativelike performance seems to take place only for the zero and the indefinite articles in general, we can assume that prolonged exposure to input seems to lead to successful production even for the definite article.

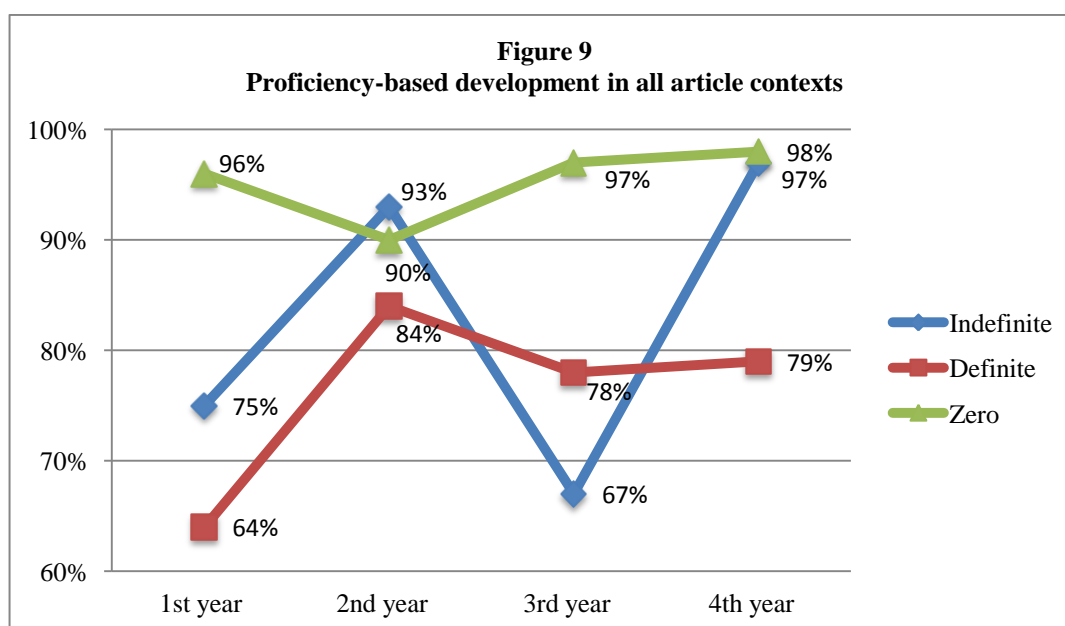


Figure 9 Development with proficiency in definite, indefinite and zero article obligatory contexts

The first reason to account for this non-native behavior in definite article development is non-target feature-specification of determiners in the L2. A second reason is the age factor. However, we would

expect the development taking place to be even more minimal in degree, since all participants were adult L2 learners who, having exceeded critical age for L2A, are supposed to have reached a steady state in the development of certain L2 parameters non-existing in their L1. This goes along with L2A theory which argues that uninterpretable features are subject to critical period constraints and therefore inaccessible to L2 learners, whereas interpretable features are always accessible (Tsimpili 2003). If this hypothesis is correct, then we would expect indefinite article use to be by far targetlike and definite article use to be problematic due to its non-target feature-specification in the L2 lexicon. Contrary to our assumptions, in this study the definite article appears to somehow develop even in adult L2 grammars. We can thus assume that, in many respects, our learners can impose interpretable features such as [referentiality] or [specificity], existing in their L1, on the Greek article and that, as such, L2 use resists age constraints but does not become nativelike.

5. CONCLUSIONS - IMPLICATIONS

The discussion in this paper is based on the interpretability distinction on articles in L2 Greek. It has been argued that the definite and the indefinite articles should pattern differently, since they are differently specified in terms of interpretability, in that, whereas the former is not inherently specified for definiteness, the latter is intrinsically marked as [- definite]. Our data come from four groups of adult L2 learners with diverse L2 proficiency levels. The learnability theory we follow suggests that all groups should show evidence for differential performance in interpretable versus uninterpretable features on the grounds that the latter are difficult to access in any developmental process other than normal L1 development.

The study yielded several findings concerning L2A of Greek articles. With respect to obligatory contexts, the findings suggest that all groups of learners were able to dissociate different article environments by supplying the required article at a higher rate than other articles. Thus, learners seem to have an understanding of the Greek article system and attempt to use articles correctly instead of using them randomly.

Moreover, our learners show some predicted differences in article use. With respect to the definite article, although no group performs targetlike, results show that prolonged exposure to input can lead to successful production in non-natural contexts. Coming to the indefinite article, our Turkish learners seem to be able to distinguish indefinite earlier than definite contexts, since performance in the former is comparatively better than in the latter. Thus, although there is evidence for acquisition of both articles, that of the definite seems to be somehow more delayed. Delayed and problematic behavior in definite article use is argued to stem both from L1 transfer and inaccessibility of uninterpretable features. However, results show proficiency-based development for all articles, which suggests, on the one hand, that even the definite article can be sufficiently acquired with proficiency and as such, uninterpretable features are accessible to the advanced L2 grammar, and on the second, that becoming more proficient helped learners eliminate potential L1 effects. As for optionality in article use, some fluctuation between the definite and the indefinite article in obligatory contexts is observed even in advanced groups.

With respect to interchangeable contexts, that is, cases where one article or the other could be used interchangeably in the same context with no communication effect, results, although interesting, are not significant based on the statistical analysis and thus generalisations are not to be made. Analytically, in all such contexts where zero article use could be an option, all groups of learners show preference to zero article, not unexpectedly. On the other hand, in definite/ indefinite article interchangeable contexts, L2 learners seem to fluctuate between the two articles showing some preference to the indefinite rather than the definite article.

To sum up, in line with what was supported in previous L2 research, the learners of this study are able to distinguish between [+/- definite] features that govern the article use in L2 Greek despite the absence of an article system in L1 Turkish. In addition, although the learners' accuracy in the use of articles increased with L2 proficiency, perfect mastery of the Greek article system does not seem to be an easy case for them. Our conclusions suggest that learners' variable performance does not reflect a potential underlying grammar deficit. Rather, they seem to misanalyze the Greek definite article as an element bearing a specificity feature in order to partly regulate its distribution.

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DEVELOPMENT OF LANGUAGE LEARNING STRATEGIES IN MULTILINGUAL VS. MONOLINGUAL LEARNERS: EMPIRICAL EVIDENCE FROM A COMBINED METHODS LONGITUDINAL CASE STUDY

Lydia Mitits

Laboratory of Syntax, Morphology,
Phonetics and Semantics, Department of
Greek, Democritus University of Thrace,
Greece

lydiamitits@gmail.com

Anna Sarafianou

Laboratory of Syntax, Morphology,
Phonetics and Semantics, Department of
Greek, Democritus University of Thrace,
Greece

annasar@otenet.gr

Abstract

A longitudinal case study involving three successful language learners, (1 bilingual boy, 1 bilingual girl and 1 monolingual girl) was conducted in order to observe how language learning strategies develop across languages and whether bilingual learners' use of strategies differs quantitatively and qualitatively from that of monolinguals when learning English L3. The study also investigated the effect of the bilingual learners' gender on strategy use. The data was collected through combined research methods: the SILL questionnaire (Oxford, 1990), the LSUI inventory (Cohen, Oxford & Chi, 2006), semi-structured interviews, verbal reports (Cohen, 1996) and task product analysis (Bialystok, 1990a; Abraham & Vann, 1996). From the results of the study it can be stated that the bilingual learners used more strategies more frequently than the monolingual one. Differences were also observed in strategy use between the male and female bilingual learner with the female using overall more strategies. As for the quality of strategy use, our findings suggest that the bilinguals showed willingness to take risk and practice naturalistically and have the necessary tools to foster and promote autonomy beyond the classroom and the teacher's control.

Keywords: case study, monolingual, multilingual, language learning strategies, SILL, cross-linguistic

1. Introduction

The last decade has seen a significant amount of research into multilingualism and third language acquisition (De Angelis, 2007; Aronin & Hufeisen, eds., 2009; Cenoz, 2009, etc.). Various models of multilingualism acknowledge the importance of language learning strategy development and use (e.g., Herdina & Jessner, 2002), yet there is very little evidence of how language learning strategies influence third language learning and what their role in cross-linguistic influence among L1, L2 and L3 is. This paper focuses on the study of language learning strategy development and use of three learners of English. The participants were tutored by one of the researchers for three years and successfully completed their B2 and C2 level international English examinations. They were 1 bilingual boy aged 10-13, with L1 Greek and L2 Serbian, 1 bilingual girl aged 12-15, with L1 Russian and L2 Greek, and a control participant, 1 monolingual girl aged 11-14 with L1 Greek, all of whom received tutorials individually, for 3 hours a week over a period of 3 years. It was noticed that the two bilingual learners used a different approach to third language learning from numerous monolingual learners the researchers had taught and that there were striking similarities between the two of them. Thus, a systematic observation was set up consisting of combined methods of research with the aim to identify the possible differences in language learning strategy use and speculate on the causes.

2. Literature review

Our study explores two areas that have been gaining popularity in foreign language research: language learning strategies (LLS) and multilingualism.

Although the concept of ‘language learning strategies’ is not easily definable, listing their essential features allows comparability across studies and gives results a greater explanatory power. According to recent research (Cohen, 2005, Griffiths 2008, Oxford 1990, 2011) the main characteristics of LLS are the following. First of all, they are mental activities which serve the completion of a certain goal. They are also used to regulate learning and form strategy clusters which are evaluated via a series of metacognitive strategies. Strategies also include a socioaffective aspect, they are chosen by learners themselves and can contribute to the promotion of successful learning. Finally, they can be taught and can help teachers expand their role in class.

In general, it is agreed that the use of LLS is positively related to language proficiency overall or in specific skills. Research has shown that successful language learners use more strategies more frequently than students with lower proficiency (Griffiths 2003, Lan & Oxford 2003, Psaltou & Kantaridou, 2009). What differentiates higher proficiency students is also the metacognitive knowledge to opt for appropriate strategies and use them in an orchestrated fashion that meets both the task demands and their own learning strengths (Cohen & Macaro, 2007). Therefore the difference in strategy use, as far as proficiency is concerned, is both quantitative and qualitative.

As for the role gender plays in strategy use, most findings confirm the existence of significant gender differences, with females reporting using overall more strategies than male learners (Green & Oxford 1995, Dreyer & Oxford 1996, Peacock & Ho 2003, Gavrilidou & Papanis 2009).

For a long time multilinguals were viewed as the sum of two or more monolinguals and their linguistic knowledge of two or more languages was strictly measured against the language proficiency of monolinguals in each of these languages. Eventually, this view changed and multilingualism is now viewed as a complex phenomenon (Herdina & Jessner, 2002; Cenoz, 2003; Aronin & Hufeisen, 2009, etc.). It must be admitted that although bilingualism and multilingualism share many important features, third language acquisition is different from second language acquisition in that it is not only L1 that influences L2 acquisition but vice versa, and similarly L3 can influence L2 and L1. Generally, cross-linguistic influence in multilinguals is far more complex and diverse. The advantage of a bilingual over a monolingual learner has been stressed by researchers as bilinguals already have access to two language systems and are generally aware of the processes involved in acquiring a language and can draw from that experience. However, they may be at a disadvantage as well because of phenomena such as code mixing or attrition. It could also be assumed that bilinguals follow a different route and learn L3 in a different way than monolinguals. (Cenoz, 2009)

There are findings that show that multilinguals are more flexible when switching strategies depending on task demands or in case of ineffective learning and are better at using implicit rather than explicit learning strategies. Bono and Stratilaki (2009) also point out that bilinguals learning L3 possess a complex set of metalinguistic knowledge, strategies and beliefs which differentiate them not only quantitatively but also qualitatively from monolingual learners. In Greece, Psaltou-Joycey and Kandaridou (2009) conducted a study on plurilingualism (individual multilingualism), language learning strategy use and learning style preferences and concluded that trilingual students use more strategies, more frequently than bilingual students and that their learning styles differ as well.

Finally, it is significant to refer to the different aims and methodologies used in the research in third language acquisition. As Canoz (2003) points out, some of these studies are concerned with general language development by multilinguals while others study specific aspects of the process. She stresses the need to further examine specific characteristics of third language acquisition as is the case in the present study where bilinguals’ language learning strategies are recorded and analyzed against those of monolinguals.

3. Case study background

This is a participant-observation study of three early adolescents who received English language tutorials by one of the researchers for three years as part of preparation for B2 and C2 level exams. The first observation began in 2008 and involved the first participant, a 10 year old boy who at that time was bilingual in Greek and Serbian and had been learning English formally for 5 years. He can be described as an ambilingual balanced bilingual who started using both Greek and Serbian at the same time being exposed to both languages from birth. Greek was the language of the host country and his father’s native language while Serbian was his mother’s first language and the language he used during

his visits to Serbia. Both his parents are English teachers who switched codes regularly between English, Greek and Serbian in every day conversations that he took part in as well. He is literate in all three languages, although to a lower degree in Serbian than Greek or English. He received formal education in Greek while English was taught as a school subject and Serbian informally at home by the mother.

The second participant, the bilingual girl aged 12-15, started her English tutorials at about the same time and it became apparent that the two of them shared some common learner characteristics. The girl came from an immigrant expatriated family from Russia who had come to Greece when she was an infant. She only spoke Russian till the age of six when she started school and had to attend classes in Greek. So, based on the order of acquisition she can be described as a non-ambilingual balanced bilingual who has the same level of proficiency in both Greek and Russian but not the same level of literacy, as she does not use Russian to read or write so often. She received English lessons as part of formal education at school and private lessons to prepare for her examinations. At home, she mainly speaks Russian with her family while she speaks Greek with her friends.

The third participant was selected as a control one to verify the assumptions on whether or not bilinguals develop different learning strategies when learning a third language than monolinguals that learn a second language. She was a monolingual girl aged 11-14 with L1 Greek who also received tutorials in English for three years and successfully passed her B2 and C2 examinations. She was taught English in school but also had had private lessons by a native English speaker for a period of 6 years prior to the observation period.

4. Research hypotheses

The research hypotheses posed in this study were the following:

*Bilingual learners use more strategies more frequently than monolinguals when learning a L3.
Bilingual learners' use of strategies differs qualitatively from that of monolinguals when learning English L3.*

Bilingual female learners use more strategies more frequently than bilingual male learners.

4.1. Research methodology

Instruments used in the collection of data from the three learners were:

(1) The "Strategy Inventory for Language Learning" (SILL) questionnaire (version 7.0 – ESL/EFL) developed by Rebecca Oxford (1990: 293-300) including six different strategy categories: memory, cognitive, compensation, metacognitive, affective and social which has 50 items corresponding more or less to a specific strategy. These items are rated on a 5-point Likert scale, ranging from 'never or almost never true of me' to 'always or almost always true for me'. This inventory provides information about a) overall frequency of strategy use and b) preferred individual strategies in each of the six categories. According to research reports, the SILL appears to be the only LLS instrument that has been extensively checked for reliability (in general the SILL reliabilities have been high) and validated in multiple ways. It can also be used to examine the frequency of strategy use in relation to factors such as gender, age, cultural background, etc. The SILL was administered at the beginning of the observation and after three years.

(2) The "Language Strategy Use Inventory" (LSUI), developed by Cohen, Oxford and Chi (2006). Strategies are classified according to skill area (listening, reading, speaking and writing) and categories associated with vocabulary and translation strategies. The questionnaire contains 90 items selected on the basis of a 4-point scale: 1) I use this strategy and I like it, 2) I have tried this strategy and would use it again, 3) have never used this strategy but I'm interested in it, 4) this strategy doesn't fit me. Learners make a qualitative evaluation of their strategy use thinking about the outcomes of strategy use. It is worth mentioning that this inventory does not provide a score on strategy use for a given skill or language overall. According to its designers, it avoids purposely having learners rate the strategies by frequency of use because the reason you use a strategy a lot is because you need to use it a lot to make it work. The strategies that were selected to monitor the three learners' strategy use were specific strategies involved in a particular skill area, such as listening, speaking, reading, writing, vocabulary and grammar and they covered numerous categories. The categorization was based on Oxford's six categories of direct and indirect strategies.

(3) Proficiency tests to determine the progress in language learning covering all four skills and to insure that the three participants did not differ from one another with respect to the level of proficiency. The proficiency tests used consisted of B2 level tests during year 1, C1 level tests during year 2 and C2 level tests during year 3. They were KPG past exam papers for B2 and C1 level and Michigan University past exam papers for B2 and C2 level. The learners were continually tested in all four skills and their progress was measured.

(4) Semi-structured interviews. The interview questions included think-aloud protocol questions which helped establish the processes happening during and after task completion in all four skills and vocabulary and grammar tasks. The learners' answers were recorded and transcribed. For example, during a completion of a written task the participants were asked to describe the thinking processes relevant to the task planning, execution, evaluation and repair. At the same time, the researcher would prompt the participants about the way they gathered information, developed ideas organized their writing, used dictionaries, wrote drafts, etc. Similar procedures were applied to other types of tasks. The participants were also asked to self-evaluate their learning and using of languages in general.

These strategy assessment measures were chosen because they combine a quantitative and a qualitative evaluation of the specific learners' strategy use thus allowing the researchers to assess it in a more consistent way and provide triangulation of the findings.

5. Results

Before presenting the findings, it is necessary to clarify that the results in general were considered and characterized according to their possible significance in percentages and not statistically speaking, due to the small sample of the participants. The exceptions are the following findings resulting from the statistical analysis of the SILL scores at time 1 and time 2 for all three cases using SPSS v19.

	Mean	N	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
time1	2,9267	3	,48429	,27960
time2	3,2867	3	,65858	,38023

Table 1 Descriptive statistics showing the overall mean scores on the SILL for all three cases at time 1 and time 2

	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)
time1 - time2	-,36000	,17436	,10066	-3,576	2	,070

Table 2 The results of t-test (sig=0,070>0,05) showing that there are no statistically significant differences between the two measurements for all three cases with respect to the mean scores on the SILL

		Mean	N	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
Pair 1	Memory time1	2,3333	3	,90948	,52509
	Memory time2	2,5185	3	,95796	,55308
Pair 2	Cognitive time1	3,4524	3	,36654	,21162
	Cognitive time2	3,8095	3	,55482	,32032
Pair 3	Compensation time1	3,5000	3	,88192	,50918
	Compensation time2	3,6111	3	,85527	,49379
Pair 4	Metacognitive time1	2,8889	3	,77778	,44905
	Metacognitive time2	3,5185	3	1,02640	,59259
Pair 5	Affective time1	2,2778	3	,58531	,33793
	Affective time2	2,5556	3	,76980	,44444

Pair 6	Social time1	2,7222	3	,85527	,49379
	Social time2	3,2778	3	1,05848	,61111

Table 3: Paired Samples Statistics showing mean scores for each of the six strategy categories on the SILL at time 1 and time 2 for all three cases

The paired samples t- test was computed and it showed that there are statistically significant differences in the frequency of strategy use only in memory category between time 1 and time 2 for all three cases. (sig=0,038<0,05)

		Bilingual female		Bilingual male		Monolingual female	
		mean	%	mean	%	mean	%
Memory strategies	Time 1	3,3		2,1		1,5	
	Time 2	3,6	6.0	2,3	4.0	1,6	2.0
Cognitive strategies	Time 1	3,9		3,4		3,1	
	Time 2	4,4	10.0	3,6	4.0	3,4	6.0
Compensation strategies	Time 1	4,2		3,8		2,5	
	Time 2	4,3	2.0	3,8	0.0	2,6	2.0
Metacognitive strategies	Time 1	3,2		2,0		3,4	
	Time 2	4,1	18.0	2,3	6.0	4,1	14.0
Affective strategies	Time 1	2,3		2,8		1,6	
	Time 2	3,0	14.0	3,0	4.0	1,6	0.0
Social strategies	Time 1	3,7		2,0		2,5	
	Time 2	4,5	16.0	2,7	14.0	2,6	2.0
Overall strategy use	Time 1	3,5	10.0	2,7	6.0	2,4	6.0
	Time 2	4,0	(70.0-80.0)*	3,0	(54.0-60.0)*	2,7	(48.0-54.0)*

* refers to the percentage of overall strategy use for time 1 and time 2

Table 4 Frequencies of learner responses to the SILL six categories and overall at time 1 and time 2 (mean ratings and differences between means for time 1 and time 2 in percentages)

All three learners improved the frequency of overall strategy use from time 1 to time 2. The bilingual girl's percentage increased from 70,0% to 80,0%, or 3,5 to 4,0 mean score (on a scale to 5), the bilingual boy's from 54,0% to 60,0%, or 2,7 to 3,0 mean score and monolingual girl's from 48,0% to 54,0%, or 2,7 to 3,0 mean score. It is evident that the two bilinguals improved the frequency of strategy use from time 1 to time 2 at a higher percentage and rate than the monolingual girl whose progress in strategy groups, such as memory, compensation, affective and social took place at a lower rate. The differences are more striking in memory, cognitive, compensation and affective categories of the SILL, except for the social strategies and metacognitive strategies where the monolingual girl exceeds the male bilingual. The most striking differences are observed in the memory, compensation and affective strategies (Table 4).

As for the memory strategies, both bilinguals reported to create mental linkages by connecting the sound of a new word and an image to remember the word, by using mental pictures of the situation

where the word might be used, by physically acting out words and by remembering its location visually. As for cognitive strategies, the bilinguals seem to resort more often to searching cognates in their L1 or L2, to trying to discover grammar rules by themselves, and to summarizing the information they hear or read. In the case of compensation strategies, both bilinguals use more often mime and gesture, make up new words and try to guess what the other person is going to say in a conversation. Finally, with respect to affective strategies they try to relax when using English and notice that they are nervous when using or studying English.

The LSUI results highlighted differences in the quality of strategy use between the bilinguals and the monolingual, as well (see Table 5). When asked to identify the strategies they regularly used and found suitable, the monolingual girl reported using 42 strategies (37,8%) out of 100 in total, the second was the bilingual boy with 38 strategies (34,2%) and the last was the bilingual girl with 33 strategies (29,7%). However, combined with the strategies that all three identified to have used and would use again yielded different results. Willingness to experiment and take risks with new strategies was highest in the bilingual girl (27 in number or 24,3%), than in the bilingual boy (18 in number or 16,2%) and only 5 in number or 4,5% in the monolingual girl. The bilinguals also reported interest in using strategies that were unfamiliar to them. The monolingual girl exceeded the bilinguals by 36,0% as opposed to 6,3% and 20,7% respectively concerning the number of strategies that she dismissed as unsuitable for her. Differences in the quality of strategy use are evident in listening, vocabulary and speaking skills in favor of the bilinguals, while the girls exceed the boy in writing.

	Bilingual female				Bilingual male				Monolingual female			
	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Listening	9	6	8	3	¹ ₃	7	3	3	¹ ₂	2	1	¹ ₁
Vocabulary	6	4	6	2	7	4	4	3	5	0	0	¹ ₃
Speaking	8	6	4	0	6	5	1	6	¹ ₀	0	0	8
Reading	6	5	0	1	5	2	2	3	7	1	1	3
Writing	4	3	3	0	4	0	1	5	7	0	0	3
Translation	0	3	2	1	3	0	0	3	1	2	1	2
Overall Sum	3	2	2	7	3	1	1	2	4	5	3	4
	3	7	3		8	8	1	3	2			0
Overall %	2	2	2	6	3	1	9	2	3	4	2	3
	9.7	4.3	0.7	.3	4.2	6.2	.9	0.7	7.8	.5	.7	6.0

Strategy categories:

1* I use this strategy and I like it.

2* I have tried this strategy and would use it again.

3* I have never used this strategy but I'm interested in it.

4* This strategy doesn't fit me.

Table 5 LSUI: Number and percentages of reported strategies for each of four strategy categories

As for specific strategies, there is a general overlap between the two bilingual participants. In the section on listening, they use strategies to become more familiar with the sounds of English by practicing very different sounds or by looking for aural associations. They use strategies that help them prepare for what is to follow in a conversation by paying special attention and they compensate for lack of knowledge by watching gestures or body language. They tend to use more strategies when they learn

vocabulary, while the monolingual participant relies on them to review, recall and use new words. In the speaking strategy group, the ones that stand out are the strategies employed to engage in conversations and to compensate for the lack of knowledge. The findings on this self-report questionnaire significantly match the ones on the SILL. When it comes to reading, the bilinguals differ in that they read extensively in English, summarize and make predictions. The monolingual student again excelled in the writing strategy use.

It is interesting that the answers to the questions on translation strategies differed between the two bilinguals. The boy does not translate when he uses any of the four skills while the girl occasionally resorts to translation. The boy also claims to think only in English when using English, while the girl reports reliance on her L1 or L2. In the case of the monolingual girl the answers concerning the role of mental translation are sometimes contradicting.

The bilingual learners also seem to be better communicators since they use more strategies and, in particular, are not reluctant to ask for help or make up words to keep the conversation going. As for vocabulary learning strategies, there is an interesting difference in the type of strategies used. The monolingual girl tends to memorize vocabulary in a more mechanical manner and controls her learning since she keeps a vocabulary book which is regularly checked, while the two bilinguals rely more upon retaining images by creating mental pictures or linking personal experiences to new words.

The next research tool used were numerous English language proficiency tests to check the progress the three students made over the course of three years.

	Bilingual female	Bilingual male	Monolingual female
B2 level	Pass (around 70%)	High pass (around 75%)	Pass (around 70%)
C2 level	Pass (around 70%)	Pass (around 70%)	Low pass (around 60%)

Table 6 Official examination results

All three students reached about the same level of proficiency in English in general and had similar results on particular skills. At both B2 and C2 levels they had the lowest scores on the writing part of the examinations, middle scores on grammar, vocabulary and reading and high scores on speaking. The two bilinguals had significantly better scores on the listening part than the monolingual.

	Bilingual female		Bilingual male		Monolingual female	
	yes	no	yes	no	yes	no
Cognitive strategies						
Reading	13	4	10	7	10	7
Listening	12	4	13	3	6	10
Writing	16	7	14	9	20	3
Speaking	3	3	6	0	1	7
Communication strategies	8	0	5	3	3	5
Vocabulary strategies	6	12	6	12	2	16
Grammar strategies	4	4	2	6	1	7
Metacognitive strategies	6	3	8	1	8	1
Overall sum.	68	37	64	41	55	50
Overall %	64.7	35.3	60.9	39.1	52.3	47.7

Table 7 Task based analysis results

A checklist of strategies (see Table 7) showed that the bilingual girl used 68 (64,7%) out of 115 strategies, the bilingual boy came second with 64 (60,9%) and monolingual girl came last with 55

(52,3%) strategies. The bilinguals exceeded the monolingual particularly in listening strategies, the bilingual boy stood out in speaking strategies and the monolingual girl used most strategies during writing tasks. The bilingual female was the best communicator while both bilinguals used the same number of vocabulary strategies.

Verbal reports that resulted from prompting during task completion and the semi-structured interviews revealed, among others, the following. The bilingual girl reported to be using most strategies from the check lists unconsciously and showed evidence of metalinguistic awareness. When encountering new vocabulary she draws from both L1 Russian and L2 Greek depending on the word closeness to either of the languages. She also guesses from context or analyses word parts to come to understanding. She avoids literal translation as she realizes that it is impossible since, according to her, the syntax of L1, L2 and L3 differ significantly. She reports to be constantly learning from her mistakes but does that in an anxiety-free manner as she is used to encountering unknown vocabulary and expressions in all three languages. She also insists that it is impossible for her to learn grammar or vocabulary by heart. When asked what language is the language of thought she said that she thinks in all three languages depending on the situation and that Russian often helps her with her English and vice versa as they share cognates, but she sometimes finds it confusing and mixes codes, particularly when she lacks the knowledge of Greek vocabulary.

The bilingual boy reported using similar strategies; however, the main difference between the two bilinguals seems to be that the boy claims to think only in the target language when he uses it whether it is Greek, Serbian or English. He finds it difficult to translate in any of these languages and never learns the grammar rules or new vocabulary by heart. He says that he finds it very easy to find patterns in English and that it comes naturally. He makes guesses, tests hypotheses and takes risks in a stress-free way. While in Greece, he thinks in Greek and English and in Serbia in Serbian and English. English seems to pervade as a language from which he constantly draws information.

The monolingual girl reports to be using certain strategies throughout her preparation for the English exams without experimenting with new strategies unless she is instructed by her teacher. She relies heavily on a conscious effort to better herself at English, avoids taking risks and spends a considerable amount of time studying showing awareness of her strong and weak points.

6. Discussion

The bilinguals used more strategies, more frequently: Our SILL findings support the hypothesis that bilinguals use more strategies, more frequently than monolingual learners (Kemp, 2007, Tuncer, 2009). Bilinguals might be more advantageous than monolinguals in the process of language learning having prior language learning experience and being intrinsically motivated. The source of motivation might be previous success at acquiring/learning other languages. In the case of the two bilinguals involved in the specific study, their bilingualism is additive rather than subtractive since the status of their L1 and L2 is not problematic in Greece and their literacy in both Russian and Greek and Greek and Serbian respectively serves as scaffolding when acquiring English with respect to language learning strategies they use.

There was a qualitative difference in strategy use between the bilinguals and the monolingual learner: The bilinguals approach learning both as a system and as a code of communication in ways that indicate creativity, communicative sensitivity and willingness to take risks. The advantage of transferring successful strategy use from previous language learning to the new language learning environment is a major reason for this difference.

The bilinguals tend to transfer more strategies that have to do with implicit rather than explicit language learning since this approach proved to be more efficient when they learned their L2 particularly with respect to vocabulary and grammar. They tend to rely on the typological similarities, such as vocabulary forms between Russian and Serbian and English as there is a lot of borrowing among these languages. Finally, the fact that bilinguals actively use and develop all three languages helps them feel confident and relaxed when encountering language learning difficulties in L3. This characteristic results in differences in the quality of strategy use between the bilinguals and the monolingual learner which concern memory, compensation and affective strategies.

The bilingual female learner used more strategies than the male bilingual: Our findings confirm previous research that gender indeed plays a significant role in strategy use and that females typically report more strategy use than male learners. In our study, the female bilingual learner uses overall more strategies than the male student. Differences were found in memory, cognitive, metacognitive and social strategies but not in affective strategies, which may be contradictory to previous findings (Green & Oxford 1995, Hong-Nam & Leavell 2006). The fact that the monolingual

female exceeds the male bilingual learner in the use of social strategies is also related to the role gender plays, since females are in general more willing to build relationships and use social networks with consistency (Hong-Nam & Leavell, 2006). As for the differences in the use of metacognitive strategies in favor of the monolingual female learner, it confirms findings of previous research that females are more metacognitively aware than males (Green & Oxford 1995, Dreyer & Oxford 1996, Peacock & Ho 2003).

7. Limitations

Ours is a longitudinal case study and as such it has advantages and pitfalls. A case study collects data from a single or several cases and its advantages are rich and deep data coming from multiple sources providing for an intensive study. Its limitations are susceptibility to bias, unsuitability for statistical analysis, etc. Being a longitudinal study it enabled us to track sequential developmental patterns and changes bearing in mind individual differences and acquiring comprehensive data, but it required a long study span, high demand on consistency and lacked statistical significance (Wei & Moyer, eds. 2008).

8. Conclusion-Recommendations

This study provides insights into quantitative and qualitative differences in strategy use by bilingual and monolingual learners when learning a foreign language. We have illustrated that our bilinguals use more strategies, more frequently compared to the monolingual both in relation to strategy groups and skills. Their strategy use shows communicative sensitivity, creativity, willingness to take risks and practice naturalistically. In other words, they seem to have the necessary tools to foster and promote their language learning autonomy beyond the classroom and the teacher's control, which is the main advantage of our bilingual learners over the monolingual one.

More research using a larger sample is required for further investigation of how exactly multilinguals use their strategies. It could be interesting to explore strategy differences in specific types of strategies as well as the clusters and chains of strategies multilinguals use in relation to different skills. Another area worth exploring is the qualitative changes that take place during the development of strategic processing in multilinguals. The final challenge for researchers is to use the knowledge about multilinguals and the strategies they use and integrate it in strategy training programs in order to help monolingual students learn more effectively.

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THE SYNTAX OF EARLY CYPRIOT GREEK: EVIDENCE FROM L1 ACQUISITION OF CLITICS¹

Theoni Neokleous
University of Cambridge
United Kingdom
tn247@cam.ac.uk

Teresa Parodi
University of Cambridge
United Kingdom
tp209@cam.ac.uk

ABSTRACT

This paper discusses the syntax of pronominal clitics in early Cypriot Greek in the light of new evidence from spontaneous speech data, both cross-sectional and longitudinal, as well as experimental data. An elicited production task for 3rd person object clitics was performed by 2-, 3-, and 4-year-olds. The results revealed an interesting discrepancy regarding children's performance in the two critical conditions: enclisis-contexts are adult-like, while in proclisis-contexts children misplace clitics. Our findings are compared with other studies on the acquisition of clitics in Cypriot Greek and we sketch the developmental stages CG-speaking children pass until they reach adult-like clitic placement.

Keywords: Cypriot Greek, Acquisition, Clitics, Syntax

1. Introduction

The syntax of pronominal clitics is one of the most important and well-known differences between Cypriot Greek (henceforth CG) and Standard Modern Greek (henceforth SMG). CG is a Tobler-Mussafia language, in which clitics are banned from clause initial position, with a mixed pattern of clitic placement: clitics either precede or follow the finite verb depending on the syntactic context. On the other hand, SMG is a mainly proclitic language, with clitics immediately preceding the finite verb in all constructions apart from imperatives; in SMG clitics follow the gerund as well. Interestingly, while SMG-speaking children have adult-like clitic production and placement from very early on (Marinis 2000, Stephany 1997), in early CG a non-adult-like pattern of clitic placement has been attested (Petinou & Terzi 2002).

The discussion in this paper revolves around the first language acquisition (henceforth L1A) of clitic constructions in CG. The second section offers a brief overview of the placement restrictions for pronominal clitics in CG in a number of syntactic contexts. The third section presents the research carried out so far on clitic L1 acquisition in CG and points out the main findings as well as the questions that are still open. This leads to a formulation of a number of research questions that need to be answered on the basis of a large database of child data. The fourth section offers a summary of the work carried out on the L1 acquisition of CG clitics by Neokleous and Parodi (Neokleous *to appear*, Neokleous & Parodi *to appear*). The fifth section discusses the phenomenon of clitic misplacement attested at the initial stages of L1A in CG, compares the results obtained from our studies with the outcome of Petinou and Terzi's (2002) study and discusses the stages of language development for young Greek Cypriot children.

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2. The Syntax of clitics in CG

Cypriot Greek shares with SMG the morphological paradigm of pronominal clitics (table 1). Clitics in both varieties inflect for number, case, person and gender (in 3rd person). The same forms are used in both CG and SMG, with the exception of the feminine plural accusative; in CG only the form *tes* is used, unlike SMG where both *tis* and *tes* are used. In both Greek varieties pronominal clitics, unlike strong pronouns, are morphologically deficient in Cardinaletti & Starke's (1999) sense. They are monosyllabic elements, that cannot be coordinated or stressed and cannot introduce a new referent. Furthermore, they are verb adjacent, with no other element intervening between the clitic and the verbal host.

Number / Case	1 st person	2 nd person	3 rd person		
			Masculine	Feminine	Neuter
Singular					
Genitive	mu	su	tu	tis	tu
Accusative	me	se	to(n)	ti(n)	to
Plural					
Genitive	mas	sas	tus	tus	tus
Accusative	mas	sas	tus	tes	ta

Table 1 The morphological paradigm of Cypriot Greek clitics

Despite the convergence of the two varieties at the morphological level, clitic placement in SMG is very different from clitic placement in CG (Agouraki 2001, Terzi 1999a; 1999b). SMG patterns like Italian and Spanish and exhibits preverbal clitic placement in all syntactic contexts (1, 4-6), except for imperatives (3) and clauses involving gerunds. On the other hand, the main characteristic of CG clitics is that they are banned from clause initial position, like any other clitic language that adheres to the Tobler-Mussafia law. CG clitics never occupy clause initial position, but they either precede or follow the finite verb depending on the syntactic context. While in bare finite clauses CG clitics follow the verb (2), in negatives (5), clauses headed by modal particles (4) or wh-elements (6) the clitic precedes the verb².

- (1) To efera. (SMG)
It-CL bring-1S.+PAST.+PERF
“(I) brought it”
- (2) Efera to. (CG)
Bring-1S.+PAST.+PERF it-CL
“(I) brought it”
- (3) Fer(e) to. (SMG & CG)³
Bring-3S it-CL
- (4) Na to fero. (SMG & CG)
M it-CL bring-1S.+FUT.+PERF
“To bring it”
- (5) (Δ)en to efera. (SMG & CG)
NEG it-CL bring-1S.+PAST.+PERF
“I didn’t bring it”
- (6) Pcos to efere? (SMG & CG)
Who.NOM it-CL bring-3S.+PAST.+PERF
“Who brought it?”

² This is by no means an exhaustive description of enclisis and proclisis contexts in CG. Yet, the focus is on syntactic constructions found in early data. In addition, in these contexts, the choice of one of the two patterns is clear cut, unlike clauses headed by elements realized in the left periphery of the clause, where clitic placement depends on other factors (e.g. Agouraki's (2010) proposal on correlation between enclisis-proclisis alternation and emphasis specification on C).

³ In examples (3-6) SMG and CG pattern alike modulo phonological differences.

If we compare the system of clitic placement in the two varieties with respect to learnability, the SMG pattern constitutes a much more plausible case in relation to the CG pattern. To clarify, young children acquiring SMG need to learn a system that involves pre-verbal clitic placement, with the exception of imperatives and gerunds. The gerundive construction is not frequently used in adult SMG, and it is absent from child speech at the early stages of language acquisition. As for the imperative clause, it constitutes a construction widely used in both child speech and child directed speech. Thus, for SMG-speaking children, the syntax of clitics is acquired once they have established the contrast between imperatives that require post-verbal clitic placement and all other constructions, where clitics immediately precede the finite verb. As expected, and on the basis of acquisition studies in SMG (Marinis 2000, Stephany 1997), clitic placement is adult-like from very early on. However, this is not the case for early CG, since some children exhibit non-adult-like clitic placement at the onset of L1A (Petinou & Terzi 2002, Neokleous *to appear*, Neokleous & Parodi *to appear*). This is not surprising, though, if we take into account the complexity of the system of clitic placement in Cypriot Greek with a number of restrictions imposed on CG clitics. The phenomenon observed at the early stages of L1A in CG is clitic misplacement, which will be discussed in the remainder of this paper on the basis of the results obtained from Petinou & Terzi (2002) study, as well as our studies. The section that discusses our systematic investigation of clitic placement in early CG is preceded by an overview of all the other studies on the L1A of CG clitics so far conducted.

3. L1A of CG Clitics

The first study on the acquisition of clitic constructions in CG was carried out by Petinou and Terzi (2002), who investigated clitic placement on the basis of a corpus of spontaneous speech recordings of five typically developing (henceforth TD) children and five children diagnosed with SLI. Since our paper discusses language development in typically developing populations, we will not discuss the data of the SLI children, but we will rather focus on the performance of children with normal language development. TD children were followed longitudinally within the age range of 32 to 36 months and were recorded three times, with a two-month interval between the recordings. The data analysis Petinou and Terzi conducted involved calculations of the percentages of misplaced clitics in subjunctives and negatives out of the children's overall clitic production in these two construction types. The negative and the subjunctive clause are both proclisis-triggering contexts, thus they require a pre-verbal clitic. Clitic misplacement would involve post-verbal clitic placement. Table 2 summarizes their results and reports the Proportion of Clitic Misplacement (PCM) as well as the MLU (Mean Length of Utterance in words) per child per developmental stage.

Child	32 months		34 months		36 months	
	PCM	MLU	PCM	MLU	PCM	MLU
OX	10% (3/30)	3.0	2% (1/52)	3.6	0% (0/61)	3.3
NA	66% (16/24)	2.8	28% (5/18)	3.1	12% (4/33)	3.3
AM	7% (2/26)	2.8	0% (0/17)	3.2	0% (0/34)	4.0
AI	21% (3/14)	2.4	14% (3/21)	3.0	5% (2/37)	3.4
AX	62% (20/32)	2.9	44%(13/29)	3.1	0% (0/38)	4.0
M	33	2.8	18%	3.2	3%	3.6
SD	28	0.22	16%	0.23	5%	0.36

Table 2 Proportion of misplaced clitics in proclisis contexts (Petinou & Terzi 2002: table 2, pp.13)

The results reported in table 2 reveal the phenomenon of clitic misplacement in proclisis contexts, with the participants exhibiting proportions ranging from 7% to 66% at the first developmental stage at which they were recorded (32 months). In the subsequent two stages (34 and 36 months), the proportions of incorrect clitic placement for all the participants decreases rapidly relative to their performance at the previous stage. By the age of 36 months, three out of five children have reached adult-like clitic placement, with no misplaced clitics, while the other two children exhibit significantly low percentages.

The most important contribution of Petinou and Terzi (2002) was that they were the first to observe and report the phenomenon of clitic misplacement in early CG. Yet, a drawback of their study is the small number of participants. This challenges the generalizability of their results: no safe conclusions can be drawn as to whether all or just a subset of CG-speaking children aged 2;0-3;0 exhibit this non-adult-like pattern for clitic placement. In Petinou and Terzi's (2002) study, the phenomenon is robust only in the speech of two out of five participants. In specific, the percentages of misplaced clitics in the speech of these two children, N.A. and A.X., reach 66% and 62% respectively, while for the other two participants are significantly low, even for the earlier developmental stage reported in the study (for A.M. is calculated at 7% and for O.X. at 10%). For the last child, A.I., the relevant percentage is not high either: it only reaches 21% of his overall clitic production. Thus, the question that remains open is whether all 2- to 3-year old Greek Cypriot children exhibit the phenomenon of clitic misplacement or just a subset of them. And, if the latter is true, the question posed is what is the size of this subset relative to the whole TD population.

Grohmann and colleagues have recently conducted a second study on CG clitics (Grohmann 2011 and Grohmann et al. *to appear*). This study was carried out within COST Action A33, a project aiming to investigate the performance of typically developing children across Europe at the age of 5, with respect to five areas of grammar including clitic production. For the purposes of that project, twenty four typically developing children aged 5 to 6 participated in Grohmann's study (2011) (see table 3), but the test developed within COST project was also administered to a larger group of participants, aged 2- to 7-years (Grohmann et al. *to appear*).

The test developed within COST Action and used by Grohmann and colleagues was a clitics-in-islands test, an elicitation production task for 3rd person singular accusative object clitics within syntactic islands. After the introductory sentence followed by a question, children were confronted with an embedded *because* (*jati*) – clause, which they were prompted to complete; a sample of the experimental material taken from Grohmann (2011) is presented in (7) and the targeted structure is given in parenthesis. All the eight adults that participated in Grohmann's (2011) study as the control group have produced exclusively post-verbal clitics. On the basis of this outcome, Grohmann (2011) and colleagues (Grohmann et al. *to appear*) assumed that the adult-like pattern in this construction type requires post-verbal clitic placement.

- (7) I mama xtenizi ti gorua tfe i korua en omorfi.
 “Mommy is combing the girl and the girl is beautiful”
 Jati i korua en omorfi?
 “Why is the girl beautiful?”
 I korua en omorfi jati i mam:a tis [*htenizi tin-CL*]
 The girl is beautiful because mommy [*combs her*].

We summarize the results for all the children that participated in this study in tables 3 and 4; the former unifies tables 1 and 2 from Grohmann (2011) and the latter is taken from Grohmann et al. (*to appear*).

Age Groups	N	Clitics		Omission	NP	No Answer	Other
3;0-4;0 (N=10)	120	Overall Post-verbal	110 (91.7%) 110 (100%)	2 (1.7%)	3 (2.5%)	0 (0%)	5 (4.2%)
5;0-6;0 (N=24)	288	Overall Post-verbal	276 (95.8%) 139 (50.3%)	2 (0.7%)	2 (0.7%)	1 (0.35%)	7 (2.45%)

Table 3 Results of TD 3- and 4-year-olds for clitics-in-islands test
 (Grohmann 2011: table 1 (pp.193) & 2 (pp.195))

Age Groups	2;0–2;11	3;0–3;11	4;0–4;11	5;0–5;11	6;0–6;11	Control
Overall	98.6%	86.7%	88.5%	94.3%	87.3%	100%
Post-verbal	90.0%	89.0%	88.0%	68.0%	47.0%	100%

Table 4 Clitic production for all age groups for clitics-in-islands test
 (Grohmann et al. *to appear*: table 3)

Based on the results of the studies by Grohmann and colleagues reported in tables 3 and 4, we can argue that CG-speaking children as young as 2 years of age have adult-like clitic production, with percentages ranging between 86.7% and 98.6%. As for clitic placement, no safe conclusions can be drawn on the basis of this study, because, contrary to what is assumed by Grohmann (2011), the construction under investigation, namely *because (jati)* – clauses, may allow for both enclisis and proclisis in CG depending on various factors. For instance, the presence or absence of an overt subject in the embedded clause is an important factor that affects clitic placement. Moreover, an overt subject would yield a different pattern depending on whether it is stressed or not. Notably, Grohmann *et al.* (*to appear*) mention that children got used to the pattern of the test and would produce the *because (jati)*–clause prior the experimenter, yet without clarifying whether the elicited clause in this case would involve an overt subject or not. Grohmann *et al.* (*to appear*) report a mixed pattern of clitic placement not only in 5- and 6-year-olds, but in adult population as well. Therefore, the results of the study in discussion are not indicative for the developmental stages of clitic placement in early CG. They instead reflect sociolinguistic facts, given that one of the available patterns for clitic placement in *because (jati)* – clauses in CG, namely the pre-verbal pattern, resembles the SMG pattern in the corresponding construction. Greek Cypriot children once they attend primary school, where SMG is the means of instruction, show an inclination to the use of the SMG pattern in *because (jati)*–clauses (Grohmann 2011, Grohmann *et al.* *to appear*).

Summarizing the discussion in this section, we point out that the important outcome of the study carried out by Grohmann (2011) and colleagues (Grohmann *et al.* *to appear*) is that CG-speaking children have adult-like clitic production from the onset of L1A. The phenomenon of clitic misplacement observed by Petinou and Terzi (2002) in early CG remains to be further studied on the basis of a larger database and there are a number of research questions that are yet to be answered, such as:

1. Is the phenomenon of clitic misplacement generalizable across participants?
2. Is misplacement attested in proclisis contexts alone or in enclisis contexts as well?
3. At what age do Greek Cypriot children reach adult-like clitic placement?

The research to be described in the following section aims at providing satisfactory answers to the above questions.

4. Method

This section summarizes two studies on the L1 acquisition of CG clitics reported by Neokleous (*to appear*) and Neokleous and Parodi (*to appear*). The aforementioned studies have investigated the acquisition of clitic placement by young Greek Cypriot children, with a monolingual CG-speaking background and no language related or unrelated impairments, nor any behavior problems. In the first part, we discuss a study based on spontaneous speech data, both cross-sectional and longitudinal, reported in Neokleous and Parodi (*to appear*) and in the second part we present the results of an experimental task carried out by Neokleous (*to appear*).

4.1. Spontaneous Data

Our investigation of clitic placement in early CG (Neokleous & Parodi *to appear*)⁴ was based on a corpus comprised of spontaneous speech data from eight monolingual Greek Cypriot children aged 2;3-3;4 while they interacted with the experimenter. We studied clitic constructions triggering the two patterns of clitic placement in CG: structures in which the clitic follows the verb, namely bare finite clauses and imperatives (examples 2-3), and structures in which the clitic precedes the verb, i.e. negatives, wh-questions, clauses headed by modal elements (examples 4-6). Data analysis revealed that all the participants placed clitics post-verbally in enclisis contexts, as in adult language. Yet, in proclisis contexts, a subset of the participants misplaced clitics, namely they placed them post-verbally. The results of data analysis in proclisis contexts are plotted in figure 1. Children's data show a bi-modal distribution: five of them have ceiling percentages of correct and three of them of incorrect clitic placement.

⁴ The data were transcribed following the conventions of the CHAT format (MacWhinney 2010).

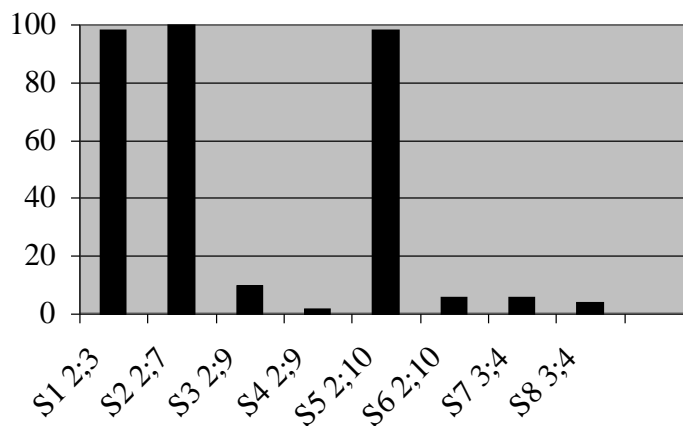


Figure 1 Percentages of incorrect clitic placement in proclisis contexts (Spontaneous Data)

Participant S1, one of the children who exhibited ceiling percentages of misplaced clitics, was followed longitudinally from age 2;3 until age 2;10 and was recorded five times. This child was producing exclusively post-verbal clitics for as long as seven months. This result indicates the robustness of the phenomenon observed in early CG.

Taking into account the initial observations from the spontaneous speech study by Neokleous and Parodi, Neokleous (*to appear*) has implemented an experimental task in a larger group of participants to test the generalizability of the results of both Petinou and Terzi (2002) and Neokleous and Parodi (*to appear*) studies.

4.2. Elicited Production

This part is based on Neokleous (*to appear*) and describes the implementation of an experimental investigation of clitic placement in early CG: 50 Greek Cypriot children from three age groups, 2-, 3- and 4-year olds, performed an elicited production task for 3rd person singular object clitics. The task involved twelve pictures from the book “First Hundred Words in English” (edited by Amery & Cartwright 2009) matched with twelve questions. In (8) we offer an example question made by the experimenter and in (9) the expected answer.

- (8) Ti θeli na kami to koritsaki to kaðro?
 What want-3S M do-3S the-ACC girl-ACC the-ACC frame-ACC
 “What does the girl want to do the frame?” [Experimenter]
- (9) Na to kremasi.
 M it-CL hang-3S
 “(She wants) to hang it” [Elicited Clause]

The experiment was designed for the elicitation of pronominal clitics in three construction types: (1) bare finite clauses, (2) negatives and (3) subjunctives. These structures fall within two experimental conditions: the former is an enclisis context (see example 2), while the second and the third are proclisis contexts (see examples 4 - 5). The task aimed to elicit 3rd person singular object clitics; the genitive and the accusative case as well as all the three genders were equally represented in the task. Data analysis took into account only the clauses produced as a response to the corresponding question, i.e. only the subjunctive clauses produced after a question like the one in (8) would count as correct responses.

All the participants produced a good number of clitics in bare finite clauses and in subjunctives, but not in negatives; only 15 out of 50 children produced at least a single negative clause. Thus, negative clauses were disregarded from statistical analysis. The elicited clitic constructions were coded as correct or incorrect; correct clitic placement in subjunctive clauses requires a pre-verbal clitic, while in bare finite clauses a post-verbal clitic. Then, the respective raw numbers and percentages were calculated. Table 2 reports the outcome of data analysis.

Context	Age Group	Placement	
		Correct	Incorrect
FIN	A	47 (100%)	0 (0%)
	B	61 (98%)	1 (2%)
	C	28 (100%)	0 (0%)
SUBJ	A	25 (66%)	13 (34%)
	B	55 (95%)	3 (5%)
	C	27 (100%)	0 (0%)

Table 5 Clitic placement in bare finites and subjunctives.

As we can see from table 5, children from all age groups perform at ceiling regarding clitic placement in bare finites. Yet, in subjunctives, while the participants of the second and the third age group perform adult-like, one third of the children falling within 2;6 and 3;0 years of age produce misplaced clitics. The statistical analysis performed has shown that the difference as for incorrect clitic placement between age groups A and B as well as between age groups A and C reaches statistical significance, with $p < 0.10$ in both comparisons (see Neokleous *to appear* for a detailed description of the statistical analysis conducted).

4.3. Summary

The two studies carried out by Neokleous and Parodi on the L1A of clitic constructions in CG, even though they have implemented different methodologies and have recruited different groups of participants, had the same outcome: they revealed the phenomenon of clitic misplacement attested in the speech of a subset of Greek Cypriot children younger than three years of age.

5. Discussion

The acquisition of CG clitics was systematically investigated in the two aforementioned studies, namely Neokleous (*appear*) and Neokleous and Parodi (*to appear*), and the research questions posed in section 3 can be answered on the basis of the results obtained.

The existence of clitic misplacement in early CG reported by Petinou and Terzi (2002) is verified by our studies as well; the phenomenon is attested in a subset of the participants of both the spontaneous speech study and the experimental investigation. Thus, Petinou and Terzi's outcome is confirmed on the basis of a much larger database of early CG. Moreover, the results from both their and our studies point to the same conclusion as for the generalizability of the phenomenon across participants. Two out of five children in their study and three out of nine children in our spontaneous speech study had high percentages of misplaced clitics. Interestingly, the experimental investigation confirmed that the phenomenon is exhibited by around 30% of Greek Cypriot children whose age falls within 2;6-3;0 years (Neokleous *to appear*). Yet, apart from points of convergence between their study and ours, there are also some points of divergence.

We can, now, proceed to a direct comparison of Petinou and Terzi's study and Neokleous and Parodi's study, given that firstly, the methodology implemented for data collection was the same in both studies (involving samples of spontaneous speech), and secondly, the age range of their (2;8-3;0) and our participants (2;3-3;4) highly overlaps. In figure 2, we plot Petinou and Terzi's results based on table 2 from section 3.

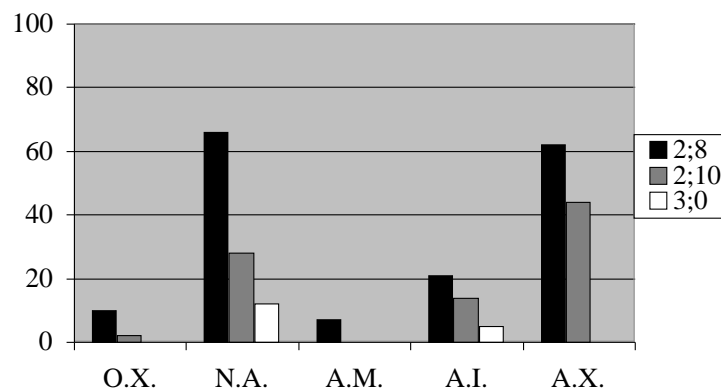


Figure 2 Proportion of misplaced clitics in proclisis contexts
(based on Petinou & Terzi 2002: table 2, pp.13)

A comparison of figure 1 from our study and figure 2 from Petinou and Terzi's (2002) reveals some important differences as for the phenomenon observed, and in specific with regards to: (1) its robustness, and (2) its duration. In relation to the first point, the highest percentage of clitic misplacement reported by Petinou and Terzi is 66% of the overall clitic production, whereas in our study the children who exhibit the phenomenon do so at ceiling percentages. As for the second point, and as shown in figure 2, the three children with high percentages of clitic misplacement at age 2;8 in Petinou and Terzi's (2002) study show a rapid improvement over a period of four months; for instance, A.X. misplaces clitics at 62% at age 2;8, at 44% at age 2;10 and by age 3;0 s/he is adult-like. In contrast, the child we followed longitudinally (Neokleous and Parodi *to appear*) had ceiling percentages of misplaced clitics for as long as seven months.

As for the robustness of the phenomenon, further analysis of a subset of the experimental data reported in Neokleous (*to appear*) confirms Neokleous and Parodi's (*to appear*) outcome: children who misplace clitics do so at ceiling percentages. Moreover, the fact that on the basis of a database including 58 children, we were unable to capture several phases of this transition from the non-adult-like to the adult-like pattern indicates that this transition is quite rapid.

Some concluding remarks on the L1 acquisition of the syntax of CG clitics on the basis of all the aforementioned studies are summarized below:

1. No clitic omission is observed in CG-speaking children after two years of age (Grohmann et al. *to appear*).
2. Clitic placement in enclisis contexts is adult-like from the onset of L1A (Neokleous *to appear*, Neokleous & Parodi *to appear*).
3. Clitic misplacement is attested in proclisis contexts, where children produce post-verbal instead of pre-verbal clitics (Petinou & Terzi 2002, Neokleous *to appear*, Neokleous & Parodi *to appear*).
4. The phenomenon of clitic misplacement is attested in a subset of CG-speaking children representing the 30% of the typically developing population aged 2;6–3;0 (Neokleous *to appear*).
5. Children exhibiting the phenomenon of clitic misplacement do so at ceiling percentages and in all the proclisis-triggering contexts they produce (Neokleous & Parodi *to appear*).
6. All CG-speaking children acquire the syntax of clitics around age 3;0 (Petinou & Terzi 2002, Neokleous *to appear*, Neokleous & Parodi *to appear*).

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EXCEPTIONAL STRESS PATTERNS IN THE ABSENCE OF MORPHOLOGICAL CONDITIONING

Kalomoira Nikolou
University of the Aegean, Greece
nikolou@rhodes.aegean.gr

Anthi Revithiadou
Aristotle University of
Thessaloniki, Greece
revith@lit.auth.gr

Despina Papadopoulou
Aristotle University of Thessaloniki, Greece
depapa@lit.auth.gr

ABSTRACT

This article investigates which stress pattern emerges as the preferred one in the absence of morphological conditioning in a morphologically-determined system like Greek. More specifically, we explore the stress behavior of a particular category of indeclinable words, namely, acronyms in order to discover whether the antepenultimate default represents the most frequent choice in the speakers' productions. A production experiment revealed that a stress pattern different than the language-specific default emerges in the absence of overt morphological information.

Keywords: acronyms, phonological default, morphologically-determined stress, reading aloud experiment

1. Introduction

Lexical stress systems are referred in the literature as an extreme case of unpredictability in the position of stress. More specifically, in such systems the computation of stress relies heavily on the lexically pre-specified information that morphemes may be endowed with. Naturally, when a string of morphemes is concatenated to form a word, the lexically-assigned stress of a given morpheme may be in conflict with the lexically-encoded stress preferences of other morphemes in a word. The examples in (1) and (2) from Russian and Greek, respectively, are instructive. In (1b), for example, the inflectional ending /-á/ is assumed to be inherently stressed and, as such, it surfaces with primary stress. However, the same ending loses prominence to the inherent stress of the root /bolót-/ in (1d). The same applies to the genitive plural suffix /-ón/ in the Greek examples (2b) and (2d), respectively.

(1) Russian: Inflected neuter nouns in -o (nom.sg), -a (nom.pl)

- | | | | |
|----|---------|------------|----------|
| a. | zérkalo | /zerkal-o/ | 'mirror' |
| b. | zérkalá | /zerkal-á/ | |
| c. | bolóto | /bolót-o/ | 'swamp' |
| d. | bolóta | /bolót-á/ | |

(2) Greek: Inflected feminine nouns in -a (nom.sg), -on (gen.pl)

- | | | | |
|----|----------|-------------|-------|
| a. | thálasa | /thalas-a/ | 'sea' |
| b. | thalasón | /thalas-ón/ | |
| c. | ayeláða | /ayelád-a/ | 'cow' |
| d. | ayeláðon | /ayelád-ón/ | |

Crucially, in the absence of lexically pre-specified stress, a language-specific elsewhere or default stress pattern arises. In our examples, the default is represented by the examples in (1a) and (2a); that

is, it is initial in Russian and antepenultimate in Greek due to a three-syllable restriction that is obligatorily enforced in the language. However, the issue of which stress pattern represents the default is not an easy one to answer. In Russian, for instance, both initial (Halle, 1973, 1997; Kiparsky & Halle, 1977; Melvold, 1990, among others), and post-stem stress (Alderete, 1999, 2001a, 2001b) have both been proposed to represent the default, as shown in (3) and (4), respectively.

- (3) Russian default stress is initial
- | | | | |
|----|-----------|--------------|---------------------|
| a. | gólovy | /golov-y/ | ‘head-nom.pl’ |
| b. | skóvorody | /skovorod-y/ | ‘frying pan-nom.sg’ |
- (4) Russian default stress is post-stem
- | | | | |
|----|----------|------------|---------------|
| a. | gospož-á | /gospož-a/ | ‘lady-nom.sg’ |
| b. | gospož-í | /gospož-i/ | ‘lady-nom.pl’ |

To complicate things more, a series of nonce-probe experiments on Russian (Nikolaeva, 1971; Crosswhite, Alderete, Beasley, & Markman, 2003) revealed that the speakers’ productions favored stem-final stress. These results are complemented by the findings of recent (experimental) studies (Andreev, 2004; Fainleib, 2008; Lavitskaya & Kabak, 2011a, 2011b) which appoint stem-final stress as the default in consonant-ending words and penultimate stress as the default in vowel-ending words in Russian.

Similarly in Greek, most analyses appoint antepenultimate stress as the phonological default (Malikouti-Drachman & Drachman, 1989; Ralli & Touratzidis, 1992; Revithiadou, 1999, 2007; Apoussidou, 2003; Burzio & Tantalou, 2006) whereas experimental studies that include reading tasks of pseudowords revealed that speakers show a strong preference for penultimate stress (Protopapas, Gerakaki, & Alexandri, 2006). As evident from the above discussion, it is far from clear which stress pattern represents the default.

In order to shed light on this issue, we examine how stress in a morphology-dependent system like Greek is shaped when: (a) morphology is inert, that is, when elements that normally interfere through their underlying stress in accentuation, such as inflectional suffixes, are not available to the speaker, and (b) the stem lacks inherent accentual properties. For this purpose, we designed and conducted a production experiment using infrequent/unfamiliar acronymic constructions as stimuli. Acronyms constitute an ideal case study because they lack fixed stress and, more importantly, they come in specific word sizes and syllable shapes, which allows us to exercise better control of the factors that may influence stress assignment.

The remainder of this paper presents a detailed account of a production experiment and its results, and provides a valuable insight in the nature of ‘default’ in morphology-dependent stress systems like Greek.

2. Acronyms

Acronymic constructions are very productive and common in everyday use. Unlike the vast majority of the Greek vocabulary, they are inflectionless and are deprived of pre-assigned stress.¹ The latter characteristic distinguishes them from place names, loanwords and brand names (e.g., Monacó, Sóftware, Lacóste, etc.) which are usually endowed with an inherent accentual property.

According to Anastassiadis-Symeonidis (1986) acronymic constructions in Greek, together with various types of initialisms (e.g., M.M.E. [mí mí épsilon] /mésa mazikís enimérosis/ ‘Mass Media’, Φ.Π.Α. [fí pí á] /fóros prostiθέmenis aksías/ ‘Value Added Tax’) are instances of word creation (Booij, 2005). Acronyms are formed by extracting a portion from the beginning of words that belong to the same nominal phrase and by linearly arranging them into a template-shaped construction (Vazou, 2004; Vazou & Xydopoulos, 2007; Nikolou, 2010). More specifically, they can be formed: (a) by copying the initial segment of the constituent words (5a), (b) by copying parts of the initial syllables that are the size of a close or an open syllable (5b), and (c) by both the above ways (5c):

- (5) a. [ika] /ðírima Kinonikón Asfalíseon/ ‘Social Security Organization’

¹ Only highly frequent ones, which are felt as common words, e.g., A.E.K. [áek] ‘Athletic Union of Constantinople’, E.A.TA. [eltá] ‘Hellenic Post’, etc. have fixed stress.

- b. [ðipeθe] /DImotikó PERiferiakó ΘEatro/ ‘Municipal Regional Theater’
 c. [eiðap] /Etería IDrefsis Apoxétefsis Protévusas/ ‘Athens Water Supply and Sewerage Company’

Sizewise, Greek acronyms are mostly monosyllabic and disyllabic. Three- and four-syllable long acronyms are less frequent or rare. Table 1 presents a list of the attested and unattested acronymic templates in Greek. Interestingly, trisyllabic and quandrisyllabic acronyms with a closed syllable in a non-final position are practically unattested.

	attested acronymic templates	unattested /rare acronymic templates
2σ	CV.CV CVC.CV CV.CVC CVC.CVC	—
3σ	CV.CV.CV CV.CV.CVC	CV.CVC.CV CV.CVC.CVC CVC.CV.CVC CVC.CV.CV (rare)
4σ	—	CV.CV.CV.CV (rare) all others

Table 1 Shapes and sizes of attested and unattested acronyms

3. Reading aloud experiment

The purpose of this experiment was to investigate the stress patterns that arise in both vowel- and consonant-ending acronyms and to unveil the factors that determine stress. For this reason, we designed and conducted a reading aloud experiment. In this section, we present the main methodological tools and we report on the main results of our experimental task.

3.1 Methodology

3.1.1 Participants

Twenty-one Greek students of the Aristotle University of Thessaloniki (19 females and 2 males; mean age: 18.1 years, age range: 18-19 years old) participated in the experiment. All of them were native speakers of Greek and naive as to the purpose and scope of this research. Students were awarded a 0.5 grade for their participation in the experiment.

3.1.2 Materials

The experimental stimuli consisted of 140 sentences of a simple SVO order. There was a gap in the subject position which had to be filled with a non-frequent acronym (e.g. T.E.A.Δ.Y. [teaði] ‘Insurance Aid Fund of Public Servants’) or a pseudoword. The relevant item was provided next to the gap. There were 60 gaps for non-frequent acronyms and 80 gaps for pseudowords/fillers. The factors our items were controlled for were: (a) the type of final segment (consonant vs. vowel), (b) the size of the word (two- vs. three-syllable words), (c) the effect of syllable type, i.e. close vs. open penultimate syllable.

Given that there are six attested types of acronyms in Greek (depending on size and syllable structure, see Table 1), we used 10 items for each template and hence 60 experimental stimuli in total. There were 40 gaps for disyllabic acronyms and 20 gaps for trisyllabic ones. These data were

interspersed with fillers/pseudowords, constructed from the most productive morphological classes.² More specifically, we constructed 10 items for each class, hence 40 disyllabic and 40 trisyllabic pseudowords were employed for the experiment. We collected 2940 items in total, which were codified by the experimenters according to speaker, type of word (acronym or filler), word size and stress pattern. A sample of the experimental material is provided in Appendix A. A complete list of all the acronyms used in the experiment is given in Appendix B.

3.1.3 Procedure

The experiment took place in a quiet room, where the participants were individually tested by the first author. The participants were asked to read out 140 sentences containing an acronym or a pseudoword (filler) presented as a power point presentation on a laptop screen. Each slide contained five SVO sentences with a gap in the subject position. The acronym or filler was given next to the gap in capital letters, which required no diacritic for stress, and in a simplified orthography. The speaker was free to choose the gender for each word s/he filled in the gap with. The participants' responses were recorded with the help of a Marantz PMD661 digital recorder and a Sennheiser E-901 microphone. There was no time limitation in the completion of the task although most participants completed the experiment within 30 minutes.

3.2 Results

The experimental procedure yielded 960 data points (60 acronyms x 21 participants). Table 2 demonstrates the overall stress pattern attested in the data assembled.

Stress pattern	Percentages	Raw numbers
U	72.06%	908
PU	27.14%	342
APU	0.80%	10
Sum	100%	1260

Table 2 Overall stress pattern of acronyms

As shown in Table 2, stress on the ultimate syllable (U) is strongly preferred compared to stress on the penultimate syllable (PU). Strikingly, APU stress, that is, the phonological default by all analyses of Greek stress, is highly under-represented in the speakers' productions. In what follows, we delve more thoroughly into the factors that affect the position of stress in the acronym constructions under examination. More specifically, we focus on the type of the final segment, the role the size of the acronym and the type of its final syllable have on stress.

3.2.1 Type of final segment and size of acronym

The multiple regression analyses revealed that the final segment affected stress. Therefore, we examine separately the stress patterns of acronyms ending in consonants from those ending in vowels. Within each category, we also address the impact of word-size. We begin by focusing on acronyms ending in consonants (Figure 1). Our speakers show a strong preference for stem-final stress ($\chi^2_{(2)}=957.800$, $p=.000$) regardless of the number of syllables since the percentage of U stress is significantly high in both disyllabic ($\chi^2_{(1)}=268.800$, $p=.000$) and trisyllabic acronyms ($\chi^2_{(2)}=346.200$, $p=.000$).

² Fillers/pseudowords were constructed on the basis of real words by changing: (a) the initial vowel of the stem and (b) the initial and final consonants of the stem, while respecting the syllabic structure and the phonotactic restrictions of the language.

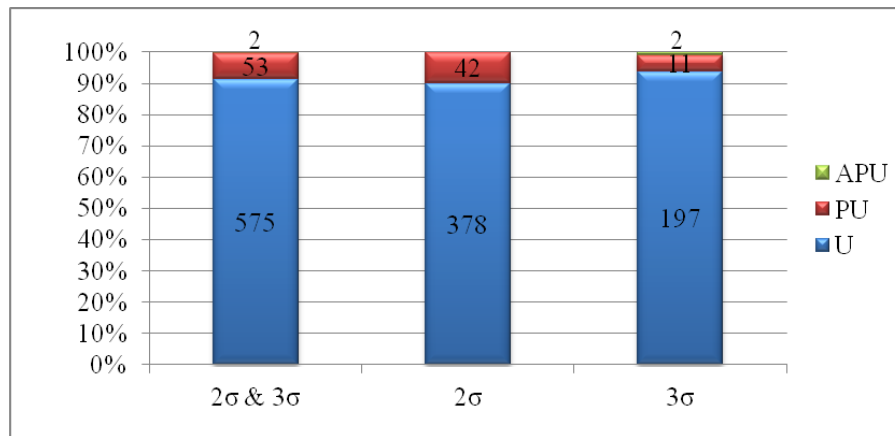


Figure 1 Stress results in C-final acronyms

The situation is dramatically different in V-ending acronyms, as shown in Figure 2:

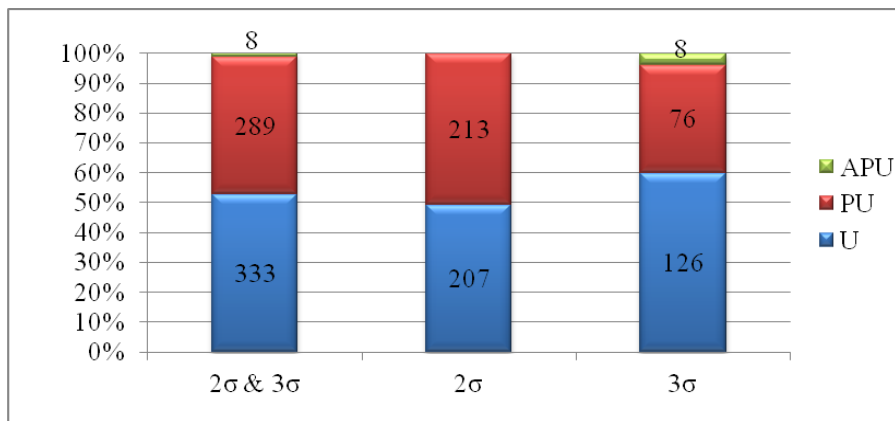


Figure 2 Stress results in V-final acronyms

The difference among the stress responses is statistically significant ($\chi^2_{(2)}=296.067$, $p=.000$), which is due to the few APU responses. However, the preference for U over PU stress was found to not be significant ($p>.1$). Interestingly, speakers are split between PU and U stress when confronted with disyllabic acronyms ($\chi^2_{(1)}=.086$, $p=.770$). Three-syllable long acronymic constructions, on the other hand, show a robust preference for U stress (U vs. PU: $\chi^2_{(1)}=12.376$, $p=.000$; U vs. APU: $\chi^2_{(1)}=103.910$, $p=.000$), which suggests that, if the final syllable is open, the number of syllables seems to affect the position of stress.

3.2.2 Syllable type of PU

Our experiment was also designed to check whether the closed- or openedness of the PU has an effect on the position of stress. Figures 3 and 4 illustrate the impact of the PU syllabic structure on the stress patterns in consonant- and vowel-ending acronyms, respectively.

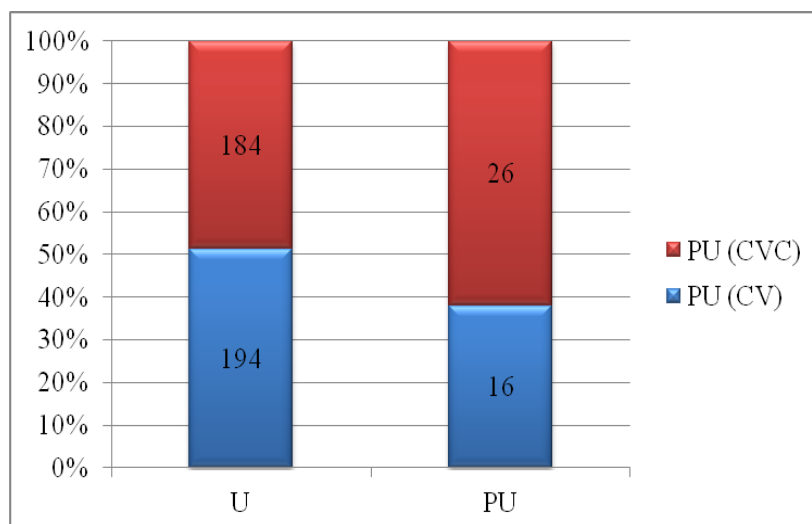


Figure 3 Stress in 2σ C-final acronyms depending on the syllable type of the PU

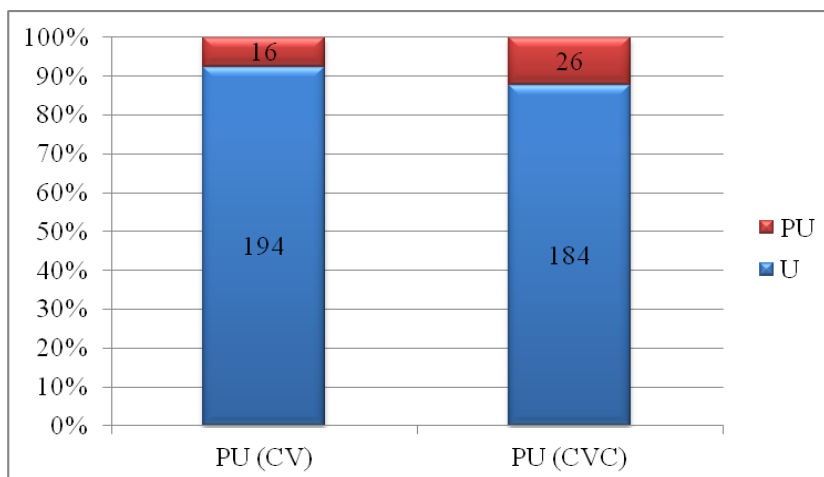


Figure 4 Stress in 2σ V-final acronyms depending on the syllable type of the PU

As shown in the above figures, a closed PU attracts stress more than an open one. However, the closedness of the PU was found to not have a statistically significant impact on C-final acronyms ($p > .1$). However, it had a marginally significant effect on stress in V-final acronyms ($\chi^2_{(1)} = 3.439$, $p = .064$, $\eta^2 = .090$, Cramer's $V = .090$, Contingency Coefficient = .090). We infer from these results that in C-final acronyms a final closed syllable attracts stress more than a PU one regardless of whether the latter is open ($\chi^2 = 150.876$, $p = .000$) or closed ($\chi^2 = 118.876$, $p = .000$).

4. Discussion and concluding remarks

The results of the production experiment show a marked preference for U or stem-final stress in C-final acronyms and a curious vacillation between PU and U stress in V-ending acronyms. The latter category presents us with the most intriguing stress patterns because the position of stress seems to hinge on the overall size of the acronym, a finding that future analyses of Greek stress ought to take into consideration. In general, the outcome of the statistical analyses suggests that the type of final segment and the syllabic composition of the acronym are controlling factors for the position of stress; final closed syllables attract stress more than open ones. Furthermore, a closed penultimate is more likely to attract stress than an open one.

Importantly, the elsewhere pattern, that is, APU stress, which takes charge of accentuation when morphemes lack lexical stress, is virtually absent in our data. This result clearly shows that, in the absence of morphological conditioning, default stress subsides to the dictates of the inherent stress-encoding mechanism which promotes instead PU and U stress. In other words, the speakers of a

morphology-determined stress system like Greek, who have tacit knowledge of the abstract representation of stress in their Mental Lexicon, feel more comfortable applying the lexical stress-encoding mechanism when confronted with new or unknown words than the predictable APU default.

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Appendix A

Sample of experimental items from Reading aloud experiment

Greek:	Translation:
O/H/To (ΘΑΣΤΑ) δεν ισχύει πια.	The (masc/fem/neut) is not valid. [θasta]
O/H/To (ΑΚΕ) υπερασπίζεται τους αγρότες.	The (masc/fem/neut) defends the farmers. [ake]
O/H/To (ΛΕΧΘΟΣ) πέταξε μακριά.	The (masc/fem/neut) flew away. [lexθos]
O/H/To (ΟΑΣΠ) οργανώνει σεμινάρια τον άλλο μήνα.	The (masc/fem/neut) organizes seminars next month. [oasp]
O/H/To (ΠΟΣΚΙ) δεν είναι έτοιμο.	The (masc/fem/neut) is not ready. [poski]

Appendix B

Acronym list handed to the participants in Reading aloud experiment

Acronyms	IPA	Acronyms	IPA
ΣΕΘΑ	[seθa]	ΠΟΣΔΕΠ	[posðep]
ΣΑΤΑ	[sata]	ΕΛΤΡΟΠ	[eltrop]
ΝΕΔΕ	[neðe]	ΕΚΠΑΖ	[ekpaz]
ΙΒΕ	[ive]	ΓΕΔΣΑΠ	[γeðsap]
ΟΒΒΟ	[ovo]	ΗΛΠΑΠ	[ilpap]
ΕΜΕ	[eme]	ΛΙΠΤΟΛ	[liptol]
ΔΟΝΑ	[ðona]	ΠΕΝΟΨΥ	[penopsi]
ΓΑΔΑ	[γαða]	ΣΕΛΕΤΕ	[selete]
ΑΚΕ	[ake]	ΤΑΠΟΤΕ	[tapote]
ΒΕΑ	[vea]	ΥΠΕΘΑ	[ipeθa]
ΛΑΦΚΑ	[lafka]	ΤΕΑΔΥ	[teaði]
ΠΕΡΠΑ	[perpa]	ΟΜΕΠΟ	[omepo]
ΣΕΛΜΕ	[selme]	ΔΙΠΕΧΩ	[ðipecxo]
ΚΕΠΚΑ	[kepka]	ΑΒΕΑ	[avea]
ΠΕΚΔΥ	[pekði]	ΚΕΘΕΑ	[keθea]
ΕΛΠΑ	[elpa]	ΟΣΥΠΑ	[osipa]
ΚΕΔΚΕ	[keðke]	ΣΕΒΙΤΕΛ	[sevitel]
ΤΑΝΠΥ	[tanpi]	ΠΑΣΟΝΟΠ	[pasonop]
ΕΛΚΕ	[elke]	ΠΑΣΙΔΙΚ	[pasiðik]
ΔΙΠΚΑ	[ðiipka]	ΤΕΑΜΕΖ	[teamez]
ΠΕΦΙΠ	[pefiip]	ΕΛΕΓΕΠ	[eleɣep]
ΚΕΝΑΚ	[kenak]	ΑΠΟΕΛ	[apoel]
ΙΦΕΤ	[ifet]	ΠΟΕΔΗΝ	[poeðin]
ΝΕΧΩΠ	[nexop]	ΠΑΣΕΓΕΣ	[paseɣes]
ΟΔΕΓ	[oðeɣ]	ΕΛΑΣΕΤ	[elaset]
ΤΑΠΕΜ	[tapem]	ΑΣΕΤΕΜ	[asetem]
ΙΤΕΣΚ	[itesk]	ΟΛΚΕΣ	[olkes]
ΑΒΕΚΤ	[avekt]	ΕΔΚΕΠ	[eðkep]
ΟΑΣΠ	[oasp]	ΑΣΔΑΚ	[asðak]
ΕΤΕΡΠΣ	[eterps]	ΑΔΣΕΝ	[aðsen]

PRAGMATEMES (ΠΡΑΓΜΑΤΗΜΑΤΑ): THEORY AND THEIR “PREMIÈRE” IN GREEK

Lena Papadopoulou

Democritus University of Thrace, Greece

papadopoulou.lena@gmail.com

ABSTRACT

The purpose of this paper is three-fold. First, it aims to present the theoretical framework of pragmatemes. Second, the lexicographical treatment of pragmatemes is described step by step, from the formation of the macrostructure to the compilation of the microstructure. Third, applications of the PragmaDiG (Dictionary of Greek Pragmatemes) to Greek language learning by English and Spanish speakers as well as to the human and machine translation of pragmatemes of the language pairs Greek-English and Greek-Spanish are presented.

Keywords: phrasemes, pragmatemes, lexicography, language learning, machine translation

1. Introduction

Everyone knows how to thank someone for a favor, a gift, felicitations or how to greet someone they meet; many people can do that in various languages, as well. However, when the communicative situations are demanding and require the production of more precise utterances this is not the case. Non native speakers, alike native speakers in many cases, have a certain difficulty in the selection of the appropriate expression that suits each specific situation best, as, for example, what to say at a funeral (i.e. *My condolences*), how to start a formal letter (i.e. *Dear Mr./Mrs*), what to say when we first meet a person (i.e. *Nice to meet you*), etc. All these ready-made greetings and warnings, standard phrases used in letters, conversational formulas, small texts on official signs, etc. are semantically and formally fully compositional and are called pragmatemes according to Mel'čuk (1998).

The term *pragmateme* is the central notion of this paper. My work is based, on the one hand, on the Mel'čuk's pragmateme theory (1998, (to appear) which makes part of the Meaning⇌Text Theory (Mel'čuk, Clas, & Polguere, 1995) and, on the other hand, on Blanco's lexicographic model for pragmatemes (to appear) (2010). The outline of the specific theoretical framework is followed by the detailed description of the compilation of the Greek Pragmatemes Dictionary (PragmaDiG). Finally, two major applications of PragmaDiG - the learning of Greek by Greek native speakers, English and Spanish speakers as well as the machine and human translation for Greek-English and Greek-Spanish pairs- will be discussed.

2. Theoretical framework

The subject-matter of my study lends itself well to a focus on phraseology around which pragmatemes are clustered. A broad definition of phraseology is 'the linguistic discipline that analyses phraseological, i.e. pre-established, constructions' (Langlotz, 2006, p. 7). Phraseological structures are reported in the specialized literature on phraseology under various denominations, such as *phraseological units* (Chernuisheva, 1964; (Gläser, 1988)), *set combinations* (Zgusta, 1971), *phrasemes* or *set phrases* (Mel'čuk, 1988) and *word combinations* (Cowie, 1988; Howarth, 1966), as Cowie quotes (1998). However, I will adopt the term *phraseme* proposed by Mel'čuk (1998) and used by Blanco (to appear), as their work on pragmatemes is the frame within which my study was undertaken.

Before proceeding further with pragmatemes definition, it is considered important to clarify what we mean when we refer to phrasemes. The most useful way to understand phrasemes is to compare them to free phrases. The comparison is carried out using the concept of linguistic sign introduced by

Saussure and Mel’čuk (1998). However, the notions will only be referred to as a general outline. On the one hand, Saussure states that a linguistic sign X is the combination of a signified “ X ” and a signifier $/X/$, which can be represented as $X = \langle \text{“}X\text{”}; /X/ \rangle$. On the other hand, Mel’čuk adds to the saussurian model the syntactic combinatory Σx of the linguistic sign with other signs, so as mel’čukian sign can be presented by the equation $X = \langle \text{“}X\text{”}; /X/; \Sigma x \rangle$. However, in order to seize how Mel’čuk perceives the linguistic sign and, therefore, the phrasemes typology, it is important to crystallize some preliminary notions of the Meaning \Leftrightarrow Text Theory through the description of an utterance production (Mel’čuk, 1998). An utterance production can be summarized by the following scheme:

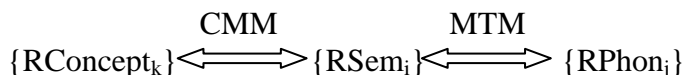


Image 1 Utterance production scheme (Cowie, 1998: 25)

The above scheme assumes three representations of the utterance (Mel’čuk, 1998):

- (i) the conceptual representation (RConcept) which consists of the mental reflection of the reality as it is perceived by the speaker as to the situation that (s)he wants to verbalize,
- (ii) the semantic representation (RSem) that the speaker constructs based on the Concepts-Meaning Model (CMM) of his/her language **I** associating elements and configurations of the conceptual representation with those of the corresponding semantic representation and, finally,
- (iii) the phonetic representation (RPhon) that the speaker constructs based on the Meaning-Text Model (MTM) of his/her language **I**, associating elements and configurations of the RSem with all the linguistic elements that compose the corresponding utterance.

The difference between a free phrase and a phraseme is elucidated according to the above scheme. A free phrase $A \oplus B$ of a language **I** is represented as follows:

$$A \langle \text{“}A\text{”}; /A/ \rangle \oplus B \langle \text{“}B\text{”}; /B/ \rangle = A \oplus B \langle \text{“}A \oplus B\text{”}; /A \oplus B/ \rangle$$

The main characteristic of an utterance **AB** which is a free phrase is its freedom which refers to:

- (i) the unrestricted selection:
The meanings and the lexical units of the utterance are arbitrarily selected according to the lexicon rules of the **I**.
- (ii) the regular combination according the grammar rules of the **I**:
The components of the utterance **AB** are combined according to the general grammar rules of the **I**.

An utterance **AB** is not free when the construction of its signifier and signified presents either restrictions at the lexical level or irregularities at the combination of its components. For example, the utterance [apayorevete to kapnisma] *Απαγορεύεται το κάπνισμα* (EN: *No smoking*, SP: *Prohibido fumar*) that frequently is found in signs in public places is a phraseme that presents a restriction at the lexical level; we cannot use for the above mentioned situation another quasi-equivalents of this phraseme, as i.e. [min kapnizete] *μην καπνίζετε* ‘No smoke’ [apayorevete to tsiyaro] *απαγορεύεται το τσιγάρο* ‘Cigarette is forbidden’, although it is allowed by the general rules of the Greek language.

Once the difference between a free phrase and a non free phrase has been clarified and the term phraseme has been selected, the typology of phrasemes that is here utilized will be defined, given that each typology implies not only terminological differences but a different internal categorization as well. For instance, Cowie (1998) recognizes a common primary division of phrasemes:

- (i) *sentence like or pragmatic units* that function pragmatically
- (ii) *word like or semantic units* that function syntactically

This division corresponds to the categorization of *phraseological units* to *propositions* and *nominations* by Gläser (1988), *word combinations* to *functional expressions* and *composites* by Cowie (1988), *phrasemes* to *pragmatic phrasemes* or *pragmatemes* and *semantic phrasemes* by Mel'čuk (1988) and *word combinations* to *functional expressions* and *composite units* by Howarth (1966).

This paper focuses on the double mel'čukian division of phrasemes to *pragmatemes* and *semantic phrasemes*. On the one hand, we refer to a pragmateme when for a given RConcept there is only one signified "X"="A ⊕ B" which is constructed restrictedly and it is articulated only with the given signifier /A ⊕ B/. However, there are cases when the "A ⊕ B" can be replaced by a quasi-synonymous expression.

On the other hand, a semantic phraseme is constructed unrestrictedly and regularly. In other words, for a given RConcept we can select a signified "A ⊕ B" according to the general rules of the language I whose signifier /X/ is constructed restrictedly. For example, if we have the signified "X" = "A ⊕ B" its signifier is /X/≠/A ⊕ B/. The semantic phrasemes according to the correspondence signified-signified are triple divided in:

- (1) idioms or full phrasemes (<"C"; /A ⊕ B/)
- (2) collocations or semi-phrasemes ("A ⊕ C"; /A ⊕ B/)
- (3) quasi-idioms or quasi-phrasemes (<"A ⊕ B ⊕ C"; /A ⊕ B/)

3. Pragmatemes

A definition of pragmatemes is that a phraseme AB (AB) is called a pragmatic phraseme or a pragmateme, if it is restricted to its signified and its signifier by the extralinguistic situation SIT in which AB is used, that is, by pragmatic factors (Mel'čuk, 1998).

In this definition the communicative situation SIT is emphasized, which brings us to the conceptual representation (RConcept) of the Meaning ⇔ Text Theory. The SIT is the key point for the distinction between the pragmatemes and the semantic phrasemes. By SIT we refer to the extralinguistic situation in which speakers find themselves and about which they want to express something. The RConcept gathers all the information that speakers have at their disposal of the given SIT which helps them to verbalize all that they want to say in view of the given SIT. Namely, the SIT affects the respective RConcept and therefore the rest of the representations of an utterance. In the production of an utterance the RSem follows the RConcept. The transition from the RConcept to the RSem is the point where an utterance is phraseologized by pragmatic factors. It is the point where the SIT_{AB} obliges the RConcept to use a particular signified "AB". The utterance in its last representation, in the RPhon, is also bound by the SIT_{AB} which demands a particular signifier /AB/. In other words, the SIT_{AB} determines the signified "AB" and the signifier /AB/ of the pragmateme AB, ignoring the alternative options that the rules of a language I allow.

The great majority of pragmatemes occur in greetings, conversational formulas and signs (Mel'čuk, en prensa). In the following examples (1-5) representative pragmatemes are presented in italics with their respective communicative situation annotated in brackets and in Arial:

- (1) [prohibitory sign in public places]
GR: *Απαγορεύεται το κάπνισμα*
EN: *No smoking*
ES: *Prohibido fumar*
- (2) [answer to an introduction]
GR: *Χάρηκα για τη γνωριμία!*
EN: *Nice to meet you!*
ES: *¡Mucho gusto!*
- (3) [closing a formal letter]
GR: *Με εκτίμηση*
{Name}
EN: *Yours faithfully*
{Name}
ES: *Atentamente*
{Name}
- (4) [take leave of someone]

- GR: *Αντίο!*
 EN: *Goodbye!*
 ES: *¡Adiós!*
- (5) [on a food packaging]
 GR: *Ανάλωση κατά προτίμηση πριν από {DATE}*
 EN: *Best before {Date}*
 ES: *Fecha de consumo preferente: {Date}*

A main characteristic of pragmatemes is that in many cases they present multimodality (Blanco, to appear). There are pragmatemes, especially those that appear on official signs, that can be accompanied or totally replaced by an icon, as, i.e., the pragmateme *Απαγορεύεται το κάπνισμα* (EN: *No smoking*, SP: *Prohibido fumar*) (example 1) can get the following forms (Image 2 and 3):



Image 2 Multimodal pragmateme



Image 3 Pragmateme replaced by an icon

It is beyond any doubt to mention that by the term pragmateme apart from the compositional pragmatic phrasemes there are also non compositional pragmatic phrasemes whose structure presents not only restriction in their signified but in their signifier as well (Blanco, 2010):

- (6) [to a pregnant woman]
 EL: *Καλή λευτεριά!*
 EN: lit. *Good freedom!*
 SP: lit. *¡Buena liberación!*

In addition, under the term pragmateme the pragmatic lexemes are classified, as well. The only difference between pragmatic phrasemes and pragmatic lexemes is that the latter consists of only one lexical unit, as those that we can see in the following example:

- (7) [on a sign of a real estate]
 EL: *Ενοικιάζεται*
 EN: *For rent*
 SP: *Se alquila*

4. Lexicographical treatment of pragmatemes

A lexicographical treatment of pragmatemes should start from the fact that pragmatemes are not lexical units -although they are linguistic signs disposed of a signified, signified and syntactic combinatory- because they present an internal argumental structure (Blanco, 2010). Thus, pragmatemes cannot constitute entries in a dictionary of lexical units but entries of an inventory of textual units (Blanco, 2001).

Fertile ground for the lexicographical formalization of pragmatemes should be the explicative and combinative type dictionaries (Blanco, 2010), such of French (Mel'čuk & al., 1984, 1988, 1992, 1999) in which pragmatemes should appear like subentries in the principal macrostructure, such as the non standard lexical functions. Such integration of pragmatemes in a dictionary of lexical entries is realized through the lexical anchor, which is a lexical unit that characterizes the SIT that binds the pragmateme and with which the subentry of the pragmateme is associated, as Blanco cites (to appear). For example, the lexical anchor of the pragmateme (example 5) *Best before {Date}* should be FOOD or PACKAGING.

Although we do not have at our disposal of an explicative and combinative dictionary of Greek, the lexicographic treatment of Greek pragmatemes became realizable through the lexicographical model for pragmatemes proposed by Blanco in his work entitled “Microstructure Évolutive pour un Dictionnaire de Pragmatemes” (to appear), the structure of which is presented below.

4.1 Macrostructure

The macrostructure of the dictionary of Greek pragmatemes (henceforth PragmaDiG) consists of pragmatic lexemes and pragmatic phrasemes. Main source of the pragmatemes has been constituted the previous lexicographical work on Greek pragmatemes (Papadopoulou, 2010)

Given that this work is not exhaustive in compiling all the pragmatemes of Greek language -since it would be impossible- the work was limited to the compilation of pragmatemes that are associated with a certain number of predefined communicative situations, as we can see in the examples 9 and 10. In this way, the systematic formalization of pragmatemes has been ensured. An inverse procedure, defining first the pragmateme and then associating it with its SIT (example 8), would cause formalization and dispersion problems in the description of the SITs, which are the key point of pragmatemes.

- (8) *Χρόνια πολλά!*
 EN: lit. *many years*
 SP: lit. *muchos años*
 [congratulate someone on his birthday]
 [congratulate someone on his saint's day]
 [greeting someone during the Christmas period]

- (9) [congratulate someone on his birthday]
 EL: *Χρόνια πολλά!, Πολύχρονος, Να τα εκατοστήσεις, Να τα χιλιάσεις!*
 EN: *Happy Birthday!*
 SP: *¡Cumpleaños feliz!*

- (10) [congratulate someone on his saint's day]
 EL: *Χρόνια πολλά!, Να χαίρεσαι τη γιορτή σου!*
 EN: *Happy Saint's Day!*
 SP: *¡Felicidades por tu santo!*

4.2 Microstructure

The microstructure of PragmaDiG is articulated in nine main fields which intend to describe each pragmateme in an exhaustive way. The compilation of the microstructure has followed precisely the lexicographical model for pragmatemes by Blanco (2010, to appear) and it is represented by the following fields:

- (i) <MORPHOSYNTAX>
- (ii) <LEXICAL ANCHOR>
- (iii) <SITUATION>
- (iv) <SPEECH ACT>
- (v) <LEXICAL FUNCTION>
- (vi) <PARADIGM>
- (vii) <SYNONYMY> and <ANTONYMY>

- (viii) <DIASYSTEMATICS>
- (ix) <TRANSLATION EQUIVALENCE>

4.2.1 <MORPHOSYNTAX>

In the first field of the microstructure of PragmaDiG the lemma is described morphosyntactically. The description is carried out by means of the six deep-syntactic parts of speech (Mel’čuk, 2006) that are assigned to each component of the pragmateme:

- (i) Nominal
- (ii) Verbal
- (iii) Adjectival
- (iv) Prepositional
- (v) Adverbial
- (vi) Clausal

In the following examples (11 and 12) the morphosyntactic structure of the pragmateme *Λειτουργούμε με συνεχές ωράριο* and *Ναι!* is presented:

- (11) [on a store sign]
EL: *Λειτουργούμε με συνεχές ωράριο*
<V PREP ADJ N>
EN: Open All Day Long
SP: Abierto todo el día
- (12) [in a phone answer]
EL: *Ναι!*
<CLAUSE>
EN: *Hello!*
SP: *¡Dígame!*

4.2.2 <LEXICAL ANCHOR>

The lexical anchor provides semantic information of the pragmateme. By the lexical anchor we mean the lexical unit that phraseologically binds a pragmateme (example 13). It is worth mentioning that a pragmateme can have more than one lexical anchors and that the lexical anchor does not necessarily appear in the pragmateme but it forms part of its semantics. In the following example it is shown how the lexical unit of ΤΣΙΓΑΡΟ binds a series of pragmatemes:

- (13) EL: ΤΣΙΓΑΡΟ
Απαγορεύεται το κάπνισμα
Χώρος καπνιστών
Ευχαριστούμε που δεν καπνίζετε
EN: SMOKING
No smoking
Smoking area
Thank you for not smoking
SP: *Prohibido fumar*
Area de fumadores
Gracias por no fumar

4.2.3 <SITUATION>

The communicative situation SIT provides information about the conceptual structure of the pragmateme. Especially, it thoroughly indicates all the necessary information about the use of pragmateme, such as temporal and spatial coordinates.

For example, if we consider the following pragmatemes, we can observe how a temporal coordinate can differentiate the use of each pragmatic phraseme:

- (14) [greet someone in the morning]
EL: *Καλημέρα!*
EN: *Good morning!*
SP: *¡Buenos días!*
- (15) [greet someone in the afternoon]
EL: *Καλησπέρα!*
EN: *Good evening!*
SP: *¡Buenas tardes!*
- (16) [greet someone on Monday]
EL: *Καλή βδομάδα!*
EN: lit. *Good week!*
SP: lit. *¡Buena semana!*
- (17) [greet someone on the first day of the month]
EL: *Καλό μήνα!*
EN: lit. *Good month!*
SP: lit. *¡Buen mes!*

4.2.4 <SPEECH ACT>

In the fourth field, the speech act that each pragmateme performs is indicated. By the annotation of the speech act we obtain the pure characterization of the lemma, as the speech act is the central predicate of the pragmateme. Representative examples of the speech act annotation follow:

- (18) to prohibit
EL: *Απαγορεύεται το παρκάρισμα*
EN: *No parking*
SP: *Prohibido aparcar*
- (19) to inform
EL: *Κλειστό*
EN: *Closed*
SP: *Cerrado*
- (20) to warn
EL: *Προσοχή ναρκοπέδιο*
EN: *Danger minefield*
SP: *Aviso campo de minas*

4.2.5 <LEXICAL FUNCTION>

The annotation of the lexical functions is considered to be a major determinant of information for the description of pragmatemes. By means of lexical functions **f** we can preview the concurrence of the components of the pragmateme and elucidate the syntactic-semantic role that the **f** represents contingent on the word **W0** with which is associated (Mel'čuk & Zolkovsky, 1988). It is worth mentioning that the lexical functions present a great variety, as, apart from the simple lexical functions, non standard lexical functions were used as well, allowing a more detailed description.

In the following examples we can observe the values that the lexical functions can provide to the pragmateme *Τα συλλυπητήρια μου* 'My condolences':

- (21) EL *Τα συλλυπητήρια μου*
Ver(συλλυπητήρια) = ειλικρινή
MagnVer(συλλυπητήρια) = βαθύτατα
EN: *My condolences*
MagnVer(condolences) = deepest
Ver(condolences) = sincere
SP: *Mis condolencias*

MagnVer(condolencias) = profundas
Ver(condolencias) = sentidas

4.2.6 <PARADIGM>

The paradigm of a pragmateme refers to all the possible forms that the lemma comprises. In the following example we can see how a series of variants are enclosed within a phraseme:

- (22) EL: Υποχρεωτικά φοράτε ΣΥΓΚΕΚΡΙΜΕΝΟ ΕΞΟΠΛΙΣΜΟ
Υποχρεωτικά φοράτε κράνος
Υποχρεωτικά φοράτε γυαλιά προστασίας
Υποχρεωτικά φοράτε ωτοασπίδες
EN: CERTAIN EQUIPMENT required
Hard hats required
Safety glasses required
Ear protection required
SP: CIERTO EQUIPO requerido
Sbrero de seguridad REQUERIDO
gafas de seguridad REQUERIDAS
protección de los oídos REQUERIDA

Although the annotation of the paradigm is of great importance, as it supports the systematic formalization of the variants, it requires a complex procedure, as the relations *in absentia* of the components of a pragmateme are indicated.

4.2.7 <SYNONYMY> and <ANTONYMY>

In this field, the semantic relations of synonymy and antonymy among the pragmatemes are presented. It is worth mentioning, especially for the synonymy, that the synonyms are simply listed and their semantic differentiation is clarified by the means of their diasystematics. It is also worth mentioning that the synonymy and the antonymy of pragmatemes that belong to different semiotic systems have been also taken into consideration.

- (23) EL: Επιτρέπεται το κάπνισμα
Χώρος καπνιστών
Απαγορεύεται το κάπνισμα
EN: Smoking is permitted
Designated smoking area
No smoking
SP: Permitido fumar
Area de fumadores
Prohibido fumar



4.2.8 <DIASYSTEMATICS>

The assignation of diasystemic marks to the pragmatemes provides precision to the conditions of their use. The annotation of the diasystemic followed the eleven-fold categorization proposed by Hausmann (1989), as Blanco cites (2001): (i) diachronic, (ii) diatopic, (iii) diaintegrative, (iv) diastratic, (v) diaconnotative, (vi) diatechnical, (vii) diafrequential, (viii) dianormative, (ix) diamediatric, (x) diaphasic and (xi) diatextual.. The diasystematic marks, in the most of the cases, play a key role in clarifying the synonymy between synonym pragmatemes.

Representative examples are given above, where the diametric (example 24, 25 and 26) is marked by the oral, the diastatic (example 25) is marked by Italicism and the diachronic (example 26) is marked by archaic:

- (24) Vulgar, oral
EL: *Γεια χαραντάν!*
EN: *Hey!*
SP: *¡Buenas!*
- (25) Oral, italicism,
EL: *Τσάο!*
EN: *Chao!*
SP: *¡Chao!*
- (26) Oral, archaic
EL: *Εις υγείαν!*
EN: *Wassail!*
SP: *¡Que sea por muchos años!*

4.2.9 <TRANSLATION EQUIVALENCE>

The last field of the microstructure is dedicated to the translation equivalence of Greek pragmatemes to English and Spanish. Before proceeding to the description of the elaboration of this field, we have to bear in mind that pragmatemes are not lexical units and thereupon they require a particular lexicographic treatment, which is based mainly on pragmatic criteria.

The translation equivalence assignment follows the lexicographical model of *Monolingual Coordinated Dictionaries* by Blanco (2001), according to which the equivalence is provided linearly taking into account the information provided in the microstructure and especially the communicative situation. The emphasis on the SIT is justified by the fact that the communicative situation encompasses the cultural aspects, whose consideration was pointed out by Teliya, Bragina, Oparina and Sandomirs (1998), who characterize phrasemes as cultural language, and Sapir (1964) and Worf (1956), who quote that each language conceptualize the reality on a cultural base, among others.

The cultural aspect that the pragmatemes enclose has haunted us during the elaboration of the translation equivalents which are classified in three major categories (Kromann, Riiber, & Rosbach, 1991):

- (i) full equivalents
- (ii) partial equivalents
- (iii) zero equivalents.

The first type of equivalence is quite rare. In the examples 27 and 28 we can see full equivalents among the three languages. However, in the example 28 it can be observed that in the English and in the Spanish equivalents a religious connotation is marked, contrary to the Greek language where this dialog is considered common during the period of Easter.

- (27) EL: *Καλό ταξίδι!*
EN: *Have a nice trip!*
SP: *¡Buen viaje!*
- (28) EL: - *Χριστός Ανέστη!*
 - *Αληθώς ο Κύριος!*
EN: - *Christ is risen!*
 - *Truly He is risen!*
SP: - *¡Cristo ha resucitado!*
 - *¡En verdad ha resucitado!*

As far as the partial equivalents are concerned, they present a higher frequency. However, their precision is strongly depended on the description of the SIT which requires thorough details, as we can see in the following examples:

- (29) [take leave of someone in the evening]
EL: *Καλό απόγευμα!*

EN: *Good night!*
 SP: ¡*Buenas tardes!*

There were many cases of zero equivalents as well. In these cases the translation equivalence was not provided, as for example in:

- (30) [greet someone on the first day of the month]
 EL: *Καλό μήνα!*
 EN: lit. *Good month!*
 SP: lit. ¡*Buen mes!*
- (31) [to someone who got a haircut]
 EL: *Με γεια το κόψεμα!*
 EN: lit. *With health the new haircut!*
 SP: lit. ¡*Con salud el nuevo corte de pelo!*

5. Applications of pragmatemes

The systematic lexicographical processing of pragmatemes is oriented towards two main directions: (i) towards the language learning and (ii) towards the human and machine translation.

5.1 PragmaDiG and language learning

On the one hand, foreign language learners are in contact with pragmatemes from the beginning to advanced language proficiency. We could say that almost any introductory foreign language course begins with the common greetings. It is not a coincidence that A1 Level foreign language students on the “Common European Framework of Reference for Languages” should know how to introduce themselves (CEFR). It is also not coincidental that the fluent use of phrasemes similar to native speakers is the ultimate goal of foreign language learners, as Wray and Fitzpatrick (2008) mention.

On the other hand, the pedagogical significance of the dictionary use to foreign language learning is pointed out by Kojic-Sabo & Lightbown (1999), Knight (1994), Atkins & Varantola (1997) and Luppescu and Day (1993) among others. Thus, the PragmaDiG should assist in meeting the dictionary needs of foreign language learners. However, the pedagogical role that the PragmaDiG may play for native speakers as well should not be underestimated, especially within the frame of a genre-based approach to language learning. The communicative situation SIT constitutes the vinculum between pragmatemes and the genre-based approach, which is based on the “Systemic Functional Theory” developed by Halliday (1994) who links language closely to its contexts of use that are associated with the situational features of the field, mode and tenor (Halliday, 1978). These three values that define Halliday’s situational context correspond to the information provided in the PragmaDiG in the SIT and in the diasystematics of the microstructure.

The PragmaDiG within the frame of a genre-based approach could be a useful tool for the execution of queries regarding specific patterns to a certain text genre according to a series of criteria. For example, PragmaDiG users can find the appropriate pragmateme to close a formal letter. First, they would define the speech act (*take leave*). Then, they would specify the communicative situation SIT ([*in a letter*]). Finally, they would define the diasystematics, and especially, in this case, the diaphasic mark “formal” in order to come to the use of the pragmateme, i.e., *Με εκτίμηση* {*First name Surname*} (EN: *Yours faithfully* {*First name Surname*}, SP: *Atentamente* {*First name Surname*}).

5.2 PragmaDiG and translation

Apart from the pedagogical use PragmaDiG it is also considered to be of a great utility in the area of machine and human translation.

On the one hand, the structure of the PragmaDiG is built on foundations of the machine translation as it was compiled according to the *Dictionaries for Pragmatemes* of Blanco (to appear), which traces its roots to the *Monolingual Coordinated Dictionaries* (Blanco, 2001). The last lexicographical model is originally designated for automatic translation as it accurately provides the translation equivalence in other languages following a linear procedure of the information of the microstructure.

On the other hand, the incorporation of the PragmaDiG in an explicative and combinatory dictionary type is considered to be a useful tool for human translators. Translators are to be able to produce texts in L2 as all the translation aspects -including the thorny issue of the cultural aspect- are to be accessible and manageable in an active monofunctional dictionary.

6. Conclusions

In this paper the specific theoretical framework of pragmatemes has been described and their lexicographical treatment has been presented. In addition, applications of the Greek Pragmatemes Dictionary (PragmaDiG) to language learning and to human and machine translation have been discussed, laying ground for future work on Greek pragmatemes.

Future work will mainly focus on the enrichment of the macrostructure and the microstructure of the PragmaDiG. As far as the applications of PragmaDiG is concerned, the pedagogical dimension of PragmaDiG will be pointed out, especially within the frame of the genre-based approach to language teaching-learning.

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THE PREVERB ΞΕ- IN STANDARD MODERN GREEK AND IN MODERN GREEK DIALECTS

Georgios Papanastassiou

Aristotle University of Thessaloniki, Greece

papana@lit.auth.gr

ABSTRACT

This paper aims at reviewing the formation of the Modern Greek preverb ξε-, in the various forms it appears in Standard Modern Greek and in Greek dialects (ξε-, ξ-, ξη-, ξι-, ξα-, etc.), exploring thus how it detached itself from the Ancient Greek ἐκ-, which was not the case with other Modern Greek preverbs (e.g. απο- < AGk ἄπο-, ἀνα- < AGk ἀνα-, etc.). This process is examined in combination with the meanings of the preverb in Modern Greek and its dialects.

1. Introduction

The Modern Greek preverb ξε- was the object of study for many linguists, both older and contemporary ones, obviously because of its especially interesting formation, as it is an element with Ancient Greek etymology but with a different form and different functions compared to its ancient ancestor.

2. Productivity

The preverb ξε- is always a bound morpheme,¹ added to substantives, e.g. ξεψαχνίζω, ξεζουμίζω, ξεκοκαλίζω, to adjectives, e.g. ξεχερσώνω, and to verbs, e.g. ξεκολλώ, ξεκουμπώνω, ξεβιδώνω. Its denominative character is indicated by cases like ξεφωνίζω, where there is no *φωνίζω. According to Tzitzilis (forth.), verbs like ξεστραβώνω, ξεθολώνω, that could be considered either denominatives or deverbatives, must come from verbs and not from adjectives.

Symeonidou-Christidou (1982) distinguishes the verbs with ξε- according to whether (1) their base is autonomous, with two groups (a) privatives (e.g. ξεντύνω – ντύνω) and (b) intensives (e.g. ξεγελώ – γελώ), (2) their base is not autonomous (e.g. ξεζουμίζω), or (3) they coexist with verbs of the learned tradition containing the preverb εκ- (e.g. ξεκινώ – εκκινώ).

3. Forms and formation

The formation of ξε- is described by Chatzidakis (1905, 31): “The [...] extension of the augment (ε) to the present tense can be seen in other verbs too, i.e. those starting with ξε, such as ξεκάνω, ξεχωρίζω, etc., which are wrongly believed to have preserved ἐξ in its inverse form [...]. There is no doubt that the evolution was as follows: the old forms were ἐκφεύγω ἐξέφευγον ἐξέφυγον, ἐξετύλισσον ἐκτυλίσσω, ἐξεκίνουν ἐκκινῶ, etc. [...]. After the use of ἐκ became restricted and its ἐξ form fell into misuse, there was no longer any sufficient similarity between ἐκκινῶ and ἐξεκίνουν and the like [...], and the initial ε of the form ἐξεκίνουν was perceived as the augment, which could be removed in order to form the present stem; just like in simple verbs, ἐφίλουν φιλῶ, the same applied to ἐξεκίνουν ξεκινῶ (my translation).” Therefore, a necessary condition for the creation of the form ξε- was that the Ancient Greek preverb had the form ἐξ- before a vowel, i.e. before the vowel of the verbal augment, and that this form was clearly differentiated from ἐκ-, which appeared before consonants, while the creation of

1. See *inter alia* Ralli (2003, 119): “[...] kse- appears only in clusters/composites and never as an independent word”.

the Modern Greek preverb was also influenced by the fact that the initial vowel of the form $\acute{\epsilon}\xi$ -, which appeared before the (internal) augment ϵ -, was taken to be an augment.

The phonetic conditions that resulted in the autonomy of the preverb $\xi\epsilon$ - are examined by Tzitzilis (forth.), who accepts that words with the AGk preverb $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa$ -/ $\acute{\epsilon}\xi$ - are represented in Modern Greek in three ways: (a) There are those beginning with a vowel in which the allomorph $\acute{\epsilon}\xi$ - appears for phonetic reasons, e.g. $\acute{\epsilon}\xi\alpha\phi\alpha\nu\acute{\iota}\zeta\omega$, where the preverb is preserved without phonetic (except sometimes the elimination of the initial vowel) differentiations; (b) there are verbs beginning with a consonant, where the preverb appears either with the form $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa$ - or with usual phonetic differentiations, e.g. $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\beta\alpha\acute{\iota}\nu\omega > \beta\gamma\alpha\acute{\iota}\nu\omega$; in some of the verbs of these two categories no semantic change has occurred; and any semantic changes are not related to the presence of the preverb; (c) finally, there is a third category of verbs with $\xi\epsilon$ -, derived from AGk verbs beginning with a consonant, e.g. $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\kappa\iota\nu\tilde{\omega} > \xi\epsilon\kappa\iota\nu\tilde{\omega}$.

The form $\xi\epsilon$ - is attested in Medieval Greek, e.g. $\xi\epsilon\beta\alpha\acute{\iota}\nu\omega$ (Prodrom.), $\xi\epsilon\gamma\delta\acute{\epsilon}\rho\nu\omega$ (Georgil.), $\xi\epsilon\gamma\upsilon\rho\acute{\iota}\zeta\omega$ (Imp.), etc. Besides, Modern Greek (DSMG s.v. $\xi\epsilon$ -) also uses the form ξ - before a vowel, especially before [a], in words like $\xi\alpha\rho\mu\acute{\alpha}\tau\omega\tau\omicron\varsigma$ 'unarmed' and $\xi\alpha\rho\mu\upsilon\rho\acute{\iota}\zeta\omega$ 'to remove the salt'. The creation of the form ξ - goes back to Medieval Greek, when the old form $\acute{\epsilon}\xi$ - lost its initial [e] before a vowel, e.g. Med. Greek $\acute{\epsilon}\xi\alpha\rho\mu\acute{\alpha}\tau\omega\tau\omicron\varsigma > \xi\alpha\rho\mu\acute{\alpha}\tau\omega\tau\omicron\varsigma$. But in many Modern Greek derivatives the already autonomous form ξ -, derived from $\xi\epsilon$ -, added to words beginning with a vowel, e.g. $\xi\alpha\rho\mu\upsilon\rho\acute{\iota}\zeta\omega$ (where no form $*\acute{\epsilon}\xi\alpha\rho\mu\upsilon\rho\acute{\iota}\zeta\omega$ / $*\acute{\epsilon}\xi\alpha\lambda\mu\upsilon\rho\acute{\iota}\zeta\omega$ is attested), formed as $\xi\epsilon$ - $\alpha\rho\mu\upsilon\rho\acute{\iota}\zeta\omega > *\xi\alpha\rho\mu\upsilon\rho\acute{\iota}\zeta\omega > \xi\alpha\rho\mu\upsilon\rho\acute{\iota}\zeta\omega$. Words with ξ -, however, are harder for speakers to analyse, as the preverb only consists of two consonants, [ks].

Modern Greek dialects present more complicated and, therefore, more interesting phenomena.

(1) The two forms, $\xi\epsilon$ - before consonant and ξ - before vowel, appear in the majority of the Greek dialects. Just to give a few examples: with the form $\xi\epsilon$ -, e.g. $\xi\epsilon\gamma\iota\delta\acute{\iota}\zeta\omega$ 'to stop tending goats', $\xi\epsilon\mu\alpha\zeta\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omega$ 'to finish picking up', $\xi\epsilon\mu\omicron\upsilon\tau\acute{\rho}\iota\zeta\omega$ 'to show one's face, to put one's nose out', $\xi\epsilon\eta\sigma\tau\iota\kappa\acute{\omega}\nu\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$ 'to not have eaten at all', $\xi\epsilon\psi\alpha\rho\acute{\iota}\zeta\omega$ 'to remove the fish from the net'. Also in archaisms (Andriotis 1974): form $\xi\epsilon$ -, e.g. $\xi\epsilon\beta\alpha\acute{\iota}\nu\omega$ (Pontos), $\xi\epsilon\beta\alpha\acute{\iota}\nu$ - $\nu\omega$ (Cyprus) < $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\beta\alpha\acute{\iota}\nu\omega$ (cf. $\sigma\epsilon\beta\alpha\acute{\iota}\nu\omega < \epsilon\iota\sigma\beta\alpha\acute{\iota}\nu\omega$), $\xi\epsilon\kappa\alpha\lambda\lambda\acute{\upsilon}\nu\omega$ (E Crete) < $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\kappa\alpha\lambda\lambda\acute{\upsilon}\nu\omega$, $\xi\epsilon\delta\omicron\upsilon\kappa$ 'ούμενε (Tsakonia) < $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\delta\acute{\iota}\delta\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$, $\xi\epsilon\theta\epsilon\rho\mu\acute{\iota}\zeta\omega$ (Chios) < $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\theta\epsilon\rho\mu\acute{\iota}\zeta\omega$, $\xi\epsilon\mu\omicron\upsilon\sigma\kappa\epsilon\lambda$ - $\lambda\acute{\iota}\zeta\omega$ (Chalce), $\xi\epsilon\mu\omicron\upsilon\sigma\kappa\iota\lambda$ - $\lambda\acute{\iota}\zeta\omega$ (Rhodes) < $*\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\mu\alpha\sigma\chi\alpha\lambda\acute{\iota}\zeta\omega$, $\xi\epsilon\gamma\lambda\upsilon\tau\rho\acute{\omega}\nu\omega$ (Epirus) < $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\lambda\upsilon\tau\rho\tilde{\upsilon}\mu\alpha\iota$, $\xi\epsilon\eta\kappa\rho\acute{\omega}\nu\omega$ (Peloponnese) < $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\eta\kappa\rho\tilde{\omega}$, $\xi\epsilon\pi\nu\acute{\epsilon}\upsilon\gamma\omega$ (Thera) < $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\pi\nu\acute{\epsilon}\omega$, $\xi\epsilon\pi\upsilon\rho\acute{\iota}\zeta\omega$ (W Crete) < $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\pi\upsilon\rho\acute{\iota}\zeta\omega$, $\xi\epsilon\theta\rho\acute{\epsilon}\beta\omicron\upsilon$ (Skyros) < $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\tau\rho\acute{\epsilon}\phi\omega$, etc. In Calabria we find the form $\sigma\epsilon$ - (< $\xi\epsilon$ < $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa$ -), e.g. $\sigma\epsilon\beta\alpha\acute{\iota}\nu$ - $\nu\omega$ (Calabria) < $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\beta\alpha\acute{\iota}\nu\omega$, and in Tsakonia the form $\tau\sigma\iota$ -, e.g. $\tau\sigma\acute{\iota}\chi\upsilon\mu\alpha$ < $\acute{\epsilon}\xi\acute{\epsilon}\chi\upsilon\mu\alpha$ (cf. $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\chi\upsilon\mu\alpha$). Words with the form ξ -, e.g. $\xi\alpha\gamma\kappa\omega\nu\acute{\iota}\zeta\omega$ (Carpathos), $\xi\alpha\gamma\omega\nu\acute{\iota}\zeta\omega$ (Syme, Thera) < $\acute{\epsilon}\xi\alpha\gamma\kappa\omega\nu\acute{\iota}\zeta\omega$, $\xi\alpha\gamma\omicron\rho\acute{\alpha}\zeta\omega$ (in many places) < $\acute{\epsilon}\xi\alpha\gamma\omicron\rho\acute{\alpha}\zeta\omega$, are also archaisms, but they are irrelevant for the purpose of examining the evolution of $\xi\epsilon$ -. Occasionally the form $\xi\epsilon$ - extended to words beginning with a vowel, e.g. $\xi\epsilon\sigma\tau\epsilon\rho\acute{\iota}\alpha$, $\xi\epsilon\gamma\kappa\alpha\theta\acute{\iota}\zeta\omega$, $\xi\epsilon\phi\epsilon\nu\tau\acute{\epsilon}\upsilon\omega$, etc. (Chatzidakis 1915, 10).

(2) In Cyprus, before consonants the preverb appears either as $\xi\epsilon$ - or as $\xi\eta$ -, the latter being more frequent, e.g. $\xi\eta\beta\alpha\rho\kappa\acute{\alpha}\rho\omega$ 'to disembark, to go ashore' and $\xi\eta\beta\alpha\rho\kappa\acute{\alpha}\rho\omega$, $\xi\eta\beta\omicron\tau\alpha\nu\acute{\iota}\zeta\omega$, $\xi\eta\gamma\tau\acute{\epsilon}\rho\nu\omega$, $\xi\eta\delta\kappa\acute{\iota}\omega\chi\omega\nu$, $\xi\eta\zeta\acute{\epsilon}\upsilon\kappa\omega$ and $\xi\eta\zeta\acute{\epsilon}\upsilon\kappa\omega$, $\xi\eta\eta\tau\eta\lambda\tilde{\omega}$ 'to pump out, to drain', $\xi\eta\pi\alpha\gamma\acute{\iota}\alpha\zeta\omega$, etc. The form $\xi\eta$ - is also found in archaisms, e.g. $\xi\eta\beta\alpha\acute{\iota}\nu$ - $\nu\omega$ < $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\beta\alpha\acute{\iota}\nu\omega$, $\xi\eta\zeta\eta\tau\tilde{\omega}$ < $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\zeta\eta\tau\tilde{\omega}$, $\xi\eta\lambda\epsilon\acute{\iota}\beta\kappa\omega$ < $\acute{\epsilon}\xi\alpha\lambda\epsilon\acute{\iota}\phi\omega$, etc. Many words with $\xi\eta$ - are also found in the Peloponnese, e.g. $\xi\acute{\eta}\sigma\kappa\epsilon\pi\omicron\varsigma$, $\xi\acute{\eta}\sigma\tau\rho\omega\gamma\omicron\varsigma$, $\xi\eta\phi\omicron\rho\tau\acute{\omega}\nu\omega$ (privatives), much fewer in Megara, e.g. $\xi\eta\zeta\acute{\omega}\nu\alpha\tau\omicron\varsigma$ and $\xi\epsilon\zeta\acute{\omega}\nu\alpha\tau\omicron\varsigma$, $\xi\eta\gamma\upsilon\rho\iota\sigma\tau\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota$, and very few in the Ionian Islands, e.g. $\xi\eta\mu\upsilon\tau\acute{\alpha}\omega$ (Zakynthos). It is written with an < η > and it is not related to the homophone $\xi\iota$ - of the Greek Northern Dialects, which will be examined below. The form $\xi\eta$ - is already attested in Medieval Greek, e.g. $(\epsilon)\xi\eta\beta\alpha\acute{\iota}\nu\omega$ (Belth.), $\epsilon\xi\acute{\eta}\beta\eta\kappa\alpha$ (Imp.), $(\epsilon)\xi\acute{\eta}\beta\eta\gamma$ (Chron. Mor.), $\epsilon\xi\eta\beta\gamma\alpha\acute{\iota}\nu\omega$ (Poulol.), $\epsilon\xi\eta\kappa\alpha\mu\acute{\pi}\iota\zeta\omega$ (Physiolog.), $\xi\acute{\eta}\kappa\alpha\mu\pi\alpha$ (Mach.), $(\epsilon)\xi\eta\kappa\lambda\eta\rho\acute{\omega}\nu\omega$ (Assiz.), $\epsilon\xi\eta\kappa\omicron\upsilon\mu\iota\sigma\alpha$ (Pigas), $\xi\eta\pi\alpha\rho\theta\epsilon\nu\acute{\epsilon}\upsilon\omega$ (Assiz.), $\xi\eta\pi\lambda\epsilon\rho\acute{\omega}\nu\omega$ (Assiz.), etc. $\Xi\eta$ - was formed in a similar way as $\xi\epsilon$ -, i.e. in verbs which began with a vowel and whose internal augment had the form [i], e.g. $\acute{\epsilon}\xi\alpha\gamma\omicron\rho\acute{\alpha}\zeta\omega$ – $\acute{\epsilon}\xi\eta\gamma\omicron\rho\acute{\alpha}\sigma\alpha$, $\acute{\epsilon}\xi\epsilon\gamma\epsilon\acute{\iota}\rho\omega$ – $\acute{\epsilon}\xi\acute{\eta}\gamma\epsilon\acute{\iota}\rho\alpha$, $\acute{\epsilon}\xi\epsilon\lambda\alpha\acute{\upsilon}\nu\omega$ – $\acute{\epsilon}\xi\acute{\eta}\lambda\alpha\sigma\alpha$ etc., the interpretation of the initial $\acute{\epsilon}$ - as a syllabic augment resulted in the creation of forms like $\acute{\epsilon}\xi\eta\gamma\omicron\rho\acute{\alpha}\sigma\alpha > \xi\eta\gamma\omicron\rho\acute{\alpha}\zeta\omega$, etc.

(3) In the Northern Dialects the expected form before a consonant is $\xi\iota$ - when the preverb is unstressed and $\xi\acute{\epsilon}$ - when it is stressed, e.g. $\xi\iota\gamma\rho\acute{\alpha}\phi\omicron\upsilon$ (Pieria), $\xi\iota\delta\iota\alpha\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\omicron\upsilon$ (Kozani), $\xi\iota\zeta\acute{\omega}\nu\omicron\upsilon\mu\iota$ (Kozani), $\xi\iota\theta'\lambda\upsilon\kappa\acute{\omega}\nu\omicron\upsilon$ (Pieria), $\xi\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\eta\nu\omicron\iota\alpha\sigma\tau\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$ (Pieria), $\xi\acute{\epsilon}\pi\lambda\iota\kappa\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$ (Serres), $\xi\acute{\epsilon}\pi\upsilon\rho\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$ (Serres), $\xi\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\kappa\iota\pi\alpha$ (adv., Kozani), etc. In archaisms, e.g. $\xi\iota\mu\alpha\rho\gamma\acute{\omega}\nu\omicron\upsilon$ (Imbros) < $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\mu\alpha\rho\gamma\tilde{\omega}$, $\xi\iota\theta\acute{\epsilon}\rho\omicron\upsilon\mu\alpha$ (N Thrace) < $*\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\theta\acute{\upsilon}\rho\omega\mu\alpha$, $\xi\iota\mu\omicron\sigma\kappa\iota\lambda\acute{\iota}\zeta\omicron\upsilon$ (Imbros) < $*\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\mu\alpha\sigma\chi\alpha\lambda\acute{\iota}\zeta\omicron\upsilon$, etc.

An important peculiarity of the Northern Dialects² which begs for interpretation is the appearance of a new form ξ(α)-. There are many examples: ξαβασκαίνου (priv.) (Naoussa), ξάγναντου (intens.) (Veroia), ξαγουράζου (intens.) (Pieria), ξαγουρνώ (intens.) (Pieria), ξαγραδίζου (intens.) (Rumelia), ξάγρους ‘unripenish’ (a little) (Serres), ξαδγάζου (intens.) (Pelion,³ Serres), ξαδραλίζουμι (priv.) (Naoussa, Pieria), ξάκλουστους (priv.) (Pieria), ξακόλλ’ τους (priv.) (Pieria), ξακουλνώ (priv.) (Naoussa, Pieria, Rumelia, Serres), ξακουνάζου (priv.) (Pieria), ξακούουμι (intens.) (Serres), ξακουσμένους (intens.) (Pieria), ξακουστός (intens.) (Pieria, Serres), ξακρίδ’ (intens.) (Pieria), ξακρίζου (intens.) (Germa, Kozani, Pelion, Serres), ξαλαφραίνου (intens.) (Naoussa), ξαλαφρώνου (intens.) (Naoussa, Pieria), ξαλέθου (end) (Pelion), ξαλησιμοννών (intens.) (Naoussa), ξαλλάζου (intens.) (Kozani, Naoussa, Serres), ξαλουνίζου (end) (Pelion), ξαμουλάου (intens.) (Pelion), ξαμπασκαλίζου (removal) (Serres), ξανάβου (intens.) (Serres), ξανάλλαγους (priv.) (Serres), ξανάλατους (priv.) (Pelion), ξανασαίνου (intens.) (Pelion, Serres), ξανασέρνου (intens.) (Kozani), ξανάχουμα (priv.) (Veroia, Kozani, Pieria), ξαναχώνου (priv.) (Kozani, Pieria), ξανδρουπχάζου (priv.) (Kozani, Naoussa, Pieria), ξανέβγαλτους (priv.) (Pieria), ξανένδρουπους (priv.) (Kozani, Pieria, Rumelia), ξανοίγου (intens.) (Kozani, Naoussa, Pelion, Pieria, Serres), ξανόριχτους (priv.) (Pelion), ξανουστίζου (priv.) (Pelion), ξαντριζου (removal) (Serres), ξαντόνου (priv.) (Naoussa), ξαπιρνώ (intens.) (Serres), ξαπλώνου (intens.) (Naoussa), ξαπουλνώ (intens.) (Kozani, Naoussa, Serres), ξαπουμένου (intens.) (Kozani, Pieria), ξαπουμνήσκου (intens.) (Naoussa), ξαπουμνήσκου (intens.) (Serres), ξαπουστένου (intens.) (Kozani, Naoussa, Pelion, Pieria, Serres), ξαπουστέλνου (intens.) (Serres), ξαπουχτώ (Kozani), ξαραδγάζου (intens.) (Kozani, Pieria, Serres), ξαραθμώ (intens.) (Kozani, Pieria), ξαραθμού (intens.) (Rumelia), ξαραθυμώ (intens.) (Naoussa), ξαραχιάζου (removal) (Naoussa), ξαριθμώ (priv.) (Pieria), ξαρματώνου (priv.) (Pelion), ξαρμινάζου (priv.) (Pieria), ξαρμυραίνου (priv.) (Serres), ξαρμυρίζου (priv.) (Pelion, Serres), ξαρρουσταίνου (priv.) (Serres), ξαρρουστώ (priv.) (Serres), ξασλάρουτους (priv.) (Pieria), ξασπρίζου (intens.) (Pelion), ξασπρούλαβους (intens.) (Kozani), ξάσπρους (intens.) (Serres), ξάστιπου (intens.) (Veroia, Pelion), ξαστριγά (intens.) (Pieria, Serres), ξαστριώνου (intens.) (Pieria), ξαστουχώ (intens.) (Kozani, Pieria, Rumelia, Serres), ξάστρου (intens.) (Naoussa), ξάσφιχτους (priv.) (Pieria), ξατμίζουμι (intens.) (Serres), ξαφανίζου (intens.) (Pieria), ξαφρίζου (intens.) (Germa, Kozani, Pelion). Beside these forms, in some cases there is the corresponding ξι- form, e.g. ξικουλνώ (Naoussa), ξιπιρνώ (Serres), ξισλάρουτους (Pieria), ξιστριγά (Pieria, Serres), ξιστριώνου (Pieria), etc.

The following considerations come into play in order to interpret the form ξα-: The existence of [ʃ] and not [s] in the preverb should be attributed to the existence of a semivowel, which was lost after palatalising the previous consonant. This means that in these Northern Dialects the regular form ξι- before consonants was extended to words beginning with a vowel, i.e. before [a]. This process must be understood as follows: just like the Standard Modern Greek form ξε- is added today to partly opportunistic yet surely loose formations like ξεαγχώνομαι, with the full form ξε- and not with the form ξ- expected before [a], in many Northern Dialects the form ξι- was added to words beginning with a vowel, in which the vowel /i/ easily turned to semivowel and then palatalised the preceding [s], resulting in the form ξα-.

The extension of ξι- to words beginning with a vowel is found:

(a) in privative adjectives with the preverb α-, e.g. άκλουστος – *ξιάκλουστους > ξάκλουστους, ασλάρουτους ‘uncared-for, untidy’ – *ξιασλάρουστους > ξασλάρουστους but also ξισλάρουστους < ξι- + σλαρώ(νου) -τους, ακόλλ’ τους – *ξιακόλλ’ τους > ξακόλλ’ τους, etc. In these cases the privative preverb ξι- (< ξε-) was added in order to reinforce the privative meaning of the adjectives with the preverb α-.

(b) in other words, e.g. αγραδίζου – *ξιαγραδίζου > ξαγραδίζου, άγρους ‘unripe’ – *ξιάγρους > ξάγρους, αδγάζου – *ξιαδγάζου > ξαδγάζου, αδραλίζουμι – *ξιαδραλίζουμι > ξαδραλίζουμι, ακούουμι – *ξιακούουμι > ξακούουμι, αλαφρώνου – *ξιαλαφρώνου > ξαλαφρώνου, αλέθου – *ξιαλέθου > ξαλέθου, etc. In these cases the preverb ξι- (< ξε-) is usually privative or intensive.

In the case of privative adjectives, a new preverb ξα- was created as a result of the combination of the preverb ξι- with the privative α-. The prefixation of ξα- is related to the fact that it was contrasted with simple adjectives, forming pairs of the type κουλλ’ ττός – ξακόλλ’ τους etc., or with the corresponding verbs, forming pairs of the type κλώθου – ξάκλουστους, etc. When the privative prefix was av- before a vowel, the new preverb took the form ξαν-, e.g. ξανάλλαγους, ξανάλατους,

2. For the Northern dialects, the material comes from Eastern Rumelia (Albanoudis 2009), Veroia (Svarnopoulos 1973), Germa in the Prefecture of Kastoria (Georgiou 1962), Kozani (Dinas 2005), Naoussa (Apostolou 2007), Pelion (Liapis 1996), Pieria (Douga-Papadopoulou & Tzitzilis 2006) and Serres (Paschaloudis 2000).

3. In Pelion, according to Liapis (1996), most of the words are also attested with a non-palatalised [s].

ξανόριχτους. In the case of other words, particularly verbs, the combination of the preverb ξ- with the initial α-, which sometimes was prothetic, resulted in the prefixation of the form ξα-, insofar as the prothetic vowel is unstable, e.g. (α)βασκαίνου – ξαβασκαίνου, (α)κουλνώ – ξακουλνώ, (α)λησιμουνώ – ξαλησιμουνώ, etc. Thus, the reanalysis of ξα- as a preverb was affected by the fact that in many of the aforementioned words α- was either a morphological element or its presence was not obligatory. Before other initial vowels ξ- (< ξι-) was very rare, and the remaining conditions for it to acquire the character of a morphological element were missing. The [ʃ] of ξα- then extended to other words beginning with ξα-, e.g. ξάγναντου > ξάγναντου, ξαγουράζου > ξαγουράζου, ξακουσμένους > ξακουσμένους, ξακουστός > ξακουστός etc., this evolution being purely phonetic.⁴

(4) Finally, as regards the forms of the preverb, there are also words of AGk origin where the preverb ἐκ-/ἐξ- resulted in several phonetic effects in Standard Greek, especially in Greek dialects. For example, in verbs such as βγαίνω and βγάζω, the origin is: AGk ἐκβαίνω ‘to step out’ > *ἐγβαίνω > γβαίνω > βγαίνω· AGk ἐκβιβάζω ‘to make someone go, to go out’ > *εκβάζω (haplology [viva > va]) > *εγβάζω (assimilation [kv > gv > γv]) > *εβγάζω (metathesis [γv > vγ]) > βγάζω (elimination of the initial vowel). These words cannot be analysed, and this is also the case with many dialectal archaisms:

- εκ-, e.g. εκδημία (Chios) < ἐκδημία; εκπλύνω (Thera) < ἐκπλύνω; εκτέτε (Cappadocia) < ἐκτοτε;
- εξ-, before a vowel, e.g. εξαγκωνίζω (Cyprus) < ἐξαγκωνίζω; εξαιμάσσω (Chios) < ἐξαιμάσσω; εξαίρετε (Tsakonia) < ἐξαίρετος; εξαλείφω (Epirus etc.) < ἐξαλείφω;
- αφσ-, e.g. αφσαίφνη (Apulia) < ἐξαίφνης, with a characteristic phonetic treatment [ks] > [fs];
- εγ-, before a voiced consonant, e.g. εγβαίνω, εγβάλλω (Pontos) < ἐκβαίνω, ἐκβάλλω (and with metathesis εβγ-, e.g. ιβγατή [Macedonia, /i/ < /e/] < ἐκβατός, and with elimination of the initial vowel βγ-, e.g. βγάση [Thrace] < ἐκβασις, βγατό [Thrace, Lesbos, Chios] < ἐκβατός, cf. Standard Modern Greek βγαίνω, βγάζω < ἐκβαίνω, ἐκβάλλω; and αβγ-, e.g. αβγάλλω [Cyprus] < ἐκβάλλω, αβγατό [N Thrace] < ἐκβατός); εγδέχομαι (Cyprus, Chios) < ἐκδέχομαι· εγδίκηση (Tsakonia) < ἐκδίκησις; and before a voiceless consonant εχ-, e.g. έχτομος (Pontos) < ἐκτομος; εχτρέβω (Pontos) < ἐκτρέπω;
- (ε)γκ-, e.g. εγκλαβή (Rhodes) (and αγκ-, e.g. αγκλαβή [Nisyros, Rhodes, Samothrace, Syme], avg-, e.g. avgλαβή [Chalce]) < ἐκλαβή; εγουάδδω, ’γουαίν-νω (Calabria) < ἐκβάλλω, ἐκβαίνω;
- (ι)g-, e.g. (ι)γουαίν-νω, ’γουάλλου (Apulia) < ἐκβαίνω, ἐκβάλλω;
- εϊ-, e.g. εϊβαίνω (Pontos) < ἐκβαίνω;
- ογ-, e.g. ογβαίνω (Pontos) < ἐκβαίνω; ογδούρι (Carpathos) < ἐκδόριος;
- (α)χ-, e.g. αχπάνω (Pontos), χπαίνω (Pontos) < ἐκσπῶ;
- γ-, e.g. γβάλλω < ἐκβάλλω (Pontos); γδορά (Skyros), γδουρά (Peloponnese) < ἐκδορά; γδούρι (Thera), γδούρ’ (Euboea) < ἐκδόριος· γδέχομαι (Crete, Chios) < ἐκδέχομαι (and αγ-, e.g. αγδέχομαι [Cyprus] < ἐκδέχομαι; άγλαμπος [Calymnos, Rhodes, Telos] < ἐκλαμπος); γλακώ (Carpathos, Crete) < *ἐκλακῶ, γλουπίζω (Pontos) < ἐκλωπίζω; and before a voiceless consonant χ-, e.g. χταμπιούμαι (Kythnos), χταβιούμαι (Mykonos), χταμπιέμαι (Syros), χταβιέμαι (Kea), χταμπίζομαι (Siphnos), χταπίζομαι (Kea) < ἐκθαμβῶ; χτουπίζω (Pontos) < ἐκτοπίζω (and αχ-, e.g. άχτομος [Pontos] < ἐκτομος);

κ’-, representing a double consonant, resulting from ἐκκ-, e.g. κ’ρούνου (Tsakonia) < ἐκκρίνω.

These forms are not perceived as prefixes, not only because they are very rare in the dialects in which they appear, but also because in these dialects the corresponding form of the preposition is not attested as an independent morpheme, as shown by the comparison between the forms of the morpheme and of the preposition: the preposition has the forms εχ in Telos, ακ in Cyprus, αχ in Epirus, Cyprus, Macedonia and Pontos, α in Bithynia, Thera, Calymnos and Naxos, οκ in Carpathos, οχ in Zakynthos, Epirus, Cephalonia, Peloponnese (Andriotis 1974, s.v. ἐκ) and on the other hand forms like άτσε, αττσε, ασε in Calabria, αφς, αφς, εφς, αφσε, αφτσε, ατσε in Apulia, ας in Apulia, Cappadocia, Pontos and Chios (Andriotis 1974, s.v. ἐξ).

4. Expanded forms

In some cases the preverb ξε- or one of its forms (ξ(α)-, ξη- etc.) is added to an already prefixed verb:

(1a) with the privative prefix απο-, e.g. ξηποράφκω, ξηποσσεπάζομαι, ξηποτυλίω ‘to unwind, unwrap’ (Cyprus), reinforced by the privative ξε- (in Cyprus ξη-), resulting in the form ξαπο- (in Cyprus ξηπο-), with a privative meaning.

4. It should be stressed that the form ξα- found in many Northern dialects is not universal, e.g. it is not found in Lesbos.

(1b) with the intensive απο- (& > απου-), e.g. ξαπουμένου (Kozani, Pieria), ξαπουμινήσκου (Naoussa), ξαπουμνήσκου (Serres), ξαπουστέλνου (Serres), reinforced with the intensive ξε-, resulting in the form ξαπο- with an intensive meaning.

(2) with ανα-, e.g. ξανασέρνου (intens.) (Kozani), ξαναχώνου (priv.) (Kozani, Pieria).

5. Meanings

Regarding the identification of the meanings of the preverb, the review of the literature shows that there are many differences among scholars, though partly apparent ones. The ancient meanings of the preverb ἐκ- are largely preserved (Méndez Dosuna 1997), although it should be acknowledged that the boundaries between them have been blurred (Euthymiou 2002, 200).

Gardikas (1912, 170-73; cf. Chatzidakis 1915, 14) wrote about the meanings of the AGk ἐκ- and the Modern Gk ξε-, indicating six meanings: (a) ‘out’, e.g. ξεβλαστώνω, ξεστομίζω, (b) ‘removal or loss, or privative’, e.g. ξαφρίζω, ξαραχνιάζω, (c) ‘intensive’, e.g. ξεγδέρνω, (d) ‘the meaning denoted by the old ἐκ and ἀνά’, e.g. ξεδιπλώνω, ξεκουβαριάζω, (e) ‘forward or upward’, e.g. ξεφτυλλίζω, ξεμυτίζω, (f) ‘the meaning denoted by the old διά and δι- + ἐκ’, e.g. ξεχειμωνιάζω, ξεκαλοκαιριάζω.

Chatzidakis (1915, 10-11) identified eleven meanings of the preverb ξε-: (1) compounds, like ξεμανδρίζω = ‘to drive out of the fold’, ξεφαραγγώνω ‘to come out of the ravine’ etc., (2) compounds denoting the opposite of the above, like ξεκαμπίζω ‘to go out to the plain’, ξεπελαγιάζω, ξεραχνιάζω [...] etc., (3) compounds like ξαραχνιάζω, ξαρμυρίζω [...] ‘to remove the cobweb, the salt’ [...], (4) compounds like ξαστερώνει = ‘the stars appear’ [...], ξεφεγγαρώνει = ‘the moon rises’ [...], (5) compounds like ξεσμιλώνω ‘to dislocate or damage something with a chisel’, ξεπασσουλίζω ‘to move something with a pole’ [...], (6) ξαποσταινών, ξεδιαντρέπομαι [...] which are intensive, (7) other compounds, like [...] ξεβγατίζω, ξεδίδω etc., clearly denoting ‘out’, (8) other compounds denoting diminutive in some way, like ξεπλύνω, ξεπετώ, ξεσκαλίζω [...], (9) other compounds where the preverb annuls the meaning of the verb, ξεγράφω, ξεβάφω [...], (10) other compounds where εξ- ξε- seem to denote the end, ξεθερίζω, ξεσκολίζω = to finish harvest, school [...] and (11) other compounds denoting ‘spending time’, like ξεχειμωνιάζω, ξενοχτώ [...].

Euthymiou (2001, 210) accepts seven different meanings for Modern Greek ξε-: (1) undoing of an action,⁵ e.g. ξεντύνω, ξεκλειδώνω, (2) removal of an object, e.g. ξεφλουδίζω, ξεδοντιάζω, (3) intensification or completion, e.g. ξεκουφαίνω, ξετρελαίνω,⁶ (4) end of a state or quality, e.g. ξεμεθώ, and ξεκρύο, ξέπαπας (in stereotypical expressions), (5) spending a period of time, e.g. ξεχειμωνιάζω, (6) ‘out’, ‘outwards’, e.g. ξεπορτίζω, ξεσπιτώνω, (7) diminutive, e.g. ξεκλέβω, ξεγλιστρώ. She argues that for an important number of words built with the prefix ξε- and denoting removal, distancing or reversal, the semantic instruction of the prefix could be specified as a move away from some original reference point determined by the semantic properties of the base and by the nature of the arguments of the verbal derivative.

She summarises the semantic property of ξε- as follows: “The meanings of ‘out’, removal of an object from a container or a location at large, undoing of an action, end and intensification, they can all

5. With regard to the meaning of undoing, Euthymiou (2002, 201) states that “[...] unlike its ancestor, ξε- is extremely prolific in building words that denote undoing, whereas it builds much fewer words belonging to other semantic subgroups”. This meaning “is almost non-existent in ancient words with ἐκ- [...] identified less than ten words of this type and this suggests that the Ancient Greek ἐκ- most likely did not construct the meaning of undoing. Méndez Dosuna also mentions very few examples of this type: ἐξαλείφω, ἐκκολάπτω, ἐκκαλύπτω, ἐκχαλινώ and ἐκζηλώ. If one takes a closer look at the meaning of these words, whose bases denote placing something or causing a surface to change – and also at the meanings of ἐκλύφω, ἐκγράφω [...] – one detects the original meaning of removal. This meaning is clearer in the examples ἐκχαλινώ, ἐκζηλώ, where it is easier to detect the nominal base. I believe that these words denote primarily the meaning of removal, ‘removal of the bridle’, ‘removal of the nails’ and that this is the meaning which led to the meaning of undoing an action. It is highly likely that the large number of verbs denoting reversal which were created later with the prefix ξε- were modelled after words of this type” (my translation). (Euthymiou 2002, 201)

6. According to Euthymiou (2003, 525-26), intensification which is not combined with the notion of exceeding the limit is also denoted by words with the prefix ξε-: ξεγδέρνω, ξεσκίζω, ξεκαθαρίζω, ξεγυμνώνω, ξεμουρλαίνω, ξετρελαίνω. [...] Such words denote exiting an original state and entering a final one.

come under the umbrella of the meaning of exiting a space or a state. It suggests a move away from a starting point [...], which however presupposes the notion of inside (my translation)."⁷

Méndez Dosuna (1997, 587), having contributed very much to the semantic evolution of the preverb, refers to the distinction of the words with the Ancient Greek preverb ἐκ- > ἐξ- in two categories, and traces the role of semantics in the evolution εκ- > ξε-: "Eks- originally denoted an outward movement, separation or extraction: ekbaino: 'to step out', ekserkhomai 'to go, to come out', ekselauno: 'to drive away' [...]. Secondly, the prefix expressed the idea of completion, intensification (cf. E. out): ekkathairo: 'to clean thoroughly', eklouo: 'to wash out', ekpimple:mi 'to fill up' [...]. Alternatively, the notion of separation, extraction evolved into that of deprivation, removal, cancellation of a verbal state or action: eksoplizo: 'to disarm', eksaleipho: 'to wipe off, to obliterate', ekkalupto: 'to uncover' [...]. [...] in Medieval Greek [...] verbs compounded with eks- (ek-) split into two groups. One set of verbs follows the natural matter of course, i.e. they undergo fusion. Sound changes were permitted to apply regularly: e.g. ekbaino: > *egbaino: (voice assimilation) > *eyveno [...] > *yveno [...] > vjeno [...]. However, in a second set of verbs, eks- was reshaped into kse-: ksefevgo 'to run off', ksekovo 'to cut off', ksepleno 'to wash out' [...]."

Méndez Dosuna (1997, 590-93) also raises the question of whether "the fusion and non-fusion of eks- compounds [...] are dependent on the semantics of the prefix." As far as the basic meanings of the preverb is concerned, 'outward movement', 'intensification' and 'reversal', (1) "direction is one of the most salient components in a motion event [...]" and "lexical (amalgamated) expression of direction is indeed not infrequent", (2) "intensification will seldom be expressed lexically" and "reversal [is] most suitable for morphological encoding." "Fusion is especially frequent in the case of compounds where AGk eks- indicated an outward movement" and "morphotactically transparent kse- can express (often redundantly) an outward movement or separation. But this device has lost productivity. Unlike in Ancient Greek, one is no longer free to build compounds like *kse-trexo, *kse-kolimbo." "Intensifying kse- is not uncommon in Modern Greek, but its productivity remains low as well. [...] The semantic feebleness is conducive to morphosemantic opacity: ksevyazo 'to rinse' is hardly decomposable in kse- + vyazo 'to put out' [...]." "By contrast, when expressing reversal, a sense more suitable for morphological expression, the prefix kse- remains fully productive. [...]"

It is true that the discussion of whether the preverb ξε- has six, seven or eleven meanings is pointless, since (a) it has been accepted that the boundaries between them are unclear, and (b) it is known that more than one semantic nuances can come under one meaning. The two major semantic categories covered by ξε- are those referred to by Ralli (2003, 109-10): (a) privative (e.g. ξεπτόνω – πτόνω) and (b) intensive (e.g. ξεγελώ – γελώ).⁸

7. See Euthymiou (2001, 207). This is self-evident in the meaning of exiting a space, but it is also true in the rest of the meanings: "In the groups 'end of a state or quality' and 'undoing an action' again there is the meaning of exiting a state and moving into a new one: ξεμεθώ, ξεπαπάζ, ξελέω, ξεπτόνω. As Ralli (2001) rightly points out, ξε- builds the meaning of undoing only with verbs which denote completion, not state, process or accomplishment. [...] Less evident yet equally present – to our eyes – is the meaning of exit in words which denote intensification: ξεγδέρνω, ξεσκίζω/ξεκαθαρίζω [...] These words denote exiting an original state and entering a final one (or else its most extreme form). It is no coincidence that only in this group, as stated by Ralli (2001), is ξε- combined also with verbal bases which denote accomplishment: ξεπέφτω, ξεφεύγω. [...] Lastly, in the small group of words which are constructed with bases denoting "period of time", such as ξεκαλοκαιριάζω, ξεχειμωνιάζω, again there is the meaning of exiting the boundaries of a time period, of transition from one period of time to another or of moving away from the beginning of a time period towards its end." (Euthymiou 2002, 207, my translation)

8 Ralli studies ξε- in juxtaposition to ξανα- and παρα-: "As opposed to verbs with ksana-, the kse- and para- verbal formations do not show a consistent behaviour with respect to semantics. Firstly, there are occurrences where kse- or para- do not affect the aspectual properties and the argument structure of the verbal base. In that sense, they behave like ksana", e.g. κλειδώνω, ξεκλειδώνω. (Ralli 2003, 112) Ξε- reverses what the verb expresses and "productively combines with verbs denoting an accomplishment [...]. [...] kse- cannot be adjoined to verbs denoting an achievement". (Ralli 2003, 112) Ξε- also has an intensive meaning, e.g. ξεκαθαρίζω. "It is under the intensive meaning that kse- can combine with some verbs of achievement, and form verbs with a non-compositional, and highly lexicalized meaning, something that would not have been possible if kse- had a reversative meaning." (Ralli 2003, 114) She believes that ξε- is polysemic and that there are no two homonymic ξε-. (Ralli 2003, 115) "Structurally, kse- and para- behave as prefixes [...]". (Ralli 2003, 126) "Kse- and para- display a dual character, since they can assume an internal or an external role, while ksana- is used only as an external preverb". (Ralli 2003, 130) Karantzola & Giannouloupoulou (2000) recognise two meanings: (1) completion of the action denoted by the verbal base, which certain verbs preserve almost unchanged, as shown by the use of both the simple and the compound form (examples from Kartanos, χωρίσωμεν and εξεχώρισεν (82)), but other examples illustrate "the productivity of the meaning 'completion of the action', since ξε- preserves the

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obvious meaning of εκ/εξ it is derived from, i.e. it expresses the notion of ‘outward motion’ and (2) the opposite of the meaning of the verbal base.

ANALYSING THE GREEK NATIONAL TOURISM ORGANISATION NEWSLETTER AS A NEW INTERNET GENRE

Periklis Politis
Asst. Professor
Aristotle University
of Thessaloniki, Greece
ppolitis@jour.auth.gr

Elli Vazou
PhD student
Aristotle University
of Thessaloniki, Greece
elli.vazou@gmail.com

ABSTRACT

In the summer of 2010 the Greek National Tourism Organisation (GNTO) launched its first newsletter to promote the country as an attractive tourism destination. In this paper we examine the ways in which this promotional genre fulfils its communicative purposes. We analyse the structure of the newsletter, its form and functional value. Besides, the GNTO newsletter constitutes a new Internet genre. Therefore, text length, hypertextual linking, and text/image correlation are also taken into consideration. Finally, since the texts are written both in English and Greek we examine the way they are transferred from one language to another.

Keywords: newsletter, promotional genre, cybergenre/internet genre, multimodality, interactivity

0. Introduction

In July 2010 the Greek National Tourism Organisation put out its first Internet newsletter in an attempt to rebuild Greece's damaged image and to implement the country's overall brand strategy. The newsletter evidently holds a privileged position in the GNTO's website, being both the official voice of an institution responsible for creating attractive images of Greece for the local and for the international tourist market, and also an open channel of communication with people who plan to visit or have visited the country (having previously visited GNTO's website). On the basis of this observation, we can offer a rough description of the newsletter as a digital (or Internet) genre. Compared to common/traditional newsletters the GNTO's newsletter has a unique feature: it combines –or rather intermingles– information and/or evaluation, persuasion, details of special tourist destinations and suggestions to help potential visitors to enjoy these places. It is a non-commercial (culturally oriented) advertorial (Erjavec 2004) that can be classified as a new member of the promotional genre colony (Bhatia 2004). The dominant conative function of an Internet genre like this is based on multimodality and hypertextuality, the two structural properties of digital documents, referring to the variety and organisation of information respectively. Functionality in the sense of interactivity, the website-user interface potential, is the third characteristic of the GNTO's newsletter as a genre, which takes advantage of all social media to broaden communication with the targeted audience. Finally, evolution, being perceived as gradual integration of new verbal and visual formats, it is proved to be a standard tendency of the GNTO's newsletter from the beginning until now.

The aim of this paper is to consider the novelty of the GNTO's newsletter as an Internet genre and its prospective impact on its readership. More specifically, we will examine:

- how the online travel newsletter could be analysed in terms of its socio-cultural and textual conditions (i.e. communicative/rhetorical purpose(s), generic class membership, schematic structure, prevailing text types);
- how the multimodal assembly of verbal and visual constituents leads to a cohesive (and coherent) discourse pattern;
- the textual and hypertextual profile of the particular genre, in other words the statistically dominant lexico-grammatical features (textuality) and the repertoire of semantic relations between texts and the corresponding hypertexts (hypertextuality);
- the way(s) in which the author(s) of the GNTO's newsletters address(es) the intended audience to stimulate a desire to visit Greece.

1. Theoretical considerations

Analysing Internet genres (or cybergenres) at various levels (content, form, function, and evolution) is a demanding task because a group of methodological tools –both linguistic and non-linguistic– need to be used. We will, therefore, focus on a set of theoretical and typological proposals that are necessary to identify the GNTO’s newsletter as a new (i.e. multimodal, hypertextual, interactive) Internet genre.

Internet travel newsletters share with several other (addressee-oriented) genres a common communicative purpose which is *promotion* (of either information or goods and services in a local or global market). They all make up a “genre colony”. Bhatia’s (2004: 59-64) classification of promotional genres is the most comprehensive survey/description of a great number of discourse activities performed in the commodity and cultural market. Bhatia, in his study (see Figure 1):

a. Sets forth a hierarchy of ethnographic criteria to identify a wide range of promotional genres and subgenres and constructs a tree-like diagram pointing to similarities and differences between promotional genres/subgenres which are labelled, in a descending order, as genre colony > genre > subgenre, etc.

b. States that two controlling text-types (or rhetorical acts), information and evaluation –he prefers to call them “generic values”– “are used in various combinations (...) to give shape to (...) promotional genres”. Indeed, these textual sequences abound in our material, thus confirming that the GNTO’s newsletter is a member of a promotional genre colony.

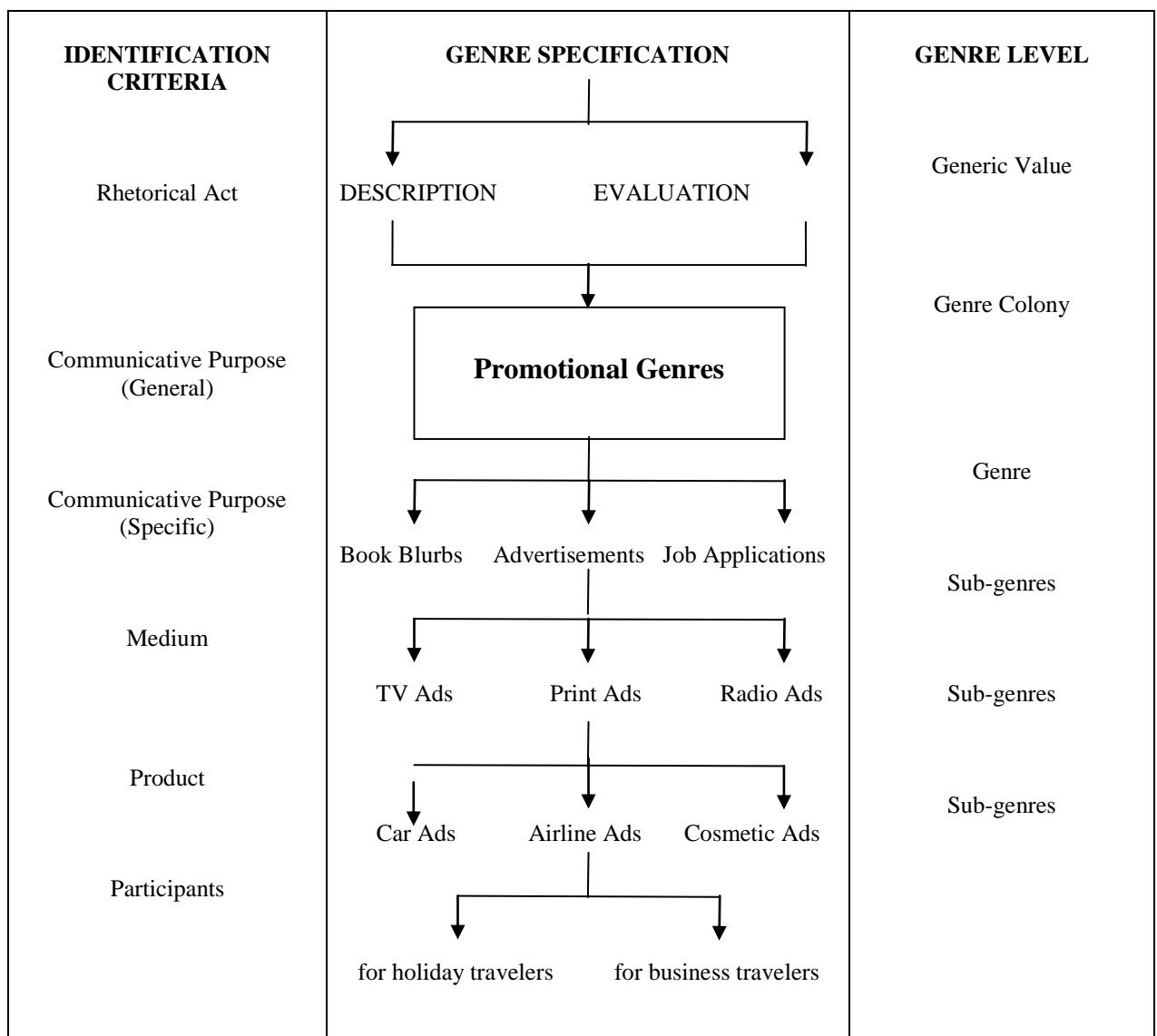


Figure 1 Versatility in generic transcription
Adapted from Bhatia’s *Worlds of Written Discourse* (2004: 59)

c. Depicts the members of the colony (e.g. advertisements, sales promotion letters, grand proposals, book blurbs, company reports, travel brochures, etc.) as overlapping domains arranged on different clines “in terms of the degree and nature of appropriation of promotional elements” (p. 62, see Figure 2). Thus, he makes a distinction between primary and peripheral members of the colony. Advertorials, like the GNTTO’s newsletter, “are mixed genres, partly promotional, partly information-giving or opinion-giving”.

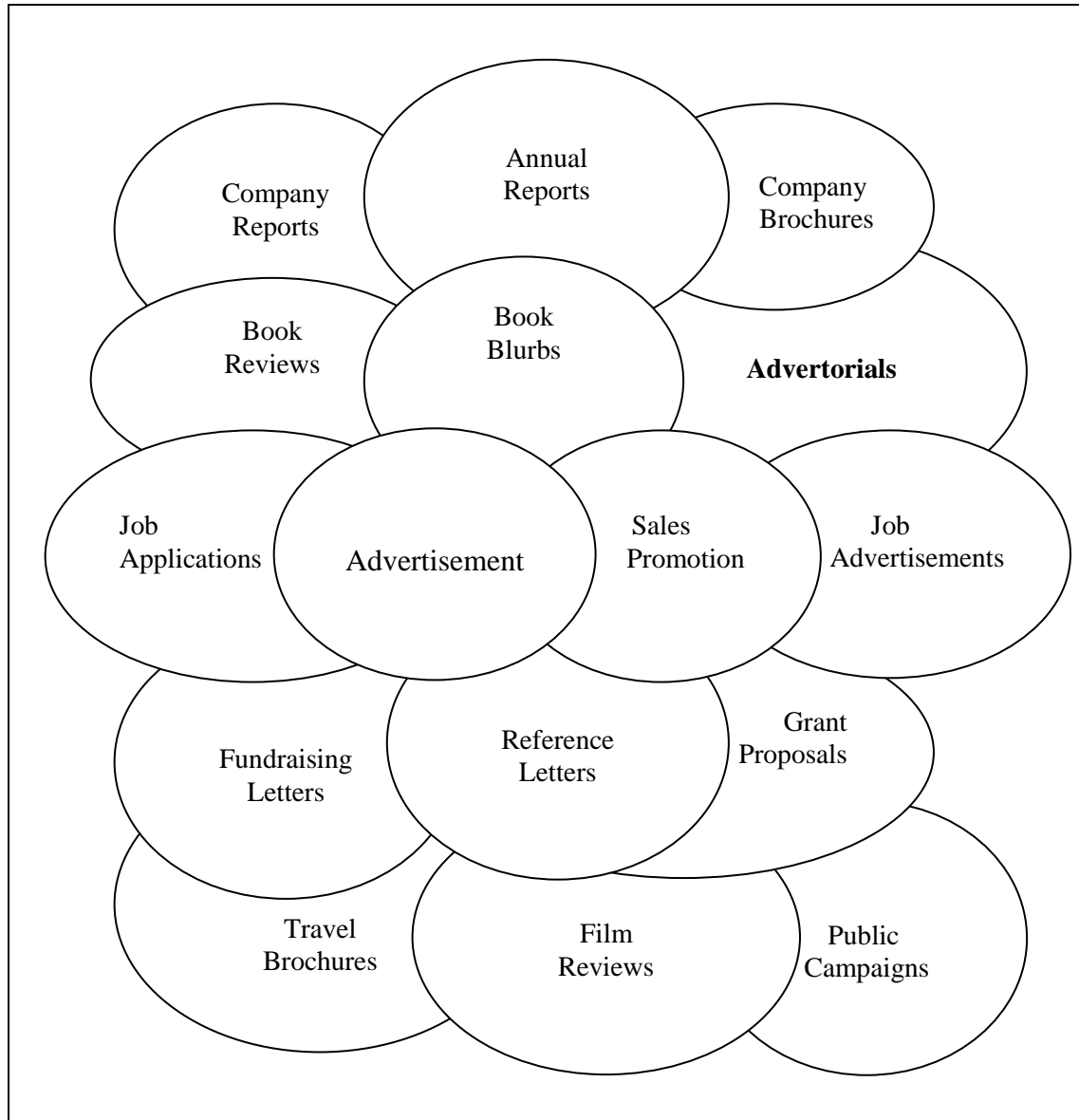


Figure 2 Colony of promotional genres
Adapted from Bhatia’s *Worlds of Written Discourse* (2004: 62)

We also need a model to describe the GNTTO’s newsletter in relation to its “mode of discourse”, the semiotic materiality of this particular genre. Shepherd & Watters (1998) invented the term *cybergenre* to indicate Internet genres and identified two classes of subgenres: *extant* and *novel* (see Figure 3). The first class comprises those based on genres existing in other media, such as paper and video, that have shifted to a digital form. When an already existing genre relocates in a computer environment, it is faithfully *replicated* in the initial stage, because does not completely take advantage of the potential of the new medium. Content and form remain almost the same (as, for instance, in the electronic edition of a newspaper). At a subsequent stage in the evolution, *variant* genres are emerged that fully exploit the capabilities of the new medium. That is the reason why these genres are characterised by multimodality (Kress 2010) and interactivity. Electronic news is a typical example of

variant genre, designed to fit in with the new medium. The second class (*novel cybergenres*) includes those wholly dependent on the new medium. They may come from extant genres (*emergent cybergenres*) or may be entirely new genres (*spontaneous cybergenres*). Obviously, the GNTO's newsletter is a novel emergent cybergenre.

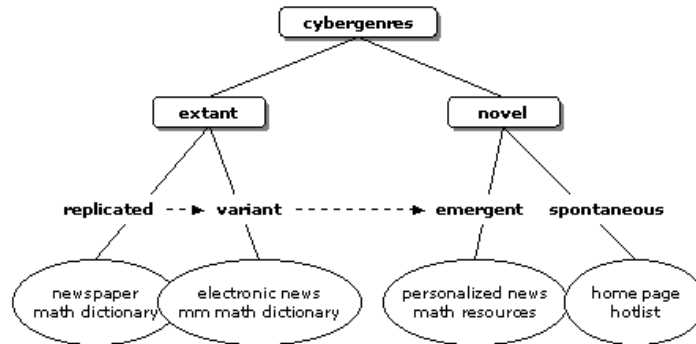


Figure 3 Cybergenres

Finally, concerning hypertextuality and interactivity, mainly in the sense of hypertextual connectivity and coherence, we draw on Jucker's theoretical framework (2002) of "hypertextlinguistics". Particularly useful for the study of Internet newsletters are:

- the distinction between *interactivity* (the multilinear network of hypertextual structures) and *interaction* (the actual "conversation" between the reader and the hypertext);
- a typology of cohesive elements connecting a root text with a destination text (semantically filled links, semantically empty links, pop-up windows), and
- a typology of hypertexts on the basis of various pragmatic categories or textual sequences.

2. Visitgreece web team ethnography and general info

The first issue of the GNTO newsletter appeared in July 2010 (English version only). As already mentioned earlier, the Greek National Tourism Organisation produced its first newsletter in an attempt to create a fresh positive destination image by exploiting the opportunities offered by the Internet.



Figure 4 The GNTO newsletter

The visitgreece web team (staff working at the GNTO) consists of copy editors who write and proof the articles, web designers who design the layout, and social media experts who are responsible for distribution (i.e. creating a sign-up list, monitoring the number of recipients of the newsletter, calculating the number of Greek or foreign readers, etc.)

According to the monthly schedule, the newsletter goes online the first Thursday of every month, with 3-4 topics in English and in Greek. The topics are selected according to:

- (a) the time of year (November: olive harvesting; January: skiing, etc.),
- (b) tourist activities, in order to promote Greece as a year-round destination,
- (c) important cultural events (“Dimitria” in Thessaloniki), and so on.

The form of the newsletter has been redesigned since the first issue was launched. In particular, from December 2010 until now the following major changes have taken place:

- in the layout (December 2010): more vivid colours are used in line with Greece’s national colours, the title and teaser length has been decreased as well as the framing margins;
- in the content (January 2011): social media are introduced as a topic is chosen based on the response to a question posted on facebook;
- a follower is rewarded for their tweet with the best tweet being included in the newsletter, which has now become more interactive. Similarly, an article is sometimes presented for facebook fans based on their feedback.

Furthermore, in January 2011 two sections were added: an editorial section so that the Organisation could address readers more directly and a “special feature” where texts written by licensed tourist guides are presented. Additionally, every month those who receive the newsletter see an intriguing title in their inbox that invites them to click & read. Since May 2011 the newsletter has also included video clips (instead of a 4th topic) linked to the general topic of the month, e.g. when the topic was about summer holidays the video clip entitled SEASIDEINGREECE was selected.

3. The parts of the newsletter

The GNT0 newsletter consists of the following parts:

- (1) The header YOUINGREECE, which includes pictorial items, such as the signature line & logo used to focus the DESIRE on a certain brand.¹



Figure 5 The header

- (2) The subject. “Subject” is defined as the title of each newsletter received by the subscribers. It appears in their inbox and helps introduce them to the issue’s monthly topic (e.g. «Ιανουάριος 2011: Πάμε για σκι!», “June 2011: It’s a family affair!”, “May 2011: Summer? Greece of course. Where else?”, «Σεπτέμβριος 2011 «Γοητευτική Αθήνα», etc.). These titles are brief and telegraphic, due to frame/layout constraints (max 100 characters including logo and date). The rule of thumb that applies here is the use of key-words, and the extensive use of exclamation and question marks. As a mnemonic technique applied in order to lure the reader into downloading the issue and reading it through, English titles are also used, such as subject titles taken from lyrics of famous songs.
- (3) Titles. The titles precede the so-called “teasers”.² Their main characteristics are as follows:

- They present the text’s main theme (core info), or the topics of the newsletter in general.
- They entice the reader (the potential tourist) as attention-grabbing devices.
- They reinforce the message sent by the GNT0 according to the general marketing plan, i.e. to promote Greece as a year-round destination.
- Furthermore, we can observe some differences in the way titles are written triggered by the changes in the layout adopted in December 2011:
 - a. Titles became shorter. This change led to the increase in rhetorical figures, rhetorical questions, and playful language –all employed to create mystery and lure the reader into reading the newsletter articles and visiting the GNT0 website–, and there was a corresponding decrease in melodic punctuation (question marks, exclamation marks, quotation marks and dots). Thus, the reader’s attention is captured by the use of an enigmatic way of presenting the information, a typical characteristic of the language of advertising.

b. In June 2011 numbers were used in titles for the first time (i.e. Top 6 family destinations). Apparently, the idea was to give the reader more condensed focused information and to help potential tourists decide which place to visit in Greece and why.

Here are some examples of the newsletter titles in both languages:

(1a) The islands of Paxoi & Antipaxoi

(1b) Παξοί και Αντίπαξοι

(2a) Rock climbing on Kalymnos island

(2b) Αναρρίχηση στην Κάλυμνο

(3a) Top 6 family destinations: Just for you, kids!

(3b) Κορυφαίοι προορισμοί για οικογενειακές διακοπές

Other characteristics of the newsletter titles are:

a. The preference of elliptical sentences and noun phrases (especially in Greek):

(4a) The Armata re-enactment lights up the sky!

(4b) Εκρηκτική Αρμάτα!

(*Literal Translation: Explosive Armata!*)

(5a) “I will” you said. To be continued on Santorini...

(5b) Γάμος με θέα...την καλντέρα!

(*Literal Translation: Wedding with a view...of a caldera*)

(6a) Stand still...A butterfly might touch you.

(6b) Καλοκαιρινές διακοπές και πεταλούδες. Τέλεια;

(*Literal Translation: Summer holidays with butterflies. Perfect?*)

(7a) The IMF is being celebrated at the carnival of Xanthi.

(7b) Ξανθιώτικο Καρναβάλι: ΔΝΤ και η μεγαλύτερη μάσκα στον κόσμο.

(*Literal Translation: The Xanthi Festival. The IMF and the biggest mask in the world*)

b. The use of questions (sometimes transferred as answers in Greek):

(8a) Do skiers find Vassilitsa the most beautiful ski resort in Greece?

(8b) Για κάποιους σκιέρ η Βασιλίτσα είναι το ομορφότερο χιονοδρομικό στην Ελλάδα.

(*Literal Translation: According to some skiers Vassilitsa is the most beautiful ski resort in Greece.*)

(9a) Hmm...Still in Crete. Let's try something different.

(9b) Είστε έτοιμοι για τη διαδρομή που σας προτείνουμε;

(*Literal Translation: Are you ready for the route we recommend?*)

(10a) Intense ski activity on Mt. Helmos

(10b) Ατελείωτες χιονοδρομικές πίστες, μυθολογία, ιστορία, μυστήριο. Καλάβρυτα;

(*Literal Translation: Endless ski runs, mythology, history, mystery. Kalavrita?*)

c. The use of rhetorical questions. In the following examples this use is limited to each language, meaning that if a rhetorical question is used in Greek it is not transferred to English, and vice versa.

(11a) Colours and Aromas of Spring in the Garden of Music

(11b) Πάσχα στην Κέρκυρα. Τι άλλο να πει κανείς;

(*Literal Translation: Easter on Corfu. What else can you say?*)

(12a) Stand still...A butterfly might touch you.

(12b) Καλοκαιρινές διακοπές και πεταλούδες. Τέλεια;

(*Literal translation: Summer holidays with butterflies. Perfect?*)

- d. Extended use is made of figures of speech (metaphor, personification, etc.). These rhetorical devices are not always translated/transferred into the other language (Greek or English, respectively):³
- (13a) A mastic-scented island with a fascinating history
(13b) Ένα γλυκά «αρωματισμένο» νησί με πλούσια ιστορία
- (14a) On Easter Sunday a gastronomic marathon takes place.
(14b) Μύρισε Πάσχα...ελληνικό!
(*Literal Translation*: Smell the Easter – the Greek one!)
- (15a) Love, Made in Greece
(15b) Όταν ο κινηματογράφος ερωτεύεται την Ελλάδα.
(*Literal Translation*: When the cinema falls in love with Greece)
- (16a) Crete gazes at the Libyan Sea. Do the same!
(16b) Ένα βραχώδες έργο της φύσης αγγίζει τη θάλασσα.
(*Literal Translation*: A rocky work of nature that touches the sea)
- e. Playful language (mostly appearing in English):
- (17a) Cross these bridges when you come to Epirus.
(17b) Αναζητήστε τα πέτρινα γεφύρια της Ηπείρου.
(*Literal Translation*: Look out for the stone bridges in Epirus.)
- f. The use of melodic punctuation: (Usually the same when a pair of titles share the same meaning and they are translated from one language to another, but different when a totally different title is initially written in English or Greek):
- (18a) Revitalise your senses!
(18b) Αναζωογόνησε νου και σώμα!
(*Literal Translation*: Rejuvenate your mind and body)
- (19a) A spiritual celebration...
(19b) Δεκαπενταύγουστος: Το Πάσχα του καλοκαιριού
(*Literal Translation*: August 15th: Easter in summer!)
- (20a) Loving nature while bathing in sunlight!
(20b) Στη Φύση της Ελλάδας με αγάπη...
(*Literal Translation*: To Greece's nature with love...)

(4) Editorials. They were first introduced in January 2011 to add a more personal tone to the newsletter. They represent the collective voice of the web team working at the GNTO, and with a signature at the end of the editorial text the sender of the message displays their own recognisable identity.

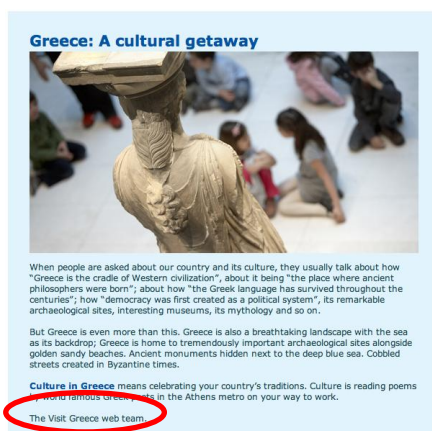


Figure 6 The typical form of an editorial

Editorials are usually in the form of a small text (app. two paragraphs in length). Their main lexicogrammatical features are:

- exclusive first-person plural, e.g. *we think/πιστεύουμε*
- second person imperatives (to guide potential tourists; Maci 2007), e.g. *Μην ξεχάσετε/Don't forget, etc.*, because editorials are written by copywriters who represent a national organisation and offer readers compelling reasons to visit Greece.
- Finally, the message communicated is often linked with the general social and political climate in Greece, often using allusion –especially in the editorials written in Greek addressing the Greek readership:

(21a) [...]Λοιπόν, πιστεύουμε ότι ήρθε η ώρα να πάρουμε όλοι μια πρώτη γεύση από το θρυλικό ελληνικό καλοκαίρι, αυτό που ζούμε ως Έλληνες και αγαπάμε. Αυτό που, τελικά, μετά από έναν βαρύ χειμώνα θα χρωματίσει τη ζωή μας με: γλυκιά ξενοιασιά, άπλετο φως, παιχνίδια στη θάλασσα, σημάδια από τον ήλιο, περιπέτεια και ανεκτίμητες παιδικές (και όχι μόνο) αναμνήσεις [...]. (May 2011 issue)

(21b) So, we think it's about time for you to get your first taste of the legendary Greek summer. The summer we here in Greece know and love. (In Greek the phrase “The summer which after a *hard winter* will paint our life with [...].) (May 2011 issue)

However, depending on the topics (when they are more romantic, or when major celebration such as Easter is being presented), the typical editorial form is replaced by: (a) a poem (Figure 7a; April 2011 issue), or (b) an unconventional type of writing (Figure 7b; March 2011 issue), such as melodic punctuation, capital letters, lack of punctuation, full stops that break up phrases and isolate words. In this way “[...] writing is a form of image-making too”: Goddard 1998).



Figures 7a & 7b Other forms of editorial

(5) Leads. Leads are based on a twofold structure with which readers ascertain facts from the text and are then encouraged to try things out themselves. Accordingly, leads attempt to persuade or inspire readers to read the main article (hypertext), and provoke a reader's curiosity to continue reading the visitgreece website, creating another viewing opportunity. They also support the title (headline) and save readers' time, giving them the most important information in a clear, concise and interesting manner. In addition, leads establish the voice and direction of an article and the point of the story.

In the visitgreece newsletter they are constricted by the layout/frame (max 450 characters), and they form part of a module that consists of: a title, a photo (image), a text, and colour (the blue frame around them) (multimodality).⁴ The messages conveyed through leads are addressee-oriented, since the active voice, the first and second-person plural pronouns and the imperative and subjunctive mood are mostly employed. Thus, a conversational style is adopted (conversationalisation) that helps messages become more intermediated, asynchronous and interactive.

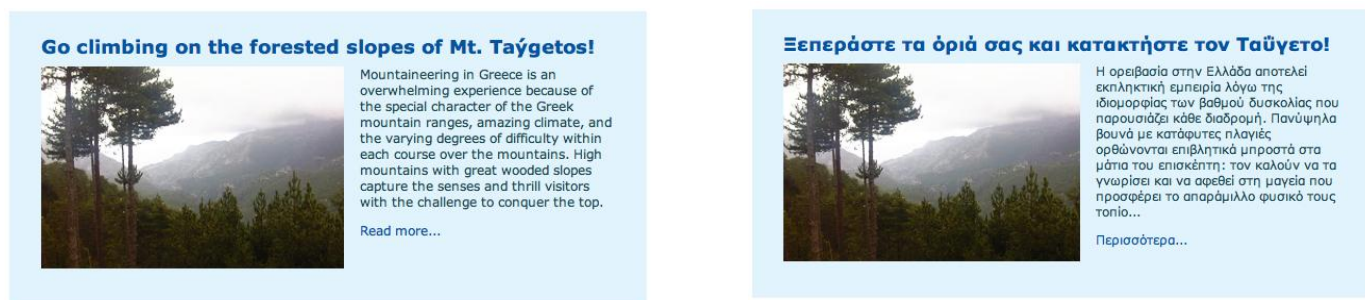


Figure 8 Leads

In this type of text the following rhetorical tropes and lexico-grammatical features are also used:

- Generics (*οι άνθρωποι, Ολόκληρος ο κόσμος απολαμβάνει τα δώρα της Αρχαίας Ελληνικής Αρχιτεκτονικής*)
- Common evaluative adjectives (*marvellous, glorious, μοναδική, μαγευτική* etc.)
- Lexical collocations (*μαγευτικές παραλίες, αρχέγονη φυσικότητα, ιδανικό σκηνικό, αυθεντική επαφή, rare natural wealth, unique wildlife habitats, etc.*)
- Mental state attribution (*the whole world enjoys the gifts of Ancient Greek Architecture, etc.*)
- Hyperbole (*enormous variety..., Η ιππασία συνδυάζει μοναδικά τη δυνατή περιπέτεια, Horse backriding offers a unique adventure, etc.*), to enhance the persuasive power of the message (Ip 2008)
- Personification (*...βουνά...τον καλούν να..., the mountains invite the visitor to...*)
- Rhetorics of Writing: words written with capital first letters (*the Greek Ideal of Beauty, το ιδεώδες του αρχαίου ελληνικού Κάλλους, etc.*)

- (6) The “special feature” section. Since January 2011, licensed tourist guides have written a text every month in English and Greek which is added to the monthly newsletter issues. These texts form part of the visitgreece website content and are actually hypertexts connected with the newsletter. In this way, the “special feature” section is a small text used as an introduction to the topics presented by the tourist guides. Its main characteristics are:

- present tense (the tour is being conducted as we speak);
- future tense (e.g. *together we will discover, they will give all the necessary information, etc.*)
- suggestions: mostly for social advertising rather than commercial (*Let's follow them...*)⁵
- inclusive “we” and “you”;
- synonymous phrases, expressing in different ways the tours that the tourist guides are taking us on: *“they tell their own story...”*; *“they will give all the necessary information...”*; *«οι ξεναγοί μάς οδηγούν», «καθοδηγούν την περιπλάνησή μας», «μας υποδέχονται»* etc.



Figure 9 The “special feature” section

- (7) The video section. In May 2011 the video section was first introduced. As seen from the figure below, the text is taken from the ID-project YOUNGREECE, where the goal of this campaign is presented. From June onwards the same text has been used in both languages, thus promoting the campaign YOUNGREECE as a tourism marketing initiative implemented by the GNT0.



Figure 10 The video section

- (8) The social media section. The newsletter has become more interactive and followers are rewarded for their tweets, with the best tweet being included in the newsletter.

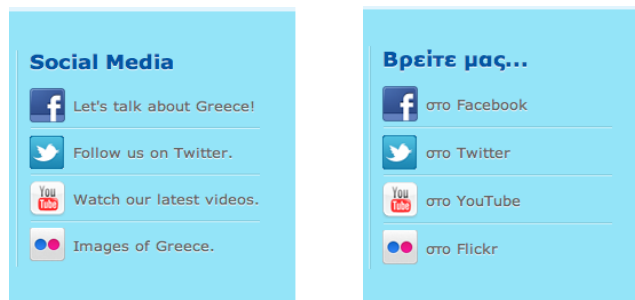


Figure 11 The social media section

- (9) The footer. Formed by standing details which help transform DESIRE into ACTION (cf. Ungerer 2004).

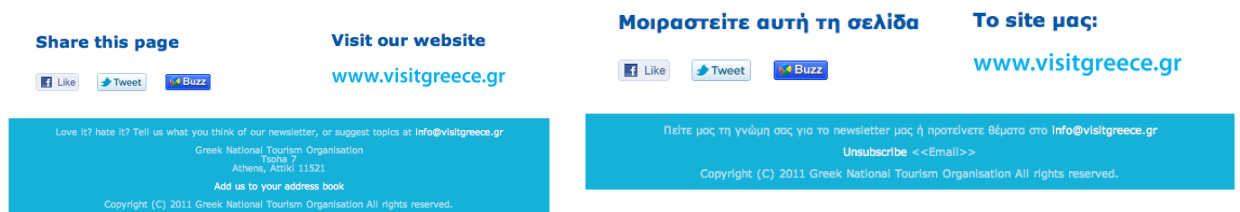


Figure 12 The footer

4. A few words about hyperlinks

Hyperlinks are clear “call to action” messages (*Δείτε το βίντεο, Πήγαινε με εκεί, Read more, Take your pick*, etc.). They are short phrases written under each lead, or any other type of text composed for other newsletter sections (“special feature”, video etc.). Newsletter hyperlinks take the readers on a tour inside the website where they find a multimodal hypertext consisting of text and image, or text, image and video. Inside these hypertexts more links lead the reader to a path made by the copywriter via key information (again use of key words), i.e. general info about a place or a site.⁶

5. Some comments on translation

As stated by Cappelli (2008) “The translated text (TT) must have a function equivalent to that of the source text (ST) and this requires a “cultural filter”, which is a sort of “adaptation” of the translated text to make up for socio-cultural, stylistic and rhetorical differences between the ST and the TT”. Regarding the GNTTO English and Greek newsletter issues, Greek is not always the source language,

since some of the texts are written in parallel in English and Greek (by different copy-writers). Nonetheless, a considerable number of Greek texts are translated into English. Either way, the texts (and the translated versions) fulfil the same function, that is, to promote Greece and persuade readers to visit the country. The “adaptation” process Capelli (op.cit.) mentions can be seen in the attention paid to each language’s basic principles, e.g. lighter constructions in English as well as the stylistic and rhetorical differences found in the use of punctuation and poetic language (cf. section 3). Furthermore:

- “localisation” is a process adopted in English language texts since great care is taken to reflect the target language’s linguistic and cultural preferences;
- Key words, keying and cliché phrases are used in both languages (special attention is paid to the use of English collocations);
- emphatic language (language euphoria: Dann 1996) is common.

In general, the strategies of tourism and promotional discourse are followed in both languages.

6. General conclusions

The Greek National Tourism Organisation as a social actor and a governmental entity has been using the reconstruction of the visitgreece.gr portal and the newsletter in particular to convey values that enhance a certain political message, that is, the attempt to restore Greece’s damaged image, and to promote the country as an attractive tourism destination. Drawing upon pre-existing conventional discourse types in order to create a positive image for Greece the organisation has made use of:

- (a) new technologies: the Internet, smartphones –the so-called “computer-mediated environment”;
- (b) new media: social media: facebook, twitter, Flickr;
- (c) specific discourse strategies within a specific socio-cultural situation, and communicative situation in order to influence readers all round the world and persuade them to become visitors to Greece.

The [visitgreece](http://visitgreece.gr) newsletter comprises all the attributes that are characteristic of a promotional travel genre distributed via the Internet forming eventually a novel hybrid cybergenre, because:

- (1) It is a multimodal semiotic entity:
 - it uses a wide range of multimodal resources (text, video, image) aimed at “encouraging” people from all over the world to visit Greece;
 - its layout is determined by the medium: it is vertically organised to be easily read on the Internet.
- (2) Unlike other genres of tourism discourse (e.g. brochures, guidebooks, etc.):
 - it demonstrates a certain degree of interactivity and intimacy since the addressee signs up to receive it;
 - the mode of address (use of the pronoun systems) which is frequently present in the newsletter texts, minimises the social distance, showing familiarity and equality;
 - present tense verbs foster a sense of involvement.
- (3) In the [visitgreece](http://visitgreece.gr) newsletter texts are written according to the main principles of Promotional/Advertising/Tourism Discourse as they:
 - (a) meet the classic requirements of the AIDA principle: capture Attention, create Interest, foster Desire and inspire Action;
 - (b) contain evaluative language (repetition of positive adjectives);
 - (c) make use of hyperbolic language and images;
 - (d) employ special words and formulae/specific vocabulary;
 - (e) utilise key-words (authentic, discover, adventure, dream, destination, etc.);
 - (f) imperatives and directives are frequently found;
 - (g) prototypical advertising discourse is found: extensive use of NPs.
- (4) The GNTTO newsletter is a novel emergent cybergenre, because:
 - (a) it constitutes a conventionalised web-textual form;
 - (b) it is wholly dependent on the new medium, i.e. the Internet;
 - (c) it incorporates discursive elements of promotion, drawing upon news report discourse, and
 - (d) it offers favourable information encoded into promotional messages according to underlying principles of credibility (news writing) & desire (ads).

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¹ The initiative is described as follows: "YOUINGREECE is about real people from different backgrounds, nationalities and lifestyles, who choose to visit Greece travelling from all over the world. People, just like you, who pass on the message that Greece is a country whose authenticity, natural beauty, and warm hospitality are uniquely combined attributes".

² These are the small texts that accompany the photos, which are also defined as "leads" (ibid section 3, paragraph 5).

³ With reference to translation we should pay attention to whether the rhetorical devices are transferred, e.g. the use of metaphor, and not whether the title is translated as such.

⁴ Click rates show to what extent leads attract readers and measure the effectiveness of leads.

The lead paragraph summarises the central action by answering the questions "who", "when", "where", "what", and sometimes "why" (Erjavec: 563).

⁵ Social advertising: It is about applying marketing and advertising principles to promote health and social issues and bringing about positive behavior change.

⁶ Newsletter and hypertexts: the structure is similar to that of a journey. From the general presentation we move to a specific place, to the heart of the information.

A SUITE OF NATURAL LANGUAGE PROCESSING TOOLS FOR GREEK

Prokopis Prokopidis
Institute for Language and
Speech Processing/Athena RIC,
Athens, Greece
prokopis@ilsp.gr

Byron Georgantopoulos
Institute for Language and
Speech Processing/Athena RIC,
Athens, Greece
byron@ilsp.gr

Haris Papageorgiou
Institute for Language and
Speech Processing/Athena RIC,
Athens, Greece
xaris@ilsp.gr

ABSTRACT

Τα τεράστια κειμενικά δεδομένα που είναι διαθέσιμα σήμερα σε ηλεκτρονική μορφή απαιτούν εύρωστες τεχνολογίες επεξεργασίας φυσικής γλώσσας (ΕΦΓ). Η αλυσίδα αρθρωμάτων ΕΦΓ που έχει αναπτύξει το Ινστιτούτο Επεξεργασίας του Λόγου είναι μοναδική για την Ελληνική γλώσσα και μπορεί να χρησιμοποιηθεί τόσο για τη μελέτη διαφόρων γλωσσικών φαινομένων για ερευνητικούς σκοπούς όσο και για την αυτόματη ανάλυση κειμενικών συλλογών με στόχο την αποδοτικότερη δεικτοδότηση και χρήση τους. Τα εργαλεία που παρουσιάζονται σε αυτό το άρθρο στηρίζονται σε τεχνικές μηχανικής μάθησης αλλά και σε νομοθετικές προσεγγίσεις. Τα περισσότερα είναι ήδη διαθέσιμα ως διαδικτυακές υπηρεσίες από τη διεύθυνση <http://nlp.ilsp.gr/ws/>.

1. Introduction

The vast amount of electronically available textual data constitutes a wealth of information for both researchers and application developers. On the other hand, the overwhelmingly big datasets of today ask for robust and efficient processing tools. While a variety of relevant processors exist for well-resourced languages like English, it is often difficult to find similar tools for texts in less-spoken languages. In this paper we provide an overview of natural language technologies available from the Institute for Language and Speech Processing. This NLP suite is unique for the Greek language and comprises a series of processing units based on both machine learning algorithms and rule-based approaches. We report on updated versions of tools originally presented in Papageorgiou (2002) and, taking into account latest developments in this field, on new processors that we have implemented, together with the resources we created for their training and evaluation. Our infrastructure can be used by researchers interested in studying linguistic properties of the Greek language. At the same time, it can be employed in application scenarios involving fast processing of large document collections.

The paper is organized as follows. Section 2 discusses detection of paragraph, sentence and token boundaries in input text. Modules presented in Section 3 assign POS tags and lemmas to tokens. Section 4 presents a dependency treebank for training data-driven parsers. A term spotting algorithm is discussed in Section 5. Sections 6 and 7 focus on modules for sentence compression and text summarization. In Section 8, we discuss integration and use of the tools via standards-compliant web services.

2. Paragraph, sentence and token segmentation

At the first stage of our processing architecture, input is channeled to a module that segments text into paragraphs, sentences and tokens. Input is read from locally stored text files or from documents collected from the Internet, stripped of their HTML markup (apart from paragraph tags) and stored as XML files.

When paragraph segmentation is available in the input as paragraph markup, this is taken into account. In the opposite case, a paragraph segmentor detects first whether input text has paragraphs broken across lines. The segmentor counts the relative frequency of non-empty lines that begin with a character that is not a capital letter or any kind of opening quote, dash, or opening bracket. If the relative frequency is less than 0.35, the tool assumes that end of lines constitute paragraphs. Otherwise, it assumes that input text contains line-broken paragraphs and extends paragraph boundaries until a set of constraints, including occurrence of empty or relatively short lines, is satisfied.

Sentence boundaries are detected inside paragraphs. The text of each paragraph is first segmented on obvious sentence-final punctuation marks (e.g. ., !), while a set of rules based on regular expressions takes care of not splitting strings like Internet URLs or currencies (e.g. *http://www.host.gr/quote?id=NBGr.AT*, *sftp://vls@ftp.ilsp.gr*, or *35.000*). Following this simplistic segmentation, a set of post-processing heuristics is used to join wrongly split text segments into sentences. As an example, these heuristics examine whether the sentence previous to the one scanned ends with an abbreviation. For a string to be classified as an abbreviation, the tool consults an abbreviation list containing approximately 2K entries. Alternatively, it checks whether the string matches a relevant regular expression. If the previous sentence ends in a non-breaking abbreviation like *άρθρ.*, *Δρ.* or *δηλ.*, the two sentences are joined into one. In the case of abbreviations that can occur in a sentence-final position like *Σ.τ.Ε.*, *Α.Ε.* or *χλμ.*, the initial sentence split is maintained if the second sentence starts with a capital letter. Similar heuristics are used for correcting splits between initials and last names, or splits in texts with line-broken paragraphs.

The next process is tokenization, i.e. the recognition of word and punctuation boundaries inside the text of each sentence. This again involves an initial split at obvious points in the input text (spaces, punctuation marks, etc.), followed by some postprocessing. The latter includes cases like avoiding the separation of the relative indefinite pronoun *ό,τι*; splitting the 2nd and 3rd personal pronoun combination *σ'το* in two tokens; disambiguating between contracted forms like *'ρθει* and quote-token combinations like *'ερθει* and recognizing one and three tokens, respectively; splitting off the period from the last word of the sentence, but remembering not to do it when the last word is an abbreviation like *Ο.Η.Ε.*; detaching parentheses and hyphens but not in the case of enumerators like *2.1.1)* or of negative numbers like *-12,32*; etc. Each detected token is assigned a token type on the basis of the token itself and, in certain cases, the context of the token. The list of token types with some indicative examples is shown in Table 1.

Token type	Example	Token type	Example
DATE	16/6/43	ENUM (enumerator)	2.1 i. a)
PUNCT (punctuation)	, - · (ano-teleia)	DIG (digit)	1.0009,1% - 3/8 3/4
PTERM (terminal punct.)	;!...	INIT (initial)	T. Χρ. Γερ.
PTERM_P (potentially terminal punct.)	. : ; !	ABBR (abbreviation)	δισ.ΟΓΑ ΣΥ.ΠΙ.ΖΑ
OPUNCT (opening punct.)	« " ([{	NBABBR (non-breaking abbr.)	π.χ. αναφ.
CPUNCT (closing punctuation)	» ")] }	TOK (default)	Default type for all other tokens

Table 1 Token types

Sentences are also assigned a type attribute based on their capitalization. The list of values for sentence types includes `uppercase` for sentences typed in capital letters and `titlecase` for sentences where the first letter of every token is capitalized. An optional process involves normalization of `uppercase` sentences or sentences with regular capitalization, when no diacritics have been used by the author of the text. In this step, diacritics are restored to ease processing of other downstream processors like part of speech taggers and parsers. Diacritic restoration is performed as in Scannell (2011) by querying a lexicon of frequent words and, in the case of ambiguity (*δίκη/δική*), a table of bigram probabilities (e.g. *δίκη| - |πολιτική*) learned from large crawled corpora of Greek.

3. Part of speech tagging and lemmatization

After tokenization, we add morphosyntactic annotations to each token using a part of speech tagger called FBT. FBT is an adaptation of the Brill tagger (Brill, 1992) trained on a manually annotated corpus of Greek texts amounting to 455K tokens. During manual and automatic annotation, we use a tagset of 584 combinations of basic POS tags (Table 2) and morphosyntactic features, which capture the rich morphology of the Greek language¹. As an example, the full tag *AjBaMaSgNm* for a word like *παράωδης* denotes an adjective of basic degree, masculine gender, singular number and nominative case.

POS	Description	POS	Description
Ad	Adverb	PnIr	Interrogative pronoun
Aj	Adjective	PnPe	Personal pronoun
AsPpPa	Preposition + Article combination	PnPo	Possessive pronoun
AsPpSp	Preposition	PnRe	Relative pronoun
AtDf	Definite article	PnRi	Relative indefinite pronoun
AtId	Indefinite article	PtFu	Future particle
CjCo	Coordinating conjunction	PtNg	Negative particle
CjSb	Subordinating conjunction	PtOt	Other particle
PnDm	Demonstrative pronoun	PtSj	Subjunctive particle

Table 2 Common part of speech tags

For the construction of the corpus, linguists had to correct automatically assigned tags from an initial version of the tagger. We used interfaces that allow annotators to select between (features of) tags for ambiguous tokens. For example, in Figure 1, a user selects the *Nm* (nominative) value for the case feature to correct a wrongly assigned *Ac* (cussative) for the noun *στρατόπεδο*.

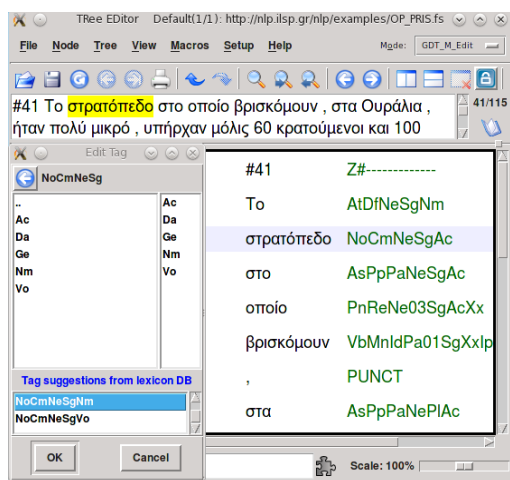


Figure 1 User interface for annotation of POS tags

Input	του μνημονιακού/AjBaNeSgGe χειμώνα/NoCmMaSgGe
Rule	AjBaNeSgGe ->AjBaMaSgGe NEXTTAG NoCmMaSgGe
Output	του μνημονιακού/AjBaMaSgGe χειμώνα/NoCmMaSgGe
Input	απατείται διαρκής/AjBaFeSgNm επαγρύπνηση/NoCmFeSgAc
Rule	NoCmFeSgAc ->NoCmFeSgNm PREVTAG AjBaFeSgNm
Output	απατείται διαρκής/AjBaFeSgNm επαγρύπνηση/NoCmFeSgNm

Table 3 Context rules correcting gender and case

During automatic processing, the tagger assigns to each token the most frequent tag in a lexicon compiled from the training corpus and augmented with entries from ILSP's Morphological Lexicon². A lexicon of suffixes guides initial tagging of unknown words: for example, an entry like *νιλακού-* *AjBaNeSgGe* would assign this specific tag to a word like *μνημονιακού*. After that, a set of about 800 contextual rules is applied to correct initial tags. The rules were automatically learned from the training corpus as detailed in Papageorgiou et al. (2000). When a token exists in the lexicon, rules are allowed

¹ See http://nlp.ilsp.gr/nlp/tagset_examples/tagset_en/ for a full description of the tagset, including all morphosyntactic features and indicative examples.

² <http://www.ilsp.gr/en/services-products/langresources/item/32-ilektronikomorfologiko>

to change its tag only if the resulting tag exists in the token's entry in the lexicon. As an example of rule application, the first rule in Table 3 would assign a masculine value for the gender feature of *μνημονιακού* in a context like *μνημονιακού χειμώνα*. FBT's accuracy has been tested against a 90K partition of the manually annotated corpus not used in training. The tagger's accuracy reaches 97.49% when only basic POS is considered. When all features (including, for example, gender and case for nouns, and aspect and tense for verbs) are taken into account, the tagger's accuracy is 92.54%.

Following POS tagging, a lexicon-based lemmatizer retrieves lemmas from the Morphological Lexicon. This resource contains 66K lemmas, which in their expanded form extend the lexicon to approximately 2M different entries. When a token under examination is connected in the lexicon with two or more lemmas, the lemmatizer uses information from the POS tags assigned to disambiguate. For example, the token *ενοχλήσεις* will be assigned the lemma *ενοχλώ*, if tagged as a verb, and the lemma *ενόχληση*, if tagged as a noun.

4. Dependency parsing

One of the most prominent current paradigms in automatic syntactic analysis is dependency parsing. Dependency parsers create tree representations for each input sentence, where each word depends on a head word and is assigned a label depicting its relation to the head word. Treebanks with manually created annotations are used to train and evaluate data-driven dependency parsers. We have trained open source parsers on the Greek Dependency Treebank, a resource that comprises data annotated at several linguistic levels (Prokopidis et al., 2005). As of 2011, GDT contained 118+K tokens in 4948 sentences, while more annotated texts are being added³. Lemmas and POS tags for all tokens are manually validated. The texts include transcripts of European parliamentary sessions, articles from the Greek Wikipedia and web documents pertaining the politics, health, and travel domains.

Dep. Rel	Description	Dep. Rel.	Description
Pred	Main sentence predicate	Coord	A node governing coordination
Subj	Subject	Apos	A node governing apposition
Obj	Direct object	* Co	A node governed by a Coord
IObj	Indirect object	* Ap	A node governed by an Apos
Adv	Adverbial dependent	AuxC	Subord. conjunction node
Atr	Attribute	AuxP	Prepositional node
ExD	A node whose parent node is not present in the sentence (ellipsis)	AuxV	Particles or auxiliary verbs attached to a verb

Table 4 Common dependency relations in the Greek Dependency Treebank

The scheme used during manual annotation includes 25 main relations (Table 4) and is based on an adaptation of the guidelines for the Prague Dependency Treebank (Böhmová et al. 2003). The guidelines include indicative examples of several syntactic phenomena. For example, coordination structures (Figure 2) are headed by a conjunction assigned the label *Coord*, while each node headed by the conjunction is annotated with a label like *Obj_Co*. These labels denote both the node's function in the sentence and the fact that it participates in a coordination structure.

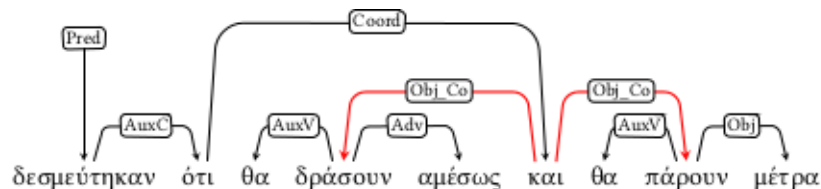


Figure 2 Representation of coordination structures

The scheme allows for simple and intuitive descriptions of structures common in languages which, like Greek, exhibit a flexible word order. Since dependency relations are directly encoded, without the

³ Updated information on the GDT can be found at <http://gdt.ilsp.gr/>.

presupposition of any default constituent structure from which all others are derived, representation for the main relations in a sentence is straightforward. In an OVS example like *την έγκρισή τους έδωσαν οι υπουργοί*, the verb *έδωσαν* heads the sentence as the main predicate, while two words, *έγκριση* and *υπουργοί*, are annotated as object and subject dependents of the predicate respectively.

Non-projective structures are also allowed in the scheme. As an example, subjects or objects extracted from an embedded clause can be linked to their head without the use of co-indexation with a trace. This is illustrated in the non-projective tree of Figure 3, where the relative pronoun *οποία* directly depends as a subject to its head *έλειπαν*, thus crossing the link of the verb heading the relative structure to the antecedent.



Figure 3 Non-projective relation

In n-fold experiments with the MaltParser system for dependency parsing (Nivre, 2007), we have trained models on the GDT that showed an overall labeled attachment score (i.e. the proportion of tokens attached to the correct head and assigned the correct dependency relation) of 74.83% and an overall unlabeled attachment score of 81.04%. Precision and recall for the subject relation reached 83.49% and 89.46% respectively.

5. Term extraction

We can view terms as linguistic realizations of domain specific concepts, usually lexicalized in the form of noun phrases. For terminology recognition we have implemented a hybrid methodology: we initially construct a candidate term set using a term grammar and then filter this set through statistical techniques. The module operates on input with lemmas and part-of-speech tags assigned to each word. First, the following term pattern grammar recognizes single and multi-word (up to 4-word) candidate terms:

$$((\text{Adj}|\text{Noun}) * (\text{Prep}|\text{Det})?) (\text{Adj}|\text{Noun}) * \text{Noun}$$

Then, a statistical filter following the *tf-idf* paradigm is applied to the list of grammar-extracted terms in order to rank them according to statistical evidence. The reference corpus used in the *idf* calculation is the Hellenic National Corpus (HNC, <http://hnc.ilsp.gr>), a 47M words tagged and lemmatized corpus covering a wide range of topics including, among others, news, literature, science and business. The following formula calculates the confidence score for a term:

$$\text{Score}(\text{candidate}) = \text{tf} \cdot \log(\text{idf})$$

In the case of 2-word terms we use contingency table statistics (Daille, 1995). For a given pair $w_i + w_j$ (as, for example, in the case of noun + noun), the contingency table is defined as in the following table:

	w_i	$w_j, j \neq i$
w_i	a	b
$w_i, i \neq i'$	c	d

Table 5 Contingency table for 2-word terms

where a stands for the frequency of pairs involving both w_i and w_j (number of occurrences of a pair); b stands for the frequency of pairs involving w_i and w_j (number of occurrences of pairs where a given word appears as the first element of the pair); c stands for the frequency of pairs involving w_i and w_j (number of occurrences of pairs where a given word appears as the second element of the pair); and d stands for the frequency of pairs involving w_i and w_j and has a constant value calculated from the HNC

(total number of occurrences of all the pairs in the reference corpus). The score formula is based on log-likelihood:

$$\begin{aligned} \text{Score}(2 - \text{word}) = & a \cdot \log(a) + b \cdot \log(b) + c \cdot \log(c) + d \cdot \log(d) \\ & - (a + b) \cdot \log(a + b) - (a + c) \cdot \log(a + c) \\ & - (b + d) \cdot \log(b + d) - (c + d) \cdot \log(c + d) \\ & + (a + b + c + d) \cdot \log(a + b + c + d) \end{aligned}$$

A couple of factors were taken into consideration in order to smooth the confidence scores across candidate terms with (1) the same number of words and (2) with different number of words. Regarding the former factor, the top-scoring term of each set of terms with the same number of words is assigned a score of 1 (the maximum) and all the others are analogically calibrated from 0 to 1. Regarding the latter factor, in order to account for the fact that *idf* statistics are getting sparser as the number of words increases, we weight the score of a candidate term with the number of words it maintains, in a logarithmic fashion:

$$\text{Score}(n - \text{word term}) = \text{OriginalScore} \cdot (1 + \log(n))$$

Figure 4 displays an example of terms extracted from the sentence: *Σε κινητοποίηση κατεβαίνουν την Τετάρτη και την Πέμπτη οι εργαζόμενοι της Wind και της Vodafone για τις ελαστικές σχέσεις εργασίας (ακόμα και ενοικίαση ή πώληση εργαζομένων!!) αλλά και για τις παράνομες απολύσεις.*

```
<Term conf="0.784" end="#w2" start="#w2" text="κινητοποίηση"/>
<Term conf="0.915" end="#w10" start="#w10" text="εργαζόμενοι"/>
<Term conf="1" end="#w20" start="#w18" text="ελαστικές σχέσεις εργασίας"/>
<Term conf="0.596" end="#w24" start="#w24" text="ενοικίαση"/>
<Term conf="1" end="#w27" start="#w26" text="πώληση εργαζομένων"/>
<Term conf="1" end="#w36" t="#w35" text="παράνομες απολύσεις"/>
```

Figure 4 Example output from the term extractor

6. Sentence compression

Sentence compression is used as a building block in, among others, text simplification and automatic summarization applications. Our sentence compression tool (Prokopidis et al., 2008) processes syntactically analyzed input by a) replacing words with paraphrases shorter in length and b) deleting elements carrying relatively small semantic information.

We used a thesaurus of synonyms and antonyms (Ιορδανίδου, 2005) to manually construct an initial seed of paraphrase lemmas. Paraphrases that were too domain- or register-specific were filtered-out. We then evaluated the seed against the HNC, checking for paraphrase interchangeability and applicability in different linguistic contexts. When all morphological variants of each lemma were automatically generated, we came up with a table of 9860 paraphrase entries consisting of types and morphological features shared by types (Figure 5). Since input is expected to be automatically annotated for the same features, this information guides the paraphrase module in making correct substitutions for homographic source types that may correspond to more than one target types. Thus, if input text contains the noun *θιασώτες*, the module will choose between *οπαδοί* and *οπαδούς* based on the case feature automatically assigned to the source noun.

```
<Paraphrase source="θιασώτες" stag="NoCmMaPlAc" target="οπαδούς" />
<Paraphrase source="θιασώτες" stag="NoCmMaPlNm" target="οπαδοί" />
<Paraphrase source="αγαθοεργίες" stag="NoCmFePlAc" target="ευεργεσίες"/>
```

Figure 5 Paraphrases sharing the same morphological features

A set of deletion rules operates on the output of the paraphrase module. Each deletion rules traverses the nodes of the dependency tree, checking whether specific morphosyntactic constraints apply for the node currently examined. When the constraints match, the node and the subtree that is headed by this node are marked as deletables. Constraints may focus on the node's (or children or

parent nodes') dependency relations, their POS tag, etc. The most frequent actions involve deletions of adjectives (*delAdjs*), adverbs (*delAdvs*, Figure 6) and preposition-headed adverbials (*delPPs*). As an example, *delAdjs* selects as deletion candidates adjectives which a) are not the heads of other nodes (e.g. *ο καλύτερος όλων*) and b) are not headed by a copula verb (e.g. *είναι μόνος*). Subtrees marked to be deleted are ranked according to their *relevance*, which is estimated as in Daelemans et al. (2004) on the basis of the log-likelihood of the frequencies of the subtree words, as these frequencies were observed in a 70M words Greek corpus. Using this information, the deletion of less significant subtrees, which is expected not to seriously affect sentence meaning, precedes elimination of more important subtrees.

Orig: Τις τελευταίες δεκαετίες της τις πέρασε στο Παρίσι, όπου σκόρπισε αφειδώς τα χρήματά της σε αγαθοεργίες.
 Paraphrase 7_1: **αγαθοεργίες -> ευεργεσίες**
 Alt: Τις τελευταίες δεκαετίες της τις πέρασε στο Παρίσι, όπου σκόρπισε αφειδώς τα χρήματά της σε ευεργεσίες.
 Deletion 7_2: (relevance =13.38): **αφειδώς**
 Alt: Τις τελευταίες δεκαετίες της τις πέρασε στο Παρίσι, όπου σκόρπισε τα χρήματά της σε ευεργεσίες.

Figure 6 Reducing sentence length via paraphrase application and subtree deletion

7. Text summarization

Recent work on text summarization has mainly focused on producing extracts rather than abstracts, reflecting the difficulty in tackling complex NLP problems such as anaphora, polysemy, world knowledge, etc. Our summarizer provides extract-based, single document summaries. For each sentence a score, indicative of its salience, is calculated as a weighted sum of several summary-worthy features. The summarization process requires an input with terms and named entities recognized. Currently used features for each sentence include *sentence location*: sentences closer to the beginning of a document are favored; *sentence length*: sentences shorter than n (currently 5) content words are discarded; and *term and named entity occurrence*: inclusion and weight of terms and named entities in a sentence increases the sentence's importance. The scoring formula for all sentences with $length \geq n$ is the following:

$$Score(s) = w_L \log \frac{|D| - Sp + 1}{|D|} + \frac{w_T S_T + w_N S_N}{length(s)}$$

where $|D|$ is the total number of sentences in the document, S_p is the position of the sentence ($1 \dots |D|$), S_T is the sum of confidence scores for each term in the sentence, S_N is the sum of confidence scores for each named entity in the sentence and $length(s)$ is the number of content words in the sentence. The respective feature weights are $\{w_L, w_T, w_N\} = \{1, 4, 4\}$.

The final extract is built from top-scoring sentences selected in their original order in the text. The number of extracted sentences is determined by a compression factor currently set to 10% of the original text. The following figure displays a document with the top-selected extract sentence highlighted.

Ψήφο υπέρ μιας Ευρώπης που θα «μετρά» ως παγκόσμια δύναμη ζητά ο Σιράκ. Ο Σιράκ απέκλεισε το ενδεχόμενο να παραιτηθεί, εάν τελικά οι Γάλλοι καταψηφίσουν το Ευρωσύνταγμα. Το «όχι» στο δημοψήφισμα για το Ευρωσύνταγμα θα καθυστερήσει την ευρωπαϊκή ολοκλήρωση, προειδοποίησε τους Γάλλους πολίτες ο Ζακ Σιράκ, εγκαινιάζοντας δυναμικά την εκστρατεία υπέρ του «ναι» με τηλεοπτική του εμφάνιση. Ο Σιράκ κάλεσε τους συμπατριώτες του να ψηφίσουν «ναι» στο κρίσιμο δημοψήφισμα της 29ης Μαΐου, προκειμένου να συμβάλουν στην οικοδόμηση «μιας Ευρώπης, που θα 'μετρά' ως δύναμη στον κόσμο του αύριο». Ταυτόχρονα, απέκλεισε το ενδεχόμενο παραίτησής του, εάν τελικά ψηφίσουν «όχι» στο Ευρωσύνταγμα.

Figure 7 Top-selected sentence for an extract-based summary

8. Integrating and accessing the tools

Integrating the tools mentioned above into a robust and efficient pipeline capable of analyzing the enormous amounts of texts available online today is not a trivial task. To accomplish this goal, we have wrapped all tools as UIMA (<http://uima.apache.org/>) modules. UIMA is an open source framework for developing analyzers of unstructured data. The framework caters for separation of algorithmic design from input and output requirements and allows NLP engineers to predefine the annotation type system to use. The framework also uses the stand-off annotation practice, where automatic and manual annotations compatible to the type system are separated from primary data.

Our team has been actively involved in national and European projects aiming at automating the stages involved in the acquisition, production, updating and maintenance of language resources and tools. Given the large number of linguistic services and tools already developed by various organizations throughout Europe, the need for building interoperable infrastructures surpassing different underlying technologies becomes apparent. To this end, we have already made available most of the tools described above as web services that can be accessed and tested by linguists or other interested end-users from <http://nlp.ilsp.gr/ws/>. Since these services are standards-compliant, they can be combined with services provided by other teams and organizations in larger processing workflows.

9. Conclusions and future work

We presented a suite of robust processing tools for the analysis of Greek texts that can be used in research and application settings. The tools are developed and evaluated on the basis of several manually annotated resources. We plan to augment this battery of language resources and tools in the hope that this effort will provide valuable support to both theoretical linguists and language engineers. Our current research focuses on the development of tools for coreference resolution and spatiotemporal anchoring of events.

10. Acknowledgements

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F1 COARTICULATION PHENOMENA IN THE PRODUCTIONS OF GREEK SPEAKERS WITH HEARING IMPAIRMENT

Anna Sfakianaki
Aristotle University
of Thessaloniki, Greece
asfakian@enl.auth.gr

ABSTRACT

Τα φαινόμενα της συνάρθρωσης στην ομιλία των ατόμων με βαρηκοΐα/κώφωση παρουσιάζουν μεγάλο ενδιαφέρον. Ενώ το θέμα αυτό διερευνάται τα τελευταία χρόνια στην αγγλική γλώσσα, δεν υπάρχουν αντίστοιχες έρευνες στα ελληνικά. Η παρούσα εργασία εξετάζει τη θέση και τη διασπορά των τριών ακραίων φηνηέντων, καθώς και τη συναρθρωτική επιρροή από σύμφωνο σε φωνήεν και από φωνήεν σε φωνήεν, σε δισύλλαβες παραγωγές 14 Ελλήνων και Ελληνίδων, 9 με κώφωση (>91 dB HL), και 5 με φυσιολογική ακοή. Η συνάρθρωση μελετάται επί του πρώτου διαμορφωτή, ο οποίος έχει εξεταστεί πολύ λιγότερο από τον δεύτερο διαμορφωτή, παρ'ότι δίνει σημαντικές πληροφορίες για το ύψος της γλώσσας και τη θέση της κάτω γνάθου.

Λέξεις κλειδιά: βαρηκοΐα/κώφωση, ελληνικά, συνάρθρωση, ακουστική ανάλυση, πρώτος διαμορφωτής

1. Introduction

Speakers with prelingual hearing impairment (HI) face serious perceptual constraints. They have acquired speech without the assistance of auditory feedback which has an essential role in the development and continual tuning of the speech production mechanism (Lane et al., 2007). As a consequence, they demonstrate a variety of deficits in their speech, including vocalic and consonantal errors as well as differential coarticulatory patterns and deviant temporal and prosodic characteristics. They tend to produce less differentiated vowels, restricted in formant range, resulting in a reduced vowel space and longer segmental durations (Monsen, 1976a; Whitehead & Jones, 1976; McGarr & Osberger, 1982; Rubin, 1985; Robb & Pang-Ching, 1992; Okalidou, 1996; Ryalls et al., 2003; Nicolaidis & Sfakianaki, 2007; Ozbič & Kogovšek, 2010). Concerning consonantal production, obstruents formed in the middle of the mouth have been found more problematic than more anterior or posterior segments (Nober, 1967; Smith, 1975; Gold, 1978; Barzaghi & Madureira, 2005). The sibilants are among the most problematic articulations for speakers with HI (Markides, 1970; McGarr et al., 2004). EPG patterns of the fricative [s] and the palatals [c] and [X] were found more deviant than that of other consonants produced by Greek speakers with HI (Nicolaidis, 2004).

Many models and theories have been developed to account for the phenomenon of coarticulation in normal hearing (NH) speech. Within the theoretical framework of coproduction, Recasens, Pallarès, & Fontdevila (1997) proposed the Degree of Articulatory Constraint (DAC) Model of Coarticulation. Drawing from the notion of coarticulatory resistance (Öhman, 1966; Bladon & Al-Bamerni, 1976), the DAC model assigns different DAC values to vowels and consonants depending on the articulatory demands for their production. The basic premise of the model concerns the tongue dorsum; the higher the involvement of the tongue dorsum in the constriction formation, the more constrained the phoneme (Recasens, 1985). Constrained phonemes display a high degree of coarticulatory resistance and aggression towards adjacent phonemes. Thus, a highly constrained consonant is expected to exhibit significant consonant-to-vowel (C-to-V) effects, while inhibiting vowel-to-consonant (V-to-C) and vowel-to-vowel (V-to-V) effects.

Regarding HI speech, smaller coarticulatory effects and less consistent coarticulatory patterns than normal have been reported by many researchers (Monsen, 1976b; Rothman, 1976; Baum & Waldstein, 1991; Waldstein & Baum, 1991; Ryalls et al., 1993; Barzaghi & Madureira, 2005). Smaller V-to-C effects compared with other consonants have been displayed for the Greek alveolars [t] and [s]; they

are realized with considerable contact at the palatal region, as shown in an EPG study of Greek HI speech (Nicolaidis, 2007). Reduced V-to-V coarticulation across the bilabial [b] and increased V-to-V coarticulation across the alveolar [d] has been located acoustically along the F2 dimension for American deaf speakers (Okalidou & Harris, 1999). Reduced V-to-C coarticulation for the bilabial [b] and increased coarticulation for the alveolar [d] and the palatal [j] has been observed in F2 locus equations of American HI speech, although patterns were variable among speakers (McCaffrey Morrison, 2008).

To the best of our knowledge, C-to-V and V-to-V coarticulation in HI speech has not been studied systematically along the F1 dimension. Emphasis has been rendered on the F2 axis which mirrors front-back tongue movement. However, F1 coarticulation data can also prove informative as it relates to the degree of tongue and jaw height variation. The vertical dimension has generally been found less problematic, as it is both visually and auditorily more accessible to speakers with HI (Monsen, 1976b). Hence, the main aim of the present study is to examine selected acoustic characteristics of the three point vowels in /pVpV/ disyllables and coarticulation effects along the F1 dimension in /pV₁CV₂/ disyllables with consonants [p, t, s] and vowels [i, a, u] produced by Greek speakers with HI as compared to speakers with NH. In particular we will look at the following characteristics in HI vs. NH speech:

- Position in the acoustic space of point vowels [i, a, u] uttered in bilabial context.
- Anticipatory and carryover C-to-V effects at the temporal midpoint of vowels [i, a, u] along the F1 axis induced by the alveolar stop [t] and the alveolar fricative [s].
- F1 V-to-V effects at V₁ offset (anticipatory) and V₂ onset (carryover) across consonants [p, t, s].

2. Method

Fourteen native speakers of Greek took part in the experiment. The control (NH) group was composed of 5 adults, 2 male and 3 female, without previously reported hearing problems. They were aged 18-21 and were undergraduate students at the Aristotle University of Thessaloniki. The experimental group consisted of 9 adults with HI, 5 male and 4 female, 20-35 years old. The speakers with HI were selected so as to form a group as homogeneous as possible. Their hearing loss was of prelinguistic onset, sensorineural, bilateral, stable and profound, ranging from 91 to 105 dB HL (at 500, 1000 and 2000 Hz). They had been fitted with hearing aid(s) before the age of 4 and made continuous use of them. Most participants had been in speech therapy since the age of 4-8 for 7-12 years at least twice a week. They primarily used oral communication and had a mainstream educational background. Most of them were university students. Their speech intelligibility level ranged from 73% to 98%, as judged by 54 naïve listeners.

The corpus comprised 54 disyllables of the type /pV₁CV₂/ with vowels [i, a, u] and consonants [p, t, s] embedded in the phrase “*leØe _____ pali*” (Say __ again). Half the disyllables were stressed on the first and half on the second syllable, and each item was repeated 10 times. The 540 sentences were randomised and read from a list at a comfortable speaking rate. The speakers with HI were recorded in a soundproof room at the Association of Parents and Guardians of Deaf and Hard of Hearing Children of Central Macedonia, while the speakers with NH were recorded at the Phonetics Laboratory of the School of English, Aristotle University of Thessaloniki. A SHURE unidirectional dynamic microphone, Model BG3.1, attached to a YAMAHA external hard disk recording studio was used for the data acquisition. The data was sampled at 22,050 Hz.

The PRAAT program (Boersma & Weenink, 2011) was used for acoustic analysis. A script was written to provide automatic F1 and F2 frequency LPC measurements for each speaker, utilising a 15 ms Gaussian window at V₁ offset and V₂ onset for V-to-V effects, and a 25 ms Gaussian window at V₁ and V₂ temporal midpoint for vowel acoustic characteristics and C-to-V effects. The automatic measurements were also checked manually; errors were located and corrected. Formant measurements for the unstressed high back vowel [u] were in certain cases excluded due to low energy or extreme shortening/deletion of this vowel.

C-to-V coarticulatory effects were measured at the midpoint of V₁ (anticipatory) and V₂ (carryover) in the symmetrical disyllables /piCi/, /paCa/ and /puCu/. Consonantal effects induced by the two alveolars, [t] and [s], were analysed taking the bilabial context as a base for comparison, e.g., for /t-to-/a/ anticipatory effects, the F1 of the first [a] in /papa/ and the F1 of the first [a] in /pata/ were compared. V-to-V coarticulatory effects were measured at V₁ offset (anticipatory) and V₂ onset (carryover) using a symmetrical disyllable as a base, e.g., for /i-to-/a/ carryover effects over /t/, the F1 of the second [a] in disyllables /pata-/pita/ is measured. The symmetrical disyllable defines the “fixed

vowel” context, which, in this case is the “fixed [a]” context (Recasens & Pallarés, 2000). Univariate analyses of variance were run for variables F1 and F2 in SPSS (v. 17) and Tukey pairwise post-hoc tests were performed in Minitab (v. 15) so as to locate the contexts in which coarticulatory effects are statistically significant for each group.

3. Results

3.1 Vowel space

F1 and F2 formant frequency measurements at the temporal midpoint of the three point vowels [i, a, u] were made in symmetrical /pVpV/ disyllables. The interaction hearing*vowel was found statistically significant (F1: $F(2, 15036)=61.897$, $p<.0001$, F2: $F(2, 15045)=2650.994$, $p<.0001$). Post-hoc tests revealed that the F2 of [i] was significantly lower for the HI group and that of [u] was significantly higher compared with those of the corresponding NH high vowels. Thus, the high front vowel [i] seems to be more posteriorly articulated and the high back rounded vowel [u] significantly fronted in HI speech. In addition, the mean F1 value of the HI point vowels was overall relatively lower than that of the corresponding NH vowels, suggesting a somewhat less open vowel articulation by the speakers with HI. However, only HI [u] was found significantly higher than its NH counterpart (see Figure 1). These differences lead to a reduction of 36% on average in the vowel space as defined by HI point vowels compared with that of NH point vowels.

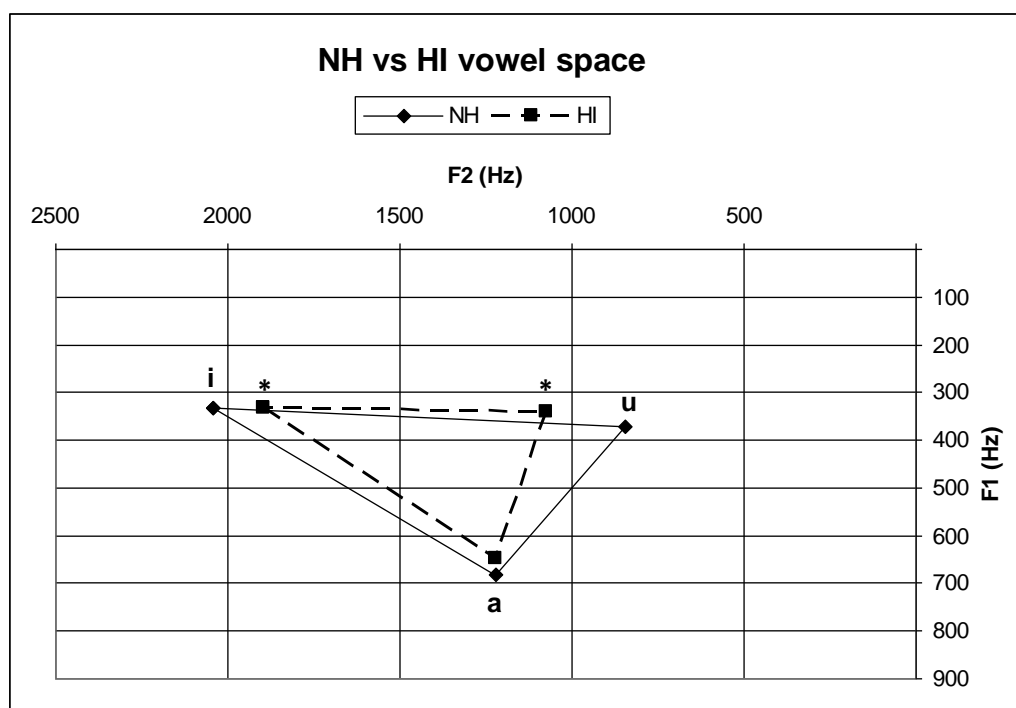


Figure 1 NH (solid line) and HI (dashed line) vowel space. The symbol [*] denotes statistically significant difference ($p<.05$) between the NH and HI group in both F1 and F2 for [u] and in F2 for [i].

3.2 Consonant-to-Vowel Coarticulation

F1 formant frequency was measured at V_1 and V_2 midpoint in the consonantal context of [p, t, s] in /pV₁CV₂/ disyllables. The F1 difference between the bilabial and the alveolar contexts ($\Delta F1$) for the NH and HI group is shown in Figure 2. The hearing, vowel and consonant factors were all found statistically significant as well as their interactions (hearing: $F(1, 15036)=463.755$, $p<.0001$, vowel: $F(2, 15036)=67791.626$, $p<.0001$, consonant: $F(2, 15036)=96.190$, $p<.0001$). Both groups present more coarticulation on the low vowel [a] than on the two high vowels [i] and [u], with effects reaching statistical significance only in HI /pasa/ vs. /papa/ disyllables in both directions. Hence F1 coarticulatory effects are overall more prominent for the HI group. It is therefore noteworthy that, in HI

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coarticulation, the fricative causes F1 lowering in all three vocalic contexts which is especially pronounced in the fixed [a] context (see bars with red stripes in Figure 2).

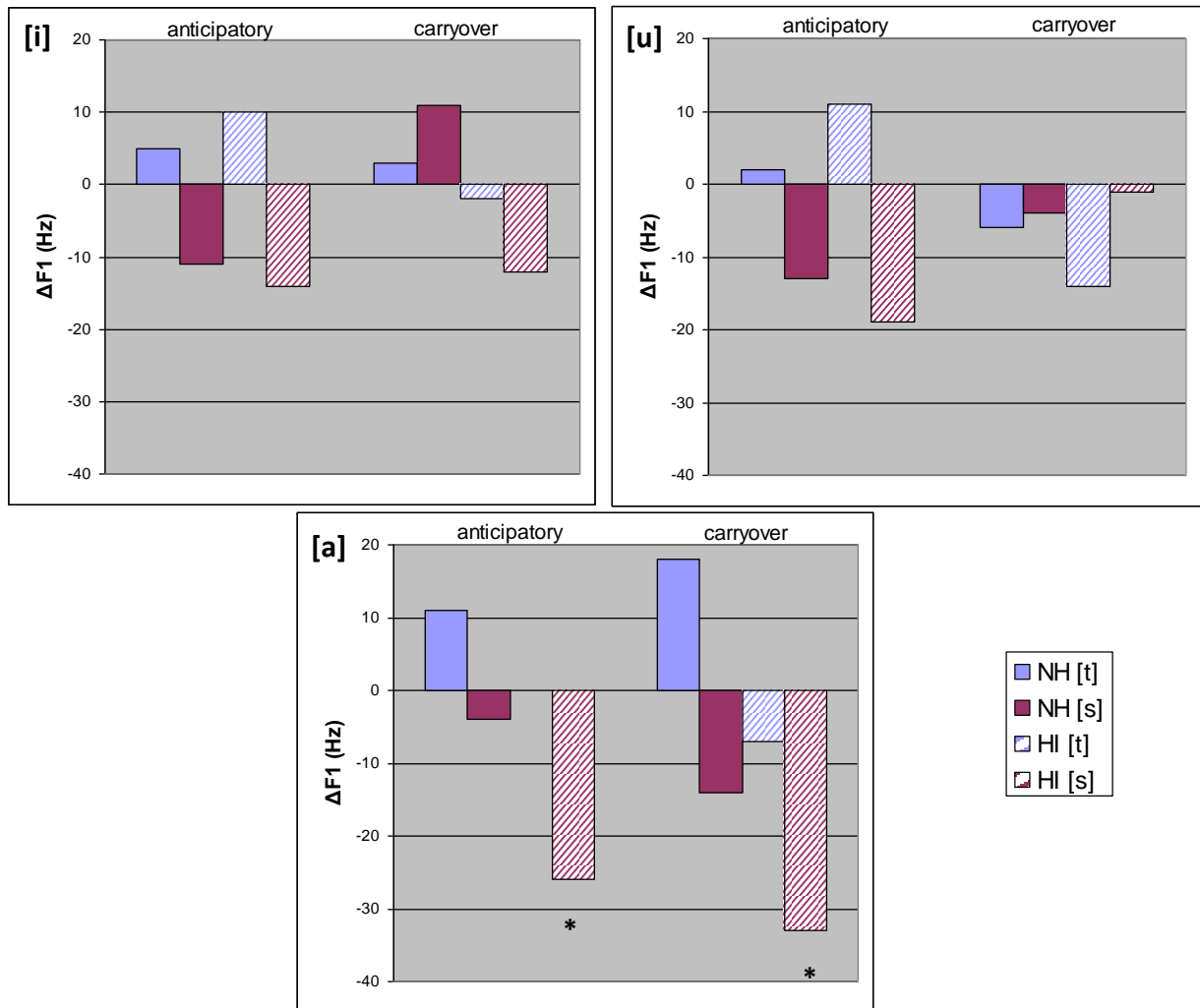
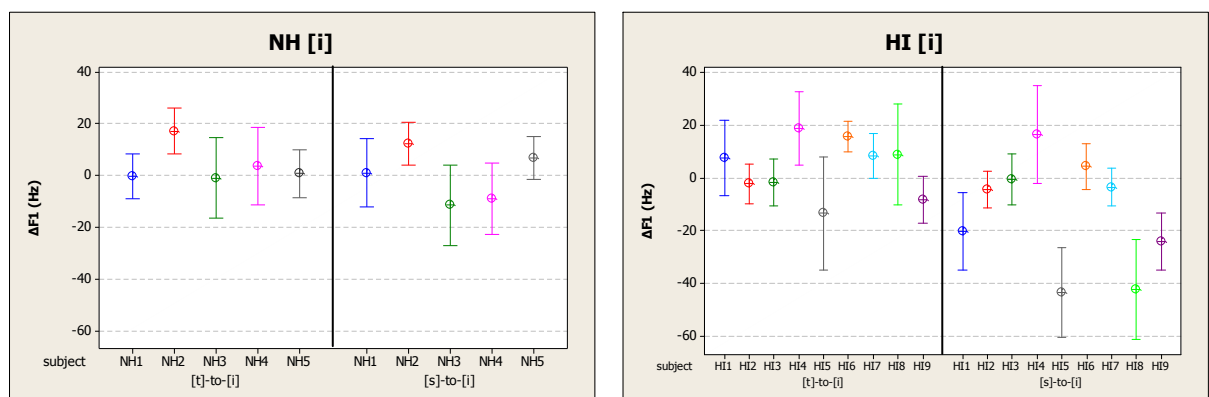


Figure 2 Anticipatory and carryover C-to-V effects from [t] and [s] on the F1 of vowels [i, a, u] produced by the NH and the HI group. The asterisk [*] indicates statistically significant difference from the bilabial context (p<.05)

Variation in F1 C-to-V coarticulation for each speaker based on standard deviation values is illustrated in Figure 3 below. Speakers with HI seem to be more variable overall than speakers with NH. Among speakers with HI, subjects HI1, 4, 5 and 8 display the highest value dispersion.



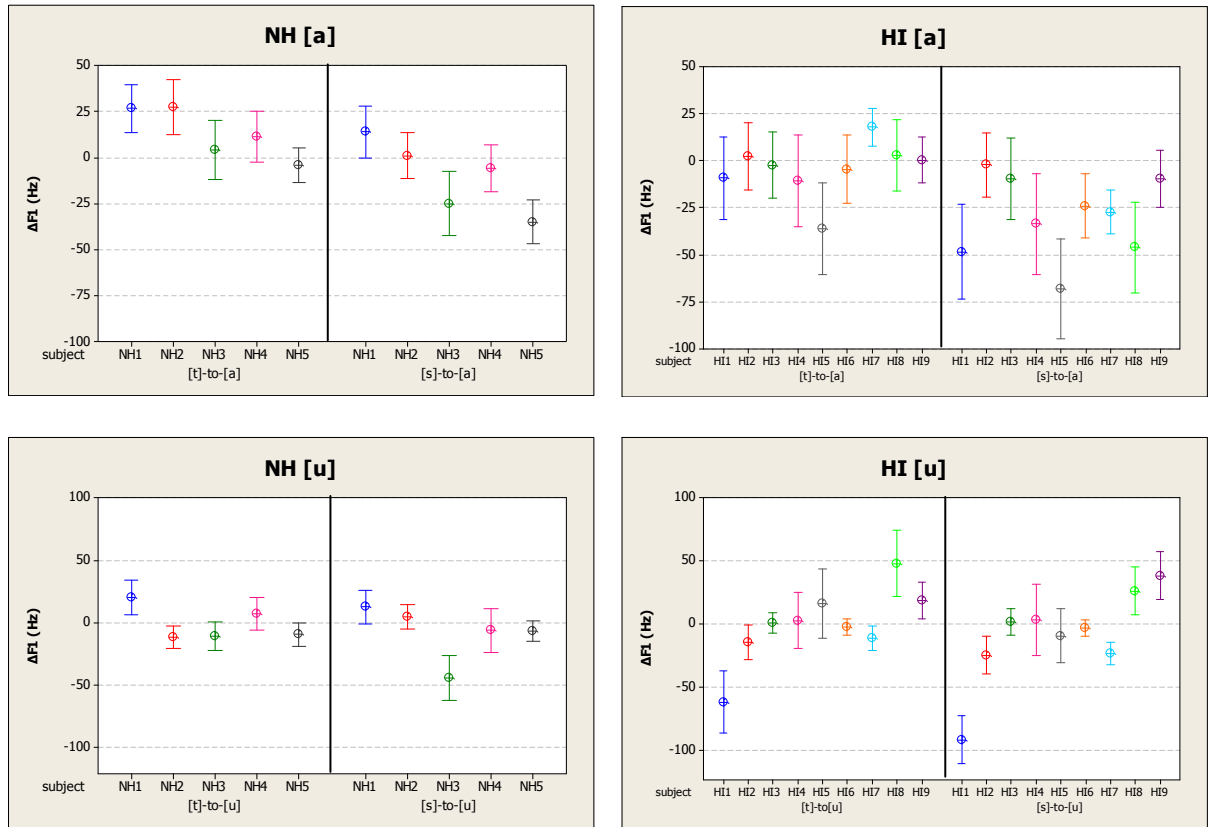


Figure 3 Individual variation of C-to-V coarticulation along the F1 axis displayed by the five speakers with NH (left panels) and the nine speakers with HI (right panels)

3.3 Vowel-to-Vowel Coarticulation

As described in section 2 (Method), V-to-V effects were measured at V_1 offset (anticipatory) and V_2 onset (carryover). The mean F1 difference ($\Delta F1$) in Hz resulting from the subtraction between F1 of the vowel in the symmetrical syllable and F1 of the corresponding vowel in the asymmetrical disyllable is provided separately for the NH and HI group in Table 1. Overall, we note that absolute $\Delta F1$ magnitude is larger for the NH group, especially in high fixed vowel contexts. In the fixed low vowel [a] context, both groups show substantial V-to-V influence over all three consonants, with the HI group surpassing the NH group in absolute influence magnitude in certain cases (i.e., /papa-/papi/, /pata-/pati/, /papa-/papu/, /pata-/patu/). In the two fixed high vowel contexts, effects are overall minimal for both groups, except for the NH group across the bilabial consonant. Coarticulatory variability for the two high vowels seems to be comparable between the two groups, whereas V-to-V effects on the low vowel [a] were found somewhat more variable for the HI group.

direction	fixed [i]	$\Delta F1$ (StDev)		fixed [a]	$\Delta F1$ (StDev)		fixed [u]	$\Delta F1$ (StDev)	
		NH	HI		NH	HI		NH	HI
	[a] on fixed [i]			[i] on fixed [a]			[a] on fixed [u]		
anticipatory	pipa-pipi	13 (41)	10 (51)	papa-papi	4 (58)	16 (85)	pupa-pupu	*60 (88)	21 (56)
	pita-piti	17 (48)	-5 (49)	pata-pati	34 (58)	*46 (80)	puta-putu	0 (60)	6 (60)
	pisa-pisi	-3 (37)	-1 (38)	pasa-pasi	42 (117)	23 (83)	pusa-pusu	9 (50)	1 (44)
carryover	papi-pipi	*56 (43)	7 (50)	papa-pipa	*52 (57)	*33 (66)	papu-pupu	*65 (71)	22 (64)
	pati-piti	25 (43)	6 (48)	pata-pita	*48 (55)	22 (60)	patu-putu	33 (50)	-1 (41)
	pasi-pisi	36 (94)	8 (39)	pasa-pisa	*50 (64)	*39 (69)	pasu-pusu	19 (49)	7 (43)
	[u] on fixed [i]			[u] on fixed [a]			[i] on fixed [u]		
anticipatory	pipu-pipi	8 (40)	3 (48)	papa-papu	49 (73)	*55 (92)	pupi-pupu	*73 (98)	8 (54)
	pitu-piti	5 (44)	-6 (45)	pata-patu	*54 (64)	*71 (93)	puti-putu	-13 (48)	-3 (62)
	pisu-pisi	-3 (45)	-7 (41)	pasa-pasu	*78 (113)	*18 (168)	pusi-pusu	-10 (46)	-3 (41)

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carryover	pupi-pipi	25 (35)	6 (41)	papa-pupa	*92 (61)	*49 (72)	pipu-pupu	*50 (65)	14 (58)
	puti-piti	0 (42)	3 (42)	pata-puta	*62 (58)	*32 (59)	pitu-putu	-2 (51)	-12 (39)
	pusi-pisi	-5 (36)	0 (37)	pasa-pusa	*70 (69)	*53 (68)	pisu-pusu	-3 (49)	-4 (41)

Table 1 V-to-V anticipatory and carryover influence over consonants [p, t, s] on the first formant F1 of the fixed vowels [i, a, u] produced by the NH and the HI group expressed in Hz (mean and StDev values). The asterisk [*] denotes within-group statistical significance ($p < .05$)

4. Discussion

The present study examined selected acoustic characteristics and coarticulation phenomena along the F1 axis in disyllables produced by Greek speakers with hearing impairment (HI) and normal hearing (NH). Regarding the position of the three point vowels [i, a, u] in the acoustic space, HI high vowels [i] and [u] were found to deviate more than the low vowel [a] from normal, as [i] was realized more posteriorly and [u] was fronted and raised in HI speech. Although variable findings concerning vowel errors are reported in the literature, our results agree with studies documenting [u]-fronting (McGarr & Gelfer, 1983) and relatively better low vs. high vowel production in HI speech (Smith, 1975; Geffner, 1975; Gold, 1980). A 36% vowel space reduction was noted mostly due to an F2 range restriction in agreement with previous research (on English: Monsen, 1976b; Rothman, 1976; McCaffrey & Sussman, 1994; on Greek: Nicolaidis & Sfakianaki, 2007).

As far as C-to-V coarticulation is concerned, effects were of small magnitude in NH speech. Similarly, consonantal context does not cause significant variation in the height of NH vowels according to physiological studies on Italian (Farnetani & Faber, 1992) and on English and Swedish (Keating et al., 1994). As expected, the low vowel [a] seems to receive more consonantal influence than the two high vowels, in line with Recasens et al. (1997), since the articulatory distance between the low [a] and the alveolar consonants is greater. This is observed for both the NH and the HI group, although the latter seems to show more pronounced vocalic raising than normal in the environment of the fricative [s]. As mentioned in section 1 (Introduction), more tongue dorsum involvement and palatal contact have been observed via EPG during the production of this consonant by Greek speakers with HI (Nicolaidis, 2004). Consequently, the more sizeable influence observed in our F1 data in the [s] context may reflect a higher jaw or tongue position than normal during HI /pVsV/ sequences. Regarding individual variation, in most cases HI coarticulation displayed higher variability than normal, in agreement with Okalidou (2002) who also found reduced coarticulatory stability than normal for American speakers with HI. Since speakers with HI had been selected carefully so as to have similar clinical profiles, individual differences in coarticulatory magnitude cannot be easily attributed to specific audiological or educational characteristics. We note, however, that the four speakers with HI, displaying the higher coarticulatory variability, also show the most vocalic raising effects. Hence assuming a higher tongue/jaw position than normal during /VtV/ or /VsV/ production could often concur with increased coarticulatory instability.

Regarding V-to-V coarticulation, effects in the fixed high vowel contexts are minimal for the HI group suggesting a more constrained production of [i] and [u] than normal. Effects on the NH high vowels are larger in comparison but reach substantial magnitude only across the bilabial. This outcome is in line with the DAC model (Recasens et al., 1997) which predicts more V-to-V coarticulatory influence across unconstrained consonants, such as [p]. Additionally, for both groups, the low vowel [a] exhibits less coarticulatory resistance compared with the high vowels, in agreement with the DAC model that claims more coarticulatory sensitivity for vowels that involve less tongue dorsum raising (Recasens et al., 1997). More coarticulatory variability in height for the Greek [a] vs. [i] in NH speech has also been documented with EPG (Nicolaidis, 1997), while similar findings have been reported on other languages as well (e.g., Gay, 1974; Keating et al., 1994; Mok, 2011). It is noteworthy that substantial effects on fixed [a] seem to span the two alveolars and especially the fricative, contrary to the predictions of the DAC model, but in line with previous EPG findings on Greek NH speech (Nicolaidis, 1997). A possible explanation is that [s] displays increased variability in Greek NH speech due to the absence of contrastive fricatives in the alveolar region, thus allowing for more coarticulatory effects. V-to-V effects spanning the fricative are not as prominent in HI speech especially anticipatorily, consistent with the hypothesis that the HI fricative has a more constrained production than normal. However, anticipatory V-to-V effects seem to be relatively favoured across the alveolar stop [t] for the HI group which could denote a lower jaw/tongue position during its production compared with that of the fricative, as also supported by our C-to-V coarticulation results.

As regards coarticulatory directionality, the carryover component is relatively more prominent in NH coarticulation. The prominence of carryover vocalic effects across bilabials in NH speech has also been noted by research on other languages and is associated with the slow articulation of the massive jaw (Sussman et al., 1973; Magen, 1997; Recasens & Pallarès, 2000). HI effects follow a more variable directionality pattern depending on consonantal context. Concentrating on V-to-V coarticulation on [a], since effects on the high vowels are minimal, we note that the fricative appears to favour the carryover component, while the alveolar stop displays a slightly stronger preference towards the anticipatory direction. Less consistent prominence of the carryover level in vocalic effects may suggest differential coarticulatory patterning in HI coarticulation. Further statistical treatment of the data may reveal significant differences between NH and HI coarticulation.

5. Conclusions

According to the results of the current study, HI point vowels, and especially the high vowels [i] and [u], display a more restricted F2 and, secondarily, F1 range in comparison with NH vowels. Looking into coarticulatory effects, the fricative [s] was found to induce more vocalic raising than normal probably due to its more constrained manner of production in HI speech. Moreover, the examination of V-to-V effects along the F1 dimension showed that HI high vowels are more constrained in height than normal. Effects on the low vowel [a] are substantial for both hearing groups, although HI effects do not show consistent preference towards the carryover component as occurring in NH coarticulation.

Although the F1 frequency has been regarded as less problematic than the F2 frequency due to its visual and auditory accessibility to speakers with HI, the present data suggest that F1 coarticulation in Greek HI speech shows certain differences from that observed in NH speech. Further analysis of the current data and parallel investigation of coarticulatory effects in the F2 axis may shed more light on the differences between NH and HI coarticulatory patterns, broadening our knowledge on tongue-jaw coordination and interarticulatory organization of speakers with profound hearing loss with data from the Greek language.

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DUBBING ‘HERCULES’

Charalambia Siristatidou

Δημοκρίτειο Πανεπιστήμιο Θράκης

charasyris@gmail.com

ABSTRACT

This present paper presents a descriptive analysis of the humorous extracts from a children’s DVD movie called ‘Hercules’, a dubbed version of the well-known Greek hero and his labors. The analysis will be based on how successfully humour can be transferred from the source language (English) to the target language (Greek) in terms of cultural references. There will be a taxonomy of the humorous elements as well as culture-specific references in this child-targeted DVD movie based in the classification of jokes of Patrick Zabalbeascoa (1996: 2:2). Drawing on the findings of this pilot study consisting of only one dubbed DVD children’s movie, this paper is aimed to represent the strategies applied when translating cultural and humour specifics.

Keywords: English-Greek, humour, audiovisual translation, dubbing, intercultural communication, culture-specific references

1. Objectives

The objectives of this study are:

- firstly, to represent how humour is translated into the target language with respect to cultural references, translation idioms and equivalence.
- Second, to identify how humour elements could be classified according to Zabalbeascoa’s classification of jokes and whether new types of humour can emerge.
- Third, to list all the humour types, a useful tool for a future research to investigate to what extent they appear/or differentiate from other types of humour found in relevant DVD dubbed movies of Hercules.

1.1 Corpus

For this pilot study, I selected the dubbed movie of ‘Hercules’. The choice of the DVD was determined by the following factors : a) it is very popular b) it includes many humorous elements mostly culture-targeted and language-targeted (the use of slang language is extensive) and c) Hercules is a hero in mythology, known worldwide for his labours. Thus, it would be interesting to describe the humour elements that are presented in English, an international language and how successfully they are transferred into the Greek language through dubbing.

1.2 National –sense of humour joke

In this category, Zabalbeascoa (1996, 2:2) reports that by ‘National-sense-of humour joke I mean that certain joke-types and joke-themes are apparently more popular in some countries or communities than in others and constitute a kind of tradition or intertextual frame of understanding. For example, some communities like to make fun of themselves whereas some others do not and prefer to laugh at somebody else’s expense.’ In the example below, the latter takes place. It would be very interesting to analyse the reasons behind the translator’s choice to use this national joke in a children’s movie.

- Situation: Some young men are playing a game and don’t want Hercules to join them. Thus, they call him ‘geek’.

What a geek!

Translation: Αμερικανάκι

In this example, the word 'Αμερικανάκι' has a negative implication and could be considered a very offensive characterisation for the American culture and nationality. It is inappropriate and considered even to be a well hidden anti-American propaganda as this child-targeted movie will be shown to Greek audience (children above 5 years old and adults as well) who subconsciously will adopt anti-American feelings and in the worst scenario will repeat this expression, which is perceived as a mockery. An alternative translation could be a literal translation, as there is an equivalent that could be used in this case: Τι σπασικλάκι!

1.3 National Cultural-sense-of-humour

With national cultural-sense-of-humour elements, there is a need to find references of the original ones in the national culture of the target languages, in order to retain the humorous effects for the target audience.

- Situation: Panic and Pain, the two assistants of Hades in the underworld are trying to deny that Hercules is still alive.

Every boy was named Jason and the girls were all named Brittany

Translation: όλα τα αγόρια τα βαφτίζανε Παντελή και όλα τα κορίτσια Αγλαΐτσα

The equivalence priority of the translator here was first to produce a comic effect and second to find the most common names in Greek children's literature in order to elicit laughter from children.

1.4 Language-dependent joke

A language-dependent joke is basically a joke that is related to the linguistic functions of the language. In this category, the translator has succeeded in transferring the humorous elements, because Greek and English are closely related in terms of literal meaning.

- Situation: Throughout the whole movie, there are many cases that names are laughter-eliciting.

Jercules - Hunkules

Translation: Χαζοκλή – Τεκνοκλή

1.5 International Joke

The international joke is a humorous word or phrase independent of cultural or linguistic restrictions. There are no language and culture boundaries imposed by any culture. It has to do mostly with the scenario itself and the characters of the movie. Here is an indicative example of an international joke:

- Situation: Zeus is talking to Hades after a long time.

You ought to slow down. You'll work yourself to death.

Translation: Κάνε λίγο κράτει. Δουλεύεις μέχρι θανάτου. (Θα ψοφήσεις στη δουλειά)

2. General Remarks on the analysis of humour in a dubbed movie

We notice that some English words **are not translated**, as the translator considers that they will be understood by the Greek audience, including children. These are some examples: *time out*, *excellent*, *game*, *set*, *match*, *halt*.

It is worth mentioning that in this children's movie **the language is rather colloquial and slang**. Overall, this is happening probably in order to be more easily comprehensible and laughter –eliciting for the audience of children. There are a lot of instances where the names in the source language are very funny for children, such as Mr.High and Mighty being translated as Ο κος Σιγά τ'Αυγά. The translator could find easily the equivalents and there was no humorous effect lost. Some indicative examples are: *Step aside* (κάνε στη μπάντα), *hold it!* (για μισό..), *dude* (φίλε), *now we did it* (όχι, τη βάψαμε), *butt out, buddy!* (σπάσε, μεγάλε).

Unfortunately, in the dubbing process, it is expected that some of the humorous effect will be lost after all. Although in the below example the translator could find equivalence, he/she did not prefer to use this strategy but opted for another one.

- Situation: People of Thebes are complaining to Philoctetes about the power of Hercules due to his failure to protect them from future disasters.

Young man, we need a professional hero, not an amateur.

Translation: Χρειαζόμαστε έναν πραγματικό ήρωα, όχι κάποιον να κάνει το αγροτικό του.

This example is rather an unsuccessful one. Taking into account that the target audience would be children, we should not expect a child to understand the figurative meaning of the word ‘αγροτικό’. A child should not be expected to know that a graduate of medicine in order to complete his/her degree of medicine must spend a training period of one year as a village doctor. So, the children will be rather confused as they will relate Hercules labours to farm work. The joke is lost because the knowledge required to appreciate it should not be possibly expected from the audience. I would therefore suggest the following alternative, which is a word-by word translation.

Translation: Χρειαζόμαστε έναν επαγγελματία ήρωα, όχι κάποιον που είναι ερασιτέχνης.

3. Future Perspectives

It is important to bear in mind that the process of dubbing a DVD is a demanding one, especially when it has to deal with children’s movies.

As I mentioned in the introduction, the findings of this pilot study need further analysis as well as comparison to future studies of other dubbed DVDs concerning the transfer of humour and cultural references.

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INVESTIGATING LEARNERS' ATTITUDES TOWARDS GREEK AS A SECOND LANGUAGE IN AN INTERCULTURAL SCHOOL

Areti-Maria Sougari

Aristotle University of
Thessaloniki, Greece

asougari@enl.auth.gr

Konstantina Iliopoulou

Aristotle University of
Thessaloniki, Greece

k.iliopoulou@live.com

ABSTRACT

The aim of this paper is to present the findings of a study regarding the students' attitudes to learn Greek as a second language within the framework of Greek intercultural education. It further seeks to explore the relationship of this psychological construct with their level in the Greek language. The findings indicate that to a great extent the students who exhibited integrative and instrumental orientations were the ones of an advanced proficiency level. The paper concludes with pedagogical and teaching recommendations based on the findings and suggestions for further research.

Keywords: attitudes, L2 community, Greek as a second language, intercultural education

1. Introduction

Attitudes are the cornerstone in determining our view of the world. In addition, they are responsible for the shaping of our perception of the world and the response to the various entities around us (Oppenheim, 1998). Due to the key role that attitudes play in our society and lives, it is apparent that the study of attitudes has a long history.

The original impetus for the study of attitudes and motivation can be traced in the grounds of social psychology and namely in the pioneering work of Gardner and Lambert (1972), which paved the way for empirical research into L2 motivational research. Gardner (1985: 6) asserts that "students' attitudes towards the specific language group are bound to influence how successful they will be in incorporating aspects of that language". Thus, favourable affective disposition toward the target linguistic group offers opportunities for greater successful learning outcomes. Research carried out in this field has brought to light findings that corroborate Gardner's position, suggesting that there is a link between proficiency and the attitudes held toward the second language and the L2 community (Gardner, 1985). In particular, Gardner and Lambert (1972) conducted a series of studies which delved into learners' attitude toward the French speaking culture and the possible impact on the learners' motivation to learn the target culture and student achievement. What is prevalent in Gardner and Lambert's (1972) contribution to the study of second language motivation is the distinction between two types of orientation: integrative and instrumental. The former refers to an individual's desire to identify with the members of the speech community, to interact with them and to understand them, whereas the latter denotes the individual's desire to learn the language in order to improve his/her professional status, to pursue studies in that country, or to serve a certain utilitarian purpose. In his socio-educational model, Gardner (1985) identifies that motivation comprises three elements: effort, want and affect, while acknowledging the existence of certain other constituents: 1) the social milieu, (2) individual differences, (3) second language acquisition contexts and (4) outcomes.

The socio-educational model, however, has seen its share of criticism (Dörnyei, 1994, 2001a, 2001b, 2005; Oxford and Shearin, 1994). One of the points raised concerns that the distinction between integrative and instrumental orientation is specific to bilingual settings. Researchers have stressed the need to delve into contexts where English is taught as a foreign language. Results from studies carried out in EFL contexts have suggested that learners show instrumental orientation due to the limited contact with the native speakers or the target culture (Dörnyei, 1990, Oxford and Shearin, 1994, Warden and Lin, 2000). Thus, the impact of the context on L2 learning attitudes and motivation has been greatly stressed in the literature.

Various aspects have attracted researchers' attention by pointing directly to the relationship between second language learners' attitudes towards language learning and achievement behaviour (Ames & Ames, 1984; Csizér and Dörnyei, 2005; Dörnyei, 2000, 2001a, 2005; Guilloteaux, 2007; Lanara, 1999; Zimmerman and Schunk, 2001), parental influence and support (Gardner, 1985; Kormos, Kiddle and Csizér, 2011) and the age of learners (Muñoz and Tragant, 2001; Nikolov, 1999; Sougari and Iliopoulou, 2011).

Previous research has highlighted the basic constituents of attitudes towards L2 learning. Even though the findings (Wenden 2001; Hurd 1998; Cotterall 1995) that stress the correlation between attitudes and learning outcomes abound, there is still no sufficient information regarding how learners of different proficiency levels respond to the target linguistic-cultural group within the second language context. Thus, this study aims to contribute to the on-going research in the field of attitudes and motivation to learn Greek as a second language in a truly intercultural setting where Greek is both the subject taught and the medium of instruction in all subjects within the school curriculum of an intercultural lower secondary school.

1.1 Intercultural education in the Greek education setting

During the last three decades, Greece has experienced an immigration flow that has significantly changed the characteristics of the population; most changes are apparent on the social, economic, racial, ethnic, educational and religious level. The impact on the educational level cannot be underestimated as this particular sector has been called to respond to the great diversity present in the classroom. Thus, in light of the fairly recent situation, the Greek education system has experienced various changes in order to respond to the demands of society (Triandafyllidou and Gropas, 2007).

In the early days (1990s), reception classes (made up mainly by repatriates and their descendants and other foreign nationals) were arranged with a view to addressing the various educational, cultural and linguistic needs of newcomers. In the mid 1990s, a comprehensive legislative framework was put forward and the foundations for intercultural education were set (Law 2416/65). Since then, 26 intercultural schools have been established as a special category of schools; in these schools, reception classes for students who have little or no prior knowledge of Greek are also hosted. Even though there is no curriculum developed to specifically address and respond to the needs and knowledge of this student population, intercultural schools rather follow the mainstream curriculum of regular ones; in these schools, the teachers are asked to cater for the individual needs of the students.

2. Research methodology

2.1 Aim of the study and research questions

This study reports on the findings based on a questionnaire survey that investigated lower secondary students' attitudes studying Greek as a second language in an intercultural education setting. The results of a previous study (Sougari and Iliopoulou, 2011), which investigated the same student population, focused on delineating the students' motives on learning Greek as a second language. The conclusion drawn from that study highlighted that the students were not integratively- but rather instrumentally-motivated. Thus, it was considered important to investigate further these students' attitudes in order to examine the impact that the proficiency level has on their orientation. With a view at unraveling the attitudes that these students espouse so as to design a course that is tailored made to their needs, certain questions need to be addressed:

1. What is the impact of the students' level in Greek on their attitudes toward the Greek language?
2. Is there a relationship between proficiency level and the type of attitude held by second language learners within the framework of intercultural education?

2.1.1 Participants

To gain a better understanding of second language learners' attitudes toward the Greek language and the Greek situational context, the study focused on whether there is a relationship between the students' proficiency level, while following the practices of an intercultural lower secondary school and their attitudes towards the language in general. As regards the participants, 99 students took part in this study, while being equally distributed in the three grades of the lower secondary school, that is, 1st

grade: N=33, 2nd grade: N=33 and 3rd grade: N= 33. The study was conducted toward the end of the school year so as to ensure that all learners had adequate experience with the Greek language and the Greek style of living. Upon enrolment in the school, the students sit for the National Certificate in Greek (even though there is no official approval regarding this procedure) and subsequently are placed to the appropriate group according to their placement (i.e. beginner, intermediate and advanced). Thus, based on the students' differentiation in terms of their proficiency level, we can discern the following pattern: 1st grade: Beginners – 35%, Intermediate – 30% and Advanced – 35%; 2nd grade: Beginners – 26% and Advanced – 74%; and 3rd grade: Beginners - 29% and Advanced – 71%). With particular reference to the country of origin, the sample reflects great diversity: the majority of the students come from Albania and Georgia, being 23% and 22% respectively, whereas to a lesser extent they originate from countries such as Afghanistan (17%), Russia (9%), China (8%), Skopje (6%), Mauritania (4%), New Guinea (2%) and various other countries (9%). The sample consisted of 67% male and 33% female students; the higher presence of male students reflects the higher migration rate of males, while their families remain in their country of origin. In addition, the participants' age ranges from 13 to 18. Prior schooling received is a parameter that is acknowledged upon allocation and that is why older students such as Afghani have been allocated to the lower secondary school due to their enrolment up to the primary sector in their country of origin.

2.1.2 Data collection instrument and data analysis

Second language learners' attitudes toward the Greek language and the Greek cultures were captured with the help of an adapted version of the questionnaire proposed by Dornyei, Csizer and Nemeth (2006), which originally aimed at investigating second language learners' attitudes towards various target linguistic groups. The questionnaire was pilot tested and various changes were implemented in order to make it appropriate for the given situational context, bearing in mind the need to render the questionnaire accessible to the learners of all proficiency levels. Thus, particular attention was paid to the wording of each statement. In the case of beginners, the same questionnaire was administered in an English version so as to cater for those learners who could be regarded as low proficiency learners in Greek but had good prior knowledge in English. The questionnaire was administered to the students in class so as one of the researchers to be available for further clarification.

With specific reference to the various items of the questionnaire, it should be mentioned that the questionnaire is divided into three parts: part A elicits the bio data of the participants which allowed for the sketching of the learners' profile, namely: age, gender, country of origin, mother tongue, parents' knowledge of Greek, years of residence in Greece, knowledge of other languages, etc.; part B delves into the problems learners encounter when learning Greek and how they cope with them; and part C examines learners' attitudes towards the Greek language, the Greek culture, the language community, their disposition to seek employment in Greece and their desire to use Greek in their communication exchanges. The statements in Part C are replied in the form of a 5-point rating scale where 1 stands for strongly disagree, 2 for disagree, 3 for neither agree nor disagree, 4 for agree and 5 for strongly agree.

As regards the statistical analysis, the data underwent processing while adopting the Kruskal Wallis test, the non-parametric test, which is performed on ranked data by reflecting the relative strength of the variability in the ranks among the three possible conditions (i.e. beginners, intermediate and advanced). In the case where two independent samples (i.e. beginners and advanced) were present, the Mann Whitney U test was applied in order to determine if a difference exists between the two groups. The significance level was set at <.05.

3. Results

The present study focuses on students' attitudes that learn Greek as a second language by seeking whether there is association between their attitudes towards the Greek language and the Greek target-linguistic group and their overall proficiency in Greek. The results are looked upon with a view of delineating two sets of attitudes: namely, the integrative and instrumental orientation based on Gardner and Lambert's distinction (1972).

3.1 In search of students' integrative orientation

In the literature, integrative orientation has been regarded as the most crucial factor in motivating an individual to strive towards successful learning outcomes. To what extent is the learners' level of proficiency in alliance with their desire to identify with the target group and their appreciation of the various cultural activities? Thus, this study attempts to uncover second language learners' attitude toward their desire to assimilate in the host country and disposition towards the Greek language and the Greek cultural artifacts.

Statement 1: I would like to live in Greece

In reply to this statement, those students attending the first grade in the lower secondary intercultural school showed quite different ratings of their future plans as regards their desire to reside in Greece. There was no agreement among the three proficiency levels and that is why a significant difference emerged. It also becomes apparent that the beginners gave a higher mean ranking than the other two groups. In the case of the 3rd graders, it can also be deduced that the mean ranks that beginners reported are much higher than those of the advanced group, thus indicating a significant result (see Table 1).

	Attitude	Level ¹	1 st grade K W ²			2 nd grade MW U ³ test			3 rd grade M W U test		
			MR ⁴	M ⁵	<i>p</i>	MR	M	<i>p</i>	MR	M	<i>p</i>
1	I would like to live in Greece	B I A	22.08 21.44 8.58	4.83 4.78 3.33	.000	16.88 17.04	4.00 3.84	n.s.	22.00 13.75	5.00 4.40	.003
2	I like Greeks	B I A	16.00 29.00 9.00	2.17 4.89 1.17	.000	12.06 18.58	2.62 3.44	n.s.	9.81 21.68	1.77 3.05	.000
	I would like to identify with Greeks	B I A	13.67 28.67 11.58	1.58 4.78 1.50	.000	24.38 14.64	3.75 2.16	.010	12.81 19.72	1.46 2.55	.034
4	I like the Greek language	B I A	9.17 25.33 18.58	1.42 3.89 2.42	.000	8.88 19.78	2.38 3.92	.004	11.00 20.90	1.54 3.15	.003
5	I like the Greek culture	B I A	13.79 25.72 14.08	1.58 2.89 1.67	.004	8.31 19.78	1.38 3.32	.003	13.50 19.28	1.77 2.65	n.s.
6	I like Greek films	B I A	13.38 25.72 14.08	3.00 4.56 3.08	.003	8.50 19.72	1.88 3.72	.003	13.15 19.50	3.08 3.65	.046
7	I like Greek music	B I A	11.50 25.83 15.88	2.92 4.56 3.33	.001	9.69 19.34	2.62 3.76	.012	14.08 18.90	3.08 3.85	n.s.

Table 1 Learners' integrative orientation

¹ B: beginners, I: intermediate, A: advanced, ² K W: Kruskal Wallis,

³ M W U test: Mann Whitney U test, ⁴ MR: mean rank, ⁵ M: mean

Statement 2: I like Greeks

The respondents' reaction to this statement revealed that first graders across the various levels showed very distinct attitudes towards their positive orientation towards Greeks, thus, reflecting completely disparate views. It appears that intermediate students ranked this much higher in their priorities than the other two groups. Support for this statement is evident in 3rd graders' responses, while advanced learners tended to give a higher mean ranking than their beginner counterparts (see Table 1).

Statement 3: I would like to identify with Greeks

In Table 1, significant findings highlight students' attitudes towards their desire to identify with Greeks. Bearing in mind the age of the respondents and the fact that their contact with the people in the host country was not made available until their adolescence, the respondents' reaction to this statement brings to light quite contradictory results, rendering the deduction of specific conclusions quite impossible. First graders showed significant differences in their mean rankings, with intermediate

students giving higher mean ranking in their priorities against the rest of their classmates. In the case of second graders, beginners gave a higher mean ranking than the advanced group, whereas in the case of third graders, the advanced learners appeared to give a higher mean ranking than their beginner counterparts.

Statement 4: I like the Greek language

A look at Table 1 makes quite apparent that the students belonging to the various proficiency levels of each grade showed quite different attitudes as encapsulated in their responses. Significant differences emerged in all cases indicating that more advanced students reported a higher mean ranking of their attitude toward the Greek language. Only in the case of the first graders did the intermediate group offer a higher mean ranking than the other two groups.

Statement 5: I like the Greek culture

In the case of the three proficiency levels in Grade 1, the intermediate group exhibited a higher mean ranking than the other two groups in response to the statement: 'I like the Greek culture'. More favourable attitudes emerge on the part of the advanced group of Grade 2 who differentiated from their beginner counterparts. As far as the students attending Grade 3 are concerned, they displayed similar attitudes and no significant differences emerged.

Statement 6: I like Greek films

The response to this statement brings to light similar attitudes as the ones presented in the previous statement. Advanced learners belonging to the second and the third grade responded in favour of Greek films, while giving quite distinct answers in relation to those provided by the beginner group in the respective grade. Once more, with particular reference to the first graders, the students attending the various proficiency-leveled classes showed quite different replies and significant differences emerged, while revealing that intermediate students offered a higher mean ranking than the rest.

Statement 7: I like Greek music

Similar to the previous statement, significant differences appeared in the case of first graders with the intermediate group professing to like the Greek music more than the rest of their counterparts. The difference between beginners and the advanced group among second graders is statistically significant, whereas among third graders a non-significant result was rendered, revealing similar attitudes towards Greek music.

3.2 In search of students' instrumental orientation

The following set of statements pertains to the sphere of instrumental orientation which relates to a person's attitude toward learning the Greek language while striving for the attainment of certain utilitarian goals, such as satisfying a job prospect, obtaining a proficiency certificate and achieving communication goals.

Statement 8: I would like to find a job in Greece

As regards the desire to satisfy future occupational activity, first graders showed quite distinct attitudes, where beginners gave a higher mean ranking to this priority, showing that this is one of their main goals. Statistical significant results surfaced in the case of the students comprising the two groups (i.e. beginners and advanced) of second and third graders. However, in the former, the advanced group offered a higher mean ranking, whereas in the latter, beginners were more in favor of finding a job in Greece (see Table 2).

	Attitude	Level ¹	1 st grade K W ²			2 nd grade MW U ³ test			3 rd grade M W U test		
			MR ⁴	M ⁵	p	MR	M	p	MR	M	p
8	I would like to find a job in Greece	B I A	21.17 17.28 12.68	4.83 4.56 3.17	0.41	11.50 2.62 18.76	3.96	.045	21.50 5.00 14.08	4.05	.006
9	I would like to attain a certificate	B I A	26.50 13.61 10.04	5.00 3.22 2.42	.000	20.94 4.38 15.74	n.s.		22.00 5.00 13.75	4.20	.003
10	I wish to communicate with my classmates	B I A	8.38 20.50 23.00	1.92 3.33 3.67	.000	11.25 2.25 18.84	.044		10.15 2.00 21.45	3.70	.001
11	I wish to communicate with my Greek friends	B I A	10.79 23.83 18.08	1.92 3.67 2.67	.003	14.62 3.25 17.76	n.s.		7.69 1.69 23.05	4.15	.000

Table 2 Learners' instrumental orientation

¹ B: beginners, I: intermediate, A: advanced, ² K W: Kruskal Wallis,

³ M W U test: Mann Whitney U test, ⁴ MR: mean rank, ⁵ M: mean

Statement 9: I would like to attain a certificate

Support for this statement can be found in the case of the groups which constitute the first and the third grade. In both instances, beginners allotted a higher mean ranking to this statement than their counterparts. With reference to second graders, no significant differences can be discerned as the members of this grade exhibited similar attitudes towards the pursuit of certificates as they regarded it equally important.

Statement 10: I would like to communicate with my classmates

Table 2 presents lower secondary learners' attitudes towards their wish to learn Greek in order to establish successful communication exchanges amongst the classmates. The significant differences that were yielded indicate the differences in students' attitudes across all three grades and within the various groups. To be more specific, in all cases, advanced learners wished to use Greek in their classroom interactions in order to converse with the members of the class who have different mother tongues. Thus, Greek is regarded as the medium of communication to satisfy the need to establish interpersonal relations inside and out-of-class interactions.

Statement 11: I would like to communicate with my Greek friends

First and third graders seem to hold quite different views within their groups. Thus, while looking at the former, we can discern that intermediate students once more gave a higher mean ranking than the rest, whereas in the case of the latter, advanced learners displayed a similar attitude. This could lead to an understanding of the students' incentive to use Greek in order to satisfy their communication exchanges with members of the target linguistic group.

4. Discussion and concluding remarks

In order to probe second language learners' attitudes towards Greek as a second language within the intercultural education setting, particular attention was paid to the impact that their proficiency level could have on their attitudes. The previous study by Sougari and Iliopoulou (2011) on uncovering second language learners' motives for learning Greek as a second language failed to report substantial signs of integrative orientation among the members of the three grades, while suggesting that this could be due to their age at the time of arrival in the host country. It seems that older learners resist integration into the speech community in their attempt to retain their self-identity. However, in the present study an examination of the data with respect to the students' proficiency level revealed that favourable attitudes towards the language community are held by those students whose competence in the second language is higher than those who have a lower proficiency level. What could be accounted for is that the make-up of individual classes by certain ethnic groups could very well have to do with how they respond to otherness and the cultural values of the host community. That is why, to a great extent, as regards the intermediate group in Grade 1, they seem to be more positively predisposed to the Greek reality. It

becomes evident that the integrative orientation towards learning the language that students have affects other aspects of their everyday life as well. What is worth mentioning is that quite proficient students show appreciation for the Greek culture, music and film. Therefore, it comes as no surprise that these students also express their positive disposition towards the target speech community of the host country. It appears that the proficiency level plays a key role in determining and instilling positive attitudes and allows students to develop their integrative orientation.

Students of a higher proficiency level pursue communication exchanges in in-class discussions or in their encounters with their Greek friends. It appears that the students of a more advanced proficiency level are more confident to engage in conversations, whereas the rest lack even the necessary self-confidence to interact with their classmates. Consequently, the absence of satisfactory communication with the people in their surroundings does not allow the low proficiency students to practise using the language, to develop relationships and to come into contact with their classmates and other members of the speech community. This vicious circle is counter-productive as the lesser the contact, the lesser the practice and the lesser the appreciation of the host culture and its members. However, what springs from the results in this study is that the students of a low proficiency level show a greater desire to tie up their future with the host country, that is, Greece in this case. In connection to this, they also express that the studying of Greek will serve certain utilitarian purposes; to follow an occupational activity in Greece as well as to sit for a proficiency certificate. Thus, even though low proficiency students do not have a strong integrative orientation, they seem to be instrumentally-oriented.

Once the hurdle of communication is overcome, through various challenging classroom tasks so as to make them favourably predisposed to the pursuit of communication encounters, only then can low proficiency students be integrated into the language community of the host country. Bearing in mind that the findings of the previous study (Sougari and Iliopoulou, 2011) highlighted the students' low motivation level, it becomes pertinent to consider the options available to make students integratively-oriented. Providing intercultural education could be a quite challenging endeavour on its own. Once taking into account the array of opportunities available to the teacher, s/he could alter students' dispositions so as to render them into equal members in the host country.

The results of this study bear implications for the teaching and learning a target language within a second language educational context and what is more within an intercultural education setting. As rightly stated by Triandafyllidou and Gropos (2007: 4), what is needed is to "redefine the objectives, methods and approaches of educational policy" and to host "mother tongue courses and classes on history and culture of country of origin"; these are considered quite important with the framework of intercultural education. It is important to bear in mind that "intercultural education involves not only intercultural exchange and knowledge of other cultures but also a reconsideration of the ingroup culture through the integration of culturally diverse pupils into a cohesive societal whole" (Triandafyllidou and Gropos, 2007: 5). Thus, the role of the teacher in the exploitation of cultural artifacts and the cultivation of positive attitudes should not be underestimated as s/he is the sole mediator of providing filtered information in the classroom setting and the facilitator in his/her attempt to assist his/her students to become autonomous learners and members of the host country. Some practices that the teacher could adopt are the following: (i) adoption of innovative practices, such as differentiated instruction which responds to individual learner needs and the cross-curricular approach, (ii) promotion of project work, which allows students to incorporate elements of their own culture, while working at their own pace, (iii) incorporation of group work in an attempt to instill collaboration and interaction among the members of the class, and (iii) implementation of multi-model texts, enabling even students with limited or no knowledge of the target language to engage eagerly in activities. The above mentioned suggestions do not entail rejection of the curriculum but rather an adaptation of the curriculum to the needs and interests of the students. What is important is to consider ways in which the diversity of the class could promote an understanding of otherness, a feeling of belonging, an appreciation of diverse cultural artifacts

The implementation of innovative practices is likely to encounter various hurdles, particularly on the part of traditionally-oriented teachers who fail to appreciate the impact of an innovation on learners' attitudes and learning outcomes. Future research should address teachers' response to the intercultural challenge and to the innovations that should be implemented in the intercultural classroom setting. Once teachers recognize the value of incorporating certain practices in their teaching and are properly trained, intercultural education will affect positively the attitudes and lives of second language learners. Impact of their nationality

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THE DEVELOPMENT OF NARRATIVE STRUCTURE IN GREEK L1

Spyridoula Stamouli

University of Athens, Greece
Institute for Language and Speech
Processing / “Athena” Research Center
pstam@ilsp.gr

ABSTRACT

The present study seeks to investigate how 7, 9 and 12-year-old Greek-speaking children differ in their ability to encode the temporally ordered events of a story as constituents of narrative structure. The research was conducted on the basis of a written, picture-elicited narrative. The results show that 7 and 9-year-olds show a tendency not to mark the causal relations between events, but to produce linear narratives with local temporal discourse organization. 12-year-olds begin more systematically to encode causal relations between events and episodes of the story. The ability, however, to produce complete episodes which are hierarchically organized appears as fully developed only in adult narratives. These results indicate that global-level mastery of narrative discourse organization still develops after the age of 12.

Keywords: L1, narrative development, discourse, narrative structure

1. Introduction

The acquisition of the grammatical system of any native language is considered to be completed by the age of 5 years. However, language development still continues after the age of 5. Along with the acquisition of a number of complex grammatical structures (e.g. passive constructions, relative clauses etc) and the development of vocabulary, there is evidence that important changes take place in later language development. Many researchers (Karmiloff-Smith 1979; 1986; Berman and Slobin 1994; Hickmann 2003) have demonstrated that even simple linguistic structures, such as determiners, undergo changes in their use during the transition from the local intrasentential to the global intersentential level of discourse. Thus, it seems that an important aspect of late language development is associated with the organization of utterances in long spans of connected discourse, which involves the reorganization of the already mastered linguistic structures in order to express new functions at the discourse level.

The present study concerns late language development, as it examines the development of the ability to create global narrative discourse organization in Greek-speaking children 7-12 years of age. The main objective of this study is to investigate how, with increasing age, children differ in their ability to produce coherent narrative discourse, i.e. to encode the temporally ordered events of a narrative as constituents of narrative structure.

1.1 Narrative discourse

Narrative, as the most common form of extended discourse, is the text type that has mainly been studied with respect to late language development. Narrative discourse has some distinctive characteristics in relation to other text types. The first characteristic is the temporal sequence of events. Labov and Waletzky (1967, 28) define narrative as “any sequence of clauses which contains at least one temporal juncture”. Accordingly, Smith (2003, 14) describes narrative mode as advancement in narrative time. This advancement is based on sequence, since the events of the narrative are being perceived as occurring one after the other.

However, the temporal sequence of events, although a necessary condition to characterize a text as a narrative, is not enough. Another criterion for the classification of a text as a narrative is the existence of a “deviation” or “complication” in the normal and expected course of events, which causes a series of events aiming at restoring the initial equilibrium state (Todorov 1968; Bruner 1991, 11). Therefore, besides the relation of temporal succession between events, narrative is also characterized by causal relations between one or more events.

Finally, another important dimension of narrative discourse is its high degree of decontextualization. Narratives can be abstracted from the immediate situational context and can stand on their own, since their production does not necessarily require the involvement or mediation of an immediately present addressee (Benveniste 1966; Toolan 2001, 226). For this reason, narrative discourse production triggers decontextualized linguistic choices; typical extralinguistic elements (for instance, deictics) exhibit intralinguistic functions.

1.2 Narrative structure

Research on narrative structure has aimed at providing principles or rules to capture the general properties of structurally well-formed stories. Two main approaches and two influential models, respectively, have been proposed: the story grammar model (Rumelhart 1975; Thorndyke 1977; Mandler and Johnson 1977; Stein and Glenn 1979; Trabasso, van den Broek and Suh 1989) and the Labovian model (Labov and Waletzky 1967; Labov 1972).

The present study employs the Causal network model of Trabasso, van den Broek and Suh (1989), which belongs to the tradition of story grammars. According to this model, the content of each clause in a story can be classified into one of six categories: *Setting*, where the main characters, the time and the place of the story are introduced, *Event*, which sets up a problem for one of the main characters, the character’s *Internal Response* to this event (i.e. perceptions, emotions, cognitions, beliefs etc), which evokes a *Goal* motivating an *Attempt* to solve the problem, and the *Outcome* of this attempt. These categories form an episode.

Trabasso, van den Broek and Suh (1989) showed that the structural components of episodes and the episodes themselves can be linked by causal relations in a causal network representation of any given story. The six categories of information are connected to each other with causal relations in multiple ways. These relations reflect the causal logical inferences made either by the recipient during story comprehension or by the narrator during story production. The Causal Network Model is illustrated in Figure 1. The arrows connecting the categories represent the causal relations between them:

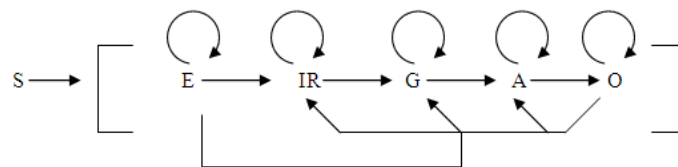


Figure 1 Causal network model (Trabasso, van den Broek and Suh 1989)

The Causal network model has been applied to the study of story production on the basis of a picture series (Trabasso and Nickels 1992; Trabasso and Rodkin 1994). Trabasso and Rodkin (1994, 87) point out that the narration of a picture-elicited story is a joint process of event interpretation and language production. This process involves prior knowledge or interpretation, through logical inferences, of the sequence of pictured events and the relations that link the events together. This interpretation is constrained by the degree to which the narrator recognizes the protagonist’s plan aiming to resolve a problem and, subsequently, encodes the protagonist’s actions in a way consistent to this plan. Thus, the creation of a complete and coherent story results from the coherent representation of the sequence of the depicted events, which requires the ability to make logical inferences that link the events into episodes and also link episodes by causal relations.

1.3 The development of narrative structure

From a developmental perspective, studies focusing on narrative structure have examined children’s productions in spontaneous (personal or fictional) or picture-elicited narratives (Botvin and Sutton-Smith 1977; Applebee 1978; Stein and Glenn 1982; Stein 1988; Peterson and McCabe 1983; Hudson

and Shapiro 1991; Berman and Slobin 1994; Trabasso and Nickels 1992; Trabasso and Rodkin 1994; Shapiro and Hudson 1997). These studies show a gradual development of narrative structure from about 3 to 12 years, while children demonstrate global-level organization of narrative discourse much later than the acquisition of the grammatical system is completed, between ages 9-12.

What is considered as an important factor for the development of narrative structure is the hierarchical organization of narratives around a character's goal-attainment plan. According to the findings of previous research, with increasing age children produce stories of greater structural complexity: they advance from the production of simple event sequences to the production of complete episodes which are hierarchically organized. Production of complete episodes is characterized by the implicit or explicit encoding of characters' motives, causally connected to the actions they perform and their outcomes.

1.4 Objectives and research questions

Developmental studies on narrative structure in bilingual children provide evidence that the development of narrative structure is largely language-independent (Kupersmitt and Berman 2001). However, investigating narrative structure in a particular language, such as Greek, where little research has been conducted on narrative development, serves some additional objectives, besides the study of the development of narrative structure *per se*. The main objective of the present study is to provide developmental evidence for children's ability to construct narrative structure in Greek, which can complement evidence from ongoing research on the development of specific linguistic phenomena at the discourse level, such as anaphora, temporality etc.,

The present study seeks to investigate children's ability to organize the events of the story into a series of episodes consisting of a number of structural components and episodes in a hierarchical macrostructure. To this end, the study examines different aspects of the ability to construct narrative structure, on the basis of the following research questions: How Greek-speaking children differ in their ability to encode: a) the events of the story as structural units of episodes, b) characters' actions as attempts to attain a goal, c) the causal relations between the episodes of the story?

2. Method

2.1 Sample

The study is cross-sectional. The Greek-speaking subjects are primary school pupils. The sample consists of four age groups, 7, 9, 12 years-old children and adults, with 20 subjects each (Table 1). Adults were included in the sample as a control group, representing a developmental stage where linguistic and cognitive development are complete. This age group also allows the investigation of whether the ability to create narrative structure is still developing after the age of 12.

Each age group comprises equal number of male and female subjects. All children come from families of middle socioeconomic status and during the period of data collection they were enrolled in primary schools of Athens and Alexandroupolis¹. Adults were 25-40 years old, middle-high SES.

Speakers of Greek		
Age	No of subjects	
	Male	Female
7	10	10
9	10	10
12	10	10
Adults	10	10
Total	40	40

Table 1 The sample of the study

¹ The children enrolled in primary schools of Alexandroupolis consisted part of the monolingual control group of the research project "Assessing language proficiency of the Muslim minority children in Thrace", conducted during 2003 as part of the "Education of the Muslim Minority Children" Programme of the Greek Ministry of Education (see Tzevelekou *et al.* 2008 for details).

2.2 Elicitation material and procedure

Narratives were elicited on the basis of a picture series, which is an adapted version of the “cat story” picture series originally designed by Maya Hickmann (Hickmann 2003). The “cat story” comprises 6 pictures, which depict a short, simple story (Appendix I): Mother-bird leaves the nest to bring food to her little birds. A cat comes by and attacks the birds, while a dog pulls the cat down and chases him away.

Elicitation procedure was held at children’s schools, into their classrooms during school hours. Subjects were given the “cat story” in a single-page sheet and were asked to write down the story they see in the pictures. Particular emphasis was given to the elicitation conditions, in order to ensure that the subject and the researcher do not share mutual knowledge of the story and that the elicited text belongs to the expected text type. To this end, oral instructions specifically stated that the story addressee would not have the pictures available, so he/she should understand the story without any reference to the elicitation material. In this way, students were encouraged to produce narrative discourse, rather than the description of individual pictures, as well as a decontextualized story, i.e. a story that would not contain any deictic elements.

2.3 Transcription, annotation and analysis

Stories were transcribed and annotated using the CLAN program of the CHILDES system (MacWhinney and Snow 1985). Data transcription followed the conventions of the CHAT program, adapted to the characteristics of Greek on the basis of the transcription system proposed by Kati and Kantzou (2001).

For every parameter of narrative structure under study, a particular annotation scheme was created. The criteria used for the development of the individual annotation schemes are described in the respective subsections of section 3 (*Results*).

Data were statistically analyzed in order to identify the statistically significant differences between the different age groups. To this end, the non parametric *U* test (Mann-Whitney) was applied.

3. Results

3.1 Episodic structure

The first research question addresses children’s ability to create episodes which contain a number of structural units. On the basis of the Causal network model of Trabasso, van den Broek and Suh (1989) (see section 1.2), the content of each clause of the story was classified into one of the six categories of episodic structure: *Setting*, *Event*, *Internal Response*, *Goal*, *Attempt* and *Outcome*. The following general criteria were applied for annotating a clause as belonging into one of these categories: a) *Setting*: verbs in Past Imperfective (Paratatikos) (e.g. *there was*, *was sitting*), indefinite NPs introducing characters (e.g. *a mother-bird*), adverbials of place (e.g. *on a tree*), b) *Event*: presentational structures, action or motion verbs (e.g. *came along*, *showed up*, *approached*, *climbed*), c) *Internal response*: lexical elements expressing characters’ cognitions, emotions and beliefs (e.g. *he understood*, *he was aware*), d) *Goal*: volitional verbs, embedded clauses of purpose (e.g. *he wanted to eat them*, *to protect the nest*) e) *Attempt*: verbs expressing attempt or effort (e.g. *tried*) f) *Outcome*: lexical elements expressing success or failure (e.g. *fortunately*, *unfortunately*, *he did it*).

The ability to create episodes is measured by the number of units of episodic structure contained in the stories produced. The distribution of the six categories of episodic structure in the stories of the four age groups is shown in Chart 1. All structural units of episodes are included in the stories of all age groups. This indicates that children of all ages are able to construct episodes which contain basic structural components. However, there is a difference between adults and children of all age groups. The results show that the most frequent unit in children’s stories is *Event*. Events are characters’ actions which are not causally connected to other events of the story, but they are presented one after the other in a linear way, forming event sequences. This finding suggests that children’s stories of all age groups are characterized by local narrative discourse organization. This is also a first indication that construction of complete episodes is not systematic until the age of 12. In example 1, which comes from a story of a 7 year-old child, events are presented one after the other in the form of sequence and they are connected with temporal relations.

Adults' stories contain significantly less Events than all children age groups (7y-adults: $U=69$, $p=0.000$, 9y-adults: $U=114$, $p=0.020$, 12y-adults: $U=118.5$, $p=0.027$). This finding suggests that the ability to construct complete episodes is still developing after the age of 12. Only adults have gone beyond the stage of forming event sequences and they systematically encode events as units of episodic structure (example 2).

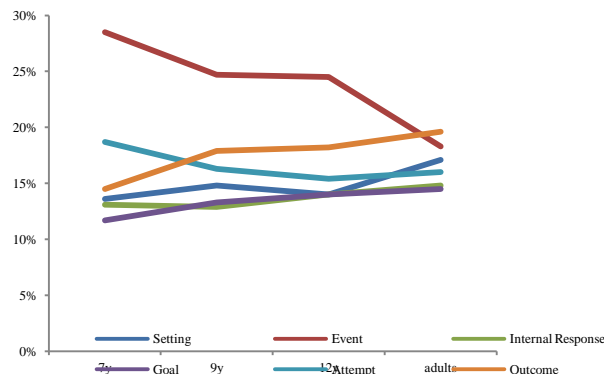


Chart 1 Structural units of episodes by age group

- (1) Όταν έφυγε η μαμά η γάτα σκαρφάλωσε επάνω στο δέντρο. Μετά ήρθε ένας σκύλος. Μετά από λίγο γύρισε η μαμά τους με το φαγητό. Μόλις σκαρφάλωσε η γάτα στη φωλιά ο σκύλος την τράβηξε από την ουρά.
'When the mother left the cat climbed up the tree. Then a dog came along. After a while their mother came back bringing food. Once the cat climbed to the nest, the dog pulled him down by the tail.' (7y)
- (2) μια γατούλα πλησίασε το δέντρο που βρίσκονταν τα παιδιά της (E). Τα κοίταζε με ενδιαφέρον (IR) γιατί μάλλον ήθελε να τα φάει (G). Αφού η γατούλα σιγουρεύτηκε ότι η Σίσυ είχε απομακρυνθεί ανέβηκε στο δέντρο (A) για να φάει τα πουλάκια. Την ώρα που ανέβαινε όμως εμφανίστηκε ο πιστός φίλος της Σίσους ο Μπόμπος σκύλος και τράβηξε τη γατούλα από την ουρά την κατάλληλη στιγμή πριν αρπάξει η γατούλα τα πουλάκια (O).
'a cat approached the tree with the bird nest (E). He was staring at them (IR), because he probably wanted to eat them (G). When the cat made sure that Sissy was away, he climbed up the tree (A) to eat the little birds. But, while he was climbing, Sissy's loyal friend, Bobo the dog, came by and pulled the cat down just before the cat catches the little birds (O).' (adult)

3.2 Characters' attempts to attain a goal

The second research question concerns children's ability to infer and appropriately encode characters' plans to attain a goal, establishing causal relations between goals and attempts. According to the Causal network model, understanding the underlying goals which motivate characters' actions is a key condition for the creation of a complete and coherent episode (Trabasso, van den Broek and Suh 1989).

Every utterance that refers to actions taken by the story characters was annotated either as an attempt to attain a goal or as a simple action without an explicitly or implicitly expressed goal. In the "cat story" there are three cases of such actions and their respective goals (in bold): a) mother-bird is leaving the nest **to bring food to the little birds**, b) the cat is climbing the tree **to eat the little birds**, c) the dog is attacking the cat **to push him away / to rescue the little birds**. The criteria used for annotating an action as an attempt to attain a goal belong to two categories: a) grammatical or lexical means which explicitly state a character's goal (e.g. embedded clauses of purpose, volitional verbs), b) pragmatic and evaluative elements implying a goal, without it being explicitly stated (e.g. *the faithful dog*, *the dog who always chases the cat* etc).

Chart 2 shows the percentages of actions encoded as attempts to attain a goal and simple actions without an underlying goal, appearing in the stories of the four age groups. The results show that adults encode characters' actions as attempts to attain a goal more frequently than all children age groups (7y-

adults: $U=77.5$, $p=0.001$, 9y-adults: $U=74.5$, $p=0.000$, 12y-adults: $U=121$, $p=0.018$), while 7 year-olds encode characters' goals less frequently than 12 year-olds ($U=123$, $p=0.028$). These results indicate that with increasing age the ability to understand and appropriately encode characters' actions as relevant to a goal plan is developing. Children, especially 7 and 9 year-olds, tend to present the relevant actions as temporally related to each other, rather than as attempts causally related to their goals (example 3). Since, as mentioned earlier, the degree to which the narrator can infer and apply in a consistent way a goal-attainment plan in a series of events affects the construction of coherent episodes, this finding reinforces the conclusions drawn from the examination of the first parameter of narrative structure (see section 3.1) that the ability to construct complete and coherent episodes is developing from 7 to 12 years of age. This ability is still developing after the age of 12, since only adults appear to systematically express and encode characters' actions as purposeful attempts.

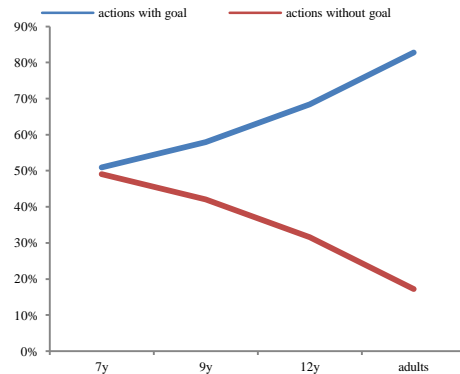


Chart 2 Actions with or without a goal by age group

- (3) Μετά από λίγο γύρισε η μαμά τους με το φαγητό. Μόλις σκαρφάλωσε η γάτα στη φωλιά ο σκύλος την τράβηξε από την ουρά.
'After a while their mother came back with food. When the cat climbed to the nest the dog pulled him down' (7y)
- (4) Ο σκύλος την είδε και θέλησε να τη σταματήσει γι' αυτό που πήγαινε να κάνει.
'The dog saw him and wanted to stop him from what he was planning to do.' (12y)
- (5) Έλα όμως που στη γειτονιά ήταν κι ένας σκύλος. Στους σκύλους όπως όλοι ξέρουμε αρέσει να κυνηγούν τις γάτες.
'But a dog was in the neighborhood. As we all know, dogs like to chase cats.' (adult)

Moreover, qualitative analysis of the linguistic means used by the subjects to encode actions as attempts to attain a goal reveals that adults systematically express characters' goals implicitly, making references to their stereotypical properties (e.g. *the protective mother*, *the evil cat*, *the faithful/good/protective dog*, example 5). This characteristic appears only sporadically in the stories of the 12 year-olds, who tend to explicitly encode characters' goals (example 4) and is missing from the stories of the two younger age groups. This indicates that adults incorporate characters into a global cognitive schema (e.g. cats are always chasing birds, dogs are chasing cats), which contributes to the formation of a complete mental representation of the story and, consequently, to the construction of narrative structure.

3.3 Causal relations between episodes

The third research question addresses children's ability to understand, infer and appropriately encode the causal relations between the story episodes. This ability exceeds the episode level and applies to the level of the story macrostructure.

There are two cases of causal relations between the "cat story" episodes; the first episode, the episode of mother leaving the nest to bring food to her little birds, can be connected to the second episode, the episode of the cat's attack, with enablement relation, since mother's departure gives the cat the opportunity to attack. Moreover, the third episode, dog attacking the cat, is embedded to the second episode (cat's attack) and the two episodes can be connected with a cause-effect relation, since dog's attack prevents the fulfillment of the cat's plan.

The criteria used to identify the causal relations between episodes were specifically developed for the purposes of the present study (Table 2). This is because this parameter of narrative structure has not been widely studied, as most of the developmental studies focus on the encoding of causal relations at the interclausal level with causal conjunctions. On the basis of these criteria, causal relations were annotated in the stories of all age groups.

1st – 2nd episode (enablement)	2nd – 3rd episode (cause-effect)
a) lexical items (adjectives) indicating that after their mother's departure the little birds were left alone (e.g. <i>alone, unprotected, helpless</i> etc)	a) evaluative devices indicating the positive outcome for the birds of the dog's attack (e.g. <i>fortunately, saved, safe, relieved</i> etc)
b) lexical items (verbs) indicating that the cat is waiting for the mother to leave (e.g. <i>wait, stark</i> etc)	b) evaluative devices and lexical items (verbs) indicating the negative outcome for the cat of the dog's attack (e.g. <i>unfortunately, stopped (the cat), pushed/took away, prevent, force to come down</i>)
c) expressions indicating that the cat is taking advantage of mother's departure (e.g. <i>she finds the opportunity, she doesn't waste time, she wouldn't miss this opportunity</i> etc)	c) non factual <i>before</i> -clauses indicating that there is a causal connection between the two events, since the main clause event (dog's attack) prevents the <i>before</i> -clause event from happening (cat's attack) (e.g. <i>he pulled the cat down at the right moment, before he catches the little birds</i>)
d) lexical items (verbs) of cognition or perception indicating that the cat was aware that the mother was away (e.g. <i>knew, understood, observed, noticed</i> etc)	d) counterfactual conditional sentences (e.g. <i>if the dog hadn't appear, the birds wouldn't be alive anymore</i>)

Table 2 Criteria for identification of causal relations between the “cat story” episodes

The percentages of the presence and absence of causal relations between the “cat story” episodes are shown in Chart 4. Again, adults encode the causal relations more frequently than all children age groups (7y-adults: $U=32$, $p=0.000$, 9y-adults: $U=49.5$, $p=0.000$, 12y-adults: $U=74$, $p=0.000$), while 7 year-olds encode causal relations less frequently than the 12 year-olds ($U=116$, $p=0.014$). Thus, the examination of this parameter shows that the ability to express causal relations linking episodes together into a hierarchical narrative macrostructure is gradually developing between 7 and 12 years and is still developing after the age of 12.

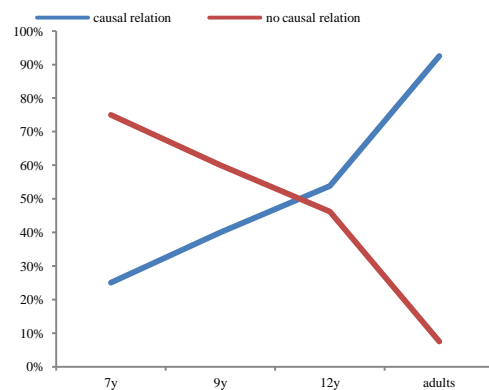


Chart 3 Presence and absence of causal relations by age group

More specifically, the examination of the two types of causal relations (Chart 5) shows that all children age groups encounter difficulties to infer and encode the enablement relation between the first (mother leaving the nest) and the second episode (cat attacking the nest) compared to adults (7y-ad: $U=60$, $p=0.000$, 9y-ad: $U=80$, $p=0.000$, 12y-ad: $U=90$, $p=0.000$). Moreover, 7 and 9 year-olds have difficulties in encoding the cause-effect relation between the second and the third episode. All children age groups tend to link the first and the second episode with temporal relation rather than with enablement relation (example 6), while the 12 year-olds show a more adult-like performance only regarding the connection between the second and third episode (examples 7-8).

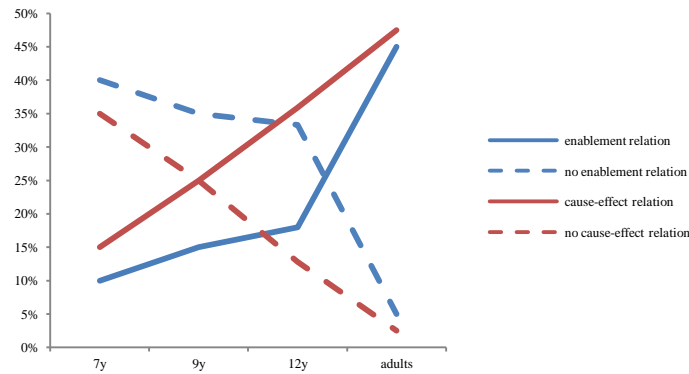


Chart 4 Presence and absence of causal relations by type of relation

- (6) Αλλά μια γάτα που περνούσε από κει τα είδε και ήθελε να τα φάει και ανέβηκε στο δέντρο αλλά ένας σκύλος...
 ‘But a cat passing by saw them and wanted to eat them and she climbed up the tree but a dog...’ (7y)
- (7) και παραλίγο το κακό να γίνει. Αν δεν είχε εμφανιστεί ο σκύλος του σπιτιού τα πουλάκια δεν θα ζούσαν πια.
 ‘and things almost went wrong; if the dog had not showed up, the little birds wouldn’t be alive anymore’ (12y)
- (8) και τράβηξε την γατούλα από την ουρά την κατάλληλη στιγμή πριν αρπάξει η γατούλα τα πουλάκια.
 ‘And he pulled the cat from his tail just in time before the cat catches the little birds.’ (adult)

The difficulties of the 7 and 9 year-olds to encode the causal relation between the second and the third episode could be possibly attributed to their difficulty to control, in parallel, the local temporal relations between the events of the story and the global narrative macrostructure. The same seems to hold for encoding the enablement relation. However the enablement relation has an additional difficulty, even for the 12 year-olds. This relation is entirely the result of subjective interpretation of events, and is not supported visually by the “cat story” picture series. The two characters, mother and cat, do not come into any contact, and it is merely the absence of the former character which is causally associated with the presence of the latter. This favors the association of the two events with a temporal relation rather than a causal one.

4. Conclusions

The results of the study on the development of narrative structure in Greek-speaking children show that the ability to create global-level narrative discourse organization develops from 7 to 12 years, and the development continues even after the age of 12. Although children of all age groups demonstrate knowledge of the story schema, since they are able to produce stories which contain basic structural elements, it was observed that they favor linear event sequencing rather than causally relating the narrated events. This characteristic is more pronounced in the stories of the 7 and 9 year-olds. These two groups have more characteristics in common in most of the parameters examined, compared to the 12 year-olds. 12 year-olds seem to be in a transitional stage where they begin to attribute more consistently goals and motives to story characters and to encode causal relations between events and episodes. However, only adults demonstrate a fully developed ability to integrate events into a coherent mental representation of the story and encode them as causally related components of episodic structure and hierarchical macrostructure, producing stories of structural complexity and global-level organization.

The developmental trends found in the present study are consistent with previous research on narrative development, according to which development advances from the production of simple event sequences to the production of complete episodes (Peterson and McCabe 1983; Berman and Slobin 1994; Trabasso and Nickels 1992; Trabasso and Rodkin 1994; Shapiro and Hudson 1997), setting the age where narratives appear to approach adult-like performance at 12 years.

Children's observed tendency to favor local linear event sequencing rather than hierarchical causal connection between events, in comparison to adults, could be attributed to the cognitive effort required to control the different aspects of storytelling at the same time. Narrative production is a complex task which requires the coordination of several capacities, such as knowledge of the story schema, production of grammatical and meaningful sentences, processing and establishing interclausal - temporal and/or causal- relations, regulating information flow across utterances, causal inferencing and world knowledge. All these capacities activated in the process of narrative production draw on the same limited cognitive resources. In case of written story production, cognitive load is even more burdened by the process of handwriting, which is a particularly demanding task and is considered not to be fully automated even in secondary school-aged children (Christensen 2005). Thus, although research on each individual component of storytelling suggests that these skills are present in school-aged children, the results of the present study indicate that children, even at the age of 12, experience difficulties in putting all the "pieces" together in a complete whole, which affects their ability to construct hierarchical narrative macrostructure.

The results of the present study provide developmental evidence on the ability to construct narrative structure in Greek, which could serve as descriptors of narrative discourse production in Greek L1, with applicability to studies on Greek L2 acquisition or language impairments. Moreover, the linguistic criteria for defining the parameters of narrative structure in Greek could also be applied to studies in other research fields where narratives are being investigated, such as natural language processing.

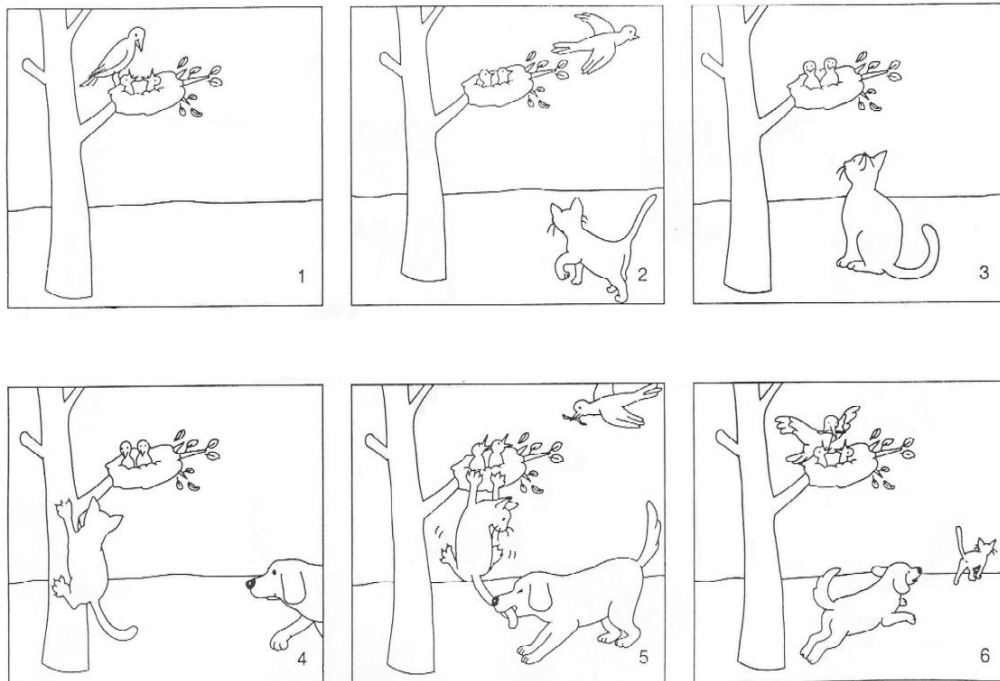
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Appendix I

The elicitation material of the study (adapted version of the original “cat story” picture-series).



PARADIGM STRUCTURE, DEFECTIVENESS AND DERIVATIONAL PRODUCTIVITY

Evangelia Thomadaki

Democritus University of Thrace, Greece

ethomada@bscc.duth.gr

ABSTRACT

Πολλά ουδέτερα ουσιαστικά σε -ι παρουσιάζουν ελλειπτικότητα στη γενική τόσο στον ενικό όσο και στον πληθυντικό, με γνωστότερη μεταξύ αυτών την περίπτωση των υποκοριστικών σε -άκι. Το παρόν άρθρο διερευνά την ελλειπτική κλίση των ουσιαστικών αυτών επισημαίνοντας ότι ομαδοποιούνται βάσει συγκεκριμένου χαρακτηριστικού, το οποίο και αποτελεί βάση για την προτεινόμενη ερμηνεία. Ταυτόχρονα, αξιολογούνται θεωρητικές απόψεις σχετικά με την εσωτερική δομή των κλιτικών παραδειγμάτων, τις διαφορετικές όψεις της έννοιας παραγωγικότητα (ως διαθεσιμότητας και πραγματωμένης παραγωγικότητας) και το ρόλο της γλωσσικής χρήσης και των ομιλητών.

Keywords: inflectional paradigm, defectiveness, gaps, productivity, Modern Greek neuter nouns, derivational

1. Introduction

Gaps in inflectional paradigms had been treated until recently as a peripheral phenomenon in language, of little consequence to linguistic theory (Albright 2003: 2, Karlsson 2000: 647, Baerman & Corbett 2010: 2). The revived theoretical interest in the notion of paradigm, on the one hand, and an increasing number of studies analyzing different types of paradigm gaps on the other have brought about proposals to integrate the relevant phenomena into the broader picture.¹ In several cases defectiveness may be related systematically to language structure (see among others Hansson 1999, Albright 2003, Rice 2005, 2007, Boyé & Hofherr 2010, Lucács, Rebrus & Törkenczy 2010, Stump 2010), while studying the role of language use and of speakers' strategies (Sims 2006, Daland, Sims & Pierrehumbert 2007, Löwenadler 2010, Mithun 2010) helped us to gain a better insight into the way(s) that such deficiencies emerge.

Baerman & Corbett (2010) distinguish between three main patterns of defectiveness: one affecting the forms of a paradigm, a second affecting the functions they realize and a third concerning the ways functions and forms are mapped to each other (Baerman & Corbett 2010: 4). According to these authors the defective genitive plurals in Modern Greek (henceforth: MGr) are an example of the diachronic 'decay of a paradigm', i.e. an example "where a morphosyntactic value is itself in the process of being downgraded so that latent problems in the paradigm of some lexemes may simply no longer be worth overcoming" (Baerman & Corbett 2010: 14). The genitive gap studied in the present paper does not concern just the plural, but also the singular, and affects specific groups of Modern Greek neuter nouns ending in -i. Furthermore, the missing forms do not involve hesitancy on the part of the speakers as regards the 'right' form of the genitive to be used, but rather unwillingness to use it. The paper is structured as follows: it starts with a reference to neuter diminutives derived by -άκι, which constitute the most known group affected by this gap, building on my previous treatment of this issue (Thomadaki 2008). Then explanations for this particular gap are reviewed, followed by a discussion of the notions paradigm structure and productivity with respect to the defective inflectional pattern under consideration. I will claim that the gap is related to the transparent derivational status of

¹ Compare statements such as the following: "Gaps are a reflex of grammatical competence. **Speakers have intuitions about them, and their competence allows them to identify situations in which a paradigm will be defective** for phonological reasons. It is therefore appropriate to include treatment of gaps in a model of grammatical knowledge" (Rice 2005: 170, emphasis E.Th.).

the nouns affected and will provide more data to support my view. Finally I will conclude with an overview of the main points illustrated linking them to the productivity issue.

2. MGr diminutives ending in –áki and the genitive gap

Diminutives carrying the suffix –áki appear to be a well-known case of defective MGr nouns. They also constitute the most productive pattern of diminutive derivation in Modern Greek (Babiniotis 1970: 214, Daltas 1985: 69-70, Mackridge 1985: 158, Stephany 1997: 149, Thomadaki & Stephany 2007: 117). In contrast to other diminutive suffixes such as –úla (FEM), –ítsa (FEM) (examples 1) or –úlis, –ákos, (both masculine, examples 2) requiring feminine or masculine bases respectively, no such constraint holds for the neuter suffix –áki (examples 3).

- | | | |
|------------------|--------------------|----------------------------------|
| (1) domata (FEM) | domat-úla | ‘small tomato’ |
| bala (FEM) | bal-ítsa | ‘small ball’ |
| (2) papus (MASC) | pap-úlis | ‘dear grandpa’ |
| anthropos (MASC) | anthrop-ákos | ‘poor little man’ |
| (3) domata (FEM) | domat-áki (NEUT) | ‘special kind of small tomatoes’ |
| anthropos (MASC) | anthrop-áki (NEUT) | ‘miserable little man’ |
| trapezi (NEUT) | trapez-áki (NEUT) | ‘small table’ |

Diminutives derived by the suffixes –áki, –úla and –ítsa miss their genitive plural forms. In addition, those suffixed by –áki also miss their singular genitive form as the examples in Table 1 (e.g. trapezaki ‘table:DIM’, domatúla ‘tomato:DIM’, balítsa ‘ball:DIM’) show.² The starred forms represent the possible realization of the missing forms in each case.

	Diminutives derived by –áki	Diminutives derived by –úla	Diminutives derived by –ítsa
NOM./ACC.SG	trapezáki	domatúla	balítsa
GEN.SG	*trapezakjú	domatúlas	balítsas
NOM./ACC.PL	trapezákja	domatúles	balítses
GEN.PL	*trapezakjón	*domatulón/*domatúlon	*balítsón/*balítson

Table 1 Defective diminutives

No gap is attested in the paradigm of diminutives formed by other suffixes such as –iðio (e.g. kratíðio ‘small state:NEUT’) or –úlis (e.g. paterúlis ‘dear father:MASC’) (Table 2).

	Diminutives derived by –iðio	Diminutives derived by –úlis
NOM.SG	kratíðio	paterúlis
GEN.SG	kratíðiu	paterúli
ACC.SG	kratíðio	paterúli
NOM.PL	kratíðia	paterúliðes
GEN.PL	kratíðion	paterúliðon
ACC.PL	kratíðia	paterúliðes

Table 2 Non defective diminutives

Furthermore, diminutives suffixed by –áki that have acquired an idiosyncratic meaning, such as suvláki ‘souvlaki’ (from suvla ‘spit’), sakáki ‘jacket’ (from sakos ‘sack’), plakáki ‘tile’ (from plaka ‘slab’), and loanwords, such as sokáki ‘backstreet’ (< Turkish sokak) are fully inflected (Table 3).³ In contrast, the reanalysis of the loanwords pasumáki ‘slipper’ (< Turkish pasmak) and tsarðáki ‘hut, home’ (< Turkish çardak) as diminutives suffixed by –áki has resulted to defective inflection (Table 3).

² The same defective pattern applies to neuter diminutive adjectives and nouns derived by –úli (e.g. mikrúli ‘small:NEUT’ (< mikró), perioðikúli ‘magazine:DIM’ (< perioðikó) and those derived by –éli (e.g. moruðéli < morúði ‘baby:DIM’ < moró ‘baby’).

³ Non-defective lexicalised diminutives carrying the suffix –áki (such as sakáki) should be distinguished from examples such as jeráki ‘hawk’, avláki ‘ditch’, vamváki ‘cotton’, mustáki ‘moustache’. The latter are lexicalised diminutives too, but they carry the suffix –i(on), similarly to other neuter nouns ending in –i (compare: 1. jeráki < ierák-ion < ierák-s ‘hawk’ and 2. molívi < molyv-ion < molubdos ‘lead’). They are, of course, not defective, similarly to non derived neuters such as skáki ‘chess’, spanáki ‘spinach’.

	non defective diminutive	Loanword ending in –áki	
		Reanalyzed as diminutive	no reanalysis
NOM./ACC.SG	suvláki	pasumáki	sokáki
GEN.SG	suvlakjú	*pasumakjú	sokakjú
NOM./ACC.PL	suvlákja	pasumákja	sokákja
GEN.PL	suvlakjón	*pasumakjón	sokakjón

Table 3 Comparing non defective lexicalised diminutive and loanwords

A lexicalized, and hence fully inflected, neuter diminutive (e.g. suvlaki) follows the pattern of neuter nouns ending in –i, exemplified by the noun molívi ‘pencil’ in Table 4.

NOM./ACC.SG	molívi
GEN.SG	molivjú
NOM./ACC.PL	molívja
GEN.PL	molivjón

Table 4 Inflection of neuter nouns ending in –i

Since the missing genitive forms of defective diminutives ending in –áki could be ‘recovered’ according to this pattern (see Table 1), it follows that diminutives ending in –áki exhibit potentially the same pattern too. Thus, they represent a subgroup within neuter nouns ending in –i.

The recoverability of the missing genitive form of a diminutive ending in –áki is demonstrated by occasional examples attested in texts of lower/ everyday style such as 4 and 5 (source: Corpus of Greek Texts (<http://sek.edu.gr/>), Goutsos 2010).

- (4) (a) Vunakjú ‘Vunaki:GEN.SG’
 (b) Monastirakjú ‘Monastiraki:GEN.SG’
 (5) (a) korðelakjón ‘ribbon:DIM:GEN.PL’⁴
 (b) γερανakjón ‘hoist:DIM:GEN.PL’⁵

Therefore, the gap results from speakers’ tendency to avoid the relevant genitive forms rather than from a genuine inability to form them. Grammar books referring to the defective inflection of these neuter nouns attempt to record this avoidance behavior.

Speakers use a number of strategies to compensate for the defective genitive under consideration. They may resort to either the genitive form of the base (i.e. non diminutive) noun (e.g. tu trapezjú ‘ART:GEN table:GEN’) or to a periphrastic expression (e.g. apo to trapezáki ‘of the table:DIM:ACC’). Further, a high-style genitive form (examples in 6) may typically be used in expressions containing place names ending in –áki.

- (6) Platia Kolonakíu ‘Kolonaki:GEN square’
 Nero Lutrakíu ‘Lutraki:GEN table water’
 Dimos Tibakíu/Muzakíu ‘municipality of Tibaki/ Muzaki:GEN’
 Stena Dervenakíon ‘Dervenakia:GEN pass’

The genitive forms in (6) conform to the inflectional pattern of neuter nouns ending in –o, exemplified in Table 5 by the noun klimákio ‘group (of a larger party)’.⁶

NOM. /ACC.SG	klimákio
GEN.SG	klimakíu
NOM. /ACC.PL	klimákia
GEN.PL	klimakíon

Table 5 Inflection of neuter nouns ending in –o

⁴ The form occurs in the text of a recipe: *Διπλώνομε την κρούστα [...]. Την κόβουμε σε σχήματα κορδελλακιών* ... ‘We fold the crust [...]. We cut ribbon-like strips.’ (source: CGT, translation E.Th.).

⁵ The form occurs in a magazine article: *Επίσης ο ΟΓΑ διέκοψε τη χορήγηση των ανυψωτικών συστημάτων, των γνωστών “γερανakiών”, πιθανώς επειδή δεν χρειάζεται τους ασφαλισμένους με τετραπληγία* ‘Also, OGA has suspended supplies of lifting machinery, the so called ‘geranakja’, to insured quadriplegic persons, probably because these persons are not needed’ (source: CGT, translation E.Th.).

⁶ It seems that the alternative genitive forms in (6) constitute an instance of heteroclisis (Stump 2006), an issue which will not be pursued further here.

In sum, the genitive gap under consideration has the following features:

- it affects systematically both genitive singular and plural
- it is possible to ‘recover’ the missing forms
- it affects consistently only transparent diminutives.

In order to understand why this is so, further groups of defective neuter nouns ending in –i shall be introduced in section 5 after referring to possible explanations for the genitive gap found in the relevant literature (section 3) followed by a discussion relating defectiveness to paradigm structure and productivity.

3. Possible explanations for the genitive gap

Since the gap is most prominent in diminutives ending in –áki, it was originally discussed with regard to the question whether defectiveness is directly tied to the semantic (or pragmatic) feature DIMINUTIVE (Triandafyllidis 1963, see also Thomadaki 2008). As suggested by Triandafyllidis (1963: 146, 149), the discourse functions of a diminutive, i.e. its usual syntactic slots, tend to ‘discourage’ the use of a genitive form, thereby contributing to the emergence of the gap. However, Triandafyllidis (1963: 150) finally dismisses this explanation arguing that some types of diminutives do occur in genitive forms (compare the examples: *tis varkúlas* ‘ART:GEN boat:DIM:GEN’, *tis yatítsas* ‘ART:GEN cat:DIM:GEN’ in Triandafyllidis (1963: 150), see also Tables 1 and 2 above). Instead, Triandafyllidis (1963: 150) opts for an explanation based on the diachronic pressure for elimination of synthetic case forms, which is reinforced by the tendency to preserve formal stability within inflectional noun paradigms on the dimensions of stem shape and of stress. Due to this tendency marginal forms such as *tu Rináki* ‘ART:GEN Rinaki’ emerge in certain contexts according to Triandafyllidis (1963: 154-156, 157-158),⁷ who consequently focuses on the formal means taking over the function of the avoided genitive rather than to the gap itself. Nevertheless, it remains unclear how the specific genitive gap under discussion could have resulted from the interaction of factors guiding the restructuring of MGr inflection in general. Moreover, the diachronic pressure leading to the elimination of synthetic case forms is too broad an explanation to account for the particular features of this gap.

As far as stress is concerned, it must be noted that both the singular and plural genitive forms of neuter nouns ending in –i bear obligatory stress on the last syllable, so that the genitive diverges from the stress pattern of the nominative/accusative. According to Drachmann & Malikouti-Drachmann (1999: 907) this pattern of stress shift represents an irregular (opaque) stress pattern, tending to leveling. However, the assumption that the gap is caused by the obligatory stress shift is far from convincing as long as it does not offer a substantiated answer to the question why only diminutives ending in –áki are targeted by the gap and not the entire class of nouns ending in –i (or other classes of nouns shifting their stress onto the last syllable in genitive).

More recently Sims (2006: 121) defined the role played by stress shift in the avoidance of genitive forms in MGr nouns not as a consequence of stress variation per se, but rather as an issue relating to the predictability of stress placement. According to her description, the implicational relations between the paradigm cells of MGr noun inflectional classes, extending on both the dimension of case formatives and of stress patterns, build a multidimensional inheritance hierarchy (Sims 2006: 102), which allows the identification of paradigm cells qualifying for a gap. She argues that an overwhelming 98% of the genitive plural gaps cluster with certain inflection classes of feminine and masculine nouns (e.g. *níki* ‘victory’, *óra* ‘hour’, *mitéra* ‘mother’, *turístas* ‘tourist’, *náftis* ‘sailor’, *patéras* ‘father’). The genitive plural of these nouns can be associated either with stress shift (obligatory stress on the last syllable) or with a (more or less) columnar stress pattern. For instance, in the genitive plural of the noun *petalúða* ‘butterfly’ there would be a choice between a form stressed on the ultimate syllable (*petalúðón*), parallel to the noun *óra* ‘hour’ (GEN.PL *orón*), and a form stressed on the penultimate (*petalúðon*), parallel to the noun *mitéra* ‘mother’ (GEN.PL *mitéron*). Through experiments testing the interaction between stress type and lemma frequency as well as subjects’ confidence about the production of the required genitive plural form, Sims shows that competing stress patterns do not directly activate the paradigmatic gap. Nevertheless, competing stress patterns in combination with low frequency create

⁷ The expression consists of a genitive article form followed by the NOM/ACC form of the neuter hypocoristic noun *Rináki* (derived by truncation and subsequent suffixation from the female name *Irini* ‘Irene’). The few examples of this aberrant construction cited by Triandafyllidis’ (1963: 151-2) are drawn mainly from dialects.

uncertainty about the form of the synthetic genitive plural, thus speakers tend to avoid it in favor of the periphrastic prepositional phrase (Sims 2006: 100).

However, Sims's account pertains to genitive plural gaps in feminine diminutives derived by the suffixes *-úla* or *-ítsa*, not to the gap in neuter diminutives ending in *-áki*.⁸ In fact she admits that it is unclear why a gap exists in this latter case (Sims 2006: 72, fn. 49), given that the genitive plural of nouns ending in *-i* (and by the same token that of diminutives ending in *-áki*) is always predictable from the genitive singular. Nevertheless, by employing the notion of paradigm structure as a necessary element for the explanation of MGr gaps (Sims 2006: 120), her analysis offers a plausible description of the interdependence between the genitive singular and plural in nouns ending in *-i*.⁹ Further, her analysis correctly integrates stress patterns into MGr paradigm structure, thereby relating the genitive plural gap she analyses not to stress shift but to competing stress patterns.

The claim that paradigms have internal structure and that inflectional forms stand in relation to each other, thereby following predictable patterns, offers a sound basis for the discussion of gaps.¹⁰ Gaps are detected by comparing a particular lexeme to other lexemes, all of which are expected to obey the same inflectional pattern. Contrary to the expectations created by the relevant paradigmatic pattern, defective items lack some form(s). Thus, reference to the notion of paradigm structure is necessary in order to understand and explain the gap discussed here.

Stating that diminutives ending in *-áki* lack their genitive forms means that we recognize that this particular subgroup fails to obey a valid inflectional pattern, which is realized by other nouns of the same group, e.g. by lexicalized diminutives ending in *-áki* (e.g. *sakáki*, *sokáki* etc.) and by nouns ending in *-i* (e.g. *kutí* 'box', *xéri* 'hand' etc.). Given that diminutives ending in *-áki* constitute a subset of the neuter nouns ending in *-i*, it follows that their potential genitive forms would look like the relevant inflectional forms of these nouns (e.g. *peđáki*: *peđakjú*: *peđakjón* parallel to *peđí*: *peđjú*: *peđjón*), in the same way that their nominative/accusative plural form (e.g. *peđákja*) parallels the relevant form of nouns ending in *-i* (e.g. *peđjá*). In addition, the strong interdependence between the genitive singular and genitive plural of these nouns, expressed mainly through the obligatory stress shift on the last syllable, could explain why the gap affects uniformly the genitive singular and genitive plural in the case of diminutives ending in *-áki*.

Diminutives derived by *-áki* are not really different from non-defective neuter nouns ending in *-i* as far as their paradigmatic pattern is concerned. Their genitive forms are not impossible on strictly semantic, phonological or morphological grounds, but rather unacceptable. Speakers avoid their use, thereby signaling some kind of information specific to the particular group.

In a previous attempt to consider the role of linguistic use, I focused on differences in the frequency of occurrence of each grammatical form in an inflectional paradigm (Thomadaki 2008: 134-137). It is well known that frequency of use may determine the 'lexical strength' of a form within a paradigm (Bybee 1985; 1991: 70, 78; 2001: 113-116), which may lead to a resistance to regularization. As far as the genitive gap under discussion is concerned I have claimed in Thomadaki (2008) that the overall low token frequency of genitive forms in corpora of MGr discourse and the high productivity of diminutives suffixed by *-áki* combine to cause the rejection of the genitive forms. The high productivity of the pattern deriving these diminutives sets them apart from other neuter nouns ending in *-i*. Speakers tend to 'interpret' the rare possibility of encountering genitive forms of a diminutive as a regular 'gap' for this clearly delimited group of nouns.

4. Productivity as profitability

Bauer (2001: 213) considers 'productivity' to be ambiguous between 'availability' and 'profitability'. While availability is "a yes/no matter", profitability is "a matter of degree" and it can be measured. That is possible words are not all equally probable, due to the complex interaction of the constraints imposed upon each type of formation in a particular language (Bauer 2001: 207). According to Bauer (2001: 209-210) "availability is a matter of what the language system determines; profitability is a matter which is determined by language norms". Bauer's distinction is easily and naturally interpreted, as far as derivation is concerned, it can, however, be usefully extended to inflection: in effect, any kind

⁸ Thus it is important to distinguish between the two cases, as Thomadaki (2008: 131) also noticed.

⁹ According to Sims (2006: 118), their interdependence can be formulated as an implicational relation from the gen.sg to the gen.pl. Adopting a different theoretical framework Thomadaki (1994) also maintained that these two paradigm cells are interdependent.

¹⁰ "Defectivity is intimately tied to the notion of inflectional paradigm" according to Karlsson (2000: 647).

of morphological process may be less than fully productive (see Jackendoff (1997: 121), cited in Bauer (2001: 17), Dressler (2003) on ‘grammatical productivity’).¹¹

The distinction between availability and profitability seems suitable for the description of the status of the missing genitive forms under consideration. Although genitive forms are available for every neuter noun ending in –i, i.e. they constitute possible (or potential) words, the profitability of the relevant inflectional pattern (its utilization in terms of actual use) is extremely low in the case of diminutives ending in –áki. Given that such a diminutive could be derived from almost every noun, the low profitability trend concerning their genitive forms becomes more robust with every new member of the group (Thomadaki 2008). In essence, the genitive gap in diminutives ending in –áki exists in terms of profitability, not of availability. Thus, the distinction between availability and profitability is compatible both with the avoidance of the genitive forms, as well as with their occasional attestation.

Diminutives suffixed by –áki constitute a productive derivational pattern and since the gap applies consistently to items being assigned derivationally to this pattern, one could conclude that speakers take into account the derivational status of a diminutive noun in –i in order to decide whether it lacks its genitive forms or not. If a lexeme loses its derivational status (i.e. no diminutive meaning is present), the (available) genitive forms become acceptable. Therefore, it is the assignment of derivational status as such that sets apart a diminutive from a non defective neuter ending in –i. Note that this assumption is compatible with the view that the diminutive meaning cannot explain the gap adequately.

Insofar as the ‘derivational status’ of –áki diminutives builds a kind of restriction rendering the relevant nouns incompatible with the full inflectional pattern, it reflects the way language use leads to generalizations about groups of lexical items concerning their inflection. In other words, inflectional patterns are obligatory and general, hence highly productive, but they do not apply blindly to the respective groups of inflected lexemes, because their profitability depends on the interaction of various factors. In the case of neuter nouns ending in –i profitability depends on ‘derivational status’.

5. The impact of derivation

The various groups of derived and simple neuter nouns ending in –i cannot be treated as a homogeneous class as far as inflection is concerned, for the reason that almost 2/3 of them do not display the fully fledged pattern exemplified by the noun *molívi* ‘pencil’ in Table 5.¹² The genitive gap under consideration affects compounds (examples 7a-e), backformations from verbs (example in 8) and derivations suffixed by –íði (9a) and –(il)íki (9b), besides the diminutives discussed so far.

(7) (a)	papaðopéði	*papaðopeðjú	*papaðopeðjón	‘a priest’s child’
(b)	kafekúti	*kafekutjú	*kafekutjón	‘coffee jar’
(c)	karðioxtípi	*karðioxtipjú	*karðioxtipjón	‘heartbeat’
(d)	korfovúni	*korfovunjú	*korfovunjón	‘mountaintop’
(e)	sixoroxárti	*sixoroxartjú	*sixoroxartjón	‘lit. forgive-paper, indulgence’
(8) (a)	zívi	*zívjú	*zívjón	‘weighing’ (from <i>zíyízo</i> ‘weigh’)
(b)	kolíbi	*kolibjú	*kolibjón	‘swimming’ (from <i>kolibáo</i> ‘swim’)
(9) (a)	kanoníði	*kanoniðjú	*kanoniðjón	‘cannon fire, shelling’
(b)	proeðrilíki	*proeðrilikjú	*proeðrilikjón	‘presidency (derog.)’

¹¹ Using the term ‘grammatical productivity’ Dressler (2003) “posit[s] the notion of productivity on the level of the potential system of grammar” (Dressler 2003: 34), and acknowledges degrees of productivity for inflection (Dressler 2003: 44).

¹² It is indicative of the diversification within the class that out of the approximately 2650 neuter nouns ending in –i listed in Kourmoulis’ Reverse Dictionary (1967/2002) ca. 800 are fully inflected.

Although nouns such as these exemplified above, resulting from derivational or compounding processes, are formally parallel to simple neuter nouns carrying the final *-i* such *peði* ‘child’ or *xéri* ‘hand’ they do not display the full inflectional pattern. Note that the genitive gap appears even if a non-defective simple noun appears as the right constituent of the compound (compare 7a, b and e with the fully inflected simple nouns *peði* ‘child’ (gen.sg: *peðjú/* gen.pl: *peðjón*), *kutí* ‘box’ *kutjú/kutjón*, *xartí* ‘paper’ *xartjú/xartjón*). This means that the respective constituents of the compound do not retain the inflectional properties of the simple nouns.¹³

In contrast to the examples quoted in (7) through (9), certain compounds or derivations with similar morphological structure are not defective (see examples 10 and 11). An explanation which comes to mind is that the latter compounds or derivations are lexicalized and have accordingly lost their semantic transparency. Thus *kalokéri* does not mean ‘good weather’, but rather ‘summer’, neither is *skupíði* ‘rubbish’ automatically related to *skúpa* ‘broom’ or *skupízo* ‘sweep’. Similarly a lexicalized diminutive such as *suvláki* is non-transparent and must be paraphrased as ‘meat prepared on a skewer’ rather than ‘small skewer’. Lexicalization, however, seems to be inadequate as an explanation for the fully inflected examples in (11a) and (11b). Neither the backformation *kiniyi* (11a, from the verb *kiniyó*), nor the derivation *armatolíki* (11b, from *armatolós* ‘armed Greek during the Ottoman era’) may be considered as more lexicalized than the backformations in (8) or the derivation in (9b). However, the fully inflected *kiniyi* can be traced back to an older form *kiniyion* (gen.sg. *kiniyíu*, gen.pl. *kiniyion*), rendered as *kiniyi*, *kiniyjú*, *kiniyjón* in Demotic or MGr, while the defective noun *kolibi* constitutes a more recent derivation. The same is true of *proedrili* (9b) as compared to *armatolíki* (11b).

(10)(a)	<i>kalo-kéri</i> good-weather	<i>kalokerjú</i>	<i>kalokerjón</i>	‘summer’
(b)	<i>mesi-méri</i> middle-day	<i>mesimerjú,</i>	<i>mesimerjón</i>	‘noon’
(c)	<i>pano-fóri</i> over-wear	<i>panoforjú</i>	<i>panoforjón</i>	‘overcoat’
(11)(a)	<i>kiniyi</i>	<i>kiniyjú</i>	<i>kiniyjón</i>	‘hunting’
(b)	<i>armatolíki</i>	<i>armatolíkjú</i>	<i>armatolíkjón</i>	‘region controlled by <i>armatolós</i> ’
(c)	<i>skupíði</i>	<i>skupiðjú</i>	<i>skupiðjón</i>	‘rubbish, trash’

From the data presented thus far it follows that the genitive gap affects not only diminutives but also other types of derived or compound neuter nouns ending in *-i*, while simple (i.e. non derived) nouns ending in *-i* display the fully-fledged pattern. Also, lexicalization or frequency of use results in activating the full inflectional pattern in the case of a derived or compound lexical item. In other words, derivational transparency seems to trigger the genitive gap. Since transparency is a matter of degree (i.e. it reflects linguistic use), the more transparent the derivational character of a neuter noun ending in *-i* is, the more likely it is to be affected by the gap. This view allows a more realistic and usage-orientated insight as to how the genitive gap under consideration works. At the same time it does not contradict the view that the fully-fledged inflectional pattern is available for all neuter nouns ending in *-i*.

Furthermore, the inflectional forms of diminutives, compounds and other derived neuter nouns in *-i* (e.g. forms such as *peðaki* ‘small child:SING’ – *peðakja* ‘small child:PL’) appear to realize just an opposition of singular vs. plural.¹⁴ Nevertheless, they can be assigned case properties too (i.e. *peðaki* ‘small child:NOM/ACC.SING’ – *peðakja* ‘small child:NOM.ACC.PL’) through their association to the fully-fledged inflectional pattern valid for the wider class of neuter nouns in *-i*.

The availability of this fully-fledged inflectional pattern also manifests itself in the way that loanwords of Turkish origin become morphologically assimilated into MGr inflection. While the nouns in (12) are incompletely integrated into the pattern of neuter nouns ending in *-i*, only exhibiting a number distinction, those in (13) have also developed genitive forms.

¹³ It is preferable to analyze the final *-i* as a formal marker of the compound stem than as part of the second compound constituent (as Ralli 2007: 177 proposes). The former analysis relates the presence the final *-i* more directly to the inflectional pattern of the noun.

¹⁴ See Thomadaki & Stephany 2007 on child language data concerning this issue.

- (12)(a) áti – átja - *atjú - *atjón ‘horse’
 (b) zóri – zórja – *zorjú - *zorjón ‘difficulty’
 (13)(a) γléndi- γlendjú- γléndja – γlendjón ‘fun, feast’
 (b) réli- reljú – rélja – reljón ‘hem’

Of course, in the case of loanwords, it is meaningless to speak of a ‘defective’ inflectional pattern, since loanwords fall by default outside the inflectional system of the recipient language, in contrast to native lexical items, and their integration into this system proceeds analogically and item-wise. But as in the case of defective neuter nouns discussed here, the profitability of the available inflectional pattern is dependent upon linguistic use.

6. Summarizing – Further questions

The genitive gap affecting groups of neuter nouns ending in –i (diminutives, derivations, compounds) discussed in this article revealed some important aspects related to inflectional defectiveness:

- The gap affects in tandem genitive singular and plural, so it is different from other instances of genitive gap referred to for MGr. The relatedness between the singular and the plural genitive form claimed to be an intrinsic feature of the inflectional pattern of neuter nouns ending in –i (Sims 2006) helps to explain why this cannot be a coincidence.
- The gap results from a strong preference on the part of the speakers to avoid the genitive forms rather than of the speakers’ genuine inability to form them, since such forms are occasionally attested. The gap affects subgroups of nouns within a wider non defective inflectional class.
- It has been argued that the speakers’ avoidance of genitive forms depends on whether the relevant neuter nouns ending in –i have a transparently derivational status or not. Lexicalized nouns of the subgroups do not show any gap.
- The latter testifies to the availability of the fully-fledged inflectional paradigm, realized by non defective neuter nouns ending in –i, and furthermore it points to the speakers’ ability to relate defective subgroups to this pattern.
- The fact that the genitive gap heavily depends on usage and the profitability of the inflectional paradigm is limited as far as genitive forms are concerned show that inflectional patterns are not a priori ‘productive’, but constitute a matrix into which nouns may possibly fit.

A question arising from the discussion above is the following. Why should exclusively neuter nouns in –i become affected by this specific type of defectiveness, which depends, as argued above, on whether a respective noun has a transparently ‘derivational status’ or not? An answer to this question may require a closer look at the structure of inflectional paradigms of MGr nouns in general, taking also into account the use of alternative genitive forms such as tu Kolonakiú (see examples 6 above), which possibly involve heteroclisis. Moreover, the proposed explanation raises questions about the lexical storage of inflected words, since speakers are able to discern which neuter nouns in –i are defective and which are not.

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ACRONYMS AND THE PLACEMENT OF DEFAULT STRESS IN GREEK

Nina Topintzi

Universität Leipzig, Germany

nina.topintzi@uni-leipzig.de

Evia Kainada

TEI of Patras, Greece

ekainada@teipat.gr

ABSTRACT

This paper aims to identify the stress pattern of Greek acronyms experimentally and to provide insights over default stress, in light of work suggesting that this arises in morphologically-bare forms (Krämer 2009), such as acronyms. Two experiments with novel acronyms were conducted. The first tested stress preferences; the second attempted to understand those by deliberately priming speakers to attend to morphology through the use of suffix-like endings in acronyms. A clear preference for final stress was evident throughout; in acronyms with suffix-like endings, this is attributed to a combination of morphology and lexical frequency effects of the least frequent words. In acronyms ending in non-native codas - thus free of such influences - this is due to default stress placement, a finding that challenges previous work on Greek default stress.

1. Introduction and Aims

The study of nonce words, and acronyms in particular, has gained momentum in recent years, as a source able to reveal the underlying linguistic knowledge that speakers have when they are confronted with new data of their language. Following this trend in Greek acronyms, we find a general survey of acronyms by Vazou & Xydopoulos (2007) who briefly touch upon their phonological properties, with further elaboration by Nikolou (2010) on the number of phonological words acronyms consist of and by Malikouti-Drachman & Drachman (2011) on factors that may affect their stressing. In this paper, we explore acronym-stress too, but focus on production and stress patterns as revealed by quantitative data. To our knowledge, this is the first work to do that, along with the independently conducted work by Nikolou, Papadopoulou and Revithiadou (2011), that was also presented at ICGL 10 and can be found in this volume.

The present investigation aspires, first, to identify the stress pattern(s) characteristic of Greek acronyms. To this end, we constructed two experiments investigating various phonological, morphosyntactic, morphological and lexical frequency factors that can potentially regulate the attested stress distribution. Our second aim is a consequence of the first; as it will become obvious in the course of this paper, we establish that the default pattern for acronyms (final stress) does not coincide with that generally claimed for the language (see below) and we therefore briefly discuss the consequences of this result.

Our main finding is that the preferred pattern in acronyms is ultimate stress. This is especially the case in C-final acronyms that end in non-native codas, e.g. p, v, θ, etc. However, when the acronym ends in a string of sounds like -os or -i that can be construed as suffixes, speakers may divert from the default¹; in that case, the emerging stress distribution matches the frequency patterns of the *least* frequent words. It is thus the combined effect of morphology and lexical frequency that becomes relevant in acronyms. In addition, the preference for final stress comes at odds with claims that the antepenult is the default (Revithiadou 1999) or the more recent proposal that the penult is instead the default (Malikouti-Drachman 2001, Kappa 2002, Protopapas et al. 2006). On the contrary, it is compatible with work by Apoussidou (on virtual learners and her finding (2011: 125) that “neither

¹ We take it that final stress is at the very least the default pattern in acronyms. On the *general* default pattern in Greek, see section 4.

stress on the antepenult... nor the penultimate syllable... were the default pattern for untrained forms; rather, the final syllable was a preferred position”.

The paper is structured as follows: Sections 2 and 3 describe the first and second experiments respectively and outline their major findings. Section 4 briefly considers issues stemming out from the findings regarding the final default stress in acronyms.

2. 1st Experiment (Exp.1)

2.1 Methodology

Our 1st experiment involved a written task whose aim was to identify whether there was any clear pattern in acronym stressing. 17 subjects – first year undergraduate students of Linguistics at the University of Ioannina – were tested, but eventually 2 were excluded, as their responses indicated a lack of understanding of the instructions. The choice of subjects was driven by their ability to use IPA for phonemic transcription, which was integral for the experiment’s purposes. The experiment consisted of two sub-tasks, henceforth referred to as 1A and 1B.

For 1A, the full names of 32 novel organizations were provided and subjects were asked to create corresponding acronyms. No restrictions were posed with regard to their structure (number of syllables, segmental material). Subjects were required to phonemically transcribe the acronym in IPA and to indicate stress and syllable structure. For example, for the organization *Κεντρική Επιτροπή Γενικών Εξετάσεων* “Central Committee of General Examinations” subjects produced either the acronym [cé.ðe] or [ce.ðé]. This subtask produced 480 tokens in total, i.e. 32x15.

The task in 1B was more controlled; subjects were presented with 38 novel organization titles alongside with their ready-made acronyms and were asked to provide syllabification and stress assignment [total 38x15 = 570 tokens]. Thus, for the acronym ΤΥΔΑΛ which stood for *Τεχνική Υπηρεσία Δήμου Άνω Λιοσίων* “Technical Service of Ano Liosia Municipality”, subjects – almost uniformly - offered [ti.ðál]. For examples of acronyms in each task, see Appendix A.

2.2 Results

2.2.1 Task 1A

Three basic questions were asked: (a) How long were the acronyms in terms of number of syllables? (b) Where was stress located? (c) What was the break down of stress position by the number of syllables? Figures 1-3 present the results to the respective questions.

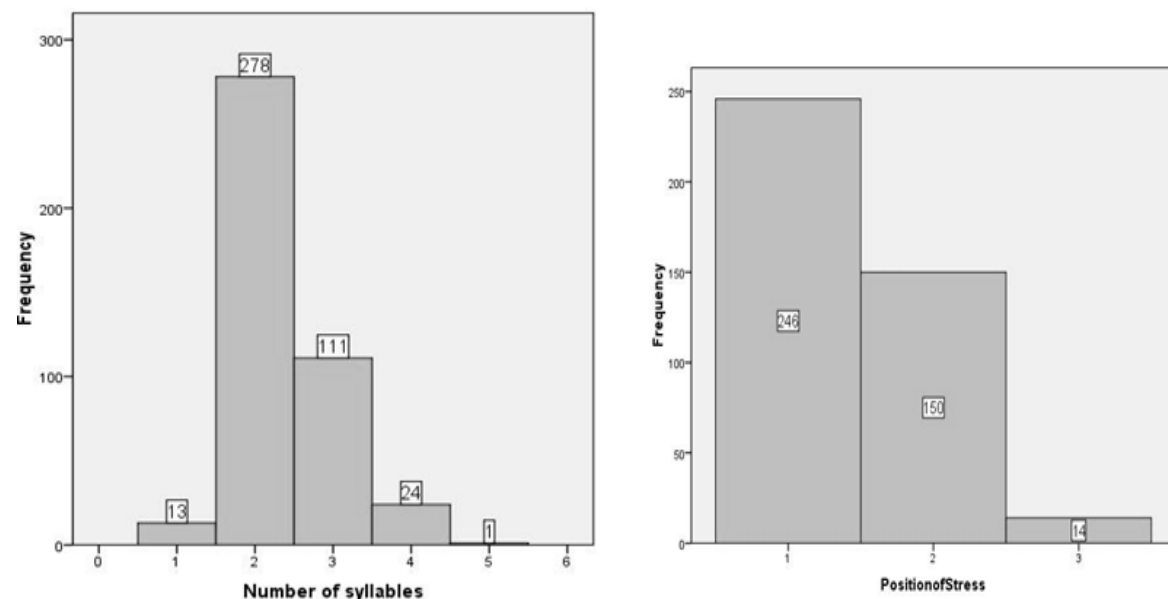


Figure 1 (L) Acronyms by number of syllables (Task 1A)

Figure 2 (R) Position of stress in acronyms [1=ultima, 2=penult, 3=antepenult] (Task 1A)

Fig.1. shows that the preferred length of acronyms is disyllabic, followed by trisyllabic constructions. Few quadri- and mono-syllabic acronyms arise too. Fig.2. reveals that most acronyms are stressed on the ultima, a significant number is stressed on the penult, whereas stress on the antepenult is a rarity. Fig.3. provides a detailed break-down of how frequently each stress pattern appears on acronyms ranging between 2-4 syllables. In disyllabic acronyms, final and penult stress occur with roughly the same frequency. In trisyllables however, ultimate stress is predominant, with some occurrences of penult and antepenult stress. Surprisingly, in quadrisyllables, only one type of stress emerges, namely, the final one.

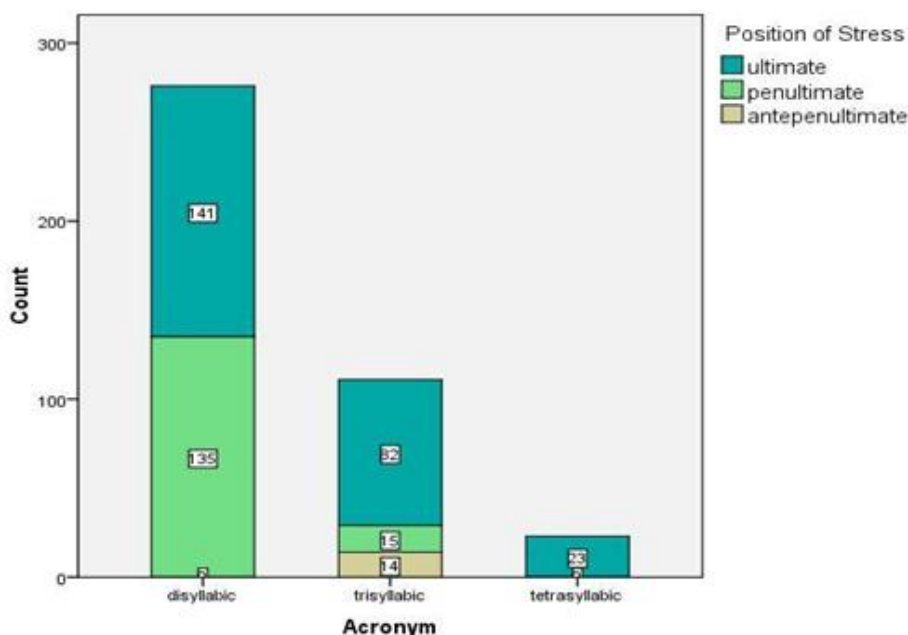


Figure 3 Break-down according to length of acronym and stress pattern (Task 1A)

2.2.2 Task 1B

The same questions were asked in Task 1B. The answers follow in Figures 4-6.

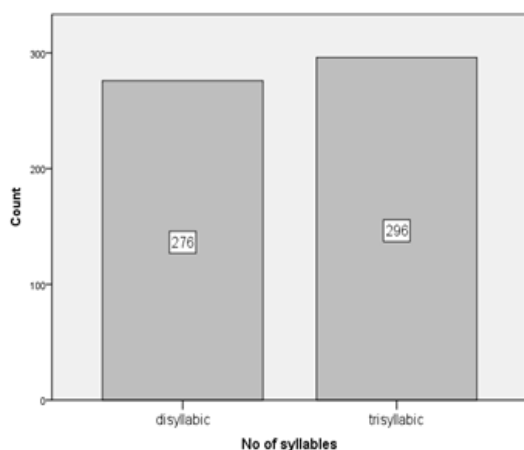


Figure 4 (L) Acronyms by number of syllables (Task 1B)

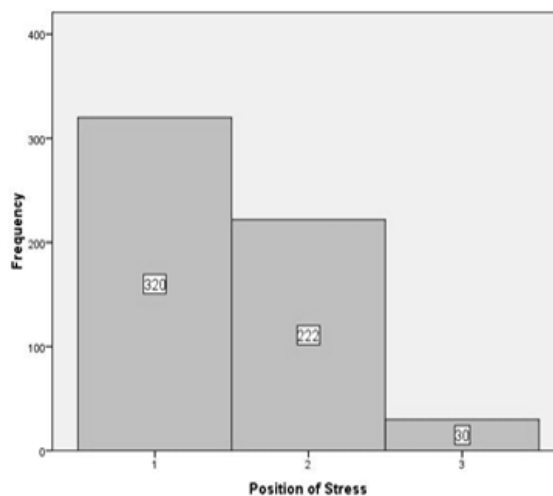


Figure 5 (R) Position of stress in acronyms [1=ultima, 2=penult, 3=antepenult] (Task 1B)

Since the length of the acronyms was pre-determined given the experiment's design, Fig.4. is not particularly informative, but is nonetheless included for clarity. Fig.5. replicates the results of Task 1A for that question. The same roughly holds for Fig.6.

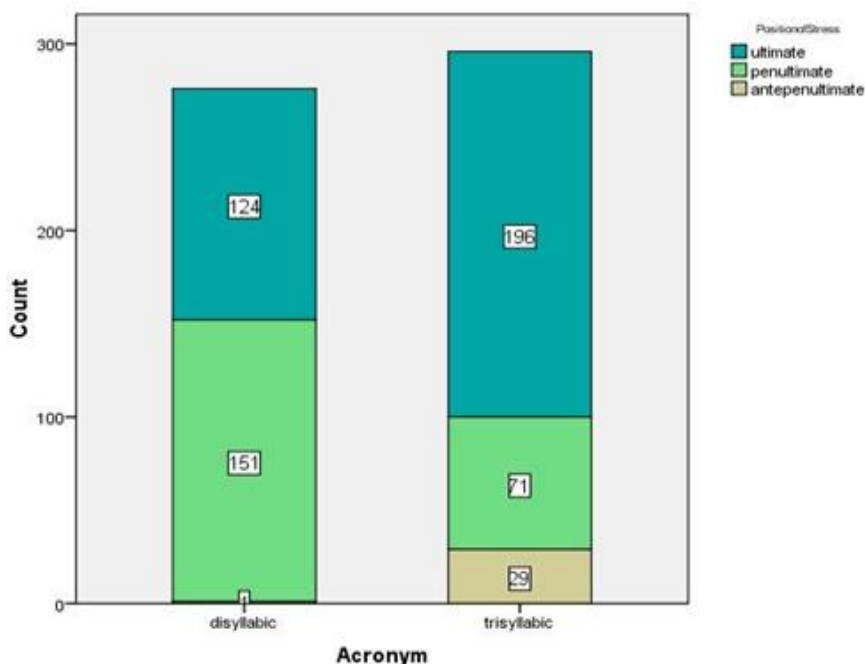


Figure 6 Break-down according to length of acronym and stress pattern (Task 1B)

2.2.3 An asymmetry

The results of both sub-tasks of Experiment 1 are comparable: final stress tends to be preferred in acronyms larger than 2 syllables long, but in disyllables no preference appears. Importantly, antepenult stress, i.e. the alleged default according to Revithiadou (1999) is hardly ever attested. Also, task 1A shows that the preferred size of acronyms is disyllabic (monosyllabic: 3%, disyllabic: 65%, trisyllabic: 26%, tetrasyllabic: 6%).

An interesting asymmetry crops up when one looks the internal structure of disyllables and trisyllables with respect to stress. Thus, although it is true that disyllables receive either final or penult stress in roughly equal proportion, there is for the most part preference for final stress if the acronym ends in a closed syllable and a slight tendency for penult stress if it ends in an open syllable (see Table 1). This is not true for trisyllables though, where no matter the internal structure of the acronym, final-stress is consistently preferred (Table 2). To facilitate comparison, consider the cells in bold in the figures below.

	ultima	penult
CV.CV	50	63
CV.CVC	45	9
V.CV	9	20
V.CVC	12	2
VC.CV	7	3
CV.V	3	11
CV.CCV	2	9
CCV.VC	1	5
CCV.CV	2	9

Table 1 (L) Break-down according to stress pattern and syllable structure in disyllables

	ultima	penult	antepenult
CV.CV.CV	22	1	5
V.V.CV	13	2	0
CV.CV.V	12	8	7
V.CV.CVC	9	2	0
CV.CV.CVC	8	0	0
CV.CV.VC	6	1	0

Table 2 (R) Break-down according to stress pattern and syllable structure in trisyllables

To explain this asymmetry we first considered the possibility that other factors could influence stress placement. For instance, Malikouti-Drachman & Drachman (2011) have claimed that the reason an acronym like [ika] for *Ιδρυμα Κοινωνικών Ασφαλίσεων* "Social Security Foundation" receives

penult stress is because of a preference to stress the morphosyntactic head, here *Τόρυμα*. In addition to this possibility, we also entertained the idea that acronym-stressing is sonority-driven (cf. Kenstowicz 1994 on Mordwin, Kobon, Chukchee), in that stress looks for the most sonorous vowel in the word to dock on, following the standard sonority scale of *a>e,o>i,u*. The relevant measurements appear in Appendix B, but the upshot is that none of these factors proved important in our data.

In conclusion, results from the first experiment revealed a preference for stressing the ultima in acronyms, with an asymmetry between disyllabic and trisyllabic acronyms in that in disyllabic acronyms closed syllables tended to attract the stress, with the reverse pattern emerging for the trisyllabic ones. Factors such as morphosyntactic head and vowel sonority did not prove significant in stress placement, nor in explaining the asymmetry indicated (but see Appendix B for details). However, other factors, such as the morphology of the constructed acronyms, were not taken into consideration, and it is to that which we turn to in the second experiment.

3. 2nd Experiment (Exp.2)

Since morphosyntactic head or sonority considerations offered no further insight to the asymmetry outlined above, we conducted an additional experiment, this time testing whether lexical frequency and/or morphological factors could regulate acronym/nonce word formation. This line of thinking is inspired by recent work by e.g. Guy et al (2008), Zuraw (2007) and many others who have shown that “speakers have encoded frequency information within a variety of static phonotactic constituents as well as within the targets, results, and contexts of phonological and morpho-phonological processes. In other words... speakers have statistical knowledge of language sound structure at a variety of levels” (Frisch 2011: 2144).

3.1 Methodology

Although acronyms themselves lack morphological substance (Vazou & Xydopoulos 2007: 247), we deliberately created acronyms whose endings could be construed as extant suffixes, e.g. *-os*, *-i*. We did that so as to be able to evaluate the role of any morphological or lexical frequency conditioning. Our hypothesis has been that speakers’ preferences regarding stress placement in acronyms might mirror what we find in attested words with respect to either: (I) morphology alone, (II) lexical frequency alone, or (III) both.

To test the hypothesis, we designed a more controlled experiment that only utilized disyllabic acronyms of the type CV.CV or CV.CVC. Specifically, we constructed 10 novel acronyms for each of the following categories (see Table 3) with specific endings and genders [10 speakers * 6 categories * 10 acronyms * 2 repetitions = 1200 items plus 200 trisyllabic filler acronyms]. These were read out loud by one of the authors, recorded and played back to the participants using PRAAT’s adjusted MFC5 perception experiment. Participants would first hear the whole organisation’s title which was also presented in a written form on the screen, and then hear the acronym twice, e.g. the choice over *Πλατφόρμα Ολικής Μηχανοργάνωσης* was between *ΤΙΟΜΗ* or *ΠΟ’ΜΗ* (forced-choice task, all participants would hear each acronym twice, once with the stress on the ultimate presented first, and once with the penultimate presented first, and the selection of which set came first or second was random). The participants were then asked to choose the preferred acronym².

Orthographic ending	IPA	Gender	as in the word...
a. -ου	-u	Feminine	[alepú] ‘fox’
b. -η	-i	Feminine	[fisi] ‘nature’
c. -ι	-i	Neuter	[póði] ‘foot’
d. -ος	-os	Masculine	[filos] ‘friend’
e. -ες	-es	Masculine	[pansés] ‘pansy’
f. non-native coda	e.g. Vf#, Vk#	Gender irrelevant	

Table 3 Categories of novel acronyms

²We did not opt for the participants to produce the acronyms themselves and for us to record them, because we wanted to avoid 2 issues: 1. the interference of our transcription as to which syllable is stressed (which would also require tests of inter-transcriber agreement), and 2. the possibility of uncertainties in the productions of the speakers themselves.

We also ensured that both the head of the phrase of the acronym as well as of its complement were of the gender sought after. For instance, ΠΙΟΜΗ could be an acronym for: Πλατόρμα_{Fem} Ολικής Μηχανοργάνωσης_{Fem}, where both head and complement primed for Feminine gender, but not for Πλάνο_{Neut} Ολικής Μηχανοργάνωσης_{Fem}, Πλατόρμα_{Fem} Ολικού Μηχανισμού_{Masc} or Πλάνο_{Neut} Ολικού Μηχανισμού_{Masc}, where at least the head or the complement are of different gender than the one sought after. Our aim was to prime for a specific stress pattern, through specific morphology.

To be able to evaluate possible effects of lexical frequency, we counted the lexical frequency of attested words with the above characteristics (ending, gender, σ-structure and number of syllables) in the corpus of: <http://speech.ilsp.gr/iplr/downloads.htm> (Protopapas et al. in press).

3.2 Results

Our initial analyses focused on the same questions, as in Tasks A and B of Experiment 1, to ensure that results were replicated in this experiment too. As the figures below reveal, the initial results indeed resemble those of Experiment 1.

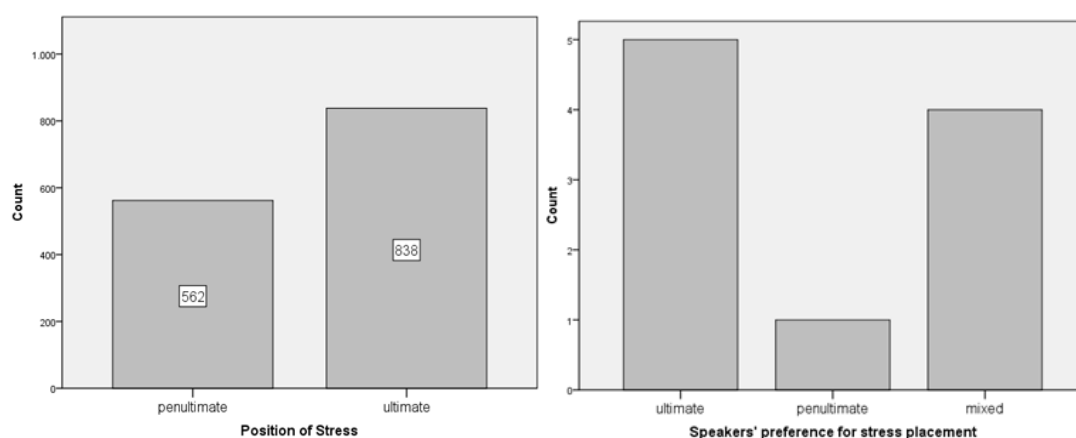


Figure 7 (L) Break-down of stress position in all items

Figure 8 (R) Break-down of stress-preference placement by speaker [N.B.:mixed refers to an equal preference for stressing both syllables]

Evidently, ultimate stress is preferred (Fig.7.), a preference that is clear for 5 of the speakers (Fig.8.; 50%). 4 others provided mixed responses (no clear tendency for stress placement was found in those speakers; rather they tended to stress equally on both syllables) and only one showed a systematic preference for penult stress.

We then proceeded to answer the following questions posed by our hypothesis that are taken up in the next subsections.

- Q1: Does morphology alone regulate the stress pattern in acronyms?
- Q2: Does lexical frequency alone regulate the stress pattern in acronyms?
- Q3: Is the combined effect of morphology and lexical frequency that regulates the stress patterns in acronyms?

3.2.1 Does morphology alone count?

To determine the role of morphology in acronym stressing, we effectively asked whether any of the suffixes *-ος*, *-η*, *-ι*, *-ες* or *-οι*, are associated with any specific stress pattern independently of frequency and phonology (e.g. syllable structure, word-size, etc.). This question could only be answered for the suffixes *-ού* (Fem.) and *-ές* (Masc), as these are always reported to receive final stress (cf. the grammar of Holton et al. 2004: 35, 40-41). In the remaining suffixes, stress is variable, so not much else can be said on a morphological basis only.

Still, it is the case that if the morphological pattern alone were to be mirrored in the acronym, then all of the *-ες* and *-οι* final acronyms should be stressed in the ultima, which is clearly not the case,

since stress in *-ov* acronyms is pretty random (ultima 51%, penult 49%), whereas *-ες* acronyms do show a preference for final stress, but this is by no means as strong as predicted (ultima 63%, penult 37%). For concreteness, the overall picture with respect to the position of stress for each of the endings tested is presented in Fig.9., where we can also see a clear preference for stressing the ultima in non-native codas.

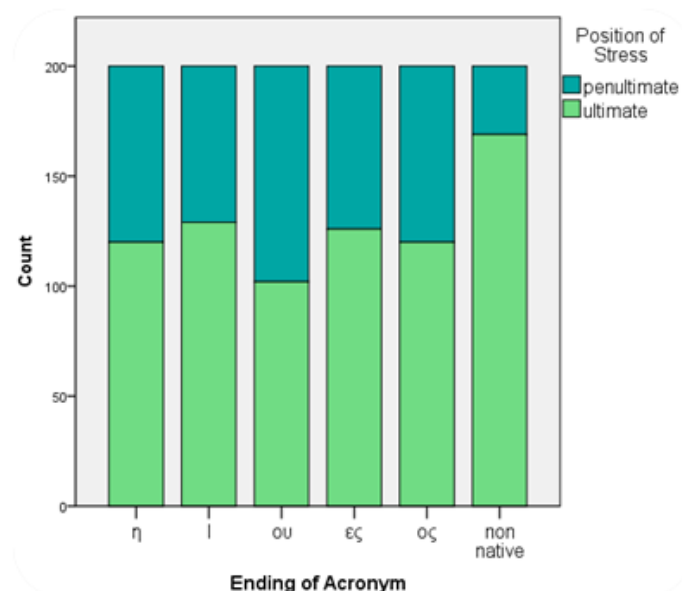


Figure 9 Break-down of stress position by ending

Overall, Fig.9. reinforces the impression of a final stress preference for disyllabic acronyms in Greek. Moreover, it shows that acronyms of CV.CVC syllabic structure have the same general distribution as those of CV.CV, with the exception of CV.CVC constructions that have a non-native coda. The latter clearly attract the stress on the ultima.

It can thus be concluded that morphology alone does not seem to predict position of stress. According to our morphology-based hypothesis, acronyms ending in *-ov* and *-ες* should be stressed on the ultima, a pattern that was not borne out.

3.2.2 Does lexical frequency alone count?

To decide on the influence of lexical frequency, we counted the frequency of all words ending in *-ος*, *-ες*, etc. irrespective of morphological information, thus along the target masculine nouns ending in *-ες*, we also included other *-ες* forms like *εἶδες* ‘you saw-2SG-PAST’, *λαβές* ‘handle-FEM-PL’ etc. The results attained were limited in some respects due to the structure of the corpus; in particular, the corpus really only provides comparison between syllables stressed in the final position and syllables in all other positions, that is, while the corpus indicates whether the stressed syllable is found in the *initial*, *medial* or *final* position, one does not know the length of each word where the syllable has appeared. Therefore, the only legitimate comparison we can presently perform is that of the frequency of occurrence of a stressed syllable in the final position vs. the frequency in all other positions, omitting finer comparisons between the penult and antepenult. In addition, since the corpus offers phonetic and not orthographic transcriptions for this analysis, a distinction between the homophonous *-ι* and *-η* could not be made. With these caveats in mind, consider the relevant results.

Frequency of syllable being stressed in final position vs. not being stressed (in whole corpus in millions)			Expectation for ultima	Results		Met?
	<i>Stressed</i>	<i>Not stressed</i>		<i>Ultima</i>	<i>Penult</i>	
/i/	118.457.881	161.871.572	Not stressed	64,5%	35,5%	Not met

/i/	118.457.881	161.871.572	Not stressed	60%	40%	Not met
/os/	58.555.149	75.682.644	Not stressed	60%	40%	Not met
/u/	69.169.946	141.436.418	Not stressed	51%	49%	Not met
/es/	65.051.777	67.689.173	No preference	63%	37%	Not met

Table 4 (Non-)matching of frequency of endings in corpus with those in acronyms

The sub-columns under the heading 'Frequency...' indicate the frequency of final and non-final stress in the corpus. This creates an *Expectation* on what the pattern should be in acronyms if these follow the corpus tendencies. The column *Results* depicts what actually happens in the acronyms tested. The final column *Met?* designates whether the *Expectation* has been met or not in acronyms.

As said, the frequency of *-i* final words in the corpus merges together all types of orthographic *i*'s (5 in Greek in total) including *-ι* and *-η*. The preference for stress here is non-final, as is for words ending in *-ος*, and *-ου* while for *-ες* no preference emerges from the corpus. Consequently, none of the expectations on the basis of overall frequency in the corpus are met, since a tendency for final stress is still observed. This suggests that lexical frequency alone is also not sufficient to generate the attested patterns.

3.2.3 Do morphology and lexical frequency combined count?

This leaves us with one more possibility: the combined effect of lexical frequency and morphological information. This time what we counted was the frequency of all CVCV(C) disyllabic words in the corpus that matched the morphological criteria, thus for the *-ος* ending, we considered only the *-ος* masculine nouns and not the masculine adjectives (e.g. *όμορφος* 'beautiful') or the feminine nouns (e.g. *μέθοδος* 'method') with the same ending. We then made three measurements for each of the endings utilized:

- Out of all the disyllabic CVCV(C) nouns in nominative that appear in the corpus, we counted how many were stressed in the ultima and how many in the penultima (frequencies are shown in percentages, Table 5)
- Out of all the disyllabic CVCV(C) nouns in nominative that appear in the corpus, we added the frequency (in this instance frequency refers to "frequency of occurrence of this word form (letter sequence) in the selected corpus, per million words (tokens)", Protopapas et al. 2008) of the 20 most frequent tokens in the ultima and of the 20 most frequent tokens in the penultima and compared which of the two syllables is most frequently stressed (Table 6)
- Same as before, but for the 20 least frequent tokens (Table 7)

	Frequency in corpus		Expectation	Results		Met?
	<i>Ultima</i>	<i>Penult</i>		<i>Ultima</i>	<i>Penult</i>	
<i>-ι</i>	43%	57%	Mixed	64,5%	35,5%	Not met
<i>-η</i>	39%	61%	Penultimate mostly	60%	40%	Not met
<i>-ος</i>	27%	73%	Penultimate	60%	40%	Not met
<i>-ου</i>	100%	0%	Ultimate (grammar descriptions)	51%	49%	Not met
<i>-ες</i>	100%	0%	Ultimate (grammar descriptions)	63%	37%	Met(?)

Table 5 Stress patterns of words with specific morphological endings in the corpus and their (non-)matching in acronyms

As is evident from Table 5 the expectations with regard to the stress patterns that should arise in acronyms based on the frequencies of the words in the corpus with the corresponding morphological endings are not borne out. The same holds when the expectations are based on the 20 most frequent words (Table 6). Note that the *-ου* and *-ες* categories should be uniformly finally stressed according to grammar descriptions. However, they were excluded, because insufficient number of them arose in the corpus.

	Frequency of 20 most frequent words		Expectation	Results		Met?
	<i>Ultima</i>	<i>Penult</i>		<i>Ultima</i>	<i>Penult</i>	
<i>-ι</i>	314,205	296,984	Mixed	64,5%	35,5%	Not met

-η	741,817	2892,163	Penultimate	60%	40%	Not met
-ος	116,148	833,775	Penultimate	60%	40%	Not met
-ου	-	-	Ultimate (grammar descriptions)	51%	49%	-
-ες	-	-	Ultimate (grammar descriptions)	63%	37%	-

Table 6 Stress patterns of 20 most frequent words with specific morphological endings in the corpus and their (non-)matching in acronyms

Interestingly however, the situation is reversed, once one looks at the stress patterns that are expected to emerge in acronyms based on the least frequent words. Here, the expectations largely match the actual results.

Frequency of 20 least frequent words			Expectation	Results		Met?
	<i>Ultima</i>	<i>Penult</i>		<i>Ultima</i>	<i>Penult</i>	
-ι	3,823	2,604	Slightly Ultimate	64,5%	35,5%	Met(?)
-η	12,111	5,107	Ultimate	60%	40%	Met(?)
-ος	3,281	1,152	Slightly Ultimate	60%	40%	Met
-ου	-	-	Ultimate (grammar descriptions)	51%	49%	-
-ες	-	-	Ultimate (grammar descriptions)	63%	37%	-

Table 7 Stress patterns of 20 least frequent words with specific morphological endings in the corpus and their (non-)matching in acronyms

Thus far we have not commented on the fact that participants' responses revealed a mixed pattern for the ending *-ου*, contrary to our expectations on the basis of the morphology, and contrary to its quite similar ending *-ες*. Once again, but on a more speculative note, we believe that key to this lack of preference is the combinatorial effect of morphology and overall lexical frequency. It is notable that on the basis of traditional grammars, *-ου* words should be stressed on the ultima (cf. §3.2.1), but on the basis of overall lexical frequencies we expect non-final stress – and indeed by a large margin (cf. Table 4, where non-finally stressed *-u* ending tokens are twice as many as the final-stressed ones). Starkly competing expectations are thus generated, which speakers seem to balance out by showing no particular stress preference in acronyms. To put it differently, this emerging mixed pattern has masked potential effects from morphology or from overall frequency. This line of thinking can extend to *-ες*, where on the basis of morphology we expect final stress and on the basis of overall lexical frequency we expect no preference. Our results reveal a 63% preference for the ultima, i.e. approximately in the middle between the two tendencies³. Of course, the reasoning above cannot apply to the *-ι*, *-η* and *-ος* endings, simply because morphology imposes no clear stress preference for them, hence morphology and lexical frequency cannot directly conflict with one another.

3.3 Summary

The overall picture of Exp.2. is comparable to that of Exp.1., in that there is a strong tendency for final stress. Notably, in acronyms with non-native codas (which of course are not subject to morphological or lexical frequency effects), stress is virtually always final. Of all the measurements we made, it was the combination of morphological and lexical frequency effects that matched to an extent the empirical facts of acronyms. Unlike what one would possibly expect, it was actually the stress patterns of the *least* frequent words that matched the stress patterns of the acronyms.

This effect is not as surprising, as it appears at a first glance. A similar result is reported in Crowhurst et al. (2003: 159) who find that the frequency distribution of stem-final stress in Russian is skewed, being more frequent for low-frequency lexical items than high-frequency ones. Given the fact that frequent words often present irregular patterns (cf. past forms in *go-went* or *βλέπω-είδα*), one could

³How stress patterns are affected when morphology and overall lexical frequency preferences compete has not been the topic of the present investigation and thus will require further testing. From the present results however, it seems that speakers' preferences lie in the middle of the two extremes, but not with complete precision, since in that case *-ες* should have a 75% preference for ultimate stress, and not 63%, unlike *-ου* which was split exactly in half.

perhaps argue that regularity should after all be sought after in infrequent words. The last section briefly outlines the implications the stressing of acronyms has for default stress.

4. Discussion

One thing that is clear from the experiments above is that the default stress pattern for acronyms is not the antepenult or even the penult, i.e. patterns that have been claimed to arise as defaults in the core language (Revithiadou 1999, Malikouti-Drachman 2001, Kappa 2002, Protopapas et al. 2006). Instead, a final, possibly iambic, stress pattern is assigned this role (see also Tzakosta 2004, who shows that trochees are attested with less frequency than anticipated in Greek child speech). We have also shown that this pattern is quite systematic in acronyms ending in non-native codas, where neither lexical frequency nor morphological information effects are in order, whereas in acronyms ending in sequences reminiscent of suffixes of the language, stress distribution is largely regulated by the combined effect of these two factors. Speakers may thus divert from the default under the pressure of the factors above.

What does all this mean for Greek default stress in general? The answer seems to depend on how one chooses to interpret the results; if one adopts the reasoning of researchers like Krämer (2009: 9 in ms) who states that “...since nonce words cannot have lexically stored stress marks we can claim that an analysis of the observed nonce word stress patterns amounts to an analysis of Italian default stress”, then the nonce acronyms of Greek that are free of morphological or lexical frequency effects may be used as an argument in favour of final stress as a default in Greek. On the other hand, proponents of the (ante-)penult default stress in Greek, as suggested by noun-inflection or compounding, may claim that what we see in acronyms is specific to them, in the sense that they have their own sub-phonology and as a result cannot extend to the general language. The problem however is that one could equally claim the reverse, i.e. that the real default arises in acronyms – when stripped of any other factors that may influence their stressing – and what we see in the morphologically-rich constructions of nominal inflection and compounding actually constitutes a sub-phonology⁴.

While it is not clear at present how this debate can be resolved, it certainly points to the need for additional research on Greek stress. Till then, the only thing that can be said with certainty – given the comparable results of Nikolou, Papadopoulou and Revithiadou (2011) – is that the final syllable is a favourite location for acronym stress.

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⁴ Exp.2. has shown that, when morphological information is added to the acronyms, stressing preferences change with somewhat less instances of final-stress, suggesting that even an acronym-specific sub-phonology cannot be completely disconnected from the overall grammar. This raises a number of questions; initially we believe that the limits and contents of this sub-phonology must be clearly stated. That is, if morphology does have access to this sub-component of the grammar (as seems to be the case on the basis of our experiment), and can influence the distribution of stress patterns within it, then how much and what type of information can it extract from the grammar, and particularly, is it possible for us to derive information about the grammar from this component? This is not a topic that our investigation set out to answer, but we believe is of crucial importance for the continuation of this discussion.

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APPENDIX A

1. Exp.1. Tasks *A* and *B* – Examples of produced acronyms in IPA

Task A

Participants were given the organisations' full title and were asked to provide an IPA transcription with syllabification and stress. For example:

- Νέο Αναλυτικό Τιμολόγιο Έργων Οδοποιίας ("New Analytical Pricings for Street Constructions") would provide answers like 'nat.erg.o, 'na.te.o, na.'te.o etc.
- Ομοσπονδιακή Επιτροπή Τραπεζικών Υπαλλήλων ("Federal Committee of Bank Clerks") would provide answers like o.e.'ti, o.'e.ti, o.me.'ti etc.

Task B

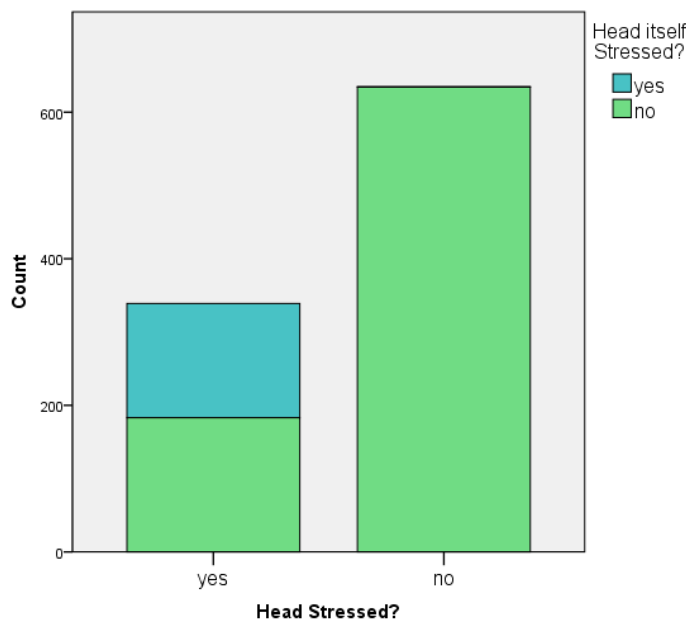
Participants were given the organisations' full title and acronym and were asked to provide syllabification and stress. For example:

- Γενική Εταιρία Κατασκευών ("General Construction Company")→ΓΕΚΑ would provide answers like 'ye.ka or ye.'ka
- Νομαρχιακή Εκτελεστική Επιτροπή ("Prefectural Executive Committee")→NOMEKE would provide answers like no.'me.ce, no.me.'ce.

APPENDIX B

1. Exp.1. Tasks *A* and *B* – Influence of position of morphosyntactic head on stress patterns

In tasks *A* and *B*, 64% of the constructed acronyms did not receive stress on the syllable containing the morphosyntactic head, which means that only 36% of the acronyms were stressed on the head. Out of those instances, in less than half (156 out of 339 tokens) was the actual syntactic head stressed (that is, the head started with a vowel). Comparable results were found in Experiment 2.



2. Exp.1. Tasks *A* and *B* – Influence of vowel hierarchy on stress patterns

Vowel hierarchy did not emerge as a major contributing factor to stress position; out of all the tokens where violation was possible (since not all acronyms have a segmental make-up that allows for violation, e.g. acronyms containing the same vowel in all syllables, or vowels of equal sonority) half of the items respected the hierarchy and half did not (305 violating vs. 308 non-violating tokens). The effect of vowel hierarchy revealed a half-half split, which suggests that, even though its effect might not be statistically significant, it might act as a contributing factor to stress position, a fact to be investigated in the future.

WORD DERIVATION IN CHILD SPEECH: EVIDENCE FROM PRESCHOOLERS

Marina Tzakosta
University of Crete, Greece
martzak74@gmail.com

Maria Hadzidaki
University of Crete, Greece
martzak@edc.uoc.gr

ABSTRACT

The goal of this paper is to assess word derivation, more specifically diminutive and augmentative formation, in the speech of preschool native speakers. Cross-linguistic studies as well as studies on Greek diminutivization have exempted the role of morphology in word formation. Here, using a picture naming task we show that, on the one hand, certain phonological aspects of Greek, such as stress, word position and syllable structure, and, on the other hand, external factors such as frequency rates are involved in word formation processes. Our findings underline the fact that apart from morphological variables, additional language-internal and language-external variables need to be considered in word formation learning and teaching.

1. Introduction

Word formation is a very productive process which is active during language development. Most importantly, it reveals the capacity of the acquirers of a language to master their mother language's vocabulary and, eventually, the morphophonological characteristics of the latter (cf. Werker et al. 2002). In general, in Greek and cross-linguistically, derivation is defined as a word formation process which usually takes the form of affixation (cf. Pállη 2005). Diminutivization applies mostly in the form of suffixation. It primarily expresses affection and is broadly used in child-directed speech (hereafter CDS). Before we turn to the Greek facts and in order to compare cross-linguistic and Greek child data, it is important to present how diminutives are formed in child speech in various languages.

In Russian, diminutivization is a non-regular but frequently attested process. It takes the form of suffixation; the use of suffixes depends on word gender and word phonological shape. Some representative examples are provided in (1) below.

- (1a) sestra 'sister',
(1b) sestr**ICHKa** or sestr**JONKa** 'sister-DIM.'

According to Voeykova (1998), the preference for certain suffixes depends on high input frequency; it is only after the age of 1;08 years that 'conscious' use of diminutive forms starts in child speech. However, such claims do not lead to safe conclusions since they come from one child only (Voeykova 1998).

In Lithuanian, diminutivization is the most frequent word formation process. Like in Russian, it takes the form of suffixation and –again – the preference of certain suffixes depends on high input frequency. Savickiene (1998) claims that diminutive vocabulary enrichment is reported – like in Russian –after the age of 1;08 years. The most frequent suffixes seem to be *-elis* and *-ele*, for the masculine and the feminine gender, respectively. This is shown in (2a) and (2b) below.

- (2a) sen-**elis** 'grandfather',
(2b) sen-**ele** 'grandmother'

In Finnish, which is an agglutinative language, simple diminutivization is realized by suffixation and stem changing processes. Suffixed diminutivization is illustrated in the data in (3a-b) and stem changing diminutivization is exemplified in (3c-e) (Laalo 1998).

- (3a) -nen → kala 'fish' - kalanen 'little fish'
(3b) tyttö 'girl' - tyttönen 'little girl'

- (3c) nenu ‘little nose’ - derived from nenä ‘nose’
- (3d) simmu ‘little eye’ - derived from silmä ‘eye’
- (3e) kännny ‘little hand’ - derived from käsi ‘hand’

However, diminutivization is not a frequent word formation process in adult speech, although it is a frequent process in child and child-directed speech. The data from one child acquiring Finnish as a mother language report the extensive use of the second type of diminutivization, namely stem changing diminutivization, already by the age of 0;10 years (examples in (3c-e)). This preference is explained by the fact that the products of diminutivization are forms which are characterized by their ‘easy’ and simple phonological shape (Laalo 1998), i.e. their simple syllabic and prosodic structure. In Greek, for example, diminutive suffixes are usually composed by simple syllabic structures lacking complex onsets and codas and are characterized by the unmarked prosodic patterns, i.e. they are disyllabic. This is the case with the diminutive suffixes *-aci* or *-ula*.

Hebrew diminutivization is realized through two fundamental processes; suffixation and reduplication which are both productive and frequently attested. Representative examples are provided in (4a) and (4b), respectively.

- (4a) kos ‘glass’, kosit ‘wineglass’
- (4b) kaxol ‘blue’, kxalxal ‘light blue’

Data come from eight children (age range: 1;02-5;06) and from this point of view we can make some general assumptions based on them. More specifically, diminutive forms emerge rather late in child Hebrew, i.e. after the age of two. Hebrew children do not make use of adult forms and prefer to produce diminutives of the *-i* pattern (cf. Ravid 1998).

In Italian, data from one child varying in age between 1;04-3;09 display that diminutivization takes place through suffixation and infixation. Recursivity is quite frequently and early attested in child speech, as shown in (5a) (De Marco 1998). According to De Marco (1998) semantic acquisition in Italian occurs only after augmentatives also emerge.

- (5) albergh-ett-uccio ‘hotel-dim-dim’

The remainder of the paper is organized as follows: in section 2 we discuss the literature on diminutive formation in Greek, while section 3 presents the methodology followed for the design and realization of our experimental task. Section 4 presents and discusses the results while section 5 concludes the paper.

2. Diminutive formation in Greek

The central aim of this paper is to investigate word derivation in the speech of Greek preschool children with typical language development. Therefore, the focus is placed, on the one hand, on the mechanisms which drive the activation of word formation processes in acquisition and, on the other hand, on whether these mechanisms are only morphological in nature or whether word formation is driven by extra-morphological, i.e. phonological principles, such as stress placement, word position, and syllabic structure complexity.

Given the existing literature on Greek, diminutives appear around the age of 2;0 in the speech of native speakers of Greek (Stephany 1995). Diminutivization seems to be determined by transparency of meaning, transparency of morphology, and productivity (Dalalakis 1996). In other words, diminutive forms have specific meaning, and, as a result, specific anaphora, and they are easy to decompose since they are morphologically simple and transparent. This is in accordance with the ideas developed in Dalalakis et al. (1999) who have reported that complex words take longer to process than simpler ones independent of length. Moreover, morphologically transparent complex words are processed faster than lexicalized complex words. For example the word κουκλ-άκ-ι is more transparent than the originally diminutive form σακάκ-ι which is not considered to be a diminutive form anymore; it is rather a lexicalized word. In addition, morphologically licit decomposition is easier than morphologically unmotivated decomposition. This is attested in the cases of κουκλ-άκ-ι vs. αυγ-ουλ-άκ-ι.

In addition, Dalalakis (1996) tested nine subjects diagnosed with Developmental Language Impairment (DLI) who varied in age between 5;0 and 16;0 years of age. Dalalakis tested 80 real (62,6%) and 20 novel words (42,4%) on the basis of two tasks, one testing comprehension and one testing production. The results showed that subjects performed better in the comprehension task

(82,2%) as opposed to the production task (75,6%) in real **-aki** diminutives. Both DLI and typically developing controls showed that performance improves with age.

Thomadaki (2007) reported that the **-aki** suffix is the most frequently attested followed by **-ula** and **-itsa**. She further claimed that type frequency rather than token frequency contributes to suffix productivity.¹ In addition, the emergence of new diminutives is related to child vocabulary growth in general.

3. Methodology

The aim of this paper is to investigate the productivity of word formation processes at the level of both diminutive and augmentative forms. The tested diminutive and augmentative suffixes are provided in (6) and (7), respectively, and are drawn from the suffixes corpus of Πάλλη (2005). The reasons we have opted for these specific suffixes are that, first, following Thomadaki (2007) these diminutive suffixes are the most frequently attested in the data and, second, both the tested diminutive and augmentative suffixes have equivalent phonological structures. More specifically, diminutive and augmentative suffixes are mostly disyllabic (with simple syllabic structures). In this template, the first syllable of diminutive suffixes is stressed.

άκι, -ούδι, -ίτσα,
- ούλης/ -ούλα/ ούλι

(7) - αρος/ -αρα
- ακλας/ -ακλα
- ος/ -α

Our participants have been 20 monolingual Greek-speaking preschoolers with typical language development, 11 girls and nine boys, whose age ranges between 4-6 years. Our tool has been a picture naming task consisting of 20 pictures. Subjects were asked to derive 20 nominal words with literal meaning from already existing nominal forms. The data were collected through free interaction with the children in true class settings. The task directed our subjects to produce diminutive, augmentative and compound forms; however, the former was designed in such a way so as to avoid any bias regarding the use of specific diminutive and/ or augmentative suffixes. The data were recorded and orthographically transcribed.

Our working hypotheses are summed up in the following; first, derived forms are more frequently attested compared to compound forms given the simpler morphophonological structure of the former. Second, diminutives are preferred to augmentative forms due to input frequency effects in CDS, and, third, certain suffixes are more frequent than others due to phonological principles.

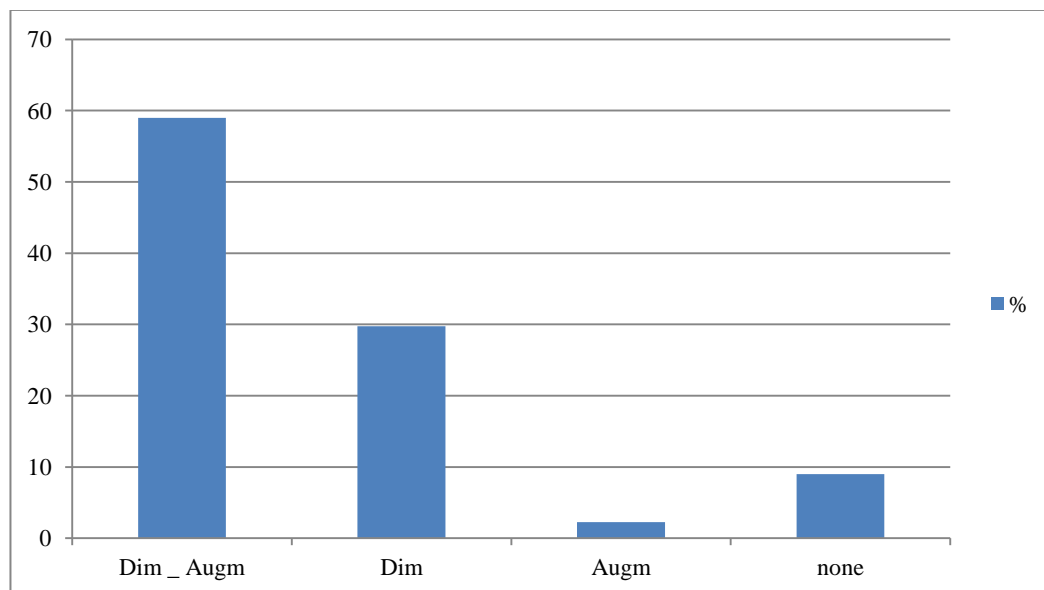
4. Results and discussion

The data massively show that derivation, in general, and diminutivization, in particular, are very productive word formation processes. This observation is in line with the existing literature on Greek child speech. More specifically, d preferred to compounding with a 95% production rate as opposed to a 5% rate. We argue that this behavior is expected given that compounding presupposes semantic knowledge of the constituents of the compound form as well (cf. Tzakosta 2009, 2010, 2011a, b, Tzakosta & Manola in press, Kalligiannaki & Tzakosta under review, Tzakosta & Mamadaki this volume). Previous research has demonstrated that compound forms are more complex in the sense that they are polysyllabic words and undergo stress readjustment (cf. Ralli 2007, Tzakosta 2009, 2010, 2011a, b).

In addition, diminutives are preferred to augmentatives in ~65% of the tested cases. Diminutive preference is further inferred by the fact that ~40% of the augmentative forms are not successfully answered as opposed to 15% of diminutives. Graph 1 presents the rates of emergence of diminutive and

¹ However, Thomadaki (2007) does not make clear why type frequency rather than token frequency contributes to suffix productivity.

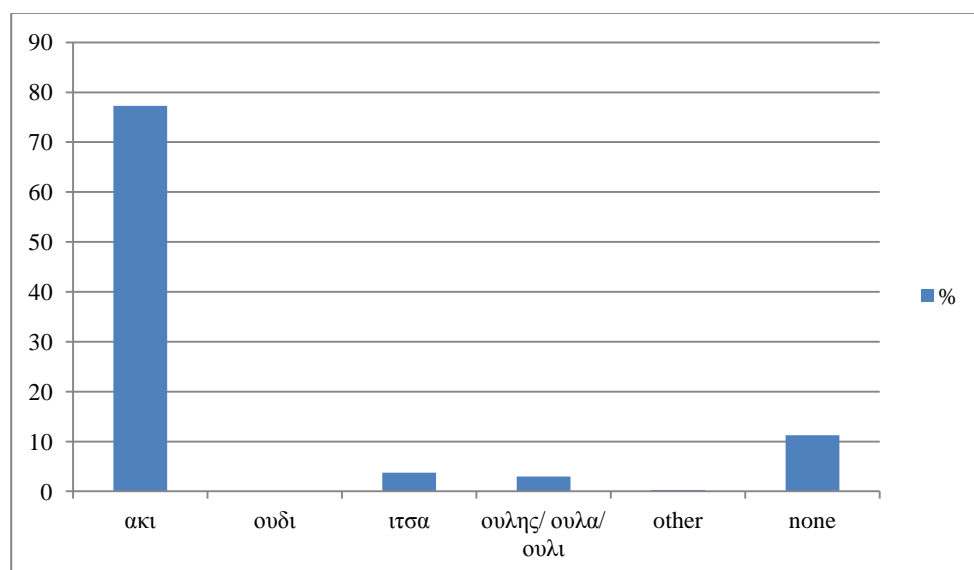
augmentative forms. More specifically, ~60% of the tested forms are used both in their diminutive and augmentative shape. In addition, 30% of the tested forms are used only in their diminutive shape in as opposed to a less than 5% preference for only augmentative forms (see examples in (1)). Almost 10% of the tested forms, a rate which is quite high, do not appear in their diminutive or augmentative form (see representative data in (1b)).



Graph 1 Use of dim & augm suffixes

- (1a) varel-**ák**-i 'small barrel-NEUT.NOM.SG.'
- (1b) varéli 'barrel- NEUT.NOM.SG.' (S4)
- (1c) vivli-**ák**-i 'small book-NEUT.NOM.SG.'
- (1d) vivli**ár**-a 'big book-FEM.NOM.SG.' (S5)
- (1e) melis-**úl**-a 'small bee-FEM.NOM.SG.'
- (1f) méli**sa** 'bee-FEM.NOM.SG.' (S8)
- (1g) krevat-**ák**-i 'small bed-NEUT.NOM.SG.'
- (1h) krevát-**a** 'big bed-FEM.NOM.SG.' (S10)

Graph 2 presents the statistical rates of the diminutive suffixes most frequently attested in the data. Our results are in line with Thomadaki (2007). More specifically, -aki is massively produced by preschool native speakers of Greek, followed by all other suffixes which exhibit much lower rates. It is worth mentioning that non-diminutive forms display a 10% rate of emergence.

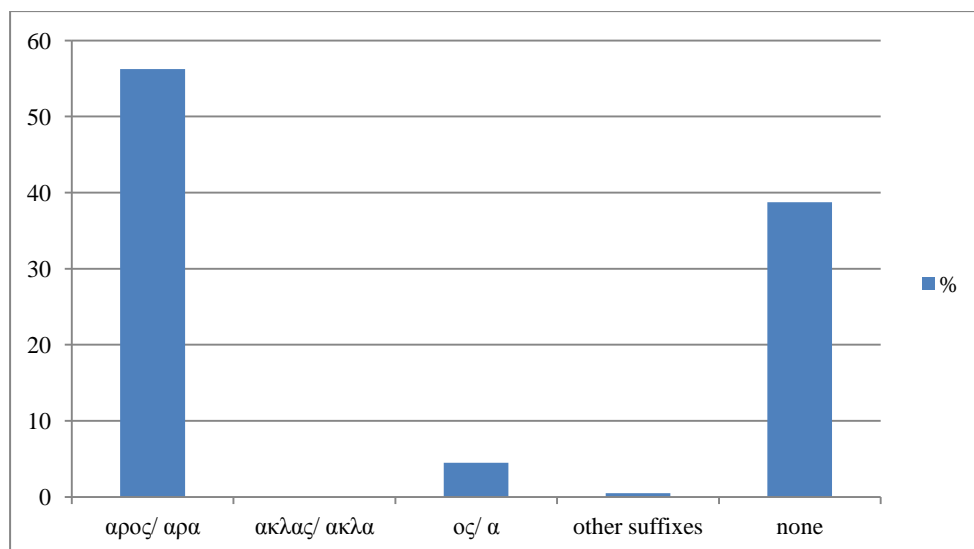


Graph 2 Frequency rates of diminutive suffixes

In addition, there are sparse cases of diminutive recursivity as shown in (2). Though not frequently, attested, such data verify the dynamics of recursivity in word formation.

(2) mil-**ar-ak-ák**-i ‘small apple-NEUT.NOM.SG.’(S1)

Graph 3, on the other hand, presents the statistical rates of the augmentative suffixes most frequently attested in the data. –αροζ/ -αρά is the most frequently attested augmentative suffix. Like in graph 2, the non-augmentative forms exhibit a very high percentage (~40%), much higher than most augmentative suffixes.



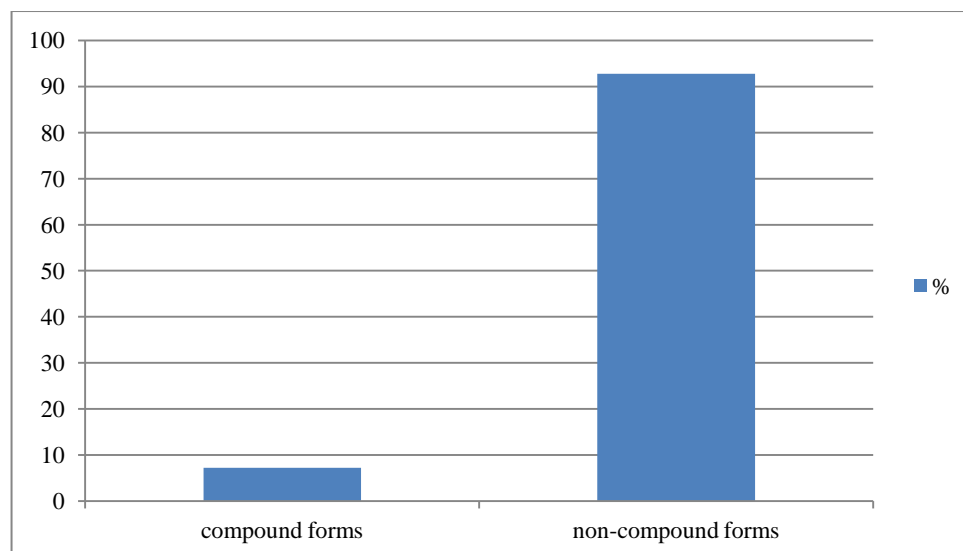
Graph 3 Frequency rates of augmentative suffixes

If we observe the facts depicted in graphs 2 and 3 in combination, we may conclude that the high rates of non-diminutive and non-augmentative forms are due to the fact that, first, word formation is not completed in the speech of preschool children. In addition, augmentative forms are more ‘difficult’ especially because of their low frequency in CDS. For example, we argue that the pnce for the –άκι suffix is attributed to the fact that diminutive production is favored by frequency effects; –άκι displays much more familiarity effects in CDS compared to other diminutive suffixes. Moreover, the target language’s phonology affects production; diminutive suffixes carry word lexical stress as opposed to augmentative suffixes. This is illustrated in (3). Therefore, suffixes which carry lexical stress are firstly acquired and produced. Conversely, suffixes with variable stress patterns are more susceptible to being perceptually ignored.

(3a) péd-aros ‘beautiful boy-MASC.NOM.SG.’

(3b) cefal-áros ‘big headed-MASC.NOM.SG.’

Finally, graph 4 displays the production rates of compound and non-compound forms. It is more than obvious that non-compound forms exhibit much higher rates compared to compound forms. We claim that non-compound forms are preferred because, first, compounding is a ‘difficult’ word formation process which presupposes acquisition/ knowledge of inflection and derivation. It also presupposes a quite large vocabulary size since a compound lies on the semantic knowledge of compound constituents. Second, the development of word formation knowledge is not a sole morphological phenomenon; it depends on a combination of factors which drive language development, such as frequency rates in CDS as well the acquisition of phonological principles which are activated at each stage of language development. Such phonological principles are word position, stress and syllabic structure complexity.



Graph 4 Production rates of compound and non-compound forms

5. Conclusions and relevant implications

The aim of the present study was, first, to investigate word derivation in the speech of Greek preschool children with typical language development. More specifically, the focus was, on the one hand, on the mechanisms which drive the activation of word formation processes in acquisition and, on the other hand, on the examination of whether these mechanisms are morphological in nature or whether word formation is driven by extra morphological strategies.

Our results revealed that the development of word formation is not a morphological phenomenon only but it depends on a combination of factors which influence language development. Such factors are frequency rates in CDS, vocabulary knowledge and the acquisition of phonological aspects of the language being acquired.

Our working hypotheses have all been verified; more specifically, derived forms are more frequently attested compared to compound forms given the simpler morphophonological structure of the former. In other words, derived forms are massively preferred to compound forms since derived words presuppose the activation of simpler word formation mechanisms. Second, diminutives are preferred to augmentative forms due to input frequency effects in CDS, and, third, certain suffixes are more frequently attested than others due to phonological principles.

Such findings underline the fact that all the above factors need to be seriously taken into consideration in class and whenever language teaching material is designed. We firmly believe that if the order of acquisition of word formation mechanisms is taken into account in language planning, then L1 and L2 teaching will be facilitated and more effective.

In this paper we have tested fundamental but not all of the phonological principles which may be related to word formation. More specifically, we examined frequency effects, stress patterns and syllabic complexity but we have not taken word position into consideration. That would be a priori difficult given that diminutive and augmentative formation takes the form of suffixation which means that right word edges are favored. However, it would be useful to test whether the right edge of the word (suffixation) is more effective than the left edge of the word (prefixation). This is an issue left for future research.

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COMPOUND FORMATION IN L2 LEARNING: THE CASE OF BULGARIAN, ROMANIAN AND RUSSIAN LEARNERS OF GREEK

Marina Tzakosta
University of Crete, Greece
martzak74@gmail.com

Maria Mamadaki
University of Crete, Greece
martzak@edc.uoc.gr

ABSTRACT

In this paper we evaluate the linguistic mechanisms which determine compound formation in the speech of L2 learners of Greek. More specifically, we used a structured questionnaire in order to test one-word compounds produced by Bulgarian, Romanian and Russian learners of Greek. Our findings were compared to findings from other studies on L2 compound formation. The data revealed that there are specific mechanisms which determine word formation and compound learning. We claim that such mechanisms are driven by Universal Grammar and their use in language teaching would facilitate language learning.

1. Introduction and theoretical background

Compounding is the most complex word formation process because it presupposes, on the one hand, the acquisition of derivation and inflection, and, on the other hand, vocabulary knowledge of the language being acquired or learned. One-word Greek compounds – or, else, lexical compounds are of two major types; [[**stem**] + [**stem**] + **derivational suffix**] and [**stem** + **word**] compounds. Words like *lemon-ó-dasos* ‘lemon forest – NEUT.NOM.SG.’ in which stress is shifted belong to the first type. In *lemon-o-dásos*, on the other hand, the second compound constituent preserves its morphophonological characteristics, i.e. its prosodic shape, gender and inflectional endings; therefore, it belongs to the second compound type (Drachman and Malikouti Drachman 1994, Malikouti-Drachman 1997, Nespor and Ralli 1994, 1996, Ralli 1992, 2002, Pállη 1996, 2005, 2007).¹ Two-word compounds belong to the so-called morphosyntactic – or, else, ‘loose’ – compounds (cf. Κολιοπούλου 2006, Pállη 2005, 2007) which fall outside of the scope of the present study.

Most research has focused on the theoretical analysis of compound forms (Drachman and Malikouti Drachman 1994, Malikouti-Drachman 1997, Nespor and Ralli 1994, 1996, Ralli 1992, 2002, Pállη 1996, 2005, 2007); however there is growing research on the perception and production of Greek compounds by atypical populations (cf. Jarema et al. 1999) and L2 learning of English nominal and deverbal compounds by Greek learners (cf. Agathopoulou 2003). The present study investigates the acquisition of Greek compounds by L2 speakers of the language placing emphasis on Bulgarian, Romanian and Russian learners of Greek. Our research questions are related to the examination of the mechanisms which drive compound formation as well as the extent to which these mechanisms are drawn from a shared pool of repair strategies among languages. More specifically, we are interested in investigating the degree to which Universal Grammar or both influence L2 compound learning irrespective of the learners’ linguistic background.

The first studies with typically developed adults, and typically developing preschool and primary school children have been conducted by Tzakosta (2009) and Τζακώστα & Μανωλά (in press), respectively. In these and related studies which will be discussed below data were collected on the basis of two off-line structured questionnaires. T(est)1 examined the formation of existing real compounds such as *spanakopita* ‘spinach pie-FEM.NOM.SG.’, whereas T(est)2 investigated the formation of non-existing morphologically possible but semantically ambiguous or vague compound words, such as *molivopita* ‘pencil pie-FEM.NOM.SG.’. The scientific goals of this experimental task are, first, to delve into the mechanism which drive compound formation, second, to investigate the degree to which

¹ For additional discussion consult Anastasiadi-Simeonidi (1983), Αναστασιάδη-Συμεωνίδη (1996α, β), Pállη & Ραυτοπούλου (1999).

mnemonic or true word formation mechanisms determine compound formation, third, to examine the extent to which universal word formation strategies govern compound formation in different target groups irrespective of the typological similarities/ differences of mother and second languages or whether these similarities/ differences prescribe word formation.

Tzakosta (2009) makes a first survey on the tendencies that Greek native speakers exhibit regarding compound formation, especially with respect to some of its major aspects. The study revealed that Greek native speakers do not make mistakes in the formation of existing compounds, though they can produce variable forms which are equally grammatical/ acceptable (Test 1). Variability is connected to stress assignment and, consequently, to the preferred compound type, i.e. [[stem + stem] + deriv. suffix] or [stem + word] as well the occurrence (or not) of the linking vowel. However, variability in word formation is not extensive regarding headedness. Heads are almost exclusively located at the right edge of the compound. Head perception is ambiguous only in novel compounds (Test 2). Moreover, test 2 bared an extensive degree of variation in the formation of non-existing forms. The linking vowel appears across-the-board in compounds whose second constituent starts with a consonant. Its emergence is optional if the second constituent starts with a vowel. Linking vowels are always present in [stem + word] compounds. Apparently, they do not emerge due to the impact of phonology, but rather due to the selection of a specific compound structure over another. Mnemonic knowledge governs the formation of existing forms (Test 1). However, non-existing novel compounds are formed mainly on the basis of word formation processes (Test 2).

Τζακώστα & Μανωλά (in press) demonstrated that primary school Greek children improve faster compared to preschool Greek children. They assume that this is due to systematic teaching during the educational process. They further showed that a) accurate perception of compound heads, b) the function of the linking vowel, c) the alternative use of different compound structures, i.e. [[stem + stem] + derivational suffix] and [stem + word], in combination with d) the possibility for stress readjustment and stress shift without change in meaning are important cues for language instruction. According to Τζακώστα & Μανωλά (in press), accurate comprehension of the mechanisms which are relevant in compound formation has two further implications.² First, it facilitates the perception of monomorphemic³ or polymorphemic words and the successful morphological segmentation of the latter. Second, this metalinguistic capacity provides preschool and primary school children with the additional possibility to incorporate newly acquired or learned words in word families and to understand the historical, structural and typological connection of Modern to Ancient Greek.

Additional studies on the acquisition of compounds by L2 learners based on the experimental material presented above (Tzakosta 2009) have been conducted by Tzakosta (2010, 2011a, b) and Kalligiannaki & Tzakosta (in press). More specifically, Tzakosta (2010) revealed that Dutch adult learners of Greek provide equivalent results with Greek native speakers with respect to the performance of the L2 experimental group regarding the variables of headedness, the linking vowel, the compound types and stress shift/ readjustment with the addition that L2 learners are highly influenced by their mother tongue (L1 transfer). As a result, the emergent compound types develop fused characteristics carrying properties from both Dutch L1 and Greek L2. Like native speakers, the L2 experimental group displayed that activation of mnemonic knowledge is extensive in T1 but not attested in T2 which is governed by word formation mechanisms.

In addition, Tzakosta (2011a) who tested Turkish learners of Greek demonstrated that both native speakers and L2 learners of Greek draw from the same pool of learning strategies governing compounding. However, it is important to note that Turkish L2 learners of Greek are also highly influenced by their mother tongue. It is important to note that the recruitment of two different age groups of Turkish learners of Greek revealed that older speakers have better knowledge of Greek. More specifically, all L2 learners show a preference for [[stem + stem] + derivational suffix] forms in both tests. Again like native speakers of Greek, Turkish L2 learners display strong activation of mnemonic knowledge in Test 1 as opposed to Test 2.

Moreover, Tzakosta (2011b) tested German learners of Greek and came to the conclusion that German learners of Greek display equivalent patterns of variation like native speakers of Greek. Tzakosta's assumption is that this is due to the fact that, to some extent, both native speakers and L2 learners draw from the same pool of universal constraints governing compounding. Like in the case of the studies discussed above, compounding in the speech of German L2 learners of Greek seems to be highly influenced by L1 word formation mechanisms. This L1 influence tends to be minimized in the

² Cf. Γαβριηλίδου (2004) for additional proposals.

³ We assume single morphemes words to be words which are inflected but not derived or compound (Tzakosta 2004).

speech of speakers who reach a high level of proficiency in Greek. Mnemonic knowledge is minimized in the formation of non-existing words both in L2 where word formation is productive.

Finally, in the same line with the previous studies, Kalligiannaki & Tzakosta (in press) exemplified that Albanian, Russian and Swedish L2 learners of Greek could potentially be (or become) bilinguals given the major findings of the data; first L2 groups provided equivalent results to L1 preschool acquirers of Greek, though they did not score as high as native speakers. Second, there is clear variation in the scores of different L2 groups; more specifically, the Russian and Swedish speakers performed better than Albanian learners in the formation of both existing (T1) and non-existing (T2) compounds. The discussion regarding the general characteristics of compound formation in Greek, Albanian, Russian and Swedish revealed that Greek is typologically more adjacent to Russian and Swedish than Albanian. In other words, typological similarity is responsible for the fact that the Swedish and Russian speakers perform better in forming compound words than the Albanian speakers. Therefore, the closer two languages are regarding their morphological synthesis the easier and faster they are learned or acquired. This entails that the inter-language typological adjacency should be seriously taken into consideration in the design and substantiation of the relevant teaching material and the teaching methods.

To sum up, all of the above studies' findings move to the same direction. More specifically, L2 learners of Greek exhibit equivalent tendencies to native speakers regarding compound formation and both acquirers and learners of Greek draw from the same pool of repair mechanisms which determine compound formation.

2. Objectives of the study and research methodology

The goals of the present study are summed up in, first, investigating the perception and production of Greek one-word compounds by Bulgarian, Romanian and Russian learners of Greek, and, second, exploring the preferred compound types, the position of heads, the role of the linking vowel, and, the emergence of morphologically variable forms.

We recruited 10 Greek native speakers and 10 L2 learners of Greek (two Bulgarian, two Romanian and six Russian) who were asked to fill in two written questionnaires, T1 and T2; we used the questionnaires designed and used in Tzakosta (2009) and subsequent works which demanded the formation of nominal and deverbal compounds. T1 examines the formation of real compounds (215 forms), like *pefkodasos* 'pine forest-MASC.NOM.SG.', while T2 investigates the formation of novel compounds (155 forms), i.e. morphologically possible but semantically non-existing words, like *molivodasos* 'pencil forest-MASC.NOM. SG.'.

Our theoretical approach is differentiated from the one followed in Kalligiannaki & Tzakosta (in press). More specifically, we do not rely on the typological similarities or differences between Greek and the mother languages of our subjects in order to evaluate the validity of the mechanisms activated during compound formation. Conversely, we deliberately 'ignore' such linguistic aspects and exclusively rely on the data per se in order to make generalized teaching proposals without taking the learners' linguistic background into consideration. In other words, we adopt a more pedagogical rather than linguistic approach of our topic.

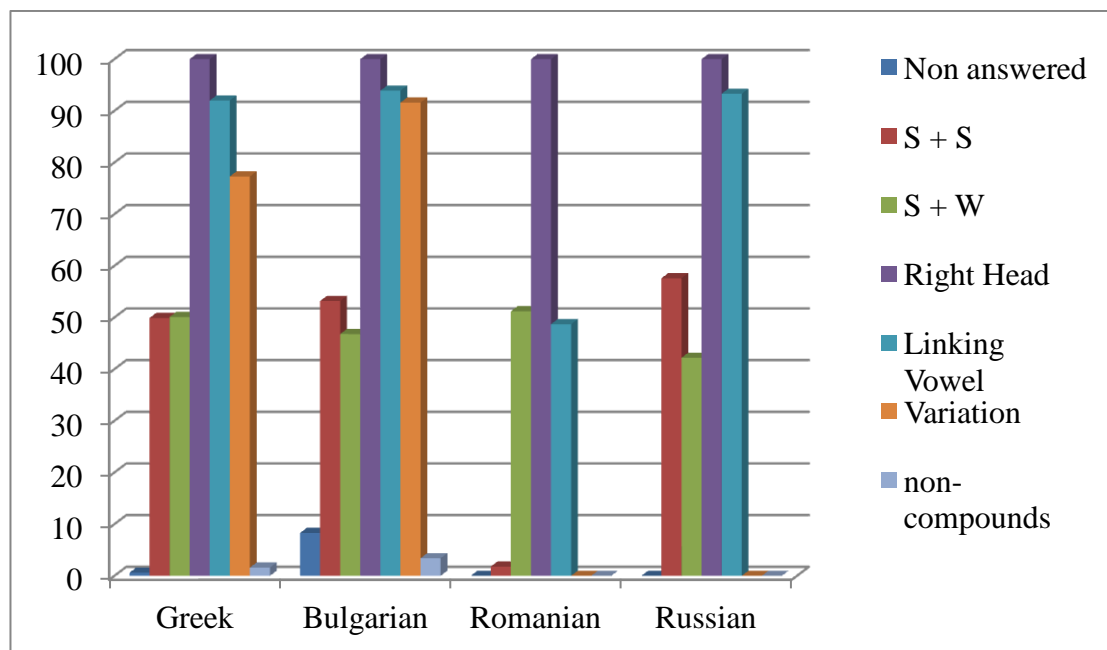
Our working hypotheses which are based on the findings of relevant previous studies (cf. Tzakosta 2009, 2010, 2011a, b, Τζακόστα & Μανωλά in press, Kalligiannaki & Tzakosta in press) are the following:

- Both Greek native speakers and L2 learners of Greek are expected to prefer producing [[stem + stem] + derivational suffix] compounds because of the unmarked prosodic pattern of the latter. In other words, [[stem + stem] + derivational suffix] compounds are characterized by stress shift which results in the untepenultimate stress pattern of Greek.
- linking vowels/elements comprise compound perceptual cues. In other words, linking vowels/elements are supposed to drive accurate compound perception and production.
- Heads almost always emerge at the right edge of the word for both native speakers and L2 learners.
- Native speakers' and L2 learners' compound perception is influenced by language frequency and language use. Words of high frequency are not recognized as compounds; therefore, they are produced based on mnemonic knowledge. On the contrary, words of low frequency are produced through the activation of word formation mechanisms.
- Mnemonic mechanisms are activated in T1 while true word formation capacity is attested in the formation of novel compound forms.

- Both native speakers and L2 learners draw from the same pool of word formation mechanisms governed by Universal Grammar (hereafter UG).

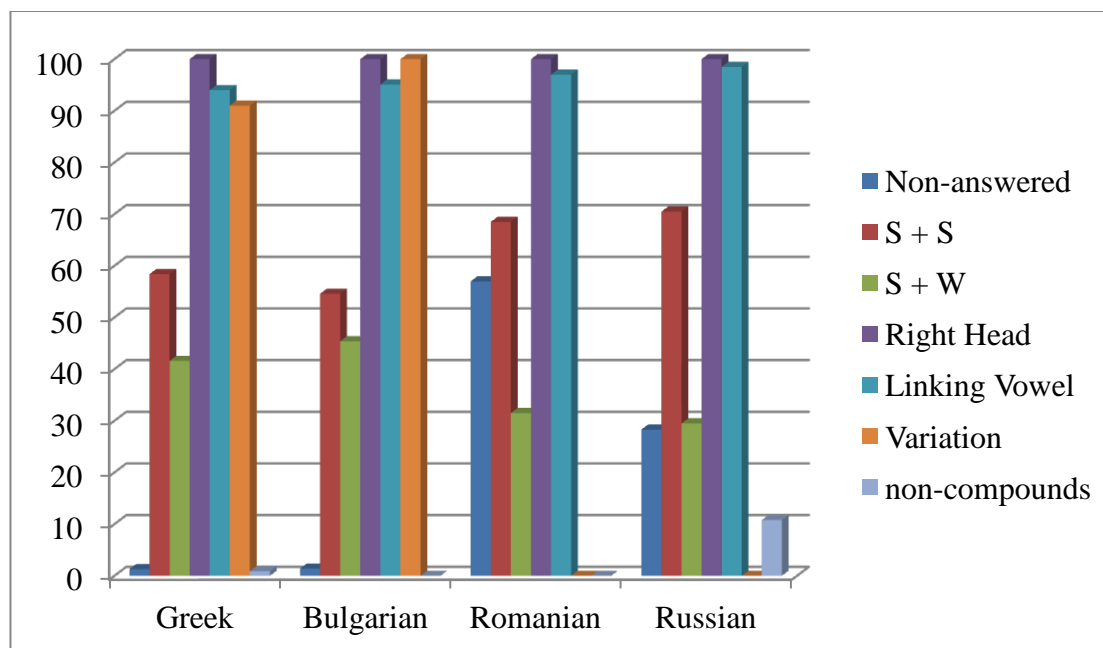
3. Results and Discussion

In this section we present the results of our data regarding the major variables tested in this study, namely the preferred compound type, the position of heads and the emergence of the linking vowel. Graph 1 presents the statistical results of L2 learners regarding T1, i.e. the questionnaire which evaluates the formation of existing compounds. The first interesting outcome is that irrespective of the L1 linguistic background of our subjects they all show equivalent tendencies. More specifically, it seems that heads and the linking vowel constitute important perception and production cues since they exhibit very high rates of accurate and correct emergence in the data for both native speakers and L2 learners. Moreover, although native speakers do not make a clear preference for [[stem + stem] + derivational suffix] or [stem + word] compounds, Bulgarian and Russian learners show a preference for [[stem + stem] + derivational suffix] compounds, while Romanian learners opt for [stem + word] compounds. In addition, native speakers and Bulgarian and Russian learners productively use variable forms like *ponokefalos* vs. *kefaloponos* ‘headache-MASC.NOM.SG.’ without any change in meaning. In relation to that, it seems that our subjects have a good knowledge of the Greek vocabulary since the rates of non-answered questions and non-compound forms emerging instead of compound ones are very low for all groups of learners.



Graph 1 Statistical results for existing compounds (T1)

Graph 2 enhances the validity of the results of T1 in the sense that T2 data move to the same direction like those in T1. More specifically, heads correctly appear at the right edge of the word and linking vowels accurately emerge where needed almost across-the-board for all groups of subjects, native speakers and L2 learners. The rate of non-answered questions in T2 is low for native speakers and Bulgarian L2 learners but is very high for Romanian and Russian learners. At the same time, variable forms emerge extensively in the data of native speakers and Bulgarian learners and are almost non-existing in the data of Romanian and Russian L2 learners. This might imply that Romanian and Russian learners are still in the process of learning compound formation mechanisms, which are, in turn, evidence for vocabulary mastery. Moreover, [[stem + stem] + derivational suffix] compounds are clearly preferred by all subjects groups. We assume that this is proof for the fact that unmarked patterns, like the antepenultimate stress template, emerge when true word formation mechanisms are activated.



Graph 2 Statistical results for non-existing novel compounds (T2)

Such results verify all our working hypotheses. To sum them up, it appears that all subjects groups prefer to produce forms which fall within unmarked phonological patterns. All groups use cues for accurate perception and correct production of compound forms. More specifically, heads and linking vowels determine to a great extent correct production of both existing and novel compounds. However, we cannot ignore the fact that word use and word frequency govern mnemonic mechanisms. Novel compounds, on the other hand, are governed by UG repair strategies.

The data further showed that all subjects groups' statistical results are related to the proficiency level of the learners rather than the typological similarities and/ or differences of the learners' L1 background with the L2 target language. This further implies that the same teaching methods can be used for different learners' groups. More specifically, the structure of compound types, headedness and the use of the linking vowels, constitute important perceptual and teaching cues and facilitate morphology and vocabulary learning.

4. Conclusions

In this study we tested the capacity of Greek native speakers and Bulgarian, Romanian and Russian learners of Greek to form compound words. The data revealed that irrespective of the morphological synthesis of the learners' L1 background, both native speakers and L2 learners demonstrate equivalent results for most tested variables. In other words, certain linguistic aspects, such as unmarked stress patterns, the use of the linking vowel and right headedness constitute strong perceptual cues, and, consequently, strong teaching tools for all groups. Moreover, the results of the present study are in line with the results of previous studies (cf. Tzakosta 2009, 2010, 2011a, b, Τζακόστα & Μανωλά in press, Kalligiannaki & Tzakosta in press); this supports our claim that UG mechanisms determine word formation even at advanced proficiency levels.

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PRONOMINAL AND ANAPHORIC REFERENCE IN GREEK SPECIFIC LANGUAGE IMPAIRMENT

Spyridoula Varlokosta
University of Athens, Greece
svarlokosta@phil.uoa.gr

Michaela Nerantzini
University of Athens, Greece
m_nerantzini@phil.uoa.gr

ABSTRACT

Η παρούσα μελέτη εξετάζει την κατανόηση κλιτικών και αυτοπαθών αντωνυμιών στην Ειδική Γλωσσική Διαταραχή (ΕΓΔ). Παρουσιάζονται τα αποτελέσματα μιας δοκιμασίας επιλογής εικόνας, που χορηγήθηκε σε 14 ελληνόφωνα παιδιά με ΕΓΔ και σε δύο ομάδες ελέγχου 48 παιδιών τυπικής ανάπτυξης (ΤΑ). Τα παιδιά με ΕΓΔ παρουςίασαν έλλειμμα στην κατανόηση των αυτοπαθών αλλά όχι των κλιτικών αντωνυμιών σε συνθήκες συντακτικά απλών προτάσεων, ενώ τα παιδιά ΤΑ είχαν υψηλές επιδόσεις και στα δύο είδη αντωνυμιών. Σημαντικές δυσκολίες διαπιστώθηκαν στα παιδιά με ΕΓΔ αλλά και στα παιδιά ΤΑ στην κατανόηση των κλιτικών και όχι των αυτοπαθών αντωνυμιών σε συνθήκες συντακτικά σύνθετων προτάσεων.

Keywords: clitics, reflexives, *na*-clauses, secondary predicate constructions, specific language impairment, Greek

1. Introduction

Cross-linguistic research on the acquisition of pronominal and anaphoric reference has shown that while typically developing (TD) children do not have problems interpreting reflexive anaphors (*himself*, *herself*) (1), sometimes they erroneously allow strong pronouns (*him*, *her*) to co-refer with an inter-clausal antecedent (2) (Chien and Wexler, 1990; Grodzinsky and Reinhart, 1993). However, further research has revealed that children's interpretation of pronominal elements varies across sentence constructions; co-reference errors do not appear with quantificational antecedents (3) (Chien and Wexler, 1990; Philip and Coopmans, 1996; for a different view see Elbourne, 2005) or in cases where clitics are involved instead of strong pronouns (4) (Baauw, Escobar, and Philip, 1997; Escobar and Gavarró, 1999; McKee, 1992; Varlokosta, 1999/2000). Moreover, asymmetries have been observed in the interpretation of pronominals in simple contexts compared to more complex ones; while clitics are well-interpreted in simple transitive clauses (4), they are misinterpreted in Exceptional Case Marking (henceforth, ECM) contexts (5) (Baauw et al., 1997; Escobar and Gavarró, 1999; Hamann, Kowalski, and Philip, 1997; Varlokosta, 1999/2000). Erroneous interpretations in ECM contexts are evident in the case of strong pronouns as well (6), giving rise to a much stronger effect than the one reported for clitics (Philip and Coopmans, 1996). In contrast, reflexive anaphors tend to be well-interpreted across conditions, simple clauses (1) and ECM constructions (7).

- | | | |
|-----|--|---|
| (1) | Mum _i is washing herself _{i/*k} | [Child language: Mum _i is washing herself _{i/*k}] |
| (2) | Mum _i is washing her _{*i/k} | [Child language: Mum _i is washing her _i] |
| (3) | Every mum _i is washing her _{*i/k} | [Child language: Every mum _i is washing her _{*i/k}] |
| (4) | Gianni _i lo _{*i/k} asciuga
John him-cl dries
'John dries him' | [Child language: Gianni _i lo _{*i/k} asciuga] |
| (5) | La niña _i la _{*i/k} seca
the girl her-cl dry off
'The girl is drying her off' | [Child language: La niña _i la _i seca] |
| (6) | Mum _i sees her _{*i/k} dance | [Child language: Mum _i sees her _i dance] |

(7) Mum_i sees *herself*_{i/*k} dance

[Child language: Mum_i sees *herself*_{i/*k} dance]

Selective asymmetries in the interpretation of pronominal and anaphoric elements have been also reported for children with Specific Language Impairment (henceforth, SLI), a developmental language disorder, typically associated with normal non-linguistic cognitive abilities but severe difficulties in language comprehension and production (van der Lely, 1996; among others). However, the findings reported in the existing studies regarding the observed asymmetries in the interpretation of pronominals and reflexives are not always compatible. In particular, van der Lely and Stollwerck (1997) report that performance of their English-speaking SLI group on conditions with strong pronouns was worse compared to conditions with reflexives in the case of sentences with referential antecedents; the pattern was reversed in the case of sentences with quantificational antecedents, with reflexives presenting greater difficulties compared to strong pronouns. In contrast, in an online priming study, Hestvik, Schwartz, Tornyoova, Almodovar, Love, and Swinney (2007) observed good comprehension of pronouns by English-speaking SLI children who were impaired in structures derived by *wh*-movement. The authors argue that the deficit observed in SLI children concerns true movement relations and not pronominal/anaphoric relations, which are encoded at a non-syntactic level of representation. In a similar vein, Novogrodsky and Friedmann (2010) present evidence of intact performance regarding the interpretation of strong pronouns and anaphoric reflexives by their group of Hebrew-speaking SLI children, despite observed impairments of the group in the production and comprehension of structures derived by *wh*-movement (relative clauses and *wh*-questions). They also conclude that SLI children do not have difficulties with all kinds of syntactic dependencies (contra van der Lely, 1996; van der Lely and Stollwerck, 1997). Studies on the comprehension of pronominal clitics present controversial findings, as well. Jakubowicz, Nash, Rigaut, and Gérard (1998) do not observe difficulties regarding the interpretation of pronominal clitics in their group of French-speaking SLI children, who produced coreference errors in only 10% of the cases, whereas Varlokosta (2002) reports some difficulties regarding the comprehension of pronominal clitics in her group of Greek-speaking SLI children, who produced coreference errors 28% of the time. Great difficulties are observed by Varlokosta (2002) in the performance of her SLI cohort on strong pronoun conditions, where coreference errors were produced in 50% of the cases. In contrast, Stavrakaki and van der Lely (2010) report that their group of Greek-speaking SLI children present a deficit in the interpretation of pronominal clitics (55% correct performance) but not in the interpretation of strong pronouns (87.5% correct performance) or reflexives (100% correct performance). Last, an asymmetry in SLI children's interpretation of clitics in simple transitive sentences compared to complex contexts has been reported by Varlokosta (2002): whereas clitics are misinterpreted in simple transitive clauses, like (8), in 28% of the cases, they are misinterpreted 67% of the time in complex contexts that involve a secondary predicate construction (SPC), as in (9); interestingly, very few misinterpretations are found in complex contexts that involve a *na*-clause, as in (10), where coreference errors are observed in only 17% of the cases.

(8) O Gufi_i *ton*_{*i/k} skepase
Goofy covered him

(9) O Gufi_i *ton*_{*i/k} iðe ðemeno
Goofy saw him tied up

(10) O Gufi_i *ton*_{*i/k} iðe na xorevi
Goofy saw him dance

It is apparent that the cross-linguistic findings regarding pronominal and anaphoric reference in SLI are inconclusive since it is not clear (a) whether the interpretation of strong pronouns presents greater difficulties compared to the interpretation of reflexives (van der Lely and Stollwerck, 1997 vs. Hestvik et al., 2007; Novogrodsky and Friedmann, 2010), and (b) whether the interpretation of clitics is unproblematic or less problematic compared to the interpretation of strong pronouns (Jakubowicz et al., 1998; Varlokosta, 2002 vs. Stavrakaki and van der Lely, 2010). Moreover, the findings of the two Greek studies concerning pronominal and anaphoric reference in SLI raise the following issues: (a) Is the comprehension of pronominal clitics less deficient compared to the interpretation of strong pronouns? (Varlokosta, 2002 vs. Stavrakaki and van der Lely, 2010); (b) Is the comprehension of pronominal clitics more deficient compared to the interpretation of anaphoric reflexives? (Stavrakaki and van der Lely, 2010); (c) Is the comprehension of clitics better preserved in simple contexts compared to complex contexts? (Varlokosta, 2002).

In the present study we address some of the above issues by investigating the comprehension of pronominal clitics and anaphoric reflexives in a group of 14 Greek-speaking SLI children with a picture selection task. In particular, we examine (a) whether the comprehension of pronominal clitics is more deficient compared to the interpretation of anaphoric reflexives in simple transitive clauses, and (b) whether performance on clitics becomes more deficient in complex structures that involve a *na*-clause or a SPC. Unlike Varlokosta (2002), where the SLI group was indirectly compared to TD children without strict matching procedures, we compare our SLI cohort to two control groups of TD children, one matched on language ability and one matched on chronological age.

2. The present study

2.1 Participants

The participants of the study were: Fourteen (14) monolingual Greek-speaking children with SLI (12 male), aged from 5;5 to 7;10 years (mean age: 6;2, SD: 0.77), and two control groups of TD children: (a) one group matched on language ability (LA) (n=28) on the basis of raw scores from a subset of the Diagnostic Test of Verbal Intelligence (DVIQ) (production of vocabulary) (Stavrakaki and Tsimpli, 2000), aged from 3;11 to 6;0 (mean age: 4;7, SD=0.65) (see Table 1); and (b) one group matched on chronological age (CA) (n=28), aged from 5;0 to 7;8 (mean age: 5;9, SD=0.87). Each SLI child was matched individually for language ability to two TD children (within 3 points of the DVIQ). The SLI and CA groups were matched individually for chronological age (within 6 months); there were no significant differences in chronological age between the two groups ($p > .1$). All children demonstrated a normal range of nonverbal IQ, in addition to hearing and spatial acuity preservation, no history of frank neurological impairment, no psychological or emotional disturbance, and none received any kind of medications.

SLI group	Age (years/month)	DVIQ scores (vocabulary)	LA group	Age (years/month)	DVIQ scores (vocabulary)
P1	6;0	18	TD1	4;9	16
			TD2	5;2	18
P2	6;3	18	TD1	4;5	17
			TD2	5;0	17
P3	6;0	19	TD1	4;4	19
			TD2	5;1	18
P4	5;5	23	TD1	5;1	20
			TD2	5;6	21
P5	7;7	23	TD1	5;2	20
			TD2	6;0	24
P6	7;3	23	TD1	4;4	20
			TD2	5;6	20
P7	7;10	17	TD1	5;4	17
			TD2	5;3	16
P8	6;4	15	TD1	4;5	15
			TD2	5;6	16
P9	5;2	14	TD1	3;11	11
			TD2	4;0	12
P10	5;8	14	TD1	4;2	15
			TD2	4;4	14
P11	5;9	16	TD1	5;0	15
			TD2	4;7	16
P12	6;4	16	TD1	4;1	16
			TD2	4;11	17
P13	5;10	14	TD1	4;4	12
			TD2	4;2	12
P14	5;5	14	TD1	4;0	12
			TD2	4;1	14

Table 1 Participants (SLI and LA): Age and DVIQ scores

2.2 Materials and procedure

A picture selection task was employed, which contained 40 clauses in 8 different conditions divided into simple and complex contexts: (i) simple contexts: referential antecedent with a clitic (11); referential antecedent with a reflexive (12); quantificational antecedent with a clitic (13); and quantificational antecedent with a reflexive (14); (ii) complex contexts: clitic in a *na*-clause (15); reflexive in a *na*-clause (16); clitic in a SPC (17); and reflexive in a SPC (18). Simple structures contained 6 sentences per condition, whereas complex structures included 4 sentences per condition.

- | | | |
|------|---|-------------------|
| (11) | <i>O babas ton zografizi.</i>
Dad is painting him (CL) | [simple context] |
| (12) | <i>O babas zografizi ton eafto tu.</i>
Dad is painting himself (RFL) | [simple context] |
| (13) | <i>Kathe babas ton zografizi.</i>
Every dad is painting him (QNT-CL) | [simple context] |
| (14) | <i>Kathe babas zografizi ton eafto tu.</i>
Every dad is painting himself (QNT-RFL) | [simple context] |
| (15) | <i>O babas ton ide na horevi.</i>
Dad saw him dance (<i>na</i> -CL) | [complex context] |
| (16) | <i>O babas ide ton eafto tu na horevi.</i>
Dad saw himself dance (<i>na</i> -RFL) | [complex context] |
| (17) | <i>O babas ton ide demeno.</i>
Dad saw him tied up (SPC-CL) | [complex context] |
| (18) | <i>O babas ide ton eafto tu demeno.</i>
Dad saw himself tied up (SPC-RFL) | [complex context] |

All participants were presented with two black and white cartoon pictures at a time in one page of A4 size, while they heard a test sentence that corresponded to one of these pictures. Participants then were asked to point to the correct picture. Test sentences always followed an introductory sentence to set the context. The pictures depicted two occasions: one which matched the spoken sentence (the *match*) and one which did not match the spoken sentence (the *mismatch*) (see Fig. 1 for an illustration of test sentence 11). All items were randomised across conditions. Fillers were also included and the order of the pictures (presented on the left or right side) was reversed across conditions, in order to avoid habituation effects. A few practice items were included prior testing in order to make sure that children were familiar with the procedure. Repetition of test sentences was allowed, when necessary. The task was administered within one session.

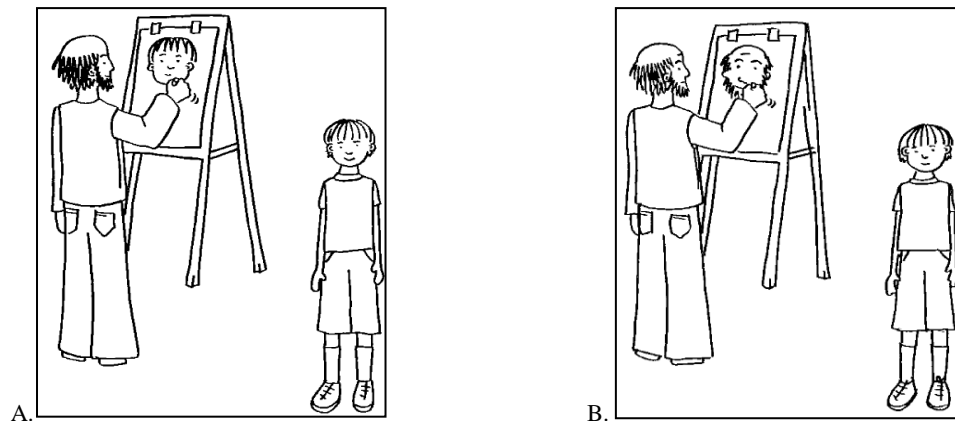


Fig. 1 Introductory sentence: *Ehume enan baba ce enan maθiti.* We have a dad and a student.
Test sentence: *O babas ton zografizi.* Dad is painting him.
Picture A: *match* (correct) / Picture B: *mismatch*

3. Results

Our data revealed that Greek-speaking SLI children have selective difficulties in the comprehension of clitics and reflexives. As it is shown in Table 2, pronominal and anaphoric reference in simple contexts does not cause difficulties to SLI and TD children given the relatively high scores of accuracy all groups attained (above 79%). However, although no asymmetries were observed between clitics and reflexives in simple contexts for both TD groups ($p > .1$), the SLI group performed significantly better on clitics (with a referential or a quantificational antecedent) compared to (a) reflexives with a referential antecedent ($\chi^2=8,513$, $p=.004$; *Cramer's V* = .225); and (b) reflexives with a quantificational antecedent ($\chi^2=10,573$, $p=.001$; *Cramer's V* = .251).

	CL	RFL	QNT-CL	QNT-RFL	na-CL	na-RFL	SPC-CL	SPC-RFL
SLI group	0,94 (0,23)	0,79 (0,41)	0,94 (0,23)	0,76 (0,42)	0,59 (0,49)	0,86 (0,35)	0,52 (0,50)	0,91 (0,28)
LA group	0,95 (0,21)	0,87 (0,33)	0,85 (0,35)	0,87 (0,33)	0,57 (0,49)	0,91 (0,28)	0,61 (0,49)	0,89 (0,31)
CA group	0,97 (0,17)	0,95 (0,21)	0,95 (0,22)	0,95 (0,21)	0,57 (0,49)	0,94 (0,24)	0,57 (0,49)	0,99 (0,09)

Table 2 Overall scores (mean/Sdv)

In contrast, the performance of all groups (SLI, LA, and CA) dropped significantly in the complex conditions (*na*-clause, SPC). Specifically, less accurate scores were obtained within all three groups in (a) *na*-clauses with clitics, compared to simple contexts with clitics (SLI group: $\chi^2=25,900$, $p=.000$; *Cramer's V* = .430; LA group: $\chi^2=60,952$, $p=.000$; *Cramer's V* = .467; CA group: $\chi^2=69,649$, $p=.000$; *Cramer's V* = .499); and (b) SPCs with clitics, compared to simple contexts with clitics (SLI group: $\chi^2=34,035$, $p=.000$; *Cramer's V* = .493; LA group: $\chi^2=52,964$, $p=.000$; *Cramer's V* = .435; CA group: $\chi^2=71,770$, $p=.000$; *Cramer's V* = .506). Selective asymmetries in the interpretation of clitics and reflexives were also observed within complex contexts; (a) clitics but not reflexives were misinterpreted in *na*-clauses (SLI group: $\chi^2=10,036$, $p=.002$; *Cramer's V* = .299; LA group: $\chi^2=33,595$, $p=.000$; *Cramer's V* = .387; CA group: $\chi^2=40,510$, $p=.000$; *Cramer's V* = .425); and (b) clitics but not reflexives were misinterpreted in SPCs (SLI group: $\chi^2=17,785$, $p=.000$; *Cramer's V* = .395; LA group: $\chi^2=24,381$, $p=.000$; *Cramer's V* = .330; CA group: $\chi^2=59,321$, $p=.000$; *Cramer's V* = .515).

Additionally, whilst no asymmetries were observed between the SLI and the LA group, reflexives were significantly better interpreted by the CA group compared to the SLI group in simple contexts with a referential antecedent ($\chi^2=16,811$, $p=.000$; *Cramer's V* = .258) and in simple contexts with a quantificational antecedent ($\chi^2=20,571$, $p=.000$; *Cramer's V* = .286).

4. Discussion

The present study investigated the ability of Greek-speaking SLI children to assign reference to pronominal clitics and reflexive anaphors in simple and complex constructions, and compared their performance to the performance of two control groups of TD children, one matched on language ability (LA) to the SLI cohort and one matched on chronological age (CA). Our results from TD children revealed that both control groups (LA and CA) performed high in all simple contexts, while they manifested difficulties with the comprehension of clitics in complex contexts, like *na*-clauses and SPCs. Our results regarding high performance on clitics and reflexives in simple contexts are in line with previous findings for Greek (Varlokosta, 1999/2000; 2002), as well as with cross-linguistic findings (Baauw et al., 1997; Escobar and Gavarró, 1999; Hamann et al., 1997; McKee, 1992), and indicate that TD children acquire reference assignment in simple contexts at an early age. Our results regarding low performance on complex contexts with clitics compared to simple contexts with clitics, as well as the asymmetry observed between complex contexts with clitics and complex contexts with reflexives are also compatible with previous cross-linguistic findings, where similar dissociations have been observed (Baauw et al., 1997; Escobar and Gavarró, 1999; Hamann et al., 1997; Varlokosta, 1999/2000; 2002).

Our results, however, revealed a pattern that was not manifested in previous research on Greek; unlike Varlokosta (1999/2000; 2002), where an asymmetry was observed between *na*-clauses and SPCs, with higher performance of TD children on *na*-clauses compared to SPCs, our findings revealed

similar difficulties regarding the interpretation of clitics in both complex contexts. One difference between this study and the previous studies lies in the choice of experimental task: while in the present study a version of the picture selection task was used, in Varlokosta (1999/2000; 2002), an act out version of the truth value judgment task was employed. The methodological difference between this study and the previous ones may have contributed to the observed differences in the results. We will not analyze further these differences, but for discussions regarding task effects, see Baauw and Zuckerman (2009), Conroy, Takahashi, Lidz, and Phillips (2009), and Sanoudaki and Varlokosta (2011). What is crucial for our purposes is the fact that the difficulties in the interpretation of clitics in complex structures observed in previous studies were replicated in this study as well, and, notably, that these difficulties appear to be persistent in TD children that are 7-year-old (compare with other studies where similar errors have been observed in younger TD children; 3;5 to 6;3 year-old children in Escobar and Gavarró, 1999; 3;6 to 5;10 year-old children in Varlokosta, 1999/2000; 2002). In six of the twenty eight children in the CA group, that were 6;10 to 7;8 (mean age: 7;3), coreference errors were observed 58% of the time in *na*-clauses with clitics and 62.5% of the time in SPCs with clitics. In contrast, performance of these children on *na*-clauses and SPCs with reflexives was 100% accurate. The errors observed in complex contexts with clitics have been attributed to overgeneralization of A-chains (Reinhart and Reuland, 1993) by children, a result that is due to incomplete lexical acquisition of the grammatical features of personal pronouns (Baauw et al., 1997; Philip and Coopmans, 1996). The idea is that children treat pronominal elements as [-R], instead of [+R], resulting in configurations that violate the Chain Condition (Baauw et al., 1997). This approach faces a number of problems, particularly if one takes into account the feature specification of Greek pronominals and reflexives (Nerantzini, Papadopoulou, and Varlokosta, 2011; Varlokosta, 2011). For the purposes of the present study, we will only point out that if one adopts the analysis of incomplete lexical acquisition of the grammatical features of personal pronouns as an explanation for the coreference errors observed in complex contexts with clitics, one has to maintain the idea that the grammatical features of pronouns are not acquired before the age of 8, an idea that seems quite odd and faces empirical problems as well (see Vasić, 2006).

Let us now turn to the findings for the SLI group. Regarding performance on clitics, similarly to the TD control groups, our SLI cohort performed very high on simple contexts. This finding is in line with previous studies that show spared interpretation of clitics by SLI children in simple constructions (cf. Jakubowicz et al., 1998), or less deficient interpretation of clitics compared to strong pronouns (cf. Varlokosta, 2002), but incompatible with studies that show deficient interpretation of pronominal clitics in SLI (cf. Stavrakaki and van der Lely, 2010). The spared interpretation of clitics in simple contexts indicates that (a) SLI children do not have a deficit related to the grammatical nature of object clitics (i.e. to the grammatical features they carry) (contra Tsimpili and Stavrakaki, 1999), and (b) SLI children do not have a deficit related to feature checking in syntactic dependencies that incur movement or chain formation, such as object clitics (contra Stavrakaki and van der Lely, 2010) (for evidence of unimpaired production of object clitics by SLI children, see Manika, Varlokosta, and Wexler, 2011). In contrast, the findings of this study are compatible with approaches arguing that SLI children do not have difficulties with all kinds of syntactic dependencies (cf. Novogrodsky and Friedmann, 2010).

Regarding reflexives, performance of our SLI group on simple contexts (in conditions with both referential and quantificational antecedents) was significantly worse compared to their performance on simple contexts with clitics. Moreover, performance of the SLI children on these conditions was significantly worse compared to performance of the TD children, particularly to the performance of the CA group, on the same conditions. Our SLI group's poor performance on reflexives provides evidence for atypical acquisition of anaphoric reference and is not fully compatible with findings reported in previous studies. It is not in line with findings reported in Stavrakaki and van der Lely (2010), where SLI children performed at ceiling on the reflexive condition (simple transitive clauses with a referential antecedent), and it is partly compatible with findings reported in van der Lely and Stollwerck (1997), where poor performance was observed on the reflexive condition with a quantificational antecedent but not on the reflexive condition with a referential antecedent. We conjecture that our findings indicate that sometimes SLI children have difficulties in accepting the correct antecedent within the relevant binding domain. Given that SLI children are known to exhibit processing limitations (Bishop, 1992; among others), these difficulties may be due to a general processing problem on the establishment of certain syntactic relations, particularly on the establishment of the bound reading. This line of explanation raises the question why a processing problem was not evident in the establishment of the bound reading in complex structures. We assume that the high performance of the SLI children in these constructions does not reflect a genuine bound reading interpretation, but is possibly a coreferential kind of reading, similar to that observed in complex structures with clitics. Although the source of the

coreferential reading in the case of complex structures is not obvious to us, it may be due to the different binding domains assumed by the children in these contexts compared to simple contexts.

To conclude, our study on the acquisition of pronominal and anaphoric reference in SLI showed that some of the asymmetries observed in the performance of TD children are also evident in the performance of SLI children, namely better performance on pronominal clitics in simple compared to complex contexts and better performance on anaphoric reflexives than pronominal clitics in complex contexts. However, differences were observed between the SLI and the two control groups of TD children in the interpretation of anaphoric reflexives in simple transitive clauses, indicating an atypical course of acquisition. It was argued that the findings of this study are not compatible with the view that SLI children have a deficit related to the grammatical nature of object clitics or to the feature checking operation through which the interpretation between object clitics and their referents is established, but support the view that SLI children do not have difficulties with all kinds of syntactic dependencies. The atypical performance of SLI children on anaphoric reflexives was attributed to a general processing problem on the establishment of the bound reading.

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MEASURING THE GREEK INFINITIVE THROUGH TIME

Marina Vassiliou

University of Athens

marina.vassiliou@gmail.com

ABSTRACT

The current work consists in a series of statistical analyses of Greek infinitival structures, aiming at illustrating the syntactic behaviour of the Greek infinitive through time. Spanning the period 5 BC – AD 16, the specific structures are drawn from texts of various authors and divergent topics, being representative of the four synchronies of the Greek language. The text corpus employed exceeds 5 million words in size, within which the infinitival occurrences approximate 102,000. To the best of our knowledge, measurements of such scale are presented for the first time, allowing a diachronic study of the infinitive use supported by statistical tests.

Keywords: Greek infinitive, Accusative case, statistical analysis, discriminant models

1. Introduction

The current paper, being part of an ongoing work, the object of which is the syntactic behaviour of the Greek infinitival structures through time, presents a set of statistical analyses of the evolution of the Greek infinitive. These analyses were based on measurements of infinitival occurrences over an extensive corpus of texts dated from 5 BC to AD 16. The specific Corpus of Infinitival Structures (named hereafter **CIS**) has more than 5 million words and contains approximately 102,000 infinitival occurrences, which were manually annotated and classified by the author on the basis of their syntactic function.

The paper has the following structure: Section 2 provides detailed information on how CIS was compiled and what its contents are. Section 3 describes the categories into which the infinitival occurrences were classified, while Sections 4 and 5 present a set of initial observations on the data, which allow a profiling of the synchronies in terms of the use of the infinitive. The subsequent section 6 reports on the statistical analyses performed, while Section 7 concludes the paper.

2. Data description and collection

The Corpus of Infinitival Structures comprises infinitival structures drawn from texts of various authors and divergent topics, such as history, chronography, rhetoric, philosophy, tragedy, comedy, poetry, novel, epic, mythology, ecclesiastical texts, hagiography etc.¹ These texts span a pretty extensive period, ranging from 5 BC to AD 16, and are representative of the four synchronies (or periods²) of the Greek language, namely (i) **Classical Greek [CL]** (5 – 4 BC), (ii) **Hellenistic Koine [KO]** (3 BC – AD 4), (iii) the **Early Byzantine period [EB]** (AD 5 – 10) and (iv) the **Late Byzantine period [LB]** (AD 11 – 16). It should be noted that special care was taken for the texts of the last three periods to be of the vernacular variety.

¹ The corpus of infinitival structures does not include text material from inscriptions and papyri, as these may well be considered as a discrete register reflecting the status of spoken Greek at the Koine period, which will be studied in conjunction to the current contents of the corpus at a later stage of this research.

² It should be noted that the terms "period" and "synchrony" are used here interchangeably.

The primary resource employed for compiling the corpus was the Thesaurus Linguae Graecae (TLG)³. In particular, all the texts of the first three periods originate from TLG, while only a few texts (didactic and medical texts, poems and novels) of the Late Byzantine period, not being available via TLG, were drawn from printed resources (for instance Legrand (1881 & 1896); Wagner (1874)).

The compilation of the corpus and the corresponding dataset involved a three-step process. First, the texts were exhaustively searched for infinitival forms of all tenses (Present, Future, Aorist and Present Perfect) and voices (Active and Non-Active). The search, which was based on the corresponding infinitival endings, was performed automatically in the case of texts available in electronic form (including naturally the ones originating from TLG). On the other hand, those texts available only in printed form were manually searched for detecting the given infinitives.

Subsequently, all retrieved infinitival occurrences were examined manually within their context so that they could be assigned to a category reflecting their syntactic function (see Section 3 for more details on the properties of these categories).

The final step of the processing involved measuring the infinitival occurrences on the basis of various criteria such as author, work, topic, syntactic category and synchrony. This dataset of measurements served then as the input of the statistical analyses.

Table 1 summarises the features of the CIS, which is divided into 4 sub-corpora, each corresponding to a period. All sub-corpora have roughly the same size, ranging from 1 to 1.5 million words, while the infinitival occurrences number approximately 102,000. The last column contains information on the topics covered by the texts of each sub-corpus.

Synchrony	Number of texts	Number of words	Infinitival occurrences	Topic
Classical Greek (CL)	431	1,004,194	37,828	Comedy, history, rhetoric, philosophy, tragedy
Hellenistic Koine (KO)	261	1,548,520	26,026	New Testament, Septuagint, apocalyptic texts, ecclesiastical texts, hagiography, theology, history, philosophy, mechanics
Early Byzantine (EB)	126	1,493,411	28,541	Chronography, philosophy, ecclesiastical texts, hagiography, history, poetry, theology
Late Byzantine (LB)	98	1,405,123	9,568	Poetry, chronography, novel, epic, hagiography, comedy, mythology, tragedy, medical texts, satirical texts
Totals	916	5,451,248	101,963	

Table 1 Profile of the Corpus of Infinitival Structures

3. Classification of infinitival structures

As mentioned before, the infinitival occurrences, which were retrieved, were classified into categories, reflecting their syntactic function. These categories were defined on the basis of two criteria, namely the type of syntactic structure and the case of the infinitival subject (Accusative vs. non-Accusative). The combination of these two criteria yielded fifteen (15) categories, being illustrated in Table 2.

Category name	Infinitival structure	Example
sc	Subject control	ἐγὼ τὴν μνείαν τοῦ θανάτου ἀναγγεῖλαι οὐ δύναμαι
oc	Object control	Οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι προεῖπον τοῖς στρατηγοῖς μὴ ναυμαχεῖν
aci	Verb complement & Accusative subject (Accusativus-cum-Infinitivo)	Ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς [...] ἡβουλήθη ἑτέραν ἀγαγέσθαι νύμφην τῷ Ἰωάννῃ
4a	Personal/Impersonal structure	ἡ δὲ ἡμετέρα ἀρχὴ χαλεπὴ δοκεῖ εἶναι
4b	Personal/Impersonal structure & Accusative subject	Αἰσχροὺν ἐστὶ τὸν ἰσχυρὸν Δαρεῖον βασιλέα [...] δουλωθῆναι δυστυχῶς ἀντάρτη Μακεδόνι

³ <http://www.tlg.uci.edu/>

Category name	Infinitival structure	Example
5a	Main verb of a subordinate (normally temporal or final) clause	ὁ Σίμων καὶ τὴν ἱερὰν σύγκλητον καὶ τὸν δῆμον Ῥωμαίων εἰς τοσοῦτο κατεπλήξατο, ὥς θεὸς νομισθῆναι
5b	Main verb of a subordinate clause & Accusative subject	καὶ συνέρχεται πάλιν ὄχλος, ὥστε μὴ δύνασθαι αὐτοὺς μηδὲ ἄρτον φαγεῖν
6a	Simple infinitive (a) with a mood (imperative or optative) function (b) in fixed expressions	* ὄψον δὲ μὴ πέμπετε μηδὲ πιεῖν * ἀπλῶς δ' εἰπεῖν , ἐναντία τοῖς νόμοις [...] διατετέλεκε
6b	Simple infinitive & Accusative subject	δῶρῃ ἡμῖν εὐφροσύνην καρδίας καὶ γενέσθαι εἰρήνην
7a	Adverbial infinitive 1 (denoting reference or explanation) or Complement of nominals	* τοῦτο παρακελεύονται τοῖς δικασταῖς, μὴ ἐθέλειν ἀκούειν τῶν ἀπολογουμένων * ἔτοιμος ἔσομαι [...] πληρῶσαι σοῦ τὴν αἴτησιν
7a1	Adverbial infinitive 2 (final or resultative infinitive)	ἀπεστάλη πρὸς τινὰ γέροντα ιάσασθαι αὐτόν
7b	Adverbial infinitive 1 & Accusative subject	Ἔτυχε δὲ καὶ τοῦτο [...] ἐμπεσεῖν Λατίνον τινα
7b1	Adverbial infinitive 2 & Accusative subject	ἐξελέξατο ἡμᾶς [...], εἶναι ἡμᾶς ἁγίους καὶ ἀμώμους
8a	Articulate infinitive	μηδὲν μεριμνῶντες τοῦ διαθρέψαι αὐτά
8b	Articulate infinitive & Accusative subject	οὐκ εἶπε γὰρ ὁ Κύριος τοῦ γενέσθαι σε πετεινόν

Table 2 Categories of the infinitival structures studied

4. Profiling synchronies based on the distribution of the infinitival structures

An initial rough processing of the CIS lends support to the usual assumption regarding the distribution of the infinitive across the four synchronies. More specifically, the infinitival structures of all categories (as shown in Figure 1) exhibit a high frequency of occurrence in the Classical period, which progressively declines in the subsequent periods (with the exception of the Early Byzantine period, where a minor increase is observed over the previous period).

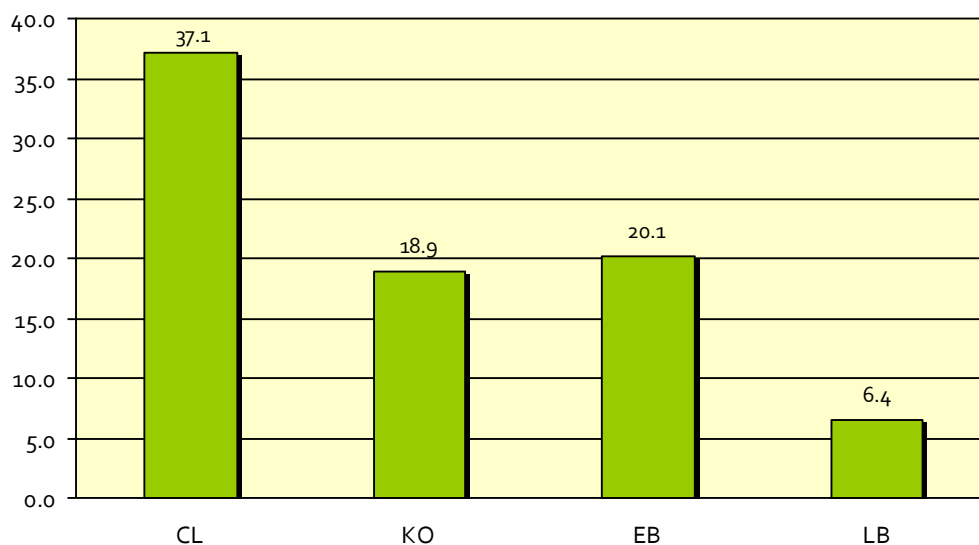


Figure 1 Frequency of occurrence of infinitival structures across the four synchronies (values normalised per number of words)

A more detailed picture is provided in Table 3, which illustrates the distribution of the infinitival categories in each individual period. The cases where the frequency of occurrence exceeds 5% are marked in bold.

Infinitival category	CL	KO	EB	LB
sc	27,23%	27,86%	31,14%	53,63%
oc	10,00%	8,25%	10,22%	5,08%
aci	13,67%	7,62%	14,89%	7,35%
4a	19,23%	10,18%	8,32%	5,07%
4b	10,06%	7,53%	6,37%	2,24%
5a	2,46%	1,81%	2,22%	1,71%
5b	1,57%	2,43%	4,26%	1,20%
6a	0,63%	0,95%	0,63%	0,87%
6b	0,53%	0,11%	0,09%	0,00%
7a	4,26%	3,09%	2,14%	1,87%
7a1	1,62%	7,98%	3,76%	2,93%
7b	1,49%	0,67%	0,88%	0,48%
7b1	0,21%	0,56%	0,23%	0,39%
8a	5,24%	14,00%	8,88%	13,90%
8b	1,78%	6,95%	5,96%	3,29%
Totals	100%	100%	100%	100%

Table 3 Distribution (in percentages) of categories of infinitival structures across synchronies

The data of Table 3 allow forming the profile of the four synchronies of Greek based on the distribution of the categories of the infinitival structures. More specifically, in **Classical Greek**, five types of structures are the prominent categories, namely subject (sc) and object (oc) control, aci and personal/impersonal (4a & 4b) structures, constituting more than 80% of all the infinitival occurrences. The articulate infinitive (8a) is also a frequent structure, with a frequency exceeding 5%.

The same five categories (sc, oc, aci and 4a & 4b) are still salient during **Koine**, approximating 62% of all the infinitival structures, even though, with the exception of subject control structures, a considerable decrease is observed in the frequency of each category. In parallel, circa 8% of the structures are final or resultative infinitives (7a1), while the use of the articulate infinitive (8a & 8b) is intensified over Classical Greek with a frequency exceeding 20%.

The total occurrences of subject and object control, aci and personal/impersonal structures increase over the residual categories during the **Early Byzantine** period, exhibiting a cumulative frequency of approximately 71%. It should be noted though that the frequency of the personal/impersonal structures decreases in comparison to the previous period, while the frequency of occurrence of oc and aci increases. Besides, the articulate infinitive (8a & 8b) remains a widely used structure (~ 15%), despite its decreased frequency during this period.

Finally, within the **Late Byzantine** period, subject control, aci and the articulate infinitive seem to be the enduring structures, representing approximately 75% of the total occurrences of infinitives.

5. Distributional behaviour of the infinitival structures across synchronies

With respect to the distribution of each individual infinitival category through time, it could be observed that most categories exhibit the same trend of gradual reduction in the number of occurrences, reflecting the gradual loss of the infinitive (cf. Jannaris, 1897:570-575; Joseph, 1983:38 & 50; Horrocks, 2010:93-94), despite any minor distribution divergences (see Figure 2).

In particular, the **subject control** structures seem to form the most enduring category for all periods, always representing more than 25% of the infinitival occurrences. It is noteworthy that in the Late Byzantine period the specific structures are the predominant category (their frequency rising to circa 54%).

Object control infinitives, **aci** and **personal/impersonal** (4a & 4b) structures have initially (Classical Greek) a high frequency (more than 10%), which is gradually reduced in Koine, reaching on average no more than 7% in the two last periods.

The use of the infinitive as the main verb of a subordinate clause (category 5) or in replacement of a mood (category 6) or with an adverbial function (category 7) is generally fairly limited, although a minor increase is observed within the middle of the synchrony continuum, namely in Koine and in the Early Byzantine period. In all periods their frequency of occurrence reaches on average no more than 5%, this fact obviously justifying the early loss of such structures.

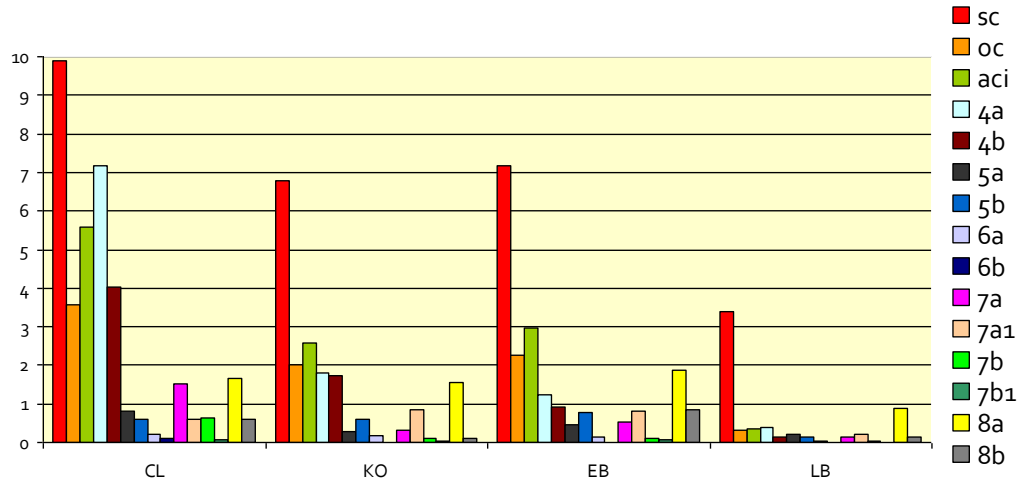


Figure 2 Frequency of occurrence of the 15 infinitival categories across the four synchronies (values normalised per number of words)

Finally, a non-typical behaviour is observed with respect to the articulate infinitive (category 8), for which the majority of occurrences are observed in the middle of the synchrony continuum, instead of at the initial period (Classical Greek), as would be expected in accordance to the general trend. The high usage rate within Koine (> 10%) could be attributed to the fact that the articulate infinitive was frequently used instead of a subordinate clause (cf. Jannaris, 1897:577; Joseph, 1983:51; Horrocks, 2010:95). In a similar vein, this replacement pattern, which continues in the Late Byzantine period with this type of infinitive substituting not only subordinate clauses but also nouns and subjunctive verb forms, could explain the relatively high frequency of occurrence (~ 9%).

6. Analysing the data further

The aforementioned measurements served as a basis for obtaining a first picture of the distribution of the infinitival structures across the four synchronies. Additional experiments conducted were aimed at (i) examining the correlation between the distribution of infinitive and time (i.e. the four periods) and (ii) investigating whether the four periods constitute well-defined classes, which would be distinguishable in terms of the use of the infinitive.

The correlation between infinitive and time was studied via two types of statistical analyses, namely Levene's test (Levene 1960) and Analysis of variance – ANOVA (Fisher, 1925). In order to investigate the possibility of discriminating the four synchronies on the basis of the use of the infinitive, Discriminant Analysis (Klecka, 1980) was performed. For all statistical processing the SPSS (version 18) statistical package⁴ was employed.

Before proceeding with the statistical analyses, it should be noted that in the following subsections the term "**infinitival variables**" refers to the measurements of the infinitival categories over the CIS and the term "**period variable**" denotes the synchrony.

⁴ The SPSS statistical package was made available by the Computer Center of the University of Athens [URL: http://share.uoa.gr/public/Software/SPSS/SPSS18_for_Windows.iso].

6.1 Levene's test

Levene's test is a method for assessing the null hypothesis of the homogeneity of variance; in the current case the null hypothesis being that the variance of the infinitival variables remains stable across all levels of the period variable. If the output of Levene's test exceeds a certain significance value p (this being set normally to 0.05), then the null hypothesis is true. If, however, the resulting figures are below this threshold, then the null hypothesis is rejected and it can be concluded that the variance is significantly different across synchronies. Table 4 presents the p values obtained for each infinitival variable in the dataset. The p values exceeding the threshold of 0.05 are marked in bold.

Infinitival variable	Sig.
sc	0,001
oc	0,000
aci	0,000
4a	0,000
4b	0,000
5a	0,926
5b	0,000
6a	0,066
6b	0,000
7a	0,067
7a1	0,000
7b	0,000
7b1	0,010
8a	0,201
8b	0,000

Table 4 Levene's test significance (p) values obtained for each infinitival variable over the 4 periods

For almost all infinitival structures the variance is significantly different across the four periods, since the p value does not exceed the threshold of **0.05**. The only exceptions, where p is less than 0.05, are categories 5a (infinitive as the main verb of a subordinate clause), 6a (simple infinitive), 7a (adverbial infinitive 1) and 8a (articulate infinitive).

6.2 Analysis of Variance (ANOVA)

The analysis of variance was employed in order to investigate the effect of the period variable on the distribution of the infinitival structures. In this case, a significance threshold of **0.05** is also used, which, when being exceeded, indicates that the synchrony does not influence the values of the infinitival structures. The p values exceeding the threshold of 0.05 are marked in bold.

Infinitival variable	F	Sig.
sc	29,116	0,000
oc	26,610	0,000
aci	25,002	0,000
4a	63,091	0,000
4b	28,487	0,000
5a	3,438	0,018
5b	8,921	0,000
6a	1,570	0,198
6b	14,526	0,000
7a	48,943	0,000
7a1	14,054	0,000
7b	30,570	0,000
7b1	2,495	0,061
8a	7,370	0,000
8b	13,545	0,000

Table 5 ANOVA significance (p) values obtained for each infinitival variable over the 4 periods

The results confirm our intuition, since in all cases (except for two) $p < 0.05$, which signifies that the period factor substantially influences the distribution of the infinitival structures. The variables failing the test are 6a (simple infinitive) and 7b1 (adverbial infinitive 2 with an Accusative subject).

6.3 Discriminant Analysis

The third type of analysis that was performed was discriminant analysis and it was intended to investigate whether the texts of the corpus could be discriminated in terms of synchrony on the basis of the infinitival structures. In other words, the aim was to see whether (or which of) the infinitival variables could characterise the texts from which they were retrieved and separate them into classes, representative of the four periods.

6.3.1 Experimental phase 1

The experimental set-up involved two models, namely a **full** discriminant model and a **stepwise** one. In the full discriminant all variables enter the model from the start, while in the **stepwise** discriminant the variables are gradually introduced in the model. The value of the F parameter for entering/removing variables was set to **5.00/4.99** for the present experiment.

Moreover, in both models the ten-fold cross-validation methodology was followed in order to verify the validity of the results obtained. According to this method, the dataset was divided into ten equally-sized subsets, so that each subset contained the same amount of texts from each period. This allowed for ten runs of each discriminant analysis to be performed. In each run the nine subsets served as a labelled training set, while the residual subset was provided as an unlabelled test set⁵, used for evaluating the accuracy of discrimination.

The rationale behind the division of the dataset into subsets was to check whether the information residing in 90% of the dataset, the classification of which is known, was sufficient for generating a model that could correctly classify the residual 10% of the dataset, the origin of which is not known. So, by repeating this process for each of the ten subsets it is possible to determine with an adequate degree of accuracy the average performance of the discriminant model.

The classification accuracy obtained is presented in Table 6, while Table 7 illustrates the variables that were used as discriminators in the stepwise model. The accuracy is not particularly high, ranging from 64% to ~ 69% for both models; it is though more than 2.5 times higher than the random rate of 25%, indicating the successful discrimination of groups. Besides, it is remarkable that the stepwise model employs only a limited set of variables, namely six (6), for assigning each text to a period.

	Full discriminant	Stepwise discriminant [$F = 5,00/4,99$]
Classification accuracy	63,55%	68,47%
Number of discriminant variables	15	6

Table 6 Accuracy obtained with the full and stepwise discriminant models (experimental phase 1)

Infinitival variable category	Number of variables	Number of variables retained in the model [Stepwise discriminant]	
sc	1		0
oc	1		0
aci	1	aci	1
4 (personal/impersonal)	2	4a	1
5 (infinitive as main verb)	2		0
6 (simple infinitive)	2	6b	1
7 (adverbial infinitive)	4	7a & 7a1	2
8 (articulate infinitive)	2	8b	1
Total	15	6	

Table 7 Types of variables retained in the stepwise discriminant model (experimental phase 1)

⁵ The terms “labelled” and “unlabelled” refer to known and unknown period membership respectively.

Table 8 presents the confusion matrix yielded for one ten-fold experiment of the stepwise discriminant, which indicates the amount of texts correctly identified as originating from a specific period. It can be observed that both ends of the synchronic continuum, that is Classical Greek (CL) and Late Byzantine (LB), constitute well-defined, discrete periods, since they exhibit a high classification accuracy (~ 92% of the CL texts were correctly characterised as originating from that synchrony and ~ 89% of the LB texts were also correctly characterised as originating from the corresponding period).

On the contrary, discriminating between the two periods in the middle of the synchronic continuum is not so straightforward. It is observed that 25% of the Koine texts are classified into the Early Byzantine period. In a similar vein, more than 30% of the Early Byzantine texts were predicted by the model as belonging to Koine.

		Predicted period membership according to the model			
		CL	KO	EB	LB
Actual period membership	CL	91.7%	8.3%	0.0%	0.0%
	KO	4.4%	46.7%	31.1%	17.8%
	EB	5.0%	25.0%	62.5%	7.5%
	LB	0.0%	5.0%	6.3%	88.8%

Table 8 Confusion matrix one ten-fold experiment of the stepwise discriminant model (experimental phase 1)

Figure 3 depicts the aforementioned picture by indicating the relative positions of patterns along the first two discriminant functions. The mapping of texts onto the pattern space shows that the CL and LB group centroids are far apart, while the KO and EB groups overlap and their centroids are very closely positioned in the space defined by the first two discriminant functions.

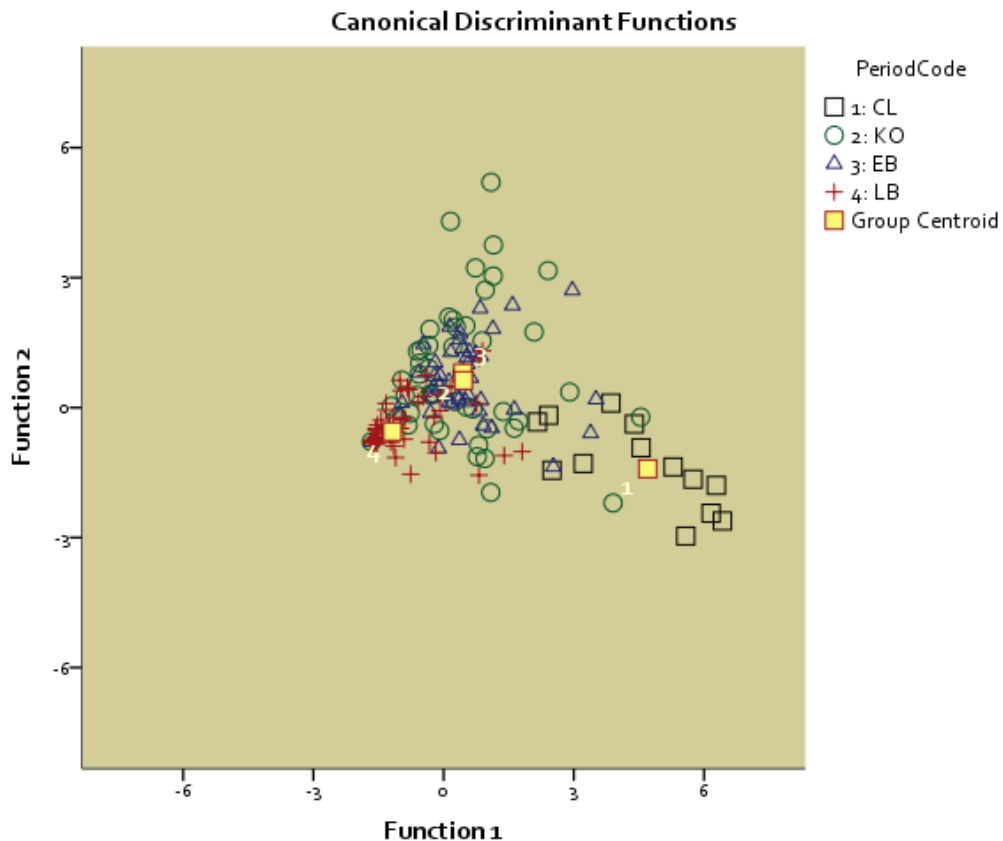


Figure 3 Mapping of the texts onto the space formed by the first two discriminant functions (experimental phase 1)

6.3.2 Experimental phase 2

As mentioned before, the boundaries between Koine and the Early Byzantine period are not so strict, as is evident from the low accuracy obtained when discriminating between texts for these two periods. This indicates that these two periods are very close and not easily distinguishable in terms of the use of the infinitive. Hence, a second experimental phase followed, which involved merging the Koine texts and the Early Byzantine ones into a single group, with the aim of investigating whether the classification accuracy of the model could be increased.

The experimental set-up was similar to the experimental phase 1 reported in Section 6.3.1. So, two models were employed, namely a **full** discriminant model and a **stepwise** one. The value of the *F* parameter for entering/removing variables was set again to **5.00/4.99**. Furthermore, the ten-fold cross-validation methodology was once more followed in order to verify the validity of the results obtained.

Table 9 presents the classification accuracy yielded in the second experimental phase. The accuracy substantially increases by ~ 17% and ~ 14% for the full and the stepwise model respectively, exceeding 80% in both cases. Moreover, in the case of both models the baseline rate of 33.3% for a 3-class discrimination experiment is comfortably exceeded, while the classification error is reduced by ~ 46% and ~44% respectively over the 4-class task.

	Full discriminant	Stepwise discriminant [<i>F</i> = 5,00/4,99]
Classification accuracy	80,49%	82,31%
Number of discriminant variables	15	8

Table 9 Accuracy obtained with the full and stepwise discriminant models (experimental phase 2)

Table 10 illustrates the variables that were used as discriminators in the stepwise model. The full discriminant model employs yet again fifteen (15) variables, whereas the variables of the stepwise model rise to eight (8), the two additional variables over the 4-class task being those related to the object control structures (oc) and the adverbial infinitive with an Accusative subject (7b).

Infinitival variable category	Number of variables	Number of variables retained in the model [<i>Stepwise discriminant</i>]	
sc	1		0
oc	1	oc	1
aci	1	Aci	1
4 (personal/impersonal)	2	4a	1
5 (infinitive as main verb)	2		0
6 (simple infinitive)	2	6b	1
7 (adverbial infinitive)	4	7a, 7b & 7a1	3
8 (articulate infinitive)	2	8b	1
Total	15		8

Table 10 Types of variables retained in the stepwise discriminant model (experimental phase 2)

The confusion matrix (Table 11) generated for one ten-fold experiment of the stepwise discriminant model shows that the model is now able to predict more accurately the period membership of texts, since 80% of the KO & EB texts are correctly classified into this period. This indicates that the synchronies can be highly discriminated, when the Koine and Early Byzantine texts are grouped into one category.

		Predicted period membership according to the model		
		CL	KO & EB	LB
Actual period membership	CL	91.7%	8.3 %	0.0%
	KO & EB	5.9%	80.0%	14.1%
	EB	0.0%	10.1%	89.9%

Table 11 Confusion matrix for one ten-fold experiment of the stepwise discriminant model (experimental phase 2)

The high discrimination of the three groups also becomes evident when mapping texts onto the pattern space (cf. Figure 4), where minor overlaps are detectible, while the group centroids are positioned far from each other.

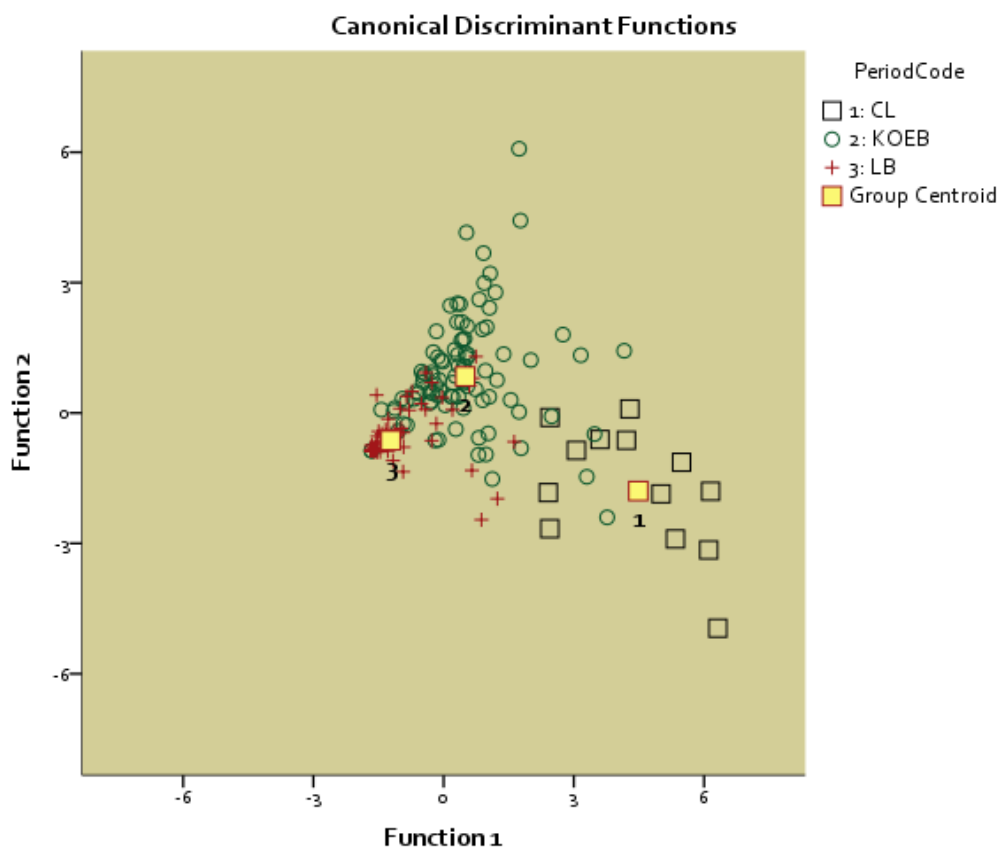


Figure 4 Mapping of the texts onto the space formed by the first two discriminant functions (experimental phase 2)

Finally, it is notable that the variables which serve as discriminating factors are either those whose frequency of occurrence systematically exhibits a declining trend through time, namely **4a** (personal/impersonal structures), **7a** and **7b** (adverbial infinitive 1 & complement of nominals with or without an Accusative subject), or those with substantial differences in frequency of occurrence across synchronies, that is **oc** (object control), **aci**, **6b** (simple infinitive with an Accusative subject), **7a1** (adverbial infinitive 2) and **8b** (articulate infinitive with an Accusative subject). The case of the infinitival subject also seems to play a significant role, since half of the discriminating variables correspond to structures with an Accusative subject.

7. Conclusions & future work

The present paper reported on a series of statistical analyses which were performed on an extensive corpus of infinitival structures. The aim was to draw some preliminary conclusions on the evolution of the Greek infinitive through time, supported by a statistical analysis.

The results obtained have shown that in all synchronies the categories exhibiting additively the highest frequency of occurrence are the subject and object control, aci and personal/impersonal structures together with the articulate infinitive. Besides, the subject control structures have been shown to form the most enduring category for all periods, always representing more than 25% of the infinitival occurrences.

Furthermore, the statistical analyses have asserted the correlation between time (i.e. the four synchronies) and the frequency of occurrence of infinitives and have highlighted a set of variables which can discriminate between synchronies in terms of the use of the infinitive.

It has already been mentioned that the present paper is part of an ongoing work, the object of which is the diachronic study of the Greek infinitival structures. Further experiments, either not reported here due to space restrictions or planned for the immediate future, include the employment of clustering techniques, discriminant analyses with variations based on text size or different values of the F parameter and the contrastive measurement of the frequency of occurrence of the final infinitive vs. the infinitive as complement of verbs of ‘saying’.

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MOTHER TONGUE THEMA: GREEK PARADIGM IN SWEDISH PRESCHOOL EDUCATION

Magdalini Vitsou

University of Peloponnesus, Faculty of Arts,
Department of Theater Studies, Greece

magvits@gmail.com

ABSTRACT

This paper reports on a part of research conducted in 2009 in Stockholm to explore process drama as pedagogy in a mother tongue tuition program. There is an extended presentation of the Swedish policy towards mother tongue, focusing in Greek language, by the use of alternative didactic methods such as puppetry, drama and storytelling. Results suggest that a judicious and systematic use of drama techniques may present the teacher with opportunities for equipping the learners with explicit knowledge of the target language systems. This in turn may help students to develop their mother tongue skills from pre-school age. Therefore, as studies indicate, their academic performance at school will be better, as their mother tongue proficiency functions as a bridge between the language spoken at school and the language they speak at home.

Key words: mother tongue, drama, language acquisition, puppetry

1. Introduction-Context

For centuries, Greece has been a country that exports immigrants. There are now as many Greeks living across the world as live in Greece (Katsikas, 1993). Such a Diaspora has led to the formation of well-established and still locally important Greek communities. Generally, Greek communities are well organized and provide many activities and services, especially for the education of the younger members. As with other ethnic minority groups, hosted in a majority culture, Greek families and their children face the issue of language learning. That is, the need to learn the language and understand the culture of the country that hosts them and, at the same time, to maintain their own language and culture. Usually the statutory educational system of the host country takes responsibility for the first issue, whereas the second remains the responsibility of the family and/or the community (Damanakis, 1997).

As an exception, in Sweden there is a policy for tuition in student's mother tongues, where mother tongue tuition in the Swedish context refers to tuition for foreign background. The Riksdag (the Swedish Parliament) has taken a decision that all pupils whose mother tongue is not Swedish will be able to study their mother tongue during their nine-year compulsory school period and at upper secondary level. Mother tongue tuition is a question for the municipality, and not decided by the school, which is obliged to offer the tuition to students with a mother tongue other than Swedish. Some conditions regulate this offer. In order to participate, the students are required to have a basic knowledge in their mother tongue and it must constitute a daily spoken language (Skolverket, 2009).

Beside the above Greek communities have established community schools, which operate largely in the early evenings, during weekdays, and on Saturdays, both morning and afternoon. Financially, they are supported by the Greek community of each town/city. Schools are recognized by the Ministry of Education and Religious Affairs in Greece. Greek community schools are mainly staffed by qualified teachers, seconded by the Greek governments (Damanakis, 2003).

Even though there are alternative choices in learning, there are increasing concerns that gradually fewer children attend the schools and attendance patterns are irregular. My own personal experience and observations from a double role (that of a teacher and a parent) indicate that contributing factors include such as parental conflicting attitudes and uncertainties about the value and importance of learning the mother tongue; lack of inappropriate learning resources of teaching the mother tongue to young children; between children's educational experiences in Swedish schools and the Greek

community schools; The impact of parental conflict and confusion on the learning of the mother tongue is further clouded by the dated, mainly traditional didactic, methods of teaching and learning in the Greek community schools.

For some parents - learning Greek and understanding Greek culture and traditions - means that the language becomes part of, or even the whole of, the child's identity. For these parents language and identity are closely related and interwoven and they insist that their children are taught and learn the mother tongue (Bialystok, 2001). However, for another group of parents, the Greek language is less of a priority of fear of confusing languages. Yet research evidence has shown that bilingualism promotes flexibility of thinking and information processing and furthermore, the mother tongue and the language of instruction in school become interdependent and they nurture each other (Baker, 2000; Cummins, 2000).

The experiences of children living in Stockholm are likely to be more different than similar to the experiences of children living in Greece. In this context, the teaching of the Greek language becomes de-contextualized, with children failing to understand and comprehend the language. This problem is exacerbated by the use of phonetic only approaches to teaching and learning Greek. There is now strong evidence that, though phonetic approaches may help children acquire the mechanisms of the structure, syntax and spelling of a language, they may contribute very little to understanding and comprehension (Wyse, 2006).

Greek language for most of the parents is important as learning a second language, implicitly making the link between language, cultural heritage and identity.

1.1 The significance of mother tongue tuition

Mother tongue is used for the language that a person learnt as a child at home (usually from their parents). Children growing up in bilingual homes can, according to this definition, have more than one mother tongue or native language. The term mother tongue should not be interpreted to mean that it is the language of one's mother. In some paternal societies, the wife moves in with the husband and thus may have a different first language than the husband. Mother in this context originated from the use of "mother" to mean "origin" as in motherland (Viberg, 2001).

The mother tongue plays a very important part in a child's identity and self-esteem. The mother tongue provides the basis for the child's ability to learn. The child finds it easier to learn their second language and other school subjects.

Maintaining and developing language and literacy skills in the mother tongue ensures continuous cognitive development, and in parallel with the competence in the language of instruction, leads to additive bilingualism. Moreover, it is also crucial for maintaining cultural identity and emotional stability by enabling students to remain in touch with, and maintain esteem for the language, literature and culture of their home country. Finally, it makes it possible for students to readjust to life in their home community and education system should they return to their home country.

In short, bilingual children perform better in school when the school effectively promotes the mother tongue (Winsa, 2000).

1.1.1 The development of mother tongue education in Sweden

The development of mother tongue education in Sweden has to be seen against the background of public discussions at the beginning of the 1970s and the Immigrant Commission's report (SOU 1974) which led to the introduction of a general immigrant and minority policy in 1975. Here, the Swedish Riksdag (Parliament) decided to base migration and integration policy on the principles of equality, partnership and freedom of choice. The latter principle implies a rejection of cultural assimilation and underlies the right to mother tongue education. In 1977 the "home language reform" followed in response to a public campaign for immigrant rights in Swedish society. It gave immigrant and minority children the legal entitlement to mother tongue instruction in public schools. The reform was based on two diaverse motives: on the one hand it aimed to provide support for the retention of ethnic or cultural identity, on the other, it was intended to allow for a normal linguistic, academic and cognitive development of immigrant and minority students. This concern for the individual student's cognitive and academic development during school years was the main motive. Altogether, the reform was intended to help ensure equality between Swedes and persons from other ethnic backgrounds as well as cultural freedom of choice (Hult, 2004).

The Immigrant Commission's report (SOU 1974) reflected ideas already expressed in the UNESCO recommendation from 1953. This recommendation stated that all children should get their initial schooling in their mother tongue. It was based on the obvious fact that knowledge cannot be acquired in a language the student does not understand. Modern learning theories also assume that new knowledge can be acquired more easily if instruction is based on the known. Learning should thus start from the situation, the knowledge and proficiencies an individual already has. Based on these assumptions, mother tongue instruction has enjoyed the support of all major political parties in Sweden. Furthermore, it has since the 1970s been widely accepted that:

- it takes long, several years, before a second language works as efficiently for learning as the first language,
- an abrupt language shift will hamper a child's cognitive development during school years and diminish his or her potential academic achievement,
- children's attitudes about their first language – and through that also to their own culture and origin – will be affected by the role this language is accorded in society and at school,
- an individual's identity growth relies upon a person's experiencing positive affirmation of his or her cultural background (Utbildningsdepartementet, 2006).

Until now in Sweden, immigrant children in pre-school are entitled to mother language support. Immigrant students in compulsory education and in upper secondary education are formally entitled to mother language tuition as a school subject called "Mother Tongue Tuition" if they wish and certain other criteria are met, such as if there are more than five children in the school who want tuition in that language and a teacher can be found. The subject of the syllabus covers the literature, history and culture of the country of origin. The grades in this subject are considered equivalent to those in other subjects. It is in most cases an extracurricular activity outside normal timetabled lessons but students may be able to study the subject as an alternative to the second foreign language as a school option. At the end of year nine as well as in upper secondary education, there are nationally approved tests in the subjects of Swedish, Swedish as a Second Language, English and Mathematics. For years six to nine, there is diagnostic testing to form a basis on which to assess where an individual student stands in relation to the set goals, to help teachers to assess students and to support them in their learning. The materials used for the lower grades focus on language development and learning of basic mathematical concepts (Swedish Ministry of Education and Research, 2009).

Teacher education programs are required to prepare students teachers for a multicultural society and to promote access to teacher education programs for students with different cultures (Norberg, Sundgren 2000). The teacher education reform of 2001 emphasized that future teachers have to be trained to work in multicultural schools. Intercultural education has become a subject in the general part of the teacher training, although an evaluation indicates that the approaches of intercultural/multicultural education vary from one teacher education program to another. For example, some institutes focus on recruiting students with different cultural backgrounds in teacher education program, while some institutes offer obligatory courses for multicultural education for student teachers (Hult, 2004).

Mother tongue instruction in schools may take place in or outside the regular timetable in compulsory school; and as an individual option, a language option, or in the form of a remedial course in upper secondary education. If students study their mother tongue outside the regular timetable, they are entitled to a combined total of seven years in the public school system. Students wishing to take their mother tongue in upper secondary school must have a grade in that language from year nine of compulsory school, or equivalent (Wirén, 2009).

In practice, lessons are usually held outside regular timetable hours. In schools with students with limited knowledge in Swedish, some subjects may be offered in their mother tongue, while they learn Swedish. For instance, in Botkyrka, the review team interviewed students who were learning mathematics in Arabic through a mathematics teacher of the same immigrant background. Although calculations and mathematical formula are the same regardless of the language, the ways to do the calculations and solve the formula are different between the countries and, students preferred to continue to learn mathematics in the same way. Yet, learning the language of instruction was still important in mathematics as it helped in interpreting the questions (Enkvist, 2005).

Providing mother tongue tuition and support is expensive. Sharing the resources is of critical importance across all levels of education. An on-line resource site, *Tema Modersmål*, has been developed to primarily for those working in pre-school and school education. The website hosts different mother tongue rooms and provides tools for communicating in different languages. These rooms are run by mother tongue teachers at both pre-school and school level. As of July 2009, about 26 languages were covered (Winsa, 2000).

1.1.2 Pre School Mother Tongue Policy

According to the latest Swedish curriculum the preschool should take account of the fact that children have different living environments and that they try to create context and meaning out of their own experiences. Adults should give children support in developing trust and self-confidence. The child's curiosity, initiative and interests should be encouraged and their will and desire to learn should be stimulated. The task of the preschool involves not only developing the child's ability and cultural creativity, but also passing on a cultural heritage – its values, traditions and history, language and knowledge – from one generation to the next.

The internationalization of Swedish society imposes high demands on the ability of people to live with and understand values inherent in cultural diversity. The preschool is a social and cultural meeting place, which can reinforce this and prepare children for life in an increasingly internationalised community. Awareness of their own cultural heritage and participating in the culture of others should contribute to children's ability to understand and empathize with the circumstances and values of others. The preschool can help to ensure that children from national minorities and children with a foreign background receive support in developing a multicultural sense of identity (Wirén, 2009).

The goals of the curriculum include developing *“a rich and varied spoken language and the ability to communicate with others and to express their thoughts”*. It articulates Sweden's high emphasis on developing children's vocabulary, to increase their ability to play with words, raise interest in the written language and train their communicative functions. The goals also include striving for tolerance, sensitivity and mutual respect for all forms of different backgrounds and cultures. It explicitly supports children whose first language is not Swedish, in developing their cultural identity as well as their ability to communicate in both Swedish and their first language. Language support for immigrant children in Sweden is regarded as important not only for their language learning in Swedish but also for the child's language and cultural learning of their own (Viberg, 2001).

The pre-school curriculum prescribes that pre-school must contribute to providing children whose first language is not Swedish with the opportunity of developing both Swedish and their own first language. During the 1980s, language support in pre-school was supported with grants. This resulted in about 60% of children with a mother tongue other than Swedish receiving language support. The number of children gaining support fell substantially after funding for school and pre-school was no longer made through ear-marked grants. With the curriculum for pre-school, introduced in 1998, the provision of mother language support was strengthened and as a consequence the number of supported children has increased slightly but steadily. According to data by the National Agency for Education (Skolverket, 2006), in the case of one-to-five-year-olds, 15% of children in pre-schools and 5% of children in family day-care homes spoke a first language different from Swedish in 2005. Of these only 14% received first language support. For six-year-olds who attended the pre-school class in 2005, the proportion of pupils whose first language is not Swedish was 14.5%, and, of these, 46.6% received a first language support (Axelsson, 2005).

Overall, in almost all municipalities there are children in pre-school whose first language is not Swedish. However, only about seventy municipalities provide first language support. This is an increase compared with 2004 when only about fifty municipalities offered first language support (Skolverket, 2006).

There can be a mother tongue teacher specialising in teaching mother tongue at pre-school level who meets the children once or twice every week. As Garefalakis (1994) and Swedish Ministry of Education and Research mentioned in their research, mother tongue teachers usually use traditional didactic methods and therefore there is a big dropout of students. In order to improve the quality of teaching, the government initiated the “Boost for Teachers” program in 2007. It aims to provide current teachers with opportunities to attain qualifications. There were some problems in the initial phase of the initiative due to lack of demand from municipalities. In the last year, demand has increased and teachers who have taken part are satisfied with the in service training.

1.1.3 The use of drama in language acquisition

According to Shin-Mei and O'Neill (1998) drama has been used for language teaching since the middle ages. The last decade many teachers used to scoff at the idea of using drama to teach a second language. The change in attitude towards the use of drama in language teaching came about due to a greater emphasis on meaningful communicative activities instead of mechanical drills.

In a recent contribution to Tuttitalia, Boria (2003) discusses the role that literary texts can play in the foreign language classroom and provides some examples of how learners' linguistic awareness can

be enhanced by the use of literary texts. In the last two paragraphs she focuses on drama and argues that drama still offers the best literary source to present students with models of conversational interactions and discourse patterns. Dramatic dialogue can provide an excellent synthesis of some of the strategies that are used by speakers and listeners in conversations. (2003).

Language is used in meaningful situations (Liddicoat, 2008). Drama contextualizes the language in real or imagined situations in and out of the classroom. Language in the class that uses drama activities is explored, tried out and practiced in meaningful situations. Drama activities can be used as a means of reinforcement of language learnt (Mordecai, 1985; Fleming, 2003). It helps to extend, retain and reinforce vocabulary and sentence structure through role-play and communication games.

Drama improves oral communication. As a form of communication methodology, drama provides the opportunity for the student to use language meaningfully and appropriately. Alkistis (2008) states that drama puts back some of the forgotten emotional content into language. Appropriacy and meaning are more important than form or structure of the language. Drama can help restore the totality of the situation by reversing the learning process, beginning with meaning and moving towards language form. This makes language learning more meaningful and attempts to prepare the student for real-life situations. Learning a second language can be enjoyable, stimulating and meaningful when combined with drama activities (Holden, 1981, Haritos, 2003).

Educational drama, as an informal classroom improvisation, affects the ways students think and learn and has a powerful effect on thinking, reading, writing, and foreign-language learning (Bruner, 1983, Vygotsky, 1986).

2. Research Methodology

Concerning all the above factors we decided to conduct a project using alternative methods of teaching Greek during Greek mother tongue tuition in the Swedish preschool classes. As part of the “Boost of Teachers” program a 10-week project was developed in 7 preschool day centers in the area of Solna-Stockholm, which included mother tongue instruction in Greek origin students. Our sample comprised of 12 boys and 16 girls, 4–6 years old, of Greek and Greek-Swedish origin. They were second- and third-generation immigrants, and some were of mixed parentage. The program was developed by the author who also was the class’s teacher, posted by the Greek government.

2.1 Description of the intervention

The students were introduced to a variety of drama-in-education techniques such as improvisation, role-play, frozen image building, puppetry and storytelling. They were actively engaged in a range of practical activities, which enabled them to be active participants in the classroom. Initially, in an attempt to introduce the students to improvisation, we asked them to walk slowly around the room, to freeze and to act out various emotions. The emotions that they were required to act out included, amongst others, the following: *hate, love, anger, fear, courage, joy and sadness*. They were presented with various scenarios based on the emotions to enable them to provide a more realistic portrayal of their feelings.

The following are examples of scenarios presented to them:

- You have just heard that your dog has died. Act out your sadness.
- It is late at night and you are in the middle of a forest. Suddenly you hear a noise. Act out your fear.
- You have just discovered that your brother/sister took your favorite toy. Act out your anger.

The students were, also, introduced to the basics in frozen image building to enable them to work on a concept, which they could develop further. I discovered that it was a very effective technique in drawing the class together. Group frozen image building involved, amongst others, the following: “You are in circus. Think about who you are. Take up your position and freeze”. This was an individual task. Then we moved around from one frozen statue to another asking them, amongst others, the following questions: *Who are you? What are you doing here? How old are you?*

The frozen image scenes eventually led to role-play as the participants had to portray various roles in the context of the playlets, which they created. It was evident that the students were acquiring invaluable oral communication skills and their ability to empathize with characters was developing in a meaningful and dynamic manner.

In addition, we used puppetry as a mediator tool to facilitate language learning. Children created their own puppets from multiple materials and used them in improvisations and in structured activities.

The puppet's linguistic potential emerges when the children communicating with the puppet mediate cultural and social experiences, express their conceptions of knowledge and learning and develop indicative, semiotic and rhetorical functions of language (Kaplan, 2005).

A favorite puppet read a story and a dialogue started between the puppet and children about the story, aiming to clarify key points, and asking questions, making predictions and summarizing the story. The story was role-played by incorporating Greek music, dance, or kinaesthetic activities. The basic idea was to introduce the Greek culture and blend it with cultural aspects of the children's current experiences from the Greek community and the host majority culture. Its aim was for young children to gain a holistic view of the world in which they live, rather than seeing distinct cultures within and between which they move and shift and drift (Kozulin, Gindis, Ageyev, Miller, 2003).

2.2 Data analysis

For the implementation and evaluation of the project an ethnographic case-study methodology was used (David & Sutton, 2004). The researcher and teacher maintained an insider-outsider perspective in terms of the cultural context of the community, where the project was developed. We used participant observation, interviews, event-recording data collection sheets for free play, training observations, post-training observations, and follow-up observations were developed by the social skills instructor. Data were recorded on observation sheets using tally marks and anecdotal notations.

After the implementation of the project, data were collected to examine qualitatively the processes and the extent to which it addressed the aims of the project. Data collected included parents' informal feedback throughout the implementation of the project and via, a questionnaire administered after the implementation of the program and work produced by the children.

To be able to distinguish and identify drama's and puppets communicative potential and understand the empirical data in a qualitatively new way, the following concepts have played a prominent role throughout the analysis process: dialogue, subjectivisation, motive and mediation. Dialogue refers to linguistic contexts in which children talk with the puppet or during the role play or with each other and concerns the content of what is said and how it is said. Subjectivisation refers to puppet's and drama's sentimental value, i.e. how the process of the puppet's creation as a subject is developed and expressed in children's verbal and physical acts. Motive refers to communicative dynamics and the way the puppet's usage creates and generates knowledge-related and emotional motives. Mediation concerns how children construct and mediate their conceptual world, develop knowledge, exchange experiences, establish relationships and create new activities.

2.3 The communicative contexts of the analysis

The following contexts emerged as spontaneous arenas for children's communication and the drama's and puppet's communicative potential: improvisations, individual conversations, games with puppets inspired by the drama techniques and drawings that children produced of their own accord for certain puppets. Below, a description is given of what characterised these arenas.

Improvisations: Improvisation means that what is enacted emerges while the conversation/activity is in progress.

Individual conversations: Here, individual conversations refer to situations where children turn to me spontaneously and on their own initiative and want to talk about a specific drama scenario or puppets in general.

Games with puppets inspired by drama techniques: The children's games refers to children organizing a game of their own accord where the content of the game is partly an imitation of the puppet's movements on the stage and partly a development of new movement patterns that arise in the interaction.

Spontaneous drawings: Here, spontaneous drawings refers to the drawings children made of their own accord and out of interest and that the drawings were explained and given to me after the project.

3. Results

In a range of ways this study has highlighted how mother tongue in correlation with drama techniques and especially puppetry and related tasks, which encourage learner engagement and creativity, can provide a powerful means of developing language skills as well as broader understandings related to

literacy and culture. Both observational data and interviews with students and parents gave strong support for the view that using mother tongue in a context and purpose are fundamental to building genuine communicative competence and to facilitating the internalisation of their mother tongue.

The analysis made it possible to distinguish and identify the significance of mother tongue with drama and puppets techniques as communicative potential and as a mediating tool, based on three result areas: as driving force, mediation and three-party relationships and communicative processes.

Drama's and puppets sentimental value as a subject manifests itself primarily in children's dialogues and ways of talking. Here, sentimental value does not only refer to the existence of emotions that children express, it also includes children's negotiations concerning the meaning of the puppet being 'for real' and what it then consists of.

"Three-party relationships" refers to the relationships that are developed in the communication between three parties – the teacher, the puppet and children – and is a way of participating, creating and developing common knowledge in social learning activities. The communication in mother tongue is based on a common object, the puppet and the puppet's actions in the contexts. The results show that experiences in the common dialogue in a three-party relationship often create situations that, for the teacher, involve unexpected communicative twists and changes in Greek. It also emerges that such situations result in and contain both opportunities and limitations as regards the teacher's actions. Here, opportunities refer to the creation of new insights and discoveries in the dialog with the children, while limitations refer to the uncertainty that arises when it comes to the puppet's credibility in relation to what is unpredictable in the dialog between the puppet and the children.

The results from the study point to the mother tongue and puppet's and drama techniques relational, linguistic and action-related potential due to the fact that the puppet is perceived and treated as a subject. The results also show that subjectivisation of the puppet takes place in close and immediate contact between puppet and child especially when the dialogue in mother tongue. This means that children's individual motives are related to the puppet or to the puppet's properties. How the puppet is experienced and perceived as a subject is expressed above all in children's dialogs and ways of talking to the puppet, their way of talking with others about the puppet and in the interaction with each other in the light of the puppet's participation in the pre-school.

When we use drama techniques or puppetry, the children's interaction reflects their cultural and social context. How the world functions is expressed in, among other things, children's dialogues where they, with the help of mother language, define their experiences and develop their horizon of understanding. The dialogue that emerged with drama techniques or with the puppets functioned as a discussion forum where the children who actively participated in relation to the puppet most often adopted a narrative and teaching approach.

It is evident from the research that there are many advantages associated with this approach to teaching and learning mother tongue through drama techniques. The following were some of the advantages gleaned from the students' reflection sessions and our observation of the students during the entire process.

The participants developed confidence and were able to express themselves fluently. Through social interaction the students explored aspects of meaning together which enabled them to increase their understanding, not only of the particular content they were exploring, but also their individual interpretations. They learnt to offer, accept and modify ideas and to build upon the ideas presented by members of the group. They learnt how to empathize and as they became more motivated their self-esteem improved. They acquired better habits of speech and they increased their vocabulary in Greek as we could measure from the before and after the project interviews.

The project was positively received by all parents, who commented as follows: *"It has made learning more fun and interesting!"*, *"It enabled the children to learn different areas of the Greek language in a fun way"*, *"It has made learning more interesting and enabled understanding of the text with interaction"*, *"Children learn more when they play together; it promotes discussion, increases vocabulary"*, *"Helps promote the Greek language at home, speaking with your child"*.

Similar comments were made by the children: *"I can play now in the lesson, I like puppetry, and theatre"*, *"It's fun and interesting"*, *"I learn new words ... I speak Greek and I don't sit always on a chair .."*, *"I learn about Greece"*, *"I speak Greek at home with my parents and brothers and sisters."*

The comments were further supported by feedback offered informally during the implementation of the program. The project also had a positive impact on the attendance in mother tongue lessons not only in the Swedish Preschool Centre but also in the Greek evening school. They all attended the weekly sessions regularly and until the end of the academic year according to the official records of their teachers.

It thus emerged from this study that as the students became more confident their self-esteem improved dramatically, thereby leading to a concomitant improvement in their oral communication skills.

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It thus emerged from this study that as the students became more confident their self-esteem improved dramatically, thereby leading to a concomitant improvement in their oral communication skills. This research also points to the properties of the drama techniques a versatile tool for communication and learning and defines mother tongue as children's communicative right in the context of pre-school.

4. Conclusions and Perspectives

The use of drama activities in mother tongue tuition can be used as an innovative method. With the emphasis on the use of the Communicative Approach in language teaching, drama provides a meaningful way of learning the language. However, it should not be used in isolation but should be used in an integrated approach for language teaching. It should be part and parcel of the communicative classroom methodology. In conclusion it is thus evident that drama-in-education can play a significant and meaningful role in the development of the students' oral communication skills whilst simultaneously developing their personality, self-expression, self awareness and self confidence..

Unfortunately, the way in which a language is acquired is often mechanistic and artificial, depending on a theory of teaching which ignores the emotional and non-verbal content of language. From my experience and research, I believe that the use of creative dramatics in a language classroom not only addresses the nonverbal aspects of language, but also provides a satisfactory linguistic base on which to build communicative competence.

In addition Swedish policy teaches us that mother tongue education must be a priority in every modern country.

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ASSESSING VERBAL FLUENCY IN GREEK SIGN LANGUAGE

Eleni Vletsi

Aristotle University of
Thessaloniki

e_vletsi@yahoo.gr

Irene Hrisovalantou Liapi

Aristotle University of
Thessaloniki

liapeiri@yahoo.gr

Stavroula Stavrakaki

Aristotle University of
Thessaloniki

svoula@itl.auth.gr

Chloë Marshall

Institute of Education
University of London

C.Marshall@ioe.ac.uk

George Grouios

Aristotle University of
Thessaloniki

ggrouios@phed.auth.gr

ABSTRACT

The aim of our study is to develop a fluency task for Greek Sign Language (GSL), by which the fluency of adult Deaf signers can be measured. Following the standard methodology, the GSL fluency task used both semantic and phonemic categories. The task was administered to a pilot sample of five participants. We compared performances on the GSL fluency task with those on British Sign Language and oral Greek fluency tasks and found expected results on the basis of previous research. We conclude that the GSL fluency task can be successfully used to assess the performance of GSL users.

Keywords: Semantic fluency; Phonological fluency; Greek Sign Language

1. Introduction

Greek Sign Language (GSL) is the natural language of the Deaf¹ community in Greece. In 2000 it was recognized by Greek Legislation (2817/2000) as the official language of deaf and hard-of-hearing pupils in the Hellenic State (Ministry of National Education and Religion & Pedagogic Institute, 2004). It constitutes a fully-fledged and autonomous linguistic system with its own vocabulary, syntax, morphology and grammatical forms, just like any other known spoken language (Sandler, 2003). At the same time it shares the common features of sign languages across the world, by being organized grammatically in space in a three-dimension manner (Stokoe, 1972; Stokoe and Kuschel, 1978).

It is estimated that GSL is currently used by 12,000 children and 30,000 adults throughout Greece; however, precise quantitative data of this kind is difficult to collate due to lack of up-to-date archives. According to studies conducted at the Gallaudet University cited in the Ethnologue (2002), GSL is not derived from the oral Greek language, but rather has its origins in American and French Sign Languages and various indigenous sign languages. It should be noted that sign languages spring up wherever there are Deaf communities (Klima and Bellugi, 1988) passing them down from one generation to another. In this sense, they are culture-dependent to a greater degree than spoken languages (Emmorey, 2002; Kourbetis, 1999) and for that reason there is a heterogeneous language background among members of Deaf communities leading to a widespread variation in signing proficiency (Hauser, Paludneviciene, Supalla and Bavelier, 2006).

¹ Here and throughout we adopt the established convention of signaling with a capital D those persons with hearing impairments who are members of the Deaf community and use Sign Language in their everyday communication.

While sign languages are structured languages as the oral ones, they employ a different modality than oral languages in order to be transmitted. Therefore, there are significant differences between oral and sign languages. Consequently, to assess the performance in a sign language special assessment materials need to be developed. Notably, only a few studies have been carried out in this domain (Herman, Holmes & Woll, 1999; Herman et al., in press).

1.1 Fluency tasks in oral and sign languages

In oral verbal fluency tasks, individuals are given a limited amount of time, generally one minute, in which to produce as many items as they can within a particular category, and categories can be either semantic (e.g. “animals”) or phonological (“words beginning with ‘f’”) (Reitan and Wolfson, 1994; Lezak, 1995; Phillips, 1997). Verbal fluency tasks tap a wide range of cognitive processes, including semantic memory, language and executive functions. Consequently, they have been widely used for neuropsychological assessment and diagnosis, particularly after incidents of neurological damage (Parker and Crawford, 1992; Peña-Casanova et al., 2009). Notably, there has been a lot of research in order to develop norms appropriate for different languages, such as Greek (Kosmidis, Vlahou, Panagiotaki and Kiosseoglou, 2004), Spanish (Acevedo et al., 2000; Benito-Cuadrado et al., 2002; Peña-Casanova et al. 2009), and Hindi (Ratcliff et al., 1998). Moreover, in the literature there has been a lot of debate as to what determines how productive, or “fluent”, an individual is. Most studies suggest that factors predictive of greater fluency are the employment of categorization strategies, widely known as *clustering*, and the shifting from one subcategory to another when the time between responses lengthens (*switching*) (Raskin et al., 1992; Troyer et al., 1997; Abwender et al., 2001 among others).

With respect to the fluency assessment in sign languages, to the best of our knowledge, the only language to have been studied so far is *British Sign Language* (BSL; Marshall et al., to appear; Marshall, Rowley & Atkinson, submitted). Marshall and her colleagues (to appear; submitted) used two semantic categories, “animals” and “foods”, and found that Deaf children and Deaf adults produced responses that were comparable in all important ways – for example, total number of items produced, types of clusters, a slowing down of response rate during the course of the minute, most frequent responses – to those reported for spoken language fluency tasks.

Marshall et al.’s phonological fluency task used six categories that took into account the phonological structure of BSL, which, like all sign languages, can be divided into features “handshape”, “location” and “movement” (Marshall et al., submitted). Three were handshape categories, two were locations, and one was a movement category. Overall Deaf adults found this task quite difficult, with fewer responses than are typically reported for phonological fluency tasks in spoken languages. Marshall et al. speculated that this might be due to lower metaphonological awareness in signers, arising from sign languages not having an orthographic form.

2. The present study

The present study pilots a verbal fluency task for GSL which adapts Kosmidis et al.’s (2004) semantic categories for Greek and Marshall et al.’s (submitted) phonological categories for BSL. The aim is to compare performance to (oral) Greek and to BSL, in order to understand the types of responses produced by signers of GSL. The ultimate aim is to produce a task that can be used as part of a battery of tasks to assess GSL proficiency in a range of individuals, including deaf children.

2.1 Methods

2.1.1 Participants

For the needs of our study we contacted Associations of the Deaf in Thessaloniki and three schools of GSL situated in the same city in order to recruit informants. Data for the pilot study were collected from 5 participants (3 male; aged 24-36 & 2 female; aged 20-23, mean age=28). GSL, as any other sign language, has regional variation, especially in the field of vocabulary, and thus we intentionally selected participants from the northern part of Greece (cf. Marshall et al., to appear).

In order to collect demographic information on the participants we used a questionnaire, that included questions concerning sex, age, educational level, time of hearing loss and GSL acquisition, interaction with Deaf people and the use of GSL in everyday communication (see Appendix). All the

participants but one fulfilled the standard criteria for informant selection, that is, deafness at birth (or pre-lingual deafness), daily exposure to sign language, normal IQ abilities, full integration into the Deaf culture and following the standard procedure informed consent was received from each participant (Stokoe, 1972). Consider Table 1 for detailed information on signers' profile.

	Sex	Age	Hearing loss age	Level of education	Context of GSL acquisition
1	f	23	Birth	Technological Educational Institute degree	school teacher
2	f	20	Birth	University student	parents
3	m	36	1-12 months	High School	schoolmates
4	m	36	7 years	University degree	schoolmates
5	m	24	Birth	University student	schoolmates

Table 1 Demographic data

Participant 2 is a native signer who acquired GSL from Deaf parents. All the rest have daily exposure to the language using it as their preferred one. They are members of the Deaf community and acknowledged as competent signers (for criteria setting, see Stokoe, 1972; cf. Sapountzaki, 2005). They range in age from twenty to thirty six years. Four of them are pre-lingual deaf and one of them is a post-lingual deaf (participant 4), who nevertheless meets the criteria of exposure to GSL set previously.

2.1.2 Materials and procedure

2.1.2.1 Semantic fluency task

Participants were asked to generate as many words as possible for three semantic categories: animals, fruits and objects, which are the three categories used by Kosmidis et al. (2004) for oral Greek. They were allowed sixty seconds for each category. All signers received specific instructions in GSL by a Deaf person who collaborated with the first author of this study for the data collection. The signers were instructed by the Deaf person to sign all the names of animals/ fruits/objects that came into their mind. No examples were given at any time. The whole procedure was videotaped to allow for later transcription of the responses.

2.1.2.2 Phonological fluency task

For the phonological part of the task three handshapes were selected:

1. "Δ": the fist with the forefinger extended
2. "5": open hand
3. "Φ": thumb and forefinger together with the three remaining fingers extended



Figure 1 "Δ" handshape



Figure 2 "5" handshape



Figure 3 "Φ" handshape

The handshapes were selected based on their relative frequency in signs listed in the digital GSL dictionary *NOIMA* (ILSP, 2001). Specifically, the “Δ” handshape is used more frequently in the signs presented in the dictionary (i.e. 121 signs); “5” handshape is used in half of the tokens (i.e. 52 signs) and “Φ” corresponds to the $\frac{3}{4}$ of the sign words using the second handshape (i.e. 36 signs). As for the semantic categories, for each handshape participants were allowed sixty seconds. Again the instructions were delivered by the same Deaf person who showed them the specified handshape and asked them to tell him as many signs they could think of that use that handshape. No examples were given at any time and the whole procedure was filmed.

2.1.3 Analysis of the data

Responses were glossed with the equivalent Greek word and scored as either correct or incorrect. Repetitions and nonexistent signs counted as errors. Responses were assigned semantic clusters based on the subcategories that emerged from the data, that is both thematic (e.g. *pets, wild animals*) and taxonomic (e.g. *birds, mammals*) (Kosmidis et al., 2004; cf. Marshall et al., to appear, Marshall et al., submitted). Following Marshall and collaborators, we considered clusters as two or more adjacent responses from the same subcategory. Switches between clusters, or between items that did not form clusters were also calculated.

3. Results

In this section information is given on the numbers of responses to each category, the categorization of the clustering and the most frequent answers in all categories.

Table 2 shows the number of correct items produced by each participant in each category.

	Animals	Fruits	Objects	“Δ”	“5”	“Φ”
1	16	10	21	7	6	8
2	29	17	28	21	16	21
3	25	14	33	29	24	17
4	17	9	22	16	14	14
5	15	7	17	13	12	10
Mean	20.4	11.4	24.2	14.4	17.2	14

Table 2 Fluency data

Fluency for the semantic categories of animals and objects is higher than for the rest of the categories tested. Surprisingly this is not the case for the semantic category of fruits, which yielded the fewest responses compared to the total of the categories tested (semantic or phonological).

Coding semantic clustering in semantic and phonological categories in one participant’s responses is presented in table 3 and 4.

“5”		
Sign Gloss	Switches	Cluster type
TO MAKE AN INSULTING GESTURE		GAMES
BALL		
BASKETBALL		
HANDBALL		
CHILD	*	
BATHE	*	TO CLEAN ONESELF
TOWEL		
SLAP	*	TO USE VIOLENCE
HIT ON THE HEAD		
BEAT		
ATTACK		
FLIRT	*	
GRAB	*	
CONGRATULATIONS	*	

Table 3 Semantic clustering: phonological fluency

“ANIMALS”		
Sign Gloss	Switches	Cluster type
DOG		FARM ANIMALS
CHICKEN		
CAT		
HORSE		
COW		
PIG		
BEAR	*	FOREST ANIMALS
FOX		
WOLF		
BULL	*	FARM ANIMALS
SHEEP		
GOAT		
DEER	*	FOREST ANIMALS
SNAKE		
MOUSE	*	
BIRD	*	BIRDS
PARROT		

Table 4 Semantic clustering: semantic fluency

Most frequent responses and the number of their occurrence are shown in table 5.

“Φ”		“5”		“Δ”	
Sign Gloss	N	Sign Gloss	N	Sign Gloss	N
PERFECT	5	5	4	I/ YOU	8
WHERE	4	TREE	3	UP	3
EXACTLY	3	SLAP	3	TEASE	3
BUTTONS	2	BEAT	3	DOWN	2
FRANCE	2	MAKE AN INSULTING GESTURE	3	THERE	2
MOSQUITO	2			SOMETIMES	2
REACH	2			MUST	2
GOLD	2				
Animals		Fruits		Objects	
Sign Gloss	N	Sign Gloss	N	Sign Gloss	N
SNAKE	5	CHERRY	5	TV	5
DOG	4	APPLE	5	TABLE	4
GIRAFFE	4	BANANA	5	CHAIR	4
MOUSE	4	GRAPE	5	DVD	3
HORSE	3	PEAR	4	CURTAIN	3
BEAR	3	WATERMELON	4	BOARD	3
CAT	3	MELON	4	CLOCK	3
PIG	3	APRICOT	4	MIRROR	2
DOLPHIN	3	STRAWBERRY	4	CAMERA	2
SHARK	3	PINEAPPLE	3	PENCIL	2
GOAT	3	FIG	3	FORK	2
CHICKEN	3	ORANGE	3	PLATE	2
BIRD	3			PAPER	2
SHEEP	3				

Table 5 Most frequent responses

4. Discussion

Our results indicate that there are both similarities and differences between Deaf adult signers’ performance on the semantic and phonological fluency tasks and the performance reported in the literature for hearing individuals on analogous tasks. Specifically, we found the following similarities

to spoken languages: a larger number of responses for semantic than for phonological categories, and semantic clustering for both semantic and phonological categories (cf. Marshall et al., to appear). Since the participants of our study group do not show a wide range of age and educational level, it is quite difficult to match them with studies mentioned in the literature and more specifically with the one conducted in the hearing Greek population by Kosmidis et al. (2004). Comparing our results with that of BSL analyzed by Marshall et al. (to appear) is also complex, since the two sign language systems have dissociations in the way they encode their vocabulary, namely the use of finger-spelling. In addition to that, in the phonological part of the BSL fluency task a range of phonological categories was selected (i.e. handshape, location and movement), which concluded in different mapping of the participants responses (according to Marshall et al., phonological fluency in signed languages may be very dependent upon the particular category chosen).

In any case, it seems that Greek signers showed a comparable performance on both the semantic and phonological task to that of their hearing counterparts: a mean of 18.50 for correct responses as far as the category “animals” is concerned in spoken Greek (Kosmidis et al., 2004), whereas in GSL the mean is 20.4. Spoken Greek phonological fluency is in the region of 10-13 words (Kosmidis et al., 2004), lower than the mean of 15.2 which appears in the data of our study. In sum, our pilot investigation showed that semantic and phonological fluency tasks appear to be feasible in GSL. The participants understood the instructions, produced a set of relevant responses, and produced responses that were expected on the basis of previous work in Greek and BSL. It would therefore be worth testing the categories further with a larger number of neurotypical adult participants, and then with children and adults with neurological damage. With more data, subtle cross-linguistic differences between GSL and Greek and GSL and BSL might emerge, allowing insight into those aspects of fluency that are modality-specific, those that are modality-independent, and those that are language-specific. Given the paucity of cross-linguistic comparisons of sign languages, the fact that this task is quick and easy to administer and score might make it a prime candidate for comparisons across different sign languages.

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Appendix

ΕΡΩΤΗΜΑΤΟΛΟΓΙΟ

Α. Προσωπικά στοιχεία

Όνοματεπώνυμο:

Ηλικία:

Φύλο: Γυναίκα ☐ Άνδρας ☐

Τηλέφωνο επικοινωνίας:

Β. Απώλεια ακοής

α. πότε έχασα την ακοή μου; ☐

1. εκ γενετής ☐

2. από 1 έως 12 μηνών ☐

3. από 1 χρόνου έως 6 χρονών ☐

προσδιορίστε ακριβή ηλικία:

4. από 6 χρονών και πάνω ☐

προσδιορίστε ακριβή ηλικία:

β. αιτία απώλειας ακοής ☐

1. κληρονομικότητα ☐

2. μηνιγγίτιδα ☐

3. άλλη ασθένεια ☐

προσδιορίστε:

4. άλλο ☐

προσδιορίστε:

γ. Είμαι Κωφός-η ☐ Βαρήκοος-η ☐

Ακριβές ποσοστό απώλειας ακοής (βάσει ακουσγράμματος)

1. αριστερό αυτί% 2. δεξιό αυτί:%

Γ. Εκπαίδευση

Έχω φοιτήσει σε: ☐

Κωφών ☐

Δημοτικό Σχολείο Βαρηκόων ☐

Γενικής φοίτησης ☐

Προσδιορίστε τάξη και τόπο σχολείου:

Κωφών ☐

Γυμνάσιο Βαρηκόων ☐

Γενικής φοίτησης ☐

Προσδιορίστε τάξη και τόπο σχολείου:

Κωφών ☐

Λύκειο Βαρηκόων ☐

Γενικής φοίτησης ☐

Προσδιορίστε τάξη και τόπο σχολείου:

Τ.Ε.Ι. ☐ Α.Ε.Ι. ☐

Προσδιορίστε έτος ή τίτλο σπουδών:

Μεταπτυχιακές σπουδές Α' κύκλου ☐ Β' κύκλου ☐

Προσδιορίστε έτος ή τίτλο σπουδών:

Δ. Ελληνική Νοηματική Γλώσσα

Ηλικία κατάκτησης:

Πώς την κατέκτησα ☐

1. γονείς ☐

2. συγγενής Κωφός-η ☐

Προσδιορίστε:

3. επαφές με συμπαθητές στο σχολείο ☐

4. διδασκαλία από ειδικό δάσκαλο στο σχολείο ☐

Γνωρίζω την Ελληνική Νοηματική Γλώσσα

1. Τέλεια ☐

2. Πολύ καλά ☐

3. Καλά ☐

4. Σχετικά καλά ☐

5. Καθόλου ☐

Χρησιμοποιώ την ΕΝΓ ☐

1. συνέχεια ☐

2. αρκετές φορές ☐

3. μερικές φορές ☐

4. καθόλου ☐

Πού χρησιμοποιώ την ΕΝΓ ☐

1. εργασία ☐

2. σχολείο ☐

3. οικογένεια ☐

4. φιλική παρέα ☐

Ε. Ελληνική γραπτή γλώσσα

Ηλικία εκμάθησης:

Πώς την έμαθα ☐

1. γονείς ☐

2. συγγενής ακούων-ουσα ☐

Προσδιορίστε:

3. διδασκαλία στο σχολείο ☐

Ο δάσκαλος που μου δίδαξε τη νελληνική γλώσσα

1. γνώριζε και χρησιμοποιούσε αποκλειστικά την ΕΝΓ ☐

2. γνώριζε και χρησιμοποιούσε αρκετά την ΕΝΓ ☐

3. γνώριζε και χρησιμοποιούσε σε μικρό βαθμό την ΕΝΓ ☐

4. δε γνώριζε και δε χρησιμοποιούσε καθόλου την ΕΝΓ ☐

Γνωρίζω την ελληνική γλώσσα ☐

1. Τέλεια ☐

2. Πολύ καλά ☐

3. Καλά ☐

4. Σχετικά καλά ☐

5. Καθόλου ☐

Χρησιμοποιώ την ελληνική γλώσσα ☐

1. συνέχεια ☐

2. αρκετές φορές ☐

3. λίγες φορές ☐

4. καθόλου ☐

Πού χρησιμοποιώ την ελληνική γλώσσα ☐

1. εργασία ☐

2. σχολείο ☐

3. οικογένεια ☐

4. φιλική παρέα ☐

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Θανάσης Αγάθος
Λέκτορας Φιλολογίας,
Εθνικό και Καποδιστριακό
Πανεπιστήμιο Αθηνών, Ελλάδα
thagathos@phil.uoa.gr

Βασιλική Γιαννακού
Μ.Δ.Ε., Ε.Ε.ΔΙ.Π.,
Εθνικό και Καποδιστριακό
Πανεπιστήμιο Αθηνών, Ελλάδα
vasgiannak@yahoo.gr

Βαρβάρα Δημοπούλου
Δ. φ., Γυμνάσιο
Διαπολιτισμικής
Εκπαίδευσης Αθηνών, Ελλάδα
barbara.dimopoulou@gmail.com

Μάχη Μοντζολή
Μ.Δ.Ε.,
Εθνικό και Καποδιστριακό
Πανεπιστήμιο Αθηνών, Ελλάδα
montzoli@yahoo.gr

Νικόλαος Ρουμπής
Μ. Δ. Ε.,
Εθνικό και Καποδιστριακό
Πανεπιστήμιο Αθηνών, Ελλάδα
rouniko@gmail.com

Αλίκη Τσοτσορού
Δ. φ., Ε.Ε.ΔΙ.Π., Εθνικό και
Καποδιστριακό
Πανεπιστήμιο Αθηνών, Ελλάδα
aliki_tsotsor@hotmail.co.uk

ABSTRACT

Literary texts provide the student of Modern Greek as L2 with information concerning syntactic structures, common in oral and written discourse, in journalistic and scientific discourse. Literature comprises a sample of authentic discourse and functions as a source of information for natural speakers' way of thinking, cultural and social features, writers' attitudes, aspects of creativity in language and a rich vocabulary for teaching purposes. Course books for vantage and advanced levels include prose and poetry extracts, which serve as a means for interactive exchanges in class, through a series of related socio-cultural parameters.

Λέξεις κλειδιά: διδασκαλία ελληνικής ως δεύτερης / ξένης γλώσσας, λογοτεχνία, πεζογραφία

1. Γενικά

Βασική μας θέση είναι ότι η λογοτεχνία αποτελεί εύλογο και επιβεβλημένο όργανο στη διδασκαλία της δεύτερης / ξένης γλώσσας, αφενός για λόγους καθαρά γλωσσικούς και αφετέρου εξαιτίας της εμπλοκής της με ζητήματα προσωπικής ανάπτυξης και πολιτισμικής συνειδητοποίησης. Οπωσδήποτε, δεν αγνοούμε τη βιβλιογραφική διαμάχη σχετικά με την αναγκαιότητα ή μη της εμπλοκής του λογοτεχνικού υλικού κατά τη διαδικασία κατάκτησης του δεύτερου, τρίτου κ.λπ. γλωσσικού κώδικα (Carter 1988, Lazar 1993, Cook 1994, Short 1996, Tucker 2006) ούτε παραγνωρίζουμε τα προβλήματα που σχετίζονται με τον απαιτητικό χαρακτήρα της λογοτεχνικής γλώσσας, τη δυσκολία επιλογής των κειμένων λόγω θέματος, έκτασης κ.λπ. (Brumfit 1981, Collie & Slater 1987, Lazar 1993), ωστόσο υποστηρίζουμε την άποψη ότι το λογοτεχνικό κείμενο μπορεί να ενισχύσει αποτελεσματικά την

κατάκτηση της δεύτερης / ξένης γλώσσας (Krashen 1985), εν προκειμένω της Νέας Ελληνικής, εφόσον η διδακτική αξιοποίησή του παρουσιάζει πολλαπλά οφέλη για τους σπουδαστές¹.

Συγκεκριμένα, από αυστηρά γλωσσική άποψη μπορεί να γίνει λόγος για αξιοποίηση λογοτεχνικού υλικού γενικά προς εμπλουτισμό του λεξιλογίου και ανάπτυξη της γλωσσικής αντίληψης (Collie & Slater 1990:3, Carter & Long 1991:2, Lazar 1993:11, Νάτσινα 2007:510-511) και της γλωσσικής ικανότητας (Pickett 1986:271) ή της «αίσθησης» της γλώσσας (Hall 2005:48), τόσο σχετικά με τις κυριολεκτικές όσο και με τις μη κυριολεκτικές / σχηματικές σημασίες και τις ιδιομορφίες της φρασσεολογίας (Paran 2008, Parkinson & Reid 2000, Gibbs 1994, Collie & Slater 1987), και ειδικά για την πληρέστερη κατανόηση και κατάκτηση σύνθετων γραμματικών, συντακτικών και λεξιλογικών δομών (Widdowson, 1984:246, Lukashvili 2009:1-2).

Επιπροσθέτως, το λογοτεχνικό υλικό μπορεί να αποτελέσει το κατάλληλο υπόβαθρο για την παρουσίαση διαλέκτων, κοινωνιολεκτών, διαφορετικών επιπέδων λόγου, διακριτών κειμενικών ειδών (Maley & Duff 1990), ακόμη και παλαιότερων μορφών της γλώσσας-στόχου (Brumfit 1986:190, Hill 1986:10-11), καθώς και για την ενίσχυση της δημιουργικότητας των σπουδαστών και για την ανάπτυξη των δεξιοτήτων που σχετίζονται με την πρόσληψη και την παραγωγή προφορικού και γραπτού λόγου (Widdowson & Brumfit (1981:105, Widdowson 1984:246, Parkinson & Reid 2000:9-11, Νάτσινα 2007:511).

Παράλληλα, εφόσον το λογοτεχνικό φαινόμενο δεν περιορίζεται στο παραγόμενο αποτέλεσμα –το κείμενο–, αλλά περιλαμβάνει και τη διαδικασία πρόσληψής του, από την άποψη των πιθανών αντιδράσεων / ερμηνειών του αναγνώστη στο προτεινόμενο μήνυμα (Rifaterre 1985:137, Maley & Duff 1990), εφόσον πρόκειται δηλαδή για μορφή επικοινωνίας (Albert & Souchon 2000:181), η διδακτική αξιοποίηση του λογοτεχνικού προϊόντος σημαίνει προσωπική εμπλοκή (Doubrovsky 1985:20-23, Collie & Slater 1987:3-6) του διδάσκοντος και του διδασκόμενου, και ανάπτυξη στρατηγικών κατασκευής μιας καινούργιας υποκειμενικότητας (Πασχαλίδης 2002:321), αυτής που σχετίζεται με τη γλώσσα – στόχο. Με άλλα λόγια, το γεγονός ότι η λογοτεχνία αντλεί τη δύναμή της ουσιαστικά από το βίωμα (Alter 1985:69, Μέλλου & Χατζηδημητρίου – Παράσχου 2001:141) και απευθύνεται στο ανθρώπινο συναίσθημα παγκοσμίως (Hill 1986:7, Νάτσινα 2007:512), μπορεί να αποτελέσει αφορμή για καλλιέργεια της ευφυΐας και της κοινωνικής ευαισθητοποίησης των σπουδαστών της δεύτερης / ξένης γλώσσας (Parkinson & Reid 2000:9-11), δηλαδή για μεγαλύτερη διανοητική και ηθική ανάπτυξή τους, πέρα ή πάνω από το επίπεδο ωρίμανσης του καθενός στο πλαίσιο της μητρικής γλωσσικής κοινότητας. Υπό την έννοια αυτή το λογοτεχνικό κείμενο, ως εγνωσμένης ποιότητας αυθεντικό υλικό, λειτουργεί ως εύπλαστη πηγή περιεχομένου (Brumfit & Johnson 1979, Widdowson 1984:246), πάνω στην οποία το κάθε άτομο ή η κάθε ομάδα ατόμων έχει τη δυνατότητα να αναπτύξει τα δικά της νοήματα (Maley 1989:11). Πρόκειται, στην ουσία, για μια διαδικασία δεύτερης (τρίτης κ.λπ.) κοινωνικοποίησης και προσδιορισμού καινούργιας ταυτότητας (Hall 2005:71 κ. 77), με άξονα αναφοράς τα δεδομένα που προσφέρει το κείμενο της άλλης γλώσσας.

Επιπροσθέτως, το λογοτεχνικό μάθημα στους μη φυσικούς ομιλητές έχει και σαφή διαπολιτισμική διάσταση, αφού μπορεί να λειτουργήσει ως αφορμή για την κατανόηση του πολιτισμού της γλώσσας-στόχου (Carter & Long 1991:87, Collie & Slater 1987:3-6) και για τη συνειδητοποίηση και διερεύνηση ομοιοτήτων και διαφορών πολιτισμικού χαρακτήρα (Ghosn 2002:172, Πασχαλίδης 2002:322). Αυτός ο πολιτισμικός εμπλουτισμός (Lazar 1993:17, Byram 2003) αποτελεί και το υπόβαθρο για τη δημιουργία διαλεκτικά ανοιχτής και πλουραλιστικής πολιτισμικής ταυτότητας (Αγάθος, Γιαννακού, Δημοπούλου, Μοντζολή, Ρουμπής, Τσοτσόρου 2011:4-5, Hall 2005:48). Τα κείμενα που αποτελούν την πρώτη ύλη του λογοτεχνικού μαθήματος προτείνουν ουσιαστικά τρόπους ερμηνείας της πραγματικότητας (Vlaeminck 2004:82, Χοντολίδου 2002:279), περιβεβλημένους με το γλωσσικό ένδυμα της γλώσσας-στόχου (Δενδρινού, 2004:54), γι' αυτό και περιλαμβάνουν πλήθος αντιλήψεων, αξιών, ηθών, εθίμων, ιστορικών γεγονότων, ιδεολογικών στοιχείων κ.λπ. (Carter & Long 1991:2) που προσφέρονται στους σπουδαστές για δημιουργική επεξεργασία, κριτική αποκατάσταση και διαπολιτισμική ανασύνθεση.

2. Η θέση του λογοτεχνικού κειμένου στη διδασκαλία

Η διδακτική αξιοποίηση του λογοτεχνικού κειμένου εντάσσεται στην ευρύτατη διαδικασία απόκτησης γραμματισμού στη δεύτερη / ξένη γλώσσα, η οποία γίνεται αντιληπτή, στη συγκεκριμένη περίπτωση, ως αλυσίδα διαδοχικών μεταβάσεων από τον προφορικό στον γραπτό λόγο, από τον καθημερινό στον επίσημο, από τον αυθόρμητο στον επιμελημένο και από τον μη πρότυπο στον πρότυπο (Baynham

¹ Έρευνες καταγραφής των απόψεων των σπουδαστών (Yilmaz 2012: 86-99, Akyel, & Yalçin 1990:174-180) περιλαμβάνουν την ανάπτυξη των γλωσσικών και πολιτισμικών δεξιοτήτων στα αποτελέσματα της διδακτικής χρήσης της λογοτεχνίας.

1990:16-17). Στο πλαίσιο αυτό, η τριπλή οπτική γωνία στη μελέτη του διδακτικού ρόλου της λογοτεχνίας, όπως διαγράφηκε στα προηγούμενα, συγκεκριμενοποιείται στις ακόλουθες παρατηρήσεις:

α) Η ύπαρξη ενός σώματος αυθεντικού υλικού υψηλής ποιότητας αποτελεί παράγοντα εμπλουτισμού της διδακτικής διαδικασίας, εφόσον καλλιεργεί τις γλωσσικές δεξιότητες, οξύνει την ικανότητα ερμηνείας και εκτίμησης των κειμένων της δεύτερης / ξένης γλώσσας, αναπτύσσει τη φαντασία και το συναίσθημα (Rosenblatt, 1995:38,184) και γενικά επεκτείνει τα όρια της ανθρωπιστικής παιδείας. Παράλληλα, η εμπλοκή της λογοτεχνίας από τη μια πλευρά έχει την έννοια ότι αποτρέπει από το ολίσθημα της επιλογής κειμένων μόνο βάσει χρησιμότητας (όπως λ.χ. τα δημοσιογραφικά ή τα διαφημιστικά) (Σπανός 2001:195), ενώ από την άλλη ενισχύει τα κίνητρα που ωθούν τους σπουδαστές στην εκμάθηση της γλώσσας-στόχου λόγω της παγκοσμιότητας, της ποικιλίας και της πρωτοτυπίας των θεμάτων της (Lazar 1993:11, Maley 1989:11, Maley & Duff 1990).

β) Τα προϊόντα της λογοτεχνίας διακρίνονται, το καθένα ξεχωριστά, για τη μοναδικότητα και την αυτονομία τους ως προς την αναπαράσταση της εμπειρίας (Rifaterre 1985:136, Alter 1985:68), και για τον πλούτο των σημασιών, των πολιτισμικών συνυποδηλώσεων και των μηνυμάτων (Wissman Bruss 1975:349) που διαθέτουν προς μελέτη και κριτική αξιολόγηση –άρα μπορούν να εμπλουτίσουν τον γνωσιακό ορίζοντα των σπουδαστών. Ως προς αυτό έχει ιδιαίτερη σημασία η προσεκτική επιλογή των κειμένων, είτε ο διδάσκων αποφασίσει να αξιοποιήσει αυτόνομα έργα ευσύνοπτου μεγέθους είτε προκρίνει τη λύση της χρήσης αποσπασμάτων². Βασικός στόχος σε κάθε περίπτωση είναι η ελεύθερη και δημιουργική χρήση της γλώσσας προς την κατεύθυνση της παραγωγής λόγου (προφορικού και γραπτού), έτσι ώστε να προκύψει πολύ εξαγόμενο υλικό από λίγο εισαγόμενο (Maley 1989:11).

γ) Ειδικότερα η αφήγηση, ως λογοτεχνικό είδος, αποτελείται από μια ακολουθία γεγονότων ή περιστατικών και πλάθει ένα σύνολο κανόνων και αξιών με μικρότερη ή μεγαλύτερη αληθοφάνεια, δηλαδή αντιστοίχιση προς τον εξωκειμενικό κόσμο (Meunier 1996:159-160). Τα γνωρίσματα αυτά συνιστούν διαρκή πρόκληση για τους σπουδαστές, υπό την έννοια ότι τους παρακινούν σε συνεχή ανακατασκευή και αναθεώρηση της εικόνας του εαυτού τους και της θέσης τους μέσα στον κόσμο, με άξονα την καινούργια πραγματικότητα που υποδεικνύει το ξενόγλωσσο κείμενο. Επιπλέον, επειδή η αφηγηματική πεζογραφία διαθέτει πλοκή και διεγείρει το ενδιαφέρον του δέκτη, συνδέεται άμεσα με την έννοια της απόλαυσης της ανάγνωσης (Hall 2005:47-57). Με άλλα λόγια, ακόμη και αν επιλεγεί η «δύσκολη» λύση της αξιοποίησης εκτενών αφηγηματικών κειμένων, προκύπτει διδακτικό όφελος για την τάξη της Νέας Ελληνικής ως δεύτερης / ξένης γλώσσας, εφόσον οι σπουδαστές έρχονται σε επαφή με σημαντικά έργα και ασκούνται και εθίζονται στην ανάγνωση και την ολιστική ερμηνεία τους, διαμορφώνοντας έτσι το σώμα των αναγνωστών της νεοελληνικής λογοτεχνίας του μέλλοντος³.

3. Επιδιωκόμενες δεξιότητες

Όλα τα παραπάνω αντλούν τη χρησιμότητά τους από το γενικότερο πλαίσιο των επιδιωκόμενων δεξιοτήτων –με άλλα λόγια, το τι ακριβώς επιδιώκουμε να επιτύχουμε με την εισαγωγή του λογοτεχνικού κειμένου στην τάξη της Νέας Ελληνικής ως δεύτερης / ξένης γλώσσας.

Μια πρώτη απάντηση στο σύνθετο αυτό ζήτημα είναι ότι η λογοτεχνία μοιάζει με οποιοδήποτε άλλο γλωσσικό διδακτικό υλικό και στοχεύει στην επέκταση της γλωσσικής ικανότητας των αλλόγλωσσων σπουδαστών, εφόσον καλλιεργεί τις δεξιότητες που σχετίζονται με την παραγωγή προφορικού και γραπτού λόγου (Brumfit & Johnson 1979). Ειδικότερα, ωστόσο, για την περίπτωση της διδακτικής αξιοποίησης κειμένων με λογοτεχνικό περιεχόμενο, η γενική έννοια της *γλωσσικής ικανότητας* προτείνεται να εξειδικευτεί στις ειδικότερες παραμέτρους της *αναγνωστικής*, της *λογοτεχνικής* και της *διαπολιτισμικής* ικανότητας.

Πιο συγκεκριμένα, μέσω της διδασκαλίας της λογοτεχνίας επιδιώκεται να αποκτήσουν οι σπουδαστές την ικανότητα να αντιμετωπίζουν τις γλωσσικές προκλήσεις –κυρίως, αν και όχι αποκλειστικά– του αφηγηματικού κειμένου, να το διαβάσουν με ευχέρεια για να μπορούν να αντλήσουν απόλαυση από την πλοκή και το περιεχόμενό του (Hall 2005:111-113)· περαιτέρω, να αναπτύξουν τεχνικές αυτοκαθοδήγησης και αισθητήριο επιλογής της ποιοτικής αφήγησης (Sinclair 1996:140, Cook 1996:155), μέσα στον κατακλυσμό έντυπου, ηλεκτρονικού κ.λπ. υλικού της σύγχρονης ελληνικής κοινωνίας – *αναγνωστική ικανότητα*.

² Το ζήτημα της χρήσης αποσπασμάτων είναι εκτός των ορίων αυτής της εργασίας, αλλά προσφέρεται για μελλοντική έρευνα.

³ Προτάσεις διαχείρισης εκτενών λογοτεχνικών έργων υπάρχουν στα νέα Προγράμματα Σπουδών που εκτίθενται στην ιστοσελίδα του Ψηφιακού Σχολείου (digitalschool@minedu.gov.gr), αλλά βρίσκονται εκτός των ορίων της συγκεκριμένης εργασίας.

Από την άλλη μεριά, η εμπλοκή της λογοτεχνίας στη διδακτική της δεύτερης / ξένης γλώσσας στοχεύει στην καλλιέργεια της εκτίμησης της λογοτεχνικότητας του κάθε κειμένου (Carter 1986:110), από γλωσσική, αισθητική και διακειμενική άποψη. Αν οι σπουδαστές φτάσουν στο σημείο να αξιολογούν τα γλωσσικά πρότυπα που προτείνει το κείμενο (Carter & Long 1991:7), να διατυπώνουν υποθέσεις σχετικά με τις προθέσεις του συγγραφέα (Hill 1986:97), να κρίνουν τις υποκειμενικές απόψεις, να εξάγουν συμπεράσματα και να ανακαλύπτουν συνδέσεις με άλλα κείμενα (Hall 2005:149), τότε έχουν κατακτήσει τη *λογοτεχνική ικανότητα*. Οι Carter & Long υποστηρίζουν

Τέλος, ο απώτερος στόχος του λογοτεχνικού μαθήματος στους αλλόγλωσσους σπουδαστές πρέπει να είναι η προώθηση σημείων κατανόησης και σύγκλισης της πολιτισμικής εμπειρίας του καθενός με την αντίστοιχη των υπολοίπων (Πασχαλίδης 2002:331, Καλλιαμπέτσου-Κόρακα 2004:402), αλλά και με τον πολιτισμό της γλώσσας – στόχου, δηλαδή τον ελληνικό. Η αναγνώριση της ρευστότητας και της σχετικότητας των πολιτισμικών ταυτοτήτων και η ανασύνθεση, σε καθημερινή βάση, του πολιτισμικού υβριδίου της ξενόγλωσσας τάξης (Lazar 1993:11, Hall 2005:66) αποτελούν τον πυρήνα της *διαπολιτισμικής ικανότητας*.

4. Η λογοτεχνία στα εγχειρίδια της διδασκαλίας της Νέας Ελληνικής ως ξένης

Στο ακόλουθο κεφάλαιο θα εστιάσουμε σε όλα τα εγχειρίδια διδασκαλίας της Νέας Ελληνικής ως ξένης που περιέχουν λογοτεχνικά έργα ή αποσπάσματα από αυτά, από το 1982 ως και τις πιο πρόσφατες εκδόσεις, με σημείο εκκίνησης τα εγχειρίδια που εμπεριέχουν τις περισσότερες αναφορές στη λογοτεχνία.

Το εγχειρίδιο της Σ. Τλούπα, *Πολιτιστικό Πανόραμα - Νέα Ελληνικά και Πολιτισμός* (1994) θα μπορούσε να θεωρηθεί το πιο πλούσιο σε λογοτεχνικά αποσπάσματα, αλλά και το πιο αντιπροσωπευτικό για την παρουσίαση της Νεοελληνικής Λογοτεχνίας στους σπουδαστές της ελληνικής ως ξένης. Περιλαμβάνει μια ολόκληρη ενότητα αφιερωμένη στην ιστορία της Νεοελληνικής Λογοτεχνίας. Το θεωρητικό κείμενο, που προηγείται των αποσπασμάτων, έχει ως αφετηρία την περίοδο του 11ου - 12ου αιώνα. Ακολουθούν η Φραγκοκρατία, η περίοδος μετά την Άλωση και η Κρητική Λογοτεχνία (16ος-17ος αιώνας). Γίνεται ιδιαίτερη μνεία στο δημοτικό τραγούδι, στον Ελληνικό Διαφωτισμό και ακολουθεί πληροφοριακό υλικό για τον Σολωμό και του Κάλβο, τη Φαναριώτικη και την Επτανησιακή Σχολή. Ως επόμενος σταθμός προβάλλεται η γενιά του 1880, με έμφαση στον Παλαμά και αναφορά στο ηθογραφικό διήγημα. Έπεται μια γενικότερη αναφορά στη λογοτεχνία του 20ου αιώνα, ιδιαίτερα στους Καβάφη, Σικελιανό και Καζαντζάκη. Τέλος, η πορεία της νεοελληνικής λογοτεχνίας ολοκληρώνεται με τη γενιά του 1930 και τη μεταπολεμική λογοτεχνική παραγωγή. Ακολουθούν 17 δείγματα νεοελληνικής λογοτεχνικής δημιουργίας, από τον *Ερωτόκριτο* ως τον Σολωμό και τον Παλαμά και από τον Καζαντζάκη ως τη Ζατέλη.

Εξαιρετικά πλούσια σε υλικό προερχόμενο από τη λογοτεχνία είναι τα βιβλία 3 και 4 από τη σειρά *Ελληνικά για ξενόγλωσσους* (1991, 1995), των Μαυρούλια και Γεωργαντζή. Το τρίτο εγχειρίδιο περιέχει αποσπάσματα κυρίως από έργα της γενιάς του '30, αλλά δε λείπουν και αναφορές σε παλαιότερες περιόδους (Μαρκοράς, Πολυδούρη), καθώς και στη σύγχρονη λογοτεχνία (Β. Αλεξάκης, Γιάννης Κοντός). Το τέταρτο βιβλίο αποτελεί ένα εγχειρίδιο αποτελούμενο κατεξοχήν από λογοτεχνικά αποσπάσματα. Στον τομέα της ποίησης, υπάρχει μία ευρεία ποικιλία από το εναρκτήριο δείγμα της Νεοελληνικής Λογοτεχνίας (*Ο θάνατος του Διγενή Ακρίτα*), την Κρητική Λογοτεχνία (*Ερωτόκριτος*) και την Επτανησιακή Σχολή (Σολωμός, Κάλβος, Βαλαωρίτης). Περιέχονται, επίσης, αποσπάσματα από έργα της Αθηναϊκής Σχολής (Παλαμάς) και της γενιάς του '30. Εντύπωση προκαλεί η απουσία σύγχρονων ποιητών. Από την άλλη πλευρά, στο πεδίο της πεζογραφίας υπάρχουν αποσπάσματα από τη Φαναριώτικη Σχολή, από τα *Απομνημονεύματα* του Μακρυγιάννη, αλλά και από έργα του Μυριβήλη, του Καρκαβίτσα, του Θεοτόκη και του Τριβιζά. Ενδιαφέρον είναι το γεγονός ότι υπάρχει και απόσπασμα από το θεατρικό έργο *Φωνάζει ο κλέφτης* του Ψαθά.

Το βιβλίο *Ανακαλύπτοντας το Κείμενο* (2009) περιέχει πλήθος λογοτεχνικών αποσπασμάτων και είναι το μόνο που εστιάζει κατά κύριο λόγο στη σύγχρονη λογοτεχνία. Σημαντικά δείγματα και σημαντικοί λογοτέχνες παρουσιάζονται σε αυτό: αποσπάσματα από το μυθιστόρημα *Ο Καπετάν-Μιχάλης* του Καζαντζάκη, αλλά και από έργα των Τσιφόρου, Σαμαράκη, Κουμανταρέα, Σ. Τριανταφύλλου, Φακίνου, Τατσόπουλου.

Αντίστοιχα, το βιβλίο *Ακολουθώντας το κείμενο* (2004) περιέχει αρκετά κείμενα με τοπιογραφικό χαρακτήρα, όλα του Ουράνη. Στο εγχειρίδιο συναντάμε, επίσης, αποσπάσματα από έργα του Θεοτοκά, της Ιορδανίδου, του Σαμαράκη, του Ταχτσή και της Δούκα.

Στο εγχειρίδιο *Περισσότερα Ελληνικά* (1982) συναντάμε έναν λαϊκό μύθο (*Οι δώδεκα μήνες και το βαρέλι τους*), αποσπάσματα από πεζά κείμενα των Βενέζη, Ιορδανίδου και Καραγάτση, ένα

χρονογράφημα της Ακρίτα και ένα μόνο δείγμα ποιητικής γραφής (Ρίτσος, «Όνειρο καλοκαιρινού μεσημεριού»).

Στο βιβλίο *Πλουτίζω τα Ελληνικά μου* (1983) η προβολή της λογοτεχνίας γίνεται εντονότερη. Τα περισσότερα δείγματα προέρχονται από τον πεζό λόγο: πρόκειται για αποσπάσματα από μυθιστορήματα των Καρκαβίτσα, Καζαντζάκη, Βενέζη, Βλάχου, Σαμαράκη, Ταχτσή, Χαρακτηριστικό είναι ότι υπάρχει μόνο ένα δείγμα ποιητικού λόγου (του Γρυπάρη) και επίσης ένας λαϊκός μύθος.

Το βιβλίο των Παναγοπούλου και Χατζηπαναγιωτίδου, *Ελληνικά για Προχωρημένους, Γ κύκλος* (1997), αποτελείται στην πλειοψηφία του από άρθρα και δοκίμια επιστημονικού λόγου δημοσιευμένα στον τύπο. Στην ενότητα «Γλώσσα» υπάρχουν συντομώτατα αποσπάσματα από ποιήματα τα οποία χρησιμοποιούνται εν είδει προτροπών (Σεφέρης, Ελύτης, Παλαμάς, Ψυχάρης). Στην 7η ενότητα εντάσσεται ένα απόσπασμα από τη *Φανέλα με το 9* του Κουμανταρέα. Στην 10η ενότητα υπάρχουν ρήσεις Ελλήνων (Μακρυγιάννη, Σεφέρη, Πεντζίκη, Βασιλικού) και ξένων συγγραφέων, που αναφέρονται στη χώρα μας. Ακολουθώντας, στην ενότητα 11 («Πολιτισμός – Τέχνες – Ψυχαγωγία») υπάρχει και ένα ποίημα της Σαφρούς σε μετάφραση του Χριστιανόπουλου.

Στο βιβλίο Γ επιπέδου των Ε. Δεμίρη–Προδρομίδου, Ρ. Καμαριανού–Βασιλείου *Νέα Ελληνικά για Μετανάστες, Παλιννοστούντες, Πρόσφυγες και Ξένους* (2004), υπάρχει ένα εκτενές αφιέρωμα στην ελληνική λογοτεχνία στην ενότητα 9. Η έναρξη της ενότητας γίνεται με το προοίμιο της *Οδύσσειας* και τη μετάφρασή του. Το πέραςμα στη Νεοελληνική Λογοτεχνία προσεγγίζεται αρχικά θεωρητικά και συγκεκριμένα, με τη βασική διάκριση της Ν.Ε.Λ. στα είδη του πεζού και ποιητικού λόγου, με αρκετές πληροφορίες για το κάθε είδος. Ακολουθούν δύο μικρά αποσπάσματα έργων του Ελύτη και παραθέματα του Καβάφη και του Ρίτσου. Από την πλευρά της πεζογραφίας παρουσιάζεται ένα χαρακτηριστικό απόσπασμα από τον *Ζορμπά* του Καζαντζάκη. Στις επαναληπτικές ασκήσεις της ενότητας συναντάμε απόσπασμα από έργο του Βενέζη. Αξιοσημείωτο είναι ότι υπάρχουν και βιογραφικές αναφορές για τον κάθε λογοτέχνη, έργο του οποίου παρουσιάζεται, ωστόσο η επεξεργασία των κειμένων αφορά κατά κύριο λόγο το λεξιλογικό επίπεδο.

Στο τρίτο βιβλίο της σειράς *Επικοινωνήστε Ελληνικά* (1994) υπάρχει ένα κείμενο με τίτλο «Μία σύντομη ματιά στη σύγχρονη λογοτεχνία». Οι αναφορές περιορίζονται κυρίως σε ονόματα λογοτεχνών, ενώ τα δείγματα έργων που παρουσιάζονται είναι μόλις τρία: ένα απόσπασμα από τη *Χαμένη Άνοιξη* του Τσίρκα, ένα ποίημα του Σεφέρη και ένα απόσπασμα από το θεατρικό έργο *Η αυλή των θαυμάτων* του Καμπανέλλη.

Στο βιβλίο της Ελληνοαμερικανικής Ένωσης *Συνεχίζοντας* (2004) η παρουσία της λογοτεχνίας ξεκινά ήδη από τη δεύτερη ενότητα, με ένα παραδοσιακό παραμύθι από τη συλλογή *Μαγικά παραμύθια του ελληνικού λαού* του Ιωάννου. Ακολουθούν τρεις μύθοι του Αισώπου. Στη συνέχεια συναντάμε ένα διήγημα του Ταχτσή με τοπιογραφικό χαρακτήρα, το γνωστό ποίημα του Καβάφη «Ιθάκη» και τέλος, ένα μονόπρακτο για το θέατρο σκιών του Μ. Ξάνθου σε διασκευή Ιωάννου, *Ο Καραγκιόζης σε ταξίδι για δουλειές*.

Στο εγχειρίδιο *Η γλώσσα που μιλάμε στην Ελλάδα. Τα Ελληνικά ως ξένη γλώσσα* (2004) υπάρχουν δύο αποσπάσματα διηγημάτων του Αλ. Παπαδιαμάντη και ένα διήγημα του Καραγάτση, ενώ στο βιβλίο του Σιόντη *Μαθαίνω την Ελληνική Γλώσσα* (2001) εντοπίζονται αποσπάσματα από το *Πλατύ Ποτάμι* του Μπεράτη και τη *Μεγάλη Λιτανεία* του Καραγάτση.

Τέλος, ένα από τα πλέον πρόσφατα εγχειρίδια, το *Ακόμα καλύτερα* (2011) των Αντωνίου, Γαλαζούλα, Δημητράκου, Μαγγανά, εμπεριέχει τη σύγχρονη ελληνική λογοτεχνία στις διδακτικές του προτάσεις, με αποσπάσματα από τα έργα *Και με το φως του λύκου επανέρχονται* της Ζατέλη, *Η Κασσάνδρα και ο Λύκος* της Καραπάνου, *Όνειρο καλοκαιρινού μεσημεριού* του Ρίτσου, αλλά και το *Χάριν Παιδιάς* του Σαββόπουλου. Χαρακτηριστική είναι και η ενότητα 12 του εγχειριδίου, με στοιχεία από λαϊκούς μύθους και την αρχαία ελληνική μυθολογία καθώς και νεότερα λαϊκά παραμύθια.

5. Συμπεράσματα

Παρατηρώντας το λογοτεχνικό υλικό που περιέχεται στα διάφορα εγχειρίδια, οδηγούμαστε στα ακόλουθα συμπεράσματα:

α) Η λογοτεχνία είναι ανύπαρκτη σε εγχειρίδια που αφορούν τα αρχικά στάδια εκμάθησης της γλώσσας και πυκνώνει όσο το επίπεδο ανεβαίνει. Αποψη μας είναι ότι, ακόμα και σε ένα αρχικό στάδιο εκμάθησης της γλώσσας, που αφορά κυρίως στην κάλυψη της ανάγκης νέου λεξιλογίου, η απλή ανάγνωση λογοτεχνικών κειμένων βοηθάει τους εκπαιδευόμενους να έρθουν σε μια πρώτη επαφή με πιο σύνθετες δομές από εκείνες απλών επικοινωνιακών καταστάσεων. Επιπλέον, η σύνδεση με το πολιτισμικό πλαίσιο της γλώσσας-στόχου γίνεται πιο φυσικά (Nation & Coady, 1988). Παρά ταύτα, είναι γεγονός ότι οι σπουδαστές μέσου και προχωρημένου επιπέδου αποκομίζουν μεγαλύτερο όφελος

από την αξιοποίηση της λογοτεχνίας, καθώς μπορούν να ανταποκριθούν σε συλλογισμούς πιο αφηρημένους και σύνθετους από εκείνους των σπουδαστών του αρχάριου επιπέδου.

β) Ιδιαίτερα σε παλιότερα εγχειρίδια δεν επιχειρείται κάποιο είδος συστηματοποιημένης παρουσίασης των λογοτεχνικών έργων, για παράδειγμα, ανάλογα με το βαθμό δυσκολίας κατανόησης, αλλά ακολουθείται είτε η χρονική σειρά συγγραφής τους, είτε, κυρίως στα νεότερα βιβλία, η συνάφειά τους με τη γενική θεματολογία της ενότητας. Κατά την άποψή μας η παρουσίαση κατά χρονολογική σειρά δημιουργίας του έργου δε θα πρέπει να αποτελεί τόσο σημαντικό κριτήριο, όσο η συνάφεια με τη θεματολογία της ενότητας και το γλωσσικό επίπεδο.

γ) Ο πεζός λόγος είναι το επικρατέστερο λογοτεχνικό είδος μέσα στα εγχειρίδια εκμάθησης της δεύτερης γλώσσας, ενώ η παρουσία του ποιητικού είναι περιορισμένη και παρουσιάζεται σε ανώτερα επίπεδα γλωσσομάθειας. Αυτό είναι εύλογο να συμβαίνει, καθώς η ποίηση σχετίζεται κυρίως με την συνυποδηλωτική χρήση της γλώσσας, που πιθανόν να δυσκολεύει ακόμα και φυσικούς ομιλητές.

δ) Παρατηρώντας τα υπάρχοντα εγχειρίδια συμπεραίνουμε ότι δεν εκμεταλλεύονται πλήρως την παρουσία του εκάστοτε λογοτεχνικού κειμένου, για να το επεξεργαστούν σε επίπεδο λεξιλογικό, συντακτικό, ερμηνευτικό, επικοινωνιακό και πολιτισμικό ταυτόχρονα. Σημαντικό είναι το κείμενο ή το απόσπασμα το οποίο επιλέγεται να είναι αυθεντικό, με τις απαραίτητες ωστόσο προϋποθέσεις της νοηματικής, γλωσσικής και αισθητικής αυτοτέλειας και άρα κατάλληλο για επεξεργασία και ανάλυση. Έτσι το αποτέλεσμα είναι διπλά θετικό, αφού από τη μια πλευρά διδάσκεται η γλώσσα και συγχρόνως δεν παραμερίζεται το πολιτιστικό περιεχόμενο.

6. Επίλογος

Από τη συζήτηση που προηγήθηκε και με δεδομένο τα γεγονότα η λογοτεχνική ικανότητα, ως μέρος της γλωσσικής ικανότητας, είναι απαραίτητη για την απόκτηση της γλωσσικής ικανότητας στο υψηλότερο επίπεδο (Carter & Long 1991:6), υιοθετείται η άποψη για τον σημαντικό ρόλο που, κατά την άποψή μας, μπορεί να διαδραματίσει η νεοελληνική λογοτεχνία στη διδασκαλία της νέας ελληνικής γλώσσας ως ξένης, τόσο σε σχέση με την επέκταση του λεξιλογίου και την εμπέδωση ποικίλων γραμματικοσυντακτικών δομών, όσο και σε σχέση με τη διαμόρφωση ουσιαστικής επαφής με τον ελληνικό πολιτισμό και την εδραίωση της διαπολιτισμικής επικοινωνίας. Επιπρόσθετα, η επισκόπηση της ενσωμάτωσης λογοτεχνικών κειμένων σε ευρύ φάσμα εγχειριδίων της Νέας Ελληνικής ως ξένης γλώσσας οδήγησε σε ενδιαφέροντα συμπεράσματα και άφησε να διαφανεί ότι θα ήταν πολύ χρήσιμη μια περισσότερο συστηματική και διαβαθμισμένη παρουσία της νεοελληνικής λογοτεχνίας (πεζογραφίας και ποίησης) στα σχετικά εγχειρίδια και μάλιστα σε όλα τα επίπεδα ελληνομάθειας, και όχι μόνο στα πλέον προχωρημένα. Στην κατεύθυνση αυτή θα είχε ενδιαφέρον, έστω σε πειραματικό επίπεδο, και η δημιουργία εγχειριδίων προσανατολισμένων στη χρήση της νεοελληνικής λογοτεχνίας ως αποκλειστικού μέσου διδασκαλίας της νέας ελληνικής.

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ΔΙΔΑΣΚΑΛΙΑ ΤΗΣ ΝΕΑΣ ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΗΣ ΩΣ ΞΕΝΗΣ: ΑΝΑΛΥΤΙΚΟ ΠΡΟΓΡΑΜΜΑ ΓΙΑ ΤΟ ΠΡΟΧΩΡΗΜΕΝΟ ΕΠΙΠΕΔΟ ΕΛΛΗΝΟΜΑΘΕΙΑΣ (Γ1)

Κατερίνα Αλεξανδρή
Σχολείο Νέας Ελληνικής Γλώσσας,
Αριστοτέλειο Πανεπιστήμιο Θεσσαλονίκης
k.alexandri@yahoo.com

Μαρία Καπουρκατσίδου
Σχολείο Νέας Ελληνικής Γλώσσας,
Αριστοτέλειο Πανεπιστήμιο Θεσσαλονίκης
kap_maria@yahoo.gr

ABSTRACT

The development of a syllabus and the course design are two basic factors to successfully teach a foreign language. Consequently, the preparation of a well designed and applicable syllabus could -up to a point- assure an effective teaching.

This proposal is about the new syllabus for the advanced level of teaching Greek as a foreign language of the School of Modern Greek Language (Aristotle University of Thessaloniki). It is based on the Common European Framework for languages, also taking into consideration the structure of the new exam levels of the Center of Greek Language (2011). Moreover, for the formation of the syllabus were included the particular language needs expressed by the students of the school during the past years, considering that at this advanced level the learner's contribution is particularly important.

Λέξεις κλειδιά: αναλυτικό πρόγραμμα σπουδών, syllabus, σχεδιασμός μαθημάτων, ανάλυση γλωσσικών αναγκών, διδασκαλία της Ελληνικής ως Δεύτερης/ Ξένης Γλώσσας.

0. Εισαγωγή

Ένας βασικός παράγοντας για την αποτελεσματική διδασκαλία μιας ξένης γλώσσας, εκτός από τον σχεδιασμό των μαθημάτων, είναι η ανάπτυξη ενός αναλυτικού προγράμματος. Επομένως, η προετοιμασία ενός καλά σχεδιασμένου και εφαρμόσιμου τέτοιου προγράμματος μπορεί να εξασφαλίσει ως ένα βαθμό την αποτελεσματική διδασκαλία.

Σε αυτή την πρόταση, παρουσιάζεται το νέο αναλυτικό πρόγραμμα για το επίπεδο προχωρημένης ελληνομάθειας (Γ1) του Σχολείου Νέας Ελληνικής Γλώσσας (ΣΝΕΓ) του Α.Π.Θ., το οποίο βασίζεται στο Κοινό Ευρωπαϊκό Πλαίσιο Αναφοράς για τη Γλώσσα (ΚΕΠΑ), λαμβάνοντας υπόψη και τη δομή των εξεταστικών δοκιμασιών για τα νέα επίπεδα ελληνομάθειας, όπως ορίζονται από το Κέντρο Ελληνικής Γλώσσας (ΚΕΓ, 2011). Επιπλέον, για τη διαμόρφωση του αναλυτικού προγράμματος συνυπολογίστηκαν και οι ιδιαίτερες γλωσσικές ανάγκες που εκδήλωσαν οι σπουδαστές του ΣΝΕΓ κατά τη διάρκεια των τελευταίων ετών, θεωρώντας ότι σε αυτό το προχωρημένο επίπεδο γλωσσομάθειας είναι ιδιαίτερα σημαντική η συμβολή του εκπαιδευόμενου στην επιτυχημένη κατάρτιση ενός προγράμματος διδασκαλίας.

1. Στόχοι - Μεθοδολογία

Το παρόν αναλυτικό πρόγραμμα έχει σχεδιαστεί με στόχο αφενός να εξυπηρετήσει τις ανάγκες των σπουδαστών του Σχολείου Νέας Ελληνικής Γλώσσας, σχετίζεται δηλαδή καθαρά με το προφίλ των συγκεκριμένων σπουδαστών, και αφετέρου να διευκολύνει το έργο των διδασκόντων του Σχολείου που αναλαμβάνουν τη διδασκαλία του συγκεκριμένου επιπέδου. Πιθανόν η εφαρμογή του σε κάποιο άλλο αντίστοιχο ίδρυμα να μην είναι το ίδιο αποτελεσματική.

1.1 Το προφίλ των σπουδαστών στο ΣΝΕΓ

Το Σχολείο Νέας Ελληνικής Γλώσσας ιδρύθηκε το 1970. Από τότε έχει ως αντικείμενο τα μαθήματα ελληνικής γλώσσας και πολιτισμού σε *ενήλικες* ομογενείς και αλλοδαπούς, των οποίων σκοπός εκμάθησης της γλώσσας είναι η φοίτηση σε ελληνικά εκπαιδευτικά ιδρύματα και/ή η γνωριμία με την ελληνική γλώσσα και τον πολιτισμό. Απαραίτητες προϋποθέσεις για την εγγραφή τους στο ΣΝΕΓ είναι να διαθέτουν απολυτήριο τουλάχιστον Δευτεροβάθμιας εκπαίδευσης και νομιμότητα παραμονής κατά τη διάρκεια του προγράμματος.

1.2 Γιατί ένα νέο αναλυτικό πρόγραμμα σπουδών;

Είναι μεγάλη η ανάγκη για την ύπαρξη ενός προγράμματος σπουδών για τη διδασκαλία του συγκεκριμένου επιπέδου ελληνομάθειας. Πρώτα απ' όλα, τα εγχειρίδια που προορίζονται για το Γ1 είναι περιορισμένα και ανεπαρκή (άλλα είναι παρωχημένα, άλλα δεν είναι πλήρη κτλ.). Το πιο σημαντικό όμως είναι ότι δεν είναι ούτε απαραίτητη ούτε επαρκής η χρήση ενός εγχειριδίου. Ο σπουδαστής μπορεί να λειτουργεί αυτόνομα επιλέγοντας βάσει των αναγκών του. Ένα νέο αναλυτικό πρόγραμμα σπουδών για το επίπεδο αυτό θα πρέπει να συνδιαμορφώνεται με τους σπουδαστές του κάθε τμήματος, με βάση τη δυναμική της κάθε ομάδας σπουδαστών. Για το λόγο αυτό, προτείνουμε την πρότερη χρήση ενός *ερωτηματολογίου διερεύνησης αναγκών*, βάσει του οποίου θα τροποποιείται κάθε φορά το πρόγραμμα σπουδών.

1.3 Ο σχεδιασμός

Για το σχεδιασμό του στηριζόμαστε:

- στο Κοινό Ευρωπαϊκό Πλαίσιο Αναφοράς για τη Γλώσσα (ΚΕΠΑ)
- στη δομή των εξεταστικών δοκιμασιών για τα νέα επίπεδα ελληνομάθειας, Κέντρο Ελληνικής Γλώσσας (ΚΕΓ, 2011), οι οποίες τροποποιήθηκαν με βάση το ΚΕΠΑ
- σε διδακτικά εγχειρίδια και προγράμματα σπουδών ή syllabi, που προορίζονται για το επίπεδο αυτό
- στις ιδιαίτερες γλωσσικές ανάγκες που εκδήλωσαν οι σπουδαστές του ΣΝΕΓ κατά τη διάρκεια των τελευταίων ετών (θεωρούμε ότι σε αυτό το προχωρημένο επίπεδο γλωσσομάθειας είναι ιδιαίτερα σημαντική η συμβολή του εκπαιδευομένου στην επιτυχημένη κατάρτιση ενός προγράμματος διδασκαλίας)
- στις ιδιαίτερες γλωσσικές ανάγκες που εκδήλωσαν οι σπουδαστές του τμήματος που αναλαμβάνουμε κάθε φορά με τη χρήση του ερωτηματολογίου διερεύνησης αναγκών που έχουμε ετοιμάσει
- στη διδακτική εμπειρία μας από τμήματα προχωρημένου επιπέδου ελληνομάθειας
- σε συζητήσεις/συνεντεύξεις με συναδέλφους

Πιο αναλυτικά, όσον αφορά τη δομή των εξεταστικών δοκιμασιών του ΚΕΓ, από το 2011, με το Π.Δ. 60/30-6-2010 ΦΕΚ Α' 98 θεσμοθετήθηκαν τα 2 νέα γλωσσικά επίπεδα Α1 (Α1 για παιδιά από 8-12 ετών και Α1 για εφήβους και ενήλικους) και Γ2 και μετονομάστηκαν τα ισχύοντα επίπεδα ως εξής:

Παλαιά επίπεδα	Νέα επίπεδα
	A1
A	A2
B	B1
Γ	B2
Δ	Γ1
	Γ2

Πίνακας 1

Η τροποποίηση αυτή απαιτεί τη δημιουργία ενός νέου εμπλουτισμένου προγράμματος σπουδών, που να καλύπτει τις επιπλέον ανάγκες των υποψήφιων σπουδαστών, έτσι ώστε να αποφευχθεί μια

τυφλή διδασκαλία επικεντρωμένη στις εξετάσεις και βασισμένη αποκλειστικά στην ύλη που προτείνει το ΚΕΓ αλλά και να υπάρχει μια βάση πάνω στην οποία θα μπορέσουν να στηριχθούν οι συγγραφείς των νέων επικαιροποιημένων εγχειριδίων.

Τα εγχειρίδια, προγράμματα σπουδών / syllabi που αντιστοιχούν στο προχωρημένο επίπεδο ελληνομάθειας και τα οποία συμβουλευτήκαμε για την πρότασή μας είναι τα ακόλουθα:

- Αγάθος, Θ., Γιαννακού, Β., Δημοπούλου, Β. & Α. Τσोटσορού, 2004. *Ακολουθώντας το κείμενο: κείμενα για το προχωρημένο επίπεδο ελληνομάθειας*. Αθήνα: Εθνικό και Καποδιστριακό Πανεπιστήμιο Αθηνών.
- Βασιλείου, Ρ. & Ε. Προδρομίδου. «...και καλή επιτυχία». *Νέα Ελληνικά για μετανάστες, παλιννοστούντες, πρόσφυγες και ξένους-Επίπεδο Γ. Μεταίχμιο. (προσαρμοσμένο στα παλιά επίπεδα εξετάσεων ελληνομάθειας του Κέντρου Ελληνικής Γλώσσας)*
- Γαβριηλίδου, Γ., 2010. *Τα καλώς κείμενα για προχωρημένους*, εκδ. University Studio Press.
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1.4 Το ερωτηματολόγιο

Για την ανάλυση των αναγκών των σπουδαστών συντάχθηκε ερωτηματολόγιο διερεύνησης αναγκών, το οποίο συμπληρώθηκε από 34 σπουδαστές επιπέδου Γ1 που παρακολουθούσαν μαθήματα κατά τα ακαδημαϊκά έτη 2009-10 & 2010-11 (η έρευνα βρίσκεται σε εξέλιξη). Το ερωτηματολόγιο περιλαμβάνει ερωτήσεις ως επί το πλείστον κλειστού τύπου, που αφορούν:

- Τα *προσωπικά στοιχεία* των σπουδαστών (ηλικία, καταγωγή, επάγγελμα, σπουδές κτλ.), τα οποία είναι απόρρητα και χρησιμοποιούνται για στατιστικούς λόγους.
- Το *προφίλ* των σπουδαστών. Για ποιους λόγους κάνουν μαθήματα ελληνικών, πώς έμαθαν μέχρι τώρα ελληνικά, πού τα χρησιμοποιούν, πού έχουν αδυναμίες, ποια είναι τα ενδιαφέροντά τους κτλ.
- Τις *θεματικές* που τους ενδιαφέρουν. Έχουν να επιλέξουν ανάμεσα σε: Γλώσσα – Λογοτεχνία, Εκπαίδευση, Εργασία, Ελεύθερο χρόνο – Ψυχαγωγία, Δημόσιο βίο – Κοινωνία – Δημόσιες & Ιδιωτικές Υπηρεσίες, Περιβάλλον – Οικολογία, Πολιτισμό – Παραδόσεις, Ψυχολογία, Υγεία- Διατροφή, Οικονομία, Φυλετικές διακρίσεις – Μετανάστευση, Τεχνολογία, Επιστήμη, Πολιτική, Ελληνική ιστορία (Αρχαία, Βυζαντινή, Νεότερη και Σύγχρονη), Κινηματογράφος – Θέατρο ή να συμπληρώσουν κάποια άλλη.
- Τις *δεξιότητες* που επιθυμούν να καλλιεργήσουν: Κατανόηση/ παραγωγή γραπτού/ προφορικού λόγου.
- Τις *προσδοκίες* τους από το πρόγραμμα. Οι ερωτήσεις της ενότητας αυτής ήταν ανοιχτού τύπου, όπου όσοι σπουδαστές τις απάντησαν στην ουσία επικεντρώνονταν σε κάποιες ανάγκες τους που ήδη είχαν εκφράσει στις προηγούμενες ενότητες του ερωτηματολογίου.

2. Το νέο αναλυτικό πρόγραμμα

Λαμβάνοντας υπόψη όλα τα παραπάνω, αφενός το προφίλ των σπουδαστών του σχολείου και αφετέρου τις ανάγκες των φοιτητών που αποτυπώνονται τόσο μέσα από τα ερωτηματολόγια όσο και από τη δική μας παρατήρηση και εμπειρία κατά τη διάρκεια της εκπαιδευτικής διαδικασίας διδάσκοντας στο επίπεδο των προχωρημένων προβληματιστήκαμε αρκετά για το τι θα έπρεπε να περιέχει ένα πρόγραμμα σπουδών που απευθύνεται σε ένα κοινό με τέτοια ποικιλομορφία. Επιπλέον, ο αριθμός των εγχειριδίων που υπάρχουν για το Γ1 επίπεδο είναι περιορισμένος και δεν μπορεί να ανταποκριθεί στο εύρος των αναγκών των σπουδαστών του ΣΝΕΓ.

Σε όλες τις διαφορές που προαναφέρθηκαν σίγουρα θα πρέπει να προστεθεί και το γνωστικό, εκπαιδευτικό και πολιτισμικό κεφάλαιο που φέρει ο κάθε σπουδαστής. Έτσι, οδηγηθήκαμε στο συμπέρασμα ότι δεν είναι δυνατόν ειδικά στο προχωρημένο επίπεδο να περιοριστούμε μόνο σε ένα syllabus. Γι' αυτούς τους λόγους αναγνωρίσαμε την αναγκαιότητα κατάρτισης ενός αναλυτικού προγράμματος σπουδών για τη διδασκαλία της ελληνικής ως δεύτερης. Εκτός των άλλων, πιστεύουμε ότι ιδιαίτερα ένας ενήλικας που επιλέγει συνειδητά να παρακολουθήσει μαθήματα γλώσσας προχωρημένου επιπέδου μπορεί και πρέπει να διαθέτει έναν τέτοιο βαθμό αυτονομίας που να επιλέγει ο ίδιος ή η ίδια το περιεχόμενο του γλωσσικού προγράμματος που πρόκειται να παρακολουθήσει.

Επομένως, αυτό που προτείνουμε είναι η εμπλοκή και ο συμμετοχικός χαρακτήρας του εκπαιδευόμενου στη διαμόρφωσή του syllabus, το οποίο θα αντλεί το περιεχόμενό του από το curriculum. Αυτό προϋποθέτει τη διερεύνηση των εκπαιδευτικών και γλωσσικών αναγκών των σπουδαστών κατά την έναρξη κάθε τμήματος προχωρημένου επιπέδου με τον τρόπο που περιγράφηκε παραπάνω. Επιπλέον, η διερεύνηση αυτή κρίνεται απαραίτητη και για το λόγο ότι το Σχολείο Νέας Ελληνικής του ΑΠΘ προβλέπει μια ποικιλία προγραμμάτων ως προς τη χρονική διάρκεια (ετήσια, τριμηνιαία χειμερινά και εαρινά, μηνιαία χειμερινά και θερινά) με 10ωρη ή 20ωρη εβδομαδιαία διάρκεια.

Θα πρέπει να σημειωθεί ότι σε αυτό το επίπεδο γλωσσομάθειας έχουν ήδη κατακτηθεί όλες οι βασικές δομές και το λεξιλόγιο σε τέτοιο βαθμό που ο ομιλητής της Γ2 μπορεί να ανταπεξέλθει με μεγάλη άνεση στις καθημερινές του ανάγκες. Ήδη από το επίπεδο B2 οι σπουδαστές αρχίζουν να έρχονται σε επαφή με πιο επίσημες μορφές λόγου και κειμενικά είδη. Στο Γ1 επίπεδο τα κειμενικά είδη του επίσημου λόγου διαδραματίζουν κυρίαρχο ρόλο.

Επίσης, η ερμηνεία των αποτελεσμάτων του ερωτηματολογίου υποδεικνύει τις ανάγκες των εκπαιδευόμενων για βαθύτερη κατανόηση της ελληνικής πραγματικότητας και κατ' επέκταση της κοινωνίας αλλά και για μια πιο ολοκληρωμένη ένταξη στην κοινωνία αυτή διαμέσου της γλώσσας. Οι προϋποθέσεις αυτές είναι κρίσιμες για την επιλογή των γλωσσικών στοιχείων, την καλλιέργεια των γλωσσικών δεξιοτήτων αλλά και την ανάπτυξη της κοινωνικοπολιτισμικής τους ικανότητας.

2.1 Οι τέσσερις δεξιότητες

- **Κατανόηση προφορικού λόγου**
Βασικός στόχος αυτής της δεξιότητας είναι να αναπτύξουν οι σπουδαστές την ικανότητα να κατανοούν με ευκολία μια ευρεία γκάμα τύπων κειμένων του επίσημου λόγου όπως ειδησεογραφικά δελτία της τηλεόρασης και του ραδιοφώνου, ομιλίες που αφορούν διάφορα θέματα, να συναλλάσσονται με ευχέρεια με δημόσιες υπηρεσίες κατανοώντας εξειδικευμένες πληροφορίες και οδηγίες, να παρακολουθούν με άνεση πολιτικές συζητήσεις είτε επίσημου είτε ανεπίσημου επικοινωνιακού πλαισίου. Θα πρέπει να τονίσουμε σε αυτό το σημείο ότι ένας σημαντικός αριθμός σπουδαστών του σχολείου μας ζει στο εξωτερικό, γεγονός που σημαίνει έκθεση σε φτωχό προφορικό γλωσσικό εισαγόμενο το οποίο θα πρέπει να εμπλουτιστεί επαρκώς κατά την εκπαιδευτική διαδικασία.
- **Παραγωγή προφορικού λόγου**
Η εξοικείωση των σπουδαστών με τον καθημερινό λόγο θεωρείται δεδομένη σε αυτό το επίπεδο. Συνεπώς, πρέπει να προετοιμαστούν για τη μετάβαση στην παραγωγή προφορικού λόγου χρησιμοποιώντας επίσημο ύφος τόσο στο επίπεδο του λεξιλογίου όσο και στη χρήση των σύνθετων μορφοσυντακτικών δομών που απαιτούνται. Το μεγαλύτερο ενδιαφέρον των σπουδαστών που συμμετείχαν στην έρευνα εστιάστηκε στη συμμετοχή σε συζητήσεις πολιτικού και κοινωνικού περιεχομένου, εύρημα που αναδεικνύει τη διάθεση για μεγαλύτερη εμπλοκή σε ένα βαθύτερο επίπεδο στην κοινωνική ζωή της χώρας. Ωστόσο, θα πρέπει να εκφράζονται με ευκολία όχι μόνο σε περιστάσεις διάδρασης αλλά για παράδειγμα και κατά την παρουσίαση ενός θέματος σε κοινό ακολουθώντας τις συμβάσεις που χαρακτηρίζουν μια τέτοια δραστηριότητα.
- **Κατανόηση γραπτού λόγου**
Είναι μεγάλο το εύρος των κειμένων με τα οποία μπορούν να έρθουν σε επαφή οι εκπαιδευόμενοι, εκτός από το άρθρο που αποτελεί τον κυρίαρχο τύπο κειμένου στα διδακτικά εγχειρίδια αυτού του επιπέδου. Έτσι, ίσως εξηγείται αυτή η επιλογή κειμενικού τύπου από έναν μεγάλο αριθμό σπουδαστών. Πάραυτα υπάρχει πληθώρα κειμένων που απουσιάζουν συνήθως από τη διδασκαλία σε προχωρημένο επίπεδο, όπως είναι το λογοτεχνικό κείμενο που ήταν το στοιχείο που επέλεξαν οι περισσότεροι εξαιτίας ίσως και της δυσκολίας που παρουσιάζει ως προς την κατανόηση, η ποίηση αλλά και διάφορα είδη εγγράφων όπως

συμβάσεις, συμβόλαια, προκηρύξεις, επαγγελματικές επιστολές κ.α. τα οποία, όταν οι σπουδαστές τα συναντούν στην καθημερινή τους ζωή, τα αντιμετωπίζουν με δέος λόγω του ιδιαίτερα ασυνήθιστου λεξιλογίου που περιέχουν.

- Παραγωγή γραπτού λόγου
Στην παραγωγή γραπτού λόγου, όπως προέκυψε και από τις απαντήσεις στα ερωτηματολόγια, οι ανάγκες των σπουδαστών αφορούν και πάλι τύπους κειμένων του επίσημου λόγου σχετικούς με την επαγγελματική ζωή. Βέβαια η πιο δημοφιλής επιλογή είναι η σύνταξη άρθρου η οποία όμως μπορεί να συνδέεται με το γεγονός ότι κατά την ανάπτυξη αυτής της δεξιότητας στη διδακτική πράξη αυτό το είδος ζητείται συνήθως να συντάξουν παρόλο που στην κοινωνική πραγματικότητα δεν είναι ανάλογη η συχνότητα εμφάνισης του ως γραπτή παραγωγή.

2.2 Δομή/ Περιεχόμενο

- Κειμενικά είδη- Κειμενικοί τύποι

Η κειμενοκεντρική προσέγγιση βρίσκεται στο επίκεντρο του ενδιαφέροντος τα τελευταία χρόνια στη διδασκαλία της γλώσσας ως μητρικής, δεύτερης ή ξένης. Ειδικά όσον αφορά στην τελευταία, η έρευνα και οι θεωρίες που αναπτύχθηκαν στο πλαίσιο της Γλωσσικής Διδασκαλίας για Ειδικούς Σκοπούς προσφέρουν ένα μοντέλο εφαρμογής που μπορεί να προσαρμοστεί στις απαιτήσεις και τις προϋποθέσεις τμημάτων προχωρημένου επιπέδου γλωσσομάθειας. Αυτό που ενδιαφέρει περισσότερο είναι οι τύποι κειμένων, γραπτών και προφορικών, οι οποίοι μπορεί να συγκαταλέγονται σε ένα κειμενικό είδος ή και περισσότερα. Αυτό είναι απόλυτα φυσικό αφού στις σημερινές κοινωνικές πρακτικές οι περισσότεροι κειμενικοί τύποι είναι μεικτοί ως προς κειμενικά είδη.

Η επιλογή των κειμενικών τύπων έχει ως άξονα τις ευρύτερες θεματικές περιοχές με βάση τις οποίες δομείται ένα syllabus ή ένα διδακτικό εγχειρίδιο. Ενώ ένα άλλο κριτήριο επιλογής τους είναι οι πιθανότητες χρήσης τους σε διάφορες επικοινωνιακές περιστάσεις που αναμένεται να συμμετέχουν οι σπουδαστές στην κοινωνική τους ζωή χρησιμοποιώντας την Ελληνική. Οι κειμενικοί τύποι παρουσιάζουν ομοιότητες και διαφορές στις διάφορες χώρες. Ωστόσο, παρατηρείται μια αδυναμία αρκετών σπουδαστών να κατανοήσουν και να παραγάγουν διάφορους κειμενικούς τύπους, γεγονός που μπορεί να απορρέει από την ιδιαίτερη πολιτισμική τους ταυτότητα αλλά και το διαφορετικό «εκπαιδευτικό» κεφάλαιο που μεταφέρουν μέσα στην τάξη. Επομένως, σε ορισμένες περιπτώσεις η ρητή διδασκαλία των λεκτικών (λεξιλογικών, μορφοσυντακτικών, υφολογικών, κειμενικών) χαρακτηριστικών των κειμενικών τύπων επιβάλλεται από τις ίδιες τις δυσκολίες των ίδιων των εκπαιδευόμενων. Επίσης, η συνοχή και η συνεκτικότητα των παραγόμενων κειμένων θα πρέπει να πλαισιώνεται από τη διδασκαλία με τα κατάλληλα μέσα αφού από την διδακτική εμπειρία προκύπτει μια μεγάλη δυσκολία των εκπαιδευόμενων να ενσωματώσουν τους απαιτούμενους κειμενικούς δείκτες στις γραπτές παραγωγές τους (Γεωργακοπούλου & Γούτσος, 1999: 63-68· Αρχάκης, 2005:128-140).

- Λεξιλόγιο

Το λεξιλόγιο, όπως προέκυψε από τα ερωτηματολόγια, αποτελεί την σημαντικότερη ανάγκη των σπουδαστών μας καθώς πρόκειται για μια περιοχή με τεράστιο εύρος. Στόχος επομένως για τον προχωρημένο σπουδαστή είναι να αποκτήσει την ικανότητα κατανόησης άγνωστων λέξεων και εκφράσεων στηριζόμενος στις πληροφορίες του περικειμένου. Εντούτοις, πρέπει να εξοικειωθεί με λόγιες λέξεις που απαντούν στον επίσημο λόγο όπως επίσης με συνάψεις, λεξικές φράσεις, στερεότυπες εκφράσεις, ιδιωτισμούς και παροιμίες οι οποίες είναι ίσως το δυσκολότερο κομμάτι ως προς την κατάκτηση από την πλευρά των μη φυσικών ομιλητών καθώς συχνά εμπεριέχει και πολιτισμικές πληροφορίες. Ενδεικτικά αναφέραμε τις στερεότυπες εκφράσεις με τον αδύνατο τύπο της προσωπικής αντωνυμίας σε τρίτο πρόσωπο που χρησιμοποιούνται ευρύτατα στον ανεπίσημο προφορικό λόγο που αποτελούν ακατανόητες φράσεις ειδικά για άτομα που δεν έχουν ζήσει στη χώρα της Γ2.

Επιπρόσθετα, καθοριστικής σημασίας κρίνεται η πρόσληψη της συνυποδηλωτικής σημασίας που σημαίνει πολυεπίπεδη κατανόηση των λέξεων στο πλαίσιο των κειμένων. Σε όλα τα παραπάνω θα πρέπει να προστεθεί η ικανότητα διάκρισης των επιπέδων ύφους μεταξύ συνώνυμων λέξεων και η γνώση της ορθής χρήσης τους στα κατάλληλα γλωσσικά περιβάλλοντα. Η σύνθεση και η παραγωγή λεξιλογίου επίσης μπορεί να συμβάλλει στον εμπλουτισμό αλλά κυρίως στην ουσιαστικότερη κατανόηση των συστατικών των λέξεων και των νοημάτων (Αναστασιάδη-Συμεωνίδη, 2002· Ιορδανίδου & Πανταζάρα, 2010· Αναστασιάδη-Συμεωνίδη & Ευθυμίου, 2006: 90-95· Γούτσος, 2006: 44-49).

- **Μορφοσύνταξη**

Για την κατάκτηση των τεσσάρων δεξιοτήτων απαραίτητη είναι και η ανάπτυξη της γλωσσικής επίγνωσης δύσκολων, λιγότερο συχνά χρησιμοποιούμενων μορφοσυντακτικών δομών και λόγιων τύπων που χαρακτηρίζουν τον επίσημο λόγο χωρίς βέβαια να εξαιρούνται δομές ιδιωματικού χαρακτήρα που εντάσσονται στο πλαίσιο της καθημερινής επικοινωνίας. Στο νέο αναλυτικό πρόγραμμα περιλαμβάνονται η κλίση ανώμαλων ουσιαστικών, επιθέτων, αντωνυμιών, και λόγιων ρημάτων και ρηματικών τύπων (μετοχές) που συναντώνται στον επίσημο λόγο, οι λειτουργίες των πτώσεων, οι τροπικότητες αλλά και τα είδη των προτάσεων. Ωστόσο, δεν θα πρέπει να απουσιάζουν δομές που παρά του ότι έχουν διδαχθεί σε προηγούμενα επίπεδα παρουσιάζουν δυσκολίες στην κατάκτηση της ελληνικής, όπως είναι για παράδειγμα η χρήση του οριστικού και μηδενικού άρθρου, η αναφορά και η χρήση των κλιτικών όπως επίσης και η ρηματική όψη (ΚΕΓ, 2011· Ιακώβου Μ. & Σ. Μπέλλα, 2004: 169-202).

- **Πολιτισμική επίγνωση**

Ο πολιτισμός είναι συνυφασμένος με τη γλώσσα μιας χώρας και κατά την άποψή μας δεν θα πρέπει να αποτελεί ένα ξεχωριστό κομμάτι, αντίθετα να εντάσσεται στο γλωσσικό μάθημα. Ο πιο κατάλληλος τρόπος επαφής είναι η βιωματική εμπειρία διαμέσου της γλώσσας και έτσι είναι οργανωμένες στο Σχολείο Νέας Ελληνικής του ΑΠΘ οι δραστηριότητες που αφορούν γνωριμία με την πόλη αλλά και τους ανθρώπους της. Στα τμήματά μας -κυρίως στα προχωρημένα επίπεδα- είναι έντονη η επιθυμία των φοιτητών για απόκτηση γνώσεων σχετικά με την ιστορία ιδίως τη νεότερη καθώς εκφράζεται συχνά η ανάγκη για βαθύτερη κατανόηση τόσο της ελληνικής κοινωνίας όσο και των διεθνών γεωπολιτικών σχέσεων της χώρας. Στο αναλυτικό πρόγραμμα που καταρτίσαμε συμπεριλάβαμε και τη θεματική της ελληνικής ιστορίας εφόσον από τα ερωτηματολόγια προέκυψε ως σημαντική ανάγκη των σπουδαστών μας.

2.3 Θεματική ανάπτυξη του προγράμματος σπουδών

Το πρόγραμμα σπουδών αναπτύσσεται θεματικά όπως και τα syllabi των προηγούμενων επιπέδων του ΣΝΕΓ (Α1, Α2, Β1, Β2) αλλά και με τον τρόπο που είναι συνήθως διαρθρωμένα τα σύγχρονα διδακτικά εγχειρίδια. Οι θεματικές προκύπτουν από τις ανάγκες των φοιτητών που συμμετείχαν στην παρούσα έρευνα αλλά και από την εμπειρία τις διδακτικής πράξης, του ΚΕΠΑ, του αναλυτικού προγράμματος του ΚΕΓ για τις εξετάσεις ελληνομάθειας.

Η κάθε θεματική ενότητα συγκροτείται με βάση τους κειμενικούς τύπους που εμφανίζονται σε συγκεκριμένες αποικίες λόγου στην ελληνική πραγματικότητα και εξειδικεύεται σε επιμέρους θεματικούς τομείς που την συνιστούν. Για παράδειγμα στη θεματική ενότητα που αφορά την εργασία θα πρέπει να εξεταστούν άρθρα σχετικά με τα συνδικαλιστικά όργανα, την ανεργία κ.α. προκηρύξεις θέσεων εργασίας δημόσιου και ιδιωτικού τομέα, συμβάσεις εργασίας ορισμένου αορίστου χρόνου, συμβάσεις έργου επιστολές εκδήλωσης ενδιαφέροντος, επαγγελματικές αναφορές κ.α. στα οποία εμπεριέχεται μια μεγάλη ποικιλία λεξιλογικών στοιχείων και μορφοσυντακτικών δομών, όπως φαίνεται στον Πίνακα 2.

Θεματική ενότητα	Τύποι κειμένων	Θεματικό λεξιλόγιο
Εργασία	Άρθρο, επιφυλλίδα, Προκήρυξη, Αναφορά Σύμβαση εργασίας Βεβαίωση προϋπηρεσίας, Κανονισμός λειτουργίας, Βιογραφικό σημείωμα, Συνοδευτική επιστολή βιογραφικού σημειώματος, Επιστολή εκδήλωσης ενδιαφέροντος για θέση εργασίας, Επαγγελματική συνέντευξη Επιστολή δήλωσης παραίτησης Επαγγελματική αναφορά Άδειες ασκήσεως επαγγέλματος	Τα συνδικαλιστικά όργανα της Ελλάδας, ΟΑΕΔ, Εργασία στο δημόσιο και ιδιωτικό τομέα Φορείς ασφάλισης, Άδειες: Αναρρωτική Εκπαιδευτική, Κυήσεως ανατροφής τέκνου Άνευ αποδοχών Φορείς επαγγελματικής κατάρτισης Ανεργία στην Ελλάδα Αναζήτηση εργασίας

Πίνακας 2

3. Επίλογος

Στο άρθρο αυτό, περιγράψαμε την πρότασή μας για έναν νέο τύπο syllabus σύμφωνα με τον οποίο προτείνεται να αντλούνται κάθε φορά ανάλογα με τις ανάγκες των σπουδαστών οι τύποι λόγου αλλά και οι επιμέρους θεματικές από το αναλυτικό πρόγραμμα. Επίσης, τονίσαμε την αναγκαιότητα ενός ανοιχτού αναλυτικού προγράμματος που θα υπόκειται αφενός σε εμπλουτισμό με βάση τις εκάστοτε ανάγκες και τα ενδιαφέροντα των σπουδαστών ενισχύοντας έτσι το συμμετοχικό ρόλο του εκπαιδευόμενου ενήλικα και αφετέρου σε επικαιροποίηση λαμβάνοντας υπόψη τις αλλαγές στην κοινωνική πραγματικότητα ώστε να διασφαλίζει τον σύγχρονο χαρακτήρα του.

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ΠΟΣΕΣ ΨΗΦΟΙ ΣΤΟΝ ΨΗΦΟ; ΓΛΩΣΣΙΚΗ ΑΥΤΟΡΥΘΜΙΣΗ ΚΑΙ ΕΝ ΕΞΕΛΙΞΕΙ ΑΛΛΑΓΗ ΤΟΥ ΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΙΚΟΥ ΓΕΝΟΥΣ ΣΤΗ ΝΕ

Άννα Αναστασιάδη-Συμεωνίδη

Καθηγήτρια Γλωσσολογίας

ΑΠΘ

ansym@lit.auth.gr

Μαρία Μητσιάκη

Υποψ. Διδάκτωρ

Εφαρμ. Γλωσσολογίας ΑΠΘ

mmitsiak@lit.auth.gr

ABSTRACT

This paper reports on a case of MG grammatical gender change in progress. Our basic claim is that the observed masculine gender assignment to [+learned] feminine nouns in -(o)s reveals the shifting boundaries of the inflection class and reflects the way in which linguistic use is imposed on structure through self-regulation. We investigate the motivation and the diffusion of the gender change in written electronic data. The data analysis suggests that gender change is motivated by prototypicality, strengthened by phonetic similarity, and consolidated by high frequency of use, whereas gender mobility is observed in text categories characterized by [-learned] style.

Keywords: prototypicality, phonetic similarity, frequency, [±learned] style, homeostatic system

1. Εισαγωγή

Η παρούσα εργασία¹ εξετάζει την εναλλασσόμενη απόδοση γραμματικού γένους στα ουσιαστικά μιας συγκεκριμένης κλιτικής τάξης της νέας ελληνικής (NE στο εξής) και επιδιώκει να ερμηνεύσει την ‘αστάθεια’ αυτή ως συγχρονική ένδειξη μιας εν εξελίξει μορφολογικής αλλαγής, η οποία παράλληλα υπόκειται στους κανόνες της γλωσσικής αυτορύθμισης.

Πιο συγκεκριμένα, υποστηρίζουμε ότι η ποικιλοπλοκία που εμφανίζουν τα θηλυκά [+λόγια] ουσιαστικά της NE σε -(o)s στην απόδοση του γραμματικού γένους, π.χ. *η ψήφος* - *ο ψήφος*, αιτιολογείται βάσει της μορφοφωνολογικής πίεσης που δέχονται προς την αντίστοιχη τάξη των αρσενικών.² Βασική μας θέση είναι ότι η πίεση αυτή ασκείται από τα πιο πρωτοτυπικά³ μέλη (αρσενικά) του συστήματος γένους προς τα πιο περιφερειακά (θηλυκά), εφόσον το κλιτικό επίθημα -(o)s καταχωρείται στο νοητικό λεξικό των φυσικών ομιλητών ως κεντρικό πρότυπο επιθήματος αρσενικών ουσιαστικών. Υπακούοντας στην αρχή της πρωτοτυπικότητας, τα θηλυκά ουσιαστικά εμφανίζονται ολοένα και πιο συχνά ως αρσενικά στη γλωσσική χρήση,⁴ ενώ ταυτόχρονα η απόδοση του αρσενικού γένους ενισχύεται από τη φωνητική ομοιότητα προσδιοριστή και κλιτικού επιθήματος στο πλαίσιο της ονοματικής φράσης, π.χ. *τους ψήφους*. Έτσι, τα θηλυκά μέλη της συγκεκριμένης κλιτικής τάξης τείνουν να εξομαλυνθούν και να αποκτήσουν μεγαλύτερη σταθερότητα, ακολουθώντας το ‘κανονικό’ πρότυπο του κλιτικού παραδείγματος των αρσενικών (Wurzel 1989:125).

Προκειμένου να ανιχνεύσουμε τόσο την αιτιολόγηση όσο και τη διάχυση της παρατηρούμενης μορφολογικής αλλαγής, βασιστήκαμε στην κατανομή της συχνότητας συγκεκριμένων ουσιαστικών σε -(o)s με εναλλασσόμενο (αρσενικό και θηλυκό) γραμματικό γένος σε ηλεκτρονικά κείμενα. Η διακύμανση που εμφανίζουν τα ουσιαστικά σε -(o)s ως προς το γένος ερμηνεύεται με βάση ενδοσυστηματικές και εξωσυστηματικές παραμέτρους στο πλαίσιο της γλωσσικής αυτορύθμισης. Η

¹ Η εργασία ανακοινώθηκε σε πρώτη μορφή στη 13^η Συνάντηση Μορφολογίας (13th Morphology Meeting, Vienna, 3-6 February 2008).

² Για μια σύγχρονη ανάλυση της μετακίνησης των ουσιαστικών της AE σε -(o)s από το θηλυκό στο αρσενικό γένος, βλέπε Coker (2009).

³ Η πρωτοτυπικότητα χαρακτηρίζει τα κεντρικά και εξέχοντα πρότυπα που προκύπτουν κατά τη γλωσσική κατηγοριοποίηση· αντίθετα, τα λιγότερο αντιπροσωπευτικά πρότυπα χαρακτηρίζονται από περιφερειακότητα στο γλωσσικό σύστημα (Taylor 1989).

⁴ Αντίθετα, τα ουδέτερα ουσιαστικά σε -(o)s εμφανίζουν διαφορετικό κλιτικό παράδειγμα και έτσι δεν υπόκεινται σε γλωσσική αλλαγή. Τα λάθη, όμως, των αλλόγλωσσων μαθητών συνηγορούν στην επιλογή του πρωτοτυπικού γένους ακόμη και για τα ουδέτερα ουσιαστικά σε -(o)s, π.χ. **ο κράτος*.

μετακίνηση προς το αρσενικό γένος δείχνει την τάση του γλωσσικού συστήματος να προσαρμοστεί στις κανονικότητες που επιβάλλονται τόσο σε γνωσιακό/ εξελικτικό (αντιληπτική προτεραιότητα, αναλογία, οικονομία) όσο και σε χρησιακό (συχνότητα) επίπεδο. Η διαδικασία της γλωσσικής αυτορύθμισης επισυμβαίνει σε δύσκολες, [+πρωτοτυπικές], [+συχνές] και [+λόγιες] γλωσσικές δομές, υποδηλώνοντας την παρουσία μιας εν εξελίξει γλωσσικής αλλαγής. Η συχνότητα χρήσης των υπό εξέταση ουσιαστικών παίζει καθοριστικό ρόλο στη διαδικασία της γλωσσικής αυτορύθμισης, καθώς α) τα συχνόχρηστα πρότυπα των εμφανίσεων του αρσενικού γένους επηρεάζουν σημαντικά τις αναπαραστάσεις των φυσικών ομιλητών και διαμορφώνουν το βαθμό αποδεκτότητας και ορθού σχηματισμού τους (Bybee 2006), και β) η μορφολογική αλλαγή διαχέεται βαθμιδωτά από τα πιο συχνόχρηστα ουσιαστικά (π.χ. *ψήφος*) προς τα λιγότερο συχνόχρηστα (π.χ. *εγκύκλιος*).

2. Το γραμματικό γένος: συγχρονία

2.1 Το πρωτοτυπικό σύστημα γραμματικού γένους της ΝΕ

Η ΝΕ εμφανίζει τριμερή διάκριση του γραμματικού γένους σε αρσενικό, θηλυκό και ουδέτερο. Το γραμματικό γένος χαρακτηρίζει τα ονόματα μέσω ενός κλιτικού επιθήματος, το οποίο εσωτερικεύει τις γραμματικές κατηγορίες της πτώσης και του αριθμού. Οι προσδιοριστές, τα επίθετα, τα αριθμητικά και οι αντωνυμίες είναι επίσης φορείς γένους.

Η απόδοση του γραμματικού γένους καθορίζεται με βάση σημασιολογικά ([±ανθρώπινο], [±έμψυχο], σημασιολογικές κατηγορίες κτλ.) αλλά και μορφοφωνολογικά κριτήρια (φωνητικό σχήμα του τέρματος των ονομάτων, κλιτικά επιθήματα). Η συσχέτιση γραμματικού και αναφορικού γένους στη ΝΕ είναι μερική: η απόδοση του γένους είναι ξεκάθαρη σε κάποιες περιπτώσεις, όπως οι όροι συγγένειας, αλλά σύνθετη στην περίπτωση ονομάτων που φέρουν τα σημασιολογικά χαρακτηριστικά [-ανθρώπινο]/ [+έμψυχο] (π.χ. *ζώα*) και [-ανθρώπινο]-[-έμψυχο] (βλ. Πίνακα 1).

[+ανθρώπινο] [+έμψυχο]		[-ανθρώπινο] [+έμψυχο]			[-ανθρώπινο] [-έμψυχο]		
ΑΡΣ	ΘΗΛ	ΑΡΣ	ΘΗΛ	ΟΥΔ	ΑΡΣ	ΘΗΛ	ΟΥΔ
πατέρας	μητέρα	σκύλος	φάλαινα	φίδι	φόβος	αγάπη	μίσος

Πίνακας 1 Μερική συσχέτιση γραμματικού και αναφορικού γένους στη ΝΕ

Τα παραγωγικά επιθήματα είναι διαφανή ως προς το γένος, καθώς παρέχουν έναν συνδυασμό σημασιολογικών και τυπικών πληροφοριών. Αυτό σημαίνει ότι η απόδοση του γραμματικού γένους μπορεί επίσης να γίνει με κριτήριο τις σημασιολογικές κατηγορίες, όπως για παράδειγμα τα ονόματα των οπωροφόρων δέντρων της ΝΕ (Efthymiou 1999):

[[μήλ(ο)]_{ΒΑΣΗ} -(ι)ά]_{ΠΑΡΑΓΩΓΙΚΟ ΕΠΙΘΗΜΑ} [+οπωροφόρο δέντρο] → *μηλιά*

Στην περίπτωση που οι σημασιολογικές πληροφορίες απουσιάζουν, μόνο το μορφολογικό σχήμα της λέξης μπορεί να συμβάλει στην ορθή απόδοση του γένους.⁵ Παρόλα αυτά, η ταξινόμηση των ονομάτων κατά γένος αποκλειστικά με βάση μορφολογικά κριτήρια (δηλαδή με κριτήριο την κλιτική τάξη στην οποία ανήκουν, βλ. Ralli 2002, Ράλλη 2003, Κλαίρης & Μπαμπινιώτης 1996) μπορεί να αποβεί εξίσου σύνθετη, αφού στην ίδια κλιτική τάξη μπορεί να υπάρχουν ουσιαστικά που ανήκουν σε διαφορετικά γένη, π.χ. *άνθρωπος* (ΑΡΣ) και *πρόοδος* (ΘΗΛ), σε διαφορετικές σημασίες, π.χ. *βρύση* (αντικείμενο) και *λύση* (ενέργεια), αλλά και σε διαφορετικό γένος με παρόμοια λεξική σημασία, π.χ. *δρόμος* (ΑΡΣ) και *οδός* (ΘΗΛ). Συνεπώς, η κλιτική τάξη και η σημασία συσχετίζονται με το γένος, χωρίς το ένα να επιβάλλεται με αναγκαστικό και ενιαίο τρόπο στο άλλο (Αναστασιάδη-Συμεωνίδη & Χειλά-Μαρκοπούλου 2003:23).

Παρά τη συνθετότητά τους, οι μηχανισμοί απόδοσης του γένους της ΝΕ μπορούν να είναι προβλέψιμοι σε έναν σημαντικό βαθμό, εφόσον οι πρωτοτυπικές⁶ τάξεις είναι αμιγείς ως προς το γένος, τη σημασία και την κλιτική τάξη. Το πρωτοτυπικό σύστημα γένους της ΝΕ περιλαμβάνει (βλ. Πίνακα 2): α)

⁵ Ο Seiler (1958) πρότεινε πρώτος τη διάκριση των κλιτικών τάξεων με βάση το γραμματικό γένος κατά τα αλεξανδρινά χρόνια, υποστηρίζοντας ότι η διάκριση των πτώσεων στα αρσενικά και θηλυκά ουσιαστικά βασίζεται στην αντίθεση -Vs/-Ø, π.χ. το ΑΕ *πατήρ* έγινε *πατέρα* στη ΝΕ.

⁶ Η πρωτοτυπικότητα συνδέεται επίσης στενά με τις έννοιες *ασημαδευσία* (unmarkedness) (Jakobson, 1941), *κανονικότητα* (Wurzel 1989), *φυσικότητα* και *προτίμηση* (Dressler 2003, 2005, Χριστοφίδου 2003).

αρσενικά ουσιαστικά με το σημασιολογικό χαρακτηριστικό [+άρρεν] και το κλιτικό επίθημα -s, β) θηλυκά ουσιαστικά με το σημασιολογικό χαρακτηριστικό [+θήλυ] και τα κλιτικά επιθήματα -a/-i/-u και γ) ουδέτερα ουσιαστικά με το σημασιολογικό χαρακτηριστικό [-έμψυχο] και τα κλιτικά επιθήματα -o/-i/-a/⁷∅ (Αναστασιάδη-Συμεωνίδη & Χειλά-Μαρκοπούλου 2003).

Γραμματικό γένος	ΑΡΣ	ΘΗΛ	ΟΥΔ
Φυσικό γένος	[+άρρεν]	[+θήλυ]	[-έμψυχο]
Κλιτικό επίθημα	-s	-a/-i/-u	-o/-i/-a, άκλιτο

Πίνακας 2 Το πρωτοτυπικό σύστημα γένους της ΝΕ

Τα ουσιαστικά σε -(ο)ς της ΝΕ συνιστούν μια περίπτωση πολυσήμαντης αντιστοιχίας μεταξύ κλιτικού επιθήματος και γένους, καθώς εμφανίζουν και τις τρεις τιμές γένους στην ονομαστική ενικού, με τον προσδιοριστή να λειτουργεί ως διαφοροποιητικός δείκτης του γένους. Τα αρσενικά και θηλυκά ουσιαστικά της συγκεκριμένης κλιτικής τάξης εμφανίζουν το ίδιο κλιτικό παράδειγμα, ενώ το ουδέτερο διαφοροποιείται σημαντικά, γεγονός που ερμηνεύει επαρκώς την απουσία μετακίνησης των ουσιαστικών από το ουδέτερο στο αρσενικό γένος. Το αρσενικό γένος θεωρείται πρωτοτυπικό, π.χ. ο *φίλος*, ενώ το θηλυκό και το ουδέτερο λιγότερο αντιπροσωπευτικά του κλιτικού παραδείγματος των ουσιαστικών σε -(ο)ς, π.χ. η *ψήφος*, το *κράτος*. Τα περισσότερα θηλυκά και ουδέτερα ουσιαστικά σε -(ο)ς είναι [+λόγια], [-συχνά] και ολιγάριθμα (Αναστασιάδη-Συμεωνίδη & Χειλά-Μαρκοπούλου 2003).

Το γραμματικό γένος εμφανίζει πολυεπίπεδη λειτουργία, καθώς εκτός από τη μορφολογία, υπηρετεί και τη συμφωνία του ουσιαστικού με τους προσδιορισμούς του και την αναφορική σύνδεση, δηλαδή τη συμφωνία των αντωνυμιών με το ουσιαστικό στο οποίο αναφέρονται. Οι προσδιοριστές, οι αντωνυμίες, τα επίθετα και τα αριθμητικά είναι χαρακτηρισμένα ως προς το γένος, με αποτέλεσμα στις πρωτοτυπικές εμφανίσεις να συμφωνούν σχεδόν ομοιοκαταληκτικά στα τέρματα των λέξεων, π.χ. *η καλή τιμή*.

Θα πρέπει να σημειωθεί ότι η διάκριση μεταξύ αρσενικού και θηλυκού μορφογένους⁸ ουδετερώνεται στην περίπτωση της κλητικής ενικού και πληθυντικού και στην ονομαστική και γενική πληθυντικού, καθώς παρατηρείται συγκρητισμός των πτώσεων των προσδιοριστών και των ονομάτων. Συνεπώς, η ποικιλότητα στην απόδοση του γένους θα εξεταστεί στην ονομαστική, γενική και αιτιατική ενικού, καθώς και στην αιτιατική πληθυντικού αριθμού.

2.2 Γλωσσική αυτορύθμιση: μια έννοια-κλειδί

Η γλωσσική αυτορύθμιση αποτελεί μια ασύνειδη διαδικασία αναπροσαρμογής του συστήματος από τα μέλη μιας γλωσσικής κοινότητας. Πρόκειται για έναν όρο που αρχικά εμφανίστηκε στο πλαίσιο της εκπαιδευτικής ψυχολογίας για να περιγράψει τη διαδικασία της μάθησης που προκύπτει μέσα από την αξιοποίηση στρατηγικών ενεργειών και κινήτρων (Bandura 1991, Zimmerman 2000). Ο όρος χρησιμοποιείται επίσης στη συνεργετική και ποσοτική γλωσσολογία (Zipf 1949, Köhler 1992) για να ερμηνεύσει λειτουργικά την ποικιλότητα μεταξύ των γλωσσικών οντοτήτων. Σύμφωνα με τους Altmann & Koch (1998:517), τα γλωσσικά συστήματα διαθέτουν μηχανισμούς αυτορύθμισης και αυτοοργάνωσης, οι οποίοι, σε αναλογία με τη βιολογική εξέλιξη, τείνουν να τα μεταβάλλουν έτσι ώστε να προσεγγίσουν μια βέλτιστη σταθερή κατάσταση και να προσαρμοστούν κατά το βέλτιστο δυνατό βαθμό στο περιβάλλον τους.

Η γλωσσική αυτορύθμιση στοχεύει στην ανάδυση ασημάδευτων, απλών, οικονομικών και πρωτοτυπικών πραγματώσεων και χαρακτηρίζεται από τάσεις εξομάλυνσης των γλωσσικών τύπων. Εμφανίζει τα εξής χαρακτηριστικά: α) παρατηρείται σε περιπτώσεις δύσκολων και/ή μη συχνών γλωσσικών δομών, β) αντανακλά την αμφιταλάντευση των χρηστών ανάμεσα σε πρότυπες και καθημερινές/ λαϊκές⁹ γλωσσικές δομές που βρίσκονται σε ανταγωνιστική σχέση μεταξύ τους, γ) τροποποιεί τις γλωσσικές επιλογές των φυσικών ομιλητών, ενισχύοντας την ποικιλότητα με βάση το επίπεδο ύψους και το κοινωνικό κύρος και δ) παρέχει ενδείξεις φαινομενικού χρόνου για τις εν εξελίξει γλωσσικές αλλαγές.

⁷ Αφορά τα μεταρρηματικά ουσιαστικά σε -μα, π.χ. *μαθαίνω* → *μάθημα*.

⁸ Η Coker (2009:43) χρησιμοποιεί τον όρο *μορφογένος* (morpho-gender) για να αποδώσει συνθετικά το συνδυασμό σημασιολογικών και τυπικών κανόνων στην απόδοση του γραμματικού γένους.

⁹ Οι εμφανίσεις του αρσενικού μορφογένους θεωρούνται από τους καθαρολόγους λαθεμένες σε συγχρονικό επίπεδο.

Ο όρος *αυτορύθμιση* συνδέεται άμεσα με τον όρο *ομοιόσταση*. Η ομοιόσταση ως όρος της βιολογίας και της ψυχολογίας είναι η λειτουργία ενός οργανισμού που του επιτρέπει να διατηρεί την ακεραιότητά του και να ανακτά τον ομαλό τρόπο λειτουργίας του μέσω εσωτερικών αναπροσαρμογών, κάθε φορά που υφίσταται μη θανάσιμη διαταραχή. Στο επίπεδο ερμηνείας της γλωσσικής αλλαγής, η ομοιόσταση δηλώνει το μηχανισμό που ρυθμίζει, αυτοοργανώνει ή εξισορροπεί το εσωτερικό περιβάλλον του γλωσσικού συστήματος, ενώ ταυτόχρονα διατηρεί μια σταθερή κατάσταση, παρά τις συνεχείς τροποποιήσεις (Joos 1962:18).¹⁰

Στην περίπτωση των θηλυκών ουσιαστικών σε -(ο)ς, η γλωσσική αυτορύθμιση προκύπτει μέσω της γλωσσικής εξομάλυνσης του γένους: το μη πρωτοτυπικό μορφογένο [θηλυκό X_{-(ο)ς}] συρρικνώνεται, καθώς τα μέλη του μετακινούνται προς το πρωτοτυπικό μορφογένο [αρσενικό X_{-(ο)ς}]. Λαμβάνοντας υπόψη ότι οι φυσικοί ομιλητές τείνουν να εξομαλύνουν τους δύσκολους [+λόγιους] τύπους εφαρμόζοντας ασύνειδα την αρχή της πρωτοτυπικότητας, περιμένουμε να χρησιμοποιούν τα αποκλίνοντα μορφογένη, επηρεασμένοι: α) από τη συχνότητα χρήσης των ονομάτων σε συγκεκριμένες πτώσεις και β) από τη φωνητική ομοιότητα προσδιοριστή και ονόματος σε συγκεκριμένες πτώσεις. Εάν αυτό συμβαίνει, τα καταλλήλότερα φωνητικά περιβάλλοντα θα πρέπει να είναι η ονομαστική, γενική και αιτιατική ενικού, καθώς και η αιτιατική πληθυντικού. Σε όλες αυτές τις περιπτώσεις η συχνότητα χρήσης των επιμέρους ονομάτων αλλά και των ίδιων των πτώσεων θα πρέπει να καθιστά κάποια περιβάλλοντα περισσότερο κατάλληλα από κάποια άλλα.¹¹

Οι υποθέσεις εργασίας μας για την αιτιολόγηση, την εκδήλωση και τη διάχυση της αλλαγής που υφίσταται το θηλυκό μορφογένο σε -(ο)ς είναι οι εξής:

1. Η αυτορύθμιση του γένους εφαρμόζεται αρχικά σε συχνόχρηστες λέξεις:¹² το ουσιαστικό *ψήφος* είναι το δεύτερο συχνότερο ουσιαστικό στα σώματα κειμένων που χρησιμοποιήσαμε (βλ. Πίνακα 3). Επιλέξαμε να ελέγξουμε την κατανομή του, παρακάμπτοντας το πιο συχνόχρηστο ουσιαστικό *μέθοδος*, καθώς η χρήση του δεύτερου περιορίζεται σε συγκεκριμένους τύπους κειμένων με ακαδημαϊκό ή επιστημονικό προσανατολισμό.

Θηλυκά ουσιαστικά	(Συχνότητα χρήσης) (‰)
μέθοδος	0,1422
ψήφος	0,06
πρόοδος	0,0528
εγκύκλιος	0,0136
άμμος	0,0112
δίοδος	0,0057
δίφθογγος	0,0004

Πίνακας 3 Συχνότητα χρήσης των θηλυκών [+λόγιων] ουσιαστικών σε -(ο)ς
(εφημερίδες *Μακεδονία* και *Τα Νέα*)

2. Η συχνότητα χρήσης του αρσενικού μορφογένους αναμένεται να αυξάνει, καθώς αυξάνει η φωνητική ομοιότητα (βλ. Πίνακα 4).

ΠΡΟΣΔΙΟΡΙΣΤΗΣ + ΟΝΟΜΑ			
ON EN	i	΄psifos	→ o ΄psifos
GEN EN	tis	΄psifu	→ tu ΄psifu
AIT EN	tin	΄psifo	→ ton ΄psifo
AIT ΠΑ	tis	΄psifus	→ tus ΄psifus

Πίνακας 4 Μορφογένη και φωνητική ομοιότητα

3. Εκτός από τη συχνότητα χρήσης των ονομάτων, θα πρέπει να ληφθεί υπόψη και η συχνότητα χρήσης συγκεκριμένων πτώσεων στη ΝΕ: έτσι, αναμένεται η συχνότητα χρήσης του αρσενικού μορφογένους να είναι πιο υψηλή στην αιτιατική ενικού και πληθυντικού αριθμού, καθώς πρόκειται για τις δύο πιο συχνόχρηστες πτώσεις της ΝΕ (βλ. Αναστασιάδη-Συμεωνίδη 2003).

¹⁰ Ο Joos (1962) εισάγει πρώτος τον όρο *ομοιόσταση* (homeostasis) στη γλωσσολογία.

¹¹ Δεν είναι εφικτό να εξετάσουμε τα δύο εναλλασσόμενα μορφογένη στην ονομαστική πληθυντικού αριθμού, καθώς το φωνητικό σχήμα προσδιοριστή και επιθέματος του ονόματος συμπίπτουν τόσο για το αρσενικό όσο και για το θηλυκό, π.χ. *οι ψήφοι* (ΑΡΣ και ΘΗΛ).

¹² Για την κατανομή των συχνοτήτων χρησιμοποιήθηκαν τα ηλεκτρονικά σώματα κειμένων της Πύλης για την Ελληνική Γλώσσα (εφημερίδες *Μακεδονία* και *Τα Νέα* (6.698.486 λέξεις):

http://www.greek-language.gr/greekLang/modern_greek/tools/corpora/corpora/stats.html.

4. Το αυτορυθμιζόμενο αρσενικό μορφογένο διαχέεται μέσω της υψηλής χρήσης του από τα μέλη συγκεκριμένων ομάδων χρηστών.
5. Το [-λόγιο] αρσενικό μορφογένο αναμένεται να εμφανίσει υψηλότερη συγκέντρωση σε ανεπίσημα συγκεκριμένα.
6. Λαμβάνοντας υπόψη ότι η ηλικία αποτελεί κινητήρια δύναμη της γλωσσικής αλλαγής (Labov 2002), οι νεότεροι χρήστες αναμένεται να εκδηλώσουν γενικευμένη αντίσταση στους επίσημους τύπους της γλωσσικής νόρμας και σαφή προτίμηση στους τύπους που είναι καινοτόμοι και αποκλίνουν από τη νόρμα.
7. Εφόσον η γλωσσική αλλαγή βρίσκεται σε εξέλιξη, το αρσενικό μορφογένο αναμένεται να κάνει τη 'δειλή' εμφάνισή του σε έναν περιορισμένο αριθμό επίσημων συγκεκριμένων.
8. Το αναγόμενο στην ΑΕ [+λόγιο] μορφογένο αναμένεται να προβάλλει αντίσταση στην αλλαγή, εξαιτίας του υψηλού κοινωνικού κύρους που αποδίδεται στη χρήση του.

3. Η έρευνα

Η έρευνα βασίζεται σε σώματα κειμένων, ακριβώς επειδή στόχος μας είναι να 'συλλάβουμε' την πρώιμη εκδήλωση της γλωσσικής αλλαγής σε ένα επαρκές τυχαίο δείγμα αυθεντικών ηλεκτρονικών γραπτών κειμένων. Η επιλογή της συγκεκριμένης μεθοδολογίας έγινε με τα εξής κριτήρια: α) ο γραπτός λόγος χαρακτηρίζεται σε μεγάλο βαθμό από επισημότητα και β) το ηλεκτρονικό μέσο παρέχει το πλεονέκτημα της άμεσης και στατιστικά επαρκούς άντλησης δεδομένων, ενώ παράλληλα τα διαθέσιμα κείμενα χαρακτηρίζονται τόσο από επίσημο όσο και από ανεπίσημο επίπεδο ύφους.¹³ Λαμβάνοντας υπόψη ότι το [-λόγιο] αρσενικό μορφογένο της λέξης *ψήφος* είναι πιο πιθανό να προκύψει στον προφορικό λόγο, είτε ως εμπρόθετη επιλογή είτε ως γλωσσικό 'ολίσθημα', θεωρούμε ότι η παρουσία του στο γραπτό λόγο μπορεί να ενισχύσει τις υποθέσεις μας για την ύπαρξη μιας μορφολογικής αλλαγής σε εξέλιξη και να επιτρέψει μια ερμηνεία των κινητήριων δυνάμεων της αλλαγής αυτής με γνωσιακά κριτήρια και κριτήρια χρήσης.

Αρχικά αναζητήσαμε στη μηχανή Google τα δύο εναλλασσόμενα μορφογένη (θηλυκό και αρσενικό) της λέξης *ψήφος* (στην ονομαστική, γενική και αιτιατική ενικού, καθώς και στην αιτιατική πληθυντικού), χρησιμοποιώντας τύπους όπως '*η ψήφος*' - '*ο ψήφος*' κτλ. Τοποθετήσαμε το κάθε εισαγόμενο σε εισαγωγικά (" ") για να περιορίσουμε τα αποτελέσματα σε εκείνες μόνο τις ιστοσελίδες που εμφανίζουν την ακριβή ακολουθία (ΠΡΟΣΔΙΟΡΙΣΤΗΣ + ΟΝΟΜΑ). Στη συνέχεια, αποκλείσαμε από τα αποτελέσματα τις ανενεργές αλλά και τις επαναλαμβανόμενες ιστοσελίδες.¹⁴ Προσπαθήσαμε να διασφαλίσουμε όσο το δυνατόν μεγαλύτερη ποσότητα δεδομένων αντλώντας τα κατά τη διάρκεια των εθνικών εκλογών του 2007 και των δημοτικών εκλογών του 2010. Είναι ευνόητο ότι δεν λάβαμε υπόψη μας περιπτώσεις στις οποίες το γραμματικό γένος δεν μπορούσε να συναχθεί από το συγκεκριμένο, π.χ. *πήρε ψήφους της αριστεράς*.

Οι εμφανίσεις του κάθε μορφογένους που προέκυψαν από την αναζήτηση ταξινομήθηκαν με βάση γλωσσικά και εξωγλωσσικά κριτήρια. Προκειμένου να αντλήσουμε αξιόπιστα συμπεράσματα για τους παράγοντες που συμβάλλουν στη διάχυση της αλλαγής, ταξινομήσαμε τις εμφανίσεις του θηλυκού και του αρσενικού μορφογένους σύμφωνα με την κατηγορία κειμένων στην οποία εμφανίζονται. Τα κριτήρια της ταξινόμησης αυτής ήταν: α) το επίσημο και ανεπίσημο επίπεδο ύφους και β) το περιεχόμενο των κειμένων. Με άλλα λόγια, δώσαμε έμφαση α) στην επισημότητα της επικοινωνιακής περιστασης στο πλαίσιο της οποίας παρήχθησαν τα κείμενα και στο συναγόμενο κοινωνικό κύρος των παραγών τους, και β) στα νοήματα που επικοινωνούνται και στο θεματικό πεδίο στο οποίο αυτά εντάσσονται. Από την ταξινόμηση αυτή προέκυψαν οι κατηγορίες κειμένων που εμφανίζονται στον Πίνακα 7.¹⁵

4. Ανάλυση των δεδομένων

Η ανάλυση των δεδομένων αποκαλύπτει έναν αρκετά σημαντικό αριθμό εμφανίσεων του αρσενικού

¹³ Τα blog, για παράδειγμα, εμπεριέχουν απόψεις/ σχόλια και γενικότερα ημιπροφορικά κείμενα που αναρτώνται από φοιτητές, εργαζομένους κτλ. Έτσι, συνήθως χαρακτηρίζονται από μικτό επίπεδο ύφους, επίσημο και ανεπίσημο, το οποίο μπορεί να αποδοθεί στην υβριδικότητά τους.

¹⁴ Ο αριθμός των αποτελεσμάτων που αρχικά εμφανίζεται στη μηχανή Google μπορεί να είναι παραπλανητικός, εφόσον πολλά από αυτά μπορεί να εμφανίζονται δύο ή και περισσότερες φορές.

¹⁵ Δεν υιοθετήσαμε κατηγοριοποίηση ανά κειμενικό είδος (genre), καθώς στο ηλεκτρονικό μέσο εμφανίζεται συνεχής εναλλαγή και συμπλοκή των κειμενικών ειδών.

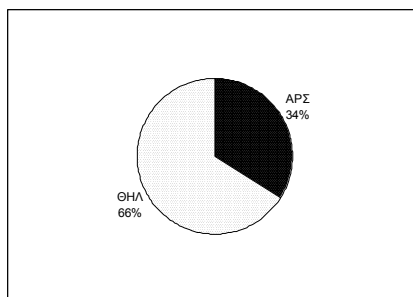
μορφογένους ανά γραμματική πτώση. Η κατανομή των συχνοτήτων παρουσιάζεται στον παρακάτω πίνακα συνάφειας:

	ΑΡΣ	ΘΗΛ	ΣΥΝΟΛΟ
ΟΝ ΕΝ	246	846	1092
ΓΕΝ ΕΝ	146	667	813
ΑΙΤ ΕΝ	332	669	1001
ΑΙΤ ΠΛ	738	634	1372
ΣΥΝΟΛΟ	1462	2816	4278

Πίνακας 5 Συσχέτιση πτώσης και γένους
(μηχανή αναζήτησης Google)

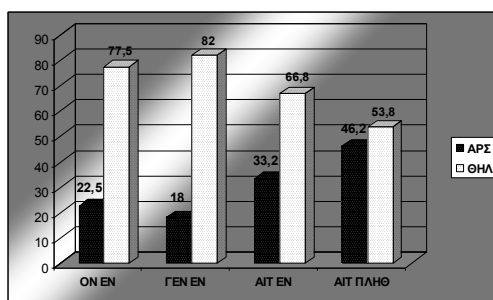
Εφαρμόσαμε το μη παραμετρικό τεστ χ^2 (Pearson's bivariate test of independence) στα αποτελέσματα των εμφανίσεων, προκειμένου να διαγνώσουμε αν υπάρχει στατιστικά σημαντική συσχέτιση μεταξύ της απόδοσης του γραμματικού γένους και της γραμματικής πτώσης. Τα αποτελέσματα του τεστ που εφαρμόστηκε στα ζεύγη των δύο κατηγορικών (ονοματικών) μεταβλητών (246.0, 846.0), (146.0, 667.0), (332.0, 669.0), (738.0, 634.0) έδειξαν ότι η συσχέτιση ανάμεσα στην απόδοση μεταξύ της αρσενικής και θηλυκής τιμής του γραμματικού γένους και στην επιλογή της γραμματικής πτώσης είναι στατιστικά σημαντική ($\chi^2=16,27$, $p < 0.001$, $df=3$).

Παρότι οι συνολικές εμφανίσεις των δύο μορφογενών υποδεικνύουν σαφή προτίμηση των χρηστών στο θηλυκό μορφογένο του ουσιαστικού *ψήφος* (66%), το αρσενικό μορφογένο καταλαμβάνει ένα επίσης αρκετά σημαντικό ποσοστό (34%), επαρκές για να καταδείξει την τάση προς τη γλωσσική αυτορύθμιση (περίπου το 1/3 των συνολικών εμφανίσεων, βλ. Διάγραμμα 1).



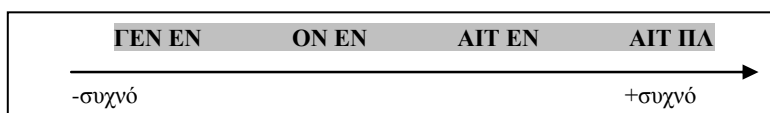
Διάγραμμα 1 Ποσοστά εμφάνισης θηλυκού και αρσενικού μορφογένους

Η στατιστική ανάλυση αναδεικνύει σημαντική συγκέντρωση του αρσενικού μορφογένους στην αιτιατική πληθυντικού (53,8% επί του συνόλου των εμφανίσεων, βλ. Διάγραμμα 2). Τα ποσοστά εμφάνισής του στην αιτιατική και ονομαστική ενικού είναι επίσης αρκετά υψηλά (33,2% και 22,5% αντίστοιχα). Θα πρέπει όμως να σημειώσουμε ότι το 26,4% των συνολικών εμφανίσεων του αρσενικού μορφογένους στην ονομαστική ενικού (22,5%) είναι μεταγλωσσικά/ ρυθμιστικά σχόλια, δηλαδή διορθωτικές παρεμβάσεις σε εφημερίδες, ιστοσελίδες, blog και fora συνήθως από χρήστες με υψηλό μορφωτικό επίπεδο. Τα σχόλια αυτά είναι ιδιαίτερα συχνά στην ονομαστική ενικού, καθώς χρησιμοποιείται ο λημματικός τύπος για να δηλωθεί η διόρθωση. Εάν παραλείψουμε τα σχόλια αυτά από το δείγμα μας, τα ποσοστά εμφάνισης του θηλυκού και του αρσενικού μορφογένους πέφτουν στο 81,2% και 18,8% αντίστοιχα. Η γενική ενικού παρουσιάζει το χαμηλότερο ποσοστό εμφάνισης (18%). Παρότι τα υψηλά ποσοστά εμφάνισης του αρσενικού μορφογένους στην αιτιατική ενικού και πληθυντικού είναι αναμενόμενα και επιβεβαιώνουν την αρχική υπόθεση εργασίας μας για το ρόλο της φωνητικής ομοιότητας στην αιτιολόγηση της γλωσσικής αλλαγής, θα πρέπει να διερευνήσουμε τους λόγους για τους οποίους τόσο η ονομαστική όσο και η γενική ενικού εμφανίζουν συγκριτικά χαμηλότερη συχνότητα χρήσης.



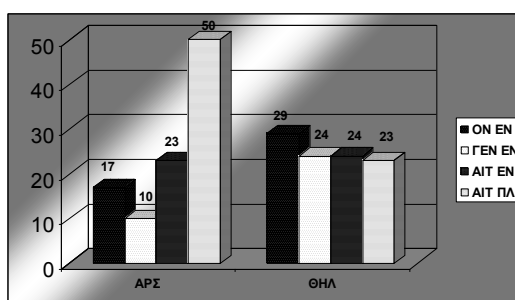
Διάγραμμα 2 Ποσοστά εμφάνισης αρσενικού και θηλυκού μορφογόνους κατά πτώση

Προκειμένου να δώσουμε μια ικανοποιητική ερμηνεία για τη χαμηλή συγκέντρωση του αρσενικού μορφογόνους στην ονομαστική και γενική ενικού, παρά την ύπαρξη φωνητικής ομοιότητας ανάμεσα στον προσδιοριστή και το επίθημα του ονόματος, θα πρέπει να λάβουμε υπόψη την κατανομή της συχνότητας των γραμματικών πτώσεων στη ΝΕ. Σύμφωνα με πρόσφατη έρευνα σχετικά με τη συχνότητα χρήσης των πτώσεων (Αναστασιάδη-Συμεωνίδη 2003¹⁶), η αιτιατική πληθυντικού είναι η πιο συχνόχρηστη πτώση των ονομάτων της ΝΕ (βλ. Πίνακα 6). Η ονομαστική και η αιτιατική ενικού είναι λιγότερο συχνές, ενώ η γενική ενικού είναι η λιγότερη συχνόχρηστη πτώση.



Πίνακας 6 Συχνότητα χρήσης των πτώσεων της ΝΕ (Αναστασιάδη-Συμεωνίδη 2003)

Μια πιο λεπτομερής εξέταση της συχνότητας χρήσης των πτώσεων του ουσιαστικού *ψήφος* ανά τάξη γένους (Διάγραμμα 3) δείχνει ότι το αρσενικό μορφογόνος συντάσσεται πλήρως με τα προηγούμενα ευρήματα, ενώ το θηλυκό όχι. Πιο συγκεκριμένα, στο θηλυκό μορφογόνος οι τέσσερις πτώσεις κατανέμονται σχεδόν ισόποσα, με την ονομαστική ενικού να είναι η πιο συχνόχρηστη και την αιτιατική πληθυντικού να εμφανίζει το χαμηλότερο ποσοστό συγκέντρωσης. Η ασυνέπεια αυτή μπορεί να ερμηνευθεί ως δείκτης του ομοιοστατικού μηχανισμού της γλώσσας, εφόσον τόσο η ονομαστική ενικού, πτώση του λημματικού τύπου, όσο και η γενική, κατεξοχήν λόγια πτώση, ανθίστανται σθεναρά στην αλλαγή. Με άλλα λόγια, οι ομιλητές αποφεύγουν συνειδητά ή ασυνείδητα τη χρήση του αρσενικού μορφογόνους στην ονομαστική ενικού, εφόσον η αναπαράσταση του θηλυκού ως λημματικού τύπου είναι ισχυρή στο νοητικό λεξικό τους. Από την άλλη, η χρήση της γενικής εντάσσεται συνήθως στο πλαίσιο σύνθετου/ ακαδημαϊκού λόγου, ο οποίος χαρακτηρίζεται από αυξημένη λογιότητα· κατά συνέπεια η εμφάνιση του αρσενικού μορφογόνους σε [+λόγιο] συγκείμενο είναι λιγότερο πιθανή.



Διάγραμμα 3 Ποσοστά συχνότητας του ουσιαστικού *ψήφος* κατά μορφογόνος και κατά πτώση

Η προηγούμενη στατιστική ανάλυση και ερμηνεία των δεδομένων ρίχνει φως στην αιτιολόγηση της αλλαγής, αλλά όχι στη διάχυσή της. Για το λόγο αυτό, εφαρμόστηκε μια επιπρόσθετη στατιστική ανάλυση της εμφάνισης του κάθε μορφογόνους του ουσιαστικού *ψήφος* ανά κατηγορία κειμένων. Η χρήση του αρσενικού μορφογόνους κατανέμεται σε ένα συνεχές επισημότητας. Η υψηλότερη χρήση εμφανίζεται σε λογοτεχνικά κείμενα/ στίχους τραγουδιών που χαρακτηρίζονται από [-λόγιο] επίπεδο ύφους (82,6% επί του συνόλου των εμφανίσεων, βλ. Πίνακα 7), καθώς επίσης σε κείμενα αθλητικού

¹⁶ Πρόκειται για έρευνα που βασίστηκε επίσης στα σώματα κειμένων της Πύλης για την Ελληνική Γλώσσα.

περιεχομένου (63,9%),¹⁷ ενώ η χαμηλότερη συγκέντρωση εμφανίζεται σε επίσημα κείμενα ευρείας κυκλοφορίας.

Στο μέσο του συνεχούς εντοπίζουμε κατηγορίες κειμένων που θα περιμέναμε να εμφανίζουν μικρή συγκέντρωση του αρσενικού μορφογένους, π.χ. εκκλησιαστικά κείμενα και μεταγλωσσικά/ ρυθμιστικά σχόλια. Συγκεκριμένα, η αυξημένη συγκέντρωση του αρσενικού μορφογένους σε εκκλησιαστικές ιστοσελίδες (50%) ήταν μη αναμενόμενη, εφόσον η ιδεολογία των εκκλησιαστικών φορέων είναι συνήθως προσανατολισμένη στην καθαρότητα των πολιτισμικών αποθεμάτων και της εθνικής ταυτότητας, προκειμένου να προκύψει αυθεντική πνευματική εμπειρία. Συνεπώς, οι εκπρόσωποι της εκκλησίας είναι συνήθως συντηρητικοί στις γλωσσικές τους επιλογές και καθαρολόγοι. Όμως, θα πρέπει να λάβουμε υπόψη ότι ένα σημαντικό ποσοστό εκκλησιαστικών εκπροσώπων αντιλαμβάνεται την εκκλησία ως πολυεθνική και ανοικτή προς τον κλήρο της, και για το λόγο αυτό επιδοκιμάζει τους γλωσσικούς τύπους που ευνοούν το [-λόγιο] πηγαίο και αυθεντικό λόγο. Η υψηλή εμφάνιση του αρσενικού μορφογένους σε μεταγλωσσικά σχόλια χρηστών (50%) επιβεβαιώνει την υπόθεση ότι η αυτορύθμιση του γραμματικού γένους αντανακλά μια εν εξελίξει μορφολογική αλλαγή, εφόσον οι ομιλητές υψηλού μορφωτικού επιπέδου αισθάνονται την ανάγκη να προβούν σε διορθωτικές παρεμβάσεις για να εμποδίσουν τυχόν 'αλλοίωση' της γλώσσας.

Στο κέντρο του συνεχούς εμφανίζονται επίσης κείμενα ανεπίσημου ύφους, τα οποία εντοπίζονται σε blog, fora, στο facebook και το twitter, καθώς επίσης σχόλια χρηστών σε ηλεκτρονικές εφημερίδες και περιοδικά (46,5%) και κείμενα σε ψυχαγωγικές ιστοσελίδες (μουσική, κινηματογράφος, βίντεο, 39%). Τα κείμενα αυτά παράγονται συνήθως από νεότερους ηλικιακά χρήστες. Οι νέοι συχνά ανθίστανται στις επίσημες γλωσσικές πρακτικές και αναζητούν γλωσσικούς τρόπους να αυτοπροσδιοριστούν (Labov 2002), δείχνοντας σαφή προτίμηση στον αποκλίνοντα τύπο γραμματικού γένους. Αν λάβουμε υπόψη μας ότι διαμορφώνουν πυκνά και σύνθετα κοινωνικά δίκτυα μεταξύ τους (Milroy 1987), μπορούμε να συμπεράνουμε ότι συνιστούν σημαντικό παράγοντα στη διάχυση της αλλαγής.

Κατηγορίες κειμένων	Ποσοστό (%) εμφάνισης του αρσενικού μορφογένους
Ιστοσελίδες λογοτεχνικών κειμένων/ στίχων τραγουδιών	82,6
Αθλητικές εφημερίδες/ ιστοσελίδες Ιστοσελίδες αθλητικών σωματείων και οργανώσεων	63,9
Μεταγλωσσικά/ ρυθμιστικά σχόλια	50
Εκκλησιαστικές εφημερίδες και ιστοσελίδες	50
Αναρτήσεις χρηστών σε blog, fora, στο facebook και το twitter Σχόλια χρηστών σε ηλεκτρονικές εφημερίδες, περιοδικά και ιστοσελίδες	46,5
Εκπαιδευτικές ιστοσελίδες	39
Κυπριακές ιστοσελίδες (όχι διαλεκτικές)	37,2
Ιστοσελίδες της Ελληνικής Διασποράς	34,7
Ακροδεξιές και εθνικιστικές εφημερίδες και ιστοσελίδες	28,3
Εκπαιδευτικές ιστοσελίδες	27,1
Ιστοσελίδες φορέων και εταιριών	23,7
Αριστερές και ακροαριστερές ιστοσελίδες	20,8
Νομαρχιακές/ δημοτικές/ τοπικές ιστοσελίδες	16,9
Ιστοσελίδες ραδιοφωνικών και τηλεοπτικών σταθμών	9,6
Επίσημες ιστοσελίδες πολιτικών παρατάξεων	7,4
Ηλεκτρονικές εφημερίδες και περιοδικά	5,2
Ενημερωτικές/ ειδησεογραφικές ιστοσελίδες	3,8
Ιστοσελίδες της Ευρωπαϊκής Ένωσης	0

Πίνακας 7 Ποσοστά εμφάνισης του αρσενικού και θηλυκού μορφογένους ανά κατηγορία κειμένων

¹⁷ Οι φίλαθλοι αποτελούν μια υποκοουλτούρα με κοινές αξίες και συγκεκριμένη ταυτότητα που εκδηλώνεται μέσω καινοτόμων και ευρηματικών γλωσσικών επιλογών. Εφόσον εμπλέκονται σε καθημερινή διεπίδραση μεταξύ τους, η διάχυση των [-λόγιων] τύπων μπορεί να επιτευχθεί πιο άμεσα.

Τα κείμενα που εμφανίζονται σε ιστοσελίδες της Ελληνικής Διασποράς και σε κυπριακές ιστοσελίδες παρουσιάζουν ένα αρκετά σημαντικό ποσοστό συγκέντρωσης του αρσενικού μορφογόνους (37,2% και 34,7% αντίστοιχα), γεγονός που μπορεί να αποδοθεί στην αποστασιοποίηση των παραγωγών τους από την ελληνική γλωσσική πραγματικότητα. Συνεπώς, δεν υπόκεινται στον ίδιο βαθμό στις ρυθμιστικές πιέσεις της ΝΕ και είναι περισσότερο δεκτικοί στη γλωσσική αλλαγή.

Τέλος, στο κέντρο του συνεχούς εντοπίζονται κείμενα που περιλαμβάνονται α) σε ακροδεξιές/εθνικιστικές ιστοσελίδες/εφημερίδες (28,3%), β) σε εκπαιδευτικές ιστοσελίδες (27,1%), γ) σε ιστοσελίδες κρατικών ή ιδιωτικών φορέων και εταιριών (23,7%), και δ) σε αριστερές και ακροαριστερές ιστοσελίδες/εφημερίδες (20,8%). Στην περίπτωση των ακροδεξιών/εθνικιστικών και αριστερών/ακροαριστερών εφημερίδων και ιστοσελίδων, η εμφάνιση του αρσενικού μορφογόνους υποδηλώνει την ανάγκη των χρηστών να προβάλλουν την ιδεολογία τους σχετικά με τις κοινωνικές ανισότητες υιοθετώντας ένα ύφος και μια φωνή που να 'μιλά' άμεσα στο λαό και να τον αγγίζει. Η εμφάνιση (έστω και σε μικρό ποσοστό) του αρσενικού μορφογόνους σε εκπαιδευτικά κείμενα (παραγωγοί τους είναι καθηγητές, δάσκαλοι, φοιτητές και μαθητές), καθώς και σε ιστοσελίδες επίσημων φορέων (οργανισμών, οργανώσεων, εταιριών) αποτελεί ένδειξη ότι η επιλογή του αποκλίνοντος τύπου σταδιακά αποσυνδέεται από την εγγραμματοσύνη και το εκπαιδευτικό επίπεδο.

Τέλος, το γεγονός ότι το αρσενικό μορφογόνους κάνει δειλά την εμφάνισή του και σε ιδιαίτερα επίσημα κείμενα (παραγόμενα από έγκριτους δημοσιογράφους, πολιτικούς ή διοικητικούς εκπροσώπους) αποτελεί ένδειξη φαινομενικού χρόνου για την εν εξελίξει γλωσσική αλλαγή.

Προκειμένου να ελέγξουμε τη διάχυση της αλλαγής και σε λιγότερο συχνούς τύπους και κατά συνέπεια την εγκυρότητα των αποτελεσμάτων της έρευνας, υπολογίσαμε τη συχνότητα εμφάνισης του αρσενικού μορφογόνους σε έξι ακόμη θηλυκά [+λόγια] ουσιαστικά σε -(ο)ς (βλ. Πίνακα 8). Αυτή τη φορά ελέγξαμε τη συχνότητα εμφάνισης μόνο στην αιτιατική πληθυντικού, εφόσον αποδείξαμε ότι στην πτώση αυτή εντοπίζεται η υψηλότερη συγκέντρωση του αρσενικού μορφογόνους.

Το ουσιαστικό *δίφθογγος* εμφανίζει το υψηλότερο ποσοστό εμφάνισης του αρσενικού μορφογόνους (62,6% επί του συνόλου των εμφανίσεων), παρά το γεγονός ότι ως γραμματικός όρος διαθέτει μικρή συχνότητα χρήσης. Θεωρούμε ότι αυτό οφείλεται τόσο στην εμφάνισή του ως αρσενικού στη γραμματική του Μανόλη Τριανταφυλλίδη (1941) όσο και στο ότι εμπεριέχει το ουσιαστικό *φθόγγος*. Τα ουσιαστικά *εγκύκλιος* και *μέθοδος* συγκεντρώνουν αρκετά υψηλό ποσοστό εμφάνισης του αρσενικού μορφογόνους παρά τη [+λόγια] φύση τους (35,1% και 26,8% αντίστοιχα). Το ουσιαστικό *οδός* διαθέτει υψηλή συχνότητα χρήσης και ως εκ τούτου θα περιμέναμε να είναι επιρρεπές στην αλλαγή. Παρόλα αυτά παρουσιάζει χαμηλό ποσοστό εμφάνισης του αρσενικού μορφογόνους (μόνο 17%), εφόσον το ουσιαστικό *δρόμος* έχει μεγαλύτερη συχνότητα χρήσης. Τα ουσιαστικά *άμμος* και *πρόοδος* χαρακτηρίζονται από ασθενή/ανώμαλο σχηματισμό των τύπων του πληθυντικού αριθμού,¹⁸ γεγονός που δικαιολογεί τα χαμηλά ποσοστά εμφάνισης του αρσενικού μορφογόνους στην αιτιατική πληθυντικού αριθμού (4,8% και 3,8% αντίστοιχα). Το ουσιαστικό *δίοδος* χαρακτηρίζεται από εξαιρετικά χαμηλή συχνότητα χρήσης στα συγκεκριμένα σώματα κειμένων (εφημερίδες *Μακεδονία* και *Τα Νέα*) (3%), καθώς αποτελεί σε μεγάλο βαθμό επιστημονικό όρο· έτσι, διατηρεί τη λογιότητα στο σχηματισμό του.

Θηλυκά ουσιαστικά σε -(ο)ς	Ποσοστά εμφάνισης (%) του αρσενικού μορφογόνους (ΑΙΤ ΠΛ)
δίφθογγος	62,6
εγκύκλιος	35,1
μέθοδος	26,8
οδός	17
άμμος	4,8
πρόοδος	3,8
δίοδος	3

Πίνακας 8 Συχνότητα χρήσης πρόσθετων θηλυκών [+λόγων] ουσιαστικών σε -(ο)ς (μέσω της μηχανής αναζήτησης Google)

¹⁸ Το ουσιαστικό *άμμος* χρησιμοποιείται περισσότερο στον ενικό αριθμό, οι τύποι του πληθυντικού είναι σπάνιοι και απαντούν σε λογοτεχνικά ή επιστημονικά κείμενα, ενώ το *πρόοδος* χρησιμοποιείται στον πληθυντικό με διαφορετικές σημασίες, π.χ. *γεωμετρική πρόοδος*, *πρόοδος στα ΤΕΙ*.

Συνεπώς, αφήνοντας έξω από την ανάλυση τις προαναφερθείσες εξαιρέσεις, μπορούμε να συμπεράνουμε ότι η γλωσσική αλλαγή που διαφαίνεται στο συχνόχρηστο ουσιαστικό *ψήφος*, αρχίζει να γίνεται ορατή και σε λιγότερο συχνά ουσιαστικά σε *-(ο)ς*.

5. Ερμηνεία

Η παρούσα έρευνα έχει τους εξής στόχους: α) να επαληθεύσει την εκδήλωση της αλλαγής γένους στη ΝΕ, β) να διερευνήσει τους ενδοσυστηματικούς λόγους που την προκαλούν, γ) να εξετάσει την επίδραση εξωσυστηματικών παραγόντων, όπως η συχνότητα χρήσης, στην παγίωσή της, δ) να εντοπίσει τους τρόπους διάχυσής της και ε) να αναδείξει τους παράγοντες που αυξάνουν τη δεκτικότητα ή την αντίσταση στην αλλαγή.

Βασίζόμενες στα ευρήματα της έρευνάς μας υποστηρίζουμε ότι η πρωτοτυπικότητα του κλιτικού επιθήματος *-(ο)ς* ως αρσενικού αιτιολογεί τη μορφολογική αλλαγή. Έχοντας ασύνειδη γνώση του πρωτοτυπικού κανόνα σχηματισμού αρσενικών ουσιαστικών, οι φυσικοί ομιλητές τον εφαρμόζουν και στα *[+λόγια]* περιφερειακά θηλυκά ουσιαστικά. Η φωνητική ομοιότητα προσδιοριστή και κλιτικού επιθήματος ευνοεί περισσότερο την εκδήλωση της αλλαγής, με καταλληλότερο περιβάλλον την αιτιατική πληθυντικού αριθμού (ΠΡΟΣΔΙΟΡΙΣΤΗΣ **tus**~ΜΟΡΦΟΛΟΓΙΚΟΣ ΔΕΙΚΤΗΣ **us**). Στην καταλληλότητα του περιβάλλοντος αυτού συνηγορούν και τα αριθμητικά δεδομένα που προκύπτουν από τη χρήση του μορφογένους σε *-(ο)ς*. Σύμφωνα με την ανάλυσή τους, η γλωσσική αλλαγή εκδηλώνεται αρχικά σε γραμματικές πτώσεις (αιτιατική πληθυντικού) και σε λέξεις (*ψήφος*) αυξημένης συχνότητας χρήσης, και στη συνέχεια διαχέεται σε λιγότερο συχνές λέξεις. Η διάχυση της γλωσσικής αλλαγής πραγματοποιείται από χρήστες των οποίων οι γλωσσικές επιλογές χαρακτηρίζονται από καινοτομικότητα, προφορικότητα, διάθεση να προσελκύσουν το ευρύ κοινό και αποξένωση από την ελληνική γλωσσική πραγματικότητα. Τα χαρακτηριστικά αυτά εντοπίζονται σε συγκεκριμένα πυκνά κοινωνικά δίκτυα, π.χ. νεολαία, οπαδοί, bloggers, Κύπριοι και Έλληνες της Διασποράς, εκπρόσωποι των ακροδεξιών και (ακρο)αριστερών παρατάξεων κτλ. Ταυτόχρονα, όμως, το θηλυκό *[+λόγιο]* μορφογένος διατηρείται σε επίσημα συμφραζόμενα, υποδηλώνοντας την ανάγκη των χρηστών για αυθεντικότητα, συμμόρφωση προς τον επίσημο κανόνα, ρυθμιστικότητα και υπογράμμιση του υψηλού μορφωτικού τους επιπέδου.

Η αιτιολόγηση, η εκδήλωση και η διάχυση της αλλαγής γένους που παρατηρείται στη ΝΕ μπορεί να ερμηνευτεί στο πλαίσιο της γλωσσικής αυτορρύθμισης και του ομοιοστατικού μηχανισμού του συστήματος. Οι προαναφερθέντες ενδοσυστηματικοί λόγοι 'εξαναγκάζουν' τους φυσικούς ομιλητές της ΝΕ να προβούν σε εξομάλυνση του δύσκολου *[+λόγιου]* μορφογένους, προκειμένου να εξυπηρετηθεί η οικονομία του συστήματος και η ευκολία/ απλότητα κατά την παραγωγή. Η αυτορρυθμιστική αυτή τάση αντανakλάται στη χρήση, με το *[-λόγιο]* αποκλίνον μορφογένος να περνάει ολοένα και περισσότερο στο γραπτό λόγο των ομιλητών. Καθώς, όμως, η διαδικασία της αυτορρύθμισης βρίσκεται σε εξέλιξη και το σύστημα του γραμματικού γένους της ΝΕ εμφανίζει διακυμάνσεις, το γλωσσικό σύστημα τείνει να διατηρηθεί σε μια σταθερή κατάσταση, παρόλες τις τροποποιήσεις, γεγονός που αντανakλάται στην τάση των ομιλητών με υψηλό μορφωτικό επίπεδο να εμμένουν στο θηλυκό *[+λόγιο]* μορφογένος σε επίσημα συγκεκριμένα και να απορρίπτουν το αρσενικό ως μη ορθό ή *[+λαϊκό]*.

6. Συμπερασματικές παρατηρήσεις και μελλοντικές προτάσεις

Διερευνώντας την κατανομή της συχνότητας χρήσης του θηλυκού *[+λόγιου]* και αρσενικού *[-λόγιου]* μορφογένους *[X_{-(ο)ς}]*, υποστηρίζουμε την ύπαρξη ενός αυτορρυθμιστικού/ ομοιοστατικού μηχανισμού, ο οποίος ελέγχει το σύστημα γένους της ΝΕ. Η ανάδυση του αρσενικού μορφογένους για τα θηλυκά ουσιαστικά σε *-(ο)ς* οδηγεί σταδιακά το σύστημα γένους σε μια ασταθή κατάσταση, η οποία ευνοεί τη γλωσσική αλλαγή. Η αστάθεια αυτή αιτιολογείται με βάση την πρωτοτυπικότητα του αρσενικού *[X_{(ο)ς}]*, ενισχύεται από τη φωνητική ομοιότητα προσδιοριστή και κλιτικού επιθήματος και παγιώνεται χάρη στην υψηλή συχνότητα χρήσης των ονομάτων σε συγκεκριμένες γραμματικές πτώσεις. Η αλλαγή του γένους διαχέεται σταδιακά μέσα από ισχυρά κοινωνικά δίκτυα. Οι αποκλίνοντες αρσενικοί τύποι είναι ιδιαίτερα συχνοί σε ηλεκτρονικά κείμενα ανεπίσημου *[-λόγιου]* ύφους.

Το γραμματικό γένος συνιστά ένα ενδιαφέρον πεδίο έρευνας όχι μόνο σε θεωρητικό επίπεδο (συγχρονική και διαχρονική γλωσσολογία) αλλά και σε εφαρμοσμένο επίπεδο (κοινωνιογλωσσολογία, ψυχολογία, απόκτηση της δεύτερης/ ξένης γλώσσας, διδακτική της ΝΕ). Έτσι, ιδιαίτερο ενδιαφέρον θα είχε η διερεύνηση των νοητικών διεργασιών που πραγματοποιούνται κατά την απόδοση του γραμματικού γένους της ΝΕ σε ψυχολογικό επίπεδο τόσο από τους φυσικούς ομιλητές όσο και από τους αλλόγλωσσους μαθητές, καθώς επίσης και η συγκριτική ανάλυση της απόδοσης του

γραμματικού γένους από φυσικούς ομιλητές διαφορετικού φύλου σε κοινωνιογλωσσικό επίπεδο. Τέλος, η κατανομή των δύο μορφογενών σε προφορικά σώματα κειμένων και σε διαφορετικές περιστάσεις επικοινωνίας θα μπορούσε να ρίξει περισσότερο φως στην εν εξελίξει αλλαγή γένους της ΝΕ.

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ΣΥΓΚΡΙΤΙΚΗ ΑΞΙΟΛΟΓΗΣΗ ΓΡΑΠΤΩΝ ΚΕΙΜΕΝΩΝ ΕΦΗΒΩΝ ΜΑΘΗΤΩΝ ΓΥΜΝΑΣΙΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΛΥΚΕΙΟΥ ΜΕ ΦΥΣΙΟΛΟΓΙΚΗ ΓΛΩΣΣΙΚΗ ΑΝΑΠΤΥΞΗ

Γεωργία Ανδρέου
Πανεπιστήμιο Θεσσαλίας,
Ελλάδα
andreou@uth.gr

Μαρία Λιάκου
Πανεπιστήμιο Θεσσαλίας,
Ελλάδα
liakoumaria2@gmail.com

ABSTRACT

The aim of this study was to investigate whether adolescents reach the linguistic level corresponding to their age and to compare their lexical and syntactic abilities in written narrative and non narrative texts. Our sample consisted of 2 groups of 162 adolescents, 14, 5 and 16, 6 mean years of age respectively. The results showed that generally older adolescents had better lexical and syntactic abilities compared to smaller ones. However, an unexpectedly high linguistic development was observed in the smaller age group in non narrative texts, showing that the production of complex texts may lead to unexpected linguistic levels.

Key words: Syntax, Vocabulary, Written texts, Adolescents, Linguistic development

1. Εισαγωγή

Με τον όρο «γλωσσική ανάπτυξη στην εφηβεία» εννοούμε τη γλώσσα που μαθαίνουμε υπό κανονικές συνθήκες όταν είμαστε στην εφηβική ηλικία, δηλαδή από τα 11 ή τα 12 έως την πρόωμη ενηλικίωση (Paul, 2001). Το σχολείο παίζει σημαντικό ρόλο στην ομαλή ανάπτυξη της γλώσσας του εφήβου. Οι μαθητές στη δευτεροβάθμια εκπαίδευση μαθαίνουν να επεξεργάζονται και να παράγουν, σε πλαίσια επικοινωνιακής προσέγγισης, αφηγηματικά και μη αφηγηματικά κείμενα (περιγραφικά, επιχειρηματολογικά, δοκίμια, άρθρα κ.ά.) (Γεωργακοπούλου & Γούτσος, 1999, Beaugrande & Dressler, 1981, Κλαίρης & Μπαμπινιώτης, 2005, Ματσαγούρας, 2004, Μήτσης, 2004, Παιδαγωγικό Ινστιτούτο, 2002).

Σ' αυτή την έρευνα ακολουθούμε την ταξινόμια των Γεωργακοπούλου και Γούτσου (1999), η οποία διακρίνει τον λόγο σε δύο «τρόπους», τον αφηγηματικό και τον μη αφηγηματικό. Με τη διάκριση αυτή αποφεύγεται ο «κατακερματισμός του λόγου σε αποσπασματικές κατηγορίες ασύνδετες μεταξύ τους και χωρίς σαφή όρια» (Γεωργακοπούλου & Γούτσος, 1999). Ως αφηγηματικά κείμενα ορίζονται εκείνα τα κείμενα που εκφράζουν συγκεκριμένες, κυρίως παρελθοντικές, εμπειρίες και δίνουν έμφαση στις ανθρώπινες δράσεις. Τα μη αφηγηματικά κείμενα, από την άλλη, συνιστούν μια μεγάλη ανομοιογενή και πολυποίκλη κατηγορία κειμένων, τα οποία σκοπό έχουν την ανταλλαγή γλωσσικών πληροφοριών και την προώθηση της γνώσης χωρίς να στηρίζονται στην αφήγηση (Γεωργακοπούλου & Γούτσος, 1999, Beers & Nagy, 2011).

2. Σκοπός και ειδικοί στόχοι

Σκοπός της έρευνάς μας ήταν να μελετήσουμε το αν οι έφηβοι κατακτούν το υψηλό γλωσσικό επίπεδο που αντιστοιχεί στην ηλικία τους και το αν διαφοροποιούνται ως προς το λεξιλόγιο και τη σύνταξη σε δύο διαφορετικά είδη γραπτών κειμένων (Paul, 2001). Ειδικότερα, μελετήθηκαν οι λεξιλογικές και συντακτικές ικανότητες μαθητών Γυμνασίου και Λυκείου σε αφηγηματικά και σε μη αφηγηματικά κείμενα. Συγκεκριμένα, για τη λεξιλογική ανάλυση επικεντρωθήκαμε στο συνολικό μήκος κειμένου σε λέξεις και στο μήκος λέξεων, δηλ. στον αριθμό λέξεων με 3 ή περισσότερες συλλαβές (Beers & Nagy, 2011, Berman & Nir-Sagiv, 2007). Για τη συντακτική ανάλυση χρησιμοποιήσαμε δύο ευρέως αποδεκτά συντακτικά κριτήρια, το μήκος πρότασης, δηλ. το μέσο αριθμό λέξεων ανά πρόταση, και τη

χρήση αναφορικών προτάσεων (Beers & Nagy, 2011, Beers & Nagy, 2009, Berman & Nir-Sagiv, 2007, Nippold, Hesketh, Duthie & Mansfield, 2005).

Οι υποθέσεις μας ήταν οι εξής:

- α) Τα γραπτά των μαθητών του Λυκείου θα παρουσιάσουν πιο αυξημένο αριθμό των πιο πάνω λεξιλογικών και συντακτικών κριτηρίων σε σχέση με τα γραπτά των μαθητών του Γυμνασίου.
- β) Στα αφηγηματικά κείμενα θα παρατηρηθεί υψηλότερη γραπτή επίδοση σε σχέση με τα μη αφηγηματικά κείμενα και στις δύο ομάδες μαθητών.

3. Υλικά και μέθοδοι

3.1 Συμμετέχοντες

Η έρευνά μας πραγματοποιήθηκε σε δημόσια αστικά Γυμνάσια και Λύκεια της Λάρισας και της Αθήνας. Στην έρευνα συμμετείχαν τελικά 162 μαθητές, αγόρια και κορίτσια, καθώς αποφασίστηκε να μη συμπεριληφθούν στο δείγμα της έρευνας: α) αλλόγλωσσοι μαθητές με πρώτη γλώσσα άλλη από την ελληνική και β) μαθητές στους οποίους είχε διαγνωστεί κάποια μορφή δυσλεξίας (Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2008). Συγκεκριμένα, αξιολογήθηκαν 89 μαθητές που φοιτούσαν στην Γ' Γυμνασίου (Μ.Ο. ηλικίας 14,5) και 73 μαθητές στη Β' Λυκείου (Μ.Ο. ηλικίας 16,6) αντίστοιχα.

3.2 Διαδικασία

Διανεμήθηκε στους μαθητές ένα κείμενο προς ανάγνωση πάνω στο θέμα του ρατσισμού και τους ζητήθηκε να παράγουν δύο κείμενα, ένα αφηγηματικό και ένα μη αφηγηματικό, σε πλαίσια επικοινωνιακής προσέγγισης. Τα ερωτήματα που τους δόθηκαν ήταν ίδια για τους μαθητές Γυμνασίου και Λυκείου. Είχε προηγηθεί από τους διδάσκοντες καθηγητές τους η διδασκαλία των αντίστοιχων εννοιών για το ρατσισμό από τα σχολικά βιβλία Νεοελληνική Γλώσσα (Γ' Γυμνασίου) και Έκφραση-Έκθεση (Β' Λυκείου).

3.3 Στατιστική ανάλυση

Για τις συγκρίσεις των δύο ομάδων μαθητών (Γυμνάσιο, Λύκειο) εφαρμόστηκε ο έλεγχος Mann-Whitney ως προς τα παρακάτω κριτήρια γλωσσικής ανάπτυξης: α. Συνολικό μήκος κειμένου σε λέξεις, β. μήκος λέξεων (μέσος αριθμός λέξεων με 3 ή περισσότερες συλλαβές), γ. μήκος πρότασης (μέσος αριθμός λέξεων ανά πρόταση) και δ. χρήση αναφορικών προτάσεων.

Για τις συγκρίσεις των δύο τύπων κειμένου (αφηγηματικό, μη αφηγηματικό) χρησιμοποιήθηκε ο στατιστικός έλεγχος Wilcoxon ως προς τα τέσσερα κριτήρια που αναφέρθηκαν παραπάνω.

Οι στατιστικές αναλύσεις πραγματοποιήθηκαν με το στατιστικό πακέτο SPSS v.15. Στους στατιστικούς ελέγχους η παρατηρούμενη στάθμη σημαντικότητας (p -value) υπολογίστηκε με τη μέθοδο προσομοίωσης Monte-Carlo. Το επίπεδο σημαντικότητας όλων των στατιστικών ελέγχων προκαθορίστηκε σε $\alpha=0,05$.

4. Αποτελέσματα

Ο στατιστικός έλεγχος Mann-Whitney έδειξε ότι υπάρχει στατιστικά σημαντική διαφορά μεταξύ των δύο ομάδων μαθητών (Γυμνάσιο vs Λύκειο) ως προς: α) το συνολικό μήκος κειμένου σε λέξεις ($p=0,007$) στα μη αφηγηματικά κείμενα, β) το μήκος λέξεων (λέξεις με 3 ή περισσότερες συλλαβές) ($p=0,001$) στα αφηγηματικά κείμενα, γ) το μήκος πρότασης σε λέξεις ($p=0,001$) στα μη αφηγηματικά κείμενα (βλ. πίν.1,2).

	Μήκος κειμένου (σε λέξεις)	Μήκος λέξεων	Μήκος πρότασης	Αναφορικές προτάσεις
Γυμνάσιο (Μ.Ο.)	148,4	45,1	6,3	2,9
Λύκειο (Μ.Ο.)	142,9	50,1	3,0	6,4
p-value	$p=0,449$ (NS**)	$p=0,001$ (S*)	$p=0,665$ (NS)	$p=0,684$ (NS)

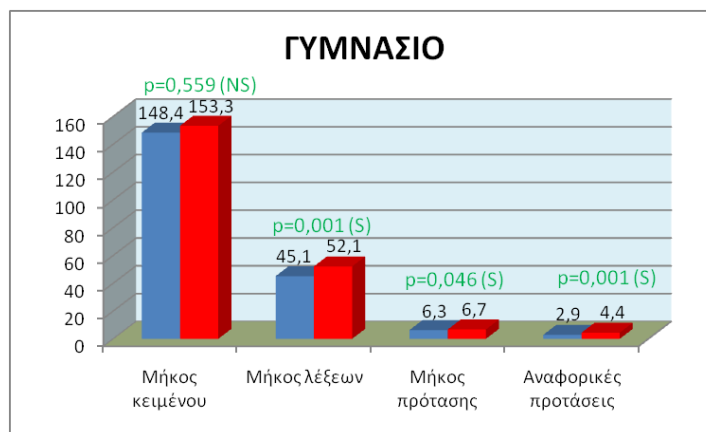
Πίνακας 1 Μέσος όρος λεξιλογικών και συντακτικών κριτηρίων σε αφηγηματικό κείμενο σε μαθητές Γυμνασίου και Λυκείου (*S: Significant - **NS: Non Significant)

	Μήκος κειμένου (σε λέξεις)	Μήκος λέξεων	Μήκος πρότασης	Αναφορικές προτάσεις
Γυμνάσιο (Μ.Ο.)	153,3	52,1	6,7	4,4
Λύκειο (Μ.Ο.)	137,8	55,9	4,2	7,9
p-value	p=0,007 (S)	p=0,119 (NS)	p=0,001 (S)	p=0,493 (NS)

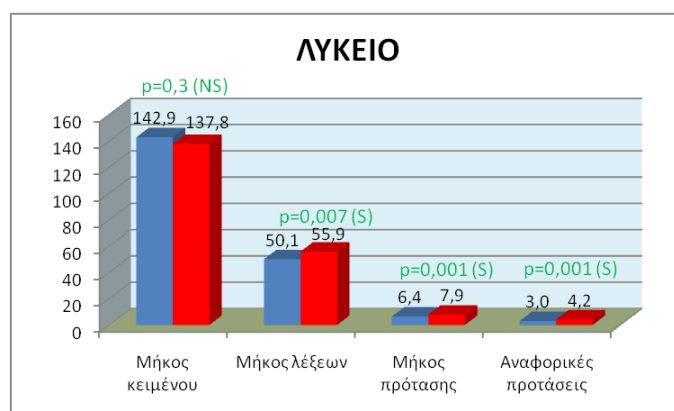
Πίνακας 2 Μέσος όρος λεξιλογικών και συντακτικών κριτηρίων σε μη αφηγηματικό κείμενο σε μαθητές Γυμνασίου και Λυκείου.

Ο στατιστικός έλεγχος Wilcoxon έδειξε ότι υπάρχει στατιστικά σημαντική διαφορά μεταξύ των δύο τύπων κειμένου (αφηγηματικό vs μη αφηγηματικό) ως προς:

- α) το μήκος λέξεων (λέξεις με 3 ή περισσότερες συλλαβές τόσο στο Γυμνάσιο ($p=0,001$) όσο και στο Λύκειο ($p=0,007$),
- β) το μήκος πρότασης σε λέξεις στο Γυμνάσιο ($p=0,046$) αλλά και στο Λύκειο ($p=0,001$),
- γ) τη χρήση αναφορικών προτάσεων στο Γυμνάσιο ($p=0,001$) και στο Λύκειο ($p=0,001$) (βλ. διαγράμματα 1,2).



Διάγραμμα 1 Μέσος όρος λεξιλογικών και συντακτικών κριτηρίων σε αφηγηματικό και μη αφηγηματικό κείμενο στο Γυμνάσιο.



Διάγραμμα 2 Μέσος όρος λεξιλογικών και συντακτικών κριτηρίων σε αφηγηματικό και μη αφηγηματικό κείμενο στο Λύκειο.

5. Συμπεράσματα – Συζήτηση

Σ' αυτή την έρευνα χρησιμοποιήσαμε κριτήρια λεξιλογικής και συντακτικής πολυπλοκότητας και τα ευρήματα γενικά υποστήριξαν τις υποθέσεις μας. Παρατηρήθηκε, όμως, και μη αναμενόμενη γνωστική και γλωσσική εξέλιξη των παιδιών τόσο ηλικιακή όσο και ανάμεσα στα δύο είδη κειμένων που εξετάσαμε.

Τα αποτελέσματα έδειξαν πως οι μαθητές του Λυκείου, συγκρινόμενοι με τους μαθητές του Γυμνασίου, είχαν υψηλότερη επίδοση στο μήκος λέξεων (λέξεις με τρεις συλλαβές και πάνω) και στη χρήση αναφορικών προτάσεων τόσο στα αφηγηματικά όσο και στα μη αφηγηματικά κείμενα. Με το εύρημα αυτό επαληθεύτηκαν οι υποθέσεις μας, καθώς υποδηλώθηκε ότι η γλωσσική και γνωστική τους ανάπτυξη συμβαδίζει με την ηλικία τους. Επιπρόσθετα, επιβεβαιώθηκαν και άλλες έρευνες, οι οποίες έχουν υποστηρίξει ότι το μήκος λέξεων και ο αριθμός των δευτερευουσών προτάσεων, ειδικά των αναφορικών, τείνουν να αυξάνονται με την ηλικία (Beers & Nagy, 2011, Nippold, 2007, Nippold, Ward-Lonergan & Fanning, 2005, Wimmer, Köhler, Grotjahn & Altmann, 1994).

Ωστόσο, όμως, ως προς το συνολικό μήκος κειμένου και ως προς τον αριθμό λέξεων ανά πρόταση οι μαθητές του Γυμνασίου είχαν υψηλότερη επίδοση από τους μαθητές του Λυκείου, παρά το ότι σε προγενέστερες μελέτες σημειώθηκε πως το μέσο μήκος των προτάσεων σε λέξεις καθώς και το συνολικό μήκος κειμένου αποτελούν κριτήρια προχωρημένης γλωσσικής ανάπτυξης, που επέρχεται με το πέρασμα της ηλικίας (Berman & Nir-Sagiv, 2007, Beers & Nagy, 2009, Nippold, Ward-Lonergan & Fanning, 2005, Nippold, 2007).

Επιπλέον, όσον αφορά τη σύγκριση των κειμένων, τα αποτελέσματα έδειξαν ότι οι μαθητές του Λυκείου είχαν υψηλότερη επίδοση στα αφηγηματικά κείμενα σε σύγκριση με τα μη αφηγηματικά μόνο ως προς το συνολικό μήκος κειμένου σε λέξεις. Ως προς τα υπόλοιπα κριτήρια οι μαθητές του Λυκείου είχαν υψηλότερη επίδοση στα μη αφηγηματικά κείμενα. Με τα ευρήματα αυτά επαληθεύτηκε εν μέρει η αρχική μας υπόθεση, η οποία ήταν ότι οι μαθητές θα είχαν υψηλότερη επίδοση στα αφηγηματικά κείμενα, καθώς ασκούνται σ' αυτά από την προσχολική τους ηλικία.

Επίσης, οι μαθητές του Γυμνασίου είχαν υψηλότερη επίδοση στα μη αφηγηματικά κείμενα σε σύγκριση με τα αφηγηματικά κείμενα ως προς όλα τα κριτήρια. Μ' αυτό το εύρημα δεν επαληθεύτηκε η παραπάνω αρχική μας υπόθεση. Ωστόσο, όμως, επιβεβαιώθηκαν ευρήματα προηγούμενων ερευνών, οι οποίες επίσης είχαν εντοπίσει μη αναμενόμενη εξελιγμένη γλωσσική ανάπτυξη εφήβων μαθητών σε μη αφηγηματικά κείμενα, τα οποία συνιστούν μια πολύ απαιτητική κατηγορία κειμένων (Berman & Nir-Sagiv, 2007, Beers & Nagy, 2011).

Συμπερασματικά, τα ευρήματά μας υποδηλώνουν ότι κάποιοι μαθητές είναι δυνατόν να βρίσκονται σε υψηλότερο γλωσσικό επίπεδο από αυτό που αντιστοιχεί στην ηλικία τους και επιδεικνύουν μεγάλη ικανότητα στην παραγωγή γραπτού λόγου. Η κατασκευή ενός μη αφηγηματικού κειμένου είναι δυσκολότερη από αυτή ενός αφηγηματικού κειμένου, αφού απαιτεί πιο πολύπλοκη χρήση της γλώσσας καθώς και παραγωγή ιδεών. Συνεπώς, η ικανότητα παραγωγής μη αφηγηματικών κειμένων συνδέεται με τις μεγαλύτερες ηλικίες. Ωστόσο, όμως, η ανάγκη παραγωγής πιο πολύπλοκων κειμένων είναι δυνατόν να οδηγήσει και σε μη αναμενόμενη γνωστική και γλωσσική ανάπτυξη τόσο ηλικιακή όσο και ανάμεσα σε διαφορετικά είδη κειμένων (Berman & Nir-Sagiv, 2007, Beers & Nagy, 2011, Nippold, 2007, Nippold, Ward-Lonergan & Fanning, 2005, Nippold, Hesketh, Duthie & Mansfield, 2005).

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ΔΙΑΓΛΩΣΣΙΚΗ ΕΠΙΔΡΑΣΗ ΚΑΤΑ ΤΗΝ ΕΚΜΑΘΗΣΗ ΤΗΣ ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΗΣ ΩΣ ΞΕΝΗΣ ΓΛΩΣΣΑΣ ΑΠΟ ΙΣΠΑΝΟΦΩΝΟΥΣ ΜΑΘΗΤΕΣ

Μαρία Ανδριά
Universitat de Barcelona,
Spain
maria.andria25@gmail.com

Imma Miralpeix
Universitat de Barcelona,
Spain
imiralpeix@ub.edu

M.Luz Celaya
Universitat de Barcelona,
Spain
mluzcelaya@ub.edu

ABSTRACT

The present study explores Crosslinguistic Influence (CLI) in verbal tenses and in vocabulary in the acquisition of Greek as a Foreign Language (FL). Spanish L1 learners with knowledge of English took a variety of tests designed to explore CLI between these languages. Results evidenced that CLI was present, although no correlation was found between CLI and variables such as age, English proficiency, metalinguistic awareness and exposure to Greek. However, a moderate negative correlation was observed between lexical CLI and proficiency in Greek. Spanish was the predominant source of CLI, probably due to psychotypology.

Λέξεις Κλειδιά: Διαγλωσσική Επίδραση, Ελληνική ως Ξένη Γλώσσα, ισπανόφωνοι, ψυχολογία

1. Εισαγωγή

Η παρούσα μελέτη, η οποία αποτελεί τμήμα μιας μεγαλύτερης έρευνας (Andria 2010), επιθυμεί να εμβαθύνει στο φαινόμενο της Διαγλωσσικής Επίδρασης (ΔΕ) στην Πολύγλωσση Εκμάθηση (ΠΕ) μέσα από έναν συνδυασμό γλωσσών που δεν έχει μελετηθεί αρκετά: Ισπανόφωνοι μαθητές με γνώση της αγγλικής οι οποίοι μαθαίνουν μια τυπολογικά διαφορετική γλώσσα, τα νέα ελληνικά (ΝΕ), ως Ξένη Γλώσσα (ΞΓ). Στόχος της εργασίας είναι να ερευνήσει, αρχικά, αν υπάρχουν περιπτώσεις ΔΕ κατά τη διάρκεια της εκμάθησης της ΝΕ ως ΞΓ, αν η ΔΕ σχετίζεται με παράγοντες όπως η ηλικία, η γλωσσική επάρκεια στα αγγλικά, η μεταγλωσσική επίγνωση (ΜΕ) και η έκθεση στα ελληνικά· και τέλος, ποια από τις προηγούμενα κατακτημένες γλώσσες (ισπανικά ή αγγλικά) είναι πιο συχνά γλώσσα-πηγή ΔΕ.

2. Επισκόπηση Προηγούμενης Έρευνας

2.1 Πολύγλωσση Εκμάθηση και Διαγλωσσική επίδραση

Τα τελευταία χρόνια, η μελέτη του φαινομένου της πολυγλωσσίας (*multilingualism*) έχει γίνει ένας πολύ διαδεδομένος κλάδος στον τομέα της γλωσσικής κατάκτησης. Η Πολύγλωσση Εκμάθηση (ΠΕ) (*multilingual acquisition*) έχει οριστεί (Cenoz 2000) ως η διαδικασία εκμάθησης περισσότερων της μίας γλώσσας. Η κύρια διαφορά ανάμεσα στην εκμάθηση μιας Δεύτερης Γλώσσας (Γ2) και στην εκμάθηση μιας Γ3 (Γ4, Γ5, κλπ.) έγκειται στη μεγαλύτερη πολυπλοκότητα που χαρακτηρίζει την εκμάθηση της τελευταίας, διότι όσο πιο πολλές γλώσσες αναμειγνύονται, τόσο ο αριθμός των παραγόντων που αλληλεπιδρούν αυξάνεται.

Έχει τονιστεί ότι τα «κατακτημένα γλωσσικά συστήματα δεν συνυπάρχουν το ένα δίπλα στο άλλο σε αμοιβαία αρμονία» (Herdina & Jessner 2000:90), αλλά αλληλεπιδρούν μεταξύ τους. Η επίδραση από τη μητρική γλώσσα, αλλά και από όλες τις γλώσσες που κατέχει ένας ομιλητής κατά τη διαδικασία

εκμάθησης μίας νέας γλώσσας- στόχου (ΓΣ) ονομάζεται Διαγλωσσική Επίδραση (ΔΕ) (Odlin 1989, Jarvis & Pavlenko 2008).

2.2 Παράγοντες που επηρεάζουν τη Διαγλωσσική Επίδραση (ΔΕ)

Η αλληλεπίδραση παραγόντων στη ΔΕ κατά την πολυγλωσσία είναι ένα θεμελιώδες θέμα και έχει ερευνηθεί από ένα πλήθος μελετών (Murphy 2003). Ένας από τους πιο συχνά ερευνώμενους παράγοντες που μπορούν να προβλέψουν τη ΔΕ είναι η γλωσσική επάρκεια (*proficiency*) στη ΓΣ. Είναι γενικά αποδεκτό ότι η ΔΕ είναι πιθανότερο να λάβει χώρα σε αρχικά επίπεδα γλωσσομάθειας (Hammarberg 2001) και συνήθως εμφανίζεται ως στρατηγική αναπλήρωσης (*compensatory strategy*). Σε αυτές τις περιπτώσεις, η έλλειψη επαρκών μέσων έκφρασης στη ΓΣ μπορεί να καλυφθεί με τη χρήση της Γ2. Ωστόσο, η επάρκεια στη Γ2 αποτελεί έναν εξίσου θεμελιώδη παράγοντα. Στην μελέτη της για το ρόλο της γλωσσικής επάρκειας της Γ2 στη ΕΓ3 η Tremblay (2006: 109) συμπεραίνει ότι «μέχρι να επιτευχθεί ένα βασικό επίπεδο (*threshold level*) στη Γ2, η ΔΕ από τη Γ2 στη Γ3 είναι πολύ περιορισμένη». Στη μελέτη της, οι συμμετέχοντες από ένα χαμηλό/μέσο επίπεδο επάρκειας στη Γ2 δεν εμφανίστηκαν να ανατρέχουν στην Γ2 κατά την εκμάθηση της Γ3.

Ένας εξίσου σημαντικός παράγοντας είναι η έκθεση στη ΓΣ. Η συγκεκριμένη μεταβλητή συχνά μετράται με γνώμονα τη Διάρκεια Παραμονής (*Length of Stay*) στην κοινότητα όπου ομιλείται η ΓΣ ή ως το ποσό των ωρών διδασκαλίας στη ΓΣ. Αυξημένη έκθεση στη ΓΣ συνήθως οδηγεί σε λιγότερη ΔΕ, αν και υψηλή έκθεση στη Γ2 μπορεί να οδηγήσει σε μεγαλύτερη επίδραση από τη Γ2 κατά τη διάρκεια της εκμάθησης της Γ3. Έχει αποδειχθεί ότι υπάρχει σημαντική αλληλεπίδραση ανάμεσα σε αυτή τη μεταβλητή, την ηλικία και τη γλωσσική επάρκεια (Ringböm 2001).

Μεγάλης σημασίας είναι επίσης η Μεταγλωσσική επίγνωση (ΜΕ), η οποία είναι μία ικανότητα συνυφασμένη με τον πολύγλωσσο ομιλητή και διαφέρει από αυτήν ενός μονόγλωσσου που μαθαίνει την πρώτη του Γ2. Στη μελέτη της η Jessner (1999), ανακάλυψε ποιοτικές διαφορές στις στρατηγικές μάθησης των πολύγλωσσων μαθητών, λόγω της ΔΕ. Οι συμμετέχοντες αποκάλυψαν ότι είχαν αναπτύξει στρατηγικές ικανότητες όπως η εναλλαγή γλωσσών, η χρήση *ξενισμών* και η κατά λέξη μετάφραση, προκειμένου να αναπληρώσουν την έλλειψη γνώσης στη ΓΣ.

Ο παράγοντας «ηλικία» έχει υπάρξει σημαντικό αντικείμενο έρευνας στις μελέτες ΕΓ3. Ωστόσο, τα αντικρουόμενα αποτελέσματα αυτών, δεν έχουν διασαφηνίσει τον ρόλο της. Σε ορισμένες έρευνες (Cenoz 2001) μεγαλύτερης ηλικίας μαθητές έδειξαν μεγαλύτερα ποσοστά ΔΕ από ό, τι οι μικρότεροι, παρά την μεγαλύτερη γλωσσική τους επάρκεια στη ΓΣ, γεγονός που ερμηνεύτηκε ως αποτέλεσμα της υψηλότερης μεταγλωσσικής επίγνωσης των μεγαλύτερων παιδιών. Αντίθετα αποτελέσματα παρατηρήθηκαν από τις Navés, Miralpeix και Celaya (2005), όπου μεγαλύτερης ηλικίας μαθητές έδειξαν μικρότερες περιπτώσεις ΔΕ.

Άλλες μεταβλητές είναι η σειρά εκμάθησης των διαφόρων γλωσσών καθώς και το πρόσφατο της χρήσης (*recency of use*) της κάθε γλώσσας. Η πρώτη αναφέρεται στην επίδραση που μπορεί να έχει στη ΔΕ η σειρά με την οποία μαθεύτηκαν οι διάφορες Γ2. Η δεύτερη σχετίζεται με την ιδέα του ότι οι μαθητές ενδέχεται να ανατρέχουν περισσότερο στη γλώσσα την οποία χρησιμοποιούν ενεργά, παρά σε άλλες γλώσσες που γνωρίζουν αλλά ίσως δεν τις χρησιμοποιούν.

Οι τυπολογικές ομοιότητες ανάμεσα στις γλώσσες φαίνεται να παίζουν έναν θεμελιώδη ρόλο στον καθορισμό της έκτασης της ΔΕ. Οι πρώιμες έρευνες σε αυτόν τον τομέα εστίαζαν στην τυπολογική εγγύτητα και στις συγκλίνουσες δομές ανάμεσα στις γλώσσες, αλλά πρόσφατες έρευνες τείνουν να δίνουν έμφαση περισσότερο στη σημασία της ψυχοτυπολογίας (*psychotypology*: Kellerman 1983). Ο όρος ψυχοτυπολογία αφορά στην εκλαμβανόμενη από τον μαθητή απόσταση ανάμεσα στη Γ1 (ή τις Γ2) και τη ΓΣ. Αρκετές μελέτες έχουν δείξει ότι οι μαθητές συνήθως ανατρέχουν στη Γ2 αν την εκλαμβάνουν ως πιο κοντινή στη ΓΣ σε σχέση με τη Γ1 (Cenoz 2001). Επιπλέον, έχει βρεθεί ότι η ψυχοτυπολογία αλληλεπιδρά σημαντικά με άλλους παράγοντες, όπως η ηλικία και ΜΕ.

2.3 Παρελθοντικοί χρόνοι και λεξιλόγιο στα ελληνικά, ισπανικά και αγγλικά

Στη συγκεκριμένη μελέτη, η ΔΕ θα ερευνηθεί μέσα από τους παρελθοντικούς χρόνους και το λεξιλόγιο. Όσον αφορά τους παρελθοντικούς χρόνους, στόχος είναι να μελετηθεί μια διάκριση στους ελληνικούς χρόνους, η οποία είναι όμοια στο ένα γλωσσικό σύστημα (αγγλικά), αλλά διαφορετική στο άλλο (ισπανικά). Αυτή η διάκριση αφορά στην διαφορετική χρήση του Παρακειμένου έναντι του Αορίστου. Ένας μεγάλος αριθμός μελετών στην Ελληνική Γλωσσολογία (Μόζερ 1986, μεταξύ άλλων) έχει ασχοληθεί με τη σχέση ανάμεσα στον Παρακειμένο και τον Αόριστο στη ΝΕ. Ο κατάλληλος

«χειρισμός» των συγκεκριμένων διαφορών ανάμεσα στους χρόνους είναι ουσιαστικής σημασίας γιατί έτσι μπορούν να αποφευχθούν περιπτώσεις αρνητικής ΔΕ.

Πιο συγκεκριμένα, στα ελληνικά, όπως και στα αγγλικά, δεν γίνεται χρήση του Παρακειμένου για αναφορά στο κοντινό παρελθόν, όπως γίνεται στα ισπανικά (Πίνακας 1):

Γλώσσα	Χρόνος	Παράδειγμα
Ισπανικά	παρακείμενος	Esta mañana <u>me he levantado</u> pronto.
Ελληνικά	αόριστος	Σήμερα το πρωί <u>σηκώθηκα</u> νωρίς.
Αγγλικά	αόριστος	This morning <u>I woke up</u> early.

Πίνακας 1 Παράδειγμα χρήσης Παρακειμένου-Αορίστου σε ισπανικά, ελληνικά και αγγλικά

Στην περιγραφή της για την αντιστοιχία των ρηματικών συστημάτων στα ισπανικά και στα ελληνικά, η Álvarez (1999) παρατηρεί ότι, παρά το γεγονός ότι οι δυο γλώσσες έχουν παρεμφερείς δομές, σε κάποιες περιπτώσεις ένας συγκεκριμένος χρόνος στα ισπανικά ενδέχεται να μην αντιστοιχεί στον αναμενόμενο χρόνο στα ελληνικά, και αντίθετα. Τέτοια είναι η περίπτωση της διαφοράς στη χρήση του *Pretérito Indefinido* και *Pretérito Perfecto* στα ισπανικά με τον αντίστοιχο στα ελληνικά Αόριστο και Παρακείμενο. Χαρακτηριστικό της ισπανικής γλώσσας¹ είναι η αποφυγή χρήσης αορίστου για πράξεις που συνέβησαν στο εγγύς παρελθόν ή, τουλάχιστον, για πράξεις που ομιλητής τις αισθάνεται κοντινότερες. Συνεπώς, όταν αναφέρεται κανείς σε κάτι που συνέβη τώρα ή σήμερα το πρωί ή αυτήν την εβδομάδα/ αυτόν τον μήνα κλπ., χρησιμοποιείται ο παρακείμενος αντί του αορίστου.

Λαμβάνοντας υπόψη τις παραπάνω διαφορές ανάμεσα στα τρία γλωσσικά συστήματα, στόχος μας είναι να ερευνήσουμε αν κατά την εκμάθηση μιας χρονικής δομής στη ΓΣ (εδώ, τα ελληνικά) η οποία είναι ίδια στη Γ2 (εδώ, στα αγγλικά) αλλά διαφορετική στη Γ1 (εδώ, τα ισπανικά) α) υπάρχουν περιπτώσεις ΔΕ και αν ναι, β) από ποια γλώσσα.

Όσον αφορά το λεξιλόγιο, επιθυμούμε να εξετάσουμε αν οι πολύγλωσσοι μαθητές θα ανατρέξουν περισσότερο στη Γ1 τους (ισπανικά) ή στη Γ2 τους (αγγλικά) όταν καλούνται να αναμετρηθούν με άγνωστο λεξιλόγιο.

2.4 Στόχοι της παρούσας μελέτης

Η συγκεκριμένη μελέτη επιθυμεί να απαντήσει τα παρακάτω ερευνητικά ερωτήματα:

1. Υπάρχουν περιπτώσεις ΔΕ κατά την εκμάθηση της ελληνικής από Ισπανόφωνους μαθητές;
2. Υπάρχει κάποια σχέση ανάμεσα στη ΔΕ και στους ακόλουθους παράγοντες: α) ηλικία β) γλωσσική επάρκεια στα αγγλικά γ) γλωσσική επάρκεια στα ελληνικά δ) μεταγλωσσική επίγνωση ε) έκθεση στα ελληνικά;
3. Σε ποια γλώσσα-πηγή ανατρέχουν περισσότερο οι μαθητές της ελληνικής; Γιατί;

3. Μεθοδολογία

3.1 Συμμετέχοντες

Τριανταπέντε (N=35) μαθητές της ΝΕ ως ΞΓ έλαβαν μέρος στην έρευνα. Η Γ1 τους ήταν τα ισπανικά και 26 από αυτούς ήταν δίγλωσσοι ισπανικών και καταλανικών. Όλοι τους είχαν ως Γ2 τα αγγλικά. Πέντε συμμετέχοντες που δεν είχαν τα συγκεκριμένα χαρακτηριστικά (Γ1 Ισπανικά, Γ2 αγγλικά) αποκλείστηκαν από το αρχικά μεγαλύτερο δείγμα (40 μαθητές). Οι συμμετέχοντες ήταν πολύγλωσσοι ομιλητές, με τουλάχιστον 4 κατεκτημένες γλώσσες. Πιο συγκεκριμένα, 12 από αυτούς γνώριζαν 4 γλώσσες, 21 από αυτούς 5 γλώσσες και 2 από αυτούς 6 γλώσσες. Οι συμμετέχοντες μαθαίνουν τη ΓΣ σε ένα επίσημο περιβάλλον μάθησης, στην Επίσημη Σχολή Γλωσσών της Βαρκελώνης (*Escola Oficial*

¹ Πρέπει να σημειωθεί ότι αυτή η χρήση διαφοροποιείται σημαντικά στα Ισπανικά της Λατινικής Αμερικής, καθώς και σε κάποιες περιοχές της Βόρειας Ισπανίας, όπου η χρήση του αορίστου είναι πιο συνήθης από ό, τι του παρακειμένου.

*d'Idiomes, Barcelona-Drassanes*²), στην Ισπανία. Ανήκουν σε τέσσερα επίπεδα: 3A, 3B, 4 και 5, τα οποία για τις ανάγκες της συγκεκριμένης μελέτης θα αναφέρονται ως Επίπεδο 1, 2, 3 και 4 αντίστοιχα. Ο λόγος για τον οποίο περιλήφθηκαν επίπεδα μόνο από το 3 και πάνω οφείλεται στο γεγονός ότι η γραμματική μορφή που επιθυμούσαμε να εξετάσουμε διδάσκεται από το επίπεδο 3A και πάνω. Επιπλέον, αξίζει να σημειωθεί ότι η συγκεκριμένη μορφή, ακόμα και αν εισάγεται σε αυτό το επίπεδο, δεν χρησιμοποιείται σε μεγάλη συχνότητα μέχρι το επίπεδο 3B. Όλοι οι συμμετέχοντες διέθεταν πανεπιστημιακά πτυχία. Οι ηλικίες τους κυμαίνονταν από 22 ως 74 χρονών (Μ.Ο. Ηλικίας: 39,31), 19 από αυτούς ήταν άνδρες και 16 γυναίκες.

Επίσης έλαβε μέρος μία ομάδα από 12 μονόγλωσσους φυσικούς ομιλητές της ΝΕ. Ο λόγος για τον οποίο συμπεριλάβαμε μία ομάδα φυσικών ομιλητών ήταν διπλός: αφενός, για να εδραιώσουμε μία βάση για τα τεστ στους χρόνους, αφετέρου δε για να λάβουμε ανατροφοδότηση όσον αφορά το σχεδιασμό των εργαλείων. Επιπλέον, ένας Ισπανός μαθητής της ελληνικής συμμετείχε στην πιλοτική μελέτη των εργαλείων (βλ. 3.2.2).

3.2 Εργαλεία και Διαδικασία

3.2.1 Εργαλεία

Τα εργαλεία που χρησιμοποιήθηκαν στη μελέτη σχεδιάστηκαν εξ αρχής, ειδικά για τους σκοπούς της συγκεκριμένης μελέτης. (Για αναλυτική περιγραφή των εργαλείων και πλήρη παράθεση αυτών, βλ. Andria 2010.) Τα εργαλεία αυτά ήταν τα εξής: 1. *Τεστ στους χρόνους*: προκειμένου να εξετάσουμε τη ΔΕ στους χρόνους, χρησιμοποιήσαμε δύο ήδη τεστ: α. Τεστ Γραμματικότητας (*Grammaticality Judgment Test*) (ΤΓΡ), β. Άσκηση Συμπλήρωσης Κενών (*Fill-in-the-Blanks*). 2. *Τεστ Λεξιλογίου*: ένα τεστ πολλαπλής επιλογής που περιελάμβανε δέκα σπάνιες ελληνικές λέξεις, ώστε οι μαθητές να μην τις ξέρουν και να πρέπει να μαντέψουν. Στόχος μας ήταν να ερευνήσουμε αν ανατρέχουν περισσότερο στη Γ1 ή στη Γ2 όταν μαντεύουν. 3. *Ερωτηματολόγιο*: διανεμήθηκε στους μαθητές προκειμένου να συλλεχθούν πληροφορίες σχετικά με το γλωσσικό υπόβαθρο των μαθητών, αλλά και τις μεταβλητές τις οποίες επιθυμούσαμε να εξετάσουμε. 4. *Προφορικό Πρωτόκολλο (Oral Protocol)*: στην έρευνα συμπεριλάβαμε ένα προφορικό πρωτόκολλο προκειμένου να φωτίσουμε τις αιτίες που οδήγησαν τους συμμετέχοντες να βασιστούν στη μία ή στην άλλη γλώσσα. Ο πολύ σημαντικός παράγοντας που επηρεάζει τη ΔΕ, η ψυχοτυπολογία, ερευνήθηκε μέσω του προφορικού πρωτοκόλλου. Αυτό το εργαλείο έρευνας έδωσε μια πιο σαφή εικόνα των διαδικασιών που λαμβάνουν χώρα στο μυαλό ενός πολύγλωσσου ομιλητή κατά την εκμάθηση μιας νέας ΓΣ. Επιπλέον, το προφορικό πρωτόκολλο μας βοήθησε να εξετάσουμε αν όταν οι μαθητές χρησιμοποιούσαν αόριστο, στηρίζονταν στο αγγλικό σύστημα χρόνων ή όντως γνώριζαν τον σωστό τύπο στα ελληνικά. 5. *Συνεντεύξεις*: τον Απρίλιο του 2010, συλλέχθηκαν επιπλέον δύο συνεντεύξεις από τη Διευθύντρια και Καθηγήτρια της Σχολής γλωσσών. Σε αυτές τις συνεντεύξεις, μας δόθηκε ανατροφοδότηση σχετικά με την καταλληλότητα των εργαλείων.

3.2.2 Πιλοτική Μελέτη και Συλλογή Δεδομένων

Η πιλοτική μελέτη διεξήχθη σε δύο μέρη: το πρώτο μέρος έλαβε χώρα τον Μάρτιο του 2011 προκειμένου να ελεγχθεί η εγκυρότητα των τεστ. Ένας μαθητής νέων ελληνικών από το επίπεδο 2, ο οποίος μελετάει τη ΓΣ εδώ και πέντε χρόνια σε ένα επίσημο περιβάλλον εκμάθησης, μας παρείχε ανατροφοδότηση σχετικά με τα τεστ, τα οποία τροποποιήθηκαν ανάλογα. Το δεύτερο μέρος της πιλοτικής μελέτης έλαβε χώρα στην Ελλάδα, τον Απρίλιο του 2010. Οι συμμετέχοντες ήταν οι 12 μονόγλωσσοι της ομάδας φυσικών ομιλητών. Τα σχόλιά τους ελήφθησαν επίσης υπόψη για περαιτέρω τροποποιήσεις πριν από τη συλλογή δεδομένων.

Η συλλογή των δεδομένων έλαβε χώρα τον Μάιο του 2010 στην Επίσημη Σχολή Γλωσσών της Βαρκελώνης, στην Ισπανία. Τα τεστ μοιράστηκαν στους μαθητές στις τάξεις τους από τους ερευνητές. Ο χρόνος ήταν ελεγχόμενος για κάθε άσκηση και ήταν ο ίδιος για κάθε επίπεδο. Στην ίδια ώρα, μετά το πέρας των ασκήσεων, οι μαθητές κλήθηκαν να συμπληρώσουν το ερωτηματολόγιο. Οι οδηγίες δόθηκαν στα ισπανικά και στα ελληνικά προς αποφυγή παρεξηγήσεων. Τα προφορικά πρωτόκολλα συλλέχθηκαν σε διαφορετικές μέρες και συμμετέχοντες είχαν την επιλογή να τα δώσουν σε όποια γλώσσα προτιμούσαν.

² Ευχαριστούμε θερμά τις καθηγήτριες της Σχολής Teresa Magadán και Κλαίρη Σκανδάμη, καθώς και τους μαθητές τους, για την πολύτιμη βοήθειά τους.

4. Αποτελέσματα

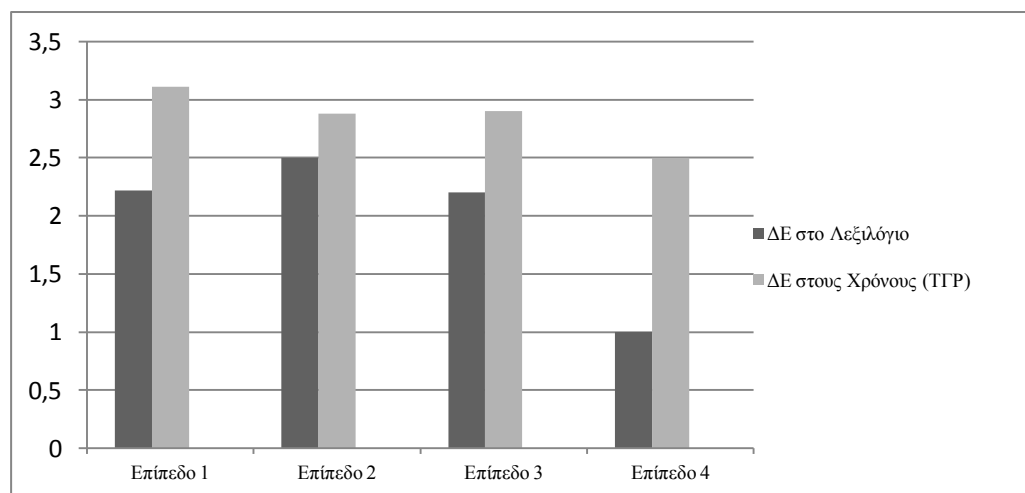
Το πρώτο μας ερευνητικό ερώτημα διερευνούσε αν υπάρχουν περιπτώσεις ΔΕ κατά την εκμάθηση της ελληνικής από ισπανόφωνους μαθητές. Όσον αφορά στα τεστ στους χρόνους, το ΤΓΡ έδειξε πράγματι περιπτώσεις ΔΕ. Αντίθετα, η άσκηση συμπλήρωσης κενών δεν παρουσίασε περιπτώσεις ΔΕ, συνεπώς τα αποτελέσματα από αυτήν την άσκηση δεν μετρήθηκαν στην τελική στατιστική ανάλυση. Περιπτώσεις ΔΕ βρέθηκαν επίσης στο τεστ λεξιλογίου και τα αποτελέσματα παρουσιάζονται στον Πίνακα 2.

	N	Ελάχιστο	Μέγιστο	M.O.	Τυπική Απόκλιση
ΔΕ-ΤΓΡ	35	1	5	2.86	1.216
ΔΕ-ΛΕΞ	35	0	4	2	1.188

Πίνακας 2 Περιγραφικές στατιστικές των μεταβλητών ΔΕ (στο ΤΓΡ και Λεξιλόγιο)

Το δεύτερο ερευνητικό ερώτημα επιθυμούσε να ερευνήσει τη σχέση ανάμεσα στη ΔΕ και στις ακόλουθες μεταβλητές: ηλικία, γλωσσική επάρκεια στα αγγλικά, επάρκεια στα ελληνικά, έκθεση στα ελληνικά και ΜΕ. Η ομαλότητα (*normality*) αξιολογήθηκε και βρέθηκε ότι οι μεταβλητές «ΔΕ στο ΤΓΡ» και «ΔΕ στο Τεστ λεξιλογίου» δεν ήταν ομαλά κατανομημένες σύμφωνα με το τεστ Kolmogorov-Smirnov (.003 και .000 αντίστοιχα). Ως εκ τούτου, διεξήχθη μία συσχέτιση (*correlation*) Spearman, η οποία έδειξε ότι δεν υπήρχε συσχέτιση ανάμεσα στη ΔΕ και στην ηλικία, την επάρκεια στα αγγλικά, την έκθεση στα ελληνικά και τη ΜΕ. Ωστόσο, βρέθηκε μια μέτρια συσχέτιση ανάμεσα στο ποσό ΔΕ στο τεστ λεξιλογίου και στην επάρκεια στα ελληνικά [$r = .356, n=35, p \leq .05$], δηλαδή όσο μεγαλύτερη ήταν η επάρκεια στα ελληνικά, τόσο λιγότερη η επίδραση στον τομέα του λεξιλογίου.

Ωστόσο, ένα τεστ Kruskal-Wallis έδειξε ότι η σχέση ανάμεσα στη λεξική ΔΕ και την επάρκεια στα ελληνικά δεν ήταν σημαντική (*significant*) (0.057). Ο παρακάτω πίνακας δείχνει πως όσο η επάρκεια στα ελληνικά βελτιώνεται, τόσο μειώνεται η παρουσία ΔΕ στο λεξιλόγιο. Αντίθετα, η ΔΕ στους χρόνους που χρησιμοποιήθηκαν στην παρούσα μελέτη δεν επηρεάστηκε από την επάρκεια στη ΓΣ.

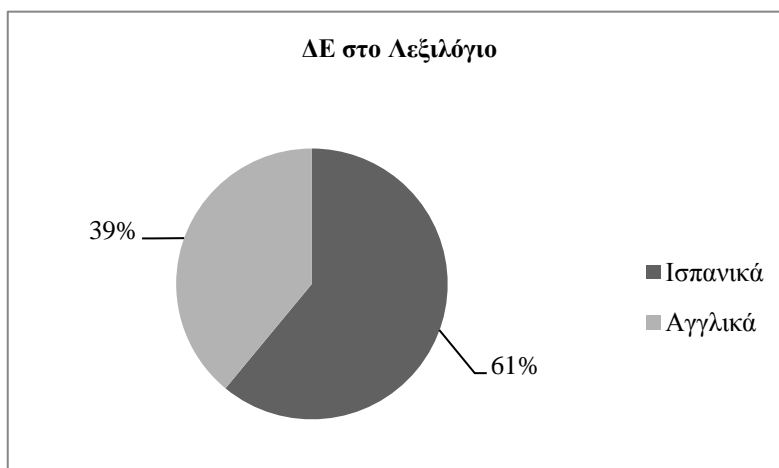


Πίνακας 3 Ποσό ΔΕ σύμφωνα με το επίπεδο γλωσσομάθειας και τον υπό μελέτη τομέα (Γραμματική και Λεξιλόγιο)

Το τελευταίο ερευνητικό μας ερώτημα είχε ως στόχο να εξετάσει τη γλώσσα-πηγή ΔΕ. Στο ΤΓΡ εντοπίστηκε ΔΕ μόνο από τα ισπανικά. Στο τεστ λεξιλογίου, υπήρξε επίδραση και από τις δύο γλώσσες και κατά τον υπολογισμό του ποσοστού των περιπτώσεων βρέθηκε ότι υπήρξε μεγαλύτερη επίδραση από τα ισπανικά (Πίνακας 4 και Σχήμα 1). Ωστόσο, δεν βρέθηκαν σημαντικές συσχετίσεις ανάμεσα στη γλώσσα-πηγή της ΔΕ και στις ανεξάρτητες μεταβλητές που εξετάστηκαν.

	N	Ελάχιστο	Μέγιστο	Μ.Ο.	Τυπική Απόκλιση
ΔΕ-Ισπανικά	35	0	4	1.23	1.087
ΔΕ-Αγγλικά	35	0	2	0.8	0.759

Πίνακας 4 Περιγραφικές στατιστικές των μεταβλητών που δείχνουν τη γλώσσα-πηγή ΔΕ στο λεξιλόγιο



Σχήμα 1 Ποσοστό ΔΕ από τα ισπανικά και από τα αγγλικά στο Τεστ Λεξιλογίου

Η ποιοτική ανάλυση των δεδομένων επιβεβαίωσε την τάση που παρουσιάστηκε στο Σχήμα 1, δηλαδή την ισχυρότερη επίδραση από τα ισπανικά. Στο τεστ λεξιλογίου παρατηρήθηκε ότι σε περιπτώσεις όπου η λέξη στα ελληνικά ήταν άγνωστη, οι μαθητές είχαν την τάση να ανατρέχουν περισσότερο στη Γ1 τους, προκειμένου να καλύψουν το λεξικό κενό. Για παράδειγμα, στην περίπτωση της λέξης «στυρί», η πλειοψηφία των μαθητών διάλεξε την λεξική επιλογή *γρανάκι από την ισπανική λέξη *grano* έναντι της αγγλικής *πιμπλίδιο (από την αγγλική λέξη *pimple*) που επίσης δινόταν. Αντίθετα, η επιλογή αγγλικών λεξικών επινοήσεων ήταν πολύ περιορισμένη. Μόνο στην περίπτωση της λέξης «μαγκούρα», η πλειοψηφία των μαθητών βασίστηκε στα αγγλικά και διάλεξε την επιλογή *στίκι (από την αγγλική λέξη *stick*).

Επιπρόσθετα, η ανάλυση των προφορικών πρωτοκόλλων αποκάλυψε ότι οι επιλογές αυτές εκ μέρους των μαθητών ήταν αποτέλεσμα μια στρατηγικής αναπλήρωσης. Όλοι οι συμμετέχοντες επιβεβαίωσαν ότι κατά τη διαδικασία μαντέματος επηρεάστηκαν πιο πολύ από τη Γ1 τους. Σε περιπτώσεις όπου κλήθηκαν να εξηγήσουν παραδείγματα όπως τα παραπάνω, δήλωσαν ξεκάθαρα ότι ανέτρεξαν στο ισπανικό λεξιλόγιο για να μαντέψουν την άγνωστη λέξη.

5. Συζήτηση

Ο πρώτος στόχος αυτής της εργασίας πάνω στη ΔΕ κατά την εκμάθηση της ελληνικής ως ΞΓ από ισπανόφωνους μαθητές ήταν να ερευνηθεί αν υπάρχουν περιπτώσεις ΔΕ. Ως απάντηση στο πρώτο αυτό ερευνητικό ερώτημα, βρέθηκε ότι πράγματι υπήρχαν περιπτώσεις ΔΕ τόσο στους χρόνους, όσο και στο λεξιλόγιο. Ωστόσο, εντοπίσαμε ότι στις ασκήσεις πάνω στους χρόνους, μόνο το ΤΓΡ εμφάνισε περιπτώσεις ΔΕ, ενώ η άσκηση συμπλήρωσης κενών όχι. Είναι πιθανό αυτό το είδος τεστ ως μεθοδολογικό εργαλείο εντοπισμού ΔΕ να είναι πιο αποτελεσματικό στα αρχικά επίπεδα, αλλά όχι στα πιο προχωρημένα. Ενδέχεται, επίσης, η διερεύνηση της διάκρισης «Αόριστος/ Παρακείμενος» να ήταν πιο παραγωγική με τη χρήση διαφορετικών, πιο απαιτητικών εργαλείων. Συνεπώς, θα ήταν καλό να διεξαχθεί περαιτέρω έρευνα, η οποία να εστιάζει στο σχεδιασμό πιο απαιτητικών ασκήσεων-εργαλείων γι αυτόν τον σκοπό.

Το δεύτερο αποτέλεσμα αυτής της μελέτης δείχνει ότι δεν υπήρξε κάποια συσχέτιση ανάμεσα στη ΔΕ και τις ακόλουθες μεταβλητές: ηλικία, επάρκεια στα αγγλικά, ΜΕ και έκθεση στα ελληνικά.

Μολαταύτα, μια μέτρια αρνητική συσχέτιση εντοπίστηκε ανάμεσα στη ΔΕ στο λεξιλόγιο και την επάρκεια στα ελληνικά. Δύο λόγοι μπορούν να εξηγήσουν την έλλειψη συσχέτισης με τις παραπάνω μεταβλητές, αλλά και την μέτρια συσχέτιση με την τελευταία μεταβλητή: αφενός, η φύση της ίδιας της ΓΣ, δεδομένου ότι είναι μια τυπολογικά διαφορετική γλώσσα από όσες συνήθως έχουν μελετηθεί μέχρι σήμερα. Αφετέρου, οι διαφορετικές μεθοδολογικές τεχνικές και το διαφορετικό ερευνητικό σχέδιο της παρούσας εργασίας τα οποία ήταν διαφορετικά σε σχέση με τις άλλες έρευνες στο τομέα αυτό.

Όσον αφορά τον παράγοντα «ηλικία», αντίθετα με προηγούμενες έρευνες (Cenoz 2001, Navés *et al.* 2005) στις οποίες ευρήθη συσχέτιση ανάμεσα στη ΔΕ και στην ηλικία, η συγκεκριμένη μελέτη δεν εντόπισε κάτι ανάλογο. Οι προαναφερθέντες λόγοι ενδέχεται να είναι υπεύθυνοι γι' αυτή τη διαφορά με προηγούμενες μελέτες.

Το γεγονός ότι δε βρέθηκε καμία συσχέτιση ανάμεσα στην επάρκεια στη Γ2 και στη ΔΕ μπορεί να οφείλεται πρωτίστως στο επίπεδο στα αγγλικά, το οποίο ενδεχομένως να ήταν πολύ χαμηλό για να οδηγήσει σε εμφάνιση ΔΕ από την εν λόγω γλώσσα (Tremblay 2006), όπως επίσης και στη περιορισμένη έκθεση στα αγγλικά. Έχει εξάλλου αποδειχθεί ότι όταν η έκθεση και η χρήση στη Γ2 είναι πολύ περιορισμένες, είναι αμφίβολο αν η γλώσσα αυτή θα έχει κάποιον αντίκτυπο στη ΓΣ. Αυτό μπορεί επιπρόσθετα να εξηγήσει γιατί δε βρέθηκε συσχέτιση μεταξύ ΔΕ και έκθεσης στα ελληνικά, δεδομένου ότι σε όλες οι περιπτώσεις η έκθεση στη ΓΣ ήταν μικρότερη του ενός έτους. Περαιτέρω έρευνα χρειάζεται να διεξαχθεί για να ερευνηθεί αν μαθητές με περισσότερη έκθεση στη ΓΣ εμφανίζουν διαφορετικές τάσεις ΔΕ.

Μια μέτρια συσχέτιση βρέθηκε ανάμεσα στην επάρκεια στη ΓΣ και στη λεξιλογική ΔΕ. Όσο η επάρκεια στα ελληνικά μεγαλώνει, τόσο μειώνεται η παρουσία λεξικής ΔΕ. Αυτό το εύρημα συνάδει με αυτά προηγούμενων ερευνών (Ringböm 2001, Navés *et al.* 2005).

Μέσα από την ποιοτική ανάλυση των δεδομένων εντοπίστηκε ότι όλοι οι μαθητές που εμφάνισαν πολύ λίγες περιπτώσεις ΔΕ μοιράζονται όλοι ένα κοινό προφίλ: χαρακτηρίζονται όλοι από μία *αφοσίωση στη γλώσσα (devotion to language)*³, πρόκειται δηλαδή για μαθητές οι οποίοι τρέφουν ένα ιδιαίτερο ενδιαφέρον για τη γλώσσα και την εκμάθηση γλωσσών (γλωσσολόγοι, καθηγητές γλωσσών, μεταφραστές κλπ). Οι συγκεκριμένοι μαθητές δήλωσαν ότι ήταν πολύ προσεκτικοί όταν έκαναν τα τεστ. Παρά το γεγονός ότι οι στατιστικές αναλύσεις δεν έδειξαν σημαντικές διαφορές όσον αφορά τη ΜΕ⁴ και τη ΔΕ, αυτό το σχόλιο κατά τα προφορικά πρωτόκολλα μπορεί αναμφίβολα να συσχετιστεί με μια υψηλή ΜΕ⁵ από μέρους των συγκεκριμένων μαθητών. Οι μαθητές δήλωσαν ότι, ειδικά στο τεστ λεξιλογίου, ήταν πολύ επιφυλακτικοί και είχαν την τάση να αποκλείουν ένα στοιχείο που τους φαινόταν «πολύ ισπανικό», που το θεωρούσαν «ψευδόφιλη λέξη» (*false friend*) ή λεξική επινόηση (*lexical invention*), ακόμα και αν αυτό το στοιχείο ήταν η σωστή ελληνική λέξη που όντως προέρχεται από τα ισπανικά.

Όσον αφορά τη ΔΕ στους χρόνους, η επάρκεια στα ελληνικά δε φαίνεται να την επηρέασε. Ο παρόμοιος μέσος όρος περιπτώσεων ΔΕ στους χρόνους (σε όλα τα επίπεδα) αποκάλυψε ότι το ΤΓΡ ήταν εξίσου απαιτητικό για όλους τους μαθητές του δείγματος. Η εξήγηση του γιατί η επάρκεια στα ελληνικά δεν επηρέασε τη ΔΕ στους χρόνους ίσως να έγκειται στο γεγονός ότι οι δομές που εξετάστηκαν στη συγκεκριμένη μελέτη χρησιμοποιούνταν συχνά στην τάξη. Σε περιπτώσεις πιο «προχωρημένων φράσεων», η δυσκολία ήταν η ίδια για όλα τα επίπεδα. Συνεπώς, μπορούμε να θεωρήσουμε ότι το πόσο πρόσφατα έχει χρησιμοποιηθεί μια συγκεκριμένη μορφή χρόνων, αλλά και η συχνότητα χρήσης της, φαίνεται να είναι ένας σημαντικός παράγοντας που μειώνει την πιθανότητα ΔΕ.

Σχετικά με το τρίτο ερευνητικό ερώτημα, η περιγραφική ανάλυση των αποτελεσμάτων αποκαλύπτει ότι υπήρξε μεγαλύτερη επίδραση από τα ισπανικά. Στην ανάλυση των χρόνων, όλες οι περιπτώσεις ΔΕ προέρχονταν από τη Γ1. Στο ΤΓΡ κάθε γραπτό είχε έστω μία περίπτωση ΔΕ από τα ισπανικά, ακόμα και αυτά των μαθητών στα υψηλότερα επίπεδα. Επιπλέον, όλοι οι μαθητές τόνισαν στα πρωτόκολλα ότι, όσον αφορά το ρηματικό σύστημα, πάντα επηρεάζονται από τη Γ1 τους, ποτέ από τη Γ2. Το συγκεκριμένο εύρημα έρχεται να επιβεβαιώσει αυτά προηγούμενων μελετών (Bouny

³ Όρος που χρησιμοποιήθηκε από τους Abrahamsson & Hyltenstam (2008:500) για μαθητές με «δυνατό και συχνά υψηλά ακαδημαϊκό ενδιαφέρον σε θέματα που αφορούν τη γλώσσα και την εκμάθηση γλωσσών», οι οποίοι ειθίστα να θεωρούνται «προικισμένοι μαθητές» δείχνοντας υψηλότερη γλωσσική ικανότητα (*language aptitude*) κατά τη διαδικασία εκμάθησης μιας Γ2.

⁴ Στην παρούσα μελέτη η ΜΕ μετρήθηκε μέσω του αριθμού ομιλούμενων γλωσσών. Ωστόσο, η ποιοτική ανάλυση έδειξε ότι η συγκριμένη μεταβλητή θα μπορούσε να προέρχεται όχι μόνο από τον αριθμό γλωσσών, αλλά επιπλέον από το είδος των σπουδών που έχουν κάνει οι μαθητές και τη στάση τους απέναντι στη γλώσσα και στη γλωσσική εκμάθηση.

⁵ Αναφερόμαστε εδώ σε μαθητές με υψηλότερη ΜΕ υπό την έννοια ότι έδειξαν έναν προσεκτικό στοχασμό για τη γλωσσική δομή, χρήση, κλπ. η οποία παρατηρήθηκε καθαρά μέσα από τις επιλογές τους στα τεστ και στις προσωπικές τους δηλώσεις μέσω των προφορικών πρωτοκόλλων.

2000, Ringböm 2001) που υποστηρίζουν ότι η γραμματική μεταφορά (*transfer*) προέρχεται σχεδόν πάντα από τη Γ1.

Στο λεξιλόγιο υπήρξαν περιπτώσεις ΔΕ και από τις δύο γλώσσες, αλλά η επιρροή της Γ1 ήταν πιο δυνατή από αυτή της Γ2. Ο παράγοντας που εξηγεί αυτήν την τάση δύναται να είναι η ψυχοτυπολογία. Οι μαθητές ισχυρίστηκαν ότι εκλάμβαναν τα ισπανικά ως μια γλώσσα πιο κοντινή στα ελληνικά και γι αυτό στηρίζονταν σε αυτήν. Το αποτέλεσμα αυτό συμφωνεί με αυτά προηγούμενων ερευνών (Bouny 2000, Cenoz 2001, De Angelis & Selinker 2001, Odlin & Jarvis 2004) για τη σημασία της ψυχοτυπολογίας ως παράγοντα-κλειδί για την προώθηση της ΔΕ. Σύμφωνα με τον Ringböm (2001) σε περιπτώσεις που οι γλώσσες δεν μοιράζονται το ίδιο αλφάβητο, η ψυχοτυπολογία φαίνεται να παίζει έναν αποφασιστικό ρόλο. Η παρούσα μελέτη φαίνεται να επιβεβαιώνει αυτόν τον ισχυρισμό.

Τα προφορικά πρωτόκολλα αποκάλυψαν επιπλέον ότι οι εκλαμβανόμενες ομοιότητες ανάμεσα στα ελληνικά και στα ισπανικά δεν είναι μόνο γλωσσικές, αλλά και πολιτισμικές. Αυτό το γεγονός υποδηλώνει την ύπαρξη μιας δια-πολιτισμικής επίδρασης, η οποία πάει πέρα από τη διαγλωσσική και φαίνεται να παίζει ρόλο κατά τη διάρκεια της εκμάθησης της ελληνικής. Μελλοντικές έρευνες θα ήταν καλό να ερευνήσουν πώς η εκλαμβανόμενη πολιτισμική εγγύτητα και οι διαπολιτισμικές ομοιότητες μπορούν να επηρεάσουν τη διαδικασία εκμάθησης μιας Γ2.

Η περιορισμένη επίδραση από τα αγγλικά στο λεξιλόγιο μπορεί να οφείλεται, αρχικά στην ψυχοτυπολογία. Οι μαθητές την εκλάμβαναν ως πιο μακρινή στη ΓΣ, επομένως δεν ανέτρεχαν σε αυτήν. Επιπρόσθετα, όπως έχει καταδειχθεί σε προηγούμενες μελέτες πιο εκτεταμένη έκθεση και μεγαλύτερη επάρκεια στη Γ2 είναι απαραίτητες συνθήκες προκειμένου να εντοπιστεί επίδραση από τη Γ2. Μόνο σε μεμονωμένες περιπτώσεις όπου οι μαθητές ελληνικών ήταν καθηγητές αγγλικών και είχαν καθημερινή επαφή με τη Γ2, παρατηρήθηκε ΔΕ από τα αγγλικά. Η Ανδριά (2009) βρήκε ότι τα αγγλικά έπαιζαν ένα πιο σημαντικό ρόλο κατά την εκμάθηση της νέας ελληνικής, πιθανόν γιατί οι συμμετέχοντες εκείνης της μελέτης χρησιμοποιούσαν αγγλικά στην καθημερινή τους ζωή, επομένως είχαν τη Γ2 ενεργοποιημένη και μπορούσαν να τη χρησιμοποιήσουν ως πηγή επίδρασης. Εντούτοις, στην ίδια μελέτη παρατηρήθηκε επίσης ότι στην περίπτωση μαθητών με Γ1 τα ισπανικά, η επίδραση ήταν αποκλειστικά από τη Γ1. Συνεπώς, θα μπορούσαμε να συμπεράνουμε ότι στην περίπτωση των Ισπανόφωνων μαθητών της ελληνικής, η ψυχοτυπολογία επισκιάζει άλλους παράγοντες που προωθούν τη ΔΕ.

6. Συμπεράσματα και Μελλοντική Έρευνα

Η παρούσα μελέτη επιθυμεί να συνεισφέρει στον τομέα της Εκμάθησης της Ελληνικής ως ΞΓ από Ισπανόφωνους μαθητές, χρησιμοποιώντας ένα συνδυασμό γλωσσών που μέχρι τώρα δεν έχει μελετηθεί αρκετά. Τα αποτελέσματα της έρευνας έδειξαν την ύπαρξη ΔΕ κατά την εκμάθηση της ελληνικής, καθώς και μία μέτρια αρνητική συσχέτιση ανάμεσα στη λεξιλογική ΔΕ και την επάρκεια στα ελληνικά. Ωστόσο, δε βρέθηκε συσχέτιση ανάμεσα στη ΔΕ και την ηλικία, την επάρκεια στα αγγλικά, τη ΜΕ, και την έκθεση στα ελληνικά. Η ψυχοτυπολογία εμφανίστηκε να αποτελεί πρωταρχικής σημασίας παράγοντα, στον οποίο οφειλόταν κατά κύριο λόγο η μεγάλη επίδραση από τα ισπανικά.

Δεδομένου του μικρού αριθμού του δείγματος, τα αποτελέσματα της συγκεκριμένης έρευνας δε θα μπορούσαν να θεωρηθούν εύκολα γενικεύσιμα: μία μελλοντική επανάληψη της μελέτης με μεγαλύτερο δείγμα, θα μπορούσε να συμβάλει προς αυτήν την κατεύθυνση. Εντούτοις, πιστεύουμε ότι μπορούν να αναδείξουν σημαντικές πτυχές της εκμάθησης της ΝΕ από ισπανόφωνους ομιλητές.

Μελλοντικές έρευνες καλό θα ήταν να επικεντρωθούν στο σχεδιασμό κατάλληλων μεθοδολογικών εργαλείων για την εξέταση της ΔΕ, όπως επίσης και στο να επεκτείνουν το πεδίο μελέτης τους σε γλωσσικούς τομείς πέραν των χρόνων και του λεξιλογίου. Ακόμη, θα ήταν σκόπιμο να διεξαχθούν παρόμοιες έρευνες στη ΔΕ κατά την εκμάθηση της ελληνικής ως ΞΓ, με άλλους συνδυασμούς γλωσσών Γ1 και Γ2. Η ΔΕ είναι ένας κλάδος με περιορισμένη έρευνα στην Ελληνική Γλωσσολογία, ως εκ τούτου περαιτέρω μελέτη στον τομέα αυτό, θα φώτιζε σημαντικές πλευρές της γλώσσας και της γλωσσικής εκμάθησης γενικότερα.

Τελειώνοντας, πιστεύουμε ότι τα ευρήματα της παρούσας μελέτης θα μπορούσαν να έχουν εφαρμογές στη διδασκαλία της ελληνικής ως ΞΓ, με την έννοια ότι θα μπορούσαν πρωτίστως να βοηθήσουν τους καθηγητές να κατανοήσουν τα διαγλωσσικά φαινόμενα που λαμβάνουν χώρα κατά τη διάρκεια της διαδικασίας εκμάθησης μιας Γ2. Ακόμη, τα αποτελέσματα θα μπορούσαν να βοηθήσουν το σχεδιασμό κατάλληλου διδακτικού υλικού για τα ελληνικά ως ΞΓ από ισπανόφωνους μαθητές και ενδεχομένως στο μέλλον να μπορούσαν να ληφθούν υπόψη κατά το σχεδιασμό προγραμμάτων σπουδών. Αυτοί οι παράγοντες μπορούν να συνεισφέρουν στη βελτίωση της ποιότητας και της

αποτελεσματικότητας της διδασκαλίας της ελληνικής ως ξένης σε δίγλωσσους και πολύγλωσσους μαθητές.

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ΤΑΣΕΙΣ ΤΩΝ ΚΥΠΡΙΩΝ ΩΣ ΠΡΟΣ ΤΗ ΓΡΑΠΤΗ ΑΠΟΔΟΣΗ ΤΩΝ ΜΕΤΑΦΑΤΝΙΑΚΩΝ ΣΥΜΦΩΝΩΝ ΤΗΣ ΚΥΠΡΙΑΚΗΣ

Σπύρος Αρμოსτή
Πανεπιστήμιο Κύπρου
armostis@cantab.net

Μαριάννα Κατσογιάννου
Πανεπιστήμιο Κύπρου
marianna@ucy.ac.cy

Κυριακή Χριστοδούλου
Πανεπιστήμιο Κύπρου
kyriaki_ptf@yahoo.gr

Χαράλαμπος Θεμιστοκλέους
Πανεπιστήμιο Κύπρου
themistocleous@gmail.com

ABSTRACT

The written representation of Cypriot Greek by means of the Greek alphabet poses some problems concerning sounds not existing in Standard Modern Greek, such as post-alveolar consonants. In the case of creating dictionaries of Cypriot Greek, the solution selected is based on linguistic and typographical considerations; an equally important factor for any solution selected should also be the acceptability and usability of the proposed writing system by its potential users. The present study presents the experimental investigation of the trends of native speakers of Cypriot Greek regarding the written representation of post-alveolar consonants.

Keywords: Cypriot Greek, writing system, post-alveolar consonants.

1. Εισαγωγή

Η παρούσα έρευνα διεξήχθη στο πλαίσιο του ερευνητικού προγράμματος «Συντυδίες», που υλοποιήθηκε στο Πανεπιστήμιο Κύπρου στη διάρκεια των ετών 2006–2010 (βλ. Κατσογιάννου κ.ά. υπό έκδοση). Το πρόγραμμα επικεντρώνεται ερευνητικά αφενός στη μελέτη του λεξιλογίου της σύγχρονης κυπριακής ελληνικής και αφετέρου στην επεξεργασία μιας συνεκτικής πρότασης για τη γραπτή του αναπαράσταση —εφόσον αυτή τη στιγμή δεν υπάρχει στην Κύπρο κανένα επίσημο σύστημα γραφής της διαλέκτου. Το πρόγραμμα «Συντυδίες» αποτέλεσε την πρώτη φάση του φιλόδοξου έργου της δημιουργίας ενός λεξικού ηλεκτρονικής μορφής, το οποίο θα διατίθεται στο ευρύ κοινό μέσω του διαδικτύου. Ένα από τα προβλήματα που έπρεπε να επιλυθεί για τη σύνταξή του, ήταν και η γραπτή αναπαράσταση φθόγων που δεν υπάρχουν στην κοινή νέα ελληνική (ΚΝΕ), και ιδιαίτερα των μεταφατνιακών συμφώνων. Παρόλο που το θέμα αυτό θα μπορούσε να αντιμετωπισθεί λαμβάνοντας υπόψη μόνο ενδογλωσσικά κριτήρια, εντούτοις, όπως παρατηρούν οι Cahill και Karan (2008), κοινωνιογλωσσικοί και πολιτικοί παράγοντες (όπως κρατικές πολιτικές, διαλεκτική ποικιλία, γλωσσικές στάσεις, και η επίδραση άλλων συστημάτων γραφής) παίρνουν συχνά προτεραιότητα εις βάρος μιας γλωσσολογικά ιδανικής ορθογραφίας. Έτσι, κρίθηκε σκόπιμο να διερευνηθεί πειραματικά το πώς επιλέγει ο κόσμος να αναπαριστά τα σύμφωνα αυτά.

Προτού περιγραφεί η έρευνα και ο τρόπος διεξαγωγής της, θα γίνει μια σύντομη αναφορά στα υπό εξέταση σύμφωνα και στα φωνολογικά φαινόμενα πίσω από αυτά.

1.1. Τα μεταφατνιακά σύμφωνα της κυπριακής

Η κυπριακή ελληνική (στο εξής «κυπριακή») διαφέρει από την ΚΝΕ σε αρκετά σημεία, ένα από τα οποία είναι και η ύπαρξη μεταφατνιακών (συγκεκριμένα ουρανοφατνιακών) συμφώνων στο φωνητικό της ρεπερτόριο. Οι μεταφατνιακοί φθόγγοι της κυπριακής είναι οι εξής:

(1) Τριβόμενα συριστικά σύμφωνα:

(1') το άηχο [ʃ]

(i) ως απλό (μονό) [ʃ], όπως π.χ. στις λέξεις [ˈiʃe] <ί~~σ~~ια> και [meˈʃerɪn] <μα~~σ~~αίριν>·

(ii) ως μακρό (διπλό) [ʃ:], όπως π.χ. στη λέξη [ˈʃil:ɔs] <ᾠ~~σ~~ύλλος>·

(2') το ηχηρό μακρό¹ [ʒ:], όπως π.χ. στη λέξη [mexeˈʒ:e] <μαχα~~ζ~~ιά>·

(2) Προστριβή σύμφωνα:

(1') το άηχο [tʃ]

(i) ως απλό (μονό) [tʃ], όπως π.χ. στη λέξη [feˈtʃes] <φα~~τ~~ζές>·

(ii) ως μακρό (διπλό) και δασύ [tʃː], όπως π.χ. στη λέξη [feˈtʃːes] <φα~~τ~~σιές>·

(2') το ηχηρό απλό² [dʒ], όπως π.χ. στη λέξη [ˈndʒiz:ɔ] <ν~~τ~~ζίζω>·

Η γραφηματική αναπαράσταση των πιο πάνω φθόγγων αποτελεί το θέμα της παρούσας μελέτης. Πέρα από αυτά, εξετάζονται και δύο συγκεκριμένοι συνδυασμοί συμφώνων, ήτοι [k+ʃ] και [p+ʃ], οι οποίοι γράφονται ως διφωνηματικά γραφήματα <ξ> και <ψ> αντίστοιχα (κατ' αντιστοιχία προς τους συνδυασμούς [k+s] και [p+s], οι οποίοι γράφονται ως <ξ> και <ψ> αντίστοιχα).

Τέλος, στη μελέτη αυτή θα εξεταστούν και οι χαρακτήρες <ξ> και <τξ>, οι οποίοι εμφανίζονται ως αλλόγραφα των γραφημάτων <δ> και <τδ> αντίστοιχα όταν βρίσκονται στο τέλος λέξης: π.χ. <ντου~~ξ~~> [nduʃ]· <μα~~τ~~ξ> [metʃ].

1.1. Συνίζηση και ουράνωση

Τα μεταφατνιακά σύμφωνα της κυπριακής συσχετίζονται συχνά με δύο φωνολογικά φαινόμενα, τη συνίζηση και ουράνωση. Η *συνίζηση* είναι η μη πραγμάτωση ενός άτονου /i/ φωνητικά ως [i] σε προφωνηεντική θέση: π.χ. <κα~~μ~~ιά> = [keˈmɪɐ] (όχι [keˈmɪe])· <π~~κ~~οιοι> = [pɔi] (όχι [pɪi]). Ειδικά όταν η συνίζηση λαμβάνει χώρα μετά από τα φατνιακά σύμφωνα /s/, /ts/ και /z/ καθώς και μετά τα υπερωικά σύμφωνα /x/ και /k/, τότε το /i/ δεν προφέρεται, ενώ τα σύμφωνα αυτά μετατρέπονται σε *μεταφατνιακά* σύμφωνα (δηλαδή παθαίνουν *ουράνωση*): <ί~~σ~~ιος> = /ˈisɪɔs/ → [ˈiʃɔs]· <δί~~σ~~ιονιν> = /ˈxiɔnin/ → [ˈʃɔnin].

Στην περίπτωση των υπερωικών /x/ και /k/, η ουράνωση μπορεί να προκύψει χωρίς απαραίτητα να υπάρχει συνίζηση: όταν αυτά τα δύο σύμφωνα ακολουθούνται από τα φωνήεντα [i] και [e], τότε τα υπερωικά /x/ και /k/ ουρανώνονται σιγήτως σε [ʃ] και [tʃ] αντίστοιχα: π.χ. <ᾠ~~σ~~αίρουμαι> = /ˈxerume/ → [ˈʃerume]· <τ~~ξ~~ερίν> = /keˈrin/ → [tʃeˈrin].

Η μόνη περίπτωση κατά την οποία μεταφατνιακά σύμφωνα σε λέξεις της κυπριακής δεν είναι αποτέλεσμα συνίζησης ή ουράνωσης είναι όταν αυτά εμπεριέχονται σε δάνειες λέξεις: π.χ. <ᾠ~~σ~~απού> [ʃeˈpʰu] (από το αγγλικό *shampoo*).

1.2. Τρόποι γραφής των μεταφατνιακών συμφώνων της κυπριακής

Η κυπριακή δεν διαθέτει τυποποιημένη γραπτή αναπαράσταση. Για τη συγγραφή κειμένων όπως λογοτεχνικά κείμενα και διαλεκτικά λεξικά χρησιμοποιείται το ελληνικό αλφάβητο. Ωστόσο, προκύπτουν προβλήματα στην αναπαράσταση φθόγγων της κυπριακής που δεν υπάρχουν στην ΚΝΕ. Έτσι διάφοροι συγγραφείς χρησιμοποιούν διαφορετικές γραφηματικές συμβάσεις: π.χ. για τη δήλωση του [ʃ] χρησιμοποιείται το γράμμα σίγμα με διάφορα διακριτικά, ως εξής: <ᾠσ (π.χ. Γιαγκουλλής 2005), <ᾠσ (π.χ. Γεωργίου 1990), <ᾠσ (π.χ. Παπαγγέλου 2001), <ᾠσ (Χατζηιωάννου 2002) και <ᾠσ (Ξιούτας 1972).³

Από την άλλη, στον έντυπο και ηλεκτρονικό τύπο, δεν γίνεται χρήση διακριτικών λόγω κυρίως τεχνικών προβλημάτων, όπως η έλλειψη κατάλληλης γραμματοσειράς για τα κυπριακά (βλ. π.χ.

¹ Το [ʒ:] είναι εγγενώς μακρό στην κυπριακή.

² Το [dʒ] δεν υπάρχει ως μακρό στην κυπριακή. Επίσης πάντοτε συνοδεύεται από το σύμφωνο [n], δηλαδή εμφανίζεται ως [ndʒ].

³ Για περισσότερες πληροφορίες βλ. Papadima, Ayiomammitou and Kyriacou (2011).

Πεννηταέξ 2012). Όταν δεν χρησιμοποιούνται διακριτικά, συνήθως γίνεται χρήση ενός <ι> για να δηλωθεί ο μεταφατνιακός φθόγγος: π.χ. <σιέριν> (= <δέριν>).

Ορισμένοι συγγραφείς (π.χ. Παπαγγέλου 2001) κάνουν διάκριση στη δήλωση του φθόγγου [ʃ] ανάμεσα τις λέξεις <χέριν> και <ιδιώννω>, διότι στην πρώτη περίπτωση το [ʃ] προέρχεται από ένα υπερωικό /x/, ενώ στη δεύτερη από ένα φατνιακό /s/. η τάση αυτή λαμβάνει υπόψη τη φωνολογική και ετυμολογική πληροφορία πίσω από την προφορά των μεταφατνιακών φθόγγων.

Τέλος, κάποια έντυπα λογοτεχνικά κείμενα (π.χ. Ψαράς 2011) αποδίδουν τα μεταφατνιακά σύμφωνα με τη χρήση ξένων χαρακτήρων (π.χ. <ψυσής>). Αυτό μπορεί να θεωρηθεί και χαρακτηριστικό πιο πρόχειρων περιστάσεων γραφής της κυπριακής, όπως στην ηλεκτρονική επικοινωνία, όπου χρησιμοποιούνται κυρίως τα Greeklish (βλ. Themistocleous 2009).

1.3. Ερευνητικά ερωτήματα

Από τους πιο πάνω δυνατούς τρόπους απόδοσης των μεταφατνιακών συμφώνων, το πρόγραμμα «Συντυσίδες» υιοθέτησε τις πιο κάτω ορθογραφικές επιλογές: (α') να αποδίδονται συστηματικά με τη χρήση του διακριτικού <ˆ> (“Combining Caron”, κωδικός Unicode: U-030C)· (β') το ιώτα να χρησιμοποιείται μόνο όταν προκύπτει από φωνολογικά-ετυμολογικά αιτιολογούμενη συνίζηση· και (γ') να ακολουθείται η φωνητική τάση στην απόδοση των μεταφατνιακών φθόγγων —δηλαδή να μην χρησιμοποιούνται τα υπερωικά <χ̣̣>.

Σκοπός της παρούσας μελέτης είναι να διερευνήσει τις προτιμήσεις των ομιλητών της κυπριακής σε σχέση με αυτές τις ορθογραφικές επιλογές. Ο τρόπος που επιλέγηκε να γίνει αυτό ήταν με το να φέρει τους ομιλητές αντιμέτωπους με όλους τους δυνατούς παράγοντες⁴ που πιθανόν επηρεάζουν τη γραφή των μεταφατνιακών συμφώνων. Αυτοί οι παράγοντες μπορεί να επηρεάζουν μία ή περισσότερες από τις τέσσερις πιο κάτω πτυχές της γραφής των μεταφατνιακών συμφώνων:

(α') τη χρήση του διακριτικού <ˆ> για τη δήλωση των μεταφατνιακών συμφώνων·

(β') τη χρήση του <ι> που παθαίνει συνίζηση·

(γ') τη χρήση υπερωικών συμφώνων για την (ετυμολογική) απόδοση των μεταφατνιακών συμφώνων·

(δ') τη χρήση ξένων χαρακτήρων.

2. Πειραματική μέθοδος

Για την εξέταση των πιο πάνω ερευνητικών ερωτημάτων σχεδιάστηκε ένα πείραμα με τρία μέρη: προ-τεστ, κυρίως τεστ, και μετα-τεστ. Οι λεπτομέρειες του σχεδιασμού και της διεξαγωγής του πειράματος περιγράφονται πιο κάτω.

2.1. Πειραματικό υλικό

Το πειραματικό υλικό αποτελείτο από ηχητικά αρχεία, τα οποία ενσωματώθηκαν σε ένα αρχείο Microsoft PowerPoint, και τα οποία άκουσαν οι συμμετέχοντες στο πείραμα με τη χρήση ακουστικών μέσω ενός φορητού ηλεκτρονικού υπολογιστή. Οι απαντήσεις καταγράφονταν χειρογράφως σε ένα έντυπο ερωτηματολόγιο.

2.1.1. Παράγοντες που λήφθηκαν υπόψη κατά το σχεδιασμό του πειραματικού υλικού

Ο τρόπος γραφής των μεταφατνιακών συμφώνων (ως προς τις τέσσερις μεταβλητές που περιγράφηκαν στο §1.3 πιο πάνω) μπορεί να επηρεάζεται από διάφορους παράγοντες, τόσο εξωγλωσσικούς (όπως π.χ. αν είναι φιλόλογος) όσο και γλωσσικούς παράγοντες. Οι γλωσσικοί

⁴ Βλ. §2.1.1 για αναλυτική παρουσίασή τους.

παράγοντες, όπως διαφαίνονται από όσα αναφέρθηκαν στο §1.2 πιο πάνω, και οι οποίοι λήφθηκαν υπόψη κατά το σχεδιασμό του πειράματος, είναι οι εξής:

- (α') Το εάν φωνητικά το μεταφωτινικό σύμφωνο ακολουθείται από φωνήεν ή όχι:
αν ακολουθεί φωνήεν (π.χ. [fe'ʎɛs]), τότε μπορεί κάποιος να χρησιμοποιήσει είτε το <ι> (<φατζιές>), είτε το διακριτικό <'> (<φατζές>), είτε και τα δύο (<φατζιές>), είτε κανένα από τα δύο (<φατζές>). αν ακολουθεί σύμφωνο (π.χ. [i'ʎɛ]) τότε μπορεί οι συμμετέχοντες να επιλέγουν πιο συστηματικά τη χρήση του διακριτικού παρά τη μη χρήση του (και μάλλον θα αποφεύγουν τη χρήση του ιώτα: π.χ. <ισιτέ>).
- (β') Το εάν φωνητικά το μεταφωτινικό σύμφωνο βρίσκεται στο τέλος της λέξης ή όχι:
αν βρίσκεται στο τέλος λέξης (π.χ. [kleʎʃ]), τότε μπορεί οι ομιλητές να προτιμούν τη γραφή χωρίς το ιώτα (π.χ. <κλατξ>) παρά με το ιώτα (π.χ. <κλατςι> ή <κλατσι>).
- (γ') Το εάν μετά το σύμφωνο που μας ενδιαφέρει ακολουθεί (φωνολογικά-ετυμολογικά αιτιολογούμενο) /i/ το οποίο να παθαίνει συνίζηση:
μπορεί στην περίπτωση π.χ. του /meli'ssiɛs/ → [meli'ʃ:ɛs] η ορθογράφηση <μελισιές> να προτιμηθεί έναντι της ορθογράφησης <μελισές>, ενώ στην περίπτωση του /ske'rezzɔ/ → [ʃ:ɛ'rez:ɔ] η ορθογράφηση <σεπάζω> να προτιμηθεί έναντι της ορθογράφησης <σιεπάζω> (επειδή σε αυτήν την περίπτωση η χρήση του <ι> δεν αιτιολογείται ετυμολογικά). αυτή η φωνολογική-ετυμολογική πληροφορία μπορεί να έχει επίδραση τόσο στη χρήση του <ι> όσο και στη χρήση του διακριτικού.
- (δ') Το εάν η λέξη (ή το μόρφημα) που περιέχει το μεταφωτινικό σύμφωνο είναι δάνεια ή όχι:
μπορεί η γνώση ότι μια λέξη είναι δάνεια (που δεν αιτιολογεί τη χρήση του <ι>) να επηρεάζει το αν θα χρησιμοποιηθεί το <ι> ή / και το διακριτικό (βλ. §1.1).
- (ε') Το εάν το μεταφωτινικό σύμφωνο ανάγεται φωνολογικά ή ετυμολογικά σε ένα υπερωικό σύμφωνο όπως το /k/ ή /x/:
για όσους ενδεχομένως να θέλουν να γράφουν τα μεταφωτινικά σύμφωνα περισσότερο φωνολογικά-ετυμολογικά παρά φωνητικά (βλ. §1.2), αναμένεται να έχει σημασία το εάν το μεταφωτινικό σύμφωνο σχετίζεται με τα υπερωικά σύμφωνα /k/ και /x/ ή όχι. για παράδειγμα, κάποιος που ακολουθεί αυτή την τάση, θα γράψει <χιόνιν> και <σχοινίν> (αντί <σιόνιν> και <σθοινίν>), ενώ δεν αναμένεται ότι θα γράψει <ιχια> και <χόκας> (αντί <ισια> και <χότζας>).
- (ς') Το είδος του μεταφωτινικού συμφώνου:
μπορεί κάποιοι ομιλητές να αντιμετωπίζουν διαφορετικά τα γραφήματα για τα τριβόμενα σύμφωνα (<σ, ζ>), διαφορετικά τα διγραφήματα για τα προστριβή σύμφωνα (<τσ, τζ>), και διαφορετικά τα διφωνηματικά γραφήματα <ξ, ψ> ως προς τη χρήση του <ι> ή / και του διακριτικού.

2.1.2. Το γλωσσικό υλικό

Με βάση τους πιο πάνω παράγοντες, σχεδιάστηκε το γλωσσικό υλικό για το κυρίως τεστ του πειράματος. Με τους διάφορους επιτρεπούς συνδυασμούς των έξι παραγόντων προέκυψαν 28 διαφορετικές κατηγορίες λέξεων που περιέχουν μεταφωτινικά σύμφωνα. Για την απόκτηση ικανοποιητικού αριθμού παρατηρήσεων, κάθε κατηγορία προβλέφθηκε να περιέχει τρεις λέξεις, με αποτέλεσμα να εξετάζονται $28 \times 3 = 84$ λέξεις στο κυρίως τεστ.⁵

⁵ Εκ παραδρομής, δύο από τις κατηγορίες περιέχουν δύο λέξεις αντί τρεις, ενώ δύο άλλες κατηγορίες περιέχουν τέσσερις (βλ. Παράρτημα 2). το γεγονός αυτό λήφθηκε υπόψη κατά την ανάλυση των αποτελεσμάτων.

Για το προ-τεστ σχεδιάστηκαν 10 προτάσεις, οι οποίες εμπεριείχαν 19 λέξεις ενδιαφέροντος (δηλαδή λέξεις που περιείχαν μεταφαινιακά σύμφωνα). Για το μετα-τεστ σχεδιάστηκαν 8 προτάσεις, οι οποίες εμπεριείχαν 16 λέξεις ενδιαφέροντος.

2.2. Συμμετέχοντες

Οι συμμετέχοντες στο πείραμα ήταν 155 εκπαιδευτικοί, 45 πρωτοβάθμιας και 110 δευτεροβάθμιας εκπαίδευσης. Οι ηλικίες τους κυμαίνονταν από 26 μέχρι 57 ετών ($M = 38$, $TA = 6.9$). Επίσης, 36 ήταν άντρες, ενώ 119 γυναίκες. Όλοι οι συμμετέχοντες ήταν φυσικοί ομιλητές της κυπριακής.

Ο λόγος που επιλέγησαν εκπαιδευτικοί ήταν διότι με την εκπαιδευτική μεταρρύθμιση που εφαρμόστηκε πρόσφατα στην Κύπρο, οι εκπαιδευτικοί καλούνται να χρησιμοποιήσουν την κυπριακή συγκριτικά-αντιπαραβολικά προς την ΚΝΕ (Υπουργείο Παιδείας και Πολιτισμού 2010). Ένα ζήτημα που έχουν να αντιμετωπίσουν οι εκπαιδευτικοί είναι και ο τρόπος γραφής της κυπριακής· επομένως, η διερεύνηση των τάσεων των εκπαιδευτικών όσον αφορά τον τρόπο γραφής της κυπριακής ίσως να μπορεί να αξιοποιηθεί εποικοδομητικά στην επιμόρφωση που τους παρέχεται στο πλαίσιο των νέων αναλυτικών προγραμμάτων.

2.3. Ηχογράφηση του πειραματικού υλικού

Για την ηχογράφηση του πειραματικού υλικού επιλέχθηκε μια φυσική ομιλήτρια της κυπριακής, η ΚΧ, 26 ετών, από τη Λευκωσία. Η ΚΧ δεν παρουσίαζε κανένα πρόβλημα ομιλίας.

Το πειραματικό υλικό δόθηκε στην ομιλήτρια τυπωμένο σε χαρτί και της ζητήθηκε να διαβάσει τις λέξεις και φράσεις που της δίνονταν όσο πιο φυσικά γινόταν. Ο τρόπος ορθογράφησης του υλικού όπως παρουσιάστηκε στην ομιλήτρια δίνεται στο Παράρτημα 1. Η ομιλήτρια ήταν εξοικειωμένη με τις διάφορες μορφές γραφής της κυπριακής και ανέφερε ότι δεν αντιμετώπισε οποιαδήποτε δυσκολία στην ανάγνωση του υλικού.

Η ηχογράφηση διεξήχθη στον ηχομονωμένο θάλαμο ηχογραφήσεων του Τμήματος Πληροφορικής και Τηλεπικοινωνιών του Εθνικού και Καποδιστριακού Πανεπιστημίου Αθηνών.

2.4. Διαδικασία διεξαγωγής του κυρίως πειράματος

2.4.1. Παρουσίαση του υλικού

Στο προ-τεστ και μετα-τεστ, οι προτάσεις παρουσιάστηκαν αποκλειστικά ακουστικά στους συμμετέχοντες μέσω του ηλεκτρονικού υπολογιστή, ούτως ώστε να καταγράψουν ελεύθερα στο χαρτί τις προτάσεις που άκουγαν χωρίς επήρειες από την όποια γραπτή μορφή τους παρουσιαζόταν.

Στο κυρίως τεστ, οι λέξεις παρουσιάζονταν και πάλι ακουστικά στους συμμετέχοντες, αλλά αυτή τη φορά είχαν να επιλέξουν αναγκαστικά ανάμεσα σε οκτώ γραπτές επιλογές που τους δίνονταν στο ερωτηματολόγιο. Οι οκτώ αυτές επιλογές προέκυπταν από το συνδυασμό των μεταβλητών που μετρούνταν, όπως φαίνεται στον Πίνακα 1. Συγκεκριμένα, οι επιλογές που δίνονταν ήταν: με ή χωρίς το διακριτικό· με ή χωρίς το ιώτα· και τέλος με χρήση γραφημάτων που κανονικά δηλώνουν φαινιακά σύμφωνα (όπως <σ>, <τζ> κτλ) ή υπερωικά σύμφωνα (όπως <χ>, <κ> κτλ). Οι οκτώ αυτές επιλογές δίνονταν για κάθε λέξη, ασχέτως αν πραγματικά αιτιολογείται η χρήση π.χ. του <ι> (π.χ. δινόταν και η επιλογή <ατζιαμής> μαζί με την επιλογή <ατζαμής>) ή αν προέρχεται πραγματικά το μεταφαινιακό σύμφωνο από κάποιο υπερωικό σύμφωνο (π.χ. δινόταν και η επιλογή <ίχια> μαζί με την επιλογή <ίσια>). Οι 84 λέξεις του κυρίως τεστ παρουσιάστηκαν με προκαθορισμένα τυχαία σειρά, έτσι ώστε να μην γίνονται εμφανείς στους συμμετέχοντες οι ομαδοποιήσεις των λέξεων.

	με διακριτικό		χωρίς διακριτικό	
	με <ι>	χωρίς <ι>	με <ι>	χωρίς <ι>
με φατνιακά	(α') νύσσια	(β') νύσθα	(γ') νύσσια	(δ') νύσσα
με υπερωικά	(ε') νύχια	(ζ') νύχθα	(η') νύχια	(θ') νύχα

Πίνακας 1 Παράδειγμα των οκτώ επιλογών που δίνονταν στους συμμετέχοντες στο κυρίως τεστ

2.4.2. Διεξαγωγή του πειράματος

Πριν την έναρξη του πειράματος, ενημερώθηκαν οι συμμετέχοντες ότι ο σκοπός της έρευνας ήταν να διαφανεί πώς γράφουν οι ίδιοι την κυπριακή, ενώ τους τονίστηκε ότι σε καμία περίπτωση δεν θα κριθούν για τις ορθογραφικές τους επιλογές —ειδικά αφού δεν υπάρχει επίσημη ορθογραφία για την κυπριακή.

Αφού τους δόθηκε το ερωτηματολόγιο, συμπλήρωσαν τα δημογραφικά τους στοιχεία και άρχισαν το πείραμα ακούγοντας τους ήχους από τα ακουστικά. Η χρήση του PowerPoint επέτρεπε να χρησιμοποιείται όσος χρόνος χρειαζόνταν για κάθε εκφώνημα, καθώς και να επαναλαμβάνεται κάποιος ήχος αν το ζητούσε ο συμμετέχων. Ανάμεσα στα τρία μέρη μπορούσε να υπάρχει μικρό διάλειμμα.

Για το προ- και μετα-τεστ, οι οδηγίες που δόθηκαν γραπτώς στο ερωτηματολόγιο ήταν οι εξής: «Γράψτε τις προτάσεις με τη σειρά που ακούστηκαν». Στο κυρίως τεστ η γραπτή οδηγία που τους δινόταν ήταν η εξής: «Δεύτερο μέρος: πώς θα το γράφατε; (Κυκλώστε την απάντησή σας)». Σε αυτό το σημείο οι συμμετέχοντες έρχονταν για πρώτη φορά αντιμέτωποι με το διακριτικό <ι> (αν δεν το είχαν χρησιμοποιήσει ήδη απ' εαυτών στο προ-τεστ), οπότε πολλοί ρωτούσαν τι συμβόλιζε. Δεν δόθηκε καμία εξήγηση για τη λειτουργία του διακριτικού για να μην επηρεαστούν υπέρ της χρήσης του· η απάντηση που τους δινόταν ήταν να πράξουν όπως νομίζουν.

Τα πειράματα διαρκούσαν συνολικά 30–45 λεπτά. Η εξεύρεση συμμετεχόντων καθώς και η επίβλεψη του πειράματος έγινε από 37 φοιτητές του μαθήματος «Γλώσσα και γραφή» (Τμήμα Βυζαντινών και Νεοελληνικών Σπουδών Πανεπιστημίου Κύπρου, Χειμερινό εξάμηνο 2010–2011).

2.5. Τρόπος ανάλυσης των δεδομένων

Για την ανάλυση των δεδομένων που προέκυψαν από το πείραμα χρησιμοποιήθηκε ο αλγόριθμος δένδρικής ταξινόμησης id3. Ο αλγόριθμος επιτρέπει την ομαδοποίηση των δεδομένων σε συγγενείς ομάδες ανάλογα με το βαθμό της συσχέτισής τους.

2.5.1. Μετρήσεις

Οι μεταβλητές που μετρήθηκαν ήταν οι τέσσερις που αναφέρθηκαν στο §1.3: η χρήση του διακριτικού <ι>, του ιώτα <ι>, υπερωικών χαρακτήρων (π.χ. <χ> αντί <σ>), και της χρήσης ξένων χαρακτήρων. Η τελευταία μεταβλητή αφορούσε το προ- και μετα-τεστ, αφού στο κυρίως τεστ η αναπαράσταση των λέξεων με χρήση ξένων χαρακτήρων δεν δινόταν ως επιλογή.

2.5.2. Μέθοδος ανάλυσης

Από τις τέσσερις μετρηθείσες μεταβλητές δεν χρησιμοποιήθηκε στην ανάλυση η μεταβλητή που αφορούσε τη χρήση ξένων χαρακτήρων, επειδή δεν αφορά το κυρίως τεστ —εντούτοις, στις γραφικές παραστάσεις που θα ακολουθήσουν θα παρουσιάζεται και αυτή η μεταβλητή, έστω κι αν δεν ήταν μέρος της ανάλυσης.

Για κάθε μια από τις τρεις μεταβλητές πραγματοποιήθηκε ξεχωριστή ανάλυση σε ομάδες (cluster analysis). Οι παράγοντες που λήφθηκαν υπόψη κατά την ανάλυση ήταν 16: έξι εξωγλωσσικοί παράγοντες και δέκα γλωσσικοί. Οι εξωγλωσσικοί παράγοντες ήταν το φύλο, η ηλικία, η επαρχία

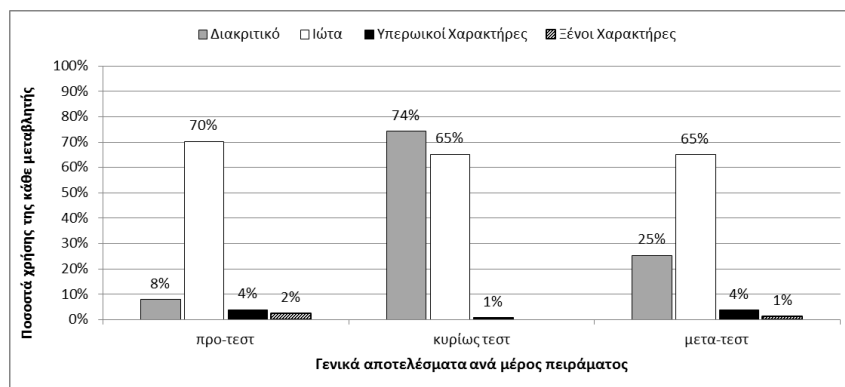
καταγωγής του συμμετέχοντα, η βαθμίδα εργασίας του (πρωτοβάθμια ~ δευτεροβάθμια), καθώς και η ειδίκευσή του (ελληνική φιλολογία ~ λοιπές ανθρωπιστικές επιστήμες και τέχνες ~ θετικές επιστήμες)· ένας τελευταίος εξωγλωσσικός παράγοντας ήταν και τα μέρη του πειράματος (προ-τεστ ~ κυρίως τεστ ~ μετα-τεστ), διότι λόγω της φύσης τους μπορεί να προκαλούσαν διαφορετικές αντιδράσεις στους συμμετέχοντες.

Οι γλωσσικοί παράγοντες που λήφθηκαν υπόψη είναι οι έξι που αναφέρονται στο §2.1.1. Επιπλέον λήφθηκε υπόψη το εάν ορθογραφικά το μεταφωτνιακό σύμφωνο ακολουθείται από το γράφημα <ι>, το οποίο να αντιπροσωπεύει φωνητικά ένα φωνήεν [i], π.χ. <ντζίζω>: μπορεί οι συμμετέχοντες να διστάσουν να χρησιμοποιήσουν ακόμα ένα <ι> για να δηλώσουν το μεταφωτνιακό σύμφωνο (ήτοι <ντζίζιω>) —ενώ μπορεί να είχαν διαφορετικές αντιδράσεις στην περίπτωση που δεν ακολουθεί συλλαβικό <ι>, π.χ. <σιειμώνας> (αντί <σειμώνας>). Ο παράγοντας αυτός δεν λήφθηκε υπόψη κατά το σχεδιασμό του πειράματος, για να μην διογκωθεί —ακόμη περισσότερο— το μέγεθος του πειραματικού υλικού. Εντούτοις υπήρξε πρόβλεψη να περιληφθούν τέτοιες λέξεις στο πειραματικό υλικό (βλ. Παράρτημα 2).

Τέλος, λήφθηκαν υπόψη οι τρεις μετρηθείσες μεταβλητές (§2.5.1), κι αυτό επειδή μπορεί να υπάρξει αλληλεπίδραση μεταξύ τους: π.χ. αν κάποιος γράφει τη λέξη [ˈʃeɪn] με το ιώτα (<σιέριν>), τότε πιθανόν να μην επιλέξει να χρησιμοποιήσει και το διακριτικό ταυτόχρονα (<σιέριν>)· και αντίστροφα, αν κάποιος επιλέξει να τη γράψει με το διακριτικό (<σέριν>), τότε ίσως να αποφύγει να γράψει και το ιώτα.

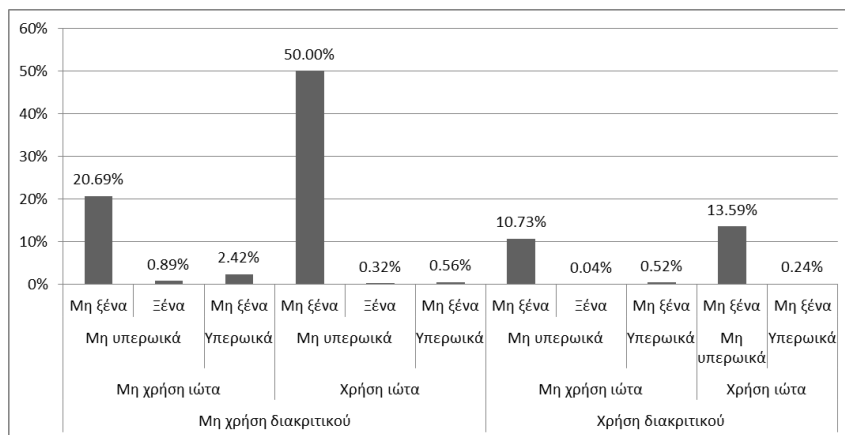
3. Αποτελέσματα

Κατά μέσο όρο, οι συμμετέχοντες χρησιμοποίησαν το διακριτικό σε ποσοστό 57%, το ιώτα 66%, υπερωικούς χαρακτήρες 2%, και ξένους χαρακτήρες 2%. Τα αποτελέσματα αναλυτικά για το κάθε μέρος παρουσιάζονται στο Σχήμα 1: η χρήση του ιώτα φαίνεται να είναι σταθερή στα τρία τεστ· η χρήση του διακριτικού ξεκινά χαμηλά στο προ-τεστ (8%), ανέρχεται στην πρώτη θέση στο κυρίως τεστ (74%), και κατέρχεται στο (25%) στο μετα-τεστ· η χρήση υπερωικών και ξένων χαρακτήρων ήταν χαμηλή (< 5%) σε όλες τις περιπτώσεις.



Σχήμα 1 Γενικά ποσοστά χρήσης των τεσσάρων μεταβλητών για το καθένα από τα τρία μέρη του πειράματος

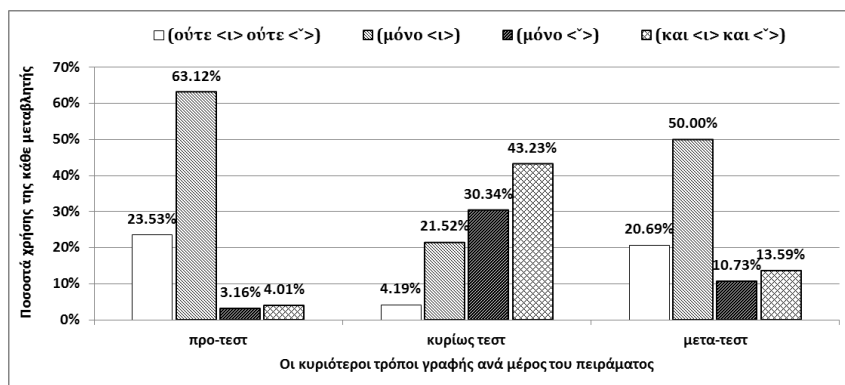
Το Σχήμα 2 παρουσιάζει όλους τους τρόπους που επέλεξαν οι συμμετέχοντες να παραστήσουν τα μεταφωτνιακά σύμφωνα. Οι δύο κυριότεροι τρόποι (με σχεδόν ίση προτίμηση) ήταν: (α') με τη χρήση του ιώτα και του διακριτικού και (β') με τη χρήση του ιώτα χωρίς το διακριτικό. Κατά δεύτερο λόγο προτιμήθηκε το διακριτικό χωρίς το ιώτα, ενώ πολύ πιο χαμηλά ποσοστά παρουσίασε η επιλογή χωρίς ούτε το ιώτα ούτε το διακριτικό. Πέραν από αυτούς τους τέσσερις τρόπους, άλλοι τρόποι απόδοσης των μεταφωτνιακών παρουσίασαν ποσοστά κάτω του 1%.



Σχήμα 2 Γενικά ποσοστά των 11 παρατηρηθέντων τρόπων γραφής των μεταφαινιακών συμφώνων

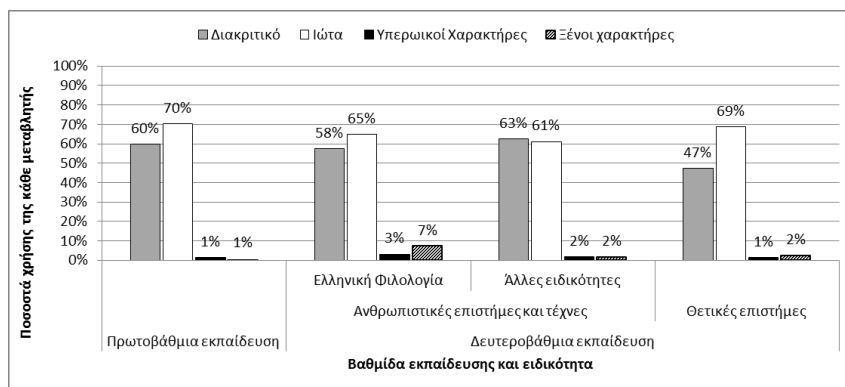
3.1. Χρήση του διακριτικού

Η ανάλυση έδειξε ότι η χρήση του διακριτικού επηρεάστηκε πρωτίστως από το αν οι συμμετέχοντες επέλεξαν να χρησιμοποιήσουν και το ιώτα μαζί με το διακριτικό (ή αντ' αυτού): όπως φάνηκε στο Σχήμα 2, το διακριτικό είχε μεγαλύτερη χρήση μαζί με το ιώτα, παρά χωρίς το ιώτα. Η παρατήρηση αυτή ισχύει και για τα τρία μέρη, αλλά εξεχόντως για το κυρίως τεστ, όπως φαίνεται στο Σχήμα 3.



Σχήμα 3 Σύνοψη των τεσσάρων συχνότερων τρόπων γραφής των μεταφαινιακών συμφώνων ανά μέρος πειράματος

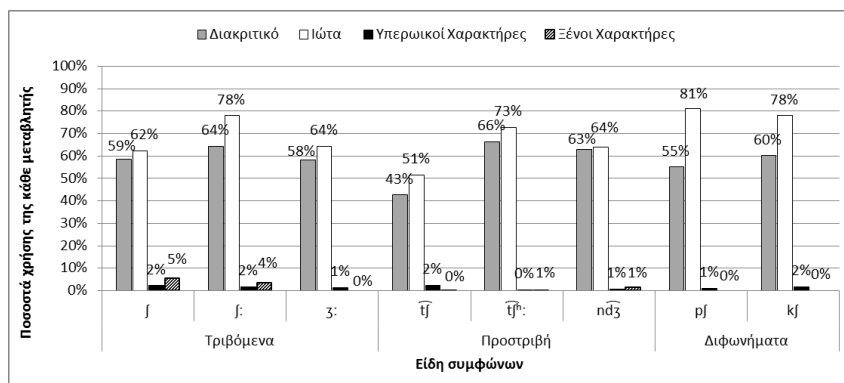
Δευτερευόντως, τη χρήση του διακριτικού επηρέασε η ειδικότητα των εκπαιδευτικών: ενώ γενικά η χρήση του διακριτικού ήταν γύρω στο 60% για τις περισσότερες ειδικότητες, στην περίπτωση των καθηγητών θετικών επιστημών η χρήση του διακριτικού ήταν 47% (βλ. Σχήμα 4).



Σχήμα 4 Χρήση των τεσσάρων μεταβλητών ανά ειδικότητα εκπαιδευτικού

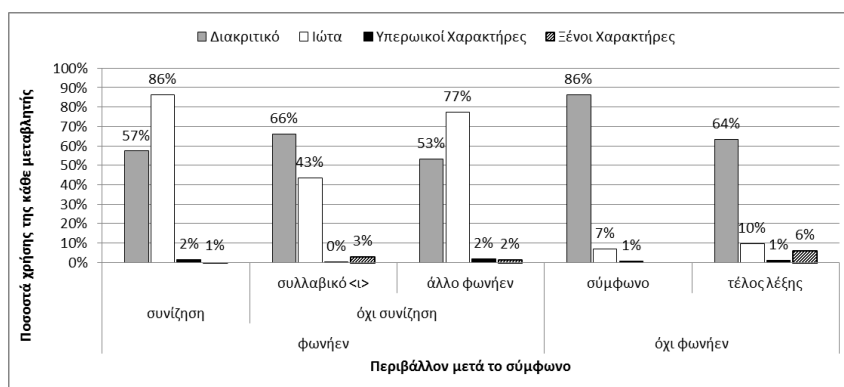
[ΤΑΣΕΙΣ ΤΩΝ ΚΥΠΡΙΩΝ ΩΣ ΠΡΟΣ ΤΗ ΓΡΑΠΤΗ ΑΠΟΔΟΣΗ
ΤΩΝ ΜΕΤΑΦΑΤΝΙΑΚΩΝ ΣΥΜΦΩΝΩΝ ΤΗΣ ΚΥΠΡΙΑΚΗΣ]

Τη χρήση του διακριτικού επηρέασε επίσης και το είδος του συμφώνου: ενώ τα περισσότερα σύμφωνα παρουσίασαν χρήση του διακριτικού πάνω από 50%, στην περίπτωση του [tʃ] ήταν 43% (βλ. Σχήμα 5).



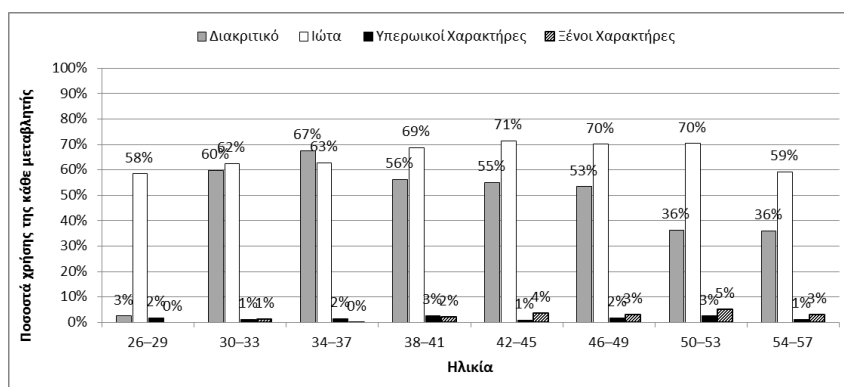
Σχήμα 5 Επιλογές σε σχέση με το είδος των υπό εξέταση συμφώνων

Τη χρήση του διακριτικού επηρέασε και το τι ακολουθεί το μεταφατνιακό σύμφωνο: όταν ακολουθούσε φωνήεν, η χρήση του διακριτικού ήταν γύρω στο 55%, εκτός αν ακολουθούσε συλλαβικό <ɿ> (π.χ. <ντζίζω>), οπότε το ποσοστό ήταν αυξημένο· όταν δεν ακολουθούσε φωνήεν, τα ποσοστά ήταν ψηλά, ιδίως όταν ακολουθούσε σύμφωνο (βλ. Σχήμα 6).



Σχήμα 6 Επιλογές με βάση το περιβάλλον μετά το μεταφατνιακό σύμφωνο

Τέλος, τη χρήση του διακριτικού επηρέασε και η ηλικία: το χρησιμοποίησε περισσότερο η ηλικιακή ομάδα 34–37, ενώ μετά τα 37, όσο μεγάλωνε η ηλικία, τόσο μειωνόταν η χρήση του διακριτικού.



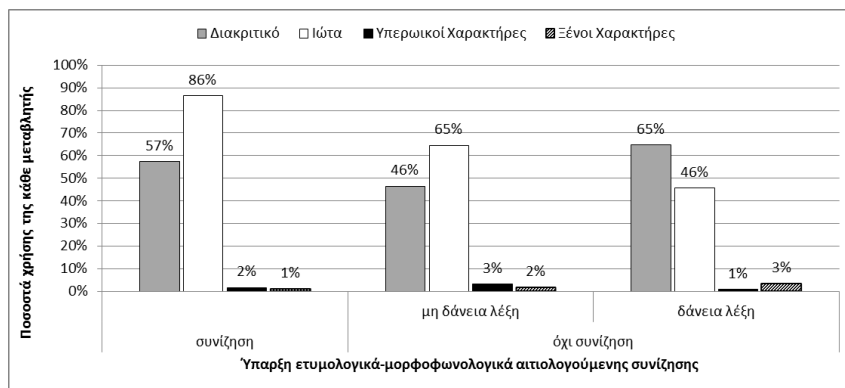
Σχήμα 7 Επιλογές με βάση ηλικιακές ομάδες

3.2. Χρήση του ιώτα

Τη χρήση του ιώτα επηρέασε κυρίως το εάν το μεταφωτινικό σύμφωνο ακολουθείται ετυμολογικά-φωνολογικά από ένα /i/ που να παθαίνει συνίζηση: όπως φαίνεται στο

Σχήμα 8, το ιώτα χρησιμοποιείται πολύ περισσότερο όταν αιτιολογείται η συνίζηση (όπως στο <ίσια>), ενώ όταν δεν αιτιολογείται, είναι αρκετά χαμηλότερη η χρήση, ειδικά στις δάνειες λέξεις.

Δευτερευόντως η χρήση του ιώτα επηρεάζεται από τη χρήση του διακριτικού, όπως φάνηκε και πιο πάνω.



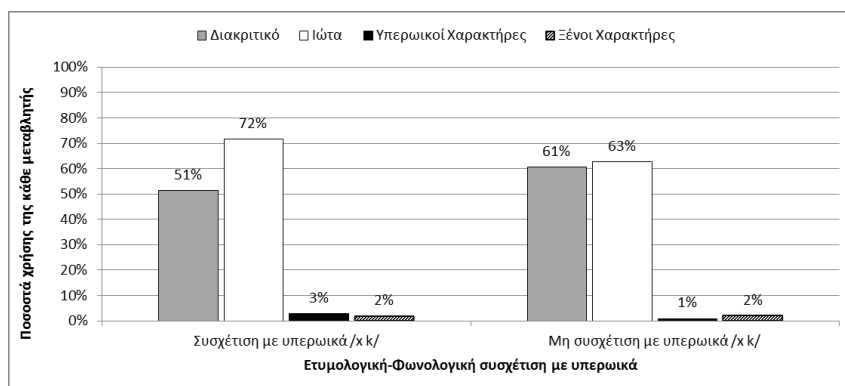
Σχήμα 8 Επιλογές με βάση την ύπαρξη αιτιολογούμενης συνίζησης καθώς και με την καταγωγή της λέξης

3.3. Χρήση υπερωικών χαρακτήρων

Η ελάχιστη χρήση υπερωικών χαρακτήρων που σημειώθηκε επηρεάστηκε κατά κύριο λόγο από τη χρήση του ιώτα: όπως φάνηκε στο Σχήμα 2, το συγκριτικά υψηλότερο ποσοστό συγκεντρώνει η χρήση του υπερωικού χωρίς ιώτα ή διακριτικό. Το αποτέλεσμα αυτό είναι οφειλόμενο στην γραφή του συνδέσμου [tʃ] ως <και> στο προ- και μετα-τεστ (βλ. Σχήμα 3).

Δευτερεύοντα ρόλο έπαιξε το εάν η λέξη είναι δάνεια, με τις δάνειες λέξεις να γράφονται πολύ πιο σπάνια με υπερωικούς χαρακτήρες παρά οι μη δάνειες (βλ. Σχήμα 8). Επίσης, το είδος του συμφώνου έπαιξε ρόλο: η χρήση υπερωικών χαρακτήρων ήταν συγκριτικά περιορισμένη στην περίπτωση των [tʃː], [ndʒ], [zː], και [rʃ] (βλ. Σχήμα 5).

Σε λιγότερο βαθμό επηρέασε το εάν τα μεταφωτινικά σύμφωνα προέρχονται όντως από υπερωικά σύμφωνα: όπως φαίνεται στο Σχήμα 9, οι υπερωικοί χαρακτήρες χρησιμοποιήθηκαν περισσότερο όταν τα μεταφωτινικά σύμφωνα προέρχονται από υπερωικά, παρά όταν δεν προέρχονταν από υπερωικά.



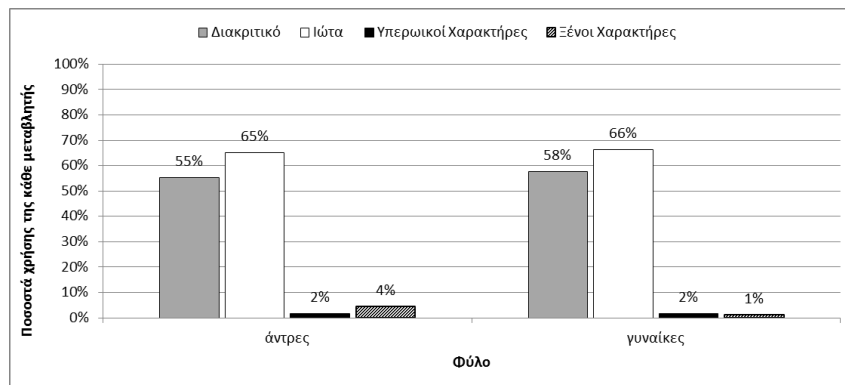
Σχήμα 9 Επιλογές με βάση το εάν τα μεταφωτινικά σύμφωνα προέρχονται από υπερωικά

3.4. Χρήση ξένων χαρακτήρων

Η χρήση ξένων χαρακτήρων, αν και ελάχιστη, ήταν μεγαλύτερη στο προ-τεστ παρά στο μετα-τεστ (βλ.

Σχήμα 1). Τα σύμφωνα που συχνότερα γράφονταν με ξένους χαρακτήρες ήταν τα [ʃ] και [ʒ:] (βλ.

Σχήμα 5), ειδικά αν βρίσκονταν στο τέλος λέξης (βλ. Σχήμα 6). Από τους συμμετέχοντες, χρησιμοποίησαν περισσότερο τους ξένους χαρακτήρες όσοι ήταν άνω των 37 ετών (βλ. Σχήμα 7) καθώς και οι καθηγητές ελληνικής φιλολογίας (βλ. Σχήμα 4). Τέλος, η χρήση ξένων χαρακτήρων ήταν το κυριότερο στοιχείο που διαχώρισε τα δύο φύλα, με τους άντρες να σημειώνουν ψηλότερα ποσοστά (βλ. Σχήμα 10).



Σχήμα 10 Επιλογές με βάση το φύλο

4. Σχολιασμός αποτελεσμάτων

Τα γενικά αποτελέσματα κατέδειξαν ότι οι συμμετέχοντες προτίμησαν να αποδίδουν τα μεταφωτανιακά σύμφωνα της κυπριακής κυρίως με τη χρήση ενός ιώτα <ι>, με ή χωρίς το διακριτικό <^>.

Στο προ- και μετα-τεστ, η χρήση του διακριτικού ήταν περιορισμένη. Αυτό ήταν αναμενόμενο, διότι ο μέσος ομιλητής της κυπριακής σπάνια γράφει στην κυπριακή, και όταν το κάνει, δεν ακολουθεί κάποιους τυποποιημένους κανόνες: ως εκ τούτου, γράφει με το λιγότερο επιτηδευμένο τρόπο, δηλαδή χωρίς διακριτικά (τα οποία μπορεί να θεωρηθούν φιλολογική επιτήδευση).

Παρόλα αυτά, η χρήση του διακριτικού στο κυρίως τεστ (όπου παρουσιάστηκε στους συμμετέχοντες το διακριτικό ως επιλογή) αποτέλεσε την κύρια προτίμηση των συμμετεχόντων. Μια πιθανή ερμηνεία για αυτό είναι οι συμμετέχοντες να μην είχαν προηγουμένως έρθει σε ιδιαίτερη επαφή με κυπριακά κείμενα που να χρησιμοποιούν το διακριτικό, επομένως να μην είχαν το διακριτικό υπόψη ως πιθανή λύση για τον τρόπο γραφής των μεταφωτανιακών: έτσι, όταν τους δόθηκε αυτή η επιλογή, ίσως να τη θεώρησαν πιο κατάλληλη σε πολλές περιπτώσεις. Αυτή η υπόθεση μπορεί να στηριχθεί και με μια άλλη παρατήρηση: μετά την εξοικείωση με το διακριτικό που επήλθε στο κυρίως τεστ, στο μετα-τεστ αυξήθηκε η χρήση του διακριτικού κατά 220% σε σχέση με το προ-τεστ. Αυτό το αποτέλεσμα μπορεί να αποδοθεί σε επίδραση μάθησης (learning effect): παρόλο που δεν έγινε κανένα είδος διδασκαλίας στους συμμετέχοντες για τον τρόπο χρήσης του διακριτικού, φαίνεται ότι οι ίδιοι διέκριναν τη χρησιμότητά του (π.χ. όταν το μεταφωτανιακό σύμφωνο βρισκόταν στο τέλος λέξης) και το υιοθέτησαν και στο μετα-τεστ.

Η χρήση τόσο του ιώτα, όσο και του διακριτικού φάνηκε να διέπεται από κάποια λογική: όταν δεν μπορούσε να χρησιμοποιηθεί το ιώτα (δηλαδή στο τέλος λέξης, ή πριν από σύμφωνο), χρησιμοποιήθηκε το διακριτικό κατά κόρον· το ιώτα φάνηκε να χρησιμοποιείται περισσότερο στις περιπτώσεις που αιτιολογείται φωνολογικά —δηλαδή όταν τα μεταφωτανιακά σύμφωνα προκύπτουν από συνίζηση.

Όσον αφορά στη χρήση υπερωικών χαρακτήρων (<χ̣̣>), αυτή ήταν μηδαμινή και στα τρία μέρη, ακόμα και στο κυρίως τεστ, όπου προσφερόταν ως επιλογή. Εξαιρετικά χαμηλά ποσοστά παρουσίασε

και η χρήση ξένων χαρακτήρων, οι οποίοι χρησιμοποιήθηκαν περισσότερο από καθηγητές ελληνικής φιλολογίας παρά από άλλες ειδικότητες —ένα αποτέλεσμα που δεν ήταν αναμενόμενο.

Πέρα από τη χρήση ξένων χαρακτήρων, η ειδικότητα των εκπαιδευτικών φάνηκε να παίζει ρόλο στη χρήση του διακριτικού, με τους καθηγητές θετικών επιστημών να χρησιμοποιούν λιγότερο το διακριτικό σε σχέση με άλλες ειδικότητες. Τέλος, η ηλικία φαίνεται να παίζει κάποιο ρόλο, αφού μετά την ηλικία των 37, όσο αυξανόταν η ηλικία των συμμετεχόντων, τόσο μειωνόταν η χρήση του διακριτικού.

5. Συμπεράσματα

Από τα αποτελέσματα της πιο πάνω έρευνας φαίνεται να δικαιολογούνται οι ορθογραφικές επιλογές του προγράμματος «Συντυσίες». Συγκεκριμένα, η χρήση του διακριτικού <ˆ> για την απόδοση των μεταφωτισμένων συμφώνων, την οποία υιοθετεί το πρόγραμμα, φαίνεται να βρίσκει ανταπόκριση στους ομιλητές της κυπριακής. Επίσης, παρατηρείται ότι οι συμμετέχοντες μπορούν να διακρίνουν πού να χρησιμοποιούν το ιώτα και πού όχι, βασιζόμενοι στο φωνολογικό περιβάλλον του μεταφωτισμένου συμφώνου. Έτσι, η επιλογή του προγράμματος «Συντυσίες» να χρησιμοποιεί το ιώτα μόνο αν αιτιολογείται συνίζηση δεν διαφαίνεται να δημιουργεί δυσκολίες. Επίσης, τα εξαιρετικά χαμηλά ποσοστά χρήσης υπερωικών χαρακτήρων <ˆ ˆ> από τους συμμετέχοντες επιβεβαίωσαν ότι η επιλογή του προγράμματος να ακολουθήσει τη φωνητική παρά τη φωνολογική-ετυμολογική τάση γραφής των μεταφωτισμένων συμφώνων είναι πιο αποδεκτή από τους φυσικούς ομιλητές της κυπριακής.

Ακόμα, η έρευνα κατέδειξε ότι οι παιδαγωγοί είναι σε θέση να μάθουν εύκολα ένα σύστημα γραφής το οποίο να αποδίδει τα μεταφωτισμένα σύμφωνα συστηματικά με τη χρήση του διακριτικού, ενώ το ιώτα να χρησιμοποιείται μόνο αν αιτιολογείται ετυμολογικά.

Τέλος, θα πρέπει να σημειωθεί ότι η έρευνα αυτή εξέτασε το ζήτημα της γραφής των μεταφωτισμένων συμφώνων περισσότερο με βάση γλωσσικές παραμέτρους παρά κοινωνικές· μελλοντικές έρευνες θα πρέπει να επικεντρωθούν και στην κοινωνική διάσταση του ζητήματος, η οποία είναι καθοριστικής σημασίας για την όποια πορεία θα ακολουθήσει το προτεινόμενο σύστημα γραφής.

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Παράρτημα 1: ΤΟ ΠΕΙΡΑΜΑΤΙΚΟ ΥΛΙΚΟ ΟΠΩΣ ΔΟΘΗΚΕ ΣΤΗΝ ΚΧ ΓΙΑ ΗΧΟΓΡΑΦΗΣΗ

Προτάσεις Προ-τεστ:

- (1) Έν' λλίον μιτσίά τούντα σπίθκια' εν έσει τίποτε πκιο μιάλον;
- (2) Κούμπωσ' τα κουμπκιά σου τζαι φόρησ' τα γάνκια σου γιατί έν' σιονιά έξω!
- (3) Ο θκειος μου γυρεύκει καλουψήν τζαι πογιατζήν.
- (4) Ούλλην την ώραν ξιανίζει τα μαλλιά της.
- (5) Οι ανιψιούες μου ζιουν για να ψήνουν μανιτάρκα στο ντζάκιν.
- (6) Ο δσύλλος μου έφαεν τα χαρκιά που εθκιέβαζεν η Τασούλλα.
- (7) Η Ταλλού έν' λλίον άρρωστη τζαι πίννει χάπκκια να φέρει τα μίλια της.
- (8) Είδα έναν άνθρωπον να βουρά αγχωμένος να μπει σε κάτι μαχαζιά.
- (9) Λαλεί ότι έφαν το ούλλον το σάντουϊτζ ιμίξ.
- (10) Αμπα τζαι ντζίσεις πά' στο κκομπκκιούτερ μου, γιατί ίσια έκοψα σου τα δέρκα!

Προτάσεις Μετα-τεστ:

- (1) Έν' που τα πκιο γλυτζιά δάμισι που έφα ποττέ.
- (2) Αννοιξα τα ντουλάπκκια να πκιάσω φλυντζάνια, αλλά ήβρα μόνον ποτήρκα.
- (3) Εκαμεν ντουζ, εφκήκεν έξω με βρεμένα μαλλιά τζαι αρρώστησεν.
- (4) Επήα αξιούριστος στην δουλειάν, τζ' αλλολλίον να με θκιώξουν με τες κλωτσίδες.
- (5) Ο ανιψίός μου επάσυνεν τόσον πολλά, που εν κλείουν τα κουμπκιά του παντελονιού του.
- (6) Αν δεν παθκιέται το κλατζ, εν την-ι-γλιτώννεις την ττούμπαν.
- (7) Εν το λαλεί η καρκιά μου να κουβενκιάζω με τούντον άνθρωπον τζαι να μεν συμφωνούμεν.
- (8) Εφα τα μαχαζιά μιαν ώραν να έβρω δσιονιά τζαι παννιά για την βάρκαν μου.

Λέξεις για κυρίως τεστ:

βουνίστιες, ισιώννω, αθασιά,
λυσιδιάρης, του κυπαρισσιού, μελισσιές
ρύζια, κκεραζιά, κοριζιάζω
νύσια, σιόνια, στοισειόν
οσσιά, σσιάζουμαι, σσιος
ματσιάζω, κλωτσιά, φοητσιάρης
λαμπρατζιά, τζιόλας, κατziώννουμαι
αντζιά, φεντζιάζω, πουντζιάζω
κουτσιά, φατσιές, παπούτσια
ξιούρα, αλλαζιά, λαξιές
κλειψιά, ανιψιός, κλαψιάρης
ψυσές, μασσίριν, σεμώννας
σσεπάζω, σσύλλος, σσοινίν
βολίτζιν, φατζές, τζαινούρκος
ντζίζω, αντζέλισσα, παραντζέλλω
λατσίζω, κότσινος, βούτσες
ανίψιν, καλουψής, αψουρίζουμαι
σπαπού, σκολάτα, πασάς,
άσσοϊλε, μάσσαλλα, ισσαλλα
αμπαζούρ, πιζάμες, αγκαζέ
χότζας, ατζαμής, τζισβές
ππαντζάριν, κκιλίντζιρος, φραντζόλα
τσιμέττον, τσάιν, τσέκκιν
μπουζουξής, γιναξής, παξιόσιν
κουνουσμάς, λασκάρω, ιστέ
ιμίζ, φλαζ, ντουζ
ρεπορτάζ, πατινάζ, ρουζ
σάντουϊτζ, κλατζ, σκετζ

Παράρτημα 2: ΦΩΝΗΤΙΚΗ ΜΕΤΑΓΡΑΦΗ ΤΩΝ ΛΕΞΕΩΝ ΕΝΔΙΑΦΕΡΟΝΤΟΣ

Προ-τεστ							
Πρόταση	Λέξη	Φθόγγος	Τελικό σύμφωνο	Ακολουθεί φωνήεν	Αιτιολογείται συνίζηση	Δάνειο μόρφωμα	Συσχετίσι με /k x/
1	mi'tʃ ^h :e	tʃ ^h :		✓	✓		
	'ɛʃi	ʃ		✓			✓
2	tʃe	tʃ		✓			✓
	'ʒɹi:e	ʃ		✓	✓		✓
3	kelu'pʃin	pʃ		✓		✓	
	tʃe	tʃ		✓			✓
	ɹɔʒe'tʃin	tʃ		✓		✓	
4	kʃe'niz:i	kʃ		✓			
5	eni'pʃues	pʃ		✓	✓		
	ʒ:un	ʒ:		✓	✓		
6	'ʃ:il:ɔs	ʃ:		✓			✓
7	tʃe	tʃ		✓			✓
8	mexe'ʒ:e	ʒ:		✓	✓		
9	'senduitʃ	tʃ	✓			✓	
	i'miʃ	ʃ	✓			✓	
10	'embetʃe	tʃ		✓			✓
	'ndʒisis	ndʒ		✓			✓
	'iʃe	ʃ		✓	✓		
	'ʃeɾke	ʃ		✓			✓

Μετα-τεστ							
Πρόταση	Λέξη	Φθόγγος	Τελικό σύμφωνο	Ακολουθεί φωνήεν	Αιτιολογείται συνίζηση	Δάνειο μόρφωμα	Συσχετίσι με /k x/
1	ɣli'tʃe	tʃ		✓	✓		✓
	'ʃemifi	ʃ		✓		✓	
2	'ʃemifi	ʃ		✓		✓	
	fli'ndʒeɹi:e	ndʒ		✓		✓	
3	nduʃ	ʃ	✓			✓	
	tʃe	tʃ		✓			✓
4	e'kfuristos	kʃ		✓	✓		
	tʃ	tʃ		✓			✓
5	klɔ'tʃ ^h :es	tʃ ^h :		✓	✓		
	eni'pʃɔs	pʃ		✓	✓		
6	ε'peʃinen	ʃ		✓			✓
	kletʃ	tʃ	✓			✓	
7	tʃe	tʃ		✓			✓
8	mexe'ʒ:e	ʒ:		✓	✓		
	ʃ:i'ɹi:e	ʃ:		✓			✓
	tʃe	tʃ		✓			✓

Οι λέξεις που χρησιμοποιήθηκαν στο προ- και μετα-τεστ με ένδειξη της τιμής που παίρνουν σε σχέση με τους διάφορους γλωσσικούς παράγοντες, καθώς και του αριθμού της πρότασης στην οποία συναντώνται στο Παράρτημα 1.

{Στους πίνακες του παραρτήματος σημειώνονται με έντονα γράμματα οι λέξεις στις οποίες το μεταφωτιακό σύμφωνο ακολουθείται ορθογραφικά από ένα συλλαβικό <ɪ>:}

Παράγοντες				Λέξεις	
Μη τελικό σύμφωνο	Ακολουθεί φωνητικά φωνήεν	Ακολουθεί αιτιολογούμενη συνίζηση /i/	Μη δάνεια λέξη / μόρφωμα	Μη σχέση με /k, x/	1 vu'nifəs, i'ʃɔn:ɔ, eθe'ʃe
					2 li'f:eris, tu ciperi'f:u, meli'f:es
					3 'riʒ:e, cʰ:ε'reʒ:e, kɔri'ʒ:ez:ɔ
				Σχέση με /k, x/	4 'niʃe, 'ʃɔn:e, sti'ʃɔn
					5 ɔ'f:e, 'ʃ:ez:ume, f:ɔs
				Μη σχέση	6 me'tʰ:ez:ɔ, klo'tʰ:e, fɔi'tʰ:eris, pe'putʰ:e
				Σχέση με /k, x/	7 lembre'tʃe, 'tʃɔles, ke'tʃɔn:ume
					8 e'ndʒe, fe'ndʒez:ɔ, pu'ndʒez:ɔ
					9 ku'tʰ:e, fe'tʰ:es
				Μη σχέση	10 'kfure, el:e'kʃe, le'kʃes
					11 kle'pʃe, eni'pʃɔs, kle'pʃeris
				Σχέση με /k, x/	12 psi'ʃes, me'ʃerin, fi'mɔnes
					13 f:ε'pez:ɔ, 'f:il:ɔs, f:i'nin
					14 fe'tʃes, tʃe'nurkɔs
					15 'ndʒiz:ɔ, e'ndʒelis:e, pere'ndʒel:ɔ
					16 le'tʰ:iz:ɔ, 'kɔtʰ:inɔs, 'vutʰ:es
	Δεν ακολουθεί φωνολογικά αιτιολογούμενη συνίζηση /i/	Δάνεια λέξη / μόρφωμα	Ετυμολογικά μη αιτιολογούμενη σχέση με τα υπερωικά /k, x/		17 e'nipʃin, kelu'pʃis, epʃu'riz:ume
					18 fe'pʰ:u, ʃɔko'lete, pʰ:e'ʃes
					19 'ef:ɔile, 'meʃ:el:e, 'if:el:e
					20 embe'ʒ:ur, pi'ʒ:emes, enge'ʒ:ε
					21 'xɔtʃes, etʃe'mis, tʃi'zves, vɔ'litʃin
					22 pʰ:e'ndʒerin, cʰ:i'lindʒirɔs, fre'ndʒɔle
					23 tʰ:i'metʰ:ɔn, 'tʰ:ein, 'tʰ:εch:in
					24 mbuz:u'kfis, jine'kfis, pe'kfifin
					25 kunu'ʃmes, le'ʃkerɔ, i'ʃte
					26 i'mif, fleʃ, nduʃ
					27 reɔɔ'teʒ, peti'neʒ, ruʒ
					28 'senduitʃ, kletʃ, scetʃ
Τελικό σύμφωνο	Δεν ακολουθεί φωνήεν	Δεν ακολουθεί φωνολογικά αιτιολογούμενη συνίζηση /i/	Δάνεια λέξη / μόρφωμα	Ετυμολογικά μη αιτιολογούμενη σχέση με τα υπερωικά /k, x/	

Οι 84 λέξεις που χρησιμοποιήθηκαν στο κυρίως τεστ, χωρισμένες στις 28 κατηγορίες που προκύπτουν από τους επιτρεπτούς συνδυασμούς έξι γλωσσικών παραγόντων.

Η ΑΦΗΓΗΣΗ ΤΗΣ ΜΑΘΗΤΙΚΗΣ ΑΠΕΙΘΑΡΧΙΑΣ: ΑΝΑΛΥΣΗ ΣΥΝΟΜΙΛΙΑΚΩΝ ΔΕΔΟΜΕΝΩΝ¹

Αργύρης Αρχάκης
Πανεπιστήμιο Πατρών, Ελλάδα
archakis@upatras.gr

ABSTRACT

The present paper concentrates on the narrative management of the teacher-student relationship. Focusing on the construction of students' identities, the present study draws upon the social constructionism paradigm, thus considering identities as social constructs via discourse. More particularly, in the data examined, students construct powerful identities which allow them to project themselves as capable of acting independently from their teachers' directives and expectations. I intend to suggest that, via constructing powerful identities, students resist teacher authority. Their resistance is indicative of their will to free themselves from their teachers' directives, even if this can only take place during their conversational narratives with their peers.

Λέξεις κλειδιά: διεπίδραση στη σχολική τάξη, έναρξη-ανταπόκριση-ανάδραση, κοινωνική δομή/ατομική δράση, κατασκευή ταυτοτήτων, αφηγήσεις

1. Εισαγωγή

Στην εργασία αυτή θα με απασχολήσει η αφηγηματική διαχείριση της σχέσης μαθητών και καθηγητών. Τα δεδομένα μου δεν προέρχονται από τους χώρους όπου κατεξοχήν μαθητές και καθηγητές συνυπάρχουν και συνδιαλέγονται, δηλαδή τη σχολική τάξη,² αλλά από συνομιλίες μεταξύ συμμαθητών σε εξωσχολικούς χώρους, απουσία των καθηγητών τους. Θα εστιάσω την προσοχή μου ειδικά σε περιπτώσεις όπου οι μαθητές προβαίνουν σε κατασκευές ισχυρών ταυτοτήτων μέσω των οποίων προβάλλουν τον εαυτό τους ικανό να δραστηριοποιείται ανεξάρτητα από τους περιορισμούς και τις κατευθύνσεις των καθηγητών τους, επιδιώκοντας έτσι τον αυτοπροσδιορισμό και την αυτοδιάθεσή τους στο πλαίσιο των συνομιλιών τους. Για το σκοπό αυτό θα αναλύσω ενδεικτικά ένα εκτεταμένο αφηγηματικό απόσπασμα μαθήτριας της γ' λυκείου, αξιοποιώντας για τη διάγνωση του τρόπου οικοδόμησης των προβαλλόμενων ταυτοτήτων, το μοντέλο αφηγηματικών τοποθετήσεων του Bamberg (1997, 2004).

2. Οι ρόλοι του καθηγητή και των μαθητών στο πλαίσιο της διεπίδρασης στη σχολική τάξη

Η συζήτηση για τους ρόλους του καθηγητή και των μαθητών του, όπως διαμορφώνονται στο σύγχρονο δυτικό κόσμο, θα λάβει υπόψη της τον ευρύτερο διεπιστημονικό προβληματισμό που προσδιορίζεται από δίπολα όπως: (κοινωνική) δομή (structure) / ατομική δράση (agency), κανονικότητα / επιτελεσματικότητα. Ακολουθώντας τις θέσεις του Coupland (2007: 107) και εντάσσοντας στο πλαίσιο της συζήτησης αυτής τη διερεύνηση των ρόλων του καθηγητή και των μαθητών του, θα ξεκινήσω επισημαίνοντας τις προβλεπόμενες δομικές διεπιδραστικές συμβάσεις και προσδοκίες που απορρέουν από τις κοινωνικές τους θέσεις στη σχολική τάξη, για να προχωρήσω στη διερεύνηση των δυνατοτήτων

¹ Πολλές θερμές ευχαριστίες οφείλω στη Βίλλυ Τσάκωνα, τον Άρη Δρουκόπουλο και τη Ράνια Καραχάλιου για τις υποδείξεις τους.

² Σχετικά με την ανάλυση διεπιδραστικών δεδομένων από ελληνικές τάξεις, βλ. Κονδύλη (1990), Τσολακίδου (1995), Παυλίδου (1999), Pavlidou (2001), Αρχάκης (2006).

ενεργητικής αναδιαμόρφωσης των προβλεπομένων συμβάσεων. Το ενδιαφέρον μου για τις δυνατότητες ενεργητικής αναδιαμόρφωσης των ρόλων θα περιοριστεί στην πλευρά των μαθητών δεδομένου ότι το υλικό μου αφορά και προέρχεται από μαθητές.

Οι ρόλοι του καθηγητή και των μαθητών είναι συνδεδεμένοι με ισχυρές συμβάσεις και προσδοκίες ως προς τα δικαιώματα και τις υποχρεώσεις αμοτερών. Οι καθηγητές, ως ειδικοί, είναι επιφορτισμένοι με τη μετάδοση της γνώσης έχοντας θεσμική εξουσία να αναθέτουν καθήκοντα στους μαθητές, να ελέγχουν το αποτέλεσμα της δουλειάς τους και να το επιβραβεύουν ή να το απορρίπτουν (Spencer-Oatey 2000: 32). Δεδομένης της σαφούς και έντονης διάκρισης των ρόλων μεταξύ καθηγητών και μαθητών, το βασικό χαρακτηριστικό της διεπίδρασης στην τάξη (classroom interaction) είναι τα ασύμμετρα επικοινωνιακά δικαιώματα, με τους καθηγητές να έχουν την κύρια ευθύνη για την οργάνωση και εξέλιξη του μαθήματος (Stubbs 1983: 53, 58-60).

Σύμφωνα με τους Sinclair & Coulthard (1975: 21) μια συμβατική διδακτική ανταλλαγή (teaching exchange) μέσα σε μια τυπική, καθηγητοκεντρική τάξη όπου δίνεται ιδιαίτερη έμφαση στη διαδικασία εξέτασης των μαθητών, περιλαμβάνει i) μια εναρκτήρια κίνηση εκ μέρους του καθηγητή (E), λ.χ. μία ερώτηση ή μία οδηγία, ii) μία κίνηση ανταπόκρισης εκ μέρους ενός μαθητή (A), λ.χ. μία απάντηση ή την εκτέλεση οδηγίας στη γνωστική περιοχή που έχει προσδιορίσει ο καθηγητής στο (i), και τέλος iii) μια κίνηση ανάδρασης εκ μέρους του καθηγητή (Av), λ.χ. έναν αξιολογικό σχολιασμό των όσων είπε ο μαθητής (βλ. σχετικά Τσολακίδου 1995: 23, 85, 199, 201). Ενδεικτικό είναι το ακόλουθο παράδειγμα (1)³ από την διεπίδραση στην τάξη, σε μάθημα ιστορίας στην γ' γυμνασίου (βλ. σχετικά Αρχακής 1995):

(1)

[1] K: (...) Τι ήταν το παιδομάζωμα, Παναγιώτη;

[2] M/Π: Εε οι Τούρκοι παίρνανε τα παιδιά των Ελλήνων και τα σκληραγωγούσανε, για να τα πάρουν μαζί τους.

[3] K: Μάλιστα.

Η καθηγήτρια (K) με μια εναρκτήρια κίνηση (συνεισφορά [1]) ρωτάει ένα μαθητή (M/Π) για το παιδομάζωμα στα χρόνια της τουρκοκρατίας. Ο μαθητής απαντάει (συνεισφορά [2]) και η καθηγήτρια παρέχει ένα σύντομο, θετικό επιβεβαιωτικό, σχόλιο αξιολόγησης (συνεισφορά [3]).

Ακολουθώντας τον Rampton (2006: 70-71), θεωρώ ότι η συμβατική δομή E-A-Av εκφράζει εκπαιδευτικές σχέσεις εξουσίας διότι οι μαθητές καλούνται να ανταποκριθούν μέσω προσδοκώμενων συνεισφορών σε γνωστικές περιοχές που προσδιορίζονται από τον καθηγητή και να αξιολογηθούν από αυτόν με κλίμακες καλύτερης και χειρότερης επίδοσης. Χρησιμοποιώντας όρους του Foucault, ο Rampton (2006: 71) εκλαμβάνει τη διδακτική ανταλλαγή E-A-Av ως μία από τις *τεχνικές πειθαρχικής εξουσίας* (techniques of disciplinary power) οι οποίες «δομούν τα πιθανά πεδία δράσης των άλλων» (Foucault 1982: 221). Εν προκειμένω, οι μαθητές καλούνται να ανταποκριθούν σε γνωστικές περιοχές που προσδιορίζονται από τον καθηγητή τους και να αξιολογηθούν από αυτόν με κλίμακες καλύτερης ή χειρότερης επίδοσης.

Ωστόσο, η εξέλιξη του μαθήματος δεν πραγματοποιείται πάντα με τον αναμενόμενο συμβατικό τρόπο που προϋποθέτει την εξαρτημένη, παθητική συμμετοχή των μαθητών μόνο σε θέσεις ανταπόκρισης (A). Όπως παρατηρεί η Παυλίδου (1999), είναι δυνατόν οι μαθητές να εκδηλώσουν ποικίλες γλωσσικές πρωτοβουλίες, λ.χ. να αυτοεπιλεγούν (με ή χωρίς τη συναίνεση του καθηγητή) ζητώντας διευκρινίσεις από τον καθηγητή τους, διατυπώνοντας απορίες, αλλά και απόψεις για όσα ο καθηγητής μεταφέρει, συμφωνώντας ή διαφωνώντας με τις θέσεις που εκφράζει (βλ. σχετικά Orletti 1981: 534 κ.ε.). Ο Rampton (2006: 51, 64, 69) βασισμένος στα πορίσματα ερευνών του σε σχολεία της Αγγλίας καταγράφει επίσης περιπτώσεις αποκλίσεων και παραβιάσεων της αναμενόμενης συμβατικής ανταλλαγής E-A-Av όπου οι μαθητές επισημαίνουν λάθη, ασυνέπειες και αδικίες του καθηγητή τους. Εκλαμβάνει δε τις αποκλίνουσες αυτές κινήσεις των μαθητών ως αντιστάσεις στην προβλεπόμενη από τη συμβατική δομή υπόταξή τους στις καθηγητικές κατευθύνσεις, ως ενεργητικές προσπάθειες αυτοπροσδιορισμού και αυτοδιάθεσης των μαθητών (Rampton, ό.π.: 71-72· βλ. σχετικά Bruner 1996: 41).

³ Χρησιμοποιούμε τα ακόλουθα σύμβολα απομαγνητοφώνησης του προφορικού λόγου: /: αυτοδιακοπή, [xxχ]: επικάλυψη, χχχ: emphatic stress, χχ:: επιμήκυνση συλλαβής, >χχχ<: επιτάχυνση ομιλίας, (): ακατανόητο εκφώνημα, (...): παράλειψη στοιχείων, ((χχχ)): πρόσθετα διευκρινιστικά ή μεταγλωσσικά σχόλια, **έντονη γραμματοσειρά**: ευθείς λόγοι.

3. Το υλικό της έρευνας

Η δική μου έρευνα δεν βασίζεται σε υλικό από τη διεπίδραση στη σχολική τάξη και, ως εκ τούτου, τα ζητούμενά της δεν αφορούν την άμεση διεπιδραστική σχέση καθηγητή και μαθητών του. Το υλικό μου αποτελείται από συνομιλιακές αφηγήσεις μαθητών οι οποίες αναφέρονται σε γεγονότα της σχολικής ζωής. Για τους στόχους του παρόντος άρθρου, έλεγξα 16 περίπου από τις διαθέσιμες ώρες συνομιλίας⁴ οι οποίες περιλαμβάνουν πάνω από 300 συνομιλιακές αφηγήσεις. Από αυτές, περίπου οι 200 (2/3) αναφέρονται σε ζητήματα της σχολικής ζωής. Από τις αφηγήσεις αυτές, οι 94 (περίπου 1/3 του συνόλου των 300) αναφέρονται ειδικά στη σχέση των αφηγητών-μαθητών με τους καθηγητές τους, κυρίως σε αρνητικές αποτιμήσεις των μαθητών για τους καθηγητές τους. Από το σύνολο των 94 αφηγήσεων, σε 11 (περίπου 1/30 του συνόλου των 300) οι μαθητές επιχειρούν την κατασκευή ισχυρών ταυτοτήτων που τους δίνουν τη δυνατότητα να αγνοούν ή να μην συμμορφώνονται στην κανονικότητα των προβλέψεων της συμβατικής δομής *E-A-An* και την καθηγητική εξουσία όπως εκφράζεται μέσα από αυτή. Η αναλυτική προσοχή μου θα επικεντρωθεί σ' αυτές τις αφηγήσεις μαθητικής απειθαρχίας και ειδικότερα στον τρόπο με τον οποίο οι μαθητές-αφηγητές τοποθετούνται απέναντι στην αυθεντία του καθηγητή.

Ο λόγος για τον ιδιαίτερα περιορισμένο αριθμό αφηγήσεων μη συμμόρφωσης με τις προβλέψεις της δομής *E-A-An* εντοπίζεται προφανώς στο ότι τέτοιου τύπου απόκλιση συνεπάγεται αρνητικές συνέπειες για τους μαθητές. Το ακόλουθο αφηγηματικό απόσπασμα είναι αποκαλυπτικό:

(2)

X: (...) σηκώνεται ο Μένιος τον ρωτάει εκεί πέρα ((ο καθηγητής)), απαντάει, και του κάνει: **τι λες**

μωρέ () του κάνει, η απάντησή σου παίρνει δεκάξι, του λέει, και του κάνει ο Μένιος, **ε το 'ξερα κύριε δεν είμαι ο θεός για να πάρω σ' εσάς είκοσι**, ο Μένιος, και του κάνει, **ανόητε κάτσε κάτω**, ((μιμείται τον καθηγητή που φωνάζει)) και του βάζει δεκατέσσερα, στο τετράμηνο, και κάνει ο Μένιος, **τι ήθελα και μίλαγα ο ηλίθιος;**

Στο απόσπασμα αυτό ο αφηγητής Χρυσάνθος (X), αναφέρεται στον αποκλίνοντα τρόπο με τον οποίο ο συμμαθητής του Μένιος, μαθητής της γ' λυκείου, αντιμετώπισε τη διαδικασία της εξέτασής του. Ειδικότερα, και σύμφωνα με τον Χρυσάνθο, ο καθηγητής σηκώνει για εξέταση τον Μένιο, του θέτει μία ερώτηση (*E*), ο Μένιος απαντάει (*A*) και ο καθηγητής τον αξιολογεί (*η απάντησή σου παίρνει δεκάξι*) (*An*). Αν η διαδοχή των συνεισφορών σταματούσε εδώ, θα είχαμε μια τυπική και αναμενόμενη διαδοχή της μορφής *E-A-An*. Ωστόσο, ο Μένιος αντιδρά στην αξιολόγηση του καθηγητή του αναδεικνύοντας ως υπερβολικά τα κριτήριά του (*ε το 'ξερα κύριε δεν είμαι ο θεός για να πάρω σ' εσάς είκοσι*). Κατά τον αφηγητή Χρυσάνθο, η αντίδραση αυτή έχει ως αποτέλεσμα ο καθηγητής να επιπλήξει τον Μένιο (*ανόητε*) και να του αφαιρέσει το λόγο (*κάτσε κάτω*), κυρίως όμως έχει ως αποτέλεσμα τη χαμηλή βαθμολόγησή του στο τετράμηνο. Το γεγονός αυτό οδηγεί τον Μένιο στην αυτοκριτική (*τι ήθελα και μίλαγα ο ηλίθιος;*) και προφανώς πολλά άλλα παιδιά στη συμμόρφωση με τις κανονικές προβλέψεις της δομής *E-A-An*.

Στη συνέχεια θα συζητήσω έννοιες που θα εφαρμόσω κατά την αφηγηματική ανάλυση.

4. Το θεωρητικό πλαίσιο της ανάλυσης

Δεδομένου ότι κεντρικό ζητούμενο της ανάλυσής μου είναι οι κατασκευές ταυτοτήτων, ακολουθώ βασικές θέσεις της θεωρίας της κοινωνικής κατασκευής (βλ., λ.χ., Sarbin & Kitsuse 1994, Antaki & Widdicombe 1998· επίσης Αρχάκης & Τσάκωνα 2011). Ως εκ τούτου, στην αφήγηση που θα αναλύσω εκλαμβάνω τις προβαλλόμενες ταυτότητες όχι ως στατικά και παγιωμένα εσωτερικά χαρακτηριστικά της μαθήτριας-αφηγήτριας και των χαρακτήρων της εξιστόρησής της, αλλά ως γλωσσικές κοινωνικές κατασκευές.

Η αφήγηση, σύμφωνα με κοινά αποδεκτούς προσδιορισμούς, αποτελεί κειμενικό είδος το οποίο κωδικοποιεί *αξιομνημόνευτες* (reportable) παρελθοντικές (συνήθως) εμπειρίες θέτοντάς τις σε χρονική αλληλουχία⁵ (Labov 1972: 359-361). Σύμφωνα με ερευνητικά πορίσματα της τελευταίας εικοσαετίας,

⁴ Η έρευνα χρηματοδοτήθηκε από την Επιτροπή Ερευνών του Πανεπιστημίου Πατρών (Κ. Καραθεοδωρής, 2425).

⁵ Βλ. σχετικά Labov (1972), ο οποίος εισήγαγε τον όρο *reportable*, και Sacks (1995 τ. II: 3 κ.α.) ο οποίος χρησιμοποιεί τον όρο *tellable*.

η αφήγηση αποτελεί ένα ιδιαίτερα κατάλληλο πεδίο γλωσσικής κατασκευής ταυτοτήτων (De Fina 2003: 117). Πολύτιμη συμβολή στην κατανόηση του τρόπου αφηγηματικής κατασκευής ταυτοτήτων αποτελεί το μοντέλο αφηγηματικής ανάλυσης του Bamberg (1997, 2004). Το μοντέλο αυτό δίνει τη δυνατότητα να αντιληφθούμε την οικοδόμηση της ταυτότητας κατά την εκτύλιξη του αφηγηματικού γεγονότος ως μια σειρά *τοποθετήσεων* (positioning) τόσο στο πλαίσιο των τοπικών συμφραζομένων όσο και σε σχέση με τα ευρύτερα κοινωνικο-ιδεολογικά συμφραζόμενα. Διακρίνονται τρία επίπεδα τοποθέτησης: Πρώτον, αυτό του αφηγηματικού κόσμου, δηλαδή μεταξύ των χαρακτήρων μιας αφήγησης· δεύτερον, αυτό της αφηγηματικής διεπίδρασης, δηλαδή μεταξύ αφηγητή/τών και ακροατή/τών (Bamberg 1997: 337). Τα δύο πρώτα ‘τοπικά’ επίπεδα συμβάλλουν στην τρίτη και κεντρική τοποθέτηση του αφηγητή ως προς διάφορες απόψεις που εντοπίζονται στο ευρύτερο κοινωνικο-ιδεολογικό περιβάλλον. Με άλλα λόγια, στο τρίτο επίπεδο τοποθέτησης αναδύονται άμεσες ή έμμεσες σχολιαστικές στάσεις προς ιδεολογικές θέσεις που βρίσκονται σε κοινωνική κυκλοφορία (Bamberg 2004: 336). Ως εκ τούτου, μπορεί να εκληφθεί ως μία προσπάθεια των αφηγητών να δώσουν μια τοπική απάντηση στη γενική ερώτηση «ποιος είμαι;» (Bamberg 1997: 337, βλ. σχετικά Αρχάκης & Τσάκωνα 2011).

Στην ανάλυση που ακολουθεί θα αναδειχτεί ο τρόπος με τον οποίο μία μαθήτρια της γ’ λυκείου, μέσω της αφηγηματικής της επιτέλεσης και τοποθέτησης, κατασκευάζει τον εαυτό της αρκούντως ισχυρό ώστε να αμφισβητήσει την καθηγητική εξουσία και να πληξεί το πρόσωπο του καθηγητή της. Θα υποστηρίξω ότι, στο πλαίσιο του αφηγηματικού κόσμου που κατασκευάζει, η μαθήτρια αποκλίνει από τον προβλεπόμενο ρόλο της συμμόρφωσης και υπόταξης στις καθηγητικές κατευθύνσεις.

5. Ανάλυση αφηγηματικού αποσπάσματος

Η αναλυτική προσοχή μου θα εστιαστεί στο αξιοσημείωτο γεγονός της αφήγησης, στις κατασκευές χαρακτήρων που επιχειρούνται κυρίως μέσω των ευθέων λόγων, καθώς και στις αξιολογήσεις χαρακτήρων.

Το αφηγηματικό απόσπασμα στο (3) προέρχεται από συνομιλία της Αρετής (Α) με τη στενή της φίλη και συμμαθήτρια Δέσποινα (Δ), παρουσία της ερευνήτριας (Ε), η οποία έχει περιορισμένη και κυρίως προτρεπτική συμμετοχή. Οι δύο φίλες, μαθήτριες της γ’ λυκείου, έχουν πολύ καλές επιδόσεις στα μαθήματα και, ως εκ τούτου, έχουν πολλές πιθανότητες να επιτύχουν στις εισαγωγικές εξετάσεις για το πανεπιστήμιο.

(3)

((Προηγείται αναφορά σε μια φιλόλογο-καθηγήτρια η οποία θα αντικαταστήσει τον φιλόλογο-καθηγητή Παπαντωνόπουλο στο δεύτερο τετράμηνο. Οι μαθήτριες τη συγκρίνουν μαζί του.))

[1] Α: (...) Κι αυτή:: είχα παρατηρήσει, δεν είναι απόλυτη όπως είναι ο Παπαντωνόπουλος, δηλαδή εγώ κάνω μάθημα με την φιλόλόγο μου ((εννοεί σε ιδιαίτερα μαθήματα)) και: σε μία λέξη, μπορεί να έχουνε δοθεί τρεις σημασίες, αυτή μου λέει να γράψω και τις τρεις για να ‘μαι μέσα, ο Παπαντωνόπουλος //

[2] Ε: //σου δίνει μία

[3] Α: μας δίνει μία.

[4] Δ: Ναι.

[5] Α: Δεν είναι σωστό αυτό ρε παιδιά όμως. Δεν είναι σωστό [γιατί ξέρεις τι; γιατί]

[6] Δ: [() όπως μας έκανε με το άγνωστο,] ξέρεις τι μας έκανε; σας το ‘πανε;

[7] Α: Ναι, αλλά του την είπα εγώ ((γελώντας))

[8] Δ: () εγώ την έβαλα αιτιολογική την πρόταση

((Γίνεται αναφορά στο γεγονός ότι μεγάλο ποσοστό της τάξης στο διαγώνισμα του αγνώστου κειμένου χαρακτήρισε μια πρόταση που εισάγεται με το *επειδή* ως αιτιολογική, ενώ ο καθηγητής είχε πει ότι σ’ αυτήν τη θέση το *επειδή* εισάγει χρονική πρόταση.))

[9] Δ: (...) και αυτός μας έλεγε ότι θα το κόψει, και ότι το παίρνει μόνο χρονική, και::, πες τι έκανες τώρα ((η Α γελάει))

[10] Α: Πρόσεξε, είχαμε ένα κείμενο

((Οι δύο μαθήτριες προσπαθούν να θυμηθούν ποιο ακριβώς ήταν το κείμενο στο οποίο η Α βρήκε αιτιολογική χρήση του *επειδή* στην αρχή περιόδου.))

[11] Α: (...) Λοιπόν, πρόσεξε, και ξεκίναγε με το ‘επειδή’, ‘επειδή’ στην αρχή προτάσεως ε:: αρχή περιόδου, και::

[12] Δ: Μεταφραζότανε με το ‘επειδή:’ εκεί [πέρα έχει ‘επειδή’]

[13] Α: [Ε::, ε::, μετα] μεταφραζότανε αιτιολογικό.

[14] Δ: Ναι.

- [15] A: Εγώ εντωμεταξύ είχα λυσσάξει να βρω κείμενο να ξεκινάει με το 'επειδή' να έχει μετάφραση από κάτω,
- [16] E: μπράβο
- [17] A: γιατί μου 'χε, μου 'χε κολλήσει ρε, εμένα άμα μου κολλήσει κάτι, δεν υπάρχει περίπτωση να ησυχάσω. (...) Λοιπόν, πρόσεξε, και έψαχνα εγώ τώρα, ένα σωρό κείμενα. Είχα βρει κάποια, αλλά δεν μπορούσα ρε παιδί μου τώρα να πάω να του πω ορίστε να τα κείμενα:: Λοιπόν, και:: είχαμε κάνει, είχαμε κάνει αυτό το κομμάτι. Και λέω, κοίτα λέω ρε γαμώ, να δεις τι θα του κάνω, θα τον αφήσω λέω, να το μεταφράσει, και, όχι, όχι στην παράδοση, γιατί μπορεί στην παράδοση να κάνει κάποιο λάθος αυτός, >γιατί μερικές φορές είναι αφηρημένος< στην εξέταση, που προσέχει πάρα πολύ τα παιδιά τι λένε.
- [18] E: Καλό.
- [19] A: Λοιπόν, βάζει τώρα μια κοπέλα, και:: το μετέφρασε αυτή, όταν/ ε:: 'επειδή' και μεταφράστηκε ως αιτιολογικό και αυτός μετά, το ξανάπε, 'επειδή', εντωμεταξύ μας είχε δώσει κάτι δικές του σημειώσεις, που είχανε τη μετάφραση μέσα, 'επειδή'.
- [20] E: Καλό.
- [21] A: Λοιπόν, λέω τώρα λέω, είναι τρία πράγματα, το 'πε ο ίδιος, το 'πε η μαθήτρια, και μας το 'χει δώσει κι αυτός, δεν μπορεί λέω τόσο μεγάλο λάθος να κάνει. Τελειώνει λοιπόν η:: εξέταση της:: μετάφρασης, σηκώνω εγώ το χέρι μου, και λέω, **κύριε του λέω, τώρα [έχω μπερδευτεί]** ((γελάει))
- [22] Δ: [**Επειδή έχω μπερδευτεί**] του κάνει.
- [23] A: **Επειδή** του λέω κύριε, **έχω μπερδευτεί σ' ένα σημείο στη μετάφραση, θέλω να με βοηθήσετε**, χάριξε αυτός τώρα επειδή είχα απορία, ξέρεις. Του λέω κύριε, **τι κάνω; εδώ μας έχετε πει εσείς, ότι το 'επειδή', στην αρχή της περιόδου είναι πάντοτε:: χρονικό, ε:: χρονικό, γιατί** του λέω κύριε, **γιατί το μεταφράσαμε αιτιολογικό;** [Με κοιτάει αυτός]
- [24] Δ: [Εντωμεταξύ αυτός,] κόμπλαρε:: δηλαδή ένωσε άσχημα, φάνηκε ότι [ένωσε άσχημα]
- [25] A: [Έλα ρε συγγνώμη], εντάξει.
- [26] Δ: Κάνει αυτός, **ε::ντάξει**
- [27] A: **εντάξει** λέει μου κάνει, **εσύ τώρα έχεις μείνει από το άγνωστο, ναι** του λέω κύριε, μου λέει **εντάξει τώρα δε::, τι να σου πω**, του λέω κύριε του λέω, **δε μ' ενδιαφέρει να μου πείτε για τώρα, ή για το βαθμό μου για το άγνωστο, εμένα μ' ενδιαφέρει του λέω στο τέλος, αν μου τύχει σε μία ανάλογη περίπτωση, τι θα κάνω, αυτό του λέω μ' ενδιαφέρει.** Και πεταχτήκαν και τ' άλλα τα παιδιά να πουν [ξέρεις]
- [28] Δ: [Του λέω] **δηλαδή άμα () στο τέλος, άμα μας το βάλουν στο τέλος, στις εξετάσεις, του λέω θα ήταν και τα δυο σωστά;** και λέει αυτός, **μάλλον, λέει θα σας τα 'παιρνα και τα δυο σωστά.**
- [29] A: **Ε, τότε λέει η Γιώτα, γιατί δε μας τα παίρνετε και σεις.** Και λέει αυτός, **ε:: εδώ ήτανε, έβγαине καλύτερα χρονικό, ε του λέμε κύριε και το αιτιολογικό έβγαине όμως και τώρα, τι [να χάσουμε]**
- [30] Δ: [Και λέει] αυτός, **τελοσπάντων,**
((ακολουθεί συζήτηση των μαθητριών γιατί την συντακτική λειτουργία του *επειδή*))
- [31] A: (...) συνήθως τις μετοχές βάζεις έτσι, μια πρόταση δεν μπορείς να πεις ότι είναι χρονικοαιτιολογική πρόταση. Δεν ξέρω.
- [32] E: Μάλιστα.
- [33] A: Πάντως του την είπα.
- [34] E: Καλά, [καλά του 'πες, καλά του 'πες, έτσι.]
- [35] A: [να δω τι βαθμό θα μου βάλει στο () όμως.]
- [36] E: Έλα ρε, δεν έχει σχέση.

Η Αρετή είναι η κύρια αφηγήτρια του αποσπάσματος στο (3), ενώ ενισχυτικό και υποστηρικτικό ρόλο στις απόψεις που καταθέτει παίζει η Δέσποινα, αλλά και η ερευνήτρια. Το κεντρικό αξιοσημείωντο γεγονός γύρω από το οποίο περιστρέφεται η αφήγηση της Αρετής είναι ότι τόλμησε να καταδείξει μέσα στην τάξη και ενώπιον του καθηγητή τις αντιφάσεις της διδασκαλίας του: ενώ ο καθηγητής θεωρεί ότι ο σύνδεσμος *επειδή* στην αρχή περιόδου εισάγει χρονική πρόταση και για το λόγο αυτό βαθμολόγησε αρνητικά σε διαγώνισμα άγνωστου κειμένου όσους το χαρακτήρισαν αιτιολογικό, ο ίδιος κατά τη διαδικασία εξέτασης στην τάξη αποδέχτηκε τον χαρακτηρισμό του συνδέσμου *επειδή* στην αρχή περιόδου ως αιτιολογικού. Ειδικότερα, στις συνεισφορές [21], [23] η Αρετή αναπαριστάνει τον εαυτό της να λειτουργεί ανεξάρτητα από τη συμβατική δομή *E-A-Av*. Δηλαδή, ζητά η ίδια και παίρνει το λόγο με σκοπό να αμφισβητήσει μετωπικά την εξουσία του ειδικού που θεσμικά έχει ο καθηγητής, εν προκειμένω τη συνέπεια και την αξιοπιστία της διδασκαλίας του, πλήττοντας έτσι το θετικό του πρόσωπο (Brown & Levinson 1987): *σηκώνω εγώ το χέρι μου, και λέω,*

κύριε (...) Επειδή του λέω κύριε, έχω μπερδευτεί σ' ένα σημείο στη μετάφραση, θέλω να με βοηθήσετε (...) Του λέω κύριε, τι κάνω; *εδώ μας έχετε πει εσείς, ότι το 'επειδή', στην αρχή της περιόδου είναι πάντοτε:: χρονικό, ε:: χρονικό, γιατί του λέω κύριε, γιατί το μεταφράσαμε αιτιολογικό;*

Σύμφωνα με την ανάλυση διεπιδραστικών δεδομένων από ελληνικές τάξεις γυμνασίου που επιχειρεί η Τσολακίδου (1995: 199 κ.ε., 291, 296), στο στάδιο της εξέτασης οι μαθητές δεν υποβάλλουν συχνά ερωτήσεις και δεν παίρνουν πρωτοβουλίες που να επηρεάζουν την πορεία της συζήτησης στην τάξη. Η Τσολακίδου (ό.π.: 292), ωστόσο, εντοπίζει ορισμένες 'τολμηρές' ερωτήσεις, όπως τις ονομάζει, οι οποίες «εκφράζουν τη στάση (απορία, έκπληξη ή και διαμαρτυρία) των μαθητών/τριών ...» (ό.π. 294). Θεωρώ ότι η ερώτηση της Αρετής στις συνεισφορές [21], [23] του (3) αποτελεί μία τέτοιου τύπου 'τολμηρή' ερώτηση, δεδομένου ότι δεν προβλέπεται από τη συμβατική δομή *E-A-An* στο στάδιο της εξέτασης και, επιπλέον, περιλαμβάνει τη διαμαρτυρία-καταγγελία της μαθήτριας για τις αντιφάσεις του καθηγητή της.

Ειδικότερα, η Αρετή σηκώνοντας το χέρι (συνεισφορά [21]) διεκδικεί το λόγο έξω από τη συμβατική δομή *E-A-An*. Όπως προκύπτει από τα λεγόμενά της ο καθηγητής, θεωρώντας ότι πρόκειται για διευκρινιστική ερώτηση/απορία, ασμένως της παραχωρεί το λόγο (βλ. *χάρηκε αυτός τώρα επειδή είχα απορία*, συνεισφορά [23]). Ωστόσο, η ερώτηση της Αρετής (*τι κάνω;*), αν και περιβάλλεται με το μανδύα των ερωτήσεων διευκρίνισης όπως δείχνει η συμφραστική της πλαίσισωση (πρβλ. *έχω μπερδευτεί ... θέλω να με βοηθήσετε*), αποτελεί μάλλον καταχρηστική (abusive) πραγμάτωση διευκρίνισης (Austin, 1962). Όπως αποκαλύπτεται από την αναπαράσταση του εσωτερικού διαλόγου της (*Και λέω, κοίτα λέω ρε γαμώ, να δεις τι θα του κάνω*, συνεισφορά [17]), ο απώτερος στόχος της Αρετής φαίνεται να είναι η αποκάλυψη της αντίφασης του καθηγητή και, εντέλει, η καταγγελία του και η πλήξη του προσώπου τους. Η μαθήτρια, έχοντας επιτύχει τη νομιμοποιημένη κατοχή του βήματος σε εναρκτήρια θέση (Ε), σε θέση δηλαδή πρώτου σκέλους, μπορεί πλέον να προσδιορίσει αυτή και όχι ο καθηγητής το πλαίσιο, το περιεχόμενο και την ακολουθιακή εξέλιξη του λόγου και εν προκειμένω να προχωρήσει αυτή και οι συμμαθήτριάς της σε διαδοχικές έμμεσες καταγγελίες. Όπως παρατηρεί η Καπελλίδη (2011: 222) ερευνώντας το σύστημα οργάνωσης του λόγου στην τάξη «η πιο εμφανής απόκλιση των παιδιών από αυτό είναι η κατοχή πρώτου σκέλους σε μια αλληλουχία». Δεν πρέπει να διαφύγει της προσοχής μας ότι ο φόβος της τελικής αρνητικής αξιολόγησης από τον καθηγητή ελλοχεύει (βλ. σχετικά και Καπελλίδη 2011: 214), γεγονός που οδηγεί την Αρετή να αναρωτηθεί *τι βαθμό θα μου βάλει* (συνεισφορά [35]) (βλ. και παράδειγμα 2). Το γεγονός αυτό επιπρόσθετα ενισχύει τον αποκλίνοντα και μη προβλεπόμενο χαρακτήρα της ερώτησης της Αρετής.

Στο σημείο αυτό θα πρέπει να λάβουμε υπόψη ότι η Αρετή για να κατοχυρώσει την ίσως μη αναμενόμενη για μια καλή μαθήτρια στάση αμφισβήτησης προς τον καθηγητή της, φροντίζει να δικαιολογήσει τη συμπεριφορά της οικοδομώντας μία άκρως απαξιωτική εικόνα για τον καθηγητή της μέσω αρνητικών αξιολογήσεων (βλ. συνεισφορές [1] –[5], [6], [17], [19], [21]). Από την άλλη, η εικόνα που η Αρετή οικοδομεί για τον εαυτό της είναι απολύτως θετική προβάλλοντας λ.χ. τον εαυτό της ως άτομο ιδιαίτερα επίμονο προκειμένου να βρει τα κατάλληλα επιχειρήματα που θα αποδείξουν την ασυνέπεια του καθηγητή (βλ. τις emphatic εκφράσεις *είχα λυσσάξει να βρω κείμενο και μού 'χε κολλήσει ρε, εμένα άμα μου κολλήσει κάτι, δεν υπάρχει περίπτωση να ησυχάσω* στις συνεισφορές [15] και [17] αντίστοιχα). Τέλος, το ίδιο το γεγονός ότι η Αρετή στο στάδιο εξέτασης σε μια καθηγητοκεντρική τάξη δεν περιορίζεται στη δομή *E-A-An*, αλλά υποβάλλει 'διευκρινιστική' ερώτηση αποσκοπώντας ουσιαστικά να δείξει την αντίφαση του καθηγητή και να πλήξει το πρόσωπό του (συνεισφορές [21], [23]), την συστήνει ως ιδιαίτερα τολμηρή και αποφασιστική.

Συνοψίζοντας τις παραπάνω διαπιστώσεις από την οπτική του Bamberg θα μπορούσαμε να παρατηρήσουμε τα εξής: Στον αφηγηματικό κόσμο η Αρετή παρουσιάζει τον καθηγητή της με απόψεις και συμπεριφορές που δεν βοηθούν αυτήν και τους συμμαθητές της κατά την προετοιμασία τους για τις εισαγωγικές εξετάσεις. Το γεγονός αυτό κινητοποιεί την Αρετή να οργανώσει την διαμαρτυρία της με στόχο να καταγγείλει και να προσβάλει τον καθηγητή της. Η Αρετή δηλαδή τοποθετεί τον εαυτό της σ' έναν αφηγηματικό ρόλο με τον οποίο α) ζητάει και παίρνει το λόγο, σε ακατάλληλη θέση, έξω από το πλαίσιο της συμβατικής δομής *E-A-An* με πρόσχημα τη διευκρίνιση, β) εναντιώνεται προς τον καθηγητή της και φορέα της θεσμικής εξουσίας του ειδικού αναδεικνύοντας τις αντιφάσεις του, και γ) καταγγέλλει έμμεσα τον καθηγητή σε διαδοχικές αντιπαραθέσεις μαζί του, πλήττοντας έτσι το θετικό του πρόσωπο.

Στο επίπεδο της αφηγηματικής διεπίδρασης η παρουσία της Δέσποινας είναι περιορισμένη, αλλά συστηματικά ενισχυτική της τοποθέτησης της Αρετής. Χαρακτηριστική είναι η παρέμβασή της για να καταδείξει την πλήρη 'κατατρόπωση' του καθηγητή μετά τη 'διευκρινιστική' ερώτηση της Αρετής προς αυτόν στη συνεισφορά [24]. Αντίστοιχα ενισχυτική είναι και η στάση της ερευνήτριας στις συνεισφορές [16], [18], [20] και κυρίως, όπως είδαμε, στη συνεισφορά [34].

Τέλος, στο τρίτο επίπεδο της κοινωνικο-ιδεολογικής τοποθέτησης η Αρετή από τη μια συντονίζεται με τις κοινωνικές νόρμες που επιβραβεύουν τους μαθητές με καλές επιδόσεις και στόχο την είσοδό

τους στο πανεπιστήμιο (γι' αυτό επιδιώκει να μαθαίνει τις 'σωστές' απαντήσεις). Από την άλλη όμως, η κεντρική αφηγηματική της τοποθέτηση, ενισχυμένη από την υποστήριξη των συνομιλητριών της, είναι αντίθετη με την προσδοκία συμμόρφωσης των μαθητών στη θεσμική και γνωστική εξουσία που έχουν οι καθηγητές. Ως εκ τούτου, κατασκευάζει για τον εαυτό της μια ισχυρή ταυτότητα δυναμικής και κυρίως κριτικής μαθήτριας, ικανής να μην περιορίζεται στο πλαίσιο της συμβατικής δομής *E-A-An* και, ως εκ τούτου, να παίρνει το λόγο για να αμφισβητήσει τον καθηγητή της αναδεικνύοντας τις αντιφάσεις του και, εντέλει, για να τον απαξιώσει.

6. Συζήτηση και συμπεράσματα

Σ' ό,τι προηγήθηκε η προσοχή μου εστιάστηκε στην ανάλυση ενός αφηγηματικού αποσπάσματος όπου η αφηγήτρια, μαθήτρια της γ' λυκείου, προβαίνει σε κατασκευή ισχυρής ταυτότητας. Πιο συγκεκριμένα, η μαθήτρια, αν και θεσμικά υποδεέστερη σύμφωνα με τις προβλέψεις της συμβατικής δομικής ανταλλαγής *E-A-An*, αξιοποιεί αφηγηματικά τον θεσμικά ισχυρό καθηγητή της για να επιδείξει τη δυνατότητά της να αντιπαρατεθεί προς αυτόν. Τελικός της στόχος είναι η οικοδόμηση και προβολή ισχυρής ταυτότητας που της εξασφαλίζει, στο επίπεδο της αφήγησής της, την ανεξαρτητοποίησή της από την καθηγητική εξουσία.

Ειδικότερα και σε σχέση με δίπολα όπως (κοινωνική) δομή / ατομική δράση, κανονικότητα / επιτελεστικότητα, οι ισχυρές διεπιδραστικές ταυτότητες μαθητών, όπως αυτή που είδαμε να κατασκευάζει η Αρετή, δεν θα πρέπει να αντιμετωπιστούν ως απότοκα δράσεων συγκροτημένης (πολιτικής) σκοπιμότητας με στόχο να αμφισβητηθεί ή έστω να τροποποιηθεί η κανονικότητα της δομής *E-A-An* (βλ. σχετικά Foucault 1982: 211-212). Άλλωστε, όπως είδαμε, η παρουσία τέτοιων αφηγήσεων είναι ιδιαίτερα περιορισμένη στο σύνολο του υλικού μου, ενώ πολιτικές ή άλλες συναφείς εθνογραφικές μαρτυρίες για τέτοιους τύπου δράσεις δεν υπήρξαν ούτε στη δική μου ούτε σε άλλες σχετικές έρευνες (βλ. Rampton 2006: 71-72).

Λαμβάνοντας υπόψη ότι στην Ελλάδα οι μαθητές είναι υποχρεωμένοι να δαπανούν πολύ χρόνο για την προετοιμασία τους ενόψει του επικείμενου ελέγχου από τον καθηγητή τους στην τάξη, οι αφηγηματικές κατασκευές αυτών των ταυτοτήτων στα συμφραζόμενα των καθημερινών, μεταξύ συμμαθητών, συχνά 'εκτονωτικών' συνομιλιών, θα πρέπει μάλλον να αντιμετωπιστούν ως άμεσες και πιθανώς άναρχες αντιδράσεις προς τον δραστικό περιορισμό που ασκούν οι καθηγητές στον αυτοπροσδιορισμό και την αυτοδιάθεσή τους (πρβλ. Foucault 1982: 211-212).

Δεν αποκλείεται βέβαια οι αντιδράσεις αυτές, τόσο στην αφηγηματική τους διάσταση όσο και ενδεχομένως στην πραγματικότητα του σχολείου στο βαθμό που συμβαίνουν, σταδιακά και μακροπρόθεσμα να οδηγήσουν σε νέες διεπιδραστικές συμβάσεις στην τάξη.

Με βάση ωστόσο τα πορίσματα της ανάλυσής μου, είναι σκόπιμο να τονίσω το εξής: θεωρώντας ότι οι αντιδράσεις των μαθητών προς την καθηγητική εξουσία μέσω της αφηγηματικής κατασκευής ισχυρών ταυτοτήτων συνδέονται με την επιδίωξη του αυτοπροσδιορισμού και της αυτοδιάθεσής τους, δηλαδή της (παροδικής, στο πλαίσιο της συνομιλίας) ανεξαρτητοποίησής τους από τις περιοριστικές καθηγητικές κατευθύνσεις, η αφήγηση αναδεικνύεται σε ιδιαίτερα κατάλληλο επικοινωνιακό μέσο επίτευξης (διεπιδραστικών) επιδιώξεων (δηλ. την καταγγελία του καθηγητή) οι οποίες είναι συχνά αμφίβολο αν και σε ποιο βαθμό, έκταση και ένταση θα μπορούσαν να λάβουν χώρα στην πραγματικότητα της σχολικής τάξης (βλ. σχετικά Archakis & Tzanne 2005).

Ως εκ τούτου, τα ευρήματά μου συντονίζονται με τις γενικότερες παραδοχές του θεωρητικού ρεύματος της κοινωνικής κατασκευής σύμφωνα με το οποίο οι ταυτότητες, εν προκειμένω οι ισχυρές μαθητικές ταυτότητες, δεν είναι εγγενώς εγκαταστημένες στα άτομα, αλλά κατασκευάζονται κατά περιστάσεις με βασικό οικοδομικό υλικό το λόγο και αποσκοπώντας σε συγκεκριμένες κάθε φορά επιδιώξεις. Η παρούσα μελέτη, αξιοποιώντας το μοντέλο του Bamberg (1997) συμβάλλει στην κατανόηση του τρόπου με τον οποίο οι μαθητές μέσω των αφηγηματικών τους τοποθετήσεων κατασκευάζουν ισχυρές ταυτότητες, επιδιώκοντας, στο πλαίσιο των συνομιλιών τους, την ανεξαρτητοποίησή τους από την καθηγητική εξουσία.

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ΚΡΙΤΗΡΙΑ ΑΞΙΟΛΟΓΗΣΗΣ ΠΛΗΡΟΦΟΡΗΤΙΚΟΤΗΤΑΣ ΜΑΘΗΤΙΚΩΝ ΚΕΙΜΕΝΩΝ

Γεώργιος Ασπρούλης
Πανεπιστήμιο Κρήτης, Ελλάδα
geaspr@yahoo.gr

ΠΕΡΙΛΗΨΗ

Producing a written text is a demanding procedure requiring both knowledge and language awareness. In this research we examine the ability to produce written texts by Greek-speaking and Albanian-speaking pupils of the fourth and sixth grades of Primary school in Rethimno, Crete. Informativity is an essential element for a text to function in communication. It depends on vocabulary, syntax, and the way we analyze the opinions stated. From the quantitative and qualitative analysis of the research facts no statistically significant differences were noticed regarding text informativity between Greek-speaking and Albanian-speaking pupils.

Λέξεις κλειδιά: text production, writing, second language, bilinguals

1. Σκοπός της έρευνας

Σκοπός της εργασίας αυτής είναι η καταγραφή μιας υπάρχουσας εκπαιδευτικής κατάστασης, της ικανότητας των μαθητών των σχολείων του Ρεθύμνου, Ελληνόφωνων και Αλβανόφωνων, στην παραγωγή κειμένων (αφηγήσεων).

2. Προβληματική της έρευνας

Η παραγωγή κειμένων είναι μια απαιτητική διαδικασία, γνωστικά και γλωσσικά. Αποτελεί βασικό εκπαιδευτικό στόχο από τις πρώτες τάξεις της πρωτοβάθμιας εκπαίδευσης ως και το τέλος της δευτεροβάθμιας εκπαίδευσης. Ως διαδικασία δεν διευκολύνεται από την ικανότητα του μαθητή να αντιλαμβάνεται εξωγλωσσικά και διαπροσωπικά δεδομένα, είναι γνωστικά απαιτητική, γίνεται σε περιβάλλον πλαισιακά μειωμένο και οι αλλοδαποί μαθητές δυσκολεύονται να ανταποκριθούν. Πολλοί αποφοιτούν από το δημοτικό ουσιαστικά ανέτοιμοι, έχοντας χαμηλό επίπεδο ανάπτυξης της ακαδημαϊκής τους ικανότητας. Οδηγούνται με την είσοδό τους στο γυμνάσιο σε σχολική αποτυχία, η οποία ως φαινόμενο έχει πολλές κοινωνικές διαστάσεις.

Σύμφωνα με τα αποτελέσματα ερευνών, όπως αυτή του J. Cummins σε μετανάστες μαθητές στον Καναδά (Cummins 1999) και άλλων (Collier 1987), οι μετανάστες μαθητές χρειάζονται πέντε έως επτά χρόνια για να φτάσουν τους γηγενείς στην ακαδημαϊκή γλωσσική ικανότητα στη γλώσσα της χώρας υποδοχής. Οπότε, σύμφωνα με αυτά τα αποτελέσματα, ενώ στη Δ' τάξη αναμένεται να υπάρχει απόκλιση, στη Στ' Δημοτικού, δηλαδή μετά από έξι σχεδόν χρόνια, αναμένεται κάποια σύγκλιση στην ανάπτυξη ακαδημαϊκής γλωσσικής ικανότητας μεταναστών και γηγενών μαθητών.

3. Το κείμενο και οι λειτουργίες του

Το μοντέλο των de Beaugrande & Dressler δίνει πολλές απαντήσεις στη διακλαδική αντιμετώπιση των κειμένων. Για τους de Beaugrande & Dressler, ως κείμενο θεωρείται το επικοινωνιακό συμβάν που πληροί τους επτά παράγοντες (κριτήρια) της κειμενικότητας, τις επτά κειμενικές λειτουργίες, τη συνοχή, τη συνεκτικότητα, την προθετικότητα, την αποδεκτότητα, την πληροφορητικότητα, την καταστασιακότητα και τη διακειμενικότητα (de Beaugrande & Dressler 1981: 3-4). Οι επτά κειμενικές λειτουργίες αποτελούν ένα ολοκληρωμένο σύνολο, έχουν χαρακτήρα συνδετικό και παρουσιάζουν

τους τρόπους με τους οποίους τα κειμενικά στοιχεία συνδέονται σε ένα σύστημα (Κουτσοιλέλου - Μίχου 1997: 24-25).

3.1 Πληροφορητικότητα

Ένας παράγοντας κειμενικότητας είναι η πληροφορητικότητα (informativity). Είναι παράγοντας απαραίτητος προκειμένου ένα κείμενο να λειτουργήσει στην επικοινωνία, καθώς σχετίζεται με τη μετάδοση πληροφοριών. Εξετάζει το βαθμό που τα κειμενικά στοιχεία ενός κειμένου είναι αναμενόμενα ή όχι, γνωστά ή άγνωστα. Επομένως, η πληροφορία δεν είναι μόνο το περιεχόμενο του κειμένου, αλλά και η συμβατότητα με ό,τι γνωρίζει και ό,τι μπορεί να προσλάβει ο αποδέκτης του κειμένου (Παπαϊωάννου 2006). Όταν το περιεχόμενο είναι σε πλήρη αντιστοιχία με τις γνώσεις του αποδέκτη, τότε το κείμενο είναι αδιάφορο. Στην αντίθετη περίπτωση το περιεχόμενο του κειμένου είναι ανοίκειο. Έτσι, η ελάχιστη και η μέγιστη πληροφορητικότητα οδηγούν στο ίδιο αποτέλεσμα, τη ματαιώση της επικοινωνίας (de Beaugrande & Dressler 1981: 3-4).

Είναι σημαντικό σε ένα γραπτό, το υλικό του κειμένου. Πιο συγκεκριμένα, οι ιδέες ή τα επιχειρήματα του δημιουργού, ανεξάρτητα από το αν είναι κατανοητά, πρέπει να ενδιαφέρουν και να είναι σημαντικά για τον αποδέκτη. Στόχος δεν είναι η γνώση ως γνώση, αλλά η ποιότητά της. Επιπλέον, το κείμενο πρέπει να έχει ποιότητα και να είναι πάρα πολύ καλά οργανωμένο. Η καλή οργάνωση αφορά στο λεξιλόγιο, στα συντακτικά σχήματα, στον τρόπο ανάλυσης και επεξεργασίας των μεταβλητών και των απόψεων που διατυπώνονται. Η παραγωγή κειμένου με υψηλή πληροφορητικότητα είναι συγχρόνως πολύ σημαντική και πιο ενδιαφέρουσα.

Κάθε κειμενικό στοιχείο είναι φορέας συγκεκριμένου βαθμού πληροφορητικότητας. Οι de Beaugrande & Dressler συσχετίζουν την πληροφορητικότητα με την περιβαλλοντική πιθανότητα εμφάνισης ενός κειμενικού στοιχείου· διακρίνουν τα κειμενικά στοιχεία σε αναμενόμενα και μη αναμενόμενα. Τα αναμενόμενα σχετίζονται με χαμηλή πληροφορητικότητα, ενώ τα μη αναμενόμενα με υψηλή (Riffaterre 1971).¹ Όμως, η περιβαλλοντολογική πιθανότητα εξαρτάται από το είδος του κειμένου και δεν είναι ανάλογα κατανοημένη στα διάφορα συστήματά του (Κουτσοιλέλου-Μίχου 1997: 160).

Η πληροφορητικότητα σχετίζεται και με το βαθμό δυσκολίας προσέγγισης των κειμενικών στοιχείων (de Beaugrande 1980: 105). Πρώτου, δηλαδή ελάχιστου βαθμού πληροφορητικότητας, είναι τα πιο συνηθισμένα από πλευράς χρήσης στοιχεία και πιο εύκολα από πλευράς κατανόησης, ενώ εύκολα συνδέονται εννοιολογικά με τα άλλα στοιχεία του κειμένου. Σε αυτή την κατηγορία εντάσσονται τα άρθρα, οι προθέσεις, οι σύνδεσμοι, οι αντωνυμίες, δηλαδή οι λειτουργικές λέξεις. Από κειμενική πλευρά αυτά τα γραμματικά στοιχεία αποτελούν ένα μικρό, κλειστό σύνολο, στο οποίο δεν μπορούν να προστεθούν νέα μέλη, σε συγχρονικό τουλάχιστον επίπεδο. Όλες οι υπόλοιπες λέξεις του λεξικού είναι συστατικά δεύτερου βαθμού πληροφορητικότητας (Κουτσοιλέλου-Μίχου 1997: 160). Τρίτου (μέγιστου) βαθμού πληροφορητικότητας είναι τα κειμενικά στοιχεία που απαιτούν ιδιαίτερη προσπάθεια για να κατανοηθούν σωστά. Τέτοιες είναι παραβιάσεις στο επίπεδο της συνεκτικότητας, τις οποίες οφείλει να ερμηνεύσει ο δέκτης και να αντιληφθεί τις προθέσεις του δημιουργού, όπως και οι ασυνέχειες της γλωσσικής και νοηματικής ροής του κειμένου (Παπαϊωάννου 1995: 32-35). Όταν ο δέκτης επιτύχει να κατανοήσει τα στοιχεία τρίτου βαθμού και τη σημασία τους με στοιχεία που προηγούνται ή έπονται ή είναι εκτός κειμένου, η πληροφορητικότητα των στοιχείων πέφτει από τον τρίτο στο δεύτερο βαθμό. Η ερμηνεία τους όμως συχνά είναι σοβαρό πρόβλημα που απαιτεί γνώσεις και ιδιαίτερη ικανότητα κατανόησης.

Σε αυτή την κατηγορία ανήκουν οι λέξεις περιεχομένου, δηλαδή ουσιαστικά, ρήματα, επίθετα και επιρρήματα, επειδή ενεργοποιούν τις γνωστικές λειτουργίες και δημιουργούν νοητικές εικόνες. Κάθε κείμενο αναπτύσσεται αντλώντας από αυτό το σύνολο των λεξικών στοιχείων, το οποίο είναι σχεδόν ανεξάντλητο.

Η πληροφορητικότητα του κειμένου εξαρτάται και από τις προσδοκίες των δεκτών κατά την επικοινωνία. Οι προσδοκίες του μελετητή σχετίζονται και με το είδος του κειμένου (de Beaugrande & Dressler 1981: 146). Από το κάθε κειμενικό είδος ο δέκτης έχει συγκεκριμένες προσδοκίες για τη δομή, την έκφραση και τη διάρθρωσή του (Κουτσοιλέλου - Μίχου 1997: 194). Αναμένει συγκεκριμένα στοιχεία ύφους από το κείμενο και το δημιουργό του, ώστε αυτό να παρουσιάζεται ενδιαφέρον και πληροφορητικό.

¹ Ο Riffaterre τονίζει ότι η προβλεψιμότητα των στοιχείων παίζει ρόλο στο κειμενικό αποτέλεσμα.

4. Μεθοδολογία της έρευνας

4.1 Υποθέσεις της έρευνας

Οι βασικές υποθέσεις εργασίας είναι ότι:

- οι δίγλωσσοι (αλβανόφωνοι) μαθητές στη Δ' τάξη δεν έχουν φτάσει το επίπεδο των γηγενών συμμαθητών τους στην παραγωγή κειμένων και
- οι δίγλωσσοι (αλβανόφωνοι) μαθητές στο τέλος της πρωτοβάθμιας εκπαίδευσης (Στ' τάξη) έχουν φτάσει το επίπεδο των γηγενών συμμαθητών τους στην παραγωγή κειμένων.

4.2 Ερευνητικά εργαλεία – Μέθοδος – Δείγμα

Για την τεκμηρίωση αυτών των υποθέσεων χρησιμοποιήθηκε ερωτηματολόγιο και γλωσσικό τεστ (αφηγηματικό κείμενο) που δόθηκαν στους μαθητές για να ελεγχθεί η ικανότητά τους στην παραγωγή κειμένου.

Στη συγκεκριμένη έρευνα ακολουθήθηκε η γενετική μέθοδος έρευνας και συγκεκριμένα στη συγχρονική της μορφή (Βάμβουκας 1988: 216-218).

Τα δείγμα της έρευνας αυτής αποτέλεσαν οι 64 αλβανόφωνοι μαθητές και οι 325 ελληνόφωνοι συμμαθητές τους από δεκαεπτά σχολεία από όλο το Νομό Ρεθύμνης.

4.3 Κριτήρια αξιολόγησης των κειμένων

Η αξιολόγηση κειμένων (ιστοριών) μπορεί να γίνει με πάρα πολλά κριτήρια και να δώσει διαφορετικά αποτελέσματα. Γι' αυτό το λόγο η επιλογή του συστήματος κωδικοποίησης και η αξιολόγηση των δεδομένων πρέπει κάθε φορά να λαμβάνει υπ' όψιν τα υποκείμενα, τη διαδικασία, τα υλικά και γενικά το σκοπό της έρευνας. Όπως τονίζει η Akhmanova, προτού αρχίσουμε να μετράμε, πρέπει να ξέρουμε τι μετράμε και για ποιο λόγο το μετράμε (Akhmanova 1976: 110). Έγινε προσπάθεια να βρεθούν κριτήρια αξιολόγησης που να μην αφήνουν περιθώρια για υποκειμενική κρίση (Ματσαγγούρας 2001: 286-287).²

Επειδή τα κείμενα ήταν αφηγήσεις, έπρεπε βασικά να αξιολογηθεί η δομή τους. Η δομή μιας ιστορίας που μπορεί να θεωρηθεί πρότυπη ή ελάχιστη οφείλει να πληροί ορισμένα βασικά χαρακτηριστικά:

- Πρότυπη δομή ιστορίας: α) σκηνικό, β) αρχικό γεγονός, γ) εσωτερική αντίδραση, δ) εγχείρημα, ε) συνέπειες, στ) αντίδραση.
- Ελάχιστη δομή ιστορίας: α) ένα συγκεκριμένο πρωταγωνιστή που θα μπορεί να θέσει κάποιο σκοπό, β) τα κίνητρα και / ή οι στόχοι ενός πρωταγωνιστή, γ) φανερή δράση που στοχεύει στην επίτευξη του στόχου, δ) πληροφορίες που αφορούν στην επίτευξη ή όχι του στόχου.

Ο πλούτος των συντακτικών σχημάτων καθώς και η ποικιλία και η ευελιξία των συντακτικών δομών είναι καθοριστικοί παράγοντες και για την πληροφορητικότητα ενός κειμένου, καθιστώντας το περισσότερο ενδιαφέρον και ικανό να πείσει τον αναγνώστη του.

Η κατανομή κύριων και δευτερευουσών προτάσεων (επιρρηματικών και ονοματικών) και η στατιστική τους αναλογία δίνει πολύτιμα στοιχεία για το ύφος του κειμένου. Η υπεροχή του ανεξάρτητου λόγου έναντι του υποταγμένου δίνει παραστατικότερα νοήματα αλλά ελαττώνει τη λογική τους σχέση. Ο μεγάλος αριθμός κύριων προτάσεων σε σχέση με τις δευτερεύουσες είναι ένα χαρακτηριστικό του απλού ύφους.

Η υποτακτική σύνδεση εκφράζει ανώτερο επίπεδο σκέψης και λόγου, γιατί μέσω των δευτερευουσών προτάσεων δεν παρατίθενται απλά πληροφορίες και σκέψεις αλλά συσχετίζονται τα δεδομένα και παρουσιάζονται οι σκέψεις και ο τρόπος δράσης των ηρώων (Χαραλαμπίδης 1999: 145).

² Κοινά αποδεκτά κριτήρια για αξιολόγηση μαθητικών κειμένων θεωρούνται η δομή κειμένου, η ακρίβεια, η σαφήνεια, η αλληλουχία σκέψεων, η σύνταξη, ο λεκτικός πλούτος, η τεκμηρίωση απόψεων, η κατανόηση του θέματος, η πληρότητα της ανάπτυξης, η ορθογραφία, η γενική εικόνα, η πρωτοτυπία σκέψεων και το ύφος.

«Η πολυπλοκότητα του γραπτού λόγου των μαθητών μπορεί να βρεθεί με βάση τη συχνότητα χρήσης των δευτερευουσών προτάσεων» (Λαμπροπούλου 1993: 43-44).

Στην έρευνα αυτή διακρίθηκαν οι δευτερεύουσες προτάσεις σε ονοματικές και επιρρηματικές. Ευκολότερα και συχνότερα χρησιμοποιούνται από τα παιδιά οι ονοματικές (Μπασλής 1989: 26-27). Όμως, μέσω των επιρρηματικών προτάσεων αναδεικνύονται οι έννοιες του χρόνου, της αιτίας, της υπόθεσης, του σκοπού, του αποτελέσματος, της εναντίωσης. Έτσι, τα γεγονότα σε μια ιστορία συνδέονται μεταξύ τους, η ιστορία αποκτά μεγαλύτερη πλοκή και οι σχέσεις μεταξύ των στοιχείων της γίνονται πιο στενές. Αυτό έχει ως συνέπεια την αύξηση της πληροφορητικότητάς της.

Στην έρευνα αυτή υπολογίστηκαν:

1: συνολικός αριθμός δευτερευουσών προτάσεων προς το συνολικό αριθμό κύριων προτάσεων (Λαμπροπούλου 1993: 43-44).

2 : συνολικός αριθμός επιρρηματικών προτάσεων προς το συνολικό αριθμό κύριων προτάσεων.

Η πληροφορητικότητα ενός κειμένου εξαρτάται και από το λεξιλόγιο, την ποιότητα του υλικού που ο δημιουργός του επιλέγει. Στην ηλικία αυτή ο στόχος για την παραγωγή κειμένου δεν είναι η δημιουργία εκκολαπτόμενων λογοτεχνών. Όμως, ένα πλούσιο λεξιλόγιο, το οποίο έχει σωστά επιλεγεί και ευστοχα τοποθετηθεί, καθιστά το κείμενο ενδιαφέρον. Αντίθετα, ένα κείμενο με περιορισμένο ή επαναλαμβανόμενο λεξιλόγιο δεν έλκει την προσοχή του αναγνώστη και δεν επιτυγχάνει το σκοπό του.

Επίσης, επισημαίνεται ο σημαντικός ρόλος των επιθέτων στην πληροφορητικότητα ενός κειμένου. «Τα επίθετα είτε περιορίζουν την έκταση της γενικής σημασίας του ουσιαστικού και προσθέτουν στο λόγο σαφήνεια και ακρίβεια είτε ως κατηγορούμενα συμπληρώνουν τη σημασία του ρήματος, αναδεικνύοντας την ποιότητα ή την ιδιότητα που αποδίδεται στο υποκείμενο. Όσο καλύτερα το παιδί γνωρίζει τη γλώσσα, τόσο περισσότερα και πιο κατάλληλα επίθετα χρησιμοποιεί».

Ένας δείκτης ταυτότητας του κειμένου είναι η αναλογία λειτουργικών λέξεων και λέξεων περιεχομένου. Έχει ονομαστεί λεξική πυκνότητα. Παρά το γεγονός όμως ότι οι λειτουργικές λέξεις είναι πολύ λιγότερες από τις λέξεις περιεχομένου, καταλαμβάνουν σχεδόν το 50% του συνόλου των λέξεων που παρουσιάζονται σ' ένα κείμενο.

Για την αξιολόγηση ενός κειμένου με βάση τη λεξική πυκνότητα είναι σημαντικό να λαμβάνεται υπ' όψιν το μήκος του κειμένου. Το λεξιλόγιο ενός κειμένου ανανεώνεται μόνο από λεξικά στοιχεία, συνεπώς ο αριθμός των νέων λέξεων τείνει να μειώνεται όσο αναπτύσσεται το κείμενο και διαφέρει από ενότητα σε ενότητα (Youmans 1994).

Συνεπώς, χρησιμοποιήθηκαν τα παρακάτω κριτήρια:

- Το πλήθος των διαφορετικών λέξεων,
- Η ποικιλία και ο πλούτος του λεξιλογίου. Σύμφωνα με τη Β. Λαμπροπούλου (Λαμπροπούλου 1993: 43) μπορεί να υπολογιστεί από το «type-token ratio» των Templin και Quigley & Paul (Quigley & Paul 1984). Ο λόγος αυτός βρίσκεται από το εξής ποσοστό: Συνολικός αριθμός διαφορετικών λέξεων κειμένου προς το συνολικό αριθμό λέξεων κειμένου (Σπαντιδάκης 1998: 63-64),³
- Το πλήθος επιθέτων,
- Το ποσοστό του πλήθους επιθέτων σε σχέση με το συνολικό αριθμό λέξεων του κειμένου,
- Το πλήθος των λέξεων περιεχομένου.

Το ποσοστό του πλήθους των λέξεων περιεχομένου σε σχέση με το πλήθος των λειτουργικών λέξεων.

5. Αποτελέσματα της έρευνας

5.1 Η ικανότητα παραγωγής κειμένων στη Δ' τάξη

Με βάση τον πειραματικό σχεδιασμό για την εξέταση όλων των κριτηρίων που επιλέχθηκαν στις δύο ομάδες της Δ' δημοτικού, των ελληνοφώνων και των αλβανοφώνων μαθητών, χρησιμοποιήθηκε το μη παραμετρικό Test Mann Whitney για δύο ανεξάρτητα δείγματα. Δεν χρησιμοποιήθηκε το αντίστοιχο παραμετρικό κριτήριο T-test, καθώς υπήρχαν ακραίες τιμές και αποκλίσεις των μεταβλητών από την κανονική κατανομή (Νόβα-Καλτσούνη 2006: 162). Με αυτό το test εξετάζεται αν υπάρχουν

³ Σύμφωνα με τον Σπαντιδάκη, είναι λογικό να μειώνεται το πλήθος των διαφορετικών λέξεων όσο αυξάνεται το μήκος του κειμένου. Προτείνει ως επιλογή για μεγαλύτερη αξιοπιστία να λαμβάνεται ως δείγμα ο ίδιος αριθμός λέξεων από κάθε γραπτό.

στατιστικά σημαντικές διαφορές στις μετρήσεις των εξαρτημένων μεταβλητών (κριτήρια αξιολόγησης κειμένων) που προέρχονται από τις δύο ομάδες.

Έλεγχος στατιστικής σημαντικότητας με βάση τα κριτήρια αξιολόγησης γραπτού λόγου μεταξύ της ομάδας των αλβανόφωνων και των ελληνόφωνων μαθητών στη Δ' τάξη

Δ' τάξη				
Κριτήρια αξιολόγησης	Μ.Ο (ελάχιστη-μέγιστη τιμή)		Z	P
	Αλβανόφωνοι	Ελληνόφωνοι		
Δομή ιστορίας	1,4 (0 – 2)	1,3 (0 – 2)	-0,988	0,323
Διαφορετικές λέξεις	71,9 (32 – 130)	81,5 (22 – 314)	-0,994	0,320
% διαφορετικών λέξεων	49,2 (34 – 75,3)	48,6 (31 – 71,7)	-0,646	0,518
Λέξεις περιεχομένου	83,7 (29 – 185)	99,1 (17 – 564)	-1,005	0,315
Λέξεις περιεχομένου / λέξεις λειτουργικές	1,2 (0,9 – 1,5)	1,2 (0,8 – 1,6)	-0,950	0,342
Επίθετα	7,4 (1 – 23)	8,6 (0 – 65)	-0,857	0,391
% επιθέτων	4,4 (1,2 – 8,7)	4,4 (0 – 10,3)	-0,227	0,821
% Δευτερεύουσες / κύριες	40,8 (6,9 – 85,7)	47,8 (0 – 125)	-1,537	0,124
% Επιρρηματικές / κύριες	20,1 (0 – 57,1)	23,3 (0 – 100)	-1,190	0,234

Δεν φαίνεται να επαληθεύεται η υπόθεση ότι οι δίγλωσσοι μαθητές στη Δ' τάξη δεν έχουν φτάσει το επίπεδο των γηγενών συμμαθητών τους στην παραγωγή κειμένων στα κριτήρια που σχετίζονται με την πληροφορητικότητα ενός κειμένου.

Πιο συγκεκριμένα, μη στατιστικά σημαντικές ήταν οι διαφορές στα εξής κριτήρια:

- Δομή ιστοριών: Οι αλβανόφωνοι μαθητές δημιουργούν ιστορίες με μέσο όρο δομής 1,4, ενώ οι ελληνόφωνοι μαθητές με μέσο όρο 1,3 ($p=0,323$).
- Διαφορετικές λέξεις: Οι αλβανόφωνοι μαθητές χρησιμοποιούν κατά μέσο όρο 71,9 διαφορετικές λέξεις σε κάθε τους κείμενο, ενώ οι ελληνόφωνοι μαθητές χρησιμοποιούν κατά μέσο όρο 81,5 διαφορετικές λέξεις σε κάθε τους κείμενο ($p=0,320$).
- Ποσοστό διαφορετικών λέξεων: Το ποσοστό των διαφορετικών λέξεων ως προς το σύνολο των λέξεων του κειμένου είναι κατά μέσο όρο στα κείμενα των αλβανόφωνων μαθητών 49,2, ενώ στα κείμενα των ελληνόφωνων μαθητών 48,6 ($p=0,518$).
- Λέξεις περιεχομένου: Οι αλβανόφωνοι μαθητές χρησιμοποιούν κατά μέσο όρο 83,7 λέξεις περιεχομένου σε κάθε τους κείμενο, ενώ οι ελληνόφωνοι μαθητές χρησιμοποιούν κατά μέσο όρο 99,1 ($p=0,315$).
- Λέξεις περιεχομένου προς λέξεις λειτουργικές: Η σχέση λέξεων περιεχομένου προς τις λειτουργικές λέξεις ήταν 1,2 προς 1 κατά μέσο όρο στα κείμενα των αλβανόφωνων μαθητών και των ελληνόφωνων μαθητών ($p=0,342$).

- Πλήθος επιθέτων: Οι αλβανόφωνοι μαθητές χρησιμοποιούν κατά μέσο όρο 7,4 επίθετα σε κάθε τους κείμενο, ενώ οι ελληνόφωνοι μαθητές 8,6 ($p=0,821$).
- Ποσοστό επιθέτων: Το ποσοστό των επιθέτων ως προς το σύνολο των λέξεων του κειμένου είναι κατά μέσο όρο στα κείμενα των αλβανόφωνων μαθητών 4,4. Το ίδιο βρέθηκε και στα κείμενα των ελληνόφωνων μαθητών ($p=0,797$).
- Ποσοστό δευτερευουσών προτάσεων ως προς τις κύριες: 40,8 δευτερεύουσες προτάσεις αντιστοιχούν σε κάθε 100 κύριες κατά μέσο όρο στα κείμενα των αλβανόφωνων μαθητών, ενώ 47,8 σε κάθε 100 στα κείμενα των ελληνόφωνων μαθητών ($p=0,124$).
- Ποσοστό επιρρηματικών προτάσεων ως προς τις κύριες: 20,1 επιρρηματικές προτάσεις αντιστοιχούν σε κάθε 100 κύριες κατά μέσο όρο στα κείμενα των αλβανόφωνων μαθητών, ενώ 23,3 σε κάθε 100 στα κείμενα των ελληνόφωνων μαθητών ($p=0,234$).

5.2 Η ικανότητα παραγωγής κειμένων στη Στ' τάξη

Για την εξέταση όλων των κριτηρίων αξιολόγησης που επιλέχθηκαν στις δύο ομάδες της Στ' δημοτικού, των ελληνόφωνων και των αλβανόφωνων μαθητών, χρησιμοποιήθηκε, και σε αυτή την περίπτωση, το μη παραμετρικό Test Mann Whitney για δύο ανεξάρτητα δείγματα.

Έλεγχος στατιστικής σημαντικότητας με βάση τα κριτήρια αξιολόγησης γραπτού λόγου μεταξύ της ομάδας των αλβανόφωνων και των ελληνόφωνων μαθητών στη Στ' τάξη

Στ' τάξη				
Κριτήρια αξιολόγησης	Μ.Ο (ελάχιστη-μέγιστη τιμή)		Z	P
	Αλβανόφωνοι	Ελληνόφωνοι		
Δομή ιστορίας	1,3 (0 – 2)	1,5 (0 – 2)	-0,802	0,422
Διαφορετικές λέξεις	93 (22 – 232)	109,3 (28 – 410)	-1,756	0,079
% διαφορετικών λέξεων	47,3 (31 – 81,5)	45,9 (27,3 – 63,7)	-0,410	0,682
Λέξεις περιεχομένου	116,4 (16 – 313)	136,4 (31– 599)	-1,463	0,143
Λέξεις περιεχομένου / λέξεις λειτουργικές	1,1 (0,8 – 1,6)	1,2 (0,8 – 1,7)	-1,415	0,157
Επίθετα	11,2 (0 – 31)	13,9 (1 – 69)	-1,331	0,183
% επιθέτων	4,9 (0 – 7,7)	5,4 (0,4 – 11,2)	-0,955	0,339
% Δευτερεύουσες / κύριες	60,6 (21,1 – 171,4)	50,3 (9,5 – 166,7)	-1,821	0,069
% Επιρρηματικές / κύριες	30,7 (0 – 114,3)	21,9 (0 – 71,4)	2,063	0,039

Φαίνεται να επαληθεύεται η υπόθεση ότι οι δίγλωσσοι μαθητές στη Στ' τάξη έχουν φτάσει το επίπεδο των γηγενών συμμαθητών τους στην παραγωγή κειμένων στα κριτήρια που σχετίζονται με την πληροφορητικότητα ενός κειμένου. Στα περισσότερα κριτήρια αξιολόγησης που σχετίζονται με την πληροφορητικότητα του κειμένου δεν παρουσιάζονται στατιστικά σημαντικές διαφορές μεταξύ των δυο ομάδων. Όμως, στο ποσοστό των δευτερευουσών προτάσεων ως προς τις κύριες και στο ποσοστό

των επιρρηματικών προτάσεων ως προς τις κύριες υπερέχουν, ασθενώς στατιστικά σημαντικά και στατιστικώς σημαντικά αντίστοιχα, οι δίγλωσσοι μαθητές. Τέλος, το κριτήριο του πλήθους των διαφορετικών λέξεων υπερέχουν ασθενώς στατιστικά σημαντικά οι γηγενείς μαθητές έναντι των δίγλωσσων.

Πιο συγκεκριμένα, μη στατιστικά σημαντικές ήταν οι διαφορές στα εξής κριτήρια:

- Δομή ιστοριών: Οι αλβανόφωνοι μαθητές δημιουργούν ιστορίες με μέσο όρο δομής 1,3 ενώ οι ελληνόφωνοι μαθητές με μέσο όρο 1,5 ($p=0,422$).
- Ποσοστό διαφορετικών λέξεων: Το ποσοστό των διαφορετικών λέξεων ως προς το σύνολο των λέξεων του κειμένου είναι κατά μέσο όρο στα κείμενα των αλβανόφωνων μαθητών 47,3, ενώ στα κείμενα των ελληνόφωνων μαθητών 45,9 ($p=0,682$).
- Λέξεις περιεχομένου: Οι αλβανόφωνοι μαθητές χρησιμοποιούν κατά μέσο όρο 116,4 λέξεις περιεχομένου σε κάθε τους κείμενο, ενώ οι ελληνόφωνοι μαθητές χρησιμοποιούν κατά μέσο όρο 136,4 ($p=0,143$).
- Λέξεις περιεχομένου προς λέξεις λειτουργικές: Η σχέση λέξεων περιεχομένου προς τις λειτουργικές λέξεις ήταν 1,1 προς 1 κατά μέσο όρο στα κείμενα των αλβανόφωνων μαθητών, ενώ 1,2 προς 1 σε αυτά των ελληνόφωνων μαθητών ($p=0,401$).
- Πλήθος επιθέτων: Οι αλβανόφωνοι μαθητές χρησιμοποιούν κατά μέσο όρο 11,2 επίθετα σε κάθε τους κείμενο, ενώ οι ελληνόφωνοι μαθητές χρησιμοποιούν κατά μέσο όρο 13,9 ($p=0,183$).
- Ποσοστό επιθέτων: Το ποσοστό των επιθέτων ως προς το σύνολο των λέξεων του κειμένου είναι κατά μέσο όρο στα κείμενα των αλβανόφωνων μαθητών 4,9, ενώ στα κείμενα των ελληνόφωνων μαθητών 5,4 ($p=0,339$).

Μεταξύ αλβανόφωνων και ελληνόφωνων μαθητών στη Στ' τάξη στατιστικά σημαντικές αποδείχθηκαν οι διαφορές στα εξής κριτήρια:

- Διαφορετικές λέξεις: Οι αλβανόφωνοι μαθητές χρησιμοποιούν κατά μέσο όρο 93 διαφορετικές λέξεις σε κάθε τους κείμενο, ενώ οι ελληνόφωνοι μαθητές 109,3 ($p=0,079$).
- Ποσοστό δευτερευουσών προτάσεων ως προς τις κύριες: 60,6 δευτερεύουσες προτάσεις αντιστοιχούν σε κάθε 100 κύριες κατά μέσο όρο στα κείμενα των αλβανόφωνων μαθητών, ενώ 50,3 σε κάθε 100 στα κείμενα των ελληνόφωνων μαθητών ($p=0,069$).
- Ποσοστό επιρρηματικών προτάσεων ως προς τις κύριες: 30,7 επιρρηματικές προτάσεις αντιστοιχούν σε κάθε 100 κύριες κατά μέσο όρο στα κείμενα των αλβανόφωνων μαθητών, ενώ 21,9 σε κάθε 100 στα κείμενα των ελληνόφωνων μαθητών ($p=0,039$).

6. Συμπεράσματα - Προτάσεις

Σε αυτή την έρευνα η βασική υπόθεση ήταν ότι οι δίγλωσσοι μαθητές στη Δ' τάξη δεν έχουν φτάσει το επίπεδο των γηγενών συμμαθητών τους στην παραγωγή κειμένων και ότι οι δίγλωσσοι μαθητές στο τέλος της πρωτοβάθμιας εκπαίδευσης (Στ' τάξη) έχουν φτάσει το επίπεδο των γηγενών συμμαθητών τους στην παραγωγή κειμένων.

Στην πρώτη φάση (στη Δ' τάξη) αναμένονταν διαφορές ανάμεσα στις δυο ομάδες. Πιο συγκεκριμένα, αναμενόταν οι ελληνόφωνοι μαθητές να είναι περισσότερο έτοιμοι από τους αλβανόφωνους μαθητές σε αυτή τη γνωστικά απαιτητική πλευρά της γλωσσικής ικανότητας. Συνεπώς, θα μπορούσαν να γράφουν κείμενα με μεγαλύτερη πληροφορητικότητα. Από την ποσοτική και ποιοτική ανάλυση των δεδομένων της έρευνας επιβεβαιώθηκε η βασική υπόθεση σε αρκετά κριτήρια αξιολόγησης των κειμένων. Συγκεκριμένα, οι ελληνόφωνοι μαθητές, εμφάνισαν σε σημαντικά κριτήρια καλύτερες επιδόσεις από τους αλβανόφωνους μαθητές. Αναλυτικότερα, δεν παρουσιάστηκαν διαφορές μεταξύ των αλβανόφωνων και ελληνόφωνων μαθητών της Δ' τάξης στο κριτήριο της δομής αφήγησης, το οποίο διασφαλίζει την πληροφορητικότητα των κειμένων. Οι μαθητές χρησιμοποιούσαν τον ίδιο σχεδόν αριθμό διαφορετικών λέξεων για να συνθέσουν τα κείμενά τους και σε απόλυτους αριθμούς αλλά και σε σχέση με το πλήθος των λέξεων που χρησιμοποίησαν. Χρησιμοποιούσαν το ίδιο συχνά λέξεις περιεχομένου, δηλαδή ουσιαστικά, ρήματα, επίθετα και επιρρήματα, που ενεργοποιούν τις γνωστικές λειτουργίες και δημιουργούν νοητικές εικόνες. Τέλος, ο λόγος τους ήταν το ίδιο σύνθετος, καθώς επέλεγαν παρόμοιο αριθμό δευτερευουσών προτάσεων ανά κύρια πρόταση.

Στη δεύτερη, όμως, φάση δηλαδή μεταξύ των αλβανόφωνων και ελληνόφωνων μαθητών της Στ' τάξης δεν αναμένονταν διαφορές. Πιο συγκεκριμένα, αναμενόταν οι ελληνόφωνοι μαθητές και οι

αλβανόφωνοι μαθητές να είναι εξίσου έτοιμοι σε αυτή τη γνωστικά απαιτητική πλευρά της γλωσσικής ικανότητας και ότι θα μπορούν να γράφουν και οι δυο ομάδες εξίσου πληροφορητικά κείμενα. Όμως, δεν επιβεβαιώθηκε η βασική υπόθεση σε αρκετά κριτήρια αξιολόγησης των κειμένων. Συγκεκριμένα, οι ελληνόφωνοι μαθητές, εξακολούθησαν να εμφανίζουν σε σημαντικά κριτήρια καλύτερες επιδόσεις από τους αλβανόφωνους μαθητές. Δεν παρουσιάστηκαν διαφορές μεταξύ των αλβανόφωνων και ελληνόφωνων μαθητών της Στ' τάξης στο κριτήριο της δομής αφήγησης. Τα κείμενα, επίσης, δεν είχαν σημαντικές διαφορές ως το ποσοστό των διαφορετικών λέξεων από τις οποίες τα κείμενα αποτελούνταν. Οι μαθητές χρησιμοποιούσαν το ίδιο συχνά λέξεις περιεχομένου, δηλαδή ουσιαστικά, ρήματα, επίθετα και επιρρήματα εμπλουτίζοντας με αυτόν τον τρόπο το λόγο τους. Σημαντικές διαφορές παρουσιάστηκαν στο ποσοστό των δευτερευουσών προτάσεων και πιο συγκεκριμένα των επιρρηματικών που χρησιμοποιούσαν οι δύο ομάδες. Οι αλβανόφωνοι μαθητές χρησιμοποιούσαν περισσότερο από τους ελληνόφωνους μαθητές τον υποτεταγμένο λόγο προκειμένου να αποδώσουν στα κείμενά τους τις έννοιες του χρόνου, της αιτίας, της υπόθεσης, του σκοπού, του αποτελέσματος, της εναντίωσης.

Γενικά, η παραγωγή κειμένου είναι μια διαδικασία διαθεματική από τη φύση της. Γνώσεις, ιδέες, εικόνες, σύμβολα και πληροφορίες από όλες τις επιστήμες πρέπει να φωτίσουν τη θεματική που έχει επιλεγεί. Μόνο τότε θα αποκτήσει σφαιρική εικόνα ο μαθητής και θα μπορέσει να εκφράσει τη δική του άποψη. Με τις γνώσεις του βάζει ένα λίθο, μικρό ή μεγάλο, στο κατασκευάσμα που θα δημιουργηθεί με το τέλος της εκπαιδευτικής διαδικασίας.

Τα κείμενα που συνθέτουν οι δίγλωσσοι μαθητές δε διαφέρουν ως προς την πληροφορητικότητα τους σε σχέση με αυτά που συνθέτουν οι γηγενείς συμμαθητές τους. Έχουν πολύ καλή αφηγηματική δομή. Εμφανίζουν πλούτο συντακτικών σχημάτων και ποικιλία συντακτικών δομών συσχετίζοντας και παρουσιάζοντας τις σκέψεις και τον τρόπο δράσης των ηρώων. Το λεξιλόγιο τους δεν είναι επαναλαμβανόμενο. Εμφανίζονται αρκετά επίθετα μέσα σε αυτά, τα οποία προσδίδουν σαφήνεια και ακρίβεια σε πρόσωπα και αντικείμενα, για τα οποία γίνεται λόγος. Τέλος, έχουν καλό βαθμό πληροφορητικότητας με αρκετές λέξεις περιεχομένου.

Προκειμένου τα κριτήρια να μπορούν να λειτουργούν καλύτερα και να οδηγούν σε ασφαλέστερα συμπεράσματα πρέπει να τηρούνται κάποιες προϋποθέσεις. Τα κείμενα πρέπει να έχουν, ή έστω να στοχεύουν, σε συγκεκριμένο αριθμό λέξεων. Κατά τη σύνθεσή τους καλό είναι να ακολουθείται συγκεκριμένη δομή αφήγησης με τις αντίστοιχες παραγράφους.

Οι δίγλωσσοι μαθητές φαίνεται ότι έχουν γνωστικό υλικό, σκέψεις, πληροφορίες και λεξιλόγιο για να δομήσουν τα κείμενά τους. Απομένει η σωστή καθοδήγηση, ώστε αυτό το υλικό να παρουσιάζεται χωρίς μορφοσυντακτικά λάθη. Τα σχήματα αφήγησης και περιγραφής που δίνονται στα σχολικά εγχειρίδια είτε με τη μορφή ερωτήσεων είτε με τη μορφή διαγραμμάτων είναι το πρώτο μόνο από τα βήματα που απαιτούνται για γνωστικά απαιτητικές και με χαμηλό βαθμό πλαισιακής στήριξης διαδικασίες της παραγωγής κειμένου.

Οι μαθητές οφείλουν να αναπτύσσουν αυτοέλεγχο και αυτοπεποίθηση. Πρέπει να είναι ξεκάθαρος ο σκοπός για τον οποίο συνθέτεται το κείμενο, ποιοι θα είναι οι αποδέκτες του και με ποια κριτήρια θα αξιολογηθεί, πώς το κείμενο θα γίνει περισσότερο πληροφορητικό, ποιο θα είναι το εξωγλωσσικό περιβάλλον του κειμένου⁴ και τέλος ποια χαρακτηριστικά πρέπει να έχει το κείμενό τους για να μπορεί να ενταχθεί στο αντίστοιχο κειμενικό είδος στο οποίο στοχεύει η εκπαιδευτική διαδικασία.

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⁴ Ο χώρος, ο χρόνος, οι συνθήκες, τα πρόσωπα και οι καταστάσεις κάτω από τις οποίες εκφέρεται.

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ΣΥΓΚΡΙΣΕΙΣ ΟΜΟΙΟΤΗΤΑΣ ΣΤΑ ΝΕΑ ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΑ Ο ΔΕΙΚΤΗΣ ΣΑΝ

Βασιλική Αφεντουλίδου

Πανεπιστήμιο Αθηνών

vafentoul@phil.uoa.gr

ABSTRACT

The paper presents a corpus-based account of the synchronic behaviour of the Modern Greek marker σαν 'like, as' in a number of similarity comparison constructions. Complementing approaches that emphasize its capacity for loose use, σαν is analyzed as a marker of comparison and a mental space builder. The findings suggest that σαν is sensitive to the speakers' choice of epistemic stance and that its inherent comparative nature is responsible for its polysemy and discourse functions. It is concluded that the σαν constructions initiate a concept adjustment process, which can be best described in a continuum of similarities to identities.

Λέξεις κλειδιά: σύγκριση, ομοιότητα, επιστημική στάση, νοητικοί χώροι, σώματα κειμένων, σαν

1. Εισαγωγή

1.1 Στόχοι της έρευνας

Οι δομές ομοιότητας εντάσσονται στη γλωσσική έκφραση της ισοδυναμίας και συνεξετάζονται με γραμματικές περιγραφές των συγκρίσεων γενικότερα (Χειλά-Μαρκοπούλου 1986, Haspelmath & Buchholz 1998, Holton, Mackridge & Φιλίππακη-Warburton 1999, Huddleston & Pullum 2002). Όπως επισημαίνει η Χειλά-Μαρκοπούλου (1986: 128-29), στις αρχές του 20^{ου} αιώνα η γλωσσολογική ανάλυση των συγκρίσεων στις φυσικές γλώσσες είχε ταυτιστεί με την ανισότητα -κατά το πρότυπο των κλασικών γλωσσών- και είχε έτσι αγνοηθεί «μία από τις βασικότερες μορφές σύγκρισης, η ισότητα». Παρόμοια θέση διατυπώνουν οι Haspelmath & Buchholz (1998: 277), διαπιστώνοντας την έλλειψη τυπολογικών μελετών και δικαιολογώντας έτσι την πρόθεσή τους να διερευνήσουν διαγλωσσικά τις εξισωτικές και τις παρομοιαστικές δομές.

Στη μελέτη αυτή επιχειρείται μια πρώτη προσέγγιση της συγχρονικής συμπεριφοράς ενός βασικού δείκτη ομοιότητας για τα Ελληνικά, του δείκτη *σαν*¹. Ύστερα από μια σύντομη ανασκόπηση προγενέστερων κατηγοριοποιήσεων, ορίζονται οι άξονες της δικής μας ανάλυσης, η μεθοδολογία και το σώμα του υλικού, βάσει των οποίων εφαρμόζεται ένα ενιαίο πλαίσιο ερμηνείας της πολυμορφίας, αλλά και της εξέλιξης των δομών.

Το *σαν* πρωτοεμφανίζεται στα Μεσαιωνικά Ελληνικά μέσω του ελληνιστικού *ὡσαν*, ήδη εν χρήσει στην Αρχαία Ελληνική σε αναλυτική μορφή, σε συνεκφορές των στοιχείων *ὡς* και *ἄν*, όπου το πρώτο είναι αναφορικό και το δεύτερο με αναντίρρητη τροπικότητα². Αποτελεί δηλαδή γλωσσικό στοιχείο σημασιολογικά προσανατολισμένο προς τον από κόσμο της πραγματικότητας, σε συνδυασμό με την οπτική ενός παρατηρητή που αντιλαμβάνεται την πραγματικότητα και τη σχολιάζει. Οι λεξικογραμματικές περιγραφές κάνουν λόγο για μια πολυλειτουργική άκλιτη λέξη³. Στις ελληνικές μελέτες αντιμετωπίζεται σε άμεσο συσχετισμό με τον αρχαιότερο δείκτη *ὡς* (λ.χ. Τζάρτζανος 1963: 250-53, Κλαίρης & Μπαμπινιώτης 2005: 564) και μάλιστα η έρευνα ολοένα αναδεικνύει μια παράλληλη εξέλιξη (Τσαμαδού-Jacoberger 1990, Χαραλαμπίδης 1999: 122, Χάρης 2001: 347-68, Κατσιμαλή 2003, Σαραντάκος 2007: 295-301, Κατσούδα 2009: 239, Νάκας 2010). Αυτό που ενοποιεί

¹ Η έρευνα αποτελεί τμήμα διδακτορικής διατριβής, η οποία εκπονείται με χορηγία του Ιδρύματος Ωνάση.

² LSJ, Chantraine 1999, Sophocles 1914, Humbert 1960: 207-11, BDF 1961: 219, 236-38, Δημητρ. ΕΛΝΕΓ, ΑΚΝ.

³ Κατατάσσεται, ανάλογα με το περιβάλλον και τη λειτουργία του, γενικότερα στα μόρια (Τζάρτζανος 1963, Τριανταφυλλίδης 1996, Τσόκογλου 1998, ΑΝΕΓ, ΜΕΛ), ειδικότερα στις προθέσεις (Mackridge 1990, Τσοπανάκης 1994, Holton, Mackridge & Φιλίππακη-Warburton 1999, Κλαίρης & Μπαμπινιώτης 2005 'οιονεί πρόθεση', επίσης Τζάρτζανος 1963, ΑΚΝ 'προθεσικό επίρρημα') και στους συνδέσμους (γενική ομορφονία).

τις αναλύσεις βρίσκεται στην παραδοχή όλων ότι πίσω από το *σαν* κρύβεται ο ομιλητής και η σχέση του με την πραγματικότητα.

Στην ομώνυμη μελέτη της για τη σημασιολογία του *σαν*, η Τσαμαδού-Jacobberger (1990) ονομάζει το δείκτη «ουδέτερο διενεργητή χαλαρής ταύτισης» (σελ. 297). Η ιδιότητά του να δημιουργεί «χαλαρές συνδέσεις» ανάμεσα στις έννοιες, ότι δηλαδή κάτι *είναι σχεδόν* κάτι άλλο, χωρίς να ταυτίζεται απόλυτα με αυτό, προκρίνεται ως βασική λειτουργία του σε συγκεκριμένες ενδοπροτασιακές εκφορές, με επεκτάσεις και σε διαπροτασιακές (σσ. 301-303). Είναι σαφές το σκεπτικό της κατηγοριοποίησης της Τσαμαδού-Jacobberger και η ανάλυσή μας είναι απολύτως συμβατή με το πλέγμα των σημασιών που αποδίδονται στο *σαν*. Στην εργασία αυτή, ωστόσο, προτείνουμε τη *συγκριτική* (συσχετιστική) του λειτουργία ως εναλλακτική δεσπόζουσα της ανάλυσης: οι δομές με το δείκτη *σαν* αποτελούν τη βάση (2^{ος} όρος) με την οποία συσχετίζεται ένας 1^{ος} όρος (άμεσα συνδεδεμένος με τον κόσμο του ομιλητή τη στιγμή της εκφώνησης). Τα συσχετιζόμενα μέρη μπορεί να είναι γεγονότα, καταστάσεις, πρόσωπα, πράγματα κ.ά. Συγχρόνως, και ο δεύτερος όρος αποτιμάται με βάση τον πρώτο. Στόχος μας είναι να διερευνηθεί ο μηχανισμός των συσχετισμών, ώστε να ενοποιηθούν όσο γίνεται οι χρήσεις του δείκτη και να αναδειχθούν κανονικότητες που διέπουν τη συμπεριφορά του.

1.2 Μεθοδολογικά

Στην ομαδοποίηση του υλικού απομονώθηκαν συντάξεις κατά τις οποίες ο *σαν* εμφανίζεται σε δομές «A, *σαν* B» ή «*σαν* B, A», όπου τα A, B αποτελούν α) ονοματικά στοιχεία, κυρίως πρόσωπα, πράγματα (± έμψυχα, ± συγκεκριμένα· εφεξής *οντότητες*, στα οποία ο δείκτης αποδίδει ιδιότητες διά της σύγκρισης (βλ. 2.2) β) ολόκληρες προτάσεις, τις οποίες ο *σαν* συνδέει μεταξύ τους ως εισαγωγικός σύνδεσμος (βλ. 2.1)⁴. Στις προτασιακές εκφορές ο δείκτης συνοδεύει *γεγονότα, καταστάσεις, ενέργειες, διαδικασίες*: η ομάδα αυτή περιλαμβάνει και τις χρονικές, αιτιολογικές, υποθετικές του σημασίες, οι οποίες τείνουν να εκλείψουν από την Κοινή Νέα Ελληνική, διότι θεωρούνται είτε λαϊκότητες και ιδιωματικές είτε υφολογικά μαρκαρισμένες.

Στην έρευνα χρησιμοποιούνται μεθοδολογικά εργαλεία από γνωσιακές προσεγγίσεις που δίνουν έμφαση στον κόσμο του ομιλητή και στην *επιστημική* του *στάση* (θετική/αρνητική/ουδέτερη) απέναντι στα λεγόμενά του ('epistemic stance': Fillmore 1990, Dancygier & Sweetser 2005), έννοια εγγενώς τροπική και διαβαθμίσιμη. Συναφής είναι και η *επιστημική απόσταση* ('epistemic distance': ό.π. σσ. 56-79), ο βαθμός αποστασιοποίησης του ομιλητή από το περιεχόμενο των λεγομένων του. Από την ανάλυση προκύπτει ότι: 1) η παρουσία του δείκτη *σαν* σηματοδοτεί ένα είδος σύγκρισης που προϋποθέτει αυξημένη εμπλοκή του ομιλητή, υπό την έννοια ότι η σύγκριση αυτή διενεργείται από ένα υποκείμενο που παρουσιάζει την πραγματικότητα (1^{ος} όρος σύγκρισης) υπό τη δική του θεώρηση (Nikiforidou & Katis 2000) και τοποθετείται απέναντι σε αυτήν με βάση μια δεύτερη πραγματικότητα (2^{ος} όρος σύγκρισης), έναν νοητικό χώρο⁵ ('mental space': Fauconnier & Turner 2003) που δημιουργεί ή ανακαλεί κατά τη διάρκεια της επικοινωνιακής διαδικασίας 2) ο δείκτης υποδεικνύει το σημείο του εκφωνήματος όπου κατασκευάζεται η σύνδεση των νοητικών χώρων, καθοδηγώντας τον ακροατή στην πληρέστερη κατανόηση του μηνύματος 3) η πρω(το)τυπική συγκριτική σημασία του *σαν* δικαιολογεί διαβαθμίσεις στην επιστημική, οι οποίες κωδικοποιούνται στο σημασιολογικό του προφίλ 4) σημασιολογικές ωσώσεις οδηγούν από τη σφαίρα του συγκεκριμένου σε πιο αφηρημένες έννοιες (Sweetser 1990), εφόσον στις συγκρίσεις ομοιότητας το λεξιλογικό πεδίο της ομοιότητας γίνεται αντικείμενο νοητικής επεξεργασίας 5) ο δείκτης διεπιδρά με το επίπεδο του κειμένου, διότι ανάλογα με τη θέση του στα εκφωνήματα ρυθμίζει την προβολή της πληροφορίας σε ρέοντα λόγο⁶.

Το σώμα των δεδομένων συγκροτήθηκε βάσει αυθεντικού γλωσσικού υλικού 1) από ηλεκτρονικά σώματα κειμένων: τον Εθνικό Θησαυρό Ελληνικής Γλώσσας [ΕΘΕΓ] του Ινστιτούτου Επεξεργασίας του Λόγου, το Σώμα Ελληνικών Κειμένων [ΣΕΚ] των Πανεπιστημίων Αθηνών/Κύπρου και το Corpus Προφορικού Λόγου του Ινστιτούτου Νεοελληνικών Σπουδών (Ίδρυμα Μανόλη Τριανταφυλλίδη) [CΠΛ]. Αξιοποιήθηκαν επίσης 2) παραδείγματα από λεξικογραφματικές περιγραφές και 3) μαρτυρίες προφορικού διαλεκτικού λόγου του 19^{ου} και 20^{ου} αιώνα από το Αρχείο του Ιστορικού Λεξικού⁷ της Ακαδημίας Αθηνών [ΙΑΝΕ].

⁴ Δεν εξετάζονται στην παρούσα φάση της ανάλυσης 1) συνάψεις *σαν* + επιρρηματικά στοιχεία, 2) ελλειπτικές δομές 'Σαν B' 3) στερεότυπες φράσεις με ιδιοσυγκρασιακή σημασία: *σαν τα χιόνια* κ.λπ.

⁵ Το αναφορικό μέρος των ομηρικών παρομοιώσεων, η *εικόνα* (Snell 1981).

⁶ Οι συγκριτικές σχέσεις ομοιότητας εξετάζονται στην προσθετική σύνδεση (Halliday-Hasan 1976) και από τη στιγμή που ενεργοποιούνται με δείκτες λόγου, συμβάλλουν στην κειμενική συνοχή.

⁷ Τα διαλεκτικά δεδομένα χρησιμοποιήθηκαν επικουρικά, προκειμένου να πιστοποιηθούν (παλαιότερες) δημωδέστερες σημασίες του *σαν* που καταγράφονται όμως σε λεξικά της Κοινής.

2. Ανάλυση

2.1 Γεγονότα, καταστάσεις, ενέργειες, διαδικασίες

Για την πολυσημία των δομών *σαν* + πρόταση στηριζόμαστε σε προγενέστερη έρευνα⁸. Εδώ παρατίθενται μόνο γενικά συμπεράσματα σε σχέση με την επιστημική στάση του ομιλητή:

- 1) Όταν το *σαν* πρωτοεμφανίστηκε στη Μεσαιωνική Ελληνική σε διαπροτασιακές εκφορές, χρησιμοποιήθηκε με αναφορική/τροπική σημασία για τη σύγκριση όμοιων ως προς τον τρόπο ή το βαθμό καταστάσεων (Τζάρτζανος 1963: 238-39 για παραδείγματα). Οι προτασιακές παρομοιαστικές αυτές δομές έχουν σήμερα εξαλειφθεί. Εξίσου, οι υπόλοιπες συνδεσμικές χρήσεις (χρονικές, αιτιολογικές υποθετικές) θεωρούνται πλέον πεπαλαιωμένες και υφολογικά χαρακτηρισμένες (στα σώματα κειμένων εμφανίζονται σε μικρό ποσοστό οι χρονικές, κυρίως σε λογοτεχνικά είδη). Συχνές είναι, αντιθέτως, οι σύνθετες εκφορές *σαν...που* (αιτιολογία), *σα(ν) να* (παρομοίωση).
- 2) Η χρονικότητα αναδύεται, όταν ο ομιλητής δεσμεύεται θετικά για το λογικό περιεχόμενο του εκφωνήματός του (θετική επιστημική στάση)⁹:

I.

Σαν έρθει ο καινούριος καπετάνιος, θα δούμε τι θα κάνουμε με δαύτον. (ΕΘΕΓ, Λογοτεχνία) (πολύ περιληπτικά: η πρόβλεψη για την εξέλιξη των πραγμάτων [νέος νοητικός χώρος με το νέο καπετάνιο να καταφθάνει και να διευθετεί ζητήματα] επιβεβαιώνεται από τον ομιλητή ως πραγματοποιήσιμη σε σχέση με αυτό που ισχύει στο παρόν [παλιός καπετάνιος, εκκρεμή θέματα])

Κοκκινίζει **σαν με βλέπει**. [ΛΝΕΓ] (*κάθε φορά που ...*)

Σαν ξημέρωσε, ξεκίνησαν για τα βουνά. [ΛΚΝ] (*μόλις: ο ήλιος που πάντα θα ανατέλλει σήμανε την έναρξη της πεζοπορίας*)

- 3) Ο δείκτης *σαν* συνοδεύει δομές αιτιολογίας, όταν ο ομιλητής ανακαλεί μια δεδομένη, περικειμενικά γνωστή κατάσταση πραγμάτων (θετική επιστημική στάση)¹⁰:

II.

Σαν το λες εσύ, αλήθεια θα είναι. [Δημητρ.] (*επειδή, μια και, άμα ...*)

Τρέξε να τους βοηθήσεις, **σαν πιο μικρός που είσαι**. [ΛΚΝ] (αιτιολογείται η λεκτική πράξη *τρέξε...*)

- 4) Όταν ο ομιλητής ούτε απορρίπτει ούτε επιβεβαιώνει τα λεγόμενά του (ουδέτερη επιστημική στάση), η επιλογή του συνδέσμου δημιουργεί έναν υποθετικό νοητικό χώρο [αν X], από τον οποίο εξαρτάται μία απόδοση [Ψ]. Συγχρόνως, ενεργοποιείται και η εναλλακτική δομή [αν ~X, ~Ψ], έως ότου επιβεβαιωθεί ή διαψευσθεί¹¹:

IIIα.

Σαν δουλέψεις, θα φας. [ΜΕΛ] (*αν όμως δεν δουλέψεις, ...*)

Σαν θέλεις, πήγαινε και συ μαζί τους. [ΛΝΕΓ]

Συμβατές με την επιστημική ερμηνεία είναι και οι μετριάστικές χρήσεις του *σαν*, κατά τις οποίες, «το όμοιο είναι λιγότερο αληθινό» (Νάκας 2010), όπως και η παρουσία του δείκτη σε συμφραζόμενα αμφιβολίας, σε ευθείες ερωτήσεις, προκειμένου να δραματοποιηθεί η ομιλούσα σκέψη ενός υποκειμένου, να δηλωθεί έντονη απορία, ευγενική συμπεριφορά:

IIIβ.

Αισθάνθηκα **σαν να υπήρχε και κάποιος άλλος στο δωμάτιο**. [ΛΚΝ]

Σαν να έχουμε συναντηθεί και παλιότερα. [ΛΚΝ] (*μπορεί να, μπορεί και όχι*)

«Αν είναι έτσι οι δικοί μας, πώς θα είναι οι άλλοι;» **σαν να σκεφτόταν ο Ουίλκινς**. (ΣΕΚ, Γρ. λόγος, Ειδήσεις)

Σαν τι θα σας ενδιέφερε ακριβώς; Ο θεός δεν απάντησε. (ΕΘΕΓ, Λογοτεχνία)

- 5) Στο αντίθετο άκρο, η επιλογή του *σαν* συνοδεύει υποτεταγμένο λόγο του μη πραγματοποιήσιμου, συνεπώς αρνητική επιστημική στάση του ομιλητή¹². Ο ομιλητής χτίζει έναν κόσμο πιθανό, τον οποίο εν γνώσει του υπονομεύει, σε σχέση με την παρούσα

⁸ Βλ. Afentoulidou (2009).

⁹ Αναμφίβολα οι ρηματικοί χρόνοι συμβάλλουν αποφασιστικά στην ερμηνεία των δομών, ωστόσο μια τέτοια ανάλυση αποτελεί ξεχωριστή ανακοίνωση.

¹⁰ Βλ. Dancygier & Sweetser (2005) για τα *if, since* της Αγγλικής.

¹¹ Συχνή είναι η παρουσία της υποτακτικής, η οποία ενισχύει την υποθετικότητα.

¹² Ο δείκτης *να* συνάπτεται με οριστική παρατατικού ή υπερσυντελικού, προσδίδοντας την ανάλογη τροπικότητα.

κατάσταση επικοινωνίας. Ωστόσο, η διάψευση είναι ρητορικά ισχυρή, μια και του επιτρέπει να εκφράσει βιωματικά τις απόψεις του, την έντονη διαφωνία του πάνω σε ένα θέμα, να προτείνει τη δική του οπτική. Οι εκφορές *σαν να* θυμίζουν τις παλαιότερες δημώδεις αναφορικές/τροπικές δομές, εντούτοις είναι πλέον αμιγώς υποθετικές στη φύση τους (εκφράζουν υποθετική παρομοίωση, βλ. Οικονομάκου 2010):

IV.

Αλλά να τον τώρα, εκατό μέτρα μπροστά μου, να τρέχει **σαν να είχαν πάρει φωτιά τα μπατζάκια του**. (ΕΘΕΓ, Λογοτεχνία)

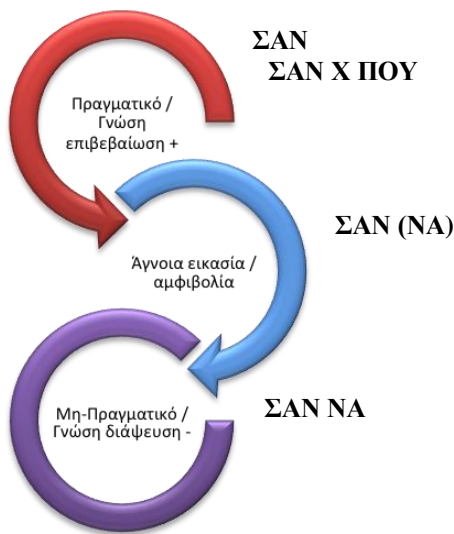
Ο τρόπος όμως που έγινε η σύλληψη της 45χρονης και η συμπεριφορά των οργάνων της τάξης ήταν απαράδεκτος. Περικύκλωσαν το σπίτι της **σαν να επρόκειτο να συλλάβουν κανένα μαφιόζο ή επικίνδυνο εγκληματία**. (ΣΕΚ, Γρ. λόγος, Άρθρο γνώμης)

Συνεχίζουν να συγκυβερνούν **σαν να μην τρέχει τίποτα**; Κάτι τέτοιο είναι αδιανόητο. (ΣΕΚ, Γρ. λόγος, Άρθρο γνώμης)

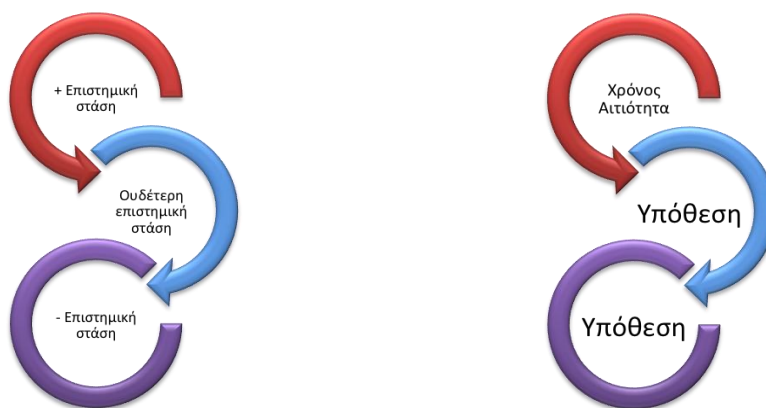
- 6) Σχηματικά κινούμαστε από τη γνώση στη διάψευση, με ενδιάμεσο σταθμό την εικασία:

ΓΝΩΣΗ	Πραγματικό	+ επιστημική στάση	επιβεβαίωση	τρόπος αναφορά ** (αμάρτ.) χρόνος αιτιότητα
	Μη-Πραγματικό	- επιστημική στάση	διάψευση	υπόθεση αναφορά τρόπος
ΑΓΝΟΙΑ		ουδέτερη επιστημική στάση	εικασία αμφιβολία	υπόθεση αναφορά τρόπος

Πίνακας 1 Οι συνδεσμικές χρήσεις του *σαν*, με βάση την επιστημική στάση του ομιλητή



Εικόνα 1 Σαν + γεγονότα, καταστάσεις, ενέργειες, διαδικασίες και η επιστημική στάση του ομιλητή



Εικόνα 2 Επιστημική στάση του ομιλητή και Σημασιολογικά πεδία

Συμπερασματικά: Στη συγχρονία της Νέας Ελληνικής, γνωσιακές παράμετροι (η επιστημική στάση του ομιλητή) συσχετίζονται με την εκάστοτε ανάγνωση (χρονική, αιτιολογική, υποθετική, αναφορική-υποθετική) δομών *σαν* + πρόταση. Η παρουσία του *σαν* ενεργοποιεί ένα νοητικό σχήμα σύγκρισης προειδοποιώντας τον ακροατή ότι ο ομιλητής εγγράφει την οπτική του γωνία, η οποία κωδικοποιείται σε συνεχές. Αυτό που δηλώνει η πρόταση με το *σαν* αποτιμάται με βάση αυτό που πιστεύει ο ομιλητής κατά τη στιγμή της εκφώνησης: όσο η απόσταση επιστημικά μεταξύ τους είναι μικρότερη, τα γεγονότα επιβεβαιώνονται, τοποθετούνται στον άξονα του χρόνου, ερμηνεύονται εικονικά¹³ ως ακολουθίες συμβάντων που συνέβησαν/συμβαίνουν/θα συμβούν ή αιτιακά, με βάση τη νομοτέλεια που διέπει τον κόσμο μας (ΧΡΟΝΙΚΟΣ, ΑΙΤΙΟΛΟΓΙΚΟΣ *σαν*). Όσο μεγαλώνει επιστημικά η απόσταση τόσο κινούμεθα στη σφαίρα του υποθετικού και εν τέλει του μη πραγματοποιήσιμου (ΥΠΟΘΕΤΙΚΟΣ, ΑΝΑΦΟΡΙΚΟ-ΥΠΟΘΕΤΙΚΟΣ *σαν*). Οι διαπιστώσεις της συγχρονίας (εμπλοκή του ομιλητή στη διαδικασία και στο αποτέλεσμα της σύγκρισης, σημασίες χειροπιαστές, που άπτονται του φυσικού χώρου-χρόνου και σημασίες αφηρημένες, κειμενικές δομές με συγκεκριμένες λειτουργίες) συνδημιουργούν έναν πολύσημο *σαν* (Afentoulidou 2009), αφήνοντας να διαφανούν τα ίχνη μιας πορείας γραμματικοποίησης προς περισσότερο κειμενικές και υπο-κειμενικές σημασίες (Traugott 1989, Lehmann 1985). Η ίδια η έννοια της ομοιότητας, άλλωστε, έχει όψεις και διαβαθμίσεις, όπως και η αλήθεια. Και από έννοια εξωτερική τροπική γίνεται εσωτερική αφηρημένη νοητική άλγεβρα¹⁴.

2.2 Οντότητες

Στις κατεξοχήν παρομοιαστικές χρήσεις (αυτές είναι οι επικρατέστερες συντάξεις σήμερα), ο δεύτερος όρος σύγκρισης τροποποιεί τον πρώτο (σε συνδυασμό κυρίως με επιθετικούς προσδιορισμούς και ρήματα):

2.2.1 Κυριολεκτική ομοιότητα

- 1) Ο *σαν* συσχετίζει ρητά ως προς τον τρόπο: οι δύο όροι τοποθετούνται χωροχρονικά, προσδιορίζονται ποσοτικά και ποιοτικά (λ.χ. με χρήση επιθετικών προσδιορισμών) σε συγκρίσεις που τους εξισώνουν (I1)¹⁵. Συχνά η βάση σύγκρισης εκφέρεται αντωνυμικά (I2). Διαπιστώνονται ομοιότητες, χωρίς να γίνεται ρητή αναφορά στο βαθμό ύπαρξής τους. Το πόσο μεγάλος, ψηλός ή δυνατός είναι κάποιος, είναι μια πληροφορία που υπονοείται ή επεξηγείται στη ροή της ομιλίας.

I1.

¹³ Όπως στις παρατακτικές παρομοιώσεις (Κακριδής 1991).

¹⁴ Βλ. Βελούδης (2010: 392-97) για τον «αστορικό γρίφο της σημασίας *όμοιος*» και τη λ. *ίσως* που «αρχικά δήλωνε ομοιότητα».

¹⁵ Για τις «συσχετιστικές, εξισωτικές χρήσεις» βλ. Νάκας 2010 και NEΛ (το μοναδικό μέχρι στιγμής νεοελληνικό λεξικό που αναφέρει τη σύγκριση, μαζί με παραδείγματα, στον ορισμό του *σαν*).

Ο θάλαμος βρισκόταν στο τέλος του διαδρόμου κι ήταν μεγάλος σαν εκείνους στο στρατό. (ΕΘΕΓ, Λογοτεχνία)

Σίγουρα θα φοβόντουσαν τους δυο άντρες που ήταν μαζί της, γιατί και ο Λουδοβίκο ήταν ψηλός και δυνατός σαν τον Αμπρόσιο. (ΕΘΕΓ, Λογοτεχνία)

Ι2.

[(Αυτή)/(Τι)] η μεσαία είναι? η

Μί[να °μεγαλύτερη είναι?]

[Η Τασούλα είναι σαν ε]μάς περίπου.

(.)

Ένα χρόνο μικρότερη? [CΠΛ]

- 2) Ο *σαν* συσχετίζει έναν γενικό ή ασαφή όρο με μια συγκεκριμένη οντότητα του ίδιου σημασιολογικού πεδίου. Και πάλι ο ομιλητής δεσμεύεται ως προς την αλήθεια των λεγομένων του, ωστόσο η σύγκριση εξειδικεύει τις έννοιες από το γενικό στο ειδικό, προβάλλοντας το εξέχον παράδειγμα μιας κατηγορίας, συνήθως ένα κύριο όνομα. Έτσι συγκεκριμενοποιούνται οι πρώτοι όροι και «στενεύουν» σημασιολογικά (II). Συχνά απαντώνται και αντωνυμικά στοιχεία που συνδέονται έτσι με έννοιες απτές: ο δεύτερος όρος δηλώνει ρητά το πρότυπο της σύγκρισης (IIIα). Ψυχικές καταστάσεις, συναισθήματα που ο ομιλητής δυσκολεύεται να περιγράψει συγκεκριμενοποιούνται (IIIβ). Ο *σαν* ενίοτε συνοδεύει απευθείας σε ευθύ λόγο την ομιλούσα σκέψη του συνομιλητή ή και μη λεκτικά στοιχεία της έκφρασης του προσώπου του, χειρονομίες κ.ά., όπως τα ερμηνεύει ο ομιλητής ή προσπαθεί να τα ανακαλέσει στην πρωτοτυπική, παραδειγματική τους μορφή (IIIγ)¹⁶.

II.

φιλόσοφοι σαν τον Τζιορντάνο Μπρούνο· επιστήμονες σαν τον Γαλιλαίο. (ΣΕΚ, Γρ. λόγος, Άρθρο γνώμης)

Ποτέ δεν δίνει κανείς νομική μάχη εναντίον ενός γραφειοκρατικού μηχανισμού σαν την Κομισιόν. (ΕΘΕΓ, Εφημ. Γνώμη)

IIIα.

Στη χώρα της είναι κάτι σαν «ροκ σταρ». (ΕΘΕΓ, Εφημ. Γνώμη)

IIIβ.

Με κοίταζε μόνο βουβά και κάτι σαν ντροπή σκίαζε τα μάτια του. (ΕΘΕΓ, Λογοτεχνία)

IIIγ.

Τι μήνυμα μετέφερε η σύζυγός σας, εκείνη τη Μ. Παρασκευή;

Χαμογελάει.

Κάτι σαν «πού να θυμάμαι τώρα;» (ΕΘΕΓ, Εφημ. Συζήτηση)

- 3) Τα παραδείγματα (IIIα-γ) προσδίδουν τροπική χροιά στα εκφωνήματα, ότι δηλαδή, σύμφωνα με τη γνώμη του ομιλητή *κάτι είναι σχεδόν κάτι άλλο*, χωρίς να ταυτίζεται απόλυτα με αυτό (βλ. 1.1). Επομένως, τόσο η ιδιότητα του δείκτη να δημιουργεί χαλαρές συνδέσεις ανάμεσα στις έννοιες όσο και οι μετριαστικές του χρήσεις (βλ. 2.1.4) προκύπτουν από την πρωτοτυπική συγκριτική του σημασία.

2.2.2 Μη κυριολεκτική ομοιότητα

Η παρομοίωση κινείται επιστημικά στο *μη πραγματικό*¹⁷. Ως σχήμα λόγου συγκρίνει με τρόπο πρωτότυπο και αποκαλυπτικό δύο τομείς της εμπειρίας που διαφέρουν αισθητά μεταξύ τους, προκειμένου να προβληθούν ομοιότητες που δεν είχαν γίνει αντιληπτές. Ο δείκτης *σαν*, όταν συγκρίνει δύο ετερογενείς οντότητες τονίζει *ακραία* τους χαρακτηριστικά. Ο δεύτερος όρος σύγκρισης αποτελεί το πρωτοτυπικό παράδειγμα μιας κατηγορίας, κατέχοντας μια ιδιότητα σε *υπερθετικό βαθμό* (Israel, Harding & Tobin 2004). Η σύγκρισή του με τον πρώτο όρο έχει περιγραφική και γνήσια ρητορική δύναμη, εκφράζει υπερβολές, έντονες αντιθέσεις, συναισθήματα (IV). Στις δομές αυτές συχνά εμφανίζονται παράμετροι σύγκρισης, κυρίως ποιοτικοί προσδιορισμοί ή χρωματικοί όροι (V). Συχνές είναι οι συγκρίσεις ανθρώπων με είδη του ζωικού βασιλείου ή γενικότερα τη φύση (VI). Συχνά οι παρομοιαστικές δομές αποδίδουν γενικευτική ισχύ στα λεγόμενα και χρησιμεύουν ως στρατηγική των

¹⁶ Για παρόμοια λειτουργία του *like* της Αγγλικής, βλ. Vandelanotte & Davidse (2009), Fleischman & Yaguello (2004), Andersen (2001), Romaine & Lange (1991).

¹⁷ Δεν θα αναφερθώ στην πάντα επίκαιρη, από την εποχή του Αριστοτέλη, διάκριση μεταφοράς/παρομοίωσης (Carston 2010, Glucksberg & Haught 2006, Moder 2010, O' Donoghue 2009).

ομιλητών για την εισαγωγή ενός νέου θέματος, με την απαραίτητη επεξήγηση, όταν δεν είναι εύκολο να διαπιστωθεί η ομοιότητα (VII).

IV.

Ο ήλιος έμοιαζε **σαν ένα πορτοκαλί μπαλόνι**, που κρεμόταν πάνω απ' την έρημο. (ΕΘΕΓ, Λογοτεχνία)

Σκολνάω καμιά φορά, τρέχω **σαν τρελός** στο κατάστημα που δουλεύει, κάνω πως ψωνίζω... (ΕΘΕΓ, Λογοτεχνία)

...του φέρθηκε **σαν μεγάλος αδελφός και δάσκαλος** συνάμα... (ΕΘΕΓ, Εφημ. Γνώμη)

V.

Ετών τριάντα πέντε και ωραίος **σαν θεός!** (ΕΘΕΓ, Λογοτεχνία)

Ο Γιάγκος με σκυφτό κεφάλι, κίτρινος **σαν το φλουρί**, τον άκουγε αμίλητος. (ΕΘΕΓ, Λογοτεχνία)

VI.

Ως τότε οι επιβάτες θα ταξιδεύουν την περίοδο των διακοπών στοιβαγμένοι **σαν σαρδέλες** στο κατάστρωμα. (ΣΕΚ, Γρ. λόγος, Άρθρο γνώμης)

Πρέπει να τρέχει **σαν τον άνεμο!** (ΕΘΕΓ, Λογοτεχνία)

Ένας φωτογράφος μπορεί να κάνει τους ναζί να φαίνονται **σαν άγγελοι**. (ΕΘΕΓ, Εφημ. Συζήτηση)

VII.

Οι σκηνοθέτες είναι **σαν τα καρπούζια**. Τα βλέπεις και είναι πολύ ωραία. Κι όταν τα ανοίγεις είναι κολοκύθια. (ΕΘΕΓ, Εφημ. Συζήτηση)

Οι κυριολεκτικές ομοιότητες διαφοροποιούνται, λοιπόν, από τις μη κυριολεκτικές ως προς τις οντότητες που συγκρίνονται και το αποτέλεσμα της σύγκρισης. Αυτό που τροποποιείται είναι το σημασιολογικό περιεχόμενο του 1^{ου} όρου (διά μέσου του 2^{ου}). Στις κυριολεκτικές ομοιότητες τα όριά του στενεύουν, εξειδικεύεται ή κατηγοριοποιείται στο τυπικό του παράδειγμα, στις μη κυριολεκτικές τα όριά του πλαταίνουν, εφόσον συνδέεται με το τυπικό παράδειγμα μιας νέας κατηγορίας εννοιών, με την οποία διαφέρει εντελώς ή γειτνιάζει σημασιολογικά. Στη δεύτερη περίπτωση, όμως, το συγκρινόμενο αποκτά νέα χαρακτηριστικά με ακραίες συνυποδηλώσεις που η σύγκριση αναδεικνύει με παραστατικό τρόπο¹⁸.

2.2.3 Από την ΟΜΟΙΟΤΗΤΑ στην ΤΑΥΤΟΤΗΤΑ

Όπως προέκυψε από την επεξεργασία των δεδομένων, ο δείκτης *σαν* συνοδεύει ολοένα και περισσότερο τη δήλωση πραγματικών ιδιοτήτων και ταυτοτήτων, κάτι που ουσιαστικά συνιστά *σημασιολογική επέκταση* από το πεδίο της ΟΜΟΙΟΤΗΤΑΣ στη γλωσσική έκφραση της ΤΑΥΤΟΤΗΤΑΣ¹⁹:

- 1) Σε άμεση αντιστοιχία με τη λειτουργία του σε (δια)προτασιακό επίπεδο (βλ. 2.1.3) εμπλέκεται σε δομές αιτιολογίας και προβάλλει πραγματικές ιδιότητες, *γνωστές* στον ομιλητή και στον ακροατή, *εξαιτίας* των οποίων ισχύει το νόημα ολόκληρης της πρότασης. Οι συντάξεις αυτές συχνά προτάσσονται. Η έμφαση δίνεται πλέον στην αιτιολόγηση μιας στάσης, ενός συναισθήματος, μιας γνώμης (VIII).

VIII.

Σαν καλός καπετάνιος, πήρε πάνω του όλες τις ευθύνες. (ΕΘΕΓ, Εφημ. Ενημέρωση)

Σαν απλός πολίτης, σαν δικηγόρος με είκοσι πέντε χρόνια στο χώρο της δικαιοσύνης, αλλά πάνω από όλα **σαν μητέρα** που βρίσκομαι εδώ εκπρόσωπος στο ελληνικό Κοινοβούλιο, δεν μου επιτρέπεται να μη συμμετάσχω στη συζήτηση αυτή. (ΕΘΕΓ, Βουλή των Ελλήνων)

- 2) Εμφανίζεται σε συμφραζόμενα που προβάλλουν πραγματικές ιδιότητες, χώρος που παραδοσιακά είχε καλυφθεί από τον αρχαιότερο δείκτη *ως*. Έτσι ο 1^{ος} όρος συγκρίνεται με ολόκληρη την κατηγορία εννοιών που αντιπροσωπεύει και *κατηγοριοποιείται* ως αντιπροσωπευτικό τους παράδειγμα (πχ. ο τάδε είναι τυπικός γλύπτης κ.λπ.). Έτσι ο τρόπος εκλαμβάνεται πλέον ως ιδιότητα, ρόλος, λειτουργία (IX) και προσδιορίζει κατηγορικά πλείστα ρήματα, συνδετικά και μη (X). Δεν είναι ίσως τυχαίο που τα περισσότερα παραδείγματα αναφέρονται σε κοινωνικούς ρόλους, επαγγέλματα και «ετικέτες» που οι άνθρωποι συνηθίζουν να αποδίδουν ο ένας στον άλλο.

IX.

¹⁸ Πιθανό αποτέλεσμα μιας διαδικασίας υποκειμενικοποίησης (Traugott 1995).

¹⁹ Σύμφωνα με το σχήμα: X μοιάζει με Ψ, ως προς Z => X είναι ένα με το Ψ, ως προς Z. Αν κάτι μοιάζει με κάτι άλλο, μπορεί να γίνει άλλο.

Εγώ προχωρούσα μεν **σαν** γλύπτης, αλλά είχα μείνει πίσω **σαν** άνθρωπος. (ΕΘΕΓ, Εφημ. Συζήτηση)
Από το 1975 ασχολείται με τη Δημοσιογραφία (**σαν** ανταποκριτής εφημερίδων). (ΣΕΚ, Γρ. λόγος, Ενημερωτικά)

τώρα, να σου πω **σαν**

οδηγός? να σου πω **σαν** ιδιοκτήτης? θα σου πω τι γίνεται.= (CΠΛ)

Εδώ τελικά που φτάσαμε, και μιλώ **όχι** **σαν** ειδικός -εξάλλου δεν είμαι ειδικός- αλλά **σαν** ένας απλός καταναλωτής, θα μπορούσαμε να πούμε ότι δεν είμαστε σίγουροι ποτέ 100% για την ασφάλεια ενός τροφίμου. (ΕΘΕΓ, Βουλή των Ελλήνων)

X.

Μοιάζουμε **σαν** λαοί και παρά τις αντιξοότητες μπορούμε ειρηνικά να συνυπάρξουμε... (ΕΘΕΓ, Εφημ. Ενημέρωση)

Ήταν η πρώτη μου επιτυχία, ο ρόλος που σημάδεψε τη ζωή μου. Ύστερα απ' αυτόν όλος ο κόσμος με αναγνώρισε **σαν** τραγική ηθοποιό. (ΕΘΕΓ, Εφημ. Συζήτηση)

Επί Τουρκοκρατίας χρησίμευε **σαν** καταφύγιο. (ΕΘΕΓ, Βιβλίο, Ενημέρωση)

Θεωρούμε τα 1, 2 απότοκα της ικανότητας του *σαν* να διενεργεί συγκρίσεις, εφόσον ο 1^{ος} όρος κατηγοριοποιείται πάντα ως προς κάτι, *υπό το μέτρο*, την οπτική γωνία του ομιλητή²⁰.

- 3) Το πέρασμα από τις κλίμακες ομοιότητας στην ταυτότητα σημασιολογικά σηματοδοτεί μιαν αφαίρεση, δηλαδή κίνηση προς το αφηρημένο, όπως θα μπορούσε να ερμηνευθεί στο πλαίσιο της Γλωσσικής Αλλαγής. Οι Haspelmath & Buchholz (1998) επιβεβαιώνουν παρόμοιες εξελίξεις στις περισσότερες από τις γλώσσες που ονομάζουν 'Standard Average European': οι δείκτες που μαρκάρουν τις συγκριτικές προτάσεις εμπλέκονται και στην έκφραση πραγματικών ιδιοτήτων ('role phrases', σελ. 322). Για την Ελληνική, ο *σαν* κατατάσσεται στους συγκριτικούς δείκτες μαζί με τον *όπως*, αλλά και στους δείκτες ρόλων, μαζί με τον *ως* (σελ. 328).
- 4) Στηριζόμενοι στα διαγλωσσικά δεδομένα και στη συμπεριφορά του *σαν* να πραγματοποιεί συγκρίσεις εξακτινώνοντας τις ομοιότητες σε ένα συνεχές τρόπων και βαθμών, η κίνηση προς την απόδοση πραγματικών ιδιοτήτων αποτελεί σημασιολογική ζύμωση αναμενόμενη²¹. Ισχυρή (κειμενικά και γνωσιακά) είναι και η επίδραση των δομών αιτιολογίας (causality) στο σημασιολογικό προφίλ του δείκτη. Άλλωστε, ο *ως* είναι ο αρχαιότερος δείκτης ομοιότητας, έχει διανύσει ολόκληρο το μονοπάτι της αλλαγής από την ΟΜΟΙΟΤΗΤΑ στην ΤΑΥΤΟΤΗΤΑ και με παρόμοιο τρόπο κινείται ο *σαν*, είμαστε, ουσιαστικά, εν μέσω αλλαγής. Έτσι, ίσως, μπορεί να δικαιολογηθεί το «γλωσσολογικό κονταροχτύπημα» ως προς τη σχέση του *σαν* και του *ως*, τη σύγχυση και την ασάφεια που δημιουργεί στους ομιλητές, κυρίως στους προσεκτικούς, η ύπαρξη του *σαν*, προκειμένου για πραγματικές ιδιότητες²². Μέσα από αυτή την οπτική θα μπορούσε να εξεταστεί κατά πόσον η ίδια ασάφεια στη σημασία του *ως* επέτρεψε τη σύνδεσή του με άλλα γλωσσικά στοιχεία (*καθώς, ωσάν, ώστε*).
- 5) Ασφαλώς ο *ως* και ο *σαν* διαφέρουν ως προς το βαθμό λογιότητάς τους στην Κοινή Νέα Ελληνική, στο αν έλκουν δομές λόγιες ή δημοδέστερες, όπως απέδειξε ο Νάκας (2010). Ωστόσο, κατά τη γνώμη μας το θέμα υπερβαίνει τη διάκριση λόγιο/λαϊκό. Σε γλωσσικό υλικό που παραθέτει η Τζαμάλη (1999), αρχαιότερες παρομοιαστικές χρήσεις του *ως* επιβιώνουν στις Νεοελληνικές Διαλέκτους. Ίσως, η ουσιαστική διαφορά ανάμεσα στο *ως* και στο *σαν* να είναι θέμα διαχρονικού σταδίου: ο *ως* βρίσκεται σε πιο προωθημένο στάδιο μεταβολής. Το θέμα απαιτεί πληρέστερη εξέταση που υπερβαίνει τα όρια της παρούσας μελέτης.

2.2.4 Μετριαστικές χρήσεις

XI.

Και μετά κοκκίνισε, μικρές φλέβες φάνηκαν στις άκρες της μύτης, μου φάνηκε **σαν** δακρυσμένη κι αυτό με καταπίεσε όσο τίποτα. (ΕΘΕΓ, Λογοτεχνία)

²⁰ Πρόκειται για «δήλωση αιτιολογίας, αναφοράς/οπτικής γωνίας ή κάποιας μεικτής σημασίας» (Νάκας 2010).

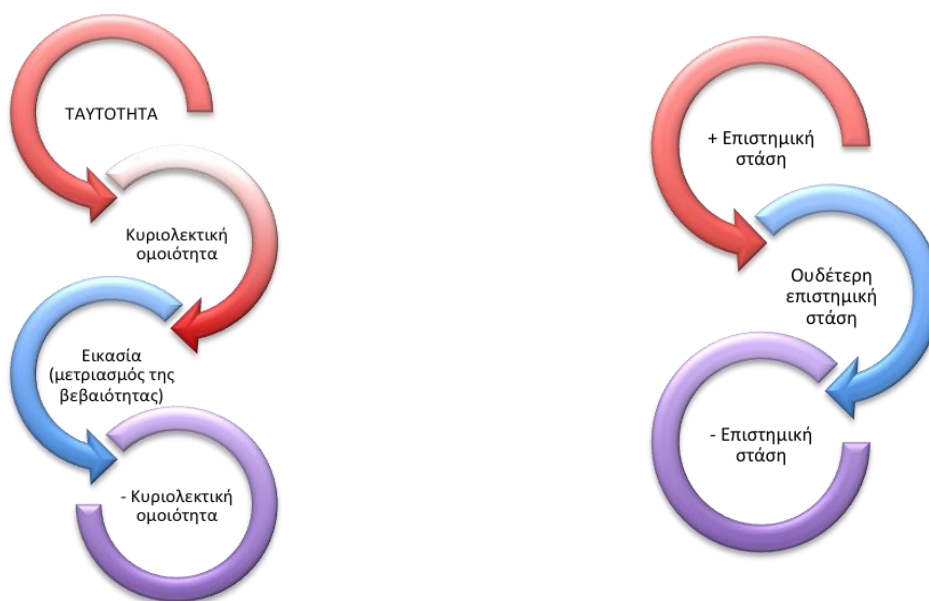
²¹ Οι Halliday & Hasan (1976: 77-80) συνδέουν τις γενικές συγκρίσεις ('general comparisons') με την ευρύτερη έννοια της ομοιότητας ('likeness'), η οποία επιμερίζεται σε ολική, μερική ομοιότητα και αν-ομοιότητα ('identity, similarity, difference').

²² Παρόμοιες «ερμηνευτικές συγχύσεις» επισημαίνουν σύγχρονοι μελετητές της Αρχαίας Ελληνικής Λογοτεχνίας για το επίθετο *όμοιος* (Nagy 2010: 153-54), προκειμένου για την απόδοση ομοιότητας ή ταυτότητας στα ησιόδεια και στα ομηρικά έπη.

Στο (XI) ο ομιλητής ούτε απορρίπτει ούτε επιβεβαιώνει τα δεδομένα των αισθήσεων, τα οποία αποτελούν την πρώτη ύλη για τις εικασίες του. Εδώ ο δείκτης συνοδεύει δομές κατηγορήσεως σε ρήματα που καταρχήν λεξικοποιούν την αντίληψη διά των αισθήσεων (*φαίνομαι, μοιάζω, βλέπω, φαντάζω, παρουσιάζομαι*)²³.

2.2.5 Συμπερασματικά

Ο δείκτης *σαν*, όταν *συσχετίζει οντότητες*, κατευθύνει την κατασκευή του νοήματος ως εξής: τοποθετεί τους συγκρινόμενους όρους σε κλίμακες, από το όμοιο στο ανόμοιο, με ενδιάμεσο σταθμό την εικασία:

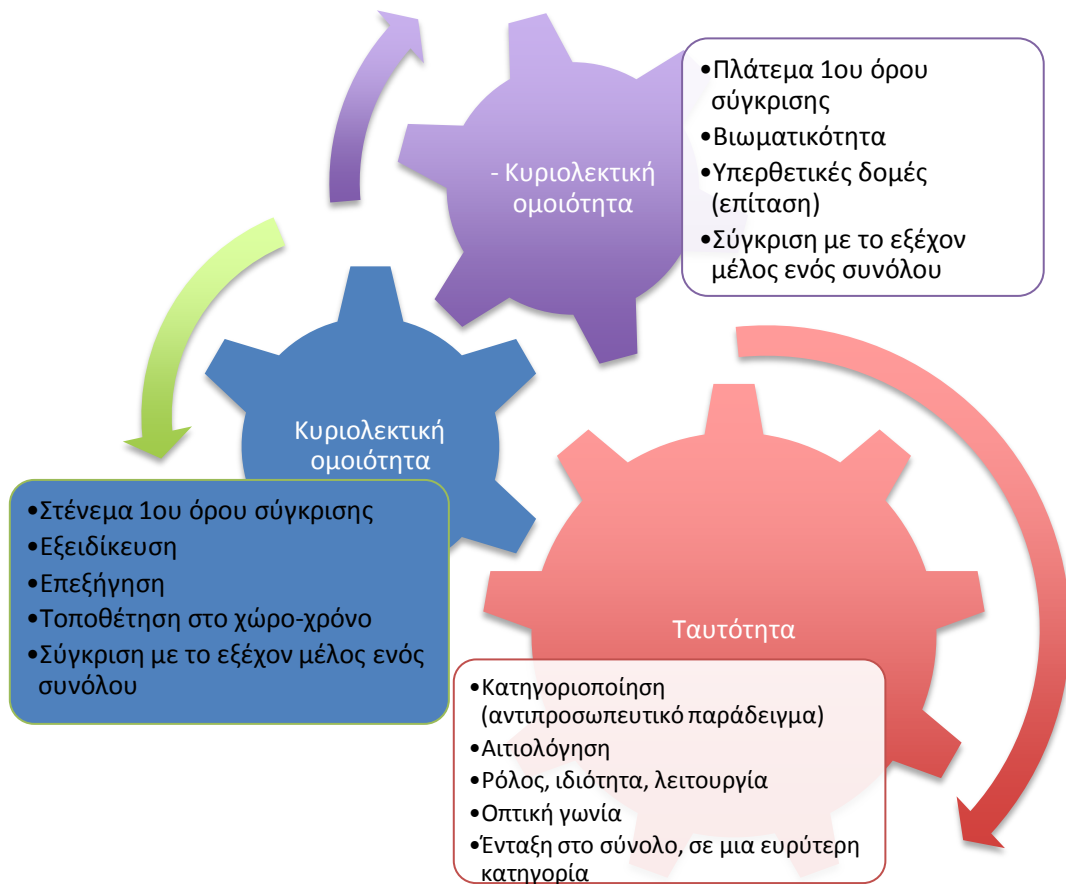


Εικόνα 3 *Σαν* + οντότητες και η επιστημική στάση του ομιλητή

Στις κλίμακες αυτές ο ομιλητής «ζυγίζει» τις λέξεις, εξειδικεύει τη σημασία τους με αναγωγή στο εξέχον παράδειγμα μιας κατηγορίας ή την εξακτινώνει, επεκτείνει τις λέξεις αυτές στα άκρα, διευρύνει τις κατηγορίες, δημιουργώντας υπερθετικές δομές με ακραίες συνυποδηλώσεις. Η απόδοση πραγματικής ιδιότητας αποτελεί σημασιολογικό παρακλάδι της επιτυχημένης του καριέρας στο χώρο της ομοιότητας²⁴. Σχηματικά:

²³ Οι δομές κατηγορήσεως απαιτούν ειδική ανάλυση και μάλιστα ποσοτική, σε συνεξέταση με την εναλλαγή των *ως/σαν* ανά κειμενικό είδος. Όπως επισημαίνει ο Νάκας (2010), στα σώματα κειμένων δημοσιογραφικού λόγου το *ως* υπερτερεί στις δομές που αποτελούν συμπλήρωμα ειδικών ρημάτων ή δηλώνουν ιδιότητα/οπτική γωνία.

²⁴ Η λεξικοποίηση της ομοιότητας φαίνεται να διατρέχει και τα επίπεδα της παραγωγής και της σύνθεσης: σημασιολογικές σχέσεις ομοιότητας/ταυτότητας ενεργοποιούνται και σε παρατακτικές φραστικές κατασκευές (όπως *ταξίδι-κεραυνός, φιλόλογος-γλωσσολόγος*, βλ. Νάκας & Γαβριηλίδου 2005).

Εικόνα 4 Συγκρίσεις ομοιότητας και 1^{ος} όρος σύγκρισης

3. Επίλογος

Υποστηρίχθηκε ότι η παρουσία του δείκτη *σαν* στην Ελληνική πυροδοτεί ένα συνεχές συγκρίσεων ομοιότητας ανάμεσα σε οντότητες, γεγονότα, καταστάσεις, ενέργειες, διαδικασίες. Η ομοιότητα διαπλέκει τα συγκρινόμενα στοιχεία, έτσι ώστε το δεύτερο να επηρεάζει την κατανόηση του πρώτου. Τα δεδομένα της έρευνας επιβεβαιώνουν τη συστηματικότητα με την οποία γίνεται αυτό. Επισημάναμε το σημαίνοντα ρόλο της υποκειμενικότητας (ο ομιλητής εκτιμά τα πράγματα από το προσωπικό του πεδίο θέασης), στηριζόμενοι μεθοδολογικά στην επιστημική στάση του ομιλητή και στις διαβαθμίσεις της (Εικ. 1, 2, 3). Τα σώματα κειμένων μάς επέτρεψαν να διατυπώσουμε υποθέσεις για τη λειτουργία του μηχανισμού των συσχετισμών (Εικ. 4). Αναγνωρίσαμε ότι τέτοιου είδους δομές ουσιαστικά υπερβαίνουν την ίδια τη σύγκριση, μια και είναι πλούσιες σε ρητορική δύναμη, εκφραστικότητα και συνδέονται με τις έννοιες της επίτασης και του μετριασμού (βλ. 2.1.4, 2.2.1, 2.2.2, 2.2.4). Τελικά οι συγκρίσεις ομοιότητας είναι βαθιά ριζωμένες στον κόσμο τον πραγματικό, τον οποίο συγκρίνουν αναλογικά με μια άλλη πραγματικότητα, πιο φανταχτερή στα μάτια του ομιλητή. Έτσι οι δύο κόσμοι συνυπάρχουν, όπως στις ομηρικές παρομοιώσεις. Ο ένας αποτελεί σχόλιο, *μετακείμενο* του άλλου. Το αποτέλεσμα της σύγκρισης είναι, ασφαλώς, θέμα άποψης.

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ΠΑΡΑΤΗΡΗΣΕΙΣ ΣΤΗΝ ΕΚΜΑΘΗΣΗ ΤΗΣ ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΗΣ ΑΠΟ ΤΟΥΣ ΓΑΛΛΟΦΩΝΟΥΣ ΔΙΔΑΣΚΟΜΕΝΟΥΣ ΤΗΝ ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΗ ΩΣ ΞΕΝΗ ΓΛΩΣΣΑ

Φρειδερίκος Βαλετόπουλος

Université de Poitiers – FoReLL (EA 3816), Γαλλία

fvaletop@univ-poitiers.fr

ABSTRACT

The aim of this paper is to study the use of Greek as a foreign language by the French speaking learners on the basis of evidences from a Learner Corpus. This study will be focused on the sentence structure and the word order. Greek, in contrast to French, is a relatively flexible language with respect to word order. Syntactic relations among clausal elements can be identified thanks to the rich nominal inflection. On the other hand, French is not as flexible, and clausal elements are placed in fixed positions. Our study concerns written texts of learners of four different levels.

Keywords: Learner Corpus of Modern Greek, Greek as a foreign language, French-speaking learners, word order in Greek

1. Εισαγωγή

Η έρευνα που παρουσιάζεται στο άρθρο αυτό μελετά την κατάκτηση της ελληνικής ως ξένης γλώσσας από τους γαλλόφωνους διδασκόμενους, όπως αυτή διαφαίνεται μέσα από την ανάλυση του γραπτού και προφορικού λόγου τους. Για τις ανάγκες της παρούσας εργασίας, θα περιοριστούμε στη μελέτη της σειράς των κύριων όρων της πρότασης στο γραπτό λόγο.

Η σειρά των κύριων όρων της πρότασης αποτελεί ένα ιδιαίτερα, κατά τη γνώμη μας, ενδιαφέρον συντακτικό ζήτημα το οποίο ελάχιστα έχει μελετηθεί αναφορικά με τη διδασκαλία και εκμάθηση της ελληνικής ως ξένης γλώσσας. Χαρακτηριστικά αναφέρουμε το άρθρο της Κατσιμαλή (1996:121) όπου υπογραμμίζεται ότι η σειρά των όρων στα Νέα Ελληνικά «αποκτά ιδιαίτερο ενδιαφέρον για τη διδασκαλία της Νέας Ελληνικής σε αλλοδαπούς για τρεις λόγους: κατ'αρχήν οι ευρωπαϊκές γλώσσες δεν παρουσιάζουν ανάλογη ευελιξία των όρων και ίσως η συγκριτική ανάλυση της μητρικής και της ξένης (ελληνικής) γλώσσας δημιουργεί σύγχυση στο μαθητή. Εξάλλου είναι επιθυμητό και εφικτό να πλουτίσει ο μαθητής τις εκφραστικές του δυνατότητες και να μυηθεί σε κάποιο βαθμό στις σημασιολογικές αποχρώσεις που υπονοούν. Τέλος πρέπει να προστατευθεί από τη λανθασμένη υπεργενίκευση ότι όλες ανεξαιρέτως οι σειρές είναι επιτρεπτές στη Νέα Ελληνική»¹.

Η μελέτη μας θα βασιστεί σε ένα σώμα προφορικού και γραπτού λόγου από τις εξετάσεις πιστοποίησης της ελληνομάθειας του Κέντρου Ελληνικής Γλώσσας. Για τις ανάγκες της παρούσας ανακοίνωσης θα λάβουμε υπόψη μας τα γραπτά από τα τέσσερα προτεινόμενα επίπεδα, α', β', γ' και δ', χωρίς ωστόσο να επιθυμούμε τη διατύπωση υποθέσεων σχετικά με την εξέλιξη της εκμάθησης και κατάκτησης της γλώσσας, σε αυτό τουλάχιστον το στάδιο της έρευνάς μας. Αυτό που κατά βάσει μας ενδιαφέρει είναι η διδακτική εφαρμογή των παρατηρήσεών μας και η θεωρητικοποίηση των συμπερασμάτων μας με στόχο τη *συγκειμενοποίηση* (*contextualisation*) της διδασκαλίας και του Κοινού Ευρωπαϊκού Πλαισίου (εφεξής ΚΕΠ). Με τον όρο *συγκειμενοποίηση* (Valetopoulos et Marquilló Larruy, 2008, βλ. επίσης ΚΕΠ², § 4.1. Το περιεχόμενο της χρήσης της γλώσσας) αναφερόμαστε σε μια ιδιαίτερη προσέγγιση του ΚΕΠ που έχει ως στόχο τη μελέτη των ιδιομορφιών

¹ Για την αξιολόγηση της γλωσσικής ικανότητας και της γλωσσικής εξέλιξης του προφορικού λόγου αλλόγλωσσων μαθητών στη δευτεροβάθμια εκπαίδευση στην Ελλάδα, βλέπε Βαρλοκώστα και Τριανταφυλλίδου (2003).

² Το ΚΕΠ διατίθεται δωρεάν στην ιστοσελίδα http://www.pi-schools.gr/lessons/english/pdf/cef_gr.pdf. Για τα επίπεδα ελληνομάθειας, βλέπε επίσης <http://www.greeklanguage.gr/certification/node/94/>.

του διδασκόμενου κοινού και τη βελτίωση του διδασκόμενου υλικού που θα προσαρμοστεί στη γλωσσική και πολιτισμική πραγματικότητα του διδασκόμενου.

Προκειμένου να επιτευχθεί αυτό, οφείλουμε να μελετήσουμε τόσο τις δυσκολίες του εν λόγω κοινού όσο και τις γλωσσικές ή πολιτισμικές ζώνες που θα επιτρέψουν την ευκολότερη πρόσβαση στην εκμάθηση της ξένης γλώσσας, λόγω γλωσσικής συγγένειας ή γλωσσικής προσέγγισης. Εξάλλου, μέσα στο πλαίσιο αυτό της διδασκαλίας, αυτό που μας ενδιαφέρει δεν είναι μόνο τι μπορούν να πουν οι διδασκόμενοι αλλά και αυτό που θα μπορούσαν να πουν, αλλά δεν το λένε λόγω γλωσσικής αβεβαιότητας.

Βέβαια, θα πρέπει να υπενθυμίσουμε ότι τα σώματα κειμένων μπορούν να μας προσφέρουν ένα μόνο μέρος από όλες αυτές τις πληροφορίες για ποικίλους λόγους. Θα επανέλθουμε στα χαρακτηριστικά των σωμάτων κειμένων στα συμπεράσματα του άρθρου (βλέπε επίσης Valetopoulos, 2010).

2. Η σειρά των όρων στη νέα ελληνική και τη γαλλική

Στο κεφάλαιο αυτό προτείνουμε μια σύντομη παρουσίαση της σειράς των όρων στη νέα ελληνική και τη γαλλική. Πρέπει να σημειωθεί ότι οι ερευνητές των δύο γλωσσών επικεντρώνουν την προσοχή τους σε διαφορετικά ζητήματα. Οι μελετητές της ελληνικής μελετούν κατά κύριο λόγο τη σειρά των όρων και τη βασική δομή της πρότασης ενώ οι μελετητές της γαλλικής προσεγγίζουν το ζήτημα των ομοιοτήτων και των διαφορών μεταξύ του προφορικού και του γραπτού λόγου.

2.1 Η σειρά των όρων στη νέα ελληνική

Σύμφωνα με τις γραμματικές της νέας ελληνικής (βλ. μεταξύ άλλων Holton et al., 1999, βλ. επίσης Philippaki-Warbuton, 1985, 1987, Tsimpli, 1990, 1995, Goutsos, 1994, για μια συζήτηση των διαφορετικών θεωρητικών προσεγγίσεων, Alexiadou, 1999), η δομή της πρότασης στα ελληνικά είναι σχετικά ελεύθερη με δυνατότητα μετακίνησης των διαφόρων συστατικών. Βέβαια, η κάθε σειρά μπορεί να είναι κατάλληλη για ορισμένα κειμενικά περιβάλλοντα. Πέραν αυτού, συγκεκριμένοι παράγοντες μπορούν να επηρεάσουν τη σειρά των όρων, όπως για παράδειγμα ποιο είναι το συστατικό που παρουσιάζεται ως *θέμα* ή ως *εστία*.

Οι προτάσεις που παρουσιάζονται ως νέα πληροφορία με ουδέτερο επιτονισμό μπορούν να έχουν είτε τη σειρά ΡΥ(Α) είτε ΥΡΑ. Έτσι, η σειρά ΡΥ(Α) αφορά τα αμετάβατα ρήματα ή τα μεταβατικά ρήματα που βρίσκονται σε δομή που εκφράζει μια απρόβλεπτη, νέα πληροφορία. Για παράδειγμα,

1. *Κυκλοφορούν φωτοτυπίες με λανθασμένες απαντήσεις!*

2. *Χτύπησε το τηλέφωνο και τάραξε τις σκέψεις της.*

Η σειρά ΥΡΑ εμφανίζεται πιο συχνά όταν η πρόταση είναι μεταβατική και το υποκείμενο είναι γνωστό και έμψυχο ή αόριστο αλλά γνωστό και ειδικό στους συνομιλητές.

3. *Ορισμένοι πιστεύουν ότι το κάπνισμα τους δίνει κάποιο στυλ.*

Δύο είναι τα συντακτικά φαινόμενα που κατά τη γνώμη μας έχουν ιδιαίτερο ενδιαφέρον στην περίπτωση μας, καθώς επιτρέπουν την τροποποίηση της βασικής συντακτικής δομής προσδίδοντας μια ιδιαίτερη σημασία στην πρόταση, η *εκτόπιση* και η *εστίαση*. Η εκτόπιση είναι μια ιδιαίτερη περίπτωση θεματοποίησης μέσω της οποίας το εκτοπισμένο συστατικό, συντακτικά ή σημασιολογικά συνδεδεμένο με την πρόταση, βρίσκεται στην περιφέρεια της πρότασης και μπορεί να επαναλαμβάνεται με τη βοήθεια κάποιας αντωνυμίας. Σε επίπεδο επιτονισμού, παρατηρείται μια μακρά παύση μεταξύ του εκτοπισμένου στην αρχή της πρότασης στοιχείου και της υπόλοιπης πρότασης, καθώς και βαθιά πτώση του επιτονισμού. Στην περίπτωση που το εκτοπισμένο στοιχείο μετατίθεται στο τέλος της πρότασης, το στοιχείο αποκτά επεξηγηματική λειτουργία.

4. *Η Δάφνη σας μιλάει για χρήματα και λέει τα πράγματα όπως τα σκέφτεται: (τους φτωχούς,) δεν τους συμπαθεί ιδιαίτερα (, τους φτωχούς).*

Η εστίαση μπορεί να εκφραστεί είτε με την παρουσία εμφατικού τόνου είτε με τη μετατόπιση ενός συστατικού στην αρχή της πρότασης διατηρώντας τον εμφατικό τόνο.

5. *Ο Γιάννης έκανε όλη τη δουλειά.*

Προτού κλείσουμε το κεφάλαιο αυτό, θα πρέπει να τονίσουμε ότι η συζήτηση περί σειράς των όρων δεν έχει καταλήξει και υπάρχουν διάφορες προσεγγίσεις και αναλύσεις. Ιδιαίτερο ενδιαφέρον παρουσιάζει βέβαια ο προφορικός λόγος μέσα από πρωτότυπες παραγωγές προφορικού λόγου, ο οποίος δεν έχει ακόμη αναλυθεί ικανοποιητικά.

Με την ένταξη του ΚΕΠ στην καθημερινή ζωή των διδασκόντων και τη χρησιμοποίησή του ως κύρια πηγή για τη συγγραφή εγχειριδίων, γίνεται πλέον λόγος και επισήμως για την ικανότητα των

διδασκόμενων να χρησιμοποιούν, τόσο στο γραπτό όσο και στον προφορικό λόγο, «περικειμενικές, γραμματικές και λεκτικές ενδείξεις για να συμπεράν[ουν] στάσεις, διαθέσεις και προθέσεις και να προβλέψ[ουν] τι πρόκειται να ακολουθήσει» (ΚΕΠ, σελ. 87). Βέβαια, το Κοινό Ευρωπαϊκό Πλαίσιο δεν μπορεί παρά να μας δώσει τις καντευθυντήριες γραμμές, καθώς έγκειται στους διδάσκοντες και τους συγγραφείς να προτείνουν πιο συγκεκριμένα αυτό το οποίο θα πρέπει να διδαχθούν οι διδασκόμενοι ώστε να αναπτύξουν την εν λόγω ικανότητα.

Μια σύντομη έρευνα των εγχειριδίων μπορεί να μας δείξει ότι η ικανότητα αυτή δεν αναπτύσσεται παρά με έμμεσο τρόπο μέσω της κατανόησης και της έκφρασης. Όσον αφορά δε τη σειρά των όρων στην πρόταση, ελάχιστες είναι οι πληροφορίες που μπορούμε να αποκομίσουμε από τα εγχειρίδια. Μήπως διότι πρόκειται για μια ασύνειδη λειτουργία που δύσκολα μπορεί να θεωρητικοποιηθεί από τους διδάσκοντες και τους συγγραφείς των εγχειριδίων; Μήπως διότι η άμεση διδασκαλία αυτού του συντακτικού φαινομένου δεν μπορεί να οδηγήσει στην ανάπτυξη και κατάκτηση της εν λόγω ικανότητας που εξαρτάται και από την ανάπτυξη της πραγματολογικής ικανότητας;

Για το λόγο αυτό, η παρατήρηση των Μπακάκου-Ορφανού & Χειλά-Μαρκοπούλου (1992) μας φαίνεται ιδιαίτερα ενδιαφέρουσα δεδομένου ότι ήδη σε αυτό το άρθρο είχαν υπογραμμίσει ότι «επιλογές του ομιλητή που σχετίζονται με τη στάση του απέναντι στο μήνυμα, στο συνομιλητή του και στο γενικότερο πλαίσιο της εκάστοτε επικοινωνιακής πράξης, επιλογές που σε τελευταία ανάλυση επηρεάζουν καθοριστικά τη σειρά των στοιχείων των γλωσσικών εκφωνημάτων, γενικά δε θίγονται στα εγχειρίδια».

2.2 Η σειρά των όρων στη Γαλλική

Αντίθετα από την ελληνική, η γαλλική είναι, θεωρητικά, πολύ πιο «συντηρητική» και επιβάλλει τη σειρά ΥΡΑ, υποκείμενο-ρήμα-αντικείμενο (βλέπε μεταξύ άλλων Bidaud & Megherbi, 2005 και Muller, 2008). Αυτός ο τύπος δομής προσφέρει συγκεκριμένες δυνατότητες: το ονοματικό σύνολο που βρίσκεται πριν από το κλινόμενο ρήμα είναι το υποκείμενο και κάθε ονοματικό σύνολο μετά το κλινόμενο ρήμα είναι το συμπλήρωμά του. Εξαιρέση αποτελούν τα εργαστικά ρήματα των οποίων τα υποκείμενα διαθέτουν και ορισμένες από τις ιδιότητες του συμπληρώματος.

Οποιαδήποτε μετατόπιση ενός συστατικού, εξαιρουμένων των κλιτικών, μεταξύ του υποκειμένου και του ρήματος είναι αδύνατη (παράδειγμα 6). Η εισαγωγή ενός επιρρηματικού στοιχείου μεταξύ του βοηθητικού και της μετοχής είναι δυνατή (παράδειγμα 7), αλλά αυτή η θέση δεν είναι πιθανή για το προθεσιακό μη επιρρηματικό συμπλήρωμα (παράδειγμα 8).

6. **Paul une soupe a mangé.*

[Πάυλος μια σούπα έχει φάει]

Ο Πάυλος έφαγε μια σούπα.

7. *Paul a toujours travaillé dans la publicité.*

[Πάυλος έχει πάντοτε εργαστεί στη διαφήμιση]

Ο Πάυλος πάντοτε εργαζόταν στο χώρο της διαφήμισης.

8. **Paul a de son patron obtenu une augmentation de son salaire.*

[Πάυλος έχει από το αφεντικό του πετύχει αύξηση του μισθού του]

Ο Πάυλος πέτυχε από το αφεντικό του αύξηση του μισθού του.

Βέβαια, στο μεγαλύτερο μέρος των εργασιών, η συζήτηση για τη γαλλική δεν επικεντρώνεται στο αν η σειρά είναι ΥΡΑ ή κάποια άλλη, αλλά κατά πόσο η σειρά αυτή είναι η ίδια στο γραπτό και τον προφορικό λόγο. Ο Fradin (1990:30, υποσημείωση 19) διαχωρίζει τον προφορικό από το γραπτό λόγο υπογραμμίζοντας ότι οι περιορισμοί του γραπτού λόγου παύουν να ισχύουν στον προφορικό λόγο, κάτι που τον ωθεί να χαρακτηρίσει ως εξαιρετικές περιπτώσεις του προφορικού λόγου κάθε παραβίαση των κανόνων του γραπτού λόγου³.

Πολλές έρευνες έχουν υποστηρίξει, ωστόσο, ότι οι διαφορετικές δομές που συναντώνται στον προφορικό και γραπτό λόγο αποτελούν κυρίως ένα συνεχές που εμπλουτίζει τη γραμματική της γλώσσας. Έτσι, η Blanche-Benveniste υπογραμμίζει (1996:109) ότι οι δομές του προφορικού λόγου διαθέτουν μια μεγαλύτερη ποικιλία από μετατροπές οι οποίες ωστόσο δεν είναι παντελώς άγνωστες στο γραπτό λόγο. Εξάλλου, η ίδια σημειώνει (1996:117) ότι υπάρχει μια συγκεκριμένη σειρά όρων που μπορεί να επηρεάζεται από φαινόμενα φυσικού λόγου και λεκτικών ανταλλαγών.

Όπως και στην περίπτωση της ελληνικής, δύο συντακτικά φαινόμενα είναι ιδιαίτερα ενδιαφέροντα στον προφορικό και το γραπτό λόγο και θα μας απασχολήσουν στη συνέχεια του άρθρου. Το πρώτο

³ Blanche-Benveniste (1996:109) σημειώνει αναφορικά με την παρατήρηση του Fradin : «Il ne sera pas question ici de séparer fondamentalement le français parlé, pour la raison qu'il aurait des tournures exceptionnelles, 'où les interdictions [de l'écrit] ne jouent pas pleinement'».

είναι η εστίαση η οποία γίνεται κατά κύριο λόγο με τη βοήθεια της συγκεκριμένης συντακτικής δομής 'c'est ... QU-' (βλέπε παραδείγματα 9 και 10). Το φαινόμενο αυτό αποτελεί ένα συντακτικό μετασχηματισμό (M. Gross, 1975) που μπορεί να εμφανίζεται τόσο στο γραπτό όσο και στον προφορικό λόγο⁴.

9. *C'est un enfant qui a trouvé l'idée.*

[Είναι ένα παιδί το οποίο βρήκε την ιδέα]

Ένα παιδί είχε την ιδέα αυτή.

10. *Bon, c'est c'est le père qui qui doit travailler.* (Corpus oral)

[Ωραία, είναι είναι ο πατέρας ο οποίος ο οποίος πρέπει να εργαστεί]

Ο πατέρας είναι αυτός που πρέπει να εργαστεί.

Το δεύτερο φαινόμενο είναι αυτό του εκτοπισμού (βλέπε παραδείγματα 11-13) που μπορεί να συνοδεύεται από την επανάληψη με μια αναφορική αντωνυμία (βλέπε παράδειγμα 11). Ο μετασχηματισμός αυτός παρουσιάζει ιδιαίτερο ενδιαφέρον στη γαλλική, τόσο λόγω του μεγάλου αριθμού στοιχείων που μπορούν να εκτοπιστούν (προθεσιακά σύνολα, απαρεμφατικοί τύποι, κλπ.), όσο και λόγω του στοιχείου που επιτρέπει την επανάληψη (δεικτικές αντωνυμίες, κλπ.). Ο εκτοπισμός μπορεί να γίνεται είτε στην αρχή της πρότασης είτε στο τέλος της πρότασης. Το φαινόμενο αυτό συναντάται ιδιαίτερα σπάνια στο γραπτό αλλά ιδιαίτερα συχνά στον προφορικό λόγο.

11. *Ma tante, elle habite à Paris.*

Η θεία μου, μένει στο Παρίσι.

12. *ça elle peut comprendre.* (Blanche-Benveniste, 1996:113)

Αυτό, μπορεί να το καταλάβει.

13. *Ces progrès, Monsieur DM les a indiqués brièvement* (Blanche-Benveniste, 1996:113)

Τις προόδους αυτές, τις έχει ήδη επισημάνει εν συντομία ο κύριος DM.

Στη συνέχεια του άρθρου, θα παρουσιάσουμε παραδείγματα από ένα σώμα κειμένων διδασκόμενων και θα εστιάσουμε την προσοχή μας στη σειρά των όρων και πώς οι επιλογές των διδασκόμενων διαμορφώνονται ενόσω προχωρούν στην εκμάθηση της γλώσσας.

2.3 Ορισμός της πρότασης

Προτού περάσουμε στην ανάλυση του σώματος κειμένων, θεωρούμε απαραίτητες ορισμένες παρατηρήσεις αναφορικά με τον όρο *πρόταση*. Ο ελληνικός όρος αντιστοιχεί σε ποικίλες ενότητες που ανάλογα με τις θεωρήσεις μπορούν να ανταποκρίνονται σε όρους όπως *proposition*, *sentence*, *clause*, για να μην αναφερθούμε παρά στους αγγλικούς όρους.

Η σημασία που αποδίδουμε στην *πρόταση* είναι αυτή ενός συνόλου που αποτελείται από το κατηγορήμα και τα βασικά του συστατικά, δηλαδή τους όρους που είναι υποχρεωτική από τη λεξική δομή του κατηγορήματος. Εξάλλου, όπως διαφαίνεται και από μία σύντομη μελέτη των διδακτικών εγχειριδίων αυτή είναι συνήθως και η διδασκόμενη δομή στους αρχάριους.

3. Υποθέσεις εργασίες και σώμα έρευνας

Η έρευνα βασίζεται στην ποιοτική και ποσοτική⁵ ανάλυση ενός μικρού σώματος κειμένων που περιλαμβάνει γραπτά από την Πιστοποίηση της Ελληνομάθειας που προτείνει το Κέντρο Ελληνικής Γλώσσας. Το γενικό σώμα, μέρος του οποίου αποτελεί το εν λόγω σώμα κειμένων, αποτελείται από 14 γραπτές παραγωγές και 7 προφορικές παραγωγές που κατατάχθηκαν στο πρώτο επίπεδο, 30 γραπτές παραγωγές και 15 προφορικές παραγωγές του δεύτερου επιπέδου, 18 γραπτές παραγωγές και 9 προφορικές του τρίτου επιπέδου και, τέλος, 10 γραπτές παραγωγές και 5 προφορικές παραγωγές προφορικού λόγου. Συνολικά, μελετήθηκαν 12 000 περίπου λέξεις γραπτού λόγου και 350 λεπτά συνομιλίας, εκ των οποίων τα 200 αποτελούσαν λόγο διδασκόμενων. Αποφασίσαμε να μελετήσουμε ένα σώμα κειμένων μικρού μεγέθους, καθώς αποτελεί, κατά πρώτον, μία πιλοτική έρευνα και, κατά δεύτερον, διότι επικεντρώνεται σε ένα συγκεκριμένο γλωσσικά κοινό.

Σύμφωνα με τις παραπάνω παρατηρήσεις αναφορικά με τη δομή της πρότασης στα ελληνικά και τα γαλλικά, θα μελετήσουμε τις ακόλουθες υποθέσεις :

⁴ Βλέπε την ανάλυση των Valetopoulos et Lamprou, υπό δημοσίευση. Στη μελέτη αυτή γίνεται μια προσπάθεια ανάλυσης των δομών 'εγώ είμαι αυτός που' ή 'εγώ είμαι που', μέσα από τη μελέτη μεταφράσεων διδασκόμενων τη γαλλική ως ξένη γλώσσα.

⁵ Να σημειωθεί ότι τα ποσοτικά στατιστικά στοιχεία μας επιτρέπουν απλώς να έχουμε μια συνολική εικόνα του σώματος κειμένων.

- οι γαλλόφωνοι διδασκόμενοι θα προτιμήσουν τη συντακτική δομή ΥΡΑ, κυρίως στο γραπτό λόγο, καθώς αποτελεί την πλέον ουδέτερη για αυτούς δομή·
 - οι γαλλόφωνοι διδασκόμενοι θα χρησιμοποιήσουν δομές που θα γίνονται πιο ευέλικτες όσο θα προχωρούν στα υψηλότερα επίπεδα·
 - παρά την παραγωγή συντακτικά ορθών δομών, ορισμένα περιβάλλοντα θα είναι ακατάλληλα από την άποψη της πληροφοριακής δομής.
- Πρέπει να σημειωθεί ότι αποκλείσαμε τα κείμενα αυτά που προέρχονταν από ομογενείς και επικεντρωθήκαμε στα κείμενα των γαλλόφωνων που δεν είχαν κάποια ιδιαίτερη σχέση με ελληνόφωνους.

4. Ανάλυση δεδομένων

Στο κεφάλαιο αυτό, προτείνουμε μια πρώτη ανάλυση των δεδομένων ανά επίπεδο. Μέσα από συγκεκριμένα παραδείγματα, θα υπογραμμίσουμε τα χαρακτηριστικά των προτάσεων που διαθέτουμε στο πιλοτικό σώμα κειμένων, με στόχο να αναδείξουμε την ανάπτυξη των γραμματικών και συντακτικών γνώσεων των διδασκόμενων.

4.1 Επίπεδο Α

Προτού μελετήσουμε τη δομή των φράσεων, πρέπει να σημειώσουμε ότι το επίπεδο αυτό αντιστοιχεί στο Α2 επίπεδο του *Κοινού Ευρωπαϊκού Πλαισίου*. Σύμφωνα με τους συγγραφείς του (ΚΕΠ, σελ. 34), ο διδασκόμενος μπορεί να «γράφ[ει] σύντομα, απλά μηνύματα και σημειώσεις που σχετίζονται με θέματα άμεσης ανάγκης. Μπορ[εί] να γράψ[ει] μια πολύ απλή προσωπική επιστολή ευχαριστώντας, λ.χ., κάποιον για κάτι.»

Βάσει αυτών, δύο κύριες παρατηρήσεις επιβάλλονται. Πρώτον, τα κείμενα των διδασκόμενων αποτελούνται, όπως είναι αναμενόμενο, από σύντομες προτάσεις με κατά κύριο λόγο δύο συστατικά μέρη, το ρήμα και το συμπλήρωμά του:

14. *Έχω καινούριους φίλους. Τα μαθήματα είναι πολύ καλά και είναι πολύ ωραίο μέρος. Έχω καινούργιο σπίτι. Είναι πολύ ωραίο και πολύ μεγάλο. Ζώω με τον Γ. και τον Π. Η Μ. και η Ι. ζουν δίπλα μας και τρόμαι όλοι μαζί. Το πανεπιστήμιο είναι πολύ μεγάλο.*

15. *Μα, έχασα το πιστοποιητικό μου.*

16. *Δεν έχω πολύ καλούς βαθμούς.*

ενώ οι προτάσεις μπορούν να περιλαμβάνουν επίσης κάποιον τοπικό ή χρονικό προσδιορισμό.

17. *Το μεσημέρι πάω στο κινηματογράφο.*

18. *Μέσα την τσάντα μου ήτανε το πιστοποιητικό μου.*

Οι σύντομες αυτές προτάσεις μπορούν να συνδέονται με τους συνδέσμους *και* ή *αλλά*, ενώ πολύ σπάνια παρατηρούνται δομές με *να* + *ρήμα* ή πιο σύνθετες δομές με αναφορικές προτάσεις.

Η δεύτερη παρατήρηση αφορά το υποκείμενο των προτάσεων· οι περισσότερες προτάσεις έχουν ως υποκείμενο το συγγραφέα του κειμένου. Σε σπάνιες μόνο περιπτώσεις, αναφέρεται το υποκείμενο σε αρχική θέση. Για παράδειγμα,

19. *Αλλά εγώ κάνω γιορτί με τους φίλους μου και τελικά είμαι πεθαμένος την Δευτέρα το πρωί.*

20. *Τα καλλιτεχνικά μαθήματά μου είναι ωρέα και μου αρέσει πολύ.*

Στην πρόταση 19, ο διδασκόμενος έχει ως στόχο να εστιάσει στο υποκείμενο, χρησιμοποιώντας τον αντιθετικό σύνδεσμο *αλλά*. Στην πρόταση 20, παρατηρούμε ένα πολύ συχνό φαινόμενο, όπου οι διδασκόμενοι τοποθετούν την προσωπική αντωνυμία σε θέση υποκειμένου, όταν θέλουν να αλλάξουν το θέμα της περιγραφής. Έτσι, από την πρόταση αυτή και στη συνέχεια, το υποκείμενο θα απουσιάζει και θα εννοείται δεδομένου ότι έχει ήδη παρουσιαστεί στον αναγνώστη.

Τέλος, συχνή είναι η εμφάνιση της δομής Αντωνυμία Ρήμα Υποκείμενο, καθώς οι διδασκόμενοι χρησιμοποιούν τις δομές ‘μου αρέσει’, ‘μου χρειάζεται’, κλπ.

Μπορούμε να πούμε συγκεντρωτικά ότι οι 125 προτάσεις που μελετήθηκαν μπορούν να καταταχθούν ως εξής: 64% των προτάσεων ακολουθούν τη δομή Ρήμα + Συμπλήρωμα, 14,5% διαθέτουν έναν επιρρηματικό προσδιορισμό σε αρχική θέση, όπως *αντίθετα*, *επιπλέον*, κλπ., 14,5% εμφανίζουν το υποκείμενο στην αρχική θέση, και μόλις 7% αντιστοιχούν σε τριτοπρόσωπες δομές με την προσωπική αντωνυμία σε αρχική θέση.

4.2 Επίπεδο Β

Το επίπεδο Β, ήτοι Β1, διακρίνεται από το επίπεδο Α τόσο ως προς τη λεξιλογική ποικιλία που χαρακτηρίζει τα γραπτά όσο και από την πιο πλούσια συντακτική δομή. Σύμφωνα με το ΚΕΠ (σελ. 34), ο διδασκόμενος «[μ]πορ[εί] να γράψ[ει] απλό κείμενο σχετικό με θέματα που [τ]ου είναι γνωστά ή που [τον] ενδιαφέρουν προσωπικά. Μπορ[εί] να γράψ[ει] προσωπικές επιστολές περιγράφοντας εμπειρίες και εντυπώσεις.»

Αν εξετάσουμε τα κείμενα, μπορούμε να διαπιστώσουμε ότι πέρα από τις απλές προτάσεις του τύπου ΥΡΑ, υπάρχει ένας σχετικά μεγάλος αριθμός από δευτερεύουσες προτάσεις οι οποίες εισάγονται κατά κύριο λόγο από τους συνδέσμους *για να, επειδή και ώστε*. Όσον αφορά τη δομή τους, σε ένα σύνολο 300 περίπου προτάσεων, απλών ή και σύνθετων, μπορούμε να παρατηρήσουμε τα ακόλουθα: 51% των προτάσεων ακολουθούν τη δομή Ρήμα + Συμπλήρωμα, 21% εμφανίζουν το υποκείμενο στην αρχική θέση, 11,5% διαθέτουν έναν επιρρηματικό προσδιορισμό σε αρχική θέση και 8,5% αποτελούν σύνθετες προτάσεις με μια δευτερεύουσα επιρρηματική πρόταση. Τέλος μόλις το 7,5% των προτάσεων αντιστοιχούν σε τριτοπρόσωπες δομές με την προσωπική αντωνυμία σε αρχική θέση.

Η πλειοψηφία των προτάσεων, όπως καταδεικνύεται από την καταμέτρηση, αντιστοιχεί στην ακολουθία ΡΑ καθώς οι διδασκόμενοι εξακολουθούν να χρησιμοποιούν ως πρόσωπο αναφοράς το πρώτο πρόσωπο ενικού ή πληθυντικού.

21. *Σε μια στιγμή μπήκαμε σ'ένα πυκνό δάσος, όπου δεν υπήρχε πια μονοπάτι.*

22. *Φόναξα τους φίλους μου με φωνή δυνατή.*

Σταδιακά, οι διδασκόμενοι αρχίζουν να χρησιμοποιούν όλο και περισσότερες να-προτάσεις, κυρίως με τη δομή *θα ήθελα*, ή ότι-προτάσεις με λεκτικά ρήματα.

23. *Θα ήθελα να σας πω ότι εδώ η ζωή είναι δύσκολη για μένα.*

Αυτό όμως που παρουσιάζει ιδιαίτερο ενδιαφέρον είναι καταρχήν η δομή Επίρρ. Προσδ. + (Υ)ΡΑ, καθώς παρουσιάζεται λιγότερο συχνά από ό,τι στο επίπεδο Α. Αυτό βέβαια μπορεί να ερμηνευτεί από το γεγονός ότι οι διδασκόμενοι καταφεύγουν πλέον σε πιο σύνθετες δομές, χρησιμοποιώντας τις δευτερεύουσες προτάσεις ως επιρρηματικό προσδιορισμό. Για παράδειγμα,

24. *Όταν μου έστειλε σε αυτή πολύ, συμφώνησα γιατί ήθελα να δω πως θα είναι.*

25. *Λοιπόν, αν δεν μου αρέσει πολύ να γράφω, σου στέλνω γράμμα, για να σου μαθαίνω μια κακό νέα.*

Να σημειωθεί ότι πολλές παρένθετες προτάσεις αρχίζουν να εμφανίζονται στο λόγο με κύρια λειτουργία να συσχετίζουν μια πρόταση με πληροφορίες που θεωρούνται γνωστές σύμφωνα με τις οδηγίες του άρθρου.

26. *Όπως το ξέρετε αγόρασα ένα σπίτι πέρσι και τώρα είμαι μακριά.*

Συνολικά, παρατηρούμε συνεπώς ότι οι διδασκόμενοι προτείνουν πλέον πιο σύνθετες προτάσεις, ακολουθώντας τη δομή κύρια πρόταση-σύνδεσμος-δευτερεύουσα πρόταση, χωρίς ωστόσο να αλλάζει ιδιαίτερα η θέση των βασικών συστατικών όρων της πρότασης.

4.3 Επίπεδο Γ

Το επίπεδο Γ, που αντιστοιχεί στο επίπεδο Β2, προϋποθέτει ότι ο διδασκόμενος «[μ]πορ[εί] να γράψ[ει] σαφή, λεπτομερή κείμενα για ένα ευρύ φάσμα θεμάτων που έχουν σχέση με τα ενδιαφέροντά [τ]ου. Μπορ[εί] να γράψ[ει] ένα δοκίμιο ή μια αναφορά, παραθέτοντας πληροφορίες ή δίνοντας επιχειρήματα για να στηρίξ[ει] ή να αντικρούσ[ει] μια συγκεκριμένη άποψη. Μπορ[εί] να γράψ[ει] επιστολές τονίζοντας την προσωπική σημασία γεγονότων και εμπειριών.» (ΚΕΠ, σελ. 34). Βέβαια αυτή η γενική, όπως το απαιτεί το ΚΕΠ, φράση δε μας δίνει ιδιαίτερες πληροφορίες σχετικά με το τι μπορεί να κάνει ο διδασκόμενος σε συντακτικό επίπεδο.

Ας εξετάσουμε ορισμένα παραδείγματα από το σώμα των 4500 λέξεων που αντιστοιχούν σε 200 περίπου προτάσεις σύνθετες. Οι απλές προτάσεις είναι σχεδόν ανύπαρκτες μέσα στο σώμα που μελετήθηκε. Τα γραπτά του επιπέδου αυτού χαρακτηρίζονται, όπως είναι αναμενόμενο, από πιο σύνθετες προτάσεις, πλουσιότερες συντακτικά και λεξιλογικά. Ωστόσο, ορισμένα συντακτικά φαινόμενα αρχίζουν πλέον να εμφανίζονται με ιδιαίτερη συχνότητα. Ας εξετάσουμε τις παρακάτω προτάσεις:

27. *Εσύ πρέπει να βοηθείς την κόρη σου να δημιουργήσει μια δική της προσωπικότητα, όχι να μοιάζει με τις φίλες της!*

28. *Σε τέτοια ηλικία το παιδί είναι – και πρέπει να είναι – πάντα με άλλους ενήλικους.*

29. *Αλλωστε στην τάξη της πρέπει να είναι κλειστό το κινητό.*

30. *Πράγματι για όλους εσάς και γι'αυτούς που δεν μπόρεσαν να έρθουν απόψε, το καινούργιο μας γήπεδο θα είναι ανηχτό.*

Στις παραπάνω προτάσεις, οι διδασκόμενοι αλλάζουν τη βασική δομή εκτοπίζοντας στην αρχή της πρότασης άλλα συστατικά: το υποκείμενο της εξαρτημένης να-πρότασης (παράδειγμα 27), έναν (εμπρόθετο) επιρρηματικό προσδιορισμό (παράδειγματα 28-30). Αυτή η ανάγκη έμφασης διαφαίνεται μερικές φορές και από το γλωσσικό υλικό ή τις δομές που χρησιμοποιούνται όπως στα παραδείγματα 31 και 32, όπως ‘είναι ... που’, μεταφράζοντας ή αποδίδοντας εν μέρει τη γαλλική δομή ‘c’est ... qui/que’.

31. *Ένα πράγμα ακόμη που μου φαίνεται πολύ σημαντικό.*

32. *Είναι μεγάλο λάθος που έκανες.*

Πέρα όμως από αυτές τις λίγες δομές που μας επιτρέπουν να διακρίνουμε μια γενικότερη ευελιξία στην πρόταση χωρίς να δομούνται απαραίτητως και αποδεκτές προτάσεις, η συχνότερη δομή παραμένει αυτή που έχουμε μελετήσει μέχρι τώρα, δηλαδή (Y)PA.

4.4 Επίπεδο Δ

Στο επίπεδο Δ, που αντιστοιχεί στο επίπεδο Γ1, ο διδασκόμενος «μπορ[εί] να εκφραστ[εί] με σαφή, καλά δομημένα κείμενα, εκφράζοντας απόψεις αρκετά εκτενώς. Μπορ[εί] να γράψ[ει] επιστολές, δοκίμια ή αναφορές για σύνθετα θέματα, υπογραμμίζοντας τα σημεία που πιστεύ[ει] πως αποτελούν ουσιαστικά ζητήματα. Μπορ[εί] να επιλέξ[ει] ύφος κατάλληλο για τον αναμενόμενο αναγνώστη.» (ΚΕΠ, σελ. 34). Αυτό σημαίνει ότι ο διδασκόμενος χειρίζεται ικανοποιητικά τη γλώσσα και τη δομή της πρότασης, ώστε να είναι ικανός να αλλάζει την πρόταση με διάφορους μετασχηματισμούς.

Οι προτάσεις του σώματος κειμένων που μελετήσαμε ακολουθούν κατά κύριο λόγο τη βασική δομή (Y)PA (παράδειγμα 33):

33. *Σε μισούσα απόλυτα, είχες γίνει το πιο αδιάστικτο άτομο στον πλανήτη. Σε ονειρευόμουν κάθε νύχτα, και ξύπναγα με αυτό το κακό συναίσθημα της λύπης και της μελαγχολίας.*

Εξάλλου, η πλειοψηφία των προτάσεων είναι σύνθετες προτάσεις με ιδιαίτερη προτίμηση για τις αιτιολογικές, χρονικές, τελικές και υποθετικές προτάσεις. Βέβαια, παρατηρούμε παράλληλα ότι οι προτάσεις αυτές εισάγονται πάντοτε με τους ίδιους συνδέσμους, γιατί, διότι, όταν, για να:

34. *Όταν μου ανακοίνωσες την απόφασή σου, πρώτ’απ’όλα το πήρα πολύ ψύχραιμα, γιατί σε είχα στο τηλέφωνο (μα και εσύ, από το τηλέφωνο τα λένε αυτά;), και δεν ήθελα να σου δείξω την στεναχώρια μου.*

Οι διδασκόμενοι καταφεύγουν στη μετατροπή της βασικής δομής σε συγκεκριμένες περιπτώσεις:

α. Στην περίπτωση του εκτοπισμού του επιρρηματικού προσδιορισμού στην αρχή της πρότασης, που πολλές φορές γενικεύεται (παράδειγματα 35-37). Η γενίκευση αυτή οφείλεται είτε στην υπερδιόρθωση είτε στην πιθανή επίδραση της συντακτικής ανάλυσης της γαλλικής, όπως στο παράδειγμα 37, όπου το ουσιαστικό αλήθεια αναλύεται επιρρηματικά:

35. *Βεβαίως ξέρεις πολύ καλά εσύ τι σημαίνει για μια γυναίκα το να δουλεύει και να προσέχει τα παιδιά της.*

36. *Για αυτό το λόγο, Χάρη μου, σου γράφω αυτό το γράμμα : πρέπει να σκεφτείς καλά και να πάρεις μια απόφαση.*

37. *Αλήθεια είναι ότι από πολύ καιρό κάνεις πολλές δραστηριότητες ...*

β. Η δεύτερη περίπτωση στην οποία παρατηρείται μετατροπή της βασικής δομής είναι στην περίπτωση ιδιαίτερου επιτονισμού. Στα παραδείγματα 38 και 39, ο διδασκόμενος επιθυμεί να δώσει έμφαση σε κάτι που έχει ήδη πει συνδέοντάς το με τη συνέχεια του κειμένου. Η αντωνυμία αυτά (παράδειγμα 38) ή αυτές (παράδειγμα 39) αποκτά κατά συνέπεια αναφορική λειτουργία παραπέμποντας σε ό,τι έχει ειπωθεί.

38. *Είναι επίσης αυτά τα κίνητρα της υποψηφιότητας σου, αν δεν κάνω λάθος.*

39. *Ενδιαφέρεσαι ιδιαίτερα στις γυναίκες, διότι είναι αυτές που παθαίνουν την μεγαλύτερη έλλληψη βοήθειας στη ζωή τους.*

Τέλος, θα επιθυμούσαμε να κάνουμε μια γενικότερη παρατήρηση αναφορικά με τον τύπο των κειμένων. Παρατηρούμε ότι πολύ συχνά οι διδασκόμενοι καταφεύγουν σε απλές δομές ή στην παράταξη απλών προτάσεων επιθυμώντας να προσδώσουν στο κείμενό τους φιλικό χαρακτήρα. Αυτό τους οδηγεί στη χρήση προφορικών δομών ή δομών που θα μπορούσαν να χαρακτηριστούν ως προφορικές (παράδειγμα 33).

5. Συμπεράσματα

Τα συμπεράσματα της μελέτης του πιλοτικού αυτού σώματος κειμένων δεν μπορούν να γενικευτούν αλλά ούτε και να θεωρηθούν ως τελικά. Προς το παρόν, προσπαθήσαμε να κάνουμε ορισμένες γενικές παρατηρήσεις που θα μας επιτρέψουν να κάνουμε πιο συγκεκριμένη την έρευνά μας.

Όσον αφορά τις τρεις γενικές υποθέσεις που διατυπώσαμε στην αρχή της έρευνάς μας, παρατηρούμε ότι οι γαλλόφωνοι διδασκόμενοι προτιμούν τη συντακτική δομή (Υ)ΡΑ, καθώς αποτελεί την πλέον ουδέτερη για αυτούς δομή. Όσο προχωρούμε στα διάφορα επίπεδα, παρατηρούμε ωστόσο ότι οι διδασκόμενοι αποφεύγουν τις άλλες δομές και ο λόγος τους παραμένει κατά βάση προσκολλημένος στη δομή (Υ)ΡΑ. Αυτό βέβαια μπορεί να οφείλεται και στον τύπο των γραπτών που επιλέξαμε να μελετήσουμε, καθώς πρόκειται για γραπτά εξετάσεων και, σε αυτή την περίπτωση, οι διδασκόμενοι αποφεύγουν τους πειραματισμούς. Παρόλα αυτά, αυτό μπορεί επίσης να υποδεικνύει και την ανασφάλεια την οποία πιθανότατα νιώθουν με ορισμένες συντακτικές δομές, κάτι που τους ωθεί στο να παράγουν απλές συντακτικές δομές. Τέλος, όσον αφορά την ορθότητα ορισμένων δομών σε συγκεκριμένα περιβάλλοντα, μπορούμε να πούμε προς το παρόν ότι οι διδασκόμενοι έχουν την τάση ακόμη και στο πιο προχωρημένο επίπεδο να γενικεύουν ορισμένες δομές είτε από επίδραση της μητρικής γλώσσας είτε από υπερδιόρθωση. Εξάλλου, παρατηρείται η τάση να χρησιμοποιούνται δομές που θα μπορούσαν να θυμίζουν προφορικό λόγο αλλά που στην πραγματικότητα βασίζονται απλώς στην παράταξη απλών προτάσεων.

Σε κάθε περίπτωση, η έρευνα μάς έδειξε το δρόμο για την περαιτέρω ανάλυση, καθώς απαιτείται, κατά τη γνώμη μας, συγκριτική μελέτη με το γραπτό και προφορικό λόγο των ομογενών. Επιπλέον, επιβάλλεται η ανάλυση και των εγχειριδίων που χρησιμοποιούνται για τη διδασκαλία της ελληνικής ώστε να φανεί κατά πόσο τα εγχειρίδια και η διδασκαλία επηρεάζουν τελικά τις επιλογές αυτές των διδασκόμενων. Αντίστοιχες έρευνες, τις οποίες πραγματοποιήσαμε με ελληνόφωνους διδασκόμενους τη γαλλική ως ξένη γλώσσα, έδειξαν ότι το είδος της άσκησης που πρέπει να πραγματοποιήσουν καθορίζει και τους παράγοντες που παρεμβαίνουν. Έτσι, άλλοτε παρατηρείται έντονη επίδραση της μητρικής, όταν οι διδασκόμενοι πρέπει να μεταφράσουν ένα κείμενο (Valetopoulos et Lamprou, υπό δημοσίευση), είτε επίδραση της διδασκαλίας και των στρατηγικών εκμάθησης, καθώς οι διδασκόμενοι χρησιμοποιούν τη στρατηγική της αποφυγής, μαθαίνουν να γράφουν χωρίς να πειραματίζονται με νέες δομές ή δομές που δεν κατέχουν ικανοποιητικά (Valetopoulos, υπό δημοσίευση).

Τέλος, όλες οι παραπάνω παρατηρήσεις δείχνουν επίσης και το πλήθος των πληροφοριών που μπορεί ο ερευνητής να αντλήσει από τη μελέτη των σωμάτων κειμένων διδασκόμενων. Τα σώματα κειμένων, χωρίς να αποτελούν μοναδική πηγή, προσφέρουν μια συνολική εικόνα της πορείας εκμάθησης της ξένης γλώσσας.

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ΖΗΤΗΜΑΤΑ ΔΙΑΓΛΩΣΣΑΣ ΣΤΗΝ ΠΑΡΑΓΩΓΗ ΓΡΑΠΤΟΥ ΛΟΓΟΥ: Η ΠΕΡΙΠΤΩΣΗ ΤΩΝ ΣΕΡΒΟΦΩΝΩΝ ΦΟΙΤΗΤΩΝ ΜΕ ΓΛΩΣΣΑ ΣΤΟΧΟ ΤΗΝ ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΗ

Νίκος Βερβίτης
Σχολείο Νέας Ελληνικής
Γλώσσας Α.Π.Θ., Ελλάδα
vervitis_n@yahoo.gr

Μαρία Καπουρκατσίδου
Σχολείο Νέας Ελληνικής
Γλώσσας Α.Π.Θ., Ελλάδα
kap_maria@yahoo.gr

Vojkan Stojičić
Τμήμα Νεοελληνικών Σπουδών
Πανεπιστημίου Βελιγραδίου, Σερβία
vojkans@hotmail.com

ABSTRACT

In the following paper we study and analyze texts written by students of the 3rd and 4th year of the Department of Greek Philology of the University of Belgrade. This examination aims at the error identification, classification and interpretation at the advanced level (C1-C2). Based on the errors of these texts we focus on the basic grammatical categories which tend to have the most problematic function such as aspect and article. Finally we examine the vocabulary and register errors based on the given text genres.

1. Εισαγωγή

Η παρούσα ανακοίνωση στόχο έχει να παρουσιάσει και να αναλύσει τα σημαντικότερα λάθη που παρουσιάζονται σε κείμενα παραγωγής γραπτού λόγου σερβόφωνων φοιτητών του 3^{ου} και 4^{ου} έτους του τμήματος Ελληνικής Φιλολογίας του Πανεπιστημίου του Βελιγραδίου καθώς και να επικεντρώσει στις προβληματικές περιοχές της διαγλώσσας των ομιλητών με βάση την επεξεργασία των συγκεκριμένων λαθών.

2. Το λάθος για τα «λάθη»

Για αρκετές δεκαετίες στο χώρο της διδασκαλίας των ζωντανών γλωσσών, τα γλωσσικά λάθη αντιμετωπίζονταν ως ανεπάρκεια στη διαδικασία της εκμάθησης με εύλογη συνέπεια τη διαδικασία διόρθωσης αυτής της «ελαττωματικής» γλωσσικής συμπεριφοράς. Η γλωσσική διδασκαλία επηρεασμένη τις δεκαετίες του '50 και του '60 και '70 από τη θεωρία του συμπεριφορισμού αντιμετώπισε και την εκμάθηση της δεύτερης/ξένης γλώσσας ως μια ακόμη έκφανση της ανθρώπινης συμπεριφοράς που βασίζεται στις έννοιες ερέθισμα και ανταπόκριση (Μπέλλα 2007: 60). Υπό τη γενική αυτή οπτική ο Lado εισήγαγε μέσω της Αντιπαραβολικής Ανάλυσης (Contrastive Analysis 1957) την έννοια της *Παρεμβολής* (transfer) σύμφωνα με την οποία ο ομιλητής μεταφέρει αυτόματα τις συνήθειες της Γ1 στη διαδικασία κατάκτησης της Γ2 και αυτές συμβάλλουν θετικά όταν πρόκειται για όμοια γλωσσικά στοιχεία ή αρνητικά όταν πρόκειται για ανόμοια. Παρόλα αυτά η εμπειριοκρατική λογική του γλωσσικού εισερχόμενου και εξερχόμενου δεν ήταν ικανή να προβλέψει και να ερμηνεύσει γλωσσικά λάθη που δεν οφειλονταν στην παρεμβολή της μητρικής γλώσσας καθώς αντιμετώπιζε επιφανειακά τα γλωσσικά συστήματα χωρίς να λαμβάνει υπόψη τις νοητικές διεργασίες του ομιλητή. Η αδυναμία ερμηνείας των λαθών μέσω της παρεμβολής αποδείχτηκε και με μια σειρά πειραμάτων που αποδείκνυαν πως τα σημεία διαφοροποιήσεων μεταξύ Γ1 και Γ2 δεν οδηγούν απαραίτητα σε δυσκολία κατάκτησης της Γ2 (Zobl 1980) καθώς και ότι οι ομοιότητες δύο γλωσσών δεν οδηγούν απαραίτητα σε θετική παρεμβολή (Odlin 1989).

Με την εμφάνιση της γενετικής θεωρίας του Chomsky, εισάγεται από τον Corder αρχικά (1967) και στην συνέχεια από το Selinker (1972) η έννοια της *Διαγλώσσας* που εκφράζει την ίδια τη διαδικασία

εκμάθησης κατά την οποία ο ομιλητής περνά ώστε να φτάσει στο στόχο που είναι το γλωσσικό σύστημα της Γ2. Οι Corder και Selinker καθώς οι μεταγενέστεροι ερευνητές τις διαγλώσσας (Sharwood-Smith 1994) υποστήριξαν πως η διαδικασία εκμάθησης είναι ένας συνεχής (interlanguage continuum) που αποτελείται από μια σειρά αλληλοεπικαλυπτόμενων γραμματικών που υπόκεινται σε συνεχή αλλαγή. Η αφετηρία δόμησης αυτού του συνεχούς, σύμφωνα με τον Ellis είναι ένα πρώιμο λεξιλόγιο χωρίς να χρειάζεται ο ομιλητής να καταφεύγει σε γραμματικές δομές της μητρικής (Ellis 1982, 210). Υπό το νέο πρίσμα θεώρησης της διδασκαλίας τα λάθη αντιμετωπίζονται ως εκφάνσεις της νοητικής διαδικασίας του ομιλητή και μπορούν να διακριθούν σε α) διαγλωσσικά (interlingual) που οφείλονται στην παρεμβολή και β) σε ενδογλωσσικά (intralingual) που οφείλονται σε ενδοσυστηματικές δυσκολίες της Γ2 (Αναστασιάδη κ.ά. 2008, 160). Έτσι τα λάθη μπορούν να αποτελέσουν θετικά εναύσματα στη διδασκαλία καθώς βοηθούν στην ερμηνεία της δυσκολίας κατάκτησης κάποιων δύσκολων γλωσσικών δομών της Γ2.

Η νοητική διεργασία της διαγλώσσας αντιμετωπίζεται από τους ερευνητές ως ένα συνεχές (interlanguage continuum) που υπόκειται σε συνεχείς αλλαγές και οδηγεί σύμφωνα με τον Selinker (1972) στην *Απολίθωση* (fossilization), καθώς η διαγλώσσα χάνει τη διαπερατότητά της και σταματά η διαδικασία της κατάκτησης σε σημείο διαφορετικό για τον κάθε ομιλητή. Το σημείο απολίθωσης διαφέρει από ομιλητή σε ομιλητή και οφείλεται σε διάφορους παράγοντες όπως η ηλικία και το κίνητρο εκμάθησης μιας γλώσσας.

3. Ταξινόμηση λαθών

Βασικός διαχωρισμός των λαθών σε τυχαία (mistakes) και συστηματικά (errors) μας οδηγεί στην πρώτη δυσκολία να τα εντάξουμε σε μια από τις δύο κατηγορίες. Τα τυχαία λάθη οφείλονται στη λανθασμένη εφαρμογή ενός γνωστού κανόνα που ο ομιλητής μπορεί να διορθώσει επαναδομώντας την πρόταση ενώ τα συστηματικά στην άγνοια ή μη κατανόηση ενός γλωσσικού συστήματος (Αντωνοπούλου κ.ά. 2006: 25-26). Έτσι η μελέτη και ανάλυση τυχαίων λαθών οδηγού σε λανθασμένα συμπεράσματα. Βασικό κριτήριο διαχωρισμού των λαθών σε όλα τα επίπεδα γλωσσομάθειας είναι κυρίως η συχνότητα.

Η επιμέρους κωδικοποίηση των συστηματικών λαθών ακολουθεί συνήθως τα επίπεδα γλωσσικής ανάλυσης, εδώ θα περιοριστούμε στα λάθη που μπορούμε να εντοπίσουμε στα κείμενα παραγωγής γραπτού λόγου: α) τα μορφοσυντακτικά λάθη στις γραμματικές κατηγορίες του άρθρου (οριστικό, αόριστο, μηδενικό), του ρήματος (όψη, χρόνος, έγκλιση), β) τα συντακτικά λάθη (συμφωνία ρήματος υποκειμένου-αντικειμένου, ρήματα με προθέσεις) και γ) λεξιλογικά λάθη (λεξήματα, μη-λεξήματα).

Όμως πέρα από τα «μεμονωμένα» λάθη σε επίπεδο γραμματικής και σημασιολογίας, στην περίπτωση γραπτών κειμένων έχουμε και επιπλέον συμβάσεις τις οποίες πρέπει να λάβουμε υπόψη. Οι συμβάσεις αυτές καθορίζουν το βαθμό στον οποίο γίνεται αποδεκτό ένα κείμενο ή αποκλίνει από την επικοινωνιακή διαδικασία. Τα λάθη που συναντούμε σε επίπεδο κειμένου δεν προσκρούουν άμεσα στους «αυστηρούς» κανόνες γραμματικότητας μια λεξικής μονάδας ή στην καταλληλότητα μιας γλωσσικής επιλογής (Γούτσος 2007: 88). Τα κειμενικά λάθη λοιπόν, αφορούν κυρίως την υφολογική καταλληλότητα ανάλογα με το δεδομένο κειμενικό είδος (προφορικότητα, κειμενικοί δείκτες, συνεκτικότητα). Τα λάθη αυτά είναι δυσκολότερο να εντοπιστούν και να αναλυθούν καθώς η γλωσσική διδασκαλία δεν προσανατολίζεται επαρκώς στα κειμενικά είδη και τύποι. Παρόλα αυτά είναι ευρέως αποδεκτό ότι η κειμενική επάρκεια αποτελεί έναν σημαντικό παράγοντα κυρίως στην παραγωγή γραπτού λόγου.

4. Σώμα κειμένων

Τα δεδομένα συλλέχθηκαν από ένα σώμα 88 γραπτών κειμένων 22 σεβδόφωνων φοιτητών/τριών του Τμήματος Νεοελληνικών Σπουδών του Πανεπιστημίου του Βελιγραδίου. Ο/Η κάθε φοιτητής/τρια παρήγαγε 4 κείμενα στα πλαίσια του γλωσσικού μαθήματος με τίτλο «Συνομιλία» (Converzacija), 3 κείμενα κατά τη διάρκεια του 3^{ου} έτους της φοίτησής του/της και ένα στο 4^ο έτος (στο εξής Γ1, Γ2, Γ3, Δ1). Οι ομάδες των φοιτητών/τριών είναι προχωρημένης γλωσσομάθειας καθώς παρακολουθούν και μαθήματα νεοελληνικής λογοτεχνίας πέρα από τα γλωσσικά μαθήματα. Η επιλογή του συγκεκριμένου κοινού έγινε γιατί παρουσιάζει πολλά πλεονεκτήματα: α) η μητρική τους γλώσσα είναι κοινή β) βρίσκονται στο ίδιο επίπεδο γλωσσομάθειας γ) έχουν τα ίδια χρόνια έκθεσης στην ελληνική καθώς (περιορισμένη επαφή με φυσικό λόγο) δ) έχουν περίπου την ίδια ηλικία ε) τα γραπτά κείμενα συντάχθηκαν κάτω από τις ίδιες συνθήκες (εξετάσεις). Με αυτόν τον τρόπο μπορούν να αποκλειστούν διάφοροι παράγοντες που μπορούν να επηρεάσουν την παραγωγή γραπτού λόγου και να οδηγήσουν σε

λάθη τυχαία με αποτέλεσμα την εξαγωγή λανθασμένων πορισμάτων. Επιπλέον η παρατήρηση και μελέτη τεσσάρων κειμένων από τον ίδιο ομιλητή μπορεί να βοηθήσει στην εξαγωγή σχετικά ασφαλών συμπερασμάτων σχετικά με την απολίθωση του διαγλωσσικού συνεχούς της συγκεκριμένης ομάδας.

Η βασική μέθοδος συλλογής δεδομένων ήταν η αναλυτική εξέταση των γραπτών κειμένων και η κατηγοριοποίησή των λαθών με κριτήριο τα επίπεδα γλωσσικής ανάλυσης (φωνολογία, μορφολογία, σύνταξη, λεξιλόγιο). Τα δεδομένα οδήγησαν σε πιο εξειδικευμένες κατηγοριοποιήσεις όπως άρθρο, ρηματική όψη, υφολογική διαφοροποίηση και κειμενική καταλληλότητα.

5. Δεδομένα

5.1 Λάθη στη χρήση του άρθρου

Ο μεγαλύτερος αριθμός λαθών εντοπίστηκε στη χρήση οριστικού και μηδενικού άρθρου κάτι που ήταν αναμενόμενο λόγω της μεγάλης συχνότητας εμφάνισης του στα κείμενα ως προσδιοριστικό του ονόματος. Η κατηγορία αυτή παρουσιάζει ιδιαίτερες δυσκολίες στην κατάκτηση σε όλα τα επίπεδα γλωσσομάθειας ακόμη και στο προχωρημένο και ιδιαίτερα όταν απουσιάζει ως μορφοσυντακτική κατηγορία από τη μητρική γλώσσα των μαθητών (Ιακώβου & Μπέλλα 2004: 170-172). Στη σερβική όπως και στις άλλες σλαβικές γλώσσες δεν υπάρχει άρθρο αλλά μόνο το αριθμητικό *jedan/jedna/jedno* που λειτουργεί σε κάποιες μόνο περιπτώσεις ως αόριστο άρθρο. Επιπλέον οι λειτουργίες και οι χρήσεις ιδιαίτερα του οριστικού και του μηδενικού άρθρου στη νέα ελληνική παρουσιάζουν μια πολυπλοκότητα. Εξάλλου, θα πρέπει να σημειωθεί η απουσία των λειτουργιών και της χρήσης του από τα διδακτικά εγχειρίδια που απευθύνονται σε ενηλίκους (ενδεικτικά Βαλσαμάκη & Μανάβη 2004, Αρβανιτάκης & Αρβανιτάκη 2000 2002 2004, Μπαμπινιώτης 2003, Βαλσαμάκη-Τζεκάκη κ.ά 2002, Σιμόπουλος κ.ά. 2009) εκτός ελαχίστων εξαιρέσεων (Αντωνίου κ.ά. 2011, Παθιάκη κ.ά 2011, Γαλίτη κ.ά. 2004) και κατ' επέκταση και από τη διδασκαλία. Οφείλουμε να αναφέρουμε ότι τελευταία έχουν γίνει συγκριτικές με άλλες γλώσσες έρευνες που αναφέρονται σ' αυτό το φαινόμενο και κάποιες πρόσφατες εκδόσεις διδακτικών εγχειριδίων που συμπεριλαμβάνουν συστηματοποιημένη τη ρητή του διδασκαλία (Τσαμαδού-Jacobberger & Χειλά-Μαρκοπούλου 2006: 179-213). Αποτέλεσμα όλων των παραπάνω είναι από την πλευρά των μαθητών η υπεργενίκευση χρήσης είτε του οριστικού είτε του μηδενικού άρθρου ακόμη και σε περιπτώσεις που θεωρείται υποχρεωτική η χρήση του ενός ή του άλλου.

5.1.1 Λάθη στη χρήση του οριστικού άρθρου

Ακολουθούν παραδείγματα από τα σώματα κειμένων των φοιτητών όπου στη θέση του οριστικού άρθρου με γενικευτική χρήση επέλεξαν το μηδενικό.

[1] *Όταν όλοι καταλάβουμε ότι ο διαφορές μπορεί να είναι και κακές* (9Δ1)

[2] *Η λύση ο προβλήματος* (10Δ1)

[3] *Είναι γνωστός και ο βελονισμός* (5Γ2)

[4] *Κατά τη γνώμη μου ο ελληνική κοινωνία* (7Δ1)

Το ίδιο συμβαίνει μετά από δεικτικά και ποσοτικά προσδιοριστικά όπου η θέση του οριστικού είναι υποχρεωτική αλλά και στον υπερθετικό βαθμό επιθέτων. Εδώ επομένως διακρίνεται έντονα η επίδραση της μητρικής με το φαινόμενο της μεταφοράς.

[5] *ο διαρροή αυτή* (18Γ3)

[6] *Στη αυτή ο κοινωνία* (8Δ1)

[7] *Αυτό ο μαγικό περιβάλλον* (5Γ3)

[8] *όλοι ο άνθρωποι* (3Δ1)

[9] *ο περισσότεροι νομίζουν* (5Γ1)

[10] *ο μεγαλύτερες επιπτώσεις* (3Γ3)

[11] *ο περισσότεροι φοβούνται* (13Δ1)

Πρόκειται ίσως για το μοναδικό φαινόμενο που παρουσιάζεται ρητά στα υπάρχοντα διδακτικά εγχειρίδια τα οποία παρουσιάζουν το φαινόμενο και περιέχουν ασκήσεις κυρίως δομικού τύπου για την εμπέδωσή του.

5.1.2 Λάθη στη χρήση του μηδενικού άρθρου

Μεγαλύτερος είναι ο αριθμός των λαθών που εντοπίστηκαν στις περιπτώσεις χρήσης του μηδενικού άρθρου όπου οι φοιτητές υπεργενικεύουν τη χρήση του οριστικού όπως είναι και απόλυτα αναμενόμενο εφόσον απουσιάζει από τη σερβική. Τα λάθη αφορούν:

α) εμπρόθετες φράσεις που εισάγονται με τις προθέσεις από, σε και για

[12] *όλοι οι κάτοικοι έτρεξαν στη βοήθεια* (13Γ2)

[13] *από τη πολύ μικρή ηλικία* (8Δ1)

[14] *Είναι στη δύσκολη κατάσταση* (8Δ1)

[15] *σαν και στις άλλες χώρες* (5Δ1)

[16] *καινούριο σαμπουάν για τα υπέροχα μαλλιά* (4Γ1)

[17] *Πριν από τους μερικούς μήνες* (1Γ3)

β) σε θέση αντικειμένου όταν τα ουσιαστικά δηλώνουν γενικές έννοιες που συμπληρώνουν σημασιολογικά το ρήμα

[18] *...βλέπεις τους απελπισμένους και απογοητευμένους ανθρώπους, σε απόγνωση που δε βρίσκουν τη λύση για πρόβλημα της επιβίωσης που τους το έφερε η ζωή έτσι ξαφνικά* (6Γ3)

[19] *Παντού μπορούμε να δούμε τις διαφημίσεις για διαφορετικά πράγματα* (8Δ1)

γ) σε συνάψεις

[20] *έχουν ληφθεί μέτρα της προστασίας* (9Γ3)

[21] *το πρόβλημα της υγείας* (12Γ2)

[22] *χάνει το χρόνο για να αποφασίσει* (5Γ2)

5.2 Λάθη στο ρήμα

5.2.1 Λάθη στην όψη

Μία άλλη κατηγορία λαθών αφορά το ρήμα και πιο συγκεκριμένα τη ρηματική όψη, και τη φωνή. Γενικά η όψη θεωρείται η πιο προβληματική περιοχή στο ρήμα ως προς την κατάκτηση της ακόμη και στο προχωρημένο επίπεδο γλωσσομάθειας. Ο μεγάλος αριθμός συγκεντρώσεως λαθών οφείλεται στη συχνότητα χρήσης της και είναι αυτή που προηγείται στην κατάκτηση σε σχέση με το χρόνο ακόμα και στα παιδιά.

Η ρηματική όψη είναι μια γραμματική κατηγορία που δηλώνει τον τρόπο με τον οποίο αντιλαμβάνεται ο ομιλητής την ενέργεια που εκφράζει το ρήμα. Διακρίνεται σε συνοπτική και μη συνοπτική και τετελεσμένη. Η διάκριση σε συνοπτική και μη συνοπτική είναι εμφανής στο παρελθόν, το μέλλον στους τύπους της υποτακτικής και της προστακτικής. Η συνοπτική όψη παρουσιάζει μια ενέργεια ως μοναδικό και ολοκληρωμένο γεγονός ενώ η μη συνοπτική εκφράζει το σύνθηες, το συνεχές, την εξέλιξη μιας ενέργειας, την επανάληψη και τη διάρκεια. Η επιλογή της επηρεάζεται από την παρουσία ή απουσία χρονικών προσδιορισμών αλλά και από ρήματα που συντάσσονται με να-συμπληρώματα. Τα λάθη που εντοπίστηκαν αφορούν λανθασμένη επιλογή

α) ως προς το χρόνο ακόμα και με την παρουσία χρονικών δεικτών

[23] *Από τους αρχαίους χρόνους οι άνθρωποι θεραπεύτηκαν με τα φάρμακα* (3Γ2)

β) ως προς την έγκλιση

[24] *Να μην ονειρευτείτε ότι η ζωή τους θα γίνει συνεχής αγώνας για τη θέση στην ελληνική κοινωνία* (2Δ1)

[25] *Κρατούν τους αρρώστους σε ίδια κατάσταση χωρίς να τους βοηθήσουν* (1Γ2)

[26] *Το γεγονός ότι πολλοί άνθρωποι φύγουν από τις πατρίδες τους, συνήθως φτωχές και όχι οικονομικά αναπτυγμένες χώρες, για να βρουν καλύτερη ζωή σε άλλα κράτη προκαλεί αντιδράσεις* (9Δ21)

[27] *Τώρα είμαι εδώ για να υπερασπίζω την κλασική ιατρική και να μιλάω για τους κινδύνους που μπορούν να προκαλέσουν τα είδη εναλλακτικής ιατρικής* (3Γ2)

Η τάση που εμφανίζεται αφορά τη χρήση της υποτακτικής ενώ εντοπίζονται πολύ λιγότερα λάθη στην επιλογή συνοπτικού ή μη συνοπτικού χρόνου. Το φαινόμενο αυτό συμφωνεί και με άλλες έρευνες για την επιλογή της ρηματικής όψης από μη φυσικούς ομιλητές (Ματθαίουδάκη, Κίτσου & Τζιμόκας 2011, Παπαδοπούλου 2005, Βαλετόπουλος 2001). Επίσης θα πρέπει να τονίσουμε ότι είναι πιθανόν να υπάρχει επίδραση της μητρικής γλώσσας καθώς ενώ υφίσταται η διάκριση στη σερβική οι λειτουργίες της συνοπτικής και της μη συνοπτικής όψης είναι διαφορετικές.

5.2.2 Λάθη στη συμφωνία

Στη συμφωνία ουσιαστικού επιθέτου δεν υπήρχαν ιδιαίτερα ευρήματα όπως είναι αναμενόμενο σε αυτό το επίπεδο γλωσσομάθειας καθώς δεν παρουσιάζει ιδιαίτερη πολυπλοκότητα ως φαινόμενο ειδικά για ομιλητές με γλωσσικά συστήματα που έχουν μια αναλογία στο φαινόμενο. Ωστόσο ένας αριθμός λαθών αφορούσε τη συμφωνία υποκειμένου ρήματος και αυτό είναι πιθανόν να οφείλεται σε μεταφορά από τη μητρική γλώσσα.

[28] *Τα πάντα τώρα βρίσκεται* (4Γ3) (sve se nalazi)

ή στη χρήση απαιτητικών συντακτικών δομών

[29] *Ξέρω πως οι περισσότεροι από σας που είστε εξειδικευμένοι στην γιατρική*, δεν υποστηρίζουν αυτό το είδος θεραπείας, αλλά σκεφτείτε λίγο, πώς τα κατάφεραν οι παππούδες και οι γιαγιάδες μας στα χωριά τους χωρίς κανένα γιατρείο* ή φαρμακείο;* (6Γ2)

5.3 Συντακτικά λάθη

Αρκετά λάθη ανιχνεύθηκαν στη σύνταξη ρημάτων όπου η επιλογή αφορούσε είτε λανθασμένη χρήση πρόθεσης είτε εμπρόθετη εκφορά του αντικειμένου.

[30] *να αντιμετωπίσουμε με μελλοντικά προβλήματα* (4Γ3) (Suočavamo se sa...)

[31] *να αποφύγει από τα καθημερινά του προβλήματα* (22Γ2) (Da pobegne od...)

[32] *δεν σκέφτεται στους ασθενείς* (19Γ2) (Razmišlja o...)

[33] *επηρεάζουν στα παιδιά τους* (8Δ1) (Utiču na...)

Στα παραπάνω παραδείγματα είναι εμφανής η μεταφορά συντακτικών δομών από τη Σερβική.

Η σύνδεση των προτάσεων ενός κειμένου επιτελείται με τη χρήση συνδέσμων παρατακτικών και υποτακτικών, επιρρημάτων και αντωνυμιών αλλά και εκφράσεων. Κατά την εξέταση των κειμένων παρατηρήθηκε τόσο λανθασμένη χρήση των παραπάνω δεικτών όσο και παράλειψή τους σε θέσεις που είναι υποχρεωτική η χρήση τους.

[34] *όλοι που γεννιούνται* (21Δ1), *σε όλοι που ακούν* (7Γ10 αντί *όσοι*)

[35] *είμαι απελπισμένη ότι* (7Γ3) *αντί που*

[36] *Ένα άλλο μειονέκτημα είναι που διαφημίσεις μας διακόπτουν* (14Γ1) *αντί ότι*

[37] *Δε θυμάμαι ότι είχαμε ποτέ μια τέτοια καταστροφή εδώ στο νησί* (1Γ3) *αντί να*

[38] *θεωρούν ο πέφτει* (3Δ1) *παράλειψη του ότι*

5.4 Λεξιλογικά

Στην περιοχή του λεξιλογίου υπήρξαν σημαντικά ευρήματα που δείχνουν τη δυσκολία που παρουσιάζει αυτή η περιοχή στην εκμάθηση λόγω του τεράστιου εύρους της όσο προχωρά η διαδικασία κατάκτησης της Γ2. Έτσι τα λάθη διακρίνονται σε δύο κατηγορίες α) λανθασμένη χρήση λεξήματος και β) παραγωγή μη λεξήματος. Η μητρική γλώσσα επηρεάζει σημαντικά την επιλογή των λέξεων αλλά οι μη φυσικοί ομιλητές έχουν επίσης την τάση να υπεργενικεύουν τη χρήση λέξεων σε διάφορα προτασιακά και κυρίως κειμενικά περιβάλλοντα προκειμένου να επιτύχουν τον επικοινωνιακό τους στόχο. Στο προχωρημένο επίπεδο εξάλλου έχουν ήδη εξοικειωθεί με κανόνες σύνθεσης και παραγωγής γεγονός που οδηγεί συχνά σε λαθεμένες επιλογές.

Στην πρώτη κατηγορία ανήκουν επιλογές όπως

[39] *Υγιεινού ανθρώπου* (υγιούς) (4Γ2)

[40] *θαλάσσια ζώα* (είδη) (12Γ3)

[41] *ακουστά δημοτικά σχολεία* (ζακουστά, γνωστά) (10Δ1)

[42] *παρουσιάζει ανεκτίμητο θησαυρό* (αποτελεί) (4Γ3)

[43] *μεγαλοκαρδία* (μεγαλοψυχία) (22Δ1)

[44] *Ένας μαύρος που βίωσε στο πετσί του το αδίκημα* (την αδικία) (20Δ1)

[45] *που οφείλονται είτε σε λανθασμένη χρήση πλησιώνυμου είτε σε μεταφορά* (Βλ. *αδίκημα nepravda, μεγαλοκαρδία širokogrudnost*) (4Γ2).

Στη δεύτερη κατηγορία που αφορά την παραγωγή μη λεξημάτων είναι εμφανής η προσπάθεια πειραματισμού και παραγωγής λέξεων. Ιδιαίτερα προβληματικό φαίνεται να είναι το σημασιολογικό πεδίο της ιατρικής και των παραγώγων λέξεων καθώς άλλες δομούνται με το θέμα ιατρ- ενώ άλλες με το γιατρ- γεγονός που δημιουργεί σύγχυση στους μη φυσικούς ομιλητές.

[46] *Γιατρική** (16Γ2) (6Γ2),

[47] *γιατρείο** (6Γ20)

[48] *γιατρικοί** (3Γ2)

Και εδώ εμφανίστηκαν λάθη που οφείλονται σε μεταφορά όπως *Μουσλιμάνος** (8Δ1) αλλά και διάφορα άλλα που δείχνουν την ανεπιτυχή προσπάθεια παραγωγής λέξεων με επιθήματα, *επιστημονιακές** (22Γ2) καθώς και σύνθετων λεξικών μονάδων όπως *θαλασσοαετοί ** (4Γ3)

5.5 Κειμενικά Λάθη

Σε αυτήν την ενότητα θα παρουσιαστούν στοιχεία που αφορούν τη σύσταση των κειμένων εξετάζοντας όχι πλέον σε λεξικό ή προτασιακό επίπεδο αλλά κειμενικό. Θα προσπαθήσουμε να διερευνήσουμε σε ποιο βαθμό η φοιτητές του προχωρημένου επιπέδου ακολουθούν τις συμβάσεις που απαιτούνται για την παραγωγή ενός «αποδεκτού» κειμένου και ποιες είναι οι αποκλίσεις που εμφανίζονται. Η τήρηση ή μη των συγκεκριμένων παραμέτρων που καθορίζουν τη σύσταση ενός κειμένου συχνά παραμερίζεται κατά τη διόρθωση των γραπτών παραγωγών στο πλαίσιο της εκπαιδευτικής διαδικασίας. Η διόρθωση των λαθών περιορίζεται στα επίπεδα γλωσσικής ανάλυσης με αποτέλεσμα να παραμελείται η επεξεργασία των κειμενικών λαθών. Για την επισκόπηση των υπό εξέταση κειμένων θα αναφερθούμε στα προβλήματα σύνδεσης, συνεκτικότητας, ύφους και κειμενικού είδους.

Η σύνδεση σε επίπεδο κειμένου εξασφαλίζει τη συνεκτικότητα η οποία επιτυγχάνεται με τη χρήση κειμενικών δεικτών που διευκολύνουν τη μετάβαση από ένα κομμάτι του κειμένου σε άλλο αλλά ενισχύουν και σχέσεις ανάμεσα σε τμήματα και νοήματα αντιθετικές, χρονικές κ.α. Στις γραπτές παραγωγές που εξετάστηκαν παρατηρήθηκε ότι γίνεται προσπάθεια για τη χρήση τέτοιων δεικτών όχι όμως πάντοτε επιτυχημένη και αναμφισβήτητα υπάρχει απόκλιση από αντίστοιχα κείμενα φυσικών ομιλητών.

[49]...... *αυτή η πράξη δεν έπρεπε να γίνει μια συνήθεια. Στο τέλος αν και μπορούμε να μιλήσουμε πολύ γι' αυτό το θέμα...* (16γ2)

[50]...... *Το να ασχολείται κανείς με τις διαφημίσεις έγινε ένα πολύ γνωστό επάγγελμα. Εντάξει, αν και οι διαφημίσεις βοηθάνε την πρόσληψη...* (4γ1)

[51]...... *Θα ήθελα να σε ενημερώσω για το γεγονός που προκάλεσε πολλές διαμαρτυρίες εδώ στο νησί. Δηλαδή, χτες το απόγευμα...* (17γ3)

Τα σημαντικότερα όμως στοιχεία που καθορίζουν και τη σύσταση των κειμενικών τύπων είναι το ύφος και οι συμβάσεις που απαιτούνται για να θεωρούνται αποτελεσματικοί ως προς το στόχο τους. Οι αδυναμίες στη χρήση κατάλληλου ύφους είναι αναμενόμενες, ωστόσο, οι φοιτητές φαίνεται να χρησιμοποιούν εκφράσεις του προφορικού λόγου που καταδεικνύουν ότι δεν αντιλαμβάνονται την υφολογική ποικιλία ανάμεσα στο επίσημο και το ανεπίσημο και τους περιορισμούς των διαφορετικών επικοινωνιακών περιστάσεων.

[52] *Θεωρώ ότι κάθε είδος της εναλλακτικής ιατρικής είναι μια βλακεία* (16Γ2)

[53] *εντάξει ... μας σπάνε τα νεύρα* (4Γ1)

[54] *τελοσπάντων* (9Γ2)

Επίσης παρατηρείται η χρήση απλοϊκού ύφους εκεί που θα χρειαζόταν μια ευρύτερη λεξιλογική ικανότητα στην απόδοση των νοημάτων.

[55] *Κακό προϊόν* (5γ2)

[56] *η επίδραση είναι κακή* (9γ1)

[57] *δεν ξέρουν* (3γ2)

Πιστεύουμε ότι η εστιασμένη διδασκαλία σε αυτόν τον τομέα μπορεί να συντελέσει στη σωστή επιλογή ύφους και στην απόδοση του επίσημου χαρακτήρα που απαιτείται για παράδειγμα σε μια ανακοίνωση σε συνέδριο ιατρικής. Επιπλέον η μη τήρηση κανόνων στην εισαγωγή και το «κλείσιμο» μπορεί να οφείλεται στη απουσία επικοινωνιακού πλαισίου στην παραγωγή γραπτού λόγου.

[58] *Είμαι πολύ ευτυχισμένη επειδή είμαι εδώ με τόσους σημαντικούς γιατρούς* (19Γ2)

Ακόμη η προφορική παρουσίαση για ένα θέμα επιβάλλει διαφορετικές λεκτικές και εκφραστικές επιλογές από αυτές που χαρακτηρίζουν ένα ενημερωτικό φυλλάδιο ή ένα άρθρο οδηγιών.

[59] *Κάθε φορά που παρατηρείτε τα συμπτώματα κάποιας αρρώστιας πρέπει να πηγαίνετε στο γιατρό σας. Μη χάνετε χρόνο με την εναλλακτική ιατρική ενώ η κατάστασή σας μπορεί να γίνει χειρότερη* (3Γ2)

6. Επίλογος

Από τα αποτελέσματα της ανάλυσης γίνεται φανερό ότι οι σερβόφωνοι φοιτητές του Τμήματος Νεοελληνικών σπουδών παρουσιάζουν αδυναμίες κυρίως στη χρήση του άρθρου, οριστικού και μηδενικού λόγω της απουσίας αντίστοιχης μορφοσυντακτικής κατηγορίας στη σερβική χωρίς εμφανή τάση υπεργενίκευσης του ενός ή του άλλου. Ενδεχομένως η ρητή και συστηματοποιημένη διδασκαλία

τους ως προς τις λειτουργίες και τη χρήση τους από τα πρώτα κιόλας επίπεδα μπορεί να συντελέσει στην αποφυγή των λαθών. Τόσο από την παραπάνω εξέταση όσο και από άλλες έρευνες που έχουν προηγηθεί προκύπτει η ανάγκη να συμπεριλαμβάνεται στα διδακτικά εγχειρίδια όχι μόνο η μορφολογική υπόσταση του άρθρου ως προς το γραμματικό γένος αλλά και η λειτουργική χρήση του από τα πρώτα ως τα προχωρημένα επίπεδα γλωσσομάθειας κατά το πρότυπο σύγχρονων εγχειριδίων όπου υπάρχει ως ξεχωριστό περιεχόμενο στην ενότητα της γραμματικής (πρβ. Αντωνίου κ.ά. 2011)

Η ρηματική όψη φαίνεται να αποτελεί ιδιαίτερα προβληματική περιοχή παρά την ύπαρξη αντίστοιχης μορφοσυντακτικής δομής στη σερβική. Η βαθύτερη κατανόηση των περιορισμών που χαρακτηρίζουν τη ρηματική όψη στη νέα ελληνική μέσα από την μελέτη κειμένων όπου μπορεί να αναλυθεί η στάση του ομιλητή και να αξιοποιηθούν και πραγματολογικού τύπου πληροφορίες (Παπαδοπούλου 2005, Τλούπα & Παναγοπούλου 1995, Παναγοπούλου & Χατζηπαναγιωτίδου 1997) αναμένεται ότι είναι δυνατό επιφέρει βελτίωση στη χρήση της.

Αναφορικά με το λεξιλόγιο η εκτεταμένη επιλογή λανθασμένων λεξημάτων προκύπτει κυρίως λόγω μεταφοράς από τη μητρική αλλά παράλληλα είναι και δείγμα εξέλιξης της διαγλώσσας καθώς παρατηρείται ένας πειραματισμός με νέο και αρκετά απαιτητικό επίσημο λεξιλόγιο. Η εξάσκηση των μαθητών μέσα από ασκήσεις σύνθεσης και παραγωγής αλλά και στην κατανόηση της χρήσης των λεξικών συμφράσεων μέσω του κατάλληλου διδακτικού υλικού (πρβ. Ευσταθιάδης & Αντωνοπούλου) θα μπορούσε να βελτιώσει τις λεξιλογικές τους επιλογές.

Στο επίπεδο των κειμένων εντοπίζεται μίξη επίσημου και προφορικού ύφους και ενδείξεις πιθανής στρατηγικής αποφυγής σύνθετων κειμενικών δεικτών (Αρχάκης 2005). Αυτό αποτελεί και απόρροια του γεγονότος ότι η παραγωγή γραπτού λόγου δεν πλαισιώνεται πάντα από σαφές επικοινωνιακό πλαίσιο λαμβάνοντας υπόψη τα θέματα των γραπτών δοκιμασιών. Επομένως η διδασκαλία ίσως θα έπρεπε να εμπλουτισθεί με μεγαλύτερη ποικιλία κειμενικών ειδών και να επικεντρωθεί στις παραμέτρους που τα καθορίζουν αλλά και σε προσπάθειες μέσα στην εκπαιδευτική διαδικασία διάκρισης της προφορικότητας σε παραδείγματα γραπτού λόγου ή έλλειψης σενδετικών δεικτών που να εξυπηρετούν τους στόχους του συγγραφέα στα είδη της αφήγησης, της περιγραφής και της επιχειρηματολογίας (πρβ. Αντωνίου κ.ά. 2011, Ευσταθιάδης & Αντωνοπούλου).

Η παρούσα μελέτη πιστεύουμε ότι μπορεί να συμβάλλει στη βελτίωση της διδασκαλίας προκειμένου να αντιμετωπιστούν τα προβλήματα που απορρέουν τόσο από την επίδραση της μητρικής όσο και από τα διδακτικά εγχειρίδια και τη διδασκαλία. Όπως προαναφέρθηκε, τα λάθη μπορούν να αποτελέσουν θετικά εναύσματα στη διδασκαλία εφόσον τα αντιμετωπίσουμε σαν βασικό στοιχείο της διδακτικής διαδικασίας και όχι σαν απλά «ψεγάδια» ανάμεσα σε δύο τέλεια γλωσσικά συστήματα.

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ΟΙ ΟΝΟΜΑΣΙΕΣ ΤΩΝ ΓΕΝΝΗΤΙΚΩΝ ΟΡΓΑΝΩΝ ΣΤΑ ΝΕΟΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΑ ΙΔΙΩΜΑΤΑ ΚΑΙ ΔΙΑΛΕΚΤΟΥΣ

Βραχιονίδου Μαρία

KENΔΙ – ΙΑΝΕ, Ακαδημία Αθηνών, Ελλάδα

vrachionidou@academyofathens.gr

ABSTRACT

In Modern Greek dialects, the names for the genitals, unlike their sparing presence in the dictionaries of common Modern Greek, appear to be diverse, usually witnessed as figurative and euphemistic wordings, their phraseology also being rich ('pistole', 'torment', 'reveler' for the penis, 'nest', 'pocket' for the pudenda, 'button' for the clitoris etc.). The terminology of this special vocabulary field displays exceptional ingenuity, humor and creativity, but also reveals the social conditions which created it. The paper presents rich dialectal data and offers a classification of the glossarial material according to the language mechanisms of its construction.

Λέξεις κλειδιά: γεννητικά όργανα, αργκό, νεοελληνικά ιδιώματα, άσεμνο λεξιλόγιο, ευφημισμός

1. Εισαγωγή: Σκοποί, δομή και υλικό της εργασίας

Αφορμή για τη συγγραφή αυτού του άρθρου ήταν η διαπίστωση της διάστασης στην περιγραφή των γεννητικών οργάνων ανάμεσα στην κοινή νεοελληνική απ' τη μια και στις νεοελληνικές διαλέκτους και ιδιώματα από την άλλη. Η κοινή νεοελληνική λοιπόν διακρίνεται από ένα ταμπού όταν πρόκειται να ονοματίσει τα μέρη του σώματος που σχετίζονται με τη γενετήσια λειτουργία. Η αμηχανία γύρω από τις ονομασίες των γεννητικών οργάνων γίνεται φανερή όχι μόνο στη φειδώ της λεξικογραφικής αποτύπωσής τους στα λεξικά της κοινής νεοελληνικής, στην οποία θα αναφερθούμε στη συνέχεια, αλλά και στις περισσότερες προφορικές περιστάσεις που κάποιος θα θελήσει να ονομάσει αυτά τα μέρη του σώματος με όρους που δεν θα θεωρούνται άσεμνοι ή χυδαίοι. Αντίθετα, στις νεοελληνικές διαλέκτους και ιδιώματα τα γεννητικά όργανα παρουσιάζονται με πάμπολλες ονομασίες, συνήθως μεταφορικές και ευφημιστικές, ενώ πλούσιο είναι και το φρασσεολογικό υλικό που τις περιβάλλει. Όροι που στην κοινή νεοελληνική θεωρούνται άσεμνοι, στο διαλεκτικό και ιδιωματικό υλικό, εμφανίζονται με ουδέτερη σήμανση όπως φαίνεται από τα παραδείγματα αλλά και τα παράγωγα και τα σύνθετα που σχηματίζουν. Επιπλέον εμφανίζονται και νέοι όροι ή φράσεις που διαθέτουν ιδιαίτερη ευρηματικότητα, χιούμορ και φαντασία, αλλά παράλληλα φανερώνουν και τις συνθήκες του κοινωνικού περιβάλλοντος που τους δημιουργήσε.

Σκοπός του παρόντος άρθρου είναι να αναδείξει αυτόν το διαλεκτικό λεξιλογικό πλούτο, καταγράφοντας και ομαδοποιώντας το λεξιλογικό υλικό και αντιπαραβάλλοντάς το με τα αντίστοιχα της κοινής νεοελληνικής, της νεοελληνικής αργκό και με ονομασίες από τα αρχαία ελληνικά και από τα μεσαιωνικά ελληνικά.

Όσον αφορά το υλικό, ως διευκρινιστεί ότι το διαλεκτικό και ιδιωματικό υλικό που παρατίθεται προέρχεται στο μεγαλύτερο βαθμό από το ανέκδοτο αρχειακό υλικό του Κέντρου Ερεύνης των Νεοελληνικών Διαλέκτων και Ιδιωμάτων της Ακαδημίας Αθηνών (KENΔΙ). Για την κοινή χρησιμοποιήθηκαν κατά βάση τα δύο μεγάλα Λεξικά της Νέας Ελληνικής του Ιδρύματος Τριανταφυλλίδη και του Γ. Μπαμπινιώτη, ενώ οι αρχαιοελληνικές και μεσαιωνικές ονομασίες των γεννητικών οργάνων αντλούνται κυρίως από δύο μελέτες, του Χ. Χαριτωνίδη και του Φ. Κουκουλέ, αντίστοιχα. Σημσιολογικά, σκόπιμα το θέμα περιορίστηκε μόνο στις ονομασίες των γεννητικών οργάνων, καθώς ο χρόνος, στο πλαίσιο αυτής της ανακοίνωσης, δεν επαρκεί για επέκταση και σε άλλα λεξιλογικά πεδία.

2. Αρχαία και μεσαιωνική ελληνική

Κάνοντας μία διαχρονική διερεύνηση των ονομασιών των γεννητικών οργάνων στην ελληνική γλώσσα, διαπιστώνει κανείς πως στην αρχαία ελληνική υπήρχε πλήθος τέτοιων ονομάτων. Ένα συγκεντρωτικό κατάλογό τους, δίπλα και σε άλλο λεξιλογικό και φρασεολογικό υλικό «άσεμνου» περιχομένου, βρίσκουμε στη μονογραφία με τίτλο «Απόρρητα». Είναι άξιο απορίας και θαυμασμού πώς κατάφερε ο Χαρίτων Χαριτωνίδης, καθηγητής αρχαίων ελληνικών στο Πανεπιστήμιο Αθηνών, να εκδόσει, στο συντηρητικό περιβάλλον της προμεταξικής ελληνικής κοινωνίας του 1935, ένα τέτοιο πόνημα, έστω και με το ψευδώνυμο Εύιος Ληναίου. Αντίθετα, είκοσι χρόνια αργότερα, ο Φ. Κουκουλές στα «Ου φωνητά» του νιώθει την ανάγκη να δικαιολογηθεί για το λόγο που τον ώθησε να καταπιαστεί με ένα τέτοιο θέμα και σπεύδει να επισημάνει ότι το κίνητρό του είναι μόνο επιστημονικό και πως δεν είχε την πρόθεση να σκανδαλίζει τους αναγνώστες του «αναπτύσσων θέματα τας ταπεινότερας ορμάς υποδαυλίζοντα»¹. Στα «Απόρρητα» λοιπόν καταγράφονται 108 αρχαιοελληνικές ονομασίες του ανδρικού γεννητικού οργάνου και 80 του γυναικείου, εμπλουτισμένες με ετυμολογικές και φρασεολογικές πληροφορίες και με βιβλιογραφικές αναφορές, ενώ σε λίγες περιπτώσεις γίνεται σύγκριση και με αντίστοιχες νεοελληνικές ονομασίες.

Διατρέχοντας κανείς αυτό τον κατάλογο, εύκολα διαπιστώνει ότι ελάχιστες είναι οι ονομασίες που σημασιολογικά έχουν αρνητικό πρόσημο. Οι περισσότερες προέρχονται από μετωνυμίες που βασίζονται σε ομοιότητα σχήματος, χρώματος ή παραπέμπουν στη θετική εκδοχή της σεξουαλικής πράξης και διακρίνονται από φαντασία και διάθεση αστεϊσμού. Αναφέρω ορισμένα παραδείγματα: α) Το ανδρικό μόριο ονομάζεται κυρίως με βάση το σχήμα: *πάτταλος* (= πάσσαλος), *κορόνη*, *ιστός*, *άγκυρα*, *ορθίας* (=κατάρτι πλοίου), *μύκης* (=μανιτάρι²), *σανν(ν)ίον* (=δόρυ) κ.λπ.. Οι όρχεις πάλι ονοματίζονται κυρίως από τη διπλή τους υπόσταση κι όχι από το σφαιρικό τους σχήμα: *δίδυμοι*, *παραστάται*, *ήλικαι*, *γείτονες* (η ονομασία διατηρείται και στα νε.) Αντίστοιχες ονομασίες του γυναικείου αιδοίου από το σχήμα ή (και) το χρώμα είναι: *δέλτα*, *νάπος*, *το* (= δασώδης κοιλάδα, φαράγγι), *χοίρος*, *χοιρίον*, *ίαχος* (=χοίρος), *υς* (από την ομοιότητα με το δέρμα του χοίρου σε χρώμα και υφή³) κ.α. Φυσικά υπήρχαν και πολλές κυριολεκτικές ονομασίες (πολλές από τις οποίες διατηρούνται και στα νε.), όπως *φύσις*, *εφήβαιον*, *γόνιμον/ γεννητικόν/ παιδουργόν μόριον* (κοινά για άνδρες και γυναίκες) *τρύπα*, *οπή*, *δελφάκιον* (για το γυναικείο κόλπο), *ψωλή*, *πόσθη*, *πέος*, *βύλλος*, *ο* (για το ανδρικό μόριο).

Στα βυζαντινά χρόνια, αντίθετα, οι ονομασίες των γεννητικών οργάνων που μας παραδίδονται είναι πολύ λιγότερες, και ο προσανατολισμός είναι σαφώς αρνητικός, αφού η γενετήσια λειτουργία αντιμετωπίζεται κατά κύριο λόγο ως αμαρτία και αισχύνη. Άλλωστε και τα ονόματα που διασώζονται προέρχονται από συγγράμματα που την αντιμετωπίζουν ως τέτοια. Από καταλόγους αμαρτημάτων, από αναφορά σε ποινές που αντιστοιχούν σε διάφορα αμαρτήματα, από οδηγίες προς κληρικούς σχετικά με τις ερωτήσεις που οφείλουν να κάνουν στους εξολογούμενους κατά την εξομολόγηση κ.λπ. Το γεγονός αναγνωρίζει και ο Φαίδων Κουκουλές στην εισαγωγή του κεφαλαίου για «τα ου φωνητά των Βυζαντινών» όταν λέει: «εν ω διά την διαπραγματέυσιν παρομοίου θέματος κατά την αρχαίαν εποχήν αι πηγαί δεν είναι σπάνιαι (κείμενα, έργα μικροτεχνίας, αγαλμάτια, δακτυλιόλιθοι, εικόνες εν αγγείois, νομίσματα κ.τ.λ.), δεν συμβαίνει το αυτό διά την Βυζαντινήν περίοδον, καθ' ην ο τρόπος της ζωής και αι περί ηθικής αντιλήψεις ήσαν κατά πολύ διάφοροι»⁴. Σε μεγάλο βαθμό διατηρούνται οι αρχαίες ονομασίες, κυρίως όμως αυτές που ήταν κυριολεκτικές και όσες ήταν ουδέτερα ή αρνητικά φορτισμένες. Βρίσκουμε π.χ. τις ονομασίες: *κρυφά μέλη*, *άσχημα*, *αναγκαία* για τα γεννητικά όργανα και των δύο φύλων. Το ανδρικό μόριο διατηρεί τις αρχαίες ονομασίες *φύσις*, *ψωλή*, *ψώλος*, *σάρκα*, *βύλλος*, *βιλλίν*, *νεύρον*, *δέμας*, *βάμβαλον* οι όρχεις λέγονται *δίδυμοι* και *διδύμια*, *όρχεις*, *παραστάται*, *μήδεα*, το γυναικείο αιδίοι: *μέλος*, *σχίσμα*, *διάσφαγμα*, *τρύπα*, *σύκον*, *κύσθος*, *αιδοίον*, *κτένιον*.

¹ Κουκουλές Φαίδων (1955: 505): «Εις την δημοσίευσιν της παρούσης μελέτης με ώθησεν ουχί βεβαίως η πρόθεσις να σκανδαλίσω τους αναγνώστας μου αναπτύσσων θέματα τας ταπεινότερας ορμάς υποδαυλίζοντα, αλλ' η επιθυμία μου να γνωσθή μία ακόμη, ελάχιστη γνωστή, πλευρά του βίου των Βυζαντινών προγόνων μας εις τα ήθη και τον πολιτισμόν αυτών αναφερόμενη. [...] Ο σκοπός μου είναι μόνον επιστημονικός, η δε μελέτη συνέχεια και συμπλήρωσις παρομοίων διατριβών εις τα σεξουαλικά των αρχαίων Ελλήνων αναφερομένων.»

² Υπάρχει μια άμεση σχέση ανάμεσα στις λαϊκές ονομασίες του μανιταριού και στα σεξουαλικά όργανα, κυρίως όμως –και αντίθετα από το, λόγω σχήματος, αναμενόμενο- στα θηλυκά, π.χ. *γλυτσομούνι*, *αδραχτίτσα*, *κουκουβάκι* κ.ά. (βλ.σχετικά: Βραχιονίδου Μαρία. 2007: 173-203) .

³ Εδώ πρέπει να εξηγήσουμε ότι αρχαιοελληνική συνήθεια καλλωπισμού των γυναικών αποτελούσε η ολοκληρωτική αποτρίχωση του εφηβαίου, που έκανε την ομοιότητά του με το δέρμα του χοίρου πιο φανερή. Από αυτή τη συνήθεια άλλωστε προκύπτουν κι άλλες ονομασίες: *δορίαλλος*, ο (<δείρειν, θα μπορούσε να μεταφραστεί ως «το αποτρίχωμένο», «το ξεπουπουλιασμένο»).

⁴ Κουκουλές Φαίδων (1955: 505).

Παράλληλα, εμφανίζονται και κάποιες νέες όπως *κανλί*, *κανλός* και *βαλάνιον* (ονομασίες της βάλανου του πέους), *βέργα* και *τσουτσούνα* (= το πέος στην Κύπρο, όπως «μας παραδίδει ο, κατά τον Κουκουλέ, αισχρολόγος Σαχλίκης»⁵) και το πάγκοινο *μουνίν* (=το γυναικείο αιδόιο), για το οποίο έχουν προταθεί πολλές ετυμολογήσεις⁶. Ακόμα συχνή είναι η ευφημιστική χρήση αντωνυμίας π.χ. το ανδρικό μόριο αποκαλείται «αυτή» στην παροιμία: «πτωχός ή πλούσιος, αν *αυτή* σου βάλει, ουδέν κοιμάται», ενώ για γυναίκα που συνουσιάζεται εύκολα με οποιονδήποτε έλεγαν «*το* κάμνει» ή «*το* δίδει». Τέλος στα βυζαντινά χρόνια εμφανίζεται και το ρ. *γαμώ* με τη σημερινή σημασία, όπως και το επίθετο *γαμέας* με την έννοια «οχευτής».⁷

3. Κοινή και Αργκό

Το ταμπού στην ονομάτιση των μερών του σώματος που σχετίζονται με τη γενετήσια λειτουργία φαίνεται πως διατηρείται και στην κοινή νεοελληνική. Ακόμα και στον προφορικό λόγο, στις περιπτώσεις που ο ομιλητής της κοινής θέλει να αναφερθεί στα γεννητικά όργανα χωρίς να ακούγεται χυδαίος αντιμετωπίζει δυσκολία στην εύρεση του κατάλληλου επικοινωνιακού κώδικα. Οι γλωσσικές στρατηγικές που ακολουθούνται τότε είναι ποικίλες, συνήθως όμως είτε ο λόγος στερείται φυσικότητας είτε αποτυγχάνει στην επιτέλεση της επικοινωνίας. Για παράδειγμα, όταν ο αποδέκτης είναι παιδί χρησιμοποιούνται συχνά όροι της νηπιακής γλώσσας, κυρίως ηχομιμητικοί. (Εδώ θα είχα να παρατηρήσω πως συχνά όροι που θεωρούνται ηχομιμητικοί ή νηπιακοί δεν είναι παρά ξενόγλωσσοι, στην ξένη γλώσσα μάλιστα από την οποία προέρχονται μπορεί να μη θεωρούνται άσεμνοι αλλά κοινοί ή λόγιοι. π.χ. *μεμέ* = στήθος < τουρκ. *memme* = στήθος.) Μεταξύ συγγενών ή οικείων προσώπων μπορεί να υιοθετηθούν συνθηματικές λέξεις, όπως *άλλωστε* και μεταξύ εραστών, αν και συχνή τακτική είναι ...αυτή της αποσιώπησης. Φυσικά δεν γίνεται εδώ λόγος για τις περιστάσεις σκόπιμης χρήσης άσεμνου λεξιλογίου, που ως τέτοιο γίνεται κατανοητό, το οποίο σύμφωνα με τους Dumas και Lighter⁸ έρχεται να υπονομεύσει την αξία της επίσημης ή σοβαρής γλώσσας – προφορικής ή γραπτής.⁹ Σ' αυτή την περίπτωση βεβαίως μιλάμε για εσκεμμένη χρήση της αργκό.

Η αντιμετώπιση του λεξιλογίου γύρω από τα γεννητικά όργανα ως απαγορευμένου γίνεται φανερή και λεξικολογικά. Στα λεξικά της κοινής αυτό γίνεται φανερό από το μικρό αριθμό των ονομασιών των γεννητικών οργάνων που περιλαμβάνουν, αλλά και από τους χαρακτηρισμούς που τα συνοδεύουν, που είναι συνήθως «χυδαίο» ή «λέξη ταμπού».¹⁰ Άλλωστε είναι λίγες οι λέξεις που λημματογραφούνται, συνοδευόμενες συνήθως από λίγες φρασεολογικές πληροφορίες και λίγα παράγωγα και σύνθετα. Ενδεικτικά π.χ. στο Λεξικό Τριανταφυλλίδη λημματογραφούνται οι λέξεις: *μουνί*, *πέος*, *φαλλός*, *πούτσος*.

Ενδιαφέρον παρουσιάζει επιπλέον το γεγονός ότι οι κοινές σήμερα ονομασίες αιδόιο και φαλλός, στα αρχαία ελληνικά αρχικά αρχικά σχετίζονταν με τη λατρεία: το αιδόιο σήμαινε το ιερό¹¹, ενώ ο φαλλός ήταν η απομίμηση του ανδρικού μορίου για τελετουργικούς σκοπούς. Τέλος θα ήθελα να παρατηρήσω ότι ακόμα και οι πιο κοινές λέξεις για τα γεννητικά όργανα ονομάζονται με λέξεις δυσετυμολογήτες. Έτσι π.χ. η λ. *πούτσος* και *πούτσα* κατά το λεξικό Τριανταφυλλίδη ετυμολογείται από το τουρκ. *puç* = σχισμή ανάμεσα στους γλουτούς ή ιταλ. *puzzo* και διαλ. *puzza* = βρόμα, ενώ κατά το λεξικό Μπαμπινιώτη θεωρείται αβέβαιου ετύμου, ως πιθανή όμως ετυμολογία δίνεται το σλαβ. *butsa* = εξόγκωμα, προεξοχή ή κατ' άλλη εκδοχή το αρχ. πόσθη. Το ίδιο ισχύει, όπως είδαμε και για τη λέξη *μουνί*. Θεωρώ ότι πιθανόν αυτή η δυσκολία ετυμολόγησης οφείλεται στο ότι το λεξιλόγιο αυτό προέρχεται σε μεγάλο βαθμό από την αργκό. Άρα, είναι πιθανό τα δάνεια και αντιδάνεια μεταξύ των

⁵ Κουκουλές Φαίδων (1955: 516).

⁶ Κουκουλές Φαίδων (1955: 539): «α. < βουνίν (κατά τον Hubert Pernot και τον G. Rohlf), β. < ευνίον – ευνί (κατά τον Γ. Χατζιδάκι), γ. < βενετσ. *monin*, *mona* (κατά τον P. Kretschmer), δ. σικελ. *μυλλός* (κατά τον Κοραή).» Επίσης έχουν προταθεί και άλλες ετυμολογήσεις: ε. μεσαιων. *μουνίν* < *μνίον < αρχ. βινεΐν = οχεύω, στ. < μεσαιων. *μνίον* < υποκ. του αρχ. *μνους* = χνούδι, απαλό μαλλί.

⁷ Κουκουλές Φαίδων (1955: 535).

⁸ Dumas, B & Lighter, J. (1978: 5-17).

⁹ βλ. Κεχαγιά Κατερίνα (1997: 592).

¹⁰ Μπαμπινιώτης Γ. (1998: 32): «Προκειμένου να δηλωθούν σημασίες (ανατομικών οργάνων, σεξουαλικής υφής κ.τ.ό.), που ο ομιλητής πρέπει να χρησιμοποιεί με ιδιαίτερη προσοχή, γιατί πρόκειται για κοινωνικά «απαγορευμένες λέξεις» (λέξεις ταμπού), χρησιμοποιείται μπροστά από αυτές το θαυμαστικό σημείο (!)».

¹¹ Κοπιδάκης (1994): «Η αμφιθυμία αυτή δηλώνεται εναργέστατα στη σημασιολογική εξέλιξη του επίκοινου "αιδοία", το οποίο, ενώ αρχικά σήμαινε τα "σεβάσματα", κατέληξε να σημαίνει ευφημιστικώς τα "επαίσχυντα"».

αργκό διαφόρων γλωσσών να είναι πιο συχνά απ' ό,τι σημειώνεται λεξικογραφικά. Και εδώ πιστεύω πως ανοίγεται ένα πεδίο πρόσφορο για ετυμολογική έρευνα.

Πάντως η χαρακτηριστική λεξιπενία της συγκεκριμένης λεξιλογικής ομάδας παρατηρείται ήδη από παλιά. Ήδη ο Κοραΐς το 1811 σε επιστολή του απορεί πώς «από τόσον θησαυρόν ονομασιών η κοινή γλώσσα δεν εφύλαξε παρά την Ψ. επί ανδρός και την φύσιν κοινώς επί των δύο, μερικώς δε διά το θήλυ μεταχειρίζεται δύο ιταλικά το Μ. και το των Χίων Ρ (Π).[...]»¹²

Πού πράγματι βρίσκονται κρυμμένες οι άλλες ομοσήμαντες λέξεις, αναρωτιέται κανείς μαζί με τον Κοραΐ; Ευλόγως θα περίμενε να βρει τις περισσότερες στο λεξιλόγιο της αργκό. Ωστόσο, μια πρώτη διερεύνηση σε λεξιλόγια της αργκό δείχνει ότι ούτε εκεί υπάρχει πλήθος ονομασιών, καθώς δεν είναι το πλήθος αλλά η συχνότητα στη χρήση των ήδη γνωστών ονομασιών που διαφέρει από την κοινή, όπως και η ποικιλία στις ερμηνείες, στα παράγωγα και σύνθετα, στο φρασολογικό υλικό που τις συνοδεύει, στα λογοπαίγνια. Για παράδειγμα στη γλώσσα του στρατού βρίσκουμε τη λέξη *αρχιδέας* που σημαίνει το δόκιμο (από λογοπαίγνιο με τα αρχικά ΔΕΑ). Στη *Νεοελληνική Αθυροστομία* της Μ. Κουκουλέ το γυναικείο αιδείο αποκαλείται *οντάς* (στο δίστιχο: «μες στο' Αγγέλας τον οντά/ μαύρος ντούμπανος βροντά»), *κλαπαρχίδω* και *ψωλοσακατεύτρα* ονομάζεται η ερωτική γυναίκα. Βρίσκουμε ακόμα την κατάρα «να στραβοψωλιάσεις!», τους χαρακτηρισμούς σεμνής γυναίκας: «*χριστιανομούνα, αθαθομούνα, νοικοκυρο-πουτάνα*», τα παρωνύμια γυναικά: *Μουνοκαΐσαρας, μουννοβοσκός*, τη φράση «έπεσε *μουννοθύελλα*» = ήρθε πλήθος γυναικών.

4. Διάλεκτοι και ιδιώματα

Νομίζω ωστόσο ότι, όσο ευφάνταστο κι αν είναι το γλωσσικό υλικό της αργκό στη λεξιλογική ομάδα των γεννητικών οργάνων, δεν μπορεί να συγκριθεί με το αντίστοιχο των νεοελληνικών διαλέκτων και ιδιωμάτων, καθώς υπάρχουν κάποιες ουσιαστικές διαφορές:

1. Πρώτ' απ' όλα οι ονομασίες των γεννητικών οργάνων, μετωνυμικές και ευφημιστικές είναι πολύ περισσότερες αριθμητικά, πολλές απ' αυτές μάλιστα παραπέμπουν στις αντίστοιχες αρχαιοελληνικές¹³. Έτσι, ενδεικτικά, το ανδρικό μόριο ονομάζεται: α. από το σχήμα και το μέγεθος: *κολόκα* (= κολοκύθα), *λάλα*, *η* (=1. κάμπια, 2. πέος μικρού παιδιού), *μασουράκι* (Στερελλ.) (= 1. μικρό μασούρι, 2. το πέος μικρού παιδιού), *μαντζαφλάρι* (Βιθυν.) (= κρεμαστάρι, κάτι που προσθέτουμε κ.ά.), *κακαλιά* (= δέντρο), *κρεμαντέλια* (το πέος με τους όρχεις επειδή κρέμονται –Α. Ρουμελ. –στις Σέρρες λέγονται *χαρχαγκέλια*), *μπίλι*, *το* (= 1. αιχμηρό κομμάτι ξύλου, εξάρτημα του παιδικού παιχνιδιού ντάλια (Πελοπν.), 2. το πέος του μικρού παιδιού –Κάρπ.), *ράι* (Ικαρ., < ουράδι, – βλ. και α.ε. *κέρκος* = ουρά), *τομπρούκι* (=1. μεγάλος κορμός δέντρου –πολλαχ. 2. το μεγάλο πέος (Στερελλ. Αράχ.), *κομπαρούλα*, *η* (Θήρ.) (πιθ. <κομπάρα = μεγάλη άρθρωση < κόμπος), *μονόματος*, *ο* (Τριχωνία), *μπουρνιδόρος*, *ο* (Ιθάκ.) (<μπουρνί = πήλινο δοχείο), αντίστοιχα στη Μακεδονία *μπουτσαρίκα*, στη συνθηματική γλώσσα των κτιστών της Ηπείρου λέγεται *μπράνα*, που κυριολεκτικά σημαίνει ένα είδος ποταμίσιου ψαριού, *ρόζος* (Κρήτ.), *τριλέτρι* (Μεγίστ.) (κυριολεκτικά = τριπλό άροτρο. φρ. «Τ' αρχίδια του τριλέτρι κι η ψωλή καμάτσι»). β. από το συσχετισμό με διάφορα είδη όπλων και εργαλείων, που αποτελεί υποομάδα της προηγούμενης κατηγορίας. Εδώ η ομοιότητα δεν περιορίζεται μόνο στο σχήμα αλλά και στη λειτουργία: η επιθετική χρήση του όπλου αποτελεί μεταφορά για τον ενεργητικό ρόλο κατά τη σεξουαλική πράξη. Έτσι το πέος ονομάζεται: *κουμπούρα* (Πελοπν. Σπάρτ.), *τουφέκι* (Εύβ. Λιχάς), *σινακίλια*, *τα* (Κύπρ.) (= 1. σκεύη και εργαλεία, 2. το πέος και οι όρχεις μαζί < προφανώς τουρκ. silahlik = ζώνη οπλισμού), *καραμπίνα*, *πυρόβολος* (Θεσσ.), *σπαθί* (= πέος τράγου – Πελοπν.), *τσακμάκι* (Θεσσ.), *σντριβίδι* (Δ. Κρήτ. Αλικάμπ. βλ. και επωδή: «Ὡς ἐκό(λλ)ησεν ἡ πίσσα/ 'ς τὸ (λ)αιμὸ τση κο(λ)οκύθας/ εἰς τὴν (ρ)ιζοκο(λλ)ήση/ τοῦ γαβ(ρ)οῦ το *σνδ(ρ)ιβίδι*/ 'ς τὴ (ρ)ιζοκολιά τση νύφης»¹⁴), *χρειασικό* (=1. αγροτικό εργαλείο ή γενικά εργαλείο – Μακεδ. (Πεντάπολ.) Θράκ. (Σκοπ.). 2. Η ανάγκη (ενιαχ.) 3. πέος –Ιος- φρ.: *γαργαλιέται, είναι γαργαλιάρα, μα δεν έχει χρειασικό*), *σύνεργο* (Θεσσ. Πήλ.) και *ύπουργα* (=τα ανδρικά γεννητικά όργανα –Λευκ.), *χαλάτι* (= σε διάφορα μέρη σημαίνει το παλαμάρι, στην Ήπ. =το πέος). Αντίστοιχα στα αρχαία ελληνικά έχουμε τις ονομασίες *ξίφος*, *ρόπαλον*, *σανν(ν)ίον* (=δόρυ) κ.λπ. γ. από την έντονη σεξουαλική δραστηριότητα: *ζάβλακας* (επειδή ζαβλακώνεται, χαζεύει), *καπριάνα* και *καπροτσούλι* (επειδή μοιάζει στο μέγεθος και στη δραστηριότητα με το πέος κάπρου). Εδώ ανήκουν και οι ονομασίες που συσχετίζουν το πέος με το σκύλο, αντίστοιχα και με την αρχαιοελληνική ονομασία του *κύων*. Έτσι στη Μακεδονία *μέντζος*

¹² Εύιος Ληναίου (1935: 3).

¹³ Τα παραδείγματα διαλεκτικού υλικού που παρατίθενται προέρχονται από το αρχείο του ΚΕΝΔΙ.

¹⁴ Πάγκαλος Γεώργιος (2002: 289).

ονομάζεται τόσο το πέος όσο και ο σκύλος. Αλλού βρίσκουμε το δίστιχο: «Στα καστανομαζώματα θε νάρθω στο χωριό σου,/ να βάλω το *κουλούκι* μου να πιάσει το *λαγό* σου!» (κουλούκι = σκύλος).

Αντίστοιχα οι όρχεις ονομάζονται είτε από το στρογγυλό τους σχήμα ή τη μαλακή υφή τους π.χ. *αβγά*, *βαρίδια* και *βαριδάκια*, *τρυφερά* και *τρυφερούλια*, *μπάλες*, *βωλαράκια* (Κρήτ.), *βόλια* (Χίος), *δεκαράκια* (Πελοπν. Καλάβρ.) και *δέκαρα*, *κοκόβια* (=καρύδια –Χίος), *ψαχνά*, είτε έχουν κάποια ευφημιστική ονομασία π.χ. *αμαρτωλά*, *αμίλητα*, *αμάλαγα* (=αυτά που δεν πρέπει κανείς να αγγίζει), *αμελέτητα*, *αχαμνά*, ενώ διατηρείται σε μικρότερο βέβαια βαθμό, η α.ε. συνήθεια για ονομάτισή τους με βάση τη διπλή τους υπόσταση, π.χ. *γείτονες*.

Ας περάσουμε τώρα σε ονομασίες που αναφέρονται στο γυναικείο αιδείο. Αρχικά θα ήθελα να παρατηρήσω πως, αντίθετα με την επισήμανση του Κοραή, η λ. *πουτί* δεν παρουσιάζεται τόσο συχνά στο διαλεκτικό υλικό. Ασφαλώς υπάρχει, συναντιέται άλλωστε και σε κάποια σύνθετα (πρβλ. και το όνομα *Σταχτοπούτα* στο γνωστό παραμύθι) δεν είναι όμως τόσο ευρεία και διαδεδομένη όσο η πάγκοινη λέξη *μουνί*. (Αντίστοιχα για το ανδρικό μόριο οι πιο διαδεδομένες ονομασίες είναι το *ψωλή* και το *πούτσος/πούτσα*, ενώ η λ. *φύση* έχει περιοριστεί σημασιολογικά κυρίως στο ανδρικό μόριο και όχι και στο γυναικείο). Πολλές ονομασίες προέρχονται: α) από το σχήμα της κοιλότητας ή από τις διπλώσεις που σχηματίζονται στη γυναικεία γενετήσια περιοχή, π.χ. *κοίτη* (= εξωτερικά γεννητικά όργανα – Πελοπν.), *πηγαδούλι* (χρησιμοποιείται στη νηπιακή γλώσσα – Ήπ.), *λάκκα*, *μαλλιαρόχωρα* (Ζάκυν.), *μαναριά* (κυριολεκτικά σημαίνει τσεκουριά < μανάρα =τσεκούρι –Κορωνίς Νάξου), *μελοκούρουπο* (κυριολεκτικά το δοχείο που βάζουν το μέλι –Κρήτ.), *μπακρατσάρβαλο* (= 1. χείλος μπακρατσιού, δοχείου, 2. χείλος αιδείου –Στερελλ. Αράχ.), *πορτοφολάκι* (Ιος), *πουρσέλι* (<πούρσα = τσέπη –Οινούσες), *σκισμάτι* και *σκισμάταρα* (Μακεδ. Καστορ.), *σύκο* (-η ονομασία υπάρχει από την αρχαιότητα- και φρ. «ωρίμασε το σύκο» = (για κορίτσι: ήρθε σε ώρα γάμου), *απίδι* (Ήπ.) (προφανώς από παρετυμολόγηση από το αλβανικό *πίδι*= γυναικείον αιδείο)¹⁵. Υποκατηγορία αποτελούν οι ονομασίες που παραπέμπουν σε όστρακα, όπως *κόχλος*, ο (η ομοιότητα εδώ βρίσκεται πέρα από το σχήμα και στο χρώμα, εφόσον η λ. σημαίνει: 1. πορφύρα, 2. σαλιγκάρι, 3. μαύρη βαφή, 4. κουφέτο σε σχήμα μικρού χωνιού που έχει μέσα του ένα χαρτί με δίστιχο, 5) μεγάλο κοχύλι που μεταχειρίζονται για τηλεβόα, 6. μτφ.: το γυναικείο αιδείο), το *χάβαρο* (κυριολ. = οστρακόδερμο), *κοράλι*, *μαργαριτάρι*, η *τσαβίδα* (κυριολ. σημαίνει μύδι ή όστρακο –Θράκ.). β) Επίσης αρκετές είναι οι ονομασίες που παραπέμπουν στο μαύρο χρώμα του εφηβαίου: π.χ. *κατσιβέλικο* (φυσικά εδώ είναι εμφανείς οι ρατσιστικές αντιλήψεις), *αχινός* (βλ. άσμα κατά το οποίο ένας γέρος προτείνει σε καλόγριες: «Ελάστε να χορέψωμε/ ανοιχτά, προσκελωτά/ και με τον *αχινό* μπροστά» - Κοζ. Βόιον), *μουτζούρα* (σε σκωπτικό άσμα από τη Νάξο), *πισσούδι* (Λέσβ.) ενώ στην αρχαιότητα είχαμε αντίστοιχα ονόματα, όπως *μέλαν* (=μαύρο), *οπτάνιον* (=ψημένο), *εσχάρα* (εκτός από το μαύρο χρώμα, λεγόταν έτσι και από την ομοιότητα του σχήματος, κατά τη δίπλωση της σάρκας). γ) Ακόμη βρίσκουμε ονομασίες του αιδείου από ανθωνύμια, πολλές από τις οποίες χρησιμοποιούσαν οι μαμές, π.χ. το *μάτι του ήλιου* (=ηλιοτρόπιο), ο *ανθός του κουτιού*, η *καμπανούλα της κόρης*, ο *κεραπουκάτος ανθός* (=που βρίσκεται κάτω από τον αφαλό), και φράσεις όπως: «αυτό το κορίτσι έχει ανέγγιχτο τον ανθό του», «η καθαρομελάχρινη το έχει κόκκινο και λουλουδάτο»¹⁶ δ) από ουράνια σώματα: π.χ., *πούλια*, *δόξα* (=ουράνιο τόξο), *αστέρι* (από παρετυμολόγηση του «υστέρα»). δ) Άλλοτε πάλι οι ονομασίες του παραπέμπουν στη σεξουαλική διέγερση που προκαλεί στον άνδρα ή γενικότερα στη σεξουαλική λειτουργία: π.χ. *μίτσα*: (κυριολεκτικά σημαίνει φυτίλι, έναυσμα –Θεσσ.), *νταραβερίκο*: (επειδή κάνει «νταραβέρι», δόσοληψία, εδώ. μτφ. εννοείται η συνουσία –Κρήτ.), *θέλημα* φρ. «Μας έφτανε και μίγια *ψωλίτσα* τώρα που δεν έχουμε τίποτα να μας το αργαλικήση (γαργαλήση) το έρμο το *θέλημα*» - Ερεικ.) Αρκετές από τις ονομασίες που συναντούμε δείχνουν μια αρκετά θετική προσέγγιση των γεννητικών οργάνων της γυναίκας και μια αξία που δινόταν στη σεξουαλική πράξη, βλ. π.χ. την ονομασία *μελοκούρουπο* (κυριολεκτικά το δοχείο που βάζουν το μέλι –Κρήτ.). Αντίστοιχο θετικό πρόσημο αναγνωρίζουμε και στους εύγλωττους αρχαιοελληνικούς ευφημισμούς *άμβων* (=άμβωνας, εξέδρα), *κέλης* (=μικρό πλοίο), *μέλαθρον* (=οίκημα, παλάτι).

Ειδικές ονομασίες υπάρχουν επίσης για την κλειτορίδα: π.χ. *παπαδίτσα*, *γλωσσίδι* και *γλωσσιδάκι*, *κουμπί*, όπως και για τον παρθενικό υμένα, άλλοτε αρνητικού προσανατολισμού, π.χ. *αχαμνότερυπα* (=λεπτή τρύπα, ευκολόσχιστη και εύθρυπτη), *ζέτρυπο* (=διάτρητος παρθενικός υμένας), κι άλλοτε θετικού π.χ. *στεφανάκι*, *λαγουδικό*, *καμαράκι*, *στόλος* κ.α.¹⁷

Πάντως οι κοινές ονομασίες για τα ανδρικά και γυναικεία γεννητικά όργανα είναι συνήθως ευφημιστικές και συνήθως αρνητικού προσανατολισμού: *κρυφά*, *απόκρυφα*, *πράμα*, *αποκατινά*. Επίσης εμφανίζεται συχνά και η ευφημιστική χρήση των αντωνυμιών *αυτός*, *απαντός* κυρίως στα ιδιώματα του

¹⁵ Σκουβαράς Β, (1954: 29).

¹⁶ Οικονομόπουλος Χρ. (2002: 327-328).

¹⁷ Οικονομόπουλος Χρ. (2002: 323-325).

νησιώτικου χώρου, π.χ. το *’ποφτείνo* = το γυναικείο αιδoίο, η *τέτοια* = το ανδρικό μόριο (Μάν. Κρήτ. Ικαρ. κ.ά.), όπου και η κοινή φρ. «σε γράφω στα τέτοια μου» = γεννητικά όργανα, η οποία διαλεκτικά, κατά την Ε. Γιακουμάκη, λεγόταν μόνο από άνδρες.¹⁸

Επιπλέον βρίσκουμε πολλές ονομασίες γεννητικών οργάνων που απεικονίζουν μια δύσκολη κοινωνική πραγματικότητα ως προς τις σεξουαλικές σχέσεις, π.χ. *πασχαλινό*, το = μτφ. το γυναικείο αιδoίο, γιατί μόνο το Πάσχα το βλέπουν οι χριστιανοί (Κρήτ.) ή φρ. ‘Σήμιρα είναι η Τυρ’νή/ απουκρεύουν του μουνί’ (άσμ. - Μακεδ. Μεσορ.), ενώ το *φύκωμα του ανθού*, το *βαψίμι της φωλιάς* κ.ά. είναι ονομασίες μεθόδων αναπαρθενισμού.¹⁹ Άλλες δείχνουν την αντίληψη για τη λειτουργία που οφείλουν να έχουν τα γεννητικά όργανα στη ζωή: π.χ. στην Κοζάνη *φαμελιά* λέγονται τα γεννητικά όργανα του άνδρα, στη Μεγίστη το γυναικείο αιδoίο *τρυπανιά* επειδή ανοίγει με το τρυπάνι (=πέος), ενώ το ανδρικό λέγεται και *γλεντιστής*. Ο άντρας με μεγάλο πέος στο ΝΑ Αιγαίο λέγεται *σερμαγιαλής* που αρχικά σημαίνει κεφαλιούχος. Στη Λακωνία πάλι βρίσκουμε τη φρ. *Μου ρθανε τ’ αδρίκεια μου*. *Της ήρθανε κι αυτηνής τ’ αδρίκεια της*.²⁰ – δηλαδή ακόμα και ο γυναικείος οργασμός δηλώνεται με έναν όρο που χαρακτηρίζει τον άνδρα, διαπιστώνουμε δηλ. ότι ο προσανατολισμός βρίσκεται σαφώς στην κατεύθυνση του ανδρικού οργασμού. Φυσικά κάποιες ονομασίες αντικατοπτρίζουν την έντονη διάθεση των αντρών για σεξουαλικές σχέσεις που όμως λόγω των απαγορεύσεων σπάνια βρίσκει εκτόνωση: π.χ. το ανδρικό μόριο ονομάζεται *παντέρημος*, *βάσανο*, όπως και παλιά, *παλιατζίκος* ή το στιγματισμό του γυναικείου ερωτισμού: π.χ. σε φράση από μάνα προς τη μικρή της θυγατέρα λέγεται: «Σκέπασε τη φωλιά σου, μωρή!» ή φρ. «Όταν κάθεσαι να μην έχεις αναχούβδουλα τα πόδια σου (ανοιχτά) και φαίνονται τα κρυφά σου». Ειρωνικά πάλι στην Καπαδοκία το γυναικείο αιδoίο ονομάζεται *πλυμένο* (φρ. υβριστική: «γαμώ δου πλυμένου τ’» - Καππ. Μιστ. Δίλ.), Πολλές είναι και οι υποτιμητικές ονομασίες της χήρας, από το αιδoίο: π.χ. λέγεται: *χάσκα*, η (επειδή το αιδoίο της είναι ανοιχτό και χαίνον). Επίσης: *τσαφάρα*, *χάρβαλη*, *μουρόχαυλη*, *γαβαλομούνα*, *χάχανη*, *χανομούνα*, *χλαπατσάνα*, *χάρχαλη*, *αγκλαβάνη*, *φαρδομούνα*, *ανέχαρη*, *γρυλλομούνα*, *ξεμανταλωμένη* ενώ το ίδιο το αιδoίο της χήρας λεγόταν *πάρταλο*, δηλ. το κουρελιασμένο.²¹

2. Η πρώτη λοιπόν διαφορά ανάμεσα στην κοινή και τις διαλέκτους είναι το πλήθος των ονομασιών των γεννητικών οργάνων. Μια άλλη διαφορά από την κοινή νε. αλλά και από τη νε. αργκό, είναι το πλήθος των παράγωγων και σύνθετων που συναντάμε στις διαλέκτους και τα ιδιώματα, αλλά και οι χρήσεις τους. Είναι δεκάδες οι λέξεις που αναφέρονται στα γεννητικά όργανα, ως υποκοριστικά, μεγεθυντικά, παρωνύμια αλλά ακόμη και τοπωνύμια, που, μάλιστα, χρησιμοποιώντας ένα μεγάλο αριθμό μορφημάτων για την παραγωγή τους φανερώνουν μια δυναμική τάση γλωσσικής δημιουργίας. Για του λόγου το αληθές, αναφέρω στη συνέχεια ένα συνοπτικό δείγμα από τις γλωσσικές οικογένειες με α’ ή β’ συνθετικό τη λέξη *μουνί* και τη λέξη *πούτσος* αντίστοιχα. Έτσι, βρίσκουμε τα μεγεθυντικά *μούνα*, *μουνάρδος* (Κεφαλλ.), *μουνάρα*, (Πελοπν., Θάσ.), *μούναρος* (σημαίνει επίσης τη μεγαλόσωμη γυναίκα), τα υποκοριστικά *μουνάκι*, *μουνουδι* (Προπ.), *μουνούλι* (Μακεδ.), *μουνόπον* (Πόντ. Τραπ.), *μουναρδέλι* (άσμα: «το μουνί το μουναρδέλι, φουσκωμένο σα σκουτέλι» - Ζακ.), τα παρωνύμια *Μούναρος* (Σίφν.), *Μουνάκας* (Θάσ.), *Μουνάς* (Στερελλ., Φούρν.). Από το *πούτσος*, έχουμε τα μεγεθυντικά *πουτσάκλα* (Τριχων.), *πουτσάρα* (πολλαχ.), *πουτσαρος* (Ερεικ. Πελοπν.) τα υποκοριστικά *πουτσάκι* (Ερεικ.), *πουτσαράκι* (Πελοπν.), *πουτσαρέλα* (Ερεικ.), *πουτσί* (ενιαχ.), *πουτσίδι* (Θεσσ. Στερελλ.) τα παρωνύμια *Πουτσάγκας* (Θεσσ.), *Πουτσάς* (Στερελλ. Εύβ.), *Πουτσής* (Σύρ.), *Πουτσίας* (Κεφαλλ.), *Πουτσίτας* (Κεφαλλ.), το επών. *Πουτσέλας* (Τσακων.), Βλέπουμε λοιπόν ένα μεγάλο αριθμό υποκοριστικών, μεγεθυντικών και παρωνυμίων (αλλά ακόμα και ένα επώνυμο!), με κάθε πιθανό επίθημα, γεγονός που εκτός από τη δυναμική της γλωσσικής παραγωγής δείχνει επίσης και μια απελευθερωμένη στάση απέναντι στο αντικείμενο που αντικατοπτρίζουν. Ενδιαφέρον αλλά και περιέργεια προκαλεί το ότι από αυτό το λεξιλόγιο βρίσκουμε και τοπωνύμια: *Μουνάδι* (Τήν.), *Μουνόκωλος* (Μάν.), *Μουνοπλύτης* (Αμοργ.), *Μουνοθώρι* (Φούρν.), *Μουνοστήθι* (Αττικ.) και *Πούτσαρη*, η (Θεσσ.) *Πουτσόβρυση* (Μακεδ.) *Πουτσικάκι* (Ιθάκ.) αντίστοιχα. Την ίδια έλλειψη ταμπού απέναντι σε ένα τέτοιο σημασιολογικά λεξιλόγιο δείχνουν και τα παράγωγα: α) από το μουνί: *μουνικό* (= αλοιφή για τη θεραπεία παθήσεων των εξωτερικών γεννητικών οργάνων της γυναίκας²²), *μουναρίζω* (= έχω εμμηνόρροια - Στερελλ.), *μουνέλος* (= ο γυναικάς - Ζάκ.), *μουνιενιές* (= γυναικάς - Κρήτ.), *μουνίλα* (= μυρωδιά από έμμηνα - Πόντ.), και β) από το πούτσος: *πουτσαράς* και (Στερελλ.)

¹⁸ Γιακουμάκη Ελευθερία, *Ευφημισμός. Γλωσσική προσέγγιση*, Αθήνα 2000, σελ. 87.

¹⁹ Οικονομόπουλος Χρ. (2003: 193).

²⁰ ΙΑΝΕ, λ. αντρίκειος.

²¹ Οικονομόπουλος Χρ., (2003: 190).

²² Οικονομόπουλος Χρ. (1999: λ. μουνικό).

πουτσαρίνης (= αυτός που έχει μεγάλο μόριο αλλά και ο ρωμαλέος, θαρραλέος, φιλότιμος, αντίστοιχα και *πουτσαρίνα* (= γυναίκα δυνατή, άξια, καλή), *πουτσαρίης* (= αυτός που έχει μεγάλο ανδρικό μόριο - Πελοπν.), *πουτσαρένιος* (=ικανός, άξιος άνθρωπος -Ηπ.), Επίσης και τα σύνθετα: α) *τραστομούνα* (= γυναίκα με αιδόιο μεγάλο σαν τράστο (= ταγάρι -Πελοπν.), *λαγκαδομούνα* (= 1. γυναίκα με μεγάλο αιδόιο, 2. αργόσχολη γυναίκα), *φαρμακομούνα* (= η γυναίκα της οποίας πέθαναν οι προηγούμενοι δύο ή τρεις άντρες, ή αντροφάγα.), *πορδομούνα* (= αυτή που αφήνει αέρια ηχηρά από το αιδόιο -Χίος), *μουνολάσι* (= συνάθροιση γυναικών -Ζάκ.) και *μουνοπανήγυρο* (= συνάθροιση πολλών γυναικών -Κεφαλλ.) *μουνομοίρι* (= μερίδιο προερχόμενο από τη γυναίκα -Θράκ.), *μουνομούλκι* (= κτήμα από προίκα γυναικός -Μακεδ.), β) *πουτσαδιάστρα* (= γυναίκα που της αρέσουν πολύ οι άντρες -Κεφαλλ.), *πουτσανάλατος* (= ύβρις που σημαίνει "μωρό" -Πελοπν.), φρ.: «Α ναχαθής ρε πουτσανάλατε», *πουτσομάλλι* (= τριχοφυΐα του ανδρικού μορίου -Μακεδ.), *πουτσοόρριγμα* (=Μακεδ.) και *πουτσοόχυμα* (Ερείκ.) (= εκσπερμάτωση, το σπέρμα του ανδρός), *πλατυπούτσης* (= αυτός που έχει πλατύ πέος -Πελοπν.), *κοκκαλόπουτσος* (= αυτός που έχει σκληρό πέος -Πελοπν.), *πουτσοχάφτρα* (= εκείνη που δεν χορταίνει τον άντρα -Πελοπν.), *πουτσοδέτης* (= ζώνη -Μακεδ., Θάσ.), *πουτσοκάμισο* (= πεοκαλύπτρα -Στερελλ.)

3. Τέλος ιδιαίτερη αξία νομίζω πως έχει και μια άλλη, συχνή γλωσσική διαδικασία που δεν απαντά ούτε στην κοινή ούτε στην αργκό (ή απαντά σπάνια). Ενώ δηλαδή συνήθως χρησιμοποιούνται μετωνυμίες που παρομοιάζουν τα γεννητικά όργανα με κάτι άλλο, δηλ. κάποιο άσχετο με τη γενετήσια λειτουργία αντικείμενο, εδώ βρίσκουμε και το αντίθετο: αντικείμενα άσχετα με τη γενετήσια λειτουργία να ονοματίζονται από παράγωγα ή σύνθετα ονομασιών των γεννητικών οργάνων, με βάση κάποιο κοινό τους χαρακτηριστικό. Αυτή η διαδικασία, πέρα από το χιούμορ, τη φαντασία και τη γλωσσοπλαστική δύναμη που περικλείει, φανερώνει, θεωρώ, και την απενοχοποιημένη οπτική των φορέων του διαλεκτικού λόγου απέναντι στη σεξουαλική πράξη. Θα χρησιμοποιήσω παραδείγματα και πάλι από τις γλωσσικές οικογένειες των λέξεων *μουνί* και *πούτσος*: *μουνάβρα* (=είδος μαλακίου όμοιο με το καλαμάρι (Κάλυμν.), *μουνάκλα* (Στερελλ, Παξ.)/ *μουνάρα* (Πελοπν.) *μουνήθρα* (Σκύρ.), *μουνίτσα* (Πόντ.), *θαλασσομούνι* (Μακεδ. Ν. Ηράκλ.) = η μέδουσα, *μουναρίδα* (Κύθν, Σίφν, Φολεγ, Θεσσ.) και *μουναριδόγουλο* = είδη φυτών, *μουνοθώρι* (= το ουροδοχείο -Χίος, Σάμ, Ικαρ, Πάρ.) *μουνοσκεπαστήρα* (Θάσ.) και *μουνοσκέπη* (= η ποδιά -Μακεδ.), *πουτισιδόπον* (= βασιλόπουλο - Πόντ.), *πουτσοόγιαλος*, ο (= είδος θαλασσινού μαλακίου όμοιο με το ανδρικό μόριο -Κέρκ.) Η διαδικασία αυτή γίνεται συχνότερη στα ανιγμάτα, π.χ. «παπαδιά σιδερομούνα, σιδερόπουτσα γυρεύει»= σιδερένιο κλειδί -Πελοπ.) ή «αντιπατώ τ' αρχίδια μου, σηκώνεται η ψωλή μου»=τα μιτάρια και ο αργαλειός.

5. Συμπεράσματα

Μετά από την παράθεση όλου αυτού του υλικού νομίζω πως συμπερασματικά μπορούμε να πούμε ότι:

1. Οι διάλεκτοι και τα ιδιώματα χρησιμοποιούν άφθονες ονομασίες για να ονοματίσουν τα γεννητικά όργανα. Η ποσότητα των ονομασιών αυτών είναι ασύγκριτα μεγαλύτερη από το φειδωλό λεξιλόγιο της κοινής αλλά και από το επίσης μικρό και όχι τόσο ευρηματικό λεξιλόγιο της αργκό. Ίσως λοιπόν εδώ θα έβρισκε ο Κοραΐς απάντηση στο ερώτημά του.

2. Πέρα από την ποσότητα, και η φαντασία, το χιούμορ, η ευρηματικότητα και η ποικιλία των ονομασιών των γεννητικών οργάνων και του σχετικού φρασσεολογικού υλικού φανερώνει πως η παραδοσιακή κοινωμία – φορέας του ιδιωματικού λόγου ήταν αρκετά πιο απενοχοποιημένη από την αντίστοιχη αστική γύρω από τη σεξουαλικότητα.

Φυσικά, το θέμα σε καμία περίπτωση δεν έχει εξαντληθεί. Δεν έγινε π.χ. αναφορά, στο πλαίσιο αυτής της ανακοίνωσης στο ενδιαφέρον λεξιλόγιο των συνθηματικών γλωσσών, στους δυσετυμολόγητους όρους που περιμένουν τη διερεύνησή τους, στα αντίστοιχα ξενόγλωσσα λεξιλόγια κ.ά. Αυτή αποτελούσε απλά μια πρώτη απόπειρα για την ανάδειξη αυτού του υλικού. Ο δρόμος της έρευνας απλώνεται μπροστά μας πλατύς.

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ΕΡΩΤΗΣΕΙΣ ΚΑΙ ΑΠΑΝΤΗΣΕΙΣ ΣΤΟΝ ΔΗΜΟΣΙΟΓΡΑΦΙΚΟ ΚΑΙ ΔΙΚΑΝΙΚΟ ΛΟΓΟ: ΜΙΑ ΠΡΟΚΑΤΑΡΤΙΚΗ ΜΕΛΕΤΗ

Μαριάνθη Γεωργαλίδου

Πανεπιστήμιο Αιγαίου,
Ελλάδα

georgalidou@rhodes.aegean.gr

ΠΕΡΙΛΗΨΗ

Σε αυτή τη μελέτη εξετάζονται αντιπαραθετικά μια απομαγνητοφωνημένη δημοσιογραφική συνέντευξη και αποσπάσματα του κειμένου των πρακτικών μιας δίκης. Στο θεσμικό πλαίσιο του δημοσιογραφικού και του δικανικού λόγου αντίστοιχα αναλύεται η διαπραγμάτευση περιστατικών άσκησης βίας και η συνακόλουθη απόπειρα απόδοσης ευθυνών στους εμπλεκόμενους μέσα από την κατασκευή εναλλακτικών αφηγήσεων (Kompter 2006, Heffer 2010). Συγκεκριμένα, αναλύονται οι ερωτηματικές δομές που επιλέγονται και απευθύνονται από δικηγόρους και δημοσιογράφους σε μάρτυρες και συνεντευξιαζόμενους και η ανταπόκριση σε αυτές (Clayman & Heritage 2002, Tracy & Robles 2009, Holt & Johnson 2010, Ehrlich 2010). Με βάση την ανάλυση, επισημαίνονται οι ομοιότητες των επικοινωνιακών στρατηγικών που διατρέχουν δύο είδη δημόσιου λόγου διαφορετικών ως προς την πλαισίωση και τη συγκρότησή τους.

Λέξεις κλειδιά: Δημοσιογραφικός λόγος, Δικανικός λόγος, Ερωτήσεις/ Απαντήσεις, Ταυτότητα

1. Εισαγωγή

Στο πλαίσιο δύο απομακρυσμένων ως προς τον τόπο και το χρόνο γεγονότων που πρόσφατα απασχόλησαν την επικαιρότητα -τη δολοφονία του Αλέξανδρου Γρηγορόπουλου στην Αθήνα και τον τραυματισμό του Jody Mc Intyre στο Λονδίνο κατά τη διάρκεια επεισοδίων με τις αστυνομικές δυνάμεις- έγινε απόπειρα δημιουργίας εναλλακτικών αφηγήσεων με στόχο την ενοχοποίηση των θυμάτων και τον συνακόλουθο επιμερισμό της ευθύνης ανάμεσα σε δράστες και θύματα. Αυτές προέκυψαν με αφορμή την εξέταση των μαρτύρων από τους συνηγόρους υπεράσπισης στη δίκη Γρηγορόπουλου και τη συνέντευξη του Mc Intyre σε δημοσιογράφο του BBC. Στο πλαίσιο της Ανάλυσης του Δημοσιογραφικού και του Δικανικού Λόγου, στη μελέτη αυτή αναλύονται αντιπαραθετικά το απομαγνητοφωνημένο κείμενο της συνέντευξης Mc Intyre και αποσπάσματα των πρακτικών της δίκης Γρηγορόπουλου. Συγκεκριμένα, εξετάζονται οι ερωτηματικές δομές και η ανταπόκριση σε αυτές σε σχέση με τη συνεργατικότητα ή την αντίσταση που επιδεικνύει ο ερωτώμενος. Αναλύονται οι ερωτηματικές εκφορές στο πλαίσιο των αλληλουχιών που εμφανίζονται (Clayman & Heritage 2002, Holt & Johnson 2010, Tracy & Robles 2009), και οι απαντήσεις κυρίως σε ότι αφορά την αντίσταση που προβάλλεται σε αυτές από την πλευρά του συνεντευξιαζόμενου ή του εξεταζόμενου μάρτυρα αντίστοιχα (sequential analysis). Επίσης, προσδιορίζεται η λειτουργία τους σε ό,τι αφορά την κατασκευή εναλλακτικών αφηγήσεων για τα γεγονότα που εξετάζονται (Kompter 2006, Heffer 2010). Οι αλληλουχίες ερωτήσεων/ απαντήσεων συνδέονται με την οργάνωση του λόγου στο πλαίσιο δημοσιογραφικών και νομικών διαδικασιών αντίστοιχα, καθώς και με την απόπειρα κατασκευής της ταυτότητας του ερωτώμενου ως μη αξιόπιστου μάρτυρα των γεγονότων. Με βάση την ανάλυση, επισημαίνονται οι ομοιότητες των επικοινωνιακών στρατηγικών που διατρέχουν δύο είδη δημόσιου λόγου, τα οποία διαφέρουν σημαντικά ως προς την πλαισίωση και τη συγκρότησή τους.

1.1 Πολιτική Δημοσιογραφική Συνέντευξη/ Ποινική Δίκη

Η πολιτική δημοσιογραφική συνέντευξη, και συγκεκριμένα η συνέντευξη που μεταδίδεται κατά τη διάρκεια δελτίων ειδήσεων, αποτελεί αντικείμενο διερεύνησης κατά τις τελευταίες δεκαετίες στο πλαίσιο της ανάλυσης του δημοσιογραφικού λόγου (Clayman & Heritage 2002). Τα βασικά ερωτήματα που τίθενται κατά την ανάλυση αφορούν τη διερεύνηση των τρόπων με τους οποίους η συνομιλιακή

οργάνωση και οι επικοινωνιακές πρακτικές των συμμετεχόντων διαμορφώνουν κατά τρόπο δυναμικό τον ίδιο τον θεσμό της πολιτικής δημοσιογραφίας. Μέσα από καθημερινές συνομιλιακές πρακτικές (την εναλλαγή των ομιλητών στο βήμα, την εισαγωγή νέου θέματος, τη διαδικασία της διόρθωσης, τα ζεύγη των ερωταπαντήσεων, κ.τ.λ.), οι συμμετέχοντες στη διαδικασία της συνέντευξης κατασκευάζουν τους θεσμικούς τους ρόλους και επιδιώκουν την εκπλήρωση επικοινωνιακών στόχων που συνδέονται με την πολιτική τοποθέτηση του μέσου (συχνά άρρητη) και του ιδεολογικού και πολιτικού χώρου που εκπροσωπούν. Η πολιτική δημοσιογραφική συνέντευξη διαρθρώνεται με βάση τη διαδοχική εναλλαγή συνεντευκτών και συνεντευξιαζόμενων στο βήμα σε αντιστοιχία με την εκφώνηση ερωτηματικών και απαντητικών εκφορών κατά τις οποίες τα δικαιώματα και οι υποχρεώσεις των συμμετεχόντων παραμένουν δεδομένα και η αντιστροφή των συνομιλιακών ρόλων αυστηρά περιορισμένη. Σε αυτή τη διαδικασία, τα συνομιλιακά δικαιώματα των συμμετεχόντων καθώς και η επιδιωκόμενη από αυτούς κατασκευή ταυτοτήτων αποδεκτών κατά τον μέγιστο βαθμό από τα ακροατήρια στα οποία απευθύνονται συντείνουν στην πραγμάτωση του θεσμού ως ενός διακριτού συνομιλιακού κειμενικού είδους. Η πολιτική δημοσιογραφία λοιπόν, συνδέεται με την οργάνωση του λόγου σε συνάρτηση με την επιδιωκόμενη επίτευξη των πολιτικών στόχων των εμπλεκόμενων μερών και ως εκ τούτου με τις πολιτικές λειτουργίες των κοινωνιών που υιοθετούν τον θεσμό. Η ανάγκη διερεύνησης των μηχανισμών που ενεργοποιούνται κατά τη διεξαγωγή των πολιτικών συνεντεύξεων συνδέεται επίσης, με τη δυνατότητα των απομακρυσμένων αποδεκτών του μεταδιδόμενου επικοινωνιακού συμβάντος να κατανοήσουν και να τοποθετηθούν κριτικά απέναντι στα τεκταινόμενα.

Αντίστοιχα, πέραν των ιδιαίτερων χαρακτηριστικών της διαδικασίας σε συνάρτηση με το νομικό πλαίσιο το οποίο βρίσκεται σε ισχύ σε διαφορετικές χώρες και συστήματα απονομής της δικαιοσύνης, η δικαστική διαδικασία αποτελεί ένα κειμενικό είδος με διακριτά χαρακτηριστικά σε ότι αφορά την οργάνωση του λόγου για την οποία ακολουθείται μια σειρά διαδικασιών και τελετουργικών που προβλέπονται από την εκάστοτε νομοθεσία. Σε αυτό το πλαίσιο αυτό ορίζονται οι επιτελεστικές λεκτικές πράξεις μέσω των οποίων, και εφόσον εκφωνηθούν, ξεκινούν και διεκπεραιώνονται τα επιμέρους στάδια της διαδικασίας μιας δίκης. Επίσης, ορίζονται τα συνομιλιακά δικαιώματα των συμμετεχόντων στη διαδικασία. Ορίζεται ποιος έχει το δικαίωμα να απευθύνει ερωτήσεις, σε ποιον, σε ποιο σημείο της διαδικασίας και με ποιο περιεχόμενο. Από τη θεσμοθετημένη κατανομή του λόγου στο πλαίσιο της ανακριτικής και δικαστικής διαδικασίας προκύπτουν άνισα συνομιλιακά δικαιώματα για τους συμμετέχοντες. Για παράδειγμα, οι συνήγοροι θέτουν ερωτήσεις και οι εξεταζόμενοι απαντούν χωρίς να είναι δυνατόν να αντιστραφεί η διαδικασία. Κατά το σύνολο των ανακριτικών και δικαστικών διαδικασιών και μέσω της εξέτασης των μαρτύρων επιχειρείται η αφηγηματική ανακατασκευή των γεγονότων που συνδέονται με την υπόθεση που συζητείται. Αυτό έχει σαν αποτέλεσμα την απόπειρα κατασκευής ανταγωνιστικών αφηγήσεων από τους αντιδίκους και τους εκπροσώπους τους (Kompter 2006, Heffer 2010).

Η πολιτική δημοσιογραφική συνέντευξη και η διαδικασία εξέτασης μαρτύρων φαίνεται να παρουσιάζουν σημαντικές αναλογίες ως προς τη δομή και τη στόχευση του παραγόμενου λόγου. Καταρχάς, εντοπίζονται αναλογίες σε ότι αφορά τα συνομιλιακά δικαιώματα των συμμετεχόντων. Και οι δημοσιογράφοι, όπως και οι συνήγοροι, θέτουν τις ερωτήσεις, τις οποίες οι συνεντευξιαζόμενοι και οι μάρτυρες καλούνται να απαντήσουν. Και στα δύο συμβάντα υπάρχει ελάχιστη δυνατότητα αντιστροφής αυτών των ρόλων. Στην πολιτική δημοσιογραφία κυριαρχεί το στερεότυπο του αμερόληπτου δημοσιογράφου η/ο οποίος- εκ μέρους του ακροατηρίου του- επιδιώκει να θέσει τον συνομιλητή του προ ερωτήσεων τέτοιων ώστε να τον/την οδηγήσει στην αποκάλυψη των απώτερων κινήτρων για τις επιλογές και τη δράση του. Σε αυτή την απόπειρα και η/ο δημοσιογράφος όπως και η/ο συνήγορος έμμεσα κατασκευάζει εναλλακτικά σενάρια. Δημοσιογράφος και δικηγόρος απευθύνονται στο κοινό (θεατές-ακροατές/ δικαστές-ενόρκους) μέσω του συνομιλητή τους, εφόσον αυτό πρέπει να πείσουν για την αναγκαιότητα της επιλογής τους και/ή την ορθότητα του προβαλλόμενου σεναρίου (Matoesian 2005, Ehrlich 2010). Επίσης, όπως ο συνήγορος κατά τη διεξαγωγή μιας δίκης δεν μπορεί να ισχυριστεί ίδια γνώση των γεγονότων, των οποίων η περιγραφή πρέπει να προκύψει από το λόγο των μαρτύρων, το επικρατών μοντέλο στην πολιτική δημοσιογραφία είναι αυτό του αμερόληπτου δημοσιογράφου ο οποίος θέτει και διαπραγματεύεται με επιμονή δύσκολα ερωτήματα διατηρώντας όμως την ουδετερότητα του (Clayman & Heritage 2002). Μέσα από το πρίσμα αυτών των παρατηρήσεων εξετάζονται οι ερωτηματικές και απαντητικές εκφορές στο πλαίσιο του δημοσιογραφικών και του δικανικών κειμένων αντίστοιχα.

1.2 Ερωτήσεις και απαντήσεις στο δημοσιογραφικό και δικανικό λόγο

Με αφετηρία τη θέση ότι “οι κοινωνικοί θεσμοί κατασκευάζονται δια του λόγου”, και μάλιστα σε άμεση συνάρτηση με τη μέθοδο με την οποία οι συμμετέχοντες διαχειρίζονται την εναλλαγή τους στο

βήμα (Clayman & Heritage 2002: 21), σε αυτή τη μελέτη εξετάζονται οι ερωτηματικές δομές που επιλέγονται και απευθύνονται από δικηγόρους και δημοσιογράφους σε μάρτυρες, αντιδίκους και συνεντευξιαζόμενους αντίστοιχα. Οι ερωτηματικές δομές που εκφωνούνται θα μπορούσαν να κατηγοριοποιηθούν ως εξής:

- ερωτήσεις μερικής αγνοίας (ανοιχτού τύπου/ Wh-q)
- ερωτήσεις ολικής αγνοίας (κλειστού τύπου/ Yes/no-q)
- βεβαιωτικές προτάσεις με προσλεκτική ισχύ ερώτησης ολικής αγνοίας (με ή χωρίς ερωτηματικό επιτονισμό)
- ερωτήσεις (είτε ανοιχτού είτε κλειστού τύπου) που εισάγονται με
 - βεβαιωτική/ες πρόταση/εις ή πλάγιο λόγο
 - αναδιατύπωση (formulation)
 - παράφραση ή επανάληψη του περιεχομένου προηγούμενων συνεισφορών

(Clayman & Heritage 2002, Tracy & Robles 2009).

Αναλυόμενες στο πλαίσιο των αλληλουχιών που εμφανίζονται (sequential analysis), οι ερωτηματικές εκφορές συνδέονται με την οργάνωση του λόγου στο πλαίσιο δημοσιογραφικών και δικανικών διαδικασιών. Με βάση την οργάνωση των *προτιμήσεων* (preference), οι ερωτήσεις φέρουν το βάρος μιας προσδοκίας (Clayman & Heritage 2002: 13), περιορίζοντας τις παραμέτρους επιλογής στην κατεύθυνση της προτιμητέας απαντητικής εκφοράς. Ασκούν δηλαδή, πίεση στον ερωτώμενο ώστε να επιλέξει εκείνη την εκδοχή που συμφωνεί με το προβαλλόμενο σενάριο, ή την άμεσα ή έμμεσα διατυπωμένη άποψη του συνομιλητή του. Στο πλαίσιο των δικανικών διαδικασιών κατά κύριο λόγο, οι ερωτήσεις λειτουργούν εργαλειακά για την κατασκευή εναλλακτικών αφηγήσεων για τα γεγονότα που εξετάζονται (Kompter 2006, Heffer 2010), καθώς και για την ενδεχόμενη απόπειρα κατασκευής της ταυτότητας των αντιδίκων ως μη αξιόπιστων μαρτύρων. Οι συνήγοροι ως εκ τούτου, θέτουν ερωτήσεις ώστε όχι μόνο να εκμαιεύσουν τη μαρτυρία των εξεταζόμενων αλλά και να κατασκευάσουν μια αξιόπιστη εκδοχή/ αφήγηση για τα γεγονότα, τέτοια ώστε να υποστηρίξει τα συμφέροντα των πελατών τους, συχνά υπονομεύοντας την αξιοπιστία των αντιδίκων (Matoesian 2005 & Ehrlich 2010). Αν και αυτό δεν ισχύει σε κάθε περίπτωση στη δημοσιογραφική συνέντευξη (βλ. deferential και aggressive-adversarial styles of questioning, Clayman & Heritage 2002), η πίεση για υψηλές ακροαματικότητες και η ενδεχόμενη ρητή ή υπόρρητη διαφορά της πολιτικής αφετηρίας μέσου/ δημοσιογράφων και συνεντευξιαζόμενων συνήθως οδηγούν στην πιο επιθετική μορφή δημοσιογραφικής συνέντευξης, η οποία σημειωτέον δημιουργεί εκείνα τα δημοσιογραφικά γεγονότα τα οποία σχολιάζονται ως αυτοτελείς ειδήσεις.

Οι γλωσσικές επιλογές των μαρτύρων ή των συνεντευξιαζόμενων στην απαντητική συνεισφορά τους εξετάζονται για τη συνεργατικότητα, ή την αποφυγή και την αντίσταση που επιδεικνύεται και την αποδοχή ή απόρριψη του σεναρίου που έμμεσα κατασκευάζει ο/η συνήγορος ή ο/η δημοσιογράφος. Επίσης, καθώς η αναγωγή σε μύθους και στερεότυπα (π.χ. η αμφιλεγόμενη σεξουαλική συμπεριφορά γυναικών θυμάτων βιασμού (Matoesian 2005 & Ehrlich 2010), ή η βίαιη συμπεριφορά των νέων που συμμετέχουν σε συγκεντρώσεις διαμαρτυρίας) προκύπτει από τις *προϋποθέσεις* (presuppositions) και τις *συνεπαγωγές* (entailments) που ενεργοποιούνται με την επιλογή σημασιολογικά και πραγματολογικά φορτισμένων φραστικών δομών για την κατασκευή της ερωτηματικής εκφοράς. Η αποδοχή ή η απόρριψη τους από τον αποδέκτη, κατασκευάζεται γλωσσικά μέσω της συμμόρφωσης ή μη με την *προτίμηση* για ευθυγράμμιση με την ατζέντα που θέτει ο συνεντευκτής μέσω της ερωτηματικής του συνεισφοράς.

Τα κείμενα που αναλύονται στη συνέχεια συνδέουν τα παραπάνω ζητήματα με συγκεκριμένα συμβάντα, η διαπραγμάτευση των οποίων αναδεικνύει ζητήματα που αφορούν τη συγκρότηση και τη λειτουργία του δημόσιου λόγου στο πλαίσιο δημοσιογραφικών και δικανικών πρακτικών.

1.3 Τα γεγονότα, τα κείμενα και τα ζητήματα που αυτά θέτουν

Η δολοφονία του δεκαπεντάχρονου Αλέξανδρου Γρηγορόπουλου στην Αθήνα και ο τραυματισμός του εικοσάχρονου Jody Mc Intyre που πάσχει από σοβαρή εγκεφαλική παράλυση στο Λονδίνο κατά τη διάρκεια επεισοδίων με τις αστυνομικές δυνάμεις και οι θεσμικές διαδικασίες που επακολούθησαν θέτουν πολλαπλά ζητήματα για τον τρόπο διαχείρισης της βίας στο δημόσιο λόγο και μάλιστα πέρα από εθνικά σύνορα και δεδομένα κοινοτικά/ πολιτισμικά όρια. Οι διαφορές ανάμεσα στα δύο γεγονότα είναι προφανείς: ο τόπος, ο χρόνος, το αποτέλεσμα, το θεσμικό πλαίσιο. Οι ομοιότητες πάλι αποτελούν το ζητούμενο αυτής της μελέτης. Για την ανάδειξή τους θα χρησιμοποιήσω ως υλικό το λόγο όπως

καταγράφηκε στα επίσημα πρακτικά της δίκης Γρηγορόπουλου και το απομαγνητοφωνημένο κείμενο της συνέντευξης Mc Intyre στο BBC¹. Και τα δύο γεγονότα έγιναν αντικείμενο έντονης δημόσιας συζήτησης για τις στρατηγικές λόγου των συμμετεχόντων σε αυτά². Το πρώτο ζήτημα που τέθηκε αφορά την προσπάθεια -από τους συνηγόρους υπερασπίσεως στην εν λόγω δίκη και του δημοσιογράφου που διεξήγαγε τη συνέντευξη- επιμερισμού των ευθυνών ανάμεσα σε θύτες και θύματα και την επιχειρούμενη ενοχοποίηση των ιδίων των θυμάτων με βάση την επικαλούμενη πολιτική τους ταυτότητα και την από αυτήν απορρέουσα υποτιθέμενη βίαιη συμπεριφορά τους. Το δεύτερο αφορά την απόπειρα εκτροπής της δημόσιας συζήτησης από το ζητούμενο της, δηλαδή την αυταπόδεικτη από τα καταγεγραμμένα γεγονότα- ένα θάνατος, ένα βίντεο- άσκηση βίας από τις δυνάμεις του ελέγχου και της καταστολής της. Το τρίτο αφορά το ίδιο το φαινόμενο της βίας και του λόγου για τη βία στα σύγχρονα αστικά περιβάλλοντα στο πλαίσιο σημαντικών αλλαγών που συντελούνται σε όλα τα επίπεδα της ζωής (π.χ. οικονομικές σχέσεις, μετανάστευση) και μεταβάλλουν τον κοινωνικό ιστό και τις δυναμικές που συνδέονται με τη συμπεριφορά των πληθυσμών τους. Τα δύο τελευταία υπερβαίνουν τα όρια της παρούσας μελέτης.

Στη συνέχεια, μέσα από την ανάλυση των συνομιλιακών ζευγών των ερωταπαντήσεων στην περίπτωση της συνέντευξης Mc Intyre και των απαντήσεων μαρτύρων αλλά και άλλων περιστατικών λόγου όπως καταγράφονται στα επίσημα πρακτικά της δίκης Γρηγορόπουλου, θα προσπαθήσω να αναδείξω αναλογίες στις στρατηγικές που χρησιμοποιούνται τόσο από τους συνηγόρους και τον δημοσιογράφο όσο και την αντίσταση σε αυτές όπως καταγράφεται στο λόγο του Mc Intyre και των εξεταζόμενων μαρτύρων στο πλαίσιο της δίκης.

2. Ανάλυση

2.1 Η συνέντευξη Mc Intyre (Παράρτημα 1)

Οι ερωτηματικές εκφορές που απευθύνονται από τον δημοσιογράφο στον συνεντευξιαζόμενο στην συγκεκριμένη συνέντευξη (σύνολο: 13) αποτελούν ανοιχτού ή κλειστού τύπου ερωτήσεις οι οποίες είτε εισάγονται με βεβαιωτικές προτάσεις ή αποτελούν βεβαιωτικές προτάσεις με ή χωρίς ερωτηματικό επιτονισμό. Εξαιρέση αποτελούν τα ζεύγη 3-4 και 29-30³, τα οποία εισάγονται με ανοιχτού τύπου ερωτήσεις χωρίς εισαγωγή, καθώς και το ζεύγος 21-22 που εισάγεται με ερώτηση κλειστού τύπου, οι οποίες απαντώνται κατά τρόπο συνεργατικό. Οι υπόλοιπες δέκα ερωτηματικές εκφορές αποτελούν ανοιχτού (σειρές 5, 7, 15, 23) και κλειστού τύπου ερωτήσεις (σειρές 9, 13, 19) που εισάγονται με βεβαιωτικές προτάσεις και βεβαιωτικές προτάσεις με ή χωρίς ερωτηματικό επιτονισμό (σειρές 11, 25, 27) με προσδοκώμενη ανταπόκριση την επιβεβαίωση ή άρνηση του σεναρίου που προβάλλεται σε αυτές.

Μέσω των βεβαιωτικών δομών που προηγούνται των ανοιχτού τύπου ερωτήσεων μεταφέρονται οι δηλώσεις της αστυνομίας (σειρές 5 και 15), επισημαίνεται ο χρόνος που έχει παρέλθει από το συμβάν (σειρά 7) και παραφράζονται προηγούμενες δηλώσεις του συνεντευξιαζόμενου (σειρά 23). Στις τρεις πρώτες περιπτώσεις τίθεται σε αμφιβολία η σπουδαιότητα του περιστατικού, εφόσον ισχύει η *προϋπόθεση* ότι το θύμα δεν ανέφερε το περιστατικό στην αστυνομία και δεν αντέδρασε με βάση τα νόμιμα δικαιώματά του σε χρόνο προγενέστερο της συνέντευξης. Στη σειρά 23, η με υποθετικό λόγο μεταφορά των ισχυρισμών του συνεντευξιαζόμενου (*αν ισχυρίζεστε ότι...*) ενεργοποιεί την επιστημική διάσταση της τροπικότητας, μεταθέτοντας την ευθύνη για την αλήθεια των ισχυρισμών για την άσκηση βίας εναντίον του από τον ομιλητή στον αποδέκτη.

Μέσω των βεβαιωτικών δομών που προηγούνται των κλειστού τύπου ερωτήσεων μεταφέρεται η υπόθεση ότι ο συνεντευξιαζόμενος κινήθηκε επιθετικά, χωρίς να προσδιορίζεται η πηγή των ισχυρισμών (σειρά 9), ένα κείμενο της εφημερίδας Observer στο οποίο αναφέρεται ως *διαδικτυακός ριζοσπάστης* (σειρά 13), καθώς και η προσωπική μαρτυρία του συνεντευκτή για ρίψεις αντικειμένων εναντίον της αστυνομίας κατά το περιστατικό (σειρά 19). Και στις τρεις περιπτώσεις επανεισάγεται ως ενδεχόμενο σενάριο η βίαιη συμπεριφορά από την πλευρά του αποδέκτη ο οποίος ερωτάται τέσσερις

¹ Για τα μεν πρώτα οφείλω να ευχαριστήσω τους δικηγόρους Νίκο και Ζωή Κωνσταντοπούλου. Το δεύτερο αναρτήθηκε στο You Tube (http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CfSB_XchpPko-feature=player_embedded) από όπου και το απομαγνητοφώνησα.

² Βλ. τα αρνητικά σχόλια για τη στρατηγική Κούγια σε όλα σχεδόν τα μέσα μαζικής ενημέρωσης κατά την περίοδο διεξαγωγής της δίκης, καθώς και την αυτούσια μετάφραση και δημοσίευση της συνέντευξης Mc Intyre από την Κυριακάτικη Ελευθεροτυπία (Εψίλον 16/1/2011, σελ 32-33), υπό τον τίτλο «... και ο Τζόντι που ξευτέλιξε το BBC».

³ Το πρώτο μετά την έναρξη και το τελευταίο πριν το κλείσιμο της συνομιλίας.

φορές (σειρές 9, 11, 19, 25) αν όσα λέχθηκαν ισχύουν και αν ο ίδιος συμμετείχε στη ρίψη αντικειμένων. Αντίστοιχες είναι οι επιλογές του δημοσιογράφου στις βεβαιωτικές εκφορές οι οποίες έχουν προσλεκτική ισχύ αιτήματος για επιβεβαίωση/ απόρριψη (σειρές 11, 25 και 27).

Αν και κατά το μεγαλύτερο μέρος της συνέντευξης ο συνεντευξιαζόμενος ανταποκρίνεται κατασκευάζοντας την ταυτότητα του συνεργατικού συνομιλητή μέσα στο πλαίσιο του θεσμικού του ρόλου (σειρές 4, 6, 8, 12, 20, 22, 24, 30), στις σειρές 10 και 28 απαντά με άμεσα απειλητικές για το πρόσωπο του συνομιλητή του λεκτικές πράξεις, με τις οποίες ευθέως αμφισβητεί την ουδετερότητα και την αντικειμενικότητά του αλλά και την αντικειμενικότητα του μέσου στο οποίο προβάλλεται η συνέντευξη (*είναι γελοίο/ εκπλήσσομαι που το κάνετε/ όλη αυτή η επιχειρηματολογία είναι εντελώς γελοία*). Επίσης, κατά περίπτωση επαναδιαπραγματεύεται τα όρια των θεσμικών ρόλων συνεντευκτή/ συνεντευξιαζόμενου εισάγοντας νέα θεματολογία (σειρές 14, 16/18, 20, 28) και απευθύνοντας ερωτήσεις στο δημοσιογράφο (σειρές 26, 28 αντίστοιχα: *Πιστεύετε πραγματικά ότι ένας άνθρωπος με εγκεφαλική παράλυση.../ Θεωρείτε ότι θα μπορούσα, καθ' οιονδήποτε τρόπο, καθισμένος στο καρότσι μου να αποτελέσω πραγματική απειλή...*), με τις οποίες εμμέσως αμφισβητείται είτε η οξύνοια είτε η καλή προαίρεση του. Μέσω αυτών προβάλλει αντίσταση στην προτεινόμενη από τον συνεντευκτή εναλλακτική αφήγηση, σύμφωνα με την οποία ο ίδιος κινήθηκε επιθετικά εναντίον των αστυνομικών δυνάμεων. Επίσης, παρά το γεγονός ότι κατά κύριο λόγο ο συνεντευξιαζόμενος επιτίθενται στην προβαλλόμενη άποψη και όχι στον εκφραστή της (Clayman & Heritage 2002: 165), ο Mc Intyre μετακινείται από την θέση της συνεργατικότητας, σε αυτή της άμεσης αμφισβήτησης της ουδετερότητας και της αντικειμενικότητας τόσο του δημοσιογράφου όσο και του μέσου.

2.2 Η δίκη Γρηγορόπουλου⁴ (Παράρτημα 2)

Η υπερασπιστική στρατηγική των συνηγόρων υπεράσπισης στη δίκη Γρηγορόπουλου βασίζεται στη απόπειρα τεκμηρίωσης της βίαιης συμπεριφοράς, μέσω της κατασκευής της ταυτότητας του μέλους αριστερών- αναρχικών ομάδων, των μαρτύρων κατηγορίας, οι οποίοι ήταν είτε συνομήλικοι και φίλοι του Αλέξανδρου Γρηγορόπουλου, είτε αυτόπτες μάρτυρες που παρακολούθησαν τα γεγονότα ως κάτοικοι της περιοχής ή πελάτες κοντινών καφετεριών (απόσπασμα 2: *Για μας ο Αλέξανδρος Γρηγορόπουλος ήταν αναρχικός...*/ απόσπασμα 1: *...οι ανωτέρω είναι μέλη οργάνωσης που λέγεται Νεολαία Κομμουνιστικής Απελευθέρωσης*). Το γεγονός της παρουσίας των εν λόγω μαρτύρων- αλλά και του ίδιου του θύματος- στην περιοχή των Εξαρχείων (απόσπασμα 4: *Ποιο είναι το σημαντικό, το γοητευτικό, που παιδιά της ηλικίας μου από άλλες περιοχές της Αθήνας, τη Φιλοθέη, το Ψυχικό, έρχονται εκεί στα Εξάρχεια...*), και η επικοινωνία κάποιων εξ αυτών με τη δικηγόρο Ιωάννα Κούρτοβικ (απόσπασμα 3: *...η δικηγόρος Κούρτοβικ... είναι δικηγόρος των αντιεξουσιαστών*) συνεισφέρει ως τεκμηρίωση της υποτιθέμενης βίαιης συμπεριφοράς τους. Οι *συνεπαγωγές* (→) (οι αντίδικοι είναι μέλη της οργάνωσης Νεολαία Κομμουνιστικής Απελευθέρωσης, → οι αντίδικοι είναι άτομα που λειτουργούν εκτός πλαισίων νομιμότητας) και οι *προϋποθέσεις* που ενεργοποιούνται (στα Εξάρχεια επικρατεί ανομία (στερεότυπο)/ υπάρχει κάτι που έλκει τα παιδιά εκεί (προϋπόθεση)→ τα παιδιά έλκονται από την ανομία), λειτουργούν ως έμμεση αιτιολόγηση της βίας που ασκήθηκε από την πλευρά των κατηγορουμένων αλλά και ενδεχόμενη δικαίωσή της.

Οι αντίδικοι αντιστέκονται σε αυτές τις κατασκευές άμεσα (απόσπασμα 2: *...(η υπεράσπιση) επιχειρεί να μεταφέρει αντιπαράσταση αντιεξουσιαστών με την αστυνομία/ απόσπασμα 5: Δεν έχω συμμετάσχει σε αντιεξουσιαστικές εκδηλώσεις, ούτε εγώ ούτε ο αδελφός μου. Ζω σε μια συγκροτημένη οικογένεια..*), αρνούμενοι τις προϋποθέσεις και τις συνεπαγωγές τους (τα άτομα που ανήκουν σε δυσλειτουργικές οικογένειες συμμετέχουν σε αντιεξουσιαστικές οργανώσεις/ εκδηλώσεις και έχουν βίαιη συμπεριφορά→ το θύμα και οι μάρτυρες κατηγορίας είναι τέτοια άτομα). Αντίστοιχα, αντιστέκονται στην εκδοχή της θεωρίας της συμμετοχής τους σε συνομιλία του φερόμενου ως αντιεξουσιαστικού χώρου ώστε να προκαθορίσουν το αποτέλεσμα της δίκης (δηλώσεις Κούγια, αποσπάσματα 1 και 3), αρνούμενα έμμεσα το σενάριο της εκ των προτέρων συνεννόησης με συνηγόρους των αντιδίκων (απόσπασμα 3: *Δεν έχω δει καν την δικηγόρο Κούρτοβικ, δεν την γνωρίζω προσωπικά. Ζήτησα το τηλέφωνό της και μου το έδωσαν*). Επίσης, αντιστέκονται στην ενεργοποίηση της προϋπόθεσης ότι ο χώρος των Εξαρχείων, ως περιοχή στιγματισμένη από συμβάντα βίας, ασκεί έλξη σε νεαρά άτομα, τα οποία, ως εκ τούτου, έλκονται από τη βία, με συνακόλουθη συνεπαγωγή την εκτός ορίων νομιμότητας συμπεριφορά τους (απόσπασμα 4: *Ποιο είναι το σημαντικό, το γοητευτικό, που παιδιά της ηλικίας μου από άλλες περιοχές της Αθήνας, τη Φιλοθέη, το Ψυχικό, έρχονται εκεί στα*

⁴ Τα κείμενα 1-5 αποτελούν αποσπάσματα των επίσημων πρακτικών της δίκης Γρηγορόπουλου/ Πρωτοδικείο Αμφισσας/ Πρακτικά και Απόφαση Δημόσιας Συνεδρίασεως Μικτού Ορκωτού Δικαστηρίου Αμφισσας, Αριθμοί απόφασης 14-73/2010.

Εξάρχεια και κάθονται σε μια τέτοια εσοχή που μου δείχνετε, δεν μπορώ να καταλάβω στην ερώτησή σας, δεν χρειάζεται να σε γοητεύει κάτι για να πας εκεί.).

3. Συζήτηση/ Συμπέρασμα

Όπως προκύπτει από τις συνομιλιακές επιλογές των συμμετεχόντων (με δεδομένους τους περιορισμούς που θέτει ο τρόπος συγγραφής του κειμένου των πρακτικών μιας δίκης), τόσο στην περίπτωση της συνέντευξης Mc Intyre όσο και στην περίπτωση της δίκης Γρηγορόπουλου, η πολιτική ταυτότητα των μαρτύρων/ συνεντευξιαζόμενου αποτέλεσε διαρκές διακύβευμα. Με την προσπάθεια κατασκευής αντιεξουσιαστικών, και άρα αξιωματικά παραβατικών, ταυτοτήτων, μέσω των ερωτηματικών εκφορών που επιλέχθηκαν, επιχειρήθηκε ο επιμερισμός των ευθυνών ανάμεσα σε θύτες και θύματα. Αυτός στηρίχθηκε σε εναλλακτικές αφηγηματικές κατασκευές της βίαιης συμπεριφοράς των ερωτώμενων, κατά κύριο λόγο μέσω των βεβαιωτικών διακειμενικών αναφορών σε πολιτικές ταυτότητες και ενδεχόμενες ενέργειες (που εισάγουν ή εμπεριέχονται στην ερωτηματική εκφορά), τις οποίες οι συμμετέχοντες καλούνται είτε να επιβεβαιώσουν είτε να αρνηθούν. Τόσο ο Mc Intyre όσο και οι αντίδικοι στη δίκη Γρηγορόπουλου, στις απαντητικές τους συνεισφορές, αντιστάθηκαν σθεναρά στα προτεινόμενα σενάρια και τις συνεπαγωγές τους, κατά περίπτωση με τρόπο απειλητικό για το πρόσωπο του συνομιλητή τους.

Όπως διαφαίνεται από τα κείμενα που εξετάστηκαν, η πολιτική δημοσιογραφική συνέντευξη και η διαδικασία εξέτασης μαρτύρων στην ποινική δίκη παρουσιάζουν σημαντικές αναλογίες ως προς τη δομή και τη στόχευση του παραγόμενου λόγου. Τα συνομιλιακά ζεύγη των ερωταπαντήσεων αποτελούν το βασικό μέσο συγκρότησής τους και στα δύο θεσμικά περιβάλλοντα. Εντοπίζονται αναλογίες σε ότι αφορά τα συνομιλιακά δικαιώματα των συμμετεχόντων. Και οι δημοσιογράφοι, όπως και οι συνήγοροι, θέτουν τις ερωτήσεις τις οποίες οι συνεντευξιαζόμενοι και οι μάρτυρες καλούνται να απαντήσουν. Και στα δύο περιβάλλοντα υπάρχει ελάχιστη δυνατότητα αντιστροφής αυτών των ρόλων. Σε ότι αφορά τα συγκεκριμένα περιστατικά, τα οποία συνδέονται με ιδεολογικές αντιπαραθέσεις, στερεότυπα και ταυτότητες νομιμότητας/ παραβατικότητας, δημοσιογράφος και συνήγορος επιχειρούν μέσω των ερωτηματικών τους εκφορών την κατασκευή εναλλακτικών σεναρίων και ταυτοτήτων για τους θεσμικούς συνομιλητές τους. Παρότι τα δύο είδη δημόσιου λόγου διαφέρουν σημαντικά ως προς την πλαisiώση και τη συγκρότησή τους, η ανάλυση των παραγόμενων κειμένων επιβεβαιώνει την αρχική υπόθεση για αναλογίες και αναδεικνύει την ανάγκη περεταίρω συγκριτικής ανάλυσης ώστε να μελετηθούν ζητήματα που αφορούν τη συγκρότηση και τη λειτουργία του δημόσιου λόγου στο πλαίσιο των δημοσιογραφικών και δικανικών πρακτικών. Ζητούμενο επίσης, είναι η κριτική προσέγγιση των κειμένων που αποτελούν όχι μόνο το παραγόμενο αλλά και το μέσο υλοποίησης των θεσμών που τα πλαisiώνουν.

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Παράρτημα 1

Η συνέντευξη του Jody Mc Intyre στο BBC⁵

1. J: ...And we can speak to Jody Mc Intyre now who is in our Westminster studio. Good evening to you.
2. M: Good evening.
3. J: Could you just explain what happened to you?
4. M: Well during the demonstration I was attacked by and pulled out of my wheelchair by the police on two occasions. The footage that you have shown is of the second incident. One of the policemen who had dragged me down the road in the first incident obviously recognized me, came running over, pushed me out of my wheelchair onto the road and then dragged me across the road=
5. J: =Ok. The police say you haven't made any kind of complaint. So why not?
6. M: I haven't made a complaint yet but I'm in contact with a lawyer and I will be doing so.
7. J: We(II) it's been a few days since this happened. Why-why haven't you complained before?
8. M: Because I wanted to consider my options before taking that step.
9. J: E, there's a suggestion that you were rolling towards the police in your wheelchair-e. I-is that true?
10. M: I think to try and justify a police officer pulling a disabled person out of a wheelchair and dragging them across the co-concrete road is quite ridiculous and I'm surprised that you've just tried to do so.
11. J: So are you saying that's not true. You were not wheeling yourself towards the police?
12. M: Well I can't physically use my wheelchair myself. My brother was pushing me. I think it's quite obvious from the footage that I was one hundred per cent not a threat to anyone.
13. J: A: In the Observer newspaper you were described as a cyber radical and you were quoted as saying that you want to build a revolutionary movement and that can only happen through direct action on the streets. Do-do you classify yourself as a revolutionary?
14. M: I don't classify myself as anything but I think we all have the right to fight against what the government are trying to do. They are trying to create a two <gear> education system whereby only the rich will be able to afford a university education. That is something that I think we should all be fighting against.
15. J: Now the police have said that they have referred this incident to the Directorate of Professional Standards. Em-what's your reaction to that?
16. M: I don't have a reaction but I will be making a complaint in the near future. I would say it's very important not to see this as an isolated incident. This is the police's role at demonstrations. To incite and provoke violence. They've done it in the past and they are continuing to do it now. I'm not the real victim here. The real victims are the students like Alfie Meadows who is in hospital within an inch of his life after a policeman struck him on the head with a [<xx>]=
17. J: [But I-but I]
18. M: =and he needed emergency brain surgery. Now imagine if it was Prince Charles or Camilla or a police officer who had been within an inch of their life. [How that//]
19. J: [But I have] to say I was- I was- I was in Parliament Square covering that demonstration and I saw protesters throwing a-a-lots of rock at the police throwing missiles various missiles a-at the police. Were you throwing anything at all at the police during that day?
20. M: I wasn't throwing anything at the police during that day or during any other demonstration. But what is clear is that the media are now trying to distract the public from the real issue. The real issue is the cuts the government are makin [and not <xxx>//]
21. J: [Were you were you] harmed were you harmed in any way well in that incident with the police [on that day?]
22. M: [Well not] in that/ if-if the incident that has been shown. There is also another incident around forty five minutes earlier when a police officer struck me with a <baton> on my left shoulder and yes that did cause some injury.

⁵ Σύμβολα απομαγνητοφώνησης: /: self-repair, //: interruption, (:): pause, ((): extralinguistic information, underlined segments: high pitch, =: latching, []: simultaneous speech, <x>: unintelligible segment

23. J: And why then do you think, if you are saying that the police picked on you twice, why do you think they did?
24. M: I have no idea. I-I mean to make one suggestion, I think, in the second incident at least, I think there's a clear element of trying to provoke other protesters into violence. Certainly, I see myself as equal to anyone else but I do understand that I could be perceived as more vulnerable, so I think there was an element of trying to provoke violence from other [people]
25. J: [And you] didn't shout anything provocative or throw anything that would have induced the police to do that to you?
26. M: Do you really think a person with cerebral paralysis in a wheelchair can pose a threat to a police officer who is armed with weapons?
27. J: But you do say that you-you are a revolutionary.
28. M: Tha-that's a word. That's not physical action that I've taken against the police officer. That's a word that you are quoting from a website. But I'm asking you. Do you think I could've in any way posed a physical threat from the seat of my wheelchair to an army of police officers armed with weapons. This whole line of argument is absolutely ludicrous because you are blaming the victims of violence for that violence. In fact it reminds me a lot of the way the BBC report on the Pa-palestinian conflict [wher//]
29. J: [When] when are you gonna make your complaint to the police then?
30. M: I will be making my complaint very shortly. In the near future.
31. J: Ts. Ok. Jody Mc Intyre thank you very much for your time. Thanks for talking to us this evening.
32. M: Thank you.

Παράρτημα 2

Αποσπάσματα πρακτικών της δίκης Γρηγορόπουλου

(1) Δηλώσεις Κούγια

Για μας ο Ρωμανός δεν έρχεται γιατί συνεργάζεται με επικίνδυνο κύκλωμα που έχει καθορίσει από την αρχή την τύχη αυτής της δίκης. Σας αναφέρω ότι Μ. Παρασκευή έφθασε στο γραφείο μου μια επιστολή από δικηγόρο Αθηνών που μας έδινε συγκλονιστικά στοιχεία που αφορούν τους Ζέρβα, Παπαδημητρίου Λίλα, Τσελέντη, Τσιμπιζίδη, τον Ρωμανό και το θύμα. Μας οδήγησε σε ιστοσελίδες και βρήκαμε ότι οι ανωτέρω είναι μέλη οργάνωσης που λέγεται Νεολαία Κομμουνιστικής Απελευθέρωσης.

(σελ. 229/1310 των υπ. αριθ. 14-73/2010 του Μ.Ο.Δ. Αμφισσας)

(2) Δηλώσεις Κωνσταντοπούλου/ Κούγια

Έλαβε το λόγο η συνήγορος πολιτικής αγωγής Ζωή Κωνσταντοπούλου η οποία δήλωσε τα εξής: Ζητάμε να αναφέρει ο συνήγορος υπεράσπισης τον συντάκτη των κειμένων αυτών και την πηγή των συγκεκριμένων εντύπων, καθόσον αυτά που προσκομίζει είναι ανώνυμες καταχωρήσεις, όποιος δε προσκομίζει τέτοια έγγραφα, ένα χρόνο μετά το θάνατο του Αλέξανδρου, αυτό το οποίο επιχειρεί, είναι να μεταφέρει αντιπαράσταση αντιεξουσιαστών με την αστυνομία. Ήταν αντιεξουσιαστής ο Αλέξανδρος Γρηγορόπουλος; Αν τον θεωρεί αντιεξουσιαστή η υπεράσπιση να μας το πει.

Έλαβε το λόγο ο συνήγορος υπεράσπισης Αλέξιος Κούγιας ο οποίος δήλωσε: Για μας ο Αλέξανδρος Γρηγορόπουλος ήταν αναρχικός, το είπαμε αυτό από την πρώτη μέρα της δίκης.

(σελ. 376-377/1310 των υπ. αριθ. 14-73/2010 του Μ.Ο.Δ. Αμφισσας)

(3) Κατάθεση Βαλιάντζα

Φεύγοντας, ακολουθούσα τον Κουζέλη προς τα συμβατικά αυτοκίνητα για να πάμε στη ΓΑΔΑ να καταθέσω, έγινε ένα επεισόδιο εκεί και ο Κουζέλης με άφησε χωρίς να πει τίποτα. Δεν με πήραν μαζί τους, με άφησαν εκεί και έφυγαν. Τηλεφώνησα στην δικηγόρο Κούρτοβικ και της είπα τι έγινε και ότι θέλω να καταθέσω αυτά που είδα, γιατί οι αστυνομικοί με παράτησαν και έφυγαν και να κανονίσει να πάω να καταθέσω στον ανακριτή. Δεν έχω δει καν την δικηγόρο Κούρτοβικ, δεν την γνωρίζω προσωπικά. Ζήτησα το τηλέφωνό της και μου το έδωσαν.

(σελ. 53/1310 των υπ. αριθ. 14-73/2010 του Μ.Ο.Δ. Αμφισσας)

Ο συνήγορος υπεράσπισης του πρώτου κατ/νου Αλέξιος Κούγιας αφού έλαβε το λόγο δήλωσε: Προσφεύγω στο Δικαστήριο κατά της διάταξης της διευθύνουσας (Πρόεδρου) που μου απαγόρευσε την ερώτηση, γιατί ήλθε η μάρτυρας σε επαφή με την δικηγόρο Κούρτοβικ, και υποβάλω προς το δικαστήριο αίτημα, όπως μου επιτραπεί η ερώτηση προς την μάρτυρα, για το ποιος της έδωσε το τηλέφωνο της δικηγόρου Κούρτοβικ, αν γνωρίζει ότι η δικηγόρος Κούρτοβικ είναι συνήγορος του Ρωμανού, αν γνωρίζει ότι αυτή είναι δικηγόρος των αντιεξουσιαστών.
(σελ. 54/1310 των υπ. αριθ. 14-73/2010 του Μ.Ο.Δ. Άμφισσας)

(4) Κατάθεση Τσελέντη (ετών 16)

Ποιο είναι το σημαντικό, το γοητευτικό, που παιδιά της ηλικίας μου από άλλες περιοχές της Αθήνας, τη Φιλοθέη, το Ψυχικό, έρχονται εκεί στα Εξάρχεια και κάθονται σε μια τέτοια εσοχή που μου δείχνετε, δεν μπορώ να καταλάβω στην ερώτησή σας, δεν χρειάζεται να σε γοητεύει κάτι για να πας εκεί. Δεν ξέρω τι τα τραβάει εκεί. Στη Τζαβέλα δεν υπάρχει μαγαζί που να πουλάει σάντουιτς, υπάρχουν στη Κωλέτη και Μεσολογγίου.
(σελ. 207/1310 των υπ. αριθ. 14-73/2010 του Μ.Ο.Δ. Άμφισσας)

(5) Κατάθεση Τσιμπιτζίδη (ετών 18)

Δεν έχω συμμετάσχει σε αντιεξουσιαστικές εκδηλώσεις, ούτε εγώ ούτε ο αδελφός μου. Ζω σε μια συγκροτημένη οικογένεια.
(σελ. 75/1310 των υπ. αριθ. 14-73/2010 του Μ.Ο.Δ. Άμφισσας)

ΣΗΜΕΙΩΤΙΚΕΣ ΔΙΑΔΙΚΑΣΙΕΣ ΣΤΗ ΔΙΔΑΚΤΙΚΗ ΠΡΟΣΕΓΓΙΣΗ ΚΑΤΗΓΟΡΙΩΝ ΜΗ ΚΟΙΝΗΣ ΓΝΩΣΗΣ: ΟΡΙΣΜΟΙ ΚΑΙ ΤΑΞΙΝΟΜΗΣΕΙΣ ΓΕΩΜΕΤΡΙΚΩΝ ΣΧΗΜΑΤΩΝ ΑΠΟ ΠΑΙΔΙΑ ΝΗΠΙΑΓΩΓΕΙΟΥ

Παρασκευή Γιαννίση
Νηπιαγωγός, Υ.Π.Δ.Β.Μ.Θ.
(Msc ΤΕΕΑΠΗ Πατρών)
giannisi@sch.gr

Μαριάννα Κονδύλη
Αναπληρώτρια Καθηγήτρια,
Πανεπιστήμιο Πατρών
kondyli@upatras.gr

ABSTRACT

In this paper, some findings of a research concerning Greek kindergarteners' attempts to define and classify geometric shapes are presented. Following the sociosemiotic perspective of Systemic Functional Linguistics, according to which the use of linguistic resources and children's previous knowledge enact meaning systems assumed to be relevant for specific learning contexts, we set up a learning context related to literacy practices such as the production of a book about geometric shapes addressed to other preschool children.

The analysis of dialogues between children and their preschool teacher focus upon verbalization of the semantic organization of geometric shapes. By these means, our data illustrate semantic options and strategies employed by children in order to carry out the task. Moreover, some issues about semantic organization of school uncommonsense knowledge categories become more transparent.

Keywords: classifications, definitions, geometric shapes, kindergarten, semantic organization, systemic functional linguistics.

1. Εισαγωγή

Σύμφωνα με την κοινωνιοσημειωτική προσέγγιση της συστημικής λειτουργικής γλωσσολογίας (ΣΛΓ), οι ορισμοί και οι ταξινομήσεις σε πεδία μη κοινής (uncommonsense) / εκπαιδευτικής γνώσης (Painter, 1999b), όπως είναι στην περίπτωση μας οι κατηγοριοποιήσεις γεωμετρικών σχημάτων, συνιστούν «ειδικές μορφές γλωσσικής σημείωσης» (Hasan, 2005) που συνδέονται με τη γλώσσα του σχολείου και τη συγκρότηση των λόγων των αντικείμενων της σχολικής μάθησης (Halliday, 1999, 2000).

Σε αντιδιαστολή, με την καθημερινή/κοινή (commonsense) γνώση, που κατακτάται σε καθημερινά πλαίσια διεπίδρασης παιδιών και ενηλίκων, η εκπαιδευτική (uncommonsense) γνώση είναι συστηματική, απομακρυσμένη από την άμεση εμπειρία, στηριγμένη στη σημειωτική παράσταση και τη γραπτή γλώσσα, παρουσιασμένη στο πλαίσιο ενός θέματος, ταξινομητική κ.ο.κ. Σημειωτικές διεργασίες, επομένως, που εμπλέκονται στην εξοικείωση με ορισμούς και με κριτήρια ταξινόμησης, στην ενασχόληση με τα κείμενα, στον προσανατολισμό στο νόημα, συνιστούν την αναγκασία «γλωσσική προετοιμασία» των παιδιών για τη μετάβαση από την καθημερινή στην εκπαιδευτική γνώση (Painter (1996, 1999a, 1999b, 2007· για μία εφαρμογή σε ελληνικά δεδομένα από σχολική τάξη νηπιαγωγείου, βλ. Kondyli & Lykou, 2008).

Στην έρευνά μας αξιοποιούμε το παραπάνω μεθοδολογικό υπόβαθρο, εφαρμόζοντάς το σε μια περιοχή εκπαιδευτικής γνώσης (γεωμετρικά σχήματα). Σκοπός είναι να αναδειχθούν όψεις της ανάπτυξης μορφών γλωσσικής σημείωσης, όπως οι ορισμοί και οι ταξινομήσεις γεωμετρικών σχημάτων, οι οποίες προϋποθέτουν γλωσσικές διεπιδράσεις σε κατάλληλα νοηματοδοτημένα πλαίσια δράσης προσανατολισμένα στη σημασία.

Η οργάνωση της παρούσας διερεύνησης ακολούθησε την κοινωνιοσημειωτική θέση για τη συστηματική και διαλεκτική σχέση ανάμεσα σε πλαίσιο-νόημα-λεξικογραμματική (Hasan, 2005) με τις εξής υποθέσεις εργασίας:

- Δεδομένης της σχέσης πραγμάτωσης μεταξύ σημασιολογικών και λεξικογραμματικών επιλογών, η ανάλυση των γλωσσικών διαλόγων, ιδίως οι πραγματώσεις των ίδιων των παιδιών, μας επιτρέπει να εξετάσουμε τις *σημασιολογικές επιλογές* των παιδιών στο υπό διερεύνηση πεδίο (σημασιολογική οργάνωση ενός πεδίου μη κοινής γνώσης).
- Σ' ένα σημασιολογικό σύστημα υπό διαμόρφωση, τα παιδιά αναμένεται να αξιοποιήσουν νοήματα που έχουν συγκροτήσει με βάση τις *πρότερες* (σχολικές και μη) *εμπειρίες* τους.
- Με δεδομένο ότι η ίδια η *περίσταση* προσανατολίζει σε συγκεκριμένες επιλογές, η οργάνωση του μαθησιακού πλαισίου ευνοεί την κατάλληλη νοηματοδότηση της περιστασης από τα παιδιά και, επομένως, τις λεξικογραμματικές επιλογές τους.

Βασικό, λοιπόν, κορμό του ερευνητικού-διδασκτικού μας σχήματος και των σχετικών δραστηριοτήτων αποτέλεσε η οργάνωση ενός νοηματοδοτημένου πλαισίου δράσης ως συνθήκη για την αναπλαισίωση της προϋπάρχουσας γνώσης των παιδιών γύρω από τις κατηγορίες γεωμετρικών σχημάτων. Οι δραστηριότητες οργανώθηκαν από τη νηπιαγωγό-ερευνήτρια ως μέρος του προγράμματος της τάξης της. Η προσέγγιση των γεωμετρικών εννοιών τοποθετήθηκε σ' ένα σεναριακό πλαίσιο δράσης: την *παραγωγή βιβλίων* για τα γεωμετρικά σχήματα, που θα αποστέλλονταν σε άλλα σχολεία που δεν διέθεταν τους οικονομικούς πόρους να τα προμηθευτούν, δράση που προτάθηκε με αφορμή την παγκόσμια ημέρα παιδικού βιβλίου. Η πραγμάτωση ορισμών και ταξινόμησεων εντάχθηκε στο έργο, που συμπεριέλαβε τόσο ένα αίτημα γλωσσικής διαπραγμάτευσης και συμφωνίας μεταξύ των μελών των ομάδων για τον τρόπο ταξινόμησης του δοθέντος υλικού όσο και ένα αίτημα πιο αποπλαισιωμένου λόγου προκειμένου να συγκροτηθούν τα συνοδευτικά πληροφοριακά κείμενα των κατηγοριών σχημάτων που διαμόρφωσαν τα παιδιά.

Τα νήπια της τάξης (12 κορίτσια και 6 αγόρια ηλικίας 5:6 - 6:3 ετών) εργάστηκαν μαζί με τη νηπιαγωγό σε μικρές ομάδες των 3 ατόμων (2 κορίτσια – 1 αγόρι), εντός του χώρου του σχολείου και του προβλεπόμενου διδακτικού ωραρίου των ολοήμερων νηπιαγωγείων στο διάστημα Απριλίου-Μαΐου του σχολικού έτους 2008-9. Η συλλογή του υλικού πραγματοποιήθηκε με βιντεοσκόπηση των συναντήσεων κάθε ομάδας και συμπληρωματικά μαγνητοφώνηση όλων των δραστηριοτήτων. Κάθε ομάδα παιδιών ανέλαβε την παραγωγή ενός βιβλίου για τα γεωμετρικά σχήματα, καθώς και ενός ένθετου παιχνιδιού με κάρτες σχημάτων. Το είδος του βιβλίου προσδιορίστηκε εξ αρχής ως βιβλίο «γνώσεων» (ενημερωτικό φυλλάδιο/εγχειρίδιο «βασικών όρων»), που θεωρήθηκαν προαπαιτούμενες για την εκτέλεση από τους παραλήπτες του βιβλίου του ένθετου παιχνιδιού με τις κάρτες. Το συνολικό έργο επιμερίστηκε στις διαδοχικές συναντήσεις κάθε ομάδας σε ενότητες δραστηριοτήτων με συνέχεια και σύνδεση μεταξύ τους ως προς το πλαίσιο νοηματοδότησης του έργου (παραγωγή βιβλίου) και ως προς το βαθμό απομάκρυνσης από την υλική βάση του έργου (από τη χειρωνακτική ταξινόμηση των σχημάτων έως την περιγραφή τους). Οι γενικοί στόχοι των επιμέρους έργων κάθε συνάντησης εξεζητούνταν στην αρχή της συνάντησης. Η νηπιαγωγός, σε ρόλο συντονίστριας, συμμετείχε στη συζήτηση θέτοντας ανοιχτές και καταρχάς γενικές ερωτήσεις σε συνάρτηση με το στόχο κάθε δραστηριότητας, ενθαρρύνοντας κυρίως τη συζήτηση μεταξύ των μελών κάθε ομάδας.

Το έργο κάθε ομάδας περιλάμβανε συνοπτικά τις παρακάτω δραστηριότητες:

A] Ταξινόμηση επίπεδων γεωμετρικών σχημάτων για επικόλληση στις σελίδες του υπό διαμόρφωση βιβλίου μετά από συζήτηση και συμφωνία σε επίπεδο ομάδας (36 μη πανομοιότυπα χάρτινα γεωμετρικά σχήματα ίδιου χρώματος και υφής, με παραλλαγές για τους εκπροσώπους κάθε κατηγορίας σε σχέσης με το μέγεθος και επιμέρους ιδιότητες).

B] Προσθήκη γραπτών κειμένων: Απόδοση «τίτλων» για κάθε κατηγορία σχήματος (*κατηγοριοποίηση με κατονομασία*) για τις ανάγκες της σελιδοποίησης και παραγωγή πληροφοριακών κειμένων για τον αναγνώστη (*ορισμοί, περιγραφές των κατηγοριοποιήσεων τους*), τα οποία υπαγορεύονταν στη νηπιαγωγό.

Γ] Κατασκευή συνοδευτικού ένθετου παιχνιδιού με κάρτες («τράπουλα» 27 καρτών με 4 βασικά σχήματα: κύκλος, τρίγωνο, τετράγωνο, παραλληλόγραμμο) μετά την ολοκλήρωση της Β φάσης και μιας δειγματικής εκτέλεσής του από τις ομάδες εργασίας στην ολομέλεια της τάξης.

Δ] Παρουσίαση των βιβλίων των ομάδων με τη συμμετοχή των παιδιών του άλλου τμήματος της σχολικής μονάδας και παιχνίδι **περιγραφής** (επιλογή κάρτας από τράπουλα σχημάτων και περιγραφή απεικονιζόμενου σχήματος από ένα νήπιο κάθε φορά για την «ανεύρεση» του από τα υπόλοιπα παιδιά).

2. Εργαλεία ανάλυσης

Στην ανάλυση των γλωσσικών διαλόγων, που αποτέλεσαν το σώμα των δεδομένων μας, αξιοποιήσαμε πτυχές του μοντέλου της συστημικής λειτουργικής γλωσσολογίας (ΣΛΓ) και ειδικότερα ορισμένες από

τις κατηγορίες ανάλυσης των σχετικών ερευνών της Painter (1996, 1999a, 1999b). Μολονότι οι έρευνες της Painter αφορούν αφενός μικρότερες ηλικίες (2,5-5 ετών) και αφετέρου πιο άτυπα πλαίσια μάθησης (οικογενειακός γραμματισμός), τα συγκεκριμένα εργαλεία αποδεικνύονται ιδιαίτερα χρήσιμα για την ανάλυση των σημειωτικών διεργασιών σε διαφορετικά πλαίσια, και συγκεκριμένα για τους τρόπους γλωσσικής εδραίωσης περιοχών μη κοινής γνώσης στο νηπιαγωγείο.

Ειδικότερα εξετάστηκαν οι *συσχετιστικές προτάσεις* που πραγματώνουν σχέσεις *ταυτοποίησης* (identifying) και *απόδοσης χαρακτηριστικών* (attributive) στις οντότητες του κόσμου (Halliday, 2004). Εκτός από τα συσχετιστικά *ρήματα/διαδικασίες*, που ορίζουν τις συσχετιστικές προτάσεις, οι *μετέχοντες* (participants) και τα *περιστασιακά στοιχεία* (επιρρηματικά σύνολα ή προθετικές φράσεις) φάνηκαν χρήσιμα για να αναδειχτούν ζητήματα κατονομασίας και σημασιολογικής οργάνωσης των κατηγοριών, δηλαδή της ερμηνείας και παράστασης της πραγματικότητας άρρηκτα συνυφασμένης με το περικείμενό τους.

Οι χρήσεις των ονομάτων (μετεχόντων) από τα παιδιά εξετάζονται σε συνάρτηση με τη δομή του Ονοματικού Συνόλου (ΟΣ) (πρβλ. Painter, 1999a: 82), τα είδη αναφοράς, τις λεξικές σχέσεις (υπωνυμία, μερωνυμία κτλ. -βλ. ενδ. Unsworth, 2001: 66-68). Για την εξέταση της δομής του ΟΣ λήφθηκαν υπόψη οι τροποποιητές (modifiers): ταξινομητές (classifiers) και προσδιοριστές (qualifiers). Οι ταξινομητές τυπικά είναι προ-τροποποιητές και στα ελληνικά πραγματώνονται συνήθως με χρήση επιθέτων, ενώ οι προσδιοριστές, ως μετα-τροποποιητές, εγκιβωτίζονται στο ΟΣ μια πρόταση ή μια φράση ενσωματώνοντας περιστασιακά στοιχεία (Halliday 2004: 319-324).

Οι τρόποι αναφοράς ως μεταβλητή της κειμενικής οργάνωσης μπορούν να διακριθούν σε *φορικές* (phoric) και *μη φορικές* (non phoric) (Martin, 1992: 98). Τα φορικά ΟΣ σημασιοδοτούν μια συγκεκριμένη ταυτότητα του μετέχοντα, με τη χρήση συγκεκριμένων δεικτικών στοιχείων. Τα μη φορικά εισάγουν μετέχοντες με χρήση π.χ. αόριστων άρθρων και αντωνυμιών, αλλά και του ουσιαστικού στον πληθυντικό χωρίς πρόσθετους δεικτικούς όρους. Η ταυτότητα του μετέχοντα μπορεί να προσδιορίζεται βάσει της παραπομπής στο ευρύτερο πολιτισμικό πλαίσιο, στο πλαίσιο της συγκεκριμένης περίπτωσης ή στο ίδιο το κείμενο. Συνεπώς, συνδέονται με το βαθμό αφαίρεσης από τον πλαισιωμένο στον αποπλαισιωμένο λόγο.

Ειδικότερα για τον λόγο των παιδιών, η χρήση γενικής αναφοράς χωρίς την παρουσία δεικτικών στοιχείων σηματοδοτεί μια πιο συνειδητή ενασχόληση με την ταξινομική οργάνωση των κατηγοριών που υπερβαίνει την πλαισιωμένη κατηγοριοποίηση (ταξινόμηση συγκεκριμένων δειγμάτων).

Επιπλέον αναλύθηκαν και υπερπροτασιακά δεδομένα, ειδικότερα σε συνάρτηση με τους ορισμούς. Δεδομένου και του ηλικιακού φάσματος, ως πραγμάτωση ορισμών θεωρήσαμε τις απόπειρες των παιδιών να προσδιορίσουν/ταυτοποιήσουν μια κατηγορία συγκροτώντας, ταυτόχρονα, τα κριτήρια που την ταυτοποιούν. Σε επίπεδο πραγμάτωσης τέτοιου είδους απόπειρες από τα παιδιά του δείγματός μας συνδέονται με γλωσσικούς δείκτες γενίκευσης και παραγωγής αποπλαισιωμένου λόγου με τη χρήση για παράδειγμα αόριστων δεικτικών ή ποσοδεικτικών στοιχείων, την εισαγωγή μη φορικών ΟΣ, τον εγκιβωτισμό πληροφοριών. Συχνά στο υλικό μας εμφανίστηκε *χρονικοϋποθετικός λόγος* με την ενσωμάτωση δομών αιτιότητας και υποθετικού λόγου σε συμπλέγματα συσχετιστικών προτάσεων (με χρήση αιτιολογικών ή χρονικοϋποθετικών συνδέσμων όπως *γιατί, άμα, αν, όταν*).

Η σημασία της λογικο-σημασιολογικής σχέσης της αιτιότητας σε προτάσεις όπως αυτές που αφορούν καταρχήν τη συγκρότηση του *Πεδίου* (αναπαράσταση εμπειρίας), έγκειται στο ότι η απόδοση αιτιώδους σχέσης (δήλωση/αξιολόγηση πιθανότητας ή υποχρέωσης) υπονοεί την ισχύ της όχι μόνο στη συγκεκριμένη αλλά σε κάθε ανάλογη περίπτωση (πρβλ. Painter, 1999a: 106-107, 146-148, 173-175).

3. Ανάλυση

Τα παραδείγματα από το υλικό των γλωσσικών διαλόγων συνοψίζουν:

- α) τους κυριότερους τρόπους νοηματοδότησης των κατηγοριών γεωμετρικών σχημάτων από τις επιμέρους ομάδες παιδιών σε συνάρτηση με το έργο ταξινόμησης
- β) τους τρόπους παραγωγής ορισμών, σε συνάρτηση με γλωσσικούς δείκτες γενίκευσης και αποπλαισιωμένου λόγου.

Στην αρίθμηση των παραδειγμάτων, σε παρένθεση καταγράφεται η ομάδα παιδιών (Ομ1, Ομ2 κλπ) και η φάση υλοποίησης του έργου (Α, Β, Γ, Δ). Στους διαλόγους τα νήπια σημειώνονται με ένα αρχικό και η νηπιαγωγός με τα αρχικά «Νηπ.». Σε πλάγιες αγκύλες σημειώνονται πληροφορίες για το συμφραστικό πλαίσιο, και με τους χαρακτήρες (...) και (.) η παράλειψη κειμένου και η παύση στο λόγο αντίστοιχα.

3.1 Ταξινομήσεις και σημασιολογική οργάνωση κατηγοριών γεωμετρικών σχημάτων

Σύμφωνα με τη ΣΛΓ, οι κατηγορίες και οι ταξινομίες αποτελούν κοινωνικές κατασκευές που συνεπάγονται επιλογές κριτηρίων για τη νοηματοδότηση της εμπειρίας σε συνάρτηση με ειδικότερους στόχους. Έτσι, οι στρατηγικές που υιοθέτησαν τα παιδιά είναι ιδιαίτερα ενδιαφέρουσες για τους τρόπους με τους οποίους αξιοποίησαν τόσο τους διαθέσιμους σημειωτικούς πόρους όσο και το ίδιο το μαθησιακό πλαίσιο.

Τα σημασιολογικά όρια των επιμέρους κατηγοριών γεωμετρικών σχημάτων και η ιεραρχική τους οργάνωση αποτέλεσαν αντικείμενο πολλών συζητήσεων εντός των ομάδων. Αν εξετάσουμε τις ονομασίες των σχημάτων που χρησιμοποίησαν τα παιδιά στις ταξινομήσεις τους (με μονολεκτική κατονομασία ή με συσχετιστικές προτάσεις), διαπιστώνουμε ότι κατηγοριοποιούν το υλικό χρησιμοποιώντας σε μεγάλο βαθμό τυπικές ονομασίες σχημάτων (π.χ., «κύκλος», «τρίγωνο», «τετράγωνο», «ρόμβος», «ορθογώνιο», «παράλληλόγραμμο»). Αξιοσημείωτη όμως είναι και η χρήση του όρου «στρογγυλά» ή «κύκλινα» για την απόδοση μιας κοινής ιδιότητας (καμπυλότητα) σε κύκλους και ελλείψεις (και ως ταυτοποιητικό χαρακτηριστικό διαβλεπόμενης υπερκατηγορίας –βλ. παραδ. 15-16), η συχνή απόδοση ομοιότητας ή ακόμη και η πρόταση ονομασίας των ελλείψεων ως «αβγά» (πρβλ. και *ωοειδές σχήμα*), καθώς και η ονομασία κάποιων τριγώνων ως «περύγια (του καρχαρία)» ή «πυραμίδα/-ες». Η χρήση οικείων όρων συνδέεται με το εγχείρημα των παιδιών να προσδιορίσουν κάποια από τα σχήματα του υλικού ως εκπροσώπους μιας διακριτής κατηγορίας ή υποκατηγορίας, της οποίας αγνοούν την πιο τυπική ονομασία. Έτσι, επέλεξαν τη συσχέτιση των συγκεκριμένων σχημάτων με κάποιες γνωστές οντότητες διαφορετικής τάξης, με κριτήριο το σχήμα ως κοινό γνώρισμα των συσχετιζόμενων αντικειμένων. Διασύνδεσαν, επομένως, διαφορετικά πλαίσια συμφραζομένων κατά την ενασχόλησή τους με το σχήμα ως ιδιότητα των αντικειμένων.

Ενδιαφέρον επίσης είναι ότι, όταν τα παιδιά αγνοούν ή ξεχνούν προσωρινά μια ονομασία ή έχουν αμφιβολίες για τον τρόπο ταξινόμησης κάποιων σχημάτων χρησιμοποιούν μεταγλωσσικές συσχετιστικές προτάσεις για να ταυτοποιήσουν κατηγορίες (πρβλ. και Kondyli & Lykou, 2008).

1. (Ομ2Β)

Μ.: Οι ρόμβοι είναι σαν χαρταετός (...) και δεν μοιάζει σαν τα άλλα σχήματα, αλλά μοιάζει με κάποιο που το λένε τετράγωνο.

2. (Ομ5Β)

Ξ.: Αυτά [σελ. με ορθογ. τρίγωνα], αυτά κάπου.. δεν τα θυμάμαι με τίποτα πώς τα λένε. (...)

Ξ.: Εγώ λέω να τα λένε πυραμίδα. [Στην Ε.] Εσύ;

Ε.: Έτσι είναι το περύγιο του καρχαρία. Μπορούμε να το ονομάσουμε περύγιο του καρχαρία.

Η επίγνωση της ύπαρξης τυπικών ονομάτων για τα σχήματα οδήγησε το ίδιο νήπιο και σε ευθεία ερώτηση προς τη νηπιαγωγό, που αντιμετωπίζεται από το παιδί ως φορέας της τυπικής γνώσης:

3. (Ομ5Α)

Νηπ.: Αυτά που βάζεις Ξ. μου τώρα, τι είναι; Τι είναι όλα αυτά;

Ξ.: Ρόμβος. Όχι..

Κυρία, πώς το λένε το σχήμα αυτό; Τσουκ-τσουκ-τσουκ-τσουκ
[σχηματίζει ένα φανταστικό τετράπλευρο]

Αξίζει, ακόμη, να σημειωθεί ότι ο όρος «**σχήμα** /-ατα» χρησιμοποιήθηκε από τα παιδιά σε διάφορες φάσεις ως σημασιολογική υπερκατηγορία των γεωμετρικών σχημάτων (πχ. σε όλους τους προτεινόμενους τίτλους των βιβλίων τους). Σχέσεις υπωνυμικού τύπου εμφανίζονται χαρακτηριστικά στην αρχή των προτεινόμενων κειμένων της Β' φάσης:

4. (Ομ4Β)

Ζ.: Το ορθογώνιο είναι σχήμα.

5. (Ομ1Β)

Φ.: Τα τετράγωνα είναι ένα σχήμα [[που έχει 4 γραμμές]] (...) [[που αν το γυρίσουμε κάπως αλλιώς γίνεται ρόμβος]].

3.1.1 Τα ονόματα σχημάτων ως ιδιότητες

Ενδιαφέρον έχει ωστόσο και η χρήση των κατηγορικών ονομάτων ως τροποποιητών (βλ. ενδ. παραδ. 6) του πράγματος (Thing). Αξιοποιώντας τους σημειωτικούς πόρους της καθημερινής γλώσσας (κατ' αναλογία, πιθανόν, και με τη συχνή στην καθομιλουμένη χρήση του επιθέτου τετράγωνος) τα παιδιά (παραδ. 6-7) μετατρέπουν την ονομασία του σχήματος σε επίθετο (τρίγωνος, τρίγωνη, κύκλινη, παραλληλόγραμμη). Στις διατυπώσεις αυτές είναι φανερό ότι τα παιδιά μιλούν για το σχήμα ως ιδιότητα του αντικειμένου.

6. (Ομ4Α)

Ζ.: Αυτή είναι η κύκλινη ομάδα.

7. (Ομ4Β)

Α.: [Κοιτάζοντας σελίδα σε βιβλίο γεωμετρικών σχημάτων] Η σημαία είναι παραλληλόγραμμη.

3.1.2 Καθημερινοί όροι ως τροποποιητές του σχήματος

Σε αρκετές περιπτώσεις, τα παιδιά επιχειρούν να εξειδικεύσουν το είδος του σχήματος χρησιμοποιώντας καθημερινούς όρους (στραβά, όρθιος, ξαπλωτός, κοντό, ανάποδο κλπ), που αφορούν συχνά τη χωρική τοποθέτησή του (βλ. ενδ. παραδ. 8-10). Μεγαλύτερη αμφισημία παρουσιάζει ο προσδιορισμός «στραβό/-ά», που στα δεδομένα μας χρησιμοποιείται από διαφορετικές ομάδες παιδιών για τις ελλείψεις, τα ορθογώνια τρίγωνα και τους ρόμβους, υπονοώντας κάποιες φορές μια προτυπική θεώρηση του σχήματος, σε συνάρτηση ενδεχομένως με τη συχνότερα εμφανιζόμενη μορφή και χωρική τοποθέτηση των σχημάτων στις συνήθεις σχολικές απεικονίσεις.

8. (Ομ3Β)

Κ.: Κυρία, εγώ έχω βρει. Αν τα κόψουμε εδώ τα ορθογώνια [δείχνει σε ένα παραλληλόγραμμο], θα γίνουν στραβά τρίγωνα. [το στραβά ταξινομητής στο τρίγωνο]

9. (Ομ1Α)

Τ.: Μπορεί.. άμα τα το γυρίσουμε έτσι, τι θα γίνει; [δείχνει ρόμβο]

Νηπ.: Δεν ξέρω, τι λέτε; Τι λέτε; Θα μας πει η Τ., που το σκέφτηκε..

Φ.: Είναι ρόμπο...είναι ένα ρόμβος.

Νηπ.: Τι είναι, τι είναι; [δεν άκουσε]

Τ.: Άμα το γυρίσουμε έτσι; [το στρέφει στο πλάι ώστε οι 2 παράλληλες να είναι οριζόντια]

Φ.: Ε, είναι στραβωμένο τετράγωνο.

10. (Ομ3Α)

Κ.: Κι έτσι [γυρίζει ρόμβο οριζόντια] είναι ξαπλωτός ρόμβος.

Μ.: Έτσι [κάθετο] είναι όρθιος ρόμβος, έτσι [οριζόντια] είναι ξαπλωτός.

3.2 Ορισμοί: δείκτες γενίκευσης και παραγωγής αποπλαισιωμένου λόγου

Σε επίπεδο γλωσσικής πραγμάτωσης, η ενασχόληση με τη σημασία των κατηγοριών, η γενίκευση και ο πιο αποπλαισιωμένος λόγος των παιδιών προκύπτει από τις διατυπώσεις των συσχετίσεων. Όπως ήταν αναμενόμενο, οι συσχετιστικές διαδικασίες εμφανίζονται συχνότερα εξαρτημένες από το εξωγλωσσικό πλαίσιο στην Α' φάση, όπου το έργο απαιτεί κυρίως υλική δράση με κριτήρια που συχνά παρέμειναν υπόρρητα. Έτσι, για παράδειγμα, στην Α' φάση η αναφορά του ονόματος (κύκλοι, τρίγωνα κλπ) παραπέμπει κατά βάση στο εξωγλωσσικό πλαίσιο (εξωφορική αναφορά για παρούσες οντότητες, ενδοφορική αναφορά για παρούσες οντότητες που έχουν προηγουμένως καταδειχθεί).

Ωστόσο, και σε αυτή τη φάση έχουμε ρητές διατυπώσεις που υποδηλώνουν μια πιο συνειδητή ενασχόληση με τα συγκεκριμένα σχήματα του υλικού ως μέλη ή χαρακτηριστικά δείγματα της κατηγορίας, όπως στο παράδειγμα 11.

11. (Ομ1Α)

Φ.: Έτσι είναι τα τρίγωνα. [Σηκώνει ψηλά ένα τρίγ. και το δείχνει ως δείγμα / εκπρόσωπο της ευρύτερης κατηγορίας]

<i>Έτσι</i>	<i>είναι</i>	<i>τα τρίγωνα</i>
<i>Φορέας:</i> Περιστασιακό επίρρημα τρόπου σε θέση μετέχοντα (Εξωφ. αναφορά)	<i>Συσχ. Διαδικασία:</i> Εντασιακή απόδοσης ιδιοτήτων	<i>Χαρακτηριστικό</i> (Τάξη)

Σε συσχετιστικές προτάσεις όπως αυτές, όπως αντίστοιχα και στα παραδείγματα που προαναφέρθηκαν με ρητή αναφορά στο *σχήμα*, τα παιδιά επιχειρούν την ταυτοποίηση των σχημάτων του υλικού ως μελών διακριτών κατηγοριών. Τέτοιου είδους διατυπώσεις ακόμη και αν δεν συνοδεύονται με κάποια εξειδίκευση των κριτηρίων ταξινόμησης εκφράζουν την απόπειρα των παιδιών να μιλήσουν με ένα πιο γενικευτικό και αποπλαισιωμένο τρόπο. Στους διαλόγους του υλικού μας αντίστοιχου τύπου ορισμοί πραγματώνονταν: α) με χρήση *γενικευμένων όρων* για τους μετέχοντες στις συσχετιστικές προτάσεις β) με χρήση του *ταυτοποιητικού ιδιο-ια* γ) με *εγκιβωτισμό* πληροφοριών στη δομή του ΟΣ δ) με *χρονικοϋποθετικές προτάσεις* για τη γενίκευση του περικειμένου.

3.2.1 Γενίκευση των μετεχόντων

Η γενίκευση των μετεχόντων συνδέεται με την εισαγωγή στο λόγο των παιδιών μη φορικών αναφορών. Έτσι, στο υλικό μας εμφανίζονται ονομασίες των σχημάτων που αναφέρονταν με γενικευμένο τρόπο (σε ενικό ή πληθυντικό) και προσδιορίζονταν από δείκτες όπως «*όλα*», «*μερικά*» «*όλο*», «*μόνο*», «*ίδιο/-ια*» ή αόριστα δεικτικά στοιχεία, όπως «*κάτι*», «*κάποιο/-α*», «*άλλο/-α*». Ενδεικτικά είναι τα παρακάτω παραδείγματα:

12. (Ομ2Β) Μ.: ***Το τρίγωνο** μοιάζει σαν **τις σκεπές**, έτσι, έτσι..*
[σχεδιάζει νοητό τρίγωνο]
13. (Ομ3Β) Κ.: *Μπορούμε να πούμε [τα ορθογώνια] **είναι πιο μακριά**.*
[χωρίς δείξη –το μακριά εδώ ως επίθετο]
14. (Ομ1Α) Κ.: ***Όλα** αυτά **είναι τρίγωνα**.*
[Σύνολο τριγώνων πριν την τοποθέτησή τους σε φάκελο]
[Κοινή ένταξη τριγώνων υλικού ως μέλη της κατηγορίας]
15. (Ομ1Α) Τ.: *Εγώ μαζεύω **όλα τα στρογγυλά**.*
16. (Ομ2Γ) Νηπ.: (...) Σ' αυτό το καλάθι έχουμε βάλει αυτά που θα φτιάξουμε για...
Ε.: *Για **όλα τα κύκλινα**.*
17. (Ομ1Α) [Σύνοψη ταξινομήσεων για τοποθέτηση ομαδοποιημένων σχημάτων σε φακέλους]
Φ.: *Λοιπόν, εδώ έχει **όλο** τετράγωνα. Σύμφωνοι; Ωραία;*
18. (Ομ2Β) Μ.: ***Μερικά** [παράθυρα] **είναι τετράγωνα**.*
19. (Ομ2Β) Μ.: *Ο κύκλος **είναι κάτι** που δεν έχει γωνίες και **είναι στρογγυλός** σαν τον ήλιο.*
[γενικός όρος *κάτι* και εγκιβωτισμένη πρόταση
[[που δεν έχει γωνίες]] σε θέση προσδιοριστή]

Η γενίκευση επιχειρείται μάλιστα κάποιες φορές με σαφή παραπομπή στο ευρύτερο πολιτισμικό πλαίσιο με χρήση υπαρκτικών ρημάτων (*υπάρχουν, συναντάμε*), παράλληλα με τους δείκτες *άλλα/όλα* που προαναφέρθηκαν. Ενδιαφέρον έχει εδώ η κειμενική χρήση του *και άλλα*, αλλά και η χρήση του γενικευμένου μετέχοντα *πράγματα*.

20. (Ομ5Β)
Ξ.: *Συναντάμε κι άλλα πράγματα, πυραμίδα, όλα τα πράγματα που 'ναι σ' αυτό το σχήμα [ενν. στο σχήμα τριγώνου].*

21. (Ομ6Β)

Α.: Υπάρχουν και άλλα τρίγωνα στον κόσμο, στον πλανήτη μας
(.) σαν το καπέλο το τρίγωνο ..

Γενικευμένες δηλώσεις εμφανίζονται επίσης με τον όρο «σχήμα/-ατα» σε θέση μετέχοντα και τροποποιητές όπως «άλλο/-α», «ίδια» (παραδ. 22-24). Οι διατυπώσεις στα παραδείγματα αυτά διαφοροποιούνται από αυτές που προαναφέρθηκαν στο κεφ. 3.1 σε σχέση με τη χρήση του όρου σχήμα/-ατα (υπωνυμική ένταξη στη σημασιολογική υπερκατηγορία σχήμα), καθώς αλλάζει η στόχευση των παραγόμενων συσχετίσεων. Εδώ η έμφαση στη σύγκριση και αντιπαραβολή των επιμέρους κατηγοριών οδήγησε σε διατυπώσεις όπου η ιδιότητα (σχήμα) γίνεται αντικείμενο προκειμένου να αντιπαραβληθεί η ταυτότητα των υπό σύζηση σχημάτων.

22. (Ομ2Β)

Νηπ.: Πείτε μου, για τους ρόμβους τι πρέπει να γράψω εδώ..

Μ.: Οι ρόμβοι είναι σαν χαρταετός

Νηπ.: [γράφοντας] οι ρόμβοι είναι σαν..

Γ.: ..σαν χαρταετός.

Μ.: ..και δεν μοιάζει σαν τα άλλα σχήματα,
αλλά μοιάζει με κάποιο που το λένε τετράγωνο.

23. (Ομ3Β)

Μ.: Αν το κόψουμε στη μέση [κύκλοι] θα γίνει ένα άλλο σχήμα.

24. (Ομ2Β)

Ε.: Έχουνε ίδιες γωνίες [ορθογώνια και τετράγωνα]

(...) όμως δεν είναι ίδια σχήματα.

3.2.2 Ταυτοποιητικό ίδιο-ια

Αξιοσημείωτη είναι η χρήση του ίδιο, -ια ως τροποποιητή στο σχήμα/-ατα (ή και στο πράγμα/-τα) για την ταυτοποίηση των κατηγοριών. Στα δεδομένα μας ο συγκεκριμένος τροποποιητής εμφανίζεται σε πραγματώσεις που απέβλεπαν κυρίως στην αντιπαραβολή διαφορετικών κατηγοριών σχημάτων με δηλώσεις κυρίως αρνητικές (βλ. και αρνητικό μόριο δεν) και συνοδεύονταν συνήθως με ρητές επεξηγήσεις με χρήση αιτιολογικών ή αντιθετικών συνδέσμων ή του επεξηγηματικού μορίου δηλαδή. Χαρακτηριστικές είναι οι διατυπώσεις στα παρακάτω παραδείγματα (βλ. και παραδ. 24):

25. (Ομ5Β)

Ξ.: Εγώ λέω μην τα βάλουμε μαζί [σύγκριση 3 οξυγόνων τριγώνων και 3 ορθογωνίων τριγώνων]. Εγώ δεν συμφωνώ, γιατί δεν είναι ίδια. Δηλαδή, το τρίγωνο έπρεπε να είχε λίγο πιο μεγάλη γραμμή, αλλά αυτό [ορθογώνιο σκαληνό] μοιάζει σαν του καρχαρία, το αυτό που έχει στην πλάτη του...

26. (Ομ1Α)

Νηπ.: Εδώ πέρα τι έχεις βάλει Κ, ποια σχήματα έχεις βάλει;

Κ.: Ε, τα τρίγωνα και τους ρόμβους [2 ομάδες τοποθετημένες πολύ κοντά].

Νηπ.: Θα τα κάνετε μια ομάδα ή χωριστές ομάδες;

Τ.: Μία.

Φ.: Χωριστές, χωριστές λέω εγώ. Δεν πάνε οι ρόμβοι με τα τρίγωνα.

Κ.: Πάνε! (...) Πάνε, πάνε, γιατί έχουμε... κι εδώ τσιμπάει, κι εδώ τσιμπάει.. κι εδώ είναι ίδιο.. [δείχνει διαδοχικά κορυφές ρόμβων και τριγώνων]

Φ.: Ναι, αλλά δεν πρέπει... ναι, αλλά αυτά δεν είναι ίδια!

27. (Ομ6Β)

Α.: Το τετράγωνο έχει τέσσερις γωνίες. Και το ορθογώνιο έχει τέσσερις,
αλλά είναι πιο μεγάλο, δεν έχουν το ίδιο ύψος.

28. (Ομ2Β)

Νηπ.: Ωραία, το παραλληλόγραμμο ταιριάζει με το τετράγωνο.

Για ποιο λόγο; Για πες μου.

Γ.: Γιατί έχει τέσσερις γωνίες, τέσσερις γωνίες.

Ε.: **Αλλά δεν είναι ίδιο σχήμα.**

29. (Ομ5Β)

[Συζήτηση για τίτλους σελιδοποιημένων σχημάτων]

Νηπ.: Θα τους δώσουμε ένα όνομα ή δύο διαφορετικά ονόματα;

Ε.: Ένα.

Νηπ.: ..Αφού τα βάλατε σε διαφορετικά χαρτόνια..

Ε.: Εδώ κύκλοι κι εδώ κύκλοι [2 σελ. με κύκλους]. Εγώ θέλω κύκλοι να βάλουμε εδώ, **δηλαδή να είναι ίδια ονόματα, γιατί βλέπω εγώ, γιατί είναι ίδιοι στρογγυλοί. Δεν είναι κάποιο διαφορετικό σχήμα. Δηλαδή αυτά** [ελλείψεις] **δεν είναι κύκλοι, μοιάζουν σαν αβγούλακια.**

30. (Ομ2Β)

Μ.: Εγώ λέω πως **δεν είναι και για ομάδα, γιατί** αυτό είναι έτσι και αυτό είναι έτσι [δείχνει περίγραμμα των 2 σχημάτων, τριγώνου και ρόμβου, με το χέρι της]. **Δηλαδή αυτό έχει 3 γωνίες.. αυτό έχει μία, δύο, τρεις, τέσσερις..** [μετράει δείχνοντας διαδοχικά γωνίες στα 2 σχήματα]

Ε.: Αυτό [δείχνει σε άλλο τρίγωνο] έχει μία, δύο, τρεις.

Μ.: Ναι, **δεν μπαίνουν στην ίδια ομάδα.**

3.2.3 Εγκιβωτισμός πληροφοριών

Απόπειρες παραγωγής αποπλαισιωμένου λόγου εμφανίζονται στο υλικό μας και με συμπλέγματα συσχετιστικών προτάσεων (παραδ. 31-32). Επιμέρους συσχετιστικές προτάσεις εγκιβωτίζονται στη δομή του ΟΣ αναπλαισιώνοντας τη γνώση για το σχήμα από οικείες περιστάσεις στο παρόν πλαίσιο – τη συζήτηση για το σχήμα. Στο παράδειγμα από την Ομάδα 6, η εγκιβωτισμένη πρόταση (ΕΠ) *[[που μοιάζει σαν τρίγωνο]]* συνιστά συσχετιστική πρόταση απόδοσης ιδιοτήτων που λειτουργεί ως προσδιοριστής του ονόματος (τυρί). Αντίστοιχα, οι φράσεις «*όπως κόβουμε στην τούρτα*», «*και όταν μοιάζει έτσι, μπορούμε να το τρώμε*» ενσωματώνουν στη δομή του ΟΣ (σε χαμηλότερο επίπεδο ιεραρχικής οργάνωσης) πληροφορίες από σχετικά συγκεκριμένα πλαίσια. Διαφορετική είναι η χρήση της ΕΠ *[[που μοιάζει σαν τη σκεπή]]* από την Ομάδα 5. Η ΕΠ λειτουργεί εδώ συμπληρωματικά στην πρόταση ταυτοποίησης της κατηγορίας σχήματος (μη φορική αναφορά) επεξηγώντας την έννοια μέσα από ένα παράδειγμα του σχήματος.

31. (Ομ6Β)

Α.: Το τρίγωνο μοιάζει σαν το (τέτοιο) τυρί *[[που μοιάζει σαν τρίγωνο]]*, *[[όπως κόβουμε στην τούρτα, και όταν μοιάζει έτσι μπορούμε να το τρώμε]]* (...).

32. (Ομ5Β)

Ε.: Είναι το τρίγωνο *[[που μοιάζει σαν ... τη σκεπή]]*.

Και η σκεπή είναι τρίγωνη.

3.2.4 Γενίκευση με χρονικοϋποθετικές προτάσεις

Στις πραγματώσεις των παιδιών εμφανίζεται και ένα μεγάλος αριθμός συσχετιστικών προτάσεων που διερευνούσαν τη διατήρηση ή τη μεταβολή της ταυτότητας του σχήματος σε συνάρτηση με το χωρικό προσδιορισμό του (αλλαγή θέσης/περιστροφή -παραδ. 33-38) ή τα δυνητικά παράγωγα από την τομή των σχημάτων (ανάλυση/σύνθεση σχήματος -παραδ. 39-42). Οι συσχετιστικές αυτές προτάσεις λεκτικοποιούν μια υπόθεση τοποθετώντας σε θέση μετέχοντα επιμέρους χρονικοϋποθετικές προτάσεις (ως συνθήκη ισχύος της συσχέτισης) θεμελιωμένες σε περιστασιακά στοιχεία. Οι χρονικοϋποθετικές προτάσεις εισάγονται συνήθως με τους συνδέσμους *αν, άμα, όταν* και σε κάποιες περιπτώσεις και με την αοριστολογική φράση *όπως και να* (πρβλ. Holton κ.ά. 1999: 424-425) και πραγματώνονται με ρήματα σε α' πληθυντικό ή β' ενικό (εγχείρημα γενίκευσης της υλικής διαδικασίας –*γυρίσουμε/ γυρίσεις, κόψουμε* κλπ). Η συσχετιστική διαδικασία πραγματώνεται με ρήματα όπως *είναι, γίνεται / θα γίνει* αλλά και με το τροπικό *μπορεί/-ούν (να γίνει/-ουν)* στις πραγματώσεις που αφορούσαν ειδικότερα τα νοητά παραγόμενα σχήματα (βλ. παραδ. ανάλυσης-σύνθεσης σχημάτων). Στις προτάσεις, επιπλέον, που δηλώνουν τη διατήρηση της ταυτότητας του σχήματος (παραδ. 33-35) εμφανίζονται και οι δείκτες *ακόμη, πάλι* (έμφαση στη διατήρηση ως συνέχεια, επανάληψη).

Αν και οι συσχετιστικές αυτές προτάσεις διατηρούν ένα βαθμό εξάρτησης από το πλαίσιο (βλ. πχ. περιστασιακά χώρου *έτσι*, *αλλιώς*), λόγω ενδεχομένως άγνοιας πιο εξειδικευμένων όρων για τη δήλωση των χωρικών σχέσεων, η δομή τους εκφράζει τη διερεύνηση της γενικευσιμότητας του πλαισίου από τα παιδιά, δηλώνοντας όχι μόνο το συναγόμενο στη συγκεκριμένη περίπτωση συμπέρασμα αλλά μια δυνητική συνθήκη. Τέτοιου τύπου προτάσεις συχνά άλλωστε διάσυνδεσαν δύο διαφορετικούς κατηγορικούς όρους σχήματος στην ίδια πρόταση, επιχειρώντας να εξειδικεύσουν το είδος συσχέτισής τους. Έτσι, για παράδειγμα η συσχέτιση τετραγώνων-ρόμβων απασχόλησε το σύνολο των ομάδων, διερευνήθηκε σε συνάρτηση κυρίως με *χωρικούς μετασχηματισμούς* και νοηματοδοτήθηκε κυρίως ως σχέση μεταβολής της ταυτότητας (παραδ. 36-38).

Στα παραδείγματα με υπογράμμιση σημειώνονται οι συσχετιζόμενες οντότητες (μετέχοντες - ονόματα σχημάτων) και με μαύρα γράμματα οι χρονικουποθετικές προτάσεις, που εδώ εντάσσονται στη δομή της πρότασης ως Δείγμα ή Φορέας για προτάσεις ταυτοποιητικές ή απόδοσης χαρακτηριστικών αντίστοιχα. Με μαύρα γράμματα σημειώνονται επίσης οι δείκτες *ακόμη/-α*, *πάλι* και το τροπικό *μπορεί*.

- Διατήρηση / μεταβολή ταυτότητας σε συνάρτηση με το χωρικό προσδιορισμό του σχήματος

33. (Ομ1Β)

Φ.: *Αν το γυρίσουμε έτσι το τρίγωνο* [περιστροφή σελ. με τρίγωνα], *γίνεται πάλι τρίγωνο*. (...)

Τ.: *Αμα το γυρίσουμε έτσι* [νέα περιστροφή σελ.], *θα είναι πάλι τρίγωνο*. (...)

Τ.: *Να, γράψε αυτό που είπαμε.*

Νηπ.: *Πες το.*

Τ.: *Αμα το γυρίσουμε κι έτσι, θα γίνει πάλι τρίγωνο.*

[[Αν/ Αμα το γυρίσουμε έτσι]] Τροποποιητής: ΕΠ Η περίπτωση ως συνθήκη				[το τρίγων ο]	γίνεται / θα είναι / θα γίνει	πάλι	τρίγων ο
Αν /Αμα	το	γυρίσουμε	(κι) έτσι				
Χρονικοϋπ οθετικός σύνδεσμος	Στόχος υλικής δράσης	Υλική διαδικασία	Περιστασ ιακό χώρου				
Δείγμα					Συσχ. Ταυ- τοποιητική	Περίσταση: χρονικό	Αξία

34. (Ομ1Β)

Τ.: *Ξέρω, ξέρω! Αμα το γυρίσουμε έτσι* [περιστροφή σελ. με κύκλους], *..γίνεται;*

Φ.: *Είναι ακόμη κύκλος.*

Επειδή οι κύκλοι δεν έχουν γωνίες, όπως και να το γυρίσουμε.

35. (Ομ3Α)

Κ.: *Να έτσι...Όπως και να τους γυρίσουμε τους ρόμβους, ακόμα ρόμβους θα μας δείχνει.*

36. (Ομ6Β)

Α.: *Το τετράγ.. Αμα το γυρίσεις έτσι το τετράγωνο, είναι ρόμβος* [υπαγορεύει σε νηπιαγωγό, χωρίς να απευθύνεται σε συνομιλητή].

(...)

Νηπ.: *Με μπέρδεψες. Αυτό που μου 'πες πριν, ότι το τετράγωνο άμα το γυρίσεις ... πες το μου ξανά.*

Α.: *Το τετράγωνο, όταν το γυρνάς έτσι, γίνεται ένας υπέροχος ρόμβος.*

37. (Ομ1Β)

Φ.: *Το τετράγωνο είναι ένα σχήμα που έχει 4 γραμμές.*

(...)

Νηπ.: *Περίμενε. Μου είπατε το τετράγωνο είναι ένα σχήμα που έχει 4 γραμμές. Θα πούμε κάτι άλλο;*

Φ.: *Και κάτι άλλο για το τετράγωνο...*

Νηπ.: *Πες το.*

Φ.: *...που αν το γυρίσουμε κάπως αλλιώς, γίνεται ρόμβος.*

38. (Ομ5Α)

Ξ.: Κυρία, αυτό [τετραγ.] άμα το κάνουμε έτσι [το γυρίζει λοξά], είναι ρόμβος. Άμα το κάνουμε έτσι [ίσιο], θα είναι τετράγωνο.

(...) Άμα το βάλουμε έτσι, φαίνεται σαν ρόμβος. Άμα το βάλουμε έτσι, είναι τετράγωνο.

- Ανάλυση /σύνθεση σχημάτων

39. (Ομ3Β)

Κ.: Κυρία, εγώ έχω βρει. Αν τα κόψουμε εδώ [δείχνει σε ένα παραλληλόγραμμο] , τα ορθογώνια, θα γίνουν στραβά τρίγωνα.

(...)

Κ.: Μπορούμε να γράψουμε: Αν κόψουμε στη μέση, να γίνει τρίγωνο.

Νηπ.: [Γράφοντας] Αν το κόψουμε..

Μ.: [Υπαγορεύει] ..στη μέση

Κ.: ..τρίγωνο μπορεί να γίνει.

40. (Ομ3Β)

Μ.: Όταν κόψουμε αυτό εδώ [δείχνει νοητή διαγώνιο πάνω σε ένα ρόμβο της σελίδας], θα γίνει τρίγωνο μντερό.

41. (Ομ3Β)

Νηπ.: Θέλω να μου πείτε τι ξέρετε για τους κύκλους. Γενικά τι ξέρουμε για τους κύκλους.

Κ.: Εγώ ξέρω. Αν το κόψουμε στη μέση, μπορεί να γίνει τούνελ και καμπύλη.

42. (Ομ3Β)

Νηπ.: (...) Τι ξέρουμε για τα τετράγωνα;

Κ.: Λοιπόν, μπορούμε να τα κάνουμε λίγο ρόμβο, αν κόψουμε το μισό έτσι [δείχνει νοητές τομές].

Νηπ.: Ωραία, τι να γράψω λοιπόν;

Κ.: Μπορεί να γίνει και ρόμβος.

3.2.5 Περιγραφικοί ορισμοί

Απ' τη συνολική εικόνα του υλικού, στη Β' φάση (γραφή των κειμένων) παγιώνονται και γενικεύονται σημασιολογικά από τα παιδιά οι αρχικές τους ταξινομήσεις της Α' φάσης. Σε αυτή τη φάση επιχειρούνται και ορισμοί μέσα από συσχετίσεις με οικείες οντότητες, είτε σχολικές (απεικόνιση γραμμάτων, απεικονίσεις αντικειμένων σε βιβλία με σχήματα της τάξης) είτε με αντικείμενα της καθημερινής εμπειρίας (πχ. ήλιος, γη, πασχαλίτσα, κουμπί, σκεπή/-ες, πανιά του πλοίου, κορμός, χαρταετός). Στις προτάσεις αυτές, που συχνά εμπεριέχουν και εκτενέστερες περιγραφές του απόντος αντικειμένου ή χρονικοϋποθετικές προτάσεις για τον προσδιορισμό της συνθήκης ομοιότητας, κυριαρχούν τα ρήματα *είναι σαν*, *μοιάζει σαν*, *γίνεται σαν*. Οι συσχετίσεις αυτές συνιστούν *περιγραφικούς ορισμούς* που λειτουργούν επεξηγηματικά για τον "αναγνώστη" παρέχοντας του παραδείγματα του σχήματος.

Αξιοσημείωτο είναι ωστόσο ότι, στις απόπειρες ταυτοποίησης του σχήματος στη Δ' φάση (παιχνίδι περιγραφής με κάρτες 4 διαφορετικών σχημάτων), τα παιδιά χρησιμοποιούν όρους που συνδέονται με πιο τυπικές ιδιότητες του σχήματος, όπως *γωνίες/γραμμές* (για τις πλευρές), όρους που αναφέρθηκαν και συγκροτήθηκαν ως χαρακτηριστικά των αντικειμένων στις προηγούμενες συναντήσεις των ομάδων. Οι περιγραφές πραγματώνονται με περιεκτικές κτητικές συσχετιστικές προτάσεις, όπως στα παραδείγματα που ακολουθούν:

43. (Δ)

Κ. (Ομ3): Δεν έχει γραμμές ούτε γωνίες.

Α. (Ομ4): Δεν έχει γωνίες.

Γ. (Ομ2): Έχει 4 γωνίες [τετράγωνο]

Ε. (Ομ5): Έχει 4 γωνίες ... και είναι; [ορθογώνιο]

Φ. (Ομ1): Έχει 2 μεγάλες γραμμές και 2 μικρές γραμμές.

Α. (Ομ4): Έχει 3 γωνίες.

Φ. (Ομ1): Έχει 3 γραμμές και 3 γωνίες.

4. Συμπεράσματα - συζήτηση

Στην πραγμάτευσή μας προσπαθήσαμε να δείξουμε πώς το πλαίσιο γραμματισμού που οργανώθηκε με ολιγάριθμες ομάδες παιδιών ενεργοποίησε τις δυνατότητές τους να συγκροτούν και να λεκτικοποιούν σημασιολογικές κατηγορίες γεωμετρικών σχημάτων, δηλαδή μιας περιοχής κατεξοχήν σχολικής γνώσης. Σε συμφωνία με τις γενικές υποθέσεις της έρευνάς μας, τα παιδιά επιχείρησαν να νοηματοδοτήσουν την όλη κατάσταση και να συγκροτήσουν κριτήρια ταξινόμησης, αξιοποιώντας στη συγκεκριμένη διδακτική συνθήκη και τις προϋπάρχουσες γνώσεις τους για τις συγκεκριμένες κατηγορίες σχημάτων.

Οι γλωσσικές πραγματώσεις ξεκινούσαν καταρχάς από την άμεση παρατήρηση, σύγκριση και αντιπαράβολή τόσο μελών της ίδιας κατηγορίας σχήματος όσο και μεταξύ διαφορετικών κατηγοριών σχημάτων. Η διατύπωση *συσχετιστικών διαδικασιών* συνδέεται με τις απόπειρες των παιδιών να διερευνήσουν τις ιδιότητες των σχημάτων, ως ταυτοποιητικά χαρακτηριστικά κάθε κατηγορίας και ως κριτήρια ταξινόμησης.

Η διατύπωση κριτηρίων στη βάση ομοιοτήτων ή διαφορών προκάλεσε συχνά αντιπαράθεσεις εντός των ομάδων. Ενώ, όμως, σε γενικές γραμμές, οι ταξινομήσεις που υιοθέτησαν σε επίπεδο ομάδας προσεγγίζουν τις πιο τυπικές ταξινομήσεις, εύλογο ήταν τα παιδιά να μη διαθέτουν πιο εξειδικευμένους τυπικούς πόρους ταξινόμησης. Έτσι, χρησιμοποιήθηκαν καθημερινοί όροι προκειμένου να αποδοθεί μια διαβλεπόμενη υπερκατηγορία (πχ *στρογγυλά*) ή να προσδιοριστούν πιθανές υποκατηγορίες (*αβγά, πετύρια του καρχαρία, πυραμίδα/-ες*), ενώ σε κάποιες περιπτώσεις η ταυτοποίηση κατηγοριών παραματώθηκε και με μεταγλωσσικές διαδικασίες (*να τα λένε, να το ονομάσουμε*). Καθημερινοί ή επινοημένοι όροι χρησιμοποιήθηκαν επίσης και ως *τροποποιητές* στην ονομασία του σχήματος (βλ. πχ. *στραβά/-ιά, όρθιος, μυτερό, κοντό, στραβωμένο*) προκειμένου να εξειδικευτεί η σχετική θέση ή το είδος του σχήματος.

Η χωρική τοποθέτηση των σχημάτων (περιστροφή και αλλαγή θέσης) ως πιθανή μεταβλητή διατήρησης/μεταβολής της ταυτότητας των σχημάτων, καθώς και η διερεύνηση της ανάλυσης/σύνθεσής τους αποτέλεσαν στρατηγικές σημασιολόγησης όπου εμφανίστηκαν ενδιαφέρουσες απόπειρες γενίκευσης με χρονικοϋποθετικό λόγο. Οι χρονικοϋποθετικές προτάσεις (*αν /άμα/όταν...*) επέχουν θέση μετέχοντα συσχετιστικών προτάσεων (η περίπτωση ως συνθήκη/προϋπόθεση -δήλωση υποχρεωτικότητας- ή ως πιθανότητα -πρόβλεψη ακολουθίας γεγονότων). Η αναπλαισίωση γνώσεων με εγκιβωτισμό της πληροφορίας στη δομή του ΟΣ καθώς και η χρήση γενικευμένων όρων στους μετέχοντες των συσχετιστικών προτάσεων (γενική σημασία της ονομασίας του σχήματος σε ενικό ή πληθυντικό ή χρήση του όρου *σχήμα/-ατα*, μαζί με δείκτες όπως *όλα, μερικά, όλο, μόνο, ίδια/-ιο, κάτι, κάποιο/-α, άλλο/-α*) εκφράζουν επίσης απόπειρες γενίκευσης και παραγωγής αποπλαισιωμένου λόγου από τα παιδιά στο πλαίσιο παραγωγής ενός ορισμού.

Η παραγωγή ορισμών αποτυπώνεται με μεγαλύτερη σαφήνεια στη Β' φάση, καθώς το πλαίσιο των αρχικών ταξινομήσεων της Α' φάσης εμπεριέχει μεν ένα αίτημα συμφωνίας αλλά και μεγαλύτερη ευχέρεια «άτυπων» σχολίων κατά το χειρισμό του υλικού. Αντίθετα, το διδακτικό πλαίσιο στη Β' φάση προωθεί την παραγωγή πιο αποπλαισιωμένου λόγου και τη διατύπωση δηλωτικού λόγου.

Ο σχολικός χαρακτήρας του βιβλίου φαίνεται, πράγματι, να λαμβάνεται υπόψη από τα παιδιά και τα ωθεί στο να αξιοποιήσουν όλους τους διαθέσιμους γλωσσικούς πόρους για το γραπτό λόγο. Μέσα από συσχετίσεις ομοιότητας με οικεία αντικείμενα (ως παραδείγματα της κατηγορίας), οι περιγραφικοί ορισμοί στη Β' φάση συνδέονται με το διδακτικά προσανατολισμένο επικοινωνιακό στόχο των συνοδευτικών-πληροφοριακών κειμένων για τα σχήματα. Η επιλογή τέτοιου τύπου συσχετίσεων από τα παιδιά στη Β' φάση συνιστά ταυτόχρονα έναν τρόπο ερμηνείας-νοηματοδότησης του έργου και μια στρατηγική ανταπόκρισης σε αυτό. Η ανταπόκριση των παιδιών στις απαιτήσεις των επιμέρους έργων αναδεικνύεται και από τις επιλογές τους στο παιχνίδι περιγραφής της Δ' φάσης, όπου οι συσχετίσεις ομοιότητας με οικεία αντικείμενα σχεδόν απουσιάζουν. Τα παιδιά χρησιμοποιούν εδώ όρους που συνδέονται με τυπικές ιδιότητες του σχήματος (*γωνίες, γραμμές*), αναγνωρίζοντάς τους ως πιο κατάλληλους στο συγκεκριμένο πλαίσιο, ακόμη και αν το νόημά τους δεν είναι ακόμη συγκροτημένο με πιο τυπικά μαθηματικό τρόπο.

Συνοπτικά, θα λέγαμε, ότι τα δεδομένα μας επιβεβαιώνουν τη βασική μας υπόθεση ότι η οργανωμένη και λειτουργικά νοηματοδοτημένη ενασχόληση με ορισμούς και ταξινομήσεις στο πλαίσιο πρακτικών γραμματισμού και η γλωσσική πραγμάτωση και διαπραγμάτευση του νοήματος ενεργοποιούν τις προϋπάρχουσες γνώσεις των παιδιών και προωθούν τις διαδικασίες συλλογισμού και μάθησης των κατηγοριών μη κοινής γνώσης.

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ΤΟ ΣΗΜΑΣΙΟΛΟΓΙΚΟ ΠΕΔΙΟ ΤΩΝ ΣΥΝΑΙΣΘΗΜΑΤΩΝ: ΤΑΞΙΝΟΜΗΣΗ ΤΩΝ ΡΗΜΑΤΩΝ ΤΗΣ ΝΕΑΣ ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΗΣ ΠΟΥ ΔΗΛΩΝΟΥΝ ΣΥΝΑΙΣΘΗΜΑ

Βούλα Γιούλη

Ινστιτούτο Επεξεργασίας
Γλώσσας, Ε.Κ. “Αθηνά”,
Ελλάδα

voula@ilsp.athena-innovation.gr

Αγγελική Φωτοπούλου

Ινστιτούτο Επεξεργασίας
Γλώσσας, Ε.Κ. “Αθηνά”,
Ελλάδα

afotop@ilsp.athena-innovation.gr

ABSTRACT

In this paper we present work in progress aimed at the formal description of Greek verbs denoting emotion and their classification on the grounds of their syntactic and semantic properties within the methodological framework of Lexicon-Grammar. The ultimate goal being to develop a sound lexical resource (LR) aimed to also assist applications such as sentiment analysis and summarization – among others - the encoding of emotion verbs in a conceptual Data Base (DB) has also been attempted on semantic grounds, developing, thus, a conceptual system that organizes the semantic field of emotions (being, in this sense, an ontology of emotions).

Λέξεις κλειδιά: σημασιολογικό πεδίο των συναισθημάτων, λεξικό – γραμματική, σημασιολογική ταξινόμηση, ένταση συναισθήματος, πολικότητα συναισθήματος, λεξιλογικός πόρος, επεξεργασία φυσικής γλώσσας.

1. Εισαγωγή

Στόχος της παρούσας ανακοίνωσης είναι η παρουσίαση των πρώτων αποτελεσμάτων ερευνητικής εργασίας με αντικείμενο την πλήρη καταγραφή και ταξινόμηση των ρημάτων της νέας ελληνικής που δηλώνουν συναισθήματα (*Vsent*). Η ταξινόμηση αυτή λαμβάνει υπόψη τα συντακτικά και σημασιολογικά χαρακτηριστικά των εν λόγω ρημάτων, με στόχο την κωδικοποίησή τους σε βάση δεδομένων και τη δημιουργία ενός εύρωστου γλωσσικού πόρου για το συγκεκριμένο σημασιολογικό πεδίο, ο οποίος θα μπορεί να ενσωματωθεί σε διάφορες εφαρμογές επεξεργασίας φυσικής γλώσσας (ΕΦΓ). Η εργασία αυτή εντάσσεται σε ένα ευρύτερο ερευνητικό πλαίσιο, το οποίο αφορά: (α) στην χαρτογράφηση και οριοθέτηση του *σημασιολογικού πεδίου των συναισθημάτων στην ελληνική* μέσω της συγκέντρωσης, κατηγοριοποίησης και διασύνδεσης όλων των λεξικών τύπων που υπάρχουν σε αυτό το πεδίο, (β) στον συνακόλουθο καθορισμό ενός πολυ-επίπεδου ταξινομικού σχήματος που θα αφορά όλο εν γένει το *λεξιλόγιο των συναισθημάτων στην ελληνική*, και (γ) στην κωδικοποίηση των ανωτέρω σε έναν ολοκληρωμένο Γλωσσικό Πόρο (ΓΠ) που θα αποτελεί, στην πρώτη αυτή φάση, μία “γραμματική των συναισθημάτων”.

2. Στόχος – Μεθοδολογία

Η μελέτη των ανθρώπινων συναισθημάτων αποτελεί αντικείμενο διεπιστημονικής έρευνας. Παράλληλες εξελίξεις σε διαφορετικά πεδία της φιλοσοφίας, της ψυχολογίας και της φυσιολογίας όχι μόνο συγκλίνουν στην σημασία που αποδίδεται στο συναισθήματα ως αυτόνομο πεδίο έρευνας, αλλά παράλληλα, οριοθετούν την έννοια, το εύρος και τα χαρακτηριστικά του συναισθήματος. Μέσω αυτού του λεξιλογικού πεδίου, έχει γίνει προσπάθεια να διερευνηθεί η ύπαρξη καθολικών χαρακτηριστικών (universals) της ανθρώπινης γλώσσας (Wierzbicka 1999).

Στο χώρο της θεωρητικής γλωσσολογίας, η μελέτη και συστηματοποίηση των ρημάτων που εκφράζουν συναισθήματα αποσκοπεί στη διερεύνηση του κατά πόσον μία σημασιολογική κατηγορία μπορεί να οριστεί με βάση συντακτικά και δομο-λειτουργικά χαρακτηριστικά (Levin 1993, Ruwet 1995, Voorst 1995).

Πέρα, όμως, από τις γλωσσολογικές προσεγγίσεις, η αναγνώριση συναισθήματος σε κείμενο αποτελεί το ζητούμενο στο χώρο της *γλωσσικής τεχνολογίας*. Πράγματι, τα τελευταία χρόνια, παρατηρείται μία στροφή της ερευνητικής κοινότητας από την εξαγωγή πληροφορίας σχετικά με πρόσωπα/οργανισμούς/γεγονότα που εμφανίζονται στα γραπτά κείμενα, στην κατανόηση του κειμένου αναφορικά με τις απόψεις/κρίσεις ατόμων ή ομάδων ατόμων και την συνακόλουθη ανάδειξη του θεματικού πεδίου των συναισθημάτων. Παραδοσιακά, οι μεθοδολογίες *ανάλυσης συναισθήματος σε κείμενο* (sentiment analysis), περιορίζονται συνήθως στην αναγνώριση και διάκριση συναισθημάτων με βάση το δίπολο θετικό – αρνητικό, ή, εναλλακτικά, το συνεχές θετικό – ουδέτερο – αρνητικό, ενώ τελευταία προτείνεται και μία πιο λεπτομερής κατηγοριοποίηση των συναισθημάτων (Wiebe et al. 2005, Wilson 2008, Asher et al. 2009). Στο πλαίσιο αυτό, η γλωσσολογική έρευνα αναφορικά με το συναισθηματικό αποκτά νέες προοπτικές, καθώς μέσα από την γλωσσική ανάλυση και την λεξικογραφική πρακτική έρχεται να συμπληρώσει και να επιβοηθήσει τις ποσοτικές μεθόδους στην κατανόηση κειμένου και την αναγνώριση συναισθήματος.

Η παρούσα εργασία εντάσσεται στο πλαίσιο ευρύτερης έρευνας που αφορά στο λεξιλόγιο της ελληνικής που εμπίπτει στο σημασιολογικό πεδίο των συναισθημάτων με στόχο την περιγραφή και ανάλυση της ελληνικής αφενός, και αφετέρου, την ανάπτυξη εύρωστων λεξιλογικών πόρων οι οποίοι θα μπορούσαν να ενσωματωθούν σε εργαλεία επεξεργασίας φυσικής γλώσσας. Το ζητούμενο στο σημείο αυτό είναι όχι μόνο ένας ορισμός του το λεξιλόγιο των συναισθημάτων, αλλά και, ει δυνατόν, η επαλήθευση του ορισμού αυτού με κριτήρια συντακτικά και σημασιολογικά κατά τρόπον ώστε να είναι εμφανές ότι η υπό μελέτη σημασιολογική κατηγορία είναι αυτόνομη και διακριτή. Η μελέτη αυτή επικεντρώνεται σε τρεις άξονες: (α) στην πλήρη οριοθέτηση και καταγραφή του ειδικού λεξιλογίου που συγκροτεί το εν λόγω σημασιολογικό πεδίο (ρήματα, ουσιαστικά, επίθετα, επιρρήματα, φράσεις), (β) την μελέτη και συστηματοποίηση για κάθε λέξη ή ομάδα λέξεων των λεξικών της χαρακτηριστικών, των επιλογών υποκατηγοριοποίησης (subcategorization features), και των χαρακτηριστικών επιλογής (selectional features), και (γ) την οργάνωση του λεξιλογίου σε εννοιολογική βάση δεδομένων, κατά τρόπον ώστε να ορίζεται μία “οντολογία των συναισθημάτων”.

Η συλλογή, συστηματοποίηση και ανάλυση των υπό εξέταση ρημάτων βασίστηκε στη χρήση Σωμάτων Κειμένων (ΣΚ) για την εξαγωγή εμπειρικών δεδομένων σύμφωνα με τις μεθοδολογίες της Γλωσσολογίας Σωμάτων Κειμένων (Corpus Linguistics). Με στόχο την κατά το δυνατόν πληρέστερη καταγραφή των δομών των γλωσσικών μονάδων, καταρτίστηκε ΣΚ από ετερογενείς πηγές. Ειδικότερα, μεγάλο μέρος του ΣΚ απαρτίζεται από ένα υποσύνολο του Εθνικού Θησαυρού της Ελληνικής Γλώσσας (ΕΘΕΓ), κατάλληλα επιλεγμένο ώστε να περιλαμβάνει τα υπό μελέτη ρήματα. Παράλληλα, για λόγους πληρότητας, το ΣΚ εμπλουτίστηκε περαιτέρω με κείμενα από το διαδίκτυο, από blogs, forums, κείμενα έκφρασης γνώμης (π.χ. επιστολές αναγνωστών σε εφημερίδες), κείμενα life-style, σχολιασμός ειδήσεων, κ.τ.λ., καθώς επίσης και από μεταγραμμένα κείμενα προφορικού λόγου, τα οποία αντικατοπτρίζουν μία πιο καθημερινή/ανεπίσημη και “συναισθηματική” γλώσσα. Το ΣΚ φέρει κατάλληλη επισήμειωση σε διάφορα επίπεδα γλωσσικής ανάλυσης (μορφο-συντακτική ανάλυση και λημματοποίηση, predicate-argument structure).

3. Το μεθοδολογικό μοντέλο

Το μεθοδολογικό μοντέλο το οποίο χρησιμοποιείται στην παρούσα εργασία είναι αυτό του «Λεξικού-Γραμματικής» (Lexicon-Grammar, Gross 1975 1981). Σύμφωνα με την παραδοχή ότι η λειτουργία των γενικών συντακτικών κανόνων, οι οποίοι περιγράφουν ή/και ορθώς προλέγουν τις γραμματικές δομές της/μιας γλώσσας, στο πλαίσιο των σύγχρονων συντακτικών θεωριών, στην πράξη εξαρτάται εν πολλοίς από τις συντακτικές και σημασιολογικές ιδιότητες των επιμέρους λεξικών μονάδων, ως βασική μονάδα αναπαράστασης και ανάλυσης της γλώσσας λαμβάνεται η βασική πρόταση, νοούμενη ως η πυρηνική δομή Υποκείμενο - Ρήμα – Συμπλήρωμα. Έτσι, ως μονάδα ανάλυσης δεν είναι η λέξη που συνοδεύεται από γραμματικές πληροφορίες αλλά απλές προτάσεις που συνοδεύονται από περιγραφή των κατανομικών (distributional) και μετασχηματιστικών (transformational) ιδιοτήτων τους (Gross 1984). Τα γλωσσολογικά μοντέλα που προκύπτουν είναι εξαντλητικά, καθώς επιτρέπουν την καταγραφή του συνόλου των δομών των γλωσσικών μονάδων, και παρουσιάζονται κατά τρόπο συστηματικό και τυποποιημένο. το οποίο με την τυποποίηση και κωδικοποίηση των μορφοσυντακτικών και σημασιολογικών ιδιοτήτων τους, και την δημιουργία πινάκων (lexicon-grammar tables) και τοπικών γραμματικών (local grammars). Η συστηματοποίηση και ο φορμαλισμός των δεδομένων διευκολύνουν την περιγραφή της γλώσσας και την αυτόματη ανάλυσή της.

4. Προηγούμενες Μελέτες

Στο πεδίο της θεωρητικής γλωσσολογίας, η μελέτη του λεξιλογίου των συναισθημάτων έχει απασχολήσει στο παρελθόν την έρευνα διεθνώς, και για πολλές γλώσσες, εντούτοις, πολλά ζητήματα παραμένουν ακόμα ανοικτά. Οι περισσότερες μελέτες έχουν ως στόχο την πλήρη καταγραφή των λεξικών και σημασιολογικών δομών του λεξιλογίου των συναισθημάτων ανά γραμματική κατηγορία, και συνηθέστατα για γλώσσες όπως η γαλλική, και η αγγλική. Από την θεώρηση της Γενετικής-Μετασχηματιστικής θεωρίας, πρώτοι οι Belletti και Rizzi (1988) προτείνουν μία ανάλυση των ρημάτων ψυχικού πάθους (psych verbs)¹ της ιταλικής με βάση το θεματικό δίκτυο (theta-grid) για τα συμπληρώματά τους, το οποίο περιλαμβάνει τους θεματικούς ρόλους [*Experiencer*, *Theme*] (Βιώνων, Θέμα).

Η Mathieu (2000) επιχειρεί την ταξινόμηση των ρημάτων της γαλλικής που δηλώνουν συναίσθημα με βάση την σημασία τους σε τρεις βασικές κατηγορίες: *θετικά* (agréables), *αρνητικά* (désagréables) και *ουδέτερα* (indifférents). και προχωρά στην συστηματική μελέτη αυτών ως προς τα κοινά χαρακτηριστικά της σύνταξής τους αλλά και λοιπών λεξιλογικών χαρακτηριστικών (π.χ. ρήματα με ενσωματωμένο δείκτη έντασης). Στην ίδια κατεύθυνση, οι Mathieu et al. (2010) προχωρούν στη συγκριτική μελέτη των ρημάτων της αγγλικής και της γαλλικής που δηλώνουν συναίσθημα, με βάση τα σημασιολογικά και δομο-συντακτικά τους χαρακτηριστικά. Καταλήγουν σε κοινές για τις δύο γλώσσες κατηγορίες, ενώ εντοπίζονται οι ιδιαιτερότητες της κάθε γλώσσας.

Για την ελληνική, μία πρώτη προσπάθεια για την καταγραφή και συστηματοποίηση των ρημάτων που δηλώνουν συναίσθημα με βάση το πρότυπο του Λεξικού-Γραμματικής επιχειρείται από την Antoniou (1984). Τα δομο-λειτουργικά και σημασιολογικά χαρακτηριστικά των εν λόγω ρημάτων συστηματοποιούνται, ενώ καταγράφονται και συστηματοποιούνται οι δομές με μεταφορική σημασία.

Ομοίως, τα επίθετα και ρήματα της ελληνικής που δηλώνουν συναίσθημα, τα τελευταία μάλιστα και σε σύγκριση με άλλες γλώσσες (γαλλική – τουρκική) έχουν αναλυθεί (Valetopoulos 2005). Το ενδιαφέρον της έρευνας επικεντρώνεται στην περιγραφή και τυπολογική διάκριση μεταφορικών φράσεων και εκφράσεων που σημαίνουν συναίσθημα (πάγωσα – πάγωσα από τον φόβο μου), ή φράσεων που δηλώνουν συναίσθημα (κάνω μούτρα σε κάποιον, η Μαρία είναι στον έβδομο ουρανό, βράζω από θυμό, είμαι στα κέφια μου), με έμφαση σε εκείνες που εμφανίζουν δομή με τα ρήματα *είμαι* και *έχω*:

είμαι + Prep + Det + N(psy) Poss (*είμαι στα κέφια μου*)

έχω + Det + N(psy) Poss (*έχω τα διαόλια μου*).

Κυρίως όμως, η μελέτη του λεξιλογίου των συναισθημάτων μέσα στο πλαίσιο του μεθοδολογικού μοντέλου του «Λεξικού-Γραμματικής» έχει επικεντρωθεί στη συστηματοποίηση των ονοματικών δομών (Gavrilidou 2002, Γαβριηλίδου 2002), κλπ. Ιδιαίτερο, όμως, ενδιαφέρον για την παρούσα μελέτη (καθώς αποτελεί οργανική τους συνέχεια), αποτελούν οι εργασίες των Pantazara, et al. (2008) και Fotopoulou et al. (2009), στις οποίες επιχειρείται η θέσπιση σημασιολογικών & συντακτικών κριτηρίων για την διάκριση των ουσιαστικών, και τελικά, ταξινόμηση των ουσιαστικών με βάση σημασιολογικά χαρακτηριστικά των δομών στις οποίες εμφανίζονται.

4.1. Περί συναισθήματος ή τυπολογία συναισθημάτων

Με αφετηρία τις διάφορες θεωρήσεις σχετικά με βασικές ιδιότητες που φέρει η έννοια *συναίσθημα* και την πραγματώσή τους μέσω της γλώσσας, έχει επιχειρηθεί η τυπολογία των ρημάτων ψυχικού πάθους στο μεταίχμιο της Σύνταξης – Σημασιολογίας. Μία τυπική, πλέον, διάκριση στον άξονα αυτό στηρίζεται στις έννοιες της οντότητας από την οποία προέρχεται το συναίσθημα ή *πηγής* (origin) του συναισθήματος, και του Βιώνοντος το συναίσθημα (*experiencer*) αναγνωρίζοντας συναισθήματα *ενδογενή* (endogenic) και *εξωγενή* (exogenic) (Anscombe 1996). Σύμφωνα με τη θεώρηση αυτή, ως ενδογενή ορίζονται τα συναισθήματα των οποίων η πηγή και ο βιώνων το συναίσθημα ταυτίζονται (π.χ. Θαυμασμός, Αγάπη, κ.τ.λ.). Αντίστοιχα, ως εξωγενή ορίζονται τα συναισθήματα των οποίων η πηγή και ο βιώνων δεν ταυτίζονται (π.χ. άγχος, αγανάκτηση, κ.τ.λ.). Αντίστοιχη είναι και η διάκριση σε ενεργά συναισθήματα (active emotions), όπως *αγάπη*, *ζήλεια*, κ.τ.λ., τα οποία στις περισσότερες περιπτώσεις επιδέχονται Αντικείμενο [+ανθρώπινο] και μη-ενεργά ή προκαλούμενα συναισθήματα (caused emotions), όπως *λύπη* (Buillon 1997).

Επίσης, στη βιβλιογραφία είναι συχνή και η διπλή διάκριση ανάμεσα στις έννοιες *αίσθημα* (sentiment) και *συναίσθημα* (emotion). Αν και στην παρούσα προσέγγιση, δεν θα μας απασχολήσει η διάκριση αυτή, αξίζει να σημειωθεί ότι στον άξονα αυτό, η τυπολογία των ουσιαστικών στηρίζεται επίσης σε

¹ Στην αγγλική βιβλιογραφία ο τα ρήματα αυτά αναφέρονται επίσης και ως emotion verbs.

κριτήρια γλωσσικά και δομο-λειτουργικά (Flaux et al. 2000). Έτσι, τα “δηλωτικά αισθήματος” ουσιαστικά (π.χ. *αγάπη*) διακρίνονται τυπολογικά από τα “δηλωτικά συναισθήματος” (π.χ. *φόβος*) ως προς την υποχρεωτική παρουσία δύο μετεχόντων. Με τον ίδιο τρόπο, η υπαγωγή ουσιαστικών στην κατηγορία “δηλωτικό ψυχολογικής κατάστασης” (π.χ. *θλίψη*), ενισχύεται περαιτέρω και από τις λεξιλογικές συνάψεις τους με ρήματα όπως βρίσκομαι σε / ζω στη θλίψη.

5. Επιλογή γλωσσικού υλικού: ρήματα δηλωτικά συναισθήματος της ελληνικής

Ως σημείο αφετηρίας, χρησιμοποιήθηκε ο σημασιολογικός θησαυρός της ελληνικής *Αντιλεξικό* ή αλλιώς *Ονομαστικών της Νεοελληνικής Γλώσσας* (Βοσαντζόγλου 1988), από το οποίο εξήχθησαν με το χέρι όλα τα ρήματα και οι ρηματικές φράσεις που υπάγονται στην σημασιολογική κατηγορία *Συναίσθημα*. Στον γλωσσικό αυτό πόρο περιλαμβάνονται 57 έννοιες/εννοιολογικές κατηγορίες οι οποίες λεξικοποιούνται μέσω 1168 ρημάτων και ρηματικών εκφράσεων. Ακολούθησε εκτεταμένος έλεγχος και διόρθωση με την κατάλληλη σηματοδότηση ή/και διαγραφή ρημάτων και ρηματικών τύπων που είναι πλέον παρωχημένοι και για τα οποία μπορούμε με μεγαλύτερη ασφάλεια να υποστηρίξουμε ότι δεν χρησιμοποιούνται πλέον στην ΝΕ, π.χ. βαριοθυμώ, κατεξανίσταμαι, φρυάττω, κλπ. Ομοίως, εξαιρέθηκαν από τον κατάλογο και όσα ρήματα χρησιμοποιούνται σε σχεδόν παγιωμένα περιβάλλοντα, όπως για παράδειγμα: υποδουλίζω (τα μίσση/πάθη), υποκινώ (μίσση/πάθη), αναπερώνω το ηθικό κπ / αναπερώνεται το ηθικό κπ, κλπ. Παρέμειναν για περαιτέρω έλεγχο με βάση τα γλωσσικά δεδομένα του ΕΘΕΓ (corpus evidence) μόνον όσα ρήματα θεωρήσαμε ότι είναι πιθανόν να απαντούν είτε στον προφορικό λόγο, ή σε λογοτεχνικά κείμενα, κλπ. Τέτοια ρήματα είναι τα: αγάλλομαι, αναθυμιάζω, , κλπ. Επίσης, ρήματα που δεν σημαίνουν αλλά υπονοούν ή συνεπάγονται συναίσθημα (π.χ. δακρύζω, γελάω, κλπ) σηματοδοτήθηκαν ανάλογα, με στόχο να μελετηθούν σε μεταγενέστερο στάδιο. Το υλικό αυτό εμπλουτίστηκε περαιτέρω με ρήματα από έντυπα λεξικά (ΛΝΕΓ 1998, ΛΚΝ 1998), μέσω συνωνύμων, αντιθέτων, κλπ. (π.χ. υπήρχε το λήμμα *αιδούμαι*, αλλά όχι *ντρέπομαι*, το οποίο προστέθηκε), καθώς και από ηλεκτρονικούς σημασιολογικούς πόρους για την αγγλική. Έτσι, από τον ηλεκτρονικό λεξιλογικό πόρο FrameNet (Fillmore et al. 2001) ελέγξαμε (μέσω μετάφρασης) όσα ρήματα της αγγλικής περιλαμβάνουν στο θεματικό τους δίκτυο ρόλο *Experiencer*.

Η επιλογή των ρημάτων οριστικοποιήθηκε με την εφαρμογή κριτηρίων (διαγνωστικών tests). Το διαγνωστικό κριτήριο που χρησιμοποιούμε στην παρούσα εργασία προκειμένου να καταλήξουμε στο συμπέρασμα ότι ένα ρήμα V είναι ρήμα δηλωτικό συναισθήματος (*Vsent*) είναι αυτό της υποκαταστασιμότητας. Έτσι, ένα ρήμα χαρακτηρίζεται ως *Vsent* αν και μόνο αν μπορεί να αντικατασταθεί από:

- σημασιολογικά ισοδύναμη παράφραση αποτελούμενη από τα ρήματα νιώθω/αισθάνομαι + ουσιαστικό δηλωτικό συναισθήματος (*Nsent*):

$N0 \ Vsent \ (E+NI) = N0 \ (\nuιώθω + \text{αισθάνομαι}) \ Nsent \ (E+PrepNI)$

Παραδείγματα:

$\muισώ \ κπν = (\nuιώθω + \text{αισθάνομαι}) \ \muίσος \ \text{για} \ \kappaπν$
 $\alphaγανακτώ = (\nuιώθω + \text{αισθάνομαι}) \ \alphaγανάκτηση$

- σημασιολογικά ισοδύναμη παράφραση αποτελούμενη από το ρηματική δομή :
κάνω κάποιον να (νιώθει + αισθάνεται) ουσιαστικό δηλωτικό συναισθήματος (*Nsent*):
 $N0 \ Vsent \ NI = [N0 \ \kappaάνω \ NI] \ \text{να} \ [NI \ \nuιώθει \ Nsent]$

Παραδείγματα:

$\epsilonξοργίζω \ κπν = \kappaάνω \ \kappaάποιον \ \text{να} \ (\nuιώθει + \text{αισθάνεται}) \ \text{οργή}$
 $\zetaαφνιάζω \ κπν = \text{προκαλώ} \ \text{σε} \ \kappaπν \ \epsilonκπληξη$

Να σημειωθεί εδώ ότι ως *Nsent* χαρακτηρίζεται κάθε ουσιαστικό του οποίου το σημασιολογικό φορτίο ταυτίζεται με μία έννοια ψυχολογική: συναίσθημα, αίσθημα, ψυχολογική στάση, κατάσταση ή συμπεριφορά, κ.τ.λ. Σύμφωνα, μάλιστα με τη μελέτη των Fotopoulou et al. (2009) αυτή η κατηγορία ουσιαστικών είναι δυνατόν να προσδιοριστεί με κριτήρια όχι μόνο σημασιολογικά αλλά και δομο-λειτουργικά. Για την λειτουργία των διαγνωστικών τεστ, το *Nsent* είτε ανήκει στην ετυμολογική οικογένεια του ρήματος (*αγαπώ – αγάπη*), ή απλά αποτελεί σημασιολογικό ισοδύναμο.

Η ανωτέρω διαδικασία, κατέληξε στην επιλογή 336 ρημάτων δηλωτικών συναισθήματος: π.χ. *αγαπώ*, *θυμώνω*, *τρομάζω*, κ.τ.λ. τα οποία εν συνεχεία μελετήσαμε και ταξινομήσαμε με βάση τις δομο-συντακτικές και σημασιολογικές τους ιδιότητες.

6. Συντακτική/δομο-λειτουργική ταξινόμηση των δηλωτικών συναισθήματος ρημάτων

Ο G. Gross (1994), στο πλαίσιο της θεωρίας περί ομάδων/τάξεων αντικειμένων (classes d'objets) διαπιστώνει ότι οι τάξεις των συναισθημάτων (classes des «affects») ορίζονται με σημασιολογικά κριτήρια, εν συνεχεία, όμως επικυρώνονται με συντακτικές και λεξικές ιδιότητες. Η μελέτη και συστηματοποίηση των εμπειρικών δεδομένων, επιτρέπει την επαλήθευση παλαιότερων συμπερασμάτων, ότι τα υπό εξέταση ρήματα εμφανίζουν κοινά σημασιο-συντακτικά χαρακτηριστικά τα οποία, πράγματι, επιτρέπουν τον ορισμό μίας αυτόνομης σημασιολογικής κατηγορίας. Η τυπολογία των ρημάτων στην παρούσα φάση στηρίζεται στα ακόλουθα χαρακτηριστικά: (i) τον αριθμό και το είδος των υποχρεωτικών ορισμάτων τους (ορισματική δομή), (ii) τους περιορισμούς επιλογής (selectional restrictions) που επιβάλλουν στο Υποκείμενο ή Αντικείμενο, και (iii) τους επιτρεπτούς μετασχηματισμούς (transformations). Να σημειώσουμε εδώ ότι, σύμφωνα με την “αρχή της μέγιστης ορισματικής επέκτασης” η ορισματική δομή ενός ρήματος συμπίπτει με τη μεγαλύτερη και πλήρους νοήματος συντακτική δομή της/μίας πρότασης, όπως αυτή προκύπτει από τη διαγραφή των (μη υποχρεωτικών) προσδιορισμών που μπορούν να εμφανίζονται (Kyriacopoulou 2003). Οι γραπτές ή προφορικές εκφορές οι οποίες πραγματώνονται ελαττωμένες κατά ένα ή και περισσότερα συμπληρώματα, εφόσον απαντούν στα ΣΚ και κρίνονται ως αποδεκτές από τους φυσικούς ομιλητές, απεικονίζονται στον πίνακα του λεξικού - γραμματικής ως υποκατηγορίες των βασικών κατηγοριών.

Στο επίπεδο της σύνταξης, για την ελληνική παρατηρούμε ότι τα ρήματα που δηλώνουν συναισθήματα συμμετέχουν σε δύο ειδών ορισματικές δομές όσον αφορά στα υποχρεωτικά συμπληρώματά τους (Υποκείμενο – Αντικείμενο):

(α) N0 V, όπου με N0 δηλώνεται το Υποκείμενο του ρήματος V, και

(β) N0 V N1, όπου με N0 δηλώνεται το Υποκείμενο του ρήματος V ενώ με N1 δηλώνεται το άμεσο Αντικείμενό του.

Η συστηματοποίηση των προαναφερθέντων συντακτικών και σημασιολογικών χαρακτηριστικών των υπό μελέτη ρημάτων, όπως προκύπτουν από την ανάλυση των εμπειρικών δεδομένων, οδηγεί στην ακόλουθη προκαταρκτική ταξινόμηση των δηλωτικών συναισθήματος ρημάτων:

1η κατηγορία: N0 (hum) V (E + Prep N1): αγανακτώ

Στην πρώτη κατηγορία υπάγονται ρήματα όπως *αγαλλιάζω, αγανακτώ, δυσανασχετώ, ντρέπομαι*, τα οποία έχουν Υποκείμενο N0, υποχρεωτικά έμψυχο [+έμψυχο]. Παραδείγματα:

*(Οι πολίτες +*τα βιβλία) αγανακτούσαν (με όσα έβλεπαν).*

Η τοπική κοινωνία έφριξε με το στυγερό έγκλημα.

2η κατηγορία: N0(hum) V (E+N1) ⇔ N1 VMP (E+Prep N0): αγαπώ

Στην δεύτερη κατηγορία υπάγονται ρήματα με περιοριστικό Υποκείμενο N0 το οποίο είναι υποχρεωτικά [+έμψυχο]. Παραδείγματα:

Ο Γιάννης αγαπάει (τη Μαρία +τα βιβλία+τη μουσική)².

*(*Η μουσική +*το βιβλίο) αγαπάει τον Γιάννη.*

Βασική ιδιότητα των ρημάτων αυτής της κατηγορίας των ρημάτων της κατηγορίας αυτής είναι ότι εφόσον έχουν παθητική φωνή, επιτρέπουν παθητικοποίηση. Παραδείγματα:

Ο Χούλιο αγαπήθηκε από οπαδούς και αντιπάλους

Ο Χούλιο αγαπήθηκε από οπαδούς και αντιπάλους για την αξία του.

Μία δεύτερη ιδιότητα είναι ότι η ορισματική δομή μπορεί να εμφανίζεται σε κάποιες περιπτώσεις και με ένα λιγότερο όρισμα, το μη περιοριστικό Αντικείμενο. Σ' αυτές τις περιπτώσεις έχουμε τη «γενικευτική» σημασία του ρήματος. Παραδείγματα:

Δεν γεννήθηκα για να μισώ αλλά για ν' αγαπώ.

Η Μαρία καμαρώνει (E+ για τα παιδιά της / για το δαχτυλίδι της / για τις επιτυχίες των αθλητών μας.)

Ο Γιάννης ντρέπεται (E+τους ξένους) για ό,τι έκανε.

² Η σημασία του *αγαπώ* σ' αυτή την πρόταση δεν είναι «ψυχικού πάθους» τουλάχιστον με τον παραδοσιακό ορισμό. Παραφράζεται η πρόταση με το «μου αρέσει η μουσική» και θα αποτελέσει ξεχωριστό λήμμα σ' ένα λεξικό αλλά και σ' ένα εννοιολογικό λεξικό.

3η κατηγορία: N1 V N0(hum) ⇔ N0(hum) V (E+PrepN1): νευριάζω

Στην τρίτη κατηγορία υπάγονται ρήματα τα οποία εμφανίζουν δύο διαφορετικές δομές ισοδύναμες με ή χωρίς Αντικείμενο. Στην πρώτη περίπτωση, η ορισματική τους δομή περιλαμβάνει μη-περιοριστικό Υποκείμενο και Αντικείμενο υποχρεωτικά [+έμφυχο]. Η εναλλακτική, και σημασιολογικά ισοδύναμη δομή περιλαμβάνει περιοριστικό Υποκείμενο υποχρεωτικά [+έμφυχο], και μη περιοριστικό Αντικείμενο. Παραδείγματα:

(Ο Γιάννης +ο θόρυβος+ το ότι άργησες) νευρίασε (τη Μαρία +*το σπίτ)ι.³
= Η Μαρία νευρίασε με το (E +Γιάννη + θόρυβο + ότι άργησες).

Ως προς τη μορφολογία τους, τα ρήματα της κατηγορίας αυτής συστήνουν μία ομοιογενή ομάδα με συγκεκριμένες ιδιότητες, καθώς διαθέτουν μόνο [+ενεργητική] μορφολογία (αηδιάζω, ανησυχώ, ηρεμώ, θυμώνω, καλμάρω, κ.τ.λ.) ενώ στερούνται μίας μορφολογίας, εν προκειμένω [-ενεργητικής].

Ο Γιάννης *αηδιάστηκε / *θυμώθηκε.

4η κατηγορία: N0 V N1(hum) ⇔ N1(hum) Vmp (E + Prep N0): αγχώνω

Τέλος, στην τέταρτη κατηγορία υπάγονται ρήματα με ορισματική δομή η οποία περιλαμβάνει μη περιοριστικό Υποκείμενο N0 και περιοριστικό Αντικείμενο N1 το οποίο είναι υποχρεωτικά [+έμφυχο]. Παραδείγματα:

(Η Μαρία + η κατάσταση) λύπησε (τον Γιάννη +*το παιχνίδι).
Το ότι δεν έρχεσαι να με δεις με λυπεί αφάνταστα.
(Ο Νίκος+ η κακή συμπεριφορά + το ότι ο Νίκος φεύγει εν μέσω μετακόμισης) εκνευρίζει την Μαρία.
Ο Γιάννης δυσαρεστεί (την Μαρία +*το παιχνίδι).

Τα ρήματα της κατηγορίας αυτής επίσης συνιστούν μία ομοιογενή μορφολογικά κατηγορία, καθώς διαθέτουν και τις δύο μορφολογίες [±ενεργητική] (αγχώνω – ομαι, δυσαρεστώ – ούμαι, εκνευρίζω – ομαι). Ωστόσο, δεν είναι ξεκάθαρο αν οι δομές με μορφολογία [-ενεργητική], είναι αποτέλεσμα μετασχηματισμού παθητικοποίησης ή αν τα ρήματα αυτά έχουν μέση σύνταξη. Παραδείγματα:

(Ο Νίκος +η Χημεία) αγχώνει τον Γιάννη
=Ο Γιάννης αγχώνεται (E + από τον Νίκο).
=Ο Γιάννης αγχώνεται (*από τη Χημεία. + με τη Χημεία).
Το διαζύγιο των γονιών της τάραξε τη Μαρία.
=Η Μαρία ταραχτήκε με το διαζύγιο των γονιών της.

Γενικότερα μπορούμε να πούμε ότι τα υπό μελέτη ρήματα ανάλογα με την σημασία τους, επιβάλλουν περιορισμούς επιλογής είτε στο Υποκείμενο ή στο Αντικείμενο, ενώ σπανίως επιβάλλουν περιορισμούς επιλογής και στα δύο. Στην τελευταία αυτή περίπτωση, το εν λόγω χαρακτηριστικό περιλαμβάνεται ως διακριτή ιδιότητα μέσα στους πίνακες του λεξικού – γραμματικής, για την οποία τα σχετικά ρήματα λαμβάνουν την τιμή [+]. Παραδείγματα:

Η Μαρία απογοήτευσε τον (προπονητή +*τον καιρό).
Η Μαρία ζηλεύει (την Άννα + *το τραπέζι).

Τέλος, διαπιστώνουμε ότι το περιοριστικό Υποκείμενο N₀ της πρώτης και δεύτερης κατηγορίας των ρημάτων ψυχικού πάθους, δηλώνει το πρόσωπο που βιώνει το συναίσθημα το οποίο δηλώνεται μέσω της σημασίας του ρήματος, κατέχοντας, έτσι, τον θεματικό ρόλο του Βιώνοντος (Experiencer). Αντιθέτως, τα ρήματα που ανήκουν στην τρίτη και τέταρτη κατηγορία, επιβάλλουν περιορισμούς επιλογής στο Αντικείμενό τους, καθώς ο θεματικός ρόλος του Βιώνοντος απαντά στην θέση αυτή. Η διαπίστωση αυτή ισχύει και για άλλες γλώσσες, και αποτελεί βάση για την διχοτόμηση των ρημάτων ψυχικού πάθους (psych verbs) σε Subject-Experiencer (SE) και σε Object-Experiencer (OE), ανάλογα με το αν ο θεματικός ρόλος του Βιώνοντος απαντά στην εξωτερική θέση του Υποκειμένου ή του Αντικειμένου του Ρήματος αντιστοίχως.

³ Εδώ πρόκειται για δομές του τύπου: Ο Γιάννης νευρίασε τη Μαρία (με τη συμπεριφορά του) = Η συμπεριφορά του Γιάννη νευρίασε τη Μαρία όπου έχουμε αναδόμηση (restructuration) της προθετικής φράσης. Πρόκειται σε ονοματική ΟΟγεν (Guillet-Leclerc, 1981), τις οποίες θα παρουσιάσουμε αναλυτικότερα σε μελλοντικές εργασίες.

7. Σημασιολογική ταξινόμηση των δηλωτικών συναισθήματος ρημάτων

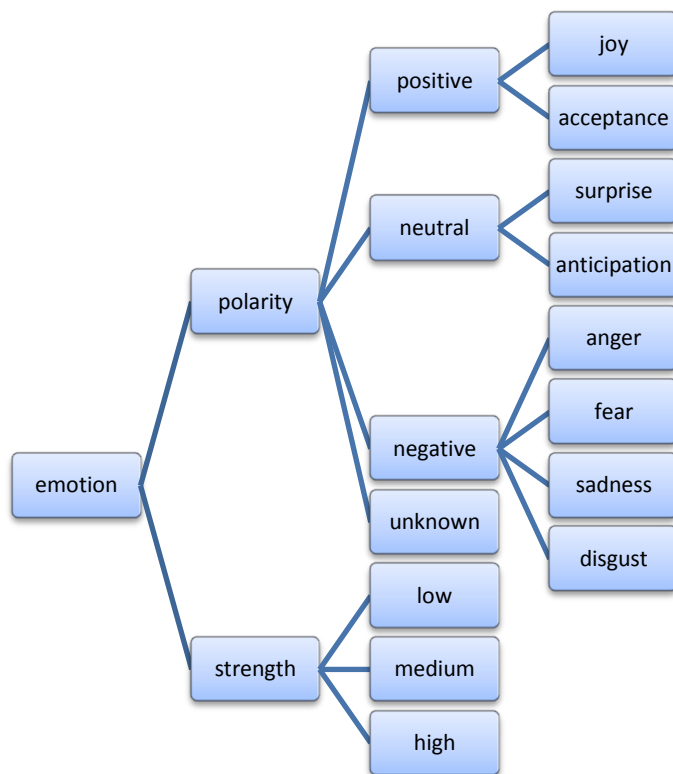
Η σημασιολογική ταξινόμηση των υπό ανάλυση ρημάτων με την υπαγωγή τους σε εννοιολογικές κατηγορίες επιτρέπει την δόμηση του σημασιολογικού πεδίου των συναισθημάτων και την σχηματοποίηση της σημασιολογικής διάκρισης μεταξύ ρημάτων όπως φοβάμαι, αγωνιώ, πανικοβάλλομαι, τρομάζω, κλπ.

Ψυχολογικές θεωρήσεις του συναισθήματος, υποστηρίζουν ότι κάποια βασικά συναισθήματα είναι πιο βασικά από άλλα, και συνεπώς αναμένεται να είναι καθολικά για όλες τις ανθρώπινες γλώσσες. Η αναγνώριση των βασικών συναισθημάτων στηρίζεται σε συγκεκριμένα λειτουργικά και φυσιολογικά κριτήρια. Στην παρούσα εργασία υιοθετήσαμε το τυπολογικό μοντέλο (Plutchik, R., 1991) που ορίζει τα εξής 8 βασικά συναισθήματα: *anger* (=θυμός), *fear* (=φόβος), *sadness* (=λύπη), *disgust* (=αηδία), *surprise* (=έκπληξη), *anticipation* (=αναμονή), *acceptance* (=αποδοχή), και *joy* (=ευχαρίστηση). Στις κατηγορίες αυτές μπορούν να υπαχθούν όλα τα συναισθήματα, ενώ είναι δυνατός ο διαχωρισμός των βασικών κατηγοριών αυτών σε επιμέρους υποκατηγορίες.

Παράλληλα, πολλοί ερευνητές περιγράφουν το συναισθήμα ως ένα σύνολο δύο ή περισσότερων διαστάσεων. Οι πιο συνηθισμένες διαστάσεις που χρησιμοποιούνται για την περιγραφή του συναισθήματος είναι η ένταση (ενεργοποίηση του επιπέδου ενθουσιασμού) και η πολικότητα, δηλαδή η θετική ή αρνητική χροιά του συναισθήματος. Λιγότερο συχνά χρησιμοποιείται η διάσταση *διάρκεια*.

Σε πρώτη φάση, η ταξινόμηση των εν λόγω ρημάτων στον άξονα της σημασίας λαμβάνει υπόψη λεξικά σημασιολογικά χαρακτηριστικά σε δύο άξονες: (α) πολικότητα (θετικό – ουδέτερο – αρνητικό συναισθήμα), και (β) ένταση συναισθήματος. Σε κάθε ρήμα αποδόθηκε το χαρακτηριστικό *strength* με πιθανές τιμές: *low*, *medium*, *high*, *uncertain*. Η απόδοση τιμής για το εν λόγω χαρακτηριστικό βασίστηκε τόσο σε στοιχεία της λεξικής σημασίας, για την αναγνώριση ρημάτων με ενσωματωμένο δείκτη έντασης (Mathieu, 2000). Έτσι, μέσω της κωδικοποίησης αυτής για κάθε ρήμα, σχηματοποιείται η διαφορά στο σημασιολογικό επίπεδο μεταξύ ρημάτων όπως π.χ., *φοβάμαι* και *αγωνιώ*.

Στην επόμενη φάση, τα ρήματα ταξινομήθηκαν σε μία από τις προαναφερθείσες 8 κατηγορίες βασικών συναισθημάτων, ενώ διατηρήθηκε η αρχική κατηγοριοποίηση σε 57 σημασιολογικές κατηγορίες οι οποίες προβλέπονται από τον αρχικό σημασιολογικό πόρο (Βοσταντζόγλου, 1988), με κάποιες (μικρής κλίμακας) αλλαγές, επεκτάσεις και διορθώσεις. Με τον τρόπο αυτό, διαμορφώθηκε ένα ταξινομικό πλαίσιο για το σημασιολογικό πεδίο των συναισθημάτων, το οποίο είναι διαβαθμίσιμο, καθώς ξεκινάει από σχετικά αδρομερείς κατηγορίες για να καταλήξει σταδιακά σε ένα πιο λεπτομερές περιγραφικό πλαίσιο. Το ταξινομικό σχήμα παρουσιάζεται στο σχήμα 1 που ακολουθεί.



Σχήμα 1 Το ταξινομικό σχήμα για το σημασιολογικό πεδίο των συναισθημάτων

8. Επίλογος

Συνοψίζοντας, η παρούσα ανακοίνωση, παρουσιάζει τα πρώτα ερευνητικά αποτελέσματα εργασίας που αφορά στην μελέτη και συστηματοποίηση του σημασιολογικού πεδίου των συναισθημάτων μέσω της ρηματικής κατηγορίας. Επιχειρήθηκε η με αυστηρά κριτήρια επιλογή των δηλωτικών συναισθήματος ρημάτων και η αρχική (σχετικά αδρομερής) δομο-συντακτική και σημασιολογική ταξινόμηση. Η παρούσα προσέγγιση, σε αντίθεση με προηγούμενες προσπάθειες, στηρίζεται σε μεγάλα ΣΚ τα οποία συγκροτήθηκαν για την μελέτη και ανάλυση συναισθήματος και στο ευρύτερο πλαίσιο της Γλωσσικής Τεχνολογίας. Η περαιτέρω επεξεργασία των δεδομένων θα οδηγήσει στην συστηματοποίηση και άλλων ιδιοτήτων των εν λόγω ρημάτων και την συνακόλουθη ολοκλήρωση των σχετικών πινάκων του λεξικού - γραμματικής. Η ολοκλήρωση της σημασιολογικής κατηγοριοποίησης των ρημάτων και η σύνδεση αυτών με τα αντίστοιχα ουσιαστικά, επίθετα και τις ρηματικές φράσεις, θα οδηγήσει στην δημιουργία μίας “οντολογίας των συναισθημάτων”. Η εργασία αυτή αποσκοπεί στη δημιουργία ενός γλωσσικού λεξιλογικού πόρου, ο οποίος θα είναι συμβατός με τα σχετικά πρότυπα, ώστε να μπορεί να ενσωματωθεί σε εργαλεία Επεξεργασίας Φυσικής Γλώσσας.

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ΠΩΣ ΝΑ ΘΥΜΑΣΑΙ ΚΑΙ ΠΩΣ ΝΑ ΞΕΧΝΑΣ ΣΤΑ ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΑ: ΔΟΜΙΚΑ ΣΧΗΜΑΤΑ ΚΑΙ ΠΡΑΞΕΙΣ ΟΜΙΛΙΑΣ ΣΤΟ ΣΩΜΑ ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΩΝ ΚΕΙΜΕΝΩΝ

Διονύσης Γούτσος
Εθνικό και Καποδιστριακό
Πανεπιστήμιο Αθηνών, Ελλάδα
dgoutsos@phil.uoa.gr

ABSTRACT

The study offers a preliminary analysis of the lexicogrammatical profile of the verbs θυμάμαι (to remember) and ξεχνάω (to forget) in the Corpus of Greek Texts (CGT), a reference corpus of approx. 30 million words. All verb forms were annotated for the categories of negation, tense, modality, number and person. The correlation between these categories suggests the occurrence of typical patterns in which the two verbs are used in Greek. It is suggested that verb patterns are related to specific speech acts and discourse functions and the implications of the study are drawn in conjunction with cross-linguistic findings in the literature.

Λέξεις κλειδιά: άρνηση, γλωσσικές πράξεις, δομικά σχήματα, ρήματα, σώματα κειμένων, τροπικότητα, χρόνος

1. Από τη χρήση στο σύστημα

Ένα από τα κεντρικότερα ζητήματα που έχουν απασχολήσει την ανάλυση λόγου στις διάφορες εκφάνσεις της είναι ο βαθμός στον οποίο η προσλεκτική ισχύς ενός εκφωνήματος και, ευρύτερα, η σημασία του καθορίζεται από γλωσσικές ενδείξεις και μηχανισμούς. Μπορούμε, δηλαδή, να συνδέσουμε μια συγκεκριμένη γλωσσική μορφή με μια λειτουργία όταν αναλύουμε πράξεις ομιλίας σε πραγματικές συνθήκες γλωσσικής αλληλεπίδρασης; Σύμφωνα με την κλασική ανάλυση του Levinson (1983), κάτι τέτοιο είναι αδύνατο γιατί η ισχύς ενός εκφωνήματος καθορίζεται αποφασιστικά από τις περικειμενικές συνθήκες χρήσης της γλώσσας (πρβλ. Collavin 2011: 388 κ.εξ.). Με παρόμοιο τρόπο, θεωρητικά πρότυπα όπως η ανάλυση συνομιλίας δίνουν έμφαση στην τοποθέτηση των εκφωνημάτων σε συγκεκριμένες αλληλεπιδράσεις μεταξύ των συμμετεχόντων σε ένα επικοινωνιακό συμβάν (βλ. Liddicoat 2007). Έτσι, για παράδειγμα, τα υπογραμμισμένα ρήματα των εκφωνημάτων στα αποσπάσματα (1) και (2) παρακάτω μπορούν να αναλυθούν ως συμβολές των συμμετεχόντων, που υπαγορεύονται από τον προσανατολισμό τους σε φαινόμενα όπως η εναλλαγή της σειράς των ομιλητών, ο σχεδιασμός για τον συνομιλητή, το καταστασιακό περικείμενο κ.λπ.

(1) Απόσπασμα από συνομιλία μεταξύ φίλων

<Θ> εμάς στο Καμάρι είχανε:: καεί @@@ κανά δυο (.) είχανε καεί

<Π> σπίτια;

<Θ> ναι

<Π> σοβαρά μιλάς; δεν το 'χα ακούσει (.) εδώ στα Μερτικέικα:: (.) μια καλύβα (.) δεν ήταν σπίτι δηλαδή ακριβώς @@@ στο χωριό που κάηκε αλλά γενικότερα όλο το δάσος δεν έμεινε ούτε ένα δέντρο (.) έφτασε μέχρι το δρόμο η φωτιά δηλαδή:: θυμάμαι ήτανε:: εφιαλτικές οι στιγμές ήτανε:: η ατμόσφαιρα αποπνικτική (.) παντού καπνός

<Θ> κι εμείς που 'χαμε μια:: απόσταση αρκετή (.) η κάπνα και:: τ' αποκαΐδια ερχόντουσαν:: σπίτι [...]

(2) Απόσπασμα από τηλεοπτική συζήτηση

<XT> [...] (.) δηλαδή εγώ περίμενα ότι σήμερα το Πασόκ θα μιλήσει για τις μεταρρυθμίσεις που ΕΠΡΕΠΕ να γίνουν και δεν έγιναν (.) [και που ενδεχομένως η κατάσταση της οικονομίας να ήταν ακόμα καλύτερη να]

- <ΓΠ> [μην ξεχνάμε Χρύσα ότι πάμε σε εκλογές (.) κι ένα (.) κι ένα μεγάλο κόμμα της αντιπολίτευσης που διεκδικεί την εξουσία σ' αυτές τις εκλογές (.) δεν θα μπορούσε να μιλήσει θετικά αυτή την ώρα (.) [στην πολιτική μάχη τη γνωρίζουμε και οι δυο καλά
- <XT> [@@ θετικά όχι εγώ δεν είπα θετικά (.) είπα (.) πολιτικά:: ΟΡΘΑ (.) εμένα αυτό μου έκανε εντύπωση
- <ΓΠ> ναι καταλαβαίνω πολύ καλά τι λες (.)

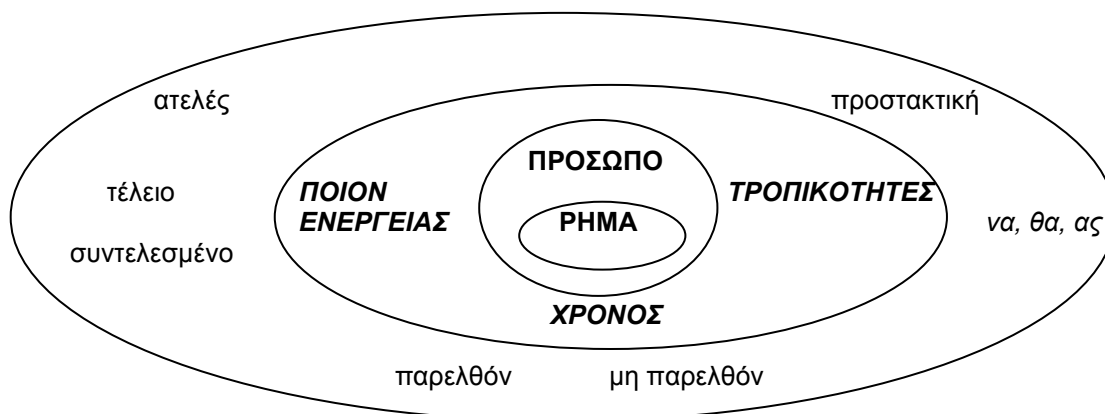
Ωστόσο, μια τέτοια ανάλυση αφήνει αναπάντητο το ερώτημα αν τα ρήματα που συμμετέχουν στις σχετικές δομές των εκφωνημάτων συμβάλλουν με κάποιο τρόπο στη σημασία τους. Με άλλα λόγια, αυτό στο οποίο δεν μπορεί να απαντήσει μια συμβατική μικρο-ανάλυση των παραπάνω κειμένων είναι αν έχουμε να κάνουμε με τυπικά δομικά σχήματα και τυπικές χρήσεις των ρημάτων *θυμάμαι* και *ξεχνάω* ή αν, αντίθετα, στα συγκεκριμένα εκφωνήματα η χρήση των ρημάτων αποκλίνει από τη συνήθη συμπεριφορά τους στα Ελληνικά. Για να επιχειρήσουμε μια απάντηση στο ερώτημα αυτό, θα πρέπει να μελετήσουμε πώς διαφέρουν συστηματικά τα δυο ρήματα ως προς τα δομικά σχήματά τους και τις λειτουργίες που συνδέονται με αυτά.

Η παρούσα μελέτη επιχειρεί μια προκαταρκτική ανάλυση του λεξικο-γραμματικού προφίλ των ρημάτων *θυμάμαι* και *ξεχνάω* στα δεδομένα του Σώματος Ελληνικών Κειμένων, από το οποίο προέρχονται τα παραπάνω αποσπάσματα, με στόχο την ανίχνευση των δομικών τους σχημάτων και των πράξεων ομιλίας με τα οποία συνδέονται. Τα ευρήματα της έρευνας αυτής μπορούν να χρησιμεύσουν στο να απαντηθούν τα ερωτήματα που τέθηκαν προηγουμένως και να συμβάλουν στην πληρέστερη ανάλυση κειμενικών αλληλεπιδράσεων όπως αυτές στα (1) και (2).

2. Μεθοδολογία και δεδομένα

Για να διερευνηθούν τα ερωτήματα της έρευνας, είναι αναγκαία η μεθοδολογία της γλωσσολογίας των σωμάτων κειμένων. Στη συγκεκριμένη έρευνα αναζητήθηκαν τα λήμματα *θυμάμαι* και *ξεχνάω* σε όλους τους τύπους τους στα δεδομένα του Σώματος Ελληνικών Κειμένων (ΣΕΚ), του σώματος κειμένων αναφοράς της Ελληνικής που περιλαμβάνει περίπου 30 εκατομμύρια λέξεις από μια ποικιλία κειμενικών ειδών του προφορικού και γραπτού λόγου. (Για λεπτομέρειες, βλ. Γούτσος 2003, Goutsos 2010a).

Οι τύποι των δύο ρημάτων που εμφανίζονται στο σώμα κειμένων επισημειώθηκαν για τις γραμματικές κατηγορίες της άρνησης, του χρόνου, του προσώπου, του ποιού ενεργείας και των τροπικοτήτων, σύμφωνα με την ανάλυση των Κλαίρη & Μπαμπινιώτη (2005) για τα παρεπόμενα του ρήματος στα Ελληνικά, από όπου προέρχεται το Σχήμα 1 που ακολουθεί:



Σχήμα 1 Ρηματικές κατηγορίες στα Ελληνικά (βλ. Κλαίρης & Μπαμπινιώτης 2005: 436)

Έτσι, κάθε τύπος των δύο ρημάτων χαρακτηρίστηκε ως θετικός ή αρνητικός (άρνηση), παρελθοντικός ή μη παρελθοντικός (χρόνος), τροπικός ή μη τροπικός (τροπικότητα), ατελής, τέλειος ή συντελεσμένος (ποιόν ενεργείας) και σημειώθηκε ο αριθμός (ενικός-πληθυντικός) και το πρόσωπο (πρώτο-δεύτερο-τρίτο) που δηλώνει μορφολογικά. (Πρβλ. την ανάλυση στο Κλαίρης & Μπαμπινιώτης 2005: 443-444). Επίσης, βρέθηκαν οι κυριότερες λεξικές και γραμματικές συνάψεις των δύο ρημάτων και τα λεξικά συμπλέγματα στα οποία συμμετέχουν (βλ. Γούτσος 2006).

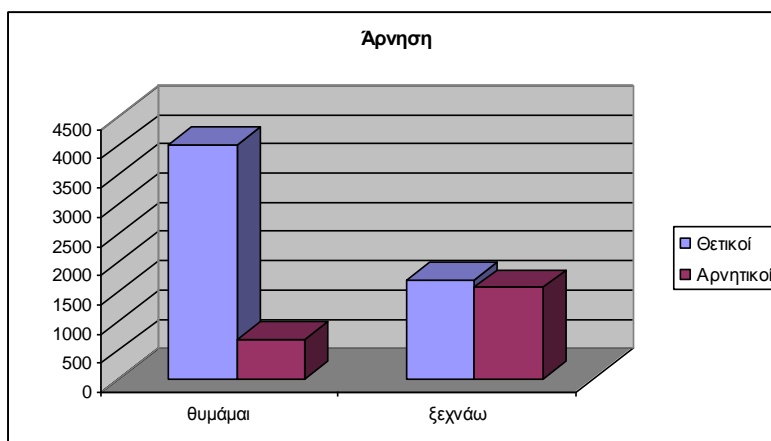
3. Ευρήματα

Στο σύνολο των 30 εκατομμυρίων λέξεων του ΣΕΚ, οι τύποι του ρήματος *θυμάμαι* είναι 4.694, ενώ του *ξεχνάω* 3.272. Στην παρούσα μελέτη παρουσιάζονται τα ευρήματα της έρευνας που αφορούν τις γραμματικές κατηγορίες της άρνησης, του χρόνου, της τροπικότητας, του προσώπου και του αριθμού.¹ Δεν θα αναφερθούμε εδώ στη γραμματική κατηγορία του ποιού ενεργείας, καθώς και στο σύνολο των λεξικών και γραμματικών συνάψεων των δύο ρημάτων.

Τα δεδομένα από τη σύγκριση θετικών και αρνητικών τύπων των δύο ρημάτων στο ΣΕΚ παρουσιάζονται στον Πίνακα 1 και το Γράφημα 1 παρακάτω και εμφανίζουν μια τυπική αναλογία 9 προς 1 στην περίπτωση του *θυμάμαι*, ενώ αντίθετα θετικοί και αρνητικοί τύποι είναι σχεδόν ισάριθμοι στην περίπτωση του *ξεχνάω*:

	<i>θυμάμαι</i>	<i>ξεχνάω</i>
Θετικοί τύποι	4.013 (85,5%)	1.702 (52%)
Αρνητικοί τύποι	681 (14,5%)	1.570 (48%)
ΣΥΝΟΛΟ	4.694	3.272

Πίνακας 1 Κατανομή θετικών και αρνητικών τύπων των δύο ρημάτων

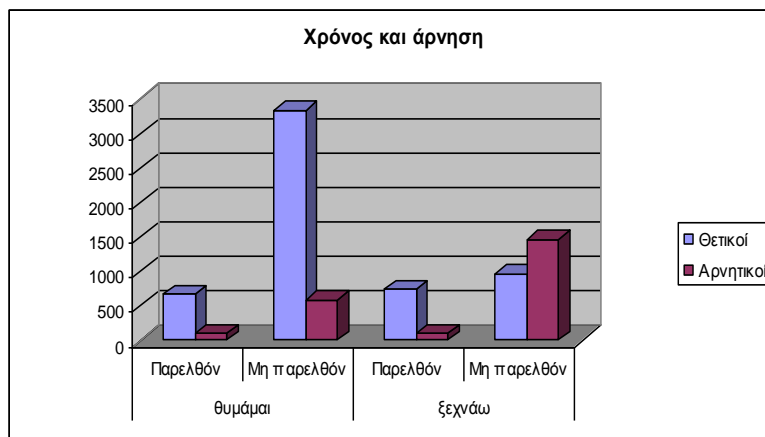


Γράφημα 1 Κατανομή θετικών και αρνητικών τύπων των δύο ρημάτων

Όπως έχει επισημανθεί στη βιβλιογραφία (Halliday 1993, Halliday & James 1993), η αναμενόμενη σχέση θετικών και αρνητικών τύπων στη γλώσσα παρουσιάζει μια τυπική ανισοκατανομή 9 προς 1, που συνδέεται με το ότι συχνότερα εκφράζουμε γλωσσικά τι συμβαίνει παρά τι δεν συμβαίνει. Τα ευρήματα επομένως υποδεικνύουν μια ιδιαίτερα μεγαλύτερη συσχέτιση του *ξεχνάω* με την άρνηση, εφόσον θετικοί και αρνητικοί τύποι παρουσιάζουν σχεδόν ισοκατανομή μεταξύ τους. Η σχέση του ρήματος αυτού με την άρνηση έχει ήδη παρατηρηθεί στη βιβλιογραφία για τα Αγγλικά (Jørgensen 1990: 149, Biber et al. 1999: 159, 174) και σε άλλα δεδομένα στα Ελληνικά (Goutsos 2010b) και είναι αξιοσημείωτο ότι επιβεβαιώνεται και στο σύνολο του ΣΕΚ.

Είναι ιδιαίτερα σημαντικό, ωστόσο, να προσδιορίσουμε αν η κατανομή αυτή σχετίζεται με άλλες κατηγορίες. Στο Γράφημα 2 που ακολουθεί φαίνεται η σχέση της άρνησης με το γραμματικό χρόνο:

¹ Στο Goutsos (2010b) αναλύονται τα ευρήματα για το *ξεχνάω* ως προς αυτές τις γραμματικές κατηγορίες σε ένα υπο-σώμα του ΣΕΚ.

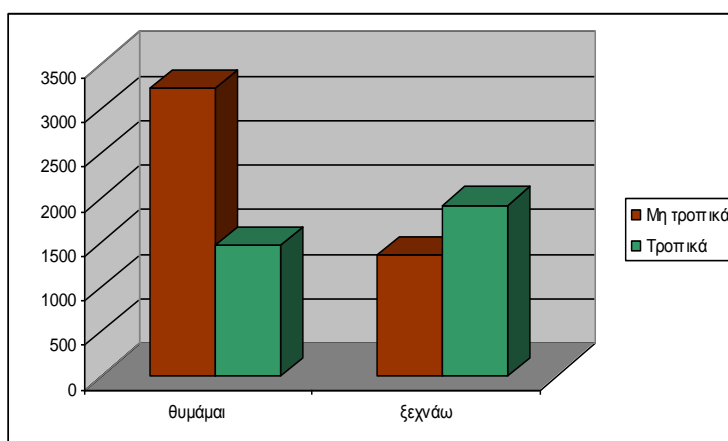


Γράφημα 2 Κατανομή θετικών και αρνητικών τύπων των δύο ρημάτων σε σχέση με το χρόνο

Όπως μπορούμε να παρατηρήσουμε, η ανισοκατανομή 9 προς 1 εμφανίζεται τόσο στους παρελθοντικούς, όσο και στους μη παρελθοντικούς τύπους του *θυμάμαι*, αλλά και στους παρελθοντικούς τύπους του *ξεχνάω*, ανατρέπεται όμως και μάλιστα υπέρ των αρνητικών τύπων στους μη παρελθοντικούς χρόνους του *ξεχνάω*, στους οποίους η αναλογία θετικών με αρνητικούς τύπους είναι 4 προς 6. Επομένως, η παρουσία αρνητικών τύπων σχετίζεται με τους μη παρελθοντικούς χρόνους στην περίπτωση του *ξεχνάω*. Ενδιαφέρον έχει επίσης η μεγάλη συγκέντρωση μη παρελθοντικών, θετικών τύπων του *θυμάμαι*. Η εικόνα που προκύπτει είναι συμμετρική ως προς την άρνηση: οι πιο συχνοί τύποι του *θυμάμαι* είναι θετικοί μη παρελθοντικοί, ενώ του *ξεχνάω* αρνητικοί μη παρελθοντικοί.

Όσον αφορά το γραμματικό χρόνο καθ' εαυτόν, το *θυμάμαι* εμφανίζει ανισοκατανομή 9 προς 1 μεταξύ μη παρελθοντικών και παρελθοντικών τύπων, ενώ το *ξεχνάω* επίσης εμφανίζει προτίμηση στους μη παρελθοντικούς τύπους αλλά με μικρότερη αναλογία σε σχέση με τους παρελθοντικούς (7,5 με 2,5). Άρα, το *θυμάμαι* σχετίζεται τυπικά με μη παρελθοντικούς τύπους.

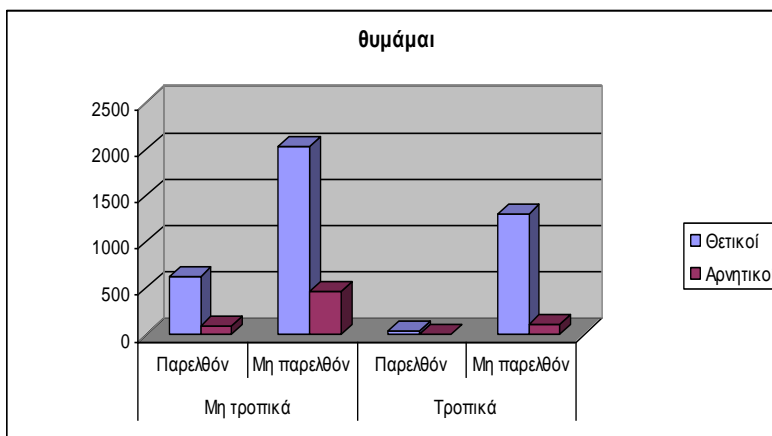
Συμμετρική είναι και η εικόνα των ευρημάτων που σχετίζονται με την τροπικότητα, όπως φαίνεται στο Γράφημα 3:



Γράφημα 3 Κατανομή τροπικών και μη τροπικών τύπων των δύο ρημάτων

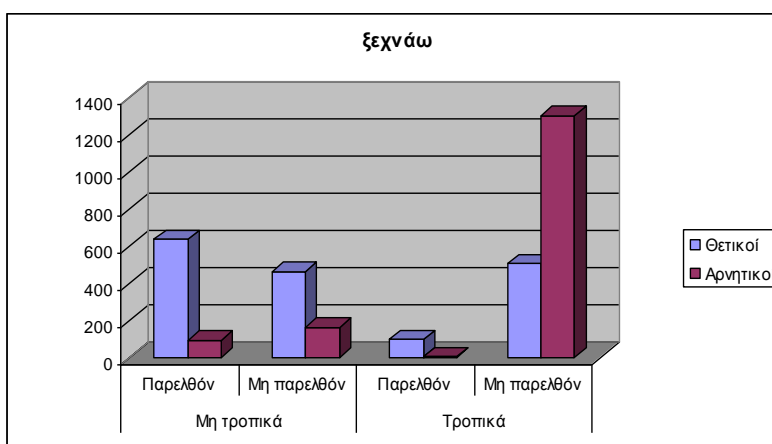
Στην περίπτωση του *θυμάμαι* οι μη τροπικοί τύποι υπερτερούν των τροπικών, όπως ίσως είναι αναμενόμενο, ενώ στο *ξεχνάω* συμβαίνει το αντίστροφο, αν και με μικρό μόνο προβάδισμα των τροπικών τύπων.

Όπως και για την άρνηση, οι προτιμήσεις αυτές δια φωτίζονται με τη μελέτη της κατανομής της τροπικότητας στις άλλες γραμματικές κατηγορίες, της άρνησης και του χρόνου. Τα ευρήματα παρουσιάζονται στα Γραφήματα 4 και 5 για τα ρήματα *θυμάμαι* και *ξεχνάω*, αντίστοιχα:



Γράφημα 4 Κατανομή θετικών και αρνητικών τύπων του *θυμάμαι* σε σχέση με χρόνο και τροπικότητα

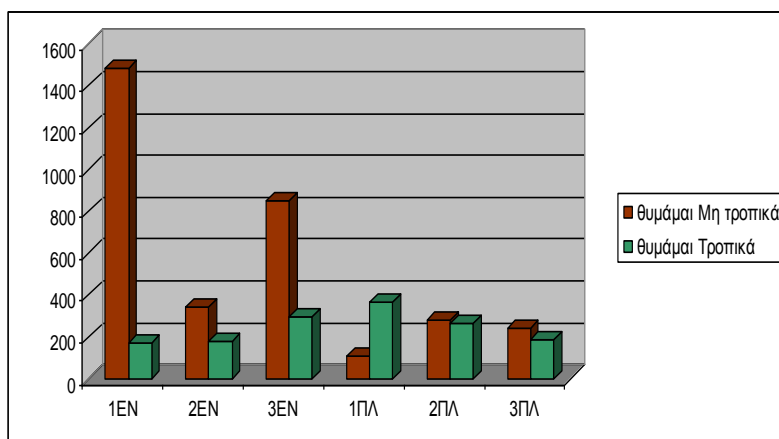
Το Γράφημα 4 δείχνει την προτίμηση των τύπων του *θυμάμαι* σε τρεις μεγάλες κατηγορίες: μη παρελθοντικούς μη τροπικούς θετικούς τύπους (λ.χ. *θυμάσαι*, περίπου το 43% των τύπων), μη παρελθοντικούς τροπικούς θετικούς τύπους (λ.χ. *να θυμάσαι*) και παρελθοντικούς μη τροπικούς θετικούς τύπους (λ.χ. *θυμήθηκες*). Οι τύποι αυτοί καλύπτουν το 85% του συνόλου, ποσοστό που φτάνει στο 95% αν προστεθούν οι μη παρελθοντικοί μη τροπικοί αρνητικοί τύποι (λ.χ. *δεν θυμάσαι*).



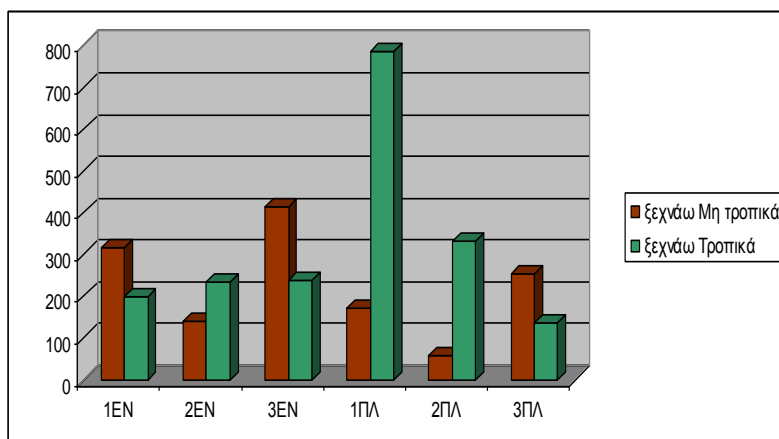
Γράφημα 5 Κατανομή θετικών και αρνητικών τύπων του *ξεχνάω* σε σχέση με χρόνο και τροπικότητα

Για το *ξεχνάω* οι προτιμήσεις είναι κατοπτρικές σε σχέση με το *θυμάμαι*, καθώς υπάρχει συγκέντρωση σε μη παρελθοντικούς τροπικούς αρνητικούς τύπους (λ.χ. *να μην ξεχνάς*, περίπου το 40% του συνόλου), παρελθοντικούς μη τροπικούς θετικούς τύπους (λ.χ. *ξέχασες*) και μη παρελθοντικούς θετικούς τροπικούς και μη τροπικούς τύπους (λ.χ. *να ξεχνάς* και *ξεχνάς*). Οι συνδυασμοί αυτοί αντιπροσωπεύουν ποσοστό 90% περίπου του συνόλου των τύπων για το *ξεχνάω*.

Εξίσου σημαντική είναι η συσχέτιση της τροπικότητας με τις γραμματικές κατηγορίες του προσώπου και του αριθμού, όπως φαίνεται στα ακόλουθα γραφήματα για τα δύο ρήματα:



Γράφημα 6 Κατανομή τροπικών και μη τροπικών τύπων του *θυμάμαι* σε σχέση με πρόσωπο και αριθμό



Γράφημα 7 Κατανομή τροπικών και μη τροπικών τύπων του *ξεχνάω* σε σχέση με πρόσωπο και αριθμό

Όπως δείχνει το Γράφημα 6, οι μισοί τύποι του *θυμάμαι* είναι μη τροπικοί τύποι 1ου και 3ου ενικού, ενώ το ποσοστό αυτό φτάνει στο 60% για όλους τους τύπους (τροπικούς και μη τροπικούς) των δύο αυτών προσώπων. Αντίθετα, σύμφωνα με το Γράφημα 7, το ένα τέταρτο των τύπων του *ξεχνάω* είναι τροπικοί τύποι 1ου πληθυντικού, ενώ όλοι οι τύποι (τροπικοί και μη τροπικοί) του ίδιου προσώπου είναι περίπου το ένα τρίτο του συνόλου. Επιπλέον, τροπικοί τύποι του 2ου πληθυντικού και μη τροπικοί τύποι του 3ου ενικού εμφανίζονται με αρκετά μεγάλη συχνότητα στην περίπτωση του *ξεχνάω*. Με άλλα λόγια, οι τύποι του *θυμάμαι* δείχνουν προτίμηση στον ενικό και είναι, όπως αναμένεται, μη τροπικοί, ενώ του *ξεχνάω* στον πληθυντικό και είναι τροπικοί.

4. Δομικά σχήματα και πράξεις ομιλίας

Συνοψίζοντας τη συζήτηση των ευρημάτων, μπορούμε να διακρίνουμε ένα κυρίαρχο σχήμα για κάθε ρήμα, που προκύπτει από το συνδυασμό των γραμματικών κατηγοριών στις οποίες απαντούν οι τύποι τους. Έτσι, στο *θυμάμαι* κυριαρχούν οι μη τροπικοί, μη παρελθοντικοί, θετικοί τύποι 1ου ενικού (λ.χ. *θυμάμαι*), ενώ στο *ξεχνάω* κυριαρχούν οι τροπικοί, μη παρελθοντικοί, αρνητικοί τύποι 1ου πληθυντικού (λ.χ. *να μην ξεχνάμε*). Τα δύο ρήματα παρουσιάζουν επομένως μια κατοπτρική εικόνα ως προς την προτίμηση στις γραμματικές κατηγορίες της άρνησης, της τροπικότητας και του αριθμού και μια παρόμοια εικόνα όσον αφορά την προτίμηση στις γραμματικές κατηγορίες του χρόνου και του προσώπου.

Η διαπίστωση των κυρίαρχων γραμματικών προτιμήσεων είναι σημαντική για να απαντηθεί το ερώτημα που τέθηκε στην αρχή της μελέτης σχετικά με τη χρήση των δύο ρημάτων στα κειμενικά αποσπάσματα που παρουσιάστηκαν. Όπως προκύπτει, και στις δύο περιπτώσεις οι ομιλητές χρησιμοποιούν τύπους που ταυτίζονται με τις κυρίαρχες γραμματικές προτιμήσεις των ρημάτων και με αυτή την έννοια η γλωσσική τους επιλογή προβλέπεται από το λεξικογραμματικό προφίλ του *θυμάμαι* και του *ξεχνάω*.

Πιο αναλυτικά, τα γραμματικά χαρακτηριστικά της μη τροπικότητας, μη άρνησης, μη παρελθοντικού χρόνου και 1ου προσώπου ενικού συμβάλλουν σημαντικά στην ερμηνεία του αποσπάσματος (1) από φιλική συνομιλία, που επαναλαμβάνεται εδώ:

<Π> [...] δηλαδή: θυμάμαι ήτανε:: εφιαλτικές οι στιγμές ήτανε:: η ατμόσφαιρα αποπνικτική (.)

Η γλωσσική επιλογή του ομιλητή Π μπορεί έτσι να συσχετιστεί με παρόμοιες επιλογές ομιλητών και συγγραφέων από το ευρύτερο σώμα κειμένων, από το οποίο προέρχεται το απόσπασμα, όπως αυτές που περιλαμβάνονται στον Πίνακα 2, και να αναδειχτούν οι ομοιότητες στη χρήση της λέξης.

υστηρή μαζί σας η μητέρα σας; «Θυμάμαι ότι μικρός μπορεί να
θα έλεγα, υποτακτικό σεβασμό. Θυμάμαι έντονα την άνεση με τ
ευτα χειρόγραφα του συγγραφέα, θυμάμαι μια λευκή σελίδα που
πέροχο BMW 507 – κίτρινο ήταν, θυμάμαι. Εύρισκα στις γραμμές
) , μείνει ταπί στα χαρτιά. Τον θυμάμαι ακόμα να ωρύεται από
ύθησε τον θάνατό του: "Πολλοί, θυμάμαι καλά, έτρεχαν να τον
την πολιτική του ΠαΣοΚ ή όχι. Θυμάμαι στη Γερμανία όταν συν
ωθείς;». ΤΟ επόμενο πράγμα που θυμάμαι είναι το πρωί που ξύπ
οι». Εχετε ποτέ μεθύσει πολύ; «Θυμάμαι ήμασταν στην Αγία Μαρ
ό τη δική του πικρή εμπειρία. «Θυμάμαι πάντα την πρώτη μου σ
τρικές δουλειές. Και, απ' ό,τι θυμάμαι, είχα έντονη κοινωνικ
επανάσταση αυτή η δήλωση τότε. Θυμάμαι με φώναξε ο Μανιαδάκη
ταν ήρθε ο Καραμανλής, με πήρε θυμάμαι τηλέφωνο και μου είπε
ρώτη φορά υποψήφιος βουλευτής, θυμάμαι ότι το σύνολο των προ
ιοι και συνταξιούχοι φοιτητές, θυμάμαι κάποιον, που κάθε δύο

Πίνακας 2 Επιλογή από το συμφραστικό πίνακα του *θυμάμαι*

Όπως φαίνεται και από τον Πίνακα 2, η χρήση του ρήματος στο συγκεκριμένο τύπο φαίνεται να εντάσσεται σε ένα ευρύτερο δομικό σχήμα που περιλαμβάνει τις γραμματικές συνάψεις του (colligation), δηλαδή τη συνδυαστικότητα του με συγκεκριμένες γραμματικές κατηγορίες στο συνταγματικό άξονα (βλ. Γούτσος & Φραγκάκη, υπό δημοσίευση). Στη συγκεκριμένη περίπτωση είναι η απουσία συνδυαστικότητας με άλλες γραμματικές κατηγορίες, αριστερά και δεξιά από την κομβική λέξη *θυμάμαι*, δηλαδή η παρενθετική του χρήση, που είναι σημαντική.

Μπορούμε να θεωρήσουμε ότι το δομικό αυτό σχήμα συνδέεται με μια πράξη ομιλίας ανάμνησης, αναφοράς δηλαδή σε μια παρελθοντική εμπειρία του ομιλητή. Η συμβατικότητα αυτής της πράξης ομιλίας φαίνεται ακριβώς στη χαλάρωση των συντακτικών δεσμών του ρηματικού τύπου *θυμάμαι* με το υπόλοιπο εκφώνημα, που οδηγεί στο να αποτελεί απλό δείκτη αποδεικτικότητας και προσωπικής εμπλοκής του ομιλητή. Η εμφάνισή του στην αρχή εκφωνημάτων φαίνεται να συνδέεται με αυτή τη χρήση.²

Αντίστοιχα, τα γραμματικά χαρακτηριστικά της τροπικότητας, άρνησης και μη παρελθοντικού χρόνου είναι σημαντικά στην ερμηνεία του αποσπάσματος (2) από τηλεοπτική συζήτηση, που επαναλαμβάνεται πιο κάτω:

<ΓΠ> [μην ξεχνάμε Χρύσα ότι πάμε σε εκλογές (.) κι ένα (.) κι ένα μεγάλο κόμμα της αντιπολίτευσης που διεκδικεί την εξουσία σ' αυτές τις εκλογές (.) δεν θα μπορούσε να μιλήσει θετικά

Και σε αυτή την περίπτωση, πέρα από τις ιδιαιτερότητες της χρήσης στο συγκεκριμένο περιεχόμενο, ο ρηματικός τύπος θα πρέπει να συσχετιστεί με τις γραμματικές του συνάψεις ως δείγμα ενός ευρύτερου

² Είναι πιθανόν η λειτουργία αυτή να συνδέεται και με την τοποθέτησή του στην αρχή κειμένων ή κειμενικών ενοτήτων (λ.χ. αφηγήσεων). Μια τέτοια έρευνα θα ήταν χρήσιμο να πραγματοποιηθεί στο σώμα κειμένων.

δομικού σχήματος που περιλαμβάνει ειδική πρόταση με το *ότι* ή *πως* και το οποίο εμφανίζεται και στα ακόλουθα παραδείγματα από το ΣΕΚ:

ημιστικών εσόδων. Άλλωστε, μην ξεχνάμε ότι η NET είναι ένας α) θα ήταν 51% περίπου. Ας μην ξεχνάμε όμως ότι το Χρηματιστήριο αυτών, διότι δεν πρέπει να ξεχνάμε ότι η περιφέρεια ΑΜΘ κών καρτών. Δεν πρέπει ποτέ να ξεχνάμε ή να παραβλέπουμε ότι ά χωρίς όρους. Δεν μπορούμε να ξεχνάμε πως αυτή η γλώσσα είναι 32-233). Δεν θα πρέπει όμως να ξεχνάμε εδώ αφενός ότι τα κριά της διεθνούς κοινότητας. Μην ξεχνάμε ότι τους χαλάσαμε τα , όσο αρχικά φαίνονται. Ας μην ξεχνάμε άλλωστε ότι πίσω από με τον κύριο Ριπλέϋ, γιατί μην ξεχνάμε ότι ο κύριος Ριπλέϋ ε σε θέση να επιταχυνθεί. Ας μην ξεχνάμε επίσης ότι η ελληνική : πρώτον, οι κερδοφόροι ας μην ξεχνάμε ότι 31 επιχειρήσεις τ στη σ' αυτό που έκαναν. Να μην ξεχνάμε ότι ο κύριος στόχος τ χορευτικές παρουσίας (Ας μην ξεχνάμε ότι οι προγονοί μας ό φής35. Και πρέπει ακόμη να μην ξεχνάμε ότι η αλφαβητική γραφ νθήματα – και δεν θα πρέπει να ξεχνάμε πως τα ίδια τα μέσα κ

Πίνακας 3 Επιλογή από το συμφραστικό πίνακα του *ξεχνάω*

Η λειτουργία του ρηματικού τύπου στο δομικό αυτό σχήμα δεν φαίνεται να συνδέεται με τη μνήμη ή τη λήθη, αλλά συσχετίζεται με μια κατευθυντική πράξη ομιλίας υπενθύμισης και κατ' επέκταση επισήμανσης του σημαντικού (βλ. Goutsos 2010b). Η εμφάνισή του δομικού σχήματος στην αρχή εκφωνημάτων φαίνεται να συνδέεται με τη μετάβαση σε ένα νέο θέμα ή μια νέα πτυχή της επιχειρηματολογίας, που πραγματώνεται με αυτή την πράξη ομιλίας. Η παρουσία δεικτών λόγου όπως *άλλωστε* και *όμως* στο δομικό σχήμα υποδεικνύει ότι εισάγεται μια δευτερεύουσα αλλά εξίσου σημαντική πτυχή του επιχειρήματος, που ενισχύει ή μετριάξει την ισχύ της προηγούμενης διαπίστωσης. Τέλος, η επιλογή του 1ου προσώπου πληθυντικού μπορεί να αποδοθεί στην επιδίωξη για εμπλοκή του συνομιλητή. Πρόκειται ουσιαστικά για εγκλειστικό πληθυντικό που υπαγορεύεται από αρχές της ευγένειας, καθώς μετριάξει την επιβολή της κατευθυντικής πράξης με το να αποδίδει την υπενθύμιση ή την επισήμανση, εκτός από τους συνομιλητές (ακροατές ή αναγνώστες), και στον ίδιο τον ομιλητή.

Με παρόμοιο τρόπο μπορούν να αναλυθούν τα άλλα δομικά σχήματα στα οποία συμμετέχουν οι ρηματικοί τύποι του *θυμάμαι* και του *ξεχνάω*. Σύμφωνα με τα παραπάνω ευρήματα, εκτός από τα κυρίαρχα σχήματα, διαπιστώθηκαν προτιμώμενα σχήματα που περιλαμβάνουν για κάθε ρήμα τους εξής ρηματικούς τύπους:

- τροπικοί μη παρελθοντικοί θετικοί τύποι (να *θυμάμαι*)
- μη τροπικοί παρελθοντικοί θετικοί τύποι (*θυμήθηκα*/*θυμόμουν*)
- μη τροπικοί μη παρελθοντικοί αρνητικοί τύποι (*δεν θυμάμαι*)
- μη τροπικοί παρελθοντικοί θετικοί τύποι (*ξέχασα*/*ξεχνούσα*)
- τροπικοί μη παρελθοντικοί θετικοί τύποι (να *ξεχνάω*)
- μη τροπικοί μη παρελθοντικοί θετικοί τύποι (*ξεχνάω*)

Οι τύποι αυτοί αλληλεπιδρούν με τις γραμματικές κατηγορίες του προσώπου και του αριθμού, όπως και στα κυρίαρχα σχήματα, για τα οποία πρέπει να σημειωθεί ότι η προτίμησή τους στο πρώτο πρόσωπο (ενικού ή πληθυντικού) συνδέεται με την πραγμάτωση πράξεων ομιλίας.

Η εξαντλητική ανάλυση των πράξεων ομιλίας που πραγματώνουν τα σχετικά δομικά σχήματα δεν ανήκει στους στόχους της παρούσας μελέτης.³ Είναι βέβαιο όμως ότι η προσεκτικότερη μελέτη των λεξικών και γραμματικών συνάψεων των ρηματικών τύπων μπορεί να αποκαλύψει ένα πλήθος λειτουργιών που υπαγορεύονται και ταυτόχρονα ερμηνεύουν την επιλογή συγκεκριμένων γραμματικών κατηγοριών όπως η τροπικότητα, η άρνηση, ο χρόνος κ.λπ.

³ Ένα ακόμη δομικό σχήμα στην περίπτωση του *ξεχνάω* αναλύεται και συνδέεται με πράξεις ομιλίας στο Goutsos (2010b).

5. Συμπεράσματα και προεκτάσεις

Τα κύρια συμπεράσματα της έρευνας αυτής προκύπτουν από το εύρημα ότι τα δύο υπό εξέταση ρήματα διαθέτουν διαφορετικές προτιμήσεις όσον αφορά την επιλογή παρεπομένων ή γραμματικών κατηγοριών: το *θυμάμαι* εμφανίζεται πιο συχνά σε μη παρελθοντικούς, θετικούς, μη τροπικούς τύπους, ενώ το *ξεχνάω* επίσης σε μη παρελθοντικούς, αλλά σε τροπικούς και, σε μεγάλο βαθμό, αρνητικούς τύπους.

Κατ' αρχάς, το εύρημα αυτό επιβεβαιώνει ότι η κατανομή των λημμάτων σε τύπους δεν είναι ομοιόμορφη σε όλα τα λήμματα· αντίθετα, ορισμένα λήμματα φαίνεται να ελκύονται από φαινόμενα όπως η άρνηση ή η τροπικότητα. Η εκτεταμένη ανάλυση λ.χ. των ρηματικών λημμάτων με παρόμοιες μεθόδους σε δεδομένα από σώματα κειμένων είναι απαραίτητη για να κατανοήσουμε τη λειτουργία των γραμματικών κατηγοριών και τις συγκεκριμένες προτιμήσεις των ρημάτων σε αυτές.

Επιπλέον, φάνηκε ότι οι προτιμήσεις σε ορισμένα παρεπόμενα δημιουργούν επαναλαμβανόμενα δομικά σχήματα, που συνδέονται με πράξεις ομιλίας. Αυτό σημαίνει ότι η λειτουργία και η σημασία των ρημάτων εξαρτώνται άμεσα από τα συγκεκριμένα δομικά σχήματα στα οποία εμφανίζονται και δύσκολα μπορεί να γίνει κατανοητή ανεξάρτητα από αυτά. Η σύνδεση αυτή επιβεβαιώνει τη βασική διαπίστωση της γλωσσολογίας των σωμάτων κειμένων ότι μορφή και λειτουργία είναι αλληλένδετες στη γλώσσα, ενώ, από την άλλη, είναι σημαντικό ότι στον λόγο διαπιστώνονται συγκεκριμένοι λεξικογραμματικοί μηχανισμοί ένδειξης των γλωσσικών πράξεων. Όπως διαπιστώνει η Adolphs, «ακόμη και ελάχιστες μορφικές παραλλαγές μπορεί να συνδέονται με μια συγκεκριμένη μεταβλητή στη λειτουργία ενός εκφωνήματος» (2008: 2, πρβλ. Γούτσος 2008).

Οπωσδήποτε, στην εμφάνιση δομικών σχημάτων βασική είναι η συμβολή των γραμματικών συνάψεων της λέξης και, επομένως, μια πιο συστηματική διερεύνηση των συμπληρωμάτων των υπό εξέταση ρημάτων αποτελεί αναγκαία προέκταση της παρούσας έρευνας. Για παράδειγμα, είναι ιδιαίτερα σημαντικό ότι στο συχνότερο δομικό σχήμα του *θυμάμαι* το ρήμα δεν συνδέεται συνήθως συντακτικά με την υπόλοιπη πρόταση, κάτι που πιθανώς υποδεικνύει τη σταδιακή του γραμματικοποίηση, δηλαδή τη μετατροπή του από πλήρες ρήμα σε απλό δείκτη αποδεικτικότητας ή εμπλοκής, όπως έχει διαπιστωθεί και στο Tao (2003) για το *remember* στα Αγγλικά. Μια παρόμοια διαδικασία παρατηρείται και στο κυρίαρχο δομικό σχήμα του *ξεχνάω*, το οποίο τείνει να αποτελέσει μια στερεότυπη φράση με κύρια λειτουργία την έκφραση της πράξης ομιλίας της υπενθύμισης ή επισήμανσης, ενώ το κύριο σημασιολογικό περιεχόμενο της πρότασης μεταφέρεται από την ειδική πρόταση που ακολουθεί. Εξίσου σημαντικά ενδέχεται να είναι τα πορίσματα από την εξέταση της γραμματικής κατηγορίας του ποιού ενεργείας, που δεν αναλύθηκε στην παρούσα μελέτη.

Ιδιαίτερο ενδιαφέρον έχει και η σύγκριση των ευρημάτων στα Ελληνικά με τις παρατηρήσεις της βιβλιογραφίας για τα αντίστοιχα ρήματα στα Αγγλικά (βλ. λ.χ. Jørgensen 1990, Biber et al. 1999, Tao 2001, 2003, Goddard 2007). Για παράδειγμα, στις μελέτες της Αγγλικής διαπιστώνεται η μεγαλύτερη συχνότητα του *remember* σε σχέση με το *forget*, η τάση του δεύτερου να συνάπτεται με αρνητικά στοιχεία και η τάση και των δύο να απαντούν στο πρώτο πρόσωπο. Οι διαπιστώσεις αυτές συμφωνούν με τα ευρήματα για την Ελληνική της παρούσας έρευνας και υποδεικνύουν ίσως ότι οι προτιμήσεις αυτές των ρημάτων οφείλονται στις εγγενείς σημασιολογικές ιδιότητες των συγκεκριμένων λημμάτων. Το γεγονός ότι και τα δύο αποτελούν ρήματα γνώσης και εκφράζουν, όπως έχει παρατηρηθεί από τον Jørgensen (1990), ενεργό επίγνωση (*θυμάμαι*) ή νοητική αδράνεια (*ξεχνάω*), μπορεί να ερμηνεύσει τη διαφορετική τους συμπεριφορά και τα διαγλωσσικά παράλληλα. Ταυτόχρονα, η λεπτομερέστερη έρευνα μπορεί να αναδείξει τις διαφορές των δύο γλωσσών στο εύρος των δομικών σχημάτων και των πραγματολογικών λειτουργιών των στοιχείων, αλλά και στη σύνδεσή τους με παραμέτρους της εγγένειας ή πολιτισμικές νόρμες. Χαρακτηριστικές είναι, για παράδειγμα, οι πολιτισμικές και ιστορικοκοινωνικές συνδηλώσεις της φράσης *den ξechνώ*.

Στους περιορισμούς της έρευνας συγκαταλέγεται επίσης η μελέτη του συνόλου του ΣΕΚ, καθώς μια διαφοροποίηση των δεδομένων ανά κειμενικό είδος μπορεί να διευκρινίσει τη σχέση των ρηματικών τύπων με ορισμένα επικοινωνιακά περιβάλλοντα. Ιδιαίτερο ενδιαφέρον για τις τάσεις που διαμορφώνονται στα Ελληνικά θα είχε η μελέτη των προφορικών δεδομένων του ΣΕΚ. Τέλος, η στατιστική επεξεργασία των ευρημάτων είναι σημαντική για την αξιολόγησή τους, αν και θα πρέπει να σημειωθεί ότι παραμένουν ισχυρές αμφιβολίες για το κατά πόσο τα γλωσσικά φαινόμενα των σωμάτων κειμένων μπορούν να αντιμετωπίζονται ως στατιστικά αναλυσίμοι πληθυσμοί (βλ. Sinclair 2008).

Τα πορίσματα της μελέτης υποδεικνύουν ότι στη βάση της γραμματικής συμπεριφοράς των γλωσσικών στοιχείων βρίσκονται συγκεκριμένα δομικά σχήματα που υπαγορεύονται από ποικίλες κειμενικές λειτουργίες. Με αυτή την έννοια, δεν μπορούμε να κάνουμε λόγο για ένα ενιαίο και

αδιαφοροποίητο γλωσσικό σύστημα, που περιλαμβάνει γλωσσικά στοιχεία με δεδομένη εκ των προτέρων συμπεριφορά, ούτε όμως μπορούμε να δεχτούμε ότι το νόημα προκύπτει εξ αρχής κάθε φορά στο συγκεκριμένο περιεχόμενο, χωρίς καμιά σύνδεση με προϋπάρχουσες κανονικότητες. Η εικόνα που προκύπτει από τη μελέτη των σωμάτων κειμένων γεφυρώνει τις δύο αυτές αντίθετες τοποθετήσεις, τονίζοντας μια πραγματολογική θεώρηση του συστήματος (βλ. Goutsos 2010b). Όπως διαπιστώθηκε στην παρούσα μελέτη, συγκεκριμένοι τύποι του ρήματος συνδέονται τυπικά με πράξεις λόγου και σχέσεις των συμμετεχόντων, υπογραμμίζοντας έτσι την απευθυντικότητα και τη διαπροσωπικότητα που διαποτίζει τη γλώσσα (Voloshinov 1973: 85, 86). Ταυτόχρονα, οι τυπικές αυτές διασυνδέσεις εγγράφονται στο σύστημα της γλώσσας και παρέχουν ενδείξεις που βοηθούν τους ομιλητές και τους ακροατές στη διαδικασία δημιουργίας του νοήματος.

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ΣΤΟΙΧΕΙΑ ΓΙΑ ΤΗΝ ΕΝΝΟΙΟΛΟΓΙΚΗ ΘΕΜΕΛΙΩΣΗ ΚΑΙ ΤΗ ΓΝΩΣΤΙΚΗ ΛΕΙΤΟΥΡΓΙΚΟΤΗΤΑ ΤΩΝ ΝΕΟΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΩΝ ΙΔΙΩΜΑΤΙΚΩΝ ΕΚΦΡΑΣΕΩΝ: ΠΑΡΑΔΕΙΓΜΑΤΑ ΑΠΟ ΤΟ ΣΗΜΑΣΙΟΛΟΓΙΚΟ ΠΕΔΙΟ ΤΗΣ ΦΥΣΕΩΣ

Βαρβάρα Δημοπούλου δ.φ.
Διαπολιτισμικό Γυμνάσιο Α' Αθήνας
Barbara.Dimopoulou@gmail.com

ABSTRACT

The aim of this paper is to provide evidence of the claim that idioms should be considered as a form of interaction between human perceptual and linguistic system. The evidence comes from Modern Greek and the semantic field of nature. The examples are grouped together on the basis of their meaning and form abstract systems of schemata or hierarchies in mental lexicon. In this aspect, idioms are seen as complex mechanisms, firstly with a conceptual character and then with a linguistic one, and dealt with as linguistic expression of subject cognitive schemata that shape a good deal of everyday notions.

Λέξεις κλειδιά: ιδιωτισμοί, γνωστική θεμελίωση, εννοιακά πεδία, εννοιολογικές μεταφορές, εννοιολογικές μετωνυμίες, συστήματα, ιεραρχίες.

1. Εισαγωγή

Στο επίκεντρο του ενδιαφέροντος του άρθρου βρίσκονται οι κλειστοί συνδυασμοί λέξεων, δηλαδή οι λεξιλογικές ακολουθίες με λίγο – πολύ δεσμευτικό χαρακτήρα ως προς τη συνεμφάνιση των μελών τους (στερεοτυπία), πολλές από τις οποίες (και οι πιο ενδιαφέρουσες) παρουσιάζουν και το επιπρόσθετο, διαβαθμισμένο γνώρισμα της σημασιακής απόκλισης από την κυριολεξία, χαρακτηρίζονται δηλαδή από ιδιωματοκότητα. Το πλήθος και η ποικιλία τέτοιων εκφράσεων σε κάθε γλώσσα – άρα και στην κοινή Νέα Ελληνική – είναι δεδομένα, γι' αυτό χρειάζεται εξ αρχής να διευκρινιστεί ότι η παρούσα ανάλυση αφορά μόνο σε φράσεις που προκύπτουν ως αποτελέσματα της δράσης των εννοιολογικών μηχανισμών της μεταφοράς και της μετωνυμίας.

Ειδικότερα, τα δείγματα φράσεων που μελετώνται στο άρθρο προέρχονται από το corpus νεοελληνικών στερεοτύπων που συνέλεξε η γράφουσα κατά τα έτη 1999-2004 με πηγές τα κυριότερα λεξικά της Κοινής Νεοελληνικής, το λεξικογραφικό αρχείο της Βιβλιοθήκης Γλωσσολογίας του Πανεπιστημίου Αθηνών, μέρος του ημερήσιου και περιοδικού τύπου και, σποραδικά, προφορικές συζητήσεις, από τις οποίες κρατήθηκαν σημειώσεις. Βασικό κριτήριο για τη συγκέντρωση του υλικού στάθηκε αφενός η φραστική δομή και η παγίωση και αφετέρου το ζήτημα της πληρότητας στην κάλυψη προεπιλεγμένων εννοιών (π.χ. των στοιχείων της φύσεως). Το corpus, ωστόσο, σχεδιάστηκε κυρίως με βάση την εννοιολογική-γνωστική διάσταση των λημμάτων, το αν και κατά πόσο δηλαδή οι συγκεκριμένες δομές μπορούν να αναχθούν σε υποκείμενα εννοιολογικά μεταφορικά ή/και μετωνυμικά σχήματα που διευκολύνουν την πρόσληψη αφηρημένων εννοιών.

Από σημασιολογική άποψη, οι φράσεις που εξετάζονται στο άρθρο, αλλά και όλα τα λήμματα του corpus υπάγονται στην ευρύτατη κατηγορία της *φύσης*. Επειδή όμως η *φύση* μπορεί να θεωρηθεί ότι περιλαμβάνει πάμπολλα και ετερόκλητα στοιχεία, και με δεδομένη την αμφίδρομη σχέση μεταξύ των σημασιολογικών πεδίων και της εξωγλωσσικής πραγματικότητας (Μότσιου 1994:175), το αχανές 'πεδίο' της φύσεως προτείνεται να διαιρεθεί εσωτερικά σε επιμέρους σημασιολογικά - εννοιακά πεδία (π.χ. τα στοιχεία της φύσεως: φως, σκοτάδι, νερό, αέρας, γη κ.λπ., τα φυσικά φαινόμενα και μεγέθη: βρασμός, ψύξη, θερμότητα, ψυχρότητα κ.λπ., τα φυσικά σώματα: μέταλλα κ.ά.), καθένα από τα οποία αξιοποιείται από την νεοελληνική γλωσσική κοινότητα ως πηγή για τον σχηματισμό μη κυριολεκτικών σχημάτων της σκέψης και των αντιστοιχών φράσεων. Με βάση τα επιμέρους εννοιακά πεδία κατηγοριοποιήθηκαν και ταξινομήθηκαν τα λήμματα στο corpus και από το υλικό που το καθένα περιλαμβάνει αντλήθηκαν - επιλεκτικά - συγκεκριμένες φράσεις για να καλύψουν τις ανάγκες των

επιχειρημάτων του παρόντος άρθρου¹. Συγκεκριμένα, τα εννοιακά πεδία της *φωτιάς*, της *γης* και του *νερού* (φυσικά στοιχεία), του *αστεριού* (φυσικό σώμα) και του *λαδιού* (φυσικό προϊόν) χρησιμοποιούνται στα επόμενα ως πηγές για να αποδώσουν τις αφηρημένες έννοιες της συναισθηματικής έντασης, του ζωτικού χώρου και της ισχύος, της διαχείρισης πόρων, της αξιολόγησης και της καταβολής προσπάθειας αντιστοίχως, ενώ το εννοιακό πεδίο του *φωτός* παρουσιάζεται σε όλο το παραγωγικό του εύρος.

2. Το θεωρητικό υπόβαθρο – γενικά

Οι ιδιωτισμοί αντιμετωπίζονται παραδοσιακά από τη θεωρία της γλώσσας ως εκτεταμένες λεξιμοποιημένες δομές, με σημασία που δεν προκύπτει αθροιστικά από τις σημασίες των επιμέρους συστατικών τους (Fernando 1978:317, 1996:7-8, Swinney & Cutler 1973:4, Davies 1982:70, Strässler 1982:79, Cooper 1986:180, για την ελληνική φρασεολογία Αναστασιάδη – Συμεωνίδη (1986), Αναστασιάδη-Συμεωνίδη και Ευθυμίου (2006), Θώμου (2011), Γαβριηλίδου (2001, 2008, 2009), Μουστάκη (1992) και Fotopoulou (1993). Με άλλα λόγια θεωρούνται κάτι σαν «μεγάλες λέξεις», αυτόνομες και ανεξάρτητες η μία από την άλλη και με περιεχόμενο εν πολλοίς καθιερωμένο και συμβατικό (Palmer 1981²:79, Carter 1987:58, Cruse 1987²:37), έτσι ώστε να μπορούν να ανακληθούν ανά πάσα στιγμή από το νοητικό λεξικό ως απλά λεξήματα, για να καλύψουν τις ανάγκες της επικοινωνιακής περιστάσης

Στην πραγματικότητα, ακόμη και η πιο βιαστική ματιά σε σώματα κειμένων ή σε συλλογές εκφράσεων, όπως το corpus που προαναφέρθηκε, υποδεικνύει ότι οι ιδιωτισμοί ομαδοποιούνται, ιεραρχούνται και οργανώνονται γύρω από κεντρικούς πόλους, και μάλιστα όχι τυχαία, αλλά με βάση το κριτήριο της σημασίας. Και επειδή πρόκειται για σημασία συχνά μη κυριολεκτική, η ανάλυση των φράσεων προτείνεται να ενταχθεί στο ευρύτερο πλαίσιο της συζήτησης για τους δύο βασικούς, εννοιολογικούς και γλωσσικούς μηχανισμούς παραγωγής μη κυριολεκτικών σημασιών, τη μεταφορά και τη μετωνυμία, και, φυσικά, στην έρευνα για τη μεταξύ τους διαπλοκή και τον σχηματισμό ευρύτερων συστημάτων και ιεραρχιών. Επίσης, η αναφορά στο εννοιολογικό επίπεδο σχηματισμού των φράσεων, το οποίο προηγείται του γλωσσικού, υποδεικνύει ότι ο προβληματισμός για τη φύση και τη λειτουργία των ιδιωτικών δομών λαμβάνει γνωστική κατεύθυνση.

3. Ως προς το σχήμα της μεταφοράς

Από γνωστική άποψη, οι ιδιωτισμοί αντιμετωπίζονται ως γλωσσική απόδοση των υποκείμενων εννοιολογικών μεταφορικών σχημάτων (conceptual metaphor) (Lakoff & Johnson 1980:21), δηλαδή των μηχανισμών κατανόησης αφηρημένων εννοιών με τους όρους της καθημερινής εμπειρίας. Υπό την έννοια αυτή, υποστηρίζεται ότι οι εκφράσεις αντικατοπτρίζουν στην επιφανειακή δομή της γλώσσας κάθε τέτοιο σχήμα, δηλαδή ένα συγκεκριμένο σύστημα δι-εννοιολογικών αντιστοιχίσεων (cross domain mapping) ανάμεσα στο συγκεκριμένο και το αφηρημένο. Με τις αντιστοιχίσεις αυτές δύο κατά βάση διαφορετικές μεταξύ τους έννοιες (η συγκεκριμένη και η αφηρημένη) προσεγγίζουν η μία την άλλη προς όφελος της κατανόησης (Lakoff 1993²:203, Gibbs 1994:248-9, Kövecses 2002:4, Niemeier 2003:196, Deignan 2005:14, Βελούδης 2005:182).

Για παράδειγμα, το φυσικό στοιχείο της *φωτιάς* και η διαδικασία της *καύσης* μπορούν να συγκροτήσουν ένα εννοιακό πεδίο – πηγή για εκφράσεις, όπως οι ακόλουθες:

(1) Η ΣΥΝΑΙΣΘΗΜΑΤΙΚΗ ΕΝΤΑΣΗ ΕΙΝΑΙ ΦΩΤΙΑ

- α) (κάτι) με καίει
- β) καίγεται η καρδιά μου
- γ) ανάβω φωτιές (σε κάποιον)
- δ) παίρνω φωτιά (με το πρώτο)
- ε) είμαι / γίνομαι πυρ και μανία κ.ά.

¹ Το σύνολο του corpus περιλαμβάνει ενενήντα (90) επιμέρους σημασιολογικά – εννοιακά πεδία και περίπου 3000 λήμματα. Παραμένει αδημοσίευτο, αλλά βρίσκεται στη Βιβλιοθήκη Γλωσσολογίας του Ε.Κ.Π.Α.

Στις δομές αυτές ένα σαφές και συγκεκριμένο στοιχείο του φυσικού κόσμου (*φωτιά, καύση*) συνδέεται εννοιολογικά με το ασαφές και μη μετρήσιμο μέγεθος της έντασης των ανθρώπινων συναισθημάτων, πράγμα που προσδίδει εννοιολογική προσβασιμότητα στο ασαφές, δηλαδή διευκολύνει την πρόσληψη και κατανόησή του. Πρόκειται, στην ουσία, για έναν τρόπο εννοιολογικής υπαγωγής των στοιχείων της φυσικής εμπειρίας, όπως αυτή γίνεται αισθητή διά του σώματος, στις ανάγκες έκφρασης της αφηρημένης σκέψης (Holme 2003:391, Βελούδης 2005:178), ειδικότερα σε σχέση με την περίπλοκη φύση και γλώσσα των ανθρώπινων συναισθημάτων (Kövecses 1990, Kövecses 2000, Gavriilidou 2002, Γαβριηλίδου 2002). Και επειδή η υπαγωγή εδώ γίνεται με όρους μεταφορικούς, μπορεί να θεωρηθεί ότι οι φράσεις (1) εντάσσονται στο εννοιολογικό μεταφορικό σχήμα *Η ΣΥΝΑΙΣΘΗΜΑΤΙΚΗ ΕΝΤΑΣΗ ΕΙΝΑΙ ΦΩΤΙΑ*² που αποτελεί τη βάση τους και δικαιολογεί την παρουσία και τη χρήση τους στον λόγο. Παράλληλα, η καθεμία από τις φράσεις αντιστοιχεί σημασιολογικά σε ένα ιδιαίτερο είδος συναισθηματικής έντασης, στο εσωτερικό του ίδιου εννοιολογικού πλαισίου, δηλαδή καμία δεν είναι ισοδύναμη με την άλλη και καμία δεν μπορεί να υποκατασταθεί από άλλη ή από κάποιο κυριολεκτικό ισοδύναμο, χωρίς (μερική έστω) διατάραξη της σημασιολογικής ισορροπίας.

Επιπλέον, εφόσον η κοινή εμπειρία αποτελεί τη βάση της εννοιολογικής δομής και η εννοιολογική τη βάση της γλωσσικής, οι μεταφορικές έννοιες που βασίζονται στην εμπειρία και ενσωματώνονται στους ιδιωτισμούς (Kövecses 2002:177, Steen & Gavins 2003:9) έχουν τη δύναμη όχι μόνο να περιγράφουν, αλλά και να διαμορφώνουν εν μέρει την εξωγλωσσική πραγματικότητα, όπως ο άνθρωπος την αντιλαμβάνεται (Lakoff & Johnson 1980:144, 1999:63). Επ' αυτού, ένα από τα παραδείγματα από το εννοιακό πεδίο του φυσικού σώματος του *αστεριού* μπορεί να θεωρηθεί το σύμπλεγμα των στοιχείων της καθημερινότητας (ξενοδοχείων, εστιατορίων, ποτών κ.ά.) που αξιολογούνται με το σύμβολο και το γλωσσικό σημείο του αστεριού (π.χ. *ξενοδοχείο πέντε αστέρων*), εφόσον στη Νέα Ελληνική λειτουργεί το εννοιολογικό μεταφορικό σχήμα ταύτισης του αστεριού με τις έννοιες του πολύτιμου, του αξιόλογου κ.λπ.. Σημειωτέον δε ότι το συγκεκριμένο σχήμα αποτελεί μία έκφανση της ευρύτερης, προσανατολιστικού χαρακτήρα εννοιολογικής μεταφοράς *ΤΟ ΚΑΛΟ ΕΙΝΑΙ ΠΑΝΩ (ΑΠΟ ΤΟ ΕΛΑΦΟΣ)* που υλοποιείται και σε άλλα εννοιακά πεδία (π.χ. του *ουρανού*, σε φράσεις όπως *βρίσκομαι στον έβδομο ουρανό, πετάω στα σύννεφα* κ.ά.) (Δημοπούλου 2010:294).

Από την άλλη μεριά, η λίγο πολύ παγιωμένη και σταθερή μορφή του συνόλου των συναφών φράσεων όχι μόνο αποκαλύπτει, στο επίπεδο της σκέψης, έναν γενικό τρόπο διαμόρφωσης των καθημερινών εννοιών, αλλά και συγκροτεί, στο επίπεδο της γλώσσας, μια παρακαταθήκη σταθερών μεταφορικών σημασιών, κοινή και διαθέσιμη σε όλα τα μέλη της γλωσσικής κοινότητας. Όλα αυτά, πάντως, δεν σημαίνουν ότι οι χρήστες της γλώσσας, κάθε φορά που προσλαμβάνουν ή αναπαράγουν μία έκφραση, ανακαλούν στον νου τους το σχήμα ή τα σχήματα. Απλώς τα σχήματα είναι εκεί και λειτουργούν ασυνείδητα, φέρνοντας τον ομιλητή σε θέση να διατρέχει με άνεση τις απαιτητικές έννοιες που αποδίδουν (Gibbs 1994:306-7).

Στο σημείο τούτο υπεισέρχεται και η έννοια του πολιτισμικού πλαισίου λειτουργίας των μεταφορικών ιδιωτισμών που μπορεί να θεωρηθεί ως ένας επιπρόσθετος παράγοντας διαμόρφωσης της σημασίας και προσδιορισμού της χρήσης τους: Εφόσον οι αφηρημένες έννοιες κατανοούνται (εν μέρει) με βάση συγκεκριμένους τομείς της φυσικής εμπειρίας, είναι εύλογο πως η κάθε πολιτισμικά προσδιορισμένη οργάνωση της εμπειρίας αυτής και η διαμόρφωση σχετικών αντιλήψεων επηρεάζει τον σχηματισμό τους. Με άλλα λόγια, τα συμβατικά μεταφορικά σχήματα, που παράγουν τους ιδιωτισμούς, περικλείουν και τα συμβατικά σχήματα σκέψης της γλωσσικής κοινότητας, στην οποία κυκλοφορούν οι ιδιωτισμοί (Lakoff & Johnson 1980:22, Kövecses 1999:67, 2007²:284, Radden 2003:102).

Λόγου χάρη, στο μεταφορικό σχήμα της Ελληνικής που συνδέει την καταβολή οποιασδήποτε προσπάθειας (σωματικής, ψυχολογικής κ.λπ.) με την έκθλιψη του ελαιοκάρπου και την εξαγωγή του λαδιού, περιλαμβάνονται φράσεις, όπως οι (2):

(2) *Η ΠΡΟΣΠΑΘΕΙΑ / Ο ΚΟΠΟΣ ΕΙΝΑΙ ΕΞΑΓΩΓΗ ΛΑΔΙΟΥ*

α) *βγάζω το λάδι (κάποιον)*

β) *μου βγαίνει το λάδι κ.ά.*

² Αποδίδεται με κεφαλαία στοιχεία μικρού μεγέθους, όπως έχει καθιερωθεί.

Στα δείγματα αυτά, οι επιμέρους μεταφορικές συνεπαγωγές (metaphorical entailments)³, δηλ. οι αυτόματες διαδικασίες μεταβίβασης γνωστικών λεπτομερειών που προέρχονται από τα βαθύτερα εικονιστικά περιγράμματα (image schemata) και διαμορφώνουν τις φράσεις (Kövecses 2002:94), είναι εμπλουτισμένες με στοιχεία από το νεοελληνικό πολιτισμικό σύμπαν, εφόσον οι φυσικοί ομιλητές της γλώσσας, ιδίως στα πλαίσια της παλαιότερης αγροτικής κοινωνίας, έχουν ακούσει, δει, βιώσει κ.λπ. κάποιες λεπτομέρειες σχετικά με τη διαδικασία παραγωγής του λαδιού και με βάση αυτές επινόησαν τις φράσεις. Στη συνέχεια μπορούν και να χρησιμοποιήσουν το γνωστικό αυτό υλικό, αν επικρατήσει η σχετική γλωσσο-πολιτισμική επιλογή, για να εμπλουτίσουν το σχήμα, ή, αντίθετα, να το παραμερίσουν τελείως και οι φράσεις να μην πολλαπλασιαστούν ή / και να περιπέσουν σε αχρηστία. Σε κάθε περίπτωση, πάντως, ο πολιτισμικός παράγοντας, μαζί με την εννοιολογική – κοινωνική διάσταση και τη φραστική παγίωση, μεγιστοποιούν το γνωστικό όφελος των μεταφορικών ιδιωτισμών (Radman 1997:113, Crisp 2003:101).

4. Ως προς το σχήμα της μετωνυμίας

Στο επίπεδο της γλωσσικής πλήρωσης, η εμφάνιση ιδιωτισμών εκφράσεων μετωνυμικού χαρακτήρα υποδεικνύει την ύπαρξη εννοιολογικών μετωνυμικών σχημάτων, δηλαδή φυσικών συστημάτων συνεπαγωγών, τα οποία λειτουργούν στο εσωτερικό του ίδιου εννοιακού πεδίου (Radden & Kövecses 1999:17, Kövecses 2002:145, Barcelona 2003a:13, Barcelona 2003b:32-33), εξομαλύνοντας εννοιολογικά, με άλλα λόγια διευκολύνοντας την κατανόηση των δεδομένων που προσλαμβάνει ο ανθρώπινος νους. Η διευκόλυνση επιτυγχάνεται με την αναγωγή ενός μέλους του εννοιακού πεδίου στη θέση του πρωτοτύπου που μπορεί να υποκαταστήσει εννοιολογικά ολόκληρη την κατηγορία (Radden & Kövecses 1999:18). Σχετικό είναι το παράδειγμα από το εννοιακό πεδίο του φυσικού στοιχείου του νερού:

(3) ΤΟ ΝΕΡΟ ΑΝΤΙ ΤΗΣ ΠΑΡΟΧΗΣ ΚΑΙ ΔΙΑΧΕΙΡΙΣΗΣ ΑΥΤΟΥ

- α) ανοίγω / κλείνω το νερό
- β) το νερό τρέχει / σταματάει / κόβεται
- γ) ρίχνει νερό (= βρέχει)
- δ) πληρώνω το νερό (= το λογαριασμό) κ.ά.

Το σχήμα αυτό λειτουργεί κατ' αρχάς συσχετιστικά, εφόσον συνάπτει την κεντρική έννοια του νερού με τις επιμέρους έννοιες που σχετίζονται με αυτό (παροχή, διαχείριση), αλλά ταυτόχρονα και αιτιολογικά, αφού η συνολική επιλογή των λέξεων σε κάθε φράση υπηρετεί άριστα την κατανόηση, χωρίς ανάγκη προσφυγής στις επιμέρους έννοιες για λόγους ακριβολογίας. Παράλληλα, επειδή οι συγκεκριμένες δομές είναι βαθιά θεμελιωμένες στην εμπειρία και υφίστανται τη δοκιμασία της συχνής χρήσης και τριβής στη νεοελληνική γλωσσική κοινότητα, έχουν εν μέρει αποχρωματιστεί ως προς τον στερεοτυπικό (figurative) και μη κυριολεκτικό χαρακτήρα τους και εκλαμβάνονται – πρόχειρα – ως κυριολεκτικές, χωρίς αυτό να μειώνει τη μετωνυμική θεμελίωση του σχηματισμού τους. Σε τελική ανάλυση, ακριβώς λόγω της πολιτισμικής καταξίωσης και της παγίωσης στη μορφή και τη σημασία τους, οι εκφράσεις αυτές, αλλά και όλοι οι νεοελληνικοί μετωνυμικοί ιδιωτισμοί, αποκαλύπτουν χρήσιμα στοιχεία για τον τρόπο σχηματισμού και κυκλοφορίας των εννοιών και άρα διαθέτουν υψηλή γνωστική λειτουργικότητα (Barcelona 2003a:14).

5. Ως προς τη διαπλοκή των δύο σχημάτων

Στον καθημερινό λόγο εμφανίζονται ιδιωτισμοί που πραγματώνουν χαρακτηριστικά και των δύο μηχανισμών (μεταφοράς και μετωνυμίας), είτε κατ' ακολουθία είτε συνδυαστικά και σε διαφορετικό βαθμό κάθε φορά. Αυτό υποδεικνύει τον σύνθετο χαρακτήρα του ανθρώπινου αντιληπτικού συστήματος και τις δομικά περίπλοκες σχέσεις αλληλεξάρτησης και επικάλυψης, οι οποίες αναπτύσσονται στο πλαίσιο του για τον εννοιολογικό σχηματισμό και τη γλωσσική αποτύπωση πιο

³Ο όρος απαντά και στον Βελούδη (2005:190).

απαιτητικών εννοιών (Goossens 1995a:161, Barcelona 2003a:9, 2003c:232, Dirven 2003b:88). Στην πράξη έχουν γίνει απόπειρες κατηγοριοποίησης των σύνθετων εκφράσεων, με αναγωγή στα αντίστοιχα σχήματα (Barcelona 2003a:9-12, Goossens 1995a:159-174, 1995b:175-204, 2003:149-169), η γλωσσική πραγματικότητα ωστόσο υπερβαίνει κάθε τυπολογία, με εξαίρεση την κυρίαρχη τάση της ενσωμάτωσης της απλούστερης διαδικασίας (της μετωνυμίας) μέσα στην πολυπλοκότερη (τη μεταφορά). Η τάση αυτή υλοποιείται συνήθως με τη συγκρότηση σύνθετων σχημάτων, στα οποία η μεταφορική αναλογία εδράζεται πάνω σε μετωνυμική γειτνίαση, και στη γενετική παραγωγή ανάλογων φράσεων. Έστω το ακόλουθο παράδειγμα από το εννοιακό πεδίο της γης στη Νέα Ελληνική:

(4) Ο ΖΩΤΙΚΟΣ ΧΩΡΟΣ / Η ΕΚΦΡΑΣΗ ΙΣΧΥΟΣ ΕΙΝΑΙ ΓΗ (ΕΔΑΦΟΣ / ΤΟΠΟΣ)

- α) *κερδίζω έδαφος* (= *προχωρώ: ο στρατός ~ // αποκτώ πλεονέκτημα: η άποψη ~*)
β) *χάνω έδαφος* (= *υποχωρώ: ο στρατός ~ // χάνω το πλεονέκτημα: η άποψη ~*)
γ) *κάνω τόπο* (= *αφήνω ελεύθερο χώρο: Κάνε τόπο να περάσω! // αφήνω ελευθερία κινήσεων: Κάντε τόπο στα νιάτα!*)
δ) *πιάνω τόπο* (= *έχω αποτέλεσμα: Φρόντισε οι ενέργειες σου να πιάνουν τόπο!*)
ε) *αφήνω στον τόπο* (= *σκοτώνω ακαριαία: Με ένα χτύπημα τον άφησε στον τόπο.*)

Οι φράσεις (4) αποτελούν κατ' αρχάς τυπικούς μεταφορικούς ιδιωτισμούς και μπορούν να αναχθούν όλες στο εννοιολογικό μεταφορικό σχήμα *Ο ΖΩΤΙΚΟΣ ΧΩΡΟΣ / Η ΕΚΦΡΑΣΗ ΙΣΧΥΟΣ ΕΙΝΑΙ ΓΗ (ΕΔΑΦΟΣ / ΤΟΠΟΣ)*, εφόσον σε αυτές η συγκεκριμένη σημασία (*τόπος, έδαφος*) χρησιμοποιείται ως αφετηρία για να γίνει αντιληπτή και να εκφραστεί η αφηρημένη έννοια – στόχος (*έκφραση ισχύος, αποτελεσματικότητα*). Ωστόσο, η μακρινή και εν πολλοίς αυθαίρετη αυτή μεταφορική μεταβίβαση βρίσκει γνωστική αιτιολογία, αν θεωρηθεί ότι βασίζεται στη θεμελιωμένη στην εμπειρία εννοιολογική μετωνυμία *Η ΓΗ ΑΝΤΙ ΤΗΣ ΒΑΣΗΣ / ΤΟΥ ΣΥΓΚΕΚΡΙΜΕΝΟΥ ΧΩΡΟΥ ΔΡΑΣΤΗΡΙΟΤΗΤΑΣ*. Παράλληλα, εσωτερικά του σχήματος οι φράσεις διαφοροποιούνται δομικά και εννοιολογικά, όπως μπορεί να γίνει αντιληπτό και από την απόδοση της σημασίας και τα παραδείγματα χρήσης που δίνονται επί τούτου σε παρένθεση. Συγκεκριμένα, οι (4) (α), (β) και (γ) είναι δυνατό να χρησιμοποιηθούν αφενός μετωνυμικά, αν το περικείμενο επιβάλλει την υπερίσχυση της σχέσης γειτνίασης ανάμεσα στη διαχείριση του εδάφους και στην αντίστοιχη κίνηση (προώθηση, υποχώρηση και παραμερισμός) και αφετέρου μεταφορικά, αν βάσει περικειμένου κυριαρχήσει η μεταφορική ομοιότητα ανάμεσα στη διαχείριση εδάφους και στην απόκτηση ή απώλεια πλεονεκτήματος, ενώ οι (4) (δ) και (ε) λειτουργούν κατά βάση μεταφορικά. Επομένως, ορισμένοι ιδιωτισμοί μπορούν να κινηθούν σε δύο επίπεδα (μετωνυμικό – μεταφορικό), τα οποία εναλλάσσονται ελεύθερα στον λόγο, χωρίς οι χρήστες της γλώσσας να συνειδητοποιούν τη διαφορά τους.

Πρόκειται στην ουσία για τη γλωσσική αποτύπωση της ύπαρξης ενός εννοιολογικού συνεχούς από τη μετωνυμία προς τη μεταφορά ή, ορθότερα, ενός συνεχούς από την κυριολεξία προς την ποιητική ή / και συμβολική χρήση της γλώσσας, βασικά ενδιάμεσα στάδια του οποίου αποτελούν η μετωνυμία και η μεταφορά (Radden 2003:93, Niemeier 2003:198, Deignan 2005:62-5). Στον φωνούμενο λόγο το συνεχές αποτυπώνεται με τη δημιουργία αναλόγων εκφράσεων, μερικές από τις οποίες παγιώνονται δομικά και σημασιολογικά και απαρτίζουν τους ιδιωτισμούς, γίνονται δε αντιληπτές και αυτές υπό μορφή συνεχούς ως προς την απόκλιση της σημασίας τους από την κυριολεξία (Cacciari 1993:31-2) και ως προς την κατανόηση και ερμηνεία τους (Cacciari & Tabossi 1988:680).

6. Ως προς τον σχηματισμό συστημάτων και ιεραρχιών

Η εστίαση στη γνωστική λειτουργικότητα του μεταφορικού και του μετωνυμικού μηχανισμού, όπως αποκαλύπτεται από την παρουσία των ιδιωτισμών στον λόγο, μπορεί να οδηγήσει σε όλο και περισσότερες γενικεύσεις και αφαιρέσεις και στην υπόθεση ότι συγκροτούνται ολόκληρες ιεραρχίες και συστήματα ιεραρχιών μεταφορικών και μετωνυμικών σχημάτων, βάσει των οποίων οργανώνεται και χρησιμοποιείται μέρος του λεξιλογίου (Lakoff 1993²:222, Lakoff & Johnson 1999:63-64, Feyaerts 2003:68-9). Σύμφωνα με τη συλλογιστική αυτή, οι ιδιωτισμοί μπορούν να αποκαλύψουν την

εσωτερική δομή του διαμορφούμενου συστήματος, αφού με την πάγια και συμβατική μορφή τους αντικατοπτρίζουν τους κόμβους κατασκευής του.

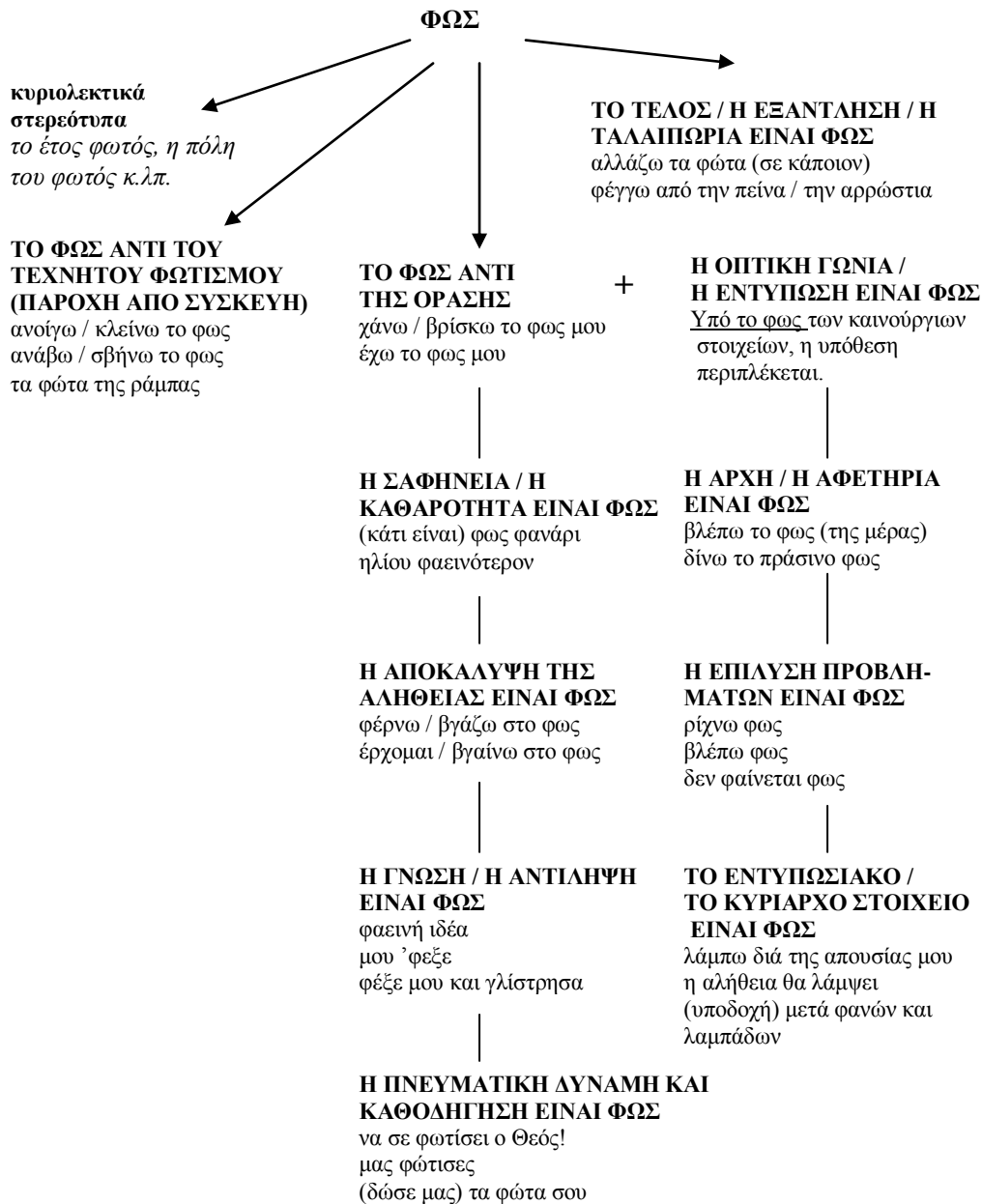
Ειδικά για τη Νέα Ελληνική, αν θεωρηθεί ότι οι έννοιες που σχετίζονται με τη φύση συγκροτούν ένα αχανές πεδίο, τέτοιες ιεραρχίες σχημάτων συγκροτούνται γύρω από κεντρικά λεξήματα – σημασίες του πεδίου (π.χ. *η γη, το φως, το νερό, ο αέρας, τα διάφορα φυτά* κ.λπ.), τα οποία διαμορφώνουν τα εννοιικά πεδία – πηγή (source fields), δηλαδή λειτουργούν ως εμπειρική βάση για τη μη κυριολεκτική σύλληψη αφηρημένων εννοιών και τη γλωσσική απόδοση των εννοιών αυτών μέσω των ιδιωματοισμών (target fields). Για παράδειγμα, από τη φυσική εμπειρία της βίωσης του φωτός πηγάζει ένα ολόκληρο σύστημα μη κυριολεκτικών σχημάτων – φορέων σημασιών και αναλόγων εκφράσεων, το οποίο οργανώνεται ως ακολούθως:

Κατ' αρχάς, εκτός από τις ολιγάριθμες κυριολεκτικές στερεοτυπικές εκφράσεις, επιστημονικού και πολιτισμικού χαρακτήρα (π.χ. *το έτος φωτός, η πόλη του φωτός*), συγκροτούνται δύο θεμελιώδη μετωνυμικά σχήματα: *ΤΟ ΦΩΣ ΑΝΤΙ ΤΟΥ ΤΕΧΝΗΤΟΥ ΦΩΤΙΣΜΟΥ (ΠΑΡΟΧΗ ΦΩΤΟΣ ΑΠΟ ΕΙΔΙΚΗ ΣΥΣΚΕΥΗ)* και *ΤΟ ΦΩΣ ΑΝΤΙ ΤΗΣ ΟΡΑΣΗΣ*. Το πρώτο από αυτά αντικατοπτρίζει τη βασική μετωνυμική σύνδεση ανάμεσα σε στενότερες και ευρύτερες οντότητες εντός του ιδίου εννοιικού πεδίου και υλοποιείται γλωσσικά μέσω τυπικών μετωνυμικών ιδιωματοισμών υψηλής συχνότητας (π.χ. *ανοίγω / κλείνω το φως*) ή συνδυασμών μετωνυμίας και μεταφοράς (*τα φώτα της ράμπας*). Το δεύτερο βασίζεται στην εξίσου θεμελιώδη σχέση γειννίας ανάμεσα στο ερέθισμα (φως) και την αίσθηση (όραση) και πραγματώνεται με ανάλογα συχνές και οικείες εκφράσεις (π.χ. *χάνω / βρίσκω το φως μου*), ταυτόχρονα όμως εμπλέκεται και με τον μεταφορικό σχηματισμό *Η ΟΠΤΙΚΗ ΓΩΝΙΑ / Η ΕΝΤΥΠΩΣΗ ΕΙΝΑΙ ΦΩΣ*, παράγοντας ανάλογες εκφράσεις (π.χ. *Υπό το φως των καινούργιων στοιχείων, η υπόθεση περιπλέκεται*) και συγκροτώντας ένα σύνθετο μετωνυμικό – μεταφορικό σχήμα. Το σχήμα αυτό διαθέτει υψηλή γνωστική αξία διότι αποτελεί τη βάση, από την οποία εξακτινώνονται τα συστήματα σχημάτων που συνδέουν το φως και την όραση με τη σκέψη και το συναίσθημα.

Συγκεκριμένα, από την κυριολεκτική πηγή του φωτός πηγάζει ένα σύστημα μεταφορικών ταυτίσεων, με το οποίο συλλαμβάνονται εννοιολογικά και αποδίδονται γλωσσικά διάφορα επίπεδα αντίληψης και αφηρημένης σκέψης: *Η ΣΑΦΗΝΕΙΑ / Η ΚΑΘΑΡΟΤΗΤΑ ΕΙΝΑΙ ΦΩΣ, Η ΑΠΟΚΑΛΥΨΗ ΤΗΣ ΑΛΗΘΕΙΑΣ ΕΙΝΑΙ ΦΩΣ, Η ΓΝΩΣΗ / Η ΑΝΤΙΛΗΨΗ ΕΙΝΑΙ ΦΩΣ* και *Η ΠΝΕΥΜΑΤΙΚΗ ΔΥΝΑΜΗ ΚΑΙ ΚΑΘΟΔΗΓΗΣΗ ΕΙΝΑΙ ΦΩΣ*. Τα σχήματα αυτά κλιμακώνονται από το απλούστερο στο (σημασιολογικά) συνθετότερο και από το λιγότερο προς το περισσότερο αφηρημένο, αναγόμενα όλα στο προηγούμενο σύνθετο, μετωνυμικό – μεταφορικό σχήμα, και πραγματώνονται γλωσσικά με ιδιωματοισμούς οικείους και σημασιολογικά παραγωγικούς (π.χ. *κάτι είναι*) *φως φανάρι, φέρνω στο φως, (δίνω) τα φώτα μου, να σε φωτίσει ο Θεός!, μας φωτίσεις!*), με μεταφορικό κυρίως χαρακτήρα και διακύμανση ως προς την παγίωση της μορφής (π.χ. *βγαίνω στο φως, μου 'φεξε, φέξε μου και γλίστρησα!*).

Από την άλλη μεριά, από τη βασική ταύτιση του φωτός και της όρασης με την οπτική γωνία και την εντύπωση εξαρτάται και μία δεύτερη, επίσης κλιμακούμενη ομάδα μεταφορικών σημασιών, η οποία οργανώνεται γύρω από τα σχήματα: *Η ΑΡΧΗ / Η ΑΦΕΤΗΡΙΑ ΕΙΝΑΙ ΦΩΣ, Η ΕΠΙΛΥΣΗ ΠΡΟΒΛΗΜΑΤΩΝ ΕΙΝΑΙ ΦΩΣ* και *ΤΟ ΕΝΤΥΠΩΣΙΑΚΟ / ΤΟ ΚΥΡΙΑΡΧΟ ΣΤΟΙΧΕΙΟ ΕΙΝΑΙ ΦΩΣ (ΛΑΜΨΗ)*. Ως προς το πρώτο, αξίζει να σημειωθεί η διαπλοκή της κυριολεκτικής πηγής με το φυσικό φαινόμενο της *ημέρας* στη μεταφορική αντιστοίχιση του πρωινού φωτός με την αρχή της ανθρώπινης ζωής (π.χ. *βλέπω το φως (της μέρας), το λυκαυγές της ζωής*), αλλά και η παρεμβολή του πολιτισμικού στοιχείου στις σχηματιζόμενες φράσεις (π.χ. στον μεταφορικό ιδιωματοισμό: *δίνω (σε κάποιον) το πράσινο φως*)· αντίθετα, στο δεύτερο και το τρίτο υπεισέρχεται και ο παράγοντας της συναισθηματικής συμμετοχής αυτού που μεταχειρίζεται την έκφραση, με συνέπεια τον ανάλογο «χρωματισμό» της σημασίας. Τούτο γίνεται ιδιαίτερα φανερό σε δομές, όπως λ.χ. *φως στο βάθος του τούνελ ή λάμπω διά της απουσίας μου*, οι οποίες μπορούν να προσλάβουν δραματικό, ειρωνικό, σαρκαστικό κ.λπ. τόνο ανάλογα με την περίπτωση. Τέλος, παρατηρείται και το περιορισμένα παραγωγικό μεταφορικό σχήμα *ΤΟ ΤΕΛΟΣ / Η ΕΞΑΝΤΛΗΣΗ / Η ΤΑΛΑΙΠΩΡΙΑ ΕΙΝΑΙ ΦΩΣ*, το οποίο συγκροτείται εκτός των βασικών συστημάτων και πραγματώνεται γλωσσικά με οικείες εκφράσεις (π.χ. *αλλάζω τα φώτα (σε κάποιον)*).

Το διαμορφούμενο σύνολο μπορεί να παρασταθεί και σχηματικά ως εξής:



7. Συμπεράσματα

Τα παραπάνω υποδεικνύουν ότι οι ιδιωματικές σημασίες στο σημασιολογικό πεδίο της φύσεως στη Νέα Ελληνική δεν παράγονται αυθαίρετα ούτε καταγράφονται στο νοητικό λεξικό ανεξάρτητα, αλλά εμφανίζονται πλήρως αιτιολογημένες με βάση τα υποκείμενα σχήματα, ιεραρχίες και συστήματα και σημασιολογικά δομημένες έτσι ώστε να καλύπτουν ευρύ φάσμα των μεταφορικών ή / και μετωνυμικών αντιστοιχίσεων στο εσωτερικό των σχημάτων. Επομένως, οι αντίστοιχες παγιωμένες εκφράσεις αποτελούν περίπλοκους μηχανισμούς, με χαρακτήρα πρώτα εννοιολογικό και μετά γλωσσικό, και μπορούν να θεωρηθούν ως ένα χαρακτηριστικό δείγμα της αλληλεπίδρασης ανάμεσα

στο γνωστικό και το γλωσσικό σύστημα του ανθρώπου, δηλαδή ανάμεσα στον σχηματισμό ορισμένων (καθημερινών) εννοιών και τη γλωσσική τους απόδοση⁴.

Παράλληλα, από λειτουργική άποψη, οι ιδιωματικές εκφράσεις της φύσεως δεν συνιστούν αδρανή στοιχεία της γλώσσας, αλλά γνωστικά απαραίτητες μεταφορικές ή / και μετωνυμικές μονάδες που εξαρτώνται – σε μικρότερο ή μεγαλύτερο βαθμό – και από κοινωνικούς και πολιτισμικούς παράγοντες. Έτσι, άλλωστε, εξηγείται και η γενική δυσκολία κυριολεκτικής παράφρασης ή εύρεσης κυριολεκτικού αντιστοίχου για την καθεμία από αυτές. Επίσης, ως παγιωμένες και συμβατικές δομές, οι νεοελληνικοί ιδιωματισμοί της φύσης μπορούν να θεωρηθούν ως σημαντικός παράγοντας προώθησης τόσο της απαραίτητης για την επικοινωνία συνεκτικότητας των νοημάτων όσο και της σημασιολογικής διαφοροποίησης, δηλαδή του εμπλουτισμού και της ανανέωσης του λεξιλογίου (Fernando 1996:215, Αναστασιάδη – Συμεωνίδη & Ευθυμίου 2006:18). Επιπλέον, η πολιτισμική διάσταση της σημασίας τους καθιστά τις εκφράσεις αυτές παράγοντα κοινωνικής συνοχής (Levorato 1993:126), στο μέτρο που αποτελούν συνδεδετικό κρίκο μεταξύ των μελών της νεοελληνικής γλωσσικής κοινότητας, αλλά και σημείο διαφοροποίησης από τα μέλη άλλων κοινοτήτων.

Γενικότερα, οι ιδιωματισμοί αποτελούν για τους ομιλητές καθημερινές αξίες: όλοι μας σκεφτόμαστε και εκφραζόμαστε με αυτούς και δι’ αυτών, χωρίς να συνειδητοποιούμε το μεταφορικό ή/και μετωνυμικό τους υπόβαθρο. Άρα, η ύπστη λειτουργικότητά τους συνίσταται στο ότι μετατρέπουν τη φαντασιακή λογική και τη δημιουργικότητα του μη κυριολεκτικού λόγου σε συλλογική εννοιολογική κατάκτηση και τρέχον επικοινωνιακό νόμισμα.

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ΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΙΣΜΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΠΟΛΥΤΡΟΠΙΚΟΤΗΤΑ: ΜΕΛΕΤΗ ΠΕΡΙΠΤΩΣΗΣ ΓΙΑ ΤΗΝ ΑΞΙΟΠΟΙΗΣΗ ΤΟΥ *MULTIMEDIA BUILDER* (MMB) ΑΠΟ ΜΕΛΛΟΝΤΙΚΟΥΣ ΕΚΠΑΙΔΕΥΤΙΚΟΥΣ ΣΤΗΝ ΚΥΠΡΟ

Νίκλεια Ετεοκλέους
Πανεπιστήμιο Frederick,
Κύπρος
n.eteokleous@frederick.ac.cy

Βικτωρία Παύλου
Πανεπιστήμιο Frederick,
Κύπρος
v.pavlou@frederick.ac.cy

Συμεών Τσολακίδης
Πανεπιστήμιο Πατρών
tsolakidissimeon@gmail.com

ABSTRACT

Teaching in the Information Era involves incorporating in practice multimodal material as it is acknowledged that the way people are learning is affected by the way people are communicating; something that has largely changed because of the use of new technologies.

This study examines the development of multimodal educational material by Greek-Cypriot pre-service teachers using MMB. The data shows that, although pre-service teachers managed to some degree to 'strike a balance' among different literacies (linguistic, visual, digital) when constructing educational material, most of them did not manage to develop exercises for their students that required responding in a multimodal manner.

Λέξεις κλειδιά: πολυτροπικότητα, πολυγραμματισμοί, εκπαιδευτικό υλικό, Multimedia Builder, οπτικός γραμματισμός, ψηφιακός γραμματισμός.

1. Εισαγωγικά

Στο παρελθόν ο γραμματισμός οριζόταν παραδοσιακά ως απλώς ή γενικά η ικανότητα ανάγνωσης και γραφής. Φυσικά, η έννοια του γραμματισμού προσαρμόζεται στις εκάστοτε εξελίξεις στους τομείς της οικονομίας, της τεχνολογίας και της κοινωνίας γενικότερα. Έτσι, το 2003 στα πλαίσια συνάντησης οργανωμένης από το Ινστιτούτο Εκπαίδευσης της UNESCO και το Union des Institutions Sociales του Πανεπιστημίου Paris 6, ο γραμματισμός προσδιορίστηκε ως «η ικανότητα κάποιου να ταυτίζει, να καταλαβαίνει, να ερμηνεύει, να δημιουργεί, να επικοινωνεί, να υπολογίζει και να χρησιμοποιεί εκτυπωμένο ή γραπτό υλικό που σχετίζεται με διάφορα περικείμενα. Στον γραμματισμό εμπλέκεται ένα συνεχές μάθησης μέσω της οποίας τα άτομα γίνονται ικανά να πετυχαίνουν τους στόχους τους, να αναπτύσσουν τις γνώσεις και τις δυνατότητές τους και να είναι πλήρως μέλη της τοπικής και της ευρύτερης κοινωνίας» (σ. 21). Γενικά, σύμφωνα με τη Μητσκοπούλου (2001) στην εποχή μας η έννοια του γραμματισμού έχει επεκταθεί και αφορά τη δυνατότητα του ατόμου να λειτουργεί αποτελεσματικά σε διάφορα περιβάλλοντα και καταστάσεις επικοινωνίας, χρησιμοποιώντας κείμενα όχι μόνο γραπτού αλλά και προφορικού λόγου καθώς και μη γλωσσικά κείμενα (εικόνες, σχεδιαγράμματα, χάρτες κλπ.).

Εξάλλου, από την επέκταση της έννοιας του γραμματισμού δεν μπορεί να μείνει έξω ένα από τα κύρια χαρακτηριστικά του σύγχρονου επικοινωνιακού τοπίου, η πολυτροπικότητα, δηλ. η χρήση και μίξη πολλών τρόπων (modes) κατά την επικοινωνία. Σύμφωνα με τον Kress (2003), η γλώσσα και ο γλωσσικός γραμματισμός πολύ συχνά είναι μόνο μερικοί φορείς σημασίας και, γενικά, δεν πρέπει να αντιμετωπίζουμε τον γλωσσικό γραμματισμό ως το μοναδικό ή το κύριο μέσο αναπαράστασης της πραγματικότητας ή επικοινωνίας, καθώς σε πολλά περιβάλλοντα άλλοι τρόποι μπορεί να είναι πιο

εμφανείς ή σημαντικοί. Οι Cope & Kalantzis (2009) τονίζουν ότι απαιτείται να προσεγγίσουμε τις σύγχρονες κατασκευές νοημάτων ως ολοένα και περισσότερο πολυτροπικές, με τον γλωσσικό, τον οπτικό, τον ηχητικό, τον παραγλωσσικό και τον χωρικό τρόπο να ενσωματώνονται ολοένα και περισσότερο συνδυαστικά στην καθημερινή επικοινωνία και σε πολιτισμικές πρακτικές. Μια αναπόφευκτη συνέπεια των παραπάνω είναι η ανάγκη να συμπληρωθεί ο γλωσσικός γραμματισμός με μια παιδαγωγική των πολυγραμματισμών ή με τη διδασκαλία του πώς ερμηνεύουμε και παράγουμε πολυτροπικά κείμενα. Σύμφωνα με τον Lemke (2005), είναι σημαντικό να θέσουμε ερωτήματα όπως: οι άλλοι τρόποι απλώς ξανακάνουν ό,τι και η γλώσσα; Πότε είναι βοηθητικοί ή περιθωριακοί και πότε παίζουν έναν (πιο) πλήρη ρόλο; Τα παραπάνω ερωτήματα σαφώς σχετίζονται και με τη διαμόρφωση ενός προγράμματος διδασκαλίας για τον γραμματισμό το οποίο θα μπορούσε να βοηθήσει μαθητές και φοιτητές να αναλύουν και να παράγουν νοήματα σε ένα πολυτροπικό κείμενο.

Ο τεχνολογικός - ή διαφορετικά *ψηφιακός* - γραμματισμός συζητείται εδώ και πολλά χρόνια στη βιβλιογραφία. Ορίζεται ως η γνώση του τί είναι τεχνολογία, πώς δουλεύει, τι σκοπούς εξυπηρετεί ώστε να προάγεται η μάθηση, η παραγωγικότητα και η αποτελεσματικότητα των διαδικασιών. Επίσης, ο ψηφιακός γραμματισμός συμπεριλαμβάνει την ανάπτυξη ικανοτήτων χρήσης της ψηφιακής τεχνολογίας, εργαλείων επικοινωνιών και δικτύων, για να προσεγγίσουμε, να διαχειριζόμαστε, να ολοκληρώνουμε, να αξιολογούμε και να δημιουργούμε πληροφορίες έτσι ώστε να λειτουργούμε στην κοινωνία της πληροφορίας. Ακόμη με τον όρο *ψηφιακός γραμματισμός* εννοούμε την ικανότητα οργάνωσης, κατανόησης, αξιολόγησης και ανάλυσης πληροφοριών και κατασκευής νοημάτων μέσω της χρήσης ψηφιακής τεχνολογίας (Riddle 2009) καθώς και τις κοινωνικά τοποθετημένες πρακτικές που υποστηρίζονται από δεξιότητες, στρατηγικές και στάσεις που καθιστούν δυνατή την αναπαράσταση ή την κατανόηση ιδεών μέσω της χρήσης ψηφιακών εργαλείων (O'Brien & Scharber 2008). Σύμφωνα με τους Κυρίδη, Δρόσο & Ντίνα (2003), ένα τεχνολογικά εγγράμματο άτομο πρέπει να μπορεί να αντιλαμβάνεται τη φύση και τον ρόλο της τεχνολογίας, τον σχεδιασμό και τον έλεγχο των τεχνολογικών συστημάτων καθώς και να είναι ικανό να εκτιμά τα πλεονεκτήματα αλλά και τους κινδύνους που συνδέονται με την τεχνολογία. Ο τεχνολογικός γραμματισμός θεωρείται επιθυμητό προσόν για όλες τις ειδικότητες. Είναι σημαντικό οι μαθητές (μελλοντικοί πολίτες της Κοινωνίας της Πληροφορίας) να είναι τεχνολογικά εγγράμματοι, ώστε να μπορούν να χρησιμοποιούν την τεχνολογία για προσωπικούς, εκπαιδευτικούς και μελλοντικά επαγγελματικούς σκοπούς.

Με τον όρο *οπτικός γραμματισμός* εννοούμε η ικανότητα κατανόησης και κατασκευής νοημάτων μέσω οπτικών εικόνων (Giorgis κ.ά., 1999). Γενικά, στα πλαίσια της ανθρώπινης ενσυνείδητης οπτικής επικοινωνίας ο οπτικός γραμματισμός αναφέρεται σε ένα σύνολο κυρίως επίκτητων δεξιοτήτων, που αναφέρονται σε ικανότητες κατανόησης και χρησιμοποίησης εικόνων, καθώς και στην ικανότητα να σκέφτεσαι και να μαθαίνεις με εικόνες. Συγκεκριμένα, έχει διαπιστωθεί ότι υπάρχουν έντεκα κοινά αποδεκτές ικανότητες που χαρακτηρίζουν τον οπτικό γραμματισμό: γνώση οπτικού λεξιλογίου και ορισμών, γνώση οπτικών συμβάσεων, οπτικοποίηση, κριτική θέαση, οπτική σκέψη, οπτικός συλλογισμός, οπτική διάκριση, οπτική αναδόμηση, οπτικός συσχετισμός, δόμηση νοήματος και αναδόμηση νοήματος (Avgerinou, 2007). Συχνά η αξία της καλλιέργειας του οπτικού γραμματισμού συσχετίζεται με την αισθητική, που γενικά συνδέει την έννοια του ωραίου με τη φύση και την τέχνη, κυρίως ως επενέργεια πάνω στις αισθήσεις, και θεωρείται ότι μπορεί να αυξήσει τη χρησιμότητα και χρηστικότητα των οπτικών ερεθισμάτων (Tory & Möller 2004). Σε ένα τέτοιο πλαίσιο η εμφάνιση και ανάπτυξη των ΤΠΕ έφερε στο προσκήνιο μια νέου τύπου αισθητική, την αισθητική της πληροφορίας (*info-aesthetics* Manovich 2001), που σχετίζεται με την αισθητική της πρόσβασης στην πληροφορία καθώς και με τη δημιουργία έργων με τα νέα μέσα ώστε να προσδοθεί αισθητική στη διαδικασία της επεξεργασίας (Manovich 2001, Cawthon & Vande Moere 2007). Έτσι, σε επίπεδο σχεδιασμού εκπαιδευτικού υλικού με τις ΤΠΕ, η αισθητική της πληροφορίας μπορεί να συνδεθεί με την ποιότητα του συναισθήματος που μπορεί να μεταδοθεί ή να καλλιεργηθεί με την χρήση των ΤΠΕ, π.χ. με την αύξηση του ενδιαφέροντος και της απόδοσης των μαθητών (Laurel 1991, Mirdehghani & Monadjemi 2009), καθώς γενικά οι άνθρωποι θεωρούν ότι κάτι που δείχνει καλό ή όμορφο, λειτουργεί καλύτερα ή ικανοποιητικότερα (Kurosui and Kashimura 1995, Tractinsky κ.ά. 2000) ή ότι σε άλλες περιπτώσεις κατανοούν ευκολότερα και πιο αποτελεσματικά κάποια στοιχεία, επειδή τους είναι αρεστά λόγω εξοικείωσης και προηγούμενης εμπειρίας (Cawthon & Vande Moere 2007).

Το συγκεκριμένο άρθρο εξετάζει την ανάπτυξη της έννοιας των πολυγραμματισμών σε μελλοντικούς εκπαιδευτικούς, με έμφαση στον ψηφιακό, τον οπτικό και τον γλωσσικό γραμματισμό. Λαμβάνοντας υπόψη τις διάφορες έρευνες που έχουν γίνει όσον αφορά τους διάφορους γραμματισμούς, και τη συσχέτισή τους με τη μαθησιακή διαδικασία, διαμορφώθηκαν και τα ερευνητικά ερωτήματα του συγκεκριμένου άρθρου. Πιο συγκεκριμένα, εξετάζει κατά πόσο οι μελλοντικοί εκπαιδευτικοί μπορούν να εντάξουν την πολυτροπικότητα στη διδακτική πρακτική τους, αναπτύσσοντας πολυτροπικό εκπαιδευτικό υλικό. Επίσης, διερευνάται με βάση το εκπαιδευτικό υλικό που ανέπτυξαν, κατά πόσο οι μελλοντικοί εκπαιδευτικοί κατανοούν την έννοια της πολυτροπικότητας

και των πολυγραμματισμών όπως επίσης και κατά πόσο είναι έτοιμοι να διδάξουν την πολυτροπικότητα και τους πολυγραμματισμούς.

2. Μεθοδολογία

2.1 Δείγμα

Το δείγμα της έρευνάς μας αποτέλεσε το εκπαιδευτικό υλικό που ανέπτυξαν 45 μελλοντικοί εκπαιδευτικοί – φοιτητές του Τμήματος Δημοτικής Εκπαίδευσης του Πανεπιστημίου Frederick. Χρησιμοποιήθηκε το εκπαιδευτικό λογισμικό MMB¹ και οι εργασίες των μελλοντικών εκπαιδευτικών, που εκπονήθηκαν στα πλαίσια του μαθήματος της Εκπαιδευτικής Τεχνολογίας κατά το εαρινό εξάμηνο του 2010, αναλύθηκαν σε σχέση με τα κεντρικά ερευνητικά μας ερωτήματα (βλ. κεφ. 1).

2.2 Κριτήρια αξιολόγησης των γραμματισμών

2.2.1 Γλωσσικός γραμματισμός

Τα κριτήρια βάσει των οποίων διερευνήθηκε ο γλωσσικός γραμματισμός ήταν:

- 1) Σε τι βαθμό υπάρχει ουσιαστική και όχι επιφανειακή πολυτροπικότητα, δηλ. σε τι βαθμό μέσω των MMB projects παράγονται νοήματα (meanings) που για την κατανόησή τους απαιτείται ο συνδυασμός περισσότερων του ενός τρόπων (στην περίπτωσή μας, γλωσσικό κείμενο, εικόνα, ήχος);
- 2) Η ουσιαστική πολυτροπικότητα αφορά μόνο την παροχή των δεδομένων του μαθήματος στους μαθητές, ή και τα κείμενα τα οποία καλούνται να παράγουν οι μαθητές μέσω των διαφόρων δραστηριοτήτων;
- 3) Οι μαθητές καλούνται να συνθέσουν κείμενα που εκτός από πολυτροπικά, συνδέονται με συγκεκριμένες πλευρές ενός επικοινωνιακού πλαισίου; Με άλλα λόγια, κατά πόσο οι μελλοντικοί δάσκαλοι είχαν στο μυαλό τους να συνδυάσουν την αξιοποίηση της τεχνολογίας με την επικοινωνιακή/λειτουργική πλευρά της γλωσσικής διδασκαλίας (Χατζησαββίδης, 2003);

2.2.2 Ψηφιακός γραμματισμός

Τα κριτήρια που χρησιμοποιήθηκαν για την αξιολόγηση του ψηφιακού γραμματισμού ήταν κατηγοριοποιημένα σε 6 βασικές παραμέτρους όπως φαίνονται πιο κάτω. Ο ψηφιακός γραμματισμός αξιολογήθηκε επίσης σε σχέση με την επίτευξη των μαθησιακών στόχων που τέθηκαν και κατά πόσο η χρήση της τεχνολογίας προώθησε την επίτευξη των πιο πάνω. Την κάθε παράμετρο αποτελούσαν διάφορες υπο-παράμετροι με σκοπό την αποτελεσματικότερη αξιολόγηση των εργασιών. Συγκεκριμένα, οι 6 παράμετροι και ενδεικτικές υπο-παράμετροι είναι οι ακόλουθες:

- 1) Επεξεργαστής κειμένου (π.χ. εισαγωγή και μορφοποίηση κειμένου, εικόνας, γραφικών, πινάκων και σελίδων).
- 2) Λογιστικά Φύλλα Εργασίας (π.χ. εισαγωγή και μορφοποίηση δεδομένων σε ηλεκτρονικό φύλλο εργασίας· εισαγωγή και μορφοποίηση κειμένου, εικόνας, γραφικών, πινάκων σε ηλεκτρονικό φύλλο εργασίας· κατάλληλη χρήση φορμουλών και πράξεων· εισαγωγή και εξαγωγή δεδομένων).
- 3) Διαδίκτυο (π.χ. χρήση ηλεκτρονικού ταχυδρομείου, χρήση μηχανών αναζήτησης πληροφοριών με λέξεις κλειδιά· χρήση διαδικτυακών πηγών όπως εγκυκλοπαίδειες και βιβλιοθήκες· χρήση εργαλείων Διαδικτύου 2^{ης} γενιάς και κοινωνικών δικτύων).
- 4) Πρόγραμμα παρουσιάσεων και γραφικά (π.χ. δημιουργία παρουσίασης και εισαγωγή διαφανειών, εισαγωγή και μορφοποίηση κειμένου, εικόνων, γραφημάτων και πινάκων· εισαγωγή βίντεο και μουσικής· κίνηση διαφανειών).
- 5) Βασικές δεξιότητες λειτουργικού συστήματος (π.χ. δημιουργία, ονομασία και αποθήκευση αρχείων· αντιγραφή, αποκοπή και επικόλληση δεδομένων· ταυτόχρονη εργασία μεταξύ διαφόρων λογισμικών).
- 6) Ενσωμάτωση άλλων λογισμικών.

¹ Πρόκειται για ένα λογισμικό που δίνει τη δυνατότητα εύκολης δημιουργίας πολυμεσικών εφαρμογών και διαδραστικού εκπαιδευτικού υλικού (υποστηρίζοντας τη χρήση διαφόρων τύπων αρχείων εικόνας, ήχου, βίντεο, ιστοσελίδων) χωρίς να απαιτούνται από τους εκπαιδευτικούς ιδιαίτερες γνώσεις προγραμματισμού (Μαντζαρίδου, Ράπτης & Χαμπιαούρης 2009).

2.2.3 Οπτικός γραμματισμός

Τα κριτήρια που τέθηκαν σε σχέση με τον οπτικό γραμματισμό του εκπαιδευτικού υλικού που αναπτύχθηκε με το MMB αφορούσαν κυρίως τη δεξιότητα της οπτικοποίησης, που συνδέεται με τις δεξιότητες γνώσης οπτικού λεξιλογίου και οπτικών συμβάσεων. Έτσι, ουσιαστικά τα κριτήρια δεν αφορούν τις υπόλοιπες δεξιότητες, όπως είναι την κριτική θέαση οπτικών μηνυμάτων, την οπτική σκέψη, τον οπτικό συλλογισμό, την οπτική διάκριση, την οπτική αναδόμηση, τον οπτικό συσχετισμό και τη δόμηση και αναδόμηση νοήματος με εικόνες. Αρχικά θεωρήθηκε ότι λόγω της φύσης αυτών των δεξιοτήτων θα ήταν δύσκολο να καθοριστεί μέσα από το εκπαιδευτικό υλικό εάν οι δημιουργοί του υλικού τις είχαν επαρκώς ανεπτυγμένες (αυτό θα ήταν κάτι που θα μπορούσε να διερευνηθεί με άλλα μέσα, όπως είναι προσωπικές συνεντεύξεις) και επομένως εκείνο που επρόκειτο να αξιολογηθεί θα ήταν η ύπαρξη (ή μη) εργασιών προς παιδιά που θα τις προωθούν. Στη συνέχεια, όμως, κατά την πιλοτική δοκιμή των κριτηρίων διαπιστώθηκε η απουσία σχετικών δραστηριοτήτων για τα παιδιά από το εκπαιδευτικό υλικό και έτσι αποφασίστηκε ότι τα κριτήρια θα αφορούσαν μόνο μέρος των δεξιοτήτων του οπτικού γραμματισμού, με έμφαση στη δεξιότητα της οπτικοποίησης. Τα κριτήρια λοιπόν αφορούν κυρίως θέματα αισθητικής όσον αφορά την αποτελεσματική οπτικοποίηση πληροφοριών και είναι τα ακόλουθα:

- 1) Χρώματα: ποια χρώματα χρησιμοποιήθηκαν, κατά πόσο αυτά εμπίπτουν σε κάποια συγκεκριμένη κατηγορία που συμβολίζει κάτι (π.χ., κυρίως θερμά χρώματα), καθώς και η ένταση των χρωμάτων (τονισμοί και αποχρώσεις).
- 2) Χρήση εικόνων: ενσωμάτωση ή όχι εικόνων, λειτουργία εικόνων (διακοσμητική ή πληροφοριακή), αρμονία εικόνων (π.χ. διαστάσεις και αναλογία) και κατανομή/αναλογία εικόνας σε σχέση με τον ολικό χώρο.
- 3) Ενότητα της αισθητικής: συνοχή των διαφόρων οπτικών στοιχείων σε όλες τις σελίδες του MMB.
- 4) Απλότητα/περιπλοκότητα των οπτικών στοιχείων.
- 5) Ποικιλία οπτικών στοιχείων: εικόνες, χρώματα, χάρτες, βίντεο, γραμματοσειρά, μέγεθος και χρώματα λέξεων.

2.4 Διαδικασία

Όπως προαναφέρθηκε, το εκπαιδευτικό υλικό αναπτύχθηκε μέσα στα πλαίσια του μαθήματος της Εκπαιδευτικής Τεχνολογίας. Δόθηκαν οδηγίες προς τους φοιτητές όσον αφορά το περιεχόμενο, τις απαιτήσεις και το τι αναμενόταν να αναπτύξουν. Το εκπαιδευτικό υλικό που δημιουργήθηκε αξιολογήθηκε με βάση ομάδες κριτηρίων που αναπτύχθηκαν, μία για κάθε γραμματισμό. Τα κριτήρια αναπτύχθηκαν συνδυάζοντας τα πιο κάτω: 1) σχετική υφιστάμενη βιβλιογραφία, 2) άλλα υπάρχοντα κριτήρια αξιολόγησης, και 3) εμπειρία των ερευνητών.

Μετά την ολοκλήρωση των επιμέρους αξιολογήσεων ακολούθησε και μια συνολική αξιολόγηση του εκπαιδευτικού υλικού που αναπτύχθηκε, καθώς υπήρξε το αίσθημα ότι μερικές φορές κάποια στοιχεία δεν μπορούσαν να ενταχθούν απόλυτα στην κατηγορία ενός και μόνο γραμματισμού και επομένως υπήρχε ο κίνδυνος να παραβλεφθούν.

3. Αποτελέσματα

3.1 Ψηφιακός γραμματισμός

Βάσει των κριτηρίων που αναπτύχθηκαν για την αξιολόγηση του ψηφιακού γραμματισμού διαφάνηκε ότι οι εκπαιδευτικοί χρησιμοποίησαν το λογισμικό MMB για να αναπτύξουν μικρά ηλεκτρονικά βιβλία εργασίας στα πλαίσια διαφόρων γνωστικών αντικειμένων. Μέσα στα πλαίσια των δραστηριοτήτων που αναπτύχθηκαν, συνδυάστηκαν διάφορες λειτουργίες και δυνατότητες του MMB και, πιο συγκεκριμένα, εισαγωγή σελίδων, τίτλων, κειμένων και παραγράφων, κουμπιά σύνδεσης σελίδων, εισαγωγή και μορφοποίηση εικόνων καθώς και μορφοποίηση σελίδων, κειμένων και κουμπιών.

Επιπλέον, ενσωματώθηκαν λογισμικά σχετικά με την επεξεργασία κειμένου, τη δημιουργία παρουσιάσεων, τη χρήση λογιστικών φύλλων και την πλοήγηση στο διαδίκτυο, και ζητούνταν από τους μαθητές να τα χρησιμοποιήσουν για τη συμπλήρωση διαφόρων ασκήσεων.

Αναλυτικότερα, ο επεξεργαστή κειμένου MS Word συσχετίστηκε με ποικιλία δραστηριοτήτων όπως η συγγραφή κειμένων ή παραγράφων (91,1%), η εισαγωγή εικόνων ή/και αντικειμένων ή/και γραφημάτων σε ένα αρχείο κειμένου (60%) και η επεξεργασία εικόνων ή/και αντικειμένων ή/και γραφημάτων (57,8%).

Επίσης, σε αρκετές περιπτώσεις (περίπου 50%) οι μαθητές καλούνταν να εκτελέσουν τις πιο κάτω δραστηριότητες χρησιμοποιώντας το πρόγραμμα παρουσιάσεων MS Power Point: δημιουργία παρουσίασης (53,3%), εισαγωγή δεδομένων (53,3%), επεξεργασία εικόνων ή/και αντικειμένων ή/και γραφημάτων (53,3%) και αναπαραγωγή προβολής διαφανειών (51,1%).

Ακόμη, η χρήση του Διαδικτύου ενσωματώθηκε αρκετές φορές στις προτεινόμενες δραστηριότητες. Έτσι, οι μαθητές καλούνταν να: 1) βρουν πληροφορίες σε διαδικτυακές πηγές, όπως εγκυκλοπαίδειες, βιβλιοθήκες, εκπαιδευτικές και κυβερνητικές ιστοσελίδες και ηλεκτρονικούς καταλόγους (66,7%), 2) μεταφορτώσουν αρχείο από το διαδίκτυο (64,4%), και 3) παρακολουθήσουν βίντεο από το διαδίκτυο (51,1%).

Το τέταρτο λογισμικό που αξιοποιήθηκε σε μεγάλο βαθμό ήταν το λογιστικό φύλλο MS Excel. Σε σύγκριση με τα υπόλοιπα λογισμικά, το ποσοστό των μελλοντικών εκπαιδευτικών που ζήτησαν από τους μαθητές τους να χρησιμοποιήσουν λογιστικά φύλλα ήταν αρκετά μικρότερο, όπως και η ποικιλία των δραστηριοτήτων, αφού το μόνο που ζητήθηκε ήταν η εισαγωγή δεδομένων (17,8%). Επιπλέον, παρατηρήθηκε σχεδιασμός δραστηριοτήτων σχετικών με την ανάπτυξη βασικών δεξιοτήτων χειρισμού αρχείων και λογισμικών. Συγκεκριμένα, οι μαθητές καλούνταν να: 1) δημιουργήσουν αρχεία (80%), 2) αποθηκεύσουν αρχεία (86,7%), 3) αντιγράψουν και επικολλήσουν κείμενα, εικόνες, γραφικά, πίνακες, αντικείμενα (53,3%), και 4) εργαστούν παράλληλα μεταξύ δύο ή περισσότερων εφαρμογών (100%).

Τέλος, είναι σημαντικό να αναφερθούμε στη δυσκολία στην πλοήγηση του εκπαιδευτικού υλικού που παρατηρήθηκε. Συγκεκριμένα, η δυσκολία στην πλοήγηση που παρατηρήθηκε μπορεί να εξηγηθεί με την έννοια ότι ήταν συχνή η κουραστική ή/και εκνευριστική έλλειψη κουμπιών που να συνδέουν άμεσα το βασικό μενού με τις διάφορες σελίδες του αρχείου MMB, με αποτέλεσμα, προκειμένου κάποιος να πλοηγηθεί στο υλικό, να απαιτείται να χρησιμοποιεί πολλές φορές το κουμπί «πίσω».

3.2 Οπτικός γραμματισμός

Σε σχέση με την αξιολόγηση του οπτικού γραμματισμού καταγράφηκαν τα χρώματα που χρησιμοποιήθηκαν, καθώς είναι γενικά αποδεκτό ότι το χρώμα αποτελεί καθοριστικό στοιχείο της αισθητικής ενός οπτικού ερεθίσματος και κατ'επέκταση του οπτικού γραμματισμού. Σε όλες τις περιπτώσεις του εκπαιδευτικού υλικού που αναπτύχθηκε με το MMB, χρησιμοποιήθηκαν χρώματα. Σε καμία περίπτωση δεν υπήρξε υλικό που να μην έχει χρώμα (όπως μπορεί να συμβεί με ένα φύλλο εργασίας τυπωμένο σε χαρτί όπου απλώς χρησιμοποιείται το μαύρο μελάνι), κάτι που αποτελεί ένδειξη του έντονου ενδιαφέροντος για το αισθητικό αποτέλεσμα. Πιο συγκεκριμένα, όλες οι σελίδες του MMB είχαν χρώματα στο φόντο καθώς και όλες οι παρουσιάσεις που έγιναν με το λογισμικό PowerPoint. Αντίθετα, σε λίγα αρχεία κειμένου υπήρχε έγχρωμο φόντο. Αυτό αποτελεί ένδειξη ότι στην πλειοψηφία των εργασιών αναπαράχθηκε ο κυρίαρχος Λόγος σχετικά με την αισθητική συγκεκριμένων τύπων κειμένων.

Σε σχέση με την ένταση των χρωμάτων, παρατηρήθηκε ότι στις περισσότερες περιπτώσεις χρησιμοποιήθηκαν απαλά χρώματα (δηλαδή, ανοιχτοί τόνοι χρωμάτων). Στην πλειοψηφία τους αυτά τα χρώματα ήταν ψυχρά χρώματα (μπλε, μοβ και πράσινο), χρώματα που τις πλείστες φορές συνδέονται με το αίσθημα της ηρεμίας και της χαλαρότητας.

Αναφορικά με την χρήση εικόνων παρατηρήθηκε ότι υπήρξε έντονη ενσωμάτωση ψηφιακών εικόνων. Εικόνες ενσωματώθηκαν παντού, τόσο στις σελίδες του MMB όσο και στα αρχεία κειμένου. Στην πλειοψηφία τους οι εικόνες ήταν αρμονικές, με την έννοια ότι διατηρήθηκε η αναλογία των διαστάσεων τους (αναλογία πλάτους με μήκος) παρόλο που το μέγεθος της εικόνας (οπτικό μέγεθος / διαστάσεις και όχι ψηφιακό μέγεθος) τροποποιήθηκε με βάση τον διαθέσιμο χώρο που υπήρχε στη «σελίδα». Σε ελάχιστες περιπτώσεις οι διαστάσεις των εικόνων δεν ήταν αισθητικά ωραίες (δε διατηρήθηκε η αναλογία πλάτους/μήκους όταν τροποποιήθηκαν) ή ήταν χαμηλής ποιότητας (θαμπές, με χαμηλή ευκρίνεια).

Μία άλλη σημαντική διάσταση του οπτικού γραμματισμού είναι τα οπτικά μηνύματα που προβάλλονται μέσα από εικόνες, και επομένως η δυνατότητα προαγωγής της οπτικής σκέψης μέσω οπτικών ερεθισμάτων. Επομένως ένα από τα κριτήρια αξιολόγησης αποτέλεσε και η λειτουργία των εικόνων που ενσωματώθηκαν στο εκπαιδευτικό υλικό. Διαπιστώθηκε ότι στα αρχεία κειμένου και στις σελίδες του MMB οι εικόνες είχαν συνηθέστατα διακοσμητικό χαρακτήρα κι όχι πληροφοριακό. Αντίθετα, στις παρουσιάσεις PowerPoint η λειτουργία ήταν άλλοτε πληροφοριακή και άλλοτε διακοσμητική.

Γενικότερα θα πρέπει να τονιστεί ότι οι μελλοντικοί εκπαιδευτικοί προσπάθησαν να οπτικοποιήσουν το υλικό τους, καθώς υπήρχαν εικόνες σε όλες τις σελίδες του MMB και των αρχείων κειμένου όπως και σε αρκετές σελίδες των παρουσιάσεων σε PowerPoint. Στις δε περιπτώσεις των σελίδων του MMB και των αρχείων κειμένων οι εικόνες κάλυπταν ένα μεγάλο ποσοστό της επιφάνειας

της σελίδας. Στις σελίδες MMB ο αριθμός των εικόνων που εμφανίζονταν ήταν ποικίλος: από μία μέχρι και 10 μικρές εικόνες σε μια σελίδα MMB.

Κοιτάζοντας και αξιολογώντας συνολικά το εκπαιδευτικό υλικό σε σχέση με τα οπτικά του στοιχεία διαπιστώθηκε ότι:

α) δεν υπήρχε συνοχή των διαφόρων στοιχείων. Δηλαδή, η ύπαρξη όμοιων στοιχείων σε κάθε σελίδα του MMB (όπως για παράδειγμα το χρώμα του φόντου ή η τοποθέτηση της εικόνας σε συγκεκριμένο σημείο) ήταν συνήθως μικρή.

β) τα οπτικά στοιχεία δεν ήταν ιδιαίτερα αλλά, αντιθέτως, απλά, που καθιστούν συνήθως το υλικό εύκολο στη χρήση και πιθανότατα πιο κατάλληλο για μικρότερες ηλικίες.

γ) δεν υπήρχε μεγάλη ποικιλία οπτικών στοιχείων. Σε όλες τις περιπτώσεις υπήρχαν εικόνες, κείμενο και χρώματα, ενώ υπήρχαν και λίγοι σύνδεσμοι προς κινούμενη εικόνα, δηλαδή βίντεο (κυρίως από το youtube).

3.3 Γλωσσικός γραμματισμός

Η ουσιαστική πολυτροπικότητα εμφανίστηκε στο 72,2% των εργασιών που εκπονήθηκαν, και στο 53,4% των εργασιών χαρακτηριζε και τα κείμενα που καλούνταν να παράγουν οι μαθητές. Αξίζει να σημειωθεί ότι στο 47,6% των περιπτώσεων όπου δεν εκπληρώθηκε το αυτό το κριτήριο οι εργασίες που προβλεπόταν να ανατεθούν στους μαθητές, θα μπορούσαν να χαρακτηριστούν ως «ημιπολυτροπικές», με την έννοια ότι οι μαθητές έπρεπε να παραγάγουν ένα κείμενο σχολιάζοντας κάποιες εικόνες αλλά όχι να συνθέσουν ένα πολυτροπικό κείμενο όπου ο γλωσσικός τρόπος να συνδυάζεται με κάποιον άλλο τρόπο.

Είναι σαφές ότι τα κριτήρια του «γλωσσικού» γραμματισμού δεν είναι αμιγώς γλωσσικά αλλά βασίζονται σε μια προσέγγιση όπως αυτή που προτείνουν οι Kress & van Leeuwen (2001), που αποτελεί μια προσπάθεια διατύπωσης μιας πολυτροπικής θεωρίας της επικοινωνίας, που επιχειρεί να ερμηνεύσει συνολικά το φαινόμενο της σύγχρονης επικοινωνίας και όχι μόνο της γλώσσας ή των άλλων επιμέρους τρόπων χωριστά². Σε αντίθεση με τη σωσσυριανή παράδοση, που ορίζει τη γλώσσα ως σύστημα με ένα από τα κύρια χαρακτηριστικά της τη διπλή άρθρωση, οι Kress και van Leeuwen προτείνουν μια τετραπλή άρθρωση που οργανώνεται γύρω από τη διπλή διάκριση περιεχομένου (content) και έκφρασης (expression) της επικοινωνίας. Το περιεχόμενο επιμερίζεται στον Λόγο (Discourse) και το σχέδιο (design), ενώ η έκφραση στην παραγωγή (production) και τη διανομή (distribution).

Οι Λόγοι είναι κοινωνικά κατασκευασμένες γνώσεις για κάποια πτυχή της πραγματικότητας³, που δεν πραγματώνονται μόνο μέσω της γλώσσας αλλά και μέσω άλλων σημειωτικών συστημάτων. Με άλλα λόγια, όλοι οι διαθέσιμοι σημειωτικοί τρόποι (modes) σε κάποια κοινωνία μπορούν να χρησιμοποιηθούν ως σημειωτικοί πόροι για την άρθρωση Λόγων.

Το σχέδιο σχετίζεται με την επιλογή των κατάλληλων τρόπων, ανάλογα με τον εκάστοτε επικοινωνιακό στόχο. Ο ρόλος του είναι να οργανώσει αυτό που είναι να διατυπωθεί, σε έναν οδηγό για παραγωγή. Στην περίπτωση μας θα μπορούσαμε να θεωρήσουμε ως σχέδιο τα σχέδια μαθήματος που συνέταζαν οι μελλοντικοί εκπαιδευτικοί μας, όπου, μεταξύ άλλων, περιγράφουν την αξιοποίηση του υλικού που ανέπτυξαν με το MMB. Τα σχέδια βρίσκονται σε ένα αφηρημένο επίπεδο, μεταξύ περιεχομένου και έκφρασης και, επομένως, είναι ανεξάρτητα από τα μέσα υλοποίησης, αφού οι πόροι στους οποίους στηρίζονται, οι σημειωτικοί τρόποι, είναι σε αφηρημένο επίπεδο, και μπορούν να υλοποιηθούν με διαφορετικά υλικά.

Η υλοποίηση του σχεδίου σε πρακτικό επίπεδο αποτελεί την παραγωγή, που δε δίνει απλώς συγκεκριμένη μορφή στο σχέδιο αλλά προσθέτει και σημασία ή νόημα, π.χ. η χρήση ή όχι ηλεκτρονικών εφαρμογών για τη διαμόρφωση του μαθησιακού υλικού συχνά προσθέτει σημασία. Στην περίπτωση μας βασικό στοιχείο της παραγωγής είναι το ίδιο το εκπαιδευτικό υλικό που ανέπτυξαν οι μελλοντικοί εκπαιδευτικοί με τη χρήση του MMB. Τέλος, η διανομή είναι η από τεχνική άποψη επανεγγραφή των σημειωτικών προϊόντων ή γεγονότων.

² Βλ. και Κουτσογιάννης (2005).

³ Βλ., ενδεικτικά, Hodge & Kress (1988), Fairclough (2003) και Gee (2005).

3.4 Σχολιασμός ενδεικτικών παραδειγμάτων

Όπως αναφέρθηκε και στο κεφ. 2.1, όταν ολοκληρώθηκε η φάση των επιμέρους αξιολογήσεων με βάση τις ξεχωριστές για κάθε γραμματισμό ομάδες κριτηρίων, προβήκαμε και σε μια συνολική αξιολόγηση-θεώρηση των δεδομένων μας. Ακολουθεί η παράθεση και ο σχολιασμός ενδεικτικών παραδειγμάτων σχετικών με τα μαθήματα της Οικιακής Οικονομίας, της Γεωγραφίας και της Επιστήμης. Τα παραδείγματα επιλέχθηκαν με βάση τον βαθμό αλληλεπίδρασης των τριών γραμματισμών. Σε δύο από αυτά παρουσιάζεται ουσιαστική πολυτροπικότητα (εικ. 1, 5), σε ένα η πολυτροπικότητα είναι ελλιπής (εικ. 2) και σε ένα υποδεικνύεται μια «ημιπολυτροπική δραστηριότητα» (εικ. 3, 4).



Εικόνα 1 Παράδειγμα ουσιαστικής πολυτροπικότητας

Η εικόνα 1 αποτελεί ένα παράδειγμα ουσιαστικής πολυτροπικότητας, επειδή τα γλωσσικά τμήματα της εικόνας (πρόκειται για τους τίτλους των ενοτήτων εκπαιδευτικού υλικού σχετικά με την υγιεινή διατροφή) συνδέονται (το καθένα ξεχωριστά) με επιμέρους εικόνες που συμβάλλουν στην κατασκευή νοημάτων όσον αφορά το τι εννοεί η συντάκτρια του υλικού λέγοντας «Διατροφή και υγεία», «Διατροφική πυραμίδα» και «Μεσογειακή κουζίνα», π.χ. υγεία και διατροφή συνδέονται μεταξύ τους αν κάποιος φροντίζει να καταναλώνει χυμούς, φρούτα και λαχανικά. Το συνολικό νόημα που κατασκευάζεται (ιδιαίτερα με την αριστερή και τη δεξιά εικόνα) έχει να κάνει με εκείνο τον Λόγο περί υγιεινής διατροφής που τονίζει τη σημασία των φυτικών στοιχείων και όχι των ζωικών (θα μπορούσαμε να τον ονομάσουμε – τουλάχιστον εν μέρει - χορτοφαγικό Λόγο⁴). Ταυτόχρονα οι θεματικές παρουσιάζονται με ομοιόμορφο τρόπο: οι τρεις τίτλοι ενοτήτων στο άνω μέρος έχουν πράσινο πλαίσιο ενώ οι τρεις τίτλοι στο κάτω μέρος κόκκινο πλαίσιο. Επίσης οι διαστάσεις των εικόνων, η προσεχτική τοποθέτηση τους στο χώρο της σελίδας και η ικανοποιητική ποιότητα τους συμβάλλουν σε ένα απλό άλλα όμορφο και ξεκάθαρο αισθητικό αποτέλεσμα. Τέλος, οι διάφορες

⁴ Βλ. και Beardsworth & Keil (1997).

λειτουργίες και δυνατότητες του λογισμικού ενσωματώθηκαν σε μεγάλο βαθμό, έχοντας ως αποτέλεσμα το πιο πάνω παράδειγμα ουσιαστικής πολυτροπικότητας. Για παράδειγμα, οι μελλοντικοί εκπαιδευτικοί χρησιμοποίησαν την τεχνολογία για να ψάξουν και να επιλέξουν τις κατάλληλες εικόνες, να τις επεξεργαστούν και να τις μορφοποιήσουν αλλά και να τις τοποθετήσουν με σκοπό να δίνεται συγκεκριμένο νόημα. Ακόμη έγινε εισαγωγή και χρήση κουμπιών για μεταφορά σε άλλες σελίδες ή/και προγράμματα.

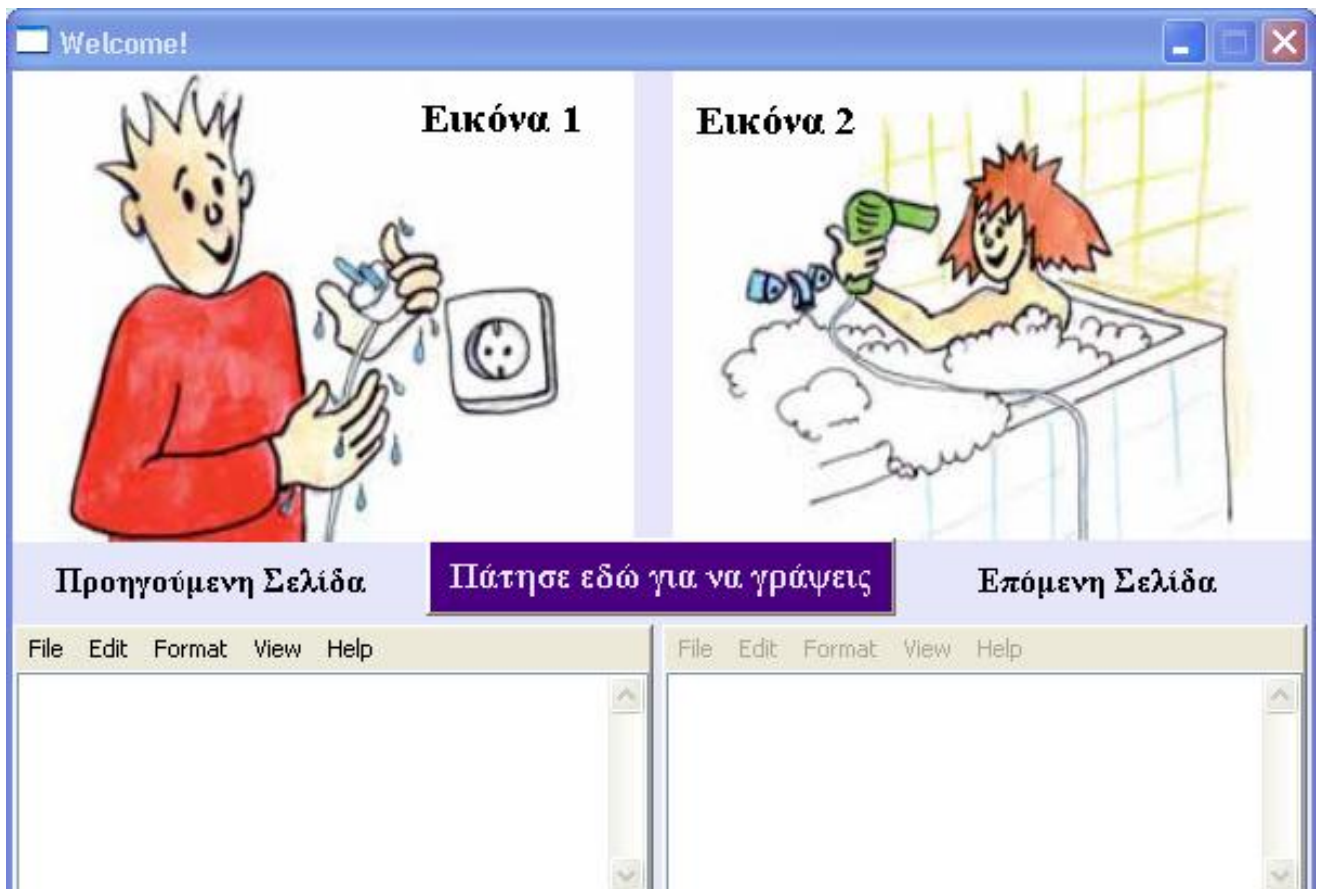


ΠΟΛΙΤΙΣΤΙΚΗ ΑΝΑΠΤΥΞΗ

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Εικόνα 2 Παράδειγμα εντελώς επιφανειακής ή ουσιαστικά ανύπαρκτης πολυτροπικότητας

Στην εικόνα 2 η πολιτιστική ανάπτυξη της Γαλλίας συνδέεται εντελώς αόριστα με έναν πίνακα, δύο καλοντυμένες γυναίκες και έναν φωτογράφο. Πουθενά δεν υπάρχει ουσιαστική σχέση μεταξύ των εικόνων και της συμβολής του γαλλικού λαού στην πρόοδο των τεχνών και των γραμμμάτων ή η σχέση αυτή είναι τόσο ασαφής που και το όλο υπό κατασκευή νόημα να είναι πολύ γενικόλογο. Άλλωστε, ο Λόγος που απηχούν οι 2 από τις 5 εικόνες είναι αυτός μιας μαζικής κουλτούρας που συνδέει τη Γαλλία όχι τόσο με τις Καλές Τέχνες και τα Γράμματα όσο με τα επιτεύγματα στον τομέα της μόδας και της γυναικείας εμφάνισης. Επιπλέον, οι αναλογίες των διαστάσεων των εικόνων έχουν τροποποιηθεί, παραποιώντας τις εικόνες. Τέλος, δεν έγινε αποτελεσματική χρήση των λειτουργιών και δυνατοτήτων του λογισμικού. Έχουν χρησιμοποιηθεί, ανεπιτυχώς πολύ βασικά εργαλεία του λογισμικού. Παρά το ότι χρησιμοποιήθηκε η τεχνολογία για εξεύρεση εικόνων, δεν έγινε επιτυχής επιλογή, επεξεργασία και τοποθέτηση.



Εικόνα 3 Παράδειγμα «ημιπολυτροπικής» δραστηριότητας

Η εικόνα 3 προέρχεται από μια πολύ καλή εργασία που πληροί ικανοποιητικότητας το κριτήριο περί ουσιαστικής πολυτροπικότητας όσον αφορά το παρεχόμενο στους μαθητές υλικό. Παρ'όλα αυτά όλες οι προτεινόμενες δραστηριότητές της είναι «ημιπολυτροπικές», με την έννοια ότι, π.χ. περίπτωση της εικόνας 3 τα παιδιά καλούνται, έχοντας λάβει υπόψη τους ένα πολυτροπικό κείμενο (βλ. εικ. 4), απλώς να παραγάγουν γραπτό λόγο και όχι ένα δικό τους πολυτροπικό κείμενο όπου ο γλωσσικός τρόπος θα συνδυάζεται με κάποιον άλλο.



Εικόνα 4



Εικόνα 5 Παράδειγμα πολυτροπικής δραστηριότητας

Στην εικόνα 5 βλέπουμε μια πολυτροπική δραστηριότητα, με την έννοια ότι τα παιδιά καλούνται να συνδυάσουν τον γλωσσικό με τον οπτικό τρόπο και να συντάξουν μια διαφήμιση, κάτι που, επιπλέον, κάνει τη συγκεκριμένη δραστηριότητα να ανταποκρίνεται και στο κριτήριο περί επικοινωνιακής/λειτουργικής πλευράς της γλωσσικής διδασκαλίας. Τέλος, γίνεται αποτελεσματική χρήση της τεχνολογίας ως εργαλείο που είχε ως αποτέλεσμα τη δημιουργία πολυτροπικής δραστηριότητας. Για παράδειγμα, έγινε η κατάλληλη επιλογή, επεξεργασία και τοποθέτηση εικόνων και κειμένων, συνθέτοντας μια σελίδα η οποία χαρακτηρίζεται ως πολυτροπική-επικοινωνιακή.

8. Συζήτηση-συμπεράσματα

Το γεγονός ότι, ενώ η ουσιαστική πολυτροπικότητα εμφανίστηκε στο 72,2% των εργασιών, μόνο στις μισές σχεδόν εργασίες αυτή αφορούσε και τα κείμενα που καλούνταν να παράγουν οι μαθητές, ή και την επικοινωνιακή/λειτουργική διάσταση της γλωσσικής διδασκαλίας, αποτελεί σαφή ένδειξη ότι η πολυτροπικότητα δε συνοδεύεται απαραίτητα και από την ικανοποιητική αλλαγή όσον αφορά το πώς οι μελλοντικοί δάσκαλοι βλέπουν τη διδακτική πράξη σε σχέση με το σύγχρονο επικοινωνιακό τοπίο. Σίγουρα το MMB τους ώθησε να ασχοληθούν περισσότερο με την κατασκευή πολυτροπικών νοημάτων και ασκήσεων (έστω και ημιπολυτροπικών) αλλά σε αρκετές περιπτώσεις, παρά το γεγονός ότι ζήτησαν και από τους μαθητές να λειτουργήσουν «πολυτροπικά», εξακολούθησαν να κινούνται σε κάτι που έμοιαζε με το σχήμα που ο Κουτσογιάννης (2010) ονομάζει προσοφορά-ζήτηση(-σύνοψη), δηλ. στην αρχή δίνεται, συνήθως, κάποια πληροφορία (offering information), που στην περίπτωσή μας μπορεί να είναι ένα πολυτροπικό κείμενο (π.χ. εικόνα και γραπτός λόγος ή εικόνα και ήχος, π.χ. βίντεο) και στη συνέχεια ζητούνται πληροφορίες (demanding information) από τα παιδιά (π.χ. να επιλύσουν κάποια άσκηση). Δυστυχώς, σε όλες τις περιπτώσεις όπου τα παιδιά έπρεπε να αναζητήσουν κάποιες πληροφορίες από το διαδίκτυο, αυτό γινόταν με τη χρήση ηλεκτρονικών διευθύνσεων που ήταν εκ των προτέρων καθορισμένες από τον διδάσκοντα, κάτι που σημαίνει ότι το MMB απλώς υποκαθιστούσε τις δύο ή τρεις (έντυπες) πηγές που θα χρησιμοποιούσαν έτσι κι αλλιώς τα παιδιά προκειμένου να κάνουν μια εργασία.

Εξάλλου, η σύγκριση των ποσοστών του κριτηρίου της ύπαρξης ουσιαστικής πολυτροπικότητας στο υλικό που παρέχεται στους μαθητές και του κριτηρίου της ουσιαστικής πολυτροπικότητας όσον αφορά το υλικό που καλούνται να παράγουν οι μαθητές βάσει των δραστηριοτήτων που τους ανατίθενται, δείχνει ότι, ενώ οι μελλοντικοί μας δάσκαλοι, ζώντας ήδη σε έναν πολυτροπικό κόσμο με πολλούς γραμματισμούς, έχουν αναπτύξει διάφορες πλευρές αυτών των γραμματισμών, δεν έχουν ακόμα εξοικειωθεί ικανοποιητικά με την «πολυτροπική» δυνατότητα συνδυασμού τους σε επίπεδο διδακτικής πράξης. Ενδεικτικός για τα παραπάνω είναι ο μεγάλος αριθμός «ημιπολυτροπικών» ασκήσεων, δηλ. ασκήσεων όπου οι μαθητές έπρεπε να παραγάγουν ένα κείμενο σχολιάζοντας κάποιες εικόνες αλλά όχι να κατασκευάσουν ένα πολυτροπικό κείμενο όπου ο γλωσσικός τρόπος να συνδυάζεται με κάποιον άλλο τρόπο. Δυστυχώς, με αυτόν τον τρόπο δε γίνεται αξιοποίηση του ότι, σύμφωνα με έρευνες οι κατά κανόνα πολυτροπικές εξωσχολικές πρακτικές γραμματισμού των παιδιών είναι εξαιρετικά δημιουργικές (Beavis, Nixon & Atkinson, 2005). Τέλος, το 52,2% όσον αφορά το κριτήριο της επικοινωνιακής/λειτουργικής πλευράς της γλωσσικής διδασκαλίας δείχνει ότι σε οκτώ περιπτώσεις στους μισούς μελλοντικούς δασκάλους η πολυτροπικότητα δε σημαίνει απαραίτητα και επικοινωνιακή προσέγγιση της διδασκαλίας. Με άλλα λόγια, η πολυτροπικότητα δε συνδέεται οπωσδήποτε με τη μη αποπλαισιωμένη αντιμετώπιση της γλώσσας.

Με βάση τα πιο πάνω μπορεί να υποστηριχθεί ότι οι μελλοντικοί εκπαιδευτικοί είναι σε θέση να εντάξουν την πολυτροπικότητα στη διδακτική τους πρακτική και να δημιουργήσουν πολυτροπικό υλικό, αλλά όχι σε απόλυτα ικανοποιητικό βαθμό. Χρειάζονται αρκετή εκπαίδευση ακόμη, όμως έχουν τις απαραίτητες γνώσεις, δεξιότητες και υπόβαθρο. Φαίνεται να κατανοούν την έννοια της πολυτροπικότητας και των πολυγραμματισμών, δεδομένου ότι κατάφεραν να δημιουργήσουν πολυτροπικό εκπαιδευτικό υλικό. Παρ' όλα αυτά δυσκολεύτηκαν να δημιουργήσουν δραστηριότητες όπου να ζητούν από τους μαθητές τους να δημιουργήσουν πολυτροπικό υλικό με σκοπό την ανάπτυξη πολυγραμματισμών και δυσκολεύτηκαν να εφαρμόσουν τις 2 πιο πάνω έννοιες όσον αφορά το τι ζητούσαν από τους μαθητές. Γενικά, θεωρούμε ότι ακόμη δεν είναι πλήρως έτοιμοι να διδάξουν την πολυτροπικότητα και τους πολυγραμματισμούς. Χρειάζονται περισσότερη εκπαίδευση και εμπειρία όσον αφορά την ενσωμάτωση και διδακτική των δύο πιο πάνω εννοιών στην εκπαιδευτική πράξη.

Τα συμπεράσματα αυτής της έρευνας βασίζονται κυρίως στο εκπαιδευτικό υλικό που ανέπτυξαν οι μελλοντικοί εκπαιδευτικοί με ένα λογισμικό που επιτρέπει και μάλιστα ενθαρρύνει την ανάπτυξη πολυτροπικού υλικού. Στην παρούσα έρευνα, επικεντρωθήκαμε στο εκπαιδευτικό υλικό που ανέπτυξαν οι μελλοντικοί εκπαιδευτικοί και έμμεσα μελετήθηκαν οι απόψεις τους για αυτό που τους ζητήθηκε να δημιουργήσουν, κάτι που μελλοντική έρευνα σκοπεύει να συμπεριλάβει (π.χ. προσωπικές

συνεντεύξεις ή/και ομάδες συζητήσεων) καθώς θα επιτρέψει την περεταίρω διερεύνηση των θεμάτων που εγέρθηκαν από την παρούσα έρευνα. Όπως για παράδειγμα, γιατί, ενώ σε διάφορα μαθήματα διδασκαλίας της γλώσσας, έχει γίνει αναλυτικά λόγος για την επικοινωνιακή προσέγγιση, σε πολλές περιπτώσεις έλειπε αυτή η πλευρά από τις ασκήσεις που ανατίθονταν στους μαθητές.

9. Επίλογος

Σύμφωνα με τον U. Eco “Η ανθρωπότητα για αιώνες προχώρησε προς τα μπρος διαβάζοντας και γράφοντας [...]. Όταν ανακάλυψαν ότι μπορούσαν να δένουν μεταξύ τους τα φύλλα [...] ποτέ πια δεν μπόρεσαν να απαρνηθούν αυτό το θαυμαστό εργαλείο”. Σε μια εποχή όπου κυριαρχεί η πολυμεσική και πολυτροπική κειμενική παραγωγή και όπου ζητάμε από τους δασκάλους να αξιοποιήσουν τις δυνατότητες που προσφέρουν οι ΤΠΕ, εργαλεία όπως το MMB τους δίνουν τη «θαυμάσια» δυνατότητα να «δέσουν» εύκολα, γρήγορα αλλά και δημιουργικά διάφορες δραστηριότητες και κάθε λογής υλικά σε ενιαία κείμενα προσφέροντας στους μαθητές κάτι που συνδυάζει, από τη μια πλευρά, στοιχεία από το ΤΠΕ περιβάλλον μέσα στο οποίο μεγαλώνουν, και, από την άλλη, εκείνες τις προσεγγίσεις που θέλουν τον γραμματισμό να αναπτύσσεται και μέσα και από την «ανάγνωση» σύνθετων και μη αποπλαισιωμένων κατασκευών νοήματος⁵.

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⁵ Βλ. ενδεικτικά ΥΠΠΟ (2010).

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ΤΑ ΠΥΡΗΝΙΚΑ ΤΟΝΙΚΑ ΎΨΗ ΤΗΣ ΚΥΠΡΙΑΚΗΣ ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΗΣ

Χαράλαμπος Θεμιστοκλέους

Πανεπιστήμιο Κύπρου

themistocleous@gmail.com

ABSTRACT

This study examines the Cypriot Greek nuclear pitch accents. Specifically, it examines the tonal representation of narrow information focus, broad focus, contrastive focus, and contrastive topic. For this purpose, an experiment has been designed in which four distinct contexts have been devised in order to elicit utterances with different information structure categories. The experiment examined whether the information structure categories are associated with categorically distinct nuclear pitch accents. The results showed no effect of the information structure categories on the realization of the nuclear pitch accents. However, secondary cues from segmental duration distinguish narrow foci from broad focus. These results, which underline a division of labor between phonological structure and meaning interpretation, are difficult to accommodate in models that directly associate meaning to tonal categories.

Λέξεις Κλειδιά: πυρηνικά τονικά ύψη, κυπριακή ελληνική, επιτονισμός, εστία, θέμα

1. Εισαγωγή

Η παρούσα μελέτη εξετάζει την παραγωγή των πυρηνικών τονικών υψών της Κυπριακής Ελληνικής (στο εξής ΚΕ). Συγκριμένα, εξετάζεται η ευθυγράμμιση και η κλιμάκωση των πυρηνικών τονικών υψών σε περιβάλλοντα στα οποία δηλώνονται διαφορετικές κατηγορίες εστίας, όπως ευρεία εστία, στενή εστία πληροφωρίας, στενή αντιθετική εστία και στενό αντιθετικό θέμα.

Ο επιτονικός περίγυρος αποτελείται από αφηρημένες κατηγορίες τα *τονικά γεγονότα* (tonalevents), τα οποία διακρίνονται περαιτέρω στα *τονικά ύψη* (pitchaccents), στους *τόνους φράσης* (phraseaccents) και στους *τόνους ορίου* (boundarytones) (G. Bruce, 1977; J. B. Pierrehumbert & M. E. Beckman, 1988; J. B. Pierrehumbert, 1980; Pierrehumbert & Beckman, 1986). Τα τονικά ύψη συνδέονται με τις προβεβλημένες συλλαβές του εκφωνήματος, οι οποίες δυνάμει μπορούν να λάβουν λεξικό τονισμό· χωρίς να προϋποτίθεται ισομορφική σχέση ανάμεσα στα επιτονικά ύψη και στις τονισμένες συλλαβές. Οι τόνοι φράσης (T-) δηλώνουν το δεξιό άκρο των *ενδιάμεσων φράσεων* (εφ) (πβ. Pierrehumbert & Beckman, 1986; Pierrehumbert & Hirschberg, 1990) και οι τόνοι ορίου (T%) τα όρια των *επιτονικών φράσεων* (ΕΦ).

Τα πυρηνικά τονικά ύψη της νέας ελληνικής (στο εξής ΚΝΕ) είναι σύμφωνα με την τρέχουσα ανάλυση (βλ. A. Arvaniti & M. Baltazani, 2005) τα ακόλουθα: ένα υψηλό τονικό ύψος (H*), ένα χαμηλό τονικό ύψος (L*) και δύο δίτονα ύψη (L+H*, H*+L)¹. Το H* χρησιμοποιείται σύμφωνα με τις Amalia Arvaniti και Mary Baltazani (2005) για τη δήλωση ευρείας εστίας σε καταφάσεις. Σε αυτές τις περιπτώσεις το τελευταίο συστατικό του εκφωνήματος είναι το πλέον προβεβλημένο (Avesani & Vayra, 2003· Ball, 2002· Baltazani, 2003· Erteschik-Shir, 1999, 2007· Shattuck-Hufnagel & Turk, 1996). Το L+H*, δηλώνει την παρουσία αντιθετικής εστίας ή εστίας σε μη τερματικές θέσεις στην επιτονική φράση, ενώ το H*+L υποδηλώνει ότι αυτό που εκφράζει η απάντηση θα έπρεπε να είναι προφανές στον ακροατή (Arvaniti, 2007). Το προπυρηνικό τονικό ύψος αποτελείται από ένα χαμηλό τόνο που ευθυγραμμίζεται με την τονισμένη συλλαβή και ένα υψηλό τόνο (L*+H) (Amalia Arvaniti & Mary Baltazani, 2005· Arvaniti, Ladd, & Mennen, 1998). Η νέα ελληνική διαθέτει τρεις φραστικούς τόνους, που δηλώνουν το όριο της ενδιάμεσης φράσης ένα υψηλό τόνο φράσης (H-), ένα χαμηλό τόνο φράσης (L-) και ένα υψηλό καταβαίνοντα τόνο φράσης (IH) για τη δήλωση των ενδιάμεσων μελωδιών (Amalia Arvaniti & Mary Baltazani, 2005). Ανάλογα, για τη δήλωση των ορίων της ΕΦ υπάρχουν τρεις τόνοι ορίου, ένας υψηλός (H%), ένας χαμηλός (L%) και ένας καταβαίνων τόνος ορίου (IH%). Ο

¹Το αστεράκι δηλώνει τον τόνο που συνδέεται φωνολογικά με την τονισμένη συλλαβή του εκφωνήματος.

συνδυασμός των τόνων φράσης και των τόνων ορίου στο τέλος της ΕΦ, δημιουργεί σύνθετα μελωδικά σχήματα. Το διάστημα μεταξύ δύο στόχων θεωρείται φωνολογικά ακαθόριστο και πραγματώνεται από μηχανισμούς παρεμβολής (interpolation) (βλ. J. B. Pierrehumbert, 1980).

Τα τονικά ύψη ορίζονται τοπικά σύμφωνα με το σχετικό τους ύψος, που καλείται κλιμάκωση (scaling) και την χρονική τους τοποθέτηση ή ευθυγράμμιση (alignment) σε σχέση με το επίπεδο των τεμαχίων (δηλ. τα φωνήεντα και τα σύμφωνα) και με τα όρια των φωνολογικών τομέων (Gussenhoven, 2004· Ladd, 2008· Prieto, 1998). Η σημασία της ευθυγράμμισης είχε ήδη επισημανθεί από τον Bruce (1977) στην εξέταση του επιτονισμού στη Σουηδική της Στοκχόλμης. Ο Bruce έδειξε ότι η ακριβής ευθυγράμμιση των τονικών υψών επιτρέπει τη διάκριση ανάμεσα στην οξεία, όπως λ.χ. στη λέξη *stégen* 'σκαλοπάτια' και στη βαρεία, λ.χ. στη λέξη *stègen* 'σκάλα'. Οι αναλύσεις αυτές του Bruce (1977) είχαν σημαντική επίδραση σε μελέτες διαφόρων γλωσσών, όπως λ.χ. η αμερικάνικη αγγλική και η ελληνική (Arvaniti et al., 1998· Arvaniti, Ladd, & Mennen, 2006· Botinis, 1989, 1998· Dilley, Ladd, & Schepman, 2005· Pierrehumbert, 1993, 2000· Pierrehumbert & Steele, 1989).

Έχει διεξαχθεί σημαντική έρευνα στον επιτονισμό της ΚΝΕ, ωστόσο ελάχιστη έρευνα έχει διεξαχθεί στις διαλεκτικές ποικιλίες της ελληνικής (Arvaniti, 1998· Grice, Ladd, & Arvaniti, 2000· Themistocleous, 2011· Θεμιστοκλέους & Κυριάκου, 2010). Σε αυτή την μελέτη εξετάζεται η παραγωγή των πυρηνικών τονικών υψών στην κυπριακή ελληνική.

Ήδη προηγούμενες μελέτες έχουν δείξει ότι η ΚΕ συμπεριφέρεται διαφορετικά σε ορισμένες πτυχές του επιτονισμού από την ΚΝΕ. Ειδικότερα, η Arvaniti (1998) καθώς και οι Grice, Ladd και Arvaniti (2000) έδειξαν ότι τα φραστικά τονικά ύψη της ΚΕ διαφοροποιούνται ως προς την ευθυγράμμισή τους από αυτά της ΚΝΕ. Τα κυπριακά φραστικά ύψη ευθυγραμμίζονται με τη λήγουσα, όπως και τα ογγρικά φραστικά ύψη. Αντίθετα, τα φραστικά ύψη της ΚΝΕ εξαρτώνται από την θέση της τονισμένης συλλαβής.

Εκτός από τον επιτονισμό, η ΚΕ διαφοροποιείται από την ΚΝΕ και στην έκφραση της πληροφοριακής δομής. Η ΚΕ αξιοποιεί συντακτικά την απόσχιση (clefting) για την δήλωση της εστίας, όχι όμως η ΚΝΕ (Grohmann, Panagiotidis, & Tsiplakou, 2006· Tsiplakou, Panagiotidis, & Grohmann, 2007). Μάλιστα είναι δυνατόν η ΚΕ να παρουσιάζει διαφοροποιήσεις από την ΚΝΕ και ως προς την δήλωση των θεμάτων (Themistocleous, 2012). Σύμφωνα με τα προηγούμενα, τίθενται τα ακόλουθα ερωτήματα:

(α) Σε ποιο βαθμό διαφοροποιείται η ευθυγράμμιση και η κλιμάκωση των πυρηνικών τονικών υψών της ΚΕ όταν εκφράζουν ευρεία εστία, στενή εστία πληροφορίας, στενή αντιθετική εστία και αντιθετικό θέμα;

(β) Σε ποιο βαθμό διαφοροποιείται η διάρκεια της τονισμένης συλλαβής των συστατικών ανάλογα με την εστιακή κατηγορία που εκφράζουν: ευρεία εστία, στενή εστία πληροφορίας και στενή αντιθετική εστία;

2. Μεθοδολογία

2.1 Μετέχοντες

Πέντε γυναίκες ομιλήτριες, πέντε άντρες ομιλητές της ΚΕ από την Λευκωσία είχαν λάβει μέρος στην ηχογράφηση. Όλοι οι ομιλητές ήταν φοιτητές στο Πανεπιστήμιο Κύπρου· είχαν περίπου την ίδια ηλικία δηλ. 18 και 22 χρονών και δεν είχαν κανένα πρόβλημα στην ακοή ή στην άρθρωση.

2.2 Ακουστικό υλικό

Σύμφωνα με τα πειραματικά ερωτήματα, παρήχθη τονική κορύφωση σε τέσσερα διαφορετικά περιβάλλοντα στα οποία εκφράζονταν διαφορετικές κατηγορίες εστίας: ευρεία εστία, στενή εστία πληροφορίας και στενή αντιθετική εστία όπως παρουσιάζεται στο (1)

(1)

α. Ευρεία εστία:

- Τι συμβαίνει;
- [διαλέγει βελόνια]Ε.

β. Στενή αντιθετική εστία:

- Μου είπαν ότι η Μελίνα διαλέγει νήματα.
- Όχι, διαλέγει [βελόνια]Ε.

- γ. Στενή εστία πληροφορίας
 -Τι διαλέγει η Μελίνα;
 -Διαλέγει[βελόνια]Ε.
- δ. Αντιθετικό θέμα
 -Τι διαλέγει η Μελίνα βελόνια ή νήματα;
 -Διαλέγει [βελόνια]Ε.

Σχετικά περιβάλλοντα διατυπώθηκαν για τις σαράντα διαφορετικές λέξεις κλειδιά που παρουσιάζονται στον Πίνακα 1.

Βελόνι	Βολίδα	Γαλόνι	δαμάλι	καλάμι
Καμίνι	Κανάλια	Κανέλλα	κανόνι	κοιλιάδα
κουνέλι	Κυδώνι	Λαδάκι	Λαλιώτη	μονάρι
λιβάδι	Μανώλη	Μαρίνα	μελάνι	Μελίνα
Λιμάνι	Μπαλόνι	Ντομάτα	παλάμη	Πολίνα
Μονάδα	Μονάδα	Σαλάτα	Σαλώμη	Σελίνη
Σαλάμι	Φανέλα	Σελίδα	καλύβα	πανάκι
Σαλόνι	Καλύβια	Κονάκια	λεμόνι	μολύβι

Πίνακας 1 Τρισύλλαβες λέξεις-κλειδιά αποτελούμενες από ακολουθίες ΣΦ, με δυναμικό τονισμό στην παραλήγουσα

Επιλέχθηκαν λέξεις που είχαν στην τονισμένη συλλαβή ένα ηχηρό φθόγγο κατά προτίμηση έρρινο ή πλευρικό προσεγγιστικό, καθώς αυτό επιτρέπει την καλύτερη διάκριση της επιτονικής κίνησης. Τέλος, σχηματίστηκαν προτάσεις με τη χρήση των ακόλουθων ρημάτων: *διανέμει* και *διαλέγει* όπως τα ακόλουθα στο (2).

(2)

1. διανέμει βελόνια
2. διαλέγει καμίνια
3. διαλέγει κουνέλια

Ο συνολικός αριθμός εκφωνημάτων που παρήχθησαν για τους σκοπούς του πειράματος ήταν 4800 εκφωνήματα (10 ομιλητές \times 40 λέξεις κλειδιά \times 4 κατηγορίες πληρ. δομής \times 3 επαναλήψεις). Δεν αφαιρέθηκαν εκφωνήματα με βάση κριτήρια ορθής ή λανθασμένης παραγωγής.

2.3 Διαδικασία

Οι ηχογραφήσεις έγιναν σε άηχο δωμάτιο στο Πανεπιστήμιο Κύπρου. Για την εκμαίευση κατά το δυνατόν φυσικών παραγωγών, φτιάχτηκαν σύντομες ιστορίες που αποτέλεσαν το περιεχόμενο της εκφώνησης. Οι ιστορίες ήταν προσαρμοσμένες στην ΚΕ. Συγκεκριμένα, οι ιστορίες συνοδεύονταν από σχετικές εικόνες, έτσι για το (1) το περιβάλλον είχε την ακόλουθη μορφή (βλ. (3)):

(3)

Η Μελίνα ε σπίτι της και θκιαλέει βελόνια για να σάσει ένα σχίσμένο φόρεμα.

Το (3) αποδίδεται στην ΚΝΕ ως εξής «Η Μελίνα είναι στο σπίτι της και διαλέγει βελόνια για να φτιάξει ένα σκισμένο φόρεμα». Μια συνεργάτιδα, φυσική ομιλήτρια της ΚΕ διατύπωσε τις ερωτήσεις (βλ. (1)). Αφού ολοκληρώνονταν δέκα περιβάλλοντα εκφωνήσεων ακολουθούσε παύση τριών λεπτών. Αν οι ομιλητές έκαναν κάποιο λάθος ή υπήρχε κάποιος θόρυβος στο περιβάλλον, η συνεργάτιδα ζητούσε από τον ομιλητή να επαναλάβει το εκφώνημα.

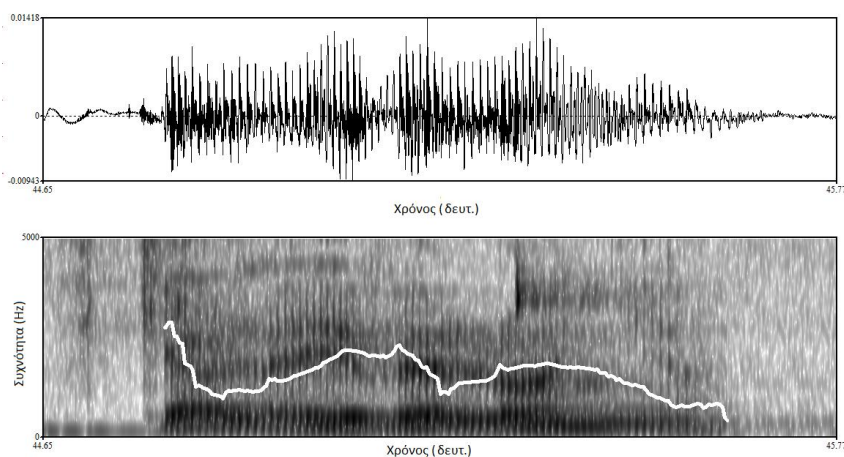
Το ακουστικό υλικό τεμαχιοποιήθηκε σε φθόγγους και σε συλλαβές από τον συγγραφέα, στη συνέχεια εντοπίστηκαν οι τονικοί στόχοι. Η τεμαχιοποίηση ακολούθησε τα καθιερωμένα κριτήρια ανάλυσης που προτείνονται από τους Peterson και Lehiste (1960) καθώς επίσης και από τις οδηγίες που προτείνουν οι Turk, Nakai και Sugahara (2006).

Οι μετρήσεις, που ακολούθησαν την τεμαχιοποίηση, έγιναν σε σχέση με το τοπικό ελάχιστο (local minimum) της επιτονικής καμπύλης και το τοπικό μέγιστο (local maximum), τα οποία αποτελούν σημεία σημαντικής αλλαγής της επιτονικής καμπύλης από την έμβαση της συλλαβής, τον αρχή και το τέλος του πυρήνα της τονισμένης συλλαβής. Επίσης, υπολογίστηκαν οι τιμές διάρκειας στην τονισμένη συλλαβή.

3. Αποτελέσματα

Τα αποτελέσματα της ανάλυσης παρουσιάζονται στην συνέχεια. Αρχικά παρουσιάζεται ο επιτονικός περίγυρος στα εκφώνηματα στα οποία εκφράζεται *ευρεία εστία*, *στενή αντιθετική εστία*, *στενή εστία πληροφορίας* και *αντιθετικό θέμα*. Ακολούθως παρουσιάζονται περιγραφικά στατιστικά για κάθε εστιακή κατηγορία.

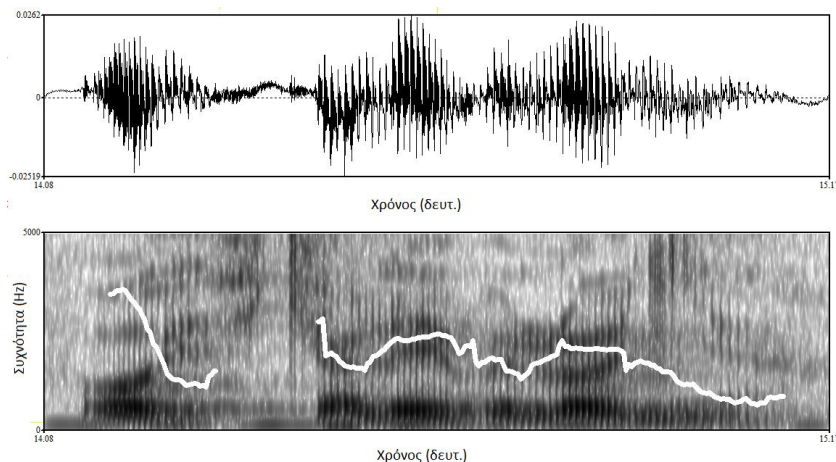
Η μελωδική παραγωγή για το εκφώνημα «διαλέγει βελόνια» με ευρεία εστία παρουσιάζεται στην Εικόνα 1.



Εικόνα 1 Παραγωγή της ευρείας εστίας στο εκφώνημα «διαλέγει βελόνια» από άντρα ομιλητή της ΚΕ

Υπάρχουν δύο επιτονικά ύψη στο εκφώνημα, ένα τονικό ύψος στην λέξη «διαλέγει» [θca'lei] και ένα πυρηνικό τονικό ύψος στη λέξη «βελόνια» [ve'lonɐ]. Ειδικότερα, το προπυρηνικό τονικό ύψος αποτελείται από ένα τοπικό ελάχιστο (local minimum) το οποίο ευθυγραμμίζεται με την αρχή της τονισμένης συλλαβής και ένα τοπικό μέγιστο που ευθυγραμμίζεται με την αρχή του πρώτου φωνήεντος της λέξης «βελόνια». Από αυτό το σημείο, ο μελωδικός περίγυρος χαμηλώνει σε ένα τοπικό ελάχιστο στο τέλος του πρώτου φωνήεντος της λέξης «βελόνια». Στην συνέχεια, ο μελωδικός περίγυρος ανεβαίνει και κορυφώνεται στο τέλος της τονισμένης συλλαβής. Τέλος, η θεμελιώδης συχνότητα ολοκληρώνει την κίνησή της σε ένα τοπικό χαμηλό ελάχιστο, που συνιστά το πιο χαμηλό σημείο της παραγωγής.

Στην Εικόνα 2. παρουσιάζεται η παραγωγή με αντιθετική εστία για το εκφώνημα «διαλέγει βελόνια»:

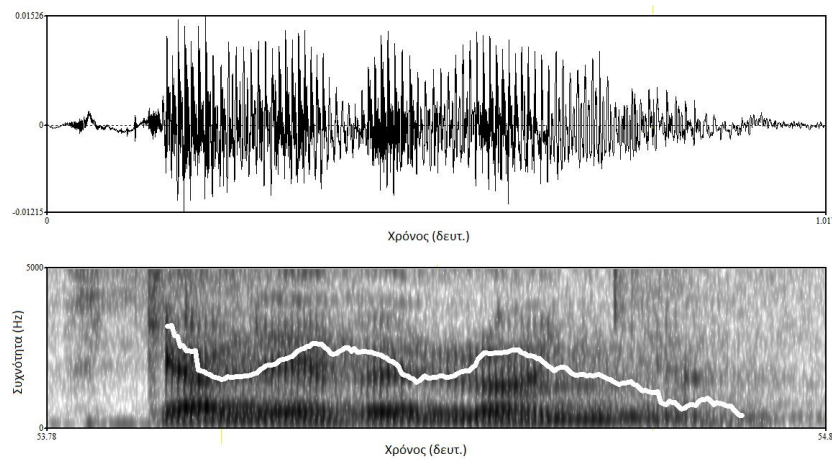


Εικόνα 2 Δήλωση αντιθετικής εστίας στο εκφώνημα «όχι, διαλέγει βελόνια» από άντρα ομιλητή της ΚΕ

Αυτή παραγωγή, σε αντίθεση με το προηγούμενο εκφώνημα, αρχίζει με μια πρώτη ενδιάμεση φράση «όχι» [oi], που αποτελείται από ένα υψηλό τονικό ύψος στο πρώτο μέρος της διφθόγγου. Στη συνέχεια, ακολουθεί μια πτώση και μια άνοδος της θεμελιώδους συχνότητας. Από το σημείο κορύφωσης της ανόδου αρχίζει και πάλι μια πτώση της συχνότητας σε ένα τοπικό ελάχιστο που αποτελεί και τον πρώτο στόχο του προπυρηνικού τονικού ύψους. Συγκεκριμένα, το προπυρηνικό τονικό ύψος αρχίζει με ένα τοπικό ελάχιστο (local minimum) το οποίο ευθυγραμμίζεται με την αρχή της τονισμένης συλλαβής της λέξης «διαλέγει» και ολοκληρώνεται σε ένα τοπικό μέγιστο στο δεύτερο μισό του τελευταίου φωνήεντος της λέξης.

Η θεμελιώδης συχνότητα κινείται από αυτό το σημείο καθοδικά σε ένα τοπικό χαμηλό ελάχιστο, που συνιστά τον πρώτο στόχο του πυρηνικού τονικού ύψους. Ακολούθως, η θεμελιώδης συχνότητας ανεβαίνει σε ένα τοπικό μέγιστο στην αρχή του τονισμένου φωνήεντος και διατηρεί μια επίπεδη κορυφή σε όλη τη διάρκεια του τονισμένου φωνήεντος. Στη συνέχεια, από το τέλος του φωνήεντος αρχίζει μια καθοδική κίνηση σε ένα τοπικό ελάχιστο.

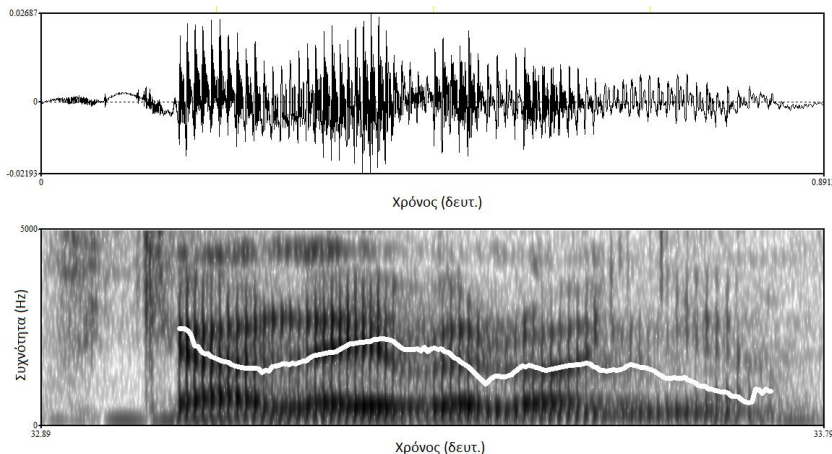
Στην Εικόνα 3 παρουσιάζεται η παραγωγή της στενής εστίας πληροφορίας.



Εικόνα 3 Παραγωγή στενής εστίας πληροφορίας στο εκφώνημα «διαλέγει βελόνια» από άντρα ομιλητή της ΚΕ

Η παραγωγή στενής εστίας πληροφορίας είναι όμοια με την παραγωγή αντιθετικής εστίας. Το προπυρηνικό τονικό ύψος αρχίζει με ένα τοπικό ελάχιστο (local minimum) το οποίο ευθυγραμμίζεται με την αρχή της τονισμένης συλλαβής της λέξης «διαλέγει» και ολοκληρώνεται σε ένα τοπικό μέγιστο στο δεύτερο μισό του τελευταίου φωνήεντος της λέξης. Η θεμελιώδης συχνότητα κινείται από αυτό το σημείο καθοδικά σε ένα τοπικό ελάχιστο, που συνιστά τον πρώτο στόχο του πυρηνικού τονικού ύψους. Ακολούθως, η θεμελιώδης συχνότητας ανεβαίνει σε ένα τοπικό μέγιστο στην αρχή του τονισμένου φωνήεντος και διατηρεί μια επίπεδη κορυφή σε όλη τη διάρκεια του τονισμένου φωνήεντος. Από το τέλος του φωνήεντος αρχίζει μια καθοδική κίνηση μέχρι και το τέλος του εκφωνήματος.

Στην Εικόνα 4 παρουσιάζεται παραγωγή του στενού αντιθετικού θέματος στο εκφώνημα «διαλέγει βελόνια».

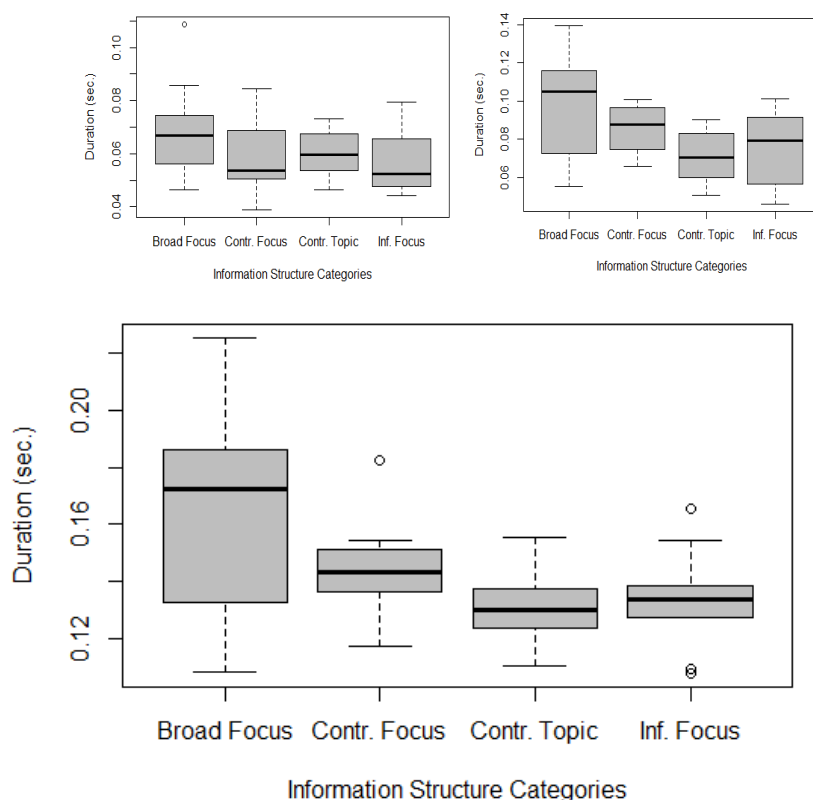


Εικόνα 4 Παραγωγή στενού αντιθετικού θέματος στο εκφώνημα «διαλέγει βελόνια» από άντρα ομιλητή της ΚΕ

Το προπυρηνικό τονικό ύψος στο εκφώνημα «διαλέγει βελόνια» για τη δήλωση αντιθετικού θέματος αρχίζει με ένα τοπικό ελάχιστο το οποίο ευθυγραμμίζεται με την αρχή της τονισμένης συλλαβής και κορυφώνεται σε ένα τοπικό μέγιστο στο τέλος της λέξης «διαλέγει». Στη συνέχεια, ο μελωδικός περίγυρος χαμηλώνει σε ένα τοπικό ελάχιστο στο τέλος της πρώτης συλλαβής της λέξης «βελόνια». Στην συνέχεια, ο μελωδικός περίγυρος ανεβαίνει και κορυφώνεται στο τέλος της τονισμένης συλλαβής. Τέλος, η θεμελιώδης συχνότητα ολοκληρώνει την κίνησή της σε ένα τοπικό χαμηλό ελάχιστο, που συνιστά το πιο χαμηλό σημείο της παραγωγής.

Στα τέσσερα εκφωνήματα η πρώτη άνοδος συσχετίζεται με το λιγότερο προβεβλημένο συστατικό του εκφωνήματος «διαλέγει» και συνιστά ένα προπυρηνικό τονικό ύψος. Η δεύτερη άνοδος στο συστατικό «βελόνια», που κλιμακώνεται συγκριτικά πολύ χαμηλότερα σε σχέση με την πρώτη άνοδο, αποτελεί το πυρηνικό τονικό ύψος· με αυτό το τονικό ύψος δηλώνεται η μεγαλύτερη τονική κορύφωση των εκφωνημάτων.

Η Εικόνα 5 παρουσιάζει τις μελωδικές παραγωγές των εκφωνημάτων και τις αντίστοιχες μέσες τιμές διάρκειας των φθόγων για κάθε κατηγορία εστίας.



Εικόνα 5 Παρουσίαση τιμών διάρκειας ως προς τις κατηγορίες της ευρείας εστίας (BroadFocus), αντιθ. εστίας (Contr. Focus), αντιθ. θέματος (Contr. Topic) και εστίας πληροφ. (Inf. Focus) για το τονισμένο σύμφωνο (πάνω αριστερά) και το τονισμένο φωνήεν (πάνω δεξιά) και για την τονισμένη συλλαβή (κάτω)

Σύμφωνα με την Εικόνα 5, η μέση τιμή διάρκειας της τονισμένης συλλαβής με την οποία συσχετίζεται το πυρηνικό τονικό ύψος διαφοροποιείται στην περίπτωση της ευρείας εστίας από την μέση τιμή διάρκειας της αντιθετικής εστίας, του αντιθετικού θέματος και της εστίας πληροφορίας. Συγκεκριμένα, η μέση τιμή για την ευρεία εστία είναι κατά πολύ μεγαλύτερη από την μέση τιμή στις υπόλοιπες πληροφοριακές κατηγορίες. Οι δύο κατηγορίες στενής εστίας καθώς και το αντιθετικό θέμα έχουν περίπου αντίστοιχες τιμές διάρκειας.

Όσον αφορά στις μέσες τιμές των τονισμένων συμφώνων της συλλαβικής έμβασης, παρατηρείται ότι στην περίπτωση της ευρείας εστίας η μέση τιμή υπερβαίνει τις μέσες τιμές των άλλων κατηγοριών πληροφοριακής δομής. Η αντιθετική εστία και η εστία πληροφορίας έχουν αντίστοιχες μέσες τιμές διάρκειας του συμφώνου και διαφοροποιούνται ελαφρώς από την μέση τιμή του αντιθετικού θέματος. Αυτές οι διαφοροποιήσεις επαναλαμβάνονται και στην περίπτωση του τονισμένου φωνήεντος, όπου πάλι η ευρεία εστία διακρίνεται από την στενή εστία πληροφορίας, το αντιθετικό θέμα και την

αντιθετική εστία. Παρόλο που και σε αυτή την περίπτωση η μέση τιμή διάρκειας του τονισμένου φωνήεντος στο αντιθετικό είναι μικρότερη από την αντιθετική εστία και την στενή εστία πληροφορίας.

4. Συζήτηση

Η μελέτη του επιτονισμού αποτέλεσε αντικείμενο ενδεδειγμένης έρευνας ιδιαίτερα τα τελευταία τριάντα χρόνια (M. E. Beckman & J. Pierrehumbert, 1986· M. Beckman & J. Pierrehumbert, 1986· Bolinger, 1958, 1965, 1972, 1986· G. Bruce, 1977· Ladd, 2008· J. Pierrehumbert & M. Beckman, 1988· t'Hart, Collier, & Cohen, 1990· Wells, 1945). Οι κύριες διαπιστώσεις της έρευνας είναι οι ακόλουθες: (α) οι βασικές μονάδες του επιτονισμού είναι τα (επι)τονικά ύψη, οι τόνοι φράσεως και οι τόνοι ορίου, (β) τα επιτονικά ύψη και οι τόνοι ορίου αποτελούνται από ένα ή δύο τονικούς στόχους, (γ) η ευθυγράμμιση των τονικών στόχων με την τεμαχιακή αλυσίδα και η κλιμάκωσή τους καθορίζει τη μορφή τους, (ε) δύο διαδοχικά επιτονικά ύψη συνδέονται με γραμμική παρεμβολή που δεν έχει φωνολογικές λειτουργίες, αλλά προκύπτει με τρόπο αυτόματο μη αβίαστο (Gussenhoven, 2004, 2007· Ladd, 2008· J. Pierrehumbert, 1980· J. Pierrehumbert & M. Beckman, 1988).

Σε αυτή τη μελέτη εξετάστηκε η παραγωγή των πυρηνικών τονικών υψών στην ΚΕ, δηλαδή των τονικών υψών που εκφράζουν την μεγαλύτερη τονική κορύφωση. Η παρουσία πυρηνικών τονικών υψών σε κάθε εκφώνημα είναι υποχρεωτική. Αντίθετα, προαιρετική είναι η παρουσία των προπυρηνικών τονικών υψών που εκφράζουν χαμηλότερου βαθμού τονική κορύφωση σε ένα εκφώνημα από τα πυρηνικά τονικά ύψη (Arvaniti et al., 1998· Silverman & Pierrehumbert, 1990).

Η ανάδειξη των συστατικών μέσα σε ένα εκφώνημα με την χρήση του επιτονισμού αποτελεί αναμφίβολα μια από τις κύριες του λειτουργίες. Το προβλεπόμενο συστατικό επιδέχεται διαφορετικές ερμηνείες, για παράδειγμα μπορεί να ερμηνευθεί ως *ενεργεία εστία*, *εστία πληροφορίας*, *αντιθετική εστία* ή *αντιθετικό θέμα* (Avesani & Vayra, 2003· Baltazani, 2006· Baltazani & Jun, 1999· Beaver, Clark, Flemming, Jaeger, & Wolters, 2007· Birch & Clifton, 1995· Botinis, Bannert, & Tatham, 2000· Büring, 1997· Erteschik-Shir, 1999· Georgiades, 2005· Gussenhoven· Rooth, 1992· Skopeteas, Féry, & Asatiani, 2009· Truckenbrodt, 1995· Xu & Xu, 2005). Ωστόσο, γενικά υπάρχει ασυμφωνία ανάμεσα στους ερευνητές κατά πόσον αυτές οι διαφορετικές ερμηνείες προκύπτουν από τα ίδια τα τονικά ύψη ή από άλλους παράγοντες (Baltazani, 2006· Büring, 1997· Gussenhoven, 1999, 2002· Pierrehumbert & Hirschberg, 1990· Shattuck-Hufnagel & Turk, 1996· Themistocleous, 2012). Με άλλα λόγια, υπάρχει ένα άλλο ζήτημα κατά πόσον τα ίδια τα τονικά ύψη έχουν σημασία που συνεισφέρει στην συνολική σημασία του εκφωνήματος (Ladd, 2008· Pierrehumbert & Hirschberg, 1990) ή ότι τα τονικά ύψη αξιοποιούνται για τον χαρακτηρισμό και την ανάδειξη συστατικών, χωρίς ωστόσο τα ίδια να είναι σημαίνοντα (Bolinger, 1983, 1986). Ο έλεγχος της υπόθεσης αυτής μπορεί να επιτευχθεί μέσω της αντιδιαστολής ιδιών ως προς όλα τα χαρακτηριστικά εκφωνημάτων. Το συγκεκριμένο περιβάλλον που πλαισιώνει τα υπό εξέταση εκφωνήματα αναγκαστικά πρέπει να ποικίλει για την έκφραση των διαφορετικών κατηγοριών της πληροφοριακής δομής. Σε αυτή την περίπτωση, θα αναμενόταν ότι διαφορετικές κατηγορίες της πληροφοριακής δομής θα συσχετίζονται με κατηγορικά διαφορετικά τονικά ύψη.

Ωστόσο, τα αποτελέσματα της μελέτης έχουν δείξει ότι το τονικό ύψος είναι το ίδιο σε όλες τις κατηγορίες πληροφοριακής δομής δηλ. στα συστατικά με ευρεία εστία, στενή αντιθετική εστία, στενή εστία πληροφορίας και στενό αντιθετικό θέμα (Georgakopoulos & Skopeteas, 2010· Themistocleous, 2011). Συγκεκριμένα, το τονικό ύψος αποτελείται από ένα χαμηλό τονικό στόχο στην αρχή της τονισμένης συλλαβής και ένα υψηλό τονικό στόχο στο τονισμένο φωνήεν. Από το τονισμένο φωνήεν και εξής η θεμελιώδης συχνότητα χαμηλώνει, ολοκληρώνοντας την πορεία της σε ένα τοπικό ελάχιστο. Η παρουσία αυτού του μελωδικού σχήματος στην συγκεκριμένη πειραματική μελέτη θέτει υπό αμφισβήτηση την άποψη ότι τα μελωδικά σχήματα στα πυρηνικά τονικά ύψη διαφοροποιούνται ανάλογα με την σημασία του εκφωνήματος (Pierrehumbert & Hirschberg, 1990) και μάλλον ότι οι διαφοροποιήσεις αφορούν στην ανάδειξη συστατικών με σκοπό την ερμηνεία σε ένα άλλο επίπεδο (Bolinger, 1951, 1958, 1965, 1972, 1982, 1983, 1986).

Αυτό ερμηνεύει την διακριτή διαφοροποίηση των πυρηνικών τονικών υψών από τα προπυρηνικά τονικά ύψη. Συγκεκριμένα, το προπυρηνικό τονικό ύψος αποτελείται από δύο διακριτούς τονικούς στόχους: ένα χαμηλό τονικό στόχο που ευθυγραμμίζεται με την αρχή της τονισμένης συλλαβής και ένα υψηλό τονικό στόχο που ευθυγραμμίζεται στο τέλος της ακόλουθης μη τονισμένης συλλαβής. Αντίθετα, το πυρηνικό τονικό ύψος, εκφράζει μια ανοδική κίνηση από την αρχή ή μέση του συμφώνου της τονισμένης συλλαβής, αλλά κορυφώνεται στο τονισμένο φωνήεν. Έτσι, αντίθετα με το προπυρηνικό τονικό ύψος, η κορύφωση συμβαίνει στην τονισμένη συλλαβή και όχι μετά από αυτήν. Η ευθυγράμμιση του τονικού μεγίστου του πυρηνικού τονικού ύψους με την τονισμένη συλλαβή υποστηρίζεται από δεδομένα προηγούμενων μελετών στην Ελληνική και σε άλλες γλώσσες (Α.

Arvaniti, Ladd, & Mennen, 2000, 2006· Botinis, Bannert, & Tatham, 2000· Gussenhoven, Bel, Marlien, & Parole, 2002· Ladd, 2008). Ο Gussenhoven (2004) αποδίδει την ακριβή ευθυγράμμιση της κορυφής των πυρηνικών τονικών υψών στην αρθρωτική προσπάθεια που καταβάλλει ο ομιλητής, η οποία ερμηνεύεται ως έμφαση από τον ακροατή. Αντίθετα, υποστηρίζει ο Gussenhoven η απουσία ευθυγράμμισης της κορυφής με την τονισμένη συλλαβή ερμηνεύεται ως απουσία έμφασης. Τα προπυρηνικά συσχετίζονται με το αχαρακτήριστο συστατικό αντίθετα τα πυρηνικά με το χαρακτηρισμένο συστατικό το οποίο χρήζει ερμηνείας από τον ακροατή.

Τα πυρηνικά τονικά ύψη φάνηκε ότι δεν διαφοροποιούνται μεταξύ τους ως προς την κλιμάκωση τους σύμφωνα με την σημασία της εστίας που εκφράζουν. Γενικά, το πυρηνικό τονικό ύψος κλιμακώνεται χαμηλότερα στις υπό εξέταση παραγωγές από το προπυρηνικό τονικό ύψος: τόσο ο χαμηλός τονικός στόχος όσο και ο υψηλός τονικός στόχος του πυρηνικού τονικού ύψους έχουν μικρότερη θεμελιώδη συχνότητα από τις αντίστοιχες τιμές που παρουσιάζονται στο προπυρηνικό τονικό ύψος.

Τα πυρηνικά τονικά ύψη της ΚΕ παρουσιάζουν σημαντικές ομοιότητες με αντίστοιχες παραγωγές της ΚΝΕ. Σύμφωνα με τις Arvaniti και Baltazani (2005) στις καταφατικές προτάσεις ΚΝΕ το πυρηνικό τονικό ύψος πραγματώνεται με δύο πυρηνικά τονικά ύψη H^* και ένα $L+H^*$. Το H^* αποτελεί το κανονικό τονικό ύψος για δήλωση της ευρείας εστίας, αντίθετα το H^*+L υποδηλώνει ότι η απάντηση θα έπρεπε να είναι γνωστή ή προφανής στον ακροατή. Τα δεδομένα αυτής της έρευνας δεν μπορούν να στηρίξουν τέτοιες διακρίσεις στα πυρηνικά τονικά ύψη καθώς απαιτείται η ύπαρξη δεδομένων από συνομιλία και ελεύθερο λόγο και όχι ελεγχόμενα πειραματικά δεδομένα. Στα δικά μας δεδομένα οι παρατηρήσεις από την ευθυγράμμιση δεν συνηγορούν στην ύπαρξη δύο διακριτών κατηγορικών πυρηνικών τονικών υψών. Επιπλέον, διαφοροποιήσεις στην κλιμάκωση δεν αποτελούν ασφαλές κριτήριο διάκρισης ξεχωριστών κατηγοριών πυρηνικών τονικών υψών. Σε κάθε περίπτωση απαιτείται περισσότερη συγκριτική έρευνα ανάμεσα στα πυρηνικά τονικά ύψη της ΚΝΕ και της ΚΕ για εξαγωγή καταληκτικών συμπερασμάτων (Themistocleous, 2011, 2012).

Βεβαίως, οι ακροατές διακρίνουν προσωδιακές διαφοροποιήσεις στις διαφορετικές παραγωγές, οι οποίες σε περίπτωση που δεν εκφράζονται κατηγορικά από τα τονικά ύψη θα πρέπει να δηλώνονται με κάποιον άλλο τρόπο. Στην έρευνα αυτή φάνηκε μια δύναμη διαφοροποίηση στη διάρκεια της συλλαβής ανάμεσα στην ευρεία εστία και στις κατηγορίες στενής εστίας, συμπεριλαμβανομένου και του στενού αντιθετικού θέματος. Αναμφίβολα, απαιτείται περαιτέρω έρευνα για τον έλεγχο της συνεισφοράς της διάρκειας αλλά και άλλων ακουστικών παραμέτρων, όπως η ένταση, στην ανάδειξη συστατικών (Breen, Fedorenko, Wagner, & Gibson, 2010· Calhoun, 2006, 2007· Themistocleous, 2011, 2012), καθώς και του τρόπου που οι ακουστικοί παράγοντες αλληλεπιδρούν μεταξύ τους.

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ΣΗΜΑΣΙΟΛΟΓΙΚΗ ΑΝΑΛΥΣΗ ΠΕΡΙΠΤΩΣΕΩΝ ΜΕΤΑΦΟΡΑΣ ΧΩΡΙΣ ΚΥΡΙΟΛΕΞΙΑ ΣΕ ΧΡΗΣΗ: *ΕΠΩΜΙΖΟΜΑΙ ΤΙΣ ΕΥΘΥΝΕΣ, ΑΦΥΠΝΙΖΕΙ ΣΥΝΕΙΔΗΣΕΙΣ*

Παρασκευή Θώμου
Πανεπιστήμιο Κρήτης, Ελλάδα
vthomou@edc.uoc.gr

ABSTRACT

In this paper we are dealing with metaphorical predicates for which the language synchronically does not develop literal collocability. Since metaphoric presupposes non metaphoric, the question arising is how non metaphoric is non-existent in language collocability. We opt for a semantic decomposition of these predicates based on their semantic features. Motivation of metaphor in such cases is detected in the semantics of the predicates, namely, in their secondary semantic features.

Λέξεις κλειδιά: μεταφορά, κυριολεξία, κινητοποίηση (motivation) μεταφοράς, συμφραστικότητα (collocability), λεξική σημασία

1. Εισαγωγή

Θέμα της συγκεκριμένης εργασίας αποτελούν ρηματικές φράσεις σε μεταφορική χρήση, οι οποίες στη συγχρονία της γλώσσας δεν παρουσιάζουν αντίστοιχη κυριολεκτική χρήση. Η συλλογή γλωσσικού υλικού κατέδειξε ότι πολλές από αυτές τις ρηματικές φράσεις περιέχουν ένα λόγιο στο σχηματισμό ρήμα:

- (1) επωμίζομαι, αφυπνίζω, ενστερνίζομαι

Η μεταφορά (metaphor), σε εννοιακό επίπεδο, αποτελεί τρόπο σκέψης και σύλληψης του κόσμου. Πρόκειται για τη δημιουργία αναλογίας ανάμεσα σε μία συγκεκριμένη έννοια και σε μία αφηρημένη έννοια (Lakoff 1993). Η αφηρημένη έννοια προσλαμβάνεται με τους όρους της συγκεκριμένης έννοιας. Στο επίπεδο γλωσσικής παραγωγής, οι γλωσσικές αποδόσεις, οι ρηματικές φράσεις, με αναφορά στη συγκεκριμένη έννοια αποτελούν τις κυριολεκτικές χρήσεις, ενώ οι ρηματικές φράσεις με αναφορά στην αφηρημένη έννοια αποτελούν τις μεταφορικές χρήσεις. Το γλωσσικό υλικό που μας απασχολεί παρουσιάζει την εξής ιδιομορφία: ενώ χρησιμοποιείται μεταφορικά, συγχρονικά δεν εμφανίζει αντίστοιχη κυριολεκτική χρήση.

- (2) επωμίζομαι τις ευθύνες – *επωμίζομαι το σάκο

2. Περιγραφή γλωσσικών παραγωγών

Το γλωσσικό υλικό μας αποτελείται από ρηματικές φράσεις, στις οποίες το ρήμα σχηματίζεται με λόγιο πρόθημα. Η μεταφορική χρήση των φράσεων αυτών θα μπορούσε να αποδοθεί στο λόγιο σχηματισμό των ρημάτων και συνακόλουθα στην περιορισμένη χρήση τους. Οι μονάδες όμως που μας απασχολούν αποτελούν διαφανείς στη σημασία περιπτώσεις λέξεων με πρόθημα, δηλαδή, η σημασία του ρήματος που προκύπτει δεν έχει υποστεί αλλοιώσεις. Η σημασία της ρήματος που προκύπτει είναι συνάρτηση της σημασίας που φέρει το πρόθημα και της σημασίας που φέρει το δεύτερο λέξιμα. Για παράδειγμα, η μονάδα *επωμίζομαι*, φέρει τη σημασία «έχω κάτι στον ώμο».

Με αυτά τα ρήματα, τα οποία είναι διαφανή στη σημασία, σχηματίζονται ρηματικές φράσεις, ρηματικά κατηγορήματα, τα οποία παρουσιάζουν μόνο μεταφορική χρήση. Τέτοια διαφανή στη σημασία ρήματα, τα οποία παρουσιάζουν αυτή τη συμπεριφορά είναι τα εξής¹:

- (3) *επωμίζομαι τις ευθύνες*
αφυπνίζει συνειδήσεις
αποκρυσταλλώνω την άποψή μου
ενστερνίζομαι απόψεις, ιδέες
επιρρίπτω ευθύνες
καταπολεμώ τη λοίμωξη
καταπνίγω τα αισθήματά μου, την εξέγερση
διαφωτίζω τα δεδομένα

Η αναζήτηση ανάλογων μη μεταφορικών, κυριολεκτικών, φράσεων προσκρούει σε μη αποδεκτά παραδείγματα:

- (4) *επωμίζομαι το σάκο
*αφυπνίζω το παιδί
*αποκρυσταλλώνω ένα αντικείμενο

Η αποκλειστικά μεταφορική σημασία και χρήση αυτών των ρημάτων οδηγεί, όπως είναι λογικό, σε περιορισμένη συμφραστικότητα (collocability) του ρήματος με πολύ λίγα ουσιαστικά. Τα ρηματικά κατηγορήματα που προκύπτουν αποτελούν, λόγω της περιορισμένης συμφραστικότητας, λεξικές συνάψεις² (lexical collocations) της Νέας Ελληνικής. Οι συγκεκριμένες συνάψεις ανήκουν σαφώς στο δύσκολο και απαιτητικό λεξιλόγιο της ελληνικής αλλά όχι σε ειδικά, τεχνικά λεξιλόγια, συγκεκριμένων επιστημονικών κλάδων.

Οι λεξικές συνάψεις που μας απασχολούν απαρτίζονται από ένα λόγιο στο σχηματισμό ρήμα, του οποίου όμως η σημασία είναι διαφανής, και από ένα ουσιαστικό το οποίο αναφέρεται σε αφηρημένη έννοια:

- (5) *νοοτροπία, άποψη, ιδέα, δεδομένα, κ.ά.*

Οι έννοιες αυτές σχετίζονται με τη νόηση, τα συναισθήματα και συνήθως φέρουν παραπάνω από μία διαστάσεις σημασίας ανάλογα με το γλωσσικό περιβάλλον που εμφανίζονται:

- (6) *ενστερνίζομαι την ιδέα σου (ιδέα: άποψη, γνώμη)*
για μια ιδέα ζούμε (ιδέα: ιδανικό)

Σε αυτές τις λεξικές συνάψεις διαπιστώνεται μεταφορική χρήση χωρίς αντίστοιχη κυριολεκτική χρήση. Το ερώτημα είναι πώς αποδίδεται γλωσσικά η κυριολεξία σε αυτές τις περιπτώσεις. Η κυριολεξία, το μη μεταφορικό, αποδίδεται γλωσσικά ως εξής:

A. με ομόθεμο λεξιλόγιο

- (7) *διαφωτίζω κάποιον (μεταφορά)- φωτίζω τον κήπο (κυριολεξία)*
(8) *καταπνίγω το θυμό μου (μεταφορά)- το νερό έπνιξε τα ζώα (κυριολεξία)*

B. με διαφορετικό λεξιλόγιο

- (9) *επωμίζομαι τις ευθύνες (μεταφορά)- βάζω την τσάντα στον ώμο (κυριολεξία)*

¹ Για τη συλλογή του γλωσσικού υλικού χρησιμοποιήθηκε το Ιορδανίδου και Πανταζάρα (2010). *Χτίζω λέξεις: Πώς σχηματίζονται οι νεοελληνικές λέξεις*. Τα παραδείγματα φράσεων αντλήθηκαν από το «Σώμα ελληνικών κειμένων» (Γούτσος 2003) και από τα λεξικά γενικής χρήσης (Λεξικό της Κοινής Νεοελληνικής, Λεξικό της Νέας Ελληνικής Γλώσσας).

² Στις λεξικές συνάψεις παρατηρείται εξάρτηση του ενός στοιχείου από το άλλο, η οποία πραγματώνεται με την περιορισμένη δυνατότητα λεξικής εναλλαγής του ρήματος ή του ουσιαστικού (αντικειμένου) με συνώνυμες λέξεις (βλ. Θώμου 2006).

- (10) **αποκορυφώνεται** η αγωνία (μεταφορά)- **ανεβαίνω** την κορυφή του βουνού (κυριολεξία)

Γ. ενώ το επίθετο χρησιμοποιείται μόνο μεταφορικά, το ομόθεμα ρήμα χρησιμοποιείται και μεταφορικά και κυριολεκτικά

- (11) **αφοπλιστικό** βλέμμα (μεταφορά)-***αφοπλιστικό** μαχαίρι (κυριολεξία: δεν υπάρχει)
 ενώ
 (12) **αφοπλίζω** το συνομιλητή (μεταφορά)- **αφοπλίζω** τους εχθρούς (κυριολεξία)

2.1 Διαχρονική εξέταση των ρημάτων

Θα ήταν διαφωτιστική η ετυμολογική προσέγγιση των συγκεκριμένων ρημάτων στα κατηγορήματα που μας ενδιαφέρουν. Όλες οι ρηματικές λεξικές μονάδες που εξετάζουμε μαρτυρούνται, σύμφωνα με το Λεξικό της Κοινής Νεοελληνικής, είτε από τα αρχαία χρόνια (αφυπνίζω < *ἀφυπνίζω*, επιρρίπτω < *ἐπιρρίπτω*, καταπολεμώ < *καταπολεμῶ*, καταπνίγω < *καταπνίγω*, εξατμίζω < *ἐξατμίζω*) είτε από τα ελληνιστικά (επωμίζομαι < *ἐπωμίζομαι*, ενστερνίζομαι < *ἐνστερνίζομαι*, διαφωτίζω < *διαφωτίζω*, αποκορυφώνω < *ἀποκορυφῶ*, αποτυπώνω < *ἀποτυπ(ῶ)-ώνω*) είτε από τα μεσαιωνικά (αποκρυσταλλώνω < *αποκρυσταλλοῦμαι*).

Η σημασία όμως που έφεραν εκείνη τη χρονική περίοδο ήταν κυριολεκτική και προέκυπτε από τη διαφανή σημασία του ρήματος:

- (13) *ἀφυπνίζω*: σηκώνω τινά από τον ύπνον (Λεξικό Σταματάκου)
ἐπιρρίπτω: ρίπτω τι επί τινός ή κατά τίνος (Λεξικό Σταματάκου)
καταπολεμῶ: καταβάλλω πολέμων, κατανικῶ ἐν πολέμῳ (Λεξικό Σταματάκου)
ἀποκορυφῶ: σχηματίζω κορυφή, κάμνω σουβλερόν, καταλήγω σε κορυφή (Λεξικό Σταματάκου και ΛΚΝ)
αποκρυσταλλοῦμαι: γίνομαι πάγος (ΛΚΝ)
καταπνίγω: πνίγω, σβήνω (ΛΚΝ)
διαφωτίζω: φωτίζω, φέγγω (τριτοπρόσωπο: ξημερώνει) (Λεξικό Κριαρά)

Η συνθήκη της διαφανούς σημασίας στην κυριολεξία δεν ισχύει για το *ἐνστερνίζομαι*, το οποίο, σύμφωνα με το Λεξικό Κριαρά, στα μεσαιωνικά ελληνικά είχε ήδη μεταφορική σημασία:

- (14) *ἐνστερνίζομαι*: αποδέχομαι πρόθυμα, ασπάζομαι

Επομένως οι συγκεκριμένες λεξικές μονάδες εμφανίζονται με κυριολεκτική σημασία από προηγούμενες φάσεις της ελληνικής γλώσσας. Αρκετές από αυτές σε κάποια χρονική στιγμή εισήγαγαν μέσω σημασιολογικού δανεισμού κυρίως από τη γαλλική γλώσσα νέο σημασιολογικό περιεχόμενο³.

- (15) αποκρυσταλλώνω-cristalliser (γαλλ.)
 ενστερνίζομαι-embrasser (γαλλ.)
 καταπολεμώ-combattre (γαλλ.)
 καταπνίγω-étouffer (γαλλ.)
 αποτυπώνω-sich ausdrücken (γερμ.)

Ο σημασιολογικός δανεισμός, σύμφωνα με την Αναστασιάδη-Συμεωνίδη (1994:34) είναι η διαδικασία κατά την οποία η Γ1 (η ελληνική) δανείζεται από τη Γ2 μόνο το περιεχόμενο, χωρίς την έκφραση. «Το προϊόν αυτού του φαινομένου εμφανίζεται ως νέα -ενδεχομένως απροσδόκητη- σημασία του σημασιολογικού πεδίου μιας λεξικής μονάδας που ήδη αποτελεί μέρους του κώδικα της Γ1»⁴.

Οι παρακάτω μονάδες δεν διήλθαν από αυτή τη διαδικασία του σημασιολογικού δανεισμού από άλλη γλώσσα:

- (16) αφυπνίζω, επωμίζομαι, επιρρίπτω, διαφωτίζω, αποκορυφώνω, εξατμίζω

Επομένως, οι ρηματικές λεξικές μονάδες που ερευνώνται στην εργασία μορφολογικά υπάρχουν από τα αρχαία ή ελληνιστικά χρόνια. Η σημασία τους εκείνα τα χρόνια ήταν διαφανής και ενέπιπτε στα όρια

³ Πρόκειται για τη μεταφορική χρήση.

⁴ Αναστασιάδη-Συμεωνίδη (1994:34).

της κυριολεξίας. Με την πάροδο των χρόνων η σημασία των ρηματικών μονάδων και των συνάψεων που σχηματίζουν μεταβλήθηκε είτε στο εσωτερικό της ίδιας γλώσσας (της ελληνικής) είτε με δανεισμό σημασίας από αντίστοιχες μονάδες άλλης γλώσσας. Αυτό είχε ως αποτέλεσμα συγχρονικά οι μονάδες αυτές να φέρουν σημασία και χρήση μόνο μεταφορική.

2.2 Τρία πρότυπα συμφραστικότητας

Θεωρείται σκόπιμο να εξετάσουμε εάν η αποκλειστικά μεταφορική χρήση των συνάψεων αυτών συγχρονικά σχετίζεται με το λόγιο σχηματισμό του ρήματος. Γι' αυτό το λόγο θα εξετάσουμε λεξιλόγιο αυτής της κατηγορίας, δηλαδή, λεξικές μονάδες με λόγιο πρόθημα. Παρουσιάζονται τρία πρότυπα (patterns) χρήσης:

A. Καταγράφονται λεξικές μονάδες που χρησιμοποιούνται μόνο κυριολεκτικά και δεν παρουσιάζουν μεταφορική χρήση:

- (17) εμφιαλώνω

κυριολεξία	μεταφορά
εμφιαλώνω το κρασί	*εμφιαλώνω τις αξίες μου, τη σκέψη

B. Υπάρχουν λεξικές μονάδες που χρησιμοποιούνται και κυριολεκτικά και μεταφορικά:

- (18) αποτυπώνω

κυριολεξία	μεταφορά
αποτυπώνω ένα σχέδιο στο ύφασμα	αποτυπώνει την πραγματικότητα στο έργο του

Γ. Καταγράφονται λεξικές μονάδες που χρησιμοποιούνται μόνο μεταφορικά (πρόκειται για τις συνάψεις που εξετάζουμε):

- (19) επωμίζομαι

κυριολεξία	μεταφορά
*επωμίζομαι το σάκο	επωμίζομαι μόνο τις ευθύνες, τις υποχρεώσεις

Αυτό οδηγεί στο συμπέρασμα ότι δεν είναι η μεταφορική χρήση μονόδρομος για αυτού του τύπου το λεξιλόγιο. Η αποκλειστικά μεταφορική χρήση δεν οφείλεται στο λόγιο σχηματισμό και στο επίσημο επίπεδο ύφους των μονάδων αυτών.

Επιπλέον, διαπιστώνεται ότι αυτή η δυνατότητα αποκλειστικής μεταφορικής χρήσης παρατηρείται και σε διαφορετικού τύπου λεξιλόγιο που δεν έχει διέλθει τη διαδικασία λόγιου σχηματισμού:

- (20) φλογερή καρδιά (μεταφορά) - *φλογερή φωτιά (κυριολεξία)

- (21) ελκυστική άποψη (μεταφορά) - *ελκυστικός γερανός (κυριολεξία)

3. Ανάλυση των γλωσσικών δεδομένων

Η περιγραφή των λεξικών συνάψεων οδηγεί στη διαπίστωση ότι αφενός δεν εμφανίζουν συμφραστικότητα (collocability) με την κυριολεκτική διάσταση της σημασίας τους και αφετέρου με τη μεταφορική διάσταση της σημασίας τους δημιουργείται η οικεία, η προσδοκώμενη σύναψη. Εύλογα, λοιπόν, προκύπτει το ερώτημα με ποιον τρόπο συγχρονικά παρακάμπτεται η κυριολεξία σε αυτά τα κατηγορήματα και πώς παρέχει η γλώσσα τη δυνατότητα για μεταφορική χρήση χωρίς αντίστοιχη κυριολεκτική.

3.1 Γνωσιακή (cognitive) θεωρία για τη μεταφορά

Η γνωσιακή θεωρία για τη μεταφορά δίνει προτεραιότητα στις εννοιακές αντιστοιχίες: μία έννοια B που συνήθως είναι αφηρημένη προσλαμβάνεται ως μια έννοια A που συνήθως είναι συγκεκριμένη (Lakoff and Johnson 1980, Lakoff 1993, Croft and Cruse 2004, Βελούδης 2005). Σύμφωνα με τους γνωστικούς γλωσσολόγους η μεταφορά είναι εννοιακή στη φύση της (conceptual) και όχι γλωσσική. Η

γλώσσα δεν αποτελεί βασικό τμήμα του μηχανισμού της μεταφοράς, ο οποίος είναι ένας μηχανισμός σκέψης και ερμηνείας του κόσμου. Οι γνωστικοί γλωσσολόγοι υποστηρίζουν ότι οι γλωσσικές αποδόσεις βοηθούν στο να διαπιστωθεί η πραγμάτωση της εννοιακής μεταφοράς. Η μεταφορά είναι εννοιακής φύσης και συνήθως συσχετίζει μια αφηρημένη με μια συγκεκριμένη έννοια ή ακόμα και πιο γενικές κατηγορίες/ πεδία.

Η εννοιακή φύση της μεταφοράς σίγουρα δεν τίθεται υπό αμφισβήτηση. Τα ρηματικά κατηγορήματα της έρευνας διαχρονικά παρουσίαζαν κυριολεκτική συμφραστικότητα, όμως συγχρονικά δεν παρουσιάζουν. Είναι δύσκολο να εφαρμοσθεί η γνωστική θεωρία για τη μεταφορά, στην περίπτωση που το ενδιαφέρον της έρευνας εστιάζεται στο γλωσσικό υλικό και τη συμφραστικότητα που παρουσιάζει, όπως συμβαίνει στη δική μας περίπτωση⁵.

Επιπλέον, η γνωστική θεώρηση για τη μεταφορά δύσκολα παρέχει ερμηνεία για την κινητοποίηση (motivation) της μεταφοράς: ποιες περιοχές (domains) ή ποιες έννοιες (concepts) εν δυνάμει μπορούν να ερμηνευθούν μεταφορικά και ποιες όχι. Οποιαδήποτε αφηρημένη έννοια μπορεί να αντιστοιχηθεί με οποιαδήποτε συγκεκριμένη έννοια. Δεν εντοπίζονται από τη θεωρία περιορισμοί στην πραγμάτωση της μεταφοράς. Διαπιστώσαμε όμως και πριν ότι κάποιες έννοιες, για παράδειγμα, η έννοια στην οποία αναφέρεται η λεξική μονάδα *εμφιαλώνω*, δεν εμφανίζονται σε μεταφορική χρήση στο λόγο. Κάτω από ποιες συνθήκες ενεργοποιείται ο μηχανισμός της μεταφοράς και τι είναι αυτό που τον κάνει να ενεργοποιείται; Τι είναι αυτό που κινητοποιεί μια μεταφορική ερμηνεία και χρήση.

3.2 Σημασιολογική ανάλυση γλωσσικών δεδομένων

Θεωρούμε ότι, εάν προσεγγίσουμε τα γλωσσικά δεδομένα μας με μια σημασιολογική θεωρία που να εστιάζει στη σημασία των λεξικών μονάδων, θα τα ερμηνεύσουμε με πιο αποδοτικό τρόπο. Στόχος είναι να εξετάσουμε με ποιον τρόπο τα συγκεκριμένα παραδείγματα λειτουργούν μόνο στο μεταφορικό, ενώ η διαδικασία της μεταφοράς προϋποθέτει το μη μεταφορικό. Ακόμα και εάν κάποιος υποστηρίξει ότι το μη μεταφορικό υπάρχει εν δυνάμει, έστω και εάν δεν πραγματώνεται γλωσσικά, αξίζει να δούμε με ποιον τρόπο «παρακάμπτεται» η μη μεταφορική συμφραστικότητα και καταλήγει σε μεταφορική μόνο. Μας ενδιαφέρει η κινητοποίηση της μεταφοράς, δηλαδή, τι είναι αυτό που κάνει τη μεταφορά να ενεργοποιείται. Εξάλλου, η γλωσσική συμφραστικότητα δεν είναι αυθαίρετη, προκύπτει και περιορίζεται από τη σημασία των λεξικών μονάδων.

Η ανάλυση που θα ακολουθηθεί συνίσταται σε ανάλυση της λεξικής σημασίας του ρήματος των συνάψεων. Η ανάλυση αυτή παίρνει τη μορφή αποσύνθεσης της λεξικής σημασίας (lexical decomposition). Μελετητές που ακολουθούν αυτού του τύπου την αποσύνθεση των κατηγορημάτων είναι οι Jackendoff (1990, 1992), Pustejovsky (1992, 1995), Levin and Rappaport (1992), Rappaport et al (1993). Αποσυνθέτουν τα κατηγορήματα καθορίζοντας την ορισματική δομή⁶ (argument structure) και τη λεξική εννοιακή δομή των κατηγορημάτων⁷ (lexical conceptual structure). Η αναγνώριση των σημασιακών συστατικών των κατηγορημάτων οδηγεί στην εξακρίβωση του νοήματος.

Η ανάλυσή μας αρχικά εστιάζει στην εσωτερική δομή των κατηγορημάτων και πιο συγκεκριμένα, στην ορισματική δομή του κατηγορήματος. Αν πάρουμε δύο κατηγορήματα ένα σε μη μεταφορική (κυριολεκτική) και ένα σε μεταφορική χρήση, διαπιστώνουμε ότι η ορισματική δομή του ρήματος δε μεταβάλλεται από την κυριολεξία στη μεταφορά:

- | | | |
|------|--|--------------|
| (22) | αποτυπώνει ένα σχέδιο στο ύφασμα | [κυριολεξία] |
| | αποτυπώνει την πραγματικότητα στο έργο του | [μεταφορά] |

Τα ορίσματα και η ορισματική δομή είναι κοινά, και στις δύο περιπτώσεις έχουμε:

- (23) [δράστης, θέμα, τόπος]

Αυτό που μεταβάλλεται είναι η σύσταση του θέματος, στην κυριολεξία αντιστοιχεί σε μια συγκεκριμένη οντότητα ενώ στη μεταφορά σε μια αφηρημένη οντότητα. Επομένως την κινητοποίηση της μεταφοράς δεν μπορούμε να την ανιχνεύσουμε στην ορισματική δομή των κατηγορημάτων, εφόσον αυτή η σημασιακή δομή δε μεταβάλλεται από τα κυριολεκτικά στα μεταφορικά κατηγορήματα.

⁵ Βλ. και Θώμου (2008) για μια ανάλυση μεταφορικών γλωσσικών δεδομένων με εστίαση στο γλωσσικό υλικό.

⁶ Τα ορίσματα εκφράζουν τους συμμετέχοντες (participants) σε μια δραστηριότητα ή μια κατάσταση όπως ορίζεται από το κατηγορήμα (Pustejovsky 1995).

⁷ Η λεξική εννοιακή δομή περιλαμβάνει εκτός από τα ορίσματα και λεξικές πληροφορίες για το λεξικό ποιόν ενέργειας (lexical aspect) και τη γεγονοτική δομή (event structure) του κατηγορήματος.

3.2.1 Κατηγορήματα με κυριολεκτική και μεταφορική συμφραστικότητα

Εφόσον η κινητοποίηση της μεταφοράς δεν ανιχνεύεται στα ορίσματα του ρηματικού κατηγορήματος, αυτό οδηγεί στην αναζήτηση πιο λεπτών σημασιακών στοιχείων / χαρακτηριστικών (semantic features) του ρήματος για την κινητοποίηση της μεταφοράς. Εξετάζουμε κατηγορήματα που εμφανίζουν και κυριολεκτική και μεταφορική συμφραστικότητα και τα αποσυνθέτουμε στα σημασιακά συστατικά τους.

- (24) εξατμίζονται οι σταγόνες [κυριολεξία]
εξατμίζονται τα όνειρα, οι σκέψεις [μεταφορά]

Το κυριολεκτικό ρηματικό κατηγορήμα φέρει το σημασιακό συστατικό «αλλαγή σύστασης» και πιο συγκεκριμένα, «γίνομαι από νερό αέρας». Αυτό το σημασιακό συστατικό δεν το φέρουν τα μεταφορικά κατηγορήματα. *Οι σκέψεις, τα όνειρα που εξατμίζονται* εξασθενούν, αλλά δεν υπάρχει αλλαγή σύστασης, ύλης. Αυτό οδηγεί στην παρατήρηση ότι το κύριο σημασιακό συστατικό δεν κινητοποιεί τη μεταφορά, από τη στιγμή που δεν ενεργοποιείται στα μεταφορικά κατηγορήματα. Δεν θα ήταν παράλογο να πούμε ότι κάτι που εξατμίζεται, στη συνέχεια και ως συνέπεια της εξάτμισης, «φεύγει (προς τα πάνω)» και «παύει να φαίνεται/να υπάρχει», να γίνεται, δηλαδή, ορατό. Αυτό το σημασιακό συστατικό που προκύπτει από το πρώτο και κύριο φαίνεται να ενεργοποιείται εκτός από το κυριολεκτικό κατηγορήμα και στα μεταφορικά κατηγορήματα. *Τα όνειρα που εξατμίζονται* «φεύγουν» και «δεν υπάρχουν». Η παρατήρηση αποτυπώνεται καλύτερα στον παρακάτω πίνακα:

	ΚΥΡΙΟΛΕΞΙΑ	ΜΕΤΑΦΟΡΑ
<i>εξατμίζομαι</i>	<i>σταγόνες</i>	<i>όνειρα, σκέψεις</i>
«γίνομαι από νερό αέρας»	+	-
«δε φαίνομαι / δεν υπάρχω»	+	+

Πίνακας 1

Αυτό το δεύτερο σημασιακό συστατικό κινητοποιεί τη μεταφορά και μεταγγίζεται από τις κυριολεκτικές στις μεταφορικές δομές. Η λογική που αναπτύσσεται παραπάνω μοιάζει με τη σημασιακή σχέση της συνεπαγωγής (entailment). Το παράδειγμα του Jackendoff (1990, στο Saeed: 249-50)

- (25) X killed Y entails Y died

με το υπερκείμενο εννοιακό περίγραμμα (schema)

- (26) X cause E to occur entails E occur

βρίσκει εφαρμογή και στα δικά μας κατηγορήματα. Το κύριο σημασιακό συστατικό συνεπαγωγικά επιφέρει ένα δεύτερο σημασιακό συστατικό. Αυτό το δεύτερο σημασιακό συστατικό εντοπίζεται στα κυριολεκτικά κατηγορήματα. Ανιχνεύεται επιπλέον και στις μεταφορικές δομές, ενώ το πρώτο όχι. Άρα, το συστατικό αυτό κινητοποιεί τη μεταφορά και μεταγγίζεται από τις κυριολεκτικές στις μεταφορικές δομές:

ΡΗΜΑ συστατικό σημασίας	συγκεκριμένο ΟΥΣ	αφηρημένο ΟΥΣ
↓	+	-
[συνεπαγωγή] συστατικό σημασίας	+	+

Πίνακας 2

Η ανάλυση ενός δεύτερου ρήματος και των κατηγορημάτων του οδηγεί στο ίδιο συμπέρασμα.

- (27) αποτυπώνω ένα σχέδιο στο ύφασμα [κυριολεξία]
αποτυπώνω την πραγματικότητά στο έργο μου [μεταφορά]

Το κυριολεκτικό ρηματικό κατηγορήμα φέρει το σημασιακό συστατικό συστατικό «σχηματίζω το περίγραμμα ενός σώματος σε μια επιφάνεια». Αυτό το σημασιακό συστατικό δεν ενεργοποιείται στα μεταφορικά κατηγορήματα. Η *πραγματικότητα που αποτυπώνεται* κάπου, δεν αφήνει κάποιο περίγραμμα. Άρα, και σε αυτή την περίπτωση το κύριο σημασιακό συστατικό δεν κινητοποιεί τη μεταφορά. Ως συνέπεια αυτού του σημασιακού συστατικού προκύπτει το σημασιακό συστατικό «κάνω κάτι αντιληπτό (στους άλλους)», το οποίο ενεργοποιείται και στα κυριολεκτικά και στα μεταφορικά κατηγορήματα. Αυτό το σημασιακό συστατικό που προκύπτει από το πρώτο και κύριο κινητοποιεί τη μεταφορά.

	ΚΥΡΙΟΛΕΞΙΑ	ΜΕΤΑΦΟΡΑ
<i>αποτυπώνω</i>	<i>ένα σχέδιο</i>	<i>την πραγματικότητα</i>
«σχηματίζω το περίγραμμα ενός σώματος σε μια επιφάνεια»	+	-
«κάνω κάτι αντιληπτό (στους άλλους)»	+	+

Πίνακας 3

3.2.2 Κατηγορήματα με μεταφορική συμφραστικότητα

Η ανάλυση προχωρά σε λεξική αποσύνθεση κατηγορημάτων που εμφανίζουν μόνο μεταφορική συμφραστικότητα.

- (28) *επωμίζομαι το σάκο [κυριολεξία]
επωμίζομαι τις ευθύνες [μεταφορά]

Το κύριο σημασιακό συστατικό που θα ενεργοποιούνταν στα κυριολεκτικά κατηγορήματα, εάν υπήρχε κυριολεκτική συμφραστικότητα, θα ήταν το «βάζω κάτι στους ώμους μου». Το κύριο σημασιακό συστατικό δεν το φέρουν τα μεταφορικά κατηγορήματα, όπως παρατηρήθηκε και στις προηγούμενες περιπτώσεις. Αν έχω κάτι στους ώμους μου, συνεπαγωγικά, μπορούμε να πούμε ότι «το παίρνω μαζί μου/είναι δικό μου». Αυτό το δευτερεύον σημασιακό συστατικό που προκύπτει από το πρώτο και κύριο, φυσικά δεν ενεργοποιείται σε κυριολεκτικά κατηγορήματα, εφόσον δεν υπάρχει κυριολεκτική συμφραστικότητα, αλλά ενεργοποιείται στα μεταφορικά κατηγορήματα. Όταν *επωμίζομαι τις ευθύνες*, «τις αναλαμβάνω, τις παίρνω μαζί μου, γίνονται δικές μου».

	ΚΥΡΙΟΛΕΞΙΑ	ΜΕΤΑΦΟΡΑ
<i>επωμίζομαι</i>	<i>*το σάκο</i>	<i>τις ευθύνες</i>
«βάζω στους ώμους»	[+]	-
«το παίρνω μαζί μου/είναι δικό μου»	[+]	+

Πίνακας 4

Η ανάλυση αυτή μας παρέχει τη δυνατότητα να περιγράψουμε με ποιον τρόπο προκύπτουν μεταφορικές δομές, όταν δεν υπάρχουν αντίστοιχες κυριολεκτικές. Λανθάνον, εν δυνάμει, σημασιακό συστατικό που προκύπτει συνεπαγωγικά από το κύριο σημασιακό συστατικό, ενεργοποιείται στη σύναψη του ρήματος με αφηρημένο ουσιαστικό.

Η ανάλυση ενός δεύτερου ρήματος και των κατηγορημάτων του οδηγεί στο ίδιο συμπέρασμα.

- (29) *καταπνίγω τα ζώα [κυριολεξία]
καταπνίγω το θυμό μου [μεταφορά]

Το κύριο σημασιακό συστατικό που θα ενεργοποιούνταν στα κυριολεκτικά κατηγορήματα, εάν υπήρχε κυριολεκτική συμφραστικότητα, θα ήταν το «κάνω κάτι να μη ζει». Αυτό δεν ενεργοποιείται στα μεταφορικά κατηγορήματα. Εάν «κάνω κάτι να μη ζει, συνεπαγωγικά, «το κάνω να μην υπάρχει/ να μη φαίνεται». Αυτό το δευτερεύον σημασιακό συστατικό που προκύπτει από το πρώτο και κύριο, ενεργοποιείται στα μεταφορικά κατηγορήματα. Όταν *καταπνίγω το θυμό μου*, «τον κάνω να μην υπάρχει / να μη φαίνεται».

	ΚΥΡΙΟΛΕΞΙΑ	ΜΕΤΑΦΟΡΑ
<i>καταπνίγω</i>	<i>*τα ζώα</i>	<i>το θυμό μου</i>
«κάνω κάτι να μη ζει»	[+]	-
«κάνω κάτι να μην υπάρχει / να μη φαίνεται»	[+]	+

Πίνακας 5

Επομένως, στις περιπτώσεις κατηγορημάτων που εμφανίζουν μόνο μεταφορική συμφραστικότητα παρατηρούνται τα εξής:

Το κύριο σημασιακό συστατικό του ρήματος υπάρχει εν δυνάμει, αλλά δεν ενεργοποιείται, εφόσον δεν υπάρχουν κυριολεκτικά κατηγορήματα. Δευτερεύον σημασιακό συστατικό, που προκύπτει με συνεπαγωγή από το πρώτο, ενεργοποιείται αποκλειστικά και μόνο στη σύναψη ρήματος με αφηρημένο ουσιαστικό, δηλαδή στις μεταφορικές δομές.

ΡΗΜΑ συστατικό σημασίας ↓ [συνεπαγωγή] συστατικό σημασίας	συγκεκριμένο ΟΥΣ [+] [+]	αφηρημένο ΟΥΣ - +
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Πίνακας 6

Η ανάλυση των κατηγορημάτων σε σημασιακά συστατικά δείχνει πώς λειτουργεί η μεταφορά στα γλωσσικά δεδομένα και προσφέρει την ίδια ερμηνεία και για τα κατηγορήματα που εμφανίζουν παράλληλα κυριολεκτική συμφραστικότητα και για τα κατηγορήματα που δεν εμφανίζουν κυριολεκτική συμφραστικότητα. Αντιλαμβανόμαστε ότι και στις δύο περιπτώσεις η μεταφορά κινητοποιείται συνεπαγωγικά από ένα δεύτερο σημασιακό συστατικό. Άρα, εντοπίζεται ένα κοινό πρότυπο ερμηνείας για την κινητοποίηση της μεταφοράς και για τους δύο τύπους κατηγορημάτων.

Η ανάλυση που ακολουθήθηκε στην παρούσα εργασία παρουσιάζει τα ακόλουθα πλεονεκτήματα:

Α. Παρέχει τη δυνατότητα να περιγράψουμε με ποιον τρόπο προκύπτουν μεταφορικές δομές, όταν δεν υπάρχουν αντίστοιχες κυριολεκτικές.

Β. Παρέχει ένα κοινό πρότυπο ερμηνείας για τα ρήματα είτε παρουσιάζουν μόνο μεταφορική συμφραστικότητα είτε παρουσιάζουν κυριολεκτική και μεταφορική συμφραστικότητα. Ο μηχανισμός κινητοποίησης της μεταφοράς είναι κοινός και στις δύο περιπτώσεις.

Γ. Ερμηνεύει την κινητοποίηση της ίδιας της μεταφοράς. Η μεταφορά ως μηχανισμός σκέψης δεν ενεργοποιείται με τυχαίο τρόπο. Η ενεργοποίησή της δεν ανιχνεύεται ούτε στα πρωτεύοντα σημασιακά στοιχεία των ρηματικών κατηγορημάτων, τα ορίσματα. Η κινητοποίηση της μεταφοράς εντοπίζεται σε δευτερεύοντα σημασιακά συστατικά των ρηματικών κατηγορημάτων, τα οποία προκύπτουν συνεπαγωγικά από τα πρωτεύοντα.

4. Συμπέρασμα

Στη συγκεκριμένη εργασία μάς απασχόλησαν μεταφορικές φράσεις που δεν παρουσιάζουν αντίστοιχες κυριολεκτικές φράσεις. Επιχειρήσαμε μια σημασιολογική περιγραφή των παραδειγμάτων. Αποσυνθέσαμε σημασιολογικά τα κατηγορήματα, με σκοπό να ανιχνεύσουμε στα στοιχεία σημασίας των κατηγορημάτων την κινητοποίηση της μεταφοράς. Η μεταφορά είναι δύσκολο να ερευνηθεί έξω από τη γλώσσα, η κινητοποίηση της μεταφοράς εντοπίζεται στη γλώσσα, κατευθύνεται και περιορίζεται από τη γλώσσα. Η μεταφορά κινητοποιείται από τα σημασιακά συστατικά των λεξικών μονάδων.

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“ΤΙ ΕΝΝΑ ΚΑΜΟΥΜΕ Η ΤΙ ΘΑ ΚΑΝΟΥΜΕ;”
ΔΙΕΡΕΥΝΩΝΤΑΣ ΤΙΣ ΓΛΩΣΣΙΚΕΣ ΠΡΑΚΤΙΚΕΣ ΤΩΝ
ΕΚΠΑΙΔΕΥΤΙΚΩΝ ΣΤΗΝ ΠΡΩΤΟΒΑΘΜΙΑ ΚΑΙ ΔΕΥΤΕΡΟΒΑΘΜΙΑ
ΔΗΜΟΣΙΑ ΕΚΠΑΙΔΕΥΣΗ ΣΤΗΝ ΚΥΠΡΟ

Έλενα Ιωαννίδου
Πανεπιστήμιο Κύπρου
ioannidou.elena@ucy.ac.cy

Περίληψη

Η παρούσα εργασία συγκρίνει τη γλωσσική χρήση των εκπαιδευτικών πρωτοβάθμιας και δευτεροβάθμιας δημόσιας εκπαίδευσης στην Κύπρο. Παρόλο που το Υπουργείο Παιδείας και Πολιτισμού προωθεί τη συστηματική χρήση της Κοινής Νέας Ελληνικής (ΚΝΕ) στο επίσημο μαθησιακό περιβάλλον της τάξης, τα ερευνητικά δεδομένα από τις συμμετοχικές παρατηρήσεις καταδεικνύουν ότι η Κυπριακή Διάλεκτος (ΚΔ) χρησιμοποιείται σε ποικίλες περιστάσεις μέσα στην τάξη από τους εκπαιδευτικούς. Από τα γλωσσικά δεδομένα διαφαίνεται ότι ο βαθμός και το είδος της γλωσσικής ποικιλότητας εξαρτώνται από την κατάσταση επικοινωνίας μέσα στην τάξη. Τέλος, περιγράφονται οι ποικίλες τεχνικές διόρθωσης που χρησιμοποιούνται από τους εκπαιδευτικούς για αντικατάσταση της διαλέκτου με την πρότυπη ποικιλία.

Λέξεις κλειδιά: γλωσσική ποικιλότητα, κυπριακή διάλεκτος, γλωσσική χρήση εκπαιδευτικών, περίσταση επικοινωνίας

1. Εισαγωγή

Ο σκοπός της παρούσας εργασίας είναι να εξετάσει τη γλωσσική χρήση των εκπαιδευτικών στο διδασκαλικό σκηνικό της Κύπρου όπου σε πολιτικό και θεσμικό επίπεδο η Κοινή Νέα Ελληνική (ΚΝΕ) λειτουργεί ως η επίσημη γλωσσική ποικιλία, ενώ η Ελληνική Κυπριακή Διάλεκτος (ΚΔ) αντιμετωπίζεται ως η «χαμηλή» και ανεπίσημη ποικιλία, παραπέμποντας σε ένα σκηνικό κοινωνικής διγλωσσίας (Ferguson, 1959). Συγκεκριμένα η εργασία αυτή εξετάζει πρώτον, τη γλωσσική χρήση των εκπαιδευτικών στην τάξη ανάλογα με την περίσταση επικοινωνίας και δεύτερον διερευνά τις στρατηγικές που χρησιμοποιούν οι εκπαιδευτικοί για «διόρθωση» των διαλεκτικών τύπων που χρησιμοποιούν οι μαθητές μέσα στην τάξη. Αρχικά γίνεται μια ανασκόπηση σε ζητήματα που αφορούν τη γλωσσική εκπαιδευτική πολιτική με ιδιαίτερη αναφορά στο κοινωνικό-πολιτικό και εκπαιδευτικό συγκείμενο της Κύπρου. Ακολουθούνται τα ερευνητικά δεδομένα από τάξεις σε δημόσια σχολεία και ειδικότερα από τη γλωσσική χρήση των εκπαιδευτικών πρωτοβάθμιας και δευτεροβάθμιας εκπαίδευσης.

2. Θεσμική μονογλωσσία και γλωσσική πολιτική στην Κύπρο

Ο τρόπος που χρησιμοποιείται η γλώσσα στο σχολείο παρουσιάζει ιδιαίτερο κοινωνιογλωσσολογικό και παιδαγωγικό ενδιαφέρον, όχι μόνο γιατί η εκπαίδευση βρίσκεται συνήθως στο επίκεντρο των γλωσσικών συγκρούσεων (May 2001, Skutnabb-Kangas 2000), αλλά και γιατί μέσω της γλωσσικής εκπαιδευτικής πολιτικής διαμορφώνονται γλωσσικές στάσεις και τίθενται τα όρια για τη γλωσσική χρήση. Στην περίπτωση της Κύπρου το κοινωνικό-πολιτικό πλαίσιο αποτέλεσε τον καταλύτη για τη χάραξη εκπαιδευτικών γλωσσικών πολιτικών. Το γεγονός ότι η χώρα βίωσε τα τελευταία χρόνια έντονα πολιτικά γεγονότα (π.χ. ανεξαρτησία 1960, εθνοτικές συγκρούσεις 1963-1967, πραξικόπημα και εισβολή 1974) ενίσχυσε την τάση για εκπαίδευση εθνοκεντρικού χαρακτήρα (Smith 1991, Karageorgis 1986) στην οποία

το γλωσσικό μάθημα είχε κεντρική θέση (Persianis 1981, Karoulla-Vrikkis 2004). Από την ίδρυση της Κυπριακής Δημοκρατίας το 1960, η γλωσσική εκπαιδευτική πολιτική προωθούσε αποκλειστικά την επίσημη γλωσσική ποικιλία της Ελλάδας (βλ. καθαρεύουσα μέχρι το 1976 και δημοτική από το 1976 και μετά), συνδέοντας άμεσα την επιλογή αυτή με την προώθηση της ελληνικής ταυτότητας των Ελληνοκυπρίων (Ioannidou 2007, Sophocleous 2009β). Συγκεκριμένα, για πρακτικούς και πολιτικούς λόγους η ελληνοκυπριακή γλωσσική εκπαίδευση ακολουθούσε πιστά τις γλωσσικές μεταρρυθμίσεις, τα σχολικά εγχειρίδια και τα αναλυτικά προγράμματα της Ελλάδας (Koutsellini-Ioannidou 1997, Philippou 2007). Το θέμα της διαλέκτου δεν απασχόλησε ποτέ την επίσημη πολιτεία και υπήρξε σε μεγάλο βαθμό αγνοημένο¹, τόσο στα αναλυτικά προγράμματα όσο και στις εγκυκλίους του Υπουργείου Παιδείας. Σύμφωνα με διάφορες αναλύσεις (Karyolemu 2002, Paparavlou & Pavlou 2005) η κεντρική φιλοσοφία πίσω από την υιοθέτηση της ΚΝΕ ως αποκλειστικής επίσημης ποικιλίας ήταν η διαφύλαξη της εθνικής ενότητας, με κεντρική ιδεολογία τη συσχέτιση γλωσσικής ομοιογένειας, ενιαίας ταυτότητας και μιας «κοινής» και εθνικής γλώσσας (Coulmas 1988). Όπως υποστήριξε ο Buck (1916, σ. 47-49) «η γλώσσα είναι το σήμα κατατεθέν της εθνικότητας» και στη σύγχρονη Κύπρο η ΚΝΕ λειτουργεί, σε πολιτικό και ιδεολογικό επίπεδο, ως δείκτης ταυτότητας που πραγματώνει τη διάκριση μεταξύ «Ελληνοκυπρίων» και «Αλλων», διασφαλίζοντας τις στενές σχέσεις μεταξύ Ελλάδας και Κύπρου.

Οι γλωσσικές αυτές πολιτικές είχαν ως αποτέλεσμα τη διασύνδεση της ΚΝΕ με αξίες όπως η ισχύς, το κύρος, το ψηλό μορφωτικό επίπεδο, η ευγένεια και η υψηλή αισθητική (βλ. Paparavlou 1998, Ioannidou 2004). Αντίθετα, η ΚΔ διασυνδέθηκε με πιο υποβαθμισμένες αξίες όπως η ανεπισημότητα, το χαμηλό μορφωτικό επίπεδο κ.ο.κ.

Από τις υπάρχουσες έρευνες αναδεικνύεται μια ασυνέπεια και κυρίως μια σύγχυση από πλευράς εκπαιδευτικών όσον αφορά τις «νόμιμες» γλωσσικές ποικιλίες της τάξης. Όπως υποστηρίζουν οι Paparavlou και Pavlou (2005), η γλωσσική πολιτική στην Κύπρο είναι μια «υπόρρητη πολιτική», καθώς δεν υπάρχει επίσημο έγγραφο που να δηλώνει σαφώς ποια πρέπει να είναι η γλώσσα της εκπαίδευσης. Αυτή η ασάφεια, εντοπίζεται στην ετήσια έκθεση του Συμβούλιο της Ευρώπης για τη γλωσσική εκπαίδευση (βλ. ERC, 2004) όπου ο όρος «μητρική γλώσσα» χρησιμοποιείται στην Κύπρο είτε για αναφορά στην ΚΝΕ είτε στην ΚΔ.

Παρά το γεγονός ότι οι πλείστοι εκπαιδευτικοί αναγνωρίζουν την ΚΝΕ ως τη γλώσσα της εκπαίδευσης (Pavlou & Paparavlou 2004), κατέχουν αμφίθυμες στάσεις σχετικά με τη χρήση της διαλέκτου μέσα στην τάξη (Sophocleous 2009α). Σε μια έρευνα στην πρωτοβάθμια εκπαίδευση, οι εκπαιδευτικοί δεν «υιοθετούν μια ξεκάθαρη στάση όσον αφορά τη χρήση ή μη της διαλέκτου ως μέσο διδασκαλίας, ούτε εμφανίζονται να είναι υπέρ της ενεργής συμμετοχής τους για την επιλογή της γλωσσικής ποικιλίας που θα χρησιμοποιείται στην εκπαίδευση» (Paparavlou & Pavlou, 2005, σ.175).

Λαμβάνοντας υπόψη τον έντονο πολιτικό λόγο γύρω από τη γλώσσα της εκπαίδευσης και την ασάφεια των εκπαιδευτικών σχετικά με τη γλωσσική χρήση στο σχολείο, η παρούσα έρευνα θέτει δύο στόχους:

- (1) Να διερευνήσει τη γλωσσική χρήση των εκπαιδευτικών μέσα στην τάξη ανάλογα με την κατάσταση επικοινωνίας και
- (2) Να εξετάσει κατά πόσον οι εκπαιδευτικοί χρησιμοποιούν συγκεκριμένες στρατηγικές διόρθωσης, για να περιορίσουν τη χρήση της διαλέκτου στο επίσημο περιβάλλον της τάξης.

Η έρευνα επικεντρώνεται τόσο στην πρωτοβάθμια όσο και στη δευτεροβάθμια εκπαίδευση και τα δεδομένα που προκύπτουν από τα δύο περιβάλλοντα θα διερευνηθούν συγκριτικά. Η συνεισφορά της παρούσας εργασίας έγκειται στο γεγονός ότι έστω και αν η γλωσσική χρήση των εκπαιδευτικών στην πρωτοβάθμια (Ioannidou 2002, 2007, 2009β) και δευτεροβάθμια εκπαίδευση (Sophocleous 2009α, 2009β) έχει διερευνηθεί, δεν έχει γίνει σύγκριση μέχρι τώρα της γλωσσικής χρήσης των εκπαιδευτικών (ΚΝΕ ή ΚΔ) σε αυτά τα δύο περιβάλλοντα. Αξίζει να σημειωθεί ότι η σύγκριση των γλωσσικών πρακτικών των εκπαιδευτικών στην πρωτοβάθμια και δευτεροβάθμια βαθμίδα της εκπαίδευσης είναι χρήσιμη όχι μόνο επειδή πρόκειται για ομάδες διαφορετικής ηλικίας αλλά και λόγω της διαφορετικής φιλοσοφίας στη γλωσσική εκπαίδευση. Στο δημοτικό σχολείο, οι μαθητές πρέπει να «μεταβούν από το κυπριακό ιδίωμα

¹ Αξίζει να σημειωθεί ότι με την εκπαιδευτική μεταρρύθμιση του 2010 και την εφαρμογή της φιλοσοφίας του κριτικού γραμματισμού στο πρόγραμμα της γλώσσας (βλ. Χατζησαββίδης, Κωστούλη & Τσιπλάκου 2010, Υπουργείο Παιδείας και Πολιτισμού 2010), η γλωσσική ποικιλότητα αντιμετωπίζεται ως εργαλείο μεταγλωσσικής ενημερότητας. Για πρώτη φορά προσφέρεται συγκεκριμένο θεωρητικό γλωσσολογικό και παιδαγωγικό πλαίσιο για τη διδακτική αξιοποίηση της γλωσσικής ποικιλότητας στα δημόσια σχολεία της Κύπρου.

στη πρότυπη Νέα Ελληνική (Υπουργείο Παιδείας, 1994, σ. 44), ενώ στη δευτεροβάθμια εκπαίδευση αναμένεται να χρησιμοποιούν με επάρκεια την ΚΝΕ.

3. Μεθοδολογία

Για τη διερεύνηση της γλωσσικής χρήσης των εκπαιδευτικών χρησιμοποιήθηκαν τα εθνογραφικά εργαλεία της συμμετοχικής παρατήρησης στο φυσικό περιβάλλον της τάξης και των συνεντεύξεων. Η βασική φιλοσοφία της εθνογραφικής έρευνας είναι η συλλογή πολλαπλών και σε βάθος δεδομένων για εκτενές χρονικό διάστημα, με αναστοχαστική ερμηνεία των δεδομένων βάσει του συγκειμένου και του κοινωνικο-πολιτισμικού πλαισίου (Denzin 1997, Hammersley 1992, 1993).

Η συλλογή των δεδομένων διενεργήθηκε σε δώδεκα σχολεία (έξι πρωτοβάθμιας και έξι δευτεροβάθμιας εκπαίδευσης) στις αστικές περιοχές των πόλεων Α και Β για συνολικά δέκα μήνες. Αποφασίσαμε να επικεντρωθούμε στα αστικά κέντρα προκειμένου να αποφύγουμε τα βασιλεκτικά γλωσσικά χαρακτηριστικά που συναντούμε κυρίως σε αγροτικές περιοχές και να εστιάσουμε στις περιοχές όπου ομιλείται μια κοινή «αστική διάλεκτος» (Tsiplakou, Papapanlou, Pavlou & Katsoyannou 2007). Τα σχολεία επιλέχθηκαν με διττό στόχο: πρώτον, προσπαθήσαμε να αποφύγουμε σχολεία που χαρακτηρίζονταν από τις τοπικές εκπαιδευτικές υπηρεσίες ως ΖΕΠ (Ζώνες Ειδικής Προτεραιότητας), δηλαδή με ιδιαίτερα χαρακτηριστικά. Δεύτερον, επιλέξαμε σχολεία όπου γνωρίζαμε «άτομα σε θέσεις κλειδιά», οι οποίοι μας εξασφάλισαν πρόσβαση στις τάξεις και διευκόλυναν τη συλλογή δεδομένων.

Συνολικά, συμμετείχαν στην έρευνα 24 εκπαιδευτικοί, 12 πρωτοβάθμιας και 12 δευτεροβάθμιας εκπαίδευσης και από τα τρία επίπεδα της δημόσιας εκπαίδευσης στην Κύπρο (Δημοτικό, Γυμνάσιο, Λύκειο /Τεχνική Σχολή). Οι εκπαιδευτικοί διέφεραν στην εμπειρία και την ειδικότητα, ενώ οι πλείστοι είχαν παρόμοιο μορφωτικό επίπεδο (πτυχίο ή μεταπτυχιακό). Συγκεκριμένα, οι εκπαιδευτικοί του δημοτικού σχολείου ήταν δάσκαλοι τάξης (δηλαδή όχι εξειδικευμένοι σε ένα θέμα, αλλά εκπαιδευμένοι να διδάξουν όλα τα μαθήματα στην τάξη) ενώ οι καθηγητές της δευτεροβάθμιας εκπαίδευσης είχαν διάφορες ειδικεύσεις (Φιλολογία, Ιστορία, Μαθηματικά, Φυσική, Φυσική Αγωγή (Φ.Α.), Αγγλικά και Τεχνολογία).

Οι συμμετοχικές παρατηρήσεις διεξήχθησαν στην τάξη κάθε εκπαιδευτικού για πέντε σχολικές περιόδους. Συγκεκριμένα, στην πρωτοβάθμια εκπαίδευση παρατηρήσαμε μαθήματα στα ακόλουθα γνωστικά αντικείμενα: Ελληνικά, Μαθηματικά, Επιστήμη, Ιστορία, Γεωγραφία, Μουσική, Τέχνη, Σχεδιασμό και Τεχνολογία. Στη δευτεροβάθμια εκπαίδευση παρατηρήσαμε μαθήματα στα εξής γνωστικά αντικείμενα: Ελληνικά, Ιστορία, Αρχαία Ελληνικά (Αρχαιογνωσία), Θρησκευτική Εκπαίδευση, Πληροφορική, Τεχνολογία, Χημεία, Φυσική και Φυσική Αγωγή. Ακολούθως, διενεργήθηκαν συνεντεύξεις ημι-δομημένης μορφής με τους εκπαιδευτικούς.

Η ανάλυση των δεδομένων βασίστηκε στα μοντέλα ποιοτικής ανάλυσης που προτείνονται από τους Rubin και Rubin (2005) και Miles και Huberman (1994). Και στα δύο μοντέλα η βασική ιδέα είναι ότι οι ερευνητές, καθοδηγούμενοι από τα ερευνητικά τους ερωτήματα, πρέπει να «διαβάσουν» τα δεδομένα τους και να δημιουργήσουν κώδικες (Rubin και Rubin 2005) ή θεματικές κατηγορίες, τις οποίες στη συνέχεια θα πρέπει να ερμηνεύσουν και να κατανοήσουν, αναλαμβάνοντας το δύσκολο έργο που ο Denzin (1997) ονομάζει «τέχνη της ερμηνείας». Επομένως, τα τέσσερα βήματα στα οποία στηριχτήκαμε για την ανάλυση των δεδομένων ήταν: κωδικοποίηση, κατηγοριοποίηση, εννοιολογική χαρτογράφηση και δημιουργία θέματος.

Η ανάλυση της γλωσσικής χρήσης ήταν κυρίως βασισμένη στην έννοια του Hymes (1985) για το «επικοινωνιακό ρεπερτόριο», το οποίο εστιάζει στους εξής τρεις άξονες του λόγου της τάξης: α). εντοπισμός των γλωσσικών ποικιλιών, β). κατηγοριοποίηση ανάλογα με την κατάσταση και γ). διερεύνηση μορφών «καταλληλότητας/νομιμοποίησης» (appropriateness). Οι γλωσσικές ποικιλίες προσδιορίστηκαν με την κλασική μέθοδο προσδιορισμού της διαλέκτου, όπου από ένα σώμα προφορικών δεδομένων εντοπίζονται οι πιο συχνόχρηστοι γλωσσικοί τύποι οι οποίοι θεωρούνται και ο «πυρήνας» των χαρακτηριστικών για το συγκεκριμένο σώμα κειμένων (βλ. Lucas & Bordes 1994, Ioannidou 2009α, 2009β). Ακολούθησε, η κατηγοριοποίηση της ομιλίας των εκπαιδευτικών σε περιστάσεις επικοινωνίας (Wolfram, Temple-Adger, & Christian 1999). Για κάθε εκπαιδευτικό, χρησιμοποιήθηκε ένας πίνακας για να σημειώνεται η συχνότητα με την οποία χρησιμοποιήθηκε είτε η ΚΔ είτε η ΚΝΕ σε διάφορες περιστάσεις επικοινωνίας σε κάθε μάθημα (βλ. Πίνακα 1 για παράδειγμα).

Μετά την κωδικοποίηση και τον καθορισμό των κατηγοριών, έγινε προσπάθεια για εντοπισμό μοτίβων και τάσεων στη γλωσσική χρήση των εκπαιδευτικών. Για κάθε εκπαιδευτικό έγινε μια χαρτογράφηση των βασικών παραμέτρων της έρευνας (Simons, 2009) και στο τελικό στάδιο της ανάλυσης των δεδομένων, δημιουργήθηκαν εξατομικευμένοι πίνακες όπου συνόψιζαν προσωπικές πληροφορίες, αξίες και

συμπεριφορές στα υπό εξέταση θέματα (όπως προέκυψαν από τις συνεντεύξεις) και επιλεγμένα αποσπάσματα από τις παρατηρήσεις στην τάξη.

Κατηγορία	Ελληνική Κυπριακή Διάλεκτος (ΚΔ)	Κοινή Νέα Ελληνική (ΚΝΕ)
Διόρθωση		
Παρατήρηση		
Επεξήγηση		
Παρέθεση ερωτήματος		
Διδασκαλία μαθήματος – προφορικά		
Διδασκαλία μαθήματος – γραπτά		
Οδηγίες		

Πίνακας 1 Περιστάσεις επικοινωνίας στη γλωσσική χρήση των εκπαιδευτικών

4. Αποτελέσματα: Η γλωσσική χρήση των εκπαιδευτικών

4.1 Περιστάσεις επικοινωνίας μέσα στην τάξη.

Οι εκπαιδευτικοί είχαν το δικό τους προσωπικό στιλ ομιλίας και ο τρόπος με τον οποίο χρησιμοποιούσαν τις ποικιλίες της πρότυπης και της διαλέκτου διέφερε. Μερικοί έτειναν να συγκλίνουν περισσότερο προς την ΚΝΕ, ενώ άλλοι χρησιμοποιούσαν συχνότερα διαλεκτικά στοιχεία είτε με εναλλαγή² (Auer 1998) είτε με μίξη (Muysken 2000) κωδίκων. Παρά τις ιδιολέκτους τους, στη λεπτομερή ανάλυση των δεδομένων διαφάνηκε ότι υπήρχαν κάποια επαναλαμβανόμενα, στην πλειονότητά των εκπαιδευτικών, μοτίβα που σχετίζονταν κυρίως με τη γλωσσική χρήση και την επισιμότητα ή όχι της περιστασης επικοινωνίας.

4.1.1 Επίσημες περιστάσεις και χρήση της «πρότυπης» γλωσσικής ποικιλίας

Κατά τη διάρκεια της «κύριας διδασκαλίας», δηλαδή σε περιστάσεις που συνδέονταν άμεσα με τη διδακτική διαδικασία (π.χ. ερωτήματα σχετικά με το κείμενο, ανάγνωση, γραφή) η μεγάλη πλειοψηφία των εκπαιδευτικών τόσο από την πρωτοβάθμια (10/12) όσο και από τη δευτεροβάθμια (9/12) εκπαίδευση χρησιμοποιούσαν μια παραλλαγή της πρότυπης, αυξάνοντας τους γλωσσικούς τύπους της ΚΝΕ στην ομιλία τους ή αποφεύγοντας μορφολογικά και συντακτικά στοιχεία της διαλέκτου. Αυτές οι περιστάσεις ήταν συνήθως συνυφασμένες με τη μελέτη γραπτού κειμένου από το σχολικό εγχειρίδιο. Από την ανάλυση των γλωσσικών δεδομένων προέκυψε ότι όταν οι εκπαιδευτικοί έθεταν ερωτήσεις, εξηγούσαν έννοιες, ή περιέγραφαν και επεξηγούσαν το κείμενο, συμπεριλάμβαναν στοιχεία της πρότυπης νεοελληνικής στο λόγο τους. Τα αποσπάσματα 1 και 2 αποτελούν χαρακτηριστικά παραδείγματα αυτής της τάσης.

Απόσπασμα 1: Τεχνολογία, Γ' Λυκείου

³**Και** έτσι σε γενικές γραμμές μπορούμε να πούμε ότι η Κυπριακή ξυλουργική βιομηχανία **ανέκαμψε και είχε πάρει** μία τρομερή άνοδο, μετά την ανεξαρτησία **μέχρι** την τουρκική εισβολή.

² Παρόλο που ο διαχωρισμός «εναλλαγή» και «μίξη» κωδίκων θεωρείται προβληματικός (βλ. Muysken 2000) αφού επικρατεί η άποψη ότι θα πρέπει να μιλάμε κυρίως για «μίξη» κωδίκων (code mixing, Muysken, 2000), για τους σκοπούς της παρούσας έρευνας οι όροι χρησιμοποιούνται με τον πιο παραδοσιακό τρόπο για να υποδηλώσουν εναλλαγή από πρόταση σε πρόταση (code switching) ή εναλλαγή μέσα στην πρόταση (μίξη -code mixing).

³ Υπογραμμισμένες λέξεις = ΚΔ

Σκιασμένες λέξεις = ΚΝΕ

Δ= Δασκάλα / Δάσκαλος

Κ= Καθηγήτρια / Καθηγητής

Μ= Μαθήτρια/ Μαθητής

(π)= Παύση στο λόγο

Απόσπασμα 2: Ελληνικά, Ε΄ Δημοτικού

Ξαναλέω το κείμενο για δούμε αν το εγράψαμεν με **τις (π)** τόνους του με **όλα** που χρειάζεται.

Στο απόσπασμα 1 δεν υπάρχουν καθόλου διαλεκτικά στοιχεία, τουλάχιστον σε μορφολογικά και συντακτικό επίπεδο. Ο εκπαιδευτικός παραδίδει μάθημα και είναι έκδηλο ότι η κατάσταση σχετίζεται άμεσα με αυτό που ονομάσαμε «κύρια διδασκαλία» με εμφανή την επιλογή τύπων της ΚΝΕ και την αποφυγή διαλεκτικών δεικτών. Παρομοίως, στο δεύτερο απόσπασμα η εκπαιδευτικός δίνει οδηγίες στους μαθητές στο μάθημα των Ελληνικών και χρησιμοποιεί κυρίως τύπους της ΚΝΕ. Υπάρχει μια παρεμβολή στη διάλεκτο (αύξηση αορίστου στον τύπο εγράψαμεν), αλλά από την ανάλυση της ιδιολέκτου της συγκεκριμένης εκπαιδευτικού προέκυψε ότι χρησιμοποιούσε αρκετά διαλεκτικά στοιχεία στο λόγο της και αυτά μειώνονταν δραματικά σε πιο επίσημες περιστάσεις μέσα στην τάξη, περιστάσεις που σχετίζονταν δηλαδή άμεσα με τη διδασκαλία.

Αν και δεν παρατηρήθηκαν σημαντικές διαφορές μεταξύ της γλωσσικής χρήσης των εκπαιδευτικών της πρωτοβάθμιας και δευτεροβάθμιας εκπαίδευσης, πρέπει να σημειωθεί ότι οι εκπαιδευτικοί με ειδικευση σε θεωρητικά θέματα και θέματα που σχετίζονται με τη γλώσσα, δηλαδή, αυτοί που δίδασκαν Ελληνικά, Αρχαία Ελληνικά και Ιστορία αντιμετώπιζαν ευνοϊκότερα τη χρήση της ΚΝΕ κατά τη διάρκεια του μαθήματος. Αυτό πιθανόν να οφείλεται στην επικρατούσα άποψη ότι σε αυτά τα μαθήματα η ικανότητα και η επάρκεια των μαθητών στην ΚΝΕ αποτελεί βασικό κριτήριο επιτυχίας. Αυτή η άποψη απεικονίζεται ξεκάθαρα στο ακόλουθο απόσπασμα συνέντευξης: «*Πρέπει να θυμόμαστε ότι οι οδηγίες που δίνονται [από το Υπουργείο] αναφέρουν ότι η διδασκαλία πρέπει να γίνεται στην ΚΝΕ(...). Υπάρχουν περιστάσεις όπου θα προβαίναμε ακόμα και σε διορθώσεις, με σκοπό να δείξουμε στους μαθητές τι θα πρέπει να γράφουν στα τετράδιά τους. Σε περιπτώσεις όπου χρησιμοποιούν βαρετή κυπριακή λέξη, αυτόματα θα την αντικαταστήσω με μια άλλη λέξη από την ΚΝΕ*» (Δάσκαλος Γλώσσας Η, Α Δημοτικό σχολείο).

4.1.2 Ανεπίσημες περιστάσεις και χρήση της ΚΔ

Ένα άλλο θέμα που προέκυψε είναι ότι και στις δύο βαθμίδες της εκπαίδευσης, σε «ανεπίσημες» περιστάσεις επικοινωνίας, περιστάσεις δηλαδή που σχετίζονταν με την οργάνωση της τάξης, με ανεπίσημα σχόλια και συζητήσεις εκτός της «κύριας διδασκαλίας», η μεγάλη πλειοψηφία των εκπαιδευτικών της πρωτοβάθμιας εκπαίδευσης (10/12) χρησιμοποιούσαν διαλεκτικά στοιχεία σε διαφορετικό βέβαια εύρος και συχνότητα ανάλογα με τον κάθε εκπαιδευτικό. Αντίθετα, οι εκπαιδευτικοί δευτεροβάθμιας εκπαίδευσης παρουσίασαν μεγαλύτερη διαφοροποίηση στον τρόπο που χρησιμοποιούσαν τη διάλεκτο στις ανεπίσημες περιστάσεις επικοινωνίας της τάξης. Συγκεκριμένα, η πλειοψηφία των εκπαιδευτικών (5/12) χρησιμοποιούσαν κάποιους διαλεκτικούς τύπους αλλά διατηρούσαν και συγκεκριμένα χαρακτηριστικά στην ΚΝΕ. Επίσης, το ένα τρίτο των εκπαιδευτικών (4/12) διατηρούσε την ΚΝΕ και στις πιο ανεπίσημες περιστάσεις ενώ μια άλλη ομάδα (3/12) χρησιμοποιούσε αποκλειστικά τη διάλεκτο. Τα αποσπάσματα 3-4 αποτυπώνουν αυτή την τάση.

Απόσπασμα 3: Ελληνικά, Στ΄ Δημοτικού

Δ: Εδιόρθωσες το; Εδιόρθωσες το; Είνταλος ε; Έτο ποιος έννα την ιγράψει;

Μ: εξίγασα κυρία

Δ: Α, ούλλα ξιγάνεις τα, έτο αδιόρθωτη η ορθογραφία τζιαι εφύλαξες την.

Απόσπασμα 4: Μαθηματικά, Γ΄ Λυκείου

Κ: Λοιπόν, **εδώ πέρα. Με ρώτησε** κάποια το ημίτονο **και** το συνημίτονο **τι είναι** πάντοτε; (...)

Μ: Διότι ο αριθμητής εν πάντα μικρότερος που τον παρονομαστήν.

[]= σχόλια

ΚΕΦΑΛΑΙΑ ΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΑ = Αύξηση στην ένταση της φωνής

Κ: Ρε, εσένα είπα σου να μεν απαντάς ρε!

[Όλοι οι μαθητές γελούν]

Κ: Ρε, εν σου παράντζεϊλα να μεν το κάμνεις ρε;

Στο απόσπασμα 4 ο εκπαιδευτικός χρησιμοποιεί τύπους της ΚΝΕ για να εξηγήσει έννοιες που σχετίζονται με το μάθημα (ημίτονο, συνημίτονο) αλλά στη συνέχεια κάνει εναλλαγή στη διάλεκτο για να επιπλήξει ένα μαθητή που μιλούσε χωρίς να πάρει άδεια. Ο εκπαιδευτικός υιοθετώντας ένα χιουμοριστικό και φιλικό ύφος και χρησιμοποιώντας τη διάλεκτο σε ένα πιο ανεπίσημο υφολογικό επίπεδο, σχολιάζει τη στάση του μαθητή χρησιμοποιώντας το βασιλευκτικό ρηματικό τύπο «παράντζεϊλα» (συμβούλεψα).

Αντίθετα, στο απόσπασμα 3 η εκπαιδευτικός κάνει παρατήρηση σε ένα μαθητή διατηρώντας υψηλό τόνο φωνής και χρησιμοποιώντας αποκλειστικά τη διάλεκτο. Οι γλωσσικές επιλογές της εκπαιδευτικού πιθανόν να οφείλονται στο γεγονός ότι η κατάσταση αυτή δε συμβαίνει κατά την «κύρια διδασκαλία» και γι αυτό ίσως δεν αισθάνεται την ανάγκη για χρήση της πρότυπης. Μια άλλη ερμηνεία θα μπορούσε να είναι ότι η εκπαιδευτικός είναι πολύ θυμωμένη, αφήνει κατά μέρος τις επισημότητες και χρησιμοποιεί τη μητρική της γλωσσική ποικιλία, κάτι που έχει αναδειχτεί και από παρόμοιες έρευνες (π.χ. Ιωαννίδου 2002, Tsiplakou & Hadjioannou 2010). Αυτό επιβεβαιώθηκε και στις συνεντεύξεις των εκπαιδευτικών, όπου η συντριπτική πλειοψηφία (22 από τους 24), εξήγησαν ότι δεν χρησιμοποιούν συνεχώς την ΚΝΕ, καθώς υπήρχαν περιπτώσεις όπου αισθάνονταν την ανάγκη να κάνουν εναλλαγή στην ΚΔ.

4.1.3 Μίξη και εναλλαγή των γλωσσικών ποικιλιών στην τάξη

Τόσο οι εκπαιδευτικοί της πρωτοβάθμιας όσο και της δευτεροβάθμιας εκπαίδευσης χρησιμοποιούσαν εναλλαγή ή μίξη κωδίκων ανάλογα με την κατάσταση επικοινωνίας. Ωστόσο, μια πιο λεπτομερής ανάλυση των δεδομένων κατέδειξε ότι υπήρχε διαφοροποίηση στον τρόπο με τον οποίο γινόταν αυτή η εναλλαγή. Συγκεκριμένα, οι περισσότεροι εκπαιδευτικοί της δημοτικής εκπαίδευσης (7/12) χρησιμοποιούσαν αρκετά διαλεκτικά στοιχεία, ακόμα και στις πιο επίσημες περιστάσεις που σχετίζονταν με την «κύρια διδασκαλία», παρουσίαζαν δηλαδή αυξημένη «μίξη» κωδίκων στο λόγο τους. Αντίθετα, οι εκπαιδευτικοί της δευτεροβάθμιας εκπαίδευσης φαίνεται να διατηρούσαν μια πιο αυστηρή διάκριση μεταξύ περιστάσεων και γλωσσικής ποικιλίας, χρησιμοποιώντας επομένως περισσότερο την εναλλαγή κωδίκων και λιγότερο τη μίξη στο λόγο τους (μόνο 4 από τους 12 χρησιμοποιούσαν τη μίξη-κωδίκων, ενώ 6 από τους 12 δεν χρησιμοποιούσαν τη μίξη-κωδίκων καθόλου και 2 χρησιμοποιούσαν σπάνια τη μίξη κωδίκων).

Συγκεκριμένα, στο απόσπασμα 5, η εκπαιδευτικός χρησιμοποιεί την πρότυπη ποικιλία για να δώσει οδηγίες και να ενθαρρύνει τους μαθητές, αλλά χρησιμοποιεί τη διάλεκτο για να ελέγξει αν οι μαθητές ακούουν τις οδηγίες της. Κατά παρόμοιο τρόπο, στο απόσπασμα 6 χρησιμοποιεί κυρίως την πρότυπη για να δώσει οδηγίες, αλλά τη διάλεκτο για εμφιασμένους σκοπούς. Τα δεδομένα αυτά καταδεικνύουν ότι παρόλο που η «διδασκαλία» θεωρείται η κατεξοχήν περίπτωση για τη χρήση της πρότυπης ποικιλίας, τόσο από τους εκπαιδευτικούς αλλά και από τους φορείς εκπαιδευτικής πολιτικής (βλ. Ιωαννίδου 2009), η διάλεκτος χρησιμοποιείται από τους εκπαιδευτικούς με ποικίλο τρόπο. Ενδιαφέρον παρουσιάζει το γεγονός ότι στις συνεντεύξεις τους οι εκπαιδευτικοί υποστήριξαν ότι σε περιστάσεις που σχετίζονται με τη διδακτική διαδικασία χρησιμοποιούν αποκλειστικά την ΚΝΕ κάτι που καταρρίπτεται από τις παρατηρήσεις.

Απόσπασμα 5: Ελληνικά, Ε' Δημοτικού

Λίγο πιο βιαστικά, όποιος **τελειώνει διαβάξει** το δεύτερο μέρος του «οι μαστόροι παίζουν θέατρο» -> ακούσετε; για να **μην το λέω (π)** όποιος τελειώνει κλείει την ορθογραφία

Απόσπασμα 6: Ελληνικά, Δ' Δημοτικού

Όταν τελειώσουμε, όταν **διαβάσουμε**, ξεκινάς να διορθώνεις. Τωρά διαβάστε και ξεκινά τα

Από το σύνολο των γλωσσικών δεδομένων διαφάνηκε ότι οι εκπαιδευτικοί κατά τη διδασκαλία, ξεκινούσαν συνήθως χρησιμοποιώντας την πρότυπη, είτε για να δώσουν οδηγίες (απόσπασμα 5) ή να εξηγήσουν έννοιες (αποσπάσματα 1 και 2), είτε για να θέσουν ερωτήσεις (αποσπάσματα 3 και 4). Κατά τη

διάρκεια αυτών των επεισοδίων όμως, υπήρχαν υπο- περιστάσεις στις οποίες χρησιμοποιούσαν τη διάλεκτο όπως η επανάληψη εννοιών, οι επεξηγήσεις στους μαθητές και ο έλεγχος κατανόησης. Επομένως, ακόμα και στις περιστάσεις όπου η νόμιμη και θεσμοθετημένη ποικιλία ήταν η ΚΝΕ, υπήρχαν περιπτώσεις όπου οι εκπαιδευτικοί ήθελαν να εμφανίζονται πιο πρακτικοί και λιγότερο «τυπικοί» και ως εκ τούτου, χρησιμοποιούσαν τη διάλεκτο είτε με τη μίξη κωδίκων (Απόσπασμα 6) είτε με την εναλλαγή τους (Απόσπασμα 5). Γενικά, αυτό που προέκυψε είναι ότι κυρίως στα δημοτικά σχολεία, ακόμη και σε τομείς όπου αναμενόταν η χρήση της πρότυπης, η παρουσία της διαλέκτου ήταν αναμφισβήτητη εμφανής. Αντίθετα, η πρότυπη ήταν εμφανής και κυρίαρχη σε περιστάσεις που είχαν τη μορφή ερωτο-απάντησης και συνδέονταν με τη μελέτη γραπτού κειμένου. Η διαπίστωση αυτή καταδεικνύει ότι γινόταν χρήση της διαλέκτου σε πιο φυσικές συζητήσεις στις οποίες οι ισχυρές νόρμες της διδασκαλίας δεν είχαν τόση επιρροή.

Αντίθετα, η χρήση της πρότυπης από τους εκπαιδευτικούς της δευτεροβάθμιας εκπαίδευσης ήταν λιγότερο επιρρεπής στη μίξη κωδίκων. Αν και υπήρχαν εκπαιδευτικοί (4 στους 12) που κατά τη διάρκεια της διδασκαλίας προέβαιναν στη μίξη κωδίκων κατά παρόμοιο τρόπο με αυτό των εκπαιδευτικών της πρωτοβάθμιας εκπαίδευσης, η πλειοψηφία (8 στους 12) χρησιμοποιούσε συστηματικά την πρότυπη σε περιστάσεις που σχετίζονταν με τη διδασκαλία. Ένα παράδειγμα αυτής της τάσης παρουσιάζεται στο Απόσπασμα 7, όπου ο εκπαιδευτικός θέτει το ερώτημα στην πρότυπη, δέχεται την απάντηση στη διάλεκτο, και διατηρεί την πρότυπη στο σχολιασμό της απάντησης του μαθητή.

Απόσπασμα 7: Ιστορία, Β' Γυμνασίου

Κ: Θυμάστε **τι είναι** ο Μερκαντισμός;

Μ: Κύριε, εκάμαμεν τον πέρσι αν δε κάμνω λάθος.

Κ: Ναι, πρέπει να τον **έχετε κάνει και** επίσης **είχαμε πει** κάτι την προηγούμενη φορά για τον μερκαντισμό.

Η τάση αυτή, επιβεβαιώνεται και σε παρόμοια περιστατικά και με άλλους εκπαιδευτικούς της δευτεροβάθμιας εκπαίδευσης και τονίστηκε στις συνεντεύξεις των εκπαιδευτικών: «*Τους το κάνω σαφές ότι πρέπει να χρησιμοποιούμε την ΚΝΕ στην τάξη όχι επειδή η ΚΔ είναι υποδεέστερη, αλλά γιατί χρειάζονται να μάθουν να μιλούν στην ΚΝΕ και αυτό θα συμβεί μόνο αν υπάρχει συνεχής χρήση της στην τάξη*» (Εκπαιδευτικός Ε, Γυμνάσιο Β).

4.2 Τεχνικές «διόρθωσης» της ΚΔ

Ένα επιπλέον σημαντικό στοιχείο που προέκυψε ήταν ότι σε περιστάσεις που σχετίζονταν με τη διαδικασία διδασκαλίας υπήρχαν πολλές περιπτώσεις όπου οι εκπαιδευτικοί σχολίαζαν ή διόρθωναν τη χρήση της διαλέκτου από τους μαθητές. Αυτό γινόταν με την υιοθέτηση τριών κυρίως στρατηγικών που σκοπό είχαν να τονίσουν την ανάγκη και σημασία στη χρήση της πρότυπης ποικιλίας (ΚΝΕ). Οι τεχνικές αυτές ήταν οι εξής: α) επανάληψη της λέξης στην πρότυπη (απόσπασμα 8), β) άμεση «διόρθωση» της διαλέκτου και αντικατάστασή της με τον αντίστοιχο πρότυπο τύπο (απόσπασμα 9) και γ). προτροπή στους μαθητές να παράγουν τον αντίστοιχο τύπο στην πρότυπη ποικιλία (απόσπασμα 10). Στα τρία αποσπάσματα που ακολουθούν είναι εμφανής ο τρόπος που οι τρεις τεχνικές χρησιμοποιούνταν από τους εκπαιδευτικούς στην προσπάθειά τους να τονίσουν τη σημασία χρήσης της «κατάλληλης» ποικιλίας κατά τη διάρκεια της διδασκαλίας.

Απόσπασμα 8: Τέχνη, Α' Δημοτικού

Δ: Ποιος ξέρει ποια **είναι** η διαφορά μεταξύ των λιονταριών με τη μεγάλη χ αίτη **και αυτών** που **δεν** έχουν;

Μ1: Ε, τζείνα εν άλλα ζώα

Δ: **Όχι, δεν είναι.**

M2: Τα αγόρια έχουν **μεγάλα** μαλλιά, ενώ τα κορίτσια **δεν** έχουν.

Δ: Μπράβο. Εμείς διαφέρουμε **από** τα λιοντάρια. Εμείς έχουμε μακριά μαλλιά **και** τα αγόρια κοντά συνήθως.

M3: Έσσειε τζιαί αγόρια με μακριά μαλλιά.

T: Ναι, **ΕΧΕΙ ΚΑΙ** αγόρια με μακριά μαλλιά.

Στο απόσπασμα 8 παρακολουθούμε μια συζήτηση που αναπτύχθηκε στο μάθημα της Τέχνης, μεταξύ της εκπαιδευτικού και των μαθητών σχετικά με τα θηλυκά και αρσενικά λιοντάρια. Η εκπαιδευτικός, χρησιμοποιώντας στοιχεία της KNE ζητάει από τους μαθητές να της πουν τη διαφορά ανάμεσα σε λιοντάρια που έχουν χαιτή και σ' εκείνα που δεν έχουν. Μια μαθήτρια (M1) δίνει λανθασμένη απάντηση χρησιμοποιώντας τη διάλεκτο, και η εκπαιδευτικός απορρίπτει την απάντηση της χρησιμοποιώντας την KNE. Ακολούθως, ένα μαθητής (M2) παρέχει την απάντηση που αναμένει να ακούσει η εκπαιδευτικός, χρησιμοποιώντας μάλιστα και την «κατάλληλη» ποικιλία και επιβραβεύεται για αυτό. Στη συνέχεια, η εκπαιδευτικός, σχολιάζοντας την απάντηση του μαθητή (M2) εξηγεί ότι οι άνθρωποι διαφέρουν από τα λιοντάρια, δεδομένου ότι οι γυναίκες έχουν μακριά μαλλιά σε αντίθεση με τους άντρες. Όταν όμως μια άλλη μαθήτρια διαφωνεί (M3) με το σχολιασμό της δασκάλας της, τονίζοντας ότι υπάρχουν και αγόρια με μακριά μαλλιά, η εκπαιδευτικός, παρόλο που φαίνεται να συμφωνεί με τη μαθήτρια, δε σχολιάζει την απάντησή της αλλά την επαναλαμβάνει στην πρότυπη μορφή της. Αυτό που αποκαλύπτει αυτό το επεισόδιο είναι ότι από τους τρεις μαθητές, αυτός που επαινέθηκε και του δόθηκε η αίσθηση ότι ήταν «σωστός» ήταν ο δεύτερος μαθητής (M2), ο οποίος ανταποκρίθηκε στις προσδοκίες της εκπαιδευτικού τόσο από πλευράς περιεχομένου όσο και από πλευράς γλωσσικής χρήσης. Αντίθετα, ο πρώτος μαθητής (M1) όχι μόνο είπε κάτι ανακριβές, αλλά χρησιμοποίησε και ως μέσο έκφρασης τη διάλεκτο. Με τον ίδιο τρόπο, η τρίτη μαθήτρια (M3) διαφώνησε με τις στερεότυπες διακρίσεις της εκπαιδευτικού για τους άντρες και τις γυναίκες (κοντά και μακριά μαλλιά), δείχνοντας με σαφήνεια τον τρόπο σκέψης της και κατά κάποιον τρόπο τον θάρρος της να αμφισβητήσει την εξουσία της εκπαιδευτικού. Ωστόσο, η χρήση διαλεκτικών τύπων στο λόγο της, την έφερε αντιμέτωπη με την απόρριψη της εκπαιδευτικού, μια πρακτική που έχει αναδειχτεί και σε προηγούμενες έρευνες (Ioannidou 2009α, Τσιπλάκου 2007).

Η δεύτερη τεχνική, δηλαδή η άμεση διόρθωση διαφαίνεται στο απόσπασμα 9. Εδώ, ο μαθητής θέτει μια διευκρινιστική ερώτηση στη δασκάλα, χρησιμοποιώντας μια μίξη πρότυπων και διαλεκτικών τύπων. Αν και αυτή η περίπτωση δεν συνδέεται άμεσα με την «κύρια διδασκαλία» αφού ο μαθητής ζητάει οδηγίες σχετικά με την επόμενη τους δραστηριότητα, η εκπαιδευτικός διορθώνει άμεσα το μαθητή, παρέχοντας και τον αντίστοιχο πρότυπο γλωσσικό τύπο. Η άμεση διόρθωση πραγματοποιείται στην KNE τονίζοντας ανοιχτά ποια λεξιλογικά στοιχεία *πρέπει* και *δεν πρέπει* να χρησιμοποιούνται στην τάξη. Το παράδοξο, ωστόσο στη γλωσσική χρήση της εκπαιδευτικού είναι ότι διορθώνει κάποιους τύπους που η ίδια θεωρεί στιγματισμένους (π.χ. έννα – ΚΔ, θα – KNE) αλλά διατηρεί κάποιους άλλους τύπους της διαλέκτου (π.χ. κάμουμε – ΚΔ). Διορθώνει δηλαδή άμεσα τους μαθητές για τη χρήση διαλεκτικών στοιχείων στο λόγο τους, αλλά στην εκφώνηση-διόρθωσή της χρησιμοποιεί και η ίδια διαλεκτικούς τύπους.

Απόσπασμα 9: Τεχνολογία, Ε' Δημοτικού

M1: Κυρία **τι έννα κάμουμεν**;

Δ: **ΟΧΙ ΤΙ 'ΕΝΝΑ ΚΑΜΟΥΜΕ', τι 'ΘΑ' κάμουμε**

Τέλος, η τρίτη τεχνική στη «διόρθωση» διαλεκτικών στοιχείων ήταν μέσω της προτροπής και της ενθάρρυνσης για αντικατάσταση από τους ίδιους τους μαθητές, διαλεκτικών τύπων με τους αντίστοιχους πρότυπους. Αυτή η τεχνική παρατηρήθηκε κυρίως στις τάξεις της δευτεροβάθμιας εκπαίδευσης (π.χ. απόσπασμα 10).

Απόσπασμα 10: Ιστορία, Β' Γυμνασίου

M: Λόγω της βαριάς φορολογίας, **δεν** μπορούσαν να πληρώσουν. **Και** επίσης **δεν** συμπαθούσαν ορισμένους στρατιωτικούς, **και**, ναι, **δεν** ήταν καλοί, **και** ηθέλασιν να πάσιν (π)

(οι μαθητές γελάνε στην τάξη)

Κ: (χαμογελά) Δηλαδή, **ήθελαν... Δεν, δεν θεωρούνταν** ικανοί για το έργο τους;

Μ: Ναι!

Από το παράδειγμα αυτό διαφαίνεται ότι στο πιο «θεωρητικό» πλαίσιο του μαθήματος της Ιστορίας, οι μαθητές αναμένεται να χρησιμοποιούν την πρότυπη και αυτή η νόρμα επιβάλλεται όχι μόνο από τον εκπαιδευτικό αλλά και από τους συμμαθητές τους. Προφανώς, σ' ένα μάθημα όπως η Ιστορία, το «κατάλληλο» μέσο αλληλεπίδρασης θεωρείται η ΚΝΕ. Κατά συνέπεια, οι απαντήσεις στην ΚΔ μπορεί να ακούγονται εμφανώς χιουμοριστικές και ενδεχομένως εκτός πλαισίου. Στο συγκεκριμένο παράδειγμα η επιλογή της γλωσσικής ποικιλίας είναι πολύ σημαντική για αυτό και ο εκπαιδευτικός, δίνοντας το παράδειγμα παρακινεί το μαθητή να ολοκληρώσει το λόγο του στην ΚΝΕ.

Η ανάλυση των παραπάνω αποσπασμάτων υποδεικνύει ότι υπήρχαν ποικίλοι παράγοντες που παρακινούσαν τους εκπαιδευτικούς να προβούν σε γλωσσικές διορθώσεις. Σε κάποιες περιπτώσεις οι εκπαιδευτικοί παρενέβαιναν στη γλωσσική χρήση βασιλεκτικών χαρακτηριστικών της διαλέκτου (π.χ. απόσπασμα 11). Ταυτόχρονα, σε άλλες περιπτώσεις ακόμα και ένας μόνο διαλεκτικός τύπος γινόταν αντικείμενο «διόρθωσης» σε περιβάλλοντα όπου το πλαίσιο επικοινωνίας ήταν συγκεκριμένο (π.χ. κύρια διδασκαλία). Τέλος, υπήρχαν περιπτώσεις όπου οι εκπαιδευτικοί απλά απέρριπταν το λόγο-γλωσσικές επιλογές των μαθητών, επιβάλλοντας την εξουσία τους και διατηρώντας παραδόξως οι ίδιοι τη χρήση διαλεκτικών χαρακτηριστικών (π.χ. απόσπασμα 9).

Το απόσπασμα 11 για παράδειγμα, από μια τάξη Φυσικής Αγωγής, καταδεικνύει ξεκάθαρα τις προσπάθειες κάποιων εκπαιδευτικών για περιορισμό της χρήσης βασιλεκτικών χαρακτηριστικών της ΚΔ στην τάξη. Μια προσπάθεια όμως που σε αρκετές περιπτώσεις τόνιζε τη σημασία της γλωσσικής μορφής παρά του περιεχομένου και δυσχέραινε με αυτό τον τρόπο την επικοινωνία εκπαιδευτικού-μαθητή, σε επίπεδο κυρίως εξουσίας και αξιών. Συγκεκριμένα, στο απόσπασμα αυτό, ο εκπαιδευτικός αρνείται κατηγορηματικά τη βοηθητική υπόδειξη του μαθητή μεταθέτοντας το βάρος της συζήτησης όχι στον αρχικό επικοινωνιακό σκοπό αλλά στη μορφή του γλωσσικού κώδικα. Με αυτό το επεισόδιο, το μήνυμα που παίρνει ο συγκεκριμένος μαθητής είναι ότι η αλληλεπίδραση του με τον καθηγητή δεν είχε να κάνει με επικοινωνιακούς σκοπούς αλλά με γλωσσικές νόρμες.

Απόσπασμα 11: Φυσική Αγωγή, Γ' Γυμνασίου

Κ: Πού **είναι** ο Αντρέας;

Μ1: Κύριε, ο Αντρέας εν πουποδά

Τ: **Δεν** ακούω

Σ: Ο Αντρέας εν ΠΟΥΠΟΔΑ

Τ: Ο Αντρέας είναι ΑΠ' ΕΔΩ!

Συνολικά, δύο σημαντικά ευρήματα αναδύονται από τα στοιχεία που συλλέχθηκαν μέσω της παρατήρησης της τάξης και των συνεντεύξεων των εκπαιδευτικών. Πρώτον, υπήρχαν περισσότερα επεισόδια «διόρθωσης» στην πρωτοβάθμια εκπαίδευση. Μια πιθανή ερμηνεία θα μπορούσε να είναι ότι οι μαθητές της δευτεροβάθμιας εκπαίδευσης έχουν ήδη μάθει ποιες στιγματισμένες λέξεις πρέπει ν' αποφεύγουν κατά τη διάρκεια των αλληλεπιδράσεων τους στην τάξη και για αυτό το λόγο υπάρχει μικρότερη παρέμβαση από τους εκπαιδευτικούς. Αυτό φάνηκε και στις συνεντεύξεις, όπου η πλειοψηφία των εκπαιδευτικών υπογράμμισε τη σημασία της επιτακτικής γνώσης της ΚΝΕ στην πρωτοβάθμια εκπαίδευση, κυρίως για να είναι σε θέση να συνεχίσει η δευτεροβάθμια εκπαίδευση στην πρότυπη ποικιλία: «Είμαστε εκείνοι οι οποίοι θα θέσουν το ορθό παράδειγμα στα παιδιά για την εκμάθηση της σωστής γλώσσας (...) πιστεύω ως εκπαιδευτικοί, είμαστε υποχρεωμένοι να διδάξουμε την κατάλληλη γλώσσα, την Κοινή Νέα Ελληνική» (Εκπαιδευτικός Μ, Β Δημοτικό σχολείο). Δεύτερον, όσον αφορά τις τρεις τεχνικές διόρθωσης υπήρχαν περισσότερες περιπτώσεις επανάληψης και διόρθωσης στην πρωτοβάθμια απ' ότι στη δευτεροβάθμια εκπαίδευση. Επιπλέον, η τεχνική της προτροπής φαίνεται να είναι πιο συχνή σε σχολεία δευτεροβάθμιας εκπαίδευσης.

5. Συζήτηση και συμπεράσματα

Οι γλωσσικές πρακτικές των εκπαιδευτικών στο διδασκαλικό πλαίσιο της κυπριακής δημόσιας εκπαίδευσης αποτέλεσαν το κεντρικό θέμα αυτής της εργασίας, με το διττό στόχο τη διερεύνηση της συσχέτισης περιστάσεων επικοινωνίας και γλωσσικών ποικιλιών, και την εξέταση των στρατηγικών διόρθωσης που υιοθετούν οι εκπαιδευτικοί στην τάξη στην προσπάθειά τους να ενθαρρύνουν τη χρήση της πρότυπης ποικιλίας. Τα αποτελέσματα της παρούσας εργασίας καταδεικνύουν μια σύνθετη και πολυδιάστατη συνύπαρξη ΚΝΕ και ΚΔ, εγείροντας δύο βασικά ζητήματα σχετικά με τη γλωσσική χρήση στην τάξη.

Πρώτον, είναι ξεκάθαρο ότι οι γλωσσικές επιλογές των εκπαιδευτικών υποδηλώνουν διαφορετικές αξίες και νόρμες που συνδέονται με την κάθε ποικιλία. Και στις δύο βαθμίδες της εκπαίδευσης, η πρότυπη ποικιλία συνδέεται με επισημότητα, καταλληλότητα, και επάρκεια καθώς ήταν άμεσα συνδεδεμένη με την περίπτωση της κύριας διδασκαλίας. Παρατηρήθηκαν περιπτώσεις, όπου οι μαθητές απέτυχαν να ανταποκριθούν γλωσσικά στις προσδοκίες των εκπαιδευτικών και επικρίθηκαν ή έτυχαν διόρθωσης. Ωστόσο, παρά τη θεσμοθέτηση της ΚΝΕ ως της έγκυρης και νόμιμης ποικιλίας στο σχολείο και στην τάξη, τα αποτελέσματά μας τεκμηριώνουν μια ισχυρή παρουσία της διαλέκτου στην τάξη, τόσο στη γλωσσική χρήση των μαθητών όσων και των εκπαιδευτικών.

Δεύτερον, σε ότι αφορά την παρέμβαση των εκπαιδευτικών στη χρήση της διαλέκτου, αυτό που προέκυψε ήταν η υιοθέτηση τριών διαφορετικών «τεχνικών» για την αντικατάσταση της διαλέκτου με την πρότυπη. Τα δεδομένα μας κατέδειξαν ότι οι εκπαιδευτικοί χρησιμοποιούσαν αυτές τις τρεις τεχνικές και στις δύο βαθμίδες της εκπαίδευσης, αν και παρατηρήθηκαν περισσότερες περιπτώσεις διόρθωσης σε αλληλεπιδράσεις με νεότερους μαθητές (δηλαδή στο δημοτικό σχολείο). Τα αυξημένα επεισόδια διόρθωσης στο δημοτικό σχολείο πιθανόν να οφείλονται στους εξής δύο λόγους. Πρώτον, στα πρώτα χρόνια της επίσημης εκπαίδευσης, οι μαθητές φέρνουν στο σχολείο τη μητρική τους ποικιλία, αυτήν που χρησιμοποιούν με την οικογένεια και τους φίλους τους (ΚΔ). Δεύτερον, οι γλωσσικές δεξιότητες των παιδιών στην πρότυπη ποικιλία δεν έχουν ακόμα αναπτυχθεί και πιθανόν να δυσκολεύονται να ανταποκριθούν στις γλωσσικές απαιτήσεις που επιβάλλει ο κώδικας της τάξης.

Τέλος, μπορεί κανείς να υποθέσει ότι η τρέχουσα πολιτική κατάσταση στην Κύπρο επηρεάζει, σε σημαντικό βαθμό, το εκπαιδευτικό σύστημα, τα σχολικά προγράμματα σπουδών και την «επίσημη» γλώσσα του σχολείου. Προφανώς, σε επίπεδο εκπαιδευτικής πολιτικής η γλώσσα λειτουργεί ως ένας από τους ισχυρότερους δεσμούς που συνδέει τους Ελληνοκύπριους με την Ελλάδα και όπως διαφαίνεται από τις γλωσσικές επιλογές της πολιτείας, είναι η πρότυπη γλώσσα που φαίνεται να έχει κερδίσει το προνόμιο της ελληνικότητας. Όπως υποστηρίζει ο κοινωνικός φιλόσοφος Walzer (1983), η εκπαίδευση «είναι ένα πρόγραμμα για την κοινωνική επιβίωση» (σ. 197). Στην περίπτωση της Κύπρου, το κράτος ενθαρρύνει την εκπαίδευση στην ΚΝΕ για να διατηρεί στενούς δεσμούς με την «μητέρα πατρίδα» Ελλάδα, αλλά και για να διατηρηθεί η ιδέα της καταγωγής, της συνέχειας και των ζωντανών παραδόσεων (Sophocleous & Wilks, 2010).

Η συγκριτική αυτή μελέτη μπορεί να χρησιμοποιηθεί προς όφελος των εκπαιδευτικών και των εκπαιδευτικών φορέων για χάραξη σαφέστερων γλωσσικών πολιτικών, με ειδική αναφορά στις γλωσσικές αναπτυξιακές ανάγκες των νεότερων και μεγαλύτερων ηλικιακά μαθητών. Τίθεται επίσης ένας σημαντικός παιδαγωγικός προβληματισμός σχετικά με το γενικότερο ρόλο του σχολείου και της εκπαίδευσης, αν λάβουμε υπόψη ότι η μητρική γλωσσική ποικιλία των μαθητών είναι στιγματισμένη σε συγκεκριμένα πλαίσια και ιδιαίτερα ότι πολλές φορές η συνεισφορά τους στην τάξη και στη διδακτική διαδικασία ανακόπτεται, όχι για το περιεχόμενό της αλλά για τη γλωσσική της μορφή.

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«ΚΑΙ ΟΙ ΤΟΙΧΟΙ ΕΧΟΥΝ...ΜΙΑΙΑ»:
ΚΟΙΝΩΝΙΟΓΛΩΣΣΟΛΟΓΙΚΗ ΠΡΟΣΕΓΓΙΣΗ ΤΟΥ
ΧΙΟΥΜΟΡ ΣΤΟΝ ΓΡΑΠΤΟ, ΑΝΩΝΥΜΟ ΣΥΝΘΗΜΑΤΙΚΟ ΛΟΓΟ

Μαρία Καμηλάκη
Δρ Γλωσσολογίας
Πανεπιστημίου Αθηνών
mariakamilaki@yahoo.gr

ABSTRACT

Mural slogans, a highly spatialized sub-genre of political discourse, that allows anonymous, active subjects to air their voice, systematically exploit verbal humour. Based on a corpus of 286 slogans written on walls and other public surfaces, the present study analyses, in terms of humour theory, the linguistic strategies employed in them and explores their contribution to identity construction, suggesting that humorous mural slogans form a revolutionary antilanguage that challenges hegemonic discourse.

Λέξεις κλειδιά: χωρικοποίηση, γλωσσικό χιούμορ, γνωστική αντίθεση, ασυμβατότητα, ταυτότητα, στόχος, αντιγλώσσα

1. Εισαγωγή

Ο γραπτός, ανώνυμος συνθηματικός λόγος, σύγχρονη εκδοχή μιας πανάρχαιας και οικουμενικής πρακτικής, αξιοποιεί τους κοινωνιογλωσσικούς πόρους της γλωσσικής κοινότητας, προκειμένου να σχολιάσει τα εκάστοτε κοινωνικοπολιτικά δρώμενα, να νοηματοδοτήσει ιδεολογίες ή απλώς να «αιχμαλωτίσει» στον χρόνο προσωπικές σκέψεις και συναισθήματα. Το σύνθημα - ως συμπτυκνωμένη και δραστική μορφή δημόσιας επικοινωνίας, που αποτυπώνεται σε τοίχους, κολώνες, θύρες, με σπρέι, μαρκαδόρο ή μπογιά - περιλαμβάνει στη θεματολογία του από ερωτικές εξομολογήσεις και οπαδικά μηνύματα, μέχρι πολιτικά μανιφέστα και φιλοσοφικές ενατενίσεις, σκιαγραφώντας τις σχέσεις που αναπτύσσονται τα δρώντα υποκείμενα με το κοινωνικό τους περιβάλλον και δημιουργώντας ατομικές και συλλογικές μνήμες (Ψύλλα 2009).

Τα αναγραφόμενα συνθήματα βρίσκονται σε άμεση αλληλεπίδραση με τον ιδιαίτερο «χώρο» παραγωγής τους, το σύγχρονο αστικό περιβάλλον, σε τέτοιο βαθμό, μάλιστα, ώστε η συγκεκριμένη πρακτική να αποκτά λειτουργικότητα μόνο εντός του πλαισίου αναγραφής της. Αυτή η *χωρικοποίηση* (*spatialisation*) του γραπτού συνθηματικού λόγου, όπως και των συγγενών ειδών του graffiti και του street art, «διαταράσσει» και αναμορφώνει τα «ουδέτερα» αστικά κοινωνικά δίκτυα, τα οποία στηρίζονται «σε τέτοιο βαθμό στην αδιαφορία, όσο και στη διαφορά» (Wark 1997: 18).

Επομένως, η ίδια η γένεση του συνθήματος είναι σύμφυτη με τη μετατροπή του *τόπου* σε δημόσιο *χώρο*, μέσω της δράσης ενός συλλογικά αυτοπροσδιοριζόμενου υποκειμένου, που αφήνει το ίχνος του εαυτού του στο «άχρωμο» αστικό τοπίο, επιδιώκοντας τη διαφοροποίηση και τη διάκριση (Sennett 1990: 41). Υπό αυτή την έννοια, λοιπόν, το σύνθημα ως επικοινωνιακή δράση ανήκει στην ευρύτερη κατηγορία του πολιτικού λόγου¹.

Ένα από τα βασικά «όπλα» που επιστρατεύει ο γραπτός συνθηματικός λόγος, για να πετύχει τους στόχους του, ρητούς ή υπόρητους, είναι το γλωσσικό χιούμορ: ευφυείς, περιπαικτικές, πικρόχολες, ειρωνικές ή και υβριστικές χιουμοριστικές ατάκες «κοσμούν» κάθε είδους διαθέσιμη επιφάνεια, μετατρέποντας την πόλη σε ένα απέραντο σημειωματάριο.

¹ Ως «πολιτικά» ορίζουμε τα κείμενα που αποσκοπούν στην επίτευξη πολιτικών στόχων μέσω του χειρισμού των γλωσσικών μέσων (Φραντζή και Γεωργαλίδου 2009: 1249). Πβ. Obeng 2000: 362, ο οποίος εντάσσει την πρακτική του graffiti στον πολιτικό λόγο.

2. Σκοπός-Μέθοδος

Σκοπός της συγκεκριμένης ανακοίνωσης είναι η ανάλυση δεδομένων από τον γραπτό συνθηματικό λόγο στο πλαίσιο της *Γενικής Θεωρίας για το Γλωσσικό Χιούμορ* των Attardo και Raskin (1991· πβ. Attardo 1994, 2001), σύμφωνα με την οποία το χιούμορ στηρίζεται στην *ασυμβατότητα* (*incongruity*), δηλαδή τη *γνωστική αντίθεση* (*script opposition*) ανάμεσα σε δύο *σενάρια/γνωστικά σχήματα*, τα οποία, ενώ φαίνονται διαφορετικά και ετερόκλητα, μέσα στο κείμενο συνδυάζονται, προκαλώντας την έκπληξη και την ανατροπή των προσδοκιών του αποδέκτη. Με άλλα λόγια, ο συντάκτης του εκάστοτε χιουμοριστικού κειμένου «εντοπίζει γύρω του/της ένα συμβάν το οποίο ο/η ίδιος/-α κρίνει ως ασύμβατο, ότι δηλαδή αντιβαίνει στα αναμενόμενα και σε ό,τι θα έπρεπε ‘κανονικά’ να συμβαίνει, και στη συνέχεια ο/η ίδιος/α επιλέγει να το κωδικοποιήσει έτσι ώστε να φέρει στην επιφάνεια την ασυμβατότητα αυτή» (Τσάκωνα 2009: 1188).

Ειδικότερα, θα επιχειρηθεί η διπλή, υφολογική και κοινωνιογλωσσολογική, προσέγγιση των χιουμοριστικών συνθημάτων, προκειμένου να διερευνηθεί: 1) με ποιες γλωσσικές - ή/και ευρύτερα γνωστικές - στρατηγικές διατυπώνεται σε αυτά το γλωσσικό χιούμορ και 2) με δεδομένο ότι «κάθε λέξη αποτελεί ένταξη στα κοινωνικά δίκτυα, στα οποία ανήκουν αυτές οι λέξεις» (Gergen 1994: 22), πώς οι γλωσσικές τους επιλογές συμβάλλουν στη διαδικασία οικοδόμησης κοινωνικών ταυτοτήτων.

Το κειμενικό σώμα που θα αναλύσουμε αποτελείται από 286 χιουμοριστικά συνθήματα, που καταγράψαμε με επιτόπια έρευνα στο κέντρο της Αθήνας, αλλά και αναζήτηση σε διαδικτυακές πηγές², τα οποία επελέγησαν από ένα ευρύτερο corpus 440 συνθημάτων, τόσο χιουμοριστικών, όσο και μη - επομένως, τα χιουμοριστικά συνθήματα καλύπτουν το 65% του συνολικού σώματος κειμένων.

3. Ανάλυση δεδομένων

Κατά την επεξεργασία των δεδομένων του corpus, κάθε σύνθημα αντιμετωπίστηκε ως αυτοτελής *χιουμοριστική φράση* (*jab line*, Attardo 2001: 89), η οποία περιλαμβάνει λέξεις, φράσεις ή προτάσεις που θεωρούνται ασύμβατες με το περιεχόμενο ή/και το επίπεδο ύφους του κειμένου, παραβιάζοντας τις προσδοκίες του αναγνώστη.

Τα παρατιθέμενα στη συνέχεια συνθήματα εμφανίζονται στη μορφή που εντοπίστηκαν, με διατήρηση των όποιων ορθογραφικών³ ή γραμματικοσυντακτικών αποκλίσεων, των σημείων στίξεως, της μικρογράμματος ή κεφαλαιογράμματος γραμματοσειράς κ.ο.κ. Η χρήση του συμβόλου «/» δηλώνει την αλλαγή σειράς στο πρωτότυπο σύνθημα.

3.1 Στρατηγικές εκφοράς του χιουμοριστικού συνθηματικού λόγου

Από την ανάλυση του σχετικού υλικού προέκυψε μια σειρά από στρατηγικές πρόκλησης του γλωσσικού χιούμορ, οι οποίες αξιοποιούν τόσο τις διάφορες διαθέσιμες από το γλωσσικό σύστημα επιλογές σε φωνολογικό, μορφολογικό, συντακτικό και λεξιλογικό επίπεδο (βλ. *γλώσσα* (*language*) στο μοντέλο των έξι *γνωστικών παραμέτρων* (*knowledge resources*)⁴ των Attardo και Raskin), όσο και ευρύτερους γνωσιακούς μηχανισμούς συγκρότησης του γλωσσικού νοήματος. Στη συνέχεια παρουσιάζεται ενδεικτική, και όχι εξαντλητική, τυποίηση των στρατηγικών που εντοπίστηκαν, με βάση τη συχνότητα εμφάνισής τους στο corpus. Να σημειωθεί ότι οι διάφορες στρατηγικές δεν είναι αμοιβαίως αποκλειόμενες, αντιθέτως μπορεί να συνυπάρχουν στο ίδιο σύνθημα. Για τις ανάγκες της παρούσας μελέτης, ως κριτήριο κατηγοριοποίησης του κάθε συνθήματος θεωρήθηκε η, κατά την άποψή μας, κυρίαρχη σε αυτό στρατηγική.

² Οι ιστοσελίδες στις οποίες ανατρέξαμε είναι οι εξής: 1) <http://www.otherside.gr/2008/12/synthimata-se-toixous-meros-1o/>, 2) <http://xamogelo.wordpress.com/2007/09/23/asteia-wall/>, 3) <http://teenagergr.wordpress.com/2008/10/03/50kaliterasin8imata/> (τελευταία πρόσβαση: Σεπτέμβριος 2011).

³ Πέραν των συνήθων ορθογραφικών λαθών, δεν εντοπίστηκαν εξόφθαλμα εμπρόθετες χιουμοριστικές αλλοιώσεις του ορθογραφικού συστήματος (π.χ. αναγραμματισμοί, επανάληψη μορφημάτων για λόγους προβολής/εστίασης κ.ο.κ., βλ. ενδεικτικά Breva Claramonte and García Alonso 1993, πβ. Jaffe 2000: 498), με εξαίρεση το σύνθημα «ΕΝΑΝΤΙΑ ΣΤΙΝ ΑΣΤΟΙΚΥ ΩΡΩΓΡΑΦΕΙΑ».

⁴ Βλ. Attardo 2001: 23-24.

3.1.1 Διακειμενικότητα (83 συνθήματα)

Η διακειμενικότητα (*intertextuality*) ως ιδιότητα ενός κειμένου να ενσωματώνει αποσπάσματα από άλλα κείμενα, με αποτέλεσμα η ερμηνεία του να μην είναι αυτάρκης, αλλά να εξαρτάται εν πολλοίς από την επιτυχή ανάγνωση των ενυπαρχουσών σε αυτό διακειμενικών ενδείξεων, αποτελεί στο υπό εξέταση σώμα γλωσσικών δεδομένων τη συνηθέστερη στρατηγική εκφοράς του γλωσσικού χιούμορ, στην οποία αξιοποιούνται τόσο τα γλωσσικά, όσο και τα γνωσιακά αποθέματα του δυνητικού αποδέκτη.

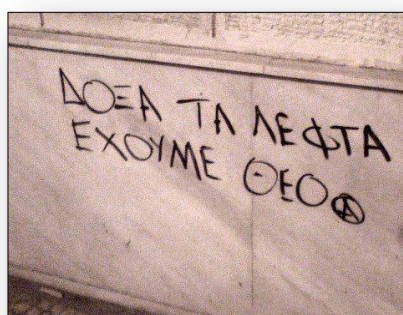
Ειδικότερα, η ανάκληση διακειμενικών αναφορών προκαλεί σύγκρουση σεναρίων ανάμεσα στο αρχικό κείμενο (*διακείμενο*) και το τελικό, ανατρέποντας τις προσδοκίες των περαστικών.

Ως πηγή έμπνευσης των συνθημάτων του corpus λειτούργησαν διακείμενα, όπως διαφημίσεις (1), μικρές αγγελίες (2), διάσημες ρήσεις (3), παραμύθια (4), κινηματογραφικές ταινίες (5) ή και κηδεόχαρτα (6):

- (1) «ΑΚΟΜΗ ΚΑΙ ΤΟ ΑΡΙΕΛ / ΚΑΝΕΙ ΕΠΑΝΑΣΤΑΣΗ / ΕΣΥ;» (πβ. «Το Αριέλ Ultra φέρνει την επανάσταση στο πλύσιμο»).
- (2) «Ζητούνται αναρχικοί για κατεδάφιση πολυκατοικίας. / Τηλ. 100».
- (3) «Δεν ελπίζω τίποτα / δε φοβάμαι / τίποτα, είμαι άνεργη» (πβ. «Δεν ελπίζω τίποτα, δεν φοβάμαι τίποτα, είμαι ελεύθερος», Ν. Καζαντζάκης).
- (4) «Ψήφισε Αλί Μπαμπά / Έχει μόνο / 40 κλέφτες» (πβ. «Ο Αλή Μπαμπά και οι 40 κλέφτες»).
- (5) «ΕΝΩ ΕΣΕΙΣ ΚΟΙΜΟΣΑΣΤΑΝ...» (πβ. «Ενώ εσύ κοιμόσουν»).
- (6) «ΤΟ ΛΑΤΡΕΥΤΟ ΜΑΣ ΜΝΗΜΟΝΙΟ ΚΗΔΕΥΟΥΜΕ ΤΗΝ ΚΥΡΙΑΚΗ 5 ΙΟΥΝΙΟΥ ΣΤΙΣ 13.00 Μ.Μ. ΣΤΟ ΣΥΝΤΑΓΜΑ. Η ΠΟΜΠΗ ΞΕΚΙΝΑ ΑΠΟ ΠΛΑΤΕΙΑ ΜΟΝΑΣΤΗΡΑΚΙ (ΜΕΤΡΟ). Η ΜΗΤΕΡΑ ΑΓΓΕΛΑ ΜΕΡΚΕΛ. Ο ΘΕΙΟΣ ΜΠΑΡΑΚ ΟΜΠΑΜΑ. ΟΙ ΛΟΙΠΟΙ ΣΥΓΓΕΝΕΙΣ. ΓΡΑΦΕΙΟ ΚΗΔΕΙΩΝ ΤΟΥ ΑΓΑΝΑΚΤΙΣΜΕΝΟΥ ΛΑΟΥ. ΔΙΑΝΥΚΤΕΡΕΥΕΙ ΚΑΙ ΕΠΑΓΡΥΠΝΑ».

Στις διακειμενικές πηγές γλωσσικού χιούμορ εντάσσουμε και την αποπαγίωση⁵ και παραφθορά στερεότυπων φράσεων, παροιμιών, αρχαίων γνωμικών κ.λπ., δηλαδή την ακύρωση της μορφοσυνητακτικής σταθερότητας εκφράσεων που χαρακτηρίζονται ως παγιωμένες και την κατάργηση της συμβολικής σχέσης που υπήρχε μεταξύ των στοιχείων τους (βλ. Γαβριηλίδου και Τσάκωνα 2004-2005: 155), διαδικασία η οποία καταλήγει στη δημιουργία λογοπαϊγνίων μέσω της σύγκρισης της αρχικής έκφρασης με την τελική. Π.χ.:

- (7) «Η ΕΥΤΥΧΙΑ ΔΕ ΦΕΡΝΕΙ ΤΑ ΛΕΦΤΑ» (πβ. «Τα λεφτά δεν φέρνουν την ευτυχία»).
- (8) «ΕΙΣ ΟΙΩΝΟΣ ΑΡΙΣΤΟΣ / ΑΜΥΝΕΣΘΑΙ ΓΙΑ ΤΗΝ ΠΑΡΤΗ ΣΑΣ» (πβ. «Εις οιωνός άριστος, αμύνεσθαι περί άτρης»· το λογοπαίγνιο στηρίζεται στο ζεύγος παρωνύμων «άρτης-πάτρης»).
- (9) «ΧΟΥΝΤΑ ΕΙΝΑΙ ΘΑ ΠΕΡΑΣΕΙ» (πβ. «Μπόρα είναι, θα περάσει»).



Εικόνα 1 Αποπαγίωση και παραφθορά στερεότυπων εκφράσεων

Μια ειδικότερη υποκατηγορία αποπαγιωμένων «διακειμενικών» συνθημάτων περιλαμβάνει τη χιουμοριστική παραλλαγή άλλων, ευρέως διαδεδομένων - κάτι σαν ανακύκλωση του προϋπάρχοντος υλικού. Η διατήρηση της ρυθμικής δομής του αρχικού συνθήματος στο αποπαγιωμένο διευκολύνει τη συνειρμική σύνδεση των δύο εκ μέρους του θεατή, δημιουργώντας ανανεωμένες εκδοχές, ουσιαστικά παρωδίες, της συνθηματολογικής παράδοσης:

⁵ Πβ. και Νάκας 2006: 371-384.

- (10) «ΦΟΝΙΑΔΕΣ ΤΩΝ ΨΑΡΙΩΝ ΑΡΓΥΡΟΠΕΛΕΚΑΝΟΙ» (πβ. «Φονιάδες των λαών Αμερικάνοι»).
- (11) «Η ΚΥΠΡΟΣ ΕΙΝΑΙ ΚΙΝΕΖΙΚΗ» (πβ. «Η Κύπρος είναι ελληνική»).
- (12) «Ψωμί, μπριζόλα, Coca Cola» (πβ. «Ψωμί, παιδεία, ελευθερία»).

3.1.2 Σχηματικός λόγος (76 συνθήματα)

Στη συγκεκριμένη κατηγορία συμπεριλαμβάνονται εκφωνήματα στα οποία το γλωσσικό χιούμορ αποκρυσταλλώνεται σε γνωστούς από την κλασική ρητορική μηχανισμούς, δηλαδή έντεχνες αποκλίσεις από τις προσδοκίες του αποδέκτη σε επίπεδο είτε μορφής (*σχήματα λόγου*), είτε σημασίας (*τρόποι*)⁶. Τα συνθέστερα ρητορικά σχήματα των συνθημάτων του corpus είναι τα εξής:

3.1.2.1 Μεταφορά⁷

Ως ένας από τους κεντρικούς γνωστικούς μηχανισμούς αντίληψης της πραγματικότητας και κατασκευής γλωσσικού νοήματος (βλ. μεταξύ άλλων Lakoff and Johnson 1980), που «βασίζεται στη (μερική συνήθως) ομοιότητα ή αναλογία που εντοπίζεται ανάμεσα σε δύο πράγματα που κατά κανόνα δεν φαίνονται να σχετίζονται μεταξύ τους» (Τσάκωνα 2009: 1189, πβ. Τσάκωνα 2004: 179-188), η μεταφορά στον συνθηματικό λόγο παράγει χιουμοριστικό αποτέλεσμα μέσα από την επίλυση της γνωστικής αντίθεσης που προκαλείται από τη σύγκριση ανόμοιων οντοτήτων (Attardo 2001: 25-27, 136-138). Π.χ.:

- (13) «ΕΙΣΟΥΝ / ΚΑΛΟ ROBOT / ΣΗΜΕΡΑ;».

Η ερμηνεία του συνθήματος (13) προϋποθέτει την αναγνώριση της ασυμβατότητας του σημασιολογικού χαρακτηριστικού [έμψυχο], που αντιστοιχεί στο εννοούμενο υποκείμενο-αποδέκτη, και [άψυχο], που προσιδιάζει στο κατηγορούμενο *ρομπότ*, δηλαδή την αναγνώριση της παραβίασης των *περιορισμών επιλογής* (*selectional restrictions*). Ως υπόβαθρο του συγκεκριμένου συνθήματος μπορεί να θεωρηθεί η διαδεδομένη εννοιολογική μεταφορά «Ο ΑΝΘΡΩΠΟΣ ΕΙΝΑΙ ΜΗΧΑΝΗ» (HUMAN IS MACHINE/IMPLEMENT, βλ. Goatly 2007: 103-117), χωρίς να αποκλείεται και η διακειμενική του αναφορά («ήσουν καλό παιδί σήμερα;»).

Είδος μεταφοράς είναι και η προσωποποίηση, όπου χαρακτηριστικά εμψύχου αποδίδονται σε άψυχες οντότητες:

- (14) «Συναχώνονται οι Βρυξέλες / και φταρνίζεται / η Αθήνα...».
- (15) «ΞΥΠΝΑ ΗΡΘΕ Η ΩΡΑ / ΝΑ ΤΑΪΣΕΙΣ ΤΙΣ ΤΡΑΠΕΖΕΣ!».

Συχνά η σύγκρουση σεναρίων προκαλείται από το παιχνίδι ανάμεσα στην κυριολεκτική και τη μεταφορική σημασία ενός λεξήματος:

- (16) «Ξεκουμπώστε το μυαλό σας / τόσο συχνά όσο και το παντελόνι σας».
- (17) «Παλιά καίγαν τα βιβλία / Τώρα καίνε τα μυαλά».

3.1.2.2 Οξύμωρο

Το οξύμωρο συνδυάζει δύο έννοιες αντιφατικές μεταξύ τους ή φαινομενικά αλληλοαποκλειόμενες, οι οποίες εκφράζουν, ωστόσο, κατά βάθος ένα λογικό νόημα (Μπαμπινιώτης 2002: 1276). Π.χ.:

- (18) «Ο ΚΟΣΜΟΣ ΘΑ ΚΑΤΑΣΤΡΑΦΕΙ ΑΥΡΙΟ / ΠΟΡΕΙΑ ΔΙΑΜΑΡΤΥΡΙΑΣ ΤΗΝ ΕΡΧΟΜΕΝΗ ΤΡΙΤΗ».

Μέσα από την αξιοποίηση του συγκεκριμένου σχήματος συνήθως τονίζεται η αντίθεση ανάμεσα, αφενός, στη ζοφερή πραγματικότητα που περιβάλλει τους συντάκτες των συνθημάτων και, αφετέρου, στον ιδεατό κόσμο που αυτοί οραματίζονται. Π.χ.:

⁶ Η θεωρητική διάκριση μεταξύ *σχημάτων λόγου* (*shemes*) και *τρόπων* (*tropes*) εκφεύγει των ορίων της παρούσας μελέτης και, ως εκ τούτου, δεν θα μας απασχολήσει περαιτέρω (βλ. σχετικά Maes and Schilperoord 2009).

⁷ Βλ. Λεξικό Γλωσσολογικών Όρων [στο εξής: ΛΓΟ].

- (19) «ΑΝ ΟΙ ΕΚΛΟΓΕΣ ΑΛΛΑΖΑΝ ΚΑΤΙ / ΘΑ ΗΤΑΝ ΠΑΡΑΝΟΜΕΣ».
(20) «ΑΝ ΘΕΣ ΝΑ / ΟΝΕΙΡΕΥΕΣΑΙ... / ΞΥΠΝΑ!».

3.1.2.3 Επανάληψη⁸

Τα συνθήματα που στηρίζονται στην επανάληψη εκμεταλλεύονται τη ρυθμική δομή της νέας ελληνικής, προκειμένου να δημιουργήσουν σύγκρουση σεναρίων ανάμεσα στις δύο οιονεί μετρικές ενότητες του συνθήματος. Στο corpus εντοπίστηκαν τα εξής επαναληπτικά σχήματα:

- *Αντιμεταβολή*: η επανάληψη λεξικών μονάδων σε διαδοχικές ενότητες λόγου με αντίστροφη σειρά, που δημιουργεί λογοπαίγνιο. Π.χ.:

- (21) «ΟΙ ΤΟΙΧΟΙ / ΕΧΟΥΝ / ΑΥΤΙΑ ΚΑΙ / ΤΑ ΑΥΤΙΑ ΣΑΣ / ΤΟΙΧΟΥΣ».
(22) «Κάτω τα ζήτω, ζήτω τα κάτω».

- *Ομοιοτέλετο*: δύο ή περισσότερες διαδοχικές ενότητες λόγου που τελειώνουν με ίδιες, ομοιοκατάληκτες ή ομόηχες λέξεις. Π.χ.:

- (23) «ΠΕΝΤΕ ΜΕΡΕΣ ΤΡΩΣ ΤΟ ΑΓΓΟΥΡΙ ΚΑΙ / ΣΤΟ ΚΛΑΜΠ ΤΟ ΠΑΙΖΕΙΣ ΜΟΥΡΗ».
(24) «ΡΟΥΧΑ GUCCI / ΜΥΑΛΟ ΚΟΥΚΟΥΤΣΙ».

- *Αν(ταν)ακλαστικό*: βλ. σχετικά 3.1.3.1.

3.1.3 Σημασιολογικές σχέσεις (64 συνθήματα)

Η εκμετάλλευση των σημασιολογικών σχέσεων των λεξημάτων προκαλεί σύγκρουση ανάμεσα σε αντιτιθέμενες σημασιολογικές διαστάσεις. Στο πλαίσιο αυτού του «παιχνιδιού» με τα σημασιολογικά όρια των λέξεων στο corpus αξιοποιήθηκαν οι ακόλουθες εκφάνσεις της σημασίας:

3.1.3.1 Πολυσημία

Ο συσχετισμός μιας μορφής με περισσότερες από μία σημασίες, οι οποίες, λόγω της προφανούς σημασιολογικής τους συσχέτισης, αντιμετωπίζονται ως διαφορετικές σημασίες της ίδιας λέξης⁹. Π.χ.:

- (25) «ΤΩΡΑ ΜΕΧΡΙ ΚΑΙ 50% / ΕΚΠΤΩΣΗ ΣΤΙΣ ΑΞΙΕΣ ΣΑΣ!» (έκπτωση: 1. «το ποσό κατά το οποίο μειώνεται η τιμή πωλήσεως προϊόντος από τον πωλητή», 2. μτφ. «ο ξεπεσμός»: η παρουσία του ποσοστού 50% παραπέμπει αρχικά στην πρώτη σημασία του λεξήματος, εντύπωση που αμέσως ανατρέπεται από τη σύμφραση «έκπτωση αξιών», που ακολουθεί ελαφρώς παραλλαγμένη και αξιοποιεί τη δεύτερη σημασία)¹⁰.
(26) «Κάτω τα κόμματα, ζήτω οι τελείες» (κόμμα: 1. πολιτικός σχηματισμός, 2. σημείο στίξης).

Στην πολυσημία στηρίζεται και το αν(ταν)ακλαστικό σχήμα (βλ. Νάκας 2006: 369-371, 673-686), στο οποίο επαναλαμβάνεται σε μια ενότητα λόγου η ίδια αυτόνομη λεξική μονάδα με διαφορετική σημασία ή/και χρήση:

- (27) «Για να καταλάβεις έναν χώρο / πρέπει να τον καταλάβεις».
(28) «ΤΟ ΣΥΝΤΑΓΜΑ ΘΕΛΕΙ / ΣΥΝΤΑΓΜΑ».

⁸ Βλ. Νάκας 2005, Κακριδή-Ferrari 2008.

⁹ [ΛΓΟ].

¹⁰ Μπαμπινιώτης 2002: 582.

3.1.3.2 Συνομιλιακή υποδήλωση¹¹

Η συνομιλιακή υποδήλωση κατά την επίλυση της οποίας ο συντάκτης του συνθήματος προσδοκά ότι ο αποδέκτης θα ανασυνθέσει το συνομιλιακό υπονόημα. Π.χ.:

(29) «ΤΑ ΓΚΑΖΑΚΙΑ / ΔΕΝ ΕΙΝΑΙ ΜΟΝΟ / ΓΙΑ ΚΑΦΕ!».

3.1.3.3 Επέκταση της καθιερωμένης σημασίας

Η επέκταση της καθιερωμένης σημασίας και δημιουργία νέων, ανατρεπτικών σημασιολογικών εκδοχών. Π.χ. στο σύνθημα (30), η ασυμβατότητα εντοπίζεται ανάμεσα στη συνήθη σημασία του επιθέτου «κοινωνικός», δηλαδή «που δημιουργεί εύκολα σχέσεις με τους άλλους ανθρώπους, είναι ικανός να ζήσει μέσα στην κοινωνία»¹² και στη χιουμοριστική επέκτασή του «που λουφάρει μετά συνοδείας».

(30) «ΜΗΝ ΕΙΣΤΕ / ΑΝΤΙΚΟΙΝΩΝΙΚΟΙ. ΛΟΥΦΑΡΕΤΕ ΜΕ ΠΑΡΕΑ!».

3.1.3.4 Ανακυριολεξία (ή απομεταφορά, βλ. Νάκας 2006: 358-366)

Η επαναφορά ενός λεξήματος στην αρχική, κυριολεκτική του σημασία, αντί της μεταφορικής. Π.χ. στα συνθήματα (31) και (32), οι παρατιθέμενες μεταφορικές συμφράσεις «χρυσός κανόνας» (=βέλτιστη πρακτική) και «χτυπάω εισιτήριο» (=ακυρώνω), αντιστοίχως, αποπαγώνονται στη συνέχεια και χρησιμοποιούνται κυριολεκτικά, σαν ελεύθερα συντάγματα, πυροδοτώντας χιουμοριστικούς συνειρμούς:

(31) «Ο ΧΡΥΣΟΣ ΚΑΝΟΝΑΣ ΕΙΝΑΙ ΕΝΑΣ / ΑΥΤΟΣ ΠΟΥ ΕΧΕΙ ΤΟ ΧΡΥΣΟ ΦΤΙΑΧΝΕΙ ΤΟΝ ΚΑΝΟΝΑ».

(32) «ΜΗΝ ΧΤΥΠΑΣ / ΕΙΣΙΤΗΡΙΟ / ΧΤΥΠΑ ΕΛΕΓΧΤΗ».

3.1.3.5 Συμφυρμός λεξημάτων

Ο Συμφυρμός λεξημάτων, που καταλήγει στη δημιουργία υβριδικών γλωσσικών στοιχείων, όπως π.χ. το παρακάτω σύνθημα, που πλαισιώνεται πολυτροπικά από μια εικόνα¹³.



Εικόνα 2 Συμφυρμός

3.1.3.6. Αντωνυμία

Η σημασιολογική αντίθεση μεταξύ λεξικών μονάδων, η αξιοποίηση της οποίας λ.χ. στο σύνθημα (33) καταλήγει σε χιουμοριστική σύγκρουση μεταξύ «ψευδοαντώνυμων», με την προσθήκη του προθήματος *αντι-* και στα δύο λεξήματα της σύμφρασης *παθητικός καπνιστής*:

(33) «Δεν υπάρχουν παθητικοί καπνιστές / μόνο αντιπαθητικοί αντικαπνιστές».

¹¹ [ΛΓΟ].

¹² Λεξικό της Κοινής Νεοελληνικής.

¹³ Να σημειωθεί ότι μόνο σε τέσσερα συνθήματα του corpus επισημάνθηκε πλαισίωση από άλλες σημειωτικές πρακτικές, όπως η εικόνα, η γελοιογραφία κ.ο.κ.

3.1.3.7 Ομοηχία

Η φωνητική ταυτότητα σημασιολογικά διαφοροποιημένων λεξημάτων, από την οποία προκύπτουν εναλλακτικές αναγνώσεις του ίδιου συνθήματος. Π.χ.:

(34) «ΤΑ ΠΤΥΧΙΑ COPIES / ΚΤΩΝΤΑΙ».



Εικόνα 3 Ομοηχία

3.1.4 Γλωσσική ποικιλότητα (47 συνθήματα)

Η χιουμοριστική αξιοποίηση της γλωσσικής ποικιλότητας στα συνθήματα του corpus περιλαμβάνει κυρίως λεξήματα του οικείου/προφορικού ύφους (γαμάτο, τζαμπατζής, γουστάρετε), μειωτικούς όρους (βλάκες, κουφάλες, λαμόγια) και «λέξεις-ταμπού»¹⁴ (μαλάκας, σκατά, πουτάνα κ.ο.κ.), γλωσσικά στοιχεία που θεωρούνται ακατάλληλα για τις πρωτοτυπικές μορφές δημόσιας έκφρασης, τα οποία, εντούτοις, συχνά εμφιλοχωρούν σε κειμενικά είδη που κινούνται στα όρια μεταξύ προφορικού και γραπτού ύφους, όπως είναι τα συνθήματα. Άλλωστε, από την εποχή του Αριστοφάνη μέχρι σήμερα η αθυροστομία και η βωμολοχία συνδέονται με την πρόκληση κωμικού αποτελέσματος. Π.χ.:

(35) «ΦΑΤΕ ΣΚΑΤΑ / ΚΕΡΝΑΕΙ / ΤΟ / ΚΡΑΤΟΣ».

(36) «ΑΝΑΓΚΗ / ΕΙΝΑΙ ΤΟ ΧΕΣΙΜΟ. / ΟΧΙ ΟΙ ΕΚΛΟΓΕΣ!».

Συνοψίζοντας, μέσω των διαφόρων στρατηγικών εκφοράς του γλωσσικού χιούμορ που προαναφέρθηκαν, οι συντάκτες των συνθημάτων αξιοποιούν, αφενός, τις δυνατότητες που προσφέρει το γλωσσικό ρεπερτόριο και οι ρητορικοί μηχανισμοί της νέας ελληνικής και, αφετέρου, τις προϋπάρχουσες πραγματολογικές γνώσεις των περαστικών για την επικαιρότητα, την κουλτούρα και τις αξίες της ελληνικής γλωσσικής κοινότητας, προκειμένου να διατυπώσουν ατάκες που προσελκύουν την προσοχή του αποδέκτη, τού δημιουργούν μια αίσθηση προφορικότητας και οικειότητας¹⁵ (πβ. Brea Claramonte and García Alonso 1993 · Nwoye 1993: 433, 439 · Jaffe 2000: 498) και τον διεγείρουν συγκινησιακά, ενεργοποιώντας τις θετικές ή αρνητικές συνδηλώσεις που φέρουν τα γλωσσικά στοιχεία (πβ. Τσάκωνα 2009: 1189-1190). Έτσι, τελικά τα χιουμοριστικά συνθήματα γίνονται όχημα για την αιχμηρή κριτική νοσηρών κοινωνικοπολιτικών πρακτικών, την εξοικείωση (*domestication*, Morris 1993) των περαστικών με ανατρεπτικές ιδέες και την υποβολή σε αυτούς νέων τρόπων αντίληψης και δράσης.

¹⁴ Βλ. Χαραλαμπίκης 2009: 1271-1274. Στο corpus επισημάνθηκαν περιορισμένες περιπτώσεις «λέξεων-ταμπού», μόλις 28 σε 286 συνθήματα (ποσοστό 9.79%).

¹⁵ Αντιθέτως, στα συνθήματα σε τοίχους σπανίζουν τα λεξήματα από πρότυπες ποικιλίες (πβ. Dürmüller ό.π.: 279), όπως η λόγια· παράδειγμα από το corpus: «Ου φονεύσεις / αν δεν έχεις καλό δικηγόρο», «Του οχαθώρου οι πεσόντες νανουρίζονται με τσόντες».

3.2 Τα χιουμοριστικά συνθήματα ως μέσο έκφρασης ταυτότητας

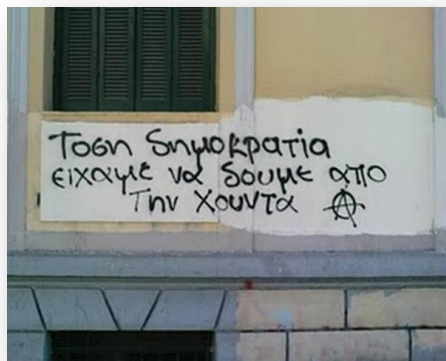
Οι γλωσσικές επιλογές των συνθημάτων σχετίζονται άμεσα με το κοινωνικοπολιτικό δίκτυο, στο οποίο εντάσσεται ο δημιουργός τους, καθώς και με τα ιδιαίτερα κίνητρα¹⁶ που υποκινούν τη δράση του. Με άλλα λόγια, το *ύφος* (*style*) αποτελεί «πηγή στην ενεργό δημιουργία, αναπαράσταση και αναδημιουργία της ταυτότητας¹⁷ του ομιλητή» (Schilling-Estes 2002: 388), δηλαδή «της αίσθησης που έχει ένα πρόσωπο για συμπερίληψη σε (ή αποκλεισμό από) ένα φάσμα κοινωνικών ρόλων και τρόπων ζωής» (Liechty 1995: 167· πβ. Holmes 2000: 159).

Λαμβάνοντας υπ' όψιν ότι η οικοδόμηση ενδοομαδικών ταυτοτήτων συνιστά μία από τις βασικές κοινωνικές λειτουργίες του χιούμορ (Archakis and Tsakona 2005: 42), στόχος του δεύτερου μέρους της παρούσας μελέτης είναι να διερευνηθούν τα κοινωνιογλωσσικά νοήματα που εκφράζονται μέσα από τη χρήση-αναγραφή των χιουμοριστικών συνθημάτων.

Προσεγγίζοντας τον χιουμοριστικό συνθηματικό λόγο από τη σκοπιά της οικοδόμησης κοινωνικών ταυτοτήτων, προκύπτει το εξής φαινομενικό «αδιέξοδο»: τα ατομικά χαρακτηριστικά του συντάκτη (φύλο¹⁸, ηλικία, επάγγελμα, μορφωτικό επίπεδο κ.λπ.), που αποτελούν αναπόσπαστο κομμάτι της κοινωνιογλωσσικής του ταυτότητας, παραμένουν απόρρητα και αδιαφανή, αφού τα συνθήματα είναι πάντοτε ανώνυμα (Dürmüller 1987: 281)¹⁹, προστατεύοντας το *πρόσωπο* (*face*) του δημιουργού από ενδεχόμενο τραυματισμό - γι' αυτό ο Obeng (2000: 359) ονομάζει τον συνθηματικό λόγο *λόγο αποφυγής* (*avoidance discourse*), εφόσον «μιονώνει» τους συμμετέχοντες από απειλητικές λεκτικές πράξεις.

Ωστόσο, η γλώσσα ως σημειωτικό σύστημα παρέχει ποικίλες ενδείξεις κοινωνικής ταυτότητας, που επιτρέπουν την ανασύνθεση του δικτύου πολιτισμικής νοηματοδότησης, όπου εντάσσεται ο δημιουργός (πβ. Ψύλλα 2009).

Κατά πρώτον, σαφή ένδειξη ταυτότητας, και μάλιστα ιδεολογικοπολιτικής, συνιστά η μονογραφή «Α», που συνοδεύει πολλά από τα συνθήματα του corpus, ιδιαίτερα εκείνα που προέρχονται από τη γειτονιά των Εξαρχείων, παραπέμποντας στον ακροαριστικό χώρο. Μέσω αυτής, ο συντάκτης του χιουμοριστικού συνθήματος επιδιώκει να εγγράψει το μήνυμά του στην κειμενική παράδοση ενός αντισυμβατικού, επαναστατικού λόγου, άρρηκτα συνδεδεμένου με την τοπικά προσδιορισμένη κουλτούρα της συγκεκριμένης περιοχής.



Εικόνα 4 Η μονογραφή «Α»

Στα «μη υπογεγραμμένα» χιουμοριστικά συνθήματα, βασικό εργαλείο για τη διερεύνηση της δημόσιας διαπραγμάτευσης κοινωνικών ταυτοτήτων αναδεικνύεται η γνωστική παράμετρος του *στόχου* (*target*), που σχετίζεται με τη θεώρηση του χιούμορ ως επιθετικής συμπεριφοράς (Raskin 1985: 30-41· Attardo 1994: 49-50): σε αυτό το πλαίσιο, η χιουμοριστική ασυμβατότητα «προκύπτει άμεσα από διαδικασίες αξιολόγησης ή ακόμη και κριτικής των πραγμάτων, τα οποία αποδεικνύεται ότι είναι κα-

¹⁶ Βλ. Blume 1985.

¹⁷ Για την έννοια της ταυτότητας βλ. και Αρχάκης και Τσάκωνα 2011.

¹⁸ Σε ό,τι αφορά το θέμα της έμφυλης διαφοροποίησης των συνθημάτων και του graffiti, στη διεθνή βιβλιογραφία τονίζεται η κυριαρχία του ανδρικού φύλου (MacDonald 2001: 82, Tierney 2005: 20), ιδιαίτερα σε συντηρητικές κοινωνίες, όπου οι συγκεκριμένες μορφές δημόσιας έκφρασης αποτελούν αποκλειστικά ανδρική πρακτική (Obeng 2000).

¹⁹ Κατά τον McGlynn (1972), τα αναγραφόμενα συνθήματα απαλλάσσουν τον ομιλητή από τις υποχρεώσεις της διαλεκτικής αντιπαράθεσης και του εξασφαλίζουν την ασφάλεια της ανωνυμίας. Αντιθέτως, για τον Nwoye (ό.π.: 429) λειτουργούν ως ερεθίσματα που προκαλούν δημόσια συζήτηση (π.χ. από το corpus: «ΤΟ ΤΕΛΕΥΤΑΙΟ ΔΕΝΤΡΟ ΚΡΑΤΗΣΕ ΤΟ ΓΙΑ ΝΑ ΚΡΕΜΑΣΤΕΙΤΕ». Συμπλήρωση-επέκταση: «Είναι τόσοι πολλοί / που ένα δέντρο δε φτάνει»).

τώτερα απ' ό,τι αναμενόταν ή έπρεπε να είναι» (Αρχάκης και Τσάκωνα 2005: 3 · πβ. Bergson 1998 [1900]). Ο χιουμοριστικός *στόχος* (Attardo 2001: 23-24), επομένως, είναι το πρόσωπο, η ομάδα, ο θεσμός ή η ιδέα που δέχεται τα χιουμοριστικά πυρά και που υπόκειται σε αξιολόγηση. Εφαρμόζοντας την έννοια του *στόχου* στην ανάλυση των δεδομένων του corpus, εξάγουμε χρήσιμα συμπεράσματα αναφορικά με το τι επιδοκιμάζουν ή επικρίνουν οι συντάκτες των συνθημάτων, δηλαδή εις βάρος ποιων προσώπων ή θεσμών στρέφονται τα χιουμοριστικά βέλη, προκειμένου τελικά να αντιληφθούμε πώς η όλη αξιολογική διαδικασία συνδέεται με την κοινωνική ταυτότητα των δημιουργών.

Δεδομένου ότι τα συνθήματα σε τοίχους καταγράφουν συνήθως ευρύτερους προβληματισμούς, απαγκιστρωμένους από συγκεκριμένα άτομα και καταστάσεις, η κατονομασία επώνυμων στόχων στα δεδομένα του corpus είναι περιορισμένη (14 συνθήματα, ποσοστό 4.89%), εφόσον αυτομάτως καθιστά το σύνθημα επικαιρικό και εφήμερο, στερώντας του τη διαχρονικότητα, που προφανώς αποτελεί την «εντελέχεια» του εν λόγω κειμενικού είδους. Π.χ.:

(37) «Ο Ζ...Σ / ΠΗΔΗΞΕ, ΕΣΥ ΤΙ ΘΑ ΚΑΝΕΙΣ?».

(38) «ΤΟ ΠΑΘΟΣ ΓΙΑ ΧΡΗΜΑ / ΣΕ ΚΑΝΕΙ Π... ΤΣ...».

Αντιθέτως, πολλές φορές «κατακεραυνώνονται» γενικευτικά συγκεκριμένες κοινωνικές ή ιδεολογικές ομάδες, που βρίσκονται «απέναντι» από το δίκτυο ένταξης του δημιουργού, στο πλαίσιο μιας αντιπαράθεσης του τύπου «εμείς και οι άλλοι»²⁰. Τέτοιου είδους ομάδες είναι οι πολιτικοί, οι ρατσιστές, οι ακροδεξιοί, οι καθηγητές, οι γονείς κ.ο.κ. Π.χ.:

(39) «ΞΕΧΑΣΤΕ ΤΙΣ ΠΟΡΤΕΣ ΛΑΜΟΓΙΑ ΒΟΥΛΕΥΤΕΣ / ΤΟ ΜΟΝΟ ΠΟΥ ΣΑΣ ΣΩΖΕΙ ΝΑ ΣΚΑΨΕΤΕ ΣΤΟΕΣ».

(40) «Χαλαρώστε τρέντιδες και πιείτε το ποτό σας / λίγο πιο κάτω καίγεται το αυτοκίνητό σας».

Τόσο στα συνθήματα με επώνυμους στόχους, όσο και σε αυτά με γενικευτικούς, το γλωσσικό χιούμορ αποτελεί στρατηγική *απονομιμοποίησης* (*delegitimation*, πβ. Archakis and Tsakona 2005: 59) μελών της έξω ομάδας με υψηλό κοινωνικό γόητρο, που σχετίζονται με τις δομές του συστήματος και κάθε είδους εξουσίας (πολιτικοί, αστυνομικοί, καθηγητές κ.λπ.). Έτσι, ο δημιουργός του συνθηματικού λόγου εμφανίζεται ως ανώνυμος επικριτής ή και λεκτικός τιμωρός αυτών οι οποίοι ευθύνονται για τα δεινά που βιώνει ο λαός. Επομένως, μπορούμε να κάνουμε λόγο για μια *ανατρεπτική* (*subversive*, Holmes and Marra 2002: 70-71) ή *δηκτική* (*biting*, Boxer and Cortés-Conde 1997) λειτουργία του γλωσσικού χιούμορ.

Όσοι από τους δυνητικούς αποδέκτες συμμερίζονται την εκφραζόμενη κριτική αποτελούν ένα σύνολο με κοινές παραδοχές και βιώματα, που «προβάλλεται συνασπισμένο να αντιτίθεται σε κάποιους άλλους ή ενίοτε να τους στιγματίζει» (Αρχάκης και Τσάκωνα 2005: 8 · Boxer και Cortés-Conde ό.π.: 281, 283 · Holmes 2000: 168-169). Ως εκ τούτου, μέσω της προβολής των κοινών αξιών και αντιλήψεων που συγκροτούν την ομαδική ταυτότητα, το γλωσσικό χιούμορ επιτελεί ταυτόχρονα *ex negativo ενισχυτική* (*reinforcing*, Holmes and Marra 2002: 70-71) ή *ενωτική* (*bonding*, Boxer and Cortés-Conde 1997 · πβ. Archakis and Tsakona 2005: 61) λειτουργία.

Κατεξοχήν *ενισχυτική/ενωτική* είναι η λειτουργία του γλωσσικού χιούμορ στα συνθήματα στα οποία ο συντάκτης αναλαμβάνει τον ρόλο του καθοδηγητή-μέντορα, που έχει ως αποστολή να συμβουλέψει τον ανώνυμο αποδέκτη, να τον/την αφυπνίσει και να τον/την συμπαρασύρει στην κριτική αμφισβήτηση κατεστημένων πρακτικών (41-44). Στα συνθήματα αυτού του είδους, η υιοθέτηση του β' προσώπου ενισχύει την οικειότητα και τη συνομιλιακότητα, λειτουργώντας ως στοιχείο προφορικότητας (41, 42), ενώ, αντίθετως, η επιλογή του γ' προσώπου προστατεύει διά της εμμεσότητας το *πρόσωπο* (*face*) του υποθετικού θεατή, προσδίδοντας παράλληλα στο σύνθημα αξιωματική ισχύ, εφόσον δεν πρόκειται πλέον για παραίνεση, δηλαδή υποκειμενική απόφαση, αλλά για γενική παραδοχή-θέσφατο (43, 44):

(41) «ΜΗ ΣΤΗΡΙΖΕΙΣ / ΤΑ ΟΝΕΙΡΑ ΣΟΥ ΣΤ' ΑΣΤΡΑ / ΓΙΑΤΙ ΑΥΤΑ ΔΕΝ ΣΤΗΡΙΖΟΝΤΑΙ ΠΟΥΘΕΝΑ!».

(42) «ΜΗ ΣΚΟΤΩΝΕΤΕ ΤΑ ΚΟΥΝΟΥΠΙΑ / ΆΛΛΟΙ ΣΑΣ ΠΙΝΟΥΝ ΤΟ ΑΙΜΑ...».

(43) «ΌΠΟΙΟΣ ΑΝΑΚΑΤΕΥΕΤΑΙ ΜΕ ΤΙΣ ΤΡΑΠΕΖΕΣ / ΤΟΝ ΤΡΩΝΕ ΟΙ ΤΟΚΟΙ».

(44) «ΤΑ ΠΡΟΒΑΤΑ ΑΠΕΙΡΓΗΣΑΝ / ΚΑΙ ΖΗΤΗΣΑΝ ΚΑΛΥΤΕΡΕΣ ΣΥΝΘΗΚΕΣ ΣΦΑΓΗΣ».

²⁰ Πβ. Tajfel and Forgas (1981: 124), «είμαστε αυτό που είμαστε, επειδή αυτοί δεν είναι αυτό που είμαστε».

Συνοψίζοντας, ο ανώνυμος δημιουργός του συνθήματος αναλαμβάνει τον ρόλο μιας οιονεί «φωνής» του λαού, ενός ενεργού πολίτη που εξέρχεται από τον μικρόκοσμο της ιδιωτικής σφαίρας, βρίσκεται σε διάλογο με τον δημόσιο χώρο και επωμίζεται την ευθύνη να εγχειμενοποιήσει και να «απαθανατίσει» - με χαριτολογική διάθεση ή με επιθετικότητα, ειρωνεία, σαρκασμό ή αυτοσαρκασμό - κοινά πολιτισμικά βιώματα υπό συγκεκριμένη, πολιτικοποιημένη οπτική. Έχοντας ως στόχο άλλοτε τα μέλη της έξω ομάδας (*εξωτερικός στόχος*) και άλλοτε τα μέλη της έσω ομάδας (*εσωτερικός στόχος*)²¹, επιδιώκει μέσα από τη λεκτική εκδίκηση ή κατήχηση, αντιστοίχως, να «χρωματίσει» με την αντισυστημική κριτική του το ουδέτερο αστικό τοπίο και να τροφοδοτήσει τη συλλογική μνήμη. Έτσι, τόσο από την πλευρά του δημιουργού του συνθηματικού λόγου, όσο και από την πλευρά των αποδεκτών, που επιλέγουν να τον ενστερνιστούν ή να τον απορρίψουν, τα συνθήματα συνιστούν πράξεις ταυτότητας, επιβεβαιώνοντας την απόφαση του Derrida (1991: 68), ότι «το υποκείμενο μετατρέπεται σε σημαίνον υποκείμενο μόνο μέσω της εγγραφής του σε ένα σύστημα αντιθέσεων».

4. Επίλογος

Από την ανάλυση των χιουμοριστικών συνθημάτων του corpus προέκυψε ότι το γλωσσικό χιούμορ ως μέσο δημόσιας έκφρασης δίνει στους συντάκτες του συνθηματικού μικροκειμένου τη δυνατότητα να αξιοποιήσουν μια σειρά από γλωσσικά μέσα και στρατηγικές, προκειμένου να διαπραγματευθούν, με τρόπο ελκυστικό, οικείο αλλά και καυστικό, διάφορα ζητήματα κοινού ενδιαφέροντος, κεντρίζοντας το ενδιαφέρον των περαστικών και παρακινώντας τους να ενεργοποιήσουν θετικές ή αρνητικές αξιολογήσεις.

Μέσα από αυτή την κριτική, χιουμοριστική διαπραγμάτευση, τα συνθήματα σε τοίχους, ως υποείδος του πολιτικού λόγου, αναδεικνύονται σε δείκτες κοινωνικοπολιτικών στάσεων, οριοθετώντας δίκτυα ανατροπής των κατεστημένων αντιλήψεων και προτείνοντας εναλλακτικά μοντέλα συμμετοχικής δράσης.

Έτσι, σε αντίθεση με τον εξουσιαστικό πολιτικό λόγο, που εκμεταλλεύεται το σύνθημα για τη *φυσικοποίηση* (*naturalization*)²² της καθεστηκυίας τάξης και την αναπαραγωγή της κοινωνικής ισχύος, οι χιουμοριστικές συνθηματικές ατάκες συνθέτουν έναν επαναστατικό *χωρικό* (*spatial*) κώδικα, σύμβολο μιας διαφορετικής κοινωνίας, που σπάει τα δεσμά ανάμεσα στο ιδιωτικό και το κοινό²³, μια *αντιγλώσσα* (*antilanguage*)²⁴, που καθιερώνει τόπους αντίστασης ενάντια στον ηγεμονικό λόγο.

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²¹ Για την εν λόγω διάκριση βλ. Attardo 1994: 50.

²² Βλ. Fairclough 2001: 76-77.

²³ Πβ. Lefèbvre 1991: 64.

²⁴ Βλ. Hodge and Kress 1993: 71-76.

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ΚΑΤΑΓΡΑΦΕΣ ΠΡΟΦΟΡΙΚΟΥ ΔΙΑΛΕΚΤΙΚΟΥ ΛΟΓΟΥ: ΠΡΟΒΛΗΜΑΤΑ ΚΑΙ ΠΡΟΚΛΗΣΕΙΣ*

Χρυσούλα Καραντζή
Κέντρον Ερεύνης Νεοελληνικών
Διαλέκτων και Ιδιωμάτων
της Ακαδημίας Αθηνών
karantch@academyofathens.gr

ABSTRACT

This paper aims at raising several issues concerning recording continuous spontaneous spoken discourse for linguistic and dialectal research and its subsequent transcription. Transcription involves both interpretive and representational decisions which respond to the contextual conditions of the process, the transcriber's expectations and beliefs about the informants and the purpose of transcription. In the field of dialectology there is a need for a thorough reassessment of the state of the art in the transcription of spoken language for linguistic research.

Λέξεις κλειδιά: επιτόπια έρευνα, προφορικός λόγος, καταγραφή, απομαγνητοφώνηση

1. Εισαγωγή: προφορικός λόγος και επιτόπια έρευνα

Το λεκτικό εκφώνημα αποτελεί τη μονάδα του προφορικού λόγου. Μεγάλη σημασία όμως έχουν και ορισμένα άλλα γνωρίσματα της ομιλίας που το συνοδεύουν, όπως τα παραγλωσσικά γνωρίσματα, ο επιτονισμός, οι παύσεις, η προφορά, η ένταση της φωνής και τα εξωγλωσσικά γνωρίσματα, χειρονομίες, κινήσεις, εκφράσεις, βλέμμα, διάθεση. Στον προφορικό λόγο παρουσιάζονται συχνά ελλειπτικές προτάσεις ή ανολοκλήρωτες φράσεις, ενώ ακόμα υπάρχουν πολλά «γεμίσματα» και παύσεις. Ορισμένες φορές διαφαίνεται η προσπάθεια του ομιλητή να αλλάξει ή να βελτιώσει μια φράση που χρησιμοποίησε.

Η επιτόπια έρευνα είναι ένα απαραίτητο και αξιόπιστο μεθοδολογικό εργαλείο για τις ανθρωπιστικές και κοινωνικές επιστήμες. Πρόκειται για μια καταγραφή της σύγχρονης πραγματικότητας που διαθέτει τόσο παραδοσιακά στοιχεία όσο και νεωτερισμούς. Πρόκειται για έρευνα διπλής κατεύθυνσης: α) καταγραφή πρωτογενούς υλικού για αρχείο, β) πρόσληψη προφορικού διαλεκτικού λόγου μέσα σε κοινωνικά και πολιτισμικά συμφραζόμενα.

Η βιογραφική μέθοδος χρησιμοποιείται στις ποιοτικές έρευνες για την ανασυγκρότηση και την ανάλυση της εμπειρίας και κατά συνέπεια των κοινωνικών διαδικασιών. Η αφηγηματική ιστορία ζωής δεν είναι μόνο ένα άθροισμα ακολουθιών δράσης πάνω σε ένα βιογραφικό χρονικό άξονα, αλλά έχει τη δική της λογική, αυτή της αυτοβιογραφικής αναδόμησης. Είναι μια τεχνική που χρησιμοποιείται σήμερα εκτεταμένα και αναπτύχθηκε στο πλαίσιο κοινωνιολογικών μελετών. Η τεχνική έγκειται στο ότι ο ερωτώμενος διηγείται ελεύθερα ιστορίες που έζησε ο ίδιος.

Σε αντίθεση με άλλες μορφές συνέντευξης, δεν βασίζεται στο σχήμα ερώτηση-απάντηση, αλλά δίνεται ο χρόνος στον πληροφοριοδότη να διηγηθεί ένα συμβάν χωρίς να διακόπτεται ή να σχολιάζεται. Ο ερευνητής είναι απλώς ακροατής. Επιβεβαιώνει, όποτε χρειάζεται, τη συμμετοχή του με νοήματα (ή ένα κούνημα του κεφαλιού). Έτσι δίνεται στον ερωτώμενο η δυνατότητα να αναπτύξει ένα θέμα αποκλειστικά στη δική του γλώσσα. Όλη η συνέντευξη μαγνητοφωνείται, ώστε να μπορούν κατά τη διάρκεια της απομαγνητοφώνησης να σημειωθούν ακόμα και οι αποχρώσεις στον τόνο της φωνής, τα κομπιάσματα κλπ., τα οποία σημειώνονται και αναλύονται.

Πρόκειται για μια χρονοβόρα μέθοδο. Κάθε συνέντευξη μπορεί να κρατήσει από 20 λεπτά έως 1 ½ ώρα. Συνήθως γίνεται στον ιδιωτικό χώρο του ερωτώμενου αλλά και αλλού, π.χ. στο καφενείο. Προϋποθέτει την κοινωνική επαφή ερευνητή-πληροφορητή (σε αντίθεση π.χ. με τα ερωτηματολόγια, που μπορούν να σταλούν ταχυδρομικώς προς συμπλήρωση, ή με σύντομο τηλεφωνικό διάλογο κλπ.), ενώ ακολουθεί η επεξεργασία, ανάλυση και ερμηνεία των αποτελεσμάτων. Πριν από το απομαγνητοφωνημένο κείμενο θα πρέπει να υπάρχει ένα σύντομο σημείωμα για τον πληροφορητή

(όνομα, ηλικία και προέλευση). Στην περίπτωση προσφύγων ή κατοίκων μη γηγενών (νύφης στο χωριό, Θρακιώτης σε μικρασιατικό χωριό) η πληροφορία αυτή είναι ουσιαστικής σημασίας. Στην ημικατευθυνόμενη συνέντευξη το αντικείμενο δεν είναι περιορισμένο, οι ερωτήσεις δεν είναι προκαθορισμένες και το κείμενο που προκύπτει από την απομαγνητοφώνηση εξετάζεται στην ολότητά του κι όχι επιλεκτικά. Η βασική μονάδα καταγραφής επιλέγεται από τον ερευνητή σε σχέση με τα βασικά ερωτήματα της έρευνας και όταν η μονάδα καταγραφής (π.χ. λέξη) δεν είναι δυνατό να ερμηνευθεί παρά μόνο σε σχέση με τα συμφοραζόμενα, τότε το εκτενέστερο κομμάτι του περιεχομένου αποτελεί τη μονάδα καταγραφής και είναι η μονάδα συμφοραζομένων.

Ακόμα είναι δυνατό να χρησιμοποιηθούν ομάδες εστιασμένης συζήτησης: ένας μικρός αριθμός ατόμων με κοινά χαρακτηριστικά, κτλ. γυναίκες μιας ηλικιακής ομάδας, όπου αναπτύσσεται η δυναμική της ομάδας. Σε αυτές τις περιπτώσεις, στην απομαγνητοφώνηση έχει κανείς να αντιμετωπίσει το πρόβλημα της αλληλοεπικάλυψης του λόγου (overlapping). Η καταγραφή γίνεται σε κασετόφωνο, ενώ ο ερευνητής κρατά και χειρόγραφες σημειώσεις. Ένα από τα πιο ενδιαφέροντα αποτελέσματα της απομαγνητοφώνησης είναι η συνύπαρξη, μέσα στο ίδιο εκφώνημα, «αντιφατικών καταστάσεων»: παράλληλων τύπων (πολυτυπία, δυναμικότητα συγχρονίας, συνώνυμα, ρηματικοί τύποι (ποιοι τύποι παράγονται πιο αυθόρμητα;). π.χ. *γυναϊκών* και *γυναϊκώνε* ή δυο εναλλακτικοί τρόποι προφοράς (διαλεκτική προφορά που υποχωρεί;).

2. Προφορικές καταγραφές: Το τι και το πώς

Το θέμα που θα μας απασχολήσει στη συνέχεια είναι τα προβλήματα που προκύπτουν από τις προφορικές καταγραφές. Με βάση τις καταγραμμένες συνεντεύξεις επιδιώκεται να συζητηθούν προβλήματα απόδοσης του προφορικού λόγου και ανάγνωσης ποικίλων στοιχείων που μια προφορική συνέντευξη περιέχει. Δεν θα αναφερθούμε εδώ αναλυτικά στις τεχνολογικές εξελίξεις των τελευταίων ετών που επιτρέπουν καλύτερες εγγραφές: συσκευές ψηφιακής εγγραφής φωνής που προσφέρουν ήχο ποιότητας CD, λογισμικό αναγνώρισης ομιλίας, απομόνωση θορύβου, λήψη ηχητικών αρχείων σε υπολογιστή, κλπ.

Κεντρική διαδικασία αναδεικνύεται η μαγνητοφώνηση του προφορικού λόγου και στη συνέχεια η απομαγνητοφώνηση και η πιστή καταγραφή του. Στην πράξη ο προφορικός λόγος μετατρέπεται σε γραπτό κείμενο αλλά δεν προσαρμόζεται στις προδιαγραφές του. Διατηρεί έτσι το αρχικό του περιεχόμενο και το ανάλογο επίπεδο ύφους. Η απομαγνητοφώνηση λέει «λέξη προς λέξη» ό,τι είπε ο ομιλητής ή η ομιλήτρια. Συμπεριλαμβάνονται π.χ. φράσεις που ξεκινούν και μένουν μετέωρες, λεκτικές και γραμματικές ανακολουθίες που ενδέχεται να κάνει ο ομιλητής ως συνέπεια του αυθόρμητου, μη προσχεδιασμένου χαρακτήρα του λόγου του. Ακόμα καταγράφονται λέξεις ή τμήματα φράσεων που επαναλαμβάνει ο ομιλητής, ακόμα κι αν η επανάληψη δεν γίνεται για λόγους έμφασης, αλλά αποτελεί στοιχείο της προφορικής εκφοράς.

Κατά την καταγραφή προκύπτουν, όπως είναι φυσικό, αποσπάσματα με προβληματικό ήχο (λόγω θορύβου ή κακής εγγραφής) και διάφορα δυσνόητα σημεία που σχετίζονται κυρίως με απόδοση κυρίων ονομάτων, τοπωνυμίων, κλπ., για την εξακρίβωση των οποίων χρησιμοποιείται συμπληρωματικό υλικό. Άλλωστε, πολλές φορές απαιτείται να επιστρέψει ο ερευνητής στα ηχητικά αρχεία του και να ακούσει ξανά και ξανά τα επίμαχα σημεία. Επειδή απώτερος στόχος της απομαγνητοφώνησης είναι η περαιτέρω αξιοποίηση του προφορικού υλικού π.χ. στην περίπτωση του ΙΑΝΕ στη μελέτη των νεοελληνικών ιδιωμάτων και τον εμπλουτισμό του αρχείου, το υλικό αποδελτιώνεται για τη σύνταξη του Ιστορικού Λεξικού.

Κατά την απομαγνητοφώνηση, ο ερευνητής συνειδητοποιεί ότι μια σειρά από στοιχεία όπως ο τόνος της φωνής, ο ρυθμός της ομιλίας, ο διαλεκτικός επιτονισμός, χωρίς να αναφέρει κανείς τις χειρονομίες ή τις εκφράσεις του ομιλητή δεν αποτυπώνονται συνήθως στο χειρόγραφο. Η ακρίβεια της μεταγραφής του προφορικού λόγου περιλαμβάνει και το μείζον ζήτημα της φωνητικής ή μη μεταγραφής της προφοράς (Bailey 1986, Lane et al. 1996, Bailey et al. 2005, Macaulay 1991, Miethaner 2000). Καθώς η μεταγραφή όλου του κειμένου στο Διεθνές Φωνητικό Αλφάβητο θα δυσκόλευε πολύ την ανάγνωση και κατανόησή του, κάποιοι μελετητές μεταγράφουν στο IPA μόνο ορισμένες μη προβλέψιμες πραγματώσεις, κάτι που σημαίνει ότι ήδη γνωρίζουν τι είναι σταθερό και τι όχι σε μια ποικιλία.

Η μεταγραφή ενός προφορικού κειμένου δεν είναι μια ουδέτερη γραπτή αναπαράστασή του. Καθορίζεται σε μεγάλο βαθμό από τις θεωρητικές απόψεις του μελετητή των δεδομένων και τα συγκεκριμένα ερευνητικά ενδιαφέροντά του. Παρ' όλο που η τεχνολογική εξέλιξη έχει διευκολύνει τη συλλογή και ηλεκτρονική επεξεργασία των προφορικών κειμένων, οι δυσκολίες κατά την καταγραφή και ιδιαίτερα κατά τη μεταγραφή τους σε γραπτό λόγο παραμένουν. Μάλιστα, αν τα διακριτικά στοιχεία του προφορικού εκφώνηματος (ύψος φωνής, ένταση, επιτονισμός, διάρκεια παύσεων)

αποτυπωθούν στη μεταγραφωμένη του μορφή, δίνουν κείμενα σημειωτικά επιβαρυμένα, δηλαδή δυσανάγνωστα, ενώ ταυτόχρονα δυσχεραίνουν και την ψηφιακή τους εκμετάλλευση.

Ένα από τα βασικά ζητήματα που προκύπτουν λοιπόν κατά τη μεταγραφή του προφορικού κειμένου είναι η απομαγνητοφώνηση του συνόλου του υλικού και η όσο το δυνατόν πληρέστερη σήμανσή του. Αν και το ηχητικό υλικό συντηρείται και αρχειοθετείται και τα ηχητικά αρχεία μεταφέρονται από παλαιότερα μέσα σε νεότερα (ψηφιοποιήσεις, κλπ.) είναι δύσκολο να ανατρέχει κανείς στην πρωτότυπη ηχογράφηση. Καθώς λοιπόν το απομαγνητοφωνημένο κείμενο είναι αυτό που αποτελεί συνήθως το κοινό σημείο αναφοράς των ερευνητών, η μεταγραφή του κειμένου οφείλει να προβλέπει τη μελλοντική του χρήση από μελετητές με άλλα ενδιαφέροντα (Bucholtz 2007: 794).

Το όλο θέμα της μεταγραφής (discourse transcription) έχει απασχολήσει πολλούς μελετητές προερχόμενους από ποικίλους τομείς, που σχετίζονται με αυτή τη διαδικασία με κυριότερους την Ανάλυση Ομιλίας και Παθολογία/Μελέτη Διαταραχών του Λόγου και τις κοινωνιολογικές έρευνες (για μια σχετική με τη μεταγραφή σχολιασμένη βιβλιογραφία βλ. Hammersley 2010).

Στην κλασική για το θέμα που μας απασχολεί εργασία της η Ochs (1979: 43-72) παρατηρεί πως μετά την απομαγνητοφώνηση ο ερευνητής εργάζεται με τα αποτελέσματα της μεταγραφής που έχει κάνει –αυτά είναι τα δεδομένα του. Τα δεδομένα όμως αυτά αντανακλούν τις θεωρητικές του απόψεις και αποτελούν προϊόν επιλογής και αποτελέσματα ορισμένων αποφάσεων του (σχετικά με το τι και το πώς της μεταγραφής), οι οποίες δεν δηλώνονται σε όσους ενδιαφέρονται να χρησιμοποιήσουν στη συνέχεια το υλικό του (Green et al. 1997: 172-176). Κατ' επέκταση, οι μεταγραφές του θέτουν περιορισμούς στις γενικεύσεις και τα συμπεράσματα που προκύπτουν από την έρευνά του.

Παρ' όλο που σε μια μεταγραφή δεν υπάρχει απόλυτη αντικειμενικότητα, η ερευνητική κοινότητα διαθέτει ορισμένα συμβατικά συστήματα μεταγραφής που περιλαμβάνουν ένα συγκεκριμένο αριθμό συμβόλων, π.χ. Jefferson (1996, 2004), Dubois (1991, 1993), Schiffrin 1994, Edwards 2003. Από μια μεταξύ τους σύγκριση προκύπτουν ομοιότητες και διαφορές. Καθώς όμως κάθε σύμβολο εντάσσεται σε ένα σύστημα, η χρήση μεμονωμένων συμβόλων από διαφορετικά συστήματα μπορεί να οδηγήσει σε λάθη και παρανοήσεις κατά τη μεταγραφή. Ο γενικός προβληματισμός ως προς τα σύμβολα μεταγραφής αφορά μεταξύ άλλων τη θέση και το χώρο (spatial organization) που καταλαμβάνουν στη σελίδα του μεταγραφωμένου κειμένου. Στις πραγματικές συνθήκες όλα συμβαίνουν ταυτόχρονα (λόγος, χειρονομίες, άλλοι ήχοι) αλλά στο γραπτό κείμενο για πρακτικούς λόγους σημαίνονται σε χωριστά σημεία και έτσι χάνεται ο συγχρονισμός. Σύμφωνα με την άποψη ορισμένων μελετητών τα σύμβολα μπαίνουν μέσα στο κείμενο (σε παρενθέσεις, αγκύλες), ενώ σύμφωνα με άλλους τα κείμενα και τα σύμβολα μεταγραφής μπαίνουν σε δύο παράλληλες στήλες. Στη δεύτερη ή σε χωριστή τρίτη στήλη μπαίνουν τα σχόλια του ερευνητή σχετικά με το κείμενο, π.χ. ένα σχόλιο για την παρουσία άλλων προσώπων που μπορεί να επηρεάσουν τον εκφερόμενο λόγο.

Στο πλαίσιο αυτών των συστημάτων μεταγραφής, χρησιμοποιούνται ορισμένα σύμβολα π.χ. σημεία στίξης (κόμμα, τελεία, ερωτηματικό) για να δηλώσουν τον επιτονισμό του εκφωνήματος, συγχρόνως όμως χρησιμοποιούνται και με την κανονική τους λειτουργία. Στην περίπτωση του κόμματος π.χ. τρία-τέσσερα συνεχόμενα κόμματα σε ένα απομαγνητοφωνημένο τμήμα λόγου μπορεί να δηλώνουν μικρή παύση, επανάληψη ή και τα δύο. Κεφαλαία γράμματα συμβολίζουν κάτι που λέγεται δυνατά. Μεταξύ των συμβάσεων υπάρχουν ακόμα σύμβολα (αγκύλες) για ταυτόχρονα ή μερικώς επικαλυπτόμενα εκφωνήματα (simultaneous/overlapping utterances). Επίσης σύμβολα για ποικίλα χαρακτηριστικά του εκφερόμενου λόγου, όπως η παρατεταμένη διάρκεια ενός φθόγγου ή μιας συλλαβής (extension), η μη φωνολογικά καθορισμένη μακρότητα (σύρσιμο της φωνής), η έμφαση (emphasis) συνήθως με υπογράμμιση, η ένταση της φωνής, κλπ. Ακόμα, καταγράφεται το γέλιο, το κλάμα, γενικά οι συναισθηματικές εκδηλώσεις/εκφράσεις (Herburn 2004: 251-291) το χειροκρότημα, οι επευφημίες, άλλοι ήχοι (π.χ. εντός παρενθέσεως, τηλέφωνο), η κατεύθυνση του βλέμματος των ομιλητών, κλπ.

Υπάρχουν σημεία σε μια απομαγνητοφώνηση που ο ερευνητής δεν είναι σίγουρος για το τι ακούει και το αποτέλεσμα της μεταγραφής ενέχει αμφιβολία ως προς την ακρίβεια. Η αμφιβολία αυτή πρέπει να καταγραφεί με κάποιο τρόπο (transcriptionist doubt). Ορισμένοι ερευνητές παραθέτουν εναλλακτικές πιθανότητες του τι μπορεί να είχε ειπωθεί στα επίμαχα σημεία. Όταν οι λέξεις ή φράσεις είναι εντελώς ακατάληπτες, κάποιοι συμβατικά χρησιμοποιούν ως σύμβολα ένα κεφαλαίο Χ εντός παρενθέσεως για κάθε συλλαβή που είναι αδύνατο να μεταγραφεί. Άλλοι συμπληρωματικά δηλώνουν και το λόγο αδυναμίας της μεταγραφής (π.χ. θόρυβος). Σε περίπτωση που ο ερευνητής αποφασίσει να παραλείψει τα σημεία αυτά κατά την μεταγραφή θα πρέπει να δηλώσει το κενό/χάσμα που υπάρχει στο μεταγραφωμένο κείμενο (Bucholtz 2007: 788). Τα δεδομένα που παραλείπονται μπορεί να δημιουργήσουν προβλήματα στη μελέτη του ευρύτερου κειμένου π.χ. ως προς τη συνοχή, συνεκτικότητα, αντωνυμική αναφορά, δείξη κλπ ακόμα και σε ζητήματα συντακτικής ανάλυσης των δεδομένων. Όπως αντιλαμβάνεται κανείς, αν απουσιάζουν τμήματα των εκφωνημάτων, η δομή του λόγου αλλοιώνεται. Ιδιαίτερα στο ζήτημα της διαλεκτικής σύνταξης, ξεπερνώντας τις προκαταλήψεις

για την ασυνταξία του προφορικού λόγου, τέτοιου είδους αυθόρμητη παραγωγή λόγου αποτελεί το ιδανικό υλικό για τη μελέτη της.

Ένα ακόμα αδύνατο σημείο στα συμβατικά σύμβολα που χρησιμοποιούνται σχετικά: οι τρεις τελείες (αποσιωπητικά) χρησιμοποιούνται για παύση πάνω από μισό δευτερόλεπτο και συγχρόνως για την παράλειψη στοιχείων. Πρόκειται για δυο εντελώς διαφορετικές περιπτώσεις που μπορούν να προκαλέσουν σύγχυση στον αναγνώστη του μεταγγραμμένου κειμένου.

Άλλες πτυχές του ζητήματος της μεταγραφής προς επιμέρους εξέταση σχετίζονται α) με τον ερευνητή που κάνει την απομαγνητόφωνηση, π.χ. ποιος μεταγράφει; Ο ίδιος ο ερευνητής που έκανε την καταγραφή; β) με το σκοπό της έρευνας για την οποία θα χρησιμοποιηθεί το υλικό της απομαγνητόφωνησης π.χ. ειδικός σκοπός έρευνας τα διαλεκτικά επιφωνήματα (Γιακουμάκη 1998), θαυμαστικά, κλητικά, σχετλιαστικά (ωχ, αχ), τα οποία πρέπει να αποδοθούν με ακρίβεια ή οι παύσεις (ποικίλης υφής και διάρκειας).

Στην περίπτωση αυτή η απλή δήλωση παύσης δεν αρκεί αλλά χρειάζεται χρονομέτρηση. Ο ομιλητής είναι δυνατόν να μην έχει σταματήσει να μιλάει, να στέκεται για να σκεφτεί, να κάνει ένα λάθος και να το διορθώνει, ξεχνάει, επαναδιατυπώνει, κλπ. Η δομή μιας προφορικής αφήγησης είναι συχνά περισσότερο ζήτημα παύσεων παρά χρήσης λεκτικών μέσων. Το όλο ζήτημα των παύσεων στον προφορικό λόγο σχετίζεται με το κόμπιασμα στη ροή του λόγου. Πώς μεταγράφεται ο δισταγμός, η δυσκολία (διστακτικά μόρια-δείκτες διόρθωσης/hesitation markers-particles); Είναι σημαντικό να δηλωθεί γιατί μπορεί να προηγείται μιας εξαιρετικά πλούσιας προσωπικής εξομολόγησης (θάνατοι, δυστυχίες, κλπ.) πυκνής συγκίνησης.

Η έρευνα μπορεί να επικεντρωθεί σε ποικίλα άλλα ζητήματα όπως:

- ο ρυθμός της ομιλίας: το πόσο γρήγορα μιλάει κανείς έχει σχέση με την ποιότητα του παραγόμενου λόγου. Μιλώντας πιο αργά, προσχεδιάζεις, άρα επηρεάζεται και η δομή των λεγομένων.
- η συμπεφορά (ιδιαίτερα σημαντική στα προφορικά δεδομένα από διαλέκτους).
- η λογοκρισία σε άσεμνες εκφράσεις, ύβρεις, κλπ.
- η αποτύπωση του σωστού και του λάθους, οι παραβιάσεις των γραμματικών κανόνων και ο διαλεκτικός λόγος ως ατομική έκφραση/λάθος της στιγμής, η ορθογράφηση (Miethaner 2000).
- η ιδιόλεκτος του πληροφορητή: η μεγάλη ακρίβεια και λεπτομέρεια στην καταγραφή μπορεί να προβάλλει στοιχεία της ιδιολέκτου του ομιλητή σε βάρος του τοπικού ιδιώματος.

3. Συμπεράσματα

Στις περιπτώσεις που μια μηχανιστική τεχνική μεταγραφής του προφορικού λόγου σε γραπτό δεν είναι αρκετή (πρακτικά συνεδριάσεων), η γλωσσική ιδεολογία των εμπλεκόμενων αποκτά το δικό της ρόλο (Lapadat 2000, Lapadat & Lindsay 1998, 1999). Ο σύνθετος χαρακτήρας του προφορικού λόγου και οι αναντιστοιχίες του με το γραπτό θέτουν επιπλέον δυσκολίες στο εγχείρημα. Το γεγονός ότι διαφορετικοί ερευνητές μεταγράφουν διαφορετικά το ίδιο ηχητικό αρχείο αποδεικνύει από τη μία τον πλούτο της προφορικής επικοινωνίας και από την άλλη ότι ένα πληρέστερο μοντέλο αντίληψης και γραπτής απόδοσης του προφορικού λόγου αποτελεί ακόμα το ζητούμενο. Η πρόκληση για όσους ερευνητές ασχολούνται με τη συλλογή γλωσσικών δεδομένων προφορικού λόγου, ιδιαίτερα διαλεκτικού, παραμένει ως εξής: μπορεί μια μεταγραφή να διαβαστεί όπως ακούγεται το μαγνητοφωνημένο ηχητικό αρχείο;

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Παράρτημα παραδειγμάτων απομαγνητοφωνημένου λόγου:

1. Τον βλέπει αυτή, η χήρα τώρα (-Γιατρέ, κάθου κειπέρα τώρα!), τον βλέπει αυτήνα (Δοξάτο Δράμας, χφ. 1456)
2. -Κυρία μου, λέει, Καρατζόγλου Νίκο εισπράκτωρ δεν έχουμε (Δοξάτο Δράμας, χφ. 1456)
3. Πααίνω 'γω, 'γω είμι διάβουλους, 'γω 'μι «πιταζάμην», 'γω δ' λιέου ... μπουρ μπουρ μπουρ (Κυψέλη Καστοριάς, χφ. 1422)
4. Όχ, ήρθαν οι άνδρoι όλ' κει, ήταν όξου στουν γραφέ, λιέει, κάτι την αστυνουμία να..., στ' αυτόφουρου, λιέει, όλοι να βγούμε μαρτύροι, λέει, τέλους πάνδουν δεν θέλhς' αυτός τέτοιο πράμα να κάνει... (Κυψέλη Καστοριάς, χφ. 1422)
5. 'Υστια μάζευαν του τυρί κι τ' άφ'ναν καμβόσες μέρες στο καδί, κι ύστερα έριχναν πυτιά ικεί μέσα κι αυτό γένουνταν ύστερα και φούσκωνε κι εκεί το δουβουλούζαν ύστερα κι έβγαναν τυρί, έβγαναν βούτυρο, έβγαναν ξ' νόγαλο, που το λεγάμαν γίζα (Κεφαλοχώρι Κονίτσης, χφ. 1402)
6. Αλλού τα λέν' χράμια. Κιλίμια, δ'λαδή του χράμ' έχ' άλλου σχεδίου, είνι άλλου υφαδό. Του χράμ' του λέν' δωπέρα που έχουν οι Σουρπιώτες έχουν το χράμ' άπου κάνουν μι τιτραγουνάκια έτσ'. Εμείς... ήταν υφαδό κιλίμια τα 'λεγαμι, ήταν τραγουμαλλήσιο, ήταν από τα γίδια του μαλλί (Κεφαλοχώρι Κονίτσης, χφ. 1402)
7. Βλέπ'ς κάθε παλιό σπίτι δε χαλάει, διότι ο εργάτης εργάζεται για να φκειάσ' τέλειου, δε δουν διέφερε για του ημερομίσθιου, αλλά σόλεγ': να το φκειάσω στέρεου να μη βέσ', να το φκειάσω έτσ' να μη χαλάσ'. Τώρα ουόλα πρόστυχα, όλα ταλαίπωρα (Αράχωβα Ναυπακτίας, χφ. 1446)
8. Η Αράχωβα το χίλια εννιακόσα τριάδα ιφτά πανδρευτήκανε οχτώ ζευγάρια απ' του ίδιου το χωργιό, την ίδια χρονιά. Έτσ' κι από τα χουργιά. Τουτέ, από αγάπη δεν έπαρχε κανένα ανδρόγυνο. Οι συγενείς, να πούμε, η γινεά, ρωτούσι, συμβουλευέταν, δηλαδή ένας με τον άλλουν συγενής (Αράχωβα Ναυπακτίας, χφ. 1446)

9. Τ' Άγιο-Τρυφώνου τίποτα, αγιασμό διαβάξει ο παπάς για τα περιβόλια, στην εκκλησία. Πάνε και παίρνουνε, αυτός ο αγιασμός, αυτός ο αγιασμός μπορείς να δونه χρησιμοποιήσεις όλο do χρόνο, να ριζ'ς και στα περιβόλια, ενώ του Φωτάνε δεν δونه κουνάνε, δεν δونه σειούνε τον αγιασμό (Ριζοσπηλιά Γορτυνίας, χφ. 1388)
10. Μετά το λιώναμε, το βάζαμε το βράζαμε, το χύναμε το πρώτο νερό, μετά του ρίχναμε άλλο, το βράζαμε αυτό καλά, μετά το τσιγαρίζαμε, βάναμε λίπος από το ίδιο. Βάζαμ' απάνω, ήσαδε χώρια η σκόρτσα του γουρουνιού, χώρια η πέτσα του και χώρια το βασιλικό (Ριζοσπηλιά Γορτυνίας, χφ. 1388)
11. Πήγαμι με του βατέρα μ' να κάνουμε χωράφ' και το χωράφ' αυτό είχ' βάτα. Για να μη σ'κώσου 'γω τη σκιρπανιά, ήταν πιο βαριά, για να χτ'πάου τα βάτα για να τα βγάλου, πάει ου πατέρα ζουμ κι θάμινιβι, εμένα μ' έβαλε να κάνω χωράφ' (Σούρπη Μαγνησίας, χφ. 1439)
12. Ιγώ πόναγα; Σι λέου, ήμαν τρεις μέρις ήμαν μια βάλα, και διν ήβλιπα, ούτι μάτια, ούτι ...! Ξέρ'ς τι μ' έκαναν; Ξιδόλασπη, κόκκινου χώμα ζ'μουμένου με ξιδ' κι μ' έβαιναν σ' ένα σιδόν'. Κι τότες σιδόνια διν είχαμι (είχαμι κι καεί κιόλα, γιατί κάηκι το χωριό μας), κι είχαμε κουριλές (Σούρπη Μαγνησίας, χφ. 1439)
13. Εχαράκωναμε λουπόν ελιές, άλλες εβάναμε κολυβάδες. Τσι βάζαμε πρώτα... είχαμε πολλές μεθόδους. Όταν εθέλαμε για να 'χουμε και πρώιμα, προσφάι στην ελιά, τσι κάναμε σκαστές, τ'ς είχαμε δώδεκα μέρες, δεκαπέδε, αλλάζαμε τα νερά και μετά αφού τσι ζεσταίναμε, έβλεπες και κάναμε το ωραίο το προσφάι, γλήγορα, εκεί που μαζεύαμε ελιές (Περαχώρι Ιθάκης, χφ. 1429)
14. Όλοι είμαστε στις εξοχές! Ανάλογα τη βοιότητα, ποσότητα που είχε ο καθένας εμαζεύαμε και τέσσερους μήνες ελιές! Όχι με την ευκολία που υπάρχει σήμερα, με τα ρούχα κάτου και με τα τσιγριά και με τα μηχανήματα! Τότες είχαμε... Να 'ρθεις κάποια ώρα να πάμε στο κατώι, να σου δείξω. Ακόμα έχω το σακκούλι, είναι όπως μαξιλαροθήκη, υφαδό σακκούλι, με σκoiνιά, το 'φερνα έτσι, από τη μέση μου, και πηγαίναμε πριν να φέξει (Περαχώρι Ιθάκης, χφ. 1429)
15. Εμένα η μάνα μου έκανε πάρα πολλά π'τοπούλια, και με σταρένιο βέβαια αλεύρι. -Να κάμομε, παιδιά, κι ένα πιτοπούλι. Τα λέγαμε λειψανάβατα πιτοπούλια, άλλα τ' ανεβατά. Και μάλασσε γρήγορα-γρήγορα, μια ολιά ζύμη και στο τηγάνι. Και το πατούσε και του 'κανε κι έτσι τρύπες-τρύπες όπως είναι ο βολίστρης για να ψηθεί γρήγορα και το τρώγαμε κι ήτανε νοστιμότατο (Κρίτσα Λασιθίου χφ. 1448)
16. Τα χρόνια τση μάνας μου παρατηρούσανε ποια λαμπάδα επρωτοκάηκε: «'Ησβησε το γαμπρού η λαβάδα; 'κειοσάς θα πρωταποθάνει» και κάτι τέθoια. Είχα ένα γξάδερφο παπά. Όταν το βαφτίσανε, βάνουνε το έλαιο στη γολυμπήθρα, λουπόν η νονά αποκρεμάται από πάνω και λέει του παπά: -Γα πρόσεξε ένα σημείο στη γολυβήθρα μέσα; Και ξανοίγει ο παπάς, σταυρό εσχημάτισε. Αυτό το παιδί θα λάβει χάρη. Και δα ύστερα, πράγματι παπάς (Κρίτσα Λασιθίου χφ. 1448)
17. Και του 'βγαλα το γαβρί, φύγε λέω, γιατί θα σε σκ... θα σου δώσω μια θα σε ξε..., θα σου σπάσω το κεφάλι σου! Και βγάνει τη γάμα. Και να μην ηδραλιστώ, ε! Να μια κάμα ήβγαλε! Και μου την έφερε εδονά, τοσοδά. Και νε ηδραλίστικα, μήτε φοβήθηκα (Φούρνοι Ικαρίας χφ. 1436)
18. Αυτά εδώ λέγονται ταράχτης. Θα το ανεκατέψω και θα πάρω τη γουτάλα, που είναι πιο κουφαλωτή. 'Κείνο με το κλαδί λέγεται διόνιστρο. Κι αυτό εδώ λέγεται διόνιστρο, το καλάμι με το κλαδάκι λέγεται διόνιστρο. Πρώτα ήτανε στη σειρά οι τσοπάνηδοι όλοι, καθόδανε και ένας ήρμε τα δικά του. Κάνουμε καθένας τα δικά του. Έπειτα, κάνουμε κι ένα σημάδι, σφραγίδα λέγεται, στα αυτιά για να τα γνωρίζω. Αλλά και να μη τα σφραΐσουμε, τα γνωρίζουμε... Τώρα γίνηκε αργολάβος, τσοπάνης αργολάβος (Φούρνοι Ικαρίας χφ. 1436)

Η ΚΟΙΝΩΝΙΚΗ ΔΙΓΛΩΣΣΙΑ ΣΤΗΝ ΙΣΤΟΡΙΑ ΤΗΣ ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΗΣ ΓΛΩΣΣΑΣ

Χρήστος Καρβούνης

Johannes Gutenberg-Universität Mainz,
Germany
karvoun@uni-mainz.de

ABSTRACT

The aim of this article -beyond discussing a number of translation issues with regard to Greek terminology-is to address certain methodological problems in characterizing the sociolinguistic situation of the Roman and Byzantine periods as diglossia. These issues relate mainly to: a) the literacy degree (of the Greek speaking) Byzantine speech community and the fact that L variety affects the speech community as a whole only in "modern" societies, b) the difficulty to define/identify two distinct varieties, H and L respectively in the 2th century AD.

Λέξεις-κλειδιά: (κοινωνική) διγλωσσία, διπλογλωσσία, Βυζάντιο, εγγραμματισμός, ελληνιστική κοινή.

1. Εισαγωγικά

Η ενασχόληση με τη συγκεκριμένη θεματική επιβάλλει την εκ προοιμίου διευκρίνιση δύο σημείων, (1) του όρου *κοινωνική διγλωσσία*, (2) της απόδοσής του στη νέα ελληνική.

(1) Στο παρόν άρθρο ο όρος *κοινωνική διγλωσσία* (αγγλ. diglossia) χρησιμοποιείται στο κλασικό του σχήμα, όπως το όρισε ο Charles Ferguson το 1959,¹ χαρακτηρίζοντας δηλ. τη συνύπαρξη δύο ποικιλιών της ίδιας γλώσσας σε μία γλωσσική κοινότητα. Τη χρήση των ποικιλιών αυτών χαρακτηρίζει μεταξύ άλλων η λεγόμενη συμπληρωματική κατανομή, δηλ. το γεγονός ότι οι εν λόγω ποικιλίες «λειτουργούν», χρησιμοποιούνται συμπληρωματικά στη γλωσσική κοινότητα. Καμία δεν χρησιμοποιείται με πληρότητα σε όλα τα γλωσσικά πεδία, αλλά μόνο σε ορισμένα από αυτά, συμπληρώνοντας έτσι η μία την άλλη. Κατά συνέπεια η πρώτη, η λεγόμενη *υψηλή ποικιλία* (αγγ. high variety), στο εξής Υ, χρησιμοποιείται κυρίως στο γραπτό λόγο και γενικότερα σε πεδία που έχουν ή θέλουν να έχουν την αίσθηση της επιστημότητας, της «ορθής»/πρότυπης γλώσσας (λ.χ. στον τύπο, στη «σοβαρή» λογοτεχνία, στον επιστημονικό λόγο, στα ΜΜΕ, σε θρησκευτικό περιβάλλον κ.λπ.), ενώ η δεύτερη, η λεγόμενη *χαμηλή ποικιλία* (αγγλ. low variety), στο εξής Χ, χρησιμοποιείται σε «καθημερινό», σε «οικείο» περιβάλλον (λ.χ. στην οικογένεια, στην προφορική λογοτεχνία, στην καθημερινή/αβίαστη γλωσσική επικοινωνία κ.λπ.). Στον κλασικό ορισμό του Ferguson, όπου ως παραδείγματα χρησιμοποιήθηκαν οι περιπτώσεις της νέας ελληνικής, της αραβικής, της ελβετικής γερμανικής και της κρεολής της Αϊτής, οι δύο ποικιλίες αποτελούν ποικιλίες της ίδιας γλώσσας, τουλάχιστον ιδωμένες ιστορικά.² Βασικό χαρακτηριστικό, λοιπόν, της λεγόμενης *κλασικής* ή *εσωτερικής* (στενής) διγλωσσίας αποτελεί το γεγονός πως οι δύο ποικιλίες είναι γενετικά συγγενείς και στενά συνδεδεμένες μεταξύ τους.

Η αναφορά στη λεγόμενη κλασική ή εσωτερική διγλωσσία καθιστά αναγκαία τη μνεία και του αντίποδά της, δηλ. της λεγόμενης *εκτεταμένης* (ευρείας) ή *εξωτερικής* διγλωσσίας,³ μιας κοινωνιογλωσσολογικής κατάστασης, την οποία επισήμανε λίγα χρόνια αργότερα, το 1967, ο Joshua

¹ Ferguson 1959.

² Για τον ορισμό της «ιστορικής» γλώσσας, σε αντίθεση με τις διάφορες ποικιλίες που συνθέτουν ένα γλωσσικό σύστημα στη συγχρονία του (προπαντός με τις κάθε είδους γεωγραφικές, κοινωνικές και λειτουργικές ποικιλίες του), βλ. κυρίως Coseriu 1988. Για την απόδοση του αγγλικού register ακολουθώ εδώ την πρόταση «λειτουργική ποικιλία» (έναντι του «επίπεδο ύψους») στο Αρχάκης/Κονδύλη 2004: 89, 144-145 (υποσημείωση 25).

³ Για την ορολογία βλ. περιληπτικά Schiffman 1997. Στη χρήση των όρων υπάρχει ακόμη ρευστότητα –συχνή είναι και η αναφορά στα ονόματα των εμπνευστών του κάθε σχήματος: Ferguson και Fishman–, αλλά σε γενικές γραμμές κυριαρχούν τα προσδιοριστικά «κλασικός», «εσωτερικός» vs. «εκτεταμένος», «εξωτερικός».

Fishman.⁴ Στην «εξωτερική» διγλωσσία δεν έχουμε πια δύο συγγενείς ποικιλίες, αλλά δυο μη (τουλάχιστον άμεσα) συγγενείς γλώσσες, οι οποίες χρησιμοποιούνται διαφορετικά σε μία γλωσσική κοινότητα, δηλ. διακρίνονται κι αυτές (μεταξύ άλλων) από την συμπληρωματική κατανομή που προαναφέρθηκε. Στην Παραγουάη, λ.χ., η ισπανική λειτουργεί ως Υ, ως γλώσσα υψηλού κύρους, ενώ η γλώσσα των ιθαγενών, η γκουαρανί, λειτουργεί ως Χ, ως γλώσσα χαμηλού κύρους.⁵ Η περαιτέρω τυπολογική επέκταση του όρου diglossia, λ.χ. «μακροδιγλωσσία», «μικροδιγλωσσία», «διπλή αλληλοεπικαλυπτόμενη διγλωσσία», «διδιομία», «διδαλία» κ.λπ., δεν αφορά άμεσα την παρούσα θεματική και δεν θα μας απασχολήσει στη συνέχεια, παραπέμπει όμως σε κοινωνιολογικές συνθήκες – συχνές λ.χ. στην Αφρική και την Ινδία – που φανερώνουν μεταξύ άλλων πόσο περίπλοκες μπορεί να είναι οι σχέσεις μεταξύ δύο ή/και περισσότερων γλωσσών/ποικιλιών στην ίδια γλωσσική κοινότητα.⁶

(2) Η αναφορά στον Fishman και την εξωτερική διγλωσσία μάς οδηγεί απευθείας στο δεύτερο σημείο που χρειάζεται διευκρίνιση, την απόδοση του όρου στη νέα ελληνική. Ο όρος diglossia υιοθετήθηκε⁷ για να είναι σαφής η διάκριση από τον (λατινογενή) όρο bilingualism που δήλωνε και δηλώνει την «παράλληλη» κατάκτηση/χρήση δύο γλωσσών από ένα άτομο ή μια γλωσσική κοινότητα. Στα ελληνικά έχουν προταθεί για την απόδοση του όρου diglossia ως επί το πλείστον τα εξής:⁸ «διμορφία», «διωφία», «κοινωνική διγλωσσία» και «διπλογλωσσία».⁹ Τα «διμορφία» και «διωφία» έχουν το μειονέκτημα ότι από πλευράς λεξήματος εστιάζουν στην έννοια «μορφή» και «ύφος» αντίστοιχα, συσκοτίζοντας και στρεβλώνοντας έτσι τη θεμελιώδη σημασία του όρου diglossia, καθώς παραπέμπουν σε ζητήματα *ύφους, ιδιολέκτου και λειτουργικών ποικιλιών* (register). Επίσης, θέλοντας να αποδώσουμε την εξωτερική διγλωσσία, θα έπρεπε να καταφύγουμε στο παράδοξο και ακατανόητο «εξωτερική διμορφία/διωφία». Και μόνο γι' αυτούς τους λόγους οι όροι «διμορφία/διωφία» είναι μάλλον ακατάλληλοι.¹⁰ Ως εκ τούτου η επιλογή θα έπρεπε, νομίζω, να εστιαστεί στους όρους *διγλωσσία, κοινωνική διγλωσσία και διπλογλωσσία*. Ο «φυσικός» συνειρμός της λέξης «διγλωσσία» με την συνύπαρξη δύο διαφορετικών γλωσσών (bilingualism) μάς επιβάλλει, νομίζω, να κρατήσουμε για το bilingualism τον όρο «διγλωσσία», οπότε η «κοινωνική διγλωσσία» και η «διπλογλωσσία» φαίνονται προς το παρόν οι πιο κατάλληλοι όροι. Ο όρος «κοινωνική διγλωσσία» είναι ιδιαίτερα σαφής, συμπίπτει όμως με τον όρο societal bilingualism/soziale Zweisprachigkeit που χρησιμοποιείται

⁴ Fishman 1967.

⁵ Βασικό ζητούμενο του Fishman ήταν εν προκειμένω η σχέση μεταξύ diglossia/κοινωνικής διγλωσσίας και bilingualism/διγλωσσίας (για τα προβλήματα της ελληνικής ορολογίας βλ. παρακάτω). Προσοχή: Οι εν λόγω κοινωνιολογικο-γλωσσολογικές συνθήκες, δηλ. diglossia και bilingualism, ουσιαστικά αλληλοαναιρούνται· η «συνύπαρξη» που αναλύει ο Fishman είναι καταχρηστική, αφού στην ουσία της αφορά τη λειτουργία της «διγλωσσίας»/bilingualism ως «κοινωνικής διγλωσσίας»/diglossia, δηλ. την περίπτωση όπου δύο διαφορετικές γλώσσες χρησιμοποιούνται «άνισα» και συμπληρωματικά (κάτι που σε συλλογικό επίπεδο δεν χαρακτηρίζει τη διγλωσσία/bilingualism), εξ ου και η ανάγκη δημιουργίας του όρου «εκτεταμένη/εξωτερική διγλωσσία», για να οριοθετηθεί με σαφήνεια η σχέση μεταξύ diglossia και bilingualism. Πρβλ. και την επόμενη υποσημείωση.

⁶ Για μια συνοπτική παρουσίαση βλ. Dittmar 1997: 139 κ.ε. Αξιοσημείωτες είναι και οι ενστάσεις που έχουν διατυπωθεί σχετικά με την διεύρυνση/επέκταση του όρου diglossia/κοινωνική διγλωσσία προς την κατεύθυνση της διγλωσσίας-bilingualism και άλλων συναφών κοινωνιολογικών συνθηκών. Βλ. ενδεικτικά Daltas και αναλυτικά (με περαιτέρω βιβλιογραφία) Hudson 2002, ο οποίος θεωρεί σκόπιμο να περιοριστεί ο όρος diglossia/κοινωνική διγλωσσία αποκλειστικά στην κλασική του μορφή, στο σχήμα του Ferguson, δηλ. στη συνύπαρξη δύο γλωσσικών ποικιλιών της *ίδιας* γλώσσας (εσωτερική διγλωσσία).

⁷ Η πρώτη επιβεβαιωμένη χρήση του όρου γίνεται από τον Ε. Ροϊδη το 1885 και στη συνέχεια από τον Γ. Ψυχάρη, βλ. Mackridge 2009: 27 κ.ε.· για τη χρήση του όρου πριν τον Ferguson βλ. Kremnitz 1987. Σύμφωνα με το λεξικό του Κουμανούδη (Κουμανούδης 1900) τον όρο, όμως, έπλασε και χρησιμοποίησε για πρώτη φορά ο Κ. Οικονόμου ήδη το 1830 (από τη χρονολογία που παραθέτει ο Κουμανούδης προφανώς στη μελέτη του *Περί της γνησίας προφοράς της ελληνικής γλώσσας βιβλίων*. Πετρούπολις: Εν τη τυπογραφία του επί της Δημοσίας Παιδείσεως Υπουργείου).

⁸ Το πρόβλημα της απόδοσης ελληνικών ή ελληνογενών όρων από μια ξένη γλώσσα στα νέα ελληνικά επιφέρει συχνά μεταφραστικές δυσκολίες, όταν στη γλώσσα-πηγή συνυπάρχουν με διαφοροποιημένη σημασία μια λατινική/λατινογενής και μια ελληνική/ελληνογενής λέξη, λ.χ. nation : ethnic, republic : democratic κτλ., δυσκολίες που έχουν λυθεί/λύνονται άλλοτε με περισσότερη, άλλοτε με λιγότερη επιτυχία.

⁹ Για τη χρήση των επιμέρους προτάσεων-όρων βλ. Σελλά-Μάξη 2001: 84 κ.ε., Αρχάκης/Κονδύλη 2004: 101 κ.ε., Κωστόυλα-Μακράκη 2001: 48 κ.ε. Ας προστεθεί εδώ και η πρόταση «αμφιγλωσσία» για το bilingualism στο Σταύρου/Τζεβελέκου 2006: 31 (υποσημείωση 4).

¹⁰ Σε κάποιες περιπτώσεις ο όρος «διμορφία» αποτέλεσε και αποτελεί αντικείμενο ιδεολογικοποίησης –σε συνδυασμό με τον «στιγματισμό» του όρου «διγλωσσία»/diglossia ως (υποτίθεται) δηλωτικού της αντίστιξης ανάμεσα σε δύο διαφορετικές γλώσσες– και προκρίθηκε με το επιχείρημα ότι αποφεύγει το συνειρμό της συνύπαρξης δύο διαφορετικών γλωσσών (βλ. λ.χ. Μπαμπινιώτης 1979: 28, 86 κ.ε., 96· 2011: 17 κ.ε.). Πέραν του ότι η κλασική/εσωτερική διγλωσσία δεν συνεπάγεται ως γνωστόν τη συνύπαρξη διαφορετικών *γλωσσών*, αλλά *ποικιλιών* της ίδιας γλώσσας, το θέμα της πρόσληψης της νέας ελληνικής ως διαφορετικού γλωσσικού συστήματος δεν είναι θεμιτό να επηρεάζει την απόδοση του όρου diglossia στα ελληνικά.

τις τελευταίες δεκαετίες για να δηλώσει τη συνύπαρξη δυο ανεπτυγμένων/επεξεργασμένων γλωσσών, οι οποίες όμως ούτε άνισα χρησιμοποιούνται ούτε συμπληρωματικά. Η Φραγκουδάκη χρησιμοποίησε, λ.χ., τον όρο *societal bilingualism* για να περιγράψει την κοινωνιογλωσσολογική κατάσταση στη νεότερη Ελλάδα από την περίοδο του μεσοπολέμου μέχρι το 1976,¹¹ αντιπαραβάλλοντάς την αφενός με την κατάσταση από τα τέλη του 18^{ου} αιώνα ως το 1880, αφετέρου με την περίοδο από το 1880 ως το μεσοπόλεμο, από τις οποίες την πρώτη αποκαλεί «χαρακτηριστική περίπτωση κοινωνικής διγλωσσίας» (typically diglossic), τη δεύτερη «μεταβατική κοινωνική διγλωσσία» (transitional diglossia).¹² Η επικάλυψη αίρεται, πάντως, σε ικανοποιητικό βαθμό, αν υιοθετήσουμε για το *societal bilingualism* τον όρο «συλλογική διγλωσσία». Όλα αυτά κάπως υπαινικτικά, αλλά για να δοθεί το στίγμα των λίγο πολύ γνωστών προκλήσεων που αφορούν τη σχετική ορολογία στα ελληνικά.

2. Κοινωνική διγλωσσία

Μολονότι ο Ferguson αναφέρθηκε ρητά και αποκλειστικά στη νέα ελληνική, ορίζοντας τη δημοτική και την καθαρεύουσα ως X και Y αντίστοιχα, το θέμα της «διγλωσσίας» είχε απασχολήσει λογίους, φιλόλογους και γλωσσολόγους ήδη τον 19^ο αιώνα. Βέβαια, με αυστηρά κοινωνιογλωσσολογικούς όρους η diglossia χρησιμοποιήθηκε από τον Ferguson και ύστερα (1959), όμως η αρχή έγινε από τον Ε. Ροϊδη και τον Γ. Ψυχάρη, και η σχετική συζήτηση, μέσω Γ. Χατζιδάκι, Κ. Krumbacher και Μ. Τριανταφυλλίδη, οδηγεί σχεδόν απευθείας στο κλασικό άρθρο του Ε. Κριαρά για τη «διγλωσσία» στο Βυζάντιο.¹³ Στο συγκεκριμένο, λοιπόν, πλαίσιο η έννοια της κοινωνικής διγλωσσίας «αποδεσμεύτηκε» από τα συμφραζόμενα του γλωσσικού ζητήματος και τη νεότερη Ελλάδα και συνδέθηκε με δύο άλλες περιόδους της ελληνικής γλωσσικής ιστορίας: την ελληνιστική κοινή και τη μεσαιωνική ελληνική.

Συγκεκριμένα: Για τη μεν ελληνιστική κοινή αποτελεί *communis opinio* η άποψη πως υπήρχαν συνθήκες κοινωνικής διγλωσσίας με Y την αττική ή αττικίζουσα ελληνική και X την καθομιλουμένη της εποχής, μια κατάσταση που συνδέεται άμεσα με το κίνημα του αττικισμού. Για τη δε μεσαιωνική ελληνική κυριαρχεί η άποψη πως η κοινωνική διγλωσσία είναι (ακόμη) πιο ξεκάθαρη, με Y την αττικίζουσα γλώσσα της βυζαντινής γραμματείας (π.χ. Μ. Ψελλός, Α. Κομνηνή) ή έστω τον λεγόμενο ενδιάμεσο γλωσσικό τύπο των χρονογράφων (π.χ. Ι. Μαλάλας, Θεοφάνης), και X τη λεγόμενη δημώδη γλώσσα της βυζαντινής γραμματείας (π.χ. *Διγενής Ακρίτης*, *Πτωχοπροδρομικά*).

Στόχος του παρόντος άρθρου είναι να θέσει προς συζήτηση την εν λόγω σύνδεση αμφισβητώντας την στα βασικά της σημεία. Το ερώτημα που τίθεται εν προκειμένω είναι κατά πόσο είναι δικαιολογημένη η χρήση του όρου κοινωνική διγλωσσία για τις κοινωνιογλωσσολογικές συνθήκες των δύο αυτών περιόδων. Στο σημείο αυτό θεωρώ πως υπάρχουν δύο περιοριστικές παράμετροι που είτε μας εμποδίζουν να χρησιμοποιήσουμε τον όρο κοινωνική διγλωσσία (λ.χ. για την ελληνιστική κοινή) είτε μας αναγκάζουν να τον χρησιμοποιήσουμε με σαφείς περιορισμούς (λ.χ. για τη μεσαιωνική ελληνική). Το πρόβλημα εστιάζεται σε δύο σημεία, από τα οποία, λόγω περιορισμένου χώρου, θα δοθεί μεγαλύτερη βαρύτητα στο πρώτο.

2.1 Εγγραμματισμός και γλωσσική κοινότητα στο Βυζάντιο

Το πρώτο σημείο αφορά την Y και τον εγγραμματισμό της γλωσσικής κοινότητας, οι πτυχές του οποίου θα αναλυθούν με αφετηρία τη μεσαιωνική ελληνική.

Ξεκινώντας από τη μεσαιωνική ελληνική είναι, νομίζω, θεμελιώδες να υπογραμμίσουμε προκαταρκτικά την εξής αντίφαση, η οποία δεν αποτελεί μεν τμήμα του βασικού συλλογισμού και των ενστάσεων του παρόντος άρθρου, αλλά είναι ακόμη ευρύτερα διαδεδομένη –τόσο σε φιλολογικά όσο και σε γλωσσολογικά δημοσιεύματα– και ως εκ τούτου στοιχειοθετεί ένα επιπλέον πρόβλημα για τη σύνδεση της κοινωνικής διγλωσσίας με το Βυζάντιο: Πρόκειται για την χρήση του όρου κοινωνική διγλωσσία στο πλαίσιο της βυζαντινής γραμματείας, κι όχι στο πλαίσιο της γλωσσικής κοινότητας.

¹¹ Frangoudaki 2002: 101.

¹² Frangoudaki 2002: 101. Αν και σε κάποια σημεία η διάκριση αυτή δεν ανταποκρίνεται στα κοινωνιογλωσσολογικά δεδομένα της εποχής, καθώς αγνοεί τον καταλυτικό ρόλο που έπαιξε η ίδρυση του νεοελληνικού κράτους και ο γλωσσικός σχεδιασμός που εκείνο άσκησε τις δεκαετίες που ακολούθησαν (βλ. παρακάτω: αναλυτική πραγμάτευση του θέματος στο Karvounis 2013), η περιοδολόγηση της νεοελληνικής διγλωσσίας, την οποία επιχειρεί η Φραγκουδάκη, είναι θεμελιώδης, γιατί δεν προσανατολίζεται (όπως όλες οι μέχρι τώρα προσεγγίσεις) στα δεδομένα του γλωσσικού ζητήματος, αλλά στην κοινωνιογλωσσολογική κατάσταση της εποχής.

¹³ Κριαράς 1976. Για την ιδεολογικοποίηση της «διγλωσσίας» από την εποχή των *Ειδώλων* του Ε. Ροϊδη μέχρι τον Γ. Χατζιδάκι και τον Μ. Τριανταφυλλίδη βλ. Karvounis 2013.

Μιλώντας κανείς για κοινωνική διγλωσσία στο Βυζάντιο (με ελάχιστες εξαιρέσεις)¹⁴ αναφέρεται στη διαφοροποίηση της *γραφτής* γλώσσας, δηλ. στη συνύπαρξη τριών γραπτών (λειτουργικών;) «ποικιλιών», που μετά τον 12^ο αιώνα χρησιμοποιήθηκαν εκ παραλλήλου, δηλ. τη λόγια, την «ενδιάμεση» και τη δημόδη. Στο σημείο αυτό, όμως, πρέπει να λάβουμε υπόψη μας τουλάχιστον τα εξής: 1) Και οι τρεις «ποικιλίες» είναι γραπτές, δηλ. εκφράζουν αντιθέσεις και συμβάσεις του γραπτού λόγου, οπότε δεν στοιχειοθετούν τη συνήθη για την κοινωνική διγλωσσία αντίστιξη «γραφτός : προφορικός» λόγος, μια αντίστιξη που δεν αναφέρεται ρητά ως προϋπόθεση από τον Ferguson, όμως χαρακτηρίζει σε μεγάλο βαθμό την κοινωνική διγλωσσία: γεγονός, το οποίο σχετικά πρόσφατα επεσήμανε ο Coulmas.¹⁵ Η κοινωνική διγλωσσία αποτελεί σε γενικές γραμμές την αντίστιξη της προφορικότητας προς έναν παραδοσιακό και ως εκ τούτου υψηλού κύρους γραπτό κώδικα. Και μολονότι οι γραπτές «ποικιλίες» της βυζαντινής γραμματείας χαρακτηρίζονται σαφώς από στοιχεία αξιολόγησης και απαξίωσης, δεν ανταποκρίνονται βέβαια στην αντίθεση «προφορικός : γραπτός» λόγος, η οποία διακρίνει συνήθως την κοινωνική διγλωσσία. 2) Στα ίδια συμφοραζόμενα, η λεγόμενη X, δηλ. η δημόδης (γραφτή) γλώσσα της βυζαντινής γραμματείας, δεν αποτελεί έναν ενιαίο γλωσσικό τύπο, αλλά ένα συμβατικό άθροισμα γλωσσικών τύπων που ήταν πολύ διαφορετικοί μεταξύ τους, κι όπου αυτή η διαφορετικότητα ξεπερνάει κατά πολύ τις διαφορές ύφους και γραμματειακού είδους. Αν συγκρίνουμε λ.χ. τη γλώσσα του *Διγενή Ακρίτη* με την γλώσσα των υποτιτικών μυθιστορημάτων (π.χ. *Βέλθανδρος και Χρυσάντζα*) έχουμε να κάνουμε με ουσίως γλωσσικές διαφορές που δεν μπορούν να ερμηνευτούν με βάση την λεγόμενη ποικιλομορφία της μεσαιωνικής ελληνικής. 3) Η λεγόμενη X της βυζαντινής γραμματείας αποτελούσε σε πολλές περιπτώσεις μια γραπτή τυποποιημένη (λογοτεχνική) κοινή, αλλά σε καμία περίπτωση δεν ήταν η ή έστω μία ομιλούμενη δημόδης της εποχής, η οποία θα μπορούσε να ταυτιστεί με την X της κοινωνικής διγλωσσίας. Ως εκ τούτου η λεγόμενη κοινωνική διγλωσσία του Βυζαντίου είναι μια «διγλωσσία εγγραμματοςμού», μια εναλλαγή γραπτών «ποικιλιών», η οποία σε αυτή τη μορφή δεν ανταποκρίνεται στο κοινωνιογλωσσολογικό μοντέλο της κοινωνικής διγλωσσίας.¹⁶

Παρόλα αυτά η αντίστιξη *δημόδης προφορική ποικιλία* από τη μια πλευρά και *αττικίζουσα γραπτή* από την άλλη πρέπει να θεωρηθεί δεδομένη για τη μεσαιωνική ελληνική, μια κατάσταση που αναντίρρητα ενείχε βασικά στοιχεία της κοινωνικής διγλωσσίας: Η αττικίζουσα, λ.χ., γραπτή ποικιλία (είτε στον λόγιο είτε στον ενδιάμεσο τύπο της) είχε λογοτεχνική παράδοση, υψηλό κύρος, η απόκτησή της προϋπέθετε συστηματική διδασκαλία, χρησιμοποιούνταν σε συγκεκριμένα πεδία και σε συγκεκριμένες περιστάσεις, υπήρξε αντικείμενο γλωσσικής ανάλυσης και, ασφαλώς, δεν ήταν η φυσική γλώσσα κανενός. Η καθομιλούμενη ή οι καθομιλούμενες από την άλλη ήταν αναντίρρητα ποικιλία/ποικιλίες χαμηλού κύρους. Δεν διέθεταν γραπτή και λογοτεχνική παράδοση (τουλάχιστον μέχρι ενός σημείου), χρησιμοποιούνταν σε συγκεκριμένο περιβάλλον, ήταν απαξιωμένες και ήταν, βέβαια, φυσικές γλώσσες. Τα δεδομένα λοιπόν που στοιχειοθετούν μια κατάσταση κοινωνικής διγλωσσίας μπορούμε να πούμε ότι υπήρχαν. Εδώ όμως υπεισέρχεται μια θεμελιώδης διαφορά, το εύρος της χρήσης της Y και το επίπεδο εγγραμματοςμού της γλωσσικής κοινότητας: ή, με καθαρά κοινωνιογλωσσολογικούς όρους, το ζήτημα της εναλλαγής των ποικιλιών/κωδίκων. Σε τυπικές καταστάσεις κοινωνικής διγλωσσίας θεμελιώδης χαρακτηριστικό αποτελεί η εναλλαγή των γλωσσικών ποικιλιών. Συγκεκριμένα, η γλωσσική κοινότητα πρέπει α) είτε να είναι κατά ένα δημογραφικά σημαντικό ποσοστό σε θέση να χρησιμοποιεί και τις δύο ποικιλίες, και πιο συγκεκριμένα την Y, άσχετα αν αυτό εξαρτάται από το εκάστοτε επίπεδο μόρφωσης του χρήστη (όπου βέβαια η χρήση της υψηλής ποικιλίας μπορεί να είναι άριστη, πολύ καλή, επαρκής, ικανοποιητική ή περιορισμένη), β) τουλάχιστον να *αντιλαμβάνεται* και να *αναγνωρίζει* την Y ως ποικιλία υψηλού κύρους. Διαφορετικά δεν μπορούμε να μιλάμε καν για συνύπαρξη, πόσο μάλλον για συμπληρωματική κατανομή των λειτουργιών. Στην γερμανόφωνη Ελβετία, λ.χ., η πρότυπη γερμανική, μολονότι δεν χρησιμοποιείται επαρκώς από όλους τους ομιλητές, αποτελεί ωστόσο μια σταθερά της γλωσσικής κοινότητας, καθώς είναι η γλώσσα του τύπου και γενικότερα των MME, της εκπαίδευσης, του πολιτικού λόγου κ.λπ. Η αλλαγή του γλωσσικού κώδικα, εν προκειμένω η αλλαγή από την X στην Y και αντίστροφα, πέραν του ότι είναι εθιμική ή εν μέρει και θεσμοθετημένη, αποτελεί βασική γλωσσική πρακτική για το μεγαλύτερο ποσοστό της γλωσσικής κοινότητας. Αν και σαφώς όχι στην ίδια έκταση, η αλλαγή της ποικιλίας (ή έστω η επίγνωση της αλλαγής) αποτελεί ουσιώδες χαρακτηριστικό τόσο για τις αραβικές γλωσσικές κοινότητες όσο και για διάφορες άλλες κοινότητες, στις οποίες υπάρχει κοινωνική διγλωσσία. Εδώ έγκειται και η διαφορά προς τις αρχαίες/μεσαιωνικές κοινωνίες –όπως επίσης και τις κοινωνίες της νεότερης (προβιομηχανικής) εποχής– τις οποίες εκλαμβάνουμε ως καταστάσεις κοινωνικής διγλωσσίας. Δηλαδή: Το επίπεδο εγγραμματοςμού (με την σημερινή σημασία του όρου)

¹⁴ Σύντομη, αλλά σαφής διαφοροποίηση στο Eideneier 2000: 6.

¹⁵ Coulmas 1994.

¹⁶ Αναλυτικότερα στο Karvounis 2013.

στις μεσαιωνικές (και όχι μόνο) γλωσσικές κοινότητες και η χρήση της Υ ήταν όχι απλά περιορισμένα, αλλά περιλάμβαναν ένα ιδιαίτερα μικρό ποσοστό της γλωσσικής κοινότητας, το οποίο δεν ξεπερνούσε το 5%. Ακόμα κι αν συμπεριλάβουμε ανθρώπους με εντελώς στοιχειώδη «μόρφωση», δηλ. ανθρώπους που μπορούσαν να διαβάσουν μερικές σειρές μιας επιγραφής, μια πινακίδα ή και να γράψουν το όνομά τους, το ποσοστό αυτό δεν ξεπερνούσε το 10% και παραμένει εντυπωσιακά περιορισμένο ως προς το σύνολο της γλωσσικής κοινότητας.¹⁷ Βασική παράμετρος στο σημείο αυτό είναι βέβαια η γραφή και η διάδοσή της. Και κατ' επέκταση η διάδοση της Υ, η οποία σε μια τεχνολογικά εξελιγμένη κοινωνία είναι πανταχού παρούσα, κυρίως μέσω της γραφής, αλλά όχι μόνο –το ραδιόφωνο και η τηλεόραση μπορούν ως γνωστόν να λειτουργήσουν στο σημείο αυτό καταλυτικά. Το βασικό ζήτημα είναι, λοιπόν, ο βαθμός διείσδυσης της Υ σε όλα τα κοινωνικά στρώματα¹⁸ και γενικότερα η πολυπλοκότητα της γλωσσικής εφαρμογής.¹⁹ Ας θυμηθούμε τα πεδία χρήσης της Υ του Ferguson: λειτουργία/κήρυγμα στην εκκλησία, αλληλογραφία, πολιτικός λόγος, πανεπιστημιακή παράδοση, ειδήσεις στο ραδιόφωνο, ανακοινώσεις, επίσημα σχόλια, υπότιτλοι σε εικόνες, λογοτεχνία. Τα περισσότερα από αυτά προϋποθέτουν μια εγγραμματοσμένη, «μοντέρνα»²⁰ κοινωνία με κυρίαρχη την αίσθηση του δημόσιου λόγου. Ας σταθούμε στην έννοια του *δημόσιου λόγου*, γιατί, πέραν του ότι είτε προϋποθέτει είτε προάγει τη γλωσσική τυποποίηση, αποτελεί μια αναφαίρετη κοινωνιογλωσσολογική σταθερά σε μια «μοντέρνα» γλωσσική κοινότητα. Αν εξαιρέσουμε το ραδιόφωνο όλα τα υπόλοιπα προαναφερθέντα πεδία μπορούμε, βέβαια, να τα βρούμε σε οποιαδήποτε εγγραμματοσμένη κοινωνία, και φυσικά σε εκείνη των Βυζαντινών. Η διαφορά έγκειται, όμως, στο ότι ο «δημόσιος λόγος», η πρότυπη/«επίσημη» γλώσσα, επιβάλλεται τρόπον τινά σε μια «μοντέρνα» κοινωνία μέσω θεσμικών λειτουργιών και τεχνολογικών μέσων (τύπος, εκπαιδευτικό σύστημα, κρατικός μηχανισμός, ραδιόφωνο κ.λπ.) και στοχεύει στο *σύνολο της γλωσσικής κοινότητας*, ενώ σε μια μεσαιωνική (ή νεότερη προβιομηχανική) κοινωνία λείπει ακριβώς αυτό το υπόβαθρο, οπότε η Υ περιορίζεται εκ των πραγμάτων και συνειδητά στον πολύ περιορισμένο κύκλο των εγγραμμάτων. Κατά συνέπεια το 90% έως 95% της γλωσσικής κοινότητας είτε αγνοεί την ύπαρξη της υψηλής ποικιλίας είτε απλά δεν ξέρει να την χρησιμοποιήσει. Το ερώτημα που τίθεται, λοιπόν, είναι κατά πόσο μπορούμε να μιλάμε για κοινωνική διγλωσσία σε κοινωνίες που ο εγγραμματοςμός αφορά τη μειονότητα και η εναλλαγή της Υ και της Χ δεν είναι ίδιον της γλωσσικής κοινότητας συνολικά, αλλά της *κοινότητας των εγγραμμάτων*.

Αντίθετα, σε μια «μοντέρνα» κοινωνία, λ.χ. στην νεότερη Ελλάδα προς τα τέλη του 19^{ου} αιώνα, είναι προφανές ότι η Υ, ή έστω πτυχές της, εισβάλλει πια ποικιλοτρόπως στη γλωσσική κοινότητα, την οποία επηρεάζει σταδιακά στο σύνολό της, καθώς παγιώνει ένα αξιολογικό σύστημα και διαπλάθει μια συγκεκριμένη γλωσσική συνείδηση με σαφείς απόψεις για την «ορθή»/«επίσημη» και ως εκ τούτου πρότυπη γλώσσα, ακόμα και σε ανθρώπους που γνωρίζουν υποτυπωδώς ανάγνωση και γραφή.²¹

Ως εκ τούτου είναι ίσως ασφαλέστερο να μιλάμε για κοινωνική διγλωσσία, αφ' ης στιγμής η Υ αποκτήσει *ερείσματα* στο *σύνολο* της γλωσσικής κοινότητας, λ.χ. από τη στιγμή που ο «αναλφάβητος χωρικός» (ας συγχωρεθεί εδώ η συμβατική αυτή γενίκευση) έχει επίγνωση ότι τα «αφτιά» λέγονται και (ή πρέπει να λέγονται/γράφονται) «ώτα», τα «κουτιά» «κυτία», τα «γάντια» «χειρόκτια», το «σε» «εις» κ.ο.κ. – δηλαδή μια κοινωνιογλωσσολογική κατάσταση που σαφώς δεν χαρακτηρίζει τη βυζαντινή γλωσσική κοινότητα.

Αν η ερμηνεία αυτή είναι σωστή και η συνειδητότητα της Υ είναι ένα φαινόμενο που συνδέεται άμεσα και άρρηκτα με σύγχρονους κοινωνικούς, τεχνολογικούς και οικονομικούς όρους, λ.χ. την ύπαρξη οργανωμένου κράτους, το οποίο συνεπάγεται οργανωμένο, ενιαίο εκπαιδευτικό σύστημα, γλωσσικό σχεδιασμό, κρατικό μηχανισμό, (εθνικό;) στρατό, ΜΜΕ, δημόσιο λόγο, εγγραμματοςμό και γενικότερα τρόπους διείσδυσης της Υ στον σύνολο της γλωσσικής κοινότητας, τότε δεν μπορούμε

¹⁷ Για το ελληνικό κράτος βλ. Τσουκαλάς 2006: 393 (πίνακας 61). Για τον εγγραμματοςμό στη (δυτική) Ευρώπη μεταξύ Αναγέννησης και Διαφωτισμού βλ. Houston 2001. Συνοπτικά Houston 2011. Για τον εγγραμματοςμό γενικότερα βλ. Ong.

¹⁸ Το ότι σε κάποιες περιπτώσεις μόνο ένα μικρό ποσοστό της γλωσσικής κοινότητας κατέχει την Υ (Schiffman 1997: 206) δεν αίρει την ένσταση, το ζήτημα είναι η σχέση του υπόλοιπου της γλωσσικής κοινότητας με την Υ. Περισσότερα στο Karvounis 2013.

¹⁹ Για τον ίδιο λόγο δεν μπορούμε, βέβαια, να εκλάβουμε ως κοινωνική διγλωσσία τις συνθήκες εναλλαγής γλωσσών σε καλλιεργημένες κοινωνικές ελίτ, λ.χ. στην τσαρική Ρωσία (γαλλικά : ρωσικά) (το παράδειγμα είναι του Fishman) ή στον κύκλο των Φαναριωτών (γαλλικά : ελληνικά / τουρκικά), καθώς δεν μπορούμε να μιλάμε για τη γλωσσική κοινότητα στο σύνολό της, αλλά μάλλον για «μόδα» και γλωσσική συμπεριφορά μιας κοινωνικής ελίτ.

²⁰ Με την σημασία του ότι αυτή έχει βιώσει τις μεταβολές που χαρακτηρίζουν τις «ανεπτυγμένες» σύγχρονες κοινωνίες, λ.χ. ανάπτυξη αστικής τάξης, αστικοποίηση, βιομηχανική επανάσταση, υποχρεωτικό και ενιαίο εκπαιδευτικό σύστημα για το σύνολο της κοινωνίας, ανεπτυγμένη οικονομία, δημόσιος/κρατικός διοικητικός μηχανισμός, τύπος, ανεπτυγμένο νομικό σύστημα κ.α.

²¹ Για την κοινωνική διγλωσσία και το γλωσσικό ζήτημα στο νεοελληνικό κράτος βλ. Σταυρίδη-Πατρικίου 1976, Hering 1987 και Mackridge 2009.

εύκολα να μιλήσουμε για κοινωνική διγλωσσία σε προβιομηχανικές κοινωνίες²² ή γενικότερα σε κοινωνίες που δεν διακρίνονται από τα παραπάνω (ή έστω τα περισσότερα από αυτά) χαρακτηριστικά, αλλά μάλλον για μια κοινωνική διγλωσσία της κοινότητας των εγγραμμάτων.

2.2 Διακριτές ποικιλίες στην ελληνιστική κοινή

Το δεύτερο σημείο, η δεύτερη ένσταση αφορά αποκλειστικά την περίοδο της ελληνιστικής κοινής. Η σύνδεση της κοινωνικής διγλωσσίας με την ελληνιστική εποχή και τον αττικισμό συζητήθηκε ήδη από τον Γ. Χατζιδάκι, αλλά κυρίως από τον Μ. Τριανταφυλλίδη, ο οποίος αφιέρωσε στο θέμα ένα σχετικό άρθρο.²³ Αφετηρία της όλης συζήτησης είναι, βέβαια, σήμερα κυρίως η διατριβή του Niehoff-Panagiotidis 1994, ο οποίος πραγματεύτηκε το θέμα με σύγχρονους όρους, καταλήγοντας σε γενικές γραμμές σε παρόμοια συμπεράσματα με τους προγενέστερους μελετητές, ότι δηλ. τον 2^ο περίπου αιώνα μ.Χ. (παίρνοντας ως παράδειγμα τον Σέξτο Εμπειρικό κι ένα συγκεκριμένο χωρίο του έργου του *Κατά Μαθηματικών*) μπορούμε να μιλάμε για κοινωνική διγλωσσία με την αττική ή αττικίζουσα γλώσσα ως Υ και την καθομιλουμένη ως Χ.

Πέραν του ότι οι περιοριστικές παράμετροι που προαναφέρθηκαν ισχύουν, βέβαια, και για την ελληνιστική εποχή, υπάρχει και μια επιπλέον ένσταση που αφορά πολύ συγκεκριμένα την αποδειξιμότητα δύο διακριτών γλωσσικών ποικιλιών στην ιστορία της ελληνικής γλώσσας. Καταρχάς να δούμε το θέμα των ποικιλιών στο πλαίσιο της κοινωνικής διγλωσσίας. Αν και δεν ορίστηκε ρητά από τον Ferguson ούτε μελετήθηκε επαρκώς στο πλαίσιο της κοινωνικής διγλωσσίας (τουλάχιστον όσο γνωρίζω), οι διακριτές ποικιλίες αποτελούν θεμελιώδη προϋπόθεση για την ύπαρξη κοινωνικής διγλωσσίας. Ένα ιδιαίτερα καίριο και ελάχιστο συζητημένο θέμα είναι το σημείο σύγκλισης ή απόκλισης των εν λόγω ποικιλιών. Πρόκειται για ποικιλίες, γλωσσικά συστήματα ή γλώσσες; Ερωτήματα που και σε επίπεδο θεωρίας της κοινωνιογλωσσολογίας δεν μπορούν να απαντηθούν πάντοτε με σαφήνεια, καθώς το θέμα ξεφεύγει συχνά από τα όρια της γλωσσολογίας και εμπίπτει στον χώρο της πολιτικής. Ως εκ τούτου η διαφορετικότητα των καταστάσεων κοινωνικής διγλωσσίας δεν επιτρέπει πάντοτε την διατύπωση καθολικών ορισμών. Για να μείνουμε στα κλασικά παραδείγματα του Ferguson: Ακόμη και αν οι γερμανόφωνοι Ελβετοί θεωρούν ή θεωρήσουν ότι η ελβετική γερμανική είναι διαφορετική γλώσσα από την πρότυπη γερμανική, δεν μπορεί εύκολα να ειπωθεί το ίδιο για την περίπτωση της αραβικής. Στο σημείο αυτό υπεισέρχεται και το γεγονός ότι η (δι)γλωσσική κοινότητα αντιλαμβάνεται συνήθως το γλωσσικό σύστημα διαφορετικά απ' τους γλωσσολόγους. Ως δεδομένο πρέπει, πάντως, να θεωρήσουμε ότι η κοινωνική διγλωσσία ως κοινωνιογλωσσολογικό φαινόμενο προϋποθέτει τη συνύπαρξη δύο μεταξύ τους σαφώς διακριτών ποικιλιών, οι οποίες (σε σημαντικό βαθμό) δεν είναι αμοιβαία κατανοητές. Όπως κι αν χαρακτηρίσουμε, πάντως, την κοινωνιογλωσσολογική κατάσταση στο Βυζάντιο από τον 12^ο αιώνα και ύστερα, αυτή προϋποθέτει τη σαφή διάκριση δύο ποικιλιών, ουσιαστικά δύο διαφορετικών γλωσσικών συστημάτων, αφενός της λεγόμενης δημώδους, την οποία συνήθως ταυτίζουμε με τη φυσικά εξελισσόμενη ελληνική της εκάστοτε εποχής, αφετέρου της αττικίζουσας γραπτής γλώσσας της βυζαντινής γραμματείας. Η διάκριση αυτών των ποικιλιών συμπίπτει με την οριοθέτηση της νέας ελληνικής. Δηλ. από τη στιγμή που εμφανίζεται σε γραπτό επίπεδο η δημώδης, ας πούμε η Χ, θεωρούμε ότι ξεκινά η νέα ελληνική, δηλ. από τον 11^ο ή τον 12^ο αιώνα, σύμφωνα με την παραδεδομένη αντίληψη.

Το ερώτημα λοιπόν είναι κατά πόσο μπορούμε να μιλάμε για δύο σαφώς διακριτές ποικιλίες της ελληνικής τον δεύτερο μεταχριστιανικό αιώνα. Οι πηγές της ελληνιστικής εποχής, άμεσες και έμμεσες (λ.χ. λεξικογράφοι), επιβεβαιώνουν ξεκάθαρα μια γλωσσική παρέκκλιση της καθομιλουμένης από της αττικίζουσα γλώσσα της λογοτεχνίας, σε αυτό δεν χωράει αμφιβολία. Ενώ όμως στη βυζαντινή γραμματεία η δημώδης γραπτή ποικιλία, λ.χ. η γλώσσα του *Διγενή Ακρίτη* ή του *Χρονικού* του Λ. Μαχαιρά, αποτελεί μια σαφώς διακριτή ποικιλία ως προς την αττικίζουσα της Άννας Κομνηνής –με αποτέλεσμα να μπορεί κανείς να μιλά για δύο διαφορετικά γλωσσικά συστήματα–, στην ελληνιστική κοινή η δημώδης, τουλάχιστον εκείνη που μαρτυρούν οι γραπτές πηγές, δεν φαίνεται να ήταν ακόμη τόσο διαφορετική από την αττικίζουσα ή την λογοτεχνική κοινή της εποχής. Παρά τις εμφανείς διαφορές, οι οποίες διακρίνουν, λ.χ., την γλώσσα της *Καινής Διαθήκης* από την λογοτεχνική κοινή του Πολύβιου, βασικά δομικά στοιχεία, όπως π.χ. η χρήση του απαρεμφάτου, η χρήση της δοτικής ή η μετοχή, συνεχίζουν να αποτελούν δομικά συστατικά της δημώδους, κάτι που σε γενικές γραμμές επιβεβαιώνεται και από τις ιδιωτικές επιστολές της εποχής. Αντιπαραθέτοντας δηλ. τη γλώσσα της

²² Αναφορά σε προβιομηχανικές κοινωνίες γίνεται και στο Hudson 2002: 20 κ.ε., αλλά αυτή περιορίζεται στις διαφορές που αφορούν το ζήτημα της συμπληρωματικής κατανομής, η οποία απουσιάζει σε προβιομηχανικές κοινωνίες.

²³ Τριανταφυλλίδης 1963.

Καινής Διαθήκης προς τη λογοτεχνική κοινή της εποχής δεν μπορούμε να μιλήσουμε για δύο διαφορετικά γλωσσικά συστήματα, αλλά μάλλον για μια κατάσταση όπου η δημόδης ποικιλία (όσο μπορούμε να την συλλάβουμε μέσα από τις γραπτές πηγές) διαφοροποιείται μεν εμφανώς από την λογοτεχνική κοινή της εποχής, αλλά όχι τόσο ώστε να αποτελεί διακριτό γλωσσικό σύστημα. Η σύγκριση με την εξέλιξη των ρομανικών γλωσσών είναι στο σημείο αυτό πολύ χρήσιμη. Μολονότι η παρέκκλιση της δημόδους από την κλασική λατινική ανάγεται ήδη στο *Σατυρικόν* του Πετρώνιου (1^{ος} αιώνας μ.Χ.) οι ρομανικές γλώσσες ως διακριτές ποικιλίες μαρτυρούνται περίπου από τον 9^ο αιώνα μ.Χ. και ύστερα. Αν θεωρήσουμε π.χ. το λεγόμενο *Γρίφο της Βερόνας* ή την επιγραφή στην κατακόμβη της Commodilla ως τα πρώτα μνημεία της ιταλικής (9^{ος} αιώνας),²⁴ γεγονός που σαφώς στοιχειοθετεί τις προϋποθέσεις κοινωνικής διγλωσσίας, συνειδητοποιούμε ότι οι προϋποθέσεις αυτές είναι άρρηκτα συνδεδεμένες με τη διακριτότητα δύο γλωσσικών ποικιλιών/συστημάτων, μια κατάσταση που δεν μπορεί, βέβαια, να αναχθεί στον 2^ο και 3^ο μεταχριστιανικό αιώνα. Εφόσον στην περίπτωση της ελληνικής, σύμφωνα με τα ισχύοντα, δεν μπορούμε να μιλάμε για διακριτές ποικιλίες πριν τον 11^ο ή 12^ο αιώνα, φαίνεται αρκετά δύσκολο να υποθέσουμε ότι τον 2^ο αιώνα μ.Χ. υπήρχαν οι (καθαρά) γλωσσικές προϋποθέσεις κοινωνικής διγλωσσίας.²⁵

Συμπερασματικά καταλήγουμε πως η σύνδεση της κοινωνικής διγλωσσίας με τα κοινωνιογλωσσολογικά δεδομένα της μεσαιωνικής ελληνικής και της ελληνιστικής κοινής δεν ευσταθεί για δύο λόγους. Αφενός επειδή η χρήση της Υ ήταν περιορισμένη στο 5% έως 10% της γλωσσικής κοινότητας, οπότε ελάχιστα την επηρέαζε στο σύνολό της –κυρίως λόγω των κοινωνικοοικονομικών δομών κάθε προβιομηχανικής κοινωνίας και την απουσία κρατικής οργάνωσης, όπως την αντιλαμβανόμαστε από τον 18^ο ή 19^ο αιώνα και ύστερα–, άρα στην καλύτερη περίπτωση θα μπορούσαμε να μιλήσουμε για κοινωνική διγλωσσία της *κοινότητας των εγγραμμάτων*. Αφετέρου, προκειμένου για την ελληνιστική κοινή και μολονότι οι διαφορές μεταξύ δημόδους και αττικίζουσας είναι σαφείς και πολλές, επειδή κατά τον 2^ο αιώνα μ.Χ. οι πηγές δεν στηρίζουν την ύπαρξη δύο δομικά σαφώς διακριτών ποικιλιών, άρα και οι καθαρά γλωσσικές προϋποθέσεις για την ύπαρξη κοινωνικής διγλωσσίας δεν φαίνεται να υπήρχαν.

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²⁴ Castellani 1976: 25, 35 κ.ε. Durante 1993: 83 κ.ε.

²⁵ Στο σημείο αυτό αξίζει να αναφερθούμε στο θέμα της αμοιβαίας κατανόησης. Το ότι ένας αναλφάβητος χωρικός δεν κατανοούσε, λ.χ., (πλήρως) τη γλώσσα του Ιωάννη του Χρυσόστομου δεν οφειλόταν μόνο στην αττικίζουσα δομή της γλώσσας του τελευταίου, αλλά και στον *εγγραμματισμό* ως *τρόπο/λειτουργία*, με την έννοια της konzeptionelle Schriftlichkeit των Koch/Österreicher 1994 (σε αντίθεση με τον *εγγραμματισμό* ως *μέσον/δίαυλο* [οι όροι *τρόπος/λειτουργία*, *μέσον/δίαυλος* με καθαρά κοινωνιογλωσσολογική σημασία]), δηλ. στην επεξεργασία/καλλιέργεια του γραπτού λόγου και στις ιδιότητές του ως απομακρυσμένης/«αποστασιοποιημένης»/ (Distanzsprache, πάλι σύμφωνα με τον όρο των Koch/Österreicher 1985) γλώσσα/λειτουργικής ποικιλίας.

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Η ΕΤΥΜΟΛΟΓΗΣΗ ΣΕ ΔΙΑΛΕΚΤΙΚΑ ΓΛΩΣΣΑΡΙΑ ΚΑΙ ΛΕΞΙΚΑ: ΠΑΡΑΔΕΙΓΜΑΤΑ ΑΠΟ ΤΟ ΚΥΘΗΡΑΪΚΟ ΙΔΙΩΜΑ

Γεωργία Κατσούδα
KENΔΙ-ΙΑΝΕ,
Ακαδημία Αθηνών, Ελλάδα
katsouda@academyofathens.gr

ABSTRACT

The aim of this article is the study of etymology within the framework of dialect lexicography. We will present the problems encountered during the collection and processing of diachronic and synchronic dialect data, proposing methodological principles for dialect etymology. Our discussion will be based on data from the dialect of Cythera. Apart from the theoretical approach, the present paper hopes to contribute to the study of the dialect of Cythera and other MG dialects, by suggesting new or improved etymologies for several dialect words.

Λέξεις κλειδιά: διαλεκτικά λεξικά, διαλεκτική ετυμολογία, διαδιαλεκτικός, ενδοδιαλεκτικός, μεταλεξικογραφική μελέτη.

1. Εισαγωγή- Στόχοι και Δομή της εργασίας

Είναι γενικώς αποδεκτό ότι ήδη από τα τέλη του εικοστού αιώνα έχει ιδιαίτερα αναπτυχθεί το ενδιαφέρον για τις νεοελληνικές (ν.ε.) διαλέκτους, το οποίο εκφράζεται με την αυξημένη παραγωγή διαλεκτικών λεξικογραφικών εργασιών. Όπως παρατηρεί μάλιστα η Κατσογιάννου (2008: 654), από τη δεκαετία του '80 και εξής η διαλεκτική λεξικογραφία περνά από τα χέρια των ειδικών φιλολόγων και γλωσσολόγων, που μέχρι τότε συνέγραφαν λεξικά-εργαλεία για την έρευνα και δεν απευθύνονταν στον μέσο χρήστη (ό.π.: 651), στα χέρια και των μη ειδικών που συνδέονται βιωματικά με το ιδίωμα που περιγράφουν λεξικογραφικώς. Αυτές οι εκλαϊκευμένες εργασίες έχουν τη μορφή λεξικών ή γλωσσαρίων (βλ. παρακάτω). Σε αυτές τις περιπτώσεις, τον ρόλο του εκδότη αναλαμβάνουν διάφορες τοπικές οργανώσεις και σύλλογοι, ενώ δεν λείπουν και οι περιπτώσεις αυτοέκδοσης (Κατσογιάννου 2008: 654-655, Κατσούδα 2012α: 90)¹.

Εντούτοις, αν και οι λεξικογραφικές εργασίες έχουν κατά κόρον αυξηθεί, διότι η παραδοσιακή διαλεκτική έρευνα ασχολείται κατεξοχήν με το λεξιλόγιο γεωγραφικών ποικιλιών, είναι ελάχιστες οι μεταλεξικογραφικές μελέτες (πρβλ. Κατσογιάννου 2008: 649).

Μεταλεξικογραφικής φύσης είναι και το παρόν άρθρο με αντικείμενο το ζήτημα της ετυμολόγησης στον χώρο της διαλεκτικής λεξικογραφίας. Συγκεκριμένα, θα εντοπιστούν τα προβλήματα που εμφανίζουν λεξικά και γλωσσάρια στις φάσεις α) της συλλογής και β) της επιστημονικής επεξεργασίας του συγχρονικού ή διαχρονικού διαλεκτικού υλικού, με κύριο στόχο να αναδειχθούν μεθοδολογικές προϋποθέσεις αλλά και απαραίτητα «εργαλεία» κατά την ετυμολογική έρευνα. Συγκεκριμένα στα κεφ. 4,5 και 6 παρουσιάζονται τα βασικότερα προβλήματα της διαλεκτικής ετυμολογίας, ενώ στα υποκεφάλαια του κεφ. 4 αναπτύσσονται οι βασικές ετυμολογικές προϋποθέσεις και εργαλεία που θα προαγάγουν τη διαλεκτική ετυμολογία. Στην προσπάθειά μας αυτή θα αξιοποιήσουμε σύγχρονες μελέτες για την ελληνική ετυμολογία (βλ. Μωυσιάδης 2005 και 2011). Λόγω του αχανούς διαλεκτικού υλικού, θα περιοριστούμε σε παραδείγματα από το κυθηραϊκό ιδίωμα, τα οποία θα αποτελέσουν τη βάση της συζήτησής μας. Αυτά αποδελτιώθηκαν α) από λεξικογραφικές εργασίες (Κασιμάτης 1993, Κόμης 1995)², β) από μελέτες για το ιδίωμα (ενδεικτικά, Κοντοσόπουλος 1981, Βαγιακάκος 1988), γ) από το ΙΑΝΕ, δ) από το αρχείο του ΚΕΝΔΙ, ε) καθώς και από προφορικό υλικό

¹ Παρόμοια κατάσταση περιγράφουν για την Ιταλία οι Barbato & Varvaro (2004: 430), οι οποίοι μας πληροφορούν ότι και εκεί η διαλεκτική λεξικογραφική παραγωγή ανθεί: λεξικά γράφονται από ερασιτέχνες, τα οποία εκδίδονται ή χρηματοδοτούνται από τοπικές αρχές και συμβούλια.

² Για τη λεξικογραφική παραγωγή σχετικά με όλες τις νεοελληνικές διαλέκτους και ιδιώματα, βλ. Κατσούδα 2012β. Ειδικά, για τα λεξικά και γλωσσάρια του κυθηραϊκού ιδιώματος, βλ. Κατσούδα (2012β: 489).

κυθήριων πληροφορητών που συγκεντρώθηκε κατά τη διάρκεια προσωπικής επιτόπιας έρευνας. Δεδομένου ότι το κυθηραϊκό λεξιλόγιο –πλούσιο τόσο σε αρχαιοπινείς λέξεις όσο και σε δάνειες (βενετικές, ιταλικές και λιγότερο τουρκικές) – παρουσιάζει μεγάλες ομοιότητες με τα ιδιώματα της Κρήτης, της Μάνης, των Κυκλάδων, και λιγότερο με τα ιδιώματα των Επτανήσων (Κοντοσόπουλος 1981: 137), είναι αναπόφευκτη η σύγκριση του παραπάνω συλλεγέντος υλικού με το αντίστοιχο άλλων γεωγραφικών ποικιλιών.

Σε καμία περίπτωση δεν θέλουμε να κρίνουμε τη λεξικογραφική και ετυμολογική επάρκεια των λεξικογραφικών εργασιών που θα αναφερθούν παρακάτω. Όπως ήδη έχουν επισημάνει οι Barbato & Varvaro (2004: 430, 432), ακόμη και η πιο ερασιτεχνική προσπάθεια προσφέρει ενδιαφέροντα δεδομένα, πόσο μάλλον οι αντίστοιχες εργασίες που συντάχθηκαν από ειδικούς (φιλόλογους ή γλωσσολόγους).

Πέρα από τη θεωρητική προσέγγιση του ζητήματος, με αυτή την ανακοίνωση θα συμβάλουμε στη μελέτη του κυθηραϊκού ιδιώματος αλλά και άλλων διαλεκτικών ποικιλιών, καθώς 1) θα ετυμολογήσουμε λέξεις του ιδιώματος οι οποίες δεν έχουν ετυμολογηθεί μέχρι στιγμής (π.χ. *σόρτσος* κ.ά.) και 2) θα προτείνουμε ετυμολογήσεις διαφορετικές απ' αυτές που έχουν ήδη προταθεί για λέξεις που απαντούν τόσο στο κυθηραϊκό ιδίωμα όσο και σε άλλες ν.ε. διαλέκτους ή ιδιώματα (π.χ. *σούρδιση*, *καβαγιάδα* κ.ά.).

2. Είδη διαλεκτικών λεξικών³

Τα διαλεκτικά λεξικά⁴, τα λεξικά δηλαδή που καταγράφουν το λεξιλόγιο μιας γεωγραφικής ποικιλίας, είναι μια κατηγορία περιορισμένων λεξικών (limited), συνήθως μονόγλωσσων (monolingual), που αντιδιαστέλλονται στα γενικά λεξικά (βλ. Ξυδόπουλος 2008: 287-294). Πολλά απ' αυτά είναι απλώς γλωσσάρια, δηλ. έργα μικρής έκτασης που παραθέτουν μόνο μεταφραστικά ισοδύναμα, χωρίς να παρέχουν μορφολογικές ή σημασιολογικές πληροφορίες (βλ. Ξυδόπουλος 2008: 342, Κατσογιάννου 2008: 654).

Ανάλογα με τη γεωγραφική έκταση που καλύπτουν τα διαλεκτικά λεξικά, σύμφωνα με τους Barbato & Varvaro (2004: 432) διακρίνονται σε α) τοπικά λεξικά (regional) που με τη σειρά τους διαιρούνται στα λεξικά 1) μεμονωμένου τόπου (of single locality) ή 2) μιας μικροπεριοχής (of microarea), και σε β) πανδιαλεκτικά λεξικά (pan-dialect).

Ανάλογα με το αν ο λεξικός πλούτος μιας γεωγραφικής ποικιλίας καταγράφεται σε μια συγκεκριμένη χρονική φάση ή περιγράφεται μέσα στον χρόνο, τα λεξικά κατηγοριοποιούνται σε α) συγχρονικά και β) διαχρονικά. Τα διαχρονικά λεξικά με τη σειρά τους υποδιαιρούνται σε 1) ιστορικά όπου καταγράφονται όλες οι μορφολογικές, φωνολογικές και σημασιολογικές μεταβολές του διαλεκτικού λεξιλογίου, 2) ετυμολογικά όπου καταγράφεται η προέλευση κάθε λέξης (βλ. Κατσοῦδα 2012α: 82-83, Ξυδόπουλος 2008: 290). Σ' αυτό σημείο πρέπει να πούμε ότι –λόγω της γοητείας που ασκεί η ετυμολογία– αρκετά συγχρονικά λεξικά ετυμολογούν περιστασιακά.

Τέλος, με κριτήριο το είδος του συντάκτη τους τα διαλεκτικά λεξικά μπορούν να διακριθούν, σύμφωνα με τους Barbato & Varvaro (2004: 432), σε συνταγμένα α) από εξειδικευμένους συντάκτες, και β) από ερασιτέχνες κυρίως δασκάλους, διαλεκτικούς ποιητές ή εραστές της τοπικής ιστορίας και κουλτούρας⁵. Εδώ ανήκει ενδεικτικά το κυθηραϊκό λεξικό του Κόμη (1995), για τη σύνταξη του οποίου συνεργάστηκαν εκπαιδευτικοί, δημοσιογράφοι, λογοτέχνες, δικηγόροι, ακόμη κι ένας ορκωτός λογιστής (ό.π.: 11).

3. Η ετυμολογία στα ετυμολογικά διαλεκτικά λεξικά

Τα συνταγμένα από ειδικούς διαλεκτικά λεξικά ακολουθούν επιστημονικά κριτήρια, αναζητούν την πρώτη εμφάνιση της λέξης, εξηγώντας φωνολογικές και μορφολογικές μεταβολές και ετυμολογώντας τα συστατικά στοιχεία από τα οποία παράγεται μια λέξη (επιθήματα, προθήματα κτλ.), ενώ παράλληλα παραπέμπουν σε επιστημονικές εργασίες και σε λεξικογραφικά έργα αναφοράς. Η αδυναμία –ενίοτε– εύρεσης του ορθού ετύμου οφείλεται κυρίως σε δύο αιτίες: α) αρκετές φορές ακόμη και αυτά τα λεξικά

³ Περισσότερα για την κατηγοριοποίηση των διαλεκτικών λεξικών, βλ. Κατσοῦδα (2012α: 79-84).

⁴ Καταγραφή σημαντικών λεξικών και αυτοτελών γλωσσάρων βρίσκουμε στη Μυτούλα (http://www.greeklanguage.gr/greekLang/medieval_greek/bibliographies/idiomatic/contents.html). Βλ. επίσης Παπαναστασίου 2001: 193, Ξυδόπουλος 2008: 432-344.

⁵ Οι Barbato & Varvaro (2004: 432) διακρίνουν και μια ενδιάμεση κατηγορία διαλεκτικών λεξικών, εκείνη που περιλαμβάνει λεξικά συνταγμένα από ειδικούς σε συνεργασία με ερασιτέχνες.

δεν λαμβάνουν υπ' όψιν τους δεδομένα από προγενέστερα ή σύγχρονά τους λεξικογραφικά έργα αναφοράς, μελέτες και άρθρα ή δεν ερευνούν συστηματικά τις πρωτογενείς πηγές και β) τα νέα επιστημονικά δεδομένα και η ανανεωμένη βιβλιογραφία έρχονται να θέσουν υπ' αμφισβήτηση αρκετές ετυμολογικές προτάσεις.

Από την άλλη πάλι, τα ερασιτεχνικά ετυμολογικά λεξικά έχουν τις περισσότερες φορές εγγενή προβλήματα, αφού α) συντάσσονται χωρίς συγκεκριμένη μέθοδο. Τις περισσότερες φορές ετυμολογούν στατικά, χωρίς να αναζητούν την πρώτη εμφάνιση της λέξης και χωρίς να ετυμολογούν όλα τα στοιχεία από τα οποία παράγεται η λέξη. Συνήθως αναδεικνύουν απλώς τις σημασιολογικές σχέσεις που συνέχουν το λεξιλόγιο σε δεδομένη συγχρονία⁶, β) δεν αξιοποιούν τις πρωτογενείς πηγές, γ) δεν συμβουλευονται λεξικογραφικές εργασίες αναφοράς, γι' αυτό η παρατιθέμενη βιβλιογραφία στο τέλος του λεξικού είναι συνήθως ελλιπέστατη. Αντιθέτως συχνά παρουσιάζονται ως ετυμολογικές προτάσεις αστήρικτες προσωπικές εικασίες, που οδηγούν σε παρετυμολογήσεις. Όπως καταλαβαίνουμε, τα προβλήματα είναι ακόμη μεγαλύτερα στα συγχρονικά λεξικά που μόνο κατά περίπτωση προσφέρουν ετυμολογικές πληροφορίες.

Εν γένει τα ετυμολογικά προβλήματα στα διαλεκτικά λεξικά δεν αποτελούν μόνο απόρροια της άγνοιας ή της ελλιπούς εφαρμογής επιστημονικών κριτηρίων, δεν εμφανίζονται δηλαδή μόνο κατά την επεξεργασία του υλικού, αλλά προκύπτουν λόγω ελλείψεων και κατά τη συλλογή του διαλεκτικού συγχρονικού και διαχρονικού υλικού. Παρακάτω θα επισημάνουμε συγκεκριμένα προβλήματα από τη συζήτηση των οποίων θα προκύψουν μεθοδολογικές προϋποθέσεις, απαραίτητες για τη ορθότερη δυνατή ετυμολόγηση διαλεκτικού υλικού.

4. Προβλήματα κατά τη συλλογή και επεξεργασία του διαλεκτικού υλικού

4.1 Η αξιοποίηση ενδοδιαλεκτικών και διαδιαλεκτικών τύπων του ίδιου λήμματος

Σε όσο περισσότερες γλώσσες μαρτυρείται ένας τύπος, τόσο αυξάνονται οι πιθανότητες επιτυχημένης ετυμολόγησης μιας λέξης. Το ίδιο ισχύει και για τους διαλεκτικούς τύπους: όσο περισσότερους τύπους έχουμε –ενδοδιαλεκτικούς (από την ίδια γεωγραφική ποικιλία) αλλά και διαδιαλεκτικούς (από γειτονικές ή μη γεωγραφικές ποικιλίες), τόσο περισσότερο αυξάνονται οι πιθανότητες εύρεσης του σωστού ετύμου.

4.1.1 Η συλλογή ενδοδιαλεκτικών τύπων του ίδιου λήμματος

Συχνά τα διαλεκτικά λεξικά θέτουν ως λήμμα-κεφαλή έναν διαλεκτικό τύπο, χωρίς να καταγράφουν παράλληλους τύπους.

Παράδειγμα 1: Στον Κόμη (1995) βρίσκουμε το λήμμα *ίντικα* 'υάκινθος'. Ενώ αρχικά πιστεύαμε ότι η ετυμολογία σχετίζεται με το βενετικό *giacinto* / *jacinto*, η έρευνά μας στράφηκε προς άλλη κατεύθυνση, όταν οι πληροφορητές μάς διαβεβαίωσαν ότι το συγκεκριμένο λουλούδι λέγεται και *ίνδικα*. Ανάμεσα στις τοπικές ονομασίες του *polyanthes tyberosa*, ο Heldreich (1926: 116) καταγράφει τον κερκυραϊκό τύπο *ίνδιτσι*. Τόσο το κυθηραϊκό *ίντικα* και *ίνδικα* όσο και το κερκυραϊκό *ίνδιτσι* αποτελούν αντιδάνεια που προέρχονται από το ιταλ. *indaco*/ *indico* 'ένα από τα επτά χρώματα της ίριδος, ανάμεσα στο γαλάζιο και το βιολετί', το οποίο προέρχεται από το α.ε. *ίνδικός* (πρβλ. *ινδικό* λόγ. 'το λουλάκι' ΛΝΕΓ 2008³). Σύμφωνα με τους Cortelazzo & Cortelazzo (2004: λήμμα *indaco*), ο αρχαιότερος τύπος *indico* μαρτυρείται μέχρι το 1598 στο τότε εκδεδωμένο λεξικό του Florio, ενώ στη σύγχρονη ιταλική έχει επικρατήσει πλέον μόνο ο τύπος *indaco*. Δεδομένου ότι υπάρχει και το φυτό *ινδικοφόρος* (πρβλ. ιταλικό *indigofero*), από το οποίο προέρχεται το λουλάκι, αντιλαμβανόμαστε ότι το χρώμα έδωσε το όνομα και στο φυτό. Στο κυθηραϊκό ιδίωμα το αντιδάνειο μεταπλάστηκε σε θηλυκό κατ' αναλογία προς πολλά φυτά και λουλούδια θηλυκού γένους, ενώ το κερκυραϊκό *ίνδιτσι* προήλθε με προσαρμογή του αντιδανείου σε ουδέτερο και τσιτακισμό του /k/ (πρβλ. κερκυραϊκό *τσιιλίχουρδα* 'κοιλιά και έντερα αιγοπροβάτων', *τσιντάω* 'κεντώ', βλ. Χυτήρης 1987).

4.1.2 Η συνεξέταση των διαδιαλεκτικών τύπων του ίδιου λήμματος

Οι συντάκτες διαλεκτικών λεξικών δεν έχουν εποπτεία του διαλεκτικού υλικού στο σύνολό του. Ελέγχοντας την ετυμολογία ενός συγκεκριμένου λήμματος οφείλουν να συλλέξουν υλικό πρώτα από

⁶ Σχετικά με τη στατική ετυμολογία βλ. Μουσιάδης 2005: 39-45.

τα γειτονικά ιδιώματα και να επεκταθούν στη συλλογή υλικού από πιο απομακρυσμένες γεωγραφικές ποικιλίες σε περίπτωση που από την έρευνα φανεί ότι το υλικό έχει ευρύτερη γεωγραφικώς χρήση. Εδώ, προσθέτουμε ότι και η γνώση της τοπικής ιστορίας είναι απαραίτητη για την κατανόηση των σχέσεων που διαμορφώθηκαν με άλλα ιδιώματα και για τον εντοπισμό των πιθανών ξένων πηγών που δανειοδότησαν γλωσσικώς το ιδίωμα⁷.

Παράδειγμα 2: Ο Κόμης ληματογραφεί *ξενοφανώ* ‘έχω ανήσυχο ύπνο’ και ετυμολογεί *ξένα* + *φαίνομαι*. Δεδομένου ότι το κυθηραϊκό ιδίωμα παρουσιάζει πολλές ομοιότητες με τα ιδιώματα της Κρήτης (Κοντοσόπουλος 1981: 137) αλλά και της Μάνης⁸ (Κοντοσόπουλος 1981: 137, Βαγιακάκος 1988), ελέγξαμε το παραδομένο υλικό αυτών των δύο γειτονικών ιδιωμάτων⁹. Στο ιδίωμα της Ανατολικής Κρήτης απαντά το *ξενοφωνώ* που αποτελεί αρχαϊσμό με αρχική σημασία ‘μιλάω σε ξένη γλώσσα, λέω ακατάληπτες λέξεις, επαναφέρω κάποιον απομακρυσμένο από τον τόπο μου καλώντας τον’ (βλ. Andriotis 1974: 397). Το *ξενοφωνώ* στην πορεία απέκτησε τη σημασία ‘έχω ανήσυχο ύπνο’, δεδομένου ότι ο ανήσυχος ύπνος συνδέεται και με το παραμιλητό, ενώ ο τύπος μετατράπηκε παρετυμολογικώς σε *ξενοφανώ*.

4.2 Η αξιοποίηση του διαλεκτικού φωνολογικού και μορφολογικού συστήματος

Κάθε ιδίωμα και διάλεκτος αποτελεί ένα ιδιαίτερο σύστημα με δικά του φωνολογικά και μορφολογικά χαρακτηριστικά που το διαφοροποιούν από εκείνο της επίσημης γλώσσας. Όμως, η έλλειψη γραμματικών περιγραφών (πρβλ. Κατσογιάννου 2008: 660) των γεωγραφικών ποικιλιών οδηγεί σε μερική και συνήθως εμπειρική γνώση του συστήματος κι επομένως σε προβλήματα ετυμολόγησης.

Παράδειγμα 3: το λήμμα *φαλαγγούνα* ‘1. αράχνη με τον ιστό της, 2. σκορπιός’, ετυμολογείται από το *φαλάγγι* (Κόμης 1995). Η λέξη όντως συνδέεται ετυμολογικώς με το αρχαίο ουσιαστικό *φαλάγγιον* ‘είδος δηλητηριώδους αράχνης’ (Liddell & Scott 1996⁹: λήμμα *φαλάγγιον*, βλ. και ΑΚΝ 2007⁷: λήμμα *φαλάγγι* και ΑΝΕΓ 2008³: λήμμα *φαλάγγι*). Το *-ούνα*, που –σε αντίθεση με το επίθημα *-ούνι-* δεν ληματογραφείται στον Κόμη (ό.π.), αποτελεί ένα χαρακτηριστικό επίθημα του κυθηραϊκού ιδιώματος. Προέρχεται από το ουδέτερο επίθημα *-ούν(ι)*¹⁰ + το κλιτικό επίθημα *-α* και σχηματίζει θηλυκά ονόματα κατεξοχήν [+έμφυχο] [+ανθρώπινο], π.χ. *χωριατούνα* ‘χωριάτισσα’, *σπαλετούνα* ‘αυτή που φοράει το σπαλέτο’, *κλωσσούνα* ‘κλώσσα’.

4.3 Η αξιοποίηση των παλαιότερων και νέων πηγών και έργων αναφοράς

Στο οπλοστάσιο του ετυμολόγου πρέπει να βρίσκονται τόσο οι πρωτογενείς πηγές όσο και σημαντικά λεξικά αναφοράς από όλες τις φάσεις της ελληνικής γλώσσας, μέσα από τα οποία μπορούμε να βρούμε την πρώτη εμφάνιση της λέξης αλλά και ετυμολογικές προτάσεις ή στοιχεία πολύτιμα για την ετυμολόγηση. Όσο μένουν αναξιοποίητα αυτά τα όπλα, τόσο μεγαλύτερος είναι ο κίνδυνος εσφαλμένης ετυμολογίας. Γι’ αυτό κρίνεται απαραίτητη η συνεχής αποδελτίωση νεότερων δημοσιεύσεων διαλεκτολογικού περιεχομένου, όπως τοπικών γλωσσариών, διδακτορικών διατριβών, επιστημονικών άρθρων, λογοτεχνικών έργων με διαλεκτικό χρώμα κτλ. (βλ. Γιακουμάκη et al. 2004: 6).

Παράδειγμα 4: Στον Κόμη (1995) βρίσκουμε χωρίς ετυμολογική πληροφορία το λήμμα *μπόμπολας* και *μπόμπολος* ‘1. κοχλίας 2. θαλάσσιος κοχλίας (σαν τα σαλιγκάρια με σκληρό καβούκι)’. Ο Πάγκαλος (1994-2003) σημειώνει ότι είναι αγνώστου ετύμου, ενώ ο Ξανθινάκης (2001) το ετυμολογεί από το μεσαιωνικό *πόπολον* (πολύς λαός, μεγάλο πλήθος) < λατ. *populus* με τροπή του /p/ > /b/. Και στο ιδίωμα των Κυθήρων έχουμε παράδειγμα διπλής ηχηροποίησης του άηχου /p/ > /b/, βλ. *ποπολάνος* και *μπομπολάνος* ‘χωρικός’. Όμως η ετυμολόγηση του Ξανθινάκη (2001) δεν ικανοποιεί το σημασιολογικό κριτήριο, γιατί η σύνδεση των δύο σημασιών είναι αυθαίρετη. Παρόλο που το έργο εκδόθηκε το 2001, ο συγγραφέας δεν ανέτρεξε στους μέχρι τότε εκδεδομένους τόμους του Κριαρά (1969 κ.εξ.), όπου ληματογραφείται η λέξη *μπόβολος* ‘σαλιγκάρι’, η οποία μαρτυρείται τον 17^ο αι.:

«ήττονε ἕνας μπόβολος ἀποτ’ ἐκείνους ὅπου ἔχουν τέσσερα κέρατα» Μπερτολδίνος 166-167.

⁷ Τη σημασία της γνώσης της ιστορίας και τη γεωγραφίας ως προϋποθέσεων ετυμολογίας αναδείχθηκαν από τους Brunot & Bruneau (1949⁵: 124-125). Πρβλ. το χωροχρονικό κριτήριο του Μωυσιάδη (2005: 174 κ.εξ.).

⁸ Στα Κύθηρα μαρτυρούνται από τον 11^ο αι. εποικίσεις Μανιατών: μετά από την ερήμωση του νησιού από επιδρομές πειρατών και Τούρκων, οι Βενετοί εποίκισαν το βόρειο τμήμα με Μανιάτες (Βαγιακάκος 1988: 179-182).

⁹ Ο Πιτυκάκης (1971) παρετυμολογεί, υποθέτοντας ότι η λέξη προέρχεται από τα μυρκαστικά ζώα που δεν βολεύονται σε ξένο τόπο και φωνάζουν όλη τη νύχτα. Αντιθέτως, ο Πάγκαλος (1994-2003) ετυμολογεί σωστά.

¹⁰ Για την ετυμολογία του επιθήματος *-ούνι*, βλ. Χατζιδάκης (1907: Β’, 307-308) και ΑΚΝ (2007⁷).

Ο *μόβολος* αποτελεί βενετικό δάνειο (< bonolo ‘σαλιγκάρι, κοχλίας’) (βλ. Boerio 1856)¹¹ και προσαρμόστηκε στο κλιτικό παράδειγμα της ν.ε. με κλιτικό επίθημα -ος.

Παράδειγμα 5: η κυθηραϊκή λέξη *φαγκλί* ‘φανάρι με το οποίο οι κυνηγοί τη νύχτα κυνηγούν ορτύκια’ καταγράφεται στον Κόμη (1995). Η λέξη μάλιστα απαντά και σε αρκετά μεγάλο αριθμό παραγώγων και συνθέτων, όπως *φαγκλάτορας* ‘κυνηγός με φαγκλί’, *φαγκλιάζω* ‘θαμπώνω τα ορτύκια με το φως του φαγκλιού’, *φαγκλοφάναρο*, *φαγκλώνω* ‘ετοιμάζω το φαγκλί’. Σύμφωνα με το αρχείο του KENΔΙ, η λέξη έχει ευρύτατη γεωγραφική κατανομή, από την Ανατολική Θράκη μέχρι την Κρήτη, κυρίως υπό τον τύπο *φάκλα* και *φακλί* και με τις σημασίες ‘φλόγα, λάμψη, δάδα, μεγάλη ζέστη, πυροφάνι’. Ο Πιτυκάκης (1971) την ετυμολογεί πιθανόν από το *φάω* ‘λάμπω’ + -κλα, επίθημα που όμως δεν μαρτυρείται στο ιδίωμα, ενώ το μαρτυρούμενο επίθημα -άκλα έχει μεγεθυντική σημασία. Ενδιαφέρον πάντως έχει ότι η λέξη εντοπίζεται και σε βαλκανικές γλώσσες, βλ. τη ρουμανική λέξη *facie* και τη βουλγαρική *faklija* με σημασία ‘πυρσός, λαμπάδα’. Η λέξη προέρχεται από το λατινικό *facula* ‘μικρή δάδα’, υποκοριστικό του ουσιαστικού *fax* ‘δάδα’, ετυμολογία στην οποία φτάσαμε με τη βοήθεια παλαιότερων λεξικογραφικών εργασιών: ο Γαζής (1835-1837) στο λήμμα *σχίζα* δίνει ως ερμηνευμα «λέγεται έτι και τὸ λεπτῶς ἐσχισμένον ξύλον, τὸ ὁποῖον μεταχειρίζονται ἀντὶ κηροῦ ἢ λύχνου οἱ χωρικοί, *φάκλα*, λαμπάδα». Η λέξη απαντά επίσης και σε ακόμη παλαιότερες λεξικογραφικές εργασίες, όπως στον DuCange στο λήμμα *φάκλη* (*facula*). Πέρα όμως από τα ίδια τα λεξικά, και η αρθρογραφία επιβεβαιώνει την ετυμολογία της: ο Κουκουλές (1952: 373) συνδέει ετυμολογικώς τη *φάκλα* (*facula-facula*) με το *φαγκλί* που δηλώνει «τὴν ἐσχάραν, ἐφ’ ἧς κατὰ τὸ κυνήγιον τῶν ὀρτυκίων ἀνάπτουσι πρὸς φωτισμὸν ξύλα».

4.4 Η αξιοποίηση νέων τεχνολογιών για τη συλλογή διαλεκτικού υλικού

Σε αυτό το σημείο πρέπει να επισημάνουμε ότι εξαιρετικό εργαλείο στα χέρια του λεξικογράφου είναι και το ίδιο το διαδίκτυο. Αναφερόμαστε, τόσο στα σώματα κειμένων όπως είναι το σώμα του Thesaurus Linguae Graecae (TLG) ή τα σώματα επιγραφών και παπύρων, όσο και στις μηχανές αναζήτησης, μέσω των οποίων είναι πλέον δυνατόν να εντοπίσουμε πολύτιμο υλικό υπό τη μορφή δυσεύρετων –ψηφιοποιημένων πια– λεξικών, περιοδικών και μελετών.

Παράδειγμα 6: η λέξη *ζουρίο* ‘μέρος του υδρόμυλου όπου τρέχει το νερό’ απαντά στο κυθηραϊκό ιδίωμα (Κόμης 1995). Κυριολεκτικώς πρόκειται για το σημείο εξόδου του νερού που θέτει σε κίνηση τον νερόμυλο. Η λέξη, η οποία έχει μεγάλη πανελλήνια γεωγραφική κατανομή¹², προέρχεται σύμφωνα με τον Πάγκαλο (1994-2003) από το αμαρτυρο **γυρείον* (> *γυρείο* > *γυρίο* > *γιουρίο* > *ζιουρίο*), ενώ σύμφωνα με τον Ξανθινάκη (2001) ετυμολογείται από τη λέξη *ζούρα* (< ιταλ. *usura*). Και οι δύο προτάσεις έχουν προβλήματα. Η πρόταση του Πάγκαλου στηρίζεται σ’ έναν αμαρτυρο τύπο με σημασιολογική μεν συνάφεια προς τους διαλεκτικούς τύπους, χωρίς όμως να λαμβάνεται υπ’ όψιν ότι όλοι οι παραδεδομένοι πανελληνίως τύποι διατηρούν το <ζ>. Η *ζούρα* του Ξανθινάκη –που καταγράφεται στον Κριαρά (1969 κ.εξ.)– έχει μόνο τη σημασία ‘τοκογλυφία’. Από το ηλεκτρονικό σώμα παπύρων (<http://epigraphy.packhum.org/inscriptions/main>) εντοπίσαμε τη λέξη *ζωρύα* ‘υδρορροή’ η οποία μαρτυρείται σε επιγραφή της Τροιζήνας του 4^{ου} αι. π.Χ. «ζωρύας, ὡς τὸ ὕδωρ ἐπὶ τὸν ναὸν μὴ ῥέη» IG IV 823 (βλ. και Liddell & Scott 1996⁹). Από τη *ζωρύα* σχηματίστηκε με μεταπλασμό του γένους το *ζωρύο* και κατόπιν το *ζωρνό* με συνίζηση για αποφυγή της χασμωδίας. Με την ίδια ακριβώς σημασία ο Κόμης (ό.π.) λημματογραφεί χωριστά και τη λέξη *σβουρείο* (sic), λέξη με μεγάλη διάδοση σε ν.ε. ιδιώματα σύμφωνα με το αρχείο του KENΔΙ. Ο τύπος προέρχεται από την παρετυμολογική επίδραση της λέξης *σβούρα* στη λέξη *ζουρίο*, ετυμολογία που επιβάλλει τόσο την ορθογράφηση *σβουρίο*, όσο και την ενοποίησή του με το λήμμα *ζουρίο*.

Το διαδίκτυο μέσω των μηχανών αναζήτησης μπορεί να μας παράσχει ακόμη και «πληροφορητές» κάποιου ιδιώματος. Είναι αυτονόητο ότι κάθε διαδικτυακή πληροφορία απαιτεί ιδιαίτερα εξονυχιστικό έλεγχο.

Παράδειγμα 7: Στον Κόμη (1995) βρίσκουμε λημματογραφημένη τη λέξη *σούρντιση* ‘διάρροια’. Η *σούρντιση* ή *σούρδιση* έχει κι αντίστοιχο ρήμα *σουρδίζω/ σουρντίζω* ‘παθαίνω διάρροια’. Ρήμα και ουσιαστικό έχουν πανελλήνια εξάπλωση σύμφωνα με το αρχείο του KENΔΙ. Ο Πάγκαλος (1994-2003) ετυμολογεί το ρήμα *σουρδίζω* της Α. Κρήτης από το γαλλικό *sourdre* ‘αναβλύζω’. Αφενός η μεγάλη γεωγραφική διάδοση του τύπου από τις Κυκλάδες (Σύρο, Πάρο, Μήλο, Άνδρο), τη Στερεά Ελλάδα, τη Σκύρο, μέχρι την Κω και τη Βιθυνία, αφετέρου η μη ικανοποίηση του φωνολογικού και

¹¹ Η αποδελτίωση του Boerio δίνει ετυμολογικές απαντήσεις για πολλές κυθηραϊκές λέξεις, π.χ. το *πασαρί* ‘σκανδάλη’ < βενετικό *el passarin*’.

¹² Στο αρχείο του KENΔΙ βρήκαμε τους εξής τύπους: *ζιρίο* Κοζάνη, *ζορίο* Άνδρος, Φθιώτιδα κ.α. *ζουρκόν* Κύπρος, *αζουρίο* Ζάκυνθος.

μορφολογικού¹³ και σημασιολογικού κριτηρίου, μας έκανε να αμφισβητήσουμε την πρόταση περί γαλλικού δανείου και να στραφούμε προς την αναζήτηση άλλης πηγής δανεισμού, πιο συγκεκριμένα στην τουρκική γλώσσα. Αναζητώντας τη λέξη στο διαδίκτυο, βρήκαμε ένα πολύ ενδιαφέρον κείμενο¹⁴, στο οποίο δίνεται η πληροφορία ότι η *σούρδιση* σημαίνει και 'πορδή'. Όντως στην τουρκική υπάρχει ρήμα *osurtmak* 'πέρδομαι' από το οποίο παρήχθη το διαλεκτικό ρήμα. Από το αοριστικό θέμα *osurdu* + παραγωγικό επίθημα *-ίζω* και με σίγηση του άτονου αρκτικού /o/ σχηματίστηκε αρχικώς το ρήμα *σουρδίζω*, που απέκτησε τη διευρυμένη σημασία 'παθαίνω διάρροια' και κατόπιν από αυτό σχηματίστηκε και το ουσιαστικό *σούρδιση*.

4.5 Τήρηση ετυμολογικών κριτηρίων & αρχών - επανέλεγχος παλαιότερων προτάσεων

Η ετυμολογία προϋποθέτει την τήρηση αυστηρότατων ετυμολογικών κριτηρίων και αρχών (πβ. Μωυσιάδης 2005, Μωυσιάδης 2011)¹⁵, για να αποφευχθεί ο κίνδυνος παρετυμολόγησης. Ιδιαίτερα πολλές παρετυμολογήσεις απαντούν στα ερασιτεχνικώς συνταγμένα διαλεκτικά λεξικά, οι οποίες – ενίοτε – φαντάζουν πειστικές.

Παράδειγμα 8: Ο Κόμης (1995) ετυμολογεί τη λέξη *ζόρτσι* και *ζόρτσιο* 'ποντικός' από το *εξόρκιον*. Η ετυμολογία φαντάζει ενδιαφέρουσα, καθώς μπορεί μορφοφωνητικά να προκύψει ο τύπος *ζόρτσι* από τον μεσαιωνικό *εξόρκι(ο)ν* (βλ. LBG, λήμμα *εξόρκιν*), με σίγηση του αρκτικού άτονου /e/ και του ληκτικού /o/ και με τσιτακισμό του /k/¹⁶. Η παραπάνω ετυμολόγηση βρίσκει και σημασιολογικά ερείσματα, γιατί στο κερκυραϊκό ιδίωμα είναι πολύ διαδεδομένη η λέξη *μιερό*, *μνιερό* και *μυγερό*, που σύμφωνα με τον Κρεκούκια (2003: 261) προέκυψε με ουσιαστικοποίηση από αρχαίο επίθετο *μιαρός/μιερός*, -όν, με τη σημασία 'ποντίκι' «που, ό,τι αγγίζει το μιάνει» (ό.π.). Εντύπωση όμως προκαλεί ότι το *ζόρτσι(ο)* έχει τη σημασία 'ποντίκι' μόνο στο κυθηραϊκό ιδίωμα. Με μια προσεκτικότερη εξέταση του κυθηραϊκού λεξιλογικού, θα παρατηρήσουμε ότι λημματογραφείται και η λέξη *σόρτζος* και πάλι με τη σημασία 'ποντίκι'. Η λέξη προέρχεται από το βενετικό *sorze/ sorgio* 'αρουραίος' ή το ιταλικό *sorcio* 'αρουραίος', από το οποίο προέκυψε και ο τύπος *ζόρτσιο* με παρετυμολογία προς το *ζόρκι* λόγω των δεινών που προκαλούν τα ποντίκια.

Παρετυμολογήσεις εντούτοις βρίσκουμε και στα συνταγμένα από ειδικούς λεξικά, συχνά γιατί επαναλαμβάνουν χωρίς επανέλεγχο τις ετυμολογικές προτάσεις άλλων.

Παράδειγμα 9: Στον Κόμη (1995) βρίσκουμε το λήμμα *καβαλιάδα* 'πλούσιο ανασηκωμένο μαλλί', χωρίς να ετυμολογείται. Μετά από έρευνα βρήκαμε την ακόλουθη ετυμολογική πρόταση του Κοραή ('Ατακτα IV, 188): «ἴσως ἦτο τὴν ἀρχὴ καβαλιάδα, (ἀπὸ τὸ ἰταλικὸ *cavallo*, 'ἵππος') κί ἐσήμαινε κυρίως τὴν χαίτην τοῦ ἵππου, ἔπειτα μετεφέρθη καὶ εἰς τὴν κόμην». Ο ετυμολόγος πριν καταλήξει στην υιοθέτηση του αμάρτυρου *καβαλιάδα*, οφείλει να ελέγξει τόσο τις πηγές του όσο και τα βασικά λεξικά. Δεδομένου ότι ο τύπος απαντά στα Επτάνησα και στη Δυτική Ελλάδα, ανατρέξαμε στον Boerio (1856) και όντως εντοπίσαμε το λήμμα *cavegiara/ cavegiera* 'quantita di capelli che una persona ha sulla testa'. Η *καβαλιάδα* προέρχεται από το βενετικό *cavegiara* με εξακολουθητική αφομοίωση του /e/ > /a/ και με τροπή του /t/ σε /ð/ αναλογικώς προς το πλήθος θηλυκών ονομάτων σε -άδα.

5. Προβλήματα ετυμολογίας στα συγχρονικά λεξικά

Τα συγχρονικά διαλεκτικά λεξικά καταγράφουν το λεξιλόγιο μιας γλωσσικής γεωγραφικής ποικιλίας σε μια συγκεκριμένη χρονική φάση και δεν περιλαμβάνουν ετυμολογικές πληροφορίες. Πρέπει όμως να τονίσουμε ότι είναι μύθος ότι η συγγραφή ενός καλού συγχρονικού λεξικού δεν απαιτεί ετυμολόγηση. Αντιθέτως, η ετυμολόγηση προαπαιτείται για την ορθή λημματογράφηση. Η ανεπαρκής ή λανθασμένη ετυμολόγηση που προηγείται της λημματογράφησης οδηγεί σε προβλήματα όπως α)

¹³ Τα γαλλικά, προβηγκιανά, ιταλικά, βενετικά δάνεια αφομοιώθηκαν στην Ελληνική κυρίως μέσω του απαρεμφατικού τύπου με κλιτικό επίθημα -ω, π.χ. *αἰδάρω* 'βοηθώ' < βενετικό *aidar*. Η Κυπριακή διάλεκτος τα αφομοιώνει συχνά με κλιτικό επίθημα -ιάζω, π.χ. *αγιδιάζω* 'βοηθώ' < ιταλικό *aitare*.

¹⁴ «[...] της λέγανε "αέρας η κόρη σας, αέρας!" (Δεν ξέρω αν εξυπονούσανε κοπανιστός ή της πορδής [...]) Η εν λόγω, ήταν αυτό που λένε στις Κυκλάδες "σούρδιση" (http://highvoltagepress.blogspot.com/2010/06/blog-post_21.html).

¹⁵ Σύμφωνα με τον Μωυσιάδη (2005: 82 κ.εξ.) η ετυμολόγηση πρέπει να βασίζεται σε πέντε κριτήρια, το φωνολογικό, το μορφολογικό, το σημασιολογικό, το χωροχρονικό και το αναλογικό. Κάθε κριτήριο διέπεται από τις δικές του αρχές.

¹⁶ Τύπος *ζόρκιο* 'ζόρκι, επωδή', σύμφωνα με το αρχείο του ΚΕΝΔΙ, απαντά στην Κέρκυρα και στην Λακωνία (Άρνα, Ζελίνα).

δυσορθογραφίες β) διάσπαση τύπων του ίδιου λήμματος σε διαφορετικά λήμματα, γ) συγχώνευση ομόηχων λημάτων.

Παράδειγμα 10: Ο Κόμης (1995) ληματογραφεί *συναλλήκια* ‘συναναστροφή, δοσοληψία’, χωρίς να ετυμολογεί τη λέξη. Ωστόσο, η επιλεγμένη ορθογραφία παραπέμπει τον μη ειδικό αναγνώστη στη συνώνυμη *συναλλαγή*. Η λέξη προέρχεται από το τουρκικό *asinalik* ‘γνωριμία, εξοικείωση’ και οφείλει να γράφεται με <ι>, όπως άλλωστε ληματογραφείται στο ΙΑΝΕ (1933-1989: λήμμα *άσινάλικι*).

6. Διαλεκτικό υλικό & επίσημη γλώσσα: Το πρόβλημα της αντιθετικής μεθόδου

Η λεξικογραφική πρακτική των συγχρονικών και διαχρονικών ετυμολογικών διαλεκτικών λεξικών στηρίζεται στη αντιθετική μέθοδο (contrastive method), σύμφωνα με τη οποία καταγράφεται και εξηγείται κάθε γλωσσικό στοιχείο το οποίο στην υπό μελέτη τοπική διάλεκτο ή ιδίωμα διαφέρει από ό,τι θεωρείται επίσημη ποικιλία (Zgusta 1971: 205). Όπως υποστηρίζει ο Zgusta (ό.π.), αν και η μέθοδος αυτή δεν είναι η καλύτερη, εντούτοις, χρησιμοποιείται κατά κόρον για πρακτικούς λόγους. Η λεξικογραφική οικονομία για την αποφυγή επανάληψης πληροφοριών που παρέχονται από τα γενικά λεξικά καθιστά αυτή τη μέθοδο προτιμητέα.

Ο Zgusta (ό.π.) αντιθέτως σημειώνει ότι επαρκέστερη μέθοδος είναι εκείνη που περιγράφει πλήρως την υπό εξέταση γεωγραφική ποικιλία. Θα συμφωνήσουμε με την παραπάνω άποψη, γιατί πιστεύουμε ότι με την αποσιώπηση στοιχείων για λόγους οικονομίας δίνεται ελλιπής εικόνα του ιδιώματος. Απώλειες στην πληροφορία έχουμε και στην ετυμολογία, καθώς το κοινό λεξιλόγιο ανάμεσα σε μια περιγραφόμενη γεωγραφική ποικιλία και την επίσημη γλώσσα δεν αποτελεί κατά κανόνα αντικείμενο μελέτης των διαλεκτικών ετυμολογικών λεξικών. Χάνεται επομένως όποια ευκαιρία κατάθεσης μιας ετυμολογικής πρότασης για προβληματικές και δυσεπίλυτες περιπτώσεις του γενικού λεξιλογίου¹⁷.

Παράδειγμα 10: η λ. *φακλάνα* ‘πόρνη, άσχημη και παχύσαρκη γυναίκα, γυναίκα με χυδαία εμφάνιση και συμπεριφορά’, την οποία κυθήριοι πληροφορητές επιβεβαίωσαν ότι γνωρίζουν και χρησιμοποιούν, είναι αγνώστου ετύμου σύμφωνα με το ΑΚΝ (2007⁷) και ΑΝΕΓ (2008³)¹⁸. Η λέξη, εντούτοις δεν είναι αμάρτυρη. Απαντά στην παραλλαγή D της έντυπης βενετικής έκδοσης (ανατύπωση 1553) του Σπανού, του γνωστού ανώνυμου βωμολοχικού έργου του 14^{ου}-15^{ου} αι.:

«*Ἡμεῖς, ὃ τε παπᾶ_Φιλίσκος ἀπὸ τοὺς Φιλίππους ἔτι δὲ καὶ ≤ή≥ κυρὰ*

Κουμμερτικίνα ἢ Κατσικοπορδοῦ ἀπὸ τὴν Ἀσφάμιαν, παπαδία του,

παραδίδομεν εἰς τὸν γαμβρὸν ἡμῶν κὺρ Λέοντα τὸν Κατσαρέλην ἀπὸ τὴν

*Πέργαμον τὴν γνήσιαν ἡμῶν καὶ φιλότατην θυγατέρα ὀνόματι **Φακλάνα***» Σπαν. (Eideneier)1681.

Στο κείμενο του Σπανού απαντούν και ομόρριζοι σχηματισμοί, σύνθετοι και παράγωγοι, όπως *φακλανάτος*, *φακλανίζω*, *φακλανοπορδοτσουφάτος* κ.ά. Όλες οι παραπάνω τύποι αποτελούν κατασκευασμένο υβριστικό λεξιλόγιο που αφορά σωματικές ανθρώπινες ανάγκες. Η *Φακλάνα* ήταν το λογοτεχνικό όνομα μιας βδελυρής στην εμφάνιση και στη συμπεριφορά γυναίκας που πιθανόν προέκυψε από τη σύμφυση των ρηματικών θεμάτων *φά(ω)* + *κλάν(ω)* + με κλιτικό επίθημα -α.

7. Επίλογος

Πέρα από τις συγκεκριμένες ετυμολογήσεις ή επανετυμολογήσεις λέξεων του κυθηραϊκού ιδιώματος, διαπιστώνουμε ότι τα προβλήματα ετυμολόγησης σε διαλεκτικά λεξικά εμφανίζονται υπό τη μορφή ελλείψεων τόσο κατά τη συλλογή του συγχρονικού και διαχρονικού διαλεκτικού υλικού όσο και κατά την επεξεργασία του. Η αξιοποίηση ενδοδιαλεκτικών και διαδιαλεκτικών τύπων του ίδιου λήμματος, η αξιοποίηση του φωνολογικού και μορφολογικού διαλεκτικού συστήματος, η αποδελτίωση πρωτογενών πηγών, παλαιότερων και νεότερων έργων αναφοράς και η αξιοποίηση των δυνατοτήτων του διαδικτύου αποτελούν βασικές προϋποθέσεις για την ετυμολόγηση σε διαλεκτικά λεξικά.

Όπως παρατηρεί η Κατσογιάννου (2008: 661-662), η αύξηση του ενδιαφέροντος για τη διαλεκτολογία μάς επιτρέπει να αναμένουμε σημαντικές βελτιώσεις. Περισσότερες μεταλεξικογραφικές μελέτες για τη διαλεκτική λεξικογραφία, περισσότερες περιγραφές του γραμματικού συστήματος ν.ε. ιδιωμάτων, ενασχόληση περισσότερων γλωσσολόγων με τη διαλεκτική λεξικογραφία, θα αποτέλεσουν βάσεις για καλύτερη λεξικογραφική παραγωγή.

¹⁷ Οι Γιακουμάκη et al. (2004: 6) έχουν επισημάνει ήδη ως πρόβλημα την αναζήτηση, καταγραφή και αποδελτίωση του σπάνιου.

¹⁸ Το ΕΑΝΕΓ (2009) δεν περιέχει στο ληματολόγιό του τη συγκεκριμένη λέξη.

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ΜΕΤΑΞΥ ΣΥΝΘΕΤΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΦΡΑΣΕΩΝ*

Μαρία Κολιοπούλου

Πανεπιστήμιο Πατρών

mkoliop@upatras.gr

ABSTRACT

This paper deals with certain structures in Modern Greek which can not be classified as neither compounds nor syntactic phrases, being located in the “grey area” between two components of the grammar, specifically between morphology and syntax. In particular, I am referring to three different kinds of noun structures constituted by an adjective and a noun or two nouns. I examine the degree of lexical integrity that they display in order to differentiate them from each other. For their theoretical analysis I adopt a continuum between morphology and syntax in Kiparsky’s (1982) terms.

Λέξεις κλειδιά: μορφολογία, σύνταξη, σύνθετα, φράσεις, λεξική ακεραιότητα, λεξικοποίηση, συνεχές.

1. Εισαγωγή

Στην παρούσα εργασία μελετώνται ονοματικές δομές της Νέας Ελληνικής¹ για την ανάλυση των οποίων απαιτείται ο συνδυασμός φαινομένων από δύο τομείς, τη μορφολογία και τη σύνταξη. Λόγω της αδυναμίας ένταξής τους σε έναν από τους δύο τομείς χαρακτηρίζονται ενίοτε και ως ενδιάμεσες δομές². Συγκεκριμένα, πρόκειται για σχηματισμούς που αποτελούνται από δύο λέξεις, ένα επίθετο και ένα ουσιαστικό (π.χ. *μαύρη αγορά*, *παιδική χαρά*) ή δύο ουσιαστικά. Οι περιπτώσεις αλληλουχίας δύο ουσιαστικών διαχωρίζονται σε δομές όπου το δεύτερο συστατικό είναι σε γενική πρώτη (π.χ. *οίκος ανοχής*, *εκπομπή αερίων*) και σε δομές όπου τα δύο ουσιαστικά είναι ομοιόπρωτα (π.χ. *λέξη κλειδί*, *ηθοποιός - τραγουδιστής*). Όπως προκύπτει από τα βασικά αυτά δομικά χαρακτηριστικά τους, οι υπό εξέταση σχηματισμοί έχουν τη μορφή συντακτικής φράσης. Ο παραλληλισμός με τις συντακτικές φράσεις βασίζεται και στα φωνολογικά τους χαρακτηριστικά, εφόσον αποτελούνται από δύο φωνολογικές λέξεις, ο συνδυασμός των οποίων σχηματίζει μία φωνολογική φράση. Εντούτοις, η μορφή των δομών αυτών δεν επαρκεί για το χαρακτηρισμό τους ως συντακτικές φράσεις.

Η ανάλυση των ιδιοτήτων τους οδηγεί στο συμπέρασμα ότι πρόκειται για δομές που δεν είναι απόλυτα ορατές στη σύνταξη και επομένως δεν εφαρμόζονται όλες οι συντακτικές διεργασίες που επιτελούνται στις συντακτικές φράσεις. Συγκεκριμένα, οι υπό εξέταση δομές παρουσιάζουν διακύμανση στο βαθμό επίδρασης των διαφόρων συντακτικών φαινομένων. Δηλαδή εντοπίζονται σχηματισμοί των οποίων η εσωτερική δομή είναι μη ορατή στη σύνταξη, όπως για παράδειγμα συμβαίνει στους μορφολογικούς σχηματισμούς των συνθέτων. Αντίθετα, υπάρχουν δομές στις οποίες επιτελούνται σχεδόν όλοι οι δυνατοί συντακτικοί μετασχηματισμοί και επομένως προσεγγίζουν περισσότερο τις συντακτικές φράσεις. Επιπλέον, απαντούν σχηματισμοί που βρίσκονται σε μια ενδιάμεση κατάσταση, καθώς επιτρέπουν την παρεμβολή της σύνταξης στην εσωτερική δομή τους ως κάποιο βαθμό. Επομένως, η ανάλυση των υπό εξέταση ονοματικών σχηματισμών και η κατηγοριοποίησή τους βασίζεται στο βαθμό λεξικής ακεραιότητας (lexical integrity, βλ. Anderson, 1992: 84) που τις χαρακτηρίζει και συγκεκριμένα στο κατά πόσο είναι ορατή η εσωτερική δομή τους στη σύνταξη, ή αλλιώς στο κατά πόσο οι δομικές τους ιδιότητες προσεγγίζουν τις ιδιότητες των συνθέτων ή των συντακτικών φράσεων.

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¹ Τα δεδομένα αποτελούνται από 226 ονοματικές δομές της Νέας Ελληνικής, τα οποία συγκεντρώθηκαν για τις ανάγκες της μεταπτυχιακής μου διατριβής (Κολιοπούλου 2006) τόσο από τη σχετική βιβλιογραφία όσο και από τον καθημερινό τύπο κατά το διάστημα 01-03/2006.

² Ενδιάμεσες δομές (intermediate structures) απαντούν και στην Ιταλική, τις οποίες οι Bisetto και Scalise (1999) χαρακτηρίζουν με τον όρο “compound-like phrases”, δηλαδή ως φράσεις που μοιάζουν με σύνθετα.

Η δομική ανάλυση στη δεύτερη ενότητα έχει δύο βασικούς στόχους. Αφενός συνοψίζει πορίσματα προηγούμενων μελετών που ασχολούνται με αυτούς τους ονοματικούς σχηματισμούς, μιας και έχουν απασχολήσει ήδη αρκετούς γλωσσολόγους, έστω και σε μελέτες που αφορούν μόνο σε συγκεκριμένα είδη και όχι σε όλα, όπως επιχειρείται στην παρούσα μελέτη. Αφετέρου αναδεικνύονται ιδιότητες που οδηγούν την ανάλυση σε έναν ακόμα πιο ακριβή διαχωρισμό των συγκεκριμένων ονοματικών δομών, με βάση πάντα το βαθμό εσωτερικής συνοχής που εμφανίζουν. Μετά τη λεπτομερή αυτή δομική ανάλυση ακολουθεί, στην τρίτη ενότητα, η θεωρητική πλαισίωση του φαινομένου και συγκεκριμένα επιχειρείται η επακριβής κατάταξη των ονοματικών αυτών δομών στα όρια ενός συνεχούς μεταξύ των τομέων της μορφολογίας και της σύνταξης.

2. Ανάλυση δομών

Οι υπό εξέταση σχηματισμοί της Νέας Ελληνικής κέντρισαν το ενδιαφέρον αρκετών γλωσσολόγων λόγω της ιδιαιτερότητας της δομής τους, σε μια γλώσσα μάλιστα που τα σύνθετα είναι πολύ παραγωγικά (βλ. Mackridge 1985, Αναστασιάδη - Συμεωνίδη 1986, 1994, 1996, Ράλλη 1991, 2005, 2007, Ralli 1992, in print, Γαβριηλίδου 1995, 1996, 1997, Christophidou 1997, Ralli & Stavrou 1997, 1998, Συμεωνίδης 2000, Νάκας & Γαβριηλίδου 2005, Κολιοπούλου 2006, Κολιοπούλου 2007, 2008). Συγκεκριμένα, η Αναστασιάδη - Συμεωνίδη (1986, 1994) μελετώντας νεολογισμούς της Νέας Ελληνικής επισημαίνει ότι τέτοιου είδους δομές έχουν εισέλθει ως μεταφραστικά δάνεια από την Αγγλική και τη Γαλλική. Υποστηρίζει ότι η χρήση τους είναι ιδιαίτερα διαδεδομένη στο δημοσιογραφικό λόγο και η παραγωγικότητά τους αυξάνεται καλύπτοντας ανάγκες ορολογίας. Επιπλέον, τις χαρακτηρίζει ως «λεξικές φράσεις», όρο που στη συνέχεια υιοθετεί και η Ράλλη (1991). Αργότερα, η Αναστασιάδη - Συμεωνίδη (1996) μελετά αυτές τις δομές σε αντιπαραβολή με τα μονολεκτικά σύνθετα και τις περιγράφει ως «πολυλεκτικά σύνθετα». Σε τελευταίες μελέτες της η Ράλλη (2005, 2007, Ralli in print) υιοθετεί τον όρο «χαλαρά πολυλεκτικά σύνθετα» (loose multi word compounds) τα οποία στη συνέχεια διαχωρίζει από τις ειδικές ονοματικές φράσεις (special noun phrases) και τους ονοματικούς σχηματισμούς (noun constructs). Η τριχοτόμηση αυτή των ονοματικών μορφο-συντακτικών δομών, όπως δίνεται στο (1), υιοθετείται και στην παρούσα εργασία και βασίζεται στο βαθμό λεξικής ακεραιότητας που εμφανίζουν, κάτι που θα αναλυθεί διεξοδικά και ακολούθως.

- (1) Είδη των ονοματικών μορφο-συντακτικών δομών:
- α) χαλαρά πολυλεκτικά σύνθετα (loose multi-word compounds)
 - β) ειδικές ονοματικές φράσεις (special noun phrases)
 - γ) ονοματικοί σχηματισμοί (noun constructs)

Συγκεκριμένα, όσον αφορά στο πρώτο είδος, δηλαδή στα χαλαρά πολυλεκτικά σύνθετα, αποτελούνται από επίθετο - ουσιαστικό [E O], όπως τα παραδείγματα *τρίτος κόσμος*, *δημόσιος υπάλληλος* κ.ά. του (2α) ή πρόκειται για μια αλληλουχία δύο ουσιαστικών όπου το δεύτερο βρίσκεται πάντα σε γενική πτώση [O O_{GEN}], όπως τα παραδείγματα *ζώνη ασφαλείας*, *οίκος ανοχής* και *άρμα μάχης* του (2β). Το δομικό σχήμα των χαλαρών πολυλεκτικών συνθέτων [λέξη λέξη] απαντά κυρίως στους αμιγείς συντακτικούς σχηματισμούς, δηλαδή στις φράσεις, αλλά και στα μονολεκτικά σύνθετα. Πιο αναλυτικά, και στα τρία αυτά είδη σχηματισμών απαντούν συνδυασμοί επιθέτου και ουσιαστικού ή δύο ουσιαστικών, όπως φαίνεται στα αντίστοιχα παραδείγματα των (3) και (4). Εντούτοις, οι ιδιότητες των χαλαρών πολυλεκτικών συνθέτων διαφέρουν τόσο από αυτές των συνθέτων όσο και των φράσεων, καθώς μοιράζονται μεταξύ μορφολογίας και σύνταξης.

- (2) α. [E O]: τρίτος κόσμος, δημόσιος υπάλληλος, ελεύθερο επάγγελμα, μαύρη αγορά
 β. [O O_{GEN}]: ζώνη ασφαλείας, οίκος ανοχής, άρμα μάχης

	α. <i>Σύνθετα</i>	β. <i>Χαλαρά πολυλεκτικά σύνθετα</i>	γ. <i>Φράσεις</i>
(3) E + O	ελαφρόπετρα	μαύρη αγορά	ψηλό δέντρο
(4) O + O	νυχτοπούλι	ζώνη ασφαλείας	θήκη γυαλιών

Τη συνύπαρξη μορφο-συντακτικών ιδιοτήτων στα χαλαρά πολυλεκτικά σύνθετα επισήμαναν αρχικά οι Αναστασιάδη - Συμεωνίδη (1986) και Ράλλη (1991, 2005, 2007) μελετώντας τα επιμέρους χαρακτηριστικά τους γνωρίσματα. Συγκεκριμένα, οι δομές αυτές αποτελούνται από δύο ανεξάρτητες λέξεις και φέρουν δύο κύριους τόνους. Επομένως, φέρουν τη μορφή φράσης γι' αυτό και χαρακτηρίζονται ως πολυλεκτικά. Αντίθετα, τα σύνθετα της Νέας Ελληνικής είναι μονολεκτικά, δηλαδή αποτελούνται από δύο θέματα, φέρουν έναν κύριο τόνο και εμφανίζουν το συνδετικό στοιχείο

-ο-, όπως φαίνεται στα παραδείγματα *ελαφρόπετρα* (3α) και *νυχτοπούλι* (4α) των αντίστοιχων δομών [EO] και [OO]. Η ύπαρξη δύο ανεξάρτητων συστατικών στα πολυλεκτικά σύνθετα έχει ως αποτέλεσμα τη χαλαρή σύνδεση των συνθετικών μερών, γι' αυτό και χαρακτηρίζονται ως χαλαρά. Επιπλέον, στις δομές [E O] εμφανίζεται εσωτερική κλίση και κατά συνέπεια υπάρχει συμφωνία σε γένος, αριθμό και πτώση. Στους σχηματισμούς [O O_{GEN}] υπάρχει απόδοση γενικής πτώσης από το πρώτο στο δεύτερο συστατικό. Τα χαρακτηριστικά που περιγράφηκαν ως τώρα αποδεικνύουν τη συντακτική φύση των πολυλεκτικών συνθέτων, καθώς απαντούν και σε συντακτικές φράσεις αντίστοιχης δομής, όπως στα παραδείγματα *ψηλό δέντρο* (3γ) και *θήκη γυαλιών* (4γ).

Η θέση της κεφαλής³ των χαλαρών πολυλεκτικών συνθέτων της δομής [O O_{GEN}] συμπληρώνει τις ομοιότητες με τους συντακτικούς σχηματισμούς, καθώς βρίσκεται στα αριστερά, όπως ακριβώς συμβαίνει και στις ονοματικές φράσεις της Νέας Ελληνικής. Αντίθετα, τα πολυλεκτικά σύνθετα της δομής [E O] έχουν την κεφαλή στα δεξιά, όπως και τα μονολεκτικά σύνθετα της Νέας Ελληνικής. Επιπλέον, και τα δύο είδη δομών εμφανίζουν υψηλό βαθμό σημασιολογικής αδιαφάνειας, όπως για παράδειγμα ο σχηματισμός *μαύρη αγορά* που δηλώνει δοσοληψίες με δυσμενείς οικονομικούς όρους. Το στοιχείο της σημασιολογικής αδιαφάνειας αποτελεί χαρακτηριστικό γνώρισμα των μορφολογικών σχηματισμών των συνθέτων, ενώ σε ορισμένες περιπτώσεις το ποσοστό σημασιολογικής αδιαφάνειας των πολυλεκτικών συνθέτων ξεπερνά και αυτό των μονολεκτικών συνθέτων.

Ένα επιπλέον χαρακτηριστικό που ενισχύει τις μορφολογικές τους ιδιότητες είναι η συμμετοχή των πολυλεκτικών συνθέτων [E O] σε παραγωγικές διαδικασίες και συγκεκριμένα στη διαδικασία της επιθηματοποίησης. Πιο αναλυτικά, τα παραγωγικά επιθήματα -ικ-, -ια- και -ιτη- προσκολλώνται σε ονοματικά θέματα που προκύπτουν από τα συστατικά των πολυλεκτικών συνθέτων [E O]. Για το σχηματισμό αυτών των θεμάτων παρεμβαίνει ένας διορθωτικός κανόνας αποκοπής (readjustment truncation rule) ο οποίος, σύμφωνα με τη Ράλλη (2007: 233-234), είναι υπεύθυνος για την αποκοπή της εσωτερικής κλίσης της δομής. Έτσι, σχηματίζονται παράγωγα, όπως τα παραδείγματα του (5) (βλ. επίσης Κολιοπούλου 2006). Τα πολυλεκτικά σύνθετα [O O_{GEN}] δε σχηματίζουν παράγωγα καθώς, όπως υποστηρίζει η Ράλλη (2007: 232-233), φέρουν την κεφαλή στα αριστερά, αντίθετα απ' ότι συμβαίνει στα παράγωγα που μόλις περιγράφηκαν όπου το επίθημα προσκολλάται στην κεφαλή της βάσης που βρίσκεται στα δεξιά.

- (5) ψυχροπολεμ-ικός < ψυχρός πόλεμος
 τριτοκοσμ-ικός < τρίτος κόσμος
 δημοσιοϋπαλληλ-ικός < δημόσιος υπάλληλος
 νεοταξ-ικός < νέα τάξη
 ελευθεροεπαγγελματ-ίας < ελεύθερο επάγγελμα
 μαυραγορ-ίτης < μαύρη αγορά
 αγιοταφ-ίτης < Άγιος Τάφος
 νεοεποχ-ίτης < νέα εποχή

Συνοψίζοντας, αναφέρω ότι στα χαλαρά πολυλεκτικά σύνθετα απαντούν τόσο συντακτικές όσο και μορφολογικές ιδιότητες. Συγκρίνοντας τις δύο δομές των χαλαρών πολυλεκτικών συνθέτων εντοπίζω περισσότερα μορφολογικά στοιχεία στις δομές [E O], καθώς φέρουν την κεφαλή στα δεξιά, όπως οι μορφολογικοί σχηματισμοί των συνθέτων και των παραγώγων της Νέας Ελληνικής και επιπλέον συμμετέχουν και σε παραγωγικές διαδικασίες, δηλαδή στην επιθηματοποίηση. Με βάση κυρίως τα μορφολογικά χαρακτηριστικά των χαλαρών πολυλεκτικών συνθέτων, η Ράλλη (1991: 152-153) προτείνει τον κανόνα σχηματισμού «λέξη → λέξη λέξη», όπως φαίνεται στο (6), ο οποίος αντιστοιχεί στα μονολεκτικά σύνθετα της Νέας Ελληνικής που αποτελούνται από ανεξάρτητες λέξεις, όπως το παράδειγμα *πολυμιλάω*.

- (6) Κανόνας σχηματισμού χαλαρών πολυλεκτικών συνθέτων:
 λέξη → λέξη λέξη

Περνώντας στο δεύτερο είδος ενδιάμεσων ονοματικών σχηματισμών της Νέας Ελληνικής, τις ειδικές ονοματικές φράσεις, οι Ralli και Stavrou (1997, 1998) αναφέρουν ότι πρόκειται για δύο είδη όπου το ένα αποτελείται από επίθετο και ουσιαστικό και το άλλο από δύο ουσιαστικά, το δεύτερο σε γενική. Επιπλέον, μελετώντας τις δομές [E O] αναφέρουν ότι σε κάποιες περιπτώσεις το επίθετο φέρει το ρόλο ορίσματος της κεφαλής που αποτελεί ρηματικό παράγωγο, όπως στα παραδείγματα *θεατρική κριτική* και *πυρηνική δοκιμή* του (7α). Σε άλλες πάλι περιπτώσεις το επίθετο βρίσκεται σε ταξινομική

³ Η έννοια της κεφαλής στη συγκεκριμένη μελέτη προσδιορίζει τόσο τα μορφοσυντακτικά όσο και τα σημασιολογικά χαρακτηριστικά μιας δομής.

σχέση με το ουσιαστικό, όπως στα παραδείγματα *βιομηχανική ζώνη* και *ψηφιακό κύκλωμα* του (7α). Όσον αφορά στις ειδικές ονοματικές φράσεις [Ο Ο_{ΓΕΝ}], η μη κεφαλή, δηλαδή το ουσιαστικό σε γενική, λειτουργεί επίσης ως όρισμα της κεφαλής, όπως φαίνεται στα παραδείγματα *επεξεργασία δεδομένων* και *εκπομπή αερίων* του (7β).

- (7) α. [Ε Ο]: θεατρική κριτική, πυρηνική δοκιμή, βιομηχανική ζώνη, ψηφιακό κύκλωμα
β. [Ο Ο_{ΓΕΝ}]: επεξεργασία δεδομένων, εκπομπή αερίων

Από τα παραπάνω παρατηρεί κανείς ότι οι ειδικές ονοματικές φράσεις φέρουν τα ίδια δομικά σχήματα με τα χαλαρά πολυλεκτικά σύνθετα. Επομένως, υπάρχει αντιστοιχία στη θέση της κεφαλής και στα συντακτικά χαρακτηριστικά συμφωνίας και απόδοσης πτώσης. Επιπλέον, όπως και τα χαλαρά πολυλεκτικά σύνθετα, εμφανίζουν συνθετότητα στη σημασία. Ενδεικτικά αναφέρω ότι ο σχηματισμός *βιομηχανική ζώνη* δε δηλώνει ένα είδος ζώνης, αλλά μια περιοχή που κατακλύζεται από εργοστάσια. Τα κοινά χαρακτηριστικά των δύο αυτών ενδιάμεσων ονοματικών σχηματισμών, τα οποία δίνονται σχηματικά στο (8), οδηγούν στο συμπέρασμα ότι οι ειδικές ονοματικές φράσεις, όπως και τα χαλαρά πολυλεκτικά σύνθετα, διαφέρουν τόσο από τα σύνθετα όσο και από τις φράσεις.

- (8) Ειδικές ονοματικές φράσεις ≈ χαλαρά πολυλεκτικά σύνθετα:

- θέση κεφαλής
- συντακτικά χαρακτηριστικά συμφωνίας και απόδοσης πτώσης
- σημασιολογική αδιαφάνεια

Επιπλέον, δημιουργείται προβληματισμός ως προς τη διαφοροποίηση των δύο αυτών ειδών. Η διαφοροποίηση αυτή προκύπτει από τα αποτελέσματα που φέρουν στην εφαρμογή ορισμένων τεστ ελέγχου συντακτικής αυτονομίας, όπως αυτά που εφαρμόζει η Ράλλη (2007). Συγκεκριμένα, δοκιμάζεται (α) η δυνατότητα σύνταξης της μη κεφαλής με προσδιοριστικό στοιχείο, (β) η παρεμβολή στοιχείου μεταξύ των συστατικών, (γ) η ανατροπή της σειράς των συστατικών καθώς και (δ) η δυνατότητα επανάληψης του άρθρου. Επίσης, (ε) στις δομές [Ο Ο_{ΓΕΝ}] δοκιμάζεται το αν η μη κεφαλή μπορεί να αποτελέσει αντικείμενο συναναφοράς. Στα παραδείγματα (9) ως (13) παραθέτω ενδεικτικές περιπτώσεις από το κάθε ένα τεστ που αποδεικνύουν ότι τα δύο αυτά είδη ενδιάμεσων δομών φέρουν διαφορετικές ιδιότητες.

Χαλαρά πολυλεκτικά σύνθετα	≠	ειδικές ονοματικές φράσεις:
(9) προσδιοριστικό στοιχείο		
α. *πολύ ψυχρός πόλεμος		β. εκπομπή βλαβερών αερίων
(10) παρεμβολή στοιχείου		
α. *η μαύρη, όπως φαντάζεστε, αγορά		β. το ψηφιακό, όπως βλέπετε, κύκλωμα
(11) αναστροφή όρων		
α. *κόσμος τρίτος χαρακτηρίζεται ...		β. ζώνη βιομηχανική χαρακτηρίζεται ...
(12) επανάληψη άρθρου		
α. *το ελεύθερο το εγγράμμα είναι ...		β. ?η πυρηνική η δοκιμή πέτυχε
(13) συναναφορά		
α. *το άρμα μάχης _i [η οποία] _i πραγματοποιήθηκε		
β. επεξεργασία δεδομένων _i [τα οποία] _i συλλέχθηκαν		

Συγκεκριμένα, από τα χαλαρά πολυλεκτικά σύνθετα προκύπτουν αντιγραμματικές δομές, κάτι που επιβεβαιώνει ότι οι σχηματισμοί, παρά τα συντακτικά χαρακτηριστικά τους, εμφανίζουν σε κάποιο βαθμό λεξική ακεραιότητα. Αντίθετα, η θετική ανταπόκριση των ειδικών ονοματικών φράσεων στα τεστ αποδεικνύει ότι πρόκειται για συντακτικές δομές, όπως άλλωστε υποστηρίζει και η Ράλλη (2007: 243). Εντούτοις, μοιάζουν στα χαλαρά πολυλεκτικά σύνθετα αφενός γιατί εμφανίζουν τα ίδια δομικά σχήματα και αφετέρου γιατί μοιράζονται το χαρακτηριστικό της σημασιολογικής αδιαφάνειας.

Περνώντας στο τρίτο είδος ενδιάμεσων δομών αναφέρομαι στους ονοματικούς σχηματισμούς δύο ουσιαστικών [Ο Ο] τα οποία μάλιστα είναι ομοιόπρωτα. Τα συστατικά αυτών των δομών απαντούν είτε σε σχέση εξάρτησης⁴, όπως στα παραδείγματα *νόμος πλαίσιο*, *λέξη κλειδί*, *εταιρία μαϊμού* και *λεωφορείο φάντασμα* του (14α), είτε σε σχέση παράταξης όπως στα παραδείγματα *μεταφραστής - διερμηνέας*, *ηθοποιός - τραγουδιστής* και *δικηγόρος - πολιτικός* του (14β).

⁴ Οι σχηματισμοί αυτοί αποτελούν συνήθως μεταφραστικά δάνεια από τη Γαλλική, όπως έχει ήδη αναφερθεί νωρίτερα. Επιπλέον, ο Mackridge (1985: 328-329) αναφέρει ότι τέτοιες δομές απαντούν και στη δημοτική και φέρει ως παραδείγματα τους σχηματισμούς *παιδί μάλαμα* και *θάλασσα λάδι*.

- (14) α. με σχέση εξάρτησης: νόμος πλαίσιο, παίκτης κλειδί, εταιρία μαϊμού, λεωφορείο φάντασμα, ταξίδι αστραπή, πάρτι έκπληξη, χώρα μέλος, άντρας πρότυπο
 β. με σχέση παράταξης: μεταφραστής - διερμηνέας, ηθοποιός - τραγουδιστής, δικηγόρος - πολιτικός, παρουσιάστρια - μοντέλο

Οι ονοματικοί σχηματισμοί με σχέση εξάρτησης φέρουν την κεφαλή στα αριστερά, όπως επίσης και οι δομές [Ο Ο_{GEN}] των δύο προηγούμενων ενδιάμεσων ειδών. Οι δομές με σχέση παράταξης είναι παραθετικοί σχηματισμοί, η κεφαλή των οποίων δεν ορίζεται σε ένα από τα δύο ουσιαστικά, όπως αντίστοιχα συμβαίνει και στα παρατακτικά σύνθετα που απαντούν σε αρκετές ευρωπαϊκές γλώσσες. Συγκεκριμένα, οι Fabb (1998), Olsen (2001) και Bisetto και Scalise (2005) υποστηρίζουν ότι τα συστατικά των παρατακτικών συνθέτων μοιράζονται τα ίδια γραμματικά χαρακτηριστικά και ανήκουν στην ίδια σημασιολογική κατηγορία. Επομένως, και τα δύο συστατικά φέρουν ιδιότητες κεφαλής, όπως στο παράδειγμα *αλατοπίπερο*. Κατά αντιστοιχία προς τα παρατακτικά σύνθετα και οι ονοματικοί παραθετικοί σχηματισμοί, των οποίων τα συστατικά μοιράζονται τα ίδια γραμματικά και σημασιολογικά χαρακτηριστικά, φέρουν δύο κεφαλές.

Επιπλέον, οι ονοματικοί σχηματισμοί [Ο Ο] έχουν τη μορφή συντακτικής φράσης, εφόσον αποτελούνται από δύο ανεξάρτητες λέξεις που φέρουν κλιτικά επιθήματα. Για να διαγνωσθεί με ακρίβεια ο βαθμός της μορφολογικής τους συνοχής και να διαπιστωθεί κατά πόσο αυτές οι δομές διαφοροποιούνται από τα χαλαρά πολυλεκτικά σύνθετα και τις ειδικές ονοματικές φράσεις εφαρμόζονται διάφορα τεστ τόσο στους σχηματισμούς με σχέση εξάρτησης όσο και στους σχηματισμούς με σχέση παράταξης (βλ. επίσης Γαβριηλίδου 1995 και Gavrilidou 1997). Συγκεκριμένα, δοκιμάζεται (α) η δυνατότητα σύνταξης ενός συστατικού με προσδιοριστικό στοιχείο, (β) η παρεμβολή στοιχείου μεταξύ των συστατικών, και (γ) η σύνταξη ενός συστατικού ως αντικείμενο συναναφοράς. Επιπλέον, εφαρμόζεται (δ) το τεστ της ανατροπής της σειράς των συστατικών.

Τα παραδείγματα (15) ως (18) δείχνουν στην πλειονότητά τους την αρνητική ανταπόκριση των δομών στα προαναφερθέντα τεστ. Αυτό σημαίνει ότι οι ονοματικοί σχηματισμοί εμφανίζουν σε κάποιο βαθμό μορφολογική συνοχή, παρότι έχουν τη μορφή συντακτικών φράσεων. Επιπλέον, θα πρέπει να επισημανθεί ότι οι ονοματικοί σχηματισμοί με σχέση εξάρτησης εμφανίζουν κάποιο βαθμό σημασιολογικής αδιαφάνειας, όπως φαίνεται στο παράδειγμα *εταιρία μαϊμού* που δηλώνει μια ψεύτικη εταιρία. Το στοιχείο αυτό ενισχύει τα μορφολογικά χαρακτηριστικά τους σε σχέση με τους ονοματικούς παραθετικούς σχηματισμούς.

- (15) προσδιοριστικό στοιχείο
 α. *επιχείρηση σωστό μαμού
 β. *μεταφραστής ικανός διερμηνέας
 (16) παρεμβολή στοιχείου
 α. ?μέτρα, όπως αντιλαμβάνεστε, ανάσα ...
 β. *ο ηθοποιός, όπως βλέπετε, τραγουδιστής ...
 (17) συναναφορά
 α. *μελέτησε την υπόθεση κλειδί_i [το οποίο]_i, άνοιξε το δρόμο για ...
 β. *συνάντησε τον ηθοποιό τραγουδιστή_i [ο οποίος]_i, τραγουδούσε τζαζ
 (18) αναστροφή όρων
 α. μαϊμού εταιρία, *κλειδί λέξη
 β. τραγουδιστής - ηθοποιός

Παρά τις μορφολογικές ιδιότητες που εντοπίσαμε με τη βοήθεια των τεστ κυρίως στις δομές με σχέση εξάρτησης, δε θα μπορούσαμε να ισχυριστούμε ότι οι ονοματικοί σχηματισμοί [Ο Ο] φέρουν τον ίδιο βαθμό λεξικής ακεραιότητας που εμφανίζουν και τα χαλαρά πολυλεκτικά σύνθετα, κάτι που υποστηρίζει και η Ράλλη (2007). Πρώτη ένδειξη γι' αυτό τον ισχυρισμό αποτελεί η εν μέρει θετική ανταπόκριση ορισμένων ονοματικών σχηματισμών με σχέση εξάρτησης στο τεστ αναστροφής όρων, όπως ενδεικτικά δηλώνει το παράδειγμα *μαϊμού εταιρία* του (18α). Σε προηγούμενες μελέτες (βλ. Κολιοπούλου 2006, Κολιοπούλου 2008, 2009) διαπιστώθηκε ότι η δυνατότητα αναστροφής της σειράς των όρων απαντά στους σχηματισμούς με μη κεφαλή τις λέξεις *μαϊμού* και *φίλη*, όπως φαίνεται στα παραδείγματα του (19). Η παρατήρηση αυτή μας οδηγεί στο συμπέρασμα ότι μόνο σε περιορισμένες περιπτώσεις διαταράσσεται η δομική συνοχή των σχηματισμών, στις οποίες είναι πιθανό να παίζει ρόλο η αυξημένη συχνότητα εμφάνισης των μη κεφαλών, κυρίως όσον αφορά στη λέξη *μαϊμού*.

- (19) αυτοκίνητο μαϊμού – μαϊμού αυτοκίνητο
 χώρα φίλη – φίλη χώρα

Για τον περαιτέρω έλεγχο των μορφοσυντακτικών ιδιοτήτων των ονοματικών σχηματισμών με σχέση εξάρτησης δοκιμάζεται η δυνατότητα μεταβολής των κλιτικών χαρακτηριστικών της μη κεφαλής σε διάφορα συντακτικά περιβάλλοντα (βλ. επίσης Κολιοπούλου 2006, Κολιοπούλου 2009). Συγκεκριμένα, στο (20) ελέγχεται η μεταβλητότητα της μη κεφαλής *κλειδί* στη δομή *λέξη κλειδί*. Όπως αποδεικνύεται, η μη κεφαλή επηρεάζεται από τα κλιτικά χαρακτηριστικά της κεφαλής μόνο στην ονομαστική πληθυντικού (20β), ενώ αντίθετα στα υπόλοιπα συντακτικά περιβάλλοντα η μη κεφαλή παραμένει αμετάβλητη.

- (20) α. λέξη_{ON,EN} κλειδί_{ON,EN}
 β. λέξεις_{ON,PL} κλειδιά_{ON,PL}
 γ. λέξης_{GEN,EN} κλειδί_{ON,EN}
 δ. *λέξης_{GEN,EN} κλειδιού_{GEN,EN}
 ε. λέξεων_{GEN,PL} κλειδί_{ON,EN}
 στ. *λέξεων_{GEN,PL} κλειδιά_{ON,PL}
 ζ. *λέξεων_{GEN,PL} κλειδιών_{GEN,PL}

Συγκρίνοντας τις ονοματικές δομές με σχέση εξάρτησης με τα χαλαρά πολυλεκτικά σύνθετα [*O* *O*_{GEN}] που επίσης φέρουν την κεφαλή στα αριστερά, παρατηρεί κανείς ότι η μη κεφαλή αυτών των πολυλεκτικών συνθέτων δεν παρουσιάζει καμία δυνατότητα συντακτικής αυτονομίας. Δηλαδή, βρίσκεται πάντα σε γενική πτώση ενικού αριθμού, ανεξαρτήτως των κλιτικών χαρακτηριστικών της κεφαλής, όπως φαίνεται και στα παραδείγματα του (21). Αντίθετα, διαπιστώθηκε ότι η μη κεφαλή των ονοματικών σχηματισμών παρουσιάζει σε κάποιο βαθμό συντακτική αυτονομία, έστω και αν αυτή είναι ιδιαίτερα περιορισμένη. Η παρατήρηση αυτή στηρίζει την άποψη περί διαφοροποίησης των ονοματικών σχηματισμών από τα χαλαρά πολυλεκτικά σύνθετα, καθώς οι ονοματικοί σχηματισμοί φέρουν περισσότερα συντακτικά χαρακτηριστικά (βλ. επίσης Κολιοπούλου 2006).

- (21) Χαλαρά πολυλεκτικά σύνθετα [*O* *O*_{GEN}]

- α. άρμα_{ON,EN} μάχης_{GEN,EN}
 άρματα_{ON,PL} μάχης_{GEN,EN}
 *άρματα_{ON,PL} μαχών_{GEN,PL}
 β. οίκος_{ON,EN} ανοχής_{GEN,EN}
 οίκοι_{ON,PL} ανοχής_{GEN,EN}
 *οίκοι_{ON,PL} ανοχών_{GEN,PL}

Επιπλέον, θα πρέπει να επισημανθεί ότι οι ονοματικές δομές με σχέση εξάρτησης δεν εμφανίζουν ενιαία ανταπόκριση στα τεστ που περιγράψαμε νωρίτερα. Χαρακτηριστικό παράδειγμα αποτελεί ο σχηματισμός *νόμος πλαίσιο*, ο οποίος εμφανίζει αρνητική ανταπόκριση στα περισσότερα τεστ, όπως φαίνεται στα παραδείγματα του (22) (βλ. επίσης Κολιοπούλου 2006, Κολιοπούλου 2009). Συγκεκριμένα, σε σύγκριση με αντίστοιχους σχηματισμούς η δομή αυτή δεν επιτρέπει την αντιστροφή της σειράς των όρων, κάτι που σε άλλες περιπτώσεις είναι επιτρεπτό (βλ. παραδείγματα 18, 19). Επιπλέον, στο τεστ συντακτικής αυτονομίας της μη κεφαλής στο (22ε), η μη κεφαλή *πλαίσιο* επιδεικνύει αυτονομία σε κλιτικό περιβάλλον γενικής ενικού, όπου απαντά ως *νόμου πλαισίου*. Αντίθετα, στη δομή για παράδειγμα *λέξη κλειδί* η μη κεφαλή παρουσιάζει δυνατότητα μεταβολής των κλιτικών της χαρακτηριστικών σε περιβάλλον ονομαστικής πληθυντικού (βλ. παράδειγμα 20β).

- (22) α. προσδιοριστικό στοιχείο
 *νόμος μεγάλο πλαίσιο
 β. παρεμβολή στοιχείου
 *ο νόμος, όπως γνωρίζετε, πλαίσιο
 γ. συναναφορά
 *ο νόμος πλαίσιο, [το οποίο], περιλαμβάνει
 δ. αναστροφή όρων
 *πλαίσιο νόμος
 ε. συντακτική αυτονομία μη κεφαλής
 νόμοι_{ON,PL} πλαίσιο_{ON,EN}
 ?νόμοι_{ON,PL} πλαίσια_{ON,PL}
 νόμου_{GEN,EN} πλαίσιο_{ON,EN}
 νόμου_{GEN,EN} πλαισίου_{GEN,EN}
 νόμων_{GEN,PL} πλαίσιο_{ON,EN}

*νόμων_{GEN,ΠΑ} πλαίσίων_{GEN,ΠΑ}*νόμων_{GEN,ΠΑ} πλαισίου_{GEN,EN}

Όπως αποδεικνύεται από τα παραπάνω, οι ονοματικοί σχηματισμοί με σχέση εξάρτησης εμφανίζουν μη συστηματικότητα ανταπόκρισης στα διάφορα τεστ ελέγχου του βαθμού συντακτικής αυτονομίας που διαθέτουν. Έτσι ενισχύεται η άποψη ότι αυτές οι δομές θα πρέπει να διαχωρίζονται από τα χαλαρά πολυλεκτικά σύνθετα, τα οποία παρουσιάζουν παγιωμένες ιδιότητες αμεταβλητότητας της μη κεφαλής. Σε σχέση με τη φύση των ονοματικών αυτών σχηματισμών, οι διακυμάνσεις στα αποτελέσματα των τεστ αποδεικνύουν ότι οι μορφο-συντακτικές τους ιδιότητες δεν έχουν ακόμα αποκρυσταλλωθεί. Επομένως, υιοθετείται η άποψη της Ράλλη, η οποία υποστηρίζει ότι βρίσκονται σε στάδιο μορφολογοποίησης (morphologization) και συγκεκριμένα αποσυντακτικοποίησης (desyntacticization) με τους όρους του Joseph (2003: 473). Η διαδικασία της αποσυντακτικοποίησης σημαίνει ότι οι σχηματισμοί αυτοί χάνουν σταδιακά τη συντακτική αυτονομία που διαθέτουν και αποκτούν μορφολογικές ιδιότητες. Η ενίσχυση της εσωτερικής τους συνοχής συνάδει και με την αύξηση χρήσης αυτών των δομών, κυρίως σε περιπτώσεις ορολογίας, όπως ακριβώς συμβαίνει με το παράδειγμα *νόμος πλαίσιο*.

Η δομική ανάλυση των τριών ονοματικών μορφο-συντακτικών σχηματισμών που προηγήθηκε αποδεικνύει ότι οι μεταξύ τους διαφορές κυμαίνονται όχι μόνο ανά κατηγορία, αλλά και μεταξύ των διαφορετικών δομών της ίδιας κατηγορίας. Για παράδειγμα στις δομές [E O] και [O O_{GEN}] των χαλαρών πολυλεκτικών συνθέτων το πρώτο είδος εμφανίζει περισσότερα μορφολογικά χαρακτηριστικά από ότι το δεύτερο εφόσον συμμετέχει και στη διαδικασία της παραγωγής. Επίσης, στους ονοματικούς σχηματισμούς [O O] με σχέση εξάρτησης παρατηρείται διακύμανση ιδιοτήτων και συγκεκριμένα σταδιακή εξασθένηση των συντακτικών χαρακτηριστικών τους. Με βάση αυτό το δεδομένο δημιουργείται η ανάγκη μιας θεωρητικής πρότασης η οποία θα έχει τη δυνατότητα να αναδείξει την ποικιλία στα είδη ιδιοτήτων που παρουσιάζουν αυτοί οι σχηματισμοί.

3. Θεωρητική προσέγγιση

Μια θεωρητική πρόταση που περιλαμβάνει σχηματισμούς που μοιάζουν με φράσεις (“phrase-like units”) σε γλώσσες όπως η Ιταλική, η Κινεζική και η Νέα Εβραϊκή είναι αυτή των Gaeta και Ricca (2009), στην οποία υιοθετούν μια κλίμακα τεσσάρων επιπέδων. Τα επίπεδα διαμορφώνονται σύμφωνα με το θετικό ή αρνητικό πρόσημο των χαρακτηριστικών «μορφολογικό» και «λεξικοποιημένο⁵». Τον όρο «μορφολογικό» αποδίδουν οι ερευνητές σε δομές που προκύπτουν από μορφολογικές διαδικασίες, όπως για παράδειγμα της σύνθεσης, ενώ ο όρος «λεξικοποιημένο» αποδίδεται σε δομές, λέξεις ή φράσεις, που εμφανίζουν δομικά ή σημασιολογικά ιδιοσυγκρασιακά συστατικά και επομένως έχουν προκύψει από τη διαδικασία της λεξικοποίησης. Τα λεξικοποιημένα στοιχεία, λόγω της μη προβλέψιμης μορφής και σημασίας τους, καταχωρούνται στο λεξικό και ο βαθμός λεξικοποίησης κυμαίνεται ανάλογα με τη δυνατότητα, ή μη, που εμφανίζουν για συμμετοχή σε μορφολογικές διαδικασίες. Με βάση τα δύο αυτά χαρακτηριστικά οι Gaeta και Ricca (2009: 38) παρουσιάζουν την ακόλουθη κλίμακα.

- (23) α. [+ μορφολογικό], [+ λεξικοποιημένο]
 β. [+ μορφολογικό], [- λεξικοποιημένο]
 γ. [- μορφολογικό], [+ λεξικοποιημένο]
 δ. [- μορφολογικό], [- λεξικοποιημένο]

Στα δύο πρώτα επίπεδα εντάσσονται οι μορφολογικοί σχηματισμοί των συνθέτων με τη διαφορά ότι στο πρώτο επίπεδο (23α) οι σχηματισμοί φέρουν και κάποια ιδιοσυγκρασιακά στοιχεία, ενώ στο δεύτερο (23β) περιλαμβάνονται πολύ παραγωγικά σύνθετα, οι δομές των οποίων είναι πλήρως απαλλαγμένες από λεξικοποιημένα χαρακτηριστικά. Στο τρίτο επίπεδο (23γ) εντάσσονται σχηματισμοί που μοιάζουν με φράσεις και βρίσκονται στα όρια μορφολογίας και σύνταξης διαθέτοντας ιδιοματική σημασία και μη επιτρέποντας την παρεμβολή άλλων στοιχείων στο εσωτερικό της δομής. Τέλος, στο τέταρτο επίπεδο (23δ) περιλαμβάνονται συντακτικές φράσεις.

Υιοθετώντας αυτή την κλίμακα για τους μορφο-συντακτικούς ονοματικούς σχηματισμούς της Νέας Ελληνικής θα αντιμετώπιζε κανείς το ζήτημα της κατάταξής τους σε κάποιο από τα τέσσερα επίπεδα. Από τη δομική τους όμως ανάλυση μπορεί κανείς να συμπεράνει ότι μια θεωρητική περιγραφή απλά

⁵ Ως «λεξικοποιημένο» μεταφράζω τον όρο “lexical” που στο πλαίσιο της μελέτης των Gaeta και Ricca (2009) χρησιμοποιείται για τα λεξικοποιημένα (lexicalized) στοιχεία.

με την ύπαρξη ή μη μορφολογικών και λεξικοποιημένων στοιχείων δεν είναι ικανοποιητική για το λόγο ότι σε όλους αυτούς τους σχηματισμούς υπάρχουν και τα δύο αυτά χαρακτηριστικά, σε διαφορετικό όμως βαθμό ανά δομή, καθώς πρόκειται για ενδιάμεσες δομές. Τα χαρακτηριστικά [-μορφολογικό] και [+λεξικοποιημένο] που προτείνουν οι Gaeta και Ricca (2009) στο τρίτο επίπεδο της κλίμακας θα μπορούσαν να αποδοθούν σε άλλου είδους πολυλεκτικές φράσεις της Νέας Ελληνικής, όπως τα παραδείγματα *ούτως ή άλλως* και *πήγαινε έλα*. Όπως αναφέρει η Ράλλη (2005: 84-85) οι περιπτώσεις αυτές φέρουν ιδιωματική σημασία καθώς έχουν λεξικοποιηθεί και επομένως αποτελούν παγιωμένες εκφράσεις. Οι δομές όμως αυτές δε θα μπορούσαν να χαρακτηριστούν ως ενδιάμεσες, εφόσον δε φέρουν μορφολογικά χαρακτηριστικά. Επομένως, δημιουργείται η ανάγκη ανεύρεσης μιας θεωρητικής πρότασης που θα πληροί όλες τις περιπτώσεις αλληλεπίδρασης μορφο-συντακτικών χαρακτηριστικών που διαπιστώσαμε στις υπό εξέταση ονοματικές δομές της Νέας Ελληνικής.

Για την πληρέστερη κάλυψη όλων των εκφράσεων του φαινομένου συνύπαρξης μορφο-συντακτικών χαρακτηριστικών υιοθετείται η έννοια ενός συνεχούς, το οποίο έχει αναφερθεί και σε προηγούμενες μελέτες (βλ. Ράλλη 2007, Κολιοπούλου 2006). Η έννοια του συνεχούς εντάσσεται στο πλαίσιο μιας γραμμικής διάταξης μορφολογίας - σύνταξης, με τη μορφολογία να προηγείται της σύνταξης, όπως υποστηρίζει ο Kirarsky (1982). Η ασαφής οριοθέτηση των δύο τομέων δικαιολογεί τη διάχυση μορφο-συντακτικών ιδιοτήτων. Συγκεκριμένα, στο πλαίσιο ενός συνεχούς μεταξύ μορφολογίας και σύνταξης τα τρία είδη ενδιάμεσων ονοματικών δομών διατάσσονται σύμφωνα με το πλήθος των μορφολογικών και συντακτικών τους χαρακτηριστικών. Ορίζοντας ως άκρα αυτού του συνεχούς τα μονολεκτικά σύνθετα και τις ονοματικές φράσεις, τα χαλαρά πολυλεκτικά σύνθετα τοποθετούνται εγγύτερα στον τομέα της μορφολογίας, ενώ οι ειδικές ονοματικές φράσεις και οι ονοματικοί σχηματισμοί απαντούν πλησιέστερα προς τη σύνταξη. Με βάση την ανάλυση των ιδιοτήτων που προηγήθηκε προκύπτει η ακόλουθη διάταξη:

(24)

<div style="display: flex; flex-direction: column; align-items: center;"> <div>ΜΟΡΦΟΛΟΓΙΑ</div> <div style="margin: 10px 0;"> <div style="width: 20px; height: 20px; border: 1px solid black; margin: 0 auto;"></div> <div style="width: 2px; height: 50px; background: linear-gradient(to top, transparent 49%, black 49%, black 51%, transparent 51%); margin: 0 auto;"></div> <div style="width: 20px; height: 20px; border: 1px solid black; margin: 0 auto;"></div> </div> <div>ΣΥΝΤΑΞΗ</div> </div>	μονολεκτικά σύνθετα
	<i>χαλαρά πολυλεκτικά σύνθετα [E O]</i>
	<i>χαλαρά πολυλεκτικά σύνθετα [O O_{GEN}]</i>
	<i>ονοματικοί σχηματισμοί [O O] με σχέση εξάρτησης</i>
	<i>ονοματικοί σχηματισμοί [O O] με σχέση παράθεσης</i>
	<i>ειδικές ονοματικές φράσεις</i>
	ονοματικές φράσεις

4. Συμπεράσματα

Η παρούσα έρευνα συνοψίζει όλα τα είδη ενδιάμεσων ονοματικών σχηματισμών που απαντούν στη Νέα Ελληνική. Η ανάλυση των ιδιοτήτων αυτών των σχηματισμών επιβεβαιώνει αφενός τη συνύπαρξη μορφο-συντακτικών χαρακτηριστικών, αφετέρου τη διάκριση μεταξύ τριών κατηγοριών, όπως έχει ήδη προταθεί στη σχετική βιβλιογραφία. Επιπλέον, η ανάλυση στην παρούσα έρευνα αποδεικνύει ότι ακόμα και τα διαφορετικά είδη δομών μίας κατηγορίας εμφανίζουν διακύμανση μορφο-συντακτικών συντακτικών. Δηλαδή, ο βαθμός δομικής συνοχής που επιδεικνύουν αυτοί οι σχηματισμοί ποικίλει όχι μόνο ανά κατηγορία αλλά και ανάμεσα στα διαφορετικά είδη δομών που ανήκουν στην ίδια κατηγορία. Μάλιστα, σε ένα συγκεκριμένο είδος, αυτό των ονοματικών σχηματισμών [O O] με σχέση εξάρτησης, η διακύμανση της εσωτερικής συνοχής παρατηρείται και μεταξύ των διαφορετικών παραδειγμάτων, καθώς, όπως έχει υποστηριχθεί, πρόκειται για μια περίπτωση σχηματισμών που βρίσκεται σε διαδικασία μορφολογοποίησης. Με δεδομένο αφενός τη συνύπαρξη μορφο-συντακτικών χαρακτηριστικών και αφετέρου την έντονη διακύμανσή τους επιχειρώ τη θεωρητική τους ανάλυση με βάση την πρόταση των Gaeta και Ricca (2009) που υποστηρίζουν για αντίστοιχες δομές της Ιταλικής, της Κινεζικής και της Νέας Εβραϊκής. Διαπιστώνω όμως ότι είναι ανεπαρκής για τα δεδομένα της Νέας Ελληνικής και έτσι υποστηρίζω και στην παρούσα μελέτη την υιοθέτηση ενός συνεχούς μεταξύ μορφολογίας και σύνταξης στο οποίο διατάσσω με ακρίβεια τους υπό εξέταση σχηματισμούς, σύμφωνα με τις ιδιότητές τους.

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ΕΝΔΟΓΛΩΣΣΙΚΗ ΜΕΤΑΦΡΑΣΗ ΚΑΤ'ΕΠΙΛΟΓΗΝ; Η ΠΕΡΙΠΤΩΣΗ ΤΟΥ ΥΠΟΤΙΤΛΙΣΜΟΥ ΔΙΑΛΕΚΤΙΚΩΝ ΣΥΣΤΗΜΑΤΩΝ ΤΗΣ ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΗΣ ΓΛΩΣΣΑΣ ΣΕ ΤΗΛΕΟΠΤΙΚΑ ΔΙΑΦΗΜΙΣΤΙΚΑ ΜΗΝΥΜΑΤΑ

Ευάγγελος Κουρδής

Αριστοτέλειο Πανεπιστήμιο Θεσσαλονίκης, Ελλάδα

ekourdis@frl.auth.gr

ΠΕΡΙΛΗΨΗ

Recently, several TV commercials use dialects (Cretan and Pontiac dialect), as well as Provincial Greek (Epirus, Thessaly, and Central Greece's language systems) to advertise products within the Greek market. In these TV commercials it is noted that at times the advertisers opt to subtitle these language systems in Modern Greek while at others they do not. This paper intends to examine whether this choice of, in essence, intralingual translation carries some semiotic dimensions that they will help us to understand not only the position, but also the connotative value these language systems have within the context of everyday life. This study shows that classifying language variety as dialect or accent does not seem to influence the subtitling of the dialect systems under scrutiny. Moreover, subtitling seems to be used as a linguistic tool to understand the signified, but also as a semiotic practice to disseminate targeted positive connotations through TV commercials.

Λέξεις κλειδιά: intralingual translation, subtitling, advertisement, Greek dialects and accents.

1. Εισαγωγή

Τα τελευταία χρόνια, πολλές τηλεοπτικές διαφημίσεις χρησιμοποιούν διαλεκτικά συστήματα της ελληνικής για να διαφημίσουν τα προϊόντα τους στην ελληνική αγορά. Η επιλογή αυτή φαίνεται ενδιαφέρουσα εάν λάβουμε υπόψη ότι δεν χρησιμοποιείται η πρότυπη γλώσσα, η Κοινή Νεοελληνική, αλλά διαλεκτικά συστήματα η γνώση των οποίων δεν είναι γενικευμένη, γεγονός που περιορίζει το κοινό στο οποίο απευθύνονται τα συγκεκριμένα διαφημιστικά μηνύματα. Για τη μελέτη αυτού του φαινομένου επιλέξαμε πέντε τηλεοπτικά διαφημιστικά μηνύματα που χρησιμοποιούν γλωσσικά συστήματα από την Ήπειρο, τον Πόντο και την Κρήτη. Η μεθοδολογική προσέγγιση συνίσταται στη συγκριτική αντιπαραβολή τους σε μία προσπάθεια να αποσαφηνίσουμε δύο στοιχεία. Το πρώτο στοιχείο έχει να κάνει με το λόγο για τον οποίο τηλεοπτικά διαφημιστικά μηνύματα που χρησιμοποιούν την ίδια γλωσσική ποικιλία, άλλη φορά υποτιτλίζονται και άλλη φορά όχι (όπως για παράδειγμα συμβαίνει στην περίπτωση των διαφημιστικών μηνυμάτων που χρησιμοποιούν τα γλωσσικά συστήματα της Ηπείρου και της Κρήτης). Συνάμα, εξετάζουμε εάν η επιλογή αυτής της ενδογλωσσικής - στην ουσία - μετάφρασης έχει κάποια σημειωτική διάσταση που θα μας βοηθήσει να κατανοήσουμε, όχι μόνο τη θέση, αλλά και τη συνδηλωτική αξία που έχουν τα συγκεκριμένα διαλεκτικά συστήματα της Ελληνικής στην ελληνική καθημερινότητα. Το δεύτερο στοιχείο που επιδιώκουμε να αποσαφηνίσουμε έχει να κάνει με το κατά πόσο ο υποτιτλισμός επηρεάζεται από την κατηγοριοποίηση ενός διαλεκτικού συστήματος ως *διαλέκτου* ή *ιδιώματος*.

Ειδικά, για το δεύτερο αυτό θέμα, αξίζει να σημειώσουμε ότι η διάκριση αυτή δεν είναι παγιωμένη. Αρκετοί ερευνητές, όπως ο Trudgill (2003: 49), θεωρούν ως διαλέκτους της ελληνικής την Ποντιακή, τα Τσακωνικά, τα Ελληνικά της Κάτω Ιταλίας και την Καπαδοκική, κατηγοριοποιώντας όλα τα υπόλοιπα νεοελληνικά γλωσσικά συστήματα ως ιδιώματα¹. Στην καθημερινή πρακτική, όμως, διαλέκτους αποκαλούν και τις γλωσσικές ποικιλίες της Κρήτης, της Κύπρου και των Επτανήσων,

¹ Άλλοι ερευνητές προσθέτουν και άλλες γλωσσικές ποικιλίες στην κατηγορία της διαλέκτου (βλ. Trudgill, 2003: 50).

καθώς υιοθετείται η θέση ότι η διάλεκτος έχει γραπτή μορφή στην οποία έχουν γραφεί σημαντικά πνευματικά έργα και χαρακτηρίζεται από σημαντική απόκλιση σε επίπεδο λεξιλογίου σε σχέση με την πρότυπη γλώσσα. Έτσι, ο Μπασλής (2000: 38) αναφέρει ότι “στη συνείδηση του Έλληνα *διάλεκτος* είναι ένα γεωγραφικό γλωσσικό ιδίωμα, όπως π.χ. το Κρητικό, Κυπριακό, Ποντιακό, κτλ. που μιλιέται δηλαδή από τους Έλληνες μίας ορισμένης γεωγραφικής περιοχής”. Για την διάκριση των όρων *διάλεκτος* και *ιδίωμα* στην παρούσα έρευνα υιοθετείται η θέση ότι ως *τοπικό ιδίωμα* χαρακτηρίζεται η ποικιλία με μικρό αριθμό αποκλίσεων, οι οποίες πολλές φορές περιορίζονται στο επίπεδο της φωνητικής και του λεξιλογίου, ενώ ως *διάλεκτος* χαρακτηρίζεται η γεωγραφική ποικιλία με μεγαλύτερο βαθμό διαφοροποίησης ή και μία ομάδα τοπικών ιδιωμάτων (Κοντονάτσου 1994: 36, Δελβερούδη, 2001: 54, Αρχάκης & Κονδύλη 2002: 58, κ.ά.)

2. Η σημειωτική και γλωσσική διάσταση του υποτιτλισμού

Ο υποτιτλισμός ορίζεται ως η μεταφραστική πρακτική κατά την οποία η μετάφραση εμφανίζεται σε γραπτή μορφή στο κάτω μέρος της οθόνης (Diaz Cintas & Remael, 2007: 8). Ως κύρια χαρακτηριστικά του υποτιτλισμού ο Gottlieb (1994: 269) αναφέρει το γεγονός ότι υπάρχει επαρκής χρόνος για τη μετάφραση και τη δημιουργία υποτίτλων πριν από την προβολή τους στο κοινό, ο προσωρινός και παροδικός τους χαρακτήρας καθώς εμφανίζονται στιγμιαία στην οθόνη, η προσβασιμότητα στο πρωτότυπο που επιτυγχάνεται κατά τη διάρκεια προβολής της μετάφρασης στην οθόνη, το γεγονός ότι ο υπότιτλος είναι συμπτυγμένη μετάφραση οι αποδέκτες της οποίας δεν είναι γνωστοί στον υποτιτλιστή, καθώς και ότι δεν υπάρχει η δυνατότητα αμφίδρομης επικοινωνίας.

Ο υποτιτλισμός, όμως, δεν είναι μία απλή μορφή μετάφρασης, αλλά έχει έντονο σημειωτικό χαρακτήρα. Έτσι, μελετητές του υποτιτλισμού όπως οι Gottlieb (1994: 269) και Pérez González (2009: 14) θεωρούν τον υποτιτλισμό ως ένα διασημειωτικό είδος μετάφρασης² λόγω της αλλαγής που παρατηρείται από τον προφορικό στο γραπτό κώδικα. Το σημειωτικό χαρακτήρα του υποτιτλισμού υπογραμμίζει και ο Munday (2009: 6) που παρατηρεί ότι ο υποτιτλισμός είτε είναι ενδογλωσσικός, είτε διαγλωσσικός, αποτελεί επίσης και μία μορφή διασημειωτικής μετάφρασης, η αντικατάσταση ενός γλωσσικού κώδικα πηγή με ένα κείμενο στόχο που γράφεται σε ένα γλωσσικό κώδικα που συνοδεύεται με άλλα οπτικά και ακουστικά σημεία. Για το λόγο αυτό και, όπως θα δούμε στη συνέχεια, στις περιπτώσεις υποτιτλισμού που μελετούμε σημαντική είναι η συνδρομή και των μη γλωσσικών σημειωτικών συστημάτων στην επιτυχία του διαφημιστικού μηνύματος.

Το γεγονός, όμως, ότι ο γλωσσικός κώδικας συνοδεύεται και από μη γλωσσικά σημεία, δεν παραγνωρίζει ένα άλλο γεγονός: ο υποτιτλισμός αποτελεί κατά βάση μία γλωσσική πράξη. Στα τηλεοπτικά διαφημιστικά μηνύματα που θα εξετάσουμε παρακάτω θα διαπιστώσουμε, όμως, μία ιδιαιτερότητα στην λειτουργία του. Οι υπότιτλοι δεν αποδίδουν μία ξένη γλώσσα στην Κοινή Νεοελληνική, δεν λειτουργούν, δηλαδή, διαγλωσσικά, αλλά ενδογλωσσικά. Ο Jakobson (2004 [1959]: 139) χαρακτηρίζει ως *ενδογλωσσική μετάφραση* ή *αναδιατύπωση* “την ερμηνεία γλωσσικών σημείων με άλλα σημεία της ίδιας γλώσσας”. Κατά τη γνώμη μας, στις περιπτώσεις που θα εξετάσουμε στη συνέχεια, μπορούμε να κάνουμε λόγο για ενδογλωσσική μετάφραση ή, ακριβέστερα, για ενδογλωσσικό υποτιτλισμό, καθώς τα διαλεκτικά συστήματα που υποτιτλίζονται στην Κοινή Νεοελληνική αποτελούν γεωγραφικές ποικιλίες της ελληνικής γλώσσας (κρητική διάλεκτος, ποντιακή διάλεκτος, ηπειρώτικο ιδίωμα). Καθώς, λοιπόν, παραμένουμε στο ίδιο γλωσσικό σύστημα, στην ελληνική γλώσσα, το ερώτημα που τίθεται συνακόλουθα είναι ποιος είναι ο λόγος της επιλογής αυτών των γλωσσικών συστημάτων στα διαφημιστικά μηνύματα και ποιος είναι ο λόγος που κάποιες φορές υποτιτλίζονται³. Θεωρούμε ότι η απάντηση έγκειται στο γεγονός ότι ο θεατής στην περίπτωση αυτή έχει ταυτόχρονα πρόσβαση στο πρωτότυπο κείμενο. Έτσι, όμως, προκύπτει ένα νέο ερώτημα: γιατί ο θεατής πρέπει να έχει πρόσβαση στο πρωτότυπο κείμενο;

² Είναι ενδιαφέρον ότι οι Delisle, Lee-Jahnke & Cormier (2008: 92) αφήνουν εκτός της μεταφραστικής διαδικασίας την περίπτωση της διασημειωτικής μετάφρασης χαρακτηρίζοντας ως *μετάφραση* μόνο την ενδογλωσσική και τη διαγλωσσική διεργασία.

³ Ο Peeters (1999: 188) παρατηρεί ότι “ο διαλεκτισμός της γλώσσας βρίσκεται στην καρδιά της μετάφρασης”.

3. Διαλεκτικά συστήματα και υποτιτλισμός στον κινηματογράφο και στην τηλεόραση

Πριν απαντήσουμε στο ερώτημα που μόλις θέσαμε, έχει ενδιαφέρον να εξετάσουμε εάν η χρήση διαλεκτικών συστημάτων, και πολύ περισσότερο ο υποτιτλισμός τους, αποτελεί μία καινούργια ή μία παλιά πρακτική στα ΜΜΕ. Η γλώσσα των ΜΜΕ απασχόλησε και απασχολεί τους μελέτες σε διαφορετικές εποχές, καθώς “η γλώσσα των ΜΜΕ είναι *ένοχη*, αφού σε συγκεκριμένες χρήσεις της εμπεριέχεται ιδεολογία, δηλαδή ρητή ή (συνήθως) υπόρρητη αναπαράσταση αντικρουόμενων κοσμοειδώλων” (Πολίτης, 2001: 119). Το φαινόμενο της χρήσης διαλεκτικών ποικιλιών της Ελληνικής στα ΜΜΕ δεν είναι καινούργιο και μπορούμε να ισχυριστούμε ότι εμφορείται με ιδεολογία. Ο Κοντοσόπουλος (1985: 70) αναφέρει ότι “οι διάλεκτοι και τα ιδιώματα και γενικά ο τρόπος ομιλίας των επαρχιωτών έδωσαν γραφή στην πέννα των δημοσιογράφων, των λαογράφων και άλλων λογίων της επαρχίας, για να δημοσιεύσουν διαλεκτικά κείμενα με χαρακτήρα χιουμοριστικό και σατυρικό συνήθως στον τοπικό τύπο”. Η περίπτωση, όμως, του κινηματογράφου και της τηλεόρασης είναι πολύ διαφορετική, καθώς, ειδικά η τηλεόραση, αποτελεί μέρος της ανθρώπινης καθημερινότητας, και, όχι, συνειδητή και επιλεκτική επιλογή όπως ο τύπος. Επίσης, τόσο ο κινηματογράφος στην αρχή, όσο και η τηλεόραση αργότερα, έχουν ένα σημαντικό πλεονέκτημα: την εικόνα.

Από τη δεκαετία του '60 μέχρι και τη δεκαετία του '80, αρκετοί ηθοποιοί χρησιμοποίησαν στον κινηματογράφο, και μετέπειτα στην τηλεόραση, διαλεκτικά συστήματα της ελληνικής (Κώστας Χατζηρήστος, Σπύρος Καλογήρου, Άννα Βαγενά, Κώστας Βουτσάς, Λάκης Λαζόπουλος, κ.ά.). Κατά την περίοδο αυτή, διαλεκτικά γλωσσικά συστήματα - κυρίως η επαρχιακή ελληνική - χρησιμοποιήθηκαν με χιουμοριστικό τρόπο για να εκφράσουν γλωσσο-εικονικά μια περιθωριοποιημένη κοινωνικά τάξη, αυτή των *Βλάχων*, δηλαδή, των αμόρφωτων και κακόγουστων επαρχιωτών, των μη αστών, ενώ η επαρχιακή ελληνική ταυτίστηκε με τα βόρεια ιδιώματα⁴.

Στη δεκαετία του '90, όμως, παρατηρήθηκε μία αλλαγή καθώς έκαναν την εμφάνισή τους τηλεοπτικές σειρές, όπως, παραδείγματος χάριν, η τηλεοπτική σειρά «Εμείς και Εμείς» (σε σκηνοθεσία Π. Αμαραντίδη και Σ. Μεταλληνού), όπου η ηθοποιός Νατάσα Γερασιμίδου υποδύεται την ομογενή ποντιακής καταγωγής από το Κιλκίς. Στη περίπτωση αυτή, και για πρώτη φορά, όταν η ηθοποιός ομιλεί στην ποντιακή διάλεκτο, υπάρχει υποτιτλισμός στην Κοινή Νεοελληνική! Κατά τη γνώμη μας, ο υποτιτλισμός δικαιολογείται από τα εκτεταμένα τμήματα λόγου στην ποντιακή διάλεκτο, καθώς για αρκετά λεπτά ο τηλεθεατής που δεν γνωρίζει τη διάλεκτο δεν μπορεί να καταλάβει τι λέγεται. Επίσης, με τον υποτιτλισμό επιχειρείται να δοθεί από τους συντελεστές της εκπομπής έμφαση σε ένα κοινωνικό γεγονός, αυτό του δεύτερου κύματος, μετά το 1920, μετανάστευσης Ποντίων στην Ελλάδα, που συντελούνταν κατά τη διάρκεια προβολής της σειράς. Αξίζει να σημειωθεί ότι τα τμήματα λόγου στην ποντιακή διάλεκτο υποτιτλίζονται όταν η ηθοποιός φέρεται να ομιλεί τη διάλεκτο με άλλους ηθοποιούς που υποδύονται, επίσης, Ποντίους.

Η χρήση διαλεκτικών συστημάτων του ελλαδικού χώρου συνεχίστηκε και στην επόμενη δεκαετία, χωρίς πάντα αυτά να υποτιτλίζονται. Έτσι, στην τηλεοπτική σειρά «Επτά θανάσιμες πεθερές» (σε σκηνοθεσία Γρηγόρη Πετρινιώτη), μονολόγι εμφανίζονται πολύ τύποι Ελληνίδων πεθερών⁵, δεν υποτιτλίζονται τα τμήματα λόγου σε διαλεκτική ποικιλία, όπως συμβαίνει σε άλλες τηλεοπτικές σειρές όπου εμφανίζονται διαλεκτόφωνοι. Οι Στάμου & Ντίνας (2011: 301) παρατηρούν για το θέμα αυτό ότι στις σειρές αυτές “η γεωγραφική προέλευση παρουσιάστηκε ως δυναμικό και όχι ως πάγιο χαρακτηριστικό της ταυτότητας των ομιλητών (συχνή εναλλαγή μεταξύ γεωγραφικής και πρότυπης ποικιλίας), δίνοντας τη θετική εντύπωση ότι οι ομιλητές αυτοί είναι ευέλικτοι και όχι μονολιθικοί”. Αντίθετα, στην τηλεοπτική σειρά «Τύχη βουνό» (σε σκηνοθεσία Δημήτρη Αρβανίτη), σε κάποια σημεία υποτιτλίστηκε η ποντιακή διάλεκτος, ώστε να είναι κατανοητή από τον τηλεθεατή-ομιλητή της πρότυπης γλώσσας.

Σε όλες αυτές τις περιπτώσεις η χρήση του διαλεκτικού συστήματος συνοδεύεται και από τη χρήση και άλλων ενδεικτών ταυτότητας, γλωσσικών και μη γλωσσικών. Στους γλωσσικούς δείκτες ανήκουν τα ονόματα των πρωταγωνιστών και τα τοπωνύμια, στους μη γλωσσικούς, η ένδυση, το μακιγιάζ, η κόμμωση, τα εξαρτήματα και η κινητική των διαλεκτόφωνων⁶. Στο θέμα της ταυτότητας εστιάζουν και οι Στάμου & Ντίνας (2011) που μελέτησαν έξι τηλεοπτικές σειρές στις οποίες γινόταν χρήση κάποιας

⁴ Ο Μπασλής (2000: 131) αναφέρει ότι “όταν ένας ηθοποιός π.χ. στην επιθεώρηση, υποδύεται το ρόλο ενός αγράμματος χωριάτη, χρησιμοποιεί το βόρειο γλωσσικό ιδίωμα, κι αν ακόμη υποτίθεται ότι ο χωριάτης είναι από τη Γαστούνη, και είναι φυσικό να μην έχει καμία σχέση με το βόρειο ιδίωμα”. Βλέπε και Κουρδής (2007: 34-38).

⁵ Για παράδειγμα, η Πολίτισσα πεθερά, η Κρητικιά πεθερά, η Θεσσαλονικιά πεθερά, η Μανιάτισσα πεθερά, κ.ά.

⁶ Οι Andersson & Trudgill (1990: 79) επισημαίνουν ότι η γλώσσα ως κώδικας, όπως και ο τρόπος ένδυσης, μπορεί να λειτουργεί ως εισητήριο στην ομάδα ή, αντίθετα, να είναι κριτήριο αποκλεισμού από αυτή.

γεωγραφικής ποικιλίας κατά την περίοδο 2006-2007. Οι δύο ερευνητές (2011: 303) κατέληξαν στο συμπέρασμα ότι “η τηλεοπτική αναπαράσταση των γεωγραφικών ποικιλιών της ελληνικής γλώσσας μέσα από τον επιλεκτικό χειρισμό του γλωσσικού της πλούτου αποκαλύπτει τον ιδεολογικό ρόλο των ΜΜΕ στη συγκρότηση μιας κοινής εθνικής ταυτότητας”. Αξίζει να δούμε στη συνέχεια μέσα από τη μελέτη των τηλεοπτικών διαφημιστικών μηνυμάτων πως ξεδιπλώνεται αυτός ο ιδεολογικός ρόλος της τηλεόρασης αναφορικά με τα διαλεκτικά συστήματα της ελληνικής.

4. Διαφημιστικά μηνύματα στο ιδίωμα της Ηπείρου

Η πρώτη τηλεοπτική διαφήμιση (διαφημιστικό μήνυμα 1) που μελετούμε είναι των Αλλαντικών ΒΙΚΗ (Βιομηχανία Κρέατος Ηπείρου). Η εταιρεία που έχει έδρα στην Άρτα πολύ συχνά χρησιμοποιεί τοπία και ντοπιολαλιές (προφορές) της περιοχής σε μία προσπάθεια να συνδηλώσει την αγνότητα και την ποιότητα των προϊόντων της. Στο συγκεκριμένο διαφημιστικό μήνυμα υποτιτλίζεται το τμήμα λόγου που εκφωνείται στο ηπειρώτικο ιδίωμα και που κατατάσσεται στα λεγόμενα βόρεια ιδιώματα⁷.

Η σκηνή εκτυλίσσεται στην πλατεία ενός γραφικού χωριού (στο τέλος της διαφήμισης προχωρούμε στην υπόθεση ότι πρόκειται για ένα χωριό της Ηπείρου). Σε αντίθεση με άλλα διαφημιστικά μηνύματα της εταιρείας όπου ο πρωταγωνιστής ομιλεί αποκλειστικά στο ιδίωμα της Ηπείρου - προτού ο εκφωνητής χρησιμοποιήσει στο κλείσιμό του μηνύματος την πρότυπη ποικιλία - στο συγκεκριμένο διαφημιστικό μήνυμα κυριαρχεί ο διάλογος. Ο διάλογος αυτός φέρεται να πραγματοποιείται ανάμεσα σε ένα νεότερο πρωταγωνιστή που ομιλεί την πρότυπη ποικιλία και σε ένα μεγαλύτερο σε ηλικία που φέρεται να είναι θείο του και να ομιλεί το τοπικό ιδίωμα της Ηπείρου.



Διαφημιστικό μήνυμα 1 Τηλεοπτική διαφήμιση αλλαντικών ΒΙΚΗ

Η επιλογή αυτή της προβολής της συγγενικής σχέσης θεωρούμε ότι δεν είναι τυχαία, αλλά ότι συνδηλώνει την ελληνική πραγματικότητα, όπου οι νεότεροι σε ηλικία διαμένουν μόνιμα στα αστικά κέντρα και δεν κατανοούν μεγάλο μέρος από τα τοπικά ιδιώματα, ακόμη και εκείνο της περιοχής από την οποία έλκουν την καταγωγή τους. Κατά τη ροή της διαφήμισης ο ανιψιός που χρησιμοποιεί την πρότυπη γλώσσα ερωτά έναν από τους συνομιλητές του για τη σημασία της λέξης «θεραπευτήκα». Η μετάφραση της λέξης δίνεται ενδογλωσσικά μέσα από τον υποτιτλισμό ως «ευχαριστήθ'κα». Αλλά και στη συνέχεια, ο εκφωνητής της διαφήμισης προχωρά στο τέλος και προφορικά σε ενδογλωσσική μετάφραση λέγοντας ότι «στην Ήπειρο *θεραπευτήκα* σημαίνει *ευχαριστήθηκα*». Οι de Linde & Kay (1999: 13) αναφέρουν ότι “όταν οι προφορές [...] συμβάλλουν στην κατανόηση της ταινίας από τους θεατές πρέπει να εμφανίζονται σε υπότιτλους”⁸. Στην προκειμένη περίπτωση πιστεύουμε ότι εάν οι

⁷ Με τον όρο βόρειοι διάλεκτοι (ή βόρεια νεοελληνικά ιδιώματα) εννοείται η παραλλαγή της Νέας Ελληνικής που χρησιμοποιείται και ακούγεται από τη βόρεια ακτή του κορινθιακού κόλπου ως τα βόρεια σύνορα της ελληνικής επικράτειας, αλλά και σε ένα τμήμα της Άνδρου και της Τήνου (εξαιρείται ένα μικρό μέρος της Μακεδονίας και ο νομός Θεσπρωτίας (Συμεωνίδης, 1977: 94).

⁸ Για το λόγο αυτό και η αγγλική ταινία «Trainspotting» όπου ο ηθοποιός μιλάει αγγλικά με σκοτσέζικη προφορά, διανεμήθηκε με υπότιτλους στις ΗΠΑ (Anderman & Rogers, 2003:203).

διαφημιστές δεν προχωρούσαν σε υποτιτλισμό του εκφωνήματος στο ιδίωμα της Ηπείρου θα δημιουργούνταν, έστω και στιγμιαία, πρόβλημα στην κατανόηση της διαφήμισης, μέχρι ο εκφωνητής να επαναλάβει τη σημασία της λέξης στο κλείσιμο του τηλεοπτικού μηνύματος (βλέπε παρακάτω):

Διάλογος	Εκφωνητής
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Θείε μου ! Τι κάνεις θείε μου. - Ααα ! Θεραπεύ'κα. - Τι ; Θερα..., τι; - Θεραπεύ'κα, λέω. - Δεν καταλαβαίνω εγώ, πως το είπες; - Θε-ρα-πεύ'-κα. - Είδες τι έπαθες για να μη τρως υγιεινά όπως εγώ ! - Τι έπαθα; - Κουφάθηκες ! 	<p>Στην Ήπειρο, <i>θεραπεύ'κα</i> σημαίνει <i>φ'χαριστήθηκα</i>. Αλλαντικά Ωμέγα από τη ΒΙΚΗ. Πλούσια στα ευεργετικά πολυακόρεστα λιπαρά Ωμέγα 3 και Ωμέγα Ε. Και πλούσια γεύση για να τα απολαμβάνετε ... με την καρδιά σας. ΒΙΚΗ από την Ήπειρο. Ας φάμε σαν άλλοτε.</p>

Αξίζει να σημειώσουμε ότι κατά τη διάρκεια του υποτιτλισμού στην οθόνη εμφανίζεται ένα πρόσωπο που ταυτοποιείται από τον τηλεθεατή ως ο ντόπιος Ηπειρώτης θεός του ερωτώμενου, ενώ κατά τη διάρκεια της επεξήγησης που δίνει ο εκφωνητής εμφανίζονται στην οθόνη προϊόντα των αλλαντικών ΒΙΚΗ. Επίσης, η έκφραση του εκφωνητή «... για να τα απολαύσετε ... με την καρδιά σας» δεν έχει μόνο δηλωτική, αλλά και συνδηλωτική σημασία, καθώς δεν σημαίνει μόνο ότι όσοι δοκιμάσουν το προϊόν θα το απολαύσουν, αλλά και ότι λόγω των ευεργετικών πολυακόρεστων λιπαρών θα είναι υγιείς, χωρίς καρδιακά προβλήματα.

Ο υποτιτλισμός, όμως, εκφωνημάτων του ιδιώματος της Ηπείρου, σε διαφημιστικά μηνύματα δεν υιοθετείται πάντα. Σε τηλεοπτική διαφήμιση της Εταιρείας Sanofi Aventis που προωθεί το φαρμακευτικό σκεύασμα Maalox εμφανίζονται δύο άνδρες από την Ήπειρο⁹ οι οποίοι τραγουδούν τοπικά τραγούδια της περιοχής σε ένα γάμο (διαφημιστικό μήνυμα 2). Η εικόνα που προβάλλεται είναι οικεία στους τηλεθεατές και αποσκοπεί στο να ενεργοποιήσει συνδηλωτικά θετικά συναισθήματα για ένα ευχάριστο γεγονός που εορτάζεται με παραδοσιακό τρόπο. Εντούτοις, οι διαφημιστές δεν επέλεξαν να υποτιτλίσουν τα λόγια του τραγουδιού που είναι στο τοπικό ιδίωμα (ο δεύτερος μουσικός εμφανίζεται να παίζει μόνο το μουσικό όργανο και οι παρεμβάσεις του γίνονται στην πρότυπη γλώσσα), το οποίο έχει ως εξής:

πρώτος μουσικός (τραγουδί)	δεύτερος μουσικός
Δε μπορώ Δημήτρη 'μ, δε μπορώ έχω βάρος, πως να σηκωθώ.	-
-	Το βλέπω !
Λέτε να φταίει, τόσο αρνί, ή αυτή η κοντούλα, η Πάργιανη	-
-	Σύρτε φέρτε ένα Maalox βρε παιδιά.
Μάλλον το αρνί θα φταίει.	-
-	Ε, βέβαια

Η επιλογή αυτή των διαφημιστών φαίνεται να υπακούει στη λογική ότι τα εκφωνήματα που χρησιμοποιούνται στη διαφήμιση δεν αποκλίνουν πολύ από την πρότυπη γλώσσα, άρα δεν δημιουργείται κάποιο στιγμιαίο κενό στην κατανόησή τους¹⁰. Αξίζει, όμως να υπογραμμίσουμε ότι στην τηλεοπτική διαφήμιση της εταιρείας ΒΙΚΗ, οι θετικές συνδηλώσεις που δομούνται με τα μη γλωσσικά σημεία θα ήταν ελλιπείς χωρίς το γλωσσικό σύστημα. Για αυτό το λόγο και όλη η διαφήμιση δομείται γύρω από το γλωσσικό σύστημα (μιλάμε τη γλώσσα των παππούδων μας, άρα παράγουμε και τα προϊόντα με αγνό τρόπο όπως οι παππούδες μας) και αυτό το σκοπό εξυπηρετεί εμφατικά και ο υποτιτλισμός του. Στην περίπτωση του φαρμακευτικού σκευάσματος Maalox, όμως, το γλωσσικό

⁹ Βλ. και <http://www.marketingweek.gr/default.asp?pid=9&la=1&cID=&arId=29789&remind=5>.

¹⁰ Αντίθετα, σε τηλεοπτική διαφήμιση της ίδιας εταιρείας, αλλά αυτή τη φορά με πρωταγωνιστές δύο Πόντιους μουσικούς, οι διαφημιστές προχώρησαν στον υποτιτλισμό του ποντιακού τραγουδιού, καθώς ο σκοπός που προαναφέρθηκε δεν φαινόταν δυνατό να επιτευχθεί.

σύστημα έρχεται ως επιστέγασμα μίας σειράς θετικών συνδηλωτικών σημείων που είχαν ήδη αποκωδικοποιηθεί και ερμηνευτεί (γάμος με παραδοσιακά όργανα στην ηπειρωτική Ελλάδα), μην αποτελώντας, έτσι, το γλωσσικό σύστημα το σημείο εκκίνησης αυτής της αποκωδικοποίησης, ή αλλιώς, το κεντρικό σημείο.



Διαφημιστικό μήνυμα 2 Τηλεοπτική διαφήμιση της Sanofi Aventis

5. Διαφημιστικό μήνυμα στην ποντιακή διάλεκτο

Το τρίτο διαφημιστικό μήνυμα προωθεί στην αγορά μία κούκλα της Εταιρίας AS που αναπαριστά έναν Πόντιο που το ένα μάτι του καλύπτεται από μία κορδέλα (διαφημιστικό μήνυμα 3). Ο ηθοποιός που πρωταγωνιστεί είναι ο γνωστός ηθοποιός ποντιακής καταγωγής Παύλος Κοντογιαννίδης, ο οποίος στέκεται ακίνητος¹¹ κρατώντας αυτή την κούκλα (σημείο προξικμότηας), ενώ την ίδια στιγμή ο τηλεθεατής ακούει ένα τραγούδι με ποντιακό στίχο. Πιο συγκεκριμένα, τα εκφωνήματα στο διαφημιστικό μήνυμα και ο υποτιτλισμός τους έχουν ως εξής:

Διάλογος στα ποντιακά

- Νε πες, ποιος είσαι;
- Πόντιος και έναν ομμάτ.
- Αδά τερέν αβούτοι. Θα παλανόνε μας. Ουι ...!
- Καλατζεύβν' και λέει αστεία. Τραγώδι πα.
- Πόντιος είμαι σκυρός σεβνταλής και παλαλός.
- Μπιούτιφουλ. Πόντιος και έναν ομμάτ. Από την AS. Να μην ξεχνάμε και τις ρίζες.

Υποτιτλισμός στην ΚΝΕ

- Εσύ ποιος είσαι;
-
- Κοίτα εδώ ! Αυτοί θα μας τρελάνουν !
- Μιλάει και λέει αστεία σαν και εμένα !
- Τραγουδάει κιόλας !
-
- ...Έμορφα !!!

Αξίζει να σημειώσουμε ότι στο συγκεκριμένο διαφημιστικό μήνυμα υπάρχει εναλλαγή τριών γλωσσικών συστημάτων (ποντιακής διαλέκτου, Κοινής Νεοελληνικής και αγγλικής γλώσσας). Αυτή η γλωσσική επαφή θέτει εξαρχής την ανάγκη για μετάφραση. Ο Mounin (1963: 4) διερωτώμενος γιατί πρέπει να μελετήσουμε τη μετάφραση μέσα από το πρίσμα της γλωσσικής επαφής, απαντά 'διότι είναι ένα και το αυτό'. Το πέρασμα αυτό από ένα περιορισμένο γλωσσικό κώδικα (ποντιακή διάλεκτος) σε ένα ηγεμονικό και ξένο γλωσσικό κώδικα (αγγλική γλώσσα) στηρίζεται στη ρητορική της αντίθεσης και προκαλεί σημειωτικά από μόνο του ένα χιουμοριστικό γεγονός. Η Κοινή Νεοελληνική που ακολουθεί μειώνει χρονικά κάπως αυτήν τη σημειο-γλωσσική απόσταση, και, κατά τη γνώμη μας, χρησιμοποιείται για να εξασφαλίσει την κατανόηση του κυρίου διαφημιστικού μηνύματος, στοιχείο

¹¹ Οι de Linde & Kay (1999 :76) παρατηρούν ότι "τα αποσπάσματα που παρουσιάζουν έναν ομιλητή σε στατικότητα έχουν την τάση να αποσπούν λιγότερο την προσοχή του τηλεθεατή".

που υποδηλώνει ότι οι διαφημιστές στοχεύουν στη συνδήλωση της παράδοσης, προβάλλοντας το παρελθόν στο καθημερινό παρόν.



Διαφημιστικό μήνυμα 3 Τηλεοπτική διαφήμιση της AS Company

Παρατηρώντας τον υποτιτλισμό της συγκεκριμένης διαφήμισης διαπιστώνουμε ότι η ποντιακή διάλεκτος δεν υποτιτλίζεται πάντα. Έτσι, δεν υποτιτλίζονται τα εκφωνήματα «Πόντιος και έναν ομμάτ», «Πόντιος είμαι σκυρός σεβνταλής και παλαλός» και το επιφώνημα «οὐί...», ενώ το εκφωνήμα στην αγγλική γλώσσα «beautiful» υποτιτλίζεται στην ποντιακή διάλεκτο «έμορφα». Το τελευταίο αυτό στοιχείο μετατρέπει μεταφρασεολογικά την ποντιακή γλώσσα από γλώσσα πηγή σε γλώσσα στόχο. Αξίζει, επίσης, να σημειώσουμε ότι στο συγκεκριμένο διαφημιστικό μήνυμα δεν λαμβάνει χώρα διαλογική συζήτηση - δεδομένου ότι ο δεύτερος συμμετέχοντας στη διαφήμιση είναι μία κούκλα - παρόλο που φέρεται να απαντά σε κάποιες ερωτήσεις που θέτει ο ηθοποιός. Όμως, είναι αυτά ακριβώς τα τμήματα λόγου στην ποντιακή διάλεκτο που δεν υποτιτλίζονται. Επιπλέον, δεν υποτιτλίζονται τα εκφωνήματα στην Κοινή Νεοελληνική «από την AS» και «να μην ξεχνάμε και τις ρίζες». Κανονικά, τα εκφωνήματα αυτά, θα έπρεπε να εκφραστούν από ένα άλλο πρόσωπο, ίσως ένα σχολιαστή, όπως γίνεται σε άλλα διαφημιστικά μηνύματα που μελετούμε, και αυτό αποτελεί μία καινοτομία της διαφήμισης, καθώς ο ίδιος ηθοποιός εναλλάσσει τρία γλωσσικά συστήματα. Επίσης, το διαφημιστικό μήνυμα έχει επενδυθεί μουσικά με ένα ποντιακό τραγούδι που συμβάλλει στη συσσώρευση ποντιακών σημείων¹² (ηθοποιός ποντιακής καταγωγής, ποντιακή ενδυμασία, κούκλα με ποντιακή ενδυμασία που ομιλεί ποντιακά, μουσική επένδυση στα ποντιακά) σε επίπεδο συνδήλωσης.

6. Διαφημιστικά μηνύματα στην Κρητική διάλεκτο

Το ακόλουθο τηλεοπτικό μήνυμα (διαφημιστικό μήνυμα 4) με τίτλο «οι Κρητικοί» της εταιρείας Q Telecom υποτιτλίζει την κρητική διάλεκτο. Στη διαφήμιση δεν πρωταγωνιστούν ηθοποιοί, αλλά δύο ανθρωπόμορφες φιγούρες, και κυριαρχούν εύκολα αναγνωρίσιμα μη γλωσσικά σημεία της Κρήτης, όπως το κρητικό μαντήλι, το μουστάκι και το σπαθί. Αναφορικά με τα γλωσσικά σημεία, στη διαφήμιση κυριαρχούν εκφωνήματα που συναντώνται στην κρητική διάλεκτο όπως το «όφου» και το «γιάντα», φωνητικά γνωρίσματα της διαλέκτου όπως το «τσε» (και) και το παχύ «σ» και η χαρακτηριστική επιτόνιση του κρητικού τρόπου ομιλίας. Πρόκειται για ιδιαίτερα γνωρίσματα της κρητικής διαλέκτου που μας επιτρέπουν να αναγνωρίσουμε τους συγκεκριμένους ομιλητές ως Κρητικούς. Όπως επισημαίνει και η Δελβερούδη (2001: 54), “υπάρχουν [...] ιδιαίτερα γνωρίσματα σε μία ιδιόλεκτο που χαρακτηρίζουν εξίσου και άλλους ομιλητές, κατά τρόπο ώστε να είναι εφικτή η ταξινόμησή τους σε σύνολα ή σε γλωσσικές ποικιλίες στο εσωτερικό μίας γλώσσας, ταξινόμηση που μπορεί να γίνει σύμφωνα με τη γεωγραφική περιοχή ή την κοινωνική ομάδα στην οποία απαντά το εκάστοτε γνώρισμα”.

¹² Ο Pedersen (2005: 13) χαρακτηρίζει αυτή τη συσσώρευση σημειωτικών πληροφοριών ως *διασημειωτικό πλεονασμό*, κάνοντας λόγο για σημειωτικά κανάλια που είναι φορείς σημειωτικής πληροφορίας όπου υπάρχει, μερικές φορές, ένας κάποιος βαθμός επικάλυψης.



Διαφημιστικό μήνυμα 4 Τηλεοπτική διαφήμιση της Q Telecom

Ο διάλογος που λαμβάνει χώρα στην κρητική διάλεκτο υποτιτλίζεται στην Κοινή Νεοελληνική. Αξίζει να σημειώσουμε ότι στον υποτιτλισμό η λέξη «μπόνους» εμφανίζεται στην αγγλική γλώσσα, στοιχείο που αποτελεί εναλλαγή γλωσσικού κώδικα στον υποτιτλισμό. Αν, όμως, η λέξη «bonus» συμβάλλει στη δημιουργία ενός ανάλαφρου ύφους στη διαφήμιση καθώς δεν έχει σχέση με στοιχεία που αποδίδονται πολιτισμικά στην Κρήτη, η αμέσως επόμενη λέξη «επανάσταση» κάνει ακριβώς το αντίθετο, καθώς ενεργοποιεί ιστορικές συνδηλώσεις λόγω της επανάστασης της Κρήτης (1866-1869), της μάχης της Κρήτης (1941) και του αδούλωτου φρονήματος που αποδίδεται στους κατοίκους της. Είναι ενδιαφέρον, λοιπόν, ότι ένα από τα πιο γνωστά ρητορικά σχήματα, αυτό της *αντίθεσης*, μπορεί να πραγματωθεί μέσα από πολιτισμικές συνδηλώσεις¹³ που ενεργοποιούνται μέσα από συγκεκριμένα γλωσσικά στοιχεία και μεταφέρονται από τον προφορικό λόγο στον γραπτό μέσα από τον υποτιτλισμό, όπως διαπιστώνουμε παρακάτω:

Πρώτος Κρητικός	Δεύτερος Κρητικός
- Όφου τι θα γίνει με τέτοιο bonus. Επανάσταση!	
- Επανά...σταση !	- Τσε...
- Τι τσε μωρέ λες;	- Τσε μωρέ λέω !
	- Τσε γιάντα δεν παίρνουμε όλοι Q;

Επάνω στα χαρακτηριστικά στοιχεία της κρητικής διαλέκτου δομείται και το επόμενο τηλεοπτικό διαφημιστικό μήνυμα της εταιρείας NOVA (διαφημιστικό μήνυμα 5). Σε αυτό το μήνυμα με τίτλο «οι Κρητικοί (ο υποπόταμος)» πρωταγωνιστούν δύο Κρητικοί οι οποίοι μέσα σε μία ανδρική τουαλέτα ομιλούν μεταξύ τους για μία γυναίκα. Το όνομα του ενός είναι Μανούσος, ένα από τα πιο διαδεδομένα αντρικά ονόματα στην Κρήτη. Οι Κρητικοί αυτοί παρουσιάζονται ντυμένοι με κοστούμι και γραβάτα και έχουν και οι δύο μουστάκι, προβάλλοντας μια μάλλον στερεοτυπική εικόνα των κατοίκων της Κρήτης. Αν και ακούγονται εκφωνήματα στην κρητική διάλεκτο – άλλα περισσότερο και άλλα λιγότερο γνωστά – όπως «εκουζουλάθηκες» (τρελάθηκες), «εξάνοιξες» (κοίταξες), «παντέρμη» (παντέρημος), ακούγεται το χαρακτηριστικό «τς-» της κρητικής διαλέκτου, μία επιτόνιση που αποδίδεται στα χαρακτηριστικά της διαλέκτου και εκφωνήματα που δεν ακούγονται συχνά στην πρότυπη γλώσσα, όπως το «ωσάν».

¹³ Ο Κεντρωτής (1996: 164), αναφερόμενος τη λογοτεχνική μετάφραση, παρατηρεί για την κρητική διάλεκτο ότι μπορεί να μεταφραστεί άνευ ετέρου, αλλά εκείνο που δεν μπορεί να μεταφραστεί ποτέ είναι το «κρητικό» στοιχείο της ομιλίας, και ας επιτελεί αυτό το στοιχείο τη λειτουργία της συνδήλωσης στο υπό μετάφραση κείμενο.



Διαφημιστικό μήνυμα 5 Τηλεοπτική διαφήμιση της NOVA

Κατά τη γνώμη μας, η συγκεκριμένη τηλεοπτική διαφήμιση δεν υποτιτλίστηκε καθώς είναι κατανοητή στον ομιλητή της πρότυπης ποικιλίας. Αυτό συμβαίνει επειδή οι διαφημιστές επέλεξαν να διαφοροποιηθούν από την πρότυπη ποικιλία, κυρίως σε επίπεδο φωνητικής, και όχι σε επίπεδο λεξιλογίου, γεγονός που θα δημιουργούσε πρόβλημα κατανόησης (βλέπε παρακάτω). Επίσης, παρατηρούμε ότι οι διαφημιστές εστιάζουν στην ευρεία χρήση μη γλωσσικών σημείων που ταυτοποιούνται από τους αναγνώστες ως χαρακτηριστικά του κρητικού τρόπου ζωής. Το ίδιο παρατηρούμε και με άλλα διαφημιστικά μηνύματα που φέρονται να χρησιμοποιούν την κρητική διάλεκτο, όπως αυτή του ΟΤΕ με τίτλο «e-raki» όπου μάλιστα υπάρχει και εναλλαγή γλωσσικού κώδικα (κρητική διάλεκτος-αγγλική γλώσσα) ή η διαφήμιση της Sanofi Aventis που προωθεί το φαρμακευτικό σκεύασμα Maalox μέσα από ένα κρητικό τραγούδι.

Πρώτος Κρητικός	Δεύτερος Κρητικός (Μανωλός)
- Βρε Μανούσο! Άκουσα καλά μωρέ! Επάντρεύτηκες του Ασημάκη τη θυγατέρα;	- Εκουζουλάθηκες μωρέ; Εξάνοιξές τηνε καλά; Ω την παντέρμη ! Ολο τρώει, και τρώει, και τρώει και φαρδαίνει. Εκατήντησε ωσάν τον ιπποπόταμο. Θηλαστικό τσι ζούγκλας. Αμφίβιο. Φτάνει τα 5 μέτρα μήκος και τσι 3 τόνους σε βάρος. Ζει στις ζούγκλες του Ζαΐρ, του Νίγηρα και τσι Ναμίμπιας. Τρώει ωσαμε 68 κιλά χόρτα την ημέρα. Α, και η ουρά του φτάνει τσι 50 πόντους... και βάλε !!

7. Βασικές διαπιστώσεις

Οι απόψεις των γλωσσολόγων για την αποδοχή των διαλεκτικών συστημάτων από την κοινή γνώμη δίστανται. Έτσι, οι Στάμου & Ντίνας (2011: 302) παρατηρούν ότι “από σημειωτική άποψη, οι γεωγραφικές ποικιλίες συνδέθηκαν με θετικά στερεότυπα”. Αντίθετη άποψη έχει ο Μπασλής (2000: 131), ο οποίος θεωρεί ότι “[...] είναι υποτιμητικό να μιλάει κανείς με κρητική, κυπριακή, βόρεια προφορά”¹⁴. Οι θέσεις αυτές έχουν και οι δύο βάση εάν αναλογιστούμε ότι είναι διαφορετικές οι συνδηλώσεις που ενεργοποιούνται με τη χρήση του διαλεκτικού συστήματος στην καθημερινή ζωή όπου γίνεται άμεσα σύγκριση με την πρότυπη ποικιλία, και διαφορετικές αυτές που ενεργοποιούνται υπό την καθοδήγηση των διαφημιστών στις τηλεοπτικές διαφημίσεις, όπου απομονώνονται, συνήθως,

¹⁴ Βεβαίως, υπάρχει και εσωτερική διαφοροποίηση στην αποδοχή των διαλεκτικών συστημάτων. Έτσι, ο Μπασλής (2000: 129) αναφέρει ότι “όσα ιδιώματα έχουν γραπτή παράδοση, όπως π.χ. το Κυπριακό, το Κρητικό κτλ., είναι πιο καταξιωμένα από εκείνα που δεν έχουν γραπτή παράδοση, όπως είναι τα βορειοελλαδίτικα ιδιώματα”.

οι θετικές. Αυτή η απομόνωση των θετικών συνδηλώσεων στηρίζεται στην παράμετρο της ταχύτητας. Η Lippi-Green (1997: 81) παρατηρεί ότι οι ταινίες χρησιμοποιούν τη γλωσσική ποικιλία και την προφορά για να παρουσιάσουν/σκιαγραφίσουν γρήγορα ένα χαρακτήρα βασιζόμενες στις καθιερωμένες προκαταλήψεις που συνδέονται με συγκεκριμένες τοπικές σχέσεις, εθνικές, φυλετικές ή οικονομικές συμμαχίες. Πολύ περισσότερο στα τηλεοπτικά διαφημιστικά μηνύματα όπου ο χρόνος είναι πολύ πιο περιορισμένος σε σχέση με τις κινηματογραφικές ταινίες.

Η παρατήρηση αυτή επιβεβαιώνεται και μέσα από την παρούσα μελέτη, καθώς η χρήση των διαλεκτικών συστημάτων στα διαφημιστικά μηνύματα που μελετήθηκαν, είτε υποτιτλίζονται, είτε όχι, συμβάλλουν στη δημιουργία μίας ευχάριστης ατμόσφαιρας. Επίσης, θεωρούμε ότι οι διαφημιστές δεν θα διακινδύνευαν να χρησιμοποιήσουν για την προώθηση του διαφημιζόμενου προϊόντος γλωσσικά συστήματα που θα ενεργοποιούσαν αρνητικές συνδηλώσεις, καθώς κάτι τέτοιο θα έθετε σε κίνδυνο την προώθηση του προϊόντος στην αγορά, μειώνοντας το εύρος του αγοραστικού κοινού. Παρατηρούμε, επίσης, ότι ακόμη και στην περίπτωση της χρήσης βορείων ιδιωμάτων που θεωρούνται χαμηλού γλωσσικού κύρους, οι διαφημιστές κατορθώνουν να επικεντρώνονται σε θετικές συνδηλώσεις της κάθε γεωγραφικής ποικιλίας.

Παράλληλα, ο υποτιτλισμός έρχεται στην ουσία να άρει τη ρητορική στρατηγική του *μη ακροαματικού σχεδιασμού* (Χατζησαββίδης, 2000: 122-123) που χρησιμοποιείται και στα ελληνικά ΜΜΕ για τη διάχυση συνδηλώσεων. Σύμφωνα με την πρακτική αυτή ο παραγωγός του προφορικού λόγου επιδιώκοντας τη δημιουργία κάποιου αποτελέσματος χρησιμοποιεί κάποιο γλωσσικό σύστημα, χωρίς να ενδιαφέρεται εάν τα σημειώματα των εκφωνημάτων του - σε επίπεδο τουλάχιστον καταδήλωσης - γίνονται κατανοητά από τους αποδέκτες. Σύμφωνα με τον Bell (1993: 126) στον οποίο ανήκει και ο όρος (*referee design*), ο μη ακροαματικός σχεδιασμός χρησιμοποιείται μέσα σε συμφορματικά και ιδίως σε αφηγηματικό και χιουμοριστικό λόγο, στοιχεία που φαίνεται να έχουν εφαρμογή στις περιπτώσεις που μελετήσαμε. Μάλιστα ο Bell αναφέρει ότι στη ρητορική αυτή στρατηγική μπορεί να χρησιμοποιηθούν όχι μόνο γλωσσικά στοιχεία άλλων κοινωνικών ομάδων του παρόντος (π.χ. διάλεκτοι και ιδιώματα), αλλά ακόμη και του παρελθόντος (νεκρές γλώσσες).

Επίσης, η κατηγοριοποίηση της γλωσσικής ποικιλίας ως *διαλέκτου ή ιδιώματος* δεν φάνηκε να επηρεάζει τον υποτιτλισμό των διαλεκτικών συστημάτων που μελετήσαμε. Αν και θεωρήθηκε αρχικά ότι ο υποτιτλισμός θα αποτελούσε την κύρια επιλογή των διαφημιστών στην περίπτωση που χρησιμοποιούνταν στο διαφημιστικό μήνυμα μια διάλεκτος, λόγω της μεγαλύτερης απόκλισης της διαλέκτου από την πρότυπη γλώσσα, η υπόθεση αυτή δεν επιβεβαιώνεται. Με εξαίρεση τα διαφημιστικά μηνύματα στην ποντιακή διάλεκτο, ο υποτιτλισμός δεν φαίνεται να αποτελεί σταθερή επιλογή των διαφημιστών στα υπόλοιπα διαφημιστικά μηνύματα. Κατά τη γνώμη μας το γεγονός αυτό οφείλεται στο ότι το κύριο χαρακτηριστικό της ποντιακής διαλέκτου είναι, αφενός, η μεγάλη απόκλισή της από την πρότυπη γλώσσα σε επίπεδο λεξιλογίου, και αφετέρου, η μη εξοικείωση του μη ποντιακού κοινού με τη διάλεκτο. Οι διαφημίσεις στην ποντιακή διάλεκτο στηρίζονται περισσότερο σε γλωσσικά και λιγότερο σε μη γλωσσικά στοιχεία. Δεν πρέπει, επίσης, να ξεχνούμε ότι η ποντιακή διάλεκτος είναι μία διάλεκτος του εξωελλαδικού χώρου που ομιλείται από Έλληνες που διαβιούν στον ελλαδικό χώρο. Έτσι, εμφανίζονται μεγάλα τμήματα λόγου στην ποντιακή διάλεκτο, ενώ στα διαφημιστικά μηνύματα που χρησιμοποιούν βόρεια ιδιώματα ή άλλες διαλέκτους όπως την Κρητική, αρκούν ένα με δύο εκφωνήματα και πολλά περισσότερα μη γλωσσικά στοιχεία για να “χτιστεί μία διαλεκτόφωνη ατμόσφαιρα”. Κατ’ αυτόν τον τρόπο, σε επίπεδο γλώσσας, οι διαφημιστές περιορίζονται, κυρίως, σε φωνητικά χαρακτηριστικά των διαλέκτων και λιγότερο σε λεξικολογικά, ενώ όπου αυτή η αρχή δεν τηρείται γίνεται υποτιτλισμός του διαλεκτικού συστήματος.

8. Αντί επιλόγου

Η μελέτη του υποτιτλισμού των διαλεκτικών συστημάτων στα διαφημιστικά μηνύματα καταδεικνύει ότι η διαφημιστική αυτή επιλογή εναρμονίζεται με ένα ευρωπαϊκό μοντέλο, όπου, στη διαφήμιση, οι τοπικές γλωσσικές μορφές μετατρέπονται σε συμβολικό κεφάλαιο στην πιστοποίηση προϊόντων ή γεωγραφικών περιοχών, όπως εύστοχα παρατηρεί ο Androutsopoulos (2010:744). Έτσι, ο υποτιτλισμός χρησιμοποιείται ως γλωσσολογικό εργαλείο για την κατανόηση των σημαινόντων, αλλά ταυτόχρονα χρησιμοποιείται και ως σημειωτική πρακτική για τη διάχυση στοχευμένων συνδηλώσεων μέσα από τα τηλεοπτικά διαφημιστικά μηνύματα.

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ΛΑΤΙΝΟΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΑ ΚΑΙ ΠΑΓΚΟΣΜΙΟΠΟΙΗΣΗ

Δημήτρης Κουτσογιάννης,

Αριστοτέλειο Πανεπιστήμιο

Θεσσαλονίκης, Ελλάδα

dkoutsog@lit.auth.gr

ABSTRACT

This paper explores the use of Greeklish in Chat Rooms based on the analysis of a nationwide survey of 4174 children, aged between 14-16 years old. The analysis shows that the majority of children uses Greeklish while writing in chat rooms. It is revealed also that variables connected with the socioeconomic status of the children, and consequently with the degree of computer literacy and fluency in English, play an important role.

Λέξεις κλειδιά: λατινοελληνικά, παγκοσμιοποίηση, γραφηματικά συστήματα, Κοινωνική Σημειωτική

1. Εισαγωγή

Η μερική χρήση της λατινικής γραφής κατά την παραγωγή γραπτού ελληνικού λόγου σε ψηφιακά περιβάλλοντα, παρότι έχει απασχολήσει και απασχολεί αρκετά τα μέσα ενημέρωσης, έχει απασχολήσει σαφώς λιγότερο την επιστημονική κοινότητα. Παρά τη μικρή ωστόσο, από ποσοτική άποψη, βιβλιογραφική παραγωγή, ο ως τώρα επιστημονικός προβληματισμός φαίνεται να έχει καλύψει ποικίλα σημαντικά ζητήματα (βλ. αναλυτικά, ενότητα 2).

Παρά την ενδιαφέρουσα αυτή επιστημονική συζήτηση, μένουν πολλά ακόμη ζητήματα ανοιχτά προς διερεύνηση. Καταρχάς, μένει ακόμη αδιευκρινισμένο το εύρος της χρήσης των λατινοελληνικών, αφού δεν διαθέτουμε ποσοτικά δεδομένα που να προέρχονται από τη νέα γενιά χρηστών των ψηφιακών μέσων, η οποία κοινωνικοποιήθηκε στην Ψηφιακή¹ Διαμεσολαβημένη Επικοινωνία² (ΨΔΕ) μετά από την καθιέρωση του Unicode. Δεν έχει συζητηθεί αν ποικίλες μεταβλητές, όπως το φύλο και το κοινωνικο-οικονομικό στάτους –που στην περίπτωση του γραμματισμού γνωρίζουμε ότι διαδραματίζουν τεράστιο ρόλο (Κουτσογιάννης 2011)– παίζουν κάποιο ρόλο και στην περίπτωση αυτή. Μας λείπουν επίσης προσεγγίσεις που δίνουν ιδιαίτερη βαρύτητα στο ρόλο των κοινωνικών πρωταγωνιστών σε μια εποχή έντονων τοπικών και παγκόσμιων μεταβολών, όπου ενδεχομένως θα μπορούσαν να γίνουν κατανοητά και φαινόμενα πρακτικών νέου γραμματισμού, επομένως και της χρήσης των λατινοελληνικών. Τέλος, χρειάζεται περισσότερη ερευνητική αναζήτηση προς την κατεύθυνση της σύνδεσης ενός τοπικού φαινομένου, όπως η χρήση των λατινοελληνικών, με την παγκόσμια πραγματικότητα της Τεχνολογικά Διαμεσολαβημένης Επικοινωνίας (ΤΔΕ) και της επικοινωνίας, συνολικότερα.

Στο παρόν κείμενο επιχειρείται να συζητηθεί μέρος των ζητημάτων αυτών μέσω της παρουσίασης των αποτελεσμάτων ποσοτικής έρευνας με ερωτηματολόγιο που συμπληρώθηκε το 2006 από 4.174 παιδιά ηλικίας 14-16 χρόνων από όλη την Ελλάδα. Το ερωτηματολόγιο αυτό είχε ως στόχο τη διερεύνηση των πρακτικών ψηφιακού γραμματισμού παιδιών εφηβικής ηλικίας (βλ. Κουτσογιάννης 2011) και στο πλαίσιο αυτό υπήρχε ερώτημα ως προς το γραφηματικό σύστημα που χρησιμοποιούν, όταν (και εάν) γράφουν σε περιβάλλοντα σύγχρονης επικοινωνίας – Chat Rooms. Η διερεύνηση των ζητημάτων που προαναφέρθηκαν πραγματοποιείται μέσω της συνδυαστικής αξιοποίησης θεωριών που

¹ Με τη χρήση του επιθέτου ψηφιακός παραπέμπω στην ΤΔΕ (βλ. σημείωση 2) που πραγματοποιείται με ψηφιακά μέσα. Χρησιμοποιώ εναλλακτικά και τον όρο νέα Τεχνολογικά Διαμεσολαβημένη Επικοινωνία.

² Χρησιμοποιώ τον όρο Τεχνολογικά Διαμεσολαβημένη Επικοινωνία (*technologically mediated communication*), προκειμένου να παραπέμπω στη χρήση της γραφής για επικοινωνία, ανεξάρτητα αν αυτό σχετίζεται με συμβατικά περιβάλλοντα επικοινωνίας (έντυπο, μολύβι και χαρτί) ή με ψηφιακά περιβάλλοντα (Κουτσογιάννης 2011). Βρίσκω στη χρήση του όρου αυτού δύο σημαντικά πλεονεκτήματα: αποφεύγεται συνειδητά ο ευρύτατα χρησιμοποιούμενος όρος *Computer Mediated Communication*, επειδή παραπέμπει σε παλιότερες μορφές ΨΔΕ, οι οποίες δεν ανταποκρίνονται πάντα στη σημερινή πραγματικότητα (βλ. και Georgakopoulou 2006): παράλληλα δίνεται η δυνατότητα να αναγνωρίζεται με σαφήνεια η συνέχεια που υπάρχει ανάμεσα στις ποικίλες μορφές ΤΔΕ και να αξιοποιείται η πλούσια παράδοση των σπουδών σε ζητήματα (νέου) γραμματισμού (βλ. υποσημείωση 4).

στηρίζονται στην παράδοση των *Σπουδών του (νέου) Γραμματισμού* και παραδόσεων που ανήκουν, κυρίως, στον ευρύτερο χώρο της *κοινωνικής σημειωτικής* και της *Κριτικής Ανάλυσης Λόγου*.

2. Θεωρητικό πλαίσιο και ανασκόπηση της βιβλιογραφίας

Τρία είναι, κατά τη γνώμη μου, τα ζητήματα που είναι απαραίτητο να αντιμετωπιστούν κατά τη μελέτη των λατινοελληνικών, όπως και κάθε ζητήματος που έχει σχέση με την ΨΔΕ. Το ένα έχει σχέση με το επιστημονικό πλαίσιο που θα επιλεγεί, ο ρόλος του οποίου είναι πολύ σημαντικός, αφού προκαθορίζει τα όρια του επιστημονικά ορατού, για να παραφράσουμε τον Bernstein (1996), προσδιορίζει επομένως καθοριστικά το πώς θα προσεγγιστούν τα επόμενα δύο ζητήματα. Το δεύτερο έχει σχέση με την περιγραφή αυτού καθ' εαυτού του υπό μελέτη φαινομένου: της έκτασής του, των ψηφιακών περιβαλλόντων στα οποία εμφανίζεται περισσότερο, των αιτιών που το προκάλεσαν και το προκαλούν, της σχέσης του με άλλες πρακτικές γραμματισμού, συμβατικές ή ψηφιακές, κλπ. Το τρίτο, τέλος, σημαντικό ζήτημα είναι η σύνδεση της συγκεκριμένης εκδοχής διγραφίας³ στην ελληνική γλώσσα με άλλες εξελίξεις που έχουν σχέση με τη γραφή, το γραμματισμό γενικότερα, σε ένα διεθνές πλαίσιο. Τα ζητήματα δύο και τρία, όπως θα επιχειρήσουμε να αναδείξουμε στα συμπεράσματα, είναι αλληλένδετα.

Η παρούσα εργασία και έρευνα στηρίζεται θεωρητικά στη μίξη δύο επιστημονικών παραδόσεων: των σπουδών σε ζητήματα γραμματισμού⁴ και των πρόσφατων αναζητήσεων που κινούνται στο ευρύτερο πλαίσιο της κοινωνικής σημειωτικής (Kress, 2010, Fairclough 2003, Van Leeuwen 2005). Αντλώντας από τις συγκεκριμένες παραδόσεις, θεωρώ τα γραφηματικά συστήματα ως διαθέσιμους κοινωνικο-πολιτισμικούς σημειωτικούς πόρους (semiotic resources). Οι πόροι αυτοί αποκτούν συμβολικό στάτους στο πλαίσιο της κοινωνίας και των κοινωνικών ομάδων από τις οποίες χρησιμοποιούνται (Kress 2010, βλ. και Sebba 2007, 2009), η οποία όμως (κοινωνία) επηρεάζει και επηρεάζεται από τις παγκόσμιες αλλαγές των τελευταίων δεκαετιών και στο ζήτημα της επικοινωνίας (Fairclough 2003, 2006, Kress 2010, Machin & van Leeuwen 2007, Heller 2003). Η εξέλιξη αυτή επιβάλλει την εγγραφή και ανάγνωση οποιουδήποτε τοπικού σημειωτικού φαινομένου στο παγκόσμιο πλαίσιο των σύγχρονων δεδομένων της επικοινωνίας (π.χ. κυριαρχία της Αγγλικής και των ψηφιακών μέσων στην επικοινωνία κλπ.). Θεωρώ τους κοινωνικούς πρωταγωνιστές ως ενεργούς «σχεδιαστές» που αξιοποιούν τους σημειωτικούς αυτούς πόρους (Kress 2010), όχι μόνο για να ανταποκριθούν στις καθημερινές ρητορικές προκλήσεις, αλλά και για λόγους ταυτοτικών πραγματώσεων (Κουτσογιάννης 2010). Για την ανάγνωση των πραγματώσεων αυτών δίνω ιδιαίτερη βαρύτητα στο ρόλο που έχει η προσωπική εγγράμματη διαδρομή των κοινωνικών πρωταγωνιστών, το προσωπικό εγγράμματο *habitus* θα μπορούσαμε να πούμε, ενώ παράλληλα αναγνωρίζω ως σημαντικό το ρόλο που έχει το προσωπικό τους κίνητρο για αξιοποίηση των όποιων σημειωτικών πόρων. Αξιοποιώ επίσης την προσέγγιση του Fairclough (2003) στην κατανόηση των *λόγων* (discourses), προκειμένου να ταξινομήσω την όλη ως τώρα συζήτηση στα ζητήματα της ΨΔΕ και κυρίως σε αυτό των λατινοελληνικών.

Με βάση λοιπόν το συγκεκριμένο θεωρητικό πλαίσιο, διακρίνω δύο *λόγους*⁵ (discourses) στην ως τώρα βιβλιογραφία για το ζήτημα της χρήσης του λατινικού αλφαβήτου κατά την παραγωγή ψηφιακού ελληνικού λόγου⁶. Εξυπακούεται ότι οι μίξεις είναι αναμενόμενες, όπως και τα όρια μπορεί να είναι ρευστά ή και να συγχέονται στο ίδιο κείμενο.

Ένα μέρος των απόψεων που διατυπώνονται εντάσσονται σε αυτόν που αποκαλώ *εργαλειολόγο* (instrumentalist discourse). Ο λόγος αυτός προσεγγίζει τα γραφηματικά συστήματα, τον κόσμο της γραφής και το γραμματισμό, γενικότερα, ως κάτι αποκομμένο από το ευρύτερο κοινωνικο-πολιτισμικό και ιστορικό συγκείμενο στο οποίο ανήκουν (βλ. και Street 1984). Θα μπορούσαμε να διακρίνουμε δύο *υπολόγους* (sub-discourses) στην περίπτωση των λατινοελληνικών και της νέας ΤΔΕ, γενικότερα. Ο ένας αντιμετωπίζει πτυχές της νέας ΤΔΕ (και τα λατινοελληνικά στην περίπτωσή μας) ως σημαντική

³ Της παράλληλης δηλαδή χρήσης του ελληνικού και λατινικού γραφηματικού συστήματος για την παραγωγή γραπτού λόγου στην ίδια γλώσσα, την ελληνική.

⁴ Δεν εννοώ αποκλειστικά το γνωστό διεθνώς επιστημονικό ρεύμα ως *New Literacy Studies* (*Νέες Σπουδές στο Γραμματισμό*), αλλά και ποικίλες άλλες απόψεις που στέκονται κριτικά προς το συγκεκριμένο ρεύμα (Collins & Blot 2003, Κουτσογιάννης 2011), εστιάζουν όμως το ενδιαφέρον τους σε ζητήματα ψηφιακού ή έντυπου γραμματισμού.

⁵ Οι αναλογίες με το *αυτόνομο* και το *ιδεολογικό μοντέλο γραμματισμού* (Street 1984) είναι προφανείς. Χρησιμοποιώ ωστόσο την έννοια των *λόγων*, γιατί είναι πιο δυναμική, αφού: δίνει την ευχέρεια να αξιοποιηθεί η πλούσια παράδοση της (κριτικής) ανάλυσης λόγου, δίνει τη δυνατότητα να εντοπιστούν διαφορές που ανήκουν στο ίδιο *μοντέλο* (με όρους του Street 1984) και κυρίως καθιστά ευκολότερη τη σύνδεση με τις ταυτότητες, τις στρατηγικές και τη γενικότερη κινητικότητα των κοινωνικών πρωταγωνιστών (Fairclough 2003).

⁶ Προσαρμόζω εδώ την ανάλογη προσέγγιση που έχω ακολουθήσει για τη μελέτη της βιβλιογραφίας των πρακτικών ψηφιακού γραμματισμού των παιδιών (βλ. Κουτσογιάννης 2011).

απειλή για τον ελληνικό γραπτό λόγο και σε κάποιες περιπτώσεις για την ελληνική γλώσσα, γενικότερα. Χαρακτηριστικά προς αυτή την κατεύθυνση είναι πολλά δημοσιεύματα στον ελληνικό τύπο, τα οποία θεωρούν τα λατινοελληνικά ως «απειλή για την ελληνική γλώσσα» (Koutsogiannis & Mitsikopoulou 2003). Ο συγκεκριμένος υπολόγος έχει ισχυρή διεθνή παρουσία και συναντάται πρωτίστως στις συζητήσεις ως προς τις επιπτώσεις που έχει η γνώση ως γλώσσα του διαδικτύου και των στιγμιαίων μηνυμάτων στις σχολικές γλωσσικές επιδόσεις των παιδιών (βλ. Anis 2007:111, Thurlow 2006).

Ο δεύτερος υπολόγος θεωρεί τη γραφή ως κάτι ουδέτερο, ως ένα μέσο απλής κωδικοποίησης του προφορικού λόγου, χωρίς περαιτέρω σύνδεση με άλλες κοινωνικές και πολιτισμικές διαστάσεις. Πρόκειται για μια ισχυρή γλωσσολογική παράδοση που προσεγγίζει τα ζητήματα της γραφής και της ορθογραφίας⁷ αποκομμένα από κοινωνικοπολιτισμικές και ιστορικές μεταβλητές. Έρευνά μας έδειξε ότι ο υπολόγος αυτός έχει ισχυρή αντιπροσώπευση και στις συζητήσεις στον ελληνικό τύπο για τα λατινοελληνικά, όχι όμως τόσο από μια γλωσσολογική όσο από μια τεχνολογική αφετηρία. Στο πλαίσιο αυτό η λατινική γραφή θεωρείται ως κάτι προσωρινό που σχετίζεται με τεχνολογικές αδυναμίες και δεν πρέπει να δίνεται ιδιαίτερη βαρύτητα στο ποιο γραφηματικό σύστημα χρησιμοποιείται (Koutsogiannis & Mitsikopoulou 2003).

Οι δύο αυτές εκδοχές του *εργαλειακού λόγου* φαίνονται τελείως διαφορετικές μεταξύ τους, αλλά δεν είναι: τις συνδέει η έμφαση στη γραφή ως μια τεχνολογία η οποία δεν συνδέεται με άλλες πτυχές της σύνθετης πραγματικότητας.

Το μεγαλύτερο μέρος του επιστημονικού προβληματισμού ωστόσο κινείται σε αυτόν που αποκαλώ *κοινωνικοπολιτισμικό*⁸ λόγο (sociocultural discourse). Ο συγκεκριμένος λόγος αντιλαμβάνεται το νέο γραμματισμό, την ΨΔΕ και τα λατινοελληνικά, κατά προέκταση, ως μέρος του νέου τεχνολογικού και κοινωνικοπολιτισμικού γίγνεσθαι, μελετάει δε το φαινόμενο στο πλαίσιο των κοινωνικών πρακτικών και των συμβάντων γραμματισμού (literacy events) όπου εντοπίζεται. Η στενή σχέση με το «ιδεολογικό μοντέλο γραμματισμού» του Street (1984) είναι προφανής και έχει αξιοποιηθεί ήδη στη βιβλιογραφία (Androutsopoulos 2009, Sebba 2007).

Το μεγαλύτερο μέρος της βιβλιογραφίας αυτής κινείται σε θεωρητικό επίπεδο στο χώρο της κοινωνιογλωσσολογίας και μελετάει ποικίλες πτυχές του ζητήματος. Οι Tseliga (2007) και Androutsopoulos (2009) εντάσσουν το φαινόμενο των λατινοελληνικών στη διγραφία μέσω υπολογιστή (computer-mediated digraphia): ο Ανδρουτσόπουλος έχει επισημάνει την ποικιλότητα με την οποία εμφανίζεται και έχει καταγράψει δύο σχήματα μεταγραφής, το φωνητικό και το ορθογραφικό (Ανδρουτσόπουλος 2000). Ο ίδιος (Androutsopoulos, 2009) υποστηρίζει την υπόθεση ότι η ποικιλότητα αυτή θα αποκτά σταδιακά χαρακτηριστικά σταθερότητας, από τη στιγμή που οι χρήστες θα προσαρμόζονται με την πάροδο του χρόνου στις πρακτικές γραφηματικού γραμματισμού (“transliteration standards”) της ομάδας ή της κοινότητας στην οποία συμμετέχουν και από τη στιγμή που η επιλογή αυτή θα αποτελεί ταυτοτική πραγμάτωση του συνανήκειν (“act of identity”).

Από την έρευνα δεν είναι απολύτως ξεκάθαρο το εύρος της χρήσης του λατινικού αλφαβήτου και η ενδεχόμενη σύνδεσή του με συγκεκριμένα ψηφιακά περιβάλλοντα ή πρακτικές. Ο Androutsopoulos (2009) υποστηρίζει ότι «τα τελευταία χρόνια παρατηρείται μια μείωση των περιβαλλόντων και γενικότερα της συχνότητας της χρήσης της λατινικής υπέρ της ελληνικής» και προβλέπει ότι η λατινική γραφή θα χρησιμοποιείται περισσότερο μεταξύ των Ελλήνων της διασποράς. Η Spilioti (2009), αναλύοντας σώμα 447 στιγμιαίων μηνυμάτων που προήλθαν από νέους 15-25 χρόνων και ζούσαν στην Αθήνα, διαπιστώνει ότι η νόρμα είναι να χρησιμοποιείται το ελληνικό αλφάβητο και όχι το λατινικό.

Ενδιαφέρουσες διαπιστώσεις προκύπτουν και από την έρευνα της Tseliga (2004, 2007) σε σώμα ηλεκτρονικών μηνυμάτων (E-mails), η οποία δείχνει, μεταξύ άλλων, ότι οι χρήστες των λατινοελληνικών ενσωματώνουν στα μηνυμάτα τους σε μεγαλύτερη έκταση λεξιλόγιο που δεν προέρχεται από την ελληνική γλώσσα (κυρίως από την Αγγλική) (βλ. και Spilioti 2009), ότι χρησιμοποιούν σε μεγαλύτερη έκταση πολυτροπικά στοιχεία (π.χ. emoticons) και ότι υιοθετούν σε μεγαλύτερο βαθμό στρατηγικές λόγου, όπως απλοποιήσεις, μη τυπικότητα και απόκλιση. Η ίδια συνδέει την εμμονή στη χρήση της λατινικής γραφής, παρά τις τεχνολογικές εξελίξεις, και με την ταχύτητα στο γράψιμο, από τη στιγμή που η ελληνική ορθογραφία είναι απαιτητική, ενώ με τη χρήση του λατινικού αλφαβήτου η παραγωγή λόγου γίνεται πιο γρήγορα, χωρίς αυστηρές συμβάσεις και χωρίς να είναι αναγκαστική η συχνή μετάβαση από το ελληνικό στο αγγλικό γραφηματικό σύστημα. Ενδιαφέρον παρουσιάζει και ο προβληματισμός (Tseliga 2004) ως προς την ενδεχόμενη σχέση που μπορεί να έχουν επιλογές στο γραφηματικό σύστημα με την ιδιαιτερότητα που παρουσιάζει η αναπαράσταση του νοήματος στην οθόνη (Kress

⁷ Για μια κριτική στην προσέγγιση αυτή βλ. Sebba 2007.

⁸ Χρησιμοποίησα και τον όρο «οικο-κοινωνικός λόγος», γιατί ανταποκρίνεται περισσότερο στο πώς προσεγγίζονται οι γενικότερες πρακτικές ψηφιακού γραμματισμού των παιδιών από μέρος της βιβλιογραφίας (Κουτσογιάννης 2011).

2010) (μεγαλύτερος βαθμός πειραματισμού, ο ρόλος της αισθητικής στην παραγωγή γραπτού λόγου κλπ.).

Τέλος, οι Koutsogiannis & Mitsikopoulou (2003) διερευνούν το ενδιαφέρον και τις έντονες συζητήσεις που προκαλεί στον τύπο η χρήση των λατινοελληνικών, αναδεικνύοντας την ποικιλία των αντιδράσεων και των απόψεων που καταγράφονται για το συγκεκριμένο ζήτημα. Ενδιαφέρον έχει επίσης το γεγονός ότι το φαινόμενο της διγραφίας επεκτείνεται και σε άλλες πρακτικές γραμματισμού που δεν έχουν σχέση με την ΨΔΕ (Koutsogiannis 2004, βλ. και Annis 2007:111), ενώ πρόσφατη έρευνα εστιάζει και στο γεγονός ότι η έλλειψη «περιορισμών» που εξασφαλίζει η χρήση του λατινικού αλφαβήτου κατά την παραγωγή λόγου στο διαδίκτυο, διευκολύνει τη χρήση της ομιλούμενης κυπριακής διαλέκτου (Themistocleous 2009).

Από τη σύντομη αυτή βιβλιογραφική ανασκόπηση είναι εμφανές ότι έχουν διερευνηθεί σημαντικές παράμετροι και έχουν αναδειχθεί ενδιαφέρουσες πτυχές της χρήσης των λατινοελληνικών. Επισημάνθηκε ήδη ότι η έρευνα είναι περιορισμένη και γι' αυτό υπάρχουν αρκετές παράμετροι που δεν έχουν ή έχουν διερευνηθεί εν μέρει. Αναφέρω κυρίως αυτές που σχετίζονται με τους στόχους της παρούσας έρευνας.

Ένα πρώτο εμφανές ερευνητικό κενό σχετίζεται με την έλλειψη στοιχείων ως προς την έκταση του φαινομένου και το συσχετισμό του με μεταβλητές, όπως η κοινωνική διαστρωμάτωση. Η παρούσα έρευνα, λόγω του εύρους του δείγματος που χρησιμοποιεί, μπορεί να συνεισφέρει εν μέρει στην κάλυψη αυτού του κενού. Θα ήθελα να υπογραμμίσω το «εν μέρει», γιατί τα δεδομένα μου αφορούν παιδιά εφηβικής ηλικίας και εστιάζουν αποκλειστικά στα σύγχρονα περιβάλλοντα επικοινωνίας.

Σημαντικό είναι και το ζήτημα της ανάγνωσης του φαινομένου από μια κοινωνιογλωσσολογική οπτική «ευαίσθητη στην παγκοσμιοποίηση» (Coupland 2003), όπου θα δίνεται ιδιαίτερη βαρύτητα στον παγκόσμιο ρόλο των αγγλικών σήμερα, αλλά και γενικότερα στη σύνδεση του τοπικού με το παγκόσμιο (Koutsogiannis & Mitsikopoulou 2003, Tsiplakou 2009). Προς αυτή την κατεύθυνση υπάρχουν, όπως είδαμε, έρευνες που συνδέουν τα λατινοελληνικά και με το σημαντικό ρόλο της παγκόσμιας κυριαρχίας της Αγγλικής (Spilioti 2009, Tseliga 2007). Η Tseliga (2007), για παράδειγμα, επισημαίνει ότι «τα λατινοελληνικά αποτελούν ένα παράδειγμα της ικανότητας του σύγχρονου ευέλικτου ανθρώπου να επιδεικνύει γλωσσική δημιουργικότητα, προκειμένου να προσαρμόζεται στις επείγουσες ανάγκες των παγκόσμιων και των τοπικών δικτύων επικοινωνίας». Η Spilioti (2009), επίσης, διασυνδέει, όπως είδαμε, τη χρήση του λατινικού αλφαβήτου με την αξιοποίηση αγγλόφωνου λεξιλογίου, γεγονός που το ερμηνεύει και ως συμβολική τάση διασύνδεσης με την παγκόσμια νεανική κουλτούρα.

Η κατεύθυνση αυτή, προς την αναζήτηση της σχέσης που υπάρχει με άλλες παγκόσμιες εξελίξεις στο ζήτημα του γραμματισμού, χρειάζεται κατά τη γνώμη μου μεγαλύτερη επιμονή. Ένα εμφανές υπερτοπικό στοιχείο έχει σχέση με την ευρύτητα της λατινοποίησης του διαδικτύου (βλ. Palfreyman & Khalil 2003). Ένα δεύτερο στοιχείο που επισημαίνεται είναι η σύνδεση της γραφής και της ορθογραφίας με την αστάθεια στη γραφή και την ορθογραφία που παρατηρείται σήμερα σε παγκόσμιο επίπεδο (Sebba 2007).

Στο παρόν κείμενο θα επιχειρηθεί να διαβαστεί η χρήση των λατινοελληνικών από τα παιδιά σε συνδυασμό με το γεγονός ότι λόγω των νέων παγκόσμιων δεδομένων στις μέρες μας μεταβάλλεται το περιεχόμενο του γραμματισμού με ισχύ. Εκεί που παλιότερα ο γραμματισμός με ανταλλακτική αξία (Bourdieu 1991) ταυτιζόταν με το σχολικό γραμματισμό, τώρα προστίθεται η ανάγκη της χρήσης της Αγγλικής ως δεύτερης γλώσσας και η ανάγκη κατάκτησης του νέου γραμματισμού των ψηφιακών μέσων. Πρόκειται για ιδιαίτερα σημαντικό γεγονός που, όπως θα διαπιστώσουμε, προκαλεί διαφορετικές ταχύτητες αντίδρασης στους κοινωνικούς πρωταγωνιστές (παιδιά, γονείς, σχολεία), όπου μπορούμε να κατανοήσουμε εν μέρει και τη χρήση των λατινοελληνικών.

3. Η έρευνα

Τα ποσοτικά δεδομένα που παρουσιάζονται στο παρόν κείμενο προέρχονται από ερωτηματολόγιο το οποίο συμπληρώθηκε το 2006 από δομημένο δείγμα 4.174 παιδιών εφηβικής ηλικίας, 14-16 χρόνων (2118 κορίτσια και 2056 αγόρια). Η ηλικία αυτή επιλέχθηκε συνειδητά, γιατί ήταν από τις πρώτες που κοινωνικοποιήθηκε σε μια περίοδο κατά την οποία τα ποικίλα διαδικτυακά περιβάλλοντα είχαν πια διαδοθεί ευρέως και η πρώτη που θα μπορούσε να χρησιμοποιήσει το ελληνικό γραφηματικό σύστημα χωρίς ιδιαίτερους τεχνικούς περιορισμούς. Τα 2.337 από τα παιδιά του δείγματος προέρχονται από δημόσια σχολεία των δύο μεγαλύτερων πόλεων, Αθήνας και Θεσσαλονίκης, ενώ 1078 παιδιά προέρχονται από επαρχιακές πόλεις και κωμοπόλεις. Γενικά, το σύνολο των παιδιών που προέρχονται από δημόσια σχολεία ανέρχονται στα 3415 από τα οποία 1737 είναι κορίτσια και 1678 αγόρια. Η επιλογή των δημόσιων σχολείων των δύο μεγάλων πόλεων έγινε με κριτήρια γεωγραφικά, τα οποία είναι εν τέλει και κοινωνικά, έτσι ώστε να αντιπροσωπεύονται στο δείγμα μας ισομερώς σχολεία από όλες τις

περιοχές (κέντρο, ανατολικά, δυτικά και βόρεια προάστια). Η επιλογή των επαρχιακών σχολείων πραγματοποιήθηκε με κριτήρια μεγέθους (μεγάλα και μικρά αστικά κέντρα) και γεωγραφικά (διαφορετικές περιοχές της χώρας).

Δόθηκε ιδιαίτερη βαρύτητα στο να συμπεριληφθούν στο δείγμα παιδιά που φοιτούν σε πολύ γνωστά ιδιωτικά σχολεία, με ιδιαίτερα υψηλό στάτους στην ελληνική κοινωνία και υψηλά δίδακτρα, των οποίων οι γονείς ανήκουν, όπως έδειξε και ο στατιστικός έλεγχος (Κουτσογιάννης 2011), σε προνομιούχα από μορφωτική και οικονομική άποψη κοινωνικά στρώματα. Έτσι, 759 παιδιά (381 κορίτσια και 378 αγόρια) προέρχονται από τα σχολεία αυτά. Είναι χρήσιμο να επισημανθεί εδώ ότι στα σχολεία αυτά δίνεται ιδιαίτερη βαρύτητα στη χρήση της αγγλικής γλώσσας και των Νέων Τεχνολογιών, γι' αυτό και τα χρησιμοποιούμε ως μία σημαντική μεταβλητή με συγκεκριμένα χαρακτηριστικά.

Θα μπορούσαμε εν κατακλείδι να πούμε ότι το δείγμα ανταποκρίνεται σε δύο σημαντικές προϋποθέσεις: είναι αντιπροσωπευτικό, παρότι κατά την επιλογή του ακολουθήθηκαν γεωγραφικά και όχι αυστηρά στατιστικά κριτήρια αντιπροσωπευτικότητας, ενώ παράλληλα αντιπροσωπεύει συνειδητά τις κοινωνικο-οικονομικές αντιθέσεις της ελληνικής κοινωνίας.

Το ερωτηματολόγιο που δόθηκε αποτελούνταν από 59 ερωτήματα τα οποία στόχευαν στο να διερευνήσουν τις εξωσχολικές πρακτικές ψηφιακού γραμματισμού των παιδιών. Μία μόνο ομάδα ερωτήσεων εστίαζε στη συχνότητα, στο εύρος και στο πώς αξιοποιούνται τα κανάλια σύγχρονης διαδικτυακής επικοινωνίας (ΚΣΔΕ) (chat rooms) και στο πλαίσιο αυτό τέθηκε και το ερώτημα αν και με ποια συχνότητα χρησιμοποιούν τα παιδιά τη λατινοελληνική γραφή. Παρότι το ερώτημα είναι ένα, πολύ μεγάλο ενδιαφέρον έχει, όπως θα διαπιστώσουμε στη συνέχεια, η διασταύρωση των απαντήσεων με άλλα ερωτήματα του ερωτηματολογίου.

Είναι χρήσιμο να επισημανθούν εδώ τα εξής: 1. Τα περιβάλλοντα σύγχρονης διαδικτυακής επικοινωνίας μεταβάλλονται και σαφώς δεν είναι αυτά που ήταν το 2006, όταν πραγματοποιήθηκε η έρευνα. 2. Υπάρχουν περισσότερες από μία επιλογές: παλιότερα χρησιμοποιούνταν περισσότερο το IRC (Internet Relay Chat), ενώ σήμερα χρησιμοποιείται περισσότερο η ενσωματωμένη σε άλλα περιβάλλοντα δυνατότητα για σύγχρονη γραπτή επικοινωνία (π.χ. στο Facebook) και το msn. Η ρευστότητα και η ποικιλία αυτή θέτει σημαντικά ζητήματα. Το πρώτο έχει σχέση με το πώς θα μπορούσε να τεθεί το ερώτημα στα παιδιά. Σε αυτό ακολουθήσαμε τον όρο που χρησιμοποιούσαν (και χρησιμοποιούν) τα ίδια τα παιδιά, όπως διαπιστώθηκε κατά το πιλοτικό στάδιο της έρευνας. Ο όρος «κάνω chat» που χρησιμοποιούσαν εστιάζει στο είδος του συμβάντος γραμματισμού και όχι σε συγκεκριμένο διαδικτυακό περιβάλλον και αυτό ακολουθήσαμε. Το δεύτερο ζήτημα που τίθεται είναι γενικότερο και αφορά την εγκυρότητα που μπορεί να έχει μια έρευνα που διεξήχθη το 2006, όταν τα τεχνολογικά δεδομένα ήταν διαφορετικά. Όπως επισημάνθηκε, και όπως θα φανεί και κατά την ανάλυση, η έρευνα δεν εστιάζει στη ρευστότητα των περιβαλλόντων, θέμα εξίσου ενδιαφέρον, αλλά στη σύνδεσή τους με κοινωνικές μεταβλητές. Τέτοιους είδους συνδέσεις και κυρίως η σύνδεση με το είδος της αναστοχαστικότητας (reflexivity) που επιδεικνύουν οι κοινωνικοί πρωταγωνιστές στα εκάστοτε νέα δεδομένα της γραφής και επικοινωνίας είναι ζητήματα περισσότερο κοινωνικά παρά τεχνολογικά, έχουν επομένως διαχρονικό ενδιαφέρον.

4. Αποτελέσματα

Πριν προχωρήσουμε στην κύρια εστίαση του θέματος, είναι χρήσιμο να παρατεθούν κάποια γενικότερα στοιχεία σε σχέση με τη συχνότητα χρήσης των περιβαλλόντων σύγχρονης επικοινωνίας από τα παιδιά. Από τις απαντήσεις προκύπτει ότι τα περιβάλλοντα αυτά χρησιμοποιούνται από τα μισά περίπου παιδιά (50,7%) του δείγματός μας, από τα οποία το μεγαλύτερο ποσοστό συμμετέχει ευκαιριακά (50,8%), ένα μικρότερο ποσοστό δηλώνει ότι συμμετέχει μερικές φορές τη βδομάδα (29,2%) και το μικρότερο ποσοστό (15,9%) δηλώνει ότι συμμετέχει κάθε μέρα. Τα αποτελέσματα επομένως που παρουσιάζονται στη συνέχεια αφορούν τα μισά περίπου παιδιά του δείγματος, αφού αυτά δήλωσαν ότι συμμετέχουν σε Κανάλια Σύγχρονης Διαδικτυακής Επικοινωνίας (ΚΣΔΕ).

Το κύριο ερώτημα το οποίο αφορούσε στο θέμα μας (ερώτημα 44) ήταν το παρακάτω:

Αν μπαίνεις σε ελληνικά κανάλια, γράφεις ... (κύκλωσε ό,τι ανταποκρίνεται σε σένα):

1. Με ελληνικούς χαρακτήρες
2. Ελληνικά αλλά με λατινικούς χαρακτήρες (greeklish)
3. Και με τα δύο, ανάλογα με την περίπτωση

Από τον παρακάτω πίνακα (πίνακας 1) προκύπτει ότι το μεγαλύτερο ποσοστό των παιδιών του συνόλου του δείγματός μας χρησιμοποιεί τη λατινοελληνική γραφή (43,3%), έναντι 27,9% που χρησιμοποιεί το ελληνικό αλφάβητο και 28,8% που χρησιμοποιεί και τα δύο, ανάλογα με την περίπτωση. Το

αποτέλεσμα αυτό έχει ιδιαίτερο ενδιαφέρον, αν λάβουμε υπόψη μας το γεγονός ότι τα παιδιά αυτά εξοικειώθηκαν με τις Νέες Τεχνολογίες μετά από το 2000, όταν δηλαδή τα προβλήματα με την ελληνική γραφή σε ψηφιακά περιβάλλοντα θα έπρεπε λογικά να έχουν ξεπεραστεί σε σημαντικό βαθμό λόγω της υποστήριξής της από το διεθνές πρότυπο κωδικοποίησης των συστημάτων γραφής, το unicode.

Η δεύτερη διαπίστωση είναι ότι η χρήση του λατινικού αλφαβήτου δεν αποτελεί απλώς μια γραφηματική ποικιλία, που χρησιμοποιείται γενικώς από τα νέα παιδιά σε συγκεκριμένες ηλεκτρονικές χρήσεις. Φαίνεται να σχετίζεται περισσότερο με συγκεκριμένες κοινωνικές κατηγορίες παιδιών. Από τον πίνακα 1, όπου διασταυρώνεται η χρήση των λατινοελληνικών με τον τύπο σχολείου στον οποίο φοιτούν τα παιδιά, διαπιστώνουμε ότι παιδιά που φοιτούν στα ιδιωτικά σχολεία του δείγματός μας χρησιμοποιούν το λατινικό αλφάβητο σε πολύ μεγαλύτερη έκταση (63,9%) έναντι των παιδιών που φοιτούν στα δημόσια σχολεία (38,6%). Η διαφορά είναι εντυπωσιακή, στατιστικά σημαντική ($\chi^2=91,373$, $df=2$, $P\text{-value}<0,001$), χρειάζεται δε περαιτέρω διερεύνηση και ερμηνεία. Το γεγονός ότι η συγκεκριμένη κοινωνική ομάδα έχει κάποια ιδιαίτερα χαρακτηριστικά, όπως η ταχύτητα με την οποία επιχειρεί να εξοικειώσει τα παιδιά της με τα δύο νέα δεδομένα του παγκόσμιου γραμματισμού -της ευρείας δηλαδή χρήσης της Αγγλικής ως δεύτερης γλώσσας και της λειτουργικής κατάκτησης του ψηφιακού γραμματισμού- (Κουτσογιάννης 2011), μας οδήγησε στο να εστιάσουμε τη διερεύνησή μας προς αυτές κυρίως τις κατευθύνσεις.

Πίνακας 1. Γράψιμο σε ΚΣΔΕ						
			Αν μπαίνεις σε ελληνικά κανάλια γράφεις			
			Με ελληνικό αλφάβητο	Με λατινικούς χαρακτήρες	Και τα δύο, εξαρτάται	Σύνολο
	Δημόσια σχολεία	%	31,5	38,6	29,9	100,0
	Ιδιωτικά σχολεία	%	12,1	63,9	23,9	100,0
	Σύνολο	%	27,9	43,3	28,8	100,0

Από τη διασταύρωση με τις απαντήσεις του ερωτήματος «Πόσο συχνά επισκέπτεσαι Chats;» προκύπτει (στατιστικά σημαντική η διαφορά, $\chi^2=36,681$, $df=4$, $p\text{-value}<0,001$) ότι τα παιδιά τα οποία χρησιμοποιούν πιο συχνά τη σύγχρονη επικοινωνία είναι αυτά που χρησιμοποιούν σε μεγαλύτερη έκταση και τη λατινική γραφή. Είναι ενδεικτικό ότι το ποσοστό των παιδιών που γράφει ελληνικά με λατινικούς χαρακτήρες και χρησιμοποιεί τη σύγχρονη επικοινωνία «ευκαιριακά» είναι 38,8% έναντι 43,6% όσων τη χρησιμοποιούν «κάποιες φορές τη βδομάδα» και 57,7% όσων τη χρησιμοποιούν «κάθε μέρα».

Από τη διασταύρωση αυτή προκύπτει ότι ο βαθμός εξοικείωσης με το συγκεκριμένο περιβάλλον διαδραματίζει σημαντικό ρόλο. Αυτό συναρτάται σε σημαντικό βαθμό και με μια άλλη μεταβλητή, το χρόνο απόκτησης υπολογιστή. Από την ανάλυση προκύπτει ότι η χρήση της λατινικής γραφής συνδέεται ευθέως με την εμπειρία που έχουν τα παιδιά στη χρήση του υπολογιστή ($\chi^2=36,440$, $df=6$, $P\text{-value}<0,001$). Δίνονται κάποια ενδεικτικά ποσοστά⁹ από τη διασταύρωση του βασικού ερωτήματος με το «πότε απόκτησες υπολογιστή»: παιδιά που απέκτησαν υπολογιστή την ίδια χρονιά της έρευνας χρησιμοποιούν λατινοελληνικά σε ποσοστό 31,8%, ποσοστό που αυξάνεται σε 42,5% και 44,7% σε όσα παιδιά απέκτησαν υπολογιστή «μέσα στην τελευταία διετία» και «πριν από 4-5 χρόνια», αντίστοιχα, για να φτάσει στο 55,1% στα παιδιά που είχαν υπολογιστές για περισσότερα από πέντε χρόνια.

Από τη μέχρι τώρα ανάλυση προκύπτει με σαφήνεια ότι τα λατινοελληνικά αποτελούν γραφηματική ποικιλία που συναρτάται με την έκταση της χρήσης των ΚΣΔΕ αλλά και το βαθμό της εμπειρίας που έχουν τα παιδιά, γενικότερα, στη χρήση των υπολογιστών. Θα μπορούσαμε να πούμε δηλαδή ότι χαρακτηρίζει τις πρακτικές ψηφιακού γραμματισμού κυρίως όσων κινούνται με μεγαλύτερη άνεση στη χρήση των ΤΠΕ.

Μια άλλη σημαντική μεταβλητή που φαίνεται από τα αποτελέσματα να παίζει καθοριστικό ρόλο είναι η ευρύτητα της χρήσης των Αγγλικών από τα παιδιά. Στον πίνακα 2 που ακολουθεί διασταυρώνεται η έκταση της χρήσης των λατινοελληνικών με τη συμμετοχή των παιδιών σε ΚΣΔΕ, όπου χρησιμοποιείται η αγγλική γλώσσα¹⁰, και προκύπτει με στατιστικά σημαντική διαφορά ($\chi^2=36,304$, $df=2$, $p\text{-value}<0,001$) ότι τα παιδιά που χρησιμοποιούν Αγγλικά σε μεγαλύτερη έκταση χρησιμοποιούν και λατινοελληνικά σε μεγαλύτερη έκταση.

⁹ Αποφεύγουμε για λόγους οικονομίας την αναλυτική παράθεση πινάκων.

¹⁰ Το ερώτημα (43) ήταν:

Μπαίνεις συνήθως ... (κύκλωσε όποια από τις απαντήσεις ανταποκρίνεται σε σένα ή περισσότερες από μία απαντήσεις):

α. σε ελληνικά chat rooms,

β. Σε chat rooms αγγλικής γλώσσας

γ. σε chat rooms άλλης γλώσσας (αν ναι, γράψε ποια ή ποιες)

value<0,001) ότι τα παιδιά αυτά χρησιμοποιούν σε μεγαλύτερη έκταση τη λατινική γραφή (49,7%), έναντι 40,8% των άλλων παιδιών.

Πίνακας 2. Συμμετοχή σε αγγλόφωνα ΚΣΔΕ και λατινοελληνικά					
			Συμμετοχή σε αγγλόφωνα Chat		
			Όχι	Ναι	Σύνολο
Αν μπαίνεις σε ελληνικά ΚΣΔΕ, γράφεις	Με ελληνικούς χαρακτήρες	Αριθμός	465	106	571
		%	31,7%	18,4%	27,9%
	Με λατινικούς χαρακτήρες	Αριθμός	599	286	885
		%	40,8%	49,7%	43,3%
	Και με τα δύο, ανάλογα με την περίπτωση	αριθμός	405	184	589
		%	27,6%	31,9%	28,8%
	Σύνολο	Αριθμός	1469	576	2045
		%	100,0%	100,0%	100,0%

Προκειμένου να ενισχύσουμε περισσότερο τη διαπίστωση αυτή, διαμορφώσαμε ένα υποσύνολο, από το σύνολο των ιδιωτικών σχολείων, τα οποία είναι γνωστό ότι δίνουν ιδιαίτερη βαρύτητα στη χρήση της Αγγλικής γλώσσας. Πρόκειται για 579 παιδιά, από τα οποία 291 χρησιμοποιούν τα ΚΣΔΕ. Οι διαφορές είναι θεαματικές: παιδιά που φοιτούν στα συγκεκριμένα σχολεία γράφουν ελληνικά με λατινικούς χαρακτήρες σε ποσοστό 66,3% έναντι 39,5% των παιδιών που φοιτούν σε δημόσια σχολεία ($\chi^2=84,729$, $df=2$, $p\text{-value}<0,001$).

Τα δεδομένα μας ως εδώ δείχνουν ότι η εμπειρία στη χρήση των νέων μέσων σε συνδυασμό με το βαθμό εξοικείωσης με τη χρήση της Αγγλικής γλώσσας, εντός ή και εκτός του διαδικτύου (τα δύο είναι αλληλένδετα), αποτελούν σημαντικές μεταβλητές για το θέμα μας. Παραθέτουμε στη συνέχεια κάποια ακόμη δεδομένα που δείχνουν ότι το ζήτημα είναι πιο σύνθετο.

Διασταυρώσαμε το κύριο ερώτημα με το ερώτημα «Πόσους υπολογιστές έχετε στο σπίτι (οι οποίοι να είναι σε χρήση);». Από τη διασταύρωση προκύπτει ότι τα παιδιά με περισσότερους από έναν υπολογιστές στο σπίτι χρησιμοποιούν σε πολύ μεγαλύτερη έκταση το λατινικό γραφηματικό σύστημα (59,5%) έναντι 45,9% όσων έχουν δύο και 41% όσων έχουν έναν ($\chi^2=27,741$, $df=4$, $P\text{-value}<0,001$). Από πολλές άλλες διασταυρώσεις μας είναι γνωστό (βλ. Κουτσογιάννης 2011) ότι τα παιδιά που έχουν πολλούς υπολογιστές στο σπίτι ανήκουν σε προνομιούχα κοινωνικά στρώματα, όπως και τα παιδιά που έχουν υπολογιστή για μεγάλο χρονικό διάστημα. Επισημάναμε ήδη ότι σε προνομιούχα κοινωνικά στρώματα ανήκουν και τα παιδιά που φοιτούν στα ιδιωτικά του δείγματός μας. Δεν είναι επομένως τυχαίο που και τα συγκεκριμένα παιδιά χρησιμοποιούν σε πολύ μεγαλύτερη έκταση τη λατινική γραφή στη σύγχρονη διαδικτυακή επικοινωνία, όπως είδαμε στον πρώτο πίνακα. Στην επόμενη ενότητα θα επιχειρηθεί να συζητηθούν και να ερμηνευτούν οι διαπιστώσεις αυτές.

5. Συμπεράσματα και συζήτηση

Η χρήση των λατινοελληνικών κατά την επικοινωνία σε ψηφιακά περιβάλλοντα παρουσιάζει ιδιαίτερο επιστημονικό ενδιαφέρον και έχει απασχολήσει την κοινωνιολογιστική, κυρίως, έρευνα. Το παρόν κείμενο, αξιοποιώντας ευρείας έκτασης ποσοτικά δεδομένα, εστίασε το ενδιαφέρον του στη χρήση τους σε περιβάλλοντα σύγχρονης διαδικτυακής επικοινωνίας (Chat Rooms) από παιδιά ηλικίας 14 – 16 χρόνων (συλλογή δεδομένων το 2006). Πρόκειται για παιδιά που γεννήθηκαν ανάμεσα στο 1990-1992, είναι επομένως η πρώτη γενιά που μεγάλωσε με το διαδίκτυο και που δεν πρέπει λογικά να έχει τους τεχνικούς περιορισμούς στη χρήση του ελληνικού αλφαβήτου, με δεδομένο το γεγονός ότι το Unicode καθιερώνεται από τα τέλη της δεκαετίας του 1990 και ύστερα.

Από την ανάλυση που προηγήθηκε αναδεικνύονται ενδιαφέροντα στοιχεία που ενισχύουν κάποιες διαπιστώσεις άλλων ερευνών, αλλά αναδεικνύουν και νέα ζητήματα. Το πρώτο από αυτά έχει σχέση με τη συχνότητα χρήσης: προκύπτει με σαφήνεια ότι το λατινικό αλφάβητο χρησιμοποιείται σε πολύ μεγαλύτερη έκταση σε σχέση με το ελληνικό στα περιβάλλοντα σύγχρονης επικοινωνίας και αυτό είναι ανεξάρτητο από τον τύπο σχολείου στο οποίο φοιτούν τα παιδιά και την κοινωνική ομάδα στην οποία ανήκουν. Η διαπίστωση αυτή έχει ιδιαίτερο ενδιαφέρον, αν λάβουμε υπόψη ότι τα παιδιά αυτά εξοικειώθηκαν με τις Νέες Τεχνολογίες μετά από το 2000, όταν δηλαδή τα προβλήματα με την ελληνική γραφή ξεπεράστηκαν σε σημαντικό βαθμό. Δεν διαθέτουμε προηγούμενες ευρείας έκτασης ποσοτικές έρευνες για να διαπιστώσουμε αν υπάρχει αύξουσα ή φθίνουσα τάση, μπορούμε όμως να πούμε πια με

μεγαλύτερη βεβαιότητα ότι η χρήση του λατινικού αλφαβήτου δεν σχετίζεται απλά και μόνο με τεχνικούς περιορισμούς.

Το δεύτερο συμπέρασμα είναι ότι τα λατινοελληνικά δεν αποτελούν απλώς μια γραφηματική ποικιλία που χρησιμοποιείται γενικώς από τα νέα παιδιά. Χρησιμοποιείται πρωτίστως από την ομάδα των παιδιών που έχουν δύο βασικά χαρακτηριστικά: έχουν μακροχρόνια και σε μεγαλύτερο βαθμό εξοικείωση με τους υπολογιστές και χρησιμοποιούν σε μεγαλύτερη έκταση την αγγλική γλώσσα (βλ. Spilioti 2009, Tseliga 2007) στην καθημερινότητά τους. Αλλά αυτά τα παιδιά προέρχονται από πιο προνομιούχες κοινωνικές ομάδες, όπως έχει διαπιστωθεί και από την ανάλυση του συνόλου των δεδομένων της συγκεκριμένης έρευνας (Κουτσογιάννης 2011). Το ερώτημα, επομένως, είναι εύλογο: γιατί αυτές οι κοινωνικές ομάδες να χρησιμοποιούν σε μεγαλύτερο βαθμό το λατινικό και όχι το ελληνικό αλφάβητο;

Λαμβάνοντας υπόψη και τα συνολικά δεδομένα της συγκεκριμένης έρευνας (Κουτσογιάννης 2011), θα μπορούσαμε να πούμε ότι η συγκεκριμένη κοινωνική ομάδα αντιλαμβάνεται πολύ πιο γρήγορα τις αλλαγές που παρατηρούνται στους γραμματισμούς της εποχής μας με ισχύ και αναπτύσσει στρατηγικές προσαρμογής των παιδιών της στα νέα δεδομένα. Έτσι, παράλληλα με τον παραδοσιακό σχολικό γραμματισμό, αναπτύσσουν πρωτοβουλίες λειτουργικής εξοικείωσης των παιδιών τους με δύο άλλους παγκόσμιους γραμματισμούς: αυτόν που σχετίζεται με τον κόσμο των Νέων Τεχνολογιών και αυτόν που έχει σχέση με την αγγλική γλώσσα ως παγκόσμια γλώσσα επικοινωνίας. Η παρούσα έρευνα έδειξε ότι οι συγκεκριμένοι γονείς αναπτύσσουν στρατηγικές συστηματικής προετοιμασίας των παιδιών τους από μικρή ηλικία μέσω της αγοράς υπολογιστών και μέσω της εκμάθησης της Αγγλικής. Στο πλαίσιο των στρατηγικών αυτών επιλέγουν και τα συγκεκριμένα ιδιωτικά σχολεία, τα οποία υπόσχονται να ανταποκριθούν καλύτερα στις νέες αυτές ανάγκες τους (Κουτσογιάννης 2011, Koutsogiannis & Adampa 2012, Bulfin & Koutsogiannis 2012). Έτσι, τα συγκεκριμένα παιδιά εξοικειώνονται σε μεγαλύτερα ποσοστά και από πολύ πιο νωρίς με τον ψηφιακό γραμματισμό και το γραμματισμό της Αγγλικής ως παγκόσμιας γλώσσας.

Δεν θεωρώ, βέβαια, ότι το φαινόμενο των λατινοελληνικών είναι αποτέλεσμα της στρατηγικής αυτής. Θεωρώ ότι τα λατινοελληνικά έχουν μετατραπεί πια σε νεανική γραφηματική ποικιλία που σηματοδοτεί το σταδιακό πέρασμα από το συμβατικό κόσμο της γραπτής επικοινωνίας στον κόσμο της διαδικτυακής επικοινωνίας (βλ. και Androutsopoulos 2009), κυρίως της σύγχρονης με βάση τα δεδομένα της παρούσας έρευνας. Το πέρασμα αυτό σηματοδοτείται από την υιοθέτηση όψεων των δύο γραμματισμών με παγκόσμια ισχύ: αυτόν που έχει σχέση με τις Νέες Τεχνολογίες και αυτόν που έχει σχέση με την αγγλική γλώσσα, αφού χρησιμοποιείται το δικό της αλφάβητο. Το βήμα της συμβολικής ταύτισης με τα νέα παγκόσμια δεδομένα στο χώρο του γραμματισμού είναι που κατά βάθος πραγματώνει η ελληνική νεολαία, υιοθετώντας τη χρήση των λατινοελληνικών (βλ. και Tseliga 2007, Spilioti 2009). Πρόκειται για συμβολική πράξη του συνανήκειν σε μια νεανική κοινότητα¹¹ που τείνει να αυτοπροσδιορίζεται και με άξονα συγκεκριμένες γραφηματικές πρακτικές γραμματισμού, οι οποίες μεταφέρουν συγκεκριμένο αξιακό φορτίο.

Με βάση τις παραπάνω διαπιστώσεις θα μπορούσαμε να πούμε ότι διαγράφεται η εξής δυναμική: με δεδομένο το αξιακό φορτίο που μεταφέρει η συγκεκριμένη γραφηματική επιλογή για τα νέα παιδιά, όσο περισσότερο εξοικειώνονται οι νέοι με τη χρήση των υπολογιστών και την ευρεία χρήση της αγγλικής στο διαδίκτυο, τόσο και πιο αυτονόητη θα θεωρείται η χρήση των λατινοελληνικών στα σύγχρονα περιβάλλοντα επικοινωνίας. Το γεγονός ότι τα συγκεκριμένα παιδιά της συγκεκριμένης κοινωνικής ομάδας χρησιμοποιούν τη λατινική γραφή σε μεγαλύτερη έκταση σχετίζεται με το γεγονός ότι πληρούν τις δύο αυτές προϋποθέσεις από πολύ πιο νωρίς και σε πολύ μεγαλύτερο βαθμό σε σχέση με τα άλλα.

Η παραπάνω διαπίστωση δεν σημαίνει ότι η δυναμική αυτή προδιαγράφει απολύτως και το μέλλον της λατινικής γραφής κατά την παραγωγή ελληνικού λόγου σε ψηφιακά περιβάλλοντα. Ποικιλία παραγόντων μπορεί να παίξει σημαντικό ρόλο σε αυτό και να μεταβάλει το αξιακό φορτίο της συγκεκριμένης επιλογής ως σημειωτικού πόρου, κάτι που δεν μπορεί να είναι προβλέψιμο.

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¹¹ Ο όρος εδώ είναι γενικευτικός. Συνήθως τα παιδιά ανήκουν σε πολλές και διαφορετικές κοινότητες, οι οποίες μπορεί να διαφέρουν μεταξύ τους και από το είδος του γραφηματικού συστήματος (και των λατινοελληνικών) που χρησιμοποιούν.

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ΤΟ ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΟ ΓΛΩΣΣΙΚΟ ΙΔΙΩΜΑ ΤΗΣ ΑΡΤΑΣ ΑΥΛΩΝΑ

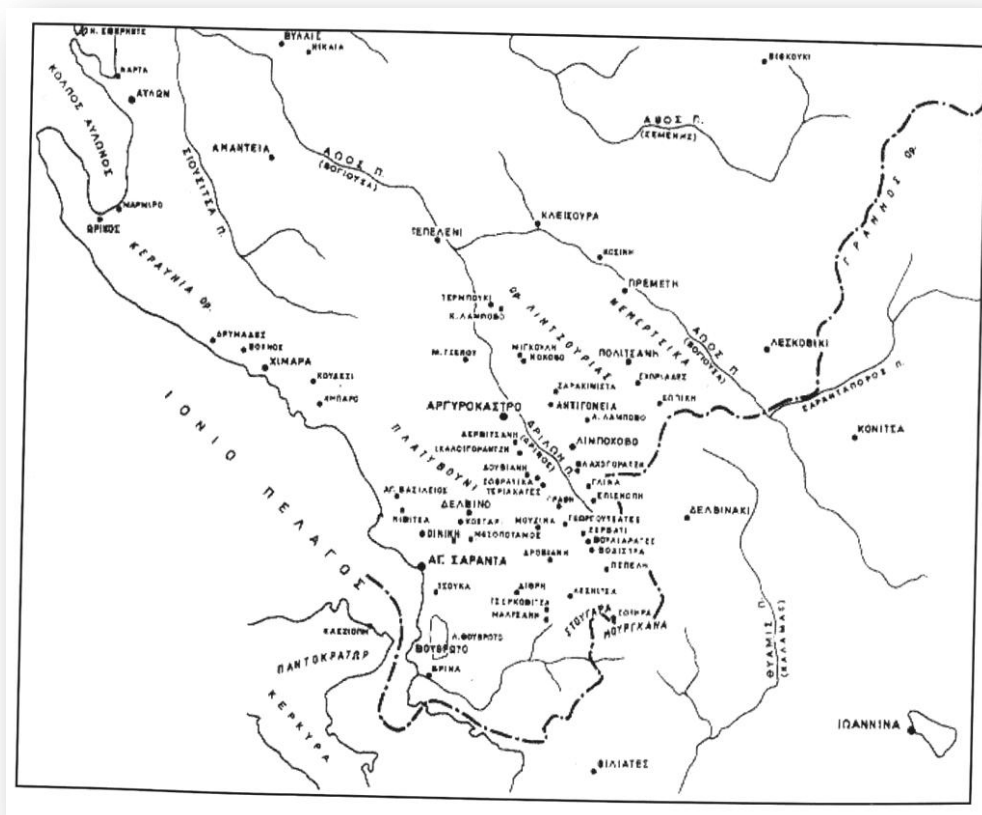
Δώρας Κ. Κυριαζής
Αριστοτέλειο Πανεπιστήμιο
Θεσσαλονίκης, Ελλάδα
kyrdoris@lit.auth.gr

ABSTRACT

Today Arta Avlona (Vlorë) is the northernmost Greek-speaking village in the Albanian territory. The linguistic findings of an on-site research, in conjunction with supplementary historical and ethnographic data, point to an independent idiom of Modern Greek, sharing certain characteristics with the other idioms, without, however, identifying itself with any of them. Its archaic character is reflected in the vocabulary and in the specific concordances with the Greek dialect of South Italy, the idioms of Ionian Islands, Epirus etc., as well as in the early and continuous contacts and interactions with other languages in the specific geographic region.

Keywords: Greek-speaking areas in Albania, Greek dialects, Contact linguistics

Αντικείμενο της ανακοίνωσης αυτής αποτελεί το γλωσσικό ιδίωμα της Άρτας Αυλώνα (αλβ. Nártë) και δευτερευόντως του διπλανού χωριού Σβερέτζι (αλβ. Zvërnéc), που από κοινού απαρτίζουν τη βορειότερη –εντός της Αλβανίας- ελληνόφωνη εστία.



Χάρτης με τις ελληνόφωνες εστίες της Αλβανίας. Από βορρά προς νότο: 1. Άρτα Αυλώνα και Σβερέτζι 2. Χιμάρα-χωριό, Δρυμάδες, Παλιάσα 3. Περιοχή Αγίων Σαράντα, Δελβίνου, Δρόπολης, Πωγωνίου.

Αναφερόμενος στην Άρτα Αυλώνα (στο εξής ΑΑ), ο Αραβαντινός (1856 Β': 121-122) την καταγράφει ως *Παλαιά Άρτα* και σημειώνει: «Κώμη τοῦ Αὐλῶνος κειμένη $\frac{3}{4}$ τῆς ὥρας μακρὰν τῆς ἀκτῆς ὅπου ὄρμος τις Πόρτο Νόβον καλούμενος, ἐν ᾧ σώζονται ἐρείπια ἀρχαίας ἀκροπόλεως τῆς πάλαι Ἀρνίσης, ἐξ ἧς καὶ ὠνομάσθη Ἄρτα, ἢ τοῦ Ὀρεστικοῦ Ἄργους, ἐφ' ᾧ καὶ κατὰ μίμησιν τῆς Ἀμφιλοχικῆς Ἄρτης προσηγορεύθη οὕτως καὶ αὕτη».

Επίσης, σύμφωνα με έκθεση του Ελληνικού Προξενείου Αυλώνας προς το Υπουργείο Εξωτερικών, της 9 Μαΐου 1903, «Τό χωρίον Ἄρτα μίαν ὥραν τοῦ Αὐλῶνος ἀπέχον, οἰκεῖται ὑπὸ χιλίων κατοίκων ἀπάντων ἐλληνοφόνων καὶ ὀρθοδόξων. Ἡ ἀλβανικὴ γλῶσσα ἐν αὐτῷ εἶναι ἄγνωστος. Ἔχει δύο ἐκκλησίας καὶ σχολεῖον» (Κόντης 1995: I 103).



Άρτα Αυλώνα (Nartë) και Σβερέτσι (Zvërnec).

Βασικές δραστηριότητες των κατοίκων της ΑΑ υπήρξαν η αλιεία, η παραγωγή αλατιού και η γεωργία. Το χωριό βρίσκεται δίπλα στη λιμνοθάλασσα που φέρει το ίδιο όνομα, ενώ παλαιότερα, σύμφωνα με τα λεγόμενα των ηλικιωμένων, αποτελούσε νησίδα μέσα στη λίμνη, εξασφαλίζοντας καλύτερες συνθήκες άμυνας για τους κατοίκους του. Το ελληνικό σχολείο στην ΑΑ έκλεισε μετά την ίδρυση του ανεξάρτητου αλβανικού κράτους. Στα χρόνια του κομμουνιστικού καθεστώτος απαγορευόταν η δημόσια χρήση της ελληνικής και η αναφορά στην ελληνικότητα των κατοίκων του χωριού. Με τον τρόπο αυτό, μέχρι το 1990, οι Αρτινοί μιλούσαν το τοπικό τους ιδίωμα ανεπηρέαστοι από τη γραπτή αλλά και από την προφορική κοινή νεοελληνική (ΚΝΕ). Το άνοιγμα των συνόρων και οι συχνές επαφές με την Ελλάδα οδήγησαν στη γρήγορη διάδοση της ΚΝΕ στους νεότερους και στη

συρρίκνωση του ιδιώματος. Οι Αρτινοί είναι γνωστοί στην ευρύτερη περιοχή για τη φιλομάθεια και την εργατικότητα τους¹.

Σε προηγούμενη εργασία μας (Κυριαζής & Σπύρου, υπό έκδοση), με σημείο αναφοράς τα ισόγλωσσα που προτείνει ο Τζίτζιλής για την κατάταξη των νεοελληνικών διαλέκτων (Τζίτζιλής, υπό έκδοση), σκιαγραφήσαμε τα βασικά γλωσσικά χαρακτηριστικά του ιδιώματος της ΑΑ, τα οποία επιγραμματικά είναι:

1. Βόρειος φωνηεντισμός (με αρκετές εξαιρέσεις). 2. Έρρινη προφορά των συμπλεγμάτων *μπ*, *ντ*, *γκ* / *γγ*. 3. Ουρανοφανειακά προστριβόμενα *tʃ*, *dʒ* : [*dʒadés*] και τριβόμενα *ʃ*, *ʒ* : *ισάδα* [*iʃáða*], *ζούσαν* [*zúsan*]. 4. Έλλειψη φωνολογικής διάκρισης μεταξύ των απλών και διπλών συμφώνων. 5. Έλλειψη ουράνωσης με τη μορφή τσιτακισμού. 6. Απουσία ασυνίζητων τύπων. 7. Τήρηση του νόμου της τρισυλλαβίας. 8. Τάση για ανοιχτές συλλαβές: *ότανε*, *τον ταβάνε*, *την στιάνε*. 9. Μη διατήρηση του τελικού *-ν* των ουσιαστικών ουδετέρου γένους. 10. Έλλειψη της μορφολογικής διάκρισης ανάμεσα στην ονομαστική και στην αιτιατική πληθυντικού των αρσενικών σε *-ος* (...*ήφερνε τς κεφάλοι τέτοιους...* *Φυλακή εβανάνε καμπόσοι* [=καμπόσους]) και *-ός* (*οι Αρτινοί*, *τς Αρτινοί*). Το χαρακτηριστικό αυτό έχει επεκταθεί και στα αρσενικά σε *-ας* και *-ης*, στο βαθμό που σχηματίζουν τον πληθυντικό όμοια με τα δευτερόκλιτα (*ι άντρας*, *οι άντριοι*, *τς άντριοι*· *ι στρατιώτς*, *οι στρατιώτ(οι)*, *τς στρατιώτ(οι)*). 11. Ερωτηματική αντωνυμία *τί*. 12. Χρήση ενός κατά βάση διμελούς συστήματος δεικτικών αντωνυμιών. Τα δεικτικά ενισχύονται πολλές φορές από την παρουσία του δεικτικού/επιτατικού μορίου *-για*. Στην ΑΑ η αντωνυμία *εκείνος*, αντίθετα από την *τούτος*, χρησιμοποιείται πολύ σπάνια και στη θέση της μπαίνει η *αυτός*, η οποία έχει διττή λειτουργία, κοντινής και μακρινής, ανάλογα με την περίπτωση, δείξης. 13. Μη ανάπτυξη /*γ*/ στη ρηματική κατάληξη *-έω* (*-βω*). 14. Ρηματικές καταλήξεις *-ουν* και *-αν* του *γ'* πληθ. του ενεργητικού ενεστώτα και των παρελθοντικών χρόνων: *γράφ(ου)νε*, *εγραψάν*, *εγραψάν* (Vido 2000: 109). 15. Χρήση της κατάληξης *-έτε* στο β' πληθ. του ενεργητικού παρατατικού και αορίστου: *εγραφέτε*, *εγραφέτε* (Vido 2000: 109). 16. Μεσοπαθητικός αόριστος σε *-ηκα*. 17. Σχηματισμός του ενικού των οξύτονων ρημάτων της α' τάξης με φωνηεντικές επεκτάσεις: *τραβάει το τουμάρ' απ' τα χέλια...* *Τα χτυπάει με τν ουρά*. 18. Τα οξύτονα ρήματα της α' τάξης σχηματίζουν σιγματικό παρατατικό: *πουρβατούσαν*, *αβδούσαν*. 19. Τάση διατήρησης της άτονης συλλαβικής αύξησης (*επάντρεψα*, *επήρα*, *εκανάμ*, *ελεγάμε*, *εβανάμε*, *αλλά και πηγαινάμ*, *βανάμ*, *τέκνεψα*, κ.ά.). 20. Στερητικά επίθετα σε *-(σ)τος* (*άβραστος*, *αχάλαστος*, *αδούλευτος*). 21. Έλλειψη χρήσης πρωτότυπων ουσιαστικών στη θέση υποκοριστικών της Κοινής ή και αντίστροφα: *αυλί* 'τεμάχιο από καλάμι που χρησιμοποιείται για να κατασκευαστεί το δίχτυ της τράτας' αντί για *αυλός*. 22. Εκφορά έμμεσου αντικειμένου συνήθως στη γενική: *Όσο* [=ακόμη] *και καζάν τσ-ό-δναμε τς κοπέλας*. 23. Πρόταξη των αδύνατων τύπων της προσωπικής αντωνυμίας σε όλες τις εγκλίσεις, εκτός από την προστακτική. 24. Στις εκφράσεις του μη πραγματικού, στο ιδίωμα της ΑΑ φορέας της χρονικής βαθμίδας είναι το ρήμα και όχι το γραμματικοποιημένο μόριο (*Δα πήγαινε ι Γκάκιους*, *δα πήγαινε... αν ήξερε...*).

Εκτός από τα παραπάνω, το ιδίωμα της ΑΑ παρουσιάζει και τις εξής ιδιαιτερότητες: παρατηρείται υπερωική προφορά του *λ*, το οποίο σε ορισμένες περιπτώσεις, και ευρισκόμενο δίπλα σε *α* ή *ο*, τρέπεται σε *μ* (*μαλώ* 'λαλώ', *βάμτος* 'βάλτος', *άμος* 'άλλος', *κμώθω* 'κλώθω' κτλ.). Σε άλλες περιπτώσεις το *λ* αποβάλλεται: *ουρί* 'λουρί', *όντζα* 'λόντζα', *κουκούθ* 'κολοκούθι', *λιμοπούα* 'λιμνοπούλα', *απαριά* 'απλαριά', *κουσαριά* 'κλώσσα' πβ. *κλωσσαριά*, *βράχους* 'βράχλος', *δάχους* 'δάχτυλος'. Όμως *καλός*, *τέν δούβλωνε* 'των τούβλων' κ.ά. Στη σημερινή κατάσταση του ιδιώματος η τροπή αυτή δεν φαίνεται να έχει πλέον γενικό χαρακτήρα κι αυτό οφείλεται είτε στην πίεση της ΚΝΕ είτε σε ενδοσυστημικούς μηχανισμούς που πρέπει να διερευνηθούν. Αντίστοιχη προφορά εντοπίζεται στα ιδιώματα Δρυμού-Μελισσοχωρίου Θεσσαλονίκης, της Α. Ρωμυλίας, στην Τσακωνική κ.ά. (Αλμπανούδης 2009: 129, όπου και η σχετική βιβλιογραφία). Το χαρακτηριστικό αυτό του ιδιώματος ΑΑ δεν φαίνεται να αποκτήθηκε σε συνθήκες γλωσσικής επαφής, αφού η αλβανική παρουσιάζει παρόμοιες τροπές μόνο σε απομακρυσμένα γεωγραφικά ιδιώματά της, όπως είναι τα αρβανίτικα (Γιοχάλας 2011: 131-32).

Ένα κεντρικό φωνήεν *ə* εμφανίζεται σε δύο περιπτώσεις: α) ως αναπτυκτικό πριν από υστερογενή συμπλέγματα με πρώτο μέλος υγρό (*καρφά* 'κρυφά', *έπάλνα* 'έπλυνα') και β) ως αποτέλεσμα κεντροποίησης των *ο*, *ε* δίπλα σε ένηχο ή συριστικό (*τέν δούβλωνε*, *επέρνάνε*, *γκέζεριζε* 'γκιζέριζε', *εμείς-ε*, *ομπρός-ε*, *ι καμμένος-ε*). Σημειώνουμε ότι στο τέλος της *λ*, εμφανίζεται συχνά και το *ι* (*κάλτσες* *μάλλινεσ-ι*, *εμάς-ι*, *από αυτουνούσ-ι*).

¹ Χρήσιμες πληροφορίες για την ιστορία του χωριού, τη γλώσσα και τις παραδόσεις του, βρίσκει κανείς στα έργα του Βασίλη Βίντου (Vido 2000, 2009). Το βασικό του έργο (2000) μεταφράζεται ήδη στην ελληνική. Από τη θέση αυτή θα ήθελα να τον ευχαριστήσω για την πολλαπλή βοήθεια που μου προσέφερε κατά τη συλλογή γλωσσικού υλικού από την ΑΑ.

Από τις τροπές συμφώνων και συμφωνικών συμπλεγμάτων αναφέρουμε: $\gamma > \chi$ (*ψυγείο > ψυχείο*), $\delta > \theta$ (*δαγκωσιά > αγκουσιά*), $\theta > \delta$ (βλ. μόριο *δα* του μέλλοντα, που απαντά ευρύτερα στα βόρεια ιδιώματα), $\chi > \theta$ (*χειμ(ι)κό > θειμ(ν)ικό*), *mn > m* (*λιμν' – λιμ, πβ. και λιμπούα*), $\chi n > n$ (*έριχνα – έρινα*), $pj > [c]$ *Αμ' ισύ κια (=πια)* (Vido 2000: 113), *st > ks* (*στερνά - ξερνά*), *sf > fs > ps* (*σφαχτό > *φσαχτό > πασχτό. Σάββατο εψαζάμ τα πασχτά*). Η μετάθεση *sf > fs* που πιστοποιείται από τον τύπο *φσογγίζω* του ιδιώματος απαντάται και σε μικρασιατικά ιδιώματα (καπαδοκικά κ.ά.) και στη Β. Πάφο.

Οι ακολουθίες *-Φsis* και *-Φzis* εξελίσσονται σε *-Φis*: *θα τα βράεις (βράσεις)...* *Να τς κεράεις (κεράσεις)...* *Πιανς αλατίς (αλατίζεις)*.

Διαφορετικά από άλλα ηπειρωτικά ιδιώματα, στην ΆΑ διατηρούνται τα συμπλέγματα *ρν* και *λν* (*παίρνω, κιτέρνης, χαλνώ* αντί για *παίρω, κίτερος, χαλώ*).

Ένα άλλο γνώρισμα του ιδιώματος είναι η τάση αποβολής του τελικού *ε* από τους ρηματικούς τύπους *α'* προσώπου πληθυντικού στον παρατατικό και τον αόριστο (που απαντά και στα θρακοβιθυνικά): *εγραφτάμ(ε), εγραψάμ(ε), ηθελάμ, ηγλεπάμ(ε)*. *Ελεγάμε, ελεγάμ παραμύθια*. Σχετικά με την επικράτηση του τόνου στην παραλήγουσα και μετά την αποβολή του ληκτικού *ε* στη λήγουσα, έχουμε να παρατηρήσουμε ότι πρόκειται για μεταγενέστερη εξέλιξη τύπων με διπλό τονισμό: *εγραψάμ - εγραψάμε – εγραψάμ*, που αποβάλλουν τον αρχικό τόνο και διατηρούν τον δευτερεύοντα (βλ. Τζίτζιλής, *Εισαγωγή*).

Σε μορφοσυντακτικό επίπεδο ξεχωρίζει η γενικευμένη χρήση του αρσενικού άρθρου *i* (και σπανιότερα *u*), που διαφοροποιεί το ιδίωμα ΆΑ από τα υπόλοιπα ηπειρωτικά ιδιώματα². Η υποχώρησή του στις νεότερες κυρίως ηλικίες είναι αποτέλεσμα της επίδρασης της KNE.

Απαντάνε τ. πληθ. *φίλματα* 'ταινίες' [πβ. αλβ. *filma* 'ταινίες'], *ατόματα, κομμουνιστέ, κομμουνιστέοι*, γενικές του τ. *αντρού μου, τ' αλογού, των κοπελώνε* κτλ. και αιτιατικές όπως *Αϊ-Δημητρίτη, Αϊ-Νικολίτη, Σκούρτη, Μάρτη* κ.ά.

Άλλο σημείο διαφοροποίησης του ιδιώματος είναι και ο σχηματισμός του συγκριτικού βαθμού των επιθέτων με το μόριο (*α*)κόμα (π.χ. *κόμα καλός* αλλά και *κόμα καλύτερος*). Σημειώνουμε ότι παράλληλη δομή, με τη χρήση του *akoma*, βρίσκουμε και στην αλβανική: *akoma më i mirë* 'ακόμα πιο καλός, όμως **akoma i mirë* 'ακόμα καλός'.

Χρησιμοποιείται το επίθετο *μέγας* δίπλα στο *μεγάλος* (*είχαμε ένα όβορον μέγαν, αυλή μεγάλη*) καθώς και η επιθετική κατάληξη *-ιά* αντί για *-ή* (*ακριβιά, χοντριά, χ(λ)ωριά, Αρτνιά, Μπερατνιά* κ.ά.). Επίσης, στα επίθετα διατηρείται η κατάληξη *-ένος* (*-ένιος* στην KNE): *λουμένο* 'αλουμινένιο' (Vido 2000: 127), *βακρένος* 'χάλκινος', *λασπέινος* (Vido 2000: 127), *χουλέινος* 'στο χρώμα της χολής' (Vido 2000: 143) κ.ά.

Σε ό,τι αφορά τις αντωνυμίες, σε λίγες περιπτώσεις διαπιστώσαμε τη χρήση των τύπων *τούνος* και *τούνους* της *τίνος*, που απαντούν και σε άλλα ιδιώματα (θρακοβιθυνικά και αλλού). Αξιοσημείωτη είναι και η ιδιότυπη χρήση από ηλικιωμένα άτομα του *μόνος μου/μας*, χωρίς να γίνεται μορφολογική διάκριση γένους και αριθμού: *Τα δουλενάμ μόνος μας εμείς [τα πανιά], τ' αρματόναμ μόνος μας να το πούμε...* *Έχω πάρει μια φορά έν' αρνί μαναχή μου, μόνος μου...* Η χρήση αυτή οφείλεται πιθανότατα σε επίδραση της αλβανικής, όπου οι αντίστοιχες δομές σχηματίζονται με την αντωνυμία *vetë* (vetë unë 'μόνος/μόνη', vetë ne 'μόνοι/μόνες μας'). Μέσα από παρόμοιες διαδικασίες φαίνεται να προέκυψε και η δομή *Του 'χε μειν καρφί αυτηής*, όπου το *του* έχει επικρατήσει του *της*, όπως στην αλβανική: *i kishte mbetur peng...* (του/της είχε μείνει...).

Από τα αριθμητικά αναφέρουμε χρήσεις όπως *δεκατρίο* *δεκατρίο* (πινακίδα λεωφορείου) ή *ήταν στο δωμάτιο το τέσσορο* καθώς και έναν ιδιόζοντα τρόπο αρίθμησης των εκατοντάδων: *τέσσερις φορές από εκατό ρίζες είχε...* *Οχτώ φορές από εκατό σπίτια...*

Στο ρηματικό σύστημα, αξιοσημείωτη είναι η μορφολογία του ρήματος *είμαι*, του οποίου παραθέτουμε το κλιτικό παράδειγμα ενεστώτα και παρατατικού οριστικής:

Είμαι / είσαι / εν (έντους, έντη, έντο) // *Είμαστε / είστε / εν* και *Ήμαμ / ήσαν / ήταν* (και *ήμαν, ημουνάνε*) // *Ημανέσαν* (και *ημναμέσανε*) / *ησανάσαν / ητανάν*.

Στο ιδίωμα φαίνεται να υπάρχει μια προτίμηση στο σχηματισμό συντελικών χρόνων με το βοηθητικό *είμαι* + μετοχή: *Η κληματιά εν βλασταρισμέν* (Vido 2000: 117), *Εγώ γεννημένη είμαι τον γερό τ' Zog. Το 1918 εγώ είμαι γεννημένη...* *Τα ζούζαλα... εν πιημένα, έχνε πει...*

Αξιοσημείωτοι είναι και οι τύποι *α'* ενικού παρατατικού μεσοπαθητικής: *καθουμνάμ, ερχομνάμ, αφκραζομουνάμ* αλλά και του *α'* ενικού παρατατικού του *είμαι* (*ήμαμ*).

Σε χρήσεις όπως *Εμείς θέλνε να δώκουμ προίκα...* *Όσο και καζάν τσ-ό-δναμε [της νύφης]...* τα ευρύτερα συμφραζόμενα δείχνουν ότι το ρ. *θέλνε* φέρει τη σημασία 'έπρεπε' και συνεπώς έχει γραμματικοποιηθεί. (Πβ. αντίστοιχα την πρόταση *Αυτά θέλ(ου)νε κόψιμο*).

² Στην Ήπειρο, το αρσενικό άρθρο *i* απαντά μόνο στα τουρκογιαννιώτικα.

Από τη μορφολογία του ρήματος αξιοπρόσεκτοι είναι οι τ. *κρυβήνω/-ομαι* (*Κρυβήνουν το ρακί στα μπρούτσα... Κρυβήθηκαν [τα ψάρια] στ' μαλάπα*), καθώς και *ποτώ* 'ποτίζω', *θυμώ* 'θυμάμαι'. Η κατάληξη –*εύ* εμφανίζεται δίπλα σε βάσεις που συνήθως παίρνουν άλλες καταλήξεις: *κερδεύω*, *λοθεύω* (<θολεύω 'θολώνω'), *τεκνεύω* 'αποκτώ παιδιά', ενώ η ύπαρξή της στην ελληνική συμβάλλει στο να εντάσσονται στο συγκεκριμένο κλιτικό παράδειγμα δάνεια ρήματα όπως το αλβανικό *kursej* 'κάνω οικονομία', του οποίου το θέμα του αορίστου είναι *kursev-*: *Μηχανή που κουρσεύ' πολύ [καύσιμα]... Βάλε κι άλλο κρασί. Μη με κουρσεύς εμένα*. Οι –*άρω* και –*έρνω* χρησιμεύουν για τη μορφολογική προσαρμογή ρημάτων από άλλες γλώσσες: –*άρω*: *ντεμασκάρω*, *οπεράρω* 'κάνω εγχείριση', –*έρνω*: *Το λαβράκι ... κοντρολέρνει το δόλο, υποπτεύετ'... Μπούκα, να το πουμ, μπουκέρνει το νιρό... Γετέρνω* (<αλβ. *jetoj* 'ζω'). Από το υλικό μας ξεχωρίζουμε ακόμη προστακτικές του τ. *χώστατε* αντί *χώστε τα*. Παρόμοιες δομές απαντούν σε πολλά νεοελληνικά ιδιώματα.

Στην ακολουθία *να + μη(ν) + Ρ* παρατηρείται η τάση πρόταξης του αρν. μορίου, που είναι συχνή και στην προφορική αλβανική: *Εβανάμ ξβαν... Ήταν μη να βγει και τρίχα στο πρόσωπο... Μη να 'χ' τέτοια καθόλου... Από μας μη να μειδκ' ποδάρ'... Να σ' τα πω, πώς μη να σ' τα πω...! να ριχτώ [ή] μη να ριχτώ...*

Στο ιδίωμα της ΆΑ η έμφαση επιτυγχάνεται συχνά με τη δομή *Ρ + και + Ρ*: *...όλο απ' τη Μιζεκιά επαιρνάνε [νυφάδες]. Βλαχιά δεν επαιρνάν και δεν επαιρνάν... Το κρασί τόπινε και τόπινε το κρασί... Γενοντάν και γενοντάν άσκημα πράγματα...*

Παρόμοια δομή με την παραπάνω, με τη διαφορά ότι το επαναλαμβανόμενο ονομαστικό στοιχείο διαθέτει στη β' εμφάνισή του ένα επιπλέον επιτατικό συστατικό, εντοπίζεται και στα σχήματα *χάρε κι δυόχαρε* 'διάβoλε και τριςδιάβoλε' (Vido 2000: 121), *ορς κι περόρς* 'horr dhe kaluar horrit = αλήτης κι αληταράς' (Vido 2000: 132). Στο ουσ. *Τραντάνφ* 'νυφίτσα' (Vido 2000: 140) ως πρώτο συνθετικό εμφανίζεται, υποθέτουμε, το αριθμητικό τριάντα με επιτακτική χρήση (πβ. τη λ. *Πεντάμορφη*).

Στο ιδίωμα παρατηρείται μεγάλη ποικιλία συνδέσμων: *οσουγκιάν* 'όσο και να 'ναι' (Vido 2000: 132), *δικιμή, δικαυμή* [<εί δέ καὶ μή] *Θα δως τα λεφτά, λέει. Δικαυμή δα τα πληρώσω εγώ...* (Βλ. Andriotis 1974: 222), *πότε* 'όταν' (*Πότε ήμν εγώ κοπέλα, οχτακόσα σπίτια ητανάν*), *όντε* 'όταν' (*Οντε το βγανάμ απ' τον Καβαλλιόνα, να το πνες με τον δενεκέ [το νερό]*), *όνταν* 'όταν' (*Ονταν πήγαινε στον Καβαλλιόνα, έβανε τν δήρα...*), *φάντα* 'όταν' (*Φάντα η καμπάνα απαγορεύκε...*), *μότι* 'μόλις' (*Μότι είχε αρραβωνιαστεί...*), *μόνδι* 'μόλις' (*Μόνδι αντάμωνε τν τράτα...*) κ.ά.

Το μόριο *μη*, σε ορισμένες περιπτώσεις φαίνεται να χρησιμοποιείται διαζευκτικά στη θέση του συνδέσμου είτε: *[Επαιρνάμ απ' το βαρέλι] με τα λιγιένια ... μη κρασί μη τσίπρο...*

Τρεις φορεξές είχα... Κάνα δυο [κουστούμα] τάτζα μεταξωτά φάρε. Ένα κουστούμ μη στα λιγνά μη τέτοια...

Από τα επιρρήματα είναι χαρακτηριστική η (συχνή) χρήση του *πολό* αντί του *πολύ* (*πολό βαρύ τ' αλάτι*), του *βαριτά* αντί *βαριά* (*μορχετάν βαριτά*), του *αλβανά* αντι *αλβανικά* (*μιλούσε αλβανά*), καθώς και επιρρηματικών φράσεων όπως *όπου κι αν* 'παντού' (*έβγαινε [φύτρωνε] όπου κι αν αυτό*), *ένα λοβ* 'μία φορά, κάποτε', *βρουασιές-βρουασιές* 'αρμαθιαστά', *τς καινουργιάς* 'εκ νέου' κ.ά.

Στους ηλικιωμένους παρατηρείται εκτεταμένη χρήση της λ. *μακάρ* ως πραγματολογικού δείκτη: *Τν Τετράδ δεν ετρωγάμ, μακάρ, κρέας... Χτήματα: Είχε, μάκαρ... Το πρωί, το βραδ, μακάρι, πότε θέλανε.*

Στο ιδίωμα γίνεται χρήση του συγκρ. μορίου *σαν* με ονομαστική πτώση, γνωστή κι από άλλα ιδιώματα: *Είναι σαν ι αχνός... Φευγς σαν ι νόρος εθύ*. Αξιοσημείωτη είναι επίσης η χρήση της πρόθεσης *ζον* με ονομαστική: *ζον αυτός μια φουρά* 'αυτός μια φορά ξεχωρίζει' (Vido 2000: 132).

Ενδιαφέρον παρουσιάζουν οι τύποι *να νάρθει...* *Θέλω να νάρθω*, που είναι αποτέλεσμα λαθεμένης επανανάληψης (απαντούν και σε άλλα ιδιώματα), καθώς και οι φαινομενικά πλεοναστικοί τύποι *απ' απ' έκ'* *Στέτο... απ' απ' εδώ* *Ζελιάτων*. ... *Μέχρ'* *ίσα με το μαγαζί*, που προέρχονται από συνδυασμό της πρόθεσης με παγιωμένες επιρρηματικές δομές.

Οι λεξιλογικοί αρχαϊσμοί είναι ένα άλλο βασικό γνώρισμα του ιδιώματος ΆΑ. Παραθέτουμε λίγα μόνο παραδείγματα από τους τομείς αλιείας και αμπελοκαλλιέργειας:

αυλί (<*αυλός*) 'κομμάτι καλάμι που χρησιμοποιείται για να κατασκευάσουμε το δίχτυ της τράτας'. Πβ. Andriotis 1974: 165.

βρούτα 'ψαράκι, μπάφα' (Vido 2000: 118). ΆΑ: *τ' βρούτα, πουν εχ' τς αράδες... [και] ... έχει το κουφάρ σαν μαύρο. Τη λέμε καμιά φορά και βουζοκόκκινο*. Η λ. δεν καταγράφεται από το Ιστ. Λεξ. της Ακαδημίας Αθηνών. Η λ. έχει περάσει και στα διπλανά αλβανικά ιδιώματα: *vrūdë* 'ιδ.' *lloj qefulli me kokë të vogël dhe me vija të zeza në trup*' (Nushi 1991: 269). Η λ. ανάγεται μάλλον στο *βρύττος*: *είδος έχίνου πελαγίου, ὃς φησιν Ἀριστοτέλης· οἱ δὲ ἰχθῶν* Ησύχιος.

γάστρος < *γάστρον* πβ. Andriotis 1974: 193, Psara u.a. eine Fischart. Σύμφωνα με το ΙΑ Δ/2 259, *γάστρος* (ο) 'ο ἰχθύς κέφαλος...' Λευκ., Σάμ., Στερελλ. τ. *γάστρος* στο Μεσολόγγι... Η λ. στο αλβ. ιδίωμα της Μουζακιάς: *gastro*, -ja αρσ. 'είδος κεφαλόπουλου' (Nushi 1991: 72).

γνέφια ‘σύννεφα’, πβ. Andriotis 1974: 392, *νέφιον*, όπου τ. *γνέφι* Ereik, Kerk, Oth, Pelop, *γνέφ’* Leukas.

λασά ‘λέγεται το κύμα, που χτυπάει και πάνει αλάργα’ < αρχ. *ελασία* Andriotis 1974: 232, όπου διαφ. ιδίωμ. τύποι *‘λασά Kythn, ‘λασά Sam*. Η σημασία αυτή απαντά μόνο στην ΑΑ. Η λ. *ελασία* στη Bona.

νησσάρ’ ‘πάπια’, Andriotis 1974: 393, λ. *νησσάριον*, όπου *νησσάρι* Ep, Ereik., Kerk, Oth. Pax u.a. *τούμπανος* ‘πελεκάνος’, cf. *τύπανος* ‘an unknown bird’ LSJ 1834. Η λ. και στο ελλ. ιδίωμα της Θεσπρωτίας με την ίδια σημ. (Μπόγκας 1966 Β’: 188).

Από το χώρο της αμπελουργίας και γενικότερα των καλλιέργειών:

βράγα ‘ρόγα’. Ο Rohlf (1964: 435, λ. *ράζ (ράγα)*), δίνει για Τάραντα τ. *νράνα, νρά, grá* ‘chicco di uva’, που τους ανάγει σε αρχ. τ. **βράγα* (vielleicht aus *φράγα* ?).

βρούκουλους ‘ακρίδα’ (*βροῦκος* ‘*ἀκρίδων εἶδος*. Ησύχιος, Andriotis 1974: 188, λ. *βρούκος*).

μάχτρα ‘σκάφη για την παρασκευή ψωμιού’ (Ησύχιος, Andriotis 1974: 364, λ. *μάκτρα*).

Σημειώνουμε ότι το ιδίωμα της ΑΑ με τις τελευταίες λέξεις δημιουργεί επιμέρους λεξιλογικά ισόγλωσσα με τα ελληνικά της Κάτω Ιταλίας κι αυτό αποτελεί μια ισχυρή ένδειξη της διαχρονικής παρουσίας του στο συγκεκριμένο γεωγραφικό χώρο. Επίσης, διαπιστώνουμε πολλά κοινά λεξιλογικά στοιχεία με τα υπόλοιπα ιδιώματα της Ηπείρου, με εκείνα των Επτανήσων και της υπόλοιπης ελληνόφωνης επικράτειας. Για παράδειγμα, εκτός από τις λ. *γνέφια, λασά, νησσάρ’*, που αναφέρθηκαν ήδη, τη λ. *βράχους* (< *βλάχρον*, Ησύχιος) της ΑΑ τη βρίσκουμε είτε ως προσηγορικό είτε ως τοπωνύμιο στην Κ. Ιταλία: *to lāhri, Lahrito* (Rohlf 1964: 87, λ. *βλάχριον*, και **λάχριον* 291)· στη Χιμάρα-χωριό: *βράχνα η* (Μπόγκας 1966 Β’: 82)· στην Κέρκυρα: *βράχλο το, βλάχλα η, βράχλα η*· στους Παζούς: *βράχλος ο*· στην Ικαρία *βλήχα*· στην Τσακωνία *βάσα* (Andriotis 1974: 177, λ. *βλάχρον*)· στην Πολίτσιανη Πωγωνίου και τη Δούβιανη Δρόπολης: *Βράχλα* (Κουλίδας 2005 : 73, 168)· στη Δρόβιανη: *Βλαχούρια* (Κουλίδας 2005: 264) κτλ.

Η λ. *βρούκος* (>*βρούκουλους*) απαντά σε Απουλία, Κύπρο, Πελοπόννησο (Μάνη) καθώς και (ως *βρούχος*) σε Χίο, Κρήτη, Ρόδο, Τσακωνία (*βρούχο*) κτλ. Η λ. *βρούλλο* (<αρχ. *βροῦλλον*), πβ. *βρουαδιά* ‘αρμαθιά’ στην ΑΑ, σε Καρπαθο, Ρόδο, Απουλία, Καλαβρία, Καπαδοκία (Andriotis 1974: 188).

Άλλοι λεξιλογικοί αρχαϊσμοί του ιδιώματος ΑΑ είναι και οι λ. *σύν’φο* ‘κουινάδα’ (<αρχ. *σύννυφος*, Andriotis 1974: 536) και *τύμπανος* ‘ρόδα με ντουλαπάκια, για την άντληση νερού απ’ τη λίμνη και το πέρασμά του στο αυλάκι’, πβ. *τύμπανον* ... III. (In a machine) ‘drum, roller’ (LSJ 1834), καθώς και *τουμπάν’* ‘αυλή της εκκλησίας’ (Vido 2000: 140), πβ. *τύμπανον* IV. (Archit.) ‘the sunken triangular space enclosed by the cornice of the pediment, the square panel of a door’ (LSJ 1834).

Στο λεξιλόγιο του ιδιώματος βρίσκουμε ίχνη της λατινικής και των νεολατινικών γλωσσών, όπως: *βλίκους* ‘αφαλός’ < λατ. *umbilicus*, *φρούγκους* ‘δοθήνη’ < λατ. *furunculus* (Vido 2000: 149), *γιουβάρ’* ‘βιβάρι’ < λατ. *vivarium*, *μπουνόρα* ‘νωρίς’ < ιτ. *a buon ora*, κτλ.

Λόγω της γεωγραφικής του θέσης, το ιδίωμα φαίνεται να έχει δεχτεί πρώιμες σλαβικές επιδράσεις τόσο από τα βορειοδυτικά όσο κι από τα νοτιοανατολικά της Βαλκανικής. Και τα γύρω αλβανικά ιδιώματα είναι έντονα επηρεασμένα από τη σλαβική. Από το λεξιλόγιο της αλιείας και τις ονομασίες που σχετίζονται με τη λιμνοθάλασσα, αναφέρουμε ενδεικτικά:

γκλάβους (γκλάβος) ‘χοντρό χέλι’ (Vido 2000: 119). Η λ. δεν μαρτυρείται σε άλλα ελληνικά ιδιώματα (το ΙΛ, E/1 230, δίνει μόνο τη λ. *γκλάβα* ‘κεφάλι’ < σλ. *glava*), αλλά τη βρίσκουμε στο Κοσσυφοπέδιο (*gllavo* ‘Fischart’, Ylli 1997: 81, *gllavë*).

λοβ ‘φορά’ *ένα λοβ* ‘μια φορά, κάποτε’ (Η λιμ *έχ’* ψοφής *ένα λοβ* και το καλοκαίρ που θυμούμαι εγώ...), «ενδημική» λέξη που σχετίζεται με τη σλαβ. λ. *лов* ‘κυνήγι, άγρα’, παλαιοβουλγ. *ловъ* (БЕР 3, 419)³.

νόρος ‘πλι κι αυτό. Βουτάλ’, στο γκρι. ‘Έχ’ τα πόδια στραβά’ < σερβ. *нор* ‘Vogelart am Shkodrasee’ (Ylli 1997: 173, *nor*).

Στο ιδίωμα ΑΑ έχει εισχωρήσει επίσης και το σλαβικό επίθημα –οβ-, το οποίο σχηματίζει όχι μόνο ανδρωνυμικά (*Παντελόβα, Καμπερόβα*) αλλά και ουσιαστικά και επίθετα θηλυκού γένους (*ακτσόβα* ‘γυναίκα που μαγειρεύε σε γάμους’, *μπουνταλόβα* ‘χαζή’ κ.ά.).

Τα τούρκικα δάνεια του ιδιώματος παρουσιάζουν ενίοτε τύπους που δεν τους βρίσκουμε στα όμορα αλβανικά ιδιώματα και στα άλλα ιδιώματα της Ηπείρου:

μπαχτσάς ‘μπαχτσές’, πβ. διαλ. τ. *bahca* της λ. *bahçe* (Redhouse) καθώς και αλβ. *bahçe*,

³ Ευχαριστώ τον καθηγητή Χρ. Τζιτζιλή για την επισήμανση.

νισαστάς / *νισεστάς* ‘νισεστές’, πβ. τ. *nišasta* της περσικής αρχής λ. *nišasta* ‘starch (from wheat etc., used for food’ (Redhouse) και αλβ. *nisheshte*. Το λεξικό του Redhouse δεν έχει τ. *hazna* δίπλα στη λ. *hazne* ‘reservoir’, αλλά η ύπαρξή του δεν αποκλείεται, αφού στην ΑΑ απαντά λ. *χασνάς*.

Ευρισκόμενο σε αλβανόφωνο κυρίως περίγυρο, το ιδίωμα ΑΑ δέχτηκε πολλές επιδράσεις από την αλβανική, που φαίνονται σε όλα τα γλωσσικά επίπεδα, και ιδιαίτερα στο λεξιλόγιο. Τις τελευταίες δεκαετίες του 20ού αι., ιδίως κατά την περίοδο 1945-1990, διαμορφώθηκαν συνθήκες μιας όλο και πιο ασύμμετρης διγλωσσίας. Αποτέλεσμα της κατάστασης αυτής είναι και η σχετικά συχνή εμφάνιση γραμματικών λέξεων αλβανικής προέλευσης, όπως οι *φάρε* ‘καθόλου, διόλου, εντελώς’ (<fare), *ας* ... *ας* ‘ούτε ... ούτε’ (<as), *μεζί* ‘μετά βίας’ (<mezi), *dot, dótis* (*Δεν τηραζάμ dot...* ‘δεν μπορούσαμε να δούμε’), καθώς και λ. με συχνή εμφάνιση *β(ου)λά* ‘αδερφέ’ και *βουλάκο* ‘αδερφάκι’ (< vëlla, vëllako), *μπίγια* ‘κόρη’ (< bijë), *βάσα* ‘κοπελιά’ (<vashë), που χρησιμοποιούνται για δήλωση οικειότητας.

Η νεότερη γενιά της εποχής «τς παρτίας» (του κόμματος) είχε συνηθίσει σε ένα ιδιότυπο, πολλές φορές υβριδικό και «πλούσιο» σε σημασιολογικούς αλβανισμούς, λεξιλόγιο: *α-šfriřetëzár-istos* ‘ανεκμετάλλευτος’ (<shfrytëzj ‘εκμεταλλεύομαι’), *ψένομαι* ‘ωριμάζω’ (για φρούτα) κατά το αλβ. *riqem, en για βγάλσιμο τα μάτια κι αυτή* ‘είναι διαβόλου κάλτσα’, κατά το *ësht’ për t’i nxjerrë sytë* κτλ.

Πολλά είναι και τα ελληνικά στοιχεία στα όμορα αλβανικά ιδιώματα. Για παράδειγμα, ο Nushi (1991: 71, 269) καταγράφει στη Μουζακιά λέξεις όπως *galishá* [gališá] ‘άμπωτη’ και *vrúdë* [vrúda] ‘είδος κεφαλόπουλου’, που επιχωριάζουν στην ΑΑ ως *βγαλσά* και *βρούτα*. (Για περισσότερα παραδείγματα βλ. Tzitzilis 1997).

Το τοπωνύμιο Narda⁴ το βρίσκουμε για πρώτη φορά καταγεγραμμένο το 1520 σε χάρτη τούρκου περιηγητή (Vido 2009: 49), ενώ δεν απαντά στο χρυσόβουλο του Ανδρόνικου Παλαιολόγου Β΄, του 1307, που αφορούσε ζητήματα δικαιοδοσίας της επισκοπής Κανίνων. Όμως στο χρυσόβουλο αυτό αναφέρονται τα «εις τὸν Αὐλῶνα ἀλκυῆς τηγάνια τέσσαρα» (Alexander 1941: 180), που σημαίνει ότι οι αλυκές της Άρτας λειτουργούσαν την εποχή εκείνη. Στην ΑΑ, για την ακρίβεια σε σημείο του λόφου όπου βρίσκεται σήμερα το Σβερέτς, οι ψαράδες αναφέρουν το τοπωνύμιο *Παδιακουτήρ*, που το ονομάζουν και *Μπούντα* (< ιταλ. punta). Πιστεύουμε ότι η λ. *Παδιακουτήρ* αναλύεται ως **Πάγιο Ακροτήρι*⁵, και με βάση το δεδομένο αυτό σχετίζουμε την ονομασία Άρτα ή Narta με τη σλαβική λ. *гътъ*, που σύμφωνα με τον Šmilauer (1970: 155) ως τοπωνύμιο απαντά με τις σημ. “Bergspitze, Anhöhe – μύτη βράχου, ύψωμα” και “Кар - κάβος”. Τοπωνύμιο Narta βρίσκουμε και σε άλλα σημεία του σλαβόφωνου χώρου (Šmilauer ό.π.). Σημειώνουμε ότι ο Malingoudis (1981: 98) ανάγει στη ρίζα αυτή και το τοπωνύμιο Άρτος (ein steiler Hügel ‘απόκρημνος λόφος’) της Πελοποννήσου.

Ξεκινώντας και πάλι από τις ιδιότητες της ακτής ή και των υδάτων δίπλα σ’ αυτή, το οικωνύμιο Σβερέτς, τ. *Зβјрѣтс*, αλβ. *Zvërnéc*, που μέχρι σήμερα το συνέδεαν με την παλαιосλαβική λ. *звѣрь* ‘αγρίμι’ (БЕР I 625), μπορεί να ερμηνευθεί διαφορετικά. Ο Šmilauer (1970: 191) ανάγει το τοπωνύμιο *Zvirec* (που απαντάει στη Σλοβενία) στην παλαιосλαβική λ. *вирь*, η οποία έχει δευτερο τύπο *извирь* και σημ. ‘νεροστρόβιλος, βαθύ μέρος στη λίμνη, ποτάμι, βάλτος, πηγή’. Ονομασίες με παραπλήσιο περιεχόμενο απαντάνε στην ευρύτερη περιοχή της ΑΑ (βλ. το αρχ. *Αυλών*⁶, αλλά και το *Πόρος*).

Η παραπάνω ερμηνεία του τοπωνυμίου Άρτα θέτει σε νέα βάση την παράδοση που συνδέει την ίδρυση της Άρτας Αυλώνα με την εγκατάσταση στο σημείο αυτό ελληνόφωνων πληθυσμού που ήρθε από την Άρτα του Αμβρακικού κατά τα χρόνια της Τουρκοκρατίας.. Το γεγονός ότι έχουμε μια συνέχεια στη διαχρονική ονομασία του συγκεκριμένου σημείου (**Πάγιο Ακροτήρι* > *Παδιακουτήρ* – *Άρτα* - *Μπούντα*)⁷ συνάδει και με τις γλώσσες των αλλόφωνων πληθυσμών που πέρασαν από ή εγκαταστάθηκαν στα μέρη αυτά.

Κλείνοντας τη σύντομη αυτή παρουσίαση, θα θέλαμε να τονίσουμε ότι το γλωσσικό ιδίωμα της ΑΑ προσφέρεται για περαιτέρω διερεύνηση και μελέτη, τόσο από τη σκοπιά της ιστορικής γλωσσολογίας όσο και από τη σκοπιά των γλωσσικών επαφών.

Πρώτο και βασικό χαρακτηριστικό του ιδιώματος αυτού είναι η συντηρητικότητά του, που ερμηνεύεται με βάση την περιφερειακή γεωγραφική του θέση. Χάρη σε αυτήν παρουσιάζει επιμέρους

⁴ Στο πρόβλημα της καταγωγής του οικωνυμίου Άρτα/Narta δεν έχει δοθεί μέχρι σήμερα ικανοποιητική ερμηνεία. Βλ. Δελόπουλος 1977.

⁵ Είναι από τα λίγα σταθερά σημεία δίπλα στη λιμνοθάλασσα, τα όρια της οποίας άλλαζαν λόγω των προσχώσεων. Η αρχ. λ. *πάγος* ‘βράχος’ διασώζεται μάλλον στο τοπωνύμιο Paguria (Παγούρια), όνομα χωραφίου στο μούλκι της ΑΑ.

⁶ Είναι αξιοσημείωτο το ότι στο ιδίωμα ΑΑ διασώζεται το τοπωνύμιο αυτό σε αρσενικό γένος: ο *Αυλώνας* – στον *Αυλώνα*, ενώ στην αλβανική είναι θηλυκού γένους (Vlonë / Vlorë). Για τη λ. αυτή βλ. Demiraj 2008: 149 κε.

⁷ Σημειώνουμε ότι και η τουρκική συμμετέχει στην αλληλουχία αυτή, δεδομένου ότι απέναντι από τον Αυλώνα υπάρχει το *Καραμπουρούνι* (< kara burun), το «Μαύρο Ακροτήρι», που χωρίζει το Ιόνιο από την Αδριατική.

ισόγλωσσα με τα ελληνικά της απέναντι Κάτω Ιταλίας, των Επτανήσων και της Ηπείρου, αλλά και με τις απόμακρες εστίες ελληνοφωνίας της Κύπρου, της Θράκης και της Μ. Ασίας.

Δεύτερο χαρακτηριστικό είναι η ενδιαφέρουσα λεξιλογική του διαστρωμάτωση και η συνύπαρξη λέξεων ελληνικής αρχής με δάνεια άλλων γλωσσών, αποτέλεσμα διαδοχικών επαφών των κατοίκων της ΑΑ με ξενόγλωσσους πληθυσμούς. Η διαχρονική του παρουσία επιβεβαιώνεται κι από τις λέξεις που δάνεισε στα γειτονικά ιδιώματα της αλβανικής.

Αν θεωρήσουμε ότι στο γεωγραφικό αυτό σημείο η ελληνική διαθέτει βάθος χρόνου που αγγίζει την αρχαιότητα, θα πρέπει να ερευνήσουμε και να ερμηνεύσουμε πώς και πότε η συγκεκριμένη εστία ελληνοφωνίας απέκτησε χαρακτηριστικά βόρειου φωνηεντισμού. Οφείλεται αυτό σε μια μεταγενέστερη, κατά τα χρόνια πιθανόν της πρώιμης Τουρκοκρατίας, μαζική εγκατάσταση πληθυσμού που μιλούσε βόρειο ιδίωμα⁸; Ή μήπως ήταν η ίδια η εσωτερική δυναμική του ιδιώματος που οδήγησε σε αυτή την εξέλιξη⁹; Σημειώνουμε ότι οι ενδυμασίες των γυναικών της ΑΑ και η συνήθειά τους να κουβαλάνε αντικείμενα τοποθετώντας τα πάνω στο κεφάλι, προσιδιάζουν με αυτά της νησιωτικής Ελλάδας (Επτανήσα) και της Κάτω Ιταλίας. Η σύνθετη προβληματική που αναδύεται δεν μπορεί να αντιμετωπιστεί παρά μόνο με μια διεπιστημονική προσέγγιση.

Δείγμα κειμένου από το ιδίωμα ΆΑ

Εγώ με λέγνε Θανασούλα Στέτο. Είμαι ογδόντα εννιά. Τς πέντε τ' Απριλιού σώνω τα ογδόντανιά και μπαίνω τα νενήντα.

Ου πατέρας μου γέρασε εκατόν δύο χορνών. ... Μονέ χωρς γναίκα. Τ' απέθανε η γναίκα γλήγορα. Η γυνάικα τόκαμε δεκαέξ' τέκνα. Εγώ έκαμα εφτά τέκνα.... Κείνα τα χρόνια έκαναν πολλά τέκνα. [Γιατί;] Δεν ηζεράνε. Δεν τοτζεράνε. Χάλενε γιατρικό η μάνα μου, όπως ήλεγε ι πατέρας μου. Όπως μας-ού-λεγε. «Βρες λίγο ιλιάτς να μη κινήσω βαριά πλιά... Λεγάν βαριά το έγκυος.

Μες στον βατέρα μου έκατσα ίσαμ τα δεκαεννιά χορνών. Δεκαεννιά χορνών με πάντρεψε. ... Μούρθαν πορζενιές μακάρι, πο [αλλά] μούρθαν απ' όζω το χωριό. Στου Ζβερέτς, με χαλευάνε ένας πρώτος απ' το Ζβερέτς...

Μ' λέει εμένα, ταρνάζον λίγο, μωρ' κοπέλα, μ' λέει μένα 'ντός. Να σε ιδούμε λίγο. Ταράχτκα εγώ.

Πού έν' ι πατέρας, λέει.

Είχαμ ένα αμπέλι στην Παναγιά. Μέγα αμπέλι. ... Τόχει ι Δήμος τώρα. Ικεί δούλεναμ. Δεν πήγε αλλούθε π'τ' αμπέλι μου. Δεν τσι βγάνω τς τζούπρες, ήλεγε ι πατέρας μου, χώρια απ' το πράμα μου. Πήγαιναμ στο πράμα μας, μέρα-νύχτα εκεί. Στάρι έκανε, μίσιρ έκανε, καλαμπόκι το λέγμε εμείς, και ζούσαμ καλά.

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⁸ Στο οθωμανικό κατάστιχο του 1583 με τα ονόματα των οικογενειάρχων της ΆΑ, σε μια τουλάχιστον περίπτωση, μαθαίνουμε ότι ο Vaso Lito κατάγεται από τη Maura (Λευκάδα). Demiraj 2008: 166. Στη Λευκάδα όμως, παρότι έχουμε βόρειο φωνηεντισμό, δεν γίνεται χρήση του αρσενικού άρθρου i.

⁹ Βλ. Brown & Joseph 2011 (υπό δημοσίευση), που αναφέρονται στο ενδεχόμενο αυτό, με βάση τα χωρογλωσσολογικά κριτήρια (norms of areal linguistics) του M. Bartoli.

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ΠΕΡΙ ΠΡΟΒΛΗΜΑΤΩΝ ΤΗΣ ΚΑΤΑΡΤΙΣΗΣ ΤΟΥ ΓΕΩΡΓΙΑΝΟ- ΝΕΟΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΟΥ ΛΕΞΙΚΟΥ ΤΩΝ ΙΔΙΩΤΙΣΜΩΝ

Irina Lobzhanidze

Ilia State University,
Georgia

irina_lobzhanidze@iliauni.edu.ge

ABSTRACT

In this paper we present the structure of Georgian-Modern Greek Dictionary of Idioms. This is a first attempt in Georgian Lexicography to compile a dictionary of that type. It has been compiled within the framework of the project of the Presidential Grant for Young Scientists financed by the Foundation for Georgian Studies, Humanities and Social Sciences (Shota Rustaveli National Science Foundation). The paper reports on the results of the project (in other words the compilation of the dictionary, which consists of 11801 idiomatic expressions), methodological principles, the main features, the macrostructure and the microstructure of the dictionary. The compilation of the Georgian-Modern Greek Dictionary has a practical value for a wide range of readers.

Λέξεις κλειδιά: ιδιωτικές εκφράσεις, λεξικογραφία.

1. Εισαγωγή

Ιδιωματικές εκφράσεις υπάρχουν σε πολλές γλώσσες και, βέβαια, το πλαίσιο της χρησιμοποίησής τους είναι αρκετά ευρύ και σε αντίθεση με τον ελεύθερο συνδυασμό των λέξεων, είναι «σταθερές, παγιωμένες» μονάδες.¹ Γενικά η μετάφραση των ιδιωτισμών από μια γλώσσα σε άλλη, προκαλεί πολλές δυσκολίες. Αυτό εξηγείται από το γεγονός, ότι πολλές ιδιωματικές εκφράσεις ανήκουν στη νοοτροπία του λαού και έχουν καθαρά εθνικό χαρακτήρα. Επομένως, η βασική ιδιαιτερότητα των ιδιωτισμών είναι εκφραστικότητα και ειδικά εθνικά στοιχεία, κάτι που δημιουργεί πολλά προβλήματα κατά τη μετάφρασή τους. Παίρνοντας υπόψη ότι μέχρι σήμερα δεν υπήρχε Γεωργιανό-Νεοελληνικό λεξικό των Ιδιωτισμών, έχουμε συνθέσει το λεξικό των Γεωργιανών ιδιωτικών εκφράσεων που αποτελείται από 11801 ιδιωματικές εκφράσεις (1462 σελίδες). Στο λεξικό υπάρχει κατάλληλη μετάφραση στα Νέα Ελληνικά,

Η σύνταξη του Γεωργιανό-Νεοελληνικού Λεξικού των Ιδιωτισμών εκπονήθηκε στο πλαίσιο του Προγράμματος του Εθνικού Επιστημονικού Ιδρύματος του Σώτα Ρουσταβέλι (Shota Rustaveli National Science Foundation). Στο πρόγραμμα έπαιρναν μέρος Shukia Apridonidze (επιμέλεια του Γεωργιανού μέρους) και Svetlana Berikashvili (επιμέλεια του Ελληνικού μέρους). Στο άρθρο ταυτόχρονα με τα αποτελέσματα του προγράμματος θα παρουσιάζονται η μεθοδολογία κατάρτισης του λεξικού και η δομή του (μακροδομή και μικροδομή) με βασικά χαρακτηριστικά.

Κάθε λεξικό πρέπει να εξεταστεί ως βάση δεδομένων, η οποία περιλαμβάνει συγκεκριμένες γλωσσικές μονάδες, στην περίπτωση μας, ιδιωματικές εκφράσεις. Η διαδικασία της αποθήκευσης θα πρέπει να πραγματοποιηθεί έτσι ώστε ο χρήστης (ανεξάρτητα από τη μορφή: σε ηλεκτρονική ή σε έντυπη μορφή) να μπορεί να χρησιμοποιήσει τις πληροφορίες που λαμβάνει για τις δικές του ανάγκες.

Είναι γνωστό ότι η σύνταξη του λεξικού περιλαμβάνει τη συγκεκριμένη σειρά και αποτελείται από διάφορα στάδια. Η δημιουργία ενός δίγλωσσου λεξικού, συνήθως καλύπτει τα ακόλουθα στάδια: επιλογή των μονάδων, λίστα των λημμάτων (στην περίπτωση μας, η λίστα των ιδιωτισμών), προσδιορισμός της

¹ “λέξεις χωρίς σημασία”, λέξεις-μορφές που έχουν λειτουργικότητα μόνο στα πλαίσια μιας συνταγματικής ενότητας, σ’ ένα ορισμένο και αυστηρά καθορισμένο γλωσσικό περιβάλλον”, (Μότσιου 1994, 60).

μορφής του άρθρου του λεξικού και των σημειώσεων, δημιουργία του σώματος κειμένων, αναζήτηση των ιδιωτισμών με συμφραστικούς πίνακες (Concordances), κλπ.

2. Πηγές για την κατάρτιση του λεξικού

Σύμφωνα με τη σύγχρονη λεξικογραφική μεθοδολογία (Sinclair 1991, Atkins 2008), η κατάρτιση του λεξικού βασίστηκε σε σώματα κειμένων που χρησιμοποιήθηκαν για την επιλογή των ιδιωτισμών προς εισαγωγή στο λεξικό, τον εντοπισμό και την εξαγωγή ιδιωματικών εκφράσεων, παραδειγμάτων κτλ. Χρησιμοποιήσαμε το σώμα των Γεωργιανών Λογοτεχνικών κειμένων που συντάχθηκε στο πρόγραμμα TextSTAT (386 κείμενα, κάθε 40000 λέξεις) και το Εθνικό Θησαυρό Ελληνικής Γλώσσας (ΕΘΕΓ)².

3. Σύντομη Περιγραφή

Οι ιδιωματικές εκφράσεις πολύ συχνά έχουν διάφορες σημασίες και αυτό, βέβαια, δυσχεραίνει σε μεγάλο βαθμό τη μετάφρασή τους. Επομένως, ο μεταφραστής είναι υποχρεωμένος όχι μόνο να κατανοήσει τους ιδιωτισμούς μέσα στα συμφραζόμενα, αλλά και να τους αναλύσει λαμβάνοντας υπόψη τις πολιτιστικές, ιστορικές και υφολογικές απόψεις του πρωτότυπου κειμένου.

Η σημασία των ιδιωματικών εκφράσεων δεν είναι ίδια με τη σημασία των μονάδων, από τις οποίες αποτελείται η έκφραση (Τακισβίλι 1961:40). Οι ιδιωματικές εκφράσεις θεωρούνται ότι είναι «ομάδες λέξεων που έχουν διαφορετική σημασία απ' ό,τι έχει καθεμία λέξη ξεχωριστά» (Collins 2000).³ Επομένως, η βασική ιδιαιτερότητα των ιδιωτισμών που είναι η εκφραστικότητα και ιδιαίτερα εθνικά στοιχεία, δημιουργούν πολλά προβλήματα κατά τη μετάφρασή αυτών των γλωσσικών στοιχείων. Αλλά η μετάφραση των ιδιωτισμών μπορεί να πραγματοποιηθεί με κατάλληλους τρόπους (π.χ. αλλαγή, περίφραση κτλ.).

Η δημιουργία του δίγλωσσου λεξικού περιλαμβάνει τα εξής τρία επίπεδα: τη δημιουργία του σώματος κειμένων, τη μετάφραση των δεδομένων και τον ορισμό της μορφής. Η βάση αυτών των επιπέδων στην περίπτωση του δίγλωσσου λεξικού είναι σώματα των παράλληλων ή των συγκεκριμένων κειμένων.

Οι παραπάνω δύο τύποι των σωμάτων διαφέρουν μεταξύ τους έτσι ώστε στην πρώτη περίπτωση, πρέπει να έχουμε μεταφρασμένα κείμενα (από την Γεωργιανή στη Νεοελληνική γλώσσα), στη δεύτερη περίπτωση - παρόμοια κείμενα και στις δύο γλώσσες (στην Ελληνική και στη Γεωργιανή). Ήταν αδύνατο να δημιουργηθεί το δεύτερο είδος σωμάτων κειμένων, γιατί δεν υπάρχουν παρόμοια αμετάφραστα κείμενα στη Γεωργιανή και Ελληνική γλώσσα.

Όσον αφορά την πρώτη κατηγορία σωμάτων κειμένων, θα ήταν δυνατό να δημιουργηθεί ένα μέσο στο πρόγραμμα του ParaConc⁴, αλλά σε αυτή την περίπτωση η ποσότητα των μεταφρασμένων κειμένων δεν θα ήταν αρκετή και περιελάμβανε ένα πεζογραφικό έργο (Ο «HELLADOS» – ένα Ελληνάκι του Καυκάσου η μεταφράστρια Θάμαρ Μέσχι), ποιήματα που δημοσιεύτηκαν σε διάφορα χρονικά διαστήματα, καθώς και μια ανθολογία της γεωργιανής ποίησης (Ανθολογία Γεωργιανής Ποίησης, 19^{ος} – 20^{ος} αιώνας, μετάφραση από τα γεωργιανά Άνι Τσικοβάνι, δημοσιεύτηκε το 2002) και μερικά θρησκευτικά έργα. Ωστόσο, η ποσότητα των κειμένων δεν θα ήταν αρκετή με βάση τους στόχους μας.

Ο αρχικός στόχος ήταν να δημιουργηθεί όσο δυνατόν πληρέστερη βάση δεδομένων. Έχοντας υπόψη ότι τα συστατικά στοιχεία των ιδιωτισμών αποτελούν σημασιολογικά μια ενότητα, χρειαζόμασταν σώμα κειμένων για να μπορέσουμε να διαλέξουμε τα απαραίτητα στοιχεία. Αρχικά ενσωματώσαμε στο TextSTAT το σώμα Γεωργιανών κειμένων⁵, μετά το εισήγαμε στο AntConc⁶. Επιπλέον, συμπληρώσαμε το υλικό στη Γεωργιανή γλώσσα με στοιχεία από διάφορα λεξικά (Λεξικό της Γεωργιανής γλώσσας), Σαχόκια και Ονιάνι. Όσον αφορά την Νεοελληνική γλώσσα, χρησιμοποιήσαμε τον Εθνικό Θησαυρό Ελληνικής Γλώσσας (ΕΘΕΓ, <http://hnc.ilsp.gr>).

Η μακροδομή του λεξικού περιλαμβάνει:

² βλ. <http://hnc.ilsp.gr/find.asp>

³ “...a group of words which have a different meaning when used together from the one it would have if the meaning of each word were taken individually”.

⁴ βλ. <http://www.athel.com/para.html>

⁵ βλ. <http://neon.niederlandistik.fu-berlin.de/textstat/>

⁶ βλ. <http://www.antlab.sci.waseda.ac.jp/software.html>

1. την εισαγωγή που καλύπτει α) τον ορισμό της έννοιας του ιδιωτισμού, β) τον ορισμό της κατασκευής του λεξικού,
2. 11801 λήμματα τα οποία καλύπτουν τους ιδιωτισμούς της Γεωργιανής γλώσσας,
3. τον κατάλογο των συντομεύσεων, καθώς και
4. τη βιβλιογραφία.

Όσον αφορά τη μικροδομή του λεξικού, τα λήμματα περιλαμβάνουν τα εξής στοιχεία:

1. Τον ιδιωτισμό στη Γεωργιανή γλώσσα
2. Την ερμηνεία του ιδιωτισμού στην Γεωργιανή γλώσσα
3. Ένα παράδειγμα από την λογοτεχνία στην Γεωργιανή γλώσσα
4. Τη μετάφραση του γεωργιανού ιδιωτισμού στην Ελληνική γλώσσα
5. Τη μετάφραση του παραδείγματος

Όλα τα παραπάνω στοιχεία σχηματίζουν το επόμενο πίνακα:

	Λήμμα	გული გაუქვავდება [guli gaukvavdeba]
	Λήμμα №	2091
	Σημασία	ულმობელი გახდება [ulmobeli gaxdeba]
	Μετάφραση	1) κάνω την καρδιά μου πέτρα 2) θα γίνω σκληρόκαρδος
	Μετάφραση κατά λέξη	η καρδιά θα γίνει πέτρα
1	Γεωργιανό παράδειγμα	... ბატკნებს ჰვლავენ საადგომოდ და სასურველია პაწია ბავშვებს არ აცქერინონ ამ სურათზე, რათა მათ გული არ გაუქვავდეს, სიხლს არ შეეჩვიონო (ჭ. ლომთ. „თეთრი ღამე“) [... bat'k'nebs hk'laven saagdomod da sasurvelia pats'ia bavshvebs ar atskerinon am suratze, rata mat guli ar gaukvavdes, sixls ar sheechviono (ch. lomt. "tetri game")]
	Μετάφραση	... θυσιάζουν αρνάκια την Ανάσταση και καλύτερο να μην το δουν μικρά παιδιά για να μην γίνει η καρδιά τους πέτρα, να μην συνηθίζουν το αίμα (Τσ. Λομτ. «Ασπρη νύχτα»)
	Νεοελληνικό παράδειγμα	«Μόνο ο Ρότσα, ως υπεύθυνος προπονητής, συναισθανόμενος ότι πρέπει, λόγω καθήκοντος, να κάνει την καρδιά του πέτρα και να ετοιμάσει την ομάδα όσο το δυνατόν καλύτερα, είπε, από...υποχρέωση περισσότερο, δύο κουβέντες» (Χ.Κ. Τεγόπουλος Εκδόσεις «Με βαριά καρδιά»)

Table 1 Μικροδομή του λεξικού

Αρχικά, ο συνολικός αριθμός των γεωργιανών ιδιωτισμών ανέρχονταν σε 12 821. Μετά την επιδιόρθωση του υλικού, ο αριθμός μειώθηκε σε 11801 μονάδες. Επιπλέον, αναπτύξαμε την δομή του λεξικού (μακροδομή και μικροδομή) με βασικά χαρακτηριστικά. Μετά τη δημοσίευση του λεξικού θα βγάλουμε από το προαναφερόμενο σχήμα τη μετάφραση κατά λέξη και τα Νεοελληνικά παραδείγματα από τον ΕΘΕΓ, τα οποία χρησιμοποιούνται για να διευκολύνουν την δουλειά κατά την επιδιόρθωση.

Επιπλέον, προσοχή έπρεπε να δοθεί σε διάφορα ζητήματα που έπρεπε να ληφθούν κατά τη δημιουργία του λεξικού. Ειδικότερα, εστίασαμε την προσοχή μας στα εξής ζητήματα:

α) Ρηματικό ουσιαστικό⁷ ή ρήμα. Το κύριο μέρος των Γεωργιανών ιδιωτισμών αποτελείται από ιδιωτισμούς με δυο συστατικά στοιχεία (6.704 μονάδες). Πρέπει να σημειώσουμε ότι μέχρι σήμερα υπήρχαν δύο τρόποι παρουσίασης των ρηματικών ιδιωτισμών στη Γεωργιανή γλώσσα: α) με μορφή του ρηματικού ουσιαστικού ή β) με μορφή του ρήματος σε τρίτο πρόσωπο. Δεν θεωρήσαμε σωστή την παρουσίαση των ιδιωτισμών με μορφή του ρηματικού ουσιαστικού, παρά το γεγονός ότι μερικές προηγούμενες εκδόσεις έχουν εκδοθεί με την προαναφερομένη μορφή. Επειδή στη λογοτεχνία ή στην προφορική γλώσσα οι ιδιωτισμοί δεν εμφανίζονται ποτέ με τη μορφή του ρηματικού ουσιαστικού, για παράδειγμα:

გუნებაში გავლება – გაფიქრება, აზრად მოსვლა, გულში *gavleba* [*gunebashi gavleba – gapiqreba, azrad mosvla, gulshi gavleba*]

გუნებაში გაუვლის – გაიფიქრებს, აზრად მოუვა: “აღელვებულმა სვიმონმა მხურვალედ დაჰკოცნა თავის შვილები და გუნებაში გაუარა ფიქრმა: “ვინ იცის, კიდევ ელირება თქვენს მშობელს თქვენი მკერდთან მიკვრა?” (ა. ყაზბ., “ელგუჯა”) *gunebashi gauvli – gapiqrebs, azrad mouva: “agelvebulma svimonma mxurvaled dahk’otsna tavis shvilebi da gunebashi gauara pikrma: “vin itsis, kidev egirseba tkvens mshobels tkveni mkerdtan mik’vra?” (a. q’azb., “elguja”)*]

μετάφραση: έχω κατά νουν, συλλογίζομαι από καιρό, μετάφραση κατά λέξη: στο νου γλιστρήσει, «Αγχωμένος Σβίμον φίλησε τα παιδιά του και συλλογίστηκε: “Ποιος ξέρει άραγε θα έχει την ευκαιρία ο γονέας σας να σας χαϊδέψει ζανά;”» (Α. Κάτζ., «Ελγκούτζα»).

β) Αδιαίρετες και Διαιρετές Μονάδες. Ένα από τα προβλήματα είναι το ζήτημα των αδιαίρετων και διαιρετών ιδιωτισμών. Αυτό το ζήτημα αφορά τον αριθμό των συστατικών στους ιδιωτισμούς (στη γεωργιανή γλώσσα ο αριθμός των συστατικών κυμαίνεται από δύο ως πέντε). Διαιρετές μονάδες κυρίως συναντιούνται στους ιδιωτισμούς με τρία ή περισσότερα συστατικά. Π.χ

გულში ცეცხლი ტრიალებს (წუხს, ღელავს) [*gulshi tsetskhli trialebs (ts’ukhs, gelavs)*] – είναι διαιρετή μονάδα, διότι ένα από τα συστατικά μπορεί να αλλάξει εύκολα τη θέση, αλλά διατηρεί τη σημασιολογική ενότητα. Π.χ.: “გამწარებული ყმაწვილის გულში ცეცხლი ტრიალებდა, მისი ტვინი წისქვილის ბორბალივით მოუსვენრად ბრუნავდა, რომ რამე ხერხი მოეგონა...” (დ. კლდ., “სამანიშვილის დედინაცვალი”), შდრ. “კარგი, ბებერო, დაწყნარდი, ჰკვიანი ადამიანი ხარ და ვერ მიმხვდარხარ, რა ცეცხლი ტრიალებს ჩემ გულში” (ვ. ბარნ., “ისნის ცისკარი”) [*“gamtsarebuli q’mats’vilis gulshi tsetskhli trialebda, misi t’vini ts’iskvilis borbalivit mousvenrad brunavda, rom rame kherkhi moegona...” (d. kld., “samanishvilis dedinatsvali”), “kargi, bebero, datsq’nardi, ch’k’viani adamiani khar da ver mimkhvdarkhar, ra tsetskhli t’rialebs chem gulshi” (v. barn., “isnis tsisk’ari”)*].

μετάφραση: νευριάζω, μετάφραση κατά λέξη: περιστραφέιτε το φώς στην καρδιά: «Στην καρδιά του πικραμένου νέου άναψε φωτιά, ο μυαλός του δούλευε σαν η ρόδα του μύλου, για να βρίσκει κάτι τι να κάνει...» (Ντ. Κλντ., «Η μητριά του Σαμανισβίლი») «Εν τάξει γέροντα, ησύχασε, έξυπνος άνθρωπος είσαι και δεν κατάλαβες τι φωτιά είναι στην καρδιά μου» (Β. Μπαρν. «Η αυγή του Ισάνι»).

ბედის ანაბარა (მხოლოდ ბედის იმედით დარჩენილი) [*bedis anabara (mkholod bedis imedit darchenili)*] – η φράση είναι αδιαίρετη από σημασιολογική πλευρά, η χρήση του κάποιου συστατικού χωρίς τον άλλο ή η αλλαγή της θέσης των γραμματικών συστατικών χάνει το νόημα του ιδιωτισμού. Π.χ.: “ვერ დარჩება თავის დახაშმულ ბედის ანაბარად, მარტო ვერ გასწევს ცხოვრების უღელს!” (მ. ჯავახ., “ჯავოს ხიზნები”) [*“ver darcheba tavis dakhashmul bedis anabarad, mart’o ver gasts’evs tskhovrebis ugels!” (m. javakh., “jaq’os khiznebi”)*].

μετάφραση: μένω στην ελπίδα της τύχης, μετάφραση κατά λέξη: μόνο για λογαριασμό της τύχης: «Δεν θα μείνει μόνο στην ελπίδα της τύχης, δεν θα μπορέσει να τα βγάξει πέρα μόνος του!» (Μιχ. Τζაβ., «Οι μετατοπισμένοι του Τζάκο»).

თმა ყალყზე დაუდგება (შიშისაგან თმა აეშლება) [*tma q’alq’ze daudgeba (shishisagan tma aeshleba)*] – Λαμβάνοντας υπόψη το γεγονός ότι η λέξη “ყალყი” βρίσκεται μόνο σ’αυτό τον ιδιωτισμό, αυτός ο ιδιωτισμός είναι σημασιολογικά αδιαίρετος, αν και γραμματικά είναι εντελώς διαιρετός. Π.χ.: “თმა ყალყზე დამიდგა, თრთოლა-კანკალმა შემოიპყრო...” (ჭ. ლომ., “თეთრი ღამე”), ანდა, “იმ წუთას ყველას ყალყზე დაგვიდგა თმა, თითქოს ნამდვილი ჯოჯოხეთი ვიხილეთ საკუთარი

⁷ Μοιάζει με απαρέμφατο των ινδοευρωπαϊκών γλωσσών

შვავლეშოო!” (ა. როჟბ., ”ჯოჯოხეთის ბურჯაშვო”) “[tma q'alq'ze damidga, trtola-k'ank'alma shemip'q'ro...]” (ch'. lom., “tetri game”), “im ts'utas q'velas q'alq'ze dagvidga tma, titkos namdvili jojokheti vikhilet sak'utari tvalebit!” (a. riun., “jojokhetis suratebi”)].

μετάφραση: εκνευρίζομαι, σηκώνονται οι τρίχες μου, μετάφραση κατά λέξη: οι τρίχες του στο τέλος θα σηκωθούν: «Σηκώθηκαν οι τρίχες μου, τρώμαξα» (Τσ. Λομτ., «Άσπρη νύχτα») ή «Εκείνη τη στιγμή σηκώθηκαν οι τρίχες μου, όλοι φοβηθήκαμε σαν να είχαμε δει την κόλαση με τα μάτια μας!» (Α. Ριουν., «Οι εικόνες της κόλασης»).

Το κύριο πρόβλημα σχετίζεται με διαιρετές και μισοδιαιρετές δομές των ιδιωτισμών. Βάση αναλύσεων που είχαμε εκπονήσει βάλαμε στο λεξικό και διαιρετές και μισοδιαιρετές δομές των ιδιωτισμών (όπου αυτοί υπάρχουν φυσικά).

γ) Η μετάφραση κατά λέξη. Παρά το γεγονός ότι υπάρχουν διαφορετικά επίπεδα των ιδιωτισμών (π.χ. ιδιωτισμοί του 1. Lexical Level με παρόμοιες λεξικές μονάδες στην Νεοελληνική και Γεωργιανή). 2. Semi-Lexical Level με επιμέρους παρόμοιες λεξικές μονάδες και 3. Post-Lexical Level με διαφορετικές λεξικές μονάδες και σε δυο γλώσσες), κάθε ιδιωτισμός (εκτός από κάποιους ιδιωτισμούς λεξιλογικού επιπέδου) μπορεί να ξεχωριστεί με την εκφραστικότητα και ειδικά εθνικά στοιχεία του. Για αυτό το λόγο, κάθε άρθρο παρέχει και τη μετάφραση κατά λέξη για τη διευκόλυνση της διόρθωσης. Αυτή η μετάφραση δεν θα παραμένει στην έντυπη έκδοση του λεξικού.

δ) Παραδείγματα. Αξιοσημείωτο είναι, ότι υπάρχει μια μακρόχρονη ιστορία της μελέτης των ιδιωτικών εκφράσεων της Γεωργιανής γλώσσας και υπάρχουν πολλά μονόγλωσσα ή δίγλωσσα λεξικά με διάφορα παραδείγματα από τα λογοτεχνικά έργα. Για να είχαμε αποφύγει την ταυτολογία, στις περισσότερες περιπτώσεις βάλαμε στο λεξικό νέα παραδείγματα, εκτός από κάποιες περιπτώσεις, όταν χρησιμοποιήσαμε τα παραδείγματα από άλλα λεξικά (5% του συνόλου).

Στο πλαίσιο του προγράμματος του Εθνικού Επιστημονικού Ιδρύματος του Σώτα Ρουσταβέλι, έχουμε ολοκληρώσει το λεξικό. Η ηλεκτρονική μορφή αυτού του λεξικού, αποτελεί μια σημαντική βάση δεδομένων που μπορεί να χρησιμοποιηθεί για να δημιουργηθεί ένα ηλεκτρονικό λεξικό ή για έρευνα.

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**ΠΟΙΗΤΙΚΟΙ ΝΕΟΛΟΓΙΣΜΟΙ ΣΤΗΝ ‘ΟΔΥΣΣΕΙΑ’
ΤΟΥ ΝΙΚΟΥ ΚΑΖΑΝΤΖΑΚΗ:
ΧΙΛΙΑΔΕΣ ΑΘΗΣΑΥΡΙΣΤΕΣ ΛΕΞΕΙΣ ΑΝΑΖΗΤΟΥΝ
ΤΗΝ ΤΑΥΤΟΤΗΤΑ ΤΟΥΣ**

Νικόλαος Μαθιουδάκης
Δημοκρίτειο Πανεπιστήμιο Θράκης, Ελλάδα
nikosmathious@gmail.com

ABSTRACT

The present paper illustrates neological clues of Odyssey's vocabulary, revealing the productive character of Nikos Kazantzakis and defines a typology in order to classify linguistic elements and lots of unknown words of the epic poem. Neologisms and undictionaried words, which someone encounters in the poem, form an unfamiliar poetic language. The writer consciously attempt to compose his personal language and to create a pan-hellenic demotic. Kazantzakis sketches a multi-lexical puzzle, involving idiolects and neologisms or dialectic and idiomatic or derived and compounding words. Thus, pragmatic, semantic and stylistic difficulties make Odyssey as a quite incomprehensible epic poem.

Keywords: neologisms, undictionaried words, poetic grammar, Kazantzakis, Odyssey, poetic diction

1. Εισαγωγή

Η *ΟΔΥΣΣΕΙΑ*¹ του Νίκου Καζαντζάκη είναι μια σύγχρονη επική δημιουργία η οποία ουσιαστικά αποτελεί τη συνέχεια της *ΟΔΥΣΣΕΙΑΣ* του Ομήρου. Το ποίημα αποκαλύπτει την αγωνία και τον αγώνα του συγγραφέα να δημιουργήσει ένα έπος προκειμένου να θεωρηθεί ως ένα από τα σπουδαιότερα έργα της (sic) «λευκής φυλής» (Πρεβελάκης 1984) και να γίνει ισάξιο της ομηρικής δημιουργίας. Μετά από δεκατρία ολόκληρα χρόνια σκληρής δουλειάς, ο Καζαντζάκης, ως άλλος Οδυσσεύς, περιπλανώμενος σε χιλιάδες στίχους, ανάμεσα σε εκατοντάδες λέξεις, αναγράφοντας την ποιητική του ιδέα εφτά φορές, αναζητά την αθάνατη πηγή, την προσωποποίηση του Θεού, καταλήγοντας *μονιάς* στην τελική μορφή του μεγαλειώδους έργου των εικοσιτεσσάρων (24) ραψωδιών και των τριάντα τριών χιλιάδων τριακοσίων τριάντα τριών (33.333) στίχων.

Μέγα το χρέος του ποιητή και μέγας ο άθλος των μελετητών να ασχοληθούν με την *ΟΔΥΣΣΕΙΑ*, όπως τονίζει ο Πρεβελάκης (1958) αφού «ελάχιστοι την έχουν διαβάσει ολόκληρη». Και ειλικρινά πώς να καταπιαστεί κανείς με την «γλωσσική πλημμυρίδα της *ΟΔΥΣΣΕΙΑΣ*» (Γιακουμάκη 1982), πέρα από τα άλλα επίπεδα ανάγνωσής της –όπως υφολογικό, φιλοσοφικό κ.ά. Η *ΟΔΥΣΣΕΙΑ* στο μεταίχμιο έντονων κοινωνικο-πολιτικών αλλαγών εκφράζει με ρυθμό γεωμετρικής προόδου τη δυναμική αποτύπωση της γλώσσας και την προσπάθεια της δημοτικής να κυριαρχήσει στη Νεοελληνική Γραμματεία της σύγχρονης ιστορίας.

Στην *ΟΔΥΣΣΕΙΑ* οι γλωσσικές ιδιαιτερότητες αποτελούν τον μορφικό πυρήνα του έπους και κυριαρχούν μέσα από τη μοναδικότητα της επιλογής των λέξεων από τον ποιητή για την σύνθεση του έπους. Η δύναμη της γλώσσας της *ΟΔΥΣΣΕΙΑΣ* βρίσκεται στους τύπους των λέξεων που επέλεξε ο ποιητής να τοποθετήσει άλλοτε περίτεχνα και ποιητικά κι άλλοτε τεχνικά και κατασκευαστικά (Πρεβελάκης 1958, Ανδριώτης 1959, Γιακουμάκη 1982, Sideras 1983). Ο Μανδηλαράς (1987) σημειώνει ότι «το αίσθημα της λέξης είναι πολύ αναπτυγμένο στον Καζαντζάκη» και συνεχίζει

¹ Επισημαίνεται ιδιαιτέρως εμφατικά ότι υιοθετείται η γραφή του τίτλου του καζαντζακικού έπους *ΟΔΥΣΣΕΙΑ* σε κεφαλαίοι γράμματα γραφή και με ένα “Σ”, από τη μία ως ένδειξη σεβασμού στη βούληση του ίδιου του συγγραφέα να τιτλοφορήσει με τον συγκεκριμένο τρόπο γραφής το ποίημά του στην πρώτη του έκδοση (1938) και από την άλλη ως διακριτό σημείο προς αποφυγή σύγχυσης με τον τίτλο του γνωστού έπους του Ομήρου, *Οδύσσεια*, η οποία γράφεται με δύο “Σ”.

λέγοντας ότι «χωρίς ιδιαίτερες γλωσσολογικές σπουδές παρά μόνο με τα εφόδια που απέκτησε με την προσωπική του μελέτη [...] συλλαμβάνει με τον δικό του τρόπο τα γλωσσικά φαινόμενα».

Οι λέξεις στην καζαντζακική *ΟΔΥΣΣΕΙΑ* είναι μια πραγματική αποκάλυψη αθησαύριστων λέξεων που κατακυριεύουν κάθε αναγνώστη ποιητικά, νοητικά, συναισθηματικά, ψυχικά μέχρι το σημείο που δοκιμάζουν τη φαντασία και τη λογική του. Δεν είναι μόνο η ατέρμονη αγωνία του ποιητή να επιλέξει τη μία και μοναδική λέξη για την κατάλληλη θέση μέσα στην ποιητική του δημιουργία και την αποτύπωση της τέχνης του. Όπως σημειώνει ο Χαραλαμπίδης (1999) «οι λέξεις παίζουν καθοριστικό ρόλο στο γλωσσικό σκεπτικισμό του Καζαντζάκη», που τον βασανίζει συνεχώς η έννοια της κάθε λέξης. Ο Καζαντζάκης, συνεχίζει ο Χαραλαμπίδης, συγκινείται ιδιαίτερα από τις «παρθένες λέξεις» και γοητεύεται από τη δημιουργία –μορφική και σημασιολογική– ενός νέου συλλογισμού που τον οδηγεί στην απόδοση μιας νέας μορφής, που δεν απέχει από την έννοια του νέο-λογισμού, μιας νέας σκέψης, μιας νέας ιδέας που αποτυπώνεται σε μια νέα αχρησιμοποίητη μορφή που είτε κατασκευάζεται παραγωγικά είτε του δίδεται λεξιθηρικά «από το στόμα του λαού» (Πρεβελάκης 1958 1984). Ο Καζαντζάκης αποτελεί ένα αντιπροσωπευτικό δείγμα ενός διανοητή συγγραφέα που αναζητούσε συνεχώς την καταλληλότερη εκφραστικά και την πιο δυσεύρετη λέξη για να αποδώσει με ακρίβεια και σαφήνεια την ποιητική του ιδέα –όπως παρουσιάζεται από την πλούσια επιστολογραφία του (Πρεβελάκης 1984, Αλεξίου-Αποσκίτου 1978, Καζαντζάκης 1993, Καζαντζάκη 1998)–, αναδεικνύοντας όχι μόνο τη μοναδικότητα της λέξης αλλά και την πολυεπίπεδη διάσταση της ίδιας της γλώσσας. Στόχος του ποιητή ήταν να δημιουργήσει μια πανελλήνια γλώσσα βασιζόμενη σε όλες τις ελληνικές διαλέκτους με θεμελιακή διάλεκτο την κρητική (Bien 1927, Γιακουμάκη 1982, Δετοράκης 2002).

Εντάσσεται λοιπόν στη γλωσσική ταυτότητα του Καζαντζάκη ένας νέος όρος, ο νεολογισμός σε συνάρτηση με τον ποιητικό νεολογισμό και τις νεολογικές αθησαύριστες λέξεις, που όπως παρατηρείται παρακάτω, αποτελεί βασικό μέρος της ποιητικής δημιουργίας και τέχνης του συγγραφέα. Στο σημείο αυτό όμως χρήζει αναγκαιότητας η οριοθέτηση της συγκεκριμένης ορολογίας προκειμένου να διερευνηθεί επαγωγικά μέσα στο ποίημα της *ΟΔΥΣΣΕΙΑΣ*.

2. Νεολογία και Νεολογισμοί

Η Αναστασιάδη-Συμεωνίδη (1986) ασχολείται διεξοδικά με το φαινόμενο της νεολογίας και ορίζει ότι *νεολογία* είναι η διαδικασία, η πράξη, το φαινόμενο της λεξιλογικής ανανέωσης κι αντίστοιχα, ότι *νεολογισμός* είναι το αποτέλεσμα, το προϊόν της λεξιλογικής ανανέωσης. Παρακολουθεί τη νεολογική δημιουργία καταγράφοντας τον νεοελληνικό λόγο και διατυπώνοντας μια συστηματική τυπολογία για την κατηγοριοποίηση των νεολογικών ευρημάτων της. Η ίδια σημειώνει ότι αποκλείονται από την τυπολογία της οι *λογοτεχνικοί νεολογισμοί*, «οι γεμάτες φαντασία αλλά εφήμερες δημιουργίες λογοτεχνών» (1986), ενώ συμπληρώνει ότι «ο δημιουργός του λογοτεχνικού νεολογισμού αναζητά νέους εκφραστικούς τρόπους» με αποτέλεσμα να καταφεύγει στις πολλές δυνατότητες που διαθέτει το σύστημα της γλώσσας. Ο λογοτέχνης, ο ποιητής, ο δημιουργός πλάθει νέους τρόπους με κύριο σκοπό του την επικοινωνία πομπού και δέκτη με τη μετάδοση του μηνύματος που δεν είναι «αναγκαστικά πρωτότυπο».

Στη συνέχεια η Χριστοφίδου (2001) υποστηρίζει ότι οι νεολογισμοί που δημιουργούνται κατά τη διάρκεια της ποιητικής διαδικασίας είναι νέες αποτυπώσεις που έχουν άμεση αλληλεξάρτηση με το περικείμενο και ορίζει ως *περικείμενους νεολογισμούς*, τους μη κωδικοποιημένους μορφολογικούς σχηματισμούς, οι οποίοι «δημιουργούνται ad hoc σύμφωνα με τις ανάγκες και τους περιορισμούς του περικειμένου ή του επικοινωνιακού περιβάλλοντος», τονίζοντας ότι «η σχέση περικειμένων νεολογισμών και κειμένου είναι αμφίδρομη». Ακόμη θεωρεί τους *ποιητικούς νεολογισμούς* «ως ένα υποσύνολο των περικειμένων νεολογισμών» και τους αντιδιαστέλλει προς τους νεολογισμούς, οι οποίοι είναι σχηματισμοί που είτε έχουν πρόσφατα κωδικοποιηθεί στο λεξιλόγιο της ελληνικής είτε έχουν αρχίσει να χρησιμοποιούνται από ένα μεγάλο μέρος των φυσικών ομιλητών της ελληνικής.

Συγκρίνοντας τους παραπάνω ορισμούς για το αποτέλεσμα της νεολογικής ποιητικής δημιουργίας, οι λέξεις-κλειδιά που προκύπτουν είναι: μη κωδικοποίηση, μορφολογικός σχηματισμός, ανάγκη περικειμένου, περιορισμός περιβάλλοντος. Ακολουθώντας, συσχετίζοντας τις παραπάνω λέξεις-κλειδιά, προκύπτει η ανασύνθεση ενός περιγραφικού ορισμού ότι ποιητικοί (ή λογοτεχνικοί) νεολογισμοί είναι μορφολογικοί σχηματισμοί οι οποίοι είναι μη κωδικοποιημένοι συστηματικά, δημιουργούνται από τις ανάγκες του περικειμένου και τους περιορισμούς –που τυχόν προκύπτουν– του επικοινωνιακού περιβάλλοντος.

3. Ποιητικοί νεολογισμοί ή Αθησαύριστες λέξεις στην περίπτωση της *ΟΔΥΣΣΕΙΑΣ* του Καζαντζάκη

Η εξέταση του φαινομένου της νεολογίας και ειδικότερα η διερεύνηση νεολογισμών στο ποιητικό έργο *ΟΔΥΣΣΕΙΑ* του Καζαντζάκη αποτελεί ένα εγχείρημα που δεν έχει μέχρι σήμερα πραγματοποιηθεί, ίσως γιατί το επικό μέγεθος του ποιήματος αλλά και ο όγκος των αθησαύριστων λέξεων δημιουργούν σημαντικό πρόβλημα στη γλωσσολογική μελέτη.

Μια τέτοια γλωσσολογική προσέγγιση ενός ποιήματος που είναι «ένα ανεπανάληπτο *crescento*» γλωσσικών ιδιαιτεροτήτων, όπως το χαρακτηρίζει η Γιακουμάκη (1982), και το οποίο έχει δημιουργήσει άπειρες συζητήσεις γεμάτες αντιφάσεις, αποτελεί πραγματικά ένα επιστημονικό παρατόλμημα που ελλοχεύει πολλούς κινδύνους. Όμως, η μελέτη της ποιητικής γλώσσας αλλά και των γλωσσικών ιδιαιτεροτήτων ποιητικών δημιουργημάτων, όπως η *ΟΔΥΣΣΕΙΑ*, θεωρούμε ότι αποτελεί σημαντικό πεδίο έρευνας όχι μονάχα για το χώρο της λογοτεχνίας αλλά κυρίως για τον κλάδο της γλωσσολογίας. Άλλωστε, όπως διαπιστώνει κι ο Jakobson (1998) η ποιητική της λογοτεχνίας αποτελεί αναπόσπαστο κομμάτι της γλωσσολογίας, αφού η ποιητική ενός κειμένου αποκαλύπτει τη συνεργασία των πολυεπίπεδων λειτουργιών της γλώσσας.

Αμφίδρομα, οι λειτουργίες της γλώσσας και τα επίπεδα ανάλυσής της αποδεικνύουν την έντονη ποιητικότητά της ως ανθρώπινο φαινόμενο της έκφρασης και της επικοινωνίας. Οι επιλογές και οι αποκλίσεις των συγγραφέων δίνουν ανανεωτική πνοή στη γλώσσα φανερώνοντας την αισθητική δύναμη του γλωσσικού φαινομένου με αποτέλεσμα να υπάρχει η δυνατότητα αποκάλυψης για εκείνο που ονομάζεται ποίηση της γλώσσας και γλώσσα της ποίησης (Jakobson 1981). Επομένως, οι λεξιλογικές επιλογές κάθε συγγραφέα αποτελούν την ιδιαίτερη ποιητική του γραμματική (*poetic grammar*, Jakobson 1981 1998), την αποτύπωση της προσωπικής του ταυτότητας κατά τη διαδικασία από τη σύλληψη της συγγραφικής του ιδέας, της μετατροπής του ερεθίσματος σε θέμα και σε τελική έκφραση του μηνύματος προς τους αναγνώστες (Μπαμπινιώτης 1991, Χαραλαμπίδης 2001).

Η ποιητική γραμματική του κάθε συγγραφέα δεν αποτελεί την παθητική παρατήρηση ενός φαινομένου ή ενός γεγονότος αλλά αποτελεί τον μοχλό ενεργοποίησης μηχανισμών που έγκειται τόσο στην ανάγνωση και φυσικά στην κατανόηση ενός λογοτεχνικού κειμένου αλλά κυρίως στη μάθηση νέων μεθόδων έκφρασης. Για το λόγο αυτό η σύγχρονη γλωσσολογία έχει στραφεί στη διερεύνηση της ποιητικής πράξης από γλωσσολογική σκοπιά με κυρίαρχο σκοπό την ανάδειξη των ιδιαίτερων χαρακτηριστικών της γραφής των λογοτεχνών. Παράδειγμα αποτελεί η περίπτωση του Καζαντζάκη που αγωνίζεται συνεχώς για την ποιητική του επιβίωση και μάχεται ανάμεσα σε χιλιάδες λέξεις, ενισχύοντας την πρωτότυπη γραφή του και το ιδιосυγκρασιακό του λεξιλόγιο (Μαθιουδάκης 2010, Μαθιουδάκης & Καμπάκη-Βουγιουκλή 2011, Μαθιουδάκης 2012).

Το λεξιλόγιο της *ΟΔΥΣΣΕΙΑΣ* είναι ιδιαίτερα ποιητικό με την έννοια της δημιουργικότητας, το οποίο χαρακτηρίζεται ως ένα έπος με στοιχεία έντονης νεολογικής ποιητικότητας. Κάθε λέξη στο έπος παρουσιάζεται ξεχωριστά εικονοποιώντας έννοιες και καταστάσεις. Παρόλο που ο ίδιος ο ποιητής (Καζαντζάκης 1938) ισχυρίζεται ότι έχει δημιουργήσει ελάχιστες λέξεις, ο κάθε τύπος που παρουσιάζεται στο έπος θα μπορούσε να χαρακτηριστεί ποιητικός νεολογισμός.

Σύμφωνα, λοιπόν, με τους ορισμούς για τον νεολογισμό της Αναστασιάδη-Συμεωνίδη (1986) και για τον ποιητικό νεολογισμό της Χριστοφίδου (2001), διαπιστώνεται ότι στην *ΟΔΥΣΣΕΙΑ* συναθροίζεται ένα πλούσιο υλικό ποιητικών νεολογισμών, δηλαδή μη κωδικοποιημένων μορφολογικών σχηματισμών της ελληνικής γλώσσας. Όμως, αυτός ο ισχυρισμός θα μπορούσε να αποδειχθεί μονάχα στην περίπτωση ενδελεχούς εξέτασης κάθε λέξη του ποιήματος σε λεξικά της κοινής ελληνικής, σε διαλεκτικά λεξικά και φυσικά στο αρχείο του Ιστορικού Λεξικού της Ακαδημίας Αθηνών.

Η παρούσα μελέτη δεν ασχολείται με τις νεολογικές ανασημασιολογήσεις οι οποίες θα μπορούσαν να αποτελέσουν διαφορετικό πεδίο έρευνας. Ακόμη, σημειώνεται ότι τα νεολογικά ποιητικά αθησαύριστα του Καζαντζάκη πιθανόν να περικλείουν και λεξικούς τύπους που είναι διαλεκτικές ή ιδιωματικές λέξεις οι οποίες συμπεριλαμβάνονται σε ορισμένα διαλεκτικά λεξικά. Παρόλα αυτά όμως εξαιτίας του πλήθους των λεξικών τύπων που αποτελούν το υλικό προς διερεύνηση, η τεκμηρίωση του σώματος αθησαύριστων λέξεων της *ΟΔΥΣΣΕΙΑΣ* θα μπορούσε να αποτελέσει μια μελλοντική εργασία προκειμένου να απομακρυνθούν και τα διαλεκτικά ή ιδιωματικά λήμματα.

Η συγκεκριμένη έρευνα, λοιπόν, επικεντρώνεται σε μορφικές και μορφολογικές ιδιαιτερότητες της γλωσσικής επένδυσης του καζαντζακικού έπους και ιδιαίτερα ασχολείται με τα νεολογικά αθησαύριστα, δηλαδή με λέξεις που δεν έχουν καταγραφεί στα βασικά λεξικά της κοινής ελληνικής με αποτέλεσμα να παρουσιάζουν νεολογικό χαρακτήρα αλλά δεν μπορούν να χαρακτηρισθούν ως νεολογισμοί.

3.1 Καταγραφή και επεξεργασία λεξιλογικού υλικού.

Πρώτο μέλημα της έρευνάς μας ήταν να διαβάσουμε προσεχτικά, στίχο-στίχο, ολόκληρη την *ΟΔΥΣΣΕΙΑ* του Νίκου Καζαντζάκη, να σημειώσουμε και να καταγράψουμε κάθε λέξη που απόκλινε από το κοινό γλωσσικό αίσθημα –σύμφωνα πάντα με το προσωπικό μας γλωσσικό αισθητήριο–, ακολουθώντας ως πρότυπο τις δυο παλαιότερες ανολοκλήρωτες έρευνες που είχαν γίνει από τον Πρεβελάκη το 1932 (στον Μαρινάκη 2004) και από τη Γιακουμάκη το 1978 (στη Γιακουμάκη 1982) για την *ΟΔΥΣΣΕΙΑ* του Καζαντζάκη, καθώς και τη μελέτη της Χριστοφίδου το 1991 (στη Χριστοφίδου 2001) πάνω στο έργο του Ελύτη.

Κατά την ανάγνωση, σημειώναμε οποιαδήποτε λέξη παρουσίαζε γλωσσική ιδιαιτερότητα και δεν ήταν σύμφωνη με το γλωσσικό αίσθημα της κοινής ελληνικής. Με τον τρόπο αυτό δημιουργήθηκαν 3 μεγάλες κατηγορίες λέξεων: α) οι απλές λέξεις β) οι σύνθετες (και πολυσύνθετες) λέξεις και γ) οι λέξεις που παρουσίαζαν μικρές γλωσσικές διαφοροποιήσεις σε φωνολογικό ή μορφολογικό επίπεδο.

Κατά την επεξεργασία, καταγράφαμε τις λέξεις ανά ραψωδία με τη σειρά που τις συναντούσαμε στο κείμενο. Οπότε δημιουργήσαμε ένα ειδικό λεξικό του οποίου η μικροδομή είχε τη μορφή:

λέξη > ραψωδία > στίχος > συγκείμενο.

Οι πληροφορίες για την κάθε λέξη αποτελούν ένα ενδεικτικό παράδειγμα για τη χρήση της μέσα στο έπος και δεν περιγράφουν τη συχνότητα εμφάνισης της συγκεκριμένης λέξης στο ποίημα. Έτσι, δημιουργήθηκε η αρχική μορφή ενός ηλεκτρονικού σώματος λέξεων (lexical corpus) περίπου 14.000 λημμάτων!

Στη συνέχεια, ελέγξαμε τον κατάλογο των τύπων λέξεων λέξη προς λέξη σε τέσσερα λεξικά της κοινής νέας ελληνικής, προκειμένου να αφαιρέσουμε κάποιες λέξεις που πιθανότατα να αποτελούν κωδικοποιημένες λέξεις της ελληνικής. Συγκεκριμένα τα λεξικά που χρησιμοποιήσαμε ως μεθοδολογικά εργαλεία ήταν α. η ηλεκτρονική μορφή του *Λεξικού της Κοινής Νεοελληνικής* του Ινστιτούτου Νεοελληνικών Σπουδών (1998-2002), β. το *Λεξικό της Νέας Ελληνικής Γλώσσας* του Μπαμπινιώτη (2008), γ. το *Λεξικόν της Νέας Ελληνικής Γλώσσας* της Πρωίας (1933) και δ. το *Μέγα λεξικόν όλης της Ελληνικής Γλώσσας* του Δημητράκου (1964). Η επιλογή των λεξικών έγινε με σκοπό να καλύπτει συγχρονικά και διαχρονικά τον λεξικογραφικό μας έλεγχο, οπότε επιλέξαμε δύο λεξικά σύγχρονα του συγγραφέα στα οποία θα μπορούσε να έχει πρόσβαση και δύο λεξικά της σημερινής εποχής.

Μετά την τελική επεξεργασία, το ηλεκτρονικό σώμα λέξεων αποτελείται από περίπου 7.500 λήμματα κι αποτελεί την τελική μορφή του πίνακα λέξεων στην *ΟΔΥΣΣΕΙΑ* του Καζαντζάκη. Σημειώνουμε εδώ ότι, εκτός από τις λέξεις που βρέθηκαν μέσα στα λεξικά, αφαιρέθηκαν τύποι που επαναλαμβανόντουσαν και επίσης τύποι που παρουσίαζαν μικρές διαφοροποιήσεις από την ελληνική ή είχαν έντονη διαλεκτική χροιά και θεωρήσαμε ότι δεν μπορούμε να τους κατατάξουμε σε ένα σώμα ποιητικών λέξεων, όπως γήλιος, χρουσό, γαίματα κá.

3.2 Τυπολογία των αθησαύριστων λέξεων

Το σώμα αθησαύριστων λέξεων της *ΟΔΥΣΣΕΙΑΣ* του Καζαντζάκη αποτελεί ένα ειδικό λεξιλόγιο όπου περιέχει: παράγωγες λέξεις, σύνθετες λέξεις, διαλεκτικές λέξεις, ιδιοματισμούς, ονοματοποιήσεις, ιδιόλεκτα. Με βάση το σύνολο του λεξιλογίου της *ΟΔΥΣΣΕΙΑΣ* χαρακτηρίζονται ποιητικές νεολογικές αθησαύριστες λέξεις εκείνες που είναι μη κωδικοποιημένες στην Κοινή Νέα Ελληνική (ΚΝΕ). Στη μελέτη του γλωσσικού υλικού της *ΟΔΥΣΣΕΙΑΣ* έχουμε σκοπό να εξετάσουμε τον τρόπο κατανόησης των δύσκολων και δυσνόητων λέξεων που αποτελούν τη μαγιά του ποιητή να καταγράψει και να μεταφέρει την δημιουργική του ιδέα. Δεν μας απασχολεί η σχολαστική και συστηματική κατηγοριοποίηση των ποιητικών νεολογισμών και των αθησαύριστων λέξεων για να αποδώσουμε την καταγωγή τους ή της σημασία τους.

Στόχος μας είναι να κατηγοριοποιήσουμε τους ποιητικούς τύπους σε μια τυπολογία για να μπορέσουμε να διερευνήσουμε το φαινόμενο της νεολογικής δημιουργίας στην *ΟΔΥΣΣΕΙΑ* του Καζαντζάκη. Βασιστήκαμε κυρίως στην πληρέστατη και περιγραφική τυπολογία της Αναστασιάδη-Συμεωνίδη (1986) που αφορά την νέα ελληνική καθώς και σε βασικά σημεία στις τυπολογίες των Guiraud (1967 1971) και Guilbert (1973 1975).

Προσαρμόσαμε τις παραπάνω τυπολογίες νεολογισμών στο γλωσσικό υλικό που συντάξαμε όπως περιγράψαμε παραπάνω και καταλήξαμε να προτείνουμε μια τυπολογία που να εφαρμόζεται στα

νεολογικά αθησαύριστα της *ΟΔΥΣΣΕΙΑΣ* του Καζαντζάκη. Επομένως, διακρίνουμε τρεις μεγάλες κατηγορίες νεολογικών τύπων: Α) παραγωγικότητα, Β) δάνεια, Γ) ονοματοποιία. Κάθε μία από τις κατηγορίες αυτές περιλαμβάνουν υποκατηγορίες τις οποίες θα περιγράψουμε παρακάτω.

Αξίζει, στο σημείο αυτό, να σημειώσουμε τις βασικές αρχές μας για τη δημιουργία της συγκεκριμένης τυπολογίας: η πρώτη αρχή μας είναι ότι διακρίναμε τις κατηγορίες των ποιητικών λέξεων σύμφωνα με τους διάφορους τρόπους δημιουργίας λέξεων. Ανατρέξαμε στις διεργασίες που ενεργεί η γλώσσα για την δημιουργία νέων λεξικών σχηματισμών και προσδιορίσαμε αυτές τις κατηγορίες που τις θεωρούμε και τα βασικά λεξικογενετικά είδη: ακολούθως, η δεύτερη αρχή μας έχει σχέση με τον τρόπο που αντιμετωπίζουμε κι αντιλαμβανόμαστε τις λέξεις. Η γλώσσα –όπως υπενθυμίζει κι ο Guiraud– δεν αποτελείται από τις λέξεις, αλλά από κατηγορίες λέξεων που η καθεμιά τους αποτελείται από ομάδα λέξεων με κοινά χαρακτηριστικά. Σε αντίθεση με τον Guiraud, εμείς κατατάξαμε τις περιπτώσεις των αθησαύριστων τύπων της *ΟΔΥΣΣΕΙΑΣ* του Καζαντζάκη με μορφολογικά και λεξικογενετικά κριτήρια, με σκοπό να αποδώσουμε την τυπολογία των ποιητικών αθησαύριστων.

Η *παραγωγικότητα* η οποία αποτελεί την πρώτη κατηγορία, όπως φαίνεται και στον παρακάτω πίνακα, υποδιαιρείται σε δύο βασικές κατηγορίες: στις περιπτώσεις που έχουν τη μορφή ‘βάση+επίθημα’ (Α1) και στις περιπτώσεις που έχουν τη μορφή ‘πρόθημα ή α’συνθετικό+βάση’ (Α2)· στην πρώτη υποκατηγορία εντάσσουμε περιπτώσεις όπως τα παράγωγα (Α1α) και τα παρασύνθετα (Α1β), ενώ στη δεύτερη υποκατηγορία εντάσσουμε περιπτώσεις όπως τα απλά σύνθετα (Α2α) και τα πολυσύνθετα (Α2β).

Τα *δάνεια*, τα οποία αποτελούν τη δεύτερη κατηγορία, χωρίζονται σε δύο μεγάλες υποκατηγορίες: τα εξωτερικά δάνεια (Β1) και τα εσωτερικά δάνεια (Β2). Στα εξωτερικά δάνεια εντάσσουμε περιπτώσεις όπως τα προσαρμοσμένα (συμμορφωμένα) δάνεια (Β1α), τα απροσάρμοστα (ασυμμόρφωτα) δάνεια (Β1β) και οι δάνειες λεκτικές μονάδες (μεταφραστικά δάνεια) (Β1γ), ενώ στα εσωτερικά δάνεια εντάσσουμε περιπτώσεις αλλαγής σημασίας σε λεκτικές μονάδες της ίδιας γλωσσικής ομάδας (Β2).

Τέλος, στην τρίτη κατηγορία εντάσσουμε τις περιπτώσεις που είναι αποτελέσματα του φαινομένου της *ονοματοποιίας*, δηλαδή τη δημιουργία γλωσσικών τύπων που προσπαθούν να αποδώσουν ένα φυσικό ήχο.

Σχηματικά η τυπολογία παρουσιάζεται όπως ακριβώς διαμορφώθηκε ως εξής:

Α) Παραγωγικότητα: 1. βάση+επίθημα: α. παράγωγα β. παρασύνθετα 2. πρόθημα ή α’συνθετικό+βάση: α. απλά σύνθετα β. πολυσύνθετα
Β) Δάνεια: 1. Εξωτερικά: α. προσαρμοσμένα (συμμορφωμένα) β. απροσάρμοστα (ασυμμόρφωτα) γ. δάνειες λεκτικές μονάδες (μεταφραστικά δάνεια) 2. Εσωτερικά: αλλαγή σημασίας σε λεκτικές μονάδες της ίδιας γλωσσικής ομάδας
Γ) Ονοματοποιία

Πίνακας 1 Τυπολογία νεολογικών αθησαύριστων λέξεων

4. Παραδείγματα από την *ΟΔΥΣΣΕΙΑ*

Στο συγκεκριμένο σημείο παρατίθενται μερικά παραδείγματα μέσα από την *ΟΔΥΣΣΕΙΑ* του Καζαντζάκη προκειμένου να αποδοθεί με ευκρίνεια η θεωρητική σκέψη ως προς την ποιητική νεολογική διαδικασία σύμφωνα με την τυποποίηση των αθησαύριστων λέξεων που περιγράφηκε παραπάνω. Οι λέξεις παρουσιάζονται με το συγκεκριμένο στο οποίο είναι ενσωματωμένες για την καλύτερη σημασιολογική τους κατανόηση:

δοξάρας	Ο <u>δοξάρας</u> γελάει ταντανιστά, ξεσκίστηκε ο λαιμός του: «Εσείς, μωρέ, γρικόατε ποταμό, και δεν το κόβει ο νους σας πως η ψυχή 'ναι ο ποταμός, ψυχή μονάχα ανηφορούμε' κι αν ξεπεζέψω απόψε απ' το κορμί, πάλε η στρατεία δε χάθη!»
κοσμοπαρωρίτη	Όλο το μέγα σώμα ξάχνισε του <u>κοσμοπαρωρίτη</u> , κι αργά, χιονοκαράβι, βλάμηδες και πωρικά και μνήμη, σαν καταχνιά στο πέλαο σαλέψαν κι ως δροσουλίτες σβήσαν.
θαλασσόφρυδο	Μα τότε, μπρούμυτα ως αρπάζουνταν ο Χάλικας στην πλώρα, ξεχώρισε μες στο αφροπέλαγο γαλάζο κορφοβούνι γυαλιστερό, στο <u>θαλασσόφρυδο</u> ν' ανεβοκατεβαίνει.
χεραγκαλιά	Οι πέτρες πέταξαν γαρούφαλα, τα σαμιαμίθια μπόι, σαν άρχοντας με τα χρουσά σκουτιά κατέβη ο μέγας ήλιος <u>χεραγκαλιά</u> με τη γυναίκα του τη φεγγαροντυμένη και μοίραζε φτερά στους σκούληκους κι ανθούς στα χορταράκια.
φεγγαροστάζουν	Μυρίζει η γης το κρινογιασεμί, γυμνές κοπέλες γέρνουν κι απλοχερούν κρασί στους άρχοντες και ρόδα στις κεράδες· πηχτά <u>φεγγαροστάζουν</u> τα δεντρά, σταθήκαν οι χορεύτρες κι ευωδιαστός ιδρώτας δροσερός παχνίζει τα κορμιά τους.
ντιντινίζουν	Κι οι νύχτες άρμोजαν τ' αστέρια τους στις μαύρες τραχηλιές τους, κι ως άγριες χήρες, αραπόχηρες, στον όχτο κατεβαίνουν, και <u>ντιντινίζουν</u> τα βραχιόλια τους τ' αστρομαργελωμένα.
φουρφουριστά	Τα κύματα αλαφριά, <u>φουρφουριστά</u> , με το λαλάρι επιάζαν, τα όρνια κοπάδια σαν αρνιά βαριά στα βράχια κοντοπήδουν, κι αρχοντικά σεριάνουν με κοιλιές χορτάτες οι κοράκοι.

Πίνακας 2 Παραδείγματα αθησαύριστων τύπων

Ακόμη, στον παρακάτω πίνακα παρατίθεται ενδεικτικά ένα μέρος του σώματος των αθησαύριστων λέξεων. Συγκεκριμένα, οι λέξεις είναι από την Α' ραψωδία της *ΟΔΥΣΣΕΙΑΣ* του Καζαντζάκη και παρουσιάζονται σε αλφαβητική σειρά, ενώ αριθμητικά φαίνεται και ο στίχος στον οποίο εμφανίζεται η λέξη στη συγκεκριμένη ραψωδία:

αγεροβοσκολόγαε	520	αδικοσκορπισμένο	652	ακρολοχεύει	1155
αγιουπίσια	1258	αιματοκόματα	1216	ακρολυγούσαν	164
αγκριφωτά	626	αιτοκαρδιά	521	ακροπηδάει	1363
αγόλωσσου	790	αιτοφτέρουγες	531	ακροτρεκλίζοντας	1326
αγουρομελιγάτου	226	ακνό	1312	ακροχεράει	442
αγριμόγατου	1172	ακρογιαλοχορέψω	44	αμήγυρο	256
αγριμοκυνηγούσαν	265	ακρολιχνούν	1366	αναγκαρδιώθη	687

[ΠΟΙΗΤΙΚΟΙ ΝΕΟΛΟΓΙΣΜΟΙ ΣΤΗΝ ‘ΟΔΥΣΣΕΙΑ’ ΤΟΥ ΝΙΚΟΥ ΚΑΖΑΝΤΖΑΚΗ:
ΧΙΛΙΑΔΕΣ ΑΘΗΣΑΥΡΙΣΤΕΣ ΛΕΞΕΙΣ ΑΝΑΖΗΤΟΥΝ ΤΗΝ ΤΑΥΤΟΤΗΤΑ ΤΟΥΣ]

αναμουράει	267	αρχάρισσα	1348	γιαλιά	321
ανανιωμένοι	658	ασημοκλείδι	295	γιαλοξεφαντώσουν	1047
ανάντιασε	571	ασημόκλωνες	910	γιδοστράτι	786
αναντρουμίζει	420	ασπροχόγλαδο	1001	γκουίζοντας	267
αναπλαντάει	1184	αστραποκύκλωσαν	606	γκρεμοχοχλαδάκια	1009
αναρίπισε	421	αστραπομάτης	1111	γλαροπούλα	1376
αναρουθούνε	560	αστραπονούσης	257	γλιστροκατεβαίνει	948
αναφουντώσαν	155	αστροζούδια	753	γλυκαντιφέγγιζαν	1264
ανεγυρίσματα	286	αστροκαύτη	526	γλυκοβαλαντώνει	1368
ανελιγώνεται	1040	αστρομάτα	118	γλυκοδαγκάσει	154
ανελίχτη	653	αφρογάλαζο	1378	γλυκοξημέρωνε	619
ανθρωποφωνοκόπι	669	αφροδροσολογάται	14	γλυκοπαραμιλούσε	229
αντζοχοροπηδούσε	563	αχνοκαταστάλαξε	120	γοργοδρασκέλουν	265
αντιλογάει	872	αχνόλιωνε	1375	γοργοξεπαραλύω	905
αντίμεμα	846	αχνοπρασίνιζαν	424	γοργοπλερώνει	834
αντρολαχταρισμένα	140	αψηλοξεκορφίσει	786	γοργόστροφες	211
αντρομαυλίστρας	149	βαλτονερούλιαε	1072	γραπούνιζε	1166
αντροπαλικάρα	180	βαριανεβαίνει	1317	γρούλης	1173
αντροφαγά	169	βαριοκοπαδάρη	1199	δεξόζερβα	1347
ανωγιαστό	594	βαριόχνωτος	475	διαλόχισε	356
απαλόχνουδος	314	βασιλοκορόνα	454	δίγουβη	1110
απανωχείλι	876	βεργόλαμνα	1067	διπλοβοσκός	475
απλοδαχτύλωσε	1171	βοδοζεύεται	870	διπλόγουβες	1081
απλόκλωθε	794	βουνοκορφίσια	1090	διπλοκλειδωτήρες	548
αποβροχάδα	344	βραχνοξεφωνίζει	768	διχαλόβεργες	1327
απόκοιλα	1029	βραχνοπετεινάρια	1334	διχαλοδρόμι	1037
απολεχάνει	494	βροντογελάει	1043	δοντωσιές	586
αποιοτίδια	1032	βροντοδιαλαλήστε	661	δρακόντευε	1332
απριλοδιαγυρίζει	783	βρυγιασμένες	309	δρυσόκορμη	324
αργοχωνιάει	926	βυζομάχαιρα	380	ερωτόλαμνη	690
αρματοστάσι	553	γαλαζόκρουστα	618	ερωτονυχτοπούλια	345
αρμοδεσιά	189	γαλαζοπλούμιστο	295	ζεστολασπονέρι	936
αρμυροτάγαρο	87	γαλαζοχτυπημένα	752	ζευλωμένα	406
αρνοκοπάδι	404	γαλατοφόρες	763	ζωχλαλοή	669
αρνοτσέλιγκα	1199	γαυραφέντης	581	ηλιοφαγωμένη	849
αρούλιζε	895	γερακοκούδουνα	780	θαμπάχνιζε	788

θρασερό	497	κοντοβόλτες	1048	μακροτσίνουρα	541
καγκέλια	1345	κορφοκέφαλο	1265	μαλλιαροκουτάλες	1130
καινουριώσει	946	κορφολίμανο	1359	μαυρομαντιλωθείτε	181
κακοδεξίμια	355	κορφοχτυπιούνται	146	μαυροπόρφυρο	1152
καλαμόβεργα	913	κουτσοκέφαλο	1169	μαυροσαλεύει	1028
καλαμόπλεχτα	839	κουτσοξέραβδα	170	μελοδιαγουμίζει	138
καλέστρα	976	κουφαναστενάζει	928	μελόχρυσσα	325
καλόδετο	911	κουφογονάτισσα	387	μερομόχτι	815
καλοθρονιαστούμε	292	κουφολύγισαν	1251	μεροφάδες	850
καλοπόταγης	592	κρασαποπιτιδία	1158	μεσοδόκαρα	96
καλόσπαρτο	214	κρασοκατακάθια	1160	μεταδιαγύρεις	1352
καλωσορισμένου	1054	κρασοκερνοβόλι	1319	μηλομαραμένο	163
καμαροζυγιαζόταν	522	κрасόκουπες	1046	μοιράρης	1262
καρβουνόλακκος	1170	κράσωση	1020	μονογλεντοκόπαι	1166
καστροκαταλύτη	18	κрасωμένη	1335	μονόπετρα	714
καταβόδιο	909	κρουφαγγίζει	1356	μονοπλάτι	176
καταλάσπωσε	271	κρουφοφτερουγίσαν	233	μοσκομύριστο	692
κατάνθιστο	1204	κυκλού	1295	μπλοκάδες	505
κατάραντα	1193	κυπαρισσότραφο	1022	μπουσουλωτά	173
κατάσπλαχνα	1261	λαγωνιάρη	193	μπροσμούρωνε	1073
κατάχειλα	738	λάμπαδο	572	μπροστολάκουν	470
καταχόρταστο	75	λαμπαδόχυτες	769	μυαλοδόξαρος	101
καψοκάρισε	1177	λαρυγγιστά	731	μυαλοζυγιάζει	558
κεραλειμμένα	650	λασπόμυαλους	646	μυριοξομπλιάσω	774
κεφαλόδεσες	988	λιάρο	794	μωρομπιστεύουμαι	1120
κιβουροχάλικα	748	λιβανόχλωτα	767	νεκρογυναϊκίτη	706
κλαπαταριές	511	λιγναστράγαλα	625	νεκροχαμομήλι	677
κλαροπόδαρα	525	λιγομαριάσει	1026	νεκροχοροστάσι	758
κλαψόγελα	642	λιονταροπροβιές	1212	νεραύλακο	981
κλαψοσαλιαρίζουν	180	λιοντοφρουρούς	484	νεροβούβαλος	1317
κλεφτοκορφολόγα	1307	λιοστρόγγυλος	605	νεφροδροσολόγαι	823
κλουκίζοντας	731	λιόψητα	753	νιοσφαγμένων	132
κλουκλούταγαν	735	λυχνανάμματα	1235	νοητερά	1069
κλωθανηφορίζουν	135	μακραλαφροπόδες	322	νυχοπατώντας	300
κλωσοφτέρουγα	775	μακροπεραματίζοντας	864	νυχτοδιαγούμισε	363
κοιλιομάζωμα	1142	μακροπόθητη	444	νυχτοπλάνο	504

νυχτοπνοές	1093	περιθέρα	596	σκοτεινοβλεφαρίζει	868
νυχτοφτέρουγες	440	περφανοκαυκήθη	886	σουραυλολαρύγγι	1164
ξανάζωσε	771	πεταλουδούν	432	σοφιλιστούς	702
ξανάστραψαν	770	πετροβοσκολόγαε	620	σοχαλάσει	381
ξεθαρρετά	372	πετροκασέλες	549	σπαρτάρα	374
ξεθράσεψε	242	πετροχαραμάδες	711	σπηλιονυχτερίδες	573
ξεκαπετανίσει	223	πήχτρωσε	165	σταλωτό	751
ξεκρικέλωσε	523	πισωκάμπουρο	1039	σταμινολέβετα	557
ξεμαργώνουν	745	πισωκαύκαλο	508	σταροκουβαλητής	47
ξεπέτρωσε	732	πλεχταριά	745	σταφυλιαστός	620
ξεπλέρωτο	845	πληθεροκαρπίζουν	648	στραβομουριάζει	1014
ξεπνεμένες	685	ποκορφής	566	στριφοβούκινα	1050
ξεροδάχτυλα	860	πολυαχνάρη	559	στρουφοκέρατο	1130
ξεροκάλαμα	929	πολυδουλεμένο	195	σύγιο	787
ξερόπετρα	803	πολυκάρπτου	398	συδαλούν	179
ξεσηλιωθήκα	145	πολύστηθο	478	σύθρηνο	979
ξέσφαλε	530	πολύψυχο	478	σύλογγο	346
ξεφαίνει	863	πονοκαταλύτης	313	συμπλάκωνε	1217
ξεφωναχτά	379	πουλαρόδειχνε	865	συσηλίζει	335
ξεχάσκωνε	1098	πουρπούριζε	935	σύφλογα	534
ξώγλυφα	1104	πρόσβραδο	1061	σφηνομπολιάζει	1260
ολάκριβο	1219	προυντζάρματα	760	σφιχτοκουβαριασμένοι	736
ολόρφανο	445	πρωτάνθια	789	σφιχτομονηταρίζουν	168
ορθαμολήσει	392	πρωταφράτο	147	σώχωρο	920
ορθοσυμπερπατούνε	899	πρωτονογήθη	1153	ταβλοκαθισμένοι	1300
ορθοτανύστη	1174	πρωτόπνι	229	τετράφλογο	543
ορθοχωνώσα	1191	πυκνόπαχη	999	τίγρισα	122
ουρανοσάλευτου	515	πωρικοκαρπίζει	1204	τολμητερά	245
παιγνιώτη	452	ρηγικιά	364	τραγουδάρχοντας	1188
παιχνιδοματίζουν	1013	ριζοχωματίσω	188	τραγουδαφεντάδες	1016
παλιοκαύκαλο	215	ροδογαλάζιους	114	τραγουδοκόπαδα	1202
πανωπύργι	1246	ροδοστήθα	1336	τραγουδομοιρολόι	1328
παραθεούς	391	ρουχάζοντας	579	τριζοκοπάαν	587
πατριδοσαπίσω	1294	σαρανταπήχιασε	1058	υπνωμένα	736
περγελαχτά	287	σιγόθρυψε	860	φαμεγικών	290
πέργιαλος	375	σκλαβερά	457	φεγγαροπαίζουν	1096

φεγγιά	434	χαμάσκωναν	744	χοντρολόγαε	1162
φιδόκορμα	1347	χαμοβλεφαρίσαν	1010	χοντροχόχλαδο	285
φλογαντηλαρίσαν	95	χαμοκέλαηδα	1322	χορταροπλανταγμένοι	700
φλογοπόδαρα	1366	χαρατσάρης	881	χορτοπλεξούδες	769
φλογοσουρανούσες	1278	χαροστρούγκα	749	χρουσοκέφαλα	89
φρασκί	138	χασμολογάται	928	χρουσοξόμπλιαστο	298
φρένια	360	χαχάριζαν	587	χρουσοσπάλαθου	790
φτερακίσματα	218	χειμασμένη	88	χρυσοςπάργανα	1218
φτερουγοκοπούσε	375	χελιά	1021	χωματοβοδάκια	1224
φτωχοχαμομήλι	713	χελιδονιάρη	721	χωματόφραχτα	737
φυρογόνατα	908	χεράκωσα	311	χωριατόγαμπρος	1355
χαλικοπλαγιά	985	χνότισε	1071	χωριατόστηθα	1002
χαλκοδεμένες	489	χνουδάστραφτε	690	ψιλαέθει	502
χαλκόχυτα	625	χοντροδαχτυλίδια	551	ψυχαρπάχτη	413
χαλόδοντα	267	χοντροκόπαδα	392	ψυχοσούρτης	778
χαμαδός	1195	χοντρολιές	1169	ψωμοδότρα	874

Πίνακας 3 Σώμα Αθησαύριστων Λέξεων της ραψωδίας Α΄ της ΟΔΥΣΣΕΙΑΣ

5. Αντί επιλόγου

Με την παρουσίαση μέρους του ποιητικού γλωσσικού πλούτου της ΟΔΥΣΣΕΙΑΣ ανακαλύψαμε την αξόδυνη φαντασία της τέχνης και της τεχνικής του Καζαντζάκη όπως αυτή φωλιάζει και αργοσέρνεται στις νεολογικές λεξιλογικές επιλογές του έπους του. Ο συγγραφέας αποκαλύπτεται ως ένας μαέστρος των εσωτερικών ρυθμικών δομών των ποιητικών λέξεων, ως ένας ζωγράφος όπου «η λέξη μιλάει με την εικόνα» και ακολούθως «η σκέψη» του αποδίδεται «ολοένα σε ζωγραφιές» (Πρεβελάκης, 1958) και τέλος, ως ένας δημιουργός-ποιητής που πάλευε ασταμάτητα να μαγέψει τη λέξη, να ανανεώσει την σημασία της, να τη μεταμορφώσει σε μια άλλη νεολογική ορμή χαρίζοντας της μια νέα δομή, μια νέα μορφή, μια νέα ποιητική δύναμη· θαρραλέος πολεμιστής λέξεων, φράσεων και νοημάτων, ο Καζαντζάκης δεν σταματά να γράφει την ΟΔΥΣΣΕΙΑ με απλά υλικά που ουσιαστικά αποτελούν ένα οπλοστάσιο νεολογικής και ποιητικής δημιουργικότητας· δεν σταματά, δεν πνίγεται, δεν χορταίνει:

*Ψυχή μεγάλη, η γης δεν σε χωράει, τα σπίτια σε φοβούνται,
καλά το πεθυμούσες τέλεψες και το άχτι σου έβγαλές το.*

(Καζαντζάκης 1967:Θ 751-752)

Ένας δημιουργός που δεν χωράει στη γη που και ακόμα τώρα που έχει τελειώσει την ποιητική του δημιουργία είναι αμφίβολο αν διαφαίνεται ότι έβγαλε το άχτι του.

Ο Καζαντζάκης αποκαλύπτεται ως ένας συγγραφέας με ιδιαίτερη σχέση με το λεξικό πλούτο· μια σχέση Καζαντζάκη και Λέξης ερωτική και συνάμα σχέση απόρριψης· γιατί η νέα πρωτότυπη άγραφη λέξη, η αποτύπωση του κάθε νεολογικού τύπου είναι για αυτόν η απόλυτη ικανοποίηση και η επιστημονική ανακάλυψη:

*Να γυρίζεις την Ελλάδα, με τεντωμένο το αυτί, ν' ακούς από
το στόμα του λαού τη λέξη παρθένα ακόμα, χιλιάδες χρόνια
αμουντζάλωτη από το μελάνι, και να την παίρνεις μαζί σου,
όπως κλέφτουμε τη γυναίκα που αγαπούμε, με κουρσάρικη
αναγάλια! Να σκαρφαλώνεις βουνά, να πεινάς, να διψάς,
να 'σαι κατάσκοπος, και ξαφνικά να τα ξεχνάς όλα γιατί
αντάμωσες ένα βοσκό και σε φίλεψε μιαν άγνωστη
“περίλαμπρη” λέξη.*

(Καζαντζάκης 1941:106)

Τις «περίλαμπρες» λέξεις της *ΟΔΥΣΣΕΙΑΣ* προσπαθήσαμε να σας μετα-δώσουμε όπως αυτές εντάσσονται στη γλωσσολογική κατανομή των νεολογικών αθησαύριστων. Οι λέξεις είναι μορφικά στοιχεία του ποιητικού λόγου του Καζαντζάκη που φαίνονται και υπάρχουν· που μπορούμε να τις μετρήσουμε, να τις καταγράψουμε και να τις κατηγοριοποιήσουμε.

Η ψυχή της ποιητικής του Καζαντζάκη, όμως, είναι αζόδευτη· ταξιδεμένη κι αταξίδευτη μέσα σε γνωστές-άγνωστες λέξεις. Οδοιπόρος της γλώσσας ο Καζαντζάκης μέσα στην ποιητική του δημιουργία, περιπλανώμενοι κι εμείς στους οδυσσειακούς του στίχους:

*Είδες νερά πολλά, ταξίδεψες, είδες πολλούς ανθρώπους,
και πεταλούδισες αχόρταγο σε κάθε γης λουλουδι
κι αργά πιπίλισες το μέλι του και το φαρμάκι εφράθης·
και τώρα σαν αιτόπουλο κουρνιαξ στα κράκουρα του νου μου,
κι η γης πολλά στενή σου φαίνεται και τ' όζω πλούτος φτώχεια,
κι αναγυρνάς φλογάτο, στρογγυλό στο μέσα αγριμολόι·
ας είσαι βλογημένο, μάτι μου, που χορτασμό δεν έχεις!*

(Καζαντζάκης 1967:Π 495-501)

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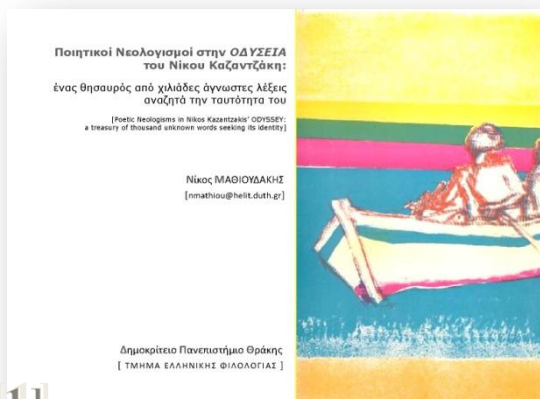
Παράρτημα:

Οι διαφάνειες της προφορικής παρουσίασης στο συνέδριο του 10ου ΔΣΕΓ.

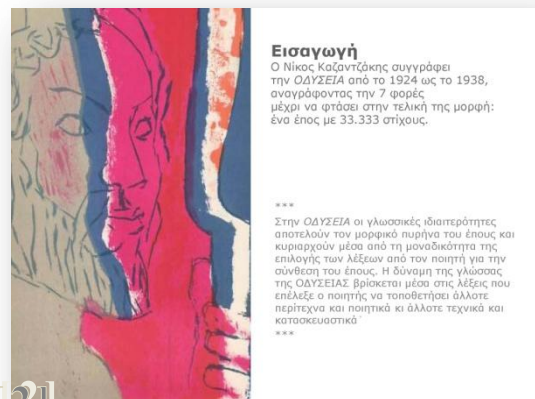
Οι πίνακες που κοσμούν αισθητικά τις διαφάνειες είναι από τη γαλλική έκδοση της *ΟΔΥΣΣΕΙΑΣ*:

Kazantzakis, Nikos. 1968-69. *L'Odyssée*. (μετάφραση στα γαλλικά Jacqueline Moatti) Παρίσι: Plon
[με λιθογραφίες των André Cottavoz, Paul Guiramaud, André Minaux, Walter Spitzer]

[1]



[2]



[3]



[4]



**Καταγραφή και Επεξεργασία
Νεολογισμών**

- Προηγούμενες λεξιλογικές έρευνες στην *ΟΔΥΣΣΕΙΑ*
- 1932: Πρεβελάκης (Μαρινάκης, 2004)
- 1979: Γιακουμάκη (Γιακουμάκη, 1982)

Κατά την ανάγνωση:
οποιαδήποτε λέξη παρουσίαζε
γλωσσική ιδιαιτερότητα
και δεν ήταν σύμφωνη με το γλωσσικό είδημα
της κοινής ελληνικής

Κατά την επεξεργασία:
δημιουργήσαμε ένα σώμα κειμένου
που είχε τη μορφή:

λέξη> ραφωδιά> στήχος> συγκείμενο



[5]



**Τυπολογία
Ποιητικών Νεολογισμών**

Α) Παραγωγικότητα:
1. βάση+ επίθημα:
α. παράγωγα
β. παρασύνθετα
2. πρόθημα ή α' συνθετικό+βάση:
α. απλά σύνθετα
β. πολυσύνθετα

Β) Δάνεια:
1. Εξωτερικά:
α. προσαρμωμένα (συμμορφωμένα)
β. απροσάρμωστα (ασυμμορφωτα)
γ. δάνειες λεκτικές μονάδες (μεταφραστικά δάνεια)
2. Εσωτερικά:
αλλαγή σημασίας σε λεκτικές μονάδες της ίδιας
γλωσσικής ομάδας

Γ) Ονοματοποιία

[6]

Παραδείγματα μέσα από την ΟΔΥΣΣΕΙΑ

δεξιάς:
Ο δεξιάς γελει ταντασισά, ξεκόσμηκε ο λαιμός του:
«Εσείς, μωρέ, γρηάτε ποταμό, και δεν το κόβει ο νους σας
πως η κική! Ύαι ο ποταμός, ψική μονάχα αντιφασίμ
κι αν ξεπεζαίω απόψε απ' το κορμί, πόλε η στρατιά δε χάτη!»

κοσμοπαρηγόρη:
Όλο το μέγα σώμα ελάνησε του κοσμοπαρηγόρη
κι αργό, χιονοκαρόβι, βλαμνίδες και πυρικό και ιντήπι,
σαν καταγνώ στο πάλο σάλεσαν κι ως δροσυλίες φθίγαν.

θαλασοσφύριδο:
Με τόση, μπορούσαν ως αρπάζονταν ο Χάλας στην πλώρα,
δεχόμινε μες στο αεροπέλαγο γαλίζο κοροβονί
γυλιωτό, στο θαλασοσφύριδο ν' ανεβοκατέβαινε.

χεραγκαλιά:
Οι πέτρες πέταξαν γερόφυλα, τα σμειομένα μπόι,
σαν άρχοντας με τα χροιά σκαυτά κατάνη ο μέγας ήλιος
καταρραυά με τη γυναικα του τη φασεροντυμένη
και μοίραζε φτερά στους σκούληκους κι ανθρώι στα χορταράκια.

φειγαροστάζουν:
Μυρίζει η γης το κρινογασμί, γυνινές κοπέλες γένωνται
κι απλογερών κροστ' στους άρχοντας και ρόδα στις κεράδες
πλητά φαιγαροστάζουν τα δεινρά, σπύθην οι χροαίρες
κι ελωδισσάς ιδρώας δροσπός παχνίζι τα κορμιά τους.

νιπτινίζον:
Κι οι νύχτες άρμωζαν τ' αστέρια τους στις μαύρες τροχλίες τους,
κι ως άγριες χήρες, αροπόληρες, στον όχτο κατέβαιναν,
και σπασαύαν τα βροχόλο τους τ' αστρομυρμελάκινα.

φουφρουριτά:
Το κύματα αλαφρά, φουφρουριτά, με το ήλαρι σπάζαν,
τα όρνια κολλάδα σαν αρνά βαριά στα βράγια κοντοπάζαν,
κι αρχοντά σπριάνουν με κοιλίες χορτάτες οι κοράκια.



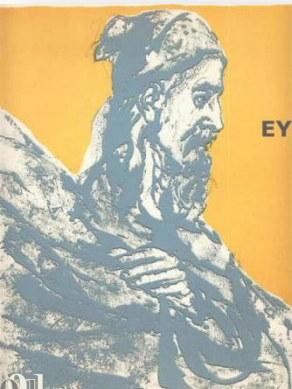
[7]

*Είδες νερά πολλά, ταξίδεψες, είδες πολλούς
και πεταλούδισες αχόρταγο σε κάθε γης λουλουδι
κι αργά πιπιλίσες το μέλι του και το φαρμάκι
εφραθής
και τώρα σαν αιτόπουλο κουνριάς στα κράκουρα
/ του νου μου,
κι η γης πολλά στενή σου φαίνεται και τ' άω
πλούτος φτώχεια,
κι αναγυρνάς φλογάτο, στρογγυλό στο μέσα
σνιμολοί
ας είσαι βλογημένο, μάτι μου, που χορτασμό δεν
έχει!*

(Ν. Καζνιτζίκης, Οδόσσα, Π 495-501)



[8]



**ΕΥΧΑΡΙΣΤΟΥΜΕ ΠΟΛΥ
THANK YOU**

[9]

**ΛΕΞΙΚΟΓΡΑΦΙΚΕΣ ΕΠΙΛΟΓΕΣ ΓΙΑ ΤΗ ΣΥΓΓΡΑΦΗ
ΕΝΟΣ ΠΟΙΗΜΑΤΟΣ:
ΕΝΑ ΑΔΗΜΟΣΙΕΥΤΟ ΣΗΜΕΙΩΜΑΤΑΡΙΟ
ΤΟΥ ΝΙΚΟΥ ΚΑΖΑΝΤΖΑΚΗ**

Νικόλαος Μαθιουδάκης
Δημοκρίτειο Πανεπιστήμιο
Θράκης, Ελλάδα
nikosmathiouis@gmail.com

Λένα Παπαδοπούλου
Δημοκρίτειο Πανεπιστήμιο
Θράκης, Ελλάδα
papadopoulou.lena@gmail.com

ABSTRACT

The present paper illustrates the lexicographical formalization of the unedited notebook by Nikos Kazantzakis which has been composed in order to assist the author in his lexical selections during the writing of ODYSSEY. The inventory of the Cretan writer has been systematically formalized according to the Lexique actif du français (LAF) of Mel'èuk και Polguère (2007). The compilation of the Active Lexicon of ODYSSEY Notebook (ALON) by Nikos Kazantzakis is systematically described. Through this description the writing process that the author followed from the conception of an idea to its representation is elucidated.

Keywords: active lexicon, LAF, unedited notebook, Odyssey, Kazantzakis, poetic grammar

1. Εισαγωγή

Η συγγραφή ενός ποιήματος και γενικότερα ενός λογοτεχνικού κειμένου παραμένει ένας από τους άλυτους γρίφους της δημιουργικής σκέψης, ένα σκοτεινό μυστήριο της ανθρώπινης έκφρασης και διανόησης. Οι επιστήμες της λογοτεχνίας και της γλωσσολογίας συνεργάζονται προκειμένου να φωτίσουν τις άγνωστες πτυχές του φαινομένου της έκφρασης, δίνοντας τη δυνατότητα σε κλάδους όπως η υφολογία και η ποιητική –οι οποίοι θεωρούνται αναπόσπαστο κομμάτι και των δύο επιστημών– να αναδειξουν τα κύρια σημεία και τις ειδοποιούς διαφορές του έντεχνου λόγου από τις άλλες τέχνες και από τα άλλα είδη της γλωσσικής συμπεριφοράς. Η υφολογία και η ποιητική προσπαθούν να χαρτογραφήσουν την ασαφή περιοχή του ποιητικού φαινομένου και να εξηγήσουν επαρκώς το λογοτεχνικό γεγονός και τους κανόνες που το διέπουν.

Πολλοί επιστήμονες που ασχολούνται με το ύφος υποστηρίζουν ότι είναι επιτακτική ανάγκη η μελέτη ενός λογοτεχνικού κειμένου όχι μόνο εξωγενώς κρίνοντας τα βασικά χαρακτηριστικά του αλλά και ενδογενώς προσπαθώντας να αποκαλυφθούν, όσο είναι βέβαια δυνατόν, οι συνθήκες και οι παράγοντες που οδήγησαν στην λογοτεχνική σύλληψη και μετέπειτα στην ποιητική αποτύπωση. Απόκρυφα λογοτεχνικά κείμενα, χειρόγραφες σημειώσεις, ανέκδοτα πρωτόλεια δημοσιεύονται κατά καιρούς τα οποία δύνανται να αποτελέσουν την πηγή στοιχείων και πληροφοριών που αποκαλύπτουν τη θέση και τη σκέψη του συγγραφέα απέναντι στο δημιούργημά του.

Το αδημοσίευτο σημειωματάριο του Νίκου Καζαντζάκη αποτελεί ένα αδιάψευστο επιχείρημα σχετικά με το ζήτημα της λεξιθηρικής συνήθειας των συγγραφέων προτού εκφράσουν την έμπνευσή τους και ποιήσουν την ιδέα τους. Μιας έλλογης συνήθειας που θα μπορούσαμε να την παρομοιάσουμε με την προετοιμασία του πολεμιστή που οχυρώνεται και σπλίζεται με κατάλληλα εφόδια για να μπορέσει να αγωνιστεί και να επικρατήσει στη μάχη. Με τον ίδιο ακριβώς τρόπο ο κάθε συγγραφέας εμπλουτίζει και ενισχύει το γλωσσικό του οπλοστάσιο, αναζητώντας λέξεις και φράσεις που θα μπορούσαν να τον βοηθήσουν στη συγγραφή του ποιητικού του μηνύματος.

Ο Καζαντζάκης αποτελεί ένα αντιπροσωπευτικό δείγμα ενός διανοητή συγγραφέα που αναζητούσε συνεχώς την καταλληλότερη εκφραστικά και την πιο δυσεύρετη λέξη για να αποδώσει με ακρίβεια και σαφήνεια την ποιητική του ιδέα (Αλεξίου-Αποσκίτου 1978, Καζαντζάκης 1993, Καζαντζάκη 1998), αναδεικνύοντας όχι μόνο τη μοναδικότητα της λέξης αλλά και την πολυεπίπεδη διάσταση της ίδιας της γλώσσας. Παρόμοιες λεξιλογικές αναζητήσεις μαρτυρούνται είτε από χειρόγραφες σημειώσεις είτε

από μελέτες και άρθρα για αρκετούς έλληνες συγγραφείς όπως ο Κοραΐς, ο Σολωμός, ο Παλαμάς, ο Ελύτης.

Οι λειτουργίες της γλώσσας και τα επίπεδα ανάλυσής της αποδεικνύουν την έντονη ποιητικότητα της ως ανθρώπινο φαινόμενο της έκφρασης και της επικοινωνίας. Οι επιλογές και οι αποκλίσεις των συγγραφέων δίνουν ανανεωτική πνοή στη γλώσσα φανερώνοντας την αισθητική δύναμη του γλωσσικού φαινομένου με αποτέλεσμα να υπάρχει η δυνατότητα αποκάλυψης για εκείνο που ονομάζεται ποίηση της γλώσσας και γλώσσα της ποίησης (Jakobson 1981). Επομένως, οι λεξιλογικές επιλογές κάθε συγγραφέα αποτελούν την ιδιαίτερη ποιητική του γραμματική (poetic grammar, Jakobson 1981 1998), την αποτύπωση της προσωπικής του ταυτότητας κατά τη διαδικασία από τη σύλληψη της συγγραφικής του ιδέας, της μετατροπής του ερεθίσματος σε θέμα και σε τελική έκφραση του μηνύματος προς τους αναγνώστες (Μπαμπινιώτης 1991, Χαραλαμπίδης 2001).

Η ποιητική γραμματική του κάθε συγγραφέα δεν αποτελεί την παθητική παρατήρηση ενός φαινομένου ή ενός γεγονότος αλλά αποτελεί τον μοχλό ενεργοποίησης μηχανισμών που έγκειται τόσο στην ανάγνωση και φυσικά στην κατανόηση ενός λογοτεχνικού κειμένου αλλά κυρίως στη μάθηση νέων μεθόδων έκφρασης. Για το λόγο αυτό η σύγχρονη γλωσσολογία έχει στραφεί στη διερεύνηση της ποιητικής πράξης από γλωσσολογική σκοπιά με κυρίαρχο σκοπό την ανάδειξη των ιδιαίτερων χαρακτηριστικών της γραφής των λογοτεχνών. Παράδειγμα αποτελεί η περίπτωση του Καζαντζάκη που αγωνίζεται συνεχώς για την ποιητική του επιβίωση και μάχεται ανάμεσα σε χιλιάδες λέξεις, —όπως αποκαλύπτεται και μέσα από το αδημοσίευτο σημειωματάριο του που περιγράφεται αναλυτικά στη συνέχεια—, ενισχύοντας την πρωτότυπη γραφή του και το ιδιοσυγκρασιακό του λεξιλόγιο (Μαθιουδάκης 2010, Μαθιουδάκης & Καμπάκη-Βουγιουκλή 2010).

Η αγωνία της έκφρασης και ο ακατάπαυστος αγώνας του Καζαντζάκη με τον εσωτερικό του κόσμο αποκαλύπτεται σε έναν στίχο που καταγράφεται στην αρχή του ανέκδοτου σημειωματαρίου του ως μια μορφή προμετωπίδας: «Εργάτης είμαι, εργάτης κ' δουλέβω / στην άβυσσο της Μοίρας κρεμασμένος!».

2. Περιγραφή σημειωματαρίου

2.1 Τυπογραφική περιγραφή

Το *Σημειωματάριο του Νίκου Καζαντζάκη* (ΣΝΚ) αποτελεί ένα ιδιόγραφο προσωπικό λεξικό που στην πραγματικότητα είναι ένα ημερολόγιο γαλλικού εκδοτικού οίκου του έτους 1931 (*Agenda pour 1931*), το οποίο ανήκει στο αρχειακό υλικό του Μουσείου Νίκου Καζαντζάκη (ΑΥΤ. 218), στο χωριό Μυρτιά, στην Κρήτη. Το ΣΝΚ είναι αχρονολόγητο, αλλά μπορούμε να προσδιορίσουμε ότι ο κρητικός συγγραφέας το χρησιμοποίησε κοντά στα τέλη του έτους 1930, ίσως και μέχρι το 1938 (οπότε εκδόθηκε η *ΟΔΥΣΣΕΙΑ*).

Το ΣΝΚ έχει ένα χοντρό εξώφυλλο κατασκευασμένο από μπορντό δέρμα και βρίσκεται σε χάρτινη θήκη πολυτελείας. Στις πρώτες σελίδες (Εικόνα 1) του αναγράφεται μια ιδιόχειρη σημείωση του συγγραφέα, ως μορφή τίτλου «Words, words, words.» ενώ από κάτω δηλώνει ότι «(μονάχα ότι μπορεί να χρειαστεί για την ΟΔΥΣΣΕΙΑ και ΑΚΡΙΤΑ)». Οι αγγλικές λέξεις «words» είναι γραμμένες με κόκκινο μολύβι όπως και η λέξη «ΑΚΡΙΤΑ», δημιουργώντας την υποψία ότι προστέθηκαν μεταγενέστερα από την αρχική σύνταξη του ΣΝΚ. Άλλωστε το έργο ΑΚΡΙΤΑΣ είναι μια ιδέα του Καζαντζάκη για τη συγγραφή ενός έπους δίδυμου της *ΟΔΥΣΣΕΙΑΣ* το οποίο ποτέ δεν υλοποιήθηκε (Πρεβελάκης 1984:483-490).

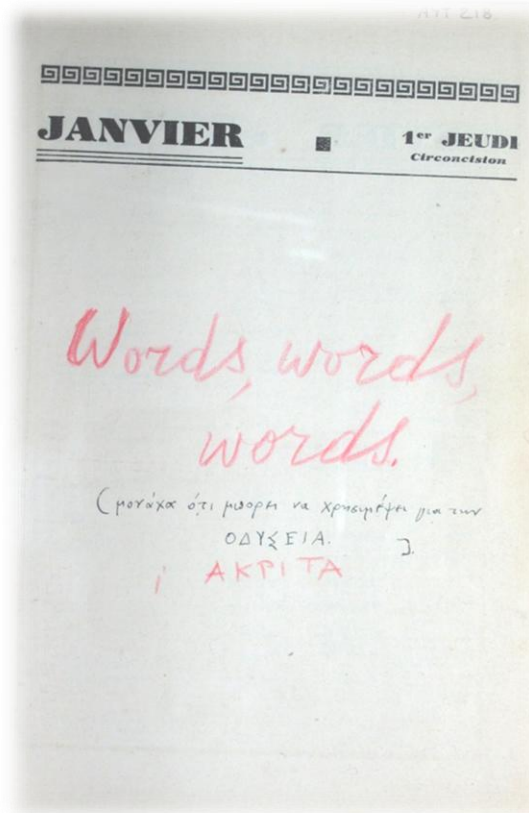
Η εσωτερική δομή του είναι χωρισμένη σε ένα μεγάλο αριθμό θεματικών ενότητων. Πρόκειται για έναν αληθινό γλωσσικό θησαυρό έκτασης 383 σελίδων χειρόγραφου (σύμφωνα με την ιδιόχειρη αρίθμηση του συγγραφέα με μολύβι). Οι σελίδες αριθμούνται στη δεξιά σελίδα μονάχα με μονούς αριθμούς (3, 5, 7, κοκ), ενώ δεν αναγράφονται καθόλου οι ζυγοί αριθμοί (2, 4, 6, κοκ). Στο συνολικό αριθμό των σελίδων του ΣΝΚ βρίσκονται 151 κενές/άγραφες σελίδες, ενώ υπάρχουν 12 ανακρίβειες και ανακολουθίες σελίδων εξαιτίας λανθασμένης αρίθμησης. Ο Καζαντζάκης καταγράφει το κυρίως υλικό του με μαύρο μελάνι εκτός από ορισμένες διορθώσεις, ενώ υπάρχουν και ορισμένα αποκόμματα φύλλων χαρτιού με διάφορες λεξιλογικές πληροφορίες ενσωματωμένα στις σελίδες του ΣΝΚ.

Ο Καζαντζάκης καταγράφει τις σημειώσεις του ακολουθώντας τις ορθογραφικές του απόψεις. Για τις ορθογραφικές ιδιαιτερότητες του συγγραφέα οι οποίες αποτελούν ένα είδος ορθογραφικού «πιστεύω» γίνεται αναλυτική αναφορά από τον ίδιο στην εισαγωγή του *Λεξιλογίου* που συνόδευε την πρώτη έκδοση της *ΟΔΥΣΣΕΙΑΣ* (1938). Συγκεκριμένα αναφέρει ότι «σημαδέβεται ένας μονάχα τόνος, η οξεία, που μπαίνει στην τονιζόμενη συλλαβή· αν όμως η λέξη τονίζεται στη λήγουσα δε σημαδέβεται ο τόνος. Μερικές μονοσύλλαβες λέξεις παίρνουν τόνο για να ξεχωρίσουν από τις ομώνυμές τους: να, τί; πού; πώς; ως (έως) γιά (ή) μά (ορκοτικό) κλπ. Και μερικές πολυσύλλαβες: γιατί; ωχού, αχού, αλοί, καταπού; κλπ. Απλοποιήθηκε λίγο η ορθογραφία· καταργήθηκαν τα διπλά σύμφωνα· μονάχα, επειδή

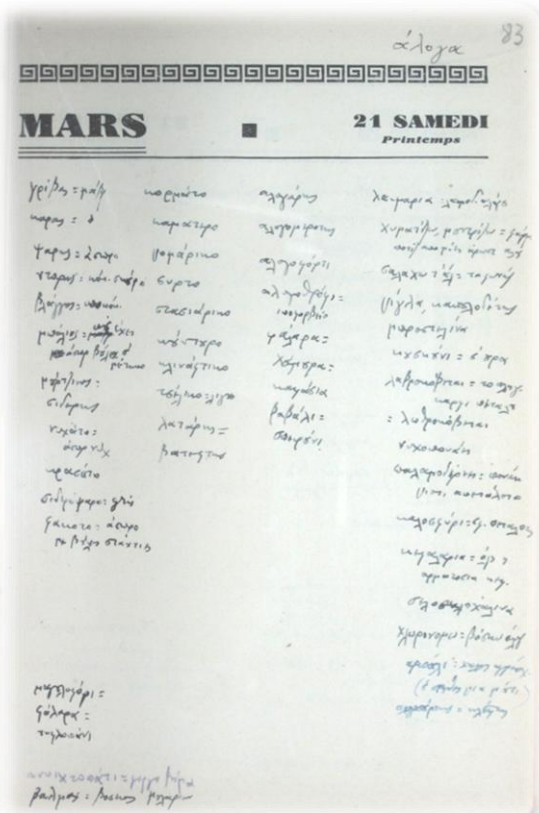
υπάρχει ανάγκη προφοράς, διατηρήθηκαν τα διο γ: αγγίζω, φαλάγγι κλπ» (Καζαντζάκης 1938). Ο συγγραφέας παρόλο που αναφέρει ο ίδιος τις «ορθογραφικές πρωτοτυπίες» του, αποσιωπά την ύπαρξη και μερικών άλλων (Bien 1972) όπως είναι:

- i. η απλοποίηση του γράμματος $-ω$, π.χ. στην περίπτωση των ρημάτων (αλλά και στα παράγωγά τους) που λήγουν σε $-ώνω$ τα οποία τα γράφει ως $-όνω$ ή του χρονικού επιρρήματος που το γράφει *τόρα* αντί *τόρω*,
- ii. η απαλοιφή $-σχεδόν$ οριστική του γράμματος $-υ$, π.χ. το αριθμητικό 2 το γράφει ως *διο* αντί *δυο* ή στους διφθόγγους που φωνολογικά προφέρεται ως [f] ή ως [v], το αντικαθιστά με τα σύμφωνα $-φ$ ή $-β$ αντίστοιχα.

Το ΣΝΚ παραμένει μέχρι και σήμερα αδημοσίευτο και επιστημονικά ανεξερεύνητο, ενώ αποτελεί ένα σώμα δεδομένων αθησαύριστων λέξεων, το οποίο ο ίδιος ο συγγραφέας συνέλεξε από κάθε μεριά της Ελλάδας με σκοπό να συμπεριλάβει τμήμα του στους στίχους του έπους του, της *ΟΔΥΣΣΕΙΑΣ*. Ο Καζαντζάκης αποθησαύριζε και κατέγραφε λέξεις «από το στόμα του λαού» (Πρεβελάκης 1958 1984) με κύριο μέλημα του να τις διασώσει και να τις κληροδοτήσει στους απόγονους νεοέλληνες.



Εικόνα 1 Εσώφυλλο ΣΝΚ



Εικόνα 2 Λήμμα άλγοιο (ΣΝΚ, σελ. 83)

2.2 Περιγραφή περιεχομένου

Το γλωσσικό υλικό είναι οργανωμένο από τον ίδιο το συγγραφέα σε 121 διαφορετικές θεματικές ενότητες (λχ. μέλη του σώματος, επαγγέλματα, εργαλεία, ζώα, φυτά, πράγματα, συναισθήματα, φράσεις, εκφράσεις, παροιμίες, λήμματα από λεξικά, αποσπάσματα από άλλα λογοτεχνικά έργα κá), όπως αυτές θα του ήταν χρήσιμες κατά την ποιητική του δημιουργία. Ενδεικτικά μία σελίδα του ΣΝΚ (Εικόνα 2) έχει την ονομασία της θεματικής ενότητας και από κάτω σε κάθετες στήλες περιλαμβάνει

λέξεις με ή χωρίς τη σημασία τους σχετιζόμενες μεταξύ τους και με την ενότητα. Συνολικά, σε όλες τις σελίδες του ΣΝΚ υπάρχουν περίπου 10.000 λεξικές μονάδες.

Στον παρακάτω πίνακα καταγράφονται οι τίτλοι/τα θέματα των ενότητων με τις αντίστοιχες σελίδες του σημειωματαρίου όπως αυτοί είναι γραμμένοι σύμφωνα με τις ορθογραφικές ιδιαιτερότητες του συγγραφέα. Ορισμένοι τίτλοι έχουν καταγραφεί περισσότερες από μία φορές αφού ο συγγραφέας αφιέρωσε για το συγκεκριμένο θέμα μεγαλύτερη έκταση, ενώ υπάρχουν και 69 σελίδες με γλωσσικό υλικό χωρίς την επισήμανση κάποιου θεματικού τίτλου.

Συγκεκριμένα οι θεματικές ενότητες του ΣΝΚ είναι:

σώμα - κόκαλα	2	στολή	45	ήλιος	100
σώμα	3	χρώματα	46	άστρα	101
χέρι, πόδι	4	χρώματα	47	καιροι	103
μάτια	5	φορεσια σ' 1821: Ρουμελιότες κ' Μωραΐτες	48	μάγια	104
αφτι - μύτη	6			ζωτικά	105
στόμα	7	Φούρνος	51	φως	106
στήθος	8	αργαλιος	52	ήχος	107
κοιλια	9	αργαλιος	53	ανέμοι	108
μαλια	10	λιοτριβιο - μαγγανοπήγαδο	54	νερο	109
δέρμα	11	νερο, ανεμόμυλος	57	μήνες	111
φυσιολογικα	12	καμίνι	58	Φυτα	115
φυσιολογικα	13	ληνος	59	χόρτα	117
ύπνος - ξύπνος	14	βοσκος	62	λουλούδια - καρποι	119
βιολογικα: γένα	16	βοσκος	63	στάρι, αμπέλι	120
γένα - μωρο	17	βοσκος	64	κάμπος	122
αρώστιες	18	κυνηγος	67	βουνο	123
αρώστιες	19	γεωργος	69	ελια	124
αρώστιες	20	ψαρας	70	σύκα	125
αρώστιες	21	ψαρας	71	καράβι	127
αρώστιες ζώων	22	θαλασινα	72	καράβι	128
θάνατος	24	μαραγκος	74	καράβι	129
θάνατος	25	χαλκιας	75	1821	146
οικογενειακα	26	ράφτης	76	κοινότητα	147
γάμος	27	αγωγιάτης	77	ούσα	158
έρωτας	29	χτίστης	78	Ψάλη: 40 εκκλησιες: Ν. Ζαφειρίου: Σάμος	245
πόλεμος	30	ζωγράφος	79		
πόλεμος	31	σκύλοι	82	Ακρίτας: Μηλιαράκη	246
θυμος	32	άλογα	83	Κάλυμνος	248
χαρα	34	ζώα	84	Κρητικος πόλεμος: Ανθίμου Διακρούση	250
χαρα	35	βόδια	85		
σπίτι	36	έντομα	86	Φτωχοπρόδρομος	251
σπίτι	39	μέλισες	87	Διονυσίου Ιερομονάχου: Ερμηνεία τής ζωγραφικής	252
σπιτικα	40	Ονόματα	88		
σπιτικα	41	φίδια κλπ.	89	Φράσεις	255
φαγια	42	πουλια.	91	γένα: Σκύρος	267
φαγια	43	φωνες ζώων	92	Χιακον γλωσσ.: Αμαντου	284
ρούχα	44	φεγγάρι	99	Λαογραφικά Καρπάθου: Μ. Μιχαηλίδου-Νοάρου	286

Μακρυγιάννης	290	βαρέλι	302	Λεξ. Ακαδημ. ΑΝ –	336
"Απομνημονεύματα Κολοκοτρώνη" Γ. Τερτσέτη	291	Διονυσίου του εκ Φουρνα: Ερμηνεία ζωγραφ. Τέχνης	303	λεξ. Ακαδ.	342
Γ. Καλονάρου: Χρονικον του Μωρέως	293	Αγιονόρος	306	παροιμίες	352
Μακρυγιάνη	295	Βυζ.	307	Παροιμίες	354
Βλαχογιάνη: "Μεγ.Χρόνια"	296	συνώνυμα	315	φορεσια γυν. σ' Ρουμολίκι	362
Λ. Μαχαίρα: "Χρονικον" Κύπρου (15ο)	298	συνώνυμα	316	Βαλαωρίτης	364
Φτωχοπρόδρομος	299	συνώνυμα	317	Ονόματα γυν. (Κοζάνη, 1790)	366
Αγόριανη	300	απο	318	Λεξικο Ηπίτη	374
		Λεξικο Ακαδημ. Α - ΑΜ.	332	δικέζμου	377
		Λεξ. Δημητράκου	334		

Πίνακας 1 Αναλυτικά οι θεματικές ενότητες του σημειωματαρίου

Οι ενότητες του ΣΝΚ αποτελούν μια μορφή ειδικού λεξικού ή αλλιώς ποιητικού λεξιλογίου στο οποίο ο συγγραφέας κατηγοριοποίησε τις λέξεις που επρόκειτο να χρησιμοποιήσει σε ομάδες ανάλογα με τις σημασιολογικές τους σχέσεις, προκειμένου να του είναι εύκολο προς αναζήτηση τις κατάλληλης λέξης τη στιγμή της δημιουργίας, τη στιγμή της αποτύπωσης του ερεθίσματος ή της έμπνευσης του σε μορφή μηνύματος με αποδέκτη τον κάθε αναγνώστη.

Ο ανεπίσημος αυτός κατάλογος λέξεων του Καζαντζάκη είναι μια προσπάθεια άτυπης μορφής σύνταξης ενός λεξικού το οποίο θα μπορούσε να φανεί χρήσιμο αφού παραμένει μια πηγή γλωσσικού υλικού τόσο για τους γλωσσολόγους όσο και για τους μελετητές του έργου του συγκεκριμένου συγγραφέα.

Επομένως αποφασίσαμε να μελετήσουμε συστηματικά και να καταγράψουμε επιστημονικά το σύνολο του υλικού του ΣΝΚ, ώστε να δημιουργήσουμε ένα λεξικό σύμφωνα με τα μοντέλα της σύγχρονης λεξικολογίας. Το λεξικογραφικό μας εγχείρημα αυτό για μια συστηματική καταγραφή του αδημοσίετου ΣΝΚ ενσαρκώνεται στο *Ενεργό Λεξικό της ΟΔΥΣΣΕΙΑΣ του Καζαντζάκη* (ΕΛΟΚ).

3. Θεωρητικό πλαίσιο κατασκευής του ΕΛΟΚ

Θεωρητικό υπόβαθρο για την εκπόνηση του ΕΛΟΚ αποτέλεσε το *Ενεργό Λεξικό των Γαλλικών* (*Lexique actif du français, LAF*) των Mel'čuk και Polguère (2007), το οποίο αναπτύχθηκε στα πλαίσια της θεωρίας *Έννοιας ⇔ Κειμένου* (*Meaning ⇔ Text Theory, MTT*) (Mel'čuk et al 1995) με βασικό πρωτεργάτη τον Igor Mel'čuk.

Η επιλογή του συγκεκριμένου λεξικογραφικού μοντέλου έγκειται στην πλήρη εναρμόνιση των τεσσάρων βασικών του χαρακτηριστικών (Mel'čuk & Polguère 2007:14-17) με τον κύριο στόχο της μελέτης μας:

- i. Είναι ένα εξειδικευμένο λεξικό (*C'est un dictionnaire spécialisé*)
- ii. Είναι ένα λεξικό που βοηθά στην έκφραση (*C'est un dictionnaire qui aide à s'exprimer*)
- iii. Είναι ένα τυποποιημένο λεξικό (*C'est un dictionnaire formalisé*)
- iv. Είναι ένα λεξικό-δείγμα (*C'est un échantillon de dictionnaire*)

Πιο συγκεκριμένα, η εξειδίκευση του LAF αναφέρεται στην επικέντρωση της λεξικογραφικής περιγραφής στο φαινόμενο της σημασιολογικής παραγωγής και των ημιδεσμευμένων φρασμάτων¹. Επίσης, επισημαίνεται ο κατεξοχήν ενεργητικός χαρακτήρας του λεξικού, καθώς προτείνεται ως ένα υποβοηθητικό μέσο έκφρασης λόγου. Συνεπώς, η δομή του λεξικού αρθρώνεται με αμιγώς σημασιοσυντακτικά κριτήρια, γεγονός που καθιστά το μοντέλο αυτό ένα αξιόπιστο μέσο για την κατάδειξη της πορείας που ακολούθησε ο Καζαντζάκης από τη σύλληψη μιας έννοιας στη

¹ Ο όρος *ημιδεσμευμένα φράσματα* αντιστοιχεί στον όρο *semi-phrasemes* (Mel'čuk 1998) κι αναφέρεται στα δεσμευμένα φράσματα στα οποία το σημασιόμενο μιας εκ των συστατικών τους λέξης αλλάζει βάσει της συνεμφάνισής της με μια άλλη λέξη του φρασήματος.

σημασιολογική της αποτύπωση και ακολούθως στη σημασιολογική παραγωγή και στις λεξικογραφικές του επιλογές.

Το τρίτο χαρακτηριστικό αναφέρεται στην τυποποίηση, δηλαδή στη συνέπεια και τη σαφήνεια των συμβάσεων που χρησιμοποιούνται ούτως ώστε ο μεγάλος όγκος των λεξικογραφικών πληροφοριών να καταγράφεται με ένα συστηματικό, ακριβή και περιεκτικό τρόπο, συμβάλλοντας, αδιαμφισβήτητα, στην αποτελεσματικότητα της χρήσης του λεξικού. Τέλος, με το τέταρτο χαρακτηριστικό τονίζεται ότι το *LAF* αποτελεί ένα δείγμα. Με τον όρο αυτό οι συγγραφείς (Mel'ëuk & Polguère 2007) επισημαίνουν ότι το *LAF* αποτελεί ένα πειραματικό λεξικό που έχει ως στόχο να προτείνει ένα νέο λεξικογραφικό μοντέλο και να αποτελέσει ένα παιδαγωγικό λεξικογραφικό πρότυπο για την εκμάθηση του λεξιλογίου². Επομένως, σύμφωνα με τα δύο τελευταία χαρακτηριστικά, το *LAF* μας προσφέρει τη δυνατότητα συστηματικής περιγραφής του λεξιλογίου του Καζαντζάκη και του προσυγγραφικού σταδίου της *ΟΔΥΣΣΕΙΑ* του.

4. Δομή του ΕΛΟΚ

Η δομή του ΕΛΟΚ παρουσιάζει την ακόλουθη μορφή:

ΑΛΟΓΟ, ουσιαστικό, ουδέτερο,

I ΘΗΛΑΣΤΙΚΟ ΖΩΟ

II ΕΛΛΕΙΨΗ ΛΟΓΙΚΗΣ

I ΘΗΛΑΣΤΙΚΟ ΖΩΟ | σ. 83 |

Το άλογο ιππεύεται από ένα άτομο X

Α. με τρίχωμα χρώματος **μαύρου γρίβας, καρας** Α. με τρίχωμα χρώματος **άσπρου ψαρης** Α. με τρίχωμα χρώματος **κόκκινου σκούρου ντορης** Α. με τρίχωμα χρώματος υποκόκκινου/λίγο κόκκινου **βλάγγος** Α. που έχει **άσπρη βούλα στο μέτωπο μπόλιος** Α. με τρίχωμα χρώματος **σιδερί σιδερής, μούρτζινος** Α. με **άσπρο νύχια νυχάτο** Α. με τρίχωμα χρώματος κόκκινου του κρασιού **κρασάτο** Α. με τρίχωμα χρώματος **gris σιδερόψαρο** Α. με τρίχωμα χρώματος μαύρου **γρίβας** Α. με τρίχωμα χρώματος **άσπρου με σταχτιές βούλες φακοτο** Α. με γερό και στητό σώμα **κορμάτο** Α. που είναι εργατικό **καματερο** Α. σωματώδες **γομάρικο** Α. οικόσιτο, που το οδηγούν στη βοσκή, σύρνοντάς το με το σκονί **συρτο** Α. που ιδρώνει **στασιάρικο** Α. χωρίς πολύ τρίχωμα και κοντή ουρά ή που του έχει αποκοπεί μέρος της ουράς **κούντουρο** Α. με πεσμένα αυτιά ή με κλειστά αυτιά **κλινάφτικο** Α. **λιγνό τσέλικο** Α. επιβήτορας **λατάρης, βατεφτης** Χ. που ιππεύει το Α. **αλογάρης** Χ. που εξημερώνει το Α. **αλογομεροτης** φορτίο που μεταφέρει το Α. **αλογοφόρτι** μέρος όπου εκτρέφονται τα Α. **αλογοθρόφι, υποφορβείο** στολίδι του μετώπου, του χαλινარიού ή των ηνίων του Α. **φάλαρα** σαγή του Α. **χάμουρα, καφάσια** ηνία, χαλινό, παρωπίδες και συναφή εξαρτήματα του Α. **χάμουρα** μεταλλική αιχμή ή τροχίσκος που προσαρμόζεται στις φτέρνες των υποδημάτων του ατόμου Χ για να κεντρίζει το Α. **βαβάλι, σπειρούνη λαιμοδέτης** του Α. **λαιμαργιά φάρμ. ποτίζ** από **μύτη άρωστ αλογ.** Α. **χυματίζω, μουντρίζω φωνάζω** τα Α. **σαλαχω τ'** Α. το δερμάτινο πλατύ λουρί του σωματιού Α. **γίγλα** στολίδι για το δέσιμο των καπουλιών του Α. **καπουλοδέτης** στολίδι για το μπροστινό μέρος του Α. **μπροστελίνα** στολίδι για την ουρά του Α. **κουσκούνη** το πληγ καρφι πετάλου του Α. **λαβροκόβεται, λωθορόκόβεται, νυχοπονάει** το Α. **πονάει γιατί** (είναι) **απετάλοτο παλαμοδέρνει σφυρί του πεταλοτή** για το Α. **καλοσφύρι** όλη η αρματοσιά του κεφαλιού του Α. **κεφαλαριά,** αρματοσιά του Α. **σελοσκαλογάλινα βόσκω** Α. **χλωρονομώ χαλος αγριοχ** (στο στήθος για μάτι) **αρπάλι κλέφτης** Α. **αλογοσούρτης** γοργό βήμα Α. **ανοιχτοπάτι** πανί που κλείνουν τα μάτια του επιβήτορα Α. **τυφλοπάνι** πανί που καλύπτει τα μάγουλα του αλόγου **μαγουλοφόρι**

Ε σύντροφε, άλογο καματερο, το μερομόχτι ας πάψει! (Α, 815),

Και πάμε οι δυο και σεριανίζουμε καβάλα στ' άλογα μας (Β, 1326)

◇ «τα' άλογα γυρνω»

II ΕΛΛΕΙΨΗ ΛΟΓΙΚΗΣ

ενικός

© **τρέλα, ξετρελεμός, φρενιά, φρένιασμα, μούρλα, ζούρλα, βούρλισμα, αφορμάγρα, στρίψη, βίδα, λόξα, πετρία, θεοζάλια**

το να συμπεριφέρεται κτ με τρόπο Α. **φυρομιαλίζω, φεγγαριάζομαι, αλαλογω, μουρλαίνομαι** Α. σε ηλικιωμένο άνθρωπο **ξεμώραμα, ξεκούτιασμα, ξεκουρκούτιασμα**

Πίνακας 2 Δομή του λήμματος 'ΑΛΟΓΟ' στο ΕΛΟΚ

² Παιδαγωγικές εφαρμογές του *LAF* για την ελληνική γλώσσα βλ. Papadopoulou (2010 2011).

4.1 Μακροδομή

Τα λήμματα επιλέχθηκαν από τις θεματικές ενότητες του σημειωματαρίου με καθαρά σημασιολογικά κριτήρια σημασιολογικού πλούτου αλλά και με τον περιορισμό να παρουσιαστεί ένα λήμμα ανά γράμμα της ελληνικής αλφαβήτου.

Το ΕΛΟΚ, στο αρχικό στάδιο της κατασκευής του, αποτελείται από ένα μικρό ποσοτικά αριθμό εικοσιτεσσάρων λημμάτων:

1. ΑΛΟΓΟ	9. ΙΜΑΤΙΟ	17. ΡΑΦΤΗΣ
2. ΒΟΥΝΟ	10. ΚΑΡΑΒΙ	18. ΣΥΓΓΕΝΗΣ
3. ΓΑΜΟΣ	11. (Ε)ΛΙΑ	19. ΤΡΙΧΑ
4. ΔΟΝΤΙ	12. ΜΑΤΙΑ	20. ΥΠΝΟΣ
5. ΕΡΩΤΑΣ	13. ΝΕΟΓΕΝΝΗΤΟ	21. ΦΕΙΓΤΑΡΙ
6. ΖΩΓΡΑΦΟΣ	14. ΞΥΠΝ(Ι)ΟΣ	22. ΧΤΙΣΤΗΣ
7. ΗΛΙΟΣ	15. ΟΝΕΙΡΟ	23. ΨΑΡΑΣ
8. ΘΥΜΟΣ	16. ΠΟΛΕΜΟΣ	24. ΩΡΑ

Πίνακας 3 Λήμματα του ΕΛΟΚ

Η εκ πρώτης όψεως περιορισμένη μακροδομή αντιδιαστέλλεται από την πλούσια μικροδομή του, δεδομένου ότι κάθε λήμμα του ενεργού λεξικού αντιστοιχεί στο σύνολο των λεξικών μονάδων που έχουν το ίδιο σημαίνων και το σημαινόμενά τους συνδέονται άμεσα ή έμμεσα συμπεριλαμβανομένου ένα μεγάλο αριθμό σημασιολογικών παραγώγων και συμπαραθέσεων (Blanco, αδημοσίευτο). Ενδεικτικό παράδειγμα αποτελεί το λήμμα ‘ΑΛΟΓΟ’ (Πίνακας 2), το οποίο παρουσιάζει 75 διαφορετικές λεξικές συνδέσεις.

4.2 Μικροδομή

Η μικροδομή του ΕΛΟΚ εμπεριέχει τη λεπτομερή περιγραφή των λεξικογραφικών πληροφοριών του λήμματος, οι οποίες διακρίνονται σε έξι κύρια μέρη και οι οποίες θα παρουσιαστούν εδώ για λόγους συστηματικότητας σε συνάρτηση με το λήμμα ‘ΑΛΟΓΟ’ (Πίνακας 2):

- i. Γραμματικές πληροφορίες.
- ii. Σημασιολογικές ετικέτες.
- iii. Δομή καθορισμένων στοιχείων.
- iv. Σημασιολογικά παράγωγα και συμπαραθέσεις.
- v. Παραδείγματα.
- vi. Πλήρως δεσμευμένα φρασήματα.

Οι γραμματικές πληροφορίες αφορούν τη δήλωση του μέρους του λόγου στο οποίο ανήκει το λήμμα ‘ουσιαστικό’ και το γένος του ‘ουδέτερο’. Έπειτα, ακολουθεί η σημασιολογική περίληψη του λήμματος, η οποία αποτελείται από τις σημασιολογικές ετικέτες ‘ΘΗΛΑΣΤΙΚΟ ΖΩΟ’ και ‘ΕΛΛΕΙΨΗ ΛΟΓΙΚΗΣ’, δηλαδή από τα σημαινόμενα που ορίζουν τις λεξικές μονάδες που συνδέονται με το λήμμα. Αξίζει να σημειωθεί ότι οι σημασιολογικές ετικέτες ορίστηκαν σύμφωνα με το πρότυπό μας, το LAF, με τις αντίστοιχες προσαρμογές στις ανάγκες του λημματολογίου μας. Στη συνέχεια της μικροδομής, παρουσιάζεται η δομή των καθορισμένων στοιχείων της εκάστοτε λεξικής μονάδας ‘Το άλογο ιππεύεται από ένα άτομο X’.

Το τέταρτο μέρος της μικροδομής καταλαμβάνει τη μερίδα του λέοντος, καθώς σε αυτό παρατίθενται τα σημασιολογικά παράγωγα ‘ανοιχτοπάτι’ και τα ημιδεσμευμένα φρασήματα ‘φακοτο’ της κάθε λεξικής μονάδας με τον αντίστοιχο τυποποιημένο ορισμό τους. Για τον ορισμό που συνοδεύει τόσο τα παράγωγα όσο τα ημιδεσμευμένα φρασήματα ‘Α. που έχει άσπρη βούλα στο μέτωπο’, βασιστήκαμε ως προς την τυποποίηση στο LAF και ως προς το περιεχόμενο κυρίως στις σημειώσεις του ίδιου του Καζαντζάκη, οι οποίες σημειώνονται με πλάγια γράμματα (‘κόκκινου σκούρου’), και σε λεξικά τόσο της κοινής νεοελληνικής (α. στην ηλεκτρονική μορφή του *Λεξικού της Κοινής Νεοελληνικής* του Ινστιτούτου Νεοελληνικών Σπουδών (1998-2002), β. στο *Λεξικό της Νέας Ελληνικής Γλώσσας* του Μπαμπινιώτη (2008), γ. στο *Λεξικόν της Νέας Ελληνικής Γλώσσας* της Πρωίας (1933) και

δ. στο *Μέγα λεξικόν όλης της Ελληνικής Γλώσσας* του Δημητράκου (1964)) όσο και σε διαλεκτικά της κρητικής διαλέκτου (α. στο *Περί του γλωσσικού ιδιώματος της Κρήτης* του Πάγκαλου (1994-2002), β. στο *Γλωσσικό ιδίωμα της ανατολικής Κρήτης* του Πιτυκάκη (1983), γ. στο *Λεξικό Ερμηνευτικό και Ετυμολογικό του δυτικοκρητικού γλωσσικού ιδιώματος* του Ξανθινάκη (2009), δ. στο *Κρητικόν Λεξιλόγιον* του Κονδυλάκη (1990)).

Τέλος, ακολουθούν ενδεικτικά παραδείγματα χρήσης της κάθε λεξικής μονάδας ‘*Και πάμε οι δυο και σεριανίζουμε καβάλα στ’ άλογα μας*’ μέσα από την τέταρτη έκδοση της *ΟΔΥΣΣΕΙΑΣ*³ (1967) των εκδόσεων Ελένης Καζαντζάκη, όπως, επίσης, πλήρως δεσμευμένα φρασήματα⁴ που εμπεριέχουν την εν λόγω λεξική μονάδα ‘*τ’ άλογα γυρνώ*’.

5. Επίλογος

Η λεπτομερής μελέτη του περιεχομένου του ΣΝΚ –προκειμένου να αναδειχθεί η ιδιαίτερη γλωσσική ευαισθησία και η λεξιθηρική δεινότητα του μεγάλου δημιουργού κατά το στάδιο προετοιμασίας συγγραφής της *ΟΔΥΣΣΕΙΑΣ*– αποτέλεσε για μας πρωτόγνωρη επιστημονική πρόκληση. Μετά την δημοσίευση των 24 λημμάτων, στόχος μας είναι η συστηματική λεξικογραφική καταγραφή ολόκληρου του αδημοσίετου ΣΝΚ, το οποίο αναμένεται να αποτελέσει ένα χρήσιμο εργαλείο για τους μελετητές, στους οποίους θα δοθεί η δυνατότητα να παρακολουθήσουν την πορεία που ακολουθούσε ο συγγραφέας από τη σύλληψη της ποιητικής ιδέας μέχρι τη γλωσσική επένδυσή της με την κάθε λεξική επιλογή του. Η μελέτη και η δημοσίευση παρόμοιων χειρόγραφων σημειώσεων κι άλλων ελλήνων συγγραφέων ανοίγει ακόμη μια πολύ σημαντική δίοδο ανάμεσα στην επιστήμη της γλωσσολογίας και την επιστήμη της νεοελληνικής λογοτεχνίας, προκειμένου να αναδειχθούν οι ποιητικές ιδιαιτερότητες των συγγραφέων και να διαφωτιστούν ορισμένα σκοτεινά σημεία που αφορούν τον κλάδο της υφολογίας.

Ευχαριστίες

Το ΣΝΚ αποτελεί μέρος του αρχαιικού υλικού του Μουσείου Νίκου Καζαντζάκη, στο χωριό Μυρτιά, στην Κρήτη. Ευχαριστούμε θερμά τη διευθύντρια, Βαρβάρα Τσάκα, και τον υπεύθυνο προγραμματισμού και ανάπτυξης, Αντώνη Λεβέντη, καθώς και τον Γιώργο Γραμματικάκη, πρόεδρο του Διοικητικού Συμβουλίου του Μουσείου Νίκου Καζαντζάκη για την ευγενική παραχώρηση του ΣΝΚ και του συνοδευτικού φωτογραφικού υλικού. Τέλος, θα θέλαμε να ευχαριστήσουμε τον γραφίστα Γιώργο Μπλατσή (giorgos.blatsis@hotmail.com) για την αισθητική επιμέλεια της αφίσας (poster) της παρουσίασης.

³ Η *ΟΔΥΣΣΕΙΑ* του Νίκου Καζαντζάκη από τη δεύτερη έκδοση (1957) και μετά τιτλοφορείται ως *ΟΔΥΣΣΕΙΑ* μετά από απαίτηση των εκδοτικών οίκων της εποχής για απόλυτη συμμόρφωση στη νεοελληνική γραμματική.

⁴ Ο όρος *πλήρως δεσμευμένα φρασήματα* αντιστοιχεί στον όρο *full phrasemes* (Mel’čuk 1998) κι αναφέρεται στα δεσμευμένα φρασήματα των οποίων το σημαϊνόμενο δεν αποτελεί το άθροισμα των σημαϊνομένων των επιμέρους συστατικών του φρασήματος.

[ΛΕΞΙΚΟΓΡΑΦΙΚΕΣ ΕΠΙΛΟΓΕΣ ΓΙΑ ΤΗ ΣΥΓΓΡΑΦΗ ΕΝΟΣ ΠΟΙΗΜΑΤΟΣ: ΕΝΑ ΑΔΗΜΟΣΙΕΥΤΟ ΣΗΜΕΙΩΜΑΤΑΡΙΟ ΤΟΥ ΝΙΚΟΥ ΚΑΖΑΝΤΖΑΚΗ]

10th ΔΙΕΘΝΗΣ ΣΥΝΕΔΡΙΟ ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΗΣ ΓΛΩΣΣΟΛΟΓΙΑΣ 1-4.09.2011 ΚΟΜΟΤΗΝΗ 10th INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE OF GREEK LINGUISTICS 1-4.09.2011 ΚΟΜΟΤΗΝΗ

ΔΙΕΘΝΗΣ ΠΑΝΕΠΙΣΤΗΜΙΑΚΗ ΕΡΕΥΝΑ
ΤΜΗΜΑ ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΗΣ ΓΛΩΣΣΟΛΟΓΙΑΣ

**ΛΕΞΙΚΟΓΡΑΦΙΚΕΣ ΕΠΙΛΟΓΕΣ ΓΙΑ ΤΗ ΣΥΓΓΡΑΦΗ ΕΝΟΣ ΠΟΙΗΜΑΤΟΣ:
ΕΝΑ ΑΔΗΜΟΣΙΕΥΤΟ ΣΗΜΕΙΩΜΑΤΑΡΙΟ ΤΟΥ ΝΙΚΟΥ ΚΑΖΑΝΤΖΑΚΗ**
[Lexical options to write a poem: an unpublished notebook of Nikos Kazantzakis]
Νικόλαος Μαθιουδάκης | Ελένη Παπαδοπούλου | Μαρία Γεωργαντά

Σημειώματα Νίκου Καζαντζάκη (ΣΝΚ)

Το τεράστιο σπέρμα του Νίκου Καζαντζάκη (ΣΝΚ) αποτελεί ένα διάφορο προσωπικό λεξικό που στην πραγματικότητα είναι ένα ημερολόγιο γλωσσικό εθνομαιικού του έτους 1931 (April to June 1931). Το ΣΝΚ είναι ασυνολόγητο, αλλά μπορούμε να προσδιορίσουμε ότι ο κριτικός συγγραφέας το χρησιμοποίησε κατά τα τέλη του έτους 1930, ίσως και μέχρι το 1938 (όπου εκδόθηκε η Οδύσσεια). Το ΣΝΚ παρουσιάζει μέτρα και σύμμετρα οδοντομετρίας και επεξεργασίας επιλεγμένης.

Πρόκειται για ένα αληθινό γλωσσικό θησαυρό έκτακτο 383 σελίδων χειρόγραφου (σύμφωνα με την έκδοση ορισμένη του Καζαντζάκη), τον οποίο ο ίδιος ο συγγραφέας συνέλεξε από κάθε μέρη της Ελλάδας με σκοπό να συμπληρώσει τμήμα του στους στίχους του έπους του, της Οδύσσειας. Ο Καζαντζάκης αποφασίζει και κατηγορεί λέξεις «από το στόμα του λαού» (Πριεβόλνικ, 1938 & 1984) και κέρδι μάλιστα του να τις διακρίνει από τις κληροδοτούμενες στους σπάνιους νεαλόνες.

Το γλωσσικό υλικό είναι οργανωμένο από τον ίδιο τον συγγραφέα σε 121 διαφορετικές θεματικές ενότητες (π.χ. μέτρα, τα σημεία, επεξεργασίες, αρχαίες, όμοι, αντί, πλάγια, σωματικά, φρονίες, κινήσεις, παροχές, μύμια από λέξεις, αποσπάσματα από άλλα λογοτεχνικά έργα κλπ, όπως αυτές θα του ήταν χρήσιμες κατά την ποίηση του δημιουργού). Συνολικά, σε όλες τις σελίδες του ΣΝΚ έχουμε 10.000 περίπου λέξεις/φράσεις.

Το ΣΝΚ αποτελεί μέρος του αρχείου υλικού του Μουσείου Νίκου Καζαντζάκη, στο χωριό Μορίτι, στην Κρήτη. Επισκοπείται θετικά η διερεύνηση και η διοικητική Συμβολή του Μουσείου Νίκου Καζαντζάκη για την παραγωγή του ΣΝΚ, καθώς και του φωνητικού υλικού.

Ενταγμένο Λεξικό Οδύσσειας Καζαντζάκη (ΕΛΟΚ)

Το λεξικό μας εγγράφη για μια συστηματική καταγραφή του οδοντομετρικού σημειωματολογίου του Καζαντζάκη (ΣΝΚ) αναφέρονται στο λεγόμενο λεξικό της Οδύσσειας του Καζαντζάκη, στο ΕΛΟΚ. Θεωρητικό υπόβαθρο για την εκπόνηση του ΕΛΟΚ αποτελεί το *Ενταγμένο Λεξικό των Ελλήνων* (Léxico entré des Grecs, LAF) των Μανώλη και Ρούμπερ (2007), το οποίο διαφέρει βάσει σημασιολογικής παραγωγής. Συνεπώς, η υιοθέτηση του λεξικογραφικού μοντέλου του LAF έρχεται να εκπληρώσει τον απώτερο στόχο μας που δεν είναι άλλος από την κατάδειξη της προσυγγραφικής διαδικασίας που ακολουθεί ο συγγραφέας, όπως αυτή καταγράφεται από τον ίδιο στο ΣΝΚ.

Μεθοδολογία

Η μεθοδολογία του ΕΛΟΚ αποτελείται από 24 μύμια (ένα λέμμα για κάθε γράμμα της αλφάβητου, Α-Ω). Πρόκειται για ένα περιορισμένο υπόστυλο καθόλου ευκαταφρόνητο αριθμό λέξεων, αν λάβουμε υπόψη ότι κάθε λέμμα του λεξικού αντιστοιχεί στο σύνολο των λέξεων μύμιας που έχουν το ίδιο σημείο και τα σημειωμένα τους συνδυάζονται μέσω ή ήμιας (βλ. παρακάτω) συμπεριλαμβανομένου ένα μεγάλο αριθμό σημασιολογικών παραγωγών και συμπεριφορών. Ενδεικτικό παράδειγμα αποτελεί το λέμμα «ΑΛΟΓΟ» (βλ. παρακάτω), το οποίο παρουσιάζει 75 διαφορετικές λέξεις/φράσεις.

Τα 24 μύμια του ΕΛΟΚ είναι: ΑΛΟΓΟ, ΒΟΥΤΟ, ΓΑΜΟΣ, ΚΟΝΤΙ, ΕΡΠΙΤΑΙ, ΣΙΓΓΡΑΦΟΣ, ΗΛΙΟΣ, ΟΥΤΟΣ, ΜΕΛΑΤΟ, ΚΑΡΑΒΙ, ΕΛΑ, ΕΛΑΛ, ΚΑΠΑ, ΉΘΕΛΕΝΗΤΟ, ΣΥΝΤΟΝ, ΣΥΝΤΟΝ, ΟΝΕΙΡΟ, ΠΟΛΕΜΟΣ, ΡΑΦΤΗΣ, ΣΥΓΓΕΝΕΙΑ, ΤΡΙΧΑ, ΥΠΝΟΣ, ΘΕΓΓΑΡ, ΤΙΣΤΗΣ, ΒΑΡΑΣ, ΟΡΑ.

Μεθοδολογία

Η μεθοδολογία του ΕΛΟΚ ακολουθεί αυτή του προτύπου του, του LAF, αρθρώνοντας τις πληροφορίες του μύμιας σε 6 κύρια μέρη:

- Γραμματικές πληροφορίες
- Σημασιολογικές επιπτώσεις
- Δομή καθορισμένων στοιχείων
- Παραδείγματα
- Ιδιωματισμούς

Η ΕΛΛΗΝΙΣΤΙΚΗ ΛΟΓΙΚΗ

Τρέλα, ξετρελμένος, φρενιά, φρένιασμα, μουρλα, ζουρλα, βουρλιασμα, αφορμάρια, στρώση, βίδα, λόλα, πετρία, θεοζάλα

το να συμπεριφέρεται κτ με τρόπο Α. φουρμαλίζω, φεγγαροζώωμαι, αλαλαγω, μουρλαίνωμαι Α. σε ηλικιωμένο άνθρωπο ξεμυρλα, ξεκουτάσμαι, ξεκουρούτσμαι

Αναφορές...

Η λεξικογραφική μελέτη του παραγράμμου του ΣΝΚ προκειμένου να αναδειχθεί η έκταση γλωσσική ευαισθησία και η λεξικογραφική δυνατότητα του μεγάλου δημιουργού κατά το στάδιο πρακτικής συγγραφής της Οδύσσειας, αποτελεί για μας πρωτόγνωρη επιστημονική πρόκληση. Μετά τη δημοσίευση των 24 μύμιων, όπως μας είναι ευνόητο, λεξικογραφική καταγραφή ολόκληρου του οδοντομετρικού ΣΝΚ, το οποίο αναμένεται να αποτελέσει ένα χρήσιμο εργαλείο για τους μελετητές, στους οποίους θα δοθεί η δυνατότητα να παρακολουθήσουν την πορεία που ακολουθεί ο συγγραφέας από τη συλλογή της ποίησης ιδέας μέχρι τη γλωσσική επένδυση της με την κάθε λέξη επιλογής του.

Εικόνα 3 Το poster της ανακοίνωσης στο 10th ICGL

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Η ΑΥΤΟΔΙΟΡΘΩΣΗ/ΕΤΕΡΟΔΙΟΡΘΩΣΗ ΩΣ ΜΕΤΡΟ ΚΟΙΝΩΝΙΟΓΛΩΣΣΙΚΗΣ ΕΠΙΓΝΩΣΗΣ: Η ΠΕΡΙΠΤΩΣΗ ΤΗΣ ΠΡΟΣΦΩΝΗΣΗΣ/ΑΝΑΦΟΡΑΣ

Μαριάνθη Μακρή-Τσιλιπάκου

Τομέας Θεωρητικής & Εφαρμοσμένης Γλωσσολογίας
Τμήμα Αγγλικής Γλώσσας & Φιλολογίας, ΑΠΘ

mmakrits@enl.auth.gr

ABSTRACT

The Conversation Analytic concept of repair, variously realized as self-/other-initiated self-/other-repair, is investigated as instanced in direct/indirect address, i.e. as person reference and, occasionally, as membership categorization (MCD), in authentic Greek conversational interaction, with a view to locating currently problematic areas and their articulation with cultural norms. The analysis shows Greeks oscillating between familiarity and distance (due to/despite the cultural default for solidarity). It also documents the persistence of linguistic/sociocultural ambivalence towards women, who are often addressed/referred to/categorized in glaringly sexist ways.

Keywords: repair, address/reference, minimization, recognitions, MCDs, familiarity/distance, gender

1. Η έννοια της διόρθωσης

Σύμφωνα με την οπτική της εθνομεθοδολογικής *Ανάλυσης της Συνομιλίας* (Sacks et al. 1974), η σχετικότητα της πρακτικής της *διόρθωσης* είναι δυνατόν να προκύψει σε σχέση με οποιοδήποτε στοιχείο της συνομιλίας —καθώς δεν περιορίζεται στην αποκατάσταση λαθών, γραμματικών ή άλλων— ενώ είναι, επίσης, πιθανόν να αδρανήσει παρά την οφθαλμοφανή διάπραξή τους (Schegloff et al. 1977). Επιπλέον, είναι δυνατόν να εγερθεί από ένα οποιοδήποτε μέλος και να πραγματοποιηθεί από το ίδιο ή από άλλο μέλος, και έτσι διακρίνεται σε *αυτοεγχειρόμενη/ετεροεγχειρόμενη*, και σε *αυτοδιόρθωση/ετεροδιόρθωση*.

Για την πραγμάτωση κάθε μίας από αυτές τις τέσσερις εκδοχές που προκύπτουν συνδυαστικά, προβλέπεται διαφορετικός γλωσσικός σχεδιασμός και συγκεκριμένες θέσεις στη *διορθωτική αλληλουχία*, η οποία εκτείνεται σε τουλάχιστον τρεις συνεισφορές (ό.π.).¹ Στη βάση της αρχής της *προτίμησης*, προκρίνεται η αυτοδιόρθωση έναντι της ετεροδιόρθωσης και η αυτοέγερση έναντι της ετεροέγερσης, και έτσι η αυτοεγχειρόμενη αυτοδιόρθωση αποτελεί την πλέον *προτιμητέα* ή ασημάδευτη επιλογή, ενώ η ετεροεγχειρόμενη ετεροδιόρθωση την πλέον *σημαδεμένη*,² καθώς συχνά λειτουργεί ως προάγγελος επικείμενων *μη-προτιμητέων* δεύτερων μελών των *γεινιαστικών ζευγών*,³ π.χ. της διαφωνίας (Pomerantz 1984). Συγχρόνως, όμως, η ετεροέγερση δημιουργεί χώρο για αυτοδιορθωτικές κινήσεις, ώστε να αποτραπεί κατά το δυνατόν η πραγματοποίηση της ετεροδιόρθωσης (Schegloff 2007a, 103). Ωστόσο, η τελευταία δρα και ‘εκπαιδευτικά’ ως μέσο κοινωνικοποίησης των νεότερων μελών —εξού και η συχνή χρήση της σε διδακτικά περιβάλλοντα. Εν ολίγοις, η διόρθωση δεν αφορά μόνο την οργάνωση της γλωσσικής συμπεριφοράς, αλλά και της κοινωνικής, αφού καταμερίζει δικαιώματα στα συνομιλούντα μέλη, εναρμονίζει τύπους δράσης με συγκεκριμένες συμπεριφορές, και

¹ 1η Συνεισφορά (ομιλήτρια/ομιλητής Α): εμφάνιση προβλήματος ή εμφάνιση προβλήματος + έγερση διόρθωσης + επιτέλεση διόρθωσης. 2η Συνεισφορά (ομιλήτρια/ομιλητής Β): έγερση ή έγερση + επιτέλεση. 3η Συνεισφορά (ομιλήτρια/ομιλητής Α): επιτέλεση. 4η Συνεισφορά (ομιλήτρια/ομιλητής Β): έγερση + επιτέλεση.

² 1η Προτίμηση: αυτοέγερση + αυτοδιόρθωση, εντός της 1ης συνεισφοράς [Θέση 1]. 2η Προτίμηση: αυτοέγερση + αυτοδιόρθωση, μεταξύ 1ης και 2ης συνεισφοράς [Θέση 2]. 3η Προτίμηση: ετεροέγερση στη 2η συνεισφορά, και αυτοδιόρθωση στη 3η συνεισφορά [Θέση 3]. 4η Προτίμηση: ετεροέγερση + ετεροδιόρθωση, στη 2η συνεισφορά [Θέση 3].

³ Το γεινιαστικό ζεύγος αποτελεί ακολουθία δύο διαδοχικών εκφωνημάτων από διαφορετικά πρόσωπα, με το πρώτο εκφώνημα να εγκαθιστά αναμονές σχετικά με το (προτιμητέο/μη-προτιμητέο) δεύτερο (Schegloff and Sacks 1973), π.χ. *αποτίμηση-συμφωνία/διαφωνία*.

αποτελεί συστατικό στοιχείο στη διαδραστική διαχείριση βασικών οργανωτικών δομών, όπως η συμφωνία και διαφωνία (Schegloff 1987, 213).

2. Διόρθωση, (ευ)εξηγητότητα και διυποκειμενικότητα

Στη βάση αυτή, η διαδραστική πρακτική της διόρθωσης, αποτελεί την πηγή της (ευ)εξηγητότητας⁴ των πρακτικών δράσεων, ή εθνομεθόδων των μελών, η οποία ορίζει τις καθημερινές πράξεις τους ως «πρόδηλα λογικές και περιγράψιμες για κάθε πρακτικό σκοπό» (Garfinkel 1967, vii) —με δυο λόγια, *παρατηρήσιμες και περιγράψιμες* (Lynch 1993, 14).

Τα μέλη προσανατολίζονται ανάλογα, οργανώνοντας τις δράσεις τους ως κανονιστικά και αναδραστικά ευεξηγήτες, έτσι ώστε να ανταποκρίνονται στην κατάσταση συγκροτώντας την, και συντονίζονται με σκοπό να επιτευχθεί η *διυποκειμενικότητα*, η αμοιβαιότητα δηλαδή της οπτικής (Garfinkel 1967, 30· Schutz 1962), η οποία δεν θεωρείται απλώς σύμπτωση (υποκειμενικών) κοινών παραδοχών και αξιών που πηγάζουν από μια (αντικειμενική) κοινή κουλτούρα, αλλά μαρτυρείται διαδραστικά ως ένα 'εγχείρημα' (Garfinkel 1967, 30), ως μία διαρκής ενεργητική διαδικασία η οποία εξελίσσεται βήμα βήμα (Hilbert 2005, 253-254). Με αυτήν την έννοια, οι αλληλουχικές τοποθεσίες της διόρθωσης αποτελούν σημεία διατομής των κοινωνικών μακροδομών με τις μικροδομές της καθημερινής (συνομιλιακής) διάδρασης (Schegloff 1987), και επομένως προπύργια της διυποκειμενικότητας (Schegloff 1992, 1333).

3. Προσφώνηση και αναφορά

Οι κοινωνιογλωσσικές παράμετροι της νεοελληνικής προσφώνησης (οικειότητα, ηλικία, φύλο, ιεραρχία κ.λπ.) έχουν μελετηθεί διεξοδικά σε προηγούμενες έρευνες (Μακρή-Τσιλιπάκου 1984· Πέτριτς 1989· Petrits 1989). Η παρούσα μελέτη εστιάζει σε διορθωτικά φαινόμενα σε σχέση με την άμεση ή έμμεση *προσφώνηση*, δηλαδή με την *αναφορά σε πρόσωπα*, με σκοπό να εντοπισθούν οι προβληματικές περιοχές και οι ισχύουσες νόρμες.

Η αναφορά (σε πρόσωπο) απασχολεί την Ανάλυση της Συνομιλίας ως μία από τις απαντήσεις στο καθολικής ισχύος ερώτημα «Γιατί αυτό τώρα;» (Schegloff and Sacks 1973, 299). Ως επιλογή, δηλαδή, από την/τον ομιλήτρια/ομιλητή της καταλληλότερης γλωσσικής έκφρασης, ώστε να επιτευχθεί η αναγνώρισή της από τα συνομιλούντα μέλη —πάντοτε σε σχέση με την επί μέρους διαδραστική ακολουθία που επιτελείται (π.χ. εισαγωγή/κλείσιμο θέματος, αφήγηση προβλημάτων/ιστοριών κ.ά.), και εντός της εκάστοτε συγκεκριμένης συνομιλίας, (ό.π.: Sacks and Schegloff 1979). Σχετικά διαπιστώνεται ότι η αναφορά υπακούει σε δύο *αρχές προτίμησης*: την αρχή της *ελαχιστοποίησης* και την αρχή της *αναγνωρισιμότητας*, από τα υπόλοιπα μέλη, των εκφράσεων που επιλέγονται από την/τον ομιλήτρια/ομιλητή για να πραγματώσουν την αναφορά —στον βαθμό που συμπίπτουν οι εκατέρωθεν συναγωγές για το τι θεωρείται αμοιβαία αναγνωρίσιμο (Sacks and Schegloff 1979, 16-7).

Η πρώτη αρχή προκρίνει τους μονολεκτικούς όρους (π.χ. αυτή, κάποια, φοιτήτρια, Μυρτώ) έναντι των πολυλεκτικών αναφορικών εκφράσεων (π.χ. η γειτόνισσα της μαμάς μου), με περαιτέρω ροπή προς τη χρήση του κύριου ονόματος (ως πρωτοτυπικά αναγνωρίσιμου), το οποίο είναι δυνατό να χρησιμοποιηθεί και χωρίς να ικανοποιείται η αρχή της αναγνωρισιμότητας, αλλά προοικονομώντας υστερότερες χρήσεις (17). Η δεύτερη αρχή προτίμησης αποτελεί την εξειδίκευση, στον χώρο της αναφοράς, του καθολικού *παραληπτικού σχεδιασμού* (recipient design) (Sacks et al. 1974), ο οποίος συνοψίζει τον αδιάλειπτο διαδραστικό προσανατολισμό της/του ομιλήτριας/ομιλητή προς τα εκάστοτε συγκεκριμένα υπόλοιπα συνομιλούντα μέλη, προς τα οποία συντονίζει κάθε φορά τη συγκρότηση της συνεισφοράς της/του. Στην περίπτωση, τώρα, που οι δύο αρχές προτίμησης συγκρούονται, προβλέπεται σταδιακή *χαλάρωση* (αλλά όχι *αναίρεση*) της ελαχιστοποίησης προς όφελος της αναγνωρισιμότητας, η οποία και θεωρείται ισχυρότερη για προφανείς λόγους (Sacks and Schegloff 1979, 19).

Επιπλέον, αναγνωρίζονται συναρτήσεις των αναφορικών εκφράσεων με τις αλληλουχικές τοποθεσίες στις οποίες εμφανίζονται ως *τοπικά αρχικές* ή *τοπικά ακόλουθες* (Schegloff 1996, 450). Έτσι, οι αρχικές αναφορές συνήθως διεκπεραιώνονται (ασημάδευτα) από πλήρεις ονοματικές φράσεις ενώ οι ακόλουθες από αντωνυμίες. Ο διαχωρισμός της γλωσσικής μορφής της αναφοράς από την αλληλουχική της τοποθέτηση επιτρέπει την ανάδυση συγκεκριμένων διαδραστικών νοημάτων όταν υπάρχει αναντιστοιχία μορφής και θέσης, και επομένως σημαδεμένη χρήση (450-1).

⁴ Μεταφράζω έτσι τον εθνομεθοδολογικό όρο *accountability*, αποφεύγοντας τον προφανέστερο, αλλά ανεπαρκή, όρο 'κοινωνική λογοδοσία', καθώς καλύπτει μόνο ένα τμήμα του συνολικού εύρους του.

4. Πώς να σε/σας προσφωνήσω;

Τα δεδομένα της έρευνας προέρχονται από τηλεοπτικά προγράμματα λόγου. Η χρήση τηλεοπτικών δεδομένων αποτελεί καταξιωμένη, πλέον, κοινωνιογλωσσολογική/συνομιλιο-αναλυτική πρακτική, λόγω της μεγάλης διάχυσής τους και, επομένως, του ρόλου τους ως πρότυπων χρήσεων για το κοινό, τη συμπεριφορά του οποίου περιγράφουν αναδραστικά (Tagliamonte and Roberts 2005· Hutchby 2006· Tolson 2006). Προφανώς, το θεσμικό πλαίσιο ορίζει ως ένα βαθμό την επιλογή προσφώνησης/αναφοράς, η οποία, όμως, επιπλέον στοιχειοθετεί συγκεκριμένο κοινωνικο-πολιτισμικό προσανατολισμό (Stivers 2007, 73). Ο τηλεοπτικός λόγος, πάλι, εμφανίζει (δευτερογενή) προφορικότητα (Ong 1997), ενώ η διόρθωση αποτελεί πεδίο γενικότερης κοινωνιογλωσσικής επίγνωσης, όπως επιχειρηματολογήθηκε νωρίτερα.

Ένας μεγάλος αριθμός διορθωτικών περιστατικών πραγματοποιείται από και προς την οικειότητα/επισημότητα, καταδεικνύοντας μια διαρκή διαπραγμάτευση των δύο αυτών παραμέτρων από τα μέλη. Στο πρώτο απόσπασμα (βλ. παράρτημα), οι συντελεστές της πρώτης περιόδου του ραδιοσταθμού *Αθήνα 9,84* —που εγκαινίασε την ελεύθερη ραδιοφωνία (1987)— αφηγούνται σχετικά περιστατικά. Ο δημοσιογράφος Νίκος Ευαγγελάτος (1967)⁵ απευθύνεται διευκρινιστικά στον ιδρυτικό διευθυντή Γιάννη Τζανετάκο (1940):

Απόσπασμα 1 [23/1/2011, NET, ΟΙ ΠΑΡΕΕΣ ΓΡΑΦΟΥΝ ΙΣΤΟΡΙΑ]

NE: Κύριε διευθυντά–Γιάννη, ο Έβερτ ήταν ((συνεχίζει))

Η ιδιότητα του Τζανετάκου ως τότε προϊσταμένου του λειτουργεί ως αυτόματος πιλότος για τον Ευαγγελάτο, ο οποίος όμως αλλάζει απότομα πλεύση με αυτοδιακοπή και αυτοδιόρθωση, αμέσως μετά την προβληματική προσφώνηση (Θέση 1), προσαρμοζόμενος στη συντροφική κατάσταση, και παρά τη σημαντική διαφορά ηλικίας. Η προβληματικότητα της πρώτης διατύπωσης της αναφοράς στοιχειοθετείται και δομικά ως αντιστροφή της αρχής της ελαχιστοποίησης. Φαίνεται ότι η έκφραση σεβασμού αρχικά υπερκεράζει την προτίμηση για χρήση της πρωτοτυπικής αναφοράς με τη μορφή του μονολεκτικού κύριου ονόματος, το οποίο θα αποτελούσε και την ασημάδευτη επιλογή ως μη αρχική αναφορά, εφόσον η (φιλική) συζήτηση ήδη διεξάγεται για αρκετή ώρα. Σημειώστε, πάντως, τη (λόγια) κλητική κατάληξη «διευθυντ-ά». Θα την ξανασυναντήσουμε παρακάτω.

Ανάλογο είναι και το επόμενο περιστατικό, αυτή τη φορά με έμμεση προσφώνηση σε (παρόν) πρόσωπο και με σχολιασμένη την άμεση αυτοδιόρθωση, τόσο από τον ομιλητή, «hh... (h)... συγγνώμη» (σ. 1), όσο και από το πρόσωπο αναφοράς, ((γέλιο)) (σ. 2). Ως μέλος της παρέας των πολεμικών ανταποκριτών και ανταποκριτριών που αφηγούνται τα δεινά και τα ευτράπελα των αποστολών τους, ο φωτορεπόρτερ Γιάννης Μπεχράκης (1960) αναφέρεται στον δημοσιογράφο Κώστα Βαξεβάνη (1966), απευθυνόμενος στον παρουσιαστή της εκπομπής, Σεραφείμ Φυντανίδη (1937):

Απόσπασμα 2 [5/6/2011, NET, ΟΙ ΠΑΡΕΕΣ ΓΡΑΦΟΥΝ ΙΣΤΟΡΙΑ]

- 1 ΓΜ: Έλεγε ο κ. Βαξεβάνης προηγουμένως–hh ο Κώ(h)στας [συγγνώμη
2 KB: [(γέλιο)]

Η επίσημη αναφορά στον Βαξεβάνη (κύριε+επώνυμο), πιθανόν επηρεάζεται από τη διαμεσολαβητική συμμετοχή του Φυντανίδη, ο οποίος πέρα από τον θεσμικό του ρόλο ως συνεντευξιαστή συμβαίνει να είναι και ο γηραιότερος, και ίσως και ‘σεβαστότερος’ από τα μέλη της παρέας. Στην προσπάθειά του να τηρήσει την αρχή του παραληπτικού σχεδιασμού, ο ομιλητής φαίνεται ότι αμφιταλαντεύεται ως προς την αναγνωρισιμότητα της επιλογής του, η οποία αναγκαστικά έχει δύο παραλήπτες: αφενός τον άμεσο συνομιλητή του (με τον οποίο συνάγουμε ότι έχει τυπικές σχέσεις), και αφετέρου το (οικείο και σχεδόν συνομήλικο) πρόσωπο αναφοράς που συμβαίνει να είναι και παρόν —για να μην αναφερθούμε και στο τηλεοπτικό κοινό. Τελικά υπερτερεί η οικειότητα με τη μορφή του απλούστερου δυνατού όρου, σύμφωνα και με την αρχή της ελαχιστοποίησης η οποία είχε αρχικά υποχωρήσει, καθώς δεν κινδύνευε η αναγνωρισιμότητα διότι είχαν ήδη γίνει γνωστά τα πλήρη ονόματα όλων.

Στην επόμενη συνομιλία ανάμεσα στον ηθοποιό Αργύρη Αγγέλλου (1978) —και περιστασιακό χορευτή στο *Dancing with the stars* (ANT1)— και στον εκδότη/δημοσιογράφο Πέτρο Κωστόπουλο (1954), οικοδεσπότη βραδινής εκπομπής, η επίσημη προσφώνηση, με τη μορφή πληθυντικού ευγενείας στην κατάληξη του ρήματος (και επομένως ενός υπονοούμενου «εσείς»), εγκαλείται ως προβληματική

⁵ Ημερομηνία γέννησης ή ηλικία κατά προσέγγιση κατά την εποχή του παρατιθέμενου περιστατικού.

από τον παραλήπτη, ο οποίος πραγματοποιεί ετεροέγερση με ψευδοδιευκρινιστική ερώτηση (σ. 7), προοιωνίζοντας επικείμενη διαφωνία. Ως αποτέλεσμα, προκαλείται απολογία (σ. 10) και εντέλει αυτοδιόρθωση (σ. 19) από τον Αγγέλλου, μετά από εκτενή σχολιασμό (σ. 9) —που αναδιατυπώνει μεταγλωσσικά τη συνεισφορά/οπτική του ΑΑ—, και με τη μορφή ψευδοαπειλής για επικείμενη τροποποίηση του τρόπου διαχείρισης της συνομιλίας (σ. 11, 14):

Απόσπασμα 3 [26/5/2011, ALPHA, ΒΡΑΔΥ]

- 1 ΠΚ: Εσύ χορεύτρια έχεις την καλύτερη ε!;
- 2 ΑΑ: Μ: Ναι
- 3 ΠΚ: Αλήθεια!
- 4 ΑΑ: Ε: το πιστεύω! Σε μένα το λέτε;
- 5 ΠΚ: Ναι
- 6 (1.0)
- 7 ΠΚ: ((συνειδητοποιεί τι ειπώθηκε. και συνοφρυώνεται)) Τι πες;
- 8 () : ((γέλια/φωνές από το κοινό))
- 9 ΠΚ: Εννοείς δηλαδή ότι εγώ είμαι μεγάλος, εσύ είσαι μικρός: και μου μιλάς στον πληθυντικό =
- 10 ΑΑ: = ((γελαστά, αμήχανα)) Όχι ειλικρινά δεν το πα έτσι =
- 11 ΠΚ: = Κοίταξε να δεις, [(.) Εγώ σε κάλεσα εδώ με καλό σκοπό. [(.) Αν εσύ θες να το γυρίσουμε =
- 12 () : [((γέλια/φωνές από το κοινό)) [
- 13 ΑΑ: [()
- 14 ΠΚ: = στο τσάμικο, το γυρίζουμε.
- 15 ΑΑ: Οκέι. Το πιασα το μήνυμα.
- 16 ΠΚ: Φέρ' το!
- 17 ΑΑ: Α:>ργύρης.
- 18 ΠΚ: χα χα. Ευχαριστώ! χαχα[χα
- 19 ΑΑ: [>Βασικά θέλω να σου πω και θα στο πω και στον ενικό—είμαι
- 20 και πάρα πολύ χαρούμενος. Ένα χειμώνα περίμενα να έρθεις στο Ρε:ντ ((συνεχίζει με ευχαριστίες))

Προφανώς το ζήτημα της ηλικίας είναι ευαίσθητο (βλ. Poullos 2011), και ο 57χρονος Κωστόπουλος —που προωθεί για τον εαυτό του εικόνα cool νεότερου άνδρα, με αποτέλεσμα να σχολιάζεται σε διάφορα blogs— αρνείται να τον εντάξουν στην ομάδα όσων προσφωνούνται με πληθυντικό από τους τριαντάρηδες, με ό,τι αυτό συνεπάγεται. Για τον λόγο αυτό, η διόρθωση είναι *έκθετη* (Jefferson 1987), καθίσταται δηλαδή θέμα συζήτησης, ως ανοικτή διαπραγμάτευση της συνομιλιακής και, επομένως, της κοινωνικής ταυτότητας των μελών.

Η φορά διόρθωσης μπορεί, ωστόσο, να είναι και αντίστροφη: από την οικειότητα στην επισημότητα, όπως στην περίπτωση της δημοσιογράφου Όλγας Τρέμη (1951), που απευθύνεται στον βουλευτή Μιλτιάδη Βαρβιτσιώτη (1969):

Απόσπασμα 4 [28/4/2011, MEGA, ΕΙΔΗΣΕΙΣ]

ΟΤ: Κύριε Μιλτιάδη— >κύριε Βαρβιτσιώτη< εσείς τι λέτε;

Είναι πιθανόν ή Τρέμη να γνωρίζει και κατ' ιδίαν τον Βαρβιτσιώτη ή ίσως και να οδηγείται στην εκ παραδρομής χρήση του μικρού ονόματός του από τη σχεδόν εικοσάχρονη ηλικιακή διαφορά, αλλά ο συνδυασμός με το «κύριε» οδηγεί σε τύπο προσφώνησης ο οποίος δυσχεραίνει όσες/όσους γλωσσολογούν —διότι θεωρείται απευκταίος ως άκομψος(;), επειδή ίσως φέρει έκδηλα τη λαϊκότερη προέλευσή του (;) (πρβ. «κυρ-Γιάννη», «κυρά-Μαρία»). Παρόλα αυτά, φαίνεται να ικανοποιεί την ανάγκη μιας ενδιάμεσης θέσης ανάμεσα στην οικειότητα και την απόσταση (λόγω ηλικίας ή/και διαφοράς θέσης). Παρενθετικά, η χρήση αυτή μοιάζει να κερδίζει έδαφος καθώς, προσωπικά, την εισπράττω ολοένα και συχνότερα από νεαρά άτομα: επίσης, η κατεύθυνση δεν είναι αποκλειστικά από τα νεότερα προς στα γηραιότερα μέλη, αλλά και αντιστρόφως.⁶ Δεν αρμόζει, όμως ούτε στην

⁶ [14/3/2010, NET, ΣΑΒΒΑΤΟΚΥΡΙΑΚΟ ΣΤΗ NET] Ο καθηγητής εργατικού δικαίου Αλέξης Μητρόπουλος (1952) συζητά το ασφαλιστικό με τους δημοσιογράφους Τάκη Σπηλιόπουλο και Αλεξάνδρα Δουβαρά (35±), στην οποία και απευθύνεται:

περίσταση ούτε και στον θεσμικό ρόλο της Τρέμης ως ειδησεογραφικής συνεντευξιάστριας, που απαιτεί ‘τυπική ουδετερότητα’ (Heritage and Greatbatch 1991) —άρα ίσες αποστάσεις. Η αυτοδιόρθωση, πέρα από την εναρμόνιση με το είδος λόγου και το χρηστικό επίπεδο, ικανοποιεί τον παραληπτικό σχεδιασμό, πρωτίστως σε σχέση με το τηλεοπτικό κοινό, καθώς επιλέγεται η περισσότερο γνωστή δημόσια ονομασία του προσώπου.

Στο προηγούμενο απόσπασμα, η άμεση (Θέση 1) αυτοδιόρθωση υπαγορεύεται από το μέσο/είδος και το χρηστικό επίπεδο που προβλέπεται, το οποίο όμως είναι δυνατόν και να υπερβούν τα μέλη, για τους δικούς τους κάθε φορά λόγους, όπως στο επόμενο περιστατικό όπου δύο πανεπιστημιακοί καθηγητές αυτοδιορθώνονται από την (ασημάδευτη για την περίπτωση) επίσημη προσφώνηση προς την οικεία. Η συνομιλία —με αφορμή το τότε επικείμενο νομοσχέδιο για την ανώτατη παιδεία, για το οποίο και έχουν κληθεί να συζητήσουν τηλεοπτικά— είναι ανάμεσα στον πρότανη του ΑΠΘ Γιάννη Μυλόπουλο (1958), καθηγητή στο οικείο Πολυτεχνείο, και ήδη δριμύ επικριτή του νομοσχεδίου, και στον ομότεχνο του Βασίλη Παπάζογλου (55-60), καθηγητή στο Μετσόβιο, ο οποίος στην παρούσα φάση έχει και αρμοδιότητες Ειδικού Γραμματέα του Υπουργείου Παιδείας για την τριτοβάθμια εκπαίδευση, και επομένως υπερασπιστή του νομοσχεδίου:

Απόσπασμα 5 [4/7/2011, NET, ΠΡΩΙΝΗ ΕΝΗΜΕΡΩΣΗ]

- | | | |
|---|-----|----------------------------|
| 1 | ΒΠ: | Καλημέρα κύριε Μυλόπουλε. |
| 2 | ΓΜ: | Καλημέρα κύριε Παπάζογλου. |
| 3 | ΒΠ: | Καλημέρα <u>Γιάννη</u> ! |
| 4 | ΓΜ: | Καλημέρα Βασίλη! |

Η διορθωτική πρωτοβουλία ανήκει στον θεσμικά ισχυρότερο και ελαφρώς γηραιότερο ΒΠ, σε ένδειξη ίσως καλής θέλησης, ο οποίος και αυτοδιορθώνεται από το κύριε+επίθετο προς το κύριο όνομα του συνομιλητή του, στην 3η κατά σειρά συνεισφορά (Θέση 3) (σ. 3). Η συγκεκριμένη αλληλουχική τοποθέτηση δεν προϋποθέτει αναγκαστικά εντοπισμό προβλήματος στις προηγηθείσες δύο συνεισφορές —είτε από τον ίδιο τον ομιλητή είτε από τον συνομιλητή του—, αλλά αποτελεί την τελευταία ευκαιρία προάσπισης της διυποκειμενικότητας (Schegloff 1992). Η αυτοδιόρθωση του ΒΠ προκαλεί, εν είδη ετεροέγερσης, και την αυτοδιόρθωση (επίσης στην αντίστοιχη 3η συνεισφορά) του δεύτερου συνομιλητή ΓΜ (σ. 4), ο οποίος με τη σειρά του, και με τον τρόπο αυτό, καταθέτει διαδραστικά τη συμφωνία του στην πρόσκληση να συνομιλήσουν ως συνάδελφοι καθηγητές, και όχι ως εκφραστές αντίπαλων δυνάμεων. Αμέσως μετά, και εν μέσω αδιαπραγμάτευτης διαφωνίας, η οικεία προσφώνηση εγκαταλείπεται άρδην και από τους δύο, καθώς οχυρώνονται πίσω από τους θεσμικούς τους ρόλους, μετακινούμενοι έτσι σε μια νέα αμοιβαιότητα οπτικής, σε σχέση με τη συγκρότηση της συγκεκριμένης διαδραστικής περίπτωσης.

Παρόλο που η οικειότητα μοιάζει να είναι πολιτισμική προεπιλογή (Makri-Tsilipakou 1991· 2001), η μετάβαση σε οικειότερη επιλογή δεν γίνεται πάντοτε αποδεκτή, όπως στην περίπτωση του Θανάση Πάτρα (37) —συμπαρουσιαστή, με τη Νάντια Μπουλέ (1984), πρωινής εκπομπής—, ο οποίος απορρίπτει τη σχετική ετεροδιόρθωση-πρόσκληση του συνομιλητή τους (σ. 3), για τους λόγους που εξηγεί (σ. 4-5). Ίσως, όμως, να έχει σχέση και η διαφορά ηλικίας, μια που ο εργολάβος κηδειών Φάνης Μπαμπούλας είναι μεγαλύτερος (52), ή ακόμη και με την απόπειρά του να εκμαιεύσει (πλασματική) εγγύτητα με τον Πάτρα και την Μπουλέ —όχι αδικαιολόγητα, αν λάβουμε υπόψη το είδος των ερωτήσεων και σχολίων τους (π.χ. σ. 7-9), τα οποία εγκατέστησαν ένα ευτράπελο κλίμα, παρά το γεγονός ότι η συζήτηση έχει, τύποις, να κάνει με την αύξηση του ΦΠΑ ακόμη και στις κηδείες:

Απόσπασμα 6 [19/8/2011, ANT1, ELLATE]

- | | | |
|---|-----|---|
| 1 | ΘΠ: | Πάντως κύριε Μπαμπούλα επειδή φαντάζομαι κι εσείς λόγω επαγγελματικής διαστροφής: |
| 2 | | [((βήχας)) και |
| 3 | ΦΜ: | [<u>Φάνη</u> να με λέτε <u>Φάνη</u> = |
| 4 | ΘΠ: | = ((με επιτόνιση συμφωνίας)) Ωραία. ((χειρονομεί)) Κύριε ΜπαΜΠΟΥΛΑ! |
| 5 | | [(.) Λοιπόν. Δε: βα:—δε πάει τώρα. Είμαστε μακριά <u>δε</u> γνωριζόμαστε. (.) Επειδή = |
| 6 | ΦΜ: | [((κατάφαση με το κεφάλι)) Χε χε χε |
| 7 | ΘΠ: | = φαντάζομαι λόγω επαγγελματικής διαστροφής κι εσείς βλέπετε και στην πόλη σας και |
| 8 | | σε άλλες πόλεις αντίστοιχα γραφεία τελετών. Ποιο <u>όνομα</u> σας έχει κάνει εντύπωση όλα |
| 9 | | αυτά τα χρόνια; |

ΑΜ: Αν γίνει αυτό, κυρία Αλεξάνδρα, τότε θα μπορούμε να μιλάμε για ...

Στην επόμενη περίπτωση, η οικειότητα απορρίπτεται και πάλι με απερίφραστη ετεροδιόρθωση (4η Προτίμηση), η οποία καθίσταται και πάλι θέμα συζήτησης (έκθετη), αυτή τη φορά όμως επειδή εκλαμβάνεται ως συγκαταβατικά υπεροπτική εν μέσω «άγριου καυγά», όπως τιτλοφορήθηκε το περιστατικό στο YouTube. Πρόκειται για ένα επεισόδιο στο σίριαλ των τηλεοπτικών αψιμαχιών μεταξύ της δημοσιογράφου και βουλευτριάς του ΚΚΕ Λιάνας Κανέλλη (1954) και του σχεδόν συνομήλικου της δημοσιογράφου Μανώλη Καψή (50-55), παρουσία του οικοδεσπότη Γιάννη Πρετεντέρη (1954):

Απόσπασμα 7 [MEGA, ΕΙΔΗΣΕΙΣ, 2/2008]

- 1 ΛΚ: Δημόσιο αγαθό δεν είναι η επικοινωνία; [Από πού πουλάκι μου;
2 ΜΚ: [() είναι η τηλεΘΕΑση δημόσιο-κατ' αρχήν μη
3 με λες [πουλάκι! Εγώ δεν είμαι: (.) [κανένα: τσιράκι σου. Έτσι; (.) Έτσι μπράβο:!] =
4 ΛΚ: [() η τηλεθέ:αση [Ο: ΚΥριε ΚαΨΗ! ΚΥριε ΚαΨΗ μου! Κύριε Καψή =
5 ΜΚ: = [[Που~~Δ~~Α:κι = μου! Πού βρίσκεστε αγαπητή μου; ΠΟΥ~~Δ~~Α:κι μου! =
6 ΛΚ: = [[μου. °Κύριε Καψή μου°
7 ΛΚ: = Συγγνώμη, [σε πείραξε η γρίπη των πτηνών; (.) ((ανασηκώνει του ώμους της)) =
8 ΜΚ: [ΠΟΥ~~Δ~~Α:κι μου!
9 ΛΚ: = Σε πείραξε [η γρίπη [των πτηνών. Έ:λεος. [Έλεος. =
10 ΓΠ: [Λιάνα; [ΛΙΑνα! [
11 ΜΚ: = [Σε παρακαλώ κυρία [μου! Σε [παρακαλώ κυρία μου! =
12 ΓΠ: [°Λιάνα.°
13 ΛΚ: = Έχεις προηγού[μενα μαζί μου λόγω[: της:: =
14 ΜΚ: [Δεν έχω κανένα [προηγούμενο μαζί σου, να είσαι =
15 ΛΚ: = [οΞΕΙΑς πασοκίας σου αλλά =
16 ΜΚ: = [[ευγενής αγαπητή μου. Έτσι; [Να είσαι ευγενής. (.) Αν δεν μπορείτε να συμπεριφέρεστε =
17 ΛΚ: = [[δεν είναι πρόβλημα μου. [Έχεις οΞΕΙΑ ΠΑΣΟΚΙΑΣΗ. ΕΙΣΑΙ ΑΠΟ ΤΟΥΣ =
18 ΓΠ: [Σας παρακαλώ και τους δύο
19 ΜΚ: = [[ανθρωπινά (.) να μην εμφανίζεστε στην τηλεόραση
20 ΛΚ: = [[ΑΝΘΡΩΠΟΥΣ ΠΟΥ ΕΧΩ ΦΥΓΕΙ ΑΠΟ ΤΗΝ ΕΚΠΟΜΠΗ ΤΟΥΣ
(συνέχεια και κλιμάκωση)

Η οικεία προσφώνηση αντικρούεται (σ. 2-3) ως ανάρμοστη από τον ΜΚ, ο οποίος επικαλείται έλλειψη συγχρωτισμού με τη ΛΚ (σ. 3) και μη συμμόρφωση της τελευταίας με την (δημόσια τηλεοπτική) κατάσταση της επικοινωνίας (σ. 5), όπου κανείς/καμία οφείλει να είναι «ευγενής» (σ. 16). Και ενώ αρχικά παρασύρεται από το υποκοριστικό και πραγματοποιεί την έκθετη ετεροδιόρθωσή του σε δεύτερο ενικό πρόσωπο (σ. 3) —και με ανάλογη λαϊκή («τσιράκι») και απειλητική διατύπωση («μπράβο», σ. 5, βλ. Makri-Tsilirakou 2001)—, υιοθετώντας άθελά του, και λόγω μεγάλης φόρτισης, το οικείο ύφος της συνομιλητριάς του, στη συνέχεια στιγμιαία αποκαθιστά την απόσταση μεταξύ τους με επιδεικτική χρήση πληθυντικού και «καθώς πρέπει» προσφώνησης («αγαπητή μου», σ. 5), για να ξανακυλήσει και πάλι στο ενικό (σ. 11, 14, 16), και ξανά πάλι στον πληθυντικό (σ. 16, 19). Είναι προφανές ότι η μεταπική σύγκρουση έχει διαταράξει τις προσωπικές του προδιαγραφές σε σχέση με τον ενδεικνυόμενο (για ευγενή αστό) τύπο/αριθμό προσφώνησης, σε αντίθεση με τη ΛΚ, η οποία διεκπεραιώνει με υφολογική συνέπεια την αντίθεσή της, και τον οικοδεσπότη που συντηρεί την οικειότητα (σ. 10, 12). Η θρυαλλίδα της διένεξης, τώρα, η υποκοριστική προσφώνηση «πουλάκι μου», ως δείκτης οικειότητας πέρα από την προφανή συνδήλωση της τρυφερότητας/συμπάθειας, πολύ συχνά λειτουργεί και ως προάγγελος ή/και φορέας αντιπαλότητας, στοιχειοθετώντας και το αμφιλεγόμενο πολλών νεοελληνικών εκφράσεων (βλ. Makri-Tsilirakou 1991).

5. Πώς να σε/σας κατηγοριοποιήσω;

Στη βάση και του προηγούμενου αποσπάσματος, έχει γίνει πλέον προφανές ότι η προσφώνηση ή αναφορά πολύ συχνά, αν όχι πάντα, εμπλέκουν ζητήματα κατηγοριοποίησης των προσώπων (Schegloff 2007b), ως μετεχόντων σε ομάδες ή συνομοταξίες, οι οποίες αντιστοιχίζονται με συγκεκριμένες ιδιότητες και χαρακτηριστικά και από τις οποίες απορρέουν σχετικές δραστηριότητες.

Αναφέρομαι στον *μηχανισμό μετοχικής κατηγοριοποίησης μελών* (membership categorization device) του Harvey Sacks (1992, 1:40–48, 236–66), ο οποίος περιλαμβάνει, αφενός μια οποιαδήποτε συλλογή κατηγοριών —όπου έστω και μία κατηγορία αντιστοιχίζεται με έστω και ένα πρόσωπο)— καθώς και κανόνες εφαρμογής: της *οικονομίας*, βάσει του οποίου αρκεί η απόδοση μίας

μόνο κατηγορίας ώστε να επιτευχθεί επαρκής αναφορά σε πρόσωπο· και της *συνέπειας* που επιτρέπει τη χρήση μιας κατηγορίας που έχει ήδη αποδοθεί σε ένα μέλος για την ένταξη στην ίδια ομάδα ή συλλογή και πρόσθετων μελών από τον ίδιο πληθυσμό. Σχετικά είναι τα δύο αξιώματα που απορρέουν: της *ακρόασης* και της *θέασης*, βάσει των οποίων τα μέλη αναγνωρίζουν ('ακούν') διαφορετικές κατηγορίες ως τμήματα της ίδιας συλλογής ή μηχανισμού, και συνδέουν ('βλέπουν') μία κατηγοριακά συναρτημένη δραστηριότητα με την αρμόδια κατηγορία, αντίστοιχα. Η μεθοδική χρήση των κατηγοριών οργανώνει την κοινή γνώση —που μπορούμε να ονομάσουμε και πολιτισμό (245)—, και έτσι αποτελεί μια συμβατική βάση απόδοσης δραστηριοτήτων και χαρακτηριστικών στα μέλη, επιτρέποντας τη συναγωγή συμπερασμάτων για τα ίδια, καθώς και για τη διαδραστική κατάσταση που συγκροτούν διά της συμμετοχής τους (41, 69). Συχνά, οι κατηγορίες οργανώνονται σε *τυποποιημένα σχεσιακά ζεύγη* (326-7) (π.χ. άνδρας-γυναίκα [*sic*]), λειτουργώντας ως βασικός μηχανισμός κοινωνικού ελέγχου (48). Αξίζει να τονισθεί ιδιαίτερα ότι οι κατηγορίες δεν αποτελούν νοητικές αναπαραστάσεις αλλά ενσώματες πρακτικές, εξού και η δυνατότητα πολλαπλής αλλά και μεταβαλλόμενης και, εντέλει, ρευστής και ενδεικτικής (*indexical*) απόδοσης κατηγοριακής ιδιότητας στα μέλη (46, 525), σε μία αθεράπευτα αναδραστική σχέση ανάμεσα στην κατηγορία και στην εκάστοτε συγκεκριμένη δράση και διάδραση (Butler and Fitzgerald 2010, 2462).

Οι συνέπειες της υπαγωγής των μελών σε συγκεκριμένες κατηγορίες έχουν γίνει εμφανείς στα προηγούμενα αποσπάσματα, όπου η αποδοχή ή απόρριψη της οικείας/επίσημης προσφώνησης/αναφοράς έχει αντίκτυπο στην εξέλιξη της αλληλουχίας των συνεισφορών, αφού για παράδειγμα βάζει το ζήτημα ως τι —και επομένως πώς— μιλάει ένα μέλος (ως συνάδελφος ή αντίπαλος;), αν πρέπει να το «γυρίσουμε στο τσάμικο», ή αν ο Καψής είναι εντέλει «πουλάκι» ή, κατά την ανάγνωσή του, «τσιράκι» της Κανέλλης, με τις ανάλογες διαδραστικές και κοινωνικές συνέπειες.

Στο δεδομένο που ακολουθεί, ο παρουσιαστής πολιτικής εκπομπής Αλέξανδρος Τριανταφυλλίδης (40-45), με θέμα *Ο κύβος ερρίφθη για το μεσοπρόθεσμο*, δίνει τον λόγο στον καθηγητή συνταγματικού δικαίου ΑΠΘ, Κωνσταντίνο Χρυσόγονο (1961):

Απόσπασμα 8 [10/6/2011, ET3, ΛΑΒΥΡΙΝΘΟΣ]

- | | | |
|---|-----|---|
| 1 | AT: | Κύριε Χρυσόγονε; (.) Κύριε καθηγητά; Η: προσέγγιση τώρα η νομική: στο: συγκεκριμένο |
| 2 | | δε- δεν ξέρω αν: η: η πολιτική ιστορία έχει αναδείξει έτσι: αυτό το μοντέλο ψηφίζω άρθρο |
| 3 | | μόνο πλαίσιο, και μετά εφαρμοστικούς νόμους >είχαμε συνηθίσει να ψηφίζονται <u>νόμοι</u> < οι |
| 4 | | οποίοι παρέπεμπαν σε προεδρικά διατάγματα. Ε: <u>δεν</u> ξέρω αν αυτό είναι ένα: νέο μοντέλο |
| 5 | KX: | Κοιτάξτε. (.) Το: μεσοπρόθεσμο πρόγραμμα (.) είναι στην ουσία ένας πενταετής |
| 6 | | προϋπολογισμός. Μεταξύ άλλων θέτει όρια δαπανών ((συνεχίζει εξηγώντας και καταλήγει ότι ο πενταετής προϋπολογισμός αποτελεί παραβίαση του συντάγματος)) |

Η χρήση κύριε+επώνυμο δεν κρίνεται αρκετή από τον ομιλητή (αν και παρίσταται μόνο ένας Χρυσόγονος), και συμπληρώνεται ανασκευαστικά από την ιδιότητα, η οποία προετοιμάζει συγκεκριμένη ροή της συνομιλίας. Το γεγονός αυτό στοιχειοθετείται από ό,τι ακολουθεί ως εγκατάσταση ενός πρώτου μισού γειτνιαστικού ζεύγους (ερώτηση) (σ. 1-4). Ο συνταγματολόγος ανταποκρίνεται ανάλογα με τη σχετική γνώση του (σ. 5-6), στην οποία έχει γίνει επίκληση μέσω της προσφώνησης/κατηγορίας «Κύριε καθηγητά», και αποφαίνεται ανάλογα. Σημειώστε ότι η ειδική γνώση και το κύρος του κατόχου συμπυκνώνονται στην κατάληξη -ά, η οποία καθιστά περιττό τον προσδιορισμό πανεπιστημιακός (καθηγητής), ενώ ο συγκεκριμένος τύπος δεν είναι ισοδύναμος με τον (σπάνιο) άλλο τύπο «Κύριε καθηγητή» (που μπορεί να αφορά σε εκπαιδευτικούς Μέσης ή το πολύ ΤΕΙ), και δεν συγκροτεί ισότιμο σχεσιακό ζεύγος με το (ουσιαστικά ανύπαρκτο) «Κυρία καθηγήτρια», το οποίο εκφέρεται μόνο ως σαρκασμός/αμφισβήτηση της γνώσης/κύρους. Και έτσι, παρόλο που είμαι και εγώ καθηγήτρια Πανεπιστημίου δεν προβλέπεται να αξιωθώ ποτέ μιας αναλόγου βαρύτητας σεβαστικής προσφώνησης/κατηγοριοποίησης —ατύχησα λόγω φύλου!

Παρόμοιας λογικής ετεροδιόρθωση, αυτή τη φορά, παρατηρείται στην υποδοχή (έμμεση προσφώνηση) της Κατερίνας Μπατζελή (1958) από την παρουσιάστρια Μάριον Μιχελιδάκη (40+) και τον παρουσιαστή Τάκη Σπηλιόπουλο (50±) της ενημερωτικής εκπομπής της NET.

Απόσπασμα 9 [2/7/2011, NET, ΣΑΒΒΑΤΟΚΥΡΙΑΚΟ ΣΤΗ NET]

- | | | |
|---|-----|--|
| 1 | MM: | Να καλωσορίσουμε την κυρία Μπατζελή. = |
| 2 | ΤΣ: | = Βουλευτίνα του Πασόκ! |
| 3 | MM: | Βουλευτίνα του Πασόκ βεβαίως. |

Μια πρώτη παρατήρηση είναι η παρουσίαση της προσκεκλημένης απλώς με το (κυρία+)επώνυμο και όχι και με την ιδιότητά της, και μάλιστα από την παρουσιάστρια. Είναι γνωστό και

πολυδιατυπωμένο ότι οι γυναίκες είναι πρώτα από όλα γυναίκες και μετά μπορεί να έχουν και επάγγελμα, αξίωμα κ.λπ. (βλ. Μακρή-Τσιλιπάκου 1996, 2010). Μία δεύτερη, είναι η άμεση ετεροδιόρθωση από τον παρουσιαστή, ή οποία παρέχει τη σχετική πληροφορία και η επακόλουθη υιοθέτησή της από τη παρουσιάστρια, το «βεβαίως» της οποίας μοιάζει να υπονοεί ότι περιττεύει η αναφορά, ως πολύ γνωστή, ίσως(;). Μια τρίτη παρατήρηση αφορά στο τι *δεν* λέγεται, και αυτό είναι ότι η καλεσμένη διατέλεσε Υπουργός Αγροτικής Ανάπτυξης και Τροφίμων (10/2009–9/2010), με πολύ έντονη προβολή στα μέσα λόγω των τότε κινητοποιήσεων των αγροτών, ενώ αμέσως πριν είχε υπάρξει και μέλος του Ευρωπαϊκού Κοινοβουλίου, γεγονός λιγότερο γνωστό. Η πρακτική που συνήθως υιοθετείται από όσες/ους παρουσιάζουν ανάλογες εκπομπές είναι να χρησιμοποιούν τον τίτλο του υψηλότερου αξιώματος, ακόμη και αν έχει πάψει να ισχύει. Για παράδειγμα, ο Νίκος Χατζηνικολάου (1962) υποδέχεται στο δελτίο ειδήσεων (Alter 5/5/2010) τον Νίκο Δένδια (1959) ως εξής: «Να καλησπερίσω τον βουλευτή της Νέας Δημοκρατίας και πρώην υπουργό κύριο Νίκο Δένδια. Καλησπέρα κύριε Υπουργέ και σε σας». Η προσφώνηση/αναφορά στα συγκεκριμένα πρόσωπα με την υπαγωγή τους σε διαφορετικούς μηχανισμούς κατηγοριοποίησης, δηλαδή στη συλλογή ‘ενήλικας’ (εξού «κυρία Μπατζελή»), ή/και ‘Κοινοβούλιο’ («βουλευτίνα») ή/και ‘Κυβέρνηση’ («υπουργός»), καθιστά σχετικές διαφορετικές προσδοκίες και συναγωγές εκ μέρους όλων των μελών που συμμετέχουν στη συνομιλία και, εξίσου (και ίσως σπουδαιότερο στη συγκεκριμένη περίπτωση), από το τηλεοπτικό κοινό.

Σε προηγούμενο απόσπασμα, θίξαμε και ζητήματα γλωσσικής πραγμάτωσης του ίδιου όρου (λήμματος) μιας κατηγορίας, διαχωρίζοντας το «Κύριε καθηγητ-ά» από το «Κύριε καθηγητ-ή» (και δευτερευόντως από το «Κυρία καθηγήτρια»). Και στην περίπτωση Μπατζελή δεν είναι απίθανο να εμπλέκονται τέτοια ζητήματα που οδηγούν σε αποφυγή λόγω συνεχιζόμενης (εξήντα χρόνια μετά τη μελέτη του Τριανταφυλλίδη (1953)!) δυσκολίας επιλογής του σχετικού τύπου: *βουλευτής*;, *βουλευτίνα*;, *βουλευτρία*; Βέβαια, τέτοια επιλογή δεν μπαίνει καν για την υπουργό (*υπουργίνα*; *υπουργέσσα*; *υπουργή*;). Παρεμπιπτόντως, εντόπισα στο διαδίκτυο 10.800 αποτελέσματα για το λήμμα *υπουργίνα* — όλα (στον βαθμό που μπόρεσα να ελέγξω) μειωτικά/ειρωνικά.

Δυσκολία παρατηρείται και στην επιλογή ανάμεσα σε διαφορετικές όρους της ίδιας κατηγορίας ή μήπως πρόκειται για διαφορετικές κατηγορίες (της ίδιας συλλογής); Ο παρουσιαστής του μουσικού σόου *Just the two of us*, Γιώργος Καπουτζίδης (1972) απαντά σε ερώτηση της οικοδέσποινας Ναταλίας Γερμανού σχετικά με τον πολυσχολιασμένο καυγά ανάμεσα στο μέλος της κριτικής επιτροπής δημοσιογράφο/ραδιοφωνική παραγωγό/συγγραφέα Αθηναίδα Νέγκα (1974) και τη διαγωνιζόμενη ηθοποιό Μαριάννα Πολυχρονίδη (1980):

Απόσπασμα 10 [13/3/2011, ALPHA, ΜΕΣ ΣΤΗΝ ΚΑΛΗ ΧΑΡΑ]

ΓΚ: (...) μια διαφωνία που προέκυψε σε δύο κορίτσια–κυρίες–σε δύο γυναίκες ((συνεχίζει))

«Κορίτσια–κυρίες–γυναίκες»: ποιο να είναι καταλληλότερο ως κατηγορία με συνάρτηση τη διαφωνία; Προηγουμένως, ο ΓΚ τις είχε αποκαλέσει «κορίτσια», όπως έκανε και κατά τη διάρκεια του on air διαπληκτισμού: «Σας παρακαλώ κορίτσια, επειδή με φέρνετε σε δύσκολη θέση, καλύτερα είναι να σταματήσουμε εδώ». Αντίστοιχο «*Σας παρακαλώ αγόρια...» δεν προβλέπεται!

Παρόμοιο, αν και αζεπέραστο σε πολυτυπία, είναι το περιστατικό σε πρωινή εκπομπή, όταν η περιγραφή/σχολιασμός της τελετής του αγιασμού των υδάτων —με τη συμμετοχή και γυναικών ως επίδοξων διεκδικητριών του σταυρού (μέχρι πρόσφατα παρουσία ανήκουστη/απαγορευμένη)—, προκαλεί συνεχόμενους μετασχηματισμούς της αναφοράς/κατηγοριοποίησης, ως αυτοδιόρθωσης/ετεροδιόρθωσης: από τον ρεπόρτερ (40–45), τους παρουσιαστές Γιώργο Καραμέρο (1974) και Σπύρο Χαριτάτο (1973), τον Βασίλη Δρυμούση (40–45) και μια άλλη Πανελίστρια (±35), καθώς και την αστρολόγο Λίτσα Πατέρα (64). Ο αένας αυτοί μετασχηματισμοί δεν υπαγορεύονται από τη θέση της αναφοράς ως αρχικής ή ακόλουθης, αλλά καταγράφουν δυσκολία σε σχέση με την επιλογή του/της όρου/κατηγορίας σε (ρητή) συνάρτηση με τις συγκεκριμένες δραστηριότητες και χαρακτηριστικά, όπως, την ποιότητα («εξαιρετικές», σ. 8), αναποφασιστικότητα (σ. 9), αναποτελεσματικότητα (σ. 14, 15), κατωτερότητα σε σχέση με τους άνδρες (σ. 17) και φυσική αδυναμία (σ. 20) —σύμφωνα με το αξίωμα της θέαςης:

Απόσπασμα 11 [6/1/2011, ANT1, 10 ME 1 MAZI]

- | | | |
|---|-----|---|
| 1 | P: | Ήτανε και μια κοπέλα εκεί δίπλα μου είχε βουτήξει και πέρσι |
| 2 | P: | Είναι πάνω η κοπέλα εκεί πάνω |
| 3 | ΣΧ: | A: είναι η κοπελιά που βλέπαμε |
| 4 | P: | Η κοπελιά πίσω |
| 5 | P: | Και η κοπελιά |

- 6 ΣΧ: Α! είναι δύο κυρίες. Βλέπουμε μία και μία εκεί. Είναι δύο κυρίες είναι
7 Ρ: Έχετε δίκιο είναι δύο οι κοπέλες
8 ΓΚ/ΣΧ: Εξαίρετικές κυρίες
9 Ρ: Είναι και η κοπελιά που βουτήξε πέρσι αποφάσισε τελικά να βουτήξει και φέτος
10 ΓΚ/ΣΧ: Πάντως είναι ενδιαφέρον είναι εκεί οι φίλοι μας και οι κυρίες όπως περιμένουν να
11 βουτήξουν τι συζητάνε μεταξύ τους
12 (): ((μετά την ανάκτηση του σταυρού)) Άντρας ή γυναίκα;
13 ΑΠ: Η κοπελίτσα τι έγινε;
14 Π: Η κοπελίτσα δεν έφτασε ακόμη τον σταυρό
15 ΒΔ: Η κοπελίτσα ακόμα κολυμπάει κυρία Λίτσα. Δεν είναι τώρα πράγματα!
16 ΑΠ: Έλα τώρα την κοπέλα!
17 ΒΔ: Να το δώσεις στην κοπέλα τώρα να φανεί ανώτερος
18 Π: Να και η κυρία!
19 ΓΚ: Να και η κυρία με;
20 Ρ: Είναι μέλη της ελληνικής ομάδας διάσωσης τη γυναίκα να τη βοηθήσουμε τώρα για να ανέβει

Αν στο προηγούμενο απόσπασμα η δυσκολία μοιάζει να πηγάζει από την αντιστοίχιση με τις ανά κατηγορία συναρτούμενες ιδιότητες/δραστηριότητες, στο τελευταίο απόσπασμα ο ομιλητής δεν έχει καμιά απολύτως αμφιβολία τόσο για την κατηγορία που ενεργοποιεί όσο και για τις συναρτούμενες ιδιότητες και καταθέτει αμφότερα, ρητά και ετεροδιορθωτικά:

Απόσπασμα 12 [11/7/2011, MEGA ΚΟΙΝΩΝΙΑ ΩΡΑ MEGA]

- 1 ΚΚ: Να σας διαβάσω τι λέει το ελεγκτικό συμβούλιο.
2 ΓΚ: Δεν πρόκειται για ελεγκτικό συμβούλιο. Είναι μία κοπέλα εκεί που δεν ξέρει τι
3 της γίνεται.

Ο δικηγόρος και πρώην δήμαρχος Ζωγράφου, Γιάννης Καζάκος (70±), ο παράτυπος δανεισμός του οποίου έβαλε σε κίνδυνο την καταβολή δόσης από το ΔΝΤ, αντιδικεί με τον νυν δήμαρχο Κώστα Καλλίρη, ο οποίος τον κατηγορεί ότι δεν εξασφάλισε, ως όφειλε, την έγκριση του Ελεγκτικού Συμβουλίου. Η κατηγορία «ελεγκτικό συμβούλιο» του μηχανισμού κατηγοριοποίησης ‘θεσμοί του κράτους’, που εμφανίζεται στην πρώτη συνεισφορά (σ. 1), αντικαθίσταται από την κατηγορία «κοπέλα» (σ. 2), του μηχανισμού ‘ηλικία’ ή/και ‘φύλο’ που συσχετίζεται από τον ομιλητή με έλλειψη γνώσης/αδυναμία θεσμικής εκπροσώπησης. Η εκδοχή ‘φύλο’ προβάλλει ισχυρότερη αν σκεφτούμε ότι ένα αντίστοιχο εκφώνημα με τη κατηγορία «παλικάρι» (το άλλο μέλος του καθιερωμένου σχεσιακού ζεύγους, π.χ. «Είναι ένα παλικάρι εκεί που δεν ξέρει τι του γίνεται»), ακούγεται αντιφατικό, λόγω της θετικής αξιολόγησης και σύνδεσης του όρου με αξιέπαινες δραστηριότητες· ενώ η εκδοχή «Είναι ένας νεαρός/νεαρή...» δεν θα δημιουργούσε κανένα πρόβλημα, διότι τώρα πρωτίστως ενεργοποιείται ο μηχανισμός ‘ηλικία’ με απορρέουσα ιδιότητα την απειρία. Επομένως, στην περίπτωση μας το έλλειμμα (επαγγελματικής) γνώσης/θεσμικής εκπροσώπησης είναι γένους θηλυκού, και βάσει του κανόνα της συνέπειας ισχύει για όλες τις «κοπέλες».

6. Επίλογος

Τα φαινόμενα που εξετάσαμε, και που προέκυψαν ως μία αυτόνομη περιοχή εντός μιας γενικότερης έρευνας της διόρθωσης, καταγράφουν μια όψη της νεοελληνικής διαχείρισης της οικειότητας/απόστασης και της έμφυλης διαφοράς στο πεδίο της προσφώνησης/αναφοράς-κατηγοριοποίησης. Πολλά περιστατικά εμφανίστηκαν με τη μη-προτιμητέα μορφή της (έκθετης) ετεροδιόρθωσης, γεγονός που καταγράφει την κρίσιμη ποιότητα των χρήσεων. Τα μέλη αμφιταλαντεύονται και αυτοδιορθώνονται ανάλογα ή ανακαλούνται ετεροδιορθωτικά στην τάξη από όσα άλλα μέλη αξιολογούν την εκάστοτε χρήση ως παραβατική των τοπικο-συνομιλιακών/κοινωνικών συμβάσεων, ώστε να επιτευχθεί εντέλει η κοινή οπτική. Προκύπτει ότι η οικειότητα, ως πολιτισμική προεπιλογή, όταν δεν τίθεται αναγκαστικά σε δεύτερη μοίρα λόγω της ισχύος της αρχής της αναγνωρισιμότητας ή δεν υπερκεράζεται από τον σεβασμό, συχνά διεμβολίζει τη θεσμικότητα της περίπτωσης, και διεκδικείται, απονέμεται ή απορρίπτεται —κάποτε με άλλοθι τις θεσμικές προδιαγραφές. Επιπλέον, τα δεδομένα καταγράφουν τη συνεχιζόμενη νεοελληνική αμήχανη αμφιθυμία προς τις γυναίκες (βλ. Μακρή-Τσιλιπάκου 1996), οι οποίες εξακολουθούν να εισπράττουν άνισες, σε σχέση με τους άνδρες, αναφορές/κατηγοριοποιήσεις και με ανάλογες στερεοτυπικές συναρτήσεις, πρακτικές που στοιχειοθετούν την αντοχή των έμφυλων διακρίσεων.

Παράρτημα: Σύμβολα απομαγνητοφώνησης

Σύμβολο	Περιγραφή	Σύμβολο	Περιγραφή
xxx-	αυτοδιακοπή	°xxx°	χαμηλόφωνη εκφορά
[xxx	επικάλυψη	σ. 1	σειρά
[[xxx	ταυτόχρονη εκκίνηση	(.) (1.0)	παύση ≤ δευτερολέπτου
xxx:	επιμήκυνση φθόγγου	xxx,;! :	επιτονική καμπύλη
xxx=	συγκόλληση εκφωνημάτων	hh (h) χε χα	εκπνοή ή/και γέλιο
>xxx<	επιτάχυνση εκφοράς	()/(xxx)	ακατανόητο/δυσνόητο εκφώνημα
<u>xxx</u>	έμφαση	((xxx))	βοηθητικά σχόλια
XXX	ιδιαίτερη έμφαση	(...)	παράλειψη

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ΛΕΞΙΚΟΓΡΑΦΙΚΕΣ ΠΡΟΣΕΓΓΙΣΕΙΣ ΣΤΗ ΔΙΑΤΥΠΩΣΗ ΤΩΝ ΟΡΙΣΜΩΝ: ΕΡΕΥΝΑ ΣΕ ΜΑΘΗΤΕΣ ΤΗΣ Ε΄ ΚΑΙ ΣΤ΄ ΔΗΜΟΤΙΚΟΥ

Έλενα Μάντζαρη
Πανεπιστήμιο Πατρών,
Ελλάδα
emantz@tee.gr

Άννα Ιορδανίδου
Πανεπιστήμιο Πατρών,
Ελλάδα
A.Iordanidou@upatras.gr

ABSTRACT

This paper presents a dictionary use research conducted with 351 Greek native speakers, students of senior primary school. The aim of the research is to evaluate the effectiveness of traditional defining approaches (i.e. analytical definitions, definitions by synonyms, morphological definitions) and contemporary defining approaches (i.e. full-sentence definitions), as they are represented by three Greek monolingual dictionaries, measuring students' performance in two tasks: the production and the identification of specific words' meaning and usage. In both tasks, the full-sentence definitions yielded 72,4% correct answers, while the traditional definitions with difficult and less difficult vocabulary yielded 22,9% and 26,6% respectively.

Λέξεις κλειδιά: ελληνικά μονόγλωσσα λεξικά, ορισμοί, χρήση λεξικού, εμπειρική έρευνα

1. Εισαγωγή

Ο ορισμός φαίνεται να κατέχει προνομίους θέση σε σχέση με οποιαδήποτε άλλη πληροφορία των λεξικών. Αν και υπάρχουν λεξικά που δεν περιέχουν ορισμούς, όπως τα ορθογραφικά, τα ετυμολογικά ή τα δίγλωσσα λεξικά, η σύνταξη των ορισμών θεωρείται το πρωτοτυπικό έργο ενός λεξικογράφου. Το τι σημαίνουν οι λέξεις και πώς ορίζονται έχει αποτελέσει αντικείμενο πολλών εργασιών από την πλευρά της λογικής, της φιλοσοφίας και της γλωσσολογικής σημασιολογίας. Ωστόσο, πολύ λίγα έχουν γραφεί, είτε στο πλαίσιο θεωρητικών λεξικογραφικών μελετών (βλ. Atkins and Rundell 2008) είτε στο πλαίσιο εμπειρικών ερευνών (βλ. ενδεικτικά McKeown 1993, Nesi and Meara 1994, Nesi 1998), για το πώς οι χρήστες ερμηνεύουν τους ορισμούς και το πώς και πόσο αποτελεσματικά χρησιμοποιούν την πληροφορία που αντλούν από αυτούς.

Η έρευνα που παρουσιάζεται αποτελεί μέρος ευρύτερης μελέτης (βλ. Μάντζαρη 2011), στην οποία συζητούνται παραδοσιακές και σύγχρονες προσεγγίσεις στη διατύπωση των λεξικογραφικών ορισμών με βάση τη διάσταση του χρήστη. Εξετάζονται παραδοσιακές τεχνικές σύνταξης των ορισμών, όπως οι αναλυτικοί, οι μορφολογικοί και οι ορισμοί με συνώνυμα, με τις ειδικότερες συμβάσεις που τις συνοδεύουν (π.χ. αρχή της υποκαταστασιμότητας, σύμβαση του κενού συμπληρώματος, χρήση παρενθέσεων, χρήση τυποποιημένων δηλώσεων), και το πιο σύγχρονο μοντέλο των ορισμών με πλήρεις προτάσεις (full-sentence definitions) ή αλλιώς των προτασιακών ορισμών.

Η έρευνα εντάσσεται στο επίκαιρο και αναπτυσσόμενο πεδίο της λεξικογραφίας που αφορά τη χρήση του λεξικού. Ειδικότερα, εντάσσεται στην κατηγορία μελετών που διερευνούν τη σχέση της χρήσης του λεξικού (και ειδικότερα της χρήσης του ορισμού ως στοιχείου της μικροδομής του λεξικού) με την παραγωγή και την κατανόηση κειμένου¹.

Στόχος είναι να διερευνηθεί ποιες στρατηγικές διατύπωσης των ορισμών, έτσι όπως εκπροσωπούνται από τρία μονόγλωσσα ελληνικά παιδαγωγικά λεξικά, το Λεξικό Μπαμπινιώτη για το σχολείο και το γραφείο (ΛΣΓ, 2004), το Ερμηνευτικό λεξικό νέας ελληνικής Α΄, Β΄, Γ΄ Γυμνασίου (ΕΛΝΕ, 2007)² και το Λεξικό της ελληνικής ως ξένης γλώσσας για μαθητές της δευτεροβάθμιας

¹ Για την κατηγοριοποίηση των ερευνών στο πλαίσιο της χρήσης του λεξικού βλ. Hulstijn and Atkins (1998) και Dolezal and McCreary (1996).

² Για τις αρχές σύνταξης του λεξικού βλ. Γαβριηλίδου κ.ά. (2008).

εκπαίδευσης (ΛΕΞΓ, 2007), μπορούν να συμβάλουν στην αποτελεσματικότερη κατανόηση της σημασίας και της χρήσης των λέξεων από μαθητές των τελευταίων τάξεων του δημοτικού. Τα αποτελέσματα της έρευνας μπορούν να αξιοποιηθούν στη διατύπωση προτάσεων σχετικά με ζητήματα σχεδιασμού των ορισμών στα μονόγλωσσα ελληνικά παιδαγωγικά λεξικά και με ζητήματα διδακτικής αξιοποίησης των ορισμών.

2. Συναφείς έρευνες

Περιορισμένος είναι ο αριθμός των ερευνών σχετικά με τους ορισμούς. Οι έρευνες αυτές αφορούν την αγγλική γλώσσα και έχουν στόχο την αξιολόγηση της αποτελεσματικότητας των διαφορετικών ορισμών με βάση την επίδοση των χρηστών σε συγκεκριμένες δοκιμασίες/τεστ (βλ. Miller and Gildea 1987, Cumming *et al.* 1994, Nesi and Meara 1994, Nesi 1998, McKeown 1993)³. Παρουσιάζουν ωστόσο μεταξύ τους επιμέρους διαφορές: α) ως προς το ερευνητικό εργαλείο (π.χ. ερωτηματολόγιο, βλ. MacFarquhar and Richards 1983, τεστ βλ. McKeown 1993, Miller and Gildea 1987, Nesi and Meara 1994, ερωτηματολόγιο και τεστ βλ. Cumming *et al.* 1994, Nesi 1998), β) ως προς το γλωσσικό υλικό (π.χ. ορισμοί από υπάρχοντα λεξικά για φυσικούς ομιλητές ή λεξικά εκμάθησης (learner's dictionaries), ορισμοί εκ νέου διατυπωμένοι για τις ανάγκες της έρευνας βλ. McKeown 1993) και γ) ως προς την ηλικία του ελεγχόμενου δείγματος (π.χ. φυσικοί ομιλητές μαθητές του δημοτικού βλ. McKeown 1993, Miller and Gildea 1987, ενήλικες μαθητές της αγγλικής).

3. Μέθοδος

3.1 Υποκείμενα

Στην έρευνα συμμετείχαν 351 μαθητές (n=351) των δύο τελευταίων τάξεων του δημοτικού, φυσικοί ομιλητές της ελληνικής χωρίς διαγνωσμένες μαθησιακές δυσκολίες (από το Δημοτικό Σχολείο της Ελληνογερμανικής Αγωγής και από το 2ο Δημοτικό Σχολείο Διονύσου).

3.2 Ερευνητικό εργαλείο

Η έρευνα αρθρώνεται σε τέσσερα (4) επιμέρους έργα, δύο βασικά, στα οποία χρησιμοποιείται το τεστ, και δύο συμπληρωματικά, στα οποία χρησιμοποιείται το ερωτηματολόγιο. Τα δύο βασικά έργα (Έργο 2 και Έργο 3) ελέγχουν την αποτελεσματικότητα των διαφορετικών τύπων ορισμού στην κατανόηση της σημασίας κατά την παραγωγή προτάσεων (Έργο 2) και κατά την αναγνώριση της ορθής σημασίας και χρήσης των ελεγχόμενων λ.μ. (Έργο 3)⁴. Στο Έργο 2 οι μαθητές συμβουλευονται τους ορισμούς 6 λ.μ. και συντάσσουν μία πρόταση για καθεμία από αυτές. Στο Έργο 3 ζητείται από τους μαθητές να αναγνωρίσουν τη σωστή σημασία ή/και τη σωστή χρήση για κάθε ελεγχόμενη λ.μ. σε ασκήσεις πολλαπλών επιλογών, αφού συμβουλευτούν τους ορισμούς 9 λ.μ.⁵ Στα δύο συμπληρωματικά έργα (Έργο 1 και Έργο 4) ζητείται από τους μαθητές να αξιολογήσουν αντίστοιχα τον βαθμό οικειότητάς τους με τις 15 ελεγχόμενες λ.μ. και το πόσο βοηθητικούς βρήκαν τους ορισμούς που συμβουλευτήκαν.

Το δείγμα χωρίζεται σε τρεις ομάδες (Α, Β, και Γ) με ίσο αριθμό συμμετεχόντων: Η Ομάδα Α χρησιμοποιεί τους παραδοσιακούς ορισμούς με δύσκολο λεξιλόγιο από το ΛΣΓ η Ομάδα Β τους παραδοσιακούς ορισμούς με απλούστερο λεξιλόγιο από το ΕΛΝΕ και η Ομάδα Γ τους προτασιακούς ορισμούς από το ΛΕΞΓ.

3.3 Γλωσσικό υλικό

Όσον αφορά την επιλογή του λεξιλογίου, καταρτίστηκε αρχικός κατάλογος με 30 λ.μ. οι ορισμοί των οποίων θα αποτελούσαν το γλωσσικό υλικό της έρευνας. Οι επιλεγμένες λ.μ. πληρούσαν τα εξής κριτήρια: α) περιλαμβάνονταν και στα τρία λεξικά της μελέτης, β) αντανάκλυναν διαφορετικές

³ Εξάιρεση αποτελεί η έρευνα των MacFarquhar and Richards (1983), που περιορίζεται στην αξιολόγηση των διαφορετικών ορισμών με βάση τις προτιμήσεις των χρηστών.

⁴ Χρησιμοποιούμε τον όρο λεξική μονάδα (λ.μ.) για να αναφερθούμε στη λέξη-κεφαλή σε καθεμία από τις σημασίες της, όπως ορίζεται από τον Cruse (1986).

⁵ Το τεστ στο Έργο 3 στηρίχτηκε σε προηγούμενα τεστ (βλ. McCreary and Dolezal 1999, McCreary 2002) και προσαρμόστηκε στις ανάγκες της παρούσας έρευνας.

τεχνικές στους ορισμούς τους, γ) προέρχονταν από τις τρεις βασικές κατηγορίες των λέξεων περιεχομένου (ουσιαστικά, επίθετα και ρήματα) και δ) ήταν πιθανόν όχι πολύ οικείες στους μαθητές. Μετά από προκαταρκτική έρευνα σε 25 μαθητές που δε συμμετείχαν στην κυρίως έρευνα επιλέχθηκαν οι ακόλουθες 15 λ.μ., που ήταν τους ήταν λιγότερο οικείες: α) για το Έργο 2: τα ουσιαστικά: *βλέφαρο*, *χειραψία*, τα επίθετα: *απόλυτος*, *φτασμένος*, τα ρήματα: *κλίνω*, *συγχέω*), β) για το Έργο 3: τα ουσιαστικά: *ανία*, *ετοιμότητα*, *βιότοπος*, τα επίθετα: *αυθάδης*, *αστικός*, *αιχμηρός*, τα ρήματα: *προσβάλλω*, *καταβάλλω*, *εκβάλλω*.

Στους ορισμούς των επιλεγμένων λ.μ. που αντλήθηκαν από τα λεξικά ΛΣΓ και ΕΛΝΕ αντανακλώνται οι ακόλουθες παραδοσιακές λεξικογραφικές τεχνικές και συμβάσεις διατύπωσης:

1. Αναλυτικοί ορισμοί: Ορισμοί στους οποίους δίνεται έμφαση στη δήλωση του γένους και των διαφοροποιητικών χαρακτηριστικών, π.χ.:

(1) *ανία*: *δυσάρεστο συναίσθημα που δημιουργείται από την έλλειψη ενδιαφέροντος για ό,τι συμβαίνει (ΕΛΝΕ)*

(2) *βλέφαρο*: *καθεμία από τις δερμάτινες πτυχές που καλύπτουν και προστατεύουν τα μάτια (ΛΣΓ)*

2. Ορισμοί με συνώνυμα: Ορισμοί στους οποίους η περιγραφή της σημασίας γίνεται μέσω ενός ή περισσότερων συνωνύμων, π.χ.:

(3) *ανία*: *πλήξη (ΛΣΓ)*

(4) *απόλυτος*: *άκαμπτος στη γνώμη (ΛΣΓ)*

(5) *αυθάδης*: *αυτός που είναι υπερβολικά θρασύς, αναιδής (ΕΛΝΕ)*

3. Μορφολογικοί ορισμοί: Ορισμοί στους οποίους η σημασία της οριζόμενης λ.μ. περιγράφεται με παράγωγες λέξεις που ανήκουν στην ίδια οικογένεια. Στους επιλεγμένους ορισμούς η σημασιολογική σύνδεση των μορφολογικά συγγενικών λέξεων γίνεται με τη χρήση τυποποιημένων φράσεων, π.χ.:

(6) *αυθάδης*: *αυτός που χαρακτηρίζεται από αυθάδεια (ΛΣΓ)*

(7) *ετοιμότητα*: *η κατάσταση στην οποία κάποιος είναι έτοιμος (ΕΛΝΕ)⁶*

4. Σύμβαση του κενού συμπληρώματος (hole convention): Στους ορισμούς όπου εφαρμόζεται η συγκεκριμένη σύμβαση παραλείπεται οποιαδήποτε ένδειξη για το υποχρεωτικό συμπλήρωμα της οριζόμενης λ.μ., π.χ.:

(8) *προσβάλλω*: *προκαλώ ή προξενώ βλάβη (ΛΣΓ), (ΕΛΝΕ)*

(9) *εκβάλλω*: *(για ποταμούς κτλ.) χύνω τα νερά μου (ΕΛΝΕ)*

5. Η δήλωση των περιορισμών επιλογής ή των σημασιολογικών προτιμήσεων μιας λ.μ. μέσω της χρήσης παρενθέσεων στην αρχή ή στο τέλος των ορισμών, π.χ.:

(10) *φτασμένος*: *(για επαγγελματία) πολύ επιτυχημένος στον χώρο του (ΛΣΓ)*

(11) *εκβάλλω*: *(για ποταμούς) καταλήγω σε (θάλασσα, λίμνη) (ΛΣΓ)*

6. Η έλλειψη δήλωσης περιορισμών επιλογής, π.χ.:

(12) *φτασμένος*: *αυτός που έχει πετύχει επαγγελματικά (ΕΛΝΕ)*

(13) *προσβάλλω*: *προκαλώ ή προξενώ βλάβη (ΛΣΓ), (ΕΛΝΕ)*

(14) *αστικός*: *αυτός γίνεται ή κινείται εντός των ορίων μιας πόλης (ΛΣΓ)*

(15) *αστικός*: *αυτός που αφορά την επικοινωνία μέσα σε μια πόλη (ΕΛΝΕ)*

7. Ασαφής δήλωση της συντακτικής συμπεριφοράς της οριζόμενης λ.μ., η οποία άλλοτε μπορεί να συμπίπτει με αυτή της ορίζουσας λ.μ. (βλ. παράδειγμα 16) ενώ άλλοτε μπορεί να αποκλίνει από αυτή (βλ. παραδείγματα 17 και 18), π.χ.:

(16) *κλίνω*: *εμφανίζω ροπή προς κάτι (ΛΣΓ)*

(17) *κλίνω*: *προτιμώ κάτι από άλλα (ΕΛΝΕ)*

⁶ Με τον ορισμό της λ.μ. *ετοιμότητα* ελέγχεται η τεχνική του μορφολογικού ορισμού όταν η ορίζουσα λ.μ. είναι πολύσημη.

- (18) *συγχέω*: μπερδεύω κάτι, κυρίως κατά την προσπάθεια να το αντιληφθώ σωστά (ΕΛΝΕ)
8. Δύσκολο λεξιλόγιο: Ελέγχονται περιπτώσεις όπου στον ορισμό χρησιμοποιούνται λ.μ. πιο δύσκολες από την οριζόμενη, π.χ.:
- (19) *βλέφαρο*: καθεμία από τις δερμάτινες πτυχές που καλύπτουν και προστατεύουν τα μάτια (ΛΣΓ)
(20) *απόλυτος*: (για πρόσ.) αυτός που δεν αφήνει περιθώρια για κριτική ή συμβιβασμό (ΕΛΝΕ)
9. Ασαφής ορισμός: Ορισμός που δεν παρέχει επαρκή σημασιολογική πληροφορία για την ολοκληρωμένη αναπαράσταση της οριζόμενης λ.μ. (βλ. McKeown 1993: 20). Να σημειωθεί ότι συχνά οι ασάφειες στη διατύπωση των ορισμών συνοδεύονται συχνά από χρήση δύσκολου λεξιλογίου.
- (21) *βιότοπος*: το φυσικό περιβάλλον που παρέχει τις απαραίτητες συνθήκες για την εκπλήρωση μέρους ή ολόκληρου του κύκλου ζωής των φυτικών ή ζωικών οργανισμών (ΛΣΓ)
(22) *βιότοπος*: το φυσικό περιβάλλον που εξασφαλίζει σταθερούς όρους διαβίωσης σε ορισμένο σύνολο ζώων και φυτών (ΕΛΝΕ)
- Στους ορισμούς των επιλεγμένων λ.μ. που αντλήθηκαν από το ΛΕΞΓ αντανακλώνονται οι ακόλουθες βασικές τεχνικές και συμβάσεις του μοντέλου των προτασιακών ορισμών:
1. Δήλωση των συνηθισμένων/πρωτοτυπικών χαρακτηριστικών μιας λ.μ., π.χ.:
- (23) *βλέφαρο*: τα βλέφαρα είναι τα δύο κομμάτια δέρματος που σκεπάζουν τα μάτια μας όταν είναι κλειστά
(24) *χειραψία*: όταν δύο άνθρωποι κάνουν ή ανταλλάσσουν χειραψία, δίνει ο καθένας το δεξί του χέρι στον άλλο και σφίγγουν τα χέρια τους για λίγο, συνήθως για να χαιρετήσει ο ένας τον άλλο ή για να δείξουν ότι έκλεισαν μια συμφωνία
2. Δήλωση της συντακτικής συμπεριφοράς ή του συγκείμενου της οριζόμενης λ.μ. σε ρέοντα φυσικό λόγο χωρίς παρενθέσεις ή άλλες συμβάσεις, π.χ.:
- (25) *κλίνω*: όταν θέλουμε κάτι πιο πολύ από κάτι άλλο, λέμε ότι κλίνουμε προς αυτό
(26) *συγχέω*: όταν συγχέουμε κάτι με κάτι άλλο παρόμοιο ή όταν συγχέουμε δύο παρόμοια πράγματα, πιστεύουμε λάθος ότι το ένα είναι το άλλο
3. Δήλωση των σημασιολογικών προτιμήσεων της οριζόμενης λ.μ., π.χ.:
- (27) *φτασμένος*: όταν κάποιος είναι φτασμένος καλλιτέχνης, δικηγόρος κτλ., όλοι αναγνωρίζουν τις ικανότητές του και έχει μεγάλη φήμη
(28) *εκβάλλει*: ένας ποταμός εκβάλλει σε θάλασσα ή λίμνη όταν τα νερά του χύνονται εκεί
4. Χρήση απλού λεξιλογίου για την περιγραφή της σημασίας, π.χ.:
- (29) *ανία*: όταν νιώθουμε ανία, βαριόμαστε, επειδή δεν κάνουμε κάτι ενδιαφέρον ή επειδή κάνουμε συνεχώς τα ίδια πράγματα
(30) *βιότοπος*: ο βιότοπος είναι μια περιοχή, φυσική ή τεχνητή, που είναι κατάλληλη για την ανάπτυξη και την προστασία σπάνιων ζώων και φυτών
(31) *αυθάδης*: όταν κάποιος είναι αυθάδης, φέρεται στους άλλους με αγένεια και χωρίς σεβασμό

3.4 Διαδικασία

Η έρευνα πραγματοποιήθηκε τον Απρίλιο 2009 και στη διεξαγωγή της συμμετείχαν οι εκπαιδευτικοί της Ε΄ και Στ΄ τάξης του Δημοτικού της Ελληνογερμανικής Αγωγής και του 2^ο Δημοτικού Σχολείου Διονύσου. Οι εκπαιδευτικοί διάβασαν δυνατά τις εκφωνήσεις για κάθε έργο και εξήγησαν στους μαθητές πώς έπρεπε να συμπληρώσουν τις απαντήσεις τους. Η συμπλήρωση του φυλλαδίου ολοκληρώθηκε σε μία διδακτική ώρα.

4. Βαθμολόγηση και στατιστική επεξεργασία

Στόχος της έρευνας είναι να ελεγχθεί η συσχέτιση της ανεξάρτητης μεταβλητής «τύπος ορισμού», όπως εκπροσωπείται από τα τρία διαφορετικά λεξικά (ΛΣΓ, ΕΛΝΕ, ΛΕΞΓ), με τις εξαρτημένες μεταβλητές: α) ικανότητα των μαθητών να χρησιμοποιούν σωστά τη λ.μ. στα συμφραζόμενα, συντάσσοντας δικές τους προτάσεις (Έργο 2), β) ικανότητα των μαθητών να αντιλαμβάνονται στοιχεία που αφορούν τη σημασία και τη χρήση της λ.μ. μέσα σε ήδη διατυπωμένες προτάσεις, επιλέγοντας μέσα από ασκήσεις πολλαπλής επιλογής τη σωστή (Έργο 3). Ο έλεγχος της αποτελεσματικότητας των τριών λεξικογραφικών προσεγγίσεων έγινε για καθεμία από τις 15 ελεγχόμενες λ.μ. και για καθεμία από τις 3 γραμματικές κατηγορίες (ουσιαστικά, επίθετα, ρήματα) που αυτές εκπροσωπούν. Συμπληρωματικά ελέγχθηκε το πώς οι ίδιοι οι μαθητές προσδιορίζουν το βαθμό οικειότητά τους με τις ελεγχόμενες λ.μ., πριν να συμβουλευτούν τους ορισμούς, και το πώς αξιολογούν τη συνεισφορά του κάθε ορισμού μετά τα τεστ.

Οι απαντήσεις των μαθητών στα παραπάνω έργα έλαβαν τους χαρακτηρισμούς: α) *Σωστό*, β) *Λάθος*⁷, και γ) *Δεν ξέρω*.

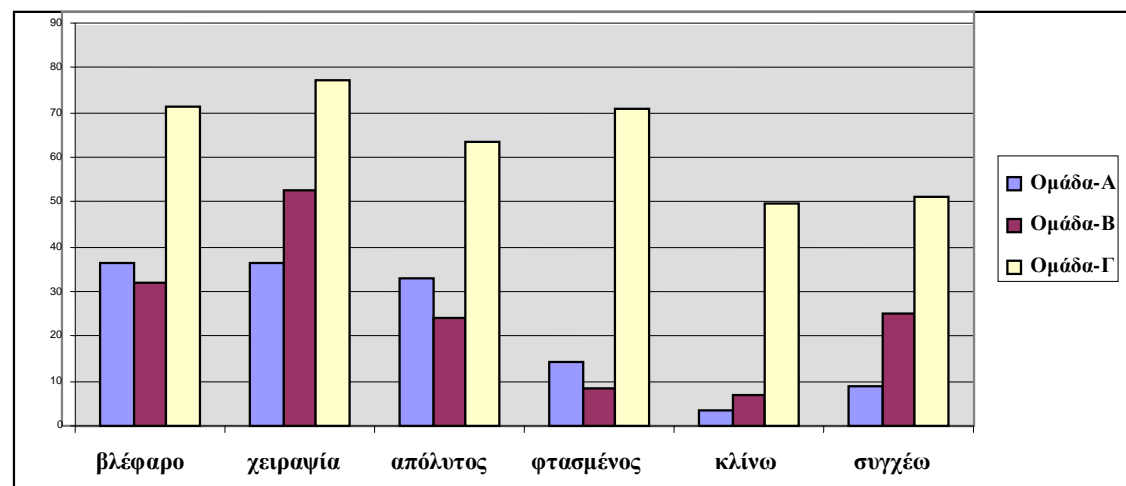
Στο Έργο 1, για τη μέτρηση του βαθμού οικειότητας των μαθητών της κάθε ομάδας με κάθε λ.μ., οι τιμές *Καθόλου*, *Λίγο*, *Καλά* και *Πολύ καλά* αντικαταστάθηκαν από τους αριθμούς 1-4 αντίστοιχα και εξήχθη για καθεμία από αυτές η μέση τιμή. Στο Έργο 4, για να εξαχθεί η μέση τιμή για κάθε ορισμό οι τιμές *Καθόλου*, *Λίγο*, *Πολύ*, *Πάρα πολύ* αντικαταστάθηκαν, όπως και στο Έργο 1, από τους αριθμούς 1-4 αντίστοιχα.

Κατά τη στατιστική επεξεργασία έγιναν συγκρίσεις μεταξύ των απαντήσεων των τριών ομάδων ανά ζεύγη (Ομάδα Α vs. Ομάδα Β, Ομάδα Β vs. Ομάδα Γ, Ομάδα Α vs. Ομάδα Γ) για κάθε ελεγχόμενη λ.μ., για κάθε γραμματική κατηγορία και για το σύνολο των λ.μ.. Οι στατιστικοί έλεγχοι πραγματοποιήθηκαν μέσω των τεστ χ^2 και Fischer κατά περίπτωση⁸. Οι διαφορές των ποσοστών μεταξύ των εκάστοτε δύο ομάδων θεωρήθηκαν στατιστικώς σημαντικές για επίπεδο σημαντικότητας $p=0,05$.

Η στατιστική επεξεργασία των δεδομένων έγινε με το πρόγραμμα SPSS (έκδοση 16.0.1). Η ανάλυση των δεδομένων επαληθεύτηκε με γραφικές παραστάσεις.

5. Αποτελέσματα

Στο Γράφημα 1 παρουσιάζονται τα ποσοστά των σωστών απαντήσεων που έδωσαν και οι τρεις ομάδες για κάθε λ.μ. στο Έργο 2 (παραγωγή προτάσεων).



Γράφημα 1 Ποσοστά σωστών απαντήσεων ανά ομάδα για κάθε λ.μ. στο Έργο 2

⁷ Στο Έργο 2 οι λανθασμένες απαντήσεις χαρακτηρίστηκαν ειδικότερα με τις τιμές: *Λάθος_σημασιολογικό*, *Λάθος_χρήσης* και *Λάθος_μη_εμφάνισης_λ.μ.* όταν στις προτάσεις των μαθητών δεν εμφανιζόταν η ελεγχόμενη λ.μ.

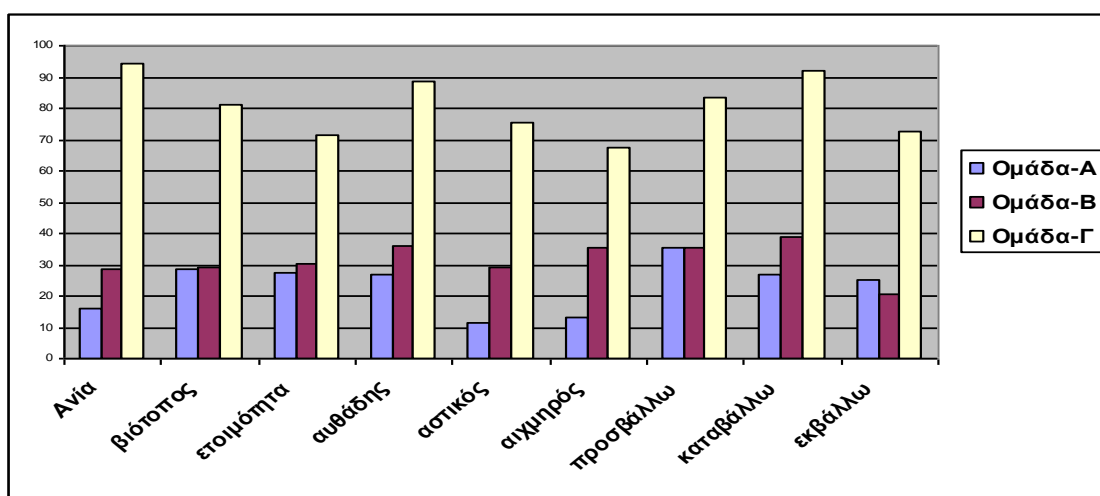
⁸ Το τεστ Fischer χρησιμοποιήθηκε για τις απαντήσεις *Δεν ξέρω* όταν οι απόλυτες τιμές τους ήταν μικρότερες του 10.

Η Ομάδα Γ, που συμβουλευτήκε τους προτασιακούς ορισμούς, παρουσίασε σε όλες τις λ.μ. σημαντικά υψηλότερα ποσοστά σωστών απαντήσεων (*βλέφαρο*: 71,5%, *χειραψία*: 77,2%, *απόλυτος*: 63,4%, *φτασμένος*: 70,7%, *κλίνω*: 49,6%, *συγχέω*: 51,2%) από τα αντίστοιχα ποσοστά της Ομάδας Α (*βλέφαρο*: 36,6%, $p=0,001$, $p<0,05$, *χειραψία*: 36,6%, $p=0,001$, $p<0,05$, *απόλυτος*: 33,0%, $p=0,001$, $p<0,05$, *φτασμένος*: 14,3%, $p=0,001$, $p<0,05$, *κλίνω*: 3,6%, $p=0,001$, $p<0,05$, *συγχέω*: 8,9%, $p=0,001$, $p<0,05$).

Επίσης, σε όλες τις λ.μ. η Ομάδα Γ παρουσίασε σημαντικά υψηλότερα ποσοστά σωστών απαντήσεων και από την Ομάδα Β (*βλέφαρο*: 31,9%, $p=0,001$, $p<0,05$, *χειραψία*: 52,6%, $p=0,001$, $p<0,05$, *απόλυτος*: 24,1%, $p=0,001$, $p<0,05$, *φτασμένος*: 8,6%, $p=0,001$, $p<0,05$, *κλίνω*: 6,9%, $p=0,001$, $p<0,05$, *συγχέω*: 25%, $p=0,001$, $p<0,05$).

Το συνολικό ποσοστό των σωστών απαντήσεων της Ομάδας Γ στο Έργο 2 ανήλθε στο 64%, ενώ της Ομάδας Α στο 22,2% και της Ομάδας Β στο 21,6%.

Στο Γράφημα 2 που ακολουθεί παρουσιάζονται τα ποσοστά των σωστών απαντήσεων που έδωσε καθεμία από τις τρεις ελεγχόμενες ομάδες στο Έργο 3 (αναγνώριση της σωστής σημασίας).



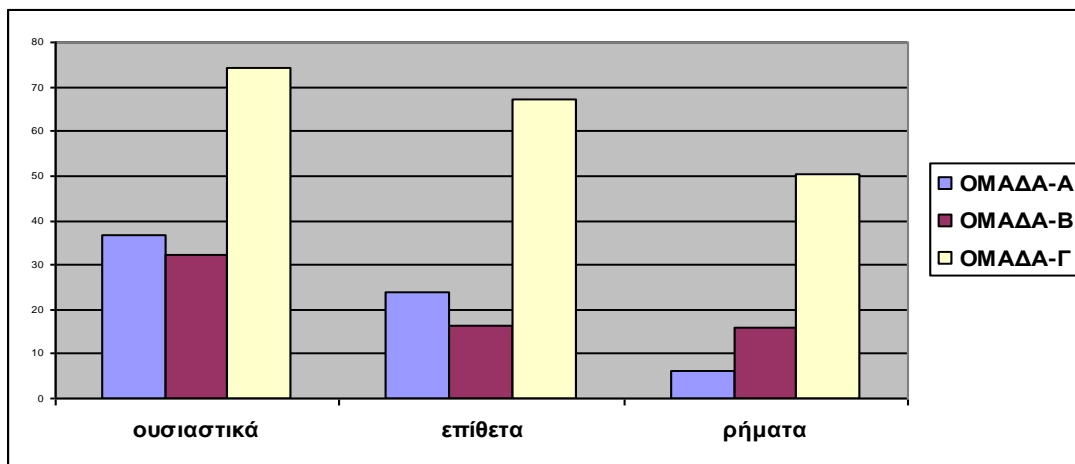
Γράφημα 2 Ποσοστά σωστών απαντήσεων ανά ομάδα για κάθε λ.μ. στο Έργο 3

Όσον αφορά το ποσοστό των σωστών απαντήσεων, η Ομάδα Γ, που συμβουλευτήκε τους προτασιακούς ορισμούς, παρουσίασε σε όλες τις λ.μ. σημαντικά υψηλότερα ποσοστά σωστών απαντήσεων (*ανία*: 94,3%, *βιότοπος*: 81,3%, *ετοιμότητα*: 71,5%, *αυθάδης*: 88,8%, *αστικός*: 75,6%, *αιχμηρός*: 67,5%, *προσβάλλω*: 83,7%, *καταβάλλω*: 91,9%, *εκβάλλω*: 72,4%) από τα αντίστοιχα ποσοστά της Ομάδας Α (*ανία*: 16,1%, $p=0,001$, $p<0,05$, *βιότοπος*: 28,6%, $p=0,001$, $p<0,05$, *ετοιμότητα*: 27,7%, $p=0,001$, $p<0,05$, *αυθάδης*: 26,8%, $p=0,001$, $p<0,05$, *αστικός*: 11,6%, $p=0,001$, $p<0,05$, *αιχμηρός*: 13,4%, $p=0,001$, $p<0,05$, *προσβάλλω*: 35,7%, $p=0,001$, $p<0,05$, *καταβάλλω*: 26,8%, $p=0,001$, $p<0,05$, *εκβάλλω*: 25%, $p=0,001$, $p<0,05$).

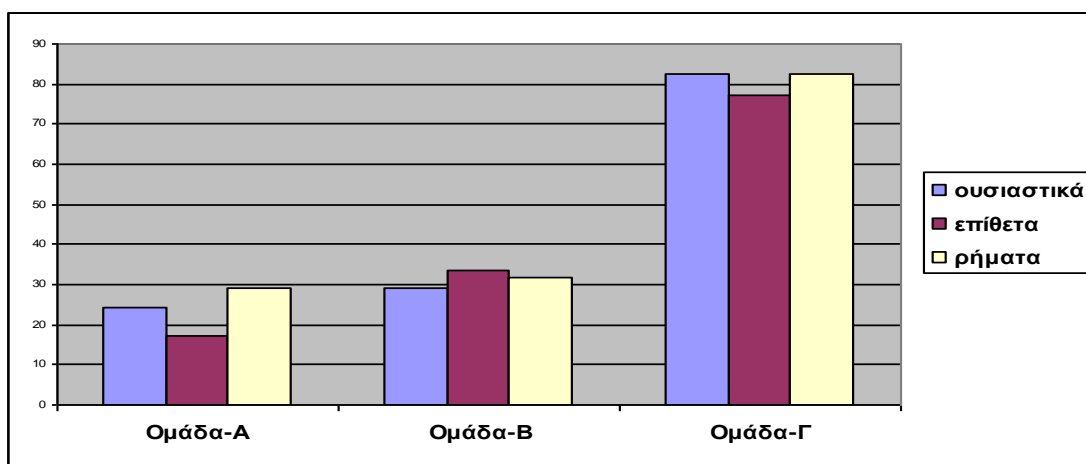
Επίσης, σε όλες τις λ.μ. η Ομάδα Γ παρουσίασε σημαντικά υψηλότερα ποσοστά σωστών απαντήσεων και από την Ομάδα Β (*ανία*: 28,4%, $p=0,001$, $p<0,05$, *βιότοπος*: 29,3%, $p=0,001$, $p<0,05$, *ετοιμότητα*: 30,2%, $p=0,001$, $p<0,05$, *αυθάδης*: 36,2%, $p=0,001$, $p<0,05$, *αστικός*: 29,3%, $p=0,001$, $p<0,05$, *αιχμηρός*: 35,3%, $p=0,001$, $p<0,05$, *προσβάλλω*: 35,3%, $p=0,001$, $p<0,05$, *καταβάλλω*: 38,8%, $p=0,001$, $p<0,05$, *εκβάλλω*: 20,7%, $p=0,001$, $p<0,05$).

Σημαντικά υψηλότερο στο Έργο 3 ήταν και το συνολικό ποσοστό των σωστών απαντήσεων της Ομάδας Γ (80,8%) σε σύγκριση με αυτό της Ομάδας Α (23,5%) και της Ομάδας Β (31,5%).

Όπως φαίνεται στα Γραφήματα 3 και 4, η επίδοση της Ομάδας Γ είναι σημαντικά υψηλότερη και στα ουσιαστικά και στα επίθετα και στα ρήματα από την επίδοση της Ομάδας Α και της Ομάδας Β και στα δύο έργα. Η παρατήρηση αυτή αποδεικνύει τη μεγαλύτερη αποτελεσματικότητα των προτασιακών ορισμών σε όλες τις γραμματικές κατηγορίες έναντι των παραδοσιακών ορισμών.



Γράφημα 3 Ποσοστά σωστών απαντήσεων ανά ομάδα για κάθε γραμματική κατηγορία στο Έργο 2



Γράφημα 4 Ποσοστά σωστών απαντήσεων ανά ομάδα για κάθε γραμματική κατηγορία στο Έργο 3

Στο Έργο 1 η σύγκριση της διαφοράς των μέσων τιμών των απαντήσεων που έδωσε η κάθε ομάδα για κάθε λ.μ. αναδεικνύει την πολύ μικρή απόκλιση μεταξύ τους όσον αφορά το βαθμό οικειότητας με τις ελεγχόμενες λ.μ. Η παρατήρηση αυτή επιβεβαιώνει την ομοιογένεια του δείγματος όσον αφορά το γλωσσικό επίπεδο. Η μέση τιμή για τη γνώση των λ.μ. κυμαίνεται από 1,7 έως και 3,8 για όλες τις ομάδες, αποτέλεσμα που δείχνει μια σχετικά καλή γνώση (2,8) των ελεγχόμενων λ.μ.. Ωστόσο, το αποτέλεσμα αυτό δε συμφωνεί με την πραγματική επίδοση των μαθητών στα βασικά έργα της έρευνας.

Στο Έργο 4 η σύγκριση της διαφοράς των μέσων τιμών μεταξύ των ομάδων δείχνει ότι οι προτασιακοί ορισμοί της Ομάδας Γ συγκέντρωσαν σε όλες τις λ.μ. υψηλότερες τιμές από ό,τι οι παραδοσιακοί ορισμοί, αν και οι τιμές αυτές δε συνιστούν σημαντική στατιστική διαφορά. Η μέση τιμή αξιολόγησης των ορισμών -2,9 για την Ομάδα Α, 3 για την Ομάδα Β και 3,2 για την Ομάδα Γ- δείχνει ότι οι μαθητές και των τριών ομάδων έκριναν ότι οι ορισμοί που συμβουλευτήκαν τους βοήθησαν πολύ, πόρισμα που δε συμφωνεί με την πραγματική επίδοσή τους στα τεστ.

6. Συζήτηση

Με βάση τα συνολικά ποσοστά επίδοσης της κάθε ομάδας και στα δύο έργα της έρευνας (Ομάδα Α: 23,5%, Ομάδα Β: 26,6%, Ομάδα Γ: 72,4%) οι προτασιακοί ορισμοί συνέβαλαν αποτελεσματικότερα και στην παραγωγή προτάσεων και στην αναγνώριση της ορθής σημασίας και χρήσης των λ.μ. από ό,τι οι παραδοσιακοί ορισμοί. Τα αποτελέσματα συμφωνούν με τα αποτελέσματα της έρευνας της McKeown (1993).

Επίσης, οι προτασιακοί ορισμοί αποδείχθηκαν αποτελεσματικότεροι από τους παραδοσιακούς ορισμούς σε όλες τις γραμματικές κατηγορίες και στα δύο έργα, γεγονός που, τουλάχιστον όσον αφορά

τα ουσιαστικά, αντικρούει την κριτική που δέχονται οι συγκριμένοι ορισμοί γι' αυτή τη γραμματική κατηγορία, ότι δηλαδή δεν προσφέρουν πιο χρήσιμη πληροφορία από ό,τι οι παραδοσιακοί αναλυτικοί ορισμοί, έτσι ώστε να αντισταθμίζεται το μειονέκτημα της μεγάλης έκτασής τους (βλ. Rundell 2008: 207).

Η υιοθέτηση των πρωτοτυπικών ή συνήθων χαρακτηριστικών συνέβαλε στη δημιουργία μιας σαφούς εικόνας για τις περιγραφόμενες σημασίες, οδηγώντας τους μαθητές σε λιγότερα σημασιολογικά λάθη και σε μειωμένα ποσοστά σύγχυσης με άλλες λ.μ. (π.χ. σύγχυση της λ.μ. *βλέφαρο* με τη *βλεφαρίδα* και το *φρύδι*) κατά την παραγωγή προτάσεων, αλλά και σε επιτυχέστερη αναγνώριση της ορθής σημασίας στο Έργο 3. Επίσης, η εστίαση του ορισμού στα πρωτοτυπικά χαρακτηριστικά (βλ. παράδειγμα 23: *βλέφαρο*) ενεργοποίησε στους μαθητές παραγωγικούς μηχανισμούς σύνδεσης της περιγραφόμενης σημασίας με ποικιλία περιστάσεων στις οποίες αυτή συνήθως χρησιμοποιείται, όπως φαίνεται στις απαντήσεις των μαθητών της Ομάδας Γ (π.χ. *ανοιγοκλείνω τα βλέφαρα, κλείνουν τα βλέφαρα όταν νυστάζω, κλείνουν τα βλέφαρα από την κούραση*).

Η δήλωση των συμφραστικών και των σημασιολογικών προτιμήσεων μιας λ.μ. σε ρέοντα φυσικό λόγο αντί σε παρενθέσεις, όχι μόνο στους ορισμούς των ρημάτων (βλ. παραδείγματα 24: *κλίνω*, 25: *συγγέω*, 27: *εκβάλλει*) και των επιθέτων (βλ. παράδειγμα 27: *φτασμένος*), αλλά και των ουσιαστικών (βλ. παράδειγμα 24: *χειραψία*), συνέβαλε στην ορθή κατανόηση της σημασίας και της χρήσης των σχετικών λ.μ. από τους μαθητές της Ομάδας Γ και στην αποφυγή λαθών όπως αυτά που αποτυπώθηκαν στις προτάσεις των μαθητών της Ομάδας Α και της Ομάδας Β (π.χ. **δίνω χειραψία, *φτασμένος στο ποδόσφαιρο, *φτασμένος στην επιχείρηση, *ο μπαμπάς μου είναι φτασμένος*). Ειδικότερα, στο έργο της παραγωγής προτάσεων ευνόησε την ενεργοποίηση συνδέσεων μεταξύ συστηματικών σημασιολογικών σχέσεων (π.χ. υπερωνυμίας), που οδήγησαν τους μαθητές σε παραγωγικότερη χρήση των σχετικών λ.μ. στις δικές τους προτάσεις, όπως φαίνεται στα παραδείγματα των προτάσεων της Ομάδας Γ (π.χ. *φτασμένος καλλιτέχνης, φτασμένος ζωγράφος, φτασμένος ποιητής, φτασμένος τραγουδιστής*). Επίσης, στο πλαίσιο των παραδοσιακών ορισμών η δήλωση των περιορισμών επιλογής σε παρένθεση αποδείχτηκε περισσότερο αποτελεσματική στην αποτύπωση της χρήσης της λ.μ. κατά την παραγωγή προτάσεων (βλ. παράδειγμα 10: *φτασμένος*) από την έλλειψη της δήλωσής τους (βλ. παράδειγμα 12: *φτασμένος*).

Η δήλωση της συντακτικής συμπεριφοράς στο κείμενο του ορισμού των ρημάτων και των επιθέτων βοήθησε τους μαθητές να αναπαραγάγουν σε ικανοποιητικό βαθμό τη συντακτική δομή των ελεγχόμενων λ.μ. στις δικές τους προτάσεις και να αποφύγουν λανθασμένες συντακτικές δομές στην παραγωγή προτάσεων, όπως αυτές που αποτυπώνονται στις απαντήσεις των μαθητών της Ομάδας Α και της Ομάδας Β (π.χ. **κλίνω το κολύμπι, *κλίνω το άσπρο από το μαύρο χρώμα, *συγγέω την άσκηση*), αλλά και να εντοπίσουν σε υψηλό ποσοστό τη σωστή σημασία και τη σωστή συντακτική χρήση των ελεγχόμενων λ.μ. στο Έργο 3. Οι λανθασμένες απαντήσεις των μαθητών στην Ομάδα Α και στην Ομάδα Β αναδεικνύουν δύο βασικούς κινδύνους που ελλοχεύουν στους παραδοσιακούς αναλυτικούς των ρημάτων: α) δημιουργία της παραπλανητικής εντύπωσης ότι οι δύο λέξεις, η οριζόμενη και η ορίζουσα, ταυτίζονται όχι μόνο ως προς τη γραμματική κατηγορία αλλά και ως προς τη συντακτική δομή, κάτι το οποίο συχνά δεν ισχύει (πρβλ. τις διαφορές στο συντακτικό σθένος μεταξύ της οριζόμενης λ.μ. *κλίνω* και της ορίζουσας λ.μ. *προτιμώ* στο παράδειγμα 17 ή τις διαφορές ανάμεσα στο *συγγέω* και στο *μπερδεύω* στο παράδειγμα 18) και β) δημιουργία της παραπλανητικής εντύπωσης ότι η ταύτιση δεν είναι μόνο συντακτικής αλλά και σημασιολογικής υφής, όπως παρατηρήθηκε στις προτάσεις των μαθητών της Ομάδας Β, όπου αποδόθηκε λανθασμένα στο *συγγέομαι* η μέση σημασία του *μπερδεύομαι* (π.χ. **συγγέομαι όταν λύνω ασκήσεις, *συγγέομαι με τα γερμανικά, *συγγέστηκα στη διαίρεση*)⁹.

Οι ορισμοί με συνώνυμα (βλ. παραδείγματα 3: *ανία* και 5: *αυθάδης*) στέρησαν από τους μαθητές της Ομάδας Α και της Ομάδας Β αντίστοιχα την αυτονόητη συνεισφορά του ορισμού, δηλαδή την αυτοτελή περιγραφή της σημασίας. Με τους ορισμούς αυτούς όσοι από τους μαθητές δε γνώριζαν τη συνώνυμη λ.μ. *πλήξη* (84% στην Ομάδα Α) οδηγήθηκαν είτε σε λανθασμένες απαντήσεις είτε σε αδυναμία επιλογής κάποιας απάντησης.

Οι μορφολογικοί ορισμοί (βλ. παράδειγμα 5: *αυθάδης* και παράδειγμα 7: *ετοιμότητα*) ανέδειξαν τη διπλή παγίδα που τους χαρακτηρίζει: α) στέρηση της αυτοτελούς περιγραφής της λ.μ. και στήριξη της ερμηνευτικής τους ισχύος στην προϋποτιθέμενη γνώση της συγγενικής λ.μ. και β) στέρηση της αναμφισήτητης και άρα αβίαστης και προσιτής ερμηνείας της οριζόμενης λ.μ. όταν αυτή είναι πολύσημη (βλ. παράδειγμα 7: *ετοιμότητα*).

Το απλό λεξιλόγιο και η απλή διατύπωση συνέβαλαν στο να γίνεται η περιγραφή της σημασίας πιο προσιτή και άρα πιο εύκολα κατανοητή, χωρίς να απαιτείται από τους μαθητές να κάνουν πολλά

⁹ Για αντίστοιχη παρατήρηση βλ. Ιορδανίδου και Μάντζαρη (2004).

βήματα μέχρι την ερμηνεία της. Αν και η χρήση απλού λεξιλογίου και λέξεων γνωστότερων από την οριζόμενη λ.μ. στους ορισμούς της Ομάδας Β για τις λ.μ. *βλέφαρο*, *κλίνω* και *συγχέω*, δεν απέτρεψε σημασιολογικά λάθη που αφορούσαν τη σύγχυση με άλλες λ.μ., συνέβαλε όμως αποτελεσματικότερα στη μείωσή τους (π.χ. σύγχυση της λ.μ. *βλέφαρο* με τη *βλεφαρίδα*, σύγχυση της λ.μ. *κλίνω* προς με τα ομώνυμα *κλείνω* και *κλίνω*, σύγχυση της λ.μ. *συγχέω* με το *συγχαίρω*). Αντίθετα, η χρήση στους ορισμούς λ.μ. δυσκολότερων από την οριζόμενη ενίσχυσε προηγούμενες συγχύσεις στην Ομάδα Α (π.χ. *βλέφαρο* με *βλεφαρίδα*, *κλίνω* προς με *κλίνω* και *κλείνω*) ή προκάλεσε νέες (π.χ. *κλίνω* προς με την περίφραση *έχω κλίση*).

Η ανάλυση των αποτελεσμάτων στο Έργο 1 και στο Έργο 4 αναδεικνύει την αδυναμία των μαθητών να εφαρμόσουν μεταγνωσιακές στρατηγικές (metacognitive strategies) κατά τη χρήση του λεξικού (βλ. Scholfield 1999: 14). Στο Έργο 1 δεν μπορούν να αναγνωρίσουν αν έχουν κάποιο λεξιλογικό πρόβλημα ή πόσο καλά γνωρίζουν μια λέξη, ενώ αντίστοιχα στο Έργο 4 δεν είναι σε θέση να αξιολογήσουν ορθά την πληροφορία που προσέλαβαν από τους λεξικογραφικούς ορισμούς. Ειδικά για το Έργο 4, η υψηλή βαθμολόγηση που έλαβαν οι παραδοσιακοί ορισμοί αποτυπώνει με χαρακτηριστικό τρόπο τη θετική στάση των χρηστών, ακόμη και αυτής της ηλικίας, απέναντι στη μορφή και στο περιεχόμενο των παραδοσιακών ορισμών, με τους οποίους φαίνεται ότι αισθάνονται οικεία (βλ. Rundell 1988: 131).

Η διδασκαλία χρήσης του λεξικού και η ένταξη της χρήσης του στη σχολική τάξη στο πλαίσιο της διδασκαλίας της γλώσσας, συμβάλλοντας στην ανάπτυξη της κριτικής σκέψης και της αυτόνομης μάθησης των μαθητών, θα μπορούσε να βοηθήσει στην καλλιέργεια των σχετικών μεταγνωσιακών στρατηγικών αλλά και στην αντικειμενική αξιολόγηση των λεξικών και της πληροφορίας που αντλούν από αυτά.

7. Επίλογος

Τα συμπεράσματα της παρούσας έρευνας ενισχύουν την κυρίαρχη απαίτηση στη σύγχρονη λεξικογραφική βιβλιογραφία ο σχεδιασμός λεξικογραφικών προϊόντων να στηρίζεται και σε ερευνητικά δεδομένα. Ταυτόχρονα, τα συμπεράσματα αυτά επιβεβαιώνουν και ενισχύουν την απαίτηση για υιοθέτηση φιλικότερων και χρηστικότερων προσεγγίσεων κατά το σχεδιασμό λεξικών και για φυσικούς ομιλητές. Σε ό,τι αφορά την περιγραφή της σημασίας των λέξεων, το μοντέλο των προτασιακών ορισμών αποδεικνύεται αποτελεσματικότερο από τις αντίστοιχες παραδοσιακές λεξικογραφικές στρατηγικές, γιατί βοηθά τους χρήστες των λεξικών να αντλήσουν από τους ορισμούς τις πληροφορίες που χρειάζονται για την καλύτερη κατανόηση και χρήση της σημασίας των λέξεων. Βέβαια, παρά τα ευνοϊκά ερευνητικά πορίσματα, η μεγάλη έκταση των ορισμών αυτών φαίνεται ότι εμποδίζει την εκτεταμένη υιοθέτησή τους στις έντυπες εκδόσεις λεξικών. Για το λόγο αυτό, τα πλεονεκτήματα και τα μειονεκτήματα στην εφαρμογή τους θα πρέπει να επανεξεταστούν και να επανασταθμιστούν με βάση και τις νέες προοπτικές που διαγράφονται στο λεξικογραφικό τοπίο με τη διάδοση της χρήσης του σύγχρονου ηλεκτρονικού λεξικού.

Ωστόσο, η ανάλυση των αποτελεσμάτων ανέδειξε και κοινές συμπεριφορές των μαθητών ανεξάρτητα από το είδος των ορισμών που συμβουλευτήκαν (π.χ. σύγχυση με άλλες λ.μ., σύγχυση με διαφορετικές σημασίες μιας λ.μ., καλύτερη επίδοση στα ουσιαστικά από ό,τι στα επίθετα και στα ρήματα, αδυναμία αξιοποίησης συμφραστικών και σημασιολογικών πληροφοριών και στους προτασιακούς ορισμούς).

Οι συμπεριφορές αυτές υποδεικνύουν την αναγκαιότητα για την καλλιέργεια ειδικών δεξιοτήτων σχετικά με τη χρήση και την αξιοποίηση των ορισμών. Η καλλιέργεια αυτών των ειδικών δεξιοτήτων θα πρέπει να αποτελεί μέρος μιας ευρύτερης διδακτικής προσέγγισης για τη χρήση του λεξικού στη σχολική τάξη, που θα πρέπει να στηριχθεί σε συγκεκριμένο πρόγραμμα διδασκαλίας και σε αντίστοιχο διδακτικό υλικό (βλ. Stark 1990, Αναστασιάδη-Συμεωνίδη 1997, Bishop 2001, Chi 2003, Μάντζαρη 2011).

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ΤΑ ΔΙΠΛΑ ΣΥΜΦΩΝΑ ΣΤΙΣ ΝΕΟΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΕΣ ΔΙΑΛΕΚΤΟΥΣ: ΣΥΓΓΡΟΝΙΚΗ ΚΑΙ ΔΙΑΧΡΟΝΙΚΗ ΠΡΟΣΕΓΓΙΣΗ

Ιώ Μανωλέσσου
Ακαδημία Αθηνών, Ελλάδα
manolessou@academyofathens.gr

Χριστίνα Μπασέα-Μπεζαντάκου
Ακαδημία Αθηνών, Ελλάδα
chbassea@academyofathens.gr

ABSTRACT

The present paper examines an important isogloss in Modern Greek dialectology, that of double (geminate) consonants. Issues addressed include: a) the detailed geographical distribution of geminate consonants b) the specific realization of geminate consonants in each area c) the diachronic data relating to the appearance of geminate consonants.

Λέξεις κλειδιά: διαλεκτολογία, φωνητική, ισόγλωσσο, διπλά σύμφωνα

1. Εισαγωγικά

1.1 Στόχοι-πλαίσιο

Η παρούσα μελέτη αποτελεί μέρος ευρύτερης έρευνας που διεξάγεται από το Κέντρο Ερεύνης των Νεοελληνικών Διαλέκτων και Ιδιωμάτων της Ακαδημίας Αθηνών με στόχο την πιστότερη φωνητική αντιπροσώπευση των διαλεκτικών τύπων στο *Ιστορικόν Λεξικόν τῆς Νέας Ἑλληνικῆς* (ΙΑΝΕ), του οποίου ο νέος τόμος βρίσκεται υπό προετοιμασία σύμφωνα με τον νέο Κανονισμό Συντάξεως που μόλις ολοκληρώθηκε (Κανονισμός 2012).

Συγκεκριμένα, ο Κανονισμός προβλέπει για πρώτη φορά φωνητική μεταγραφή των διαλεκτικών τύπων με το ΔΦΑ, παράλληλα με την συμβατική απόδοσή τους με το ελληνικό αλφάβητο, συμπληρωμένο με ειδικά φθογγόσημα¹. Η μεθοδολογική αυτή επιλογή της φωνητικής μεταγραφής στόχο έχει να προωθήσει σημαντικά την χάραξη φωνητικών ισογλωσσών, κάτι που ανέκαθεν αποτελούσε βασικό ζητούμενο της ελληνικής διαλεκτολογίας και που είναι δυνατόν να πραγματοποιηθεί μόνο με την αξιοποίηση του πλούσιου αρχειακού υλικού του ΙΑΝΕ, το οποίο καλύπτει χρονικό διάστημα άνω των 100 ετών και περιλαμβάνει όλες τις ελληνοφώνες περιοχές.

Για το σκοπό αυτό καταρτίζονται γλωσσογεωγραφικοί πίνακες κατανομής βασικών φωνητικών φαινομένων, οι οποίοι καταγράφουν αναλυτικά την κατά τόπους πραγμάτωση, έτσι ώστε να χρησιμοποιούνται ως οδηγοί για τους συντάκτες του ΙΑΝΕ. Τέτοια φαινόμενα είναι π.χ. τα διπλά σύμφωνα, η ουράνωση/τσιτακισμός², η προερρίνωση των ηχηρών κλειστών, ο βόρειος φωνηεντισμός κλπ. Οι πίνακες αυτοί συμπληρώνονται βάσει του εναποτεθειμένου στο Αρχείο του ΙΑΝΕ πρωτογενούς διαλεκτικού υλικού αλλά και βάσει δευτερογενών πηγών όπως διαλεκτολογικές μελέτες, γλωσσάρια κ.τ.ό.

1.2 Δυσκολίες-προβλήματα

Ένα τέτοιο εγχείρημα παρουσιάζει πληθώρα δυσκολιών, οι σημαντικότερες των οποίων είναι οι εξής (βλ. Μανωλέσσου, Μπέης και Μπασέα-Μπεζαντάκου (2012), όπου και συγκεκριμένα παραδείγματα):

1) **Ανεπάρκεια πηγών.** Δεν υπάρχουν πληροφορίες για την πραγμάτωση κάποιου φαινομένου σε όλες τις περιοχές του ελληνοφώνου χώρου· ορισμένες περιοχές είναι ελάχιστα ή καθόλου μελετημένες ή έχουν

¹ Για το θέμα αυτό βλ. αναλυτικά Μανωλέσσου, Μπέης και Μπασέα-Μπεζαντάκου (2012).

² Για την έρευνα του ΙΑΝΕ γύρω από το φαινόμενο αυτό βλ. Μανωλέσσου και Παντελίδης (υπό έκδ.).

μεν μελετηθεί αλλά όχι ως προς το υπό εξέταση φαινόμενο. Για τις περιοχές αυτές απαιτούνται αποστολές συλλογής γλωσσικού υλικού, γεγονός που λαμβάνεται υπ' όψη στον ετήσιο προγραμματισμό των αποστολών του ΚΕΝΔΙ.

2) **Ασάφεια πηγών.** Οι παλαιότερες πηγές, είτε πρόκειται για (χειρόγραφες) καταγραφές διαλεκτικού λόγου είτε για διαλεκτολογικές μελέτες, δεν χρησιμοποιούν το Διεθνές Φωνητικό Αλφάβητο, με αποτέλεσμα ορισμένα φαινόμενα να μην δηλώνονται καθόλου ή να δηλώνονται με σύμβολα που δεν είναι πλέον κατανοητά. Αυτό συμβαίνει κυρίως με διαλεκτικούς φθόγγους που δεν υπάρχουν στην ΚΝΕ, όπως «παχείς» συριστικοί φθόγγοι, ή εν προκειμένω, τα διπλά σύμφωνα³. Παρομοίως, και η ορολογία που χρησιμοποιείται στις παλαιότερες μελέτες είναι αδόκιμη και συχνά «ερασιτεχνική», και δεν διευκολύνει την κατανόηση της αρθρωτικής ή ακουστικής φύσεως του φαινομένου. Τα ίδια σύμβολα ή όροι έχουν συχνά διαφορετική αξία στις διάφορες πηγές, ακόμα και αν αυτές αναφέρονται στο ίδιο ή συγγενές ιδίωμα. Σημειωτέον ότι ενώ το πρόβλημα είναι ως ένα βαθμό κατανοητό και αντιμετωπίσιμο για τις παλαιότερες πηγές, είναι οξύτερο για τις νεότερες πηγές που έχουν συνταχθεί χωρίς γλωσσολογικό υπόβαθρο· αυτό αφορά κυρίως τα διάφορα «ερασιτεχνικά» γλωσσάρια και διαλεκτικά λογοτεχνήματα, τα οποία δίνουν μικρή σημασία στην φωνητική απόδοση. Το επίπεδο της φωνητικής είναι αυτό που «υποφέρει» περισσότερο από την γλωσσολογική ανεπάρκεια του πρωτογενούς υλικού, καθώς η μορφολογία και η σύνταξη μπορούν να αποτυπωθούν αξιόπιστα με το ελληνικό αλφάβητο χωρίς την ανάγκη ειδικότερου συμβολισμού, αλλά και καθώς είναι πιο εύκολα αντιληπτές από τον μη εξειδικευμένο συλλογέα από ό,τι οι ακουστικές διαφοροποιήσεις (π.χ. ευκολότερα αντιλαμβάνεται κανείς ένα εναλλακτικό κλιτικό επίθημα από μια διαφορετική πραγμάτωση φθόγγου).

3) **Ασυνέπεια πηγών.** Οι πρωτογενείς πηγές συχνά παρουσιάζουν ασυνέπεια στην καταγραφή των φωνητικών φαινομένων: η ίδια λέξη ή φθόγγος μπορεί να καταγράφεται με διαφορετικούς τρόπους ή συμβολισμούς στην ίδια πηγή. Η ασυνέπεια μπορεί να αντικατοπτρίζει μια πραγματική ελεύθερη εναλλαγή μεταξύ δύο πραγματώσεων εκ μέρους του πληροφορητή, οφειλόμενη ενδεχομένως σε παρεμβολή της ΚΝΕ· δεν αποκλείεται όμως να οφείλεται και σε ανακριβή καταγραφή εκ μέρους του συλλογέα. Ενίοτε μάλιστα οι συλλογείς καταγράφουν τύπους όχι όπως τους αντιλαμβάνονται ακουστικά, αλλά σύμφωνα με κάποιο παλαιότερο πρότυπο που θεωρείται έγκυρο, γεγονός που οδηγεί σε διαιώνιση ανακριβών καταγραφών. Οι παλαιότερες πηγές επίσης συχνά δεν παραθέτουν πλήρη στοιχεία των πληροφοριών, ενίοτε μάλιστα ούτε καν σημειώνουν την αλλαγή ομιλητή, οπότε η ποικιλία (variation) μπορεί να αποδοθεί και σε διαφορετικούς ομιλητές και άρα σε γεωγραφικές ή κοινωνιογλωσσικές παραμέτρους.

Φυσικά όταν το πρωτογενές υλικό συνοδεύεται από ηχογραφημένα δεδομένα, μέρος των προβλημάτων αυτών εξαλείφεται· γι' αυτό καταβάλλεται προσπάθεια οι πίνακες κατανομής φαινομένων να στηρίζονται κυρίως σε ηχητικό υλικό. Παραταύτα, αυτό δεν είναι πάντοτε δυνατόν, είτε διότι το πρωτογενές υλικό προέρχεται από εποχές κατά τις οποίες δεν υπήρχε η υλικοτεχνική υποδομή για ηχογραφήσεις, είτε διότι το ηχητικό υλικό έχει υποστεί φθορές από το πέρασμα του χρόνου.

2. Τα διπλά σύμφωνα στις νεοελληνικές διαλέκτους

2.1 Στόχοι

Το υπό εξέταση φαινόμενο είναι η πραγμάτωση των διπλών συμφώνων, ένα από τα βασικά διαφοροποιητικά γνωρίσματα των νεοελληνικών διαλέκτων στο επίπεδο της φωνητικής/φωνολογίας. Με τον όρο «διπλά (geminate) σύμφωνα» εννοούμε συμφωνικούς φθόγγους που εμφανίζουν αυξημένη διάρκεια εκφοράς εν συγκρίσει προς αντίστοιχους «απλούς», η οποία γίνεται αντιληπτή είτε ως επιμήκυνση είτε ως επανάληψη, ή πραγματώνεται ως διάσπαση σε δύο φθόγγους με διαφορετική άρθρωση (δάσυνση, προστριβοποίηση)⁴.

³ Το πρόβλημα του ασαφούς συμβολισμού των διπλών συμφώνων με την ιστορική ορθογραφία ακόμα και σε διαλεκτολογικές μελέτες επισημαίνεται ήδη από τον Seiler (1958: 210-211).

⁴ Δεν θα μας απασχολήσει εδώ ο φωνολογικός ορισμός των διπλών συμφώνων, και ιδίως το μείζον ερώτημα του κατά πόσον πρόκειται για μακρά (long) σύμφωνα ή για επάλληλες πραγματώσεις απλών συμφώνων, για το οποίο υπάρχει εκτεταμένη βιβλιογραφία, με επικέντρωση όμως στην κυπριακή (βλ. Arvaniti 2010: 115-121, Armosti 2011: 33-34 για μια επισκόπηση). Φωνολογική προσέγγιση δύσκολα εφαρμόζεται σε μια δια-διαλεκτική εξέταση, καθώς τα διαφορετικά διαλεκτικά φωνολογικά συστήματα είναι πιθανό να παρουσιάσουν διαφορετικά γνωρίσματα και ιδιότητες.

Τα ερωτήματα που διερευνήθηκαν στο πλαίσιο της παρούσας μελέτης αφορούσαν τόσο την ακριβέστερη γεωγραφική κατανομή των διπλών συμφώνων (ανά κατηγορία φθόγγων και ανά αιτία δημιουργίας τους) όσο και την ακριβέστερη φωνητική πραγμάτωσή τους (ανά περιοχές και ανά θέση εντός της λέξεως). Τέλος, διερευνήθηκε η κατανομή του φαινομένου σε παλαιότερες ιστορικές περιόδους. Περιορισμοί έκτασης της παρούσας δημοσίευσης δεν επιτρέπουν την αναλυτική παρουσίαση όλων των παραπάνω θεμάτων· σε μελλοντική δημοσίευση θα δοθούν περισσότερα στοιχεία, καθώς και οι σχετικοί πίνακες.

2.2 Γεωγραφική εξάπλωση

Η βιβλιογραφικώς και αρχειακώς τεκμηριωμένη κατανομή των διπλών συμφώνων είναι η εξής: Κάτω Ιταλία (Καλαβρία και Απουλία), Κυκλάδες (Σέριφος, Σίφνος, Κίμωλος, Ηρακλεία, Δονούσα, Σχινούσα, Κουφονήσια, Αμοργός, Φολέγανδρος), Κύμη Ευβοίας και γύρω οικισμοί, Χίος (με εξαίρεση ορισμένων χωριών, βλ. Κατσουλέας 1996-1997), Ικαρία, Δωδεκάνησα, Αλικαρνασός, Λιβύσσι, Κύπρος. Σημειωτέον ότι η διαλεκτολογική βιβλιογραφία ομόφωνα αποκλείει την Πάτμο από την κατηγορία των διπλωτικών διαλέκτων, στηριζόμενη στην σχετική μελέτη του Α. Καραναστάση (1956: 212)· όμως ο ίδιος ο Καραναστάσης στο *χφ.* που κατέθεσε στο αρχείο του ΙΑΝΕ σημειώνει διπλά σύμφωνα στο πατμιακό ιδίωμα (ενδολεξικά και όχι σε συνεκφορά, π.χ. *γόφφος*, *πολ-λύχρονος*, *μπαρούττ'ες*, *καππ'αρός*, *νεροπιάν-νει*, ΧΙΛ 690-[1956]), ενώ και οι παλαιότερες ιστορικές πηγές μαρτυρούν το φαινόμενο στο τοπικό ιδίωμα (βλ. παρακάτω 3). Εξάλλου κάποια φαινόμενα όπως η πραγμάτωση του /z/ ως [dz] και η δάσυνση του [k] προ του [r] (πχ. *κχριάρι*, *κχρύο*, Καραναστάσης (1956: 214)) αποτελούν έμμεση ένδειξη παλαιότερης παρουσίας διπλώσεως. Επομένως, η εξαίρεση της Πάτμου από τις διπλωτικές διαλέκτους θα πρέπει να αναθεωρηθεί, ή τουλάχιστον να θεωρηθεί αποτέλεσμα πρόσφατων εξελίξεων⁵.

Σε ορισμένες περιοχές το τοπικό ιδίωμα είτε έχει σιγήσει (Λιβύσσι, Αλικαρνασός, Κύμη), είτε είναι σε άκρως φθίνουσα πορεία, επηρεασμένο από την ΚΝΕ, και πιθανώς επιβιώνει μόνο στην ομιλία ολιγαριθμών ηλικιωμένων (κυρίως στις Κυκλάδες: Κίμωλος, Σέριφος, Φολέγανδρος)⁶. Αντίθετα, αλλού το ιδίωμα επιβιώνει σε καθαρή μορφή και άρα τα διπλά σύμφωνα αποτελούν πάγιο χαρακτηριστικό του (Κύπρος, Κ. Ιταλία). Τα Δωδεκάνησα αποτελούν ενδιάμεση περίπτωση, με αρκετά καλή διατήρηση του φαινομένου αλλά με την επερχόμενη απειλή της Κοινής ΝΕ για τις νεότερες γενεές.

Ορισμένες γενικές παρουσιάσεις συμπεριλαμβάνουν στην ομάδα των διπλωτικών διαλέκτων και την Καππαδοκική, την Ποντιακή και την Τσακωνική, λόγω του ότι διαθέτουν άηχα κλειστά δασέα σύμφωνα ([p^h t^h k^h]) τα οποία είναι φωνητικώς όμοια με τα «διπλά» άηχα κλειστά ορισμένων διπλωτικών διαλέκτων (π.χ. Κάλυμνος). Πράγματι, αρκετά ιδιώματα της ποντιακής παρουσιάζουν κλειστά δασέα [p^h t^h k^h] ως ελεύθερες παραλλαγές των απλών αήχων κλειστών [p t k], με ενδοδιαλεκτικές διαφοροποιήσεις: άλλοτε μόνο σε λέξεις τουρκικής προελεύσεως (π. χ. [t^hembelts] 'τεμπέλης') και άλλοτε και σε ελληνικής (π.χ. [p^htaman] 'πράγμα'). Διαπιστώνεται επίσης και ποικιλία στην πραγμάτωση, δηλ. η ίδια λέξη μπορεί να εμφανίζεται και με δασύ και άνευ (π.χ. [t^hembelts] ~ [tembelts])⁷. Στην Καππαδοκική τα άηχα κλειστά δασέα εμφανίζονται και πάλι με ενδοδιαλεκτική διαφοροποίηση, κυρίως σε λέξεις τουρκικής προελεύσεως, και κυρίως σε αρκτική θέση (π.χ. [k^hervan] 'καραβάνι'), αν και καταγράφονται περιπτώσεις ελληνικών λέξεων (π.χ. 'λτ'ίνος' 'αληθινός', *δέκ-κα* 'δέκα')· στην Καππαδοκική επίσης καταγράφεται, σε ορισμένα ιδιώματα, σποραδική εμφάνιση διπλών [m n l] αποδιδόμενων και πάλι σε τουρκική επίδραση (π.χ. *εμ-μί* 'θείος', *χαζίλ-λατίζω*)⁸. Τέλος η Τσακωνική χαρακτηρίζεται από συστηματική παρουσία αήχων κλειστών δασέων ως μελών του φωνολογικού συστήματος, που έχουν προκύψει είτε από αρχαία διπλά κλειστά (π.χ. *κόκκος* > [kók^ho]), είτε από αφομοιώσεις συμπλεγμάτων, κυρίως με το [s] (π.χ. *στόμα* > t^huma, *μόσχος* > mok^ho), αν και σε ορισμένες περιπτώσεις εντοπίζεται και δάσυνση απλού κλειστού συμφώνου (π.χ. *ποτέ* >

⁵ Σήμερα πράγματι δεν απαντούν πλέον διπλά (Παπαδοπούλου 2004-2005).

⁶ Για την Φολέγανδρο οι καταγραφές μαρτυρούν μόνο δίπλωση του [l] ~ [ʎ] και του [t] και εκφορά του /z/ ως [dz], π.χ. *λουλ-λούδι*, *πουλ-λιά*, *ούλδη*, *μελόπιτ-τες*, *Λάντζαρος*, *τζάχαρη* (ΧΙΛ 780-[1960]). Για την Κίμωλο, ήδη ο Βογιατζίδης (1925: 115-116) σημειώνει υποχώρηση της διπλωτικής προφοράς, αν και οι καταγραφές από τη δεκαετία του '60 (ΧΙΛ 829-[1963]) σημειώνουν κανονικά τα διπλά σύμφωνα. Για τη Σέριφο οι πληροφορίες αναφέρουν σημαντική υποχώρηση του ιδιώματος (Κοντοσόπουλος 1995), αλλά για τη Σίφνο ακόμα και σχετικά πρόσφατες καταγραφές επισημαίνουν το φαινόμενο (ΧΙΛ 1294-[1989], ΧΙΛ 1414-[2000]).

⁷ Βλ. Χατζησαββίδης (1985: 77-81), Drettas (1997: 52-53, 56).

⁸ Βλ. Ανδριώτης (1948: 26), Κεσίσογλου (1951: 97), Φωστέρης & Κεσίσογλου (1960: 1), Costakis (1964: 15).

[po^he]) (Mirambel 1960: 59-62). Συνεπώς, δεν θα εξετασθούν οι τρεις αυτές διάλεκτοι, εφόσον η παρουσία των διπλών συμφώνων σε αυτές α) είναι περιορισμένη σε υποσύνολο των συμφώνων (άηχα κλειστά και σπανίως έρρινα-υγρά) και β) με την εξαίρεση της τσακωνικής, είναι μη συστηματική, εναλλασσόμενη και οφειλόμενη σε εξωτερικές επιδράσεις.

2.3 Φωνητική πραγμάτωση

2.3.1 Έρρινα σύμφωνα

Πρόκειται για την «απλούστερη» περίπτωση δίπλωσης. Εμφανίζεται ομοιόμορφη σε όλα τα διπλωτικά ιδιώματα, ως παρατεταμένη διάρκεια. Ομοιομορφία παρουσιάζουν επίσης τα περιβάλλοντα εμφάνισης νεωτερικών ερρίνων: δίπλωση εμφανίζεται σε όλα τα ιδιώματα στα ρηματικά παραγωγικά επιθήματα -ώνω και γενικότερα -νω (π.χ. *βκαίνω*, *πιάνω*, *φορτών-νω*, *δίν-νω*, Παντελίδης 1929: 29). Ο Pernot (1907: 406) για την Χίο, ο Τσοπανάκης (1940: 158) για την Ρόδο και ο Κουρούνης (1982:458) για τη Νίσυρο εξαιρούν τα ρήματα σε -αίνω που σχηματίζουν αόριστο σε -να, π.χ. *μαραίνω*, *φαίνω*, *γιαίνω* (< *ύγιαίνω*), *παχαίνω* και ο έλεγχος στα σχετικά λήμματα για τα ιδιώματα της Κάτω Ιταλίας (Καραναστάσης 1984-1992) επιβεβαιώνει την εξαίρεση αυτή, αν και ο Καραναστάσης στη *Γραμματική* (1997: 48) δηλώνει ότι η δίπλωση γίνεται «χωρίς καμία εξαίρεση» στα ρήματα σε -αίνω. Το θέμα απαιτεί ενδελεχέστερη λεξιλογική διερεύνηση και στις λοιπές διπλωτικές διαλέκτους, καθώς θα οδηγήσει σε χρήσιμα συμπεράσματα αναφορικά με το ρόλο της αναλογίας στο φαινόμενο της δίπλωσης. Η μεταλεξική δίπλωση των ερρίνων σε συνεκφορά με ληκτικό [n] αποτελεί επίσης χαρακτηριστικό όλων των υπό εξέταση ιδιωμάτων.

2.3.2 Υγρά

Η δίπλωση του /r/ παρουσιάζει ανομοιομορφία, καθώς υπάρχουν σαφείς μαρτυρίες για κάποιες διαλέκτους ότι δεν διπλώνεται ποτέ ή διπλώνεται σπανιότατα (Κύπρος, Χίος, Νίσυρος βλ. Pernot 1907: 401, Συμεωνίδης 2006: 181, Κουρούνης 1982: 450, 457) ή ότι διπλώνεται μόνο στη συνεκφορά με τελικό [n], δηλ. η δίπλωση είναι μόνο μεταλεξική/συγχρονική (Κάρπαθος, Κίμωλος, Σύμη, Χάλκη, Ρόδος, Καστελλόριζο, Ικαρία, Λιβύσσι: Βογιατζίδης 1925: 116, Tsopanakis 1940: 155, Καραναστάσης 1964: 74, Μηνάς 1970: 69, Χατζιδάκης 1907: 242, Ανδριώτης 1961: 51). Για άλλες διαλέκτους όμως καταγράφεται και λεξική δίπλωση του /r/ (Κως, Κάτω Ιταλία, Κύμη, Κάσος, Τήλος). Παραδείγματα: *σαρρατσηνοί* [sar:atʃini] Κως (Seiler 1958: 214), *χείμαρρος* (Κάλυμν.), *ηρρίζασι* (Κως) (Παντελίδης 1929: 29), *κορριός* (Κύμη, Caratzas 1958: 292).

Η δίπλωση του /l/ είναι ιδιαίτερα ενδιαφέρουσα περίπτωση, καθώς παρουσιάζει την μεγαλύτερη ποικιλία διαλεκτικής διαφοροποίησης. Υπάρχει έντονη τάση για πιο οπίσθια προφορά του /l/, η οποία πραγματώνεται ως: υπερωικό [ɬ] (Κάλυμνος, Σύμη, μέρη της Κω)⁹, διπλή άρθρωση [ld] (Σίφνος, Κίμωλος, Φολέγανδρος, Κως, Κάρπαθος, Κάσος, Λέρος, Τήλος, Ρόδος, Καστελλόριζο)¹⁰, ως διπλή άρθρωση [lt] (Αστυπάλαια, Κάρπαθος, Dieterich 1908: 81, Παντελίδης 1929: 29, Καραναστάσης 1958: 118) ή ως ολοκληρωμένα κλειστή ανακεκαμμένη πραγμάτωση [d:] (Κ. Ιταλία)¹¹. Οι καταγραφές για τα Δωδεκάνησα δείχνουν ότι η πραγμάτωση μπορεί να ποικίλλει ανάμεσα στην «απλή» πλευρική πραγμάτωση [l:] και την πιο οπίσθια. Η ποικιλότητα δεν εξαρτάται από το φωνητικό περιβάλλον· ίσως οφείλεται σε υποχώρηση της παλαιότερης, πλέον αποκλίνουσας προφοράς. Επίσης αξιοσημείωτο είναι ότι τα ιδιώματα διαφέρουν ως προς το κατά πόσον η οπίσθια προφορά προκύπτει μεταλεξικά, δηλ. ως αποτέλεσμα αφομοίωσης στη συνεκφορά. Έτσι, στην Κ. Ιταλία το ανακεκαμμένο [d:] και στη Ρόδο το [ld] υπάρχει μόνο ενδολεξικά (Katsoyannou 1995: 119, Tsopanakis 1940: 157), ενώ το αποτέλεσμα της συνεκφοράς είναι [l:]· αντίθετα στην Αστυπάλαια το [lt] και στην Κάρπαθο το [ld] προκύπτει και από συνεκφορά (π.χ. *την λάμπα* > *τηλ δάμπα* Μηνάς 1970: 3, Καραναστάσης 1958: 118).

⁹ Μαμαλίγκα (1994: 98), Κοντοσόπουλος (1998: 167).

¹⁰ Δεν είναι σαφές από τις καταγραφές αν υπάρχει κάποια διαφορά διάρκειας μεταξύ των φθόγγων που συμβολίζονται ως <ld, ʎd> και ως <lld, ʎ-ʎd>, αλλά είναι μάλλον απίθανο.

¹¹ Rohlf's (1972: 70-72), Katsoyannou (1995: 119-120).

2.3.3 Άηχα κλειστά

Τα άηχα κλειστά αποτελούν την πλέον πολύπλοκη κατηγορία διπλών συμφώνων, καθώς η πραγμάτωσή τους συνήθως συνοδεύεται από δασύτητα ή προστριβοποίηση, και ποικίλλει ως προς την διάρκεια επιμήκυνσης του κλειστού (Caratzas 1958: 81). Δυστυχώς φωνητικές μελέτες των δασέων κλειστών, συνοδευόμενες από ενόργανες μετρήσεις, υπάρχουν μόνον για την Κύπρο (Arvaniti 2010, Armosti 2011 όπου και προγενέστερη βιβλιογραφία) και την Κάλυμνο (Καρδιόλακα 1984-85, 1992), και εν μέρει τα διαγράμματα του Pernot (1907: 384-389) για την Χίο. Οι μετρήσεις δείχνουν διαφορά πραγματώσεως στην Κύπρο (επιμήκυνση του κλειστού, Armosti 2011) και στην Κάλυμνο και τη Χίο (μη επιμήκυνση, Pernot 1907: 409-415). Οι παλαιότερες περιγραφές είναι άκρως ασαφείς, και δεν είναι δυνατόν να διαπιστωθεί εάν αντιλαμβάνονται επιμήκυνση του κλειστού συμφώνου ως επιπλέον χαρακτηριστικό (κάτι τέτοιο είναι πιθανό π.χ. για τη Ρόδο και τη Σύμη, Tsopanakis 1940: 158-159) ή προσλαμβάνουν τα διπλά κλειστά ως απλά άηχα δασέα. Μεγαλύτερο πρόβλημα προκύπτει από τις περιγραφές που εντοπίζουν προστριβοποίηση των αήχων κλειστών δασέων σε ομοργανικά συμπλέγματα [p^f], [t^θ], [k^x] (Σέριφος, Σίφνος, Αστυπάλαια, Κάλυμνος, Σύμη, Νίσυρος, βλ. Παντελίδης 1929: 28, Πούλος 1939: 145, Καραναστάσης 1958: 117, Δράκος 1982: 42, Κουρούνης 1982: 450-451). Ειδικά για το [k^x], επειδή η άρθρωση του υπερωϊκού [x] με το γλωττιδικό [h] είναι πολύ κοντινή, δεν θεωρούμε ότι υφίσταται πραγματική διαφορά στην πραγμάτωση. Κάποιοι μελετητές, π.χ. Newton (1972: 91) αμφιβάλλουν για την ύπαρξη τέτοιων ομοργανικών προστριβών, και πράγματι οι γραπτές πηγές εμφανίζουν ποικιλότητα στην καταγραφή (<π'>, <π-π'>, <ππ> και <πφ>), χωρίς να είναι σαφές εάν αυτό οφείλεται σε πραγματική διαφοροποίηση της εκφοράς. Παράδειγμα χαρακτηριστικό η Νίσυρος, για την οποία η παλαιότερη βιβλιογραφία καταγράφει, πάντοτε με μη παγιωμένη φωνητική ορολογία, πέντε διαφορετικές πραγματώσεις του διπλού [p], δηλαδή: [p^f p^f: p^h p^h: p:] (Tsopanakis 1940: 160, Seiler 1958: 213, Κουρούνης 1982: 451).

Σε ορισμένες περιπτώσεις η σύγχρονη επιτόπια έρευνα δίνει απαντήσεις, δημιουργώντας όμως ταυτόχρονα και νέα ερωτήματα. Αυτή είναι π.χ. η περίπτωση της Καλύμνου, η οποία καταγράφεται ομόφωνα στην παλαιότερη βιβλιογραφία ως διαθέτουσα προστριβή [p^f], [t^θ], [k^x]. Η πλέον πρόσφατη αποστολή του ΙΑΝΕ στην Κάλυμνο (ΧΙΑ 1489-[2011]) κατέδειξε με πλούσιο ηχογραφημένο υλικό ότι η πραγμάτωση [t^θ] πράγματι υφίσταται, σε εναλλαγή όμως με την απλή δασεία εκφορά [t^h], ενώ πραγματώσεις [p^f], [k^x] δεν εντοπίστηκαν (αυτό είχε διαπιστώσει και η φωνητική μελέτη της Καρδιόλακα 1992). Είναι αξιοπερίεργο μάλιστα ότι ο Ν. Δράκος, ο συγγραφέας του λεξικού του ιδιώματος (Δράκος 1982) γράφει πάντοτε <πφ τθ κχ>, αλλά ο ίδιος ως πληροφορητής σε ηχογράφηση της Καρδιόλακα (Cardiolacas 1984-85) προφέρει [p^h k^h t^θ]. Και εδώ τίθεται το ερώτημα εάν οι καταγραφές <πφ κχ> αντικατοπτρίζουν παλαιότερο στάδιο εκφοράς το οποίο δεν υφίσταται πλέον, ή εάν εξαρχής η υπόθεση περί [p^f], [k^x] ήταν εσφαλμένη κατ' αναλογία του όντως υπαρκτού [t^θ], λόγω ανεπάρκειας των δυνατοτήτων φωνητικής καταγραφής του περασμένου αιώνα. Η καταγραφή της εκφοράς αυτής σε σύγχρονες περιγραφές της διαλέκτου συχνά δεν αποτελεί παρά επανάληψη της παλαιότερης βιβλιογραφίας, λόγω του κύρους των παλαιών ερευνητών.

Παρόμοιος προβληματισμός μπορεί να διατυπωθεί για τα ιδιώματα της Κ. Ιταλίας. Οι ειδικές φωνητικές μελέτες σημειώνουν πάντοτε δασύτητα στα διπλά άηχα κλειστά για την Καλαβρία (Katsoyannou 1995: 101) αλλά όχι για την Απουλία (Profili 1984, Romano 2011)· στο Λεξικό όμως των ιδιωμάτων της Κ. Ιταλίας (Καραναστάσης (1984-1992)) η δασύτητα σημειώνεται ασυνεπώς σε τύπους και των δύο ιδιωμάτων, και μάλιστα σε λέξεις της ίδιας οικογένειας από τον ίδιο τόπο.

Ποικιλότητα όσον αφορά τα άηχα κλειστά εντοπίζεται και στα φωνητικά περιβάλλοντα που προκαλούν την εμφάνισή τους. Σε ορισμένες περιοχές διπλά άηχα κλειστά συνοδευόμενα από δασύτητα εμφανίζονται και προ υγρών ([pr], [tr], [kl] κλπ – Κάσος, Τήλος, Χάλκη, Πάτμος, βλ. Τσοπανάκης 1949: 40-42, Καραναστάσης 1956: 214) ενώ σε άλλες εμφανίζονται και από αφομοίωση τελικού [n] και τελικού [s] (Κάσος, Νίσυρος, Απουλία, Μηνάς (1987[2004]: 325-326, Rohlf 1977: 40-42, 48).

2.3.4 Ηχηρά κλειστά

Η κατηγορία αυτή συμφώνων δεν εμφανίζεται ποτέ με δίπλωση (Pernot 1907: 390), εκτός από την Καλαβρία, όπου προκύπτει από αφομοίωση συμπλεγμάτων και από συνεκφορά του ληκτικού [s] με ακόλουθα ηχηρά διαρκή, π.χ. *rad-di* 'ραβδί', *te ddixaterendu* 'τες θυγατέρες του' (Rohlf 1977: 25, 49). Επίσης μαρτυρείται σε ένα ιδίωμα της Ρόδου από πλήρη αφομοίωση ερρίνου (π.χ. *θαμπός* > *θαbbός*, Tsopanakis 1940: 131). Μαρτυρίες υπάρχουν και για το ιδίωμα Κύμης από συνεκφορά, αλλά δεν είναι

δυνατόν πλέον να ελεγχθούν εφόσον το ιδίωμα έχει σιγήσει (π.χ. στη *Ggούμη*, *τούτον ddon bbeθαμένο*, ΧΙΛ 501-[1931]).

2.3.5 Συριστικά

Το /z/ αποτελεί ιδιάζουσα περίπτωση διπλώσεως, καθώς σε αρκετές διπλωτικές διαλέκτους απαντά πάντοτε ως διπλό, χωρίς να υπάρχει αντίστοιχο απλό (π.χ. Κύπρος, Κάλυμνος, Ρόδος, Κύμη, Tsorpanakis 1940: 161, Caratzas 1958: 292, Arvaniti 1999: 174). Το ηχητικό υλικό δείχνει ότι σε ορισμένες περιοχές η εκτεταμένη διάρκεια δεν είναι το μόνο διαφοροποιητικό χαρακτηριστικό του /z/ σε σχέση με αυτό της ΚΝΕ, αλλά πρόκειται επιπλέον και για διαφορετικό τόπο αρθρώσεως (πιο πρόσθιο, [z:] ή [z̥:] – Κάλυμνος, ΧΙΛ 1489-[2011]). Σε άλλες περιοχές, η δίπλωση του /z/ αντιστοιχεί σε προστριβοποίηση σε [dz] ή [ndz] (π.χ. Κ. Ιταλία, Χίος, Λέρος, Πάτμος, Σίφνος, Σύμη, Dieterich 1908: 58, Παντελίδης 1929: 41, Πούλος 1939: 146-148). Θα πρέπει να επισημανθεί η διαφορά, σε ορισμένες διαλέκτους, μεταξύ ενδολεξικής δίπλωσης του /z/ σε [(n)dz] και μεταλεξικής δίπλωσης από συνεκφορά αρκτικού /z/ σε [z:], π.χ. *αγοράντζω*, *μαντζί αλλά τηζ ζωή*, *έ ζ-ζυμών-νει* (Αστυπάλαια, Καραναστάσης 1958: 120-121).

Το /s/ σε περίπτωση διπλώσεως μπορεί επίσης να πραγματωθεί ως απλώς επιμηκυτό /s:/, ως επιμηκυτό και προσθιωμένο (Κάλυμνος, Λιβύσσι, Μεγίστη, Ικαρία), αλλά και ως προστριβές /ts/ (π.χ. Σίφνος, Αστυπάλαια, Λέρος, Πάτμος, Παντελίδης 1929: 42, Καραναστάσης 1958: 118). Μόνον ο Seiler σημειώνει δασύτητα ως συνοδευτικό χαρακτηριστικό του διπλού [s:] στην Ρόδο, την Κω και τη Νίσυρο (1958: 214), κάτι τέτοιο όμως πρέπει να ελεγχθεί εργαστηριακά. Ορισμένες διάλεκτοι διαθέτουν και ουρανοφανιακό συριστικό [ʃ], το οποίο είναι δυνατόν να υποστεί δίπλωση (κυρίως προκύπτει από αφομοίωση του συμπλέγματος [sk], π.χ. Κύπρος, Ρόδος, Κ. Ιταλία).

2.3.6 Άηχα διαρκή

Μεγάλη ποικιλότητα επικρατεί στην πραγμάτωση του διπλού οδοντικού /θ/, καθώς σε ορισμένες περιοχές καταγράφονται τέσσερις ή και πέντε διαφορετικές πραγματώσεις: διπλό [θ:], διπλό [t:], προστριβές [t^θ], ή απλώς δασύ [t^h] (Κάλυμνος, Νίσυρος, Χίος, Καστελλόριζο, Σύμη) οι οποίες άλλοτε οφείλονται σε διαφορετικά υπο-ιδιώματα¹² και άλλοτε σε ποικιλότητα εντός του ίδιου υπο-ιδιώματος (Κάλυμνος). Διαφοροποίηση επίσης είναι δυνατόν να υφίσταται μεταξύ λεξικής δίπλωσης σε [t^θ] στο εσωτερικό της λέξης και μεταλεξικής δίπλωσης σε [θ:] από συνεκφορά, π.χ. *ξαπθός αλλά έθ θέλω* (Νίσυρος, Κουρούνης 1982: 451), ενώ σε άλλα ιδιώματα η πραγμάτωση [t^θ] εμφανίζεται σε όλα τα περιβάλλοντα, π.χ. *τη θάλασσα* (Αστυπάλαια, Καραναστάσης 1958: 117-118).

Το [f] πραγματώνεται παντού ως απλώς επιμηκυτό, και υπάρχει μόνον η μαρτυρία του Seiler (1958: 214) για συνοδεία δασύτητας στην Ρόδο, τη Νίσυρο και την Κω, κάτι που δεν έχει ως τώρα διαπιστωθεί από άλλους. Και του [x] η εκφορά είναι παντού ομοιόμορφη, ως απλή επιμήκυνση, με πιθανότητα τροπής σε κλειστό δασύ [k^h] στην Χίο και τη Νίσυρο (Pernot 1907: 409).

2.3.7 Ηχηρά διαρκή

Τα [v ð γ] ως διπλά έχουν μικρή συχνότητα εμφάνισης διότι σε πολλά διπλωτικά ιδιώματα π.χ. Δωδεκάνησα, Κύπρος, Χίος, Ικαρία, τα μεσοφωνηεντικά ηχηρά διαρκή αποβάλλονται (Παντελίδης 1929: 31-32) και άρα δεν μπορούν να υποστούν νεωτερική δίπλωση (σε μεσοφωνηεντική θέση λόγω τόνου). Αυτό αποτελεί εμμέσως ένδειξη για τη χρονολόγηση της διπλώσεως αυτής, καθώς εαν τα σύμφωνα αυτά είχαν διπλωθεί πρώιμα, η αποβολή τους θα ήταν δύσκολη λόγω ισχυρής προφοράς. Επιπλέον, τα ηχηρά διαρκή κανονικά δεν μπορούν να υποστούν αφομοίωση με προηγούμενο έρρινο, όπως τα αντίστοιχα άηχα (*νύμφη* > *νύφφη*) καθώς η ομαλή εξέλιξη της νεότερης ελληνικής θα οδηγούσε σε αυτές τις περιπτώσεις σε διατήρηση της αρχαίας κλειστής προφοράς [b d g] (*κίνδυνος* > *κίντυνος* και όχι *κίδδυνος*). Παραταύτα δίπλωση από αφομοίωση εμφανίζεται σε ορισμένα ιδιώματα ενδολεξικά (*συββουλή*, *εββόλιο*, *εδδειχτικό*, *σύδδεσμος*-Ρόδος, Καστελλόριζο, Κάρπαθος, Νίσυρος, Tsorpanakis 1940: 126, Μηνάς 1970: 73,

¹² Βλ. π.χ. την ενδο-διαλεκτική διαφοροποίηση στην Κύπρο όπως καταγράφεται στον ισογλωσσικό χάρτη του Κοντοσόπουλου (1970: 109).

Κουρούνης 1982: 448). Οι περιπτώσεις αυτές πρέπει να ερμηνευθούν ως λόγιες λέξεις που εισήλθαν στο ιδίωμα με την κοινή προφορά τους (*συμβουλή*, *ενδεικτικό* κλπ.) και υπέστησαν κατόπιν αφομοίωση αντίστοιχη με των αήχων τριβομένων- και πάλι δηλαδή πρόκειται για ένα φαινόμενο πρόσφατο. Η αφομοίωση σε συνεκφορά (π.χ. *ένα β-βασιλιά*, *το δ-δάσκαλο*) είναι το μόνο περιβάλλον όπου υπάρχει κανονικότητα. Η πραγμάτωση των ηχηρών τριβομένων είναι όμοια παντού, ως απλή επιμήκυνση.

3. Ιστορική θεώρηση

Το ερώτημα «από πότε υπάρχουν διπλά σύμφωνα» δεν μπορεί να απαντηθεί, εφόσον η διατήρηση των διπλών συμφώνων αποτελεί ως ένα βαθμό αρχαϊσμό, δηλ. διατήρηση ενός χαρακτηριστικού της Αρχαίας Ελληνικής, το οποίο για τις υπόλοιπες περιοχές του ελληνόφωνου χώρου θα πρέπει να είχε απολεσθεί ως τον 3^ο αι. μ.Χ.¹³. Διατήρηση διπλών στις θέσεις που υπήρχε ιστορικά στην ΑΕ δεν μπορεί να τεκμηριωθεί γραφηματικά, καθώς η ιστορική ορθογραφία αποκρύπτει την γλωσσική εξέλιξη. Η «ορθή», διπλή, γραφή των ιστορικών διπλών θα μπορούσε απλώς να είναι συμβατική, και να μην αντιστοιχεί στην φωνητική πραγματικότητα. Ο Καρατζάς (1958) προσπάθησε εξετάζοντας τις χριστιανικές επιγραφές της Κ. Ιταλίας να αποδείξει ότι εκεί δεν απαντά η απλή γραφή των διπλών συμφώνων, κάτι που θα υπεδείκνυε ότι το φαινόμενο της απώλειας των διπλών δεν συνέβη ποτέ στην συγκεκριμένη περιοχή. Όμως, πέραν του ότι ο αριθμός των επιγραφών αυτών είναι ελάχιστος και του ότι εν τω μεταξύ έχουν ευρεθεί αρκετές ακόμη, οι οποίες δεν έχουν εξετασθεί από τον Καρατζά (βλ. π.χ. Guillou 1996), η απουσία απλογραφίας των διπλών συμφώνων στις επιγραφές αποτελεί και πάλι μόνο ένδειξη και όχι απόδειξη. Δυστυχώς αντίστοιχο εγχείρημα με του Καρατζά δεν επαναλήφθηκε για άλλη διπλωτική περιοχή, δηλ. δεν έχει συγκεντρωθεί και αναλυθεί το επιγραφικό υλικό της μεσαιωνικής περιόδου από γλωσσολογικής απόψεως, ούτε γενικότερα ούτε ειδικότερα ως προς το θέμα των διπλών συμφώνων.

Αυτή η έλλειψη έρευνας στην κρίσιμη περίοδο των σκοτεινών αιώνων δυσχεραίνει και την χρονολόγηση της εμφανίσεως των νεωτερικών διπλών, δηλ. αυτών που οφείλονται σε αφομοίωση ή ένταση του τόνου. Κατ' αρχάς, η εμφάνιση μη ιστορικών διπλών σε γραπτές πηγές δεν συνεπάγεται αναγκαστικά διπλωτική προφορά· μπορεί να πρόκειται απλώς για ορθογραφικά λάθη ομιλητών που δεν διαθέτουν διπλά στο φωνολογικό τους σύστημα αλλά γνωρίζουν αμυδρά ότι η ελληνική ορθογραφία απαιτεί την διπλή γραφή κάποιων συμφώνων. Για να θεωρηθεί η διπλή γραφή ένδειξη διπλωτικής προφοράς θα πρέπει να εμφανίζει κάποια συστηματικότητα και κανονικότητα, δηλ. να απαντά σταθερά σε μορφολογικά περιβάλλοντα που είναι γνωστό από τις σημερινές διπλωτικές διαλέκτους ότι η δίπλωση είναι αυτόματα (π.χ. στις ρηματικές καταλήξεις *-αίνω*, *-ώνω*, στα παραθετικά *-τερος*) ή να απαντά σε περιβάλλοντα που θα ήταν αδιανόητη για την ιστορική ορθογραφία, π.χ. σε αρκτική θέση. Επιπλέον, θα πρέπει να απαντά με σχετική συχνότητα σε λέξεις που είναι γνωστό από τις σημερινές διπλωτικές διαλέκτους ότι πράγματι εκφέρονται διπλά.

Για τους σκοτεινούς αιώνες μέχρι περίπου τον 11^ο δεν έχουμε πληροφορίες για τέτοιες νεωτερικές διπλώσεις· δυσχεραίνει σε αυτό, όπως προαναφέρθηκε, και η έλλειψη έρευνας των επιγραφών, οι οποίες όμως ούτως ή άλλως είναι ολιγάριθμες και απομακρυσμένες από την καθημερινή γλώσσα. Από τον 11^ο αι. και εξής σαφείς πληροφορίες για διπλωτική προφορά (αφομοίωση εντός λέξεως και σε συνεκφορά, νεωτερικά διπλά υπό την επίδραση του τόνου σε πάγιες μορφολογικές θέσεις) διαθέτουμε από την Κ. Ιταλία (βλ. και Μηνάς 1994: 69)¹⁴.

τὴν λλέπραν (έτους 1076) Guillou (1963: 46)

καταναίνει εις στράτα καὶ κλήννει (έτους 1092) Trinchera (1865: 71)

τῆς Καθθοῦσα (έτους 1053) Trinchera (1865: 50)

ἔσσω (έτους 1146) Cusa (1868: 618)

¹³ Ο Mayser (1923: 211-219) δίνει παραδείγματα από τους πολεμαϊκούς παπύρους ήδη από τον 3ο αι. π.Χ. παρατηρώντας ότι το φαινόμενο είναι συχνότερο στα διαρκή [m n l r s] και σπανιότερο στα κλειστά [p t k]. Ο Gignac (1976: 154-146) δίνει παραδείγματα για όλα τα σύμφωνα, από τον 1ο μ.Χ. αι. Οι αττικές επιγραφές και όστρακα εμφανίζουν απλογραφία των διπλών συμφώνων ήδη από την αρχαϊκή εποχή (6ος αι. π.Χ.), ως απλή γραφηματική σύμβαση ανεξάρτητη από τη φωνολογία της διαλέκτου (Threatte 1980: 511), γεγονός που καθιστά δυσχερή την διερεύνηση του φαινομένου προ της ελληνιστικής περιόδου.

¹⁴ Τα δεδομένα από τον 11ο ως τον 17ο αι. συγκεντρώθηκαν με τη βοήθεια της βάσης δεδομένων του ερευνητικού προγράμματος Grammar of Medieval Greek του Πανεπιστημίου Cambridge (βλ. σχετικά <http://www.mml.cam.ac.uk/greek/grammarofmedievalgreek/>).

Για την Κύπρο οι τέτοιου τύπου μαρτυρίες ξεκινούν από τον 14ο αιώνα, παρά το γεγονός ότι και προγενέστερα έργα έχουν χαρακτηριστεί κυπριακά: σε αυτά δεν απαντά το φαινόμενο. Στην κυπριακή διαλεκτική γραμματεία (Μαχαιράς, Βουστρώνιος κλπ) το φαινόμενο απαντά με κανονικότητα:

λαμβάνει παρκάτω (έτους περ. 1300) Simon (1973: 31)
τοῦ ρρὲ Οὐγκου (έτους περ. 1306) Constantinides και Browning (1993: 172)
εἰς το νησσίν (έτους 1326) Darrouzes (1953: 93)
ἔππεσεν Μαχ. 66.32
τῆς πεθερᾶς Μαχ. 403.36
εἰς κουφοῦ πόρταν ἔσυντύχανεν Μαχ. 44.16-17
ποττέ Βουστρ. Α 14.8

Για τα Δωδεκάνησα υπάρχουν μαρτυρίες από τον 15^ο αι και εξής (μόνο για τη Ρόδο, την Κω και την Πάτμο), ενώ για την Χίο από τον 17^ο (βλ. και Pernot 1905: 250 υποσημ. 2):

ὁσηταλλ(ίου) (έτους 1487, Ρόδος) Lefort (1981: 66)
τὸ νησσην τῆς ρόδου (έτους 1493, Ρόδος) Τσοπανάκης (1970: 55)
ἰστηλὲμ με το Νικόλα (έτους 1638, Πάτμος) Στεφανίδου (1996: 403)
ρεάλλια (έτους 1638, Πάτμος) Στεφανίδου (1996: 403)
ἄρνιττα (έτους 1684, Ρόδος) < τοπων. Ἀρνίθ-θα Παπαχριστοδοῦλου (1976: 3)
ἡσματοπόλλα (έτους 1705, Κως) Καμμάς (1974: 136)
σσεπάρνιν (έτους 1678, Χίος) Κανελλάκης (1890: 453)

Για τις Κυκλάδες οι δημοσιευμένες ως τώρα γραπτές πηγές από τα νησιά με διπλωτικά ιδιώματα (Σίφνο, Φολέγανδρο, Σέριφο, Αμοργό), όπως και για την Ικαρία δεν περιέχουν το φαινόμενο. Αυτό οφείλεται τόσο στον μικρό αριθμό των πηγών από τις συγκεκριμένες περιοχές όσο και στην ποιότητα των εκδόσεων, οι οποίες έχουν συνήθως εξομαλυσμένη ορθογραφία. Για όλες τις περιοχές βέβαια η χρονολογία αφορά τη στιγμή από την οποία εμφανίζονται πηγές γραμμένες σε αυτό το ιδίωμα, δηλ. δεν αποκλείεται (ή μάλλον είναι αρκετά πιθανό) το φαινόμενο να υπήρχε και νωρίτερα. Για ορισμένες περιοχές δεν υπάρχουν καθόλου γραπτές μαρτυρίες προγενεστέρων περιόδων (Λιβύσσι, Αλικαρνασός, Κύμη). Σημειωτέον επίσης ότι δεν μαρτυρούνται εξίσου όλα τα διπλωτικά φαινόμενα: η δίπλωση των ερρίνων και υγρών είναι επαρκώς μαρτυρημένη (όχι όμως για το [r]), ενώ από τα άηχα τριβόμενα επαρκείς μαρτυρίες υπάρχουν για το [θ], κυρίως λόγω της παρουσίας του σε ρηματικές καταλήξεις, και λιγότερο για τα [x] και [f]. Τα άηχα κλειστά μαρτυρούνται σχετικά καλά, αλλά χωρίς το φαινόμενο της δάσυνσης, για το οποίο έχουμε σαφείς γραφηματικές μαρτυρίες μόνο από τον 18^ο αι.¹⁵, π.χ. *παγκίρι* ‘μπακίρι’ (1796, Σύμη, Καρανικόλας 1974: 136), *γκελίμι κόγκινο* ‘κίλιμι κόκκινο’ (1796, Σύμη, Καρανικόλας 1974: 136).

Τα ηχηρά διαρκή [v ð γ] επίσης μαρτυρούνται πολύ σπάνια, ενώ ανομοιοτικές διπλώσεις του τύπου [ld], [lt] [pf], [tθ] δεν μαρτυρούνται πριν τις καταγραφές του 19^{ου} αι.

Όσον αφορά στην υποχώρηση του φαινομένου των διπλών συμφώνων, η διερεύνηση του πρωτογενούς υλικού επιτρέπει τις εξής παρατηρήσεις: το φαινόμενο δεν υποχωρεί συνολικά, δηλ. δεν εξαφανίζεται η δυνατότητα διπλώσεως από το φωνολογικό σύστημα, αλλά σταδιακά, ανά κατηγορίες συμφώνων. Την ισχυρότερη αντίσταση προβάλλουν τα έρρινα, το [l] και το [z], τα οποία είναι αισθητά ακόμα και στο λόγο ομιλητών που σκοπίμως προσπαθούν να αποβάλουν το ιδίωμα. Αντίθετα, πρώτα χάνονται τα [v ð γ], τα οποία ούτως ή άλλως είναι σπάνια και προκύπτουν μόνο μεταλεξικά.

4. Συμπεράσματα

Δεν ήταν δυνατόν στα σύντομα πλαίσια της παρούσας μελέτης να εκτεθούν αναλυτικά τα αποτελέσματα της έρευνας για ένα τόσο ευρύ θέμα. Πιστεύουμε όμως ότι καταδείξαμε ότι μια τέτοια έρευνα είναι και δυνατή και απαραίτητη. Στην παρούσα εργασία δίδονται για πρώτη φορά συγκεντρωτικά και συγκριτικά δεδομένα για το φαινόμενο των διπλών συμφώνων, βασισμένα σε μεγάλο εύρος πηγών και με την πληρέστερη δυνατή αξιοποίηση της δευτερογενούς βιβλιογραφίας. Σημαντικά επιμέρους νέα στοιχεία που

¹⁵ Κακός ο Μηνάς (2004: 244) θεωρεί την λατινική μεταγραφή *Cachos Jalos* (Κακός Γιαλός) σε ροδιακό έγγραφο του 15^{ου} αι. ως πρώιμη ένδειξη του φαινομένου, καθώς α) η λ. *κακός* δεν παρουσιάζει νεότερη διπλωση στα υπό εξέταση ιδιώματα και β) η γραφή <ch> αντί απλού <c> με την αξία [k] είναι σύνηθες φαινόμενο για τις λατινικές μεταγραφές της εποχής, βλ. π.χ. Καραντζόλα (2005: 271).

προέκυψαν είναι τα εξής: η παρουσία διπλών συμφώνων στην Πάτμο, η επισήμανση της δυνατότητας διαφορετικής πραγμάτωσης των λεξικών από τα μεταλεξικά διπλά, η επισήμανση της προσθιότερης πραγμάτωσης των διπλών συριστικών συμφώνων και ο μη διπλασιασμός του [n] σε μια υποκατηγορία των ρημάτων σε -αίνω.

Καταλήγουμε τονίζοντας την μεγάλη ανάγκη εντατικοποίησης της επιτόπιας έρευνας και αξιόπιστης φωνητικής καταγραφής των ιδιωμάτων, όσο κάτι τέτοιο είναι ακόμα δυνατόν. Σε μελλοντικό χρόνο η έρευνα θα πρέπει να υπεισέλθει και στο ζήτημα του κατά πόσον η δίπλωση εμφανίζεται στις ίδιες λέξεις και στο ίδιο σημείο της λέξεως σε όλες τις διπλωτικές περιοχές. Εδώ η συνεισφορά του *Ιστορικού Λεξικού* αναμένεται να είναι σημαντική, αφού το διαλεκτικό υλικό είναι κατατεταγμένο λεξιλογικά, και καταγράφεται η κατά τόπους πραγμάτωση όλων των λέξεων.

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ΚΑΤΗΓΟΡΙΕΣ ΠΡΑΓΜΑΤΟΛΟΓΙΚΩΝ ΦΡΑΣΕΟΛΟΓΙΣΜΩΝ

Ελένη Μότσιου

Αριστοτέλειο Πανεπιστήμιο

Θεσσαλονίκης, Ελλάδα

tulitsa@yahoo.com

ABSTRACT

In phraseological theory it is customary to draw a distinction between semantic and pragmatic phrasemes (Cowie, 1998, 2001, 2006· Mel'čuk, 1998· Baranov & Dobrovolskij, 2003 etc.). This paper focuses on pragmatic phrasemes: first we consider some difficulties and problems that occur within the established classes and types. Then an attempt to revisit the general categorization has been made. We suggest that the divisions should be explicitly based on the communicative function of pragmatic phrasemes.

Λέξεις κλειδιά: πραγματολογικοί φρασεολογισμοί, συνομιλιακές φόρμουλες, φόρμουλες ρουτίνας, προσλεκτικές φόρμουλες, φόρμουλες-σχόλια

1. Εισαγωγικά

Μια από τις πιο γνωστές και αποδεκτές διακρίσεις των φρασεολογισμών (phrasemes, phraseologisms, phraseological units, set phrases, fixed expressions κ.ά.) είναι αυτή στην οποία αναγνωρίζεται μια αρχική διαίρεσή τους σε *σημασιολογικούς* και *πραγματολογικούς φρασεολογισμούς* (Cowie 1998, 2006· Mel'čuk, 1998· Gläser, 1998 κ.ά.). Η ορολογία που υιοθετείται δεν είναι ομοιογενής, λ.χ. οι σημασιολογικοί φρασεολογισμοί αναφέρονται ως *semantic phrasemes* (Mel'čuk, 1998), ως *nominations* (Gläser, 1998), ή *semantic combinations/ composites* (Cowie, 1998). Παρά τις διαφορές στη χρήση της ορολογίας, παρατηρείται μια γενική αποδοχή ως προς τον ορισμό του περιεχομένου των δύο παραπάνω κατηγοριών. Κατά τον Cowie και μια μεγάλη ομάδα λεξικολόγων οι φρασεολογισμοί (ΦΡ) μπορούν να χωριστούν σε δύο ομάδες: στη μία – αυτή των σημασιολογικών φρασεολογισμών (ΣΦ) – εντάσσονται «...ενότητες που μοιάζουν με λέξεις (“word-like units”: Cowie, 1998: 4) οι οποίες λειτουργούν συντακτικά στο επίπεδο της απλής πρότασης ή και κάτω από αυτό ως κατηγορήματα, ονοματικές ή επιρρηματικές φράσεις, συνεισφέροντας στη δηλωτική / περιγραφική σημασία»¹ [μτφ. από τη συγγραφέα]. Στην άλλη ομάδα –αυτή των πραγματολογικών φρασεολογισμών (ΠΦ) – εντάσσονται «...ενότητες που μοιάζουν με προτάσεις (“sentence-like units”: Cowie, 1998: 4) οι οποίες λειτουργούν στο επίπεδο της πρότασης ως παροιμίες, συνθήματα και σλόγκαν»² [μτφ. από τη συγγραφέα]. Σημειώνουμε ότι οι παραπάνω διακρίσεις, καθώς και οι υποκατηγοριοποιήσεις –κυρίως για την ομάδα των σημασιολογικών φρασεολογισμών– είναι επηρεασμένες σημαντικά από τις απόψεις της ρωσικής φρασεολογικής παράδοσης (π.χ. Vinogradov, 1947).

Το μεγαλύτερο μέρος της μελέτης των φρασεολογισμών αφορά την κατηγορία των σημασιολογικών φρασεολογισμών. Οι περισσότεροι λεξικολόγοι αποδέχονται τη βασική κατηγοριοποίησή τους σε *ιδιωτισμούς* και *δεσμευμένες/περιορισμένες συμπαραθέσεις* (ή *συνάψεις*) (*idioms – restricted collocations*)³. Οι ιδιωτισμοί είναι παγιωμένες εκφράσεις που χαρακτηρίζονται από σημασιολογική αδιαφάνεια υψηλού βαθμού (δεν επιδέχονται σημασιακή ανάλυση / δεν έχουν αθροιστική σημασία) και ανελευθερία ως προς το συνδυασμό των συστατικών τους (μορφική σταθερότητα), π.χ. *έφαγα χυλόπιτα*. Στις δεσμευμένες συμπαραθέσεις, που αποτελούν λίγο πολύ παγιωμένους συνδυασμούς λέξεων, δε χάνεται η σημασιακή αυτονομία των συστατικών και η

¹ “...semantic combinations, which function syntactically at or below the level of the simple sentence – as predicates, noun phrases, propositional phrases and the like – and contribute to their referential meaning” (Cowie, 2001: 1; Cowie, 2006: 583).

² “...pragmatic combinations, which operate sententially as proverbs, catchphrases and slogans” (Cowie, 2001: 1; Cowie, 2006: 583).

³ Η αρχική διάκριση ανάγεται στους Bally (1921) και Vinogradov (1942).

σταθερότητα της μορφής είναι χαλαρή. Ο όρος καλύπτει πολλές διαφορετικές περιπτώσεις ως ένα μόνο βαθμό σταθερών λεξικών συνδυασμών, όπου συνήθως ένα συστατικό έχει ιδιωματική / μεταφορική σημασία, η οποία εμφανίζεται ως τέτοια μόνο με την συνεμφάνιση και των άλλων συστατικών του συνδυασμού, π.χ. *δίνω προσοχή, παίρνω θέση*. Επιπλέον, πολλοί μελετητές όπως οι Howarth (1996) και Cowie (1998) κάνουν τη διαφοροποίηση ανάμεσα σε *καθαυτό ιδιωτισμούς* (pure idioms) και *μεταφορικούς ιδιωτισμούς* (figurative idioms). Στους μεταφορικούς ιδιωτισμούς, παρά την ιδιωματικότητα της σημασίας, όταν δηλ. η τελική σημασία δεν μπορεί να εξαχθεί από τη σύνθεση των σημασιών των συστατικών, και παρά την ανελευθερία του συνδυασμού τους, διακρίνεται μια μεταφορική βάση που μπορεί μερικώς να αιτιολογήσει τη σημασία του λεξικού συνόλου. Η σημασία αυτή είναι ως ένα βαθμό εξαγωγή από τις κυριολεκτικές σημασίες (παραδείγματα μεταφορικών ιδιωτισμών αποτελούν οι εκφράσεις *με παίρνει από κάτω, ανάβω και κορώνω* – σε αντίθεση με τις εκφράσεις *πιάνω στα πράσα, μου τη δίνει* οι οποίες αποτελούν καθαυτό ιδιωτισμούς όπου ο δεσμός ανάμεσα στο κυριολεκτικό και το μη κυριολεκτικό έχει χαθεί). Η διάκριση είχε πραγματοποιηθεί ήδη από τον Vinogradov (1942) ο οποίος είχε προτείνει το διαχωρισμό σε *φρασεολογικές συμφύσεις* (καθαυτό φρασεολογισμοί) και *φρασεολογικές ενότητες* (εν μέρει αιτιολογημένοι φρασεολογισμοί), οι οποίες αντιπαρατίθενται με μια τρίτη κατηγορία, αυτή των *φρασεολογικών συνδυασμών* (συμπαραθέσεις). Φυσικά, έχει επανειλημμένα επισημανθεί ότι οι παραπάνω διακρίσεις αποτελούν ζήτημα διαβάθμισης χωρίς να υπάρχουν σαφή όρια. Δε θα αναφερθούμε με περισσότερες λεπτομέρειες στους ΣΦ και τα κριτήρια της υποκατηγοριοποίησής τους, καθώς οι πραγματολογικοί φρασεολογισμοί είναι αυτοί που αποτελούν το αντικείμενο της παρούσας ανακοίνωσης.

2. Πραγματολογικοί φρασεολογισμοί: παλαιότερες ταξινομήσεις

Οι ΣΦ υποκαθιστούν στον παραδειγματικό άξονα μια σημασιακή μονάδα χωρίς εσωτερική δομή (λέξη), έχουν περιγραφική σημασία και, επομένως, αποτελούν έναν τρόπο κατονομασίας του κόσμου με σχετικά υψηλή συμφραστική ανεξαρτησία. Αντίθετα, οι ΠΦ εκφράζουν σε μεγάλο βαθμό τη στάση ενός ομιλητή και εμφανίζονται παρενθετικά στο λόγο· δε λειτουργούν ως λέξεις ενώ η χρήση και η ερμηνεία τους έχει στενή σχέση με τα γλωσσικά και εξωγλωσσικά συμφραζόμενα (βλ. *Σιγά τα αίματα!*, *Αμήν και τότε!* κ.ά. παρόμοιοι ΠΦ, σε αντίθεση με τα: *Μου ανέβηκε το αίμα στο κεφάλι, Είμαι με το ένα πόδι στον τάφο* κ.ά. [ΣΦ]).

Η κατηγορία των ΠΦ έχει μελετηθεί πολύ λιγότερο από αυτή των ΣΦ, παρότι τα κύρια χαρακτηριστικά της και πολλά παραδείγματα υπάρχουν στη δουλειά καταξιωμένων στο χώρο ερευνητών, όπως η Gläser, ο Cowie, ο Mel'čuk, ο Pawley, ο Dobrovolskij κ.ά. Μια πιο συστηματική ταξινόμηση των ΠΦ επιχειρείται από τον Cowie (2001) ο οποίος διακρίνει στους «πραγματολογικούς συνδυασμούς» (ΠΦ) τις υποκατηγορίες *Παροιμίες* κτλ. (Proverbs etc.) και *Φόρμουλες* (Formulae). Ο Cowie ασχολείται περισσότερο με το β' είδος (Φόρμουλες), όπου και διακρίνει τις *συνομιλιακές φόρμουλες* ή *φόρμουλες ομιλίας* (speech formulae) και τις *φόρμουλες ρουτίνας* (routine formulae)⁴. Οι φόρμουλες ρουτίνας (π.χ. *how do you do?* / *see you later* ή ελλην. *τι έγινε;* / *τα λέμε!*)⁵ χρησιμοποιούνται για αναφορά σε ευρύτερα συμφραζόμενα (περικείμενο της περίπτωσης), δεν απαιτούν την υποστήριξη του άμεσου γλωσσικού περιβάλλοντος. Με λίγα λόγια, δεν είναι *διεπιδραστικές* (interactive), απλά ελέγχουν την επικοινωνία. Αντίθετα, οι συνομιλιακές φόρμουλες (π.χ. *you know what I mean* / *I beg your pardon* / *no problem* ή ελλην. *με πιάνεις;* / *κανένα πρόβλημα*) αναφέρονται σε συγκεκριμένα μέρη ενός εκφώνηματος ή κειμένου, έχουν άμεση σχέση με το συνομιλητή και τα λεγόμενά του (π.χ. είναι απάντηση σε κτ. που κτ. είπε πριν), άρα διαθέτουν πολύ υψηλό βαθμό διεπιδραστικότητας / επικοινωνιακότητας. Ο Cowie (2001) επιχειρεί και μια περαιτέρω υποδιαίρεση της κατηγορίας *συνομιλιακές φόρμουλες*, σε *επιρρηματικές φόρμουλες* (adverbials) και σε *‘καθαυτό’ συνομιλιακές*, με βάση γραμματικά και επικοινωνιακά κριτήρια. Οι *επιρρηματικές* αποτελούν εξαρτημένες προτάσεις ή φράσεις με επιρρηματική λειτουργία (π.χ. *for goodness sake!* / *to put it another way* ή ελλην. *για όνομα του Θεού!* / *για να το θέσω αλλιώς*) οι οποίες δεν είναι επικοινωνιακά διαδραστικές στον ίδιο βαθμό που είναι οι καθαυτό συνομιλιακές, γιατί δεν εμπλέκουν πάντα άμεσα τον συνομιλητή.

Συνοψίζοντας, η ταξινόμηση των ΠΦ διακρίνει ανάμεσα σε *Παροιμίες* κτλ. και *Φόρμουλες*. Απ' ό, τι φαίνεται, η εσωτερική ταξινόμηση στην πρώτη κατηγορία γίνεται βάσει των παραδοσιακά ορισμένων τάξεων *παροιμία, ρήση, συνθηματική φράση* κτλ. Στη δεύτερη κατηγορία η εσωτερική

⁴ Στη βιβλιογραφία οι δυο όροι χρησιμοποιούνται ενίοτε εναλλάξ (π.χ. οι συνομιλιακές φόρμουλες του Pawley (1996) εμπεριέχουν τις φόρμουλες ρουτίνας· οι φόρμουλες ρουτίνας της Gläser (1998) καλύπτουν και τις συνομιλιακές).

⁵ Όλα τα παραδείγματα στα αγγλικά είναι από τον Cowie (2001).

ταξινόμηση γίνεται βάσει λειτουργικών / επικοινωνιακών κριτηρίων σε *φόρμουλες ρουτίνας* και *συνομιλιακές φόρμουλες*, ενώ ένας επιπλέον διαχωρισμός γίνεται ανάμεσα σε *‘καθαυτό’ συνομιλιακές* και *επιρρηματικές φόρμουλες* με κριτήρια βασικά γραμματικά. Τα προβλήματα που προκύπτουν από την παραπάνω ταξινόμηση των ΠΦ είναι, κατά τη γνώμη μας, τα παρακάτω:

1. Τα κριτήρια της αρχικής υποδιαίρεσης σε δύο κατηγορίες (*Παροιμίες – Φόρμουλες*) είναι ασαφή. Έτσι, η περιγραφή της κατηγορίας *Φόρμουλες* από τον Cowie (2001: 1) ως «...εκφράσεις, συνήθως μεγέθους πρότασης, που χρησιμοποιούνται για να οργανώσουν το λόγο ... εκφράζουν τη στάση των ομιλητών απέναντι στους συμμετέχοντες και τα λεγόμενά τους, και γενικά, διευκολύνουν την επικοινωνία» [μτφ. από τη συγγραφέα] θα ταίριαζε εξίσου και στην κατηγορία *Παροιμίες*.

2. Όσον αφορά την υποδιαίρεση της κατηγορίας *‘Φόρμουλες’* σε *φόρμουλες ρουτίνας* και *συνομιλιακές*, καθώς και τη διάκριση ανάμεσα σε *[καθαυτό] συνομιλιακές* και *επιρρηματικές φόρμουλες*, θεωρούμε ότι και εδώ τα κριτήρια, εκτός από ανομοιογενή (γραμματικά για το διαχωρισμό *συνομιλιακές – επιρρηματικές φόρμουλες*, λειτουργικά/ επικοινωνιακά για το διαχωρισμό *φόρμουλες ρουτίνας – συνομιλιακές*), είναι επίσης ασαφή. Επιπλέον, τα παραδείγματα που παρατίθενται ανααιρούν πολλές φορές τα κριτήρια των διακρίσεων· για παράδειγμα, αγγλ. *hold your horses, how are you* που εμφανίζονται ως *φόρμουλες ρουτίνας*, θα έπρεπε να συμμορφώνονται με την περιγραφή «μη διεπιδραστικά, που δεν εμπλέκουν άμεσα το συνομιλητή» με την έννοια ότι «δεν απαιτούν απάντηση ή δε χρησιμοποιούνται ως απάντηση», πράγμα το οποίο μάλλον δεν συμβαίνει στις παραπάνω περιπτώσεις. Ένας μεγάλος αριθμός ΦΡ δεν μπορεί να ενταχθεί στη μία ή την άλλη κατηγορία με αυτό το κριτήριο: το *χαιρέτα μας τον πλάτανο* ή *από την πόλη έρχομαι και στην κορφή κανέλα* εμπλέκουν τον συνομιλητή ή απλώς ελέγχουν την επικοινωνία; Υποστηρίζονται από άμεσα ή ευρύτερα γλωσσικά και εξωγλωσσικά συμφραζόμενα; Κατά τον ίδιο τρόπο, ασάφειες δημιουργούν και τα κριτήρια διαχωρισμού σε *[καθαυτό] συνομιλιακές – επιρρηματικές φόρμουλες*: οι συνομιλιακές χαρακτηρίζονται από συντακτική ανεξαρτησία ή λειτουργούν ως γλωσσικές πράξεις αν δεν υπάρχει ρήμα (π.χ. *κανένα πρόβλημα*), σε αντίθεση με τις εξαρτημένες επιρρηματικές φόρμουλες που είναι δομές με επιρρηματική λειτουργία (π.χ. *για όνομα του Θεού*). Επιπλέον, οι επιρρηματικές θεωρούνται ότι δεν εμπλέκουν άμεσα τον ομιλητή, αλλά διεπιδρούν «...με κάτι από τη μορφή ή τη σημασία της πρότασης στην οποία εμφανίζονται ή με κάτι στα ευρύτερα κειμενικά συμφραζόμενα της πρότασης» [μτφ. από τη συγγραφέα] (Cowie, 2001: 4, 9-10). Από τα παραδείγματα δεν προκύπτουν σαφείς διαφορές: η επιρρηματική φόρμουλα είναι σαφώς γλωσσική πράξη και πολλές φορές εμπλέκει άμεσα το συνομιλητή.

Θεωρούμε, επομένως, ότι τα κριτήρια των «άμεσων # ευρύτερων συμφραζομένων» (τα οποία δεν ορίζονται με σαφήνεια) και του «βαθμού της διεπιδραστικότητας» (για το οποίο δεν ορίζεται μέτρο, αλλά ούτε και είναι εύκολο να οριστεί) δημιουργούν σύγχυση και δεν επαρκούν για την ένταξη ενός μεγάλου αριθμού μελών της κατηγορίας *Φόρμουλες* στο ένα ή το άλλο είδος.

Μια λιγότερο γνωστή ταξινόμηση προέρχεται από την εργασία των Baranov & Dobrovol'skij (2003). Επισημαίνοντας την ανεπάρκεια των σημασιολογικών κριτηρίων για την ταξινόμηση όλων των τύπων των ΦΡ⁶, οι συγγραφείς προτείνουν το διαχωρισμό σε *φρασεολογισμούς αυτόνομους σε σχέση με τα συμφραζόμενα* και *φρασεολογισμούς δεσμευμένους από τα συμφραζόμενα*.⁷ Για την ομάδα των συμφραστικά δεσμευμένων ΦΡ (αντιστοιχεί στους ΠΦ) προτείνεται η ονομασία *Συνομιλιακές Φόρμουλες* και επιχειρείται μια υποκατηγοριοποίηση σε *σχολιασμούς*, *γλωσσικές πράξεις*, *συναισθηματικούς σταθεροποιητές*, *φόρμουλες ερώτησης* και *απάντησης*. Σημειώνουμε ότι οι παροιμίες δεν συμπεριλαμβάνονται στην κατηγορία *Συνομιλιακές φόρμουλες*, καθώς, κατά την άποψη των συγγραφέων, είναι συμφραστικά ανεξάρτητες σε σχέση με την ερμηνεία τους. Η παραπάνω ταξινόμηση έχει πιο επικοινωνιακά και ενιαία κριτήρια, ωστόσο δεν στερείται ελαττωμάτων: για παράδειγμα, μπορεί οι παροιμίες να αποτελούν ένα αυτόνομο σημασιακό σύνολο, αλλά η τελική ερμηνεία τους επιτυγχάνεται με αναφορά στα συμφραζόμενα, και λειτουργούν ακριβώς όπως και τα σχόλια· και άλλες κατηγορίες π.χ. *φόρμουλες απάντησης* (π.χ. *έξισ και ξερός*) λειτουργούν στην ουσία ακριβώς όπως οι *φόρμουλες-σχολιασμοί* (πρβ. *άλλη όρεξη δεν είχα*).

3. Πραγματολογικοί φρασεολογισμοί: προτεινόμενη ταξινόμηση

Στη συνέχεια θα προτείνουμε μια ταξινόμηση των ΠΦ με ενιαία λειτουργικά / επικοινωνιακά κριτήρια που βασίζονται στο **είδος της λειτουργίας** των ΦΡ σε συνθήκες χρήσης και ισχύουν για όλα τα μέλη της ομάδας – παροιμίες, γνωμικά, ρητά, διάφορων ειδών συνομιλιακές φόρμουλες.

⁶ Π.χ. την ένταξη σε εννοιακά πεδία σε ένα λεξικό-thesaurus.

⁷ Ο διαχωρισμός μοιάζει με την κατηγοριοποίηση σε ΣΦ και ΠΦ, και το περιεχόμενο του όρου *‘συμφραζόμενα’* αντιστοιχούν στο περιεχόμενο του όρου *‘περικείμενο της περίπτωσης’*.

Οι ΠΦ, σε αντίθεση με τους ΣΦ, είναι συμφραστικά εξαρτημένοι⁸. Γι' αυτό, εξάλλου, το ερμηνευμά τους στα λεξικά είναι συνήθως της μορφής «λέγεται για καταστάσεις όπου...» γεγονός είναι επίσης ότι δεν παραφράζονται και έχουν ενίοτε 'θολό' περιγραφικό περιεχόμενο (βλ. αντίθετα, ιδιωτισμοί), γι' αυτό και δεν μπορούν να ταξινομηθούν σε σημασιοεννοιακές κατηγορίες (τύπου thesaurus, π.χ. *μου ανέβηκε το αίμα στο κεφάλι* [ΣΦ] = θύμωσα [σημασιοεννοιακό πεδίο ΘΥΜΟΣ]). Επομένως, τα κριτήρια ταξινόμησής τους θα πρέπει να είναι λειτουργικά / επικοινωνιακά. Βάσει της λειτουργίας τους κατά τη χρήση ξεχωρίζουν δύο μεγάλες κατηγορίες:

1. οι ΦΡ που **δημιουργούν** ένα «καταστασιακό» συμφραστικό πλαίσιο ('συμφραζόμενα' με την ευρύτερη έννοια) και είναι φορείς προσλεκτικής δύναμης (π.χ. *'στο σταυρό που σου κάνω': όρκος, 'εγώ στο πηγάδι κατούρησα;': διαμαρτυρία, 'τα λέμε': αποχαιρετισμός, κ.ά.*)

2. οι ΦΡ που **«δείχνουν»** τα γλωσσικά / εξωγλωσσικά συμφραζόμενα ως σχόλια (π.χ. *κεριά και λιβάνια!, για όνομα του Θεού!, όσα δε φτάνει η αλεπού τα κάνει κρεμαστάρια, χαιρέτα μας τον πλάτανο κ.ά.*)

Θα ονομάσουμε την πρώτη κατηγορία *Προσλεκτικές Φόρμουλες* και τη δεύτερη *Φόρμουλες-Σχόλια*.

Η μεγαλύτερη ομάδα είναι αυτή των σχολίων. Οι ΦΡ αυτοί δηλώνουν την άμεση 'επιτόπου' δημιουργία αντίδρασης (σε αντίθεση με τους ΣΦ): δεν 'φτιάχνουν' ένα υπο-πλαίσιο συνομιλίας⁹ ως φορείς προσλεκτικής δύναμης, αλλά **δείχνουν** ως σχόλια κάτι στα συμφραζόμενα, γλωσσικά και μη. Από αυτή την άποψη, οι φόρμουλες-σχόλια έχουν ένα είδος δεικτικού χαρακτήρα: *κεριά και λιβάνια* (σχόλιο ενόχλησης που 'δείχνει' το προηγούμενο εκφώνημα του συνομιλητή), *το 'χασες; / για όνομα του Θεού!* (σχόλιο -διαφωνίας / έκπληξης- που 'δείχνει' κάτι από την προηγούμενη συμπεριφορά του συνομιλητή, το εκφώνημα ή ευρύτερα συμφραζόμενα (περικείμενο της περίπτωσης) – όπως κάνουν και οι περισσότερες παροιμίες). Οι ΦΡ αυτού του είδους είναι σημασιακά εξαρτημένοι από το περιβάλλον, και συγκεκριμένα από τις προηγούμενες εκφορές: είναι κατά κάποιο τρόπο αποκρίσεις, που δείχνουν την ύπαρξη στάσης/ αντίδρασης του ομιλητή σε κάποιον συγκεκριμένο παράγοντα ή όψη του (γλωσσικού ή εξωγλωσσικού) περιβάλλοντος που μόλις προηγήθηκε, και προερχόταν από τον ίδιο ή από τον/τους συνομιλητή/-ές.

Ο δεικτικός χαρακτήρας των φρασεολογισμών-σχολίων έχει να κάνει με το γεγονός ότι παραπέμπουν αλλού, σε κάτι που προηγήθηκε στο σύμπαν της συνομιλίας, και αναγκάζουν τον αποδέκτη να εστιάσει εκεί την προσοχή του, προκειμένου να ολοκληρωθεί η σημασιακή τους εικόνα. Βέβαια, ο βαθμός εξάρτησης των φρασεολογικών σχολίων από το περιβάλλον (η πρόσδεση σε άμεσα, παρόντα ερεθίσματα) και η σχετική ασάφεια του περιγραφικού περιεχομένου (θολή, διάχυτη σημασία) είναι κάτι που ποικίλλει και κάνει την ομάδα να φαίνεται ανομοιογενής: από τη μια οι επιφωνηματικές εκφράσεις (*α γεια σου! μη χειρότερα!*), που "...καταγράφουν, δείχνουν αντιδράσεις στα τεκταινόμενα του διαλόγου, με μεγάλη πρόσδεση στο πλαίσιο και συρρίκνωση-διάχυση του περιγραφικού περιεχομένου, ...που δεν μπορούν -χωρίς να παραβιαστούν- να παραφραστούν σε δομημένη προτασιακή γλώσσα" (Χριστίδης, 2002: 95-96, 147-148), με έντονη τη συναισθηματική φόρτιση - ανάλογη της έλλειψης σαφούς περιγραφικού περιεχομένου. Από την άλλη, παροιμιώδεις εκφράσεις όπως *"παπός απ' την πόλη, παπαδιά μολογεί"* ή *"χαιρέτα μας τον πλάτανο"*, που αποτελούν δείγματα σαφώς πιο δομημένης προτασιακής γλώσσας, και εμφανίζουν λιγότερο διάχυτη σημασία και πρόσδεση σε άμεσα συμφραζόμενα: εντούτοις, όλα τα μέλη της ομάδας *Φόρμουλες-Σχόλια* διακρίνονται από παρόμοια -δεικτικά- χαρακτηριστικά και λειτουργία, όπως τα περιγράψαμε πιο πάνω.

Τέλος, για να ολοκληρωθεί η προτεινόμενη ταξινόμηση θα πρέπει να πραγματοποιήσουμε και μια εσωτερική υποκατηγοριοποίηση της κάθε ομάδας: για παράδειγμα, οι προσλεκτικές φόρμουλες μπορούν να ομαδοποιηθούν με τα κριτήρια ταξινόμησης των γλωσσικών πράξεων (λ.χ. Searle, 1979): ουσιαστικά, η σημασία τους είναι η ίδια η προσλεκτική δύναμη που δημιουργεί επί τόπου μια πράξη-κατάσταση: *θα σου πω εγώ τι εστί βερίκοκο!* (κατευθυντικές, απειλή), *πριτς κοκό!* (δεσμευτικές, άρνηση), *εγώ στο πηγάδι κατούρησα;* (εκφραστικές, διαμαρτυρία) κ.ά.

4. Επίλογος

Ο κύριος λόγος για την παρουσίαση αυτής της εργασίας ήταν ο λεξικογραφικός προβληματισμός για την ταξινόμηση των φρασεολογισμών μιας γλώσσας σε ένα εννοιολογικά προσανατολισμένο λεξικό. Η ένταξη των ΦΡ σε σημασιοεννοιακά πεδία/ τάξεις (λ.χ. *δαγκώνω τη λαμαρίνα*: ΕΡΩΤΑΣ· *είμαι στο χείλος του γκρεμού*: ΚΙΝΔΥΝΟΣ κ.ά.) που συναντώνται σε φρασεολογικά λεξικά τύπου thesaurus, είναι πιο εύκολη για την ομάδα των σημασιολογικών φρασεολογισμών και πολύ δυσκολότερη για την

⁸ *Περικείμενο* με τη γενική έννοια του όρου· συγκεκριμένα μέρη ενός εκφώνηματος / κειμένου ή της περίπτωσης

⁹ Αν και αναφέρονται και αυτοί στα ευρύτερα συμφραζόμενα.

ομάδα των πραγματολογικών φρασεολογισμών, όπου τα σημασιοεννοιακά κριτήρια δεν επαρκούν (λ.χ. σε ποια κατηγορία θα μπορούσε να καταταχθεί η έκφραση *πέρα βρέχει*, ή *κάτι τρέχει στα γύφτικα* ή *πριτς κοκό*;). Στην ομάδα αυτή, η ερμηνεία και η χρήση των φρασεολογισμών είναι ενίοτε αδύνατη χωρίς την παραπομπή στις συνθήκες επικοινωνίας. Για το λόγο αυτό, επιχειρήθηκε μια περιγραφή των πραγματολογικών φρασεολογισμών με λειτουργικά-επικοινωνιακά κριτήρια, η οποία θα μπορούσε να ληφθεί υπόψη κατά την κατασκευή ενός εννοιολογικού φρασεολογικού λεξικού. Με αυτόν τον τρόπο, ο χρήστης θα πληροφορείται όχι μόνο για το πώς **περιγράφονται** διαφορετικές όψεις μιας κατηγορίας, π.χ. ΑΠΕΙΛΗ/ ΕΚΦΟΒΙΣΜΟΣ (*απειλώ θεούς και δαίμονες, βάζω το μαχαίρι στο λαιμό κπ.* – και άλλοι ΣΦ) αλλά και, επιπλέον, πώς **εκφράζεται η απειλητική διάθεση εδώ και τώρα** (ΠΦ όπως *θα σου δείξω εγώ !...[πόσα απίδια χωράει ο σάκος]*). Η παρούσα εργασία, επομένως, αποτελεί μια προσπάθεια δημιουργίας ενός θεωρητικού υπόβαθρου με πρακτικό προσανατολισμό, το οποίο απαιτείται για την κατασκευή ενός εννοιολογικού φρασεολογικού λεξικού.

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ΕΞΕΤΑΖΟΝΤΑΣ ΤΗ «ΔΙΚΑΙΟΤΗΤΑ» ΣΤΑ ΤΕΣΤ ΠΟΛΛΑΠΛΗΣ ΕΠΙΛΟΓΗΣ

Άννα Μουτή

Τμήμα Ιταλικής Γλώσσας και
Φιλολογίας, Αριστοτέλειο
Πανεπιστήμιο Θεσσαλονίκης

mouti@frl.auth.gr

Γεώργιος Υψηλάντης

Τμήμα Ιταλικής Γλώσσας και
Φιλολογίας, Αριστοτέλειο
Πανεπιστήμιο Θεσσαλονίκης

ypsi@itl.auth.gr

Αντώνης Τσοπάνογλου

Τμήμα Ιταλικής Γλώσσας και Φιλολογίας,
Αριστοτέλειο Πανεπιστήμιο Θεσσαλονίκης

tsop@itl.auth.gr

ΠΕΡΙΛΗΨΗ

This study investigates degrees of incorrectness in Multiple Choice items, and examines empirically a method for increasing “fairness” in the evaluation of incorrect responses given by test takers. The MC test used, consisted of questions extracted from a known computer adaptive test. The subjects completed the tests in conventional printed form and three scoring methods were applied. The proposed method of scoring examined empirically seems to increase precision of scoring and enhances sensitivity in the fairness of individualized computer adaptive testing and standards setting by professional examiners.

Λέξεις κλειδιά: πολλαπλή επιλογή, «δικαιοσύνη», βαθμολόγηση, βαθμοί ορθότητας

1. Εισαγωγή

Το σκεπτικό για την ενασχόληση με την παράμετρο της *δικαιοσύνης*¹ σε γλωσσικά τεστ, προέκυψε κυρίως από το γεγονός ότι ανάλογα τεστ χρησιμοποιούνται συχνά ως κύρια όργανα, βάσει των οποίων λαμβάνονται αρκετά σημαντικές αποφάσεις για τη ζωή των αξιολογούμενων, είτε ‘εισαγωγής’ σε ιδρύματα, είτε ‘εξαγωγής’ συμπερασμάτων για την απόκτηση πιστοποιητικού γλωσσικής επάρκειας. Βασικός στόχος της παρούσης έρευνας είναι η διερεύνηση της βαθμολόγησης των δοκιμασιών πολλαπλής επιλογής, που χρησιμοποιούνται σε ανάλογα τεστ, με κριτήριο την παράμετρο της *δικαιοσύνης* ως προς την βαθμολόγηση και τα τελικά συμπεράσματα που εξάγονται από αυτήν.

Σε αυτές τις περιπτώσεις, ειδικά όταν ο αριθμός των συμμετεχόντων είναι μεγάλος, οι αξιολογητές οδηγούνται στην υιοθέτηση, καταρχήν, δοκιμασιών που επιτρέπουν τη σύντομη βαθμολόγηση και τη δυνατότητα διεξαγωγής της εξεταστικής διαδικασίας με τη χρήση ηλεκτρονικών υπολογιστών. Παραδείγματα εξετάσεων αυτού του είδους είναι το GMAT ή το TOEFL. Οι δοκιμασίες πολλαπλής επιλογής αποτελούν ίσως την πιο διαδεδομένη, την ιδανική λύση αρκετών αξιολογητών, όπου η βαθμολόγηση ακολουθεί συχνότερα το μοντέλο 0 – 1, όπου το μηδέν αφορά στην λανθασμένη απάντηση και η μονάδα χρησιμοποιείται για τη σωστή ή αναμενόμενη επιλογή. Ασφαλώς, υπάρχει και το μοντέλο +1 -1, γνωστό ως αρνητική βαθμολόγηση, όπου για κάθε λανθασμένη απάντηση μειώνεται το τελικό αποτέλεσμα κατά μία μονάδα.

Το πρόβλημα εντοπίζεται στο γεγονός ότι οι επιλογές που προτείνονται (εκτός από τη σωστή ή αναμενόμενη απάντηση) δεν είναι εξίσου λανθασμένες. Η πιθανή αιτία, για την οποία οι αξιολογητές καταφεύγουν σε αυτήν τη λύση, είναι ότι δεν κρίνεται επιθυμητό η σωστή απάντηση να ξεχωρίζει, να γίνεται ευδιάκριτη, έτσι ώστε να μην επιλέγεται από όλους τους εξεταζόμενους. Σε μία τέτοια

¹ Ο όρος *δικαιοσύνη*, προτείνεται ως η ελληνική απόδοση του όρου *fairness*, όπως εντοπίστηκε - μαζί με τον όρο *αμεροληψία* - στο ελληνικό κείμενο των οδηγιών καλής πρακτικής της EALTA)
<http://www.ealta.eu.org/documents/archive/guidelines/powerpoint/Greek.ppt>

περίπτωση, κατά την οποία η σωστή απάντηση επιλέγεται από όλους τους εξεταζόμενους, το συγκεκριμένο ερώτημα δεν θα προσέφερε καμία πληροφορία που θα βοηθούσε στην διάκριση των αξιολογούμενων και κατά συνέπεια κάτι τέτοιο δεν θα βοηθούσε στην ουσιαστική αξιολόγηση των εξεταζόμενων, καθώς όλοι θα απαντούσαν σε όλα τα ερωτήματα. Το αντίθετο, δηλαδή κανείς να μην απαντάει σωστά σε καμία ερώτηση, δεν θα ήταν επίσης επιθυμητό. Συνήθως, στις δοκιμασίες πολλαπλής επιλογής ακολουθείται μια κλίμακα όπου η μία ή δύο από τις υπόλοιπες επιλογές είναι πολύ κοντά στη σωστή απάντηση, αλλά θεωρούνται λανθασμένες λόγω πολύ μικρών λεπτομερειών. Στην κλίμακα αυτή τα άκρα θα εκτείνονταν από το *σχεδόν αποδεκτή* έως το *εντελώς λανθασμένη* με δύο ενδιάμεσες στάσεις (*σχετικά αποδεκτή* και *λανθασμένη*), στην περίπτωση που οι επιλογές είναι πέντε (μία σωστή και τέσσερις λάθος).

Εδώ ακριβώς εντοπίζεται και το ηθικό δίλημμα που δημιουργεί και τα βασικά ερωτήματα: α) οι εξεταζόμενοι που επιλέγουν μία σχεδόν αποδεκτή απάντηση δεν θα έπρεπε να ξεχωρίζουν από αυτούς που επιλέγουν την εντελώς λανθασμένη; β) δεν θα έπρεπε ως εκ τούτου να επιβραβεύονται για την επιλογή τους, καθώς δείχνουν να βρίσκονται σε υψηλότερο επίπεδο κατανόησης της γλώσσας από αυτούς που επιλέγουν την εντελώς λανθασμένη απάντηση; Βέβαια, από την άλλη πλευρά δεν θα ήταν επιθυμητό αλλά ούτε και σκόπιμο το αποτέλεσμα με διαφορετική βαθμολόγηση να αλλοιώνε σημαντικά την αξιοπιστία του ίδιου του τεστ. Όπως καταλαβαίνει κανείς η γραμμή στην οποία θα πρέπει να κινηθούν οι βαθμολογητές είναι πραγματικά λεπτή.

Η παρούσα μελέτη αποτελεί μόνον ένα μέρος από μία γενικότερη πιλοτική μελέτη στο θέμα της *δικαιότητας* (δημοσιεύονται ακόμη δύο στην αγγλική). Παράλληλος στόχος είναι και η εξέταση της μεθόδου που χρησιμοποιήθηκε για το πείραμα, όπου δοκιμάζονται οι υποθέσεις (καταγράφονται στο τέλος αυτής της παραγράφου) αλλά και τα εργαλεία που χρησιμοποιήθηκαν για την συλλογή των δεδομένων. Παράλληλα, δοκιμάζονται τα στατιστικά τεστ που επιλέχθηκαν για την ανάλυση των δεδομένων (τυπική απόκλιση, συντελεστές συσχέτισης, τεστ συσχετισμένων / σχετικών τιμών) με κύρια επιδίωξη να διευκρινιστεί αν όντως αυτά είναι τα κατάλληλα για να απαντηθούν τα βασικά ερωτήματα που τίθενται παρακάτω και εάν όντως υπάρχει έρεισμα για μία μεγαλύτερη και συστηματικότερη έρευνα στο θέμα με την συμμετοχή περισσότερων υποκειμένων. Σε αυτήν την μελέτη τα αποτελέσματα εξετάζονται μόνον συνολικά και διερευνάται η μεταξύ τους σχέση. Όπως διαφαίνεται και από τον τίτλο, ο βασικός άξονας επάνω στον οποίο θα κινηθούμε στην παρούσα μελέτη είναι η *δικαιότητα* στην γλωσσική αξιολόγηση και ιδιαίτερα στις δοκιμασίες πολλαπλής επιλογής. Αυτό που δεν φαίνεται από τον τίτλο, αλλά αποτελεί τον τρόπο με τον οποίο θα διερευνήσουμε τον παράγοντα *δικαιότητα*, είναι η διαδικασία της βαθμολόγησης των δοκιμασιών με διαφορετικές μεθόδους. Όπως και σε κάθε εμπειρική έρευνα η ακολουθία σε αυτή την εργασία είναι η θεωρητική αρχικά προσέγγιση του όρου *δικαιότητα* και της *βαθμολόγησης* στις δοκιμασίες πολλαπλής επιλογής μέσα από την σχετική βιβλιογραφία (δευτερογενής έρευνα) και στην συνέχεια το εμπειρικό μέρος, με το πείραμα που σχεδιάστηκε και εφαρμόστηκε για τον έλεγχο των αρχικών μας υποθέσεων. Ειδικότερα, υποθέτουμε ότι υπάρχει διαφορά στο τελικό αποτέλεσμα ενός τεστ που προκύπτει από τη διαφορετική βαθμολόγηση των δοκιμασιών πολλαπλής επιλογής και εξετάζουμε εάν η διαφορά που προκύπτει από την βαθμολόγηση είναι ικανή να αντιστρέψει το τελικό αποτέλεσμα και συνεπώς τα συμπεράσματα που εξάγονται από αυτό.

2. Γλωσσική Αξιολόγηση και Δικαιότητα

Η *δικαιότητα* μπορεί να σχετίζεται με τέσσερις μεταβλητές που ενυπάρχουν σε κάθε μορφή αξιολόγησης: α) την εξεταστική διαδικασία, β) τους υποψηφίους, γ) τα γλωσσικά τεστ και δ) τη βαθμολόγηση. Παρακάτω θα συζητηθεί η έννοια της *δικαιότητας* σε κάθε τομέα ξεχωριστά, αν και όπως θα γίνει φανερό κατά τη συζήτηση οι τομείς αυτοί αλληλοεπηρεάζονται:

α) *Εξεταστική διαδικασία*. Τα χαρακτηριστικά της εξεταστικής διαδικασίας περιλαμβάνουν τα χαρακτηριστικά του περιβάλλοντος της εξεταστικής διαδικασίας (χώρος και εξοπλισμός, προσωπικό, χρόνος και φυσικές συνθήκες), τα χαρακτηριστικά των κανόνων/του τελετουργικού της εξεταστικής διαδικασίας (προδιαγραφές, κατανομή του χρόνου, βαθμολόγηση, ορθότητα και σαφήνεια των διαδικασιών και των οδηγιών), τα χαρακτηριστικά του υλικού της εξεταστικής διαδικασίας (μορφή του τεστ, ταχύτητα και ποσότητα υλικού, οργανωτικά χαρακτηριστικά, πραγματολογικά χαρακτηριστικά αλλά και κοινωνιογλωσσολογικά χαρακτηριστικά), τα χαρακτηριστικά της αναμενόμενης απάντησης (τους περιορισμούς στην απάντηση και τη σχέση ανάμεσα στο υλικό και την απάντηση)². Με βάση το πλαίσιο των παραπάνω χαρακτηριστικών, καταγράφονται στη διεθνή βιβλιογραφία και τα παρακάτω κριτήρια αξιολόγησης που οφείλει να πληροί η εξεταστική διαδικασία σε κάθε γλωσσικό τεστ όπου

² Βλ. Bachman, 1990:119.

εμφανίζεται και η έννοια της *δικαιοσύνης*: αξιοπιστία, εγκυρότητα, πρακτικότητα (*test practicality*), αυθεντικότητα, διαφάνεια, ανάδραση, σταθερότητα/ελαστικότητα, διαδραστικότητα, δικαιοσύνη/αμεροληψία (*fairness*). Ως συμπέρασμα θα μπορούσαμε να καταγράψουμε ότι στον τομέα της εξεταστικής διαδικασίας η *δικαιοσύνη* φαίνεται να σχετίζεται με τις εν γένει συνθήκες οι οποίες θα πρέπει να υποβοηθούν τον εξεταζόμενο να αποδώσει σύμφωνα με τις δυνατότητές του.

β) *Οι υποψήφιοι*. Σύμφωνα με τον Bachman (1990), υπάρχουν τέσσερις (4) κατηγορίες επιρροής που αφορούν στην επίδοση σε ένα γλωσσικό τεστ και αυτές είναι: η επικοινωνιακή γλωσσική ικανότητα, τα χαρακτηριστικά του τεστ, τα χαρακτηριστικά των υποψηφίων και τυχαίοι παράγοντες. Αν εξαιρέσουμε την επικοινωνιακή γλωσσική ικανότητα, καθώς αποτελεί το χαρακτηριστικό που επιθυμούμε να αξιολογήσουμε, αλλά και τους τυχαίους παράγοντες που θα μπορούσαν ως ένα ποσοστό να εξουδετερωθούν, απομένουν τα χαρακτηριστικά του τεστ και τα χαρακτηριστικά των υποψηφίων. Καθώς για τα χαρακτηριστικά του τεστ θα μιλήσουμε παρακάτω, εδώ θα επικεντρωθούμε στα χαρακτηριστικά των υποψηφίων. Οι υποψήφιοι έρχονται στο σκηνικό της εξεταστικής διαδικασίας φέροντας μαζί τους συγκεκριμένα προσωπικά χαρακτηριστικά, τα οποία μπορεί να επηρεάσουν την επίδοσή τους στο γλωσσικό τεστ, αν και θεωρείται σήμερα ως απολύτως απαραίτητο για τον υπολογισμό της επίδοσης της γλωσσικής ικανότητας του υποψηφίου να μην παρεμβαίνουν άλλοι παράγοντες που μπορεί να επηρεάσουν το αποτέλεσμα. Αυτά τα χαρακτηριστικά μπορεί να αποδειχτούν σημαντικές ρυθμιστικές μεταβλητές της επίδοσης στο γλωσσικό τεστ. Ο Weir (2005: 48), αναφερόμενος ειδικά σε αυτό το θέμα, υποστηρίζει ότι οι κατασκευαστές, αλλά και οι χρήστες των τεστ, πρέπει να εξετάσουν το εξής ερώτημα: *πώς αντιμετωπίζονται από τα τεστ τα φυσικά/φυσιολογικά, ψυχολογικά και εμπειρικά χαρακτηριστικά των υποψηφίων*; Από το ερώτημα αυτό φαίνεται να προκύπτει και το επόμενο που σχετίζεται με τη *δικαιοσύνη* και ο ίδιος συγγραφέας διατυπώνει: *τα χαρακτηριστικά των δραστηριοτήτων του τεστ καθώς και η όλη διεξαγωγή του είναι δίκαια για τους υποψηφίους*; Η σημασία που δίνεται εδώ στην έννοια της *δικαιοσύνης* αφορά στη διασφάλιση της εγκυρότητας του αποτελέσματος σε σχέση με τα χαρακτηριστικά των υποψηφίων και την εξεταστική διαδικασία αλλά και στα χαρακτηριστικά του εργαλείου εξέτασης, του τεστ. Την επίδραση της μεθόδου που επιλέγεται για την εξεταστική διαδικασία στα χαρακτηριστικά των υποψηφίων τονίζει και ο Bachman (1990:156), καταλήγοντας ότι πρόκειται για μεταβλητή που μπορεί να επηρεάσει ευνοϊκά ή δυσμενώς την επίδοση των υποψηφίων στο γλωσσικό τεστ. Τέλος, γίνεται κατανοητό ότι εφόσον άλλοι παράγοντες παρεμβαίνουν στον υπολογισμό της επίδοσης το αποτέλεσμα μπορεί να θεωρηθεί ως μη έγκυρο.

γ) *Τα γλωσσικά τεστ*. Τα ίδια τα τεστ παρουσιάζουν κάποια συγκεκριμένα χαρακτηριστικά, στα οποία μπορεί να οφείλεται και ένα σημαντικό μέρος της διακύμανσης (*test-score variation*) στην επίδοση. Οι Bachman & Palmer (1996:66) τονίζουν ότι τα τεστ πρέπει να σχεδιάζονται με τέτοιο τρόπο, ώστε να αντλούν την καλύτερη επίδοση/απόδοση των εξεταζομένων. Ο Κώδικας για Δίκαιες Εφαρμογές της Αξιολόγησης στην Εκπαίδευση (2004:2) της Επιτροπής Εφαρμογών Αξιολόγησης αναφέρει ότι τα τεστ πρέπει να είναι δίκαια απέναντι στους υποψηφίους ανεξάρτητα από ηλικία, φύλο, αναπηρία, καταγωγή, εθνικότητα, θρησκεία, σεξουαλικές προτιμήσεις, γλωσσικό υπόβαθρο και άλλα προσωπικά χαρακτηριστικά. Όταν αναφερόμαστε στη *δικαιοσύνη* σε ότι αφορά στο τεστ, οι πρώτες σκέψεις που έρχονται στο μυαλό είναι σχετικές με την αμεροληψία, την καταγωγή, τις ειδικές ανάγκες, το φύλο και την εθνικότητα. Ο Kunnan (2000) εντοπίζει τρεις βασικές περιοχές που εμπλέκονται στο θέμα της *δικαιοσύνης* και αφορούν στο τεστ. Αυτές είναι, η εγκυρότητα (κυρίως η εγκυρότητα δομής), η προσβασιμότητα και η επίδραση/ο αντίκτυπος. Παράλληλα, ο Κώδικας για Δίκαιες Εφαρμογές της Αξιολόγησης στην Εκπαίδευση του 1998 προτρέπει τους ερευνητές και τους σχεδιαστές γλωσσικών τεστ να επιβεβαιώσουν και ερευνητικά ότι οι διακυμάνσεις στη γλωσσική επίδοση σε ένα τεστ οφείλονται σε διαφοροποιήσεις στο βαθμό γνώσης της γλώσσας και όχι σε άλλους παράγοντες.

δ) *Βαθμολόγηση*. Η μέτρηση της επικοινωνιακής γλωσσικής ικανότητας θα πρέπει να είναι όσο το δυνατό πιο ακριβής και δίκαιη και υπό αυτήν την έννοια, ο δημιουργός ενός τεστ έχει την υποχρέωση να κάνει τα πάντα για να πετύχει τα υψηλότερα ποσοστά *δικαιοσύνης*, έτσι ώστε να μην υπάρχουν υποψήφιοι που θα μειονεκτούν ή θα πλεονεκτούν έναντι των άλλων. Αυτό ακριβώς το θέμα θα μας απασχολήσει περισσότερο στο αμέσως επόμενο κεφάλαιο.

Παρά το σημαντικό ενδιαφέρον που έχει για τους ερευνητές το θέμα της *δικαιοσύνης* στα γλωσσικά τεστ, δεν υπάρχει κάποιος στατιστικός τρόπος ή δείκτης που μπορεί να χρησιμοποιηθεί για να αποδείξει ότι τα ερωτήματα ενός τεστ αλλά και ολόκληρο το τεστ είναι δίκαια. Ο μόνος στατιστικός έλεγχος της *δικαιοσύνης* θα ήταν μέσα από τον έλεγχο του bias - DIF (Differential Item Functioning) σύμφωνα με συγκεκριμένες μεταβλητές, έτσι ώστε να διασφαλιστεί ότι το τεστ είναι δίκαιο ως προς κάποιες μεταβλητές κάθε φορά. Όπως προέκυψε από την σχετική βιβλιογραφική ανασκόπηση, και πιο

συγκεκριμένα από την αναφορά του Zieky (2002:2)³, η *δικαιότητα* ενός τεστ εκφράζεται με διαφορετικούς τρόπους μέσα από την κατασκευή, διεξαγωγή και βαθμολόγηση ενός τεστ. Στα πλαίσια της παρούσας μελέτης θα εξετάσουμε τη *δικαιότητα* μέσα από το πρίσμα της βαθμολόγησης του τεστ και όχι μέσα από την κατασκευή και τη διεξαγωγή του, και πιο συγκεκριμένα μέσα από τη διαδικασία βαθμολόγησης ερωτημάτων πολλαπλής επιλογής.

3. Τεστ Πολλαπλής Επιλογής και Βαθμολόγηση

Τα εργαλεία που χρησιμοποιούνται στην γλωσσική αξιολόγηση ονομάζονται τεστ. Οι Carroll (1968) και Bachman (2004) ορίζουν το τεστ ως το εργαλείο που στοχεύει στην πρόκληση μιας συγκεκριμένης συμπεριφοράς βάσει της οποίας αξιολογούνται οι ενδιαφερόμενοι. Ένα γλωσσικό τεστ συνήθως περιέχει “ένα σύνολο δοκιμασιών που κάποιος ετοίμασε είτε για να καταγράψει/μετρήσει τη γλωσσομάθεια κάποιου άλλου, είτε για να διαγνώσει/ελέγξει το βαθμό επίτευξης συγκεκριμένων στόχων ενός εκπαιδευτικού προγράμματος” ενώ ο όρος δοκιμασία χρησιμοποιείται για να περιγράψει το “υποσύνολο των θεμάτων εξέτασης ή γλωσσικού τεστ” και “αποτελείται από ένα ή περισσότερα ερωτήματα ή ‘ζητούμενα’ (items)” (Τσοπάνογλου & Υψηλάντης 2011:9-10). Στον Τσοπάνογλου (2010:95) παρουσιάζονται σε πίνακα οι συνηθέστεροι τύποι δοκιμασιών σε γλωσσικά τεστ που ο συγγραφέας διαχωρίζει σε δύο κατηγορίες: α) συγκλίνουσας παραγωγής λόγου όπου όλοι οι εξεταζόμενοι απαντούν με τον ίδιο ακριβώς (αναμενόμενο) τρόπο και β) αποκλίνουσας παραγωγής λόγου όπου μπορεί να υπάρξει διαφοροποίηση ως προς την απάντηση.

ΣΥΓΚΛΙΝΟΥΣΑ ΠΑΡΑΓΩΓΗ ΛΟΓΟΥ	Επιλογή	Σωστό/ λάθος
		Πολλαπλή επιλογή
		Αντιστοίχιση
		Εύρεση σειράς
	Συμπλήρωση	Μεταμόρφωση
		Συμπλήρωση
		Σύντομη απάντηση
		Cloze-test
		Σταυρόλεξο
		Μετακωδικοποίηση ⁴
ΑΠΟΚΛΙΝΟΥΣΑ ΠΑΡΑΓΩΓΗ ΛΟΓΟΥ		Εκτενής/Ελεύθερη απάντηση
		Προσομοίωση
		Παιχνίδι Ρόλου

Πίνακας 1 Τύποι Δοκιμασιών Γλωσσικών Τεστ από τον Τσοπάνογλου (2010:95)

Οι δοκιμασίες πολλαπλής επιλογής ανήκουν στις δοκιμασίες συγκλίνουσας παραγωγής λόγου και αποτελούνται από δύο μέρη. Το πρώτο αφορά στο ερώτημα-στέλεχος (stem) και το δεύτερο στις επιλογές, ανάμεσα στις οποίες υπάρχει η σωστή ή αναμενόμενη απάντηση και οι λανθασμένες απαντήσεις που ονομάζονται παραπλανητές (distracters ή distractors), καθώς έχουν ως στόχο να παραπλανήσουν τον εξεταζόμενο. Το ερώτημα-στέλεχος μπορεί να παρουσιάζεται με τη μορφή ερωτήματος ή μιας ελλιπούς πρότασης. Οι Bachman και Palmer (1996:202) διαχώρισαν δύο τύπους αποδεκτών απαντήσεων, την καλύτερη (δυνατή) απάντηση (*best answer*) και τη σωστή απάντηση (*correct answer*), υπονοώντας στη δεύτερη περίπτωση ότι αυτή είναι η μοναδική σωστή απάντηση και

³ The best way to ensure test fairness is to build fairness into the development, administration, and scoring processes” Zieky (2002: 2).

⁴ Ο Τσοπάνογλου (2010:92) αναφέρει ότι οι δοκιμασίες της μετακωδικοποίησης θα μπορούσαν να περιλαμβάνουν και δοκιμασίες «διαμεσολάβησης». Ο ίδιος αναφέρει ότι η μετακωδικοποίηση “βρίσκεται στα όρια μεταξύ δοκιμασιών συγκλίνουσας και αποκλίνουσας παραγωγής λόγου”.

όχι αυτή που ταιριάζει καλύτερα από αυτές που προσφέρονται. Το συγκεκριμένο είδος δοκιμασίας παρουσιάζει πολλά πλεονεκτήματα καθώς θεωρείται πολύ αξιόπιστο⁵, πρακτικό και οικονομικό (παρέχει εύκολη και γρήγορη διόρθωση) με την προϋπόθεση ότι τα ερωτήματα είναι σωστά. Καθώς τα ερωτήματα της πολλαπλής επιλογής στη συντριπτική τους πλειοψηφία βαθμολογούνται ως σωστά-λάθος (dichotomous scoring), θα έπρεπε και γλωσσικά να είναι ξεκάθαρο από άποψη περιεχομένου ότι μόνο μια απάντηση είναι σωστή και οι υπόλοιπες το ίδιο λάθος. Για λόγους, όμως, που συζητήθηκαν στην εισαγωγή του άρθρου, αυτό δεν συμβαίνει πάντα, όπως επιβεβαιώθηκε και στο άρθρο των Tsopanoglou, Ypsilandis & Mouti (submitted1). Στο συγκεκριμένο άρθρο οι συγγραφείς εντόπισαν, σε ένα σύνολο 80 ερωτημάτων πολλαπλής επιλογής, που εξήχθησαν από ηλεκτρονικό προσαρμοστικό τεστ γνωστού εκδοτικού οίκου, 25 ερωτήματα για τα οποία θα μπορούσε να υπάρξει μία εναλλακτική περισσότερο ακριβής λύση με 'μερική' βαθμολόγηση. Στη σχετική βιβλιογραφία προτείνεται αυτή η 'μερική' βαθμολόγηση (partial credit scoring) για τις δοκιμασίες πολλαπλής επιλογής που απαιτούν την καλύτερη απάντηση (best answer), όπως πραγματοποιείται και στις δοκιμασίες ανοιχτού τύπου.

Ένα θέμα που συζητήθηκε εκτενώς και αφορά στις δοκιμασίες πολλαπλής επιλογής είναι η πιθανότητα του εύστοχου εντοπισμού (αναφέρεται ως παράγοντας «τύχη») της σωστής απάντησης από μέρους των εξεταζόμενων κατά τη συμπλήρωση του τεστ. Καθότι η συγκεκριμένη διαδικασία δεν θεωρείται επιθυμητή, έχουν διατυπωθεί διαφορετικοί τρόποι για την αντιμετώπιση της με στόχο να την εξαλείψουν. Ιδιαίτερα: α) οι Alderson, Clapham and Wall (1995:48) προτείνουν τη χρήση περισσότερων επιλογών (τουλάχιστον τεσσάρων), καθώς η ύπαρξη περισσότερων επιλογών μπορεί να ελαχιστοποιήσει το φαινόμενο. β) Οι ίδιοι συγγραφείς προτείνουν την αρνητική βαθμολόγηση (+1-1), η οποία ποινικοποιεί το λάθος και αφαιρεί βαθμούς στην περίπτωση επιλογής των λανθασμένων απαντήσεων. γ) Ο Τσοπάνογλου (2010) προτείνει τη χρήση της στατιστικής. Στον αντίποδα οι Bachman και Palmer (1996:205) ξεχωρίζουν δύο είδη τυχαίου εντοπισμού: την τυφλή επιλογή, η οποία βασίζεται αποκλειστικά στον παράγοντα «τύχη» και δεν είναι επιθυμητή και ένα δεύτερο είδος το οποίο βασίζεται σε μερική γνώση του αντικειμένου και στη χρήση μεταγνωστικών στρατηγικών. Ο όρος που χρησιμοποιείται εδώ, είναι 'συμπερασματική στρατηγική' (inferencing), η οποία χαρακτηρίζεται ως ιδιαίτερα χρήσιμη στην γλωσσική παιδεία (καθώς είναι σχεδόν αδύνατη η 100% κατάκτηση της ξένης γλώσσας). Επιπλέον, η επιτυχής ανεύρεση μίας απάντησης δείχνει ένα υψηλό βαθμό γλωσσικής επίγνωσης και οι εν λόγω συγγραφείς θεωρούν ότι οι εξεταζόμενοι ενός γλωσσικού τεστ θα πρέπει να ανταμείβονται για αυτό, μέσω της μερικής απόδοσης βαθμολογίας έτσι ώστε να ενθαρρύνονται να επιστρατεύουν τη συγκεκριμένη στρατηγική. Οι Tsopanoglou, Ypsilandis και Mouti (submitted1) προχωρώντας ένα βήμα παραπάνω καταλήγουν ότι η εντελώς τυχαία ανεύρεση είναι στην πραγματικότητα σχεδόν ανύπαρκτη καθώς όλοι οι υποψήφιοι διαβάζουν τουλάχιστον το ερώτημα και τις επιλογές και υποσυνείδητα ενεργοποιείται η γλωσσική τους επίγνωση (γνώση που διαθέτουν για την γλώσσα στόχο).

Η απόδοση μερικής βαθμολογίας, σύμφωνα με τους βαθμούς ορθότητας, μπορεί να αποτελέσει έναν τρόπο αξιοποίησης του «θετικού και εποικοδομητικού» εύστοχου εντοπισμού και της μεγαλύτερης εμπλοκής των αξιολογούμενων στην διαδικασία αξιολόγησης. Αυτή η διαδικασία είναι ήδη αποδεκτή και χρησιμοποιείται στις δοκιμασίες ανοιχτού τύπου ή σε δοκιμασίες συμπλήρωσης και προτείνουμε να εφαρμοστεί και στα ερωτήματα πολλαπλής επιλογής (εδώ εξετάζεται εμπειρικά).

4. Μέθοδος

Σχεδιασμός και διαδικασία: Για να ελεγχθούν οι υποθέσεις που κατεγράφησαν στο εισαγωγικό κεφάλαιο, αρχικά δημιουργήθηκε ένα τεστ με ερωτήματα πολλαπλής επιλογής, σε συμβατική έντυπη μορφή. Τα ερωτήματα εξήχθησαν από ένα ηλεκτρονικό προσαρμοστικό τεστ γνωστού εκδοτικού οίκου. Αρχικά τα ερωτήματα ταξινομήθηκαν από έναν κριτή σύμφωνα με τους βαθμούς ορθότητας των επιλογών σε μία σκάλα Likert με άκρα τη σωστή απάντηση από την μία μεριά και την εντελώς απαράδεκτη από την άλλη και ενδιάμεσες στάσεις, από αριστερά προς τα δεξιά τις: *πολύ πιθανή, πιθανή και λανθασμένη*. Στην συνέχεια το τεστ δόθηκε για συμπλήρωση στα υποκείμενα που έλαβαν μέρος σε αυτή την μελέτη και το τεστ βαθμολογήθηκε με τρεις διαφορετικές μεθόδους, την παραδοσιακή διχοτομική βαθμολόγηση (σωστό 1 – λάθος 0), την πειραματική πολυτομική βαθμολόγηση (σωστό 2, πολύ πιθανό 1, πιθανό 0,5, λανθασμένο 0), και την αρνητική πολυτομική βαθμολόγηση (σωστό 2, πιθανό 1, λανθασμένο 0 και εντελώς λανθασμένο -1). Τα αποτελέσματα καταγράφηκαν και μελετήθηκαν στατιστικά. Για λόγους οικονομίας θα αναφερόμαστε σε αυτές ως παραδοσιακή, πειραματική και αρνητική αντίστοιχα.

⁵ Στην παρούσα έρευνα έμμεσα τίθεται σε αμφισβήτηση η αξιοπιστία των αποτελεσμάτων της δοκιμασίας.

Υποκείμενα: Ως υποκείμενα της έρευνας χρησιμοποιήθηκαν 18 φοιτητές τριτοβάθμιας εκπαίδευσης που παρακολουθούσαν το ίδιο πρόγραμμα σπουδών. Η ηλικία τους κυμαίνονταν από 19 έως 21 έτη.

Εργαλεία: Το εργαλείο που χρησιμοποιήθηκε για την έρευνα ήταν ένα τεστ με 80 ερωτήματα πολλαπλής επιλογής από ένα δείγμα εξετάσεων TOEFL CAT γνωστού εκδοτικού οίκου. Τα ερωτήματα προέκυψαν και κατεγράφησαν μετά από πολλαπλή και με διαφορετικούς τρόπους χρήση τους τεστ από τους ερευνητές. Το στατιστικό πρόγραμμα που χρησιμοποιήθηκε για την ανάλυση ήταν το SPSS, έκδοση 18.

5. Αποτελέσματα

Σε προηγούμενα άρθρα τους, οι Tsopanoglou, Ypsilandis και Mouti (submitted1+2) επιβεβαίωσαν την ύπαρξη διχοτομικών και πολυτομικών ερωτημάτων στο τεστ που χρησιμοποιήθηκε και σε αυτή τη μελέτη ως το εργαλείο συλλογής των δεδομένων μέσω της κρίσης φυσικού ομιλητή, έμπειρου εξεταστή του Cambridge Proficiency. Στα συγκεκριμένα άρθρα ολοκληρώθηκε τόσο η περιγραφική στατιστική που αφορούσε στο σύνολο των ερωτημάτων και των απαντήσεων όσο και στις απαντήσεις που δόθηκαν από κάθε υποκείμενο ξεχωριστά. Σε αυτό το άρθρο, θα συζητηθούν μόνο τα αποτελέσματα όπως αυτά προέκυψαν από τους τρεις τρόπους βαθμολόγησης συνολικά καθώς και οι σχέσεις των τελικών αποτελεσμάτων μεταξύ τους.

	Mean	N	SD
Παραδοσιακή	61,111	18	16,799
Πειραματική	64,444	18	15,523
Αρνητική	47,444	18	22,786

Πίνακας 2 Αποτελέσματα Τριών Μεθόδων Βαθμολόγησης

Όπως καταγράφεται και στον πίνακα 2, οι μέσοι όροι της παραδοσιακής και της πειραματικής βαθμολόγησης είναι υψηλότεροι από αυτόν της αρνητικής. Αυτό δείχνει ότι με την αρνητική βαθμολόγηση τα υποκείμενα αμείβονται με μικρότερη βαθμολογία. Παράλληλα, γίνεται από εδώ ήδη φανερό ότι οι δύο πρώτες βαθμολογήσεις (παραδοσιακή και πειραματική) δεν διαφέρουν μεταξύ τους (61,111 και 64,444) ενώ η διαφορά αυξάνει κατά την τρίτη αρνητική βαθμολόγηση (47,44). Η τυπική απόκλιση (SD) είναι ένα μέτρο διασποράς (οι στατιστικολόγοι τη θεωρούν το σπουδαιότερο μέτρο διασποράς), μία τιμή που δείχνει πόσο κατά μέσο όρο διαφέρουν (πόσο πολύ απομακρύνονται) οι τιμές μιας μεταβλητής από τον μέσο όρο τους. Όσο μικρότερη είναι η τιμή, τόσο μικρότερη είναι η απόκλιση από τον μέσο όρο. Στις πρώτες δύο βαθμολογήσεις, οι τιμές της τυπικής απόκλισης βρίσκονται κατά μέσο όρο στο 16,7 και 15,5 αντίστοιχα, τιμές που είναι σχετικά μικρές, ενώ στην αρνητική βαθμολόγηση, η τιμή της τυπικής απόκλισης φτάνει κατά μέσο όρο το 22,7 που αν και δεν είναι μια ιδιαίτερα μεγάλη τιμή, είναι σαφώς μεγαλύτερη από τις δύο προηγούμενες. Αυτό δείχνει ότι οι βαθμολογήσεις των υποκειμένων με τις δύο πρώτες μεθόδους δεν παρουσιάζουν μεγάλη διασπορά από τον μέσο όρο.

Επίσης, υπολογίστηκαν οι συντελεστές συσχέτισης (Pearson r) μεταξύ των τριών μεθόδων βαθμολόγησης. Ο συντελεστής συσχέτισης είναι ένα αριθμητικό μέτρο μεταξύ δύο συνόλων τιμών. Σε μέγεθος μπορεί να κυμανθεί από +1 έως -1.

Pearson r , Correlation		
	Παραδοσιακή	Πειραματική
Παραδοσιακή		
Πειραματική	,993(,000)	
Αρνητική	,978(,000)	,985(,000)

Πίνακας 3 Συσχετισμοί Τριών Μεθόδων Βαθμολόγησης

Όπως φαίνεται και στον παραπάνω πίνακα, σε όλες τις περιπτώσεις έχουμε μια σχεδόν απόλυτη θετική συσχέτιση πολύ κοντά στο +1 ανάμεσα στις μεθόδους βαθμολόγησης, δηλαδή, οι τιμές μίας μεταβλητής αυξάνονται όταν αυξάνονται και οι τιμές της άλλης. Αυτό το γεγονός δείχνει ότι στην αξιολόγηση βάσει νόρμας δεν θα είχαμε κάποια σημαντική διαφοροποίηση στα αποτελέσματα καθώς ο αξιολογούμενος που πήρε υψηλή βαθμολογία με τον ένα τρόπο βαθμολόγησης παίρνει υψηλή βαθμολογία και με τον άλλο.

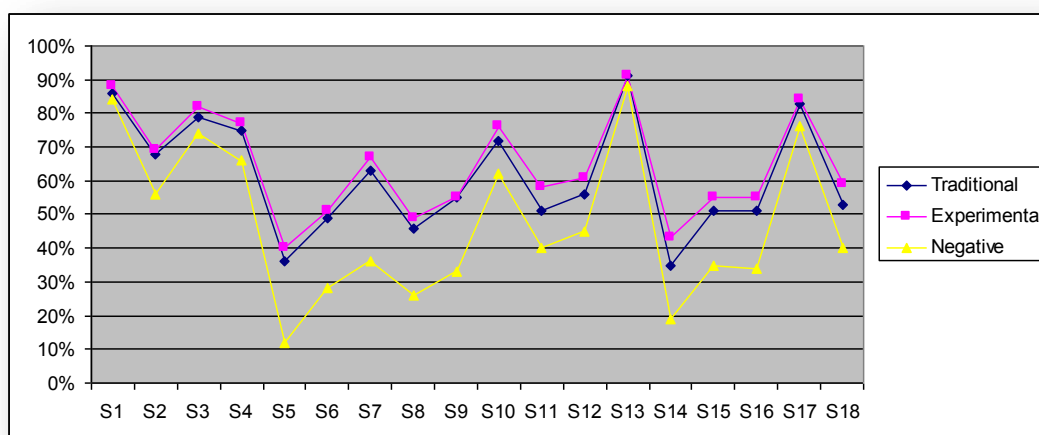
Παρακάτω, πραγματοποιήθηκαν συγκρίσεις δύο δειγμάτων συσχετισμένων/σχετικών τιμών (paired sample t-test).

T-test, paired differences		
	Παραδοσιακή	Πειραματική
Παραδοσιακή		
Πειραματική	Mean= 3,333 t=6,288 DF=17 Sig.= ,000	
Αρνητική	Mean= 13,666 t= 8,005 DF=17 Sig.= ,000	Mean= 17,000 t=9,041 DF=17 Sig.= ,000

Πίνακας 4 T-test Τριών Μεθόδων Βαθμολόγησης

Ο έλεγχος αυτός (t-test) χρησιμοποιείται για την εκτίμηση της στατιστικής σημαντικότητας της διαφοράς των μέσων όρων δύο συνόλων τιμών. Με απλά λόγια μας δίνει πληροφόρηση για το αν ο μέσος όρος ενός συνόλου τιμών διαφέρει από τον μέσο όρο ενός άλλου συνόλου. Συνήθως η μηδενική υπόθεση δεν προβλέπει διαφορά μεταξύ των μέσων όρων των δειγμάτων συνεπώς με αυτό το τεστ μπορούμε να εξετάσουμε ακριβώς αυτή τη διαφορά. Όπως όμως διαφαίνεται και από τα αποτελέσματα του t-test, στην δική μας περίπτωση, ο μέσος αριθμός ανάμεσα στην παραδοσιακή και στην πειραματική βαθμολόγηση διαφέρει σημαντικά ($t= 6,2$, $DF^6 = 17$, $p<0.001$) όπως επίσης στατιστικά σημαντική είναι και η διαφορά για τις επόμενες δύο δυνάδες, την παραδοσιακή και την αρνητική ($t= 8$, $DF = 17$, $p<0.001$) αλλά και στην δυνάδα της πειραματικής με την αρνητική ($t= 9$, $DF = 17$, $p<0.001$). Στην αξιολόγηση βάσει κριτηρίου αυτό θα δημιουργούσε πρόβλημα καθώς παρατηρούμε από τα t-test, ότι έχουμε στατιστικά σημαντικές διαφοροποιήσεις που μπορεί να έπαιζαν καταλυτικό ρόλο στην περίπτωση που η απόφαση που θα έπρεπε να ληφθεί ήταν σημαντική, όπως η χορήγηση ενός πιστοποιητικού γλωσσομάθειας ή η χορήγηση μιας άδειας διαμονής.

Στο παρακάτω πολύγωνο συχνοτήτων, γίνεται εμφανής η παραπάνω παρατήρηση που οδηγεί στα ίδια αποτελέσματα και με τις τρεις βαθμολογήσεις, αναφορικά με τη συγκρισιμότητα των επιδόσεων των υποψηφίων. Από το ίδιο πολύγωνο συχνοτήτων φαίνεται και η μεγάλη διαφοροποίηση ανάμεσα στην αρνητική βαθμολογία και τις άλλες δύο μεθόδους. Αντίθετα, ανάμεσα στον παραδοσιακό και τον πειραματικό τρόπο βαθμολόγησης οι διαφοροποιήσεις είναι μικρότερες ενώ σε κάποιες περιπτώσεις ταυτίζονται.



Γράφημα 1 Πολύγωνο Συχνοτήτων Τριών Τρόπων Βαθμολόγησης

⁶ DF είναι οι βαθμοί ελευθερίας (Degrees of Freedom) που αφορά στον αριθμό των υποκειμένων μείον 1.

6. Συμπεράσματα

Ως προς την κύρια υπόθεση που διερευνήθηκε, θα μπορούσαμε να καταλήξουμε ότι η ανάλυση των δεδομένων δεν φαίνεται να την υποστηρίζει, καθώς και οι τρεις μέθοδοι βαθμολόγησης δεν αλλάζουν σημαντικά την σειρά των υποκειμένων με βάση τα αποτελέσματα αλλά ούτε αντιστρέφεται σημαντικά το τελικό αποτέλεσμα. Παρατηρήθηκε όμως, ότι ο τρόπος βαθμολόγησης αποτελεί ένα χαρακτηριστικό που μπορεί να επηρεάσει την αποτύπωση της επίδοσης των υποκειμένων στην αξιολόγηση βάσει κριτηρίου και συνεπώς τα αποτελέσματα που εξάγονται από αυτό. Ο προτεινόμενος πολυτομικός τρόπος βαθμολόγησης δείχνει να αποτελεί μια δικαιότερη προσέγγιση προσθέτοντας μεγαλύτερη ακρίβεια και ευαισθησία στο αποτέλεσμα, καθώς αποτυπώνει με κάθε λεπτομέρεια το γλωσσικό επίπεδο ή το βαθμό επίτευξης των γλωσσικών στόχων των υποκειμένων. Επίσης, θα μπορούσε να θεωρηθεί ότι η συγκεκριμένη μέθοδος βαθμολόγησης μπορεί να ωθήσει τους υποψηφίους να εμπλακούν περισσότερο στην διαδικασία αξιολόγησης επιστρατεύοντας την *συμπερασματική στρατηγική* αντί αυτήν της τυφλής επιλογής. Με αυτήν την έννοια, γίνεται χρήση οποιασδήποτε γνώσης και γλωσσικής επίγνωσης διαθέτει ο εξεταζόμενος. Υποθέτουμε ότι το να γνωρίζουν οι υποψήφιοι ότι μπορεί να αμειφθούν βαθμολογικά για τις περιπτώσεις που επιλέξουν περισσότερο συγγενικές απαντήσεις θα τους κάνει να είναι περισσότερο προσεκτικοί στην απάντηση που θα δώσουν. Αυτό θα έχει ως αποτέλεσμα να βαθμολογείται παράλληλα όχι μόνο η γνώση των εξεταζόμενων αλλά και η γλωσσική τους επίγνωση. Τέλος, προτείνεται οι κατασκευαστές ανάλογων τεστ να επιδιώξουν την δημιουργία πολυτομικών ερωτημάτων που θα επιτρέπουν τη χρήση πολυτομικής βαθμολόγησης στα ερωτήματα πολλαπλής επιλογής.

Τα στατιστικά τεστ που επιλέχθηκαν για την ανάλυση των δεδομένων (τυπική απόκλιση, συντελεστές συσχέτισης και τεστ συσχετισμένων / σχετικών τιμών) δείχνουν να είναι κατάλληλα για έρευνες όπου συγκρίνονται διαφορετικοί τρόποι βαθμολόγησης. Αν και ο αριθμός των υποκειμένων ήταν ιδιαίτερα μικρός φαίνεται να υπάρχει έρεισμα για μία συστηματικότερη έρευνα στο θέμα με μεγαλύτερο αριθμό συμμετεχόντων.

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ΜΙΑ ΠΡΩΤΗ ΠΡΟΣΕΓΓΙΣΗ ΤΟΥ ΙΔΙΩΜΑΤΟΣ¹ ΤΟΥ ΙΑΣΜΟΥ ΚΟΜΟΤΗΝΗΣ

Γεώργιος Μπατζάκας

Ίασμος, Κομοτηνή

geobatzakas@gmail.com

ABSTRACT

Iasmos is a small town, situated in northeastern Greece, in the province of Komotini, Thrace. The original settlement inhabited by Greeks dates back to the medieval times. During the ottoman period it was called "Yassikioi". The language variety spoken in Iasmos is a Modern Greek dialect preserving medieval and ancient Greek items in its vocabulary as well as certain influences by other languages including Turkish, Albanian and Slavic. This study aims to offer a preliminary description of the local dialectic variety which has been hardly studied although it is still used in everyday life, focusing primarily on the various influences on its vocabulary.

Keywords: Thrace, Iasmos, dialectic variety, βόρεια ιδιώματα

1. Εισαγωγή

Οι διαλεκτικές ποικιλίες της Θράκης αποτελούν εξέλιξη της ελληνιστικής κοινής, όπως άλλωστε και όλες οι νεοελληνικές διάλεκτοι και ιδιώματα, αλλά έχουν και αρκετές λέξεις από την βουλγαρική και την τουρκική. Αξιοσημείωτο είναι ότι, παρόλο που πολλά από τα ιδιώματα αυτά διατηρούνται μέχρι σήμερα ζωντανά και χρησιμοποιούνται τόσο στο ιδιωτικό όσο και στο δημόσιο βίο, τα περισσότερα από αυτά δεν έχουν καταγραφεί από κάποιο επίσημο φορέα. Από την άλλη πλευρά, οι λίγες καταγραφές που αναφέρονται έχουν γίνει από μη ειδικούς. Όπως χαρακτηριστικά αναφέρει ο Ν. Ανδριώτης για τα ιδιώματα της Θράκης (1943-44: 141), «είναι λυπηρό πως οι εργασίες, έντυπες και χειρόγραφες έχουν γίνει σχεδόν όλες από μη ειδικούς δηλ. όχι από γλωσσολόγους, παρά από ερασιτέχνες λόγιους και δασκάλους, που δεν ενδιαφέρθηκαν ή δεν ήξεραν ν' αποδώσουν με μεγάλη φωνητική ακρίβεια το ιδίωμα που μελετούσαν [...] παρ' όλες τις ελλείψεις τους είναι οι μόνες στις οποίες μπορούμε να στηριχθούμε [...] κι όταν σιγήσουν αυτά τα ιδιώματα, τότε η ευγνωμοσύνη των ερευνητών θα είναι μεγάλη».

Παρόλο που τα τελευταία χρόνια υπάρχει αναζωπύρωση του ενδιαφέροντος για τη μελέτη των τοπικών ιδιωμάτων, ελάχιστα πράγματα έχουν αλλάξει για τη γλωσσική χαρτογράφηση της Θράκης από την εποχή του Ανδριώτη. Αξίζει να σημειώσουμε ότι ακόμη και σήμερα αρκετές περιοχές της Θράκης παραμένουν γλωσσικά αχαρτογράφητες, ενώ υπάρχουν και αρκετές γλωσσικές τοπικές ποικιλίες που συρρικνώνονται βαθμιαία από γενιά σε γενιά και κανένας δεν γνωρίζει για πόσο ακόμη θα διατηρηθούν. Η παρούσα μελέτη γίνεται με σκοπό να κάνει ευρύτερα γνωστή μία από αυτές τις γλωσσικές ποικιλίες, το Ιδίωμα του Ιάσμου, και να προκαλέσει το ενδιαφέρον των διαλεκτολόγων, έτσι ώστε να μελετήσουν διεξοδικότερα τη γλωσσολογική κατάσταση της περιοχής.

1.1 Ιστορικά στοιχεία για τον Ίασμο

Σύμφωνα με την Παπαγεωργίου (1995), η ημιορεινή κωμόπολη του Ιάσμου βρίσκεται κτισμένη στους πρόποδες της Ροδόπης, στο μέσο της επαρχιακής οδού Ξάνθης-Κομοτηνής, περίπου στη θέση της αρχαίας Εγνατίας οδού. Οι πρώτοι κάτοικοι του Ιάσμου είναι απόγονοι των κατοίκων του Βυζαντινού

¹ Ως ιδίωμα θεωρούμε τη «γλωσσική ποικιλία που είναι χαρακτηριστική ενός τόπου, αλλά δεν παρουσιάζει σημαντικές διαφορές από την κοινή, ώστε να μπορεί να θεωρείται διάλεκτός της. Ιδιώματα της ελληνικής μπορούν να θεωρηθούν τοπικές παραλλαγές, όπως της Σύμης, της Χίου, των Δωδεκανήσων, του βορειοελλαδικού χώρου, των Κυκλάδων, της Σαμοθράκης κλπ». Ορισμός διαθέσιμος στο <http://www.komvos.edu.gr/glwssa/Lexiko/I/IDIOMA.htm>. Βλ. και Αρχάκης και Κονδύλη (2002: 58).

φρουρίου 'Περιθεώριον' ή 'Αναστασιουπόλεως'. Το φρούριο κατακτήθηκε και καταστράφηκε από τους Τούρκους μεταξύ 1360-1400 μ.Χ. κι έτσι οι κάτοικοι μετακινήθηκαν ανατολικότερα. Σύμφωνα με άλλες μαρτυρίες, ο λόγος της μετακίνησής τους οφείλεται σε επιδρομές πειρατών, μιας και η Αναστασιούπολη ήταν λιμάνι μέσα στη λιμνοθάλασσα της Βιστωνίδας και υπέφερε από τις επιδρομές. Σύμφωνα με τον Οθωμανό περιηγητή Εβλιγιά Τζελεμπί (Παπαγεωργίου, 1995 και Ημερολόγιο Ιάσμου, 1996), ο οποίος πέρασε από την περιοχή γύρω στα 1600 με 1660, ο Ίασμος κατά τη διάρκεια της Οθωμανικής Αυτοκρατορίας ονομαζότανε Γιασί-κιοϊ. Αξίζει βέβαια να σημειωθεί ότι σύμφωνα με μαρτυρίες, το Γιασί-κιοϊ από το οποίο πέρασε ο εν λόγω περιηγητής βρισκόταν δυτικότερα από το σημερινό, αλλά λόγω έλλειψης πόσιμου νερού, είναι δυνατόν να μετακινήθηκε στην σημερινή του θέση γύρω στα τέλη του 1700 και στις αρχές του 1800. Το γεγονός ότι ο πολιούχος του Ιάσμου είναι ο Άγιος Νικόλαος δεν είναι συνηθισμένο για ημιορεινή κωμόπολη και ίσως αποτελεί ένδειξη του ότι ο Ίασμος έλκει την καταγωγή του από την παραθαλάσσια περιοχή της Αναστασιούπολης. Το τοπωνύμιο 'Ίασμος' δημιουργήθηκε μετά την απελευθέρωση από τους Τούρκους και προήλθε από τη γνωστή και αρκετά συνηθισμένη διαδικασία εξελληνισμού τουρκικών τοπωνυμίων. Πιο συγκεκριμένα, η τουρκική ονομασία Γιασί-κιοϊ σημαίνει 'χωριό που βρίσκεται σε πλάτωμα και προέρχεται από τις λέξεις *yassı* 'πλάτωμα' και *kiöi* 'χωριό': πβλ. και τα τοπωνύμια Πλατόκαμπος και Πλατοχώρι), αλλά παραπέμπει ακουστικά (δηλ. ανακαλεί συνειρμικά) λόγω φωνητικής ομοιότητας του πρώτου συνθετικού την ελληνική λέξη 'γιασεμί'. Όπως αναφέρει ο Συμεωνίδης (2010), μετά την απελευθέρωση, υπήρξε προσπάθεια εξελληνισμού των τοπωνυμίων ή οικωνυμίων, η οποία έδειχνε, σε γενικές γραμμές, μια προτίμηση στις πιο αρχαιοπρεπείς λέξεις. Ειδικότερα, στην ονομασία Γιασί-κιοϊ, στην οποία το πρώτο συνθετικό 'yassı' παρέπεμπε φωνητικά στην ελληνική λέξη 'γιασεμί', η λέξη *γιασεμί* αντικαταστάθηκε από το *Ίασμος* με σκοπό να γίνει η ονομασία περισσότερο αρχαιοπρεπής και λόγια.

Το Γιασί-κιοϊ υπήρξε επί Οθωμανικής Αυτοκρατορίας Ναχίες, δηλαδή 'αγροτικός δήμος', στο οποίον κατοικούσαν 2000 γηγενείς Έλληνες και τριάντα (30) τουρκικές οικογένειες. Οι τουρκικές οικογένειες μετανάστευσαν στην Τουρκία μετά την ανταλλαγή των πληθυσμών. Γύρω στα 1850 εγκαταστάθηκαν στο χωριό δεκαπέντε (15) οικογένειες εμπόρων και τεχνιτών πέτρας από την Ήπειρο. Με την ανταλλαγή των πληθυσμών, εγκαταστάθηκαν στο χωριό εβδομήντα (70) οικογένειες προσφύγων, κυρίως από την Ανατολική Θράκη. Έτσι, το τοπικό ιδίωμα του Ιάσμου, διαμορφώθηκε από τους γηγενείς, τους πρόσφυγες και τους Ηπειρώτες. Μετά το 1950 εγκαταστάθηκαν στον Ίασμο είκοσι τρεις (23) οικογένειες Σαρακατσάνων, οι οποίες δεν επηρέασαν το τοπικό ιδίωμα σε μεγάλο βαθμό, ενώ από το 1960 και μετά, αρχίζουν να εγκαθίστανται στην περιοχή και αρκετές οικογένειες Πομάκων, οι οποίες μετακινήθηκαν από ορεινότερες περιοχές. Πομάκων. Στον Ίασμο κατοικούν ακόμη ορισμένες οικογένειες Αθίγγανων, ενώ από το 1992 και εξής, εγκαταστάθηκαν στην περιοχή περίπου δέκα (10) οικογένειες Ελλήνων από το Σοχούμι της Γεωργίας.

Αξίζει τέλος να αναφέρουμε ότι για το ιδίωμα του Ιάσμου δεν υπάρχουν προηγούμενες μελέτες, με αποτέλεσμα να είναι εξαιρετικά δύσκολο να γίνει σύγκριση της τωρινής μορφής του ιδιώματος με την ντοπιολαλιά που χρησιμοποιούσε ο γηγενής πληθυσμός πριν την άφιξη των προσφύγων.

1.2 Περί του ιδιώματος του Ιάσμου

Στην περιοχή του Ιάσμου φαίνεται να πληρούνται τα περισσότερα κριτήρια που χαρακτηρίζουν το φαινόμενο της *διμορφίας* (Αρχάκης & Κονδύλη 2002:112-113, Μοσχονάς 2002:6-10) ή *διαδialeκτισμού* (Κακριδή 1986), υπάρχει δηλαδή παράλληλη χρήση δύο κωδίκων, της κοινής νεοελληνικής και του τοπικού ιδιώματος. Όπως είναι αναμενόμενο, η συχνότητα χρήσης του κάθε κώδικα εξαρτάται από το βαθμό της γνώσης των ομιλητών. Όταν υπάρχει επαρκής γνώση και των δύο γλωσσικών συστημάτων, η διγλωσσική συμπεριφορά (διμορφία) των ομιλητών χαρακτηρίζεται από συμπληρωματική κατανομή (δηλ. συγκεκριμένα περιβάλλοντα ή και θέματα απαιτούν μια συγκεκριμένη γλωσσική συμπεριφορά). Παράλληλα με τους διγλωσσους ομιλητές, υπάρχει ένας περιορισμένος αριθμός μονόγλωσσων ομιλητών, που χρησιμοποιούν μόνο τον διαλεκτικό κώδικα. Πρόκειται κυρίως για γυναίκες και ηλικιωμένους, των οποίων ο αριθμός μειώνεται σταδιακά.

Όπως προκύπτει από τα στοιχεία που παραθέσαμε στην προηγούμενη παράγραφο, το ιδίωμα του Ιάσμου προήλθε κυρίως από την ανάμιξη των ιδιωμάτων που μιλούσαν οι Έλληνες κάτοικοι του Περιθεωρίου (Αναστασιουπόλεως), οι Έλληνες πρόσφυγες της Ανατολικής Θράκης και οι έμποροι ή τεχνίτες Ηπειρώτες που εγκαταστάθηκαν στην περιοχή. Όπως είναι αναμενόμενο, το λεξιλόγιο του τοπικού ιδιώματος παρουσιάζει μεγάλη ποικιλία. Περιλαμβάνει λέξεις της αρχαίας και μεσαιωνικής ελληνικής (π.χ. *κοντυλάω*), αλλά και λέξεις που προέρχονται από τα ιδιώματα των Ελλήνων της Ανατολικής Θράκης και τα βλάχικα. Υπάρχουν επίσης δάνειες λέξεις από την ιταλική, την βουλγαρική (π.χ. *έντζαμου*) και την τουρκική (π.χ. *γυμπάς*), πάντα κατά την προσωπική ερμηνεία του ερευνητή.

Τέλος, θα πρέπει να αναφερθεί ότι στον Ίασμο ομιλείται επίσης μαζί με το ελληνικό ιδίωμα και η πομάκικη γλώσσα. Πρόκειται για μια γλώσσα που μιλιέται από τους Έλληνες μουσουλμάνους (Πομάκους) που κατοικούν στον Ίασμο και σε άλλες περιοχές της Θράκης, η οποία έχει ως βάση της τη βουλγαρική και την τουρκική γλώσσα, με πολλές ελληνικές προσμειξεις (Παναγιωτίδης 1997). Αποτελεί γεγονός αδιαμφισβήτητο ότι συγκριτική μελέτη του ιδιώματος του Ιάσμου και της πομακικής θα ήταν ιδιαίτερα χρήσιμη όχι μόνο από γλωσσολογική αλλά και από ιστορική άποψη.

1.3 Η καταγραφή του ιδιώματος του Ιάσμου

Η προσπάθεια καταγραφής του τοπικού ιδιώματος του Ιάσμου έχει ξεκινήσει εδώ και εννέα χρόνια. Καρπός αυτής της προσπάθειας είναι ένα γλωσσάριο το οποίο περιλαμβάνει μέχρι στιγμής περίπου 2.000 μονολεκτικά και πολυλεκτικά λήμματα, δηλαδή λέξεις και εκφράσεις. Το γλωσσάριο βασίζεται σε υλικό που συλλέγει ο συγγραφέας με βάση προφορικές μαρτυρίες της οικογένειάς του καθώς και του ευρύτερου συγγενικού και κοινωνικού κύκλου μέσα από την προσωπική επαφή που έχει καθημερινά με όλους τους κατοίκους του Ιάσμου. Η προσπάθεια ολοκλήρωσης του γλωσσαρίου δυσχεραίνεται μεταξύ άλλων από το γεγονός ότι όλο και λιγότεροι ομιλούν πλέον το ιδίωμα. Οι περισσότεροι ομιλητές του ιδιώματος είναι ηλικιωμένοι ομιλητές, γεγονός που δείχνει ότι το ιδίωμα κινδυνεύει να εξαφανιστεί. Οι ομιλητές που βρίσκονται στην ηλικία των σαράντα ετών χρησιμοποιούν ορισμένες μόνο λέξεις του ιδιώματος, ενώ οι νεότεροι ομιλητές δεν το χρησιμοποιούν καθόλου. Αξιοσημείωτο είναι το γεγονός ότι το ιδίωμα χρησιμοποιείται και διασώζεται κατά κάποιον τρόπο από αυτούς που έχουν μετακομίσει σε μεγαλύτερες πόλεις (π.χ. Αθήνα, Θεσσαλονίκη) ή στο εξωτερικό.

Τα λεξικογραφικά άρθρα του γλωσσαρίου του ιδιώματος του Ιάσμου περιλαμβάνουν εξής:

- (1) τον ληματικό τύπο (ή λήμμα)
- (2) την γραμματική κατηγορία του λήματος (ουσιαστικό, ρήμα, επίρρημα, κλπ.)
- (3) την προφορά του λήματος σύμφωνα με το Διεθνές Φωνητικό Αλφάβητο
- (4) το ερμήνευμα (ορισμό) του λήματος
- (5) ένα παράδειγμα χρήσης από την καθομιλουμένη του χωριού
- (6) συνώνυμα και αντώνυμα
- (7) ετυμολογία, όπου αυτό είναι δυνατό

Στις επόμενες ενότητες επιχειρείται μια πρώτη περιγραφή ορισμένων φωνολογικών, μορφολογικών, συντακτικών και λεξιλογικών χαρακτηριστικών του ιδιώματος με βάση την υπάρχουσα βιβλιογραφία και το υλικό που συλλέχθηκε για το λεξικό του ιδιώματος του Ιάσμου.

2. Γενικά χαρακτηριστικά του ιδιώματος

Το ιδίωμα του Ιάσμου ανήκει στα βόρεια νεοελληνικά ιδιώματα, όπως η πλειοψηφία των ιδιωμάτων της Μακεδονίας και της Θράκης (Ανδριώτης 1943: 146)². Σύμφωνα με τον Χατζιδάκι (1905) τα νεοελληνικά ιδιώματα χωρίζονται σε δύο μεγάλες κατηγορίες τα *βόρεια* και τα *νότια* με μια διαχωριστική γραμμή, η οποία τυχαία ταυτίζεται με τον 38ο παράλληλο. Η γραμμή αυτή περνά από τον Κορινθιακό κόλπο, από τα σύνορα Αττικής-Βοιωτίας, κόβει στην μέση την Εύβοια, διασχίζει το Αιγαίο περνώντας μεταξύ Χίου και Σάμου και καταλήγει στη Μ. Ασία, στα βόρεια της Σμύρνης (βλ. και Ανδριώτης, 1943-44:131-185)

Βασικό χαρακτηριστικό των βορείων ιδιωμάτων είναι ο μειωμένος φωνηεντισμός, δηλαδή η στένωση των άτονων φωνηέντων [e] και [o] και η τροπή τους σε [i] και [u] αντίστοιχα, καθώς και η σίγηση του τελικού [i] και των [i] και [u] μέσα στη λέξη, όταν δεν τονίζονται (π.χ. *ου λόγους, έρχιτι, π'λί, β'νό, χ'λιαρ'*). Στη Θράκη, τα σύνορα του βορείου φωνηεντισμού, αρχίζουν από τη Ραιδεστό, και περνούν ανατολικά του Λουλέ Μπουργκάζ και δυτικά των Σαράντα Εκκλησιών. Από βόρειο φωνηεντισμό επίσης χαρακτηρίζονται τα ιδιώματα και οι διαλεκτικές ποικιλίες της ελληνικής (δυτικής) Θράκης. Κατά συνέπεια το ιδίωμα του Ιάσμου συγκαταλέγεται στα βόρεια ιδιώματα και παρουσιάζει τα συγγεκριμένα χαρακτηριστικά όπως αναφέρονται παραπάνω

2 Ο Ανδριώτης (1943:146) κατατάσσει στα βόρεια ιδιώματα της Θράκης αυτά της περιοχής της Κομοτηνής, ενώ παράλληλα αναφέρει: «για τα ιδιώματα της Δυτικής Θράκης είχε προτείνει ο Σ. Κυριακίδης την υποδιαίρεση σε τρεις περιοχές, α) Κομοτηνής-Ξάνθης, β) Μαρώνας-Χιρκί, γ) Σουφλίου.»

2.1 Φωνητική-φωνολογία

Η ενότητα αυτή περιλαμβάνει ορισμένες φωνητικές/φωνολογικές παρατηρήσεις για το ιδίωμα με βάση την υπάρχουσα βιβλιογραφία και το υλικό που συλλέχθηκε για το λεξικό του ιδιώματος του Ιάσμου.

Βασικά χαρακτηριστικά του ιδιώματος είναι τα εξής:

- (1) *Κώφωση*: Τροπή των άτονων φωνηέντων [e] σε [i] π.χ. *έπεσε* [épesɛ] > *έπισι* [épisi] και [o] σε [u] π.χ. *ψωνίζαμε* > *ψούν'ζαμι* [psúnizami].
- (2) *Συγκοπή*: Αποβολή πρωτογενών άτονων φωνηέντων, δευτερογενών και καταλήξεων των φωνηέντων [i] και [u]. π.χ. *αψηλοτένταρος* > *αψ'λοτένταρος* > [apʃlotédaros] (ο ψηλός), *τηγάνι* > *τ'γαν'* [tɣáñ], *τσεκούρι* [tsekouri] > *τσ'κούρ'* [tʃkúr].
- (3) *Ανάπτυξη ευφωνικού φθόγγου* [j]: Σε ορισμένες περιπτώσεις έχουμε ανάπτυξη ευφωνικού φθόγγου γί [j] κάτι που μπορούμε να βρούμε, σύμφωνα με τον Ψάλτη (1905: 38-40), σε όλα τα Θρακικά ιδιώματα. π.χ. *αγαρεία* > *αγαργιά* [agargjá], *δες* > *αδιέ* [aðje], *δες* > *διέ* [ðje].
- (4) *Ανάπτυξη ευφωνικού ή προθετικού* [a] Παρατηρούμε την ανάπτυξη ευφωνικού [a]³ μπροστά από ορισμένες λέξεις, π.χ. *αψ'λά*, *αψ'λός*. Ακόμη στο γλωσσάρι του Μπατζάκα για το ιδίωμα του Ιάσμου συναντάμε το λήμμα *αψ'λοτένταρος* < *αψηλός* + *τεντωμένος*, *αβάτσ'νο* > *ανάτ'νο*, *αδρένιο* > *αδρέño*.
- (5) Με την αποβολή των άτονων [i] και [u] και τη δημιουργία νέων συμφωνικών συμπλεγμάτων που προκύπτουν από αυτή, όπως αναφέρει ο Ανδριώτης (1943-44:134-135) «γεννιούνται α) διάφορες νέες αλλοιώσεις στα σύμφωνα, καθώς είναι συμμορφώσεις των νέων συμφωνικών συμπλεγμάτων στους βασικούς φωνητικούς νόμους της Νέας Ελληνικής που δεν ανέχονται κοντά δύο σύμφωνα εξακολουθητικά ή δύο στιγμικά και αλλοιώνουν το ένα, π.χ. *δ(ι)λάβι* > *ντ'λάβ'*» (έτσι και στον Ίασμο *δ(ι)χάλι* > *τ'χάλ'*) - «α.1) ή αφομοιώσεις ηχηρών συμφώνων προς άηχα, π.χ. *δ(ι)κός* > *θ'κός*, *β(ου)τσι* > *φ'τσι*» (το ίδιο και στον Ίασμο), «α.2) ή άηχων προς ηχερά, π.χ. *π(η)γάδι* > *β'γάδ'*» (πβλ. *ποντικός* > *βουδκός* στον Ίασμο), «β) Διάφορες νέες αποβολές συμφώνων από νέα δυσκολοπρόφερτα συμφωνικά συμπλέγματα, π.χ. *κάρβουνα* > *κάρνα*, *κουράστ(η)κα* > *κράσκα*, *κρύφτ(η)κα* > *κρύφ'κα*» (και στον Ίασμο), «γ) απλοποιήσεις ομοίων συμφώνων, π.χ. *δώς(η)ς* > *δώς'*, *δέν(ου)ν* > *δέν'*» (και στον Ίασμο), «δ) Διάφορες αναπτύξεις νέων φωνηέντων σε δυσκολοπρόφερτα νέα συμφωνικά συμπλέγματα, ιδίαν στο τέλος των λέξεων, π.χ. *αλεύρ(ι)* > *αλεύρ* ([alevir])» (βλ. και *παίξεις* > *παίειζ*, Ίασμος).
- (6) *Εκκρουση ασθενέστερου φωνήεντος* π.χ. *αββερβελλωσιά* > *αββερβελλωσά* [avɛrvelošá], *εκεινάς* > *εκ'νάς* [eknás], *ετσινάς* > *ετσ'νάς* [etsnás], *γαϊδούροφόρτι* > *γαδροφόρτ'* [ɣadɾofórt].
- (7) Ακόμη παρατηρούνται α) αφαίρεση αρχικού [ε], *ελαφρύς* > *λαφρύς* β) τροπή αρχικού ε > ο, *Εβραίος* > *Οβραίός*, γ) τροπή ε > ου, *περπάτα* > *πουρπάτει*, κλπ., ενώ έχει εκλείψει πλέον η ρηματική κατάληξη σε [u], π.χ. *νταγιαντίζω* και όχι *νταγιαντίζου*, όπως παλιότερα.
- (8) Παρατηρείται ο τονισμός της τέταρτης από το τέλος συλλαβής π.χ. *έπαιζαμι*, *έφαγαμι*, *έκαναμι* (βλ. και Ντελόπουλος, 2000:337).

2.2 Μορφολογία -Σύνταξη

Ας σταθούμε τώρα λίγο παραπάνω σε μορφολογικά και συντακτικά χαρακτηριστικά του ιδιώματος του Ιάσμου. Θα δώσουμε έμφαση εδώ τόσο σε ζητήματα παραγωγής (υποκοριστικά) όσο και κλίσης (δίνοντας κυρίως έμφαση στη μορφολογία του ρήματος). Επίσης, θα γίνει σύντομη αναφορά στη μορφή του άρθρου.

2.2.1 Υποκοριστικά επιθήματα

Σχεδόν σε όλη την περιοχή της Θράκης και σε όλα τα ιδιώματα τα υποκοριστικά επιθήματα είναι ίδια: *-οὐδ'ς* (*-οὐδης*), *-έλ'ς* (*-έλης*). Ας δούμε ορισμένες περιοχές:

3 Ονομάζεται και προθετικό -α- : βλ. Χαραλαμπίκη (1999:232).

Ίμβρος (Ανδριώτης 1930:185) : -οὐδ' και πιο σπάνια -έλ'λ', -αρ', -ιδ':

αβιλούδ' , χουραφούδ'* – πιδέλ'λ', διδρέλ'λ'*⁴

Λήμνος (Κοντοσόπουλος 2008:70) : -οὐδ' και -έλ', που θυμίζουν Λέσβο

χειρούδ' , πλούδ'* , πουδαρέλ'**

Λήμνος (Κοντονάτσιου 1989:79β) :

μκριλούδ' (μικράλ'+ουδ'), θμαρέλ'

Θάσος (Τομπαΐδης 1967:38-39) : -οὐδ'ς, -οὐδα, -οὐδ' και -ελλ', -έλ'λ'ς

Μανουλούδ'ς , αργονούδα, δασκαλούδ' – τσκρέλ'λ', Κμπαρέλ'λ'ς*

Σαμοθράκη (Κατσάνης 1996:33) : -οὐδ' και -έλ'

ψουμούδ' , κταβούδ'* – λαδέλ', κουρτσαδέλ'**

Ειδικότερα, στο ιδίωμα του Ιάσμου χρησιμοποιούνται τα εξής επιθήματα:

α) -οὐδ', -οὐδα :

αγουρούδ', γατούδ', φανταούδα , αραμπούδα

β) -έλα, -έλ' (-έλι), *πληθ.* -έλια:

κορτσέλα, μπαρμπαδέλ', σβολ'τσέλια (μικροί σβόλοι)

2.2.2 Ρήμα

Ειδικότερα, για το ρήμα παρατηρούνται τα εξής:

α. Υπάρχει μεταπλασμός των ρημάτων από -αίνω σε -ίσκω, πχ. *πεθαίνω>πηθνίσκω, υγιαίνω>γιανίσκω*

β. Η προστακτική του β' ενικού στο ιδίωμα του Ιάσμου είναι ως εξής:

- β' ενικό πρόσ.: *πλύθτσι / κοιμήθ'τσι / ντύνουσ'*, (πλύσου / κοιμήσου / ντύσου)

- β' πληθυντικό πρόσ.: *πλύθτσιτι / κοιμήθτσιτι* (πλυθείτε, κοιμηθείτε)

2.2.3 Επίρρημα

Παρατηρείται επίρρημα με δεικτικό <να> ή προέκταση της αιτιατικής του ενικού των αντωνυμιών κατά ένα -να (Ντελόπουλος 2000: 336):

άλλο + να > άλλονα (λήμμα από την γλώσσα του Καβάφη, Μηνάς 2004: 58)

αυτή + να > αυτηνιά, αυτής + να > αυτηνιάς (αυτηνιάς είναι)

αυτοί + να > αυτοινοί (αυτοινοί θα τα μάσουν),(τί γράφουν απάν' τ'ς αυτοινοί;)

γενική πληθ. αυτοί + να > αυτοινών

εκεί + να > εκεινά > εκ'νά > εκνά, εκεί + να + ζ > εκεινάς > εκ'νάς > εκνάς,

εκεί + να > εκεινά > 'κ'να > κ'na,

έτσι + να > ετσινά > ετσ'νά > etšná, έτσι + να + ζ > ετσινάς > ετσ'νάς > etšnás,

όλοι + να > ουλ'νοί, με κώφωση του αρχικού άτονου -ο- σε -ου-

πολοί + να > πουλ'νοί, με κώφωση του αρχικού -ο- σε -ου-

τόσο + να > τοσονά > tosoná,

τόσο + να + ζ > τοσονάς > tosonás

(πληθ.) τόσο + να > τοσονοί > tosoní

(πληθ.) τούτα + να > τουτανά > tutaná

(πληθ.) τούτα + να + ζ > τουτανάς > tutanás

2.2.4 Το άρθρο

Το άρθρο του αρσενικού γένους μπορεί να είναι είτε [u] <ου>, δηλαδή με στένωση του <ο>, είτε [i] <η>, δηλαδή ίδιο με το θηλυκό, είτε να λείπει τελείως. Ενώ στον Αποστολίδη (1941:280-285) διαβάζουμε: «Τα γένη, καθώς συνέβαινε και στην αρχαία γλώσσα, τα ονόματα ήτανε τριών γενών και άλλαζαν αδιαφόρως το γένος τους από αναλογία προς άλλα όμοια τους πχ. τα αρσενικά γίνονται θηλυκά και ουδέτερα: *η αχερώνα* (και στον Ίασμο), *η φράχτ'*, τα θηλυκά γίνονται αρσενικά και ουδέτερα: *η νυχικιά > το νυχικό* (και στον Ίασμο), κι ακόμη *η γρίπη > ο γρίπος, ο ζάχαρ'ς*, τα ουδέτερα

4 Με [*] σημειώνονται οι λέξεις που απαντώνται και στο ιδίωμα του Ιάσμου.

γίνονται αρσενικά και θηλυκά, το στόμα> ο στόμας (και στον Ίασμο), μερικά ονόματα απαντούσαν σε δύο γένη, ο γρόθος κ' η γροθιά, το βράδυ κ' η βραδιά.

2.3 Λεξιλόγιο

Ας στρέψουμε τώρα την προσοχή μας σε λέξεις και εκφράσεις που περιλαμβάνονται στο υπό έκδοση λεξικό του ιδιώματος του Ιάσμου:

- | | | |
|----|--|--|
| 1. | η γιμπας ουμι τσαρακμάν'ς,
τσαέζ ντο καιρό, να βγει η τσιτσ'μούδα, | ο πατέρας μου αδύνατος
κάθεται σε στάση προσοχής και σύμφωνα με τον
ίσκιο που ρίχνει ο ήλιος στο σώμα του,
προσπαθεί να υπολογίσει τι ώρα είναι |
| 2. | η γήμα, στη κβέτσα έκανε τζ'βιά, | η μάνα, στην πήλινη χύτρα έβραζε κρεμμύδια |
| 3. | ο μπασάς, σ' ένα κουρπάτσ' απάν',
τσακτσάν'ζι κουτσανούδια, | ο μεγάλος αδερφός, σε ένα κομμένο κορμό
επάνω έσπαζε αμύγδαλα |
| 4. | κι η άμια, πολέμαγε, | και η θεία, προσπαθούσε, |
| 5. | τ'ς κουτρούβες να βάλ' στην αράδα. | τις γλάστρες να βάλει στη σειρά. |
| 6. | τα τσ'κούρια τ' έχασε; | τι δουλειά είχε εκεί πέρα; |
| 7. | το καλοκαιρούδ' του Θεοχαρούδ' | καλοκαιρία μέσα στον Οκτώβρη |
| 8. | τα κάμσι | πέθανε |
| 9. | τσαταλών' η μπρίτσκος κι ανεβαίν' ο μαυρογιάν'ς τι είναι; Η πυροστιά και το καζάνι,
(παλιό αίνιγμα) | |

2.3.1 Αρχαίες ελληνικές λέξεις στο ιδίωμα του Ιάσμου

Το ιδίωμα του Ιάσμου διασώζει πολλές λέξεις που φαίνεται να προέρχονται από την αρχαία ελληνική, οι οποίες είναι σε ευρεία χρήση ακόμη και σήμερα από τους κατοίκους αυτής της κωμόπολης. Αυτές οι λέξεις περιλαμβάνουν, μεταξύ άλλων, και τις παρακάτω:

- (1) *λάγγιρος*, ο, ουσιαστικό [lágiros]
η μύρα, το λευκό κρασί και γενικά κάθε ξανθό αλκοολούχο ποτό πχ. *πώς μπορείτε και ντο πίν'τε αυτό ντο λάγγιρο;*
(το λάγκερο και ο λάκυρος = το κρασί από τσίπουρο, Ντελόπουλος, 2000:338 / ο λάγγερας = ο στεμφυλίτης οίνος, το τσίπουρο Πάπυρος Λεξ. / λάγκυρος: το δριμύ, όξος, όπερ προσφάτως κατεσκευάσθη εκ σταφυλίων, η λέξη εν χρήσει εν Στενημάχω (Λαμπουσιάδης, 1933:310). Ως λάκυρος>λάγκερος, αναφέρεται στην Αρτάκη κατά τον Φιλήντα (1933:360).

- (2) *καμτσουρίζω*, ρήμα [kamtsurízo]
έχω λίγη δύναμη, είμαι άτονος - αναφέρεται για φώτα, λάμπες ή μπαταρίες πχ. *η μπαταρία είναι πεσμέν' και τα φώτα καμτσουρίζουν*
(καμμύζω+τσιρίζω, σαν μισοκλείνω τα μάτια, καμμύω, απαντάται και στη γλώσσα του Σκεπαστού Αν. Θράκης κατά τον Πετρόπουλο (1943-44:219).

- (3) *κοντυλάω*, ρήμα [kodiláo]
νυστάζω, δεν μπορώ να κρατήσω το κεφάλι μου όρθιο και μπερδεύομαι πχ. *αφού κοντυλάς, για δε πα να κοιμηθείς;*

Και κει που χάσκει αθύρωτο το πόρταλο, στη μέση
του τοίχου, όπου κονδυλά κάθε στιγμή να πέση,
μεσ' στο σκοτάδι το βαθύ,
άγρια γλαμπυρίζουνε, σαν κάρβουν' αναμμένα,
και σημαδεύουν τη φωτιά δυό μάτια λυσσιασμένα
(Γ. Βιζυηνός, 1996:243, "Η μητέρα των επτά")

(κοντυλώ=χτυπώ με τα κέρατα (Ντελόπουλος, 2000:338), στις Σαράντα Εκκλησιές απαντάται ως ταλαντεύομαι όπως το κοντύλι του καλαμιού (Παπαχριστοδούλου, 1929:457).

(4) *ανγκανός*, ο, ουσιαστικό [anganós]

το ασπράγκαθο, το γαϊδουράγκαθο (στη βοτανική *Notobasis syriaca*, της οικογενείας συνθέτων-*Compositae*). Πρόκειται για λέξη της Ανατολικής Θράκης, που φέρανε μαζί τους οι πρόσφυγες και δεν χρησιμοποιούν οι ντόπιοι

(Ως γαϊδουράγκαθο, απαντάται στις Σαραντά Εκκλησιές (Παπαχριστοδούλου, 1933 :324). Αγκανός: είναι ο μτγν. ὁ ἄκον, τοῦ ἄκανος: «ὁ ἄκον ὁ ἐν τῷ Λιβάνῳ», Βασίλ. Δ, δ' 9, «καί συνεπάτησαν τὴν ἄκανα» (αφτού). Το -κ- γίνεται -γκ- από επίδραση του ν αγκάθι, Φιλήντας, Θρακικά τόμος 4ος, σελ.275. Στο γλωσσάρι Τσακηλίου, αγκανός = θάμνος ακανθωτός χρησιμοποιούμενος προς περιφραξιν κήπων (Χουρμουζιάδης, 1940:369). Στη Σωζόπολη, είναι «φυτό μονοετές ακανθώδες, αλλαχού γαϊδουράγκαθο (Παπαϊωαννίδου, 1944:290) ενώ στην κυπριακή απαντάται στο *αγκανίζω* = *γκαρίζω* (Μηνάς, 2004:418).

(5) *ζνίχ'ι*, το, ουσιαστικό [žnīh]

ο σβέρκος, παλιά όταν όλοι τους φορούσαν ποτούρια, όταν έπρεπε να κάνουνε την ανάγκη τους, έλυναν το υφασμάτινο ζωνάρι τους και το κρεμούσαν στον σβέρκο τους, πχ. *α! το ζνίχ' σ' / τον άρπαξε απ' το ζνίχ' / έκατσε πανωθιό στο ζνίχι μ' / τον πήρε στο ζνίχι τ' πάνω και τον έκανε τσουτσ'κα* = *καβαλαρία έκανε πάνω στο σβέρκο του ένα μικρό παιδί* (πρβ Κ. Βάρναλης «στο κρουστό σου ζνίχι το μαυριδερό»). Ετυμολογικά: ζνίχι < αρχ. ζνίχιον = *δερμάτινη λωρίδα, λουρί παπου-τσιού* <ζεύγνιμι<ΙΕ. ρ. *jeug*=ενώνω. Με την ίδια σημασία συναντάται και στα Άβδηρα (Δανδαλίδης, 1993:105).

2.3.2 Λέξεις από τη σλαβική/βουλγαρική

(1) *έντζαμου*, επίρρ. [éndžamu]

έτσι, άρα, λοιπόν, με τα πολλά, που λέτε, ας πούμε. Πχ. *έντζαμου, τι έχ' να πεις; / έντζαμου έφτασε κάποια στιγμή.*

Βουλγάρικο *imam enja* = έχω έννοια, προσέχω, δάνειο από την ελληνική λέξη ‘έννοια=έννοια’ (Ντελόπουλος, 2000:335).

συν.: ήλεμ

(2) *μλέτσκα*, μετοχή άκλιτη [mlétška]

βρέχομαι, γίνομαι μούσκεμα, συνήθως στην φράση *ίνγκα μλέτσκα*, ως εξής: *έγινα μούσκεμα< γίνηκα μούσκεμα <'ινκ'α μλέτσκα* [ingamletška]

(3) *πούχνε*, προστακτική [rúxne]

μη μιλάς, βούλωσε το πχ. *πούχνε συ πάλι*

(βουλγ. *лыкам* = σκάω)

συν. μούλνε

(4) *ζαμακώνω*, ρήμα [zamakóno]

αορ. ζαμάκωσα

χώνω, προσθέτω, προσπαθώ με δόλο να δώσω ή να πουλήσω κάτι χαμηλής ποιότητας ακριβά. Πχ. *ποιος στα ζαμάκωσε αυτά τα φαπούλια, δεν βράζουν με τίποτε*

(σλαβ. ζαμόκ = κλειδαριά, αυτολεξεί σημαίνει κλειδώνω (Παπαχριστοδούλου,

1934:212 και

Φιλήντας, 1933:279).

Στο Σαρανταεκκλησιώτικο γλωσσάριον α) *βάζω* έναν στη γωνία και τον περιορίζω, β) *χτυπώ* γροθιές, βαρώ γ) *κάνω* κάτι ξένο δικό μου δ) *χορταίνω* (Παπαχριστοδούλου, 1934:212) ενώ στα Άβδηρα, το *ζαμακώνω*, έχει την έννοια του αρπάζω, οικειοποιούμαι (Δανδαλίδης, 1933:104).

(5) *σορβάτκα*, η. ουσ. [sorvátka]

το ξινόγαλο ή ποτό το οποίο έχει ξινίσει, το οξύ, το τσουχτερό ποτό.

πχ. *πιάσε μια σορβάτκα / δεν πίνεται, σορβάτκα ίνκε* (δεν πίνεται, πολύ ξινό έγινε).

(βουλγ. *Сорватка*)

«Το υπόλειμμα του γαλάτου, μετά την αφαίρεση του βουτύρου είναι το δουρβανιστόν οξύγαλον του Πτωχοπρ. Ήτο υδρόγαλα του Δουκάγγ. Αυτό οι Πανορμιώτες το λένε: η τσορβάτκα, λέξη σλαβική (Φιλήντας, 1933:273)».

2.3.3 Λέξεις από την τουρκική⁵

- (1) *γιμπάς*, η, ουσιαστικό άκλιτο [jbas]
ο πατέρας, ο μπαμπάς πχ. *αύριο η γιμπάσουμ, έχ' γενέθλια*
Η χρήση του θηλυκού αποκλειστικά άρθρου παρά το ότι αναφέρεται σε αρσενικό γένος είναι ένα σύνηθες φαινόμενο στα ιδιώματα της Θράκης - και όχι μόνο. Στη συνέχεια έχουμε ανάπτυξη ευφωνικού [j], άρα το άρθρο γίνεται γη + μπας (από το τουρκ. bas = αρχηγός, με την έννοια 'ο αρχηγός επί της γης' (Σταγάκη, 2003:35:α). Ενδιαφέρον είναι ότι η λέξη δεν κλίνεται, παρότι ουσιαστικό.
- (2) *γιαριά* επίρρημα [jarjá]
μισά-μισά πχ. *γιαργιά φλουριά δε μετράς {παροιμία}*
(τουρκ.yari =μισό (Σταγάκη, 2003:337:α)
- (3) *γνάρια* τα, ουσιαστικό πάντα πληθ. [jária]
το βραχύδες βουνό, ιδίως η τοποθεσία Αστραία, όπου βρίσκονται τα Θρακικά Μετέωρα.
Στην Κρήτη συναντάται το τοπωνύμιο Άσπρα Γυάρια, μιας και το σχήμα των βράχων μοιάζει κυλινδρικό, όπως αναφέρει ο Μηνάς (2004:142) πχ. *θα πάμε στα γνάρια* (τουρκ. yar = κυλινδρικό μεταλλικό μέτρο των δημητριακών).
- (4) *κοτ*, το, άκλιτο ουσιαστικό [kot]
το μικρό βουβαλάκι καθώς και άτομο πολύ λερωμένο, επειδή το βουβαλάκι κυλιέται στις λάσπες
πχ. *Ίδιο το κότ 'ίνκις, μ' ήρθαν κότια, μεσ' στις λάσπες*
(τουρκ.kot =το τζίνι)
συν.: μαλάκ', μπ'ντέκα
- (5) *κουλτανίζω* (ρήμα) [kultańízo]
αορ. *κουλτάν'σα*,
ανακατεύω κάτι ταρακουνώντας το, πχ. *κουλτάν'σει το γιαούρτ' και το 'κανε σίρκα*
Μέσ. φων. *κουλτανίζομαι*, αορ. *κουλτανίσκα*, μτχ. *κουλταν'σμένος -η-ο* ανακατεύονται τα σωθικά μου με χτυπήματα, ιδίως όταν είμαστε καβάλα σε ζώο ή πάνω σε όχημα.
πχ. *τα τζιέρια μ' κουλτανίσκαν*
(κουλτούμι< τουρκ. koltuk = μασχάλη

2.3.4 Λέξεις από την αλβανική

- (1) *χαλές* ο, ουσιαστικό [xalés]
το αποχωρητήριο, ο καμπινέζ
πχ. *έχ' ένα στόμα ίδιο χαλέ*
(αλβαν.hale)
συνώνυμα: άκρη, κραδιάστρα
- (2) *γκέγκα* η, ουσιαστικό [géga]
η γκλίτσα του βοσκού
πχ. *έβαλ' τα χερίά τ' πάν' σνη γκέγκα και κ'μούνταν όρθιος*
(αλβ. gege=ονομασία Αλβανικής φυλής)

2.3.5 Ισόγλωσσα

Στην παράγραφο αυτή παραθέτουμε τον πίνακα του Κατσάνη (1996:33), που περιλαμβάνει κοινές λέξεις των ιδιωμάτων της βόρειας Ελλάδας και των νησιών, συμπεριλαμβάνοντας και λέξεις από το ιδίωμα του Ιάσμου.

⁵ Η διασταύρωση των λημμάτων έγινε με τη βοήθεια του ΤΟΥΡΚΟ-ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΟΥ Λεξικού, εκδ. Καλοκάθη 2003, επιμέλεια Μ. Σταγάκη

Σαμοθράκη	Ίμβρος	Λήμνος	Θάσος	Λέσβος	Θράκη	Ίασμος
Γύλαμινους: ύλη φερτη από νερά	ίλαμινους	Ύλαμινους	Λαμώνω	-	-	λαμώνω: μπαζώνω
Ακάλλου: το κάλλαιον	ακάλλους	Κάλλους	-	-	κάλλους	κάλλους
Σφίδα: η πίθος	σφίδα	Σφίδα	Σφίδ	σφίδα,-ούλα	-	σφίδα
Ψιακή: η φαρμάκι	ψιακή	Ψιακή	Ψιακή	Ψακή	-	ψακί:(το)

Πίνακας Κοινές λέξεις μεταξύ ιδιώματος Ιάσμου, ιδιωμάτων Β. Ελλάδας και νησιών

3. Αντί επιλόγου

Η εργασία αυτή αποτελεί περισσότερο μια πρώτη απόπειρα παρουσίασης στην επιστημονική κοινότητα κάποιων από τα χαρακτηριστικά του ιδιώματος του Ιάσμου, ενός βορείου ιδιώματος, που μιλιέται στην περιοχή της Θράκης, παρά μια προσπάθεια για εξαντλητική περιγραφή του ιδιώματος από φωνολογική, μορφολογική και συντακτική σκοπιά. Αποτελεί μέρος μιας ευρύτερης προσπάθειας καταγραφής του ιδιώματος η οποία θα ολοκληρωθεί με την έκδοση ενός γλωσσarium του ιδιώματος, το οποίο κινδυνεύει να χαθεί κάτω από τη σαρωτική επίδραση της πρότυπης νεοελληνικής, παρά το γεγονός ότι σήμερα ακόμη χρησιμοποιείται ευρέως από τους μεγαλύτερους. Όμως μία γλωσσική μορφή επιβιώνει μόνο όταν τη μιλούν οι νέοι και, δυστυχώς, όπως και με τις περισσότερες περιπτώσεις, έτσι και με την υπό μελέτη, οι νεότεροι πλέον τη χρησιμοποιούν μόνο περιστασιακά. Στην παρούσα δημοσίευση δόθηκε κυρίως έμφαση σε φωνολογικά, μορφολογικά, συντακτικά και λεξιλογικά χαρακτηριστικά του ιδιώματος του Ιάσμου, το οποίο διαμορφώθηκε από την ομιλία των γηγενών, των προσφύγων και των Ηπειρωτών και αξίζει να μελετηθεί από ειδικούς διαλεκτολόγους, προκειμένου να γίνει καλύτερα κατανοητός ο τρόπος με τον οποίο τα θρακικά ιδιώματα εξελίχθηκαν μέσα στον χρόνο.

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Η ΑΟΡΙΣΤΗ ΑΝΤΩΝΥΜΙΑ ΚΑΠΟΙΟΣ. Ο ΣΧΗΜΑΤΙΣΜΟΣ ΚΑΙ Η ΛΕΙΤΟΥΡΓΙΑ ΤΗΣ ΣΤΗ ΜΕΣΑΙΩΝΙΚΗ ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΗ¹

Θεόδωρος Μουσιάδης
Κέντρο Λεξικολογίας, Αθήνα
moisiadis@lexicon.gr

ABSTRACT

This paper attempts a diachronic investigation of the indefinite pronouns also known as ka- existential quantifiers, focusing on their development in Mediaeval Greek. It addresses three main topics: 1) How the ancient particle kan ('even') gave rise to the formation of the ka- elements, 2) How these quantifiers acquired new semantic values, shifting from 'concession' to 'indifference' or 'indefiniteness', 3) Why the ka- elements dropped the final -n (of kan), as they developed into compounds, and why the quantitative kamposos retained the original structure (a new solution is proposed).

Λέξεις κλειδιά: αόριστες αντωνυμίες, αναφορικές αντωνυμίες, ποσοδείκτες, γραμματικοποίηση, αναλογία, ετυμολογία, αποσημασιοποίηση, σημασιολογική μεταβολή

1. Εισαγωγή

Το σύνθετο σύστημα των αορίστων αντωνυμιών και επιρρημάτων της Μεσαιωνικής Ελληνικής διαρθρώθηκε σε δύο βασικές κατηγορίες: 1) στους ποσοδείκτες με αφετηρία το αρχαίο μόριο *κάν*: *κάποιος, κάπου, κάποτε, κάπως, κάτι, κανείς* κτλ. (σειρά *κα-*), και 2) στα αντωνυμικά στοιχεία που έχουν ως αφετηρία τα αντίστοιχα αρχαία αναφορικά: *όποιος (όποιος), όπου, όποτε (όποτε), όπως, ό,τι* (σειρά *ο-*).

Η σειρά *κα-* σχηματίστηκε από το μόριο *κάν* και τα ερωτηματικά στοιχεία (*ποιος, ποῦ, πότε* κτλ.) που χρησιμοποιήθηκαν κατόπιν και ως αοριστολογικά, απαντά δε με όλο και μεγαλύτερη συχνότητα από τη μεσαιωνική εποχή, οπότε συνυπάρχει μέχρι ενός σημείου με το αρχ. *τις* και με το παράγωγό του *τινάς*². Η νέα σειρά δηλώνει οποιονδήποτε ή οτιδήποτε ακαθόριστο, απροσδιόριστο ή απλώς αόριστο.

Ενώ η πορεία σχηματισμού φαίνεται ξεκάθαρη, τρία καίρια ζητήματα ανακύπτουν κατά τη διαχρονική ανάλυση. Πρώτον, πώς το παραχωρητικό μόριο *κάν* συνέβαλε στον σχηματισμό αοριστολογικών ποσοδεικτών; Δεύτερον, πώς τεκμηριώνεται η σημασιολογική μεταβολή από την παραχώρηση προς την αδιαφορία ή αοριστία, η οποία εκφράζεται πλέον από τη νέα σειρά *κα-*; Τρίτον, πώς ερμηνεύεται η απουσία οποιουδήποτε ίχνους τού *-ν* (του *κάν*) στη σύνθεση και γιατί επικρατούν οι τύποι από *κα-* (*κά-ποιος* αντί *κάμ-ποιος*, *κά-ποτε* αντί *κάμ-ποτε* κτλ.);

2. Ο σχηματισμός των αοριστολογικών ποσοδεικτών

Τα μέλη της σειράς *κα-* (παραδοσιακά αποκαλούνται *αντωνυμίες*, αλλά ορίζονται εύστοχα και ως *ποσοδείκτες* [quantifiers]) ακολούθησαν σε μεγάλο βαθμό τη σημασιολογική εξέλιξη του μορίου *κάν*. Η διαδρομή τού αρχαίου παραχωρητικού συνδέσμου *κάν* (< *καί ἄν*) διαγράφεται ως πορεία από τη ριζική παραχώρηση (πολικότητα) προς την αδιαφορία ή αοριστία (παραμετρικότητα), από την ολική

¹ Ευχαριστώ θερμά τους δύο ανώνυμους κριτές για τις χρήσιμες παρατηρήσεις τους σε ορισμένα σημεία τού άρθρου.

² Για τη λειτουργία των (ό)κάποιος, τινάς και κανένας ως προδρόμων τού αορίστου άρθρου, βλ. τη διαχρονική εξέταση της Χειλά-Μαρκοπούλου (2000: 123). Βλ. επίσης Lavidas & Papangeli 2007: 8, υποσημ. 7· Jannaris 1897: 165 §598b. Η σύνθεση του μορίου *κάν* με τα αριθμητικά (*καν-είς / καν-ένας, κα(μ)μία, καν-ένα*), η οποία γραμματικοποιήθηκε αρκετά νωρίτερα, δεν αποτελεί αντικείμενο του παρόντος άρθρου.

άγνοια σχετικά με την πραγματοποίηση ενός γεγονότος ως την αδιαφορία σχετικά με τις λεπτομέρειές του (Βελούδης 1996: 373· 2003: 617).

Κατά τη διαχρονική του εξέλιξη, το μόριο *κάν* παρουσιάζει σαφείς ενδείξεις γραμματικοποίησης, η οποία ξεκίνησε από τις αποφαιτικές εκφορές και κορυφώθηκε με τον σχηματισμό των σύνθετων ποσοδεικτών. Σύμφωνα με τη θεωρία της γραμματικοποίησης, η απώλεια της έμφασης οδηγεί σε σταδιακή δέσμευση του στοιχείου σε φράσεις ή συντακτικά σχήματα (Bybee, Perkins & Pagliuca 1994: 284· Lehmann 1995 [1982]: 164). Αυτό συνεπάγεται, όχι απλώς τον σχηματισμό περιφραστικών δομών, αλλά και τη βαθμιαία απώλεια μορφολογικών ιδιοτήτων, η οποία διευκολύνει τη φωνολογική μείωση. Πρόκειται ουσιαστικά για προέκταση της αρχής της εικονικότητας, αφού, όπως σημειώνει η McMahon, «η μορφική γραμμική εγγύτητα σημασιολογικά συγγενών τύπων διευκολύνει τη συγχώνευσή τους» (2003 [1994]: 247). Ως αποτέλεσμα, οι συγχωνευμένοι τύποι υφίστανται σημασιολογική εξασθένηση, η οποία επιφέρει γενίκευση, δηλαδή σύνδεση του στοιχείου με ευρύτερα περιβάλλοντα.

Η διαδικασία αυτή περιγράφεται ως σειρά βημάτων ή μηχανισμών της γραμματικοποίησης, οι οποίοι αποτυπώνονται στην περίπτωση των αοριστολογικών ποσοδεικτών (Heine 2003: 579· 1997: 66 κ.εξ.):

α) *αποσημασιοποίηση* [desemanticisation], γνωστή επίσης ως *αποχρωματισμός* [bleaching]: το *κάν* σταδιακά χάνει την εμφοτική λειτουργία της ριζικής παραχώρησης. Παράλληλα, το αρχ. επίθετο *ποιός*, που αρχικά σήμαινε «ορισμένου είδους ή μορφής», αποτέλεσε κατάλληλο συμπλήρωμα του *κάν* στη νέα αοριστολογική του λειτουργία (Horrocks 2006 [1997]: 428).

β) *επέκταση* [extension]: το *κάν* αποστασιοποιείται από τους περιορισμούς τροπικότητας και, καθώς συνοδεύεται και από άλλες εγκλίσεις, διευρύνει το συντακτικό του περιβάλλον.

γ) *αποκατηγοριοποίηση* [decategorialisation]: το *κάν* χάνει τον μορφοσυντακτικό ρόλο του ως συνδέσμου, πράγμα που ευνοεί τη συγχώνευσή του με άλλα στοιχεία (εν προκειμένω, αοριστολογικά και αριθμητικά), με τα οποία συνεκφερόταν. Πρόκειται για συνήθη επιλογή κατά τον σχηματισμό των ποσοδεικτών, όταν έχει προηγηθεί η ερωτηματική ή η αρνητική λειτουργία³.

δ) *διάβρωση* [erosion] ή *φωνητική μείωση* [phonetic reduction]: το *κάν* χάνει μέρος της φωνητικής του υπόστασης κατά τη σύνθεση (το τελικό του -ν). Οι όροι υπό τους οποίους συμβαίνει αυτό εξετάζονται παρακάτω στην ενότητα 4.

3. Συνθήκες της γραμματικοποίησης και σημασιολογική αλλαγή

Οι ποσοδείκτες της σειράς *κα-* συναντώνται εκτεταμένα στα μεσαιωνικά κείμενα μετά τον 12^ο αιώνα, όταν εμφανίζονται και πάλι κείμενα σε δημόδη γλώσσα⁴, ευνοημένοι και από το γεγονός ότι το αρχ. *τίς* δεν διέθετε μορφολογικά διακριτούς τύπους για το αρσενικό και το θηλυκό (Jannaris 1897: 165 §597). Επιπλέον, τα αρχαία αοριστολογικά *που*, *πως*, *ποτέ* κτλ. συχνά κατελάμβαναν τη δεύτερη θέση στην πρόταση και λειτουργούσαν ως εγκλιτικά, με αποτέλεσμα η συνεκφορά τους με τον προηγούμενο σύνδεσμο να ενισχύεται από το συντακτικό περιβάλλον. Ο Χατζιδάκις είχε διατυπώσει ως εξής αυτή την παρατήρηση: «...καὶ ἐν τῇ Ἑλληνικῇ καὶ ἐν τῇ Λατινικῇ καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἄλλαις ἀδελφαῖς γλώσσαις οἱ ἐγκλιτικοὶ τύποι τῶν ἀντωνυμιῶν, καθὼς καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ ἄκλιτα λεξίδια ἐκπαλαὶ ἐξεφέροντο συνηθέστατα ἐν τῇ 2^α θέσει τῆς προτάσεως» (1917-8: 12)⁵. Στην πραγματικότητα η δεύτερη θέση των εγκλιτικών αντωνυμιῶν τύπων πολλές φορές υπερίσχυε της άμεσης σύνδεσης με τη λέξη αναφοράς [Beziehungswort] (Schwyzer 1950: 186)⁶.

Η θέση των αοριστολογικών στην πρόταση ευνοεί ιδιαίτερα τη συνεκφορά τους με το αρχ. *κάν*, ακόμη και ενόσω λειτουργεί ως παραχωρητικός σύνδεσμος. Το μόριο αυτό αποκτά ήδη από την αρχαιότητα τη σημασία «τουλάχιστον», οι δε εισαγόμενες με το *κάν* παραχωρητικές προτάσεις σπανίζουν πλέον στους ελληνιστικούς παπύρους (Χατζιδάκις, AA3: 221· Mayser 1934: 92, 120). Τα παραδείγματα σημασιολογικής μετακίνησης στις συνεκφορές αυξάνονται όσο προχωρούμε στην

³ Ο Lehmann σημειώνει σχετικά: «...negation appears to be the principal context in many languages, which allows atonic interrogatives to be used as indefinites, the negator and the interrogative-indefinite then frequently coalescing to a negative pronoun» (2002²: 47).

⁴ Για το κενό ως προς την παράδοση δημωδών κειμένων και την επανεμφάνισή τους τον 12^ο αιώνα βλ. Browning 1991 [1983²]: 88· Ανδριώτη 1995: 79-80.

⁵ Παρόμοια συμπεριφορά των αοριστολογικών εγκλιτικών συναντούμε και αργότερα (Eideneier 2004 [1999]: 77, 109).

⁶ Σε τέτοιες συνεκφορές έχει την αφετηρία του και ο σύνδεσμος *μήπως* (< *μή πως* «μήπως με κάποιον τρόπο»).

ελληνιστική εποχή και οι συνδυασμοί αυτοί αποκτούν την επιπρόσθετη σημασία «οποιοσδήποτε – οπουδήποτε – οσοσδήποτε» και παρόμοια, παρέχοντας ενδείξεις της αοριστολογικής γενίκευσης⁷.

Χαρακτηριστικές είναι οι ακόλουθες περιπτώσεις:

κᾶν + ποιος

(1) *δείκνυσιν αὐτὸ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ σχήματος, ἐπειδὴ κᾶν ποιὸν ἔστιν, ἀλλὰ πολλὴν ἔχει πρὸς μέγεθός τε καὶ ποσότητα κοινωνίαν* (6^{ος} αἰ. μ.Χ., Σιμπλίκιος, *Εἰς τὸ τῆς Ἀριστοτέλους φυσικῆς ἀκροάσεως ὑπόμνημα* 9.689) [εννοεῖ «ἐπειδὴ κάποιο σχῆμα υπάρχει, ὅποιο και αν εἶναι αὐτό»]

κᾶν + που

(2) *κᾶν που ἀποδημῆς, οὐδ' ἐπὶ τῆς ἀλλοδαπῆς ἀγνώως οὐδ' ἀφανῆς ἔση* (2^{ος} αἰ. μ.Χ., Λουκιανός, *Περὶ τοῦ ἐνυπνίου* 11.8-10) [εννοεῖ «ὅπου και αν ἀποδημήσεις»]

(3) *τὴν παρ' αὐτοῦ ζητοῦσι βοήθειαν, κᾶν ποῦ τι σαλεύεται κύμα* (4^{ος} αἰ. μ.Χ., Κύριλλος, *Εἰς Ψαλμούς* 69.833) [εννοεῖ «ὅπου και αν σηκωθεί κύμα / και αν κάπου σηκωθεί κύμα»]

κᾶν + πως

(4) *οὐκοῦν ὅσα ἐπικριτικὰ καὶ βεβαιότητες διανοίας, ἐπικρίσεις ἂν λέγοντο εἰκότως, κᾶν πως ἑτέρως ἐξαγγελλεῖεν* (11^{ος} αἰ., Ἰωάννης Ρήτωρ, *Σχόλια εἰς τὸ Ἑρμογένους Περὶ ἰδεῶν* 6.233-4) [εννοεῖ «ἀκόμη και αν ἐξαγγελθούν κάπως διαφορετικά, ὅπως και αν ἐξαγγελθούν»· ἀξιοπρόσεκτη ἡ μὴ ἀναμενόμενη ευκτική, με τὴν ὁποία ἐπιχειρεῖται νὰ ἐνισχυθεῖ ἡ ἐξασθενημένη τιμὴ τῆς παραχώρησης τοῦ *κᾶν*]

κᾶν + τι

(5) *ἐπεῖπερ ἦν καὶ προαπειλούμενος σφόδρα πρὸς αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἀσεβάρχου, εἰ εὐρεθείη κᾶν τι μικρὸν ὑπαίτιος, μηκέτι ζῆν* (8^{ος} αἰ. μ.Χ., Θεόδ. Στουδίτης, *Ἐπιστολαί* 415.13-4) [εννοεῖ «ἔστω και σε κάτι μικρό, ὅσο μικρό και αν εἶναι»]

(6) *τοσοῦτον δέ μοι χάρτην ἐτοίμασον (...), ἵνα κᾶν τι μόνιον δυνήσωμαι ἐντάξει ὅσον κατὰ τὴν ἔνσωμον ὕλην* (5^{ος} αἰ. μ.Χ., Ολυμπιόδωρος, *Εἰς τὸ κατ' ἐνέργειαν ζωσίμου* 2.97) [εννοεῖ «ἀκόμη και το παραμικρὸ μόνιον»]

(7) *γράφω ἐπισχέιν τοῖς ἔργοις τοῖς ἐν ἀγρῷ ἵνα μὴ ἀμεληθῇ κᾶν τι ἦν ἀμελούμενον* (1^{ος} – 2^{ος} αἰ. μ.Χ., Πάπυρος Οἰξυρρύγχου, p.oxv 55.3808) [εννοεῖ «οτιδήποτε παραμελημένο, ξεχασμένο»]

(8) *φροντίσας ὅπως μὴ ἐνδεεῖς ὦμεν καὶ ἐλαδίου καὶ κᾶν τί σοι ἄλλο φαίνεται* (3^{ος} αἰ. π.Χ., Πάπυρος Ζήνωνος, psi. 4.418) [εννοεῖ «ὅ,τι ἄλλο, οτιδήποτε ἄλλο»]

Ἡ παράθεση αὐτῶν τῶν παραδειγμάτων ἀποσαφηνίζει τὶς συμφραστικές συνθήκες ποὺ ὥθησαν στὸν σχηματισμὸ τῶν ποσοδευτικῶν τῆς σειράς *κα-* ὑπὸ τοὺς ὅρους τῆς γραμματικοποίησης, ὅπως παρουσιάστηκαν προηγουμένως. Ἀπὸ τὴν ὅλη πορεία προκύπτει ὅτι με τὴν ἐμφάνιση τῆς συγκεκριμένης σειράς ἀρχίζουν νὰ ἀποκτοῦν ὑπόσταση στὴ μεσαιωνικὴ γλῶσσα τρία νέα αοριστολογικὰ συστήματα:

α) Ἡ σειρά *κα-* + αοριστολογικά (< ἐρωτηματικές ἀντωνυμίες): *κάποιος, κάπου, κάποτε, κάτι, κάμποσος*.

β) Ἡ σειρά *κα-* + ἀριθμητικά: *κανεῖς / κανέννας – κα(μ)μία – κανένα*.

γ) Ἡ σειρά *ο-* τῶν αορίστων ἀναφορικών: *ὅποιος, ὅπου, ὅποτε, ὅπως, ὅ,τι*.

Ἡ συμμετρικὴ ἀνάπτυξη τῶν συστημάτων αὐτῶν, ἡ ὁποία ἐδραιώθηκε κατὰ τοὺς μεσαιωνικοὺς χρόνους, σταδιακὰ ἀντικατέστησε τὶς ἐπιλογές ποὺ ἦταν διαθέσιμες στὴν ἀρχαία γλῶσσα γιὰ τὴ δήλωση τῶν ἀντίστοιχων λειτουργιῶν. Ἡ συνύπαρξή τοὺς θὰ συντελέσει, ὅπως θὰ φανεῖ στὴν ἐπόμενη ἐνότητα, ὥστε νὰ δοθεῖ ικανοποιητικὴ ἀπάντηση σὲ ἓνα δυσεπίλυτο ἐτυμολογικὸ πρόβλημα.

4. Το πρόβλημα τοῦ -ν. Ἑρμηνευτικές προσεγγίσεις

Ἡ ἀπουσία οἰοιοῦδήποτε ἰχνους τοῦ τελικοῦ -ν (τοῦ *κᾶν*) ἀπὸ τὰ περισσότερα μέλη τῆς σειράς *κα-* δὲν ἦταν ἀναμενόμενη και ἔχει ἐξηγηθεῖ ποικιλοτρόπως ἀλλὰ χωρὶς πειστικότητα. Τὸ βασικὸ πρόβλημα εἶναι ὅτι ὁ σχηματισμὸς αὐτὸς προσκρούει σὲ ὅλες τὶς ἄλλες γνωστὲς περιπτώσεις συνθέσεως, κατὰ τὶς ὁποῖες τὸ τελικὸ -ν παρουσιάζει ἀφομοίωση τόπου ἀρθρώσεως πρὸς τὸ ἀκόλουθο ἀήχο κλειστὸ (πβ. μεσν. *ἄμποτε* < φρ. *ἂν ποτέ*, μεσν. *μπᾶς καὶ...* < φρ. *μὴν πᾶς καὶ...*, μεσν. *μήμπα* < φρ. *μὴν πάη...*), σύμφωνα με τὸ ἀρχαῖο πρότυπο. Ὁ Horrocks, σχολιάζοντας τὴ νέα αοριστολογικὴ σειρά, ἀποφεύγει

⁷ Οἱ Roberts & Roussou (2003: 162-3) ὑποστηρίζουν ὅτι τὰ ἀρχαῖα αοριστολογικὰ ἐπαναυλῶθηκαν στὴ Νέα Ἑλληνικὴ ὡς ἀποκλειστικῶς ἐρωτηματικά, πράγμα ποὺ ἄφησε χώρο γιὰ τὴν ἐδραίωση τῆς ἀντίθεσης μεταξὺ ποσοδευτικῶν (*κάποιος, κάπου, κάποτε...*) και στοιχείων ἀρνητικῆς πολικότητας (*κανεῖς, πούθενά, ποτέ, τίποτε*).

οποιαδήποτε ερμηνευτική προσέγγιση: «Το στοιχείο *κᾶν* (με το -ν να διατηρείται μόνο σε προφωνηεντική θέση και στον τύπο *κάμ-ποσος*) συντέθηκε τότε μαζί με άλλες αρχαίες αόριστες αντωνυμίες και επιρρήματα, για να δημιουργηθεί το σύνολο των σύγχρονων αόριστων τύπων» (2006 [1997]: 427).

4.1 Οφείλεται σε επανανάληψη και επέκταση του *κα-*;

Οι ερμηνευτικές προσεγγίσεις αυτής της απροσδόκητης εξέλιξης υπήρξαν ελάχιστες και αυτό ίσως οφείλεται στη βαρύνουσα υπόσταση που είχε εξαρχής η γνώμη τού Γεωργίου Χατζιδάκι, η οποία υιοθετήθηκε κατόπιν από αρκετά λεξικογραφικά έργα (π.χ. *Ετυμολογικό Λεξικό* Ανδριώτη, ΛΚΝ). Ο Χατζιδάκις υποστήριξε συγκεκριμένα ότι το θηλ. *κα(μ)μία* / *κα(μ)μιά* (που, όπως υπογραμμίστηκε, είχε γραμματικοποιηθεί σε πρωιμότερο στάδιο) επανααναλύθηκε, με αποτέλεσμα να αποσπαστεί το τεμάχιο *κα-* και να επεκταθεί πρώτα στο θηλ. *κά-ποια* και κατόπιν στο *κά-ποιος*, από όπου επέδωσε ομοιοτρόπως σε όλη τη σειρά των αοριστολογικών ποσοδεικτών (MNE 2: 405, υποσημ.)⁸.

Η ερμηνεία αυτή προσκρούει σε διάφορα εμπόδια. Εν πρώτοις, δεν προκύπτει από τα μεσαιωνικά κείμενα ότι το θηλ. *καμμία* είχε αποκτήσει τέτοια γενικευτική χρήση, ώστε να αποτελέσει την αφετηρία της σειράς *κα-*. Ακόμη και αν δεχτούμε ότι οι χρονικές του σημασίες (μεσν. *καμμία φορά* «κάποτε», ομοίως στη διάλεκτο του Πόντου⁹) υπήρξαν ιδιαίτερα εκτεταμένες, θα ήταν ευλογοφανέστερη η λήψη ως προτύπου τού αντωνυμικού *καν-ένας*, το οποίο ανήκε στο λεξιλόγιο υψηλής συχνότητας (σημασίες «κάποιος – καθένας – οποιοσδήποτε – ούτε ένας») και έφερε αυξημένο λειτουργικό βάρος σε σχέση με το θηλ. *καμμία*¹⁰. Επιπρόσθετα, η εξήγηση αυτή αποτυγχάνει να ερμηνεύσει πειστικά την αντίθετη εξέλιξη που παρατηρήθηκε στο ομοίως σχηματισμένο *κάμ-ποσος* / *καμ-πόσος*, όπου το τελικό -ν δεν σιγήθηκε χωρίς ίχνη. Ο Χατζιδάκις υποστήριξε ότι «ἐκ τοῦ *κά-μμία* ληφθέντος τοῦ *κά-* ἐλέχθη (...) καὶ *κά-ποιος*, *κά-που*, *κά-πως*, *κά-ποτε*, ἐνῶ τὸ *κάμ-πόσος* φαίνεται ἄλλης ἰδίας κατασκευῆς, ἐξ αὐτοῦ τοῦ *κᾶν* – *ποτέ* [sic]» (MNE 2: 463· η λέξη *ποτέ* στο τέλος της πρότασης πρέπει μάλλον να αποδοθεί σε αβλεψία, καθώς ο συγγραφέας προφανώς εννοούσε *πόσος*). Ωστόσο, το σχόλιο αυτό δεν προσφέρει διέξοδο στο εξεταζόμενο ετυμολογικό πρόβλημα ούτε ανταποκρίνεται στη σύγχρονη εμφάνιση και κατόπιν διαφοροποίηση των διαλαμβανόμενων τύπων.

4.2 Οφείλεται σε αφομοίωση του *ερρίνου* προς τα *άηχα* κλειστά;

Διαφορετική ερμηνευτική προσέγγιση αποτελεί η υπόθεση που βασίζεται σε μελέτη τού Κωνσταντίνου Μηνά σχετικά με την αφομοίωση του *ερρίνου* από τους *άηχους* κλειστούς φθόγγους. Το αξιόλογο αυτό μελέτημα δεν πραγματεύεται ειδικά τη σειρά *κα-*, αναφέρεται όμως στους τύπους *κάποσον*, *καπόσουσ* της κυπριακής διαλέκτου (1987: 260 κ.εξ.) με επιχειρήματα για την ασθενή πραγμάτωση των *ερρίνων* (ενήχων) πριν από τα *άηχα* κλειστά, όπως τεκμηριώνεται ήδη από την ελληνιστική εποχή (ελνστ. *προσῆνεκκεν*, *ἀνενεκεῖν*, *συκκατέστη*· πβ. διαλεκτικούς τύπους της νησιωτικής ζώνης κατά τον Μεσαίωνα, Μαχαιράς: *ἀππέζω*, Γλυκάς: *ἡπορῶ*, Κάτω Ιταλία: *σάτι* < *ώσάν τι*, Πόντος: *κα(μ)πόσος*). Η συγκέντρωση όλων των στοιχείων σχετικά με την έκταση του φαινομένου αφήνει περιθώριο να αναρωτηθούμε μήπως αιτία της απουσίας τού -ν από τη σειρά *κα-* στάθηκε ότι διαδόθηκαν κυρίως από τα ανατολικά και νησιωτικά ιδιώματα, όπου η εν λόγω αφομοίωση παρουσίαζε ιδιαίτερη επίδοση (ΕΛΝΕΓ, λ. *κάποιος*).

Ωστόσο, η εξέταση των στοιχείων δεν ενισχύει την εκδοχή αυτή. Τα λεξικογραφικά δεδομένα της μεσαιωνικής γλώσσας δείχνουν ότι τα μέλη της σειράς *κα-* εμφανίζονται μαζικά στα δημώδη κείμενα, χωρίς περιορισμό ως προς τη γλωσσολογική αφετηρία. Ας σημειωθεί επιπλέον ότι το ίδιο το μεσαιωνικό κυπρ. *κάποσος*, που αποτελεί το επίκεντρο του επιχειρήματος της αφομοίωσης, είναι ακριβώς αυτό που δεν διατηρήθηκε στη Νέα Ελληνική, εφόσον επικράτησε η *έρρινη* παραλλαγή (*κάμ-ποσος*, *καμ-πόσος*), αποδεικνύοντας ότι το φαινόμενο της αφομοίωσης δεν πρέπει να τοποθετηθεί στη ρίζα τού ετυμολογικού προβλήματος.

⁸ Την παλαιά αυτήν άποψη επανέλαβε ο Mendez-Dosuna σε βιβλιοκριτικό άρθρο του για τον Horrocks [1997], προτείνοντας την ερμηνεία της αναλογικής επέκτασης από τα *κάνεις* > *κα-νείς*, *κα(μ)-μία* (2000: 292).

⁹ Ανδριώτης 1951: 890· Οικονομίδης 1958: 246, 252.

¹⁰ Για τον ίδιο λόγο δεν ευσταθεί η υπόθεση του Pernot ότι το *κα-* προήλθε από ανομοίωση του σποραδικά εμφανιζόμενου τύπου *κάντινα* (αιτιατικής τού *κάντις*), από όπου επεκτάθηκε στους υπόλοιπους παρόμοιους σχηματισμούς (1946: 241).

4.3 Οφείλεται σε φωνολογική μείωση;

Τα στάδια της γραμματικοποίησης που εξετάστηκαν σε προηγούμενη ενότητα παρέχουν αξιόπιστο ερμηνευτικό πλαίσιο για τον σχηματισμό των σύνθετων ποσοδεικτών. Με αφετηρία αυτή τη θεωρητική προσέγγιση, ο Βελούδης απέδωσε τη σύγηση του -ν σε φωνολογική μείωση, η οποία συνεπάγεται απώλεια της ακεραιότητας του στοιχείου (όπως στο γνωστό παράδειγμα του *θα < θέλει ἵνα* ως δείκτη του μέλλοντα). Επειδή το *κάν* χάνει το ειδικό βάρος που είχε ως παραχωρητικός σύνδεσμος, καθώς και την έμφαση της ριζικότητάς του, τα φωνολογικά του χαρακτηριστικά εν συνθέσει αμβλύνονται και η μορφή του «στρογγυλεύεται»¹¹. Ολοκληρώνοντας το επιχείρημά του, ο Βελούδης υπογραμμίζει ότι «καταβάλλοντας το /n/ του, το πρόθημά μας εξαγοράζει τη δυνατότητα να εμφανίζεται και σε μη τροπικά, σε ‘επεισοδικά’ (episodic) περιβάλλοντα πραγμάτευσης, δηλαδή σε συμφραζόμενα αληθειακής αναφοράς στον τρέχοντα γνωστό μας κόσμο» (2003: 623).

Παρ’ ότι η φωνολογική μείωση ή διάβρωση αποτελεί χαρακτηριστικό της γραμματικοποίησης, θα ήταν δύσκολο να δεχτούμε ότι οποιοδήποτε τέτοιο βήμα θα συνέβαινε με τρόπο που αντιβαίνει στους φωνολογικούς κανόνες της γλώσσας. Σε προϊόντα αυτής της διαδικασίας, γνωστά στη μεσαιωνική γλώσσα, το προϊόν είναι πάντοτε φωνολογικά ερμηνεύσιμο, όταν συμβαίνει ως βήμα της διαδικασίας της συνθέσεως (π.χ. *μπᾶς καὶ... < μὴν πᾶς καὶ..., ἵνα < τί ἐναι τὰ...*). Ακόμη, ο αναβιβασμός του τόνου στο *κα-* (*κά-ποιος, κά-που, κά-ποτε...*) φαίνεται να προσθέτει έμφαση, εξισορροπώντας την σύγηση του ληκτικού τεμαχίου του, η δε εξήγηση του Βελούδη (1996: 375), ότι σκοπός της μετάθεσης τόνου είναι να υπογραμμιστεί η απώλεια της έμφασης από το ερωτηματικό β’ συνθετικό και να προωθηθεί στο προσκήνιο η «έλλειψη ενδιαφέροντος», αποδίδει στη μεταβολή τελεολογικό χαρακτήρα. Τέλος, για άλλη μια φορά μένει ανερμήνευτος ο αποκλίνων τύπος *κάμ-ποσος / καμ-πόσος*, για τον οποίο δεν προτείνεται καμμία εξήγηση.

4.4 Μια πρόταση

Αναζητώντας την αιτία της αντίρροπης και απροσδόκτης αυτής εξέλιξης, είναι σκόπιμο να συγκεντρώσουμε το μεσαιωνικό υλικό, ώστε να αποκτήσουμε εποπτεία της ποικιλίας των τύπων. Τα δεδομένα ως προς τα μέλη της σειράς *κα-*, συνοδευόμενα από ενδεικτικές χρήσεις, έχουν ως εξής:

- (9) *κάποιος, όκάποιος (όκάποιος ἦλθεν*, Χρονικό Μορέως Η 934)
- (10) *κάπου, όκάπου (τέως όκάπου ἠῦρηκα τὸ ταρτερόν*, Πρόδρομος ΙΙΙ 149· *μόνον γὰ τοῦτον κάπου ἀναστενάζω*, Κυπρ. ερωτικά 655)
- (11) *κάποτε, όκάποτε, όκάμποτε, όκαποτέ (τὴν μάχην τὴν εἶχαμεν όκάποτε μετὰ τοὺς Γενοβήσους*, Λ. Ντελλαπόρτας *Ερωτήματα* 1362· *ἂν τύχη κάποτε εἰς καιρόν*, Σπανέας Β 49)
- (12) *κάτι, όκάτι(ν) – κάτις, κάντις, όκάτις (> κάτς*, διάλεκτος Πόντου) (*όκάτι νὰ σᾶς εἶπω*, Σπανέας Β 406· *όκάτι ἐπιδεξιώτερος*, Χρονικό Μορέως Η 1376)
- (13) *κάμποσος, καμπόσος, κάποσος, καπόσος, όκάμποσος, όκάποσος (ἀπέραςεν καιρὸς καμπόσος*, Χρονικό Μορέως Ρ 5979)
- (14) *κάπως* (δεν μαρτυρείται στις διαθέσιμες μεσαιωνικές πηγές)

Η μεσαιωνική ποικιλία καταδεικνύει την ταλάντευση των μελών της σειράς *κα-*, προτού επικρατήσουν οι άρρινοι τύποι (εκτός του *κάμποσος*). Επιπρόσθετα, κάτι που χαρακτηρίζει όλη τη σειρά και θα αποδειχθεί κλειδί στο εξεταζόμενο ετυμολογικό ζήτημα είναι η παρουσία του προθεματικού *ό-*: *όκάποιος, όκάπου, όκάποτε, όκάτι, όκάμποσος*. Το προθεματικό *ό-* μάλλον δεν σχετίζεται με τις έναρθρες συνεκφορές (μεσν. *ό κάποτε* «πρώην»), αλλά προφανώς επεκτάθηκε από τη σειρά των αορίστων αναφορικών αντωνυμιών (*όποιος, όπου, όποτε...*), οι οποίες εισάγουν ελεύθερες αναφορικές προτάσεις (Horrocks 2006 [1997]: 513· Χειλά-Μαρκοπούλου 1990-1: 31-2, υποσημ. 59· Χατζιδάκις ΜΝΕ 2: 594-7). Συνεπώς, οι νεοεμφανιζόμενοι στη μεσαιωνική γλώσσα σύνδεσμοι *όπου, πού, ό ποῖος, ό όποῖος*, με τους οποίους εισάγονται οι αναφορικές συμπληρωματικές προτάσεις, συμβάλλουν στην αποσαφήνιση των νέων συστημάτων¹².

Εν προκειμένω, το *ό-* λειτούργησε ως δείκτης αοριστίας στους τύπους των αορίστων αντωνυμιών, με αποτέλεσμα να εδραιωθεί σταδιακά η αντιδιαστολή: *ό-* αοριστολογικό ~ *Ο* ερωτηματικό,

¹¹ Βελούδης 1995: 400· 1996: 371, 375-6. Σημειώνει επίσης ότι στην απώλεια του -ν ενδέχεται να συνέβαλε και το *καθόλου* (με επανανάληψη ή εσφαλμένο μορφολογικό χωρισμό).

¹² Μεθοδική και αναλυτική εξέταση των νέων δομών, της συμβολής των ρομανικών γλωσσών και του ρόλου της γραμματικοποίησης πραγματοποιείται στα αξιόλογα μελετήματα της Μανωλέσσου (2004· 2008: 258-60), όπου ανασκοπούνται και οι παλαιότερες ερμηνευτικές προσεγγίσεις.

σχηματίζοντας αντίστοιχα ζεύγη: *ὅποιος – ποιος, ὅπου – ποῦ, ὅπως – πῶς, ὅποτε – πότε, ὅτι – τι*. Η παρουσία τού *ὁ-* και στη σειρά *κα-*, ὅπως προέκυψε από τα στοιχεῖα, επιτρέπει να συμπεράνουμε ότι η σειρά *κα-* επηρεάστηκε αξιοσημείωτα από τη σειρά *ὁ-*. Ως εκ τούτου, οι ποσοδείκτες έχασαν το ληκτικό *-ν* του *α'* συνθετικού, ώστε να είναι διαφανέστερο το δεύτερο μέρος τους¹³. Επομένως, παρά την αρχική τάλαντευση, επικράτησαν οι τύποι *κά-ποιος* (κατά το *ὁ-ποιος*), *κά-που* (κατά το *ὁ-που*), *κά-ποτε* (κατά το *ὁ-ποτε*), *κά-πως* (κατά το *ὁ-πως*) και *κά-τι* (κατά το *ὁ-τι*).

Με βάση την προτεινόμενη αναλογική αντιστοιχία μπορούμε να εξηγήσουμε ικανοποιητικά τη διατήρηση του ερρίνου στον τύπο *κάμ-ποσος / καμ-πόσος*. Επειδή η αρχαία αντωνυμία *ὁπόσος* δεν διατηρήθηκε, αλλά υποκαταστάθηκε από το *πόσος* (στην ερωτηματική λειτουργία) και το *ὅσος* (στην αναφορική-αοριστολογική λειτουργία), εξέλιπε το αντισταθμιστικό φορτίο που θα ενίσχυε την αναλογία, προκειμένου να επικρατήσει ο τύπος *κά-ποσος / κα-πόσος* (κατά το *ὁ-πόσος*). Η μεσαιωνική ποικιλία παραχώρησε γρήγορα τη θέση της στους ἑρρινούς τύπους *κάμ-ποσος / καμ-πόσος*, οι οποίοι επικράτησαν κατόπιν στη Νέα Ελληνική.

5. Επίλογος

Τα διαθέσιμα στοιχεῖα αποκαλύπτουν μέρος των παραγόντων που συνετέλεσαν στην ανάπτυξη των αοριστολογικών συστημάτων και ποσοδεικτών κατά τη μεσαιωνική περίοδο. Η γραμματικοποίηση, η αναλογική επέκταση, η αποσημασιοποίηση και η γενίκευση διαμόρφωσαν καθοριστικά τον σχηματισμό τῆς σειράς *κα-*, προσφέροντας έτσι επαρκείς απαντήσεις τόσο για το πλαίσιο όσο και για τις λεπτομέρειες της εμφανίσεώς τους.

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¹³ Συνοπτική μορφή τῆς πρότασης αὐτῆς διατυπώθηκε στο Μωυσιάδης 2011: 52-3.

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ΓΙΑ ΤΟ ΝΕΟΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΟ ‘ΓΕΡΟΥΝΔΙΟ’ *ή* ‘ΓΕΡΟΥΝΤΙΒΟ’ *ή* ‘ΓΕΡΟΥΝΔΙΑΚΟ’ (άλλως πως, «*far from the madding gerund*»!)

Θανάσης Νάκας
Εθνικό και Καποδιστριακό
Πανεπιστήμιο Αθηνών / ΠΤΔΕ
anakas@primedu.uoa.gr

ABSTRACT

A descendant of the AG active present participle –a declinable form functioning both as a verb and as a noun (adjective)–, the MG indeclinable forms in -οντας / -ώντας, after a long and successive evolution, combine (‘participate in’) the characteristics of both a verb and an adverb, thus having still claims on the term ‘participle’. Instead, the use of a term such as ‘converb’ (Haspelmath 1995, Moser 2006, ²2009) is leading to confusion. As far as the term gerund is concerned, Moser (2006:48) is right to argue that «historically, Greek never possessed a gerund» and the similarity in some of the use of the forms in -οντας / -ώντας to that of the Romance gerund «is no adequate reason for the adoption of an essentially misleading term». Besides, MG forms in -οντας / -ώντας do not correspond either to the so-called English gerund, which is so different from the standard form of the Latin gerund, that, according to A Comprehensive Grammar of the English Language (§§3.56, 15.12-14, 17.54, passim), “it is not useful to distinguish a gerund from a participle”, and, terminologically, all the -ing items must be classed as participles”.

Λέξεις κλειδιά: modus gerundivus, gerundium, gerundivum, converb, άκλιτη vs. κλιτή μετοχή, ονοματικότητα, επιρρηματικότητα, ρηματικότητα.

1. Ένας χρηστικός κανόνας για την άκλιτη μετοχή στη Νέα Ελληνική

Σε δύο προηγούμενα δημοσιεύματα (Νάκας 2003 και 2007 –όπου και άλλα, παλαιότερα σχετικά δημοσιεύματα) προσπάθησα, με μια διδακτική σκόπευση, να προτείνω ένα χρηστικό κανόνα για την άκλιτη μετοχή στη σύγχρονη Νέα Ελληνική. (Με ποια κριτήρια σταθμίστηκε αυτός ο κανόνας, είναι μια συζήτηση που ξεπερνά τα χωρικά όρια αυτής της ανακοίνωσης).

Είναι ένας κανόνας δέκα σημείων: ο τύπος σε -οντας / -ώντας

[Α] είναι άκλιτος σε όλες τις περιπτώσεις (αναφέρεται *λογικά* σε υποκείμενα και των τριών γενών και των δύο αριθμών, χωρίς να μεταβάλλεται *μορφολογικά*).

[Β] σχηματίζεται πάντοτε από το ‘μη συνοπτικό’ θέμα του ρήματος (λ.χ. *γράφοντας* / **γράφοντας*) από το οποίο σχηματίζεται και ο ενεστώτας, ο παρατατικός και ο (επιτούτου λεγόμενος ‘εξακολουθητικός’) μέλλοντας· μολοντί μορφολογικά κατάγεται από την ενεργητική ενεστωτική μετοχή, συγχρονικά φαίνεται να δηλώνει ‘ποιόν ενέργειας’ (διάρκεια, επανάληψη, εξέλιξη κ.ά.) αλλά όχι και χρονική βαθμίδα·

[Γ] χρησιμοποιείται πάντοτε ισοδύναμα με ‘επιρρηματικές εκφράσεις’ (κυρίως επιρρήματα, λ.χ. *τα έλεγε ψιθυρίζοντας*: πβ. ... *ψιθυριστά* –ή, συνηθέστερα, επιρρηματικές δευτερεύουσες προτάσεις, με τις οποίες και αναλύεται, λ.χ. *βλέποντας ότι δεν θα τα καταφέρει, εγκατέλειψε την προσπάθεια*: πβ. ...*επειδή έβλεπε* ...).

[Δ] –που προκύπτει από το [Γ]– δεν επιδέχεται ανάλυση με αναφορική δευτερεύουσα πρόταση (λ.χ. **να έρθει στον πίνακα κάποιος γράφοντας ωραία γράμματα* / **...που (να) γράφει* ...).

[Ε] –που προκύπτει από το [Δ]– δεν συνοδεύεται από το άρθρο (οριστικό ή αόριστο –λ.χ. *αυτός είναι *ο / *ένας γράφοντας ωραία γράμματα*).

[ΣΤ] χάρη στη ρηματικότητά του, δέχεται συντακτικά εξαρτήματα (ΥΠΟΚΕΙΜΕΝΟ, ΑΝΤΙΚΕΙΜΕΝΟ-Ο/-Α, ΠΡΟΣΔΙΟΡΙΣΜΟ-Ο/-ΟΥΣ) που είναι τα ίδια / ομόλογα με το ομόρριζο ρήμα·

[Z] είτε δέχεται συντακτικά εξαρτήματα είτε όχι (ανάλογα με το ιδιοσυγκρασιακό ‘σημασιολογικό ποιόν’ και το ‘σθένος’), συνιστά πυρήνα / κεφαλή φράσης (ΜΦ = ‘μετοχική φράση’ ή ‘φράση μετοχής’).

[H] ως προς το υποκείμενο, κατά κανόνα συνάπτεται λογικά (‘ταυτότητα αναφοράς’) με το υποκείμενο του ρήματος εξάρτησης (του ρήματος της πρότασης από την οποία εξαρτάται η ΜΦ): για τις ελάχιστες, συγκεκριμένες εξαιρέσεις αυτού του κανόνα (ΜΦ ‘απόλυτη’ / μη συνημμένη ή συνημμένη με άλλον, εκτός από το υποκείμενο, όρο της εξαρτώσας πρότασης) βλ. Νάκα 2007.

[Θ] αντίθετα με ό,τι ισχύει για το ρήμα, οι αδύνατοι τύποι των προσωπικών αντωνυμιών δεν προτάσσονται αλλά επιτάσσονται / έπονται της μετοχής (προκαλώντας, στην περίπτωση της προπαροξυτονίας της, και την εμφάνιση δευτερεύοντος λεξικού τόνου, λ.χ. **με** ακολουθεί, **σας** βλέπει, **του** μιλάει αλλά: *ακολουθώντας με, βλέποντάς σας, μιλώντας του*).

[Ι] η άρνηση ενπροκειμένω είναι πάντοτε το *μη(ν)*.

Σε ό,τι αφορά τις συχνότερες σημασίες που εκφράζει η άκλιτη αυτή μετοχή σε *-οντας* / *-ώντας*, θυμίζω επιτροχάδην (για λεπτομέρειες βλ. τα δύο δημοσιεύματα εδώ πιο πάνω) ότι μπορεί να είναι: (I.i) τροπική (κυρίως τροπική) ή (I.ii) τροπική του (αφηρημένου) μέσου· (II) συνοδευτική (της ‘συνοδευτικής περίπτωσης’). (III.i) χρονική ‘του ταυτόχρονου’ ή (III.ii) χρονική ‘του προτερόχρονου’ ή (πολύ σπάνια) (III.iii) χρονική ‘του υστερόχρονου’· (IV.i) αιτιολογική (‘του αναγκαστικού αιτίου’) ή (IV.ii) τελική (‘του τελικού αιτίου’ ή ‘του σκοπού’ ή (IV.iii) αποτελεσματική (του αποτελέσματος ή ‘του αιτιατού’· (V.i) υποθετική ή (V.ii) εναντιωματική· (VI) ‘μεικτής σημασίας’: χρονική + αιτιολογική, χρονική + υποθετική, τροπική + τελική, τροπική + αποτελεσματική, τροπική του μέσου + υποθετική, τροπική του μέσου + αιτιολογική, κ.ο.κ.

Αντί του όρου ‘άκλιτη μετοχή’ (παράλληλα με το ‘κλιτή μετοχή’, που εισηγούμαστε για τη Νέα Ελληνική –βλ. τον πίν. 8-B στο τέλος), ο όρος ‘γερούνδιο’, αφοτου τον εισηγήθηκε η εξελληνισμένη (1999) *Γραμματική της Ελληνικής Γλώσσας* των Holton, Mackridge και Φιλιππάκη,¹ υιοθετήθηκε σε όλες σχεδόν τις επιστημονικές εργασίες που γράφονται (κυρίως) με το θεωρητικό μοντέλο της μετασηματιστικής γραμματικής και αφορούν τον άκλιτο τύπο σε *-οντας* / *-ώντας*.²

Σχετικά με αυτό το θέμα, θα ήθελα να θυμίσω, με κάποια χρονικά άλματα, ορισμένα περιστατικά.

2. Γερούνδιο και (ενεργητική) ενεστωτική μετοχή στη Λατινική

‘Γεουντίβο’ (δηλαδή, στην ουσία, γεουνδιακό) είχε αποκαλέσει, περιστασιακά (δηλαδή μία μόνο φορά: *Απαντα*, τόμ. 6, σ. 339 σημ.), την άκλιτη μετοχή ο Τριανταφυλλίδης –χωρίς, όμως, να υιοθετήσει τελικά τον όρο, και μάλιστα στη *Νεοελληνική Γραμματική* του 1941.³ Στον όρο αυτόν, με τη γαλλική του εκδοχή, επανήλθε ο Mirambel, στη γνωστή μελέτη του (1961) “Participe et gérondif en grec medieval et moderne”. Για την ακρίβεια, ο όρος ‘γεουντίβο / gérondif’ (όπως και αν εννοείται στα Γαλλικά –θα δούμε πιο κάτω), αποδίδει το λατινικό ‘gerundivum’, ένα ρηματικό επίθετο παθητικής διάθεσης (λ.χ. [βλ. πίν. 1-A] *lauda-ndus, -nda, -ndum*), ομόλογο με το επίθετο σε *-τέος -τέα -τέον*, και, πάντως, εντελώς εκτός τόπου, όταν γίνεται λόγος για τη μετοχή της Ελληνικής, κλιτή ή άκλιτη. Το ‘gerundivum’ –που τελικά εξελληνίσθηκε όχι ως ‘γεουντίβο’ αλλά ως ‘γεουνδιακό(ν)’– θα μπορούσε να υιοθετηθεί για τα επίθετα σε *-τέος -τέα -τέον* της Ελληνικής (λ.χ. *επαινετέος*), όπως και για τα επίθετα σε *-(a/i)ble* (λ.χ. *lovable*) της Αγγλικής, κάτι που, και στις δύο αυτές γλώσσες, για ιστορικούς ή άλλους λόγους, δεν συνέβη έως σήμερα και που δεν υπάρχει και το πρακτικό (ή επιστημονικό) όφελος για να συμβεί.⁴ Στις γαλλόφωνες γραμματικές της Λατινικής το γεουνδιακό ονομάζεται (Ernout and Thomas, §§ 277, 285, passim) «adjectif en ‘-ndus’», δεδομένου ότι το (κυρίως ειπείν) γεούνδιο ονομάζεται ‘gérondif’.

Πάμε στον όρο ‘γερούνδιο’ (ιταλ. ‘gerundio’, αγγλ. ‘gerund’), που αποδίδει το λατινικό ‘gerundium’, ένα ρηματικό ουσιαστικό που κλίνεται μόνο στις πλάγιες πτώσεις του ενικού και (κατ’ ουσίαν) προσφέρει κλίση στο απαρέμφατο [βλ. πάλι τον πίν. 1-A]– Ονομαστική, δεν υπάρχει:

¹ Έναν πρώτο, πρόχειρο κριτικό σχολιασμό βλ. στον Νάκα 2010.

² Κλαίρης και Μπαμπινιώτης (§394): «[] τη λειτουργία της ενεργητικής επιρρηματικής (χρόνου, αιτίας, τρόπου κ.λπ.) μετοχής επιτελούν οι τύποι σε *-οντας* / *-ώντας* [], η μόνη δε μορφή μετοχής είναι η μετοχή του μεσοπαθητικού παρακειμένου σε *-μένος, -μένη, -μένο* [] χρησιμοποιούνται μερικές φορές και μετοχές μεσοπαθητικού ενεστώτα, σπάνια δε (με ορισμένα ρήματα) και μεσοπαθητικού αορίστου».

³ Εδώ (§§976-80) γίνεται λόγος για: Α) ενεστωτική ή ενεργητική μετοχή· Β) μετοχή παθητικού παρακειμένου ή παθητική μετοχή· Γ) («σπάνια») μετοχή παθητικού ενεστώτα.

⁴ «[] the word *gerundive* has accordingly no proper function in English grammar» (Fowler, 224).

υποκαθίσταται στη θέση του το απαρέμφατο (*laudare*)· Γενική, υπάρχει: *laudandi*· Δοτική, ναι: *laudando*· Αιτιατική, ή απαρέμφατο: (*laudare*) ή υποχρεωτικά εμπρόθετο γερούνδιο: *ad laudandum*· Αφαιρετική: *laudando* (μοιάζει με τη Δοτική). Η δομή στο σύνολό της παραβάλλεται με το σύνναρθρο απαρέμφατο της Αρχαίας Ελληνικής, που ακριβώς αποκτά πτώσεις με τη βοήθεια της κλίσης του άρθρου: *τὸ ἐπαινεῖν, τοῦ ἐπαινεῖν, τῷ ἐπαινεῖν*. Θα έλεγε κανείς ότι, προκειμένου για τη Λατινική, τόσο με τον όρο ‘modus gerundivus’ όσο και με τον όρο ‘gerundium’ δηλώνεται η ίδια λεξική κατηγορία, που στην πρώτη περίπτωση πραγματώνεται ως επίθετο ενώ στη δεύτερη περίπτωση ως ουσιαστικό, με δυνατότητα εναλλαγής μεταξύ τους (το γερουνδιακό, ως αποτέλεσμα της λεγόμενης ‘γερουνδιακής έλξης’, υποκαθίσταται στη θέση του γερουνδίου, υποχρεωτικά σε ορισμένα περιβάλλοντα ή προαιρετικά σε άλλα). Η κοινή αυτή λεξική κατηγορία σχηματίζεται με την προσθήκη στο ενεστωτικό θέμα [βλ. τον πίν. 1-B] του επιθήματος *-(e)nd-*, λ.χ. *volu-end-us* (<**volu-end-os*), *lauda-nd-us*, παράλληλου με το επιθήμα *-(e)nt-* της ενεστωτικής μετοχής, λ.χ. *volu-en-s* (<**volu-ent-s*), *lauda-n-s* (γνκ. *volu-ent-is*, *lauda-nt-is*). Ειδικά το γερουνδιακό έχει και τροπική σημασία, εκφράζει λ.χ. μια ‘δεοντική τροπικότητα’ που δεν δηλώνει ούτε το γερούνδιο ούτε η μετοχή.

‘modus gerundivus’				
(πβ. ΑΕ ρηματικό επίθετο σε -τέος, -τέα, -τέον, λ.χ.) <i>επαινε-τέος, επαινε-τέα, επαινε-τέον</i> γαλλ. <i>lav-able</i> αγγλ. <i>lov-able</i>	gerundivum [γερουνδιακό]	gerundium [γερούνδιο]		(πβ. ΑΕ)
	<i>lauda-ndus, lauda-nda, lauda-ndum</i> Ernout and Thomas : «adjectif en ‘-ndus’»			
		<i>(laudare)</i>	Ον.	<i>τὸ ἐπαινεῖν</i>
		<i>laudandi</i>	Γνκ.	<i>τοῦ ἐπαινεῖν</i>
		<i>laudando</i>	Δοτ.	<i>τῷ ἐπαινεῖν</i>
		<i>(laudare) ή ad laudandum</i>	Αιτ.	<i>τὸ ἐπαινεῖν</i>
		<i>laudando</i>	Αφαιρ.	

Πίνακας 1-A

<i>-(e)nd-</i>	<i>-(e)nt-</i>
λ.χ. <i>volu-end-us</i> (<* <i>volu-end-os</i>) <i>lauda-nd-us</i>	λ.χ. <i>volu-en-s</i> (<* <i>volu-ent-s</i>) [γνκ. <i>volu-ent-is</i>] <i>lauda-n-s</i> [γνκ. <i>lauda-nt-is</i>]

Πίνακας 1-B

Το γερούνδιο πραγματώνει πολλές από τις λειτουργίες του ονόματος, ιδιαίτερα στη γενική πτώση (λ.χ. [στον πίν. 2-A]: *ars scribendi* –πβ. *η τέχνη του γράφειν*), δεδομένου ότι σε αυτή την περίπτωση δεν εξαρτάται ποτέ άμεσα από ρήμα για να θεωρηθεί κάποιου είδους συμπλήρωμα ή προσδιορισμός (επιρρηματικός ή άλλος) του ρήματος. Στις άλλες πτώσεις ([βλ. πίν. 2-B]: στο 3 και 4 σε πτώση δοτική // στο 5 έως 8 σε εμπρόθετη αιτιατική, ως το συντακτικό εξάρτημα διαφορετικών προθέσεων: *ad, inter, propter* αλλά και *ad, in, ob* κτλ., // και στο 9 και 10 σε αφαιρετική, που και αυτή μπορεί να εκφέρεται εμπροθέτως με *ab, de, ex, in, pro* κ.ά. προθέσεις) –σ’ αυτές τις άλλες πτώσεις, εκτός της γενικής, ως εξάρτημα ρήματος ή και επιθέτου, εξέφραζε κάποιες επιρρηματικές σημασίες, ειδικά τον ‘σκοπό’ στη δοτική, και την ‘αφηρημένη συνοδεία’ ή το ‘αφηρημένο μέσο / όργανο’ στην αφαιρετική.

Ένα ειδικότερο σχόλιο γι’ αυτή την τελευταία περίπτωση που μας δείχνουν τα παραθέματα 9 και 10: *hominis mens* (ο ανθρώπινος νους) *alitur* (τρέφεται) *discendo et cogitando* (διά του μανθάνειν και διά του συλλογίζεσθαι, επί λέξει). Τη σημασία της αφαιρετικής του μέσου / οργάνου απέδιδε με ακρίβεια στην Αρχαία Ελληνική ένα σύνναρθρο απαρέμφατο σε πτώση ‘δοτική του μέσου’ (λ.χ. *νίκησον ὄργην τῷ λογιζέσθαι καλῶς*), αλλά εξίσου καλά την απέδιδε και η ενεστωτική μετοχή, ενεργητική (λ.χ. *μανθάνων*) και μεσοπαθητική, και μάλιστα των αποθετικών ρημάτων (λ.χ. *συλλογιζόμενος* –πβ. και *ληζόμενοι ζῶσι* [διά του ληστεύειν, διά της ληστείας]). Εάν στο 10 λάβουμε υπόψην και τη γερουνδιακή έλξη: *loquendi elegantia* [η κομψότητα του ομιλείν] *augetur* [αυξάνεται / καλλιεργείται] *legendō* [διά του αναγινώσκειν] *oratores et poetas* [ρήτορας και ποιητάς –διαπιστώνουμε ότι εδώ το *legendō* έχει ως αντικείμενο το *oratores et poetas*], αλλά μόλις μετατραπεί σε *legendis oratoribus et poetis* [δι’ αναγνώστέων ρητόρων και ποιητών, κατά λέξη], μετατρέπεται, ως αποτέλεσμα της

γερουνδιακής έλξης, σε παρονομαστικό εξάρτημα του δικού του αντικειμένου –κάτι που ενισχύει την ονομαστικότητα του γερουνδίου, ακόμη και όταν προσδιορίζει ρήμα.

Και η ενεργητική ενεστωτική μετοχή / το *participium praesens* της Λατινικής; Εάν στις εμπρόθετες χρήσεις του γερουνδίου ο κατάλογος των επιρρηματικών σημασιών είναι διευρυμένος, αυτό οφείλεται στο ότι η όποια επιρρηματική λειτουργία και σημασία δεν καθορίζεται από το γερούνδιο αλλά από το σημασιολογικό ποιόν της πρόθεσης (*ad*, *in*, *ob* κτλ.) από την οποία εξαρτάται το γερούνδιο, σε συνδυασμό με το σημασιολογικό ποιόν του κύριου ρήματος (ή του επιθέτου) από το οποίο εξαρτάται ολόκληρη η εμπρόθετη φράση.

ΣΤΗ ΓΕΝΙΚΗ (πάντοτε ονομαστική χρήση)	
1. <i>ars scribendi</i> [πβ. η τέχνη του γράφειν]	
2.	[γερουνδιακό, αποτέλεσμα έλξης]
	↓
<i>cupiditas belli gerendi</i> <	
< <i>cupiditas gerendi bellum</i>	
	↑
[γερούνδιο, πριν από τη γερουνδιακή έλξη]	

Πίνακας 2-A

ΣΤΙΣ ΑΛΛΕΣ ΠΤΩΣΕΙΣ (επιρρηματική χρήση, μόνο για τη δήλωση ‘σκοπού’ και ‘αφηρημένης συνοδείας’ ή ‘αφηρημένου μέσου’)	
3. <i>praeesse agro colendo</i> < [πριν από την υποχρεωτική γερουνδιακή έλξη:] <i>praeesse agrum colendo</i>	
4. <i>rei gerendae diem dicere</i> < [πριν από την υποχρεωτική γερουνδιακή έλξη:] <i>rem gerendo diem dicere</i>	
5. <i>ad dicendum</i>	
6. <i>ad verba dicenda</i> [< <i>ad verba dicendum</i>]	
7. <i>inter rem agendam istam</i>	
8. <i>propter auspicia repetenda</i>	
9. <i>hominis mens discendo alitur et cogitando</i>	
10. <i>loquendi elegantia</i> [] <i>augetur legendo oratores et poetas</i> [> <i>legendis oratoribus et poetis</i> , μετά τη γερουνδιακή έλξη].	
[[νίκησον ὄργην τῷ λογίζεσθαι καλῶς / ληζόμενοι ζῶσι]]	

Πίνακας 2-B

ΜΕΤΟΧΕΣ	
1. <i>nam et secundas res splendoriores facit amicitia et adversas partiens communicansque</i> (μερίζουσα τε καὶ κοινωνοῦσα –πβ. τῷ μερίζειν τε καὶ κοινωνεῖν) <i>leviores</i>	
2. <i>quam serpentem multiplici lapsu et erratico ferro amputans</i> (τέμνουσα) <i>coercet ars agricularum</i>	
3. <i>hi enim omnes diu cogitantes</i> (σκοποῦντες) <i>de rebus humanis intellegebant eas nequaquam pro opinione volgi esse extimescendas</i>	

Πίνακας 3

Η μετοχή, αντιθέτως, από μόνη της, χωρίς το δεκανίκι κάποιας πρόθεσης, εξέφραζε ένα πλήθος ‘επιρρηματικές’ λεγόμενες ‘σημασίες’, μπορούσε να είναι χρονική, τροπική, συνοδευτική, αιτιολογική, υποθετική, εναντιωματική κτλ. –μπορούσε δηλαδή να εκφράζει και σημασίες που κατά κανόνα δεν εξέφραζε το γερούνδιο. Παρατηρήθηκε, εξάλλου, ότι, σε όλες τις περιόδους της Λατινικής, όταν το δηλούμενο μέσον ή ὄργανο (η κατεξοχήν γερουνδιακή σημασία) ήταν συνεχόμενο ή επαναλαμβανόμενο, η μετοχή ήταν καταλληλότερη να το εκφράσει, χάρη στο γεγονός (λένε οι έγκριτες γραμματικές της Λατινικής) ότι, δίπλα στο γερούνδιο και το γερουνδιακό, η μετοχή μπορεί να αναλαμβάνει σαφέστερα τη ρηματική σύνταξη (στον πίν. 3 δίνονται κάποια σχετικά παραδείγματα, που δεν θα τα σχολιάσω, για να μην υπερβώ τα χωρικά όρια αυτής της ανακοίνωσης) –και, μάλιστα, σ’ αυτή την περίπτωση, γίνεται

λόγος ειδικά για ‘γερούνδιακή μετοχή’ (ορολογική σύγχυση ολκής, στην οποία θα επανέλθω στο τέλος).

Κάποια πρώτα εξαγόμενα από την εξέταση που προηγήθηκε, είναι ότι στη Λατινική: Το γερούνδιο μετακινείται από την ονοματικότητα προς την επιρρηματικότητα, ‘καταπατώντας’ ζωτικό χώρο της επιρρηματικής μετοχής, χωρίς όμως καθόλου ν’ απειλήσει τα κυριαρχικά της δικαιώματα. Αντιθέτως, η ενεργητική ενεστωτική μετοχή διατηρεί την ονοματικότητά της (στην Αρχαία Ελληνική είναι ακόμη πιο ενισχυμένη, λόγω και της παρουσίας του άρθρου που δεν έχει η Λατινική), όπως διατηρεί την επιρρηματικότητα και τη ρηματικότητά της (με την έννοια ότι δέχεται τα ίδια συντακτικά εξαρτήματα με το ομόρριζο ρήμα και ότι μπορεί να χρησιμεύει ως ένα μη παρεμφατικό συμπλήρωμα του ρήματος).

in edita assurgens [ενν. *incendium*] *et rursus inferiora populando* [= *populans*] *anteiit remedia*.
[πβ. το πυρ κατακαίον τα ανώτερα στρώματα και πάλι κατατρώνοντας τα κατώτερα πρόλαβε κατά πολύ την κατάσβεση]

Πίνακας 4-A

γαλλ. (*en*) *chantant* < *cantando* (γερούνδιο του λατιν. ρ. *canto*, α’ συζυγίας)
γαλλ. *chantant* < αιτιατ. *cantantem* του *cantans* (μετοχή του λατιν. ρ. *canto*, α’ συζυγίας)

Πίνακας 4-B

Από τη συνδυαστική χρήση, στα ίδια συμφαζόμενα, μιας ‘κλιτής’ μετοχής με ένα ‘άκλιτο’ γερούνδιο, όμοιας σημασίας, συνδυαστική χρήση που ξεκινάει ήδη από τη μεταγενέστερη Λατινική και γενικεύεται αργότερα, όπως στο παράδειγμα του πίν. 4-A: ... *assurgens* [μετοχή με εννοούμενο υποκείμενο: *incendium*] *et* ... *populando* [αντί της μετοχής: *populans*... –ας πούμε, στα ελληνικά: το πυρ κατακαίον τα ανώτερα στρώματα και πάλι κατατρώνοντας τα κατώτερα πρόλαβε κατά πολύ την κατάσβεση], παίρνουμε μια μικρή ιδέα (απλουστεύω, κατ’ ανάγκην, λόγω χωρικών περιορισμών) για το πώς στις νεολατινικές γλώσσες (Ιταλική, Γαλλική, Ισπανική κτλ.) η ενεργητική ενεστωτική μετοχή χάνει σταδιακά την κλίση της (καθώς εξομοιώνεται μορφολογικά με το άκλιτο γερούνδιο). Μάλιστα, σε κείμενα που μεταφράζονται την εποχή αυτή από τα Ελληνικά, οι μετοχές του ελληνικού κειμένου αποδίδονται στα Λατινικά συχνότατα με γερούνδιο. Από μορφολογική άποψη, το γερούνδιο κληροδοτείται και επιζεί στις νεολατινικές γλώσσες με γενίκευση του τύπου της α’ συζυγίας (ακόμη και αν το ρήμα ανήκει σε άλλη συζυγία), λ.χ. (πίν. 4-B): γαλλ. (*en*) *chantant* < *cantando* (γερούνδιο του λατιν. ρ. *canto*, α’ συζυγίας), αλλά και μετοχή *chantant* < αιτιατ. *cantantem* του *cantans* (μετοχή του ίδιου ρήματος). Στα Γαλλικά, μετοχή και γερούνδιο είναι όχι μόνο και τα δύο άκλιτα αλλά συμπίπτουν και στην κατάληξή τους. Παρ’ όλ’ αυτά, δεν εξισώνονται ως προς την επιρρηματική τους χρήση –θα έλεγε, μάλιστα, κανείς ότι ο κατάλογος των επιρρηματικών σημασιών της μετοχής είναι ευρύτερος. Εξάλλου, η άκλιτη μετοχή στη Γαλλική, εκτός από επιρρηματική, χρησιμοποιείται και ως ονοματική (επιθετική- αναφορική, κυρίως επιθετική κτλ.).

Προτού περάσουμε στα Ελληνικά, απαιτείται η διατύπωση ενός δεύτερου εξαγόμενου από όσα προηγήθηκαν, και συγκεκριμένα ότι μετοχή και γερούνδιο, έστω και με ανακατανομή των ρόλων τους, διατηρούνται στις νεολατινικές γλώσσες ως αποτέλεσμα ιστορικής εξέλιξης από τη μητρική Λατινική. «Στην Ελληνική», όμως –και εδώ συνεχίζω τη διατύπωση με τα λόγια της Μόζερ (2006:48), με την οποία συμφωνώ–, «η οποία δεν διέθετε ποτέ γερούνδιο, η ομοιότητα και μόνον ως προς τη χρήση των τύπων σε -οντας με το γερούνδιο των Ρομανικών γλωσσών δεν είναι επαρκής λόγος για την υιοθέτηση ενός όρου που για τα Ελληνικά είναι παραπλανητικός (misleading)».

3. Αναντιστοιχία του άκλιτου τύπου σε -οντας /-ώντας με το γερούνδιο της Αγγλικής

Το ίδιο, φυσικά, ισχύει και για τη συσχέτιση των τύπων σε -οντας /-ώντας με το γερούνδιο της Αγγλικής. Ακολουθούν ορισμένες σχετικές επισημάνσεις.

Σε μετάφραση του Σεφέρη από δοκίμιο του Έλιοτ περιλαμβάνεται και το εξής [βλ. πίν. 5-A]: «Η ποίηση αρχίζει ίσως, τολμώ να πω [λέει ο Έλιοτ], μ’ ένα άγριο χτύπημα ενός τυμπάνου μέσα στη ζούγκλα», κάτι που δε βγάζει και πολύ νόημα –και βέβαια, δεδομένου ότι ο Έλιοτ δεν έγραψε αυτό που νόμιζε ότι διάβαζε ο Σεφέρης, δηλαδή: *with a savage beating of a drum*, γερούνδιο με μια γενική προσδιοριστική, αλλά: *with a savage beating a drum*, μετοχή με κατ’ αιτιατικήν αντικείμενο, που μεταφρασμένο κατά λέξη έχει ως εξής: μ’ έναν άγριο κτυπώντα ένα τύμπανο.

Αλλά και για τους φυσικούς ομιλητές της Αγγλικής δημιουργείται πολλές φορές σύγχυση [όπως βλέπουμε στον πίν. 5-B]: το *Women **having** the vote* στο [α] αντιστοιχεί με ελληνικό: *γυναίκες έχουσαι / κατέχουσαι δικαίωμα ψήφου* [ή μάλλον, αφού είναι άκλιτο: *γυναίκες κατέχοντας δικαίωμα ψήφου*] –μοιράζονται [λέει στη συνέχεια, ρήμα στον πληθυντικό] *την πολιτική εξουσία με τους άνδρες*. Στο [β] το *Women’s **having** the vote* αντιστοιχεί, περίπου, με ελληνικό: *το κατέχειν δικαίωμα ψήφου από πλευράς γυναικών* –*περιορίζει* [συνεχίζει τώρα, ρήμα στον ενικό: *reduces*] *την πολιτική εξουσία των ανδρών*. Τέλος, στο [γ] γίνεται η σύγχυση, αποτέλεσμα σύμφυρσης των δύο προηγούμενων: ^[*]*Women **having** the vote reduces men’s political power* που, κατά λέξη, σημαίνει: ^[*]*γυναίκες κατέχουσαι δικαίωμα ψήφου περιορίζει την πολιτική εξουσία των ανδρών*. Αυτό, κατά τις παραδοσιακές γραμματικές της Αγγλικής, είναι ένας αφόρητος σολοικισμός που φέρει ακριβώς το όνομα ‘fused participle’ (Fowler, 215-218).

[Σεφέρης]
<i>Poetry begins [] with a savage beating of a drum in a jungle</i>
[Ελιστ]
<i>Poetry begins [] with a savage beating a drum in a jungle</i>

Πίνακας 5-A

[α] {participle}
<i>Women having the vote</i> share political power with men
[β] {gerund}
<i>Women’s having the vote</i> reduces men’s political power
[γ] {fused participle}
^[*] <i>Women having the vote</i> reduces men’s political power

Πίνακας 5-B

[α]
[Σεφέρης]
<i>ήταν ένας Βορειοηπειρώτης μιλώντας πλέρια και καθαρά ελληνικά (μιλώντας... ≡ που μιλούσε...)</i> (πβ. *έχω κι εγώ ένα φίλο μιλώντας τέλεια αγγλικά)
[Ελύτης]
<i>ο σκυλεύοντας την ηδονή / η δαμάζοντας το δαίμονα / ο νικήσαντας τον Άδη και τον Έρωτα σώσαντας αυτός ο πρίγκηπας των κρίνων είμαι</i>
[β]
[Σεφέρης]
<i>...η ακοή αυτή βρίσκεται, μιλώντας γενικά [πβ. αγγλ. speaking generally], σε χαμηλότερο επίπεδο και από το μέσον όρο λ.χ. των Επτανησίων στον καιρό του Σολωμού []</i>
[γ]
[δημοτικό τραγούδι] <i>Ν’ ακούσουν τα βλαχόπουλα λαλώντας τις φλογέρες</i>
[Ελύτης] <i>Και είδα / κόρες όμορφες [] να φυσούν όρθιες μέσα στην Κοχύλα και άλλες γράφοντας με κιμωλία λόγια παράξενα, αινιγματικά</i>
[Βαρβέρης] <i>Φαντάσου ακόμη γάτες να δρασκελάν τις σάρκες, γάτες βυθίζοντας το πιο μεγάλο νύχι μέσα στις ουλές</i>

Πίνακας 5-Γ

Να θυμίσω, με την ευκαιρία, ότι από ασύνειδη επίδραση της Αγγλικής, ο Σεφέρης γέμισε, όχι μόνο τα ποιήματά του, αλλά και τα πεζά και τα δοκίμιά του με εκφράσεις του τύπου: *ήταν ένας Βορειοηπειρώτης **μιλώντας** πλέρια και καθαρά ελληνικά* όπου το: *μιλώντας...* ερμηνεύεται: *που μιλούσε...*, ισοδυναμεί δηλαδή με αναφορική πρόταση, μια ονομαστική χρήση αποκλίνουσα σε ό,τι αφορά τον άκλιτο τύπο σε -οντας της Νέας Ελληνικής (όπως είδαμε στην ενότητα 1), αλλά απολύτως κανονική σε ό,τι αφορά την Αγγλική. Από μια προκλητική, θα έλεγα, επιδίωξη δημιουργίας ύφους, ο Ελύτης προχωρεί σε διπλή απόκλιση, με ονομαστική αλλά και έναρθη επιπλέον χρήση του άκλιτου τύπου (*ο **σκυλεύοντας** την ηδονή ή η **δαμάζοντας** το δαίμονα*), ακόμη και σε τριπλή απόκλιση (*ο **νικήσαντας** τον Άδη*), αφού επιπροσθέτως τον σχηματίζει αντικανονικά με βάση το συνοπτικό θέμα. Από αγγλική επίδραση, ο Σεφέρης καταφεύγει, ενίοτε, και σε απόλυτες (δηλαδή χωρίς σύναψη με το υποκείμενο) χρήσεις του άκλιτου νεοελληνικού τύπου, όπως το *μιλώντας γενικά* [*generally speaking*,

στον πίν. 5-Γβ]. Δεν λείπουν και τα παραδείγματα άκλιτων τύπων σε χρήση ρηματικού συμπληρώματος (κατηγορηματικής μετοχής), σε εξάρτηση βεβαίως από ειδικά ρήματα (βλ. τα παραθέματα στο 5-Γγ: ν' ακούσουν τα βλαχόπουλα **λαλώντας** τις φλογέρες, δηλαδή να λαλούν τις φλογέρες), στα οποία καταφεύγουν ορισμένοι λογοτέχνες ακολουθώντας μια παλιότερη παράδοση.⁵ Βεβαίως, οι γλωσσικές αποκλίσεις της λογοτεχνίας πρέπει ν' αντιμετωπίζονται γι' αυτό που είναι, και, με αυτή την έννοια, μόνο έμμεσα μπορούν να αφορούν τη διαμόρφωση ενός κοινού χρηστικού κανόνα για τον άκλιτο μετοχικό τύπο της Νέας Ελληνικής, κανόνα τον οποίο προσπάθησα να προσδιορίσω στην ενότητα 1).

4. Αναντιστοιχία του γερούνδιου της Αγγλικής ακόμη και με το γερούνδιο της Λατινικής

Προτού προχωρήσουμε, πρέπει, βεβαίως, να κλείσουμε το θέμα της σχέσης με το γερούνδιο της Αγγλικής. Στη γνωστού κύρους *A Comprehensive Grammar of the English Language*, την οποία υπογράφει η συγγραφική τετράδα Quirk, Greenbaum, Leech και Svartvik, αναπτύσσεται (§§ 15.10 και .12) εκτενής επιχειρηματολογία γύρω από την αναντιστοιχία μεταξύ Αγγλικής και Λατινικής, σε ό,τι αφορά το λεγόμενο 'γερούνδιο', που καταλήγει στο να απορρίψει τον όρο 'γερούνδιο' για την Αγγλική.

Στην επιχειρηματολογία περιλαμβάνονται, μεταξύ άλλων, διαφορές ως προς την τροπικότητα (την οποία μπορεί να εκφράζει μόνο το γερούνδιο της Αγγλικής, αλλά όχι και της Λατινικής). Κυρίως, όμως, επισημαίνονται οι διαφορές ως προς τους σημασιολογικούς ρόλους, δεδομένου ότι στην Αγγλική ο κατάλογος είναι ευρύτερος. Στον πίν. 6-Α βλέπουμε ότι το γερούνδιο της Αγγλικής μπορεί να λειτουργεί, όπως και το απαρέμφατο, ως: υποκείμενο (στο [i]), αντικείμενο (στο [ii]), κατηγορούμενο (στο [iii]), ονοματική παράθεση (στο [iv]), συντακτικό εξάρτημα επιθέτου (στο [v]), ή πρόθεσης (στο [vi]).

	nominal <i>-ing</i> participle clauses
subject:	[i] Watching television keeps them out of mischief
direct object:	[ii] He enjoys playing practical jokes
subject complement:	[iii] His first job had been selling computers
appositive:	[iv] His current research, investigating attitudes to racial stereotypes, takes up most of his time
adjectival complementation:	[v] They are busy preparing a barbecue
prepositional complement:	[vi] I'm responsible for drawing up the budget

Πίνακας 6-Α

***errandum** [ΥΠΟΚΕΙΜ] *humanum est*
(**errare** *humanum est*)
*(**ad**) **errandum** [ΑΝΤΙΚΕΙΜ] *non volebat*
(**errare** *non volebat*)

Πίνακας 6-Β

[1α] **To paint** a child is difficult
[1β] **To paint** a child I bought a new canvas

[2α] **Painting** a child is difficult
[2β] **Painting** a child that morning, I quite forgot the time

Πίνακας 6-Γ

Η ονοματικότητα του αγγλικού γερούνδιου αποδεικνύεται ενισχυμένη, απέναντι ακόμη και στο Λατινικό, το οποίο, ως σημειωθεί, επειδή στερούνταν την ονομαστική και την αιτιατική πτώση, δεν

⁵ Βλ. Νάκας ⁵2004, κεφ. ΙΧ: "Μετοχικά (ή πώς χρησιμοποιούν τη μετοχή ο Σεφέρης, ο Μακρυγιάννης, ο Ελύτης κ.ά.)".

μπορούσε να χρησιμεύσει ως όρισμα με λειτουργία είτε υποκειμένου είτε αντικειμένου, όπως μας δείχνουν και τα παραδείγματα του πίν. 6-B: έναντι του *errare humanum est* (το πλανάσθαι ανθρώπινον) το **errandum humanum est*, με γερούνδιο ως υποκείμενο, είναι προκλητικά αντιγραμματικό στη Λατινική· το ίδιο ισχύει και για το **(ad) errandum non volebat*, με γερούνδιο ως αντικείμενο, έναντι του *errare non volebat*.

Ξεχωριστή επισήμανση γίνεται (A Comprehensive Grammar..., § 17.54 note) σχετικά και με την εξής αναντιστοιχία (βλ. πίν. 6-Γ): το απαρέμφατο (*to paint*) παραμένει απαρέμφατο τόσο στο [1α] όπου λειτουργεί ως υποκείμενο: *to paint a child is difficult*, όσο και στο [1β], όπου λειτουργεί επιρρηματικά: *to paint a child I bought a new canvas*. αντιθέτως, το *painting* στο [2α], όπου λειτουργεί ονομαστικά, και μάλιστα ως υποκείμενο: *Painting a child is difficult* θεωρείται γερούνδιο, αλλά στο [2β] όπου λειτουργεί επιρρηματικά: *Painting a child that morning, I quite forgot the time* (σε ελεύθερη μετάφραση: ζωγραφίζοντας ένα παιδί εκείνο το πρωινό, ξεχάστηκα τελείως) θεωρείται μετοχή· καταγράφεται, επομένως, μια διαφοροποίηση ως προς τη γραμματική κατηγορία (το ‘μέρος του λόγου’). Για να εξαλείψει αναντιστοιχίες αυτού του τύπου, η ενλόγω γραμματική, εγκαταλείποντας τον όρο ‘γερούνδιο’, υιοθετεί τον όρο ‘μετοχική φράση’ / ‘-ing participle phrase’, και στην περίπτωση [2β], όπου λειτουργεί επιρρηματικά (: ‘adverbial -ing participle phrase’), και στην περίπτωση [2α], όπου λειτουργεί ονομαστικά (όπως, εξάλλου, και σ’ όλες τις περιπτώσεις του πιν. 6-A: ‘nominal -ing participle phrase’).

Ο ταλαίπωρος άκλιτος τύπος σε -οντας / -ώντας της Νέας Ελληνικής, με βάση την αποκλειστικά επιρρηματική του λειτουργία, αντιστοιχεί μόλις με την περίπτωση [2β] του πίν. 6-Γ, ενώ στερείται όλες τις ονομαστικές λειτουργίες του πίν. 6-A.

Η Τσιμπλή (2000), η οποία επίσης υιοθετεί τον όρο ‘γερούνδιο’ / ‘gerund’ για τον άκλιτο μετοχικό τύπο της Νέας Ελληνικής, έδειξε πειστικά ότι δεν μπορεί να χρησιμεύσει ως όρισμα, με λειτουργία ούτε υποκειμένου ούτε αντικειμένου ούτε άλλου ρηματικού συμπληρώματος. Τα παραδείγματα αντιγραμματικότητας του πίν. 7 είναι τα δικά της: **(To) ψηφίζοντας μικρά κόμματα βοηθάει τη δημοκρατία* ή **Αντιπαθώ (το) πηγαίνοντας για ψώνια* ή **Θυμάμαι το Γιάννη οδηγώντας* (κ.ά.ό.).

Το ερώτημα (που τίθεται και σε ό,τι αφορά την εργασία της Τσιμπλή) παραμένει: με βάση ποια χαρακτηριστικά θα μπορούσε να ονομαστεί γερούνδιο;

5. Καταληκτικές διαπιστώσεις για τον τύπο σε -οντας / -ώντας της Νέας Ελληνικής

Περνώντας στην κατακλείδα, ας επικεντρωθούμε αποκλειστικά στον νεοελληνικό τύπο. Κατ’ ανάγκην, πάλι απλουστεύοντας, θα θυμίσω ότι μέσα σε ένα καθεστώς μορφολογικής αναδόμησης και εξομαλισμού, με πολλούς μεταπλάσμούς, ιδίως από την πολύπλοκη Γ’ κλίση προς τις άλλες δύο, τα πρώτα σημάδια (τον 4^ο έως 6^ο μ.Χ. αι.) μη μορφολογικής διαφοροποίησης της μετοχής ανάλογα με το γένος ή τον αριθμό, που θα οδηγήσουν στην κατοπινή της ακλίσια, δεν οφείλονται στην εξομοίωση προς κάποιο ανύπαρκτο άκλιτο γερούνδιο της Ελληνικής, αλλά (θα τολμούσα να πω) σε ένα... γραμματικό λάθος, τη σταδιακή δηλαδή επικράτηση του τύπου του αρσενικού γένους, τόσο πάνω στο ουδέτερο (λ.χ. *θηρίον περωτόν έχοντα* [αντί: *έχον*] *τρεις κεφαλάς*) όσο και στο θηλυκό (λ.χ. *είδον γυναίκες ομνύοντας* [αντί: *γυναίκας ομνουσας*]), με μεταπλάσμο και του ουσιαστικού *γυνή* κατά τα πρωτόκλιτα (*η γυναίκα < τη γυναίκα, τις γυναίκες < οι γυναίκες*, κ.ο.κ.).⁶ Έχουμε ακόμη και σήμερα δείγματα αυτής της επικράτησης, λ.χ. *(*)των εκτελεσθέντων εργασιών* ή, λεγόμενο από γυναίκα, *(*)είμαι γεννηθείς μετά τον πόλεμο* ή *(*)είμαι κι εγώ παθών κ.τ.ό.*,⁷ γι’ αυτό θεωρείται ένας ισχυρός λόγος γι’ αυτή την εξέλιξη.

<i>θηρίον περωτόν έχοντα</i> [αντί: <i>έχον</i>] <i>τρεις κεφαλάς</i> <i>είδον γυναίκας ομνύοντας</i> [αντί: <i>γυναίκας ομνουσας</i>]

Πίνακας 8-A

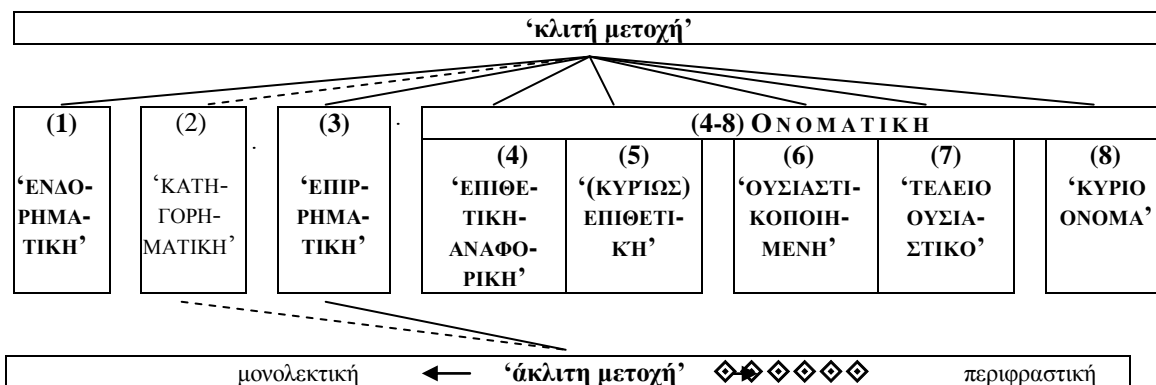
Σε ό,τι αφορά, τώρα, την εξέλιξη στον σημασιολογικό τομέα, ο πίν. 8-B μας βοηθάει ν’ αποτυπώσουμε την κατάσταση που προέκυψε. Βλέπουμε ότι ο τύπος σε -οντας / -ώντας έχει απολέσει όλες τις ονομαστικές λειτουργίες (4-8), διατηρώντας, στην ουσία, μόνον την επιρρηματική (βλ. το (3) στον πίν. 8-B). Στην ενότητα 1. παραθέσαμε τον κανόνα των δέκα σημείων που συνήθως τηρείται κατά τη

⁶ Άφθονο σχετικό υλικό βλ. στη μελέτη της Manolesou.

⁷ Βλ. και Νάκα 2003.

χρήση του άκλιτου αυτού τύπου, μαζί με τις συχνότερες σημασίες που μπορεί να εκφράζει. Χρησιμοποιώ, έναντι του ‘κλιτή μετοχή’, τον όρο ‘άκλιτη (αλλά) μετοχή’, για να υποδηλώσω ότι, εκτός από την επιρρηματικότητα, διατηρεί, έστω μη παρεμφατικά, και τη ρηματικότητά της (εφόσον δέχεται σε ίση μοίρα όλα τα συντακτικά εξαρτήματα του ομόρριζου ρήματος). Άρα, το μόνο στο οποίο δεν (συμ)μετέχει, είναι η ονοματικότητα.

Θέλω να θυμίσω εδώ ότι τόσο για τη μορφολογική όσο και για τη σημασιολογική εξέλιξη στην οποία μόλις αναφέρθηκα, έχουμε από το 2005 την πολύ εμπειριστατωμένη και με άφθονο υλικό μελέτη της Ιώς Μανωλέσσου. Η συναδέλφισσα πιστεύει ότι υπήρξε μια γενικότερη εξέλιξη, τόσο της κλιτής μετοχής προς το επίθετο, όσο και της άκλιτης προς το γερούνδιο, γι’ αυτό και τιτλοφορεί τη μελέτη της “από τις μετοχές στα γερούνδια”. Ως προς αυτό το τελευταίο, να μου επιτρέψει, με όλο το θάρρος, να πιστεύω ότι καταλληλότερος τίτλος θα ήταν: από τη μετοχή στο επίρρημα (άλλωστε, με βάση την κομβικής σημασίας υποσημείωση 2. της μελέτης της, η ίδια δεν επιμένει στον όρο ‘γερούνδιο’, ο οποίος τη διευκόλυνε απλώς στη διαγλωσσική της μελέτη, εφόσον χρησιμοποίησε στοιχεία και από τις ρομανικές κ.ά. γλώσσες).



Πίνακας 8-B

Και πώς πρέπει να αντιμετωπιστεί η προσέγγιση (του Haspelmath κ.ά.), κατά την οποία ο καταλληλότερος ενπροκειμένος όρος δεν είναι μετοχή (participle), αλλά ‘converb’, τον οποίο Μανωλέσσου και Μόξερ εξελληνίζουν ως ‘ρηματικό επίρρημα’; Απαντώ ευθαρσώς: στα Ελληνικά δημιουργεί περισσότερα προβλήματα από όσα υποτίθεται ότι έρχεται να λύσει, δεδομένου, άλλωστε, ότι προκαλεί ορολογική σύγχυση. Λέγοντας ‘ρηματικό επίρρημα’ είναι σαν να λες ‘ονοματική αντωνυμία’, ‘γερονδιακή μετοχή’ ή και ‘γερονδιακό τύπο μετοχής’ κ.ά. παρόμοια. Καταντάει εξωφρενικό (και είπαμε από την αρχή: «far from the madding gerund»!).

Προφανώς, όπως προκύπτει από την προηγούμενη συζήτηση, από τους εκλεκτούς συναδέλφους που ασχολούνται με τα σχετικά ζητήματα, προσωπικά συντάσσομαι με εκείνους που θεωρούν ότι το ν’ αποκαλούμε ‘γερούνδιο’ την άκλιτη μετοχή σε -οντας / -ώντας της Νέας Ελληνικής αποτελεί ιστορική και επιστημονική ανακρίβεια, από την οποία πρέπει να απαλλαγούμε το συντομότερο και από την οποία, πρωτίστως, πρέπει να απαλλάξουμε τη διδασκαλία της Ελληνικής, ως μητρικής και ως δεύτερης / ξένης.

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ΜΟΡΦΟΛΟΓΙΚΗ ΑΝΑΛΥΣΗ ΤΩΝ ΕΠΙΘΕΤΩΝ ΤΗΣ ΝΕΑΣ ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΗΣ

Γεωργία Νικολάου
Αριστοτέλειο Πανεπιστήμιο
Θεσσαλονίκης
georgetten48@hotmail.com

ABSTRACT

The aim of this paper is to propose a different kind of morphological classification for the adjectives of Modern Greek language in order to contribute to the deeper analysis of the language system. Our description is based on the theory of Paradigm Function Morphology (Stump 2001), which is an inferential-realizational theory of inflection. First we take a look at the former classifications of Greek adjectives, then we present our own categorization and finally we present a table of the prototypical and the peripheral adjective categories, according to our corpus-based research findings.

Keywords: paradigm function morphology, adjectives, classification, prototypical, peripheral categories

1. Εισαγωγή

Στόχος της εργασίας αυτής είναι να επιχειρήσει μια νέα μορφολογική ταξινόμηση των επιθέτων της νέας ελληνικής, η οποία στηρίζεται στην ακόλουθη αρχή: ότι σε κάθε γλώσσα που περιλαμβάνει κλίση κάθε λέξη που κλίνεται μεταφέρει ένα σύνολο μορφοσυντακτικών ιδιοτήτων (Stump, 2001) και ότι το κλιτικό παράδειγμα (paradigm), δηλαδή το σύνολο των κλιτών τύπων μιας λέξης, συνιστά κεντρικό στοιχείο στην περιγραφή και την ανάλυση του κλιτικού συστήματος μιας γλώσσας. Μετά από μία σύντομη ανασκόπηση των ταξινομήσεων που έχουν προταθεί μέχρι σήμερα, η καθεμιά από τις οποίες παρουσιάζει τα δικά της πλεονεκτήματα, παρουσιάζουμε τη δική μας πρόταση, η οποία στηρίζεται στη θεωρία των παραδειγματικών συναρτήσεων (Stump, 2001) και συμβαδίζει με μία αντίστοιχου τύπου ταξινόμηση των ουσιαστικών της νέας ελληνικής από την Αναστασιάδη-Συμεωνίδη (2011, υπό έκδοση). Στη συνέχεια, στην προσπάθειά μας να αναδείξουμε τις τάσεις του συστήματος όσον αφορά την παραγωγή και τη χρήση των επιθέτων κατά τη συγχρονία που διανύουμε, χωρίζουμε τις κατηγορίες των επιθέτων σε πρωτοτυπικές και περιφερειακές και κλείνουμε το άρθρο μας απαριθμώντας τα πλεονεκτήματα της ταξινόμησής μας και τις προοπτικές επέκτασης της έρευνάς μας.

2. Ανασκόπηση

2.1 Ταξινόμηση Μανόλη Τριανταφυλλίδη (1996) [1941]

Σύμφωνα με τον Τριανταφυλλίδη, η κλίση των επιθέτων ακολουθεί αυτήν των ουσιαστικών που έχουν τις ίδιες καταλήξεις. Οι βασικές κατηγορίες που αναφέρονται είναι οι ακόλουθες:

- επίθετα σε -ος, -η, -ο, π.χ. καλός
- επίθετα σε -ος, -α, -ο, π.χ. βιταμινούχος, νέος
- επίθετα σε -ος, -ια, -ο, π.χ. φτωχός
- επίθετα με το αρσενικό σε -ύς, -ιά, -ύ/-ής, -ιά, -ί, π.χ. αψύς, σταχτής
- επίθετα σε -ης, -α, -ικο, π.χ. ζηλιάρης

Ενώ η ταξινόμηση αυτή χαρακτηρίζεται από οικονομία, κατά τη γνώμη μας είναι ελλιπής, επειδή παρακάμπτει τους λόγιους τύπους της τέταρτης κατηγορίας (π.χ. ευθύς-ευθέος, πρβλ. του παχέος εντέρου), οι οποίοι είναι παρόντες στη συγχρονική χρήση της γλώσσας, και επειδή δεν περιλαμβάνει

τις κατηγορίες λόγιων επιθέτων που λήγουν σε -ων, -ων, -ον, -ης, -ης, -ες, -ων, -ουσα, -ον. Όπως θα δούμε και στη συνέχεια, παρότι στην περιφέρεια του συστήματος, οι κατηγορίες αυτές παραμένουν ενεργές, καθώς είναι παρούσες στο φαινόμενο της νεολογίας. Αν παραλειφθούν, οδηγούν σε ανακριβή περιγραφή της γλωσσικής πραγματικότητας στη συγχρονία που διανύουμε, όπου ακόμη είναι διάχυτη η συνύπαρξη του λαϊκού με το λόγιο/αρχαιότροπο στοιχείο.

2.2 Ταξινόμηση Φυλιππάκη-Holton-Makridge (1997)

Η ταξινόμηση γίνεται με βάση τις καταλήξεις των επιθέτων και στα τρία γένη. Από αυτήν προκύπτουν δώδεκα κατηγορίες, στις οποίες συγκαταλέγεται και το παραδοσιακά χαρακτηρισμένο «ανώμαλο» *πολύς-πολλή-πολύ*. Οι κλιτικές τάξεις είναι οι ακόλουθες:

1	επίθετα σε -ος, -η, -ο
2	επίθετα σε -ος, -α, -ο, με υποκατηγορία για τα δικατάληκτα
3	επίθετα σε -ος, -ία, -ο
4	επίθετα σε -ύς, -ία, -ύ
5	επίθετα σε -ύς, -εία, -ύ
6	επίθετα σε -ής, -ία, -ί
7	το επίθετο (ποσοδεικτικό) <i>πολύς</i>
8	επίθετα σε -ής, -ές
9	επίθετα σε -ης, -α, -ικο
10	επίθετα σε -άς/-ής, -ού, -άδικο/-ούδικο/-ήδικο
11	επίθετα σε -ων, -ουσα, -ον
12	επίθετα σε -ων/-ονας, -ον

Γίνεται αναφορά στην πιο συχνή κατηγορία (-ος, -η, -ο), ενώ συζητιούνται ζητήματα λογιότητας των μονάδων (π.χ. τα επίθετα σε -ύς, -εία, -ύ), υφολογικών διαφορών ανάμεσα σε γραμματικά ισοδύναμους τύπους (*βόρειος/βόρεια Αμερική*), διαφαινόμενων τάσεων του συστήματος (*οι έγκυες, η έγγεια ιδιοκτησία*) και περιπτώσεων παγίωσης στη χρήση, που έχουν καταγραφεί ως παραδείγματα ονοματοποίησης (*η εγκύκλιος*)¹.

2.3 Ταξινόμηση του Λεξικού του Ιδρύματος Μανόλη Τριανταφυλλίδη (1998)

Στους πίνακες κλιτικών παραδειγμάτων που παρατίθενται στο παράρτημα, γίνεται κατηγοριοποίηση των επιθέτων με βάση τις καταλήξεις τους στα τρία γένη, τη διάκρισή τους σε τρικατάληκτα, δικατάληκτα και μονοκατάληκτα και τη θέση του τόνου (διάκριση σε οξύτονα, παροξύτονα και προπαροξύτονα επίθετα), π.χ. τα επίθετα *καλός, -ή, -ό* και *άσπρος, -η, -ο* τοποθετούνται σε διαφορετικές κατηγορίες. Σε υποομάδες της ίδιας κλιτικής τάξης τοποθετούνται οι αρχαιοκλίτες μετοχές ενεστώτα ή αορίστου, που λήγουν σε -ων, -ουσα, -ον (τονισμένο και άτονο), -ών, -ούσα, -ούν, -ων, -ώσα, -ων, -είς, -είσα, -έν, -ας, -ασα, -αν, καθώς και τα επίθετα που προέρχονται από τα συνηρημένα β' κλίσης της αρχαίας (π.χ. *βραδύνους, ταχύπλους* κτλ.). Στο κλιτικό παράδειγμα επισημαίνονται και οι ποικιλίες που σχετίζονται με τη μετακίνηση του τόνου στη γενική ενικού και πληθυντικού (π.χ. *του διαδίκου, του διάδικου*), ενώ η διάκριση σε λόγια/μη λόγια επίθετα αναφέρεται στη μικροδομή του λεξικού (π.χ. στη μετοχή *λήζας*). Συνολικά οι κατηγορίες και υποκατηγορίες που αναφέρονται είναι 24, με το επίθετο *πολύς-πολλή-πολύ* να εξαιρείται από την ταξινόμηση ως ανώμαλο.

2.4 Ταξινόμηση Κλαίρη-Μπαμπινιώτη (2005)

Στη γραμματική των Κλαίρη-Μπαμπινιώτη γίνεται προσπάθεια να ταξινομηθούν τα επίθετα με βάση τις καταλήξεις τους και τους συνδυασμούς τύπων που παρουσιάζουν. Για τα επίθετα που παρουσιάζουν ομοιότητες στον τρόπο σχηματισμού τους εισάγεται ο όρος «μορφολογικές δέσμες». Για παράδειγμα, τα επίθετα *μεγάλος-πλούσιος-γλυκός* εντάσσονται στην ίδια μορφολογική δέσμη, ενώ οι ορθογραφικές ιδιαιτερότητες του θηλ. επιθέτου *γλυκιά* το τοποθετούν σε μία μορφολογική υποδέσμη. Στην ουσία έχουμε επανάληψη των κλασικών επιθετικών κατηγοριών, με τη διαφορά ότι

¹ Για την ονοματοποίηση, βλ. και Θωμαδάκη (2009: 104).

αυτή τη φορά συντελείται μια εσωτερική ομαδοποίηση με βάση την κατανομή των θεμάτων. Έτσι σε κάθε κατηγορία εξετάζονται και τα τρία γένη των επιθέτων που ανήκουν σε αυτήν και στη συνέχεια δίνονται και άλλα επίθετα που παρουσιάζουν δομική συνάφεια. Π.χ. περιγράφονται τα επίθετα *γκρινιάρης-γκρινιάρια-γκρινιάρικο* και κατόπιν κλίνονται στον ίδιο πίνακα τα *υπναράς, τζαμπατζής, μικρούλης*.

	αρσενικό	θηλυκό	ουδέτερο
ονομαστική ενικού	γκρινιάρης-ς	γκρινιάρια-0	γκρινιάρικο -0
αιτιατική ενικού	-0	-0	-0
γενική ενικού	-0	-ς	γκρινιάρικ -ου
ονομαστική πληθυντικού	-δες	γκρινιάρ -ες	-α
αιτιατική πληθυντικού	-δες	-ες	-α
γενική πληθυντικού	-δων		-ων

Ενώ συμφωνούμε με την ομαδοποίηση, εντούτοις δε γίνεται σαφής η θεματική αλλομορφία στο ληκτικό φωνήεν του θέματος, ώστε η σχηματική αναπαράσταση να περιλαμβάνει όλους τους δυνατούς συνδυασμούς της συγκεκριμένης κατηγορίας. Τέλος, σημειώνουμε την απουσία της κατηγορίας *-ων, -ων, -ον, -ον*, η οποία, όπως θα φανεί και παρακάτω, ανήκει στην περιφέρεια του συστήματος, αλλά εξακολουθεί να είναι ζωντανή.

2.5 Ταξινόμηση Κυριακοπούλου (2005)

Περίπου 32.000 επίθετα καταχωρίζονται στα ηλεκτρονικά λεξικά της κοινής νέας ελληνικής που σχεδιάστηκαν και αναπτύσσονται από τη μονάδα αυτόματης επεξεργασίας φυσικών γλωσσών (<http://linginfo.frl.auth.gr>) του Εργαστηρίου Μετάφρασης και Επεξεργασίας του Λόγου υπό την εποπτεία της αναπληρώτριας καθηγήτριας του Α.Π.Θ. Τίτας Κυριακοπούλου (Κυριακοπούλου et al., 2002). Η επεξεργασία των μονάδων στα λεξικά αυτά γίνεται με το πρόγραμμα αυτόματης κλίσης *GenereFlexion*, το οποίο, με την προσθήκη κωδικών, παράγει όλους τους κλιτούς τύπους των καταχωρισμένων γλωσσικών μονάδων. Οι κατηγορίες των επιθέτων, σε καθεμιά από τις οποίες αντιστοιχεί κι ένας κωδικός, είναι πάνω από 50 και ενσωματώνουν κάθε ποικιλία που παρατηρείται στη χρήση των επιθέτων (π.χ. διπλοτυπίες, πτώση του τόνου, τύποι που εμφανίζονται άπαξ, ουσιαστικά που σπάνια λειτουργούν ως επίθετα κι έχουν καταγραφεί ως τέτοια κτλ.). Η επεξεργασία είναι σαρωτική, αλλά, καθώς βασίζεται στις κατάληξεις των επιθέτων και στη θέση του τόνου, δεν προσφέρει οικονομία στην περιγραφή των δεδομένων ούτε δίνει τη δυνατότητα για πρόβλεψη της κλίσης νέων μονάδων.

2.6 Ταξινόμηση Ράλλη (2008)

Κατά τη Ράλλη, «σε γενικές γραμμές τα επίθετα προσαρμόζουν τα κλιτικά τους παραδείγματα στο πρότυπο των ουσιαστικών» (2008: 122). Η Ralli (2000) προτείνει έναν διαχωρισμό των ουσιαστικών και των επιθέτων σε κλιτικές τάξεις σύμφωνα με δύο κριτήρια:

- 1) τη συστηματική αλλομορφική ποικιλία των θεμάτων και
- 2) τη μορφή του συνόλου των κλιτικών επιθημάτων που συνδέονται με αυτά. Σύμφωνα με τα δύο αυτά κριτήρια, αναγνωρίζει 5 κλιτικές τάξεις, οι οποίες είναι οι ακόλουθες:

KT1: αρσενικά, π.χ. *καλός, ωραίος* (πρόκειται γι' αυτά που δεν παρουσιάζουν θεματική αλλομορφία)

KT2: θηλυκά, π.χ. *καλή, ωραία*

KT3: ουδέτερα, π.χ. *καλό, ωραίο*

KT4: αρσενικά και θηλυκά δικατάληκτα, π.χ. *ευσεβής*

KT5: ουδέτερα σε -ες, π.χ. *ευσεβές*

Η ταξινόμηση της Ράλλη μάς βρίσκει γενικά σύμφωνους ως προς το πνεύμα της τυποποίησης και της μορφολογικής ανάλυσης. Ωστόσο, λόγω περιφερειακότητας στη συγχρονική χρήση κάποιων κατηγοριών επιθέτων (βλ. και Αναστασιάδη-Συμεωνίδη, 2003), π.χ. των επιθέτων σε *-ύς*, δε γίνεται προσπάθεια τυποποίησής τους. Επίσης, δεν αναφέρονται τα ενδιάμεσης συχνότητας χρήσης αρσενικά επίθετα σε *-ης*, π.χ. *κοντούλης* και *-άς*, π.χ. *υπναράς*.

2.7 Ταξινόμηση Χατζησαββίδη (2009)

Ο Χατζησαββίδης διακρίνει τα επίθετα σε τρεις ευρείες κατηγορίες με βάση τον αριθμό των καταλήξεων που εμφανίζουν για κάθε γένος (τρικατάληκτα, μονοκατάληκτα, δικατάληκτα). Επιπλέον στις δύο πρώτες κατηγορίες προχωρεί και σε μία ακόμη διαφοροποίηση, ανάλογα με τον αριθμό των συλλαβών που διατηρούνται σε κάθε πτώση, διακρίνοντας τα επίθετα σε ισοσύλλαβα και ανισοσύλλαβα. Όσον αφορά την κλίση των επιθέτων, τα ταξινομεί με βάση τις καταλήξεις τους και στα τρία γένη σε έντεκα κατηγορίες, ακολουθώντας σε μεγάλο βαθμό την περιγραφή των Φιλίππκη-Holton-Mackridge. Οι μεταβολές στη θέση του τόνου προσλαμβάνουν υφολογικό χαρακτήρα, ενώ η μετακίνηση του τόνου στο αρσενικό στη γενική ενικού ενίοτε συνδέεται με την ουσιαστικοποίηση του επιθέτου μέσα στο λόγο (π.χ. του αρρώστου). Αριθμητικά δεδομένα δεν αναφέρονται, επισημαίνεται ωστόσο ότι η κατηγορία των επιθέτων σε -ος, -η, -ο (περιλαμβάνονται και τα τονισμένα και τα άτονα) είναι η συνηθέστερη στη νέα ελληνική.

α/α	Καταλήξεις		Παραδείγματα	
	ενικός	πληθυντικός	ενικός	πληθυντικός
1	-ος, -η, -ο	-οι, -ες, -α	έντιμος, ταπεινός	έντιμοι, ταπεινοί
2	-ος, -α, -ο	-οι, -ες, -α	νέος, τίμιος	νέοι, τίμιοι
3	-ος, -ιά, -ο	-οι, -ες, -α	φτωχός	φτωχοί
4	-ύς, -ιά, -ύ	-ιοί, -ιές, -ιά	βαθύς	βαθιοί
5	-ύς, -εία, -ύ	-είς, -είες, -έα	ευθύς	ευθείς
6	-ής, -ιά, -ί	-ιοί, -ιές, -ιά	χρυσαφής	χρυσαιοί
7	-ης, -α, -ικο	-ηδες, -ες, -ικα	κοντούλης	κοντούληδες
8	-άς, -ού, -άδικο	-άδες, -ούδες, -άδικα	υπναράς	υπναράδες
9	-ης, -ης, -ες	-εις, -εις, -η	επιμελής, συνήθης	επιμελείς, συνήθεις
10	-ων, -ουσα, -ον	-οντες, -ουσες, -οντα	μέλλων, παρών	μέλλοντες, παρόντες
11	-ων, -ων, -ον	-ονες, -ονες, -ονα	μετριόφρων	μετριόφρονες

2.8 Ταξινόμηση Θωμαδάκη (2009)

Στη Θωμαδάκη γίνεται αντιστοίχιση των τάξεων των επιθέτων προς τις τάξεις των ουσιαστικών, με την επισήμανση ότι ένα επίθετο, λόγω της εγγενούς διάκρισής του σε τρία γένη (τουλάχιστον στις ομαλές περιπτώσεις), διαθέτει τύπους σε περισσότερα από ένα κλιτικά παραδείγματα ταυτόχρονα, π.χ. ο νέος → ο λόχος, η νέα → η εφημερίδα, το νέο → το ξύλο. Και εδώ γίνεται προσπάθεια να συνυπολογιστούν στην κατάρτιση των κατηγοριών το θεματικό φωνήεν των λεξημάτων, καθώς και το ληκτικό τεμάχιο του θέματος (2009: 108). Αναφέρεται λ.χ. ότι η ποικιλία των μορφών του θηλυκού γένους περιορίζεται στην εμφάνιση των θεματικών φωνηέντων /i/ και /a/, πράγμα με το οποίο συμφωνούμε κι εμείς. Ωστόσο, η περιγραφή της Θωμαδάκη δεν είναι αυστηρά σχηματική, καθώς εμπλέκει και άλλου τύπου πληροφορίες, όπως χαρακτηριστικά στη χρήση κάποιων επιθέτων (εναλλακτικοί τύποι, τάση προς ακλισία), τη σχέση κάποιων τύπων με διαδικασίες παραγωγής (π.χ. *ζηλιάρης* με το επίθημα -*άρης*) ή το κατά πόσο κάποιες κατηγορίες επιθέτων παραμένουν ενεργές ή όχι (ύπαρξη κλειστών σειρών²).

3. Νέα πρόταση ταξινόμησης

3.1 Θεωρητικό πλαίσιο: η θεωρία των παραδειγματικών συναρτήσεων

Η θεωρία των παραδειγματικών συναρτήσεων (Paradigm Function Morphology) βασίζεται στο μορφολογικό πρότυπο περιγραφής «Λέξη και Παράδειγμα³» όπου βασική μονάδα του συντακτικού επιπέδου θεωρείται η λέξη, με το μόρφωμα να διαδραματίζει δευτερεύοντα ρόλο⁴: η λέξη

² Επειδή οι κλειστές σειρές αναφέρονται σε λειτουργικά (γραμματικά) στοιχεία της γλώσσας (πχ. συνδέσμους), προτιμούμε τον όρο *μη διαθέσιμες σειρές*, για να δηλώσουμε την απουσία εισδοχής νέων μελών στις τάξεις αυτές.

³ Σε αντιδιαστολή προς τα πρότυπα «στοιχείο και διάταξη», όπου η γλώσσα παρουσιάζεται ως ένα σύνολο στοιχείων διαφόρων επιπέδων σε συγκεκριμένους συνδυασμούς (το μόρφωμα εδώ παίζει κεντρικό ρόλο ως η μη περαιτέρω αναλύσιμη μονάδα) και «στοιχείο και διαδικασία» όπου τα θεωρούμενα ως βασικά στοιχεία της γλώσσας υποβάλλονται σε διαδικασίες για την παραγωγή των μη βασικών τύπων.

⁴ Βασικό επιχείρημα των υποστηρικτών αυτού του μοντέλου περιγραφής είναι ότι σε διάφορες γλώσσες, όπως τα ελληνικά, που χαρακτηρίζεται διαχτυκή γλώσσα (fusional), τα μορφολογικά τεμάχια που πραγματώνουν

συγκεντρώνει στο σώμα της τα μορφήματα, στα οποία και προσδίδει συγκεκριμένη έννοια και λειτουργικότητα. Με άλλα λόγια «η σημασιολογική συμβολή του στοιχείου εξαρτάται από τη λέξη μέσα στην οποία λειτουργεί⁵», γι' αυτό και το κλιτικό παράδειγμα, δηλ. το σύνολο των κλιτών τύπων μιας λέξης, δεν αποτελεί ένα απλό μορφολογικό επιφανόμενο αλλά βασικό παράγοντα προσδιορισμού και περιγραφής του μορφολογικού συστήματος μιας γλώσσας. Οι μορφολογικές θεωρίες αυτού του τύπου ονομάζονται θεωρίες πραγμάτωσης (realizational), και αντιδιαστέλλονται προς τις αθροιστικές θεωρίες (incremental), σύμφωνα με τις οποίες οι ρίζες και τα αρχικά θέματα των κλιτών λέξεων δεν συνδέονται με μορφοσυντακτικές ιδιότητες, αλλά τις αποκτούν κάθε φορά που προστίθεται/επικολλάται σε αυτά ένα πρόσφυμα που κουβαλά συγκεκριμένη/-ες ιδιότητα/-ες.

Πλεονέκτημα των θεωριών πραγμάτωσης είναι ότι δεν προϋποθέτουν τη μονοσήμαντη αντιστοιχία μορφοσυντακτικής ιδιότητας και μορφολογικού σημαδέματος: η ίδια ιδιότητα μπορεί να οδηγήσει στην εισαγωγή ενός αριθμού μορφολογικών στοιχείων σημαδέματος/εκπροσώπων (exponents). Η θεωρία των παραδειγματικών συναρτήσεων, λοιπόν, η οποία αναπτύσσεται τις τελευταίες δύο δεκαετίες περίπου, ξεκινά από την αρχή ότι, στις γλώσσες που παρουσιάζουν κλίση, κάθε κλιτή λέξη είναι φορέας μορφοσυντακτικών ιδιοτήτων (Stump, 2001). Πρόκειται για μια επαγωγική θεωρία (inferential), καθώς οι κλιτές λεξικές μονάδες προκύπτουν από συγκεκριμένους βασικούς τύπους, τα θέματα, (basic roots and stems) με την επένεργεια κανόνων (rules), και δεν απορρέουν από το λεξικό, όπως υποστηρίζουν λεξικοκεντρικές θεωρίες (lexical theories).

3.2 Κλιτικές κατηγορίες

Στην κατάρτιση των κλιτικών τάξεων με βάση την κατανομή των θεμάτων των επιθέτων, σημαντική υπήρξε η συμβολή της κ. Άννας Αναστασιάδη-Συμεωνίδη, η οποία προτείνει τέτοιου τύπου θεωρητική ταξινόμηση για τα ουσιαστικά της κοινής νεοελληνικής (2011). Επισημαίνουμε στο σημείο αυτό ότι το πέρασμα από το ένα θέμα στο άλλο σε κάθε κλιτική κατηγορία γίνεται με την εισαγωγή μορφοφωονολογικών κανόνων. Τα διαφοροποιημένα θέματα, τα οποία αποτελούν κομμάτι του λεξήματος και συμμετέχουν στην παραγωγή των κλιτών τύπων (στην περίπτωση μας των επιθέτων), αποτελούν τον θεματικό χώρο της κάθε μονάδας. Για την κατασκευή κάθε κλιτού τύπου επιλέγεται ένα συγκεκριμένο θέμα από τα διαθέσιμα που συνιστούν τον θεματικό χώρο⁶. Η επένεργεια μορφοφωονολογικών κανόνων καθορίζει και την τοποθέτηση του τόνου στους πραγματωμένους τύπους. Σε ένα μεταγενέστερο στάδιο της έρευνας φιλοδοξούμε να παρουσιάσουμε τα συνολικά αποτελέσματα της ταξινόμησής μας, με τη βοήθεια ενός ηλεκτρονικού εργαλείου αναπαράστασης (Datr), στο οποίο και θα ελέγχεται η πληρότητα και η εγκυρότητα της προτεινόμενης κατηγοριοποίησης.

Προτού παρουσιάσουμε τις κατηγορίες που προκύπτουν από τη νέα ταξινόμηση με βάση την εναλλαγή των θεμάτων, παραθέτουμε τον θεματικό χώρο των επιθέτων, ο οποίος υφίσταται μια εσωτερική υποδιαίρεση: τα θέματα διακρίνονται (α) σε **πρωτοτυπικά** και **ενδιάμεσα**, τα οποία συμμετέχουν στη δημιουργία των επιθέτων που είτε βρίσκονται στον πυρήνα του συστήματος (π.χ. *όμορφος*) είτε παρουσιάζουν κλιτική συμμόρφωση με το σύστημα της κοινής, σχετική διαθεσιμότητα⁷ αλλά μικρότερη συχνότητα από τα κεντρικά στοιχεία (π.χ. *υπναράς*) και (β) σε **περιφερειακά**, τα οποία επιλέγονται για τους κλιτούς τύπους των επιθέτων που δεν κατέχουν κεντρική θέση στο σύστημα (π.χ. *ευθύς*). Η τοποθέτηση των πρωτοτυπικών και των ενδιάμεσων επιθέτων στην ίδια κατηγορία έγινε επίσης με βάση το κριτήριο των ομαδικών λαθών (βλ. και 3.3) στη χρήση των επιθέτων από τους φυσικούς ομιλητές, το οποίο κατά την Αναστασιάδη-Συμεωνίδη (2003: 27) προσφέρει πολύ χρήσιμες πληροφορίες για το ποιες δομές είναι κεντρικές και ποιες όχι. Ενώ, δηλαδή, τα πολύ συχνά επίθετα σε -ός, -ή, -ό και τα λιγότερο συχνά σε -ης, -α, -ικο, εναρμονίζονται στην κλίση τους με τις καταλήξεις της κοινής νεοελληνικής, τα επίθετα π.χ. σε -ής, -ής, -ές παρουσιάζουν σημαντικές παρεκκλίσεις, στις οποίες οφείλονται κατά την Μακρή-Τσιλιπάκου (1997⁸: 533) η αβίαστη εκφορά λαθεμένων τύπων από τους χρήστες, ο δισταγμός, η καθυστέρηση, η τροποποίηση και η ματαίωση στη χρήση των «προβληματικών» αρχαιοκλιτών επιθέτων. Θεωρούμε πως σε ένα μεταγενέστερο στάδιο της έρευνας, με τη διεύρυνση των δεδομένων μας, θα είμαστε σε θέση να παρουσιάσουμε με μεγαλύτερη ευκρίνεια

μορφοσυντακτικές κατηγορίες δεν έχουν σταθερή έννοια, αν εξεταστούν έξω από το κλιτικό παράδειγμα μιας λέξης (βλ. και Φιλιππάκη-Warburton, 1992: 84).

⁵ Βλ. και Φιλιππάκη-Warburton, 1992: 84.

⁶ Βλ. και Bonami et al., 2004.

⁷ Κατά την Αναστασιάδη-Συμεωνίδη (2003: 30), η διαθεσιμότητα είναι «η δυνατότητα ενός στοιχείου να κατασκευάζει νέες μη μαρτυρημένες λέξεις».

τη θέση και τη λειτουργία των επιμέρους δομών για τα επίθετα της νέας ελληνικής⁸. Εάν, λοιπόν, θεωρήσουμε ότι *X* είναι το θέμα του λεξήματος, τότε ο θεματικός χώρος έχει ως εξής:

(α) πρωτοτυπικά, ενδιάμεσα

- Θ1: *X* (π.χ. *καλ-*)
 Θ2: *X* + φωνήεν (π.χ. *καλο-*, *καλη-*)
 Θ3α: *X* + φωνήεν + δ (π.χ. *υπναρουδ-*)
 Θ3β: *X* + j + φωνήεν (π.χ. *γλυκιά*)
 Θ3γ: *X* + j (π.χ. *τραχι-*)
 Θ4α: *X* + ικ (π.χ. *ζηλιαρικ-*)
 Θ4β: *X* + φωνήεν + δ + ικ (π.χ. *υπναρουδ-*) και

(β) περιφερειακά

- Θ1: *X* (π.χ. *ευθ-*)
 Θ2: *X* + υ (π.χ. *ευθυ-*)
 Θ3: *X* + ε (π.χ. *ευθε-*)
 Θ4α: *X* + ον (π.χ. *ευγνωμον-*)
 Θ4β: *X* + οντ (π.χ. *παροντ-*)

Οι κλιτικές κατηγορίες που δημιουργούνται είναι οι ακόλουθες⁹:

ΚΤ 1: καλός, έντιμος, φτωχός, νέος

Θέματα: Θ1 = *καλ-*, Θ2 = *καλο-*

Ενικός	Πληθυντικός
Ονομ: Θ2-ς	Ονομ: Θ1-οι
Γεν: Θ1-ου	Γεν: Θ1-ων
Αιτ: Θ2 ο	Αιτ: Θ1-ους
Κλητ: Θ1-ε	Κλητ: Θ1-οι

ΚΤ 2: καλή, έντιμη, φτωχή, νέα, τραχιά, υπναρού

Θέματα: Θ1 = *καλ-*, Θ2 = *καλη*, νεα, Θ3β = *γλυκια*, φτωχια, Θ3γ = *τραχι-*, Θ3α = *υπναρουδ-*

καλή, νέα

Ενικός	Πληθυντικός
Ονομ: Θ2 ο	Ονομ: Θ1-ες
Γεν: Θ2-ς	Γεν: Θ1-ων
Αιτ: Θ2 ο	Αιτ: Θ1-ες
Κλητ: Θ2ο	Κλητ: Θ1-ες

τραχιά

Ενικός	Πληθυντικός
Ονομ: Θ3β ο	Ονομ: Θ3γ-ες
Γεν: Θ3β -ς	Γεν: Θ3γ-ων
Αιτ: Θ3β ο	Αιτ: Θ3γ-ες
Κλητ: Θ3βο	Κλητ: Θ3γ –ες

γλυκιά (και για τα θηλυκά επιθέτων που λήγουν σε *-κος*, *-κός* ή *-χός*, π.χ. *φρέσκος*, *φτωχός*, *θηλυκός*, *ευγενικός*, *μαλακός*, *γνωστικός* κτλ.)

Ενικός	Πληθυντικός
Ονομ: Θ3β ο	Ονομ: Θ1-ες
Γεν: Θ3β -ς	Γεν: Θ1-ων
Αιτ: Θ3β ο	Αιτ: Θ1-ες
Κλητ: Θ3βο	Κλητ: Θ1 -ες

⁸ Ειδικότερα τα επίθετα σε *-ής*, *-ής*, *-ές* αποτελούν μια πολύ ενδιαφέρουσα περίπτωση, επειδή, παρά τη δυσχέρεια και τους δισταγμούς που παρουσιάζει η χρήση τους, όπως θα φανεί και παρακάτω, είναι αξιοσημείωτα παρόντα στην κατασκευή νεολογικών μονάδων.

⁹ Στις ΚΤ 1, 2 και 3 συμμετέχουν τα πρωτοτυπικά και τα ενδιάμεσα θέματα, ενώ στις υπόλοιπες κυρίως τα περιφερειακά: Θ(π).

υπναρού

Ενικός	Πληθυντικός
Ονομ: Θ2 ∅	Ονομ: Θ3α-ες
Γεν: Θ2-ς	Γεν: Θ3α-ων
Αιτ: Θ2 ∅	Αιτ: Θ3α-ες
Κλητ: Θ2∅	Κλητ: Θ3α -ες

ΚΤ 3: καλό, έντιμο, φτωχό, ζηλιάρικο, υπναρούδικο
Θέματα: Θ1 = καλ-, Θ4α = ζηλιαρικ-, Θ4β = υπναρουδικ-

καλό, έντιμο, φτωχό

Ενικός	Πληθυντικός
Ονομ: Θ1-0	Ονομ: Θ1-α
Γεν: Θ1-ου	Γεν: Θ1-ων
Αιτ: Θ1 -ο	Αιτ: Θ1 -α
Κλητ: Θ1-ο	Κλητ: Θ1 -α

ζηλιάρικο

Ενικός	Πληθυντικός
Ονομ: Θ4α-0	Ονομ: Θ4α-α
Γεν: Θ4α-ου	Γεν: Θ4α-ων
Αιτ: Θ4α -ο	Αιτ: Θ4α-α
Κλητ: Θ4α-ο	Κλητ: Θ4α-α

υπναρούδικο

Ενικός	Πληθυντικός
Ονομ: Θ4β-0	Ονομ: Θ4β-α
Γεν: Θ4β-ου	Γεν: Θ4β-ων
Αιτ: Θ4β -ο	Αιτ: Θ4β-α
Κλητ: Θ4β-ο	Κλητ: Θ4β-α

ΚΤ 4: ευσεβής, ζηλιάρης, υπναράς
Θέματα: Θ1 (π)= ευσεβ-, Θ3 (π)= ευσεβε-, Θ2 = ζηλιαρη-, υπναρα-, Θ3α = ζηλιαρηδ-, υπναραδ-

ευσεβής

Ενικός	Πληθυντικός
Ονομ: Θ1(π)-ης	Ονομ: Θ3(π)-ε
Γεν: Θ1(π)-η	Γεν: Θ3(π)-ων
Αιτ: Θ1 (π)-η	Αιτ: Θ3(π) -ες
Κλητ: Θ1(π)-η	Κλητ: Θ3(π)-ες

ζηλιάρης, υπναράς

Ενικός	Πληθυντικός
Ονομ: Θ2-ς	Ονομ: Θ3α-ες
Γεν: Θ2∅	Γεν: Θ3α-ων
Αιτ: Θ2∅	Αιτ: Θ3α-ες
Κλητ: Θ2∅	Κλητ: Θ3α-ες

ΚΤ 5: ευθύς, τραχύς

Θέματα: Θ1(π)= ευθ-, Θ2 (π)= ευθυ-, Θ3 (π)= ευθε-, Θ2 = τραχυ-, Θ3γ = τραχι-

ευθύς

Ενικός	Πληθυντικός
Ονομ: Θ2(π)-ς	Ονομ: Θ1(π)-εις
Γεν: Θ3(π)-ος	Γεν: Θ3(π)-ων
Αιτ: Θ2(π)∅	Αιτ: Θ1(π)-εις
Κλητ: Θ2(π)∅	Κλητ: Θ1(π)-εις

τραχύς

Ενικός	Πληθυντικός
Ονομ: Θ2-ς	Ονομ: Θ1-εις
Γεν: Θ2ø	Γεν: Θ3γ-ων
Αιτ: Θ2ø	Αιτ: Θ1-εις
Κλητ: Θ2ø	Κλητ: Θ1-εις
Για τον πληθυντικό προβλέπονται και οι καταλήξεις της ΚΤ1	

ΚΤ 6: βαθύ, τραχύ, χρυσαφί

Θέματα: Θ2(π) = βαθυ-, Θ3α(π) = βαθε-, Θ3γ = τραχι-, χρυσαφι-

ευθύ

Ενικός	Πληθυντικός
Ονομ: Θ2(π)ø	Ονομ: Θ3(π)-α
Γεν: Θ3(π)-ος	Γεν: Θ3(π)-ων
Αιτ: Θ2(π)ø	Αιτ: Θ3(π)-α
Κλητ: Θ2(π)ø	Κλητ: Θ3(π)-α

τραχύ, χρυσαφί

Ενικός	Πληθυντικός
Ονομ: Θ2ø	Ονομ: Θ3γ-α
Γεν: Θ3γ-ου	Γεν: Θ3γ-ων
Αιτ: Θ2ø	Αιτ: Θ3γ-α
Κλητ: Θ2ø	Κλητ: Θ3γ-α

ΚΤ 7: ευσεβής

Θέματα: Θ1(π) = ευσεβ-

Ενικός	Πληθυντικός
Ονομ: Θ1(π) -ες	Ονομ: Θ1(π)-η
Γεν: Θ1(π) -ους	Γεν: Θ1(π)-ων
Αιτ: Θ1(π) -ες	Αιτ: Θ1(π)-η
Κλητ: Θ1(π) -ες	Κλητ: Θ1(π)-η

ΚΤ 8: παρών, ευγνώμων

Θέματα: Θ1 (π)= παρ-, ευγνωμ, Θ4α(π)= ευγνωμον-, Θ4β(π)= παροντ-

παρών

Ενικός
Ονομ: Θ1(π)-ων
Γεν: Θ4β(π)-α
Αιτ: Θ4β(π)-α
Κλητ: Θ1(π)-ων

Ο πληθυντικός καλύπτεται από την ΚΤ4 με τη συμμετοχή των θεμάτων Θ4α(π) και Θ4β(π)

ΚΤ 9: παρόν, ευγνώμον

Θέματα: Θ1(π)= παρ-, ευγνωμ, Θ4α(π)= ευγνωμον-, Θ4β(π)= παροντ-

παρόν

Ενικός
Ονομ: Θ1(π)-ον
Γεν: Θ4β(π)-ος
Αιτ: Θ1(π)-ον
Κλητ: Θ1(π)-ον

Ο πληθυντικός καλύπτεται από την ΚΤ3 με τη συμμετοχή των θεμάτων Θ4α(π) και Θ4β(π)

3.3 Πρωτοτυπικότητα και περιφερειακότητα των επιθέτων

Σύμφωνα με την Αναστασιάδη-Συμεωνίδη (2011: 124), η μορφολογική δομή της νέας ελληνικής περιλαμβάνει ένα σύστημα κλίσης και ένα σύστημα κατασκευής νέων λέξεων, στο οποίο εντάσσονται

τα φαινόμενα της παραγωγής, της σύνθεσης και του μεταπλασμού ή μετάπλασης ή μετατροπής (βλ. και Ράλλη, 2008: 83). Αυτή η μορφολογική δομή δεν είναι ομοιογενής, αλλά αποτελείται από στοιχεία πρωτοτυπικά, στοιχεία ενδιάμεσης φύσης και στοιχεία περιφερειακά, τα οποία αντανakλούν τη δυναμική του συστήματος σε μία δεδομένη συγχρονία. Κατά την Αναστασιάδη-Συμεωνίδη (2003, 2011), η κεντρικότητα ή η περιφερειακότητα των γλωσσικών στοιχείων, στην περίπτωση μας των κλιτικών κατηγοριών που σχηματίζουν τα επίθετα, μπορεί να αποκαλυφθεί από το σύστημα που αναπτύσσουν τα παιδιά κατά την κατάκτηση της μητρικής τους γλώσσας, από το διαγλωσσικό συνεχές όσων μαθαίνουν μια γλώσσα ως δεύτερη/ξένη, από τις ελεύθερα εναλλασσόμενες μορφές (δηλ. τα μορφήματα που βρίσκονται σε σχέση ελεύθερης ποικιλίας), από τα ομαδικά λάθη των χρηστών στο πλαίσιο μιας γλωσσικής κοινότητας, από τους κανόνες παραγωγής καινούργιων μονάδων, τους κανόνες εφαρμογής του ταξικού σηματοδότη (Αναστασιάδη-Συμεωνίδη, 1992), καθώς και τους κανόνες προσαρμογής των δάνειων μονάδων στο μορφολογικό σύστημα της γλώσσας. Κατά την Αναστασιάδη-Συμεωνίδη (2003: 26), οι πρωτοτυπικές κατηγορίες επιθέτων περιλαμβάνουν τα επίθετα που λήγουν σε *-ος/-ός, -η/-ή, -ο/-ό*¹⁰.

Στην προσπάθειά μας να αποκρυπτογραφήσουμε τις τάσεις του συστήματος και να αναδείξουμε τις ισχυρότερες τάξεις των στοιχείων του στην κατηγορία των επιθέτων, συλλέξαμε κατά τα εξήμισι τελευταία χρόνια (2005-αρχές 2011) 586 νεολογικά επίθετα (κατασκευασμένα και δάνεια)¹¹, τα οποία και ταξινομήσαμε με βάση τις παραδοσιακές κλιτικές κατηγορίες, ώστε να φανεί ανάγλυφα ποιες από αυτές παραμένουν στον κεντρικό πυρήνα του συστήματος και ποιες ανήκουν στην περιφέρεια του γλωσσικού συστήματος ή σε μια ενδιάμεση θέση, μπολιάζοντας τη δημοτική με λόγια στοιχεία και εμπλουτίζοντας τα επίπεδα ύφους των ομιλητών¹². Θυμίζουμε ότι, ενώ στα περισσότερα έργα αναφοράς που εξετάσαμε στο πρώτο μέρος της εργασίας μας γίνεται κάποια νύξη ως προς το ποιες κλιτικές κατηγορίες είναι οι συχνότερες (π.χ. η *ος, -η, -ο/-ός, -ή, -ό*), εντούτοις σε κανένα από αυτά δεν εφαρμόζονται δομικά κριτήρια που να επιρρωννύουν τα ποσοτικά δεδομένα που αντλούνται από τα καταγεγραμμένα λήμματα στα λεξικά.

■ 2005-2006 (σύνολο: 90)

Πρωτοτυπικά: *-ος, -η, -ο* (24), *-ός, -ή, -ό* (45)

Ενδιάμεσης κατηγορίας/περιφερειακά: *-ος, -α, -ο* (2), *-ής, -ής, -ές* (2), *-ος, -α, -ικο* (1)

Άκλιτα: δάνειας προέλευσης, π.χ. *κόζι* (11), *άλλα*¹³ (5)

■ 2007-2008 (σύνολο: 230)

Πρωτοτυπικά: *-ος, -η, -ο* (66), *-ός, -ή, -ό* (119)

Ενδιάμεσης κατηγορίας/περιφερειακά: *ος, -α, -ο* (22), *-ής, -ής, -ές* (9), *-ης, -α, -ικο* (3),

-ων, -ων, -ον (2)

Άκλιτα: δάνειας προέλευσης (7), *άλλα* (2)

¹⁰ Η έννοια της πρωτοτυπικότητας των επιθέτων μάς παραπέμπει στη θεωρία των πρωτοτύπων (ή προτύπων/στερεοτύπων), η οποία βρήκε ευρεία εφαρμογή στην ψυχολογία, την ψυχολογία και τη σημασιολογία. Όταν μιλούμε για πρωτοτυπικά επίθετα, στην ουσία αναφερόμαστε στα πιο χαρακτηριστικά μέλη της δηλούμενης κατηγορίας, αυτά που τα παιδιά με μητρική γλώσσα την ελληνική κατακτούν πρώτα σε σχέση με άλλες ομάδες επιθέτων, αυτά για τα οποία οι χρήστες αισθάνονται μεγαλύτερη σιγουριά και ασφάλεια στις γλωσσικές τους πραγματώσεις. Όπως συμβαίνει και στο πεδίο της γλωσσικής σημασίας, η έννοια του πρωτοτύπου μάς βοηθά να κατανοήσουμε τη σχετικότητα από την οποία χαρακτηρίζονται οι γλωσσικές δομές, οι οποίες δεν επιδέχονται απόλυτες τιμές αλλά τοποθετούνται σε ένα συνεχές ανάλογο με τα χαρακτηριστικά που παρουσιάζει σε κάθε συγχρονική φάση η γλωσσική χρήση. Περισσότερα για τη θεωρία του πρωτοτύπου, βλ. Συμεωνίδου-Χρηστίδου, 1998 και Kleiber, 1990.

¹¹ Για τα κριτήρια και τις πηγές της συλλογής, όπως και το σχολιασμό και τη σχηματοποίηση των δεδομένων, βλ. Anastasiadis-Symeonidis et al., 2006, 2009.

¹² Κατά τη Ράλλη (2008: 122), η κλίση των λόγιων επιθέτων βρίσκεται σε «κάποιο μεταβατικό στάδιο αναδιάρθρωσης», γι' αυτό και δεν συμπεριλαμβάνεται στην τυποποίησή της. Εμείς διαφωνούμε με τον χαρακτηρισμό αυτό, καθώς κατά τη γνώμη μας τα αρχαιόκλιτα επίθετα βρίσκονται απλώς στην περιφέρεια του κλιτικού συστήματος, δεν μεταβάλλονται σε κάτι άλλο (τουλάχιστον κατά τη συγχρονία που διανύουμε) και είναι ενίοτε παρόντα στην παραγωγή καινούργιων μονάδων.

¹³ Εδώ εντάσσονται τα κατασκευασμένα (παράγωγα ή σύνθετα), τα οποία περιέχουν ένα δάνειο συστατικό, π.χ.: *μεταπόπ, λαγνογκλάμορους, υπερνοπέ* κτλ.

■ 2009-2010-2011 (σύνολο: 266)

Πρωτοτυπικά: -ος, -η, -ο (73), -ός, -ή, -ό (130)

Ενδιάμεσης κατηγορίας/περιφερειακά: -ος, -α, -ο (31), -ής, -ής, -ές (12), -ων, -ουσα, -ον (2), -ης, -ης, -ες (1)

Ακλιτα: δάνειας προέλευσης (10), άλλα (7)

3.4 Πλεονεκτήματα ταξινόμησης

Η ταξινόμηση που προτείνουμε, μολονότι δεν έχει ακόμη ολοκληρωθεί και ελεγχθεί με υπολογιστικά μέσα, θεωρούμε ότι συμπληρώνει τις προηγούμενες ταξινομήσεις των επιθέτων και παρουσιάζει τα εξής πλεονεκτήματα:

(1) χαρακτηρίζεται από περισσότερη οικονομία στην περιγραφή, αφού προβλέπει σημαντικά λιγότερες κλιτικές κατηγορίες (θυμίζουμε ότι στις κλασικές κατηγοριοποιήσεις οι κατηγορίες που προβλέπονται περιλαμβάνουν και άλλες υποκατηγορίες κλίσης για τα θηλυκού και ουδέτερου γένους επίθετα)

(2) αποτελεί ανάλυση που επιτρέπει περαιτέρω έρευνα του μορφολογικού συστήματος της γλώσσας, π.χ. εξέταση φαινομένων παραγωγής και σύνθεσης

(3) συνυπολογίζει την κεντρικότητα ή την περιφερειακότητα των τάξεων των επιθέτων, προσφέροντας πιθανές απαντήσεις σε ζητήματα συνδυασμού στοιχείων

(4) αναδεικνύει αμεσότερα την εξέλιξη και τις τάσεις του γλωσσικού συστήματος κατά τη συγχρονία που διανύουμε

(5) παρουσιάζει τη δυνατότητα εφαρμογής σε ηλεκτρονικά εργαλεία γλωσσικής επεξεργασίας για την αυτόματη παραγωγή τύπων σε χρήση και την πρόβλεψη κλίσης νεολογικών τύπων

(6) μπορεί να αξιοποιηθεί στη διδακτική της ελληνικής ως δεύτερης/ξένης γλώσσας για δύο λόγους: η οικονομική περιγραφή διευκολύνει την εκμάθηση των κλιτών τύπων από τους σπουδαστές, ενώ η επισήμανση των κεντρικών μονάδων επαναπροσδιορίζει τις προτεραιότητες της διδασκαλίας, ανάλογα με το επίπεδο γλωσσομάθειας και τις ανάγκες των σπουδαστών.

4. Επίλογος-Συμπεράσματα

Στην εργασία αυτή ασχοληθήκαμε με τη μορφολογική ανάλυση των επιθέτων της νέας ελληνικής, με βάση τη μορφολογική θεωρία των παραδειγματικών συναρτήσεων. Καταλήξαμε στη δημιουργία εννέα κλιτικών κατηγοριών, στη διαμόρφωση των οποίων πρωτεύοντα ρόλο διαδραμάτισε όχι η τριμερής διάκριση των επιθέτων σε γένη, όπως στις κλασικές ταξινομήσεις, αλλά η συμμετοχή των διαφορετικών λεξηματικών θεμάτων στον σχηματισμό των κλιτών τύπων των επιθέτων. Το αποτέλεσμα είναι μια πιο οικονομική περιγραφή των επιθέτων, η οποία δίνει τη δυνατότητα πρόβλεψης του κλιτικού παραδείγματός τους, με τη βοήθεια του προσδιορισμένου θεματικού χώρου των λεξημάτων και των ομαδοποιημένων καταλήξεων. Τέλος, με τη συλλογή νεολογικών επιθέτων και την ένταξή τους στο μορφολογικό σύστημα της νέας ελληνικής, είμαστε σε θέση να διαπιστώσουμε ποιες είναι οι κεντρικές κατηγορίες επιθέτων και ποιες οι περιφερειακές και να αξιοποιήσουμε τα ευρήματά μας τόσο στη θεωρητική έρευνα όσο και στη διδασκαλία της ελληνικής ως δεύτερης/ξένης γλώσσας.

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ΡΗΜΑΤΑ ΕΞΑΡΤΗΣΗΣ ΚΑΙ ΕΠΙΛΟΓΗ ΣΥΜΠΛΗΡΩΜΑΤΙΚΟΥ ΔΕΙΚΤΗ ΣΤΟ ΜΕΣΟ ΚΑΙ ΠΡΟΧΩΡΗΜΕΝΟ ΕΠΙΠΕΔΟ ΤΗΣ ΝΕ ΩΣ Γ2

Ελισσάβετ Νουχουτίδου
Πανεπιστήμιο Αθηνών, Ελλάδα
enouchou@phil.uoa.gr

ABSTRACT

*The main aim of this study is to investigate the L2 acquisition of complementizers in Greek. Sentences introduced with *oti*, *pu* and *na*, used as complements to matrix verbs that are compatible with more than one complementizer, are studied through an experiment with intermediate and advanced Greek L2 learners and a control group of Greek native speakers. Based on the results of an acceptability judgment task, it is argued that L2 learners seem to have problems with the *oti-pu* distinction and the complementizer selection with perception and psych verbs. More difficulties emerge when the choice involves propositional operators.*

Λέξεις κλειδιά: εκμάθηση/κατάκτηση δεύτερης γλώσσας, συμπληρωματικές προτάσεις, συμπληρωματικοί δείκτες, ρήματα εξάρτησης, προτασιακά συμπληρώματα

1. Εισαγωγή

Το ζήτημα των συμπληρωματικών προτάσεων στη Νέα Ελληνική (ΝΕ) έχει εξεταστεί εκτενώς σε γραμματικές,¹ μονογραφίες και μελέτες τις τελευταίες δεκαετίες (βλ. μεταξύ άλλων, Agouraki 1991, Βαρλοκώστα 1994α,β, 1995, Βελούδης και Φιλιππάκη-Warburton 1984, 1985, Ingria 1981, Ρούσσου 1992, 1994, 2009α,β, 2010, Χριστίδης 1982, 1984, 1985, 1990), συνεχίζει να απασχολεί τη σύγχρονη έρευνα, ενώ τα τελευταία χρόνια υπάρχει μεγαλύτερο ενδιαφέρον και σε σχέση με τη γλωσσική κατάκτηση. Η βιβλιογραφία αναφέρεται εκτενώς στις ιδιότητες του κάθε στοιχείου που χρησιμοποιείται ως δείκτης εισαγωγής μιας συμπληρωματικής πρότασης, στη θέση του στο σύστημα των συμπληρωματικών δεικτών της ΝΕ και στη σχέση του με τα ρήματα στα οποία οι εξαρτημένες προτάσεις λειτουργούν ως συμπλήρωμα (ρήματα εξάρτησης). Τα χαρακτηριστικά που φέρει ο κάθε δείκτης τον διαφοροποιούν από τους υπόλοιπους καθορίζοντας παράλληλα την κατανομή του, καθώς η σημασιολογική συμβατότητα μεταξύ δείκτη και (κατηγο)ρήματος εξάρτησης είναι υποχρεωτική. Έτσι, ένα ρήμα μπορεί να έχει περισσότερους από έναν πιθανούς τύπους προτασιακού συμπληρώματος εφόσον το επιτρέπει η σημασία του και η σχέση μεταξύ ρήματος και τύπου συμπληρωματικής πρότασης δεν είναι αποκλειστική σε πολλές περιπτώσεις. Η επιλογή του δείκτη, επιπλέον, αποτελεί συνάρτηση της παρουσίας προτασιακών τελεστών, του χρόνου και άλλων χαρακτηριστικών της πρότασης εξάρτησης.

Όσον αφορά την κατάκτηση της ΝΕ ως δεύτερης γλώσσας (Γ2), η ανάγκη για πειραματική διερεύνηση των συμπληρωματικών προτάσεων με δυνατότητα παρουσίας περισσότερων του ενός δείκτη προκύπτει από την εμπειρία των διδασκόντων/ διδασκουσών² της ΝΕ ως Γ2 και από ευρήματα προηγούμενων ερευνών (πβ. Θεοφανοπούλου-Κοντού κ.ά. 1998, Νουχουτίδου 2010, Σπυρόπουλος και Τσαγγαλίδης 2005). Οι Βαρλοκώστα και Τριανταφυλλίδου (2003), εξετάζοντας τον προφορικό λόγο εφήβων μαθητών Γυμνασίου με Γ1 την Αλβανική και τη Ρωσική, επισημαίνουν την εμφάνιση ρημάτων με προτασιακά συμπληρώματα στα διάφορα στάδια γλωσσικής κατάκτησης. Πιο συγκεκριμένα, οι προτάσεις με *ότι* που συμπληρώνουν ρήματα λεκτικά και αισθήσεως εμφανίζονται στο επίπεδο των αρχαρίων και αυτές που συμπληρώνουν ρήματα δοξαστικά και γνωστικά στο μέσο

¹ Βλ. για παράδειγμα, Τζάρτζανος (1946/1963), Holton, Mackridge και Φιλιππάκη-Warburton (1999), Mackridge (1990), Κλαίρης και Μπαμπινιώτης (2005), όπου υπάρχουν και διαφορετικοί τρόποι ταξινόμησης των συμπληρωματικών προτάσεων.

² Για λόγους οικονομίας, χρησιμοποιείται το αρσενικό γένος και για τα δύο φύλα.

επίπεδο· οι προτάσεις με *να* εμφανίζονται ήδη στο επίπεδο των αρχαρίων και οι προτάσεις με *που* απαντούν στο μέσο επίπεδο με ρήματα αισθήσεως και ψυχικού πάθους ως ρήματα εξάρτησης. Στο προχωρημένο επίπεδο οι μαθητές χρησιμοποιούν χωρίς προβλήματα δομές πλαγίου λόγου με συμπληρωματικές προτάσεις με *ότι* και *να*.

Για τη σχέση ρήματος εξάρτησης και προτασιακού συμπληρώματος, ειδικότερα, έχει υποστηριχθεί (Nouchoutidou 2008) ότι η επιλογή του δείκτη εισαγωγής μιας συμπληρωματικής πρότασης δεν αποτελεί πρόβλημα για τους ρωσόφωνους προχωρημένους ενήλικους μαθητές της NE ως Γ2 όταν το ρήμα εξάρτησης δέχεται μόνο ένα συγκεκριμένο δείκτη ως εισαγωγικό στοιχείο της συμπληρωματικής πρότασης, π.χ.

1. Η Μαρία μου αποδεικνύει ότι/*που/*να οδηγεί πολύ γρήγορα.
2. Τα παιδιά απογοητεύτηκαν που/*ότι/*να χάνει η ομάδα τους.
3. Επιλέξαμε να/*ότι/*που κάνουμε διακοπές σε νησί.

ενώ υπάρχουν δυσκολίες όταν το ρήμα εξάρτησης είναι συμβατό με περισσότερους δείκτες εισαγωγής έχοντας διαφορετική σημασία σε κάθε περίπτωση (βλ. παραδείγματα 5-12).

Στην παρούσα μελέτη επιχειρείται η πειραματική προσέγγιση της κατάκτησης των *ότι*, *που* και *να* ως εισαγωγικών δεικτών συμπληρωματικών προτάσεων, από ενηλίκους μέσου και προχωρημένου επιπέδου που μαθαίνουν τη NE ως Γ2, με ειδικότερο αντικείμενο εξέτασης την επιλογή του δείκτη εισαγωγής της συμπληρωματικής πρότασης από ρήματα εξάρτησης που είναι συμβατά με περισσότερους (από έναν) δείκτες.

2. Η παρούσα έρευνα: συμμετέχοντες, δοκιμασίες, διαδικασία

Για τη διερεύνηση του ζητήματος δημιουργήθηκε ένα γραπτό ερωτηματολόγιο με δύο δοκιμασίες που απαντήθηκε ανώνυμα από μαθητές της NE ως Γ2.

Στη συμπλήρωση του ερωτηματολογίου συμμετείχαν 71 μαθητές που φοιτούσαν σε τάξεις μέσου επιπέδου στο Διδασκαλείο Νέας Ελληνικής του Πανεπιστημίου Αθηνών και 43 μαθητές προχωρημένου επιπέδου. Ήταν όλοι ενήλικοι και είχαν καταταχθεί στα αντίστοιχα επίπεδα με βάση το ίδιο τεστ κατάταξης. Προϋπόθεση για να συμπεριληφθεί κάποιος στην έρευνα ήταν να μην είχε μάθει/αρχίσει να μαθαίνει καμία άλλη γλώσσα πέρα από τη μητρική του πριν από τα επτά του χρόνια και να μην είχε αρχίσει την εκμάθηση της NE πριν από τα 17 του χρόνια. Δεν έγινε καμία διάκριση ή επιλογή σχετικά με τη μητρική γλώσσα των μαθητών. Η ηλικία των μαθητών μέσου επιπέδου ήταν 28 (κατά μέσο όρο) και των προχωρημένων μαθητών ήταν 29,9. Ως ομάδα ελέγχου χρησιμοποιήθηκαν 23 ενήλικοι, φυσικοί ομιλητές της NE, κάτοικοι της Αθήνας,³ ηλικίας 39,8 ετών κατά μέσο όρο.

Το ερωτηματολόγιο περιείχε δύο ασκήσεις, μία άσκηση συμπλήρωσης κενών (cloze task) και μία άσκηση ελέγχου αποδεκτότητας (acceptability judgment task), καθώς και μια σειρά σύντομων ερωτήσεων με στόχο τη συγκέντρωση πληροφοριών για τις γλώσσες που γνωρίζει ο μαθητής και ειδικότερα τη γνώση και την εμπειρία του όσον αφορά τα NE. Στην παρούσα μελέτη παρουσιάζονται τα αποτελέσματα της άσκησης ελέγχου αποδεκτότητας, η οποία είχε στόχο να ελέγξει εάν και σε ποιο βαθμό συμφωνούν οι κρίσεις των μαθητών μέσου και προχωρημένου επιπέδου μεταξύ τους και με αυτές των φυσικών ομιλητών. Στην άσκηση υπήρχαν 85 προτάσεις συνολικά: 50 πειραματικές και 35 παραπλανητικές (distractors). Οι πειραματικές προτάσεις περιλάμβαναν μία κύρια/ανεξάρτητη πρόταση και μία συμπληρωματική πρόταση, π.χ.

4. Η Αγγελική ξέρει ότι οι τράπεζες είναι κλειστές σήμερα.

Για κάθε ρήμα υπήρχαν τρεις πειραματικές προτάσεις, μία με συμπληρωματική πρόταση την οποία εισήγαγε το *ότι*, μία με το *να* και μία με το *που*.⁴ Όσον αφορά το ρηματικό τύπο, τα ρήματα βρίσκονταν σε ενεστώτα και σε τρίτο πρόσωπο. Οι παραπλανητικές προτάσεις που συμπλήρωναν την άσκηση είχαν αντίστοιχο αριθμό λέξεων με τις πειραματικές και συμφωνούσαν με αυτές όσον αφορά τα χαρακτηριστικά των ρηματικών τύπων που περιείχαν.

Στις πειραματικές προτάσεις, η επιλογή των ρημάτων εξάρτησης έγινε με βάση τις αναλύσεις των Θεοφανοπούλου-Κοντού κ.ά. (1998) και Ρούσσου (2006) για τα χαρακτηριστικά των δεικτών

³ Πβ. Nicholas (1998, 2001) και Ρούσσου (2006, 2009β), για διαφοροποιήσεις στις διαλέκτους της NE σχετικές με τους συμπληρωματικούς δείκτες.

⁴ Στην άσκηση ελέγχου αποδεκτότητας δε χρησιμοποιήθηκε σε καμία πρόταση το *πως*, καθώς βρίσκεται σε σχέση ελεύθερης κατανομής με το *ότι* (βλ. Τζάρτζανος 1963: §238).

εισαγωγής συμπληρωματικών προτάσεων και την ταξινόμηση σε κατηγορίες των ρημάτων που μπορούν να λειτουργήσουν ως ρήματα εξάρτησης με κάθε δείκτη. Επιλέχθηκαν 13 ρήματα που μπορούν να συνδυαστούν με τους δύο από τους τρεις ή και με τους τρεις δείκτες και των οποίων η σημασία διαφοροποιείται με την επιλογή του δείκτη εξαιτίας των ιδιαίτερων χαρακτηριστικών που αυτός φέρει. Πρόκειται για τα λεκτικά ρήματα⁵ *λέω* και *συμφωνώ*, τα γνωστικά *ξέρω* και *μαθαίνω*, τα δοξαστικά *πιστεύω*, *νομίζω* και *ελπίζω*, τα ρήματα αντίληψης *θυμάμαι* και *ξεχνάω*, τα ρήματα αισθήσεως *βλέπω* και *ακούω* και τα ρήματα ψυχικού πάθους *χαίρομαι* και *λυπάμαι*. Επιπλέον, αυτά τα ρήματα, όπως και το υπόλοιπο λεξιλόγιο που χρησιμοποιήθηκε στο ερωτηματολόγιο, περιλαμβάνονται στο αναλυτικό πρόγραμμα για τη διδασκαλία της ΝΕ ως Γ2 για τα επίπεδα Α1 και Α2 (βλ. Διατμηματικό Πρόγραμμα 1998, Ευσταθιάδης κ.ά. 2001 και στο δικτυακό τόπο για την Πιστοποίηση της Ελληνομάθειας).

Το ερωτηματολόγιο συμπληρώθηκε μέσα στις τάξεις διδασκαλίας μετά από συνεννόηση με το διδάσκοντα. Για τη συγκεκριμένη άσκηση, δόθηκαν οδηγίες συμπλήρωσης, παρατέθηκαν σχετικά παραδείγματα και οι μαθητές εξοικειώθηκαν με την κλίμακα αξιολόγησης. Επρόκειτο για μια επταβάθμια κλίμακα, από το 1 (που αντιστοιχούσε σε μία απόλυτα μη αποδεκτή πρόταση) έως το 7 (που αντιστοιχούσε σε απόλυτα αποδεκτή πρόταση). Οι μαθητές καλούνταν να διαβάσουν και να ακούσουν κάθε πρόταση και στη συνέχεια να την αξιολογήσουν όσον αφορά την αποδεκτότητά της. Οι προτάσεις είχαν ηχογραφηθεί με κενό χρόνο 10'' από τη στιγμή που τελείωνε μία πρόταση μέχρι να ακουστεί η επόμενη και η συνολική διάρκεια της άσκησης ήταν 20'. Η επιλογή να δοθεί παράλληλα με τη γραπτή και ηχογραφημένη μορφή των προτάσεων σχετίζεται με την προσπάθεια (α) να χρησιμοποιηθεί συγκεκριμένος επιτονισμός για κάθε πρόταση, (β) να διασφαλιστεί ότι οι συμμετέχοντες στην έρευνα διάβαζαν και άκουγαν με ακρίβεια την κάθε πρόταση παρά την ταχύτητα με την οποία καλούνταν να την κρίνουν και (γ) να ακολουθηθεί συγκεκριμένος ρυθμός συμπλήρωσης της άσκησης από όλους (βλ. Hawkins και Chan 1997).

3. Αποτελέσματα – Συζήτηση

Από τις αποτελέσματα που προέκυψαν από τη στατιστική ανάλυση,⁶ γίνεται αναφορά σε όσα δείχνουν στατιστικά σημαντική διαφορά μεταξύ των ομάδων με τουλάχιστον μεσαίο μέγεθος επίδρασης (effect size). Οι διαφορές εντοπίζονται κυρίως μεταξύ των φυσικών και των μη φυσικών ομιλητών της ΝΕ και δευτερευόντως μεταξύ των μέσων και προχωρημένων μη φυσικών ομιλητών και αφορούν: (i) την επιλογή μεταξύ των *ότι* και *που* στις περισσότερες ρηματικές ομάδες, (ii) ειδικότερα προβλήματα που εμφανίζονται στα ρήματα αντίληψης, τα ρήματα ψυχικού πάθους και τα ρήματα αισθήσεως και (iii) την επιλογή του συμπληρωματικού δείκτη που εξαρτάται από την παρουσία προτασιακού τελεστή.

3.1 Η επιλογή μεταξύ *ότι* και *που*

Η δυσκολία στην επιλογή μεταξύ των δεικτών *ότι* και *που* αφορά όλα τα ρήματα που εξετάστηκαν (για τη διάκριση *ότι-που*, βλ., μεταξύ άλλων, Βαρλοκώστα 1994α,β, Ρούσσου 1994, 2010, Χριστίδης 1982). Πιο συγκεκριμένα, στην Κοινή ΝΕ με τα λεκτικά και τα γνωστικά ρήματα το προτασιακό συμπλήρωμα μπορεί να εισάγεται με *ότι* αλλά όχι με *που*, π.χ.⁷

5. Ο Γιάννης λέει *ότι*/**που* θα φύγει νωρίς

6. Η Ελένη ξέρει *ότι*/**που* τα μαγαζιά είναι κλειστά σήμερα

Σύμφωνα με τις απαντήσεις που δόθηκαν στο ερωτηματολόγιο για τα λεκτικά ρήματα *λέω* και *συμφωνώ* και για τα γνωστικά ρήματα *ξέρω* και *μαθαίνω*, η επιλογή του δείκτη *ότι* είναι αποδεκτή από τους φυσικούς ομιλητές της ΝΕ και η επιλογή του *που* είναι μη αποδεκτή, όπως ήταν αναμενόμενο. Από την άλλη πλευρά, οι μη φυσικοί ομιλητές αποδέχονται και το *ότι*, αλλά και το *που* (σε μικρότερο βαθμό σε σύγκριση με το *ότι*, βλ. πίνακα 1).

⁵ Για πρακτικούς λόγους, στο κείμενο υιοθετούνται οι παραδοσιακοί όροι για τις ρηματικές ομάδες, αλλά δεν ακολουθείται η παραδοσιακή ταξινόμηση.

⁶ Για την επεξεργασία των δεδομένων χρησιμοποιήθηκε το πρόγραμμα SPSS 19 (τεστ Kruskal-Wallis και Mann-Whitney).

⁷ Για να θεωρηθούν γραμματικές οι δομές με *που* στην Κοινή ΝΕ πρέπει να υπάρχει έμφαση στο ρήμα εξάρτησης (βλ. Holton κ.ά. 1999, Ρούσσου 2006). Στην προφορική μορφή των προτάσεων δεν υπήρχε έμφαση στο ρήμα εξάρτησης, με στόχο να αποκλειστεί, όσο ήταν δυνατόν, η εναλλακτική ερμηνεία.

Η διαφορά των φυσικών ομιλητών της NE με τις δύο ομάδες των μη φυσικών ομιλητών όσον αφορά το *που* είναι στατιστικά σημαντική και για τα δύο λεκτικά ρήματα (λέω: $\chi^2(2)=11,75$, $p=0,003$ / συμφωνώ: $\chi^2(2)=15,1$, $p=0,001$)· αυτό ισχύει και για τους μέσους (λέω: $U=448,5$, $p=0,001$, $r=0,33$ / συμφωνώ: $U=401,5$, $p<0,001$, $r=0,38$) και για τους προχωρημένους μη φυσικούς ομιλητές της NE (λέω: $U=269$, $p=0,001$, $r=0,38$ / συμφωνώ: $U=245$, $p<0,001$, $r=0,42$). Το ίδιο ισχύει για το ρήμα *ξέρω* ($\chi^2(2)=14,38$, $p=0,001$) –στη σύγκριση των φυσικών ομιλητών και με τους μέσους ($U=437,5$, $p=0,001$, $r=0,35$) και με τους προχωρημένους μη φυσικούς ομιλητές της NE ($U=233$, $p<0,001$, $r=0,44$)– αλλά όχι για το *μαθαίνω* ($\chi^2(2)=5,15$, $p=0,07$).

	Φυσικοί ομιλητές NE		Μέσοι μη φυσικοί ομιλητές NE		Προχωρημένοι μη φυσικοί ομιλητές NE	
	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD
λέω ότι	6,65	0,65	6,52	1,03	6,88	0,39
συμφωνώ ότι	6,61	0,94	6,11	1,58	6,23	1,56
λέω *που	2,35	1,58	3,96	2,08	4,05	2,19
συμφωνώ *που	2,87	1,84	4,69	1,79	4,72	1,94
λέω να	6,35	0,83	5,74	1,56	6,37	1,18
συμφωνώ να	6,52	0,79	6,11	1,34	6	1,53
ξέρω ότι	6,26	1,32	6,08	1,48	6,77	0,53
μαθαίνω ότι	6,17	1,37	5,28	1,73	5,05	2,08
ξέρω *που	2,7	2,1	4,58	2,15	4,81	2,06
μαθαίνω *που	2,91	1,81	3,9	1,79	3,86	2,02
ξέρω να	6,7	0,56	6,15	1,33	6,56	1,18
μαθαίνω να	5,48	1,62	5,86	1,57	6,17	1,53

Πίνακας 1 Λεκτικά και γνωστικά ρήματα

Όσον αφορά την ομάδα των δοξαστικών ρημάτων που περιλαμβάνονται στο ερωτηματολόγιο (βλ. πίνακα 2), το *ελπίζω* είναι συμβατό και με *ότι* και με *να*⁸ (παράδειγμα 7). Τα ρήματα *νομίζω* και *πιστεύω* μπορούν να έχουν προτασιακό συμπλήρωμα που εισάγεται με *ότι*, επίσης, ενώ για να δεχτούν συμπλήρωμα με *να* πρέπει να πληρούνται συγκεκριμένες προϋποθέσεις (βλ. 3.3). Το *που* δεν μπορεί να εισάγει προτασιακό συμπλήρωμα όταν οποιοδήποτε από τα τρία ρήματα χρησιμοποιείται ως ρήμα εξάρτησης (παράδειγμα 8).

7. Ελπίζει ότι/να έγραψε καλά στο τεστ

8. Ελπίζω/Πιστεύω/Νομίζω ότι/*που τα σχολεία λειτουργούν κανονικά σήμερα

Σημαντική διαφορά στις απαντήσεις μεταξύ των φυσικών και των μη φυσικών ομιλητών της NE υπάρχει για όλα τα ρήματα, καθώς οι φυσικοί ομιλητές απορρίπτουν το *που* ως συμπληρωματικό δείκτη αλλά δεν συμβαίνει το ίδιο με τους μη φυσικούς ομιλητές (*ελπίζω*: $\chi^2(2)=23,93$, $p<0,001$ / *πιστεύω*: $\chi^2(2)=11,73$, $p=0,003$ / *νομίζω*: $\chi^2(2)=14,25$, $p<0,001$). Η διαφορά είναι στατιστικά σημαντική μεταξύ των φυσικών ομιλητών και (α) των μέσων μη φυσικών ομιλητών (*ελπίζω*: $U=277,5$, $p<0,001$, $r=0,49$ / *πιστεύω*: $U=451$, $p=0,001$, $r=0,34$ / *νομίζω*: $U=385$, $p<0,001$, $r=0,38$) και (β) των προχωρημένων μη φυσικών ομιλητών (*ελπίζω*: $U=264$, $p=0,002$, $r=0,39$ / *πιστεύω*: $U=276,5$, $p=0,003$, $r=0,37$ / *νομίζω*: $U=237,5$, $p=0,001$, $r=0,41$).

Υπάρχουν, επιπλέον, επιμέρους διαφορές που αφορούν τα ρήματα *ελπίζω* και *πιστεύω* όταν έχουν *ότι*-συμπλήρωμα. Στη σύγκριση των τριών ομάδων για τη δομή *ελπίζω ότι*, προέκυψε στατιστικά σημαντική διαφορά ($\chi^2(2)=6,34$, $p=0,041$), η οποία αφορά τις ομάδες των μέσων και των φυσικών ομιλητών που διαφέρουν σημαντικά ($U=561$, $p=0,016$, $r=0,25$). Επίσης, σημαντική διαφορά υπάρχει και για τη δομή *πιστεύω ότι* ($\chi^2(2)=12,86$, $p=0,002$), η οποία εντοπίζεται στις επιμέρους συγκρίσεις των μέσων μη φυσικών ομιλητών με τους προχωρημένους ($U=1137,5$, $p=0,015$, $r=0,23$) και με τους φυσικούς ομιλητές ($U=472,5$, $p=0,001$, $r=0,33$). Πρέπει να σημειωθεί ότι στις τρεις αυτές περιπτώσεις φαίνεται να υπάρχει διαφορά μεταξύ των μέσων μη φυσικών ομιλητών και των δύο άλλων ομάδων,

⁸ Επίσης, η διαφορά στη σημασία των δύο δομών είναι δυσδιάκριτη, σε αντίθεση με τα λεκτικά και γνωστικά ρήματα, για τα οποία η χρήση του *ότι* έναντι του *να* προκαλεί σαφή διαφοροποίηση (Θεοφανοπούλου-Κοντού κ.ά. 1998).

καθώς οι μέσοι μη φυσικοί ομιλητές αποδέχονται λιγότερο το *ότι* ως συμπληρωματικό δείκτη, αλλά το μέγεθος της επίδρασης είναι μικρό προς μεσαίο.

	Φυσικοί ομιλητές NE		Μέσοι μη φυσικοί ομιλητές NE		Προχωρημένοι μη φυσικοί ομιλητές NE	
	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD
<i>ελπίζω ότι</i>	6,43	0,99	5,7	1,45	6,07	1,31
<i>πιστεύω ότι</i>	6,61	0,72	5,42	1,78	6	1,76
<i>νομίζω ότι</i>	6,57	0,79	6,38	1,2	6,65	1,04
<i>ελπίζω *που</i>	2,22	1,62	4,59	1,82	3,81	2,04
<i>πιστεύω *που</i>	2,74	2,39	4,62	1,85	4,44	1,99
<i>νομίζω *που</i>	2,41	1,76	4,24	2,07	4,28	2
<i>ελπίζω να</i>	6,39	0,78	5,56	1,83	6,37	1,38

Πίνακας 2 Δοξαστικά ρήματα

3.2 Ρήματα αισθήσεως, ψυχικού πάθους και αντίληψης

Ειδικότερα προβλήματα για τους μη φυσικούς ομιλητές της NE υπάρχουν στα ρήματα αισθήσεως, τα ρήματα ψυχικού πάθους και τα ρήματα αντίληψης.

Τα ρήματα αισθήσεως (*βλέπω* και *ακούω*) είναι συμβατά με τους δείκτες *ότι*, *να* και *που*, π.χ.

9. Είδα ότι ήρθε ο Κώστας/ τον Κώστα να έρχεται/ τον Κώστα που ερχόταν

Αν και υπάρχει διαφοροποίηση μεταξύ των *να/που*, με τα οποία δηλώνεται η άμεση αίσθηση, και του *ότι* που δηλώνει γνώση που μπορεί να προέρχεται και έμμεσα (βλ. μεταξύ άλλων, Holton κ.ά. 1999, Μοσχονάς 1989, Ρούσσου 2006, 2010, Χριστίδης 1982), με τη συγκεκριμένη δοκιμασία δεν ήταν δυνατόν να ελεγχθεί κατά πόσον οι μαθητές της NE κάνουν αυτή τη διάκριση. Εντούτοις, τα αποτελέσματα δείχνουν ότι οι μαθητές του μέσου επιπέδου είναι λιγότερο εξοικειωμένοι με τα ρήματα αισθήσεως, ενώ λιγότερες διαφορές υπάρχουν στους προχωρημένους μαθητές (βλ. πίνακα 3).

Ειδικότερα, στατιστικά σημαντική διαφορά υπάρχει όταν τα *βλέπω* και *ακούω* έχουν προτασιακό συμπλήρωμα που εισάγεται με *να* (*βλέπω*: $\chi^2(2)=17,73$, $p<0,001$ / *ακούω*: $\chi^2(2)=18,82$, $p<0,001$). Και για τα δύο ρήματα, οι μέσοι μη προχωρημένοι ομιλητές διαφέρουν από τους φυσικούς ομιλητές της NE (*βλέπω*: $U=416,5$, $p<0,001$, $r=0,38$ / *ακούω*: $U=326,5$, $p<0,001$, $r=0,45$). Επιπλέον, για το *βλέπω* υπάρχει στατιστικά σημαντική διαφορά και ανάμεσα σε μέσους και προχωρημένους ($U=416,5$, $p=0,001$, $r=0,29$), ενώ για το *ακούω* υπάρχει στατιστικά σημαντική διαφορά ανάμεσα στους προχωρημένους και τους φυσικούς ομιλητές ($U=331$, $p=0,015$, $r=0,3$).

Όταν τα *βλέπω* και *ακούω* έχουν προτασιακό συμπλήρωμα που εισάγεται με *που*, οι απαντήσεις των ομάδων διαφέρουν σημαντικά (*βλέπω*: $\chi^2(2)=13,11$, $p=0,001$ / *ακούω*: $\chi^2(2)=8,11$, $p=0,016$). Υπάρχει στατιστικά σημαντική διαφορά ανάμεσα στους μη φυσικούς ομιλητές μέσου και προχωρημένου επιπέδου (*ακούω*: $U=1111$, $p=0,013$, $r=0,24$, μικρό μέγεθος επίδρασης/ *βλέπω*: $U=1111$, $p=0,024^9$) και ανάμεσα στους φυσικούς ομιλητές και τους μέσους μη φυσικούς ομιλητές για το ρήμα *βλέπω* ($U=439,5$, $p<0,001$, $r=0,35$).

Επομένως, τόσο για τα προτασιακά συμπληρώματα που εισάγονται με *να* όσο και για αυτά που εισάγονται με *που*, φαίνεται ότι υπάρχει ιδιαίτερη δυσκολία στη συγκεκριμένη δομή για τους μη φυσικούς ομιλητές της NE, όπως και ότι υπάρχει βελτίωση όσο αυξάνει το επίπεδο γνώσης της NE. Στην περίπτωση του *να*, χρειάζεται να επισημανθεί ότι, με τα ρήματα αισθήσεως δεν φέρει τροπικότητα (βλ. Θεοφανοπούλου-Κοντού κ.ά. 1998, Ιακώβου 1999, Ρούσσου 2010), σε αντίθεση με άλλα ρήματα εξάρτησης στα οποία η χρήση του *να* συνδέεται με την τροπικότητα. Πιθανόν, η διαφορά αυτή να παίζει ρόλο στις δυσκολίες που υπάρχουν με τη συγκεκριμένη ρηματική ομάδα.

⁹ Η διαφορά δε θεωρείται στατιστικά σημαντική, αλλά αναφέρεται γιατί προσεγγίζει το όριο (διόρθωση Bonferroni, $p<0,0167$) και δείχνει ότι χρειάζεται περαιτέρω διερεύνηση με χρήση περισσότερων προτάσεων ή/και ρημάτων.

	Φυσικοί ομιλητές NE		Μέσοι μη φυσικοί ομιλητές NE		Προχωρημένοι μη φυσικοί ομιλητές NE	
	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD
βλέπω ότι	6,26	0,92	5,9	1,64	6,3	1,19
ακούω ότι	4,91	1,95	5,23	1,69	5,21	1,96
βλέπω να	6,52	0,9	4,97	1,95	5,86	1,97
ακούω να	6,61	0,78	4,96	1,79	5,42	2,08
βλέπω που	5,83	1,67	4,27	1,98	5,12	2,12
ακούω που	6,17	0,78	5,15	1,85	6,05	1,36

Πίνακας 3 Ρήματα αισθήσεως

Για τα ρήματα που δείχνουν συναισθηματική κατάσταση, τα λεγόμενα ψυχικού πάθους, οι δομές με συμπληρωματική πρόταση με δείκτη εισαγωγής *που* και *να* είναι γραμματικές (βλ. Χριστίδης 1985 για τη διαφορά στη σημασία). Στην Κοινή NE οι προτάσεις με *ότι* είναι αντιγραμματικές ως συμπληρώματα αυτής της ομάδας ρημάτων (βλ. Nicholas 1998, Ρούσσου 2006, Τζάρτζανος 1963), π.χ.

10. Λυπάται που/ότι είπε ψέματα

11. Χαίρεται να πηγαίνει σινεμά με τους φίλους της

Η δυσκολία που αντιμετωπίζουν οι μη φυσικοί ομιλητές αφορά την επιλογή μεταξύ *ότι* και *που*, η οποία υπάρχει και σε άλλες ρηματικές ομάδες, καθώς και οι δύο συμπληρωματικοί δείκτες γίνονται εξίσου αποδεκτοί.

Ειδικότερα, ενώ οι φυσικοί ομιλητές της NE αποδέχονται απόλυτα, όπως ήταν αναμενόμενο, το *που* ως συμπληρωματικό δείκτη, οι μη φυσικοί ομιλητές το δέχονται σε σημαντικά μικρότερο βαθμό (*χαίρομαι*: $\chi^2(2)=6,63$, $p=0,033$ / *λυπάμαι*: $\chi^2(2)=8,07$, $p=0,015$).¹⁰ Θα πρέπει, ακόμη, να επισημανθεί ότι υπάρχει μεγαλύτερη εγγύτητα στις απαντήσεις των προχωρημένων και των φυσικών ομιλητών. Από την άλλη πλευρά, το *ότι* θεωρείται γραμματικό στα προτασιακά συμπληρώματα από τους μη φυσικούς ομιλητές αλλά απορρίπτεται από τους φυσικούς ομιλητές της NE (*χαίρομαι*: $\chi^2(2)=10,84$, $p=0,005$ / *λυπάμαι*: $\chi^2(2)=19,58$, $p<0,001$). Η διαφορά είναι στατιστικά σημαντική στη σύγκριση των φυσικών ομιλητών και με τους μέσους (*χαίρομαι*: $U=473,5$, $p=0,002$, $r=0,32$ / *λυπάμαι*: $U=333$, $p<0,001$, $r=0,44$) και με τους προχωρημένους μη φυσικούς ομιλητές (*χαίρομαι*: $U=279,5$, $p=0,002$, $r=0,36$ / *λυπάμαι*: $U=224,5$, $p<0,001$, $r=0,45$).

Ενδιαφέρον παρουσιάζει και το *να*, καθώς για το ρήμα *χαίρομαι* η διαφορά μεταξύ των ομάδων είναι στατιστικά σημαντική ($\chi^2(2)=30,91$, $p<0,001$) και διαφορές εντοπίζονται μεταξύ όλων των ομάδων: μέσων και προχωρημένων ($U=1083,5$, $p=0,011$, $r=0,24$), μέσων και φυσικών ομιλητών ($U=196,5$, $p<0,001$, $r=0,57$) και προχωρημένων και φυσικών ομιλητών ($U=283$, $p=0,002$, $r=0,39$). Το ρήμα *λυπάμαι*, όμως, δεν προκαλεί διαφορετικές κρίσεις από τις ομάδες που συμμετείχαν στην έρευνα, με αποτέλεσμα να είναι απαραίτητη η επέκταση της έρευνας με διεύρυνση της ομάδας των εξεταζόμενων ρημάτων.

	Φυσικοί ομιλητές NE		Μέσοι μη φυσικοί ομιλητές NE		Προχωρημένοι μη φυσικοί ομιλητές NE	
	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD
χαίρομαι που	6,35	0,94	5,61	1,77	6,23	1,43
λυπάμαι που	6,35	1,34	5,39	1,73	5,63	1,83
χαίρομαι *ότι	3,52	2,09	5,1	1,94	5,19	2
λυπάμαι *ότι	2,65	1,5	4,92	2,03	4,74	2,12
χαίρομαι να	6,74	0,54	4,01	2,13	5,02	2,33
λυπάμαι να	5,87	1,42	5,32	1,8	5,28	2,13

Πίνακας 4 Ρήματα ψυχικού πάθους

¹⁰ Η διαφορά για το *χαίρομαι που* εντοπίζεται μεταξύ των δύο ομάδων των μη φυσικών ομιλητών ($U=1157,5$, $p=0,018$ –μεγαλύτερο από το όριο (0,0167) της διόρθωσης Bonferroni). Στην περίπτωση του *λυπάμαι που* διαφέρουν οι φυσικοί και οι μέσοι μη φυσικοί ομιλητές ($U=489$, $p=0,003$, $r=0,3$).

Τα ρήματα αντίληψης *θυμάμαι* και *ξεχνάω* αποτελούν μία ξεχωριστή ομάδα καθώς μπορούν να συνδυαστούν με συμπληρωματικές προτάσεις και με τους τρεις δείκτες που εξετάζονται, με διαφορές στη σημασία (βλ., μεταξύ άλλων, Βαρλοκώστα 1994β, Ρούσσου 1992, Χριστίδης 1982, 1985), π.χ.

12. Η Μαρία ξέχασε ότι είχε κλείσει το παράθυρο/ να κλείσει το παράθυρο/ που έκλεισε το παράθυρο

Οι κρίσεις φυσικών και μη φυσικών ομιλητών διαφέρουν στην περίπτωση που ο συμπληρωματικός δείκτης ότι εισάγει το προτασιακό συμπλήρωμα (*θυμάμαι*: $\chi^2(2)=9,18$, $p=0,01$ / *ξεχνάω*: $\chi^2(2)=8,46$, $p=0,013$) και οι επιμέρους συγκρίσεις δείχνουν ότι οι μέσοι μη φυσικοί ομιλητές είναι αυτοί που διαφέρουν σε στατιστικά σημαντικό βαθμό από τους φυσικούς ομιλητές (*θυμάμαι*: $U=541$, $p=0,005$, $r=0,28$ / *ξεχνάω*: $U=499$, $p=0,005$, $r=0,29$). Για τη δομή *ρήμα αντίληψης + που* οι απαντήσεις όλων των ομάδων είναι περίπου στο μέσο της κλίμακας αποδεκτότητας και αυτό έρχεται σε αντίθεση με τη γραμματικότητα των προτάσεων. Πέρα από την απαραίτητη περαιτέρω διερεύνηση του ζητήματος, θα πρέπει να ληφθεί υπόψη ότι η προφορική μορφή των προτάσεων, στην οποία δεν υπήρχε έμφαση στο ρήμα εξάρτησης, πιθανόν να επηρέασε τις απαντήσεις.

Ακόμη, διαφορετικές κρίσεις μεταξύ φυσικών και μη φυσικών ομιλητών υπάρχουν για το ρήμα *ξεχνάω* όταν έχει προτασιακό συμπλήρωμα που εισάγεται με *να* ($\chi^2(2)=18,15$, $p<0,001$). Οι διαφορές εντοπίζονται στη σύγκριση των φυσικών ομιλητών και με τους μέσους ($U=350,5$, $p<0,001$, $r=0,44$) και με τους προχωρημένους μη φυσικούς ομιλητές ($U=249,5$, $p<0,001$, $r=0,44$). Το ρήμα *θυμάμαι* δεν εμφανίζει αντίστοιχη διαφορά αλλά αυτό πιθανόν να σχετίζεται με άλλους παράγοντες (π.χ. με την επιστημική ερμηνεία που μπορεί να έχει, βλ. 3.3).

	Φυσικοί ομιλητές NE		Μέσοι μη φυσικοί ομιλητές NE		Προχωρημένοι μη φυσικοί ομιλητές NE	
	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD
θυμάμαι ότι	6,78	0,52	5,92	1,55	6,26	1,52
ξεχνάω ότι	5,91	1,31	4,47	2,15	5,16	2,07
θυμάμαι να	4,78	1,93	5,54	1,71	5,93	1,4
ξεχνάω να	6,7	0,7	4,87	2,04	4,77	2,35
θυμάμαι που	5,09	2	4,73	2,09	5,28	1,75
ξεχνάω που	3,91	2,31	3,65	1,92	4,23	1,97

Πίνακας 5 Ρήματα αντίληψης

3.3 Επιπλέον παράγοντες που καθορίζουν την επιλογή του δείκτη

Πέρα από τη συμβατότητα μεταξύ ρήματος εξάρτησης και συμπληρωματικού δείκτη, δύο από τους παράγοντες που μπορούν να επιτρέψουν την παρουσία ενός δείκτη είναι το πρόσωπο του ρήματος εξάρτησης και η παρουσία ενός προτασιακού τελεστή, όπως είναι η άρνηση, στην πρόταση εξάρτησης (βλ. Ρούσσου 2010, Χριστίδης 1985).

Για την εξέταση της επίδρασης που μπορεί το πρόσωπο να ασκήσει στην επιλογή δείκτη, χρησιμοποιήθηκε το δοξαστικό ρήμα *πιστεύω*. Σύμφωνα με τη βιβλιογραφία (Ρούσσου 2006), όταν το πιστεύω ως ρήμα εξάρτησης είναι σε πρώτο πρόσωπο η δομή *πιστεύω+να-συμπληρωματική* είναι γραμματική ενώ με τα άλλα πρόσωπα είναι αντιγραμματική, π.χ.

13. *Οι φίλοι μου πιστεύουν να έρθουν

14. Πιστεύω να προλάβω το τρένο

Η στατιστική ανάλυση των αποτελεσμάτων δεν έδειξε διαφορές στις αντιγραμματικές προτάσεις και στη μία από τις δύο γραμματικές προτάσεις (*πιστεύω να 1*: $\chi^2(2)=13,6$, $p=0,001$ / *πιστεύω να 2*: $\chi^2(2)=3,34$, $p=0,19$). Στην πρόταση που υπάρχει διαφορά, αυτή εντοπίζεται στους μέσους μη φυσικούς ομιλητές σε σύγκριση με τους φυσικούς ομιλητές ($U=432,5$, $p<0,001$, $r=0,37$). Με βάση τα αποτελέσματα, δεν είναι δυνατόν να υποστηριχθεί ότι υπάρχει διαφορά στις κρίσεις των ομιλητών με διαφορετικό επίπεδο γνώσης της ΝΕ.

	Φυσικοί ομιλητές NE		Μέσοι μη φυσικοί ομιλητές NE		Προχωρημένοι μη φυσικοί ομιλητές NE	
	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD
πιστεύει *να	5,26	1,91	4,63	1,93	4,93	1,67
πιστεύουν *να	4,52	2,37	4,58	2	4,19	1,87
πιστεύω να	6,65	0,78	5,39	1,77	5,84	1,8
πιστεύω να	6,04	1,11	5,1	1,91	5,14	2,17

Πίνακας 6 Επιπλέον παράγοντες - πρόσωπο

Το πρόσωπο σε συνδυασμό με την άρνηση ως προτασιακό τελεστή που επιτρέπει την παρουσία του να παίζει ρόλο και στην περίπτωση του ρήματος *νομίζω*. Όταν το *νομίζω* αποτελεί ρήμα εξάρτησης, είναι συμβατό με προτασιακό συμπλήρωμα που εισάγεται με *να*, μόνο εάν βρίσκεται σε πρώτο πρόσωπο και έχει άρνηση (Ρούσσου 2006), π.χ.:

15. *(Δε) νομίζω να έχουμε γνωριστεί

Οι συμμετέχοντες στο πείραμα κλήθηκαν να κρίνουν πέντε προτάσεις, σε τρεις από τις οποίες δεν υπήρχε άρνηση (μία πρόταση με το *νομίζω* σε τρίτο πρόσωπο και δύο προτάσεις με το *νομίζω* σε πρώτο πρόσωπο), ενώ στις υπόλοιπες δύο υπήρχε άρνηση στο ρήμα εξάρτησης (το οποίο βρισκόταν σε πρώτο πρόσωπο).

Όπως ήταν αναμενόμενο, οι φυσικοί ομιλητές απέρριψαν τις προτάσεις που δεν περιείχαν άρνηση στο ρήμα εξάρτησης αλλά αποδέχτηκαν τις προτάσεις με άρνηση. Οι μη φυσικοί ομιλητές απορρίπτουν μόνο μία από τις τρεις αντιγραμματικές προτάσεις (*νομίζουν να: $\chi^2(2)=14,96, p=0,001$ / νομίζω να 1: $\chi^2(2)=27,33, p<0,001$ / νομίζω να 2: $\chi^2(2)=0,95, p=0,63$*) και αποδέχονται επίσης μία από τις γραμματικές προτάσεις αλλά σημαντικά λιγότερο συγκριτικά με τους φυσικούς ομιλητές (*δε νομίζω να 1: $\chi^2(2)=7,35, p=0,021$ / δε νομίζω να 2: $\chi^2(2)=17,88, p<0,001$*).

Στις αντιγραμματικές προτάσεις, η διαφορά μεταξύ φυσικών και μέσων μη φυσικών ομιλητών είναι στατιστικά σημαντική (*νομίζουν να: $U=422,5, p=0,001, r=0,36$ / νομίζω να 1: $U=237, p<0,001, r=0,53$*), όπως επίσης μεταξύ φυσικών και προχωρημένων μη φυσικών ομιλητών (*νομίζουν να: $U=228, p<0,001, r=0,45$ / νομίζω να 1: $U=184, p<0,001, r=0,52$*). Το μέγεθος της επίδρασης είναι μεσαίο στην πρώτη περίπτωση και μεγάλο στη δεύτερη, εύρημα που απαιτεί περαιτέρω διερεύνηση για να εξακριβωθεί ο λόγος για τον οποίο διαφέρει η τρίτη πρόταση της ομάδας. Στις γραμματικές προτάσεις, η διαφορά μεταξύ φυσικών και μέσων μη φυσικών ομιλητών είναι στατιστικά σημαντική (*δε νομίζω να 2: $U=312, p<0,001, r=0,46$*), όπως επίσης μεταξύ φυσικών και προχωρημένων μη φυσικών ομιλητών (*δε νομίζω να 2: $U=184, p<0,001, r=0,34$*).¹¹

	Φυσικοί ομιλητές NE		Μέσοι μη φυσικοί ομιλητές NE		Προχωρημένοι μη φυσικοί ομιλητές NE	
	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD
νομίζουν *να	2,52	1,44	4,16	1,96	4,42	1,98
νομίζω *να	2,04	1,26	4,76	1,96	4,47	2,14
νομίζω *να	2,09	1,44	2,54	1,88	2,23	1,43
δε νομίζω να	6,35	1,11	5,41	2	6,28	1,39
δε νομίζω να	5,87	1,49	3,78	1,91	4,3	2,23

Πίνακας 7 Επιπλέον παράγοντες – πρόσωπο και άρνηση

Μία ακόμη περίπτωση που ένας προτασιακός τελεστής επηρεάζει τη συμβατότητα του ρήματος εξάρτησης είναι αυτή του ρήματος *θυμάμαι* όταν χρησιμοποιείται με επιστημική σημασία (σε αυτή την περίπτωση το πρόσωπο δεν επηρεάζει τη γραμματικότητα της δομής) και έχει προτασιακό συμπλήρωμα το οποίο εισάγεται με *να*. Η ύπαρξη επιστημικής ερμηνείας είναι δυνατή μόνο όταν υπάρχει άρνηση ή ερώτηση στο *θυμάμαι* (Ρούσσου 2006) π.χ.

16. *(Δε) θυμάται να έκλεισε το παράθυρο

¹¹ Στην άλλη γραμματική πρόταση, αν και υπάρχει στατιστικά σημαντική διαφορά στη συνολική σύγκριση, στις επιμέρους συγκρίσεις δεν εντοπίζονται σημαντικές διαφορές.

Στο ερωτηματολόγιο υπήρχαν δύο προτάσεις με άρνηση στο ρήμα εξάρτησης, οι οποίες έγιναν αποδεκτές από τους φυσικούς ομιλητές (βλ. πίνακα 8), και δύο προτάσεις χωρίς άρνηση που απορρίφθηκαν. Οι μη φυσικοί ομιλητές απέρριψαν όλες τις προτάσεις¹² με αποτέλεσμα να υπάρχει στατιστικά σημαντική διαφορά στην περίπτωση των γραμματικών προτάσεων (δε θυμάμαι να 1: $\chi^2(2)=18,65, p<0,001$ / δε θυμάμαι να 2: $\chi^2(2)=26,81, p<0,001$). Η διαφορά μεταξύ φυσικών και μέσων μη φυσικών ομιλητών είναι στατιστικά σημαντική (δε θυμάμαι να 1: $U=356,5, p<0,001, r=0,42$ / δε θυμάμαι να 2: $U=235, p<0,001, r=0,53$), όπως επίσης μεταξύ φυσικών και προχωρημένων μη φυσικών ομιλητών (δε θυμάμαι να 1: $U=234, p<0,001, r=0,44$ / δε θυμάμαι να 2: $U=253, p=0,001, r=0,41$).

	Φυσικοί ομιλητές NE		Μέσοι μη φυσικοί ομιλητές NE		Προχωρημένοι μη φυσικοί ομιλητές NE	
	M	SD	M	SD	M	SD
θυμάμαι *να	3,74	1,98	2,69	1,92	2,37	2,02
θυμάμαι *να	3,57	1,38	3,57	2,03	3,05	2
δε θυμάμαι να	5,7	1,55	3,75	1,96	3,3	2,44
δε θυμάμαι να	5,74	1,36	3,13	1,87	3,93	2,15

Πίνακας 8 Επιπλέον παράγοντες – άρνηση

Συνεξετάζοντας τις τρεις περιπτώσεις δομών στις οποίες η συμβατότητα ενός ρήματος εξάρτησης με κάποιο συμπληρωματικό δείκτη εξαρτάται, εκτός από τα σημασιολογικά χαρακτηριστικά του ρήματος, και από άλλους παράγοντες, διαφαίνεται ότι οι μη φυσικοί ομιλητές της ΝΕ δε λαμβάνουν υπόψη τη λειτουργία τέτοιων παραγόντων.

4. Συμπέρασμα

Η πειραματική εξέταση της επιλογής των δεικτών εισαγωγής συμπληρωματικών προτάσεων *ότι, να και που* επικεντρώθηκε στις περιπτώσεις των ρημάτων που είναι συμβατά με δύο ή περισσότερους δείκτες. Από τη συγκριτική ανάλυση των ομάδων των ομιλητών προκύπτουν διαφορές που αφορούν την επιλογή μεταξύ *ότι και που* με ρήματα εξάρτησης λεκτικά, γνωστικά, δοξαστικά και ψυχικού πάθους. Η δυσκολία των μη φυσικών ομιλητών της ΝΕ είναι να διακρίνουν τις αντιγραμματικές δομές και ισχύει και για τους μέσους και για τους προχωρημένους. Όσον αφορά τις ρηματικές ομάδες, τα ρήματα ψυχικού πάθους και τα ρήματα αισθήσεως εμφανίζουν επιπλέον προβλήματα. Με αυτά ως ρήματα εξάρτησης, οι μη φυσικοί ομιλητές αποδέχονται σε μικρό βαθμό τα (γραμματικά) προτασιακά συμπληρώματα με *να*, ιδιαίτερα στο μέσο επίπεδο, εμφανίζοντας βελτίωση στο προχωρημένο επίπεδο. Μία ακόμη δυσκολία για όσους μαθαίνουν τη ΝΕ ως Γ2 είναι ο ρόλος της άρνησης (ως προτασιακού τελεστή) στη συμβατότητα ρημάτων εξάρτησης και συμπληρωματικών δεικτών, τον οποίο τόσο οι μέσοι όσο και οι προχωρημένοι μη φυσικοί ομιλητές φαίνεται μην γνωρίζουν. Για να δοθεί ερμηνεία σε αυτά τα ζητήματα και για να εξεταστούν άλλα επιμέρους προβλήματα, η διερεύνηση του θέματος είναι απαραίτητο να διευρυνθεί με τη μελέτη περισσότερων ρημάτων εξάρτησης για κάθε ρηματική ομάδα, χρησιμοποιώντας ποικίλες μεθόδους συλλογής δεδομένων και περιλαμβάνοντας όλα τα επίπεδα γνώσης της ΝΕ ως Γ2.

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¹² Αντίθετα από το αναμενόμενο, οι μη φυσικοί ομιλητές απορρίπτουν μία από τις δύο αντιγραμματικές προτάσεις περισσότερο από τους φυσικούς ομιλητές και η διαφορά των ομάδων είναι σημαντική. Το εύρημα δεν ενδιαφέρει προς το παρόν καθώς οι κρίσεις όλων των ομιλητών είναι στην ίδια κατεύθυνση της κλίμακας αποδεκτότητας.

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ΤΟ ΕΠΙΘΗΜΑ *-(ι)λίκι* ΣΤΗΝ ΚΟΙΝΗ ΝΕΟΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΗ¹

Νικόλαος Ντάγκας
ΓΕΛ Ν. Μουδανιών - ΑΠΘ,
Ελλάδα
nntagkas@yahoo.gr

ABSTRACT

*This paper deals with the Standard Modern Greek suffix *-(ι)λίκι* within D. Corbin's theoretical framework. After presenting the sources and the classification of the data, we look into the forms of the suffix, as far as their availability and hierarchy at the derivational stages are concerned. Then, we co-examine the bases and the derivatives in relation to the types of lexical units, the morphosyntactic and semantic features, as well as the register. The conclusions are summarized in a Lexeme Formation Rule.*

Λέξεις κλειδιά: επίθημα, βάση, λεξική μονάδα, διαθεσιμότητα, μορφοσυντακτικά χαρακτηριστικά, σημασιολογικά χαρακτηριστικά, χρηστικό επίπεδο.

1. Εισαγωγή

Η παρούσα ανακοίνωση έχει ως θέμα το επίθημα *-(ι)λίκι* στην κοινή νεοελληνική (ΚΝΕ). Καταρχάς, παρουσιάζουμε το θεωρητικό πλαίσιο, τις πηγές και την ταξινόμηση του γλωσσικού υλικού. Έπειτα, ασχολούμαστε με τις μορφές του επιθήματος, όσον αφορά την ιεράρχηση κατά τα στάδια παραγωγής και τη διαθεσιμότητα. Στη συνέχεια, συνεξετάζονται οι βάσεις και τα παράγωγα ως προς τα είδη των λεξικών μονάδων (ΛΜ)², τα μορφοσυντακτικά και σημασιολογικά χαρακτηριστικά, καθώς και το χρηστικό επίπεδο. Τα συμπεράσματα συνοψίζονται σε έναν κανόνα κατασκευής ΛΜ (ΚΚΛΜ).

2. Θεωρητικό πλαίσιο

Σύμφωνα με το μοντέλο της Corbin (1987, 1989), όπως αυτό έχει παρουσιαστεί και εφαρμοστεί στην ΚΝΕ (Αναστασιάδη-Συμεωνίδη 1992, 1993, 1995, 1997, 1999, 2000β, 2009· Αναστασιάδη-Συμεωνίδη και Γαλανή 1995· Γαλανή 1993· Ευθυμίου 1995, 1997, 1998, 1999· Φυνδάνης 2003), το λεξιλόγιο νοείται ως οργανωμένο σύστημα, όπου κάθε ΚΚΛΜ κατασκευάζει συγχρόνως τη μορφολογική δομή και τη σημασία μιας κατασκευασμένης ΛΜ (ΚΛΜ), η οποία είναι συνθετική ως προς τη μορφολογική δομή (συζευκτικότητα). Η αρχή αυτή αφενός συνεπάγεται ένα σαφή προσδιορισμό του όρου «ΚΛΜ», αφετέρου επιβάλλει την αρχή της διαστρωμάτωσης, κατά την οποία το κατασκευασμένο λεξιλόγιο στηρίζεται σε ένα σύνολο διαστρωματωμένων κανόνων, αρχών και περιορισμών. Η διαστρωμάτωση αφορά (α) τη μορφή μιας ΚΛΜ, καθώς τα στοιχεία της περνούν διαδοχικά από τα υποσυστατικά του διαστρωματωμένου λεξιλογικού συστατικού, (β) την προβλεπτή σημασία μιας ΚΛΜ, η οποία είναι συνάρτηση της σημασιολογικής πράξης του ΚΚΛΜ, της σημασιολογικής οδηγίας του προσφύματος και των σημασιολογικών χαρακτηριστικών της βάσης, (γ) τις όποιες ανωμαλίες στη μορφή και τη σημασία. Επομένως, η μορφολογική ανάλυση είναι δυαδική, μη γραμμική, στη δομή βάθους, ενώ μια ΚΛΜ χαρακτηρίζεται ως προς το είδος της κατασκευής με κριτήριο την τελευταία από μια σειρά πράξεων, η οποία καθορίζεται βάσει της σημασίας. Επιπλέον, ενδιαφερόμαστε για το σύνολο των ΚΛΜ, τόσο των μαρτυρημένων, όσο και των δυνάμει (υπεργενετικότητα).

Από τις διαδικασίες κατασκευής ΛΜ μάς αφορά η παραγωγή (προσφυματοποίηση) και ειδικότερα η επιθηματοποίηση, κατά την οποία ένα επίθημα εφαρμόζεται σε μια βάση, σύμφωνα με κάποιον ΚΚΛΜ, με αποτέλεσμα το σχηματισμό μιας νέας ΚΛΜ, που ονομάζεται παράγωγη ΛΜ ή απλώς πα-

¹ Ευχαριστώ θερμά την καθηγήτρια κ. Άννα Αναστασιάδη-Συμεωνίδη για τις χρήσιμες παρατηρήσεις της.

² Προκρίνοντας τη σημασία και τη λειτουργία έναντι της μορφής, υιοθετούμε ως μονάδα της λεξικολογίας όχι τη λέξη, αλλά τη ΛΜ (Αναστασιάδη-Συμεωνίδη 1986).

ράγωγο. Ο ΚΚΑΜ περιλαμβάνει τέσσερα συστατικά, μια δομική πράξη, μια σημασιολογική πράξη, ένα μορφολογικό παράδειγμα και ποικίλους περιορισμούς. Η βάση είναι φορέας λεξικής σημασίας (λεξικό μόρφημα), εντάσσεται σε μία κύρια κατηγορία και έχει συντακτικές ιδιότητες. Βάση και ΑΜ δεν ταυτίζονται, έστω και αν κάποτε φαινομενικά συμπίπτουν. Το επίθημα είναι μόρφημα μη ελεύθερο (υπολεξική μονάδα), με γραμματική σημασία και συγκεκριμένα σημασιολογική οδηγία, το οποίο εντάσσεται στο μορφολογικό παράδειγμα ενός ΚΚΑΜ. Η εφαρμογή δηλαδή ενός επιθήματος σε μια βάση δεν πραγματοποιείται αυθαίρετα, αλλά υπακούει σε κανόνες και περιορισμούς.

3. Γλωσσικό υλικό

Το υλικό αντλήθηκε στην πλειονότητά του από το ΑΛΝΕ (Αναστασιάδη-Συμεωνίδη 2002). Συμπληρωματικά, ανατρέξαμε σε βιβλιογραφικές πηγές, συγκεκριμένα σε λεξικά (Σταματάκος 1952· Κριαράς 1995· ΑΚΝ 1998· Ανδριώτης 2001· Georgakas 2005· Μπαμπινιώτης 2006), γραμματικές (Φιλήντας 1907· Τριανταφυλλίδης [1941] 2005· Mackridge 1989· Τσοπανάκης 1994· Κλαίρης και Μπαμπινιώτης 2005· Ράλλη 2005), άρθρα και έρευνες (Kazazis 1972· Tzitzilis 1997· Σετάτος 1998· Κυρανούδης 2009), καθώς και σε διαδικτυακές πηγές (Google 2011· ΕΘΕΓ 2011).

Από το σύνολο του υλικού (293 ΑΜ που λήγουν σε *-(ι)λίκι*), μας αφορούν 218 ΚΑΜ που κατασκευάζονται με το επίθημα *-(ι)λίκι* (παράγωγα με επιθηματοποίηση) π.χ. *δικηγόρ(ος)* → *δικηγοριλίκι*, *διευθυντ(ής)* → *διευθυντιλίκι*³. Δεν εμπίπτουν στην ανάλυσή μας:

- [-κατασκευασμένες] ΑΜ που συγχρονικά αναλύονται ως «θέμα+ληκτικό -ι». Από διαχρονικής άποψης, είναι άμεσα λεξικά δάνεια, κατά κανόνα από την τουρκική, π.χ. *τερλίκι* (τουρκ. *terlik*), *χαρτζιλίκι* (τουρκ. *harçlık*) ή προήλθαν από παλαιότερα υποκοριστικά με το επίθημα *-ιον* π.χ. *χαλίκι* (< *χαλίκ-ιον < χάλιζ), *σταλίκι* (< *σταλίκ-ιον < στάλιζ).
- [-κατασκευασμένες] [+περίπλοκες] ΑΜ που συγχρονικά συνδέονται με κάποιες ΑΜ οι οποίες δεν μπορούν να θεωρηθούν βάσεις τους λόγω σημασιολογικών περιορισμών, όπως θα αποδειχθεί παρακάτω. Από διαχρονικής άποψης, πρόκειται για άμεσα λεξικά δάνεια, κατά κανόνα από την τουρκική, π.χ. *σελαχλίκι/σιλαχλίκι* (τουρκ. *silâhlik*), *τζαμ(ι)λίκι* (τουρκ. *camlik*), που συγχρονικά συνδέονται αντιστοίχως με τα *σελάχι/σιλάχι* (τουρκ. *silâh*), *τζάμι* (τουρκ. *cam*), ή για παλαιότερα παράγωγα με θέμα σε *-λ-* και το μεσαιωνικό επίθημα *-ίκι(ον)* τα οποία δεν υπέστησαν επανανάλυση με το επίθημα *-(ι)λίκι*, όταν το μεσαιωνικό *-ίκι(ον)* κατέστη μη διαθέσιμο, με αποτέλεσμα να μετατραπούν από [+κατασκευασμένες] σε [-κατασκευασμένες] ΑΜ π.χ. *καβαλίκι* (< *καβάλ(α)* + *-ίκι(ον)*), *ζυλίκι* (< *ζύλ(ο)* + *-ίκι(ον)*), που συγχρονικά συνδέονται αντιστοίχως με τα *καβάλα*, *ζύλο*.
- ΚΑΜ που με βάση την τελευταία πράξη κατασκευής δεν πρέπει να χαρακτηριστούν επιθηματοποιημένες π.χ. το σύνθετο *αλλαξοβασιλίκι* (← *βασιλίκι*).

4. Μορφές του επιθήματος

Το επίθημα, δάνειο από την τουρκική, απαντά στην ΚΝΕ με τις μορφές *-λίκι*, *-ιλίκι* και *-ίκι* (Κριαράς 1995, λήμματα *-λίκι*, *-ιλίκι*, *-ίκι* I· ΑΚΝ 1998, λήμματα *-λίκι*, *-ιλίκι*, *-ίκι* I, *-ίκι* 2· Ανδριώτης 2001, λήμματα *-λίκι*, *-ιλίκι*, *-ίκι* (II)· Μπαμπινιώτης 2006, λήμματα *-λίκι*, *-ιλίκι*, *-ίκι*· Κυρανούδης 2009, 383-85). Από διαχρονικής πλευράς, φαίνεται ότι προηγείται η μορφή *-λίκι* και έπεται η μορφή *-ιλίκι*, η οποία προέκυψε μέσω επανανάλυσης (ΑΚΝ 1998, λήμμα *-ιλίκι*· Μπαμπινιώτης 2006, λήμμα *-λίκι*· Κυρανούδης 2009, 383-84).

Από συγχρονικής πλευράς, θα μπορούσαμε να υποθέσουμε είτε ότι στη δομή βάθους εφαρμόζεται επί της βάσης το *-λίκι* και προστίθεται στο σημείο του αρμού ένα *-ι-* κατά το πέρασμα από το μεταπαγωγικό υποσυστατικό π.χ.

- (1) α. *ασίκ(ης)* → *ασικλίκι*
β. *αρχηγ(ός)* → *+αρχηγλίκι* => *αρχηγιλίκι*
γ. *μπεκιάρ(ης)* → *μπεκιαρλίκι* => *μπεκιαριλίκι*

³ Χρησιμοποιούμε τα εξής σύμβολα: → πράξη κατασκευής (συγχρονική ανάλυση), () κλιτικό που δε μετέχει στην πράξη κατασκευής, + υποχρεωτική εισαγωγή στο μεταπαγωγικό υποσυστατικό, => πράξη στο μεταπαγωγικό υποσυστατικό, ->> σημασιολογική πράξη (λ.χ. μεταφορά, μετωνυμία, κατάχρηση), > ετυμολογική προέλευση (διαχρονική ανάλυση).

είτε ότι στη δομή βάθους εφαρμόζεται επί της βάσης το -ιλίκι και αφαιρείται από το σημείο του αρμού το -ι- κατά το πέρασμα από το μεταπαραγωγικό υποσυστατικό π.χ.

- (2) α. αρχηγ(ός) → αρχηγιλίκι
β. ασίκ(ης) → +ασικιλίκι => ασικλίκι
γ. μπεκιάρ(ης) → μπεκιαριλίκι => μπεκιαρλίκι

Η επιλογή μεταξύ των δύο δυνατοτήτων δεν είναι εύκολη, αφού υπάρχουν περιπτώσεις όπου (α) το -ι- υπάρχει, ενώ δεν απαιτείται, επειδή η βάση λήγει σε φωνήεν, π.χ. ήρω(ας) → ηρωιλίκι (αντί ηρωλί-κι), ηθοποι(ός) → ηθοποιιλίκι (αντί ηθοποιί-κι), συνηγορώντας υπέρ της δεύτερης δυνατότητας· (β) το -ι- απουσιάζει, ενώ απαιτείται, επειδή προκύπτουν ασυνήθιστα για την ΚΝΕ συμφωνικά συμπλέγματα, π.χ. μπράτιμ(ος) → μπρατιμλίκι (αντί μπρατιμιλίκι), μπεχλιβάν(ης) → μπεχλιβανλίκι (αντί μπεχλιβανιλί-κι), συνηγορώντας υπέρ της πρώτης δυνατότητας. Θα μπορούσαμε, επίσης, να υποθέσουμε ότι ήδη στη δομή βάθους άλλοτε εφαρμόζεται το -λίκι και άλλοτε το -ιλίκι. Όμως, η κατανομή των δύο μορφών δε φαίνεται δυνατό να προσδιοριστεί με αυστηρά συγχρονικά φωνολογικά κριτήρια, εάν λάβουμε υπόψη τις προηγούμενες περιπτώσεις, καθώς και το γεγονός ότι το φωνολογικό περιβάλλον των δύο μορφών είναι σε αρκετές περιπτώσεις κοινό π.χ. μασκαρ(άς) → μασκαρλίκι/μασκαραλίκι/μασκαριλίκι, καραγκι-όζ(ης) → καραγκιοζλίκι/καραγκιοζιλίκι, αλλά ούτε και με σημασιολογικά κριτήρια, εφόσον δεν υπάρ-χει διαφορά στη σημασιολογική τους οδηγία ή στη σημασία των βάσεων όπου η καθεμία εφαρμόζεται.

Από την άλλη, εξετάζοντας το ζήτημα σε σχέση με την ετυμολογία και τη νεολογία, παρατηρούμε ότι η μορφή -λίκι απαντά κυρίως σε παλαιότερα δάνεια τουρκικής προέλευσης από τουρκικής προέ-λευσης βάσεις π.χ. φουκαρά(ς) (τουρκ. *fukara*) → φουκαραλίκι (τουρκ. *fukaralık*), μουσαφίρ(ης) (τουρκ. *misafir*) → μουσαφιλίκι (τουρκ. *misafirlik*), αρσίζ(ης) (τουρκ. *arsız*) → αρσιζλίκι (τουρκ. *arsızlık*). Αντίθετα, νεότερες δάνειες βάσεις από την αγγλοαμερικανική προτιμούν τη μορφή -ιλίκι π.χ. σταρ (αγγλοαμ. *star*) → σταριλίκι, γκάγκστερ (αγγλοαμ. *gangster*) → γκαγκστεριλίκι, μπάρμαν (αγγλοαμ. *barman*) → μπαρμανιλίκι. Επιπλέον, διαπιστώνουμε ότι αφενός η πλειονότητα των νεολογισμών σχηματί-ζεται με τη μορφή -ιλίκι π.χ. διοικητιλίκι, εποπιλίκι, ηθοποιιλίκι, καγκουριλίκι, αφετέρου νεότερα παρά-γωγα με τη μορφή -ιλίκι εμφανίζονται πλάι σε αντίστοιχα παλαιότερα παράγωγα τουρκικής προέλευ-σης με τη μορφή -λίκι π.χ. καραγκιοζλίκι/καραγκιοζιλίκι (τουρκ. *karagözlük*), μασκαριλίκι/μασκαραλίκι (τουρκ. *maskaralık*), χουβαρντιλίκι/χουβαρνταλίκι (τουρκ. *hovardalık*), ανταμιλίκι/ανταμλίκι (τουρκ. *adamlık*). Συνεπώς, φαίνεται ότι στην παρούσα φάση της ΚΝΕ η μορφή -ιλίκι είναι η πλέον διαθέσιμη, ενώ αντίθετα η μορφή -λίκι έχει χάσει σε μεγάλο βαθμό τη διαθεσιμότητά της. Νεολογισμοί όπως χαϊ-λίκι, τρεντιλίκι, ντιτζεϊλίκι, κρεϊλίκι δε συνιστούν αναγκαστικά αντιπαραδείγματα, διότι μπορούν να ερμηνευθούν με το μηχανισμό της απλολογίας· από το ληκτικό -ι- της βάσης και το αρκτικό -ι- του επιθήματος προκύπτει πρόβλημα στο σημείο του αρμού, το οποίο θεραπεύεται με την αποβολή του ενός -ι- π.χ. ντιτζέι → +ντιτζεϊλίκι => ντιτζεϊλίκι.

Τέλος, η μορφή -ίκι, η οποία απαντά πάντοτε με βάσεις που λήγουν σε -λ-, δεν υφίσταται στη δομή βάθους, αλλά προκύπτει από μια πράξη απλολογίας στο μεταπαραγωγικό υποσυστατικό (Αναστασιά-δη-Συμεωνίδη 2000α, 44· Αναστασιάδη-Συμεωνίδη και Χειλά-Μαρκοπούλου 2003, 36σημ48). Αξίζει να σημειωθεί ότι το τελικό εξαγόμενο είναι το ίδιο, είτε δεχθούμε ότι επί της βάσης εφαρμόζεται στη δομή βάθους η μορφή -ιλίκι είτε η μορφή -λίκι π.χ.

- (3) α. δάσκαλ(ος) → +δασκαλilίκι => δασκαλίκι ή
β. δάσκαλ(ος) → +δασκαλλίκι => δασκαλίκι

5. Είδος ΛΜ

Όσον αφορά τα είδη των ΛΜ (Αναστασιάδη-Συμεωνίδη 1986· 1992, 510· 1999, 316-17), η βάση μπο-ρεί να προέρχεται από:

- μονολεκτική [-κατασκευασμένη] ΛΜ, δηλαδή ένα πρωταρχικό λεξικό μόρφημα, ελεύθερο π.χ. ντιτζέι, μπάρμαν, μανάτζερ, σταρ, γκάγκστερ ή ελευθερώσιμο π.χ. άντρας, κιμπάρης, κομ-πάρσος, φαντάρος, μπάτσος.
- μονολεκτική ΚΛΜ παράγωγη π.χ. διευθυντής, κερατάς, παπατζής, σύνθετη π.χ. γεροντοκόρη, ηθοποιός, θαλαμοφύλακας, δημοσιογράφος ή μετατροπισμένη π.χ. αγαπητικός_Ο (← αγαπητικός_Ε), αλκοολικός_Ο (← αλκοολικός_Ε), πολιτικός_Ο (← πολιτικός_Ε).
- μονολεκτική [-κατασκευασμένη] [+περίπλοκη] ΛΜ π.χ. δικηγόρος.

- πολυλεκτική ΛΜ σε πλήρη μορφή π.χ. *δημόσιος υπάλληλος*, με έλλειψη π.χ. *κολλητός*_ο (← *κολλητός φίλος*), *εφοριακός*_ο (← *εφοριακός υπάλληλος*), *αναπληρωτής*_ο (← *αναπληρωτής καθηγητής*) ή ως αρκτικόλεξο/ακρωνύμιο π.χ. *ΕΠΟΠ* (← *επαγγελματίας οπλίτης*).

Μετά την εφαρμογή του επιθήματος -(ι)λίκι στις βάσεις προκύπτουν μονολεκτικές, παράγωγες, επιθηματοποιημένες ΚΛΜ.

6. Μορφοσυντακτικά χαρακτηριστικά

Ως προς τη γραμματική κατηγορία, οι βάσεις ανήκουν στα ουσιαστικά (Τριανταφυλλίδης [1941] 2005, 134· Mackridge 1989, 319-21· ΛΚΝ 1998, λήμμα -*ιλίκι*· Ράλλη 2005, 149· Κυρανούδης 2009, 385), γεγονός που σχετίζεται με το σημασιολογικό χαρακτηριστικό [+ανθρώπινο] (βλ. 7.2). Όπου φαινομενικά η βάση είναι επίθετο, στην πραγματικότητα πρόκειται για ουσιαστικό που προέρχεται από επίθετο, είτε με μετατροπή είτε με έλλειψη (Αναστασιάδη-Συμεωνίδη, Ευθυμίου, και Φλιάτουρας 2012). Επιπλέον, δεν αποτελούν πρόβλημα οι βάσεις που από μορφολογικής πλευράς χαρακτηρίζονται ως μετοχές, όμως από λειτουργικής-σημασιολογικής πλευράς εντάσσονται στα ουσιαστικά π.χ. *προϊστάμενος*.

Ως προς το γραμματικό γένος, η βάση μπορεί να φέρει:

- μόνο αρσενικό γραμματικό γένος π.χ. *άντρας*, *δεσπότης*, *γαμπρός*.
- μόνο θηλυκό γραμματικό γένος π.χ. *βεντέτα*, *τζιβιτζιλού*.
- μόνο ουδέτερο γραμματικό γένος π.χ. *κορόιδο*, *ψώνιο*.
- είτε αρσενικό είτε θηλυκό γραμματικό γένος, τα οποία δε διαφοροποιούνται μορφολογικά π.χ. *ο/η υπάλληλος*, *ο/η ηθοποιός* ή διαφοροποιούνται μορφολογικά με διαφορετικά κλιτικά π.χ. *μπεκρής/μπεκρού*, *χριστιανός/χριστιανή*, *μπατίρης/μπατίρω*, *γκόμενος/γκόμενα*, με διαφορετικά αλλόμορφα του ίδιου επιθήματος π.χ. *φοιτητής/φοιτήτρια*, με επίθημα που παράγει το θηλυκό από το αρσενικό π.χ. *γύφ(ος)* → *γύφτισσα*, *βουλευτ(ής)* → *βουλευτίνα*, *δήμαρχ(ος)* → *δημαρχίνα/δημαρχέσσα*, *ήρω(ας)* → *ηρωίδα*. Εδώ γένος της βάσης είναι κατά κανόνα το αρσενικό, ως ασημάδευτο έναντι του θηλυκού (Αναστασιάδη-Συμεωνίδη 1990, 1994· Αναστασιάδη-Συμεωνίδη και Χειλά-Μαρκοπούλου 2003), εκτός από κάποιες περιπτώσεις όπου στο δίπολο αρσενικό/θηλυκό το θηλυκό είναι ασημάδευτο και το αρσενικό σημαδεμένο π.χ. *γεροντοκόρος/γεροντοκόρη*, *πούτανος/πουτάνα* ή επιλέγεται κατ' εξαίρεση το σημαδεμένο θηλυκό πλάι στο ασημάδευτο αρσενικό π.χ. *πούστ(ης)* → *πουστιλίκι* και *πούστρ(α)* → *πουστριλίκι*.
- είτε ουδέτερο είτε αρσενικό είτε θηλυκό γραμματικό γένος π.χ. *γκαρσόν(ι)/γκαρσόνος/γκαρσόνα*, όπου γένος της βάσης είναι το ουδέτερο ως ασημάδευτο έναντι των άλλων δύο.

Ως προς τις συντακτικές ιδιότητες, οι βάσεις κατέχουν τις κατεξοχήν συντακτικές θέσεις των ουσιαστικών (υποκείμενο, αντικείμενο, κατηγορούμενο κτλ.). Επιπλέον, ορισμένες βάσεις μπορούν να λειτουργούν προσδιοριστικά π.χ. *ταιγκούνης άνθρωπος*, *κιμπάρης άντρας*, *χουβαρντάς σύζυγος* και να σχηματίζουν περιφραστικά παραθετικά (Χειλά-Μαρκοπούλου 1986, 189-211) π.χ. *ταιγκούνης, πιο ταιγκούνης, ο πιο ταιγκούνης*, γεγονός που σχετίζεται με το σημασιολογικό χαρακτηριστικό [+ιδιότητα] (βλ. 7.1). Σε αυτήν την περίπτωση, με γνώμονα την ενιαία και σαφώς προσδιορισμένη κατηγορία της βάσης στη δομή βάθους, θεωρούμε ότι οι βάσεις, παρότι εμφανίζουν κάποια επιθετικά χαρακτηριστικά, εντάσσονται είτε πρωτογενώς είτε δευτερογενώς στην κύρια κατηγορία των ουσιαστικών και όχι των επιθέτων.

Σχετικά με τη γραμματική κατηγορία των παραγώγων, ήδη έχει επισημανθεί ότι τα παράγωγα είναι ουσιαστικά (Τριανταφυλλίδης [1941] 2005, 134· Mackridge 1989, 319-21· Τσοπανάκης 1994, 660-62· ΛΚΝ 1998, λήμματα -*ιλίκι*, -*ικι1*, -*ικι2*· Κλαίρης και Μπαμπινιώτης 2005, 72, 88· Ράλλη 2005, 149· Κυρανούδης 2009, 385). Συνεπώς, η εφαρμογή του επιθήματος δε μεταβάλλει τη γραμματική κατηγορία της βάσης. Όσον αφορά το γραμματικό γένος, παρατηρούμε ότι τα παράγωγα φέρουν πάντοτε ουδέτερο γένος, ανεξάρτητα από το γένος της βάσης (Mackridge 1989, 321· Τσοπανάκης 1994, 660-62· ΛΚΝ 1998, λήμμα -*ιλίκι*· Κλαίρης και Μπαμπινιώτης 2005, 72· Κυρανούδης 2009, 385). Άρα, η εφαρμογή του επιθήματος επιβάλλει στο παράγωγο το ουδέτερο γραμματικό γένος. Ως προς την κλίση, αξιοσημείωτη είναι η απουσία (ή δυσχρηστία) της γενικής πτώσης, η οποία δεν είναι άσχετη με το [-λόγιο] χαρακτήρα των παραγώγων (Αναστασιάδη-Συμεωνίδη 2003, 29) (βλ. 8). Από συντακτικής πλευράς, τα παράγωγα εμφανίζονται στις κατεξοχήν συντακτικές θέσεις των ουσιαστικών, ενώ, σε αντίθεση με κάποιες από τις βάσεις, δεν έχουν τη δυνατότητα προσδιοριστικής λειτουργίας (Κυρανούδης 2009, 398-99) ή περιφραστικού σχηματισμού παραθετικών, απώλεια που αποδίδεται στην εφαρμογή του επιθήματος.

7. Σημασιολογικά χαρακτηριστικά

7.1 [ιδιότητα]

Οι βάσεις κατανέμονται σε ένα πλήθος τομέων, όπως πολιτική π.χ. *πολιτικός, πρωθυπουργός, υπουργός, βουλευτής, διοίκηση* π.χ. *διοικητής, διευθυντής, προϊστάμενος*, εκκλησία-θρησκεία π.χ. *αρχιεπίσκοπος, δεσπότης, παπάς, χριστιανός*, στρατός π.χ. *στρατηγός, φαντάρος, ΕΠΟΠ, στρατιώτης, θαλαμοφύλακας*, εκπαίδευση π.χ. *καθηγητής, φοιτητής, μαθητής, αναπληρωτής, ωρομίσθιος, δάσκαλος, επιστήμη* π.χ. *επιστήμονας, δικηγόρος, αρχιτέκτονας, τέχνη-θέαμα-διασκέδαση* π.χ. *ηθοποιός, τραγουδιστής, καλλιτέχνης, σπαρ, πρωταγωνιστής, βεντέτα, μανάτζερ, σπόνσορας, μπάρμαν, ντιτζέι, οικονομία* π.χ. *επιχειρηματίας, εφοπλιστής, εφοριακός, παραδοσιακό εμπόριο* π.χ. *σαράφης, μανάβης, μπακάλης, αμπατζής, αξιώματα του ιστορικού παρελθόντος* π.χ. *βασιλιάς, αγάς, βεζίρης, κεχαγιάς*, συμπεριφορά-χαρακτήρας π.χ. *αρσίζης, ρουφιάνος, κιμπάρης, κιοτής, κορόιδο, καραγκιόζης, μπελαλής, μπεσαλής, νταής, σερέτης, τεμπέλης, χουζούρλης, χουβαρντάς*, διαπροσωπική σχέση-οικογενειακή κατάσταση π.χ. *αγαπητικός, γκόμενος, κολητός, κουμπάρος, μπεκιάρης, εργένης, γεροντοκόρη, έξη-πάθος* π.χ. *αλκοολικός, χασικλής, θεριακλής, μπεκρής*, εξωτερική εμφάνιση-σωματική διάπλαση π.χ. *ζαρίφης, ασίκης, γόητας, σακάτης*, παράνομη δραστηριότητα π.χ. *νταβατζής, κοντραμπατζής, νονός, γκάγκστερ, παπατζής*, κοινωνική υποομάδα π.χ. *κάγκουρας, γκέι, τραβεστί*, εθνικότητα (με συνυποδηλώσεις) π.χ. *γύφτος, εβραίος*.

Με τις βάσεις μπορεί να δηλώνεται επάγγελμα, αξίωμα και γενικότερα θέση (υψηλή ή χαμηλή) σε μια ιεραρχία (κοινωνική, πολιτική, διοικητική, επαγγελματική, στρατιωτική, εκκλησιαστική, κτλ.) ή διακριτικό γνώρισμα (της εξωτερικής εμφάνισης, της συμπεριφοράς, του χαρακτήρα, κτλ.). Χωρίς δυσκολία μπορούμε να φιλοξενήσουμε αυτό το σύνολο σημασιών υπό το υπερώνυμο [ιδιότητα]. Δηλαδή, για να χρησιμεύσει ένα ουσιαστικό ως βάση, θα πρέπει να δηλώνει ιδιότητα. Από την άλλη, η έμφαση που έχει δοθεί στο χαρακτηριστικό [+επάγγελμα] (Κυρανούδης 2009, 385, 394) θα πρέπει να μετριαστεί, καθώς το χαρακτηριστικό αυτό αφενός αφορά ένα μέρος μόνο και όχι το σύνολο των βάσεων, αφετέρου συνδέεται με το χαρακτηριστικό [ιδιότητα] (Αναστασιάδη-Συμεωνίδη 2000β· Μανουηλίδου 2001), στο οποίο μπορεί να υπαχθεί ως υπώνυμο.

Όπως ακριβώς και οι βάσεις, τα παράγωγα με το επίθημα -(ι)λίκι κατανέμονται σε ένα ευρύ φάσμα τομέων και μπορεί να δηλώνουν επάγγελμα, αξίωμα, θέση (υψηλή ή χαμηλή) σε μια ιεραρχία, γνώρισμα, κατάσταση, τα οποία αντιμετωπίζονται ως υπώνυμα του υπερώνυμου [ιδιότητα]. Δηλαδή, κατά την εφαρμογή του, το επίθημα αντλεί από τη βάση το χαρακτηριστικό της ιδιότητας. Υπάρχουν, βέβαια, περιπτώσεις όπου η σημασία του παραγώγου δε φαίνεται να υπάγεται άμεσα σε αυτό το υπερώνυμο λ.χ. οι σημασίες 'σύνολο' π.χ. *παπαδιλίκι, γυφτιλίκι*, 'χώρος' π.χ. *αρματολίκι, πασαλίκι*, 'αντικείμενο' π.χ. *μπινελίκι, μεζεκλίκι*, 'πράξη' ή 'αποτέλεσμα πράξης' π.χ. *μπακαλίκι, φακιριλίκι, παπατζιλίκι*. Τέτοια φαινομενικά αντιπαραδείγματα ερμηνεύονται ως αποτέλεσμα επενέργειας σημασιολογικών κανόνων, όπως λ.χ. η μετωνυμία, κατά τη μετάβαση από την προβλεπτή στη συμβατική σημασία, π.χ.

- (4) α. *παπάδ(ες)* → *παπαδιλίκι* 'ιδιότητα του παπά' ->> 'σύνολο παπάδων, παπαδαριό' (με δευτερογενή περιληπτική αναφορά και όχι πρωτογενή περιληπτική σημασία [Ευθυμίου 1999]).
β. *φακίρ(ης)* → *φακιριλίκι* 'ιδιότητα του φακίρη' ->> 'πράξη του φακίρη, κόλπο'.
γ. *πασά(ς)* → *πασαλίκι* 'ιδιότητα του πασά' ->> 'περιοχή η οποία υπάγεται στη δικαιοδοσία του πασά'.

7.2 [ανθρώπινο] [έμψυχο] [συγκεκριμένο]

Διαπιστώνουμε ότι οι βάσεις φέρουν τα χαρακτηριστικά [+ανθρώπινο] [+έμψυχο] [+συγκεκριμένο], τα οποία δεν είναι άσχετα μεταξύ τους, καθώς μπορούμε να αντιμετωπίσουμε το χαρακτηριστικό [+ανθρώπινο] ως υπώνυμο του χαρακτηριστικού [+έμψυχο] (Αναστασιάδη-Συμεωνίδη και Χειλά-Μαρκοπούλου 2003, 22σημ25) και το δεύτερο ως υπώνυμο του χαρακτηριστικού [+συγκεκριμένο], με την έννοια ότι κάθε [+ανθρώπινο] είναι και [+έμψυχο] και κάθε [+έμψυχο] είναι και [+συγκεκριμένο]. Επομένως, αρκεί να πούμε ότι ένα ουσιαστικό ιδιότητας, για να χρησιμοποιηθεί ως βάση, θα πρέπει να είναι υποχρεωτικά [+ανθρώπινο]. Σε αυτό το σημείο, διαφοροποιούμαστε από τη βιβλιογραφία, όπου συχνά προτείνονται ως βάσεις ουσιαστικά [-ανθρώπινα] ή [-έμψυχα] ή [-συγκεκριμένα], όπως στα παραδείγματα:

- (5) α. *ζοριλίκι*: *ζόρ(ι)* -*ιλίκι* (ΛΚΝ 1998, λήμμα *ζοριλίκι*)
β. *αλκοολίκι*: *αλκοόλ* -*ικίλ* (ΛΚΝ 1998, λήμματα *αλκοολίκι*, -*ικίλ*), *αλκοολίκι* < *αλκοόλ* (Κυρανούδης 2009, 389, 394)
γ. *ξεφτιλίκι* < *ξεφτίλα* (Κυρανούδης 2009, 391, 394)

δ. *γυφτιλίκι* < *γυφτιά*, *γοητιλίκι* < *γοητεία*, *κοροϊδιλίκι* < *κοροϊδία* και συγχρονικά από ένα υπο-χαρακτηρισμένο ως προς τη γραμματική κατηγορία μόρφημα *γοητ-*, *κοροϊδ-*, *γυφτ-*, αντίστοιχα (Κυρανούδης 2009, 390, 391)

τα οποία αναλύουμε ως:

- (6) α. *ζόρικ(ος)*_ο → *ζοριλίκι* (με απαλοιφή του επιθήματος της βάσης [Γαλανή 1993, 73-75· Αναστασιάδη-Συμεωνίδη και Γαλανή 1995, 523]· παρόμοια τα *αγαπητικ(ός)*_ο → *αγαπητιλίκι*, *πολιτικ(ός)*_ο → *πολιτιλίκι*, *εφοριακ(ός)*_ο → *εφοριλίκι*)
 β. *αλκοολικ(ός)*_ο → *αλκοολίκι* (με απαλοιφή του επιθήματος της βάσης και απλολογία)
 γ. *ξεφτίλ(ας)*_ο → *ξεφτιλίκι* (με απλολογία)
 δ. *γύφτ(ος)* → *γυφτιλίκι*, *γόητ(ας)* → *γοητιλίκι* (και *γό(ης)* → *γοϊλίκι*), *κοροϊδ(ο)* → *κοροϊδιλίκι*

Εν αντιθέσει με τις βάσεις, η συντριπτική πλειονότητα των παραγώγων αποτελείται από [-ανθρώπινα] [-έμψυχα] [-συγκεκριμένα] ουσιαστικά. Αποδίδουμε στην εφαρμογή του επιθήματος την αλλαγή της τιμής αυτών των χαρακτηριστικών. Δηλαδή, το επίθημα δεν επιλέγει τα χαρακτηριστικά [+ανθρώπινο] [+έμψυχο] [+συγκεκριμένο] από τη βάση, με αποτέλεσμα αυτά να απουσιάζουν από το παράγωγο. Μπορούμε, επομένως, να προσδιορίσουμε τη σημασιολογική οδηγία του επιθήματος ως σχηματισμό αφηρημένων ουσιαστικών ιδιότητας από συγκεκριμένα [+ανθρώπινα] ουσιαστικά ιδιότητας, συμφωνώντας με την άποψη του Κυρανούδη (2009, 398) ότι «[...] η ιδιότητα που δηλώνεται από τη βάση [...] και η οποία είχε κάποιο νόημα σε σχέση με κάποιο [+προσωπικό] ΑΑ [Αντικείμενο Αναφοράς], αποκτά μεγαλύτερη ανεξαρτησία από το ΑΑ και νοείται πλέον σαν μια αυθύπαρκτη τάξη, σαν μια ξεχωριστή κατηγορία.»

Όσον αφορά τα λίγα παράγωγα που φέρουν το χαρακτηριστικό [+συγκεκριμένο], δε θεωρούμε ότι πρόκειται για εξαιρέσεις όπου το χαρακτηριστικό αυτό κληροδοτείται απευθείας από τη βάση. Αντιθέτως, προτείνουμε ότι και εδώ το επίθημα μεταβάλλει τη θετική τιμή του χαρακτηριστικού της βάσης σε αρνητική, η οποία με τη σειρά της μεταβάλλεται σε θετική λόγω επενέργειας σημασιολογικών κανόνων κατά το πέρασμα από την προβλεπτή στη συμβατική σημασία. Υπέρ αυτής της άποψης συνηγορεί το γεγονός ότι τα παράγωγα αυτά είναι [-ανθρώπινα] [-έμψυχα], κάτι που δε θα έπρεπε να συμβαίνει, εάν επρόκειτο για χαρακτηριστικό της βάσης που προβάλλεται στο παράγωγο, π.χ.

- (7) α. *μεζεκλ(ής)* [+ανθρώπινο] [+έμψυχο] [+συγκεκριμένο] → *μεζεκλίκι* ‘ιδιότητα του μεζεκλή’ [-ανθρώπινο] [-έμψυχο] [-συγκεκριμένο] ->> ‘νόστιμος μεζές’ [-ανθρώπινο] [-έμψυχο] [+συγκεκριμένο].
 β. *μπινέ(ς)* [+ανθρώπινο] [+έμψυχο] [+συγκεκριμένο] → *μπινελίκι* ‘ιδιότητα του μπινέ’ [-ανθρώπινο] [-έμψυχο] [-συγκεκριμένο] ->> ‘γλυκό, μεζές’ [-ανθρώπινο] [-έμψυχο] [+συγκεκριμένο]⁴.

7.3 [υποκειμενικό] [αξιολογικό]

Αντιμετωπίζουμε το χαρακτηριστικό [υποκειμενικό] ως υπερώνυμο του χαρακτηριστικού [αξιολογικό] και το χαρακτηριστικό [αξιολογικό] ως υπερώνυμο των χαρακτηριστικών [θετικά αξιολογικό] και [αρνητικά αξιολογικό] (Kerbrat-Orecchioni 1980· Αναστασιάδη-Συμεωνίδη 2000β, 71). Θεωρούμε ότι πρόκειται για διαβαθμισμένα και όχι απόλυτα χαρακτηριστικά (Kerbrat-Orecchioni 1980, 72), τα οποία βρίσκονται στο μεταίχμιο του σημασιολογικού και του χρηστικού επιπέδου, καθώς συναρτώνται με παραμέτρους όπως τα γλωσσικά και εξωγλωσσικά συμφραζόμενα ή η πρόθεση του ομιλητή.

Ως προς αυτά τα χαρακτηριστικά, διακρίνουμε βάσεις [-υποκειμενικές], με περιγραφική αλλά όχι εκφραστική σημασία, π.χ. *δήμαρχος*, *βουλευτής*, *αρχιτέκτονας*, *χριστιανός*, *στρατιώτης*, *χορηγός*, *πρόεδρος*, *φοιτητής* και [+υποκειμενικές], με περιγραφική και εκφραστική σημασία, οι οποίες μπορεί να είναι [θετικά αξιολογικές] π.χ. *ασίκης*, *κιμπάρης*, *μπεσαλής*, *τσιφτης*, [αρνητικά αξιολογικές] με μειωτικό, προσβλητικό έως και υβριστικό χαρακτήρα π.χ. *ατζαμής*, *γεροντοκόρη*, *γύφτος*, *καραγκιόζης*, *ρεζίλης*, *ξεφτίλας*, *ρουφιάνος*, *μαλάκας*, *πούστρα*, *πουτάνα*, [θετικά αξιολογικές] ή [αρνητικά αξιολογικές] κατά περίπτωση, π.χ. *μάγκας* ‘ικανός/ψευτοπαλικαράς’, *χουβαρντάς* ‘γενναιόδωρος/σπάταλος’.

Εδώ είναι σκόπιμο να αναφερθούμε και στο χαρακτηριστικό [+κοινωνικό γόητρο], το οποίο έχει προταθεί ως ένα από τα βασικά σημασιολογικά χαρακτηριστικά των βάσεων των παραγώγων με το επίθημα -(ι)λίκι (Kazazis 1972, 103· Tzitzilis 1997, 111· Κυρανούδης 2009, 394-96). Παρατηρούμε ότι το επίθημα εφαρμόζεται σε βάσεις χωρίς κοινωνικό γόητρο π.χ. *μανάβης*, *τσοπάνης*, *κομπάρσος*, *μπε-*

⁴ Και παράλληλα *μπινελίκι* ‘ιδιότητα του μπινέ’ ->> ‘κατηγορία, βρισιά’ [-ανθρώπινο] [-έμψυχο] [-συγκεκριμένο].

τατζής, γκαρσόν, ΕΠΟΠ, μαθητής, φαντάρος (βλ. και παραπάνω τις [+υποκειμενικές] [αρνητικά αξιολογικές] βάσεις). Επομένως, η θετική τιμή του χαρακτηριστικού δεν αποτελεί προϋπόθεση για την εφαρμογή του επιθήματος, εφόσον δεν ισχύει για το σύνολο των βάσεων.

Όσον αφορά τα παράγωγα, η βιβλιογραφία (Kazazis 1972, 103· Tzitzilis 1997, 111· ΛΚΝ 1998, λήμμα -*λικί*· Μπαμπινιώτης 2006, λήμμα -*ίκι*· Κυρανούδης 2009, 396-99) κατά κύριο λόγο αναφέρεται με χαρακτηρισμούς όπως «μειωτικό», «ειρωνικό», «υποτιμητικό» κτλ., δίνοντας έμφαση στην ομάδα εκείνη των [+υποκειμενικών] [αρνητικά αξιολογικών] παραγώγων και στην [+υποκειμενική] [αρνητικά αξιολογική] σημασιολογική οδηγία του επιθήματος. Ωστόσο, διαπιστώνουμε ότι τα χαρακτηριστικά [υποκειμενικό] και [αξιολογικό] των παραγώγων είναι συνάρτηση τόσο της βάσης, η οποία μπορεί να είναι περισσότερο ή λιγότερο υποκειμενική, φέροντας σαφή ή λανθάνοντα στερεοτυπικά χαρακτηριστικά κατά το λαϊκό ορισμό (Taylor 1995, 68-74· Αναστασιάδη-Συμεωνίδη 1993, 245· 1999, 320· 2009, 68-69), όσο και του επιθήματος, η σημασιολογική οδηγία του οποίου είναι εγγενώς [+υποκειμενική] [αρνητικά αξιολογική], θεωρώντας αυτονόητη και τη συμβολή των (γλωσσικών και εξωγλωσσικών) συμφραζομένων. Αναλυτικότερα:

- Σε μια [-υποκειμενική] βάση επιβάλλεται η [+υποκειμενική] [αρνητικά αξιολογική] σημασιολογική οδηγία του επιθήματος, η οποία επιτείνεται ή αμβλύνεται ανάλογα με τις λανθάνουσες στερεοτυπικές συνυποδηλώσεις της βάσης (λ.χ. αυθαιρεσία, απληστία, κατάχρηση, ευζωία) π.χ. *βουλευτ(ής)* → *βουλευτλίκι*, *δημόσι(ος)* *υπάλληλ(ος)* → *δημοσιούπαλληλίκι*, *ωρομίσθι(ος)* → *ωρομισθλίκι*, *φοιτητ(ής)* → *φοιτητλίκι*.
- Μια [+υποκειμενική] [θετικά αξιολογική] βάση συγκρούεται με τη [+υποκειμενική] [αρνητικά αξιολογική] σημασιολογική οδηγία του επιθήματος, οπότε η θετική σημασία της βάσης φαίνεται να υπερισχύει (Αναστασιάδη-Συμεωνίδη 2000β, 71), με αποτέλεσμα τα παράγωγα να είναι [+υποκειμενικά] [θετικά αξιολογικά] π.χ. *κιμπάρ(ης)* → *κιμπαρλίκι*, *ασίκ(ης)* → *ασικλίκι*, *ντερβίσ(ης)* → *ντερβισλίκι*.
- Μια [+υποκειμενική] [αρνητικά αξιολογική] βάση συμφωνεί με την [+υποκειμενική] [αρνητικά αξιολογική] σημασιολογική οδηγία του επιθήματος, με αποτέλεσμα την παραγωγή [+υποκειμενικών] [αρνητικά αξιολογικών] παραγώγων π.χ. *κιωτ(ής)* → *κιωτλίκι*, *κορόιδ(ο)* → *κοροϊδλίκι*, *νταβατζ(ής)* → *νταβατζλίκι*, *ρουφιάν(ος)* → *ρουφιανλίκι*.
- Για μια [-υποκειμενική], κατά περίπτωση [θετικά αξιολογική]/[αρνητικά αξιολογική] βάση ισχύει ό,τι στη δεύτερη ή την τρίτη περίπτωση, αντίστοιχα, με το βάρος να μετατοπίζεται στα συμφραζόμενα και την πρόθεση του ομιλητή, π.χ. *μάγκ(ας)* → *μαγκλίκι* 'ικανότητα//ψευτοπαλικαριά', *χουβαρντά(ς)* → *χουβαρνταλίκι* 'γενναιοδορία//σπατάλη'.

8. Το χαρακτηριστικό [λόγιο] - χρηστικό επίπεδο

Ακολουθώντας τους Αναστασιάδη-Συμεωνίδη και Φλιάτουρα (2003), αντιμετωπίζουμε το χαρακτηριστικό [λόγιο] από συγχρονική σκοπιά και σε συνάρτηση με το χρηστικό επίπεδο, ως ένα διαβαθμισμένο πραγματολογικό χαρακτηριστικό, η τιμή του οποίου για κάθε μόρφημα είναι συγκεκριμένη, καταγεγραμμένη στο νοητικό λεξικό και εμπλέκεται στις διαδικασίες κατασκευής ΛΜ.

Όσον αφορά τις βάσεις, εντοπίζονται [+/-λόγιες] βάσεις π.χ. *άντρας*, *αναπληρωτής*, *αρχιτέκτονας*, *δήμαρχος*, *βουλευτής*, *δάσκαλος*, *δημοσιογράφος*, *ηθοποιός*, *μαθητής*, *νομάρχης* και [-λόγιες] βάσεις π.χ. *φαντάρος*, *μπάτσος*, *κάγκουρας*, *κιμπάρης*, *νταβατζής*, *αγαπητικός*, *αρσίζης*, *θεριακλής*. Δε φαίνεται να υπάρχουν [+λόγιες] βάσεις. Οι [+λόγιες] κατά το ετυμολογικό κριτήριο βάσεις είναι [+/-λόγιες] από χρηστικής πλευράς π.χ. *πρύτανης*, *επίκουρος*, *κοσμήτορας*, *πρωθυπουργός*. Αξίζει να σημειωθεί ότι μεγάλο μέρος των βάσεων έχει περιπέσει σε αχρηστία ή επιβιώνει κυρίως σε ιστορικά συμφραζόμενα και στο πεδίο της ονοματολογίας π.χ. *αμπατζής*, *ζεβζέκης*, *γκεβεζές*, *καδής*, *κοτζαμπάσης*, *σούμπασης*, *τσορμπατζής*.

Όσον αφορά τα παράγωγα, όλα ανεξαιρέτως είναι [-λόγια]. Θεωρούμε ότι το επίθημα φέρει αρνητική τιμή του χαρακτηριστικού, γεγονός που σχετίζεται με την ξένη προέλευσή του (Anastassiadis-Symeonidis 2010) και μάλιστα από την τουρκική. Έτσι, μπορεί να εφαρμόζεται σε βάσεις [-λόγιες] ή [+/-λόγιες] για την κατασκευή [-λόγιων] παραγώγων, αλλά κανονικά δεν είναι συμβατό με [+λόγιες] βάσεις⁵. Ένα μέρος των παραγώγων έχει περιπέσει σε αχρηστία ή τουλάχιστον χαρακτηρίζεται παρωχημένο, όπως ακριβώς και οι αντίστοιχες βάσεις, π.χ. *αμπατζλίκι*, *γκεβεζελίκι*, *ζαριφλίκι*, *κιωτλίκι*. Θα μπορούσαμε, μάλιστα, να αντιμετωπίσουμε ορισμένα από αυτά τα παράγωγα ως [-κατασκευασμένες] ΛΜ, στο βαθμό που αμφισβητείται η ύπαρξη της βάσης τους στην παρούσα συγχρονία της ΚΝΕ π.χ.

⁵ Χωρίς ωστόσο να αποκλείεται ένας τέτοιου είδους συνδυασμός για παικτικούς λόγους (Αναστασιάδη-Συμεωνίδη και Φλιάτουρας 2003, 14σημ3).

σαλτανατλ(ής) → σαλτανατλίκι. Από την άλλη, παρατηρείται πλήθος νεολογικών παραγώγων, τόσο από μη νεολογικές βάσεις π.χ. φαντάρ(ος) → φανταριλίκι, φοιτητ(ής) → φοιτητιλίκι, πρωταγωνιστ(ής) → πρωταγωνιστιλίκι, όσο και από νεολογικές π.χ. κάγκουρ(ας) → καγκουριλίκι, τρέντι → τρεντιλίκι, Ε-ΠΟΠ → εποπιλίκι, πράγμα που φανερώνει την εξαιρετικά υψηλή διαθεσιμότητα του επιθήματος. Τέλος, ως προς τα είδη λόγου (genres), το γεγονός ότι το σύνολο των παραγώγων φέρει το χαρακτηριστικό [-λόγιο] και η πλειονότητα των παραγώγων το χαρακτηριστικό [+υποκειμενικό] καθιστά τα παράγωγα ακατάλληλα για επίσημες επικοινωνιακές περιστάσεις ή για λόγο που απαιτεί αντικειμενικότητα λ.χ. επιστήμη, διοίκηση, όμως αρκετά αποτελεσματικά σε ανεπίσημες επικοινωνιακές περιστάσεις ή σε λόγο με υποκειμενική σκοπιά λ.χ. πολεμική, δημοσιογραφία, λογοτεχνία (Αναστασιάδη-Συμεωνίδη 2000β, 71· Κυρανούδης 2009, 401).

9. Επίλογος

Κλείνοντας, ανακεφαλαιώνουμε την ανάλυσή μας στο πλαίσιο ενός ΚΚΑΜ:

- Η δομική πράξη του ΚΚΑΜ ορίζεται ως κατασκευή μετουσιαστικών ουσιαστικών και προσδιορίζεται ειδικότερα ως επιθηματοποίηση.
- Η σημασιολογική πράξη του ΚΚΑΜ κατασκευάζει την κοινή σημασία όλων των μετουσιαστικών ουσιαστικών.
- Προκειμένου μια βάση να επιλεγεί από το επίθημα -(ι)λίκι, θα πρέπει να ανήκει στη γραμματική κατηγορία των ουσιαστικών εγγενώς ή δευτερογενώς, να φέρει τα σημασιολογικά χαρακτηριστικά [+ιδιότητα], [+ανθρώπινο] ([+έμψυχο], [+συγκεκριμένο]) και το πραγματολογικό χαρακτηριστικό [+/-λόγιο] ή [-λόγιο]. Αντίθετα, τα χαρακτηριστικά [υποκειμενικό] [αξιολογικό], [κοινωνικό γόητρο], καθώς και το χαρακτηριστικό [επάγγελμα], το οποίο υπάγεται ως υπόνυμο στο χαρακτηριστικό [ιδιότητα], δεν είναι ορίζοντα χαρακτηριστικά της βάσης, εφόσον μπορούν να φέρουν θετική ή αρνητική τιμή, χωρίς αυτό να επιβάλλει ή να απαγορεύει την εφαρμογή του επιθήματος.
- Το επίθημα -(ι)λίκι, εφαρμοζόμενο στη βάση, κατασκευάζει ένα ουσιαστικό ουδέτερου γένους, αντλώντας από τη βάση το χαρακτηριστικό της ιδιότητας, μεταβάλλοντας την τιμή του χαρακτηριστικού [ανθρώπινο] ([έμψυχο], [συγκεκριμένο]) από θετική σε αρνητική και επιβάλλοντας το πραγματολογικό χαρακτηριστικό [-λόγιο]. Ο υποκειμενικός και αξιολογικός χαρακτήρας του παραγώγου είναι συνάρτηση της [αρνητικά αξιολογικής] σημασιολογικής οδηγίας του επιθήματος και των σχετικών χαρακτηριστικών/συνυποδηλώσεων της βάσης.

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Ο ΡΗΜΑΤΙΚΟΣ ΤΥΠΟΣ ΣΕ –ΟΝΤΑΣ ΚΑΙ Η ΛΕΙΤΟΥΡΓΙΑ ΤΗΣ ΕΞΕΙΔΙΚΕΥΣΗΣ

Οικονομάκου Μαριάνθη
Πανεπιστήμιο Αιγαίου, Ελλάδα
oikonomakoum@gmail.com

ABSTRACT

The analysis of the Greek present participle or gerund in -ontas is related to pragmatic parameters and to the informational value of the message. The presentation of its syntactic characteristics in recent grammars and researches points out its functional particularity, given that it offers, due to its innate polysemy, the possibility to the speaker to express his point of view in a less direct way. The application, however, of effective functional criteria and the selection of a reliable corpus can ensure to a large extent the interpretation of its semantic meaning and the further detection of various semantic nuances, which could clarify different aspects of the communicative procedure.

Λέξεις κλειδιά: ρηματικός τύπος σε -οντας, επιρρηματικές λειτουργίες, επικοινωνιακή προσέγγιση

1. Εισαγωγή

Η διερεύνηση της λειτουργίας του άκλιτου ρηματικού τύπου σε -οντας καταδεικνύει την ιδιαιτερότητά του, η οποία αποτυπώνεται γλαφυρά και στο ζήτημα της προτεινόμενης κατά καιρούς ορολογίας. Η συνοπτική παρουσίαση, ωστόσο, διαφορετικών τοποθετήσεων σε σχέση με την ορολογία και η προσέγγιση των δυο βασικών καταγεγραμμένων λειτουργιών του, της επιρρηματικής και της απόλυτης, δεν αποτελούν εδώ παρά τη βάση για την περαιτέρω μελέτη των ιδιαίτερων σημασιολογικών και συντακτικών χαρακτηριστικών του. Απώτερος στόχος είναι η απόπειρα ερμηνείας του κατά παράδοση μετοχικού τύπου σε διαφορετικά περιβάλλοντα, η αποτύπωση στο μέτρο του δυνατού της συνεισφοράς του στη δήλωση διαφορετικής φύσεως εξειδικεύσεων.

Ειδικότερα, επιδιώκεται, με σημείο αναφοράς την έννοια της εξειδίκευσης, η ανάδειξη του ρόλου των επικοινωνιακών / πραγματολογικών παραμέτρων στην αποκωδικοποίηση του μηνύματος, η οποία δυσχεραίνεται σ' αυτήν την περίπτωση, σε μικρότερο ή μεγαλύτερο βαθμό, από την εγγενή πολυσημία του υπό επεξεργασία τύπου. Καθώς η επιλογή αυτής της μορφής εξειδίκευσης (Κλαίρης et al 2005: 742) είναι εύλογα συνειδητή από μέρους του ομιλητή και σχετίζεται με δεδομένες επικοινωνιακές ανάγκες, ο εντοπισμός των διαφορετικών λειτουργιών προϋποθέτει, παράλληλα με την εφαρμογή αξιόπιστων λειτουργικών κριτηρίων, τη διερεύνηση συγκεκριμένων σημασιολογικών σχέσεων με άξονα πάντοτε τη συλλογή ενός αυθεντικού σώματος γλωσσικών δεδομένων¹.

2. Η ιδιαιτερότητα του τύπου σε –οντας

Ο ρηματικός τύπος σε -οντας κατέχει μια ξεχωριστή θέση στο ρηματικό σύστημα της ελληνικής, με αποτέλεσμα η συστηματική επεξεργασία του να οδηγεί στη διατύπωση διαφορετικών επιστημονικών τοποθετήσεων αναφορικά με τη λειτουργία και την ερμηνεία του σε διαφορετικά περιβάλλοντα. Οι διαφοροποιήσεις αυτές αποτυπώνονται, άλλωστε, και στην προτεινόμενη ορολογία η οποία απομακρύνεται συχνά από τον παραδοσιακό και ευρέως γνωστό χαρακτηρισμό του ως μετοχής. Ειδικότερα, εκτός από τον όρο *άκλιτη ενεστωτική μετοχή* που διατηρείται ακόμη (Τσοπανάκης 1994, Κλαίρης et al 2005) και επικρατεί στο πλαίσιο της εκπαιδευτικής διαδικασίας και για λόγους διδακτικούς² (Τριανταφυλλίδης 1941, Τζάρτζανος 1946, Χατζησαββίδης et al 2009) προτείνονται και

¹ Στοιχεία αντλήθηκαν εδώ κατά κύριο λόγο από το *Σώμα Ελληνικών Κειμένων* (<http://sek.edu.gr/search.php>) και τον *Εθνικό Θησαυρό Ελληνικής Γλώσσας* (<http://hnc.ilsp.gr/>), το *Σώμα Κειμένων* (Corpus του ΙΕΛ).

² Είναι απολύτως κατανοητό να παρουσιάζονται ορισμένα δύσκολα γλωσσικά φαινόμενα σε απλουστευμένη μορφή στα σύγχρονα σχολικά εγχειρίδια, ειδικά όταν αυτά απευθύνονται σε μικρούς μαθητές (Φιλίππακη-

αυτοί του *γερουνδίου* και του *ρηματικού επιρρήματος* (converb) από τους, μεταξύ άλλων, Holton et al 1997, Tsimpli 2000, Tantalou 2004 και Moser 2006 αντίστοιχα.

Το ακανθώδες ζήτημα της ορολογίας είναι συνυφασμένο με την ανάλυση δεδομένων σημασιολογικών και συντακτικών χαρακτηριστικών που διαφοροποιούν εμφανώς το συγκεκριμένο τύπο από το σύνολο των εν χρήσει μετοχών της ελληνικής. Έτσι, παρόλο που προέρχεται από την ενεστωτική μετοχή της αρχαίας σε -ων, -ουσα, -ον (Manolessou 2005), δε συνδέεται, όπως οι υπόλοιποι τύποι, μορφολογικά με την κατηγορία των ονομάτων ή των επιθέτων (Moser 2006: 45), αλλά παραμένει άκλιτος. Δε φαίνεται επίσης να περιορίζεται στη δήλωση της χρονικής βαθμίδας του παρόντος, καθώς ο σχηματισμός του από το μη συνοπτικό θέμα της ενεργητικής φωνής δεν παρεμποδίζει τελικά την εμφάνισή του με ρήματα όλων των χρόνων (π.χ. *διαβάζει / διάβαζε/ θα διαβάσει/ διάβασε ακούγοντας μουσική*).

Αρκετές από αυτές τις δυσκολίες αντιμετωπίζονται με την εφαρμογή διαδεδομένων (Greenbaum 1969, Νάκας 1987, Guimier 1996, Molinier et al 2000) λειτουργικών κριτηρίων, που υιοθετούνται συχνά για το σύνολο των επιρρηματικών υποβοηθώντας την περαιτέρω υποκατηγοριοποίησή τους. Ενδεικτικά, εκτός από το κατεξοχήν σύνηθες κριτήριο (1) της ερώτησης (Χατζησαββίδης 2009: 100, Φίλιππακη-Warburton et al 2011: 163) και του εντοπισμού της εστίας της άρνησης (2), εξετάζεται η δυνατότητα ή μη μετακίνησης του επιρρηματικού στοιχείου στην αρχή του εκφωνήματος (3), καθώς και η δυνατότητα παράφρασης και αντικατάστασής του (4) κατά περίπτωση από άλλα ομοειδή στοιχεία ή *αντ-επιρρήματα* (Νάκας 1988: 100, Quirk 1991: 427). Υπό αυτό το πρίσμα, διαφαίνεται πως ο άκλιτος τύπος σε -όντας μπορεί να ενταχθεί στην ίδια κατηγορία με τα υπόλοιπα επιρρηματικά, καθώς εκφράζει από κοινού συγκεκριμένες, με βάση και το βαθμό ενσωμάτωσής του στη δομή της πρότασης (Quirk et al, 1972: 268-269), επιρρηματικές σχέσεις.

1. Ερώτηση

Διέσχισε το Αιγαίο *κολυμπώντας*. –*Πώς; -Κολυμπώντας*.

2. Εστία της άρνησης

Δε διέσχισε *κολυμπώντας* το Αιγαίο, αλλά *εν πλω*.

3. Μετακίνηση

Δεν ήρθε *τρέχοντας*. **Τρέχοντας*, δεν ήρθε.

4. Παράφραση και αντικατάσταση

4.1. Δε θα του αλλάξεις γνώμη *επικρίνοντάς τον* (= με τις συνεχείς επικρίσεις σου).

4.2. Ήρθε *τρέχοντας* (=τροχάδην). Έτσι, είχα καταφτάσει και εγώ.

Η πιο συστηματική επεξεργασία αποδεικνύει, ωστόσο, πως οι υπό εξέταση τύποι, εκτός από την αδυναμία τους σε κάθε περίπτωση να επωμιστούν τη λειτουργία του ορίσματος (5.1-3) (Tsimpli 2000: 134), παρουσιάζουν σημαντικές διαφοροποιήσεις αναλόγως της λειτουργίας τους ως *επιρρηματικών* ή *απόλυτων* αντίστοιχα (Panagiotidis, 2006: 2). Συνοπτικά, όταν λειτουργούν επιρρηματικά, προσδιορίζουν συντακτικά το ρηματικό πυρήνα, απορρίπτοντας τη φραστική άρνηση με τα *μην* και *δεν* (6) και αδυνατούν συγχρόνως να χωριστούν δια της στίξης ή του επιτονισμού από την υπόλοιπη πρόταση, την οποία συνήθως ακολουθούν (7). Η στενή σχέση που διατηρούν με αυτήν καθίσταται εμφανής και στην περίπτωση του υποκειμένου τους (8), που απουσιάζει, γιατί ελέγχεται στην πραγματικότητα από το υποκείμενο της βασικής πρότασης (Tsimpli 2000: 156, Tantalou 2004: 4). Αυτός είναι, άλλωστε και ο λόγος που η αφαίρεση της «μετοχικής φράσης» (9) οδηγεί συχνά σε αντιγραμματικές προτάσεις (Tantalou 2004: 3).

5.1. * (Το) *οδηγώντας* με ευχαριστεί.

5.2. *Μισώ (το) *περιμένοντας* στη στάση.

5.3. *Είδα την Ελένη *διαβάζοντας* ένα καλό βιβλίο.

6. *Κατέφθασε *μην/ δεν τρέχοντας*, γιατί είχε χρόνο.

7. Πρβ: Προχωρούσε *περπατώντας* αργά, για να μη γίνει αντιληπτός.

*Προχωρούσε, *περπατώντας* αργά, για να μη γίνει αντιληπτός.

8.1. Η Μαρία κατάφερε να *φτάσει* εκεί *περπατώντας*.

8.2. Η Μαρία είδε την Ελένη *τρέχοντας* (= * να τρέχει).

9.1. Δεν έφυγε *τρέχοντας* (γιατί είχε χρόνο). (= *Δεν έφυγε.)

9.2. -*Πώς κατέφτασε *τρέχοντας*;

Warburton et al 2011: 5). Υπενθυμίζουμε, άλλωστε, ότι και στην προκήρυξη για τη συγγραφή μιας νέας επίσημης γραμματικής για το Γυμνάσιο (ΥΕΠΘ/ Π.Ι. 2003: 64) είχε επισημανθεί ότι η νέα πρόταση έπρεπε ν' αποτελεί «αναμορφωμένη έκδοση της *Νεοελληνικής Γραμματικής* του Μανόλη Τριανταφυλλίδη», ενσωματώνοντας βέβαια συγχρόνως και νεότερα ερευνητικά δεδομένα.

Αντίθετα, διαφορετική φαίνεται πως είναι η λειτουργία των ρηματικών τύπων σε *-οντας*, όταν λειτουργούν ως απόλυτοι. Στην περίπτωση αυτή, τα υποκείμενά τους είναι δυνατόν είτε να ελέγχονται και να καθορίζονται από το υποκείμενο του κύριου ρηματικού τύπου (10), είτε να εμφανίζονται επιτασσόμενα σε ονομαστική πτώση (11). Η γερονδιακή φράση, η οποία δεν απορρίπτει εδώ την *μην* άρνηση (12), προηγείται συνήθως της υπόλοιπης πρότασης, από την οποία χωρίζεται κατά κανόνα με τη βοήθεια της στίξης ή του επιτονισμού (13). Το ζήτημα της συμφωνίας, ωστόσο, του υποκειμένου του άκλιτου ρηματικού τύπου με αυτό της υπόλοιπης πρότασης εγείρει και το ζήτημα της υποκειμενικής στάσης, καθώς αρκετοί ομιλητές φαίνεται πως απορρίπτουν την απουσία κοινής αναφοράς, η οποία αναφέρεται, με άξονα απρόσωπα ρήματα του τύπου *ξημερώνει* και λογοτεχνικές περισσότερο παραπομπές, ήδη από τον Τζάρτζανο (1946: 333-6). Όπως αναφέρει και η Moser (2006: 50), σε αρκετές περιπτώσεις η επιλογή της αντίστοιχης εξαρτημένης πρότασης θα μπορούσε να άρει τις όποιες ενστάσεις και αντιρρήσεις (η αντικατάσταση στην περίπτωση του 11, για παράδειγμα, του *βγαίνοντας* από τη χρονική πρόταση *καθώς / ενώ έβγαине*), οι οποίες σχετίζονται ενδεχομένως και με το ρυθμιστικό χαρακτήρα της γλωσσικής διδασκαλίας και την επιθυμία γενικά των ομιλητών της ελληνικής να υιοθετούν δεδομένα γλωσσικά πρότυπα.

10. *Βγαίνοντας ο Νίκος από το σχολείο, έπεσε.*

11. *Βγαίνοντας ο Νίκος από το σχολείο, άρχισε να χιονίζει.*

12. *Μη μπορώντας να συγκρατήσει τα δάκρυά της, ξέσπασε.*

13. *Βλέποντας τον πίνακα στο βάθος της αίθουσας, έμεινα άφωνος.*

3. Η ερμηνεία του τύπου σε *-οντας*

Ένα άλλο σημαντικό ζήτημα που ανακύπτει κατά τη μελέτη του ρηματικού τύπου σε *-οντας* είναι και το εύρος των σημασιολογικών αποχρώσεων που εκφράζει, καθώς η διαδικασία της αποκωδικοποίησης ενέχει συχνά υψηλό βαθμό υποκειμενισμού και καθορίζεται στην πράξη από την επιλογή συγκεκριμένων ερευνητικών προς επεξεργασία δεδομένων. Ωστόσο, η υιοθέτηση λειτουργικών κριτηρίων, που εφαρμόζονται άλλωστε ήδη για το σύνολο των επιρρηματικών, καθώς και η διερεύνηση βάσει σώματος δεδομένων των εκφραζόμενων κάθε φορά σημασιολογικών σχέσεων μπορούν να καταδείξουν με μεγαλύτερη σαφήνεια το ρόλο των πραγματολογικών παραμέτρων στην ερμηνεία του μηνύματος.

3.1 Η λειτουργία της εξειδίκευσης

Παραδοσιακά, η αποσαφήνιση των σημασιολογικών σχέσεων επιτυγχάνεται, όπως είδαμε, με τη βοήθεια της παράφρασης και της αντικατάστασης του άκλιτου τύπου από άλλα ομοειδή επιρρηματικά. Δια αυτής της οδού, οδηγηθήκαμε, ως αποτέλεσμα και της γλωσσικής αλλαγής, στον περιορισμό με την πάροδο του χρόνου των υποκατηγοριών –υπενθυμίζουμε πως ο Τζάρτζανος (1953: §209-10) αναγνωρίζει 8 είδη ενεστωτικών μετοχών– και στον προσδιορισμό βασικών λειτουργικών αξόνων, οι οποίοι διαφάνηκε ήδη πως αφορούν κυρίως την έκφραση του τρόπου ή του μέσου και βεβαίως του χρόνου (Holton et al, 1999: 234).

Ωστόσο, οι όποιες δυσκολίες σε επίπεδο ερμηνείας σχετίζονται ενδεχομένως και με τη φύση του ίδιου του γλωσσικού μέσου, το οποίο προσφέρει τη δυνατότητα στον ομιλητή να καταφεύγει κατά βούληση σε μια *μη ρητή δήλωση* (Κλαίρης et al 2005: 743) των εξειδικευτικών πληροφοριών που επιθυμεί να προβάλει. Ειδικότερα, ο ομιλητής μπορεί να εμπλουτίσει το μήνυμά του με σειρά εξειδικεύσεων, οι οποίες, αναφερόμενες κατά βάση στον πυρήνα του μηνύματος, αναδεικνύουν διαφορετικές κάθε φορά πτυχές της ρηματικής δράσης (Κλαίρης et al, 2005: 733, Κλαίρης et al, 2001). Η επιλογή, υπό αυτήν την έννοια, του τύπου σε *-οντας* από το σύνολο των γλωσσικών μέσων δε μπορεί παρά να είναι συνειδητή από μέρους του ομιλητή και δηλωτική των προθέσεων του. Δεν είναι, άλλωστε, τυχαίο πως αυτός αξιοποιείται συχνά και στο χώρο της λογοτεχνίας, λόγω των υφολογικών δυνατοτήτων που εξασφαλίζει και της εγγενούς του πολυσημίας (Δέτσης 1983: 49-64, Νάκας 1985). Κατά συνέπεια, η περιγραφική ανάλυση των διαφορετικών λειτουργιών του δεν μπορεί εκ των πραγμάτων να περιοριστεί σε αμιγώς συντακτικές παρατηρήσεις, καθώς υπεισέρχονται εδώ εμφανώς και πραγματολογικές παράμετροι (Tsimpli 2000:137-9), που άπτονται διαφορετικών συνιστωσών της επικοινωνιακής διαδικασίας.

3.2 Η δήλωση του τρόπου και του χρόνου

Η καταγραφή, βέβαια, των δυο βασικών λειτουργιών της μορφής σε -οντας, της απόλυτης και της επιρρηματικής, αποτελεί ήδη σημείο αναφοράς για την περαιτέρω διερεύνηση των σημασιολογικών σχέσεων που εκφράζονται σε διαφορετικά περιβάλλοντα, καθώς η επιρρηματική φαίνεται πως είναι άρρηκτα συνδεδεμένη με την έκφραση του τρόπου, ενώ η απόλυτη με αυτήν του χρόνου, αλλά και άλλων κατά περίπτωση εννοιών (Tsimpli 2000, Haidou et al 2002). Σε ένα πλαίσιο δομολειτουργικό, η πιο συστηματική εφαρμογή λειτουργικών κριτηρίων θα μπορούσε να συμβάλει, λόγω και της σημασιολογικής απροσδιοριστίας του μέσου, στον εντοπισμό και άλλων επιμέρους σημασιολογικών αποχρώσεων και στην υιοθέτηση εναλλακτικών ενδεχομένως προσεγγίσεων.

Έτσι, η δήλωση του τρόπου και άλλων συγγενών προς αυτόν εννοιών αποσαφηνίζεται μέσω της αντιπαράβολής των δυο ρηματικών τύπων, του κυρίου ρήματος και του τύπου σε -οντας και, ειδικότερα, μέσω της ελέγχου της συνάφειας των πληροφοριών που μεταφέρουν. Ο τρόπος με την αυστηρή έννοια του όρου εκφράζεται, όταν οι δυο τύποι ανήκουν στο ίδιο ή σε συγγενικό σημασιολογικό πεδίο, γιατί τότε μόνο δίνεται η δυνατότητα στη «μετοχική φράση» να εξειδικεύει, όπως και τα επιρρήματα του τρόπου, δεδομένες πτυχές της ρηματικής ενέργειας ή διαδικασίας (14-17). Όταν οι δυο συγκρινόμενες έννοιες δε μπορούν εμφανώς να συσχετιστούν σημασιολογικά, δεν προβάλλεται στην πραγματικότητα ο τρόπος επιτέλεσης της ρηματικής δράσης, αλλά οι επανομαζόμενες *συνοδευτικές συνθήκες* (18-20). Στην περίπτωση αυτή, περιγράφεται, δηλαδή, «μια κατάσταση, διαδικασία, ενέργεια ή πράξη κτλ. την οποία εμφανίζει η μετοχή ότι εξελίσσεται παράλληλα σε μια κατάσταση, διαδικασία, ενέργεια ή πράξη που δηλώνει το ρήμα» (Νάκας 2000: 78-82, Holton et al, 1998: 235), γεγονός που αποδεικνύεται και βάσει του κριτηρίου της παράφρασης (*ρήμα+ τύπος σε -οντας= ρήμα + και ταυτοχρόνως + ρήμα*).

14. Φρενάρισε κι αυτή και τον είδε να κατεβαίνει απ' την νταλικά και να 'ρχεται τρέχοντας προς το μέρος της. Κρατούσε χαρτί και μολύβι. (ΕΘΕΓ, Λογοτεχνία, Τορόση Ε., 2002, *Η μπαλάντα των πορτοκαλιών*, Εξάντας)

15. Μπήκε μαζί με την αχώριστη γραμματέα του Kathrin ακροπατώντας αθόρυβα σαν γάτος. (Μπίστικα Ε., "Daniel Day Lewis, φως και σκιά, ο άνθρωπος και ο ηθοποιός", *Καθημερινή*, 17/02/2008)

16. Σας συνιστούμε να *αρχίσετε αφαιρώντας* τρίχες από την περιοχή των ποδιών. (Οδηγίες χρήσης προϊόντος Veet)

17. "Η Ευρώπη είναι ο Παράδεισος!", για τον Ουμάρ από την Αφρική, που ονειρεύεται να *διασχίσει κολυμπώντας* τα 25 χιλιόμετρα που τον χωρίζουν από τον ιδανικό προορισμό του. (ΕΘΕΓ, Σχολιαστικό άρθρο, Κατσούνακη Μ., "Ο Ουμάρ, ο Μάρεκ, η Μαλίκα, η Παϊμάν...", *Καθημερινή*, 27/03/2005)

18. Ανακατεύουμε καλά όλα τα υλικά, εκτός του ελαιολάδου, με κουτάλι να ενωθούν και κατόπιν *ρίχνουμε* λίγο λίγο το ελαιόλαδο, *χτυπώντας* συνέχεια το μείγμα, ώσπου ν' αποκτήσει κρεμώδη υφή. (Διαδίκτυο, Συνταγές μαγειρικής, περιοδικό *Αθηνόραμα*). Διαθέσιμο σε ηλεκτρονική μορφή (προσπελάστηκε στις 23/09/2012): <http://www.athinorama.gr/umami/choices/default.aspx?id=4214&sec=Umamifood>.

19. *Μπαινοβγαίνουν* σε καταστήματα *ρωτώντας*... Χιλιόμετρα κάθε μέρα, ώρες ατέλειωτες σε τηλεφωνικούς θαλάμους *ψάχνοντας* στις μικρές αγγελίες. Οτιδήποτε, οποιαδήποτε δουλειά. (ΕΘΕΓ, Σχολιαστικό άρθρο, Κατσούνακη Μ., "Ο Ουμάρ, ο Μάρεκ, η Μαλίκα, η Παϊμάν...", *Καθημερινή*, 27/03/2005)

20. Σε ολόκληρο το διάστημα των τεσσάρων ετών ο Ουέλς *πηγαινοερχόταν* στην Αμερική, στο Μαρόκο και στην Ιταλία, *επιβλέποντας* την πορεία των γυρισμάτων και *αναζητώντας* χρήματα για την ολοκλήρωσή τους, καθώς και σε άλλες χώρες, που απαιτείτο να βρίσκεται για άλλες ταινίες. (ΕΘΕΓ, Σχολιαστικό άρθρο, Παναγόπουλος Π., "Σαϊξπηρ με τη ματιά του Όρσον Γουέλς", *Καθημερινή*, 20/02/2005)

Συνήθης (Κρητικού 2008: 415), τέλος, φαίνεται πως είναι η συγγενής προς τον τρόπο δήλωση του μέσου (21-23), όπως προκύπτει από την χωρίς ιδιαίτερες δυσκολίες αντικατάσταση του τύπου σε -οντας από άλλα ομοειδή από λειτουργική άποψη μέσα (κυρίως από τα προθετικά σύνολα με +αιτ. και δια /μέσω + γενική).

21. Σε συνέντευξη στην εφημερίδα Die Welt, καλεί τη Γερμανία να *αποτολμήσει* τη «φυγή προς τα εμπρός», *εκδίδοντας* ένα ισχυρό νόμισμα του Βορρά μαζί με άλλες τέσσερις χώρες [...]. ("Ευρώ του Βορρά και του Νότου προτείνει ο Μάρκους Κέρμπερ", *Καθημερινή*, Οικονομία, 18/08/2012)

22. Γιατί *ανακυκλώνοντας* μέταλλα όπως το ατσάλι «*κερδίζουμε*» πολλούς εκατοντάδες τόνους στην κατεύθυνση της μείωσης των εκπομπών CO₂. (Αξιώτης Δ., "Ανακυκλώνοντας το μέλλον μας", *Ροή Up*, 21/09/2012)

23. Στην πράξη, όμως, αυτό που συμβαίνει είναι ότι διατηρούν το ίδιο επίπεδο πραγματικής κερδοφορίας, *μειώνοντας* τη φορολογική επιβάρυνση. (ΕΘΕΓ, Σχολιαστικό άρθρο, Κωνσταντινίδης Σ., "Η μείωση της φορολογίας προέκυψε από λάθη!", *Καθημερινή*, 13/05/2005).

Εν τούτοις, είναι γεγονός ότι δεν μπορεί να αποκλειστεί με βεβαιότητα η εμφάνιση αμφισημιών ή η διατύπωση διαφορετικών τοποθετήσεων για την ερμηνεία δεδομένων εκφωνημάτων (Κλαίρης et al, 2005: 743). Η σημασιολογική ευρύτητα, άλλωστε, της έννοιας του τρόπου, ο εντοπισμός της οποίας συνδέεται και για διδακτικούς λόγους (Φιλιππάκη et al, 2011: 163) με την εφαρμογή του *πώς* κριτηρίου, καλύπτει και συχνά υποσκελίζει στην πράξη άλλες επιμέρους σημασιολογικές κατηγορίες ή αποχρώσεις. Έτσι, ως σημασιολογική κατηγορία φαίνεται πως αφομοιώνει πλέον τη δήλωση των συνοδευτικών συνθηκών, ενώ ενδέχεται να ενσωματώνει κάποιες φορές στους κόλπους της την έννοια του μέσου ή ακόμη και αυτήν της αιτίας (Μπακάκου - Ορφανού 1999: 28-9), η οποία υποβόσκει κάποιες φορές ως υπονήμα (24-5).

24. Πέτυχε το στόχο του μελετώντας σκληρά (= με τη σκληρή μελέτη, δια της σκληρής μελέτης ή ακόμη και επειδή / αφού μελέτησε σκληρά).

25. Έπεισε το ακροατήριο μιλώντας (=επειδή μίλησε, αφού μίλησε, αλλά και με την ομιλία του και δια της ομιλίας του) για τις αρνητικές συνέπειες του φαινομένου.

Η λειτουργία της μορφής σε -οντας ως *απόλυτης*, από την άλλη, εμπλέκει σε μεγαλύτερο βαθμό πραγματολογικές παραμέτρους και αφορά, όπως διαφάνηκε, την έκφραση κατά βάση χρονικών σχέσεων (Κλαίρης et al 2005: 70, Haidou et al 2002, Tantalou 2004). Και εδώ η εφαρμογή του κριτηρίου της ερώτησης, η δυνατότητα ή μη εμφάνισης στο ίδιο εκφώνημα και άλλων επιρρηματικών ενδείξεων (26. 2), αλλά και η αντικατάσταση από δεδομένες εξαρτημένες προτάσεις συμβάλλει, μεταξύ άλλων, στην αποσαφήνιση της σημασιολογικής σχέσης που ο υπό εξέταση άκλιτος τύπος διατηρεί κάθε φορά με την υπόλοιπη πρόταση (25). Η ευελιξία του άλλωστε, σε συνδυασμό με τη θέση που καταλαμβάνει, αφήνει εδώ περιθώρια για περισσότερες ερμηνείες, δεδομένου ότι εμφανίζεται χωρίς προβλήματα με παρελθοντικούς και μη παρελθοντικούς ρηματικούς τύπους, δηλώνοντας, όμως, παράλληλα το ταυτόχρονο και σ' ορισμένες περιπτώσεις (26) και το προτερόχρονο (Tsimpli 2000: 138-139).

25.1. Ξανακοίταξα μερικά πρωινά την τζαμαρία, περνώντας από τη Φωκίωνος Νέγρη με το παπί. (ΕΘΕΓ, Σχολιαστικό άρθρο, Ξυδάκης Γ.Ν., "Η ζωή από το παράθυρο", *Καθημερινή*, 03/04/2005)

–Πότε; –Ενώ περνούσα, τη στιγμή που περνούσα από τη Φωκίωνος Νέγρη.

25.2. Παιζοντας και τρέχοντας (= όταν παίζουν και τρέχουν) αναπνέουν ταχύτερα από τους ενηλίκους, το δε επίπεδο εισόδου του αναπνευστικού τους συστήματος είναι πολύ πιο κοντά στη γη, από ό,τι των ενηλίκων. (ΕΘΕΓ, Σχολιαστικό άρθρο, Γιάνναρου Λ., "Νέφος: 60.000 θάνατοι ετησίως", *Καθημερινή*, 05/12/2005)

26.1. Ακούγοντας (= αφού άκουσε, επειδή άκουσε) αυτές τις νηφάλιες διαπιστώσεις του Γιαπωνέζου αξιωματούχου, συνάδελφος από πρώην κομμουνιστική χώρα της Ανατολικής Ευρώπης σχεδόν εξεμάνη. (ΕΘΕΓ, Σχολιαστικό άρθρο, Παπακωνσταντίνου Π., "Το ιστορικό στοίχημα Κίνας-Ιαπωνίας", *Καθημερινή*, 15/05/2005)

26.2. Μαθαίνοντας τα νέα (= όταν έμαθε, επειδή έμαθε), η μητέρα κατέρρευσε.

Αλλά: *Μαθαίνοντας τα νέα το 2000, η μητέρα κατέρρευσε το 2005.

Ωστόσο, η έκφραση του προτερόχρονου, την οποία επωμίζεται κατεξοχήν ο περιφραστικός τύπος (27), μπορεί να συνδέεται και με την ανάπτυξη αιτιολογικών ή υποθετικών σχέσεων (28), εφόσον τόσο η αιτία όσο και η υπόθεση προϋπάρχουν αναγκαστικά του αποτελέσματος (Moser 2006: 51-55).

27.1. Επιπροσθέτως, κατά τη διάρκεια της μακρόχρονης σταδιοδρομίας του, λειτούργησε σε σημαντικά πόστα στην αμερικανική κυβέρνηση έχοντας υπηρετήσει, με το βαθμό του υφυπουργού, στο υπουργείο Άμυνας κατά τη διάρκεια της προεδρίας του Μπίλ Κλίντον. (ΕΘΕΓ, Σχολιαστικό άρθρο, Κουλουμπής Θ., "Αντίδοτο στο δόγμα του προληπτικού πολέμου", *Καθημερινή*, 06/02/2006)

27.2. Κανείς όμως δεν μπόρεσε μέχρι σήμερα να δώσει μία απάντηση στα εκατομμύρια των επενδυτών που έζησαν για λίγο την απατηλή λάμψη της Σοφοκλέους, έχοντας γευτεί το μεγάλο πειρασμό της ζωής τους: «να επιζητήσουν το μέγιστο με το μικρότερο δυνατό κόστος». (ΕΘΕΓ, Σχολιαστικό άρθρο, Ντόκας Α., "Η απατηλή λάμψη της Σοφοκλέους", *Καθημερινή*, 06/02/2005)

28.1. Διαβάζοντας (= αφού διαβάσει κανείς, εάν διαβάσει) ένα τεύχος του «Σικάγο Ριβιού» αφιερωμένο στη γερμανική λογοτεχνία, για παράδειγμα, μαθαίνει κανείς τι απασχολεί τους τριαντάχρονους ή τους σαραντάχρονους Γερμανούς συγγραφείς σήμερα. (ΕΘΕΓ, Σχολιαστικό άρθρο, Μιχαλόπουλου Α., "Μεταφραστική πολιτική", *Καθημερινή*, 15/05/2005)

28.2. Ωστόσο, επειδή προσωπικά μου είναι αδύνατο, να αισθάνομαι ανακόλουθος με τα πιστεύω μου και σε όσα διεκήρυττα ως Τομεάρχης Εργασίας της Ν.Δ., προτίμησα να αποχωρήσω από την κυβέρνηση, μη θέλοντας (= επειδή δε θέλησα) να της δημιουργώ εγγενή προβλήματα από την αρχή

κιάλας του βίου της. ("Παραιτήθηκε ο υφυπουργός Εργασίας, Ν. Νικολόπουλος, στη θέση του ο Ν. Παναγιωτόπουλος", *Καθημερινή*, Πολιτική, 24/09/2012)

Τέλος, η έννοια της εξειδίκευσης αναδεικνύει και την κειμενική διάσταση της λειτουργίας του ρηματικού τύπου σε -οντας, όταν αυτός αφορά, όπως και οι υπόλοιποι δείκτες, «μεγαλύτερα τμήματα κειμένου, συνολικά θεωρουμένου» (Κλαίρης et al, 2005: 748), όταν, δηλαδή, εμφανίζεται ως κατά κανόνα εναρκτήριο στοιχείο (Γούτσος 2009: 762), προσδίδοντας στο κείμενο συνοχή και συνεκτικότητα. Αναφέρουμε, ενδεικτικά, τη δυνατότητά του να συμβάλλει στον εντοπισμό της ακριβούς θέσης κάθε μονάδας σε μια αλληλουχία (αρχή, μέση, τέλος), παραπέμποντας στην ουσία σε μια άλλη διάσταση του χρόνου, σ' «ένα δεύτερο χρόνο» (Halliday et al, 1976: 265), στο παρόν της επικοινωνιακής πράξης (29). Με τη βοήθεια αυτών των γλωσσικών μέσων εξασφαλίζεται, έτσι, η γραμμική ανάπτυξη και οργάνωση του κειμένου, ενώ παράλληλα καθίστανται γνωστές οι προθέσεις του ομιλού, ο οποίος άλλοτε ιεραρχεί απλώς τα δεδομένα του και άλλοτε προσκομίζει διαφορετικής φύσεως πληροφορίες, με στόχο την καλύτερη κατανόηση του μηνύματός του (29.5).

29.1. Θα το επιχειρήσουμε εμείς, *αρχίζοντας από τη σημειωτική* [...]. (ΣΕΚ³: Βιβλίο, κειμενικό είδος: Κοινωνικά-Οικονομικά-Πολιτικά, Ελλάδα)

29.2. *Ξεκινώντας από το Ιράκ*, δεν αντέχει κανείς στον πειρασμό να υπενθυμίσει ότι η Φαλούτζα «απελευθερώθηκε» για τρίτη φορά μέσα σε ενάμιση χρόνο –την πρώτη, ύστερα από το «Σοκ και Δέος» που κατέληξε στην ανατροπή του Σαντάμ, τη δεύτερη ύστερα από τον τερματισμό της μεγάλης εξέγερσης, τον περασμένο Απρίλιο– και ουδείς γνωρίζει πόσες φορές ακόμη θα χρειασθεί να «απελευθερωθεί» στο μέλλον. (ΕΘΕΓ, Σχολιαστικό άρθρο, Παπακωνσταντίνου Π., "Μ. Ανατολή: ρόδινο το μέλλον του πολέμου", *Καθημερινή*, 21/11/2004.)

29.3. Επομένως, *ολοκληρώνοντας*, Κύριε Πρόεδρε, καταγγέλλουμε [...]. (ΣΕΚ, Προφορικός λόγος, κειμενικό είδος: Δημόσιες Ομιλίες, Κύπρος)

29.4. *Τελειώνοντας*, χαίρομαι να πω ότι ο Γιώργος Κέντρος ήταν ένας μετρημένος, ψυχολογημένος, δραματικός, «επιστημονικός», στέρεα διαλεκτικός Φρόνιτ, που χάραξε μέσα στο έργο την αληθοφανέστερη –και δυσκολότερη– ερμηνευτική τροχιά. (ΕΘΕΓ, Σχολιαστικό άρθρο, Βερβέρης Γ., "Φρόνιτ, Γιούνγκ και Μπέκετ", *Καθημερινή*, 13/03/2005)

29.5. *Συμπεραίνοντας*, είναι απαραίτητο για τους παραπάνω λόγους, ώστε να αξιοποιηθεί η κτηθείσα πείρα και να προετοιμασθεί το ευρωπαϊκό σύστημα ελέγχου των συγκεντρώσεων για την αντιμετώπιση των προκλήσεων των επομένων ετών, να ξεκινήσει μια διαδικασία αναθεώρησης. (ΕΘΕΓ, Επίσημα, Αδιευκρίνιστο, "com2001_074501", *Ευρωπαϊκή Ένωση*, 11/12/2001)

4. Συμπεράσματα

Η συστηματική μελέτη της σχέσης που διατηρεί ο άκλιτος ρηματικός τύπος σε -οντας με τον πυρήνα του μηνύματος, η εξέταση, με άλλα λόγια, του βαθμού ενσωμάτωσής του στη δομή της πρότασης, οδηγεί με κάποια βεβαιότητα, σε συνδυασμό πάντοτε με την εφαρμογή και άλλων κριτηρίων, στη σκιαγράφηση των βασικών αξόνων της λειτουργίας του. Ωστόσο, τα ιδιαίτερα μορφολογικά και συντακτικά χαρακτηριστικά και η δυνατότητά του να καλύπτει ένα ευρύ φάσμα σημασιολογικών σχέσεων δημιουργούν συχνά προβλήματα κατά την ερμηνεία του, στην οποία υπεισέρχεται σ' ένα βαθμό και το υποκειμενικό στοιχείο.

Καθοριστική προς αυτήν την κατεύθυνση μπορεί να θεωρηθεί η συνεισφορά της έννοιας της *εξειδίκευσης*, καθώς συμβάλλει στη συγκεκριμενοποίηση των εξειδικευτικών επιρρηματικών πληροφοριών και στην ουσιαστικότερη κατανόηση των σημασιολογικών σχέσεων που αναπτύσσονται κάθε φορά σε δεδομένα γλωσσικά περιβάλλοντα. Έτσι, μέσα και από την κριτική προσέγγιση των διαφορετικών μορφών εξειδίκευσης, προκύπτει πως η χρήση του συγκεκριμένου γλωσσικού μέσου, παρόλο που "επιτρέπει ανάλογη ανάπτυξη της εξειδίκευσης με αυτήν που προσφέρει η εξαρτημένη πρόταση" (Κλαίρης et al: 744), συνδέεται στην πραγματικότητα με τη συνειδητή επιλογή του ομιλητή να καταφεύγει σε μια ρητή δήλωση της φύσης αυτών των εξειδικεύσεων. Ωστόσο, διαφάνηκε πως, παρόλο που η εγγενής πολυσημία του τύπου δυσχεραίνει αναπόφευκτα τη διαδικασία της ερμηνείας, η επιλογή του αφορά τελικά κυρίως τη δήλωση της έννοιας του χρόνου και του τρόπου ή του μέσου, στην ευρύτητά τους, χωρίς ν' αποκλείονται παράλληλα και άλλες επιμέρους σημασιολογικές αποχρώσεις.

³ Για το *Σώμα Ελληνικών Κειμένων* (www.sek.edu.gr), παραπέμπουμε και στο: Γούτσος, Διονύσης. 2003. «Σώμα Ελληνικών Κειμένων: Σχεδιασμός και υλοποίηση». Πρακτικά του 6^{ου} Διεθνούς Συνεδρίου Ελληνικής Γλωσσολογίας. Πανεπιστήμιο Κρήτης.

Σε κάθε περίπτωση, η συλλογή και επεξεργασία αυθεντικού γλωσσικού υλικού αποτελεί βασική προϋπόθεση για την περαιτέρω διερεύνηση της χρήσης και της ερμηνείας του κατά παράδοση μετοχικού τύπου σε διαφορετικά είδη κειμένου. Σε ευρεία κλίμακα, θα προσδιόριζε, με όρους επικοινωνιακούς, με μεγαλύτερη σαφήνεια τη συνεισφορά του στην ανάδειξη της πληροφοριακής αξίας του μηνύματος, προβάλλοντας συγχρόνως και τις υφολογικές του δυνατότητες, ενώ, σε μια δεύτερη φάση, θα συνέβαλε στην ανίχνευση της προθετικότητας του πομπού και στη σφαιρική προσέγγιση των μηχανισμών παραγωγής και κατανόησης τόσο του γραπτού όσο και του προφορικού λόγου.

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«Ο ΣΚΟΠΟΣ ΑΓΙΑΖΕΙ ΤΑ ΜΕΣΑ;» Η ΠΑΡΟΥΣΙΑ ΤΗΣ ΑΦΗΓΗΣΗΣ ΚΑΙ ΤΗΣ ΠΕΡΙΓΡΑΦΗΣ ΣΕ ΜΑΘΗΤΙΚΑ ΓΡΑΠΤΑ ΕΠΙΧΕΙΡΗΜΑΤΟΛΟΓΙΑΣ

Ευγενία Α. Παγκουρέλια
Πανεπιστήμιο Θεσσαλίας,
pagourelia@ece.uth.gr

Μαρία Παπαδοπούλου
Πανεπιστήμιο Θεσσαλίας,
mariapap@uth.gr

ABSTRACT

Is it possible for genres to be conceived, taught and obtained in classroom? Are there specific, static and predetermined criteria to be used for genres? The purpose of this paper is to present the concerns raised regarding the identification and classification of genres. The presence of Description and Narration in 3rd Class Lyceum students' Argumentation essays determines the means of persuasion and modulates the quality of Argumentation in the texts.

Λέξεις κλειδιά: επιχειρηματολογία, κειμενικό είδος, Λύκειο, μαθητικά γραπτά, περιγραφή, αφήγηση

1. Εισαγωγή

Χαρακτηριστικό στοιχείο πολλών εκπαιδευτικών προγραμμάτων διεθνώς τα τελευταία χρόνια στάθηκε η διαμόρφωση του προσανατολισμού της γλωσσικής διδασκαλίας βάσει της θεωρίας των Κειμενικών Ειδών (Johns, 2002), η εφαρμογή των εκπαιδευτικών προεκτάσεων της οποίας φαινόταν να ευαγγελίζεται αποτελεσματική και δημιουργική γλωσσική ανάπτυξη των μαθητών με ενεργό συμμετοχή στη σχολική και ευρύτερη κοινωνία τους. Η συγκεκριμένη εκπαιδευτική ανακατεύθυνση προέκυψε ως συνέπεια μιας σειράς ερευνών στον τομέα της Κειμενικής ανάλυσης (de Beaugrand & Dressler, 1981) και της Διαδικασίας γραφής (Grabe & Kaplan, 1996) και των συνακόλουθων αλλαγών στην αντίληψη περί γλωσσικής επάρκειας και γλωσσικής διδασκαλίας.

Σε αντιστοιχία με αυτές τις εξελίξεις κινήθηκε και το ελληνικό εκπαιδευτικό σύστημα μεταβαίνοντας από τα γραμματικο-συντακτικά στα επικοινωνιακά και κειμενοκεντρικά μοντέλα διδασκαλίας. Τα κειμενικά είδη της περιγραφής, της αφήγησης και της επιχειρηματολογίας, ως διακριτά είδη λόγου σταθερής δομής και συγκεκριμένων κειμενικών χαρακτηριστικών, εντάχθηκαν στο πρόγραμμα γλωσσικής διδασκαλίας όλων των βαθμίδων, με αυτό της επιχειρηματολογίας να κυριαρχεί στις λυκειακές τάξεις τόσο στην επεξεργασία όσο και στην παραγωγή λόγου.

Δεδομένου του επικοινωνιακού και κειμενοκεντρικού προσανατολισμού της γλωσσικής διδασκαλίας στην ελληνική εκπαίδευση, αντικείμενο ενδιαφέροντος αποτέλεσε η 'ποιότητα' των παραγόμενων από τους μαθητές κειμενικών ειδών και συγκεκριμένα της επιχειρηματολογίας, ειδικά στην τελευταία τάξη της Δευτεροβάθμιας εκπαίδευσης. Θεωρήθηκε πως μία από τις παραμέτρους [αυτή που προσεγγίζεται στην παρούσα εργασία] που καθορίζουν την ποιότητα του παραγόμενου επιχειρηματολογικού λόγου είναι – σύμφωνα με τις εκπαιδευτικές συνισταμένες της θεωρίας των Κειμενικών Ειδών – η τήρηση των δομικών συστατικών μερών του κειμενικού είδους της επιχειρηματολογίας.

Ακολούθως παρουσιάζεται ο προσδιορισμός του κειμενικού είδους γενικά και του κειμενικού είδους του επιχειρήματος κατά τη Συστημική Λειτουργική Γραμματική (στο εξής ΣΛΓ) – λόγω αντιστοιχίας με την ελληνική διδακτική προσέγγιση-, ο τρόπος διδακτικής προσέγγισής του στην ελληνική Δευτεροβάθμια εκπαίδευση, καθώς και ο ρόλος που διαδραματίζουν κειμενικά στοιχεία περιγραφής και αφήγησης στην αποτελεσματικότητα και ακεραιότητα των δομικών συστατικών μερών του συγκεκριμένου κειμενικού είδους βάσει των ερευνητικών δεδομένων μας.

2. Κειμενικά είδη και το Κειμενικό Είδος του επιχειρήματος

Τα κειμενικά είδη γενικά συνιστούν υλική πραγμάτωση του λόγου, διαφορετικά είδη του οποίου πραγματώνονται σε διαφορετικούς τύπους κειμένων με διαφορετικές δομές, ανάλογους των κοινωνικών διαδικασιών και συμβάσεων τις οποίες αντανακλούν και υπηρετούν. Κάθε κειμενικό είδος αποτελεί ένα ειδικής μορφής πεδίο γνώσης και δράσης, το οποίο χαρακτηρίζεται από συγκεκριμένο θεματικό περιεχόμενο, ύφος και δομή (Bakhtin, 1986) που απορρέει και εγγράφει λειτουργίες, σκοπούς και νοήματα των κοινωνικών αναγκών και περιστάσεων βάσει των οποίων συγκροτείται.

Η έννοια του κειμενικού είδους αναπτύχθηκε βασικά στο πλαίσιο τριών θεωρητικών κατευθύνσεων με αντίστοιχες εκπαιδευτικές προεκτάσεις. Πρόκειται για τη Συστημική Λειτουργική Γραμματική (SFL), τη Νέα Ρητορική¹ και τη Διδακτική της Αγγλικής γλώσσας για ειδικούς σκοπούς (ESP)², καθεμιά από τις οποίες εστιάζει σε διαφορετικές πτυχές των λειτουργιών του κειμενικού είδους. Ακολουθώντας τις θεωρητικές παραδοχές και των τριών κατευθύνσεων θα μπορούσαμε να πούμε πως τα κειμενικά είδη είναι πραγμάτωση διαφορετικών ειδών λόγου, περιέχουν μορφές και έννοιες οι οποίες απορρέουν και εγγράφουν τις λειτουργίες, τους σκοπούς και τα νοήματα κοινωνικών περιστάσεων μιας κοινότητας σε μία δεδομένη ιστορική στιγμή (Μητσκοπούλου, 2006), υπηρετούν συγκεκριμένους και διακριτούς μεταξύ τους στόχους και εμφανίζουν σχετικά σταθερά, επαναλαμβανόμενα και αναγνωρίσιμα γλωσσικά μορφώματα.

Στο πλαίσιο της ΣΛΓ το κειμενικό είδος νοείται ως μία κοινωνική διαδικασία με πολιτισμικά και ιδεολογικά προσδιορισμένη κειμενική δομή, που χρησιμοποιείται για διάφορους σκοπούς σε διάφορα κειμενικά πλαίσια. Στην αυστραλιανή εκπαίδευση αποτέλεσε τον κύριο σκοπό του σχολικού προγράμματος και οδήγησε στην ανάπτυξη της εκπαίδευσης των κειμενικών ειδών (genre based education), βάσει ενός διπλού σκεπτικού: πρώτον ότι υπάρχει υψηλού βαθμού ομοιότητα μεταξύ γνωστικού αντικείμενου διδασκαλίας και κειμενικών ειδών παιδαγωγικού λόγου και δεύτερον ότι η εξοικείωση με κοινωνικές χρήσεις της γλώσσας μέσω των κειμενικών ειδών βοηθά στην αντιμετώπιση της κοινωνικής αδικίας. Με τη συγκεκριμένου είδους εκπαίδευση θεωρήθηκε ότι οι μαθητές ενδυναμώνονται όχι μόνο για τη σχολική, αλλά και τη μελλοντική κοινωνική επιτυχία τους και επιπλέον ότι αποκτούν δυνατότητα πρόσβασης σε συγκεκριμένους χώρους κοινωνικής επιρροής και εξουσίας χάρη στη γνώση ορισμένων κειμενικών ειδών.

Στο πλαίσιο, λοιπόν, της ΣΛΓ και σύμφωνα με τον ορισμό του Martin (1984:25) το κειμενικό είδος μπορεί να οριστεί ως μία *σταδιακή, σκόπιμη και στοχοθετημένη κοινωνική διαδικασία, η οποία λεκτικοποιείται με γλωσσικά κυρίως κείμενα και αναπαριστά σε αφαιρετικό επίπεδο τις γλωσσικές στρατηγικές που χρησιμοποιούνται για την πραγμάτωση ποικίλων ειδών κοινωνικών στόχων*.

Στην ευρύτερη κατηγορία των επιχειρηματολογικών κειμένων ανήκουν η *εξήγηση* και η *επιχειρηματολογία*, όπως ορίζονται από τους Knapp & Watkins (2005) και αντίστοιχα η *έκθεση* και η *εξήγηση*, όπως ορίζονται από τον Martin (1989). Αυτές οι δύο κατηγορίες παρουσιάζουν τις μεγαλύτερες αναλογίες με την σχολική άσκηση της Έκθεσης, όπως η τελευταία έχει διαμορφωθεί ως άσκηση παραγωγής λόγου στο Λύκειο και ως πανελλαδικώς εξεταζόμενο μάθημα, στο τμήμα που αφορά στην παραγωγή λόγου.

Η δομή του κειμενικού είδους του επιχειρήματος ποικίλει αναλόγως του σκοπού και του περιεχομένου. Διακριτικό χαρακτηριστικό του επιχειρήματος – σε όλες τις κειμενικές μορφές του – είναι μία άποψη ή πρόταση που ακολουθείται από ανάπτυξη και περιλαμβάνει αιτιολόγηση, αξιολόγηση και πειθώ. Στο σχολείο τα γραπτά επιχειρήματα εστιάζουν συνήθως σε δύο βασικούς τύπους, την *έκθεση* (exposition) και τη *συζήτηση* (discussion). Χαρακτηριστικό της *έκθεσης* είναι η ξεκάθαρη εστίαση στο σκοπό του επιχειρήματος, που δεν είναι άλλος από την παρουσίαση μιας άποψης και των συνοδευτικών στοιχείων στήριξής της. Τα δομικά στοιχεία της συνίστανται στη Θέση, το στάδιο των Επιχειρημάτων και το Συμπέρασμα.

Στους προχωρημένους συγγραφείς η ανάπτυξη της *Θέσης* ή η παρουσία υποστηρικτικών δηλώσεων δεν πραγματοποιείται στην ίδια με αυτή πρόταση, ενώ η συνθετότητα του σταδίου αυξάνει στην περίπτωση που εκτός από την άποψη του γράφοντος περιλαμβάνεται και *Προεπισκόπηση* (Preview) των υποστηρικτικών στοιχείων που θα χρησιμοποιηθούν, δομικό στοιχείο που συμβάλλει στην προετοιμασία και καθοδήγηση των αναγνωστών στα επιχειρήματα που ακολουθούν (Knapp & Watkins, 2005: 193).

Η *Θέση* ακολουθείται από το στάδιο των επιχειρημάτων, του οποίου η πολυπλοκότητα επηρεάζεται με την εξέλιξη των μαθητών στη συγγραφή επιχειρημάτων μέσω της αύξησης του αριθμού των υποστηρικτικών στοιχείων και του ποσοστού λεπτομερειών της ανάπτυξης (Knapp & Watkins, 2005: 192). Η πιθανή απουσία προσθετικών ή αιτιολογικών (causal connectives) συνδετικών εξισορροπείται

¹ Βλέπε σχετικά Freedman & Medway, 1994, Graff & Winn, 2006, Perelman, 1969, Tindale, 2006.

² Βλέπε σχετικά Swales, 1990, Bhatia, 1993.

μέσω της παρουσίασης των λογικών σχέσεων μεταξύ των υποστηρικτικών στοιχείων βάσει της σειράς των προτάσεων (Knapp & Watkins, 2005: 198). Διακριτικό γνώρισμα της ώριμης γραφής στο συγκεκριμένο στάδιο είναι η παρουσία αντεπιχειρημάτων ως ρητορικών μέσων κατεύθυνσης του αναγνώστη (Knapp & Watkins, 2005: 192). Το τελευταίο στάδιο της *έκθεσης* είναι η συμπερασματική δήλωση, κατά την οποία υπάρχει αναδιτύπωση της *Θέσης*, συνοδευόμενη από περίληψη στην περίπτωση των πιο σύνθετων κειμένων.

3. Η προσέγγιση του κειμενικού είδους της επιχειρηματολογίας στο Λύκειο

Η κατεύθυνση διδασκαλίας του γλωσσικού μαθήματος στο Λύκειο είναι επικοινωνιακή με έντονα τα στοιχεία της κειμενοκεντρικής προσέγγισης. Στις οδηγίες διδασκαλίας των φιλολογικών μαθημάτων στο Λύκειο (<http://www.pi-schools.gr/lessons/hellenic>, 2002) γίνεται λόγος για κείμενα που παρουσιάζουν συγκεκριμένη μορφή, εξυπηρετούν συγκεκριμένο στόχο, απευθύνονται σε συγκεκριμένο δέκτη και εντάσσονται σε συγκεκριμένο κοινωνικο-πολιτισμικό πλαίσιο. Η έμφαση που δίνεται στην καλλιέργεια τόσο του προφορικού όσο και του γραπτού λόγου καταδεικνύει την αναγνώριση της επικοινωνιακής λειτουργίας που υπηρετούν τα διάφορα κειμενικά είδη, εφόσον ο γραπτός και ο προφορικός λόγος συνιστούν βασικές εκφάνσεις της επικοινωνιακής διάστασης της γλώσσας (Κωστούλη, 2005). Η διαμόρφωση του γραπτού κειμένου δε νοείται σαν αποπλαισιωμένη διαδικασία (Clark & Ivanic, 1997), αλλά η παραγωγή του θεωρείται αποτελεσματική σε σχέση με ένα σύνολο δομικών και επικοινωνιακών συμβάσεων που προσδιορίζουν την έννοια της επικοινωνίας σε ένα συγκεκριμένο τύπο κειμένου (Bhatia, 1993).

Μέσα σε αυτό το πλαίσιο αντικείμενο μελέτης της ερευνητικής εργασίας αποτέλεσε συγκεκριμένα το κειμενικό είδος της επιχειρηματολογίας, όπως αυτό προσεγγίζεται στη Λυκειακή εκπαίδευση και όπως πραγματώνεται σε μαθητικά γραπτά της ίδιας βαθμίδας. Βασικός στόχος ήταν η διαπίστωση της ύπαρξης συνάφειας μεταξύ διδακτικών σκοπών/στόχων του γλωσσικού μαθήματος και υλικής πραγμάτωσης του αντικειμένου. Προκειμένου να καταστεί εφικτή η εξακρίβωση (ή μη) αυτής της συνάφειας, κρίνεται σκόπιμο να παρουσιαστεί σε αυτό το σημείο ο τρόπος προσέγγισης του συγκεκριμένου κειμενικού είδους στα εγχειρίδια γλωσσικής διδασκαλίας.

Το κειμενικό είδος της επιχειρηματολογίας διδάσκεται σε διακριτές ενότητες στα σχολικά εγχειρίδια της Α' και Γ' Λυκείου. Ο τύπος των στοιχείων και το είδος της ανάλυσης που καλλιεργείται στις δύο τάξεις κινείται σε διαφορετικά επίπεδα, με αυτά της Α' τάξης να περιστρέφονται κυρίως γύρω από στοιχεία γενικής οργάνωσης του λόγου και δομής και αυτά της Γ' τάξης να επικεντρώνονται στον τρόπο της λογικής οργάνωσης του περιεχομένου.

Συγκεκριμένα, στην Α' Λυκείου διδάσκεται η οργάνωση του λόγου στην πειθώ γενικά, στο επιχείρημα και στην αιτιολόγηση και τέλος παρουσιάζεται η οργάνωση της έκθεσης με αιτιολόγηση (Τσολάκης, κ.α., 2003:69-80). Οι μαθητές εισάγονται στην έννοια του επιχειρήματος με ένα απόσπασμα λόγου του Δημοσθένη, το οποίο παρουσιάζει αδρομερώς την τυπική δομή ενός επιχειρήματος, όπως αρθρώνεται στον αρχαιοελληνικό επιδεικτικό λόγο [απόφανση – διασάφηση και αιτιολόγηση – συμπέρασμα] (ό.π. σελ.70). Κέντρο της διδακτικής ενότητας αποτελεί ένα κείμενο για την αξία της γλωσσομάθειας, υπόδειγμα για την οργάνωση έκθεσης με αιτιολόγηση, ουσιαστικά εκτεταμένη πραγμάτωση του επιχειρηματολογικού δομικού σχήματος του λόγου του Δημοσθένη. Παράλληλα προτείνεται μία σειρά εργασιών για το σχολείο και το σπίτι, με ζητούμενο την παραγωγή διαφόρων τύπων κειμένου (διαφημιστικό φυλλάδιο, επιστολή), ενταγμένων σε συγκεκριμένο κάθε φορά επικοινωνιακό πλαίσιο, σύμφωνα και με τις οδηγίες των φιλολογικών μαθημάτων (<http://www.pi-schools.gr/lessons/hellenic>, 2002: 103) και απώτερο σκοπό την πειθώ. Η ανάθεση, άλλωστε, γραπτής εργασίας στο σπίτι θεωρείται απαραίτητη και μάλιστα υπό τη «μορφή επικοινωνιακού κειμένου, δηλαδή κειμένου που απευθύνεται σε συγκεκριμένο δέκτη, γράφεται για συγκεκριμένο σκοπό και παίρνει μία ορισμένη μορφή (ό.π., σελ. 105), έχει δηλαδή το κατάλληλο «ύφος» (ό.π., σελ. 108).

Στην Γ' τάξη η επιχειρηματολογία προσεγγίζεται σύμφωνα με τις αρχές της Λογικής και της Φιλοσοφίας. Παρουσιάζονται οι μέθοδοι πειθούς (επίκληση στη λογική, στο συναίσθημα, στην αυθεντία, στο ήθος του πομπού και επίθεση στο ήθος του αντιπάλου) και τα μέσα πειθούς (παραδείγματα, στατιστικά στοιχεία, αυθεντίες, έρευνα, αλήθειες). Δίνεται, επίσης, ο ορισμός του συλλογισμού και η διάκριση των συλλογισμών ως προς τον αριθμό των προκειμένων προτάσεων (άμεσοι, έμμεσοι), το είδος της συλλογιστικής πορείας (παραγωγικοί, επαγωγικοί, αναλογικοί) και ως προς τη μορφή (κατηγορικοί, υποθετικοί, διαζευκτικοί). Ιδιαίτερη έμφαση δίνεται στη διάκριση των ειδών του επαγωγικού συλλογισμού (τέλεια και ατελής επαγωγή, επαγωγή με γενίκευση, με αίτιο αποτέλεσμα και αναλογία). Ακόμη, παρατίθενται στοιχεία ελέγχου επάρκειας και αξιοπιστίας των συλλογισμών (κριτήρια εγκυρότητας, αλήθειας, ορθότητας), ενώ γίνεται λόγος και για τους

παραλογισμούς, δηλαδή για επιχειρήματα που φτάνουν στο συμπέρασμα με λογικό άλμα από τις προκειμένες.

Στα συνοδευτικά του κεφαλαίου κείμενα ζητείται από τους μαθητές ο εντοπισμός και η αξιολόγηση επιχειρημάτων, η ανίχνευση των τρόπων πειθούς σε κείμενα φιλοσοφικά, διαφημιστικά, πολιτικά, επιστημονικά και η αναζήτηση αντίθετων θέσεων στα υπό διαπραγμάτευση ζητήματα. Τα προτεινόμενα για συζήτηση και έκθεση-έκφραση θέματα περιστρέφονται γύρω από την τεκμηριωμένη υποστήριξη ή απόρριψη μίας θέσης.

Από τα παραπάνω γίνεται σαφές πως στην Α' και Γ' τάξη οι μαθητές/μαθήτριες έρχονται σε επαφή με το κειμενικό είδος της επιχειρηματολογίας και με τις θεμελιώδεις γνώσεις της μορφικής, δομικής και λογικής οργάνωσης του είδους. Πρέπει, ωστόσο, να σημειωθεί πως τόσο στο κείμενο για την αξία της γλωσσομάθειας στην Α' όσο και σε όλα τα κείμενα του εγχειριδίου της Γ' η αποδόμηση των κειμενικών χαρακτηριστικών έγκειται στην επεξεργασία που υφίστανται τα κείμενα μέσα στην τάξη. Αυτό προβλέπεται και στις οδηγίες διδασκαλίας των φιλολογικών μαθημάτων, όπου αναφέρεται πως «θα παρουσιάζεται στους μαθητές (προφορικά ή γραπτά) από το διδάσκοντα ένας ενδεικτικός τρόπος σύνταξης του συγκεκριμένου είδους κειμένου» (ό.π., σελ. 104). Πέρα, λοιπόν, από την παρουσίαση του θεωρητικού πλαισίου της επιχειρηματολογίας, δεν υπάρχει για κάποιο κείμενο ενδεικτικό σχεδιάγραμμα της ανάπτυξης και άρθρωσης των επιχειρημάτων, των συλλογισμών και των μέσων πειθούς που χρησιμοποιούνται, ούτε και αντίστροφα, επιχειρήματα, τεκμήρια [στοιχεία που αναφέρονται σε ορισμένη εμπειρία: παραδείγματα, αλήθειες, γεγονότα, στατιστικά/επιστημονικά στοιχεία, εξακριβωμένα και επεξεργασμένα (Τσολάκης, κ.α., 2003: σσ.12,20)] και συλλογισμοί που να συνέχονται ενδεικτικά σε ένα επικοινωνιακά αποτελεσματικό κείμενο πειθούς.

Δομικά μέρη Κειμενικού είδους έκθεσης	Δομικά μέρη επιχειρηματολογικού κειμένου βάσει σχολικών εγχειριδίων	Λειτουργίες δομικών μερών
Θέση + [Προεπισκόπηση]	Απόφαση	Παρουσίαση άποψης
Επιχείρημα + [Αντεπιχειρήματα]	Διασάφηση και Αιτιολόγηση	Επιχειρήματα/ υποστηρικτικά στοιχεία και ανάπτυξη
Συμπέρασμα	Συμπέρασμα	Αναδιατύπωση/ επανάληψη άποψης

Πίνακας 1 Δομικά μέρη επιχειρηματολογίας

Από την παρουσίαση των δομικών συστατικών μερών του κειμενικού είδους της έκθεσης που έγινε στην προηγούμενη ενότητα και της αντίστοιχης διδακτικής προσέγγισής του στο ελληνικό εκπαιδευτικό σύστημα, καθίσταται προφανής η σαφής και συγκεκριμένη σύστασή του, στην οποία δε συμπεριλαμβάνονται γνωρίσματα άλλων κειμενικών ειδών, όπως της περιγραφής ή της αφήγησης. Ωστόσο, από τη μελέτη των μαθητικών γραπτών που συλλέχθηκαν στο πλαίσιο ευρύτερης έρευνάς μας, εντοπίστηκαν χαρακτηριστικά του περιγραφικού και αφηγηματικού λόγου³. Το ερευνητικό πλαίσιο και τα συναφή ερευνητικά ευρήματα παρουσιάζονται στην ενότητα που ακολουθεί.

4. Έρευνα - ανάπτυξη επιχειρηματολογίας σε μαθητικά γραπτά

Στο πλαίσιο ευρύτερης δοκιμασίας διερεύνησης και αξιολόγησης δεξιοτήτων επιχειρηματολογίας στην οποία συμμετείχαν μαθητές Γ' τάξης όλων των Ενιαίων Λυκείων της πόλης του Βόλου, ζητήθηκε μεταξύ άλλων από τους/τις μαθητές/μαθήτριες να παραγάγουν δύο κείμενα, ένα που σχετιζόταν με την καθημερινή διαβίωση στην πόλη και ένα που αφορούσε στη σχολική ζωή. Η επιλογή των δύο κατευθύνσεων δεν ήταν τυχαία, καθώς έχει αποδειχθεί πως ζητήματα που αποτελούν αντικείμενο άμεσου ενδιαφέροντος ή στοιχείο της καθημερινότητας που βιώνεται κινητοποιούν ισχυρότερα τα άτομα, ώστε να πάρουν θέση σχετικά με αυτά (Van Eemeren, et al. 1996).

Για το πρώτο κείμενο αφορμή αποτέλεσε η τοποθέτηση από τη δημοτική αρχή κορυνών σε όλους τους κεντρικούς δρόμους της πόλης του Βόλου και ο χωρισμός τους σε δύο λωρίδες κυκλοφορίας.

³ Κειμενικά γνωρίσματα Περιγραφής: αναπαράσταση με λόγο γεγονότος, ενέργειας, κατάστασης, προσώπου, πράγματος, στατικού ή σε εξέλιξη (Τσολάκης, κ.α., 2003, Α', σελ. 140). Κατεξοχήν χρήση Ενεστώτα, συνδετικών ρημάτων (είμαι, έχω), επιθέτων, καθώς και χρονικών και τοπικών επιρρηματικών φράσεων (Knapp & Watkins, 2005: 98κεξ). Κειμενικά γνωρίσματα Αφήγησης: παρουσίαση σειράς πραγματικών ή πλασματικών γεγονότων, πληροφορίες σχετικά με τόπο, χρόνο, πρόσωπα, πιθανά αίτια και αποτελέσματα συμβάντος (Τσολάκης, κ.α., 2003, Α', σσ. 210, 259). Χρήση ιστορικών χρόνων και χρονικών συνδέσμων (Knapp & Watkins, 2005: 221κεξ).

Καθώς η συγκεκριμένη ενέργεια είχε απασχολήσει ιδιαίτερα τον έντυπο και ραδιοτηλεοπτικό τοπικό τύπο και συνεπώς οι μαθητές είχαν εκτεθεί σε συναφή επιχειρηματολογία είτε υπέρ είτε κατά και, επιπλέον, επειδή κινούμενοι καθημερινά μέσα στην πόλη βίωναν αναπόφευκτα τη συγκεκριμένη κατάσταση, αναμενόταν να επιχειρηματολογήσουν με μεγαλύτερη άνεση για το θέμα. Για το δεύτερο κείμενο σημείο εκκίνησης αποτέλεσαν οι πενήμερες εκδρομές που πραγματοποιούνται στην Γ' τάξη Λυκείου. Η σύνδεση του θέματος με τη σχολική ζωή και μάλιστα με την τάξη στην οποία φοιτούσαν οι μαθητές, αναμενόταν να ενεργοποιήσει ευκολότερα την επιχειρηματολογία τους.

Συγκεκριμένα ζητήθηκε από τους μαθητές να γράψουν ένα σύντομο κείμενο (200 περίπου λέξεων) για τη στήλη «Το βήμα του πολίτη» της τοπικής εφημερίδας «Θεσσαλία», η οποία είναι ανοιχτή για όλα τα θέματα που αφορούν στην τοπική κοινωνία, και μία επιστολή (250 περίπου λέξεων) προς τον Υπουργό Παιδείας, με την οποία θα εισηγούνται την κατάργηση των πενήμερων εκδρομών, υποδύομενοι το ρόλο του γονέα. Η συσχέτιση και των δύο θεμάτων με τη βιούμενη πραγματικότητα κατέστησε αναμενόμενη την αξιοποίηση γεγονότων, συμβάντων και περιγραφών ως μέσων τεκμηρίωσης της υιοθετούμενης στάσης, ακόμη και για τη δεύτερη περίπτωση που είναι αντίθετη στις προτιμήσεις της πλειοψηφίας των μαθητών. Ένας, λοιπόν, από τους στόχους της ανάλυσης των μαθητικών γραπτών υπήρξε η διερεύνηση του τρόπου άρθρωσης του κειμενικού είδους της επιχειρηματολογίας σε συνάρτηση με την παρουσία σε αυτό και άλλων κειμενικών ειδών, και συγκεκριμένα της περιγραφής και της αφήγησης.

Στα 222 γραπτά που συγκεντρώθηκαν εντοπίζεται διαφορετικός βαθμός εμφάνισης, αξιοποίησης και ενσωμάτωσης στοιχείων περιγραφής και αφήγησης στη λογική οργάνωσή τους, γεγονός που επηρεάζει ανάλογα την αποτελεσματικότητα των κειμένων. Στη συνέχεια παρουσιάζονται ενδεικτικά κάποια γραπτά, χαρακτηριστικά της επίδρασης που έχουν τα περιγραφικά και αφηγηματικά κειμενικά στοιχεία στα λειτουργικά και δομικά γνωρίσματα του κειμενικού είδους της επιχειρηματολογίας.

6.Γ2/6⁴ «[...]Ένα από τα προβλήματα που σε αρκετά σημαντικό βαθμό **αποτελεί** πρόσκομμα για την **ομαλή** ροή της καθημερινότητας στην πόλη του Βόλου είναι το κυκλοφοριακό πρόβλημα. [...]

Με την τοποθέτηση των κορινών στην πόλη του Βόλου, οι δρόμοι **μίκρυναν** ακόμη πιο πολύ, τα αυτοκίνητα **αδυνατούν** να βρουν διέξοδο σε περίπτωση ανάγκης, **διαδίδεται** πανικός, **δημιουργείται** ηχορύπανση και **δεν επιτυγχάνεται η ομαλή ροή** της καθημερινότητας. Στις περισσότερες περιπτώσεις τέλος οι κορίνες **καταπατώνται** δημιουργώντας την αίσθηση πως στους κεντρικούς δρόμους του Βόλου **επικρατεί ο νόμος της ζούγκλας**. Συνεπώς απαιτείται η κατάργηση των κορινών για την επαναφορά της ηρεμίας και της ομαλής λειτουργίας της πόλης μας».

Στο γραπτό 6.Γ2/6 η αξιοποίηση των στοιχείων της περιγραφής γίνεται καθαρά σωρευτικά με παρατακτική παράθεση των τεκμηρίων που αποδίδουν την πραγματικότητα. Η σύνδεση τους είναι πολύ χαλαρή, καθώς δεν υπάρχουν καν διαρθρωτικές συμπλεκτικές λέξεις ή εκφράσεις, παρά μόνο κόμματα. Αξίζει, βέβαια, να επισημανθεί πως η παράθεση των στοιχείων είναι μεν σωρευτική, ωστόσο κλιμακωτή, καθώς νοηματικά η μία κατάσταση φαίνεται να προκαλεί την άλλη: μικρότεροι δρόμοι → αυτοκίνητα δεν βρίσκουν διέξοδο → σε περίπτωση ανάγκης δημιουργείται πανικός → προκαλείται ηχορύπανση → δεν επιτυγχάνεται ομαλή ροή της καθημερινότητας → αίσθηση πως επικρατεί ο νόμος της ζούγκλας. Η συνάφεια των στοιχείων της περιγραφής με το θέμα εξαρτάται από τη νοηματική αντίθεση που λανθάνει μεταξύ της πρώτης και δεύτερης παραγράφου, καθώς η περιγραφή έρχεται να αποδείξει γιατί η υιοθέτηση του μέτρου είναι απορριπτέα, χωρίς, όμως, να χρησιμοποιείται ένας αντίστοιχος αιτιολογικός αρθρωτής. Επίσης, ο υποστηρικτικός της θέσης ρόλος που διαδραματίζει η περιγραφή επιβεβαιώνεται από τη ληκτική περίοδο του κειμένου, που λειτουργεί ως συμπέρασμα (Συνεπώς) των όσων έχουν ειπωθεί.

3.Γ2/4

«Τον τελευταίο χρόνο στην πόλη του Βόλου έχουν τοποθετηθεί κορίνες σ' όλους τους κεντρικούς δρόμους της πόλης μας. Παρά το η κίνηση αυτή είχε ως στόχο τη διευκόλυνση της κυκλοφορίας τα αποτελέσματα της ήταν ακριβώς αντίθετα.

⁴ Τα μαθητικά γραπτά είναι καταχωρημένα βάσει αλφαριθμητικού προτύπου (π.χ. 1. Γ1/ 4), από το οποίο ο πρώτος αριθμός αντιστοιχεί στο Λύκειο, το Γχ στο τμήμα του Λυκείου και ο αριθμός μετά την κάθετο στον αριθμό του μαθητή – μαθήτριας υποκειμένου. Σημειώνεται πως ακολουθείται η ορθογραφία και η στίξη των μαθητών/τριών.

Πρώτον, οι κορύνες **εμποδίζουν** την **απρόσκοπτη** μετακίνηση των μέσων μαζικής μεταφοράς. Η στενότητα αρκετών δρόμων **αναγκάζει** αρκετά λεωφορεία να προσκρούουν στις κορύνες με αποτέλεσμα την δημιουργία υλικών ζημιών καθώς και αναστάτωσης στους επιβάτες.

Επιπροσθέτως, η τοποθέτηση τους **εμποδίζει** το **συνεχή** ανεφοδιασμό των εμπορικών καταστημάτων, αφού τα φορτηγά που **διακινούν** εμπορεύματα **κωλύονται να σταματήσουν**.

Ακόμη, **εντείνεται** ο κίνδυνος πρόκλησης ατυχημάτων, διότι οι οδηγοί **αναγκάζονται** να κάνουν **επικίνδυνες μανούβρες**, όταν θέλουν να αλλάξουν ρεύμα κυκλοφορίας, προκειμένου να τις αποφύγουν.

Προσωπικά, όμως και η πλειοψηφία των συμπολιτών μου, πιστεύω ότι οι κορύνες πρέπει να απομακρυνθούν, αφού δισχεραίνουν παρά διευκολύνουν την καθημερινή ζωή στην πόλη μας».

Στο 3.Γ2/4 η ανάπτυξη του κειμένου περιστρέφεται γύρω από την ανατροπή του αντιεπιχειρήματος των δεδομένων του θέματος, το οποίο διατυπώνεται από τον ίδιο τον γράφοντα στην αρχή. Στόχος του είναι να πείσει πως με το νέο μέτρο το κυκλοφοριακό πρόβλημα στην πόλη δεν λύθηκε, αλλά έγινε εντονότερο. Η περιγραφή αφορά σε τρεις παραμέτρους του ζητήματος που λειτουργούν αθροιστικά ως προς την απόδειξη της θέσης. Το σημαντικό στην προκειμένη περίπτωση είναι πως τα τεκμήρια, δηλαδή το περιγραφικό μέρος του κειμένου, συνδέονται μεταξύ τους (πρώτον, επιπροσθέτως, ακόμη) και όλα μαζί με τη θέση που υποστηρίζεται ενισχύοντας τη βασιμότητά της. Πρέπει, βέβαια, να σημειωθεί πως και σ' αυτό το γραπτό, όπως και στο προηγούμενο, δεν υπάρχουν αιτιολογικοί σύνδεσμοι ή άλλου τέτοιου είδους αρθρωτές. Ενδιαφέρον είναι πως στη δομή του συγκεκριμένου γραπτού λανθάνει ένας συλλογισμός:

- Η τοποθέτηση κορνών στόχευε στη διευκόλυνση της κυκλοφορίας.
- Αποτελέσματα τοποθέτησης: εμποδίζεται η κίνηση των μέσων μαζικής μεταφοράς, εμποδίζεται ο ανεφοδιασμός των καταστημάτων, υπάρχει κίνδυνος πρόκλησης ατυχημάτων.
- Τα αποτελέσματα δεν διευκόλυναν την κυκλοφορία.

Άρα, η τοποθέτηση των κορνών δεν διευκόλυνε την κυκλοφορία.

Τα δεδομένα – τεκμήρια που διασφαλίζει η περιγραφή έχουν ενταχθεί σε μία ομαδοποιημένη κατηγορία («αποτελέσματα»), γεγονός που καθοδηγεί ξεκάθαρα τον αναγνώστη και τον βοηθά να αντιληφθεί το ρόλο που διαδραματίζουν στην απόδειξη της θέσης, πολύ περισσότερο απ' ό,τι αν χρησιμοποιούνται απλώς οι συνδετικές λέξεις (πρώτον, επιπροσθέτως, ακόμη).

7.Γ2/12

«Κύριε Συντάκτη,

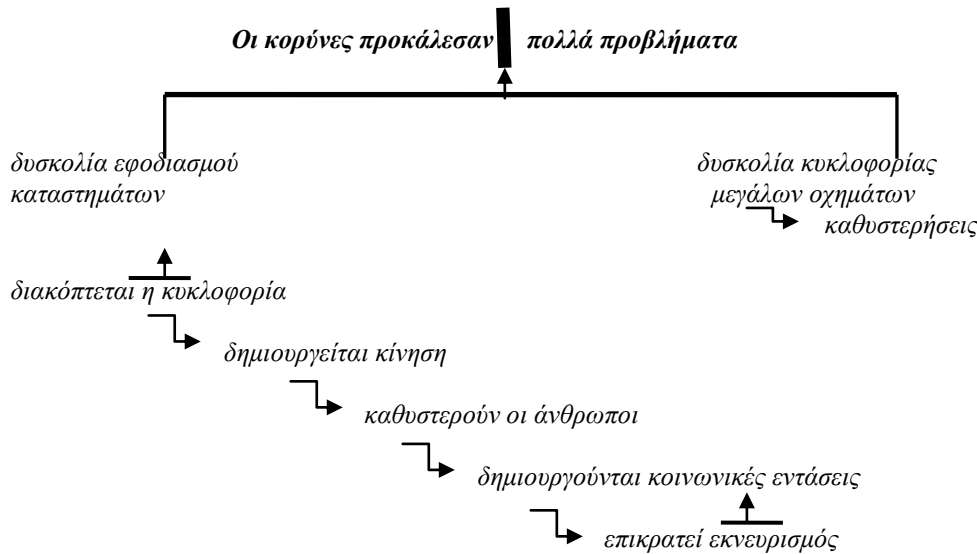
Εδώ και ένα χρόνο στην πόλη μας έχουν τοποθετηθεί κορύνες σε όλους τους κεντρικούς δρόμους, οι οποίες έχουν προκαλέσει ποικίλες αντιδράσεις. Μέσω της επιστολής αυτής θα ήθελα να σας εκθέσω την άποψή μου για το θέμα.

Η τοποθέτηση των κορνών στους δρόμους είχε ως αποτέλεσμα τη δημιουργία πολλών προβλημάτων. Αρχικά, τα καταστήματα της πόλης που βρίσκονται στους κεντρικούς δρόμους, **δεν μπορούν πλέον να εφοδιάζονται ελεύθερα** με τα εμπορεύματά τους, καθώς **διακόπτεται** η κυκλοφορία με αποτέλεσμα να **δημιουργείται** 'κίνηση' στο δρόμο, η οποία όχι μόνο **καθυστερεί** τους ανθρώπους, αλλά **δημιουργεί** και κοινωνικές εντάσεις, καθώς **επικρατεί** ο εκνευρισμός. Επιπλέον, τα μεγάλα σε όγκο οχήματα, όπως είναι τα λεωφορεία και τα φορτηγά, **δυσκολεύονται να κυκλοφορήσουν** μέσα στην πόλη, προκαλώντας καθυστερήσεις. Για τους παραπάνω λόγους, λοιπόν, ίσως θα ήταν προτιμότερο να καταργηθούν οι κορύνες, οι οποίες τοποθετήθηκαν για να λύσουν το πρόβλημα που προκαλούσαν τα σταθμευμένα αυτοκίνητα. Αντί των κορνών ο δήμος θα μπορούσε να αυξήσει την αστυνομική επιτήρηση, ώστε να λυθεί το πρόβλημα.

Σας ευχαριστώ πολύ».

Η αποδεικτική αξία του γραπτού 7.Γ2/12 διαφοροποιείται από τα προηγούμενα στο ότι τα στοιχεία της περιγραφής μετασχηματίζονται και ενσωματώνονται με τέτοιο τρόπο στο κείμενο, ώστε η παρουσία τους είναι σχεδόν μη ανιχνεύσιμη ως διακριτού είδους. Έτσι, ενώ ουσιαστικά χρησιμοποιούνται τα ίδια μέσα πειθούς με τα άλλα γραπτά, το κείμενο καθίσταται πιο αποτελεσματικό επιχειρηματολογικά, γιατί η περιγραφή αξιοποιείται ως βάση-εγγυητής των επιχειρημάτων (Toulmin, 2003). Η διαφορά, συνεπώς, έγκειται τόσο στη διατύπωση όσο και στη αξιοποίηση της περιγραφής, αφού δε χρησιμοποιείται πρωτογενώς και σε απευθείας σύνδεση με την απόφαση του γράφοντος, αλλά δευτερογενώς για διασάφηση και στήριξη των επιχειρημάτων. Διαμορφώνεται, έτσι, ένα πλέγμα τόσο σύνθετο, ώστε τα δεδομένα συνδέονται μεταξύ τους με σχέσεις αιτίου και αιτιατού, αποτελώντας ταυτόχρονα επιχείρημα και βάση στήριξης άλλων επιχειρημάτων, ενώ παράλληλα εξαντλούν το

σύνολο των αιτιολογικών ερωτημάτων (γιατί;) που θα μπορούσαν να τεθούν για την αμφισβήτηση της υποστηριζόμενης θέσης και συμβάλλουν έτσι στην εξασφάλιση της βέβαιης ισχύος της. Αν θέλαμε να αποδώσουμε εικονιστικά τη σχέση απόφασης και υποστηρικτικών στοιχείων, θα ήταν ως εξής:



Σχήμα 1 Γραπτό 7. Γ2/ 1

5.Γ1/15

Κύριε Υπουργέ,

[...]

Όλη η Ελλάδα είχε θρηνήσει όταν έγινε εκείνο το θλιβερό ατύχημα στα Τέμπη πριν από πέντε χρόνια. Οι πληγές των οικογενειών αυτών είναι ακόμη νωπές και θεωρώ πως όλη η κοινωνία είναι ακόμη σοκαρισμένη. Θα ήθελα λοιπόν να σημειώσω πως σε πολλούς άπειρους οδηγούς έχει ανατεθεί η οδήγηση μαθητικών λεωφορείων διακινδυνεύοντας και οι ίδιοι οι οδηγοί τις ζωές τους. Επίσης, οι μαθητές με μεγάλη έλλειψη επιτήρησης ξεφεύγουν από τα όρια και κάνουν απερισκεψίες που μπορούν να τους κοστίσουν τη ζωή. Επιπρόσθετα, οι χρηματικές δαπάνες με τις οποίες επιβαρύνεται η οικογένεια για να πάει το παιδί σε μια τέτοια εκδρομή είναι μεγάλες, και αλοίμονο, δεν έχουν όλες οι οικογένειες οικονομική ευχέρεια τέτοιου μεγέθους. Τέλος, θα ήθελα να τονίσω την ψυχολογική πίεση που δεχόμαστε εμείς οι γονείς, καθώς έχουμε μεγάλη ανησυχία για την ασφάλεια των παιδιών μας.[...]

5.Γ2/9

Αξιότιμε Κ. Υπουργέ,

με την παρούσα επιστολή θα ήθελα να σας ευαισθητοποιήσω σχετικά με τις πενήνήμερες εκδρομές που γίνονται στην Γ' τάξη του Λυκείου και με την προσέγγισή μου στοχεύω να σας μεταλαμπαδεύσω τις απόψεις μου πάνω σε αυτό το σοβαρό ζήτημα.

Είμαι γονέας 17χρονου μαθητή και συνεχώς δέχομαι πιέσεις από το παιδί μου για την πενήνμερη εκδρομή. Οι εκδρομές αυτές θεωρούνται εκπαιδευτικές πράγμα το οποίο είναι άκρως αναληθές. Από γονείς παιδιών παλαιότερων χρονιών πληροφορήθηκα για τα αισχρά πράγματα που γίνονται στις εκδρομές αυτές. Κάθε βράδυ οι μαθητές αφού «ξεσάλωναν» σε νυχτερινά κέντρα, μπουζούκια, «μπαρ» και «κλαμπ», εντελώς κουρασμένοι κοιμούνταν λίγο ή και καθόλου και δεν μπορούσαν να αποδώσουν στα μαθητικά τους καθήκοντα όταν επέστρεφαν από την εκδρομή.

Επίσης, οι μαθητές ξεπερνάν σε αριθμό τους πενήντα και οι καθηγητές που είναι υπεύθυνοι στην εκδρομή είναι το πολύ τρεις. [...]Ακόμα, στις πενήνήμερες αυτές εκδρομές η ελλειπής επίβλεψη ωθεί τους μαθητές σε καταχρήσεις όπως το αλκοόλ, κάπνισμα και πολλά άλλα.

Σε τελική ανάλυση, οι μαθητές ζημιώνονται σε μεγάλο βαθμό και βγαίνουν από το ρυθμό και τη ροή των μαθημάτων τους, με τις εκδρομές αυτές, με αποτέλεσμα να αποτυχαίνουν στις εξετάσεις τους. Έτσι, με όλο το θάρρος σας ζητώ να περιορίσετε ή και να καταργήσετε τέτοιου είδους εκδρομές. Έτσι στο τέλος να έχουμε λαμπρούς νέους να υποδεχτούνε τις θέσεις μας μέσα στην κοινωνία.

Με εκτίμηση,

B. Ξ.

Στα γραπτά 5.Γ1/15 και 5.Γ2/9 εκτός από τα περιγραφικά μέρη υπάρχουν και αφηγηματικά (*Όλη η Ελλάδα είχε θρηνήσει όταν έγινε εκείνο το θλιβερό ατύχημα στα Τέμπη πριν από πέντε χρόνια. Κάθε βράδυ οι μαθητές αφού «ξεσάλωναν ... όταν επέστρεφαν από την εκδρομή*). Ενδιαφέρον σ' αυτές τις περιπτώσεις είναι ότι η αφήγηση επιδρά στη λογική οργάνωση των κειμένων υπηρετώντας ένα διαφορετικό είδος πειθούς απ' ό,τι η περιγραφή. Ενώ, δηλαδή, η περιγραφή φαίνεται σχεδόν συστηματικά να εξασφαλίζει το είδος των τεκμηρίων που είναι απαραίτητα για την επίκληση στη λογική, η αφήγηση μέσα στα επιχειρηματολογικά κείμενα διαμορφώνει την επίκληση στο συναίσθημα, εφόσον επιτυγχάνει τη σύζευξη μίας άμεσης (προσωπικής ή κοινής) εμπειρίας όχι απλά με την απόδειξη μίας θέσης (*σε πολλούς άπειρους οδηγούς έχει ανατεθεί η οδήγηση μαθητικών λεωφορείων. Οι εκδρομές αυτές θεωρούνται εκπαιδευτικές πράγμα το οποίο είναι άκρως αναληθές*), αλλά και με τη συνακόλουθη ευθύνη που θα συνεπαγόταν η μη υλοποίηση των απαραίτητων για το ζήτημα ενεργειών.

5. Συμπεράσματα – συζήτηση

Στόχος των μαθητών/τριών, σύμφωνα και με απαιτήσεις των θεμάτων στα οποία καλούνταν να ανταποκριθούν, ήταν η σύνταξη δύο σύντομων κειμένων με σκοπό την πειθώ. Στο πλαίσιο της παρούσας παρουσίας τα γραπτά δεν αξιολογήθηκαν συνολικά ως προς το σκοπό τους, αλλά μόνο ως προς μία πτυχή, την παρουσία και το ρόλο γλωσσικών στοιχείων κειμενικών ειδών διαφορετικών της επιχειρηματολογίας και συγκεκριμένα της περιγραφής και της αφήγησης.

Σύμφωνα, λοιπόν, με αυτό το τελευταίο κριτήριο διαπιστώνεται πως τα κείμενα επιχειρηματολογίας που παρήγαγαν οι μαθητές δεν είναι αμιγή ως προς τα συνθετικά μέρη τους, αλλά εμφανίζονται ως πολυγενετικά. Ενώ ακολουθούν το τυπικό δομικό σχήμα των επιχειρηματολογικών κειμένων: θέση → επιχειρήματα (υπέρ ή κατά) → συμπέρασμα (Macken – Horarik, 2002, Knapp & Watkins, 2005), στο τμήμα των επιχειρημάτων εμφανίζονται σε μεγάλο βαθμό στοιχεία περιγραφής και αφήγησης ως τεκμήρια των υποστηριζόμενων θέσεων. Η παρουσία των κειμενικών χαρακτηριστικών της περιγραφής και της αφήγησης επηρεάζει την 'ποιότητα' των επιχειρηματολογικών κειμένων, εφόσον με την ένταξή τους σε ευρύτερα επιχειρηματολογικά σχήματα -που δηλώνονται καθαρά με αιτιολογικούς αρθρωτές- διαδραματίζουν το ρόλο της γλωσσικής διερμηνείας των γραφομένων, λειτουργούν δηλαδή ως ανάπτυξη και τεκμηρίωση των επιχειρημάτων. Μάλιστα, στα «πιο επιχειρηματολογικά» γραπτά αυτά τα στοιχεία δεν παρατίθενται παρατακτικά και ασύνδετα, αλλά εμπλέκονται με το υπόλοιπο κείμενο σε τέτοιο βαθμό που η αποδόμησή τους ως μη επιχειρηματολογικών κειμενικών γνωρισμάτων είναι δύσκολη. Από άποψη λογικής οργάνωσης εξασφαλίζουν, στην περίπτωση της περιγραφής, αδιαμφισβήτητα στοιχεία (τεκμήρια) για την ενίσχυση των επιχειρημάτων και στην περίπτωση της αφήγησης μέσα συναισθηματικού επηρεασμού του δέκτη, συνιστώντας ουσιαστικά δύο διαφορετικούς τρόπους πειθούς, την επίκληση στη λογική και την επίκληση στο συναίσθημα αντίστοιχα.

Παρά την αντιστοιχία των διδακτικών στόχων του γλωσσικού μαθήματος για το κειμενικό είδος της επιχειρηματολογίας και της κειμενικής πραγμάτωσής του ως προς τα δομικά συστατικά μέρη από τους μαθητές, η συστηματική παρουσία στα μαθητικά επιχειρηματολογικά κείμενα κειμενικών γνωρισμάτων της περιγραφής και της αφήγησης θέτει υπό αμφισβήτηση την μέχρι τώρα διδασκαλία τους –σε ελληνικό και διεθνές επίπεδο- ως διακριτών κειμενικών ειδών. Η παρουσία κειμενικών γνωρισμάτων άλλων κειμενικών ειδών σε αυτό της επιχειρηματολογίας δεν αίρει την αποτελεσματικότητά της, αλλά φαίνεται να την ενισχύει, ενώ ο επικοινωνιακός σκοπός, η πειθώ, είναι τελικά αυτός που καθορίζει τις γλωσσικές και ευρύτερες κειμενικές επιλογές.

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ΜΕΣΟΦΩΝΗΕΝΤΙΚΟ /s/ ΣΤΗΝ ΑΡΧΑΙΑ ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΗ

Νικόλαος Παντελίδης
Εθνικό και Καποδιστριακό
Πανεπιστήμιο Αθηνών, Ελλάδα
npantel@phil.uoa.gr

ABSTRACT

The aim of the present paper is to reexamine the overall issue of one of the major Proto-Greek (or “Pan-Hellenic”) sound changes, namely the loss of intervocalic /s/ (through the intermediate stage [h]). More specifically an attempt is made to explain instances of the exceptions to this sound law as “lautgesetzlich”, i.e. neither as cases of sound change inhibition nor as resulting from a posteriori analogical restorations of intervocalic /s/, but as due to genuine restrictions to the scope of the sound law. The main body of the examination is limited to the future and sigmatic aorist formations.

Λέξεις κλειδιά: σίγηση, εξασθένωση, μεσοφωνηεντικό /s/, «παρεμπόδιση» (inhibition) μεταβολής, αναλογία, μέλλοντας, σιγματικός αόριστος, λαρυγγικοί.

1. Εισαγωγή

1.1 Τροπή του μεσοφωνηεντικού */s/ σε [h] και σίγηση του [h]

Μία από τις σημαντικότερες πρωτο-ελληνικές (ή «πανελληνικές») μεταβολές είναι η σίγηση του αρχικού («γνήσιου») μεσοφωνηεντικού /s/. Η μεταβολή τοποθετείται χρονικά μετά τη συριστικοποίηση του /t/ (όπως π.χ. στο **πέρυτι* > *πέρυσι*, *δίδωτι* > *δίδωσι*), και μετά την τροπή του αρχικού συμπλέγματος **h* σε /s/ (π.χ. **ιοτή-ος* > *τόσος*, **φέρωντιᾶ* > *φέρονσα* > *φέρουσα*), ενώ η ολοκλήρωσή της πιθανότατα προηγήθηκε της απλοποίησης παλαιότερου /ss/ στην Ιωνική-Αττική (όπως π.χ. στο **ἔσ-σομαι* > *ἔσομαι*¹). Η μεταβολή δεν αφορά επίσης δάνεια λεξιλογικά στοιχεία, τα οποία εισήλθαν στην Ελληνική ύστερα από την ολοκλήρωση της μεταβολής (π.χ. *χρῶσός*, *σᾶσαμον* > *σῆσαμον*, *ἀσάμινθος*, *γεῖσον* κ.λπ.)². Στο πρώτο στάδιο της όλης διαδικασίας συνέβη εξασθένωση του /s/ σε [h], στάδιο το οποίο μαρτυρούν και τα μυκηναϊκά κείμενα. Η τροπή του /s/ σε [h] είναι διαγλωσσικώς ευρέως διαδεδομένη, αλλά ενεργοποιείται σε διαφορετικά περιβάλλοντα³. Στην Αρχαία Ελληνική συνέβη μόνο όταν το /s/ βρέθηκε σε θέση έμβασης συλλαβής, επομένως είτε στην αρχή λέξης (π.χ. **sr-* > *hr/rh* <ρ>, **sréFw* > *ρέω*) είτε μεσοφωνηεντικά. Το μεσοφωνηεντικό περιβάλλον θα μας απασχολήσει στην παρούσα μελέτη:

**d^hh₁s-* > **θεσ-ός* > *θεός* (πρβλ. *θέσ-φᾶτος*)

**nes-* → **νέσ-ομαι* > *νέομαι* (πρβλ. *νόσ-τος*)

**ies-* → **ζέσ-ω* > *ζέ-ω* (πρβλ. *ζέσ-τός*)

**h₁es-* → **ἔσ-ω* (υποτακτική) > *ἔω* > *ῶ*

**ǵ enh₁-es-h₂* > **γέν-εσ-α* > *γένεα* > *γένη* (πρβλ. μυκην. *ke-re-a₂* = *σκέλεα* < **σκέλ-εσ-α*)

**kreu₂-h₂-s-* → **κρέF-ᾶσ-ος* (γενική ενικού) > *κρέᾶος* > *κρέως*

**snus-ό-s* > *νῦ-ός* ‘σύζυγος του γιου, νύφη’ (πρβλ. λατ. *nur-us*, αρχ.ινδ. *snus-ā*)

**aiδ-όσ-ος* > *αἰδόος* > *αἰδοῦς*

**μέγ-ιος-ες* > *μέζοες*, αττ. *μείζους* (συναίρεση /oe/ > /o:/ <ου>, ονομ. πληθ. συγκριτικού βαθμού του *μέγας*, **-ιος-* : επίθημα σχηματισμού του συγκριτικού)

¹ Άλλα παραδείγματα: IE **h₁eh₁s-so* > ἦσο (κάθησο), **mes-soi* > ἔσ-σαι (ομην. με διατήρηση του /ss/, πρβλ. αττ. ἡμφί-εσαι, ἔσ-θής, ἔννυμι < **Fέσ-νῦ-μι* κ.λπ.).

² Μερικές από αυτές τις λέξεις (όσων η γλώσσα-πηγή δεν είναι γνωστή) ίσως να πέρασαν στην Ελληνική πριν από την τροπή /s/ > [h]. Στην περίπτωση αυτή το /s/ θα πρέπει να αναχθεί σε κάτι το οποίο την εποχή της μεταβολής /s/ > [h] δεν είχε ακόμη τραπέι σε /s/.

³ Βλ. Ferguson 1990, όπου γίνεται και αναφορά στη μεταβολή της Ελληνικής και σύγκριση με αντίστοιχη μεταβολή της Ισπανικής.

**ἔρχ-ε-σαι* > *ἔρχεαι* > *ἔρχῃ* (2.ENIK. ενεστώτα του *ἔρχομαι*), παρατατικός **ἤρχ-ε-σο* > *ἤρχεο* > *ἤρχου* (2.ENIK.)

1.1 Εξαιρέσεις

Εξαιρέσεις σε αυτόν το φωνολογικό νόμο μπορούν να εντοπιστούν αρκετές και μάλιστα σε συγκεκριμένα μορφολογικά περιβάλλοντα:

(α) Μέλλοντας και σιγματικός αόριστος: Σε αυτές τις περιπτώσεις το μεσοφωνηεντικό /s/ γενικά εμφανίζεται, π.χ. *ἐποίησα*, *ἔλθσα*, *ποίησω*, *λῶσω*, *δώσω*, πρβλ. επίσης μυκην. *do-so-si* = *δῶσονσι*, *a-ke-re-se* = *ἄγρησε* / *ἄγρησει* κ.λπ. Τα παραπάνω ερμηνεύονται συνήθως ως αποτελέσματα αναλογικής επαναφοράς κατά το πρότυπο περιπτώσεων όπως *ἔ-δεια-σα* *ἔ-κοπ-σα* (από ρίζες σε σύμφωνο): **ἔ-λυ-σ-α* > **ἔ-λυ(h)-α* → *ἔ-λυ-σ-α*.⁴

(β) Το 2.ENIK. αθέματων μέσων ενεστώτων της «β' συζυγίας» (ρήματα εις -μι) και παρακειμένων από ρηματικές ρίζες σε φωνήεν. π.χ. *τί-θε-σαι* *ἐτίθεσο*, *δί-δο-σαι* *ἐδίδοσο*, *δείκ-νῦ-σαι* *ἐ-δείκ-νῦ-σο*, *ἔρᾱ-σαι*, *πέτᾱ-σαι*, *ἄγᾱ-σαι*, *μέ-μνη-σαι*, *βέ-βλη-σαι* *κέ-κλη-σαι* κ.λπ. Στον αόριστο το /s/ δεν εμφανίζεται, χωρίς να είναι απολύτως σαφές γιατί ειδικά στους τύπους του αορίστου, που είναι αρκετά σύντομοι και επομένως η αδιαφάνεια που προκύπτει από τη σύγηση του /s/ πιο αυξημένη, δεν επήλθε αναλογική «επαναφορά» του /s/: *(*e*-)*d^hh₁-so* > **ἔ-θε-σο* > *ἔθεο* > *ἔθου*⁵, *(*e*-)*dh₃-so* > **ἔ-δο-σο* > **ἔδοο* > *ἔδου*.

(γ) Το κλιτικό επιθημα -σι της δοτικής πληθυντικού σε περιπτώσεις κατά τις οποίες το /s/ βρισκόταν από παλαιότερα σε θέση μεσοφωνηεντική, π.χ. *θεοῖσι*, *πατράσι*, *ὀνόμασι*, *τρισί*, *χαλκεῖσι* κ.λπ. Στα μυκηναϊκά κείμενα βέβαια τα τέρματα της δοτικής πληθυντικού των θεμάτων σε -ο- και -ᾱ- (η β' και η α' κλίση της παραδοσιακής γραμματικής) μαρτυρούν το πρώτο στάδιο της όλης διαδικασίας, δηλ. την εξασθένωση σε [h], π.χ. *te-o-i* = *θεοῖσι*, *ku-na-ke-ta-i* = *κυνᾱγέτᾱσι* (ENIK. *κυνᾱγέτᾱς*). Στη δοτική πληθυντικού τριτοκλίτων ουσιαστικών όμως το /s/ εμφανίζεται, όπως π.χ. στα αρσενικά σε -εύς π.χ. *ka-ke-u-si* = *χαλκεῖσι*, ή σε θέματα σε υγρό ή ἔρρινο σύμφωνο, π.χ. *tu-ka-ta-si* = *θυγατᾱρσι* < **-j-si* (αττ. *θυγατᾱρσι*), *te-ka-ta-si* = *τέκτᾱσι* < **-η-si* (αττ. *τέκτοσι* με /ο/ αναλογικά προς άλλους κλιτικούς τύπους όπως *τέκτονος*, *τέκτονες* κ.λπ.). Εμφανίζεται επίσης στη δοτική του αριθμητικού *τρεις τρία* : *ti-ri-si* = *τρισί*. Σε ό,τι αφορά περιπτώσεις όπως *τέκτᾱσι* *ὀνόμασι* *πατράσι* είναι πολύ πιθανή η εξαρχής διατήρηση του /s/ αντί για αναλογική επαναφορά του ύστερα από σύγηση σε μεσοφωνηεντική θέση (βλ. πιο κάτω).

(δ) Μεμονωμένα λεξιλογικά στοιχεία όπως π.χ. *θρασύς* *δασύς* (από ινδοευρ. **dh₃sús* **dhsús* αντίστοιχα) κ.λπ.

Η παρουσία του /s/ στις παραπάνω περιπτώσεις (υπ' αριθ. α-γ) αποδίδεται συνήθως σε πρώιμη αναλογική επαναφορά με βάση αντίστοιχους σχηματισμούς από βάσεις σε σύμφωνο, π.χ. *ἔ-δεια-σα* (*ἔδειξα*), *δείκ-σω* (*δείξω*), ΔΟΤ. *ταῖς φλεπ-σί* (*φλεψί*) κ.λπ. Η αναλογική επαναφορά φαίνεται να έχει ήδη ξεκινήσει την εποχή των μυκηναϊκών κειμένων, όπως δείχνουν οι προαναφερθέντες τύποι μέλλοντα, αορίστου και δοτικής πληθυντικού με /s/ (υπό την προϋπόθεση φυσικά ότι δεν έχουμε εδώ διατήρηση του /s/ σε συγκεκριμένα περιβάλλοντα).

Στις εξαιρέσεις πρέπει να παρατηρηθούν τα εξής:

(α) Σε ό,τι αφορά περιπτώσεις δοτικής πληθυντικού όπως *τέκτᾱσι* *ὀνόμασι* *πατράσι* εξαρχής διατήρηση του /s/ (και όχι αναλογική επαναφορά του) είναι πολύ πιθανή, όπως υποστηρίχτηκε πρόσφατα (Manolessou & Pantelidis 2011). Το ίδιο είναι πιθανό και σε περιπτώσεις λεξιλογικών στοιχείων όπως *θρασύς* *δασύς*⁶, με το περιβάλλον να είναι αντίστοιχο με των τύπων της δοτικής πληθυντικού: Σε θέση προτονική μεταξύ συλλαβικού υγρού ή ἔρρινου και φωνήεντος. Σε ό,τι αφορά τους τύπους δοτικής πληθυντικού στα μυκηναϊκά κείμενα, είναι αξιοσημείωτο ότι τα ουσιαστικά στα οποία το /s/ εμφανίζεται, έχουν θέμα σε ημίφωνο, το υλικό όμως των μυκηναϊκών κειμένων είναι μάλλον πενιχρό για την εξαγωγή ασφαλών συμπερασμάτων και τη διατύπωση κανονικοτήτων οποιασδήποτε μορφής.⁷

(β) Σε ό,τι αφορά το 2.ENIK. παρακειμένων και αθέματων ενεστώτων:

Σε κείμενα ακόμη και αττικών δραματικών ποιητών σώζονται και αρκετοί παλαιότεροι τύποι 2.ENIK. ενεστώτα που εμφανίζουν σύγηση του /s/, ενώ στα πεζά κείμενα αττικής διαλέκτου εμφανίζεται στους

⁴ Πρβλ. μεταξύ άλλων Schwyzer 1939:307, Lejeune 1972:97, Rix 1992:217, Hellemanns 2005:102, Sihler 2009:212.

⁵ Τύποι όπως *ἔθεσο* μαρτυρούνται μόνο σε γραμματικούς ή είναι μεταγενέστεροι.

⁶ Ο.π.

⁷ Η υπόθεση του Jiménez Delgado (2008) ότι στη Μυκηναϊκή η αναλογική επαναφορά του /s/ απλώς δεν έχει ακόμη ολοκληρωθεί και δεν έχει επηρεάσει την (παραδοσιακά λεγόμενη) α' και β' κλίση, δε διαθέτει κατά τη γνώμη μου επαρκή βάση, δεδομένης της πολύ σαφούς, για τον τρόπο με τον οποίο συνήθως εξελίσσονται ανάλογες διαδικασίες, κατανομής των /s/ και [h] ανάλογα με την κλιτική τάξη: /s/ στα ουσιαστικά με χαρακτηρισμό (αρχικό) ημίφωνο : [h] στα ουσιαστικά με χαρακτήρα /a:/ και /o/.

ιδίους τύπους το /s/. Τύποι αθέματων ενεστώτων και μέσων παρακειμένων με /s/ (π.χ. *ἐπίστα-σαι*, *ἔρᾱ-σαι*, *πέτᾱ-σαι*, *βέβλη-σαι*, *κέκτη-σαι*, *μέ-μνη-σαι* κ.λπ.) καταγράφονται μόνο σε κείμενα της κλασικής εποχής κ.ε. Η δημιουργία τύπων με /s/ είναι επομένως μια μάλλον σχετικά πρόσφατη διαδικασία και πιθανόν να μην ανάγεται στη 2^η χιλιετία π.Χ., εκτός και αν οι ποιητές, στους οποίους καταγράφονται τύποι χωρίς /s/, άντλησαν αυτούς τους τελευταίους από πολύ παλαιότερα μη σωζόμενα μέχρι τις μέρες μας ποιητικά κείμενα:

ἐπίστα (= *ἐπίσται* < **ἐπίσᾱ-αι* < **ἐπίσᾱσαι*, Πίνδαρος, Αισχύλος)⁸
ἐπίσταο (ιων., Ηρόδοτος), *ἐπίστω* (αττ. με συναίρεση, Σοφοκλής) (< **ἐπίσᾱσο*)
δύνᾱ (= *δύναι* < **δύνᾱ-αι* < **δύνᾱ-σαι*, Ευριπίδης)
μάρναο (προστακτική, ομηρ., *μάρνάμαι*)
ἴσταο (προστακτική, ομηρ., *ἴσᾱμαι*), *ἴστω* (αττ. δρᾶμα)
φάο (ομηρ., προστακτική), *ἔφαο* (μόνο σε γραμματικούς)
δίζηαι (ομηρ., *δίζημαι*, αθέματος ενεστώτας)
βέβλη-αι (ομηρ.), *μέμνη-αι* (ομηρ., ιων.)
ἔσσο (ομηρ.) < **e-k^(w)iu-so* (ομηρ., ριζικός αθέματος αόριστος, ενεστώτας: *σεύομαι*)

(γ) Σε ό,τι αφορά τους μέλλοντες και τους σιγματικούς αορίστους υπάρχουν αρκετά αντιπαραδείγματα στη διαδικασία πρώιμης αναλογικής επαναφοράς του /s/. Το /s/ σιγήθηκε χωρίς να «επανεέλθει» σε περιπτώσεις θεωρούμενων ως παλαιών και υπολειμματικών σιγματικών αοριστικών σχηματισμών όπως **ἐ-γήρᾱ-σ-ε*⁹ > **ἐγήρᾱ(h)ε* > *ἐγήρᾱ* αλλά και σε περιπτώσεις χρονολογικά μάλλον νεότερων, όπως οι *ἔσσευα* και *ἔχευα* (< **-σ-α*, βλ. σχετικά πιο κάτω). Επιπλέον το ίδιο παρατηρείται και σε πολλούς μέλλοντες, στους οποίους δεν «επανεήλθε» το /s/, π.χ. **temh₁-* : **τεμέ-σω* > *τεμέω* > (αττ. με συναίρεση) *τεμῶ*. Βλ. σχετικά πιο κάτω.

Στην παρούσα συμβολή γίνεται απόπειρα να δοθεί ερμηνεία σε μέρος ἔστω των «εξαιρέσεων» η οποία θα ξεφεύγει από το δίπολο «θεραπεία» ή «πρόληψη», με βάση κυρίως την παρουσία ή απουσία του /s/ στους μέλλοντες και σιγματικούς αορίστους, και λιγότερο τους κλιτικούς τύπους της δοτικής πληθυντικού. Θα προηγηθεί σύντομη θεωρητική αναφορά στο ζήτημα «πρόληψη» στη φθογγική μεταβολή. Σε σχέση και με το πλαίσιο αυτό θα ακολουθήσει κατά το δυνατόν εξαντλητική εξέταση των δεδομένων των περιπτώσεων σίγησης και των περιπτώσεων διατήρησης του μεσοφωνηεντικού /s/. Στην εξέταση του θέματος δεν θα συμπεριληφθούν φαινόμενα εξασθένωσης του μεσοφωνηεντικού /s/ σε [h], τα οποία καταγράφονται σε αρκετά μεταγενέστερες εποχές σε διάφορες διαλέκτους, π.χ. αργολική και λακωνική Δωρική, Ηλειακή κ.λπ.¹⁰ Επίσης δεν θα εξεταστούν περιπτώσεις μεσοφωνηεντικού συμπλέγματος **sj*, όπως στη ΓΕΝ.ΕΝΙΚ. των β'-κλίτων **-osjo* και ενεστώτων σε **-jo/e-* από βάσεις σε /s/ (π.χ. **νάσ-ιω* > *ναίω*). Στα πλαίσια της παρούσας μελέτης δεν μπορεί φυσικά να γίνει πλήρης και εξαντλητική αναφορά στο ζήτημα του μεσοφωνηεντικού /s/ στην (πρώιμη) Ελληνική αλλά θα επιχειρηθεί μια πρώτη κατάταξη του υλικού και μερικές προκαταρκτικές παρατηρήσεις, ως έναυσμα για ενδελεχέστερη μελλοντική έρευνα.

2. Το ζήτημα της προληπτικής «παρεμπόδισης» μεταβολής (inhibition of sound change)

Οι εξαιρέσεις στην κανονικότητα των μεταβολών είναι ένα ζήτημα που έχει απασχολήσει αρκετά την έρευνα. Αποδίδονται συνήθως σε αναλογία, διαλεκτική μείξη, γλωσσική επαφή, σποραδική μεταβολή, και άλλους παράγοντες. Η παρεμπόδιση για την αποφυγή της λεγόμενης «καταστροφικής ομωנוμίας» (pernicious homophony)¹¹ σε επίπεδο βέβαια κυρίως λεξιλογίου, δεν έχει θεμελιωθεί επαρκώς με περιπτώσεις από διάφορες γλώσσες. Εξάλλου έχουν εγερθεί σοβαρές θεωρητικές αντιρρήσεις σχετικά με τη δυνατότητα του ομιλητή να προβλέψει τη δυσλειτουργία που θα προκαλέσει στο μέλλον η «ανεμπόδιση» συνέχιση και ολοκλήρωση μιας φωνητικής μεταβολής η οποία για τον ίδιο βρίσκεται ακόμα στο στάδιο της συγχρονικής εναλλαγής (variation)¹².

⁸ Για λόγους χώρου δεν δίνονται τα ακριβή χωρία στα οποία μαρτυρούνται οι διάφοροι τύποι. Ο αναγνώστης παραπέμπεται στο λεξικό Liddell-Scott (1996) καθώς και στην ηλεκτρονική βάση *Thesaurus Linguae Graecae* (TLG).

⁹ Ο τύπος αυτός δεν πρέπει να συγχέεται με πολύ μεταγενέστερους (ελληνιστικούς) αναλογικούς σχηματισμούς.

¹⁰ Βλ. σχετικά Alonso Déniz 2008:16-17.

¹¹ Campbell 1996:77.

¹² Βλ. σχετικά τον καίριο προβληματισμό του Lass (1997: 359-361).

Δεν υπάρχει στη βιβλιογραφία απόλυτη συμφωνία σχετικά με το αν η «εμφάνιση» του μεσοφωνηεντικού /s/ στην Αρχαία Ελληνική εμπίπτει στην «παρεμπόδιση». Σε διαλέκτους της αλφαβητικής Ελληνικής, όπως η λακωνική Δωρική, η τροπή του /s/ σε [h] και η ακόλουθη σίγηση του [h] φαίνεται να προχώρησε χωρίς οποιαδήποτε «παρεμπόδιση» παρά το ότι ίσως θα δημιουργούσε σε διάφορες περιπτώσεις ομωνυμία. Είναι πάντως αρκετά δύσκολο, δεδομένης της έλλειψης επαρκών δεδομένων από τις κρίσιμες χρονικές περιόδους, να διακρίνει κανείς τις διάφορες περιπτώσεις εξαιρέσεων που παρατίθενται από τους Blevins & Wedel (2009:148) ως *ευρετικές* (*heuristics*): απουσία αναλογικής βάσης, σταδιακός χαρακτήρας των φθογγικών μεταβολών, διαλεκτική επαφή και μείξη, προσπάθεια αποφυγής της ομωνυμίας κ.ά. Η μεταβολή πάντως έχει σαφή φωνητική βάση¹³, η οποία φαίνεται να συνδυάζεται όμως και με μορφολογικούς παράγοντες.

Η παρουσία του /s/ αντιμετωπίζεται συνήθως ως αποτέλεσμα αναλογικής επαναφοράς¹⁴, την οποία οι Blevins & Wedel (2009:155) εντάσσουν σε αυτό που ονομάζουν «οιονεί παρεμπόδιση» (*impure inhibited sound change*). Άλλοι μελετητές όμως όπως ο Campbell (2004:318-319), ο Christol (1988) ή ο Colvin (2007), από διαφορετική βάση και με διαφορετικό τρόπο ο καθένας, εξετάζουν το ενδεχόμενο η παρουσία του μεσοφωνηεντικού /s/ να εντάσσεται στο πλαίσιο της «γνήσιας παρεμπόδισης», δηλαδή εξαρχής παρεμπόδισης που αποτρέπει την ομωνυμία (εν προκειμένω του ενεστώτα με τον μέλλοντα). Ο Chantaine αποδέχεται και τις δύο πιθανότητες, αναλογική επαναφορά και «παρεμπόδιση» (1990:216-217). Σε ό,τι αφορά το ζήτημα που εξετάζεται στην παρούσα συμβολή, το [h] στην πρόωμη Ελληνική, μάλλον και στη Μυκηναϊκή, παρά τις κατά καιρούς εκφρασθείσες αντιρρήσεις¹⁵, πιθανότατα είχε το status κανονικού φωνήματος, με ιδιαίτερους περιορισμούς φυσικά στην κατανομή του. Στη Μυκηναϊκή το [h] (< μεσοφωνηεντικό /s/) διατηρείτο ακόμη, έστω και μερικώς, αν και σύμφωνα με τη γενικότερα αποδεκτή άποψη η αναλογική επαναφορά του /s/ έχει ήδη ξεκινήσει. Αυτό σημαίνει ότι τουλάχιστον στην πρόωμη (προ-μυκηναϊκή) Ελληνική δεν υπάρχει, υπό την έννοια της διατήρησης παραδειγματικών αντιθέσεων, επαρκής βάση για αναλογική επαναφορά του /s/, εφόσον το [h] ως φώνημα θα εξασφάλιζε ακόμη τη διάκριση κλιτικών τύπων μεταξύ τους. Στα περισσότερα από τα παραδείγματα που παρατίθενται στην εισαγωγή της παρούσας εργασίας πάντως απουσιάζει το αναλογικό πρότυπο για την επαναφορά του /s/.

Σε ό,τι αφορά την παρουσία του διπλού /ss/ ο Chantaine πολύ σωστά παρατηρεί (αντίθετα με τον Christol 1988 που κάνει λόγο για «προληπτική δίπλωση» / *gémiation prophylactique*) ότι επεβλήθη από τις ανάγκες του μέτρου ενώ θεωρεί ως μία από τις πηγές του την Αιολική (1990:216-217). Στη διαφώτιση του ζητήματος πάντως καθοριστικός είναι ο ρόλος της Μυκηναϊκής, η οποία όμως δεν ήταν φυσικά η μόνη ποικιλία της Ελληνικής την εποχή εκείνη. Επιβάλλεται επομένως προσοχή στις γενικεύσεις που τυχόν θα διατυπωθούν με βάση τα δεδομένα της μόνης γλωσσικής ποικιλίας της Ελληνικής της 2^{ης} χιλιετίας π.Χ. που μαρτυρείται άμεσα.

3. Το υλικό

Στο τμήμα αυτό θα παρατεθεί και θα εξεταστεί το διαθέσιμο υλικό από τους μέλλοντες και τους σιγματικούς αορίστους και θα γίνει απόπειρα να προσδιοριστεί τι κοινό έχουν οι περιπτώσεις, στις οποίες δεν έχει συμβεί σίγηση του μεσοφωνηεντικού /s/, αλλά και αυτές στις οποίες καταγράφεται η σίγηση. Κύρια πηγή για την επανασύνθεση των σχηματισμών της ινδοευρωπαϊκής πρωτογλώσσας (στο εξής στο κείμενο: IE) και γενικότερα για την παλαιότητά τους υπήρξε το *Lexikon der Indogermanischen Verben* (LIV).

3.1 Μέλλοντες

3.1.1 Μέλλοντες χωρίς μεσοφωνηεντικό /s/ από ρίζες της δομής *CeRH- (R=υγρό ή έρρινο)

*demh₂- : *δεμᾶ-σ- → *δεμε-σ-, μυκην. μετοχή *de-me-o-te* = δεμέ(η)οντες

*demh₂- : *δεμᾶ-σει > δαμᾶ (ομηρ.), μετοχή μυκην. *da-ma-o-te* = δαμά(η)οντες (< *δαμά-σοντες)

*d^herh₃- : (;) *θορε-σο- > -θορέονται (πρβλ. ενεστώτες θόρνυμαι θρώσκω)

*kelh₁- : *καλέ-σω > καλέω > καλώ

¹³ Βλ. Blevins 2004:144-147.

¹⁴ Lejeune 1972, Rix 1992, Hellemanns 2005, Alonso Déniz 2007, Colvin 2007, Risch & Hajnal 2007 κ.λπ.

¹⁵ Αυτός είναι και ένας από τους λόγους που προτιμήθηκε στην παρούσα εργασία η προσεκτικότερη γραπτή απόδοσή του ως φωνής (phone).

*temh₁- : *τεμέ-σω > τεμέω > τεμῶ
 *yemh₁- : *Feμέ-σω > έμέω > έμῶ
 *yerh₁- : *Feρέ-σω > έρέω > έρῶ
 *Hemh₃- : *όμό-σομαι > όμοῦμαι

Ο σχηματισμός αυτός που προκύπτει, όπως φαίνεται από τα παραδείγματα, από τη σίγηση του μεσοφωνηεντικού /s/ (με ενδιάμεσο στάδιο την τροπή σε [h]), επεκτάθηκε σε άλλα ρήματα, η ρίζα των οποίων περιλάμβανε υγρό ή έρρινο (π.χ. *men- : μενῶ, *stel- : στελῶ).

Μαρτυρούνται επιπλέον οι εξής μέλλοντες από ρίζες της δομής *CeRH- ή *CeTH- (T = κλειστό σύμφωνο), οι οποίοι αποτελούν μάλλον νεωτερισμούς της Ελληνικής. Οι μέλλοντες αυτοί σχηματίστηκαν αναλογικά προς τους παραπάνω και πιθανόν δημιουργήθηκαν (εάν δεν ανάγονται στην ΙΕ) κατά την περίοδο πριν από την τροπή του /s/ > [h]:

*Kerh₃- : *κορε-σ- > κορέεις, κορέει (ομηρ., πρβλ. κορέννυμι)
 *perh₂- : *περᾶ-σ- > περάαν (ομηρ. απαρέμφατο με διέκταση περᾶ-σ- > απαρ. *περά-η-ε(h)εν > *περάεεν > *περᾶν → περάαν (διέκταση), ενεστώτας: πέρνυμι)
 *peth₁- : *πετε-σ- > *πετέομαι → πεσέομαι (πίπτω)
 *peth₂- : *πετᾶ-σ- > πετῶ (ενεστώτας: πίννυμι, πετάννυμι)
 *(s)kedh₂- : *σκεδᾶ-σ- > σκεδῶ (ενεστώτας: σκίδνυμι, σκεδάννυμι)
 *sterh₃- : *στορε-σ- > στορῶ (ενεστώτας: στόρνυμι, στορέννυμι)

3.1.2 Μέλλοντες με μεσοφωνηεντικό /s/, από ρίζες της δομής *C(R)eH- (και *(C)Ceu- / *(C)Cei-)

Οι παρακάτω μέλλοντες θεωρούνται από το LIV ως παλαιοί (ΙΕ *desiderativa*, δηλ. βουλευτικοί σχηματισμοί):

*b^heh₂- → (;) *b^heh₂-s-o- > φή-σω (φᾶ-μί / φη-μί)
 *d^heh₁- → *d^heh₁-s-o- > θή-σω (τί-θη-μι)
 *dreh₂- → (;) *dreh₂-s-o- > δρᾶ-σο-μαι (δι-δρᾶ-σκω)¹⁶
 *(H)ieh₁- → (;) *(H)ieh₁-s-o- > ἦ-σω (ἴημι)
 *d^heu- → (;) *d^heu-s-o- > θεύσομαι (πρβλ. θέω, θυνέω)
 *neu- → *neu-s-o- > νεύ-σω (νεύω)
 *d_{uei}- → (;) *d_{uei}-s-o- > δείσομαι (πρβλ. δείδω < *δέ-δFoi-α, δέ-δοι-κα)

Σε όλους τους παραπάνω σχηματισμούς το /s/ εμφανίζεται. Μοναδική εξαίρεση θα αποτελούσε η αμφίβολη ρίζα *deH- ‘ανακαλύπτω, βρίσκω, συναντώ’, από την οποία μαρτυρείται στα ομηρικά έπη σχηματισμός *δήεις δήετε δήομεν* (<*deH-s-)¹⁷, που αντιμετωπίζεται γενικά ως μέλλοντας (και όχι ως υποτακτική), ενώ και στον Ησύχιο μαρτυρείται τύπος *έδην· έδρεν*, τον οποίο το LIV προσδιορίζει με επιφύλαξη ως σιγματικό αόριστο¹⁸.

Επίσης σε ό,τι αφορά τους μέλλοντες «συνηρημένων» ρημάτων απουσιάζουν παντελώς καταγραφές τύπων που να εμφανίζουν σίγηση του μεσοφωνηεντικού /s/. Το γεγονός εξηγείται εν μέρει από το ότι πολλά από τα ρήματα αυτά δεν είναι παλαιά, αλλά αποτελούν νεωτερισμούς της Ελληνικής, οι οποίοι μάλιστα θα δημιουργήθηκαν (μαζί με τους αορίστους) μετά το πέρας της μεταβολής /s/ > [h].

3.2 Σιγματικοί αόριστοι.

Ο σιγματικός αόριστος είναι σχηματισμός κληρονομημένος από την ΙΕ, λίγοι όμως σιγματικοί αόριστοι των επιμέρους ΙΕ γλωσσών είναι συγκρίσιμοι μεταξύ τους σε βαθμό ώστε να ανάγονται με

¹⁶ Στο LIV εκφράζεται και η υπόθεση ότι το *δρᾶσομαι* μπορεί να είναι και συνοπτική υποτακτική, ενώ το /s/ θεωρείται ότι επανήλθε αναλογικά.

¹⁷ Πρβλ. *δήεις* N 260, *δήετε* I 418, *δήετε· εύρήσετε* (Ησύχιος).

¹⁸ LIV, σελ.103.

σχετική έστω ασφάλεια στην πρωτογλώσσα¹⁹. Η ρίζα ήταν αρχικά στην εκτεταμένη βαθμίδα στον ενικό της ενεργητικής φωνής, και στην απαθή βαθμίδα στο υπόλοιπο κλιτικό παράδειγμα²⁰.

3.2.1 Σιγματικοί αόριστοι με σίγηση του /s/ από ρίζες της δομής *(C)CeRH-, *Ceī-, *(C)Ceu-, *CeHu-

Οι αόριστοι αυτοί θεωρούνται (βλ. LIV) ως πιθανοί παλαιοί, δηλ. (ύστεροι) ινδοευρωπαϊκοί σιγματικοί αόριστοι και εμφανίζουν σίγηση του μεσοφωνηεντικού /s/:

**gerh₂*- : **e-ġēr_h₂-s-t* → **ē-ġhṛā-σ-ε* > **ē-ġhṛāhe* > **ē-ġhṛāe* > *ē-ġhṛā*²¹
 **k^wei-* : **k^wēi-s-/k^wei-s-* > **k^wei-ha-menos* (μυκην. *qe-ja-me-no*, αττ. *τεισάμενος*, LIV σελ.380²²)
 **h₂leu-* : (:) **h₂leu-s-* > **ālēu-h-* > **ālēūāto* (ομηρ., Γ 360)
 **keh₂u-* : **keh₂u-s-* > **e-kau-s-m̃*²³ > **e-kau-h-a* > **e-kāu-a* (αντέκταση²⁴) > *έκηα*²⁵

Σε ό,τι αφορά ειδικότερα τους μεταπλασμούς παλαιών αθέματων ριζικών αορίστων σε σιγματικούς εντός της Ελληνικής θα μπορούσαν, με βάση την παρουσία ή την απουσία του μεσοφωνηεντικού /s/, να διακριθούν διαφορετικά χρονολογικά στρώματα:

(α) Ένα παλαιότερο στρώμα μεταπλασμών, οι οποίοι θα έλαβαν χώρα κατά την (πρώιμη) Πρωτο-Ελληνική και πρέπει, εξαιτίας της απουσίας του /s/, να τοποθετηθούν χρονικά πριν από την εξασθένωση του μεσοφωνηεντικού /s/ σε [h] (και την ακόλουθη σίγηση του τελευταίου):

IE αμετάβητος αθέματος αόρ. **k^(w)ieu-/k^(w)iū-* (πρβλ. ομηρ. *έσσυ-το/σύ-το*, προστακτική *σύ-θι*) → μεταπλασμός στην Πρωτο-Ελληνική ή «ύστερη (διαλεκτική) IE»²⁶ σε σιγματικό αόρ. **e-k^(w)ieu-s-m̃* > *έσσενα* ‘έθεσα σε κίνηση’ (ομηρ.).²⁷

IE αθέματος αόρ. **ġ^heu-* (πρβλ. ομηρ. *έ-χυν-το*, *έ-χυν-το/χύ-ντο*) → μεταπλασμός στην Πρωτο-Ελληνική σε σιγματικό αόριστο **e-k^heu-s-m̃* > *έχενα* (ομηρ.), σύμφωνα με την πιο διαδεδομένη άποψη.²⁸

(β) Ένα νεότερο στρώμα μεταπλασμών, οι οποίοι θα πραγματοποιήθηκαν μετά την εξασθένωση του μεσοφωνηεντικού /s/ σε [h], γι’ αυτό και οι αόριστοι αυτοί δεν εμφανίζουν τη μεταβολή, π.χ.:

IE αθέματος αόρ. **perh₂*- → *περα-σ(σ)-*²⁹

IE αθέματος αόρ. 3.ENIK. *(*e-*)*k^herh₂-t* → (*έ-*)*κέρα-σε*

IE αθέματος αόρ. **leuH-/luH-* (πρβλ. ομηρ. *λύ-το/λύ-το*, *λύ-ντο*) → *λύ-σ-* (*έλυσα*)³⁰. Το συγκεκριμένο ρήμα, το οποίο χρησιμοποιείται συχνά ως παράδειγμα αναλογικής επαναφοράς του μεσοφωνηεντικού

¹⁹ Στην παρούσα εργασία δεν μπορεί να γίνει πλήρης αναφορά στο ζήτημα της γένεσης του σιγματικού αορίστου και της επέκτασής του στην Ελληνική.

²⁰ Βλ. σχετικά Rix 1992:217. Η Drinka (1990) αντιθέτως θεωρεί ότι δεν στοιχειοθετείται επαρκώς η εκτεταμένη βαθμίδα της ρίζας και ότι ο σιγματικός αόριστος εμφάνιζε αρχικά αστάθεια ως προς αυτό το στοιχείο της μορφολογικής δομής του.

²¹ Βλ. Barton 1982, Hardarsson 1993:72-76.

²² Σχετικά με την πιθανότητα συλλαβογράμματα της σειράς <j> να αποδίδουν συλλαβές που αρχίζουν από [h] ανεξαρτήτως προελεύσεως (είτε από *s είτε από *j) βλ. Risch & Hajnal 2007:§82. Βλ. όμως επίσης Helleman 2005:114-117, ο οποίος δεν δέχεται εξέλιξη *VjV* > *VhV*, που θα οδηγούσε στη χρήση συλλαβογραμμάτων της σειράς <j>- για το μεσοφωνηεντικό [h] ανεξαρτήτως προελεύσεως.

²³ Με τροπή του */e/ > [a] σε περιβάλλον λαρυγγικού (*h₂) και σίγηση του λαρυγγικού.

²⁴ Σχετικά με την ακριβή διαδικασία βλ. Kiparsky 1967.

²⁵ Μη σιγματικός παλαιός αόριστος με ρίζα όμως που περιέχει /s/ ίσως υποκρύπτεται στον ομηρικό *έσβη* ‘έσβησε (αμετάβ.)’, με εξασθένωση του μεσοφωνηεντικού /s/ σε [h] και ακόλουθη σίγηση του τελευταίου (βλ. LIV): **(s)g^wesh₂*- : Αόρ. **e-sg^wesh₂-t* > **e-sg^wehā* > **έσβεα* > *έσβη*. Οι Rix (1992:218) και Hardarsson (1993:210-212) δεν δέχονται όμως την αναγωγή του σε **e-sg^wesh₂-t* με ρίζα σε *h₂.

²⁶ Hardarsson 1993:191. Η δημιουργία σιγματικού αορίστου θα οδήγησε σε εμφανικότερη δήλωση της μεταβατικότητας.

²⁷ Hardarsson 1993:188-193, LIV σελ.394-395. Ο Beekes όμως για φωνολογικούς λόγους δεν δέχεται τον μεταπλασμό αυτό (2010:1352) και θεωρεί την παρουσία του [u] αναλογική προς παλαιότερους σχηματισμούς όπως το ετυμολογικά συγγενές ριζικό αθέματο *σεῦ-ται*.

²⁸ Οι συγκεκριμένοι σχηματισμοί (*έσσενα*, *έχενα*) θεωρούνται αιολισμοί του ομηρικού κειμένου (βλ. Hardarsson 1993:191, 193) γι’ αυτό και δεν εμφανίζουν αντέκταση όπως το *έκηα* (βλ. πιο πάνω). Η εξέλιξή τους με βάση τη διαδικασία, όπως αυτή περιγράφηκε από τον Kiparsky (1967), θα είχε ως εξής: **e-k^heu-s-m̃* > **e-k^hem-h-a* > **ek^hehma* > **ek^hemma* στην Αιολική χωρίς αντέκταση αλλά με αφομοίωση σε διπλό (απόδοση: *έχενα*, πρβλ. επίσης **nāsamos* > **nāsmos* > **nāsmos* δηλ. αιολ. *ναός*, αλλά δωρ. *νάος* με αντέκταση, αττ. *νεός*).

²⁹ Drinka 1990:156, υποσημ. 255.

/s/ στον αόριστο (* $\acute{\epsilon}$ - $\lambda\upsilon$ -σ-α > * $\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\upsilon(h)\alpha \rightarrow \acute{\epsilon}\lambda\upsilon$ -σ-α) σχημάτιζε αρχικά, όπως φαίνεται και από τους καταγεγραμμένους στην Ελληνική τύπους, ριζικό αθέματο αόριστο, και επομένως πρόκειται μάλλον για μεταπλασμό σε έναν ολωσδιόλου νέο σιγματικό αόριστο και όχι για αναλογική επαναφορά του μεσοφωνηεντικού /s/ (πρβλ. και υποσημ.4).

Με βάση τον ίδιο μηχανισμό δημιουργήθηκαν στην Ελληνική και οι σιγματικοί αόριστοι $\acute{\epsilon}$ - $\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\alpha$ -σα, $\acute{\epsilon}$ - $\kappa\acute{\alpha}\lambda\epsilon$ -σα, $\acute{\epsilon}$ - $\kappa\acute{\omicron}\rho\epsilon$ -σα, $\acute{\epsilon}$ - $\kappa\rho\acute{\epsilon}\mu\alpha$ -σα, $\acute{\epsilon}$ - $\pi\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\alpha$ -σα, $\acute{\epsilon}$ - $\pi\acute{\epsilon}\rho\alpha$ -σα, $\acute{\epsilon}$ - $\pi\acute{\epsilon}\tau\alpha$ -σα, $\acute{\epsilon}$ - $\sigma\kappa\acute{\epsilon}\delta\alpha$ -σα, $\acute{\epsilon}$ - $\sigma\acute{\omicron}\rho\epsilon$ -σα, $\acute{\epsilon}$ - $\tau\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\alpha$ -σσα/ $\acute{\epsilon}$ - $\tau\acute{\alpha}\lambda\alpha$ -σσα. Το /ss/ που εμφανίζουν ορισμένοι από τους παραπάνω αορίστους δεν οφείλεται κατά τη γνώμη μου σε *προληπτική δίπλωση* («gémmination prophylactique»), όπως υποστήριζε ο Christol (1988), αλλά εξυπηρετεί τις ανάγκες του μέτρου στα παλαιότερα ποιητικά κείμενα (βλ. και Chantraine 1990: 216-217).

3.2.2 Σιγματικοί αόριστοι με μεσοφωνηεντικό /s/ από ρίζες της δομής *(C)CeH-, *CReH-, *(C)Ceu-

Οι παρακάτω αορίστοι θεωρούνται (βλ. LIV) ως παλαιοί (IE; (πρώιμοι) πρωτο-ελληνικοί):

* $dreh_2$ - \rightarrow * $dr\acute{\epsilon}h_2$ -s- / $dreh_2$ -s-: $\acute{\epsilon}$ - $\delta\rho\acute{\alpha}$ -σα (δράω > $\delta\rho\acute{\omega}$)

* $d^h eh_1(i)$ - \rightarrow * $d^h \acute{\epsilon}h_1$ -s- / $d^h eh_1$ -s-: θή-σα-το

* $h_1\mu eh_2$ - \rightarrow * $h_1\mu \acute{\epsilon}h_2$ -s- / $h_1\mu eh_2$ -s-: $\acute{\epsilon}\alpha$ -σα

* $mneh_2$ - \rightarrow * $mn\acute{\epsilon}h_2$ -s- / $mneh_2$ -s-: $\acute{\epsilon}\mu\nu\alpha$ -σα > $\acute{\epsilon}\mu\nu\eta\sigma\alpha$ ³¹

* $preh_1$ - \rightarrow (;) * $pr\acute{\epsilon}h_1$ -s- / $preh_1$ -s-: $\acute{\epsilon}$ -πρη-σα

* $pleu$ - \rightarrow * $pl\acute{\epsilon}u$ -s- / $pl\acute{\epsilon}u$ -s- > $\acute{\epsilon}$ -πλευ-σα

(;) * $pneu$ - \rightarrow * $pn\acute{\epsilon}u$ -s- / $pn\acute{\epsilon}u$ -s- > $\acute{\epsilon}$ -πνευ-σα

* $sreu$ - \rightarrow (;) * $sr\acute{\epsilon}u$ -s- / $sr\acute{\epsilon}u$ -s- > $\acute{\epsilon}\rho\rho\epsilon\nu$ -σα

* reh_2u - \rightarrow * $r\acute{\epsilon}h_2u$ -s- / $r\acute{\epsilon}h_2u$ -s- > $\acute{\epsilon}$ -παυ-σα³²

Από τους παραπάνω αορίστους απουσιάζουν εντελώς μαρτυρίες για εξασθένωση του */s/ σε [h] και ακόλουθη σίγηση (π.χ. * $\acute{\epsilon}$ -πλευ- h -α > * $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\lambda\epsilon\nu\alpha$ ή * $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\lambda\epsilon\iota\alpha$ /* $\acute{\epsilon}\pi\lambda\eta\alpha$ κ.λπ.).

3.3 Εξέταση του υλικού

Επί των δεδομένων που αφορούν τους μέλλοντες και τους σιγματικούς αορίστους θα μπορούσαν να γίνουν οι εξής παρατηρήσεις: Η πλειονότητα των θεωρούμενων ως (πιθανών) παλαιών (IE;) σχηματισμών μέλλοντα και σιγματικού αορίστου που εμφανίζουν σίγηση του μεσοφωνηεντικού /s/ είναι σχηματισμοί από ρίζες της δομής *CeRH-. Αντίθετα οι θεωρούμενοι ως (πιθανοί) παλαιοί (IE;) σχηματισμοί μέλλοντα και σιγματικού αορίστου από ρίζες της δομής *CreH- (*CCeH-) δεν εμφανίζουν δείγματα σίγησης του μεσοφωνηεντικού /s/ (με την εξαίρεση του αβέβαιου *δήεις* κ.λπ.). Η διατήρηση του /s/ στις παραπάνω περιπτώσεις θα μπορούσε να σχετίζεται με τη θέση του /s/ μετά από μακρό φωνήεν που προήλθε από *eH (ή/και *ēH). Άγνωστο είναι αν έπαιξε ρόλο και η θέση του τόνου³³. Είναι αξιοσημείωτο ότι και στα μυκηναϊκά κείμενα μαρτυρείται σίγηση του /s/ σε βάσεις της δομής *CeRH- (πρβλ. *da-ma-o-te* και *de-me-o-te* πιο πάνω § 3.1.1) στις οποίες το *H (σε θέση πυρήνα συλλαβής) τράπηκε σε βραχύ φωνήεν³⁴, ενώ το /s/ εμφανίζεται σε βάσεις σε μακρό φωνήεν (από παλαιότερο *eH), π.χ. *do-se do-so-si* (= δώ-σει, δώ-σονσι, IE ρίζα **deh_3*-). Το υλικό των μυκηναϊκών κειμένων είναι βέβαια πενιχρό για να επιτρέψει την εξαγωγή ασφαλών συμπερασμάτων. Επιπλέον στη Μυκηναϊκή το τέρμα της δοτικής πληθυντικού των ουσιαστικών της παραδοσιακής α' κλίσης λήγει σε

³⁰ LIV σελ.417, Hardarsson 1993:188.

³¹ Drinka 1990:165, υποσημ.263, LIV σελ.447.

³² Για τη ρίζα αυτή δεν υπάρχουν βέβαιες αντιστοιχίες εκτός Ελληνικής (βλ. LIV σελ. 462, Beekes 2010 s.v.).

³³ Στους σχηματισμούς από ρίζες της δομής *CeRH- ο τόνος ήταν αρχικά πιο απομακρυσμένος από τη συλλαβή η οποία είχε ως έμβαση το /s/, σε αντίθεση με τους σχηματισμούς από ρίζες της δομής *CreH- στις οποίες ο τόνος προηγείτο άμεσα της συλλαβής αυτής: μέλλοντας *CēRH-so- (θέμα τρισύλλαβο: *Cē.RH.so-) : *CRēH.-so- (θέμα δισύλλαβο).

³⁴ Εδώ μπορούν να ενταχθούν και περιπτώσεις όπως αυτές που αναφέρθηκαν στην §1.1: *(e-)d^hh₁-so > * $\acute{\epsilon}$ - $\theta\epsilon$ -σο > $\acute{\epsilon}$ - $\theta\epsilon$ -ο > $\acute{\epsilon}$ - $\theta\upsilon$, *(e-)dh₃-so > * $\acute{\epsilon}$ - $\delta\omicron$ -σο > $\acute{\epsilon}$ - $\delta\upsilon$, *ἵσταο* < *σι-σά-σο < *sth₂-, *δύναι* < * $\delta\upsilon\nu\acute{\alpha}$ - < **du-n-h₂*- κ.λπ. Επίσης ο τύπος *ἔσσο* με βραχύ φωνήεν που δεν προέρχεται από λαρυγγικό, καθώς και όλοι οι τύποι που αναφέρονται στην εισαγωγή της παρούσας μελέτης. Από την άλλη πλευρά όμως έχουμε *τί- $\theta\epsilon$ -σαι* *δί- $\delta\omicron$ -σαι*, επίσης με βραχέα φωνήεντα (< *H) και μεσοφωνηεντικό /s/.

-a-i, το οποίο συνήθως ερμηνεύεται ως -ā-hi (< *-ā-si, πρβλ. αρχ.ινδ. -ā-su, αττ. *Ἀθήν-ησι*), και επομένως έρχεται σε αντίθεση με την παραπάνω διαπίστωση.

Αν λοιπόν ισχύουν τα παραπάνω, τότε το /s/ θα διατηρήθηκε στην Ελληνική στη θέση μεταξύ μακρού φωνήεντος και φωνήεντος. Αν όμως από την άλλη πλευρά γίνει δεκτό ότι (α) στις παραπάνω περιπτώσεις το /s/ διατηρήθηκε βέβαια και δεν επανήλθε αναλογικά, αλλά και ότι (β) το μεσοφωνηεντικό /s/ σιγήθηκε (μέσω τροπής σε [h]) *ανεξαρτήτως της ποσότητας του φωνήεντος που προηγείται*, τότε αυτό καθιστά πιθανή τη διατήρηση σε πρωιμότερες φάσεις της Ελληνικής των λαρυγγικών της IE (ή έστω ενός λαρυγγικού, στον οποίο θα έχουν συμπίσει οι τρεις αρχικοί) στη θέση εξόδου συλλαβής (**CREH*.-so-). Επιπλέον τοποθετεί τη σίγησή του(ς) στη θέση αυτή (και την έκταση του φωνήεντος που προηγείται) σε χρόνο μεταγενέστερο της τροπής του μεσοφωνηεντικού /s/ σε [h], δηλ.: **CREH*.-so- > **CRV*.-so- *ύστερα* από την τροπή /s/ > [h]. Με άλλα λόγια κατά την εποχή που θα ξεκίνησε η εξασθένωση του μεσοφωνηεντικού /s/ σε [h], η Ελληνική θα διατηρούσε ακόμη σε θέση εξόδου συλλαβής τους λαρυγγικούς (ή τον λαρυγγικό), οπότε και το /s/ δεν θα βρισκόταν ακόμη σε θέση μεσοφωνηεντική (**VH.sV*). Την ύπαρξη λαρυγγικών (ή λαρυγγικού) σε πρώιμες φάσεις της Ελληνικής έχει υποθέσει και ο Meier-Brügger (1992, τόμ.2, σελ.117, και 2010:254-255). Σε σχηματισμούς μέλλοντα από ρίζες της δομής **CeRH*- όμως, όπου οι λαρυγγικοί (ή ο λαρυγγικός) θα αποτελούσαν τον πυρήνα συλλαβής, θα τράπηκαν σε φωνήεν(τα) πριν από τη σίγηση του /s/: **te.mh*₁.-so- > **teme*.-so- > *τεμέ-ω*.

Το γεγονός ότι σε ανάλογο περιβάλλον στη γενική πληθυντικού των ουσιαστικών με θέμα σε *-ā (< *-eh₂-) («ά κλίση») το /s/ φαίνεται να σιγήθηκε (*-ā-*σων*-άων, με κατάληξη από την αντωνυμία³⁵) έρχεται σε αντίθεση με τις παραπάνω διαπιστώσεις. Σε αυτό θα μπορούσε όμως να παρατηρηθεί ότι (α) δεν γνωρίζουμε την ακριβή χρονολογική σχέση της δημιουργίας του τέρματος *-ā-*σων* (κατ' επίδραση της αντωνυμικής κλίσης) με τους μέλλοντες και τους σιγματικούς αορίστους από ρίζες σε μακρό φωνήεν, και ότι (β) δεν είναι καν, κατά τη γνώμη μου, βέβαιη η αναγωγή του -ά-ων (μυκην. -a-o) σε *-ā-*σων* (με κατάληξη *-*σων* από την αντωνυμία) και όχι σε ένα *-ā-ων σχηματισμένο απευθείας με την προσάρτηση της κατάληξης -ων στο θέμα σε -ā.

Τύποι μέσου παρακειμένου π.χ. *βέ-βλη-αι μέ-μνη-αι*, οι οποίοι δε μαρτυρούνται σε αττικές πηγές, φαίνεται επίσης να μην επιβεβαιώνουν την παραπάνω υπόθεση περί διατήρησης του μεσοφωνηεντικού /s/ μετά από μακρό φωνήεν. Ο μέσος παρακειμένος μαρτυρείται βέβαια και στον Όμηρο, είναι όμως πιθανότατα νεωτερισμός της Ελληνικής (Chantraine 1990:223-225). Πιθανόν οι παραπάνω παρακειμένοι πάντως να μπορούν να αναχθούν σε εποχή προ της μεταβολής */s/ > [h].

Τύποι όπως *ἔρᾱ-σαι ἄγᾱ-σαι* κ.λπ. από βάσεις σε βραχύ φωνήεν φαίνεται να μην επιβεβαιώνουν την υπόθεση περί σίγησης του μεσοφωνηεντικού /s/ μετά από βραχύ φωνήεν. Πέραν όμως του ότι οι τύποι αυτοί μαρτυρούνται από την κλασική εποχή κ.ε., οπότε η εμφάνιση του /s/ σε αυτούς θα μπορούσε να είναι το αποτέλεσμα αρκετά μεταγενέστερης αναλογικής εξέλιξης, μαρτυρούνται και παλαιοί τύποι από βάσεις σε βραχύ φωνήεν όπως *ἐπίστᾱι* (< *-στᾱ-σαι), *δύνᾱι* (< *δύνᾱ-σαι) *μάρνᾱο ἱστᾱο ἔσσῶο* (βλ. πιο πάνω §1.1), οι οποίοι φαίνεται να μπορούν να ενταχθούν στην υπόθεση αυτή.

Το /s/ εμφανίζεται επίσης σε σιγματικούς αορίστους από ρίζες της δομής *(C)*Ceu*- (βλ. § 3.2.2), με μακρά δίφθογγο **eu* η οποία διατηρείτο ακόμη σε εποχή κατά την οποία ίσως δεν είχε δράσει ακόμη ο βραχυντικός νόμος του Osthoff. Το γεγονός της σίγησης του /s/ στους σιγματικούς αορίστους *ἄλεῦατο ἔχευα ἔσσευα* (επίσης από ρίζες σε **eu*) θα μπορούσε να σχετίζεται με το γεγονός ότι ο μεν πρώτος ως μέσος αόριστος έτσι και αλλιώς δεν εμφάνιζε αρχικά εκτεταμένη βαθμίδα της ρίζας³⁶ (επομένως μακρά δίφθογγο), ενώ οι υπόλοιποι ως νεωτερισμοί (βλ. §3.2.1) δεν ακολούθησαν τον αρχαιότερο τρόπο σχηματισμού, δημιουργήθηκαν όμως πριν από την τροπή /s/ > [h].

Η διατήρηση του /s/ σε μέλλοντες ρημάτων σε -εῦ-ω (π.χ. *νεύ-σω*) έρχεται σε αντίθεση με ενεστώτες από ρίζες της δομής **Ceus*- (π.χ. **geus*-o- > *γεύ-ομαι*). Ίσως σε περιπτώσεις όπως αυτή να πρόκειται όντως για «επαναφορά» του /s/, πιθανόν όμως ύστερα από την οριστική σίγηση του [h]. Έτσι θα αποφεύχθηκε η άρση της διάκρισης ενεστώτα : μέλλοντα.

4. Συμπεράσματα

Όπως έγινε φανερό, το ζήτημα της εξέλιξης του μεσοφωνηεντικού /s/ στην πρώιμη Ελληνική είναι περίπλοκο, και τα ούτως ή άλλως ανεπαρκή για τις αρχαιότερες περιόδους, και ανισομερώς κατανεμημένα ως προς την κειμενική προέλευση και τη γεωγραφική και χρονική τους τοποθέτηση δεδομένα οδηγούν συχνά σε αντιφατικά συμπεράσματα. Το γεγονός αυτό δείχνει, κατά τη γνώμη μου, ότι η μέχρι σήμερα αντιμετώπιση του ζητήματος είναι απλουστευτική και ότι έχουμε να κάνουμε με

³⁵ Rix 1992:134.

³⁶ Βλ. παραπάνω υποσημείωση 20.

περισσότερα του ενός χρονολογικά στρώματα τροπής του μεσοφωνηεντικού */s/ σε [h] σε συνδυασμό με διαφορετικά χρονολογικά στρώματα σιγματικών αορίστων. Επιπλέον πρέπει να διερευνηθεί και η πιθανότητα η παρουσία του /s/ (εκτός από τις περιπτώσεις μορφολογικού μεταπλασμού, μεταγενέστερου της τροπής /s/ > [h], σε σιγματικούς αορίστους) να οφείλεται σε κανονική διατήρηση του παλαιού /s/ σε συγκεκριμένα φωνολογικά περιβάλλοντα (βλ. §3.3). Με τον τρόπο αυτό θα μπορούσε να ενταχθεί και ένα σημαντικό μέρος των «εξαιρέσεων» σε κανονικότητες αντί να καταφεύγει κανείς σε αναλογίες, οι οποίες σε αρκετές περιπτώσεις δεν φαίνεται να λειτουργούν στην αναμενόμενη έκταση ή να στηρίζεται στην έννοια της εξαρχής παρεμπόδισης της μεταβολής, η οποία δεν είναι ακόμη επαρκώς θεμελιωμένη ερευνητικά. Το ζήτημα παραμένει ανοιχτό στην περαιτέρω έρευνα.

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ΓΛΩΣΣΟΓΕΩΓΡΑΦΙΚΗ ΚΑΤΑΝΟΜΗ ΤΩΝ ΙΔΙΩΜΑΤΩΝ ΤΗΣ ΒΙΘΥΝΙΑΣ. ΑΝΑΛΟΓΙΕΣ ΜΕ ΤΑ ΘΡΑΚΙΚΑ ΙΔΙΩΜΑΤΑ

Παπαδοπούλου Ελένη
ΚΕΝΔΙ-ΙΑΝΕ, Ακαδημία Αθηνών, Ελλάδα
e_papad@academyofathens.gr

ABSTRACT

This paper proposes a contribution to the geolinguistic mapping of the local idioms of Bithynia. The research is based not only on the material contained in the manuscripts kept at the Research Center for Modern Greek Dialects of the Academy of Athens, but also on linguistic material published in several articles and bibliographies which deal with this particular area. In addition, this study intends to point out and evaluate - from a critical perspective- the various problems which arise in connection to the manuscripts and linguistic material used. Furthermore, a possible parallel has been drawn between Andrioti's views concerning the Thracian local idioms and theories which are mentioned in various studies relating to the local idioms of Bithynia.

Λέξεις κλειδιά: διαλεκτολογία, γλωσσογεωγραφία, μικρασιατικά ιδιώματα, Βιθυνία, Ανατολική Θράκη

1. Εισαγωγή

Η ανακοίνωση επιχειρεί να συμβάλει στη γλωσσογεωγραφική αποτύπωση των ιδιωμάτων της Βιθυνίας, βασιζόμενη στο υλικό των χειρογράφων του Κέντρου Ερεύνης των Νεοελληνικών Διαλέκτων και ιδιωμάτων της Ακαδημίας Αθηνών (ΚΕΝΔΙ), όπως και σε γλωσσικό υλικό που περιλαμβάνεται σε μελέτες, άρθρα και βιβλιογραφία για τα ιδιώματα της περιοχής. Η μελέτη επιχειρεί την κριτική αποτίμηση καθώς και την επισήμανση προβλημάτων που ανακύπτουν σε σχέση με το υλικό που χρησιμοποιήθηκε για την έρευνα. Εν συνεχεία γίνεται παραλληλισμός των σχετικών με τα θρακικά ιδιώματα απόψεων του Ανδριώτη (1943-44: 131-185) με τις απόψεις για τα ιδιώματα της Βιθυνίας, όπως αυτές καταγράφονται σε σχετικές με την περιοχή εργασίες.

2. Το υλικό

Η μελέτη ενός προσφυγικού ιδιώματος έχει την ιδιαιτερότητα ότι εξετάζει ένα ιδίωμα, το οποίο τη στιγμή που μελετάται δεν μιλιέται στην αρχική κοιτίδα του. Έτσι, η ουσιαστική πρόκληση αλλά και το «πρόβλημα» για τον ερευνητή ενός προσφυγικού ιδιώματος είναι η ανεύρεση αντιπροσωπευτικού και ικανού γλωσσικού υλικού προκειμένου να εξαγάγει κατά το δυνατόν ασφαλή συμπεράσματα.

Ένας βασικός προβληματισμός που προκύπτει σε σχέση με το υλικό αφορά το κατά πόσον αυτό αντιπροσωπεύει τα ιδιώματα στην «αυθεντική» τους μορφή, δηλαδή αυτή που μιλιόταν στην κοιτίδα τους. Επιπλέον, όπως μπορεί να παρατηρήσει κανείς από το υλικό που χρησιμοποιήθηκε για την παρούσα μελέτη, το γεγονός ότι αυτό προέρχεται από διάφορες χρονικές περιόδους και από ποικίλες πηγές, εγείρει ερωτήματα για το ποια ακριβώς «εκδοχή» του εκάστοτε ιδιώματος καταγράφεται στις επιμέρους πηγές. Είναι σχεδόν βέβαιο ότι οι πληροφορητές δεν χρησιμοποιούν πια τα ιδιώματα στη μορφή που μιλήθηκαν στη Μικρά Ασία, και σίγουρα έχει αλλοιωθεί ένα μέρος των χαρακτηριστικών τους. Ας σημειωθεί ότι οι φορείς των ιδιωμάτων αυτών είναι σχεδόν έναν αιώνα εκπατρισμένοι και διασπαρμένοι σε όλη την Ελλάδα. Σήμερα οι περισσότεροι από τους πρόσφυγες πρώτης γενιάς έχουν πια πεθάνει, γεγονός που δημιουργεί ιδιαίτερες δυσκολίες όχι μόνο στην ανεύρεση αλλά και στη διασταύρωση των πληροφοριών προκειμένου να ελεγχθεί η αξιοπιστία του ήδη υπάρχοντος υλικού. Συχνά επίσης, για ορισμένα χαρακτηριστικά που έχουν παραμείνει στην ιδιόλεκτο των πληροφορητών, είναι δύσκολο να αποφανθεί κανείς κατά πόσον είναι γνήσια μικρασιατικά ή είναι αποτέλεσμα επίδρασης του νέου περιβάλλοντος. Σε πολλές περιπτώσεις η έλλειψη επαρκών στοιχείων για τους

πληροφορητές (πχ. ηλικία, μόρφωση, επάγγελμα κ.λπ.) στις πηγές υλικού αποτελεί παράμετρο που δυσχεραίνει την αξιολόγηση του υλικού που καταγράφεται στις εκάστοτε συλλογές.

Οι παραπάνω δυσκολίες επιβάλλουν ιδιαίτερη προσοχή όσον αφορά τη μέθοδο προσέγγισης και επεξεργασίας του υλικού, για τη διασφάλιση της αξιοπιστίας των πορισμάτων. Η συστηματική παραβολή των στοιχείων των ποικίλων πηγών υλικού είναι απαραίτητη ώστε να ελεγχθούν τα γλωσσικά φαινόμενα που καταγράφονται. Το υλικό που χρησιμοποιήθηκε στην παρούσα μελέτη προέρχεται κυρίως από το Αρχείο του ΚΕΝΔΙ, ενώ αξιοποιήθηκε και η σχετική βιβλιογραφία (μελέτες και άρθρα) για τα ιδιώματα της περιοχής.

Το γλωσσικό υλικό που αφορά τη Βιθυνία στο Αρχείο του ΚΕΝΔΙ (βλ. τα σχετικά χφ. στον πίνακα που ακολουθεί) προέρχεται κυρίως από τρεις περιοχές. Η πρώτη βρίσκεται στην παραλιακή ζώνη δυτικά της Νικομήδειας απέναντι από τα Πριγκηπόνησα. Η δεύτερη αφορά την περιφέρεια της Προύσας μέχρι τα παράλια, και η τρίτη το τμήμα της Απολλωνιάδας, που περιλαμβάνει την ομώνυμη κωμόπολη και την ομάδα των Πιστικοχωρίων.

Τα χφ. του Αρχείου ΚΕΝΔΙ που καταγράφουν υλικό από τις παραπάνω περιοχές χρονολογούνται από το 1888 έως και το 2003 και μπορούν να χωριστούν σε δύο κατηγορίες. Στα χφ. του Φιλολογικού Συλλόγου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως (ΧΚ) που είναι και τα παλαιότερα (1888-1890), και στα χφ. με υλικό που έχει καταγραφεί (από το 1933-2003) είτε από ερευνητές του ΚΕΝΔΙ που πραγματοποίησαν αποστολές σε περιοχές της κυρίως Ελλάδας όπου βρίσκονται εγκατεστημένοι πρόσφυγες καταγόμενοι από τη Βιθυνία, είτε είναι χφ. ιδιωτών, τα οποία περιέχουν γλωσσικό υλικό και κατατέθηκαν στο Αρχείο του ΚΕΝΔΙ.

Τα χειρόγραφα του Φιλολογικού Συλλόγου Κωνσταντινουπόλεως κατά κύριο λόγο καταγράφουν υλικό από την περιοχή της Νικομήδειας. Θα πρέπει να σημειωθεί ότι πρόκειται για συλλογές από λόγιους της εποχής που περιέχουν πλούσιο υλικό, κυρίως λεξιλόγιο, παραμύθια, παροιμίες, αινίγματα και τραγούδια, δίνουν ωστόσο περιορισμένες πληροφορίες που μπορούν να οδηγήσουν σε συμπεράσματα για τη φωνητική, μορφολογία κ.λπ. των ιδιωμάτων στα οποία αναφέρονται. Έτσι, συμπεράσματα ως προς το φωνηεντισμό κάποιων οικισμών της περιοχής της Νικομήδειας, μπορούν να εξαχθούν κυρίως από μεταγενέστερες συλλογές υλικού που έγιναν από ερευνητές του ΚΕΝΔΙ.

Σε ό,τι αφορά τις συλλογές υλικού των ερευνητών του ΚΕΝΔΙ, μεγάλο τμήμα εξ αυτών συγκεντρώνει υλικό από πρόσφυγες πρώτης γενιάς. Ωστόσο, όπως κανείς μπορεί να διαπιστώσει, το χρονικό εύρος της πραγματοποίησης των αποστολών συχνά δεν αποκλείει την επίδραση των νέων συνθηκών (κοινωνικών / γλωσσικών) στους τόπους εγκατάστασης των πληροφορητών. Έτσι, για παράδειγμα, σε κάποιες περιπτώσεις στα χφ. διαπιστώθηκε ότι το υλικό που καταγράφουν από τον ίδιο τόπο είναι πολύ διαφορετικό. Αυτό πιθανότατα οφείλεται, είτε στη χρονική απόσταση μεταξύ των δύο αποστολών, είτε στο ότι πολύ συχνά στους τόπους έρευνας κατοικεί «μείγμα» προσφύγων από την Βιθυνία και αλλού (π.χ. στα Μουδανιά κατοικούν πρόσφυγες από τους Ελιγμούς, την Καλόλιμνο, το Κουρί, την Κίο, τους Επιβάτες Αν. Θράκης κ.λπ., καθώς και ντόπιοι). Εξ αντικειμένου μία τέτοια πληθυσμιακή σύνθεση δημιουργεί ερωτηματικά για την ταυτότητα των πληροφορητών των χφ. Σε άλλες περιπτώσεις (πχ. στο Κατιρλί) τα χφ. του ΚΕΝΔΙ αποτυπώνουν βόρειο φωνηεντισμό σε μια περιοχή της Βιθυνίας όπου μάλλον αναμένεται νότιος. Το γεγονός αυτό προβληματίζει για το κατά πόσον ο βόρειος φωνηεντισμός που καταγράφεται στα χφ. οφείλεται στην επίδραση του βόρειου φωνηεντισμού στους τόπους εγκατάστασης ή εάν τα χφ. απεικονίζουν πράγματι το φωνηεντισμό του ιδιώματος στη Βιθυνία. Ως εκ τούτου, για τους προαναφερθέντες λόγους, το υλικό που μελετάται δημιουργεί επιστημονική ανασφάλεια.

Ας σημειωθεί εξάλλου ότι οι συλλογές των χειρογράφων που μελετήθηκαν διασώζουν κυρίως τα έντονα φωνητικά φαινόμενα των ιδιωμάτων και λεξιλόγιο, ενώ τα στοιχεία που αφορούν τη μορφολογία και τη σύνταξη άλλοτε είναι αντιπροσωπευτικά και άλλοτε όχι.

Πέρα από το υλικό του ΚΕΝΔΙ ιδιαίτερη αξία για τη μελέτη των ιδιωμάτων της Βιθυνίας, και κυρίως για την περιοχή της Προύσας, έχουν οι διδακτορικές διατριβές, των Δαγκίτση (1943) για το Ντεμίντεσι, Δεληγιάννη (2002) για τα Κουβούκλια και Παπαδοπούλου (2010) για την Τρίγλια, οι οποίες αποτελούν τις μοναδικές ολοκληρωμένες γλωσσικές μελέτες για την περιοχή. Σημαντική συμβολή στην έρευνα των ιδιωμάτων της περιοχής αποτελούν και οι πρόσφατες μελέτες της ερευνήτριας του ΚΕΝΔΙ Μ. Κωνσταντινίδου (2005, 2005^β, 2008, 2009) ενώ στοιχεία για τα ιδιώματα των Πιστικοχωρίων καταγράφονται από τον Α. Μπουσμπούκη (2003). Οι υπόλοιπες αναφορές των ιδιωμάτων της Βιθυνίας, σε άρθρα ή βιβλία ποικίλου περιεχομένου, παρέχουν αποσπασματικά στοιχεία για τη γλωσσική κατάσταση της περιοχής.

Με βάση τα παραπάνω από το υλικό του Αρχείου του ΚΕΝΔΙ επιλέχθηκαν χφ. από τα οποία με σχετική ασφάλεια μπορούμε να αντλήσουμε πληροφορίες για το φωνηεντισμό των οικισμών της περιοχής. Κριτήρια για την επιλογή αποτέλεσαν η παλαιότητα, η ποσότητα του υλικού, ο αριθμός των χφ. για τον ίδιο οικισμό και η δυνατότητα διασταύρωσης του υλικού με πληροφορίες από τη βιβλιογραφία ή από δημοσιευμένο υλικό άλλων πηγών.

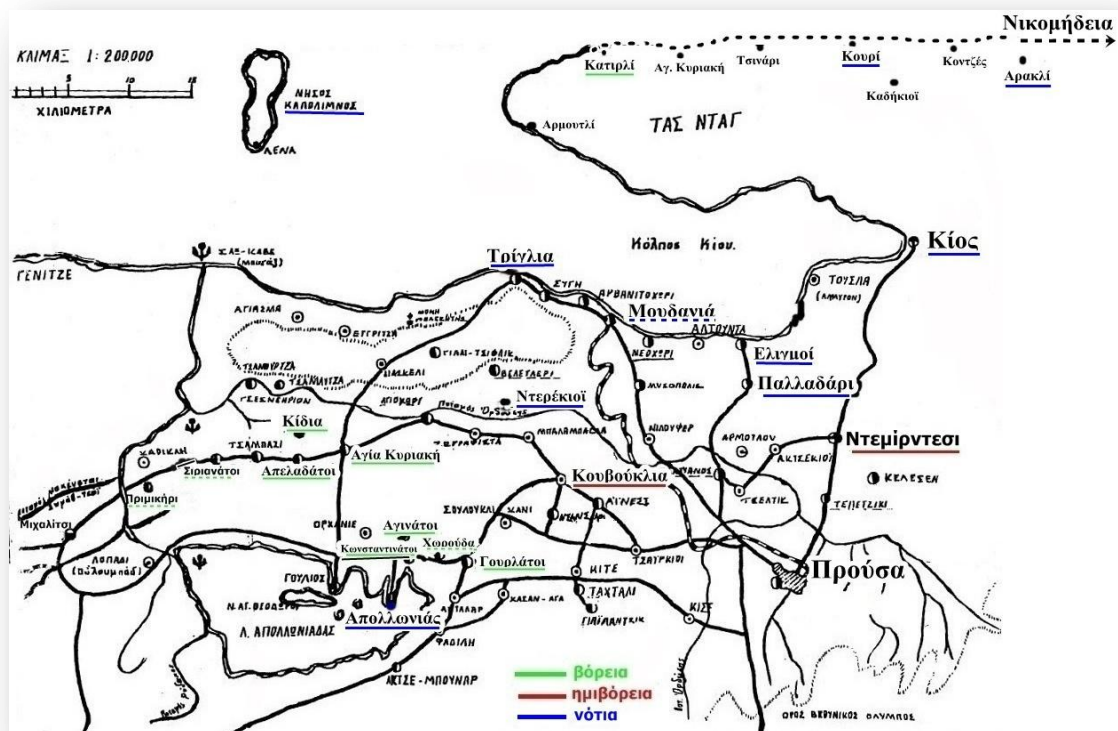
Έτσι, όπως φαίνεται και στον πίνακα που ακολουθεί, οι απαραίτητες επιστημονικές πληροφορίες συγκεντρώθηκαν κυρίως για την περιοχή της Προύσας μέχρι τα παράλια καθώς επίσης και για την περιοχή Απολλωνιάδας-Πιστικοχωρίων, ενώ για τρεις από τους οικισμούς της Νικομήδειας συγκεντρώθηκαν απλώς επαρκή στοιχεία.

Οικισμός	Περιοχή	Υλικό	Φωνηεντισμός
Κίος	Προύσας	χφ. 725 ^α / 1958	N
Τρίγλια	Προύσας	χφ. 725β/1958, Διδακτορική Διατριβή Παπαδοπούλου	N
Παλλαδάρι	Προύσας	χφ. 1065/1975	N
Μουδανιά	Προύσας	χφ. 725 ^α / 1958, χφ. 1166/1979	N*
Ελιγμοί	Προύσας	χφ. 518/ 1933, χφ. 725 ^α /1958	N
Ντερέκιοϊ	Προύσας	χφ. 1468/2003	N
Κουβούκλια	Προύσας	1078/1976, Διδακτορική Διατριβή Δεληγιάννη	H
Ντεμίρντεσι	Προύσας	XK 424/1890, χφ. 689/1965, Διδακτορική Διατριβή Δαγκίτση	H
Απολλωνιάδα	Απολλωνιάδας	χφ. 753/1959 και βιβλιογραφία	N
Πιστικοχώρια	Απολλωνιάδας	χφ. 1107/1976: Αγία Κυριακή, χφ. 1140/1978: Μπάσκιοϊ, χφ. 1141/1978: Αγινάτοι, Κωνσταντινάτοι, χφ. 1323/1992: Κίδια	B
Καλόλμνος		χφ. 725 ^α / 1958	N
Κουρί	Νικομήδειας	XK 412/1894, XK415/1890, χφ. 725 ^α / 1958	N
Αρακλί	Νικομήδειας	χφ. 921/1970, χφ. 1137/1977	N
Κατιρλί	Νικομήδειας	XK 410 /1888, XK 412/1894, XK 414/1889, XK 415/1890, XK 424/ 1890, χφ. 1111/1976, χφ. 1196/1980	B
Αρβανιτοχώρι	Νικομήδειας	XK 412/1894, XK415/1890, XK 416/1890	-
Αρμουτλί	Νικομήδειας	XK 412/1894, XK415/1890, XK/416/ 1890, XK 424/1890	-
Κοντζές	Νικομήδειας	XK 412/1894, XK 416/ 1890	-
Αγία Κυριακή	Νικομήδειας	XK 412/1894, XK 416/ 1890	-
Τσινάρι	Νικομήδειας	XK 412/1894, XK 416/ 1890	-

* Για τα Μουδανιά, σημειώνω την αντίφαση των χφ.

3. Γλωσσογεωγραφία της Βιθυνίας

Η γλωσσογεωγραφία της Βιθυνίας χαρακτηρίζεται από την ανομοιογένεια των ιδιωμάτων ως προς το φωνηεντισμό, διότι στην περιοχή απαντούν νοτίου, ημιβορείου και βορείου τύπου ιδιώματα.



Με βάση το υλικό που μελετήθηκε και όπως φαίνεται στο χάρτη, στην περιοχή της Βιθυνίας σε γενικές γραμμές διακρίνονται τρεις περιοχές φωνηεντισμού: παράλια (Τρίγλια, Μουδανιά, Κίος, Παλλιαδάρι, Ελιγμοί, Αρακλί, Κουρί, νησί Καλόλιμνος / όπου απαντούν νοτίου τύπου ιδιώματα), ενδοχώρα (Κουβούκλια, Ντεμίρντεσι / χαρακτηριστικά των ημιβορείων), με νησίδα νότιου το Ντερέκιοι που βρίσκεται μεταξύ των δύο περιοχών, ενώ στην ορεινή και γεωγραφικά απομονωμένη περιοχή των Πιστικοχωρίων απαντούν βόρειου τύπου ιδιώματα, με εξαίρεση την Απολλωνιάδα που αποτελεί νησίδα νότιου φωνηεντισμού.

Σε κάποιες περιπτώσεις η ρευστότητα των φαινομένων σε συνδυασμό με τα προβλήματα που προαναφέρθηκαν δημιουργεί επιφυλάξεις ως προς την παραπάνω κατάταξη των ιδιωμάτων της Βιθυνίας. Όπως επισημαίνει χαρακτηριστικά η Κωνσταντινίδου (2008: 302, υποσημ. 75): «*Τα ιδιώματα της Βιθυνίας... με εξαίρεση την ιδιάζουσα περίπτωση των Πιστικοχωρίων, δεν παρουσιάζουν κανονικά την τροπή του άτονου ο > ου, όπως συμβαίνει με τα βόρεια ιδιώματα της Νέας Ελληνικής. Αντίθετα, τα περισσότερα έχουν κυρίαρχο νοτιοελλαδικό φωνηεντισμό, αν και ορισμένα (Κίος, Προύσα, Ντεμίρντεσι, Κουβούκλια) εμφανίζουν, άλλοτε σποραδικά και άλλοτε με μεγαλύτερη συχνότητα, το δεύτερο από τα δύο χαρακτηριστικά των σύγχρονων βορειοελλαδικών ιδιωμάτων, δηλ. την αποβολή των άτονων /i/ και /u/, στοιχείο το οποίο τα συνδέει με τα ημιβόρεια ιδιώματα της ΝΕ, και εγείρει ερωτηματικά σχετικά με την ένταξή τους στα νότια ιδιώματα*». Παρ' όλες τις δυσκολίες, αντιθέσεις και αντιφάσεις, οφείλουμε έναν πρώτο επιστημονικό προσδιορισμό με βάση το υλικό που μέχρι στιγμής έχουμε στη διάθεσή μας.

Η πολυμορφία των ιδιωμάτων της περιοχής στις περιορισμένες βιβλιογραφικές αναφορές που εντοπίστηκαν είτε στις γενικές μελέτες για τα μικρασιατικά ιδιώματα όπως του Dawkins¹ είτε στις ειδικότερες για ιδιώματα της Βιθυνίας, όπως του Δαγκίτση², συχνά αποδόθηκε στην ποικίλη

¹Ο Dawkins (1916), παραθέτει αποσπασματικές αναφορές για κάποια ιδιώματα της Βιθυνίας με βάση γλωσσικό υλικό που είχε συλλέξει από τα χωριά Αρακλειά, Ντεμίρντεσι, Απολλωνιάδα και τους Βουλγαράτους των Πιστικοχωρίων. Όπως αναφέρει στα συμπεράσματα του (1916: 192), εξαιρεί από την έρευνά του τα ιδιώματα της Βιθυνίας καθώς θεωρεί ότι κατά κύριο λόγο οι πληθυσμοί της περιοχής αυτής είχαν μεταφερθεί εκεί από την ευρωπαϊκή πλευρά του Βόσπορου. Βλ. σχετικά και Τριανταφυλλίδης (1938: 273-76).

²Danguitsis (1943: 24-5): «*Έτσι όπως μιλήθηκε από τους πρώτους εποίκους που ήρθαν από τα Άγραφα της Ηπείρου η διάλεκτος αυτή φαίνεται να ανήκει στα βόρεια ... Ωστόσο δεν υπάρχει καμία μαρτυρία του e > i και του ο > u στη διάλεκτο του Ντεμίρντεσι. Μπορούμε να υποθέσουμε ότι είτε αυτό το φαινόμενο της τροπής είναι μεταγενέστερο της αποχώρησης των κατοίκων από τα Άγραφα είτε ότι ήταν ακριβώς στην εκκίνησή του και χάθηκε καθώς εξελίχθηκε σε διάλεκτο. Αντιθέτως, βρίσκουμε τη χρήση του θελά / θαλά για τη διαμόρφωση της υποθετικοδυνητικής έγκλισης*

προέλευση των πληθυσμών που κατά καιρούς εποίκισαν τη Βιθυνία. Ας σημειωθεί ότι ανάλογες απόψεις διατυπώνονται στη βιβλιογραφία και για τα ιδιώματα της Αν. Θράκης από μελετητές όπως ο Ψάλτης³ για το ιδίωμα των Σαράντα Εκκλησιών αλλά και σε άλλες περιπτώσεις, προκειμένου να ερμηνευθούν κοινά φαινόμενα που φαίνεται να συνδέουν τα ιδιώματα γεωγραφικά απομακρυσμένων περιοχών.

Η ερμηνεία της ανομοιογένειας των ιδιωμάτων ως αποτέλεσμα των εποικισμών βασίστηκε εν πολλοίς και στις προφορικές παραδόσεις των κατοίκων οι οποίοι συχνά συνέδεαν την προέλευσή τους με κάποια περιοχή της κυρίως Ελλάδας. Χαρακτηριστική περίπτωση είναι αυτή των Πιστικοχωριών, που αποτελούν μία συμπαγή και ξεχωριστή ομάδα οικισμών στη Βιθυνία, όπου όμως ο βόρειος φωνηεντισμός της περιοχής έρχεται σε αντίθεση με τον νότιο φωνηεντισμό της Μάνης (βλ. Μπουσμπούκης 2001: 363), από την οποία οι κάτοικοι, καθώς και μελετητές (Κλεώνυμος-Παπαδόπουλος 1867: 97-8, Καλπακίδης 1987: 14-17) της περιοχής, θεωρούν ότι έλκουν την καταγωγή τους⁴.

Η περιοχή της Βιθυνίας και ιδιαίτερα η παραλιακή ζώνη κατά καιρούς προσέλκυσε πληθυσμούς από πολλές και διαφορετικές περιοχές και ιδιαίτερα τα νησιά του βορείου Αιγαίου, τη Θράκη, τη Μακεδονία αλλά και τον Πόντο. Ωστόσο όπως διαπιστώθηκε παρ' όλες τις κατά καιρούς μετακινήσεις πληθυσμών από και προς τη Βιθυνία, δεν υπάρχει ιστορικά μαρτυρημένος εποικισμός μεγάλων συμπαγών πληθυσμών, ικανών να επηρεάσουν την εξέλιξη των ιδιωμάτων της περιοχής, ώστε να αποδίδεται η γλωσσική πολυμορφία της στις δημογραφικές μεταβολές. Από τη μελέτη των ιστορικών στοιχείων και των δημογραφικών ανακατατάξεων της Βιθυνίας, προέκυψε ότι η περιοχή κατοικήθηκε από τους αρχαίους χρόνους, ενώ η ύπαρξη γηγενούς πληθυσμού με ιστορική συνέχεια από τους μεσαιωνικούς χρόνους μέχρι τον 20^ο αι. καταγράφεται στις σχετικές μελέτες για την περιοχή⁵. Οι περισσότεροι από τους ερευνητές συμφωνούν πως, τουλάχιστον κατά τη βυζαντινή περίοδο, υπήρχε ήδη ή άρχισε να διαμορφώνεται εκεί το πληθυσμιακό υπόστρωμα των κοινοτήτων της περιοχής, άρα η διερεύνηση της γλωσσικής της εξέλιξης θα πρέπει να έχει ως αφετηρία ένα γλωσσικό υπόστρωμα διαμορφωμένο ήδη από την εποχή αυτή. Χαρακτηριστική είναι η επισήμανση σε χάρτη από τον

που απαντά στη Ήπειρο. Ωστόσο, παρά την ηπειρώτικη καταγωγή του το ιδίωμα του Ντεμίρντεσι δεν ανήκει στα βόρεια νεοελληνικά ιδιώματα γιατί δεν απαντά σ' αυτό παρά μόνο η αποβολή του άτονου i ανάμεσα σε σύμφωνα...» πβ. και Δελγιγιάννης (2002: 38 κ.εξ.), όπου αναπτύσσει τον προβληματισμό του για το θέμα εξετάζοντας το ιδίωμα των Κουβουκλίων.

³ Ψάλτης (1905: 15): «... τα ολίγα τινά δεν δύνανται να μας οδηγήσιν εις τον ασφαλή καθορισμόν του μέρους, όθεν μετέβην εις την νυν πατρίδα εν τούτοις είναι ικανά να δηλώσασιν ότι πάντως ήλθομεν εκ τινος των μεσημβρινών μερών, διότι άλλως δεν εξηγείται η ύπαρξις τοιαύτης ομοιότητος μεταξύ ημών τε και των κατοίκων των μεσημβρινών της Ελλάδος μερών...». Τον αντίλογο στην παραπάνω θέση διατυπώνει ο Ανδριώτης (1943-44: 143) αναφερόμενος στις παραδόσεις καταγωγής των Θρακών από άλλες περιοχές της Ελλάδας: «από προσωπική μου πείρα γνωρίζω ότι τέτοιες παραδόσεις των κατοίκων ενός τόπου για την καταγωγή τους κάποτε έχουν κάποια βάση, συχνότερα όμως αληθεύουν για ορισμένες μόνο οικογένειες που ήρθαν απ' αλλού κι ανακατεύτηκαν με τον παλαιότερο ντόπιο πληθυσμό, και όχι σπάνια προέρχονται από παρανοήσεις και δεν είναι αληθινές. Ο ελληνισμός της Θράκης, εκτός από ενδεχόμενες αλλά άγνωστες περιπτώσεις μετακινήσεων και μεταναστεύσεων περιορισμένης σημασίας, είναι απόγονος του βυζαντινού ελληνισμού της Θράκης, ό,τι απόμεινε από τους εκτουρκισμούς και, αόφτου επάτησαν το πόδι τους οι Τούρκοι στη Θράκη, και από εκβουλγαρισμούς, αόφτου η βόρεια Θράκη παραχωρήθηκε στο βουλγαρικό κράτος».

⁴ Ας σημειωθεί ότι σύμφωνα με την άποψη του Κατζαφέρη (1989: 29-30) οι Πιστικοχωρήτες προέρχονται από τη Θεσσαλία και το Ρουμλούκι Κατερίνης.

⁵ Η Σ. Αναγνωστοπούλου (1997: 211) αναφέρει χαρακτηριστικά: «... η γεωγραφική θέση του βορείου τμήματος των παραλίων, θέση που του επιτρέπει την επαφή με πολλές και διαφορετικές περιοχές –τα παράλια του έχουν συνεχή επαφή με τα νησιά του βορείου Αιγαίου, ενώ το υπόλοιπο επικοινωνεί με τη Θράκη και τη Μακεδονία αλλά και τον Πόντο όπως και με το εσωτερικό της Μικράς Ασίας- δημιουργεί τις προϋποθέσεις για την προσέλκυση πληθυσμών από πολλές και διαφορετικές περιοχές. Αν σε τούτο προσθέσουμε και τις ποικίλες οικονομικές δυνατότητες που προσφέρει η περιοχή λόγω των τεράστιων γεωγραφικών εναλλαγών, ... θα απορροφήσει έναν εξίσου σημαντικό αριθμό μεταναστών, οι οποίοι, αναλόγως της περιοχής που προέρχονται και των επαγγελμάτων που είναι μαθημένοι να εξασκούν, επιλέγουν τον τόπο εγκατάστασής τους: οι προερχόμενοι από τα νησιά, έμποροι και γεωργοί θα εγκατασταθούν στα παράλια και τις εύφορες περιοχές, τους μετανάστες από τον Πόντο θα τους προσελκύσουν οι περιοχές των μεταλλείων, ενώ οι προερχόμενοι από τη Θράκη θα εγκατασταθούν στις περιοχές σηροτροφίας και επεξεργασίας μεταξίου. Όμως η περιοχή παρουσιάζει, ως προς το ρωμείο πληθυσμό της πάντα, και από μian άλλη άποψη ενδιαφέρον...: μπορούμε με απόλυτη σχεδόν βεβαιότητα να αποκαταστήσουμε κάποιες από τις περιοχές όπου ο ορθόδοξος χριστιανικός πληθυσμός επιδεικνύει μεγάλη συνέχεια ύπαρξης, από τους πρώτους οθωμανικούς χρόνους, αν όχι από τους βυζαντινούς μέχρι τον 20^ο αι. χάρη στις μελέτες σημαντικών ερευνητών που αναφέρονται στους 15^ο και 16^ο αιώνες, σε συνδυασμό με τα στοιχεία που μας δίνονται από τις πηγές του 19^{ου} αιώνα, όπου γίνονται εκτενείς αναφορές και στην περίοδο μεταξύ 16^{ου} και 19^{ου} αιώνα, μπορούμε με αρκετή ασφάλεια να εντοπίσουμε τις περιοχές αυτές». Βλ. σχετικά και Παπαδοπούλου (2010: 25-31).

Dawkins (1916) των περιοχών Προύσας, Κίου και Νικομήδειας ως σημεία της Μικράς Ασίας, όπου (μαζί με Πόντο και την Καππαδοκία) μιλιόταν αδιάλειπτα η ελληνική γλώσσα.

Όπως φαίνεται τα ιδιώματα της Βιθυνίας ανήκουν στην ευρύτερη κατηγορία των περιφερειακών ιδιωμάτων, με την ιδιαιτερότητα ότι διαμορφώθηκαν και εξελίχθηκαν σε έναν χώρο γεωγραφικά και ιστοριοπολιτικά ανοιχτό και υπό την έντονη επίδραση της Πόλης. Επιπλέον, σημαντική για την έρευνα είναι η ένταξη των ιδιωμάτων αυτών σε μια γενικότερη ομάδα, αυτή της *Θρακοβιθυνικής Οικογένειας*, όπως ορίστηκε από τον Δεληγιάννη (2002: 41) με βάση την οικονομικοπολιτιστική ενότητα που ανέπτυξε ο ελληνικός πληθυσμός της περιοχής αυτής (Προποντίδα, Αν. Θράκη, Βιθυνία, Δαρδανέλια, Κωνσταντινούπολη) από τους βυζαντινούς χρόνους μέχρι τη Μικρασιατική Καταστροφή. Ο Δαγκίτσης (1943: 25), διευρύνοντας τα όρια, κατατάσσει το ιδίωμα του Ντεμίρντεσι στην ομάδα ιδιωμάτων των δυτικών παραλίων της Μικράς Ασίας και των νησιών του Αρχιπελάγους, με κοινό πνευματικό κέντρο την Κωνσταντινούπολη και ως κύρια γλώσσα την γλώσσα της. Η γεωγραφική γειννίαση με την Πόλη και το «αστικού» τύπου περιβάλλον πιθανότατα έπαιξε σημαντικό ρόλο στην περιοχή και ιδιαίτερα στην παραλιακή ζώνη, όπου ο νότιος φωνηεντισμός είναι πιο σαφής.

Σε μια απόπειρα παράλληλης διερεύνησης της σχέσης των δύο περιοχών (Αν. Θράκης και Βιθυνίας), με βάση τις απόψεις που διατύπωσε για τα ιδιώματα της Θράκης ο Ανδριώτης (1943-44: 145), εύκολα διακρίνει κανείς τους ανάλογους προβληματισμούς τόσο για την ποικιλία του φωνηεντισμού όσο και για την κατανομή και την δυσκολία κατάταξης των ιδιωμάτων: «Από γλωσσογεωγραφική άποψη τα βόρεια ιδιώματα της Θράκης παρουσιάζουν απέναντι στα ημιβόρεια μια γεωγραφική ενότητα συμπαγή. Εξαίρεση κάνει το ιδίωμα του Ακαλάν, που, αν και βόρειο, βρίσκεται απομονωμένο πολύ ανατολικότερα, ανάμεσα σε ιδιώματα ημιβόρεια της περιοχής των Μετρών. Δεν αποκλείεται, μελλοντικές έρευνες να παρουσιάσουν κι άλλες τέτοιες εξαιρέσεις βορείων ή ημιβορείων ιδιωμάτων απομονωμένων έξω από τα σύνορα της ομάδας τους. Αυτό το θεωρώ πιθανό και για τα μεταβατικά σημεία των βορείων ιδιωμάτων προς τα ημιβόρεια, αλλά πολύ πιθανότερο για τα ημιβόρεια ιδιώματα προς την κατεύθυνση των νοτίων της περιοχής της Πόλης, γιατί, όπως ετόνισα, το χαρακτηριστικό των ημιβορείων ιδιωμάτων, δηλ. η αποβολή των άτονων *i* και *u*, δεν παρουσιάζεται παντού με την ίδια συνέπεια, και έτσι δημιουργούνται ημιβόρεια ιδιώματα που αποτελούν μεταβατικούς σταθμούς προς τα νότια, κι άλλα πάλι όπου τόσο αραιά και σποραδική είναι η αποβολή, ώστε δεν μπορεί κανείς ν' αποφασίσει αν πρέπει να τα κατατάξει στα ημιβόρεια ή στα νότια...»

Οι δύο περιοχές, Βιθυνία και Αν. Θράκη, φαίνεται να μοιράζονται από κοινού γλωσσικά φαινόμενα και γλωσσικούς προβληματισμούς. Η ανακοίνωση αυτή περιορίστηκε στην κατανομή των ιδιωμάτων με βάση το φωνηεντισμό. Όπως προκύπτει από μελέτες για την περιοχή (βλ. Kahane 1948: 212-25, Δεληγιάννης 2002: 38-43, Παπαδοπούλου 2010: 260-66) η *Θρακοβιθυνική Οικογένεια* ως γλωσσολογικός ορισμός εμπεδώνεται εάν επεκταθούμε και στα άλλα επίπεδα γλωσσικής ανάλυσης όπου εντοπίστηκαν κάποια χαρακτηριστικά φαινόμενα (πχ. το επίθημα της προστακτ. -ησε, το υποκορ. -οπλο, ιδιωματικές λέξεις που φαίνεται να απαντούν μόνον στις δύο περιοχές κ.λπ.), τα οποία συνδέουν τα ιδιώματα της Βιθυνίας και της Αν. Θράκης, γεγονός που αποτυπώνει και γλωσσικά την οικονομικοπολιτιστική ενότητα που ανέπτυξε ο ελληνικός πληθυσμός των δύο περιοχών από τους βυζαντινούς χρόνους μέχρι το 1922. Η παράλληλη έρευνα των ιδιωμάτων των δύο περιοχών θα ήταν πολύ χρήσιμη για τη συλλογή περισσότερων στοιχείων προς την κατεύθυνση αυτή.

Η ιδιαιτερότητα του μικρασιατικού χώρου ως προς τη δυσκολία ανεύρεσης γλωσσικού υλικού, καθιστά κάθε στοιχείο και διαλεκτικό υλικό που παρέχεται, χρήσιμο για την έρευνα. Γι αυτό, είναι ευπρόσδεκτες νέες έρευνες και πληροφορίες που θα επιβεβαιώσουν, θα συμπληρώσουν ή ακόμα και θα ανατρέψουν τα αποτελέσματα της παρούσας μελέτης.

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ΠΑΡΩΝΥΜΕΣ ΛΕΞΕΙΣ. ΣΥΝΩΝΥΜΙΕΣ ΚΑΙ ΠΑΡΕΤΥΜΟΛΟΓΗΣΕΙΣ ΤΟ ΠΑΡΑΔΕΙΓΜΑ ΤΟΥ ΣΚΑΠΕΤΩ ΕΝΑΝΤΙ ΤΟΥ ΣΚΑΠΙΑΖΩ ΚΑΙ ΣΚΑΠΟΥΛΑΡΩ

Χρήστος Α. Παπαρίζος
Σύμβουλος ε.τ.,
του Παιδαγωγικού Ινστιτούτου
hristos.paparizos@gmail.com

ABSTRACT

While looking for words of latin origin in the local dialect of the Grammos area in Greece, we came across, among others, two vulgar modern greek verbs: the widely used σκαπουλάρω (skapuláro) and the verb σκαπιάζω (skapiázo) which is used in the cypriot dialect, both of them morphologically, phonetically and semantically connected with σκαπιτώ (skapitó), which is the verb of the research. In the following, the etymological and semantic autonomy of σκαπιτώ is attempted, as well as the understanding of the semantic connection and the possible interactions of the aforementioned verbs.

Λέξεις κλειδιά: paronyms, synonyms, folk etymology, dialects, dialect geography, Latinitas Balcanicum

1. Το λαϊκό ρήμα σκαπιτώ στα ιδιώματα του Γράμμου

Πρόκειται για ένα από τα πλέον συχνόχρηστα ρήματα των ελληνικών ιδιωμάτων και της βλάχικης, το οποίο καλύπτει γεωγραφικά ολόκληρο σχεδόν τον ελλαδικό χώρο.

Στη συνέχεια παρουσιάζουμε μια ιστορική-γεωγραφική του εικόνα: το αντιπαραβάλλουμε τόσο μορφολογικά και φωνητικά όσο και σημασιολογικά με δύο ρήματα της νεοελληνικής, το πανελλήνιο και λαϊκό σκαπουλάρω και το σκαπιάζω της κυπριακής διαλέκτου –με τα οποία συγχέεται σε πολλές περιπτώσεις, προκειμένου να φανεί η ξεχωριστή ετυμολογική αρχή του καθενός, οι υποτιθέμενες αλληλεπιδράσεις, καθώς και οι συνακόλουθες συνωνυμίες και μετασημασιολογήσεις. Παράλληλα, με σημεία αναφοράς ορισμένες αρχές της γλωσσικογεωγραφίας, οι οποίες φαίνεται ότι ισχύουν στην προκειμένη περίπτωση, επιχειρούμε να ερμηνεύσουμε τις διαπιστώσεις στο μέτρο του ασφαλούς. Όπως αναφέρεται πιο πάνω, ο εντοπισμός του «προβλήματος» έγινε στο πλαίσιο έρευνας που διεξάγουμε με αντικείμενο τον εντοπισμό λατινογενών λέξεων στα γλωσσικά ιδιώματα του Γράμμου.

1.1 Μορφή και σημασίες

Στα ιδιώματα του Γράμμου εμφανίζεται με τη μορφή σκαπιτάου, -τώ, για τους χρήστες του Βορείου ιδιώματος που δεσπόζει στην περιοχή, και σκαπετώ για τους χρήστες του Ημιβορείου και Νοτίου ιδιώματος της ίδιας περιοχής:

Σκαπιτάου, -τώ {[ska-pi-táu] αόρ. σκαπέτσα [ska-pé-tsa]}:

1α. αμετάβ. "περνώ την κορυφογραμμή και χάνομαι στον ορίζοντα": του λύκου¹ τον ουρμίνιβαν κι αυτός ί/ιγι: τα πρόβατα σκαπέτσαν, παροιμ. για ισχυρογνώμονα· β. για ουράνια σώματα "δύω": σκαπέτσι ου ήλιους για τ'μάς "ο ήλιος βασίλεψε για μάς· είναι πια αργά", παροιμ, Τσίγκαλ. I 190, 183·
2. μετὰβ. / αμετάβ. "καταπίνω κάτι": μι πουνάει ου λμός κι δε "μπουρώ² να σκαπιτίσου Ρίζοπ.· Μάνος 52· γενικά, "περνά από το άλλο μέρος, ράχης, βράχου, ορίζοντα, ποταμιού".

¹ } : ουρανική προφορά του λ.

² Το μ ως εκθέτης: "μπουρώ [mburó], "μπ [mb], για άρθρωση του προένρινου [b].

Αντίθετο: *ξιμιντανίζου* "ερχόμενος ξεπροβάλλω στην κορυφή πρανούς" (< ξε- + τουρκ. *meydan* "προσκήνιο, ξέφωτο, πλατεία" + παραγ. τέρμα -ίζου).

1.2 Ελάχιστη ενδεικτική γεωγραφική εξάπλωση

Γέρμας Καστοριάς, Βόιο, Γρεβενά, Γιάννενα, Έβρος, Τρίκαλα *σκαπιτάου*, -ώ ~ Θεσπρωτία, Πυρσόγιαννη, Μεσσηνία *σκαπετώ* ~ Κρήτη *σκαπετέρνω* "περνά ύψωμα και εξαφανίζομαι", συνών. *ξεσκαπουλάρω*, *σκαπουλίζω*. Αρκαδία *σκαπετάω* "χάνομαι στον ορίζοντα· διαφεύγω". Κοζάνη *σκαπιτώ* "το σκάω· κρύβομαι". Όλυμπος *σκαπιτώ* "φεύγω, χάνομαι, δραπετεύω, το σκάω". Πήλιο, Σέρρες *σκαπιτίζου* "δραπετεύω". Σάμος *σκαπιτίζου* "διαφεύγω, ξεφεύγω", συνών. *σκαπλάρου*. Αιτωλία: *σκαπετάω* "φεύγω γρήγορα, διαφεύγω". Ήπειρος *σκαπιτάου* "πετάω κάτι· εξαφανίζομαι πίσω από τον λόφο". κοινή ν.ε. και νότια ιδιώματα *σκαπετώ* "εξαφανίζομαι στο ορίζοντα· διαφεύγω, γλιτώνω". βλάχ. *skáritu* "δύω· εξαφανίζομαι στον ορίζοντα· καταπίνω". λαϊκ. ρουμ. *scăpăta* "δύω, βασιλεύω· ξεπέφτω, φτωχαίνω". ιταλ. *scápito*, απρφ. *scapitare*, "χάνω, υστερώ, υπολείπομαι, ζημιώνω οικονομικά ή ηθικά". αλβαν. *shkupetónj*, *kapetónj*, *kapërcëj* "(πηδώντας) υπερβαίνω εμπόδιο, ξεπερνάω". Δεν εντοπίσαμε τη λέξη στις ανατολικές διαλέκτους Κύπρου και Πόντου.

Ετυμολογικό πεδίο

– *σκάπιτον*, του {[skáritu] ους.}: "το αόρατο πίσω μέρος ενός υψώματος· αντιπρανές" Τζώτζη. ΕΕΔ Βόιο *σκάπιτον* ~, Γέρμας, τοπωνύμιο *Σκάπιτον* "όπου υπάρχει καμπή εδάφους". Γρεβενά *σκάπιτους*, ου ~ και, μεταφορικά, *κατάποση*. Όλυμπος *σκάπιτον* "φυγή". Αρκαδία *σκάπετο* ~. Αιτωλία *σκαπέτι*, το "τρέξιμο". Ε < *σκαπιτώ*, ό.π.

– Βιβλιογραφία και Πηγές. Γέρμας: Γεωργίου 212· Βόιο: Παπανικολάου 221· Γρεβενά: Παπαϊωάννου 120· Θεσπρωτία, Πυρσόγιαννη, Γιάννενα: Μπόγκας II 178, 247, I 347 και Αραβαντινός 83· Κρήτη: Ξανθινάκης 594· Κοζάνη: Ντίνας 2005:450· Όλυμπος: Μπασλής 226· Αρκαδία: Μαθές 205· Σέρρες: Πασχαλούδης 237· Σάμος: Δημητρ. VII 433· Πήλιο: Λιάπης 404· Αιτωλία: Κουβέλης 110· βλάχ.: Parahagi 222, 1063· ρουμ.: Dex online λ. *scăpăta*· ιταλ.: Battaglia λ. *scapitare*¹· αλβαν.: G. Meyer 175, Γκίνης 363.

1.3 Ιστορία της λέξης – Ετυμολογία – Υποθέσεις

Οι επικρατέστερες εκδοχές συγκλίνουν στο λατινικό ρ. *capito*, ως ετυμολογική αρχή:

ΕΤΥΜ α1. < βλάχ. *skáritu* < μεσν. λατ. *cápito* "τερματίζω, είμαι στο όριο, συνορεύω".

α2. < βλάχ. *skáritu* < λατ. **ex-cápito* "ξεπερνάω το σύνορο", σύνθετο: < πρόθημα *ex-* + μεσν. λατ. ρ. *cápito* "τερματίζω, είμαι στο όριο, συνορεύω", με μετασχηματισμό-υπέρθωση του επιθ. *capitalis* "κεφαλικός" < λατ. *caput* "κεφάλι". Parahagi 49, 1063, 222, 1315· πβλ. Νικολαΐδης 480. Du Cange lat., λ. *capitare*¹.

Η ίδια ετυμολόγηση με το *scáritu* προτείνεται και για το αντίστοιχο ρ. *scăpăta* ~ της ρουμανικής. Du Cange lat. λ. *capitare*¹. www.ducange.enc.sorbonne.fr, λ. Meyer-Lübke 1635· Dex online λ. *scăpăta*· πβλ. Parahagi 49, 1063.

Άλλες υποθέσεις

β. < ιταλ. *scápito* "ζημιώνω οικονομικά ή ηθικά" < **ex-cápito*, ό.π. Battaglia λ. *scapitare*¹. Cortelazzo-Zolli λ. *scapitare*³. Dex online λ. *scăpăta*. Σύγκρινε Meyer-Lübke 2651 και Pianigiani λ. *scapitare*· πβλ. προβηγικανό *descaptar*.

γ. < αρχ. *σκάπετος* "τάφρος" < *σκάπτω*. Βλ. και Λιάπης 404· Chantraine 1011.

Η δεύτερη (β) πρόταση ετυμολόγησης, παρατίθεται ως υπόθεση εργασίας, εφόσον η πρώτη (α) φαίνεται περισσότερο πιθανή, τουλάχιστο για το εξεταζόμενο Ιδίωμα. Ο ιδιοματικός τύπος συμφωνεί με εκείνον της βλάχικης μορφολογικά και σημασιολογικά σε όλο το εύρος των σημασιών του, χωρίς εμφανή σημασιολογική σχέση με τον αντίστοιχο *scápito* της ιταλικής, ο οποίος μαρτυρείται με την ίδια σημασία "ζημιώνω" από τον 13^ο αι. (Cortelazzo-Zolli ό.π.). Σημειώνεται ότι, ενώ ο Parahagi 41, ένας από τους εισηγητές της (α) υπόθεσης υποστηρίζει πως οι ιταλικές λέξεις εισήλθαν στη βλάχικη, κατά κανόνα, μέσω της ελληνικής, στην προκειμένη περίπτωση θεωρεί το *σκαπιτώ* δάνειο της ελληνικής από τη βλάχικη και, περαιτέρω, από τη λατινική, χωρίς αναφορά σε μεσολάβηση της ιταλικής. Η παρουσία του τύπου με τις σημασίες "εξαφανίζομαι στον ορίζοντα· δύω" στα ελληνικά, στα βλάχικα και στα ρουμανικά θα μπορούσε, ίσως, να αιτιολογήσει την υπόθεση ότι το *σκαπιτώ* ως μορφή και σημασία ανάγεται στη μεσαιωνική *βαλκανική λατινική* (*Latinun Balcanicum*)· πβλ. Ντίνας 2006: 225.

Για ό,τι αφορά την (γ) υπόθεση, ο τύπος *skáritu* θα μπορούσε να καταταγεί στο λεξιλόγιο εκείνο της μεσαιωνικής λατινικής, στο οποίο περιλαμβάνονται λέξεις με ρίζες μη λατινικές, προερχόμενες από γλώσσες κατακτημένων λαών, εάν αποδειχτεί ότι ανήκει στο ελληνικό γλωσσικό υπόστρωμα της βλάχικης· όπως δηλαδή οι ομηρικές *τάτας*, *τέτα* και άλλες λέξεις που είναι κοινές σε ελληνικά ιδιώματα, στη βλάχικη και στην ευρύτερη μεσαιωνική λατινική· βλ. Meyer-Lübke 1890: 19· πβλ. Μπουσμπούκης 183.

Ακόμη, θα μπορούσε να διατυπωθεί η υπόθεση ότι οι διαφορές σημασίας του *σκαπιτώ* από το ιταλικό *scárito* θα μπορούσαν να αναζητηθούν στην απόσταση χώρου και χρόνου που διαφοροποίησε χώρισε τους δύο τύπους, κυρίως σημασιολογικά. Η ιστορία στην προκειμένη περίπτωση μας παρέχει τα εξής δεδομένα:

Τα Βαλκάνια –όπως και η Ιβηρία– αποτελούν «πλευρική» και απομονωμένη περιοχή μέσα στον εκτεταμένο λατινόφωνο χώρο της μεσαιωνικής εποχής, σε αντίθεση προς το λεγόμενο γαλλο-ιταλικό κέντρο. Παράλληλα, οι πιο νέοι τύποι περιόριζαν τους αρχαιότερους στα απόμερα σημεία του λατινόφωνου χώρου. Οι συνθήκες αυτές θα μπορούσαν να αιτιολογήσουν την υπόθεση ότι οι βαλκανικοί τύποι *σκαπιτώ* /*scáritu*, *scáráta* μπορεί να είναι παλαιότεροι, λειτούργησαν σε διαφορετικό γεωγραφικό – κοινωνικό περιβάλλον, αποτύπωσαν με διαφορετικό τρόπο την πραγματικότητα και γι' αυτό είχαν αυτόνομη εξέλιξη. Σύμφωνα με την (α) υπόθεση, από τις τέσσερις, τουλάχιστο, διάφορες σημασίες του μεσαιωνικού *capitare* οι Βαλκάνιοι ομιλητές υιοθέτησαν εκείνη που σχετίζεται με την υπέρβαση του ορίζοντα "πέρασμα υψώματος· δύση". Η υπόθεση αυτή υποστηρίζεται από τον συνδυασμό τριών αντίστοιχων «κανόνων» της γλωσσογεωγραφίας: της «απομονωμένης περιοχής», των «πλευρικών περιοχών» και της «μεταγενέστερης περιοχής»· βλ. Coseriu 59 κ.ε.· Du Cange ό.π.

2. Σκαπιτώ, σκαπουλάρω (ε)σκαπιάζω· αλληλεπίδραση, επικάλυψη σημασιών και μετασημασιολόγηση

Από τη «γεωγραφική εξάπλωση» (ό.π.) μπορεί να παρατηρήσει κανείς μια τάση επέκτασης της σημασίας του *σκαπιτώ* από εκείνη της βλάχικης, των ιδιωμάτων του Γράμμου και των περισσότερων, ίσως, περιοχών του ελλαδικού χώρου, ώστε να καλύπτει και τη σημασία "δραπετεύω", χωρίς, βέβαια, να σχετίζεται με τη σημασία του ιταλικού *scárito*. Σε πολλά ιδιώματα και, κυρίως, στην κοινή ν.ε. τείνει να ταυτιστεί με το ρ. *σκαπουλάρω*, με το οποίο σε πολλές περιοχές συμπίπτει σημασιολογικά και χρησιμοποιείται ως συνώνυμό του. Τέλος, σε πολλές περιοχές αποστασιοποιείται τελείως από τη σημασία "περνάω την κορυφογραμμή και χάνομαι στον ορίζοντα· δύω· καταπίνω".

Παράλληλα, σε ελληνικά λεξικά που επιχειρήσαν μέχρι σήμερα ετυμολόγηση της λ. *σκαπετώ* παρατηρείται η αναγωγή της στο ιταλικό *scappáre* "ξεφεύγω, δραπετεύω"· σχετ. βλ. λεξικά Δημητράκου, Σταματάκου, Τεγόπουλου-Φυτράκη και Δορμπαράκη. Σύμφωνα με την ιταλική λεξικογραφία, τουλάχιστο, οι ετυμολογικές αρχές των ρ. *scapoláre* και *scappáre* έχουν, αντίστοιχα, ως εξής:

ι. *σκαπουλάρω* "ξεμπλέκω, διαφεύγω κίνδυνο, γλιτώνω" (Λεξικό Κοινής Νεοελλην., Α.Π.Θ. 2114)
ΕΤΥΜ < ιταλ. απαρέμφ. *scapoláre* "ξεμπλέκω· τα καταφέρνω· γλιτώνω" < παρασύνθετο ρ. ομιλ. λατ. **excapuláre* "βγάζω τη θηλιά, ξεμπλέκω, λύνομαι" < αφαιρ. πρόθημα *ex-* "εκτός" + λατ. *capulus* (< ρ. *carpio*) "σχοινί, θηλιά, αγκόνη"· κατ' επέκτ., το **excapuláre* θα σήμαινε "απελευθερώνομαι από σύλληψη ή γλιτώνω από αγκόνη". Cortelazzo-Zolli, λ. *scapoláre*³. Pianigiani λ. *skapoláre*¹.

ιι. (ε)σκαπιάζω. Το ρήμα αυτό της κυπριακής ελληνικής είναι πιθανό δάνειο του ιταλικού *scappáre* (13^{ος} αι.) ή του προβηγκιανού *escapar* "γλιτώνω, σώζομαι, απελευθερώνομαι".

ΕΤΥΜ < παρασύνθετο ρ. ομιλ. λατ. **excapáre* "βγάζω την κάπα (για να φύγω πιο γρήγορα)" < αφαιρ. πρόθημα *ex-* + *cáppa*. Γιαγκουλλής 23, 85· Cortelazzo-Zolli ό.π.

Από το *excapáre* της ομιλούμενης λατινικής προέρχονται επίσης το βλάχικο *ascáru*, το ισπανικό και πορτογαλικό *escapar*, το γαλλικό *échapper*, το αγγλ. *escape* κ.ά.

3. Συμπεράσματα και απόπειρα ερμηνείας

Σύμφωνα με τα παραπάνω, το *σκαπιτώ* δεν έχει ετυμολογική σχέση με τα *σκαπουλάρω* και (ε)σκαπιάζω, ενώ ιστορικά δεν έχει ούτε σημασιολογική. Αντίθετα, ιστορικά σημασιολογική σχέση συνδέει μόνο τα *σκαπουλάρω* και (ε)σκαπιάζω, μεταξύ τους. Τα τρία ρήματα ανάγονται σε διαφορετική ετυμολογική αρχή το καθένα, εφόσον αντιστοιχούν σε τρία διαφορετικά θέματα.

Κατά τα άλλα, εδώ μπορεί να παρατηρήσει κανείς τα εξής: την παρετυμολόγηση του ρήματος *σκαπιτώ* και την ετυμολογική του σύγχυση με τα (ε)*σκαπιάζω* και –τουλάχιστο τη σημασιολογική– με το *σκαπουλάρω*. τη σύγχυση στη χρήση των λατινογενών θεμάτων *σκαπιτ(ώ)* και *σκαπουλ(-άρω)*, μορφολογικά και σημασιολογικά και, παράλληλα, την τάση σημασιολογικής υποκατάστασης του *σκαπιτώ* από το *σκαπουλάρω* στον ελλαδικό χώρο.

Τα γεγονότα αυτά συνδέονται πιθανόν με παράγοντες που επισημαίνει η γλωσσογεωγραφία, όπως με τη λεγόμενη *παθολογία των λέξεων*, με τον πραγματολογικό παράγοντα και με τη *λαϊκή ετυμολογία*.

Γίνεται εδώ λόγος για «παθολογία λέξης», με την έννοια ότι μια λέξη –εδώ το *σκαπιτώ*– χάνει μέρος της αρχικής της αναφορικής σημασίας στο μέτρο που «καλύπτεται» πλέον σημασιολογικά από το *σκαπουλάρω*. Έτσι, θα μπορούσε να γίνει λόγος για μορφή «σημασιολογικής αφομοίωσης» του *σκαπιτώ* από το *σκαπουλάρω*, με δυναμική ολικής αφομοίωσης δυνάμει του γλωσσικού νόμου της οικονομίας· τέλος, για μορφή κατά προσέγγιση συμφυρμού των ίδιων λέξεων, εφόσον αυτές παρουσιάζουν φωνητική ομοιότητα και, με το πέρασμα του χρόνου, σημασιολογική συγγένεια. Είναι ανάγκη, ωστόσο, να διευκρινίσουμε στο σημείο αυτό ότι, αν λάβει κανείς υπόψη του τις σημασίες των λέξεων *σκαπιτώ*, *σκαπουλάρω* και κατά δεύτερο λόγο, του κυπριακού (ε)*σκαπιάζω*, θα παρατηρήσει ότι το μόνο κοινό σημασιολογικό στοιχείο που είχαν εξαρχής οι λέξεις αυτές είναι η γενική, ουδέτερη έννοια του "φεύγω" (πβλ. και Coseriu 51).

Από πραγματολογική άποψη, για να προσεγγίσουμε τον ειδικό τρόπο διαμόρφωσης των σημασιών του *σκαπιτώ* στον βαλκανικό χώρο, αφενός, και την υποτιθέμενη προϊούσα «παθολογία» τους, αφετέρου, θα επικαλεστούμε τη θέση ότι οι σημασίες των λέξεων διαμορφώνονται με βάση τις συγκεκριμένες γλωσσικές πράξεις· πβλ. Coseriu 50 και Parahagi 43, για λέξεις της συγκεκριμένης περιοχής. Το γεγονός, λοιπόν, ότι η λέξη *σκαπιτώ* προσέλαβε και διατήρησε τις σημασίες "περνώ την κορυφογραμμή και χάνομαι στον ορίζοντα", "δύω", "καταπίνω" οφείλεται προφανώς στη γεωφυσική διαμόρφωση του πεδίου δραστηριοτήτων των χρηστών, το οποίο ήταν επί αιώνες τα βουνά, σε συνδυασμό με την κτηνοτροφία, νομαδική και μη, και τις χειρσαίες μεταφορές. Αντίστροφα, η τάση περιορισμού και υποκατάστασης των σημασιών παρουσιάζεται, ίσως, στο μέτρο που χρήση τους συμπίπτει με τη συρίκνωση της υπαίθριας κτηνοτροφικής ζωής, με τη διάδοση της λέξης και σε μη ηπειρωτικές, πεδινές περιοχές, με την αστικοποίηση και με την πάροδο του χρόνου· με άλλους όρους, στο μέτρο που ο τύπος *σκαπιτώ* ως γλωσσικό σημείο χάνει τα αρχικά σημεία αναφοράς του. Συναφής αιτία με την προηγούμενη θα μπορούσε θεωρηθεί το γεγονός της μίμησης ιδιωμάτων μεγαλύτερης περιωπής, όπως η επικράτηση της κοινής ν.ε. με το πρότυπο της γλώσσας των αστικών κέντρων και των μέσων μαζικής επικοινωνίας.

Στη γλωσσογεωγραφική προσέγγιση λαμβάνεται επικουρικά υπόψη και η συμβολή της λαϊκής ετυμολόγησης των λέξεων στη διαμόρφωση της μορφής / σημασίας τους σε μια δεδομένη χρονική στιγμή. Ενώ δηλαδή για τον γλωσσολόγο το *σκαπιτώ* είναι τύπος που προέρχεται από το *scapito*, είναι πιθανό για τον απλό ομιλητή να συνδέεται με το *scapolo* / *σκαπουλάρω* και με τη σημασία "διαφεύγω, γλιτώνω" του *σκαπουλάρω*, μέσω της ουδέτερης, αλλά κοινής έννοιας του "φεύγω"· πβλ. Coseriu 50 κ.ε.

3.1 Σύνοψη

Από τα στοιχεία που εκθέσαμε, η ετυμολογική αρχή του ρήματος *σκαπιτώ* δεν φαίνεται να συμπίπτει με την αρχή κανενός από τα παρώνυμα ή συνώνυμά του. Το ρήμα αυτό έχει επίσης τη δική του διακριτή σημασία, "ξεπερνώ όριο ή εμπόδιο", "δύω", και διαστέλλεται σημασιολογικά προς τα *σκαπουλάρω* και *εσκαπιάζω*, με μια βασική ειδοποιό διαφορά: δεν έχει όπως εκείνα αρνητική σημασία. Ωστόσο, η λεξικογραφία κατά κανόνα το ανάγει ετυμολογικά στο ιταλικό *scappare*, ενώ σε πολλές περιοχές της Ελλάδας του αποδίδεται η σημασία του *σκαπουλάρω*. Η ταύτιση με το τελευταίο του έχει επιφέρει «σημασιολογική στένωση» στο *σκαπιτώ* και, κυρίως, «υποτίμηση»³ εξαιτίας του αρνητικού φορτίου των εννοιών "το σκάω - δραπετεύω" του *σκαπουλάρω*.

Ας σημειωθεί, τέλος, ότι, πέρα από όσα αναφέραμε, το φαινόμενο της σύγχυσης θεμάτων διάφορων γλωσσών, για διαφορετικούς λόγους, είναι σύνθητες σε περιοχές της Βαλκανικής, όπου επί αιώνες έρχονταν σε επαφή άνθρωποι και γλώσσες, όπως η ελληνική, η βλάχικη, οι ιταλικές διάλεκτοι, η αλβανική και η νοτιοσλαβική.

³ Επίσης *επιδείνωση*: έτσι αποδίδει τον αγγλικό όρο *pejoration* ο Γ. Ξυδόπουλος, μεταφραστής του Λεξικού του Ντ. Κρύσταλ 507, 454, 166, ενώ αντίστοιχα οι Μ. Μητσιάκη και Α. Φλιάτουρας στο Α. McMahon 256 χρησιμοποιούν τη λέξη *χειροτέρευση*. Επίσης, στην ελληνική λεξικογραφία χρησιμοποιείται για τον ίδιο όρο η λέξη *δείνωση*.

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Η ΘΕΣΗ ΤΟΥ ΛΕΞΙΛΟΓΙΟΥ ΣΤΟ ΜΑΘΗΜΑ ΤΗΣ ΝΕΟΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΗΣ ΓΛΩΣΣΑΣ ΓΥΜΝΑΣΙΟΥ ΣΗΜΕΡΑ: ΔΙΕΡΕΥΝΗΣΗ ΔΙΔΑΚΤΙΚΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΑΞΙΟΛΟΓΙΚΩΝ ΠΡΑΚΤΙΚΩΝ

Μαρία Παραδιά
Παιδαγωγικό Ινστιτούτο,
Ελλάδα
mparad@pi-schools.gr

Σωτήριος Γκλαβάς
Παιδαγωγικό Ινστιτούτο,
Ελλάδα
sotirisglavas@yahoo.gr

Ναπολέων Σπ. Μήτσης
Πανεπιστήμιο Θεσσαλίας,
Ελλάδα
nmitsis@uth.gr

Δημήτριος Τζιμώκας
Πανεπιστήμιο Αθηνών,
Ελλάδα
dtzimok@phil.uoa.gr

ABSTRACT

The present paper focuses on the vocabulary instruction material as well as the vocabulary development and assessment techniques currently used as part of Modern Greek Language courses in Greek junior high schools. Its main aim is to examine whether there is a correlation between the instructors' theoretical assumptions concerning vocabulary and the relevant techniques and materials used by them. A sampling investigation on Greek literature teachers was conducted with the use of a special questionnaire. The results reveal a division of the instructors in two almost equivalent groups: those who regard vocabulary and grammar as equally important and those who consider vocabulary of secondary importance. However, the instructors' theoretical preferences seem to have no major impact on their actual teaching practices. In particular, although many of them claim that they try to work on vocabulary in a systematic way within a communicative model, as far as the teaching materials are concerned, the vast majority of them tend to rely on traditional solutions such as the excessive use of textbooks where vocabulary is approached separately from other language domains.

Λέξεις κλειδιά: νεοελληνική γλώσσα – διδασκαλία, δευτεροβάθμια εκπαίδευση, λεξιλόγιο, γραμματική, τεχνικές ανάπτυξης λεξιλογίου, διδακτικό υλικό, αξιολόγηση λεξιλογίου, αποτελέσματα έρευνας

1. Εισαγωγή

Η πρόβλεψη του νέου Διαθεματικού Ενιαίου Πλαισίου Προγραμμάτων Σπουδών για εφαρμογή της επικοινωνιακής και κειμενοκεντρικής μεθόδου στο μάθημα της Νεοελληνικής Γλώσσας (Γαβριηλίδου κ.α. 2006α, 2006β, ΥΠ.Ε.Π.Θ. - Π.Ι. 2002) προκρίνει την ισότιμη ενασχόληση με τη γραμματική και το λεξιλόγιο (Γούτσος 2006, Μήτσης 1998, Παραδιά κ.α. 2009), γεγονός που συνάδει με τις σύγχρονες γλωσσικές θεωρίες για τη σημασία του λεξιλογίου (Aitchison 1994, Γούτσος 2006, Meara 1997, Μότσιο 1994, Μπακάκου-Ορφανού 2005, Σακελλαρίου 2005, Singleton 1999). Σύμφωνα με τις τελευταίες, το λεξιλόγιο αποτελεί βασικό συστατικό της γλώσσας πάνω στο οποίο βασίζεται η γλωσσική παραγωγή και συνεπώς η γραμματική έρχεται ως ένα σύστημα κανόνων να τακτοποιήσει τις προϋπάρχουσες λεξιλογικές δομές. Η θέση αυτή και την αξία της γραμματικής αναγνωρίζει και τη λεξιλογική φύση της γλώσσας προβάλλει (Coady 1997: 235, Lewis 1993: 51 & 89, Μήτσης 2004: 145, Wilkins 1972: 111). Παρότι, βέβαια, τα περισσότερα ρεύματα διδασκαλίας του λεξιλογίου σχετίζονται κυρίως με τη διδασκαλία της δεύτερης γλώσσας, καθώς σε αυτόν τον χώρο έχουν διενεργηθεί οι περισσότερες επιστημονικές έρευνες, θεωρητικές αναλύσεις και διδακτικές εφαρμογές για το λεξιλόγιο, από αυτά μπορούμε να αντλήσουμε χρήσιμα συμπεράσματα και για τη διδασκαλία του λεξιλογίου της μητρικής γλώσσας (βλ. Γούτσος 2006).

Επιπλέον, άλλες έρευνες (Brown 1993, Coady 1997) αποκάλυψαν την εξής αντίφαση: αφενός οι διδάσκοντες πιστεύουν ότι είναι εύκολο να μάθει κανείς τις λέξεις και γι' αυτό θεωρούν ότι δεν είναι

απαραίτητη η διδασκαλία του λεξιλογίου και αφετέρου οι διδασκόμενοι αποδίδουν ιδιαίτερη σημασία στις λέξεις και τείνουν να τις μάθουν με μεγαλύτερη προθυμία απ' ό,τι τη γραμματική. Εκτός, όμως, από την ανάδειξη της σημασίας του λεξιλογίου στο πλαίσιο του γλωσσικού μαθήματος, η σύγχρονη γλωσσική θεωρία επισημαίνει ότι για να καθιερωθεί το λεξιλόγιο στις συνειδήσεις των εκπαιδευτικών και των μαθητών, θα πρέπει οι πρώτοι να έχουν πάντοτε υπόψη τα τρία βασικά ζητήματα που αφορούν τη διδασκαλία του λεξιλογίου: α) τι λεξιλόγιο θα διδαχθεί (Nation 2001), β) ποια είναι η δομή του (Μπακάκου-Ορφανού 1996, 2005, Nation 2001) και γ) ποιες είναι οι ενδεδειγμένες αρχές και μέθοδοι διδασκαλίας του (Αναστασιάδη-Συμεωνίδη 1996, Γούτσος 2006, Κατσιμαλή 2001, Μήτσης 1996, Μπακάκου-Ορφανού 2003, Nation 2001, Sökmen 1997, Χαραλαμπίκης 1994, Daller et al. 2007).

Στο πλαίσιο των παραπάνω θεωριών, η παρούσα έρευνα θα εστιάσει στις μεθόδους αξιολόγησης του λεξιλογίου και θα εξετάσει τη σχέση τους με τις τεχνικές ανάπτυξης του λεξιλογίου καθώς και με το αντίστοιχο διδακτικό υλικό. Η συσχέτιση αυτή συνάδει με τη θέση ότι η αξιολόγηση του λεξιλογίου και η γενικότερη γλωσσική αξιολόγηση αποτελούν όψεις του ίδιου νομίσματος και ότι πρέπει να συμβάλλουν στην ανάπτυξη της επικοινωνιακής επάρκειας των μαθητών (Μπακάκου-Ορφανού 1996, 2005, Read 2000). Η τελευταία, άλλωστε, λειτουργία της αξιολόγησης του λεξιλογίου καταδεικνύει τη γενικότερη σημασία της αξιολόγησης, η οποία έχει τονιστεί από πολλούς μελετητές¹. Επιπλέον, η παρούσα εργασία αποβλέπει να συμβάλει στην έρευνα σχετικά με τη διδασκαλία του λεξιλογίου στο χώρο της καλλιέργειας της μητρικής γλώσσας, όπου παρατηρείται έλλειψη σχετικών εμπειρικών δεδομένων (Γούτσος 2006).

2. Θεωρητικά ζητήματα για την αξιολόγηση του λεξιλογίου

Η μεγαλύτερη έμφαση στο λεξιλόγιο, συνεπάγεται την ανάγκη για μεγαλύτερη εξοικείωση των εκπαιδευτικών με τον τρόπο ανάπτυξης δοκιμασιών (τεστ) που θα διασφαλίζουν μια αξιόπιστη εκτίμηση της επίδοσης των μαθητών στην εκμάθηση του λεξιλογίου σε άμεση συνάρτηση με τις επικοινωνιακές τους ανάγκες. Βασική προϋπόθεση για την επίτευξη του παραπάνω στόχου είναι να εντάσσεται η αξιολόγηση του λεξιλογίου στη γενικότερη αποτίμηση της γλωσσικής επάρκειας των μαθητών (Read 2000: 4). Άλλωστε, βάσει των σύγχρονων επιστημονικών αντιλήψεων, η καλή γνώση μιας γλώσσας δεν εξαρτάται τόσο από το πόσες λέξεις γνωρίζει κανείς, αλλά από το πόσο αποτελεσματικά τις χρησιμοποιεί, προκειμένου να επιτύχει συγκεκριμένο επικοινωνιακό στόχο. Αυτός είναι ο λόγος που οι σύγχρονες δοκιμασίες γλωσσικής επάρκειας στην πλειονότητά τους προσομοιώνουν πραγματικές επικοινωνιακές περιστάσεις, στις οποίες οι μαθητές είναι πιθανό να εμπλακούν εκτός τάξης. Οι μαθητές θα μπορέσουν με μια καλή γνώση του λεξιλογίου να εκτελέσουν με επιτυχία αυτές τις δραστηριότητες, αλλά η αξιολόγηση δεν θα πρέπει να επικεντρώνεται πρωτίστως ούτε στο λεξιλόγιο ούτε σε κανένα άλλο γλωσσικό επίπεδο. Αντίθετα, οι εκπαιδευτικοί πρέπει να στοχεύουν στην εκτίμηση του βαθμού ανταπόκρισης των μαθητών τους στις συνολικές απαιτήσεις της εκάστοτε γλωσσικής δραστηριότητας. Αυτό δε σημαίνει ότι οι εκπαιδευτικοί πρέπει να περιοριστούν σε δοκιμασίες επικοινωνιακού χαρακτήρα παραγκωνίζοντας τις παραδοσιακές, που εστιάζουν στη γνώση και χρήση των λέξεων ως μεμονωμένων σημασιολογικών μονάδων. Η βέλτιστη αξιολογική πρακτική συνδυάζει επικοινωνιακές και παραδοσιακές πρακτικές κατά τρόπο, ώστε να αλληλοσυμπληρώνονται ανάλογα με τις απαιτήσεις του εκάστοτε διδακτικού στόχου.

Στη συνέχεια, ο Read (2000: 8-13) παρουσιάζει τρεις άξονες της αξιολόγησης του λεξιλογίου, οι οποίοι μπορούν να περιγραφούν εν συντομία ως εξής:

- (α) μεμονωμένη αξιολόγηση: μέτρηση της γνώσης της σημασίας ή χρήσης των λέξεων ως ανεξάρτητων γλωσσικών μονάδων – ενσωματωμένη αξιολόγηση: λεξιλογικές μετρήσεις που αποτελούν μέρος της αξιολόγησης της χρήσης ευρύτερων της λέξης γλωσσικών μονάδων.
- (β) επιλεκτική αξιολόγηση: μέτρηση λεξιλογικής γνώσης που εστιάζει σε συγκεκριμένα λεξικά στοιχεία – εξαντλητική αξιολόγηση: μέτρηση λεξιλογικής γνώσης που λαμβάνει υπόψη το συνολικό λεξιλογικό περιεχόμενο είτε του γλωσσικού υλικού που προσλαμβάνουν (δραστηριότητες κατανόησης γραπτού και προφορικού λόγου) είτε του γλωσσικού υλικού που παράγουν οι εξεταζόμενοι (δραστηριότητες παραγωγής γραπτού και προφορικού λόγου).
- (γ) αξιολόγηση ανεξάρτητη από το περιεχόμενο: μέτρηση λεξιλογικής γνώσης όπου ο εξεταζόμενος μπορεί να παραγάγει την προσδοκώμενη απάντηση χωρίς αναφορά σε οποιοδήποτε περιεχόμενο – αξιολόγηση εξαρτημένη από το περιεχόμενο: μέτρηση λεξιλογικής γνώσης, η οποία αξιολογεί την ικανότητα του εξεταζόμενου να λαμβάνει υπόψη του τις πληροφορίες από τα συμφραζόμενα προκειμένου να παραγάγει την προσδοκώμενη απάντηση.

¹ Βλ. ενδεικτικά Brown 2003, Δημητρόπουλος 1981, Ηλιοπούλου 2009, Huot 2002.

Οι παραπάνω τρεις διαστάσεις, βέβαια, όπως διευκρινίζει ο Read, δεν συνιστούν ένα ολοκληρωμένο πρότυπο αξιολόγησης του λεξιλογίου, αλλά μάλλον ένα ευρύ θεωρητικό πλαίσιο που επιτρέπει μια αδρομερή κατηγοριοποίηση των διαφόρων τύπων αξιολόγησης που χρησιμοποιούνται σήμερα. Ειδικότερα, συμβάλλουν στον εντοπισμό των κοινών σημείων μεταξύ των αξιολογήσεων παραδοσιακού τύπου και των αξιολογήσεων που αποτιμούν το λεξιλόγιο πιο ολιστικά. Πρέπει εδώ να σημειωθεί ότι οι παραπάνω διαστάσεις αξιολόγησης του λεξιλογίου που προτείνει ο Read, έχουν γίνει ευρύτερα αποδεκτές από τους συναφείς επιστημονικούς κύκλους (Schmitt 2000: 172-174).

3. Στόχοι και υπόθεση έρευνας

Βασίζομενη στο παραπάνω θεωρητικό πλαίσιο, η παρούσα έρευνα στοχεύει στην εμπειρική αποτίμηση των γενικότερων διδακτικών αρχών, των ειδών διδακτικού υλικού και των τεχνικών ανάπτυξης και αξιολόγησης του λεξιλογίου που χρησιμοποιούν οι εκπαιδευτικοί Δευτεροβάθμιας Εκπαίδευσης για το μάθημα της Νεοελληνικής Γλώσσας γυμνασίου. Απώτεροι στόχοι είναι: α) να αποτιμηθεί ο βαθμός συνάφειας μεταξύ των χρησιμοποιούμενων τεχνικών ανάπτυξης λεξιλογίου και των σχετικών διδακτικών υλικών αφενός και της αρχής της ισοτιμίας γραμματικής και λεξιλογίου αφετέρου, β) να διαπιστωθεί αν συνδυάζονται ή όχι οι δραστηριότητες παραδοσιακού και επικοινωνιακού χαρακτήρα κατά την εν λόγω αξιολόγηση, γ) να διαπιστωθεί αν όντως ο κάθε τύπος αξιολόγησης του λεξιλογίου μπορεί να συσχετιστεί με συγκεκριμένο/-α είδος/-η διδακτικού υλικού ή με συγκεκριμένη τεχνική ανάπτυξης του λεξιλογίου.

Προκειμένου να εξυπηρετηθούν οι παραπάνω στόχοι, συντάχτηκε ένα ερωτηματολόγιο (βλ. υποενότητα 4.1) με το οποίο επιχειρήθηκε να καλυφθούν όλα τα θέματα που σχετίζονται με τη διδασκαλία του λεξιλογίου. Όσον αφορά τα ερωτήματα σχετικά με τα είδη αξιολόγησης, αντιστοιχούν στους έξι διαφορετικούς τύπους αξιολόγησης του λεξιλογίου που διακρίνει συμβατικά ο Read και οι οποίοι ανά δύο αποτελούν τα άκρα των τριών κύριων αξόνων αξιολόγησης (βλ. ενότητα 2). Τα άκρα αυτών των αξόνων αντιστοιχούν σε δύο βασικές κατηγορίες εκπαιδευτικών. Στο ένα άκρο βρίσκονται οι πιο «παραδοσιακοί» εκπαιδευτικοί, οι οποίοι δίνουν μεγαλύτερη έμφαση στη γραμματική από ό,τι στο λεξιλόγιο και αναμένεται να υιοθετούν τρόπους αξιολόγησης που τείνουν περισσότερο προς την αποτίμηση της γνώσης μεμονωμένων και συγκεκριμένων λεξικών μονάδων και λιγότερο προς την αποτίμηση της χρήσης τους σε συνάρτηση με το γλωσσικό τους περιβάλλον. Αντίθετα, στο άλλο άκρο εντοπίζονται οι εκπαιδευτικοί που ενστερνίζονται μια ισόρροπη ενασχόληση τόσο με τη γραμματική όσο και με το λεξιλόγιο, και αυτοί αναμένεται να τείνουν περισσότερο προς την αξιολόγηση όχι μόνο της γνώσης σημασιών αλλά και της επικοινωνιακής χρήσης των λέξεων, ενταγμένων όμως σε ευρύτερες γλωσσικές μονάδες και σε άμεση συνάρτηση με δεδομένο περιεχόμενο.

4. Μεθοδολογία

4.1 Κατάρτιση ερωτηματολογίου

Το ερωτηματολόγιο² για τη συλλογή του ερευνητικού υλικού καταρτίστηκε βάσει των αναλύσεων των Nation (2001) και Read (2000) για τα αγγλικά και των Ιακώβου κ.α. (2004), Μπακάκου-Ορφανού (2003) και Γούτσου (2006) για τα ελληνικά και ελέγχθηκε, στο βαθμό του δυνατού, τόσο η εγκυρότητά όσο και η αξιοπιστία του. Απευθύνεται στους φιλολόγους που διδάσκουν το μάθημα της Νεοελληνικής Γλώσσας στο Γυμνάσιο και εστιάζει στα εξής:

- (α) στις γενικότερες απόψεις των διδασκόντων για τη θέση του λεξιλογίου στο γλωσσικό μάθημα, για το είδος του λεξιλογίου που πρέπει να διδάσκεται και για τον τρόπο που πρέπει να γίνεται αυτή η διδασκαλία,
- (β) στις τεχνικές που χρησιμοποιούν οι διδάσκοντες για τη διδασκαλία νέων λέξεων,
- (γ) στις τεχνικές που χρησιμοποιούν οι διδάσκοντες για να βελτιώσουν την ικανότητα χρήσης των λέξεων από τους μαθητές τους,
- (δ) στις πηγές άντλησης και στους τρόπους ανάπτυξης του εν χρήσει σχετικού διδακτικού υλικού,
- (ε) στους προτιμώμενους τύπους δραστηριοτήτων κατά τη διδασκαλία του λεξιλογίου,
- (στ) στους τύπους αξιολόγησης του λεξιλογίου που προτιμούν οι εκπαιδευτικοί και
- (ζ) στις προτάσεις που έχουν να καταθέσουν οι εκπαιδευτικοί για βελτίωση των εγχειριδίων και κατ' επέκταση των σχετικών αναλυτικών προγραμμάτων σπουδών σε σχέση με τη διδασκαλία του λεξιλογίου.

² Για το πλήρες κείμενο του ερωτηματολογίου βλ. Παραδία κ.α. (υπό δημοσίευση).

Στην παρούσα έρευνα θα επικεντρωθούμε στα αποτελέσματα που προέκυψαν από τις ερωτήσεις κλειστού τύπου (πολλαπλών επιλογών και ιεράρχησης κατά προτεραιότητα) των πεδίων εστίασης (α), (β), (γ), (δ), (ε) και (στ).

4.2 Μέθοδος συγκέντρωσης του ερευνητικού υλικού και ποσοτικής ανάλυσης

Το ερωτηματολόγιο διανεμήθηκε στους φιλόλογους 117 γυμνασίων σε όλη την Ελλάδα, οι οποίοι διδάσκουν το μάθημα της Νεοελληνικής Γλώσσας. Στην έρευνα τελικά συμμετείχαν συνολικά 529 εκπαιδευτικοί από τα σχολεία αυτά. Μετά τη διενέργεια της δειγματοληψίας και τη συγκέντρωση των συμπληρωμένων ερωτηματολογίων, όλες οι απαντήσεις κλειστού τύπου καταχωρίστηκαν σε βάση δεδομένων δομημένη κατ' αντιστοιχία με τα διάφορα πεδία εστίασης του ερωτηματολογίου. Η ανάλυση των αποτελεσμάτων περιλάμβανε πίνακες και διαγράμματα συχνοτήτων, καθώς οι περισσότερες μεταβλητές του αρχείου δεδομένων ήταν κατηγορικές. Η συνάφεια μεταξύ του είδους των απαντήσεων διδασκόντων και μαθητών και των δημογραφικών ή άλλων παραμέτρων μελετήθηκε με τη χρήση του στατιστικού ελέγχου chi square test (χ^2). Όλοι οι στατιστικοί έλεγχοι πραγματοποιήθηκαν σε επίπεδο σημαντικότητας $\alpha = 5\%$ με τη χρήση του στατιστικού προγράμματος SPSS 13.0 για Windows.

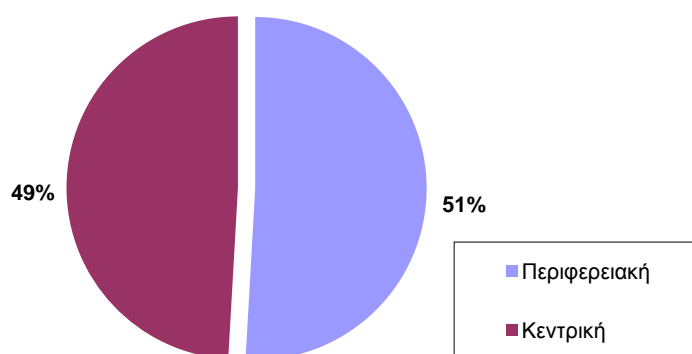
4.3 Περιγραφή του δείγματος

Όσον αφορά τη γενικότερη περιγραφή του δείγματος των συμμετεχόντων στην έρευνα, εκτεταμένη συμμετοχή είχαν τα σχολεία της επαρχίας (αστικές, ημιαστικές και αγροτικές περιοχές) από όπου προέρχεται το 83,9% των εκπαιδευτικών, ενώ μόλις το 16,1% είναι από τα δύο μεγάλα αστικά κέντρα. Επίσης, οι γυναίκες απετέλεσαν την πλειονότητα του δείγματος (79,4% έναντι μόλις του 20,6% των ανδρών). Επιπροσθέτως, το δείγμα των εκπαιδευτικών περιέλαβε όλα τα σχετικά επίπεδα διδακτικής εμπειρίας: α) 43,0% πάνω από 12 έτη, β) 21,6% από 6 έως 11 έτη και γ) 35,4% έως 5 έτη.

5. Αποτελέσματα³

5.1 Βασικά θέματα διδασκαλίας λεξιλογίου

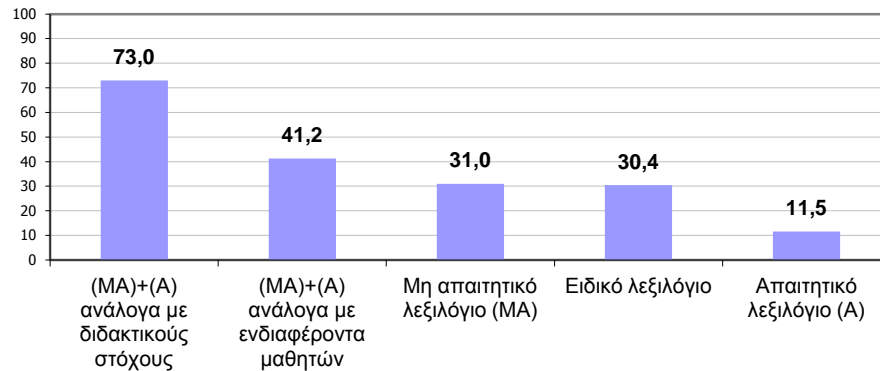
Σχετικά με το ζήτημα για τον ρόλο του λεξιλογίου στη γλωσσική διδασκαλία, οι απόψεις των διδασκόντων παρουσιάζονται διχασμένες, καθώς για το 50,9% των διδασκόντων, η θέση του λεξιλογίου είναι περιφερειακή και επεξηγηματική, ενώ για το 49,1% είναι κεντρικής σημασίας (Γράφημα 1). Την ίδια εικόνα παρουσιάζουν όλες οι δημογραφικές υποομάδες των διδασκόντων.



Γράφημα 1 Η θέση του λεξιλογίου στη γλωσσική διδασκαλία

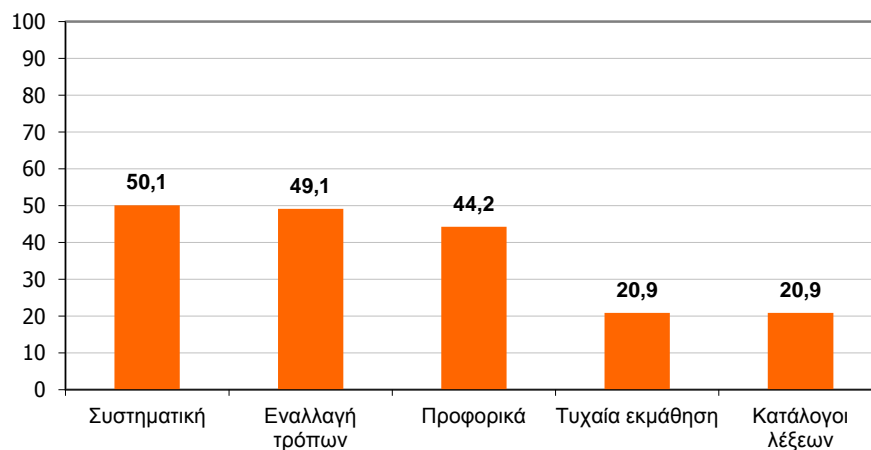
³ Χάριν συντομίας, σε κάθε μέτρηση αναφέρονται οι τυχόν διαφοροποιήσεις μεταξύ διδασκόντων που υποστηρίζουν την κεντρική θέση του λεξιλογίου και διδασκόντων που υποστηρίζουν την περιφερειακή θέση του στο γλωσσικό μάθημα. Δε γίνεται αναφορά σε καμία άλλη υποομάδα διδασκόντων (διάκριση βάση φύλου, τόπου εργασίας, διδακτικής εμπειρίας κτλ.).

Στο ερώτημα «ποιο είδος λεξιλογίου νομίζετε ότι πρέπει να διδάσκεται;» η συντριπτική πλειονότητα των διδασκόντων (73,0%⁴) θεωρεί ότι τόσο το απαιτητικό (Α=λόγιο) όσο και το μη απαιτητικό (ΜΑ=μη λόγιο) πρέπει να χρησιμοποιούνται, ανάλογα όμως με τον εκάστοτε διδακτικό στόχο και μεθοδολογία (Γράφημα 2). Στη δεύτερη θέση έρχεται η παράλληλη διδασκαλία απαιτητικού και μη απαιτητικού λεξιλογίου ανάλογα με τα ενδιαφέροντα των μαθητών (41,2%). Ακολουθούν η διδασκαλία αποκλειστικά του μη απαιτητικού λεξιλογίου (31,0%), η διδασκαλία του ειδικού λεξιλογίου (30,4%) και η διδασκαλία του απαιτητικού λεξιλογίου (11,5%).



Γράφημα 2 Προτίμηση σε είδος λεξιλογίου που πρέπει να διδάσκεται (%)

Παράλληλα, οι απόψεις των διδασκόντων σε ό,τι αφορά τον τρόπο εκμάθησης του λεξιλογίου ποικίλλουν, με το 50,1%⁵ να υποστηρίζουν τη συστηματική διδασκαλία κειμένων εστιασμένων στο λεξιλόγιο, το 49,1% να προτιμούν εναλλαγή πολλαπλών τρόπων και το 44,2% να υποστηρίζουν τη χρήση προφορικού λόγου, όπως διάλογο ή συζήτηση εστιασμένη στο λεξιλόγιο (Γράφημα 3). Η αξιοποίηση των καταλόγων λέξεων και η τυχαία/απροσχεδίαστη εκμάθηση μέσω της επαφής του μαθητή με το γλωσσικό υλικό συγκεντρώνουν 20,9% έκαστο.



Γράφημα 3 Τρόποι εκμάθησης λεξιλογίου (%)

5.2 Τεχνικές ανάπτυξης για την εκμάθηση της σημασίας των λέξεων

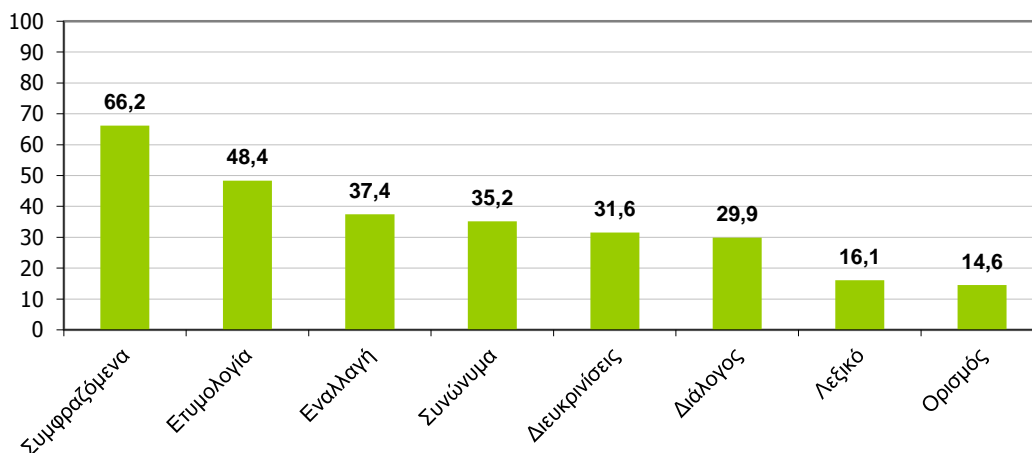
Όσον αφορά τους τρόπους οριοθέτησης της σημασίας των άγνωστων λέξεων στο πλαίσιο της διδακτικής διαδικασίας, τα αποτελέσματα έδειξαν ότι αυτή γίνεται κατά κύριο λόγο με βάση τα συμφραζόμενα, δηλαδή με τη χρήση προτάσεων και παραδειγμάτων με άγνωστες λέξεις (66,2%)⁶. Ακολουθούν η εφαρμογή της ετυμολογίας (48,4%), η εναλλαγή πολλαπλών τρόπων οριοθέτησης

⁴ Ποσοστό όσων ιεραρχούν την αντίστοιχη πρόταση στις δύο πρώτες θέσεις από πλευράς προτεραιότητας.

⁵ Ποσοστό όσων ιεραρχούν την αντίστοιχη πρόταση στις δύο πρώτες θέσεις από πλευράς προτεραιότητας.

⁶ Ποσοστό όσων ιεραρχούν την αντίστοιχη πρόταση στις τρεις πρώτες θέσεις από πλευράς προτεραιότητας.

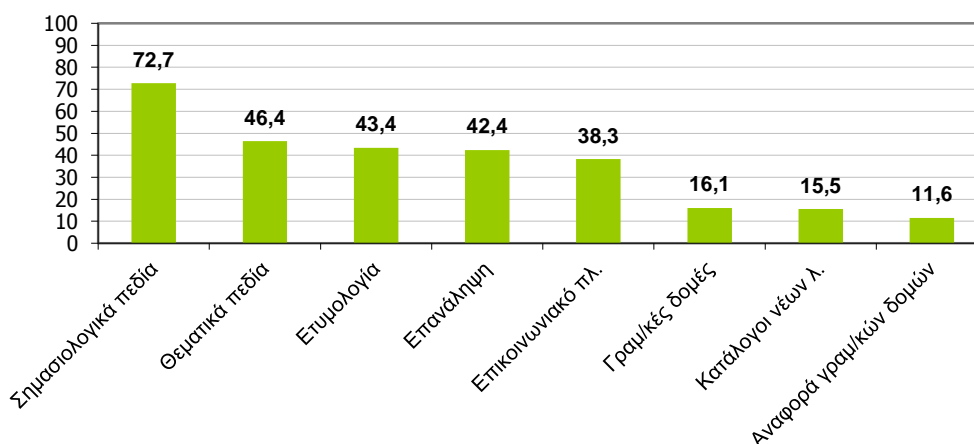
(37,4%), η χρήση συνωνύμων (35,2%) και η παροχή διευκρινίσεων από τον διδάσκοντα (31,6%). Με χαμηλότερα ποσοστά ακολουθούν η εφαρμογή διαλόγου (29,9%), η χρήση του λεξικού (16,1%) και η χρήση του ορισμού (14,6%) (Γράφημα 4).



Γράφημα 4 Τρόποι οριοθέτησης σημασίας άγνωστης λέξης (%)

Η οριοθέτηση των άγνωστων λέξεων με βάση τα συμφραζόμενα προτιμάται από όλους τους διδάσκοντες. Από την άλλη μεριά, οριακά ενισχυμένη είναι η εναλλαγή πολλαπλών τρόπων οριοθέτησης μεταξύ όσων πιστεύουν ότι το λεξικό κατέχει κεντρική θέση στη γλωσσική διδασκαλία, δηλαδή 41,2%, έναντι του 33,8% όσων θεωρούν ότι κατέχει περιφερειακή θέση ($p < 0,04$). Παρόμοια εικόνα παρουσιάζει και η χρήση της ετυμολογίας, η οποία χρησιμοποιείται από το 51,7% όσων θεωρούν ότι το λεξικό κατέχει περιφερειακή θέση έναντι 45% όσων θεωρούν ότι κατέχει κεντρική θέση ($p < 0,04$).

Ειδικότερα, σε επίπεδο διδακτικής εφαρμογής επικρατέστερη είναι η πρακτική ένταξης των λέξεων σε σημασιολογικά πεδία (π.χ. συνώνυμα/ αντίθετα, υπώνυμα/ υπερώνυμα) σε ποσοστό 72,7%. Ακολουθούν η ομαδοποίηση λέξεων με βάση τα θεματικά πεδία (46,4%), με βάση την ετυμολογία (43,4%) και η σκόπιμη επανάληψη λέξεων σε προτάσεις ή κείμενα (42,4%). Χαμηλότερο ποσοστό συγκεντρώνουν η παροχή διευκρινίσεων σχετικά με την επικοινωνιακή περίσταση/ κειμενικό είδος στην οποία χρησιμοποιείται μια λέξη (38,3%), η ομαδοποίηση λέξεων με βάση τις γραμματικοσυντακτικές δομές (όπως κλίση, τρόπος σύνταξης) (16,1%), η καταγραφή νέων λέξεων σε μορφή καταλόγων (15,5%) και η αναφορά σε άλλες λέξεις με βάση γραμματικοσυντακτικές δομές (11,6%) (Γράφημα 5).



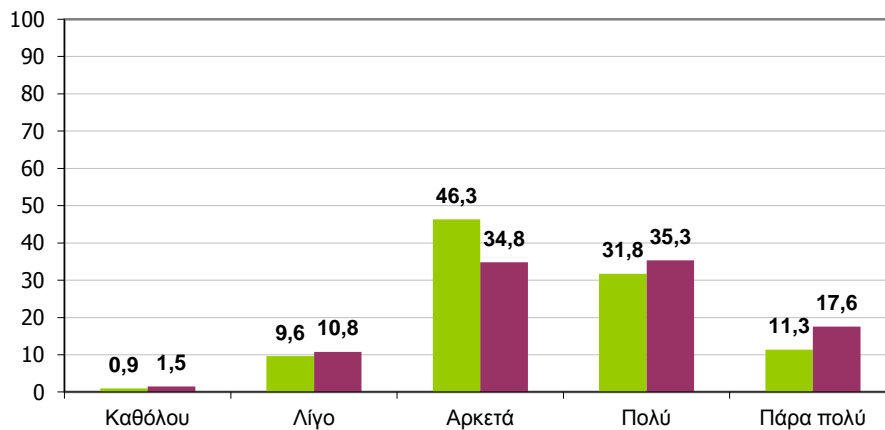
Γράφημα 5 Τεχνικές διδασκαλίας λεξιλογίου

Στο παραπάνω πλαίσιο, η χρήση του περικειμένου για τον προσδιορισμό της σημασίας μιας λέξης, δηλαδή η χρήση των συμφραζομένων και των γενικότερων επικοινωνιακών περιστάσεων είναι μια ευρέως διαδεδομένη πρακτική, καθώς το 67,4% των ερωτηθέντων την εφαρμόζουν πάρα πολύ (30,5%) ή πολύ (36,9%).

5.3 Τεχνικές ανάπτυξης της χρήσης του λεξιλογίου από τους μαθητές

Προκειμένου να αποτιμηθεί η προσπάθεια που καταβάλλουν οι εκπαιδευτικοί ώστε να βελτιώσουν τη χρήση του διδασκόμενου λεξιλογίου από τους μαθητές, τέθηκε ερώτημα για το βαθμό στον οποίο κάνουν αναφορά στις συνυποδηλώσεις (δηλαδή στις δευτερεύουσες ή περιφερειακές σημασίες μιας λέξης) και στις συνηθέστερες λέξεις και λεξικούς συνδυασμούς που χρησιμοποιούνται σε κάθε είδος κειμένου και επικοινωνιακή περίσταση (π.χ. φιλική επιστολή, αίτηση κλπ.).

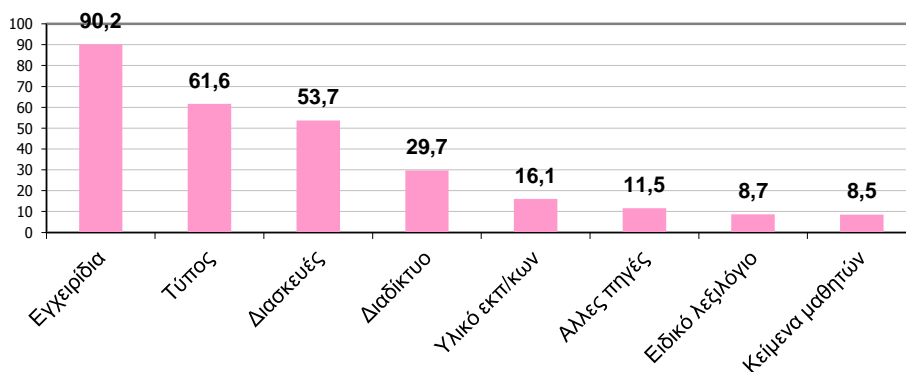
Και οι δύο παραπάνω πρακτικές, λοιπόν, είναι μερικώς διαδεδομένες, καθώς την πρώτη την εφαρμόζει το 43,1% και τη δεύτερη το 52,9% των διδασκόντων πολύ τακτικά (Γράφημα 6). Παρόμοια αποτελέσματα παρουσίασαν και οι υποομάδες των διδασκόντων, με εξαίρεση τους υποστηρικτές της κεντρικής-περιφερειακής θέσης του λεξιλογίου, οι οποίοι ως προς την αναφορά στις συνυποδηλώσεις παρουσίασαν ποσοστά 51,2% και 35,3% αντίστοιχα ($p < 0,001$).



Γράφημα 6 Τεχνικές ανάπτυξης – χρήση λεξιλογίου (%)

5.4 Διδακτικό υλικό με εστίαση στο λεξιλόγιο

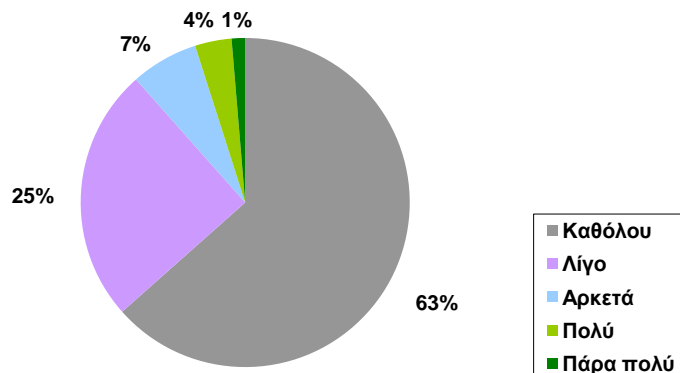
Από μία σειρά πηγών άντλησης γλωσσικού υλικού για τις οποίες ερωτήθηκαν οι διδάσκοντες, τα σχολικά εγχειρίδια (βιβλίο μαθητή/ εκπαιδευτικού) συγκεντρώνουν το υψηλότερο ποσοστό χρήσης (90,2%). Ακολουθούν η επιλογή κειμένων από τον ημερήσιο και περιοδικό τύπο (61,6%) και οι διασκευές κειμένων για τον σκοπό της γλωσσικής διδασκαλίας (53,7%). Οι υπόλοιπες πηγές συγκεντρώνουν χαμηλότερα ποσοστά: κείμενα που έχουν αντληθεί από το διαδίκτυο (29,7%), κείμενα από τους ίδιους τους εκπαιδευτικούς (16,1%), άλλες πηγές επιλεγμένες βάσει των διδακτικών στόχων (11,5%), κείμενα με ειδικό λεξιλόγιο (8,7%) και κείμενα μαθητών (8,5%) (Γράφημα 7).



Γράφημα 7 Πηγές άντλησης γλωσσικού υλικού για τη διδασκαλία λεξιλογίου (%)

Σε ό,τι αφορά τη χρήση προϊόντων της τεχνολογίας ως μέρος του διδακτικού υλικού με έμφαση στο λεξιλόγιο, καταγράφεται περιορισμένη υιοθέτηση σχετικού λογισμικού. Μόλις το 4,9% των

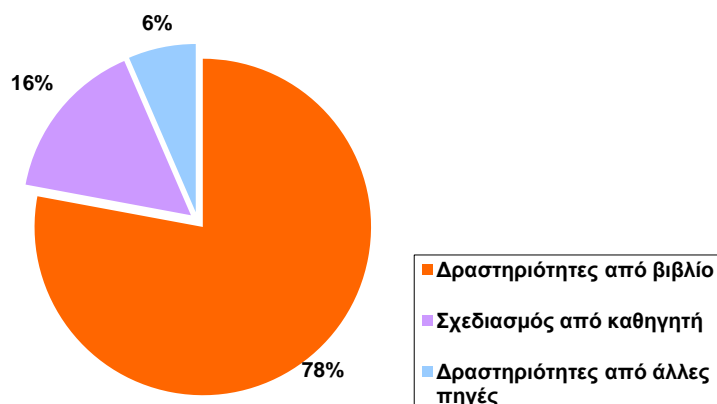
εκπαιδευτικών χρησιμοποιούν πάρα πολύ (1,3%) ή πολύ (3,6%) σχετικό λογισμικό έναντι του 63,4%, που δηλώνει ότι δε χρησιμοποιεί καθόλου σχετικό λογισμικό (Γράφημα 8). Η χρήση λογισμικού παραμένει περιορισμένη σε όλες τις υποομάδες των διδασκόντων.



Γράφημα 8 Χρήση λογισμικού για τη διδασκαλία γλώσσας και λεξιλογίου (%)

5.5 Δραστηριότητες και ασκήσεις λεξιλογίου

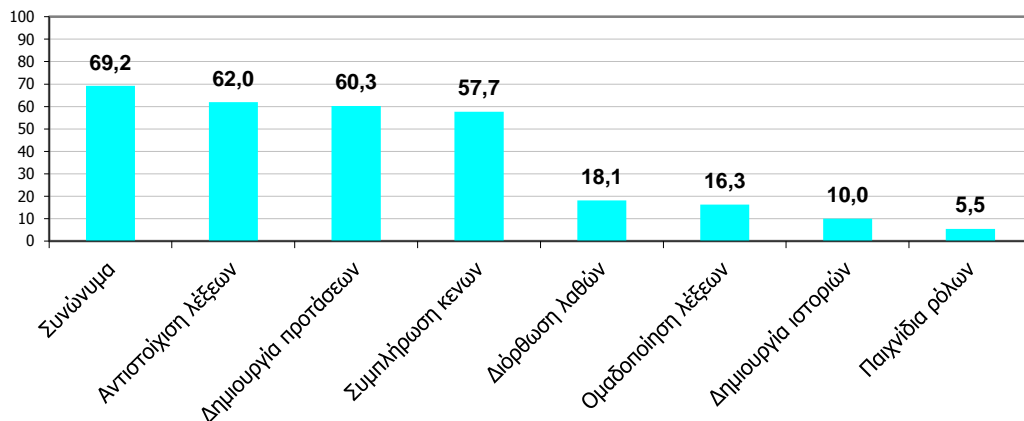
Όσον αφορά τις διάφορες διδακτικές δραστηριότητες τις σχετικές με το λεξιλόγιο, η πλειονότητα των εκπαιδευτικών έχει αξιοποιήσει διδακτικά κατά κύριο λόγο τις λεξιλογικές δραστηριότητες/ασκήσεις του βιβλίου μαθητή/εκπαιδευτικού (78,0%). Κατά 15,6% οι διδάσκοντες έχουν σχεδιάσει και αναπτύξει οι ίδιοι δραστηριότητες και ασκήσεις, ενώ το 6,5% χρησιμοποιεί κυρίως δραστηριότητες και ασκήσεις από άλλες πηγές (Γράφημα 9).



Γράφημα 9 Προτιμώμενες πηγές άντλησης διδακτικών δραστηριοτήτων (%)

Επιπλέον, ζητήθηκε από τους εκπαιδευτικούς να προσδιορίσουν εκείνους τους τύπους ασκήσεων που αξιοποιούν κατά κύριο λόγο στο πλαίσιο της διδασκαλίας του λεξιλογίου. Από τις πιο διαδεδομένες ασκήσεις ήταν οι ασκήσεις συνώνυμων/αντίθετων (69,2%)⁷, η αντιστοίχιση λέξεων/σημασιών (62,0%), η δημιουργία προτάσεων από λέξεις (60,3%) και οι ασκήσεις συμπλήρωσης κενών σε κείμενο (57,7%). Χαμηλότερα ποσοστά έλαβαν η διόρθωση λεξικών λαθών σε παραγωγές γραπτού λόγου μαθητών (18,1%), οι ασκήσεις ομαδοποίησης λέξεων με βάση κάποιο κοινό χαρακτηριστικό (16,3%), η δημιουργία ιστοριών με λέξεις (10,0%) και τα παιχνίδια ρόλων (5,5%) (Γράφημα 10).

⁷ Ποσοστό όσων ιεραρχούν την αντίστοιχη πρόταση στις δύο πρώτες θέσεις από πλευράς προτεραιότητας.

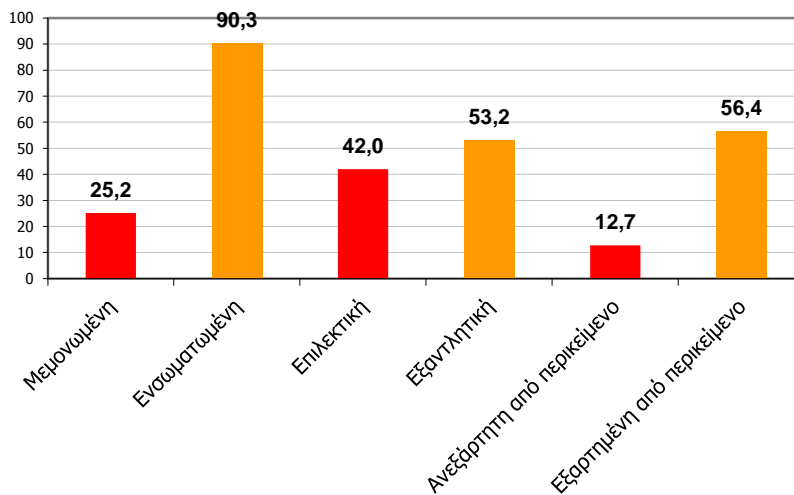


Γράφημα 10 Προτιμώμενοι τύποι ασκήσεων για τη διδασκαλία του λεξιλογίου (%)

Είναι αξιοσημείωτο ότι μεταξύ όσων τοποθετούν το λεξιλόγιο σε κεντρική θέση στη γλωσσική διαδικασία, η δημιουργία προτάσεων από λέξεις βρίσκεται στην πρώτη θέση με 66,5% έναντι 54,3% όσων θεωρούν το λεξιλόγιο περιφερειακής σημασίας ($p < 0,01$).

5.6 Τύποι αξιολόγησης του λεξιλογίου

Βάσει των αποτελεσμάτων της έρευνας, προτιμάται κυρίως η ενσωματωμένη αξιολόγηση, δηλαδή η αξιολόγηση της χρήσης των λέξεων στο πλαίσιο προτάσεων, περιόδων κλπ. (90,3%)⁸. Ακολουθεί η πρακτική της αξιολόγησης που εξαρτάται από το περιεχόμενο (56,4%) και η εξαντλητική αξιολόγηση (53,2%), δηλαδή η αποτίμηση της λεξιλογικής γνώσης στο πλαίσιο δραστηριοτήτων κατανόησης και παραγωγής γραπτού και προφορικού λόγου). Με χαμηλότερο ποσοστό ακολουθούν η επιλεκτική αξιολόγηση (42,0%, δηλαδή η αποτίμηση της λεξιλογικής γνώσης που εστιάζεται στη χρήση συγκεκριμένων λέξεων που θεωρούνται σημαντικές), η μεμονωμένη αξιολόγηση (25,2% δηλαδή η αποτίμηση της γνώσης της σημασίας ή χρήσης των λέξεων ως ανεξάρτητων γλωσσικών μονάδων) και η αξιολόγηση ανεξάρτητα από το περιεχόμενο (12,7%) (Γράφημα 11).



Γράφημα 11 Προτιμώμενοι τύποι αξιολόγησης (%)

Τέλος, το είδος της αξιολόγησης του λεξιλογίου δε διαφοροποιείται σημαντικά σε σχέση με την άποψη για τη θέση του λεξιλογίου στη γλωσσική διαδικασία, όπως γίνεται φανερό από τα στοιχεία του πίνακα 1.

⁸ Ποσοστό όσων ιεραρχούν την αντίστοιχη πρόταση στις δύο πρώτες θέσεις από πλευράς προτεραιότητας.

ΑΞΙΟΛΟΓΗΣΗ		ΣΥΝΟΛΟ	Θέση λεξιλογίου	
			Περιφερειακή	Κεντρική
Μεμονωμένη	%	25,2	24,5	25,9
Ενσωματωμένη	%	90,3	87,4	93,4
Επιλεκτική	%	42	42,8	41,3
Εξαντλητική	%	53,2	49,8	56,8
Ανεξάρτητη από το περιεχόμενο	%	12,7	14,9	10,4
Εξαρτημένη από το περιεχόμενο	%	56,4	57,2	55,6

Πίνακας 9 Είδος αξιολόγησης λεξιλογίου βάσει της θέσης που του αποδίδεται στη γλωσσική διδασκαλία

6. Συζήτηση – συμπεράσματα

Οι θεωρητικές τοποθετήσεις των φιλολόγων σχετικά με τη θέση, το περιεχόμενο και τον τρόπο διδασκαλίας του λεξιλογίου γενικότερα, όπως αποτυπώνονται στα αποτελέσματα, φανερώνουν μία αύξηση του ενδιαφέροντος για το λεξιλόγιο. Το γεγονός αυτό επιβεβαιώνεται από: α) το αξιόλογο ποσοστό των εκπαιδευτικών που αναγνωρίζουν το λεξιλόγιο ως τομέα ισότιμο με τη γραμματική, β) την αναγκαιότητα της ταυτόχρονης διδασκαλίας απαιτητικού και μη απαιτητικού λεξιλογίου, γ) την πρόκριση του συστηματικού τρόπου διδασκαλίας του και δ) την αξιοσημείωτη προτίμηση του διαλόγου με έμφαση στο λεξιλόγιο και της εναλλαγής των τρόπων διδασκαλίας. Αντίθετα, οι κατάλογοι λέξεων και η τυχαία/απροσχεδίαστη εκμάθηση του λεξιλογίου, τρόποι που προσιδιάζουν στο παραδοσιακό μοντέλο διδασκαλίας με κέντρο τη γραμματική, προτιμήθηκαν σε πολύ χαμηλότερο ποσοστό από ό,τι οι προηγούμενοι.

Σε επίπεδο επιμέρους τεχνικών οριοθέτησης της λεξικής σημασίας, πρώτη σε προτίμηση έρχεται η χρήση των συμφραζομένων των λέξεων και δεύτερη η ετυμολογική ανάλυση, πρακτική την οποία προτιμούν ιδιαιτέρως οι πιο έμπειροι εκπαιδευτικοί. Επίσης, σε επίπεδο διδακτικών εφαρμογών, παρατηρείται η πρόκριση της χρήσης σημασιολογικών και θεματικών πεδίων εις βάρος της ομαδοποίησης των λέξεων βάσει γραμματικοσυντακτικών δομών. Τα παραπάνω στοιχεία, αφενός, αποτελούν ενδείξεις μιας τάσης για ευρύτερη αξιοποίηση του περιεχόμενου και εστίαση στις επικοινωνιακές περιστάσεις με σκοπό τον προσδιορισμό και την εμπέδωση της σημασίας των λέξεων και, αφετέρου, προβάλλουν ως ακόμη πιο επιτακτική την αναγκαιότητα ενίσχυσης της διδασκαλίας του λεξιλογίου. Εξάλλου, αρκετοί εκπαιδευτικοί επιδιώκουν να αναφέρονται στις συνυποδηλώσεις και στους χαρακτηριστικούς λεξικούς συνδυασμούς για κάθε είδος κειμένου, στοιχεία που θεωρούνται αναγκαία για τη λεξιλογική συγκρότηση των μαθητών.

Σε αντίθεση, όμως, με τα προηγούμενα, οι τύποι διδακτικού υλικού που χρησιμοποιούν οι εκπαιδευτικοί στην τάξη δεν φαίνεται να εναρμονίζονται με το επικοινωνιακό πρότυπο διδασκαλίας του λεξιλογίου και της γλώσσας γενικότερα. Συγκεκριμένα, η σχεδόν ολική επικράτηση των δραστηριοτήτων του σχολικού εγχειριδίου⁹ μεταξύ των πηγών άντλησης διδακτικού υλικού, η οποία αντικατοπτρίζεται εμμέσως στην αρκετά χαμηλότερη προτίμηση υλικού που είτε προέρχεται από το διαδίκτυο είτε δημιουργείται από τους ίδιους τους εκπαιδευτικούς, οδηγούν στον παραγκωνισμό του λεξιλογίου. Ως άμεση συνέπεια αυτής της τάσης έρχεται και η περιορισμένη χρήση σχετικού με τη γλωσσική διδασκαλία και το λεξιλόγιο λογισμικού. Οι λίγες διαφοροποιήσεις που παρατηρήθηκαν σε ορισμένες υποομάδες εκπαιδευτικών δεν είναι ικανές να ανατρέψουν αυτή την κατάσταση.

Πάντως, οι προτιμώμενοι τύποι δραστηριοτήτων κατά κάποιο τρόπο «μοιράζονται» μεταξύ ασκήσεων παραδοσιακού και ασκήσεων επικοινωνιακού ή κειμενοκεντρικού χαρακτήρα, καθώς δύο από τις τέσσερις πρώτες θέσεις καταλαμβάνουν ασκήσεις της πρώτης κατηγορίας, δηλαδή οι ασκήσεις συνωνύμων/αντιθέτων και η αντιστοίχιση λέξεων/σημασιών, ενώ τις επόμενες δύο θέσεις κατέχουν ασκήσεις της δεύτερης κατηγορίας, δηλαδή η συμπλήρωση κενών σε κείμενο και η δημιουργία προτάσεων από λέξεις. Η προτίμηση, μάλιστα, του τελευταίου είδους δραστηριότητας από τους

⁹ Για περισσότερα βλ. Αγγελάκος κ.α. 2006 για την Α΄ Γυμνασίου, Γαβριηλίδου κ.α. 2006α για τη Β΄ Γυμνασίου και Κατσαρού κ.α. 2006 για την Γ΄ Γυμνασίου.

εκπαιδευτικούς που θεωρούν κεντρική τη θέση του λεξιλογίου στο μάθημα της Νεοελληνικής Γλώσσας παρουσίασε στατιστικά σημαντικές τιμές. Την ίδια στιγμή όμως, από τις τέσσερις χαμηλότερες θέσεις προτίμησης, τη μια μόνο καταλαμβάνει άσκηση παραδοσιακού τύπου, ενώ τις τρεις υπόλοιπες καταλαμβάνουν ασκήσεις επικοινωνιακής μορφής, γεγονός που, προφανώς, δεν ευνοεί την ενίσχυση της ενασχόλησης με το λεξιλόγιο και τις επικοινωνιακές του προεκτάσεις.

Οι προτιμήσεις των εκπαιδευτικών σε σχέση με τον τύπο αξιολόγησης του λεξιλογίου θα λέγαμε ότι είναι ανάλογες, τουλάχιστον ποσοτικά, με τις θεωρητικές τοποθετήσεις για το λεξιλόγιο, όπως τις παρουσιάσαμε προηγουμένως. Ωστόσο, δε συμφωνούν με τις τάσεις των σχετικών πρακτικών που ακολουθούνται στην τάξη. Ειδικότερα, η παρατηρούμενη επικράτηση της ενσωματωμένης αξιολόγησης σε συνδυασμό με το γεγονός ότι η αξιολόγηση βάσει του περιεχόμενου καταλαμβάνει τη δεύτερη θέση, δείχνουν ότι και στην αξιολογική διαδικασία το λεξιλόγιο στις περισσότερες περιπτώσεις αντιμετωπίζεται σε συνδυασμό με τα υπόλοιπα γλωσσικά επίπεδα και ότι όλο και περισσότερο αποτιμάται η γνώση του σε ένα ευρύτερο γλωσσικό και επικοινωνιακό πλαίσιο. Παρατηρείται, λοιπόν, μια αντίφαση μεταξύ της αυξημένης προτίμησης αξιολογήσεων επικοινωνιακού τύπου και της σχετικά ισχυρής ακόμη επιμονής σε παραδοσιακού τύπου διδακτικές δραστηριότητες.

Συνεπώς, τα πορίσματα της παρούσας έρευνας καταδεικνύουν την ύπαρξη μιας γενικότερης αντίφασης που διέπει τη σχολική μας πραγματικότητα και στη συγκεκριμένη περίπτωση τη γλωσσική μας εκπαίδευση, σύμφωνα με την οποία οι θεωρητικές αντιλήψεις δεν συνδυάζονται με αντίστοιχες διδακτικές πρακτικές. Μιλώντας ειδικότερα για τη διδασκαλία του λεξιλογίου, θα λέγαμε ότι οι αντιλήψεις των διδασκόντων σε συνδυασμό με πολλές από τις αντίστοιχες προβλέψεις των αναλυτικών προγραμμάτων αποτελούν απλώς θεωρητικές τοποθετήσεις οι οποίες δεν υλοποιούνται σε επίπεδο εφαρμογών. Η αντίφαση αυτή οφείλεται προφανώς τόσο στην καταλυτική επίδραση που ασκεί στον γλωσσικό τομέα η παραδοσιακή αντίληψη, όσο και στην απουσία της απαιτούμενης σχετικής επιμορφωτικής παρέμβασης. Όσον αφορά τις τεχνικές ανάπτυξης του λεξιλογίου, μόνο στην περίπτωση των τεχνικών ανάπτυξης των λεξικών συνυποδηλώσεων, όσοι θεωρούν κεντρική τη θέση του λεξιλογίου τείνουν να τις αναφέρουν συχνότερα από αυτούς που θέτουν το λεξιλόγιο στο περιθώριο. Επιπλέον, όσον αφορά τις τεχνικές ανάπτυξης της κύριας σημασίας των λέξεων, παρατηρήθηκε επίσης οριακή διαφοροποίηση μεταξύ των δύο ομάδων εκπαιδευτικών. Τέλος, ως προς το διδακτικό υλικό, μόνο σε δύο περιπτώσεις παρατηρήθηκαν αξιοσημείωτες διαφοροποιητικές τάσεις μεταξύ των δύο μερίδων των εκπαιδευτικών του δείγματος. Η πρώτη αφορά τις κειμενοκεντρικές δραστηριότητες της συμπλήρωσης κενών σε κείμενο και της ένταξης των λέξεων σε προτάσεις, οι οποίες παρουσίασαν μια αυξημένη προτίμηση από τους εκπαιδευτικούς της πρώτης ομάδας. Η δεύτερη περίπτωση σημαντικής διαφοροποίησης εντοπίζεται στις απαντήσεις που δόθηκαν στο ερώτημα για τον βαθμό αφομοίωσης του λεξιλογικού υλικού από τους μαθητές. Εδώ πιο αρνητικοί εμφανίστηκαν όσοι ακολουθούν περισσότερο παραδοσιακούς τρόπους διδασκαλίας και λιγότερο όσοι ακολουθούν πιο σύγχρονους. Σε όλες τις άλλες περιπτώσεις δεν διαφάνηκε κάποια στατιστικά σημαντική διαφοροποίηση.

Συμπερασματικά, υπάρχει πολύς ακόμη δρόμος να διανυθεί τόσο από πλευράς θεωρίας όσο και από πλευράς διδακτικής πράξης, ώστε να έχουμε ουσιαστική βελτίωση της θέσης του λεξιλογίου στο πλαίσιο του μαθήματος της Νεοελληνικής Γλώσσας, σύμφωνα με τις αρχές και τα πορίσματα της εφαρμοσμένης γλωσσολογίας (Lewis 1997, Nation 2001: 60-112, Gairns-Redman 1995: 73-76 & 115-170). Κατ' αρχάς, οι εκπαιδευτικοί πρέπει να εκτιμήσουν την καθοριστική συμβολή του λεξιλογίου στη γλωσσική συγκρότηση των μαθητών τους και στην επίτευξη κάθε είδους γλωσσικής επικοινωνίας (Schmitt-McCarthy 1997: 85-88, Woolard 2000: 30-31) καθώς και να κατανοήσουν εις βάθος τη συστηματικότητα του λεξιλογίου με όρους σημασιολογικών σχέσεων (συνωνυμία, αντωνυμία, υπωνυμία κτλ., βλ. Μπακάκου 2005: 104 κ.εξ.). Στη συνέχεια, χρειάζεται να εξοικειωθούν και να αποκτήσουν τη δυνατότητα να διακρίνουν σαφέστερα τα διάφορα επίπεδα λεξιλογίου (βασικό λεξιλόγιο, λεξιλόγιο επάρκειας, ειδικό λεξιλόγιο επάρκειας, απαιτητικό λεξιλόγιο, βλ. Μπακάκου-Ορφανού 2003: 157-164), πράγμα που θα τους βοηθήσει να αποφασίζουν τι είδους λεξιλόγιο θα πρέπει να διδάξουν κάθε φορά. Εφόσον αποκτήσουν στέρεη θεωρητική βάση, χρειάζεται να βρουν τρόπους εφαρμογής της στη διδακτική πράξη, δίνοντας έμφαση π.χ. στη σημασία της μορφολογικής ανάλυσης κυρίως των σύνθετων και των παραγώγων λέξεων (προθήματα, επιθήματα, λεξική βάση κτλ., βλ. Ευθυμίου κ.α. 2011) και στη χρήση μεγάλης ποικιλίας αυθεντικών κειμένων για τη διδασκαλία τόσο της μορφής (Ευθυμίου 2011: 161-163) όσο και της σημασίας των λέξεων (Βάμβουκας 2001: 151-153, Κατσιμαλή 2001: 144-150).

Επιπλέον, για την επίτευξη των συγκεκριμένων στόχων κρίνεται απαραίτητη η κατάλληλη προσαρμογή των θεωρητικών βοηθημάτων των εκπαιδευτικών αλλά και των διδακτικών υλικών που αυτοί θα χρησιμοποιήσουν στην τάξη, έτσι ώστε να μπορέσουν να αναθεωρήσουν ουσιαστικά τις διδακτικές πρακτικές τους και να καθοδηγηθούν προς μια σύμμετρη ενασχόληση με τη γραμματική και το λεξιλόγιο (Hatch-Brown 1995: 372-392, Lewis 1993: 133, Nattlinger 1988). Επιπλέον, είναι

απαραίτητο να εφαρμοστεί νέα διαδικασία κατάρτισης των δοκιμών λεξιλογικής αξιολόγησης, ώστε να διαπιστώνεται ο βαθμός επίτευξης των επιδιωκόμενων στόχων, να καθοδηγούνται κατάλληλα οι μαθητές στη χρήση δημιουργικών τρόπων κατάκτησης του λεξιλογίου και να καθορίζεται, βάσει της σχετικής ανατροφοδότησης, η περαιτέρω πορεία της διδασκαλίας.

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Η ΓΝΩΣΤΙΚΗ ΟΥΣΙΑ ΤΗΣ ΥΠΑΡΚΤΙΚΟΤΗΤΑΣ ΚΑΙ Η ΓΛΩΣΣΙΚΗ ΕΚΦΡΑΣΗ ΤΗΣ ΣΤΗΝ ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΗ ΚΑΙ ΣΤΗ ΒΟΥΛΓΑΡΙΚΗ («ΕΙΜΑΙ» ΚΑΙ «ΕΧΩ»)

Anastasia Petrova
University of Veliko Tarnovo
“St. Ciril and St. Methodius” -
Bulgaria
anp@abv.bg

Χριστίνα Μάρκου
Δημοκρίτειο Πανεπιστήμιο
Θράκης
chrmarkou@yahoo.gr

ABSTRACT

This paper refers to the results of our research on the existential semantic of the verbs ‘έχω/имам’ and ‘είμαι/съм’ in Modern Greek and Bulgarian languages. There is significant data of structures used to express existentiality, characterization, location, possessiveness, in both languages. The main focus of the comparative analysis is on the semantic specificity, the areas of use, the distribution of existential functions, the concurrence between the two verbs. We consider the semantic and syntactic constrains and the interaction with other categories (definiteness/indefiniteness, personality/impersonality, affirmation/negation etc.).

Keywords: existentiality, existential constructions, concept, conceptualizing metaphor.

1. Εισαγωγή

Αντικείμενο της ανακοίνωσης είναι οι υπαρκτικές λειτουργίες των γλωσσικών δομών με τα ρήματα ‘έχω’ και ‘είμαι’ στην ελληνική και στη βουλγαρική γλώσσα. Αποτελεί προσπάθεια για περαιτέρω διερεύνηση των ήδη υπαρχόντων συμπερασμάτων (Buchholz 1989, Nicolova 1990, Assenova 2001, Alexieva 1992) σχετικά με τις ποικίλες ιδιότητες των ‘έχω’ και ‘είμαι’ για τη δήλωση της υπαρκτικότητας (existentiality) στις δυο γλώσσες. Εξετάζονται οι σημασιολογικές ιδιαιτερότητες, η λειτουργική πολυσημαντικότητα των συγκεκριμένων ρημάτων και οι σφαίρες χρήσης τους, η κατανομή των υπαρκτικών λειτουργιών και ο ανταγωνισμός μεταξύ τους, η αλληλεπίδραση τους με άλλες κατηγορίες.

Το γλωσσικό υλικό επικυρώνει την παρατήρησή μας, ότι η έκφραση της υπαρκτικότητας με το ρήμα ‘έχω’ (κοινό γνώρισμα των βαλκανικών γλωσσών και των διαλέκτων τους), εμφανίζεται σε μικρότερο βαθμό στη βουλγαρική γλώσσα σε σχέση με την ελληνική, οι παραλληλισμοί όμως ανάμεσα στις δυο γλώσσες είναι σημαντικοί και σαφώς δείχνουν την πραγμάτωση της ίδιας γνωστικής μεταφοράς: *Σ περιέχει Ρ στο δικό του χώρο*. Η μεταφορά αυτή εκδηλώνεται πέρα από τα όρια του λεξιλογικού επιπέδου, καθώς οι έννοιες ως καθολικές ενοποιήσεις/σύνολα του νοήματος εξαπλώνονται σε όλο το χώρο της γλώσσας. Το παράδειγμα των ‘είμαι’-συνταγμάτων με υπαρκτική σημασία εκπροσωπείται από πολυάριθμες δομές, κάθε μια εκ των οποίων με διαφορετικό τρόπο ορίζεται από περιφερειακά, λιγότερο ή περισσότερο δευτερεύοντα κατηγορήματα όπως τοποθέτηση στον χώρο και στο χρόνο, χαρακτηρισμός, κτητικότητα (Nicolova 1990: 236).

Οι τελευταίες γλωσσο-πολιτισμικές μελέτες εστιάζουν στην πραγματολογική προέλευση του λόγου, στην αλληλεπίδραση της σύνταξης και της σημασίας, στη γλώσσα και στη σκέψη και στο ζήτημα των εννοιολογικών καθολικών. Το λεξιλόγιο και η γραμματική ενώνουν τις προσπάθειές τους και αναπαράγουν από κοινού την ανθρώπινη γνώση, με ένα συνεχές από μεταβάσεις μεταξύ τους, το οποίο πραγματοποιείται στο ενιαίο εννοιολογικό σύστημα της γλώσσας μέσω μεταφορικών και μετωνυμικών μοντέλων (Kaškin 2001: 45).

Καλή απεικόνιση των παραπάνω είναι τα δεδομένα από το συνταγματικό και τον παραδειγματικό άξονα των ρημάτων ‘είμαι’ και ‘έχω’ στις δυο βαλκανικές γλώσσες, οι οποίες αποτελούν αντικείμενο της έρευνάς μας.

2. 'Είμαι/сѣм' και 'έχω/имам' ως πλήρη ρήματα - σημασιολογικές ιδιαιτερότητες

Τα ρήματα 'είμαι/сѣм' και 'έχω/имам' μετέχουν ως δομικό συστατικό σε δυο βασικές ομάδες υπαρκτικών προτάσεων, οι οποίες διαφοροποιούνται με βάση το δηλωτικό περιεχόμενο: προτάσεις δήλωσης γενικευτικής υπαρκτικότητας (generic existentiality) και προτάσεις, οι οποίες εκφράζουν συγκεκριμένη, περιστασιακά καθορισμένη υπαρκτικότητα (situational determinated existentiality). Η διαφορά μεταξύ της γενικευτικής και της συγκεκριμένης υπαρκτικότητας καθορίζεται από το βαθμό σύνδεσης της ύπαρξης του αντικειμένου με μια συγκεκριμένη κατάσταση, συνεπώς αυτός ο διαχωρισμός λειτουργεί εξαρχής υπό όρους (Nicolova 1990: 237).

2.1 Δομές δήλωσης γενικευτικής υπαρκτικότητας

Κοινή ιδιαιτερότητα του βαλκανικού γλωσσικού χώρου, απόλυτα φυσική για την ελληνική, τη βουλγαρική και την αλβανική γλώσσα, είναι η απρόσωπη χρήση του ρήματος 'έχω' για την έκφραση της γενικευτικής υπαρκτικότητας (Nicolova 1990, Buchholz 1989: 329-336, Assenova 1987: 150; Ivanova 2002: 5-24; Kaldieva-Zaharieva 2005: 263). Η ενεργοποίηση της απρόσωπης μορφής του ρήματος έχει τη γνωσιακή εξήγησή της – η υπαρκτικότητα βρίσκεται σε στενή αλληλεπίδραση με την κατηγορία της δείξης¹, τα συστατικά της οποίας εξασφαλίζουν τη σύνδεση της δήλωσης με μια συγκεκριμένη κατάσταση.

Όλες οι δομές που ανήκουν σ' αυτήν την ομάδα βασίζονται σε μοντέλο, όπου η ονοματική φράση, της οποίας η ύπαρξη επιβεβαιώνεται ή ακυρώνεται, έχει θέση άμεσου αντικειμένου, πάντα χωρίς οριστικό άρθρο. Οι υπαρκτικές λειτουργίες του απρόσωπου 'έχει' είναι αναμφισβήτητες, σημασιολογικά οι εν λόγω δομές βρίσκονται σε «συμπληρωματική κατανομή» (complementary distribution) με τις 'είμαι'-δομές. Σε συνταγματικό επίπεδο δεν είναι υποχρεωτική η εμφάνιση τοπικών και χρονικών προσδιορισμών στην επιφανειακή δομή. Όταν η φράση είναι 'περιστασιακά καθορισμένη', ο τοπικός προσδιορισμός γίνεται θέμα της πρότασης και η δομή αποκτά την ακόλουθη μορφή: $V_{imp.} + O_d + A$ (*Έχει λαϊκή στην πόλη/σήμερα.*) ή $A + V_{imp.} + O_d$ (*Στην πόλη/σήμερα έχει λαϊκή.*). Η σύγκριση με γλώσσα, η οποία δεν ανήκει στη Βαλκανική γλωσσική ένωση², επιτρέπει να διακριθεί η ιδιαιτερότητα του γνωσιακού μοντέλου:

Στο δάσος έχει δέντρα. = Τα δέντρα είναι στο δάσος.

В гората има дървета. = Дърветата са в гората.

There are trees in the forest.

Σε διαχρονική προοπτική φανερά διακρίνεται η αλλαγή της σχέσης μεταξύ των ρημάτων 'έχω' και 'είμαι' και στις δυο γλώσσες: η κυριαρχία του 'είμαι' στα αρχαιοελληνικά κείμενα σταδιακά μειώνεται, σήμερα στη καθημερινή γλωσσική πρακτική για τη δήλωση κατάστασης συνηθίζεται η χρήση του ρήματος 'έχει'. Στη βουλγαρική για τη δήλωση ύπαρξης ή τοποθέτησης σε κείμενα του 17-ου αιώνα, τα ρήματα 'είμαι' και 'έχω' αλληλοαντικαθίστανται ακόμη και στα πλαίσια της ίδιας φράσης (Mladenova 2007: 234-238). Διαχρονικά φαίνεται οι δυο γλώσσες να καταλήγουν στο ίδιο προτιμώμενο μοντέλο, το οποίο εύκολα διακρίνεται σε σύγκριση με άλλες γλώσσες³.

Η χαρακτηριστική «βαλκανική» παρουσία των λεξημάτων 'έχω/имам', όπως στην ελληνική, έτσι και στη βουλγαρική γλώσσα, δεν φαίνεται να ελαττώνει την πολυλειτουργικότητα του ρήματος 'είμαι/сѣм'. Η εξέλιξη προς την κατεύθυνση της εξάπλωσης των 'έχω'-συνταγμάτων και στις δυο γλώσσες εξισορροπείται από 'είμαι'-δομές, οι οποίες εξειδικεύονται στην έκφραση της υπαρκτικότητας, αλλά και της τοποθέτησης, του χαρακτηρισμού και της κτητικότητας. Με αυτόν τον τρόπο η νεοελληνική και η βουλγαρική γλώσσα, βρίσκόμενες σε σταυροδρόμι πολιτισμικών χώρων, φαίνεται να βρίσκονται και στην ίδια ζώνη διασταύρωσης γλωσσικών τάσεων.

Στην ελληνική γλώσσα οι υπαρκτικές δομές δήλωσης γενικευτικής υπαρκτικότητας ('κάποτε/κάπου/κάπως υπάρχει κάποιος, κάτι') είναι ως επί το πλείστον χώρος του ρήματος 'είμαι'. Τα γλωσσικά δεδομένα δείχνουν ότι στη νεοελληνική για τη δήλωση γενικευτικής υπαρκτικότητας γίνονται το ίδιο αποδεκτές τόσο οι 'είμαι'-δομές, όσο και οι 'έχει'-δομές, ενώ η βουλγαρική χρησιμοποιεί στο μεγαλύτερο μέρος των περιπτώσεων το ρήμα 'έχω'. Στη νεοελληνική γλώσσα σε υπαρκτικές δομές⁴ δήλωσης γενικευτικής υπαρκτικότητας με σημασία

¹ Είναι γνωστό ότι η τριτοπρόσωπη μορφή του ρήματος χαρακτηρίζεται από μεγαλύτερη ελευθερία σε σχέση με την κατηγορία της οριστικότητας (definiteness) – μπορεί να φέρει πληροφορίες όπως της οριστικότητας, έτσι και της μη οριστικότητας (indefiniteness), σε αντίθεση με τις μορφές του α' και β' προσώπου, οι οποίες απευθύνονται σε γνωστούς μετέχοντες στην επικοινωνία (Ivanova 1981: 59-60).

² Ο όρος χρησιμοποιείται ως απόδοση του γερμανικού όρου Balkanschprachbund (βλ. Τζιτζιλής 2000).

³ Για τη ρουμάνικη γλώσσα δεν είναι χαρακτηριστική η «γενικευτική» και η «περιστασιακά καθορισμένη υπαρκτικότητα. Εξαίρεση αποτελούν οι νότιες διάλεκτοι (βλ. Caragiu-Marioțeanu M., όπως παρατιθ. στο Kaldieva-Zaharieva 2005: 265).

⁴ Ο όρος *υπαρκτική δομή* χρησιμοποιείται συνήθως για δομές με την αναφορική λειτουργία να εγκρίνουν ή να αρνούνται την ύπαρξη μιας ουσίας, χωρίς να εισάγουν συμπληρωματικά υφολογικά ή συναισθηματικά στοιχεία. Εδώ θέτουμε ένα ευρύτερο

‘κάποιος/κάτι υπάρχει, έχει υπόσταση, είναι εν ζωή’ το ρήμα ‘είμαι’ λειτουργεί ως πλήρες υπαρκτικό ρήμα. Η κεντρική δομή είναι δυνατόν να συμπληρώνεται με χρονικούς ή τοπικούς προσδιορισμούς. Όπως είναι φυσικό, στην ελληνική γλώσσα το υποκείμενο είναι στην αόριστη μορφή του και συνδυάζεται είτε με αόριστο άρθρο, είτε με αόριστη αντωνυμία, χωρίς όμως να αποκλείεται η χρήση οριστικού άρθρου.

*Είναι κάποια πράγματα που με ενοχλούν. - Има някои неща, които ме дразнят.
Είναι και άλλοι λόγοι να μην πάω. - Има и други причини да не отида.*

Μια ακόμη επιβεβαίωση του γεγονότος, ότι στη βουλγαρική η γενικευτική υπαρκτικότητα είναι σφαίρα εξειδίκευσης του ρήματος ‘έχω’ αποτελεί η παρατήρηση, ότι ο αριθμός των στερεότυπων εκφράσεων με το ρήμα ‘είμαι’/‘съм’ που δηλώνουν γενικευτική υπαρκτικότητα είναι περιορισμένος (*било каково то било – ό, τι ήταν, ήταν... , тя беше тая, беше то – ήταν αυτό, πάει*).

2.2 Δομές των ρημάτων ‘είμαι/съм’ η ‘έχω/имам’ για τη δήλωση περιστασιακά καθορισμένης υπαρκτικότητας (situational determined existentiality)

2.2.1 Δομές με σημασία ‘κάτι γίνεται, συμβαίνει’

Και τα δυο ρήματα γίνονται αποδεκτά σ’ αυτές τις δομές, με την παρατήρηση ότι η χρήση του ρήματος ‘έχω’ είναι απρόσωπη. Κάνει εντύπωση η ενεργητικότητα και των δυο ρημάτων στην ελληνική, ενώ η βουλγαρική δείχνει σαφή προτίμηση στο ρήμα ‘έχω’:

*Τι είναι;- Какво има? (συγκρ. με αγγλ. What’s up?)
Δεν είναι τίποτα. - Няма нищо.
Έχει συνέλευση (σήμερα/εδώ). - Има събрание (днес/тук). (αγγλ. There is a meeting (today)).*

2.2.2 Δομές δήλωσης χρόνου

Στη θέση του υποκειμένου βρίσκεται ονοματική φράση με σημασία φυσικού φαινομένου, χρονικής περιόδου (ώρα, χρόνος, πρωί, βράδυ, μέρα, νύχτα, χειμώνας, καλοκαίρι κλπ.). Σ’ αυτές τις περιπτώσεις η επιλογή και των δυο γλωσσών είναι το ρήμα ‘είμαι’:

*Τι ώρα είναι;- Колко е часът?
Τι μέρα είναι/έχουμε σήμερα;- Какъв ден/какво е днес? Какво сме днес?
Είναι ώρα να φύγουμε. - Време е да тръгваме.*

2.2.3 Δομές έκφρασης φυσικών φαινομένων και καιρικών καταστάσεων

Και για τις δυο γλώσσες είναι χαρακτηριστική η απρόσωπη χρήση του ρήματος ‘είμαι’ με σημασία ‘επικρατεί’, σε συνδυασμό με ουσιαστικό ή επίρρημα (ένα μέρος των περιπτώσεων εμφανίζει και συνώνυμες ‘έχω’-δομές):

*Είναι κρύο/ζέστη = έχει κρύο/ζέστη - Студено/топло е.
Έχει κρύο, έχει συννεφιά - Студено е, облачно е.
Είναι σκοτεινά - Тъмно е.
Την άνοιξη θα έχει άσχημο καιρό. - През пролетта ще има лошо време.*

2.2.4 Δομές χαρακτηρισμού

Η υπαρκτικότητα συχνά συνοδεύεται από στοιχεία χαρακτηρισμού, κτητικότητας, τοποθέτησης στο χώρο και στο χρόνο, έτσι που στη σημασιολογική δομή μιας υπαρκτικής δήλωσης είναι δυνατόν να εμφανίζονται και άλλα υποχρεωτικά ή δευτερεύοντα κατηγορήματα (Nicolova 1990: 236).

Στις δομές χαρακτηρισμού τα δυο ρήματα «βλέπουν» το αντικείμενο από διαφορετικές οπτικές γωνίες και υπό διαφορετικό πρίσμα. Το ρήμα ‘είμαι’ αποτελεί το σημείο ίσον, το οποίο εξασφαλίζει τη σχέση ταύτισης και

πλαίσιο, στηριζόμενοι στην πεποίθηση, ότι ρητώς ή μη, κάθε δήλωση είναι υπαρκτική. Η υπαρκτικότητα αποτελεί βασική προϋπόθεση της δήλωσης, ανεξάρτητα αν πρόκειται για καθαρή επιβεβαίωση ή άρνηση, ή αν υπάρχει κάποια πρόσθετη απόχρωση (βλ. Nicolova 1990: 236).

λειτουργεί ως συνδετικό. Η γενική σημασία αυτών των δομών είναι: ‘υπάρχω με ορισμένη ιδιότητα ή βρίσκομαι σε ορισμένη κατάσταση – συναισθηματική, φυσική ή διανοητική’.

2.2.4.1 Το ρήμα ‘είμαι/сѣм’ συμμετέχει στο σχηματισμό δομών, οι οποίες δηλώνουν μόνιμη ιδιότητα ή χαρακτηριστικό του υποκειμένου. Η ομάδα αυτή περιλαμβάνει και σημαντικό αριθμό φρασεολογικών μονάδων, η σημασία των οποίων προκύπτει βάσει κάποιας περισσότερο ή λιγότερο σύνθετης μεταφοράς.

Είμαι τάφος - Гроб сѣм

Είμαι πετσά και κόκαλο - Кожѣ и кости сѣм

Στα ‘έχω’-συντάγματα το σημασιολογικό στοιχείο ‘κατέχω’ διακρίνεται ως ιδιόμορφος σημασιολογικός πυρήνας, γύρω από τον οποίον οργανώνεται όλο το σημασιολογικό περιεχόμενο του ρήματος. Η παρουσία της κτητικότητας ως βασικού σημασιολογικού στοιχείου προσδίδει μια ασυνήθιστη όψη στη σημασία των συγκεκριμένων συνταγμάτων, επειδή η σημασία αυτή είναι ουσιαστικά υπαρκτική (συνδεδεμένη με τον χαρακτηρισμό του υποκειμένου, με την έκφραση της κατάστασης, στην οποία βρίσκεται κτλ.). Το αντικείμενο, η ύπαρξη του οποίου επιβεβαιώνεται ή ακυρώνεται, συμπεριλαμβάνεται στον «ιδιόκτητο» χώρο του υποκειμένου ως δικό του κτήμα. Σχεδόν πάντα εμφανίζεται χωρίς οριστικό άρθρο – η αοριστικότητα είναι και δείκτης της μετατροπής του ‘έχω’ σε συνώνυμο του ‘είμαι’ για τη δήλωση της υπαρκτικότητας (βλ. Benveniste 1974: 203-225; Stoyanov 1973: 194-5; επίσης Nicolova 1990: 237). Σε όλες τις εν λόγω δομές το ρήμα χρησιμοποιείται αυτόνομα, η κτητικότητα εκφράζεται σε επιφανειακό επίπεδο. Ταυτόχρονα με τη ρητά δηλωμένη κτητικότητα, είναι παρούσα και η ιδέα της υπαρκτικότητας. Η βασική δομή είναι: S + V_{have} + O_d - με τη δυνατότητα να συμπληρώνεται από στοιχείο προσδιοριστικό της περίπτωσης. Στη θέση του άμεσου αντικειμένου εμφανίζεται ονοματική φράση, πάντοτε μη οριστική, η ύπαρξη της οποίας επιβεβαιώνεται ή αρνείται.

Συνηθισμένες στην ομιλία και των δυο γλωσσικών ομάδων είναι οι ακόλουθες εκδοχές του συγκεκριμένου γνωστικού μοντέλου:

2.2.4.2 Δομή: ‘έχω’ + ονοματική φράση με σημασία ‘φυσικό χαρακτηριστικό του ανθρώπου’:

Έχω κοντά/μακριά μαλλιά, γαλανά μάτια. - Имам дълга коса/сини очи.

Για την έκφραση των φυσικών χαρακτηριστικών του ανθρώπου και για τις δυο γλώσσες είναι το ίδιο φυσικές οι εμπρόθετες ‘είμαι’-δομές με την πρόθεση ‘με’ και ονοματική φράση φυσικού χαρακτηρισμού με την ίδια σημασία ‘διακρίνομαι για κάποια ιδιότητα, χαρακτηριστικό’:

Είναι με γαλανά μάτια και ξανθά μαλλιά. – Със сини очи и руса коса е.

2.2.4.3 Στην ελληνική γλώσσα από την κλασσική περίοδο εμφανίζονται τυποποιημένες οι χρήσεις του ρήματος ‘έχω’ σε συνδυασμό με ουσιαστικό από το πεδίο ‘ένδυμα’: ‘είμαι ντυμένος, φοράω’ (Έχω χιτώνα/κράνη/στολήν - ΛΑΕΓ 419):

Είχε άσπρο πουκάμισο, μαύρη γραβάτα και μια παράξενη κονκάρδα στο ρεβέρ του.

Имаше бяла риза, черна вратовръзка и странна значка на ревера.

2.2.4.4 Η ιδέα της ηλικίας ως κτήμα του υποκειμένου γίνεται αντιληπτή σε παλαιοβουλγαρικά και αρχαιοελληνικά δείγματα, στα οποία εμφανίζεται το ίδιο γνωστικό μοντέλο: пришедъ же нѣ въ вѣтанниѣхъ оверѣте и ѡгътири дѣни юже **имашѣ** въ гробѣ; пати дѣшѣтъ лѣтъ не оу **има(ш)и**; въздрастъ **имѣти**, το οποίο αποτελεί ακριβή αντιστοιχία του αρχαιοελληνικού ‘ηλικίαν έχω’ (CP 634-635).

Η κτητική σημασία της υπαρκτικής δομής στη δήλωση ηλικίας στην ελληνική και στη βουλγαρική γλώσσα είναι αισθητή, ιδιαίτερα αν λάβουμε υπόψη τις ισοδύναμες ‘έχω’-δομές:

Τα έχει τα χρονάκια του. – Има си ги годинките.

‘Είμαι’-δομές για τη δήλωση της ηλικίας, οι οποίες παρουσιάζουν κανονική χρήση και στη νεοελληνική γλώσσα, καταγράφονται στο Λεξικού της Μεσαιωνικής Ελληνικής Δημόδους Γραμματείας: ‘είκοσι χρόνων ήτονε εις μέτρον ηλικίας’, ‘είμαι εις δέκα χρόνους’ ‘έχω ηλικία δέκα χρόνων’. Αντιθέτως, υποχώρησε η έκφραση ‘είμαι του καιρού μου’, την οποία αντικατέστησε η συνώνυμή της ‘έχω την ηλικία μου’.

2.2.4.5 Ιδιαίτερο ενδιαφέρον από γνωσιακή άποψη παρουσιάζουν οι υπαρκτικές δομές, στις οποίες στη θέση του άμεσου αντικειμένου εμφανίζεται ουσιαστικό ή ονοματική φράση που κατονομάζει ανθρώπινο χαρακτηριστικό, κατάσταση, σχέση, συναίσθημα:

Έχω δύναμη (υγεία, θάρρος, αντοχή, ανδρεία, φιλοτιμία, υπομονή, ευφυΐα, μνήμη, ταλέντο, γνώσεις, λογικό).
Имам сила (здраве, смелост, издръжливост, доблест, амбиция, търпение, интелект, памет, талант, знание, ум, разум).

Η διαχρονική ανάλυση αποδεικνύει ότι η προδιάθεση για το σχηματισμό δομών, βασισμένων στο συγκεκριμένο γνωσιακό σχήμα (η ιδιότητα παρουσιάζεται ως κτήμα του υποκειμένου με μεταβατικό το ρήμα 'έχω') κληρονομήθηκε από την αρχαία ελληνική και την παλαιοβουλγαρική γλώσσα:

аще वो кто видѣтъ тѣ ѿи(ж)ца разогнѣ въ тѣх(в)иш(и) вѣзлѣкаца; да и хотѣаште и не хотѣаште, ѿиѣтъ панаѣтъ, и не забѣдѣтъ; ѿиѣростѣ ѿиѣтъ (CP 635-636); *ἀθυμίαν ἔχειν, γνώμην ἔχειν, αἰτίαν ἔχειν* κ.α. (Η πεποίθηση αυτή ενισχύεται ακόμη περισσότερο, αν λάβουμε υπόψη και τα σύνθετα παράγωγα, στη σημασία των οποίων είναι αισθητό το στοιχείο 'κατέχω': *εχέ-θυμος, εχε-μυθέω, εχέ-φρων* κ.α. (ΛΑΕΓ 419). Αυτά και άλλα παρόμοια δεδομένα επιβεβαιώνουν την παρατήρηση ότι τα γλωσσικά σημεία, τα οποία είναι αποτέλεσμα μεταφορικών και μετωνυμικών επεκτάσεων, είναι ανθεκτικά στο χρόνο, επειδή η σημασιολογική εξέλιξή τους βασίζεται σε διαπιστωμένη από τη συνείδηση ομοιότητα, στηριζόμενη από ένα ζωντανό εικονοσχήμα.

2.2.4.6 Εμπρόθετες 'είμαι'-δομές με σημασία 'υπάρχω με ορισμένη ιδιότητα, ικανότητα, σχέση, η οποία κατονομάζεται με ουσιαστικό'. Το υποκείμενο χαρακτηρίζεται έμμεσα μέσω της σχέσης κτήσης⁵. Ο μεγαλύτερος αριθμός αυτών των συνταγμάτων διαθέτει ισοδύναμες 'έχω'-δομές, οι οποίες συνήθως δείχνουν υψηλότερη συχνότητα χρήσης στο λόγο. Η παρουσία του αντικειμένου και η κτήση του προσδίδει στο υποκείμενο κάποιες ιδιότητες, ορισμένα χαρακτηριστικά, σχέσεις, δηλαδή η σχέση κτήσης επεκτείνεται σε χαρακτηρισμό του υποκειμένου:

Είναι άνθρωπος με αξιοπρέπεια – έχει αξιοπρέπεια - Човек с достоинство e = ѿма достоинство
Είναι άνθρωπος με ταλέντο, με πολλές γνώσεις - Човек с талант e = ѿма много знания

2.2.4.7 Δομές του ρήματος 'έχω' με O_d ουσιαστικό το οποίο δηλώνει κατάσταση, σχέση, συναίσθημα: 'βρίσκομαι στην κατάσταση, στη σχέση, την οποία εκφράζει το ουσιαστικό'.

Έχω ενδιαφέρον (ελπίδα, επιθυμία, αγωνία, στενοχώρια, λάθος, εμπιστοσύνη, ντροπή, μίσος, ανάγκη).
Имам интерес (надежда, желание, тревога, притеснение, грешка, доверие, срам, омраза, нужда).

Σ' αυτήν τη σειρά μπορούν να συμπεριληφθούν και οι στερεότυπες εκφράσεις του τύπου *Έχω καλή καρδιά* *Имам добро/златно сърце*. Παρόμοια συντάγματα με υψηλό βαθμό παγίωσης έχουν καταγραφή στην παλαιοβουλγαρική και στην αρχαία ελληνική: *κοιμῶ ἡμεῖς*, *ἐβῆρ ἡμεῖς*, αρχαιοελλ. *έχω πίστιν; νοηκῶ ἡμεῖς*, αρχαιοελλ. *έχω ανάγκην*; Βλ. επιπλέον και τις αρχαιοελληνικές δομές με σημασία 'βρίσκομαι σε ορισμένη κατάσταση, διάθεση': *εὖ (καλῶς) ἔχειν, εὐφρενῶν ἔχειν* (CP 635-637).

Ανταγωνιστικές εμφανίζονται οι 'είναι'-δομές με πρόθεση 'με' σε συνδυασμό με ονοματική φράση η οποία δηλώνει κάποια ψυχική ή πνευματική ιδιότητα:

Είναι άνθρωπος με καλή καρδιά. – Човек с добро сърце e. = Έχει καλή καρδιά – Има добро сърце.

Με αντίθετη αξία είναι και οι δομές χαρακτηρισμού με την πρόθεση 'χωρίς/δίχως' με σημασία 'δεν έχω ορισμένη ιδιότητα, ικανότητα'.

Είμαι δίχως/χωρίς ψυχή = Δεν έχω ψυχή - Без душа съм = Нямам душа

2.2.4.8 Στο ίδιο μοντέλο, με υποχρεωτικά δηλωμένη στην επιφανειακή δομή τοποθέτηση, ανήκουν οι εκφράσεις του τύπου *S + V_{have} + (O_d) + A, :*

Έχω κατά νου – Имам на ум
Έχω στο μάτι - Имам на око (ΛΚΝΕ: 554).
Έχω υπόψη μου - Имам, вземам пред вид (ΛΚΝΕ: 554).

⁵ Για την ύπαρξη όμοιων δομών στη ρουμάνικη γλώσσα βλ. Kaldieva-Zaharieva (2004: 251).

2.2.4.9 Υπαρκτικές ‘είμαι’-δομές με ρητά δηλωμένη κτητικότητα

Στις συχνές χρήσεις του ρήματος ‘είμαι’ ως συνδετικού ανήκει και ο έμμεσος χαρακτηρισμός του υποκειμένου μέσω επισήμανσης της κτήσης. Το στοιχείο της κτητικότητας είναι ιδιαίτερα αισθητό στις ερωτήσεις καθημερινής επικοινωνίας του τύπου:

Τίνος είσαι; Ποιανού παιδί είσαι; – Чий си /Чие дете си?

Είναι της παρέας μας. – От компанията ни е.

Από δομική και από γνωσιακή άποψη παρουσιάζει ενδιαφέρον το διαδεδομένο στην ελληνική γλώσσα μοντέλο, όπου το ρήμα ‘είμαι’ ακολουθείται από ουσιαστικό σε γενική πτώση, συνήθως με αφηρημένη σημασία. Μεγάλο μέρος αυτών των δομών έχουν τις ρίζες τους στην καθαρεύουσα (Mackridge 1990: 123). Σε αρκετές περιπτώσεις είναι δυνατή η αντικατάσταση με δομές με μεταβατικό ρήμα ‘έχω’, όπου το ουσιαστικό εμφανίζεται στη θέση του άμεσου αντικειμένου.

Είναι άνθρωπος εμπιστοσύνης – του έχω εμπιστοσύνη.

Υπάρχουν όμως και ‘είμαι’-δομές χωρίς σημασιολογικά ‘έχω’-ισοδύναμα. Αυτές είναι οι δομές με σημασία ‘το υποκείμενο ανήκει σε ορισμένη τάξη, κατηγορία, σύνολο, εμφανίζοντας κάποιες χαρακτηριστικές ιδιότητες, ιδιαιτερότητες’.

(Δεν) είναι της προκοπής

Είναι της κακιάς ώρας

2.2.4.10 Κοινή βαλκανική ιδιαιτερότητα μπορεί να διαπιστωθεί στις δομές $V_{\text{have}} + O_d$ με γενική σημασία ‘είμαι άρρωστος από την ασθένεια, την οποία κατονομάζει το ουσιαστικό’, όπου το O_d είναι ουσιαστικό με σημασία κάποιας νόσου:

Έχω έλκος (πονοκέφαλο, γρίπη, πυρετό). – Имам язва (главоболуе, грип, температура), ως απάντηση στην ερώτηση: Τι έχεις; – Какво ти е/има? ⁶ - αγγλ. What is the matter with you?

Και στις δυο γλώσσες το συγκεκριμένο μοντέλο δεν είναι καινούργιο, στην παλαιοβουλγαρική έχουν καταγραφεί χρήσεις του ρήματος *имѣти* με σημασία ‘είμαι κατελημμένος από ασθένεια, σωματική ή ψυχική πάθηση, κακό πνεύμα’ – αντανάκλαση των παλαιών αντιλήψεων για την ασθένεια (CP 634-635): *ѣхъ имѣти*, αρχ. *δαιμόνιον ἔχω; болѣхъ имѣти*, αλλά αρχαιοελλ. *ύδρωπικὸς εἰμί*.

Μια άλλη εκδοχή του ιδίου μοντέλου αποτελούν οι δομές με το ρήμα ‘έχω’ και άμεσο αντικείμενο ουσιαστικό, το οποίο ονομάζει το άρρωστο όργανο – *χολή, νεφρά*): *Имам жлъчка (бъбреци)* - ‘Έχω στομάχι (καρδιά, νεφρά). Και στις δυο γλώσσες η συγκεκριμένη χρήση επίσης φαίνεται να είναι παλαιά: *догъхъ неѣжжѣхъ имѣ*, αρχαιοελλ. *ἔχων πνεύμα [τῆς] ἀσθενείας; догъха не имѣ*, αρχ. *ψυχ[ὴν] μ[ὴ] ἔχων* (CP 636).

Η βλάβη ως κτήμα του αντικειμένου γίνεται αντιληπτή σε δομές του τύπου: *Τι έχει το ραδιόφωνο και δεν ακούγεται καλά;* σε αντίθεση με την αγγλ.: *What is the matter with it?* Στη βουλγαρική το ρήμα είναι σε απρόσωπη χρήση: *Какво му има на радиото, че не се чува добре?*

Η βουλγαρική διαθέτει και εναλλακτική ‘είμαι’-δομή με απρόσωπο ρήμα: *Какво му е на радиото, че не се чува добре?*

3. Σημασιολογικές ιδιαιτερότητες των ‘είμαι/съм’ και ‘έχω/имам’ ως βοηθητικών ρημάτων

Εξετάζοντας την κατηγορία της υπαρκτικότητας σε λογικο-φιλοσοφικό πλάνο, ως καθολική σχέση, θα διαπιστώσουμε ότι εξαπλώνεται σε όλο το σύστημα της γλώσσας, συμπεριλαμβανομένης και της γραμματικής. Οντάς τμήμα της γενικής γνώσης, η γλώσσα χρησιμοποιεί τους καθολικούς γνωσιακούς μηχανισμούς και η εκάστοτε γραμματική δομή παρουσιάζει τη δική της γνωσιακή διάσταση (Lakoff 2004: 753). Κάθε διαφορά σε δομικό επίπεδο εκφράζεται και ως διαφορά σε γνωσιακό πλάνο. Η χρήση των ρημάτων ‘έχω’ και ‘είμαι’ στα χρονικά συστήματα των βαλκανικών γλωσσών απεικονίζει και επιβεβαιώνει αυτήν την ιδέα.

⁶ Η κτητική αντωνυμία *ти (σου)* στη βουλγαρική δομή επιπλέον τονίζει την ιδέα της κτήσης. Η δήλωση της υπαρκτικότητας ως κτήμα του υποκειμένου και σε άλλες εκφράσεις είναι δυνατόν να υπογραμμίζεται με κτητική αντωνυμία.

3.1

Το ρήμα 'έχω' στους τύπους του βαλκανικού αναλυτικού παρακειμένου παρουσιάζει μια ατελή απολεξικοποίηση και γραμματικοποίηση. Η κτητική σημασία είναι αισθητή, γι' αυτό και η σχέση *S κατέχει O_d* γίνεται αντιληπτή από τη γλωσσική συνείδηση:

- ('имам' + άκλιτη μορφή της παθητικής μετοχής αορίστου από αμετάβατο ρήμα): *имам дойдено/доаѓано, имам отидено/одено, имам заминато/заминувано, имам влезено/влезувано* (Markovikj 1994: 92).
- ('имам' + άκλιτη μορφή της παθητικής μετοχής αορίστου από μεταβατικό ρήμα): *имам видено/гледаано, имам јадено, имам вечерано, имам пиено* (Markovikj 1994: 93), ελλ. *έχω γραμμένο, το έχω λησμονημένο*.
- ('имам' + κλιτή μορφή της παθητικής μετοχής): *Ние имаме дори взети решения по тези въпроси. Аз имам взети някои изпити*.

Οι χρόνοι αυτοί έχουν υποταχτεί στο γνωσιακό μοντέλο, σύμφωνα με το οποίο η γλωσσική συνείδηση «βλέπει» το αποτέλεσμα της ενέργειας ως κτήμα του υποκειμένου και το εκφράζει με δομή του τύπου *V + O_d*. Η ίδια η φύση του παρακειμένου, με τα στοιχεία της κτητικότητας και της αποτελεσματικότητας που περιέχει, προδιαθέτει τη συνείδηση στο να συνδέσει την αντίληψη της κατάστασης του υποκειμένου με την αντίληψη της κτήσης. Το ίδιο μοντέλο ακολουθεί και ο υπερσυντέλικος.

Η βουλγαρική γλώσσα προτιμά γνωσιακό μοντέλο, το οποίο εστιάζει στην υπαρκτικότητα, δηλούμενη με το ρήμα 'είμαι'. Το ρήμα 'съм' συμμετέχει στο σχηματισμό των αναλυτικών μορφών του παρακειμένου (*писал съм*), του υπερσυντέλικου (*бях ходил*), του συντελεσμένου μέλλοντα (*ще съм носил, ще бѣда носил*).

3.2

Στις μελλοντικές περιφράσεις χάρη στο σήμημα «κατέχω» πραγματοποιείται το ίδιο σενάριο: 'Το υποκείμενο θα κατέχει την ενέργεια, η οποία εκφράζεται με τη δευτερεύουσα πρόταση'. Στο ρήμα 'έχω' οφείλεται και το συμπληρωματικό τροπικό στοιχείο 'του υποχρεωτικού, του αναπόφευκτου', αλλά και της διάρκειας της ενέργειας':

Има много да чакаш. (Έχει να περιμένεις πολύ!) Какви промени, какви чудеса има да стават! (Τι αλλαγές, τι θαύματα έχει να συμβούν!)

Στην ελληνική γλώσσα τα δυο ρήματα 'είμαι' και 'έχω' ανταγωνίζονται στις δομές έκφρασης της σημασίας 'πρέπει, είναι απαραίτητο':

Είναι να πάω την άλλη εβδομάδα;

Ήταν να φύγω αλλά δε μπόρεσα.

Η παρουσία του ρήματος 'έχω' εισάγει την τροπική σημασία 'είναι υποχρεωτικό, αναπόφευκτο, πρόκειται να γίνει':

Μήπως έχω καμιά χαρά να του προσφέρω του παιδιού; (Ε. Αλεξίου) Έχεις να απαντήσεις σ' αυτές τις κατηγορίες.

Εδώ θα πρέπει να κατατάξουμε και τη φράση: *Δεν έχεις να* (δεν επιτρέπεται, δεν κάνει): *Δεν έχεις να πας πουθενά. Αν θέλεις να πετύχεις, δεν έχεις παρά να δουλέψεις σκληρά.*

Στη βουλγαρική το μοντέλο σχηματισμού μελλοντικών περιφράσεων με το ρήμα 'имам' προέρχεται από την παλαιοβουλγαρική:

НЕ ИМАМЪ ПИТИ ЮЖЕ ОТЪ СЕГО ПЛОДА ЛОЗЪНААГО; НЕ ИМАМЪ МАСЪ ЪСТИ ВЪ ВЪКЪ, ...

Σ' αυτές τις δομές το ρήμα 'имам' δεν υπέστη πλήρη γραμματικοποίηση, έχουν καταγραφεί διαφορετικές τροπικές αποχρώσεις: 'σκοπεύω, επίκειται, πρέπει':

СИМОНЕ ИМАМЪ ТИ НЪГЪТО РЕШТИ ЦРЮ, ИМАМЪ ТИ НЪГЪТО СЪВЪШТАТИ. (CP 1: 635); 'μπορώ, είμαι σε θέση': НЕ ВЕУТЕ СЪ ОТЪ ДВИЖАШТИНЪ ТЪЛО, І НЕ ПО ТОМЪ НЕ ИМЪШТЕМЪ, ЛИХА УЕО СЪТВОРИТИ; ЕКЕ ИМЪ СИ СЪТВОРИ (CP 1: 635).

Πλήρως απολεξικοποιημένο εμφανίζεται το ρήμα 'έχω' με κυρίαρχες τις υπαρκτικές λειτουργίες μόνο στις αρνητικές δομές με το μόριο 'няма' (НЕ ИМАМЪ, γ' пр. εν. αρ.) + *да* + ενεστώας⁷.

Η ανάλυση δείχνει ότι στο βάθος των διαφορετικών 'έχω'-συνταγμάτων διαφαίνεται η ιδιαίτερη επικάλυψη των νοητικών χώρων των κατηγοριών της υπαρκτικότητας και της κτητικότητας. Και στις δυο γλώσσες τα

⁷ Η αιτία για την καθιέρωση του ρήματος 'имам' στους αρνητικούς τύπους ενδεχομένως να οφείλεται στην πρώιμη συγχώνευση του μορίου *не* και του ρήματος, με αποτέλεσμα το σχηματισμό του βοηθητικού ρήματος *нямат*.

γνωσιακά μοντέλα των συγκεκριμένων κατηγοριών βρίσκονται σε πολύπλοκη αλληλεπίδραση, η οποία εκφράζεται με διαφορετικό τρόπο σε κάθε μια γλωσσική μονάδα. Το γνωσιακό μοντέλο της κτητικότητας μεταφορικά προβάλλεται στο νοητικό χώρο της υπαρκτικότητας. Το κατηγορήμα φέρει την υπαρκτικότητα, αλλά και την κτητικότητα στη σημασιολογική δομή του. Η παρουσία του σημασιολογικού στοιχείου ‘κατέχω’ στα ρήματα ‘έχω’ και ‘υмам’ εμφανίζεται περισσότερο αισθητή σε σύγκριση με άλλες γλώσσες (βλ. τη σύγκριση του αγγλ. ‘have’ και του βουλγ. ‘υмам’ και τα συμπεράσματα της Alexieva 1992: 89). Το γεγονός αυτό αντιφάσκει με την πολλαπλή εκφραζόμενη πεποίθηση ότι η κτητική σχέση στις ‘habere’-δομές είναι πάντοτε φαινομενική, καθώς οι λειτουργίες του ρήματος είναι εξολοκλήρου υπαρκτικές (Benveniste 1974: 213-216). Τα δεδομένα από τις δυο γλώσσες επιβάλλουν την αίσθηση των όμοιων γνωσιακών διαδικασιών. Εκπληκτική είναι η σημασιολογική και λειτουργική ομοιότητα των ‘έχω’ και ‘υмам’, όπως και η θέση τους στα συστήματα των δυο γλωσσών – όμοια παραδείγματα, τα οποία οδήγησαν σε όμοια πραγμάτωση στο συνταγματικό άξονα. Δεχόμαστε τις ως άνω διαπιστώσεις ως επιβεβαίωση της ιδέας για την προσέγγιση των βαλκανικών γλωσσικών δομών στο επίπεδο της βαθιάς δομής, για οργάνωση της σκέψης με βάση παρόμοιο γνωσιακό σχήμα.

4. Συμπεράσματα

Η επιλογή ανάμεσα στα ρήματα ‘έχω’ και ‘είμαι’ αποτελεί στην ουσία επιλογή ανάμεσα σε δυο διαφορετικά γνωσιακά μοντέλα, μαρτυρεί διαφορετικές γνωσιακές διεργασίες. Επιβεβαιώνεται η παρατήρηση του E. Benveniste, ότι στις δομές με το ρήμα ‘είμαι’ η γλωσσική συνείδηση εστιάζει στην κατάσταση του υποκειμένου που υπάρχει. Η σχέση ανάμεσα στα συστατικά στοιχεία του συντάγματος είναι σχέση ταύτισης. Διαφορετικό είναι το γνωσιακό μοντέλο των συνταγμάτων με το ρήμα ‘έχω’, τα οποία δηλώνουν την κατάσταση ενός υποκειμένου που κατέχει κάτι. Τα δυο μέρη του συντάγματος παραμένουν διαφορετικά, δεν ταυτίζονται, τα συνδέει η εξωτερική σχέση του κατόχου με το αντικείμενο της κτήσης. Το ρήμα συμμετέχει ενεργά στο συγκεκριμένο σενάριο χάρη στη σημασία του (βλ. Benveniste 1974). Η ιδιαιτερότητα των γλωσσών που εξετάζουμε είναι στον τρόπο με τον οποίον συνδυάζουν τις δυο ιδέες.

Η υπαρκτικότητα παρουσιάζεται ως ιδιαίτερη σημασιολογική κατηγορία, γύρω από την οποία διαμορφώνεται σύνθετο λειτουργικό σημασιολογικό πεδίο, αποτελούμενο από γλωσσικά μέσα που αλληλοσυμπληρώνονται σε διαφορετικά επίπεδα. Τα όρια ανάμεσα στη γραμματική και στο λεξιλόγιο εμφανίζονται ως ρευστή μετάβαση από τη μια στην άλλη σφαίρα, όπως αποδεικνύει η γραμματικοποίηση ορισμένων αναλυτικών δομών, οι οποίες εξετάζονται σε διαχρονική προοπτική. Σε γνωσιακό πλάνο οι δυο γλώσσες παρουσιάζουν όμοιο μοντέλο γλωσσικής αντίληψης. Ακολουθώντας αυτήν τη λογική γενικεύσεων των δεδομένων από τη γλωσσική πραγμάτωση της υπαρκτικότητας, μπορούμε να συμπεράνουμε ότι οι δυο γλώσσες τοποθετούνται στη ζώνη ανάμεσα στο „esse” και “habere”, στη ζώνη συνδυασμού δυο διαφορετικών αξιακών προσανατολισμών, στο χώρο εξισορρόπησης δυο διαφορετικών αξιακών συστημάτων.

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ΜΕΤΡΙΑΣΜΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΕΠΙΤΑΣΗ ΜΕ ΤΗ ΧΡΗΣΗ ΤΩΝ ΜΟΡΦΗΜΑΤΩΝ *ΨΙΛΟ-* ΚΑΙ *ΘΕΟ-*: ΑΝΑΛΥΣΗ ΣΕ ΣΩΜΑΤΑ ΚΕΙΜΕΝΩΝ¹

Παρασκευή Σαββίδου
Εθνικό και Καποδιστριακό
Πανεπιστήμιο Αθηνών, Ελλάδα
psavvidou@phil.uoa.gr

ABSTRACT

*The aim of this paper is twofold. Firstly, it aims to investigate the use of the morphemes *ψιλο-* and *θεο-* when they signify mitigation and intensification respectively. Secondly, an attempt is made to demonstrate how the use of corpus linguistics can contribute to the study of morphemes and word formation processes of Modern Greek. The findings point out that a corpus-based study can demonstrate various aspects of a morpheme's behaviour. In addition, the combination of the qualitative and the quantitative analysis underlines and explains regularities and distinctions which can significantly contribute to the study of word formation rules in general.*

Λέξεις-κλειδιά: διαδικασίες σχηματισμού λέξεων, ηλεκτρονικά σώματα κειμένων.

1. Εισαγωγή

Στόχος της παρούσας εργασίας είναι η μελέτη των μορφημάτων *ψιλο-* και *θεο-* με μετριοστική και επιτατική λειτουργία, αντίστοιχα. Παράλληλα, επιχειρείται να διερευνηθεί κατά πόσο τα ηλεκτρονικά σώματα κειμένων (στο εξής ΗΣΚ) μπορούν να συμβάλουν στη μελέτη των διαδικασιών σχηματισμού λέξεων της Νέας Ελληνικής και με ποιούς τρόπους. Αφορμή για την έρευνα αυτή υπήρξε η διαπίστωση ότι τα ΗΣΚ δεν έχουν ακόμη αξιοποιηθεί συστηματικά σε αυτό το πεδίο της γλωσσολογικής έρευνας. Οι υπάρχουσες μελέτες, κυρίως στη διεθνή βιβλιογραφία, εστιάζουν στην ποσοτική ανάλυση και τη διερεύνηση της παραγωγικότητας των μορφημάτων μέσω αυτής (βλ. ενδεικτικά Baayen 2008), ενώ απουσιάζουν μελέτες που συνδυάζουν την ποσοτική με την ποιοτική ανάλυση, με τον τρόπο που θα επιχειρηθεί στην παρούσα εργασία. Από προηγούμενες έρευνες έχει διαπιστωθεί ότι η συμβολή των ΗΣΚ σε αυτή την κατεύθυνση μπορεί να είναι ιδιαίτερα σημαντική (βλ. Σαββίδου 2010, 2012).

Οι διαδικασίες σχηματισμού λέξεων, όπως η παραγωγή και η σύνθεση, διέπονται από μια περίπλοκη γραμματική, δηλαδή ένα σύνολο κανόνων, που περιγράφει τόσο το πραγματωμένο όσο και το δυνάμει λεξιλόγιο (βλ. Αναστασιάδη-Συμεωνίδη 1992). Για τη διερεύνηση των κανόνων αυτών είναι απαραίτητη η μελέτη της συμπεριφοράς των μορφημάτων σε αυθεντικά γλωσσικά περιβάλλοντα.

2. Δεδομένα και μεθοδολογία

Τα δεδομένα της έρευνας προέρχονται από το Σώμα Ελληνικών Κειμένων (ΣΕΚ) (βλ. Γούτσος 2003 για λεπτομέρειες). Συγκεκριμένα, χρησιμοποιήθηκε το σύνολο των δεδομένων του ΣΕΚ, που ανέρχεται στις 30 εκατομμύρια λέξεις περίπου. Ο τρόπος με τον οποίο κατανέμονται στα διάφορα κειμενικά είδη περιγράφεται στον Πίνακα 1 του Παραρτήματος.

Η μεθοδολογία που ακολουθήθηκε διαμορφώθηκε κατά την εκπόνηση της έρευνας και βασίζεται στη μελέτη των συμφραστικών πινάκων των κατασκευασμένων λέξεων που σχηματίζονται με τα υπό εξέταση μορφήματα, των κατασκευασμένων λέξεων σε επίπεδο λεξικής μονάδας και των συχνοτήτων εμφάνισης τόσο συνολικά όσο και ανά κειμενικό είδος. Το πώς κάθε ένας από αυτούς τους τρόπους

¹ Ευχαριστώ θερμά τον καθηγητή μου κ. Διονύση Γούτσο για την πραγματικά πολύτιμη καθοδήγηση κατά τη διάρκεια της συγγραφής της διπλωματικής μου εργασίας, της οποίας ένα τμήμα αποτελεί το παρόν άρθρο. Θερμές ευχαριστίες οφείλω και στον καθηγητή μου κ. Γιώργο Μαρκόπουλο για τα ιδιαίτερα χρήσιμα σχόλιά του.

συμβάλλει στη μελέτη συγκεκριμένων πλευρών της συμπεριφοράς των μορφημάτων καταδεικνύεται στην ανάλυση που ακολουθεί.

3. Σημασιολογικό φορτίο και σημασιολογικά χαρακτηριστικά βάσεων

Αρχικά επιχειρήθηκε να προσδιοριστούν οι σημασίες/χρήσεις με τις οποίες απαντούν τα υπό εξέταση μορφήματα ως συστατικά κατασκευασμένων λέξεων, με εξαίρεση τις παράγωγες λέξεις στις οποίες συνδυάζονται με πρόσφυμα, αποτελώντας τη βάση (π.χ. *ψιλοτύτικος*). Για το στόχο αυτό, μελετήθηκαν τα σημασιολογικά χαρακτηριστικά των βάσεων με τις οποίες συνδυάζονται, σε συνδυασμό με το συγκείμενο των κατασκευασμένων λέξεων που σχηματίζονται με αυτά.

3.1 Σημασίες/χρήσεις μορφήματος *ψιλο-*

Για το μόρφημα *ψιλο-*, διακρίθηκαν οι ακόλουθες σημασίες-χρήσεις:

α) η σημασία της «λεπτομερούς δουλειάς/επεξεργασίας», όπου δηλώνει ότι η ενέργεια που περιγράφεται από τη βάση έχει πραγματοποιηθεί με ιδιαίτερη προσοχή ή ακρίβεια (π.χ. *ψιλοδουλεμένος*, *ψιλοβελονιά* κ.ά.).

β) η σημασία του «υποκορισμού ή της σμίκρυνσης»², όπου δηλώνει ότι το αντικείμενο αναφοράς του προσδιοριζόμενου ή του αντικειμένου προκύπτει σε μικρά κομματάκια μετά την επεξεργασία που υφίσταται από την «ενέργεια» που περιγράφει η βάση (*ψιλοκόβω* και *ψιλοκομμένος*).

γ) η «μετριάστική περιγραφική σημασία», όπου δηλώνει ότι η ενέργεια που εκφράζεται από το β' συνθετικό γίνεται σε μικρό βαθμό ή φέρει χαμηλή ένταση (π.χ. *ψιλόβροχο*, *ψιλόχιονο*, *ψιλοτραγουδώντας* κ.ά.).

δ) η «μετριάστική πραγματολογική λειτουργία», που αποτελεί το αντικείμενο της παρούσας ανακοίνωσης και θα αναλυθεί εκτενώς στη συνέχεια. Η ονομασία της χρήσης αυτής στοχεύει στη διάκρισή της από τη «μετριάστική περιγραφική σημασία».

3.1.1 Μετριάστική πραγματολογική λειτουργία

Σε ένα μέρος των δεδομένων, το *ψιλο-* μετριάζει επίσης το σημασιολογικό περιεχόμενο της βάσης, αλλά η περαιτέρω μελέτη των κατασκευασμένων λέξεων επισημαίνει ότι ο ρόλος του σε αυτές δεν είναι αμιγώς περιγραφικός, αλλά επιτελεί ειδικές πραγματολογικές λειτουργίες. Στην κατηγορία αυτή εντάσσονται τα *ψιλοβαριέμαι*, *ψιλοερωτευμένος*, *ψιλογαϊδούρι*, *ψιλοβλακείες*, *ψιλοκομπίνα*, *ψιλοκουλό*, *ψιλοεγωιστής* κ.ά. Το *ψιλο-* σε αυτή τη χρήση φαίνεται να χρησιμοποιείται ως μέσο μετριάσμού ή αποφυγής της παραβίασης του αξιώματος της ποιότητας³. Με άλλα λόγια, ο ομιλητής αποφεύγει να πει ψέματα με το να μετριάσει την αλήθεια.

Στο συμπέρασμα αυτό οδήγησε η μελέτη των συμφραστικών πινάκων, δηλαδή των συμφραζομένων στα οποία απαντούν οι κατασκευασμένες λέξεις, σε συνδυασμό με τα σημασιολογικά χαρακτηριστικά των βάσεων.

Ειδικότερα, στα συμφραζόμενα απαντούν πολύ συχνά δείκτες που δηλώνουν δισταγμό ή διάθεση μετριάσμού.

Οι δείκτες αυτοί μπορεί να είναι:

α) επιρρήματα, όπως το *βασικά* (π.χ. 1), το *μόνο* (π.χ. 2), το *εντάξει* (π.χ. 1, 3) κ.ά.

(1) ...*πήγατε για κυνήγι; όχι μωρέ εντάξει ψιλο::θέλαμε βασικά να:: ξεκουραστούμε...*

(2) ...*ένα ψιλοξεφτιλίκι μόνο και φτηνά τη γλιτώσαμε...*

(3) ...*εντάξει (.) είναι ψιλοστημένα εκεί τα πράγματα (.) κάπως (.) σαν*

β) Επιφωνήματα που δηλώνουν αμηχανία ή δισταγμό, όπως το *άντε* στο (4), το *μωρέ* στο (1) και το *ε* στο (5).

(4) ...*άντε και με κανένα ψιλοεπεισοδιάκι...*

(5) ...*εντάξει μέχρι να [@@@@ [εψιλοκουλό μου φάνηκε...*

² Οι όροι «υποκορισμός» και «σμίκρυνση» χρησιμοποιούνται με την έννοια του πραγματικού και όχι του συναισθηματικού υποκορισμού (βλ. Μπαμπινιώτης 2002: 1851 για διάκριση).

³ Για τα αξιώματα που συναποτελούν την αρχή της συνεργασίας σύμφωνα με τη θεωρία του Grice (1975) και τον ορισμό του αξιώματος της ποιότητας βλ. Κανάκης (2007: 163-165).

γ) Παύσεις ή παρατεταμένες προφορές φωνηέντων που δηλώνονται με τυπογραφικά σημάδια στα προφορικά δεδομένα και εντοπίζονται είτε στα συμφραζόμενα (π.χ. 3, 6) είτε στο εσωτερικό της κατασκευασμένης λέξης (π.χ. 1).

(6) ...και...: *είχαμε φιλοσοπομακρυνθεί κιόλας και(.) δεν τον έπαιρνα...*

δ) αόριστες αντωνυμίες όπως το *κάτι* στο (7), το *κανένα* στο (4) και το *ένα* στο (8):

(7) ...έχει κάτι *ψιλοελλείψεις στα αγγλικά, αλλά στα θεολογικά...*

(8) ...και σ' αυτό έχει ένα *ψιλοδίκιο η Δήμητρα. Έχει ένα δίκιο.*

ε) αυτοδιόρθωση που προδίδει ότι το *ψιλο-* δηλώνει διάθεση μετριασμού των λεγομένων τόσο όταν φορέας της αυτοδιόρθωσης είναι η κατασκευασμένη λέξη με αυτό (π.χ. 9) όσο και όταν αυτό που «διορθώνεται» είναι αυτό που έχει δηλωθεί με την κατασκευασμένη λέξη (π.χ. 8).

(9) ...να:: *τον αφήσανε ή έχουνε [καυγάδες έχουνε ψιλοκαυγάδες...*

στ) Προσπάθεια επανόρθωσης⁴ που μπορεί να δηλώνεται με διάφορα γλωσσικά μέσα, όπως το *αλλά* στο (7) και το *βέβαια* στο (10).

(10) Αυτό βέβαια *όταν ήμουν μικρότερη.. Τώρα το 'χω ψιλοκόψει...*

ζ) εκφράσεις που δηλώνουν μετριασμό, όπως το *όσο να 'ναι* στο (11):

(11) ...αλλά όσο να 'ναι *τις σούρες μας τις ψιλορίχνουμε. Πιστοί φαν του Ορέστη Μακρή...*

η) συνδυασμός με άλλο πρόσφυμα που δηλώνει μετριασμό/υποκορισμό, όπως στο *ψιλοεπεισοδιάκι* στο (4).

θ) γλωσσικά μέσα που λειτουργούν ως επισχετικές εκφράσεις που αφορούν στο αξίωμα της ποιότητας⁵, δηλαδή ενδέχεται να δηλώνουν ότι ο ομιλητής δεν δεσμεύεται για την αλήθεια των πληροφοριών που μεταδίδει, όπως η χρήση του *νομίζω* στο (12):

(12) ...*μα εγώ ψιλοθυμάμαι νομίζω τα γενέθλιά σου...*

Τα ανωτέρω στοιχεία αποτελούν δείκτες ότι το *ψιλο-* λειτουργεί ως μέσο μετριασμού. Με τη χρήση του ο ομιλητής επιτυγχάνει να αποφύγει να παραβιάσει το αξίωμα της ποιότητας, δηλαδή να πει ψέματα, ή να μετριάσει αυτή την παραβίαση, παρόλο που ενδέχεται να μη θέλει να μεταδώσει «πολλές» πληροφορίες. Στο (13) λ.χ. δεν θέλει να παραδεχτεί ότι το πέναλτι ήταν μαϊμού, αλλά δεν θέλει επίσης να πει ψέματα, γι' αυτό λέει ότι ήταν *ψιλομαϊμού*.

(13) ...*Μια φορά πήραμε κι εμείς ένα πέναλτι ψιλομαϊμού και λυσσάζαν οι βάζελοι!*

Η πραγματολογική λειτουργία του *ψιλο-* έχει επισημανθεί και από προηγούμενες έρευνες. Η Γιαννουλοπούλου (2003: 4) διακρίνει σε αυτό μια «υπονοηματική λειτουργία», σημειώνοντας ότι σε λέξεις όπως *ψιλοβαριέμαι* εκφράζει την προσωπική στάση του ομιλητή και σημαίνει «δεν θέλω να σας πω πόσο πολύ βαριέμαι». Ομοίως, ο Χυδούρουλος (2009: 404) ερμηνεύει το *ψιλοήπια* ως «δεν θέλω να σου πω ότι ήπια (πολύ) αλλά πράγματι ήπια».

Το πραγματολογικό *ψιλο-* περίπου στο 71% των δεδομένων συνδυάζεται με βάσεις με αρνητική σημασιολογική προσωδία ή συνυποδηλώσεις: *ζεφτιλίκι, κομμάτια* (με τη σημασία «κουρασμένος»), *βαριέμαι*, (τα) *παίρνει* (με τη σημασία «εκνευρίζεται»), *βλακείες, δουλεύω* (με τη σημασία «κοροϊδεύω»), *στημένα* (με τη σημασία «προκατασκευασμένα»), *κομπίνα* κ.ά. Η τάση αυτή επιβεβαιώνει την ανωτέρω λειτουργία του, αφού φαίνεται να μετριάζει την απειλή που ενδεχομένως ενέχει το περιεχόμενο της βάσης.

Λιγότερο συχνά συνδυάζεται και με ουδέτερες σημασιολογικά βάσεις (λ.χ. *ψιλοζυπνήσει* με την κυριολεκτική σημασία) ή ακόμη και με θετικές, όπως *σπουδές, γουστάρω, ερωτευμένος*, όπου μάλιστα ενδέχεται να «κληροδοτεί» το ίδιο αρνητικές συνυποδηλώσεις στα παράγωγα, μετριάζοντας τη θετική σημασία της βάσης, όπως στο (14).

(14) ...*πρέπει να έχουν κάνει κάποιες ψιλοσπουδές στην αλλοδαπή ή να πλασάρουν ένα...*

3.2 Σημασίες/χρήσεις μορφήματος *θεο-*

Για το *θεο-* διακρίθηκαν οι ακόλουθες σημασίες/χρήσεις: α) η σημασία *θεός* (*θεόπεμπτος, θεόσταλτος* κ.ά.), β) η επιτακτική λειτουργία. Δεν εντοπίστηκε η μεγεθυντική σημασία⁶, παρόλο που καταγράφεται σε όλες τις υπάρχουσες μελέτες (βλ. λ.χ. Αναστασιάδη-Συμεωνίδη 2008, Γεωργακάς 1935, Συμεωνίδη 1985).⁷ Το στοιχείο αυτό ίσως αποτελεί μια ένδειξη ότι η συγκεκριμένη χρήση έχει υποχωρήσει.

⁴ Διακρίνεται από την αυτοδιόρθωση, καθώς ο ομιλητής δεν αναιρεί τη δήλωσή του, απλώς προσπαθεί να «επανορθώσει» με την αναφορά άλλων στοιχείων, μη αρνητικών.

⁵ Ο όρος «επισχετικές εκφράσεις» αναφέρεται σε μεταγλωσσικά σχόλια που δηλώνουν το βαθμό στον οποίο ο ομιλητής συμμορφώνεται με τα αξιώματα (βλ. Κανάκης 2007: 176).

⁶ Το μεγεθυντικό *θεο-* διακρίνεται από το επιτακτικό, διότι με αυτό δηλώνεται ότι το β' συνθετικό διακρίνεται από μεγάλες (φυσικές) διαστάσεις (π.χ. *θεοβάρελο* είναι το πολύ μεγάλο βαρέλι).

⁷ Ορισμένες, βέβαια, από αυτές τις μελέτες αποδελτιώνουν διαλεκτικό υλικό.

3.2.1. Επιτατική λειτουργία

Στην επιτατική του λειτουργία το *θεο-* επιτείνει το σημασιολογικό περιεχόμενο της βάσης. Εδώ εντάσσονται λέξεις όπως *θεοβρώμικος*⁸, *θεογκόμενα*, *θεόκουφος*, *θεονήστικος*, *θεοπάλαβος*, *θεοσκόταδο*, *θεόστραβος* κ.ά. Το επιτατικό *θεο-* επιλέγει βάσεις που δηλώνουν κατεξοχήν αρνητική ιδιότητα (βλ. και Ευθυμίου 2003, Αναστασιάδη-Συμεωνίδη 2008), η οποία ενδέχεται να συνίσταται σε αδυναμία σωματική (*κουφός* στο 15) ή ψυχική/πνευματική (*τρελός*, *παλαβός*), όταν η λέξη αναφέρεται σε [+έμψυχο], ή γενικότερα σε μια δυσάρεστη κατάσταση ή ένα αρνητικό χαρακτηριστικό (παραδείγματα 16 και 17).

(15) ...είναι γνωστό ότι τα φίδια είναι *θεόκουφα*.

(16) ...*θεόφτωχος* σαν ποντίκι της εκκλησίας...

(17) ...και φαγητά που μυρίζουν *φαρμακίλα* σ' έναν *θεόστενο* διάδρομο...

Εξαίρεση στην τάση συνδυασμού με «αρνητικές» βάσεις θα μπορούσε να θεωρηθεί το *θεογκόμενα* (βλ. Αναστασιάδη-Συμεωνίδη 2008). Οι λέξεις *γκόμενα* και *θεογκόμενα* φέρουν και θετικές συνυποδηλώσεις, δηλώνοντας την πολύ όμορφη γυναίκα. Ωστόσο, η μελέτη των συμφραστικών πινάκων επισημαίνει την παρουσία (και) δεικτών αρνητικής σημασιολογικής προσωδίας στα συμφρασζόμενά τους. Το *γκόμενα* εμφανίζεται συχνά με αρνητικές σημασιολογικά λέξεις (π.χ. 18), καθώς και σε συγκείμενο που προδίδει σεξιστικές αντιλήψεις.

(18) Οι *γκόμενες* τον ξέρουνε κι όλοι οι *νταβατζήδες*.

Η απόδοση των ιδιοτήτων που δηλώνουν οι βάσεις που επιλέγει το *θεο-* φαίνεται να είναι σε κάποιο βαθμό υποκειμενική, καθώς οι λέξεις που αναφέρονται σε [+ανθρώπινα] απαντούν είτε στον πληθυντικό, αποδίδοντας την ιδιότητα που δηλώνεται από τη βάση σε μια ομάδα ανθρώπων συλλήβδην⁹ (π.χ. 19), είτε αποδίδονται από τον ομιλητή στον εαυτό του με διάθεση αυτοσαρκασμού/αστεισμού (π.χ. 20). Στην περίπτωση των *θεότρελος* και *θεοπάλαβος* και οι ίδιες οι βάσεις προδίδουν υποκειμενική αξιολόγηση, καθώς ο αντίστοιχος επιστημονικός όρος δεν θα επιδεχόταν διαβάθμιση με το *θεο-* (π.χ. :*θεοψυχασθενής*).

(19) ...*διακόσιες εβδομήντα δύο* (.) *θεότρελες* (.) και μου λέει *άμα* σε *σκίσω* (.)...

(20) ...*οποίων* και *ο γράφων* που *δήλωσε* από την *αρχή* *θεότρελος*.

Το πιο σημαντικό στοιχείο που προκύπτει από τη μελέτη των λέξεων με το επιτατικό *θεο-* έγκειται στο ότι η σημασιολογική του συνεισφορά δεν αλλάζει επί της ουσίας το σημασιολογικό περιεχόμενο της βάσης. Η επίταση που δηλώνεται με την προσθήκη του δεν έχει ιδιαίτερο σημασιολογικό βάρος, καθώς οι ιδιότητες που δηλώνουν οι βάσεις είναι ήδη σε κάποιο βαθμό ακραίες (βλ. Αναστασιάδη-Συμεωνίδη 2008). Για παράδειγμα, το *μακρύς*, η βάση του *θεόμακρος*, δηλώνει κάτι που έχει μεγαλύτερο μήκος από το σύνθηες, το *φτωχός* κάποιον που βρίσκεται σε μια «ακραία» οικονομική κατάσταση, ενώ το *κουφός*, ακόμη και με τη μεταφορική σημασία του (αυτός που δεν δίνει σημασία σε αυτά που ακούει), εκφράζει μια ιδιότητα στο μέγιστό της βαθμό, όπως και το *θεόκουφος*.

Συνεπώς, το επιτατικό *θεο-* δεν έχει αμιγώς σημασιολογική συνεισφορά, αλλά επιτελεί κυρίως πραγματολογικό ρόλο, που έγκειται στο να δώσει επιπλέον έμφαση σε μια ιδιότητα που ήδη φέρει την έννοια της επίτασης.

4. Γραμματικές κατηγορίες

Το πραγματολογικό *ψιλο-* συνδυάζεται στα δεδομένα με ουσιαστικά (π.χ. *ψιλοελλείψεις*, *ψιλοξεφτιλίκι*), επίθετα (π.χ. *ψιλοάνετος*, *ψιλοεκβιαστικός*), ρήματα (*ψιλογουστάρω*, *ψιλοαπομακρύνομαι*) και επιρρήματα (*ψιλοδιακριτικά*, *ψιλοέτσι*)¹⁰.

Το επιτατικό *θεο-* συνδυάζεται με επίθετα (π.χ. *κουφός*, *νηστικός* κ.ά.), ουσιαστικά (π.χ. *σκοτάδι*, *γκόμενα*) και επιρρήματα (π.χ. *στραβά*).¹¹ Τα επιρρήματα θα μπορούσε να υποστηριχθεί ότι προέρχονται από τα αντίστοιχα επίθετα.

Τα προϊόντα και των δύο υπό εξέταση κανόνων φέρουν τη γραμματική κατηγορία των βάσεων. Επίσης, και τα δύο ανήκουν στα «πολυκατηγοριακά» στοιχεία, εφόσον σχηματίζουν λέξεις που

⁸ Υιοθετείται η ορθογραφία με την οποία απαντά στα δεδομένα.

⁹ Το στοιχείο αυτό αποτελεί ένδειξη υποκειμενικού χαρακτήρα, καθώς συνήθως οι γενικευτικές δηλώσεις είναι ακραίες.

¹⁰ Βλ. και Xydopoulos (2009), καθώς και Γιαννουλοπούλου (2003), όπου, ωστόσο, δεν αναφέρονται τα επιρρήματα.

¹¹ Πρβ. Ευθυμίου (2003), όπου σημειώνεται ότι συνδυάζεται με επίθετα, καθώς ορισμένες ονοματικές βάσεις που μπορούν να κατηγοριοποιηθούν και ως ουσιαστικά (π.χ. *θεογκόμενος/-α*) αντιμετωπίζονται ως επίθετα (2003: 527). Ωστόσο, από την παρούσα έρευνα προκύπτει ότι το *θεο-* συνδυάζεται, λιγότερο συχνά, και με ουσιαστικά που δεν μπορούν να θεωρηθούν επίθετα (π.χ. *σκοτάδι* (*θεοσκόταδο*)).

ανήκουν σε διάφορες γραμματικές κατηγορίες (βλ. Corbin 1999 στο Αναστασιάδη-Συμεωνίδη 2008: 104).

5. Πραγματολογικό χαρακτηριστικό [+/-λόγιο]

Προκειμένου να διερευνηθεί η τιμή των εξέταση στοιχείων ως προς το πραγματολογικό χαρακτηριστικό [+/-λόγιο]¹² μελετήθηκαν οι ακόλουθες παράμετροι:

- α) το επίπεδο ύφους των βάσεων με τις οποίες συνδυάζονται,
- β) το επίπεδο ύφους των συμφραζομένων στα οποία απαντούν οι κατασκευασμένες λέξεις που σχηματίζονται με αυτά και, τέλος,
- γ) οι συχνότητες εμφάνισής τους ανά κειμενικό είδος.

5.1 Πραγματολογικό μετριάστικό ψιλο-

Το πραγματολογικό ψιλο- συνδυάζεται με βάσεις είτε ουδέτερες είτε [-λόγιες]. Με ουδέτερες βάσεις συνδυάζεται περίπου στο 63% των δεδομένων (*ψιλοάνετος*, *ψιλοδιακριτικά* κ.ά.), ενώ με [-λόγιες] ή προφορικές περίπου στο 37% (*ψιλογουστάρω*, *ψιλοκόκαλο* (με τη σημασία «άνανδος/άφωνος»), *ψιλοκουλό* (με τη σημασία «παράξενο/περίεργο» κ.ά.). Αντιθέτως, δεν συνδυάζεται με λόγιες βάσεις.

Τα συμφραζόμενα στα οποία απαντούν τα προϊόντα του είναι είτε ουδέτερα υφολογικά (στο 50% των δεδομένων) είτε εντοπίζονται σε αυτά [-λόγια] ή προφορικά στοιχεία (στο 42% των δεδομένων), που μπορεί να είναι μονολεκτικές μονάδες, όπως το *κωλώνω* στο (21), ή στερεότυπες εκφράσεις (π.χ. 22).

(21) ...θα *κωλώσει* στα δικά μας ψιλοελλείμματα;

(22) ...*την πληρώσουμε και πολύ ακριβά την πίτα. Ένα ψιλοξεφτιλίκι μόνο και φτηνά τη γλιτώσαμε...*

Λόγια στοιχεία εντοπίζονται σε μόλις 4 εμφανίσεις (περίπου στο 8%). Στις δύο μάλιστα από αυτές, εξυπηρετούν την πρόκληση γέλιου (π.χ. 23).

(23) Έχασα τη σύζυγό μου ετών 35 ψιλο-προβληματική, τελευταία φορά *εθεάθη* μπρος στις ρόδες του τζιπ μου.

Τέλος, όπως φαίνεται στο σκιασμένο τμήμα του Πίνακα 2 του Παραρτήματος¹³, τα προϊόντα του πραγματολογικού ψιλο- απαντούν κυρίως στη συνομιλία, την ηλεκτρονική συνομιλία (chat), τη λογοτεχνία και τα άρθρα γνώμης. Επιπλέον, η μοναδική εμφάνιση στα ακαδημαϊκά κείμενα προέρχεται από απόσπασμα από λογοτεχνικό κείμενο. Αξίζει να σημειωθεί ότι το ύφος των λογοτεχνικών κειμένων είναι σε κάποιο βαθμό [-λόγιο], καθώς τα «λογοτεχνικά» στοιχεία συχνά δεν είναι συμβατά με επίσημο ύφος¹⁴.

Συνεπώς, τα προϊόντα αυτού του κανόνα είναι σε κάποιο βαθμό [-λόγια] και αντιστοιχούν σε προφορικό/ανεπίσημο ύφος, καθώς το ψιλο- έλκει βάσεις είτε ουδέτερες είτε [-λόγιες], δεν απαντά σε συμφραζόμενα επίσημου ύφους, ενώ και τα κειμενικά είδη στα οποία εμφανίζεται συχνότερα διακρίνονται σε κάποιο βαθμό από προφορικό ή [-λόγιο] χαρακτήρα.

5.2 Επιτατικό θεο-

Το επιτατικό θεο- συνδυάζεται με ουδέτερες υφολογικά βάσεις περίπου στο 77% των δεδομένων (*θεοσκοτεινος*, *θεόστενος*, *θεόφτωχος* κ.ά.). Στο 23% συνδυάζεται με βάσεις [-λόγιες] ή προφορικές (*θεογόμμενα*, *θεόστραβος*, όταν δηλώνει «αυτόν που δεν βλέπει (καλά)» κ.ά.), ενώ δεν συνδυάζεται με λόγιες βάσεις.

¹² Για τον ορισμό του πραγματολογικού χαρακτηριστικού [+/-λόγιο], βλ. Αναστασιάδη-Συμεωνίδη & Φλιάτουρας (2003).

¹³ Για τον τρόπο παρουσίασης των δεδομένων στους Πίνακες 2 και 3, βλ. τις παρατηρήσεις στην αρχή της ενότητας 6. Εδώ αρκεί να σημειωθεί ότι τα κειμενικά είδη του ΣΕΚ που δεν αναγράφονται είναι αυτά στα οποία τα μορφήματα δεν απαντούν.

¹⁴ Ο συσχετισμός αυτός ανάμεσα στο λογοτεχνικό και τον [-λόγιο] χαρακτήρα υπονοείται και στην ακόλουθη διατύπωση του Κριαρά: «Χρησιμοποιούμε τους τύπους *εκκλησία* και *λευτεριά*, που είναι βέβαια ταυτόσημες με τις αρχαιστικότερες *εκκλησία* και *ελευθερία*, μόνο που οι συνιζήμενοι τύποι ταιριάζουν περισσότερο σε λαϊκότερα ή και λογοτεχνικότερα κείμενα» (1983: 32).

Τα προϊόντα του απαντούν σε συγκεκριμένο είτε ουδέτερο (55% των παραδειγμάτων) είτε [-λόγιο] ή προφορικό (30% των παραδειγμάτων). Και εδώ τα [-λόγια] στοιχεία μπορεί να είναι μονολεκτικές μονάδες (π.χ. *φαρμακίλα*) ή εκφράσεις, όπως το *του πεταματού* στο (24).

(24) *Δεν είμαι δα και καμιά θεογκόμενα, ούτε και του πεταματού όμως.*

Λόγια στοιχεία απαντούν σε 4 παραδείγματα, εξυπηρετώντας και πάλι την πρόκληση γέλιου.

Τέλος, όπως βλέπουμε στον Πίνακα 3 του Παραρτήματος, οι λέξεις αυτής της κατηγορίας απαντούν κυρίως στα ιδιωτικά κείμενα (συγκεκριμένα στο chat), τη ζωντανή συνομιλία, τη λογοτεχνία και τα άρθρα γνώμης.

Συνεπώς, και το επιτατικό *θεο-* φαίνεται να είναι σε κάποιο βαθμό [-λόγιο] ή προφορικό, εφόσον δεν συνδυάζεται με λόγιες βάσεις, δεν εμφανίζεται σε λόγιο συγκεκριμένο και απαντά συχνότερα σε κειμενικά είδη που διακρίνονται από προφορικότητα.

6. Συχνότητα εμφάνισης και παραγωγικότητα

Οι συχνότητες εμφάνισης παρουσιάζονται στους Πίνακες 2 και 3 του Παραρτήματος (βλ. σκιασμένα τμήματα), όπου δίνονται και οι συχνότητες των υπολοίπων χρήσεων των μορφημάτων, που παρουσιάστηκαν συνοπτικά στις ενότητες 3.1. και 3.2. Σημειώνονται οι συχνότητες τόσο συνολικά όσο και ανά κειμενικό είδος, ενώ οι αριθμοί εντός παρενθέσεων είναι τα ποσοστά εμφανίσεων με αναγωγή στο 10⁵ και είναι συγκρίσιμοι μεταξύ τους.¹⁵

Η συχνότητα και των δύο μορφημάτων είναι πολύ χαμηλή. Το πραγματολογικό *ψιλο-* απαντά 52 φορές, ενώ το επιτατικό *θεο-* 27. Εκτός από τον συνολικό αριθμό εμφανίσεων, για την εξαγωγή του οποίου υπολογίστηκαν όλοι οι γραμματικοί τύποι των κατασκευασμένων λέξεων, μελετήθηκε επίσης ο αριθμός των διαφορετικών λημμάτων στα οποία αντιστοιχούν οι συνολικές συχνότητες και διαπιστώθηκε ότι στην περίπτωση του πραγματολογικού *ψιλο-* κάθε εμφάνιση αντιστοιχεί σε ένα ληματικό τύπο. Δηλαδή, κάθε λέξη αυτής της κατηγορίας (*ψιλοτσαμπουκάς*, *ψιλοπροβληματικός* κ.ά.) απαντά μόλις μια φορά στα δεδομένα. Αντίθετα, στις υπόλοιπες σημασίες/χρήσεις του *ψιλο-* ο αριθμός των λημμάτων δεν είναι υψηλός αναλογικά με τη συνολική συχνότητα εμφάνισης. Το ότι στο πραγματολογικό *ψιλο-* κάθε εμφάνιση αντιστοιχεί σε ένα λήμμα οδηγεί στο συμπέρασμα ότι τα προϊόντα αυτού του κανόνα δεν είναι κωδικοποιημένα, δηλαδή δεν έχει διευρυνθεί η χρήση τους¹⁶. Συνεπώς, ο υπό εξέταση κανόνας διακρίνεται από υψηλή παραγωγικότητα. Αυτό επιβεβαιώνεται από το ότι καμία λέξη αυτής της κατηγορίας δεν καταγράφεται στα λεξικά αναφοράς μας (ΛΚΝ 1998 και ΛΝΕΓ 2002). Αντίθετα, στις υπόλοιπες χρήσεις του *ψιλο-* σχεδόν όλες οι λέξεις των δεδομένων καταγράφονται λεξικογραφικά. Μια τρίτη ένδειξη που ενισχύει την υπόθεση της μη κωδικοποίησης των προϊόντων του είναι το ότι σε ορισμένες περιπτώσεις τίθεται μια παύλα μεταξύ του *ψιλο-* και της βάσης, που ενδέχεται να δηλώνει δισταγμό για το αν η λέξη που χρησιμοποιείται είναι υπαρκτή/αποδεκτή (π.χ. *ψιλο-διάστρεμμα*).

Στο επιτατικό *θεο-* επίσης απαντά μεγάλος αριθμός διαφορετικών λημμάτων (συγκεκριμένα 17), σε σχέση με το συνολικό αριθμό εμφανίσεων (27 εμφανίσεις). Αντιθέτως, στη σημασία «θεός», οι 345 εμφανίσεις σε θέση α' συνθετικού αντιστοιχούν σε 45 λήμματα και οι 49 εμφανίσεις σε θέση β' συνθετικού σε 6 λήμματα. Η σύγκριση με τη μακροδομή των λεξικών (ΛΝΕΓ 2002 και ΛΚΝ 1998) επισημαίνει ότι από τις λέξεις των δεδομένων δεν καταγράφονται λεξικογραφικά τα *θεόβαρος*, *θεοβρώμκος*, *θεόμακρος* και *θεόστενος*.

Η χαμηλή συχνότητα των υπό εξέταση μορφημάτων ενδέχεται να συνδέεται με το ότι τα προϊόντα τους είναι σηματοδεδεμένα υφολογικά. Τα σηματοδεδεμένα υφολογικά στοιχεία είναι λιγότερο συχνά, διότι τίθενται περιορισμοί στα περιεχόμενα στα οποία μπορούν να χρησιμοποιηθούν. Επιπλέον, οι υπό εξέταση χρήσεις απαντούν κυρίως στα προφορικά κείμενα, που αποτελούν μόνο το 10% των δεδομένων.

Το γεγονός ότι και τα δύο μορφήματα απαντούν σε μεγάλο αριθμό λημμάτων σε σχέση με τη συνολική συχνότητά τους επισημαίνει ότι είναι ανάγκη να γίνεται διάκριση μεταξύ της κωδικοποίησης ενός κανόνα κατασκευής λέξεων και της κωδικοποίησης των προϊόντων του, καθώς ένας κανόνας κατασκευής ενδέχεται να είναι κωδικοποιημένος, δηλαδή να έχει περάσει από την ατομική στην ομαδική χρήση, αλλά τα προϊόντα του να μην είναι κωδικοποιημένα σε μεγάλο βαθμό. Αυτό φαίνεται αυτονόητο, καθώς με έναν παραγωγικό κανόνα σχηματίζονται νεολογισμοί, που δεν κωδικοποιούνται αμέσως. Ωστόσο, εδώ θεωρούμε ότι η διαφορά ανάμεσα στο βαθμό κωδικοποίησης του κανόνα κατασκευής και των προϊόντων του ερμηνεύεται με άλλον τρόπο. Φαίνεται ότι οι ίδιοι λόγοι που

¹⁵ Η αναγωγή στο 10⁵ έγινε για λόγους παρουσίας των δεδομένων, διότι τα ποσοστά επί τοις εκατό ήταν πολύ χαμηλά.

¹⁶ Για τον ορισμό του όρου *κωδικοποίηση*, βλ. Αναστασιάδη-Συμεωνίδη (1986: 74).

ερμηνεύουν την υψηλή παραγωγικότητα και την κωδικοποίηση των κανόνων εξηγούν και τη μη κωδικοποίηση των προϊόντων τους. Και τα δύο θεωρούμε ότι οφείλονται εν μέρει στο είδος του φορτίου που φέρουν τα υπό εξέταση μορφήματα και ειδικότερα στις πραγματολογικές λειτουργίες που επιτελούν, που κατατάσσουν τα προϊόντα τους στη λεγόμενη συνυποδηλωτική και όχι στη δηλωτική/κατονομαστική νεολογία (βλ. Αναστασιάδη-Συμεωνίδη 1986: 70 για τη διάκριση). Η εμφάνιση των προϊόντων της δηλωτικής νεολογίας συνδέεται με την ανάγκη ονομασίας ενός νέου αντικειμένου αναφοράς και συνεπώς είναι πιο πιθανό να κωδικοποιηθούν. Αντιθέτως, τα υπό εξέταση στοιχεία εξυπηρετούν ανάγκες του ομιλητή όπως το να μετριάσει τα λεγόμενά του ή να δώσει έμφαση. Σε αυτό φαίνεται να οφείλεται η υψηλή παραγωγικότητά τους, καθώς τέτοιες ανάγκες προκύπτουν διαρκώς στην επικοινωνία. Παράλληλα, σε αυτό οφείλεται και η μη κωδικοποίηση των προϊόντων τους, καθώς τα προϊόντα αυτού του είδους της νεολογίας θεωρούμε ότι είναι πιο εύκολο να δημιουργηθούν, αλλά πιο δύσκολο να κωδικοποιηθούν. Επομένως, η λειτουργία αυτών των λέξεων ερμηνεύει τόσο την κωδικοποίηση του κανόνα που τις παράγει όσο και τη μη κωδικοποίηση των ιδίων.

Η διάκριση αυτή είναι ιδιαίτερα σημαντική για την κατανόηση των μηχανισμών δημιουργίας λέξεων. Παράλληλα, είναι σημαντική για τη λεξικογραφική αναπαράσταση των υπολεξικών μονάδων, καθώς οι μη κωδικοποιημένες λέξεις (νεολογισμοί) συνήθως δεν έχουν θέση σε ένα λεξικό. Αντιθέτως, ένας κωδικοποιημένος κανόνας, ακόμη κι αν τα προϊόντα του δεν είναι κωδικοποιημένα, είναι απαραίτητο να εκπροσωπείται με τη λημματοποίηση τόσο της αντίστοιχης υπολεξικής μονάδας όσο και αντιπροσωπευτικού αριθμού κατασκευασμένων λέξεων.

7. Συμπεράσματα και συζήτηση

Πριν προχωρήσουμε στη σύνοψη των συμπερασμάτων, κρίνεται απαραίτητη μια αναφορά στον αριθμό και το είδος των δεδομένων. Θα μπορούσε κάποιος να αντιτάξει στα ευρήματα της παρούσας έρευνας τον μικρό αριθμό των λέξεων που αναλύθηκαν. Πρέπει, ωστόσο, να τονιστεί ότι η μελέτη βασίστηκε σε ένα αντιπροσωπευτικό σώμα κειμένων, αποτελούμενο από 30 εκατομμύρια λέξεις, που αντιστοιχούν σε αυθεντικά γλωσσικά δεδομένα ποικίλων κειμενικών ειδών. Ακόμη και το ποσοστό των προφορικών δεδομένων (10% του συνόλου) ανταποκρίνεται στο αντίστοιχο των ΗΣΚ μεγάλων ευρωπαϊκών γλωσσών (βλ. Γούτσος 2003: 11). Δεδομένου ότι οι υπάρχουσες μελέτες βασίζονται κυρίως σε δεδομένα από λεξικά, η πραγματοποίηση μιας έρευνας βασισμένης σε ένα σώμα αυθεντικών κειμένων μπορεί να συμβάλει σημαντικά στη σκιαγράφηση της συμπεριφοράς των μορφημάτων σε αυθεντικά περιβάλλοντα. Η χαμηλή συχνότητα των στοιχείων καθιστά μεν δύσκολη την εξαγωγή γενικεύσιμων συμπερασμάτων, αλλά σκιαγραφεί τις τάσεις που διέπουν τη συμπεριφορά τους. Για παράδειγμα, το ότι όλα τα προϊόντα του πραγματολογικού *ψιλο-* απαντούν μια φορά μπορεί να μην είναι ενδεικτικό της συχνότητάς τους στη γλωσσική χρήση¹⁷, δηλαδή το στοιχείο αυτό δεν μας πληροφορεί ότι πρόκειται για λέξεις-άπαξ, αλλά δίνει μια σημαντική πληροφορία για τον συγκεκριμένο κανόνα κατασκευής, επισημαίνοντας ότι παρουσιάζει υψηλή κωδικοποίηση σε σχέση με την κωδικοποίηση των προϊόντων του.

Η ανάλυση με τη χρήση ΗΣΚ μπορεί να φωτίσει διάφορες πλευρές της συμπεριφοράς ενός μορφήματος. Ειδικότερα, η μελέτη των συμφραστικών πινάκων, σε συνδυασμό με τα σημασιολογικά χαρακτηριστικά των βάσεων που επιλέγει, συμβάλλει στον προσδιορισμό της σημασιολογικής συνεισφοράς του στις λέξεις που σχηματίζονται με αυτό. Η μελέτη των κατασκευασμένων λέξεων σε επίπεδο λεξικής μονάδας, με αναγωγή στο συγκεκριμένο όπου είναι απαραίτητο, επιτρέπει να διερευνηθούν οι βάσεις με τις οποίες συνδυάζεται ως προς τα σημασιολογικά χαρακτηριστικά, τις γραμματικές κατηγορίες και το επίπεδο ύφους τους. Με τον τρόπο αυτό καθίσταται δυνατή η περιγραφή τόσο του πραγματωμένου όσο και του δυνάμει λεξιλογίου, εφόσον η διερεύνηση των τάσεων ως προς τα χαρακτηριστικά των βάσεων που επιλέγει ένα μόρφημα δίνει πληροφορίες και για τις λέξεις που δύνανται να σχηματιστούν με αυτό. Συνεπώς, παρόλο που, όπως έχει επισημανθεί, ένα ΗΣΚ δεν μπορεί να δώσει πληροφορίες για το εάν κάτι είναι πιθανό ή όχι, παρά μόνο για το εάν είναι συχνό ή όχι (βλ. Hunston 2002: 22), στην περίπτωση των διαδικασιών σχηματισμού λέξεων, ο ερευνητής είναι σε θέση να διατυπώσει υποθέσεις και για το *τι είναι πιθανό* να σχηματιστεί. Επίσης, διαπιστώθηκε ότι το επίπεδο ύφους του μορφήματος μπορεί να διερευνηθεί με τρεις διαφορετικούς τρόπους: τη μελέτη του ύφους των βάσεων με τις οποίες συνδυάζεται, του ύφους των συμφραζομένων στα οποία απαντά και των κειμενικών ειδών στα οποία εμφανίζεται. Έτσι, περιορίζεται κατά το δυνατό το υποκειμενικό κριτήριο που διακρίνει συνήθως την επιλογή των υφολογικών δεικτών. Τέλος, η μελέτη των συχνοτήτων επιτρέπει την εξαγωγή συμπερασμάτων τόσο για τη συχνότητα όσο και για την κωδικοποίηση των υπό εξέταση στοιχείων και των προϊόντων τους.

¹⁷ Αντιθέτως, *ορισμένα* προϊόντα του, όπως λ.χ. το *ψιλοβαριέμαι*, εμφανίζουν υψηλό βαθμό κωδικοποίησης.

Για τα συγκεκριμένα μορφήματα διαπιστώθηκε ότι στις υπό εξέταση χρήσεις τους δεν φέρουν αμιγώς σημασιολογικό φορτίο, αλλά λειτουργούν ως πραγματολογικοί μηχανισμοί, που επιτρέπουν στον ομιλητή να μετριάσει τα λεγόμενά του ή να δώσει έμφαση. Η χαμηλή τους συχνότητα συνδέθηκε κυρίως με το ότι είναι σηματοδεδεμένα υφολογικά, ενώ διαπιστώθηκε ότι εμφανίζουν υψηλή παραγωγικότητα. Επίσης, απαντούν σε μεγάλο αριθμό διαφορετικών λημμάτων σε σχέση με τη συνολική συχνότητά τους. Η σύγκριση με τις υπόλοιπες χρήσεις τους δείχνει ότι αυτή η ιδιαιτερότητα φαίνεται να σχετίζεται με το ότι το φορτίο τους είναι πραγματολογικό και όχι αμιγώς σημασιολογικό.

Ορισμένες από τις κανονικότητες που παρατηρούνται στη συμπεριφορά τους ενδέχεται να σχετίζονται και με το είδος της συνεισφοράς των (παραγωγικών) προσφυμάτων, σε αντιδιαστολή με τη «σημασία» των θεμάτων. Για τα υπό εξέταση μορφήματα έχει υποστηριχθεί ότι τείνουν να μετατραπούν σε προθήματα (βλ. Γιαννουλοπούλου 2003), ενώ για άλλους ερευνητές το επιτατικό *θεο-* είναι ήδη πρόθημα (βλ. Αναστασιάδη-Συμεωνίδη 2008). Στην παρούσα εργασία εσκεμμένα δεν χρησιμοποιήθηκαν όροι που προδίδουν τη φύση τους (π.χ. α' συνθετικό, σύμφυμα ή πρόθημα), καθώς ο προσδιορισμός της δεν περιλαμβάνεται στους στόχους μας¹⁸. Επίσης, έγινε λόγος για διαφορετικές χρήσεις των μορφημάτων, υπονοώντας λ.χ. ότι το *θεο-* με τη σημασία *θεός* και το επιτατικό *θεο-* αντιμετωπίζονται ως διαφορετικές χρήσεις του ίδιου μορφήματος και όχι ως διαφορετικά μορφήματα. Η επιλογή αυτή, ωστόσο, οφείλεται στο ότι πρόκειται για συγχρονική ανάλυση και σε συγχρονικό επίπεδο απαντά ένας τύπος με δύο διαφορετικές χρήσεις (βλ. Αναστασιάδη-Συμεωνίδη 2008: 103). Παρόλο που οι κανονικότητες που παρατηρήθηκαν ενδέχεται να σχετίζονται σε κάποιο βαθμό με την προθηματοποίηση των υπό εξέταση στοιχείων, δεν θεωρούμε ότι η διάκριση πραγματολογικού και σημασιολογικού φορτίου ταυτίζεται με την αντίστοιχη του φορτίου των προσφυμάτων έναντι των θεμάτων, καθώς τα προσφύματα δεν επιτελούν απαραίτητα πραγματολογικές λειτουργίες σαν αυτές που μελετήθηκαν εδώ (π.χ. *-ικ(ός)*).

Ωστόσο, για να διερευνηθεί περαιτέρω η έννοια του πραγματολογικού φορτίου και ο τρόπος με τον οποίον επηρεάζει τη συμπεριφορά των υπολεξικών μονάδων είναι απαραίτητη η μελέτη μεγάλου αριθμού μορφημάτων και σε περισσότερα δεδομένα. Στις προεκτάσεις της παρούσας έρευνας εντάσσουμε επίσης τη διερεύνηση της σχέσης ορισμένων χαρακτηριστικών των υπό εξέταση μορφημάτων με την έννοια της αξιολογικής μορφολογίας, ενώ από το παρόν άρθρο, λόγω έλλειψης χώρου, απουσιάζει και μια «συζήτηση» της υπάρχουσας βιβλιογραφίας, η οποία είναι απαραίτητο να γίνει στο μέλλον.

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¹⁸ Χρησιμοποιήθηκε, ωστόσο, για πρακτικούς λόγους ο όρος *βάση*.

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Παράρτημα

Τρόπος	Κειμενικό είδος	Αριθμός λέξεων	%
Προφορικά	Ειδήσεις	291,382	1%
	Συνέντευξη	592,584	2%
	Ομιλίες	1,839,766	6.75%
	Συνομιλία	207,548	0.76%
Γραπτά	Λογοτεχνία	2,455,080	9%
	Ειδήσεις	4,764,337	17.5%
	Άρθρα γνώμης	3,189,132	11.7%
	Πληροφορίες	100,570	0.36%
	Ακαδημαϊκά	3,994,277	14.67%
	Ενημερωτικά	7,648,513	28%
	Νόμοι-Διοίκηση	1,472,700	5.4%
	Ιδιωτικά	186,210	0.68%
	Διαδικαστικά	145,770	0.53%
	Διάφορα	335,906	1.65%

Πίνακας 1 Κατανομή των δεδομένων του ΣΕΚ ανά κειμενικό είδος

ΧΡΗΣΕΙΣ/ ΣΗΜΑΣΙΕΣ	ΚΕΙΜΕΝΙΚΑ ΕΙΔΗ									
	ΛΟΓΟΤ.	ΑΡΘΡΑ ΓΝΩΜΗΣ	ΕΝΗΜΕΡ.	ΕΙΔΗΣΕΙΣ		ΑΚΑΔΗΜ.	ΣΥΝΟΜΙΛΙΑ	ΙΔΙΩΤΙΚΑ (CHAT)	ΣΥΝΕΝΤ. (ΠΡΟΦ.)	ΣΥΝΟΛΟ
				ΠΡΟΦΟΡ.	ΓΡΑΠΤ.					
Μετριάστικό πραγματολογικό ψιλο-	11 (0.44)	11 (0.34)	11 (0.14)	1 (0.34)	2 (0.04)	1 (0.02)	12 (5.78)	2 (1.07)	1 (0.16)	52
Μετριάστικό περιγραφικό ψιλο-	16 (0.65)	4 (0.12)	11 (0.14)	-	1 (0.02)	1 (0.02)	-	-	-	33
Λεπτομερής δουλειά	3 (0.12)	3 (0.09)	1 (0.01)	-	-	-	-	-	-	7
Υποκορισμός/ σμίκρυνση	2 (0.08)	2 (0.06)	22 (0.28)	2 (0.68)	1 (0.02)	-	-	-	-	29
Σύνολο										121

Πίνακας 2 Συχνότητα ψιλο- ανά κειμενικό είδος

ΚΕΙΜΕΝΙΚΑ ΕΙΔΗ		Σημασία θεός	Σημασία θεός (ως β' συνθετικό)	Επιτατικό θεο-
Λογοτεχνία		30 (1.22)	5 (0.2)	8 (0.32)
Άρθρα γνώμης		59 (1.85)	5 (0.15)	8 (0.25)
Ενημερωτικά		141 (1.84)	28 (0.36)	6 (0.07)
Ειδήσεις	Προφορικές	1 (0.34)	-	-
	Γραπτές	46 (0.96)	3 (0.06)	1 (0.02)
Ακαδημαϊκά (γραπτά)		43 (1.07)	4 (0.1)	1 (0.02)
Ομιλίες		9 (0.48)	3 (0.16)	-
Συνομιλία		2 (0.96)	-	1 (0.48)
Ιδιωτικά		-	-	2 (1.07)
Συνέντευξη (προφορική)		8 (1.35)	-	-
Διάφορα		4 (1.19)	1 (0.29)	-
Νόμοι-Διοίκηση		2 (0.13)	-	-
Σύνολο		345	49	27

Πίνακας 3 Συχνότητα θεο- ανά κειμενικό είδος

ΑΝΑΦΟΡΙΚΗ ΔΕΣΜΕΥΣΗ ΣΤΑ ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΑ: Η ΣΗΜΑΣΙΑ ΤΗΣ ΕΠΙΛΟΓΗΣ ΔΟΚΙΜΑΣΙΑΣ¹

Ειρήνη Σανουδάκη

Bangor University

Μεγάλη Βρετανία

e.sanoudaki@bangor.ac.uk

Σπυριδούλα Βαρλοκώστα

Πανεπιστήμιο Αθηνών

Ελλάδα

svarlokosta@phil.uoa.gr

ΠΕΡΙΛΗΨΗ

This study examines the interpretation of pronouns and reflexives in Greek-speaking children and adults. We employ two different methodological approaches, using the Truth Value Judgment Task and the Picture Selection Task. Our results show a strong task effect, indicating that the interpretation given to strong pronouns differs radically depending on the experimental task used. We analyse these results by appealing to the concept of minimality in pronoun selection, in conjunction with different strategies used by participants in the two task types.

Λέξεις κλειδιά: αναφορική δέσμευση, κατάκτηση, αντωνυμίες, κλιτικά, αυτοπαθή, Καθυστέρηση της Αρχής B, Δοκιμασία Επιλογής Εικόνας, Δοκιμασία Κρίσης Τιμών Αληθείας.

1. Εισαγωγή

Η ερμηνεία των αντωνυμιών και των αυτοπαθών στοιχείων έχει αποτελέσει αντικείμενο εκτεταμένης έρευνας κατά τις τελευταίες δεκαετίες. Βασικό λόγο για αυτό το ενδιαφέρον αποτελεί η ιδιόμορφη συμπεριφορά των στοιχείων αυτών στην κατάκτησή τους από τα παιδιά. Έρευνες σε αρκετές γλώσσες έχουν δείξει πως τα παιδιά έως την ηλικία των έξι περίπου χρόνων προσδίδουν αυτοπαθή ερμηνεία στις προσωπικές αντωνυμίες, ενώ αντίστοιχα προβλήματα δεν παρουσιάζονται με τα αυτοπαθή στοιχεία (Chien & Wexler 1990: Αγγλική, Avrutin & Wexler 1992: Ρωσική, Philip & Coopmans 1996: Ολλανδική κλπ). Για παράδειγμα, μια πρόταση όπως *The princess is painting her* “Η πριγκίπισσα τη βάφει” ερμηνεύεται κάποιες φορές από τα παιδιά ως *The princess is painting herself* “Η πριγκίπισσα βάφει τον εαυτό της”. Η συμπεριφορά αυτή των αντωνυμιών, που περιορίζεται στην κατανόηση και όχι στην παραγωγή προτάσεων, έχει ονομαστεί Φαινόμενο της Καθυστέρησης της Αρχής B (Delay of Principle B Effect), καθώς, στο πλαίσιο της Θεωρίας της Αναφορικής Δέσμευσης (Chomsky 1981, 1986), αποτελεί φαινομενική παραβίαση της αρχής αυτής. Από τις απόπειρες ανάλυσης του φαινομένου, η πιο γνωστή είναι εκείνη των Grodzinsky & Reinhart (1993), η οποία αποδίδει το φαινόμενο σε δυσκολίες των παιδιών με μια πραγματολογική αρχή (Rule I) που ρυθμίζει τη συναναφορά των αντωνυμικών στοιχείων (βλ. επίσης Chien & Wexler 1990).

Πρόσφατες έρευνες με ελληνόπουλα (Varlokosta 1999/2000, 2001) έχουν δείξει πως το φαινόμενο αυτό δεν συναντάται στην Ελληνική. Τα ελληνόπουλα δεν ερμηνεύουν ούτε τα κλιτικά *τον/την* ούτε την αντωνυμία *αυτόν/αυτήν* ως αυτοπαθή στοιχεία (δηλ. ως *τον εαυτό του/τον εαυτό της*). Προβλήματα επίσης δεν παρατηρούνται στην ερμηνεία των αυτοπαθών στοιχείων, παρά μόνο όταν αυτά βρίσκονται σε περιβάλλον με δύο πιθανά αντικείμενα αναφοράς. Σχετική έρευνα έδειξε πως σε μια πρόταση όπου υπάρχουν δύο ουσιαστικά, όπως *Ο δάσκαλος δίπλα στον μαθητή πλένει τον εαυτό του*, τα παιδιά επέλεξαν για την αυτοπαθή αντωνυμία λανθασμένο αντικείμενο αναφοράς (*ο μαθητής*) γύρω στο 30% των περιπτώσεων (Varlokosta 2001). Προβλήματα αυτού του είδους δεν διαπιστώθηκαν σε αντίστοιχη έρευνα στην Αγγλική (Avrutin & Cunningham 1997), και η διαφορά στην κατανόηση των αυτοπαθών ανάμεσα στην Ελληνική και στην Αγγλική δεν έχει λάβει ως τώρα ικανοποιητική εξήγηση. Επίσης, ενώ τα ευρήματα σχετικά με τα κλιτικά είναι σύμφωνα με αντίστοιχα ευρήματα σε άλλες γλώσσες (για παράδειγμα, Ιταλική: McKee 1992), η απουσία δυσκολιών με τον ισχυρό τύπο της προσωπικής

¹ Η έρευνα αυτή πραγματοποιήθηκε με την υποστήριξη μεταδιδακτορικής υποτροφίας του Ιδρύματος Κρατικών Υποτροφιών (IKY) στην ΕΣ.

αντωνυμίας (*αυτόν/αυτήν*) φαίνεται να αποτελεί εξαίρεση στον διαγλωσσικά ισχύοντα κανόνα του Φαινομένου της Καθυστέρησης της Αρχής B.

Η ερμηνεία που έχει δοθεί στην απουσία του φαινομένου με τις ισχυρές αντωνυμίες στα ελληνικά (Varlokosta 1999/2000) είναι ότι, όπως και τα κλιτικά, και σε αντίθεση με τις αντωνυμίες σε άλλες γλώσσες, η αντωνυμία *αυτόν/αυτήν* μπορεί να έχει και μη ανθρώπινο αντικείμενο αναφοράς: για τον λόγο αυτό, πρέπει να δεσμεύεται συντακτικά, όπως και τα κλιτικά, κι έτσι δεν υπόκειται στην πραγματολογική αρχή η οποία είναι υπεύθυνη για την ύπαρξη του φαινομένου κατά τους Grodzinsky & Reinhart (1993). Αυτή η ερμηνεία επιτυγχάνει μια ενιαία ανάλυση για τα στοιχεία που αντιστέκονται στο Φαινόμενο της Καθυστέρησης της Αρχής B, επεκτείνοντας στις ελληνικές ισχυρές αντωνυμίες την προταθείσα ερμηνεία των Baauw *et al.* (1997) για την απουσία του φαινομένου στα κλιτικά διαγλωσσικά.

Μία σταθερά στα αποτελέσματα σχετικών ερευνών, η οποία έχει περάσει σε γενικές γραμμές απαρατήρητη, είναι ότι τα ποσοστά σωστών απαντήσεων για την ισχυρή αντωνυμία *αυτόν/αυτήν* είναι πάντα ελαφρώς χαμηλότερα από τα αντίστοιχα ποσοστά για τα κλιτικά *τον/την*. Για παράδειγμα, στην έρευνα της Varlokosta (1999/2000), τα παιδιά έδωσαν σωστές απαντήσεις στη συνθήκη των κλιτικών στο 95% των περιπτώσεων, ενώ στη συνθήκη των ισχυρών αντωνυμιών στο 87% των περιπτώσεων. Τα αποτελέσματα του ελληνικού τμήματος της έρευνας της Sanoudaki (2004) πάνω στη δίγλωσση κατάκτηση Ελληνικής-Αγγλικής, παρουσίασαν παρόμοια ασυμμετρία: σωστές απαντήσεις για τα κλιτικά και τις ισχυρές αντωνυμίες δόθηκαν από τα παιδιά στο 90% και 80% των περιπτώσεων αντίστοιχα. Η ασυμμετρία αυτή δεν είναι σε καμία έρευνα αρκετά μεγάλη, και θα μπορούσε απλά να αγνοηθεί ως πειραματικός θόρυβος, αλλά η παρουσία της και η κατεύθυνση είναι σταθερή. Εναλλακτικά, θα μπορούσε ίσως να αναλυθεί ως ελαφρύ Φαινόμενο της Καθυστέρησης της Αρχής B, που όμως δεν ήταν αρκετά ισχυρό ώστε να δημιουργήσει μεγάλη διαφορά.

Μια πρόταση για την ερμηνεία αυτής της ασυμμετρίας βρίσκουμε στη Sanoudaki (2004), όπου προτείνεται πως η αιτία για τα ελαφρώς χαμηλότερα ποσοστά στις ισχυρές αντωνυμίες είναι η παραβίαση της Αρχής της Ελαχιστοποίησης (Minimality Condition) στην επιλογή προσωπικής αντωνυμίας (Cardinaletti & Starke 1999). Η αρχή αυτή απαιτεί τη χρήση του ασθενέστερου αντωνυμικού τύπου που επιτρέπεται σε κάθε περιβάλλον. Και καθώς τα κλιτικά είναι πιο ασθενείς τύποι από ό,τι οι ισχυρές αντωνυμίες (Cardinaletti & Starke 1999), έπεται ότι εάν σε ένα περιβάλλον μπορεί να χρησιμοποιηθεί το κλιτικό *τον/τον*, τότε η χρήση της ισχυρής αντωνυμίας *αυτόν/αυτήν* δεν επιτρέπεται. Αυτή η αρχή, υποστηρίζεται στη Sanoudaki (2004), παραβιάζεται στις σχετικές έρευνες πάνω στην κατάκτηση της αναφορικής δέσμευσης στα ελληνικά, καθώς ο ισχυρός τύπος της προσωπικής αντωνυμίας *αυτόν/αυτήν* χρησιμοποιήθηκε σε περιβάλλοντα όπου θα μπορούσε να έχει χρησιμοποιηθεί το κλιτικό *τον/την*. Χαρακτηριστικό παράδειγμα αποτελεί η χρήση της ισχυρής αντωνυμίας στην πρόταση *Ο μπαμπάς έντυσε αυτόν*, σε περιβάλλον όπου θα μπορούσε να έχει χρησιμοποιηθεί το κλιτικό *Ο μπαμπάς τον έντυσε*. Η ανάλυση αυτή υποστηρίζεται από το γεγονός ότι στις περιπτώσεις στις οποίες ο ισχυρός τύπος χρησιμοποιήθηκε σε περιβάλλον όπου η χρήση του κλιτικού δεν επιτρέπεται από τη γραμματική (για παράδειγμα, σε Προθετική Φράση, (1)), τα ποσοστά ήταν υψηλότερα (95%, Varlokosta 2001).

1. *Ο Γκούφν αγόρασε σε αυτόν ένα βιβλίο*

Επίσης, προκαταρκτική έρευνα σε ενήλικες, η οποία χρησιμοποιήσε το ίδιο υλικό που χρησιμοποιήθηκε στην έρευνα κατάκτησης, έδωσε κάποιες ενδείξεις ότι ίσως και οι ενήλικες έχουν αμφιβολίες σχετικά με την ερμηνεία των ισχυρών αντωνυμιών σε κάποια περιβάλλοντα (Sanoudaki 2003). Πλήρης έρευνα σε ενήλικες πάνω στην ερμηνεία των αντωνυμιών σε παρόμοια περιβάλλοντα στα ελληνικά, δεν έχει ως τώρα πραγματοποιηθεί.

Στην παρούσα μελέτη εξετάζεται περαιτέρω το πρόβλημα της ερμηνείας των ισχυρών αντωνυμιών στα ελληνικά, και η ασυμμετρία ανάμεσα στα αποτελέσματα των κλιτικών και των ισχυρών αντωνυμιών στις έρευνες με ελληνόπουλα, με δύο νέα πειράματα. Στο πρώτο πείραμα, θα εξεταστεί για πρώτη φορά ο τρόπος με τον οποίο ερμηνεύουν οι ενήλικες τις ισχυρές αντωνυμίες και τα κλιτικά, με υλικό και μεθοδολογία υπάρχουσας έρευνας με παιδιά (Varlokosta 1999/2000), ώστε να διαπιστωθεί αν η μικρή ασυμμετρία στην ερμηνεία ισχυρών αντωνυμιών και κλιτικών που έχει παρατηρηθεί στον παιδικό λόγο εμφανίζεται και στα δεδομένα των ενηλίκων. Στο δεύτερο πείραμα, αξιοποιώντας πρόσφατα ευρήματα, σύμφωνα με τα οποία τα αποτελέσματα της έρευνας πάνω στην ερμηνεία των αντωνυμιών μπορεί να διαφέρουν ανάλογα με τη μεθοδολογική προσέγγιση (Baauw *et al.* 2011, Conroy *et al.* 2009), θα εξεταστεί η ερμηνεία των ισχυρών αντωνυμιών, των κλιτικών και των αυτοπαθών αντωνυμιών σε παιδιά και ενήλικες με διαφορετική μέθοδο από εκείνη που έχει ως τώρα χρησιμοποιηθεί. Συγκεκριμένα, ενώ οι ως τώρα έρευνες στα ελληνικά έχουν χρησιμοποιήσει κάποια μορφή της Δοκιμασίας Κρίσης των Τιμών Αληθείας ενός Εκφωνήματος (Truth Value Judgment Task,

Chien & Wexler 1990, εφεξής ΔοΚΤΑΕ), θα χρησιμοποιήσουμε τη Δοκιμασία Επιλογής Εικόνας (Picture Selection Task, εφεξής ΔΕΕ). Με τα δύο αυτά πειράματα στοχεύουμε στο να συγκεντρώσουμε υλικό που θα μας επιτρέψει να απαντήσουμε το ερώτημα της ερμηνείας των αντωνυμικών στοιχείων στην Ελληνική.

2. Πείραμα πρώτο

2.1 Στόχος

Με το πείραμα αυτό εξετάζουμε για πρώτη φορά ενήλικες στην ερμηνεία των αντωνυμικών και αυτοπαθών στοιχείων, χρησιμοποιώντας υλικό και μεθοδολογία προϋπάρχουσας έρευνας με ελληνόπουλα (Varlokosta 1999/2000).

2.2 Μέθοδος και Υλικό

Στο πείραμα έλαβαν μέρος δέκα ενήλικες (έξι άνδρες και τέσσερις γυναίκες), ηλικίας 22-65 χρόνων, φουσικοί ομιλητές της Ελληνικής, που μεγάλωσαν σε μονόγλωσσο περιβάλλον και ζουν στην Κρήτη.

Η μέθοδος που ακολουθήθηκε είναι η ΔοΚΤΑΕ με εικόνες. Η ΔοΚΤΑΕ έχει χρησιμοποιηθεί στην έρευνα σχετικά με την κατάκτηση των αντωνυμικών συστημάτων σε διάφορες γλώσσες (για παράδειγμα, Chien & Wexler 1990: Αγγλική), συμπεριλαμβανομένης και της Ελληνικής (Varlokosta 1999/2000), αλλά και σε παιδιά δίγλωσσα (Sanoudaki 2004: Ελληνική-Αγγλική).

Με τη ΔοΚΤΑΕ μπορούμε να εξετάσουμε αν τα παιδιά εκχωρούν σε ένα εκφώνημα μια ερμηνεία η οποία δεν είναι αποδεκτή από τη γραμματική. Η διαδικασία είναι η ακόλουθη: ένας ερευνητής παρουσιάζει μια εικόνα και ρωτάει μια ναι-όχι ερώτηση σχετικά με το τι συμβαίνει στην εικόνα. Οι εικόνες παρουσιάζουν έναν χαρακτήρα να ζωγραφίζει, να πλένει, να αγγίζει κλπ. κάποιον άλλο χαρακτήρα ή τον εαυτό του. Για παράδειγμα, σε μια απεικόνιση μιας μάγισσας και μιας πριγκίπισσας να βάφει τον εαυτό της, μια εισαγωγική πρόταση παρουσιάζει τους χαρακτήρες (*Εδώ βλέπουμε μια πριγκίπισσα και μια μάγισσα.*), ακολουθούμενη από μια ερώτηση (*Η πριγκίπισσα τη βάφει;*). Η ερώτηση του ερευνητή δίνει στο παιδί δυο ζεύγη ερμηνείας-εκφώνηματος, εκ των οποίων το ένα είναι ακριβές (αληθές) περιγραφή του τι συμβαίνει στην εικόνα αλλά αντίθετο με κάποια γραμματική αρχή (ερμηνεία α), ενώ το δεύτερο είναι ψευδές αλλά σύμφωνο με τη γραμματική (ερμηνεία β). Κάθε θετική απάντηση εκ μέρους του παιδιού λαμβάνεται ως ένδειξη ότι το παιδί δεν γνωρίζει τη γραμματική αρχή. Αντίθετα, αν το παιδί απαντήσει αρνητικά, η απάντησή του λαμβάνεται ως ένδειξη ότι το παιδί γνωρίζει την αρχή.

2. Ερμηνεία α: * η πριγκίπισσα_i τη_i βάφει (αντίθετο με τη γραμματική αλλά αληθές)
(=η πριγκίπισσα βάφει τον εαυτό της)

Ερμηνεία β: η πριγκίπισσα_i τη_κ βάφει (σύμφωνο με τη γραμματική αλλά ψευδές)

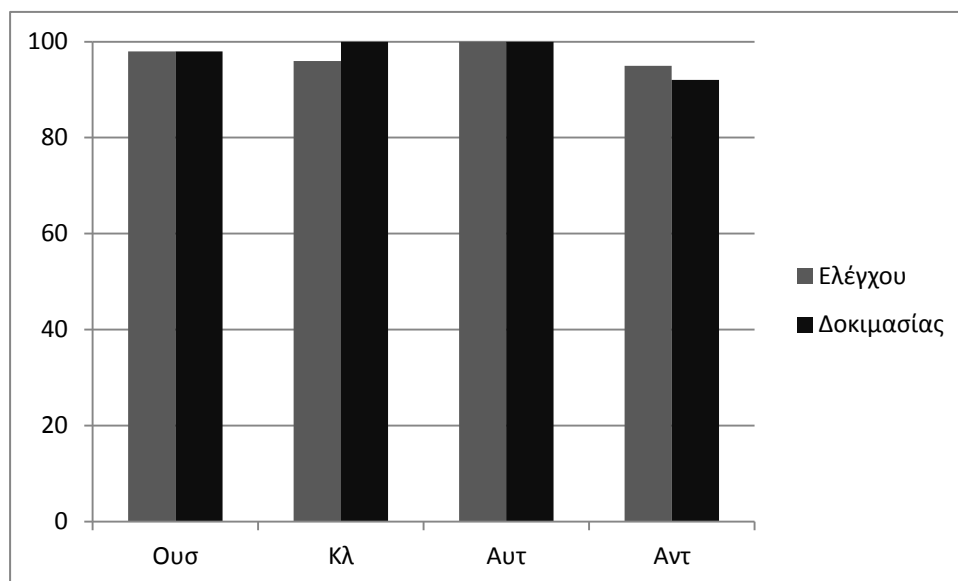
(=η πριγκίπισσα βάφει τη μάγισσα)
το εκφώνημα απαιτεί αρνητική απάντηση

Στο παρόν πείραμα, ακολουθήσαμε το πρότυπο της έρευνας της Varlokosta (1999/2000): είχαμε τρεις συνθήκες δοκιμασίας, μία για τα κλιτικά, μία για τις ισχυρές αντωνυμίες και μία για τις αυτοπαθείς. Για κάθε συνθήκη δοκιμασίας υπήρχε και μία συνθήκη ελέγχου, στην οποία η ερμηνεία β, η σύμφωνη με τη γραμματική, είναι αληθής, ενώ η ερμηνεία α, η αντιγραμματική, είναι ψευδής (δηλ. σωστή απάντηση “ναι”). Κάθε συνθήκη δοκιμασίας και ελέγχου εξετάστηκε σε τέσσερις προσπάθειες. Επίσης υπήρχε μια συνθήκη που περιλάμβανε μόνο ουσιαστικά (έξι προσπάθειες με σωστή απάντηση “ναι” κι έξι προσπάθειες με σωστή απάντηση “όχι”).

Οι προτάσεις παρουσιάστηκαν σε δύο διαφορετικές σειρές, κάθε σειρά για τους μισούς συμμετέχοντες. Η ολοκληρωμένη λίστα των υλικών που χρησιμοποιήθηκαν, οργανωμένα σε μία από τις δύο σειρές, παρατίθεται στο Παράρτημα 1.

2.3 Αποτελέσματα

Τα ποσοστά σωστών απαντήσεων για κάθε συνθήκη παρουσιάζονται στο Γράφημα 1.



Γράφημα 1 Ποσοστό σωστών απαντήσεων σε κάθε συνθήκη ελέγχου και δοκιμασίας, για ουσιαστικά, κλινικά, αυτοπαθή και ισχυρές αντωνυμίες

Όπως φαίνεται παραπάνω, τα ποσοστά σωστών απαντήσεων ήταν πολύ υψηλά σε όλες τις πειραματικές συνθήκες. Στη συνθήκη των ισχυρών αντωνυμιών τα ποσοστά ήταν ελαφρώς χαμηλότερα, αλλά πάντα πάνω από 90%.

3. Πείραμα δεύτερο

3.1 Στόχος

Στο πείραμα αυτό εφαρμόζουμε για πρώτη φορά τη ΔΕΕ στην έρευνα της ερμηνείας των ισχυρών αντωνυμιών, των κλιτικών και των αυτοπαθών αντωνυμιών στα ελληνικά από παιδιά και ενήλικες. Φιλοδοξούμε με τον τρόπο αυτό να αποκτήσουμε μια πιο ολοκληρωμένη εικόνα της ερμηνείας των σχετικών στοιχείων, συλλέγοντας υλικό που θα μας βοηθήσει να ερμηνεύσουμε την ασυμμετρία ανάμεσα στα κλιτικά και στις ισχυρές αντωνυμίες που ανιχνεύθηκε σε προηγούμενα πειράματα.

3.2 Συμμετέχοντες

Δεκαεννέα παιδιά τυπικής ανάπτυξης (εννέα κορίτσια και δέκα αγόρια, ηλικίας 4,5 – 6,3) συμμετείχαν σε αυτό το πείραμα. Τα παιδιά εξετάστηκαν σε τρία νηπιαγωγεία στο Ηράκλειο Κρήτης. Όλα τα παιδιά μεγαλώνουν σε μονόγλωσση ελληνόφωνη οικογένεια και δεν έχουν ιστορικό πρόβληματος αναπτυξιακού ή γλωσσικού. Ως επιπλέον μέτρο της γλωσσικής ανάπτυξης των συμμετεχόντων παιδιών, κάθε παιδί πραγματοποίησε τμήμα του Ελληνικού Διαγνωστικού Τεστ Λεκτικής Νοημοσύνης (Diagnostic Test of Verbal Intelligence DVIQ, Stavrakaki & Tsimpli 2000) πριν από την πειραματική δοκιμασία. Συγκεκριμένα, δόθηκαν στα παιδιά τα τμήματα παραγωγής λεξιλογίου και κατανόησης μορφοσύνταξης του τεστ. Ο μέσος όρος και η τυπική απόκλιση για κάθε τμήμα του τεστ δίνονται στον Πίνακα 1.

Παραγωγή λεξιλογίου (Μέγιστη βαθμολογία=27)		Κατανόηση μορφοσύνταξης (Μέγιστη βαθμολογία=31)	
Μέσος όρος	Τυπική απόκλιση	Μέσος όρος	Τυπική απόκλιση
19.18	2.01	20.68	3.76

Πίνακας 1 Αποτελέσματα Τεστ Λεκτικής Νοημοσύνης

Επίσης, εξετάστηκε μια ομάδα ενηλίκων αποτελούμενη από δεκαοκτώ ενήλικες (δεκατρείς γυναίκες και πέντε άντρες), ηλικίας 23-67 χρόνων. Όλοι οι συμμετέχοντες είναι φυσικοί ομιλητές της

Ελληνικής, που μεγάλωσαν σε μονόγλωσσο περιβάλλον και ζουν στην Κρήτη. Κανείς από τους συμμετέχοντες δεν είχε λάβει μέρος στο προηγούμενο πείραμα.

3.3 Μέθοδος και Υλικό

Σε αυτό το πείραμα ακολουθήσαμε τη ΔΕΕ. Η μέθοδος αυτή έχει χρησιμοποιηθεί στην εξέταση διαφόρων πτυχών της κατάκτησης μορφοσυντακτικών αντιθέσεων, συμπεριλαμβανομένης και της αναφορικής δέσμευσης (Baauw *et al.* 2011, Deutsch *et al.* 1986, Varlokosta & Nerantzini 2011).

Οι συμμετέχοντες άκουσαν προτάσεις και διάλεξαν, δείχνοντας με το δάχτυλο, μία από δύο εικόνες για κάθε πρόταση. Σε κάθε ζεύγος εικόνων, μία εικόνα έδειχνε ένα άτομο που επιτελούσε μια πράξη (π.χ. πλύσιμο) σε ένα άλλο άτομο, ενώ η άλλη έδειχνε το ίδιο άτομο να επιτελεί την πράξη αυτή προς τον εαυτό του, παρουσία του δεύτερου ατόμου.

Υπήρχαν τέσσερις συνθήκες δοκιμασίας: μία για κλιτικά, μία για ισχυρές αντωνυμίες, μία για αυτοπαθή και μία για αυτοπαθή με δύο πιθανά αντικείμενα αναφοράς. Συμπεριλήφθηκε και μια συνθήκη ελέγχου, με ουσιαστικά μόνο. Κάθε συνθήκη εξετάστηκε σε εννέα προσπάθειες, ώστε συνολικά υπήρχαν σαρανταπέντε προσπάθειες. Στον Πίνακα 2 παρουσιάζεται ένα παράδειγμα για κάθε συνθήκη.

Πειραματική συνθήκη	Αριθμός προσπαθειών	Παράδειγμα
ΚΛΙΤ	9	Ο πρίγκιπας τον σκεπάζει
ΑΝΤ	9	Η μαμά σκουπίζει αυτήν
ΑΥΤΟΠ	9	Η γιαγιά αγκαλιάζει τον εαυτό της
ΑΥΤΟΠ2	9	Ο βασιλιάς δίπλα στον μάγο πλένει τον εαυτό του
ΟΥΣ	9	Η μάγισσα χτενίζει τη βασίλισσα

Πίνακας 2 Πειραματικές συνθήκες

Χρησιμοποιήθηκαν εννέα ρήματα: *πλένω*, *χτενίζω*, *βάφω*, *γλύφω*, *σκουπίζω*, *σκεπάζω*, *αγκαλιάζω*, *αγγίζω*, *ζωγραφίζω*. Κάθε ρήμα χρησιμοποιήθηκε σε όλες τις συνθήκες δοκιμασίας καθώς και στη συνθήκη ελέγχου. Υπήρχε ένα ακόμα ρήμα, *βρέχω*, σε δύο εισαγωγικές προσπάθειες για ζέσταμα.

Κάθε πρόταση διαβάστηκε από τον ερευνητή καθώς ο συμμετέχων έβλεπε το αντίστοιχο ζεύγος εικόνων σε οθόνη φορητού υπολογιστή 15.6 ιντσών. Πριν από κάθε πειραματική πρόταση προηγήθηκε μια εισαγωγική πρόταση, η οποία παρουσίαζε τους χαρακτήρες.

Εισαγωγική πρόταση	Πειραματική πρόταση
Εδώ βλέπουμε έναν πρίγκιπα κι έναν νάνο	Ο πρίγκιπας τον σκεπάζει

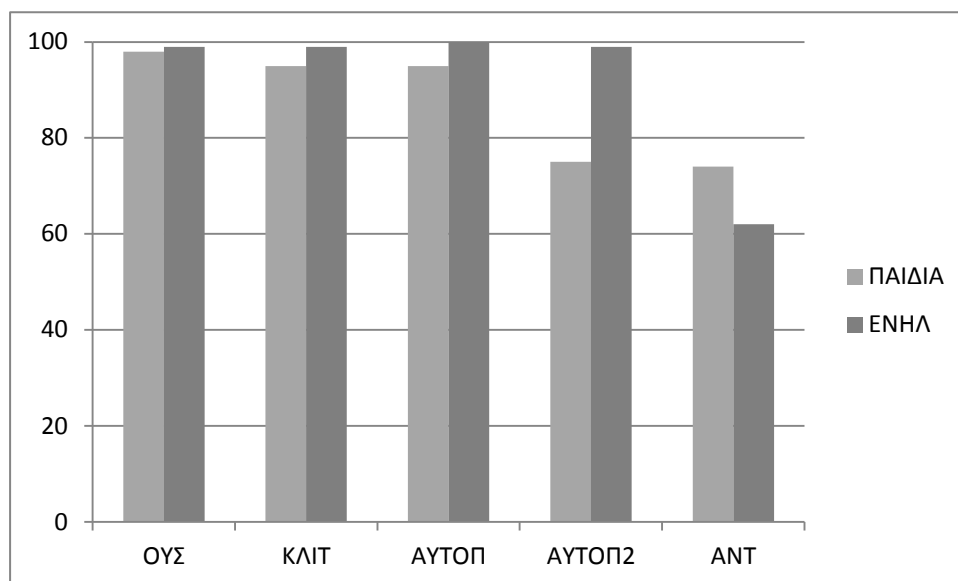
Οι εικόνες που χρησιμοποιήθηκαν έχουν δημιουργηθεί για την εξέταση της αναφορικής δέσμευσης διαγλωσσικά στο πλαίσιο του Ευρωπαϊκού Ερευνητικού Προγράμματος COST Action A33 (2006-2010).

Ως επιπλέον κριτήριο για την επιλογή των παιδιών ορίστηκε η επίδοση στη συνθήκη ελέγχου. Μόνο το υλικό των παιδιών που έδωσαν τουλάχιστον επτά σωστές απαντήσεις (από τις εννέα) στη συνθήκη ελέγχου συμπεριλήφθηκε στο πείραμα. Οι απαντήσεις παιδιών που έδωσαν λιγότερες σωστές απαντήσεις στη συνθήκη ελέγχου δεν μετρήθηκαν κατά τον υπολογισμό των αποτελεσμάτων.

Οι προτάσεις παρουσιάστηκαν στους συμμετέχοντες σε δύο διαφορετικές σειρές. Η πρώτη σειρά ήταν τυχαία, ενώ η δεύτερη ήταν αντίθετη της πρώτης. Κάθε σειρά παρουσιάστηκε στους μισούς από τους συμμετέχοντες. Στο Παράρτημα 2 παρατίθεται η μία από τις δύο σειρές.

3.4 Αποτελέσματα

Τα αποτελέσματα για τις ομάδες των παιδιών και των ενηλίκων παρουσιάζονται στο Γράφημα 2.



Γράφημα 2 Ποσοστό σωστών απαντήσεων για τις δύο ομάδες σε κάθε συνθήκη: ουσιαστικά, κλιτικά, αυτοπαθή, αυτοπαθή με δύο πιθανά αντικείμενα αναφοράς και ισχυρές αντωνυμίες

Όπως φαίνεται στο Γράφημα 2, τα παιδιά έδωσαν λιγότερες σωστές απαντήσεις όταν το αυτοπαθές βρισκόταν σε περιβάλλον με δύο πιθανά αντικείμενα αναφοράς (ΑΥΤΟΠ2). Επιπλέον, έδωσαν αυτοπαθή ερμηνεία στην ισχυρή αντωνυμία στο 26% των περιπτώσεων στη σχετική συνθήκη (ΑΝΤ). Τα αποτελέσματα της ομάδας των ενηλίκων δείχνουν ότι και οι ενήλικες επιτρέπουν την αυτοπαθή ερμηνεία της ισχυρής αντωνυμίας: αυτό παρατηρήθηκε στο 38% των περιπτώσεων. Σε όλες τις άλλες συνθήκες τα αποτελέσματα είναι πολύ υψηλά, τόσο για την ομάδα των παιδιών όσο και των ενηλίκων.

4. Συζήτηση

Η παρούσα έρευνα εξετάζει την αναφορική δέσμευση στα ελληνικά χρησιμοποιώντας δύο διαφορετικές μεθοδολογικές προσεγγίσεις. Στο πρώτο πείραμα εξετάσαμε την ερμηνεία κλιτικών, ισχυρών αντωνυμιών και αυτοπαθών σε ενήλικες εφαρμόζοντας τη ΔοΚΤΑΕ, κατά το πρότυπο της έρευνας της Varlokosta (1999/2000) σε παιδιά. Τα αποτελέσματα αναπαράγουν τα αντίστοιχα της Varlokosta (1999/2000), δείχνοντας ελαφρώς χαμηλότερα ποσοστά στη συνθήκη των ισχυρών αντωνυμιών. Η ελαφρά αυτή ασυμμετρία θα μπορούσε ξανά να ερμηνευθεί ως πειραματικός θόρυβος, παρά το ότι η παρουσία της είναι σταθερή, αν δεν είχαμε τα αποτελέσματα του δεύτερου πειράματος.

Στο δεύτερο πείραμα χρησιμοποιήσαμε τη ΔΕΕ για να εξετάσουμε την ερμηνεία κλιτικών, ισχυρών αντωνυμιών, αυτοπαθών και αυτοπαθών με δύο αντικείμενα αναφοράς σε παιδιά και ενήλικες. Τα αποτελέσματα των απαντήσεων των παιδιών αναπαράγουν εκείνα της Varlokosta (1999/2000) ως ένα σημείο. Με την παρούσα δοκιμασία, όπως και με τη ΔοΚΤΑΕ, τα παιδιά έχουν δυσκολίες στην ερμηνεία των αυτοπαθών όταν υπάρχουν δύο πιθανά αντικείμενα αναφοράς στην πρόταση, επιλέγοντας αντικείμενο αναφοράς που καθιστά την πρόταση αντιγραμματική. Αντίθετα, στη συνθήκη των ισχυρών αντωνυμιών, τα παρόντα αποτελέσματα διαφέρουν ριζικά από εκείνα των ερευνών που εφαρμόσαν τη ΔοΚΤΑΕ (Sanoudaki 2004, Varlokosta 1999/2000, 2001). Η χρήση της ΔΕΕ στην παρούσα έρευνα είχε ως αποτέλεσμα την απόδοση αυτοπαθούς ερμηνείας στην ισχυρή αντωνυμία *αυτόν/αυτήν* περίπου στο ένα τρίτο με ένα τέταρτο των περιπτώσεων τόσο από τα παιδιά όσο και από τους ενήλικες.

Παρατηρούμε ότι η επιλογή δοκιμασίας επέδρασε καταλυτικά στην απόδοση ερμηνείας στην αντωνυμία και στις δύο ομάδες, δημιουργώντας ένα ενδιαφέρον παράδοξο. Η ΔοΚΤΑΕ είναι σχεδιασμένη ώστε να ελέγχει αν μια ερμηνεία είναι διαθέσιμη στους συμμετέχοντες ή όχι (βλ. μεθοδολογία παραπάνω), ενώ η ΔΕΕ ελέγχει ποια από τις (πιθανόν διαθέσιμες) ερμηνείες είναι η προτιμητέα, εφόσον αφήνει ελεύθερους τους συμμετέχοντες να επιλέξουν όποια εικόνα πιστεύουν πως ταίριαζει καλύτερα στο εκφώνημα. Το παράδοξο έγκειται στο ότι η παρούσα έρευνα φαίνεται να δείχνει πως μια ερμηνεία η οποία δεν είναι διαθέσιμη (στα παιδιά αλλά ούτε στους ενήλικες) είναι εκείνη που συχνά (στο ένα τρίτο περίπου των περιπτώσεων) προτιμάται.

Υποστηρίζουμε ότι το παράδοξο αυτό μπορεί να ερμηνευθεί ικανοποιητικά μόνο αν εξεταστεί σε συνδυασμό με την Αρχή της Ελαχιστοποίησης στην επιλογή των αντωνυμιών των Cardinaletti & Starke (1999). Τα αποτελέσματα της παρούσας έρευνας δείχνουν ότι η ελαφρά ασυμμετρία στα αποτελέσματα των προηγούμενων ερευνών με ΔοΚΤΑΕ δεν μπορεί να οφείλεται σε ελαφρύ Φαινόμενο της Καθυστερήσης της Αρχής Β, εφόσον παρατηρείται και σε ενήλικες. Επίσης, η ερμηνεία της ως πειραματικού θορύβου θα ήταν προβληματική, εφόσον θα δημιουργούσε τη μη επιθυμητή ανάγκη για διαχώριση στην ερμηνεία των αποτελεσμάτων των δύο μεθόδων: η διαφορά στα αποτελέσματα της ΔΕΕ ήταν μεγάλη και δεν θα μπορούσε να ερμηνευθεί ως πειραματικός θόρυβος. Αντίθετα, η ερμηνεία της ως αποτέλεσμα της παραβίασης της Αρχής της Ελαχιστοποίησης, κατά τη Sanoudaki (2004), όχι μόνο είναι δυνατή, αλλά, σε συνδυασμό με μια εξέταση της διαφορετικής φύσης των δύο δοκιμασιών, μπορεί να μας βοηθήσει να ερμηνεύσουμε και το παρόν παράδοξο.

Ας θυμηθούμε πως κατά τη ΔοΚΤΑΕ, οι συμμετέχοντες καλούνται να κρίνουν εάν ένα εκφώνημα είναι αληθές ή όχι. Η συνθήκη των ισχυρών αντωνυμιών στα σχετικά πειράματα παρουσιάζει μια πρόταση αντιγραμμιακή, όποια τιμή αληθείας κι αν δοθεί στο εκφώνημα: η ερμηνεία της αντωνυμίας ως αυτοπαθής στην πρόταση *η πριγκίπισσα βάφει αυτήν* παραβιάζει την Αρχή Β, ενώ η μη αυτοπαθής ερμηνεία παραβιάζει την Αρχή της Ελαχιστοποίησης στην επιλογή αντωνυμιών (καθώς στο περιβάλλον αυτό θα απαιτούνταν η χρήση κλιτικού). Τα αποτελέσματα φανερώνουν πως οι συμμετέχοντες σέβονται την καθαρά συντακτική αρχή (Αρχή Β), έναντι της εν μέρει πραγματολογικής αρχής (Αρχή της Ελαχιστοποίησης), επιλέγοντας μη αυτοπαθή ερμηνεία για την αντωνυμία. Σύμφωνα με την ερμηνεία αυτή, τα ελαφρώς χαμηλότερα ποσοστά στις σχετικές συνθήκες μπορούν να αναλυθούν ως περιπτώσεις όπου η πραγματολογική αρχή λαμβάνει προτεραιότητα έναντι της συντακτικής αρχής. Στη ΔΕΕ, αντίθετα, οι συμμετέχοντες είναι ελεύθεροι να επιλέξουν ποια εικόνα ταιριάζει περισσότερο με το εκφώνημα. Εάν η πρόταση είναι αντιγραμμιακή, οποιαδήποτε εικόνα κι αν διαλέξουν, υποστηρίζουμε ότι οι συμμετέχοντες μπορούν να εφαρμόσουν διαφορετικές στρατηγικές επιδιόρθωσης. Στην παρούσα περίπτωση, ακούγοντας το εκφώνημα *Η πριγκίπισσα βάφει αυτήν*, πιθανή στρατηγική θα ήταν η επιδιόρθωση της παραβίασης της Αρχής της Ελαχιστοποίησης, με τη μετατροπή της ισχυρής αντωνυμίας (*αυτήν*) σε κλιτικό (*την*), και τη συνακόλουθη επιλογή της εικόνας όπου η πριγκίπισσα βάφει τη μάγισσα. Άλλη στρατηγική θα ήταν η εισαγωγή αυτοπάθειας στην πρόταση, με τη βοήθεια του στοιχείου *την ίδια* που επιτρέπει την αυτοπαθή ερμηνεία της αντωνυμίας *αυτήν* (*βάφει αυτήν την ίδια = βάφει τον εαυτό της*), ακολουθούμενη από την επιλογή της εικόνας όπου η πριγκίπισσα βάφει τον εαυτό της.

Υποστηρικτικό της παραπάνω ανάλυσης είναι το γεγονός ότι μεγάλο ποσοστό των ενηλίκων συμμετεχόντων που έδωσαν αυτοπαθή ερμηνεία στο εκφώνημα διόρθωσαν την πρόταση λέγοντας *αυτήν την ίδια* στις σχετικές προσπάθειες, ενώ, αντίστοιχα, αρκετοί από τους ενήλικες συμμετέχοντες που έδωσαν μη αυτοπαθή ερμηνεία διόρθωσαν την πρόταση λέγοντας *τη βάφει* (κλιτικό), *βάφει τη μάγισσα* (ουσιαστικό), ή *τη βάφει τη μάγισσα* (διπλασιασμός του κλιτικού), δημιουργώντας προτάσεις που δεν παραβιάζουν την Αρχή της Ελαχιστοποίησης, ενώ ταυτόχρονα διατηρούν μη αυτοπαθή ανάγνωση. Ενώ κανένα από τα παιδιά δεν έδωσε λεκτικές ενδείξεις για τις στρατηγικές επιδιόρθωσης, με βάση την ομοιότητα των αποτελεσμάτων στις δύο ομάδες, παιδιά και ενήλικες, μπορούμε να υποθέσουμε ότι είναι πιθανόν παρόμοιες στρατηγικές να ακολουθήθηκαν και από τα παιδιά.

5. Συμπεράσματα

Με την παρούσα έρευνα μπορούμε πλέον με βεβαιότητα να υποστηρίζουμε ότι οι ισχυρές αντωνυμίες στην Ελληνική δεν υπόκεινται στο Φαινόμενο της Καθυστερήσης της Αρχής Β. Ιδιαίτερα σημαντικό εύρημα είναι η επίδραση της επιλογής διαφορετικής μεθοδολογίας στα αποτελέσματα της έρευνας πάνω στην αναφορική δέσμευση. Η χρήση της ΔΕΕ μας βοήθησε να συμπεράνουμε ότι μικρές ασυμμετρίες που θεωρούντο πειραματικός θόρυβος σε προηγούμενες έρευνες είναι στην πραγματικότητα αποτέλεσμα της παραβίασης της Αρχής της Ελαχιστοποίησης στην επιλογή αντωνυμιών, και μας δίνουν τη δυνατότητα να αμφισβητήσουμε την ορθότητα της συνήθους πρακτικής να αγνοούνται μικρές ασυμμετρίες ως ‘απλώς’ πειραματικός θόρυβος.

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Παράρτημα 1

Δοκιμασία Κρίσης Τιμής Αληθείας: Σειρά 1	
Εδώ βλέπουμε...	Συνθήκη
Ζέσταμα	
έναν ελέφαντα κι έναν άντρα. Ο ελέφαντας βρέχει τον άντρα.	ΟΥΣελ
έναν μάγο κι έναν παππού. Ο παππούς πλένει τα πιάτα.	ΟΥΣδοκ
Πειραματικές προτάσεις	
έναν σκύλο κι έναν ελέφαντα. Ο σκύλος γλύφει τον εαυτό του.	ΑΥΤΟΠελ
μια μαμά και μια γιαγιά. Η μαμά πλένει αυτήν.	ΑΝΤΩΝελ
έναν πρίγκιπα κι έναν μπαμπά. Ο πρίγκιπας κάθεται.	ΟΥΣδοκ
έναν βασιλιά κι έναν μάγο. Ο βασιλιάς τον πλένει.	ΚΛΙΤδοκ
μια καμηλοπάρδαλη και μια αγελάδα. Η καμηλοπάρδαλη γλύφει αυτήν.	ΑΝΤΩΝελ
έναν νάνο κι έναν πρίγκιπα. Ο νάνος κοιμάται.	ΟΥΣδοκ
έναν νάνο κι έναν πρίγκιπα. Ο νάνος χτενίζει αυτόν.	ΑΝΤΩΝελ
έναν σκύλο κι έναν ελέφαντα. Ο σκύλος τον γλύφει.	ΚΛΙΤελ
μια πριγκίπισσα και μια μάγισσα. Η πριγκίπισσα βάφει τον εαυτό της.	ΑΥΤΟΠδοκ

έναν μπαμπά και έναν παππού. Ο παππούς φοράει μπλε παντελόνι.	ΟΥΣελ
μια μάγισσα και μια χορεύτρια. Η μάγισσα χτενίζει αυτήν.	ΑΝΤΩΝδοκ
έναν μπαμπά κι έναν παππού. Και οι δυο φοράνε παπούτσια.	ΟΥΣελ
μια καμηλοπάρδαλη και μια αγελάδα. Η καμηλοπάρδαλη γλύφει τον εαυτό της.	ΑΥΤΟΠδοκ
μια μαμά και μια γιαγιά. Η μαμά πλένει τον εαυτό της.	ΑΥΤΟΠδοκ
μια μάγισσα και μια χορεύτρια. Η μάγισσα τη χτενίζει.	ΚΛΙΤελ
έναν πρίγκιπα και έναν άντρα. Ο άντρας στέκεται.	ΟΥΣελ
έναν βασιλιά κι έναν μάγο. Ο βασιλιάς πλένει τον εαυτό του.	ΑΥΤΟΠελ
μια μαμά και μια γιαγιά. Η μαμά φοράει καπέλο.	ΟΥΣδοκ
έναν νάνο κι έναν πρίγκιπα. Ο νάνος τον χτενίζει.	ΚΛΙΤδοκ
μια νεράιδα και μια πριγκίπισσα. Η νεράιδα κρατάει τη μύτη της.	ΟΥΣδοκ
έναν κλόουν κι έναν παππού. Ο κλόουν βάφει τον εαυτό του.	ΑΥΤΟΠελ
έναν βασιλιά κι έναν νάνο. Ο βασιλιάς γράφει στον υπολογιστή.	ΟΥΣδοκ
μια μάγισσα και μια χορεύτρια. Η μάγισσα χτενίζει τον εαυτό της.	ΑΥΤΟΠδοκ
έναν κλόουν κι έναν παππού. Ο κλόουν τον βάφει.	ΚΛΙΤελ
μια βασίλισσα και μια χορεύτρια. Η βασίλισσα παίζει κιθάρα.	ΟΥΣελ
έναν σκύλο κι έναν ελέφαντα. Ο σκύλος γλύφει αυτόν.	ΑΝΤΩΝδοκ
μια καμηλοπάρδαλη και μια αγελάδα. Η καμηλοπάρδαλη τη γλύφει.	ΚΛΙΤδοκ
έναν παππού κι έναν πυροσβέστη. Ο πυροσβέστης φοράει κράνος.	ΟΥΣελ
μια γιαγιά και μια χορεύτρια. Η γιαγιά διαβάζει εφημερίδα.	ΟΥΣδοκ
μια πριγκίπισσα και μια μάγισσα. Η πριγκίπισσα βάφει αυτήν.	ΑΝΤΩΝδοκ
έναν βασιλιά κι έναν μάγο. Ο βασιλιάς πλένει αυτόν.	ΑΝΤΩΝδοκ
μια μαμά και μια γιαγιά. Η μαμά την πλένει.	ΚΛΙΤελ
έναν μάγο κι έναν βασιλιά. Ο μάγος ζωγραφίζει.	ΟΥΣελ
μια πριγκίπισσα και μια μάγισσα. Η πριγκίπισσα τη βάφει.	ΚΛΙΤδοκ
έναν κλόουν κι έναν παππού. Ο κλόουν βάφει αυτόν.	ΑΝΤΩΝελ
έναν νάνο κι έναν πρίγκιπα. Ο νάνος χτενίζει τον εαυτό του.	ΑΥΤΟΠελ

Παράρτημα 2

Δοκιμασία Επιλογής Εικόνας: Σειρά 1	
Εδώ βλέπουμε...	Συνθήκη
Ζέσταμα	
έναν ελέφαντα κι έναν άντρα. Ο ελέφαντας τον βρέχει.	ΚΛΙΤ
έναν ελέφαντα κι έναν άντρα. Ο ελέφαντας βρέχει τον εαυτό του.	ΑΥΤΟΠ
Πειραματικές προτάσεις	
έναν μπαμπά και έναν παππού. Ο μπαμπάς σκουπίζει τον εαυτό του.	ΑΥΤΟΠ
μια πριγκίπισσα και μια μάγισσα. Η πριγκίπισσα βάφει τη μάγισσα.	ΟΥΣ
μια γιαγιά και μια μάγισσα. Η γιαγιά την αγγίζει.	ΚΛΙΤ
έναν πρίγκιπα και έναν νάνο. Ο πρίγκιπας σκεπάζει τον νάνο.	ΟΥΣ
έναν μάγο κι έναν βασιλιά. Ο μάγος ζωγραφίζει τον εαυτό του.	ΑΥΤΟΠ
έναν βασιλιά κι έναν μάγο. Ο βασιλιάς δίπλα στον μάγο πλένει τον εαυτό του.	ΑΥΤΟΠ2
μια νεράιδα και μια πριγκίπισσα. Η νεράιδα σκεπάζει τον εαυτό της.	ΑΥΤΟΠ
μια μάγισσα και μια χορεύτρια. Η μάγισσα χτενίζει τον εαυτό της.	ΑΥΤΟΠ
μια καμηλοπάρδαλη και μια αγελάδα. Η καμηλοπάρδαλη την γλύφει.	ΚΛΙΤ

έναν σκύλο κι έναν ελέφαντα. Ο σκύλος δίπλα στον ελέφαντα γλύφει τον εαυτό του.	ΑΥΤΟΠ2
μια βασίλισσα και μια μάγισσα. Η βασίλισσα ζωγραφίζει αυτήν.	ΑΝΤΩΝ
μια μαμά και μια γιαγιά. Η μαμά την πλένει.	ΚΛΙΤ
έναν παππού κι έναν πυροσβέστη. Ο παππούς αγκαλιάζει αυτόν.	ΑΝΤΩΝ
μια μαμά και μια γιαγιά. Η μαμά σκουπίζει αυτήν.	ΑΝΤΩΝ
έναν πρίγκιπα και έναν νάνο. Ο πρίγκιπας τον σκεπάζει.	ΚΛΙΤ
μια μάγισσα και μια χορεύτρια. Η μάγισσα χτενίζει τη χορεύτρια.	ΟΥΣ
μια πριγκίπισσα και μια μάγισσα. Η πριγκίπισσα τη βάφει.	ΚΛΙΤ
μια μαμά και μια γιαγιά. Η μαμά πλένει τη γιαγιά.	ΟΥΣ
έναν πρίγκιπα και έναν νάνο. Ο πρίγκιπας δίπλα στον νάνο σκεπάζει τον εαυτό του.	ΑΥΤΟΠ2
μια γιαγιά και μια χορεύτρια. Η γιαγιά αγκαλιάζει τον εαυτό της.	ΑΥΤΟΠ
έναν μπαμπά και έναν παππού. Ο μπαμπάς τον σκουπίζει.	ΚΛΙΤ
μια νεράιδα και μια πριγκίπισσα. Η νεράιδα σκεπάζει αυτήν.	ΑΝΤΩΝ
μια μάγισσα και μια χορεύτρια. Η μάγισσα τη χτενίζει.	ΚΛΙΤ
έναν παππού κι έναν πυροσβέστη. Ο παππούς τον αγκαλιάζει.	ΚΛΙΤ
έναν σκύλο κι έναν ελέφαντα. Ο σκύλος γλύφει τον ελέφαντα.	ΟΥΣ
έναν κλόουν κι έναν παππού. Ο κλόουν βάφει τον εαυτό του.	ΑΥΤΟΠ
μια νεράιδα και μια βασίλισσα. Η νεράιδα αγγίζει αυτήν.	ΑΝΤΩΝ
έναν νάνο κι έναν πρίγκιπα. Ο νάνος δίπλα στον πρίγκιπα χτενίζει τον εαυτό του.	ΑΥΤΟΠ2
μια καμηλοπάρδαλη και μια αγελάδα. Η καμηλοπάρδαλη γλύφει αυτήν.	ΑΝΤΩΝ
έναν μάγο κι έναν βασιλιά. Ο μάγος ζωγραφίζει τον βασιλιά.	ΟΥΣ
έναν μπαμπά και έναν παππού. Ο μπαμπάς σκουπίζει τον παππού.	ΟΥΣ
μια νεράιδα και μια βασίλισσα. Η νεράιδα αγγίζει τον εαυτό της.	ΑΥΤΟΠ
έναν κλόουν κι έναν παππού. Ο κλόουν βάφει αυτόν.	ΑΝΤΩΝ
μια γιαγιά και μια χορεύτρια. Η γιαγιά δίπλα στη χορεύτρια αγκαλιάζει τον εαυτό της.	ΑΥΤΟΠ2
μια βασίλισσα και μια μάγισσα. Η βασίλισσα δίπλα στη μάγισσα ζωγραφίζει τον εαυτό της.	ΑΥΤΟΠ2
μια μαμά και μια γιαγιά. Η μαμά δίπλα στη γιαγιά σκουπίζει τον εαυτό της.	ΑΥΤΟΠ2
έναν νάνο κι έναν πρίγκιπα. Ο νάνος χτενίζει αυτόν.	ΑΝΤΩΝ
έναν σκύλο κι έναν ελέφαντα. Ο σκύλος γλύφει τον εαυτό του.	ΑΥΤΟΠ
μια μαμά και μια γιαγιά. Η μαμά πλένει αυτήν.	ΑΝΤΩΝ
έναν παππού κι έναν πυροσβέστη. Ο παππούς αγκαλιάζει τον πυροσβέστη.	ΟΥΣ
μια γιαγιά και μια μάγισσα. Η γιαγιά δίπλα στη μάγισσα αγγίζει τον εαυτό της.	ΑΥΤΟΠ2
έναν βασιλιά κι έναν μάγο. Ο βασιλιάς πλένει τον εαυτό του.	ΑΥΤΟΠ
μια νεράιδα και μια βασίλισσα. Η νεράιδα αγγίζει τη βασίλισσα.	ΟΥΣ
μια πριγκίπισσα και μια μάγισσα. Η πριγκίπισσα δίπλα στη μάγισσα βάφει τον εαυτό της.	ΑΥΤΟΠ2
έναν μάγο κι έναν βασιλιά. Ο μάγος τον ζωγραφίζει.	ΚΛΙΤ

Η ΠΑΡΕΜΒΟΛΗ ΚΑΙ Η ΤΥΠΟΠΟΙΗΣΗ ΣΤΗ ΜΕΤΑΦΡΑΣΗ ΕΙΔΙΚΩΝ ΕΠΙΣΤΗΜΟΝΙΚΩΝ ΚΕΙΜΕΝΩΝ: ΠΡΟΣ ΕΝΑ ΠΙΘΑΝΟΛΟΓΙΚΟ ΠΕΡΙΓΡΑΦΙΚΟ–ΕΡΜΗΝΕΥΤΙΚΟ ΜΟΝΤΕΛΟ ΤΗΣ ΜΕΤΑΦΡΑΣΤΙΚΗΣ ΕΠΙΤΕΛΕΣΗΣ ΣΤΑ ΕΙΔΙΚΑ ΚΕΙΜΕΝΑ

Ιωάννης Ε. Σαριδάκης
Ιόνιο Πανεπιστήμιο, Ελλάδα
iesaridakis@gmail.com

ABSTRACT

The systemic contrastive analysis of translation shifts in selected textual instances allows the examination of translational behaviour on the level of sociolects and of certain features of the translation act, in terms of both process and function, and on the level of the translation product as such. Such a systemic view of translation is envisaged in the so-called probabilistic laws of interference and growing standardisation, proposed by Gideon Toury. This paper focuses on interference, by analysing synchronically the lexicosemantic and stylistic performance of trainee translators in technical and scientific discourse. My aim is also to posit methodological and didactic conclusions.

Λέξεις-κλειδιά: Πιθανολογικοί νόμοι της μετάφρασης, Μεταφραστική συμπεριφορά, Παρεμβολή, Αύξουσα τυποποίηση, Περιγραφικές μεταφραστικές σπουδές, Λεξικοραμματική ανάλυση, Διδακτική της μετάφρασης.

1. Εισαγωγή

Στη μετάφραση, αλλά και κατ' επέκταση στις Μεταφραστικές Σπουδές, συχνή είναι η αναφορά στις έννοιες της (αύξουσας) τυποποίησης¹ και της παρεμβολής². Με απαρχή τις διαπολιτισμικές σπουδές, αλλά και τη μελέτη της εκφοράς των δίγλωσσων ατόμων, στη μετάφραση τα φαινόμενα αυτά ανάγονται στη μεταφορά (ή την εκτύπωση) τεμαχίων λόγου (discourse transfer) μεταξύ των γλωσσικών συστημάτων που έρχονται σε επαφή κατά την πράξη ομιλίας (parole) του δίγλωσσου ατόμου (Σελλά 2001: 55). Στις Περιγραφικές Μεταφραστικές Σπουδές θεμελιώνεται το θεώρημα των δύο πιθανολογικών νόμων περιγραφής και ερμηνείας της μεταφραστικής συμπεριφοράς (Toury 1995: 267–279), ήτοι (α) της αύξουσας τυποποίησης (growing standardization) και (β) της παρεμβολής (interference). Αφ' ενός, η παρεμβολή εντοπίζεται στο επίπεδο της εκφοράς μεταφραστικού λόγου. Με αναφορά, δε, στον πιθανολογικό νόμο της αύξουσας τυποποίησης, δηλ. εν συνόψει ότι οι κειμενικές σχέσεις που εγγράφονται στο Κείμενο–Πηγή (ΚΠ) είναι συχνά μεταβλητές και ασταθείς. Ορισμένες δε φορές, οι σχέσεις αυτές αγνοούνται πλήρως από το μεταφραστή, επ' ωφελεία επιλογών στη Γλώσσα–Στόχος (ΓΣ), τις οποίες ο μεταφραστής θεωρεί περισσότερο συνήθεις ή κατάλληλες για την εκάστοτε επικοινωνιακή περίπτωση. Η θεώρηση αυτή, θα μπορούσαμε να υποστηρίξουμε, αντιστοιχεί στην –κοινώς νοούμενη– διάρρηξη της υφής του πρωτοτύπου κειμένου προς όφελος μίας περισσότερο «στοχοκεντρικής» προσέγγισης της μεταφραστικής διαδικασίας. Κατ' αυτήν την έννοια, προκύπτει τάση για μεγαλύτερη τυποποίηση και περιορισμό της ποικιλομορφίας στις υφολογικές επιλογές του Κειμένου–Στόχος (ΚΣ), ή, τουλάχιστον, για υιοθέτηση προτύπων που εγγράφονται προδήλως στον πολιτισμό–στόχος. Το φαινόμενο αυτό της γλωσσικής και πολιτισμικής προσαρμογής, εκδηλώνεται περισσότερο εάν η μετάφραση, είτε ως λειτουργία (function) είτε και ως επιτέλεσμα (product), καταλαμβάνει περιθωριακό ρόλο στο σύστημα–στόχος (πβ. Munday 2008: 114–115). Κατ' αναλογία,

¹ Ο Toury (1995: 268) διατυπώνει το νόμο της αύξουσας τυποποίησης ως εξής: «Στη μετάφραση, οι κειμενικές σχέσεις που υφίστανται στο πρωτότυπο, συχνά τροποποιούνται, ορισμένες δε φορές έως του σημείου να αγνοούνται πλήρως, προς όφελος [περισσότερο] συνήθων νομών του ρεπερτορίου–στόχος».

² Στην πλέον γενική διατύπωσή του, ο νόμος της παρεμβολής αντιστοιχεί στην τάση «στη Μετάφραση, φαινόμενα που ανάγονται στην οργάνωση και τη μορφή του ΚΠ να μεταφέρονται στο ΚΣ» (Toury 1995: 275).

αντιστοιχεί στο σύνολο των επιλογών του μεταφραστή, ώστε το κείμενό του να εναρμονίζεται με τις υφολογικές συμβάσεις και συνήθειες που διέπουν αντίστοιχα είδη κειμένων στη ΓΣ (Μπατσαλιά & Σελλά 2010). Εν συνόψει, *παρεμβολή* και *αύξουσα τυποποίηση* αποτελούν παραπληρωματικά μεγέθη και αποτυπώνουν σε γενικές γραμμές την επίδραση της επαφής μεταξύ δύο γλωσσικών συστημάτων, ή κατ' επέκταση δύο ή περισσότερων γλωσσικών κοινοτήτων, προσδίδοντάς της, κατά κύριο λόγο, αρνητικό πρόσημο.

Στόχος της παρούσας εργασίας είναι η διερεύνηση του φαινομένου της παρεμβολής, μέσω της ανάλυσης και ερμηνείας της εκφοράς διδασκομένων μεταφραστών, και με επικέντρωση στις λεξιλογικές, σημασιολογικές και υφολογικές επιλογές τους. Η εργασία έχει βασιστεί σε *corpus* παραλλήλων κειμένων Αγγλικής-Ελληνικής. Για την ανάλυση των λεξικογραμματικών ευρημάτων γίνεται χρήση, μεταξύ άλλων, *ad hoc* προτύπου σχήματος γλωσσολογικού σχολιασμού (annotation) δύο επιπέδων. Τέλος, για την πιθανολογική ερμηνευτική σύνθεση, η παρούσα προσέγγιση συνδυάζεται με την κλασική αντιπαραβολική ανάλυση των Vinay & Darbelnet (1977). Διατρέχουμε λειτουργικώς τις βασικές έννοιες του περιγραφικού μοντέλου (παρεμβολή, αύξουσα τυποποίηση) και εστιάζουμε στις κρίσιμες συστημικές μεταβλητές τους και τις πειραματικές μεθόδους που προτείνονται για την προσπέλασή τους (ενότητες 2, 3). Στη συνέχεια (ενότητα 4), επιχειρούμε μια σχηματοποίηση της λειτουργίας των μηχανισμών αυτών στη μεταφραστική πράξη. Η πειραματική διερεύνηση της παρούσας εργασίας αναπτύσσεται στην ενότητα 5, όπου αναλύεται η διαστρωμάτωση (layering) και η μεθοδολογία του γλωσσολογικού σχολιασμού στο λογισμικό GATE. Ο συγκερασμός και η μεταφρασιολογική ερμηνεία των ευρημάτων εκτίθενται στις υποενότητες 5.3.1 έως 5.3.6.

2. Η Παρεμβολή στις Συστημικές–Μεταφραστικές Σπουδές

Με βάση το μοντέλο του Gideon Toury, θεμελιωτή των Περιγραφικών Μεταφραστικών Σπουδών, η παρεμβολή αποτελεί προταγματικό, πιθανολογικό νόμο της μεταφραστικής συμπεριφοράς: πρόκειται για φαινόμενο σύμφυτο του μεταφράζειν (Newmark 1991: 78) και ως εκ τούτου αναπόφευκτο, όπως λίγο–πολύ συμβαίνει στα δίγλωσσα άτομα. Αν και συνήθως προσδιορίζεται ως αρνητική³, η τάση για παρεμβολή μπορεί εξ άλλου να ιδωθεί και ως στοχευμένη ή θετική⁴. Η αρνητική ή θετική αποτίμηση της παρεμβολής γίνεται σε κάθε περίπτωση ανατρέχοντας σε «γλωσσικές σταθερές», που διαλαμβάνονται ρητώς ή υπορητώς ως επίπεδα αναφοράς.

Εξ άλλου, η παρεμβολή ως συστημικό φαινόμενο προσδιορίζεται ειδικότερα στο πεδίο των διαπολιτισμικών σπουδών από τον Itamar Even–Zohar (ιδ. 1990a, 1990b, 2005) και εκδηλώνεται μεταξύ δύο γλωσσικών συστημάτων, ή ορθότερα γραμματειών,

«[...] όταν τα στοιχεία ή τα μοντέλα που έχουν μεταφερθεί από τη μία στην άλλη αρχίζουν να χρησιμοποιούνται στην τελευταία χωρίς αναφορά στην πηγή τους» (Domínguez Pérez 2010: 8).

Από τις «αρχές» της διαπολιτισμικής παρεμβολής του Even–Zohar (2005)⁵, εστιάζουμε στα εξής:

- (1) Η παρεμβολή δεν είναι πάντοτε ορατή στο γλωσσικό σύστημα του πολιτισμού υποδοχής, καθώς οι δίαυλοι της διαπολιτισμικής μεταφοράς μπορεί να βρίσκονται στην «περιφέρειά» του. Τα αποτελέσματα της *διαγλωσσικής παρεμβολής* κατά κανόνα δεν είναι ορατά στα αρχικά στάδια της εμφάνισής της, ενώ τα φαινόμενα που εντοπίζονται δεν αιτιολογούνται υπό το πρίσμα της γενικευμένης διάδρασης μεταξύ των συστημάτων, αλλά είναι πιθανό να αντιμετωπίζονται ως τυχαία (πρώτη «αρχή»).

³ Η *αρνητική* παρεμβολή εκδηλώνεται υπό μορφή «αποκλίσεων από τις συνήθειες, κωδικοποιημένες πρακτικές του συστήματος–στόχος» (Toury 1995: 275).

⁴ Σε άλλους όρους, *θετική* παρεμβολή παρατηρείται όταν υπάρχει «μεγαλύτερη πιθανότητα επιλογής [γλωσσικών] στοιχείων τα οποία ούτως ή άλλως υπάρχουν και χρησιμοποιούνται» (Toury 1995: 275).

⁵ Οι «αρχές» εν συνόψει διακρίνονται σε τρεις ομάδες και είναι (Α) Γενικές: Α1. Η παρεμβολή είναι πάντοτε άμεση, Α2. Η παρεμβολή είναι κυρίως μονομερής, Α3. Η παρεμβολή μπορεί να περιορίζεται σε ορισμένα πεδία. (Β) Λειτουργικές ως προς την εμφάνιση και εκδήλωση της παρεμβολής: Β4. Η δια πολιτισμική επαφή, αργά ή γρήγορα, θα προκαλέσει παρεμβολή εάν δεν υπάρξει αντίσταση, Β5. Η παρεμβολή παρατηρείται σε ένα σύστημα που χρειάζεται να εισαγάγει στοιχεία στο ρεπερτόριό του, Β6. Το κύρος ενός πολιτισμού λειτουργεί ως γενεσιουργός παράγοντας παρεμβολής, Β7. Η επικυριαρχία ενός πολιτισμού λειτουργεί ως γενεσιουργός παράγοντας παρεμβολής. (Γ) Διεργασιακές: Γ8. Η παρεμβολή μπορεί να λαμβάνει χώρα μόνον σε τμήμα του πολιτισμού–στόχος, και Γ9. Ένα ιδιοποιούμενο ρεπερτόριο (appropriated repertoire) δεν διατηρεί απαραίτητως τις λειτουργίες του πολιτισμού αφετηρίας. Στην εργασία του, ο Even–Zohar παραδειγματίζει εκτενώς τις «αρχές» αυτές (Even–Zohar 2005).

- (2) Κατά τη δεύτερη «αρχή», η ασυμμετρία στο επίπεδο της διαπολιτισμικής συστημικής επαφής δημιουργεί αντίστοιχες σχέσεις ασυμμετρίας και στην κατεύθυνση των μεταφερόμενων γλωσσικών και πολιτισμικών στοιχείων. Κατά τον Even-Zohar, στα επί μέρους πεδία εξέτασης του φαινομένου, ο πολιτισμός αφετηρίας είναι αυτός που κατά κύριο λόγο, και δη μονόδρομα, ωθεί τον πολιτισμό-στόχο να υιοθετήσει τα μεταφερόμενα στοιχεία. Επισημαίνουμε ωστόσο πως η ασυμμετρία μεταξύ των συστημάτων θα πρέπει να εξετάζεται τόσο υπό το πρίσμα του κύρους (*prestige*), όσο και υπό το πρίσμα της επικράτησης (*dominance*). Η διττή περιγραφική υπόσταση των παραγόντων είναι κατά τη γνώμη μας ουσιώδης: το «αλγεβρικό άθροισμα» των παραγόντων αυτών προσδιορίζει την έκταση και την ένταση του φαινομένου της παρεμβολής, συγχρονικά ή και διαχρονικά, στα εν επαφή συστήματα, ενώ η μεταξύ τους σχέση δεν πρέπει να αντιμετωπίζεται πάντοτε και *a priori* ως ετεροβαρής⁶. Εξ άλλου, με βάση την προσέγγισή μας, η ασυμμετρία καταλύεται και από παράγοντες μη αναφερόμενους κατ' ανάγκη στη διαχρονική (ή τη συγχρονική) σχέση μεταξύ των εν επαφή γλωσσικών συστημάτων, αλλά στη θέση της μετάφρασης μέσα στο *λογοτεχνικό πολυσύστημα* (*literary polysystem*) της ΓΣ, καθώς και σε συνδυασμό πληθώρας ιστορικών και συγκυριακών παραγόντων⁷. Τέλος, η ασυμμετρία αυτή θα πρέπει να εξετάζεται ασφαλώς και στο επίπεδο των γνωστικών και τελεστικών παραγόντων που ενέχονται στη μεταφραστική πράξη⁸. Με άλλα λόγια, η «ανοχή» στο φαινόμενο της παρεμβολής, κυρίως όταν αυτή προσδιορίζεται ως αρνητική, μπορεί να εξηγηθεί τόσο με αναδρομή σε κοινωνιογλωσσικούς παράγοντες, όσο και εξετάζοντας το «κύρος» των διαφορετικών γλωσσικών συστημάτων: η ανοχή είναι μεγαλύτερη όταν η μετάφραση επιτελείται από γλώσσα ή πολιτισμό περιβεβλημένο με «κύρος», ιδιαιτέρως εάν η ΓΣ ή ο πολιτισμός-στόχος έχουν «ελάσσονα» σημασία (Toury 1995: 278· πβ. και Munday 2008: 114).
- (3) Κατά την τρίτη «αρχή», η παρεμβολή είναι δυνατό να μην παρατηρείται σε όλα τα επίπεδα του πολιτισμού και της γλώσσας, αλλά να δημιουργεί διαστρωματώσεις, και να αποτυπώνεται σε συγκεκριμένες κοινωνιολέκτους, παραμένοντας σε αυτές επί μακρόν προτού αναδυθεί στη σφαίρα της επίσημης ή κυρίαρχης γλώσσας.
- (4) Τέλος, κατά την πέμπτη «αρχή» η παρεμβολή παρατηρείται σε ένα σύστημα που χαρακτηρίζεται από την ανάγκη προσπορισμού στοιχείων, τα οποία δεν διαθέτει ή δεν μπορεί να παραγάγει μόνο του.

2.1 Προσεγγίσεις της έννοιας της παρεμβολής

Η παρεμβολή είναι μία από τις γενικές τάσεις της Μετάφρασης, και δη φαινόμενο που εξετάζεται σε υψηλό επίπεδο αφαίρεσης, ακριβώς επειδή θεωρούμε ότι *λαμβάνει χώρα σε κάθε γλωσσικό ζεύγος που εμπλέκεται στη Μετάφραση* (Mauganen 2004: 79). Έτσι, δεν θα πρέπει να υποθέσουμε ότι η μελέτη της παρεμβολής μπορεί να υποκαταστήσει τα «παραδοσιακά» μοντέλα ανάλυσης της σχέσης ΚΠ–ΚΣ στο επίπεδο των μεταφραστικών επιλογών. Ακόμη, δεν υιοθετούμε τη γενίκευση του Newmark (1991), κατά την οποία *κάθε μετατόπιση* ανάγεται στην επίδραση της παρεμβολής. Εάν υπάρχει κάποια γενίκευση, αυτή θα πρέπει πιστεύουμε να αναζητηθεί σε δεύτερο χρόνο, επαγωγικά και ερμηνευτικά, ξεκινώντας από παρατηρήσιμα και απτά «στιγμιότυπα» της μεταφραστικής πράξης.

Κατά συνέπεια, η εμπειρική εξέταση του φαινομένου στο εσωτερικό ενός γλωσσικού ζεύγους, στο επίπεδο της γενικής γλώσσας ή στο εσωτερικό των υπογλωσσών της, προϋποθέτει:

⁶ Καθώς η σχέση μεταξύ των γλωσσικών και πολιτισμικών συστημάτων που έρχονται σε επαφή δεν θεωρείται πάγια και διαχρονική σε όλα τα επίπεδα και τα είδη της επικοινωνίας, δεχόμαστε ότι τα κατά εξεταζόμενη περίπτωση «ήσσονος» σημασίας συστήματα τείνουν να παράγουν και να κάνουν δεκτά κείμενα με διακριτά υβριδικά χαρακτηριστικά (Zauberga 2001: 269).

⁷ «Ένα παράδειγμα του πιθανού νόμου που διέπει τις σχέσεις [μεταξύ γλωσσό-πολιτισμικών συστημάτων] στο δίπολο της ισχύος, καθώς και αναφορικά με την ύπαρξη ή την απουσία ρεπερτορίου θα ήταν το ακόλουθο: εάν το πολυσύστημα της ΓΣ είναι ασθενές έναντι του πολυσυστημίου της ΓΠ, τότε οι μη υπαρκτές λειτουργίες είναι πιθανό να υπόκεινται σε *οικειοποίηση* [*domestication*] [...], υπό τον όρο ότι το σύστημα της μετάφρασης καταλαμβάνει κεντρικό ρόλο στο πολυσύστημα της ΓΣ» (Even-Zohar 1990a: 78 σημ. 2).

⁸ Για παράδειγμα, η ασυμμετρία στο επίπεδο της γλωσσικής ικανότητας δίγλωσσων ομιλητών, έχει δειχθεί πειραματικά ότι προκαλεί παρεμβολή στο επίπεδο των εννοιών στην κατεύθυνση Γ1–Γ2 και στο επίπεδο του λεξιλογίου στην κατεύθυνση Γ2–Γ1 (Kroll et al. 1994: 168). Σε μία υστερογενή θέση του φαινομένου, η *κυριαρχία* που παρατηρείται μεταξύ των συστημάτων απλώς στο επίπεδο του γλωσσικού κώδικα, λόγω του ότι εκδηλώνεται στο επίπεδο των εννοιών, μπορεί να εκληφθεί ως *πολιτισμική*, με την ευρεία έννοια, *κυριαρχία* της ΓΠ στη ΓΣ.

- (1) Πρόσβαση σε διαφόρους τύπους συγκρίσιμου κειμενικού υλικού: πρωτοτύπων κειμένων στη ΓΣ, όσο και μεταφρασμάτων από διαφορετικές ΓΠ (Mauranen 2004: 79). Ως συγκρίσιμα ΣΚ είναι δυνατό να χρησιμοποιηθούν κείμενα της γενικής ή της ειδικής γλώσσας που συλλέγονται *ad hoc* από ανοικτές πηγές, π.χ. το Διαδίκτυο.
- (2) Μεθοδολογική πορεία, η οποία να διακρίνει την παρεμβολή από τη διαγλωσσική μεταφορά στο επίπεδο ΚΠ–ΚΣ, και να επιχειρεί τη συσχέτισή τους στο στάδιο της σύνθεσης, αφ' ετέρου δε να προβλέπει ανατροφοδοτική, κυκλική πορεία ελέγχου των ευρημάτων και των πιθανών συμπερασμάτων.
- (3) Διδακτική στόχευση, τουτέστιν δυνατότητα επιμερισμού σε κειμενικά είδη, αφ' ενός, και πρόβλεψη για συστηματοποίηση των πορισμάτων στη διδακτική πράξη της Μετάφρασης, αφ' ετέρου.

3. Αύξουσα τυποποίηση. Μεθοδολογική σύνθεση

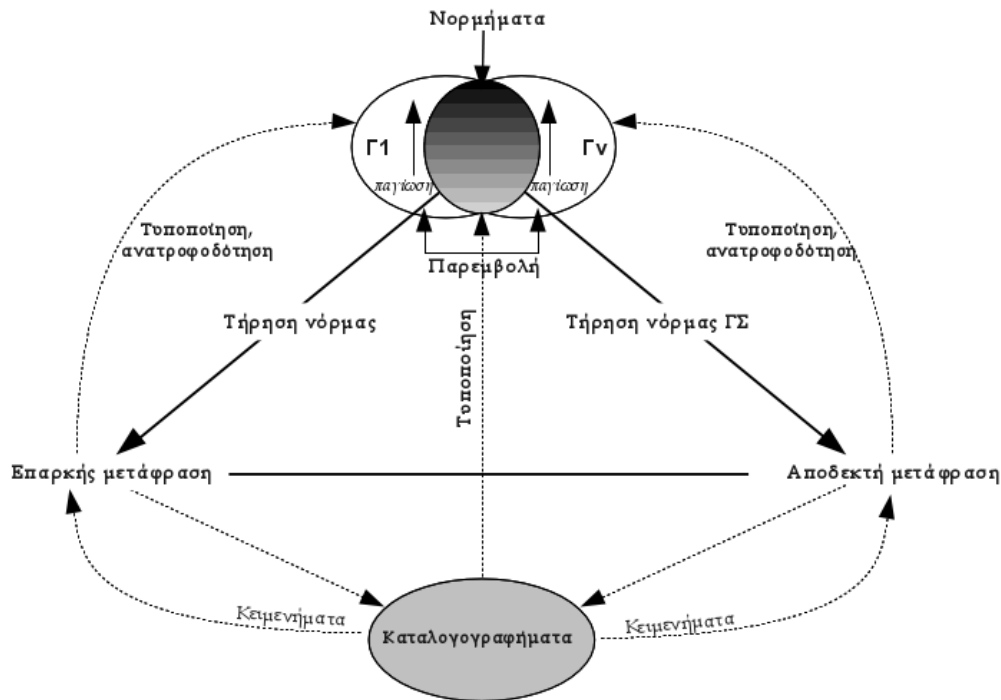
Εξ άλλου, *αύξουσα τυποποίηση* κατά την οικεία προσέγγιση είναι η τάση για διάρρηξη της υφής του πρωτοτύπου κειμένου, προς όφελος μίας περισσότερο «στοχοκεντρικής» προσέγγισης της μεταφραστικής διαδικασίας. Δηλαδή, ο περιορισμός της ποικιλομορφίας στις υφολογικές επιλογές του ΚΣ, ή η υιοθέτηση προτύπων που εγγράφονται προδήλως στον πολιτισμό–στόχος. Στη μη λογοτεχνική μεταφραστική παραγωγή, ορίζουμε την *αύξουσα τυποποίηση* ως τη *σύγκλιση γύρω από τις νόρμες της ΓΣ*, βεβαίως και λόγω της «ασφάλειας» που προσφέρουν οι λεξικογραμματικές παγιώσεις σε είδη κειμένων τα οποία εκ των πραγμάτων περιορίζουν τη δημιουργικότητα του μεταφραστή.

Τέλος, ο πιθανολογικός νόμος της τυποποίησης περικλείει ένα ανοικτό σύνολο, πολλών και ποικιλόμορφων προσδιοριστικών της εκφοράς: όταν τα μεταφράσματα συγκρίνονται με μη-μεταφράσματα, τα πρώτα είναι απλούστερα, περισσότερο ομαλά και κοινότυπα, λιγότερο περίπλοκα συντακτικώς, λιγότερο αμφίσημα (ή ασαφή), περισσότερο συνήθη, κ.ο.κ.

Κατά μία έννοια, η *αύξουσα τυποποίηση* εμπεριέχει ίσως τα καλούμενα καθολικά της μετάφρασης (Baker 1993). Ωστόσο, θεωρούμε ότι και αυτός ο νόμος κινείται σε υψηλότερο βαθμό γενίκευσης και, όπως και στην περίπτωση της παρεμβολής, είναι δυνατό να επιμεριστεί σε γλωσσικά ζεύγη και υπογλώσσες. Εν τέλει, και στο μέτρο του ερμηνευτικώς δυνατού, η πιθανολόγηση της τυποποίησης μπορεί να διευκρινίσει το θέμα της *προσαρμογής* (adaptation) στη Μετάφραση (Toury 1995: 270, πβ. Pym 2008: 316), έννοια αντιδιαστελλόμενη στη *μεταφορά* (transfer). Εξ ου και ο παραπληρωματικός χαρακτήρας της με την παρεμβολή.

4. Σχηματική δομή των πιθανολογικών νόμων, στη μεταφραστική «κοινωνιόλεκτο»

Οι μηχανισμοί λογογένεσης (*sensu* Halliday & Matthiessen 1999: 18) που προκρίνονται με αναφορά στη μεταφραστική επιτέλεση κατά τα παραπάνω και που ανάγονται στα εδώ εξεταζόμενα (καθολικού τύπου) φαινόμενα της *παρεμβολής* και της *τυποποίησης*, θα μπορούσαν εν κατακλείδι να παρασταθούν ως ακολούθως. Στο Σχήμα παρεκτείνουμε το μοντέλο του Toury για την τήρηση της νόρμας της ΓΠ, ή την επιλογή της νόρμας της ΓΣ (πβ. Munday 2008: 113):

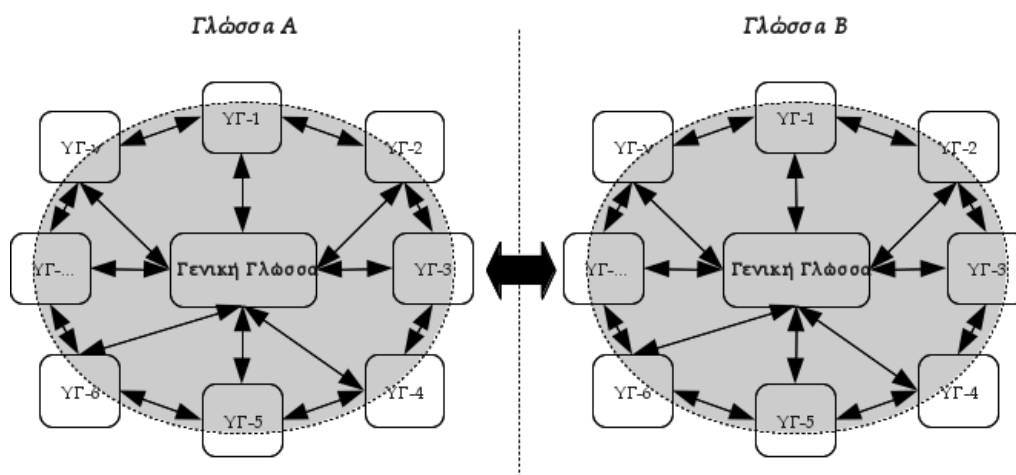


Εικόνα 1 Τα νορμήματα ως αρχική νόρμα, το συνεχές της επαρκούς και αποδεκτής μετάφρασης του Toury και η επενέργεια των πιθανολογικών νόμων της παρεμβολής και της τυποποίησης

Στο Σχήμα, η πρωταρχική «νόρμα» είναι διαγλωσσική και επηρεάζεται από τη διαγλωσσική παρεμβολή, μέσω της επαφής των γλωσσικών συστημάτων, αλλά και μέσω της Μετάφρασης. Οι «κοινοί τόποι» ορίζονται ως «νορμήματα», ως στοιχεία δηλαδή της νόρμας, με κυμαινόμενο βαθμό παγίωσης ανά πεδίο [field, *sensu* Halliday 1978] (ή ευρύτερα, ανά υπογλώσσα εκφοράς).

Περαιτέρω, η μεταφραστική επιτέλεση δημιουργεί ένα δικό της προσωρινό ρεπερτόριο («Καταλογογραφήματα»), από το οποίο ο μεταφραστής αντλεί κειμενήματα, ήτοι τεμάχια κειμένου (νοηματικές μονάδες κειμένου) τα οποία θεωρεί *ad hoc* ότι αρμόζουν στην κειμενική πραγμάτωση, σε μια δεδομένη επικοινωνιακή συνθήκη, για την κάλυψη της *διαπροσωπικής* (interpersonal) και *κειμενικής* (textual) μεταλειτουργίας της εκάστοτε (μεταφραστικής) διαγλωσσικής επιτέλεσης, με «δεδομένη» ασφαλώς την *ιδεική* (ideational) μεταλειτουργία αυτής (Halliday 1978: 221–223, Hatim 1997: 25 κε). Τα κειμενήματα αυτά ανατροφοδοτούν τη μεταφραστική πράξη, αλλά και λειτουργούν σε δεύτερο χρόνο τυποποιητικά στη νόρμα του πεδίου εκφοράς του λόγου. Η μεταφραστική επιτέλεση, με τη σειρά της, δημιουργεί τυποποιητικές τάσεις στη διαγλωσσική νόρμα και την ανατροφοδοτεί για ένα νέο κύκλο μεταφραστικής επιτέλεσης.

Εξ άλλου, η κορυφή του ανωτέρω σχήματος θα μπορούσε να αναλυθεί περαιτέρω, σε ό,τι αφορά στη διάδραση των φυσικών γλωσσών και των υπογλωσσών τους, τόσο στο πολυσυστημικό εσωτερικό ενός κώδικα όσο και διαγλωσσικά, διασυστημικά, με το σχήμα της Εικ. 2, αποτυπώνοντας την πολυστρωματική και πολύπλευρη υπόσταση των πιθανολογικών νόμων της μεταφραστικής συμπεριφοράς.



Εικόνα 2 Η λειτουργική σχέση μεταξύ δύο φυσικών γλωσσών και των υπογλωσσών τους (Σαριδάκης 2010: 42)

5. Πειραματική διερεύνηση στο ζεύγος γλωσσών Αγγλικής–Ελληνικής

Επιμερίζοντας τα ανωτέρω ζητούμενα από τη διερεύνηση των πιθανολογικών νόμων της μεταφραστικής συμπεριφοράς στο επίπεδο του λεξιλογίου και των συντακτικών δομών, επιχειρήσαμε να διερευνήσουμε *συγχρονικά* την επιτέλεση εκπαιδευομένων μεταφραστών σε δείγματα τεχνικού–επιστημονικού λόγου στο ζεύγος γλωσσών Αγγλικής–Ελληνικής. Καταγράψαμε τις επιλογές τους κατά τεμάχιο λόγου, στο λεξιλογικό–σημασιολογικό και στο υφολογικό επίπεδο (Μπατσαλιά & Σελλά 2010), και προσπαθήσαμε να υπεισέλθουμε σε ορισμένες λειτουργικές πτυχές της επιτέλεσης, όπως αυτή καταγράφεται και από τους ίδιους τους μεταφραστές.

Δύο τεχνικά κείμενα (ΚΠ_Α: 417 λ., ΚΠ_Β: 901 λ.) δόθηκαν αντιστοίχως ως κείμενο εξέτασης και ως κείμενο άσκησης σε φοιτητές του Ε΄ Εξαμήνου του Τμήματος Ξένων Γλωσσών, Μετάφρασης και Διερμηνείας του Ιονίου Πανεπιστημίου, οι οποίοι παρακολουθούν το μάθημα Τεχνική Μετάφραση EN–EL I και θεωρείται ότι έχουν, κατά το χρόνο εκπόνησης των μεταφράσεων, ικανό υπόβαθρο γνώσεων, τόσο ως προς τα πεδία τα οποία πραγματεύονται τα κείμενα, όσο και στο επίπεδο της μεταφραστικής μεθόδου και θεωρίας, ώστε να αντεπεξέλθουν με σχετική επιτυχία στις απαιτήσεις των κειμένων.

Στο δεύτερο κείμενο άσκησης (ΚΠ_Β) ζητήθηκε επιπλέον από τους φοιτητές να εκθέσουν προβληματισμό ως προς τη *λειτουργία* (function) και τη *διεργασία* (process) της επιτέλεσής τους. Στόχος μας είναι, *ex post facto*, οι φοιτητές να αιτιολογήσουν τις επιλογές τους στο λεξιλογικό και το συντακτικό επίπεδο κυρίως, ώστε να συσχετίσουμε τα ειδικότερα λεξικογραμματικά στοιχεία της μεταφραστικής εκφοράς που άπτονται του επιπέδου του λόγου με (α) την κάλυψη της ιδεϊκής μεταλειτουργίας των κειμένων και (β) το βαθμό ανταπόκρισης των μεταφρασμάτων στη διαπροσωπική και την κειμενική μεταλειτουργία των κειμένων.

Στα ευρήματα του σχολιασμού αυτού των διδασκομένων (συνολικά: 2.950 λ.) αντιπαραβάλλουμε τα δικά μας πιθανολογικά πορίσματα για το φαινόμενο της παρεμβολής στα μεταφράσματα αυτά καθεαυτά. Επίσης, αντιπαραβάλλουμε τις περιπτώσεις αυτές απουσίας παρεμβολής, για τις οποίες πιθανολογούμε την έκφανση της τυποποίησης, στις συγκεκριμένες πραγματώσεις λόγου.

Εν συνόλω, στην παρούσα πιλοτική έρευνα έχουν αξιολογηθεί και σχολιαστεί, αυτοτελώς και σε μεταξύ τους αντιβολή, δέκα μεταφράσματα, Α1–Α5 (2.329 λ.) και Β1–Β5 (4.907 λ.), ήτοι δέκα δεικνύμενα (bitexts) {ST_A: TT_A₍₁₋₅₎, ST_B: TT_B₍₁₋₅₎}. Ο σχολιασμός (annotation) των μεταφρασμάτων έγινε με ανάπτυξη προσαρμοσμένου τυπολογικού–ταξινομικού σχήματος στην πλατφόρμα GATE⁹, τόσο στο επίπεδο των μεταφραστικών σφαλμάτων¹⁰, όσο και στο επίπεδο της

⁹ (<http://gate.ac.uk>).

¹⁰ Η κωδικοποίηση των σφαλμάτων που έχουμε αναπτύξει βασίζεται στο περιγραφικό αξιολογικό μοντέλο του Institute of Linguists (IoL) της Βρετανίας (DiplTrans, 2006, βλπ. Κωστοπούλου & Σαριδάκης 2011: 232) και

θεωρούμενης λεξιλογικής-σημασιολογικής και συντακτικής παρεμβολής και της τυποποίησης. Η στατιστική επεξεργασία των δεδομένων έγινε με το λογισμικό LibreOffice Calc.

5.1 Πρωταρχικό επίπεδο κωδικοποίησης: Μεταφραστικά σφάλματα

Οι δείκτες που χρησιμοποιούμε στο σχολιασμό των κειμενιμάτων περιγράφονται συνοπτικώς στον Πίνακα 1. Επισημαίνουμε σε κάθε περίπτωση τον μη κλειστό και μη απόλυτο –και συνεπώς σε μεγάλο βαθμό υποκειμενικό– χαρακτήρα των κατηγοριών, που παραπέμπουν σε κάθε περίπτωση αδήλως σε μια ιδεατή –κανονιστικού τύπου (prescriptive)– επιτέλεση. Ακόμη, πρέπει να σημειώσουμε ότι τόσο στην αρχή της έρευνας, όσο και μετά από την ανάλυση των εμπειρικών δεδομένων, προκύπτουν αισθητές επικαλύψεις μεταξύ των ταξινομικών κατηγοριών, ενώ το εύρος της γενίκευσης δεν είναι όμοιο σε όλες τις κατηγορίες. Η επικάλυψη ανακύπτει στο επίπεδο της ερμηνευτικής-αιτιολογικής εξέτασης των ευρημάτων της έρευνας και αντανακλά την ερμηνευτική και περιγραφική ποικιλομορφία του πεδίου των Μεταφραστικών Σπουδών, που είναι πρόδηλη ακόμη και στο εσωτερικό της ίδιας «θεωρίας» ή σχολαστικής παράδοσης. Η επικάλυψη αυτή, επίσης, αντανακλά τη σχετικότητα και τη σημαντική υποκειμενικότητα των ερμηνειών των επί μέρους φαινομένων, κατά εξεταζόμενη μονάδα ή τεμάχιο λόγου, όσο και τη σημαντική εξάρτηση των ερμηνειών αυτών από τη συνολική κειμενική επιτέλεση. Τούτο μπορεί να σημαίνει επιφανειακή αναντιστοιχία στο σχολιασμό μορφολογικώς όμοιων τεμαχίων μεταξὺ κειμένων. Τέλος, η διαφοροποίηση του βαθμού γενίκευσης μεταξύ των κατηγοριών:

- (1) αντικατοπτρίζει τον σχετικώς μικρό βαθμό ωριμότητας του περιγραφικού εργαλείου, κυρίως στις κατηγορίες της παρεμβολής και της τυποποίησης, και
- (2) εκφράζει την προσπάθειά μας οι κατηγορίες αυτές να διατηρηθούν ανοικτές σε περιγραφικό σχολιασμό, ώστε να περιοριστεί ο κίνδυνος να αγνοηθούν φαινόμενα ή και να παρεισφρήσουν λάθη ερμηνείας.

Δείκτης	Περιγραφή
DEC	Σοβαρό έλλειμμα αποκωδικοποίησης του προτασιακού ή κειμενικού νοήματος του ΚΠ. Συχνά (συνάγεται ότι) οφείλεται σε εσφαλμένη αποκωδικοποίηση της μορφοσυντακτικής δομής του ΚΠ στο εξεταζόμενο τεμάχιο λόγου (discourse segment), για τούτο και επισημαίνεται ως GR+DEC. Αντιστοίχως, όταν το έλλειμμα πιθανολογείται ή συνάγεται ότι οφείλεται σε εσφαλμένη αποκωδικοποίηση του σημειομένου ενός λεξήματος στο ΚΠ, επισημαίνεται ως TERM+DEC. Στην τελευταία περίπτωση, η διάκριση με το φαινόμενο TERM+ENC είναι λεπτή και συχνά δυσχερής· ωστόσο, η διδακτική προσέγγιση διαφέρει σημαντικά, καθώς το έλλειμμα ανακύπτει σε διαφορετικό στάδιο της διαδικασίας της μετάφρασης, για τούτο και πρέπει να επιδιώκεται η αποσαφήνιση.
ENC	Σοβαρό έλλειμμα εκφοράς του προτασιακού ή κειμενικού νοήματος στο εξεταζόμενο τεμάχιο λόγου, εστιαζόμενο στο επίπεδο της επανέκφρασης στη ΓΣ. Η μετατόπιση μπορεί να απαντάται κυρίως στο σημασιολογικό και το μορφοσυντακτικό επίπεδο και δεν ερμηνεύεται ως ελλιπής αποκωδικοποίηση του τεμαχίου στο ΚΠ (DEC). Κατ' ουσίαν, αποτελεί υπερσύνολο του REG, με συμπερίληψη πλέον και του πεδίου (field), ήτοι της ιδεικής μεταλειτουργίας του κειμενήματος, στο κατά Halliday μοντέλο θέασης του νοήματος της εκφοράς (discourse semantics). Μπορεί να συνδυάζεται αιτιακά ή σωρευτικά με τα TERM, GR.
GR	Συντακτικές δομές ΚΠ ή ΚΣ, με ελάσσονα (υποσημειούμενη) επίπτωση στην επιτέλεση.
GR+DEC	Βλπ. DEC
GR+ENC	Βλπ. ENC
GR+REG	Βλπ. REG
LEXINT	Ένδειξη λεξιλογικής παρεμβολής.

συστηματοποιείται ειδικότερα ως προς το επίπεδο του λόγου (register) σύμφωνα με το κατά Halliday τρίπτυχο {πεδίο (field), πλαίσιο (tenor) και τρόπος (mode)} – βλπ. και Hatim 1997: 25 κε.

Δείκτης	Περιγραφή
REG	Αναντιστοιχία επιπέδου λόγου (register), κυρίως δε και στο <i>πλαίσιο</i> (tenor) και τον <i>τρόπο</i> (mode) μεταξύ ΓΣ–ΚΣ, ήτοι στο επίπεδο των διαπροσωπικών και των κειμενικών λειτουργιών. Εν ολίγοις, εκφορά (μεταφραστικού) λόγου αναντίστοιχη της προσδοκίας του (θεωρούμενου) πρωταρχικού αναγνωστικού κοινού (πβ. Rym 1992) ¹¹ . Ανάλογα με το θεωρούμενο γενεσιουργό αίτιο (ή το ειδικό βάρος) της αναντιστοιχίας, μπορεί να συνδυάζεται με τους δείκτες GR και TERM. Συνδυάζεται ακόμη με τον δείκτη ENC, για να δηλωθεί η ανεπιτυχής ισορροπία, στο επίπεδο της εκφοράς στη ΓΣ, μεταξύ πεδίου, πλαισίου και τρόπου (Hatim & Mason 1990: 64–65· πβ. Σαριδάκης 2010: 72–74)
STAND	Ένδειξη πιθανολογούμενης τυποποίησης, με αναφορά σε ευρύτερο <i>ad hoc</i> Σώμα Κειμένων ή με επιλεκτική αναδρομή στο συγκρίσιμο ΣΚ των εκάστοτε πηγών τεκμηρίωσης στο μεταφραστικό περιβάλλον και σε εξωτερικές γενικές πηγές αναφοράς (π.χ. EUR–LEX και αναζητήσεις παραθέσεων σε μηχανές διαδικτυακής αναζήτησης). Αφορά σε ευρύτερα τεμάχια λόγου και μπορεί να χαρακτηρίσει την όλη <i>υφή</i> (texture) του ΚΣ.
SYNTINT	Ένδειξη πιθανολογούμενης συντακτικής παρεμβολής.
TERM	Ανεπαρκής ή εσφαλμένη χρήση λεξήματος, με αναφορά είτε στο κειμενικό νόημα του ΚΠ, είτε σε αυτό του ΚΣ, στο σημαίνον ή στο σημαινόμενο. Καλύπτει κυρίως ζητήματα ορολογίας και ορολογικής/λεξιλογικής ισοδυναμίας. Συνδυάζεται αιτιακά με τα GR (σημασιοσυντακτική μετατόπιση), REG (όταν η λεξιλογική επιλογή επιδρά στο επίπεδο του λόγου), DEC (όταν η ελλιπής αποκωδικοποίηση του εξεταζόμενου λεξήματος στη ΓΠ επιδρά στην αποκωδικοποίηση του νοήματος της <i>εκτεταμένης νοηματικής μονάδας</i> [Sinclair]), ENC (όταν η ελλιπής κωδικοποίηση του λεξήματος αλλοιώνει το προτασιακό ή κειμενικό νόημα στο ΚΣ).
TERM+ENC	Βλπ. TERM
TERM+REG	Βλπ. TERM

Πίνακας 1 Συνοπτική κατηγοριοποίηση μεταφραστικών σφαλμάτων. Η παρεμβολή και η τυποποίηση επισημαίνονται σε δεύτερο και τρίτο επίπεδο αντιστοίχως

5.2 Σχολιασμός δευτέρου επιπέδου: Λεξιλογική και συντακτική παρεμβολή, νόημα και τυποποίηση

Σε δεύτερο χρόνο, το γλωσσικό υλικό σχολιάζεται ως προς τα τμήματα λόγου αυτά τα οποία, κατά την κρίση του ερευνητή, αποτελούν εκφάνσεις των δύο εν θέματι πιθανολογικών νόμων, με βάση (α) τη θεωρητική οριοθέτηση που έχει προηγηθεί και (β) την καταγραφή της μεταφραστικής *διαδικασίας* (process) και την αποτίμηση της κειμενικής *λειτουργίας* (function) την οποία κάνουν οι ίδιοι οι μεταφράζοντες, τόσο στο επίπεδο του κειμένου (ΚΠ_Β) όσο και με αναφορά σε επί μέρους λεξιλογικές–σημασιολογικές και δομικές επιλογές τους. Επισημαίνεται ότι, στο πιλοτικό *corpus* της έρευνάς μας, οι γενικότερες επιλογές των μεταφραστών στα επίπεδα της κειμενικής και της διαπροσωπικής λειτουργίας των κειμένων, όπως σχολιάζονται στο δεύτερο κείμενο (ΚΠ_Β), αποτελούν οδηγό για την κωδικοποίηση και την αιτιολογική ερμηνεία των πορισμάτων αναφορικά με τις επιλογές τους και στο ΚΠ_Α, στο οποίο δεν είχε ζητηθεί σχετικός σχολιασμός.

¹¹ «Η χρήση των [κειμενικών επικοινωνιακών] ειδών σχετίζεται κατά κανόνα με σαφώς προσδιορισμένους τύπους κοινωνικών περιστάσεων [...] Από τη σκοπιά της γνώσης που επιδεικνύει το μέρος της επικοινωνίας, είναι πιθανό να υπάρχουν περιστάσεις στις οποίες οφείλει να χρησιμοποιήσει τις συμβάσεις ενός συγκεκριμένου κειμενικού είδους, άλλες περιστάσεις στις οποίες η χρησιμοποίηση αυτή είναι προαιρετική και άλλες στις οποίες είναι πιθανή» (Luckman 1989: 11 στο Günthner & Luckmann 2001: 61).

Annotation Sets
Annotations List
Annotations Stack
Co-reference Editor
Text

[A2]

Θεσιπαγείς υπηρεσίες (LBS) **μπορούν να οριστούν** οι υπηρεσίες που ενσωματώνουν στη γεωγραφική θέση μιας κινητής συσκευής άλλες πληροφορίες ώστε να παρέχουν **επιπλέον** ανέσεις στο χρήστη. **Υπό αυτό το σκεπτικό**, τα LBS επιβάλλεται να διαθέτουν **Συστήματα Γεωγραφικών Περιοχών (GIS)** και Παγκόσμια Συστήματα Εντοπισμού Θέσης (GPS) με σκοπό να παρέχουν πληροφορίες που είναι γεωγραφικά πλησιέστερες στην τοποθεσία που βρίσκεται ο χρήστης. Οι εφαρμογές που διαθέτουν (τα LBS) χρησιμοποιούνται ευρέως στην ανίχνευση τοποθεσίας, στην **παροχή βοήθειας** στους τουρίστες, τον έλεγχο και την παρακολούθηση της κίνησης καθώς και την ασφάλεια.

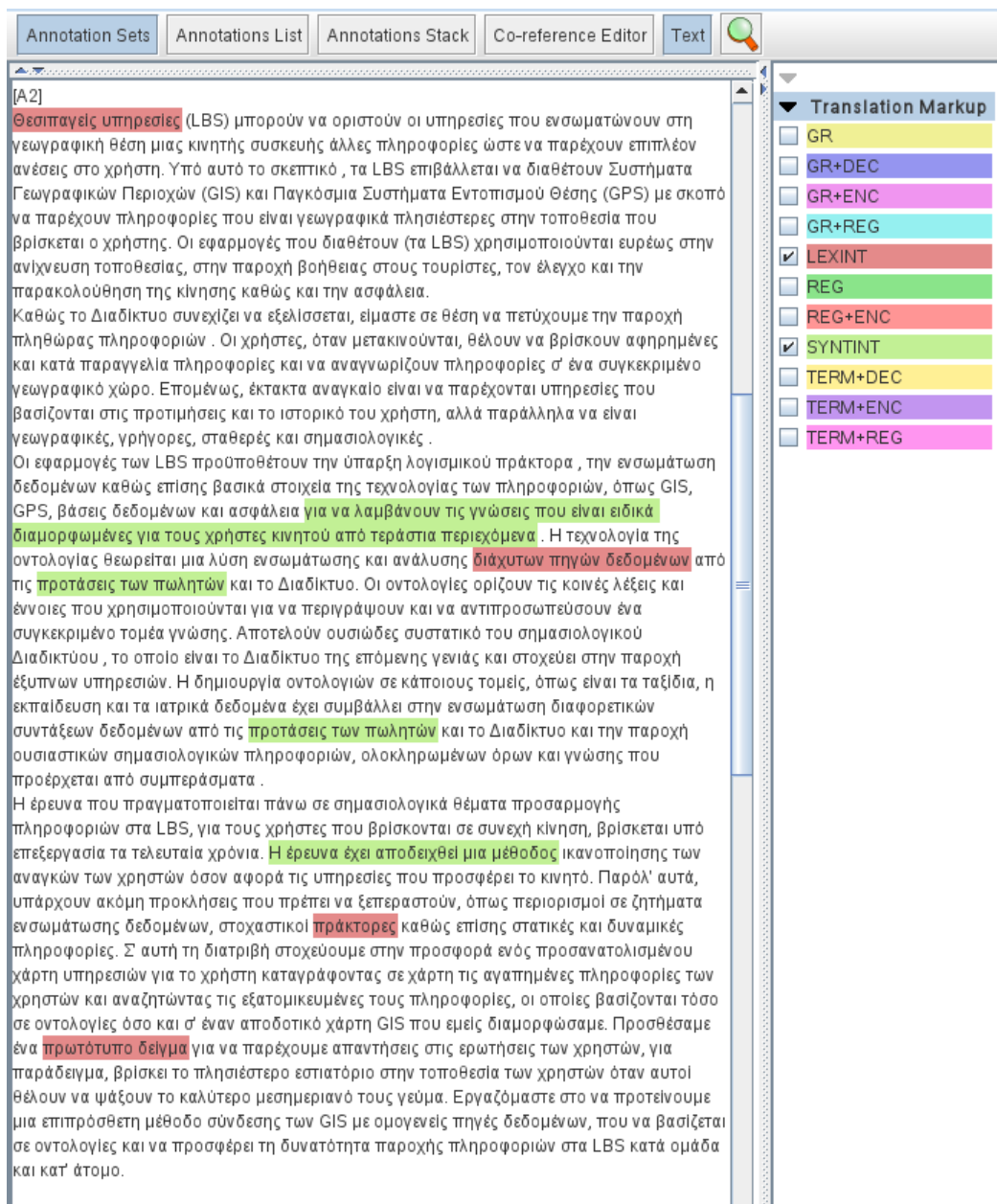
Καθώς το Διαδίκτυο συνεχίζει να εξελίσσεται, **είμαστε σε θέση να πετύχουμε την παροχή πληροφορίας πληροφοριών**. Οι χρήστες, όταν μετακινούνται, θέλουν να βρίσκουν **αφηρημένες και κατά παραγγελία πληροφορίες** και να αναγνωρίζουν πληροφορίες σ' ένα συγκεκριμένο γεωγραφικό χώρο. Επομένως, **έκτακτα αναγκαίο** είναι να παρέχονται υπηρεσίες που βασίζονται στις προτιμήσεις και το ιστορικό του χρήστη, αλλά παράλληλα να είναι **γεωγραφικές, γρήγορες, σταθερές και σημασιολογικές**.

Οι εφαρμογές των LBS προϋποθέτουν την ύπαρξη **λογισμικού πράκτορα**, την **ενσωμάτωση δεδομένων καθώς επίσης βασικά στοιχεία** της τεχνολογίας των πληροφοριών, όπως GIS, GPS, βάσεις δεδομένων και ασφάλεια για να λαμβάνουν τις γνώσεις που είναι ειδικά διαμορφωμένες για τους χρήστες κινητού **από τεράστια περιεχόμενα**. Η τεχνολογία της οντολογίας θεωρείται μια λύση ενσωμάτωσης και ανάλυσης διάχυτων πηγών δεδομένων από τις προτάσεις των **πωλητών** και το Διαδίκτυο. Οι οντολογίες ορίζουν τις κοινές λέξεις και έννοιες που χρησιμοποιούνται για να περιγράψουν και να αντιπροσωπεύσουν ένα συγκεκριμένο τομέα γνώσης. Αποτελούν ουσιώδες συστατικό του **σημασιολογικού Διαδικτύου**, το οποίο είναι το Διαδίκτυο της επόμενης γενιάς και στοχεύει στην παροχή έξυπνων υπηρεσιών. Η δημιουργία οντολογιών σε κάποιους τομείς, όπως είναι τα ταξίδια, η εκπαιδευση και τα ιατρικά δεδομένα έχει συμβάλει στην ενσωμάτωση διαφορετικών **συντάξεων δεδομένων** από τις **προτάσεις των πωλητών** και το Διαδίκτυο και την παροχή ουσιαστικών σημασιολογικών πληροφοριών, ολοκληρωμένων όρων και γνώσης που **προέρχεται από συμπεράσματα**.

Η έρευνα που πραγματοποιείται πάνω σε σημασιολογικά θέματα προσαρμογής πληροφοριών στα LBS, για τους χρήστες που βρίσκονται σε συνεχή κίνηση, βρίσκεται υπό επεξεργασία τα τελευταία χρόνια. Η έρευνα έχει **αποδειχθεί** μια μέθοδος ικανοποίησης των αναγκών των χρηστών όσον αφορά τις **υπηρεσίες που προσφέρει το κινητό**. Παρόλ' αυτά, υπάρχουν ακόμη προκλήσεις που πρέπει να ξεπεραστούν, όπως περιορισμοί σε ζητήματα **ενσωμάτωσης δεδομένων, στοχαστικοί πράκτορες** καθώς επίσης στατικές και δυναμικές πληροφορίες. Σ' αυτή τη **διατριβή** στοχεύουμε στην προσφορά ενός **προσανατολισμένου χάρτη υπηρεσιών** για το χρήστη καταγράφοντας σε χάρτη τις αγαπημένες πληροφορίες των χρηστών και αναζητώντας τις εξατομικευμένες τους πληροφορίες, οι οποίες βασίζονται τόσο σε οντολογίες όσο και σ' έναν αποδοτικό χάρτη GIS που εμείς διαμορφώσαμε. Προσθέσαμε ένα **πρωτότυπο δείγμα** για να παρέχουμε απαντήσεις στις ερωτήσεις των χρηστών, για παράδειγμα, βρίσκει το πλησιέστερο εστιατόριο στην τοποθεσία των χρηστών όταν αυτοί θέλουν να φάσουν το **καλύτερο μεσημεριανό** τους γεύμα. Εργαζόμαστε στο να προτείνουμε μια επιπρόσθετη μέθοδο σύνδεσης των GIS με ομογενείς πηγές δεδομένων, που να βασίζεται σε οντολογίες και να προσφέρει τη δυνατότητα παροχής πληροφοριών στα LBS κατά ομάδα και κατ' άτομο.

Translation Markup
☒ GR
☒ GR+DEC
☒ GR+ENC
☒ GR+REG
☐ LEXINT
☒ REG
☒ REG+ENC
☐ SYNTINT
☒ TERM+DEC
☒ TERM+ENC
☒ TERM+REG

Εικόνα 3 Σχολιασμός κειμένου (A2) πρώτου επιπέδου στο GATE



Εικόνα 4 Σχολιασμός κειμένου (A2) δευτέρου επιπέδου στο GATE

5.3 Ευρήματα και μεταφρασιολογικός σχολιασμός

5.3.1 Συμβατική επαναγραφή, τυποποίηση

Το ερευνητικό *corpus*, παρά το μικρό μέγεθός του και παρά την απουσία συστηματικού ΣΚ αναφοράς, αναδεικνύει τεμάχια στα οποία η προσαρμογή, κυρίως στο υφολογικό επίπεδο, προς μια εκφορά που θεωρείται από τους διδασκόμενους «ουδέτερη» και περισσότερο «παραδεκτή» αναδεικνύεται ορισμένες φορές σε ζητούμενη στρατηγική:

(1) [CB5]

[ο μεταφραστής] οφείλ[ει], μεταξύ άλλων, να υποτάξ[ει] [το κείμενο] στις ιδέες και τις αξίες της γλώσσας- στόχου και κατ' επέκταση του πολιτισμού υποδοχής, θέτοντας ως πρώτιστο μέλημα το μετάφρασμα να μη μορρίζει 'μετάφραση'.

[...] παρά τη στενότητα επιλογών που επιβάλλει η τεχνική γλώσσα, ο συντάκτης επιδιώκει να προσδώσει αμεσότητα στο κείμενο με τη χρήση ανεπίσημου λόγου (*informal expressions*) και αυτό διατηρήθηκε στο μέγιστο δυνατό βαθμό στο μετάφρασμα

Εξ άλλου, στο (2), η νορμαλιστική τάση επιβεβαιώνεται από την ύπαρξη συνταγματικής και παραθετικής (*collocational*) συσχέτισης των {[εισάγω], [κώδικας]} σε (γενικό) συγκρίσιμο ΣΚ (διαδικτυακές πηγές). Κατά την έννοια αυτή, η μετατόπιση που παρατηρούμε εδώ αντιστοιχεί σε παρεμβολή *in absentia*, τουτέστιν σε μη εκτύπωση στο ΚΣ του λεξιλογικώς και υφολογικώς δημιουργικού τεμαχίου {before you bury it in code} του ΚΠ. Σε άλλους και πιθανόν περισσότερο αναλυτικούς όρους, η μετατόπιση στο ανωτέρω δείγμα θα μπορούσε να θεωρηθεί ότι αντιστοιχεί στο λεγόμενο καθολικό της εξομάλυνσης (*normalisation*) ή συντηρητικής επαναγραφής, στο πλαίσιο της «τάσης προς κειμενική συμβατικότητα» (Vanderauwera 1985 στο Laviosa 1998: 289–290, πβ. Σαριδάκης 2010: 193–201). Ο μεταφραστής αιτιολογεί την επιλογή του σε (γενικούς) όρους λειτουργικής μεταφραστικής θεωρίας, θεωρώντας επιβεβλημένα τη λεξιλογική και υφολογική μετατόπιση.

(2) [B5]

For instance, this chapter introduces you to a number of utilities – some of them created by one of the authors, Jan – that let you test and debug a regular expression before you bury it in code where errors are harder to find.

Για παράδειγμα, το κεφάλαιο αυτό σας παρουσιάζει μια σειρά από βοηθητικά προγράμματα – κάποια από τα οποία δημιούργησε ένας από τους συγγραφείς, ο Jan Goyvartjes- τα οποία σας επιτρέπουν να ελέγξετε και να αποσφαλματώσετε μια κανονική έκφραση πριν την εισάγετε στον κώδικά σας, όπου τα σφάλματα εντοπίζονται δυσκολότερα.

5.3.2 Κειμενική λειτουργία (function) και «μεταφραστική κοινωνιόλεκτος»

Ακόμη, και ανεξαρτήτως του βαθμού επιτυχίας της προσπάθειας τους και του θεωρητικού μοντέλου στο οποίο ανατρέχουν, οι διδασκόμενοι αναγνωρίζουν σε γενικές γραμμές την ανάγκη για σύγκλιση προς λεξικογραμματικές επιλογές «κοινωνικώς παραδεκτές» στη ΓΣ, βάσει της πιθανολογούμενης λειτουργίας του κειμένου στον πολιτισμό υποδοχής. Προσδιορίζουν δε, την ανάγκη αυτή ως καταλύτη των επιλογών τους. Χαρακτηριστικά τα σχόλια στα (3), (4).

(3) [CB4]

επειδή ακριβώς ο στόχος του [κειμένου] είναι να εξηγήσει λεπτομερώς και με όσο πιο απλά βήματα και λόγια την κάθε έννοια ή ενέργεια που αναλύει, αυτό επηρεάζει και την λιτότητα στην έκφραση όπως επίσης και την χρήση απλού λεξιλογίου, πράγμα που πρέπει να διατηρηθεί και στο μετάφρασμα του κειμένου.

(4) [CB3]

η απόδοση του [κειμένου] θα πρέπει να εξοπληρεί την λειτουργία που έχει επιλέξει για το κείμενο ο συγγραφέας. Έτσι, έχει διατηρηθεί το β' πληθυντικό πρόσωπο, καθώς είναι σημαντικό για να επιτευχθεί αμεσότητα και να γίνεται εύκολα αντιληπτό από τον αναγνώστη. Επίσης, το ύφος του κειμένου παρέμεινε λιτό και έχοντας απλή σύνταξη, ώστε να εξοπληρεί την πληροφοριακή λειτουργία του κειμένου και να συντελεί στην σταδιακή εξοικείωση του αναγνώστη με το αντικείμενο ανάλυσης.

5.3.3 Δανεισμός, κατά λέξη μετάφραση, έκτυπα (calques)

Σε γενικές γραμμές, μπορούμε να κατατάξουμε τις μείζονες εκφάνσεις του φαινομένου της παρεμβολής, αντιστοίχως σε δάνεια, σε κατά λέξη μεταφράσματα και σε δομικά και εκφραστικά έκτυπα (Vinay & Darbelnet 1977).

Στα (5), (6), ιδίως στην επανεκφορά του τεμαχίου [B5] (6), είναι πρόδηλη η προσπάθεια του μεταφραστή να αποσαφηνίσει το δηλούμενο του ΚΠ, όπως το έχει συλλάβει. Στο συγκεκριμένο παράδειγμα, μπορούμε να εικάσουμε ότι η επιλογή του εκφραστικού εκτύπου είναι συνειδητή, καθώς ο μεταφραστής επιχειρεί να μεταφέρει το πραγματολογικό φορτίο του τεμαχίου στη ΓΣ, εντάσσοντάς το στο περικειμενικό ή και καταστασιακό πλαίσιο του (Vinay & Darbelnet 1977: 9).

(5)

[SA05] The research has been demonstrated as a method [...]

[A1] Η έρευνα παρουσιάζεται ως μια μέθοδος

[A2] Η έρευνα έχει αποδειχθεί μια μέθοδος

[A3] Η έρευνα αποδείχτηκε ως μια μέθοδος

(6)

[SB21], [LB17] You can use them to verify whether input fits into the text pattern, to find text that matches the pattern within a larger body of text [...] **and to shoot yourself in the foot.**

[B1] Μπορείς να το χρησιμοποιήσεις για να επαληθεύσεις το κατά πόσον η εισαγωγή δεδομένων ταιριάζει στο κείμενο-υπόδειγμα, για να βρεις κείμενα που να ταιριάζουν στο κείμενο-υπόδειγμα σε ένα μεγαλύτερο σώμα κειμένου [...] ή ακόμη και για να πυροβολήσεις το πόδι σου!

[B5] Μπορείτε να χρησιμοποιήσετε τις κανονικές εκφράσεις για να επαληθεύσετε αν μια εισαγωγή ταιριάζει στο πρότυπο κειμένου, να βρείτε κείμενο που να ταιριάζει στο πρότυπο εντός ενός μεγαλύτερου σώματος κειμένου [...] **αλλά και να κάνετε πειραματισμούς με ακολουθίες κειμένου όπως της «shoot yourself in the foot».**

Με βάση τα ανωτέρω ευρήματα, πιστεύουμε περαιτέρω ότι είναι άξια διερεύνησης σε ευρύτερο corpus δεδομένων η ερμηνευτική συσχέτιση της παρεμβολής με το καλούμενο καθολικό της αποσαφήνισης (βλπ. Σαριδάκης 2010: 170–182).

Παραδείγματα εκτύπων μπορεί να θεωρηθούν, μεταξύ άλλων, τα εξής:

(7)

[SB18] In the context of this book

[B1] Στο περιεχόμενο αυτού του βιβλίου

[B4] Μέσα σε αυτό το βιβλίο

(8)

[LA01] Location-Based Services (LBS)

[A1] , [A2], [A5] Θεσιπαγείς Υπηρεσίες (LBS)

(9)

[SA06] Our work is to propose

[A1] Η δουλειά μας είναι να προτείνουμε

[A3] Δουλειά μας είναι να προσφέρουμε

5.3.4 Στατιστική Κατανομή στο corpus

Με ειδικότερη αναφορά στην παρεμβολή, η εκτεθείσα αρχική διάκριση του φαινομένου σε (πρωταρχικώς) λεξιλογική και (πρωταρχικώς) συντακτική, δίνει την ακόλουθη κατανομή στα μεταφράσματα που εξετάσαμε:

	A1	A2	A3	A4	A5	B1	B2	B3	B4	B5	Corpus	CTY	CTTR
SINT (1)	6	3	4	4	1	11	10	5	6	3	53	22	41.51
LINT (Tokens) (2)	11	5	4	3	8	8	7	5	5	7	63		
LINT (Types)	8	5	4	3	4	7	7	5	5	7	55	31	56.36
TTR_LINT	72.73	100	100	100	50.00	87.50	100	100	100	100	87.30		
TINT (1+2)	17	8	8	7	9	18	17	10	11	10	116		

(CTY: *Corpus Types*; CTTR: *Corpus TTR*, SINT: *Syntactic Interference*, LINT: *Lexical Interference*, TINT: *Total Interference*)

Πίνακας 2 Κατανομή της παρεμβολής στο corpus

Εξ άλλου, παρά το μικρό δείγμα του ερευνητικού corpus, οι σχετικά χαμηλοί λόγοι TTR¹², με αναφορά τόσο στη συντακτική όσο και στη λεξιλογική παρεμβολή, υποδεικνύουν τάση συγκέντρωσης των εκφάνσεων του φαινομένου γύρω από συγκεκριμένα τεμάχια λόγου μεταξύ των μεταφραστών. Αναμφίβολα, η παρατήρηση αυτή έχει τόσο γνωσική όσο και κοινωνιογλωσσολογική υπόσταση και είναι δεκτική περαιτέρω διερεύνησης. Στους κατωτέρω Πίνακες δεικνύεται η συχνότητα εμφάνισης των εκφάνσεων αυτών στο ερευνητικό corpus.

Types	Segment - Collocate	Totals
SA01	semantic services based on	1
SA02	LBS applications	1
SA03	software agent	2
SA04	Ontology technology	4
SA05	The research has been demonstrated as a method	3
SA06	Our work is to propose	2
SA07	receive the knowledge tailored	1
SA08	mobile users	1
SA09	Location-Based Services (LBS)	1
SA10	integrated terms	1
SA11	user-oriented map service	1
SA Total		18

Πίνακας 3 Εκφάνσεις συντακτικής παρεμβολής κατά τεμάχιο, ΚΠ_A

¹² Type-to-Token Ratio. Εν προκειμένω, αναφερόμαστε στο λόγο *τύπων* (συντακτικής ή λεξιλογικής) παρεμβολής προς το σύνολο των *δειγμάτων* (tokens) της έκφανσης του φαινομένου στο ερευνητικό corpus.

Types	Segment - Collocate	Totals
LA01	Location-Based Services (LBS)	3
LA02	recognize information	1
LA03	rapid [services]	2
LA04	stable [services]	1
LA05	semantic services	1
LA06	vendor offerings	4
LA07	agents for meditation	4
LA08	user-oriented map service	1
LA09	As the Web	1
LA10	[user's] history	1
LA11	implemental method	2
LA12	dispersed data sources	1
LA13	implement a prototype	1
LA14	tourist assistance	1
LA Total		24

Πίνακας 4 Εκφάνσεις λεξιλογικής παρεμβολής κατά τεμάχιο, ΚΠ_A

Types	Segment - Collocate	Totals
SB01	Intended audience	3
SB02	regularly work	1
SB03	search through or manipulate text	1
SB04	excellent tool for the job	2
SB05	jump right to the topics you want	1
SB06	and then some	3
SB07	input box labeled 'regex'	1
SB08	Most of the recipes in this book have solutions	1
SB09	This chapter assumes	1
SB10	language features of the programming language	2
SB11	programming chapter	1
SB12	every recipe has solutions and explanations	2
SB13	all eight languages	1
SB14	this makes the chapter somewhat repetitive	1
SB15	without missing anything	1
SB16	between how regular expressions are handled	1
SB17	before you start or when you get frustrated by your use of regular expressions and want to bolster your understanding	1
SB18	In the context of this book	2
SB19	rearranged bits	2
SB20	list of subtexts	2
SB21	shoot yourself in the foot	2
SB22	firm grasp of regular expressions	1
SB23	plenty of overtime	2
SB Total		35

Πίνακας 5 Εκφάνσεις συντακτικής παρεμβολής κατά τεμάχιο, ΚΠ_B

Types	Segment - Collocate	Totals
LB01	pile of documents	2
LB02	Regular Expressions Cookbook	5
LB03	recipes	1
LB04	background matters	2
LB05	wealth of detail	2
LB06	body of text	5
LB07	rearranged bits	2
LB08	dozens	1
LB09	discussions on languages	1
LB10	expressions are listed	2
LB11	owner's manual	2
LB12	ungainly strings	1
LB13	programming [tasks]	1
LB14	some people	1
LB15	input box	1
LB16	labeled (regex)	1
LB17	shoot yourself in the foot	1
LB Total		31

Πίνακας 6 Εκφάνσεις λεξιλογικής παρεμβολής κατά τεμάχιο, ΚΠ_B

Επισημαίνεται ότι οι εμφανιζόμενες επικαλύψεις μεταξύ τεμαχίων λόγου (π.χ. SB21, LB17) οφείλονται στο ότι η ταξινόμησή μας λαμβάνει ως βάση την εκφορά του ΚΣ και το στοιχείο (δομικό ή λεξιλογικό) το οποίο βάσει των δεδομένων μας πιθανολογούμε κατά περίπτωση ότι μεταφέρεται πρωταρχικώς σε αυτό (ΚΣ).

5.3.5 Παρεμβολή και μεταφραστικά σφάλματα

Στην αναλυτική προσέγγιση του πιθανολογούμενου φαινομένου της παρεμβολής, σημαντική είναι η συνεμφάνιση της παρεμβολής με τα καλούμενα «συνήθη» μεταφραστικά σφάλματα. Όπως είναι αναμενόμενο, τα σημεία στα οποία εντοπίζεται συντακτική παρεμβολή εμφανίζουν υψηλή συσχέτιση με σφάλματα στην αποκωδικοποίηση ή την ανακωδικοποίηση της συντακτικής δομής του κειμένου (GR+DEC, GR+ENC), ενώ τα σημεία στα οποία εντοπίζεται λεξιλογική παρεμβολή συσχετίζονται κυρίως με σφάλματα στην αποκωδικοποίηση ή την ανακωδικοποίηση των γλωσσικών σημείων του κειμένου (TERM+DEC, TERM+ENC). Σχεδόν ομοιόμορφη είναι μεταξύ των δύο γενικών κατηγοριών η κατανομή των (πολυάριθμων) σφαλμάτων που συσχετίζονται με το επίπεδο του λόγου του κειμένου (REG).

Τα σωρευτικά ποσοτικά δεδομένα των σφαλμάτων που συσχετίζονται με το φαινόμενο της παρεμβολής δίνονται στον ακόλουθο Πίνακα.

ST	DEC	GR+DEC	GR+ENC	GR+REG	REG	TERM+DEC	TERM+ENC	TERM+REG	Total
ST_A	0	5	1	2	1	8	13	3	33
ST_B	0	7	3	1	7	13	7	6	44
Total	0	12	4	3	8	21	20	9	77

Πίνακας 7 Σωρευτικά δεδομένα μεταφραστικών σφαλμάτων κατά ΚΠ

Η αρχική μας παραδοχή, περί διακριτής επί πλέον ομαδοποίησης στη ρουμπρίκα της παρεμβολής, των «μεταφραστικών σφαλμάτων», και ανεξαρτήτως του ερμηνευτικού πλαισίου στο οποίο εντάσσονται τα σφάλματα, μοιάζει να επιβεβαιώνεται από τα δεδομένα. Σχεδόν όλες οι εκφάνσεις της παρεμβολής θεωρούνται όμορες ή επικαλυπτόμενες με συγκεκριμένες (μη κλειστές) κατηγορίες σφαλμάτων. Επίσης, χαρακτηριστική είναι η επανάληψη των συσχετίσεων αυτών στα επί μέρους μεταφράσματα. Η «ανωμαλία» των εξαιρέσεων που αναδεικνύονται στα κείμενα, δηλαδή οι

περιπτώσεις λεξιλογικής ή συντακτικής παρεμβολής που δεν συσχετίζονται με άλλη κατηγορία «ελλειμματικής» μεταφραστικής επιτέλεσης, θα πρέπει προς το παρόν να αποδοθεί στο μικρό εύρος του ερευνητικού *corpus* και στο πρώιμο, πιλοτικό, στάδιο της πειραματικής μεθόδου. Αναμφίβολα ωστόσο, τα ευρήματα είναι δεκτικά περαιτέρω ανάλυσης, με βαθύτερη διερεύνηση των γνωστικών και διαδικαστικών *διεργασιών* (processes) που ενεργοποιούνται κατά τη μεταφραστική επιτέλεση και με εξέταση, ασφαλώς, μεγαλύτερου *corpus* ερευνητικών δεδομένων.

5.3.6 Νόρμα και αποκλίσεις

Σημαντικό είναι, τέλος, το ποσοστό των αποκλίσεων των μεταφρασμάτων από τη λογιζόμενη ως νόρμα της κοινωνιολέκτου, κατά εξεταζόμενα τεμάχια λόγου. Συγκεκριμένα, από το σύνολο των 77 καταγραφόμενων μεταφραστικών σφαλμάτων που συσχετίζονται με το φαινόμενο της παρεμβολής, τα 20 (25,97% επί του συνόλου) έχουν ως μοναδικό ή δευτερογενές χαρακτηριστικό τους τη δυσαρμονία μεταξύ εξεταζόμενης και ιδεατής μεταφραστικής εκφοράς κυρίως στο *πλαίσιο* (tenor) και τον τρόπο (mode) του εκφωνήματος. Οι λόγοι της δυσαρμονίας αυτής θα πρέπει ασφαλώς να αναζητηθούν και στο επίπεδο μεταφραστικής-τελεστικής επάρκειας των διδασκομένων.

Παραδείγματα:

(10)
[SB17] before you start or when you get frustrated by your use of regular expressions and want to bolster your understanding
[B2] πριν αρχίσετε ή όταν θα έχετε μπερδευτεί με τον τρόπο που χρησιμοποιείτε τις κανονικές εκφράσεις και θα θέλετε να τις διασαφηνίσετε

(11)
[SB23] If your job involves manipulating or extracting text on a computer, a firm grasp of regular expressions **will save you plenty of overtime.**
[B3] Εάν η εργασία σας συμπεριλαμβάνει επεξεργασία ή εξαγωγή κειμένου σε υπολογιστή, μια βαθιά κατανόηση των κανονικών εκφράσεων **θα σας γλιτώσει από πολλές υπερωρίες.**
[B4] Εάν η εργασία σας συμπεριλαμβάνει την επεξεργασία ή εξαγωγή κειμένων σε έναν υπολογιστή, μια βαθιά κατανόηση και αφομοίωση των κανονικών εκφράσεων **θα σας γλιτώσει από πολλές υπερωρίες.**

(12)
[LB10] the practical regular expressions are listed and described in Chapters 4 through 8.
[B2] οι πρακτικές κανονικές εκφράσεις είναι γραμμένες σε λίστα και περιγράφονται αναλυτικά στα κεφάλαια 4 και 8.
[B3] οι πρακτικές κανονικές εκφράσεις έχουν αναρτηθεί σε λίστες και περιγράφει στα Κεφάλαια 4 έως 8.

6. Συμπεράσματα

Από την πειραματική έρευνα, και με αναφορά στο υποκείμενο θεωρητικό πλαίσιο αυτής, προκύπτουν εν συνόψει τα ακόλουθα συμπεράσματα:

1. Πολλές από τις μεταφραστικές επιλογές των διδασκομένων μπορούν να ιδωθούν και υπό το πρίσμα των πιθανολογικών νόμων της παρεμβολής και της αύξουσας τυποποίησης, κατά την οικεία προσέγγιση. Τούτο συνάγεται και από τη συσχέτιση που κάνουν οι εκπαιδευόμενοι μεταξύ των επιλογών τους και του καταστασιακού πλαισίου εκφοράς του ΚΣ, αλλά και από τη συσχέτιση, κατά σημεία, των εκδηλώσεων των πιθανολογικών νόμων με μια περισσότερο συμβατική προσέγγιση της τυπολογίας των μεταφραστικών σφαλμάτων.

2. Οι πιθανολογικοί νόμοι της παρεμβολής και της αύξουσας τυποποίησης προβάλλουν κατά συνέπεια ως ένα επιπρόσθετο, αλλά ασφαλώς όχι αποκλειστικό, επίπεδο ερμηνείας της μεταφραστικής επιτέλεσης. Επίπεδο, το οποίο αναφέρεται στα δύσβατα πεδία της δυναμικής συγχρονίας και της

κοινωνιολογίας της εκφοράς και συνδυάζει την κλασική, αντιπαραβολική θέαση της ισοδυναμίας, με τις κοινωνικο-πολιτισμικές συνθήκες στις οποίες επιτελείται μία μετάφραση (Toury 1995: 275). Τα ευρήματα της έρευνάς μας στοχεύεται να συμπληρωθούν από αντίστοιχη διερεύνηση και σε άλλα κειμενικά είδη, όσο και στην εκφορά και άλλων μεταφραστών, και όχι μόνον διδασκομένων.

3. Αναδεικνύεται ήδη η ανάγκη για περαιτέρω ανάλυση των «γενικών» κατηγοριών στις οποίες επιμερίζονται οι εκφάνσεις των πιθανολογικών νόμων της παρεμβολής και της αύξουσας τυποποίησης. Έτσι πιστεύουμε ότι θα υπερκεράσουμε σταδιακά την ασάφεια του ερμηνευτικού πλαισίου, αλλά και θα μπορέσουμε να διατυπώσουμε περιγραφικά συμπεράσματα σχετικά με την καλούμενη μεταφραστική συμπεριφορά, και να εντάξουμε τη μελέτη των φαινομένων αυτών στη διδακτική, και εκ τούτου σε μεγάλο βαθμό κανονιστική, προσέγγιση της Μετάφρασης.

4. Εξίσου περισσότερο λεπτομερειακή θα πρέπει να είναι η αναζήτηση και η καταγραφή των γενεσιουργών αιτιών των εξεταζόμενων πιθανολογικών νόμων. Η συσχέτιση με τη γνωστική πτυχή της μεταφραστικής επιτέλεσης, με την υπέρθεση των εκφάνσεων των πιθανολογικών νόμων στο επίπεδο των μεταφραστικών σφαλμάτων αναδεικνύει μόνον μία πτυχή του φαινομένου. Οι μεταφραστικές επιλογές κατά τεμάχιο λόγου θα πρέπει να συγκριθούν με αντίστοιχες επιλογές, «ίσης» στοχευόμενης λειτουργίας, από εκτενή κειμενικά δεδομένα φυσικής εκφοράς λόγου στη ΓΣ, στα εξεταζόμενα κειμενικά είδη. Περαιτέρω, οι επιλογές αυτές θα πρέπει να συγκριθούν με αντίστοιχες επιλογές από μεταφρασμένα κείμενα και να επιχειρηθεί η κατηγοριοποίησή τους σε συνειδητές και μη. Τέλος, οι κανονικότητες που θα αναδειχθούν θα πρέπει να εξεταστούν και στο πλαίσιο της στοχευμένης σύγκλισης, ή αύξουσας τυποποίησης.

5. Τέλος, η διεύρυνση του ερευνητικού υλικού και η αντιπαραβολή του με εκτενές, *ad hoc* Σώμα Κειμένων Αναφοράς θα επιτρέψει τη λειτουργική συσχέτιση με τα πιθανολογούμενα καθολικά της Μετάφρασης (αποσαφήνιση, εξομάλυνση, εξοδεδέρωση, κ.ο.κ.), σε ένα ρεαλιστικό πλαίσιο εξέτασης της μεταφραστικής επιτέλεσης, στα συγκεκριμένα κειμενικά είδη και τα γλωσσικά ζεύγη που θα καλύπτονται από το ερευνητικό *corpus*.

Σημείωση: το σύνολο του ερευνητικού υλικού, τα κείμενα της έρευνας, καθώς και τα αναλυτικά στατιστικά δεδομένα της παρούσας έρευνας δημοσιεύονται στη δ/ση: <https://e-class.ionio.gr/modules/document/document.php?openDir=%2FICGL2010> (η πρόσβαση απαιτεί διαπιστευτικά πρόσβασης που διατίθενται από τον συγγραφέα)

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ΑΝΤΙΑΛΗΨΕΙΣ ΓΙΑ ΤΗΝ ΕΥΓΕΝΕΙΑ ΚΑΙ ΤΗΝ ΑΓΕΝΕΙΑ ΣΤΗΝ ΕΛΛΑΔΑ

Μαρία Σηφιανού
Εθνικό και Καποδιστριακό
Πανεπιστήμιο Αθηνών,
Ελλάδα
msifian@enl.uoa.gr

Αγγελική Τζάννε
Εθνικό και Καποδιστριακό
Πανεπιστήμιο Αθηνών,
Ελλάδα
atzanne@enl.uoa.gr

ABSTRACT

Our main aim in this paper is to explore how Greeks conceptualize politeness and impoliteness and whether these perceptions have changed over the last twenty five years. Another aim is to investigate whether Greeks believe that their society has become more or less polite than before and delve into the reasons of any such change. Our findings indicate that informants view impoliteness as being different from, and not the opposite of, politeness. Another finding is that, for most informants, impoliteness is expressed verbally, whereas the reverse is true of politeness. Finally, informants view their society as becoming less polite than it used to be.

Λέξεις κλειδιά: γλωσσική (ευ)(α)γένεια, εξω-γλωσσική (ευ)(α)γένεια

1. Εισαγωγή

Η έρευνα για θέματα ευγένειας παρουσιάζει τεράστια ανάπτυξη τα τελευταία τριάντα πέντε χρόνια, με κύριο έναυσμα την προσέγγιση των Brown & Levinson (1978/1987). Όπως κάθε θεωρία με τεράστια απήχηση, έτσι και η θεωρία των Brown & Levinson (1978/1987) απέκτησε ένθερμους υποστηρικτές αλλά δέχτηκε και έντονη κριτική, αρχικά με προτάσεις για τροποποιήσεις και βελτιώσεις του μοντέλου (βλ. π.χ., Spencer-Oatey 2000), ενώ αργότερα αμφισβητήθηκε η ίδια η υπόστασή του μέσα και στο πλαίσιο της γενικότερης στροφής προς το μεταμοντερνισμό (βλ. π.χ., Eelen 2001, Mills 2003, Watts 2003).

Η κριτική στη θεωρία των Brown & Levinson (1978/1987) αφορά διάφορες πτυχές της, στις οποίες δεν θα αναφερθούμε αναλυτικά. Ενδεικτικά μόνο να αναφέρουμε ότι δέχτηκε κριτική για το ότι επικεντρώνεται στη μελέτη της αρμονικής επικοινωνίας μέσα από μεμονωμένες κατασκευασμένες προτάσεις, και όχι σε αυθεντικό λόγο, και για το ότι δίνει έμφαση στον ομιλητή και αγνοεί τον ακροατή. Δέχτηκε επίσης έντονη κριτική για το ότι αγνοεί το γλωσσικό περιβάλλον του εκφωνήματος καθώς και τη συγκρουσιακή συμπεριφορά. Στο θεωρητικό αυτό πλαίσιο, η αγένεια γίνεται αντιληπτή απλά ως απουσία ευγένειας (δηλαδή το αντίθετό της) και, επομένως, δεν χρήζει μελέτης με αποτέλεσμα τα θέματα αγένειας να αρχίσουν να αποτελούν αντικείμενο έρευνας μόνο πολύ πρόσφατα (βλ. π.χ., Culpeper 1996, 2011, Eelen 2001, Mills 2003, Watts 2003, Bousfield 2008, Bousfield & Locher 2008,).

Η κριτική αυτή καθώς και η γενικότερη στροφή προς το μεταμοντέρνο συνέβαλε στη διεύρυνση των υπό διερεύνηση θεμάτων, όπως:

- η επέκταση σε ευρύτερες έννοιες, όπως «διαδραστικότητα» (facework, relational work, rapport management, βλ. π.χ., Spencer-Oatey 2000, Watts 2003, Locher 2004), δηλαδή τα νεότερα θεωρητικά πλαίσια δεν περιορίζονται στις έννοιες «ευγένεια», «πρόσωπο» και «απειλητικές προς το πρόσωπο πράξεις»,
- η ευγένεια και η αγένεια μελετώνται μαζί μέσα από το ίδιο θεωρητικό πλαίσιο ως σύνθετα διαδραστικά φαινόμενα και
- συμπεριλαμβάνεται και ο ακροατής, εφόσον η διάδραση συνεπάγεται τουλάχιστον δύο συμμετέχοντες.

Ιδιαίτερη έμφαση δίνεται στο ότι το τι είναι ευγενικό ή αγενές δεν είναι εγγενές στα εκφωνήματα και προκαθορισμένο, αλλά αποτέλεσμα της διάδρασης των συνομιλητών/τριών, οι οποίοι/ες διαπραγματεύονται και αξιολογούν τα όσα διαμείβονται. Δεν αφορά, δηλαδή, απλά και μόνο την πρόθεση ή την παραγωγή λόγου του/της ομιλητή/τριας αλλά συμπεριλαμβάνει και την αξιολόγηση που γίνεται από το/τη συνομιλητή/τρια.

Έτσι η αξιολόγηση αποτελεί βασική αρχή στο καινούργιο τοπίο. Όπως λέει ο Eelen (2001: 109), η (ευ)(α)γένεια δεν αφορά τόσο τη συμπεριφορά του/της ομιλητή/τριας όσο την αξιολόγησή τους από το/τη συνομιλητή/τρια. Η έννοια της αξιολόγησης αναφέρεται κυρίως στην αποτίμηση που γίνεται στις καθημερινές διεπιδράσεις, επιτρέπει όμως την επέκτασή της σε αυτό που ο Eelen (2001: 35) ονομάζει «μεταπραγματολογική ευγένεια», δηλαδή, την ευγένεια ως έννοια, για αυτό που οι καθημερινοί άνθρωποι αντιλαμβάνονται ως ευγένεια.

Η μεταμοντέρνα στροφή στη σχετική έρευνα τονίζει ότι η μελέτη θεμάτων ευγένειας και αγένειας πρέπει να στηρίζεται στις αντιλήψεις των καθημερινών ανθρώπων, όπως πραγματώνονται στις καθημερινές τους διεπιδράσεις, και όχι σε εκ των προτέρων θεωρητικές κατασκευές (βλ. π.χ., Eelen 2001, Mills 2003, Watts 2003). Μάλιστα, ο Watts (2003), μεταξύ άλλων, προτείνει μια διάκριση μεταξύ «πρώτης τάξης» (first order) και «δεύτερης τάξης» (second order) ευγένειας (ή E1 και E2, αντίστοιχα). Η δεύτερη αφορά θεωρητικές κατασκευές της έννοιας ενώ η πρώτη τις αντιλήψεις των καθημερινών ανθρώπων. Ο Eelen (2001: 32) παρατηρεί ότι μπορούν να εντοπιστούν δύο πλευρές στην E1: η δραστική (action-related) και η αντιληπτική (conceptual). Η πρώτη αφορά την (ευ)(α)γένεια όπως πραγματώνεται στις καθημερινές διεπιδράσεις μεταξύ των συνομιλητών/τριών ενώ η δεύτερη αφορά τις γενικότερες απόψεις των καθημερινών ανθρώπων.¹

Στο βαθμό που γνωρίζουμε, οι διάφορες μελέτες έχουν ασχοληθεί σχεδόν αποκλειστικά με λεπτομερείς αναλύσεις συγκεκριμένων γλωσσικών διεπιδράσεων σε συγκεκριμένα περιβάλλοντα με στόχο να εντοπιστεί και να κατανοηθεί η αξιολόγηση που γίνεται από τους/τις συνομιλητές/τριες σε συγκεκριμένες διεπιδράσεις. Με τον τρόπο αυτό, υποστηρίζεται ότι αποφεύγονται και οι γενικεύσεις και οι ισχυρισμοί για καθολικότητα πρακτικών που απετέλεσαν ένα άλλο σημείο έντονης κριτικής που δέχτηκε η θεωρία των Brown & Levinson (1978/1987). Στο κείμενο αυτό δεν θα ασχοληθούμε με την ανάλυση συγκεκριμένων γλωσσικών διεπιδράσεων αλλά με το πώς καθημερινοί άνθρωποι αντιλαμβάνονται και ορίζουν την ευγένεια και την αγένεια, δηλαδή με αυτό που ο Eelen (2001: 32) ονομάζει αντιληπτική πλευρά και η Mills (2003: 12) θεωρεί σημαντική πληροφορία για την ανάλυση φαινομένων ευγένειας και αγένειας. Η άντληση απόψεων από μη γλωσσολόγους έχει χρησιμοποιηθεί συστηματικά στην κοινωνιογλωσσολογία (βλ. π.χ., Niedzielski & Preston 2003) και έχει αρχίσει να χρησιμοποιείται και στην πραγματολογία, όπως αναφέρει ο Pinto (2011: 217), ο οποίος προσθέτει ότι αυτό συμβάλλει στην κατανόηση της ευγένειας «πρώτης τάξης». Αντλώντας από τον Preston (2005), ο Pinto (2011: 218) επισημαίνει ότι ακόμα και εάν οι περιγραφές των καθημερινών ανθρώπων είναι ανακριβείς και βασίζονται σε στερεότυπα και προκαταλήψεις, τα δεδομένα που θα συγκεντρωθούν από αυτούς παραμένουν πολύτιμα καθώς αντανάκλουν διαδεδομένες πεποιθήσεις και συμπεριφορές.

Στο σημείο αυτό θα πρέπει να αναφέρουμε ότι θεωρούμε την ευγένεια και την αγένεια ευρύτερα φαινόμενα που αφορούν τόσο τη γλωσσική όσο και την εξω-γλωσσική συμπεριφορά και εκδηλώνονται κυρίως σε κοινωνικό επίπεδο. Αξίζει να σημειωθεί εδώ ότι οι περισσότερες μελέτες έχουν επικεντρωθεί στο γλωσσικό και στο ατομικό επίπεδο και, κατά συνέπεια, έχει αγνοηθεί το εξω-γλωσσικό και το κοινωνικό (βλ. Mills 2009 για το τελευταίο).

Ο κύριος στόχος της παρούσας έρευνας είναι να διερευνήσουμε πώς νεαροί/ές Έλληνες/ίδες αντιλαμβάνονται την ευγένεια και την αγένεια και να δούμε εάν και κατά πόσον οι αντιλήψεις αυτές έχουν αλλάξει τα τελευταία είκοσι πέντε χρόνια. Ένας άλλος στόχος της έρευνάς μας είναι να διερευνήσουμε εάν οι πληροφορητές/τριές μας πιστεύουν ότι η κοινωνία τους έχει γίνει περισσότερο ή λιγότερο ευγενική από ό,τι ήταν στο παρελθόν και να εντοπίσουμε τους λόγους στους οποίους αποδίδεται η όποια αλλαγή.

2. Δεδομένα

Τα δεδομένα μας προέρχονται κυρίως από ένα ερωτηματολόγιο (βλέπε Παράρτημα), το οποίο κατασκευάσαμε με βάση το ερωτηματολόγιο που χρησιμοποιήθηκε πάνω από είκοσι πέντε χρόνια πριν για τη διερεύνηση του πώς αντιλαμβάνονται οι Έλληνες/ίδες την έννοια της ευγένειας (Sifianou 1992).

¹ Σε διάφορα σημεία της μελέτης του, ο Eelen (2001) επισημαίνει τη δυσκολία σαφούς διαχωρισμού μεταξύ E1 και E2, ενώ η Terkourafi (2011) τονίζει την αναγκαιότητα κατανόησης της στενής σχέσης μεταξύ των δύο και, κατά συνέπεια, την άντληση πυρηνικών στοιχείων από την E1 για την κατασκευή ενός θεωρητικού πλαισίου.

Στο σχεδιασμό των εν λόγω ερωτηματολογίων, ο στόχος μας δεν ήταν να αντλήσουμε γλωσσικά δεδομένα για ανάλυση, αλλά να διερευνήσουμε τις αντιλήψεις των ερωτηθέντων/θεισών για το τι συνιστά ευγένεια και τι αγένεια. Από τους/τις πληροφορητές/τριές μας ζητήθηκε να ορίσουν τι σημαίνει ευγένεια και να απαριθμήσουν κάποια από τα χαρακτηριστικά ενός ευγενικού ανθρώπου. Τους ζητήθηκε επίσης να δώσουν παραδείγματα συμπεριφοράς που τους εντυπωσίασε ως ευγενική και ως αγενής. Πέντε από τις ερωτήσεις ήταν οι ίδιες στο προηγούμενο και στο πρόσφατο ερωτηματολόγιο (1-4, 7), για να διασφαλιστεί η συγκρισιμότητα των αποτελεσμάτων, αλλά προστέθηκαν και δύο επιπλέον ερωτήσεις (5-6): μία που ζητούσε από τους/τις πληροφορητές/τριές μας να μας πουν εάν πιστεύουν ότι οι Έλληνες/ίδες έχουν γίνει περισσότερο ή λιγότερο ευγενικοί/ές από ό,τι ήταν στο παρελθόν και μία άλλη που είχε στόχο να διερευνήσουμε εάν οι πληροφορητές/τριές μας διαφοροποιούν την τυπικότητα από την ευγένεια, θέμα με το οποίο όμως δεν θα ασχοληθούμε εδώ.

Το ερωτηματολόγιο διανεμήθηκε σε 78 προπτυχιακούς/ές φοιτητές/τριες του Τμήματος Αγγλικής Γλώσσας και Φιλολογίας του Πανεπιστημίου Αθηνών, οι οποίοι/ες δεν είχαν καμία προηγούμενη ακαδημαϊκή ενασχόληση με θέματα σχετικά με την ευγένεια και την αγένεια.

Παρόλο που τα συμπεράσματα που μπορεί κανείς να εξάγει από ευρήματα ερωτηματολογίων είναι περιορισμένης γενίκευσης, και παρόλο που οι αντιλήψεις των πληροφορητών/τριών περί ευγένειας και αγένειας σε συγκεκριμένα αυθεντικά περιβάλλοντα είναι σημαντικές, θεωρούμε ότι αξίζει να διερευνηθεί η πιθανότητα ανίχνευσης πιο γενικών και ενδεχομένως κοινών αντιλήψεων. Στην πραγματικότητα, θα μπορούσαμε να ισχυριστούμε ότι, όπως είναι αναμενόμενο να ορίζουν οι ερευνητές/τριες τις έννοιες που ερευνούν, κατά τον ίδιο τρόπο θα πρέπει να δίνεται η ευκαιρία και στο γενικό κοινό να προτείνει τους δικούς του ορισμούς και τις δικές του γενικές αντιλήψεις και όχι μόνο συγκεκριμένες εκτιμήσεις που γίνονται σε συγκεκριμένα περιβάλλοντα. Αυτό βέβαια δεν σημαίνει ότι οι αντιλήψεις του γενικού κοινού θα πρέπει να αποτελούν βάση για την ανάπτυξη μιας θεωρίας, αλλά ότι θα πρέπει να λαμβάνονται ως χρήσιμες ενδείξεις για κατευθύνσεις που αξίζει να τύχουν περαιτέρω θεωρητικής διερεύνησης.

3. Συζήτηση και αποτελέσματα

Σε σχέση με το ερώτημα του πώς νεαροί/ές Έλληνες/ίδες αντιλαμβάνονται την ευγένεια και την αγένεια, η μελέτη μας έδειξε τα εξής:

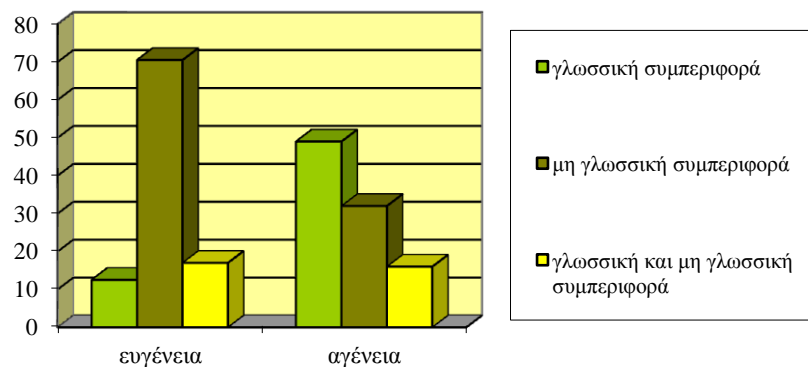
3.1 Αντιλήψεις για την έννοια της ευγένειας

Και στο προηγούμενο και στο τρέχον δείγμα, υπάρχει γενική συναίνεση ότι ευγένεια σημαίνει εκτίμηση και σεβασμός προς τους άλλους και σε κάποιο βαθμό «καλοί τρόποι». Ωστόσο, έννοιες, όπως «εκτίμηση» και «σεβασμός», μπορούν να λάβουν διάφορες πραγματώσεις και να αφορούν τη διατήρηση κοινωνικής απόστασης ή την έκφραση οικειότητας και αλληλεγγύης. Αυτό είναι εμφανές από το εύρος των χαρακτηριστικών που θεωρείται ότι διακρίνουν ένα ευγενικό άτομο στο προηγούμενο και στο τρέχον δείγμα. Και στα δύο δείγματα αναφέρονται χαρακτηριστικά ευγένειας που θα μπορούσαν να περιγραφούν καλύτερα ως δείγματα αλτρουισμού, γενναιοδωρίας και αυταπάρνησης, δηλαδή ως δείγματα προσφοράς και βοήθειας προς τον άλλον άνθρωπο που έχει ανάγκη. Και στις δύο περιπτώσεις είναι σαφές ότι η ευγένεια δεν συσχετίζεται με τη διατήρηση κοινωνικών αποστάσεων αλλά με την έκφραση οικειότητας και αλληλεγγύης. Με άλλα λόγια, αντικατοπτρίζει τον συχνά αποδιδόμενο προσανατολισμό της ελληνικής κοινωνίας προς τη θετική ευγένεια (βλ. π.χ., Sifianou 1992, Pavlidou 1994, Makri-Tsilipakou 2001, Tzanne 2001, Economidou-Kogetsidis 2003). Μερικοί/ές πληροφορητές/τριες ανέφεραν ότι τα εν λόγω χαρακτηριστικά συνοδεύονται από «καλούς τρόπους», ενώ για άλλους/ες οι «καλοί τρόποι», είναι ένα προσωπείο που δεν υποδηλώνει κατ' ανάγκη έναν ευγενικό άνθρωπο. Για κάποιους/ες πληροφορητές/τριές μας ακόμα και οι γνωστοί δείκτες ευγένειας «παρακαλώ» και «συγνώμη» είναι δείγματα προσποιητής (και όχι αληθινής) ευγένειας, που υποδηλώνει υποκρισία και ανειλικρίνεια, αντίληψη που δεν είναι σπάνια (βλ. π.χ. Watts 2003: 2). Όπως και στο παρελθόν, μερικοί/ές πληροφορητές/τριες θεωρούν την ευγένεια έμφυτη ιδιότητα που πηγάζει από την ψυχή (βλ. Ogiermann & Suszczyńska 2011: 211 για παρόμοιες αντιλήψεις στην Πολωνία και Blum-Kulka 1992: 261 στο Ισραήλ) ανεξάρτητα από το κοινωνικό ή μορφωτικό υπόβαθρο και διαφοροποιούν μεταξύ έμφυτης ευγένειας και αποκτούμενων «καλών τρόπων».

Τα περισσότερα παραδείγματα ευγένειας και αγένειας παραπέμπουν σε γενικά πρότυπα συμπεριφοράς ή την απουσία τους, αντίστοιχα, όπως η παραχώρηση θέσης στα μέσα μαζικής μεταφοράς και η παροχή βοήθειας σε ένα ηλικιωμένο ή τυφλό άτομο να διασχίσει το δρόμο. Άλλα

παραδείγματα ευγενικών πράξεων σχετίζονται με φτωχούς ανθρώπους που βοηθούν άλλους που έχουν ανάγκη, με την παράδοση ανευρεθέντων αντικειμένων και με παιδιά που συγκεντρώνουν χρήματα για φιλανθρωπικούς σκοπούς. Με βάση τα παραπάνω, θα μπορούσε να πει κανείς ότι η ευγένεια γίνεται γενικά αντιληπτή ως παροχή κάθε είδους βοήθειας.

Αυτό φαίνεται να συνδέεται και με ένα άλλο ενδιαφέρον εύρημα, εφόσον είναι προφανές ότι η βοήθεια που παρέχεται είναι κατά κανόνα έμπρακτη. Η πλειονότητα (70,5%) των πληροφορητών/τριών μας αντιλαμβάνεται την ευγενική συμπεριφορά, ως αυστηρά εξω-γλωσσική.² Το εύρημα αυτό συμφωνεί με την παρατήρηση της Hirschon (2001: 31) ότι, στην ελληνική πραγματικότητα η ευγένεια δεν είναι μόνο γλωσσικό θέμα εφόσον πολύ σημαντικός είναι και ο ρόλος της εξω-γλωσσικής συμπεριφοράς. Αυτή η αντίληψη της ευγένειας ως κατ' εξοχήν εξω-γλωσσικής συμπεριφοράς έρχεται σε αντίθεση με εκείνη που αφορά την αγενή συμπεριφορά, όπου οι μισοί/ές πληροφορητές/τριές μας θεωρούν τη γλωσσική συμπεριφορά να εμπλέκεται στην έκφραση της αγένειας, όπως γίνεται σαφές στο Γράφημα 1:



Γράφημα 1 Μορφές ευγένειας και αγένειας

Η παρατηρούμενη αντίθεση ενδέχεται να υποδηλώνει ότι οι πληροφορητές/τριές μας αντιλαμβάνονται την ευγένεια και την αγένεια ως διαφορετικά, αλλά όχι αντίθετα είδη συμπεριφοράς, παρά το γεγονός ότι οι γλώσσες έχουν την τάση να τις αντιμετωπίζουν ως αντίθετες έννοιες (π.χ., im / politeness και ευ-γένεια / α-γένεια). Το εύρημα αυτό έχει ιδιαίτερο ενδιαφέρον, αν σκεφτεί κανείς ότι μόνο η πρόσφατη βιβλιογραφία (βλ. π.χ., Mills 2003: 124) τονίζει ότι η ευγένεια και η αγένεια δεν θα πρέπει να θεωρούνται ως ακριβή αντίθετα.

3.2 Αντιλήψεις για την έννοια της αγένειας

Από τους/τις πληροφορητές/τριες που συνδέουν την αγένεια με τη γλωσσική συμπεριφορά, αρκετοί/ές (22%) θεωρούν ότι οι ύβρεις και η χρήση άσχημης γλώσσας είναι περιπτώσεις αγενούς συμπεριφοράς, ενώ αρκετοί/ές άλλοι/ες (17%) πιστεύουν ότι το να είσαι σαρκαστικός ή απαιτητικός και να διακόπτεις τα άτομα με τα οποία συνομιλείς αποτελούν δείγματα αγένειας. Είναι ενδιαφέρον να σημειωθεί ότι ορισμένοι/ες πληροφορητές/τριες (8%) βρίσκουν την απουσία συμβατικών δεικτών ευγένειας (π.χ., «ευχαριστώ» - «παρακαλώ») εξίσου αγενή συμπεριφορά. Αυτό παραπέμπει στην επισήμανση των Brown & Levinson (1987: 5) για τους οποίους η ευγένεια πρέπει να εκφράζεται και η απουσία της μπορεί να συνεπάγεται την απουσία ευγενικής συμπεριφοράς.

Σε αντίθεση με άλλες έρευνες (βλ. π.χ., Lakoff 2005, Cameron 2007), ένας πολύ μικρός αριθμός των πληροφορητών/τριών (3%) συνδέουν την έλλειψη τυπικότητας με την αγένεια και αυτό με πολύ περιορισμένη σημασία, δηλαδή, τη χρήση του δεύτερου ενικού προσώπου αντί για το δεύτερο πρόσωπο του πληθυντικού σε κοινωνικά μη οικείες σχέσεις. Αυτό είναι ενδιαφέρον, δεδομένου ότι στον ελληνικό δημόσιο λόγο, η τυπικότητα εξακολουθεί να έχει ισχυρή θέση (βλ. π.χ., Sifianou &

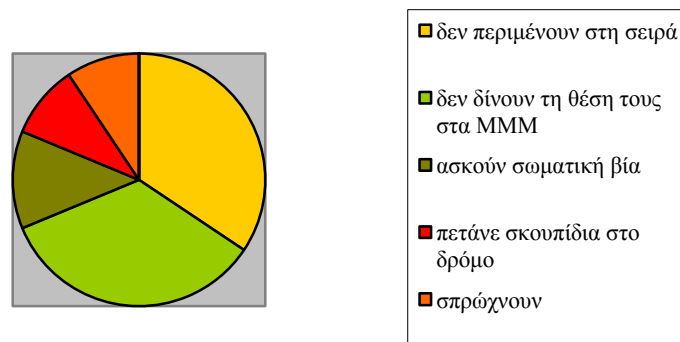
² Ίσως έχει ενδιαφέρον να αναφέρουμε εδώ ότι σε σχετική έρευνα (Ogiermann & Suszczyńska 2011) και οι Πολωνοί/ίδες πληροφορητές/τριες έδωσαν ορισμούς για την ευγένεια που δεν περιλαμβάνουν σχεδόν καθόλου στοιχεία γλωσσικής συμπεριφοράς ενώ αντίθετα για την αγένεια τα γλωσσικά στοιχεία υπερίσταν.

Tzanne 2001, Sifianou 2010). Στο Γράφημα 2 παρουσιάζονται αναλυτικά οι απαντήσεις των πληροφορητών/τριών μας σε σχέση με τη γλωσσική αγένεια.³



Γράφημα 2 Περιπτώσεις γλωσσικής αγένειας

Μεταξύ αυτών που εμφανίζονται να συνδέουν την αγένεια με εξω-γλωσσική συμπεριφορά, αρκετοί/ές (22%) αναφέρουν παραδείγματα από μέρη όπου συχνάζουν πολλοί άνθρωποι, όπως οι τράπεζες, τα σουπερ μάρκετ ή τα μέσα μαζικής μεταφοράς (ΜΜΜ). Σε αυτό το πλαίσιο, κατατάσσουν την παραβίαση της σειράς προτεραιότητας ή τη μη παραχώρηση θέσης σε έγκυες ή ηλικιωμένους/ες στα μέσα μεταφοράς, στις περιπτώσεις αγένειας. Στο Γράφημα 3 παρουσιάζονται οι απαντήσεις των πληροφορητών/τριών μας σε σχέση με τη συμπεριφορά των ατόμων που επιδεικνύουν εξω-γλωσσική αγένεια.



Γράφημα 3 Περιπτώσεις εξω-γλωσσικής αγένειας

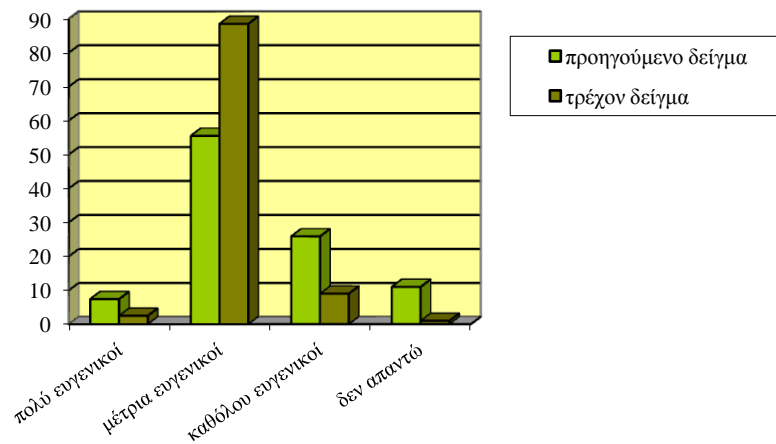
3.3 Εκτιμήσεις σε σχέση με την ευγένεια ή την αγένεια των Ελλήνων/ίδων

Μια σημαντική διαφορά μεταξύ του προηγούμενου και του παρόντος δείγματος προέκυψε σε σχέση με τις απόψεις για το βαθμό της ευγένειας των Ελλήνων/ίδων. Στο προηγούμενο δείγμα, λίγα άτομα (7,4%) αξιολόγησαν τους/τις Έλληνες/ίδες ως «πολύ ευγενικούς», ενώ στο παρόν δείγμα το ποσοστό έχει πέσει στο 2,5%. Ωστόσο, αυτό που φαίνεται αξιοσημείωτο είναι ότι ενώ στο προηγούμενο δείγμα το ένα τέταρτο των πληροφορητών/τριών αξιολόγησε τους συμπατριώτες τους ως «μη ευγενικούς», στο τρέχον δείγμα το ποσοστό αυτό έχει μειωθεί σημαντικά (9%).

Η συντριπτική πλειονότητα των ερωτηθέντων/θεισών (84,5%) αξιολογούν τους συμπατριώτες τους ως λιγότερο ευγενικούς από ό,τι ήταν πριν. Είναι όμως ενδιαφέρον, ότι ένα μη αμελητέο ποσοστό πληροφορητών/τριών (15,5%) τους απεικονίζει ως πιο ευγενικούς. Αν κοιτάξει κάποιος προσεκτικά τα ποσοστά, φαίνεται να υπάρχει μια αντίφαση. Από τη μία πλευρά, η πλειονότητα των σημερινών πληροφορητών/τριών μας (84,5%) αξιολογεί τους συμπατριώτες τους ως λιγότερο ευγενικούς από παλιά και από την άλλη, ο αριθμός των πληροφορητών/τριών (9%) που τους αξιολογούν ως μη ευγενικούς είναι σημαντικά χαμηλότερος από εκείνον του προηγούμενου δείγματος (25,9%). Αυτό οφείλεται κατά πάσα πιθανότητα στο γεγονός ότι η ηλικία των πληροφορητών/τριών μας (20 ετών κατά μέσο όρο) δεν επιτρέπει απόψεις με βάση την προσωπική τους εμπειρία και πιθανότατα

³ Τα στοιχεία του υπομνήματος παρουσιάζονται με φθίνουσα σειρά, δηλαδή το πρώτο στοιχείο αντιστοιχεί στο μεγαλύτερο κομμάτι της πίτας, το δεύτερο στοιχείο στο δεύτερο μεγαλύτερο κομμάτι και ούτω καθεξής.

αντικατοπτρίζει γενικά στερεότυπα. Μια άλλη πιθανή εξήγηση είναι ότι οι πληροφορητές/τριές μας δεν θεωρούν το «λιγότερο ευγενικός» ως ταυτόσημο του «μη ευγενικός», προφανώς αντιλαμβανόμενοι το διάστημα μεταξύ ευγένειας και αγένειας ως διαβαθμισμένο. Το Γράφημα 4 παρουσιάζει τα ευρήματα αυτά σχηματικά.



Γράφημα 4 Βαθμός ευγένειας των Ελλήνων/ίδων

4. Εξηγήσεις για τις αλλαγές

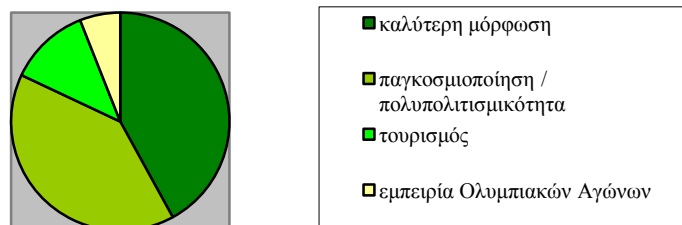
Η αντίληψη ότι η ελληνική κοινωνία είναι λιγότερο ευγενική από ό,τι ήταν παλιότερα φαίνεται να απηχεί παρόμοιες απόψεις που ακούγονται τόσο στην Ελλάδα όσο και σε άλλες κοινωνίες (βλ. π.χ., Lakoff 2005, Truss 2005, Gorji 2007, Bolívar 2008), οι οποίες παραπέμπουν στα «παλιά καλά χρόνια», όταν οι άνθρωποι (υποτίθεται ότι) ήταν πιο ευγενικοί ο ένας προς τον άλλο (Mills 2009: 1054). Τέτοιες απόψεις εκφράζονται συχνά σε άρθρα εφημερίδων και περιοδικών, καθώς και σε ιστολόγια (blogs) και τείνουν να επισημαίνουν την εξαφάνιση της ευγένειας στην εποχή μας, συνήθως παραδειγματίζοντας με συγκεκριμένες περιπτώσεις και γενικεύοντας για ολόκληρη την κοινωνία. Τέτοιες απόψεις αντανakλούν στερεοτυπικές αντιλήψεις και, ενδεχομένως, το φόβο αλλαγής αλλά δεν βασίζονται σε αποτελέσματα έρευνας, όπως επισημαίνει η Mills (2009).

Στην περίπτωση μας, οι ερωτηθέντες/θείσες παραθέτουν μια σειρά από λόγους για να αιτιολογήσουν την αγένεια των συμπατριωτών τους. Πολλοί (40%) αποδίδουν την υποτιθέμενη έκπτωση της ευγένειας στις δυσκολίες που αντιμετωπίζουν οι άνθρωποι, το άγχος και τους εντατικούς ρυθμούς της σύγχρονης ζωής, που τους κάνει πιο ανυπόμονους και οξύθυμους. Αρκετοί (28%) πιστεύουν ότι η στροφή στην αγένεια συνδέεται με το ότι η ελληνική κοινωνία έχει γίνει ατομικιστική και ο καθένας ενδιαφέρεται μόνο για τον εαυτό του, με αποτέλεσμα την αποξένωση, ιδιαίτερα στις μεγάλες πόλεις. Ο χρόνος είναι χρήμα και οι περίπλοκες διατυπώσεις είναι απλά χάσιμο χρόνου. Ένας αριθμός των ερωτηθέντων/θεισών (18%) εξηγεί την αύξηση της αγένειας με βάση τη γενική παρακμή της σημερινής κοινωνίας και την έκπτωση των ηθικών αξιών της, ενώ κάποιοι άλλοι (9%), την αποδίδουν στα αισθήματα ανασφάλειας που σχετίζονται με την ξενοφοβία. Κάποιοι (9%) υποστηρίζουν ότι το αυξημένο επίπεδο αγένειας που παρατηρείται στην Ελλάδα σήμερα είναι πιθανόν να οφείλεται στην έλλειψη παιδείας και σωστής διαπαιδαγώγησης των νέων ανθρώπων. Το Γράφημα 5 συνοψίζει τις διάφορες εξηγήσεις που έδωσαν οι πληροφορητές/τριές μας για την αύξηση της αγένειας.



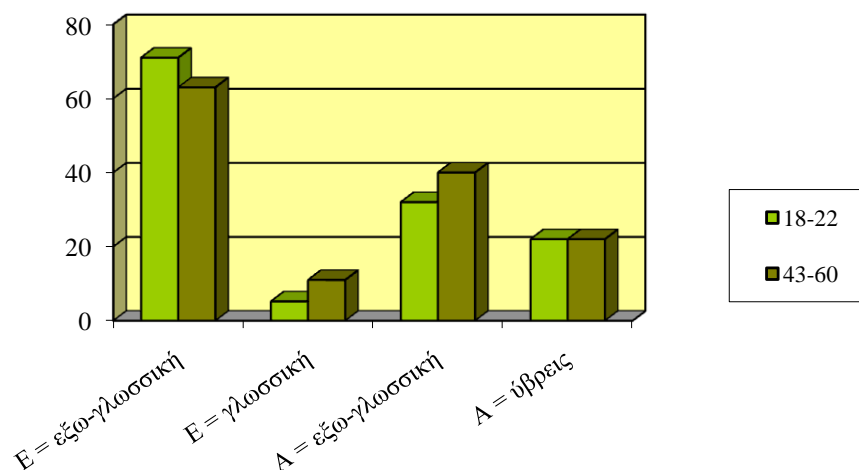
Γράφημα 5 Εξηγήσεις για την αύξηση της αγένειας

Οι ερωτηθέντες/θείσες που αξιολόγησαν τους συμπατριώτες τους ως πιο ευγενικούς από ό,τι ήταν στο παρελθόν αποδίδουν την αύξηση κυρίως στην πρόσβαση στην εκπαίδευση από περισσότερους ανθρώπους, αλλά και στην παγκοσμιοποίηση, δηλαδή την επιρροή του δυτικού κόσμου, κυρίως ως αποτέλεσμα της ένταξης της Ελλάδας στην Ευρωπαϊκή Ένωση. Ως άλλοι λόγοι αναφέρονται η ενασχόληση των Ελλήνων/ίδων με τον τουρισμό και η πρόσφατη εμπειρία της διοργάνωσης των Ολυμπιακών Αγώνων «Αθήνα 2004». Το Γράφημα 6 συνοψίζει τις διάφορες εξηγήσεις που δόθηκαν για την αύξηση της ευγένειας.



Γράφημα 6 Εξηγήσεις για την αύξηση της ευγένειας

Ως μια πρώτη προσπάθεια να εξετάσουμε το βαθμό κατά τον οποίο τα ευρήματά μας σχετίζονται με την ηλικία των πληροφορητών/τριών, δώσαμε το ερωτηματολόγιο και σε ένα δείγμα 20 ατόμων ηλικίας 43-60 ετών. Παρόλο που θεωρούμε την έρευνα σε αυτό το πολύ μικρό δείγμα ως το πρώτο βήμα προς τη διερεύνηση ενός ευρέος και περίπλοκου ζητήματος, αξίζει, πιστεύουμε, να αναφέρουμε ότι, παρόλο που αρχικά υποθέσαμε ότι η ηλικία θα ήταν ένας καθοριστικός παράγοντας στη διαμόρφωση αντιλήψεων για την ευγένεια και την αγένεια, τα αρχικά ευρήματα δείχνουν ότι δεν υπάρχουν σημαντικές διαφορές μεταξύ των δύο ηλικιακών ομάδων (18-22 και 43-60).⁴ Για παράδειγμα, όπως και η νεότερη ηλικιακή ομάδα, έτσι και η πλειονότητα των μεγαλύτερων πληροφορητών/τριών (63%) αντιλαμβάνονται την ευγενική συμπεριφορά ως εξω-γλωσσική, ενώ μόνο μια πολύ μικρή μειονότητα (5.2%) την αντιλαμβάνεται ως γλωσσική. Μια άλλη ομοιότητα μεταξύ των δύο ηλικιακών ομάδων έγκειται στο ότι το ίδιο ποσοστό πληροφορητών/τριών (22%) και από τις δύο ομάδες θεωρεί αγένεια τις ύβρεις, ενώ αρκετά άτομα και από τις δύο ομάδες συμφωνούν ότι η αγένεια είναι εξω-γλωσσική συμπεριφορά (νεότεροι: 32%, μεγαλύτεροι: 40%). Επίσης, όπως και οι νεότεροι/ες πληροφορητές/τριες, έτσι και η πλειονότητα των μεγαλύτερων (84.2%) συμφωνούν ότι οι Έλληνες/ίδες είναι λιγότερο ευγενικοί/ές από πριν, ενώ λίγα άτομα από αυτή την ηλικιακή ομάδα (15.8%) τους/τις θεωρούν πιο ευγενείς. Το Γράφημα 7 συνοψίζει κάποιες από τις αντιλήψεις των δύο ηλικιακών ομάδων (όπου «Ε» είναι η ευγένεια και «Α» η αγένεια).



Γράφημα 7 Αντιλήψεις περί (ευ)(α)γένειας και ηλικία

⁴ Ίσως αξίζει να σημειωθεί εδώ ότι και η Fukushima (2011) δεν εντοπίζει σημαντικές διαφορές μεταξύ των ηλικιακών ομάδων των Ιαπώνων που διερευνά.

Αναμφίβολα χρειάζεται να γίνει περισσότερη έρευνα και να μελετηθούν περισσότερες και πολυπληθέστερες ηλικιακές ομάδες προκειμένου να είμαστε σε θέση να γενικεύσουμε τα συμπεράσματά μας και να μιλήσουμε για τις επικρατούσες τάσεις στις αντιλήψεις των Ελλήνων/ίδων σχετικά με την (ευ)(α)γένεια. Παρόλα αυτά, το γεγονός ότι οι τωρινοί/νές πληροφορητές/τριες αντιλαμβάνονται την (ευ)(α)γένεια κατά τον ίδιο περίπου τρόπο με τον οποίο την αντιλαμβάνονταν οι πληροφορητές/τριές μας είκοσι πέντε χρόνια πριν μας επιτρέπει να εξάγουμε κάποια γενικά συμπεράσματα με αρκετή βεβαιότητα και να επισημάνουμε μια περιοχή που αξίζει να διερευνηθεί περαιτέρω, δεδομένου μάλιστα ότι οι ομοιότητες και οι διαφορές ανάμεσα σε διαφορετικές ηλικιακές ομάδες δεν έχουν απασχολήσει σχεδόν καθόλου την έρευνα για θέματα (ευ)(α)γένειας.

5. Συμπερασματικές παρατηρήσεις

Συνολικά, η μελέτη αυτή προσπάθησε να διερευνήσει πώς μια ομάδα νεαρών Ελλήνων/ίδων αντιλαμβάνονται την ευγένεια και την αγένεια, αποφεύγοντας υπεργενικεύσεις για το τι ισχύει σε ολόκληρη την ελληνική κοινωνία. Όπως επισημαίνει η Mills (2009: 1056), μεταξύ άλλων, πρέπει να αναγνωρίσουμε την ετερογένεια των κοινωνικών ομάδων και όχι να υποθέτουμε ότι οι κοινωνίες είναι ομοιογενείς. Ένα ενδιαφέρον παράδειγμα αυτής της επισήμανσης είναι η προσφορά θέσης στα μέσα μαζικής μεταφοράς. Παρά το γεγονός ότι πολλοί από τους/τις ερωτηθέντες/θείσες συμφωνούν ότι μια τέτοια πράξη υποδηλώνει ευγένεια, μερικοί/ές ηλικιωμένοι/ες την αντιλαμβάνονται ως «επιθετική» κίνηση εφόσον τονίζει τη δική τους αδυναμία, και μπορεί, κατά συνέπεια, να εκληφθεί ως προσβλητική (Hirschon 2001: 26).

Αξίζει να σημειωθεί ότι συγκρίνοντας τις απαντήσεις στο παρόν ερωτηματολόγιο με αυτές που δόθηκαν πάνω από είκοσι πέντε χρόνια πριν (Sifianou 1992: 86-94) δεν εντοπίσαμε σημαντικές διαφορές ούτε στους ορισμούς της ευγένειας που δόθηκαν ούτε στα χαρακτηριστικά που αποδίδονται στους ευγενικούς και τους αγενείς ανθρώπους. Οι περισσότεροι ορισμοί είναι ευρείς, αντίληψη που παραπέμπει στο εύρος της θετικής ευγένειας. Αυτό το εύρος αντικατοπτρίζεται και στα παραδείγματα που αναφέρονται ως ενδεικτικά της ευγενικής και της αγενούς συμπεριφοράς.

Οι απαντήσεις των ερωτηθέντων/θεισών δείχνουν ότι, συνολικά, αντιλαμβάνονται την ευγένεια ως παροχή βοήθειας προς τον άλλον και, κατά συνέπεια, ως εξω-γλωσσική συμπεριφορά σε μεγάλο βαθμό (70,5%). Σε αντίθεση, οι μισοί/ές πληροφορητές/τριες θεωρούν ότι η αγένεια εκφράζεται γλωσσικά και οι άλλοι/ες μισοί/ές εξω-γλωσσικά. Αυτό υποδηλώνει ότι οι πληροφορητές/τριές μας αντιλαμβάνονται την αγένεια ως κάτι διαφορετικό αλλά όχι το ακριβώς αντίθετο της ευγένειας. Αυτό που αξίζει να σημειωθεί, ωστόσο, είναι ότι και οι δύο έννοιες σχετίζονται με κανόνες και προσδοκίες κοινωνικής συμπεριφοράς σε συγκεκριμένα πλαίσια. Αυτό μπορεί να σημαίνει ότι η ευγένεια και η αγένεια σε κοινωνικό επίπεδο συνδέονται περισσότερο με συμβάσεις σωστής κοινωνικής συμπεριφοράς.

Έχει επίσης ενδιαφέρον να αναφέρουμε ότι οι πληροφορητές/τριές μας τείνουν να αποδίδουν χαρακτηριστικά αγένειας στους άλλους, χρησιμοποιώντας το τρίτο πρόσωπο (*οι Έλληνες είναι*) και όχι το πρώτο πρόσωπο του πληθυντικού (*είμαστε*). Επομένως, φαίνεται ότι υπόρρητα αποδίδουν στους εαυτούς τους την ταυτότητα του ευγενικού ανθρώπου που είναι σε θέση να επιδοκιμάζει την ευγένεια και να καταδικάζει την αγένεια των άλλων.

Τέλος, όπως ήταν μάλλον αναμενόμενο, οι πληροφορητές/τριές μας θεωρούν ότι η κοινωνία μας έχει γίνει λιγότερο ευγενική από ό,τι ήταν στο παρελθόν, αντίληψη που απαντάται σε πολλές κοινωνίες σήμερα.

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Παράρτημα

Παρακαλούμε συμπληρώστε τα παρακάτω τετράγωνα με X και στη συνέχεια απαντήστε τις ερωτήσεις που ακολουθούν:

Ηλικία 18-22 ☐ 23-32 ☐ 33-42 ☐ 43-60 ☐

Φύλο Θ ☐ Α ☐

Τόπος γέννησης: _____

Τόπος μόνιμης κατοικίας: _____

Γραμματικές γνώσεις: Δημοτικού ☐ Γυμνασίου ☐ Λυκείου ☐ Πανεπιστημίου ☐

Επάγγελμα: _____

1. Τι σημαίνει ο όρος «ευγένεια» για σας και ποια θεωρείτε ότι είναι τα χαρακτηριστικά ενός ευγενικού ανθρώπου;
2. Περιγράψτε ένα παράδειγμα (ανθρώπου ή πράξης) που σας έκανε εντύπωση ως περίπτωση ευγένειας.
3. Περιγράψτε ένα παράδειγμα (ανθρώπου ή πράξης) που σας έκανε εντύπωση ως περίπτωση αγένειας.
4. Πώς θα μπορούσατε να χαρακτηρίσετε τους Έλληνες γενικά (βάλτε X στο τετράγωνο που πιστεύετε ότι αντιπροσωπεύει καλύτερα την πραγματικότητα).

πολύ ευγενικοί ☐ λίγο ευγενικοί ☐ καθόλου ευγενικοί ☐
5. Θεωρείτε ότι οι Έλληνες σήμερα είναι λιγότερο ☐ ή περισσότερο ☐ ευγενικοί από ό,τι ήταν παλιότερα; Τι σας οδηγεί στη συγκεκριμένη απάντηση. Δώστε μια εξήγηση.
6. Όταν τηλεφωνούμε σήμερα σε υπηρεσίες, όπως οι πληροφορίες του ΟΤΕ, συχνά ακούμε «Πώς μπορώ να σας εξυπηρετήσω;» και «Σας ευχαριστούμε που μας καλέσατε». Θεωρείτε ότι παρόμοιες εκφράσεις είναι δείγμα ευγένειας ή σηματοδοτούν κάτι άλλο και τι νομίζετε ότι είναι αυτό;
7. Γράψτε εδώ οποιαδήποτε παρατήρηση ή σχόλιο θέλετε να κάνετε σχετικά με τα παραπάνω.

Σας ευχαριστούμε πολύ για τη βοήθειά σας

Ο ΜΗΧΑΝΙΣΜΟΣ ΤΗΣ ΔΙΟΡΘΩΣΗΣ ΣΤΗ ΣΥΝΟΜΙΛΙΑ ΚΑΤΑ ΤΗΝ ΕΝΑΛΛΑΓΗ ΚΩΔΙΚΩΝ ΑΠΟ ΔΙΓΛΩΣΣΟΥΣ ΜΑΘΗΤΕΣ ΠΡΟΣΧΟΛΙΚΗΣ ΗΛΙΚΙΑΣ

Σιταρένιου Δημήτρα

Νηπιαγωγείο Σκαλωτής,
Χανιά, Ελλάδα

dsitareniou@edc.uoc.gr

Χατζηδάκη Ασπασία

ΠΤΔΕ,
Πανεπιστήμιο Κρήτης, Ελλάδα

aspahatz@edc.uoc.gr

ABSTRACT

The present paper reports on the contextualization of repair through codeswitching in Albanian-Greek preschoolers' bilingual discourse. The subjects of the study were eight bilingual Kindergarten students, aged 4:3 to 6:1, who were observed and tape-recorded during various school activities. Code alternation in their speech was subsequently analysed following conversational analytical principles (cf. Auer 1995, 1998, Shin and Milroy 2000, etc.). With regard to repair, our subjects were found to produce examples of self-initiated and other-initiated self-repair, mainly in order to return to the appropriate code of the conversation or to abide by the interlocutor's choice of code.

Λέξεις κλειδιά: δίγλωσσα νήπια, ελληνική ως δεύτερη γλώσσα, αλβανικά-ελληνικά, εναλλαγή κωδίκων, συνομιλιακή διόρθωση, επικοινωνιακή δεξιότητα

1. Εισαγωγή

Η εναλλαγή κωδίκων (*code-switching*) συνίσταται στη χρήση ποικίλων και διαφορετικών συνδυασμών δύο ή περισσότερων γλωσσικών συστημάτων (ή ποικιλιών) στην ίδια συζήτηση ή πρόταση (Gardner-Chloros 2009, 4). Αποτελεί πολυδιάστατο και πολυεπίπεδο φαινόμενο του διγλωσσικού λόγου, που εξετάζεται από ποικίλες οπτικές γωνίες (ψυχολinguιστικές, γραμματικές, κοινωνιο-γλωσσολογικές, πραγματολογικές, βλ. Gardner-Chloros 2009, 7, Σελλά-Μάζη 2001,70).

Στα πλαίσια της πραγματολογικής προσέγγισης του φαινομένου, πολλοί ερευνητές έχουν αξιοποιήσει την Ανάλυση Συνομιλίας (Conversation Analysis) ως ερμηνευτικό μοντέλο για την ανάλυση της εναλλαγής κωδίκων κατά τη διγλωσσική επικοινωνία (Auer 1984, 1995, 1998, 2005, Alfonzetti 1998, Cromdal 2004, Li Wei 1994, 1998, 2002, 2005, Li Wei and Milroy 1995, Sebba and Wootton 1998, Steensig 2003).

Στην παρούσα εργασία παρουσιάζουμε δεδομένα από μία έρευνα που κινείται επίσης στο πλαίσιο της Ανάλυσης Συνομιλίας και εστιάζει στην αξιοποίηση της εναλλαγής κωδίκων ως μηχανισμού *συνομιλιακής διόρθωσης*. Τα δεδομένα μας προέρχονται από αυθεντικό λόγο δίγλωσσων νηπίων αλβανικής καταγωγής, ο οποίος μελετήθηκε στο πλαίσιο εκπόνησης διδακτορικής διατριβής στο Πανεπιστήμιο Κρήτης (Σιταρένιου 2011, Χατζηδάκη και Σιταρένιου 2009). Στόχος μας είναι να παρουσιάσουμε το πώς εμφανίζεται το φαινόμενο της διόρθωσης στις διγλωσσικές συνομιλίες των υποκειμένων.

2. Θεωρητικό πλαίσιο

2.1 Η συνομιλιακή διόρθωση στη διγλωσσική συνομιλία: ο ρόλος της εναλλαγής κωδίκων

Η συνομιλία συνιστά ένα σύστημα αλληλεπίδρασης το οποίο επικυρώνεται αμοιβαία και ρυθμίζεται από ένα ορισμένο τυπικό (Γεωργακοπούλου και Γούτσος 1999, 232) με αρχές και αξιώματα, όπως η αλλαγή της σειράς, τα ζεύγη γειτνίασης και η οργάνωση της προτίμησης (Levinson 1983). Η

οργάνωση της προτίμησης αποτελεί βασικό άξονα ανάλυσης στην Ανάλυση Συνομιλίας. Εφαρμόζεται συνήθως στις δευτερές σειρές τις υποκειμένες στην πρώτη σειρά της εναλλαγής (Levinson 1983, 339), αλλά και στη δομή και διάρθρωση των πρώτων σειρών, στην εν συνεχεία οργάνωση των επόμενων και, γενικά, ανάμεσα στις ακολουθίες που εμφανίζονται στη συνομιλία (ό.π., 345). Πεδίο της οργάνωσης της προτίμησης και κεντρικό συνομιλιακό μηχανισμό αποτελεί η *συνομιλιακή διόρθωση* (βλ. Schegloff, Jefferson and Sacks 1977). Η οργάνωσή της περιλαμβάνει τη λειτουργία επανορθωτικών μηχανισμών, όπως είναι η αυτοδιόρθωση και η ετεροδιόρθωση, που υλοποιούνται, λόγω χάρη, μέσω της επαναδιατύπωσης (Γεωργακοπούλου και Γούτσος 1999, 232).

Σύμφωνα με τον Levinson (1983, 340), η συστηματοποίηση των περιπτώσεων διόρθωσης στη συνομιλία (Schegloff, Jefferson and Sacks 1977, 364-378) έχει αναδείξει δύο σημαντικές διαστάσεις: η πρώτη αφορά το εάν η διόρθωση γίνεται μετά από διαμεσολάβηση ή πρωτοβουλία άλλου συνομιλητή ή όχι και η δεύτερη το εάν η διόρθωση γίνεται από τον ίδιο τον ομιλητή ή από κάποιον συνομιλητή του. Από το συνδυασμό των παραπάνω διαστάσεων προκύπτουν οι ακόλουθες τρεις περιπτώσεις (από την συχνότερα εμφανιζόμενη προς την σπανιότερη, σύμφωνα με τον Levinson (1983, 341):

- (α) η αυτοδιόρθωση με πρωτοβουλία του ίδιου του ομιλητή (self-initiated self-repair)
- (β) η αυτοδιόρθωση με πρωτοβουλία άλλου (other-initiated self-repair) και
- (γ) η ετεροδιόρθωση με πρωτοβουλία άλλου (other-initiated other-repair).

Οι ερευνητές που μελετούν την εναλλαγή κωδικών στο πλαίσιο της Ανάλυσης Συνομιλίας περιγράφουν τρόπους ανάλυσης της διόρθωσης (α) ανάλογα με τους τρόπους οργάνωσης της συνομιλίας και τις συνεισφορές των ομιλητών κατά την εναλλαγή της σειράς, (β) ανάλογα με το ρόλο της εναλλαγής κωδικών ως *πλαίσιο συγκεκριμενοποίησης* της διόρθωσης, και (γ) σε συνδυασμό των δύο παραπάνω προσεγγίσεων.

Για παράδειγμα, σύμφωνα με τον Auer (1984, 1995, 1998) η εναλλαγή κωδικών ως διόρθωση του κώδικα αναδεικνύει γενικά την *προσαρμογή του συνομιλητή* στη γλώσσα επικοινωνίας, ενώ για την Alfonzetti (1998) οι περιπτώσεις διόρθωσης του κώδικα αφορούν τη *αποκατάσταση ενός 'προβληματικού σημείου'* μέσω της παροχής διευκρινίσεων, της επαναδιατύπωσης κ.λπ. Αντίστοιχα, ο Li Wei και η Lesley Milroy (Li Wei 1994, 1998, 2002, Li Wei and Milroy 1995) υιοθετούν ένα πιο 'ανοιχτό' πλαίσιο στη μελέτη της εναλλαγής κωδικών σε σχέση με τη διόρθωση. Συγκεκριμένα, δίνουν έμφαση στον τρόπο με τον οποίο η εναλλαγή κωδικών επιτυγχάνει τη συγκεκριμενοποίηση (contextualization) της διόρθωσης: η εναλλαγή του κώδικα ενδέχεται αφενός να αναφέρεται στη διόρθωση αυτή καθαυτή (με την αντικατάσταση στην άλλη γλώσσα του γλωσσικού στοιχείου που πρέπει να διορθωθεί) και αφετέρου να διαμορφώνει το πλαίσιο που 'πυροδοτεί' τη διόρθωση σε άλλη σειρά. Παράλληλα, παίζει ρόλο και το ποιος είναι εκείνος που *κάνει τη διόρθωση* αλλά και το ποιος είναι εκείνος που την *προκαλεί*. Με βάση τη διασταύρωση των δύο αυτών οπτικών γωνιών κατά την ανάλυση της συνομιλίας, προκύπτουν τρία βασικά σχήματα που περιγράφουν το πώς η εναλλαγή κωδικών συγκεκριμενοποιεί την διόρθωση (Li Wei and Milroy 1995, 291-3):

Η εναλλαγή κωδικών μπορεί (α) να αφορά το *γλωσσικό στοιχείο που προκαλεί τη διόρθωση* (οπότε η διόρθωση υλοποιείται στην γλώσσα της συνομιλίας) ή (β) να αφορά το *ίδιο το προς διόρθωση γλωσσικό σημείο*, το οποίο και αντικαθίσταται με ένα άλλο σε άλλη γλώσσα. Και στα δύο σχήματα, υπάρχουν επιμέρους υπο-περιπτώσεις ανάλογα με το ποιος κάνει ή προκαλεί τη διόρθωση: Μπορεί λ.χ. ο ομιλητής να αναδιατυπώσει το εκφώνημά του ή να παράσχει κάποια διευκρίνιση ανταποκρινόμενος σε σχετικό αίτημα του συνομιλητή του (που έχει γίνει σε άλλη γλώσσα). Επίσης, μπορεί ο ίδιος ο ομιλητής να αντικαταστήσει το σημείο που χρειάζεται διόρθωση χωρίς την παρέμβαση άλλων (λ.χ. όταν, ενώ μιλά τη γλώσσα X, αντιλαμβάνεται ότι ένας όρος που χρησιμοποιεί δεν αποδίδει ακριβώς το νόημα που θέλει και στρέφεται στη γλώσσα Ψ για το συγκεκριμένο γλωσσικό σημείο). Ακόμη, ενδέχεται ο ομιλητής να χρησιμοποιήσει προσωρινά μια άλλη γλώσσα, προκειμένου να στρέψει την προσοχή του συνομιλητή του σε ένα προβληματικό σημείο (λ.χ. δεν ξέρει πώς να εκφράσει ένα νόημα στη γλώσσα της συνομιλίας), οπότε ο συνομιλητής παρέχει την κατάλληλη φράση στη γλώσσα X αποκαθιστώντας το πρόβλημα.

Υπάρχει κι ένα τρίτο σχήμα, σύμφωνα με το οποίο ο ομιλητής χρησιμοποιεί μία γλώσσα X και εντάσσει μέσα στο λόγο του μία τυποποιημένη φράση μιας άλλης γλώσσας (λ.χ. προκειμένου για τα αγγλικά, τις εκφράσεις "you know" right", "see"), με στόχο να προσελκύσει την προσοχή του συνομιλητή σε κάποιο σημείο του λόγου του.

Το παραπάνω πλαίσιο ανάλυσης φαίνεται ιδιαίτερα ελκυστικό, καθώς επιτρέπει να προσεγγίσουμε ερμηνευτικά το ρόλο της εναλλαγής κωδικών ως μηχανισμού συνομιλιακής διόρθωσης από περισσότερες από μία οπτικές γωνίες. Ωστόσο, το γεγονός ότι τα δεδομένα προέρχονται από συνομιλία μεταξύ ενηλίκων μάς αναγκάζει να έχουμε καταρχήν επιφυλάξεις ως

προς τη δυνατότητα εφαρμογής του ίδιου ακριβώς πλαισίου και στην περίπτωση νηπίων. Στην επόμενη ενότητα θα συζητήσουμε το ζήτημα της εναλλαγής κωδίκων σε σχέση με τη συνομιλιακή διόρθωση σε ομιλητές νεαρής ηλικίας και θα προτείνουμε ένα πλαίσιο ανάλυσης που προσφέρεται ιδιαίτερα για την περίπτωση μας.

2.2. Η αξιοποίηση της εναλλαγής κωδίκων από τα δίγλωσσα παιδιά: ο μηχανισμός της διόρθωσης

Η εναλλαγή κωδίκων αποτελεί ένα σημαντικό χαρακτηριστικό γνώρισμα της γλωσσικής συμπεριφοράς των δίγλωσσων παιδιών και από πραγματολογική άποψη. Πλήθος ερευνών έχει καταδείξει ότι οι μικροί ομιλητές, ακόμη και όταν έχουν σημαντική διαφορά γλωσσικής επάρκειας ανάμεσα στους δύο κώδικες, κάνουν χρήση των δύο γλωσσών και εναλλαγή κωδίκων με στόχους που εμπίπτουν στην οργάνωση της συνομιλίας: τον καθορισμό/αποκλεισμό των συνομιλητών, την αλλαγή του θέματος ή του 'σκηνικού' της περιστασης επικοινωνίας, την έκφραση συναισθημάτων, κ.α. (Bauer Bouchereau et al. 2002, Bolonyai 2005, Moffatt and Milroy 1992, Paugh 2005, Shin 2005, Thompson 2000).

Όσον αφορά το φαινόμενο της συνομιλιακής διόρθωσης, οι έρευνες δείχνουν ότι η δεξιότητα αυτή αναπτύσσεται σχετικά νωρίς στα μονόγλωσσα παιδιά (Κατή 2001, Pan and Snow 1999). Ακόμη και τα πολύ μικρά παιδιά είναι ικανά να ανταποκριθούν στα ποικίλα αιτήματα του συνομιλητή για διόρθωση, επεξήγηση ή επιβεβαίωση, και να προσαρμόσουν το λόγο τους ανάλογα.

Αντίστοιχα αποτελέσματα έχουν προκύψει από έρευνες σε δίγλωσσα παιδιά. Στις έρευνες του Peter Auer (1984) στη δίγλωσσική συμπεριφορά παιδιών Ιταλών μεταναστών στη Γερμανία παρατηρήθηκε αρκετά συχνά η διόρθωση μέσα από την εναλλαγή του κώδικα και την επανάληψη, ιδιαίτερα ανάμεσα στα μικρότερα παιδιά. Πιο πρόσφατες έρευνες σε δίγλωσσα παιδιά δείχνουν ότι η εναλλαγή του κώδικα ως μηχανισμός διόρθωσης μπορεί να ανταποκρίνεται στο αίτημα για επεξήγηση ή για επαναδιατύπωση (Comeau et al. 2007, Lanza 1992) ή ότι χρησιμεύει για να δώσει το σήμα για επικείμενη διόρθωση (Montanari 2005). Τέλος, και στην έρευνα της Reyes (2004) αναφέρονται περιπτώσεις όπου το παιδί προχωρεί σε αυτοδιόρθωση με την εναλλαγή του κώδικα και σε αποσαφήνιση μετά από πρωτοβουλία του συνομιλητή.

Από τα παραπάνω προκύπτει ότι και τα παιδιά προσχολικής και πρωτοσχολικής ηλικίας είναι σε θέση να αξιοποιήσουν ποικιλοτρόπως την εναλλαγή κωδίκων ως μηχανισμό συνομιλιακής διόρθωσης. Ιδιαίτερο ενδιαφέρον παρουσιάζει η έρευνα των Sarah Shin και Lesley Milroy, η οποία, σε αντίθεση με τις περισσότερες από τις παραπάνω έρευνες, κινείται στο πλαίσιο της Ανάλυσης Συνομιλίας (Shin and Milroy 2000).

Τα υποκείμενα της έρευνάς τους ήταν παιδιά εξήμιση έως επτάμισι ετών, δίγλωσσα στα κορεατικά και στα αγγλικά. Μολονότι σε κάποιο βαθμό οι ερευνήτριες υιοθετούν την προσέγγιση των Li Wei & Milroy (1995) σχετικά με την συγκεκριμενοποίηση της διόρθωσης, η ανάλυσή τους δεν ταυτίζεται απόλυτα με εκείνη. Άλλωστε, τα σχήματα εναλλαγής κωδίκων ως μηχανισμού διόρθωσης στα δικά τους δεδομένα είναι πιο περιορισμένα σε σχέση με αυτά που εμφανίζονται στα δεδομένα που αφορούν ενήλικες ομιλητές, πιθανότατα λόγω της διαφοράς ηλικίας και 'ωρίμανσης' των επικοινωνιακών δεξιοτήτων.

Για τις Shin and Milroy (2000), η εναλλαγή στοχεύει είτε στη διόρθωση και προσαρμογή του ομιλητή στον κώδικα της συνομιλίας είτε στην επίλυση προβληματικών σημείων στην επικοινωνία με την αποσαφήνιση του σημείου. Αναλυτικότερα: η εναλλαγή -και η συνεπαγόμενη διόρθωση από τον ίδιο τον ομιλητή με τη μορφή της επανάληψης- άλλοτε αφορά την αλλαγή του κώδικα με σκοπό την επιστροφή στη γλώσσα της συνομιλίας (ό.π., 364) και άλλοτε γίνεται όταν ο ομιλητής παίρνει την πρωτοβουλία της εναλλαγής για να προλάβει ενδεχόμενη αρνητική αντίδραση εκ μέρους του συνομιλητή του (ό.π., 378). Πρόκειται και στις δύο περιπτώσεις για *αυτοδιόρθωση με πρωτοβουλία του ίδιου του ομιλητή*. Υπάρχει δε και μία τρίτη περίπτωση (*αυτοδιόρθωση με πρωτοβουλία του συνομιλητή*), στην οποία τα παιδιά διορθώνουν τον κώδικα που τα ίδια χρησιμοποιούσαν σε προηγούμενη σειρά και αποκαθιστούν μέσω της εναλλαγής το προβληματικό σημείο ανταποκρινόμενα στο αίτημα του συνομιλητή τους για επιβεβαίωση, επαναδιατύπωση ή επεξήγηση (ό.π., 376-378).

Το συγκεκριμένο πλαίσιο θα αποτελέσει και το πλαίσιο ανάλυσης των δεδομένων μας, καθώς κρίνεται καταλληλότερο για το είδος της συνομιλίας που συναντούμε σε αυτά (συνομιλία μεταξύ νηπίων, σε συγκεκριμένες επικοινωνιακές περιστάσεις), όπως θα φανεί παρακάτω.

3. Η έρευνα

Η έρευνα αποτελούσε *μελέτη περίπτωσης* (case study) (Βάμβουκας 1998: 84,225), το ερευνητικό σκέλος της οποίας πραγματοποιήθηκε από τον Νοέμβριο του 2005 έως και τον Δεκέμβριο του 2006. Το δείγμα μας αποτέλεσαν οκτώ παιδιά με γονείς Αλβανούς μετανάστες, τα οποία φοιτούσαν σε νηπιαγωγείο κοινότητας του νότου του Ν. Ρεθύμνου. Οι οικογένειές τους κατοικούσαν και εργάζονταν στη γύρω περιοχή, όπως και ένας αρκετά μεγάλος αριθμός Αλβανών οικονομικών μεταναστών.

Το συγκεκριμένο νηπιαγωγείο επιλέχτηκε διότι: (α) φοιτούσαν σε αυτό αρκετοί μαθητές αλβανικής καταγωγής, πράγμα που το καθιστούσε κατάλληλο για την έρευνα, (β) σύμφωνα με την νηπιαγωγό, τα παιδιά χρησιμοποιούσαν αβίαστα την εθνοτική γλώσσα στη μεταξύ τους επικοινωνία (κάτι που δεν συμβαίνει πάντα), και (γ) η νηπιαγωγός ήταν πρόθυμη να συμβάλει στην διεξαγωγή της έρευνας.

Η συλλογή των δεδομένων της έρευνας πραγματοποιήθηκε με τον συνδυασμό τριών προσεγγίσεων. Βασική προσέγγιση ήταν η μαγνητοφώνηση¹ αυθεντικού λόγου των παιδιών του δείγματος ενόσω εμπλέκονταν σε ποικίλες δραστηριότητες. Το σύνολο των ωρών μαγνητοφωνημένου λόγου φτάνει τις 34 ώρες. Η μαγνητοφώνηση πραγματοποιήθηκε ταυτόχρονα με συμμετοχική παρατήρηση της ερευνήτριας στο χώρο του νηπιαγωγείου. Επιπλέον, η ερευνήτρια συνέλεξε πληροφορίες για τη γλωσσική ικανότητα παιδιών και γονέων, τις γλωσσικές πρακτικές της οικογένειας, καθώς και άλλα στοιχεία αναφορικά με την οικογένεια μέσα από ημιδομημένες συνεντεύξεις² με τους γονείς των παιδιών.

Τα υποκείμενα της έρευνας ήταν οκτώ παιδιά που φοιτούσαν στα δύο τμήματα του τοπικού νηπιαγωγείου (στο ένα τμήμα φοιτούσαν ένα κορίτσι και τρία αγόρια, ενώ στο δεύτερο ένα αγόρι και τρία κορίτσια). Η ηλικία τους κυμαινόταν από 4:3 έως 6:1 κατά την έναρξη της έρευνας. Επίσης, υπήρχαν σημαντικές διαφορές ανάμεσά τους αναφορικά με το πότε είχαν έρθει για πρώτη φορά σε επαφή με την ελληνική γλώσσα. Κανένα παιδί δεν είχε γεννηθεί στην Ελλάδα, αλλά ένα κορίτσι, η Ερμελίντα³, είχε έρθει στην Ελλάδα σε ηλικία ενός έτους, ενώ άλλα δύο παιδιά, ο Μάρκο και ο Μίρι, είχαν έρθει σε ηλικία δύο ετών. Τέσσερα από τα παιδιά είχαν έρθει στην Ελλάδα γύρω στα τέσσερα, ενώ υπήρχε και ένας μαθητής, ο Φερμόν, ο οποίος είχε μόλις έξι μήνες στην Κρήτη και ήταν και ο μεγαλύτερος σε ηλικία.

Πέρα από τη διαφοροποίηση ως προς το χρόνο έκθεσης στη δεύτερη γλώσσα και την ηλικία πρώτης επαφής με αυτήν, τα παιδιά διαφοροποιούνται κάπως και ως προς την ανάπτυξη των γλωσσικών δεξιοτήτων τους στις δύο γλώσσες. Οι γονείς τους κλήθηκαν να αξιολογήσουν τις γλωσσικές τους δεξιότητες ως προς τις δύο γλώσσες με κριτήριο την ικανότητά τους να πραγματοποιούν τρεις δραστηριότητες: *‘μιλάει’*, *‘καταλαβαίνει μια συζήτηση’*, *‘καταλαβαίνει εκπομπές στην τηλεόραση’*. Με εξαίρεση την Ερμελίντα, που σύμφωνα με τους γονείς της, έχει μια πολύ καλή γνώση και των δύο γλωσσών, στις υπόλοιπες περιπτώσεις, υπερισχύει η ικανότητα στην Αλβανική, ενώ οι παραπάνω δεξιότητες φαίνεται να είναι ‘λίγο’ έως ‘αρκετά καλά’ ανεπτυγμένες στην Ελληνική.

Αναφορικά με τη χρήση των δύο γλωσσών, φαίνεται ότι στο επικοινωνιακό ρεπερτόριο των παιδιών η Αλβανική διατηρεί μια σταθερά κυρίαρχη θέση με επιμέρους διαφοροποιήσεις ανάλογα με τον συνομιλητή: τα περισσότερα παιδιά φαίνεται να μιλούν μόνο αλβανικά με τους γονείς τους, ενώ χρησιμοποιούν σε μικρότερο ή μεγαλύτερο βαθμό και τα ελληνικά με τα αδέρφια τους και άλλους συνομηλίκους από την Αλβανία.

Από τη συνολική έρευνα προέκυψε ότι τα συγκεκριμένα παιδιά, ιδιαίτερα όσα φοιτούν στο πρώτο τμήμα του νηπιαγωγείου, κάνουν αρκετά συχνά εναλλαγή κωδικών στη μεταξύ τους επικοινωνία για λόγους που σχετίζονται και με την οργάνωση της συνομιλίας (Σιταρένιου 2011, Χατζηδάκη και Σιταρένιου, 2009). Στην παρούσα εργασία εστιάζουμε στο πώς αναδεικνύεται η χρήση της εναλλαγής κωδικών ως μηχανισμού διόρθωσης στα δεδομένα μας, ως ενδεικτική της γλωσσικής συμπεριφοράς νηπίων με παρόμοιο προφίλ διγλωσσίας.

¹ Χρησιμοποιήθηκαν ατομικά μικρόφωνα μικρού μεγέθους τα οποία κατέγραφαν σε ατομικές κασέτες ειδικού τύπου τις συνομιλίες των παιδιών.

² Ο οδηγός συνέντευξης βασίστηκε σε ερωτηματολόγιο που χρησιμοποιήθηκε σε προηγούμενη εργασία μας (Χατζηδάκη 2005, 2007α,β).

³ Σε όλη την έρευνα και τις σχετικές δημοσιεύσεις τα παιδιά αναφέρονται με ψευδώνυμα.

4. Η εναλλαγή κωδίκων ως μηχανισμός διόρθωσης στα δεδομένα μας

Μία πρώτη παρατήρηση σχετικά με τα σχήματα συγκειμενοποίησης της συνομιλιακής διόρθωσης στα δεδομένα μας είναι ότι εμφανίζονται μόνο περιπτώσεις *αυτοδιόρθωσης*: ο ίδιος ο ομιλητής προχωρά στη διόρθωση, είτε με δική του πρωτοβουλία είτε μετά από πρωτοβουλία άλλου. Το στοιχείο αυτό εμφανίζεται και σε άλλες έρευνες με παιδιά (Comeau et al. 2007, Lanza 1992, Montanari 2005), κάτι που μας κάνει να συμπεραίνουμε ότι ο συγκεκριμένος τρόπος εμπλοκής των συνομιλητών στο μηχανισμό της διόρθωσης απαιτεί είτε δεξιότητες που κατακτώνται σε μεγαλύτερη ηλικία είτε άλλες επικοινωνιακές συνθήκες (ή, πιθανόν, και τα δύο). Άλλωστε, η ετεροδιόρθωση αποτελεί ούτως ή άλλως τη σπανιότερα εμφανιζόμενη μορφή συνομιλιακής διόρθωσης, τόσο στη μονογλωσσική (Levinson 1983) όσο και στη διγλωσσική συνομιλία (Auer 1984, 1998).

Το σχήμα που αφορά τη διόρθωση στη συνομιλία μέσω της εναλλαγής κωδίκων *χωρίς τη διαμεσολάβηση του συνομιλητή* αποτελεί συχνή πρακτική στη γλωσσική συμπεριφορά των υποκειμένων μας. Αποτελεί, άλλωστε, μία συνηθισμένη πρακτική στη διγλωσσική συνομιλία (Alfonzetti 1998, Auer 1984, Li Wei 1994, Li Wei and Milroy 1995, Shin and Milroy 2000).

Το πρώτο παράδειγμα (*Απόσπασμα 1*) παρουσιάζει μία περίπτωση κατά την οποία ο ομιλητής προβαίνει σε αυτοδιόρθωση με δική του πρωτοβουλία. Τα δύο παιδιά που συμμετέχουν στο συγκεκριμένο συνομιλιακό επεισόδιο είναι η Ερμελίντα και ο Φερμόν, η πλέον 'ισορροπημένα' διγλωσση ομιλήτρια και ο λιγότερο καλός κάτοχος της Ελληνικής αντίστοιχα. Κάποια από τα υποκείμενα συζητούν για τα κασετόφωνάκια που τους έχει δώσει η ερευνήτρια, ενώ δίπλα τους είναι οι Έλληνες συμμαθητές τους.

Απόσπασμα 1

- 01 Ερμ: Ο Μάρκο μπλε και-
 02 Φερ: *Marko ka* (.) ο Μάρκο έχει ίδιο με μένα.
 ('Ο Μάρκο έχει')
 03 Ερμ: Άου! ((ο Φερμόν την τραβάει))
 04 Φερ: Ίδιο για τα κορίτσια. Δύο κορίτσια εδώ.

Στη σειρά 01 η Ερμελίντα αναφέρεται στο χρώμα του κασετόφωνου που φορά ένα άλλο παιδί, ο Μάρκο, μιλώντας ελληνικά. Ο Φερμόν τη διακόπτει (σειρά 02) παίρνοντας το λόγο για να αναφερθεί στο ίδιο παιδί, ξεκινώντας όμως το εκφώνημά του στα αλβανικά. Μόλις το συνειδητοποιεί, σπεύδει να 'διορθώσει' την επιλογή γλώσσας μετά από μία μικροπαύση, ξεκινώντας και πάλι τη φράση του, αυτή τη φορά στα ελληνικά. Στη συνέχεια (σειρές 03-04) τα παιδιά συνεχίζουν να συνομιλούν στην ελληνική γλώσσα.

Το επεισόδιο αυτό είναι χαρακτηριστικό της γλωσσικής συμπεριφοράς του Φερμόν, ο οποίος, όπως προαναφέρθηκε, είχε μόνον έξι μήνες παραμονής στην Ελλάδα κατά την έναρξη της έρευνας. Καθώς βρίσκεται στα πρώτα στάδια της εκμάθησης της Ελληνικής, τείνει συχνά να χρησιμοποιεί αλβανικά, ακόμη και όταν είναι παρόντες Έλληνες συνομιλητικοί του. Ωστόσο, συνήθως σπεύδει να αλλάξει τον κώδικα συντασσόμενος με τον άρρητο κανόνα που 'απαιτεί' την Ελληνική σε αυτές τις συνθήκες.⁴

Η δεύτερη περίπτωση που εμπίπτει στο σχήμα της αυτοδιόρθωσης με πρωτοβουλία του ίδιου του ομιλητή δεν αφορά την επαναφορά στη γλώσσα της συνομιλίας αλλά την ευθυγράμμιση της γλωσσικής επιλογής του ομιλητή με αυτής του συνομιλητή. Στο απόσπασμα που ακολουθεί (*Απόσπασμα 2*) τρία από τα υποκείμενα (ο Φερμόν, η Ερμελίντα και ο Μάρκο) παίζουν μαζί με δύο Έλληνες συμμαθητές τους, τη Μαίρη και το Δημήτρη. Τα παιδιά προσποιούνται ότι έχουν πάει επίσκεψη σε ένα φιλικό σπίτι. Η Μαίρη, παίζοντας το ρόλο της οικοδέσποινας, απευθύνεται σε όλους και τους ρωτάει τι φαγητό προτιμούν στο τραπέζι (σειρά 01). Ο Φερμόν αυθόρμητα απαντά στα αλβανικά (σειρά 02), γεγονός που προκαλεί μία παύση δύο δευτερολέπτων από τη Μαίρη (σειρά 03), ως αποτέλεσμα αδυναμίας κατανόησης, έκπληξης, κ.λπ. Ο Φερμόν μάλλον ερμηνεύει την παύση αυτή ως ένδειξη προβληματικού σημείου, ως ένα μήνυμα πως πρέπει να συμμορφωθεί με τη γλώσσα της συνομιλήτριάς του, προκειμένου να συνεχιστεί ο διάλογος. Το αποτέλεσμα είναι ότι αλλάζει γλωσσικό κώδικα στην επόμενη σειρά (04, '*Αβγό*'), αποκαθιστώντας το πρόβλημα που είχε

⁴ Για την ερμηνεία του παραπάνω επεισοδίου υιοθετούμε την ανάλυση των Auer (1984) και Shin and Milroy (2000), σύμφωνα με την οποία η εναλλαγή σηματοδοτεί την προσαρμογή στον κώδικα της επικοινωνίας. Αντίθετα, για τους Alfonzetti (1998) και Li Wei and Milroy (1995), η αλλαγή κώδικα στην ίδια σειρά, μετά από μικροπαύση, στοχεύει στην επαναδιατύπωση ή στη συμπλήρωση του περιεχομένου.

προκύψει. Η συνομιλία συνεχίζεται ομαλά (σειρές 05-07).

Απόσπασμα 2

- 01 Μαί: Μα, τι θα πάρετε;
02 Φερ: *Vejë*. ('Αβγό')
03 Μαί: (2.0)
04 Φερ: Αβγό.
05 Ερμ: Εγώ θα φάω [ένα ντομάτα.
06 Μαρ: [Εγώ θα φάω ένα καρότι.
07 Δημ: Εγώ θα φάω μπιφτέκια.

Στο συγκεκριμένο παράδειγμα, η παύση του συνομιλητή αποτελεί έναν «*next turn repair initiator*» (NTRI, Levinson 1983, 339), καθώς πυροδοτεί τη διόρθωση μέσω της εναλλαγής του γλωσσικού κώδικα. Παρόμοιες περιπτώσεις, στις οποίες η παύση στην επόμενη σειρά θέτει το πλαίσιο συγκειμενοποίησης της διόρθωσης και ο ομιλητής επαναλαμβάνει το προβληματικό εκφώνημα ή σημείο (trouble spot) στην επόμενη σειρά, εμφανίζονται και σε άλλες έρευνες (λ.χ. Auer 1998, 4-5, Shin and Milroy 2000, 378).

Ο Φερμόν, λοιπόν, αυτοδιορθώνεται ευθυγραμμιζόμενος με τη γλώσσα της συνομιλήτριάς του (που, στη συγκεκριμένη περίπτωση, τυχαίνει να είναι και η γλώσσα της συνομιλίας). Πρέπει, βέβαια, να επισημανθεί ότι σε τέτοιες περιπτώσεις συνομιλιακής διόρθωσης η εναλλαγή κώδικα έχει σχεδόν καθολικά μία μονόδρομη κατεύθυνση, αυτή από την πρώτη γλώσσα *προς τη δεύτερη, προς τη γλώσσα του περιβάλλοντος και της πλειονότητας* (Auer 1998,5). Επιβεβαιώνεται έτσι και με αυτόν τον τρόπο ότι τα δίγλωσσα παιδιά συνειδητοποιούν από μικρή ηλικία τις κοινωνιολinguιστικές και πραγματολογικές νόρμες της επικοινωνίας (Baker 2001).

Τέλος, στα δεδομένα μας εμφανίζεται και μία τρίτη περίπτωση αυτοδιόρθωσης, η οποία προκύπτει αυτή τη φορά *μετά από πρωτοβουλία κάποιου συνομιλητή*. Συγκεκριμένα, η εναλλαγή του κώδικα αυτή τη φορά προκύπτει ως ανταπόκριση του ομιλητή στο αίτημα του συνομιλητή για κάποιου είδους επιβεβαίωση ή και επεξήγηση (βλ. Li Wei and Milroy 1995, 287, Shin and Milroy 2000, 376-7).

Στο απόσπασμα που ακολουθεί συμμετέχουν ο Μάρκο και η ερευνήτρια, η οποία, ας σημειωθεί, γνωρίζει κάποια αλβανικά και προσπάθησε αρκετές φορές να συνομιλήσει με τα παιδιά στη γλώσσα αυτή. Κατά συνέπεια, τα παιδιά γνωρίζουν ότι καταλαβαίνει αλβανικά, σε κάποιο βαθμό τουλάχιστον.

Απόσπασμα 3

- 01 Μαρ: Iu! Τι έκανες!
02 Ερευν: Τι έκανε;
03 Μαρ: Έκανε (.) πολύ ωραίο το έκανε.
(η ερευνήτρια πλησιάζει και παρατηρεί το σχέδιο της πλαστελίνης)
04 Μαρ: Είναι μπέμπα. Δεν έχει τίποτα.
(2.0)
05 Μαρ: *Flut(u)ra*. ('Πεταλούδα')
06 Ερευν: *Flutura*; Αλήθεια τώρα;
07 Μαρ: Όχι (.) πεταλουδί(τσα).

Στην αρχή του αποσπάσματος, ο Μάρκο βλέπει ένα σχέδιο από πλαστελίνη που έφτιαξε ένας συμμαθητής του και εκφράζει το θαυμασμό του με ένα επιφώνημα. Η ερευνήτρια βρίσκει την ευκαιρία να εγκαινιάσει ένα διάλογο μαζί του στα ελληνικά (σειρά 02). Ο Μάρκο συναινεί (σειρά 03) και μάλιστα συμπληρώνει (σειρά 04) πως η πεταλούδα την οποία απεικονίζει το σχέδιο είναι πολύ μικρή ('μπέμπα') σχολιάζοντας το ασυνήθιστο σχήμα της κατασκευής.

Στο σημείο αυτό γίνεται μία παύση δύο δευτερολέπτων, η οποία αποδίδεται στον ίδιο τον ομιλητή. Για κάποιο λόγο ο Μάρκο στη συνέχεια (05) επιλέγει να αναφερθεί στο αντικείμενο χρησιμοποιώντας την αλβανική γλώσσα. Η συνομιλήτρια ανταποκρίνεται (σειρά 06) κάνοντας εναλλαγή κωδικών στην ίδια αλλαγή σειράς ('*Flutura*; Αλήθεια τώρα;'). Η συνομιλήτρια κάνοντας εναλλαγή κώδικα, τον καλεί να επιβεβαιώσει ή να ανασκεύασει το περιεχόμενο του προηγούμενου εκφώνηματος ("είσαι σίγουρος ότι πρόκειται για πεταλούδα;"), πράγμα στο οποίο ο Μάρκο ανταποκρίνεται απαντώντας στα ελληνικά (σειρά 07). Η εναλλαγή κώδικα εδώ λειτουργεί ως μηχανισμός που οδηγεί τον Μάρκο να προβεί σε διόρθωση του προβληματικού σημείου ("δεν είναι πεταλούδα, είναι πεταλουδίτσα"), εφόσον έχει στρέψει την προσοχή του ομιλητή σε ένα σημείο που χρειάζεται διευκρίνιση, επιβεβαίωση, κλπ. Πρόκειται, όπως προαναφέρθηκε, για τυπικό παράδειγμα

αυτοδιόρθωσης με πρωτοβουλία άλλου, που αποτελεί και τον τρίτο τρόπο ‘αξιοποίησης’ της εναλλαγής κωδίκων ως μηχανισμού διόρθωσης, που εντοπίστηκε σε έρευνα με παιδιά αντίστοιχης ηλικίας (Shin and Milroy 2000).

5. Επιλογικά

Στο παρόν άρθρο προσπαθήσαμε να δώσουμε μία εικόνα του πώς μαθητές προσχολικής ηλικίας, δίγλωσσοι στα αλβανικά και στα ελληνικά, χρησιμοποιούν την εναλλαγή κωδίκων ως μηχανισμό συγκεκριμενοποίησης της διόρθωσης κατά τη συνομιλία με μονόγλωσσους και δίγλωσσους συνομιλητές. Ως ερμηνευτικό πλαίσιο υιοθετήθηκε η Ανάλυση Συνομιλίας και ιδιαίτερα κάποιες προσεγγίσεις που αφορούν τη συνομιλία νεαρών δίγλωσσων ομιλητών (Auer 1984, 1998, Shin and Milroy 2000). Τα ευρήματά μας συμφωνούν με τη βιβλιογραφία, πρώτον, ως προς το ότι τα παιδιά προσχολικής ηλικίας είναι σε θέση να αξιοποιούν την εναλλαγή κωδίκων ως μηχανισμό διόρθωσης, είτε κάνοντας εναλλαγή για να αποκαταστήσουν κάποιο προβληματικό σημείο είτε ανταποκρινόμενα στο αίτημα του συνομιλητή για επιβεβαίωση, επαναδιατύπωση, κ.λπ. (Auer 1998, Comeau et al. 2007, Lanza 1992, Shin and Milroy 2000, κ.α.). Δεύτερον, στο δείγμα μας δεν εμφανίζονται περιπτώσεις ετεροδιόρθωσης, κάτι που επίσης παρατηρείται σε συναφείς έρευνες με παιδιά μικρής ηλικίας (λ.χ. Comeau et al. 2007, Lanza 1992, Montanari 2005). Σε κάθε περίπτωση, θεωρούμε ότι από την παρούσα έρευνα αναδεικνύεται για άλλη μια φορά το πώς η διγλωσσία των παιδιών, ακόμη και όταν είναι ανισοβαρώς ανεπτυγμένη, τους παρέχει τη δυνατότητα να αξιοποιούν το πλήρες γλωσσικό τους ρεπερτόριο, προκειμένου να επικοινωνήσουν με επιτυχία.

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Ο ΤΡΟΠΟΣ ΕΚΦΟΡΑΣ ΤΗΣ ΓΡΑΠΤΟΤΗΤΑΣ ΣΤΑ ΚΕΙΜΕΝΑ ΚΥΠΡΙΩΝ ΜΑΘΗΤΩΝ/ΤΡΙΩΝ ΤΟΥ ΔΗΜΟΤΙΚΟΥ: ΠΟΙΟΤΙΚΗ ΑΝΑΛΥΣΗ

Αναστασία Γ. Στάμου

Πανεπιστήμιο Δυτικής
Μακεδονίας, Ελλάδα

astamou@uowm.gr

Ελένη Γρίβα

Πανεπιστήμιο Δυτικής
Μακεδονίας, Ελλάδα

egriva@uowm.gr

ABSTRACT

Adopting a qualitative perspective, the present study enriches a previous quantitative analysis of Greek Cypriot primary school students' writings. It was found that the school children of our sample seemed not to be quite familiar with writing conventions, not only because they did not frequently employ them, but primarily because, when they attempted to introduce them in their texts, these writing elements functioned in oral terms, resulting in the production of texts not appropriate for the school writing context. Moreover, the qualitative analysis refined our sociolinguistic hypotheses regarding the social differences governing the production of school written discourse.

Λέξεις κλειδιά: προφορικότητα, γραπτότητα, Κύπρος, γλώσσα του σχολείου, υποτακτική σύνδεση, συνδετικά, μετακειμενικοί δείκτες, κοινωνιογλωσσολογία

1. Εισαγωγή

Η ανάπτυξη των πεδίων της κοινωνιολογίας της εκπαίδευσης και της κοινωνιογλωσσολογίας από τα μέσα της δεκαετίας του 1960 και μετά οδήγησαν στην ανάδειξη της γλώσσας του σχολείου ως κεντρικού μηχανισμού αναπαραγωγής των κοινωνικών ανισοτήτων. Συγκεκριμένα, διαπιστώθηκε πως η εκπαίδευση προωθεί μια συγκεκριμένη γλωσσική ποικιλία η οποία έχει θεμελιώδεις δομικές διαφορές από τον γλωσσικό κώδικα στον οποίο εκτίθενται τα παιδιά στο σπίτι. Σύμφωνα με τον Bernstein (1990), τα παιδιά είναι εξοπλισμένα από το σπίτι τους με τον λεγόμενο «περιορισμένο» (restricted) κώδικα, ενώ το σχολείο απαιτεί τον «επεξεργασμένο» (elaborated) κώδικα. Στο ίδιο πνεύμα, ο Halliday (1999) υποστηρίζει πως τα παιδιά στο σχολείο υφίστανται αναμόρφωση της γλωσσικής τους εμπειρίας, καθώς μεταβαίνουν από «πλαισιωμένους» (contextualized) σε «αποπλαισιωμένους» (decontextualized) πόρους παραγωγής νοήματος. Από την άλλη πλευρά, στον χώρο της εκπαιδευτικής γλωσσολογίας η μετάβαση του παιδιού στο σχολείο προσεγγίζεται ως μια προσπάθεια κατάκτησης του γραπτού λόγου σε αντίθεση με τον προφορικό λόγο που ήδη διαθέτει το παιδί πριν εισέλθει στην εκπαίδευση (π.χ. Stubbs 1986).

Σε κάθε περίπτωση, παρά το γεγονός ότι η σχολική νόρμα συμβάλλει στη συγκρότηση μιας ενιαίας εκπαίδευσης και παρέχει ίσες ευκαιρίες για κοινωνική άνοδο (Κακριδή 2000), αποτελεί μια γλωσσική ποικιλία που έρχεται σε σύγκρουση με το κοινωνιογλωσσικό σύστημα αξιών πολλών μαθητών/τριών οι οποίοι/ές κοινωνικοποιούνται πρωτογενώς σε ανταγωνιστικές προς το σχολείο μορφές κοινωνικής σημασιοδότησης. Με άλλα λόγια, καθώς η (γραπτή) γλώσσα του σχολείου βασίζεται στην κοινωνιόλεκτο των μεσαίων και ανώτερων κοινωνικών στρωμάτων (Trudgill 1975), τα παιδιά των κατώτερων κοινωνικών στρωμάτων έχουν μειωμένες δυνατότητες πρόσβασης στον λόγο της σχολικής γνώσης. Αν και σύγχρονες τάσεις της γλωσσικής διδασκαλίας (π.χ. επικοινωνιακή και κειμενοκεντρική προσέγγιση) δίνουν σημαντική θέση στον προφορικό λόγο, το παραδοσιακό σχολείο —στο πλαίσιο του οποίου τοποθετείται και η παρούσα έρευνα— εξακολουθεί να προωθεί τη γραπτή σχολική γλώσσα. Υπό αυτό το πρίσμα, όπως εύστοχα παρατηρεί και ο Αρχάκης (2008), για να αρθούν οι κοινωνικές διαφορές στο σχολείο, ο γραπτός λόγος είναι αυτός που πρέπει κυρίως να καλλιεργηθεί.

Πράγματι, εμπειρικές έρευνες σε έλληνες/ίδες μαθητές/τριες, τόσο της πρωτοβάθμιας (Archakis & Papazachariou 2000, Κωστούλη 1998), όσο και της δευτεροβάθμιας εκπαίδευσης (Παΐζη & Καβουκόπουλος 2001, Παΐζη & Κονδύλη 2011) κατέδειξαν ότι οι κοινωνικές διαφορές των παιδιών (εργατική εν. μεσοαστική τάξη) στην πρόσβαση στη σχολική νόρμα αντανακλώνται στον γραπτό λόγο

που παράγουν, με τα παιδιά που προέρχονται από τα κατώτερα κοινωνικά στρώματα να έχουν μεγαλύτερη αδυναμία να ανταπεξέλθουν στις συμβάσεις της γραπτότητας και να δομούν σε μεγαλύτερο βαθμό τα κείμενά τους με όρους προφορικότητας (π.χ. επαναλήψεις, ασάφειες, διαδραστικότητα). Από την άλλη πλευρά, μια ανάλογη έρευνα που πραγματοποιήσαμε σε μαθητές/τριες των δύο τελευταίων τάξεων του δημοτικού στο σχολικό πλαίσιο της Κύπρου διαπίστωσε πως στα γραπτά των μαθητών/τριών κυριάρχησαν τα στοιχεία προφορικότητας, ενώ ανέδειξε και έμφυλες διαφορές στην παραγωγή του γραπτού σχολικού λόγου, με τις μαθήτριες να ανταποκρίνονται ικανοποιητικότερα από τους μαθητές στις γλωσσικές απαιτήσεις του σχολείου (Στάμου & Γρίβα 2011). Τέλος, η ερευνητική δραστηριότητα που συνέκρινε μαθητικά γραπτά διαφορετικών τάξεων (Παϊζη & Καβουκόπουλος 2001, Παϊζη & Κονδύλη 2011, Στάμου & Γρίβα 2011) κατέδειξε πως η έκθεση των μαθητών/τριών στη συστηματική διδασκαλία βελτιώνει την ανταπόκρισή τους στις κειμενικές συμβάσεις του σχολείου.

Επικεντρώνοντας σε ορισμένα χαρακτηριστικά προφορικότητας (Archakis & Papazachariou 2000) ή/και γραπτότητας (Παϊζη & Καβουκόπουλος 2001), οι έρευνες που έχουν διεξαχθεί για τον γραπτό λόγο των μαθητών/τριών είχαν κυρίως ποσοτικό προσανατολισμό, επιχειρώντας να καταγράψουν τη συχνότητα χρήσης αυτών των χαρακτηριστικών και της στατιστικής τους συσχέτισης με τα κοινωνικά ή άλλα (π.χ. τάξη) χαρακτηριστικά των συμμετεχόντων/ουσών του εκάστοτε δείγματος. Ωστόσο, εστιάζοντας σε ένα πρωτοτυπικό χαρακτηριστικό του γραπτού λόγου, τις δευτερεύουσες προτάσεις, η Κωστούλη (1998) δεν βρήκε ποσοτική διαφοροποίηση στη συχνότητα χρήσης τους μεταξύ μαθητών/τριών δημοτικού της μεσοαστικής και της εργατικής τάξης, αλλά ανέδειξε ποιοτικές διαφοροποιήσεις μεταξύ των μαθητών/τριών διαφορετικής κοινωνικής προέλευσης ως προς τα είδη δευτερευουσών προτάσεων και τον τρόπο με τον οποίο τις χρησιμοποιούν στις γραπτές τους αφηγήσεις. Με παρόμοιο τρόπο, οι Παϊζη & Κονδύλη (2011) επικεντρώθηκαν στον μηχανισμό της ονοματοποίησης ως βασικού μέσου διατύπωσης του αποπλαισιωμένου γραπτού λόγου και διαπίστωσαν πως οι μαθητές/τριες λυκείου που προέρχονται από οικογένειες χαμηλών κοινωνικών στρωμάτων δεν υπολείπονται μόνο ποσοτικά στη χρήση της ονοματοποίησης αλλά και ποιοτικά, καθώς αδυνατούν να τη χειριστούν, αναπαράγοντας μηχανιστικά στερεοτυπικές διατυπώσεις και επανερχόμενοι/ες στη συνέχεια στην προφορική χρήση της γλώσσας.

Υιοθετώντας επίσης μια ποιοτική προοπτική, στην παρούσα εργασία εστιάζουμε στις συμβάσεις γραπτότητας που έχουν καταγραφεί στα γραπτά των κύπριων μαθητών/τριών μετά από μια προκαταρκτική ποσοτικού τύπου επεξεργασία των δεδομένων μας (Στάμου & Γρίβα 2011), με σκοπό να διερευνήσουμε πώς αυτά τα στοιχεία γραπτότητας λειτουργούν σε κειμενικό επίπεδο. Επίσης, θεωρώντας τους γλωσσικούς πόρους ως λειτουργικά μη ομοιογενείς κατηγορίες, θέλουμε να εξετάσουμε αν οι συγκεκριμένες γλωσσικές συμβάσεις εξυπηρετούν τη γραπτότητα ή λειτουργούν με όρους προφορικότητας, καθώς στα κείμενα των μαθητών/τριών κυριάρχησαν τα στοιχεία προφορικότητας. Επιμέρους στόχοι της εργασίας είναι να διαπιστώσουμε αν η ποσοτική διαφοροποίηση στα χαρακτηριστικά γραπτότητας βάσει του φύλου και της τάξης των μαθητών/τριών που καταγράψαμε στην ποσοτική μας ανάλυση εκφράζεται και ποιοτικά, καθώς και αν η μη ποσοτική διαφοροποίηση σε σχέση με το μορφωτικό επίπεδο και το επάγγελμα των γονέων εκφράζεται ωστόσο σε ποιοτικό επίπεδο.

2. Ερευνητική διαδικασία και μεθοδολογία

2.1 Το κοινωνιογλωσσικό περιβάλλον της Κύπρου

Η κυπριακή γλωσσική κοινότητα συγκεντρώνει όλα τα τυπικά γνωρίσματα της «κοινωνικής διγλωσσίας» (diglossia) κατά Ferguson ή του «διδιαλεκτισμού» (bidialectism) (βλ. π.χ. Arvaniti 2006).¹ Συγκεκριμένα, υπάρχει λειτουργική διαφοροποίηση μεταξύ της υψηλής (δηλ. της νεοελληνικής κοινής) και χαμηλής ποικιλίας (δηλ. της κυπριακής διαλέκτου) ανάλογα με το πεδίο χρήσης (δημόσιο ή ιδιωτικό, επίσημο ή καθημερινό κ.λπ.), η χαμηλή ποικιλία κατακτάται με φυσικό τρόπο ενώ η υψηλή ποικιλία αποτελεί προϊόν συστηματικής διδασκαλίας, και τέλος η υψηλή ποικιλία απολαμβάνει εμφανές γόητρο σε αντίθεση με τη χαμηλή ποικιλία που είναι συνδεδεμένη με αφανές κύρος (π.χ. Papapanlou 1998).²

¹ Η Arvaniti (2002) επισημαίνει πως ορισμένοι γλωσσολόγοι προτιμούν τον όρο “bidialectism” (διδιαλεκτισμός) έναντι του όρου “diglossia” (κοινωνική διγλωσσία), λόγω των αρνητικών συνδηλώσεων που φέρει γενικά.

² Ωστόσο, η αντιμετώπιση της κοινωνικής διγλωσσίας στην Κύπρο ως απόλυτης διχοτομίας μεταξύ νεοελληνικής κοινής (υψηλή ποικιλία) και κυπριακής διαλέκτου (χαμηλή ποικιλία) αποτελεί υπεραπλούστευση (βλ. σχετικά Arvaniti 2002). Αφενός, η κυπριακή διάλεκτος που λειτουργεί ως χαμηλή ποικιλία δεν είναι ομοιογενής αλλά

Στο κυπριακό σχολείο ασκείται πίεση στα παιδιά για τη χρήση της υψηλής ποικιλίας, ενώ η χρήση της χαμηλής ποικιλίας αποθαρρύνεται και στιγματίζεται.³ Ωστόσο, με δεδομένο πως η νέα ελληνική δεν κατακτάται με φυσικό τρόπο στην Κύπρο, οι μαθητές/τριες συχνά παραβιάζουν τους κοινωνιογλωσσικούς κανόνες του σχολείου, με αποτέλεσμα να δημιουργούνται εντάσεις στην τάξη (Ioannidou 2009). Από την άλλη πλευρά, οι εκπαιδευτικοί δηλώνουν πως οι μαθητές/τριες του δημοτικού αντιμετωπίζουν πολλά προβλήματα στην παραγωγή γραπτού λόγου στην υψηλή ποικιλία (Pavlou & Christodoulou 2001). Τέλος, έρευνες στα ίδια τα γραπτά κύπριων μαθητών/τριών έχουν διαπιστώσει παρεμβολές της κυπριακής διαλέκτου στα κείμενα που αυτοί/ές παράγουν (Papapanlou & Yiakoumetti 2003).

Με εξαίρεση την προηγούμενη ποσοτική μας ανάλυση (Στάμου & Γρίβα 2011), η ως τώρα ερευνητική δραστηριότητα έχει μελετήσει τον γραπτό λόγο των κύπριων μαθητών/τριών αποκλειστικά αναφορικά με τις παρεμβολές από την κυπριακή διάλεκτο που αυτός περιλαμβάνει, και όχι σε σχέση με τον βαθμό ανταπόκρισής τους στις συμβάσεις της γραπτότητας και την έκταση των στοιχείων προφορικότητας που αυτά περιλαμβάνουν. Αφενός, η προφορικότητα δεν μπορεί να ταυτιστεί κατ' ανάγκη με την κυπριακή διάλεκτο/ χαμηλή ποικιλία και η γραπτότητα με τη νεοελληνική κοινή/ υψηλή ποικιλία. Αφετέρου, σχετικές εργασίες σε διαλεκτόφωνους/ες μαθητές/τριες διεθνώς (κάτι που επιβεβαιώνεται και από την προηγούμενη ποσοτική μας έρευνα) έχουν δείξει πως τα μεγαλύτερα προβλήματα που αντιμετωπίζουν στον γραπτό λόγο τους είναι η αδυναμία τους να ανταπεξέλθουν στις συμβάσεις της γραπτότητας (π.χ. χρήση δευτερευουσών προτάσεων), παρά οι διαλεκτικές παρεμβολές (π.χ. Williamson & Hardman 1997).

2.2 Συμμετέχοντες

Το δείγμα της παρούσας έρευνας αποτελείται από 321 μαθητές/τριες (154 αγόρια και 167 κορίτσια) 8 δημοτικών σχολείων από αστικές περιοχές της Λεμεσού, στα οποία είχαμε πρόσβαση. Από το σύνολο των συμμετεχόντων/ουσών, 131 μαθητές/τριες φοιτούσαν στην Ε' τάξη και 190 φοιτούσαν στη Στ' τάξη. Όσον αφορά το μορφωτικό επίπεδο των γονέων, το 8,3% των πατεράδων των μαθητών/τριών ήταν απόφοιτοι δημοτικού, το 62,0% γυμνασίου/ λυκείου και το 29,7% ήταν πανεπιστημιακής εκπαίδευσης. Μικρές διαφοροποιήσεις καταγράφηκαν σχετικά με το μορφωτικό προφίλ των μητέρων, καθώς μόλις το 3,9% είχαν απολυτήριο δημοτικό, το 61,2% ήταν απόφοιτες γυμνασίου/ λυκείου και το 34,9% είχαν πτυχίο πανεπιστημίου.

Με βάση τις απαντήσεις των μαθητών/τριών, τα επαγγέλματα των δύο γονέων ομαδοποιήθηκαν από τις ερευνήτριες σε δύο βασικές κατηγορίες: επαγγέλματα «χαμηλής» και «υψηλής αυτονομίας». Τα πρώτα αφορούν επαγγέλματα τα οποία προϋποθέτουν μεγάλη εξάρτηση από την υλική βάση της εργασίας και δεν δίνουν τη δυνατότητα λήψης αποφάσεων καθώς και άσκησης ελέγχου σε άλλους εργαζομένους (π.χ. υπάλληλοι γραφείων ή επιχειρήσεων, τεχνίτες). Αντίθετα, τα επαγγέλματα υψηλής αυτονομίας δεν προϋποθέτουν εξάρτηση από την υλική βάση της εργασίας και προσφέρουν ελευθερία επιλογών στον χώρο της εργασίας και άσκησης ελέγχου σε άλλους εργαζόμενους (π.χ. εκπαιδευτικοί, επιχειρηματίες μικρής ή μεγάλης επιχείρησης, γιατροί-δικηγόροι-μηχανικοί) (Morgeson et al. 2005). Σύμφωνα με την ερευνητική εργασία της Hasan (1989) σε διαλόγους μεταξύ μαμάδων και νηπίων, η δυνατότητα ή όχι επιλογής και καθορισμού του εργασιακού χώρου επηρεάζει τον λόγο που αναπτύσσουν οι γονείς προς τα παιδιά τους, καθώς βρέθηκε πως όσες μαμάδες ασκούσαν επαγγέλματα υψηλής αυτονομίας, στα οποία η γλωσσική διαμεσολάβηση παίζει σημαντικό ρόλο, έτειναν να απευθύνουν έναν πιο αποπλαισιωμένο λόγο προς τα παιδιά τους. Οι γονείς των μαθητών/τριών του δείγματος εξασκούσαν σε υψηλότερο ποσοστό επαγγέλματα χαμηλής αυτονομίας (61,6% των πατεράδων και 78,3% των μητέρων) παρά επαγγέλματα υψηλής αυτονομίας (38,4% των πατεράδων και 21,7% των μητέρων).

2.3 Συλλογή και ανάλυση δεδομένων

Για τους σκοπούς της έρευνας, ζητήθηκε από τους/τις μαθητές/τριες να συνθέσουν ένα σύντομο κείμενο 60-120 λέξεων με θέμα:

αποτελεί ένα διαλεκτικό συνεχές που συγκροτείται από πολλές επιμέρους βασιλέκτους. Αφετέρου, η νέα ελληνική που λειτουργεί ως υψηλή ποικιλία στην Κύπρο δεν ταυτίζεται με την αντίστοιχη πρότυπη ποικιλία που χρησιμοποιείται στην Ελλάδα. Έτσι, γίνεται λόγος για την «πρότυπη κυπριακή» (βλ. σχετικά Arvaniti 2006).

³ Στα νέα υπό συγγραφή αναλυτικά προγράμματα του δημοτικού η κυπριακή διάλεκτος αποτελεί πλέον αντικείμενο διδασκαλίας.

«Γράψε ένα μικρό άρθρο στην εφημερίδα του σχολείου στη στήλη του επαγγελματικού προσανατολισμού για το ποιο επάγγελμα θα επέλεγες μελλοντικά και γιατί».

Η ανάλυση του μαθητικού γραπτού λόγου βασίζεται στη νεότερη αντίληψη που φέρνει το πεδίο των «Σπουδών Νέου Γραμματισμού» (New Literacy Studies: π.χ. Gee 1991), σύμφωνα με την οποία ο γραπτός λόγος δεν σχηματίζει δίπολο με τον προφορικό εξωσχολικό λόγο αλλά ένα συνεχές *γραπτότητας-προφορικότητας* στο οποίο τοποθετούνται τα αυθεντικά κείμενα. Με άλλα λόγια, νεότερες εξελίξεις στη γλωσσολογία έχουν δείξει πως η σαφής διάκριση μεταξύ προφορικού και γραπτού λόγου δεν είναι εύκολο να γίνει σε πραγματικά κείμενα, καθώς αυτά είναι συνήθως υβριδικά. Επομένως, κάποια κείμενα είναι «πιο προφορικά» από κάποια άλλα που είναι «πιο γραπτά» (Πολίτης 2001). Τα πρωτοτυπικά γνωρίσματα της γραπτότητας είναι πως είναι ένας λόγος σχεδιασμένος, αποπλαισιωμένος, απρόσωπος, τυπικός, ενώ η προφορικότητα αφορά μια απροσχεδιάστη, πλαισιωμένη, διαδραστική και μη τυπική μορφή επικοινωνίας (βλ. π.χ. Tannen 1982).

Για τους σκοπούς της ποσοτικής ανάλυσης των γραπτών των κύριων μαθητών/τριών, προσδιορίσαμε ορισμένους «δείκτες προφορικότητας» και «γραπτότητας», με βάση τη σχετική βιβλιογραφία (π.χ. Eggins 1994) καθώς και την ερευνητική δραστηριότητα σε γραπτά ελλήνων μαθητών/τριών (π.χ. Archakis & Papazachariou 2000, Κωστούλη 1998, Παΐζη & Καβουκόπουλος 2001). Από την ανάλυση προέκυψε πως οι κύριοι/ες μαθητές/τριες δομούν σε μεγάλο βαθμό τα κείμενά τους με όρους προφορικότητας, χρησιμοποιώντας κυρίως την παρατακτική σύνδεση και περιλαμβάνοντας στα γραπτά τους πολλές ασάφειες, επαναλήψεις λέξεων και διαδραστικά στοιχεία. Όσον αφορά τα στοιχεία γραπτότητας που κυριάρχησαν στα γραπτά τους αυτά ήταν η υποτακτική σύνδεση και οι επίσημοι γλωσσικοί τύποι, ενώ χρησιμοποίησαν σε μικρότερο βαθμό συνδετικά και μετακειμενικούς δείκτες. Επίσης, καταγράφηκαν ενδιαφέρουσες διασυνδέσεις μεταξύ των ανεξάρτητων μεταβλητών του φύλου και της τάξης και των δεικτών γραπτότητας, με τα κορίτσια και τους/τις μαθητές/τριες της Στ' τάξης να αντλούν από περισσότερες συμβάσεις γραπτότητας από τα αγόρια και τους/τις μαθητές/τριες της Ε' τάξης. Αντίθετα, δεν βρέθηκαν στατιστικά σημαντικές διαφορές με βάση το μορφωτικό επίπεδο και το επάγγελμα γονέων των μαθητών/τριών, πιθανόν γιατί οι μαθητές/τριες του δείγμάτος μας είχαν σχετικά ομοιογενές κοινωνικό προφίλ (για περισσότερα στοιχεία, βλ. Στάμου & Γρίβα 2011).

Έχοντας ως οδηγό την προηγούμενη ποσοτική μας ανάλυση, στην παρούσα εργασία επικεντρωνόμαστε στις συμβάσεις γραπτότητας (δηλ. επίσημοι γλωσσικοί τύποι, υποτακτική σύνδεση, συνδετικά, μετακειμενικοί δείκτες) που καταγράφηκαν στα γραπτά των κύριων μαθητών/τριών, με σκοπό να διερευνήσουμε τον τρόπο λειτουργίας τους σε κειμενικό επίπεδο. Η διερεύνηση αυτή θα γίνει με τη βοήθεια των κριτηρίων κειμενικότητας των de Beaugrande & Dressler (1981). Οι ερευνητές αυτοί προσπάθησαν να προσδιορίσουν τα κριτήρια εκείνα που κάνουν ένα σύνολο προτάσεων να αποτελεί «κείμενο», δηλαδή ένα αυτοτελές επικοινωνιακό συμβάν και όχι μια απλή ακολουθία προτάσεων. Από τα επτά κριτήρια κειμενικότητας των de Beaugrande & Dressler, στην παρούσα εργασία θα αξιοποιήσουμε τη «συνοχή», τη «συνεκτικότητα», την «πληροφοριακότητα» και την «καταστασιακότητα». Η συνοχή αναφέρεται στους επιφανειακούς και ρητούς γλωσσικούς μηχανισμούς μέσω των οποίων τα στοιχεία του κειμένου συνδέονται μεταξύ τους και δημιουργούν μια ενότητα (*κείμενο ως ολότητα γλώσσας*). Η συνεκτικότητα αφορά την υποκείμενη εννοιολογική σύνδεση του κειμένου, η οποία δεν ταυτίζεται απαραίτητα με τη γραμματική (συνοχική) σύνδεση (*κείμενο ως ολότητα νοήματος*). Η πληροφοριακότητα αναφέρεται στην ιδιότητα του κειμένου να μεταδίδει νέες πληροφορίες αξιοποιώντας και ανασύροντας γνωστές και δεδομένες γνώσεις (*κείμενο ως ολότητα πληροφορίας*). Όσο πιο αναμενόμενες και γνωστές είναι οι πληροφορίες που μεταδίδονται, τόσο πιο χαμηλή είναι η πληροφοριακότητα (και άρα και η κειμενικότητα) ενός κειμένου. Τέλος, η καταστασιακότητα αφορά τον προσδιορισμό της επικοινωνιακής περιστασης/ καταστασιακού πλαισίου (π.χ. θέμα, σχέση συνομιλητών/τριών, κανάλι επικοινωνίας) στα οποία παράγεται και προσλαμβάνεται το κείμενο (*κείμενο ως ολότητα καταστάσεων*).

Επίσης, θεωρώντας τους γλωσσικούς πόρους ως λειτουργικά μη ομοιογενείς κατηγορίες, θα εξετάσουμε αν οι συγκεκριμένες γλωσσικές συμβάσεις στις οποίες εστιάζουμε εξυπηρετούν τη γραπτότητα στα δεδομένα μας ή λειτουργούν με όρους προφορικότητας, καθώς στα κείμενα των μαθητών/τριών κυριάρχησαν τα στοιχεία προφορικότητας. Οι έννοιες της «γραπτότητας» και της «προφορικότητας» ορίστηκαν με βάση τα πρωτοτυπικά τους γνωρίσματα που αναφέρθηκαν παραπάνω.

3. Ποιοτική ανάλυση των μαθητικών γραπτών

3.1 Επίσημοι γλωσσικοί τύποι

Στα περισσότερα μαθητικά γραπτά παρατηρήθηκε πως οι μαθητές/τριες χρησιμοποιούσαν μεμονωμένους επίσημους γλωσσικούς τύπους που παρεμβάλλονταν στα γραπτά τους. Αυτό είχε ως αποτέλεσμα την παρείσφρηση στοιχείων γραπτότητας σε ένα κατεξοχήν προφορικό κειμενικό περιβάλλον, καθώς και τη μίξη επίσημου και ανεπίσημου ύφους.⁴ Π.χ. στο (1) παρατηρούμε πως η χρήση του λόγιου αιτιολογικού συνδέσμου «διότι» έρχεται σε αντίθεση με όλα τα υπόλοιπα στοιχεία προφορικότητας της περιόδου, όπως την ασάφεια («να ασχολούμαι με το ρεύμα»), την επανάληψη («μου αρέσει...μου αρέσει») και τις καθημερινές λέξεις («δωρεάν»)⁵. Με παρόμοιο τρόπο στο (2) η ρηματική φράση «μειώνω το έγκλημα» λειτουργεί ως παρεμβολή στο υπόλοιπο περιβάλλον προφορικότητας του αποσπάσματος, όπως είναι ο τύπος που έχει υποστεί έκθλιψη «μ'αρέσει», οι επαναλήψεις («θέλω να γίνω...θέλω να γίνω», «αστυνομικός...αστυνομικός...αστυνομικός») και η έλλειψη σύνδεσης μεταξύ των δύο περιόδων. Αντίθετα, ελάχιστες ήταν οι περιπτώσεις όπου οι μαθητές (αλλά κυρίως οι μαθήτριες με γονείς με υψηλό μορφωτικό επίπεδο και που ασκούσαν επαγγέλματα υψηλής αυτονομίας) εισήγαγαν περισσότερα επίσημα γλωσσικά στοιχεία στα γραπτά τους, με αποτέλεσμα να μην απομονώνονται τα στοιχεία γραπτότητας από το ύφος του υπόλοιπου κειμένου. Π.χ. στο (3) έχουμε ένα σύνολο επίσημων γλωσσικών τύπων όπως το «διότι», «θεωρώ» και «ενδιαφέρον επάγγελμα». Δεν παρατηρήθηκαν ποιοτικές διαφοροποιήσεις βάσει της τάξης των μαθητών/τριών. Από πλευράς κειμενικότητας, διαπιστώνεται πως ο τρόπος χρήσης των επίσημων γλωσσικών τύπων στον γραπτό μαθητικό λόγο θέτει ένα ζήτημα επίτευξης της καταστασιακότητας των κειμένων, καθώς η παρεμβολή των επίσημων γλωσσικών τύπων σε ένα περιβάλλον προφορικότητας δεν εξυπηρετεί μια τυπική περίσταση επικοινωνίας, με την οποία συνδέεται η γραπτότητα, αλλά ένα ανεπίσημο καταστασιακό συμφραζόμενο, το οποίο χαρακτηρίζει την προφορικότητα:

- (1) *«Όταν μεγαλώσω θέλω να γίνω ηλεκτρολόγος διότι μου αρέσει να ασχολούμαι με το ρεύμα και μου αρέσει να βοηθώ τους άλλους δωρεάν»*
 (2) *«Θέλω να γίνω αστυνομικός γιατί μ'αρέσει να πηγαίνω σε επικίνδυνες αποστολές, να μειώνω το έγκλημα. Αστυνομικός θέλω να γίνω γιατί πάντα θαύμαζα την θεία μου που είναι αστυνομικός»*
 (3) *«Θα ήθελα να γίνω δασκάλα ζωγραφικής διότι το θεωρώ ενδιαφέρον επάγγελμα και γιατί μου αρέσει να ζωγραφίζω»*

3.2 Υποτακτική σύνδεση

Το πιο συχνό είδος δευτερευουσών προτάσεων που εντοπίστηκε στα μαθητικά γραπτά ήταν οι αιτιολογικές (59%), μέσω των οποίων οι μαθητές/τριες προσπαθούσαν να παρουσιάσουν τους λόγους επιλογής του μελλοντικού τους επαγγέλματος (βλ. παραδείγματα 4, 5, 6, 7). Αρκετά συχνές ήταν και οι χρονικές προτάσεις (28%), τις οποίες οι μαθητές/τριες χρησιμοποιούσαν για να δηλώσουν τι θα γίνουν «όταν μεγαλώσουν» (π.χ. *«Όταν μεγαλώσω θα ήθελα να σπουδάσω δασονόμος. Μου αρέσει αυτή η δουλειά γιατί βοηθάς τα ζώα, τα δέντρα, τα πουλιά και τη φυσική βλάστηση. Θα έπαιρνα πολλές εμπειρίες από αυτή τη δουλειά»*). Αντίθετα, λιγότερες ήταν οι τελικές προτάσεις (10%), μέσω των οποίων οι μαθητές/τριες στήριζαν περαιτέρω την επιχειρηματολογία τους αναφέροντας τους σκοπούς που έθεταν με την επιλογή του μελλοντικού τους επαγγέλματος (π.χ. *«Που θα μεγαλώσω θα ήθελα το επάγγελμα μου να είναι αστυνομικός για να σώζω τους ανθρώπους και να μη πεθαίνουν»*), και ελάχιστες οι αναφορικές προτάσεις (3%: π.χ. *«Το επάγγελμα που θέλω να κάνω είναι δασκάλα αγγλικών. Επέλεξα δασκάλα αγγλικών γιατί μου αρέσουν πολύ τα Αγγλικά»*).

Εξετάζοντας από μια ποιοτική προοπτική τις αιτιολογικές προτάσεις που επικράτησαν στα δεδομένα μας, παρατηρήθηκε πως η λειτουργία τους ήταν συνήθως προφορική, καθώς η χρήση τους έτεινε να είναι πλεοναστική (π.χ. στο παράδειγμα 4 η δεύτερη αιτιολογική πρόταση στην πρώτη περίοδο: *«γιατί πιστεύω ότι αυτό το επάγγελμα που μου ταιριάζει καλύτερα από όλα»*) ή λανθασμένη (π.χ. στο παράδειγμα 5 η πρώτη αιτιολογική πρόταση: *«γιατί μου αρέσει πάρα πολύ»* και στο

⁴ Στο σημείο αυτό πρέπει να διακρίνουμε μεταξύ της συστηματικής μίξης επίσημων και καθημερινών γλωσσικών στοιχείων ως χιουμοριστικής στρατηγικής που χρησιμοποιούν πολλοί έλληνες συγγραφείς, όπως ο Τριβιζάς (Stamou in pre-printed version) και η Ακρίτα (Canakis 1994), και της μεμονωμένης υφολογικής μίξης, όπως στην περίπτωση μας, η οποία δεν αποτελεί συνειδητή ρητορική επιλογή αλλά έλλειψη εξοικείωσης με τις συμβάσεις της γραπτότητας.

⁵ Διατηρείται η ορθογραφία και τα σημεία στίξης των μαθητών/τριών.

παράδειγμα 6 η δεύτερη αιτιολογική πρόταση της δεύτερης περιόδου: «επειδή η μια δουλειά είναι κυβερνητική και η άλλη είναι ιδιωτική»), με αποτέλεσμα να θυμίζει τον απροσχεδιαστο χαρακτήρα της προφορικότητας. Επίσης, συχνά η αιτιολόγηση περιείχε ασάφειες (π.χ. στο παράδειγμα 5 η αιτιολογική πρόταση: «γιατί στην οικογένεια μου είχα κάποια προβλήματα»), γεγονός που συνάδει με τον πλαισιωμένο προφορικό λόγο. Από πλευράς κειμενικότητας, ο τρόπος χρήσης των αιτιολογικών προτάσεων στα μαθητικά γραπτά δεν εξυπηρετεί τη συνεκτικότητα (συγκρότηση εννοιολογικά ασύνδετων κειμένων) καθώς επίσης και την πληροφωριακότητα των κειμένων (συγκρότηση κειμένων με χαμηλή πληροφωριακότητα λόγω συγκέντρωσης επαναλαμβανόμενης και ασαφούς αιτιολόγησης). Δεν παρατηρήθηκαν ποιοτικές διαφοροποιήσεις βάσει της τάξης των μαθητών/τριών. Αντίθετα, οι μαθήτριες προερχόμενες από οικογένειες επαγγελματιών υψηλής αυτονομίας και πανεπιστημιακής εκπαίδευσης έτειναν να χρησιμοποιούν τις αιτιολογικές προτάσεις με καταλληλότερο τρόπο για το σχολικό γραπτό συγκείμενο (π.χ. βλ. παράδειγμα 7):

(4) «Διάλεξα το επάγγελμα αυτό γιατί πιστεύω ότι μου πάει αυτό το επάγγελμα, γιατί πιστεύω ότι αυτό το επάγγελμα που μου ταιριάζει καλύτερα από όλα. Μου αρέσει να γίνω γιατρός γιατί ο γιατρός σώζει ζωές»
(5) «Όταν μεγαλώσω θέλω να γίνω δικηγόρος γιατί μου αρέσει πάρα πολύ γιατί στην οικογένεια μου είχα κάποια προβλήματα»

(6) «Θέλω να σπουδάσω Ζητάς επειδή μου αρέσει να οδηγώ μοτόρα για να πιάνω τους ανθρώπους. Και θέλω να γίνω ποδοσφαιριστής επειδή μου αρέσει το ποδόσφαιρο. Μου αρέσει επειδή θέλω να με αποθεώνουνε τα άλλα άτομα, επειδή η μια δουλειά είναι κυβερνητική και η άλλη είναι ιδιωτική»

(7) «Το επάγγελμα που θα επιλέξω θα είναι αρχιτέκτονας επειδή είμαι καλή στην τέχνη και στα μαθηματικά. Δεν θα αλλάξω την γνώμη μου γιατί θέλω και εγώ να φτιάχνω ωραία σπίτια, ξενοδοχεία, πολυκατοικίες και να μου λένε μπράβο και συγχαρητήρια»

3.3 Συνδεδετικά

Η «συνδεδετικότητα» (Γεωργακοπούλου & Γούτσος 1999) ή «σύζευξη» (Αρχάκης 2005) (conjunction) αποτελεί έναν από τους τέσσερις βασικούς τύπους συνοχικών δεσμών (βλ. και Halliday & Hasan 1976), στην οποία χρησιμοποιούνται σύνδεσμοι και συνδεδετικές εκφράσεις για τη δήλωση λογικο-σημασιολογικών σχέσεων (π.χ. αιτιακή, αντιθετική, προσθετική, συμπερασματική) μεταξύ των μονάδων του κειμένου. Τα συνδεδετικά αποτελούν τυπικό χαρακτηριστικό του κειμενικού είδους της επιχειρηματολογίας, από το οποίο άντλησαν τα μαθητικά γραπτά του δείγματος. Η λογικο-σημασιολογική σχέση που δηλώθηκε πιο συχνά στα γραπτά ήταν η προσθετική (92%) και σπάνια η συμπερασματική (8%: π.χ. βλ. παράδειγμα 12), ενώ το πιο συχνό συνδεδετικό που χρησιμοποιήθηκε από τους/τις μαθητές/τριες ήταν το «επίσης». Ωστόσο, αντί να συμβάλει στη γραπτότητα, διαπιστώθηκε πως η χρήση των συνδεδετικών εξέφρασε τον απροσχεδιαστο χαρακτήρα της προφορικότητας καθώς ήταν συνήθως λανθασμένη (π.χ. στο παράδειγμα 8 το «επίσης» στην τρίτη περίοδο είναι λανθασμένο καθώς το παιδί θέλει μάλλον να εκφράσει αντιθετική παρά προσθετική σχέση: «Επίσης που θα γίνω ποδοσφαιριστής πρέπει να τρώω υγιεινά πράγματα και να αθλούμαι», και στο παράδειγμα 9 το προσθετικό «ακόμα» και πάλι επιλέγεται λανθασμένα αντί ενός αντιθετικού: «Ακόμα άκουσα πως είναι δύσκολο να το σπουδάσεις στην Κύπρο») ή πλεοναστική (π.χ. στα παραδείγματα 10 και 11 το «επίσης» στην αρχή της τρίτης περιόδου και το «ακόμα» στην αρχή της δεύτερης περιόδου, αντίστοιχα, δεν χρειάζονται). Ο τρόπος με τον οποίο χρησιμοποίησαν οι μαθητές/τριες τα συνδεδετικά δείχνει πως αναπαρήγαγαν μάλλον μηχανιστικά στα κείμενά τους τον κειμενικό μηχανισμό της συνοχής χωρίς όμως τελικά να την αξιοποιήσουν για τη σύσταση συνεκτικών κειμένων. Είναι αξιοσημείωτο πως η πιο αποτελεσματική χρήση των συνδεδετικών έγινε από μαθητές/τριες των οποίων οι γονείς ασκούσαν επαγγέλματα υψηλής αυτονομίας και ήταν κάτοχοι πτυχίου πανεπιστημίου (βλ. παράδειγμα 12). Αντίθετα, δεν διαπιστώθηκαν ποιοτικές διαφοροποιήσεις στη χρήση των συνδεδετικών μεταξύ αγοριών και κοριτσιών ή/και μαθητών/τριών Ε' και Στ' τάξης:

(8) «Όταν μεγαλώσω θα ήθελα να γίνω ποδοσφαιριστής και μου αρέσει πολύ η μπάλα. Επίσης ο ποδοσφαιριστής πιάνει πολλά λεφτά. Εγώ παίζω μπάλα και μου αρέσει πολύ. Επίσης που θα γίνω ποδοσφαιριστής πρέπει να τρώω υγιεινά πράγματα και να αθλούμαι»

(9) «Το αποφάσισα επειδή είδα ότι αυτοί που τα κατασκευάζουν παίρνουν και ένα δωρεάν. Ακόμη άκουσα πως είναι δύσκολο να το σπουδάσεις στην Κύπρο αλλά αν η οικογένεια μου και εγώ είμαστε καλά οικονομικά θα πάω να σπουδάσω στην Αμερική ή στην Ιαπωνία»

(10) «Μου λένε ότι είμαι καλός και ο θείος μου ασχολείται με ηλεκτρονικά. Σπίτι μου σάζω πολλά πράγματα ηλεκτρονικά παιχνίδια μου και φυσικά ο ηλεκτρολόγος πιάνει πολλά λεφτά. Επίσης για να γίνω

ηλεκτρολόγος πρέπει να πάω σε ένα λύκειο ειδικό για τους ηλεκτρολόγους και να πάω σε πανεπιστήμιο που σπουδάζουν ηλεκτρολόγοι»

(11) «Μου αρέσει αυτό το επάγγελμα γιατί θα εξετάζω ανθρώπους, θα γνωρίζω άλλον κόσμο που δεν ξέρω. Ακόμα θα αγοράζα δική μου τσάντα που θα έχει σήραγγες, κόλτες όπου θα έγραφα τα φάρμακα που θα χρειάζονταν οι ασθενείς»

(12) «Όταν μεγαλώσω θα ήθελα να γίνω *graphic designer* γιατί με ενθουσιάζει να κατασκευάζω καινούργια πράγματα. Ακόμη μου αρέσει αυτό το επάγγελμα γιατί δουλεύει πάνω στον ηλεκτρονικό υπολογιστή. Επίσης θα μπορούσα να συνεργαστώ μαζί με την αδερφή μου που λέει ότι θα δουλεύει στην δουλειά του πατέρα μου, δηλαδή θα τυπώνει χαρτομάντιλα, καθαριστικά και νερό. Έτσι θα μπορούσα να της φτιάχνω τα κλισέ»

3.4 Μετακειμενικοί δείκτες

Οι μετακειμενικοί δείκτες, δηλαδή τα γλωσσικά στοιχεία που δείχνουν τα μέρη οργάνωσης ενός κειμένου, ανήκουν επίσης στα πρωτοτυπικά χαρακτηριστικά της γραπτότητας (Πολίτης 2001). Οι δείκτες που χρησιμοποιήθηκαν στα μαθητικά γραπτά ήταν όροι απαρίθμησης, με σκοπό οι μαθητές/τριες να προσδιορίσουν ποσοτικά τους λόγους επιλογής του μελλοντικού τους επαγγέλματος. Παρόλα αυτά, μέσα από την ποιοτική διερεύνηση της χρήσης των μετακειμενικών δεικτών διαπιστώθηκε πως η λειτουργία τους ήταν ως επί το πλείστον προφορική, καθώς χρησιμοποιούνταν με λανθασμένο τρόπο, συμβάλλοντας στον απροσχεδίαστο προφορικό λόγο, ή/και οι λόγοι που προβάλλονταν περιελάμβαναν ασάφειες, εκφράζοντας τον πλαισιωμένο χαρακτήρα της προφορικότητας. Π.χ. στο (13) έχουμε μια περίπτωση λανθασμένης χρήσης όπου, ενώ ο μαθητής αναφέρει αρχικά τους λόγους για τους οποίους θέλει να γίνει ποδοσφαιριστής, στη συνέχεια τους επαναλαμβάνει λίγο διαφορετικά χρησιμοποιώντας αυτή τη φορά και όρους απαρίθμησης. Στο (14) παρατηρούμε πως οι λόγοι που αναφέρει η μαθήτρια για να δικαιολογήσει την επιλογή της να γίνει κομμώτρια περιλαμβάνουν πολλές ασάφειες (π.χ. «έμαθα να τα κάνω τα μαλλιά μου ωραία»). Από την άλλη πλευρά, στο (15) έχουμε περίπτωση λανθασμένης και ασαφούς χρήσης. Ο πρώτος λόγος που αναφέρεται από τον μαθητή είναι ασαφής («πρώτα από όλα θέλω να νιώθω άνετα»), ενώ ο λόγος που παρουσιάζεται ως δεύτερος («και το δεύτερο θέλω να κερδίζω τις κούρσες με μοτόρες ταχύτητας») δεν είναι στην πραγματικότητα λόγος επιλογής επαγγέλματος, και με βάση τη σειρά εμφάνισης αποτελεί τον τρίτο λόγο, καθώς ο δεύτερος λόγος έχει αναφερθεί προηγουμένως («και επίσης μου αρέσει η ταχύτητα που με κάνει να νιώθω ελεύθερος»). Από πλευράς κειμενικότητας, διαπιστώνεται πως ο τρόπος χρήσης των μετακειμενικών δεικτών στα γραπτά των μαθητών/τριών δεν εξυπηρετεί τη συνεκτικότητα και την πληροφοριακότητα των κειμένων, καθώς η μάλλον και πάλι (όπως στην περίπτωση των συνδετικών) παθητική αναπαραγωγή τους οδηγεί στη σύσταση κειμένων με έλλειψη εννοιολογικής σύνδεσης και με χαμηλή πληροφοριακότητα. Ωστόσο, ακόμη και στις περιπτώσεις που ο/η μαθητής/τρια χρησιμοποιεί σωστά τους μετακειμενικούς δείκτες (π.χ. βλ. παράδειγμα 16), η χρήση τους μάλλον αυτο-ακυρώνεται από τη στιγμή που βρίσκονται σε ένα περιβάλλον όπου κυριαρχεί η προφορικότητα, όπως είναι οι επαναλήψεις (π.χ. «δουλεύεις τη νύχτα...δουλεύω τη νύχτα»), οι ασάφειες (π.χ. «να δω μερικά σπίτια»), οι καθημερινές λέξεις (π.χ. «μου έδειξε και λίγο») και η διαδραστικότητα (π.χ. «και εμένα μου αρέσει να δουλεύω τη νύχτα»). Τέλος, δεν παρατηρήθηκαν ποιοτικές διαφοροποιήσεις βάσει του επαγγελματικού-μορφωτικού επιπέδου των γονέων, του φύλου ή/και της τάξης των μαθητών/τριών:

(13) «Θα επέλεγα ποδοσφαιριστής επειδή για μένα είναι μια ωραία δουλειά. Πιάνω πάνω από 90.000 ευρώ και γίνομαι διάσημος και όλοι σε θέλουν. Πρώτος λόγος που διάλεξα αυτή την δουλειά είναι ότι μου αρέσει η μπάλα και δεύτερο μου αρέσει να είμαι γνωστός. Ο παίχτης που μου αρέσει είναι ο Messi»

(14) «Θα ήθελα να σπουδάσω αυτά τα επαγγέλματα γιατί : 1) έμαθα να μπορώ να χτενίζομαι μόνη μου, 2) έμαθα να τα κάνω τα μαλλιά μου ωραία και 3) γιατί μου αρέσει να χτενίζω τους άλλους»

(15) «Όταν μεγαλώσω θέλω να γίνω οδηγός αυτοκινήτου για ράλλι για μοτόρες. Γιατί πρώτα από όλα θέλω να νιώθω άνετα και επίσης μου αρέσει η ταχύτητα που με κάνει να νιώθω ελεύθερος. Και το δεύτερο θέλω να κερδίζω τις κούρσες με μοτόρες ταχύτητας. Επίσης είναι και πολύ επικίνδυνο γιατί μπορείς να πέσεις από την μοτόρα και να σπάσεις το χέρι σου»

(16) «Όταν μεγαλώσω θέλω να γίνω μηχανικός γιατί μου αρέσει αυτή η δουλειά. Επίσης η δουλειά είναι του πατέρα μου και ξέρω την δουλειά και μου έδειξε και λίγο. Άλλος ένας λόγος είναι ότι δουλεύεις την νύχτα και εμένα μου αρέσει να δουλεύω την νύχτα. Ακόμα όλη μέρα θα πηγαίνω συνέχεια με το αυτοκίνητο μου για να δω μερικά σπίτια, όλη μέρα θα πηγαίνω Λευκωσία, Πάφο, Λάρνακα και άλλες πόλεις»

4. Συμπεράσματα

Φωτίζοντας από μια ποιοτική προοπτική τα δεδομένα που προέκυψαν από τα γραπτά κύπριων μαθητών/τριών του δημοτικού, η παρούσα εργασία εμπλουτίζει μια προγενέστερη ποσοτική επεξεργασία των μαθητικών γραπτών. Συγκεκριμένα, διαπιστώνεται πως οι κύπριοι μαθητές/τριες του δείγματος φαίνεται να μην είναι εξοικειωμένοι/ες με τις συμβάσεις γραπτότητας, όχι μόνο γιατί δεν τις χρησιμοποιούν σε μεγάλο βαθμό (όπως διαφάνηκε από την ποσοτική ανάλυση που προηγήθηκε), αλλά κυρίως γιατί όταν επιχειρούν να εντάξουν ορισμένες από αυτές στα γραπτά τους, αυτές λειτουργούν με όρους προφορικότητας, παράγοντας μη αποτελεσματικά (για το σχολικό γραπτό συμφραζόμενο) κείμενα. Έτσι, τα παιδιά φαίνεται να μην είναι σε θέση να αξιοποιήσουν με ενεργητικό τρόπο κειμενικούς μηχανισμούς όπως τα συνδετικά και την υποτακτική σύνδεση, αναπαράγοντάς τα μηχανιστικά στα γραπτά τους. Αυτό το ποιοτικό στοιχείο που προκύπτει —και το οποίο επιβεβαιώνει άλλες ποιοτικές αναλύσεις μαθητικών γραπτών (βλ. π.χ. Παϊζη & Κονδύλη 2011 για τη μηχανιστική χρήση διατυπώσεων που περιλαμβάνουν ονοματοποιήσεις στα γραπτά μαθητών/τριών λυκείου)— μάλλον αναδεικνύει τις αδυναμίες εφαρμογής της επικοινωνιακής-κειμενοκεντρικής προσέγγισης της γλωσσικής διδασκαλίας στο σχολείο, η οποία συχνά γίνεται αποπλαισιωμένα και δεν απέχει και πολύ από την παραδοσιακή γραμματοκεντρική αντίληψη (για μια σύνοψη των κριτικών θεωρήσεων για τα γλωσσικά εγχειρίδια του γυμνασίου που εντάσσονται σε μια τέτοια προσέγγιση, βλ. Αρχάκης 2005).

Η ποιοτική ανάλυση που εφαρμόστηκε στα μαθητικά γραπτά επίσης εμπλούτισε τις κοινωνιογλωσσικές μας υποθέσεις σχετικά με τις κοινωνικές διαφορές που υπάρχουν στην παραγωγή του μαθητικού γραπτού λόγου. Η προγενέστερη ποσοτική μας έρευνα είχε διαπιστώσει πως τα κορίτσια και οι μαθητές/τριες της Στ' τάξης εισάγουν σε μεγαλύτερο βαθμό συμβάσεις γραπτότητας στα κείμενά τους από τα αγόρια και τους/τις μαθητές/τριες της Ε' τάξης. Αντίθετα, δεν είχαν εντοπιστεί ποσοτικές διαφορές στη χρήση στοιχείων γραπτότητας με βάση το μορφωτικό επίπεδο και το επάγγελμα γονέων των μαθητών/τριών. Η ποιοτική διερεύνηση των μαθητικών γραπτών επιβεβαίωσε τις έμφυλες διαφοροποιήσεις που υπάρχουν στη σύσταση της σχολικής γλώσσας, με τα κορίτσια να χρησιμοποιούν όχι μόνο περισσότερο αλλά και αποτελεσματικότερα από τα αγόρια επίσημους γλωσσικούς τύπους και δευτερεύουσες προτάσεις. Αντίθετα, η αυξανόμενη έκθεση των παιδιών στη γραπτή σχολική νόρμα (σύγκριση μεταξύ μαθητών/τριών Ε' και Στ' τάξης) φαίνεται πως βοηθάει τους/τις μαθητές/τριες να χρησιμοποιούν περισσότερο αλλά όχι ικανοποιητικότερα τις συμβάσεις γραπτότητας στα κείμενά τους. Από την άλλη πλευρά, αν και η ποσοτική ανάλυση δεν κατάφερε να καταγράψει στατιστικά σημαντικές διαφορές μεταξύ μαθητών/τριών διαφορετικής κοινωνικο-οικονομικής προέλευσης (ίσως λόγω του περιορισμού του δείγματος σε μαθητές/τριες με σχετικά ομοιογενές κοινωνικό προφίλ), η ποιοτική μας έρευνα ανέδειξε ενδιαφέρουσες διαφοροποιήσεις. Συγκεκριμένα, διαπιστώθηκε πως οι μαθητές (αλλά κυρίως οι μαθήτριες) των οποίων οι γονείς ήταν πανεπιστημιακής εκπαίδευσης και ασκούσαν επαγγέλματα υψηλής αυτονομίας χρησιμοποιούσαν αποτελεσματικότερα από τα παιδιά (και κυρίως τα αγόρια) οικογενειών χαμηλότερου μορφωτικού επιπέδου και επαγγελλμάτων χαμηλής αυτονομίας στα γραπτά τους τα επίσημα γλωσσικά στοιχεία, την υποτακτική σύνδεση και τα συνδετικά. Μάλιστα, από την παρούσα ανάλυση διαφαίνεται —το οποίο βέβαια χρήζει περαιτέρω διερεύνησης— πως όσο πηγαίνουμε σε πιο εκλεπτυσμένους κειμενικούς μηχανισμούς γραπτότητας (όπως είναι τα συνδετικά), οι ταξικές διαφορές μεταξύ των μαθητών/τριών εντείνονται ενώ οι έμφυλες αμβλύνονται. Τέλος, φαίνεται να υπάρχουν συμβάσεις γραπτότητας, όπως οι μετακειμενικοί δείκτες, που οι μαθητές/τριες στο σύνολό τους δεν έχουν κατακτήσει.

Συμπερασματικά, η παρούσα εργασία αναδεικνύει την αξία ποιοτικών αναλύσεων του μαθητικού γραπτού λόγου που να λειτουργούν συμπληρωματικά των ποσοτικών ερευνών, με σκοπό την εκλέπτυνση των ερευνητικών μας υποθέσεων για την κοινωνιογλωσσική συμπεριφορά των παιδιών στο σχολείο. Στους περιορισμούς της έρευνας συγκαταλέγεται η επιλογή του δείγματος, καθώς προήλθε από μια συγκεκριμένη περιοχή της Κύπρου με μαθητές/τριες σχετικά ομοιογενούς κοινωνικού προφίλ. Μέσα στους μελλοντικούς μας στόχους περιλαμβάνεται η διεύρυνση της έρευνας και σε άλλες περιοχές της Κύπρου, καθώς και η σύγκριση του γραπτού λόγου μεταξύ κύπριων και ελλαδιτών/ισών μαθητών/τριών.

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ΔΟΜΙΚΗ ΜΕΤΑΦΟΡΑ ΣΕ ΔΙΓΛΩΣΣΟΥΣ ΜΑΘΗΤΕΣ: Η ΠΕΡΙΠΤΩΣΗ ΤΗΣ ΣΥΝΘΕΣΗΣ

Δρ. Γεωργία Στύλου, MAAL

Δασκάλα,
Ερευνητική συνεργάτιδα
Ε.ΔΙΑ.Μ.ΜΕ.

stylou@edc.uoc.gr

ABSTRACT

In this paper we discuss the structural transfer from German to Greek as it is used by bilingual primary school children with Greek origin in Germany. We focus on the transfer of compounds, produced by the pupils during the Greek language classes. The recordings of the pupils' language showed that the pupils tried to translate from German to Greek each of the compound words, and this word by word, which resulted in not existing Greek items. However, the recorded transfers indicate, that the pupils are enabled to compose compounds correctly in both languages and that they use their languages creatively.

Keywords: Greek L2, code-switching, structural transfer, compounds, Germany, primary school
Λέξεις κλειδιά: Ελληνικά Γ2, εναλλαγή κώδικα, δομική μεταφορά, σύνθεση, Γερμανία, Δημοτικό.

0. Εισαγωγή

Στην παρούσα εργασία συζητούμε τη δομική μεταφορά στοιχείων από τη γερμανική γλώσσα στην ελληνική από Έλληνες διγλωσσους μαθητές στη Γερμανία, εστιάζοντας στην περίπτωση της σύνθεσης. Μέσα από την ηχογράφηση αυθεντικού λόγου των μαθητών, όπως αυτός παράγεται κατά τη διάρκεια της διδασκαλίας της ελληνικής ως δεύτερης γλώσσας καταγράφηκαν παραδείγματα απόδοσης στα ελληνικά κάποιων γερμανικών σύνθετων λέξεων, τις οποίες οι μαθητές δε γνώριζαν στα ελληνικά. Στα παραδείγματα αυτά καταδεικνύεται, ότι οι μαθητές παίρνουν ως νοητική υπόθεση ότι ο μηχανισμός σχηματισμού λέξεων που ισχύει στα γερμανικά οφείλει να ισχύει και στα ελληνικά. Έτσι, οδηγούνται στη μεταφορά, ενσωματώνοντας τα δύο συνθετικά των μεταφρασμένων λέξεων στο λόγο τους δημιουργώντας μια νέα λέξη, καταδεικνύοντας παράλληλα ότι έχουν κατακτήσει το μηχανισμό σύνθεσης στην ελληνική γλώσσα.

Η εργασία είναι δομημένη σε τέσσερα μέρη. Αρχικά θα συζητηθούν το θεωρητικό και μεθοδολογικό πλαίσιο της έρευνας, στη συνέχεια τα αποτελέσματα και στο τέλος τα συμπεράσματα και οι διδακτικές προτάσεις.

Τα κύρια ερωτήματα που πραγματευόμαστε είναι:

1. Πώς περνά η κυρίαρχη γλώσσα του περιβάλλοντος (η γερμανική) στον ελληνικό λόγο διγλωσσών μαθητών στο συγκεκριμένο στάδιο της διαγλώσσας τους, παίρνοντας ως παράδειγμα τη δομική μεταφορά στην περίπτωση της σύνθεσης;
2. Πώς μπορεί ο δάσκαλος της ελληνικής ως δεύτερης γλώσσας με αφορμή τη δομική μεταφορά στην περίπτωση της σύνθεσης να βοηθήσει τους μαθητές του να αναπτύξουν και να βελτιώσουν την ελληνομάθειά τους;

1. Θεωρητικό πλαίσιο

Ως πλαίσιο της έρευνας ορίζεται μία διεπιστημονική προσέγγιση που τοποθετείται επιστημονικά στον τομέα της εφαρμοσμένης γλωσσολογίας, λαμβάνοντας υπόψη για τις ανάγκες της εργασίας τόσο τη Γλωσσολογία της Επαφής (Contact Linguistics) όσο και τη Θεωρητική Γλωσσολογία, ως προς τη σύνθεση στην ελληνική αλλά και τη γερμανική γλώσσα καθώς και τις κατευθύνσεις για τη διδασκαλία της ελληνικής ως δεύτερης γλώσσας.

Στις περιπτώσεις που δύο γλώσσες έρχονται σε επαφή σε ένα μεταναστευτικό περιβάλλον ή σε συνθήκες εκμάθησης μιας δεύτερης ή ξένης γλώσσας είναι αποδεκτό από επιστήμονες που εργάζονται στον τομέα της Γλωσσολογίας της Επαφής ότι η μία γλώσσα, συνήθως η γλώσσα του περιβάλλοντος, επηρεάζει με ποικίλους τρόπους το λόγο των ομιλητών στην άλλη γλώσσα.

Έτσι, για παράδειγμα όπως έχουν δείξει αρκετές έρευνες (ενδεικτικά Androutsakis 1994, Gardner-Chloros 1992, Hatzidaki 1993, Stitou 2000, Στύλου 2010, Tamis 1986, 1991) τα ελληνικά των Ελλήνων της διασποράς διαφέρουν σε διάφορα γραμματικά επίπεδα από αυτά των γηγενών Ελλήνων. Οι διαφορές αυτές εκδηλώνονται μέσω της εναλλαγής κώδικα, της μεταφοράς σε λεξιλογικό, δομικό (μορφολογικό και συντακτικό) και φωνολογικό επίπεδο καθώς και μέσω δάνειων λέξεων. Αυτές οι γλωσσικές διαφορές καταγράφονται στο λόγο των μαθητών και κατά τη διάρκεια του μαθήματος της ελληνικής γλώσσας (Στύλου 2010) και όχι μόνο σε καθημερινές φιλικές συνομιλίες.

Η εστίαση στην παρούσα εργασία είναι στη δομική μεταφορά εξετάζοντας στην παραγωγή λέξεων την περίπτωση της σύνθεσης.

Η ελληνική γλώσσα χαρακτηρίζεται από ποικιλία στη σύνθεση και μεγάλο αριθμό συνθέτων, τα οποία σχηματίζονται από το συνδυασμό δύο ή περισσότερων λεξικών θεμάτων (Αναστασιάδη-Συμεωνίδη 1996, Holton D., Mackridge P. & Φιλίππκη-Warburton Eip. 1999 και 2007, Ράλλη 2006). Η σχετική ελευθερία και η ποικιλία στη δυνατότητα συνδυασμού γραμματικών κατηγοριών κατά τη δημιουργία συνθέτων αποτελεί ένα πρόσφορο έδαφος για τη δημιουργική χρήση της γλώσσας και κατά συνέπεια για τη δημιουργία νέων λέξεων.

Ένα από τα κύρια γνωρίσματα της σύνθεσης στην ελληνική γλώσσα είναι η ύπαρξη του δείκτη σύνθεσης αλλά και η δυνατότητα σε κάποιες περιπτώσεις να δημιουργείται σύνθετο με την ένωση των δύο συνθετικών θεμάτων χωρίς δείκτη (Ράλλη 2006: 64-68).

Αντίστοιχα, στη γερμανική γλώσσα η σύνθεση είναι μία ιδιαίτερα συνηθισμένη διαδικασία με μεγάλη ποικιλία στη δυνατότητα συνδυασμού γραμματικών κατηγοριών καθώς και την ύπαρξη διαφόρων δεικτών σύνθεσης ανάμεσα στα συνθετικά (Donalies 2005, Eichinger 2000).

Στην παρούσα εργασία ακολουθούμε ως προς την ορολογία για τη σύνθεση, το σύνθετο, το συνθετικό και τα μονολεκτικά και πολυλεκτικά σύνθετα την Αναστασιάδη-Συμεωνίδη (1996). Έτσι, ως *σύνθεση* ορίζεται η πράξη δημιουργίας ενός συνθέτου, ως *σύνθετο* η λεξική μονάδα που αποτελείται από δύο ή περισσότερα ελευθερώσιμα ή ελεύθερα λεξικά μορφήματα. Έτσι, προκύπτουν από ελευθερώσιμα μορφήματα *μονολεκτικά σύνθετα* π.χ. πετροπόλεμος και από ελεύθερα μορφήματα *πολυλεκτικά σύνθετα* π.χ. παιδική χαρά, γλυκό του κουταλιού. Ως *συνθετικό* ορίζεται κάθε ελευθερώσιμο λεξικό μόρφημα που αποτελεί μέρος ενός μονολεκτικού συνθέτου. Τέλος, τα μονολεκτικά σύνθετα χωρίζονται σε νόθα και γνήσια, όπου τα νόθα είναι αυτά που προκύπτουν από την απλή συνένωση των συνθετικών και τα γνήσια είναι αυτά που μπορούν να κατηγοριοποιηθούν ανάλογα με τη γραμματική κατηγορία του συνθέτου, των συνθετικών καθώς και τη συντακτική σχέση τους.

2. Μεθοδολογικό πλαίσιο

Τα ερευνητικά δεδομένα συγκεντρώθηκαν σε απογευματινό Τμήμα Ελληνικής Γλώσσας (ΤΕΓ) στη Γερμανία, στο πλαίσιο έρευνας για την εκπόνηση της διδακτορικής μας διατριβής όπου μελετήσαμε το λόγο διγλωσσών Ελλήνων μαθητών στη Γερμανία κατά τη διάρκεια του μαθήματος της Ελληνικής Γλώσσας εστιάζοντας στη μελέτη της εναλλαγής κώδικα (Στύλου 2010). Όμως, η παρούσα προσέγγιση και ανάλυση των ερευνητικών δεδομένων από τη συγκεκριμένη οπτική γωνία της δομικής μεταφοράς κατά τη σύνθεση δεν είχε μελετηθεί στη διατριβή και με την έννοια αυτή γίνεται εδώ για πρώτη φορά.

Ως προς τη μεθοδολογία, η έρευνα τοποθετείται στο ερμηνευτικό ερευνητικό παράδειγμα. Συγκεκριμένα, η συλλογή, η ανάλυση και η ερμηνεία των ερευνητικών δεδομένων έγιναν μέσα από το πρίσμα της εξελιγμένης μορφής της Θεμελιωμένης Θεωρίας (Charmaz 2006, Strauss & Corbin 1998) που σημαίνει ότι δεν στηριχθήκαμε σε κάποιες προκατασκευασμένες κατηγορίες.

Στην έρευνα συμμετείχαν οι 24 από τους συνολικά 45 μαθητές του σχολείου και συγκεκριμένα, οι μαθητές των τάξεων Α', Β' και Ε' & ΣΤ' (σε συνδιδασκαλία), καθώς αποφασίσαμε να διεξάγουμε την έρευνα μόνο στα τμήματα στα οποία δίδασκε η ίδια η ερευνήτρια ως δασκάλα. Συνολικά, συγκεντρώθηκαν 87 ώρες ηχογραφημένων διδασκαλιών και παράλληλα χρησιμοποιήθηκαν ως εργαλεία έρευνας το ερωτηματολόγιο και η παρατήρηση.

Στόχος ήταν να ηχογραφηθεί με τον πιο φυσικό τρόπο όσο το δυνατόν πιο αυθεντικός διγλωσσος μαθητικός λόγος κατά τη διδασκαλία της ελληνικής γλώσσας σε ελληνόπουλα στη Γερμανία. Για το λόγο αυτό δεν σχεδιάστηκαν κάποιες ειδικές διδακτικές ενότητες, αλλά ακολουθήθηκε το Πρόγραμμα Σπουδών για την ελληνόγλωσση εκπαίδευση στη διασπορά (Δαμανάκης 2004 επιμ., Δαμανάκης 2006

επιμ.) καθώς και τα σχετικά εγχειρίδια που προβλέπονται από το ΥΠΔΒΜΘ στο βαθμό που αυτά ήταν διαθέσιμα. Στις περιπτώσεις που δεν ήταν διαθέσιμα χρησιμοποιήθηκαν τα εγχειρίδια που προβλέπονται για τη διδασκαλία της ελληνικής ως μητρικής γλώσσας στην Ελλάδα και βοηθητικά φυλλάδια.

Στην παρούσα ανάλυση θα εστιάσουμε μέσα από αποσπάσματα του διγλωσσού λόγου των μαθητών κατά τη διδασκαλία σε παραδείγματα δομικής μεταφοράς στην περίπτωση της σύνθεσης από τα γερμανικά στα ελληνικά.

3. Τα αποτελέσματα της έρευνας

Κατά την επεξεργασία και ανάλυση του καταγεγραμμένου λόγου των μαθητών εντοπίστηκαν μονολεκτικές εναλλαγές κώδικα γερμανικών συνθέτων, τις οποίες οι μαθητές προσπάθησαν με δική τους πρωτοβουλία ή με παρότρυνση της δασκάλας είτε ατομικά είτε συνεργατικά να αποδώσουν στην ελληνική γλώσσα. Στην προσπάθειά τους αυτή οι μαθητές μεταφέρουν το γερμανικό σύνθετο ως δομή στην ελληνική γλώσσα δημιουργώντας ένα σύνθετο της διαγλώσσας τους, ανύπαρκτο στο λεξικό της ελληνικής.

Ενδεικτικά παρουσιάζουμε κάποια αποσπάσματα διαλόγων με παραδείγματα σύνθεσης.

Παράδειγμα 1: τηγανογλυκό & τηγάνι-kuchen/ Pfannkuchen/ κρέπα ή τηγανίτα

Επεισόδιο B17.8 (Pfannkuchen: ενδιαφέρουσα η προσέγγιση της γνώσης και η απόπειρα επιτυχούς μετάφρασης κάθε συνθετικού της λέξης)

1	B2:	↓Pfannkuchen
2	???	
3	B5:	τηγανογλυκό
4	??:	τι;
5	B3:	τηγανογλυκό (γέλιο)
6	???	
7	??:	Pfannkuchen
8	B5:	Pfanne τηγάνι (.) Kuchen γλυκό
9	?:	τηγάνι kuchen
10	B3:	πώς το λένε;↓

Στο επεισόδιο B17.8 καταγράφεται μια ενδιαφέρουσα συζήτηση που αναπτύσσεται μεταξύ των μαθητών με αφορμή τη γερμανική λέξη για “κρέπα” (“Pfannkuchen”) όπου προσπαθούν να την αναλύσουν για να την αποδώσουν στα ελληνικά. Η πρώτη απόδοση έρχεται στη σειρά 3 από τη B5 στην οποία αντιδρά με ένα “τι” κάποια άλλη μαθήτρια. Η B3 επαναλαμβάνει και γελά. Μετά από μια επανάληψη της γερμανικής λέξης, η B5 παρουσιάζει τη σκέψη της και αναλύει τη λέξη στα δύο συνθετικά της και δίνει τη μετάφραση για κάθε λέξη. Στη σειρά 9 κάποιος μαθητής λέει και τη λέξη τηγάνι-**kuchen**. Η δασκάλα δεν εμπλέκεται στη διαδικασία αυτή, αλλά αφήνει τους μαθητές μόνους να ασχοληθούν με την ανάλυση αυτή. Παρόλο που αυτή η διαδικασία δεν οδηγεί πάντα στο σωστό αποτέλεσμα, μπορεί να χαρακτηριστεί ως δημιουργική ενασχόληση εκ μέρους των μαθητών με τη γλώσσα, κατά την οποία οι μαθητές αναλαμβάνουν μεγάλο βαθμό αυτενέργειας.

Αγνοώντας την ελληνική απόδοση, προσπαθούν μέσα από στρατηγικές συγκάλυψης λεξιλογικών κενών και στρατηγικές επικοινωνίας να βρουν τη σωστή λέξη, παίρνοντας ως βάση τη γερμανική σύνθετη λέξη και μεταφράζοντας κάθε συνθετικό για να δημιουργήσουν την αντίστοιχη ελληνική, ενώνοντας τα δύο συνθετικά με το δείκτη σύνθεσης.

Ένα παρόμοιο παράδειγμα είναι το παράδειγμα 2.

Παράδειγμα 2: πορτοκαλοδέντρο/ Orangenbaum/ πορτοκαλιά

Επεισόδιο E1.4 (Πορτοκαλιά)

1	E10:	κυρία; Πώς το λέτε. Orangenbaum ; Πορτοκαλοδέντρο;
2	Δ:	όχι. Πώς το λένε; ΕΜ πες το;
3	E3:	πορτοκαλιά.

(συνεχίζεται)

Στο επεισόδιο E1.4 ο E10 μεταφράζει κάθε συνθετικό της γερμανικής λέξης “Orangenbaum” για “πορτοκαλιά” και δημιουργεί τη νέα λέξη “πορτοκαλοδέντρο”. Με τη μεταφορά αυτή από τα γερμανικά στα ελληνικά ο μαθητής δηλώνει την προσπάθειά του να εκφραστεί στα ελληνικά σε ένα πλαίσιο επικοινωνιακής στρατηγικής και δημιουργικής χρήσης της γλώσσας. Ως προς τον τονισμό του συνθέτου φαίνεται ότι ο τόνος δεν έχει μπει σωστά στην παραλήγουσα, μιας και στα γνήσια σύνθετα ο τόνος μετακινείται προς τα αριστερά του β’ συνθετικού.

Η μεταφορά αυτή μπορεί να αξιοποιηθεί από τον εκπαιδευτικό ώστε να διδαχθεί η σημασιολογική κατηγορία (Θωμαδάκη 1996) με την κατάληξη «-ιά» για την ονομασία δέντρων στα ελληνικά γενικά, αλλά και σε αντιπαράβολή με τη γερμανική γλώσσα, μιας και ο μαθητής φαίνεται να μην γνωρίζει ακόμη τη συγκεκριμένη σημασιολογική κατηγορία.

Στο παράδειγμα 3 καταγράφεται πώς η μαθήτρια ενώνει τα δύο συνθετικά χωρίς να κάνει κάποια αλλαγή σε αυτά.

Παράδειγμα 3: Πασχα-διακοπές/ Osterferien/ διακοπές του Πάσχα

Επεισόδιο B18.1

- | | | |
|----|-----|---|
| 1 | Δ: | γιατί κλείνουν τα σχολεία τώρα; ... Σελ |
| 2 | B5: | γιατί είναι: (.) ε: (..) δεν ξέρω πώς λέγεται; |
| 3 | Δ: | πώς; τι; |
| 4 | B5: | Ferien (..) |
| 5 | Δ: | βοήθεια από κάποιον |
| 6 | B7: | τι; |
| 7 | B2: | ε: |
| 8 | Δ: | Ferien; |
| 9 | B2: | έχουμε Πά-σχα |
| 10 | B5: | Πάσχα και έχουμε και |
| 11 | Δ: | Ferien (.) διακοπές (.) έχουμε διακοπές επειδή |
| 12 | B2: | Πάσχα- |
| 13 | Δ: | επειδή έχουμε Πάσχα |
| 14 | B2: | Πάσχα-διακοπές |
| 15 | ... | |
| 16 | Δ: | έχουμε διακοπές του Πάσχα (.) ναι; |

Στο επεισόδιο B18.1 η δασκάλα κάνει ΕΚ (σειρά 8) επαναλαμβάνοντας την ΕΚ που προηγήθηκε από μαθητή (σειρά 4). Πρώτα κατευθύνει τους μαθητές να μεταφράσουν τη λέξη χωρίς όμως να επαναλάβει η δασκάλα την ΕΚ της B5 (σειρά 5), αλλά η ερώτηση του B7 την οδηγεί τελικά στην επανάληψη της ΕΚ με μορφή ερώτησης, που καλεί και πάλι σε μετάφραση της λέξης. Έπειτα, στη σειρά 11 η δασκάλα δίνει και πάλι την ΕΚ της B5, με την ελληνική μετάφραση. Στη σειρά 14 η B2 μεταφέρει λανθασμένα από τα γερμανικά και δημιουργεί τη λέξη “Πασχα-διακοπές” κατά το γερμανικό “Osterferien”. Η δασκάλα απλά αναφέρει τη σωστή λέξη στα ελληνικά και ολοκληρώνεται έτσι το επεισόδιο.

Η και πάλι κατά λέξη μετάφραση κάθε συνθετικού από τα γερμανικά στα ελληνικά δείχνει τη δημιουργική προσπάθεια αναζήτησης της ελληνικής λέξης δίνοντας ενδείξεις ότι έχει κατακτηθεί ο μηχανισμός σύνθεσης της ελληνικής. Επίσης, καταδεικνύεται ότι κατά την εκμάθηση της ελληνικής οι μαθητές στηρίζονται στις ήδη κατακτημένες δομές και της γερμανικής γλώσσας καθώς και σε γερμανικό λεξιλόγιο οικείο για αυτούς από την καθημερινότητά τους στη Γερμανία.

Παραφερές είναι και το παράδειγμα 4.

Παράδειγμα 4: ζεμπρα γραμμές & ζεβρα γραμμές/ Zebra streifen/ διάβαση πεζών

Επεισόδιο E16.4

(σκίτσα στο νέο Βιβλίο γλώσσας ΣΤ΄, τευχ.Β΄ σελ.71)

- | | | |
|----|----------|--|
| 1 | E9: | αλλά ο άντρας πήγε να περάσει το δρόμο και- |
| 2 | Δ: | το δρόμο πήγε να περάσει; |
| 3 | E9: | εε; |
| 4 | (3'') | |
| 5 | Δ: | πώς το λένε αυτό το κομμάτι εκεί; |
| 6 | E6 + E9: | Zebra streifen |
| 7 | Δ: | χμ, ναι |
| 8 | E6: | γραμμές ζέβρας |
| 9 | E4: | (παίζοντας με τη γλώσσα) <u>το ζέμπρα</u> . (.) ζέμπρα γραμμές |
| 10 | E5: | όχι. (.) Ζέβρα. |
| 11 | E4: | το Zebra πώς το λένε στα ελληνικά; |
| 12 | Δ: | ζέβρα, καλά το είπατε. |
| 13 | E4: | <u>ζεβρα γραμμές</u> |
| 14 | Δ: | όχι. (.) είναι η διάβαση πεζών (.) η διάβαση πεζών. |

Στο επεισόδιο E16.4 η δασκάλα αντιλήφθηκε ότι η E9 διατύπωσε την πρόταση στη σειρά 1 έτσι, ώστε να αποφύγει τη χρήση της γερμανικής λέξης για “διάβαση πεζών” και προκαλεί κατά κάποιον τρόπο έμμεσα την E9 να πει αυτό που σκέφτηκε. Η απάντηση έρχεται ταυτόχρονα από τις E6 και E9

στη σειρά 6 με ΕΚ. Η δασκάλα προσπαθεί να αφήσει το διάλογο να εξελιχθεί χωρίς να παρέμβει ιδιαίτερα. Στη σειρά 8 η Ε6 προσπαθεί να αποδώσει στα ελληνικά και μεταφράζει κάθε συνθετικό αντιστρέφοντας τα δύο συνθετικά στην τελική σύνθεση της λέξης λέγοντας «γραμμές ζέβρας». Στη σειρά 9 η Ε4, δείχνοντας ότι παίζει με τις γλώσσες, μεταφράζει τα συνθετικά με τη σειρά της γερμανικής λέξης, μεταφέροντας όμως στο πρώτο συνθετικό το φώνημα “μπ” από τη γερμανική λέξη “Zebra” και δημιουργεί έτσι το πολυλεκτικό σύνθετο “ζέμπρα γραμμές”. Το επεισόδιο συνεχίζεται χωρίς λογοπαίγνιο πια. Η Ε5 έρχεται να διορθώσει τη μεταφορά από τα γερμανικά, λέγοντας τη σωστή ελληνική λέξη στη σειρά 10. Η Ε4 κάνει ΕΚ για τη λέξη “Zebra” ρωτώντας για την αντίστοιχη ελληνική (σειρά 11). Η δασκάλα δίνει τη λέξη “ζέβρα” ως ελληνική και η Ε4 δημιουργεί στη συνέχεια το μονολεκτικό σύνθετο “ζεβραγραμμές”. Η δασκάλα δίνει στο τέλος την ελληνική αντιστοιχία δύο φορές και το επεισόδιο ολοκληρώνεται.

Στα παραδείγματα 3 & 4 καταδεικνύεται ότι οι μαθητές δημιουργούν σύνθετα τοποθετώντας τα δύο συνθετικά το ένα δίπλα στο άλλο χωρίς να υπάρχει δείκτης σύνθεσης, γεγονός που επιτρέπει η σύνθεση στα ελληνικά αλλά και στα γερμανικά.

Ένα πιο εκτενές επεισόδιο, το οποίο αναδεικνύει τη δυναμική ενασχόληση με την ΕΚ και τα διάφορα στάδια αναζήτησης της ελληνικής λέξης είναι το παράδειγμα 5.

Παράδειγμα 5: χιόνι νερό → χιόνι βροχή → χιονι νερό → χιονι νερό / Schneeregen/ χιονόνερο

Επεισόδιο Α2.1

[προηγήθηκε σχόλιο και κουβέντα για τον καιρό εκείνη τη στιγμή]

- | | | |
|----|-------|---|
| 1 | Δ: | λοιπόν έχει χιόνι σήμερα λέτε, εε; |
| 2 | Όλοι: | μμμ (δηλώνοντας συμφωνία) |
| 3 | Δ: | είναι χιόνι αυτό; |
| 4 | Α1: | ναι. |
| 5 | Δ: | Νίκο. |
| 6 | Α6: | στα γερμανικά το λένε Schneeregen . |
| 7 | Δ: | μμ, μάλιστα. στα ελληνικά τι είναι; |
| 8 | Α6: | μμ, ξέρω ξέρω |
| 9 | Δ: | τι; |
| 10 | Α6: | που είναι νερό και Sch και λίγο χιόνι. |
| 11 | Δ: | ωραία. μπορείς να φτιάξεις μία λέξη; πώς είναι στα γερμανικά είπες; |
| 12 | Α6: | Schneeregen . |
| 13 | Δ: | ωραία. για προσπάθησε να φτιάξεις μία τέτοια λέξη στα ελληνικά. να ξεκινήσεις με την ίδια λέξη. |
| 14 | Α6: | χιόνι νερό. |
| 15 | Α5: | χιόνι βροχή. |
| 16 | Δ: | χιόνι βροχή, δε μας βγαίνει, για ξαναπές το. μήπως το έχει ακούσει κάποιος; |
| 17 | Α6: | Schneeregen |
| 18 | Δ: | όχι, στα ελληνικά τώρα, πώς το είπες; χιόνι βροχή είπε ο Θ δε βγαίνει, δεν το λέμε έτσι. εσύ Νίκο πώς θα το έλεγες, το έχεις ξανακούσει; για ξαναπές αυτό που είπες (...) τι είπες; (...) Το ξέχασες; |
| 19 | Α6: | nnn |
| 20 | Δ: | πες το πάλι στα ελληνικά. (.) γιατί είναι σχεδόν σωστό, γι' αυτό. για έλα. πώς το είπες. (.) έλα πές' το....) ποια είναι η πρώτη λέξη στα γερμανικά; |
| 21 | Α6: | Schnee . |
| 22 | Δ: | ωραία. στα ελληνικά πώς θα το πούμε αυτό; |
| 23 | Α6: | χιονι νερό. |
| 24 | Δ: | χιονι νερό, δε λέμε όμως χιόνι νερό. |
| 25 | Α6: | χιονι νερό. |
| 26 | Δ: | χιονόνερο λέμε. ρίχνει χιονόνερο. |

Στο επεισόδιο Α2.1 ο διάλογος ξεκινά με αφορμή ένα σχόλιο για τον καιρό που προηγήθηκε. Η δασκάλα υπονοιάζεται ότι οι μαθητές γνωρίζουν ότι αυτό που ρίχνει έξω εκείνη τη στιγμή δεν είναι χιόνι, αλλά χιονόνερο, αλλά δεν το γνωρίζουν στα ελληνικά και απευθύνει το ερώτημα στην τάξη στη σειρά 3 “είναι χιόνι αυτό;”. Και έτσι ο Α6 στη σειρά 6 το ονομάζει στα γερμανικά με εισαγωγή “στα γερμανικά το λένε ...”. Ως συνέχεια του διαλόγου (σειρά 7) η δασκάλα με αφορμή την ΕΚ παροτρύνει τους μαθητές να σκεφτούν την ελληνική αντιστοιχία. Στη σειρά 10 ο Α6 παίρνει το λόγο και

προσπαθεί να εξηγήσει στα ελληνικά, παρεμβάλλοντας το γερμανικό σύμπλεγμα “sch” στη μέση της φράσης. Η δασκάλα δε δίνει τη λύση – απάντηση και συνεχίζει να παροτρύνει τους μαθητές να σκεφτούν την ελληνική λέξη ζητώντας αρχικά να ξαναπούν τη λέξη στα γερμανικά (σειρά 11) και στη συνέχεια να εστιάσουν στα σύνθετα της γερμανικής λέξης (σειρά 13). Στη σειρά 14 ο Α6 φτάνει κοντά στην ελληνική λέξη, ενώ ο Α5 (σειρά 15) μεταφράζει σωστά κάθε όρο. Στις σειρές 18 και 20 οι μαθητές παροτρύνονται και πάλι να σκεφτούν δυναμικά και οι προσπάθειες του Α6 τον φέρνουν πολύ κοντά στο σωστό αποτέλεσμα. Το επεισόδιο ολοκληρώνεται με τη δασκάλα να δίνει τη σωστή απάντηση.

Στο τελευταίο παράδειγμα καταδεικνύεται η αλλαγή γένους ελληνικού ουσιαστικού για την προσαρμογή του κατά τη σύνθεση.

Παράδειγμα 6: ο φωτιάς πλανήτης/ Feuerplanet (εννοεί τον ήλιο όπως το είχαν μάθει στο νηπιαγωγείο)

Επεισόδιο A28.4 (απόσπασμα)

[με αφορμή το κείμενο, ο Α6 αναφερόμενος στον ήλιο]

- ...
 11 Α6: εγώ το ξέρω μόνο στα γερμανικά τι (.) τι **Planet** είναι (.)
 12 Δ: ποιο;
 13 Α6: τι πλανήτης-
 14 Δ: τι πλανήτης;
 15 Α6: ναι
 16 Δ: ποιος είναι πλανήτης;
 17 Α6: ο ήλιος είναι (.) εμ (.) ο ο **Feuerplanet**.
 18 Δ: χμ (θετικό) (.) έτσι λέγεται;
 19 Α4: είναι ο: (.) φωτιάς πλανήτης

(συνεχίζεται)

Στο παράδειγμα 6 ο μαθητής στη σειρά 17 κάνει εναλλαγή για κάποια λέξη που γνωρίζει ως έννοια μόνο στα γερμανικά μιας και είχαν συζητήσει σύμφωνα με τα λεγόμενά του σχετικό θέμα στο νηπιαγωγείο. Επειδή όμως γνωρίζει στα ελληνικά κάθε συνθετικό του γερμανικού συνθέτου προσπαθεί να το αποδώσει στη σειρά 19 δημιουργώντας ένα νέο σύνθετο στα ελληνικά «ο φωτιάς-πλανήτης». Η παρουσία του αρσενικού άρθρου στην αρχή του συνθέτου φαίνεται ότι λειτουργεί ως εφελκυστήρας για το μαθητή για να βάλει την κατάληξη «-ς» για το αρσενικό γένος όχι μόνο στο δεύτερο, αλλά και στο πρώτο συνθετικό. Το γεγονός αυτό είναι ένδειξη ότι έχει κατακτηθεί η λεξική και σημασιολογική κατηγορία του «ουσιαστικού» με τις σχετικές καταλήξεις που αντιστοιχούν στη διάκριση αρσενικού – θηλυκού γένους και ότι ο μαθητής με τις μέχρι τώρα γνώσεις του στα ελληνικά προσπαθεί να καλύψει κάποια λεξιλογικά του κενά με μεταφορά από τα γερμανικά για να συνεχίσει το διάλογο στα ελληνικά.

Στον πίνακα που ακολουθεί συνοψίζονται παραδείγματα συνθέτων της διαγλώσσας των μαθητών όπως αυτά καταγράφηκαν στο λόγο τους κατά τη διάρκεια του μαθήματος.

Λόγος μαθητών	Γερμανικά	Νέα Ελληνικά
1) τηγανογλυκό τηγάνικuchen	Pfannkuchen (O-O) (m)	κρέπα
2) πορτοκαλοδέντρο (O-O)	Orangenbaum (O-O) (m)	πορτοκαλιά
3) Πάσχα-διακοπές	Osterferien (O-O) (pl)	διακοπές του Πάσχα
4) ζεμπραγραμμές	Zebraastreifen (O-O) (pl)	διάβαση πεζών
5) χιονι-νερό χιονι βροχή χιονινερό χιονονερό	Schneeregen (O-O) (m)	χιονόνερο
6) χεριμπάλα	Handball (O-O) (m)	χάντμπολ
7) ο φωτιάς-πλανήτης (O-O)	Feuerplanet (O-O) (m)	

Οι μαθητές φαίνεται πως μεταφέρουν λέξη προς λέξη τα συνθετικά του γερμανικού συνθέτου δημιουργώντας ένα στα ελληνικά ανύπαρκτο σύνθετο. Όλα τα σύνθετα στα γερμανικά και στην ελληνική διαγλώσσα των μαθητών ανήκουν στη γραμματική κατηγορία των ουσιαστικών. Από αυτά κάποια έχουν στα ελληνικά μονολεκτικό απλό (μη σύνθετο) ισοδύναμο, κάποια έχουν μονολεκτικό σύνθετο ισοδύναμο και τέλος κάποια άλλα έχουν πολυλεκτικό ισοδύναμο. Διαπιστώνουμε ότι οι

μαθητές δημιουργούν με τον τρόπο αυτό και νόθα μονολεκτικά σύνθετα όπως στις περιπτώσεις 3-6 στον πίνακα.

Η ικανότητα για δημιουργική χρήση της ελληνικής γλώσσας από τους μαθητές είναι ένδειξη ότι ο μηχανισμός της σύνθεσης έχει κατακτηθεί και αυτό φαίνεται να ισχύει και για τις δύο γλώσσες. Η μεταφορά από τα γερμανικά στα ελληνικά σε επίπεδο σύνθεσης γίνεται λόγω άγνοιας της ελληνικής αντιστοιχίας έχοντας ως βάση τη γερμανική λέξη και λειτουργεί ως στρατηγική κάλυψης του λεξιλογικού κενού από τη μια και ως στρατηγική επικοινωνίας από την άλλη για να συνεχιστεί η ροή του διαλόγου.

4. Συμπεράσματα και διδακτικές προτάσεις

Τα αποτελέσματα της έρευνας μας οδηγούν σε κάποια πρώτα συμπεράσματα. Υπάρχουν ενδείξεις ότι οι μαθητές χρησιμοποιούν τη δομική μεταφορά στην περίπτωση της σύνθεσης από τα γερμανικά στα ελληνικά με δημιουργικό τρόπο και ως στρατηγική κάλυψης και ως στρατηγική επικοινωνίας. Στην προσπάθειά τους να καλύψουν λεξιλογικά κενά και με σκοπό την ομαλή εξέλιξη και συνέχιση της επικοινωνιακής κατάστασης καταφεύγουν στη δημιουργική χρήση της γλώσσας μέσα από τη σύνθεση. Η ικανότητα για σύνθεση που καταγράφεται στους μαθητές δηλώνει τη δημιουργική χρήση της γλώσσας και είναι ένδειξη ότι ο μηχανισμός σύνθεσης της ελληνικής γλώσσας έχει κατακτηθεί και με την έννοια αυτή μπορεί και αξιοποιείται δημιουργικά στις ποικίλες περιστάσεις επικοινωνίας, παρόλο που τα νέα αυτά δημιουργήματα μπορεί να μην αντιστοιχούν σε λέξεις του ελληνικού λεξιλογίου. Η ικανότητα και μόνο δημιουργίας έστω ανύπαρκτων σύνθετων στην ελληνική γλώσσα δηλώνει την κατάκτηση του μηχανισμού σύνθεσης. Ως προς τη μεταφορά στοιχείων από την πρώτη στη δεύτερη γλώσσα τα αποτελέσματά μας συμφωνούν με αυτά της Tzakosta (2011).

Η εμπειρία μας με Έλληνες μαθητές Δημοτικού στην Ελλάδα έχει δείξει ότι οι μαθητές δημιουργούν συχνά επίσης ανύπαρκτα στα ελληνικά σύνθετα παίζοντας κατά κάποιον τρόπο με τις δυνατότητες που τους δίνει η ελληνική γλώσσα να δημιουργήσουν νέες λέξεις, έχοντας βεβαίως κατακτήσει και εσωτερικεύσει το μηχανισμό της σύνθεσης. Συμπεραίνουμε, λοιπόν ότι η δημιουργία ανύπαρκτων ελληνικών συνθέτων από Έλληνες μαθητές στη Γερμανία είναι ένδειξη δημιουργικότητας στα ελληνικά τους και αντικατοπτρίζει παράλληλα και τη διαγλώσσα τους τη συγκεκριμένη χρονική στιγμή/ περίοδο.

Συνεπώς, τα στοιχεία αυτά μας επιτρέπουν να υποστηρίξουμε ότι οι μαθητές είναι εν δυνάμει αμφίγλωσσοι και όχι ημίγλωσσοι όπως συχνά έχει υποστηριχθεί. Επίσης, καταδεικνύεται ότι χρησιμοποιούν την άλλη τους γλώσσα, τα γερμανικά, ως στήριγμα για να διαμορφώσουν τα διάφορα στάδια διαγλώσσας. Η εξέλιξη της διαγλώσσας των μαθητών με στόχο την προσέγγιση της αμφίγλωσσας ή της ισοδύναμης διγλωσσίας για τις επικοινωνιακές τους ανάγκες εξαρτάται και από τη διδακτική μας παρέμβαση που θα κάνουμε ως εκπαιδευτικοί στην τάξη. Καλούμαστε λοιπόν ως εκπαιδευτικοί της ελληνικής ως δεύτερης γλώσσας να εντοπίζουμε ξανά και ξανά, τα σημεία που δυσκολεύουν τους μαθητές μας και να τα διδάσκουμε με συστηματικό τρόπο με αφορμή κάποιες εσφαλμένες παραγωγές λόγου και πατώντας πάνω σε αυτές.

Η δομική μεταφορά κατά τη σύνθεση, όπως καταγράφεται στο λόγο των δίγλωσσων μαθητών της έρευνας, δίνει κατευθύνσεις για τη διδασκαλία της ελληνικής γλώσσας στη Γερμανία αναφορικά με τη σύνθεση. Κάθε εκπαιδευτικός οφείλει να λαμβάνει υπόψη του, τους υπάρχοντες γνωστικούς μηχανισμούς των μαθητών κατά τη σύνθεση, όπως αυτοί εκφράζονται στο λόγο τους και να διδάσκει, με αφορμή το γλωσσικό αποτέλεσμα στοιχεία που αντιλαμβάνεται ότι δεν έχουν κατακτηθεί ακόμη στην ελληνική γλώσσα.

Επιπλέον, καλείται κάθε εκπαιδευτικός να διδάσκει παράλληλα πιο συστηματικά λεξιλόγιο σε ελληνόπουλα στο εξωτερικό, ώστε να διευρυνθεί και να εμπλουτιστεί το λεξιλόγιό τους με απώτερο σκοπό τη βελτίωση της κατανόησης αλλά και της παραγωγής προφορικών και γραπτών κειμένων. Αυτό εκφράζεται στην πράξη από τη μια ως συστηματική διδασκαλία θεματικού λεξιλογίου και από την άλλη ως συστηματική παρουσίαση και διδασκαλία σημασιολογικών κατηγοριών με άξονα την παραγωγή λέξεων της νέας ελληνικής εστιάζοντας στην επιθηματοποίηση και τη προθηματοποίηση. Η πρόταση αυτή είναι κοντά σε αυτή της Ευθυμίου (2001) που προτείνει για την ελληνική ως μητρική να διδάσκεται πιο συστηματικά η παραγωγή και η σύνθεση στο γλωσσικό μάθημα.

Ενδεικτικά, για τη διδασκαλία της ελληνικής ως δεύτερης γλώσσας, όταν ο εκπαιδευτικός εντοπίσει αδυναμία των μαθητών στο να ονομάσουν τα διάφορα δέντρα στα ελληνικά, μία διδακτική ενότητα με σχετικό κείμενο και το επίθημα «-ιά» θα δώσει εύκολα και γρήγορα τις βάσεις για να θυμάται ο μαθητής ότι μία σημασία του επιθήματος «-ιά» είναι η σημασία ‘δέντρο’. Συγκεκριμένα, για τις παράγωγες λέξεις σε «-ιά» φαίνεται ιδιαίτερα χρήσιμη η διδακτική προσέγγιση της Ευθυμίου

(2000) μέσα από πέντε στάδια: την αναγνώριση, την ερμηνεία, την κατάκτηση, την επαναχρησιμοποίηση και τέλος την παραγωγή λέξεων.

Κλείνοντας συγκρατούμε δύο βασικά σημεία. Πρώτον, ότι η δομική μεταφορά στην περίπτωση της σύνθεσης από Έλληνες δίγλωσσους μαθητές στη Γερμανία, είναι ένδειξη κατάκτησης τους μηχανισμού σύνθεσης και έκφραση της ικανότητάς τους για δημιουργική χρήση της ελληνικής γλώσσας. Το δεύτερο σημείο είναι ότι οι μαθητές είναι εν δυνάμει αμφίγλωσσοι και όχι ημίγλωσσοι και χρειάζονται τη συνεχή και συστηματική υποστήριξη του δασκάλου της ελληνικής γλώσσας ο οποίος με συστηματική διδασκαλία θα τους οδηγήσει σε επόμενα στάδια διαγλώσσας και όσο το δυνατόν πιο κοντά στην αμφίγλωσσία για τις επικοινωνιακές τους ανάγκες.

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Συμβάσεις απομαγνητοφώνησης

(.) = ανάλογα με τελείες ή αριθμό, δηλώνει το χρόνο σε δευτερόλεπτα χωρίς ομιλία

[XXX] = δικά μου σχόλια ή παρατηρήσεις σε σημεία που δεν μπορούσαν να απομαγνητοφωνηθούν

... = διάλογος συνεχίζεται χωρίς κάτι σημαντικό για την εξέλιξη του νοήματος

??? = αδύνατη η απομαγνητοφώνηση

? = γερμανικό ερωτηματικό

↓ = χαμηλόφωνα

Συντομογραφίες

EK= εναλλαγή κώδικα, εναλλαγής κώδικα, εναλλαγές κώδικα κ.λπ.

TEΓ= Τμήμα(τα) Ελληνικής Γλώσσας

TMΓ= Τμήμα(τα) Μητρικής Γλώσσας

ΖΕΑ= Ζώνη Επικείμενης Ανάπτυξης

Δ= Δασκάλα

A1-6= μαθητές της Α΄ τάξης

B1-8= μαθητές της Β΄ τάξης

E1-11= μαθητές της Ε΄ & ΣΤ΄ τάξη

ΡΗΜΑΤΙΚΕΣ ΚΑΤΗΓΟΡΙΕΣ ΓΙΑ ΤΗΝ ΠΕΡΙΓΡΑΦΗ ΤΗΣ ΝΕΑΣ ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΗΣ: ΧΡΟΝΟΙ, ΕΓΚΛΙΣΕΙΣ ΚΑΙ ΤΙ ΑΛΛΟ;

Αναστάσιος Τσαγγαλίδης
Αριστοτέλειο Πανεπιστήμιο Θεσσαλονίκης
atsangal@enl.auth.gr

ABSTRACT

The paper discusses a number of issues involved in identifying morphological oppositions in the area of Tense, Aspect and Modality in (Modern) Greek. Various difficulties faced by traditional and more recent approaches are noted and the importance of overt morphological expression is emphasized. Using morphology as a starting point, a number of specific proposals for the description of individual (sub-)categories can be supported.

Λέξεις κλειδιά: χρόνος, όψη, τροπικότητα, μορφολογική έκφραση, ασυμμετρίες μορφής-σημασίας

1. Εισαγωγή

Είναι κοινός τόπος στη διαγλωσσική μελέτη των ρηματικών κατηγοριών ότι σπάνια η ονομασία της καθεμιάς μπορεί να περιγράψει εξαντλητικά και με σαφήνεια τη σημασία της: έτσι, λ.χ., ένας «χρόνος» σπάνια δηλώνει μόνο χρονικές σχέσεις, ένας «μελλοντικός χρόνος» σπάνια αναφέρεται μόνο στο μέλλον, μια «προστακτική» σπάνια χρησιμεύει μόνο για να εκφράσει προσταγές ή έστω μόνο κατευθυντικές γλωσσικές πράξεις, κ.ο.κ. Επομένως, η απόφαση για τις σχετικές διακρίσεις και τις ονομασίες τους δεν είναι πάντα εύκολη – ενώ, αντίθετα, είναι πάντα εύκολο να βρεθούν παραδείγματα (έστω περιθωριακά) που να τις θέτουν σε αμφισβήτηση.

Στην περίπτωση της ελληνικής, η ισχυρή παράδοση της ανάλυσης των ρηματικών κατηγοριών της αρχαίας περιπλέκει ακόμα περισσότερο τα πράγματα, ενισχύοντας τον, ούτως ή άλλως υπαρκτό, συντηρητισμό που χαρακτηρίζει οποιαδήποτε γραμματική περιγραφή (βλ. τις σχετικές συζητήσεις στα Ρούσσου & Τσαγγαλίδης 2010, Τσαγγαλίδης 2001 και Θωμόπουλος 1945, μεταξύ άλλων). Ερωτήματα όπως τα ακόλουθα: *Ποιοι είναι οι χρόνοι του νεοελληνικού ρήματος; Ποιες είναι οι εγκλίσεις του νεοελληνικού ρήματος; Γενικότερα, ποια είναι τα «παρεπόμενα» του νεοελληνικού ρήματος;* συνηθέστερα θα προκαλέσουν το ερώτημα «μα είναι διαφορετικές από τις αντίστοιχες κατηγορίες της αρχαίας;» (υπονοώντας σαφώς το άλλο ερώτημα: «είναι δυνατό να είναι διαφορετικές από τις αντίστοιχες κατηγορίες της αρχαίας;») και εντελώς σπάνια θα θέσουν το πραγματικό ζητούμενο: *Πώς παίρνουμε τις σχετικές αποφάσεις;*

Σε σχέση με αυτό το ερώτημα, και εφόσον ερμηνεύω σωστά τον Jespersen (1924: 47, 321 – βλ. και Τσαγγαλίδης 2001), υπάρχουν δύο πιθανά σφάλματα κατά την προσπάθεια περιγραφής ενός γραμματικού συστήματος: το αλληθώρισμα προς τις κατηγορίες κάποιου άλλου συστήματος (με συλλογισμούς του τύπου «αφού η γλώσσα Α διαθέτει την κατηγορία X, θα πρέπει να τη διαθέτει και η γλώσσα Β») και η προσφυγή σε *αφελή* εννοιολογικά κριτήρια (π.χ. «ο τύπος Y είναι τύπος της προστακτικής, αφού μπορεί να χρησιμοποιηθεί για να εκφράσει προσταγή»). Με δυο λόγια, οι κατηγορίες του νεοελληνικού ρήματος μπορεί και πρέπει να περιγραφούν ανεξάρτητα από τις κατηγορίες οποιουδήποτε άλλου συστήματος (συμπεριλαμβανομένων και όλων των προγόνων του).

Αυτή η ανεξαρτησία της περιγραφής δεν υπαινίσσεται (και δεν δικαιολογεί) την άγνοια ούτε των ιστορικών δεδομένων ούτε των διαγλωσσικών τυπολογιών των αντίστοιχων κατηγοριών, ούτε βέβαια των σχετικών προβλέψεων που στηρίζονται σε προσεγγίσεις όπως η θεωρία της γραμματικοποίησης ή η παραμετροποίηση των λειτουργικών κατηγοριών (βλ. ενδεικτικά, και σε σχέση με τις ρηματικές κατηγορίες, τα αντίστοιχα ζητήματα που συζητούν οι Bybee, Perkins & Pagliuca 1994, Joseph 2004, Roberts & Roussou 2003, Μόζερ 2009). Είναι βέβαιο όμως ότι και τα ιστορικά δεδομένα δεν είναι ποτέ πλήρη (αν μη τι άλλο καθώς δεν περιλαμβάνουν δεδομένα προφορικού λόγου), οι διαγλωσσικές γενικεύσεις βασίζονται (ή θα έπρεπε να βασίζονται) σε εξαντλητικές περιγραφές μεμονωμένων γλωσσών και επομένως παραμένουν θεωρητικές γενικεύσεις «υπό αναθεώρηση», ακριβώς όπως και οι πιο προφανώς θεωρητικές προσεγγίσεις της γραμματικοποίησης ή της παραμετροποίησης. Με δυο

λόγια, όσο κι αν αμφισβητείται η πληρότητα μιας καθαρά συγχρονικής περιγραφής, στην πραγματικότητα είναι η πληρέστερη δυνατότητα που διαθέτουμε, δεδομένων όλων των άλλων περιορισμών.

Έτσι, η όποια περιγραφή μπορεί να προϋποθέσει συγκεκριμένα γλωσσικά καθολικά, τυπολογικές προβλέψεις, γνωσιακούς περιορισμούς, μπορεί να λάβει υπόψη κληρονομημένα ελληνικά χαρακτηριστικά, βαλκανισμούς και άλλες επιρροές, όμως η τελική απόφαση και η σχετικές κατηγοριοποιήσεις θα πρέπει να στηρίζονται στα πραγματικά συγχρονικά δεδομένα. Αυτά βέβαια επιδέχονται ένα πλήθος από γνωσιακές, σημασιολογικές και πραγματολογικές προσεγγίσεις της διαπλοκής των ρηματικών κατηγοριών (τόσο μεταξύ τους όσο και με τα λοιπά χαρακτηριστικά της πρότασης και της εκφώνησής της). Όμως, ως προς την αναλυτική τους περιγραφή, μόνο η μορφολογία μπορεί να θεωρηθεί ασφαλές έδαφος (“the safe ground of verbal forms actually found in a language” – Jespersen 1924: 321), στο οποίο μπορούν να βασιστούν οι σχετικές κατηγοριοποιήσεις.

2. Μορφολογικοί ορισμοί στο πεδίο του χρόνου

Όσο κι αν δεν είναι εύκολα αποδεκτό (στο πλαίσιο της παράδοσης της περιγραφής της ελληνικής), η μόνη ορατή διάκριση χρόνου είναι αυτή μεταξύ των χαρακτηριστικών [+παρελθόν] και [-παρελθόν]. Κάθε παρεμφατικός ρηματικός τύπος, υποχρεωτικά χρησιμοποιεί είτε τις καταλήξεις του ενός είτε του άλλου: αν περιοριστούμε στους μονολεκτικούς τύπους της ενεργητικής φωνής, οι διαθέσιμες καταλήξεις θα είναι είτε αυτές του *γράφω* (και άρα και του *γράφω*), δηλαδή το σύνολο <-ω, -εις, -ει, -ουμε, -ετε, -ουν> είτε αυτές του *έγραφα* (και άρα και του *έγραφα*), δηλαδή το σύνολο <-α, -ες, -ε, -αμε, -ατε, -αν> (βλ. όμως και Spyropoulos & Revithiadou 2009). Δεν θα επαναλάβω εδώ τις αδυναμίες της παραδοσιακής προσέγγισης να δεχθεί την ισότιμη αντιμετώπιση του τύπου *γράφω* ως τύπου που φέρει το ίδιο ακριβώς χρονικό χαρακτηριστικό όπως και ο τύπος *γράφω* (βλ. Τσαγγαλίδης 2002α και 2002β) – αλλά θα επιμείνω ότι πρέπει να υπάρξει ισχυρός λόγος για να ΜΗΝ θεωρηθεί ότι το σύνολο των καταλήξεων που χρησιμοποιεί εκφράζει ακριβώς τις ίδιες κατηγορίες (Χρόνου και Συμφωνίας) που εκφράζει και το (ολόιδιο) σύνολο καταλήξεων του *γράφω*. Προφανώς πάντως το καθαρά μορφολογικό ζήτημα του σχηματισμού είναι ξεκάθαρο και μπορεί να διατυπωθεί με ξεκάθαρο τρόπο, χωρίς να συνδέεται (και να συσκοτίζεται) από τους σημασιολογικούς και συντακτικούς περιορισμούς που σίγουρα υπάρχουν: με εντελώς ανάλογη συλλογιστική, το ότι το *γάλα* και η *ζάχαρη* δεν *σημαίνουν* κάτι εξίσου «ενικό» όπως το *κουτάλι* και η *κούπα* σίγουρα δεν αναιρεί την (ορθή και προφανή) κατηγοριοποίησή τους ως τύπων του Ενικού Αριθμού.

Σε ένα επόμενο επίπεδο, αντίστοιχα, η υπόσταση του *θα* δεν είναι εύκολο να διατυπωθεί με τρόπο που να καλύπτει όλες τις εμφανίσεις του, αν αυτό θα σήμαινε ότι θέλουμε να έχουμε ενιαία συμπεριφορά από την άποψη της σύνταξης, της σημασιολογίας και της πραγματολογίας. Στο επίπεδο του σχηματισμού, είναι προφανές και αδιαμφισβήτητο ότι όλοι οι παρεμφατικοί ρηματικοί τύποι μπορούν να συνοδεύονται από το *θα*, το οποίο σε κάθε περίπτωση *θα* μπορεί να δέχεται άρνηση με το *δεν* στην αμέσως προηγούμενη από το *θα* θέση και η ακολουθία <*θα* + ρήμα> μπορεί να διακόπτεται μόνο από κλιτικά της προσωπικής αντωνυμίας. Τα τυπικά αυτά στοιχεία ΔΕΝ διαφοροποιούν μεταξύ των αναγνωρισμένων χρονικών συνδυασμών του *θα* (στα *θα γράφω*, *θα γράψω*, *θα έχω γράψει*) και των άλλων (εν πολλοίς ανώνυμων και απερίγραπτων) συνδυασμών του *θα* (*θα έγραφα*, *θα έγραφα*, *θα είχα γράψει*). Είτε το *θα* θεωρηθεί δείκτης του μέλλοντα είτε κάποιας τροπικότητας δεν παύει να έχει ακριβώς τα ίδια τυπικά χαρακτηριστικά, ανεξάρτητα από όλους τους άλλους περιορισμούς στην εμφάνιση του κάθε συνδυασμού σε συγκεκριμένα συντακτικά και άλλα περιβάλλοντα.

Σε γενικές γραμμές πάντως, στο πεδίο του χρόνου, οι μορφολογικές διακρίσεις είναι απλές και οι αντιστοιχίες τους με κατηγορίες όπως παρόν, παρελθόν και μέλλον είναι γενικά αποδεκτές (με μικρές εξαιρέσεις, όπως το *γράφω*). Παρά τις προφανείς αυτές αντιστοιχίες, η επίδραση της παράδοσης (είτε των κλασικών γλωσσών είτε της καθιερωμένης τριανταφυλλιδικής ανάλυσης) είναι ισοπεδωτική: οι διαθέσιμοι όροι βρίσκουν αντίκρισμα (έστω και αν πολλαπλώς είναι προβληματική η αντιστοιχισή τους – βλ. π.χ. ‘ένεστώτας’ και ‘αόριστος’) ενώ οι υπαρκτοί τύποι που δεν διαθέτουν καθιερωμένη ονομασία παραμένουν άστεγοι και ανώνυμοι (όπως οι συνδυασμοί *θα έγραφα*, *θα έγραφα*, *θα είχα γράψει*). Αξίζει βέβαια να σημειωθεί ότι οι μεγάλες πρόσφατες γραμματικές έχουν κάνει σημαντικά βήματα προς την πληρότητα των σχετικών περιγραφών (βλ. Holton, Mackridge & Φιλίππакη-Warburton 1997/99, Κλαίρης & Μπαμπινιώτης 2005 καθώς και Τσαγγαλίδης 2001, 2002α και 2002β, Βελούδης 2006, Γιαννουλοπούλου & Τσαγγαλίδης 2006). Οι προσπάθειες αυτές όμως, όπως φαίνεται και από τα πρόσφατα σχολικά εγχειρίδια, δεν έχουν βρει το δρόμο προς την κοινή χρήση.

3. Μορφολογικοί ορισμοί στο πεδίο της όψης

Ανάλογη είναι η κατάσταση και στο πεδίο της όψης. Η διάκριση ενεστωτικού και αοριστικού θέματος είναι υπαρκτή και ορατή για το σύνολο σχεδόν των ρημάτων της νέας ελληνικής (και υπάρχουν και αρκετά καλές εξηγήσεις για την απουσία της διάκρισης σε συγκεκριμένες κατηγορίες ρημάτων – βλ. Comrie 1976, Μόξερ 1994, Tsangalidis 1999). Η δυσκολία και πάλι προκύπτει πέρα από την ξεκάθαρη μορφολογική διάκριση: ποια είναι η φύση της διάκρισης, πώς ονομάζονται οι σχετικές κατηγορίες και ποιος θα καθορίσει τις σχετικές αποφάσεις. Ενδεικτική είναι η σχετική ποικιλία της ορολογίας:

- Τρόπος (δράσης) – π.χ. στη Γραμματική Τριανταφυλλίδη
- Ποιόν ενεργείας – π.χ. στη Γραμματική Κλαίρη-Μπαμπινιώτη
- Άποψη – π.χ. Μόξερ 1994
- (Ρηματική) Όψη – π.χ. Βελούδης 2010

Η μορφολογία και πάλι όμως επιτελεί το καθήκον της πιστά: κάθε ρηματικός τύπος (αυτή τη φορά είτε πρόκειται για παρεμφατικό είτε για μη παρεμφατικό), οπωσδήποτε θα σχηματίζεται είτε με το ενεστωτικό είτε με το αοριστικό θέμα, χωρίς καμία αμφιβολία (εκτός βέβαια από τις περιπτώσεις ομόηχων θεμάτων σε -ν-, σε -λλ- και λίγων άλλων – βλ., λ.χ. Μαγουλά & Κατσούδα 2011). Δεν υπάρχει πάντως αμφιβολία ότι οι τύποι *γράφω*, *θα γράφω*, *έγραφα*, *θα έγραφα*, *γράφει*, *γράφοντας* περιέχουν το ενεστωτικό θέμα, ενώ οι τύποι *γράφω*, *θα γράψω*, *έγραψα*, *θα έγραψα*, *γράψε*, *γράψει* (στους συντελικούς τύπους) περιέχουν το αοριστικό.

Ο σημασιολογικός χαρακτηρισμός είναι που περιπλέκει τα πράγματα, και προφανώς εκεί οφείλεται και η αδυναμία ομοφωνίας στην ονομασία των μελών της προφανούς αυτής διάκρισης. Ξέρουμε ότι το ζεύγος *γράφει-γράψε* εκφράζει την ίδια διάκριση με το *έγραφε-έγραψε* και το *θα γράφεις-θα γράψεις*. Πώς όμως θα ονομαστεί το καθένα; Μεταξύ άλλων, έχουν προταθεί τα εξής:

- στιγμιαίο-διαρκείας (Γραμματική Τριανταφυλλίδη)
- τέλειο-ατελές (Γραμματική Κλαίρη-Μπαμπινιώτη)
- συντελεσμένο-ασυντέλεστο (Μοσχονάς 1990-91)
- συνοπτικό-μη συνοπτικό (Βελούδης 2005)

Εδώ το πρόβλημα είναι λίγο πιο σύνθετο από ό,τι στην περίπτωση του χρόνου, για αρκετούς λόγους: η παράδοση των κλασικών γλωσσών δεν περιέχει ξεκάθαρα αντίστοιχες κατηγορίες (αν και πολλά ιστορικά στάδια της εξέλιξης του ελληνικού ρήματος μπορούν πλέον να περιγραφούν με όρους όψης – βλ. π.χ. Bary 2009). Εξάλλου, η έννοια του ‘τρόπου’ όπως την εισήγαγε ο Τριανταφυλλίδης αποδείχτηκε αδιαφανής και τελικά όχι ιδιαίτερα χρήσιμη (όπως σημείωνε ο Καρατζάς στην Εισαγωγή του στη μετάφραση του Mirambel (1978: ι) «δε δίνει ... τη σωστή έννοια του όρου σε όλη του την έκταση»). Σε κάθε περίπτωση, η κατηγορία της όψης είναι γνωσιακά πιο σύνθετη από αυτή του χρόνου και έτσι είναι πολύ πιο εύκολες οι πιθανές διαφορετικές προσεγγίσεις των ίδιων δεδομένων αλλά και η αμφισβήτησή τους. Σε αυτό το πλαίσιο, οι όποιες σύγχρονες προσπάθειες είναι πολύ εύκολο να κατηγορηθούν (περισσότερο ή λιγότερα δίκαια) ότι «βιαστικά συμπεραίνουν όσοι αρκούνται να μεταφέρουν στα καθ’ ημάς θεωρίες για τ’ Αγγλικά ή τα Γαλλικά» (Μοσχονάς 1990-91: 167).

4. Μορφολογικοί ορισμοί στο πεδίο της έγκλισης/τροπικότητας

Στην περίπτωση της έγκλισης και της τροπικότητας η ένταση μεταξύ των ‘παραδοσιακών’ και των ‘εκσυγχρονιστών’ είναι ακόμα μεγαλύτερη, καθώς είναι οφθαλμοφανές ότι οι κατηγορίες της αρχαίας ελληνικής έχουν αλλάξει. Εξάλλου, είναι δύσκολο να αντιστοιχιστούν οι κατηγορίες της νέας ελληνικής με αυτές των άλλων γλωσσών, καθώς τόσο για την ελληνική όσο και για πολλές άλλες γλώσσες είναι προβληματική και η σχέση έγκλισης και τροπικότητας και η αριθμητική της καθεμίας (και βέβαια οι ονομασίες και το ακριβές περιεχόμενο των σχετικών (υπο)κατηγοριών).

Η έγκλιση είναι η γραμματική έκφραση της τροπικότητας – και πάλι ο ασφαλέστερος καθορισμός των γραμματικοποιημένων κατηγοριών σε μια γλώσσα βασίζεται στη μορφολογική τους έκφραση. Δεν θα επαναλάβω εδώ τις λεπτομέρειες σχετικά την απώλεια της μορφολογικής διάκρισης τόσο της ευκτικής όσο και της υποτακτικής της αρχαίας: εδώ και πολλούς αιώνες, η μορφολογία του ρήματος της ελληνικής διακρίνει μόνο μεταξύ προστακτικής και μη προστακτικής στο επίπεδο των μονολεκτικών τύπων (βλ. Ρούσσου & Τσαγγαλίδης 2010 και τις αναφορές εκεί). Αν υπερβούμε το όριο της λέξης, οι συνδυασμοί με το *να* και το *ας* είναι προφανώς διαθέσιμοι να συνοδεύουν όλους

τους παρεμφατικούς τύπους όλων των ρημάτων – και με παρόμοια τυπικά χαρακτηριστικά: επιλέγουν τον δείκτη άρνησης *μην* στην αμέσως επόμενη θέση, και κατά τα άλλα επιτρέπουν μόνο κλιτικά της προσωπικής αντωνυμίας ανάμεσά σε αυτά και το ρήμα.

Μικρή σημασία έχει αν θα ονομαστούν τύποι της υποτακτικής (κατά Βελούδη & Φιλίππακη-Warburton 1983) ή τροπικοί τύποι (όπως από τους Κλαίρη-Μπαμπινιώτη) ή κάτι άλλο: σε κάθε περίπτωση είναι υπαρκτοί συνδυασμοί και σχετίζονται με την έκφραση τροπικότητας (σε κύριες εκφορές) ενώ το να λειτουργεί και σαν δείκτης υπόταξης. Κάποιος άλλος δείκτης τροπικότητας δεν φαίνεται να έχει ιδιαίτερα σημαντικό ρόλο στην οργάνωση του ρηματικού συστήματος της νέας ελληνικής, αν και είναι προφανής η ύπαρξη, η συνδυαστικότητα και η πολυ-λειτουργικότητα των τροπικών ρημάτων (δυνατότητας και αναγκαιότητας, αντίστοιχα) *μπορώ/μπορεί* και *πρέπει* (Ιακώβου 1999, Τσαγγαλίδης 2003, Tsangalidis 2009).

Οι «συνταχτικές εγκλίσεις» που αναγνωρίζονται στη Γραμματική Τριανταφυλλίδη (1941: 315, παρ. 847) είναι προφανώς σημασιολογικά οριζόμενες υπο-περιπτώσεις των κατά τα άλλα διακριτών συνδυασμών των τροπικών μορίων *θα*, *να* και *ας*. Μορφολογικά δεν υπάρχει κάτι ιδιαίτερο ως προς τους συνδυασμούς αυτούς: αν δηλαδή όλοι οι συνδυασμοί του *θα* ανήκουν στην οριστική (κατά Βελούδη & Φιλίππακη-Warburton 1983), προφανώς εκεί ανήκουν και οι «δυννητικοί» και οι «πιθανολογικοί» συνδυασμοί του. Παρόμοια, αν οι συνδυασμοί του *να* και του *ας* θεωρηθούν τροπικοί τύποι ή τύποι της υποτακτικής, εκεί ανήκουν και οι «ευχετικοί» συνδυασμοί (βλ. και Τσαγγαλίδης 2001).

5. Άλλες μορφολογικές διακρίσεις ρηματικών κατηγοριών

Άλλες ρηματικές κατηγορίες που χρειάζεται να περιγραφούν με μορφολογικούς όρους περιλαμβάνουν τους συντελικούς τύπους (τους συνδυασμούς του βοηθητικού *έχω* με τον μη παρεμφατικό συνοπτικό τύπο) που έχουν προφανή συστατικά τις υπόλοιπες κατηγορίες που δηλώνονται από το *έχω*: χρόνος (+/-παρόν, +/-μέλλον) και τροπικότητα (+/-να, +/-ας) εκφράζονται όπως και με κάθε ρήμα. Το ερώτημα αν οι συντελικοί τύποι είναι διακριτοί χρόνοι ή εκφράσεις όψης ή κάτι διαφορετικό δεν έχει πλέον ιδιαίτερο ενδιαφέρον είτε σε θεωρητικό είτε σε πρακτικό επίπεδο, εφόσον ο σχηματισμός τους, σε κάθε περίπτωση, πρέπει να περιγραφεί ξεχωριστά.

Ο τύπος *γράφει* στον συνδυασμό *έχω γράψει* χαρακτηρίζεται «απαρέμφατο» στη Γραμματική Τριανταφυλλίδη και «μη παρεμφατικός» στη Γραμματική των Holton, Mackridge & Φιλίππακη-Warburton. Ανεξάρτητα από την ονομασία που θα προτιμηθεί, η υπόστασή του είναι ξεκάθαρη: αποτελείται από το αοριστικό/συνοπτικό θέμα και έχει κατάληξη ομόηχη με αυτή του γ' ενικού προσώπου, αν και είναι σαφές ότι δεν δηλώνει πρόσωπο.

Οι κλιτές μετοχές σε *-μενος* και σε *-μένος* έχουν επίσης προφανή διακριτά μορφολογικά χαρακτηριστικά: από τις ρηματικές κατηγορίες, ανήκουν στη μέση φωνή, και σχηματίζονται με το ενεστωτικό θέμα οι πρώτες και με ένα ιδιαίτερο (αλλά πάντως συνοπτικό) θέμα οι άλλες. Δηλώνουν επίσης γένος, αριθμό και πτώση (προφανώς ονοματικά χαρακτηριστικά) και επομένως δικαιολογούν απόλυτα την ονομασία τους, καθώς μετέχουν και στο ονοματικό και στο ρηματικό σύστημα. Είναι επίσης προφανές ότι η χρήση τους άλλοτε αντιστοιχεί με αυτή των επιθέτων και άλλοτε τις κάνει απλώς τμήματα ρηματικών σχηματισμών (π.χ. του παρακειμένου β').

Αντίθετα, οι άκλιτες μετοχές σε *-οντας/-ώντας* δεν διαθέτουν (πλέον) κανένα ονοματικό χαρακτηριστικό. Επομένως δεν μπορούν να δικαιολογηθούν πλέον την παραδοσιακή τους ονομασία, έστω κι αν ο όρος «γερούνδιο» που έχει προταθεί (από τους Holton, Mackridge & Φιλίππακη-Warburton – βλ. και Tsimpli 2000) δεν γίνεται εύκολα αποδεκτός (βλ. Μόζερ 2002, Νάκας 2003). Σίγουρα πάντως χρειάζεται να διαφοροποιηθούν από τις κλιτές μετοχές που είδαμε παραπάνω, καθώς ανήκουν στην ενεργητική φωνή, σχηματίζονται από το ενεστωτικό θέμα και με εντελώς δική τους κατάληξη (και συνακόλουθη συντακτική συμπεριφορά).

6. Συμπεράσματα

Αυτό που υποστηρίχτηκε παραπάνω σε σχέση με όλες τις κατηγορίες που συζητήθηκαν είναι πως οι μορφολογικές ενδείξεις σε κάθε περίπτωση αποτελούν στοιχεία που δεν μπορεί να αγνοηθούν. Ανεξάρτητα από την ιστορική εξέλιξη και από τις διαγλωσσικά έγκυρες προσδοκίες μας, τα ίδια τα δεδομένα πρέπει να περιγράφονται με ακρίβεια. Στην περίπτωση των κατηγοριών Χρόνου-Όψης-Τροπικότητας, υπάρχουν αρκετά σαφείς ενδείξεις για τη συστηματική πραγμάτωση συγκεκριμένων διακρίσεων. Η αναγνώριση των υπαρκτών διακρίσεων είναι το πρώτο απαραίτητο βήμα – ενώ η αντιστοίχισή τους με διαγλωσσικά πρότυπα ή με γνωσιακές ή καθολικές κατηγορίες θα πρέπει να

έπεται (για προφανείς λόγους λογικής και μεθοδολογικής συνέπειας). Από την άποψη αυτή, τα χαρακτηριστικά [+/-παρελθόν], [+/-συνοπτικό] και [+/-προστακτική] είναι απαραίτητο να αναγνωριστούν ως τα στοιχειώδη μορφολογικά συστατικά της σύνθετης περιοχής των ρηματικών κατηγοριών τα οποία θα αποτελέσουν τη βάση για τις αναλύσεις των πολύπλοκων σημασιακών δυνατοτήτων του συστήματος: στο επίπεδο της ερμηνείας, η διαπλοκή των στοιχείων είναι δεδομένη και προβλέψιμη.

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«ΕΧΟΥΜΕ ΓΙΝΕΙ ΕΝΑ ΑΠΕΡΑΝΤΟ ΦΡΕΝΟΚΟΜΕΙΟ»: ΛΟΓΟΠΑΙΓΝΙΑ ΣΤΟ ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΟ ΚΟΙΝΟΒΟΥΛΙΟ¹

Βύλλυ Τσάκωνα

Δημοκρίτειο Πανεπιστήμιο Θράκης, Ελλάδα

villytsa@otenet.gr

ABSTRACT

The aim of the study is to discuss punning as a discursual strategy in the Greek parliament: Why do parliamentarians use puns in their speeches? How do they react to other parliamentarians' puns? Are puns accepted or rejected in this context? The data under scrutiny comes from the official parliamentary proceedings and involves a 'no confidence' debate which took place in 2007. The analysis reveals that puns are employed to undermine, criticize, and challenge the opponents, as well as to show solidarity among parliamentarians. Furthermore, they underline parliamentarians' rhetorical skills. Thus, they seem to be a popular strategy in this context.

Λέξεις κλειδιά: λογοπαίγνια, κοινοβουλευτικό λόγος, χιούμορ, ρητορική ικανότητα, πρόταση δυσπιστίας, ανάλυση λόγου, οριοθέτηση ομάδων

1. Εισαγωγή

Η σύγχρονη μελέτη του κοινοβουλευτικού λόγου στρέφεται ολοένα και περισσότερο σε γλωσσικές στρατηγικές οι οποίες θεωρούνται χαρακτηριστικές του είδους και εμφανίζονται συχνά σε αυτό. Όπως παρατηρεί η Ilie (2010: 880), ο κοινοβουλευτικός λόγος βαθμιαία τείνει να αποκτήσει έναν τυποποιημένο, τελετουργικό (ritualized) χαρακτήρα, καθώς αφενός υφίσταται θεσμικούς περιορισμούς από τους κανόνες (γλωσσικής ή άλλης) συμπεριφοράς του κοινοβουλίου και αφετέρου οι ίδιοι/ες οι βουλευτές, μέσα από τις πρακτικές τους, συμβάλλουν σε μια λιγότερο ή περισσότερο σταθερή ή και τυποποιημένη μορφή των ομιλιών και των παρεμβάσεών τους (πρβλ. Bayley, 2004: 14).

Στο πλαίσιο αυτό, στόχος της παρούσας μελέτης είναι η διερεύνηση της κοινωνιογλωσσικής λειτουργίας που επιτελούν τα λογοπαίγνια στον λόγο των πολιτικών στο ελληνικό κοινοβούλιο. Συγκεκριμένα, θα προσπαθήσω να απαντήσω στα ακόλουθα ερωτήματα:

- Για ποιους λόγους και στόχους παράγονται λογοπαίγνια από τους/τις πολιτικούς κατά την κοινοβουλευτική διαβούλευση;
- Σημειώνονται αντιδράσεις σε αυτά; Τι είδους είναι οι αντιδράσεις αυτές και από ποιους/ες προέρχονται;
- Αποτελούν, τελικά, τα λογοπαίγνια αποδεκτή γλωσσική στρατηγική στο ελληνικό κοινοβούλιο ή η χρήση τους αξιολογείται αρνητικά στο πλαίσιο αυτό;

2. Ανταγωνισμός και ρητορική στα σύγχρονα κοινοβούλια

Στις σύγχρονες δημοκρατίες η πολιτική διαβούλευση γίνεται κατεξοχήν σε υπερεθνικό επίπεδο (π.χ., στην Ευρωπαϊκή Ένωση), σε ενδοκυβερνητικό επίπεδο, στα ΜΜΕ και στα πολιτικά κόμματα, ενώ οι συζητήσεις στο κοινοβούλιο έχουν σχετικά περιορισμένη συμβολή στη λήψη νομοθετικών ή άλλων αποφάσεων. Γι' αυτό υποστηρίζεται (Bayley, 2004: 10-12· Ilie, 2010: 879) ότι τα σύγχρονα κοινοβούλια έχουν αποκτήσει περισσότερο *συμβολική* αξία, τουλάχιστον σε σχέση με παλιότερες

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εποχές. Ουσιαστικά οι βουλευτές μάχονται για να επιβάλουν το δικό τους νόημα και τη δική τους ερμηνεία για την (πολιτική ή άλλη) πραγματικότητα, επισκιάζοντας τα αντίστοιχα των αντιπάλων.

Κινούμενοι/ες σε ένα τέτοιο ανταγωνιστικό και αντιπαραθετικό περιβάλλον, οι βουλευτές καλούνται να επιδεικνύουν τις ρητορικές (και ευρύτερα γλωσσικές) τους δεξιότητες και με αυτές να φέρνουν σε δύσκολη θέση τους/τις αντιπάλους τους. Η υπεροχή τους αυτή αναμένεται να αναγνωρίζεται τόσο από τους/τις συναδέλφους τους όσο και από το ευρύτερο κοινό (Pérez de Ayala, 2001: 164· Πιε, 2003: 30-31· Μπακάκου-Ορφανού, 2008). Κατά συνέπεια, πολύ συχνά στο κοινοβούλιο οι πολιτικοί ασκούνται (και αρκούνται) στην παραγωγή αξιοσημείων, εντυπωσιακού όσο και επιθετικού λόγου.

Όσον αφορά το ελληνικό κοινοβούλιο, το ίδιο το πολιτικό σύστημα φαίνεται να ευνοεί τις λογομαχίες. Δεδομένου ότι η εκάστοτε κυβερνώσα πλειοψηφία διαθέτει τη νομοθετική πρωτοβουλία και οι συνεργασίες μεταξύ κομμάτων δεν αποτελούν (ακόμη;) μέρος της ελληνικής πολιτικής κουλτούρας, η αντιπαράθεση μεταξύ κυβερνώντος κόμματος και αντιπολίτευσης είναι αναμενόμενη αλλά ταυτόχρονα και περιορισμένης επιρροής: σε αρκετές περιπτώσεις, η κριτική της αντιπολίτευσης δεν καταφέρνει να επηρεάσει σημαντικά τις νομοθετικές αποφάσεις, αφού η κυβέρνηση δεν χρειάζεται την ψήφο των άλλων κομμάτων για να προχωρήσει το έργο της. Σε αυτές τις περιπτώσεις, τα κόμματα λογομαχούν για να κοινοποιήσουν τις διαφορές τους δημοσίως το ένα στο άλλο και ταυτόχρονα στους/στις πολίτες, οι οποίοι/ες παρακολουθούν τα τεκταινόμενα από τα ΜΜΕ (Τσάκωνα, 2008· Tsakona, 2009α, β· 2012).

Στο πλαίσιο αυτό, όπως υποστηρίζει η Σηφianού (2008), οι κοινοβουλευτικές συζητήσεις βρίθουν αντεγκλήσεων, απειλών, επιθετικών και επικριτικών σχολίων. Η υπονόμηση των αντιπάλων αποτελεί κύριο μέλημα των βουλευτών και αναπόσπαστο κομμάτι του θεσμικού τους ρόλου. Με άλλα λόγια, ο συγκρουσιακός λόγος αποτελεί δομικό στοιχείο της κοινοβουλευτικής διαβούλευσης, με αποτέλεσμα η ικανότητα κάθε βουλευτή να συμμετέχει επιτυχώς στην αντιπαράθεση να αναδεικνύεται σε κριτήριο αξιολόγησής του/της τόσο από τους/τις συναδέλφους του όσο και από το ευρύ κοινό.

Τα υπό εξέταση δεδομένα προέρχονται από την τριήμερη συζήτηση της πρότασης δυσπιστίας που κατέθεσε το ΠΑΣΟΚ ως αξιωματική αντιπολίτευση κατά της κυβέρνησης της Νέας Δημοκρατίας τον Φεβρουάριο του 2007.² Μολονότι ήταν μάλλον σαφές από την αρχή ότι η κυβέρνηση δεν θα έπεφτε χάρη στην κομματική πειθαρχία των μελών του κυβερνώντος κόμματος, ο αντιπαραθετικός και επιθετικός χαρακτήρας της συζήτησης ήταν έντονος. Αυτό οφείλεται ενδεχομένως στο γεγονός ότι, όπως συνηθίζεται σε τέτοιου είδους διαδικασίες, η συζήτηση της πρότασης δυσπιστίας συγκέντρωσε το έντονο ενδιαφέρον των ΜΜΕ και των πολιτών, οπότε οι βουλευτές κλήθηκαν να επιδείξουν στο ευρύτερο κοινό τις ικανότητές τους στην εξάσκηση του θεσμικού τους ρόλου (πρβλ. Τσάκωνα, 2008· Tsakona, 2009α).

3. Τα λογοπαίγνια: Ορισμός και λειτουργία

Η παραδοσιακή, φορμαλιστική προσέγγιση θέλει τα λογοπαίγνια να αποτελούν «αποκλίνοσες» από τον γλωσσικό κανόνα χρήσεις, οι οποίες βασίζονται στην ομωνυμία, την παρωνυμία και την πολυσημία, δηλαδή σε λεξικά στοιχεία που εμφανίζουν μεγαλύτερη ή μικρότερη φωνητική ομοιότητα μεταξύ τους ή διαθέτουν περισσότερες της μιας σημασίες. Ως εκ τούτου, οι σχετικές μελέτες εξαντλούνται στη λεπτομερή ταξινόμηση αποπλαισιωμένων παραδειγμάτων, με στόχο την πλήρη περιγραφή, όχι όμως και την πραγματολογική και κοινωνιογλωσσολογική ερμηνεία της λειτουργίας τους.³

Στην παρούσα μελέτη, ακολουθείται μια διαφορετική προσέγγιση για τον ορισμό των λογοπαιγνίων, η οποία λαμβάνει υπόψη το περιβάλλον εκφώνησής τους: λογοπαίγνια παράγονται όταν ο/η ομιλητής/τρια ανακυκλώνει και αναπλαισιώνει στοιχεία που έχουν προηγηθεί στον λόγο του/της ή λιγότερο ή περισσότερο παγιωμένες γλωσσικές (εκ)φράσεις που βρίσκονται σε ευρεία κυκλοφορία, με στόχο να τους προσδώσει διαφορετικό νόημα στο περικείμενο στο οποίο τις χρησιμοποιεί και να τις συνδέσει με αυτό. Κατά τη διατύπωση του Carter (2004: 94), τα λογοπαίγνια είναι ένα είδος *γλωσσικής σχιζοφρένειας* (verbal schizophrenia), καθώς περιλαμβάνουν στοιχεία που «δείχνουν» προς δύο διαφορετικές σημασίες ταυτόχρονα. Βασικό κίνητρο των ομιλητών/τριών για αυτού του είδους τη γλωσσική συμπεριφορά φαίνεται να είναι η παραγωγή «καινούργιων» σημασιών με «παλαιά» υλικά.

² Τα υπό εξέταση δεδομένα μετρούν 213.249 λέξεις και είναι προσβάσιμα στην επίσημη ιστοσελίδα του ελληνικού κοινοβουλίου (www.hellenicparliament.gr).

³ Βλ. μεταξύ άλλων Freud (2009/1905), Attardo (1994: 108-173· 2008: 105-106), Dienhart (1999: 108 κεξ.), Τσάκωνα (2004: 152-159), Partington (2006: 109-111) και τις παραπομπές που δίνονται εκεί.

Δημιουργούνται έτσι άλλοτε συνοχικοί δεσμοί μεταξύ των στοιχείων ενός κειμένου και άλλοτε διακειμενικές συνδέσεις. Η επιτυχής παραγωγή και ερμηνεία των λογοπαιγνίων προϋποθέτει τη γνώση και την ανάκληση της «αρχικής» (εκ)φράσης ή του «αρχικού» (περι)κειμένου, ώστε να είναι σαφής η μεταξύ τους διαφοροποίηση και σύνδεση.⁴

Ας δούμε τα ακόλουθα παραδείγματα:⁵

(1) ΒΑΣΩ ΠΑΠΑΝΔΡΕΟΥ: «*Το κόμμα της μηδενικής ανοχής*» έχει γίνει πλέον *κόμμα συνολικής συνενοχής*. Καλύπτετε αδιακρίτως τα πάντα, σκάνδαλα, περιπτώσεις με πολύ σοβαρά ερωτηματικά, περιπτώσεις με άθλιο *ύφος* και *ήθος* εξουσίας. Και πριν από λίγο καιρό υπερηφανευόσασταν για τους «κουμπάρους» με τις χειροπέδες στη φυλακή. Πού είναι τώρα αυτοί οι «κουμπάρου»; Όχι μόνο έξω από τη φυλακή, αλλά είναι ξανά στην αγκαλιά σας.

Στο παράδειγμα (1), η Β. Παπανδρέου αρχικά παραλλάσσει την ευρύτερα γνωστή δήλωση του (νεότερου) Κ. Καραμανλή περί μηδενικής ανοχής απέναντι στη διαφθορά και κάνει λόγο για *συνολική συνενοχή*, αξιοποιώντας τους ήχους (καταλήξεις σε *-ικής, ανοχής/-ενοχής*), τις αντιθετικές σημασίες που προκύπτουν (*μηδενική/συνολική, ανοχή/συνενοχή*), καθώς και την επανάληψη (*κόμμα*). Στη συνέχεια, παίζει με τους ήχους συνδέοντας παρατακτικά τις λέξεις *ύφος* και *ήθος* που φωνητικά διαφοροποιούνται ελάχιστα. Μέσα από την αντωνυμική σχέση ορισμένων σημασιών και την επανάληψη άλλων ενισχύεται η συνοχή του λόγου της ομιλήτριας.

(2) ΑΘΑΝΑΣΙΟΣ ΛΕΒΕΝΤΗΣ: Η ψυχιατρική μεταρρύθμιση έχει διαλυθεί. Και ξέρετε κάτι; Και η αποασυλοποίηση. *Έχουμε γίνει ένα απέραντο φρενοκομείο!* Αυτό έχει ειπωθεί και παλαιότερα και ξέρετε από ποιον.

(Στο σημείο αυτό κτυπάει το κουδούνι λήξεως του χρόνου ομιλίας του κυρίου Βουλευτή)

Στο παράδειγμα (2), ο Α. Λεβέντης αναπλαισιώνει τη γνωστή ρήση του (παλαιού) Κ. Καραμανλή «Η Ελλάδα είναι ένα απέραντο φρενοκομείο», προκειμένου να την προσαρμόσει στην κριτική που επιχειρεί στην αποτυχημένη -κατά τα λεγόμενά του- προσπάθεια αποασυλοποίησης των ψυχικά ασθενών στη χώρα μας. Από τη μεταφορική στη βάση της ρήσης, το λογοπαίγνιο φέρνει στην επιφάνεια ένα νόημα που βρίσκεται πιο κοντά στην κυριολεξία: η ψυχιατρική μεταρρύθμιση δεν κατάφερε να μειώσει τον αριθμό των ιδρυμάτων και να (επ)εντάξει αποτελεσματικά τους/τις ασθενείς στο κοινωνικό σύνολο. Αναπτύσσεται έτσι ένας διακειμενικός δεσμός ανάμεσα στο απόφθεγμα του παλαιού πολιτικού και τον λόγο του βουλευτή.

Τα δύο αυτά παραδείγματα φέρνουν στην επιφάνεια δύο διαφορετικές όψεις που σχετίζονται με την ικανότητα για παραγωγή λογοπαιγνίων: η μία είναι (μετα)γλωσσική, ενώ η άλλη περισσότερο κοινωνιογλωσσική. Αφενός έχουμε την αξιοποίηση των φωνητικών και σημασιολογικών ομοιοτήτων και διαφορών, βάσει των οποίων επιλέγονται οι λέξεις που θα συνδυαστούν και θα συνεμφανιστούν στο κείμενο· και αφετέρου διακρίνεται μια τάση για αποδόμηση (εκ)φράσεων που βρίσκονται ήδη σε κοινωνική κυκλοφορία και ενίοτε των παραγωγών τους, και ταυτόχρονα για άσκηση κριτικής στον/στην αντίπαλο. Η έρευνα για τον ελληνικό κοινοβουλευτικό λόγο δείχνει ότι και οι δύο όψεις συνδέονται στενά με την ταυτότητα του «ικανού ρήτορα» (βλ. παραπάνω Σηφianού, 2008· Τσάκωνα, 2008· Tsakona, 2009α).

Η ποσοτική επεξεργασία των δεδομένων μου επιβεβαιώνει την ιδιαίτερη σημασία των λογοπαιγνίων στον κοινοβουλευτικό λόγο. Εντασσόμενα σε ένα πλαίσιο χιουμοριστικών μηχανισμών και ειδών, τα λογοπαίγνια είναι το πιο δημοφιλές είδος κοινοβουλευτικού χιούμορ (βλ. Πίνακας 1):

⁴ Βλ. Sacks (1973: 139), Sherzer (1978: 337-340· 1985: 214), Redfern (1984: 157), Dienhart (1999: 123), Gavrilidou (2003: 196), Norrick (2003: 1345), Γαβριηλίδου και Τσάκωνα (2004-2005: 150-158), Carter (2004: 94-100, 128), Τσάκωνα (2004: 152-219), Partington (2006: 119-131). Ειδικά για τα λογοπαίγνια που βασίζονται σε ιδιοματισμούς, βλ. Elspass (2002), Χατζηδάκη (2004).

⁵ Τα αποσπάσματα που αναλύονται εδώ προέρχονται από τα επίσημα πρακτικά του ελληνικού κοινοβουλίου και διατηρούν την ορθογραφία και τη στίξη του πρωτοτύπου. Τα αποσιωπητικά εντός αγκυλών δηλώνουν παράλειψη κειμένου, ενώ με πλάγια γραμματοσειρά σημειώνονται τα λογοπαίγνια.

Χιουμοριστικά είδη	Εμφανίσεις στο υλικό	Ποσοστό (%)
Λογοπαίγνια	72	52,55
Ειρωνεία	51	37,22
Αφηγήσεις	9	6,56
Κατασκευή φανταστικών σεναρίων	3	2,18
Ανέκδοτα	2	1,45
Σύνολο	137	100

Πίνακας 1 Η ποσοτική κατανομή των χιουμοριστικών ειδών στο υπό εξέταση σώμα δεδομένων

Λίγο παραπάνω από τα μισά χιουμοριστικά αποσπάσματα του υπό εξέταση υλικού αποτελούνται από λογοπαίγνια, ενώ ακολουθεί η ειρωνεία με περίπου το ένα τρίτο των αποσπασμάτων (Tsakona, 2011a). Περιορισμένες σε αριθμό είναι οι χιουμοριστικές αφηγήσεις (Archakis and Tsakona, 2011), ενώ ακόμη πιο σπάνια είναι η κατασκευή φανταστικών σεναρίων και τα ανέκδοτα.

Όσον αφορά τη λειτουργία των λογοπαιγνίων, στη σχετική βιβλιογραφία⁶ επισημαίνεται ότι, στην καθημερινή διεπίδραση, οι συνομιλητές/τριες διακόπτουν με αυτά τη συνομιλία για να αλλάξουν θέμα ή και να παίξουν με τη γλώσσα σε λιγότερο ή περισσότερο ανταγωνιστικό και επιθετικό τόνο. Από την άλλη πλευρά, ανακαλώντας και εισάγοντας στη διεπίδραση σημασίες και διακειμενικές αναφορές που δεν είναι άμεσα προφανείς από το περικείμενο, τα λογοπαίγνια λειτουργούν ως συνδετικός κρίκος μεταξύ των συνομιλητών/τριών: τους/τις αναγκάζουν να ανασύρουν σημασίες και κείμενα που είναι ευρύτερα γνωστά, επιβεβαιώνοντας έτσι τις κοινές τους αναφορές και αξίες και συχνά συμβάλλοντας στη διασκέδασή τους. Όποιος/α δεν το καταφέρνει, δεν είναι εύκολο να συμμετάσχει στη διεπίδραση. Αντίθετα, όποιος/α μπορεί να κάνει ή να κατανοήσει τέτοιου είδους παιγνιώδεις συνδέσεις μεταξύ γλωσσικών στοιχείων ή κειμένων, όχι μόνο νομιμοποιείται ως μέλος της ομάδας, αλλά και αξιολογείται συνήθως θετικά και προβάλλεται ως «εύστοφος/η», «πνευματώδης» και «ετοιμόλογος/η».

Ανάμεσα στις πιθανές αντιδράσεις στα λογοπαίγνια συγκαταλέγεται το γέλιο (Sherzer, 1985: 214), η παραγωγή περισσότερων λογοπαιγνίων ή άλλης μορφής χιούμορ ή ακόμη και η άμεση επιστροφή στη σοβαρή συζήτηση (Norrick, 2003: 1337).

Στην (περιορισμένη) βιβλιογραφία σχετικά με τη χρήση των λογοπαιγνίων στην πολιτική επικοινωνία, τονίζεται ότι τα λογοπαίγνια εμφανίζονται με αυξημένη συχνότητα σε δημόσιες λογομαχίες μεταξύ πολιτικών, όπου χρησιμοποιούνται ως ένδειξη της ρητορικής ικανότητάς τους (Elspace, 2002: 90-96). Τα λογοπαίγνια εμφανίζονται απόλυτα ενταγμένα στον λόγο και επιστρατεύονται για να αποσπάσουν την προσοχή του κοινού από την (πολιτική ή άλλη) σημασία όσων λέγονται και να τη στρέψουν στη γλωσσική επιδεξιότητα του/της ομιλητή/τριας. Χρησιμοποιούνται επίσης για να ξεφύγει ο/η ομιλητής/τρια από μια δύσκολη θέση στην οποία έχει βρεθεί λόγω της επιχειρηματολογίας ή της κριτικής του/της αντιπάλου ή για να καθυστερήσει την απάντησή του/της. Επιπλέον, τα λογοπαίγνια χρησιμοποιούνται υπονομευτικά εναντίον του/της αντιπάλου. Όσο μάλιστα πιο δύσκολα ανιχνεύονται οι διακειμενικές αναφορές στις οποίες βασίζονται, τόσο πιο επιτυχημένα θεωρούνται και αξιολογείται θετικά ο/η παραγωγός τους (Partington, 2006: 112-113, 117, 134-142· πρβλ. Tsakona, 2009a).

Στην επόμενη ενότητα, μέσα από την ανάλυση συγκεκριμένων παραδειγμάτων, θα προσπαθήσω να δείξω για ποιους λόγους και με ποιους στόχους οι βουλευτές καταφεύγουν στα λογοπαίγνια στο πλαίσιο της κοινοβουλευτικής διαβούλευσης.

4. Οι λειτουργίες των λογοπαιγνίων στον κοινοβουλευτικό λόγο

Όπως είδαμε προηγουμένως (ενότητα 3), η λειτουργία των λογοπαιγνίων εξαρτάται από το περικείμενο στο οποίο αυτά εμφανίζονται. Θα μπορούσαμε, επομένως, να υποθέσουμε ότι η λειτουργία τους στο κοινοβούλιο διαφοροποιείται σε σχέση με την καθημερινή διεπίδραση, στο πλαίσιο της οποίας τα λογοπαίγνια έχουν ως επί το πλείστον μελετηθεί.

Στην υπονόμηση, ή ακόμη και τη γελοιοποίηση, των αντιπάλων αποσκοπεί το ακόλουθο λογοπαίγνιο του Π. Παυλόπουλου, το οποίο βασίζεται στον εντοπισμό ηχητικών ομοιοτήτων μεταξύ λέξεων σημασιολογικά απομακρυσμένων:

⁶ Βλ. Sherzer (1978: 340-342· 1985), Norrick (1993: 60-69· 2003: 1337-1340, 1345, 1348), Carter (2004: 96-97).

(3) ΠΡΟΚΟΠΗΣ ΠΑΥΛΟΠΟΥΛΟΣ: Εγώ ένα κόμμα ξέρω, το οποίο τροφοδοτεί την πολιτική επικαιρότητα όχι με πολιτικές παρεμβάσεις, αλλά με την αμφισβήτηση του Αρχηγού του και το διαγκωνισμό *δελφίνων*. Και έχει μεταβληθεί από πολιτικό κόμμα σε πολιτικό *δελφινάριο*. Το ξέρουμε όλοι ποιο είναι, αυτό είναι που έχει το πρόβλημα.

Ο Π. Παυλόπουλος υποστηρίζει ότι το ΠΑΣΟΚ κατέφυγε στην πρόταση δυσπιστίας για να αποπροσανατολίσει την κοινή γνώμη και να στρέψει την προσοχή της μακριά από τα εσωκομματικά του προβλήματα, και ιδιαίτερα τα θέματα αμφισβήτησης του αρχηγού του Γ. Παπανδρέου. Χάρη στη συνεμφάνιση των λέξεων *δελφίνοι* και *δελφινάριο*, ο ομιλητής επιτυγχάνει τη χιουμοριστική και ταυτόχρονα έντονα υπονομευτική αναπαράσταση των μελών του ΠΑΣΟΚ με ηγετικές φιλοδοξίες ως μελών θιάσου επιθεώρησης. Αντίστοιχες είναι οι προσπάθειες των βουλευτών στα παραδείγματα (1) και (2) (βλ. ενότητα 3). Αυτό, βέβαια, είναι σαφές μόνο σε όσους/ες αναγνωρίζουν τις διακειμενικές αναφορές.

Οι βουλευτές επίσης χρησιμοποιούν λογοπαίγνια για να προκαλέσουν τους/τις αντιπάλους τους, στα δεδομένα μου συνήθως ζητώντας εκλογές, στο πλαίσιο της αμφισβήτησής τους για την πολιτική που ακολουθείται ή για τις απόψεις που κατατίθενται. Στο παράδειγμα (4), ο Δ. Ρέππας πετάει το γάντι στην κυβέρνηση να τολμήσει να αποδεχτεί την πρόταση του ΠΑΣΟΚ για πρόωρες εκλογές:

(4) ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΣ ΡΕΠΠΑΣ: Τελειώνοντας, κύριε Πρόεδρε, θέλω να πω ότι η Νέα Δημοκρατία, εάν πράγματι πιστεύει ότι πρέπει να αντιμετωπίσουμε το πρόβλημα που απασχολεί σήμερα τη χώρα, που είναι πρόβλημα *κρίσης* των θεσμών, είναι *κρίση* για ολόκληρη τη χώρα και την ελληνική κοινωνία, τότε ας δεχθεί να καταφύγουμε στη μόνη επιθυμητή *κρίση*, που είναι η *κρίση* του ελληνικού λαού.

Εμείς εμπιστευόμαστε την *κρίση* του ελληνικού λαού. Εάν ισχύει το ίδιο και για εσάς, αποδείξτε το στην πράξη. Επειδή φοβάστε την *κρίση* του ελληνικού λαού γνωρίζουμε και ποια είναι η απάντησή σας. Είστε η πλειοψηφία στο Κοινοβούλιο, είστε μειοψηφία, στην ελληνική κοινωνία. Αλλά και στη Βουλή δεν θα είστε για πολύ ακόμη πλειοψηφία. Θα είστε και μειοψηφία στη Βουλή και πολύ μεγαλύτερη μειοψηφία στην ελληνική κοινωνία, μετά τις επόμενες εκλογές, όποτε και αν γίνουν αυτές.

Ευχαριστώ πολύ.

(Χειροκροτήματα από την πτέρυγα του ΠΑ.ΣΟ.Κ.)

Αφού χρησιμοποιήσει αρχικά τη λέξη *κρίση* με τη σημασία «διατάραξη της ομαλής πορείας», ο Δ. Ρέππας στη συνέχεια την επαναφέρει με τη σημασία της «απόφασης», προκειμένου να προκαλέσει τη Νέα Δημοκρατία να οδηγήσει τη χώρα σε εκλογές.

Πρόκληση κατά του αντιπάλου, και μάλιστα προσωπική, αποτελεί και το ακόλουθο λογοπαίγνιο του Χ. Καστανίδη:

(5) ΧΑΡΑΛΑΜΠΟΣ ΚΑΣΤΑΝΙΔΗΣ: Κύριε Αλογοσκούφη, δεν ξέρω αν είστε καλός Υπουργός των Οικονομικών. Είναι βέβαιο, όμως, ότι δεν είστε καλός προβοκάτωρ, διότι η Βουλή δεν συνεδριάζει μόνο με την παρουσία σας.

(Θόρυβος από την πτέρυγα της Νέας Δημοκρατίας)

(Χειροκροτήματα από την πτέρυγα του ΠΑ.ΣΟ.Κ.)

ΠΡΟΕΔΡΕΥΩΝ (Ιωάννης Τραγάκης): Παρακαλώ, κύριε Καστανίδη, τις εκφράσεις σας.

ΧΑΡΑΛΑΜΠΟΣ ΚΑΣΤΑΝΙΔΗΣ: Εδώ υπάρχουν παρόντες Βουλευτές του ΠΑ.ΣΟ.Κ. και δίνουν τη μάχη.

ΠΡΟΕΔΡΕΥΩΝ (Ιωάννης Τραγάκης): Κύριε Καστανίδη, σας παρακαλώ τις εκφράσεις σας!

ΧΑΡΑΛΑΜΠΟΣ ΚΑΣΤΑΝΙΔΗΣ: *Θα μπορούσα να πετάω τη σκούφια μου, παρ' ότι δεν είμαι Αλογοσκούφης.*

ΠΡΟΕΔΡΕΥΩΝ (Ιωάννης Τραγάκης): Κύριε Καστανίδη και τα ευφρολόγηματά σας παρακαλώ πάρα πολύ...

ΧΑΡΑΛΑΜΠΟΣ ΚΑΣΤΑΝΙΔΗΣ: Κύριε Πρόεδρε, σας παρακαλώ μη με κρίνετε.

Ο Χ. Καστανίδης συμμετέχει σε μια σύντομη και εκτός διαδικασίας συζήτηση που έχει ανοίξει κατόπιν διακοπών και παρεμβάσεων εκ μέρους του ΠΑΣΟΚ σχετικά με τον αριθμό και τη σειρά με την

οποία διατάσσονται όσοι/ες βουλευτές επιθυμούν να ανέβουν στο βήμα. Στη συζήτηση αυτή συμμετέχουν, πέρα από τον Χ. Καστανίδη, ο Γ. Αλογοσκούφης και ο προεδρεύων Ι. Τραγάκης. Ο βουλευτής του ΠΑΣΟΚ επιτίθεται στον τότε Υπουργό Οικονομικών υπαινισσόμενος ότι ο τελευταίος δεν είναι σε θέση να γνωρίζει και, ως εκ τούτου, να σχολιάζει τη διαδικασία, αφού προσήλθε στη συζήτηση μόνο για να εκφωνήσει τον λόγο του και μετά να αποχωρήσει. Οι κατηγορίες αυτές συναντούν την αντίδραση του προεδρεύοντα, οπότε ο Χ. Καστανίδης προσθέτει ένα λογοπαίγνιο βασισμένο στο επίθετο του Υπουργού, αναπλαισιώνοντας τον ιδιωτισμό *πετάω τη σκούφια μου* και προκαλώντας ακόμη περισσότερο τον αντίπαλό του. Αμέσως ο Ι. Τραγάκης του ζητά να σταματήσει τα «ευφυολογήματα» και το σοβαρό πλαίσιο αποκαθίσταται.

Αξίζει να σημειωθεί εδώ ότι αυτή είναι η μοναδική περίπτωση στα υπό εξέταση δεδομένα που το προεδρείο του κοινοβουλίου παρεμβαίνει ώστε να σχολιάσει αρνητικά κάποιο λογοπαίγνιο και να σταματήσει αυτού του είδους τη γλωσσική συμπεριφορά.

Τέλος, σπανιότερα, τα κοινοβουλευτικά λογοπαίγνια έχουν περισσότερο ήπιο, παιγνιώδη και ίσως φιλικό χαρακτήρα, ιδίως σε μεταβατικές φάσεις της διαβούλευσης, όπου δεν ασκείται κατ' ανάγκη κριτική σε θέματα πολιτικής - μεταξύ άλλων, όταν ένας/μία βουλευτής κάνει μια εισαγωγή στον λόγο του/της αναφερόμενος/η στους/στις συναδέλφους που που βρίσκονται στο ακροατήριο. Το επόμενο παράδειγμα προέρχεται από την έναρξη της ομιλίας του Δ. Ανδρουλάκη, ο οποίος παίρνει τον λόγο λίγο μετά τον τότε Υπουργό Εθνικής Άμυνας Ε. Μείμαράκη (έχει μεσολαβήσει ο Ξ. Βεργίνης):

(6) ΔΗΜΗΤΡΗΣ ΑΝΔΡΟΥΛΑΚΗΣ: Βαγγέλη Μείμαράκη, σε ευχαριστώ που έμεινες, αλλά ο κ. Βεργίνης μου έκοψε την όρεξη. Έσβησε η όρεξή μου.
Ήθελα, τέλος πάντων, να σου πω ότι *εσύ Βαγγέλη Μείμαράκη είσαι για τα συντάγματα –αυτή είναι η δουλειά σου- του Βαγγέλη Βενιζέλου είναι η δουλειά του για το Σύνταγμα και εγώ ανήκω στην πλατεία Συντάγματος*. Εκ μέρους της πλατείας Συντάγματος, λοιπόν, θα μιλήσω εγώ.
(Χειροκροτήματα)

Ο ανεξάρτητος βουλευτής χρησιμοποιεί με τρεις διαφορετικές σημασίες τη λέξη *σύνταγμα*. Απευθυνόμενος στον Υπουργό Εθνικής Άμυνας κάνει λόγο για τις μονάδες του στρατού ξηράς, αναφερόμενος στον καθηγητή συνταγματικού δικαίου και βουλευτή του ΠΑΣΟΚ Ε. Βενιζέλο κάνει λόγο για τον θεμελιώδη νόμο του κράτους και, τελικά, χαρακτηρίζοντας τον εαυτό του, προβάλλει την ιδιότητα του ως βουλευτή, ο οποίος εργάζεται στην πλατεία Συντάγματος, όπου βρίσκεται το ελληνικό κοινοβούλιο. Ο βουλευτής προβάλλει χωρίς κριτική διάθεση τη συμπάθεια και τις κοινές αναφορές με τους εν λόγω συναδέλφους του. Το λογοπαίγνιό του συγκεντρώνει τη θετική αξιολόγηση του συνόλου των παρισταμένων.

Ως εδώ, εντοπίσαμε μια ποικιλία λειτουργιών των κοινοβουλευτικών λογοπαιγνίων: υπονόμηση, επίθεση, πρόκληση, αλλά και φιλική προσέγγιση. Αξίζει επίσης να σημειωθεί ότι όλα σχεδόν τα λογοπαίγνια προέρχονται από βουλευτές που έχουν ήδη τον λόγο και όχι από βουλευτές που επιθυμούν να διακόψουν ή να αναστείλουν τη διαδικασία. Περισσότερα όμως για τη θέση των λογοπαιγνίων και τις αντιδράσεις σε αυτά θα δούμε στην επόμενη ενότητα.

5. Η θέση εμφάνισης των λογοπαιγνίων στις κοινοβουλευτικές ομιλίες και οι αντιδράσεις σε αυτά

Η πλειονότητα των λογοπαιγνίων που εντοπίστηκαν στα δεδομένα μου βρίσκονται ενσωματωμένα και λειτουργικά ενταγμένα στους λόγους των βουλευτών (πρβλ. Partington, 2006: 142). Μόνο δύο εξαιρέσεις εντοπίστηκαν. Η μία παρουσιάστηκε προηγουμένως (παράδειγμα 5), ενώ η άλλη παρουσιάζεται στη συνέχεια. Το παρακάτω λογοπαίγνιο του Α. Κακλαμάνη είναι το μοναδικό στα δεδομένα μου που δεν προέρχεται από αυτόν/ή που έχει ήδη τον λόγο, αλλά τον/τη διακόπτει:

(7) ΘΕΟΔΩΡΑ ΜΠΑΚΟΓΙΑΝΝΗ: Για την ουσία και το περιεχόμενο, για τους λόγους που υποβάλατε την πρόταση δυσπιστίας, θα συναντήσετε σήμερα, τη Δευτέρα, αλλά και στο μέλλον, την ίδια αδιαφορία που κυριαρχούσε και χθες το βράδυ απ' άκρου εις άκρον της Ελλάδος, καθώς συζητιόταν η πρόταση δυσπιστίας που υποβάλατε.

Κυρίες και κύριοι Βουλευτές του ΠΑ.ΣΟ.Κ., δεν είναι τυχαίο ότι η πρόταση δυσπιστίας συζητείται ουσιαστικά *με τα μέλη σας απόντα*.

ΑΠΟΣΤΟΛΟΣ ΚΑΚΛΑΜΑΝΗΣ: *Εμείς όλα μας τα μέλη τα έχουμε εδώ. Δεν μας λείπει τίποτα!*

ΘΕΟΔΩΡΑ ΜΠΑΚΟΓΙΑΝΝΗ (Υπουργός Εξωτερικών): Εννοώ τα κοινοβουλευτικά μέλη, με συγχωρείτε.

Η Θ. Μπακογιάννη κατηγορεί το ΠΑΣΟΚ ότι απουσιάζει από τη συζήτηση της πρότασης δυσπιστίας που το ίδιο κατέθεσε. Ο Α. Κακλαμάνης αναπλαισιώνει τη λέξη *μέλη* περνώντας από τα «κοινοβουλευτικά μέλη» στα «μέλη του σώματος», προκειμένου να απαντήσει στην κατηγορία διακόπτοντας την ομιλήτρια και ενδεχομένως προσπαθώντας να αποσπάσει την προσοχή της. Προσποιούμενος ότι δεν κατάλαβε τι εννοούσε η Θ. Μπακογιάννη, ο Α. Κακλαμάνης εμμέσως αξιολογεί αρνητικά τον τρόπο με τον οποίο αυτή εκφράζεται και υπονομεύει την επιτέλεση του λόγου της. Η αυτοδιορθωτική απάντηση της ομιλήτριας επαναφέρει το σοβαρό πλαίσιο στη συζήτηση (πρβλ. Schegloff, 1978: 212-215· Norrick, 1993: 22-25).

Όσον αφορά τις *αντιδράσεις* των βουλευτών στα λογοπαίγνια των συναδέλφων τους, διαπιστώνεται ποικιλία. Τις περισσότερες φορές δεν καταγράφεται καμία αντίδραση, οπότε ο/η βουλευτής μπορεί να συνεχίσει απερίσπαστος/η τον λόγο του/της (παράδειγμα 1-4). Αυτό μπορεί να οφείλεται σε δύο λόγους, εκ των οποίων ο ένας δεν αποκλείει τον άλλο: είτε τα λογοπαίγνια εκλαμβάνονται ως κοινή πρακτική, άρα γίνονται αποδεκτά στις κοινοβουλευτικές συζητήσεις, είτε οι αντιδράσεις είναι τέτοιες ώστε δεν καταγράφονται από τους/τις στενογράφους του κοινοβουλίου στα επίσημα πρακτικά (π.χ. χειρονομίες, γκριμάτσες, χαμόγελο, χαμηλόφωνο γέλιο, αποδοκιμαστικό ή επιδοκιμαστικό σχόλιο σε χαμηλή ένταση).

Ορισμένες φορές τα λογοπαίγνια προκαλούν χειροκρότημα εκ μέρους των βουλευτών κατά κανόνα από το ίδιο κόμμα με τον/την ομιλητή/τρια (παράδειγμα 6). Γίνεται έτσι σαφής η αναγνώριση και η επιβράβευση της γλωσσικής επιδεξιότητας και της κριτικής του/της ομιλητή/τριας. Άλλοτε τα λογοπαίγνια συνοδεύονται από μια σοβαρή απάντηση, η οποία φανερώνει ότι το μήνυμά τους εκλαμβάνεται ως σοβαρό και δεν απορρίπτεται ως αστείο ή παιγνιώδες (παράδειγμα 7). Η δε ρητή αρνητική αξιολόγηση και τάση για καταστολή των λογοπαιγνίων μαρτυρείται άπαξ στα υπό εξέταση δεδομένα (παράδειγμα 5).

Όλα αυτά δείχνουν ότι τα λογοπαίγνια αποτελούν λιγότερο ή περισσότερο συνήθη και όχι αρνητικά αξιολογούμενη γλωσσική στρατηγική στο κοινοβούλιο. Οι βουλευτές δεν υφίστανται κυρώσεις ή διακοπή κατά την παραγωγή λογοπαιγνίων, αντίθετα συχνά επιβραβεύονται για αυτά από τους/τις συναδέλφους τους. Το γεγονός μάλιστα ότι η πλειονότητα των λογοπαιγνίων δεν προκαλεί καμία αντίδραση από το ακροατήριο ή συνοδεύεται από σοβαρές απαντήσεις, μας οδηγεί στο συμπέρασμα ότι τα λογοπαίγνια είναι ένας μάλλον παγιωμένος τρόπος υπονόμησης, επίθεσης και πρόκλησης των αντιπάλων, καθώς και επίδειξης της ρητορικής ικανότητας των ομιλητών/τριών. Παρ' όλα αυτά, τα λογοπαίγνια κατά κανόνα δεν χρησιμοποιούνται για να διακόψουν αυτόν/ή που βρίσκεται στο βήμα (με εξαίρεση το παράδειγμα 7), αλλά κατά κανόνα προέρχονται από αυτόν/ή.

6. Συμπεράσματα

Ο Ahl (1988: 21) παρατηρεί ότι «οι ευρωπαίοι/ες [...] έχουν εκπαιδευθεί να θαυμάζουν την ειρωνεία, αλλά να αποδοκιμάζουν τα λογοπαίγνια».⁷ Μια εξαίρεση στη διατύπωση αυτή φαίνεται να αποτελεί το ελληνικό κοινοβούλιο, όπου τα λογοπαίγνια συνιστούν συνήθη χιουμοριστικό μηχανισμό και μέσο επίδειξης της ρητορικής ικανότητας των ομιλητών/τριών. Χάρη σε αυτά, οι βουλευτές προβάλλουν τις (μετα)γλωσσικές τους δεξιότητες, υπονομεύουν τον λόγο του/της αντιπάλου και συνδέουν τον δικό τους λόγο με άλλα λιγότερο ή περισσότερο γνωστά κείμενα. Η συχνότητα και η ευκολία στη χρήση λογοπαιγνίων μπορεί να ερμηνευθεί στο πλαίσιο της προσπάθειας των πολιτικών να αυτοπροβληθούν σε περιστάσεις δημόσιας αντιπαράθεσης και ανταγωνισμού. Η διαπίστωση αυτή είναι συμβατή με την αυξημένη βαρύτητα που έχει υποστηριχθεί ότι δίνεται στη ρητορική ικανότητα στον δημόσιο, προφορικό λόγο στα ελληνικά (βλ. μεταξύ άλλων Hirschon, 2001: 36· Tzionas, 2001· Tsakona, 2009α, β).

⁷ Αυτή η παρατήρηση του Ahl θα λέγαμε ότι συνοψίζει μια γενικότερη αρνητική στάση απέναντι στα λογοπαίγνια. Στον χώρο της παραδοσιακής γλωσσολογίας, τα λογοπαίγνια εκλαμβάνονται ως «αποκλίσεις» από τον γλωσσικό κανόνα και τη σημασιολογική διαφάνεια και ακρίβεια που θεωρείται ότι «πρέπει» να διέπουν τον λόγο, ενώ η σύλληψή τους ως παιχνιδιού δεν ενθαρρύνει τη σοβαρή και σε βάθος προσέγγισή τους. Αλλά και στον χώρο της έρευνας του χιούμορ, τα λογοπαίγνια συχνά περιβάλλονται από αρνητικές συνδηλώσεις καθώς ορισμένες φορές αναφέρονται ως «κατώτερη» μορφή χιούμορ (βλ. μεταξύ άλλων Sherzer, 1978: 345· 1985: 215· Freud, 1991: 80-83· Norrick, 1993: 60· 2003: 1345· Dienhart, 1999: 123· Partington, 2006: 112).

Η ανάλυση του παρόντος υλικού ενισχύει την (όχι τόσο συχνά αναφερόμενη στη βιβλιογραφία) υπονομευτική και κριτική λειτουργία των λογοπαιγνίων και φέρνει στο προσκήνιο τη χρήση τους ως μέσων πρόκλησης κατά των πολιτικών αντιπάλων. Μέσα από τα λογοπαίγνια, οι βουλευτές ασκούν κριτική σε πολιτικές αποφάσεις και καταστάσεις, και επιχειρούν να ανατρέψουν συμβολικά τον λόγο και τις πράξεις των αντιπάλων. Σπανιότερα σηματοδοτούν τη φιλική προσέγγιση μεταξύ των βουλευτών. Επιβεβαιώνεται έτσι η γενικότερη λειτουργία του χιούμορ ως στρατηγικής που οριοθετεί ομάδες συνομιλητών/τριών τις οποίες συνέχουν κοινές αξίες, αντιλήψεις και αναφορές και από τις οποίες αποκλείονται όσοι/ες δεν αποδέχονται τις αξίες αυτές (βλ. μεταξύ άλλων Αρχάκης και Τσάκωνα, 2004).

Η οριοθέτηση μπορεί να γίνεται και προς μια άλλη κατεύθυνση: εντός ομάδας τίθενται όσοι/ες είναι σε θέση να αντιληφθούν το παιχνίδι με τις διαφορετικές σημασίες των λέξεων και των ιδιωτισμών (παραδείγματα 1, 4, 5, 7) και τις διακειμενικές αναφορές σε παροιμίες, αποφθέγματα (παραδείγμα 2), κείμενα από τον καλλιτεχνικό (παραδείγμα 3), πολιτικό (παραδείγματα 1, 6) χώρο κλπ. Ουσιαστικά τα λογοπαίγνια θα μπορούσαμε να πούμε ότι ορίζουν ένα σύνολο συνομιλητών/τριών (εντός και εκτός κοινοβουλίου) που είναι σε θέση να αποκωδικοποιήσουν και να καταλάβουν το -εν προκειμένω πολιτικό- μήνυμά τους. Αυτό προϋποθέτει ένα αρκετά ενημερωμένο κοινό, ενώ ταυτόχρονα γεννά ερωτήματα σχετικά με τον συνειδητό ή υποσυνείδητο αποκλεισμό από τα κοινοβουλευτικά όσων δεν είναι σε θέση να επεξεργαστούν ή να παραγάγουν λογοπαίγνια (πρβλ. Tsakona, 2011β).

Επιπλέον, στο ελληνικό κοινοβούλιο, συνήθως δεν σχολιάζεται ή δεν απορρίπτεται η χρήση λογοπαιγνίων (μοναδική εξαίρεση στα δεδομένα μου το παράδειγμα 5). Αντίθετα, η έλλειψη αντίδρασης σε αυτά, τα χειροκροτήματα και η συχνότητα εμφάνισής τους δείχνουν ότι πρόκειται για γλωσσική στρατηγική αποδεκτή από τα μέλη του κοινοβουλίου. Οι δε σοβαρές αντιδράσεις δείχνουν ότι η κριτική και η υπονόμηση που γίνονται με τη μορφή λογοπαιγνίου συχνά εκλαμβάνονται ως σοβαρές από τους/τις βουλευτές και όχι ως λιγότερο σημαντικές από άλλες, μη παιγνιώδεις μορφές κριτικής. Μολονότι δηλαδή τα λογοπαίγνια μάλλον στερεοτυπικά συνδέονται με τη διασκέδαση των συνομιλητών/τριών, η παρούσα μελέτη δείχνει ότι κάτι τέτοιο δεν ισχύει αναγκαστικά σε όλα τα επικοινωνιακά περιβάλλοντα. Μια πιθανή ερμηνεία προέρχεται από το ίδιο το περικείμενο: σε αντίθεση με την καθημερινή διεπίδραση μεταξύ οικείων, όπου τα λογοπαίγνια τονίζουν και επιβεβαιώνουν τους δεσμούς οικειότητας, σε ένα σαφώς επίσημο και θεσμοθετημένο πλαίσιο, όπου ο συγκρουσιακός λόγος είναι κυρίαρχος, τα λογοπαίγνια υπηρετούν αντίστοιχους στόχους.

Τέλος, φαίνεται ότι τα λογοπαίγνια χαρακτηρίζονται από *πολυλειτουργικότητα*: οι στόχοι που εξυπηρετούνται μέσω αυτών ποικίλλουν στο πλαίσιο μιας και μόνης επικοινωνιακής περιστάσης ή από το ένα περικείμενο στο άλλο, και διαμορφώνονται από τα συγκεκριμένα χαρακτηριστικά τους.

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ΣΧΕΤΙΚΑ ΜΕ ΤΙΣ ΦΑΣΕΙΣ ΚΑΙ ΤΗΝ ΚΛΗΡΟΔΟΤΗΣΗ ΤΩΝ Φ-ΧΑΡΑΚΤΗΡΙΣΤΙΚΩΝ ΣΤΗΝ ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΗ

Αγγελική Τσόκογλου
Πανεπιστήμιο Αθηνών
Αθήνα, Ελλάδα
angtsok@gs.uoa.gr

Σύλα Κλειδή
Αρσάκεια Σχολεία
Ψυχικό, Ελλάδα
sila.klidi@gmx.net

ABSTRACT

*In the present paper we examine Greek CP-sentences within the Minimalist Program (Chomsky 2005, 2007) in order to test the ϕ -feature-inheritance mechanism in main clauses and *oti*-, *pou*- (non relative) and *na*-complement clauses. The analysis is based on three criteria, +/- controlled subject, +/- dependent tense and licensing of polarity items, and suggests that: If C^0 does not carry ϕ -features, it doesn't constitute a phase-head, the sentence is neither complete nor semantically closed. In this case, dependent Tense and subject control are obligatory and licensing of polarity items is not allowed.*

Λέξεις κλειδιά: φάση, κεφαλή φάσης, ϕ -χαρακτηριστικά, κληροδότηση ϕ -χαρακτηριστικών, υποχρεωτικός έλεγχος υποκειμένου

1. Εισαγωγή

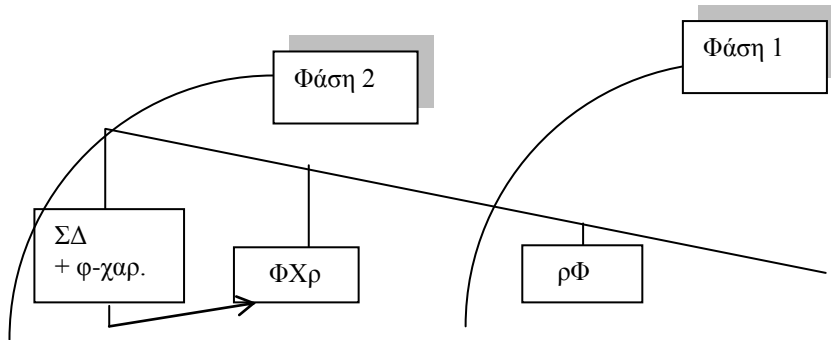
Στην παρούσα εργασία βασιζόμαστε σε δύο θεωρητικές θέσεις (1) που έχουν διατυπωθεί από τον Chomsky (2005, 2007) στο πλαίσιο του Μινιμαλιστικού Προγράμματος με σκοπό να εξετάσουμε τις συνέπειές τους ως προς τις προτάσεις (ΦΣΔ) της Νέας Ελληνικής.

- (1) α. Η $\rho^*\Phi$ και η ΦΣΔ είναι φάσεις.
β. Τα ϕ -χαρακτηριστικά βρίσκονται στην κεφαλή του ΣΔ και κληροδοτούνται στην κεφαλή του Χρόνου (*feature inheritance*).

Με βάση τις αναλύσεις για την Ελληνική, γνωρίζουμε ότι στη φραστική δομή της πρότασης εμφανίζονται: α) περισσότεροι από ένας ΣΔ, β) η Άρνηση καθώς και γ) λειτουργικές κατηγορίες ανάμεσα στον ΣΔ και τον Χρόνο, όπως η Έγκλιση/Τροπικότητα, αλλά και λειτουργικές κατηγορίες ανάμεσα στη Φράση Χρόνου και τη $\rho\Phi$, όπως η Όψη και η Φωνή. Το γεγονός αυτό καθιστά αναγκαία για την Ελληνική κατ' αρχάς τον καθορισμό της κεφαλής που φέρει τα ϕ -χαρακτηριστικά (πρόσωπο/αριθμός), τον καθορισμό της κεφαλής της φάσης καθώς και την αποσαφήνιση της Φράσης που αποτελεί φάση, δηλαδή την οριοθέτησή της.

Στην εργασία αυτή εξετάζουμε μόνο πτυχές της ανώτερης φάσης, εκείνης που σχετίζεται με τον ΣΔ και την κληροδότηση των ϕ -χαρακτηριστικών¹ (σχήμα 1):

¹ Δηλαδή την απόδοση τιμής στα χαρακτηριστικά και τη νομιμοποίησή τους (*feature valuation*), την απαλοιφή μη ερμηνεύσιμων χαρακτηριστικών (*deletion of uninterpretable features*) και την επίτευξη της Συμφωνίας (*Agree*) (βλ. και Richards 2007).



Σχήμα 1

Ειδικότερα, εστιάζουμε κυρίως στα εξής ερωτήματα:

- α) Ποια κατηγορία της προτασικής δομής της Ελληνικής αντιστοιχεί στην κατηγορία του ΣΔ C' της Αγγλικής; Με άλλα λόγια ποια κατηγορία φέρει και κληροδοτεί τα φ-χαρακτηριστικά;
- β) Ποια κεφαλή οριοθετεί τη φάση; Πότε δηλαδή μια ΦΣΔ αποτελεί φάση; Περαιτέρω θα θίξουμε κι ένα επιπλέον ζήτημα, το οποίο όμως χρήζει διεξοδικότερης ανάλυσης, καθώς σχετίζεται με τη νομιμοποίηση του υποκειμένου:
- γ) Ποια κατηγορία κληρονομεί τα φ-χαρακτηριστικά, ούτως ώστε να νομιμοποιείται το υποκείμενο;

Για τον σκοπό αυτό εξετάζουμε:

α) κύριες προτάσεις:

(2) Ο Γιάννης (δεν) (θα) αγόρασε τα βιβλία.

β) *ότι-* και *που-*συμπληρωματικές προτάσεις:

- (3) α. Ο Γιάννης είπε ότι (δεν) (θα) αγόραζε τα βιβλία.
- β. Ο Γιάννης χάρηκε που (δεν) (θα) αγόραζε τα βιβλία.

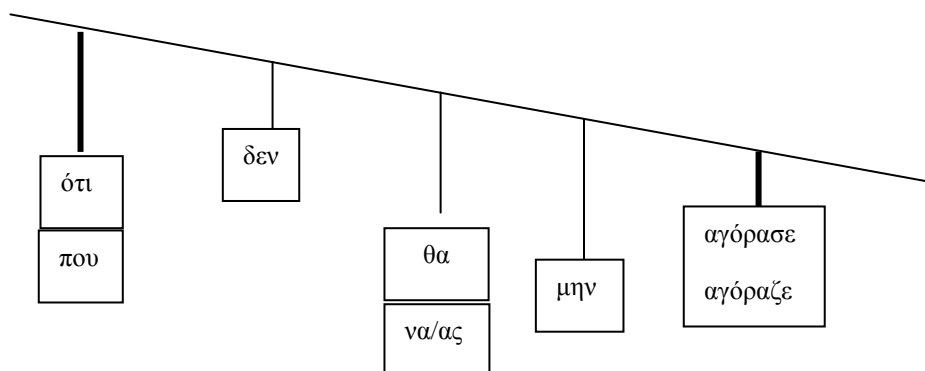
γ) *να-*συμπληρωματικές προτάσεις:

- (4) α. Ο Γιάννης θέλει να (μην) αγοράσει τα βιβλία.
- β. Ο Γιάννης άρχισε να (μην) αγοράζει βιβλία.

2. Ο προβληματισμός, τα κριτήρια και οι προβλέψεις

Για να απαντηθούν τα ερωτήματα που τέθηκαν πρέπει να λάβουμε υπόψιν ότι η φραστική δομή της Ελληνικής περιλαμβάνει περισσότερες λειτουργικές κατηγορίες πάνω από τον Χρόνο, ορισμένες από τις οποίες βρίσκονται σε συμπληρωματική κατανομή. Στην φραστική δομή εμφανίζονται: α) οι ΣΔ *ότι/που*² με διαφορετικά χαρακτηριστικά, οι οποίοι εισάγουν συμπληρωματικές προτάσεις με διαφορετική συμπεριφορά, β) οι δείκτες (ή τα μόρια) Έγκλισης/Τροπικότητας (*θα, να/ας*), καθώς και γ) η Άρνηση (*δεν, μην*), η επιλογή της οποίας σχετίζεται με την Έγκλιση/Τροπικότητα και παρεμβάλλεται ανάμεσα στον ΣΔ και τον Χρόνο, όπως φαίνεται στο σχήμα 2:

² Δεν αναφερόμαστε στην μελέτη μας στο αναφορικό *που*, αλλά στον ΣΔ *που*, ο οποίος εισάγει συμπληρωματικές προτάσεις.



Σχήμα 2

Το ανωτέρω σχήμα δεν παραπέμπει σε κάποια συγκεκριμένη ανάλυση της φραστικής δομής. Διευκρινίζουμε εδώ ότι υιοθετούμε ένα παραγωγικό μοντέλο και δεν θα μας απασχολήσει ούτε ο χαρακτηρισμός των εν λόγω φράσεων σύμφωνα με τον ΣΔ (ως ΦΣΔ ή Φράση Έγκλισης)³, ούτε ο προβληματισμός αναφορικά με την ένταξή τους είτε στο σύστημα του ΣΔ (σύμφωνα με τη Ρούσσου 2000) είτε στο πεδίο του Χρόνου/Κλίσης (σύμφωνα με τη Philippaki-Warbuton 1998).⁴ Ωστόσο, στο σχήμα αποτυπώνεται το πρόβλημα σχετικά με τα ερωτήματα που αφορούν την κεφαλή που φέρει τα φ-χαρακτηριστικά, την κεφαλή που οριοθετεί τη φάση και την κεφαλή που τα κληρονομεί, εφόσον υπάρχουν περισσότερες υποψήφιες κεφαλές.

Για την ανάλυσή μας θέτουμε αρχικά ως στόχο τον προσδιορισμό κριτηρίων, σύμφωνα με τα οποία επιχειρούμε να ορίσουμε την έννοια μιας «πλήρους» πρότασης και τα οποία θα μας οδηγήσουν σε προβλέψεις αναφορικά με τον ΣΔ και τον καθορισμό της φάσης. Ως κριτήρια για τα ανωτέρω ορίζουμε τα εξής:

- α) τον υποχρεωτικό ή μη έλεγχο του υποκειμένου
- β) το είδος του χρόνου (+/- εξαρτημένος χρόνος)
- γ) τη νομιμοποίηση των Στοιχείων Αρνητικής Πολιτικότητας (ΣΑΠ).

Τα εν λόγω φαινόμενα επιλέγονται εδώ ως κριτήρια ελέγχου μιας «πλήρους» πρότασης, ακριβώς επειδή δείχνουν τον βαθμό ανεξαρτησίας της: α) ως προς το υποκείμενο, που σχετίζεται με τα φ-χαρακτηριστικά, β) ως προς τον χρόνο (εξαρτημένος ή ανεξάρτητος) και γ) ως προς τα ΣΑΠ, τα οποία νομιμοποιούνται στο πλαίσιο ενός συντάγματος που θεωρείται προτασικό, εφόσον βέβαια πληρούνται οι προϋποθέσεις επιδραστικού περιβάλλοντος⁵. Για τα φαινόμενα αυτά, τα οποία έχουν ήδη γίνει αντικείμενο συστηματικής μελέτης στην Ελληνική εξαιτίας των ιδιαίτερων χαρακτηριστικών τους (βλ. ενδεικτικά Iatridou 1993, Terzi 1991, Varlokosta 1994, Roussou 1999 για τον έλεγχο και τον αναφορικό χρόνο και Giannakidou 1994, Κλειδή 2008 για τα ΣΑΠ) θα επιχειρήσουμε μια νέα προσέγγιση στο πλαίσιο του Μινιμαλιστικού Προγράμματος με βάση τον καθορισμό της φάσης και την κληροδότηση των φ-χαρακτηριστικών.

Ο συνδυασμός των κριτηρίων που θέσαμε δίνει τη δυνατότητα να προβούμε στις ακόλουθες προβλέψεις για τις προτάσεις που εξετάζουμε αναφορικά με τον ΣΔ ως φορέα φ-χαρακτηριστικών και ως κεφαλή φάσης:

1. Μια πρόταση δεν νοείται πλήρης, αν ο ΣΔ της δεν φέρει τα φ-χαρακτηριστικά που νομιμοποιούν ενδοπροτασικά το υποκείμενό της.

³ Ο προβληματισμός σχετικά με τον χαρακτηρισμό των εν λόγω φράσεων αφορά κυρίως τις κεφαλές *να/θα*.

⁴ Στο σημείο αυτό αξίζει να σημειωθεί το εξής: Αν υποθεθεί για την Ελληνική η φραστική δομή που προτείνει ο Rizzi (1997) με δύο ΦΣΔ (ForceP και FinP), η οποία έχει υιοθετηθεί από την Roussou (2000), τότε το πρόβλημα που θέτουμε εδώ με τις ενδιάμεσες κεφαλές θα πρέπει να εξεταστεί σε άλλη βάση. Πιθανώς δεν υφίσταται, εφόσον υποθεθεί ότι τα φ-χαρακτηριστικά βρίσκονται ή μεταβιβάζονται από τον πρώτο ΣΔ (Force) στον τελευταίο ΣΔ (Fin), οποίος είναι συμβατός με την παρεμφατικότητα.

⁵ Τα ΣΑΠ νομιμοποιούνται από την ύπαρξη επιδραστικών προτασικών τελεστών (Progovac 1992, Klidi 1998).

2. Αν ο ΣΔ δεν φέρει φ-χαρακτηριστικά, τότε η ΦΣΔ δεν αποτελεί φάση και η φάση ολοκληρώνεται παραπάνω στην παραγωγή, ενώ το υποκείμενο ελέγχεται υποχρεωτικά από το υποκείμενο της κύριας πρότασης.
3. Στην περίπτωση υποχρεωτικού ελέγχου του υποκειμένου της συμπληρωματικής πρότασης, δεν νομιμοποιούνται ΣΑΠ.

Αναφορικά με τον χρόνο της συμπληρωματικής, όπως θα διαπιστωθεί από την ανάλυση των δεδομένων (κεφ. 3), στην περίπτωση υποχρεωτικού ελέγχου του υποκειμένου ο χρόνος είναι πάντα εξαρτημένος. Επισημαίνουμε, όμως, ότι δεν ισχύει το αντίστροφο: ο εξαρτημένος χρόνος της συμπληρωματικής δεν προϋποθέτει υποχρεωτικό έλεγχο υποκειμένου και απουσία ΣΑΠ.

3. Τα δεδομένα και η ανάλυση

3.1 Οι κύριες/ανεξάρτητες προτάσεις

Στην κατηγορία των ανεξάρτητων προτάσεων συγκαταλέγονται οι κύριες (5α), οι ανεξάρτητες να- και ας-προτάσεις (5β) και οι προτάσεις προστακτικής (5γ):

- (5) α. Ο Γιάννης αγοράζει/αγόρασε βιβλία.
- β. Να αγοράσεις/αγόραζες βιβλία. / Ας αγοράσει/αγόραζε βιβλία.
- γ. Αγόρασε βιβλία!

Εξετάζοντας την περίπτωσή τους παρατηρούμε ότι:

- A. Έχουν κενό ΣΔ (Ø).
- B. Ο ΣΔ φέρει φ-χαρακτηριστικά, εφόσον νομιμοποιείται το υποκείμενο ενδοπροτασικά.
- Γ. Υπάρχει ανεξάρτητος χρόνος.
- Δ. Επιτρέπεται η παρουσία ΣΑΠ (6):

- (6) Ο Γιάννης δεν αγόρασε κανένα βιβλίο. / Να αγοράσεις κανένα βιβλίο. / Αγόρασε κανένα βιβλίο!

Πιο συγκεκριμένα, οι κύριες προτάσεις σύμφωνα με ό,τι υποστηρίζεται για την Ελληνική – αλλά και γενικότερα στη θεωρία για τις κύριες ανεξάρτητες προτάσεις – έχουν κενό ΣΔ, ο οποίος με βάση τις νεώτερες θεωρητικές εξελίξεις φέρει τα φ-χαρακτηριστικά τα οποία κληροδοτεί στη Φράση Χρόνου. Αναφορικά με τις να- και ας-προτάσεις υποστηρίζουμε ότι έχουν κενό ΣΔ (ή ότι το να/ας αποτελούν ΣΔ, κατά την Roussou 2000) και σύμφωνα με την ισχύουσα βιβλιογραφία το να/ας αποτελεί δείκτη Τροπικότητας. Ως προς τις προτάσεις προστακτικής, αναλύσεις που υποστηρίζουν ότι η προστακτική δεν αποτελεί παρεμφατικό τύπο της Ελληνικής (Mavrogiorgos 2010) και αναλύσεις που προτείνουν ότι το υποκείμενο της προστακτικής είναι ένα PRO με πώση (Landau 2007) δεν αποτελούν αντενδείξεις σε ό,τι υποστηρίζουμε. Οι εν λόγω προτάσεις είναι «πλήρεις» με ΣΔ που φέρει φ-χαρακτηριστικά, ανεξάρτητα από άλλες προτάσεις. Επιπλέον, ας σημειωθεί ότι δεν τίθεται θέμα αναφορικού χρόνου ή ελέγχου υποκειμένου, αφού οι προτάσεις είναι ούτως ή άλλως ανεξάρτητες. Το ίδιο υποστηρίζουμε ότι ισχύει και για τις περιπτώσεις κύριων προτάσεων με μη αναφορικά (*non referential*) φ-χαρακτηριστικά του τύπου «Από δω βλέπεις τη θάλασσα».

3.2 Οι ότι-συμπληρωματικές προτάσεις

Για την περίπτωση των ότι-συμπληρωματικών προτάσεων παρατηρούμε τα εξής:

- A. Έχουν εκπεφρασμένο ΣΔ.
- B. Ο ΣΔ φέρει φ-χαρακτηριστικά, εφόσον νομιμοποιείται το υποκείμενο ενδοπροτασικά και δεν υπάρχει υποχρεωτικός έλεγχος υποκειμένου (7).
- Γ. Επιτρέπεται ανεξάρτητος χρόνος (8).
- Δ. Νομιμοποιούνται ΣΑΠ (9).

- (7) Ο Πέτρος νομίζει ότι η Μαρία αγοράζει βιβλία.

- (8) Ισχυρίζεται ότι αγόρασε βιβλία.

(9) Ο Πέτρος νομίζει ότι η Μαρία δεν έφερε κανέναν φίλο της στο πάρτυ (όπως πέρυσι).

Υποστηρίζουμε ότι ο ΣΔ και σε αυτή την περίπτωση φέρει φ-χαρακτηριστικά. Ως εκ τούτου, ο ΣΔ αποτελεί κεφαλή φάσης και η *ότι*-πρόταση είναι ανεξάρτητη ως προς το υποκείμενο και κατάλληλο περιβάλλον για εμφάνιση ΣΑΠ, αν επιδραστικοί τελεστές επιτρέψουν την εμφάνισή τους. Επιπλέον, στις συγκεκριμένες δομές επιτρέπεται ανεξάρτητος χρόνος.

3.3 Οι *που*-συμπληρωματικές προτάσεις

Οι *που*-συμπληρωματικές προτάσεις κατηγοριοποιούνται με βάση το ρήμα εξάρτησης (βλ. Ρούσσου 2006): α) νοητικής αντίληψης (*θυμάμαι, ξεχνώ*), β) ψυχικού πάθους (*χαίρομαι, λυπάμαι*) και γ) αισθήσεως (*βλέπω, ακούω*) και η συμπεριφορά τους διαφοροποιείται ανάλογα με αυτό.

Για τις πρώτες δύο κατηγορίες παρατηρούμε ότι συμπεριφέρονται σχεδόν όπως και οι *ότι*-συμπληρωματικές:

- A. Έχουν εκπεφρασμένο ΣΔ.
- B. Ο ΣΔ φέρει φ-χαρακτηριστικά, το υποκείμενο νομιμοποιείται ενδοπροτασιακά, ενώ δεν υπάρχει υποχρεωτικός έλεγχος υποκειμένου (10).
- Γ. Έχουν ανεξάρτητο χρόνο (11).
- Δ. Στις συγκεκριμένες προτάσεις νομιμοποιούνται ΣΑΠ (12).

(10) Ο Πέτρος θυμήθηκε/χάρηκε που η Μαρία αγόρασε βιβλία.

(11) Θυμάται/λυπάται που δεν αγόρασε περισσότερα βιβλία.

(12) Ο Πέτρος θυμάται/χαίρεται που η Μαρία δεν έφερε κανέναν φίλο της στο πάρτυ (όπως πέρυσι).

Η τρίτη κατηγορία με ρήματα αισθήσεως που παρουσιάζει έλεγχο του υποκειμένου από το αντικείμενο της κύριας δεν συμπεριλαμβάνεται στην ανάλυση της παρούσας εργασίας, καθώς εξετάζουμε τις δομές ελέγχου υποκειμένου από το υποκείμενο της κύριας. Αξίζει όμως να αναφέρουμε τα ακόλουθα χαρακτηριστικά τους. Έχει επισημανθεί στη βιβλιογραφία⁶ ότι οι *που*-προτάσεις παρουσιάζουν υποχρεωτικό έλεγχο του υποκειμένου τους (13):

(13) Άκουσα τον Γιάννη_i που ανέβαινε_i τη σκάλα.

Σημαντικό είναι να σημειωθεί εδώ ότι οι συγκεκριμένες δομές παρουσιάζουν εξαρτημένο χρόνο (14α) και δεν επιτρέπουν την παρουσία ΣΑΠ (14β):

- (14) α. * Βλέπω τον Γιάννη που ανέβηκε τη σκάλα.
- β. * Είδα τον Γιάννη που δεν χτύπησε κανένα κουδούνι.

Παρατηρούμε και σε αυτή την περίπτωση ότι τα τρία φαινόμενα συνεμφανίζονται, γεγονός που – όπως υποστηρίζουμε – οφείλεται σε ΣΔ χωρίς φ-χαρακτηριστικά, που δεν αποτελεί κεφαλή φάσης, και κατά συνέπεια η ολοκλήρωση της συμπληρωματικής πρότασης θα πρέπει να περιμένει μέχρι την κύρια.

Το ερώτημα που προκύπτει περαιτέρω για τις *που*-συμπληρωματικές σε σύγκριση με τις *ότι*-συμπληρωματικές αφορά στο γεγονός ότι πριν από τον ΣΔ *ότι* υπάρχει η δυνατότητα εμφάνισης υποκειμένου (15), ενώ η αντίστοιχη δομή με ΣΔ *που* είναι αντιγραμματική (16):

(15) Έμαθα ο Γιάννης ότι θα έρθει.

(16) * Χάρηκα ο Γιάννης που έφυγε.

Το συγκεκριμένο ερώτημα δεν θα το συζητήσουμε αναλυτικά στην παρούσα εργασία, διότι πρέπει να αντιμετωπιστεί σε σχέση με όλες τις συμπληρωματικές δομές της Ελληνικής. Υποστηρίζουμε, ωστόσο, ότι στις *που*-συμπληρωματικές προτάσεις είτε δεν προβάλλεται θέση χαρακτηριστή είτε είναι

⁶ Βλ. Ρούσσου (2006) για συστηματική μελέτη των ΣΔ.

κατειλημμένη⁷. Στην άποψη αυτή συνηγορεί το γεγονός ότι στις συγκεκριμένες δομές η εμφάνιση φράσεων εστίασης, θεματοποίησης ή ερωτηματικού είναι αντιγραμματική (17), ενώ οι αντίστοιχες δομές με ΣΔ ότι είναι γραμματικές (18):

- (17) α. * Τον θυμάμαι τα βιβλία που τα διάβαζε.
β. * Τον θυμάμαι ΤΑ ΒΙΒΛΙΑ που διάβαζε.
γ. * Τον θυμάμαι ΤΙ που διάβαζε;

- (18) α. Τον θυμάμαι τα βιβλία ότι τα διάβαζε.
β. Τον θυμάμαι ΤΑ ΒΙΒΛΙΑ ότι διάβαζε.
γ. Τον θυμάσαι ΤΙ ότι διάβαζε;

3.4 Οι να-συμπληρωματικές προτάσεις

Η περίπτωση των να-συμπληρωματικών προτάσεων έχει απασχολήσει πολλές φορές τους μελετητές της Ελληνικής, οι οποίοι έχουν επισημάνει διάφορα χαρακτηριστικά τους προτείνοντας ποικίλες αναλύσεις. Για την παρούσα ανάλυση οι παρακάτω επισημάνσεις αναφορικά με τα κριτήρια που θέσαμε είναι μείζονος σημασίας.

Ορισμένες να-προτάσεις παρουσιάζουν υποχρεωτικό έλεγχο υποκειμένου, ενώ άλλες όχι (19):

- (19) α. Η Μαρία_i σταμάτησε να αντιμιλάει.
β. Η Μαρία θέλει να αγοράσει ο Γιάννης αύριο μερικά βιβλία.

Ορισμένες να-προτάσεις παρουσιάζουν εξαρτημένο χρόνο, ενώ άλλες όχι (20):

- (20) α. Η Μαρία άρχισε να διαβάζει (*διάβασε).
β. Η Μαρία περιμένει να αγοράσε ο Γιάννης χθες τα βιβλία.

Ορισμένες να-προτάσεις νομιμοποιούν ΣΑΠ, ενώ άλλες όχι (21):

- (21) α. Η Μαρία τόλμησε να μην πάρει (*κανένα) τηλέφωνο.
β. Η Μαρία περιμένει να αγοράσε ο Γιάννης χθες κανένα βιβλίο.

Με βάση τα κριτήρια που θέσαμε υποστηρίζουμε ότι τα παραπάνω φαινόμενα συνδέονται με τον βαθμό ανεξαρτησίας της πρότασης, δηλαδή με την ύπαρξη ή όχι φ-χαρακτηριστικών στον ΣΔ. Πιο συγκεκριμένα, για ορισμένες να-προτάσεις είναι προφανής η εξάρτησή τους από την κύρια πρόταση, διότι παρουσιάζουν υποχρεωτικό έλεγχο υποκειμένου. Επιπλέον, ο υποχρεωτικός έλεγχος υποκειμένου συνεμφανίζεται με εξαρτημένο χρόνο και αδυναμία νομιμοποίησης ΣΑΠ. Η εξάρτηση αυτή μπορεί να περιγραφεί ως εξής: Οι εν λόγω να-προτάσεις δεν είναι πλήρεις, με την έννοια ότι ο ΣΔ δεν φέρει φ-χαρακτηριστικά, η δεύτερη/ανώτερη φάση δεν «κλείνει» στον ΣΔ, δεν ολοκληρώνεται δηλαδή η ερμηνεία τους πριν την κύρια πρόταση από την οποία εξαρτώνται. Αντίθετα, η φάση που ξεκινάει μετά την ρ-φράση θα ολοκληρωθεί στην κύρια, η οποία θα καθορίσει τα φ-χαρακτηριστικά του υποκειμένου και την ερμηνεία της κατηγορίας του χρόνου. Η μη ολοκληρωμένη μορφή τους, η μη πλήρης προτασική δομή τους ερμηνεύει αυτόματα και την αδυναμία νομιμοποίησης ΣΑΠ σε αυτές, αφού – όπως έχει ήδη επισημανθεί – τα ΣΑΠ νομιμοποιούνται υπό την επίδραση προτασικών τελεστών.

Οι συγκεκριμένες δομές έχουν ήδη απασχολήσει την επιστημονική έρευνα και οι αναλύσεις επικεντρώνονται στη φύση του υποκειμένου της δευτερεύουσας (pro, PRO ή A- ίχνος)⁸. Σε νεώτερες μελέτες επιχειρείται μια νέα ανάλυση του φαινομένου του ελέγχου μέσω μετακίνησης, σύμφωνα με τις οποίες ισχύουν τα εξής:

- α) Ο έλεγχος ερμηνεύεται ως μετακίνηση του υποκειμένου της δευτερεύουσας στην κύρια πρόταση (Hornstein 1999).
β) Η εμφάνιση του υποκειμένου στην κύρια ονομάζεται πρόσθιος / έμπροσθεν έλεγχος (*forward Control*) και η εμφάνισή του στη δευτερεύουσα όπισθεν έλεγχος (*backward control*) (Polinsky & Potsdam 2002).

⁷ Προφανώς, η θέση είναι κατειλημμένη από κάποιον τελεστή που δεν προκαλεί μετακίνηση (βλ. Ρούσσου 2000 για την παρατήρηση ότι οι που-γεγονοτικές προτάσεις δεν επιτρέπουν μετακίνηση ερωτηματικού).

⁸ Terzi (1992), Tsoulas (1993), Iatridou (1993), Varlokosta (1994), Philippaki-Warbuton & Catsimali (1999), Spyropoulos (2007) μεταξύ άλλων.

γ) Για την Ελληνική (και τη Ρουμανική) υποστηρίζεται ότι υπάρχει η δυνατότητα του όπισθεν ελέγχου (Alexiadou, Anagnostopoulou, Iordachioaia & Marchis 2010).

Οι πρόσφατες αναλύσεις, που υποστηρίζουν τη μετακίνηση του υποκειμένου από τη δευτερεύουσα στην κύρια πρόταση, την απαλοιφή των αντιγράφων⁹ στην κύρια και τη λεξικοποίηση ενός από τα αντίγραφα στη δευτερεύουσα, αποτυπώνονται σχηματικά στο (22):

(22) [TP ~~ο Γιάννης~~ [ρΦ ~~ο Γιάννης~~ άρχισε [TP ~~ο Γιάννης~~ να γράφει [ρΦ ο Γιάννης]]]]
[TP ~~ο Γιάννης~~ [ρΦ ~~ο Γιάννης~~ άρχισε [TP ο Γιάννης να γράφει [ρΦ ~~ο Γιάννης~~]]]]

Όπως επισημαίνουν και οι ίδιοι οι συγγραφείς, πρόβλημα στην ανάλυσή τους παραμένει – αυτό που έχει ήδη επισημανθεί από τον Landau (2007) – η παρουσία δύο πτώσεων (από την κύρια και από την δευτερεύουσα) σε μία αλυσίδα. Στην παρούσα μελέτη υιοθετούμε την ανάλυση των Hornstein (1999) και Alexiadou, Anagnostopoulou, Iordachioaia & Marchis (2010) και πιστεύουμε ότι αντιμετωπίζουμε το πρόβλημα της πτώσης, έχοντας υποστηρίξει για ανεξάρτητους λόγους ότι ο ΣΔ της δευτερεύουσας δεν φέρει φ-χαρακτηριστικά.¹⁰

Είναι, βέβαια, γεγονός ότι για το υποκείμενο της Ελληνικής είναι απαραίτητες περαιτέρω αναλύσεις. Η συγκεκριμένη ανάλυση παρ' όλα αυτά προβλέπει τα εξής:

- α) Ο έλεγχος σ' αυτές τις περιπτώσεις είναι υποχρεωτικός, όπως άλλωστε τα δεδομένα υποστηρίζουν.
- β) Η δυνατότητα όπισθεν ελέγχου συνδέεται με ΣΔ στη δευτερεύουσα που δεν αποτελεί φάση και ενδεχομένως στα χαρακτηριστικά του να έγκειται η παραμετροποίηση ανάμεσα στις γλώσσες που επιτρέπουν αυτό το είδος ελέγχου και σε αυτές που δεν το επιτρέπουν.

Υπάρχουν, ωστόσο, δύο ερωτήματα με τα οποία οφείλουμε ασχοληθούμε περαιτέρω σε αυτό το σημείο: Το πρώτο ερώτημα σχετίζεται με την ύπαρξη ΣΔ στις να-προτάσεις, όταν δεν φέρει και δεν κληροδοτεί φ-χαρακτηριστικά, εφόσον υιοθετήσει κανείς την υπόθεση ότι το να δεν αποτελεί ΣΔ αλλά κεφαλή Έγκλισης, ενταγμένη στο σύστημα της Κλίσης. Μολονότι η απάντηση του συγκεκριμένου ερωτήματος δεν εντάσσεται στους στόχους της παρούσας μελέτης και θα πρέπει να εξεταστεί σε συνδυασμό με όλες τις προτάσεις στις οποίες δεν εμφανίζεται λεξικοποιημένος ΣΔ αλλά έχουν ανεξάρτητα φ-χαρακτηριστικά (όπως οι κύριες), υποστηρίζουμε ότι υπάρχει ΣΔ για τους εξής λόγους:

A) Ορισμένες φορές εμφανίζεται λεξικοποιημένος ΣΔ (23):

- (23) α. Το άφησα στο τραπέζι, ώστε να το βρει εύκολα.
β. Το άφησα στο τραπέζι, για να το βρει εύκολα.
γ. Ψάχνω να του αγοράσω κάτι που να το έχει πραγματικά ανάγκη.

B) Στην περιφερειακή θέση των συγκεκριμένων δομών υπάρχει η δυνατότητα εμφάνισης φράσεων θεματοποίησης (24α), εστίασης (24β) ή ερωτηματικού (24γ):

- (24) α. Ο Γιάννης έμαθε τα αγγλικά να τα μιλάει τέλεια.
β. Ο Γιάννης έμαθε ΑΓΓΛΙΚΑ να μιλάει τέλεια.
γ. Ο Γιάννης έμαθε ΤΙ να μιλάει τέλεια;

Οι συγκεκριμένες φράσεις θεματοποίησης και εστίασης σύμφωνα με τις υπάρχουσες αναλύσεις (Αλεξιάδου 1997, 1999, Ρούσσου 2000) ανήκουν σαφώς στο σύστημα του ΣΔ, ενώ ως προς την περίπτωση του ερωτηματικού ως ενδεικτικού ορίου φάσης σημειώνουμε ότι πρόκειται για ερωτήσεις «ηχούς» (*echo questions*), οι οποίες διαφέρουν στην παραγωγή τους από τις ερωτηματικές προτάσεις (βλ. Sobin 2010).

Γ) Για καθαρά θεωρητικούς λόγους, αν ο ΣΔ δεν φέρει φ-χαρακτηριστικά και το υποκείμενο νομιμοποιείται από τα φ-χαρακτηριστικά του ΣΔ της κύριας, τα εν λόγω χαρακτηριστικά μάλλον θα κληροδοτηθούν στην εξαρτημένη μέσω ενός ΣΔ.

Το δεύτερο ερώτημα που πρέπει να απαντηθεί είναι το εξής: Σε ποια φάση της κύριας ολοκληρώνεται η να-εξαρτημένη πρόταση; Σε ποια φάση της πρότασης «κλείνει» η εξαρτημένη και στέλνεται στα διεπίπεδα για ερμηνεία; Το συγκεκριμένο ερώτημα πρέπει, ωστόσο, να ερευνηθεί σε

⁹ Οι αναλύσεις βασίζονται στη θεωρία των αντιγράφων (*Copy Theory*, Chomsky 1995, 2000).

¹⁰ Αυτό ισχύει βεβαίως αν βασιστούμε στη θεωρία (Chomsky 2001), σύμφωνα με την οποία η απόδοση της πτώσης είναι αποτέλεσμα / προϊόν Συμφωνίας (*by product*).

συνδυασμό με όλες τις περιπτώσεις εξάρτησης: ελέγχου από το αντικείμενο της κύριας, απόδοσης της πτώσης κατ' εξαίρεση (*ECM*), ανύψωσης κλπ., θέματα που δεν εμπίπτουν στον στόχο της παρούσας μελέτης. Πιστεύουμε, όμως, ότι για τις περιπτώσεις ελέγχου του υποκειμένου η ολοκλήρωση της εξαρτημένης πρότασης γίνεται με την εισαγωγή του ΣΔ της κύριας πρότασης.¹¹

4. Κληροδότηση των φ-χαρακτηριστικών από τον ΣΔ στον Χρόνο

Το τρίτο ερώτημα που τέθηκε αρχικά στην εργασία και αναφέρεται στη νομιμοποίηση του υποκειμένου σχετίζεται με την κατηγορία στην οποία κληροδοτούνται τα φ-χαρακτηριστικά. Σύμφωνα με τη θεωρία (Chomsky 2005, 2007) τα φ-χαρακτηριστικά κληροδοτούνται στην κεφαλή του Χρόνου (*T'*). Ωστόσο, αντικείμενο μελέτης αποτελεί η περίπτωση των γλωσσών, όπως η Ελληνική, στις οποίες η κατηγορία του Χρόνου δεν ακολουθεί αμέσως μετά τον ΣΔ, όπως σε προτάσεις του τύπου «...ότι δεν θα αγοράσει βιβλία».

Η πρώτη προφανής ένδειξη ότι τα φ-χαρακτηριστικά μετακινούνται από τον ΣΔ και καταλήγουν στον Χρόνο – πιθανώς περνώντας από όσες κεφαλές παρεμβάλλονται – είναι η μορφολογική τους πραγμάτωση στην κεφαλή του Χρόνου, εφόσον το ρήμα της Ελληνικής κλίνεται σε πρόσωπο και αριθμό. Ωστόσο, υποστηρίζουμε τη μεταβίβαση αυτή από τον ΣΔ έως τον Χρόνο επιπλέον για τους εξής λόγους:

- α) Τα φ-χαρακτηριστικά (προσώπου και αριθμού) δεν είναι δυνατόν να φιλοξενηθούν από κατηγορίες όπως η Άρνηση, η Τροπικότητα ή η φράση Έγκλισης, καθώς εκεί τα εν λόγω χαρακτηριστικά δεν θα ελεγχθούν, θα μείνουν ανεμνήνευτα και η πρόταση θα καταρρεύσει. Με άλλα λόγια οι ενδιάμεσες κεφαλές δεν είναι συμβατές με τη φύση των φ-χαρακτηριστικών.
- β) Το ρήμα στον Χρόνο δεν θα μπορέσει να ελέγξει τα δικά του χαρακτηριστικά, αν τα φ-χαρακτηριστικά παραμείνουν π.χ. στη φράση Άρνησης.
- γ) Η μεταβίβαση των φ-χαρακτηριστικών στον Χρόνο υποστηρίζεται μεταξύ άλλων θεωρητικά για τη νομιμοποίηση του υποκειμένου (Richards 2007), η οποία για την Ελληνική σχετίζεται επιπλέον με τη νομιμοποίηση μετα-ρηματικού υποκειμένου.

5. Προτάσεις

Συνοψίζοντας την ανάλυσή μας καταλήγουμε στην εξής γενίκευση σχετικά με τον ΣΔ της Ελληνικής: Ο ΣΔ διακρίνεται σε δύο είδη: σε ΣΔ με [+φ-χαρακτηριστικά] και σε ΣΔ με [- φ-χαρακτηριστικά].

Συνέπειες της γενίκευσης είναι οι ακόλουθες:

- α) Ο ΣΔ που δεν φέρει φ-χαρακτηριστικά δεν αποτελεί κεφαλή φάσης, η φάση δεν «κλείνει» στη ΦΣΔ, αλλά ολοκληρώνεται σε μετέπειτα στάδιο της παραγωγής, στην κύρια πρόταση.
- β) Η έλλειψη φ-χαρακτηριστικών στον ΣΔ της συμπληρωματικής πρότασης επιβάλλει τον έλεγχο του υποκειμένου της.

Η γενίκευση αυτή οδηγεί περαιτέρω στην κατηγοριοποίηση των προτάσεων:

- α) [+ φ-χαρακτηριστικά] φέρει ο κενός ΣΔ των κύριων προτάσεων, των ανεξάρτητων να- και ας-προτάσεων, ορισμένων να-συμπληρωματικών και των προτάσεων της προστακτικής, καθώς και ο εκπεφρασμένος ΣΔ των ό-τι-συμπληρωματικών και ορισμένων που-προτάσεων.
- β) [- φ-χαρακτηριστικά] φέρει ο ΣΔ σε ορισμένες να-συμπληρωματικές.

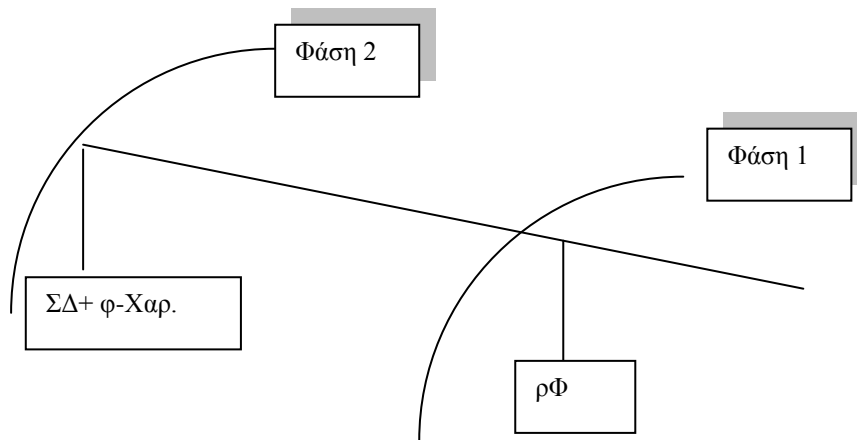
Τα [+/- φ-χαρακτηριστικά] στον ΣΔ σχετίζονται με την αυτονομία μιας πρότασης, δηλαδή με τον ορισμό της ως «πλήρους» πρότασης. Από την παρούσα ανάλυση προέκυψαν δύο σαφείς περιπτώσεις:

1. Απολύτως αυτόνομες προτάσεις (πλήρεις προτάσεις), φράσεις με ΣΔ [+ φ-χαρακτηριστικά] που αποτελεί κεφαλή φάσης, οι οποίες παρουσιάζουν ανεξάρτητο υποκείμενο, ανεξάρτητο χρόνο και νομιμοποίηση ΣΑΠ.
2. Απολύτως εξαρτημένες προτάσεις, φράσεις με ΣΔ [- φ-χαρακτηριστικά], που δεν αποτελεί κεφαλή φάσης, οι οποίες παρουσιάζουν υποχρεωτικό έλεγχο υποκειμένου, εξαρτημένο χρόνο και αδυναμία νομιμοποίησης ΣΑΠ.

Η παραγωγή των προτάσεων που εξετάσαμε μπορεί να απεικονιστεί σχηματικά ως εξής:

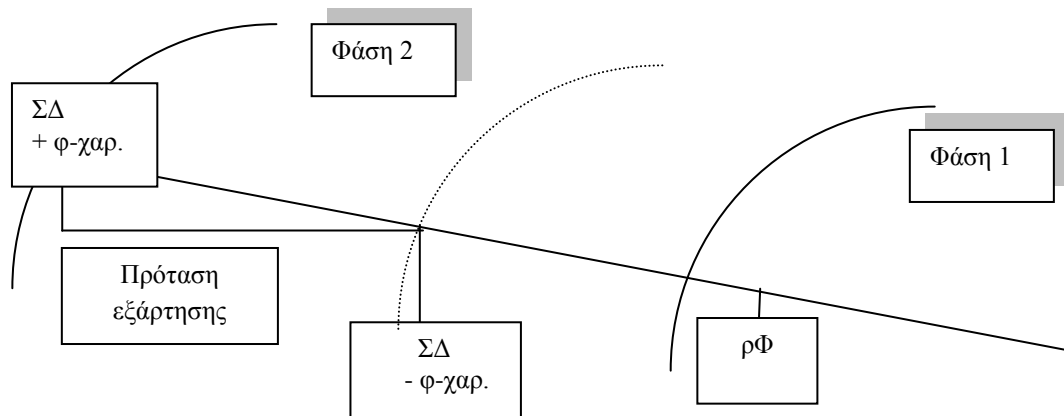
¹¹ Για την περίπτωση ελέγχου υποκειμένου από το αντικείμενο της κύριας ενδεχομένως η πρόταση να «κλείνει» στη ρΦ της κύριας.

Οι κύριες και ανεξάρτητες προτάσεις, οι *ότι*- και *που*-συμπληρωματικές καθώς και οι *να*-προτάσεις με ανεξάρτητο υποκείμενο, ανεξάρτητο χρόνο και δυνατότητα νομιμοποίησης ΣΑΠ απεικονίζονται στο σχήμα 3:



Σχήμα 3

Για τις *να*-προτάσεις με ελεγχόμενο υποκείμενο, αναφορικό χρόνο και αδυναμία νομιμοποίησης ΣΑΠ προτείνεται το ακόλουθο σχήμα (σχήμα 4):



Σχήμα 4

Τα δεδομένα, ωστόσο, των *να*-συμπληρωματικών υποδεικνύουν τουλάχιστον μία ενδιάμεση κατηγορία προτάσεων: εκείνες με ανεξάρτητο υποκείμενο αλλά εξαρτημένο χρόνο, όπως στα παραδείγματα (25):

- (25) α. Θέλω να φύγεις (*έφυγες).
β. Προσπάθησα να περάσεις/ *πέρασες καλά στο πάρτυ.

Επίσης, ιδιαίτερο ενδιαφέρον παρουσιάζουν οι *να*-προτάσεις σε θέση συμπληρώματος απρόσωπων ρημάτων, καθώς δεν παρουσιάζουν έλεγχο υποκειμένου (26), νομιμοποιούν ΣΑΠ (27), αλλά η χρονική τους αναφορά εξαρτάται ορισμένες μόνο φορές από την κύρια (28):

- (26) Τυχαίνει / πρέπει / μπορεί να ξέρω πολλά μυστικά του.

(27) Ενδέχεται / πρέπει / μπορεί να έχουν καμιά καλή πρόταση για το βράδυ.

(28) α. Πρέπει να έγραψε (* γράψει) τις ασκήσεις του.

β. Πρέπει να γράψει (*έγραψε) τις ασκήσεις του μέχρι αύριο!¹²

Φαίνεται, λοιπόν, ότι υφίσταται μία διαβάθμιση ως προς την αυτονομία των προτάσεων, η οποία δηλώνει ότι ο εξαρτημένος χρόνος δεν επιβάλλει έλεγχο του υποκειμένου (βλ. και Terzi 1992), ενώ ισχύει το αντίστροφο: ο έλεγχος του υποκειμένου συνεπάγεται απαραίτητα εξαρτημένο χρόνο. Με άλλα λόγια οι δύο κατηγορίες Χρόνος και Συμφωνία, οι οποίες στην Ελληνική πραγματώνονται μορφολογικά στην κεφαλή του Χρόνου, ενώ συνδέονται κατ' αυτόν τον τρόπο, λειτουργούν ταυτόχρονα ανεξάρτητα ως προς τον έλεγχο του υποκειμένου και την εξάρτηση του χρόνου. Συνεπώς, η θέση του Chomsky (2005, 2007), που υιοθετήθηκε εδώ, για την κληροδότηση/μεταβίβαση φ-χαρακτηριστικών από τον ΣΔ στον Χρόνο ενισχύει την άποψη ότι πρόκειται για ανεξάρτητες κατηγορίες. Το συγκεκριμένο ζήτημα (Χρόνος-Συμφωνία) έχει, βεβαίως, μακρά ιστορία στη Γενετική Γραμματική. Το ερώτημα, ωστόσο, που τίθεται είναι κατά πόσο ο ΣΔ [+φ-χαρακτηριστικά] προτάσεων με ανεξάρτητο υποκείμενο και εξαρτημένο χρόνο αποτελεί κεφαλή φάσης ή όχι, ερώτημα που παραμένει ανοιχτό στην παρούσα εργασία.

7. Σύνοψη-συμπεράσματα

Ολοκληρώνοντας τη διερεύνηση των θεωρητικών θέσεων σχετικά με τον ΣΔ ως φορέα φ-χαρακτηριστικών και την κληροδότησή τους στον Χρόνο αναφορικά με την Νέα Ελληνική, θεωρούμε ότι η πρότασή μας για τη διάκριση του ΣΔ της Ελληνικής με [+/- φ-χαρακτηριστικά] προσδίδει μια νέα ερμηνευτική διάσταση στον ΣΔ, καθώς αποτελεί μια προσπάθεια τυποποίησής του, η οποία έχει ως συνέπεια τον χαρακτηρισμό του ως κεφαλή φάσης και τον προσδιορισμό της έννοιας μιας «πλήρους» πρότασης. Σε αυτή τη βάση ερμηνεύονται στο πλαίσιο των νέων θεωρητικών εξελίξεων φαινόμενα (υποχρεωτικού ελέγχου του υποκειμένου, αναφορικού χρόνου και νομιμοποίησης των ΣΑΠ) τα οποία έχουν αναλυθεί εκτενώς στην ελληνική βιβλιογραφία και συνεχίζουν να αποτελούν αντικείμενο περαιτέρω διερεύνησης.

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¹² Η διαφορά ανάμεσα στις (28α) και (28β) συνδέεται με την δεοντική και επιστημική ερμηνεία του ρήματος: είναι όμως ενδεικτική του γεγονότος ότι ο χρόνος μπορεί να είναι εξαρτημένος.

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ΔΙΔΙΑΛΕΚΤΙΣΜΟΣ, Γ2 ΚΑΙ ΓΛΩΣΣΙΚΑ ΛΑΘΗ: ΜΕΛΕΤΗ ΠΕΡΙΠΤΩΣΗΣ ΣΕ ΕΝΑ ΣΧΟΛΕΙΟ ΤΗΣ ΚΥΠΡΟΥ

Συμεών Τσολακίδης

Πανεπιστήμιο

Πατρών

tsolakidissimeon@gmail.com

Άννα Χατζηπαναγιωτίδη

Πανεπιστήμιο Frederick,

Κύπρος

pre.cha@frederick.ac.cy

ABSTRACT

This paper is a contribution to the study of the influence of bidialectism and bilingualism to the teaching of Modern Greek in Greek-Cypriot Primary Education, in relation to the acquisition of Modern Greek as L2. We present the results of a case study in the 4th and 5th grade of a primary school in the suburban area of Limassol: we analyse the "errors" made by foreign pupils in their written texts and we relate them with the insufficient teaching of Modern Greek as L2, as well as some elements of the general sociolinguistic situation in the school context.

Λέξεις κλειδιά: bidialectism, teaching of Modern Greek as L2, Cypriot dialect

1. Εισαγωγή

Η εργασία αυτή αποτελεί μια συμβολή στη μελέτη τη διδασκαλίας της νέας ελληνικής σε μη γηγενείς μαθητές στην ελληνοκυπριακή (Ε/Κ) Δημοτική Εκπαίδευση, καθώς και στην ανάδειξη κάποιων αδυναμιών του συγκεκριμένου εκπαιδευτικού συστήματος όσον αφορά την υποδοχή και την ορθή αντιμετώπιση των μη γηγενών μαθητών. Τα δεδομένα μας προέρχονται από γραπτά μαθητών της Δ' και Ε' Δημοτικού ενός ημιαστικού σχολείου στην περιοχή της Λεμεσού. Θα παρουσιάσουμε την κοινωνιογλωσσολογικοδιδακτική κατάσταση που επικρατεί γενικά στο συγκεκριμένο σχολείο και ειδικότερα στις τάξεις όπου φοιτούν οι συγκεκριμένοι μαθητές, θα προβούμε σε μια ανάλυση των λαθών τους σε σχέση με διάφορα επίπεδα ανάλυσης και θα εστιάσουμε την προσοχή μας στο γεγονός ότι καταβάλλονται ανεπαρκείς προσπάθειες διδασκαλίας της κοινής νεοελληνικής (ΚΝΕ) ως Γ2 παράλληλα με τη διδασκαλία της ως Γ1, ενώ επιπρόσθετα δε λαμβάνεται επαρκής μέριμνα όσον αφορά την ένταξή τους στην τάξη στην οποία ανήκουν, έτσι ώστε η τελευταία να είναι σ'αλήθεια μια κοινότητα γραμματισμού (Κωστούλη 2006) που θα βοηθούσε λειτουργικά στην εκμάθηση της νέας ελληνικής και όπου, σύμφωνα με έναν από τους βασικούς σκοπούς της γλωσσικής καλλιέργειας έτσι όπως ορίζονται από το νέο *Αναλυτικό Πρόγραμμα Σπουδών της Νέας Ελληνικής Γλώσσας* της Κυπριακής Δημοκρατίας, "όλα τα παιδιά ανεξαρτήτως φύλου, πολιτισμικού και κοινωνικού υπόβαθρου και μορφών αναπηρίας έχουν ισότιμη πρόσβαση σε μαθησιακές δραστηριότητες και οι συνεισφορές τους γίνονται αποδεκτές" (σ. 7).

2. Περιγραφή μαθητών

Σύμφωνα με τον Παπαρανίου (1999), πριν τη δημιουργία του ανεξάρτητου κυπριακού κράτους (1960) ο μαθητικός πληθυσμός ήταν ομοιογενής και μονόγλωσσος, τουλάχιστον στα πλαίσια της σχολικής τάξης. Από την άλλη, κάθε κοινότητα ενθάρρυνε την εκμάθηση ξένων γλωσσών (κυρίως της αγγλικής) αλλά όχι και την εκμάθηση της επίσημης γλώσσας του "άλλου" (νέα ελληνική ή τουρκική). Βέβαια, η συνύπαρξη των δύο κοινοτήτων, ακόμα και μέχρι το 1974 "παρήγαγε" δίγλωσσους όχι λίγους επαρκείς ελληνοτουρκόφωνους ή τουρκοελληνόφωνους ομιλητές.

Η κατάσταση άλλαξε από το 1974 και μετά, όταν: 1) ως αποτέλεσμα της εισβολής η Ε/Κ και η Τ/Κ κοινότητα ζουν σχεδόν εντελώς χωριστά, 2) πολλοί Κύπριοι επέστρεψαν από τους τόπους μετανάστευσης ή γέννησής τους στο εξωτερικό (Μ. Βρετανία, Η.Π.Α., Αυστραλία), και 3) εκατοντάδες ή χιλιάδες μη ελληνόφωνοι (κυρίως Ρώσοι, Ρουμάνοι, Φιλιππινέζοι, Σριλανκέζοι και Άραβες) ήρθαν ως οικονομικοί ή πολιτικοί μετανάστες στην Κύπρο. Έτσι, σύμφωνα με την Κοιλιάρη

(2011), στην Κύπρο η ιστορική συγκυρία διαμόρφωσε συγκεκριμένες γεωπολιτικές συνθήκες και ιδεολογικές επιλογές που με τη σειρά τους δημιουργούν μία περιρρέουσα ατμόσφαιρα στην οποία η πολυπολιτισμικότητα και η πολυγλωσσία θα πρέπει να θεωρείται δεδομένη.

Στη συγκεκριμένη περίπτωση, πολλά από τα παιδιά των οικογενειών του (2) και (3) φοιτούν στα δημόσια σχολεία της Κυπριακής Δημοκρατίας, όπου η γλώσσα διδασκαλίας είναι η κυπριακή διάλεκτος (ΚΔ) ή η ΚΝΕ και η γλώσσα στόχος ήταν μέχρι το 2010 αποκλειστικά η ΚΝΕ. Σε ορισμένες περιπτώσεις παρέχονται ενισχυτικά μαθήματα ΚΝΕ στα παιδιά αυτά.

Γενικά, σε τέτοιες περιπτώσεις προκύπτουν ερωτήματα όπως:

α) Πώς και πόσο εντάσσονται στο σχολικό περιβάλλον και πόσο γίνονται αποδεκτά από τους "άλλους" συμμαθητές τους;

β) Πόσο επιτυχημένα είναι τα παιδιά αυτά ως προς την κατάκτηση της νέας ελληνικής;

(ένα υποερώτημα που τίθεται εδώ είναι:

τι εννοούμε με το *νέα ελληνική*: μόνο την ΚΝΕ, την ΚΝΕ και την ΚΔ, την τυχόν διαγλώσσα που μπορεί να έχει προκύψει από τη συνύπαρξή τους¹);

Επιπλέον, σύμφωνα με την Κοιλιάρη (2011), τίθενται και ερωτήματα όπως:

1. Ποια είναι η Γ1 και η Γ2 των μαθητών; Η ΚΝΕ ή η ΚΔ ή η γλώσσα της εθνικής ομάδας;

2. Η ΚΝΕ είναι για κάποιους μαθητές Γ3 ή ΞΓ;

Το υλικό που θα εξετάσουμε στη συγκεκριμένη περίπτωση προέρχεται από δεκατέσσερις μαθητές Δ' και Ε' Δημοτικού ενός σχολείου στην ημιαστική περιοχή της Λεμεσού, οι οποίοι είναι γεννημένοι στο εξωτερικό και είτε ο ένας από τους δύο γονείς τους είναι κυπριακής καταγωγής είτε και οι δύο αλλοδαποί. Ουσιαστικά, αυτή τη στιγμή βιώνουν μια κατάσταση τριγλωσσίας με την ΚΔ και τη μητρική γλώσσα της μητέρας τους να είναι τα δύο συστατικά αυτής της κατάστασης και τώρα έχουν εγκατασταθεί σε μια ημιαστική περιοχή που μέχρι πρόσφατα (πριν 10 χρόνια) θεωρούνταν χωριό, και όπου τα ελληνικά που χρησιμοποιούνται είναι κυρίως η ΚΔ αλλά στο σχολείο η γλώσσα-στόχος είναι η ΚΝΕ.

Η κατάσταση στο σχολείο έχει ως εξής: στην κανονική τάξη η δασκάλα τους φέρεται ισότιμα με τα άλλα παιδιά αλλά δεν υπάρχει καμιά εξατομίκευση (σε σχέση, π.χ. με το γεγονός ότι οι συγκεκριμένοι μαθητές είναι πιο αδύνατοι). Διδάσκονται επιπλέον μια ώρα ελληνικά κάθε Πέμπτη όλοι μαζί σε μια τάξη από μια άλλη δασκάλα με μεταπτυχιακό στη διδασκαλία της ελληνικής ως Γ2. Αυτή τους φέρνει δικές της ασκήσεις. Η προσέγγιση είναι δασκαλοκεντρική και η εστίαση στον γραπτό λόγο: η διδάσκουσα περνά πάνω από κάθε παιδί και ελέγχει πώς λύνει τις ασκήσεις.

Δε φαίνεται να δίνεται συστηματικά προσοχή σε βασικές αρχές της διαπολιτισμικής εκπαίδευσης, όπως αυτές της αποδοχής του πολιτισμικού κεφαλαίου των μαθητών και της παροχής ίσων ευκαιριών², και γενικά επικρατεί μια κατάσταση όπου (δικαιολογημένα ή αδικαιολόγητα) οι μαθητές δε δείχνουν εξοικειωμένοι με την έννοια της ετερότητας (γλωσσικής και εν γένει κοινωνικοπολιτισμικής). Είναι χαρακτηριστικό ότι γηγενείς και αλλογενείς κάθονται ξεχωριστά και στην τάξη και στα διαλείμματα, αν πρόκειται να παίξουν μπάλα ή κάτι άλλο, παίζουν αλλοδαποί εναντίον γηγενών κλπ., σε αρκετές περιπτώσεις παρατηρήθηκε οι γηγενείς να ειρωνεύονται τα ελληνικά των αλλογενών.

3. Σε τι μας βοηθά η ανάλυση των λαθών;

Ξέρουμε ότι το ερευνητικό πεδίο της κατάκτησης μιας γλώσσας ως δεύτερης/ξένης έχει στόχο, μεταξύ άλλων, να ερμηνεύσει τη μη ρητή γνώση των μαθητών (implicit knowledge) για την υπό εκμάθηση γλώσσα: τη μη συνειδητή, αυτοματοποιημένη γνώση που εκδηλώνεται στην αυθόρμητη παραγωγή λόγου³. Εφόσον, όμως, η μη ρητή γνώση της γλώσσας δεν είναι εύκολο να διερευνηθεί άμεσα, θα πρέπει να συναγάγουμε συμπεράσματα σχετικά με τη γλωσσική ικανότητα των μαθητών μέσω της παραγωγής του γραπτού και προφορικού τους λόγου, καταγράφοντας και αναλύοντας δείγματα της (δια)γλώσσας των μαθητών⁴. Σύμφωνα με τον Αρχάκη (2005: 139), η συνειδητοποίηση των προβλημάτων που αντιμετωπίζουν οι μη γηγενείς μαθητές είναι απολύτως απαραίτητη για τους εκπαιδευτικούς, επειδή έχει αποδειχτεί ότι οι προκαταλήψεις τους απέναντι στις πολιτιστικές και γλωσσικές καταβολές παίζουν έναν πολύ σημαντικό ρόλο και οδηγούν στη λεγόμενη "αυτο-εκπληρούμενη προφητεία" (self-fulfilling prophecy⁵). Στην περίπτωσή μας ισχύει το εξής: τα παιδιά

¹ Βλ., ενδεικτικά, Τσιπλάκου (2009).

² Δαμανάκης (2002: 103-104)

³ Ellis & Barkhuizen (2005)

⁴ Selinker (1972)

⁵ Hudson (1980: 209)

από τα οποία προέρχεται το υλικό μας έχουν διαμορφώσει μια διαγλώσσα που βασίζεται στην ΚΔ και στη μητρική τους, που είναι διαφορετική από την ΚΝΕ. Αυτό σημαίνει ότι οι μαθητές στους οποίους αναφερόμαστε, έρχονται στο σχολείο χρησιμοποιώντας ένα γλωσσικό σύστημα που από την κοινωνία και τους εκπαιδευτικούς θεωρείται κατώτερο της σχολικής νόρμας. Επιπλέον, σύμφωνα με τις δασκάλους τους, πρόκειται για παιδιά που οι μελλοντικές τους προσδοκίες (επαγγελματικές κλπ.) δε συνδέονται με την καλή εκμάθηση της ΚΝΕ, οπότε και τα ίδια και το περιβάλλον τους δε δίνουν ιδιαίτερη έμφαση στη συγκεκριμένη εκμάθηση. Όλα τα παραπάνω αποτελούν παράγοντες που είναι γνωστό ότι ωθούν τους εκπαιδευτικούς (όχι πάντα συνειδητά) σε αρνητικές εντυπώσεις και κρίσεις, επομένως χαμηλές προσδοκίες για τις γλωσσικές ικανότητες αυτών των παιδιών. Ταυτόχρονα, το σύστημα των ενισχυτικών μαθημάτων είναι διαμορφωμένο με τέτοιο τρόπο ώστε να μην ιδιαίτερα αποτελεσματικό. Η συνέπεια για τα ίδια τα παιδιά είναι η διαμόρφωση αρνητικής εικόνας όσον αφορά τη δυνατότητά τους να βελτιωθούν ως προς τη νόρμα, κάτι που με τη σειρά του οδηγεί σε μειωμένη ή μηδενική προσπάθεια και σε χαμηλές επιδόσεις.

4. Το γλωσσικό λάθος

Σύμφωνα με τους Θεοδωροπούλου & Παπαναστασίου (2001), ως γλωσσικό λάθος θα μπορούσε να οριστεί κάθε απόκλιση από τη γλωσσική νόρμα, την οποία μια κοινότητα θέτει ως πρότυπο και την περιβάλλει με το κύρος του κανόνα. Υπάρχουν διάφορες κατηγοριοποιήσεις των γλωσσικών λαθών. Μια από αυτές είναι αυτή των Θεοδωροπούλου & Παπαναστασίου (2001), που αξιοποιώντας και την αναλυτικότερη κατηγοριοποίηση του Σετάτος (1991), προτείνουν τη διάκριση σε 1) λάθη που αφορούν το γλωσσικό σύστημα, 2) λάθη που αφορούν τη χρήση της γλώσσας, και 3) λάθη που αφορούν τη γραπτή μορφή της γλώσσας και υποκατηγορίες όπως

Λάθη που αφορούν το γλωσσικό σύστημα: α) εκείνα που αφορούν το φωνητικό/φωνολογικό επίπεδο, π.χ. η προφορά της λέξης *διάρρηξη* ως [ˈðjariksi] αντί του κανονικού [ðiˈariksi] κατ'αναλογία προς πολλές άλλες λέξεις που αρχίζουν με [ðja] (π.χ. *διαβάζω* [ðjaˈvazo]). Στην ίδια κατηγορία ανήκουν και παραφθορές στην προφορά μη προσαρμοσμένων δανείων, όπως *σουπερμάρκερ* "σουπερμάρκετ", καθώς και λάθη τονισμού όπως *πανεπιστήμιου*⁶, β) εκείνα που αφορούν το μορφολογικό επίπεδο, π.χ. εκφορές όπως *πιο ανώτερος* ή *πιο καλύτερος*, όπου συνυπάρχουν πλεοναστικά δύο μορφήματα (*πιο* και *-τερος*) για τη δήλωση του συγκριτικού βαθμού, λάθη στην κλίση λόγιων στοιχείων της ΚΝΕ [π.χ. η διατήρηση της εσωτερικής αύξησης στον τύπο της προστακτικής *διέγραψε* (αντί του *διάγραψε*) κατ'αναλογία προς το γ' εν. του αορίστου *διέγραψε*⁷, της συγγραφέας (κατ'αναλογία προς τη γεν. εν. των θηλ. σε -ς), *του/της διεθνή* (αντί του *διεθνούς*) κατ'αναλογία τύπων γενικής όπως *του μαθητή*⁸], χρήση μορφολογικών στοιχείων άλλης γλώσσας [π.χ. *πέναλτις* "πέναλτι (πληθ.)"], λανθασμένη παραγωγή, π.χ. *εγκαινίζω* αντί του *εγκαινιάζω*, γ) εκείνα που αφορούν το συντακτικό επίπεδο, π.χ. *μετά Χριστού* (αντί του *μετά Χριστόν*) κατ'αναλογία προς την εκφορά *προ Χριστού*, *προ δύο μήνες* αντί του (*προ δύο μηνών*) κατ'αναλογία του συντακτικού σχήματος της ΚΝΕ που ορίζει ότι όλες οι προθέσεις συντάσσονται με αιτιατική, συμφωνία όρων, π.χ. *των εκκρεμομένων διαβουλεύσεων* "των διαβουλεύσεων που εκκρεμούν"⁹.

Λάθη που αφορούν τη χρήση της γλώσσας: Εδώ μπορούν να ενταχθούν λάθη που εμφανίζονται κυρίως στον προφορικό λόγο (και σπανιότερα στον γραπτό, π.χ. σε μια επιστολή), για την κατανόηση των οποίων είναι απαραίτητη η εμπλοκή κοινωνικών παραγόντων, με την έννοια της αλληλεπίδρασης πομπού και δέκτη. Λάθη στις περιπτώσεις αυτές θα μπορούσαν να θεωρηθούν η ανάμειξη διαφορετικών επιπέδων ύφους (π.χ. λαϊκός λόγος σε επιστημονικό κείμενο), η παραβίαση των κανόνων γλωσσικής συμπεριφοράς σε συγκεκριμένα κοινωνικά συμφραζόμενα (π.χ. η χρήση ενικού αντί του πληθυντικού ευγενείας, όταν απευθυνόμαστε σε ανώτερο στο περιβάλλον εργασίας μας), που μπορεί να οδηγήσει και σε αναποτελεσματικό λόγο ιδιαίτερα στην περίπτωση του γραπτού λόγου η χρήση λαϊκών τύπων (όπως *αερόπλανο* κλπ.) ή διαλεκτικότερων τύπων, π.χ. *που πήραν έναν ελέφαντα όπου* (ΚΝΕ *που*) με *κυνηγούσε*¹⁰.

⁶ Βλ. και Θεοφανοπούλου-Κοντού (2001: 54) και Ξυδόπουλος (2004: 252).

⁷ Βλ. και Ξυδόπουλος (2004: 523), που αποδίδει, μεταξύ άλλων, το συγκεκριμένο φαινόμενο στην υπερχρήση λόγιων θεμάτων που φέρουν πάγια τη χρονική αύξηση και τα οποία οι ομιλητές δεν έχουν την ικανότητα να διακρίνουν.

⁸ Βλ. και Ξυδόπουλος (2004: 524).

⁹ Θεοφανοπούλου-Κοντού (2001: 55).

¹⁰ Βλ. και Σετάτος (1991: 28).

Λάθη που αφορούν τη γραπτή μορφή της γλώσσας: Πρόκειται κατά κύριο λόγο για τα ορθογραφικά λάθη, στα οποία έχει επικεντρωθεί ένα μεγάλο μέρος της γλωσσικής διδασκαλίας και των οποίων ο χαρακτήρας υπερτονίζεται συχνά¹¹. Αυτό δεν αναιρεί, βέβαια, το γεγονός ότι η ορθογραφία αποτελεί ένα πεδίο στο οποίο ο χρήστης της γλώσσας πρέπει να ασκηθεί¹². Θα μπορούσαμε να διακρίνουμε τα ορθογραφικά λάθη σε δύο βασικές κατηγορίες¹³: α) λανθασμένη χρήση γράμματος: σχετίζονται με την ιστορική ορθογραφία και οφείλονται είτε σε ατελή εκμάθηση ή συνειδητοποίηση των κανόνων που τη διέπουν είτε στην έλλειψη της απαραίτητης προσοχής κατά τη σύνταξη ενός κειμένου, π.χ. *λύνετε* αντί *λόνεται*, *αμφισβητείστε* αντί *αμφισβητήστε*, *γίνο* αντί *γίνω*¹⁴, β) ελλιπής ή λανθασμένη χρήση των σημείων στίξης: οφείλονται συνήθως στο ότι αυτός που γράφει δεν "περνάει" από την αμεσότητα του προφορικού στην εμμεσότητα και αποστασιοποίηση του γραπτού λόγου. Με άλλα λόγια, δεν προβαίνει στην αναγκαία αφαίρεση εκείνων των χαρακτηριστικών του προφορικού λόγου η οποία θα του επιτρέψει να μεταβεί στον γραπτό¹⁵, π.χ. *Σας προσκαλο στα γενεθλια μου το Σαββατο 15 Νοεμβρηου θα τα κανο στο λούνα παρκ στην Λεμεσο Σας περιμένω!*, όπου είναι χαρακτηριστικό ότι ο τόνος χρησιμοποιείται προκειμένου να τονιστεί πού θα γίνει το συγκεκριμένο πάρτι γενεθλίων και, ενώ δεν υπάρχουν τελείες, η τελευταία πρόταση, ίσως αντιγραμμένη από κάποια άλλη πρόσκληση, είναι ολόσωστη (διαθέτει ακόμα και θυμαστικό στο τέλος). Σε περιπτώσεις όπως αυτές τίθεται το ζήτημα τι κάνουμε με εκείνα τα παιδιά που σαφώς διαθέτουν κειμενική ικανότητα (είναι χαρακτηριστικό ότι η συγκεκριμένη μαθήτρια φαίνεται να έχει συνδυάσει ορθά στοιχεία από δύο κείμενα - το δικό της και κάποιο άλλο) αλλά υστερούν σε άλλους τομείς (στη συγκεκριμένη περίπτωση στη μορφολογία).

Επιπλέον, στη βιβλιογραφία υπάρχουν διάφορες κατηγοριοποιήσεις λαθών όσον αφορά τη Γ2, όπως αυτή των Αναστασιάδη κ.ά. (2008). Περιλαμβάνει κατηγορίες όπως¹⁶

Φωνολογικά και γραφηματικά λάθη

1. Λάθη σε φωνήματα,
 - α. παράλειψη: *δοντα*
 - β. σε φωνήεντα: *βγαζι*,
 - γ. στον τρόπο άρθρωσης: *Ατρέα* "Αντρέα"
 - δ. στον τόπο άρθρωσης: *κτινιακτο* "κτηνίατρος"
 - ε. σε συμφωνικά συμπλέγματα: *κοριστι* "κορίτσι"
 - στ. σε δίψηφα φωνήεντα, π.χ. *φρυτα* "φρούτα"
2. Λάθη στην ορθογραφία/ γραφή
 - α. σε λεξικά μορφήματα: *χρόματα*, *πιγένει*, *πέζει*
 - β. σε γραμματικά/ κλιτικά μορφήματα: *βιβλοδiki* "βιβλιοθήκη", *των παιδιόν*
 - γ. σε επιθήματα: *ξαφνηκά*
 - δ. στα όρια λέξης: *γιάφτο* "γί'αυτό", *χέργιαμας* "χέρια μας"
 - ε. μικρά-κεφαλαία / τελικό-ς: *το σάβατο*, *Λεμεζος*
 - στ. φωνητική γραφή: *αφτοκινιτο*, *χέργιαμας* "χέρια μας"
 - ζ. ξένο αλφάβητο: *Λεμεζος*
 - η. σε σημεία στίξης: *Έχει TV, κρύβατι, ύπολογιστικι, εχει πολια πράγματα* "(Στο σπίτι μου) υπάρχει τηλεόραση, κρεβάτι, υπολογιστής. Υπάρχουν πολλά πράγματα"
 - θ. στον τονισμό: *εχει πολια πράγματα*

Μορφολογικά λάθη

- α. στο άρθρο: στο *θαλασσα*
- β. στο γραμματικό κλιτικό μόρφημα: *γίνο*
- γ. στη ρηματική όψη: *Όταν έφευγα από το σινεμά, πήρα το λεωφορείο και γύρισα στο σπίτι.*
- δ. στο γένος: *το ζοα* "τα ζώα"

Μορφοσυντακτικά λάθη

- α. στη συμφωνία γένους: *Το σπίτι μου είναι ψιλια, μύκρι, και ομορφί*
- β. στη συμφωνία αριθμού: *είμαι πιαδιά* "είμαι παιδί"
- γ. στη συμφωνία πτώσης: *14/2/2010 Ομίχλη στις Αποκριές και κακοκαιρίας*

¹¹ Για τον ιδιαίτερα σημαντικό ρόλο που πάντα έπαιζε το ζήτημα της ορθογραφίας στο πλαίσιο της νεοελληνικής γλωσσολογίας και διδασκαλίας της γλώσσας, βλ. την ιστορική επισκόπηση του Παπαναστασίου (2008: 117-182).

¹² Βλ. και Παπαναστασίου (2008: 87-88).

¹³ Βλ. και Θεοδωροπούλου & Παπαναστασίου (2001).

¹⁴ Βλ. και Σετάτο (1993: 136) και Παπαναστασίου (2008: 87).

¹⁵ Φυσικά, εδώ δε περιλαμβάνονται περιπτώσεις όπως το *Και τώρα... η συνέχεια της ταινίας* όπου τα αποσιωπητικά δηλώνουν έκπληξη, σαν να ήταν κάτι το απροσδόκητο η συνέχεια της ταινίας (Σετάτος (1991: 26) και όπου είναι σαφές ότι έχουμε να κάνουμε με ελλιπή γνώση κανόνων που αφορούν τη στίξη.

¹⁶ Τα παραδείγματα προέρχονται από το υλικό που συλλέχθηκε στα πλαίσια της παρούσας εργασίας.

δ. στην έγκλιση: *διά το φαίνομαι γειτόνικι πλέον καλά* "για να με βλέπουν με καλύτερο μάτι οι γείτονες", *Διάβασε τα μαθήματά σου, αφού πρώτα να φάεις το φαγητό*.

ε. στη συμφωνία προσώπου: *ο Μίμης θορίς τι ζαγκέτα* "Ο Μίμης φορά τη ζακέτα".

Επιπλέον, είναι λογικό να εμφανίζονται και λάθη που ίσως να οφείλονται στην επίδραση της Γ1, π.χ. η συχνή επανάληψη αντωνυμικών τύπων σε ονομαστική ως υποκείμενα σε παιδιά που στη μητρική τους γλώσσα (π.χ. αγγλική) η δήλωση του υποκειμένου του ρήματος είναι υποχρεωτική, π.χ.

(1)

Θελω ναγίνο κτινιατος επιδι εγω αγαπη ζωα Και εγω εχω 2 σκυλος και 8 γατες και 1 αλογο. Εγω αγαπη σκυλος επιδι εγω εχω ειχα σκυλος ολλη τη ζωη μου "Θέλω να γίνω κτηνίατρος, επειδή αγαπώ τα ζώα. Εξάλλου, εγώ έχω 2 σκύλους και 8 γάτες και 1 άλογο. Αγαπώ τους σκύλους επειδή είχα σκύλους όλη μου τη ζωή".

Τέλος, σε ένα περιβάλλον διδασκαλίας είναι αναμενόμενο να εμφανίζονται και λάθη – διαλεκτικές παρεμβολές, π.χ.

(2)

να φάεις¹⁷ το φαγητό

(3)

Ακούσαμε ένα δυνατό θόρυβο, σαν τρέχαμε "Ακούσαμε ένα δυνατό θόρυβο, την ώρα που τρέχαμε" (όπου χρησιμοποιείται το προφορικό ή λαϊκότροπο (μόνο στην ΚΝΕ¹⁸ αλλά όχι και στην ΚΔ) *σαν* αντί για το *ενώ* ή το *όταν*)

(4)

πεζο με πεδια απο συνοικία "παίζω με τα παιδιά της γειτονιάς" (όπου το *συνοικία* χρησιμοποιείται με τη σημασία «γειτονιά»)

(5)

ειχα συλος ολλη τη ζωη μου "είχα σκύλους όλη τη ζωή μου", (όπου εκτός από το ΚΔ *συλος* έχουμε και το υβριδικό *ολλη*, αποτέλεσμα του συνδυασμού το ΚΝΕ *όλη* και του ΚΔ *ούλλη*)

(6)

ενοσε πολα λλιπημενος "ένιωσε πολύ λυπημένος" (με το ποσοτικό επίρρημα *πολα* (ΚΔ *πολλά* / ΚΝΕ *πολύ*)

(7)

ύπολογιστικι "ηλεκτρονικός υπολογιστής" (όπου χρησιμοποιείται λανθασμένα το *υπολογιστική* που στην ΚΔ σημαίνει "αριθμομηχανή"),

(8)

Θελω να μπαλεβον "Μου αρέσει να παλεύω" (με [p>b] ίσως λόγω επανάλυσης σε περιβάλλοντα όπου πριν από το *παλεύω* υπήρχε [n], π.χ. *εν παλεύω* ['emba'levo] «δεν παλεύω»).

Από την άλλη, θα πρέπει να επισημάνουμε ότι σε κειμενικό επίπεδο τα προβλήματα ήταν πολύ λιγότερα, π.χ.

(1)

Θελω ναγίνο κτινιατος επιδι εγω αγαπη ζωα Και εγω εχω 2 σκυλος και 8 γατες και 1 αλογο. Εγω αγαπη σκυλος επιδι εγω εχω ειχα σκυλος ολλη τη ζωη μου "Θέλω να γίνω κτηνίατρος, επειδή αγαπώ τα ζώα. Εξάλλου, εγώ έχω 2 σκύλους και 8 γάτες και 1 άλογο. Αγαπώ τους σκύλους επειδή είχα σκύλους όλη μου τη ζωή".

Στο παραπάνω κείμενο που το έχει συνθέσει μια μαθήτρια της Δ' Δημοτικού με Γ1 την αγγλική (το ζητούμενο ήταν η σύνταξη ενός σύντομου κειμένου με τίτλο ή θέμα "Μια ευχή") το οποίο σαφώς και διαθέτει συνοχή: ξεκινά με την ευχή και ακολουθεί μια επαρκής αιτιολόγηση. Επιπλέον, είναι

¹⁷ Χατζηιωάννου (1999: 88)

¹⁸ Βλ. *Λεξικό της κοινής νεοελληνικής*, λήμ. *σαν* III2.

ενδιαφέρον ότι σε επίπεδο συνεκτικότητας διαρθρωτικές λέξεις υπάρχουν: το αιτιολογικό *επιδι* χρησιμοποιείται ορθά, όπως επίσης και το *Και*, με την επεξηγηματική και όχι συνδετική του σημασία¹⁹.

5. Τι συμβαίνει στην περίπτωση μας;

Το πρόβλημα είναι ότι έτσι όπως ήταν "οργανωμένη" η διδασκαλία της ΚΝΕ δεν υπήρχε η δυνατότητα για μια συστηματική κειμενοκεντρικού τύπου διδασκαλία της ΚΝΕ, που να λαμβάνει υπόψη τις ανάγκες των μη γηγενών. Στα πλαίσια του κανονικού ωρολόγιου προγράμματος η δασκάλα δεν είχε τον χρόνο για κάτι τέτοιο σε συνδυασμό και με το γεγονός ότι έπρεπε να διδάξει και στους γηγενείς. Επιπλέον, στα πλαίσια της ενισχυτικής διδασκαλίας διάρκειας μιας ώρας (για την οποία θα πρέπει να προσθέσουμε ότι με προσωπική επιλογή της διδάσκουσας επεκτεινόταν σε αρκετές περιπτώσεις ακόμα και κατά 100%) δεν ήταν δυνατή μια κειμενοκεντρική ή εξατομικευμένη διδασκαλία σε μια τάξη όπου είχαν «στοιβαχτεί» παιδιά διαφόρων ηλικιών και επιπέδων ελληνομάθειας. Εξάλλου, όσον αφορά τον γραπτό λόγο των παιδιών, δε γινόταν καμιά προσπάθεια να αποτελέσει προϊόν επεξεργασίας ή διόρθωσης από την υπόλοιπη τάξη. Ουσιαστικά, δηλ. έλειπε αυτό που ο Ματσαγγούρας (2001) ονομάζει *μετασυγγραφική φάση*²⁰, κατά την οποία οι μαθητές σε συνεργασία με τους δασκάλους και τους συμμαθητές τους επεξεργάζονται, βελτιώνουν και διορθώνουν τα κείμενά τους. Κάτι τέτοιο θεωρούνταν εξαιρετικά δύσκολο και δοκιμαζόταν σπάνια, επειδή συνήθως οι γηγενείς ειρωνεύονταν τα ελληνικά των μη γηγενών. Έτσι, χανόταν μια σημαντική ευκαιρία να συνειδητοποιήσουν οι γηγενείς μαθητές τη διαφορετικότητα της κυπριακής κοινωνίας μέσω της αιτιολογημένης διόρθωσης των γλωσσικών λαθών των αλλοδαπών, π.χ. μέσω της παρουσίας συγκεκριμένων λαθών ως αποτέλεσμα της επίδρασης του διαδialeκτισμού, π.χ. μέσω της εξήγησης ότι το *φάεις* γράφτηκε λάθος σε σχέση με τη νόρμα της ΚΝΕ, επειδή ο μη γηγενής μαθητής ζει σε ένα περιβάλλον όπου τα ελληνικά του διαμορφώνονται με πρωταγωνιστή την ΚΔ και όχι την ΚΝΕ. Με τέτοιου είδους προσεγγίσεις θα μπορούσαν όλοι οι μαθητές να έρθουν και πιο κοντά σε μια από τις βασικές έννοιες του *Προγράμματος Σπουδών Νέας Ελληνικής Γλώσσας* (2010) της Κυπριακής Δημοκρατίας, του *κριτικού γραμματισμού*, στα πλαίσια της παιδαγωγικής του οποίου "παίζει τεράστιο ρόλο η επίγνωση της λειτουργίας της γλωσσικής ποικιλότητας ως ενδείκτη και φορέα κοινωνικών/πολιτισμικών νοημάτων. Αν πρόκειται να διδαχθεί λειτουργικά ή κοινωνιογλωσσική/υφολογική διαφοροποίηση ανάλογα με το κειμενικό είδος και την περίπτωση μέσα στην οποία γεννάται, καθώς και οι τρόποι με τους οποίους η γλωσσική διαφοροποίηση κωδικοποιεί κοινωνικές σχέσεις και πολιτισμικές πρακτικές, αυτό δεν μπορεί να γίνει εν κενώ και ερήμην της γλωσσικής πραγματικότητας των μαθητών και των μαθητριών" (σελ. 10).

Εδώ, βέβαια, θα πρέπει να σημειωθεί ότι σε επίπεδο προφορικού λόγου θα μπορούσαμε να πούμε ότι η συγκεκριμένη τάξη λειτουργούσε ως κοινότητα γραμματισμού σε άλλα μαθήματα (π.χ. Μαθηματικά) αλλά όχι στη Γλώσσα, όπου και πάλι σπάνια υπήρχε η οποιαδήποτε προφορική συνεισφορά των μη γηγενών²¹. Παρατηρήθηκε δε ότι συχνά κατά τη διάρκεια των Ελληνικών οι μη γηγενείς δε συμμετείχαν ουσιαστικά στο μάθημα αλλά απασχολούνταν με το να λύνουν τις ασκήσεις της ενισχυτικής διδασκαλίας. Σύμφωνα με την Dyson (1999: 396), η παραγωγή γραπτού λόγου μέσα στην τάξη όχι μόνο απαιτεί από τα παιδιά να διαφοροποιούν τις φωνολογικές λεπτομέρειες του λόγου τους και τα κειμενικά χαρακτηριστικά αλλά και τους κοινωνικούς τους κόσμους, οι οποίοι βέβαια, τους παρέχουν τη βάση για την ανάπτυξη της δημιουργικότητάς τους. Δυστυχώς στην περίπτωση μας η επίλυση των ασκήσεων της ενισχυτικής διδασκαλίας και η μη ουσιαστική συμμετοχή στο καθαυτό μάθημα αναπαρήγαγε για τους μη γηγενείς τον εξωσχολικό κοινωνικό τους κόσμο, στα πλαίσια του οποίου η δημιουργική συμμετοχή στη σχολική πράξη του Ε/Κ εκπαιδευτικού συστήματος δε θεωρείται κάτι σημαντικό, και φυσικά ανάλογα διαμορφώνεται και η δημιουργικότητα αυτών των παιδιών.

Ανακεφαλαιώνοντας θα μπορούσαμε να πούμε ότι στην περίπτωση που εξετάζουμε, δεν υπήρχε καμιά δυνατότητα για ανάπτυξη μιας διαφοροποιημένης γλωσσοδιδακτικής στρατηγικής που να λαμβάνει υπόψη τις γλωσσικές και πολιτισμικές ιδιαιτερότητες των μαθητών, κάτι που, φυσικά, ήταν εξαιρετικά επιζήμιο όχι μόνο για τους ίδιους τους μαθητές αλλά και για ολόκληρη την κοινωνία, αφού μειώνονταν οι δυνατότητες επιτυχούς κοινωνικής ενσωμάτωσης, χωρίς να χάνεται η

¹⁹ Οι Spinillo & Pratt (2009: 70) επισημαίνουν ότι μελέτες σχετικά με τη γενική ανάπτυξη των παιδιών έχουν δείξει ότι τα παιδιά στις πρώιμες προσπάθειές τους για παραγωγή κειμένων φαίνεται να ελέγχουν καλύτερα το συνολικό ή μακροδομικό επίπεδο του κειμένου παρά τα μικροδομικά στοιχεία.

²⁰ Βλ. και Αρχάκης (2005: 140-141).

²¹ Οι μελέτες στον τόμο Moje & O' Brien (2001) δείχνουν ότι ότι τα σχολικά περιεχόμενα δεν είναι στατικά αλλά μεταβάλλονται από βαθμίδα σε βαθμίδα ή (όπως στην περίπτωση μας) από μάθημα σε μάθημα, καθώς κάθε μάθημα συνιστά μια πολιτισμική κοινότητα.

διαφορετικότητα αλλά και χωρίς αυτή η διαφορετικότητα να μετατρέπεται σε ανισότητα που οδηγεί σε περιθωριοποίηση.

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Η ΙΔΙΟΛΕΚΤΟΣ ΤΩΝ ΚΥΒΕΡΝΗΤΙΚΩΝ ΕΚΠΡΟΣΩΠΩΝ: ΠΡΟΚΑΤΑΡΚΤΙΚΕΣ ΠΑΡΑΤΗΡΗΣΕΙΣ ΣΤΟ ΚΕΙΜΕΝΙΚΟ ΕΙΔΟΣ ΤΗΣ ΕΝΗΜΕΡΩΣΗΣ ΣΥΝΤΑΚΤΩΝ

Γεωργία Φραγκάκη
Αριστοτέλειο Πανεπιστήμιο Θεσσαλονίκης,
Ελλάδα
efraga@phil.uoa.gr

ABSTRACT

Idiolect has not been extensively studied so far, since most studies focus on the language of social groups rather than individuals. This paper aims at exploring idiolectal variation in the speech of three Greek government press secretaries from two political parties. The data come from their briefings and were analyzed with corpus-linguistic methods. The lexicogrammatical choices of each speaker were identified through the analysis of keywords, clusters and concordances. It was found that the three speakers have specific linguistic preferences, which systematically relate to their idiolect, although further research is needed on the subject.

Λέξεις κλειδιά: γλωσσική ποικιλία, ιδιόλεκτος, κειμενικό είδος ενημέρωσης συντακτών, λέξεις-κλειδιά, λεξικά συμπλέγματα, σώματα κειμένων

1. Εισαγωγή

Η ιδιόλεκτος δεν έχει μελετηθεί εκτεταμένα στα ελληνικά, αλλά και στις άλλες γλώσσες, καθώς το ενδιαφέρον των ερευνητών έχει στραφεί κυρίως στην ανάλυση της γλώσσας που χρησιμοποιούν ομάδες ομιλητών (π.χ. εθνικές γλώσσες, διάλεκτοι, κοινωνιόλεκτοι) και όχι μεμονωμένα άτομα. Ως ιδιόλεκτος συνήθως θεωρείται ο ξεχωριστός τρόπος με τον οποίο μιλά και/ή γράφει κάθε άτομο. Έτσι, οι Leech και Short ορίζουν την ιδιόλεκτο ως «το γλωσσικό αποτύπωμα ενός συγκεκριμένου ατόμου, τα χαρακτηριστικά του λόγου του που το κάνουν να ξεχωρίζει από τους άλλους» (1981: 167), χρησιμοποιώντας τη μεταφορά του δακτυλικού αποτυπώματος, που είναι μοναδικό για κάθε άτομο. Οι Hatim και Mason πάλι θεωρούν ότι ιδιόλεκτος είναι «οι μη συνειδητές γλωσσικές συνήθειες κάθε ομιλητή» (1990: 10). Ο ορισμός αυτός θέτει το κριτήριο της μη συνειδητότητας, ενώ η παρουσίαση της ιδιολέκτου ως συνόλου γλωσσικών συνθηγιών οδηγεί και στη θεώρησή της ως στοιχείου που μπορεί να διαφοροποιείται με την πάροδο του χρόνου. Την αντίληψη ότι η ιδιόλεκτος ενός ατόμου δεν μένει αμετάβλητη εκφράζει και ο Dittmar στο παρακάτω απόσπασμα: «ιδιόλεκτος είναι η γλώσσα κάθε ατόμου, η οποία, εξαιτίας των συνθηγιών που έχει αποκτήσει και των υφολογικών στοιχείων της προσωπικότητάς του, διαφέρει από εκείνη άλλων ατόμων και σε διαφορετικές φάσεις της ζωής του παρουσιάζει, κατά κανόνα, εκφραστικά μέσα διαφορετικά ή με διαφορετική βαρύτητα χρήσης» (1996: 111). Ο Dittmar, όπως φαίνεται, αναγνωρίζει την επίδραση εξωτερικών παραγόντων στη διαμόρφωση και τη διαφοροποίηση της ιδιολέκτου. Μια προσπάθεια να καθοριστούν οι παράγοντες που επηρεάζουν τη διαμόρφωση της ιδιολέκτου γίνεται από την Hughes (1996: 67), η οποία υποστηρίζει ότι η ιδιόλεκτος υπόκειται σε διαλεκτικά (π.χ. τόπος καταγωγής, τόπος διαμονής), κοινωνικά (π.χ. οικογενειακή κατάσταση, μορφωτικό επίπεδο), βιολογικά (π.χ. ηλικία, φύλο, φυσική κατάσταση) και τυχαία στοιχεία (π.χ. συνομιλητές, θέμα συζήτησης, συναισθηματική κατάσταση). Η συσχέτιση της ιδιολέκτου με τα παραπάνω στοιχεία θέτει το ζήτημα των ορίων της ιδιολέκτου και της σχέσης της με άλλες μορφές γλωσσικής ποικιλίας όπως τη γεωγραφική, την κοινωνική και τη λειτουργική ποικιλία. Τέλος, άλλο ένα ζήτημα που προκύπτει στη βιβλιογραφία (βλ. Coulthard 2004: 431) είναι αν η ιδιόλεκτος αποτελεί χαρακτηριστικό μόνο των φυσικών ομιλητών μιας γλώσσας ή μπορεί να υπάρξει και σε μη φυσικούς ομιλητές μιας γλώσσας. Συμπερασματικά, στη έρευνα για την ιδιόλεκτο παραμένουν πολλά αναπάντητα θεωρητικά ερωτήματα. Παράλληλα, υπάρχει ανάγκη για τη μελέτη της ιδιολέκτου με εμπειρικό τρόπο, για να διερευνηθούν ζητήματα όπως ο βαθμός συνειδητότητας των

ομιλητών σε σχέση με τις συστηματικές γλωσσικές επιλογές τους, η πιθανή μεταβολή της ιδιολέκτου στη διάρκεια της ζωής ενός ατόμου κ.ά., υπό το φως συγκεκριμένων γλωσσικών δεδομένων.

Οι έρευνες για την ιδιολέκτο που βασίζονται σε εμπειρικά δεδομένα έχουν συχνά διαφορετικούς στόχους και μεθοδολογία και αναφέρονται σε διαφορετικές πλευρές της γλώσσας. Ένα πεδίο που έχει μελετηθεί πιο εκτεταμένα στο πλαίσιο της λογοτεχνικής υφολογίας, κυρίως με παραδοσιακούς όρους αλλά και με τη μεθοδολογία των σωμάτων κειμένων (βλ. Louwerse 2004), είναι εκείνο της ιδιολέκτου ενός συγγραφέα ή ενός ήρωα λογοτεχνικού κειμένου (βλ. Leech & Short 1981). Σημαντική για τη μελέτη της ιδιολέκτου είναι και η συμβολή ερευνητών από το χώρο της δικαστικής γλωσσολογίας, οι οποίοι καλούνται συχνά για πρακτικούς σκοπούς να βοηθήσουν στην ταυτοποίηση του συγγραφέα αμφισβητούμενων κειμένων (βλ. Coulthard 2004). Η εισήγηση του ερευνητή σε αυτές τις περιπτώσεις βασίζεται συνήθως στη σύγκλιση ή την απόκλιση των λεξικογραμματικών επιλογών του συγγραφέα σε σχέση με άλλα κείμενα, όπως διαπιστώνεται με τη μεθοδολογία των σωμάτων κειμένων. Τέλος, η ιδιολέκτος έχει μελετηθεί σε σχέση με την αναγνώριση του ομιλητή με βάση φωνητικές και προσωδιακές διαφορές (βλ. Weber et al. 2002, Gonet & Rózańska 2003). Ο στόχος στις έρευνες αυτές είναι καθαρά πρακτικός και συνδέεται με την ανάπτυξη υπολογιστικών εφαρμογών.

Οι πιο πρόσφατες έρευνες για την ιδιολέκτο χρησιμοποιούν τη μεθοδολογία των σωμάτων κειμένων για τον εντοπισμό συστηματικών λεξικογραμματικών επιλογών συγκεκριμένων ατόμων (βλ. Barlow 2009, Mollin 2009). Στόχος τους είναι η ανάδειξη των γλωσσικών ιδιαιτεροτήτων των ατόμων, όχι σε κειμενικά είδη που κατεξοχήν συνδέονται με την υφολογική απόκλιση, αλλά κυρίως σε προφορικά κείμενα όπως ανακοινώσεις, ομιλίες στη Βουλή κ.ά. Η παρούσα έρευνα αντιμετωπίζει την ιδιολέκτο με ανάλογο τρόπο στοχεύοντας στη μελέτη των λεξικογραμματικών επιλογών στα κείμενα τριών κυβερνητικών εκπροσώπων για τον εντοπισμό στοιχείων της ιδιολέκτου κάθε ομιλητή.

2. Δεδομένα και μεθοδολογία

Στόχος της έρευνας είναι η διερεύνηση των δυνατοτήτων που παρέχει η μεθοδολογία των σωμάτων κειμένων για τη μελέτη της ιδιολέκτου. Πιο συγκεκριμένα, επιχειρείται ο εντοπισμός λεξικογραμματικών επιλογών που είναι δυνατό να συνιστούν στοιχεία της ιδιολέκτου κάθε κυβερνητικού εκπροσώπου με τη χρήση ποσοτικών, στατιστικών και ποιοτικών δεδομένων. Τα δεδομένα της έρευνας περιλαμβάνουν απομαγνητοφωνημένα προφορικά κείμενα από την καθημερινή ενημέρωση των πολιτικών συντακτών και ανταποκριτών του ξένου Τύπου από τον κυβερνητικό εκπρόσωπο, τα οποία διακρίνονται σε ένα προσχεδιασμένο μέρος (το κείμενο των ανακοινώσεων που έχει προετοιμάσει ο κυβερνητικός εκπρόσωπος) και ένα απροσχεδιαστο (τις απαντήσεις του στα ερωτήματα των πολιτικών συντακτών). Θα πρέπει να επισημανθεί ότι τα δεδομένα προσφέρονται για τη σύγκριση του λόγου διαφορετικών ομιλητών και τον εντοπισμό των ιδιολεκτικών τους χαρακτηριστικών, καθώς παραμένουν σταθερές παράμετροι όπως η ιδιότητα του ομιλητή (κυβερνητικός εκπρόσωπος), το φύλο (άνδρες), το κειμενικό είδος (ενημέρωση συντακτών) και το επικοινωνιακό πλαίσιο (φυσικό και κοινωνικό σκηνικό, συμμετέχοντες, στόχοι κ.λπ.).

Οι κυβερνητικοί εκπρόσωποι των οποίων τα κείμενα μελετήθηκαν είναι οι Θεόδωρος Ρουσόπουλος, Ευάγγελος Αντώνιος και Γιώργος Πεταλωτής. Οι δύο πρώτοι υπήρξαν εκπρόσωποι της κυβέρνησης της Νέας Δημοκρατίας με πρωθυπουργό τον Κ. Καραμανλή και ο τελευταίος της κυβέρνησης του ΠΑΣΟΚ με πρωθυπουργό τον Γ. Παπανδρέου. Συλλέχθηκαν δεδομένα από τους μήνες Αύγουστο και Σεπτέμβριο των ετών 2008, 2009 και 2010 για κάθε κυβερνητικό εκπρόσωπο αντίστοιχα. Έτσι, δημιουργήθηκαν τρία σώματα κειμένων, από τα οποία στη συνέχεια αφαιρέθηκαν οι ερωτήσεις των πολιτικών συντακτών ώστε να μελετηθεί η προσωπική συμβολή των εκπροσώπων. Στον Πίνακα 1 παρουσιάζεται ο αριθμός των λέξεων σε κάθε σώμα κειμένων πριν και μετά την αφαίρεση των ερωτήσεων.

Αριθμός λέξεων	Ρουσόπουλος	Αντώνιος	Πεταλωτής
Πλήρη κείμενα	35.849	31.852	34.494
Κείμενα χωρίς τις ερωτήσεις	22.424	22.480	22.056

Πίνακας 1 Μέγεθος σωμάτων κειμένων

Η μεθοδολογία που ακολουθήθηκε περιλαμβάνει την κειμενική ανάλυση, με σκοπό την περιγραφή των χαρακτηριστικών του κειμενικού είδους της ενημέρωσης συντακτών και, κατ' επέκταση, τον προσδιορισμό του κοινού πλαισίου στο οποίο μπορεί να μελετηθεί η ιδιολέκτος των κυβερνητικών εκπροσώπων. Επιπλέον, χρησιμοποιήθηκαν μεθοδολογικά εργαλεία των σωμάτων κειμένων και, συγκεκριμένα, με τη χρήση του υπολογιστικού εργαλείου WordSmith Tools 5.0 (Scott 2008),

εντοπίστηκαν αρχικά οι λέξεις-κλειδιά (keywords) ανά δύο σώματα κειμένων και τα λεξικά συμπλέγματα (clusters) τριών έως πέντε λέξεων με πάνω από πέντε εμφανίσεις σε κάθε σώμα κειμένων. Ο εντοπισμός των λέξεων-κλειδιών γίνεται συγκρίνοντας τη συχνότητα εμφάνισης όλων των τύπων ενός σώματος κειμένων με τη συχνότητα εμφάνισής τους σε ένα άλλο σώμα κειμένων. Η σύγκριση αυτή λαμβάνει υπόψη το μέγεθος των δύο σωμάτων κειμένων και αξιοποιεί στατιστικά τεστ όπως το χ^2 . Στον Πίνακα που ακολουθεί παρουσιάζονται ορισμένες λέξεις-κλειδιά για το σώμα κειμένων του Αντώνη σε σύγκριση με εκείνο του Πεταλωτή, σύμφωνα με το WordSmith Tools. Οι λέξεις-κλειδιά εμφανίζονται στην πρώτη στήλη, ενώ η συχνότητά τους στο σώμα κειμένων του Αντώνη (αριθμητικά και σε ποσοστό) στη δεύτερη και τρίτη στήλη. Οι συχνότητες στην τέταρτη και πέμπτη στήλη αφορούν το συγκρινόμενο σώμα κειμένων, δηλαδή εκείνο του Πεταλωτή.

Λέξη-κλειδί	Συχνότητα (Αντώνης)	%	Συχνότητα (Πεταλωτής)	%	Σπουδαιότητα	P value
επίσης	25	0,11	1		27,09	0,0000001917
πυροσβεστικά	18	0,08	0		24,59	0,0000007062
άλλωστε	23	0,10	1		24,52	0,0000007342
πέρα	8	0,04	40	0,18	-23,98	0,0000009713
ώστε	20	0,09	63	0,29	-24,34	0,0000008045
έτσι	15	0,07	55	0,25	-25,17	0,0000005218

Πίνακας 2 Λέξεις-κλειδιά από τη σύγκριση δύο σωμάτων κειμένων (Αντώνης-Πεταλωτής)

Όπως φαίνεται στον Πίνακα 2, οι λέξεις-κλειδιά μπορεί να είναι λεξικοί (π.χ. *πυροσβεστικά*), αλλά και γραμματικοί τύποι (π.χ. *επίσης*, *άλλωστε*). Οι λέξεις-κλειδιά με μεγαλύτερο λεξικό περιεχόμενο, όπως θα φανεί στην ανάλυση των δεδομένων, συνήθως προσφέρουν στοιχεία για το θέμα των κειμένων που μελετώνται. Αντίθετα, λέξεις-κλειδιά με γραμματική λειτουργία αποτελούν συχνά ένδειξη ύφους και επομένως μπορούν να μελετηθούν ως πιθανά στοιχεία της ιδιολέκτου των ομιλητών. Αξίζει επίσης να σημειωθεί ότι οι λέξεις-κλειδιά που υπολογίζει το πρόγραμμα είναι δυνατόν να είναι θετικές ή αρνητικές. Στη συγκεκριμένη περίπτωση, οι τρεις πρώτες λέξεις-κλειδιά του Πίνακα 2 είναι θετικά σημαντικές, αφού εμφανίζουν ιδιαίτερα υψηλή (στατιστικά σημαντική) συχνότητα εμφάνισης στο σώμα κειμένων του Αντώνη σε σχέση με το σώμα κειμένων του Πεταλωτή, ενώ οι τρεις επόμενες (με το αρνητικό πρόσημο) είναι αρνητικά σημαντικές, καθώς εμφανίζουν ιδιαίτερα χαμηλή συχνότητα εμφάνισης στο πρώτο σώμα κειμένων σε σχέση με το δεύτερο. Όσο μεγαλύτερος είναι ο αριθμός στη στήλη *Σπουδαιότητα* τόσο πιο σημαντική είναι η λέξη-κλειδί. Στην τελευταία στήλη του Πίνακα 2 παρουσιάζεται το p value, ο βαθμός δηλαδή στον οποίο η σπουδαιότητα κάθε λέξης-κλειδιού μπορεί να μην υπολογίζεται σωστά. Η πιθανότητα αυτή είναι πάρα πολύ χαμηλή στα δεδομένα που μελετήθηκαν, αν ληφθεί υπόψη ότι έως και 0,05 (δηλαδή 5% πιθανότητα να γίνεται λανθασμένος υπολογισμός) θεωρείται αποδεκτό για τις κοινωνικές επιστήμες (Scott 2008). Συμπερασματικά, οι λέξεις-κλειδιά ανά δύο σώματα κειμένων, δηλαδή οι λέξεις που είναι στατιστικά σημαντικές λόγω της συγκριτικά υψηλής ή χαμηλής συχνότητάς τους, αξίζει να μελετηθούν, καθώς είναι δυνατόν να προσφέρουν σημαντικά στοιχεία για τις προτιμήσεις κάθε ομιλητή.

Επιπλέον, η ανεύρεση των λεξικών συμπλεγμάτων (βλ. Φέρλας 2011 για τα ελληνικά), τα οποία ορίστηκαν στην παρούσα έρευνα ως ακολουθίες τριών έως πέντε συνεχόμενων λέξεων με πέντε εμφανίσεις και πάνω σε κάθε σώμα κειμένων, μπορεί να συμβάλει στη μελέτη των προτιμήσεων των κυβερνητικών εκπροσώπων, όχι πια σε μεμονωμένους τύπους (όπως συμβαίνει με τις λέξεις-κλειδιά), αλλά σε μεγαλύτερα τμήματα λόγου. Στον Πίνακα 3 παρουσιάζονται τα συχνότερα λεξικά συμπλέγματα στο σώμα κειμένων του Ρουσόπουλου. Στην τρίτη και τέταρτη στήλη δίνεται η συχνότητα εμφάνισής τους, ενώ στις δύο τελευταίες στήλες αναφέρεται ο αριθμός των κειμένων στα οποία εμφανίζονται.

A/A	Λεξικό σύμπλεγμα	Συχνότητα	%	Κείμενα	%
1	ό τι αφορά ¹	36	0,16	11	84,62
2	της Νέας Δημοκρατίας	29	0,13	10	76,92
3	Σε ό τι	28	0,12	9	69,23
4	Σε ό τι αφορά	28	0,12	9	69,23
5	αυτό το οποίο	25	0,11	10	76,92
6	Οικονομίας και Οικονομικών	18	0,08	7	53,85
7	σε αυτή την	18	0,08	9	69,23

¹ Ο τύπος *ό,τι* λόγω του κόμματος υπολογίζεται από το λογισμικό ως δύο λέξεις, εξού και η παρουσία στον Πίνακα των σχετικών λεξικών συμπλεγμάτων.

8	πολύ καλά ότι	15	0,07	8	61,54
9	δεν μπορεί να	14	0,06	5	38,46
10	ό τι αφορά το	14	0,06	7	53,85
11	τι αφορά το	14	0,06	7	53,85
12	Δεν έχω να	13	0,06	7	53,85
13	Παρακαλώ τις ερωτήσεις σας	12	0,05	12	92,31
14	Παρακαλώ τις ερωτήσεις σας	12	0,05	12	92,31
15	Σε ό τι αφορά το	12	0,05	7	53,85

Πίνακας 3 Λεξικά συμπλέγματα στο σώμα κειμένων του Ρουσόπουλου

Είναι εμφανές ότι τα λεξικά συμπλέγματα μπορεί να αποτελούν ακολουθίες λέξεων με νόημα (π.χ. της *Νέας Δημοκρατίας*, *Παρακαλώ τις ερωτήσεις σας*) ή όχι (π.χ. *σε αυτή την, πολύ καλά ότι*). Επίσης, ορισμένα λεξικά συμπλέγματα μπορεί να συναπαρτίζουν ευρύτερα συμπλέγματα: π.χ. τα συμπλέγματα *ό τι αφορά*, *Σε ό τι*, *Σε ό τι αφορά*, *ό τι αφορά το*, *τι αφορά το* αποτελούν μέρη του συμπλέγματος *Σε ό τι αφορά το*, που εμφανίζεται 12 φορές στα μισά περίπου κείμενα του σώματος κειμένων. Τέλος, η μελέτη των λέξεων-κλειδιών και των λεξικών συμπλεγμάτων συμπληρώνεται με στοιχεία από την ευρύτερη χρήση τους, όπως διαπιστώνονται σε συμφραστικούς πίνακες (concordances).

3. Ανάλυση δεδομένων

Η πρώτη εικόνα που δημιουργείται από τη συγκριτική μελέτη των λέξεων-κλειδιών στο σώμα κειμένων των τριών κυβερνητικών εκπροσώπων είναι ότι περισσότερες λέξεις-κλειδιά εμφανίζονται κατά τη σύγκριση των σωμάτων κειμένων του Αντώνιου και του Ρουσόπουλου με εκείνο του Πεταλωτή (32 και 24 λέξεις-κλειδιά αντίστοιχα). Αντίθετα, η σύγκριση των κειμένων του Ρουσόπουλου με τον Αντώνιο δεν παράγει μεγάλο αριθμό λέξεων-κλειδιών (μόνο 14). Τα στοιχεία αυτά επισημαίνουν ότι ο λόγος των δύο εκπροσώπων της κυβέρνησης της Νέας Δημοκρατίας παρουσιάζει περισσότερες ομοιότητες, ενώ ο λόγος του Πεταλωτή, μάλλον αποκλίνει σε σχέση με τους άλλους δύο.

Εκτός από τις γλωσσικές επιλογές που είναι πιθανό να αποτελούν στοιχεία ιδιολέκτου, στις λέξεις-κλειδιά και στα λεξικά συμπλέγματα συγκαταλέγονται και τύποι που συνδέονται με το θέμα των κειμένων. Έτσι, στο σώμα κειμένων του Ρουσόπουλου λέξεις-κλειδιά όπως *ψηφοδέλτιο* και *βουλευτής* συνδέονται με ένα ζήτημα της επικαιρότητας που είχε προκύψει από μια ψηφοφορία στη Βουλή. Ανάλογα, στον Αντώνιο λέξεις-κλειδιά αποτελούν λέξεις όπως *πυρκαγιές*, *ζημιές*, *αεροσκάφη*, *πυροσβεστικά*, που συνδέονται με τις πυρκαγιές του καλοκαιριού του 2009. Τέλος, στο σώμα κειμένων του Πεταλωτή οι θεματικές λέξεις-κλειδιά *μεγάλες* και *αλλαγές* συνεμφανίζονται σε αρκετά λεξικά συμπλέγματα (π.χ. *τις μεγάλες αλλαγές*, *μεγάλες αλλαγές που*). Είναι μάλιστα ιδιαίτερα ενδιαφέρον ότι, όπως φαίνεται από τον σχετικό συμφραστικό πίνακα, της σύνταξης *μεγάλες αλλαγές* προηγούνται πολύ συχνά ρήματα σε πρώτο πληθυντικό όπως *υλοποιούμε*, *κάνουμε*, *πετύχουμε*, *ασχολούμαστε*, *προχωράμε* (πρβλ. ενότητα 3.3 για την προτίμηση του Πεταλωτή στην αντωνυμία πρώτου πληθυντικού προσώπου).

3.1 Μακροδομικά στοιχεία

Όπως προκύπτει από την κειμενική ανάλυση, οι ενημερώσεις συντακτών εμφανίζουν την εξής δομή:

- α) άνοιγμα (περιλαμβάνει χαιρετισμό, σε αρκετές περιπτώσεις σε συνδυασμό με ευχές)
- β) κείμενο ενημέρωσης από τον κυβερνητικό εκπρόσωπο (προσχεδιασμένος λόγος)
- γ) μεταβατική φράση
- δ) ερωτήσεις πολιτικών συντακτών και απαντήσεις κυβερνητικού εκπροσώπου (απροσχεδιαστος λόγος)
- ε) κλείσιμο (περιλαμβάνει ευχαριστίες ή/και ευχές ή χαιρετισμό).

Από τα παραπάνω δομικά μέρη της ενημέρωσης συντακτών το άνοιγμα, η μεταβατική φράση και το κλείσιμο αποτελούνται συνήθως από στερεότυπες εκφράσεις, που προσφέρονται για σύγκριση. Πράγματι, οι τρεις κυβερνητικοί εκπρόσωποι χρησιμοποιούν στη συντριπτική πλειονότητα των κειμένων το ίδιο λεξικό σύμπλεγμα *Παρακαλώ τις ερωτήσεις σας* ως μεταβατική φράση από το τμήμα της ενημέρωσης στο τμήμα των ερωταπαντήσεων. Το σύμπλεγμα αυτό, επομένως, φαίνεται να χαρακτηρίζει το κειμενικό είδος της ενημέρωσης συντακτών.

Αντίθετα, στο άνοιγμα και στο κλείσιμο της ενημέρωσης συντακτών εμφανίζεται αρκετή ποικιλία. Πιο συγκεκριμένα, ο Ρουσόπουλος συνηθίζει στο άνοιγμα να χρησιμοποιεί τον τύπο *Χαίρετε*, ο Αντώνναρος κυρίως χρησιμοποιεί τον χαιρετισμό *Καλημέρα*, αλλά και *Γεια σας*, *Καλησπέρα σας* και ο Πεταλωτής *Καλό μεσημέρι*. Οι χαιρετισμοί αυτοί ορισμένες φορές συνοδεύονται από ευχές (π.χ. *Χαίρετε και καλή εβδομάδα*, *Καλημέρα και καλό μήνα*). Στο κλείσιμο επίσης υπάρχει ποικιλία, καθώς οι Ρουσόπουλος και Αντώνναρος συνηθίζουν να κλείνουν με ευχαριστίες (*Σας ευχαριστώ*), οι οποίες ορισμένες φορές συνδυάζονται με ευχές, ενώ ο Πεταλωτής άλλοτε κλείνει με χαιρετισμό (*Καλό απόγευμα*) και άλλοτε με ευχαριστίες (*Σας ευχαριστώ*), ενώ μία φορά κλείνει μόνο με ευχή (*Καλό Σαββατοκύριακο*).

3.2 Οργανωτικά στοιχεία

Ως προς τα οργανωτικά στοιχεία του λόγου των κυβερνητικών εκπροσώπων ενδιαφέρον παρουσιάζουν οι δείκτες λόγου και οι αναφορικές εκφράσεις. Αρκετοί δείκτες λόγου ή μέρη τους εμφανίζονται ως λέξεις-κλειδιά ή ως λεξικά συμπλέγματα στα τρία σώματα κειμένων. Πιο συγκεκριμένα, τα *επίσης* και *άλλωστε* αποτελούν λέξεις-κλειδιά για το σώμα κειμένων του Αντώνναρου σε σχέση με εκείνο του Πεταλωτή (σπουδαιότητα 27,09 και 24,52 αντίστοιχα), ενώ στατιστικά σημαντική είναι η χρήση του δείκτη λόγου *λοιπόν* από τον Ρουσόπουλο σε σχέση με τον Πεταλωτή (σπουδαιότητα 45,78).² Επιπλέον, ο Ρουσόπουλος συνηθίζει να χρησιμοποιεί το λεξικό σύμπλεγμα *Σε κάθε περίπτωση* ως δείκτη παραχώρησης, κάτι που συμβαίνει σπανιότατα στα κείμενα του Αντώνναρου και ποτέ στα κείμενα του Πεταλωτή. Τέλος, ο Πεταλωτής χρησιμοποιεί συστηματικά τα λεξικά συμπλέγματα *Από εκεί και πέρα* (30 εμφανίσεις) για να δηλώσει την παραχώρηση και *Για/γι' αυτό ακριβώς* (14 εμφανίσεις) για να δηλώσει τη σχέση αιτίου-αποτελέσματος, τα οποία παρουσιάζουν είτε ελάχιστες είτε μηδενικές εμφανίσεις στα κείμενα των άλλων. Ένα ακόμη σύμπλεγμα το οποίο χρησιμοποιεί ο Πεταλωτής 22 φορές, αλλά δεν εμφανίζεται σε κανένα κείμενο των Ρουσόπουλου και Αντώνναρου, είναι το *Πρώτα απ'από όλα*. Συνολικά, ο Πεταλωτής εμφανίζεται να αποκλίνει περισσότερο συγκρινόμενος με τους άλλους δύο κυβερνητικούς εκπροσώπους, οι οποίοι δεν εμφανίζουν τόσο έντονες διαφορές.

Επιπλέον, οι κυβερνητικοί εκπρόσωποι χρησιμοποιούν δύο βασικές αναφορικές εκφράσεις (*Σε ό,τι αφορά* + άρθρο ή *στο/στη* και *Όσον αφορά* + άρθρο ή *στο/στη*), με διαφορετική όμως συχνότητα. Ο Ρουσόπουλος προτιμά τη δομή *Σε ό,τι αφορά* + άρθρο (35 εμφανίσεις), την οποία οι άλλοι δύο χρησιμοποιούν μόνο μία φορά ο καθένας. Από την άλλη, οι Αντώνναρος και Πεταλωτής χρησιμοποιούν συχνότερα τη δομή *Όσον αφορά* + άρθρο ή *στο/στη* (15 και 10 φορές αντίστοιχα). Οι αναφορικές φράσεις είναι ιδιαίτερα σημαντικές στο λόγο των κυβερνητικών εκπροσώπων, διότι αποτελούν βασικά στοιχεία δομής των απαντήσεων τους στους πολιτικούς συντάκτες. Ο κειμενικός αυτός ρόλος φαίνεται από λεξικά συμπλέγματα που συνδυάζόμενα δημιουργούν φράσεις όπως: *Όσον αφορά (σ)το πρώτο/δεύτερο σκέλος (της ερώτησής σας)*, οι οποίες εμφανίζονται κυρίως στην αρχή της απάντησης ή σε σημεία μετάβασης σε άλλο θέμα. Επομένως, ως προς τις αναφορικές φράσεις και οι τρεις εκπρόσωποι έχουν σχετικά ξεκάθαρο στίγμα, με τον Ρουσόπουλο να αποκλίνει από τους άλλους δύο.

3.3 Πρόσωπο

Η μελέτη κυρίως των λέξεων-κλειδιών, αλλά και των λεξικών συμπλεγμάτων έδειξε ότι η χρήση του προσώπου είναι σημαντική για τη διάκριση του λόγου των κυβερνητικών εκπροσώπων. Συγκεκριμένα, ο Πεταλωτής ξεχωρίζει από τους άλλους δύο λόγω της συστηματικής χρήσης του πρώτου πληθυντικού προσώπου. Όπως φαίνεται στους Πίνακες 4 και 5, ο τύπος *εμείς* αποτελεί λέξη-κλειδί στο σώμα κειμένων του Πεταλωτή σε σχέση με τα άλλα δύο σώματα κειμένων.

Λέξη-κλειδί	Συχνότητα (Ρουσόπουλος)	%	Συχνότητα (Πεταλωτής)	%	Σπουδαιότητα	P value
Εμείς	6	0,03	55	0,25	-46,40	0,0000000000

Πίνακας 4 Βαθμός σπουδαιότητας του τύπου *εμείς* στα σώματα κειμένων των Ρουσόπουλου και Πεταλωτή

² Έχει μάλιστα ενδιαφέρον ότι σε 7 από τις 47 εμφανίσεις του *λοιπόν* ο Ρουσόπουλος το χρησιμοποιεί στη δομή *Άρα, λοιπόν*.

Λέξη-κλειδί	Συχνότητα (Αντώνωρος)	%	Συχνότητα (Πεταλωτής)	%	Σπουδαιότητα	P value
εμείς	11	0,05	48	0,22	-25,83	0,0000003692
Εμείς	8	0,04	55	0,25	-40,41	0,0000000000

Πίνακας 5 Βαθμός σπουδαιότητας του τύπου *εμείς* στα σώματα κειμένων των Αντώνωρου και Πεταλωτή

Η χρήση αυτή του *εμείς* από τον Πεταλωτή αναφέρεται κυρίως στην κυβέρνηση, προσδίδοντας μια αίσθηση συλλογικότητας στη λειτουργία της. Και οι άλλοι δύο εκπρόσωποι χρησιμοποιούν την αντωνυμία *εμείς* με αυτή τη λειτουργία, αλλά πολύ σπανιότερα. Αξίζει μάλιστα να σημειωθεί η χρήση της σε αρχή πρότασης (με κεφαλαίο), όπου εμφανίζεται με υψηλό βαθμό σπουδαιότητας στο λόγο του Πεταλωτή. Σε αυτή τη χρήση συχνή είναι η δομή *Εμείς είμαστε αυτοί που* (5 εμφανίσεις), με την οποία παρουσιάζονται οι επιλογές και οι στόχοι της κυβέρνησης και δηλώνεται η ταυτότητά της, κάτι που θα ήταν αναμενόμενο για μια νέα κυβέρνηση και όχι για μια κυβέρνηση που έχει ήδη διανύσει ένα χρόνο θητείας.

Ενδιαφέρουσα είναι και η συχνότητα χρήσης του τύπου *μας*, ο οποίος εμφανίζεται με βαθμό σπουδαιότητας 58,82 στα κείμενα του Πεταλωτή σε σχέση με εκείνα του Ρουσόπουλου. Η συχνότητα του *μας* είναι στατιστικά σημαντική στα κείμενα των Αντώνωρου και Πεταλωτή, οι οποίοι όμως δεν τον χρησιμοποιούν με τον ίδιο ακριβώς τρόπο, όπως φαίνεται από τα λεξικά συμπλέγματα. Έτσι, και οι δύο χρησιμοποιούν τα λεξικά συμπλέγματα *της χώρας μας*, *η χώρα μας*, *τη χώρα μας*, στα οποία το *μας* αναφέρεται σε όλους τους Έλληνες, ενώ ο Πεταλωτής χρησιμοποιεί και συμπλέγματα όπως *τους στόχους μας*, όπου το *μας* αναφέρεται στην κυβέρνηση. Αντίθετα, στο σώμα κειμένων του Ρουσόπουλου λέξεις-κλειδιά αποτελούν τύποι όπως *μου* και *σας*, οι οποίοι εμφανίζονται σε λεξικά συμπλέγματα όπως *επιτρέψτε μου να*, *Σας θυμίζω ότι*, *που σας είπα*.

Η διάσταση του προσώπου εμφανίζεται και στο ρήμα *κάνω*, που στον τύπο *κάνουμε* αποτελεί λέξη-κλειδί στα κείμενα του Πεταλωτή, ενώ στον τύπο *κάνω* στα κείμενα των Ρουσόπουλου και Αντώνωρου. Ο τύπος *κάνουμε* αναφέρεται και πάλι στην κυβέρνηση και στις ενέργειες στις οποίες προβαίνει, ενώ το *κάνω* αποτελεί μέρος λεξικών συμπλεγμάτων που σχετίζονται με τη γλωσσική πράξη της άρνησης απάντησης προς τους συντάκτες (π.χ. στον Αντώνωρο *Δεν έχω να κάνω* και στον Ρουσόπουλο *κάνω κανένα σχόλιο*). Ανάλογη είναι και η χρήση του *έχω* σε λεξικά συμπλέγματα από τον Αντώνωρο και τον Ρουσόπουλο.

Ο Πεταλωτής χρησιμοποιεί το πρώτο πληθυντικό πρόσωπο για να αναφερθεί στην κυβέρνηση και με τα λεξικά συμπλέγματα *γνωρίζουμε πολύ καλά* (10 εμφανίσεις) και *γνωρίζουμε πάρα πολύ καλά* (9 εμφανίσεις). Αντίθετα, ο Ρουσόπουλος χρησιμοποιεί το σύμπλεγμα *γνωρίζετε πολύ καλά* (18 εμφανίσεις), με το οποίο μεταθέτει την ευθύνη στο πρόσωπο του συντάκτη που έχει υποβάλει την ερώτηση, καθώς προϋποθέτει ότι, αν και ο δημοσιογράφος γνωρίζει το θέμα, επιμένει να πιέζει τον κυβερνητικό εκπρόσωπο, προσδοκώντας την είδηση.

3.4 Τροπικότητα

Η τροπικότητα εκφράζεται με ποικιλία μέσων από τους κυβερνητικούς εκπροσώπους. Ιδιαίτερα σημαντική είναι η χρήση του τροπικού επιρρήματος *φυσικά* από τον Πεταλωτή, το οποίο μάλιστα εμφανίζεται ως λέξη-κλειδί με υψηλό βαθμό σπουδαιότητας (-66,02 σε σχέση με τον Ρουσόπουλο και -50,36 σε σχέση με τον Αντώνωρο). Ανάλογη λειτουργία έχει και το λεξικό σύμπλεγμα *είναι γνωστό ότι* (9 εμφανίσεις). Με τα στοιχεία αυτά ο Πεταλωτής εκφράζει τη βεβαιότητά του για τα γεγονότα, η οποία όμως δεν βασίζεται σε συγκεκριμένα δεδομένα, αλλά εμφανίζεται ως αυτονόητη και κοινώς αποδεκτή. Αντίθετα, ο Ρουσόπουλος και ο Αντώνωρος χρησιμοποιούν το λεξικό σύμπλεγμα *δεν πρόκειται να* (12 και 11 εμφανίσεις αντίστοιχα) με το οποίο εκφράζουν την προσωπική τους βεβαιότητα για αυτά στα οποία αναφέρονται. Συχνή είναι η χρήση του λεξικού αυτού συμπλέγματος στη γλωσσική πράξη της άρνησης απάντησης, όπως επισημαίνεται στην επόμενη ενότητα.

3.5 Γλωσσικές πράξεις

Το κειμενικό είδος της ενημέρωσης συντακτών οδηγεί τους κυβερνητικούς εκπροσώπους στην επιτέλεση συγκεκριμένων γλωσσικών πράξεων όπως αυτές της τοποθέτησης, της άρνησης απάντησης, της υπενθύμισης με στόχο την απόκρουση και της έκφρασης διαφωνίας. Με βάση τα δεδομένα, η γλωσσική πράξη της υπενθύμισης με στόχο την απόκρουση παρουσιάζεται στο λόγο και των τριών εκπροσώπων, η γλωσσική πράξη της άρνησης απάντησης εμφανίζεται μόνο στα κείμενα των

Ρουσόπουλου και Αντώνη και οι γλωσσικές πράξεις της τοποθέτησης και της διαφωνίας εμφανίζονται μόνο στα κείμενα του Αντώνη και του Πεταλωτή αντίστοιχα.

Η συχνότερη δομή που χρησιμοποιείται από τον Αντώνη για τη δήλωση τοποθέτησης είναι το λεξικό συμπλέγμα *θα ήθελα επίσης να*. Το συμπλέγμα αυτό συμμετέχει με παραλλαγές σε ευρύτερες δομές με την εναλλαγή στοιχείων με παρόμοια σημασία: *θα ήθελα (επίσης) να κάνω (μια σύντομη/μια αναλυτικότερη) αναφορά, θα ήθελα (επίσης) να αναφερθώ/αναφέρω, (Επίσης), θα ήθελα (όμως/επίσης) να (σας) πω (για μία ακόμη φορά) (κάτι/ότι)*.

Οι δύο εκπρόσωποι κυβέρνησης της Νέας Δημοκρατίας εμφανίζουν πολύ συχνά στο λόγο τους δομές που επιτελούν τη γλωσσική πράξη της άρνησης απάντησης. Στον Πίνακα 6 παρουσιάζονται τα λεξικά συμπλέγματα με περισσότερες από πέντε εμφανίσεις στο σώμα κειμένων των δύο εκπροσώπων, καθώς και οι ευρύτερες φράσεις στις οποίες συμμετέχουν.

Ρουσόπουλος	Αντώνης
(δεν θα/έχω να/πρόκειται να) κάνω κανένα σχόλιο	δεν έχω να κάνω (απολύτως) κανένα σχόλιο
δεν έχω να προσθέσω (κάτι περισσότερο)	δεν έχω να προσθέσω κάτι (άλλο/παραπάνω)
	δεν έχω να (σας) πω (κάτι/κάτι άλλο/τίποτε/κάτι παραπάνω)
	Ό,τι είχα να πω (για το θέμα/γι' αυτό το θέμα, το είπα/το έχω πει)

Πίνακας 6 Λεξικά συμπλέγματα και ευρύτερες δομές για τη γλωσσική πράξη της άρνησης απάντησης

Όπως φαίνεται, ο Αντώνης εμφανίζει μεγαλύτερη ποικιλία τρόπων με τις οποίες εκφράζει την άρνηση απάντησης σε σχέση με τον Ρουσόπουλο. Χρησιμοποιεί επίσης σταθερά τη δομή *δεν έχω να*, ενώ ο Ρουσόπουλος επιλέγει και άλλες δομές, όπως *δεν θα, δεν πρόκειται να*. Επιπλέον, η κοινή δομή *δεν έχω να προσθέσω* ακολουθείται στην περίπτωση του Αντώνη κυρίως από το *κάτι* (το οποίο σπανιότερα μπορεί να εμφανίζεται ως *κάτι άλλο ή κάτι παραπάνω*), ενώ στην περίπτωση του Ρουσόπουλου από τη φράση *κάτι περισσότερο*. Οι επιλογές αυτές εμφανίζουν υψηλό βαθμό συστηματικότητας, χωρίς μάλιστα να επηρεάζουν το νόημα του κειμένου, αφού είναι σχεδόν συνώνυμες. Στα δεδομένα του Αντώνη εμφανίζονται με υψηλή συχνότητα και οι δομές με τον τύπο *πω* (*δεν έχω να πω, ό,τι είχα να πω*). Αντίθετα, ο Ρουσόπουλος χρησιμοποιεί τον τύπο *πω* πολύ σπάνια και σε μεγαλύτερη ποικιλία δομών όπως *δεν θα/μπορώ να/πρόκειται να πω (κάτι/τίποτε/τίποτα περισσότερο)*.

Αντίθετα από τη γλωσσική πράξη της άρνησης απάντησης, η υπενθύμιση με στόχο την απόκρουση εμφανίζεται στα κείμενα και των τριών εκπροσώπων. Στον Πίνακα 7 περιλαμβάνονται τα λεξικά συμπλέγματα με περισσότερες από πέντε εμφανίσεις σε κάθε σώμα κειμένων, καθώς και οι ευρύτερες φράσεις στις οποίες χρησιμοποιούνται για τη συγκεκριμένη γλωσσική πράξη.

Ρουσόπουλος	Αντώνης	Πεταλωτής
Σας θυμίζω ότι		
	όπως σας είπα	Σας είπα ότι Σας ανέφερα ότι
γνωρίζετε πολύ καλά ότι		
Έχω ήδη απαντήσει		
(το έχω/έχουμε) πει πάρα πολλές φορές	επαναλαμβάνω για μια ακόμη φορά (σας) το έχω πει και άλλες φορές (και/σας το) λέω για μια ακόμη φορά	(το έχουμε/έχει/είχα) πει πολλές φορές

Πίνακας 7 Λεξικά συμπλέγματα και ευρύτερες δομές για τη γλωσσική πράξη της υπενθύμισης με στόχο την απόκρουση

Όπως φαίνεται, οι τρεις κυβερνητικοί εκπρόσωποι χρησιμοποιούν διαφορετικά μέσα για να εκφράσουν τη γλωσσική πράξη της υπενθύμισης με στόχο την απόκρουση. Ο Ρουσόπουλος χρησιμοποιεί, μεταξύ άλλων, τα λεξικά συμπλέγματα *Σας θυμίζω ότι, γνωρίζετε πολύ καλά ότι, Έχω ήδη απαντήσει*, ενώ οι Αντώνης και Πεταλωτής τα *όπως σας είπα και Σας είπα ότι, Σας ανέφερα ότι* αντίστοιχα. Και οι τρεις χρησιμοποιούν μια παρόμοια δομή με τον τύπο *πει*, η οποία όμως εμφανίζεται συστηματικά με διαφορετικό τρόπο: στα κείμενα του Ρουσόπουλου εμφανίζεται ως *(το έχω/έχουμε) πει πάρα πολλές φορές*, στα κείμενα του Αντώνη *(σας) το έχω πει και άλλες φορές* και στα κείμενα του Πεταλωτή *(το έχουμε/έχει/είχα) πει πολλές φορές*. Για άλλη μία φορά το περιεχόμενο των εκφράσεων είναι σχεδόν το ίδιο, αλλά οι δομές είναι διαφορετικές *(πάρα πολλές φορές, και άλλες φορές, πολλές φορές)*. Ο Αντώνης χρησιμοποιεί επιπλέον ανάλογες δομές με τα ρήματα *επαναλαμβάνω* και *λέω* στον ενεστώτα και τη φράση *για μια ακόμη φορά*.

Η έκφραση της συχνότητας σε αυτού του είδους τις φράσεις έχει ιδιαίτερο ενδιαφέρον για τον εντοπισμό των ιδιολεκτικών στοιχείων των κυβερνητικών εκπροσώπων. Το στοιχείο αυτό επιβεβαιώνεται από τη μελέτη και λιγότερο συχνών δομών για τη δήλωση της ίδιας γλωσσικής πράξης. Έτσι, ο Ρουσόπουλος επιμένει στη χρήση της δομής *πάρα πολλές φορές* και στις σπανιότερες στα δεδομένα φράσεις *Έχω απαντήσει/εκφράσει την άποψή μου πάρα πολλές φορές, έχουμε επαναλάβει πάρα πολλές φορές*, ενώ ο Αντώναρος φαίνεται να χρησιμοποιεί σχετικά συχνά το επίρρημα *επανειλημμένως* ή *επανειλημμένα* σε φράσεις όπως *το έχω πει επανειλημμένως, Έχω πει επανειλημμένα* ότι, *Έχω τοποθετηθεί (σε αυτό/γι' αυτό το θέμα) επανειλημμένα/επανειλημμένως*.

Τέλος, η γλωσσική πράξη της διαφωνίας βρέθηκε να δηλώνεται μόνο στα κείμενα του Πεταλωτή με το λεξικό συμπλεγμα *δεν έχει καμία σχέση* σε ευρύτερες φράσεις όπως η εξής: *Πρώτα απ' όλα δεν έχει καμία σχέση το ένα με το άλλο*.

4. Συμπεράσματα

Η μελέτη των σωμάτων κειμένων δείχνει ότι οι κυβερνητικοί εκπρόσωποι εμφανίζουν συστηματικές προτιμήσεις στο λόγο τους, οι οποίες στις περισσότερες περιπτώσεις διαφέρουν μεταξύ τους. Ομοιότητες εμφανίζονται σε στοιχεία που σχετίζονται με το κειμενικό είδος, όπως η χρήση της στερεότυπης μεταβατικής έκφρασης *Παρακαλώ τις ερωτήσεις σας*. Ενδιαφέρον είναι ότι, παρόλο που ακολουθούν με συνέπεια τις συμβάσεις του κειμενικού είδους, παρουσιάζουν συστηματικές διαφοροποιήσεις σε επιμέρους επιλογές (λ.χ. στις φράσεις για το άνοιγμα).

Ο λόγος των εκπροσώπων της κυβέρνησης της Νέας Δημοκρατίας παρουσιάζει συγκριτικά περισσότερες ομοιότητες, όπως φαίνεται και από τον ιδιαίτερα μικρό αριθμό λέξεων-κλειδιών. Επιπλέον, ο Ρουσόπουλος και ο Αντώναρος φαίνεται να ακολουθούν παρόμοια στρατηγική στη χρήση του προσώπου ή στις γλωσσικές πράξεις που συνήθως επιτελούν. Χαρακτηριστικό είναι ότι μόνο για αυτούς βρέθηκαν λεξικά συμπλέγματα και ευρύτερες δομές για τη γλωσσική πράξη της άρνησης απάντησης. Οι ομοιότητες αυτές είναι πιθανό να προέρχονται από την κοινή κυβερνητική γραμμή την οποία υπηρετούν, κάτι που χρειάζεται περαιτέρω έρευνα.

Το σημαντικότερο όμως εύρημα είναι ότι οι τρεις κυβερνητικοί εκπρόσωποι εμφανίζουν ιδιολεκτικές προτιμήσεις στη χρήση λεξιλογίου και ειδικότερα λεξικών συμπλεγμάτων (π.χ. *λοιπόν – επίσης, άλλωστε – πρώτα απ' από όλα, σε ό,τι αφορά – όσον αφορά*). Στην έρευνα αυτή η ανάλυση επικεντρώθηκε σε γραμματικούς τύπους και κατηγορίες, όπως δείκτες λόγου, αναφορικές εκφράσεις, τροπικότητα κ.ά., η χρήση των οποίων είναι πιθανόν να είναι λιγότερο συνειδητή σε σχέση με τη χρήση λ.χ. λεξικών τύπων. Είναι ιδιαίτερα σημαντικό, επομένως, ότι οι κυβερνητικοί εκπρόσωποι εμφανίζουν συστηματικές προτιμήσεις σε τέτοιου είδους στοιχεία. Παράλληλα, η χρήση διαφορετικών λεξικών συμπλεγμάτων από κάθε κυβερνητικό εκπρόσωπο για τη δήλωση ίδιων γλωσσικών πράξεων υποδεικνύει ότι ακόμα και όταν ο ομιλητής έχει ως στόχο την επιτέλεση της ίδιας λειτουργίας μπορεί να κάνει συστηματικές γλωσσικές επιλογές, που μάλιστα εδώ αποκλίνουν από τις επιλογές που έχουν κάνει άλλα δύο άτομα με την ίδια ιδιότητα σε μια ανάλογη επικοινωνιακή κατάσταση.

Αξίζει να σημειωθεί ότι ένας περιορισμός της έρευνας αποτελεί το ότι τα δεδομένα έχουν απομαγνητοφωνηθεί από τη Διεύθυνση Πληροφόρησης της Γενικής Γραμματείας Ενημέρωσης και Επικοινωνίας. Η μη διαθεσιμότητά τους ως προφορικών κειμένων δεν επιτρέπει να ελεγχθεί η ποιότητα της απομαγνητοφώνησης. Παρ' όλα αυτά, ο εντοπισμός τμημάτων λόγου που εμφανίζουν στοιχεία προφορικότητας αποτελεί σχετικά ασφαλή ένδειξη για την αυθεντικότητα των κειμένων. Επιπλέον, η μελέτη περισσότερων κειμένων των ομιλητών θα μπορούσε να προσφέρει τη βάση για περισσότερο ακριβή στατιστικά αποτελέσματα. Παράλληλα, η επισημείωση των σωμάτων κειμένων για μέρη του λόγου θα έδινε τη δυνατότητα ανεύρεσης των γραμματικών συνάψεων, κάτι που δεν επιτυγχάνεται εύκολα με την απλή παρατήρηση των δεδομένων. Η σύγκριση των ιδιολεκτικών στοιχείων των ομιλητών με άλλα δεδομένα από το ίδιο κειμενικό είδος, με κείμενα της ίδιας κομματικής προέλευσης, αλλά και με ένα γενικό σώμα κειμένων ή δεδομένα από τον παγκόσμιο ιστό θα ωφελοούσε επίσης τα αποτελέσματα αυτής της προκαταρκτικής έρευνας. Τέλος, σε ένα μεγαλύτερο σώμα κειμένων ενδιαφέρουσα θα ήταν και η συγκριτική μελέτη του προσχεδιασμένου λόγου των κυβερνητικών εκπροσώπων (κείμενο ανακοινώσεων) με τον απροσχεδιαστο λόγο στις απαντήσεις τους στους πολιτικούς συντάκτες για την ανεύρεση πιθανών διαφορών στην ιδιόλεκτο των ομιλητών.

Η μελέτη περισσότερων κειμένων των τριών ομιλητών, καθώς και η σύγκρισή τους με άλλα δεδομένα είναι απαραίτητη για να προσδιορίσουμε ασφαλέστερα ποια στοιχεία μπορεί να αποτελούν χαρακτηριστικά της ιδιόλεκτου των ομιλητών. Στο άρθρο αυτό παρουσιάζεται μια προκαταρκτική έρευνα, η οποία, με αφετηρία τη συχνότητα εμφάνισης και τις στατιστικά σημαντικές διαφορές στη συχνότητα εμφάνισης κυρίως γραμματικών τύπων και λεξικών συμπλεγμάτων, επιχειρεί να εντοπίσει γλωσσικά πεδία στα οποία εμφανίζεται ιδιολεκτική διαφοροποίηση (π.χ. οργανωτικά στοιχεία,

πρόσωπο, τροπικότητα, γλωσσικές πράξεις). Έρευνες για την ιδιόλεκτο στα αγγλικά έχουν εντοπίσει διαφορές ανάμεσα σε ομιλητές σε ορισμένα από αυτά τα πεδία. Για παράδειγμα, η Johnstone (2009: 38-39, 42-43), ακολουθώντας διαφορετική μεθοδολογία από αυτή που παρουσιάζεται εδώ, εντοπίζει στο πεδίο της τροπικότητας (βεβαιότητα, αυθεντία) ένα από τα βασικά χαρακτηριστικά της ιδιολέκτου της ομιλήτριας που μελετά. Ανάλογα, ο Barlow (2009), ο οποίος μελετά το λόγο πέντε κυβερνητικών εκπροσώπων του Λευκού Οίκου χρησιμοποιώντας τη μεθοδολογία των σωμάτων κειμένων, επισημαίνει ότι υπάρχουν διαφορές ανάμεσά τους ως προς τη συχνότητα χρήσης της αντωνυμίας του πρώτου πληθυντικού προσώπου. Παρ' όλες τις ομοιότητες αυτές, είναι απαραίτητη περαιτέρω έρευνα με εμπειρικά δεδομένα για να οδηγηθούμε σε ασφαλή συμπεράσματα.

Για να προσδιοριστεί η ιδιόλεκτος εμπειρικά, αλλά και να θεμελιωθεί θεωρητικά, είναι αναγκαίο να διευκρινιστεί η σχέση της με άλλες μορφές γλωσσικής ποικιλίας (λ.χ. τις κοινωνιολέκτους), να συσχετιστεί με δεδομένα από τη συνήθη γλωσσική χρήση και να συνδεθεί με ρητορικές στρατηγικές ομάδων στις οποίες ανήκει ο ομιλητής. Για παράδειγμα, δεν είναι δυνατόν να υποστηριχθεί ότι η στατιστικά σημαντική προτίμηση του Πεταλωτή στη χρήση της αντωνυμίας πρώτου πληθυντικού προσώπου αποτελεί αποκλειστικό στοιχείο της ιδιολέκτου του, εάν δεν μελετηθούν κείμενα του πρωθυπουργού, στελεχών της κυβέρνησης κ.λπ. της ίδιας περιόδου, για να αποκλειστεί η πιθανότητα να πρόκειται για ρητορική στρατηγική που έχει επιλέξει συνολικά η κυβέρνηση. Παρομοίως, η προτίμηση του Ρουσόπουλου στη δομή *Σε ό,τι αφορά* + άρθρο σε σχέση με τη δομή *Όσον αφορά* + άρθρο ή *στο/στη*, την οποία χρησιμοποιούν συχνότερα οι Αντώνιος και Πεταλωτής μπορεί να αναλυθεί περαιτέρω με την αναζήτηση των δύο αυτών δομών στο Σώμα Ελληνικών Κειμένων, ένα γενικό σώμα κειμένων περίπου 30 εκατομμυρίων λέξεων. Όπως προκύπτει από την αναζήτηση, η δομή *Σε ό,τι αφορά* εμφανίζεται υποδιπλάσιες φορές σε σχέση με το *Όσον αφορά*. Ο Ρουσόπουλος δηλαδή επιλέγει ένα στοιχείο που αποκλίνει από τη συνήθη χρήση και άρα από τις γλωσσικές αναμονές των ομιλητών, κάτι που μπορεί να οδηγήσει στην ευκολότερη αναγνώριση της ιδιολέκτου του ομιλητή αυτού. Βέβαια, ο προσδιορισμός της δομής αυτής ως στοιχείου της ιδιολέκτου του Ρουσόπουλου προϋποθέτει την ανάλυση της χρήσης της σε σχέση με άλλα κειμενικά είδη και περιστάσεις επικοινωνίας, αλλά και της χρήσης της από ποικίλες κοινωνικές ομάδες.

Συμπερασματικά, η μεθοδολογία των σωμάτων κειμένων, η οποία προσφέρει τη δυνατότητα ποσοτικής και ποιοτικής ανάλυσης πλήθους δεδομένων, επιτρέπει να μελετηθούν ιδιολεκτικά χαρακτηριστικά που αφορούν τη συστηματική χρήση λεξικογραμματικών δομών για τη δήλωση παρόμοιων λειτουργιών και σημασιών. Με τον τρόπο αυτό εντοπίζονται στοιχεία της ιδιολέκτου των ομιλητών που μπορεί να μην είναι εμφανή με μια ανάλυση που περιορίζεται σε μεμονωμένα λεξικά στοιχεία και δεν εξετάζει μεγαλύτερα τμήματα του λόγου (λ.χ. λεξικά συμπλέγματα και φράσεις). Επιπλέον, τα δεδομένα από την ενημέρωση των πολιτικών συντακτών στα οποία στηρίχθηκε η έρευνα είναι κατάλληλα για τη μελέτη της ιδιολέκτου, καθώς η διατήρηση της επικοινωνιακής περιστασης και της ιδιότητας των ομιλητών ως σταθερών στοιχείων έδωσε τη δυνατότητα να μελετηθούν οι ιδιαιτερότητες στο λόγο τους. Τέτοιου είδους γλωσσικά δεδομένα πολιτικού λόγου θέτουν ζητήματα που αφορούν τη σχέση της ιδιολέκτου με το συγκεκριμένο κειμενικό είδος, τις ρητορικές στρατηγικές που ακολουθούν οι ομιλητές ή η κυβέρνηση την οποία εκφράζουν, την κατασκευή της ταυτότητας της κυβέρνησης ή του πολιτικού κόμματος στο οποίο ανήκουν κ.λπ., τα οποία θα μπορούσαν να αποτελέσουν θέματα προς διερεύνηση σε επόμενες μελέτες. Το παρόν άρθρο επιχειρεί να προτείνει μια μεθοδολογία για την προσέγγιση της ιδιολέκτου, η οποία μπορεί να συμπληρωθεί και με άλλου είδους μεθοδολογικές προσεγγίσεις, όπως με συνεντεύξεις για την καταγραφή των απόψεων των ίδιων των ομιλητών και τη διερεύνηση των αντιλήψεων του κοινού για τις ιδιαιτερότητες στο λόγο τους (πρβλ. Johnstone 2009).

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Η ΠΟΛΥΤΡΟΠΙΚΟΤΗΤΑ ΣΤΟΝ ΗΜΕΡΗΣΙΟ ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΟ ΤΥΠΟ: ΣΥΓΚΡΙΤΙΚΗ ΔΙΕΡΕΥΝΗΣΗ ΤΟΥ ΒΑΘΜΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΤΩΝ ΧΑΡΑΚΤΗΡΙΣΤΙΚΩΝ ΤΗΣ

Σωφρόνης Χατζησαββίδης
Αριστοτέλειο Πανεπιστήμιο
Θεσσαλονίκης
sofronis@nured.auth.gr

Αθανασία Φίλιου
Αριστοτέλειο Πανεπιστήμιο
Θεσσαλονίκης
nafiliou@gmail.com

ABSTRACT

Multimodality as a concept began making highly visible presence in all Media in recent years. In this communication, first of all, all the main components of the concept of multimodality are presented. Here are two surveys conducted (in 2005 and 2011) and were designed to investigate the degree of existence of multimodality in the first page of wide circulation newspaper and the characteristics by which this occurs as well. Data and a first classification and analysis of the characteristics resulting from these investigations are presented and, finally, a demonstration of differences in the presentation of multimodal texts through comparison of data from the two surveys is shown.

Λέξεις κλειδιά: εφημερίδα, MME, μονοτροπικότητα, πολυτροπικότητα,

1. Σκοπός

Η σχέση του ανθρώπου των δυτικού τύπου κοινωνιών που ζει σε αστικό περιβάλλον με τον γραπτό λόγο και με την εικόνα -αλλά και με άλλα πολιτισμικά σημειωτικά προϊόντα δημόσιας επικοινωνίας- είναι σήμερα πάρα πολύ στενή. Αυτή η σχέση προφανώς διαμορφώνει μια διαφορετική από ό,τι στο παρελθόν σχέση του ατόμου με το περιβάλλον του και συγκροτεί υποκείμενα με ψυχοκοινωνική προσωπικότητα διαφορετική από αυτή που διαμόρφωνε ο άνθρωπος στο παρελθόν. Η ανάπτυξη των σημειολογικών σπουδών κατά τη δεκαετία του '70 προσέδωσε μια αίγλη στη μελέτη αυτής της σχέσης. Δεν προχώρησαν όμως στη μελέτη των πολιτισμικών προϊόντων που συνδυάζουν δύο ή και περισσότερους σημειωτικούς τρόπους, αυτά δηλαδή που ονομάζονται σήμερα πολυτροπικά. Τα πολυτροπικά επικοινωνιακά προϊόντα έμειναν έξω από αυτήν τη μελέτη για τον απλούστατο λόγο ότι αφενός άρχισαν να κάνουν έντονα την εμφάνισή τους μόλις πρόσφατα, πριν περίπου δέκα με δεκαπέντε χρόνια, κυρίως με την ανάπτυξη των σύγχρονων τεχνολογιών, και αφετέρου η έννοια της πολυτροπικότητας δεν είχε αναπτυχθεί σε θεωρητικό τουλάχιστον επίπεδο. Σκοπός, λοιπόν, της ανακοίνωσης που παρουσιάζεται εδώ είναι να συμβάλει στη μελέτη της πολυτροπικότητας και να διερευνήσει κατά πόσο η έννοια της πολυτροπικότητας ως πρακτική διευρύνθηκε ή όχι κατά την τελευταία πενταετία σε έντυπα ευρείας διάδοσης και αναγνωσιμότητας, όπως είναι οι εφημερίδες πανελλήνιας κυκλοφορίας. Γι' αυτό παρουσιάζονται δύο έρευνες που έγιναν στο ίδιο σχεδόν σώμα εφημερίδων με χρονική απόσταση πέντε ετών.

2. Η πολυτροπικότητα ως έννοια και ως πρακτική

Η έννοια της πολυτροπικότητας άρχισε να κάνει την εμφάνισή της με την ανάπτυξη των πολιτισμικών σπουδών την τελευταία δεκαετία. Οι σχετικοί με το αντικείμενο ερευνητές, στην προσπάθειά τους να ερμηνεύσουν και -προφανώς- να οριοθετήσουν τα διάφορα πολιτισμικά προϊόντα που περιέχουν, εκτός των άλλων μορφών πολιτισμικών προϊόντων (εικόνα, μουσική, ήχοι κτλ.), λόγο -γραπτό και προφορικό-, διαπίστωσαν ότι δεν ήταν δυνατό να χρησιμοποιηθούν πλέον τα θεωρητικά εργαλεία του παρελθόντος. Έτσι, μπορούμε να πούμε ότι το νέο πολιτισμικό τοπίο που προέκυψε την τελευταία δεκαετία στις δυτικού τύπου κοινωνίες είναι αυτό που ανάγκασε τους επιστήμονες να εισαγάγουν στο

λεξιλόγιό τους τον όρο και να μιλήσουν για πολυτροπικότητα. Με τον όρο αυτό νοείται η μορφή παρουσίασης ενός πολιτισμικού προϊόντος, στο οποίο περιέχονται και συνδυάζονται περισσότεροι από ένας σημειωτικοί τρόποι (modes). Και όταν αναφερόμαστε στους σημειωτικούς τρόπους που μπορούν να συνδυάζονται σε ένα κείμενο, εννοούμε τον γραπτό λόγο, τον προφορικό λόγο, την εικόνα, τη φωτογραφία, το σχέδιο, το σχεδιάγραμμα, το χρώμα, τη γραμματοσειρά, την κινούμενη εικόνα, τη μουσική, τον ήχο, τον ρυθμό και τις χειρονομίες.

Τα κείμενα έως και πριν από μερικά χρόνια ήταν -ίσως θεωρούνταν- μονοτροπικά και αντιμετωπιζόνταν ως τέτοια. Λέγοντας κείμενο εννοούμε μια ολοκληρωμένη διαδοχή γλωσσικών μηνυμάτων που πραγματοποιείται στα πλαίσια μιας επικοινωνίας (βλ. περισσότερα στα Brown and Yule 1983:6, De Beaugrande and Dressler 1981, Γεωργακοπούλου και Γούτσος 1999: 17-25). Εδώ όμως και μερικά χρόνια οι αλλαγές που επέφεραν η σύγχρονη τεχνολογία, η δημιουργία πολυπολιτισμικών κοινωνιών στις χώρες του βόρειου ημισφαιρίου, καθώς και οι γνωσιοκεντρικές (ή πληροφορικοκεντρικές) οικονομικές αλλαγές που συνέβησαν τα τελευταία χρόνια ανήγαγαν την εικόνα σε σημαντικότερο από τον λόγο επικοινωνιακό μέσο (Kress 2000: 165). Με τον όρο «εικόνα» νοείται μια γκάμα τρόπων, μερικοί από τους οποίους αναφέρθηκαν προηγουμένως (σχέδιο, φωτογραφία, σχεδιάγραμμα, κινούμενη εικόνα κτλ.). Οι τρόποι αυτοί αντικατέστησαν ένα μέρος του γραπτού και προφορικού λόγου στη δημόσια επικοινωνία με αποτέλεσμα να δίνουν τη δυνατότητα μετάδοσης και πρόσληψης μηνυμάτων χαμηλού πληροφοριακού φορτίου αλλά υψηλής επικοινωνιακής συχνότητας και εμβέλειας.

Ένα πολυτροπικό σημειωτικό προϊόν είναι σύνθεση επιμέρους σημειωτικών τρόπων, οι οποίοι επηρεάζονται και διαπλέκονται μεταξύ τους. Τα στοιχεία που πηγάζουν από αυτήν την επίδραση και τη διαπλοκή είναι αυτά που συνθέτουν την πολυτροπικότητα. Η δυνατότητα μείξης των διάφορων σημειωτικών τρόπων για την παραγωγή ενός πολιτισμικού προϊόντος δημιουργεί, όπως είναι προφανές, ένα νέο σε σχέση με τα μονοτροπικά πολιτισμικά προϊόντα σημειολογικό περιβάλλον που χρήζει ανάλογης προσέγγισης (Kress, G. & Leeuwen, T. van 2010: 41-62). Το σημειολογικό αυτό περιβάλλον είναι το αποτέλεσμα των κοινωνικών, ψυχολογικών και γενικότερα πολιτισμικών προϋποθέσεων που επικρατούν σε μια κοινωνία. Η διαλεκτικότητα, την οποία ούτως ή άλλως ενέχουν τα σημειωτικά συστήματα, επηρεάζει και τις κοινωνικές και τις ψυχολογικές δομές τόσο σε επίπεδο ομαδικό όσο και σε επίπεδο ατομικό, αφού αυτά τα ίδια «αποτελούν μέρος της ιδεολογικής υπερδομής μιας κοινωνίας» (Boklund-Λαγοπούλου & Λαγόπουλος 1980:24). Η πολυτροπικότητα αναπόφευκτα αποτελεί μέρος του σημειολογικού περιβάλλοντος, μέσα στο οποίο ζουν τα υποκείμενα και δρουν είτε ως κοινωνικά είτε ως ψυχολογικά όντα. Ως επιλογή ενταγμένη στο πλαίσιο μιας επικοινωνιακής λειτουργίας, η οποία και μόνο επιτρέπει τη νοηματοδότηση, είναι μια σημειωτική πράξη, η οποία παράγει και αναπαράγει νοήματα. Με την έννοια αυτή η πολυτροπικότητα θα πρέπει όχι μόνο να παράγεται κάτω από συγκεκριμένες συνθήκες, αλλά και να προϋποθέτει συγκεκριμένες δυνατότητες για την κατανόηση των νοημάτων που παράγονται από αυτήν και των διαδικασιών μέσω των οποίων παράγονται. Επομένως, αν γίνει αποδεκτή αυτή η διαπίστωση, είναι πολύ πιθανό να διαμορφώνει και συγκεκριμένες αντιλήψεις, ανάλογη ιδεολογία και γενικά ανάλογη υποκειμενικότητα. (βλ. περισσότερα στο Πουρκός, Μ. & Κατσαρού, Ε. [επιμ.] 2011).

Το ζητούμενο βέβαια στο πλαίσιο των Μ.Μ.Ε είναι κατά πόσο οι καταναλωτές και οι παραγωγό των προϊόντων που προσφέρονται από τα Μ.Μ.Ε. είναι εξοικειωμένοι με τη χρήση των πολυτροπικών κειμένων και το κατά πόσο γίνεται κατανοητή η νοηματοδότηση των πολυτροπικών κειμένων σε σχέση με τα μονοτροπικά. Θεωρούμε ότι αυτό συναρτάται από τον βαθμό χρήσης και το είδος των χαρακτηριστικών της πολυτροπικότητας που χρησιμοποιείται από τα Μ.Μ.Ε. Με την έρευνα που παρουσιάζεται εδώ επιχειρείται να διερευνηθούν ακριβώς αυτές οι παράμετροι, δηλαδή με ποια χαρακτηριστικά παρουσιάζεται η πολυτροπικότητα στις πανελλήνιες κυκλοφορίες εφημερίδες, αλλά και ποιος είναι ο βαθμός της πολυτροπικότητας που χρησιμοποιείται. Παράλληλα όμως εξετάζεται και αν αυτός ο βαθμός και τα χαρακτηριστικά διαφοροποιούνται με την πάροδο του χρόνου περιορισμένης διάρκειας. Η έρευνα για καθαρά πρακτικούς λόγους περιορίζεται στο κεντρικό πρωτοσέλιδο θέμα κάθε εφημερίδας.

3. Η έρευνα

3.1 Η διεξαγωγή των δύο ερευνών

Η διεξαγωγή της πρώτης έρευνας πραγματοποιήθηκε από τον Απρίλιο έως τον Οκτώβριο του 2005, ενώ της δεύτερης από τον Ιανουάριο έως τον Ιούνιο του 2011. Ερευνήθηκαν στην πρώτη έρευνα 58, ενώ στη δεύτερη 57 εφημερίδες πανελλήνιες κυκλοφορίας που εκδίδονται στην πλειονότητά τους στην Αθήνα και ορισμένες στη Θεσσαλονίκη. Έγινε προσπάθεια να ερευνηθούν οι ίδιες εφημερίδες, αλλά

αυτό δεν κατέστη απόλυτα εφικτό, γιατί από τις 58 εφημερίδες οι 12 (ποσοστό 20%) στο μεταξύ διάστημα είχαν αναστείλει την έκδοσή τους. Από το σύνολο των εφημερίδων στην πρώτη έρευνα οι 30 ήταν πολιτικές, οι 11 οικονομικές, οι 12 αθλητικές, οι 3 σατιρικές και οι 2 ήταν εφημερίδες ποικίλης ύλης, ενώ στη δεύτερη έρευνα οι 30 ήταν πολιτικές, οι 11 οικονομικές, οι 12 αθλητικές, οι 3 σατιρικές και οι 2 ποικίλης ύλης. (βλ. ΠΑΡΑΡΤΗΜΑ Ι). Επιλέχθηκε τυχαία ένα φύλο από κάθε εφημερίδα που να ενέπιπτε στις χρονικές περιόδους που αναφέρθηκαν και μελετήθηκε από την πρώτη σελίδα το κεντρικό θέμα. Στην εργασία αυτή αποδείχτηκε σημαντικός βοηθός ο δικτυακός τόπος του in.gr που επιγράφεται «περίπτερο» και περιέχει τα πρωτοσέλιδα των εφημερίδων πανελλήνιας κυκλοφορίας. Η καταγραφή αφορούσε ποσοτικά στοιχεία (ποσότητα χώρου που καταλαμβάνει το θέμα και κάθε τρόπος παρουσίασης (λόγος-εικόνα κτλ.), καθώς και ποιοτικά (σχέση του λεκτικού με τον εικονιστικό τρόπο, χαρακτηριστικά του κάθε τρόπου κτλ.) (βλ. τη σχετική φόρμα στο ΠΑΡΑΡΤΗΜΑ ΙΙ). Τέλος, αξιολογήθηκε ο βαθμός της πολυτροπικότητας του κάθε πρωτοσέλιδου θέματος σύμφωνα με την παρακάτω κλίμακα

Βαθμός	Προϋπόθεση
Πολύ υψηλός	Απόλυτη συμπληρωματικότητα. Κανείς τρόπος δεν μπορεί να γίνει κατανοητός χωρίς την ύπαρξη του άλλου
Μέτριος	Μέτρια συμπληρωματικότητα. Ο καθένας τρόπος μπορεί να γίνει κατανοητός χωρίς την ύπαρξη του άλλου
Μικρός	Μικρή συμπληρωματικότητα. Ο ένας τρόπος απλώς σχολιάζει τον άλλο.
Ελάχιστος	Ελάχιστη συμπληρωματικότητα. Καμία σχέση μεταξύ των δύο τρόπων
Μηδενικός	Μη ύπαρξη πολυτροπικότητας

3.2 Τα δεδομένα

Στην πρώτη έρευνα από τις 58 εφημερίδες που ερευνήθηκαν συνολικά οι 35 παρουσιάζουν το κεντρικό πρωτοσέλιδο θέμα χρησιμοποιώντας έναν συνδυασμό λόγου και εικόνας (φωτογραφία, πίνακας, φωτομοντάζ), που συγκροτεί την πρακτική της πολυτροπικότητας, ενώ οι υπόλοιπες 23 χρησιμοποιούν μόνο έναν τρόπο παρουσίασης που είναι κατά κανόνα ο λόγος (σε μια περίπτωση έχουμε μόνο σκίτσο). Στη δεύτερη έρευνα από τις 57 εφημερίδες που ερευνήθηκαν συνολικά οι 38 παρουσιάζουν το κεντρικό θέμα χρησιμοποιώντας συνδυασμό, ενώ οι 19 χρησιμοποιούν μόνο τον λόγο.

Τα στοιχεία που προέκυψαν από την έρευνα έγιναν αντικείμενο επεξεργασίας για να διαπιστωθούν αρχικά τα χαρακτηριστικά της χρησιμοποιούμενης πολυτροπικότητας και στη συνέχεια ο βαθμός χρήσης της πολυτροπικότητας σε σχέση με το είδος στο οποίο ανήκει η κάθε εφημερίδα και την πολιτικοϊδεολογική θέση που υποστηρίζει. Από την επεξεργασία αυτή προέκυψαν τα εξής αποτελέσματα, τα οποία παρουσιάζονται στους παρακάτω πίνακες.

Α/Α	Συνδυασμός τρόπων	Σύνολο εφημερίδων	
		Πρώτη έρευνα	Δεύτερη έρευνα
1	Λόγος και φωτογραφία/ες	31	32
2	Λόγος και πίνακας/ες	3	1
3	Λόγος, φωτογραφία/ες και πίνακας/ες (ή σκίτσο)	1	3
4	Λόγος και φωτομοντάζ	1	1
5	Λόγος και σκίτσο	--	1

Πίνακας 1 Χαρακτηριστικά πολυτροπικότητας

Α/Α	Είδος εφημερίδων	Βαθμός πολυτροπικότητας					Σύνολο
		Πολύ υψηλή	Μέτρια	Μικρή	Ελάχιστη	Μηδενική	
1	Πολιτικές	2	10	1	--	17	30
2	Οικονομικές	1	4	1	--	5	11
3	Αθλητικές	7	2	--	3	--	12
4	Σατιρικές	2	--	--	--	1	3
5	Ποικίλης ύλης	2	--	--	--	--	2

Πίνακας 2 Σχέση του βαθμού πολυτροπικότητας με το είδος της εφημερίδας ως προς το περιεχόμενο (πρώτη έρευνα)

Α/Α	Είδος εφημερίδων	Βαθμός πολυτροπικότητας					Σύνολο
		Πολύ υψηλή	Μέτρια	Μικρή	Ελάχιστη	Μηδενική	
1	Πολιτικές	2	3	8	5	12	30
2	Οικονομικές	--	2	1	1	7	11
3	Αθλητικές	4	3	2	2	--	11
4	Σατιρικές	--	2	1	--	--	3
5	Ποικίλης ύλης	--	1	1	--	--	2

Πίνακας 3 Σχέση του βαθμού πολυτροπικότητας με το είδος της εφημερίδας ως προς το περιεχόμενο (δεύτερη έρευνα)

Α/Α	Πολιτικοϊδεολογική θέση	Βαθμός πολυτροπικότητας					Σύνολο
		Πολύ υψηλή	Μέτρια	Μικρή	Ελάχιστη	Μηδενική	
1	Αριστερές	--	--	--	--	4	4
2	Δεξιές	--	--	1	--	1	2
3	Κεντρώες	1	10	2	--	12	25
4	Ουδέτερες	12	6	1	2	6	27

Πίνακας 4 Σχέση του βαθμού πολυτροπικότητας με την πολιτικοϊδεολογική θέση της εφημερίδας (πρώτη έρευνα)

Α/Α	Πολιτικοϊδεολογική θέση	Βαθμός πολυτροπικότητας					Σύνολο
		Πολύ υψηλή	Μέτρια	Μικρή	Ελάχιστη	Μηδενική	
1	Αριστερές	--	--	2	--	2	4
2	Δεξιές	--	--	3	1	1	5
3	Κεντρώες	1	5	4	4	9	23
4	Ουδέτερες	6	6	3	3	7	25

Πίνακας 5 Σχέση του βαθμού πολυτροπικότητας με την πολιτικοϊδεολογική θέση της εφημερίδας (δεύτερη έρευνα)

Από την ανάγνωση του πίνακα 1 προκύπτει πως τόσο στην πρώτη όσο και στη δεύτερη έρευνα ο συνδυασμός λόγου και φωτογραφίας αποτελεί τον κυρίαρχο και τον πλέον προσφιλή στους συντάκτες συνδυασμό για την παρουσίαση της πολυτροπικότητας, ενώ ο συνδυασμός λόγου και πινάκων, σκίτσων και διαγραμμάτων είναι πολύ περιορισμένος. Μια πιο λεπτομερής εξέταση του κυρίαρχου συνδυασμού έδειξε πως στη θέση της φωτογραφίας πολύ συχνά (12 από τα 31 στην πρώτη και 20 από 32 στη δεύτερη έρευνα) βρίσκεται η φωτογραφία του ή των προσώπων που παρήγαγαν το μήνυμα που αναγράφεται στον πρωτοσέλιδο κεντρικό τίτλο ή τουλάχιστον το πρόσωπο ή τα πρόσωπα που σχετίζονται με το κεντρικό πρωτοσέλιδο θέμα. Τα πρόσωπα αυτά είναι ως επί το πλείστον μέλη της κυβέρνησης -για τις πολιτικές και οικονομικές εφημερίδες- και αθλητικοί παράγοντες ή αθλητές για τις αθλητικές εφημερίδες. Οι υπόλοιπες 19 φωτογραφίες στην πρώτη και 12 στη δεύτερη έρευνα παρουσιάζουν κάποια εικόνα που άμεσα ή έμμεσα σχετίζεται με το κεντρικό πρωτοσέλιδο θέμα. Όσον αφορά τον συνδυασμό λόγου και πίνακα/ων αυτός βρίσκεται κυρίως στις οικονομικές εφημερίδες, στις

οποίες λόγω του περιεχομένου παρουσιάζονται ποσοστά και στατιστικές, συνήθως με έγχρωμα ιστογράμματα.

Από την ανάγνωση των πινάκων 2 και 3 προκύπτει ότι στις πολιτικές και οικονομικές εφημερίδες παρουσιάζεται μια σχετικά μεγάλη διασπορά στον βαθμό χρήσης της πολυτροπικότητας. Το αξιοσημείωτο είναι ότι στην πρώτη έρευνα το ποσοστό της μονοτροπικότητας ανέρχεται περίπου στο 40%, ενώ στη δεύτερη το ποσοστό αυτό φτάνει γύρω στο 33%. Από την άλλη, οι αθλητικές, οι σατιρικές και οι ποικίλης ύλης εφημερίδες δείχνουν μια αυξημένη προτίμηση στη χρήση της πολυτροπικότητας, αφού και στις δύο έρευνες ένα ποσοστό που φτάνει και ξεπερνάει το 60% παρουσιάζει μέτριο και πολύ υψηλό βαθμό πολυτροπικότητας.

Από την ανάγνωση των πινάκων 4 και 5 προκύπτει ότι οι εφημερίδες με ρητά ή άρρητα δηλωμένη την πολιτικοϊδεολογική τους ταυτότητα παρουσιάζουν πολύ μικρό βαθμό πολυτροπικότητας. Ανάμεσα σε αυτές από την πρώτη έρευνα προέκυψε ότι τον πλέον μικρό βαθμό παρουσιάζουν αυτές που ανήκουν στους ακραίους πολιτικοϊδεολογικούς χώρους, κάτι που στη δεύτερη έρευνα ανατρέπεται μερικώς, αφού τα έντυπα αυτά παρουσιάζουν κάποια σχετική διασπορά διολισθαίνοντας δειλά και προς τη χρήση της πολυτροπικότητας. Όσες ανήκουν στον κεντρώο χώρο παρουσιάζουν –και στις δύο έρευνες– μια διασπορά ως προς τον βαθμό χρήσης. Αλλά και σ’ αυτήν την κατηγορία παραμένει πολύ υψηλό το ποσοστό των εφημερίδων που επιλέγει μονοτροπική παρουσίαση του πρωτοσέλιδου κεντρικού θέματος, που φτάνει στην πρώτη έρευνα το 44% και στη δεύτερη το 35%. Αντίθετα με τις εφημερίδες αυτές, όσες δεν έχουν δηλωμένη την πολιτικοϊδεολογική τους ταυτότητα και κατατάσσονται στην κατηγορία «ουδέτερες» παρουσιάζουν στην πρώτη έρευνα πολύ υψηλό ποσοστό χρήσης της πολυτροπικότητας, που φτάνει το 66% στο σύνολο των πεδίων «πολύ υψηλή» και «μέτρια», ενώ στη δεύτερη έρευνα το ποσοστό αυτό μειώνεται στο 48% περίπου.

4. Συμπεράσματα

Βασικός σκοπός της έρευνάς μας ήταν να διερευνηθούν αφενός τα χαρακτηριστικά με τα οποία εμφανίζεται η πολυτροπικότητα στις πανελλήνιες κυκλοφορίας εφημερίδες, καθώς και ο βαθμός πολυτροπικότητας που χρησιμοποιείται σ’ αυτές, και αφετέρου οι τυχόν διαφορές που παρουσιάστηκαν την τελευταία πενταετία αναφορικά με τον βαθμό χρήσης της πολυτροπικότητας και των χαρακτηριστικών της από τα συγκεκριμένα έντυπα.

Η έρευνα έδειξε ότι την τελευταία πενταετία ένας πολύ μεγαλύτερος από ό,τι στο παρελθόν αριθμός εφημερίδων εκμεταλλεύεται την πολυτροπικότητα και τη χρησιμοποιεί ως ένα ακόμη μέσο, για να επιτελέσει ο δημοσιογραφικός και δη ο ειδησεογραφικός λόγος τις λειτουργίες του (Χατζησαββίδης 2000: 33-42). Εκείνο που διαπιστώνεται και από τις δύο έρευνες είναι πως το μέσο αυτό δεν παρουσιάζει τα ίδια χαρακτηριστικά σε όλες τις εφημερίδες και δε χρησιμοποιείται στον ίδιο βαθμό και στην ίδια έκταση από όλες τις εφημερίδες, αλλά σχετίζεται (εκτός από τη σπουδαιότητα του θέματος) με το είδος στο οποίο ανήκει η εφημερίδα και με τη φυσιогνωμία που θέλει να διαμορφώσει απέναντι στο αναγνωστικό της κοινό, φυσιогνωμία που έχει σχέση με την πολιτικοϊδεολογική θέση της κάθε εφημερίδας. Το τελευταίο χαρακτηριστικό φαίνεται και από τη σταθερότητα ως προς την έκταση, τον συνδυασμό τρόπων, τα χρώματα, τις γραμματοσειρές και τη γενικότερη αισθητική που χρησιμοποιούνται για την παρουσίαση των θεμάτων της πρώτης σελίδας. Έτσι τα χαρακτηριστικά της πολυτροπικότητας, ο βαθμός και η έκταση της, καθώς και η σχέση μεταξύ των δύο κυρίαρχων τρόπων που υφίστανται στα πολυτροπικά πρωτοσέλιδα κείμενα των εφημερίδων αντικατοπτρίζει και τη γενικότερη «γραμμή» της κάθε εφημερίδας.

Ειδικότερα, όσον αφορά τις ελληνικές εφημερίδες, με βάση τα δεδομένα των δύο ερευνών μπορούμε να οδηγηθούμε σε ορισμένες εκτιμήσεις εν είδει συμπερασμάτων, όπως τα παρακάτω:

Ι. Όσον αφορά τα χαρακτηριστικά με τα οποία εμφανίζεται η πολυτροπικότητα, καθώς και τον βαθμό πολυτροπικότητας διαπιστώθηκαν τα εξής:

- η πολυτροπικότητα ως νεωτεριστικό στοιχείο φαίνεται να αρμόζει σε έντυπα με περιεχόμενο που αφορά κυρίως ψυχαγωγικού περιεχομένου δραστηριότητες (αθλητισμός, σάτιρα, ποικίλα),
- η πολυτροπικότητα δεν αποτελεί στοιχείο φορτισμένο ιδεολογικά, γιατί προφανώς δεν έγινε κτήμα και δε χρησιμοποιήθηκε από καμιά ιδεολογία ως μέσο ιδιαίτερης έκφρασης και προπαγάνδας,
- η πολυτροπικότητα εισάγεται στην ελληνική δημοσιογραφία δειλά χρησιμοποιώντας ως «γέφυρες» έντυπα που κατά κανόνα δεν έχουν μια συγκεκριμένη πολιτικοϊδεολογική ταυτότητα και δεν έχουν διαμορφώσει την παράδοση που έχουν διαμορφώσει οι παλαιότερες εφημερίδες,

- η χρήση της πολυτροπικότητας δε φαίνεται ακόμη να είναι αποτέλεσμα συνειδητής επιλογής αλλά περισσότερο στοιχείο εντυπωσιασμού του αναγνωστικού κοινού.

II. Όσον αφορά τις τυχόν διαφορές που παρουσιάστηκαν την τελευταία πενταετία αναφορικά με τον βαθμό χρήσης της πολυτροπικότητας και των χαρακτηριστικών τους διαπιστώθηκαν τα εξής:

- οι διαφορές που παρουσιάζονται ανάμεσα στις δύο έρευνες γενικά είναι ελάχιστες και όχι αντιπροσωπευτικές για να δικαιολογήσουν τη δημιουργία μιας τάσης αλλαγής,
- φαίνεται να υπερισχύει σταδιακά η πολυτροπικότητα στην οποία χρησιμοποιείται ο συνδυασμός λόγου και φωτογραφίας,
- οι πολιτικές και οι οικονομικές εφημερίδες χρησιμοποιούν σε αρκετά μεγαλύτερα ποσοστά την πολυτροπικότητα από ό,τι πριν από πέντε χρόνια,
- οι εφημερίδες που ανήκουν σε ακραίους πολιτικοϊδεολογικούς χώρους χρησιμοποιούν περισσότερο από ό,τι πριν από πέντε χρόνια την πολυτροπικότητα,
- οι ουδέτερες πολιτικοϊδεολογικά εφημερίδες χρησιμοποιούν λιγότερο από ό,τι πριν πέντε χρόνια την πολυτροπικότητα.

Όλα αυτά τα τελευταία μας δίνουν το δικαίωμα να υποστηρίξουμε ότι η πολυτροπικότητα ως πρακτική γίνεται όλο και περισσότερο αποδεκτή από τις ελληνικές εφημερίδες δείχνοντας ότι αποχρωματίζεται από τις πολιτικοϊδεολογικής και αισθητικής φύσης συμφραζόμενα, με τα οποία ήταν προφανώς φορτισμένη, και από στοιχείο εντυπωσιασμού του αναγνωστικού κοινού που πιθανόν ήταν κάποτε μετατρέπεται σε ένα εκ των ων ουκ άνευ στοιχείο για την πρώτη σελίδα των ελληνικών εφημερίδων.

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ΠΑΡΑΡΤΗΜΑ Ι

Είδος εφημερίδας	Η έρευνα	Τίτλοι εφημερίδων	Σύνολο
Πολιτικές	Πρώτη έρευνα	Αγγελιοφόρος, Αδέσμευτος Τύπος (Μήτσης), Αδέσμευτος Τύπος (Ρίζος), Απογευματινή, Αυγή, Αυριανή, Το Βήμα, Το Βήμα της Κυριακής, Η βραδυνή, Έθνος, Έθνος της Κυριακής, Ελεύθερος, Ελεύθερος Τύπος, Τύπος της Κυριακής, Ελεύθερη Ώρα, Ελευθεροτυπία, Κυριακάτικη Ελευθεροτυπία, Το πρώτο Θέμα, Θεσσαλονίκη, Καθημερινή, Καθημερινή της Κυριακής, Ο λόγος, Ο λόγος της Κυριακής Μακεδονία της Κυριακής, Τα Νέα, Νίκη, Το παρόν, Πριν, Ριζοσπάστης, Η χώρα Ανέστειλαν την έκδοση μεταξύ 2005-2010: Αδέσμευτος Τύπος (Μήτσης), Απογευματινή, Το Βήμα, Ο λόγος της Κυριακής, Η χώρα	30
	Δεύτερη έρευνα	Αγγελιοφόρος, Ακρόπολις, Αδέσμευτος Τύπος (Ρίζος), Αυγή, Αυριανή, Το Βήμα της Κυριακής, Η βραδυνή, Η δημοκρατία, Έθνος, Έθνος της Κυριακής, Ελεύθερος, Ελεύθερος Τύπος, Η εποχή, Τύπος της Κυριακής, Ελεύθερη Ώρα, Ελευθεροτυπία, Κυριακάτικη Ελευθεροτυπία, Θεσσαλονίκη, Το πρώτο Θέμα, Καθημερινή, Καθημερινή της Κυριακής, Ο λόγος, Τα Νέα, Νίκη, Το παρόν, Μακεδονία της Κυριακής, Πριν, Real News, Ριζοσπάστης, Τύπος της Θεσσαλονίκης	30
Αθλητικές	Πρώτη έρευνα	Αθλητική Ηχώ, Μετροσπόρ, Πρωταθλητής, Σπορ του Βορρά, Ο φίλαθλος, Φως, Ώρα των σπορ, Derby, Goal news, Score live, Sporday, Sportime Ανέστειλαν την έκδοση μεταξύ 2005-2010: Αθλητική Ηχώ, Μετροσπόρ, Σπορ του Βορρά, Sportime	12
	Δεύτερη έρευνα	Η γάτα, Πρωταθλητής, Ο φίλαθλος, Φως, Ώρα των σπορ, Derby news, Goal news, Score live, Sporday, King Bet, Exedra	11
Οικονομικές	Πρώτη έρευνα	Η αξία, Εξπρές, Ημερησία, Ισοτιμία, Κέρδος, Μέτοχος, Ο κόσμος του επενδυτή, Ναυτεμπορική, Οικονομία, Χρηματιστήριο, Χρηματιστηρίου σύμβουλος Ανέστειλαν την έκδοση μεταξύ 2005-2010: Οικονομία, Χρηματιστηρίου σύμβουλος	11
	Δεύτερη έρευνα	Η αξία, Εξπρές, Ευρωεπιχειρηματική οικονομία, Ημερησία, Ισοτιμία, Κέρδος, Κέρδος της Κυριακής, Μέτοχος, Ο κόσμος του επενδυτή, Ναυτεμπορική, Χρηματιστήριο,	11

Σατιρικές	Πρώτη έρευνα	Καρφί, Παρασκευή+13, Το ποντίκι	3
	Δεύτερη έρευνα	Καρφί, Παρασκευή+13, Το ποντίκι	3
Ποικίλης ύλης	Πρώτη έρευνα	Espresso, Traffic Ανέστειλε την έκδοση μεταξύ 2005-2010: Traffic	2
	Δεύτερη έρευνα	Espresso, Espresso της Κυριακής,	2
ΣΥΝΟΛΟ	Πρώτη έρευνα		58
	Δεύτερη έρευνα		57

ΠΑΡΑΡΤΗΜΑ II

ΔΕΛΤΙΟ ΕΞΕΤΑΣΗΣ ΠΟΛΥΤΡΟΠΙΚΟΤΗΤΑΣ ΣΤΙΣ ΕΦΗΜΕΡΙΔΕΣ

A. ΣΤΟΙΧΕΙΑ ΤΑΥΤΟΤΗΤΑΣ

- A.1. Τίτλος.....
A.2. Ημερομηνία.....
A.3. Είδος

B. ΠΟΣΟΤΗΤΑ ΠΟΛΥΤΡΟΠΙΚΟΤΗΤΑΣ

- B.1. Χρησιμοποιείται πολυτροπικότητα;.....
B.2. Αν, ναι ποιοί τρόποι χρησιμοποιούνται;
B.3. Έκταση του εξεταζόμενου συνόλου σε σχέση με ολόκληρη τη σελίδα.....
B.4. Έκταση του εξεταζόμενου λεκτικού τρόπου σε σχέση με το εξεταζόμενο σύνολο.....
B.5. Έκταση του εξεταζόμενου εικονιστικού τρόπου σε σχέση με το εξεταζόμενο σύνολο.....
B.6. Χρώματα.....

Γ. ΠΑΡΟΥΣΙΑΣΗ

- Γ.1. Κείμενο λεκτικού τρόπου:.....
.....
Γ.2. Χαρακτηριστικά του λεκτικού τρόπου.....
Γ.3. Σχέση λεκτικού τρόπου με εικονιστικό.....
Γ.4. Περιγραφή εικονιστικού τρόπου.....
Γ.5. Χαρακτηριστικά εικονιστικού τρόπου.....
Γ.6. Αριθμός διαφορετικών εικονιστικών τρόπων.....
Γ.7. Σχέση του εικονιστικού με το λεκτικό τρόπο.....

Δ. ΒΑΘΜΟΣ ΠΟΛΥΤΡΟΠΙΚΟΤΗΤΑΣ

- Δ.1. Πολύ υψηλός.....□
Δ.2. Μέτριος.....□
Δ.3. Μικρός.....□
Δ.4. Ελάχιστος..... □
Δ.5. Μηδενικός.....□

Η ΔΕΥΤΕΡΗ ΑΡΝΗΣΗ ΤΗΣ ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΗΣ: ΤΟ ΜΗ ΩΣ ΠΟΛΙΚΟ ΣΤΟΙΧΕΙΟ ΣΤΗΝ ΔΙΑΧΡΟΝΙΑ¹

Κατερίνα Α. Χατζοπούλου
Πανεπιστήμιο του Σικάγο, ΗΠΑ
cchatzop@uchicago.edu

ABSTRACT

The present study reveals the regularity in negator choice in Greek providing qualitative and quantitative evidence from all the history of the language. The second negator NEG2, orthographically transcribed as μη, is found to be a polarity item, an element that appears exclusively in nonveridical environments in the sense of Giannakidou (1998 et seq.). Apart from its use as a prohibitive, the Greek NEG2 is identified in a number of compositionally non-negative, yet nonveridical functions; among these are its uses (i) as an optional question particle and (ii) as a complementizer in the scope of verbs of fear, which are both diachronically persistent.

Λέξεις κλειδιά: άρνηση, μη αληθειακόηηηα, πολικό σηνείο

1. Εισαγωγή

Η παρούσα εργασία εστιάζει στη διάκριση μεταξύ δύο προτασιακών αρνήσεων σε συμπληρωματική κατανομή, που διατηρεί η Ελληνική γλώσσα σε όλες τις φάσεις της από την Ομηρική Ελληνική (8^ο αιώνα π.Χ), (1), (2), μέχρι την Νέα Ελληνική, (3), (4), ως μέρος της παρακαταθήκης της από την Πρωτο-Ινδο-Ευρωπαϊκή (Fowler 1896, Moorehouse 1959, Joseph 2002, Fortson 2010, βλ. πίνακα 1). Παρατηρούμε πως η μία άρνηση, APN1, αλλάζει, ενώ η άλλη, APN2, παραμένει σταθερή και υφίσταται μόνο φωνολογικές αλλαγές, που είναι γενικές σε κάθε γλωσσική φάση (βλ. Horrocks 2010).²

- | | | |
|-----|---|--|
| (1) | Θέτις δ' οὐ λήθετ' ἐφετμέων παιδὸς ἐοῦ ³
T ^h etis d' u: le:t ^h et' ep ^h etmeo:n paidos heu:
Θέτιδα.ΟΝ APN1 ξεχνώ.ΠΡΟΣΤ.ΟΡ επιθυμίες.ΓΕΝ παιδί.ΓΕΝ της
'Η Θέτιδα δεν λησμονήσε τις επιθυμίες του γιού της.' | } Ομηρική Ελληνική
(8 ^ο αι. π. Χ.) |
| (2) | ἔξασδα, μὴ κεῖθε νόω ⁴
eksauda, me: keut ^h e noo:i
μιλώ.ΕΝΕΣΤ.ΠΡΟΣΤ.2ΕΝ APN2 κρύβω.ΠΡΟΣΤ.2ΕΝ νους.ΔΟΤ
'Μίλα, μην τα κρύβεις στο μυαλό σου.' | |
| (3) | Ο Γιάννης δεν ήρθε.
o.OP Γιάννης.OP APN1 έρχομαι.ΣΠ.3ΕΝ | } Νέα
Ελληνική |
| (4) | Μη φέρεις τον Γιάννη.
APN2 φέρνω.ΣΜΠ.2ΕΝ o.AIT Γιάννης.AIT | |

¹ Ευχαριστίες στους καθηγητές μου Anastasia Giannakidou, Jason Merchant και Chris Kennedy για την καθοδήγησή τους όσον αφορά το περιεχόμενο της παρούσας εργασίας, καθώς και το ίδρυμα υποτροφιών Mellon για την οικονομική στήριξη. Ενδεχόμενες ατέλειες ή παραλείψεις βαρύνουν αποκλειστικά την συγγραφέα.

² Φωνολογικές και μορφολογικές πληροφορίες στα παραδείγματα δίνονται όπου κρίνεται σκόπιμο.

³ *Ιλιάδα* 1.495–496.

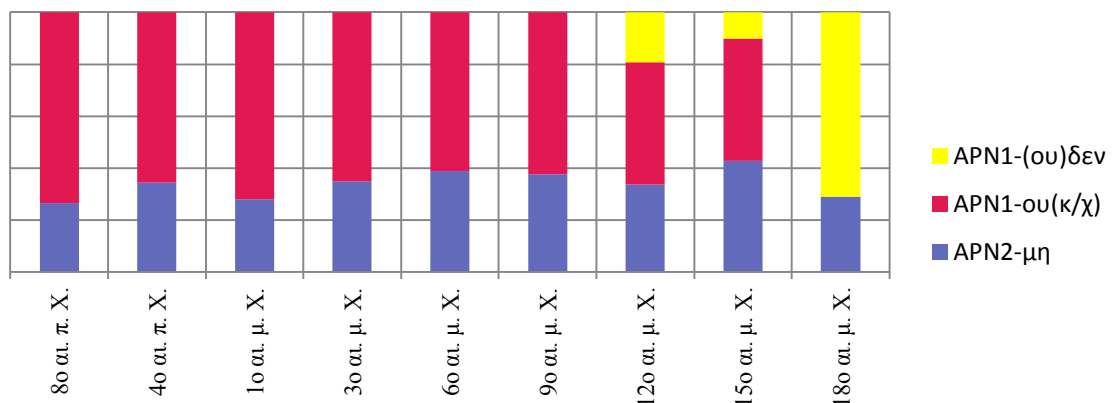
⁴ *Ιλιάδα* 1.363.

	APN1	APN2
Πρωτο-Ινδο-Ευρωπαϊκή	<i>*ne</i>	<i>*meH1</i>
Ομηρική	<i>u:(k^[h])</i>	<i>me:</i>
Αττική	<i>u:(k^[h])</i>	<i>me:</i>
Ελληνιστική Κοινή	<i>u(k)</i>	<i>mi</i>
Ύστερη Μεσαιωνική	<i>udhen</i>	<i>mi</i>
Νέα Ελληνική	<i>dhe(n)</i>	<i>mi(n)</i>

Πίνακας 1 Οι APN1 και APN2 στη διαχρονία

Μετά από εξέταση ποιοτικών και ποσοτικών δεδομένων από αντιπροσωπευτικά κείμενα όλων των φάσεων της ομιλουμένης Ελληνικής καταλήγουμε ότι το ενοποιητικό στοιχείο των περιβαλλόντων του στοιχείου APN2 είναι η ιδιότητα της Μη Αληθειακότητας (Nonveridicality). Τα περιβάλλοντα εμφάνισης της APN2 δεν είναι πάντα τα ίδια διαχρονικά, είναι όμως πάντα μη αληθειακά (nonveridical), βάσει της αντίληψης για τη Μη Αληθειακότητα της Giannakidou (1994 κ.ε.). Η κατανομή συνεπώς των μορίων APN1 και APN2 της Ελληνικής είναι αποτέλεσμα σημασιολογικού παράγοντα: της πολιτικής συμπεριφοράς της APN2 (πβ. Chatzopoulou & Giannakidou 2011 όσον αφορά την Αττική διάλεκτο). Η σταθερότητα όμως της APN2 σε συγκεκριμένες χρήσεις στην ιστορία της Ελληνικής προτείνουμε ότι οφείλεται και στη σημασιολογία και στη σύνταξη. Οι διαχρονικά σταθερές χρήσεις της APN2 (α) στην απαγόρευση, (β) στην ενδοιαστική πρόταση και (γ) στη χρήση του ερωτηματικού μορίου, σχετίζονται με συντακτικές δομές όπου η APN2 *μη* τοποθετείται ή συσχετίζεται με θέση ιεραρχικά ανώτερη από την φράση άρνησης (ΑρνΦ): τη θέση του Συμπληρωματικού Δείκτη. Επιπλέον οι χρήσεις (β) και (γ) είναι μη αρνητικές και ως εκ τούτου δεν επηρεάζονται από τον Κύκλο του Γέσπερσεν (Jespersen 1917), που είναι γνωστός και ως Κύκλος της Άρνησης, εφόσον δεν συνδέονται με ιεραρχικά κατώτερη αρνητική φράση, η δομική ανύψωση της οποίας θέτει σε κίνηση τον Κύκλο του Γέσπερσεν κατά τον ορισμό της Chatzopoulou (2011a, 2011b, 2012a, 2012b). Η χρήση της APN2 στην απαγόρευση εμφανίζει στοιχεία Κύκλου του Γέσπερσεν, που όμως δεν ολοκληρώνεται για λόγους που χρειάζονται περαιτέρω εξέταση.

Η κατανομή των APN1 και APN2 επηρεάζεται από τις γλωσσικές εξελίξεις κάθε ιστορικής φάσης, όμως πέρα από την εξάρτηση της APN2 από την Μη Αληθειακότητα που μένει ανέπαφη, εξίσου σταθερή είναι σε γενικές γραμμές και η αναλογία του αριθμού των εμφανίσεων των δύο μορίων μεταξύ τους (βλ. πίνακα 2).



Πίνακας 2 Η διαχρονική αναλογία των APN1 και APN2 της Ελληνικής

2. Η Θεωρία της (Μη)Αληθειακότητας

Στις φυσικές γλώσσες έχουν παρατηρηθεί οικογένειες λέξεων που εκδηλώνουν περιορισμό στην κατανομή τους, καθώς δεν μπορούν να εμφανιστούν σε οποιοδήποτε γλωσσικό περιβάλλον με την ίδια ελευθερία που έχουν οι περισσότερες λέξεις όλων των γραμματικών κατηγοριών. Τέτοιες οικογένειες στη Νέα Ελληνική είναι αυτές του εμφατικού και του μη εμφατικού *κανένας* (Veloudis 1982, Giannakidou 1994, 1997, 1998).

- (5) *Ο Γιάννης χθες έφερε *KANENA/κανένα* γλυκό
(6) Ο Γιάννης χθες δεν έφερε *KANENA/κανένα* γλυκό.

Το φαινόμενο αυτό χαρακτηρίζεται παραδοσιακά ως πολικότητα (polarity) και οι λέξεις που το εμφανίζουν ως πολικά στοιχεία (polarity items), με αναφορά στους δύο 'πόλους' της κατάφασης και της άρνησης, καθώς η παρουσία αυτών των λέξεων είχε αρχικά συνδεθεί με την άρνηση, ότι δηλαδή η άρνηση επιτρέπει αυτά τα τεμάχια, πβ. (6), ενώ η κατάφαση δεν τα επιτρέπει, πβ. (5). Την προσοχή της γλωσσολογικής έρευνας σε φαινόμενα πολικότητας στρέφουν για πρώτη φορά τα άρθρα των Buysens (1959) και Klima (1964) με αφορμή το πολικό στοιχείο *any* της Αγγλικής, που όπως και το νεοελληνικό *κανένας*, εκδηλώνει περιορισμένη κατανομή και μάλιστα με αντίστοιχο τρόπο: φαίνεται να προτιμά την άρνηση (8) και να αποφεύγει την κατάφαση (7).

- (7) *John brought *any* fruit yesterday
(8) John didn't bring *any* fruit yesterday.

Έκτοτε ξεκινάει η περιπετειώδης ιστορία της Πολικής Θεωρίας με στόχο την εύρεση του κανόνα που ρυθμίζει την κατανομή των πολικών στοιχείων (Jackendoff 1969, Baker 1970, Ladusaw 1979, Linebarger 1980, 1987, Hoeksema 1986, Zwarts 1986, 1993, van der Wouden 1994, Kas 1993, Dowty 1994). Παραλείποντας τις λεπτομέρειες αυτής της πορείας (βλ. για περισσότερα Giannakidou 1997, 1998), η απάντηση με την μεγαλύτερη ερμηνευτική δύναμη, όσον αφορά το αριθμό των περιβαλλόντων εμφάνισης πολικών στοιχείων που καλύπτει, προέρχεται από την Πολική Θεωρία της Μη Αληθειακότητας (Giannakidou 1994 κ.ε., Zwarts 1995), που συμπεριλαμβάνει και επεκτείνει τις παρατηρήσεις προηγούμενων θεωριών, όπως ήταν αυτή της κατιούσας συνεπαγωγής (downward entailment) που είχε προτείνει νωρίτερα ο Ladusaw (1979, βλ. περισσότερα Giannakidou 1997: 10–13, 1998: 11–15). Η Θεωρία της Μη Αληθειακότητας, την οποία ακολουθούμε και στην παρούσα μελέτη, προβάλλει την ιδιότητα της Μη Αληθειακότητας ως ενοποιητικό παράγοντα των περιβαλλόντων εμφάνισης των πολικών στοιχείων. Η Μη Αληθειακότητα, ως ιδιότητα προτασικών τελεστών, ορίζεται με τον ακόλουθο τρόπο (ορισμός Giannakidou 2006: 589 σε δική μας μετάφραση).

(9) (Μη)Αληθειακότητα για προτασικούς τελεστές

- (i) Ένας προτασικός τελεστής F είναι αληθειακός, αν και μόνο αν το Fp συνεπάγεται ή προϋποθέτει ότι το p είναι αληθές στο επιστημικό μοντέλο $ME(x)$ κάποιου ατόμου x : διαφορετικά ο τελεστής F είναι μη αληθειακός.
(ii) Ένας μη αληθειακός τελεστής F είναι αντιαληθειακός, αν και μόνο αν το Fp συνεπάγεται το αντίθετο του p στο επιστημικό μοντέλο κάποιου ατόμου x : $Fp \rightarrow \neg p$ στο $ME(x)$.

(10) Ορισμός στοιχείου πολικότητας

Ένα λεκτικό τεμάχιο a αποτελεί στοιχείο πολικότητας, αν και μόνο αν:

- (i) η κατανομή του a εκδηλώνει περιορισμό λόγω εξάρτησης του a από μια σημασιολογική ιδιότητα β που είναι ιδιότητα του περιβάλλοντος εμφάνισης; και
(ii) η ιδιότητα β είναι η (Μη)Αληθειακότητα.

Μη Αληθειακοί τελεστές, πέρα από την άρνηση, υπάρχουν μεταξύ άλλων στην υποθετική πρόταση, στην ερώτηση και στις κατευθυντικές γλωσσικές τάσεις (directive attitudes), όπως είναι η προσταγή. Ο πίνακας 3 παρουσιάζει την κατανομή του εμφατικού και του μη εμφατικού *κανένας* στην Νέα

Ελληνική. Το εμφατικό *KANENAS* είναι αυστηρό στοιχείο αρνητικής πολικότητας (strict negative polarity item) κατά την ορολογία της Giannakidou (1998) με την έννοια πως εμφανίζεται αποκλειστικά σε αντι-αληθειικά σημασιολογικά περιβάλλοντα, σε αντίθεση με το μη εμφατικό *κανένας* που απαντά σε μεγαλύτερο εύρος μη αληθειικών περιβαλλόντων.

	Σημασιολογικά περιβάλλοντα	Παραδείγματα με το <i>κανένας</i>
Αντι Αληθειικά	Προτασική άρνηση	Η Ελένη δεν είδε KANENAN/κανέναν .
	<i>χωρίς</i>	Η Ελένη έφυγε χωρίς να δει KANENAN/κανέναν .
	<i>πριν</i>	Η Ελένη έφυγε πριν δει KANENAN/κανέναν .
Μη Αληθειικά	Υποθετική πρόταση	Αν φύγει κανένας , να με ενημερώσεις.
	Προστακτική	Πάρε κανένα γλυκό.
	Ερώτηση	Είδες κανέναν ;
	Δυνητική τροπικότητα	Μπορεί να φέρω κανένα γλυκό.
	Επιστημική τροπικότητα	Θα έφερε κανένα γλυκό.
	Κατιούσα συνεπαγωγή	Λίγοι επισκέπτες έφεραν κανένα μπακλαβαδάκι.

Πίνακας 3 Η κατανομή του εμφατικού και του μη εμφατικού *κανένας* στη Νέα Ελληνική

Η κατανομή του μη εμφατικού *κανένας* μπορεί να χρησιμεύσει και ως πρακτικό διαγνωστικό μέσο όσον αφορά την αληθειαικότητα ή μη ενός γλωσσικού περιβάλλοντος. Ωστόσο το πλήρες φάσμα των μη αληθειικών περιβαλλόντων δίνεται μόνο από τον ορισμό της Giannakidou που εκτέθηκε στο (9).

Η Θεωρία της (Μη)Αληθειαικότητας έχει χρησιμοποιηθεί στην ερμηνεία σημαντικού αριθμού φαινομένων πολικότητας διαγλωσσικά (Lin 1996, Matthewson 1998, Hoeksema 1999, Bernanrdi 2002, Farkas 2002, Falaus 2009, Fernald and Perkins 2007, Partee 2008, Borschev *et al.* 2008, Schwarz 2005, Yoshimura 2007, Van Craenenbroeck 2008, J. H. Lee 2008, Giannakidou and Yoon 2011, Yoon 2011). Η παρούσα μελέτη είναι άλλη μία εφαρμογή της θεωρίας της (Μη)Αληθειαικότητας, βάσει της οποίας εξηγείται διαχρονικά η κατανομή της APN2 στην Ελληνική.

3. Η κατανομή της APN2

3.1 Πρόδρομοι και προηγούμενες προσεγγίσεις

Ο κανόνας όσον αφορά την κατανομή των αρνήσεων της Ελληνικής αποτέλεσε αντικείμενο αναζήτησης από πολύ νωρίς με πρώτους τους κλασικούς φιλόλογους τους 18ου και 19ου αιώνα, οι οποίοι άλλοτε συντάσσοντας γραμματικές, ως επί τω πλείστω της Αρχαίας Ελληνικής (Kühner 1835, Crosby 1860, Goodwin 1889, Jannaris 1897), και άλλοτε με τη μορφή πιο εξειδικευμένων πονημάτων (Hoogeveen 1769, Hermann 1802, Anton 1824, Hartung 1833, Kühner 1852, 1870, Gildersleeve 1882, Postgate 1894), κάνουν διάφορες προθεωρητικές διαπιστώσεις χωρίς, ωστόσο, να καταλήγουν σε γενικότερη συναίνεση. Ενδεικτική είναι η διατύπωση του Hermann σε σχέση με τη διάκριση ανάμεσα στο *οὐ* και το *μή* της Κλασικής Ελληνικής: *οὐ* negat rem ipsam; *μή* cogitationem rei (Hermann [1802] 1822: 804) ‘το *οὐ* είναι άρνηση του ιδίου του όντος· το *μή* άρνηση του συλλογισμού περί το ον.’ Ο προβληματισμός και η λεπτομερής ταξινόμηση των περιβαλλόντων και των χρήσεων των APN1 και APN2 συνεχίζονται και από τους φιλόλογους του 20^ο αιώνα (Kühner & Gerth 1904, Smyth 1920, Τζάρτζανος 1946, Schwyzer & Debrunner 1950, Moorhouse 1959). Στην καρδιά των διαπιστώσεων των περισσότερων κλασικών μελετητών είναι πως ο παράγοντας που διαφοροποιεί τις δύο αρνήσεις της Ελληνικής είναι σημασιολογικός.

Στα νεότερα χρόνια σημειώνεται η απόπειρα συσχετισμού της APN2 στη Νέα Ελληνική με την μορφολογική έγκλιση και συγκεκριμένα με την μη οριστική, ενώ η APN1 συνδέεται με την οριστική (Joseph & Philippaki-Warbuton 1987, Giannakidou 1998). Ο σημασιολογικός χαρακτήρας της διάκρισης των δύο αρνήσεων φωτίζεται και πάλι στο άρθρο των Philippaki-Warbuton & Spyropoulos (2004) όπου προτείνεται ότι τις δύο αρνήσεις σε όλη την Ελληνική γλώσσα διαφοροποιούν δύο είδη τροπικότητας: η επιστημική τροπικότητα συνδέεται με την APN1 και δεοντική με την APN2. Τέλος, η Willmott (2007, 2008, υπό έκδοση) αντικρούει λεπτομερώς τις θέσεις των προηγούμενων χωρίς ωστόσο να αντιπροβάλει κάτι συγκεκριμένο, μολονότι συσχετίζει ορισμένες από τις χρήσεις της APN2 με την έννοια του *irrealis* (μη αληθινού). Οι συμβολές αυτές προσφέρουν μερική θέαση της

κανονικότητας πίσω από την επιλογή αρνητικού μορίου στην διαχρονία της Ελληνικής. Η σύνδεση της νεοελληνικής APN2 με την υποτακτική είναι μόνο φαινομενική και οφείλεται στο ότι τόσο η APN2, όσο και η υποτακτική είναι στοιχεία πολικότητας (βλ. για την υποτακτική Giannakidou 2009, 2011). Ο συσχετισμός της APN2 με την δεοντική τροπικότητα, μολονότι είναι ακριβής, δεν εξηγεί την εμφάνισή της π.χ. στην υποθετική πρόταση, σε είδη μετοχών και σε απαρέμφατα της Αρχαίας και της Ελληνιστικής, ούτε και την παρουσία της στις ερωτήσεις και στις ενδοιαστικές προτάσεις, ενώ από την οπτική της Willmott λείπει η συγκεκριμένη θεωρητική σκευή που θα βάλει όλα τα πράγματα στη θέση τους και που νοηματοδοτεί την εμφάνιση της APN2 σε όλα τα διαχρονικά της περιβάλλοντα. Η θεωρητική αυτή σκευή προτείνουμε πως είναι η θεωρία της (Μη)Αληθείαςκότητας.

3.2 Η APN2 ως στοιχείο πολικότητας: από την Αττική στην Νέα Ελληνική

Η εξέταση της συνολικής κατανομής της APN2 στην διαχρονία της Ελληνικής οδηγεί στο συμπέρασμα ότι η APN2 αποτελεί πολικό στοιχείο, εφόσον απαντά αποκλειστικά σε μη αληθείακά περιβάλλοντα στα οποία επιπλέον δεν συνεισφέρει πάντα αρνητική σημασία. Η θεωρία της Giannakidou (1998: 2–3, 93–95) επιτρέπει αυτή τη διάγνωση, εφόσον δεν θέτει περιορισμούς λεξικής κατηγορίας στα γλωσσικά τεμάχια που μπορούν να χαρακτηριστούν στοιχεία πολικότητας. Άρα και η προτασιακή άρνηση μπορεί να αποτελέσει στοιχείο πολικότητας σε γλώσσες που κάνουν διάκριση σε περισσότερες από μία αρνήσεις (66% των φυσικών γλωσσών, βάσει της καταμέτρησης των Van der Auwera & Lejeune 2005 σε δείγμα 495 γλωσσών ανά τον κόσμο).

Η πολική συμπεριφορά της APN2 *μή* στην Αττική διάλεκτο έχει επιβεβαιωθεί (Chatzopoulou & Giannakidou 2011), καθώς όλα τα περιβάλλοντα εμφάνισής της (π.χ. απαγόρευση, υποθετική πρόταση/μετοχή, τελική πρόταση/μετοχή, τελικό απαρέμφατο, ενδοιαστική πρόταση, ερώτηση) είναι μη αληθείακά (βλ. πίνακα 4 και ενδεικτικά παραδείγματα (11)–(18)).

ΠΕΡΙΒΑΛΛΟΝ/ΧΡΗΣΗ	ΑΡΝΗΤΙΚΟ ΜΟΡΙΟ
Βουλευτικά (π.χ. προσταγή, ευχή) (11)	APN2
Υποθετική πρόταση (12)	APN2
Υποθετική μετοχή (13)	APN2
Τελική πρόταση (14)	APN2
Τελική μετοχή	APN2
Τελικό απαρέμφατο (επιλέγεται από μη αληθείακά ρήματα, π.χ. βουλευτικά, τροπικά, κατευθυντικά) (15) (16)	APN2
Εντός της ονοματικής φράσης	APN2/APN1
Ενδοιαστική πρόταση (ως συμπληρωματικός δείκτης Σ) (17)	APN2 (Σ)/APN2 APN1
Ερώτηση (ως προαιρετικό ερωτηματικό μόριο σε θέση συμπληρωματικού δείκτη Σ) (18)	APN2 (Σ)/APN2 APN1
Πλάγια ερώτηση (ως συμπληρωματικός δείκτης Σ)	APN2 (Σ)/APN2 APN1

Πίνακας 4 Η APN2 στην Αττική διάλεκτο (5^ο-4^ο αι. π.Χ.)

(11) *μή* φάθι.⁵
με: p^hat^hi
 APN2 μιλώ.ΠΡΟΣΤ.2ΕΝ
 ‘Μην (το) λες.’

ΠΡΟΣΤΑΓΗ

(12) [...] εἰ *μή* τις κωλύσει.⁶
 e: *me:* tis ko:lyse:
 αν APN2 κάποιος εμποδίζω.μελ.ορ.3εν
 ‘[...] αν κάποιος δεν τον εμποδίζει.’

ΥΠΟΘΕΤΙΚΗ ΠΡΟΤΑΣΗ

⁵ Πλάτων, *Γοργίας* 501d 9.

⁶ Δημοσθένης, *Φιλιππικά* 1 43.6.

- (13) οὐ ζῶμεν ὥς ἥδιστα μὴ λυπούμενοι;⁷
 u: zo:men ho:s he:dista me: lyru:menoí
 APN1 ζῶ.ΕΝΕΣΤ.ΟΡ.1ΠΛ όσο ευχάριστα.ΥΠΕΡΘ APN2 λυπάμαι.
 ΠΑΘ.ΕΝΕΣΤ.ΜΤΧ.ΑΡΣ.ΕΝ.ΟΝ
 ‘Δεν ζούμε πολύ ωραία όταν δεν στεναχωριόμαστε;’ (ΧΡΟΝΙΚΟ)ΥΠΟΘΕΤΙΚΗ ΜΕΤΟΧΗ
- (14) περὶ τούτων ἐμνήσθην, ἵνα μὴ ταῦτά πάθῃτε.⁸
 peri tu:to:n emne:st^he:n hina me: tauta pat^he:te
 για αυτά.ΓΕΝ αναφέρομαι.ΑΟΡ.ΟΡ.1ΕΝ για-να APN2 τα-ίδια παθαίνω.ΑΟΡ.ΥΠΟΤ.2ΠΛ
 ‘αναφέρθηκα σ’αυτά για να μην πάθετε τα ίδια.’ ΤΕΛΙΚΗ ΠΡΟΤΑΣΗ
- (15) μὴ προδοῦναι λίσσεται⁹
 me: produ:naí lissetai
 APN2 αφήνω.ΑΟΡ.ΑΠΡΦ ικετεύω.ΕΝΕΣΤ.ΟΡ.3ΕΝ
 ‘Την ικετεύει να μην τον εγκαταλείψει.’ ΤΕΛΙΚΟ ΑΠΑΡΕΜΦΑΤΟ
 (επιλέγεται από κατευθυντικό κατηγορήμα)
- (16) πειρατέον μὴ ἐλλείπειν.¹⁰
 pe:rateon me: elle:pe:n
 επιδιώκω.ΓΡΝΔ¹¹ APN2 παραλείπω.ΕΝ.ΑΠΡΦ
 ‘Πρέπει να προσπαθήσω να μην παραλείψω (κάτι).’ ΤΕΛΙΚΟ ΑΠΑΡΕΜΦΑΤΟ
 (επιλέγεται από κατηγορήμα δεοντικής τροπικότητας)
- (17) νῦν δὲ δέδοικα μὴ μάτην τὰ τοιαῦτα λέγωμεν¹²
 nyn de dedoika me: mate:n ta toiauta lego:men
 τώρα όμως φοβάμαι APN2 ματαίως τα τέτοια λέω.ΕΝΕΣΤ.ΥΠΟΤ.1ΠΛ
 ‘Τώρα όμως φοβάμαι μήπως ματαίως λέμε τέτοιου είδους πράγματα.’ ΕΝΔΟΙΑΣΤΙΚΗ ΠΡΟΤΑΣΗ
- (18) - Μὴ οὔν ἐγὼ ληρῶ;¹³
 me: u:n ego: lero:?
 APN2 λοιπόν εγώ ανοητεύω.ΕΝΕΣΤ.ΟΡ/ΥΠΟΤ/1ΕΝ
 ‘Μήπως λέω ανοησίες;’ ΕΡΩΤΗΣΗ

Στην ενδοιαστική πρόταση και στην χρήση ερωτηματικού μορίου η APN2 δεν συνεισφέρει αρνητική σημασία (πβ. Joseph & Janda 1999), γεγονός που αποτελεί παρατηρημένη εξέλιξη γραμματικοποίησης της άρνησης διαγλωσσικά (Heine & Kuteva 2002, Van Gelderen 2008, 2011). Το αξιοσημείωτο είναι η αδράνεια που εμφανίζει η APN2 της Ελληνικής σ’αυτές τις χρήσεις, οι οποίες, μαζί με τις αρνητικές χρήσεις της, στην απαγόρευση και εντός της ονοματικής φράσης, είναι οι διαχρονικά σταθερές. Ο πίνακας 5 συνοψίζει τις χρήσεις της APN2 στη Νέα Ελληνική και ακολουθούν ενδεικτικά παραδείγματα.

ΠΕΡΙΒΑΛΛΟΝ/ΧΡΗΣΗ	ΑΡΝΗΤΙΚΟ ΜΟΡΙΟ
Βουλευτικά (προσταγή, ευχή) (19) (20) (21)	APN2
Στο πεδίο του να (π.χ. τελική πρόταση, δυνητική τροπικότητα) (22) (23)	APN2
Εντός της ονοματικής φράσης (24)	APN2
Ενεργητική μετοχή (π.χ. γνωρίζοντας) (25)	APN2
Ενδοιαστική πρόταση (ως συμπληρωματικός δείκτης Σ) (26)	APN2 (Σ)/APN2 (Σ) APN1
Ερώτηση (ως προαιρετικό ερωτηματικό μόριο σε θέση συμπληρωματικού δείκτη Σ) (27)	APN2 (Σ)/APN2 (Σ) APN1
Πλάγια ερώτηση (σε θέση συμπληρωματικού δείκτη Σ) (28)	APN2 (Σ)/APN2 (Σ) APN1

Πίνακας 5 Η APN2 στη Νέα Ελληνική

⁷ Ευριπίδης, *Fragmenta Antiopes* 14.5, πβ. επίσης Kambitsis (1972).

⁸ Δημοσθένης, Γ’ Ολυνθιακός 6.2–3.

⁹ Ευριπίδης, *Άλκηστις* 202.

¹⁰ Πλάτων, *Συμπόσιο* 196d 6.

¹¹ Το γερούνδιο της Αττικής Ελληνικής είναι είδος ρηματικού επιθέτου με ενδογενή σημασία δεοντικής τροπικότητας.

¹² Ισοκράτης, *Περί ειρήνης* 36.3–4.

¹³ Πλάτων, *Θεαίτητος* 163d 7.

(19) Μην έρθεις.	ΠΡΟΣΤΑΓΗ
(20) Ας μην ερχόσουν.	ΕΥΧΗ
(21) Να μην έρθεις.	ΠΡΟΣΤΑΓΗ
(22) Σε ειδοποιήσαμε για να μην έρθεις.	ΤΕΛΙΚΗ ΠΡΟΤΑΣΗ (πεδίο του να)
(23) Μπορεί να μην έρθω.	ΚΑΤΗΓΟΡΗΜΑ ΔΥΝΗΤΙΚΗΣ ΤΡΟΠΙΚΟΤΗΤΑΣ (πεδίο του να)
(24) Ο μη κατανοητός	ΟΝΟΜΑΤΙΚΗ ΦΡΑΣΗ
(25) Ήρθα μη γνωρίζοντας.	ΕΝΕΡΓΗΤΙΚΗ ΜΕΤΟΧΗ
(26) Φοβήθηκαν μην/μήπως έρθω.	ΕΝΔΟΙΑΣΤΙΚΗ ΠΡΟΤΑΣΗ
(27) Μην/μήπως ήρθε ο Γιάννης;	ΕΡΩΤΗΣΗ
(28) Ρωτήσαμε μην/μήπως ήρθε.	ΠΛΑΓΙΑ ΕΡΩΤΗΣΗ

Η εξάρτηση της APN2 από την Μη Αληθειαικότητα είναι εμφανής και στην Νέα Ελληνική, καθώς όλα τα περιβάλλοντα στα οποία απαντά εξακολουθούν να είναι μη αληθειαικά, βάσει του ορισμού για την (Μη)Αληθειαικότητα της Giannakidou. Η διαφοροποίηση στην κατανομή της νεοελληνικής APN2 σε σχέση με εκείνη της Αττικής οφείλεται σε γενικότερες εξελίξεις στο γλωσσικό σύστημα. Χάνεται για παράδειγμα η χρήση της APN2 με το τελικό απαρέμφατο, γιατί χάνεται το απαρέμφατο, καθώς εκτοπίζεται σταδιακά από την υποτακτική, να+ρηματικός τύπος (βλ. μεταξύ άλλων Blass & Debrunner 1961, Joseph 1978/1990, Horrocks 2010). Ωστόσο και η ίδια η υποτακτική και ο συνοπτικός μη παρελθοντικός τύπος του ρήματος (perfective non past) αποτελούν στοιχεία πολικότητας της Νέας Ελληνικής (βλ. Giannakidou 2009). Είναι άρα αναμενόμενος ο συσχετισμός τους με την APN2. Η μόνη γνήσια εξέλιξη στην κατανομή της APN2 από την Αττική στη Νέα Ελληνική είναι η απουσία της από την υποθετική πρόταση. Στη Νέα Ελληνική μόνο η APN1 είναι επιτρεπτή.

(29) Αν δεν έρθεις, θα θυμώσω.

Πρόκειται λοιπόν για μία ιστορική στιγμή στην πορεία της APN2 ως στοιχείο πολικότητας, καθώς τα περιβάλλοντα που αναγνωρίζει ως επιτρεπτά συρρικνώνονται κατά ένα, μία αλλαγή που όπως και άλλες είχε αρχίσει ήδη από την Κλασική εποχή (Horrocks 2010: 132), γενικεύεται όμως κατά την Ύστερη Μεσαιωνική περίοδο (Chatzopoulou 2012b) πριν ακόμη από την φωνολογική μετατροπή της APN1 από οὐδεν /udhén/ σε δεν /dhen/ με γενική αφαίρεση των άτονων φωνηέντων (Horrocks 2010).

(30) «ἄλλον» νὰ μὴ ἴδῃς τὴν Συρίαν, ἂν οὐδεν ὑποστρέψῃς.¹⁴
 ‘Να μην ξαναδείς την Συρία, αν δεν επιστρέψεις.’

Τα περιβάλλοντα στα οποία διατηρείται ωστόσο παραμένουν μη αληθειαικά στο σύνολό τους, γεγονός που αρκεί για να τον χαρακτηρισμό της ως στοιχείο πολικότητας και στην Νέα Ελληνική. Ακόμη και η παρουσία της στην ονοματική φράση μπορεί να ερμηνευτεί υπό το πρίσμα της (Μη)Αληθειαικότητας, εφόσον η ονοματική φράση, όπως συμβαίνει και με την προσταγή και την ερώτηση, είναι περιβάλλον μη αληθειαικά εκτιμήσιμο, περιβάλλον που δεν μπορεί να λάβει αληθειαική τιμή, ως αληθές ή ψευδές (πβ. Αριστοτέλη, *Περί ερμηνείας* I 16a13–18, επίσης Brandtler 2012 για τη σχέση αληθειαικής εκτιμησιμότητας [evaluability] και πολικότητας).

Η πολική συμπεριφορά της APN2 διατηρείται σε όλες τις ενδιάμεσες φάσεις της Ελληνικής (Chatzopoulou 2012b) και τεκμηριώνεται ήδη στην Ομηρική με βάση τις περιγραφές κατανομής των αρνητικών μορίων που δίνει η Willmott (2007) για την Ιλιάδα και την Οδύσσεια, ανεξάρτητα ωστόσο από τη θεωρία της (Μη)Αληθειαικότητας. Η γενίκευση στην οποία μπορούμε να καταλήξουμε είναι πως στην ιστορία της Ελληνικής η APN2 είναι σημαδεμένη όσον αφορά την ιδιότητα της Μη Αληθειαικότητας, ενώ η APN1 είναι ασημάδευτη, εμφανίζεται και σε αληθειαικά και σε μη αληθειαικά περιβάλλοντα. Έχει ωστόσο και η APN1 περιορισμούς, συνδέεται περισσότερο με την Αληθειαικότητα και μ’αυτή την έννοια μπορεί να ειπωθεί ως στοιχείο θετικής πολικότητας (positive polarity item). Κατά βάση όμως η APN1 είναι η πρωτοτυπική προτασιακή άρνηση της Ελληνικής. Η APN2 είναι πρώτα στοιχείο πολικότητας και δευτερευόντως άρνηση. Η πολική συμπεριφορά είναι το ενοποιητικό στοιχείο όλων των περιβαλλόντων της, ενώ ο χαρακτηρισμός του μορφολογικού αστερισμού (morphological constellation) που της αποδίδουν οι Janda & Joseph (1999) αρμόζει σε όλες τις ιστορικές της φάσεις.

¹⁴ Διγενής Ακρίτης, έκδ. Σ. Αλεξίου (1990), 454.

- (31) **Μορφολογικός αστερισμός:** μία ομάδα στοιχείων που μοιράζονται τουλάχιστον μία χαρακτηριστική ιδιότητα μορφής, αλλά διαφοροποιούνται από ιδιοσυγκρασίες τόσο μορφής όσο και λειτουργίας που εμποδίζουν την μεταξύ τους ταύτιση (Janda & Joseph 1999).

Διαφοροποίηση στην μορφή της APN2 σε κάθε συγχρονικό στάδιο δεν παρατηρείται (με εξαίρεση στη Νέα Ελληνική την απουσία του ευφωνικού ν από την χρήση της ονοματικής φράσης, π.χ. *ο μη ενδιαφερόμενος*). Στη λειτουργία όμως παρατηρείται. Ο πυρήνας γύρω από τον οποίο οργανώνεται ο μορφολογικός αστερισμός την ελληνικής APN2 είναι η Μη Αληθειακότητα.

4. Οι διαχρονικά σταθερές χρήσεις της APN2

Όπως προαναφέρθηκε, οι σταθερές χρήσεις της APN2 στη διαχρονία της Ελληνικής είναι τέσσερις: (i) στην απαγόρευση, (ii) στην ερώτηση, (iii) στην ενδοιαστική πρόταση και (iv) στην ονοματική φράση. Στις τρεις πρώτες η APN2 σχετίζεται με τη δομική θέση του Συμπληρωματικού Δείκτη, η τέταρτη όχι. Στην ενότιση αυτή παρουσιάζονται παραδείγματα των τριών πρώτων χρήσεων από αντιπροσωπευτικές φάσεις της ιστορίας της Ελληνικής και επιδιώκεται η ερμηνεία της σταθερότητάς τους. Για την τέταρτη χρήση, αυτήν της ονοματικής φράσης, δεν έχουμε ακόμη κάποια αξιόπιστη εξήγηση, πέρα από τη σκέψη ότι η χρήση της στη Νέα Ελληνική ενδεχομένως ενισχύθηκε και μέσω σημασιολογικού δανεισμού, εφόσον εκδηλώνει ομοιότητες με το γαλλικό *non* (βλ. Efthimiou 2008).

4.1 Στην απαγόρευση

Η πιο αντιπροσωπευτική διαχρονική χρήση της APN2 είναι η απαγόρευση. Εμφανίζεται ήδη στα ομηρικά έπη και παραμένει η στατιστικά συχνότερη χρήση της APN2 (Chatzopoulou 2012b). Εξελίξεις παρατηρούνται με την έννοια ότι στην Νέα Ελληνική η APN2 δεν συνεμφανίζεται με μορφολογική προστακτική, αλλά τον τύπο της προστακτικής υποκαθιστά ο συνοπτικός μη παρελθοντικός τύπος του ρήματος (perfective non past) με προαιρετική την παρουσία του *να*, π.χ. (*να*) *μην πάτε* (βλ. Giannakidou 1998). Η σημασία της APN2 ωστόσο εξακολουθεί να συνδέεται με την απαγόρευση.

- | | | | | | |
|--|---|---|---|--|--|
| (32) | ἔξσῳδα,
eksauda,
μῑλῳ.ΕΝΕΣΤ.ΠΡΟΣΤ.2ΕΝ | μῑ
me:
APN2 | κεῖθε
keut ^h e
κρύβῳ.ΠΡΟΣΤ.2ΕΝ | νόῳ ¹⁵
noo:i
νους.ΔΟΤ | 8 ^{ος} αι. π. Χ. |
| ‘Μῑλα, μῑν τα κρύβεις στο μυαλό σου.’ | | | | | |
| (33) | μῑ
me:
APN2 | φάθῑ. ¹⁶
p ^h at ^h i
μῑλῳ.ΠΡΟΣΤ.2ΕΝ | | | 4 ^{ος} αι. π. Χ. |
| ‘Μῑν (το) λες.’ | | | | | |
| (34) | μῑ | κρίνετε, ἵνα μῑ κριθῑτε. ¹⁷ | | | 1 ^{ος} αι. μ. Χ. |
| ‘Μῑν κρίνετε, γῑα να μῑν κριθείτε.’ | | | | | |
| (35) | μῑ | ἀπατάῳ ὑμᾶς Ἐζεκίας λόγῑς· οὐ δύνηται ῥύσασθαι ὑμᾶς. ¹⁸ | | | 6 ^{ος} αι. μ. Χ. |
| ‘μῑ σας εξαπατά ο Ἐζεκίας με λόγῑα· δεν θα μπορέσει να σας σώσει.’ | | | | | |
| (36) | μῑ | φοβηθῑς τὸν θάνατον παρὰ μητρὸς κατάραν. ¹⁹ | | | 12 ^{ος} αι. μ. Χ. |
| (37) | μῑ | ὀργισθῑς το σφάλμα μου, μῑ τόσον μὲ κακίσης. ²⁰ | | | 15 ^{ος} αι. μ. Χ. |
| (38) | Γῑα σῑκῳ απ’ αὐτοῦ Γῑῳτή μου καὶ μῑ βαριὰ κοιμάσαι. ²¹ | | | | 18 ^{ος} -19 ^{ος} αι. μ. Χ. |

¹⁵ *Ιλιάδα* 1.363.

¹⁶ Πλάτων, *Γοργίας* 501d 9.

¹⁷ Καινή Διαθήκη, *Κατά Ματθαίον* 7.1.1.

¹⁸ Ιωάννης Μαλάλας, *Χρονογραφία* 145.11–12.

¹⁹ *Διγενής Ακρίτης*, έκδ. Σ. Αλεξίου (1990), 2.

²⁰ *Livistros and Rodamne*, the Vatican version, (Lendari 2007), 441.

4.2 Στη χρήση προαιρετικού ερωτηματικού μορίου: μη αρνητική χρήση

Λιγότερο προβεβλημένη είναι η χρήση της APN2 ως ερωτηματικό μόριο σε ερωτήσεις ολικής αγνοίας (Chatzopoulou & Giannakidou 2011). Την εξειδίκευση των δύο αρνήσεων όσον αφορά τις ρητορικές ερωτήσεις δίνουν οι παραδοσιακές γραμματικές της Κλασικής Ελληνικής: η APN1 οὐ(κ) εκφέρεται σε αναμονή καταφατικής απάντησης, ενώ η APN2 μή εκφέρεται σε αναμονή αρνητικής απάντησης. Αυτό σύμφωνα με την αντίληψη των Sadock (1971, 1974), Berg (1978), Frank (1990), Han (2002), κατά την οποία οι ρητορικές ερωτήσεις ολικής αγνοίας ισοδυναμούν με εμφατική δήλωση αντίθετης πολικότητας (η αποφαιτική ρητορική ερώτηση ισοδυναμεί με εμφατική κατάφαση, π.χ. *Δεν ξέρεις πως ο Σωκράτης θα πληγωθεί αν τον προδώσεις;* ⇔ *Ο Σωκράτης θα πληγωθεί αν τον προδώσεις*, και η καταφατική ρητορική ερώτηση με εμφατική άρνηση, π.χ. *Θα πλήγωνα ποτέ τον Σωκράτη;* ⇔ *Δεν θα πλήγωνα ποτέ τον Σωκράτη*), σημαίνει πως το μή της Αττικής διαλέκτου δεν συνεισφέρει αρνητική σημασία (πβ. Joseph & Janda 1999): είναι απλά ερωτηματικό μόριο. Η χρήση αυτή εμφανίζεται ήδη πριν την Αττική Ελληνική στα ομηρικά έπη. Σε κάποιες περιπτώσεις μπορεί να προσδίδει μια πραγματολογική απόχρωση πως αυτό που ακολουθεί είναι ανεπιθύμητο, αλλά αυτό δεν είναι καθολικό.

- (39) **μή** πού τινα δυσμενέων φάσθ' ἔμμεναι ἀνδρῶν;²² 8^{ος} αι. π. X.
me: pu: tina dysmeneo:n p^hast^h emmenai andro:n
APN2 ἴσως κάποιος.ΑΙΤ εχθρός.ΓΕΝ.ΠΛ λέτε είναι.ΑΠΡΦ ἀνδρας.ΓΕΝ.ΠΛ
 'Μήπως είναι κανένας από τους εχθρούς;'
- (40) - **Μή** οὔν ἐγὼ ληρῶ;²³ 4^{ος} αι. π. X.
me: u:n ego: lero:?
APN2 λοιπόν ἐγὼ ανοητεύω.ΕΝΕΣΤ.ΟΡ/ΥΠΟΤ/ΙΕΝ
 'Μήπως λέω ανοησίες;'
- (41) **μή** πάντες ἀπόστολοι; **μή** πάντες προφήται; **μή** πάντες διδάσκαλοι;²⁴ 1^{ος} αι. μ. X.
 'Μήπως είναι όλοι απόστολοι; Μήπως είναι όλοι προφῆτες; Μήπως είναι όλοι διδάσκαλοι;'
- (42) **Μή** τοῦτος εἶν' τὸν λέγουσιν ὁ Διγενὴς Ἀκρίτης;²⁵ 12^{ος} αι. μ. X.
 'Μήπως αυτός είναι αυτός που ονομάζουν Διγενή Ακρίτα;'
- (43) Πάντως **μή** ἔπαθες κακόν, πάντως **μή** ἐφαντάχθης;²⁶ 15^{ος} αι. μ. X.
 'Μήπως έπαθες κανένα κακό; Μήπως είδες κανένα φάντασμα;'
- (44) **Μην** εἶδατε τὸν ἀντρα μου τὸν Λούκα Καλιακουδά;²⁷ 18^{ος}-19^{ος} αι. μ. X.

4.3 Στην ενδοιαστική πρόταση: μη αρνητική χρήση

Εφάμιλλη δομικά με τη χρήση του ερωτηματικού μορίου είναι και η χρήση της APN2 στην ενδοιαστική πρόταση, για την οποία περιοριζόμαστε σε παραδείγματα μόνο από την Αττική και την Νέα Ελληνική για λόγους χώρου. Στη χρήση αυτή παρατηρείται διαχρονικά και η ακολουθία APN2 APN1 που ισοδυναμεί με μία λογική άρνηση και επιβεβαιώνει το γεγονός πως η APN2 σ' αυτή τη χρήση, όπως και στην προηγούμενη, δεν συνεισφέρει αρνητική σημασία.

- (45) □ δείσας **μή** οὐ πρῶτος παραδράμη εἰς τὸ χωρίον;²⁸ 4^{ος} αι. π. X.
 de:sas **me:** u: pro:tos paradrame:i e:s to k^ho:rion
 φοβάμαι.ΑΟΡ.ΜΤΧ.ΑΡΣ.ΟΝ **APN2 APN1** πρῶτος διασχίζω.ΑΟΡ.ΥΠΟΤ.3ΕΝ σε την περιοχή
 'επειδή φοβήθηκε μήπως δεν φτάσει πρώτος στην περιοχή [...]'

²¹ Fauriel, 1, 62.

²² *Οδύσσεια* 6.200.

²³ Πλάτων, *Θεαίτητος* 163d 7.

²⁴ Καινή Διαθήκη, Α' *Προς Κορινθίους* 12.29.1-30.2.

²⁵ *Διγενής Ακρίτης*, έκδ. Σ. Αλεξίου (1990), στ. 1216.

²⁶ *Livistros and Rodamne*, the Vatican version, (Lendari 2007), 2485.

²⁷ Fauriel (1824-1825), 1.118.

²⁸ Ξενοφών, *Κύρου ανάβασις* 4.7.11.2-3.

(46) Φοβούνται **μη**/μήπως δε γυρίσει.

Νέα Ελληνική

Η ενδοιαστική πρόταση αποτελεί μη αληθειακό περιβάλλον, ωστόσο στην αρνητική της μορφή εμφανίζεται υποχρεωτικά η APN1. Αυτό μπορεί να αποδοθεί στο ότι η APN2 υπάρχει ήδη στην θέση του Συμπληρωματικού Δείκτη και συντελείται ενδεχομένως ένα είδος μορφολογικής ανομοιότητας μεταξύ των δύο αρνήσεων προς αποφυγή του αναδιπλασιασμού (*μη μη), οποίος σε σχέση με άλλες γλώσσες είναι περιορισμένος στην Ελληνική. Αυτό άλλωστε επιτρέπει και η θεώρηση πως η APN1 είναι ασημάδευτη όσον αφορά την ιδιότητα της Μη Αληθειαςκότητας, ενώ η APN2 είναι σηματοδεδειγμένη.

4.4 Η ερμηνεία της αδράνειας

Οι λόγοι της διαχρονικής σταθερότητας των τριών προηγούμενων χρήσεων της APN2 δεν μπορούν να συσχετιστούν με τη συχνότητα. Ενδεικτικά παραθέτουμε μια μερική κατανομή των χρήσεων της APN2 σε αντιπροσωπευτικά κείμενα της Ελληνιστικής Κοινής.

Απαγόρευση	32%
Συμπληρωματικός Δείκτης (ερωτηματικό μόριο και ενδοιαστικό μόριο)	5%
Υποθετική πρόταση	22%

Πίνακας 6 Μερική κατανομή της APN2 στην Ελληνιστική Κοινή

Η χρήση της υποθετικής πρότασης είναι συχνότερη από τις χρήσεις του ερωτηματικού και του ενδοιαστικού μορίου, κι όμως οι δεύτερες επιβίωσαν. Η χρήση πάλι της απαγόρευσης είναι συχνότερη από αυτήν της υποθετικής πρότασης, κι όμως η δεύτερη δεν επιβίωσε. Άρα κανένας συσχετισμός της αδράνειας με τη συχνότητα δεν μπορεί να γίνει, τουλάχιστον για τη περίπτωση της ελληνικής APN2. Επομένως οι λόγοι της διαχρονικής σταθερότητας των συγκεκριμένων χρήσεων –εάν δεν είναι συγκυριακοί– θα πρέπει να αναζητηθούν αλλού.

Η διαχρονική πορεία της άρνησης συνδέεται με τον Κύκλο του Γέσπερσεν. Κύκλος του Γέσπερσεν ονομάζεται παραδοσιακά η τάση της προτασιακής άρνησης προς ανανέωση (Gardiner 1903, Meillet 1912, Jespersen 1917, 1924). Ο Κύκλος του Γέσπερσεν, γνωστός και ως Κύκλος της Άρνησης, είναι ένας μόνο από περισσότερους γλωσσικούς κύκλους (Van Gelderen 2011), όποιου διαπιστώνεται διαγλωσσικά η ώθηση προς ανανέωση σε διάφορες σημασιολογικές κατηγορίες. Δεδομένου πως δύο από τις τέσσερις διαχρονικά σταθερές χρήσεις της APN2 δεν είναι αρνητικές (ως ερωτηματικό και ως ενδοιαστικό μόριο) είναι αναμενόμενο να μην επηρεάζονται από τον Κύκλο του Γέσπερσεν. Επιπλέον, βάσει του ορισμού που έχει προταθεί για τον Κύκλο του Γέσπερσεν (Chatzopoulou 2011a κ.ε.), ως ανανέωση της προτασιακής άρνησης μέσω της σημασιακής έκπτωσης (bleaching) και παράλληλης δομικής ανύψωσης της εμφατικής κατηγορηματικής άρνησης (emphatic predicate negation, πβ. οὐδέν ‘τίποτα’ 5^ο αι. π. Χ.) σε απλή προτασιακή (plain propositional, πβ. οὐδέν ‘δεν’ 12^ο αι. μ. Χ.) (πβ. επίσης Kiparsky&Condoravdi 2007 για τη σημασία της διάκρισης μεταξύ απλής και εμφατικής άρνησης), και η APN2 σημείωσε κύκλο του Γέσπερσεν.

(47) **μηδὲν** μέγ’ εἵπης.²⁹ 5^{ος} αι. π. Χ.
me:den meg’ e:pe:is
τίποτα μεγάλο λέω.ΑΟΡ.ΥΠΟΤ.2ΕΝ
 ‘Μην πεις τίποτε μεγάλο (αλαζονικό).’ (πβ. ‘μη πεις μεγάλο λόγο’)

(48) Αὐτόθε στέκου, Μαξιμού, ὧδε **μηδὲν** περάσεις.³⁰ 12^{ος} αι. μ. Χ.
 ‘Στάσου εκεί, Μαξιμού, μην περάσεις κατά δω.’

Το *μηδὲν* υπέστη και σημασιακή έκπτωση και δομική ανύψωση και μάλιστα γενικεύεται στη χρήση της απλής άρνησης μη αληθειακών περιβαλλόντων την ίδια χρονική περίοδο με το *οὐδέν*. Η εξέλιξη αυτή ωστόσο διακόπηκε και το *μη* παρέμεινε ως δεύτερη άρνηση της Ελληνικής για λόγους που προς το παρόν μας είναι άγνωστοι.

²⁹ Σοφοκλής, *Αίας* 386.

³⁰ *Διγενής Ακρίτης*, έκδ. Σ. Αλεξίου (1990), στ. 1530.

5. Επίλογος

Παρακολουθώντας τη διαχρονική πορεία του συστήματος προτασιακής άρνησης της Ελληνικής, συγκεκριμένα των μορίων APN1 και APN2, διαπιστώνει κανείς παράλληλα τη σταθερότητα και τη μεταβολή. Σταθερή παραμένει η APN2, καθώς και η εξάρτησή της από την Μη Αληθειαικότητα, την ιδιότητα εκείνων των περιβαλλόντων στα οποία το λογικό υποκείμενο δεν δεσμεύεται για το αληθινό των λεγομένων του (προσταγή, ερώτηση, υποθετικός λόγος, τροπικά περιβάλλοντα, ονοματική φράση κ.ά.). Η APN2 της Ελληνικής είναι σημαδεμένη ως προς αυτό. Η APN1 είναι ασημάδευτη. Η μεταβολή εντοπίζεται αφενός στις λεπτομέρειες των περιβαλλόντων των αρνήσεων, που παρακολουθούν τις γενικότερες γλωσσικές εξελίξεις κάθε χρονικής περιόδου (π.χ. την απώλεια των απαρεμφάτων και ως αποτέλεσμα της απαρεμφατικής άρνησης) και αφετέρου στην ίδια την APN1, η οποία υφίσταται ανανέωση, σύμφωνη σε γενικές γραμμές με τις προβλέψεις του Κύκλου της Άρνησης. Περισσότερη έρευνα είναι απαραίτητη όσον αφορά τη ιστορική εξέλιξη όχι μόνο της Ελληνικής, αλλά γενικά των φυσικών γλωσσών, γιατί πολλές από τις κανονικότητες που ψάχνουμε ενδέχεται να βρίσκονται στη διαχρονία.

ΣΥΝΤΟΜΟΓΡΑΦΙΕΣ: ΑΙΤ αιτιατική, ΑΟΡ αόριστος, ΑΠΡΦ απαρέμφατο, ΑΡΣ αρσενικό, ΓΕΝ γενική, ΓΡΝΔ γερονδιακό, ΔΟΤ δοτική, ΕΝ ενικός, ΕΝΕΣΤ ενεστώτας, ΜΤΧ μετοχή, ΟΝ ονομαστική, ΟΡ οριστική, ΠΛ πληθυντικός, ΠΡΟΣΤ προστακτική, ΣΜΠ συνοπτικό μη παρελθοντικό, ΣΠ συνοπτικό παρελθοντικό, ΥΠΟΤ υποτακτική

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ΓΛΩΣΣΙΚΗ ΣΥΡΡΙΚΝΩΣΗ ΣΤΟ ΠΕΔΙΟ ΤΟΥ ΑΡΧΑΪΚΟΥ ΛΕΞΙΛΟΓΙΟΥ ΤΩΝ ΙΔΙΩΜΑΤΩΝ ΤΟΥ ΜΑΛΙ ΓΙΑΝΙΣΟΛ ΚΑΙ ΤΗΣ ΓΙΑΛΤΑΣ ΤΗΣ ΚΡΙΜΑΙΟΑΖΟΦΙΚΗΣ ΔΙΑΛΕΚΤΟΥ

Χάιδω Χρίστου

odioxma02@yahoo.gr

ABSTRACT

This paper presents the results of the fieldwork conducted in two of the Greek-speaking villages of Donbass area in SE. Ukraine, in particular Maloyianisol and Yalta. The research aims are investigating the process of the language loss or maintenance of the Greek dialects spoken by these communities. The above-mentioned are the local varieties of the Crimean-Azov dialect (the so-called “Mariupolite” or “Tavrorumeic”), still spoken by the Greek-speaking population of Azov. In the first part of the research the language use and the attitudes towards the dialect are investigated, while the second part is devoted to the language loss that occurs in the language system of the dialect, specifically in the field of the archaic vocabulary.

1. Εισαγωγή

Στην παρούσα εισήγηση θα παρουσιαστούν εν συντομία τα αποτελέσματα κοινωνιογλωσσικής επιτόπιας έρευνας που διεξήγε η γράφουσα σε δύο ελληνόφωνες κοινότητες της περιφέρειας της Μαριούπολης, τη Γιάλτα και το Μάλι Γιανισόλ (στο εξής ΜΓ) στις οποίες μιλιούνται ιδιώματα της Κριμαιοαζοφικής ελληνικής διαλέκτου (στο εξής ΚΑ).

Κύριο θέμα της έρευνας που διεξήχθη είναι η διερεύνηση της γλωσσικής αλλαγής [language change] και συγκεκριμένα της γλωσσικής μετακίνησης [language shift], δηλαδή η αντικατάσταση της διαλέκτου στο ρόλο της μητρικής / πρώτης γλώσσας από τη ρωσική, περνώντας από το ενδιάμεσο στάδιο της διγλωσσίας. Σχετικά με τις συνθήκες που οδήγησαν στη γλωσσική συρρίκνωση της οποίας το τελικό στάδιο, εάν δεν αναστραφεί, είναι ο γλωσσικός θάνατος [language death], επισημαίνεται ότι η Κριμαιοαζοφική ακολουθεί τη μοίρα των προφορικών διαλέκτων, των μειονοτικών και γενικά των λεγόμενων ασθενών γλωσσών, φαινόμενο που αποτελεί συνέπεια πολιτικών, κοινωνικών και οικονομικών συνθηκών, που θα μπορούσαμε να τις αναζητήσουμε σε ανά τον κόσμο εφαρμοσμένες πολιτικές αλλά και στο περιεχόμενο του αρκετά γενικευμένου όρου ‘παγκοσμιοποίηση’, με ότι αυτός συνεπάγεται (Crystal 2000) και πρόκειται για ένα φαινόμενο καθολικό και παγκόσμιο. Επομένως, προκειμένου να προσεγγιστούν τα αίτια και οι συνθήκες που συντελούν στη διατήρηση ή στη συρρίκνωση μιας μειονοτικής γλώσσας, είναι απαραίτητο να γίνεται αναφορά στις εξωγλωσσικές αλλαγές σε μακροεπίπεδο, δηλαδή στο ευρύτερο ιστορικό, πολιτικό, κοινωνικό πλαίσιο στο οποίο εντάσσεται η γλωσσική κοινότητα (Edwards 1992: 37-54) αλλά να εξετάζεται και το μικροεπίπεδο, στην κάθε τοπική κοινότητα και τα μέλη της.

Η ελληνική εθνική κοινότητα της περιοχής της Αζοφικής περιλαμβάνει δύο γλωσσικές κοινότητες: τους ρουμέους, των οποίων η γλώσσα, διάλεκτος της νεοελληνικής, στο εξής Κριμαιοαζοφική διάλεκτος (ΚΑ), διαιρείται σε πέντε υποδιαλέκτους και η κάθε υποδιάλεκτος με τη σειρά της υποδιαιρείται σε τοπικά ιδιώματα και τους ουρούμ που μιλάνε τέσσερις υποδιαλέκτους της τουρκικής γλώσσας της Αλταϊκής ομάδας, την οποία οι Henrich και Ζουραβλιόβα (2003:126) ονομάζουν Κριμαιοσθωμανική ενώ ο Τζιτζιλής Κριμαιοταταρική. Και οι δύο γλωσσικές κοινότητες αυτοπροσδιορίζονται εθνικά ως Έλληνες, αλλά η μία ομάδα διαχωρίζει τον εαυτό της από την άλλη. Κοινά τους χαρακτηριστικά είναι η θρησκεία (χριστιανοί ορθόδοξοι) και η κοινή ελληνική εθνική συνείδηση κι αυτοπροσδιορισμός. Στην προκειμένη περίπτωση, η γλώσσα δεν αποτελεί ενδείκτη διαφορετικής εθνικής οντότητας. Δεν έχει απαντηθεί το ερώτημα γιατί μιλάνε διαφορετικές γλώσσες, αν αυτό οφείλεται στη συνύπαρξή τους με τους Τατάρους στην Κριμαία και την εκεί γλωσσική αφομοίωση μέρους του ελληνικού πληθυσμού ή αν προηγείται της εγκατάστασης στην Κριμαία και οφείλεται σε διαφορετικούς τόπους και χρόνους προέλευσης.

Ο Tzuxa (1993) δίνει με τις παλιές και τις καινούριες ονομασίες έναν κατάλογο με τα 20 πρώτα χωριά, ελληνόφωνα και ταταρόφωνα, που ιδρύθηκαν το 1778. Σήμερα, απόδειξη αυτού του γεγονότος

είναι η επιγραφή στην είσοδο αυτών των χωριών, όπου αναγράφεται η ημερομηνία ίδρυσης, η οποία αναγράφεται και στο κέντρο της πόλης της Μαριούπολης. Σύμφωνα με στοιχεία της Ομοσπονδίας Ελληνικών Συλλόγων Ουκρανίας, σήμερα οι Έλληνες της περιοχής ζουν σε 55 συνολικά χωριά, σε 7 περιφέρειες του νομού Ντονιέτσκ και σε ένα χωριό του νομού Ζαπαρόζκαγια. Από αυτά, στα 22 διαμένουν ταταρόφωνοι Έλληνες και στα 30 ελληνόφωνοι. 18 από αυτά τα χωριά αυτο- και ετεροπροσδιορίζονται ακόμα ως ‘ελληνικά’ από τους κατοίκους της περιοχής επειδή υπερτερεί αριθμητικά ο ελληνικός πληθυσμός.

Η γλωσσική ποικιλία των ελληνόφωνων Ελλήνων της Αζοφικής από τους ομιλητές της αποκαλείται *ρουμέικα* [*ru'meika/ru'm'eika*] ή *ru'meiku* 'γλoσα και οι ομιλητές της αυτοαποκαλούνται *ρουμέοι* [*ru'mei / ru'm'ei*] ενώ η γλωσσική ποικιλία των τουρκόφωνων Ελλήνων αποκαλείται από τους ομιλητές της *ουρούμσκι* [*u'rumski*] και οι ίδιοι αυτοαποκαλούνται *ουρούμοι* [*u'rumi*]. Το περιοδικό Πανδώρα (1863:533) αναφέρει πως ‘από την Κριμαία ακόμα οι Έλληνες είχαν την εθνική επωνυμία Γραικοί (*grjeki*)’. Οι άλλες εθνότητες στην περιοχή αποκαλούν τους Έλληνες, ελληνόφωνους και ταταρόφωνους ‘*grjek*, ‘*grjeki*’ όρος που χρησιμοποιείται ως υπερώνυμο των δύο γλωσσικών κοινοτήτων, αλλά υπάρχει και η διάκριση σε ‘*grjekota 'tari*’ και ‘*grjekoru 'mei*’ ή *grjeko 'elini*, όροι που συναντιούνται και στη σύγχρονη ρωσόφωνη βιβλιογραφία. Το κύριο εθνώνυμο με το οποίο αυτοπροσδιορίζονται σε αντιδιαστολή με τους ‘άλλους’ Έλληνες είναι το εθνώνυμο *Azov'grjek / A'zovskije Grjeki* = Έλληνες της Αζοφικής.

Η γλώσσα των ρουμέων, στη ρωσική και ουκρανική βιβλιογραφία συναντιέται ως η γλώσσα των *tati* (Beljetski, 1969), η γλώσσα των Ελλήνων της Μαριούπολης, ελληνικά ιδιώματα της Μαριούπολης (Sokolov), ελληνικές διάλεκτοι της Αζοφικής, ελληνική γλώσσα της Αζοφικής, γλώσσα των Ελλήνων της Μαιώτιδας (Beljetski), Μαριουπολίτικη διάλεκτος της νεοελληνικής γλώσσας (Tshernishova), ελληνικά ιδιώματα της Αζοφικής (Tshernishova 1958), Κριμαιορουμεική διάλεκτος (Klimenko 1999). Στην ελληνόγλωσση βιβλιογραφία η Ζουραβλιόβα την αποκαλεί Ταυρορουμεική και Ταυρορουμεικά ιδιώματα (1999: 56), οι Συμεωνίδης –Τομπαϊδής ελληνική διάλεκτο της Μαριούπολης, ο Χριστίδης Μαριουπολίτικα, η Χατζηδάκη ελληνικές διαλέκτους της περιοχής της Μαριούπολης (1999:65). Στην παρούσα εργασία υιοθετώ την ονομασία Κριμαιοαζοφική διάλεκτος (Τζιτζιλής & Ζουραβλιόβα υπό εκδ.), και ιδιώματα της ΚΑ διαλέκτου.

Η ΚΑ διάλεκτος διατηρεί πολλά αρχαϊκά χαρακτηριστικά σε σχέση με την Κοινή Νεοελληνική, όπως όλες οι περιφερειακές διάλεκτοι των οποίων η γλωσσική κοινότητα είναι απομονωμένη από τον υπόλοιπο ελληνόφωνο κόσμο. Επίσης, όπως όλες οι διάλεκτοι που είναι απομακρυσμένες γεωγραφικά από το κέντρο, η ΚΑ έχει επηρεαστεί αρκετά από ξένα γλωσσικά στοιχεία που ανήκουν σε γειτονικές γλώσσες, γεγονός που οφείλεται σε ιστορικούς λόγους (Ανδριώτης 1974:10) και συγκεκριμένα στους πολιτισμούς και συνακόλουθα τις γλώσσες με τις οποίες ήρθε σε επαφή [language contact]. Η ΚΑ διάλεκτος, αντικατοπτρίζοντας την ιστορία των ομιλητών της, έχει συνυπάρξει στη μακραίωνη ιστορία της με σειρά γλωσσών, συγκεκριμένα στην Κριμαϊκή της περίοδο κυρίως με ταταρικές και τουρκικές διαλέκτους, ενώ ισχυρή ήταν η επίδραση από την ποντιακή ελληνική διάλεκτο, η οποία όμως δεν άλλαξε τη βάση της. Στην Αζοφική της περίοδο ήρθε σε επαφή με τις σλαβικές γλώσσες (τη ρωσική και πρόσφατα την ουκρανική).

2. Έρευνα

Στην παρούσα έρευνα η μέθοδος που επιλέχθηκε ήταν στο μεγαλύτερο μέρος ποσοτική: σύνταξη ερωτηματολογίου και συνέντευξη με βάση το ερωτηματολόγιο. Η γράφουσα από το Σεπτέμβριο του 2002 έως τον Ιούνιο του 2007 διέμενε στην πόλη της Μαριούπολης εργαζόμενη ως αποσπασμένη φιλόλογος στο Κρατικό Πανεπιστήμιο Ανθρωπιστικών Σπουδών της Μαριούπολης (ΚΠΑΣΜ), οπότε είχε την ευκαιρία να διεξαγάγει παράλληλα και ποιοτική έρευνα με τη μορφή της συμμετοχικής παρατήρησης σε πολιτισμικά συμβάντα [events] των κοινοτήτων της Γιάλτας και του Μάλι Γιανισόλ αλλά και γενικά της ελληνικής κοινότητας της περιοχής. Είχε συνεπώς τη δυνατότητα να παρατηρεί σε τακτά χρονικά διαστήματα τη γλωσσική και ευρύτερη κοινωνική συμπεριφορά των δύο κοινοτήτων τις οποίες μελέτησε αλλά και δυνατότητα εμπλοκής στα δίκτυα επαφών.

Το ερωτηματολόγιο απαρτίζεται από δύο μέρη. Το πρώτο μέρος αποτελείται από τρεις ενότητες. Σκοπός της πρώτης ενότητας είναι η καταγραφή των ανεξάρτητων κοινωνικών μεταβλητών (ηλικία, φύλο, μόρφωση, επάγγελμα) και η σκιαγράφηση του γλωσσικού πορτραίτου των υποκειμένων - γλώσσες που γνωρίζουν και φυσικό ή τεχνητό περιβάλλον εκμάθησης. Η δεύτερη ενότητα στοχεύει στην περιγραφή των γλωσσικών χρήσεων ως προς τους συνομιλητές, αντιπροσωπευτικές σφαίρες λειτουργικότητας και συγκεκριμένες γλωσσικές δραστηριότητες. Στην τρίτη ενότητα οι ερωτήσεις είναι αξιολογικές και ζητείται η γνώμη των υποκειμένων για τη διάλεκτο, για τη διατήρηση και κωδικοποίησή της, για τη διεύρυνση των λειτουργιών της και τη μετάδοσή της στις επόμενες γενιές, με

στόχο τη διερεύνηση των στάσεων των υποκειμένων απέναντι στη διάλεκτο και απέναντι στην κυρίαρχη Κοινή Νεοελληνική, αλλά και τη μερική διερεύνηση των στάσεων των συνοικούντων εθνοτήτων απέναντι στην ΚΑ διάλεκτο και τους ομιλητές της, έτσι όπως οι τελευταίοι τις αντιλαμβάνονται.

Στο δεύτερο μέρος του ερωτηματολογίου διερευνάται η ύπαρξη ή όχι συρρίκνωσης στο γλωσσικό σύστημα, συγκεκριμένα στο λεξιλογικό επίπεδο και ακόμα πιο συγκεκριμένα, στο αρχαϊκό λεξιλόγιο της διαλέκτου. Έχουν επιλεγεί 117 αρχαϊκά λεξιλογικά τεμάχια ταξινομημένα κατά γραμματικό γένος, ενώ τα ουσιαστικά, που είναι και τα περισσότερα, ομαδοποιούνται κατά σημασιολογικά πεδία (νοικοκυριό-καθημερινή ζωή, φύση-φυτά, διατροφή, άνθρωπος, αφηρημένες έννοιες, ζώα, υγεία). Οι λεκτικοί αρχαϊσμοί επιλέχθηκαν από το λεξικό της Ζουραβλιόβα (Νεοελληνική Διαλεκτολογία, τόμος 4, 2003), από την ενότητα 'Κριμαιοαζοφική' των Τζίτζιλή-Ζουραβλιόβα στο υπό έκδοση 'Νεοελληνικές διαλέκτοι' και από το ρουμείο-ρωσο-νεοελληνικό λεξικό του Κυριάκοφ (1999).

Η επιλογή των αρχαϊσμών οφείλεται στο γεγονός ότι παρουσιάζουν ιδιαίτερο ερευνητικό ενδιαφέρον εφόσον αποτελούν ιδιαίτερο γνώρισμα των περιφερειακών διαλέκτων. Τα υποκείμενα της έρευνας ερωτώνται αν γνωρίζουν την κάθε μία λέξη. Σε περίπτωση που τη γνωρίζουν, οι λεκτικοί αρχαϊσμοί λειτουργούν ως εφόρμηση παραγωγής προφορικού λόγου η οποία με τη σειρά της λειτουργεί ως δείγμα της ικανότητας γλωσσικής και αφηγηματικής επιτέλεσης των υποκειμένων και της γλωσσικής τους επάρκειας.

Αναφορικά με τις μεταβλητές της έρευνας, όσον αφορά στις ανεξάρτητες (εξωγλωσσικές) μεταβλητές, η ηλικία είναι η αποκλειστική που αποτέλεσε κριτήριο επιλογής των υποκειμένων, δεδομένου ότι ήδη από την εποχή της ΣΕ τα δύο φύλα συμμετέχουν εξίσου στην παραγωγική διαδικασία, οι γυναίκες εργάζονται και λαμβάνουν την ίδια εκπαίδευση, οπότε δεν παρατηρείται αξιοσημείωτη διαφοροποίηση ανάμεσα στα δύο φύλα, ούτε ο γλωσσικός συντηρητισμός του γυναικείου φύλου ως προς τη χρήση της μητρικής γλώσσας που παρατηρείται συνήθως στις παραδοσιακές κοινωνίες στις οποίες η γυναίκα περιορίζεται στη σφαίρα της οικογενειακής ζωής. Η ηλικία είναι ένας πολύ σημαντικός παράγοντας ειδικά σε περιπτώσεις γλωσσικού θανάτου δεδομένου ότι η διαφορετική -και το κυριότερο- φθίνουσα γνώση και χρήση της διαλέκτου καθώς από τις μεγαλύτερες περνάμε στις μικρότερες ηλικίες, είναι ουσιαστικά μια 'διαχρονική ματιά' στη γλωσσική αλλαγή που έχει επιτελεστεί στη σημερινή κοινότητα στη χρονική διάρκεια τριών γενεών. Συγκεκριμένα, η μεταβλητή αυτή πήρε τρεις τιμές: τα υποκείμενα διακρίνονται σε τρεις ηλικιακές ομάδες: την ομάδα Α (γεννημένοι 1920-1934), την ομάδα Β (γεννημένοι 1950-1958) και την ομάδα Γ (γεννημένοι 1976-1986). Συνολικά συμμετέχουν στην έρευνα 24 υποκείμενα, 8 από κάθε ηλικιακή ομάδα, στην κάθε ομάδα 4 από το ΜΓ και 4 από τη Γιάλα, συνολικά 15 γυναίκες και 9 άντρες. Λαμβάνοντας υπόψη την ηλικία και τη γλωσσική κοινότητα της οποίας αποτελούν μέλη, οι ομάδες υποκειμένων που μελετάμε διαμορφώνονται ως εξής: ΜΓΑ, ΜΓΒ, ΜΓΓ, ΓΑ, ΓΒ, ΓΓ και με αυτές τις συντομογραφίες αναφέρονται στο εξής.

Ός προς τις στάσεις των υποκειμένων συμπεραίνουμε ότι αν και υπάρχει θετική αντιμετώπιση της γλώσσας ως εθνικού συμβόλου, η αξία της μειώνεται από το κόστος των προσωπικών αναγκών και κινήτρων που έχουν σχέση με την εκπαιδευτική και επαγγελματική επιτυχία, γενικά την κοινωνική κινητικότητα. Γι αυτό το λόγο, παρατηρείται διάσταση ανάμεσα στη συναισθηματική στάση και τις προσωπικές επιλογές. Εκδηλώνεται μεν ενδιαφέρον για την επιβίωση της μειονοτικής γλώσσας ως σύμβολο της εθνικής κουλτούρας και κληρονομιάς, δεν παρατηρείται όμως αντίστοιχο ενδιαφέρον για προσωπική ενασχόληση, στάση που έχει παρατηρηθεί σε αντίστοιχες περιπτώσεις και σε άλλες μειονοτικές γλωσσικές κοινότητες στην Αμερική (Crystal D.2000).

Παράλληλα, η Κοινή ΝΕ ασκεί ηγεμονικό ρόλο και προκαλεί μετακίνηση από τη διάλεκτο προς αυτήν ακόμα και ως προς το συμβολικό κύρος. Η διάλεκτος αντιμετωπίζεται ως στιγματισμένη ποικιλία με φτωχό γλωσσικό σύστημα που συνεπάγεται περιορισμένη λειτουργικότητα, σε αντίστιξη με την Κοινή ΝΕ που αντιμετωπίζεται ως η υψηλή ποικιλία που αντλεί το κύρος της από την παράδοση, τον πλούτο των εκφραστικών μέσων, το ευρύ φάσμα λειτουργιών, τη χρηστικότητα η οποία αποβαίνει συμφέρουσα για τους ομιλητές/τριες αλλά και από το γεγονός ότι αποτελεί επίσημη γλώσσα κράτους το οποίο αν και επί ΣΕ θεωρούνταν χαμηλότερου κύρους, στην παρούσα φάση, μετά την αυτονομία της Ουκρανίας θεωρείται υψηλού κύρους. Με λίγα λόγια, η διάλεκτος παρουσιάζεται ως συνεκτικός κρίκος με το παρελθόν και τις ρίζες και συνδέεται με τη συναισθηματική στάση των υποκειμένων, ενώ η ΚΝΕ γίνεται αντιληπτή ως γέφυρα με το μέλλον και τον ευρύτερο ελληνισμό.

Αναφορικά με τη στάση των άλλων σύνοικων εθνοτήτων απέναντι στην ελληνική διάλεκτο, στη διάρκεια της ΣΕ αντιμετωπίστηκε ως αρνητικό διακριτικό στοιχείο ταυτότητας που μάλιστα ταύτιζε τους ομιλητές/-τριες της με άλλες στιγματισμένες εθνοτικές και γλωσσικές μειονότητες. Αυτός ο στιγματισμός της διαλέκτου προκάλεσε την αρνητική στάση των ίδιων των μελών της κοινότητας, η διάλεκτος θεωρήθηκε κατώτερη σε σχέση με την οροφική (ρωσική) λόγω του χαμηλού κοινωνικού της κύρους και λόγω των στερεοτύπων για τις γλώσσες των μειονοτικών ομάδων χωρίς γραπτή παράδοση και εμπόδιο

για την επαγγελματική και κοινωνική εξέλιξη των παιδιών, με συνέπεια το σταδιακό αλλά συνειδητό εξοβελισμό της και από τη σφαίρα της οικογενειακής ζωής και την αντικατάστασή της από την κυρίαρχη οροφική.

Αναφορικά με τις γλωσσικές χρήσεις, όπως ήταν αναμενόμενο, βρίσκονται σε συνάρτηση με τις στάσεις απέναντι στη γλώσσα. Ο κυριότερος παράγοντας που επηρεάζει την επιλογή κώδικα είναι ο συνομιλητής και συγκεκριμένα το αν υπάρχει κοινή γνώση του κώδικα ώστε να εξασφαλίζεται η επικοινωνία, ενώ ο χώρος και η κατάσταση δε φαίνεται να διαδραματίζουν τόσο σημαντικό ρόλο. Τα υποκείμενα της ομάδας Α έχουν αναπτυγμένη γλωσσική ικανότητα, καθώς στο πρώτο διάστημα της ζωής τους η διάλεκτος, εκτός από μητρική γλώσσα ήταν και η γλώσσα της καθημερινής και οικογενειακής σφαίρας αλλά, λόγω της ραγδαίας μείωσης των συνομιλητών/-τριών περιορίζεται και η χρήση της διαλέκτου. Ωστόσο, επειδή η διάλεκτος είναι η πρώτη τους γλώσσα (μητρική) γι αυτό και διατηρούνται οι πιο εσωτερικές και υποσυνείδητες λειτουργίες και παρόλο που στη διάρκεια της ζωής τους υπέστησαν ή επέλεξαν λόγω εξωγλωσσικών συνθηκών τη γλωσσική μετακίνηση προς την κυρίαρχη ρωσική, επιστρέφουν στην πρώτη γλώσσα προς το τέλος της ζωής τους όταν χάνουν την επαφή με το εξωτερικό περιβάλλον, κλείνοντας έτσι τον κύκλο της γλωσσικής τους έκφρασης (χαρακτηριστικό παράδειγμα ο υπερήλικας από τη Γιάλτα που μιλάει τα τελευταία χρόνια μόνο στη ρουμείκη διάλεκτο κι όταν η Ρωσίδα νύφη του τού απευθύνεται στα ρωσικά, απαντά *‘zmons du = την ξέχασα*).

Τα υποκείμενα της ομάδας Β είναι οι κατεξοχήν δίγλωσσοι/-ες, με τη ρωσική να είναι πολύ κοντά χρονικά στην πρώτη γλώσσα ή και παράλληλη πρώτη γλώσσα μαζί με τη διάλεκτο (ταυτόχρονη και πρωτογενής διγλωσσία). Οι γονείς τους αλλά και οι ίδιοι ως γονείς, κάτω από αρνητικές εξωγλωσσικές συνθήκες για τις οποίες έγινε λόγος παραπάνω, θεώρησαν την ΚΑ διάλεκτο στο ρόλο της πρώτης γλώσσας εμπόδιο στην εξέλιξη των παιδιών τους και συνειδητά διέκοψαν ή περιόρισαν τη χρήση της και στον οικογενειακό τομέα.

Τα υποκείμενα της ομάδας Γ χρησιμοποιούν τη διάλεκτο σε δραστηριότητες που δεν απαιτούν καλή γνώση του κώδικα, όπως το βρίσιμο (αν και όχι συχνά γιατί δεν αποτελεί συχνή συμπεριφορά), δραστηριότητα που όπως ερμηνεύτηκε από τα ίδια τα υποκείμενα είναι πολύ κοντά στην κρυπτολαλική λειτουργία της εναλλαγής κωδικών. Η διαφορά τους είναι ότι το να μιλάει κάποιος στη διάλεκτο ώστε να μην τον καταλάβουν οι άλλοι προϋποθέτει τη δεξιότητα παραγωγής λόγου και αφήγησης, ενώ η βρισιά απαιτεί σύντομες στερεοτυπικές φράσεις γι αυτό και επιβιώνει ως ένα βαθμό και στις νεότερες γενιές. Στα όρια της στερεοτυπικότητας και της μη ελεύθερης και δημιουργικής παραγωγής λόγου εμπίπτουν και οι άλλες δύο δραστηριότητες στις οποίες φαίνεται να μετέχουν, δηλαδή το τραγούδι (αποσπασματικά) και ο χαιρετισμός στους ηλικιωμένους. Τα αποτελέσματα της μικρής –όσον αφορά στον αριθμό των υποκειμένων-αυτής έρευνας επιβεβαιώνουν τα συμπεράσματα της έρευνας που διεξήγαγε η Χατζηδάκη το 1999 που έκανε λόγο για επιβίωση των συναισθηματικών λειτουργιών της διαλέκτου. Μπορούμε να μιλήσουμε για διγλωσσική ικανότητα αλλά όχι διγλωσσική χρήση, η οποία είναι λανθάνουσα και ενεργοποιείται με το κατάλληλο κίνητρο ή πλαίσιο.

Ανακεφαλαιώνοντας, οι γονείς των σημερινών ηλικιωμένων ήταν παθητικοί δίγλωσσοι της ρωσικής ή παρήγαγαν λόγο μετά δυσκολίας, ενώ την ίδια σχέση έχουν συγχρονικά οι νεότεροι με τη διάλεκτο. Επομένως, στο χρονικό διάστημα ενός αιών, μέσα σε τρεις γενιές, συνέβη η γλωσσική μετακίνηση στο ρόλο της πρώτης (μητρικής) γλώσσας.

Περνώντας στα αποτελέσματα του δεύτερου μέρους της έρευνας αναφορικά με την αναγνώριση των αρχαϊκών λεκτικών τεμαχίων και τα χαρακτηριστικά του παραγόμενου λόγου, οδηγούμαστε στο συμπέρασμα ότι το ιδίωμα της Γιάλτας προηγείται χρονικά στη διαδικασία της συρρίκνωσης. Συγκεκριμένα, από όλα τα υποκείμενα και των τριών ηλικιακών ομάδων αναγνωρίζονται στη μεν Γιάλτα 10 αρχαϊσμοί (8,54%), ενώ στο ΜΓ 30 (26%). Επιπλέον, 30 τεμάχια από τα 117 (περίπου το 26,5 %) μαρτυρούνται σήμερα μόνο στο ιδίωμα του ΜΓ και όχι στις Γιάλτας, ενώ κάποιες λέξεις δε συναντώνται στην ομάδα Γ της Γιάλτας, ενώ συναντώνται στην ομάδα Γ του ΜΓ. Το ποσοστό αναγνώρισης των λέξεων από το μεγαλύτερο προς το μικρότερο, κατά ομάδα υποκειμένων, έχει ως εξής: ΜΓΑ (94,01%), ΜΓΒ (87,14%), ΓΑ (78%), ΜΓΓ (64,10%), ΓΒ (57,26%), ΓΓ (49,57%). Αντίστροφα, ξεκινώντας από την ομάδα όπου οι μη αναγνωρίσιμες λέξεις είναι οι λιγότερες, η σειρά έχει ως εξής: ΜΓΑ (8/117), ΜΓΒ (16/117), ΓΑ (41/117), ΜΓΓ (41/117), ΓΒ (48/117) / ΓΓ (56/117).

Σε σημασιολογικό επίπεδο, την πολυσημία μίας λέξης, την παραδειγματική σχέση συνωνύμων, τις νοηματικές αποχρώσεις μίας σημασίας που αποδίδονται με διαφορετικά σημαίνοντα, τις υποστηρίζει ένα λειτουργικό γλωσσικό σύστημα. Σε ένα σύστημα σε διαδικασία συρρίκνωσης ή χάνεται η πολυσημία μίας λέξης, ή υποχωρούν τα συνώνυμα και οι νοηματικές αποχρώσεις και επικρατεί ένα υπερώνυμο. Στο ιδίωμα του ΜΓ παρατηρούνται περισσότερο σημασιολογικές ομάδες λέξεων με λεπτές νοηματικές διαφοροποιήσεις. Τις διαφοροποιήσεις αυτές τις αναφέρουν τα υποκείμενα της Α και Β ομάδας, επομένως εκλείπουν ήδη από την ομάδα Γ (π.χ. *γυ'ργα = νωρίς γενικά, a'fiama = νωρίς το απόγευμα, a'riδ = αχλάδι, 'grabdu = μικρό αχλάδι, το οποίο κάνουν κομπόστα ή τουρσί*). Σε λέξεις με

πολυσημία στην ομάδα Γ παρουσιάζεται η τάση στένωσης της σημασίας. Επίσης, κάποιες από τις αρχαϊκές λέξεις βρίσκονται σε διαδικασία αντικατάστασής τους από άλλες των οποίων διευρύνεται η χρήση και σημασία. Μαζί με το σημαίνον χάνεται και μία λεπτή νοηματική διάκριση και παραμένει η λέξη με την πιο γενική σημασία. Στη Γιάλτα έχει συντελεστεί γρηγορότερα η διαδικασία αντικατάστασης.

Επιπλέον, ένα από τα συμπεράσματα της έρευνας είναι ότι σε λέξεις με κυριολεκτική και μεταφορική χρήση, ανθεκτικότερη ως προς την επιβίωση είναι η μεταφορική. Συχνά η ομάδα Α αναφέρει και την κυριολεκτική και τη μεταφορική σημασία, η ομάδα Β παρουσιάζει μια μικρή μετατόπιση προς τη μεταφορική, ενώ στην ομάδα Γ επιβιώνει περισσότερο η μεταφορική, κάποτε και αποκλειστικά (*tsepra* = ασθένεια του δέρματος / άνθρωπος που κολλάει πάνω σου, *a'rkdi'a* = αρκούδα / μεγαλόσωμος, δυνατός άνθρωπος, *'bazu* = τοποθετώ κάτι ψηλά / βάζω κάποιον κάπου με μέσο). Αυτή η τάση επιβεβαιώνεται από λέξεις που έχουν επιβιώσει αποκλειστικά με τη μεταφορική σημασία, όπως η λέξη *fii'xos* = φτωχός που επιβιώνει μόνο με τη μεταφορική σημασία 'αδύνατος', ενώ η κυριολεκτική σημασία έχει αντικατασταθεί από τη λέξη *γα'rips* (τουρκογενής με ελληνική κατάληξη).

Παρατηρείται η τάση να επιβιώνουν στην ομάδα Γ οι στερεότυπες φράσεις, κυρίως παγιωμένες προτάσεις σε προστακτική, οι οποίες στους παθητικά διγλωσσους αποτελούν ανάκληση μέσω της μνήμης, φράσεων που έλεγαν οι γονείς / παπούδες. (*'fae /'epar / 'dos / 'ynefa!* = φάε, πάρε, δώσε, ζύψα). Επίσης κάποιες λέξεις διατηρούνται μόνο ως 'επώνυμα της πιάτσας', κοινώς παρατσούκλια.

Αναφορικά με τα σημασιολογικά πεδία, τα πεδία ζώα, διατροφή και άνθρωπος έχουν την πιο υψηλή αναγνωρισιμότητα με τη σειρά που αναφέρθηκαν. Τα πεδία που παρουσιάζουν την πιο έντονη τάση για φθίνουσα πορεία είναι η υγεία κι ακολουθεί η φύση. Το πεδίο που παρουσιάζει τη μεγαλύτερη υποχώρηση είναι οι αφηρημένες έννοιες.

Η διατήρηση της στερεοτυπικότητας ενισχύεται και από παρατηρήσεις στο μορφολογικό επίπεδο, όπου παρατηρείται σημαντική υποχώρηση των αφηρημένων ουσιαστικών και των επιθέτων, και υψηλή διατηρησιμότητα της προστακτικής έγκλισης των ρημάτων. Σχετικά με τα άλλα γραμματικά γένη, παρατηρούμε ότι οι αντωνυμίες και τα επιρρήματα παρουσιάζουν την υψηλότερη βιωσιμότητα και τα επίθετα τη μικρότερη. Η παρουσία των ρημάτων είναι σταθερή και γενικά παρουσιάζουν σχετικά χαμηλό βαθμό συρρίκνωσης.

Σε πραγματολογικό επίπεδο, προέκυψε το ερώτημα αν οι αρχαϊσμοί και τα σημασιολογικά πεδία που υποχωρούν σχετίζονται με εκφάνσεις του πολιτισμού και της καθημερινής ζωής που υποχωρούν αντίστοιχα. Ανάμεσα στους όρους που έχουν πλήρως υποχωρήσει ή έχουν σαφή τάση υποχώρησης στην ομάδα Γ και των δύο κοινοτήτων κάποιοι σχετίζονται σαφώς με την υποχώρηση αντίστοιχων εργασιών αφού έχει αλλάξει ο τρόπος παραγωγής (*thiri'stir / shiri'st'er* = θεριστηρί, δρεπάνι *gli'fan* = δίκρανο, *klu'stir* = μεγάλο αδράχτο), με την αλλαγή μορφής της κατοικίας (*mu'rsi* = σκαμένη λακκούβα στη γη για τη φύλαξη και συντήρηση τροφίμων), με υλικά και είδη που δε χρησιμοποιούνται πια (*'tshenglu* = μάλλινο χαλάκι ή κέτες), με είδη διατροφής που δε συνηθίζονται πια από τους νέους (*ma'lai* = φαγητό από καλαμπόκι), με την αλλαγή κοινωνικών συνηθειών (*puku'shars* = προξενητής, *pu'rka* = δίσκος με γλυκά και φρούτα, *pesk'esi* στην περίσταση του γάμου), με τη σταδιακή εξάλειψη επαγγελματιών (*shi'r'das* = γουρουνάς), με την υποχώρηση κάποιων προκαταλήψεων (*klu'ksija*: *'ada* 'loyun *pu'surka* 'loy'a, 'erkit = λόξιγκας: έρχεται όταν λένε για σένα άσχημα λόγια).

Η υποχώρηση άλλων όρων δε σχετίζεται με υποχώρηση αντίστοιχων πραγματικών συνθηκών και πολιτισμικών χαρακτηριστικών, αλλά με το γεγονός ότι έχει υποχωρήσει η αναφορική λειτουργία της διαλέκτου η οποία δεν επιλέγεται ως κώδικας περιγραφής του κόσμου. Έτσι, η εξαφάνιση του όρου *'solka* = συνομιλικός στην ομάδα Γ είναι αναμενόμενη, η υποχώρηση του όρου *'orku* = πληγή (στη Γιάλτα *'oruk* με άπαξ μαρτυρία) σχετίζεται με τη γενικότερη υποχώρηση του σημασιολογικού πεδίου υγεία, η οποία είναι πιο έντονη στη Γιάλτα, όπως και των όρων *mu'losh* = μολόχα, *tra'shi* = τραχύ αντανάκλα τη συρρίκνωση του πεδίου των φυτών και των επιθέτων αντίστοιχα.

Από την άλλη, δεν είναι τυχαίο που οι λέξεις *shu'rid* = γουρούνι και *'xno* = αγελάδα αναγνωρίζονται από όλα τα υποκείμενα της έρευνας, εφόσον στα περισσότερα σπίτια και στις δύο κοινότητες εκτρέφονται ακόμα αυτά τα ζώα, μέχρι σήμερα. Άλλες λέξεις διατηρούν υψηλή βιωσιμότητα για διαφορετικούς λόγους, όπως η λέξη *'uksus* = ξίδι που δεν αναγνωρίζεται ως ελληνική αλλά ως ρωσική γιατί αποτελεί δάνειο ενσωματωμένο στη ρωσική από το 13^ο αι., λέξεις τις οποίες κατανοούν οι νέοι επειδή τις επαναλαμβάνουν συχνά οι ηλικιωμένοι συγγενείς τους (*'rasha* = ράχη, *zmu'nu/ zilmu'nu* = λημονώ, *'orima/ 'on'ur* = όνειρο), ή λέξεις που διατηρήθηκαν μέσα σε φραστικά σύνολα ή σε στίχους τραγουδιών.

3. Επίλογος

Ανακεφαλαιώνοντας, τα ιδιώματα της Κριμααιοζοφικής διαλέκτου χρησιμοποιούνται ακόμα στα ελληνικά χωριά, περισσότερο στα απομονωμένα και με μεγαλύτερο ποσοστό ελληνικού πληθυσμού, πρόκειται όμως για επαπειλούμενη [endangered] γλωσσική ποικιλία. Αυτό επιβεβαιώνεται από τις κοινότητες που εξετάσαμε, καθώς στη Γιάλτα που είναι περιοχή με συχνότερη συγκοινωνία, με τουριστική κίνηση τους καλοκαιρινούς μήνες και με χαμηλότερο ποσοστό ελληνικού πληθυσμού σε σχέση με το Μάλι Γιανισόλ, η γλωσσική συρρίκνωση βρίσκεται σε πιο προχωρημένο στάδιο. Τα ιδιώματα χρησιμοποιούνται από τους ηλικιωμένους και μεσήλικες αλλά δε μεταβιβάζονται στις νεότερες γενιές κυρίως επειδή δε βοηθούν στην κοινωνική κινητικότητα. Μετά τη σύσταση του ουκρανικού κράτους, τη συσπείρωση των ελληνικών κοινοτήτων της Ουκρανίας, την έξοδό τους από τη μέχρι τότε απομόνωση και την επαφή τους με την Ελλάδα και την ελληνική διασπορά, η Κοινή ΝΕ διαδραματίζει σταδιακά έναν ιδιότυπο ρόλο *lingua franca* για την ελληνική εθνοτική κοινότητα και εκτοπίζει τη διάλεκτο.

Σύμφωνα με τις παρατηρήσεις των κοινωνιογλωσσολόγων, κάτω από κατάλληλες αφομοιωτικές συνθήκες, συνήθως στην τρίτη γενιά μεταναστών παρατηρείται ήδη γλωσσική μετακίνηση. Στην περίπτωση των Ελλήνων της Αζοφικής διατηρήθηκε η δική τους γλώσσα, τα *ρουμέικα*, επί σειρά αιώνων ως μειονοτική γλώσσα, παρότι ήταν ανάμεσα σε κυρίαρχες γλώσσες αποκομμένη από τα κέντρα ελληνισμού, προφανώς επειδή οι αφομοιωτικές συνθήκες δεν ήταν ικανές κι επαρκείς. Τέτοιες συνθήκες - ιστορικές, κοινωνικές, πολιτικές- τόσο σε μακροεπίπεδο (παγκόσμιο και εθνικό) όσο και σε μικροεπίπεδο (τοπικό) δημιουργήθηκαν στα τέλη της δεκαετίας του '30 οπότε άρχισε να λαμβάνει χώρα η γλωσσική μετακίνηση προς την οροφική ρωσική, η οποία απ' ότι φαίνεται, σε ορισμένα περιβάλλοντα ολοκληρώθηκε επίσης μέσα σε τρεις γενιές.

Επιπλέον, φαίνεται να έχουν αποσυνδεθεί οι έννοιες *εθνοτική ταυτότητα* και *γλώσσα*. Η γλώσσα δεν αποτελεί αναπόσπαστο στοιχείο της εθνοτικής ταυτότητας αφού όσοι αυτοπροσδιορίζονται ως Έλληνες κι έχουν ελληνική εθνική συνείδηση δε μιλάνε όλοι τη διάλεκτο ή την Κοινή, ενώ αντίστροφα η Κοινή Νεοελληνική χρησιμοποιείται από άτομα διαφόρων εθνοτήτων, λόγω της διδασκαλίας της στο Κρατικό Πανεπιστήμιο Ανθρωπιστικών Σπουδών.

Τοποθετώντας το ζήτημα σε διεθνές επίπεδο, θεωρούμε καλό να αναφέρουμε τον προβληματισμό του Truchot (2002:17-19) σχετικά με τη θέση και τις λειτουργίες των γλωσσών σήμερα που το μόρφωμα εθνικό-κράτος τείνει να ξεπεραστεί και να θεωρηθεί αρχαϊκό μπροστά στα νέα σχήματα που επιβάλλει σταδιακά η παγκοσμιοποίηση της αγοράς. Αναρωτιέται αν σήμερα η χρήση μιας γλώσσας εξαρτάται από το βαθμό της θεσμικής της αναγνώρισης ή εξαρτάται περισσότερο απ' ότι στο παρελθόν από το ρόλο της στη λειτουργία της παγκόσμιας αγοράς. Οι εθνικές και επίσημες γλώσσες συχνά επιβλήθηκαν από τις εύπορες τάξεις στα λαϊκά στρώματα που μιλούσαν άλλες γλώσσες ή γλωσσικές ποικιλίες. Σήμερα, τα λαϊκά στρώματα είναι εκείνα που έχουν οικειοποιηθεί τις εθνικές κι επίσημες γλώσσες, ενώ τα ανώτερα στρώματα ενδεχομένως αναζητούν άλλες προοπτικές, παραδείγματος χάρη την απόκτηση μιας πολυγλωσσίας με υψηλή αξία προστιθέμενη στο οικονομικό πεδίο.

Αν θεωρηθεί το θέμα της θνησιμότητας της διαλέκτου της ελληνικής κοινότητας της Αζοφικής υπό το πρίσμα του σύγχρονου μακροεπιπέδου που εκτέθηκε παραπάνω, προκύπτει ο προβληματισμός κατά πόσο είναι εφικτό να επιβιώσει μία γεωγραφική ποικιλία που δεν πρόλαβε να εποικοδομηθεί και να κωδικοποιηθεί, από τη στιγμή που αλλάζει η ισορροπία σε σχέση και με τις εθνικές επίσημες γλώσσες. Μ' αυτή την προβληματική ακόμα κι ο ρόλος της Κοινής Νεοελληνικής στην περιοχή μπορεί κάλλιστα να κλονιστεί σε περίπτωση ευρωπαϊκού προσανατολισμού της Ουκρανίας ο οποίος θα καταστήσει απαραίτητη την εκμάθηση ισχυρότερων γλωσσών.

Θα μπορούσε να αναρωτηθεί κανείς γιατί να διατηρηθεί η διάλεκτος. Η απώλεια μιας γλώσσας δεν είναι η απώλεια μιας έννοιας αλλά είναι αυτό που συμβαίνει όταν οι άνθρωποι αλλάζουν συμπεριφορά και δεν μεταβιβάζουν τη γλώσσα τους στις επόμενες γενιές. Επιπλέον, μπορούμε να δούμε το φαινόμενο με τον οικολογικό του χαρακτήρα, εστιάζοντας στις σχέσεις των ανθρώπων μεταξύ τους και με το περιβάλλον, στις σκέψεις και τα αισθήματά τους. Σύμφωνα με τον Crystal (2000:27) χρειαζόμαστε τη διαφορετικότητα και την ποικιλότητα, γιατί οι γλώσσες εκφράζουν ταυτότητα, είναι αποθήκες της ιστορίας, συνεισφέρουν στο σύνολο της ανθρώπινης γνώσης, είναι ενδιαφέρουσες από μόνες τους. Εξάλλου η γλώσσα σχετίζεται με το συναίσθημα και η συνείδηση συνδέεται τόσο με διανοητικές, όσο και με συναισθηματικές διαδικασίες (Van Lier, 1996: 83).

Ο Ashla A. στον επίλογο της ηχογραφημένης ποιητικής ανθολογίας του (2003: 40-41) επισημαίνει ότι *«στις πολύτομες ιστορίες της νεοελληνικής λογοτεχνίας και στις ελληνικές εγκυκλοπαίδειες δεν αναφέρεται κανένας Ρωμαίος ποιητής από τη Μαριούπολη»*. Είναι γεγονός πως η ελληνική κοινότητα της Αζοφικής έχει μελετηθεί ελάχιστα από τους επιστημονικούς φορείς της μητροπολιτικής Ελλάδας εθνογραφικά και γλωσσικά και θα ήταν καλό αυτό να γίνει το συντομότερο, όσο επιβιώνουν ακόμα η διάλεκτος και τα ιδιώματά της και τα ιδιαίτερα πολιτισμικά της χαρακτηριστικά, προκειμένου ο

ελληνισμός της Αζοφικής να πάρει τη θέση που του αρμόζει, ως ένα από τα κομμάτια του ευρύτερου ελληνισμού με το δικό του ιδιαίτερο χαρακτήρα που άντεξε μέσα στο χρόνο και τις μεταπτώσεις της ιστορίας.

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ΠΟΛΥΛΕΚΤΙΚΑ ΣΥΝΘΕΤΑ, ΣΕΙΡΑΪΚΟΙ ΣΧΗΜΑΤΙΣΜΟΙ ΚΑΙ ΥΣΤΕΡΩΝΥΜΙΚΑ ΖΕΥΓΗ. ΣΥΜΒΟΛΗ ΣΤΗΝ ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΗ ΛΕΞΗ¹

Αναστασία Χριστοφίδου

Ακαδημία Αθηνών

christo@academyofathens.gr

ABSTRACT

This paper addresses the issue of multi-word compounds (and other noun-structures) in Greek proposing a semantic approach to the notion of lexical unit. For this purpose it employs the prototypical approach of Natural Morphology trying to establish a three-part continuum among lexical units (multi/one word(s) compounds), open-ended constructs or retronymy pairs (multi/one word(s) compounds) and phrases (e.g. stereotypical expressions, collocations and other syntactic phrases). A main proposal of this paper is a unifying approach to one(N/A+N)- and multi(A+N)- word compounds.

Λέξεις-κλειδιά: πολυλεκτικά σύνθετα, σειραϊκοί σχηματισμοί, υστερώνυμα, Φυσική Θεωρία, σημασιολογική προτυπική προσέγγιση.

1. Εισαγωγή

Τα τελευταία χρόνια έχει αναπτυχθεί έντονος προβληματισμός ως προς το διαχωρισμό μορφολογικών και συντακτικών πολυλεκτικών δομών ή δεσμευμένων και μη φράσεων (Mel'čuk 1998, Jackendoff 2008, Bybee 2010 κ.ά.), σε διάφορες γλώσσες, με κυρίαρχη τάση την ανάδειξη ενός συνεχούς, κάποιες φορές με τριμερείς ή τετραμερείς διακρίσεις, που περιέχουν μεταξύ άλλων και παγιωμένες, στερεότυπες φράσεις ή λεξικές συνάψεις (idioms, stereotypical expressions, collocations) είτε αφήνοντας, κατά την εκτίμησή μου, σε δεύτερη μοίρα τη βασική διαφοροποίηση μεταξύ φράσης / λέξης, δηλ. χωρίς αυστηρό έλεγχο αυτής καθ' εαυτής της λεξικής ενότητας, είτε προκρίνοντας γι' αυτήν τη διαφοροποίηση κυρίως συντακτικά / μορφολογικά κριτήρια² (Ράλλη 2005, 2007, Booij 2009 για την Ελληνική, Booij 2005, 2010, Lieber 2005, Gaeta / Ricca 2009). Για την Ελληνική, παλαιότερες μελέτες των Αναστασιάδη-Συμεωνίδη (1986) και Ράλλη / Σταύρου (1998) αναδεικνύουν, κατά τη γνώμη μας, εντονότερα το σημασιολογικό παράγοντα.

Αν και αναγνωρίζουμε τη σημασία των πιο πάνω διακρίσεων στη βάση ενός συνεχούς, στην παρούσα εργασία θα προσπαθήσουμε να επικεντρωθούμε στα κριτήρια της διάκρισης των ονοματικών δομών ως λέξης και μη λέξης (ή ως πολυλεκτικού συνθέτου και μη) ελέγχοντας όλα τα γλωσσικά επίπεδα, όπως -επιπλέον της μορφολογίας και σύνταξης- τα επίπεδα σημασίας και χρήσης, χωρίς να αναφερθούμε σε περαιτέρω κατηγοριοποιήσεις των υπολοίπων δομών, που δεν θεωρούνται λέξεις, όπως οι συνάψεις ή στερεότυπες φράσεις. Ειδικότερα για την ελληνική μορφολογία, η οποία δεν έχει σχεδόν απεριόριστη δυνατότητα παραγωγής μονολεκτικών συνθέτων, όπως π.χ. η Γερμανική, θεωρούμε σημαντικό να μην εγκαταλείψουμε το πρωτογενές ζητούμενο της οριοθέτησης της λεξικής ενότητας, παρά την αναγνώριση ενός συνεχούς.

Στη μελέτη μας ασχολούμαστε αποκλειστικά με ονοματικές δομές και πιο συγκεκριμένα με τη δομή E+O (για τα σύνθετα E/O+O), γιατί θεωρούμε ότι η λεπτομερειακή και κατ' ομάδες έρευνα του φαινομένου των υπό εξέταση φραστικών δομών, επιβάλλεται σε ένα τόσο απαιτητικό στην ανάλυσή του φαινόμενο. Στην παραπάνω δομή, άλλωστε, εντάσσονται και οι περισσότερες περιπτώσεις υστερωνυμίας (retronymy), στην οποία θα αναφερθούμε αμέσως μετά ως χαρακτηριστικής ομάδας ονοματικών δομών προς διερεύνηση.

¹ Ο τίτλος της παρούσας μελέτης είναι εν μέρει διαφοροποιημένος από τον τίτλο της ανακοίνωσης που παρουσίασα στο 10^ο Συνέδριο Ελληνικής Γλωσσολογίας, Σεπτέμβριος 2011, Κομοτηνή.

² Όλοι οι πιο πάνω ερευνητές αναγνωρίζουν τη σπουδαιότητα και των σημασιολογικών κριτηρίων (κυρίως η Ράλλη και οι Gaeta / Ricca), αλλά δεν φαίνεται να τα προτάσσουν ως αποφασιστικής σημασίας και να τα αναλύουν αρκετά διεξοδικά.

Κατ' αρχήν από την ανάλυσή μας αποκλείονται όλες οι φραστικές δομές, κυρίως ρηματικές, όπως «τα βάφω μαύρα», «πέφτω από τα σύννεφα» κ.ά. (πρβλ. Μπακάκου 2005, Βασιλειάδου 2007), οι οποίες δεν παρουσιάζουν παραγωγικότητα, συμφωνώντας με τη Ράλλη (2007: 225-226), ότι οι δομές πρέπει να εξετάζονται υπό το πρίσμα της ένταξής τους σε πολυλεκτικά σύνθετα (στο εξής ΠΣ) ή όχι, μόνο εάν, και εφόσον, είναι μέλη σχημάτων με έντονη παραγωγικότητα, όπως ακριβώς οι δομές E+O, O+O κλπ. (πρβλ. όμως Jackendoff 2008)³.

2. Παρουσίαση προηγούμενων προσεγγίσεων

Επειδή η ανάλυση πολυλεκτικών δομών, που παρουσιάζουν λεξική ενότητα, έχει συζητηθεί εκτενώς θα επιχειρήσω μια στοχοποιημένη ανασκόπηση προσεγγίσεων, που αφορούν κυρίως την Ελληνική:

Πρώτη στην Ελλάδα η Αναστασιάδη-Συμεωνίδη (1986) βασίζει την ανάλυση των φραστικών δομών και λεξικών φράσεων, ακολουθώντας εν μέρει τη Levi (1978) και άλλους, στη διαφορά ποιοτικού επιθέτου και ψευδοεπιθέτου, αφού συζητήσει καταρχάς φωνολογικά (και γραφής), μορφολογικά, συντακτικά και σημασιολογικά κριτήρια των *λεξικών φράσεων*, όπως αποκαλεί αυτές τις δομές.

Οι Ράλλη / Σταύρου (1998) επιχειρήσαν, επίσης, έναν πολύ καλό διαχωρισμό των φραστικών ενοτήτων με δομή E+O σε μορφολογικές ή συντακτικές δομές θέτοντας σε νέα βάση το είδος του επιθέτου ως κριτήριο: τα ιδιοσυγκρασιακά επίθετα δημιουργούν ΠΣ, ενώ τα ταξινομικά και σχεσιακά όχι (βλ. και Ράλλη 2007). Όρισαν μάλιστα πέντε, συντακτικά κυρίως, κριτήρια βασιζόμενες εν μέρει στα κριτήρια της Αναστασιάδη-Συμεωνίδη (1986).

Η Ράλλη (2007) (βλ. και 2005) ακολουθεί εν πολλοίς τις Ράλλη / Σταύρου 1998, δίνει όμως περισσότερη έμφαση στα συντακτικά (και μορφολογικά) κριτήρια και ονομάζει τις δομές που ανταποκρίνονται στα κριτήρια «χαλαρά πολυλεκτικά σύνθετα» (σελ. 221 κ.εξ.) σε αντιδιαστολή προς τις «φράσεις που μοιάζουν με χαλαρά πολυλεκτικά σύνθετα» (σελ. 240 κ.εξ.) και δεν ανταποκρίνονται στα κριτήρια.

Η Μπακάκου (2005) ακολουθώντας την άποψη για ένα συνεχές μεταξύ φράσεων και λέξεων περιλαμβάνει τη μελέτη των ΠΣ στη γενικότερη μελέτη των «στερεότυπων εκφράσεων», τις οποίες αντιδιαστέλλει προς τις «συνάψεις» προκρίνοντας το κριτήριο της «ενιαίας αναφοράς» και της «σταθερότητας στη μορφή» (σελ. 70).

Ο Booij (2005, 2010) στο πλαίσιο της Construction Grammar συζητάει σημαντικά ενδιάμεσα φαινόμενα, όπως κλιτικούς περιφραστικούς ρηματικούς τύπους, αλλά και τα χωριζόμενα ρήματα της Ολλανδικής και Γερμανικής, τα οποία παρουσιάζουν μεγάλο ενδιαφέρον όντας μεταξύ κλίσης και παραγωγής. Αναφερόμενος, όμως, ειδικότερα στην Ελληνική (Booij 2009) θεωρεί, ότι η ύπαρξη σαφούς και ολοκληρωμένης κλίσης στο εσωτερικό των ελληνικών φραστικών ενοτήτων τις τοποθετεί στην κατηγορία των συντακτικών δομών. Θεωρούμε, όμως, ότι και αυτό το κριτήριο δεν είναι απόλυτο, όταν στα συνδετικά της γερμανικής μονολεκτικής σύνθεσης υπάρχουν στοιχεία υποτυπώδους εσωτερικής κλίσης (π.χ. *Kindergarten*, *Berufsgenehmigung*), όπως και η αρχαιοελληνική λέξη *νικηφόρος* κ.ά (βλ. και Ράλλη 2007: 239, Ραυτοπούλου 2001: 165, πρβλ. Lieber 2005: 376). Αν και πρέπει να παραδεχθούμε ότι τα παραπάνω γερμανικά και αρχαιοελληνικά σύνθετα δεν έχουν τη συστηματικότητα εσωτερικής κλίσης που έχουν τα ΠΣ, θα δείξουμε πιο κάτω ότι άλλα κριτήρια, μη μορφολογικά, μπορούν να είναι εξίσου ή πιο ισχυρά για τον ορισμό της λεξικής ενότητας.

Η Lieber (2005: 377), μεταξύ άλλων, επανερχόμενη κάνει μια αναδρομή στο θέμα των ΠΣ, αν και όχι για την Ελληνική, και αναφέρεται στα γλωσσολογικά κριτήρια, που έχουν προταθεί κατά καιρούς (Marchand 1969, Levi 1978 κλπ.) Προκρίνει, τελικά, ότι καθοριστικό κριτήριο φαίνεται για την Αγγλική να είναι το αδιαχώριστο (**truck fast driver*), μεταξύ των στοιχείων της δομής. Όλα τα υπόλοιπα κριτήρια τα αμφισβητεί ή τα σχετικοποιεί παραθέτοντας αντιπαραδείγματα.

3. Ανάλυση δεδομένων με συντακτικά (μορφολογικά) κριτήρια

Προκειμένου να αναπτύξουμε τη δική μας συμβολή στο θέμα του διαχωρισμού των ΠΣ από άλλες ονοματικές δομές επιλέξαμε να χρησιμοποιήσουμε το φαινόμενο της υστερωνυμίας, θεωρώντας ότι παράγει πολλές νεολογικές δομές E+O, οι οποίες είναι σημαντικό να κατανοήσουμε αν πρόκειται για ΠΣ ή όχι και μάλιστα σε αντιδιαστολή τόσο με τα παραδείγματα (χαλαρών) ΠΣ vs. φραστικών

³ Για παραγωγικότητα φράσεων βλ. Jackendoff (2008), ο οποίος εξετάζει το παραγωγικό σχήμα *N by N* στις φράσεις *inch by inch* κλπ.

ενοτιτών (ή στερεότυπων φράσεων) της ελληνικής βιβλιογραφίας (Ράλλη 2005, 2007, Κολιοπούλου 2006, Βασιλειάδου 2007) όσο και με συγκεκριμένο τύπο μονολεκτικών συνθέτων σειραϊκού σχηματισμού (βλ. Χριστοφίδου 2001), που θα συζητήσουμε πιο κάτω. Το εξελισσόμενο φαινόμενο της υστερωνυμίας θεωρούμε ότι έχει ιδιαίτερο ενδιαφέρον για τη γλωσσολογική ανάλυση της ελληνικής λέξης, γιατί βρίσκεται στην αιχμή της δημιουργικής πλευράς της γλώσσας, αφού αυτό παίρνει μεγάλη έκταση λόγω της ταχύτατης εξέλιξης της τεχνολογίας, της επιστήμης και της κοινωνίας, καθώς και της διάχυσης παρόμοιων όρων στη γλωσσική κοινότητα. Εμείς παίρνουμε το φαινόμενο ως αιτία και αφορμή, για να ασχοληθούμε με τη μορφολογική-λεξιλογική διάσταση της υστερωνυμίας ενταγμένης στο πρόβλημα της διάκρισης των φραστικών δομών από τα ΠΣ γενικότερα.

Ως υστερωνυμία ορίζουμε το φαινόμενο ή τη διαδικασία που αφορά στην ανα-ονοματοδότηση ενός αντικειμένου αναφοράς, συνήθως με την πρόσθεση ενός προσδιοριστή στην προϋπάρχουσα ονομασία, με σκοπό την αντιδιαστολή της από την (συνήθως σύνθετη) ονομασία ενός νεοεμφανιζόμενου αντικειμένου αναφοράς. Παράδειγμα:

Α΄ Φάση: προϋπάρχει η λέξη *ταχυδρομείο* / Β΄ Φάση: εμφανίζεται η ονομασία *ηλεκτρονικό ταχυδρομείο* / Γ΄ Φάση: εμφανίζεται η ονομασία *συμβατικό ταχυδρομείο* με σκοπό την αντιστοίχηση του από το νέο σχηματισμό *ηλεκτρονικό ταχυδρομείο*.

Άλλες περιπτώσεις υστερωνυμίας⁴:

Υστερώνουμο⁵ Υποκινητής(ές) υστερωνόμου⁶

σταθερό τηλέφωνο

κινητό/ασύρματο τηλέφωνο

συμβατικά όπλα

πυρηνικά/ έξυπνα/χημικά όπλα

συμβατικός πόλεμος

πυρηνικός/ηλεκτρονικός/νομισματικός/χημικός...

Αμέσως πιο κάτω παραθέτουμε την εφαρμογή των κριτηρίων (Πάλλη / Σταύρου 1998, Πάλλη 2007: 226 κ.εξ.) στα υστερωνυμικά ζεύγη, δηλαδή:

- (1) όχι προσδιοριστικό στοιχείο στο επίθετο
- (2) όχι παρεμβολή
- (3) όχι αντιμετάθεση των όρων
- (4) όχι διπλό άρθρο
- (5) όχι κατηγορήση

Προς σύγκριση θα ελέγξουμε κάποια προτεινόμενα από τη Ράλλη (2005, 2007) -και από το κόρπους της Κολιοπούλου (2006), η οποία ακολουθεί τη Ράλλη (2005)- ως («χαλαρά») πολυλεκτικά σύνθετα (και μη), βάσει των ανωτέρω κριτηρίων. Στην πιο κάτω ανάλυση θα διαπιστώσουμε, ότι παρά το γεγονός ότι κάποιες δομές δίνονται ως («χαλαρά») ΠΣ από την Ράλλη 2007 βάσει των ανωτέρω κριτηρίων, εμείς διαφοροποιούμαστε ως προς την εφαρμογή των κριτηρίων. Οπότε βασιζόμενοι στο ομαδοποιημένο παράδειγμα των υστερωνομικών κατασκευών, θα προσπαθήσουμε να δείξουμε ότι τα μέχρι τώρα προτεινόμενα κριτήρια για τη λεξική ενότητα, ή όχι, των ΠΣ είναι καλό να σχετικοποιηθούν.

(1) Όχι προσδιοριστικό επιθέτου στα πολυλεκτικά σύνθετα.

Παρατηρούμε ότι τα υστερόνυμα (α) δέχονται την παρεμβολή του προσδιοριστικού. Κατά τη γνώμη μας, όμως, ενώ το (β) ακολουθεί το κριτήριο (1), οπότε είναι ΠΣ, τα επιπλέον προτεινόμενα ως («χαλαρά») ΠΣ στο (γ) από την Κολιοπούλου (2006) φαίνεται να μην ακολουθούν το κριτήριο (1), αφού δεν θεωρείται αντιγραμματική η προσθήκη του προσδιοριστικού του επιθέτου *έντονα* και *ιδιαίτερα* αντίστοιχα.

Μπορούμε να πούμε⁷:

α. αποκλειστικά θαλασσινό (ορυκτό) αλάτι

⁴ Με τον όρο *υστερωνυμία* αποδίδουμε τον αγγλικό όρο *retronymy* θεωρώντας ότι ο όρος εντάσσεται καλύτερα στο ευρύτερο σημασιολογικό σχήμα της υπερωνυμίας, υπωνυμίας αλλά και μερωνυμίας κλπ. Ο Ξυδόπουλος (2008: 164) αποδίδει τον ίδιο όρο με τη λέξη *παλαιωνυμία*, ενώ η Αναστασιάδη-Συμεωνίδη (2001), η οποία πρώτη ασχολήθηκε με το θέμα στην Ελληνική, ονομάζει το φαινόμενο *αναβαπτισμός* ακολουθώντας *γαλλική* ορολογία.

⁵ Για έμφαση στη σημασιολογική ανάλυση του φαινομένου της υστερωνομίας βλ. Αναστασιάδη-Συμεωνίδη (2001) και Ξυδούπουλος (2008).

⁶ Θεωρούμε ότι οι υποκινητές μπορεί να είναι πλέον του ενός.

⁷ Αν και δεν οργανώσαμε αντιστήριδο ερωτηματολόγιο, ελέγξαμε με αρκετούς μορφωμένους φυσικούς ομιλητές του περίγυρου το γλωσσικό μας αίσθημα. Επιπλέον, κατά την ανακοίνωση των παραδειγμάτων στο συνέδριο, δεν τοποθετήθηκε αντίθετα κανείς φυσικός ομιλητής από το ακροατήριο.

---ενώ δεν μπορούμε να πούμε:

- β. * αποκλειστικά παιδική χαρά⁸
* κυρίως ουράνιο τόξο

---αλλά μπορούμε να πούμε:

- γ. (ένα) έντονα λαϊκό αίσθημα
(έκανε) ιδιαίτερα χρυσές δουλειές

(2) Όχι παρεμβολή στα πολυλεκτικά σύνθετα

Το ίδιο συμβαίνει και με το κριτήριο (2), όπου αρκετές από τις δομές που δίνονται στη βιβλιογραφία (Ράλλη 2007) ως ΠΣ δεν φαίνεται να αντέχουν, τουλάχιστον όχι χωρίς αντιρρήσεις, στα κριτήρια (βλ. γ, δ, ε):

Μπορούμε να πούμε:

- α. Η φυσική (τεχνητή), όπως λέγεται, γλώσσα
Αυτή η ακουστική (ηλεκτρική), όπως όλοι βλέπετε, καθάρα
Τα συμβατικά (πυρηνικά), και μόνο/κυρίως, όπλα

---ενώ δεν μπορούμε να πούμε:

- β. *η παιδική κυρίως χαρά
*το ουράνιο κυρίως τόξο

---αλλά κάποια προτεινόμενα από Ράλλη (2007) ως ΠΣ δεν ανταποκρίνονται, κατά τη γνώμη μας στα κριτήρια:

- γ. Θέλω στεγνό μόνο καθάρισμα
Ένα στεγνό και πολύ προσεκτικό καθάρισμα είναι ό,τι χρειάζεται
Πρέπει να γίνει ένα στεγνό, πολύ προσεκτικό, καθάρισμα
- δ. Οι δημόσιοι, και μόνο, υπάλληλοι⁹
Οι δημόσιοι, κυρίως, υπάλληλοι
Ο τρίτος, κυρίως, κόσμος υποφέρει

---αντίθετα μας φαίνεται μάλλον αντιγραμματική η πιο κάτω πρόταση, αν και η Ράλλη που την παραθέτει (2007: 242), τη θεωρεί γραμματική, εξηγώντας (και) έτσι την μη ένταξη της δομής θεατρική κριτική στα ΠΣ:

- ε. ?Ασκεί μια θεατρική, ιδιαίτερα αυστηρή, κριτική

(3) Όχι διπλό άρθρο στα πολυλεκτικά σύνθετα¹⁰

Μπορούμε να πούμε:

- α. Το σταθερό το τηλέφωνο δε με βολεύει

---ενώ δεν μπορούμε να πούμε

- β. *η παιδική η χαρά δε μου αρέσει

---αλλά μπορούμε να παρεμβάλουμε άρθρο σε δομές που θεωρούνται ΠΣ από Ράλλη (2007):

- γ. Ο ψυχρός ο πόλεμος είναι χειρότερος
Η μικρή η οθόνη αποτελεί το πρόβλημα για τα παιδιά

---αντίθετα μας φαίνεται οριακά αντιγραμματική η πιο κάτω πρόταση, αν και η Ράλλη που την παραθέτει (2007: 243), τη θεωρεί γραμματική, εξηγώντας (και) έτσι την μη ένταξη της δομής θεατρική κριτική στα ΠΣ:

- δ. ?Η θεατρική η κριτική είναι ηπιότερη από την κινηματογραφική

⁸ Οι δομές που θεωρούμε εμείς ως ΠΣ υπογραμμίζονται προς διευκόλυνση, αν και κατά τη γνώμη μας δεν πληρούν πάντα τα κριτήρια.

⁹ Δομές όπως δημόσιος υπάλληλος μπορούν να θεωρηθούν ΠΣ λόγω επίσημης ονομασίας με πολύ συγκεκριμένο αντικείμενο αναφοράς (institutionalization), βλ. Hohenhaus (2005), παρά τη μη πλήρωση όλων των κριτηρίων.

¹⁰ Στα παραδείγματα (3) υπεισέρχεται περιβάλλον αντίστιξης, οπότε το κριτήριο γίνεται ασθενέστερο εκτός από το καθαρό ΠΣ παιδική χαρά (παραδείγμα β).

(4) Όχι αντιμετάθεση στα πολυλεκτικά σύνθετα

Μπορούμε να πούμε:

- α. Θέλω μια *κιθάρα (ακουστική) ηλεκτρική*, παρακαλώ
Ετοιμάζουν *όπλα πυρηνικά* εναντίον της Ν Κορέας

---ενώ δεν μπορούμε να πούμε:

- β. *Χαρά παιδική

---αλλά μπορούμε να κάνουμε αντιμετάθεση σε δομές που θεωρούνται ΠΣ:

- γ. Πόλεμος ψυχρός δεν θα ξαναγίνει
?Υπάλληλος δημόσιος δεν θα γίνεις

---*αντίθετα* μας φαίνεται οριακά αντιγραμματική η πιο κάτω πρόταση, αν και η Ράλλη που την παραθέτει (2007: 242), τη θεωρεί γραμματική, εξηγώντας (και) έτσι την απόφασή μας για μη ένταξη της δομής *θεατρική κριτική* στα ΠΣ:

?Κριτική θεατρική είναι καλό να υπάρχει

(5) Όχι κατηγορήση στα πολυλεκτικά σύνθετα (Ράλλη / Σταύρου 1998)

Μπορούμε να πούμε:

- α. Το *αλάτι* είναι *θαλασσινό*

---ενώ δεν μπορούμε να πούμε:

- β. *η χαρά είναι παιδική
*το διάταγμα είναι υπουργικό

---αλλά μπορούμε να κάνουμε οριακά κατηγορήση τόσο σε δομές που θεωρούνται ΠΣ:

?Ο πόλεμος αυτός είναι ψυχρός (διαφοροποίηση βάσει ταξινόμησης)

όσο και σε δομές που δεν θεωρούνται ΠΣ (Ράλλη 2007: 240-243):

η κριτική αυτή είναι θεατρική, όχι κινηματογραφική (διαφοροποίηση βάσει ταξινόμησης)

Την πιο πάνω σχετικοποίηση των συντακτικών κριτηρίων ακολουθεί και η σχετικοποίηση του μορφολογικού κριτηρίου της κατασκευής παραγώγων από ΠΣ, όπως π.χ. *δημοσιοϋπαλληλικός* (βλ. Ράλλη 2007: 233), αφού βλέπουμε ότι ενώ η παραγωγικότητα συνηγορεί υπέρ της λεξικής ιδιότητας, άλλα κριτήρια λειτουργούν αντίστροφα, όπως στο παράδειγμα *οι δημόσιοι, κυρίως, υπάλληλοι* κλπ. Άλλωστε ούτε αυτό το κριτήριο το θεωρούμε αποφασιστικό, επειδή παραγωγικές διαδικασίες ενεργοποιούνται και από φράσεις, όπως *ωχαδελφισμός, ετσιθελισμός* κλπ.

Γενικότερα, αν και συμφωνούμε με τη Ράλλη (2007) στην επιλογή και διάκριση των περισσότερων ΠΣ, θέλουμε να αναδείξουμε τη σχετικότητα των συντακτικών κριτηρίων, όταν μάλιστα αυτά αυτονομούνται από το κειμενικό περιβάλλον τους, για τις ανάγκες της ανάλυσης.

4. Σημασιολογική προσέγγιση

Βλέπουμε, λοιπόν, ότι τα προτεινόμενα συντακτικά και μορφολογικά κριτήρια, αν και είναι πολύ σημαντικά, δεν διασφαλίζουν ικανή ακρίβεια για το διαχωρισμό των δομών σε ΠΣ ή όχι, αφού το γλωσσικό αίσθημα των γλωσσολόγων (αλλά και άλλων φυσικών ομιλητών) φαίνεται να μην ταυτίζεται. Θα προσπαθήσουμε, λοιπόν, να ενεργοποιήσουμε και σημασιολογικά κριτήρια για την απόδοση λεξικής ενότητας σε κάποια ΠΣ βασιζόμενοι σε μια σημασιολογική, κυρίως, διαβάθμιση των φραστικών ενοτήτων με επικουρικό το ρόλο της σύνταξης. Οι λόγοι για τους οποίους επιλέγουμε να δώσουμε προτεραιότητα στη σημασιολογική ανάλυση είναι οι εξής:

- α) Εφόσον μια δομή παρουσιάζει εν μέρει στοιχεία ελεύθερης και εν μέρει δεσμευμένης φράσης τόσο σε επίπεδο μορφολογίας όσο και σύνταξης (βλ. Booiǵ 2009), θεωρούμε ασφαλέστερο να την αναλύσουμε βάσει ενός τρίτου επιπέδου ανάλυσης, όπως αυτού της σημασίας. Τα ΠΣ αποδεδειγμένα δεν καλύπτουν όλα τα μορφολογικά κριτήρια μιας λέξης, οπότε η ειδοποιός διαφορά θα πρέπει να αναζητηθεί σε άλλο επίπεδο.

β) Αφού η λέξη αντιπροσωπεύει μόνιμη (μη ad hoc) εννοιολογική, σε σημασιολογικό επίπεδο ενότητα, αυτό θα πρέπει να είναι και το αποφασιστικό κριτήριο για τη διάκρισή μας - ειδικότερα στην Ελληνική, που η μονολεκτική σύνθεση δεν είναι τόσο ανοιχτή και απεριόριστη όσο στην Αγγλική ή τη Γερμανική, οπότε και η έννοια της λέξης παραμένει πιο κλειστή.

γ) Σε επίπεδο χρήσης τα αποπλαισιωμένα τεστ αποδεκτότητας ακόμη και αν γίνουν με ερωτηματολόγια δεν είναι πραγματικά ασφαλή, λόγω της αποφασιστικής σημασίας του κειμενικού πλαισίου. Θεωρούμε ότι είναι πολύ σημαντικά ως επικουρικά και όχι ως αποφασιστικής σημασίας¹¹. Σημαντική βοήθεια μπορούν να προσφέρουν πολύ καλά οργανωμένα και αντιπροσωπευτικά σώματα κειμένων (βλ. και Halliday 2004, Ricca 2010), αλλά και αυτά αποτελούν πολύτιμο εργαλείο, τα αποτελέσματα του οποίου πρέπει να αξιοποιηθούν εκ νέου σε θεωρητικό επίπεδο ανάλυσης.

Για το σκοπό της σημασιολογικής προσέγγισης θα επανέλθω στη σημασιολογική διάκριση των Ράλλη / Σταύρου (1998), την οποία θεωρώ σημαντική, προτείνοντας, όμως, μια διαφορετική ανάλυση των σημασιολογικών κριτηρίων των ΠΣ βασισμένη, κυρίως, στη προσέγγιση της Φυσικής Θεωρίας (Dressler 1987, 2005). Η Φυσική Θεωρία προτείνει τις παραμέτρους της διαφάνειας, της εικονικότητας, της δεικτικότητας, της αμφι-μονοσημαντότητας και της προβολής καθώς και μία προτυπική περιγραφή των φαινομένων. Θα παρουσιάσουμε, λοιπόν, ένα προτυπικά οργανωμένο συνεχές, τόσο μεταξύ ΠΣ και φραστικών ενοτήτων, όσο και μεταξύ ομάδων μονολεκτικών και πολυλεκτικών συνθέτων, τα οποία παρουσιάζουν τα ίδια προτυπικά ή μη προτυπικά χαρακτηριστικά. Επιπλέον θεωρούμε αναγκαίο να ελέγξουμε σημασιολογικά τα ΠΣ όχι μόνο ως προς τον προσδιοριστή, αλλά και ως προς την κεφαλή και ως προς το σύνολο του συνθέτου.

Στην ανάλυσή μας επιλέγουμε να χρησιμοποιήσουμε την φυσική παράμετρο της σημασιολογικής διαφάνειας (semantic transparency) (βλ. και Christofidou 1997), για να διαλευκάνουμε, όσο γίνεται, τις βαθμίδες λεξικής ενιαιοποίησης μεταξύ των φραστικών ενοτήτων. Δευτερευόντως θα χρειαστούμε την παράμετρο της εικονικότητας (iconicity). Κατά τον Dressler (2005) η σημασιολογική διαφάνεια μεγάλωνει ευθέως ανάλογα τις πιθανότητες μιας λεκτικής δομής να εμφανισθεί. Από τη στιγμή, όμως, που παράγεται και υιοθετείται από τη γλωσσική κοινότητα, αρχίζει η λεξική ενιαιοποίηση και λεξικοποίηση, ειδικά αν υπάρχει μεταφορικότητα, δηλαδή σημασιολογική αδιαφάνεια. Βάσει της σημασιολογικής διαφάνειας, όπως την ορίζει η Φυσική Θεωρία, θα ελέγξουμε - ακολουθώντας τον αντίστροφο δρόμο από αυτόν της παραγωγής λέξεων - το βαθμό λεξικοποίησης των φραστικών δομών E+O. Προτυπικά, λοιπόν, οι καθιερωμένες λέξεις μιας γλώσσας είναι λεξικοποιημένες (δηλ. παρουσιάζουν από πλήρως αδιαφανή έως διαφανή αλλά κατηγοριακή και εξειδικευμένη σημασία¹²).

Προτυπικές ιδιότητες του συνθέτου E/O+O:

1. φωνολογική ενότητα (ένας βασικός τονισμός)
2. μορφολογική ενότητα δηλ. όχι εσωτερική κλίση αλλά σταθερή στην κεφαλή
3. (μερική / πλήρης) σημασιολογική αδιαφάνεια (εξειδίκευση, μεταφορική χρήση)
4. κατηγοριακή σχέση με τον προσδιοριστή (Kastovsky 2005)

Προτυπικές ιδιότητες της φράσης E+O:

1. όχι φωνολογική ενότητα
2. εσωτερική μορφολογική κλίση με πλήρη μορφοτακτική διαφάνεια
3. μερική / πλήρης σημασιολογική διαφάνεια (όχι εξειδίκευση)
4. ποιοτικός προσδιοριστής με κατηγορηματική (predicative) λειτουργία (βλ. και Kastovsky 2005)

Κατά τη Φυσική Θεωρία (βλ. και Rosch / Mervis 1975) οι ιδιότητες κάποιου μη προτυπικού φαινομένου μπορεί να είναι εν μέρει διαφορετικές από αυτές του προτυπικού μέλους. Σε αυτήν την περίπτωση μια δομή μπορεί να αποτελεί λέξη ως περισσότερο ή λιγότερο προτυπικό μέλος της κατηγορίας λέξη. Έτσι, όποτε δεν έχουμε φωνολογική / μορφολογική ενότητα μιας δομής, **τότε η αδιαφάνεια (που συνεπάγεται δέσμευση των μερών) ως κριτήριο λεξικής ενότητας καθίσταται μοναδικής και αποφασιστικής σημασίας**. Μπορεί, λοιπόν, η δομή των ΠΣ να μην αποτελεί προτυπική λέξη, γιατί η αλληλοδέσμευση δεν καλύπτει την εικονική παράμετρο της Φυσικής Θεωρίας, δηλαδή μία φωνολογικά και μορφολογικά ενιαία εικόνα για μια ενιαία έννοια, μπορεί όμως να

¹¹ Βλ. Lieber (2005) για αναφορά σε παρόμοια εγχειρήματα και την κριτική που ασκεί.

¹² Παραδείγματος χάριν *κατσιοκλέφτης* δεν είναι κάποιος που έκλεψε μια φορά μια κατσίκα, αλλά ο κατ' επανάληψιν κλέφτης.

αποτελεί μια λεξική ενότητα, αν και λιγότερο προτυπική, και αυτό να σηματοδοτείται από τη σημασιολογική δέσμευση και αλληλοεξάρτηση των μερών της δομής. Παραδείγματος χάριν στο ΠΣ *χρυσή τομή* υπάρχει η σημασιολογική δέσμευση της λέξης *χρυσός* με τη σημασία 'ακριβής', κάτι σπάνιο για την ελεύθερη χρήση της λέξης *χρυσός* σε άλλα λεξικά ή φραστικά περιβάλλοντα.

Προς υποστήριξη της προτυπικής διάστασης του υπό εξέταση φαινομένου θέλω να αναδείξω τη διαφαινόμενη αντιστοιχία, που μπορεί να πάρει η δομή προσδιοριστής (E/O) + κεφαλή (O) τόσο στις πολυλεκτικές δομές όσο και στα μονολεκτικά σύνθετα σε ένα συνεχές της διαδικασίας της σύνθεσης, με περισσότερο και λιγότερο προτυπικά μέλη. Άλλωστε θεωρούμε (βλ. Χριστοφίδου 2001: 104-111, Bybee 2001: 29-31, 2010), ότι και στα μονολεκτικά σύνθετα υπάρχουν κατασκευές, όπως π.χ. *μουλαροτόμαρο*, *ροδακινόφυλλο* κλπ. (βλ. Χριστοφίδου 2001: 109) για τις οποίες δεν μπορούμε να είμαστε σίγουροι, αν είναι αποθηκευμένες στο νοητικό λεξικό ως λέξεις ή παράγονται ad hoc λόγω υψηλής διαφάνειας αλλά και μη συχνής χρήσης (βλ. και Hohenhaus 2005). Η Ράλλη (2007: 232) αναδεικνύει επίσης κοινά σημεία μεταξύ μονολεκτικών συνθέτων και ΠΣ, όπως οι πιο χαλαρές και λιγότερο χαλαρές δομές, και στα μονολεκτικά σύνθετα, όπως παραδείγματος χάριν στην περίπτωση των μονολεκτικών συνθέτων (σελ. 65-66) *πηγαινοέρχομαι* (περίπτωση παρατακτικών) αλλά και *παλιοάνθρωπος* (περίπτωση προσδιοριστικού συνθέτου). Εμείς θα προσπαθήσουμε να ομαδοποιήσουμε και να αναδείξουμε τις αντιστοιχίες βάσει σημασιολογικών κυρίως ομοιοτήτων.

5. Σημασιολογική ανάλυση

Όπως είπαμε προτυπικά τα σύνθετα σε σχέση με τις φράσεις είναι περισσότερο ονοματικά και κατηγοριακά (categorical), αλλά λιγότερο κατηγορηματικά (predicative) από τη φράση στη λειτουργία τους. Παραδείγματος χάριν:

τυφλοπόντικας ≠ τυφλό ποντίκι
καλόγερος ≠ καλός γέρος

Φυσικά, αυτό συνδέεται με το βαθμό διαφάνειας των μερών, τα οποία με τη σειρά τους καθορίζουν τη συνθετότητα της σημασίας (compositionality principle) κατά τη γνωστή αρχή του Frege¹³. Ως διαφανή¹⁴ ορίζουμε την παραδειγματικά συμβατικοποιημένη (αποπλαισιωμένη) σημασία του συνθετικού ενός συνθέτου ή ενός μέρους μιας φράσης. Τη σημασία, δηλαδή, που το συνθετικό έχει ακόμη και στην περίπτωση που αυτό εμφανίζεται είτε ως απλή μεμονωμένη λέξη είτε ως μέρος κάποιας φράσης.

Ως προς τις πολυλεκτικές δομές διακρίνουμε:

Α. Δομές που ενέχουν ποιοτικό επίθετο ως προσδιοριστή (αφορούν στερεότυπες) φράσεις αλλά όχι ΠΣ):

ωραίος άνθρωπος
πιο ωραίος άνθρωπος (ποιοτικός προσδιοριστής)
ακόμη και στη περίπτωση που είναι μεταφορικό και στερεότυπο, π.χ.
καθαρό μυαλό
πιο καθαρό μυαλό (ποιοτικός προσδιοριστής)

Ως γνωστόν μία μεταφορά μπορεί να είναι συμβατικοποιημένη εντός του λεξιλογίου μιας γλώσσας. Στην περίπτωση όμως που υπάρχει μεταφορική χρήση πρέπει αυτή να είναι διαφανής, οπότε και παραδειγματικά συμβατικοποιημένη στο ελληνικό λεξιλόγιο, όπως η αφηρημένη σημασία του επιθέτου *καθαρός*. Παραδείγματος χάριν εκτός από τη φράση *καθαρό μυαλό* υπάρχει παρόμοια χρήση του *καθαρός* και στις φράσεις *καθαρές κουβέντες*, *καθαρή εξήγηση* κλπ., οπότε η δομή *καθαρό μυαλό* μπορεί να θεωρηθεί στερεότυπη φράση αλλά όχι ΠΣ (πρβλ. την ανάλυση του ΠΣ *χρυσή τομή* ανωτέρω, ενότητα 4.).

¹³ Βλ. και Bybee (2010: 44) για «analyzability» vs. «compositionality» κατά Langacker (1987).

¹⁴ Η συγκεκριμένη χρήση της έννοιας της διαφάνειας εναπόκειται σε αυτή τη μελέτη στο γλωσσικό αισθητήριο, αν και γνωρίζουμε ότι είναι σημαντικό να μετρηθεί και βάσει σωμάτων κειμένων.

Β. Δομές που δεν έχουν ποιοτικό επίθετο ως προσδιοριστή και χωρίζονται σε 2 ομάδες (I, II):

I. Μη ποιοτικοί, μη υποκατηγοριακοί προσδιοριστές (→ αδιαφανή, προτυπικά σύνθετα και ΠΣ):

1. Μη συμβατική (συνήθως μεταφορική) σημασία της κεφαλής

α. μη συμβατική σημασία κεφαλής χωρίς κυριολεκτικό συνώνυμο

παιδική χαρά (δεν είναι χαρά)

* *πιο παιδική χαρά* (όχι ποιοτικός προσδιοριστής)

ουράνιο τόξο (δεν είναι τόξο)

* *πιο ουράνιο τόξο* (όχι ποιοτικός προσδιοριστής)

β. μη συμβατική σημασία κεφαλής με κυριολεκτικό συνώνυμο

μαύρος χρυσός (δεν είναι χρυσός) - συνώνυμο: *πετρέλαιο*

* *πιο μαύρος χρυσός* (όχι ποιοτικός προσδιοριστής)

πρβλ. μονολεκτικά σύνθετα:

αγιόκλημα (δεν είναι κλήμα)

καλόγερος (δεν είναι γέρος)

2. Μη συμβατική (συνήθως μεταφορική) σημασία του προσδιοριστή

μαύρη λίστα (είναι λίστα αλλά δεν είναι μαύρη)

* *πιο μαύρη λίστα* (όχι ποιοτικός προσδιοριστής)

λαϊκή αγορά (είναι αγορά αλλά δεν είναι λαϊκή)

* *πιο λαϊκή αγορά* (όχι ποιοτικός προσδιοριστής)

βαθύ κράτος (είναι κράτος αλλά δεν είναι βαθύ)

* /? *πιο βαθύ κράτος* (όχι? ποιοτικός προσδιοριστής)

---αλλά

Πιο μαύρη κωμωδία δεν έχω δει (εδώ η χρήση του *μαύρος* είναι συμβατική με την έννοια του 'μακάβριος', οπότε το επίθετο μπορεί να θεωρηθεί ποιοτικό¹⁵).

πρβλ. μονολεκτικά σύνθετα

λυκόσκυλο (είναι ένας σκύλος –όχι όμως λύκος)

νυχτολούλουδο (είναι ένα λουλούδι/φυτό – όχι όμως νυχτερινό)

Βλέπουμε ότι κοινό γνώρισμα των πιο πάνω περιπτώσεων της ομάδας **Β** που αποτελείται, σύμφωνα με τη θέση μας, από ΠΣ (σε αντιδιαστολή με την ομάδα **Α**) είναι ότι η σημασία των μερών καθορίζεται μόνο εντός της συγκεκριμένης σύνθεσης και δεν ταυτίζεται με την (έστω και μεταφορική) σημασία τους, όταν αυτά εμφανίζονται στο λόγο ως αυτόνομες λέξεις ή παραδειγματικά σε παρόμοιες δομές. Αυτή επομένως η σημασία δεν είναι ποιοτική αλλά κατηγοριακή: αλλάζει το σύνθετο στο σύνολό του, δεν προσδίδει μια (εφήμερη) ποιότητα/αξιολόγηση - όπως στις φράσεις *ωραίος σκύλος* ή *ωραίο λουλούδι* - ή μια υποκατηγοριοποίηση σε μια αναλλοίωτη σημασιολογικά κεφαλή (π.χ. *αιολική ενέργεια*), όπως θα δούμε αμέσως πιο κάτω.

II. Μη ποιοτικοί αλλά υποκατηγοριακοί¹⁶ προσδιοριστές (→ διαφανείς, συνήθως σειραϊκές, δομές και μη προτυπικά σύνθετα)

θεατρική / μουσική / κινηματογραφική ... κριτική

θεματικό / αιολικό / πολιτιστικό ... πάρκο

πράσινη / αιολική / ηλιακή / θερμική / πυρηνική / ατομική / κυματική ... ενέργεια

¹⁵ Το επίθετο *μαύρος* σημαίνει σε πολλά περιβάλλοντα 'μακάβριος', όπως *μαύρο χιούμορ* κλπ., οπότε η εδώ χρήση του είναι συμβατικοποιημένη. Αντίθετα το επίθετο *μαύρος* στο ΠΣ *μαύρη λίστα* σημαίνει 'με αρνητικές συνέπειες', σημασία όχι ιδιαίτερα συμβατική, όπως 'μαύρο=καταψήφιση', 'μαύρος=απαισιόδοξος' κλπ.

¹⁶ Προτιμούμε τον όρο «υποκατηγοριακοί» αντί «ταξινομικοί ή/και σχεσιακοί» (Ράλλη / Σταύρου 1998). Αλλιώςτε η ταξινόμηση ενέχει πιο κατηγοριακό χαρακτήρα από ό,τι η σχέση υποκατηγοριοποίησης, που, κατά τη γνώμη μας, δίνει πιο προαιρετικό χαρακτήρα στον προσδιοριστή.

πρβλ. υστερωνυμικά ζεύγη:

συμβατικός / νομισματικός / πυρηνικός / εξοπλιστικός **πόλεμος**
συμβατικά / χημικά / πυρηνικά **όπλα**

πρβλ. μονολεκτικά σύνθετα:

δαφνό-/γιασεμό-/κρινό-/ροδό-/τριανταφυλλό-/γαρυφαλό-/μεντό-/κανελό-/καρυδό-/
αμυγδαλό-/χαμομηλό-/λιναρό-/μπαμπακό-**λαδο** (αντίστοιχα καρυδ-/αμυγδαλ-**έλαιο**
κλπ.)
μυρό-/κισσό-/κιτρό-/πρασό-/μυρτό-/μολοχό-/πατατό-/λωτό-**φυλλο**
μουλαρο-/γίδο-/λαγο-/αλογο-/αγελαδο-/βοϊδο-/φιδο-/αρκουδο-/κατσικο-/λυκο-
/βουβαλο-/καμηλο-/σκυλο-/αρνο-/γουρουνό-/αλεπο-/γαϊδουρο-/λιονταρο-**τόμαρο**
πρασό-/σπανακό-/ζαμπονό-/τυρό-**πιτά**¹⁷

Στα πιο πάνω παραδείγματα η διαφάνεια των μερών, η οποία βασίζεται στην συμβατικότητα της σημασίας -και σε παραδειγματικό επίπεδο- είναι σαφώς μεγαλύτερη, άρα οι πιο πάνω δομές, **είτε πολυλεκτικές είτε μονολεκτικές**, αποτελούν μη προτυπικά σύνθετα, αφού ο υποκατηγοριακός προσδιοριστής δεν μεταβάλλει καθόλου τη συμβατική σημασία της κεφαλής, απλώς την εξειδικεύει και μάλιστα με ιδιαίτερα διαφανή και συστηματικό τρόπο (βλ. και Χριστοφίδου 2001: 109). Τα πιο πάνω μη προτυπικά μονολεκτικά σύνθετα είναι διαφανή, και καθόλου ιδιοσυγκρασιακά, γιατί ανήκουν σε ένα βασικό παραγωγικό σχήμα (schema) επαναλαμβανόμενων δεύτερων συνθετικών με εναλλαγή μόνο των πρώτων συνθετικών, βάσει του οποίου διατηρείται ακριβώς η σημασία τόσο του β' συνθετικού, όσο και της σημασίας παραγωγής (word formation meaning) διαφανής και αμετάβλητη. Άλλωστε η Bybee (2010: 36) θεωρεί ότι αυτή ακριβώς η βασική ιδιότητα χαρακτηρίζει τις πολυλεκτικές κατασκευές (constructions).

Όπως έχουμε υποστηρίξει και το 2001, τα προαναφερθέντα σειραϊκά σύνθετα δεν αποτελούν προτυπικά (μονολεκτικά) σύνθετα, δηλαδή προτυπικές λέξεις, γιατί η σημασία των μερών διατηρείται σταθερή μέσα σε ένα ανοιχτό παραγωγικό σχήμα, με σχεδόν μηδενικό βαθμό λεξικοποίησης. Δηλαδή, η σημασία παραγωγής (word formation meaning) είναι σταθερή και ιδιαίτερα διαφανής εντός του σχήματος με σταθερό β' συνθετικό και με α' συνθετικό, το οποίο ανήκει στην ίδια λεξική τάξη με όλα τα άλλα α' συνθετικά της σειράς / σχήματος (βλ. Χριστοφίδου 2001¹⁸, πρβλ. Jackendoff 2008 και Gaeta / Ricca 2009¹⁹) και δεν τροποποιεί τη σημασία του εντός του συνθέτου.

Μπορούμε, τώρα, να δούμε μια αντιστοιχία με πολλά κοινά σημεία μεταξύ των πολυλεκτικών δομών με υποκατηγοριακά επίθετα από τη μία -εκ των οποίων πολλά είναι και υστερωνυμικά ζεύγη- και των μονολεκτικών συνθέτων με υποκατηγοριακούς προσδιοριστές ανοιχτής σειραϊκής παραγωγής από την άλλη²⁰.

Πιστεύουμε ότι η αντιστοιχία είναι προφανής. Υπάρχουν έννοιες που δημιουργούν παραγωγικές σειρές, γιατί είναι κεντρικές και επιδέχονται πολλαπλές κατηγοριοποιήσεις, οπότε λειτουργούν ως βάση για πολλά σειραϊκά (άλλα συχνότερα-άλλα όχι) σύνθετα, αλλά και φραστικές ενότητες, οι οποίες πολύ δύσκολα μπορούν να θεωρηθούν ΠΣ. Σε κάποια σύνθετα αυτής της ομάδας υποκατηγοριακών δομών θα μπορούσαμε να αποδόσουμε στάτους λέξης κυρίως κατόπιν μετρήσεων χρήσης σε κόρπους ή βάσει πραγματολογικής χρήσης και αναγκαιότητας (βλ. *κληματόφυλλο* vs. *πρασόφυλλο*, *κισσόφυλλο* και *χαμομηλέλαιο* vs. *ηλιέλαιο*). Στο πλαίσιο του σχετικού λεξικού της Bybee (2001, 2010²¹) επισημαίνω ότι σε ένα χωριό το *δαφνόλαδο* μπορεί να έχει στάτους λέξης (ενώ για άλλους όχι), όπως σε ένα ενεργειακό κέντρο η *αιολική ενέργεια* έχει ίσως στάτους λέξης ενώ αλλού όχι.

¹⁷ Λέξεις από το *Αντίστροφο Λεξικό* της Αναστασιάδη-Συμεωνίδη.

¹⁸ Βλ. και τα αποτελέσματα του ειδικού ερωτηματολογίου που διεξήχθη (Χριστοφίδου 2001:112-114) και συνηγορεί υπέρ της μη προτυπικής λεξικής υπόστασης των σειραϊκών κατασκευών. Οι σειραϊκές κατασκευές με το αμφίβολο λεξικό στάτους αφορούν εξίσου παράγωγα (σελ. 94 κ.εξ.) και σύνθετα, απλώς στη συγκεκριμένη μελέτη αφορούν τα σύνθετα.

¹⁹ Η άποψή μας διαφοροποιείται αρκετά από την πρόταση τους για τις δομές (+μορφολογικό / -λεξικό), που αποτελεί την τρίτη από τις τέσσερις κατηγορίες δομών που προτείνουν, καθώς και από τη συνολική προσέγγιση και επιλογή της μορφολογίας ως καθοριστικό κριτήριο.

²⁰ Ίσως είναι ενδεικτικό ότι αυτές οι δομές (υστερωνυμικές-πολυλεκτικές και σειραϊκές-μονολεκτικές) περιγράφονται στα λεξικά κάτω από το λήμμα της κεφαλής και όχι του προσδιοριστή.

²¹ Η Bybee (2010) μάλιστα υποστηρίζει ότι όσο πιο συχνά το σύνθετο χρησιμοποιείται σε περιβάλλοντα που δεν μπορεί να χρησιμοποιηθεί η βάση, τόσο το σύνθετο αυτονομείται (σελ. 47-48). Σε αυτή την περίπτωση στην Ελληνική πολλά δεν παραμένουν ΠΣ αλλά ουσιαστικοποιούνται π.χ. *το σταθερό (τηλέφωνο)*, *το σχολικό* κλπ.

Στο φαινόμενο της υστερωνυμίας φαίνεται μάλιστα ιδιαίτερα καθαρά και η σχετικότητα της πολυλεκτικής ονομασίας μιας έννοιας, αφού αυτή είναι παροδική, μια και τις πιο πολλές φορές ουσιαστικοποιείται το επίθετο του υποκινήτη (π.χ. *το κινητό (τηλέφωνο)*) ή και του υστερωνύμου (*το σταθερό*) ή τελικά καθιερώνεται η δάνεια λέξη (π.χ. *e-mail* για το ηλεκτρονικό ταχυδρομείο και *ταχυδρομείο* για το συμβατικό).

6. Συμπεράσματα

Θεωρούμε ότι παράλληλα με την επίκαιρη προσπάθεια για διάκριση μεταξύ συνάψεων και στερεότυπων ή ιδιοματισμών και της τάσης για ανάδειξη μη στεγανών στη γλώσσα και στους μηχανισμούς της, δεν πρέπει να χαθεί η διάκριση μεταξύ μονολεκτικών και πολυλεκτικών συνθέτων από τη μια και φράσεων (στερεότυπων ή ελεύθερων) από την άλλη, αφού η λεξική ενότητα, μονολεκτική ή όχι, παραμένει ισχυρή στην Ελληνική.

Θεωρώντας ότι στην πράξη τα συντακτικά κριτήρια δεν είναι όσο χρειάζεται επαρκή για τη διάκριση των δομών E+O σε ΠΣ ή όχι, προτείνω να προηγείται αυτών μια ενδεδειγμένη σημασιολογική εξέταση και των δύο μερών της δομής, βάσει της οποίας θα γίνεται και η ένταξή τους σε ΠΣ ή όχι. Ως αποτέλεσμα της προηγηθείσας ανάλυσης προτείνουμε την πιο κάτω προτυπική ιεράρχηση των δομών E+O ή E/O+O ξεκινώντας από τα πιο προτυπικά μέλη (με ερωτηματικό τα μη προτυπικά μέλη):

Σύνθετα

Μονολεκτικά, μη σειραϊκά σύνθετα, π.χ.
καλόγερος (βάσει σημασίας και μορφολογίας)

Πολυλεκτικά σύνθετα με αδιαφανή (μη συμβατική) σημασία σε προσδιοριστή ή/και κεφαλή, π.χ.
παιδική χαρά (βάσει δεσμευμένης σημασίας)

Σειραϊκές (ανοιχτές) κατασκευές (καθοριστική η χρήση και το περιβάλλον – απαραίτητη βοήθεια σωμάτων κειμένων)

Μονολεκτικά, σειραϊκά σύνθετα, π.χ.
χαμομηλέλαιο (βάσει μορφολογίας και χρήσης, πρβλ. σύνθετο *ηλιέλαιο*)

Πολυλεκτικές δομές με υποκατηγοριακό προσδιοριστή, π.χ.
? θεατρική κριτική
? κινηματογραφική κριτική

Υποκατηγοριακές πολυλεκτικές δομές, όπως οι υστερωνυμικές ομάδες, π.χ.
?πυρηνικά / συμβατικά όπλα (οριακή, μη προτυπική ένταξη στην κατηγορία λόγω μεταβατικής φάσης, ουσιαστικοποιήσεων κλπ.)

Φράσεις (ελεύθερες ή στερεότυπες)

Δομές με ποιοτικό (μεταφορικό ή όχι) προσδιοριστή, π.χ.
ωραίος άνθρωπος
έξυπνο παιδί
αλλά και
καθαρό μυαλό (λόγω ποιοτικού επιθέτου)

Στηρίξαμε την ανάλυσή μας στην έννοια των προτυπικών διαβαθμίσεων της Φυσικής Θεωρίας, βάσει της οποίας προτείνω μια πιο ενιαία αντιμετώπιση των O+O μονολεκτικών συνθέτων και των E+O ΠΣ. Προτείνουμε τη μη κατ' αρχήν κατάταξη των υποκατηγοριακών δομών - τα οποία περιέχουν και τα υστερώνυμα με τους υποκινήτες - στα ΠΣ, αλλά και την αντιστοίχισή τους με τα σειραϊκά μονολεκτικά σύνθετα. Δηλαδή, θεωρούμε ότι και στα μονολεκτικά σύνθετα, που είναι υποκατηγοριακά, οπότε και σειραϊκά, υπάρχουν ad hoc χρήσεις με φραστικό χαρακτήρα παραγωγής λόγου και όχι λεξικής ανάκλησης. Σε μια ευρύτερη ανάλυση καθοριστική πρέπει να είναι η χρήση σωμάτων κειμένων.

Όλη η παρουσίαση, στην οποία, αναγνωρίζουμε, ετέθησαν πολλά θέματα και όχι όλα διεξοδικά, αποτελεί μια σύντομη προσέγγιση ενός αποφασιστικής σημασίας φαινομένου της Ελληνικής, αυτού των ΠΣ, το οποίο αξίζει ακόμη πολύ μελάνι - κυρίως ηλεκτρονικό.

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DEIXIS IN INTERACTION: A MULTIMODAL APPROACH

Maria Koutsombogera

Institute for Language & Speech Processing / 'Athena' RC, Greece

University of Athens, Department of Linguistics, Greece

mkouts@ilsp.athena-innovation.gr

ABSTRACT

This paper presents a corpus-based study of deictic non-verbal expressions produced by Greek television interview participants and their relation to the co-uttered speech. Deictic non-verbal expressions were extracted from a multimodally annotated multimedia corpus and they were studied in terms of typology, modalities employed, frequency, and distribution per participant. Furthermore, in order to identify the meaningful content they acquire, they were classified into categories according to their referent, expressed or not through speech, i.e. a concrete object, person or location or an abstract concept related to time and space.

1. Introduction

In face-to-face interaction speakers employ distinct modalities in order to communicate their message. Thus, the processing of information conveyed in all modalities (gestures, facial expressions and body posture) is important both to comprehension and production of language (Ekman & Friesen 1969, McNeill 1992, Kendon 2004). In order to study the interplay between speech and non-verbal expressions in its communicative dimension, a multimedia corpus consisting of Greek TV interviews was developed to include multimodal annotations; non-verbal modalities of hands, head, face and torso that contribute to the communication as well as the dialogue management during the interviews were identified and annotated with semiotic, semantic and pragmatic values.

Out of this rich collection of features we select to present the expressions annotated semiotically as deictic. Our goal is to (a) investigate the form and functions of deictic non-verbal expressions in an interactional context, as well as their relation with the co-uttered speech, (b) classify the non-verbal expressions according to their identified referents. For the purpose of this study we extracted all instances of gestures annotated as deictic, together with the words or phrases that are synchronized with them. Subsequently, we examine the typology of the deictic gestures, i.e. the specific forms that they may have. We then move on to the classification of the referents (e.g. self deixis, co-locutor deixis, location, time, presence or absence in the physical space, etc.) and their distribution in the data, to discover the reasons for which deixis is mostly employed. At the same time, we study the words that co-occur with the gestures to find out more about the lexical and grammatical properties that induce a deictic gesture. Finally, we examine whether the choice of the form or the trajectory of the gesture that the speakers make is determined by the respective referent category.

2. Non-verbal deixis

Deictic non-verbal expressions are mostly movements pointing to some direction with reference to concrete objects, persons or locations (present or virtual/ imaginary with regards to the physical space where an utterance takes place) or to abstract concepts related to time, space, or discourse structure. Their form does not convey semantic information itself, in contrast to other semiotic types such as the iconic ones. There are though several variations of deictic movements, i.e. in terms of the shape and the trajectory of a gesture, the direction of a gaze, etc. More importantly, they acquire meaningful content when linked to the actual referent which may or may not be expressed through speech. In this sense, they clarify the way through which the speakers refer to the surroundings.

Though deixis has been traditionally considered as the use of linguistic elements that contribute to locate entities in spatiotemporal, social and discoursal context (Lyons 1977, Marmaridou 2000,

Levinson 2006), non-verbal deixis provides access to the visible contextual information needed to understand an utterance.

Since deictic gestures, facial expressions and torso movements are a form of visible activity, their understanding and disambiguation require audio-visual information, i.e. they are dependent on both the linguistic and the extra linguistic information and context of the utterance. Non-verbal deixis has been studied within the broader context of multimodal communication and in parallel to other semiotic categories attributed to the various modalities (McNeill 1992, Kendon 2004). An efficient means to study the form and meaning of deictic non-verbal expressions is their observation through a corpus annotated with multimodal information. In this respect, non-verbal deixis has been co-investigated together with speech segments to discover their function and contribution content of the talk as well as to the turn taking system (Mondada 2007).

In principle, the classification in semiotic types follows Peirce's model of trichotomy of signs (1955) to icon, index and symbol, depending on the type of reference to the denoted object or entity. In this respect, an index is a sign that is linked to its object by an actual connection or real relation. When co-examined with language, an index is often related to a demonstrative word, though this is not always the case, as it will be explained in the following paragraphs.

3. Corpus description

The interview corpus examined is of approximately 170 minutes duration and it consists of 12 interviews. The structure is that of a typical two-person discussion program, i.e. an interviewer (host journalist) addresses questions to a guest (politicians, actors, TV personas) and the discussion follows an agenda which is predefined in either a strict or less controlled manner (Koutsombogera & Papageorgiou 2009). During the interview, the participants present their argumentation to the discussion topics and they elaborate on their opinions. In this context, they produce a multitude of non-verbal expressions co-uttered with speech.

In each interview, the audio signal has been transcribed¹ and the output has been further segmented and annotated in terms of dialogue acts² (Bunt et al. 2010). The video annotation³ deals with the labeling of the non-verbal expressions (facial, hand and torso movements) co-occurring with speech, at multiple levels: (a) identification and marking on the time axis, and assignment of (b) respective semiotic type, (c) turn management type (d) feedback type, (e) attitudes and emotions expressed (W3C 2008) and (f) semantic relations with speech (Poggi & Magno Caldognetto 1996). The levels and labels used in the annotation scheme are mainly inspired by the MUMIN coding scheme notation (Allwood et al. 2007), which was created for building annotated multimodal resources to study communicative phenomena in different situations and different cultural settings, and whose categories have been proven to be reliable. Both audio and visual signals as well as the tier-subtiers annotations are perfectly synchronized; the overall set of annotation levels is distinguished by speaker, and all the annotation metadata are integrated into xml files.

The goal of this corpus building process was to study the interplay between speech and non-verbal expressions in its communicative dimension. For the purposes of the present study we focus on non-verbal expressions semiotically annotated as deictic. All instances that were annotated semiotically as *deictic* have been extracted from the corpus, and were further analyzed according to the semantic properties they express and their coordination with co-occurrent words.

4. Non-verbal instantiations of deixis in the corpus

In the TV interview corpus of 170 minutes, 10K of non-verbal expressions were annotated. Non-verbal expressions are grouped under the main modality used, i.e. hands, head/face and torso. Table 1 (left) shows the distribution of the distinct modalities in the corpus. In general, the rate of the produced non-verbal expressions is the same in all cases, independently of the interview or the participant and, on average, a speaker produces 0.9 non verbal expressions per second.

Furthermore, 3.5% of the corpus instances, i.e. approximately 350 non-verbal expressions were semiotically labeled as *deictic*. Deixis is one of the five values employed to describe the semiotic

¹ Transcriber (<http://trans.sourceforge.net/>)

² General-purpose functions, as defined in the draft of ISO 24617-2

³ ELAN (<http://www.lat-mpi.eu/tools/elan/>)

properties of a non-verbal expression according to a Pierce-like model as included in the MUMIN coding scheme notation. The rest of the labels are related to rhythmic movements of the hands accompanying the speech (beats), to iconic and to symbolic (emblematic) expressions. A non-applicable (n/a) value was also employed for cases where there is no evident semiotic property carried by a non-verbal expression and it is attributed mostly to facial expressions and torso movements. The most frequent label attributed is the one of beats, followed by n/a, deixis, iconicity, and finally symbolic expressions, as presented in Table 1 (right).

Non-verbal expressions	%	Semiotic types	%
hands	54.5	beats	46.6
head-face	35.7	n/a	46.2
torso	9.8	deictic	3.5
		iconic	2.9
		symbolic	0.8

Table 1 Distribution of all non-verbal expressions attested in the interview corpus (left) and their attributed semiotic types (right)

Non-verbal expressions annotated semiotically as *deictic* have been extracted from the corpus together with the words or phrases that they synchronise with, and were further analyzed in terms of their typology and the deixis referent to discover pragmatic, lexical and grammatical properties inducing a deictic non-verbal expression.

The deictic function is performed by all modalities. Specifically, 85.4% of the deictic instantiations was attributed to gestures, i.e. movement of index fingers or extending arms with palms open pointing towards a referent. Subsequently, head movements and facial expressions appear in 10.3% of the cases; gaze direction as well as head tilting combined with eyebrow raising and ranging openness of the eyes are representative expressions of a referent indexing. Finally, torso movements may also have a deictic function (4.3%) and are usually performed by turning the torso towards the referent while always combined and synchronized with another modality. While examining the distribution of deictic non-verbal expressions per speaker group, we attested that the hosts perform relatively more expressions (60.5%) than the guests (39.5%); this difference however is not statistically significant.

Deictic non-verbal expressions	%
hands	85.4
head-face	10.3
torso	4.3
host	60.5
guest	39.5

Table 2 Distribution of deictic non-verbal expressions per modality and speaker group

5. Referents of deictic non-verbal expressions

Deictic non-verbal expressions acquire meaningful content when linked to the actual referent which may or may not be expressed through speech. Furthermore, the indexing of the referent may occur with or without the use of deictic words, i.e. deictic gestures that occur in both of the following examples: *από τα δημοσιεύματα **αυτά**⁴ # είναι απ'τα καλύτερα **κείμενα***. The typology of the deictic non-verbal expressions, that is, the forms they may have, were co-investigated together with the words or phrases synchronized with them. Next, we attempted to classify the referent types and their distribution in data to find out more about the reasons why deixis is employed by the speakers. We consider the deictic non-verbal expressions as egocentric, that is, the center of the deixis (origo) is the interview participant

⁴ Examples in Greek are extracted from the corpus transcription. Words that are synchronised with the deictic non-verbal expressions are in **bold**.

who holds the floor in any given moment. Thus, the center consists of the speaker at the time and place of the utterance and the respective non-verbal expressions. The identified types are summarised in Table 3 and presented in detail in the following paragraphs.

Deixis referents	%
Self-reference	29
Other-reference	25.8
Space	9.5
Hypertextuality	8.8
Time	7.5
Discourse	19.4

Table 3 Distribution of referents of deictic non-verbal expressions

5.1 Self-reference

In general, person deixis, expressed either verbally or non-verbally, is related to the grammatical persons included in the utterance, i.e. the speaker, the addressee, the audience of the interview and the entities mentioned in the content of the utterances.

Self-reference non-verbal expressions are performed by the participants who hold the floor at any time. It is represented by 29% of the overall deictic non-verbal expressions. Speakers use their index finger or an open palm pointing at themselves whenever they want to highlight speech content that is related to themselves or their professional and personal surroundings. A pattern attested is that of stressing the first person of the personal pronoun, while at the same time the hand moves towards the speaker's chest. According to Turk (2007), speakers employ this type of gestures not only for self reference purposes, but to distinguish themselves from a group and emphasize on their own experiences as well.

Movements of this type often synchronise with forms of the 1st person of the personal or possessive pronouns: *εγώ που σας μιλώ, ως υπουργός εγώ, και με γνώρισε, εξαιτίας της δικής μου θέσης, και να με έχει ανασχηματίσει εμένα, υπέρ του υπουργείου μου, τι λέμε όμως εμείς*, etc. As Greek is a pro-drop language, the pronoun may be omitted at times; still, the speakers clearly employ deictic movements to refer to themselves: *όταν μάλιστα θεωρούμαι, ξέρω ναι, το βλέπουμε, αυτά που ζούμε, σέβομαι την αντίθετη άποψη*, etc.

Moreover, use of the second or third person is quite often linked to self-reference deictic movements to serve the goals of generalisation or expression of collectivity: *τα οποία νιώθουν και οι πολίτες* (a group where the speaker belongs), *που νομίζεις εσύ σημαντικό, να βλαβείς εσύ* (you, i.e. anyone) etc.

Besides linking of deictic non-verbal expressions to morphological forms, there are other cases of self reference. Speakers indicate explicitly or implicitly that certain events they utter are somehow connected to themselves, either as direct experiences or as part of their personal and professional surroundings. For example, while a politician is talking about his wife addressing her by her name and not revealing his relationship to her, he makes a self-reference gesture while uttering “*η κυρία Χ μένει στο σπίτι της*”; he thus implies that there exists a connection between himself and that woman.

Deictic movements are also performed while the speaker talks about his/ her own actions: *όχι κατ' εντολήν κομματικής* (orders that the speaker gives as a representative of his party), *με την προσπάθεια που γίνεται* (from a speaker who is a minister), *προσωπικά, ως ένα είδος εκτόνωσης* (for the speaker himself), etc.

5.2 Other-reference

Assuming that the speaker is the deictic center, non-verbal deixis related to persons and performed to a direction other than the body of the speaker who holds the floor are considered as other-reference. This type of reference may take two forms, deixis towards the addressee as well as towards third parties, which – in a two-party discussion – are absent from the physical space of the interview.

5.2.1 Co-locutor deixis

Non-verbal modalities employed to express deixis of the addressee (13%) are usually synchronised with uttering the co-locutor's name and/or identity, or with forms of the second person of the personal pronoun: *θα σας δώσω μια συμβουλή, δικαίως εσείς, θα σας πω εσάς άπειρο, σας ερωτώ εσάς, η εναντίον σας διαμαρτυρία, σας δημιούργησε πρόβλημα αυτό;* etc. Co-locutor deixis is also synchronised with larger groups or organisations to which a speaker may belong or be related to, e.g. a pointing gesture towards the minister of public order performed while a speaker utters the phrase *από την αστυνομία της Θεσσαλονίκης*.

5.2.2 Third-party deixis

Non-verbal deixis to (well-known or not) persons who are not present in the physical space of the interview, but are involved in the argumentation or mentioned in the speech content occurs quite often (11.8%): *τα πιτσιρίκια στο σχολείο, άλλους καλλιτέχνες, από το ΠΑΣΟΚ και τη ΝΔ, ο Ρουσόπουλος ενεπλάκη στην υπόθεση, εναντίον ενός υπουργού, αντί να το πει η Ζαχαρέα, η Κριστιάν Αμανπούρ, ο διευθυντής το κανόνιζε, οι φίλοι μας, για τις γυναίκες συναδέλφους, με τον πρόεδρο του κοινοβουλίου, αν δεν πάρουν οι δάσκαλοι, οι αγρότες, όταν ακούω από την αξιωματική αντιπολίτευση, ο κυβερνητικός εκπρόσωπος, και του δημοσιογράφου,* etc. This type of movements is assumed to be used to serve purposes of stressing the agent who carries out an action or is responsible for a statement or an event.

5.3 Space deixis

Space deixis is related to the spatial locations relevant to an utterance. As it is also the case with person deixis, the locations may be either those of the speaker and addressee or those of persons or objects being referred to.

Speakers employ deictic non-verbal expressions to indicate the whereabouts of a specific location, which rarely coincides with the interview setting (e.g. *εδώ είναι ο χώρος, μ' αρέσει πολύ αυτό το πλατό, έχουν αυτό σα στούντιο, είμαστε εδώ, το Μίμη απέξω*). In fact, most of the locations mentioned are usually related to the topic of discussion; the speakers point vaguely sideways, while uttering names of cities, districts and places related to their opinions or experiences (e.g. *η Ιρλανδία δεν πάει καλά, της Κρήτης στο Ηράκλειο, στο Νέο Δελχί, εγώ ήμουν στις Βρυξέλλες, σχολείο στο Κερατσίνι, στην Καλαμαριά, μέχρι το Βαρδάρη, μεταξύ Βρυξελλών και Στρασβούργου, στην Κρήνη*), to locations of personal and professional activities uttered by the speaker: (e.g. *μας καταγγείλατε προχτές στη Βουλή, το δικαστήριο από την άλλη, αίθουσα της ολομέλειας*), or other locations (*στο ποτάμι*).

5.4 Hypertextuality

The annotated multimodal corpus includes non-verbal expressions making reference to texts the content of which is commented upon. The term hypertextuality is adopted to describe these cases where utterances within the discussion is linked to textual or audiovisual material within the physical space of the interview (e.g. books, pictures, reports in front of the speakers, studio displays). The deictic movements are used as a link to other texts beyond the interview text. This connection with other types of material is employed with the goal of either argumentation or information on a topic based on additional sources.

Speakers point towards these texts while uttering words such as: *αυτό που είναι συγκινητικό είναι, εδώ γράφει αγγλική φιλολογία, είναι ένα από τα καλύτερα κείμενα, υπάρχουν και αντιφάσεις μέσα στις καταθέσεις, αυτή η συνάντηση* (an event presented within the reports that the speaker has in front of him), *στον ίδιο ακριβώς χρόνο, βλέπω κάτι φωτογραφίες εδώ,* etc.

Moreover, speakers often point to displays located in the studio where the interview takes place, e.g. in cases of broadcast commentaries or event coverage related to the topic of the discussion: *έτσι λέτε, το 'πατε, θα επιμείνω στη δήλωση, όπως είπε και ο Χ, θέλω να τις δούμε, όπως είπε και ο συνδικαλιστής, από όλα αυτά τα οποία παίζαμε, έλεγε η τηλεόραση,* etc.

5.5 Temporal deixis

Non-verbal expressions related to temporal deixis are linked to aspects of time involved in the events included in the utterances. In this sense, deictic movements of temporal reference attested in the corpus are related mainly to the past. The trajectory and direction of the movements in question are usually backwards or sideways: *χτες κάναμε μια εκπομπή* (head, hands and torso move sideways), *όσο στην πρώτη τετραετία* (both hands move sideways), *το είπε ο κύριος πριν, μιας Κυριακής πριν από αρκετά χρόνια, γι' αυτό έβαλαν τη σύζυγό μου* (hand moves backwards), *το Δεκέμβρη τώρα* (hand moves backwards), etc. Reference to the present is more rare, e.g.: *και τώρα* (hand moves down).

5.6 Discourse deixis

Discourse deixis is used to indicate in an abstract manner the introduction of new topics in the interview. Specifically, new topics are considered as metaphoric images or locations to which the deictic movements point; they are employed by the speakers with the goal of presenting the co-locutors with a new material as a possible forthcoming topic of discussion, e.g. *πάμε τώρα να δούμε*.

Unlike its function with regards to the verbal content, non-verbal discourse deixis does not refer to parts of the discourse; if a speaker wishes to make reference to an utterance or a topic that has been previously mentioned, then the movements used are related to the time slot when the utterance or topic took place (i.e. the past) and not the topic itself, e.g. in the utterance *είπατε ότι [...]* the hand moves slightly backwards to make a temporal reference.

6. Patterns in deictic movements

Although there are variations in the intensity and form of deictic movements, it is possible to group together certain non-verbal expressions in the sense that their direction, when linked to specific speech content, could lead to the formulation of patterns. The most prominent example is that of the use of the index finger, the thumb or the whole palm pointing or moving backwards when referring to events or participants of events of the past.

Moreover, deictic movements to sideways indicate referents that are far from the speaker (e.g. either locations or persons not in the physical interview space). However, there was no evidence to support that the number of hands (single vs. both) used to perform this kind of gestures entails specific correlations to the speech equivalent. Finally, speakers often point down when accompanying a specific demonstrative word (e.g. *και αυτό με ρωτούσε, εκείνη η συνθήκη, αυτόν τον ξυλοδαρμό*) or adjectives and adverbs of spatiotemporal properties: *και τώρα, από το σημερινό πλαίσιο, είμαστε εδώ, τελευταίο επεισόδιο*.

7. Conclusions

The corpus-based study of deictic non-verbal expressions revealed that there are multiple ways through which deixis is performed, as well as multiple types of referents to which the deixis is addressed. A major contribution of the study of non-verbal deixis is its employment by speakers when there is no actual demonstrative word or what is considered as a traditional deictic expression, be it a temporal, spatial or discourse vocabulary. In fact, we believe that in order to come up with an as complete as possible framework for deixis interpretation, both verbal and non-verbal instantiations should be studied in their inter-relation and complementarity.

Furthermore, when it comes to communication, deixis can be a powerful means to interpret the dynamics of a given interaction. Specifically, both verbal and non-verbal signs deictic signs can account for social goals of the speakers; kinesic features of a deictic movement such as the proximity of a gesture to/ from a speaker or its direction, when expressed in parallel to the speech content, can be considered as devices that both unveil a speaker's intention and enable him/ her to achieve a social goal.

Our future goal is to provide elaborate evidence towards the development of an interpretation framework of deixis. Specifically, we plan to enrich our data with broader communicative instances of face-to face interaction in order to strengthen our findings regarding forms and variations of non-verbal deixis, as well as to further elaborate on the established categories of referents related to deictic movements.

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